

66 (I). Transmission of Information under Article 73e of the Charter

The General Assembly, on 9 February 1946, approved a resolution on Non-Self-Governing Peoples. By this resolution the Secretary-General was requested to include in his annual report on the work of the Organization a statement summarizing such information as may have been transmitted to him by Members of the United Nations under Article 73e of the Charter relating to economic, social and educational conditions in the territories for which they are responsible, other than those to which Chapters XII and XIII apply.

The General Assembly notes that information has been transmitted by the Governments of Australia concerning conditions in Papua; France concerning conditions in French West Africa, French Equatorial Africa, French Somaliland, Madagascar and Dependencies, French Establishments in Oceania, Indo-China, French Establishments in India, New Caledonia and Dependencies, Saint-Pierre et Miquelon, Morocco, Tunisia, the New Hebrides under Anglo-French Condominium, Martinique, Guadeloupe and Dependencies, French Guiana, and Reunion (without prejudice to the future status of these territories); New Zealand concerning conditions in the Cook Islands (without prejudice to any interpretation of the expression "Non-Self-Governing Territories" in view of the fact that the Cook Islands are an integral part of New Zealand); the United Kingdom concerning conditions in Barbados, Bermuda, British Guiana, British Honduras,¹ Fiji, Gambia, Gibraltar, Leeward Islands, Mauritius, St. Lucia, and Zanzibar Protectorate; and the United States concerning conditions in Alaska,

¹ In this connexion reference is made to the *Journal of the United Nations*, No. 55, 10 December 1946, Supplement No. 4, pages 79-80.

66 (I). Transmission des renseignements visés à l'Article 73e de la Charte

L'Assemblée générale a approuvé, le 9 février 1946, une résolution relative aux populations non autonomes. Par cette résolution le Secrétaire général avait été invité à inclure, dans son rapport annuel sur l'activité de l'Organisation, une déclaration résumant les renseignements qui lui auraient été transmis par les Membres des Nations Unies en application de l'Article 73e de la Charte et relatifs aux conditions économiques, sociales et de l'instruction dans les territoires dont ils sont responsables, autres que ceux auxquels s'appliquent les chapitres XII et XIII.

L'Assemblée générale note que des renseignements ont été transmis par les Gouvernements de l'Australie, sur la situation de la Papouasie; de la France, sur la situation de l'Afrique-Occidentale Française, l'Afrique-Equatoriale Française, la Côte Française des Somalis, Madagascar et dépendances, les Etablissements Français de l'Océanie, l'Indochine, les Etablissements Français de l'Inde, la Nouvelle-Calédonie et dépendances, Saint-Pierre et Miquelon, le Maroc, la Tunisie, les Nouvelles-Hébrides sous condominium franco-britannique, la Martinique, la Guadeloupe et dépendances, la Guyane française et la Réunion (sans préjuger le statut futur de ces territoires); de la Nouvelle-Zélande, sur la situation des îles de Cook (sans préjuger l'interprétation du terme "territoire non autonome", attendu que les îles de Cook sont une partie intégrante de la Nouvelle-Zélande); du Royaume-Uni, sur la situation de la Barbade, les Bermudes, la Guyane britannique, le Honduras britannique,¹ les îles Fidji, la Gambie, Gibraltar, les îles Sous-le-Vent, l'île Maurice, Sainte-Lucie et le protectorat de Zanzi-

¹ A ce sujet, se référer au *Journal des Nations Unies*, No 55, du 10 décembre 1946, Supplément 4, pages 79 et 80.

American Samoa, Guam, Hawaii, Panama Canal Zone,¹ Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands.

The General Assembly also notes that the following Governments have declared their intention of transmitting information: Belgium on the Belgian Congo; Denmark on Greenland; the Netherlands on the Netherlands Indies, Surinam and Curacao; New Zealand on the Tokelau Islands; and the United Kingdom on Aden (Colony and Protectorate), Bahamas, Basutoland, Bechuanaland Protectorate, British Somaliland Protectorate, Brunei, Cyprus, Dominica, Falkland Islands,² Gold Coast (Colony and Protectorate), Grenada, Hong Kong, Jamaica, Kenya (Colony and Protectorate), Malayan Union, Malta, Nigeria, North Borneo, Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, St. Helena and Dependencies, St. Vincent, Sarawak, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Swaziland, Trinidad and Tobago, Uganda Protectorate, and the High Commission Territories of the Western Pacific (Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony, British Solomon Islands Protectorate, Pitcairn Islands).

The value of the association of Non-Self-Governing Territories in the work of the specialized agencies as a means of attaining the objectives of Chapter XI of the Charter has been stressed.

The procedures to be followed by the Organization in connexion with the information transmitted by Members regarding Non-Self-Governing Peoples have been carefully examined.

The General Assembly, therefore,

1. *Invites* the Members transmitting information to send to the Secretary-General by 30 June of each year the most recent information which is at their disposal;

2. *Recommends* that the information transmitted in the course of 1947 by Members of the United Nations under Article 73e of the Charter should be summarized, analysed and classified by the Secretary-General and included in his report to the second session of the General Assembly, in order that, in the light of the experience gained, the General Assembly may be able to decide whether any other procedure may be desirable for dealing with such information in future years;

3. *Recommends* that the Secretary-General communicate to the specialized agencies the information transmitted, with a view to making all relevant data available to their expert and deliberative bodies;

4. *Invites* the Secretary-General to convene,

¹ In this connexion reference is made to document A/200, dated 26 November 1946.

² In regard to the Falkland Islands the delegation of Argentina, at the twenty-fifth meeting of the Committee, made a reservation to the effect that the Argentine Government did not recognize British sovereignty in the Falkland Islands. The delegation of the United Kingdom made a parallel reservation, not recognizing Argentine sovereignty in these islands.

bar; et des Etats-Unis d'Amérique, sur la situation de l'Alaska, la partie américaine des Samoa, l'île de Guam, les îles Hawai, la Zone du Canal de Panama¹, Porto-Rico et les îles Vierges.

L'Assemblée générale a également pris note que les Gouvernements suivants ont fait connaître leur intention de transmettre des renseignements: la Belgique, sur le Congo belge; le Danemark, sur le Groënland; les Pays-Bas, sur les Indes néerlandaises, Surinam et Curaçao; la Nouvelle-Zélande, sur les îles Tokelau; le Royaume-Uni sur Aden (colonie et protectorat), les îles Bahama, le Basutoland, le protectorat du Betchouanaland, le protectorat de la Somalie anglaise, Brunei, Chypre, Dominique, les îles Falkland², la Côte de l'Or (colonie et protectorat), Grenade, Hong-Kong, la Jamaïque, le Kenya (colonie et protectorat), l'Union Malaise, Malte, le Nigéria, la partie nord de Bornéo, la Rhodésie du Nord, le Nyassaland, Sainte-Hélène et dépendances, Saint-Vincent, Sarawak, les Seychelles, Sierra-Leone, Singapour, le Souaziland, la Trinité et Tobago, le protectorat de l'Ouganda, et les territoires du Pacifique occidental relevant de la Haute Commission (la colonie des îles Gilbert et Ellis, le protectorat des îles Salomon, les îles Pitcairn).

La valeur de la participation des territoires non autonomes à l'activité des institutions spécialisées a été soulignée comme un moyen d'atteindre les buts du Chapitre XI de la Charte.

La procédure à suivre par l'Organisation concernant les renseignements transmis par les Membres au sujet des populations non autonomes, a été examinée avec soin.

L'Assemblée générale, en conséquence,

1. *Invite* les Etats Membres, qui doivent fournir les renseignements, à mettre le Secrétaire général en possession, pour le 30 juin de chaque année, des renseignements les plus récents dont ils disposent;

2. *Recommande* que les renseignements transmis au cours de l'année 1947 par des Membres des Nations Unies en application de l'Article 73e de la Charte, soient résumés, analysés et classifiés par le Secrétaire général et inclus dans son rapport à la deuxième session de l'Assemblée générale, afin que, à la lumière de l'expérience ainsi acquise, l'Assemblée générale puisse décider si une autre procédure est désirable à l'avenir pour l'utilisation de ces renseignements;

3. *Recommande* que le Secrétaire général communique aux institutions spécialisées les renseignements transmis, afin que toutes les données intéressantes puissent être mises à la disposition de leurs groupes d'experts et de leurs organes délibérants;

4. *Invite* le Secrétaire général à réunir quelques

¹ A ce sujet, se référer au document A/200 en date du 26 novembre 1946.

² Au sujet des îles Falkland, la délégation de l'Argentine, lors de la vingt-cinquième séance de la Commission, a fait une réserve, ayant pour objet de déclarer que le Gouvernement argentin ne reconnaissait pas la souveraineté britannique sur les îles Falkland. La délégation du Royaume-Uni a fait une réserve parallèle, ne reconnaissant pas la souveraineté de l'Argentine sur ces îles.

some weeks before the opening of the second session of the General Assembly, an *ad hoc* Committee composed in equal numbers of representatives of the Members transmitting information under Article 73e of the Charter and of representatives of Members elected, by the General Assembly at this session, on the basis of an equitable geographical distribution;

5. *Invites* the Secretary-General to request the Food and Agriculture Organization, the International Labour Organization, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, and the World Health Organization and the International Trade Organization, when constituted, to send representatives in an advisory capacity to the meeting of the *ad hoc* committee;

6. *Invites* the *ad hoc* Committee to examine the Secretary-General's summary and analysis of the information transmitted under Article 73e of the Charter with a view to aiding the General Assembly in its consideration of this information, and with a view to making recommendations to the General Assembly regarding the procedures to be followed in the future and the means of ensuring that the advice, expert knowledge and experience of the specialized agencies are used to the best advantage.

*Sixty-fourth plenary meeting,
14 December 1946.*

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At its sixty-fifth and sixty-sixth plenary meetings, on 14 and 15 December 1946 respectively, the General Assembly, in accordance with the terms of the above resolution, elected eight Members of the ad hoc Committee.

The composition of the Committee therefore is as follows:

Members transmitting information under Article 73e of the Charter:

Australia, Belgium, Denmark, France, Netherlands, New Zealand, United Kingdom, United States of America.

Members elected by the General Assembly:

Brazil, China, Cuba, Egypt, India, Philippine Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Uruguay.

semaines avant l'ouverture de la deuxième session de l'Assemblée générale un Comité *ad hoc* composé d'un nombre égal de représentants des Membres transmettant des renseignements en application de l'Article 73e de la Charte et de représentants des Membres élus par l'Assemblée générale à cette session, sur la base d'une répartition géographique équitable;

5. *Invite* le Secrétaire général à demander à l'Organisation pour l'alimentation et l'agriculture, l'Organisation internationale du Travail, l'Organisation des Nations Unies pour l'éducation, la science et la culture, l'Organisation mondiale de la santé et l'Organisation internationale du commerce, une fois constituées, d'envoyer à titre consultatif des représentants à la réunion du Comité *ad hoc*;

6. *Invite* le Comité *ad hoc* à examiner les résumés et analyses faits par le Secrétaire général des renseignements transmis en application de l'Article 73e de la Charte, en vue d'assister l'Assemblée générale dans son examen de ces renseignements et de faire des recommandations à l'Assemblée générale concernant la procédure à suivre à l'avenir et les moyens d'assurer que les avis, les connaissances techniques et l'expérience des institutions spécialisées soient utilisés au mieux.

*Soixante-quatrième séance plénière,
le 14 décembre 1946.*

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A ses soixante-cinquième et soixante-sixième séances, le 14 et le 15 décembre 1946, l'Assemblée générale, conformément aux termes de la résolution ci-dessus, a élu huit membres du Comité ad hoc.

La composition de ce Comité est, en conséquence, la suivante:

Membres transmettant des informations en application de l'Article 73e de la Charte:

Australie, Belgique, Danemark, France, Pays-Bas, Nouvelle-Zélande, Royaume-Uni, Etats-Unis d'Amérique.

Membres élus par l'Assemblée générale:

Brésil, Chine, Cuba, Egypte, Inde, République des Philippines, Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques, Uruguay.

United Nations

Nations Unies

UNRESTRICTED

GENERAL
ASSEMBLYASSEMBLEE
GENERALEA/249
11 December 1946

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

THE TRANSMISSION OF INFORMATION BY MEMBERS
UNDER ARTICLE 73 (e) OF THE CHARTER

Report of the Fourth Committee

Rapporteur: Mr. C. LISICKY (Czechoslovakia)

The above question was referred by the Fourth Committee to its Sub-Committee 2. The report of the Sub-Committee has been distributed to members of the General Assembly in documents A/C.4/68 and A/C.4/68/Corr.1.

The resolution which was adopted by the Fourth Committee (by twenty-three votes to twelve with three abstentions) is not the same as that recommended by the majority of the Sub-Committee (by ten votes to four with five abstentions). The preamble and the first three paragraphs are as recommended by the Sub-Committee; the remaining paragraphs four to six reproduce an amendment by the Delegation of Cuba similar to one moved in the Sub-Committee where it had been rejected by ten votes to eight with one abstention.

The arguments for and against this amendment, which provides for the creation of an ad hoc committee, are stated in the Sub-Committee's report. In addition, it is to be noted that the representative of China, in announcing his intention to vote for the Cuban amendment, asked that the report of the Committee should specifically mention that in the Sub-Committee he had expressed the view that it was the Trusteeship Council which would be the natural and logical authority to receive and examine the information transmitted under Chapter XI and that an amendment which he had moved to this effect had been defeated in Sub-Committee by only ten votes to nine. The Chinese representative maintained his position, but in order to facilitate the proceedings of the Committee he did not move his amendment again.

The Delegation of Cuba amendment replaced in paragraphs 4-6 the following text recommended by the majority of the Sub-Committee:

"4. Recommends that the Secretary-General consult the Specialized Agencies with a view to formulating proposals for consideration by the General Assembly at its Second Session to ensure that the advice, expert knowledge and experience of the Specialized Agencies are used to the best advantage."

A roll call vote was taken in the Fourth Committee on the amendment, which was adopted by twenty-one votes to twelve with four abstentions.

The Fourth Committee therefore recommends to the General Assembly the adoption of the following resolution:

"RESOLUTION ON THE TRANSMISSION OF INFORMATION
UNDER ARTICLE 73 (e) OF THE CHARTER

"The General Assembly on 9 February 1946, approved a Resolution on Non-Self-Governing Peoples. By this Resolution the Secretary-General was requested to include in his annual report on the work of the Organization a statement summarizing such information as may have been transmitted to him by Members of the United Nations under Article 73 (e) of the Charter relating to economic, social and educational conditions in the territories for which they are responsible, other than those to which Chapters XII and XIII apply.

"The General Assembly notes that information has been transmitted by the Governments of Australia concerning conditions in Papua; France concerning conditions in French West Africa, French Equatorial Africa, French Somaliland, Madagascar and Dependencies, French Establishments in Oceania, Indochina, French Establishments in India, New Caledonia and Dependencies, Saint Pierre et Miquelon, Morocco, Tunisia, the New Hebrides under Anglo-French Condominium, Martinique, Guadeloupe and Dependencies, French Guiana, and Reunion (without prejudice to the future status of these territories); New Zealand

/concerning

concerning conditions in the Cook Islands (without prejudice to any interpretation of the expression Non-Self-Governing Territories in view of the fact that the Cook Islands are an integral part of New Zealand); the United Kingdom concerning conditions in Barbados, Bermuda, British Guiana, British Honduras,* Fiji, Gambia, Gibraltar, Leeward Islands, Mauritius, St. Lucia, and Zanzibar Protectorate; and the United States concerning conditions in Alaska, American Samoa, Guam, Hawaii, Panama Canal Zone,** Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands.

"The General Assembly also notes that the following Governments have declared their intention of transmitting information: Belgium on the Belgian Congo; Denmark on Greenland; the Netherlands on the Netherlands Indies, Surinam and Curacao; New Zealand on the Tokelau Islands; and the United Kingdom on Aden (Colony and Protectorate), Bahamas, Basutoland, Bechuanaland Protectorate, British Somaliland Protectorate, Brunei, Cyprus, Dominica, Falkland Islands,*** Gold Coast (Colony and Protectorate), Grenada, Hong Kong, Jamaica, Kenya (Colony and Protectorate), Malayan Union, Malta, Nigeria, North Borneo, Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, St. Helena and Dependencies, St. Vincent, Sarawak, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Swaziland, Trinidad and Tobago, Uganda Protectorate, and the High Commission Territories of the Western Pacific (Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony, British Solomon Islands Protectorate, Pitcairn Islands).

"The value of the association of Non-Self-Governing Territories in the work of the Specialized Agencies as a means of attaining the objectives of Chapter XI of the Charter has been stressed.

/"The procedures

* In this connection reference is made to The Journal of the United Nations No. 55, 10 December 1946, Supplement No. 4, pages 79-80.

** In this connection reference is made to document A/200, dated 26 November 1946.

*** In regard to the Falkland Islands the Delegation of Argentina at the twenty-fifth meeting of the Committee, made a reservation to the effect that the Argentine Government did not recognize British sovereignty in the Falkland Islands. The Delegation of the United Kingdom made a parallel reservation, not recognizing Argentine sovereignty in these

"The procedures to be followed by the Organization in connection with the information transmitted by Members regarding Non-Self-Governing Peoples have been carefully examined.

"THEREFORE THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY:

"1. INVITES the Members transmitting information to send to the Secretary-General by 30 June of each year the most recent information which is at their disposal.

"2. RECOMMENDS that the information transmitted in the course of 1947 by Members of the United Nations under Article 73 (e) of the Charter should be summarized, analyzed and classified by the Secretary-General and included in his report to the Second Session of the General Assembly, in order that in the light of the experience gained the General Assembly may be able to decide whether any other procedure may be desirable for dealing with such information in future years.

"3. RECOMMENDS that the Secretary-General communicate to the Specialized Agencies the information transmitted, with a view to making all relevant data available to their expert and deliberative bodies.

"4. INVITES the Secretary-General to convene, some weeks before the opening of the Second Session of the General Assembly, an ad hoc committee composed in equal numbers to representatives of the Members transmitting information under Article 73 (e) of the Charter and of representatives of Members elected, by the General Assembly at this Session, on the basis of an equitable geographical distribution.

"5. INVITES the Secretary-General to request the Food and Agriculture Organization, the International Labour Organization, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, and the World Health Organization and the International Trade Organization, when constituted, to send representatives in an advisory capacity to the meeting of the ad hoc committee.

/INVITES

"6. INVITES the ad hoc committee to examine the Secretary-General's summary and analysis of the information transmitted under Article 73 (e) of the Charter with a view to aiding the General Assembly in its consideration of this information, and with a view to making recommendations to the General Assembly regarding the procedures to be followed in the future and the means of ensuring that the advice, expert knowledge and experience of the Specialized Agencies are used to the best advantage."

This resolution as a whole was adopted by the Fourth Committee by twenty-three votes to twelve with three abstentions.

The French representative formally reserved the position of his Government, stating that he could not undertake on behalf of the French Government to send representatives to an ad hoc committee created in contravention of the provisions of Article 73 (e) of the Charter.

The Delegations of Australia, Belgium and the United Kingdom also reserved the position of their Governments.

Should the General Assembly approve the convocation of the ad hoc committee outlined in paragraphs 4 to 6 of the above resolution, the General Assembly should at the present session elect the eight Members to be invited to send representatives to the meeting of the ad hoc committee.

**GENERAL
ASSEMBLY****ASSEMBLEE
GENERALE**

A/249/Add.1

A/250/Add.2

A/251/Add.1

12 December 1946

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

TRANSMISSION OF INFORMATION BY MEMBERS UNDER
ARTICLE 73(e) OF THE CHARTER

STATEMENT BY THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA ON THE OUTCOME OF THEIR
CONSULTATIONS WITH THE PEOPLES OF SOUTH WEST AFRICA AS TO
THE FUTURE STATUS OF THE MANDATED TERRITORY AND
IMPLEMENTATION TO BE GIVEN TO THE WISHES THUS EXPRESSED

RESOLUTION ON REGIONAL CONFERENCES OF REPRESENTATIVES
OF NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES

ADDENDA TO THE REPORTS OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE

Sub-Committee 2 of the Fourth Committee was composed of the
representatives of the following Members:

Argentina	Netherlands
Australia	New Zealand
Belgium	Norway
Brazil	Philippine Republic
China	Poland
Cuba	Union of South Africa
Denmark	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
Egypt	United Kingdom
France	United States
India	

*United Nations**Nations Unies*

UNRESTRICTED

**GENERAL
ASSEMBLY****ASSEMBLEE
GENERALE**A/249/Corr.1
13 December 1946

ENGLISH ONLY

CORRIGENDUM TO THE TRANSMISSION OF INFORMATION
BY MEMBERS UNDER ARTICLE 73(e) OF THE CHARTER

REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE

Page 4, paragraph 4 of the proposed resolution, in third line,

for: "equal numbers to representatives"

read: "equal numbers of representatives"

FOURTH COMMITTEE

TRUSTEESHIP

Summary Record of Meetings

QUATRIEME COMMISSION

TUTELLE

Compte rendu des Séances

Monday, 16 December 1946	Lundi 16 décembre 1946
<p>TWENTY-FOURTH MEETING</p> <p><i>Held at Lake Success, New York, on Tuesday, 10 December 1946, at 11.30 a.m.</i></p> <p><i>Chairman: Mr. R. MACEachen (Uruguay).</i></p>	<p>VINGT-QUATRIEME SEANCE</p> <p><i>Tenue à Lake Success, New-York, le mardi 10 décembre 1946, à 11 h. 30.</i></p> <p><i>Président: M. R. MACEachen (Uruguay).</i></p>

3. Draft reports of the Fourth Committee to the General Assembly concerning matters discussed in Sub-Committee 2 (documents A/C.4/76, A/C.4/77 and A/C.4/78)

The **RAPPEUR** introduced the draft reports. He asked the Committee whether it wished to make proposals to the General Assembly on the composition of the *ad hoc* committee provided in the resolution concerning the transmission of information by Members under item *e* of Article 73 of the Charter.

Mr. **NAGGIAR** (France) thought that it was premature to discuss this point, since it was not yet certain that the General Assembly would adopt the resolution. The French Government had not yet decided whether it desired to be represented in this *ad hoc* committee, and the French delegation had reserved its point of view on its establishment.

He asked, moreover, that the Committee take note of the formal reservations made by his and other delegations on the Philippine proposal as adopted by the Committee.

The Committee decided that the reservations expressed by the representatives of France, the United Kingdom and other countries would be included in the report.

The meeting was adjourned at 2.15 p.m.

3. Projet de rapport de la Quatrième Commission à l'Assemblée générale concernant les questions discutées à la Sous-Commission 2 (documents A/C.4/76, A/C.4/77 et A/C.4/78)

Le **RAPPEUR** présente les projets de rapport. Il demande à la Commission si elle désire faire des propositions à l'Assemblée générale sur la composition d'une commission *ad hoc*, prévue dans la résolution concernant la transmission d'informations par les Membres, selon le point *e* de l'Article 73 de la Charte.

M. **NAGGIAR** (France) estime qu'il est prématuré de discuter cette question, puisqu'il n'est encore sûr que l'Assemblée générale adoptera cette résolution. Le Gouvernement français n'a pas encore décidé s'il désire être représenté à cette commission *ad hoc*, et la délégation française a même réservé son avis sur l'établissement de cette commission.

En outre, il demande que la Commission prenne note des réserves formelles faites par la délégation française et par d'autres délégations, sur la proposition de la République des Philippines telle qu'elle a été adoptée par la Commission.

La Commission décide que ces réserves formelles faites par les représentants de la France, du Royaume-Uni et d'autres pays seront consignées dans le rapport.

La séance est levée à 14 h. 15.

FOURTH COMMITTEE

TRUSTEESHIP

Summary Record of Meetings

QUATRIEME COMMISSION

TUTELLE

Compte rendu des Séances

Monday, 16 December 1946	Lundi 16 décembre 1946
TWENTY-FIFTH MEETING <i>Held at Lake Success, New York, on Wednesday, 11 December 1946, at 11.30 a.m.</i> <i>Chairman: Mr. MACEachen (Uruguay).</i>	VINGT-CINQUIEME SEANCE <i>Tenue à Lake Success, New-York, le mercredi 11 décembre 1946, à 11 h. 30.</i> <i>Président: M. R. MACEachen (Uruguay).</i>

2. Consideration of the Rapporteur's draft report concerning the transmission of information by Members under Article 73(e) of the Charter (documents A/C.4/77 and A/C.4/77/Corr.1)

Mr. PEREZ CISNEROS (Cuba) reiterated his observations made with reference to document A/C.4/76.

Mr. STEIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) shared the view of the Cuban representative and stated that in the case of each recommendation the vote should be recorded.

Mr. NAGGIAR (France) restated the reservation which the French delegation had made with regard to the establishment of an *ad hoc* committee. He could not undertake that France would be prepared to send a representative to that committee as she considered its establishment a contravention of the provisions of Article 73(e) of the Charter. He requested that the reservation of his delegation should be included in the Rapporteur's report.

Mr. STEIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) considered that any delegation had the right to make a reservation and that it was entitled to its inclusion in the report.

Mr. ANDREWS (Union of South Africa), noting that the number of members absent had been listed in the Rapporteur's draft report concerning South West Africa, suggested that the same procedure should be followed in the document under consideration.

Mr. STEIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) doubted whether it was necessary to list the number of members absent.

An exchange of views followed in which Mr. PEREZ CISNEROS (Cuba), Mr. PRADENAS (Chile), Mr. NAGGIAR (France), Mr. LIU (China) and Mr. THOMAS (United Kingdom) participated.

The CHAIRMAN stated that a decision on that point would affect the previous report. He put the question to a vote.

Decision: *By thirty-seven votes to none with four abstentions it was decided not to mention the number of members absent in the report.*

Mr. NAGGIAR (France) wished to insert the clause "without prejudice to the future status of these territories" after the enumeration of the French possessions on page 2.

Mr. MENON (India) questioned the use of the term "establishments", suggesting that it should be replaced by "possessions".

Mr. BENSON (Secretary) explained that the term "establishments" was generally accepted.

2. Examen du projet de rapport du Rapporteur relatif à la transmission des renseignements communiqués par les Membres en application de l'Article 73 e) de la Charte (documents A/C.4/77 et A/C.4/77/Corr.1)

M. PEREZ CISNEROS (Cuba) réitère les observations précédentes concernant le document A/C.4/76.

M. STEIN (Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques) se rallie à l'opinion exprimée par le représentant de Cuba, et déclare que le vote sur chaque recommandation doit être enregistré séparément.

M. NAGGIAR (France) renouvelle la réserve faite par la délégation française au sujet de l'établissement d'un comité spécial. Il ne peut prendre l'engagement, au nom du Gouvernement français, d'envoyer un représentant à ce comité, son pays considérant la création de celui-ci comme allant à l'encontre des dispositions de l'Article 73 e) de la Charte. Il demande que les réserves faites par sa délégation soient insérées dans le rapport du Rapporteur.

M. STEIN (Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques) estime que toutes les délégations ont le droit de formuler des réserves et d'en demander l'insertion au rapport.

M. ANDREWS (Union Sud-Africaine) prend note que le nombre des absents a fait l'objet d'une mention dans le projet de rapport du Rapporteur relatif au Sud-Ouest Africain, et propose que l'on suive la même procédure dans le document actuellement à l'examen.

M. STEIN (Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques) exprime des doutes quant à la nécessité de mentionner le nombre des absents.

Un échange de vues s'ensuit auquel prennent part M. PEREZ CISNEROS (Cuba), M. PRADENAS (Chili), M. NAGGIAR (France) M. LIU (Chine) et M. THOMAS (Royaume-Uni).

Le PRÉSIDENT déclare qu'une décision sur ce point concerne également le rapport précédent et met la question aux voix.

Décision: *On décide, par trente-sept voix contre zéro et quatre abstentions, de ne pas mentionner les noms des absents dans le rapport.*

M. NAGGIAR (France) désire qu'à la suite de l'énumération des possessions françaises qui figure à la page 2, on insère les termes "sans préjudice du statut futur de ces territoires".

M. MENON (Inde) met en doute l'emploi du terme "établissements" et suggère qu'on le remplace par "possessions".

M. BENSON (Secrétariat) explique que le terme "établissements" est généralement accepté.

Mr. DULLES (United States of America) suggested that reference should be made in the report to the statement of the delegation of Panama concerning the Panama Canal zone. He thought that it could best be done in the form of a footnote.

Mr. MENDOZA (Guatemala) requested that reference to his statement concerning the territory of Belice should also appear in the report.

The CHAIRMAN suggested that the reference should cover the statements made by the delegations of Guatemala, Mexico and the United Kingdom.

Mr. FERRER VIEYRA (Argentina) wished to make a reservation concerning the Falkland Islands and in particular Malvina.

The CHAIRMAN proposed that the representative of Argentina should consult with the representative of the United Kingdom with the view of preparing a joint statement for inclusion in the report.

Mr. ALFARO (Panama) agreed with the formula suggested by the United States representative for recording the position of the delegation of Panama.

Mr. PEON DEL VALLE (Mexico) thought that in the case of the statements of the delegations of Guatemala and the United Kingdom it would be sufficient if the report referred to the *Journal* containing the summary record of the meeting at which the statements had been made.

Mr. FERRER VIEYRA (Argentina) and Mr. THOMAS (United Kingdom) submitted the following joint statement:

"In regard to the Falkland Islands, the Argentine delegation, at the twenty-fifth meeting of the Committee, made a reservation to the effect that the Argentine Government did not recognize British sovereignty in the Falkland Islands. The United Kingdom delegation made a parallel reservation, not recognizing Argentine sovereignty in those islands".

Mr. THOMAS (United Kingdom) pointed to the difficulties inherent in the last paragraph of document A/C.4/77. The creation of an *ad hoc* committee would involve an expenditure. According to rule 112 of the provisional rules of procedure for the General Assembly, no resolution involving expenditure could be passed until the Administrative and Budgetary Committee had expressed its opinion. Rule 82 stipulated that all elections should be taken by secret ballot. Consequently it would be impossible to follow the procedure outlined in the draft report.

Mr. PEREZ CISNEROS (Cuba) believed that the Committee could elect the members of the *ad hoc* committee and submit their names for the approval of the General Assembly.

M. DULLES (Etats-Unis d'Amérique) propose que mention soit faite au rapport de la déclaration de la délégation du Panama relative à la zone du Canal de Panama. A son avis, il est préférable de placer cette note au bas de la page.

M. MENDOZA (Guatemala) demande que sa déclaration au sujet du territoire de Bélize figure également au rapport.

Le PRÉSIDENT propose de faire état, dans la même note, des déclarations faites par les délégations du Guatemala, du Mexique et du Royaume-Uni.

M. FERRER VIEYRA (Argentine) désire formuler une réserve concernant les îles Falkland, en particulier celle de Malvina.

Le PRÉSIDENT propose que le représentant de l'Argentine se mette en rapport avec le représentant du Royaume-Uni afin de préparer une déclaration conjointe qui sera incluse dans le rapport.

M. ALFARO (Panama) approuve la formule proposée par le représentant des Etats-Unis concernant la position de la délégation du Panama.

M. PEON DEL VALLE (Mexique) estime qu'en ce qui concerne les déclarations faites par les délégations du Guatemala et du Royaume-Uni, il serait suffisant que la rapport porte la référence du *Journal* contenant le compte rendu de la séance au cours de laquelle ces déclarations ont été faites.

M. FERRER VIEYRA (Argentine) et M. THOMAS (Royaume-Uni) présentent la déclaration conjointe ainsi conçue:

"Relativement aux îles Falkland, la délégation argentine, au cours de la vingt-cinquième séance de la Commission, a formulé la réserve que le Gouvernement argentin ne reconnaissait pas la souveraineté britannique sur les îles Falkland. La délégation du Royaume-Uni a formulé une réserve parallèle, ne reconnaissant pas la souveraineté de l'Argentine sur ces îles.

M. THOMAS (Royaume-Uni) relève les difficultés devant lesquelles on se trouve dans le dernier paragraphe du document A/C.4/77. La création d'un comité spécial ne manquera pas d'occasionner des frais. Conformément à l'article 112 du règlement provisoire de l'Assemblée générale, on ne peut adopter aucune résolution entraînant des frais avant que la Commission administrative et budgétaire ait donné son avis. L'article 82 stipule que l'on procède à toutes les élections par voie de scrutin secret. En conséquence, il serait impossible de suivre la procédure exposée dans le projet de rapport.

M. PEREZ CISNEROS (Cuba) pense que la Commission a le pouvoir d'élire les membres du comité spécial sous réserve de soumettre leurs noms à l'approbation de l'Assemblée générale.

Mr. NAGGIAR (France) thought that it would be difficult to ascertain the number of States to be elected to membership on the *ad hoc* committee. Moreover, the problem of election was not urgent and therefore could be left open for the time being.

Mr. THOMAS (United Kingdom) associated himself with the views of the French representative. He proposed that the entire last paragraph after the word "abstentions" should be deleted.

Mr. PEREZ CISNEROS (Cuba) disagreed and suggested a modification of the last paragraph to the effect that the number of States should be defined.

Mr. RYCKMANS (Belgium) and Mr. BAILEY (Australia) associated themselves with the reservations made by the representatives of France and of the United Kingdom.

The RAPPOREUR was of the opinion that the membership of the *ad hoc* committee should be composed of eight States.

Mr. NAGGIAR (France) opposed the insertion of a definite figure.

Mr. STEIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) favoured that figure. It rested with the Governments concerned to send or not to send their representatives to the *ad hoc* committee. He proposed that the discussion should be closed.

Decisions: (1) *It was decided that the report should be modified to indicate that, if the General Assembly approved the creation of the committee, it should be invited to elect eight Members to send representatives.*

(2) *The whole of the Rapporteur's draft report on the transmission of information by Members under Article 73(e) of the Charter was adopted as amended.*

M. NAGGIAR (France) considère qu'il sera difficile de déterminer le nombre des États susceptibles d'être représentés au comité spécial. Il ajoute que, la question de l'élection n'étant pas urgente, elle peut être mise de côté pour le moment.

M. THOMAS (Royaume-Uni) se rallie à l'opinion du représentant de la France. Il propose la suppression de tout le dernier paragraphe après le mot "abstentions".

M. PEREZ CISNEROS (Cuba) exprime son désaccord et propose de modifier le dernier paragraphe afin d'y déterminer le nombre des États.

M. RYCKMANS (Belgique) et M. BAILEY (Australie) s'associent aux réserves faites par les représentants de la France et du Royaume-Uni.

Le RAPPOREUR est d'avis que le comité spécial soit composé des représentants de huit États.

M. NAGGIAR (France) s'oppose à l'établissement d'un chiffre défini.

M. STEIN (Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques) se prononce en faveur de ce chiffre. Il appartient aux Gouvernements d'envoyer ou de ne pas envoyer des représentants à ce comité spécial. Il propose la clôture de la discussion.

Décisions: 1) *La Commission décide que le rapport sera modifié de façon à indiquer qu'au cas où l'Assemblée générale approuverait la création du comité, elle devra élire huit États Membres qui y seront représentés.*

2) *Ainsi amendé, l'ensemble du projet de rapport du Rapporteur, relatif à la transmission des renseignements communiqués par les Membres, en application de l'Article 73 e) de la Charte, est adopté.*

334 (IV). Territories to which Chapter XI of the Charter applies

The General Assembly,

Having regard to the obligation to transmit information under Article 73 e of the Charter accepted by the Members which have or assume responsibilities for the administration of territories whose peoples have not yet attained a full measure of self-government,

Having regard to resolution 66 (I)¹⁵ adopted by the General Assembly on 14 December 1946 in which seventy-four territories were enumerated, in accordance with the declarations of the responsible Governments, as falling within the scope of Article 73 e,

Having noted the information supplied by certain Members concerning the constitutional changes which have led to the cessation of the transmission of information under Article 73 e in respect of certain territories which were enumerated in resolution 66 (I),

1. *Considers* that it is within the responsibility of the General Assembly to express its opinion on the principles which have guided or which may in future guide the Members concerned in enumerating the territories for which the obligation exists to transmit information under Article 73 e of the Charter;

¹⁵ See *Resolutions adopted by the General Assembly* during the second part of its first session, page 124.

2. *Invites* any special committee which the General Assembly may appoint on information transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter to examine the factors which should be taken into account in deciding whether any territory is or is not a territory whose people have not yet attained a full measure of self-government.

*263rd plenary meeting,
2 December 1949.*

TWO HUNDRED AND SIXTY-SECOND PLENARY MEETING

Held at Flushing Meadow, New York, on Thursday, 1 December 1949, at 3 p.m.

President: General Carlos P. RÓMULO (Philippines).

also concerned the establishment of a special committee on information transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter.

117. In the course of its 123rd to 127th meetings, the Committee had discussed five other draft resolutions and amendments to them.

118. The draft resolutions were: a proposal by Egypt inviting any special committee appointed by the General Assembly to examine the factors that should be taken into account in deciding to which territories Chapter XI of the Charter applied; a proposal by India, to be substituted for the text proposed by the Special Committee, that a special committee should be established by the General Assembly, under Article 73 e, of the Charter, to study the information received, which resulted in the resolution contained in document A/1159; a joint proposal submitted by Cuba, Ecuador and Guatemala, inviting the Secretary-General to complement the summaries and analyses by periodical publication of data on special aspects of the progress achieved in Non-Self-Governing Territories; a joint proposal by Mexico and the United States of America recommending that the Special Committee should concentrate, without prejudice to the consideration of the other functional fields referred to in Article 73 e of the Charter, on one field each year and in particular, in 1950, on the problem of education; and lastly, a proposal by Australia requesting the Secretary-General to keep the Special Committee informed of the nature of the technical assistance accorded to Non-Self-Governing Territories by specialized international bodies.

119. As a result of the Special Committee's report, the Fourth Committee had dealt with subjects that closely concerned the Non-Self-Governing Territories and their millions of inhabitants and that work had been most valuable.

120. He drew the General Assembly's attention particularly to the draft resolutions on methods for the eradication of illiteracy, international collaboration in regard to economic, social and educational conditions in Non-Self-Governing Territories, technical assistance, and the future of the Special Committee on Information Transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter. The last named draft resolution was a result of keen debate as to whether the Committee's mandate as a subsidiary organ of the General Assembly should be for one year or three years or whether the Committee should be established as a permanent subsidiary organ of the General Assembly.

121. Mr. de Marchena also drew the General Assembly's attention to the draft resolution on territories falling under Chapter XI of the Charter, as it incorporated the conclusions of a debate on the General Assembly's competence to decide whether or not a territory came into the category of territories whose peoples had not yet attained a full measure of self-government.

122. Unlike what had happened in the Fourth Committee during previous sessions, at the current session the draft resolutions had been recommended to the General Assembly by a substantial majority, which led one to hope that there was a

Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories: report of the Fourth Committee (A/1159) and report of the Fifth Committee (A/1166)

115. Mr. DE MARCHENA (Dominican Republic), Rapporteur of the Fourth Committee, recalled that the General Assembly had referred to the Fourth Committee the report of the Secretary-General (summaries and analyses of information transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter) and the report of the Special Committee on Information Transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter (A/923).

116. The Committee had devoted several meetings² to the discussion of the six draft resolutions submitted by the Special Committee which had studied the problem throughout 1949. Those draft resolutions concerned the optional transmission of information in accordance with the first part of the standard form relating to Non-Self-Governing Territories; equality of treatment in education, the language of instruction, the suppression of illiteracy, and international co-operation on social, economic and educational problems in Non-Self-Governing Territories. The draft resolutions

¹ See page 218 of the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice (A/960).

² For the discussion on this subject in the Fourth Committee, see *Official Records of the Fourth Session of the General Assembly*, Fourth Committee, 108th to 129th meetings inclusive and 139th and 142nd meetings.

well-defined and common determination in regard to the application and implementation of the provisions of Article 73 e and Chapter XI of the Charter.

123. The PRESIDENT referred Members of the General Assembly to the report of the Fifth Committee on the financial implications of draft resolution IX recommended by the Fourth Committee (A/1166).

124. Mr. WINIEWICZ (Poland) said that his delegation had already stressed in the Fourth Committee the need for respecting not only the letter but also the spirit of Chapters XI and XII of the Charter in connexion with Non-Self-Governing Territories. The majority of the Fourth Committee had shared the same view and those who were trying to uphold the tradition of colonial exploitation had remained in the minority.

125. One of the draft resolutions submitted to the General Assembly provided for the re-establishment of a special committee on information, while another dealt with the territories referred to in Chapter XI of the Charter. Those texts represented a step forward in the application of the provisions of the Charter concerning dependent territories. As those provisions were inadequate, much far-sighted statesmanship was required to make them work properly. The draft resolutions therefore could not be accepted as a final clarification of the meaning of the Charter. Poland looked forward to a more precise interpretation which would eventually make it impossible for a colonial Power to nullify the efforts of the United Nations by its failure to co-operate. Poland would collaborate with all who wished to fight against colonialism throughout the world.

126. The special committee to be re-established under the draft resolution would examine and analyse all the available information on the economic, social, cultural and humanitarian living conditions of the dependent peoples. It would also co-ordinate the efforts of nations striving to achieve the ideals set forth in the Charter. With the signature of the Charter the fate of dependent peoples had become the sacred obligation of every Member of the United Nations and had ceased to be a matter for internal legislation by the Governments of colonial Powers.

127. Chapter XI had torn down the veil of secrecy shrouding the fate of over 200 million human beings. The United Nations was responsible before world public opinion for the fate of the Non-Self-Governing Territories and though it was still only a moral responsibility, the United Nations should censure all colonial Powers which neglected the interests of the dependent peoples.

128. The colonial Powers did not properly understand the vast changes in their position since San Francisco. The recent discussions in the Fourth Committee had not been reassuring with regard to the attitude of those Powers. They had again been reluctant to submit the necessary information and some of them had even stated their intention of transmitting no further data regarding some of their colonies. In some instances they had sought to escape behind the idea of sovereignty, in particular when the problem of the European colonies in Latin America had been raised.

129. In the British House of Lords, Lord Listowel had gone even further than the United Kingdom representative in the Fourth Committee and had practically stated that his Government felt that it was entitled to interpret the provisions of the Charter as it wished. That was not an astonishing statement from a colonial Power which refused to fly the United Nations flag in Trust Territories.

130. On 29 November the London *Times* had stated in a leading article that, if the United Kingdom conformed to the provisions of the Charter and the decisions of the Assembly, it would be placed, with all its experience in colonial administration, in the intolerable position of having to submit to the direction of a purely political body in discharging its responsibilities to the colonial peoples. That article was another indication of the prevalent unco-operative attitude for which the *Times* suggested certain reasons, for example, the Special Committee might make data, which had been submitted for information only, the basis of resolutions and criticisms affecting many aspects of day to day administration in the colonies.

131. The nations which, in the Assembly, had spoken so frequently of the need to observe the Charter were the first to refuse to comply with its provisions when the fate of dependent peoples was at stake. That clearly showed their lack of sincerity.

132. An analysis of all the available information, insufficient as it was, did not indicate a satisfactory situation in the Non-Self-Governing Territories. The data were not reassuring in spite of the fact that they were merely cold figures and statistics. The dependent peoples were still treated merely as labourers engaged in procuring raw materials for the metropolitan Powers; race discrimination prevailed; educational needs were neglected; native culture was suppressed and self-governing institutions were looked upon as dangerous centres of obstructionism; merciless military occupation methods were applied. He quoted the Malayan Peninsula, to which he had already referred in the Fourth Committee, as an example.

133. The human misery which lay behind the information submitted by the colonial Powers emerged with convincing force from other sources. Bloody disturbances had recently taken place in one of the Non-Self-Governing Territories for which the United Nations was responsible. Nigerian labour and political organizations had sunk their differences in an all-party united front and had formed an emergency committee to protest against the shooting of miners who had been fighting for a basic daily wage of approximately 84 cents. Meetings had been held and resolutions passed to indicate, as *The New York Times* had said, that the people of Nigeria would not tolerate such action. He did not intend to embark upon a detailed discussion of the abuse of native labour by the colonial Powers but he referred to that one instance to show the kind of information which had to be evaluated under Article 73 e and the events which could be prevented if the United Nations focused public attention on some situations in the dependent territories.

134. The interest of the United Nations, however, was not confined to the material well-being

of dependent peoples or to their position as an eventual market for consumer goods in order to help the capitalist countries to escape the curse of economic crises. The United Nations was not interested in discovering whether higher wages for the indigenous inhabitants would produce more tin or rubber for the metropolitan Powers. It was rather concerned with the final goal of self-government and independence for dependent peoples, on the basis of the principles of Article 55 of the Charter.

135. Self-government and national independence might be achieved by the application of Article 77 c of the Charter, which provided that dependent territories might be placed voluntarily under the Trusteeship System, or the progress from dependence to independence might develop in some other way; the aim, however, remained the same. In order to assess the true situation in any dependent territory, therefore, it was essential that the relevant data on the development of institutions of self-government should be supplied.

136. Certain colonial Powers had shown an unco-operative attitude in that connexion also. They had contended, and still maintained, that the Administering Powers alone were entitled to determine whether or not a territory was non-self-governing. They had claimed that they were in no way bound by the Charter to submit any information on the development of institutions of self-government among their dependent peoples. It was hardly likely that Malta had become a self-governing territory simply because the United Kingdom had failed to submit any information about it under Article 73 e of the Charter.

137. General Assembly resolution 66 (I), of 14 December 1946, had listed seventy-four territories as falling within the scope of Article 73 e. The General Assembly was the only body which could release a colonial Power from the obligation to send information on the status of the dependent peoples. In order to take any such decision, the Assembly must examine all the relevant facts.

138. The draft resolution under discussion provided that such work should be assigned to the Special Committee. His delegation would therefore support it whole-heartedly. If that draft resolution were adopted, it was to be hoped that the colonial Powers would supply the relevant information, or, if they failed to do so, the General Assembly would stigmatize that failure as it deserved.

139. Political advancement was only one aspect of the economic and social advancement of the indigenous population in the Non-Self-Governing Territories. It was the road towards independence. Any denial of information on that subject would, at least, imply the denial of their right to self-government and thus be a violation of the Charter. That was the only possible interpretation of the intentions of the authors of the Charter; it could not be perverted by any kind of legal subterfuge.

140. Mr. FARRAG (Egypt) said his delegation would support all the draft resolutions submitted by the Fourth Committee. He would speak only on draft resolution VIII concerning the territories to which Chapter XI of the Charter applied.

141. A number of vital questions affected the work of the United Nations and its relations with Non-Self-Governing Territories which were not

within the terms of reference of the Special Committee. One of those questions concerned the application of resolution 222 (III) regarding the cessation of the transmission of information. That resolution had been adopted by the General Assembly in view of the fact that the number of territories in respect of which information was transmitted to the Secretary-General had decreased since 1946. But the United Nations had had no official means of ascertaining whether that decrease had resulted from the attainment of independence or full self-government by the territories concerned, or from other factors.

142. The Special Committee had discussed communications (A/915, A/915/Add. 1) received by the Secretary-General from Administering Powers concerning the cessation of the transmission of information on certain territories. Comments had been made on those communications in the Special Committee, but it had rightly decided that consideration of the issue was not within its particular competence and should be referred to the Fourth Committee. That had been done and the Fourth Committee had approved resolution VIII which was before the General Assembly.

143. That draft resolution completed the procedure laid down in resolution 222 (III). The two Administering Powers concerned had given different reasons for ceasing to transmit information under Article 73 e, but they had concurred in the view that it was exclusively within the competence of the Administering Powers to determine the territories whose peoples had not yet attained full self-government. If accepted, that view would render resolution 222 (III) ineffective and would, in the long run, make Chapter XI a dead letter, no matter how well intentioned the Administering Powers might be.

144. The above view might have been correct before the coming into force of the Charter of the United Nations. In Chapter XI, however, the Charter had created a new principle under which the relationship between Non-Self-Governing Territories and the Administering Powers could not be exclusively a matter for the domestic constitutional laws of the latter. That was quite clear from the text of Article 73 under which the Administering Powers had accepted certain obligations in respect of the Non-Self-Governing Territories, among them the obligation to transmit regularly to the Secretary-General of the United Nations information relating to economic, social and educational conditions in those Territories.

145. Under the League of Nations, the Administering Powers had been under no obligation to transmit such information; but they were obliged to transmit information regularly to the United Nations. If they failed to do so they would be requested by the Organization to observe the obligation.

146. That new principle had been repeatedly recognized and emphasized by the representatives of the Administering Powers in their statements at the first part of the first session of the General Assembly. At that time the ideals which had inspired the creation of the Charter had still been fresh in representatives' minds, and the statements made then had been in conformity with those ideals. It would be useful to recall the fine words of two eminent statesmen, Mr. Dulles and Mr. Creech Jones, who had spoken as represen-

tatives of the United States and the United Kingdom at the General Assembly in February 1946.¹ Mr. Dulles had said that his delegation made it clear once and for all that the declaration regarding the Non-Self-Governing Territories was not merely the concern of colonial Powers but also the concern of the United Nations. Mr. Creech Jones had said that he would again like to say—because the United Kingdom was already working on the principles defined in the Charter—that the United Kingdom whole-heartedly rejoiced that at last there was an international colonial convention in Chapter XI which all colonial Powers subscribing to the United Nations would be required to observe.

147. That statement contained two points. First, that there was an international colonial convention in Chapter XI, and secondly, that the colonial Powers subscribing to the United Nations would be required to observe that convention.

148. The answer to the question which authority was responsible for requesting the colonial Powers to observe that international colonial convention was clear: it was the United Nations, and more particularly, the General Assembly.

149. In discharging that responsibility, in 1946 the General Assembly had requested Member States to enumerate the Non-Self-Governing Territories under their administration. They had listed seventy-four such territories. There were at the moment only sixty-two Non-Self-Governing Territories upon which information was transmitted; information had ceased to be transmitted on twelve Non-Self-Governing Territories. If that cessation had been due to the attainment of self-government, that would be a matter for general rejoicing. When information ceased to be transmitted on one of the Non-Self-Governing Territories already listed, or when no information at all was submitted on some of those Territories, it was the duty of the General Assembly to request the Administering Power concerned to observe the obligation imposed upon it by Article 73 of the Charter.

150. Mr. Bailey, the representative of Australia, had said in the Fourth Committee in 1946² when the same question had been discussed that if no information was submitted for some territory, any Member of the General Assembly would be entitled to call attention to that fact. That was exactly the meaning of draft resolution VIII which was before the General Assembly. Resolution 222 (III) could be considered a first step in the procedure necessary for the implementation of Chapter XI of the Charter. Draft resolution VIII completed that procedure by requesting the Administering Powers to observe the new international colonial convention created in Chapter XI of the Charter.

151. The substance of that draft resolution had been discussed in Sub-Committee 2 of the Fourth Committee in 1946.³ The question had not been pressed to the point of drafting a resolution, because at that time the need for it had not arisen. Since then important events had taken place. The number of Non-Self-Governing Territories had decreased and a theory contrary to the principles of Chapter XI of the Charter had been advanced: that the determination of Non-Self-Governing

Territories lay exclusively within the competence of the Administering Powers. A remarkable feature of the discussions in Sub-Committee 2 of the Fourth Committee in 1946 had been participation by the representatives of the Administering Powers in a constructive spirit of international co-operation. Mr. Bailey, whom he had quoted, had represented Australia, which was an Administering Power.

152. The records showed that the representatives of the Administering Powers had not considered that examination of the problem had involved any encroachment upon the sovereign rights of the Non-Self-Governing Territories under their administration. They had not said one word which might be construed as questioning the competence of the General Assembly and its Committees to deal with the problem. He noted with regret that at the moment a few Administering Powers refused to recognize that the General Assembly was entitled to request Administering Powers to continue to transmit information until the Non-Self-Governing Territory concerned ceased to be non-self-governing.

153. During the discussions in the Fourth Committee on the draft resolution, some representatives of the Administering Powers had said that, if the draft resolution were intended to define the term "Non-Self-Governing Territory", they would not oppose it; but if it were meant to give the General Assembly the right to decide whether a particular territory was or was not non-self-governing, they would oppose it.

154. That stand was clearly self-contradictory. If they accepted the definition, they should accept its logical consequence: namely, that if a particular territory fell within that definition, it was a Non-Self-Governing Territory and therefore the Administering Power responsible for it should not fail to supply the necessary information.

155. It had been argued in the Fourth Committee that the Administering Powers were entitled to cease transmitting information on the ground that Article 73 e contained a reservation to the effect that the transmission of information was subject to such limitation as security and constitutional considerations might require.

156. It had been said in that connexion that the reasons for the inclusion of that phrase had been made abundantly clear at the San Francisco Conference, which had accepted them.

157. On consulting the records of the San Francisco Conference in that respect, he had failed to find any reference to the reasons which had been said to have been made abundantly clear.

158. As all Members knew, Chapter XI had been drafted by Committee 4 of Commission II of the United Nations Conference on International Organization. The records of that Committee, which appeared on pages 561 to 576 of volume X of the United Nations Conference on International Organization, did not state the reasons for the inclusion of that phrase.

159. The report on that Committee had been submitted to Commission II of the United Nations Conference on International Organiza-

¹ See *Official Records of the first part of the first session of the General Assembly*, 27th plenary meeting.

² For the discussion on this subject in Sub-Committee 2 of the Fourth Committee, see *Official Records of the second part of the first session of the General Assembly*, Fourth Committee, annex 21, pages 278 and following.

tion. The record of Commission II regarding Chapter XI which appeared on pages 125 to 154 of Volume VIII also failed to mention the famous reasons. It was, therefore, for the General Assembly to look into the meaning of that phrase.

160. An analysis of the phrase would show that it contained two points: first, there could be limitation of the transmission of information; secondly, the limitation should be imposed because of security and constitutional considerations.

161. As regards the first point, the limitation of the transmission of information did not in any way mean the complete cessation of information. Any limitation of information should be the exception to the rule, which was the transmission of information, and it should be very sparingly applied. If the framers of the Charter had visualized an eventual complete cessation of information by the Administering Powers, they would have indicated such an intention in quite different terms.

162. As regards the second point, the General Assembly had the right to examine the constitutional or security considerations in order to determine whether or not they were well founded. The General Assembly had, in fact, already given its ruling on that point by adopting resolution 222 (III), in which it requested the Administering Powers to inform it of any change in the constitutional position or status of any Non-Self-Governing Territory as the result of which the transmission of information had ceased.

163. It went without saying that the General Assembly did not mean that the information on the changes in the constitutional position or status of the territories concerned would be sent to the archives of the Secretariat where it would rest undisturbed. That information must be examined and commented upon, if necessary.

164. He therefore appealed to the Administering Powers to adopt a liberal attitude in the interpretation of Chapter XI, of which Mr. Stassen had stated in the Committee which had drafted the Charter that it was a living document and must evolve, must change, and must grow into something greater and better.

165. The same idea had been very well expressed in 1946 by the representative of Norway, who had said that he felt that Chapter XI might be developed into a Magna Carta of liberty which would give new faith and hope to millions of people who had made great sacrifices during the war but who were not represented among the United Nations.

166. He hoped that the draft resolution would receive the unanimous support of the General Assembly. He requested that the vote should be taken by roll-call.

167. Mr. DE BRUYNE (Belgium) said that, in order to define his delegation's attitude to draft resolution VI, which the Fourth Committee, quoting Article 73 e of the Charter, had submitted to the Assembly for the purpose of re-establishing the Special Committee, he was obliged to re-state certain legal considerations he had already outlined in the Fourth Committee.

168. Under Article 73 e, the States responsible for the administration of the Non-Self-Governing Territories referred to in Chapter XI of the

Charter had undertaken to transmit to the Secretary-General information relating to conditions in those Territories. Sub-paragraph e carefully defined the nature of that information and the subjects with which it had to deal. It referred only to statistical and other information of a technical nature relating to economic, social and educational conditions. That was the information which States had undertaken to transmit; their commitment did not, therefore, extend to information of a different nature or information relating to other fields, such as the political field. Furthermore, they had agreed to transmit that information only subject to such limitation as security and constitutional considerations might require.

169. Consequently the commitment entered into under Article 73 e was limited in scope. More especially, sub-paragraph e granted no power of control, or even verification, to the United Nations or its organs. It merely recognized that the Secretary-General had the power to receive the information transmitted to him, a power which included that of classifying and analysing that information and, in short, of facilitating access thereto by Members of the United Nations.

170. In particular, the States concerned had not agreed to report to the United Nations, to come and justify their actions before it or to render an account of their actions to it. Sub-paragraph e stipulated moreover in express terms that the information was transmitted "for information purposes".

171. That was, moreover, quite understandable. The territories in question formed an integral part of the national soil of the contracting States. In the case of Belgium, for instance, the Congo was under the exclusive sovereignty of the Belgian State. States had subscribed of their own free will to Chapter XI which had been described as a "Declaration" in order to indicate clearly its origin and its very special character. That accounted for the contrast between Chapter XI and Chapters XII and XIII, which concerned territories with an entirely different status.

172. While the Charter regulated the status of the Trust Territories and provided for United Nations participation in their organization and in the supervision of their administration, it contained no such provisions concerning the territories referred to in Chapter XI.

173. It was true that some representatives had invoked Article 10, which provided that the General Assembly could discuss any questions within the scope of the Charter and could make recommendations concerning such questions to the Member States. The purpose of that Article was not, however, to determine the extent of the obligations of those States. The freedom allowed to States under Article 73 e could not be restricted by the Assembly's recommendations. Those recommendations could not impose on the States measures of control or other obligations which they had not accepted. Provided therefore that a State observed the explicit stipulations of Chapter XI, and in particular those of Article 73 e, it must be regarded as keeping its promises, whether or not it complied with the conditions which the Assembly might recommend. The recommendations as such had no binding force. Moreover, the Assembly had no power of decision in the matter. In particular it had no power to make any

decision with compulsory effect on the manner in which States must proceed in order to act correctly in accordance with Chapter XI, or on the question whether they had or had not acted correctly.

174. Furthermore, the Assembly was obliged to remain within the scope of the Charter. It was, however, exceeding its constitutional powers if it claimed to be able to call upon States to fulfil obligations which were not covered by the text of the Charter. It was also exceeding its powers when it set up subsidiary organs vested with powers which presupposed the fulfilment of such obligations on the part of the States.

175. It was, however, Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter which especially restricted the powers of the Assembly.

176. That paragraph stated that no provision of the Charter authorized the United Nations to intervene in "matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any State" nor required Members to submit such matters to settlement under the Charter.

177. That principle was an interpretation rule which took precedence over all the provisions of the Charter, apart from those related to the application of the measures of coercion provided for in Chapter VII. That rule was, moreover, binding on all the organs of the United Nations, whether principal, secondary or subsidiary, for obviously none of them could have more power than the Organization itself.

178. It was therefore legally impossible to interpret Article 73 e or any other provision of Chapter XI — as permitting intervention in matters which were essentially within a State's domestic jurisdiction. The same limitation affected the interpretation of Article 10.

179. Once the sphere reserved by Article 2, paragraph 7, was in question, the Assembly was powerless to intervene. Consequently, its action, in that case, must be particularly circumspect; it could never go as far as "intervention". Although the Assembly could hold a discussion in which any Member would be entitled to express his opinion, it could not give directives to States, in any form whatsoever.

180. The Charter did not define the meaning to be attached to "matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any State". Further, the San Francisco Conference had rejected by a large majority a Belgian amendment which would have conferred on the organs of the United Nations the power to decide without appeal whether a matter was or was not essentially within a State's domestic jurisdiction.

181. He had recapitulated the rules applicable in the matter; draft resolution VI, submitted by the Fourth Committee, did not, however, respect those rules. That draft resolution was intended to re-establish for a long period a body, the Special Committee, the previous activities of which revealed a growing tendency to assume functions with regard to the territories envisaged in Chapter XI similar to those exercised by the Trusteeship Council with regard to the Trust Territories. States were to appear before it to give

an account of the way in which they exercised their sovereignty, even in matters which were essentially within their domestic jurisdiction. Moreover, the trend of the Special Committee's activities merely reflected the tendency shown by the Assembly itself. Thus, when the first Special Committee, then modestly entitled the *ad hoc* Committee, had been established in 1946,¹ the Assembly had limited its powers of recommendation to procedural measures only. The question at issue was what procedure should be followed in transmitting the information under Article 73 e and ensuring the useful co-operation of the specialized agencies. Already in 1947 the General Assembly had issued instructions going further than those of 1946.² It had recommended a standard form to serve Member States as a guide in the preparation of information. That standard form had, moreover, exceeded the obligations assumed by those States as it had included *inter alia*, a chapter providing for the transmission of data of a definitely political character, a matter which was not covered by Article 73. At the same time the General Assembly had given additional competence to the Special Committee which it had set up, that of making general technical suggestions. Further, it had not, in doing so, excluded questions which were essentially within the jurisdiction of Member States. The General Assembly had confirmed those powers in 1948.³

182. The draft resolution proposed for adoption went even further. Indeed, it contained a general clause under which the Special Committee was henceforward to judge, in the spirit of Article 55 of the Charter, whether or not the action taken by States in the economic, social and educational fields was in conformity with the Assembly's resolutions. It should be added that the Special Committee, which had never been continued for more than one year, was being continued for three years and was thus on the way to becoming a permanent institution.

183. That progressive interference and intervention was apparently not to stop there. The resolution provided in effect that, in 1952, the General Assembly should re-examine the Committee's mandate. That precise stipulation was deliberate. It had given rise to a debate in the Fourth Committee, which had been fully aware of its implications.

184. Belgium was firmly resolved to continue to observe faithfully the provisions of Chapter XI, which it had freely accepted as a sacred trust. It had no intention, however, of going further or of submitting to measures taken or situations created in disregard of the limits of its obligations under the Charter. In particular, the Territory of the Congo was under Belgian sovereignty. Belgium would never consent to its being treated as a Trust Territory. The draft resolution presented by the Fourth Committee represented a new phase of an evolution that was contrary to the Charter.

185. The Belgian delegation would therefore be obliged to vote against the draft resolution and, should the draft resolution be adopted, it would be bound to reserve the full freedom of its Gov-

¹ See *Official Records of the second session of the General Assembly, Resolutions*, Nos. 142 and 146.

² See *Official Records of the third session of the General Assembly, Resolutions*, Nos. 218 and 219.

³ See *Resolutions adopted by the General Assembly during the second part of its first session*, No. 66.

ernment in regard to the attitude to be taken concerning that measure.

186. The PRESIDENT announced that the list of speakers would be closed at the end of the meeting.

187. Mr. McNEIL (United Kingdom) felt it necessary to explain the attitude of his Government, not only to the particular resolutions before the General Assembly, but also to a tendency which had appeared during the previous years and which had culminated in the discussions in the Fourth Committee in 1949.

188. He was referring to the tendency to extend the scope of Chapter XI, in other words, to read into the Charter obligations and functions which were not in it.

189. It had been largely due to the initiative of his Government that the Declaration on Non-Self-Governing Territories in Chapter XI had come to be written into the Charter. That Declaration affirmed principles which had inspired the colonial policy of the United Kingdom long before the United Nations had come into existence and which the United Kingdom would have continued to apply even if there had been no Charter.

190. The only element in the Declaration which entailed any new practices was the acceptance of a specific and limited obligation to transmit to the Secretary-General certain clearly defined classes of technical information. Although that obligation had not been devised by the United Kingdom his delegation had accepted it because it accorded with the practice of the United Kingdom to make known as widely as possible the work which it was doing in the overseas territories for which it was responsible. Moreover, it seemed to the United Kingdom, as a sponsoring Power of the United Nations, desirable and appropriate that the economic and social data available to the Organization should be as complete and as nearly universal as possible, particularly in view of the high hopes placed by all in the work of the specialized agencies.

191. In good faith, therefore, his delegation had supplied the information required under the Charter, believing that it would be used, as the Charter specified, for information purposes. He doubted whether the good faith in supplying the information had been met by equally good faith on the part of the other signatories of the Charter.

192. When studying the ten resolutions passed by the Committee, it was difficult to recognize in them Article 73 e as it stood in the Charter. He found instead a confirmation of the tendency to which he had just referred, and to which the United Kingdom representatives had drawn attention time and time again in the Special Committee and in the Fourth Committee, namely, the tendency to depart further and further and quite irresponsibly from Chapter XI and to pass General Assembly resolutions on an assumption which was expressly omitted from the Charter.

193. He was referring to the completely invalid assumption that, in subscribing to the Declaration in Chapter XI, Member States responsible for the administration of Non-Self-Governing Territories had accepted the principle of international supervision over the administration of those Territories. That such a departure from the Charter

had been taking place had been admitted by some representatives. They had nevertheless sought to explain or excuse that departure by appeals to the spirit of the Charter, or to the possibility of the growth of conventional interpretation.

194. There had been attempts in other fields to modify the Charter by what Mr. Vyshinsky had once most appropriately called "back-door methods". Attempts to modify the Charter by those "back-door methods" had always been opposed by the United Kingdom delegation, but no delegation had been more determined, and perhaps more correctly determined, in its opposition to that "infiltration" of the Charter than the delegation of the Soviet Union. The most obvious example was the recent one connected with a modification of the practice relating to the admission of new members.

195. The constant insistence of Mr. Vyshinsky, and before him of Mr. Molotov, on the letter of the Charter as applied to the matter to which he had just referred, was an attitude with which Mr. McNeil was completely in accord but it stood out in very sharp contrast to the attitude adopted by representatives of the Soviet Union in the Fourth Committee, who had attempted time and time again, together with representatives of other Member States, by appeals to the spirit of the Charter, to read into Chapter XI obligations and principles which could not be found there. There was no doubt much to be said for an appeal to the spirit of an international convention on points where the terms were not clear, but the majority of those who had appealed to the spirit of the Charter in relation to the subject under discussion were invoking in support of their arguments particular doctrines which had been deliberately excluded from the Charter by majority votes taken in proper and constitutional form at San Francisco.

196. By no stretch of the imagination could the spirit of the Charter be interpreted to cover points which particular delegations would have liked to see inserted in the Charter, but for which, rightly or wrongly, fortunately or unfortunately, they had completely failed to obtain the requisite vote. The procedure for revising the Charter was well known, and his Government subscribed to the Charter as it stood. It had complied and would continue to comply to the best of its ability with its requirements in respect of the Non-Self-Governing Territories for which it was responsible.

197. There were, however, many features in the ten draft resolutions which not only went far beyond any requirement of the Charter but also ran counter to the requirements of the current situation in many of the Non-Self-Governing Territories for which his Government was responsible. There appeared to be a widespread but totally fallacious belief in the United Nations that, unless a Territory was fully self-governing or completely independent its peoples had no share in their government and administration at all and that their affairs were managed on an entirely authoritarian basis by direct control from the metropolitan Power.

198. The representatives of the United Kingdom had repeatedly tried to remove that misapprehension, but apparently they had been unsuccessful; he sometimes thought that the people to whom

the information was directed did not want to listen to the clarification.

199. The responsibility for the administration of the Non-Self-Governing Territories with which the United Kingdom was concerned was devolving, to a rapidly increasing extent, on the peoples of the Territories themselves. The most striking, and quite recent, example was the report by the Committee on Constitutional Reform in the Gold Coast, under the chairmanship of Mr. Justice Coussey, a distinguished African Judge of the Supreme Court of the Gold Coast. That Committee, which had a membership of thirty-eight, was composed exclusively of Africans. No one who read the report could fail to be impressed by that evidence of the political maturity of those people in the Gold Coast. His Government had accepted the report, subject to certain comments, as providing a workable plan within the framework of which constitutional developments could proceed.

200. Thus, through their own rapidly developing institutions, the colonial peoples to whom he had been referring were continuously finding free expression of their will in relation to the matters which most closely affected them. Those colonies were not independent nations, a subject of delight to lawyers who sometimes abounded in the Fourth Committee, but he assured the Assembly that there was a rapidly growing sense of local pride in, and loyalty to, indigenous institutions and traditions. In the current phase of their political growth, those people themselves were certainly not prepared to tolerate a greater degree of international intervention in their domestic affairs than other countries, which were independent, would be willing to accept. He thought that that had been made strikingly and persuasively clear by his colleague; Mr. Grantley Adams of the Barbados, speaking for the United Kingdom at the previous sessions of the General Assembly. Those who advocated that the Non-Self-Governing Territories should be submitted to that discriminatory treatment were themselves guilty of engendering that very feeling of inferiority which it should be the object of any enlightened colonial policy to remove.

201. Few countries were immune from criticism, and he did not pretend that the United Kingdom was. Many Member States were frequently the object in debates of severe strictures by others in that respect. The Administering Powers, however, were in a rather different category from other sovereign States because of their special responsibilities. That perhaps laid them more open to criticism than others. Certainly, they were criticized in very full measure in the Fourth Committee which had become a byword for irresponsible criticism. In that Committee, his delegation felt that the representatives of some of the States which were not confronted with the difficulties and responsibilities of the Administering Powers allowed themselves, and were permitted at times, to exceed the limits of fair and objective criticism. Such statements, to which his colleagues felt bound to take exception, not infrequently came from the representatives of States which were by no means beyond criticism in the conduct of their own affairs, particularly in cases where they, too, bore responsibility for the progressive development of indigenous peoples, who, in so

far as they had not yet achieved maturity, were still undeveloped.

202. Those statements appeared all too often to be inspired by emotion, sometimes by envy, rather than by the dispassionate objectivity which the Administering Powers considered they had a right to expect. As one of the Administering Powers, his country doubted whether those Powers were receiving fair treatment in many matters of concern not merely to them, but also to the peoples whom they administered, and indeed, as was becoming progressively clearer, of great concern to all who were jealous of the reputation and the powers of the United Nations itself. Certainly, much that was said from time to time was not calculated to make it easier for the Administering Powers to discharge their obligations to the people, to themselves or to the United Nations.

203. The United Kingdom, whose experience and record as an architect of institutions of self-government was unrivalled, was not prepared to put back the clock by committing the peoples of Non-Self-Governing Territories to policies in the formulation of which they had had no say and which the United Kingdom frequently found misguided and sometimes incompetent.

204. Four of the ten draft resolutions, resolutions VI, VII, VIII and X, dealt with the future of the Special Committee and the additional responsibilities which it was proposed to assign to it. In agreeing in 1946, 1947 and again in 1948 to the establishment of that Committee for a further year only, his Government had made it clear that, in its view, the only functions which the Committee could usefully perform, and indeed the only functions which it could perform without conflicting with Chapter XI of the Charter, were procedural functions. His Government had felt that the function of that Committee was and should be to perfect the technique of transmission so as to ensure that the "statistical and other information of a technical nature relating to economic, social and educational conditions" in the Non-Self-Governing Territories was canalized to the specialized agencies, where it would be considered by experts in a non-political atmosphere who would also have before them information on similar problems existing in Member States. There was no justification for spotlighting or highlighting conditions in the Non-Self-Governing Territories. The problems which existed there could not be considered in isolation; they formed a part of world problems which were to be found in under-developed areas irrespective of how their political status happened to be defined by jurists. The specialized agencies should study those problems on a world, or perhaps on a regional basis, and should submit the results of their findings to the General Assembly in their annual reports. For those reasons, he could not agree that it was either necessary or appropriate to set up a special committee for a three-year period with functions which far exceeded those which had been given even to the 1949 Committee. His delegation would therefore vote against draft resolutions VI, VII and VIII, and would abstain from voting on draft resolution X.

205. His delegation must also vote against draft resolutions II and III because, quite apart from certain technical objections with which members of the Fourth Committee were familiar, those

two draft resolutions invited the Administering Authorities to take certain action in respect of their Non-Self-Governing Territories and thus implied the existence of international accountability in respect of the administration of Non-Self-Governing Territories, for which there was no provision in Chapter XI or any other chapter of the Charter. For those reasons, even though his Government was in fact taking action in accordance with those resolutions, his delegation would nevertheless vote against the two draft resolutions.

206. Draft resolutions IV, V and IX dealt primarily with the role to be played by the specialized agencies and the Secretary-General in dealing with the matters covered by Article 73 e of the Charter. He regarded those resolutions as unnecessary in the sense that, in many cases, the action called for was already being taken and that, where it was not, it would merely involve a duplication of work and proliferation of paper and functions. His delegation's detailed comments on those three resolutions had been made in the Fourth Committee and he did not propose to repeat them, but his delegation, while abstaining in the vote on draft resolution IV, would have to vote against draft resolutions V and IX.

207. In relation to draft resolution I, which was a request to the Administering Authorities to transmit certain additional information in respect

of the Non-Self-Governing Territories for which they were responsible, information which they were not required to transmit under the provisions of Article 73 e of the Charter, his Government had made itself so clear on the point on so many occasions that it was hardly necessary for him to re-state the position. But, since his Government was not required to transmit that information, and did not propose to do so, his delegation must vote against the draft resolution, as it had done in the case of similar resolutions in the past.

208. In short, for the reasons stated in the plenary meeting and in the Fourth Committee his delegation must vote against all the draft resolutions with the exception of draft resolutions IV and X in respect of which it would abstain from voting. In voting thus, his delegation must fully reserve the position of His Majesty's Government in respect of any matters arising out of those resolutions if they were adopted by the Assembly.

209. He found no pleasure in having to make a statement of that kind. He had to make it because his delegation must be as jealous for the character and reputation of the United Nations as for its own responsibilities, and he was very happy to be joined in that attitude by several distinguished, responsible and modest delegations.

The meeting rose at 6.30 p.m.

TWO HUNDRED AND SIXTY-THIRD PLENARY MEETING

Held at Flushing Meadow, New York, on Friday, 2 December 1949, at 10.45 a.m.

President: General Carlos P. RÓMULO (Philippines).

Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories: report of the Fourth Committee (A/1159) and report of the Fifth Committee (A/1166) (concluded)

1. Mr. GARREAU (France) recalled that in the Fourth Committee¹ the French delegation had abstained from voting on four of the proposed resolutions and had voted against the other six. It had, moreover, entered the most express reservations as to the possible consequences of the adoption of the six draft resolutions concerned. He would like explicitly to repeat those reservations in the General Assembly.

2. He would not resume the discussion that had taken place in the Fourth Committee. All were aware of the French delegation's fundamental objection to that part of the Committee's work. What was proposed was the institution for three years of the Special Committee and the investiture of that Committee with excessive—the French delegation had even said, and he repeated, unconstitutional—powers.

3. The French delegation affirmed, and based its affirmation on the text of the Charter itself and the San Francisco discussions, that an in-

novation such as a special committee with a tendency to become a permanent body and to be invested with real power of control over territories subject to French sovereignty was in conflict with the intention of the signatories of the Charter, and hence such a committee could only be established by amending the Charter.

4. The Charter was a contract. By definition, that contract could not express anything other than the common will of all the contracting parties. It could hardly be claimed that Chapter XI expressed the common will of the signatories of the Charter—he stressed the word “common”—to place the Non-Self-Governing Territories under international control.

5. Such an assertion was clearly untenable and, therefore, in whatever way it was sought to twist the texts, France adhered to the terms of the contract and denied the Assembly the right to modify it by a simple resolution adopted by a majority vote. His country would also, however, like to emphasize the respect with which it was observing the obligations that were really contained in Chapter XI and the fact that it had never ceased to observe them.

6. Those obligations were of two kinds. One of them was a formal obligation and was binding on France in relation to the United Nations; the other was one of substance and was binding on France in relation to the populations of the Non-Self-Governing Territories.

¹ For the discussion on this subject in the Fourth Committee, see *Official Records of the fourth session of the General Assembly*, Fourth Committee, 108th to 110th, 113th to 127th and 142nd meetings.

7. In relation to the United Nations, France was bound to supply non-political information on those Territories. It had done so conscientiously and punctually, and its spirit of co-operation with the United Nations had never failed, either in that or in any other field, for three years.

8. In relation to the populations, the obligation, which the Charter justly described as sacred, was binding on the whole French nation which must lead those populations towards progress, and particularly towards political progress. Although it was not answerable to the Assembly on that point, the French delegation was surely entitled to say that French policy was inspired by the principles embodied in Chapter XI of the Charter, and had even perhaps advanced beyond them.

9. The question was thus clear: France had respected, did respect and would always respect the Charter, a fact which signified both a constant resolve for advancement in the French Union and co-operation with the international Organization, under the San Francisco contract. If those terms were being exceeded, and France considered that they were, France would show the same respect towards the United Nations but would not consider itself bound to follow the Organization into a field that was beyond its competence.

10. Those were the reasons that prompted the French delegation to reiterate its most express reservations on all the draft resolutions (A/1159) to be voted on that tended to bring the territories of the French Union under international supervision.

11. Mr. Garreau would refer specifically only to draft resolution VIII, which invited the Special Committee to examine the factors which should be taken into account in deciding whether any territory was or was not self-governing.

12. The French delegation strongly opposed that resolution, not only because it referred to a special committee which in the French view was unconstitutional, but also because the additional powers with which the said committee would be invested were obviously political. The violation of Article 73 of the Charter was in that instance so flagrant that it could hardly be considered as involuntary. By its use of economic, social and cultural information, the proposed committee would be a veritable control committee of domestic laws and constitutions. It would be able to say whether or not it considered suitable any given provision of the French Constitution concerning States or territories of the French Union.

13. It was obviously no longer the Charter that was involved; it was a new right, foreign to and in conflict with the Charter. The French delegation could not recognize that right, not only because it believed in respect for international contracts, but also because in the Assembly it spoke for a 100 million citizens of the French Union whose political institutions, whether general or individual, were their exclusive preserve and fell within their sovereign competence.

14. Mr. Shiva Rao (India) had intended to confine himself to a very brief statement in connexion with some of the ten draft resolutions before the General Assembly. The exigencies of the debate, however, had placed him immediately after some spokesmen of the Administering Powers whose statements had been sharply, and

even extravagantly critical, not only of the resolutions but of the Fourth Committee itself. As spokesman of a delegation which had supported all the resolutions in the Fourth Committee and proposed to do so in the General Assembly, he therefore felt bound to note some of the criticisms which had been voiced.

15. As far as the draft resolutions themselves were concerned, they seemed to have one main purpose. They sought to improve the quality and the scope of the information transmitted by the Administering Powers under Article 73 e of the Charter. They would ensure that the collaboration of the specialized agencies, referred to in paragraph d of that Article, was rendered practical, effective and properly co-ordinated. They emphasized the urgent need for speeding up educational progress in Non-Self-Governing Territories, without any slackening of effort in the fields of social and economic activity. Finally, they attempted to establish machinery under the United Nations for making the whole of Article 73 a provision of increasing reality and significance for the millions of people who lived in the Non-Self-Governing Territories.

16. Article 73 laid down certain broad principles which had definitely been accepted by the Administering Powers. True, they were in the form of a declaration, but that declaration was an integral part of the Charter to which all Members of the United Nations were committed. Those principles were, first, the paramount importance of the interests of the inhabitants of the Non-Self-Governing Territories and the promotion of their well-being to the utmost; secondly, a guarantee of their political, economic, social and educational advancement, their just treatment and their protection against abuse; thirdly, the development of self-government and of free political institutions; and fourthly, the promotion of constructive measures of development, of research and of co-operation with the specialized agencies for the practical achievement of the social, economic and scientific purposes set forth in Article 73.

17. Those principles were comprehensive in scope. There was one other point: information was to be transmitted regularly by the Administering Powers in respect of all territories for which they were responsible, the only exception being territories to which Chapters XII and XIII, relating to Trusteeship, applied. There might be limitation of the information transmitted based on security and constitutional considerations, but even that was only limitation and not complete cessation of information.

18. Draft resolution VIII dealt with the exclusion of a Non-Self-Governing Territory originally listed as such by an Administering Power from the application of Article 73 and had proved to be a controversial one, especially the paragraph which claimed that it was within the responsibility of the General Assembly to express an opinion on the principles which had guided or might in future guide Administering Powers in regard to territories on which information should be transmitted. The number of Non-Self-Governing Territories had diminished in three years from seventy-four to sixty-two, on the ground that the other twelve had risen out of their non-self-governing status within the meaning of Article 73. That, so far as the General Assembly was con-

cerned, was not a negligible matter. As the Indian delegation had observed in the Fourth Committee, the problem was not a simple one capable of an easy solution. The draft resolution invited the Special Committee, on the establishment of which there was a separate resolution, to examine the factors which should be taken into account in reaching such a decision. It was to be a mere examination of the factors and no more, and it therefore seemed to the Indian delegation that a study of that kind was both legitimate and well for the undertaking, in view of the far-reaching consequences of Administering Powers taking unilateral decisions. For that reason, the Indian delegation would support draft resolution VIII.

19. A number of the draft resolutions dealt with various aspects of education and of the development of training facilities in Non-Self-Governing Territories in the economic and social fields. There was the eradication of illiteracy and the promotion of indigenous languages; special emphasis had also been laid on the study of educational problems in Non-Self-Governing Territories. The Indian delegation heartily agreed that it was of vital importance that the educational progress of the indigenous peoples of Non-Self-Governing Territories should be stimulated by every possible means, and therefore supported all the resolutions. He would reiterate a note of caution which the Indian delegation had struck in the Fourth Committee: UNESCO should not be asked to undertake too ambitious a programme in the Non-Self-Governing Territories, which it might not be able effectively to carry out at once. Secondly, as indicated in draft resolution V on international collaboration in the economic, social and educational spheres, there were a number of problems in fields other than education—soil erosion, nutrition, migrant labour in Africa, juvenile delinquency, development of social services, housing in the tropics, training of public health personnel and others—which were equally important and urgent. The view had been taken in the Fourth Committee by some delegations that special emphasis on one major problem every year, with education as the first question, would give a more practical turn to the labours of the Special Committee. The Indian delegation concurred in that view, at least as an experiment worth attempting.

20. The Indian delegation could not accept the view which had been put forward that a detailed study and investigation by the specialized agencies of the various problems mentioned would in any way encroach upon the sovereign rights of the Administering Powers. The draft resolution did not contemplate, as had been said, an independent study and investigation of that type by the specialized agencies in the Non-Self-Governing Territories. It sought to do nothing of the kind, and it was surprising that that criticism should be levelled against the resolution.

21. As already stated, paragraph d of Article 73 referred to two types of international collaboration for the practical achievement of the economic, social and scientific purposes set forth in the Article. The first was co-operation among the Administering Powers themselves, and the second was co-operation, in the words of the Charter, "when and where appropriate, with specialized international bodies". In other words, the initiative for seeking the assistance and co-operation of

the specialized agencies rested at all stages with the Administering Powers themselves. What the General Assembly was trying to do was to make a number of suggestions as to how that second type of collaboration might become increasingly fruitful and positive. Certain problems were mentioned in the draft resolution, though they might not have the same significance or urgency in all Non-Self-Governing Territories. There was no interference there with the sovereign rights of the Administering Powers. The General Assembly, by virtue of its position as the supreme organ of the United Nations, had sought, every year, fresh means of making Article 73 a reality to the people of the Non-Self-Governing Territories. Now for the first time the General Assembly had drawn attention to Article 55 on international economic and social co-operation, with its emphasis on universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction.

22. As the Indian delegation had pointed out both in the Special Committee and in the Fourth Committee, it had become a duty, in the face of the increasing evidence of the building up by the Administering Powers of machinery of their own for mutual co-operation outside the United Nations, to stress the need for that other type of international collaboration through the specialized agencies. The General Assembly had the right to say that the principles of Article 73 must govern all international collaboration in the Non-Self-Governing Territories.

23. Finally, he referred to the establishment of the Special Committee. Some delegations, including the Indian delegation, had taken the view in the Special Committee that it should be made a permanent body, in fact, a subsidiary organ of the United Nations. In a spirit of compromise, however, they had yielded in the Fourth Committee and had agreed to accept the United States proposal for a three-year term, leaving it to the General Assembly of 1952 to decide whether the Special Committee should continue to exist, and also to decide upon its composition and terms of reference. The Indian delegation saw nothing in that proposal which could fairly be interpreted as an underhand attempt to amend the Charter. The main resolutions on the subject adopted by the General Assembly in previous years had, step by step, improved the technique of dealing with and utilizing the information transmitted by the Administering Powers. Secondly, a standard form had been evolved which was being steadily elaborated in the light of experience. A Special Committee had been appointed, which had demonstrated its practical usefulness during the past two years. For that reason, the Fourth Committee was proposing a number of draft resolutions of the utmost importance to the peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories. As the standard form was revised and the specialized agencies submitted their annual reports on the results achieved, or on the experiments attempted in different Non-Self-Governing territories, there would be an increase in the volume of work for the Special Committee. By 1952 the General Assembly would be in a position to decide whether to continue the Committee and, if so, under what conditions.

24. In that, the Indian delegation saw no overt or covert assault on the Charter. It was a source

of satisfaction and encouragement to those who had been in the Fourth Committee that at least two Administering Powers, the United States and Denmark, did not seem to share the fears and misgivings and had adopted a positive attitude towards many of the resolutions.

25. He felt that greater vitality should be infused into the provisions of the Charter so that the General Assembly could better fulfil its tasks, and that there should be constant endeavour to liberalize the working of the Charter in order that millions of people outside the direct supervision of the United Nations might achieve full self-government in the shortest possible period and qualify for direct membership. Those were the legitimate functions of the General Assembly, which it could not afford to surrender.

26. To go back upon so much that had been accomplished in and through the General Assembly, as some of the Administering Powers seemed to suggest should be done, would have the most serious repercussions in the Non-Self-Governing Territories. To their peoples, Chapter XI, interpreted as it had been by the General Assembly in the terms of the resolutions adopted at past sessions, was a symbol of hope for the future. The General Assembly must continue along those lines with the support of the Administering Powers if possible, if it was to enjoy the confidence of those "who are not directly represented here", to quote the words of the first resolution¹ on that vital subject which had been adopted at the first session of the General Assembly.

27. Mr. NORIEGA (Mexico) said the proceedings of the Fourth Committee during the fourth session had been marked by an accentuation of the divergence of views between certain Powers which administered Non-Self-Governing Territories and the majority of the Committee. The Administering Powers had defended the principle of sovereignty and had regarded any criticism or observation as undue intervention.

28. The majority of the Committee felt that the advancement of peoples that had not yet attained self-government should be a matter for international concern and responsibility.

29. It should, however, be acknowledged, that the Administering Powers concerned had never stated that they were opposed to that principle but had maintained that they alone were responsible for applying it. They stigmatized, as sentimental or ignorant, those who tried to point anything out to them in good faith, but it was they who erred by the emotional manner in which they affirmed their authority and by their ignorance of the motives of the majority.

30. For about one hundred years the international community had exercised authority in colonial territories, ever since the Ottoman Empire had begun to crumble, and the partition of Africa had been the subject of a series of international agreements culminating in the Congo Basin Treaty in 1912. It would be remembered, also, that under the Berlin Act in 1885 the colonial Powers had recognized that it was their sacred duty to observe certain humanitarian principles. Those principles had been reiterated in the Treaty of Saint-Germain-en-Laye in 1919.

31. He would not refer to contemporary history, as all knew that the Mandate System, like the Trusteeship System, was based on collective action and international responsibility.

32. But the issue was not Trusteeship, but matters relating to Chapter XI of the Charter. Less than twenty-four hours previously the Assembly had approved a document submitted by the United States and United Kingdom delegations entitled "Essentials of Peace"². Time was too short to allow him to refer to the four points of that document which might apply to colonial policy, nor could he speak of the relation between that policy and the United Nations; presumably representatives had studied the document in question.

33. The various statements made during the debate on that problem had shown clearly that a delicate situation had arisen in connexion with the Trusteeship System and the application of the provisions of Chapter XI of the Charter.

34. The Mexican delegation had taken part in the discussions in the Fourth Committee in the best of good faith, and did not think that the resolutions adopted by that Committee violated the Charter, interfered in the domestic jurisdiction or detracted from the sovereignty of the Administering Powers.

35. Although there might be doubts as to the spirit of the Charter, the express terms of Chapter XI constituted a declaration pledging the Administering Powers to definite obligations *vis-à-vis* the United Nations. But in case there was any doubt as to the functions and powers of the General Assembly and especially of the Fourth Committee, he drew the attention of the General Assembly to the last part of Article 74 which concluded Chapter XI of the Charter.

36. He wondered what the role of the Fourth Committee would be in examining the information submitted if it were not to ensure that the policy of the colonial Powers was being applied in accordance with Article 74 of the Charter.

37. He hoped that the doubts or objections raised by certain Administering Powers regarding the work of the Fourth Committee would not interfere with the normal functioning of that Committee at the next session of the General Assembly.

38. Perhaps it would be best if such Powers applied to the International Court of Justice for a ruling on whether the Fourth Committee and the General Assembly were acting in conformity with the principles of the Charter. Otherwise there would continue to be fruitless discussions which would in no way help to improve the lot of those peoples concerning whom the United Nations was so interested.

39. Mr. FAHY (United States of America) recalled that in the Fourth Committee the United States delegation had voted for each of the draft resolutions before the General Assembly except draft resolution I, which it had voted against and draft resolution VIII, on which it had abstained. He wished to explain the latter abstention.

40. Draft resolution VIII involved certain factors which had led his delegation to believe that it would have been better if the Assembly had

¹ See *Resolutions adopted by the General Assembly during the first part of its first session*, page 13.

² See *Official Records of the fourth session of the General Assembly, Resolutions*, No. 290.

not been required to vote on it at the moment. He wondered who was to determine which were the Non-Self-Governing Territories referred to in Chapter XI, what were or should be the responsibilities, if any, of the Special Committee on the issue and what were the Non-Self-Governing Territories referred to in the Charter. There was also the fact that the Special Committee did not have authority to require political information. Because those elements were involved, the United States would have preferred to give the matter further consideration before adopting its ultimate position with respect to draft resolution VIII. His delegation would reserve its position by abstaining from voting on that draft resolution.

41. In all other respects his delegation would maintain the position which it had adopted in the Fourth Committee.

42. Mr. FLETCHER-COOKE (United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland) remarked that the representative of Egypt had said at the 262nd meeting of the General Assembly that a study of the records of the San Francisco Conference, and in particular of the Fourth Committee, Sub-Committee 2, had failed to disclose any evidence in support of the statement made by the United Kingdom representative in the Fourth Committee to the effect that the words in Article 73 *e* of the Charter "subject to such limitation as security and constitutional considerations may require" had in fact been inserted into that Article, with the agreement of the Committee on the instance of Lord Cranborne, who had represented the United Kingdom at the time.

43. It was quite true that there was no reference in the records to the reasons for the insertion of those words proposed by Lord Cranborne and accepted by the Fourth Committee. Nevertheless, the fact that they did not appear in the records, which were primarily confined to decisions, did not mean that the reasons had not been carefully explained, and the records of the United Kingdom Government stated quite definitely that the reasons had been given to the Committee and accepted by it.

44. The PRESIDENT put to the vote draft resolution I (A/1159).

The resolution was adopted by 33 votes to 9, with 11 abstentions.

45. The PRESIDENT put to the vote draft resolution II (A/1159).

The resolution was adopted by 44 votes to 1, with 7 abstentions.

46. The PRESIDENT put to the vote draft resolution III (A/1159).

The resolution was adopted by 34 votes to 4, with 13 abstentions.

47. The PRESIDENT put to the vote draft resolution IV (A/1159).

The resolution was adopted by 42 votes to 0, with 10 abstentions.

48. The PRESIDENT put to the vote draft resolution V (A/1159).

The resolution was adopted by 39 votes to 2, with 8 abstentions.

49. The PRESIDENT put to the vote draft resolution VI (A/1159).

The resolution was adopted by 44 votes to 5, with 4 abstentions.

50. The PRESIDENT put to the vote draft resolution VII (A/1159).

The resolution was adopted by 35 votes to 5, with 9 abstentions.

51. The PRESIDENT put to the vote draft resolution VIII (A/1159) adding that a roll-call vote had been requested.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

Mexico, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Mexico, Pakistan, Philippines, Poland, Saudi Arabia, Thailand, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Argentina, Brazil, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, China, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, Ethiopia, Guatemala, Haiti, India, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Lebanon, Liberia.

Against: Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Sweden, Turkey, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Australia, Belgium, Canada, France, Luxembourg.

Abstaining: Nicaragua, Peru, United States of America, Bolivia, Chile, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Greece, Honduras, Iceland.

The resolution was adopted by 30 votes to 12, with 10 abstentions.

52. The PRESIDENT put to the vote draft resolution IX (A/1159).

The resolution was adopted by 31 votes to 4, with 16 abstentions.

53. The PRESIDENT put to the vote draft resolution X (A/1159).

The resolution was adopted by 46 votes to 1, with 5 abstentions.

¹ For the discussion of this question in the Third Committee, see *Official Records of the fourth session of the General Assembly, Third Committee, 237th to 248th meetings inclusive, 268th and 269th meetings.*



GENERAL ASSEMBLY

A/1159

29 November 1949

ENGLISH

ORIGINAL: SPANISH

Fourth session

Item 35 of the agenda

INFORMATION FROM NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES

Report of the Fourth Committee

Rapporteur: Dr. E. DE MARCHENA (Dominican Republic)

1. This item, comprising the report of the Secretary-General (Summaries and Analyses of Information transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter) and the report of the Special Committee on Information transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter (A/923), was referred to the Fourth Committee by the General Assembly at its 221st meeting on 22 September 1949.

2. After an introductory statement by the Rapporteur of the Special Committee, at the 109th meeting of the Fourth Committee, the general debate began and continued until the 117th meeting.

3. From its 117th to its 122nd meetings, the Committee discussed the six resolutions recommended by the Special Committee (A/923, Annex II).

4. Five additional draft resolutions and a number of amendments were submitted, and these were discussed by the Committee from its 123rd to its 127th meetings. These draft resolutions were of the following nature:

- I. A proposal by Egypt authorizing any Special Committee which the General Assembly might appoint to examine the factors which should be taken into account in deciding the territories to which Chapter XI of the Charter applies.
- II. A proposal by India in substitution for the text proposed by the Special Committee and providing for the establishment of a Special Committee to be elected by the General Assembly.
- III. A joint proposal by Cuba, Ecuador and Guatemala inviting the Secretary-General to complement the summaries and analyses by periodical publication of data on special aspects of the progress achieved in Non-Self-Governing Territories.

/IV. A joint

30 p.

- IV. A joint proposal by Mexico and the United States of America that the Special Committee should concentrate on one functional field each year, and recommending that the problem of education should be chosen for 1950.
- V. A proposal by Australia requesting the Secretary-General to keep the Special Committee informed of the nature of the technical assistance accorded to Non-Self-Governing Territories by international instrumentalities.

DRAFT RESOLUTION CONCERNING THE TERRITORIES TO WHICH CHAPTER XI APPLIES

63. The representative of Egypt submitted the following draft resolution concerning the territories to which Chapter XI of the Charter applies:

"The General Assembly,

"Having regard to the obligation to transmit information under Article 73 e of the Charter accepted by the Members which have or assume responsibilities for the administration of territories whose peoples have not yet attained a full measure of self-government,

"Having regard to resolution 66 (I) adopted by the General Assembly on 14 December 1946 in which seventy-four territories were enumerated in accordance with the declarations of the responsible Governments, as falling within the scope of Article 73 e,

/"Having noted

" "Having noted the information supplied by certain Members concerning the constitutional changes which have led to the cessation of the transmission of information under Article 73 e in respect of certain territories which were enumerated in resolution 66 (I),

"Considers that the General Assembly has a responsibility to express its opinion on the principles which have guided or which may in future guide the Members concerned in enumerating the territories for which the obligation exists to transmit information under Article 73 e of the Charter;

"Invites any special committee which the General Assembly may appoint on information transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter to examine the factors which should be taken into account in deciding whether any territory is or is not a territory whose people have not yet attained a full measure of self-government."

64. The representative of Egypt accepted a suggestion by the representative of Thailand to substitute in the fourth paragraph the phrase "it is within the responsibility of the General Assembly" for the phrase "the General Assembly has a responsibility".

65. The representative of Uruguay, in an effort to conciliate two points of view advanced during the debate, submitted an amendment to provide that the General Assembly would express its opinion on the meaning of the term "Non-Self-Governing Territory" and that the Special Committee would annually examine the list of territories for which information had been received under Article 73 e. The amendment, however, was rejected by the Committee.

66. The Committee then adopted the Egyptian draft resolution by a roll call vote of 30 to 10, with 7 abstentions, as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Brazil, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, China, Colombia, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, Guatemala, India, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Lebanon, Liberia, Mexico, Pakistan, Philippines, Poland, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Thailand, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia.

/Against:

Against: Australia, Belgium, Canada, France, Netherlands,
New Zealand, Norway, Sweden, Union of South Africa,
United Kingdom.

Abstentions: Argentina, Chile, Denmark, Dominican Republic,
Greece, United States of America, Uruguay.

77. The Fourth Committee therefore recommends to the General Assembly the adoption of the following resolutions:

/RESOLUTION I

RESOLUTION VIII

TERRITORIES TO WHICH CHAPTER XI OF THE CHARTER APPLIES

The General Assembly,

Having regard to the obligation to transmit information under Article 73 e of the Charter accepted by the Members which have or assume responsibilities for the administration of territories whose peoples have not yet attained a full measure of self-government,

Having regard to resolution 66 (I) adopted by the General Assembly on 14 December 1946 in which seventy-four territories were enumerated, in accordance with the declarations of the responsible Governments, as falling within the scope of Article 73 e,

Having noted the information supplied by certain Members concerning the constitutional changes which have led to the cessation of the transmission of information under Article 73 e in respect of certain territories which were enumerated in resolution 66 (I),

1. Considers that it is within the responsibility of the General Assembly to express its opinion on the principles which have guided or which may in future guide the Members concerned in enumerating the territories for which the obligation exists to transmit information under Article 73 e of the Charter;

2. Invites any special committee which the General Assembly may appoint on information transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter to examine the factors which should be taken into account in deciding whether any territory is or is not a territory whose people have not yet attained a full measure of self-government.



United Nations

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

GENERAL

A/1159/Corr.1
30 November 1949

ENGLISH ONLY

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Fourth session

Item 35 of the agenda

INFORMATION FROM NON-SELF GOVERNING TERRITORIES

Report of the Fourth Committee

CORRIGENDUM

Page 7, paragraph 34: In the first line, replace the word "statement" by the word "amendment".

Page 7, paragraph 35: In the penultimate line, add "Uruguay," after "United States of America".

Page 10, paragraph 44: Lines 5 and 6 of the text quoted should read as follows:-

"... when the elections take place for the non-administering Members, the first four Members receiving the highest number of votes..."

HUNDRED AND NINTH MEETING

Held at Lake Success, New York, on Thursday, 27 October 1949, at 3 p.m.

Chairman: Mr. H. LANNUNG (Denmark).

Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories (*continued*)

1. The CHAIRMAN opened the general discussion on the question of information from Non-Self-Governing Territories, and invited the Committee to examine simultaneously the summaries and analyses prepared by the Secretariat and the report of the Special Committee (A/923). The six draft resolutions contained at the end of the report were also open to discussion and amendment by members of the Committee; one amendment (A/C.4/L.2) had already been presented by the Cuban delegation. The six draft resolutions would be discussed and put to the vote separately.

2. Mr. DE MARCHENA (Dominican Republic), Rapporteur of the Special Committee, presented that Committee's report (A/923). The report had been circulated to delegations a month previously; it contained not only the Special Committee's recommendations but also a general outline of the Committee's discussions.

3. The Special Committee, which had met that year, was the third of its kind, each Committee having been set up by virtue of a General Assembly resolution. The last of those Committees had been set up by the General Assembly during its third session, in Paris (resolution 219 (III)). It had met at Lake Success from 25 August to 12

September 1949 and had held twenty meetings. The Committee's task had been greatly facilitated by a series of documents specially prepared for it by the Secretariat. It seemed that the Fourth Committee would like to draw the Trusteeship Council's attention to the desirability of having similar documents available on Trust Territories.

4. The Special Committee's report set forth the various views that had been expressed on the information supplied. It also stated that certain questions which had been raised in the course of discussion had been considered by the Committee itself to be outside its competence. The most important matter was to draw attention to the six draft resolutions approved by the Committee, which it was submitting to the General Assembly. The first draft resolution, on the voluntary transmission of information under part I of the Standard Form, contained a procedural recommendation. The following four resolutions might be described as substantive suggestions on general technical questions, with special emphasis on the activities of the specialized agencies and the part they could play, in collaboration with the Administering Powers, in the development of the Non-Self-Governing Territories. The last resolution concerned a procedural question but was of great importance in that it proposed the establishment of a special committee for a period of three years.

5. There seemed to be a general tendency to consider that members of the various United Nations bodies fell into two distinct groups where the question of Non-Self-Governing Territories or Trust Territories was concerned: there were, on the one hand, the Administering Powers and, on the other, the rest of the countries. That was not strictly true, as had been proved by the Trusteeship Council's more recent sessions and more particularly by the Special Committee's last session. Although members who were not Administering States were inclined to go further than the latter when it was a question of administrative responsibility, it would be seen that the four draft resolutions on substantive questions had been adopted by a very large majority, which showed that most of the members of the Special Committee were prepared to co-operate, in accordance with the Charter, for the good of the populations of the Non-Self-Governing Territories. The draft resolutions which the Special Committee of the previous year had submitted to the General Assembly had been adopted without any changes of substance. The draft resolutions the current Special Committee was presenting had been drawn up in the same spirit of international co-operation as had been those of the previous year; they therefore deserved careful consideration.

6. The Special Committee had adopted its report by 13 votes to one, with 2 abstentions. The Committee's work had revealed a constant modification of views and represented an interesting phase in the work on Non-Self-Governing Territories.

7. Mr. FARRAG (Egypt) thanked the Secretariat for the excellent work it had accomplished and paid a tribute to Mr. Gerig for the manner in which he had presided over the Special Committee. He noted with satisfaction that the information furnished in 1948 was more instructive than that transmitted the preceding year. He hoped that the quality would improve even more in the year ahead. In that connexion he pointed out that some of the information had been received after

the time limit; such delays were liable to place the Special Committee and the Secretariat in a difficult position and to prevent them from giving certain points as thorough an examination as they would wish to. Under the terms of Article 73 e of the Charter, the Administering States were required to furnish information in the economic, social and educational fields only. He was glad, therefore, to note that some of them had voluntarily submitted information of a political nature. He hoped that other Administering Powers might do likewise in the future.

8. The analysis of information on labour (A/920) revealed that the problem of African migrant labour had reached a point where it threatened to disorganize local customary life and to prejudice the perpetuation of the race. The situation concerning employment, as reflected in the information supplied, was characterized by an increased demand for man-power in many territories and by the meeting of that demand in wide areas of Africa by the migrant labour system which deeply affected the economy of the peasant areas (A/920). Migration had been substantial, for example, from territories administered by the United Kingdom, for employment in South African mines (A/920). He was sure that the situation was receiving the attention of the Administering Powers but he felt that drastic measures were necessary. The International Labour Organisation had studied the problem of migrant labour in 1947. He hoped the Secretariat was keeping in touch with that organization and would supply information on the results of the study.

9. He would vote in favour of the six draft resolutions in the report of the Special Committee. The text of those resolutions had been carefully studied and amended, particularly draft resolutions B and C, for which a drafting committee had been set up. The draft resolutions were the happy result of the spirit of co-operation and conciliation shown by the members of the Committee. He recalled that the preceding year some members of the Fourth Committee, moved only by a desire to further the development of the populations of the Non-Self-Governing Territories in a direct fashion, had blamed the Special Committee for having formulated only procedural recommendations. Nevertheless that was a logical method, for only after having adopted procedural measures could the Committee proceed to deal with substantive matters. Furthermore, it was to be noted that among the draft resolutions submitted by the Special Committee at the end of its last session were four which concerned substantive questions. The sole aim was to further improvement of conditions in the Non-Self-Governing Territories, and a sincere implementation of the Committee's recommendations would contribute to the attainment of the objectives stated in Chapter XI of the Charter. He hoped that the Fourth Committee would adopt the draft resolutions by a substantial majority, if not unanimously, and that those representatives who had opposed them in the Special Committee would be able to vote in their favour in the General Assembly.

10. The Special Committee had not considered itself competent to consider certain questions, in particular the question of the cessation of the transmission of information, which was the subject of reports by the Secretary-General (A/915, A/915/Add.1). Those reports set down the rea-

sons given by the United Kingdom and France to justify the fact that they had ceased to transmit information concerning certain territories. The French Government stated that the determination of Non-Self-Governing Territories lay exclusively within the competence of the States responsible for the administration of those territories. That principle might perhaps have been valid before the implementation of the United Nations Charter, but the latter established that the relations between Non-Self-Governing Territories and the Powers administering them, while mainly the concern of the territories and States in question, were also of importance to the international community, as would be seen from Article 73 e of the Charter. The Administering Powers themselves had often stressed that principle in the early days of the Organization, when the Charter was new, but that did not seem to prevent their questioning the validity of the same principle at the present juncture. It could be asked what authority other than the United Nations could see to it that the Administering Powers complied with the terms of Chapter XI of the Charter. In 1946 the General Assembly had requested the Administering Members to draw up a list of Non-Self-Governing Territories on which they should furnish information. The list that had been drawn up included seventy-four territories. The Administering Powers could not therefore cease to transmit information on certain of those territories without violating the Charter, unless, of course, the territories in question had attained self-government.

11. The Administering Members had advanced certain arguments to justify their action. They had claimed that the declarations regarding Non-Self-Governing Territories had been of a unilateral nature. Surely that could not mean that the Administering Powers reserved the right to withdraw at will from the obligations they had assumed. The obligations set forth in Chapter XI could not be considered unilateral; even if they were, they would be enforceable under international law. They could not, however, be interpreted as being unilateral in the light of the debates and consultations, the compromises and various suggestions which had gone into the drafting of the provisions of Chapter XI during its preparation at the San Francisco Conference. The United Kingdom representative himself had stated at the time that that Chapter would constitute an international colonial convention which must be accepted on behalf of peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories. The Administering Powers had further maintained that Chapter XI had been accepted as a moral obligation. There was not a single provision in the Chapter, however, which could be so interpreted; the argument had been advanced for the sole purpose of weakening the binding force of the provisions of the Chapter. The Administering Members had also stated that Chapter XI was of a temporary character, whereas at San Francisco the view had been that it should remain in force so long as there were any Non-Self-Governing Territories. Mr. Stassen, the representative of the United States, had stated at the time that the Chapter was destined to develop and would remain a living entity. The Administering Powers were alleging, furthermore, that the Special Committee and the General Assembly had in fact attempted to amend the provisions of the Charter. That was not true, for the Special Committee had merely carried out a resolution of the

General Assembly the aim of which was to ensure the application of the Charter. They had also said that the information spoken of in Article 73 e should be transmitted only as information and could therefore be neither examined nor discussed. It was clear that the authors of the Charter had never contemplated such an interpretation of the provision. During the drafting of Chapter XI, the representative of Australia had stated that the provision represented progress and that it would encourage a healthy spirit of emulation among the Administering States. It would therefore be completely illogical and unfair to receive the information and not examine it. The only restriction in the utilization of the information was that it was not to be used for purposes of political propaganda.

12. Finally, the transmission of information under Article 73 e of the Charter concerning the seventy-four Non-Self-Governing Territories should be continued until such time as the territories became self-governing.

13. It was obvious that the fact of incorporating a Non-Self-Governing Territory into the metropolitan territory did not release the United Nations Member responsible for the administration of that territory from the obligation, under Article 73 e, to transmit information concerning it.

14. The representative of the United Kingdom had stated that it was not possible for his Government to transmit information on Malta, since economic, social and educational conditions were the exclusive concern of the Government of the island. Mr. Farrag did not consider that an adequate reason for ceasing to transmit information. Moreover, General Assembly resolution 222 (III) requested the Members responsible for the administration of Non-Self-Governing Territories to inform the United Nations of "any change in the constitutional position and status of any such territory". The United Kingdom Government had not complied with that request.

15. Some delegations had maintained that Chapter XI of the Charter concerned only those Members responsible for the administration of Non-Self-Governing Territories. There was no basis for such a contention; he was sure the Fourth Committee would confirm that Chapter XI concerned all Members of the United Nations. Indigenous peoples to the number of two hundred million placed their hopes in the Organization and he was convinced that it would not disappoint them. The General Assembly's duty was to ensure that the provisions of the Charter were applied impartially for the benefit of the weakest as well as of the strongest.

16. With regard to the comparisons between the information transmitted under Article 73 e and similar information communicated by independent countries, which the General Assembly, by resolution 218 (III) of 3 November 1948, had asked the Secretary-General to draw up, Mr. Farrag was doubtful about the advantages the peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories would derive from such comparisons. Statistics from those territories, unlike data drawn up by independent countries, were usually incomplete and inaccurate. It was therefore impossible to make comparisons of any value.

17. To lessen that difficulty, the Egyptian delegation suggested that the General Assembly should

send a visiting mission to both the Non-Self-Governing Territories and some independent States in the same region, in order to make comparisons. Naturally, the prior consent of the independent countries would be necessary, but they would surely be happy to consent to such a visit. An expenditure of several thousand dollars would be entailed, but the plan would appear to be well worth trying.

18. He would welcome other views on the proposal.

19. Mr. RAO (India) associated himself with the Egyptian representative's appreciation of the assistance given by the Secretariat to the Special Committee. Turning to the question of information transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter, he thought that the report of the Special Committee was very full and called for no detailed observations. He wished, however, to draw the Committee's attention to some specific points.

20. First, there was the question of the cessation of the transmission of information. The Egyptian representative had given a comprehensive account of what had so far transpired in that respect. By its resolution 222 (III), the General Assembly had requested the Members responsible for the administration of Non-Self-Governing Territories to inform the United Nations of any changes in the constitutional position or status of Non-Self-Governing Territories as a result of which information was no longer transmitted. The Indian delegation had taken the view that that question was outside the competence of the Special Committee, but should be considered by the Fourth Committee.

21. Once a territory had been entered on the list of Non-Self-Governing Territories, it retained that status until it met the necessary conditions for membership of the United Nations.

22. It should be noted that the number of territories on that list decreased from year to year and had come down from seventy-four to sixty-two. The question was of great importance, especially in view of the fact that Governments administering Non-Self-Governing Territories had stated that it was for them alone to determine to which territories Article 73 e applied. If those Governments continued to take unilateral decisions with respect to those territories, it was to be feared that the results would adversely affect the functions of the General Assembly in respect of Chapter XI of the Charter.

23. He suggested that, in order to enable the Fourth Committee to examine the question at its following session, the Secretariat might prepare a working paper for the Special Committee, on the constitutional status of territories on which certain States had ceased to transmit information.

24. He drew the Committee's attention to the discussion which had taken place in the Special Committee regarding whether the Netherlands Government was justified in transmitting information on Indonesia under Article 73 e. The Indian delegation was of the opinion that Indonesia had attained self-government status and that the information transmitted by the Netherlands should not have been included in the summaries and analyses prepared by the Secretary-General. He took the opportunity to express the concern of his dele-

gation that the Round Table Conference at The Hague had thus far reached no conclusions.

25. The Indian representative turned to the question of information voluntarily transmitted, which was dealt with in chapter VII of the Special Committee's report. He noted with satisfaction the liberal attitude of the United States and Denmark in that connexion and also that in 1948 a greater number of Administering Members had on their own initiative transmitted information under the optional part of the Standard Form. That tendency should be encouraged.

26. The Indian delegation wished to draw the Committee's attention to a point which it considered important. The General Assembly had adopted, or had considered adopting, several international conventions. The Third Committee had considered the question of the obligations incumbent upon States administering Non-Self-Governing Territories in that respect. It would seem desirable for the General Assembly to issue a general directive to the States concerned to transmit information regarding the application of those international conventions in the territories under their administration.

27. With respect to international co-operation on economic, social and cultural matters in Non-Self-Governing Territories, Mr. Rao pointed out that Article 73 d of the Charter mentioned two forms of such co-operation: that among the Administering Powers outside the framework of the United Nations, and co-operation with the specialized agencies of the United Nations.

28. The Administering Powers had held conferences at which they had considered certain problems of common interest. They intended to continue such exchanges of views on a permanent and wider scale. That type of co-operation fully conformed with the terms of Article 73 d of the Charter. It seemed, however, that the principal purpose of that co-operation was to obtain benefits for the Administering Powers themselves and any benefit to the populations of the Non-Self-Governing Territories was merely a secondary consideration. The introductory paragraph of Article 73, however, laid down the principle that the interests of those populations were paramount. Consequently, it was essential to encourage the other form of co-operation, namely, co-operation with the specialized agencies, in order to safeguard the interests of the indigenous inhabitants.

29. As it had indicated in the draft resolution presented to the Special Committee, which was contained in that Committee's report, the Indian delegation considered that it was most important for the specialized agencies to undertake investigation and research in order to assist the populations of Non-Self-Governing Territories. The representatives of specialized agencies should also take a more active part in the work of the Special Committee.

30. With regard to the future of the Special Committee, he recalled that his delegation had pleaded for the establishment of a permanent committee because of the unfortunate consequences which dissolution of the Committee might have on the populations of Non-Self-Governing Territories and because in its view the discussions which had taken place in the Special Committee helped the Administering Members to improve

living conditions in the territories for which they were responsible. The Indian delegation had noted with regret that those Members did not concur in that view. The draft resolution adopted by the Special Committee therefore proposed the establishment of a committee for three years.

31. The Indian delegation intended to present amendments to that draft resolution at a later date. It particularly wished that the members of the Special Committee should be elected by the General Assembly and not by the Fourth Committee.

32. Mr. MUGHIR (Syria) pointed out that the first question to be settled in considering the question of Non-Self-Governing Territories was whether the United Nations was competent to express an opinion on the development and disposal of those territories. A superficial interpretation of Chapter XI of the Charter might give the impression that the United Nations should limit its activities to receiving technical information on economic, social and educational conditions in the Non-Self-Governing Territories, and that it could neither request nor study information on political conditions. Such an interpretation could not be accepted by the present-day international community. The Special Committee was not simply an information agency. The progress and welfare of humanity, respect for human rights, and the attainment of national sovereignty and independence by all peoples, had become questions which affected and interested the international community as a whole.

33. Under the terms of Chapter XI of the Charter, Powers which assumed responsibility for administering Non-Self-Governing Territories had solemnly recognized the principle that the interests of the inhabitants of those territories were supreme. They had agreed to observe a number of principles in order to promote political, economic and social progress, as well as educational development, in the territories they administered. The Charter provided that the Administering Powers should transmit to the Secretary-General technical information on economic, social and educational conditions in the territories for which they were responsible. That signified that if the United Nations considered that the administration of Non-Self-Governing Territories was satisfactory, it would limit its activities to receiving the information contemplated; if, however, that information revealed that the administration of Non-Self-Governing Territories was not what it should be, the United Nations must express its opinion and give the necessary advice.

34. The Syrian delegation was fully aware of the difficulties confronting the Powers administering Non-Self-Governing Territories. Study and criticism of prevailing conditions in those territories did not indicate doubt of the good faith of the Administering Powers. Although Syria had suffered from colonial policy and methods, it would maintain an objective attitude in submitting its comments.

35. The information transmitted to the Secretary-General was insufficient to permit a detailed analysis of the administration and development of Non-Self-Governing Territories. The case of Morocco was a perfect illustration of that point.

36. The information transmitted by France in connexion with Morocco (A/909/Add.1) pro-

vided no details about changes which had been made or were contemplated in the political life of that country. On the contrary, the little information supplied revealed that there had been no change in the administration of Morocco since the occupation of the country by French troops and the signing of the Treaty of Fez in 1912. Actually, the primary task of the Resident-General was to supervise the implementation of that treaty. As a result, no efforts had been made to introduce any parliamentary system whatsoever in Morocco. There was no elected legislative assembly. The advisory bodies actually bore no resemblance to a legislative organ; they represented only economic interests and not political interests. The judicial system in Morocco was neither liberal nor suited to current conditions; it could even be assumed that it made corruption and abuse of all kinds possible.

37. As regards individual liberty, the information transmitted indicated that "an arrest may not be made without a warrant duly issued by the competent authority". But what was the competent authority? Morocco had no penal code; reliable sources confirmed that it was possible to be arrested and imprisoned for months on end without trial.

38. Arabic newspapers had to be authorized by an order of the Vizir, while French newspapers were not subject to any control. That explained, no doubt, why there were so few Arabic newspapers, a fact which incidentally was not mentioned in the information transmitted to the Secretary-General.

39. The information indicated that "the establishment of an association is subject, as in France, to the principle of the deposit of its articles in advance". It was good to note that the French authorities applied the same laws in Morocco as in the metropolitan country; if the Moroccan people enjoyed the same freedoms and the same democratic institutions as the French, it was certain that Morocco would soon attain its independence. Before drawing such a conclusion, however, it would be desirable to know whether the law of 1901 concerning freedom of association was applied in the territories under French administration.

40. Mr. LAPIE (France) raised a point of order. He pointed out that the representative of Syria had entered into a political debate, and that was not within the competence of the Committee.

41. Mr. MUGHIR (Syria), continuing, said that in the field of education, it was stated in the report of the French Government that 20 per cent of Moroccan children attended schools. However, an official document entitled *Conjoncture économique marocaine de 1947* showed that the number of children between the ages of 5 and 14 was 1,865,645, whereas according to the information transmitted in 1948, the number of children attending schools was 128,107. It was to be noted therefore that one-fourteenth, rather than one-fifth, of the children attended schools. The information transmitted was very incomplete on the question of higher education; in particular, there was no mention of the two Moslem universities. The latter did not seem to be in good standing with the Administering Power, and received no governmental subsidy.

42. The French authorities seemed to be very proud of spreading the use of French as the cultural language in order more quickly to give the Moroccan higher economic and social groups a knowledge of the contemporary world. The French language and French culture were loved and admired throughout the world. Nevertheless, the Arabs of the Middle East, who had occasion to enter into relations with the Moroccans, had felt the tragic consequences of that spread of the French language in Morocco. Moroccans now spoke a mixture of French and Arabic; they could no longer understand the Middle Eastern Arabs, or make themselves understood by them. In losing their own language, they had at the same time lost all links with their culture and their history.

43. The situation in Tunisia was not more bright nor more encouraging. The information transmitted on the subject of economic conditions, in particular, was very incomplete and sometimes difficult to interpret.

44. In both Morocco and Tunisia, the distribution of land seemed to have been carried out in complete disregard of equity, and with no justification whatsoever.

45. Information on labour and employment conditions in respect of both Morocco and Tunisia was inadequate. It conveyed the impression that there was no collective labour conflict, so to speak, in those two countries. It made no reference to the frequent conflicts in the mining industry, and particularly in the iron and phosphate industries. It did not explain how such strikes as those of the dockers, civil servants, and coal workers in Morocco in 1948 had been settled. Many strikers had been imprisoned and some had been struck down by the police.

46. The Syrian representative wished to point out that he had mentioned Morocco and Tunisia by way of examples. It should not be concluded that conditions were better in the other Non-Self-Governing Territories. He added that the sole purpose of his criticism was to help and guide the Administering Powers. The Syrian delegation had no desire to make political propaganda, and had no ulterior motive.

47. The Syrian delegation was fully aware of the fact that some Non-Self-Governing Territories had reached a highly satisfactory stage of development. In that connexion, the Government of the United States must be congratulated on its administration of the territories for which it was responsible.

48. The Syrian delegation wished to record its concern regarding the cessation of transmission of information. Some territories had not been included in the list of Non-Self-Governing Terri-

tories although they were not self-governing. That was so, for instance, in the case of Algeria. That Arab country, occupied by France since the middle of the nineteenth century, had no hope of obtaining its freedom and independence. Although 6,247,432 out of a total population of 7,235,684 inhabitants were Arabs, it was claimed that Algeria could not be classed in the category of Non-Self-Governing Territories. The reason, surprisingly enough, was that the country had been annexed to the French Republic.

49. The Syrian delegation opposed the idea that only the Powers concerned had the right to determine which countries were Non-Self-Governing Territories. It reserved the right to speak again on that point during the debate.

50. The CHAIRMAN drew the attention of members of the Committee to the fact that the agenda should be completed before the end of November.

51. Mr. PÉREZ CISNEROS (Cuba) asked a question concerning the use of Spanish. The document entitled "Non-Self-Governing Territories — Summaries and analyses of information transmitted to the Secretary-General during 1948" had been published in English and in French but not in Spanish. That was contrary to the provisions of General Assembly resolution 262 (III). In the same connexion, the Cuban delegation would like to know what course the Secretary-General intended to follow regarding the annual supplements mentioned in resolution 218 (III), paragraph 4 (b). Moreover, the Cuban delegation wished to point out that the American Committee on Dependent Territories, established by the Ninth International Conference of American States held at Bogotá, had requested the Secretary-General to forward to that body all documents concerning Non-Self-Governing Territories. The Committee had received documents in English and French, but not in Spanish.

52. Mr. BENSON (Secretariat) pointed out that the document mentioned by the representative of Cuba was a summary of information transmitted in 1948, that was to say, before the adoption of resolution 262 (III). The question of the publication of that document in Spanish was still being considered by the appropriate section of the Secretariat. Moreover, the question of the form in which the documents mentioned in resolution 218 (III) should be presented had not yet been settled. The Secretariat would greatly appreciate any suggestions on those matters. It was of course regrettable that the Secretariat had been unable to transmit documents in Spanish to the American Committee on Dependent Territories; the situation would be different in the future, owing to the adoption of resolution 262 (III).

The meeting rose at 5.30 p.m.

HUNDRED AND THIRTEENTH MEETING

Held at Lake Success, New York, on Wednesday, 2 November 1949, at 11 a.m.

Chairman: Mr. H. LANNUNG (Denmark).

Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories (*continued*)

1. The CHAIRMAN announced that the Committee would continue its discussion of information from Non-Self-Governing Territories.

2. Mr. WINIEWICZ (Poland) emphasized that the information transmitted under Article 73 e should not be considered in the light of that Article alone but in relation to Chapter XI of the Charter as a whole. The purpose of that Chapter was to counteract the heritage of colonial imperialism which was based on the principle of inequality between the peoples of the dependent territories and the peoples of the colonial Powers. Although times had changed and the colonial area had decreased, the remnants of that tradition still survived.

3. Article 73, with which Chapter XI of the Charter opened, laid down that the interests of the inhabitants of the Non-Self-Governing Territories were paramount, not those of the imperialist nations. Under sub-paragraph a of that Article, Members of the United Nations which had assumed responsibilities for the administration of Non-Self-Governing Territories undertook to safeguard the culture of the peoples of those Territories. The tendency to supplant that culture by the culture of the colonial Powers, which was still in evidence, was a barrier to the educational, social and, hence, political development of the dependent peoples. Subparagraph b of Article 73 was intended to ensure the eventual attainment of self-government by the dependent peoples; while sub-paragraph c indicated that such action was in the interests of international peace and

security, which might be endangered by the oppression of nations, particularly of those ready for self-government or for independent national existence. Sub-paragraph d of the same Article stressed the duty of the colonial Powers to promote constructive measures of development, not in their own selfish interests but in order to promote the general purposes outlined in the Article.

4. It was true that the Charter made no provision for direct enforcement action. The United Nations was, however, in a position to focus public opinion on situations contrary to the Charter, and Article 73 therefore marked an important step in affirming the responsibility of the colonial Powers to the United Nations as a whole.

5. The Polish delegation was well aware of the arguments to which the colonial Powers were resorting in the attempt to evade that responsibility. *The New York Times* had recently published an article stating that the colonial Powers contended that the Special Committee on Information transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter had overstepped its powers under the United Nations Charter by criticizing, often adversely, their policies toward Native peoples and by recommending changes. Furthermore, the article continued, they stressed that any information they might supply on conditions in their possessions was freely available in published form to anyone wishing to peruse it.

6. The Polish delegation reserved the right to define its attitude towards the Special Committee at a later stage. It felt bound to point out, however, that under Article 73 e of the Charter the colonial Powers were clearly bound to transmit statistical and other information on the Non-Self-Governing Territories and the General Assembly was entitled to acquire the necessary knowledge to evaluate such information in order to ensure the well-being of the dependent peoples and their eventual attainment of self-government.

7. The latter task would have been easier if the summary and analysis of information had not been based on information relating to the specific and restricted subjects of education, labour, social welfare and so on and had included fuller information, in particular on the participation of the indigenous population in local organs of self-government. Before reaching any conclusion, it would be desirable for the Fourth Committee to consider the information submitted in a more general light and in relation to certain tendencies which appeared to differentiate some areas from others. The replies to questions on a variety of subjects provided evidence that sectional or racial interests were impeding the realization of the objectives laid down in Chapter XI of the Charter.

8. The Secretary-General's analysis of information on education (A/919), for example, revealed a considerable discrepancy between the educational facilities provided for European children in Kenya and those made available to African children. The United Kingdom representative in the Special Committee had referred to the considerable contribution made by the European community towards the education of its children. The exploited African population was not, however, in a position to make such a contribution and it was only just to demand that the exploiters should do more for the education of the exploited.

9. Similarly, the Secretary-General's summary of information from Tunisia (A/909/Add.1) indicated an undesirable discrimination in the educational facilities provided for the different races living in that territory. The small proportion of Moslem children attending primary and secondary schools by comparison with French and Jewish children was an obstacle to the development of an educated Moslem population and thus to the attainment of self-government. The situation in regard to education in Morocco was obscure but the facts given in the summary pointed to the existence of similar racial inequalities.

10. In referring to education in the Non-Self-Governing Territories, Mr. Winiewicz felt the need to emphasize that their educational systems should be based on the indigenous culture whenever possible. The colonial Powers should always remember that the indigenous culture was in many cases older and richer than their own. The discrimination against indigenous culture was in many cases due to an attempt to prevent the development of cultural trends, which might provide a firm basis for national independence.

11. The Secretary-General's analysis on public health (A/921) showed that the colonial Powers were open to similar criticism in that sphere. In the Belgian Congo, for example, the highest rank of medical officer trained was described as medical assistant and there were few pupils in the two medical schools to which the analysis referred. In the United Kingdom territory of Basutoland, arrangements had been made for a small number of students to obtain medical training in the Union of South Africa, but, in view of the policy followed by that country, it was doubtful whether such arrangements could be expanded. In the opinion of the Polish delegation, training facilities in the Non-Self-Governing Territories should be adequate to meet all requirements for medical personnel.

12. The Secretary-General's analysis of information on labour (A/920) unfortunately gave little information regarding discrepancies in wages or the racial discrimination prevalent in Non-Self-Governing Territories in Africa, nor did it touch on the question of wage rates. Mr. Winiewicz quoted from summaries of information for individual territories to illustrate discrepancies in the wages paid to European workers and those paid to Africans. He pointed out that it was difficult to escape the conclusion that wages were being kept low and discriminatory practices retained in order to prevent the indigenous populations from becoming class-conscious and nationally minded.

13. Although the Secretary-General's analysis gave only passing glimpses of fundamental economic issues, it pointed out that production in many territories had remained stationary or had even declined during the war, a phenomenon not confined to territories directly affected by the war. The analysis of aspects of general economic development (A/AC/28/W.5) described a shortage of skilled labour as one of the factors retarding the industrialization of the Non-Self-Governing Territories. Although that shortage could be eliminated by the expansion of education and the payment of higher wages to indigenous workers, such measures would be contrary to the colonial tradition and some areas were even faced with the problem of unemployment.

14. It was clear from table XIII on page 533 of the volume on information from Non-Self-Governing Territories¹ that the trade of those territories was almost exclusively with the metropolitan country. The recent expansion of trade between the dependencies of European Powers and the United States provided a striking exception to that general rule. According to the *World Economic Report for 1948*,² Africa (excluding Egypt and the Union of South Africa) had imported goods from the United States to the value of 49,700,000 dollars in 1937, a figure which had risen to 257,000,000 dollars in 1948. Exports to the United States in the same period had risen from 64,200,000 dollars to 242,200,000 dollars.

15. Opponents of the colonial system had sometimes been accused of inconsistency in that their criticism of the economic backwardness of the Non-Self-Governing Territories had been combined with an attack on such economic development as had already taken place. Their attitude was not, however, inconsistent, for any economic development which had taken place had been solely in the interests of the colonial powers.

16. The Polish delegation was not deceived by the attempt to present the problem of dependent peoples as if only backward bush-tribes were concerned. Many of the Non-Self-Governing Territories were inhabited by peoples with a highly developed culture, who were worthy of immediate admission to the United Nations. Had it not been for the defeat of the Italian colonial empire, the territories of Libya, Italian Somaliland and Eritrea would still be classed as Non-Self-Governing Territories and subject to a colonial Power. There still were dependent territories in Latin America, which were clearly part of national entities enjoying full independence. The same was true of Asia. In the opinion of the Polish delegation, the problem should be studied in relation to each individual territory.

17. In the meantime, a change in the colonial spirit was urgently required, if only because Article 77 c of the Charter made provision for territories to be placed voluntarily under the Trusteeship System and therefore under the provisions of Chapter XII of the Charter. The Trusteeship System should not, however, be regarded as the sole channel to self-government and independence, but it was essential to ensure that the disintegration of one colonial Power did not result in the subjugation of dependent peoples by another form of imperialism.

18. It was regrettable that the problem was not properly understood. Malta was a case in point. The United Kingdom had ceased to transmit any further information on that island, on the pretext that it had reached a stage of self-government. Yet, according to an article published in the *New Republic* on 10 October 1949, the Maltese had delivered an ultimatum to the Colonial Office in which they threatened to hold a referendum to authorize the island's Government to ask assistance from the United States. In exchange for such assistance, the Maltese would offer military bases and, if necessary, offer the whole island to that country as a kind of protectorate. That, said the

Polish representative, was not the road to independence.

19. It was for such reasons that the words of Chapter XI of the Charter had become of even greater significance than they had been at San Francisco.

20. Some Member States of the United Nations had repeatedly advocated that international co-operation and assistance should be effected exclusively through the specialized agencies. The question, however, was by no means a technical one. It was fundamentally and inevitably political in character. The General Assembly might invite the specialized agencies to perform specific technical services, but it could not divest itself of the responsibility of ensuring that those services were provided in the interests of the peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories and not in the interests of certain world groups. His delegation wished once again to associate itself with those forces which were defending the interests of dependent peoples.

21. The world was living in a period of revolutionary change. In Asia, the colonial yoke was becoming ever more loose despite the endeavours of the colonial Powers to overcome the currency crisis in their homelands by increasing exports of rubber and tin produced by the dependent peoples. Die-hards hoped to stop the historical process, by force if necessary. A case in point was the prevalent situation in Malaya, where 120,000 British troops were trying to suppress the fight for freedom. Similar situations existed in Indonesia and Viet Nam. Nothing, however, could prevent the ultimate success of the struggle.

22. Some die-hards hoped to keep the Non-Self-Governing Territories for military bases. Lord Tweedsmuir had said in the *African Transcripts* of May 1946 that, given time and patience, the United Kingdom could build up a first-class African army; that who paid did not matter, but the British War Office must control it. He had further stated that two-thirds of the British Empire lay in the African continent, which was of vital strategic significance.

23. An alleged danger of chaos was invoked as an excuse to keep those colonial bases, but what the die-hards really feared was the danger of losing their economic gains, their invested capital and their strategical advantages.

24. In contrast, the East African Indian National Congress had, in September 1946, passed a resolution stating that the Congress was of the opinion that it was vitally necessary to promote full understanding between African, Arab and Indian communities, and that practical steps should be taken to create an organization to work for their general advancement.

25. The report of the Special Committee (A/923) betrayed the untenable attitude maintained by some members of the Committee. Arguments had been heard to the effect that the function of the Special Committee was limited to procedural matters and that there was nothing in the Charter which demanded an accounting for the Non-Self-Governing Territories.

26. While he did not wish, for the time being, to go into the detailed proposals of the Special Committee, he felt he must stress one point in the light of the information transmitted by the

¹ See *Non-Self-Governing Territories, Summaries and analyses of information transmitted to the Secretary-General during 1948*. United Nations Publications, Sales No.: 1949. VI. B. 1.

² See *World Economic Report for 1948*. United Nations Publications, Sales No.: 1949. II. C. 3, page 203.

Governments themselves. The current situation would hardly lead to an improvement of social or political conditions. Changes were necessary. It was the duty of the Fourth Committee and the General Assembly to state in emphatic terms that the rapid implementation of Chapter XI of the Charter was a vital element in world peace.

27. His delegation appealed for a sincere understanding that the work of the Fourth Committee concerned living people who had the right to enjoy freedom just as all the other nations had. Their independence should be the ultimate aim.

28. Mr. KHADRA (Saudi Arabia) said that the subject of the dependent territories greatly interested his delegation. In the first place, that interest was a matter of principle. His delegation and, he believed, many others, would like to see the day when all such territories would have attained sovereign independence.

29. The twentieth century had witnessed the spread of a most dynamic force in Asia and Africa that had been let loose in Europe in the two preceding centuries. That force was nationalism. Nothing could restrict or retard the development of national feeling among indigenous populations. Some, through material and scientific advancement, had been able to attain that national consciousness earlier than others, but the difference was only one of time.

30. Many representatives come from Asian or African countries which had until recently been covered by the scope and provisions of Chapter XI. Those countries, which had been fortunate enough to obtain their independence in the preceding few years, hoped that a similar future awaited the remaining dependent areas in Africa and Asia. National movements were, according to reports, developing rapidly and assuming tremendous importance in many African territories, such as the British Gold Coast and Nigeria.

31. In the second place, his delegation was interested because, more than ever before, the community of nations was closely watching the situation of dependent territories. The people of the world could no longer be divided into two categories of governed and governing; they should be considered as belonging to a single category in which all enjoyed equal and similar rights. The attainment of independence would undoubtedly remove the thorny cause of rivalry among imperial powers.

32. The United Nations Charter declared in Chapter XI, Article 73, the principle that the interests of the inhabitants of the territories were paramount, but there appeared to be some confusion as to what should or should not be believed. On the one hand, there were the lofty phrases of the Charter and, on the other, there were the record and deeds of the Administering Powers. There was, however, no cause for despair. The logical course to follow was to increase the efforts for the promotion of the objectives of the Charter.

33. A third reason for the interest of the Saudi Arabian delegation was the fact that at least twenty million out of the two hundred million people that came under the heading of Non-Self-Governing Territories were Arabs. Those Arabs naturally looked for help to those countries of their own faith which were more fortunate. It was the duty of the Arab countries to make their voice heard in the United Nations.

34. One of the reasons given by the imperial Powers for declining to withdraw their forces from those territories was that of strategy and security. If that was to be the criterion then the road to independence would be a long one.

35. Another consideration that weighed heavily with the colonial Powers was that of material interest. He wondered, however, whether the interests of the indigenous populations weighed as heavily in the mind of those Powers. Yet the Charter proclaimed in clear and lucid language that the interests of the indigenous populations were paramount; their welfare could therefore not be sacrificed on the altar of the material welfare of the Administering States.

36. The Fourth Committee was confronted with the problem of the continuation of information. It was certainly cause for regret that whereas in previous years information covering seventy-four territories had been submitted, during the current year the figure had been reduced to sixty-two. If the Administering Members were proud of their achievements, they should be eager to furnish facts and figures thereon, instead of hiding behind the heavy curtain of legal considerations. He considered that Article 73 e of the Charter and General Assembly resolution 9 (I) provided that the Administering Members should supply the Secretariat with such information as it required. Furthermore, General Assembly resolution 218 (III) of 3 November 1948 called even more imperatively for the supply of that information. A refusal to supply information, in his opinion, ran counter to the principle of freedom of information to which all of the Administering Powers were committed. Mr. Khadra failed to understand how their representatives could take one stand in the Third Committee and another in the Fourth Committee.

37. He did not share the view that the categories of territories to be included under the provisions of Article 73 e of the Charter should be left to the discretion of the Administering Members. Such a course was arbitrary and lacked any justification. His delegation considered that nothing should impede the flow of information on any territory until that territory had attained the status of independence. He hoped that in future the relevant information would be more comprehensive, detailed and precise.

38. Furthermore, he saw no reason why information should be forwarded on the independent Republic of Indonesia. Its independence had been recognized by numerous Powers, including the Arab States, and therefore there was no justification for continuing the supply of information.

39. With regard to the Special Committee, his delegation would like to see that body operate on a permanent basis. Not only did the Special Committee expedite the work of the Fourth Committee but it collated and co-ordinated the information and submitted the necessary recommendations in the form of resolutions. It was therefore the hope of his delegation that, when the three-year period had expired, the General Assembly would re-establish the Special Committee on a permanent basis.

40. Mr. Khadra would like to make a few comments on the political, social, economic and agricultural conditions in the dependent territories. In the field of education, he regretted that there

were still cases of discrimination against the indigenous population and against the culture of the indigenous inhabitants. Such discrimination was obviously contrary to the specific provisions of Article 73 e.

41. Political progress and transfer of authority to the local inhabitants were still extremely slow in many territories. He hoped the situation would be corrected in the future so that the population might be trained in the art of self-rule.

42. Another disturbing feature of the reports was the amount of property held by nationals of the Administering States. Most, if not all, of the investments in the dependent territories were held by foreign companies and trusts, a fact which barred the indigenous inhabitants from sharing in the resources of their own country. He considered that more attention should be paid to such conditions in order to avert the possibility of its reaching dangerous proportions.

43. His delegation desired to see an acceleration in the progress of the Non-Self-Governing Territories, and to that end he welcomed the co-operation extended by the specialized agencies to the Administering Powers. Indeed, he hoped that in the future the specialized agencies would take a more and more active part in surveying the conditions of those areas and submitting their findings to the General Assembly.

44. Similarly, his delegation approved the international co-operation existing between the Administering Powers, provided that the objective of such co-operation was in the interest of the indigenous populations.

45. Although the six draft resolutions adopted by the Special Committee (A/923, annex II) left much to be desired, his delegation would nevertheless support each one of them. He realized the difficulty of achieving a majority vote and, therefore, in order to ensure their acceptance, he would be guided by the spirit of compromise; in that spirit, he would favour their adoption.

46. In conclusion, he declared that nothing would deflect his delegation from its intention of working for the ideals he had mentioned. His delegation would pursue those ideals until the Non-Self-Governing Territories were in a position to join the community of nations on an equal footing with all the other countries.

47. Mr. D'AQUINO (Brazil) said that his country was very proud to belong to the Special Committee, since that organ had the task of seeing that Chapter XI of the United Nations Charter was strictly applied. The Trusteeship System had, as was generally known, set up a régime for supervising the administration of Trust Territories. Chapter XI of the Charter did not affect the sovereign responsibilities of the Powers administering the Non-Self-Governing Territories. It could be said, however, that Chapter XI created a responsibility towards the international community in so far as official facts were supplied to the United Nations for information purposes and that such facts made it possible to discuss the problems to which they referred. He recalled that in 1946, speaking in a plenary meeting of the General Assembly, Mr. Creech Jones had mentioned the valuable contribution made by non-self-

governing peoples towards the extermination of nazism and had said: "Accordingly, our task is to help these people achieve their prosperity and social progress, and to realize the fulfilment, as early as possible, of their own responsible self-government. That is the task to which the United Kingdom has applied itself, and that task will be assisted by the machinery and the purposes set out in Chapters XI, XII and XIII of the Charter. Our purpose is to set these peoples on the road which will lead them to the place where they can, as equal partners, play their full part in the larger life of mankind."¹ Two years later, at the African Conference, the same United Kingdom Secretary of State for the Colonies, referring to former British colonial policy in Africa, had admitted that it was a policy fashioned according to the times, conceived in the conditions of *laissez-faire*, a policy which had very often proved itself neglectful of social duties and often forgetful of human rights; that the system contained anti-economic elements, predatory and exploiting in nature; and that it was speculative and costly to those who had intended to profit by it. On that same occasion, Mr. Creech Jones had said that the United Kingdom attitude had become less vociferous and exuberant than at the beginning of the century and that it was based on a clearer comprehension of the place and needs of peoples in the world and of the imperative importance of building up friendships and of recognizing the true rights of the peoples of other territories. The fundamental basis of the United Kingdom's economic policy had continued to prove sound, but that policy had become flexible and had adapted itself to the conditions of the new situation. Science and economics as well as politics had altered Africa in the course of the preceding fifty years, Mr. Creech Jones had said, and the United Kingdom's concept of politics had changed with it.

48. There was no doubt that in the twentieth century world there was no room for classic colonialism. The responsibilities which the colonial Powers had undertaken under Chapter XI of the Charter could not be separated from those incorporated in Chapters XII and XIII. In that connexion, he recalled that the draft resolution submitted by India in 1947, which invited the colonial Powers to extend the Trusteeship System to other Non-Self-Governing Territories,² had been adopted by the Fourth Committee by 25 votes to 23 with 3 abstentions, and had received 24 votes to 23, with 3 abstentions, in plenary session. The idea behind the Indian resolution was fundamentally the same as that which had inspired Sir Hubert Murray, in 1924, to say that the principles embodied in the mandate system should be extended to the colonies and territories.

49. By Article 73 of the Charter, the colonial Powers had undertaken to promote to the utmost the well-being of the indigenous inhabitants.

50. A study of the summaries prepared by the Secretariat on the basis of information transmitted by the colonial Powers showed that there had been an increase of production and exports during the preceding three years. The territories were better supplied with equipment, although the improvement had been limited by financial dif-

¹ See *Official Records of the first part of the first session of the General Assembly*, 27th plenary meeting, page 375.

² See *Official Records of the second session of the General Assembly*, Fourth Committee, 43rd meeting, page 78 and Annexes 5 a and 5 b, pages 217 and 218.

facilities, the needs of reconstruction in Europe, the inadequacy of industrial production and the shortage of foreign currencies.

51. The principal exports from the Non-Self-Governing Territories were agricultural products such as groundnuts, palm oil, cocoa, coffee, sugar, rubber, tobacco, tea, sisal, wood, copra, bananas and various fruits. Most of those exports had shown a considerable increase in recent years. The production of minerals in the Non-Self-Governing Territories had also greatly increased, and in many cases formed the greater part of the exports. The economic development of the Non-Self-Governing Territories was taking place more and more rapidly. That development was particularly marked in the territories in Africa, a continent which had so far remained free from the communist agitation which threatened the political structure of a number of territories in Asia. Although industrialization in Africa was at an early stage, it already raised many serious problems in the social and public health fields. The movement of workers to the urban and mining centres, the depopulation of the villages, the long absences of the male inhabitants, venereal diseases and other characteristics of the great centres of population which were the outcome of industrial development, presented great difficulties for the Administering Powers. The shortage of coal, the limited production of electric power, the lack of skilled labour, the waste of unskilled labour, the insufficiency of transport, were all factors which hampered industrialization in Africa.

52. As the representative of an enormous country, two-thirds of which was situated in the tropics, he fully realized the almost insurmountable difficulties in the way of colonization in tropical zones. Brazil was still engaged in colonizing its hinterland. It observed with the greatest interest the efforts which the Administering Powers were making to develop the resources of the African continent.

53. During the general debate on the report of the Trusteeship Council, he had already stated that the United Nations could not agree that plans designed primarily to supply the industries of the metropolitan territory — such as, for example, the Groundnut Scheme in Tanganyika — were likely to contribute to the economic progress of the Trust Territories. The same remark applied to plans for the development of the mineral resources of the colonies. Exports of tin from the Malay States and of managanese from the Gold Coast to the United States were a considerable factor in earning dollars for the United Kingdom. The mineral production of the colonies amounted to one hundred million pounds out of a total of one thousand million — the total mineral production of the Commonwealth — to which the United Kingdom and Canada contributed seven hundred million pounds. In Northern Rhodesia the number of male Africans employed in the mining industry approached the maximum. Nearly two-thirds of the male inhabitants had left the rural areas, where workers were essential to produce the foodstuffs needed by the African population.

54. He thought that the new direction which had been given to agricultural development in Africa would have truly beneficial results for the indigenous populations whose nutritional level was extremely low. He quoted a study published in *The Colonial Review*, in which Dr.

H. C. Trowell had said, in examining the nutritional problems of the African worker, that Africans still went to work on empty stomachs and that nowhere in the world and at no time in human history had good work been done in that way. Mr. d'Aquino said that an extremely interesting debate on Africa had recently taken place in the House of Commons. The Secretary of State for the Colonies, referring to the African problem, had stated that the United Kingdom was faced with the dilemma of how to increase its economic production in such a way as to enable it to meet the need for a higher standard of living for the people, as well as the additional need for abolishing famine and for providing sufficient food for a growing population. He had expressed the view that the solution lay in attacking the problem from all sides: large-scale production whenever possible and, at the same time, encouragement to the small-scale producer so that he would not only be able to feed himself and maintain his health, but also be able to dispose of a surplus for feeding the population as a whole. In the course of his statement, the Secretary of State for the Colonies had called attention to the fact that, for every pound spent by the British budget for Development and Welfare, at least two other pounds came from the colonial Governments, in the form of new revenue and loans, over and above normal expenditure.

55. The documents submitted by the Secretariat did not give the figures for dollar investments in the colonies. It was well known that the exploitation of bauxite in British Guinea was controlled by American capital, and that there had been large-scale American investment in the exploitation of timber and manganese in West Africa and in other enterprises in Malaya and Southern Rhodesia. The colonial Governments were authorized by the Colonial Loans Act to borrow from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, and the Colonial Development Corporation had already obtained a loan of 10 million dollars. According to the analyses prepared by the Secretariat, the plan for the development of the French territories provided for purchases of machinery and equipment amounting to over 190 million dollars.

56. It should not be overlooked that under the Marshall Plan the United States had furnished the countries of Western Europe with aid amounting to more than 8,000 million dollars. Part of those sums had been used for the development of the colonies. That fact had caused the Brazilian delegation to call the attention of the Second Committee to the danger that certain colonial Powers might transform the plan for technical assistance into an annex to the Marshall Plan.¹

57. Mr. d'Aquino paid a tribute to the United Kingdom for the progress that had been made in setting up constitutions in the Non-Self-Governing Territories, particularly in the Western Hemisphere and in Africa. During the debate on the administrative union between Togoland under British administration and the Gold Coast, the United Kingdom representative had announced that the constitutional reform contemplated in the colony would also apply to the Trust Territory. He had added that the Secretary of State for the Colonies had approved the report of the Commit-

¹ See *Official Records of the fourth session of the General Assembly*, Second Committee, 94th meeting.

tee of which Mr. Justice Coussey had been Chairman,¹ and which had been entrusted with the study of the matter. That Committee was composed exclusively of Africans, and the United Kingdom Government deserved congratulations for the happy outcome of that remarkable experiment.

58. In 1948 the French representative on the Fourth Committee had stated that progress had been made in the direction of self-government by the French Non-Self-Governing Territories, and that a supreme council of the French Union would shortly be set up.² In that connexion he pointed out that that council, which would be one of the chief organs of the French Union, had not yet been set up, and that the information transmitted with regard to Morocco and Tunisia, which were among the States which were to be represented on the Council, contained no data on that important question.

59. The United Kingdom had a difficult problem to solve in connexion with the constitutional problems of its dependent territories; Africa, in particular, presented an almost insoluble problem. For instance, the establishment of the Central African federation entailed a series of extremely grave consequences and the wise, firm and courageous attitude of the United Kingdom Government in London in defence of the interests of the indigenous populations had been recognized by a resolution publicly approved by the indigenous inhabitants of Mufulira.

60. The French Union represented in many respects an appreciable advance over the excessive centralization which had characterized the French colonial Empire. Mr. d'Aquino expressed confidence that it would be possible to carry out the plan of political, economic, social and educational development laid down for the ensuing ten years. Nevertheless, the plan, which also provided for an increase in agricultural production, should keep in view the interests of the peoples concerned.

61. He congratulated the Administering Powers for the admirable information which they had transmitted to the Secretary-General in accordance with Article 73 e of the Charter.

62. He also paid a tribute to the labours of the officials of the various colonial services, both men and women, who in the face of great risks and inconveniences devoted themselves to the task of raising to the level of civilization peoples many of whom still lived in savagery.

63. He recalled that the Brazilian delegation had voted in favour of General Assembly resolution 222 (III). In that connexion he observed that, according to the *London Times*, the Government of the Union of South Africa was endeavouring to obtain the incorporation of the British territories of Basutoland and Swaziland and the Bechuanaland Protectorate.

64. In case the United Kingdom consented to that request, the General Assembly would have an

opportunity to discuss the question on the basis of resolution 222 (III). The United Kingdom, however, according to *The New York Times*, while admitting that such incorporation would be logical from a geographic and economic point of view, had stipulated that the inhabitants of the territories, both white and black, should be consulted. Mr. d'Aquino wished to express support of the United Kingdom in its attitude.

65. He pointed out that only the United States and Denmark had furnished the Secretary-General with complete information under the optional part of the Standard Form. It was gratifying that in the current year a greater quantity of information had been submitted spontaneously. The Brazilian delegation considered that that was a tendency that should be encouraged and it had therefore voted in the Special Committee for a draft resolution to that effect submitted by the Indian delegation (A/923, annex II, draft resolution A). The international community should be in a position to follow the progress of the peoples concerned in the political field.

66. The Fourth Committee would be called upon to take a decision as to the future of the Special Committee on Information transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter. In the opinion of the Brazilian delegation, since the obligations undertaken by the Administering Powers and the obligation for the Secretary-General to prepare summaries and analyses were permanent, there should be a permanent committee to consider those summaries and analyses; the members of that Committee should be appointed by the General Assembly for a three-year period. A draft resolution establishing the Committee on a permanent basis had unfortunately not received a majority of votes in the Special Committee, which had adopted a United States draft resolution (A/923, annex II, draft resolution F) renewing the Committee's term of office for three years. The Brazilian delegation considered that that Committee had been entrusted with a most important task which it had carried out successfully in spite of many difficulties. Great progress had been made since 1945. Little by little the machinery had been set up by which the United Nations could carry out its functions under Chapter XI, which could not be separated from Chapters XII and XIII.

67. The Brazilian delegation supported the various draft resolutions submitted by the Special Committee in its report to the General Assembly. It would vote for the United States resolution renewing the Committee's term of office for three years, unless the Fourth Committee decided that it would be possible to prolong it indefinitely, as proposed by China, Egypt, India and Venezuela, with the support of Brazil.

68. The CHAIRMAN announced that in the absence of any objections, the time-limit for the submission of draft resolutions would be fixed at 11 a.m. on Friday, 4 November.

There being no objections, it was so decided.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.

¹ See *Report to His Excellency the Governor by the Committee on Constitutional Reform, 1949*, (Colonial Paper No. 241), London.

² See *Official Records of the third session of the General Assembly*, Part I, Fourth Committee, page 30.

HUNDRED AND FOURTEENTH MEETING

Held at Lake Success, New York, on Thursday, 3 November 1949, at 11 a.m.

Chairman: Mr. H. LANNUNG (Denmark).

Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories (*continued*)

1. Mr. LIU (China) said that the Chinese delegation associated itself with the tribute which had been paid to the Rapporteur of the Special Committee for his report and to the Secretariat for its contribution to the success of that Committee's work.
2. The matter of the status of Non-Self-Governing Territories and of the welfare of their peoples was of great concern to the Chinese delegation. The essence of Chinese political philosophy was that the weak should be sustained against the strong; that had been one of the principles of the party through whose effort the Republic of China had come into being. It was ironical that, despite the unselfish motives of its foreign policy, China had for a century or more been the victim of foreign exploitation, and was still faced with grave dangers to its political independence and territorial integrity.
3. After the vicissitudes through which China had passed, it naturally took a special interest in the well-being of peoples who had not yet attained self-government.
4. With regard to the cessation of information regarding Non-Self-Governing Territories, the Chinese delegation did not share the views of certain Administering Powers that the metropolitan countries were solely competent to decide on the territories in respect of which information should or should not be transmitted to the United Nations. In its opinion, only when a territory had attained self-government could the administering State cease to transmit information in regard to it. Since his delegation believed in the international accountability which was the purport of Chapter XI of the Charter, it would in principle support the draft resolution submitted by the delegation of Egypt (A/C.4/L.37).
5. The Chinese delegation had voted in the Special Committee for the United States draft resolution on the extension of the Committee for a period of three years (A/923, annex II, draft resolution F) only because that draft resolution contained the phrase "without prejudice as to the future". It considered that the Special Committee should be placed on a permanent basis, and regretted that the joint draft resolution of which it had been one of the sponsors had not been adopted by that Committee. It emphatically disagreed with the view that the functions of the Committee should be only of a procedural nature. The mere fact that General Assembly resolution 219 (III) included in the Special Committee's terms of reference the making of substantive recommendations was a refutation of that contention.
6. The conversion of the Special Committee into a permanent body would not only give the administering States the continued benefit of its comments and criticisms, but would also be a source of encouragement to the inhabitants of the Non-Self-Governing Territories.
7. The Indian delegation had proposed a draft resolution (A/C.41/L.39) which went a little further than the United States proposal, and therefore more closely approximated the views of the Chinese delegation. He would therefore, in principle, vote for the Indian draft resolution, unless a majority of the Committee was in favour of the establishment of the Special Committee on a permanent basis, in which case he reserved the right to support a resolution embodying such a proposal.
8. Mr. GALAGAN (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) said that the information transmitted on the Non-Self-Governing Territories under Article 73 e of the Charter was unsatisfactory for a number of reasons.
9. Since Members of the United Nations responsible for the administration of Non-Self-Governing Territories had pledged themselves under Article 73 of the Charter to take account of the political aspirations of the peoples of those territories and to assist them in their advance towards self-government, details of political development might have been expected to figure prominently in the information submitted by the Administering Powers. Those Powers were, however, attempting to maintain that Article 73 e of the Charter did not require them to transmit such information, an interpretation which was incorrect and which represented an attempt to prevent the General Assembly from supervising the implementation of the obligations laid down in Article 73 of the Charter. The spirit of that Article undoubtedly imposed an obligation on the Administering Powers to transmit, together with other information, details of the progress made towards self-government in the Non-Self-Governing Territories. The information thus received should be examined and studied by the General Assembly with a view to promoting the political advancement of those Territories.
10. The information transmitted on social, economic and educational conditions in the Non-Self-Governing Territories was unsatisfactory on account of its superficial and general character. The information given on the standard of living of the indigenous population was in many cases insufficient to enable the reader to form any impression of living conditions in the Territory concerned.
11. A number of Non-Self-Governing Territories occupied an important place in the strategic plans of the colonial Powers, both as sources of strategic raw materials and as naval and air bases. No reference to the use of Non-Self-Governing Territories for that purpose, which was contrary to Article 73 c of the Charter, was made in the information submitted. In subordinating the economies not only of their own colonies, but of those of other Powers to the interests of aggressive groups planning a new war, the United States and the United Kingdom were contravening the Charter and ignoring the interests of the dependent peoples.
12. It was impossible to concur in unilateral decisions to suspend the transmission of informa-

tion on Non-Self-Governing Territories. The decision to discontinue the submission of information should only be taken by a special committee on the basis of information submitted by the Administering Powers on the organs of self-government in the Territory concerned and on the participation of the indigenous population in its own administration.

13. Such scanty information as had been submitted provided evidence that the Administering Powers were not complying with the provisions of Chapter XI of the Charter and were continuing to follow the old colonial methods of administration.

14. Puerto Rico under United States administration had developed a sugar-cane monoculture, which was detrimental to the interests of the indigenous population. The territory could trade only with the United States and on extremely unfavourable terms. Unemployment and undernourishment were widespread, and the population, once renowned for its physique, had one of the highest mortality rates in the world. The people had no political rights and their representative in the United States Congress was entitled to speak, even on questions directly affecting Puerto Rico, only if the unanimous consent of the House was given. The legislative assembly was not in a position to enact legislation in the real interests of the country, since its bills were subject to the veto of the Governor and, in the final resort, to the veto of the President of the United States. An attempt was being made to destroy the national culture of the country by not permitting the use of Spanish, the national language, as the language of instruction in schools.

15. The position in the Territories administered by the United Kingdom was little better. A Labour member, Mr. Driberg, speaking in the House of Commons on 4 February 1949, had described Jamaica, to which guide books frequently referred as the tropical paradise, as a tropical slum.

16. In the majority of British territories, the year 1948 had been marked by a decrease in wages and an increase in unemployment, on the one hand, and by a sharp rise in the cost of living, on the other. In Borneo, for example, taking 1938 as 100, the cost of living in 1948 was 320. In a number of British territories there was discrimination against the indigenous population in the matter of wages. In Northern Rhodesia, for example, the African worker received 13 to 14 times less than the European worker for the same work. There was also discrimination against the indigenous population in the matter of education. In Kenya, for example, the sum of 171,000 pounds sterling was spent on the education of the relatively small European population and only 157,276 pounds sterling on the education of the African population.

17. Disease resulting from undernourishment was widespread and the mortality rate, particularly infant mortality, was very high. Doctors and hospitals were insufficient and expenditure on public health quite inadequate.

18. Such facts were evidence that the Administering Powers were following a policy which directly contravened Chapter XI of the Charter. In the opinion of the Ukrainian SSR, the General Assembly could not remain a passive spectator,

but must draw the attention of the Administering Powers to the fact that the interests of the indigenous population of the Non-Self-Governing Territories were paramount and not their own selfish interests, which had nothing in common with the objectives of the United Nations.

19. Mr. MENDOZA (Guatemala) said that his delegation had maintained throughout a clear and well-defined position in connexion with the colonial problem. Ever since the San Francisco Conference, Guatemala had shown concern for the fate of the peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories and had enthusiastically supported any proposal designed to further the political, social, cultural and educational advancement of the peoples and to abolish colonialism, which it considered to be anachronistic. It was absurd that, in the middle of the twentieth century, there should still be two hundred million human beings in a state of political dependency.

20. In defence of colonialism it had been claimed that the system was the first step towards independence, a kind of school in which backward peoples could learn the art of self-government. Admittedly the colonial empires were far more humane and liberal than in the past, but to represent them as a school for self-government was to draw a false picture. It was a school the pupils of which would never be allowed to graduate; the colonial Powers would always feel that the dependent territories needed their paternal care. There was, however, one unmistakable sign of maturity — armed rebellion which the metropolitan Power was unable to repress.

21. Another reason why he could not accept the theory that colonialism prepared peoples for independence was to be found in the experience of the American continent. Spanish colonialism, though in many ways benevolent and paternal, had done nothing to train the peoples in self-government or to help them to attain independence. Spain had turned a deaf ear to warnings regarding the disintegration of its empire. America had become independent during the nineteenth century, not with the consent of Spain but through its own will to be free; and no one could say that the Republics of Latin America had proved unsuccessful. Those young and vigorous peoples gave to the world an example of solidarity, mutual co-operation and peace. The Pan American Union, originally founded in 1826, was a source of pride to all America.

22. The above references were not irrelevant to the discussions in the Fourth Committee, since they illustrated the fact that political independence was an essential element in the real progress of peoples. At the beginning of the nineteenth century other territories had been as backward as the Spanish colonies; those territories were still not considered by the metropolitan Powers to be ripe for self-government.

23. Economic immaturity was also said to be an obstacle. A colonial economy was, however, the greatest barrier to a people's aspirations towards independence. As long as a people did not break through that barrier, they would never know whether they were able to govern themselves.

24. When the Spanish colonies had freed themselves, no international body had existed to take an interest in their fate, and certain Powers had tried to take advantage of the situation by en-

tering into treaties which placed a heavy burden on the new States. In the contemporary world, there was no reason why two hundred million people, assured of the sympathy and support of the greater part of the nations, should remain in a state of subjection.

25. Guatemala, which still suffered from some of the consequences of colonialism, was deeply concerned with the fate of peoples governed by others, and particularly those American peoples who were subject of distant empires. That concern was shared by all the American Republics. Resolution XXXIII of the Ninth International Conference of American States held at Bogotá in 1948 contained a solemn condemnation of colonialism, and expressed the hope that it would disappear from the American continent. That resolution had been adopted with not one vote against and only three abstentions, and those abstaining did not oppose the principle involved.

26. It had been said at the conference at Bogotá that colonialism was anachronistic and incompatible with the American principles and ideals of freedom, unity and solidarity, and prejudicial to the economy of the continent, and that America would not be entirely free so long as parts of its soil remained in subjection. Attention had been drawn to the fact that the existence of colonies constituted a threat to the security of the continent as had been illustrated by what had happened in Martinique during the Second World War. In 1940 the Convention on the Provisional Administration of European Colonies and Possessions in the Americas had been drawn up at Havana with a view to taking over control of any colonial territory which could be transformed into an enemy base. That Convention was still in force.

27. At Bogotá the American Republics had classified the Non-Self-Governing Territories of America in two categories: colonies and occupied territories. The first category included all the Non-Self-Governing Territories which were administered by a metropolitan Power the rights of which were recognized by international law; the second included territories which were in foreign hands for *de facto* reasons. Belize — known as British Honduras — and the *Islas Malvinas* — known as the Falkland Islands — had been classified as occupied territories. With respect to those territories — although the representative of the United Kingdom might say that it was an unfailling ritual in the Fourth Committee — Mr. Mendoza wished to recall that Belize was Guatemalan territory unlawfully occupied by the United Kingdom and that a controversy had existed between Guatemala and the United Kingdom on that subject for more than a hundred years.

28. He did not intend to go into detail concerning the historical and juridical antecedents of that long-standing dispute but he wished to reiterate the Guatemalan position in the matter, and to state that his Government had constantly attempted to reach a just and peaceful solution to the controversy. Hitherto it had not encountered quite the same attitude on the part of the Government in London.

29. The United Kingdom representative might answer that from 1946 onward his Government had shown its willingness to have the International Court of Justice decide the problem and

that, if its attitude had not produced any results, that was due to the reluctance of the Guatemalan Government to submit its case to the Court; and he might add furthermore that that attitude was due to the small confidence it had in its own case.

30. The Guatemalan Government deeply appreciated the good intentions of the United Kingdom Government and quite realized the sacrifice it meant for a great Power to submit itself to an international judgment. Nevertheless, he would like to say that the United Kingdom's willingness to have the Court consider the matter extended only to a merely legalistic decision and to the interpretation of a treaty which, owing to the failure of the United Kingdom to comply with an important clause, the Guatemalan Government had been obliged to denounce and to declare void and wholly invalid.

31. Those were some of the reasons for which Guatemala could not accept the judgment of the Court on the conditions which the United Kingdom wished. But, in its turn, the Guatemalan Government had proposed that the Court should be empowered to judge *ex aequo et bono* taking into consideration all the aspects of the dispute and not the purely juridical aspect alone. The United Kingdom Government had rejected that proposal.

32. Nevertheless, his Government wished to make it clear it had very firm hopes that Guatemala and the United Kingdom would be able to find a formula for a free and just understanding on that important matter, the solution of which was of vital interest to his country.

33. With regard to the Falkland Islands, he would merely say that Guatemala fully supported the claims of Argentina to those islands. The resolution adopted at Bogotá had set up the American Committee on Dependent Territories, the duty of which was to compile information on American Non-Self-Governing Territories, to study the problem and to suggest pacific and practicable solutions. That Committee had worked for five months and had submitted an extensive report which was under consideration by the Governments of the American States.

34. The delegation of Guatemala would favour any proposal designed to improve existing conditions in the Non-Self-Governing Territories and any measure which might contribute to raising their people from their state of subjection to that of free, self-governing citizens, masters of their own destiny.

35. Mr. SHAHBAN (Pakistan) pointed out that, because Article 73 e of the Charter limited the information to be submitted to the Secretary-General to certain specific categories, the United Nations was constantly faced with the question whether the Administering Powers had any obligation to submit information on political development in the Non-Self-Governing Territories.

36. While a number of States had readily responded to the request for the voluntary submission of such information contained in General Assembly resolution 144 (II), others had continued to argue that their obligation was limited to the terms of Article 73 e.

37. Article 73 read as a whole clearly indicated, however, that the metropolitan Powers had ac-

cepted as a sacred trust the obligation to promote the well-being of the Non-Self-Governing Territories and to that end to promote the development of self-government. The delegation of Pakistan therefore hoped that those Members of the United Nations who had hitherto been reluctant to go beyond the obligations imposed by their interpretation of Article 73 e would respond to the request contained in resolution 144 (II). Without their co-operation, the United Nations would lack the necessary knowledge on political progress in the Non-Self-Governing Territories and would not be in a position to evaluate progress in the economic, social and educational fields.

38. It had repeatedly been stressed that the information required under Article 73 e of the Charter was for information purposes only. The intention clearly was, however, that such information should be studied and examined so that the United Nations could give any help in its power to the metropolitan countries in promoting the advance of the Non-Self-Governing Territories towards independence.

39. The delegation of Pakistan had no wish to suggest that the United Nations should intervene in the internal administration of the Non-Self-Governing Territories or that the information submitted should be used for the purposes of party propaganda. It was, however, undeniably in the interests both of the two hundred million inhabitants of the Non-Self-Governing Territories and of the Administering Powers that the United Nations should be enabled to assist them to the greatest possible degree. That could only be accomplished if the necessary information was placed at its disposal.

40. The report of the Special Committee (A/923) and the annual report of the Secretary-General¹ showed that in 1947 and 1948 certain Governments had ceased to transmit information on a number of territories on the grounds that the territories concerned were no longer in the Non-Self-Governing category by virtue of alleged constitutional changes.

41. While welcoming any development of self-government, General Assembly resolution 222 (III) of 3 November 1948 requested the Members concerned to communicate to the Secretary-General, within a maximum period of six months, such information as might be appropriate, including the constitution, legislative act or executive order providing for the government of the territory and the constitutional relationship of the territory to the Government of the metropolitan country.

42. It was a matter for regret that that resolution had been treated as a dead letter and that unilateral action had been taken to discontinue the transmission of information in regard to a number of Territories.

43. The United Kingdom representative had asserted that it was for the metropolitan Powers alone to decide on the Territories in respect of which information should be transmitted, and that the question of the constitutional relationship between the metropolitan Power and the Territories under its jurisdiction was a matter within the exclusive jurisdiction of the Power concerned.

44. The United Kingdom representative had on a previous occasion gone so far as to state that neither the General Assembly nor the International Court of Justice had any voice in the matter. Such an attitude, however, was unlikely to be productive of results. While no one could challenge the exclusive right of the metropolitan countries to administer Non-Self-Governing Territories, the refusal to submit information on the attainment of self-government could only breed suspicion and give rise to unnecessary debate.

45. With regard to the summaries and analyses of information prepared by the Secretary-General², the delegation of Pakistan wished to associate itself with the Indian delegation in advocating the inclusion in future reports of information on the enforcement of labour legislation. It also considered that steps should be taken to increase food production by the use of modern methods and by combating pests. His delegation also wished to associate itself with the representatives of China, Egypt, Venezuela and the Dominican Republic in their suggestions for the improvement of public health and education. He was in general agreement with the draft resolutions proposed by the Special Committee in its report, but reserved the right to express his final comments, if any, when those resolutions came up for detailed consideration.

46. In conclusion, Mr. Shahban expressed the hope that budgetary and political difficulties would not, as in the past, prevent the Special Committee from becoming permanent as an instrument for the implementation of Chapter XI, which was permanent also. It was impossible for members of the Fourth Committee to sift the mass of information received and make suitable recommendations. As the representative of Venezuela had pointed out, the establishment of a Special Committee on a permanent basis was no more a violation of the Charter than the establishment of the Interim Committee. The delegation of Pakistan would, therefore, wholeheartedly support any draft resolution to make the Special Committee permanent, in preference to resolutions which merely extended its life.

47. Mr. MARTIN (United Kingdom) announced that his Government reserved its rights concerning the points raised by the representative of Guatemala on the question of British Honduras and the Falkland Islands.

48. Mr. CARPIO (Philippines) declared that he would like to clarify a few points that had arisen during the discussion.

49. He had read with interest the report of the Special Committee and had listened to the various arguments. There were three different schools of thought on the question of Non-Self-Governing Territories. The first group tended to veer towards radicalism. Bitter criticism had been voiced in the Fourth Committee, the General Assembly and, he believed, in the Special Committee. He personally was opposed to that school of thought which he considered harmful to the aims of the United Nations.

50. The second group, diametrically opposed, tended to be reactionary and had made it a habit

¹ See *Official Records of the fourth session of the General Assembly*, Supplement No. 1, pages 126 and 127.

² See *Non-Self-Governing Territories, Summaries and analyses of information transmitted to the Secretary-General during 1948*. United Nations Publications, Sales No.: 1949.VI.B.1.

to quote the Charter in a manner calculated to further their own interests. According to them the Charter had been drawn up to assist in the perpetuation of colonialism.

51. His delegation preferred to align itself with the third group, which took an objective view of the problem of the Non-Self-Governing Territories. In order to have an objective view, it was first advisable to have a clear conception of what were the obligations of the Administering Members under the Charter. The next step was to establish what were the powers of the General Assembly. Lastly, the Committee and the General Assembly should study the means of implementing those powers.

52. Chapter XI of the Charter contained only two short Articles: Articles 73 and 74. The crux of the matter was the interpretation of Article 73. On various occasions the Committee had heard arguments that, under the terms of Article 73, the administering States had no other obligations than those set forth in sub-paragraph e.

53. Mr. Carpio wondered whether that was a realistic or even a correct interpretation. If the only obligations were to supply information on Non-Self-Governing Territories, Chapter XI was worthless. Such an interpretation could never have entered the minds of the great men who had drafted the Charter in San Francisco.

54. A thorough reading of Article 73 would show that there were several obligations in sub-paragraphs a, b and c, as well as in sub-paragraph d.

55. Sub-paragraph e merited separate mention. His delegation considered that the contention that that sub-paragraph laid down the only obligation was wrong. Sub-paragraph e merely referred to the obligation of the Administering Members to supply information on the Territories under their care. The opinion of the majority was therefore that the Article in question implied a number of definite obligations.

56. The problem of establishing the powers of the General Assembly to implement the provisions of Chapter XI still remained. Article 10 of the Charter provided that the General Assembly was competent to discuss any questions or any matters within the scope of the Charter, as provided in Article 12. It was therefore clear that Article 73 was included in that provision. In that respect he considered that Guatemala was justified in discussing the questions of British Honduras and the Falkland Islands. The current debate affected Non-Self-Governing Territories and the two areas

mentioned by the Guatemalan representative were certainly covered by that term.

57. Most of the difficulties confronting the Committee and the General Assembly were the result of the absence of any machinery to implement the provisions of Chapter XI.

58. The Administering Powers were internationally accountable, which did not imply that, under the terms of Chapter XI, dependent territories had been placed under the direct control of the United Nations. The concepts of Chapters XI, XII and XIII were, however, so new that they had been dubbed the "International Charter of Colonial Administration".

59. A Special Committee had been established by the General Assembly; that was a step forward. It might be the first part of the necessary machinery for implementing Article 73.

60. The authors of the Charter in San Francisco had been moved by a noble spirit and high ideals, and had desired to convince the world that their primary aims were to bring lasting peace and abolish injustices. Those had been their aims when they had drafted Chapters XI, XII and XIII of the Charter. It was the first time in history that the concept of trusteeship had been recognized.

61. The Administering Authorities had not so far been willing to make the spirit of Article 73 a reality. The problem was, however, a pressing one; there were at the moment over 200 million people living in Non-Self-Governing Territories and of that total only 15 or 16 million came within the purview of the Trusteeship Council. It was for that reason that his delegation attached even more importance to Chapter XI.

62. He was not entirely satisfied with the draft resolutions submitted by the Special Committee; nevertheless, since they constituted a step forward, his delegation would support them while reserving the right to introduce any amendment it considered opportune.

63. Mr. TEDÍN URIBURU (Argentina) thanked the representative of Guatemala for his clear statement on the question of Non-Self-Governing Territories in Latin America, which coincided with the policy of the Argentine Government as outlined in the statement made by the representative of Argentina at the Conference of the American Committee on Dependent Territories held at Havana.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.

HUNDRED AND FIFTEENTH MEETING

Held at Lake Success, New York, on Thursday, 3 November 1949, at 3.15 p.m.

Chairman: Mr. H. LANNUNG (Denmark).

Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories (*continued*)

1. The CHAIRMAN invited the Committee to continue the general debate on information from Non-Self-Governing Territories.
2. Mr. ZARUBIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said that, during the work of the Special Committee, several of its members had drawn

attention to the fact that some Governments were not fulfilling the obligations they had assumed under Chapter XI of the Charter in regard to the transmission of information on the Non-Self-Governing Territories they administered. Some Governments, including those of France and the United Kingdom, had decided to discontinue transmitting information for a certain number of territories.

3. The USSR representative had told the Special Committee that such a decision was arbitrary and illegal. He had submitted a proposal to the effect that the transmission of information should be continued until the Special Committee had considered all the data concerning the change of status of the territories in question and until it had submitted a recommendation to the General Assembly that the application of the provisions of Article 73 e of the Charter should be suspended for those territories. It was regrettable that the Special Committee had not adopted that proposal.

4. The USSR delegation was of the opinion that the Fourth Committee should consider the question of the cessation of transmission of information and adopt energetic measures to enforce respect for the provisions of the Charter.

5. Mr. Zarubin called the Committee's attention to the fact that the information transmitted by the administering States was clearly inadequate and did not give a true idea of the situation prevailing in the Non-Self-Governing Territories. Moreover, that information tended to sow confusion in that it mentioned no specific cases and gave no statistical data. The Administering Powers had transmitted no information on the development of organs of local government, nor had they indicated how the ability of the indigenous populations to govern themselves was being developed. It might be concluded from the information transmitted that the administering Members were not fulfilling their obligations and were not contributing to the political, economic and social advancement of the populations of the Non-Self-Governing Territories.

6. In regard to social conditions, part II, section B, paragraph 5 of the Standard Form required the administering Members to transmit a brief statement of the principal laws and regulations in force for the protection of workers, together with a brief description of measures and institutions for the administration and enforcement of such laws and regulations. The information transmitted did in fact enumerate various laws and regulations, but gave no indication as to what they actually meant. Thus, the legal situation of indigenous workers and that of European workers was never compared, nor were any statistical data on unemployment given.

7. There was a similar lack of details in the information on economic conditions. Information on many points was missing, particularly in regard to the industrial companies which had made investments, the profits those companies were making by shamelessly exploiting the indigenous population, and the latter's participation in the economic life of the territory.

8. The Administering Powers were maintaining their policy of exploitation, without regard to the interests of the populations they administered. Large sections of the African population under British, French and Belgian administration were still living under an out-dated tribal system, which was being preserved in order that the population should make no progress and vegetate in poverty.

9. Those Powers were retarding evolution in the agricultural sphere. The best land was exploited by companies which used it for only the most profitable crops, regardless of the interests of the indigenous population. In Barbados, large sugar-cane plantations covered an area of 77,063 acres, while

the indigenous inhabitants had only 17,283 acres. The same situation existed in many Non-Self-Governing Territories. That agricultural policy of the Administering Powers resulted in impoverishing the soil, caused a shortage of foodstuffs and worsened the living conditions of the indigenous inhabitants who were doomed to poverty and hunger.

10. The summary of information transmitted by the Government of Belgium (A/910) gave edifying details on the wage levels of workers in the Belgian Congo. In Leopoldville, an indigenous bricklayer earned 12 to 65 francs per day and a carpenter 23 to 66 francs. As wage levels were lower in the other regions of the Congo, it could be presumed that the average wages of an unskilled indigenous worker did not exceed 12 francs per day. If those wages were compared with the wages of a European worker, it was seen that the European received thirty-two times more than the indigenous worker. Moreover, the European had free housing and transport; he also received free medical care. The same racial discrimination in the matter of wages existed in other Non-Self-Governing Territories. For instance, the inadequacy of wages had been the cause of eighty-seven labour disputes in Kenya. Moreover, unemployment was rife and the indigenous workers benefited from no social security measures.

11. The public health services were also inadequate. For instance, in Madagascar there were only 356 doctors for some 2,146,000 cases of illness, including 314,000 cases of syphilis. The death rate was three times higher in the Non-Self-Governing Territories than in the administering countries. The number of doctors was ridiculously low in relation to the population and the high mortality. The incompleteness of the demographic statistics proved that the administering States paid no attention to the social welfare or public health of the indigenous populations. They were not, therefore, carrying out the obligations they had assumed under Article 73 e of the Charter.

12. In regard to education, the situation was hardly more encouraging. The analysis of the information transmitted showed that large sections of the population were illiterate. For example, in Somaliland, one per cent of the population could read and write, in Uganda 30 per cent, and in the Gold Coast 20 per cent. In Sierra Leone the rate had diminished: in 1946, 30 per cent of the population could read and write, while in 1948 the proportion was only 28 per cent. The USSR representative thought that the criteria used by the Administering Powers in that matter should be checked. They considered that a person could read and write after two years of schooling, but the USSR representative thought that that period was not sufficient. The information transmitted showed that flagrant racial discrimination was practised by the Administering States in the educational system. Much more money was spent on the education of European children than on that of indigenous children. For instance, in Kenya, 0.04 pounds sterling was spent on an indigenous child, while the education of a European child cost 5.80 pounds sterling, 145 times more. In Northern Rhodesia it was 24 times more, and in Nyasaland 80 times more. Those figures, together with the table in document A/919, showed that the credits allocated by the Administering Powers for indigenous education were so small that an

educational system could hardly be said to exist. The USSR representative thought that the percentages given should be carefully checked, as they did not seem always to correspond to the facts.

13. In regard to secondary education, the information transmitted showed that the Administering States were making no provision to ensure its development and were thus condemning the population to ignorance in order to deprive it of the possibility of taking an active part in the political, economic and social life of the territory. In Madagascar, for instance, out of a population of 4 million inhabitants, only 2,065 pupils attended secondary schools; in Nigeria, out of a population of 21 million inhabitants, only 8,750 pupils were registered in secondary schools.

14. The USSR representative emphasized that, even on the basis of the inadequate information at the disposal of the Fourth Committee, it could be affirmed that the Administering Powers were practising a policy of discrimination against the indigenous populations, and were not fulfilling their obligations under Article 73 b of the Charter, which required them to develop self-government, to take due account of the political aspirations of the peoples, and to assist in progressive development of their free political institutions. Finally, they were transmitting no information on the extent to which the indigenous populations participated in organs of local government. It was clear from the other information transmitted on economic, social and educational conditions that the Administering Powers were not preparing the indigenous populations for self-government, but were keeping them in a state of savagery and ignorance that would condemn them to a miserable existence.

15. The USSR delegation thought that the Fourth Committee should take energetic steps to enforce respect for the provisions of the Charter by the Administering Powers.

16. In conclusion, Mr. Zarubin said that the USSR would support any proposal to set up a permanent special committee which would contribute to ensuring the application of the provisions of the Charter and, in particular, the provisions of Article 73.

17. Mr. PÉREZ CISNEROS (Cuba) said that his delegation, like the delegations of other Latin-American States that had taken part in the conference held in Havana by the American Committee on Dependent Territories, took a keen interest in the question of information from Non-Self-Governing Territories. At that conference, in which 13 Latin-American States had taken part, the colonial problem had been considered mainly on the basis of the data provided by the Secretary-General of the United Nations, including the summaries and analyses of information transmitted during the year 1948.¹

18. As Mr. Pérez Cisneros had already mentioned, the members of the conference had deplored the fact that there had been no Spanish translation of that document. That was why the delegations of Cuba, Ecuador and Guatemala had

stated, in the fourth paragraph of the draft resolution they had submitted (A/C.4/L.40), that the General Assembly should see to it that the summaries and analyses were in future published in the three working languages.

19. Moreover, the delegations of Cuba, Ecuador and Guatemala had noticed that the greater part of the information transmitted omitted essential data which should be taken into account in consideration of the situation prevailing in any given territory. He was referring to information of a geographical and historical nature. It should be recognized that the Standard Form adopted in 1947 had classified such information in the optional category; it was none the less true that it was indispensable, and it should not therefore be optional.

20. The three delegations had raised another question. Mr. Pérez Cisneros thought it unnecessary to remind the members of the Committee that the articles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights applied to all States as well as to Non-Self-Governing Territories, and that many articles dealt with human rights in the economic, social and educational fields, which were precisely the three fields referred to in Article 73 e of the Charter. In the circumstances, it was difficult to see why the information on human rights was also optional. The summaries of material voluntarily transmitted under the optional category of the Standard Form (A/AC.28/W.8) showed, however, that information on human rights had been communicated for only a very small number of Non-Self-Governing Territories.

21. It was in order that general information on geography, history, people and human rights should no longer be classified in the optional category of the Standard Form that the Cuban delegation had submitted an amendment (A/C.4/L.2, paragraph 1) to the draft resolution on the voluntary transmission of information under part I of the Standard Form (A/923, annex II, draft resolution A). In that amendment, the Cuban delegation also expressed the hope that such of the Members as had not done so on their own initiative would voluntarily include in the information transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter details on the government of the Non-Self-Governing Territories. The Cuban delegation admitted that the information provided in 1948 was fuller than that of 1947, but thought that in certain respects, including the question of public health in the American Non-Self-Governing Territories, the documentation was too vague. That lack of detail had prevented the American Committee on Dependent Territories from gaining a true idea of the situation. Moreover, the Cuban delegation had been surprised to note that the inhabitants of the Caribbean Islands of French descent received elementary education only in English. Mr. Pérez Cisneros would refer to that question in detail when the draft resolution on the language of instruction (A/923, annex II, draft resolution C) was considered.

22. He then turned to the question of the cessation of the transmission of information. The Cuban delegation wholly shared the Egyptian delegation's opinion; it was difficult to admit the view that the decision as to which territories were not yet completely self-governing was exclusively within the competence of the States that were

¹ See *Non-Self-Governing Territories, Summaries and analyses of information transmitted to the Secretary-General during 1948*. United Nations Publications, Sales No.: 1949. vi. B. 1.

responsible or assumed responsibility for administering them. The Special Committee had decided by a large majority that it was not competent to take a decision on the matter. It was for the Fourth Committee to take the initiative and submit a draft resolution to the General Assembly. The Egyptian delegation had submitted a draft resolution (A/C.4/L.37) to the Committee which dealt with the question most satisfactorily. The Cuban delegation thought that certain drafting amendments might be made to it, but entirely approved its substance.

23. Mr. Pérez Cisneros then explained why his delegation had submitted an amendment (A/C.4/L.2, paragraph 2) to the draft resolution on equal treatment in matters relating to education (A/923, annex II, draft resolution B). The Powers which administered the Non-Self-Governing Territories had given more or less satisfactory explanations as to their educational policies in the Territories. They should also give more detailed and precise arguments to justify the discrimination practised in that field. It was in order to obtain such precise explanations that the Cuban delegation suggested the addition of a second paragraph, to complete the draft resolution.

24. The draft resolution on the eradication of illiteracy (A/923, annex II, draft resolution D) was also the subject of a Cuban amendment (A/C.4/L.2, paragraph 3). That amendment referred to paragraph 1 of the operative part. It consisted mainly of substituting the word "annually" for the words "in 1950". In fact, although it was essential that the general plans drawn up by the administering Members should be communicated to the General Assembly with the least possible delay, the same was not true of the information which UNESCO was asked to communicate to the administering Members or of the report that UNESCO was to make to the General Assembly on the results of the campaign against illiteracy. UNESCO's action in that field should be continuing, and it was not logical that the terms of the draft resolution should restrict it to the immediate future.

25. The draft resolution on international collaboration in regard to economic, social and educational conditions in the Non-Self-Governing Territories (A/923, annex II, draft resolution E) was the subject of a similar amendment by the Cuban delegation (A/C.4/L.2, paragraph 4). As in the preceding case, it was inadvisable to specify that the specialized agencies should communicate information to the General Assembly in 1950. It seemed better to provide that such information should be communicated annually. Mr. Pérez Cisneros wondered whether the Special Committee had had any particular reason for proposing that information should be communicated only in 1950. If the Fourth Committee was not given some valid justification for such a proposal, the Cuban delegation would maintain its amendment.

26. The Cuban delegation had no amendment to propose to the draft resolution on the establishment of a special committee on information transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter (A/923, annex II, draft resolution F). It approved that draft resolution, and would support it. It would, however, have preferred to see the idea of the Special Committee being a permanent organ prevail. The Cuban delegation had been in favour of

that idea ever since the United Nations had been set up; it was that delegation which, in 1946, had taken the initiative in the establishment of a body on information transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter. It was to be hoped that, when the Special Committee's mandate expired in 1952, all delegations would be in agreement to renew it indefinitely.

27. The Cuban delegation was sorry to note that only a few Administering Powers had transmitted information on political conditions in the Non-Self-Governing Territories. It would like to pay a tribute to the Powers which transmitted such information voluntarily.

28. The Cuban delegation was one of those which were of the opinion that the colonial system had been dying out since the end of the First World War. That phenomenon was in accordance with the aspirations of the peoples of the world. The American Committee on Dependent Territories had declared itself in favour of doing away with all colonial systems; the community of nations no longer allowed of the existence of metropolitan Powers and colonies absolutely dependent upon them in all respects. It seemed that that idea had been accepted by the Powers administering Non-Self-Governing Territories when they had voted for Chapter XI of the Charter. Those Powers would display generosity and a spirit of co-operation if they agreed voluntarily to transmit information of a political nature.

29. Mr. Pérez Cisneros drew attention to the last paragraph of the draft resolution submitted jointly by the delegations of Cuba, Ecuador and Guatemala (A/C.4/L.40). That paragraph invited the Secretary-General to complete the summaries and analyses, as well as the annual supplements, by the periodical publication of data on special aspects of the progress achieved in Non-Self-Governing Territories.

30. The information transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter, whether compulsory or voluntary, was so voluminous and covered such a great field that it would seem to be advisable to issue data on certain subjects in special publications. Such a procedure would enable the Fourth Committee to accomplish its task more rapidly and effectively, for under present conditions it was difficult for it to study and analyse all the information transmitted.

31. Mr. Pérez Cisneros would like to know the Secretariat's opinion on that point. He would like particularly to know whether the Secretariat could give effect to the provisions of the last paragraph of the joint draft resolution without too great material difficulties.

32. Mr. BENSON (Secretariat) remarked first of all that it was difficult for the Secretariat to publish all the information transmitted by the Powers administering Non-Self-Governing Territories *in extenso*. The resulting document would be so voluminous that it would be impossible for the Special Committee, and even more so for the Fourth Committee, to study it profitably. That was why the Secretary-General published summaries and analyses of the information transmitted and why he would in future publish annual supplements.

33. The Secretariat had already considered the possibility of publishing technical studies relating

to different aspects of the progress achieved in the Non-Self-Governing Territories as separate documents. It had even prepared such a document by way of experiment. That document had not been published because it was only an experiment for the Secretariat's use.

34. Mr. PÉREZ CISNEROS (Cuba) was of the opinion that the Secretariat's experimental document might be of interest to the members of the Fourth Committee, in spite of possible defects. He therefore asked whether it would not be possible for the document to be communicated to the members of the Committee. It would allow them to form an idea of the actual value of the proposal made in the last paragraph of the draft resolution submitted by the delegations of Cuba, Ecuador and Guatemala.

35. Mr. BENSON (Secretariat) said that the document would be communicated to all the members of the Fourth Committee for information. He would like, however, to make all possible reservations with regard to its presentation and nature as, he repeated, it had only been prepared as an experiment.

36. Mr. GHORRA (Lebanon) stated that his delegation had always considered the question under discussion objectively and without preconceived ideas. As the representative of the Philippines had pointed out at the previous meeting, three distinct trends of opinion had appeared among the members of the Committee. Some had taken a radical attitude, and others a conservative and reactionary attitude, while still others, among whom was the Lebanese delegation, were of the opinion that, above all, the principles of the Charter must be respected and its provisions applied. He thought the Fourth Committee should not become a forum for propaganda or confine its task merely to criticism or congratulation of the Administering Powers for the work they had done. On the contrary, it should take part in drawing up suitable measures to encourage realization of the objectives laid down in Chapter XI of the Charter and to stimulate collaboration between the Administering Powers and the other Members of the Organization.

37. The Lebanese delegation could not share the point of view of some representatives who interpreted Article 73 of the Charter too restrictively by confining its application in practice to the provision contained in sub-paragraph e, which was really only a fraction of the Article. The result of such an interpretation would be that the information transmitted by the Administering Powers would be put in the archives of the Organization for reference purposes only. If that was to be the case, why transmit that information to the Members of the Organization and convene the Fourth Committee to consider it? He personally did not think that the Secretary-General should be reduced to a mere messenger, that it was enough for representatives to read the documents in question as if they were a newspaper article.

38. The Administering Powers had voluntarily agreed to assume the obligations laid down in Article 73, and in particular had undertaken to recognize the principle of the primacy of the interests of the inhabitants of the Non-Self-Governing Territories. The Fourth Committee's duty was therefore to consider the information transmitted, to criticize it as it deemed fit, and then to say what measures would ensure the application

of the provisions of the Charter and respect for the principles therein proclaimed. Thus the prestige of the Organization could be raised, collaboration between the Administering Powers and the other States Members could be encouraged, and the faith of the populations of the Non-Self-Governing Territories in the United Nations could be strengthened.

39. In reading the summaries and analyses prepared by the Secretary-General, he had noted that during recent years the Administering Powers had taken steps to improve the social situation and develop education in many territories. It was clearly difficult to state that that general tendency was the direct result of an effort on the part of the Administering Powers to act in the spirit of the Committee's criticisms and recommendations, but it was certain that the work done by the Organization was a useful stimulant. The General Assembly had gone ahead, and it was to be hoped that the Administering Powers would do the same. The authority of the United Nations should be progressively strengthened and an atmosphere of confidence should be created to promote co-operation between the administering Powers and the Organization.

40. Mr. Ghorra recalled in that connexion that some of the countries administering Non-Self-Governing Territories had deliberately stopped transmitting information on some of the territories, or on some questions concerning them. He hoped that those countries would reconsider their position. It was to be noted also that in many territories questions of social welfare and education were largely dealt with by missions and religious institutions and that Government activity was very limited, although the responsibility for preparing programmes and for taking measures in those fields in fact lay with the Governments.

41. The Lebanese representative also drew attention to the fact that the teaching of vernacular languages was often neglected and relegated to the background. That was hardly justifiable, particularly in the case of such a language as Arabic. Arabic, which was the language of a civilization, was thus given a smaller part than it deserved. Mr. Ghorra was entirely in favour of the teaching of foreign languages in Non-Self-Governing Territories, but not at the expense of the vernacular languages. He also considered that information concerning Indonesia was out of place in documents on Non-Self-Governing Territories. In that connexion, he recalled that Lebanon had been one of the first countries to recognize the independence of the United States of Indonesia, and he hoped that the new State would soon be welcomed as a Member of the United Nations.

42. The Lebanese delegation considered that the Special Committee should be given a permanent status, for the obligations laid down in Article 73 of the Charter were of a lasting character. It would be inclined to vote in favour of any draft resolution along those lines. If no such resolution was submitted, it would vote for the United States draft resolution (A/923, annex II, draft resolution F), which provided for the continuance of the Special Committee's work for a three-year period. It would oppose any resolution providing for less than that.

43. The Lebanese delegation also supported in principle the six draft resolutions annexed to the

Special Committee's report, and would comment upon them at the proper time.

44. Mr. ASTAPENKO (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) recalled that under the provisions of Chapter XI of the Charter, the States Members of the United Nations which assumed responsibilities for the administration of Non-Self-Governing Territories were bound to promote the well-being of the inhabitants of those Territories as far as possible. To that end, Article 73 provided that those countries must ensure the political, economic, social and educational advancement of the inhabitants of Non-Self-Governing Territories, develop self-government, taking due account of the political aspirations of the peoples, and assist them in the progressive development of their free political institutions. Furthermore, the Administering Powers were bound to report to the United Nations on the measures they took with a view to carrying out their obligations in those fields. Some of the Administering Powers, however, appeared unwilling to recognize that transmission of information on Non-Self-Governing Territories was a binding obligation. The United Kingdom had refused to transmit information on Malta, and France had decided to cease transmitting information on Guadeloupe, Martinique, Guiana, New Caledonia and the French possessions in the Pacific.

45. Those Powers were thus denying the right of the United Nations, and, more particularly, of the Special Committee, to examine the substance of the information transmitted, and they were doing so with the intention of preventing the United Nations from supervising the implementation of the principles and provisions of the Charter. The United Nations obviously could not tolerate such actions, which were both incompatible with the Charter and prejudicial to the interests of the populations concerned. To weaken the authority of the United Nations in respect of Non-Self-Governing Territories could only harm the quality of the information it should receive, and that information was already inadequate and incomplete. In that connexion, Mr. Astapenko stressed the total absence of information on measures taken by the Administering Powers to prepare the inhabitants of the Territories for self-government and on the participation of the indigenous inhabitants in public life. It was impossible to form an accurate picture of the true state of affairs in the Non-Self-Governing Territories because the information transmitted was not sufficiently detailed.

46. It could, however, be easily seen, even from the inadequate and incomplete information available, that the Administering Powers were shamelessly exploiting the Territories for which they were responsible, and were not fulfilling the obligations they had assumed under the Charter, particularly as regards the economic development of the Territories. Thus, the Territories were becoming more and more dependent upon the metropolitan countries, whose policy hindered their own economic development by keeping them in a precarious situation as regards both living conditions and the cultural level of the inhabitants. The USSR representative had cited a number of ex-

amples which provided sufficient illustration of that state of affairs.

47. The economy of the Non-Self-Governing Territories was therefore dislocated because they in fact served only to supply raw materials to the metropolitan countries. The position of the indigenous workers was difficult; an indigenous worker in the Belgian Congo received a wage thirty-two times smaller than that of a European worker, and in Northern Rhodesia eleven times smaller. In French Somaliland, dockers and unskilled labourers received a monthly wage equivalent to 16 dollars. It should be added that social security services were non-existent, and that the deadliest diseases raged among the populations of the Territories. In that connexion, Mr. Astapenko stressed that the Administering Powers did not concern themselves with the question of public health; in Aden, for instance, there was one doctor for 350,000 persons.

48. Turning to the question of public education, Mr. Astapenko remarked that large parts of the populations of the Territories were still illiterate. In British Somaliland, one per cent of the population could read and write; in French West Africa, only 5 per cent of the children of school age attended schools, while in Morocco the proportion was 20 per cent. It must therefore be admitted that discrimination was practised in the educational field; in 1947, credits allocated in Kenya for the education of Europeans had been forty times higher than those allocated for the indigenous population. In Uganda, the credits had amounted to one-tenth of one pound sterling per indigenous inhabitant and to several pounds per European inhabitant.

49. It was clear, therefore, that the Administering Powers were not fulfilling the obligations they had assumed, and were not promoting the development of the Non-Self-Governing Territories. The Byelorussian delegation considered that the Administering Powers should transmit full information and, in particular, should not fail to include details on the measures they were undertaking to prepare the populations concerned for self-government and to enable them to participate in the political life of the Territories.

50. The CHAIRMAN stated that, if there was no objection, the representative of France would be permitted to make a statement in the general debate at the following meeting. The same right would be granted to the representative of the United States, who had made a request to that effect.

51. Any delegation could, of course, exercise its right of reply, in accordance with the provisions of the rules of procedure.

52. He proposed that the Committee should begin the consideration of the draft resolutions submitted by the Special Committee.

53. Mr. FARRAG (Egypt) moved the adjournment of the meeting.

It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 5 p.m.

HUNDRED AND SIXTEENTH MEETING

Held at Lake Success, New York, on Friday, 4 November 1949, at 10.45 a.m.

Chairman: Mr. H. LANNUNG (Denmark).

Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories (*continued*)

1. Mr. LAPIE (France) wished to clarify the position of the French Government on the question of Non-Self-Governing Territories and the report of the Special Committee (A/923). He recalled that the position of France had been expressed in the Special Committee, where its delegation had voted in favour of all the draft resolutions contained in annex II of the report, with the exception of that which concerned the extension of the life of the Special Committee for another three years.

2. He would divide his statement into two parts: the first part would concern the extension of the life of the Special Committee; the second would refer to the French Government's decision to discontinue the submission of information on certain Non-Self-Governing Territories.

3. Before he dealt with those questions, he would like to answer some of the criticism that had been levelled against France. In his opinion, the criticism had been both scattered and of scant value. Among all the members of the Committee only four delegations had formulated concrete criticism. All the other criticism had been either vague or of a propagandistic nature.

4. He had been glad to note that some of the criticism had been mixed with tributes. That was particularly the case in the statement by the representative of Brazil, who had had the courage to point out both the good and the bad in French administration. While his delegation welcomed such support, he wished to make it clear that France was not seeking praise, but only recognition of the work it had carried out.

5. Criticisms had been levelled against all the Administering Powers. It seemed that, in the opinion of some delegations, notably the USSR, to be an Administering Power was wrong in itself. He wondered whether the USSR administered any territories. If it did, he thought it would be interesting to hear the echo of liberated people instead of the silence of the oppressed.

6. He would like to clarify the statement made by the Brazilian representative to the effect that France had delayed the process of evolution toward independence in the Non-Self-Governing Territories. In that connexion he recalled that the French Constitution provided for the creation of the French Union and its Supreme Council, which was in process of organization. Such an undertaking took time and patience, but he was sure that its fruits would be seen in due course. The Supreme Council had been established by a law promulgated in February 1949.

7. Some specific criticism had been heard regarding education in Tunisia. He would like to cite some figures. In 1938 there had been 1,907 primary teachers in Tunisia, and by 1949 the number had increased to 2,749. Of those 2,749 teachers, 1,104 were Tunisians. During that same period the number of professors of secondary education

had risen from 356 to 668, of whom 404 were Tunisians. He wondered how anyone could say that there had been no progress in education when the number of teachers and professors had been doubled in the preceding ten years. At the same time he wished to point out that both French and Arabic were used in the schools as languages of instruction.

8. Concerning the criticism of the administration of Morocco, he considered that it had been motivated by propaganda. In fact, the budgetary allocations for education in Morocco constituted 15 per cent of the total budget and had been doubled in the ten years between 1938 and 1949. Another statement had implied that there were only 100,000 children in Moroccan schools, but the true figure was 150,000 in 1947, of whom 110,000 Moslems represented more than ten times the figure for 1920. The number of teachers had been increased in proportion.

9. His delegation regretted the accusation made by the Syrian representative that France had endeavoured to eradicate Moslem culture in Morocco. It was well known that teams of scientists had been sent to Morocco to study and recommend means of preserving and expanding Moslem culture. There was an Institute of Islamic Studies in Morocco which offered courses in a wide variety of subjects in thirteen faculties. In the circumstances, he considered that the Syrian representatives criticism was unjustified.

10. With regard to the reasons that impelled his delegation to vote against the proposal to extend the existence of the Special Committee for another three years, he would like to go back to the origins of the question. By resolution 66 (I) the General Assembly had established the Committee in 1946 under the name of *Ad Hoc* Committee, for one year only. The following year, by resolution 146 (II), the Committee had been given another year of life and renamed the Special Committee. By resolution 219 (III), adopted in 1948, a similar Special Committee had been established. Currently the proposal had been put forward to extend the existence of the Committee not for one but for three years. That was clearly an attempt to establish a body that would parallel the functions of the Trusteeship Council. His delegation considered that the measure had no basis in the Charter and had therefore refused to approve it.

11. With regard to the statement made at the 114th meeting by the representative of the Philippines, he pointed out that if the intention of those who had drawn up the Charter had been to establish an organ to parallel the Trusteeship Council, he felt sure they would have done so. To say, therefore, that such an intention was implicit in the spirit of the Charter had no foundation in fact. It was true that the question had been raised during the San Francisco Conference, but it had been rejected, and the Charter had been drafted in its present form. France had participated in those discussions and had given its support to the majority, which had decided against such an organ. If the question was studied carefully, it would be

found that the proposed Special Committee actually contradicted the provisions of the Charter.

12. It was not suggested that the Special Committee could never be established, but in order to establish it, it would be necessary to amend the Charter. Chapter XVIII provided the machinery for revision; it was therefore a question of setting that machinery in motion if it was so desired.

13. He conceded that the Special Committee might fulfil a useful purpose in matters of procedure. That required careful consideration. Changes should not be made too rapidly. His delegation considered therefore that the life of the Special Committee should be extended for one year instead of three years.

14. The question had been asked why France had ceased to transmit information concerning a number of Non-Self-Governing Territories under its administration. The answer was to be found in the French Constitution and in the formal reservation with regard to constitutional considerations made in Article 73 e of the Charter. While he was prepared to reply to the remarks that had been made, he emphasized that France in no way considered itself as being in the position of a prisoner in the dock. The view of the French delegation was that all the members of the Committee were engaged in a common task, an attempt to ameliorate the lot of a part of the human race.

15. The conception of the French Union was a new one in history; it might appear discouraging at first sight, and some explanation might thus be called for.

16. Mr. Lapie drew attention to the phrase "subject to such limitation as security and constitutional considerations may require" contained in Article 73 e of the Charter. Under the French Constitution, the former colonial territories and the metropolitan territory were united in the French Union. There was only one constitution relating to metropolitan France, the overseas departments, the overseas territories, the Trust Territories and the Associate States. It could not be said that France was acting contrary to the Charter by availing itself in certain instances of a reservation which was actually contained in the Charter.

17. He quoted a letter addressed to the Secretary-General by the French Minister for Foreign Affairs, dated 29 April 1949 (A/915), which set forth in detail the reasons which had led the French Government to cease to transmit information with regard to a number of territories. The French Union, guided by the same spirit as that which had inspired the Charter, aimed at the emancipation of its peoples. It left a place open for those territories which had attained self-government. It was unnecessary therefore to continue to transmit information under Article 73 e when a particular territory was sufficiently advanced in the process of evolution.

18. France maintained that under its constitution, and in accordance with the reservations provided in the Charter, it was the sole judge of the stage of emancipation reached by the peoples under its administration.

19. In reply to the representative of Guatemala, who had said at the 114th meeting that if the colonial status was compared to a school for self-government, it was a school from which the pupils

would never be allowed to graduate, he pointed out that as far as France was concerned, a number of countries which before the war had been classified as colonies had become independent States under agreements concluded with France. With regard to the question as to what criteria would be applied in awarding diplomas of independence, France's reply was that the only possible criterion was that of democracy and civic maturity through education and the experience of political responsibility. France had developed education in the Territories and had established the franchise on a very wide basis, which would be still further extended with the spread of education. The French authorities themselves had been surprised at the rapidity with which the idea of democracy had taken root in Africa. That it had done so was an encouraging sign for the future.

20. The establishment of the French Union had not been a small matter. France remained faithful to the spirit of the Charter. It availed itself of the exceptions provided in Article 73 e, not in order to violate the Charter but in order to implement it, but it wished to do so in its own way. The Charter of the United Nations and the Constitution of the French Union had been signed at the same time, with the same hopes and for the same purposes. The idea of the French Union had been launched at Algiers in the middle of the war, at the same time the idea of the United Nations was growing out of the Atlantic Charter. Both were aimed at the same goal: freedom and a high standard of living for all mankind. France had only one concern — to serve humanity.

21. Mr. FAHY (United States of America) said that the people of Puerto Rico would deeply resent the distorted picture of their country, which the representative of the Ukrainian SSR had given at the 114th meeting. He did not wish to burden the Committee with a recital of the accomplishments of the Puerto Rican people, much less with an account of the assistance given by the United States Government, but felt it necessary to draw attention to a number of facts.

22. On 2 January 1949 the first elected governor of Puerto Rico, Luis Muñoz Marín, who had been born and educated in Puerto Rico, had taken his oath of office. So far as Mr. Fahy was aware, Puerto Rico was the only Non-Self-Governing Territory, which elected its chief executive by universal adult suffrage. The Territory had a bicameral legislature. Twenty per cent of its budget was allocated to education, which was free and compulsory. The Ukrainian representative's assertion that the Puerto Rican Commissioner for Education was appointed by the United States President appeared to be based on the information submitted for the year 1947. It was clear from the information submitted in the following year that the appointment was made by the Governor of Puerto Rico, whose people formulated and executed their own educational policy.

23. Mr. Fahy found it difficult to understand the basis for the Ukrainian representative's allegation that the indigenous culture of Puerto Rico was being destroyed. Spanish was the language of instruction in elementary schools. The Territory had three institutions of higher education, including a university, which had the record enrolment of ten thousand students in the year 1947-1948 and which was making a special effort to

train Puerto Rican public servants and thus to accelerate the country's progress towards self-government. The Puerto Rican school of industrial arts offered training to students from the whole Caribbean area.

24. The Ukrainian representative had described Puerto Rico as a single-crop agricultural community dependent on United States markets and subject to United States control. Like the rest of the Caribbean, the economy of Puerto Rico was primarily agricultural. The percentage of the population employed in agriculture had, however, steadily decreased since the turn of the century and, with the establishment of over fifty new industries, was now less than forty per cent. The Ukrainian representative had alleged that Puerto Rico traded only with the United States. In 1948, however, Puerto Rico imported goods from fifty-three countries and exported her own manufactures and agricultural products to thirty-five countries.

25. The Ukrainian representative had referred to the high incidence of tuberculosis in Puerto Rico. While the tuberculosis rate was high, it was important to remember that its treatment in tropical areas presented special problems. The Puerto Rican Health Department had embarked on an island-wide campaign to vaccinate the entire child population against tuberculosis and was thus undertaking one of the first large-scale campaigns against tuberculosis with the use of BCG serum.

26. While he had no intention of referring to the contribution which the United States Government had made to Puerto Rican progress, Mr. Fahy wished to assure the Committee that his Government would continue to give the Puerto Rican people every assistance in its power.

27. Mr. CARPIO (Philippines), speaking in reply to the representative of France, said that in his attempt to give a legal interpretation of Chapter XI of the Charter in his previous speech, he had pointed out, first, that Article 73 imposed a number of obligations on the colonial Powers over and above those contained in sub-paragraph e of that Article, a contention which had not been refuted; secondly, that by virtue of Article 10 of the Charter the General Assembly had the right to discuss and make recommendations on matters connected with Article 73; and thirdly, that, whereas in the case of Chapters XII and XIII of the Charter the necessary machinery for discussion and recommendation was available in the form of the Trusteeship Council, no provision for such machinery had been made in the case of Chapter XI. He had gone on to suggest that the General Assembly should take steps to remedy that omission.

28. The French representative had, however, asserted that such action would be tantamount to an amendment of the Charter and would be contrary to the spirit which had animated its authors. Mr. Carpio felt sure, however, that, as a fellow lawyer, the French representative would agree with his view that where there was a right, there was also a remedy and hence, if the General Assembly enjoyed certain rights under Article 73 of the Charter, it should also have the power to carry them into effect.

29. He wished to put three questions to the French representative. He would like to know, in the first place, whether the French representative

admitted the existence of the obligations arising out of Article 73, which, he, Mr. Carpio, had enumerated in his previous speech, or whether he considered that the obligations of the colonial Powers were limited to those contained in sub-paragraph e of that Article. In the second place, he wished to know whether the French representative agreed that, under the provisions of Article 73, read in conjunction with Article 10, the General Assembly and the Fourth Committee were entitled to discuss and make recommendations with a view to ensuring fulfilment of the obligations imposed by the Charter. In the third place, he would like to know whether the French representative denied the need to establish machinery to ensure fulfilment of the obligations contained in Article 73.

30. Mr. MUGHIR (Syria) referred to the French representative's allegation that he had failed to read the French Government's report on education in the Non-Self-Governing Territories administered by France. Not only had he read that report, but had in addition studied a great deal of information from Moroccan and Tunisian sources.

31. The representative of France had spoken of the French contribution to the work of Islamic institutes in Morocco and Tunisia. Those institutes had, however, been in existence long before the French conquest of North Africa. They did not, moreover, receive any financial help from the French authorities.

32. When the French had occupied North Africa, they had found a coherent system of administration, with a temporal and spiritual chief, a fact on which the French writer, Lyautey, had commented. The French representative had not indicated the existence of a legislative assembly in Morocco, based on universal suffrage, nor had he suggested that the establishment of such an assembly was contemplated. There was no separation of executive and juridical power in the territory. Freedom of movement was restricted, as was freedom of association. There was also severe censorship of the Press. In March 1948 the number of banned Arabic publications exceeded 1,200. Moroccans were not permitted to form trade unions. Their property was liable to expropriation for a variety of purposes. The economic situation had deteriorated under French occupation, a fact to which the sharp rise in the budgetary deficit testified. Wages had failed to rise in proportion to the cost of living.

33. Mr. FARRAG (Egypt) said that the arguments advanced by the French representative to justify the French Government's decision to discontinue the transmission of information on a number of territories were not new. The French delegation had put forward similar arguments during the first session of the General Assembly in connexion with an attempt by France to annex the mandated territories of Togoland and the Cameroons. The attempt had fortunately been frustrated and the French representative had ultimately been compelled to admit that no Power had the right to appropriate the Territories placed under its administration after the 1914-1918 war. The limitations imposed by constitutional requirements, to which Article 73 e of the Charter referred, clearly applied to constitutions which had existed before the adoption of the United Nations Charter. The new constitution to which the French representative referred had been adopted in 1946.

34. Mr. ZARUBIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said that, in his attempt to refute the facts put forward by a number of representatives, the French representative had levelled the charge of propaganda. It was to such a stratagem that the colonial Powers were wont to resort in order to avoid giving a direct reply to their critics. For its part, the delegation of the USSR had based its observations exclusively on facts contained in the information transmitted to the Secretary-General by the Administering Powers and could not therefore justly be accused of propaganda.

35. The French representative had not attempted to deny the facts quoted in evidence of the lack of political rights in the Non-Self-Governing Territories, of their exploitation and dire poverty. Facts were stubborn and the colonial Powers found it easier to resort to generalities intended to conceal conditions in the Non-Self-Governing Territories from the public opinion of the world.

36. The French Government had taken a unilateral decision to discontinue the transmission of information on certain territories. There was, however, no doubt that the administering Members were required to continue the submission of information required by Article 73 e of the Charter. It was the duty of the Fourth Committee to ensure that the required information was submitted and to remind the colonial Powers of their obligation to promote the well-being of the Non-Self-Governing Territories.

37. Mr. GALAGAN (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) said that, while the representative of the United States had maintained that his description of conditions in Puerto Rico was incorrect, he had not refuted a single fact contained in his speech.

38. The United States representative had not denied that the President of the United States

could impose a veto on legislation enacted by the Legislative Assembly of Puerto Rico. Nor had he denied that the Puerto Rican representative in Congress had no right to vote or even to speak, except with the unanimous consent of Congress.

39. The United States representative had attempted to refute the facts, which he, Mr. Galagan, had given in regard to the economic situation of Puerto Rico. The information transmitted under Article 73 e, however, made it plain that Puerto Rico was a mere appendage of the United States, that its resources were being exploited in the interests of the United States, while its inhabitants were living at starvation level. The United States representative had not denied the existence of widespread unemployment or the large increase in Puerto Rican immigration into the United States. Puerto Rican immigrants lived in squalor and his delegation had received letters from some of them who complained of the conditions under which they lived.

40. The Ukrainian representative also referred to a Puerto Rican law regulating child birth and stated that sterilization of mothers was practised.

41. The United States representative had also refuted the charge that his Government was attempting to destroy the culture of Puerto Rico. He had not, however, denied the fact that the President of the United States had recently imposed his veto on a law on the teaching of Spanish in Puerto Rican schools.

42. It was clear that the colonial Powers had no intention of complying with the obligations laid down by Chapter XI of the Charter. The General Assembly should not be diverted by any charges of propaganda from demanding the strict fulfilment of the obligations imposed by that chapter.

The meeting rose at 1.30 p.m.

HUNDRED AND TWENTY-FOURTH MEETING

Held at Lake Success, New York, on Monday, 14 November 1949, at 10.45 a.m.

Chairman: Mr. H. LANNUNG (Denmark).

Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories (*continued*)

1. The CHAIRMAN announced that the Committee would consider the draft resolution concerning the territories to which Chapter XI of the Charter applied, submitted by the delegation of Egypt (A/C.4/L.37).
2. Mr. FARRAG (Egypt), while not wishing to review the various stages that had led to the adoption of Chapter XI of the Charter at San Francisco or to interpret its terms, stressed that

the draft resolution submitted by his delegation was firmly based on the spirit and the letter of that Chapter.

3. He recalled that at a meeting of the General Assembly in February 1946 the United States representative, Mr. John Foster Dulles, had stated that the declaration on Non-Self-Governing Territories was not merely the concern of the Administering Powers but was also the concern of the United Nations¹. The United Kingdom representative, Mr. Arthur Creech Jones, had added that he rejoiced that there was at last an international colonial convention in Chapter XI which all the Powers subscribing to the United Nations would be required to observe.²

4. In view of those statements, Mr. Farrag considered that it was the duty of the United Nations, and more particularly of the General Assembly, to request the Administering Powers to observe that convention, which, among other things, required the regular submission of information on the territories under their administration.

5. According to resolution 66 (I) adopted by the General Assembly on 14 December 1946, the number of Non-Self-Governing Territories enumerated by the Administering Powers amounted to seventy-four. In 1949 the number of territories for which information had been transmitted had been reduced to sixty-two. He thought that the General Assembly was entitled to know whether the decrease in the number of territories for which information had been transmitted was due to any change in the constitutional position and status of such territories. It was for that purpose that the General Assembly had adopted resolution 222 (III) in 1948. The draft resolution under consideration, in his opinion, completed the procedure initiated by resolution 222 (III) and would enable the General Assembly to discharge its responsibilities in respect to the transmission by the Administering Powers of information under Article 73 e of the Charter.

6. It had been argued that no resolution such as the one submitted by his delegation could be adopted by the General Assembly because it would infringe the sovereign rights of the Administering Powers. The argument, which was not a new one, had been raised before in the Fourth Committee. He recalled that the question had been discussed in detail in 1946 when an attempt had been made to define more precisely the term "Non-Self-Governing Territory". In that connexion, he referred to the summary records of Sub-Committee 2 of the Fourth Committee³ and to document A/C.4/52 which had been submitted to the Fourth Committee in 1946.⁴ The views expressed at that time indicated that the Administering Powers had not raised the question of competence or considered that their sovereign rights had been infringed.

7. With regard to the draft solution submitted by his delegation, Mr. Farrag considered that its contents could not raise any objections. The preamble was based on the Charter and was in conformity with resolution 222 (III). Its opera-

tive parts merely reaffirmed certain prerogatives of the General Assembly.

8. As far as the first operative paragraph was concerned, the number of Non-Self-Governing Territories for which the Administering Powers were bound to transmit information had decreased from seventy-four to sixty-two since 1946. His delegation considered that if some of these Territories had attained independence or self-government, that was a reason for great satisfaction. However, as long as there existed any territories which were non-self-governing, the obligations of the Administering Powers remained in force and the General Assembly should ensure that those obligations were observed. It was essential that co-operation should prevail between the Administering Powers and the other Members of the United Nations, and for that reason the draft resolution should be favourably considered. With regard to the second paragraph of the operative part, he considered that the Special Committee was the most appropriate body to examine the factors to be taken into consideration, and to advise the General Assembly thereon.

9. Mr. DUARTE DE ROCHA (Brazil) considered that the principles which had inspired the Egyptian draft resolution were in accordance with the spirit of Chapter XI of the Charter. Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter had been interpreted in so many ways that it had become almost impossible for the United Nations to define exactly the meaning of the term "Non-Self-Governing Territory".

10. The same interpretations had been used when the establishment of the *Ad Hoc* Committee had been contemplated in 1946. It had been argued that the Charter had not provided for any system to implement the provisions of Chapter XI and that the establishment of the *Ad Hoc* Committee would infringe the domestic jurisdiction of certain States and constitute an attempt to amend Article 2 of the Charter. Yet in spite of that opposition, the Committee had been established.

11. Experience had shown that the expression "to intervene" as it occurred in Article 2 should not be given a narrow, technical interpretation as far as the responsibilities of the Administering Powers were concerned. In the current case the Committee was dealing with matters which did not fall essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any of the Administering Powers, and there was, therefore, no need to analyse in detail the juridical and political arguments which might be expounded in support of the worthy principles which had inspired the Egyptian draft resolution.

12. His delegation would vote for the adoption of the draft resolution and he hoped that it would receive the support of the Committee. In view of its importance he would request that the voting should be by roll-call.

13. Mr. KHADRA (Saudi Arabia) supported the Egyptian draft resolution because, in the opinion of his delegation, it was conceived in the spirit and letter of the Charter and would promote the paramount interests of the inhabitants of Non-Self-Governing Territories.

¹ See *Official Records of the first part of the first session of the General Assembly*, 27th plenary meeting, page 367.

² *Ibid.*, page 374.

³ See *Official Records of the second part of the first session of the General Assembly*, Fourth Committee, Part III, pages 8 and 9.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Fourth Committee, Part I, pages 273-275.

14. In view of the measured tone and conciliatory nature of that resolution he hoped that the Members responsible for Non-Self-Governing Territories would be guided by a genuine spirit of compromise and vote for its adoption.

15. He considered that further acrimonious debate would be avoided by the adoption of the Egyptian draft resolution, which provided the means of finding criteria for deciding when the Administering Powers should cease to transmit information on the territories for which they were responsible. He feared that if the resolution was not adopted, the same recriminations would be heard at the fifth session of the General Assembly and might result in a serious deadlock.

16. It was possible that the Administering Powers had what they considered to be valid reasons for ceasing to transmit information on a number of territories, but it was also possible that the non-administering Powers might refute those reasons. In his opinion, the Egyptian draft resolution presented a good solution to the problem of establishing criteria for determining whether a territory was or was not non-self-governing. Nevertheless, the resolution did not commit the Administering Powers to any further obligations than those they had accepted when they ratified the Charter.

17. He hoped that those delegations which considered that the draft resolution was not sufficiently strong would not harm the interests of the inhabitants of Non-Self-Governing Territories by failing to support it.

18. Mr. Shiva RAO (India) declared that a number of Members were concerned at the unilateral decision of some of the Administering Powers to discontinue the transmission of information on several Non-Self-Governing Territories enumerated in resolution 66 (I).

19. He wished to draw the attention of the Committee to resolution 222 (III) of the General Assembly which did not go beyond requesting the Administering Powers to explain the reasons that had impelled them to cease transmitting information on those territories. The General Assembly was uncertain whether the decision of the Administering Powers to cease transmitting the information was due to the fact that the Territories had attained a status of independence or self-government, to a simple omission, or to other reasons. The Egyptian draft resolution did not question the soundness or the propriety of the decisions taken by the Administering Powers and was intended to throw some light on the question by going one step further than resolution 222 (III).

20. The first paragraph of the operative part of the draft resolution established clearly that the General Assembly had the responsibility to express its opinion on the obligations of the Administering Powers under Article 73 of the Charter. The second paragraph requested the Special Committee to examine the factors which should be taken into account in deciding whether any territory was or was not non-self-governing.

21. The Administering Powers themselves did not agree on the criteria that should be employed in deciding whether a territory was or was not non-self-governing. He referred to statements

made by the United Kingdom and France contained in document A/915. The Administering Powers agreed, however, that the responsibility for determining when a territory ceased to be non-self-governing rested not with the General Assembly but with the Administering Member concerned. It would be appropriate, therefore, if the Secretariat prepared a working paper on the subject as a guide for the Special Committee in its examination of the factors which should be taken into account.

22. For the reasons stated above, his delegation would vote in favour of the Egyptian draft resolution.

23. Mr. MARTURET (Venezuela) said that his delegation considered the question of information transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter to be of primary importance.

24. He recalled that in 1946 the number of territories for which information had been received totalled seventy-four, but subsequently the Administering Powers had transmitted information on sixty-two Territories only.

25. His delegation considered that in order to know how Chapter XI should be implemented, the General Assembly should determine clearly what constituted a Non-Self-Governing Territory. Experience had shown that the term "non-self-governing" was not sufficiently precise. Its interpretation had given rise to the expression of divergent views which had made difficult the task of the General Assembly in so far as the implementation of Article 73 was concerned. He therefore thought that any effort made by the General Assembly to clarify the situation would be justified. The Egyptian draft resolution, in his opinion, was a step in the right direction since it could serve as a basis for the eventual definition of a Non-Self-Governing Territory.

26. The draft resolution made it clear that the General Assembly had the responsibility to express its opinion on the principles which had guided the Members concerned in enumerating the Non-Self-Governing Territories for which they were bound to transmit information. It was evident that the enunciation of such principles could not be construed as intervention in the domestic jurisdiction of the Administering Powers.

27. While his delegation had stated previously that the Special Committee was not, in its opinion, competent to deal with the question of the transmission of information on Non-Self-Governing Territories, it considered that the General Assembly was fully competent to do so. If a special organ of the United Nations was to judge the type of relationship that should exist between an Administering Power and a Non-Self-Governing Territory, that could be construed as intervention in the domestic affairs of the former. That would not be the case, however, if that special organ limited itself to carrying out certain studies of juridical, political, economic or social kind, to be used in determining whether a territory should or should not be classified as non-self-governing.

28. The Egyptian draft resolution should therefore be acceptable to the majority of the Members and his delegation would vote for its adoption.

29. Mr. FLETCHER-COOKE (United Kingdom) said that, in introducing his draft resolution, the

Egyptian representative had stated that the Administering Powers, having signed the Charter, were bound by the provisions of Chapter XI. He would, however, like to point out that those provisions were equally binding for the non-administering Powers. Neither they nor the Administering Powers could either add to or delete from that Chapter except in accordance with the accepted procedure for the amendment of the Charter.

30. Mr. Fletcher-Cooke realized that, in proposing his draft resolution, the Egyptian representative had not only, or even primarily, had in mind the territories for which the United Kingdom was responsible. Since, however, the draft resolution seemed to imply a misunderstanding of the reasons for which the United Kingdom Government had ceased to transmit information on Malta, he felt it might be useful to explain his Government's attitude on that matter.

31. In ceasing to transmit information about Malta, the United Kingdom Government did not claim that the territory had attained a full measure of self-government for the purposes of Chapter XI of the Charter. In the evolution of self-government in the Non-Self-Governing Territories, however, there might frequently be a stage, as there was in the case of Malta, when, although a full measure of self-government had not yet been attained, responsibility for economic, social and educational matters, which were the matters mentioned in Article 73 e, no longer rested with the metropolitan Government, but was vested by the Constitution in the Government of the territory. When that stage had been reached, "constitutional considerations" as provided in Article 73 e might preclude the transmission by the metropolitan Government of information on those matters, as being matters with which it was no longer concerned. The words "subject to such limitations as ... constitutional considerations may require" had been inserted in the draft of Article 73 e at San Francisco on the initiative of the United Kingdom representative to meet that very point and had been accepted with the addition of the words "security and", proposed by the representative of the United States. Since, under the 1947 Constitution, Malta was responsible for its own internal administration, including the matters enumerated in Article 73 e, the United Kingdom Government was not concerned with those matters for constitutional reasons and could not therefore supply any information regarding them. There could be no doubt that only the metropolitan Power concerned was in a position to decide the question of security considerations and of its own constitutional relationship with each of the territories for which it was responsible. As the United Kingdom representative had indicated during the discussion of resolution 222 (III) at the third session of the General Assembly, the United Kingdom was prepared to inform the Secretary-General whenever any one of the territories under its administration reached a stage of constitutional development at which the United Kingdom Government was no longer responsible for the matters mentioned in Article 73 e, with the result that it was no longer constitutionally possible to transmit the information required by the Article. It was, however, simply a question of informing the Secretary-General; there was no provision in the Charter which conferred upon the General Assembly the respon-

sibility of determining the effect of the two limitations — security and constitutional — on the obligation of a Member State to transmit information.

32. No useful purpose would therefore be served by a study of what was or was not a territory whose people had not yet attained a full measure of self-government, since that was not necessarily the decisive point. If the Special Committee was charged with such a study, Mr. Fletcher-Cooke would be obliged to reserve his Government's position on the question of its participation.

33. Mr. SHAHBAH (Pakistan) said that the draft resolution submitted by Egypt fully corresponded to his delegation's views and would receive its wholehearted support.

34. His delegation found it difficult to understand how any objection could be raised to the Egyptian proposal, which was entirely in accordance with the provisions of the Charter. Unilateral decisions to discontinue the transmission of information on the ground that territories were no longer in the non-self-governing category could only give rise to misunderstanding and suspicion. If self-government, or even partial self-government, as in the case of Malta, had been attained and the metropolitan Government placed all the facts before the United Nations, that Organization would have no reluctance in reducing the list of territories on which information was required.

35. Mr. GARREAU (France), while appreciating the spirit in which the Egyptian draft resolution had been submitted, felt bound to emphasize that it was first necessary to reach a satisfactory definition of what constituted a Non-Self-Governing Territory under Chapter XI of the Charter. If the Administering Power could decide to transmit information for a territory, it could also decide unilaterally to cease doing so. No decision regarding the definition of the term "Non-Self-Governing Territory" had been taken at San Francisco, an omission to which France had constantly drawn attention in the course of the preceding three years. To adopt the Egyptian draft resolution without first formulating that definition would be to put the cart before the horse.

36. The list of Non-Self-Governing Territories with which the General Assembly was concerned was not exhaustive and did not include all the territories to which the provisions of Chapter XI of the Charter might be applied. It was therefore unjust that the Chapter should be held to apply only to those Powers which had loyally complied with its provisions. It applied to all Members of the United Nations.

37. The French delegation had raised objections of principle to the draft resolution submitted by the delegations of Mexico and the United States, that had been adopted at the previous meeting. The same objections applied to the operative part of the Egyptian draft resolution and, while again reserving the French Government's position in regard to the Special Committee itself, which it regarded as unconstitutional, the French delegation would vote against the Egyptian draft resolution.

38. Mr. DE BRUYNE (Belgium) said that, in expressing its views on the Egyptian draft resolution, the Belgian delegation found itself in a privileged position, since Belgium had freely de-

cided that the Belgian Congo was the only Non-Self-Governing Territory over which it exercised sovereign rights and had pledged itself to furnish the information required by Article 73 e of the Charter on that territory. The Belgian delegation considered that all the under-developed peoples of the world were entitled to expect the Members of the United Nations to proclaim their acceptance of a sacred mission with regard to them, similar to that which Belgium had accepted in regard to the Belgian Congo.

39. As the French representative had pointed out, no definition of a non-self-governing people had as yet been formulated. Some non-self-governing peoples lived in territories, some in reservations; the areas which they inhabited were in some cases within or adjacent to the frontier of a State, while in other cases they were separated by the sea.

40. Some of the arguments advanced in that connexion in the course of the previous week were, in the opinion of the Belgian delegation, invalid. From a legal point of view, whether the area inhabited by the non-self-governing peoples was within the frontiers of a State or outside them, the better-developed State had certain rights over that area. The Belgian Congo was a part of Belgian territory and was subject to Belgian laws, just as certain reserves were subject to the sovereignty of other States.

41. The Mexican representative had said, in referring to a statement by the Belgian representative, that his country's policy toward the less-developed peoples was subject to control by public opinion and by parliament. The position was exactly the same in Belgium and the records of parliamentary proceedings provided evidence of the humanitarian concern with which all Belgian political parties followed the evolution of the non-self-governing peoples.

42. The Belgian Congo had been both an independent State and a colony. When an independent State, it had been dependent on a sovereign monarch and administered by a handful of white men; it had had its own flag and a colonial council independent of the Belgian parliament. It had in effect been an authoritarian State. If the Congo had retained its independent status, it would have resembled many States represented in the United Nations. It would have had its own representative, who would have repudiated interference, whether foreign or international, in its domestic affairs. From the point of view of international publicity, the Committee would no doubt agree that the existing régime made better provision for the people of the Congo than the previous one.

43. The Uruguayan representative had stated at an earlier meeting that colonial policy had been subject to the judgment of the conscience of the world since the Conference at San Francisco. While such a situation was not unwelcome to the Belgian delegation, it nevertheless felt that the moral control exercised by public opinion should be supplementary to the legal control exercised by parliamentary institutions.

44. It might be profitable for all nations and for the non-self-governing peoples to have official information on the measures being taken by certain States to protect and develop the languages, for example, of the Indians of Central, South and

North America, of the Negritos of the Philippines and so on. It would be useful for all Members of the United Nations to receive statistics on educational advancement and, in particular, on economic and social conditions among the under-developed peoples in all States. The draft resolutions adopted in the course of the preceding few days made it clear that such action in regard to all the information required under Article 73 e of the Charter would promote to the greatest possible degree the well-being of the non-self-governing peoples. The Belgian delegation trusted that, in submitting its draft resolution, the Egyptian delegation had been motivated by a desire to extend the benefits of Chapter XI of the Charter to the greatest possible number of non-self-governing peoples.

45. The Committee should not blind itself to the existence of profound mistrust among its members, mistrust on the part of the non-administering Powers in regard to the "unhappy few" and mistrust on the part of the Administering Powers in regard to a majority which deliberately ignored the constitutional guarantees explicitly provided in Chapter XI of the Charter.

46. As regards the text of the Egyptian draft resolution, the Belgian delegation would have preferred a briefer reference to Article 73, since the existing wording appeared to prejudge the interpretation of that Article. It would have preferred an additional paragraph to the preamble on the following lines: "Considering that resolution 66 (I), in taking note of a situation of fact, cannot interpret Article 73 in a restrictive sense in regard to Members of the United Nations who have or assume the responsibility of administering Non-Self-Governing Territories". The Belgian delegation's principal objections to the draft resolution were, however, concerned with the wording of the last paragraph of the operative part. The phrase "which should be taken into account" in that paragraph was impersonal and it was not clear whether it applied to the General Assembly or to individual States.

47. As it had stated on a number of previous occasions, the Belgian delegation held the view that the General Assembly was not empowered to express a binding opinion on the manner in which the Administering Powers should comply with the provisions of Chapter XI. Hence, even if it reached a definition, by empiric or other methods, of a Non-Self-Governing Territory, it would still have no power to decide on the application of that definition to individual territories. Such decisions were a matter for Member States alone.

48. Such legal arguments would have been sufficient in themselves to justify opposition to the Egyptian proposal. The Belgian delegation, while continuing to reserve its position, particularly in regard to the Special Committee, would abstain from voting on the Egyptian draft resolution because it wished to emphasize the view, shared by the majority of Members, that all the non-self-governing peoples of the world should receive equal and effective guarantees from the United Nations.

49. Mr. NORIEGA (Mexico) disagreed with the contention of the United Kingdom representative that the Egyptian proposal constituted an amendment of the Charter. The value of the Charter rested upon the good will and good faith of all

Members of the Organization. According to the French representative, the eight countries which had voluntarily decided to transmit information under Chapter XI were free to cease doing so at any time. Chapter XI, however, was an integral part of the Charter, and created international obligations both for the Administering Members and the non-administering Members. The Egyptian draft resolution should be considered in that light.

50. The United Kingdom representative had stated that as a result of constitutional changes which had taken place in Malta, the United Kingdom Government was no longer concerned with economic, social and educational matters in that territory. He had admitted, however, that Malta was not fully self-governing. That being so, the United Kingdom Government should continue to transmit information with regard to Malta. All that had happened was that there had been a delegation of powers by the United Kingdom Government to the Government of Malta.

51. With reference to the remarks of the French and Belgian representatives, he considered the case of population groups which were under the domination of an alien race to be entirely different from that of Non-Self-Governing Territories. Such population groups, though possibly, for reasons of culture, not incorporated into the life of the community, nevertheless enjoyed the same civic and political rights as the remainder of the population. It was true that there were cases of groups living in conditions of discrimination and segregation; the Mexican delegation would do everything in its power to obtain justice for them.

52. He appealed to the Administering Powers, in a conciliatory spirit, to propose a formula which would be acceptable to them and satisfactory to the General Assembly. He would like to see the list of Non-Self-Governing Territories diminish as a result of the attainment of real self-government. The Mexican delegation would be the first to congratulate the Administering Powers when that took place.

53. Mr. CARPIO (Philippines) observed that the number of Territories on which information was transmitted under Article 73 e had been reduced from seventy-four to sixty-two without much explanation on the part of the Administering Powers, which took the stand that it was for them alone to decide whether or not to continue transmitting information on any of the Non-Self-Governing Territories included in the original list. The draft resolution submitted by the Egyptian delegation challenged the validity of that contention and raised the question whether or not the General Assembly had any say in the matter.

54. It was the view of the Philippine delegation that, once a Non-Self-Governing Territory had been included in the list of those to which Article 73 applied, the Administering Power no longer had the sole responsibility of deciding whether or not to continue transmitting information. In Article 73, the Administering Powers had recognized the principle that the interests of the inhabitants of the territories were paramount and accepted as a sacred trust the obligation to promote their well-being. The primordial concept of the Mandate System had been that of the white man's responsibility towards backward

peoples. That concept had been embodied in Article 73, with somewhat different wording. The provisions of Chapter XI applied to some two hundred million people, who had so far had little say in the administration of their own affairs. Nevertheless progress was being made; within a period of three years a number of nations in South East Asia had attained freedom. That was a historical process which nothing could prevent and for that reason it was important that the decision whether or not to transmit information should not be unilateral. The only criterion was a full measure of self-government and until that was achieved the administering Powers had no grounds for saying that they had completed their task under Chapter XI.

55. The Charter outlined the pattern by which the Members of the United Nations might co-operate for the well-being of peoples throughout the world. In many cases machinery had not been established, but the pattern was there and it was the duty of every Member of the United Nations to follow it in order that the Organization might be a living reality, able to cope with the changing requirements of modern times.

56. He realized that, as the Belgian representative had said, there were many difficulties in the way of establishing criteria as to the point at which information should cease to be transmitted, and he acknowledged the vigour of the legal contention advanced by the United Kingdom representative. Nevertheless, until a full measure of self-government had been attained, the obligation of the colonial Powers to transmit information remained intact.

57. The Philippine delegation would therefore vote for the Egyptian draft resolution.

58. Mr. PÉREZ CISNEROS (Cuba) remarked that the Egyptian representative had recalled that in 1946 the Cuban delegation had opposed the suggestion that the meaning of the term "Non-Self-Governing Territory" should be defined. Cuba had always wished Article 73 to be interpreted in the broadest possible manner and had been against any premature definition, which might have had a restrictive effect. The Cuban delegation, however, felt that the time had come when a definition should be reached. Article 73 was quite clear; it spoke of "territories whose peoples have not yet attained a full measure of self-government". Until they had attained that full measure of self-government, all the provisions of Article 73 remained in force. Agreement must therefore be reached on the exact meaning of the expression "full measure of self-government". Only in that way could the Administering Powers know what their obligations were with regard to the transmission of information. He could not agree that because a territory had become self-governing in social or educational matters, information should automatically cease to be transmitted.

59. In reply to the French representative, he maintained that once the list of Non-Self-Governing Territories had been established, it became the property of the United Nations and the General Assembly should continue to receive information on all the territories it enumerated. He agreed with the French representative that the list of Non-Self-Governing Territories should be lengthened rather than shortened. No real difference of principle existed between the administering and

the non-administering Members, and he believed that most of the former would vote for the draft resolution.

60. It might appear that the Cuban delegation had changed its opinion, but in reality it felt, as it had always done, that Article 73 e should be interpreted as broadly as possible. It would therefore vote for the Egyptian draft resolution.

61. Mr. GARREAU (France) pointed out that no reply had been given to his question, which had also been put by the Belgian representative: the fundamental question of what were non-self-governing peoples.

62. Prince WAN WAITHAYAKON (Thailand) sympathized with the aims of the draft resolution submitted by Egypt.

63. With regard to the final paragraph, the task assigned to the Special Committee would be extremely difficult; nevertheless it should be attempted. He would therefore vote for that paragraph.

64. With reference to the first operative paragraph, it was acceptable in principle. The United Kingdom representative had called attention to the reservation regarding constitutional considerations in Article 73 e; the wording of the paragraph, however, made it clear that the General Assembly could consider the constitutional considerations submitted for ceasing to transmit or for not transmitting information and could express its opinion. He wondered whether it was in order for the first operative paragraph to imply an obligation on the part of the General Assembly, and suggested that it should be altered to read: "Considers that it is within the responsibility of the General Assembly to express its opinion . . ." If that was accepted, he would vote for the draft resolution; if not, he would abstain.

65. Mr. FARRAG (Egypt) accepted the proposal of the representative of Thailand.

66. He moved the adjournment of the meeting.
It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 1.20 p.m.

HUNDRED AND TWENTY-FIFTH MEETING

Held at Lake Success, New York, on Wednesday, 16 November 1949, at 3 p.m.

Chairman: Mr. H. LANNUNG (Denmark).

Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories (*continued*)

1. The CHAIRMAN invited the Committee to continue its study of the draft resolution presented by the Egyptian delegation (A/C.4/L.37/Rev.2) concerning territories to which Chapter XI of the Charter applied.

2. Mr. FLETCHER-COOKE (United Kingdom) wished to restate the United Kingdom's position in regard to the draft resolution submitted by the Egyptian delegation.

3. First, he had not said, as the representative of Mexico had claimed at the 124th meeting, that the adoption of the draft resolution in question by the General Assembly would require an amendment of the Charter. He had stated that all Members of the United Nations had subscribed to Chapter XI, that was to say, the Administering Powers had undertaken a specific obligation under Article 73 e while the non-administering Powers had in the same way accepted certain limitations set out in that Article. Furthermore, there was no provision in the Charter which entitled the Assembly to determine the effect of those limitations on the obligation of a Member State to transmit the information required. In fact, Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter seemed specifically to preclude that possibility.

4. Three points had been considered during the discussion. The first related to the definition of the term "Non-Self-Governing Territory"; the second related to the suggestion that the General Assembly had the right to decide whether a particular territory fell within that definition. The United Kingdom delegation thought that the definition of the term "Non-Self-Governing Territory" was sufficiently clear. Although that question had been considered many times since 1946, no new definition had been given. He shared the

doubts expressed at the 124th meeting by the representative of Thailand, who did not believe that the Special Committee would succeed in finding a more satisfactory definition. The United Kingdom Government thought that no clearer interpretation was necessary, since it had never disputed the fact that the provisions of Article 73 applied to the forty-three Non-Self-Governing Territories under British administration enumerated in the list drawn up in 1946. If, however, the Committee wished to try to find a better definition, the United Kingdom delegation would not oppose it.

5. If it was the intention that the Special Committee should be asked to define the term "Non-Self-Governing Territory", Mr. Fletcher-Cooke thought that a clearer wording should be found for the last paragraph of the Egyptian draft resolution (A/C.4/L.37/Rev.3). The United Kingdom delegation would not raise any objection in principle to an attempt to define the term "Non-Self-Governing Territory"; if, however, the intention of that paragraph was to request the General Assembly to decide whether particular territories were or were not Non-Self-Governing Territories, the United Kingdom delegation would oppose that, as the General Assembly had no power to take such action. The Administering Powers alone were entitled to determine whether a particular territory was or was not non-self-governing.

6. The third point related to the suggestion that the General Assembly was competent to pronounce itself upon the circumstances contemplated in the phrase contained in Article 73 e, which read "subject to such limitation as security and constitutional considerations may require." In the opinion of the United Kingdom delegation, the Administering Powers alone were entitled to decide whether constitutional considerations, as in the case of Malta, precluded the transmission

of information under Article 73. He pointed out that none of the Committee, with the exception of the representative of Thailand, had defined their attitude on that matter. He repeated that the reasons for the inclusion of that limitation in Article 73 e had been clearly explained by the United Kingdom representative at the San Francisco Conference and had been accepted by the Conference. If, however, the members of the Committee wished to go back upon that point, they should explain their position. He could not agree with the interpretation given by the representative of Thailand at the 124th meeting; he hoped that the latter would find it possible to reconsider his position.

7. The United Kingdom representative again made it clear that the Administering Powers alone could decide on the scope of the limitation proclaimed in Article 73 e, as they alone were in a position to appraise the factors in the situation. The Committee should therefore accept the opinion of the Administering Powers on the question.

8. It was upon that thesis that the United Kingdom delegation based its objection to the Egyptian draft resolution. Its opposition was due in particular to the wording of the first paragraph of the operative part of the draft resolution; the Assembly might be entitled to express its opinion on the term "Non-Self-Governing Territory", but it was not entitled to give an opinion on considerations of a constitutional nature in a particular case. Although the United Kingdom delegation thought that the draft resolution would serve no useful purpose and shared the doubts of the representative of France as to the propriety of entrusting that task to the Special Committee, its opposition to the draft resolution would nevertheless be considerably reduced if the Egyptian delegation consented to delete the end of the first paragraph of the operative part, after the words "express its opinion" and to insert the words "on the meaning of the term 'Non-Self-Governing Territory'". If that suggestion was adopted, the last paragraph would have to be amended in order to make it clear that what was intended was a definition of the term "Non-Self-Governing Territory".

9. Mr. Fletcher-Cooke fully agreed with the Cuban representative's remark at the 124th meeting, that all the provisions of Article 73 e remained in force until a particular Non-Self-Governing Territory became fully self-governing. It was Mr. Fletcher-Cooke's contention that one of the provisions of Article 73 e, namely the constitutional reservation, remained in force and could preclude the transmission of information in a particular case.

10. The United Kingdom Government had not granted a constitution to Malta in order to justify the cessation of the transmission of information, but because it was in accordance with the United Kingdom's policy in that field, and also because it was in accordance with the provisions of Article 73 b of the Charter, according to which the Administering Powers had accepted as a sacred trust the obligation to assist the peoples of Non-Self-Governing Territories in the progressive development of their free political institutions. The United Kingdom Government therefore claimed the benefit of the reservation regarding the transmission of information contained in Article 73 e of the Charter.

11. In conclusion, the United Kingdom delegation objected to the draft resolution, not so much because it invited the General Assembly to define the term "Non-Self-Governing Territory", but because it suggested that the General Assembly had a right to decide whether or not the Administering Powers should transmit information concerning a particular territory. That right rested exclusively with the Administering Powers concerned.

12. Mr. MENDOZA (Guatemala) considered that the Egyptian draft resolution was very important. The way in which some delegations were trying to weaken or to deny the obligatory character of the provisions of Chapter XI of the Charter caused the Guatemalan delegation some concern. The Administering Powers had undertaken to respect the obligations arising from Article 73 e. It was for that reason that the majority of the Committee had been surprised to note that they were resorting to expedients to evade those obligations. It was not a question of knowing whether a Non-Self-Governing Territory was a colony or a protectorate; the point was whether a territory which was included in the list drawn up in 1946 was still subject to the same régime or whether its people had now attained a full measure of self-government. In the cases where changes had been made, it should be known whether they had been effected after the wishes of the people had been taken into account.

13. The United Nations had accepted a list of seventy-four Non-Self-Governing Territories, and it alone had the power to amend that list by deleting Territories which had become self-governing.

14. The Egyptian draft resolution was a safeguard against any tendency to render the provisions of Chapter XI inoperative. The General Assembly should take urgent measures to oppose any attempt to weaken respect for the provisions of the Charter. For that reason the Guatemalan delegation supported the draft resolution.

15. In conclusion, Mr. Mendoza stated that his delegation had complete confidence in the good faith of the Administering Powers, but he was anxious that the principle of the paramount authority of the United Nations should be safeguarded.

16. Mr. HOOD (Australia) was surprised that the representative of Guatemala had stated that there had been a tendency to render the provisions of Chapter XI inoperative. The discussions in the Fourth Committee and the Special Committee seemed to prove the contrary. The draft resolutions already adopted were based on a wider interpretation of Chapter XI than that current when the Charter had been signed.

17. The Egyptian draft resolution would confront the Special Committee with a difficult task, since the text was not clear. Moreover, the proposals made in it were premature and did not seem to take into account the attitude of the Administering Powers. He would therefore vote against the draft resolution as it stood.

18. As regards the question of the status of Non-Self-Governing Territories, Mr. Hood considered that it was for the Administering Powers alone to decide whether a Non-Self-Governing Territory had attained a full measure of self-government.

19. He would like the Egyptian representative to explain in particular the meaning of the two paragraphs of the operative part of his draft resolution. The provisions of the first operative paragraph were not consistent with those of the second. The United Kingdom representative had drawn the attention of members of the Committee to the ambiguity of the phrase "which should be taken into account in deciding". It should be stated whether the decision would be taken by the General Assembly or by the Administering Powers themselves. Furthermore, Mr. Hood did not understand why in the first operative paragraph "principles" were mentioned, while the second operative paragraph mentioned "factors". It seemed that those two words referred to the same thing, and it was not clear what role would be played by the Special Committee once the General Assembly had given its opinion.

20. Mr. FARRAG (Egypt) recalled that the United Kingdom representative had stated that if the Administering Powers were bound to respect the provisions of Chapter XI, so were the other Powers. Mr. Farrag emphasized in that connexion that no one wished to go beyond the provisions of Article 73 e of the Charter, but simply desired that those provisions should be strictly observed.

21. The United Kingdom representative had stated that the limitation required by constitutional considerations applied to the case of Malta. Mr. Farrag thought that it was a question of interpretation. The representatives of Mexico and Thailand had already expressed their opinion on the point. Constitutional considerations could not justify an infringement of the provisions of the Charter, and constitutions must comply with, and not contradict those provisions.

22. The United Kingdom representative thought that the Special Committee would not be able to carry out the task to be entrusted to it, namely, to study "factors which should be taken into account. . .", and that it could not do any better than Sub-Committee 2 in 1946. Mr. Farrag pointed out that the task of Sub-Committee 2 had merely been to draw up the list of Non-Self-Governing Territories; it had not been asked to study the question of the criteria which would now be entrusted to the Special Committee.

23. He saw no ambiguity in his draft resolution, which reproduced in substance an idea put forward in 1946 by the Australian representative.

24. The Egyptian representative regretted that he could not accept the suggestion made by the United Kingdom representative with regard to the first paragraph of the operative part, since such a modification would render the draft ineffective.

25. Mr. MACEachen (Uruguay) proposed, following modification of the first operative paragraph in the manner suggested by the United Kingdom representative and subject to the latter's acceptance of his proposal, that the last part of the fifth paragraph after the words "to examine" should be deleted and replaced by the phrase: "in the light of the opinion expressed in the previous paragraph, the list of territories in connexion with which information has been received under Article 73 e of the Charter; and inform the General Assembly of the result of this study".

26. Mr. GARREAU (France) asked whether the Egyptian representative had thought of bringing his draft resolution into line with the draft resolution adopted by the Committee at its 122nd meeting regarding the establishment of a special committee on information transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter. The General Assembly in that resolution would invite the special committee to examine the summaries and analyses of information transmitted under Article 73 e on the economic, social and educational conditions in the Non-Self-Governing Territories. The Egyptian draft resolution, however, would entrust the Special Committee with functions, the carrying out of which would require the Administering Powers to transmit to the Special Committee information of a political nature not envisaged in Article 73 e of the Charter.

27. There was therefore a glaring contradiction between the very precise mandate of the Special Committee and the functions with which the Egyptian draft resolution would entrust it.

28. Mr. KOLENKY (Liberia) noted that the Egyptian draft resolution had been the least criticized of those before the Fourth Committee, a fact which proved that it was in conformity with the Charter and deserved support from the majority of the Committee. The Liberian delegation would vote for the text proposed by Egypt and amended by Thailand at the 124th meeting.

29. Prince WAN WAITHAYAKON (Thailand) regretted that he was unable to change his point of view, as requested by the United Kingdom representative. He was convinced, after a fresh examination of the text of the Charter, that the wording used clearly showed that the General Assembly had the right to determine whether the constitutional considerations which might be invoked by the Administering Powers were or were not well founded.

30. Mr. FLETCHER-COOKE (United Kingdom) upheld his interpretation regarding the reservation in Article 73 e of the Charter.

31. As regards the proposed Uruguayan amendment, Mr. Fletcher-Cooke repeated that in his opinion the Special Committee was not competent to define what was meant by a "Non-Self-Governing Territory". In that connexion he shared the views of the French representative. He was therefore unable to vote for any draft resolution which assumed that the Special Committee had such competence.

32. Moreover, there was a technical difficulty connected with the Uruguayan amendment, in that it was hard to see how the Special Committee could consider the list of Non-Self-Governing Territories in the light of the General Assembly's opinion, when the latter opinion had not yet been formulated.

33. Nor could the United Kingdom delegation agree to any definition of "Non-Self-Governing Territory" being applied to a specific territory. Such a definition could serve only as an indication for the Administering Powers.

34. Mr. MACEachen (Uruguay) recalled that the United Kingdom representative had been unable to agree that the Special Committee should give a definition applicable to any particular territory. However, according to the first paragraph

of the operative part of the Egyptian draft resolution, amended in accordance with the proposal of the Uruguayan representative, the decision as to the meaning of "Non-Self-Governing Territory" should be given by the General Assembly. If the Special Committee, for its part, were to examine the list of territories, not only would it be acting as a subsidiary organ of the General Assembly and within the powers thus conferred upon it, but it would obviously take into account, in making that examination, any opinion that the General Assembly might have expressed on the question. As a subsidiary organ, the Special Committee would have to inform the General Assembly, and therefore public opinion, on the degree to which the principles contained in Chapter XI of the Charter were being implemented and observed.

35. He was anxious to point out that his proposal did not indicate the possible results of the Special Committee's examination, but simply recommended that that Committee should study the question, taking into account the opinion expressed by the General Assembly.

36. Major-General BURNS (Canada) said that the populations of many territories that were not at that time self-governing would finally attain a full measure of self-government and that it was interesting to know exactly at what moment and under what conditions a territory could be declared to be self-governing. Such a decision could not, however, be taken by the Special Committee. There was no reason to think that it could secure better results in that matter than the Fourth Committee. The Special Committee was not the appropriate organ to consider such a question; it had been established to carry out a certain well-defined task and the Canadian delegation had voted for its establishment for that purpose. If the Special Committee was required to undertake an additional task, it might well be hindered in carrying out the work for which it had been specially set up.

37. General Burns pointed out that the report of the Special Committee (A/923) showed that, during its 1949 session, the representatives of Egypt, India, the Dominican Republic, Venezuela and others, had expressed the view that it was not competent to decide whether a Non-Self-Governing Territory had achieved autonomy or independence. He saw no reason why, at the forthcoming session of the Special Committee, any view different from that expressed during the preceding session could be expected. The Egyptian draft resolution had no practical value and he would not vote for it. Furthermore, he did not think that the amendment proposed by the representative of Uruguay either clarified the text or made it more precise.

38. Mr. DE BRUYNE (Belgium) noted that the representatives of Australia and the United Kingdom had, like himself, expressed doubts as to the exact meaning of the second paragraph of the operative part of the Egyptian draft resolution. The representative of Egypt had stated during the meeting that the text of his draft resolution was clear to him. In the opinion of the Belgian representative, however, the meaning of the paragraph in question was becoming more and more ambiguous and he asked whether, in the phrase "the factors which should be taken into account", it was the General Assembly or the Member States which were to take the factors into account.

39. Mr. FARRAG (Egypt) agreed that he had considered the Special Committee as not competent during its 1949 session but, in reply to the representative of Canada, he said that it was precisely in order that the Committee should become competent to consider the question that he had submitted his draft resolution.

40. With regard to the observations made by the Belgian representative, he said that the Fourth Committee had drawn attention in 1946 to the advisability of indicating the criteria for determining what territories came under the provisions of Chapter XI of the Charter. Subsequently, Governments had expressed an opinion regarding such criteria, and logically it seemed to be the duty of the Special Committee to consider the question and decide on those criteria.

41. At the request of Mr. PÉREZ CISNEROS (Cuba), Mr. BENSON (Secretariat) read out the first and second paragraphs of the operative part of the Egyptian draft resolution, as amended by the representative of Uruguay.

42. Mr. CARPIO (Philippines) pointed out that the opinion had been expressed that it was for the Administering Powers alone to determine what constitutional considerations or security requirements might entitle them to cease to transmit information on any particular Non-Self-Governing Territories. But were the Administering Powers to abuse that prerogative or to decide in an arbitrary fashion to cease to transmit information on certain territories, a line of conduct which might lead to a situation where no information at all would be transmitted on any of the seventy-four territories listed, Mr. Carpio wondered whether the Administering Powers would even then maintain that the United Nations was not entitled to take any action or to carry out any investigation.

43. Mr. FLETCHER-COOKE (United Kingdom) was pleased that the Cuban representative had asked for the new text of the first operative paragraph to be read out. He noted that the suggestion he had previously made had been used in such a way that he could no longer recognize it as his own. He had in fact suggested the deletion of the whole final part of the paragraph following the words "express its opinion" and the insertion of the words "on the meaning of the term 'Non-Self-Governing Territory'". He noted that the idea which had appeared in the original text, namely, the obligation to transmit the information referred to under Article 73 e of the Charter, had been reintroduced. He was unable to accept the new text of the paragraph drafted in that way.

44. In reply to the remarks made by the Philippine representative, Mr. Fletcher-Cooke recalled that the Administering Powers had accepted the obligation to transmit information on the Non-Self-Governing Territories administered by them, subject to certain limitations. The United Kingdom intended to respect that obligation, and he regretted the implication that the Administering Powers might shirk their obligations.

45. Mr. CARPIO (Philippines) was afraid that his question had been misunderstood. He did not mean to imply that the Administering Powers would necessarily decide in an arbitrary way to cease to transmit information by taking advantage of the limitations referred to in Article 73 e; but he pointed out that the Charter itself implicitly

foresaw the possibility that Member States might show some evidence of bad faith. He wished to make it clear, however, that he had not intended to allude to any particular State.

46. Mr. MUGHIR (Syria) pointed out that the Egyptian draft resolution raised the question of the competence of the General Assembly to decide whether a territory was independent or not. He considered that sub-paragraph e of Article 73 was not the only sub-paragraph which placed obligations on the Administering Powers. The other parts of that Article also imposed certain obligations, for they were based on the main principles of the Charter. Mr. Mughir thought that the Egyptian draft resolution would greatly facilitate the Special Committee's work. Moreover, the fact that that Committee would have to examine "the factors which should be taken into account in deciding whether any territory is or is not a territory whose people have not yet attained a full measure of self-government" would make it possible for the Fourth Committee to avoid being once more in the position of trying to ascertain the reasons for which any particular Administering Power had ceased to transmit information. Mr. Mughir said that his delegation would vote unreservedly in favour of the Egyptian draft resolution.

47. Mr. PÉREZ CISNEROS (Cuba) paid a tribute to the contribution made to the Committee's work by the Uruguayan delegation but he regretted that, in that particular case, he was unable to approve the amendment just proposed by that delegation. The first paragraph of the operative part of the Egyptian draft resolution set forth a general principle in recognizing the competence of the General Assembly. The final paragraph was the crux of the problem, for it laid down the procedure which the General Assembly might use in order to give its views concrete form, a procedure which enabled it to refer the matter to a subsidiary organ, which was in conformity with the provisions of Article 22 of the Charter. The amendment submitted by the Uruguayan delegation was, however, not clear in itself and weakened the value of the draft resolution. What it did was to recommend that the Special Committee should study the relevant factors in the light of the opinion formulated by the General Assembly to which reference was made in the first operative paragraph. But no such opinion was formulated in that paragraph, which, in point of fact, merely recognized the General Assembly's right to formulate an opinion. The Special Committee, therefore, would not really have before it the views of the General Assembly.

48. The Uruguayan amendment was not acceptable for still another reason: it referred only to the list of territories on which information had been transmitted, whereas it would, on the contrary, have been interesting to examine the list of territories on which no information had been transmitted.

49. The delegation of Cuba could not therefore support the Uruguayan amendment, but would vote for the original text of the Egyptian draft resolution.

50. Mr. MACEachEN (Uruguay) thought that it might be possible to meet the point raised by the representative of Cuba by adding the words "and therefore decides to express an opinion"

after the words "express its opinion" in the first operative paragraph of the draft resolution.

51. He further pointed out that the provisions of the Egyptian draft resolution exceeded the powers of the General Assembly. The delegation of Uruguay considered that the General Assembly could not express an opinion on the principles which guided, or had guided, Administering Powers in listing territories in respect of which they were obliged to transmit information. On the other hand, the General Assembly could define the nature of a Non-Self-Governing Territory without thereby trespassing on the national jurisdiction of certain States. Mr. MacEachen thought that only the General Assembly and the Fourth Committee were competent to put forward opinions based, first, on the list of Non-Self-Governing Territories and, secondly, on the nature of the territories on which the Administering Powers were obliged to transmit information.

52. Mr. PÉREZ CISNEROS (Cuba) pointed out that the new change suggested by the representative of Uruguay did not do away with the difficulty to which he had drawn the attention of the meeting. While it was stated that the General Assembly could express its opinion, nothing was said as to the nature of that opinion.

53. Mr. FARRAG (Egypt) regretted that he could not accept the changes proposed by the representative of Uruguay. He thought they greatly weakened the text of his draft resolution and reduced its scope by omitting the Non-Self-Governing Territories about which no information was transmitted.

54. Mr. MENDOZA (Guatemala) considered that it was useless for the meeting to expend its energy in vain conjecture as to the definitions of the term "Non-Self-Governing Territories", which the Charter itself defined clearly and specifically. The real problem was to decide whether a given territory had actually reached a level of autonomy or independence which would permit the responsible Administering Power to cease to transmit information about it. The General Assembly had a list of the territories about which the Administering Powers had agreed to transmit information and it was natural that, when an Administering Power ceased to submit information on any of those territories, the General Assembly should seek to know why.

55. The question became serious when an Administering Power ceased to transmit information on a Non-Self-Governing Territory, although it was obvious that the population of that territory was not as yet in complete charge of its own administration.

56. For those reasons the delegation of Guatemala could not support the Uruguayan amendment, but would vote for the Egyptian draft resolution.

57. Mr. Shiva RAO (India) regretted that the discussion had come to bear mainly on legal subtleties, which tended to obscure the purely human aspect of the question.

58. The draft resolution put forward by the delegation of Egypt aimed simply at stating that "it was within the responsibility of the General Assembly to express its opinion". Such a claim did not seem unreasonable. The General Assembly

was the supreme authority on the interpretation of the Charter and its opinion should be received with the consideration it deserved.

59. The General Assembly would then invite the Special Committee to examine the "factors which should be taken into account". So important and delicate a task could only be adequately accomplished with the help of the Secretariat, which should be asked to supply the Special Committee with all the necessary working documents.

60. Undoubtedly, the examination of the factors which should be taken into account in deciding whether any territory was or was not self-governing, was within the province of the General Assembly. Such a study seemed essential in view of the fact that the number of Non-Self-Governing Territories had fallen from seventy-four to sixty-two since 1946. Another point which would have to be considered was whether the examination carried out by the General Assembly, or by the Special Committee created for the purpose, would lead to positive conclusions or merely to an expression of opinion.

61. Mr. Rao drew attention to the concluding words of sub-paragraph e of Article 73 of the Charter. They made it perfectly clear that it was the duty of Administering Powers to submit information on all territories other than Trust Territories. The representative of the United Kingdom had instanced the case of Malta, admitting that that territory was not yet wholly self-governing, since the United Kingdom was still responsible for such matters as Maltese diplomatic relations. Malta therefore belonged in the category of territories on which information had to be transmitted in accordance with the provisions of Article 73 of the Charter. If, for constitutional reasons, the Government of the United Kingdom believed that it was not bound to transmit information, it should notify the Special Committee set up by the General Assembly. That Committee would then have to ascertain whether, in fact, the Constitution of Malta was one of the factors of which account had to be taken in order to decide to what extent the population of the island was self-governing and to justify the cessation of the transmission of information. Mr. Rao emphasized that he had cited the example of Malta, but that the situation was identical with regard to all Territories in similar circumstances.

62. He concluded by stating that the draft resolution submitted by Egypt was particularly opportune under existing conditions and that he would vote for it.

63. Mr. NORIEGA (Mexico) observed that legal considerations were not always the deciding factor in settling all questions. In the case under discussion, if interpretation of the Charter was based only on the consideration of purely legal criteria, no concrete solution would be reached, because the interpretations made on such a basis might differ completely. The first prerequisite was the demonstration of good faith and a spirit of collaboration.

64. If the Administering Powers believed that the views of the General Assembly on the definition of the expression "Non-Self-Governing Territories" had merely an academic value, they would be running the risk of thus discrediting the General Assembly and rendering futile and purposeless the work of the Fourth Committee and the General Assembly itself.

65. The definition of the expression "Non-Self-Governing Territory" should not give rise to any great difficulties. After receiving the text of the agreement between the Netherlands and the Republic of Indonesia, it had been possible to conclude immediately that Indonesia had become a sovereign State about which there could be no question of transmitting information under Article 73 of the Charter. On the other hand, when the United Kingdom stated that Malta was not yet entirely administering its own affairs, the logical conclusion appeared to be that it was a Non-Self-Governing Territory about which the Power responsible must transmit information under Article 73 of the Charter. The situation was identical with regard to all territories which, like Malta, had not yet won autonomy or complete independence.

66. He was perfectly well aware that the representative of Uruguay had submitted his amendment in order to mitigate certain difficulties and thus obviate objections from the Administering Powers. He thought, however, that that amendment would not make the draft resolution any more acceptable to them. It therefore appeared more advisable to retain the text of the Egyptian draft resolution, which was clear and exact. If that text was adopted by the General Assembly, the Administering Powers would perhaps later appreciate the fact that the situation had been clearly defined.

67. The Mexican delegation would therefore vote for the current text of the draft resolution submitted by the Egyptian delegation.

68. The CHAIRMAN put to the vote first, the Uruguayan amendment, and secondly, the Egyptian draft resolution (A/C.4/L.37/Rev.3).

The Uruguayan amendment was rejected by 28 votes to 1, with 16 abstentions.

At the request of the Brazilian representative, a vote was taken by roll-call on the Egyptian draft resolution.

In favour: Afghanistan, Brazil, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, China, Colombia, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, Guatemala, India, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Lebanon, Liberia, Mexico, Pakistan, Philippines, Poland, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Thailand, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia.

Against: Australia, Belgium, Canada, France, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Sweden, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

Abstaining: Argentina, Chile, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Greece, United States of America, Uruguay.

The Egyptian draft resolution was adopted by 30 votes to 10, with 7 abstentions.

69. Mr. DE MARCHENA (Dominican Republic) explained his vote. If the vote had been taken on the draft resolution paragraph by paragraph, he would have voted for most of the paragraphs; since, however, the vote had been taken on the text as a whole, he had been obliged to abstain, because he believed that the Special Committee was not competent to study the question involved. If the General Assembly, which was competent, approved the draft resolution and delegated its powers to a subsidiary organ, the Special Committee,

the delegation of the Dominican Republic would then recognize the competence of the latter.

The meeting rose at 6 p.m.

UNITED NATIONS
GENERAL
ASSEMBLY



24

A

LIMITED

A/C.4/SC.9/L.8
13 December 1951

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

Dual Distribution

Sixth session
FOURTH COMMITTEE
Sub-Committee 9

INFORMATION FROM NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES

Territories to which Chapter XI of the Charter Applies

Factors approved in first reading

I. FACTORS INDICATIVE OF THE ATTAINMENT OF AN AUTONOMOUS
SYSTEM OF SELF-GOVERNMENT

A. General

1. Political advancement: Political advancement of the population sufficient to enable them to decide upon the future destiny of the Territory with due knowledge.

2. Opinion of the population: The opinion of the population of the Territory, freely expressed by informed and democratic processes, as to the status or change in status which they desire.

B. International status

1. Independence: The attainment of independence by the Territory, or complete control over its external relations and internal affairs.

2. Eligibility for membership in international organizations: Eligibility for membership in the United Nations or for membership or associate membership in other international organizations; representation by delegates selected by the Territorial Government.

3. General international relations: Authority to enter into direct relations with other governments or with international institutions, and right to negotiate, sign and ratify international conventions.

C. Internal self-government

1. Territorial government: Freedom from control or interference by the

/government
A/C.4/SC.9/L.8

government of another state in respect of the internal government of the Territory (legislature, executive, judiciary).

2. Participation of the population: Effective participation of the population in the constitutional powers of the Territory.

3. Economic and social jurisdiction: Complete internal authority in respect of economic and social affairs.

II. FACTORS INDICATIVE OF THE FREE ASSOCIATION (WHETHER IN A FEDERAL OR UNITARY RELATIONSHIP) OF A TERRITORY ON EQUAL STATUS WITH OTHER COMPONENT PARTS OF THE METROPOLITAN OF OTHER COUNTRY

A. General

1. Political advancement: Political advancement of the population sufficient to enable them to decide upon the future destiny of the Territory with due knowledge.

2. Opinion of the population: The opinion of the population of the Territory freely expressed by informed and democratic processes, as to the status or change in status which they desire.

3. Geographical considerations: Extent to which the relations of the Territory with the capital of the central government may be affected by circumstances arising out of their respective geographical positions, such as separation by land, sea or other natural obstacles.

4. Ethnic and cultural considerations: Extent to which the population are of different race, language or religion or have a distinct cultural heritage, interests or aspirations, distinguishing them from the peoples of the country with which they freely associate themselves.

5. Constitutional considerations: Association (a) by virtue of the constitution of the metropolitan country or (b) by virtue of a treaty or bilateral agreement affecting the status of the Territory, taking into account (i) whether the constitutional guarantees extend equally to the associated Territory, (ii) whether there are constitutional fields reserved to the Territory, and (iii) whether there is provision for the participation of the Territory on a basis of equality in any changes in the constitutional system of the state.

/B. Status

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B. Status

1. Legislative representation: Representation without discrimination in the central legislative organs on the same basis as other inhabitants and regions.
2. Citizenship: Citizenship without discrimination on the same basis as other inhabitants.
3. Government officials: Appointment or election of officials from the Territory on the same basis as those from other parts of the country.

C. Internal constitutional conditions

1. Suffrage: Universal and equal suffrage, free periodic elections by secret ballot, freedom of choice of electoral candidates.
 2. Local rights and status: Equal rights and status for the inhabitants and local bodies of the Territory as enjoyed by inhabitants and local bodies of other parts of the country.
 3. Local officials: Appointment or election of officials in the Territory on the same basis as those in other parts of the country.
-

567 (VI). Future procedure for the continuation of the study of factors which should be taken into account in deciding whether a territory is or is not a territory whose people have not yet attained a full measure of self-government

The General Assembly,

Recalling that, in resolution 334 (IV) adopted on 2 December 1949, the General Assembly invited any special committee which might be appointed on information transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter to examine the factors which should be taken into account in deciding whether any territory is or is not a territory whose people have not yet attained a full measure of self-government,

Having examined the report on the matter prepared by the Special Committee on Information transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter,²⁶

Having undertaken a revision of the above-mentioned factors,

Considering that the production of a more definitive list of factors involves protracted and complex studies on the basis of more complete information than was available in 1951,

1. *Decides* to take as a basis the list of factors drawn up at the sixth session of the General Assembly, which list is annexed to the present resolution;

2. *Invites* the Members of the United Nations to transmit in writing to the Secretary-General, by 1 May 1952, a statement of the views of their governments on the factors which should be taken into account in deciding whether a territory is or is not a territory whose people have not yet attained a full measure of self-government;

3. *Appoints* an *Ad Hoc* Committee of ten members comprising Australia, Belgium, Burma, Cuba, Denmark, France, Guatemala, Iraq, the United States of America and Venezuela, in order to carry out a further study of the factors which should be taken into account

²⁶ *Ibid.*, Supplement No. 14, part four.

in deciding whether a territory is or is not a territory whose people have not yet attained a full measure of self-government;

4. *Invites* the *Ad Hoc* Committee to take into account all information available, including that transmitted to the Secretary-General on the reasons which have led certain Administering Members to cease to transmit information on certain of these territories, and to submit a report to the General Assembly at its seventh regular session;

5. *Invites* the Secretary-General to convene the *Ad Hoc* Committee in order that it may begin its work one week before the opening of the 1952 session of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories.²⁷

361st plenary meeting,
18 January 1952.

ANNEX

Factors which should be taken into account in deciding whether a territory is or is not a territory whose people have not yet attained a full measure of self-government

INTRODUCTION

1. The territories which are covered by Chapter XI of the Charter are those territories whose people have not yet attained a full measure of self-government. It may be noted that the expression "self-government" is qualified in the Charter by the words "full measure" in the English text, "*complète-ment*" in the French text, and "*plenitud*" in the Spanish text.

2. The task of the General Assembly, at present, is to indicate the factors which should be taken into account in determining whether the result of the advancement of the people of any given territory is such that that territory has reached a stage of self-government where it falls outside the scope of Article 73 e of the Charter.

3. The condition under which the provisions of Chapter XI of the Charter cease to apply will be that the inhabitants of the territory have attained, through political advancement, a full measure of self-government. The fulfilment of this condition may be achieved by various means, involving in all cases the expression of the free will of the people. The two principal means are (a) the attainment of independence and (b) the union of the territory on a footing of equal status with other component parts of the metropolitan or other country or its association on the same conditions with the metropolitan or other country or countries. The extent to which the provisions of Article 73 e continue to apply in the case of territories which have become neither independent nor fully integrated within another State but which have already attained a full measure of self-government in their internal affairs is a question which merits further study.

4. The two principal forms of political advancement, mentioned in the above paragraph, call for the consideration of different factors in determining whether a territory has or has not reached a stage of self-government where it falls outside the scope of Article 73 e of the Charter.

5. Accordingly, the General Assembly lists under two separate headings below the factors to be taken into account, stressing that the list cannot be regarded as exhaustive or definitive, and that a single factor or particular combination of factors cannot be regarded as decisive in every case. Whether the peoples of a territory should be regarded as having reached a

stage of self-government where there is no longer any obligation to transmit information should be solved in the light of the conditions enumerated under either of the two headings, taking into account the circumstances of each particular case, which will need to be studied separately.

6. Nevertheless, the General Assembly considers that the essential factors to be taken into account in deciding whether a Non-Self-Governing Territory has attained a full measure of self-government are the following:

- (i) *Political advancement*: Political advancement of the population sufficient to enable them to decide upon the future destiny of the territory with due knowledge;
- (ii) *Opinion of the population*: The opinion of the population of the Territory, freely expressed by informed and democratic processes, as to the status or change in status which they desire.

7. These factors apply both to Non-Self-Governing Territories which have achieved independence and to Non-Self-Governing Territories which have freely united or associated themselves on a footing of equal status with other component parts of the metropolitan or other country or countries. In the latter case, however, the following factors are also essential and should be taken into account:

- (i) *Legislative representation*: Representation without discrimination in the central legislative organs on the same basis as other inhabitants and regions;
- (ii) *Citizenship*: Citizenship without discrimination on the same basis as other inhabitants.

I. FACTORS INDICATIVE OF THE ATTAINMENT OF INDEPENDENCE OR OTHER SEPARATE SYSTEM OF SELF-GOVERNMENT

A. GENERAL

1. *Political advancement*: Political advancement of the population sufficient to enable them to decide upon the future destiny of the territory with due knowledge.

2. *Opinion of the population*: The opinion of the population of the territory, freely expressed by informed and democratic processes, as to the status or change in status which they desire.

B. INTERNATIONAL STATUS

1. *Independence*: The attainment of independence by the territory, or complete control over its external relations and internal affairs.

2. *Eligibility for membership in international organizations*: Eligibility for membership in the United Nations or for membership or associate membership in other international organizations; representation by delegates selected by the territorial government.

3. *General international relations*: Power to enter into direct relations of every kind with other governments and with international institutions, and to negotiate, sign and ratify international conventions.

4. *Voluntary limitation of sovereignty*: Degree to which the sovereignty of the territory is limited by its own free will when that territory has attained independence or other separate system of self-government.

C. INTERNAL SELF-GOVERNMENT

1. *Territorial government*: Freedom from control or interference by the government of another State in respect of the internal government (legislature, executive, judiciary) and administration of the territory.

2. *Participation of the population*: Effective participation of the population in the government of the territory by means of an adequate electoral and representative system.

3. *Economic and social jurisdiction*: Complete autonomy in respect of economic and social affairs.

²⁷ The General Assembly decided, by resolution 569 (VI), that the Special Committee on Information transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter should henceforth be known as the "Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories".

II. FACTORS INDICATIVE OF THE FREE ASSOCIATION (WHETHER IN A FEDERAL OR UNITARY RELATIONSHIP) OF A TERRITORY ON EQUAL STATUS WITH OTHER COMPONENT PARTS OF THE METROPOLITAN OR OTHER COUNTRY

A. GENERAL

1. *Political advancement*: Political advancement of the population sufficient to enable them to decide upon the future destiny of the territory with due knowledge.

2. *Opinion of the population*: The opinion of the population of the territory, freely expressed by informed and democratic processes, as to the status or change in status which they desire.

3. *Geographical considerations*: Extent to which the relations of the territory with the capital of the central government may be affected by circumstances arising out of their respective geographical positions, such as separation by land, sea or other natural obstacles.

4. *Ethnic and cultural considerations*: Extent to which the population are of different race, language or religion or have a distinct cultural heritage, interests or aspirations, distinguishing them from the peoples of the country with which they freely associate themselves.

5. *Constitutional considerations*: Association (a) by virtue of the constitution of the metropolitan country or (b) by virtue of a treaty or bilateral agreement affecting the status of the territory, taking into account (i) whether the constitutional guarantees extend equally to the associated territory, (ii) whether there are constitutional fields reserved to the territory, and (iii) whether there is provision for the participation of the territory on a basis of equality in any changes in the constitutional system of the State.

B. STATUS

1. *Legislative representation*: Representation without discrimination in the central legislative organs on the same basis as other inhabitants and regions.

2. *Citizenship*: Citizenship without discrimination on the same basis as other inhabitants.

3. *Government officials*: Appointment or election of officials from the territory on the same basis as those from other parts of the country.

C. INTERNAL CONSTITUTIONAL CONDITIONS

1. *Suffrage*: Universal and equal suffrage, free periodic elections by secret ballot, freedom of choice of electoral candidates.

2. *Local rights and status*: Equal rights and status for the inhabitants and local bodies of the territory as enjoyed by inhabitants and local bodies of other parts of the country.

3. *Local officials*: Appointment or election of officials in the territory on the same basis as those in other parts of the country.

4. *Internal legislation*: Complete legislative autonomy of the territory, by means of electoral and representative systems, in all matters which in accordance with the normal terms of association are, in the case of non-unitary systems, not reserved to the central government.



Friday, 18 January 1952, at 3 p.m.

Palais de Chaillot, Paris

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President : Mr. Luis PADILLA NERVO (Mexico).

Consideration of the various items on the agenda of the meeting

1. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*) : The Assembly's agenda for this meeting consists of the reports of the Fourth Committee, which has finished its work, and a report of the First Committee. Before we proceed to consider these reports, I ought to consult the Assembly regarding the application of rule 67 of the rules of procedure which reads as follows :

" Discussion of a report of a Main Committee in a plenary meeting of the General Assembly shall take place if at least one-third of the Members present and voting at the plenary meeting consider such a discussion to be necessary. Any proposal to this effect shall not be debated, but shall be immediately put to the vote. "

2. Does any representative wish to propose that there should be a debate on any one of the first seven items on our agenda ?

It was decided not to discuss the first seven items (items 12, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36 and 37).

3. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*) : Naturally the decision just taken does not deprive representatives of the right to explain their votes on each item.

4. Now we come to the eighth item on which the representative of the Union of South Africa has asked for a debate. Accordingly I ask the Assembly to decide by a vote whether the eighth item should be debated.

It was decided to discuss the eighth item (item 38), there being 17 votes in favour, 18 against, with 12 abstentions.

5. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*) : There is another item on our agenda, the ninth, which is the report of the First Committee on measures to combat the threat of a new world war and to strengthen peace and friendship among the nations.

6. Is there a proposal in favour of discussing this item ?

It was decided not to discuss the ninth item (item 67).

100. In regard to this matter, three questions were referred by this Assembly to the Fourth Committee under agenda item 36 : Economic conditions and development in Non-Self-Governing Territories ; Summary and analysis of information transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter ; and Information transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter.

101. So far as the item on economic conditions and development in Non-Self-Governing Territories is concerned, a draft resolution I is now submitted to the Assembly which approves the report of the Special Committee on Information transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter on this matter, and invites the Secretary-General to communicate this report for further consideration to the Members of the United Nations responsible for the administration of Non-Self-Governing Territories to the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council and to the specialized agencies concerned. In drafting this resolution the Fourth Committee followed the same procedure as in the fifth session when it dealt with the report on education referred to it by the Special Committee. Taking into account the fact that many economic problems in Non-Self-Governing Territories are similar to those affecting the under-developed areas of the world, the Special Committee referred in its report to the relevant resolutions of the Economic and Social Council dealing with such questions as flow of capital in under-developed areas, land reform, etc.

102. Draft resolution II takes note of the report of the Special Committee covering its 1951 session and approves the arrangements for its work in 1952. After having dealt with educational problems in 1950 and economic development in 1951, the Special Committee will take up questions relating to the social field in 1952.

103. Draft resolution III aims at associating Non-Self-Governing Territories more closely with the work of the Special Committee, and that Committee is invited to examine the possibility of such closer participation.

104. Draft resolution IV deals with future procedure for the continuation of the study of factors which should be taken into account in deciding whether a territory is or is not a territory whose people have not yet attained a full measure of self-government. It decided to take as a basis the list of factors drawn up by the Sub-Committee 9 appointed by the Fourth Committee to study the factors, the list of which is annexed to the resolution. It also invites Members of the United Nations to transmit in writing to the Secretary-General a statement of the views of their governments on that problem, and it appoints an *ad hoc* committee in order to carry out a further study of the factors. This question, through one of its aspects, is linked with the problem of cessation of the transmission of information under Article 73 e of the Charter generally.

105. Draft resolution V, more particularly, deals with the cessation of the transmission of information in respect of the Netherlands Antilles and Surinam. It expresses an appreciation to the Government of the Netherlands for communicating full information in compliance with General Assembly resolution 222 (III). Finally, the draft resolution decides to refer the matter to the next session of the General Assembly having regard to the fact that by that time the *ad hoc* committee on factors will have further clarified the question which it has been asked to study, and that a round table conference of the representatives of the Netherlands Antilles and Surinam is to be held in March 1952 to decide upon the new constitutional order.

106. Draft resolution VI suggests that in order to be more conducive to a wide publicity, the title of the Special Committee should, without affecting its terms of reference,

Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories :
(a) economic conditions and development in Non-Self-Governing Territories ; (b) summary and analysis of information transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter ; (c) information transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter : report of the Fourth Committee (A/2057)

[Agenda item 36]

99. Mr. LANNUNG (Denmark) (Rapporteur of the Fourth Committee) : I have the honour to submit to the General Assembly the report on information from Non-Self-Governing Territories as unanimously adopted by the Fourth Committee.

be abbreviated to read "Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories". Further, on behalf of the General Assembly, the Committee elected Ecuador and Indonesia as members of the Special Committee in place of Mexico and the Philippines.

107. As I am at this rostrum perhaps the President will allow me, as the representative of DENMARK, to say that I and many of my colleagues in the Fourth Committee consider draft resolution IV concerning factors which should be taken into account in deciding whether a territory is or is not a territory whose people have not yet attained a full measure of self-government is an important question both in the general sense and, more particularly, in the sense of Article 18 of the Charter. We should, therefore, like to suggest that paragraph 2 of Article 18 of the Charter and rule 84 of the rules of procedure should be applied to draft resolution IV concerning factors.

108. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): I call upon the representative of Cuba, on a point of order.

109. Mr. PEREZ CISNEROS (Cuba) (*translated from Spanish*): I wish only to raise a point regarding the procedure suggested by the representative of Denmark for the vote on draft resolution IV. He asks that it should be considered as an important question and hence subject to special voting rules. But I would respectfully point out that the draft resolution is concerned only with future procedure and not with the substance of the question. Consequently, my delegation does not believe that it would be logical, at the present stage, to raise the question whether the resolution should be regarded as involving an important question. At the present stage it is still merely a matter of the procedure to be adopted in our future work.

110. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): The report of the Fourth Committee [A/2057] contains six draft resolutions recommended for adoption by the General Assembly. We shall vote separately on each draft resolution.

111. I now put to the vote draft resolution I.

Draft resolution I was adopted by 48 votes to 5, with 1 abstention.

112. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): We shall now proceed to the vote on draft resolution II, which was approved by the Fourth Committee without opposition. If there are no objections, I shall consider it adopted.

Draft resolution II was adopted without discussion.

113. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): I put to the vote draft resolution III.

Draft resolution III was adopted by 47 votes to 2, with 7 abstentions.

114. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): We shall vote next on draft resolution IV.

Draft resolution IV was adopted by 46 votes to none, with 7 abstentions.

115. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): We shall now vote on draft resolution V.

116. I call upon the representative of the Netherlands who wishes to explain his vote.

117. Mr. KERNKAMP (Netherlands): We should like to ask for a separate vote on paragraph 3 of this draft resolution, and at the same time I should like to explain my vote on this item. I shall be very brief, because we have already explained the position of my Government with reference to this draft resolution in the Fourth Committee.

118. We do not object to the so-called factors being studied. I mean, of course, factors which have to be taken into account to decide whether a territory is or is not a

territory whose people have attained a full measure of self-government. We fully approve that such a list of factors should be drawn up, but we can only accept such a list as a guide as, in our view, it only presents indications.

119. We remain convinced that legally it is for the administering Powers to decide on constitutional grounds if a given territory falls, at a certain time, outside the scope of Article 73 e. We feel sure that the Netherlands Antilles and Surinam have already attained a full measure of self-government, and their democratic governments themselves agree. Therefore, we are opposed to mentioning, in paragraph 3 of the draft resolution, the forthcoming round table conference because, important as this round table conference is in itself in respect to the reconstruction of the Netherlands kingdom, in our view this round table conference is irrelevant in view of the self-government that is already existing with respect to the Netherlands Antilles and Surinam.

120. Therefore, we shall vote against paragraph 3 of this draft resolution, and abstain from voting on the draft resolution as a whole.

121. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): The representative of the Netherlands has requested a separate vote on paragraph 3 of the operative part of draft resolution V. I shall put the paragraph to the vote.

Paragraph 3 of the operative part was adopted by 41 votes to 7, with 8 abstentions.

122. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): I shall put draft resolution V as a whole to the vote.

Draft resolution V as a whole was adopted by 47 votes to none, with 9 abstentions.

123. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): Draft resolution VI, which was approved by the Fourth Committee without opposition, proposes to modify the present name of the Committee on Information transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter. If there are no objections, I shall consider this draft resolution as adopted.

Draft resolution VI was adopted without discussion.

Dual Distribution

Sixth session
Agenda items 36 and 37

INFORMATION FROM NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES

Report of the Fourth Committee

Rapporteur: Mr. Hermod LANNUNG (Denmark)

1. At its 342nd plenary meeting on 13 November 1951, the General Assembly referred to the Fourth Committee item 36 on its agenda concerning information from Non-Self-Governing Territories and item 37 providing for the election of two members of the Special Committee on Information transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter.
2. Item 36 contained the following parts:
 - (a) Economic conditions and development in Non-Self-Governing Territories: report of the Special Committee on Information transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter.^{1/}
 - (b) Summary and analysis of information transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter: report of the Secretary-General.^{2/}
 - (c) Information transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter: report of the Special Committee.^{3/}
3. After introductory statements at the 205th meeting by the Chairman and the Rapporteur of the Special Committee, the general debate on item 36 as a whole began and continued until the 211th meeting.

- ^{1/} A/1836, Official Records of the General Assembly, Sixth Session, Supplement No. 14, section V of part one, and part three.
- ^{2/} A/1823 and Corr.1 and Add.1; 1824 and Corr.1, A/1824/Add.1 and Corr.1, 1824/Add.2 and Corr.1, 1824/Add.3; 1826; 1827 and Corr.1 and Add.1; 1828; 1829 and Corr.1; 1830; 1835.
- ^{3/} A/1836, Official Records of the General Assembly, Sixth Session, Supplement No. 14.

4. During the general debate statements reserving the position of their Governments in regard to sovereignty over and the transmission of information on Netherlands New Guinea (West Irian) were made by the representatives of Indonesia and the Netherlands. Reservations were also made in regard to sovereignty over British Honduras (Belize Territory) by the representatives of Guatemala and the United Kingdom, over Aden by the representatives of Yemen and the United Kingdom, and over the Falkland Islands (Islas Malvinas) by the representatives of Argentina and the United Kingdom.

TERRITORIES TO WHICH CHAPTER XI OF THE CHARTER APPLIES

8. From its 215th to 218th meetings, the Committee discussed the question of the Territories to which Chapter XI of the Charter applies, which is considered in section XI of part one and in part four of the report of the Special Committee.

/9. The following

9. The following texts were submitted on this subject:

- I. A joint draft resolution submitted by Denmark and Pakistan (A/C.4/L.151), the operative part of which would provide that the General Assembly:
 - (1) decides to accept as an interim guide for all useful purposes the Report of the Special Committee; (2) invites Member States of the United Nations to transmit in writing to the Secretary-General, by 1 June 1952, a statement of the views of their Governments on the factors which ought to be taken into account in deciding whether a Territory is or is not a Territory whose people have not yet attained a full measure of self-government; (3) requests the Secretary-General, to that end, to transmit a copy of this resolution, together with a copy of part four of the report of the Special Committee to all Member States; (4) invites the Special Committee on Information transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter, at its 1952 session, to consider any statements transmitted in accordance with the present resolution and to review the list produced by it in 1951 in the light of those statements; (5) invites the Special Committee, to this end, to appoint a sub-committee at the beginning of its 1952 session to prepare a report on these matters for submission to the Special Committee.
- II. A draft resolution submitted by Guatemala (A/C.4/L.152) whereby the Fourth Committee would establish a sub-committee to (1) study, and define in a draft resolution, the basic and general factors to be taken into account in deciding whether a Territory is or is not a Territory whose people have not yet attained a full measure of self-government; (2) consider the advisability of establishing a committee to (a) study these factors in greater detail; (b) analyse the cases of Territories which in the opinion of certain Administering Powers have attained a full measure of self-government; and (c) recommend suitable resolutions to the General Assembly at its next session.
- III. The representative of Guatemala subsequently revised the previous resolution by providing that the proposed sub-committee would study the problem in the light of the Special Committee's report and the Fourth Committee's discussions and would submit its report to the Fourth Committee at the present session (A/C.4/L.152/Rev.1).

/IV. A draft

- IV. A draft resolution submitted by Venezuela (A/C.4/L.153), the operative part of which provided that the General Assembly should resolve (1) to reaffirm the principles stated in General Assembly resolution 334 (IV) of 2 December 1949 on the competence of the Assembly with regard to the examination of information transmitted in accordance with Article 73 e of the Charter by the Powers administering Non-Self-Governing Territories; (2) to appoint a Special Committee consisting of the representatives of _____ to carry out during 1952, a detailed study of (a) the factors which should be taken into account in deciding whether a Territory is or is not a Territory whose people have not yet attained a full measure of self-government; (b) the cases of Territories which have, in the opinion of certain Administering Powers, attained a full measure of self-government; (3) to postpone consideration of chapters XI and XII of part one and the whole of part four of the report of the Special Committee on Information transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter until the Special Committee referred to in the present resolution has submitted its report; (4) to instruct the Special Committee appointed under the present resolution to complete its report not later than 15 August 1952.
- V. An amendment proposed by Uruguay (A/C.4/L.154) to add the following sub-paragraph in paragraph 2 of the draft resolution submitted by Venezuela:

"(c) The possibility of setting up a permanent body with instructions to report to the General Assembly and in each case to propose a resolution with respect to the points referred to in sub-paragraphs (a) and (b) above."

10. Following consultations between the sponsors of the above-mentioned draft resolutions, the following joint draft resolution (A/C.4/L.155) was submitted by Denmark, Guatemala, Pakistan and Venezuela:

"The Fourth Committee

"Resolves to establish a sub-committee consisting of the representatives of _____ to:

"1. Study, in the light of the Special Committee's report and of the discussions in the Fourth Committee, the basic and general factors to be

/taken into

taken into account in deciding whether a Territory is or is not a Territory whose people have not yet attained a full measure of self-government;

"2. Consider the advisability of establishing procedures for the further examination of the problem, taking into account the draft resolutions on this subject which have been submitted to the Fourth Committee in documents A/C.4/L.151, A.C.4/L.152, A/C.4/L.152/Rev.1, A/C.4/L.153 and A/C.4/L.154."

11. At its 218th meeting, the Committee adopted the joint draft resolution by 36 votes to none, with 9 abstentions, and approved the following composition of the Sub-Committee; Australia, Cuba, Denmark, France, Guatemala, Iraq, the United States of America and Venezuela.

12. The Sub-Committee (Sub-Committee 9) elected Mr. Awni Khalidy (Iraq) and Mr. Guy Perez Cisneros (Cuba) as Chairman and Rapporteur respectively. It held eleven meetings and approved a report (A/C.4/L.180 and Corr.2) for submission to the Fourth Committee. The report concluded with a draft resolution providing that the General Assembly should (1) take as a basis the list of factors drawn up by the Sub-Committee; (2) invite Members to transmit their views on the problem of factors by 1 May 1952; (3) appoint an ad hoc committee of eight members to carry out further studies; (4) invite the proposed ad hoc committee to take into account all information available and to submit a report to the seventh regular session of the General Assembly, and (5) invite the Secretary-General to convene the ad hoc committee so that it might begin its work one week before the opening of the 1952 session of the Special Committee.

13. At its 241st meeting, the Committee examined the report of the Sub-Committee. It decided to increase the number of members of the proposed ad hoc committee from eight to ten, the membership to be Australia, Belgium, Burma, Cuba, Denmark, France, Guatemala, Iraq, the United States of America and Venezuela. Subject to this modification, the Committee adopted the draft resolution proposed by the Sub-Committee by a roll-call vote of 39 to none, with 6 abstentions, as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Burma, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Cuba, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Lebanon, Liberia, Mexico, New Zealand, Pakistan, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Thailand, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia.

Abstaining

Abstaining: Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Czechoslovakia,
Netherlands, Poland, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic,
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

14. The text of the draft resolution, as adopted, is annexed to the present report as resolution IV.

The Fourth Committee recommends to the General Assembly the adoption of the following resolutions:

Resolution IV

FUTURE PROCEDURE FOR THE CONTINUATION OF THE STUDY OF FACTORS WHICH
SHOULD BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT IN DECIDING WHETHER A TERRITORY IS
OR IS NOT A TERRITORY WHOSE PEOPLE HAVE NOT YET ATTAINED A
FULL MEASURE OF SELF-GOVERNMENT

The General Assembly,

Recalling that in resolution 334 (IV), adopted on 2 December 1949, the General Assembly invited any special committee which might be appointed on information transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter to examine the factors which should be taken into account in deciding whether any Territory is or is not a Territory whose people have not yet attained a full measure of self-government,

Having examined the report on the matter prepared by the Special Committee on Information transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter,

Having undertaken a revision of these factors,

Considering that the production of a more definitive list of factors involves protracted and complex studies on the basis of more complete information than was available in 1951,

1. Decides to take as a basis the list of factors drawn up at the sixth session of the General Assembly, which list is annexed to the present resolution;
2. Invites the Members of the United Nations to transmit in writing to the Secretary-General, by 1 May 1952, a statement of the views of their Governments on the factors which ought to be taken into account in deciding whether a Territory is or is not a Territory whose people have not yet attained a full measure of self-government;
3. Appoints an Ad Hoc Committee of ten members comprising Australia, Belgium, Burma, Cuba, Denmark, France, Guatemala, Iraq, United States of America and Venezuela in order to carry out a further study of the factors which should be taken into account in deciding whether a Territory is or is not a Territory whose people have not yet attained a full measure of self-government;
4. Invites the Ad Hoc Committee to take into account all information available, including that transmitted to the Secretary-General on the reasons which have led certain Administering Members to cease to transmit information on certain of these Territories, and to submit a report to the seventh regular session of the General Assembly;

/5. Invites

5. Invites the Secretary-General to convene the Ad Hoc Committee in order that it may begin its work one week before the opening of the 1952 session of the Special Committee on Information transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter.

ANNEX

FACTORS WHICH SHOULD BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT IN DECIDING WHETHER A
TERRITORY IS OR IS NOT A TERRITORY WHOSE PEOPLE HAVE NOT YET
ATTAINED A FULL MEASURE OF SELF-GOVERNMENT

Introduction

1. The Territories which are covered by Chapter XI of the Charter are those Territories whose people have not yet attained a full measure of self-government. It may be noted that the expression "self-government" is qualified in the Charter by the words "full measure" in the English text, "complètement" in the French text, and "plenitud" in the Spanish text.
2. The task of the General Assembly, at present, is to indicate the factors which should be taken into account in determining whether the result of the advancement of the people of any given Territory is such that that Territory has reached a stage of self-government where it falls outside the scope of Article 73 e of the Charter.
3. The condition under which the provisions of Chapter XI of the Charter cease to apply will be that the inhabitants of the Territory have attained, through political advancement, a full measure of self-government. The fulfilment of this condition may be achieved by various means, involving in all cases the expression of the free will of the people. The two principal means are (a) the attainment of independence and (b) the union of the Territory on a footing of equal status with other component parts of the metropolitan or other country or its association on the same conditions with the metropolitan or other country or countries. The extent to which the provisions of Article 73 e continue to apply in the case of Territories which have become neither independent nor fully integrated within another State but which have already attained a full measure of self-government in their internal affairs is a question which merits further study.
4. The two principal forms of political advancement, mentioned in the above paragraph, call for the consideration of different factors in determining whether a Territory has or has not reached a stage of self-government where it falls outside the scope of Article 73 e of the Charter.

/5. Accordingly,

5. Accordingly, the General Assembly lists under two separate headings below the factors to be taken into account, stressing that the list cannot be regarded as exhaustive or definitive, and that a single factor or particular combination of factors cannot be regarded as decisive in every case. Whether the peoples of a Territory should be regarded as having reached a stage of self-government where there is no longer any obligation to transmit information should be solved in the light of the conditions enumerated under either of the two headings, taking into account the circumstances of each particular case, which will need to be studied separately.

6. Nevertheless, the General Assembly considers that the essential factors to be taken into account in deciding whether a Non-Self-Governing Territory has attained a full measure of self-government are the following:

(i) Political advancement: Political advancement of the population sufficient to enable them to decide upon the future destiny of the Territory with due knowledge.

(ii) Opinion of the population: The opinion of the population of the Territory, freely expressed by informed and democratic processes, as to the status or change in status which they desire.

7. These factors apply both to Non-Self-Governing Territories which have achieved independence and to Non-Self-Governing Territories which have freely united or associated themselves on a footing of equal status with other component parts of the metropolitan or other country or countries. In the latter case, however, the following factors are also essential and should be taken into account:

(i) Legislative representation: Representation without discrimination in the central legislative organs on the same basis as other inhabitants and regions.

(ii) Citizenship: Citizenship without discrimination on the same basis as other inhabitants.

FACTORS WHICH SHOULD BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT IN
DECIDING WHETHER A TERRITORY IS OR IS NOT A
TERRITORY WHOSE PEOPLE HAVE NOT YET ATTAINED
A FULL MEASURE OF SELF-GOVERNMENT

I. Factors indicative of the attainment of independence or other
separate system of self-government

A. General

1. Political advancement: Political advancement of the population sufficient to enable them to decide upon the future destiny of the Territory with due knowledge.
2. Opinion of the population: The opinion of the population of the territory, freely expressed by informed and democratic processes, as to the status or change in status which they desire.

B. International status

1. Independence: The attainment of independence by the Territory, or complete control over its external relations and internal affairs.
2. Eligibility for membership in international organizations: Eligibility for membership in the United Nations or for membership or associate membership in other international organizations; representation by delegates selected by the Territorial Government.
3. General international relations: Power to enter into direct relations of every kind with other governments and with international institutions, and to negotiate, sign and ratify international conventions.
4. Voluntary limitation of sovereignty: Degree to which the sovereignty of the Territory is limited by its own free will when that Territory has attained independence or other separate system of self-government.

C. Internal self-government

1. Territorial government: Freedom from control or interference by the government of another state in respect of the internal government (legislature, executive, judiciary) and administration of the Territory.
2. Participation of the population: Effective participation of the population in the government of the Territory by means of an adequate electoral and representative system.
3. Economic and social jurisdiction: Complete autonomy in respect of economic and social affairs.

II. Factors indicative of the free association (whether in a federal or unitary relationship) of a territory on equal status with other component parts of the metropolitan or other country

A. General

1. Political advancement: Political advancement of the population sufficient to enable them to decide upon the future destiny of the Territory with due knowledge.

2. Opinion of the population: The opinion of the population of the Territory freely expressed by informed and democratic processes, as to the status or change in status which they desire.

3. Geographical considerations: Extent to which the relations of the Territory with the capital of the central government may be affected by circumstances arising out of their respective geographical positions, such as separation by land, sea or other natural obstacles.

4. Ethnic and cultural considerations: Extent to which the population are of different race, language or religion or have a distinct cultural heritage, interests or aspirations, distinguishing them from the peoples of the country with which they freely associate themselves.

5. Constitutional considerations: Association (a) by virtue of the constitution of the metropolitan country or (b) by virtue of a treaty or bilateral agreement affecting the status of the Territory, taking into account (i) whether the constitutional guarantees extend equally to the associated Territory, (ii) whether there are constitutional fields reserved to the Territory, and (iii) whether there is provision for the participation of the Territory on a basis of equality in any changes in the constitutional system of the state.

B. Status

1. Legislative representation: Representation without discrimination in the central legislative organs on the same basis as other inhabitants and regions.

2. Citizenship: Citizenship without discrimination on the same basis as other inhabitants.

3. Government officials: Appointment or election of officials from the Territory on the same basis as those from other parts of the country.

/C. Internal

C. Internal constitutional conditions

1. Suffrage: Universal and equal suffrage, free periodic elections by secret ballot, freedom of choice of electoral candidates.
2. Local rights and status: Equal rights and status for the inhabitants and local bodies of the Territory as enjoyed by inhabitants and local bodies of other parts of the country.
3. Local officials: Appointment or election of officials in the Territory on the same basis as those in other parts of the country.
4. Internal legislation: Complete legislative autonomy of the Territory, by means of electoral and representative systems, in all matters which in accordance with the normal terms of association are, in the case of non-unitary systems, not reserved to the central government.

United Nations

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

SIXTH SESSION

Official Records



FOURTH COMMITTEE 241st

MEETING

Wednesday, 9 January 1952, at 3 p.m.

Palais de Chaillot, Paris

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Chairman : Mr. Max HENRÍQUEZ UREÑA (Dominican Republic).

Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories
(continued)

[Item 36]*

REPORT OF SUB-COMMITTEE 9, APPOINTED TO STUDY THE FACTORS WHICH SHOULD BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT IN DECIDING WHETHER A TERRITORY IS OR IS NOT A TERRITORY WHOSE PEOPLE HAVE NOT YET ATTAINED A FULL MEASURE OF SELF-GOVERNMENT (A/C.4/L.180 and Corr. 2)

49. Mr. PEREZ CISNEROS (Cuba), Rapporteur of Sub-Committee 9, introduced that Sub-Committee's report (A/C.4/L.180 and Corr. 2). He explained that, in accordance with the Sub-Committee's decision,

annexes I and II were to be considered as a whole and should be discussed together.

50. He pointed out that the Sub-Committee had adopted paragraph 7 of its report in spite of the Secretariat's statement, based on a General Assembly resolution, that it could not ensure a wide distribution of the summary records of the meetings. The resolution cited applied only to verbatim records and therefore did not affect the Sub-Committee's right, under rule 60 of the General Assembly's rules of procedure, to decide upon the form of its records. Consequently, in his capacity as Rapporteur, he insisted that the Secretariat should distribute a complete set, in triplicate, of the Sub-Committee's records, at least to each member of the Fourth Committee.

51. He paid a tribute to all the members of the Secretariat who had helped the Sub-Committee in its difficult task, and mentioned in particular Mr. Benson, the Director of the Division of Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories. He reserved the right to make a longer statement on the substance of the question in his capacity as representative of Cuba at a later stage in the discussion, and for the time being simply stated that, in his view, annexes I and II of the report represented a marked improvement on all the former documents on the question.

52. Mr. KHALIDY (Iraq), speaking as Chairman of Sub-Committee 9, did not think it appropriate to discuss the substance of the question at that stage, since the procedure to be followed for its future study was laid down in the report. The procedure was both complex and new, and the Sub-Committee's work had been very successful.

53. Mr. LANNUNG (Denmark) congratulated the Chairman and the Rapporteur of the Sub-Committee and thanked its members and the Secretariat for their work. In general his delegation accepted the proposals contained in annexes I and II of the Sub-Committee's report. He outlined the various stages in the study of the problem and declared that the report constituted a definite step forward, especially in its systematic grouping of the factors.

54. His delegation attached particular importance to paragraphs 3, 4 and 5 of the introduction to annex II. However, he had always realized that in all probability a further study might show that the list of factors indicative of the free association of a territory on equal status with other component parts of the metropolitan or other country (annex II) should be divided into two parts, separate considerations being given to cases in which a territory became associated with a State of the federal type and to cases in which the union was to be with a State of the unitary type. That distinction had indeed been mentioned in paragraph 12 of the Sub-Committee's report. As an indication of the need for such a sub-division, attention could be drawn to the last factor included in the list mentioned. That factor should be understood as applying only to States of a non-unitary system. The real test, in the case of association with a unitary State, was that the territory should have equality of rights and status with the other component parts of the State to which it was attached.

55. With regard to the future procedure for the study of the problem, his delegation would have preferred to entrust the work to the Special Committee on Information transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter or to some subsidiary organ of that Committee. However, in a spirit of compromise it had been able to accept the solution put forward in paragraphs 3 and 5 of annex I. 56. He proposed that the Committee should adopt the Sub-Committee's recommendations as set forth in annexes I and II of document A/C.4/L.180.

57. Mr. TOBIAS (United States of America) said that the Sub-Committee's report was a helpful step forward in the study of a difficult problem. He had no amendments to suggest and would vote in favour of the proposed draft resolution (annex I). He proposed that the *ad hoc* committee provided for in paragraph 3 of the draft resolution should be made up of the same countries as the Sub-Committee, namely Australia, Cuba, Denmark, France, Guatemala, Iraq, the United States of America and Venezuela.

58. Mr. MAVROS (Greece) agreed with the Sub-Committee that the list of factors it had prepared was not definitive. The proposed *ad hoc* committee would first have to consider procedure and decide whether the establishment of a list of factors was really the best way of solving the problem. As the application of any criteria chosen would be a highly political matter, each particular case would inevitably be decided on political grounds not related to the factors. In addition, the Sub-Committee had not considered who should be responsible for deciding in practice whether or not a given factor existed in a particular case.

59. He fully agreed with the authors of the report that a distinction should be drawn between complete self-government and the so-called self-government which was confined to the management of the country's internal affairs.

60. The Committee should avoid any undue optimism about the results of the report. Two vitally important questions must be answered with regard to Non-Self-Governing Territories: at what stage a population which was not self-governing became sufficiently mature to be entitled to self-government; and who was to decide when that stage of maturity had been reached. The administering Powers considered that they alone were entitled to decide that question. They would therefore inevitably introduce, in breach of the spirit and letter of the Charter, political considerations foreign to the interests and aspirations of the peoples of those territories. Such a procedure was quite illogical, because it placed the Non-Self-Governing Territories in a less favourable position than the Trust Territories, whose development towards independence was protected by international guarantees. That paradoxical situation directly threatened the prestige of the United Nations.

61. Mr. RIVAS (Venezuela) considered that the Sub-Committee had done constructive work, owing above all to the competent manner in which the representative of Iraq had conducted its proceedings.

62. He fully agreed with the Greek representative that the United Nations should lay down precise rules in the matter. Each Non-Self-Governing Territory

presented different geographical, ethnic, economic and other characteristics. The best method of examining such factors was to analyse the cases where the administering Power had stated that it would cease to communicate the information provided for in Article 73 e of the Charter. No change in the status of a Non-Self-Governing Territory could be valid unless internationally recognized. The General Assembly alone could decide when a Non-Self-Governing Territory had actually attained full self-government. Only the General Assembly could apply the criteria that the Committee was seeking to determine.

63. He hoped the Committee would adopt the draft resolution in annex I of the report. The *ad hoc* committee was not called upon to consider whether the General Assembly had competence in the matter, for that competence was derived from the Charter.

64. Mr. DE PAIVA LEITE (Brazil) congratulated the Sub-Committee and its Chairman on its excellent work. He appealed to the members of the Committee to refrain from raising again, at that stage, the complex problems involved. The procedure suggested in the draft resolution for a more thorough study of the question was sensible, and he would vote for the report and its annexes.

65. Mr. PEREZ CISNEROS (Cuba) drew the Committee's attention to paragraph 12 of the Sub-Committee's report. The list of factors should be subdivided into three categories according to the status of territories: first, territories enjoying complete independence and sovereignty, with their own representation abroad; secondly, territories members of federations, without diplomatic representation of their own but enjoying broad legislative autonomy enabling them to safeguard their rights and traditional interests; thirdly, territories that had attained the status of full sovereignty through incorporation in the metropolitan country or another country but that had neither their own diplomatic representation nor legislative autonomy. To the last category the United Nations should apply the strictest criteria.

66. It was not sufficient to contrast the concept of self-government with that of non-self-government. As Mr. Georges Scelle, the eminent French jurist, had explained, a territory could easily be financially and administratively autonomous though still a colony in the conventional sense. The terms of Article 73 of the Charter, far from excluding access of Non-Self-Governing Territories to complete independence, seemed on the contrary to presuppose it.

67. Article 73 of the Charter had not required the Administering Members to transmit information regarding the political progress made by the peoples of Non-Self-Governing Territories; nevertheless, for the United Nations to be able to determine whether a territory had ceased to be non-self-governing, it must be informed of the political progress made by the people.

68. Finally, when a country ceased to transmit information about a territory, the General Assembly had the right and the duty, on behalf of the international community, to consider and decide whether such action

was in accordance with established criteria. His delegation could not understand why some countries were reluctant to recognize that right and that duty, of which the Treaty of Versailles had provided a notable historical example in requiring Germany to give up its colonies because of its failure to fulfil its international obligations with regard to them.

69. There was some ambiguity in the wording of the introduction to annex II. His delegation could not agree that social, economic and cultural autonomy should be considered separately from political autonomy; on the achievement of the latter depended all other forms of true autonomy.

70. Mr. DE MARCHENA (Dominican Republic) unreservedly supported the views of the Brazilian representative. The report was, in his opinion, acceptable as a compromise solution. It had been of considerable assistance to the Committee's debates, and the Sub-Committee deserved to be congratulated on having established a limited list of factors that could be completed through consultation with governments.

71. His delegation asked, however, that the summary record of the meeting should report its wish that the proposed *ad hoc* committee should apply itself to formulating a legal definition of self-government on which it could base its work. On that understanding, his delegation approved the draft resolution and proposed that the report should be adopted as speedily as possible, without unnecessarily prolonging the debate.

72. Mr. MENDOZA (Guatemala) explained that the last factor in the list of factors indicative of the free association of a territory on equal status with other component parts of the metropolitan or other country (annex II), which had been included in that list at his request, could only be applied to federations and other forms of association and did not apply to unitary systems.

73. Mr. LANNUNG (Denmark) desired that explanation to appear in the records.

74. Mr. KHALIDY (Iraq), supported by Mr. LANNUNG (Denmark) and Mr. DE MARCHENA (Dominican Republic), asked the French representative, who intended not to speak until the Committee's following meeting, not to delay the discussion and prevent the Committee from voting before the meeting rose.

75. Mr. DE LACHARRIERE (France) explained that he would refrain from analysing the factors because the proposed *ad hoc* committee would be required, according to the procedure laid down in the report and approved by the French delegation, to revise the list of the factors in the light of the comments submitted by governments.

76. He reminded the Committee of the reservations France had made (A/C.4/L.180, para. 15) on certain factors involving race and religion and on the identification of self-government with full independence.

77. He replied to the representatives of Greece, Cuba and Venezuela that it rested solely with the administering Power to determine the territories concerning which information should be transmitted under Article 73 e. As for the Greek representative's comparison of the régime of the Trust Territories with that

of the Non-Self-Governing Territories, the distinction between the two arose from the Charter, which his Government intended to observe. France had agreed to work on the establishment of factors only within the terms of General Assembly resolution 334 (IV), according to which the General Assembly could merely express opinions for the guidance of governments, which alone were competent to take a decision in the matter.

78. Lastly, the question of autonomy should not arise only where a country ceased to transmit information on a territory, but also where a territory had never had any information transmitted about it. Certain governments had under their jurisdiction territories whose inhabitants ought to be protected by Chapter XI of the Charter.

79. Mr. SPITS (Netherlands) explained that he would abstain from voting because the question was so complex that his delegation had always doubted the possibility of drawing up a complete list of factors to cover all cases. Moreover, only the administering Powers were competent to determine the territories to which the provisions of Chapter XI of the Charter applied.

80. Mr. PEREZ CISNEROS (Cuba), supported by Mr. TAJIBNAPIS (Indonesia), Mr. KHALIDY (Iraq), Mr. INGLES (Philippines), Mr. RYCKMANS (Belgium) and Mr. DE PAIVA LEITE (Brazil) observed that the Far East should be represented on the future *ad hoc* committee, and proposed the candidature of Burma.

81. The CHAIRMAN suggested that, in order to maintain a balance between the administering Powers and the other countries, Burma and Belgium should be appointed members of the *ad hoc* committee, with Australia, Cuba, Denmark, France, Guatemala, Iraq, the United States of America and Venezuela.

It was so decided.

82. The CHAIRMAN put to the vote the draft resolution as a whole (A/C.4/L.180 and Corr. 2, annexes I and II).

83. At the request of Mr. KHALIDY (Iraq), the CHAIRMAN called for a vote by roll-call.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

Denmark, having been drawn by lot by the Chairman, was called upon to vote first.

In favour : Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Lebanon, Liberia, Mexico, New Zealand, Pakistan, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Thailand, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Burma, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Cuba.

Abstaining : Netherlands, Poland, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Czechoslovakia.

The draft resolution as a whole was adopted by 39 votes to none, with 6 abstentions.

84. U HLA MAUNG (Burma) thanked those of his colleagues who had proposed his candidature.

85. Mr. RYCKMANS (Belgium) stated that he had voted for the draft resolution because it was a provisional measure and because his country agreed that the studies for which it provided should be made.

86. He pointed out, however, a serious omission in annex II, which only dealt with territories concerning which the administering Power had ceased to transmit information. Citing General Assembly resolution 334 (IV), he observed that his country, though glad to see a territory removed from the list, would also be glad to see included in it certain territories about which information had unfortunately never been transmitted.

87. Mr. MATHIESON (United Kingdom) stated that he had voted for the draft resolution although his delegation still doubted the advisability of establishing an *ad hoc* committee.

88. The resolution did not raise the question of competence and he had therefore no reservations to make on that subject.

89. Mr. LANNUNG (Denmark) said that in his opinion the factors established should apply equally to territories on which information had ceased to be transmitted and to territories on which information should begin to be transmitted.

90. In the light of the factors all countries would have to ask themselves whether they ought not to transmit information concerning certain territories for which they had hitherto not sent information.

91. In connexion with resolution 222 (III) of 3 November 1948, his delegation had had the opportunity of associating itself with the view that a State responsible for a territory had the right itself to determine the constitutional status of the territory under its sovereignty. Nothing in Chapter XI could be construed to support a different view.

92. His country would inform the United Nations of any change of status which might occur with regard to the territory for which it was responsible, but in doing so did not consider that any action taken by its constitutional organs should be subject to revision by the United Nations.

93. Mr. MENDOZA (Guatemala) and Mr. PEREZ CISNEROS (Cuba) stressed that the draft resolution in no way prejudged the question of competence, which in their view lay with the General Assembly.

The meeting rose at 7.20 p.m.

UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY



GENERAL

A/2178

16 September 1952

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

Seventh session

Factors which should be taken into account in deciding whether a territory is or is not a territory whose people have not yet attained a full measure of self-government

REPORT OF THE *AD HOC* COMMITTEE ON FACTORS (NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES)

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I. CONSTITUTION OF THE COMMITTEE

1. By resolution 567 (VI), adopted on 18 January 1952, the General Assembly appointed an *Ad Hoc* Committee of ten members comprising Australia, Belgium, Burma, Cuba, Denmark, France, Guatemala, Iraq, the United States of America and Venezuela, in order to carry out a further study of the factors which should be taken into account in deciding whether a territory is or is not a territory whose people have not yet attained a full measure of self-government.

The Committee met at the Headquarters of the United Nations on 4 September 1952 and held six meetings between 4 and 9 September.

II. OFFICERS

2. The officers of the Committee were the following:

Mr. Awni Khalidy (Iraq), *Chairman*;

Mr. Benjamin Gerig (United States of America), *Vice-Chairman and Rapporteur*.

III. INTRODUCTION

3. This is the third occasion within a year on which a committee of the General Assembly has given detailed attention to the problem of factors. The Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories in 1951 examined the question and approved a report prepared by a sub-committee (A/1836, part four). At the sixth session of the General Assembly, the Fourth Committee, after considering the report, appointed a sub-committee, the report of which formed the basis of resolution 567 (VI). All this previous work has made it possible to clarify a number of the elements in the problem involved, and has been justified by the complexity and importance of the basic issues which have been implicit in many of the discussions

on Non-Self-Governing Territories ever since the first meetings of the General Assembly.

4. The present *Ad Hoc* Committee was instructed to carry out a further study. For the purpose of this study, it had as a basis a list of factors drawn up by the General Assembly at its sixth session, together with the comments which Members of the United Nations had transmitted to the Secretary-General in response to paragraph 2 of resolution 567 (VI). In addition, the *Ad Hoc* Committee, in accordance with paragraph 4 of the same resolution, was authorized to take account of all information available, including that transmitted to the Secretary-General on the reasons which had led certain Administering Members to cease to transmit information on certain of the Territories previously enumerated as Non-Self-Governing Territories.

IV. GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

5. In the course of the discussions in the Committee, certain general considerations were advanced to which reference should be made in order to clarify the nature of the Committee's work.

(A) The Committee was concerned with Non-Self-Governing Territories as covered by Chapter XI of the Charter. This point was made, as follows, on the three previous occasions on which the question has been discussed:

(1) General Assembly resolution 334 (IV) of 2 December 1949 is entitled "Territories to which Chapter XI of the Charter applies"; this resolution refers to the enumeration of Territories in General Assembly resolution 66 (I) and the cessation of information on some of those Territories.

(2) Paragraph 11 of part four of the report (A/1836) approved by the Committee on Information in 1951 states that the Committee is of the opinion

that there are numerous elements which should be taken into consideration "in reaching a decision whether a particular territory would come within the scope of Chapter XI of the Charter".

(3) Resolution 567 (VI), in paragraph 2 of its annex, states that "the task of the General Assembly, at present, is to indicate the factors which should be taken into account in determining whether the result of the advancement of the people of any given territory is such that that territory has reached a stage of self-government where it falls outside the scope of Article 73 e of the Charter".

The representative of Belgium stated that resolution 334 (IV) applied as well at the beginning as at the cessation of the transmission of information; that those who recognized the competence of the General Assembly to decide that the transmission of information should be continued should also recognize its competence to decide that information should begin to be sent for a territory in respect of which no information had yet been transmitted. The representative of France associated himself with this opinion. The representatives of Guatemala and Venezuela expressed reservations on this point.

(B) The question of what authority has the competence to determine that a territory has reached a stage of self-government where it falls outside the scope of Article 73 e of the Charter was not considered to be within the competence of the *Ad Hoc* Committee. Various members of the Committee, however, recorded their opinions on this point as matters which they reserved for treatment in the General Assembly.

(C) The Committee was generally agreed that no enumeration of factors can do more than serve as a guide in determining whether a territory is or is not fully self-governing. Each specific case will need to be determined by the particular circumstances of that case. Paragraph 5 of the annex to resolution 567 (VI) underlines this principle by stressing that such a list of factors "cannot be regarded as exhaustive or definitive, and that a single factor or particular combination of factors cannot be regarded as decisive in every case. Whether the peoples of a territory should be regarded as having reached a stage of self-government where there is no longer any obligation to transmit information should be solved in the light of the conditions enumerated under either of the two headings, taking into account the circumstances of each particular case, which will need to be studied separately".

(D) A third general question relates to the extent to which the provisions of Article 73 e continue to apply in the case of territories which have become neither independent nor fully integrated within another State but which have already attained a full measure of self-government in their internal affairs. Paragraph 3 of the annex to resolution 567 (VI) states that this is a question which merits further study. A number of replies received from governments expressed divergent opinions upon this important question of principle. The Government of the Netherlands, considering that as soon as a territory had reached a state of self-government as regards the subjects enumerated in Article 73 e the Administering Member was no longer under an obligation to transmit

information, suggested, in the light of this contention, a new set of factors to be taken into account by an Administering Member in deciding whether it should cease to transmit information.

Different opinions were expressed in the Committee as to whether, in the light of its terms of reference, it was competent to consider this question. It was agreed that the matter should be referred to the General Assembly, which might wish to pursue its study. The list of factors as suggested by the Netherlands Government was as follows:

(a) Has the territory a representative parliament and is the composition of such parliament based on the result of elections?

(b) In what way does this parliament co-operate in the exercise of the legislative power with regard to the subjects mentioned in Article 73 e?

(c) To what extent is the Executive bound by the decisions of the parliament with regard to the subjects mentioned in Article 73 e?

(d) Is the intervention of the metropolitan country in the autonomy with regard to the subjects mentioned in Article 73 e limited to those cases which are based upon the constitution voluntarily accepted by the territory?

(e) What matters are excepted from the autonomy with regard to the subjects mentioned in Article 73 e as a result of the fact that they are of common interest to the metropolitan country and the territory concerned? Are they collectively dealt with and what part has the territory in this respect?

(f) Does the territory enjoy financial independence and is the budget controlled by parliament?

(g) In what way are human rights and fundamental freedoms guaranteed?

(E) The Government of Iraq suggested that a new factor should be added to the existing list relating to the question of armed forces. Some members of the Committee expressed the opinion that the details contained in the proposal raised difficult matters which related to questions of security and were beyond the terms of the Committee's work. It was agreed to insert a reference to the broad question of responsibility for national defence in the list of factors and to record in full in the present report the following text submitted by the Government of Iraq:

"(a) Does the territory possess armed forces of its own? If so, who controls those armed forces politically, administratively and financially? Is there a financial contribution made towards the cost of maintenance of its armed forces by a foreign or allied Power? If so, what is the proportion of this contribution to the total allocation in the national budget for the armed forces? Is there a foreign military mission in the territory accredited to the armed forces? If so, in what capacity does this foreign mission function, that is to say, if it is an advisory military mission, to what extent is it in a position to influence both in theory and practice the policy and administration of the armed forces of that territory?

"(b) Are there military, air and naval units belonging to a foreign Power stationed in that territory? If so, was that agreed upon voluntarily with the territory?"

(F) The United Kingdom Government submitted a number of factors which, in its view, would ideally have to be taken into account in deciding whether a territory was or was not a territory whose people enjoyed a full measure of self-government. The Committee included in its list the points from the United Kingdom list concerning political rights of individuals. The opinion was expressed that other factors regarding the position of the executive, the judiciary and internal security would perhaps be too detailed for similar treatment but that they should be recorded in the report. These additional factors were:

Position of the executive

(a) Is the executive branch of government composed of persons who enjoy the support of the people or their elected representatives?

(b) Is the government drawn from the elected representatives of the people, and does the continuance of its existence depend on the continuance of the support of the people? In short, does the withdrawal of the support and consent of the people ensure the fall of the government?

(c) Is the government compelled, at reasonable intervals prescribed by law, to surrender its power and provide the people with a further opportunity of determining the government of the territory?

Judiciary

(a) Are the courts of justice free from political influence, i.e., does the appointment of judges depend upon their political affinities or not?

(b) Are the courts entirely separate from the executive branch of government, i.e., is the position of judges so entrenched that they are not dependent for their office on or affected by the fortune of any political party or any particular government?

Internal security

(a) Are the elected representatives of the people and the courts of justice free from pressure by mob violence, private armies or similar influences?

(b) Is there freedom for the individual from arbitrary arrest? And are there means (such as *habeas corpus*) of procuring his release from any arbitrary detention?

(c) Are the armed forces of the State, and its police forces, ultimately subject to the will of the representatives of the people?

V. LIST OF PROPOSED FACTORS

6. The list of factors, therefore, which the *Ad Hoc* Committee submits to the General Assembly which should be taken into account in deciding whether a territory is or is not a territory whose people have not yet attained a full measure of self-government, is as follows:

FACTORS INDICATIVE OF THE ATTAINMENT OF INDEPENDENCE OR OF OTHER SEPARATE SYSTEMS OF SELF-GOVERNMENT

First Part

Factors indicative of the attainment of independence

A. International status

1. *International responsibility.* Full international responsibility of the territory for the acts inherent in the exercise of its external sovereignty and for the corresponding acts in the administration of its internal affairs.

2. *Eligibility for membership in the United Nations.*

3. *General international relations.* Power to enter into direct relations of every kind with other governments and with international institutions and to negotiate, sign and ratify international instruments.

4. *National defence.* Freedom of the territory to enter into arrangements concerning its national defence.

B. Internal self-government

1. *Form of government.* Complete freedom of the people of the territory to choose the form of government which they desire.

2. *Territorial government.* Freedom from control or interference by the government of another State in respect of the internal government (legislature, executive, judiciary) and administration of the Territory.

3. *Economic, social and cultural jurisdiction.* Complete autonomy in respect of economic, social and cultural affairs.

Second Part

Factors indicative of the attainment of other separate systems of self-government

A. General

1. *Political advancement.* Political advancement of the population sufficient to enable them to decide upon the future destiny of the territory with due knowledge.

2. *Opinion of the population.* The opinion of the population of the territory, freely expressed by informed and democratic processes, as to the status or change in status which they desire.

3. *Voluntary limitation by sovereignty.* Degree to which the sovereignty of the territory is limited by its own free will when that territory has attained a separate system of self-government.

B. International status

1. *General international relations.* Degree or extent to which the territory exercises the power to enter freely into direct relations of every kind with other governments and with international institutions and to negotiate, sign and ratify international instruments freely.

2. *Eligibility for membership in the United Nations.*

C. Internal self-government

1. *Territorial government.* Nature and measure of control or interference, if any, by the government of another State in respect of the internal government, for example, in respect of the following:

Legislature: The enactment of laws for the territory by an indigenous body whether fully elected by free and democratic processes or lawfully constituted in a manner receiving the free consent of the population;

Executive: The selection of members of the executive branch of the government by the competent authority in the territory receiving consent of the indigenous population, whether that authority is hereditary or elected, having regard also to the nature and measure of control, if any, by an outside agency on that authority, whether directly or indirectly exercised in the constitution and conduct of the executive branch of the government;

Judiciary: The establishment of courts of law and the selection of judges.

2. *Participation of the population.* Effective participation of the population in the government of the territory: (a) Is there an adequate and appropriate electoral and representative system? (b) Is this electoral system conducted without direct or indirect interference from a foreign government?¹

3. *Economic, social and cultural jurisdiction.* Degree of autonomy in respect of economic, social and cultural affairs, as illustrated by the degree of freedom from economic pressure as exercised, for example, by a foreign minority group which, by virtue of the help of a foreign Power, has acquired a privileged economic status prejudicial to the general economic interest of the people of the territory; and by the degree of freedom and lack of discrimination against the indigenous population of the territory in social legislation and social developments.

Factors indicative of the free association of a territory with other component parts of the metropolitan or other country

A. General

1. *Political advancement.* Political advancement of the population sufficient to enable them to decide upon the future destiny of the territory with due knowledge.

2. *Opinion of the population.* The opinion of the population of the territory, freely expressed by informed and democratic processes, as to the status or change in status which they desire.

¹ For example, the following questions would be relevant: (i) Has each adult inhabitant equal power (subject to special safeguards for minorities) to determine the character of the government of the territory? (ii) Is this power exercised freely, i.e., is there an absence of undue influence over and coercion of the voter and of the imposition of disabilities on particular political parties? Some tests which can be used in the application of this factor are as follows:

(a) The existence of effective measures to ensure the democratic expression of the will of the people;

(b) The existence of more than one political party in the territory;

(c) The existence of a secret ballot;

(d) The existence of legal prohibitions on the exercise of undemocratic practices in the course of elections;

(e) The existence for the individual elector of a choice between candidates of differing political parties;

(f) The absence of "martial law" and similar measures at election times;

(iii) Is each individual free to express his political opinions, to support or oppose any political party or cause, and to criticize the government of the day?

3. *Geographical considerations.* Extent to which the relations of the territory with the capital of the central government may be affected by circumstances arising out of their respective geographical positions, such as separation by land, sea or other natural obstacles.

4. *Ethnic and cultural considerations.* Extent to which the population are of different race, language or religion or have a distinct cultural heritage, interests or aspirations, distinguishing them from the peoples of the country with which they freely associate themselves.

5. *Constitutional considerations.* Association (a) by virtue of the constitution of the metropolitan country; or (b) by virtue of a treaty or bilateral agreement affecting the status of the territory, taking into account (i) whether the constitutional guarantees extend equally to the associated territory, (ii) whether there are powers in certain matters constitutionally reserved to the territory or to the central authority, and (iii) whether there is provision for the participation of the territory on a basis of equality in any changes in the constitutional system of the State.

B. Status

1. *Legislative representation.* Representation without discrimination in the central legislative organs on the same basis as other inhabitants and regions.

2. *Citizenship.* Citizenship without discrimination on the same basis as other inhabitants.

3. *Government officials.* Eligibility of officials from the territory to all public offices of the central authority, by appointment or election, on the same basis as those from other parts of the country.

C. Internal constitutional conditions

1. *Suffrage.* Universal and equal suffrage, and free periodic elections, characterized by an absence of undue influence over and coercion of the voter or of the imposition of disabilities on particular political parties.²

2. *Local rights and status.* In a unitary system equal rights and status for the inhabitants and local bodies of the territory as enjoyed by inhabitants and local bodies of other parts of the country; in a federal system an identical degree of self-government for the inhabitants and local bodies of all parts of the federation.

3. *Local officials.* Appointment or election of officials in the territory on the same basis as those in other parts of the country.

4. *Internal legislation.* Local self-government of the same scope and under the same conditions as enjoyed by other parts of the country.

² For example, the following tests would be relevant:

(a) The existence of effective measures to ensure the democratic expression of the will of the people;

(b) The existence of more than one political party in the territory;

(c) The existence of a secret ballot;

(d) The existence of legal prohibitions on the exercise of undemocratic practices in the course of elections;

(e) The existence for the individual elector of a choice between candidates of differing political parties;

(f) The absence of "martial law" and similar measures at election times;

(g) Freedom of each individual to express his political opinions, to support or oppose any political party or cause, and to criticize the government of the day.

648 (VII). Factors which should be taken into account in deciding whether a Territory is or is not a Territory whose people have not yet attained a full measure of self-government

The General Assembly,

Taking into account the obligation to transmit information, accepted in virtue of Article 73 e of the Charter, by the Members which have or assume responsibilities for the administration of Territories whose peoples have not yet attained a full measure of self-government,

Taking into account that this obligation remains in force with regard to each Territory until such time as the objectives of Chapter XI of the Charter are fulfilled,

Taking into account the statement contained in resolution 222 (III), adopted by the General Assembly on 3 November 1948, to the effect that it is essential for the United Nations to be informed of any change that may take place in the constitutional status of any Non-Self-Governing Territory, and that, not later than six months after the submission of the aforesaid information, such information as may be required in such cases should be communicated, including information about the constitution, legislative acts or executive orders regarding the government of the Territory as well as about the constitutional relationship of the Territory to the government of the metropolitan country,

Having examined the report⁴ of the *Ad Hoc Committee on Factors (Non-Self-Governing Territories)*.

Recognizing that, in deciding whether a Territory has or has not attained a full measure of self-government, an enumeration of factors would be a useful guide both for the General Assembly and for the Administering Member concerned,

Having regard to its resolution 567 (VI) of 18 January 1952,

1. *Approves* provisionally the annexed list of factors which may serve as a guide, both for the General Assembly and for the Members of the United Nations which have or assume responsibilities for the administration of Non-Self-Governing Territories, in deciding whether a Territory has or has not attained a full measure of self-government;

2. *Recognises* that each concrete case should be considered and decided in the light of the particular

⁴ See document A/2178.

circumstances of that case and taking into account the right of self-determination of peoples;

3. *Declares* that the factors, while serving as a guide in determining whether the obligations as set forth in Article 73 e of the Charter still exist, should in no way be interpreted as a hindrance to the attainment of a full measure of self-government by the Non-Self-Governing Territories;

4. *Further declares* that, for a Territory to be deemed self-governing in economic, social or educational affairs it is essential that its people shall have attained a full measure of self-government as referred to in Chapter XI of the Charter;

5. *Recommends* that, provisionally, the annexed list of factors should be taken into account in any case which the General Assembly examines resulting from any communication received by the Secretary-General in virtue of General Assembly resolution 222 (III) concerning the cessation of the transmission of information under Article 73 e of the Charter, or in relation to other questions that may arise concerning the existence of an obligation to transmit information under this Article;

6. *Decides* to set up a new *Ad Hoc* Committee of ten Members, consisting of Australia, Belgium, Burma, Cuba, Guatemala, Iraq, Netherlands, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America and Venezuela, with instructions to continue and carry out a more thorough study of the factors which will have to be taken into account in deciding whether a Territory has or has not attained a full measure of self-government;

7. *Invites* the said Committee to take into account, *inter alia*, the list^a of factors prepared in 1952 by the *Ad Hoc* Committee set up under General Assembly resolution 567 (VI) and the statements transmitted by governments in compliance with the aforementioned resolution and, further, to take into account the following additional elements:

(a) The possibility of defining the concept of a full measure of self-government for the purposes of Chapter XI of the Charter;

(b) The features guaranteeing the principle of the self-determination of peoples in relation to Chapter XI of the Charter;

(c) The manifestation of the freely expressed will of the peoples in relation to the determination of their national and international status for the purposes of Chapter XI of the Charter;

8. *Invites* all Members of the United Nations to transmit in writing to the Secretary-General, by 1 May 1953, a statement of the views of their governments on the subjects contained in the terms of reference of the Committee;

9. *Requests* the Secretary-General to convene the *Ad Hoc* Committee so that it may begin its work not later than four weeks before the opening of the 1953 session of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories.

402nd plenary meeting,
10 December 1952.

^a Ibid.

ANNEX

Factors indicative of the attainment of independence or of other separate systems of self-government

FIRST PART

Factors indicative of the attainment of independence

A. *International status*

1. *International responsibility.* Full international responsibility of the territory for the acts inherent in the exercise of its external sovereignty and for the corresponding acts in the administration of its internal affairs.

2. *Eligibility for membership in the United Nations.*

3. *General international relations.* Power to enter into direct relations of every kind with other governments and with international institutions and to negotiate, sign and ratify international instruments.

4. *National defence.* Freedom of the territory to enter into arrangements concerning its national defence.

B. *Internal self-government*

1. *Form of government.* Complete freedom of the people of the territory to choose the form of government which they desire.

2. *Territorial government.* Freedom from control or interference by the government of another State in respect of the internal government (legislature, executive, judiciary) and administration of the Territory.

3. *Economic, social and cultural jurisdiction.* Complete autonomy in respect of economic, social and cultural affairs.

SECOND PART

Factors indicative of the attainment of other separate systems of self-government

A. *General*

1. *Political advancement.* Political advancement of the population sufficient to enable them to decide upon the future destiny of the territory with due knowledge.

2. *Opinion of the population.* The opinion of the population of the territory, freely expressed by informed and democratic processes, as to the status or change in status which they desire.

3. *Voluntary limitation of sovereignty.* Degree to which the sovereignty of the territory is limited by its own free will when that territory has attained a separate system of self-government.

B. *International status*

1. *General international relations.* Degree or extent to which the territory exercises the power to enter freely into direct relations of every kind with other governments and with international institutions and to negotiate, sign and ratify international instruments freely.

2. *Eligibility for membership in the United Nations.*

C. *Internal self-government*

1. *Territorial government.* Nature and measure of control or interference, if any, by the government of another State in respect of the internal government, for example, in respect of the following:

Legislature: The enactment of laws for the territory by an indigenous body whether fully elected by free and democratic processes or lawfully constituted in a manner receiving the free consent of the population;

Executive: The selection of members of the executive branch of the government by the competent authority in the territory receiving consent of the indigenous population, whether that authority is hereditary or elected, having regard also to the nature and measure of control, if any, by an outside agency on that authority, whether directly or indirectly exercised in the constitution and conduct of the executive branch of the government;

Judiciary: The establishment of courts of law and the selection of judges.

2. *Participation of the population.* Effective participation of the population in the government of the territory: (a) Is there an adequate and appropriate electoral and representative system? (b) Is this electoral system conducted without direct or indirect interference from a foreign government?^a

3. *Economic, social and cultural jurisdiction.* Degree of autonomy in respect of economic, social and cultural affairs, as illustrated by the degree of freedom from economic pressure as exercised, for example, by a foreign minority group which, by virtue of the help of a foreign Power, has acquired a privileged economic status prejudicial to the general economic interest of the people of the territory; and by the degree of freedom and lack of discrimination against the indigenous population of the territory in social legislation and social developments.

Factors indicative of the free association of a territory with other component parts of the metropolitan or other country

A. General

1. *Political advancement.* Political advancement of the population sufficient to enable them to decide upon the future destiny of the territory with due knowledge.

2. *Opinion of the population.* The opinion of the population of the territory, freely expressed by informed and democratic processes, as to the status or change in status which they desire.

3. *Geographical considerations.* Extent to which the relations of the territory with the capital of the central government may be affected by circumstances arising out of their respective geographical positions, such as separation by land, sea or other natural obstacles.

4. *Ethnic and cultural considerations.* Extent to which the population are of different race, language or religion or have a distinct cultural heritage, interests or aspirations, distinguishing them from the peoples of the country with which they freely associate themselves.

5. *Constitutional considerations.* Association (a) by virtue of the constitution of the metropolitan country, or (b) by virtue of a treaty or bilateral agreement affecting the status

^a For example, the following questions would be relevant:

(i) Has each adult inhabitant equal power (subject to special safeguards for minorities) to determine the character of the government of the territory?

(ii) Is this power exercised freely, i.e., is there an absence of undue influence over and coercion of the voter and of the imposition of disabilities on particular political parties? Some tests which can be used in the application of this factor are as follows:

(a) The existence of effective measures to ensure the democratic expression of the will of the people;

(b) The existence of more than one political party in the territory;

(c) The existence of a secret ballot;

(d) The existence of legal prohibitions on the exercise of undemocratic practices in the course of elections;

(e) The existence for the individual elector of a choice between candidates of differing political parties;

(f) The absence of "martial law" and similar measures at election times;

(iii) Is each individual free to express his political opinions, to support or oppose any political party or cause, and to criticize the government of the day?

of the territory, taking into account (i) whether the constitutional guarantees extend equally to the associated territory, (ii) whether there are powers in certain matters constitutionally reserved to the territory or to the central authority, and (iii) whether there is provision for the participation of the territory on a basis of equality in any changes in the constitutional system of the State.

B. Status

1. *Legislative representation.* Representation without discrimination in the central legislative organs on the same basis as other inhabitants and regions.

2. *Citizenship.* Citizenship without discrimination on the same basis as other inhabitants.

3. *Government officials.* Eligibility of officials from the territory to all public offices of the central authority, by appointment or election, on the same basis as those from other parts of the country.

C. Internal constitutional conditions

1. *Suffrage.* Universal and equal suffrage, and free periodic elections, characterized by an absence of undue influence over and coercion of the voter or of the imposition of disabilities on particular political parties.^b

2. *Local rights and status.* In a unitary system equal rights and status for the inhabitants and local bodies of the territory as enjoyed by inhabitants and local bodies of other parts of the country; in a federal system an identical degree of self-government for the inhabitants and local bodies of all parts of the federation.

3. *Local officials.* Appointment or election of officials in the territory on the same basis as those in other parts of the country.

4. *Internal legislation.* Local self-government of the same scope and under the same conditions as enjoyed by other parts of the country.

^b For example, the following tests would be relevant:

(a) The existence of effective measures to ensure the democratic expression of the will of the people;

(b) The existence of more than one political party in the territory;

(c) The existence of a secret ballot;

(d) The existence of legal prohibitions on the exercise of undemocratic practices in the course of elections;

(e) The existence for the individual elector of a choice between candidates of differing political parties;

(f) The absence of "martial law" and similar measures at election times;

(g) Freedom of each individual to express his political opinions, to support or oppose any political party or cause, and to criticize the government of the day.



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President: Mr. Lester B. PEARSON (Canada).

Report of the Fourth Committee (A/2296):

Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter:

(a) Information on social conditions and development; (b) Information on other conditions; (c) Transmission of information

[Agenda item 33]

Question of the renewal of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories

[Agenda item 34]

Participation of Non-Self-Governing Territories in the work of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories

[Agenda item 35]

Factors which should be taken into account in deciding whether a territory is or is not a territory whose people have not yet attained a full measure of self-government

[Agenda item 36]

8. The PRESIDENT: Does any member propose, under rule 67 of the rules of procedure, that a discussion of the report of the Fourth Committee should take place? As no such proposal has been made, we shall proceed, after the Rapporteur of the Fourth Committee has presented the report, to vote on the draft resolutions contained therein.

9. There will, of course, be an opportunity for delegations to make explanations of vote. I would hope that such explanations of vote might be given either before or, preferably, after the votes are taken on all six drafts, so that there need not be separate explanations of vote on each one. If that course commends itself to the General Assembly, then I think it would be fair not to ask representatives to restrict their explanations of vote in the same way as in the past, when fewer draft resolutions were being considered and fewer votes were being explained. At the same time, I know that the Assembly will agree with me when I

express the hope that explanations of vote will not be used to reopen any general discussion.

10. If there is no objection to that suggested procedure, I shall call on the Rapporteur of the Fourth Committee, Mr. Scott, representative of New Zealand, to present the report of that Committee.

11. Mr. SCOTT (New Zealand) (Rapporteur of the Fourth Committee): I have the honour to present to the General Assembly the report of the Fourth Committee on items 33, 34, 35 and 36 of the agenda of the General Assembly. This report, which was adopted in the Fourth Committee without objection, is before you in document A/2296, and the explanations I need furnish are very brief.

12. You will see that the Fourth Committee considered the questions before it relating to Non-Self-Governing Territories during the course of twenty-seven meetings. I venture to mention this figure as an indication of the thorough manner in which these matters were discussed. This may be considered as a reflection of the increased importance which the General Assembly attaches to the consideration of questions arising out of Chapter XI of the Charter.

13. The Fourth Committee submits to the General Assembly six draft resolutions. Draft resolutions I and II arise directly out of the consideration by the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories of social conditions in those Territories. Draft resolution III has a close connexion with the same programme of work, since it relates to the use that may be made of the special reports prepared by the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories on educational, economic and social conditions. Draft resolution IV relates to the renewal of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories. Draft resolution V concerns the participation of Non-Self-Governing Territories in the work of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories. It is probable that certain aspects of these important draft resolutions will engage the particular attention of this plenary meeting, as their significance in the development of the work of the United Nations will be apparent to all delegations.

14. In the last place, delegations will find in draft resolution VI a reflection of the work of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Factors, which was established by the last session of the General Assembly [*resolution 567 (VI)*] and of the Fourth Committee's examination of its report. It will be seen that this draft resolution provisionally approves a list of factors to be taken into account in deciding whether a territory is or is not fully self-governing and, at the same time, proposes the creation of a new *ad hoc* committee to continue the study of this difficult problem. I believe that I am interpreting the views of the Fourth Committee in stating that it was the understanding that this new *ad hoc* committee would be created for 1953 only and would report to the next session of the General Assembly.

15. These are the six draft resolutions presented for your consideration. With the indications given in the report of the manner in which these drafts were approved in the Fourth Committee and the voting on

them, I beg to submit them and the report to the General Assembly.

16. As I am on this rostrum, perhaps the President will allow me, as the representative of NEW ZEALAND, to say that I and many of my colleagues in the Fourth Committee consider draft resolutions IV and V, relating respectively to the renewal of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories and to the participation of Non-Self-Governing Territories in the work of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories, as important questions both in the general sense and more particularly in the sense of Article 18 of the Charter. I would therefore venture to suggest that, as in the past, paragraph 2 of Article 18 of the Charter and rule 84 of the rules of procedure should be applied to draft resolutions IV and V.

17. Mr. LLOYD (United Kingdom): I wish to explain the vote which my delegation will cast on these six draft resolutions submitted with this report.

18. We shall vote for draft resolution I.

19. With regard to draft resolution II, my delegation has moved an amendment [A/L.127] to delete the last six words of paragraph 2 of the operative part, and to insert, between the words "any" and "discriminatory", the word "such". The paragraph as it now stands results from the acceptance of an amendment moved by my delegation in the Fourth Committee. As a result of the acceptance of that amendment by the committee, some delegations found it impossible to vote for the draft resolution as amended because they felt that the insertion of these last six words made the effect of paragraph 2 of the operative part unduly restricted. Since the object of my delegation in moving this amendment was to broaden the application of paragraph 2 of the operative part, we shall be most reluctant to see any votes cast on this draft resolution through a misinterpretation of our intention. So to make it clear that we regard paragraph 2 of the operative part as having the same scope as paragraph 1 of the operative part, my delegation has moved the amendment now before the Assembly. I hope that it will be adopted and that it will enable the widest possible support to be given to the draft resolution for which my delegation intends to vote. Our favourable vote, however, is subject to the reservation which we made in the Fourth Committee, that the immediate application of paragraph 4 of the operative part may, in certain cases, prove impossible for reasons of a purely practical and administrative nature.

20. I now come to draft resolution III. My delegation considers that paragraph 1 of the operative part of this draft resolution urges the administering Powers to supply to the Secretary-General information going far beyond the information of a statistical or technical nature which such members are obliged to transmit under the provisions of Article 73 e of the Charter. For this reason, my delegation voted against this paragraph in the Fourth Committee and will do so again if it is the subject of a separate vote here. However, in the information regularly transmitted by Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, ample material is available to those who study it to form a

judgment on the degree to which certain general principles enunciated by the General Assembly find expression in our policies and action in the Territories for which we have responsibility. For that reason, my delegation will abstain on draft resolution III as a whole.

21. Draft resolution IV on the renewal of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories causes us greater difficulties. The attitude of Her Majesty's Government towards the existence of a Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories has been stated many times. There is no provision in the Charter for a systematic examination and criticism by a special body of the information transmitted by administering Powers under the terms of Article 73 e of the Charter, and it was clearly not the intention, in our view, of those who drafted Chapter XI that there should be. This is easily seen by contrasting the position of Non-Self-Governing Territories with that of Trust Territories, for which the Charter sets up a Trusteeship Council. Moreover, the information is transmitted, in the words of Article 73 e, "to the Secretary-General for information purposes". But so long as the Committee on Information existed on a temporary basis, the United Kingdom Government, together with other administering Powers, felt able to participate in its work. It did so as a gesture of co-operation with the many Members of the United Nations which expressed an interest in the progress of Non-Self-Governing Territories and wished to have an opportunity of studying, together with the administering Powers, the information submitted by the latter.

22. The United Kingdom Government has, however, at each session of the committee, formally reserved its position in regard to the existence of the committee itself, since it could not even by implication accept the thesis that Members which were administering Powers were accountable to the United Nations for the administration of their Non-Self-Governing Territories. But this reservation did not affect the contribution made by the United Kingdom representatives to the committee, and they have endeavoured to the best of their ability to assist the work of the committee.

23. In so far as the work of the committee is concerned, most non-administering Powers have expressed the view that its studies are of value, but at the present session they have contended that it was not sufficient to have a Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories whose existence was of a temporary nature.

24. It has never been quite clear to us why the status of this committee should affect the quality of its work, and the principles which have hitherto guided the attitude of the United Kingdom towards this committee have not changed. The United Kingdom Government would be prepared, however, to participate, as a gesture of goodwill, in the work of a small committee reconstituted on the same temporary basis as hitherto and for a similar period of three years. At the end of that period the General Assembly will have to take up the question of revising the Charter, and that would seem to us to be the appropriate time for States to raise important questions of principle, such

as the functions of the General Assembly in relation to the existing Article 73 e of the Charter. In the meantime, the setting up of a permanent Committee on Information constitutes an attempt to assimilate Non-Self-Governing Territories to Trust Territories, despite the clear distinction between them established by the Charter, and it anticipates any decision which may then be reached.

25. It will be clear from what I have said that our basic objection to the draft resolution is that in effect it establishes this committee on a permanent basis. It seeks to assert an interpretation of Chapter XI of the Charter which my Government cannot accept. It prejudges the result of the discussions which will no doubt take place in three years' time.

26. If the General Assembly insists on asserting a certain point of view and prejudging these discussions, my Government will be in no doubt regarding the action it should take. It will not be able to attend the meetings of this committee. If, however, the draft resolution adopted were to limit the establishment of the committee to a further three-year period only, we should participate as before in the work of this committee. We believe that in these matters, where there is disagreement about the interpretation of the Charter, we should try to bridge our differences in a spirit of co-operation and with a certain amount of give and take. We do not agree that this committee is either necessary or lawfully constituted. But, in a spirit of compromise, we are willing to serve on it for a further three years, as I have stated before. I am, however, authorized by Her Majesty's Government to make it quite clear that if that offer, which we regard as a reasonable offer, made in a spirit of compromise, is rejected, we shall no longer serve on this committee.

27. I now turn to a consideration of draft resolution V, on the participation of the Non-Self-Governing Territories in the work of the Committee on Information. We do not believe that direct participation of the Non-Self-Governing Territories in the work of the committee can in fact be of assistance in promoting the progress of those Territories and their peoples towards the goal set forth in Chapter XI of the Charter. We may find it desirable, from time to time, to associate with our delegation, to this and other committees, appropriately qualified representatives from our Non-Self-Governing Territories. We have done this in the past and we shall do so in the future when it seems useful. We wish, however, to remain the sole judges as to the composition of our delegations to international bodies, and we consider further that membership of the committees of the General Assembly must be confined to Members of the United Nations. These committees must remain associations of sovereign and responsible governments. They cannot be converted into tribunals in which States of the United Nations can be confronted with the indigenous inhabitants of these Territories. For this basic reason, we shall feel obliged to vote against draft resolution V.

28. With regard to draft resolution VI, dealing with the question of factors, again my delegation must vote against this draft. The status of the Non-Self-Governing Territories for which Her Majesty's Government has international responsibility cannot be determined by the United Nations. It is determined as

a result of constitutional instruments promulgated by Her Majesty's Government. To be frank, we should not find the list of factors annexed to the draft resolution of very much assistance in interpreting those instruments.

29. Furthermore, we cannot endorse the assertion of principle in paragraph 1 of the operative part that the General Assembly can have the function of deciding whether a territory has or has not attained a full measure of self-government.

30. As regards paragraph 2 of the operative part, I do not think that the Commission on Human Rights has as yet succeeded in defining satisfactorily, or indeed at all, the right of self-determination of peoples. I think that has been found to be a much more complicated problem of precise definition than many people would otherwise have thought.

31. Nor can we accept the assertion in paragraph 4 of the operative part that self-government in economic, social or educational affairs is inseparable from a full measure of self-government in political affairs as well.

32. For all these reasons, we must continue to vote against this draft resolution. Nevertheless, in the spirit I indicated a moment or two ago, we have agreed to serve as members of the new *ad hoc* committee to be established under this draft resolution, to review the studies on which it is based. Our participation will be entirely without prejudice to our position on the important matters of principle which I have mentioned as determining our opposition to the draft resolution. We shall hope, by that participation, to make our views prevail upon our colleagues on those questions of principle. But we do feel that it is in accordance with the spirit of compromise to which I have just referred that we should agree to serve on that committee.

33. It is a matter of considerable disappointment to me that my delegation should be unable to vote for so many of the draft resolutions put forward by the Fourth Committee. We had hoped that the Fourth Committee might have begun to adopt a more understanding attitude, as we regard it, to those important considerations arising under Chapter XI of the Charter. Our hopes in that regard have not yet been fulfilled. However, it is one of the consolations of human existence that hope should spring eternal, and I do not despair that we shall gradually achieve a greater degree of co-operation and understanding in the work of this Committee.

34. Mr. PIGNON (France) (*translated from French*): My delegation has had an opportunity to explain its views to the Fourth Committee on the questions which are the subject of the report and the draft resolutions now before the Assembly. It expressed its opinion clearly and in detail. Today it would like to reaffirm the comments it has already made.

35. Moreover, in view of the gravity of the problems involved, my delegation considers it essential to stress some points to which attention cannot be too emphatically drawn.

36. In the first place, and speaking generally, the French delegation deplores the fact that most of the draft resolutions recommended by the Fourth Committee concerning information from Non-Self-Gov-

erning Territories spring from a conception contrary to the letter and the spirit of the Charter. Once again it is obliged to recognize the fact that there is a desire unilaterally to amend the meaning and scope of a treaty which can be amended only in accordance with the legal procedure provided for that purpose. My delegation most solemnly states that the pursuit of such an undertaking is likely to jeopardize that collaboration and co-operation which are the purposes of this Organization. It must point out the dangerous results which the continuance of this procedure might entail in practice.

37. In the light of these considerations, my delegation now wishes to explain its position and its views with regard to some of the draft resolutions contained in the report of the Fourth Committee.

38. In the first place, my delegation will vote for draft resolution II, on racial discrimination, because it represents a people who are passionately opposed to any form of discrimination. Nevertheless, on this occasion it must again make the reservations it made in the Fourth Committee with regard to the necessity of dealing with such a problem on the universal level, and by more appropriate methods than those used by the Fourth Committee.

39. Secondly, my delegation notes that paragraphs 2 and 3 of the operative part of draft resolution V, entitled "Participation of Non-Self-Governing Territories in the work of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories", repeat the most controversial ideas on which resolution 566 (VI) of 18 January 1952 on the same subject was based. My delegation considers the more or less disguised creation of the status of associate member of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories unconstitutional. In United Nations organs there cannot be dual representation, of both the administering Power and the Non-Self-Governing Territory. Chapter XI of the Charter and the provisions of Article 2, paragraph 7, give responsibility for the administration of Non-Self-Governing Territories to the administering Power and to it alone, in order to prevent any intervention by the United Nations.

40. Thirdly, my delegation will refrain from again pointing out the gratuitous and contradictory nature of the provisions of draft resolution VI, entitled "Factors which should be taken into account in deciding whether a territory is or is not a territory whose people have not yet attained a full measure of self-government". My delegation wishes to emphasize that it cannot recognize the principles embodied in that draft which, among other things, makes the General Assembly competent to decide whether a territory is or is not self-governing.

41. My delegation was able to take part in the study of factors relating to self-government because that study had been undertaken within the terms of reference laid down by General Assembly resolution 334 (IV), under which "it is within the responsibility of the General Assembly to express its opinion on the principles which have guided or which may in future guide the Members concerned in enumerating the territories for which the obligation exists to transmit information under Article 73 e of the Charter." The French delegation had admitted that the General As-

sembly was justified in studying, in accordance with the procedure provided, ways of guiding the responsible States by an opinion as to the principles likely to assist them in determining the territories to which Article 73 e of the Charter was applicable, and it was able to participate in the preliminary work carried out in Paris, at the sixth session, and in the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Factors (Non-Self-Governing Territories). However, the General Assembly's competence is limited to the giving of this opinion on the principles which could guide Member States. The French Government has on several occasions officially stated that the determination of the Territories whose populations have not yet attained a full measure of self-government under the terms of the Charter is exclusively within the jurisdiction of the administering States. The competence of the administering Powers in that matter, which is based on the Charter, cannot be affected, diminished or controlled by any decision of the General Assembly. Consequently, my delegation is compelled, for the present and for the future, most expressly to reserve its Government's competence in that matter under the Charter.

42. Fourthly, with regard to draft resolution IV, entitled "Renewal of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories", my delegation must recall that it has always made the most express reservations with regard to the legality of an organ called on to examine information which, under Article 73 e of the Charter, is transmitted to the Secretary-General of the United Nations only for information purposes. Moreover, no provision was made for that organ in the Charter. Likewise, my delegation has always opposed the idea, based on an erroneous interpretation of Chapter XI, that the Organization has a sort of right of supervision over Non-Self-Governing Territories, an idea which is most clearly expressed in the setting up of the Committee on Information. Such an idea is, indeed, in contradiction with the very terms of Chapter XI and with other provisions of the Charter, as well as with the preparatory work of the San Francisco Conference.

43. The fact that in the past my delegation has been able to participate in the work of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories is due to the non-permanent nature of that body. It was a provisional situation, of fixed duration, and my delegation, anxious to conform as fully as possible to the principles of international co-operation set forth in the Charter, did not refuse to undertake a joint examination of general questions concerning Non-Self-Governing Territories, so as to help to make those problems better known. Draft resolution IV, on the other hand, sanctions the illegality to which I have just referred by stating the principle of the permanency of the committee. It officially gives Chapter XI of the Charter a tendentious interpretation and an excessive scope which my delegation cannot accept. It confers on a body, whose usefulness is very doubtful and whose work is carried on in an ever less objective and understanding atmosphere, a character completely incompatible with the provisions of Article 73 e of the Charter, the essential aim of which is publicity.

44. That being the case, my delegation must state on behalf of its Government that it will not in any

event participate next year in the committee's work if paragraph 1 of the operative part of draft resolution IV is adopted in its present form, that is, if the committee's terms of reference are renewed for an indefinite period.

45. Mr. VAN LANGENHOVE (Belgium) (*translated from French*): The Belgian delegation considers it necessary to state the basic reasons why it cannot support the draft resolutions on the Non-Self-Governing Territories.

46. The obligations laid down in Article 73 of the Charter are of a general nature. In our opinion they unquestionably apply to all Member States which are responsible for the progress of backward indigenous peoples living within their territories. These obligations are similar to those under Article 23 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, by virtue of which the Member States of the League undertook "to secure just treatment of the Native inhabitants of territories under their control".

47. Within the United Nations are a number of Member States which were Members of the League of Nations. None of those States has ever disputed the fact that that provision applied to indigenous peoples living within its frontiers.

48. Among the States which were formerly Members of the League, however, only seven still recognize that obligation. We have the right to ask the others why they cannot accept today what they accepted for so many years without the slightest protest. We have already put that question, and so far it has remained unanswered. In vain have we pointed out that to restrict the enjoyment of international guarantees to a few indigenous peoples would be an injustice to all the others and that such restrictions would constitute a deplorable set-back to the pursuit of the humanitarian ideal to which this Organization is dedicated.

49. Nor is this the only aspect of the situation which we must consider. Within the League of Nations, the obligations assumed by Belgium towards the populations of its African territories, as distinguished from the mandated territories, were identical with those assumed by all the other Member States, in the Americas and Asia as well as in Africa. In Africa, the obligations were the same in regard to Ethiopia, Liberia or the Union of South Africa as in regard to the Congo, French Equatorial Africa or Uganda. At present Belgium, France and the United Kingdom are alone subject to those obligations. All the other Member States, although their responsibilities are the same as ours, have ceased to recognize the validity of these obligations.

50. At the same time, efforts have been made year in, year out, to extend the scope of these obligations. The fewer States there are which are prepared to submit to these obligations, the easier it is for majorities to vote for resolutions which, without any regard to the sovereignty of other States, tend progressively to transform the provisions of Chapter XI of the Charter into a kind of trusteeship régime which the San Francisco Conference had deliberately ruled out and which, so far as Belgium is concerned, in no way corresponds to the commitments subscribed to by Belgium and approved by its Parliament.

51. Although all the Member States responsible for the administration of indigenous populations are faced by similar duties, they have thus been divided into two categories, according to whether they recognize that Article 73 of the Charter applies to them or not. The one group is asked to accept increasingly broad obligations, while the other accepts none at all. Among the latter, this absence of responsibility leads to exaggerations and extravagant demands. As the Belgian Government recently pointed out, we thus reach a situation which is hardly tolerable; and we should be deluding ourselves in thinking that it can last.

52. A stable position will be achieved only if the States having the same responsibilities respect without exception the general obligations corresponding to those responsibilities. On the other hand, it would be ungenerous and unjust to the indigenous peoples not to grant to all of them, as did the Members of the League of Nations, the enjoyment of the general safeguards laid down on their behalf. These are the principles on which the Belgian Government bases its interpretation of Chapter XI and to which it intends to adhere. We cannot support any proposals which ignore those principles.

53. On the basis of these considerations, the Belgian Government will decide whether in future it will participate in the work of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories. In any event, it will not take part in that work if this committee becomes a semi-permanent body, in accordance with draft resolution IV submitted to the General Assembly.

54. Mr. LANNUNG (Denmark): I wish to make a few brief remarks with regard to draft resolution IV, concerning the renewal of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories. Since the approval by the Fourth Committee of draft resolution IV, it has been generally known—and today has been clearly emphasized—that the United Kingdom, France and Belgium, the three Members of the United Nations which have responsibility for the administration of the greatest number of Non-Self-Governing Territories, feel that they will be unable to participate in the work of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories if it is decided to continue this committee on a permanent or quasi-permanent basis, as recommended by the Fourth Committee.

55. I recall the past history of the matter, when there was a great measure of agreement in the Committee on Information for a renewal of the committee for a further three-year period on the same basis as hitherto, but it was the Fourth Committee which recast paragraph 1 of the operative part of draft resolution IV to the effect that the Committee on Information should be established on a permanent or quasi-permanent basis.

56. However, the adoption today of a proposal for a prolongation for a further three-year period on the same basis as hitherto will serve all practical purposes. As the valuable co-operation of the three administering Powers, which in reality is indispensable, would be ensured by following this road, my delegation and a number of others feel that it is their clear duty so to vote that this compromise—a renewal for a further three-year period—would be effected. This would, of

course, be without prejudice to any desire for a further prolongation of the committee at the end of the next three-year period. By continuing the committee in this way, we should make sure that the work of this committee, which so many colleagues consider of great importance, is continued uninterrupted and with the participation of all its members.

57. I shall therefore, with regard to paragraph 1 of the operative part of draft resolution IV, pursuant to rule 89 of the rules of procedure concerning the division of proposals, ask for a separate vote on the last part of paragraph 1, beginning "and at the end of that period".

58. I shall vote against this last part of the paragraph, doing so in a spirit of compromise, conciliation and co-operation and in the hope that this addition to the original paragraph will be rejected. If this addition is left out, the paragraph would accordingly read:

"Decides to continue the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories on the same basis for a further three-year period";

It will thus be restored to the original form in which the Fourth Committee received it from the Committee on Information, and will ensure the co-operation of all Member States in the work of that committee.

59. If the last part of the paragraph is thus deleted, my delegation will vote for the remaining part of the paragraph and for the draft resolution as a whole, hoping that many fellow representatives will do the same.

60. Mr. RIEMENS (Netherlands): I shall only refer to draft resolution VI on the factors to be applied when deciding when a territory has reached a full measure of self-government. The Netherlands delegation has certain misgivings about the text of that draft resolution as it has been approved in the Fourth Committee, and it therefore earnestly hopes that all other delegations will consider carefully whether this text is acceptable to them in its present form.

61. The attainment of a full measure of self-government is the high aim to which Member States, responsible for the administration of Non-Self-Governing Territories, have pledged themselves under Article 73 of the Charter. Several Member States, including the Netherlands, have achieved very much and have gone very far along this road. In view of the difficult and somewhat hesitant progress of democratic principles in many parts of the world in recent years, my Government, as well as the peoples of the Netherlands, the Netherlands Antilles and Surinam, are justified in feeling some legitimate pride in this achievement.

62. The United Nations, we hold, should welcome such a development, which is in clear accordance with the specific terms and the entire spirit of the Charter. Draft resolution VI now before us, however, attaches so many conditions to the consideration of this development, that we are very much afraid that, instead of being an expression of the joy which our Organization should have in cases like ours, it is rather a witness of sorrow.

63. For more than one year the United Nations has been studying the factors determining whether a territory has attained a full measure of self-government. Since the United Nations has set itself the task of

forms of independence and self-government, we feel that it is a necessity that such a study should be brought to a more satisfactory conclusion than the one made earlier this year by the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Factors and now embodied in the draft resolution as an annex. Indeed, it was observed during the debate in the Fourth Committee that these lists were so exhaustive that few, if any, of the sovereign States, Members of the United Nations, would be able to conform with such a trying test of self-government. It is significant that this remark did not come from one of the administering Powers but from one of the non-administering ones.

64. After all, this is small wonder. On the one side we see in the world of today that the idea of absolute and unrestricted sovereignty is an idea of the past, and that at present for nations to survive and prosper it is necessary to co-operate in larger groups, yielding to each other, and to the new communities they form, a not inconsiderable portion of that sovereignty. As against this development, which is undeniable, we see the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Factors putting up a list of such rigid requirements for the attainment of self-government in various forms, that this list becomes completely unworkable when applied to a great many practical cases. Such a trend, which runs counter to the development of the modern world and perhaps more particularly to that of the most advanced nations, is intransigent and its results are therefore unsatisfactory. Notwithstanding the fact that the draft resolution says the opposite in one of the paragraphs of the operative part, the establishment of such a rigid list of factors might very well endanger the future development towards full self-government. It is very unwise to establish so high a standard that it cannot in practice be reached.

65. The criticism about the list of factors was fairly general in the committee, and the support small and hesitant. Thus the idea that this study should be renewed and broadened has gained ground, and as a matter of fact this idea also finds its expression in the draft resolution now under consideration. A new committee on factors, with a wider mandate than the previous one, would thus be established to reconsider the problems involved in their entirety.

66. This in itself we consider a wise decision. Its logical consequence, however, would have been and should have been to lay aside the work of the previous committee and to see at the next session of the General Assembly whether the new committee has been able to present a more workable and realistic list of factors.

67. It is unfortunate, in the view of our delegation, that this has not been decided by the committee but that, instead, paragraph 1 of the operative part of the resolution accepts the factors listed so far as a guide. This is all the more serious since the committee also decided to propose a new and real power to the General Assembly to be exercised through the application of this unrealistic list of factors. The General Assembly and the administering Power concerned, so the resolution says, are to use this list as a yardstick in deciding whether a territory has or has not attained a full measure of self-government. This power of the General Assembly finds no basis whatsoever in the Charter of the United Nations. Even with the best possible will,

it cannot be interpreted as written into the text of Article 73, the only relevant article.

68. How is this power, which has no basis, going to be used? Precisely in applying the list of factors which needs revision. This is not only a poor way to express a thought, but it is also a dangerous way to try and implement it. The attitude of a few of the delegations which moved this part of the hybrid draft resolution has given rise to a strong suspicion as to the real objectives they sought to reach.

69. Those objectives were to give a power to the General Assembly which it does not have under the Charter, and since this power had to be given, irrespective of whether or not the yardstick to be applied in using it was a good one or a bad one, the suspicion is that at least a few of the sponsoring delegations had one objective and one only—to make the General Assembly condemn each and every effort which the administering Powers might have made in establishing a form of self-government in formerly Non-Self-Governing Territories which was not either complete independence or else a cession of territory to a non-administering Power. Some delegations have been candid enough to express such thoughts in the debate.

70. This extremist feeling, which is precisely that of the Soviet Union—as long as Non-Self-Governing Territories governed by other Powers than by the Soviet Union itself are under consideration—has been shared, our delegation feels sorry to state, by a few delegations which apparently seem to favour revolutionary movements rather than a balanced evolution towards self-government. To these delegations—fortunately few in number—the present draft resolution would serve as a cloak of their real intentions. To them the present contradictions and obscure parts of the document must be most welcome, since no one will ever be able to say—if this draft resolution is passed and used as a basis for future Assembly decisions—whether it was applied rightly or wrongly.

71. In the light of these observations, and although welcoming the further study of the problem of factors if undertaken in a spirit of realism and compromise, the Netherlands delegation is opposed to the draft resolution as a whole, and more particularly to paragraph 1 of the operative part of that document. We hope that it will fail to obtain the majority required for a decision of this importance, and we would appeal to the President to apply in this vote a two-thirds majority for passage.

72. Mr. FOURIE (Union of South Africa): We have on several occasions stated our understanding of the scope of Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter. Consistently with this attitude, we regard paragraph 2 of draft resolution II as falling outside the scope of Chapter XI of the Charter, and our abstention should therefore be regarded as non-participation in the vote.

73. Mr. AVELINO (Brazil) (*translated from French*): The Brazilian delegation's stand on the question of the renewal of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories is well known. We believe that this committee should become permanent, because, so long as there are Non-Self-Governing Territories, information must be transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter and a special organ

of the General Assembly is therefore needed to examine that information.

74. The constitutional objections to making the committee permanent do not appear to us to be valid. Administering Powers have, however, formally stated that they do not intend to take part in the work of the committee if the General Assembly adopts draft resolution IV approved by the Fourth Committee.

75. My delegation has considered this question very carefully. Much as we disapprove of the stand taken by the administering Powers in questions, we must admit that all our work on Non-Self-Governing Territories might come to nothing if we insisted on maintaining our original position.

76. My delegation has therefore reluctantly come to the conclusion that it must reconsider its stand on the last part of paragraph 1 of the operative part of draft resolution IV. We shall abstain from voting on that part of the paragraph which recommends that after three years the committee shall automatically be continued for as long as there exist Territories whose peoples have not yet attained a full measure of self-government. We do not wish by our vote to take part in approving a provision that we are convinced would prevent the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories from continuing its useful work on the same basis.

77. Mr. KHALIDY (Iraq): My delegation would like to explain very briefly its vote and its position concerning the draft resolutions now before the General Assembly. We shall vote in favour of all the draft resolutions presented by the Fourth Committee, subject to the two following changes.

78. In the case of draft resolution II, the United Kingdom delegation has moved an amendment which, I am glad to say, we shall be in a position to accept. We find that this amendment to paragraph 2 of the operative part of draft resolution II will improve the text. We find also that this amendment, which relates to the preceding paragraph of the operative part, rests on the two rocks, as it were, of the Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. There is therefore no need to go into further details which might complicate the situation and prove to be of a condemnatory nature. I shall explain this word "condemnatory" very briefly presently. Paragraph 2 should relate more closely to paragraph 1, which makes it reasonable to accept the United Kingdom amendment. Left to its own devices, however, paragraph 2 as it stands would be more sweeping and condemnatory.

79. I shall give the Assembly an illustration. There are Moslems, for example, in the Cameroons and in West Africa, territories which are not self-governing. There are also pagans. There is, perhaps, nothing that the pagans would like better than to sweep down from their hills and wipe out the Moslem and Christian religions and their religious establishments. The duty of the administering Powers is to guarantee the freedom of worship of its inhabitants in accordance with the Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Therefore they desire to—and I am sure do—preserve that freedom of worship. One can, in a way, call that a discrimination in favour of the Moslem mosques, but it is not the kind of discrimination en-

visaged by the Charter or the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

80. Relate this illustration to paragraph 2 of the operative part of draft resolution II, the end of which reads: "...with a view to the abolition of any discriminatory provisions or practices of a racial or religious character". In the light of the illustration which I have given, that does not tally exactly with the complete freedom of worship which it is the duty of the administering Powers to guarantee in accordance with all the precepts of the Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. We therefore find the United Kingdom amendment to be of such a nature as to improve the text, and we shall be glad to support it.

81. With regard to draft resolution IV, concerning the renewal of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories, now that separate votes have been requested on the first and second parts of paragraph 1 of the operative part, we shall vote in favour of the first part. In the case of the second part, however, we have reconsidered the position very carefully and have arrived at the following conclusion.

82. Let me make it very clear at once—especially to our friends inside and outside the Fourth Committee who have co-operated with us in this matter—that there is nothing we should like better than to have the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories established on a permanent basis. And, as an aside to our friends among the administering Powers, I would say that there is very little practical difference between continuing the committee on the present basis and continuing it on a permanent basis. They seem, however, to hold very tenaciously to a point of principle, in which they may be justified.

83. The most important consideration in our minds at the present time in connexion with this matter is that the committee should continue to function and to include among its members the colonial Powers, which I hope very much will continue to afford it their help and co-operation in its work. If that consideration is in danger of being compromised by a position that has already been made clear from this rostrum, we do not think it worth while to insist upon that point—which, as we believe, could be reconsidered and rectified in the future, after one, two or three years.

84. It has been insinuated by several colonial Powers outside the Fourth Committee and before this Assembly that they might reconsider their attitude if the second part of paragraph 1 of the operative part of draft resolution IV were insisted upon. We had hoped that they would reconsider this intention to reconsider their position, and that they would continue to attend the meetings of the committee. The representative of the United Kingdom, however, has just made it clear, in the name of his Government, that his delegation would not be able to attend if the second part of this paragraph were adopted.

85. At times, we must compromise, if it is worth while to do so. In compromising, one must decide which of two courses is preferable, which would in the long run be more useful and more necessary. We think that, at present, the second part of paragraph 1 of draft resolution IV does not have the importance

that some might attach to it. At any rate, the matter will be reviewed at the end of three years. Furthermore, I do not for a moment believe that any Member of the United Nations would suggest that the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories should be discontinued. I do not think that such a suggestion, even if it were made, could be adopted.

86. My delegation will therefore abstain from the vote on the second part of paragraph 1 of draft resolution IV.

87. Mr. McINNIS (Canada): I wish very briefly to explain the Canadian delegation's attitude towards two draft resolutions about which we are particularly concerned—draft resolution IV, concerning the renewal of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories, and draft resolution VI, dealing with factors.

88. My delegation expressed grave doubts as regards draft resolution VI from the very beginning of the consideration of that draft resolution by the Fourth Committee. The declaratory assertions—particularly those contained in the second paragraph of the preamble and paragraph 4 of the operative part—seem to us to be of very doubtful validity. We voted against these and certain other clauses in committee. We abstained from the vote on the draft resolution as a whole, because in its final form it incorporated a whole series of amendments and additions, and we wished to have time to give full consideration to the draft resolution as it emerged from committee.

89. We have now considered the draft resolution most carefully, and we still do not like it. If it remains in its present form, we shall be compelled to vote against it.

90. The position we have just expressed has a direct bearing on the renewal of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories. Let me say that, in principle, we favour the committee's renewal. We even accepted the provision therefor in the present draft resolution, in spite of our strong preference for limiting the committee's term of office to a three-year period. We gave fair warning, however, that, if new developments occurred or new factors were introduced, we might be forced to reconsider our decision.

91. It does seem to us that such new elements are implied—if not actually embodied—in draft resolution VI, on factors. The interpretation which its declaratory clauses would place on the obligations to transmit information goes beyond anything which we envisaged when we agreed to the draft resolution renewing the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories. Our objections would not be entirely removed even if the draft resolution on factors were rejected in this Assembly. The semi-permanent basis of the committee would leave the way open for a renewal of similar proposals which might radically change the grounds on which we agreed to its continuance. To add to our concern, there has been a tendency in other committees to impose obligations which were not envisaged when the draft resolution renewing the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories was adopted.

92. Hence we are now persuaded that a desirable safeguard against the developments we have described

would be the renewal of the Committee on Information for a fixed term, so that its further continuance might be fully considered in the light of later developments. We took our decision on these grounds and before we knew of the administering Powers' final decision not to participate in the committee's work if the committee was continued in the form provided for in the draft resolution. Naturally, however, the announcement of that decision has greatly strengthened our desire for limiting the committee's term to a three-year period.

93. We therefore profoundly hope that draft resolution IV will be revised on the lines suggested by Denmark. If that is not done, we shall be obliged to withhold our support from it.

94. Mr. URQUIA (El Salvador) (*translated from Spanish*): Paragraph 3 of the report of the Fourth Committee [A/2296] refers to a reservation made by the representative of Guatemala in regard to Belize Territory. On behalf of the delegation of my country and of three other Central American delegations, I take the liberty of making the following statement concerning that reservation. The delegations of Costa Rica, El Salvador, Honduras and Nicaragua, considering that the sister republic of Guatemala has during the present session of the General Assembly declared that it reserves its sovereign rights over Belize Territory, and considering that this is a problem which directly affects the geographical unity of Central America, wish to record their support of the reservation made by the Guatemalan delegation.

95. Mr. Shiva RAO (India): I should like briefly to explain the Indian delegation's votes on the various draft resolutions before the General Assembly.

96. In the Fourth Committee, my delegation felt compelled to abstain from the vote on draft resolution II, on racial discrimination in Non-Self-Governing Territories, because it seemed to us that the amendment of paragraph 2 of the operative part greatly restricted the draft resolution's practical usefulness. The amendment now proposed by the United Kingdom delegation restores, in substance, the original meaning of paragraph 2, while linking it up with the previous paragraph. According to the present amendment, all laws, statutes, and ordinances in force in the Non-Self-Governing Territories would be examined by the administering Members from the standpoint of the principles of the Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; that examination would not be restricted to provisions or practices of a racial or religious character. My delegation welcomes the United Kingdom amendment and will vote for it.

97. A controversy has now developed in connexion with another draft resolution since its adoption by the Fourth Committee. I refer to draft resolution IV, on the renewal of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories. The question is: should the committee be placed on a permanent basis, or should it be renewed only for a three-year period? From many of the statements made today from this rostrum, it is clear that we are in a real difficulty with regard to draft resolution IV. A great many members of the Fourth Committee would, I know, support a proposal for the immediate establishment of the com-

mittee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories on a permanent basis. That committee, as the General Assembly has acknowledged on more than one occasion, has done valuable work since it was established in 1946. It has infused new life into Article 73 of the Charter. Dependent peoples all over the world have come to regard it as their liaison with the United Nations.

98. My delegation has participated in the work of the Committee on Information ever since it was established, and we are convinced that, so long as the administering Members are under an obligation to furnish information, under Article 73 e, to the Secretary-General, a committee of this kind, whatever may be its name, is indispensable to the General Assembly. There are great advantages to everyone concerned—not excluding the administering Members—in a committee of sixteen on which administering and non-administering Powers are represented in equal numbers, studying a mass of information on educational, economic, social, and now, in a number of instances, also political, conditions in Non-Self-Governing Territories. It has evolved its own technique and developed an atmosphere of its own for the objective analysis and study of all this information.

99. The Fourth Committee and the General Assembly rely on the committee for practical guidance in regard to Non-Self-Governing Territories. If this committee were to be dissolved at any time, the Fourth Committee would have to fall back on a sub-committee of its own to discharge the responsibilities that now devolve on the Committee on Information. That task will take much longer to accomplish than four weeks, and the results will be far less satisfactory.

100. Whether the administering Members like it or not, a special committee on information seems to my delegation to be inevitable so long as there are Non-Self-Governing Territories and Article 73 remains in the Charter. My delegation does not accept the view that an amendment of the Charter is necessary to establish the committee on a permanent basis; Article 22 is clear, and I quote:

"The General Assembly may establish such subsidiary organs as it deems necessary for the performance of its functions."

101. There is, in the view of my delegation, an unquestionable case for a permanent Committee on Information. If, recognizing both its usefulness and its inevitability, all the administering Powers had accepted the proposal, there would have been no debate on this draft resolution this morning. Such acceptance would have strengthened the bonds between administering Members and Non-Self-Governing Territories in a way that political domination can never achieve, because it would have ensured the more rapid progress of colonial peoples towards "a full measure of self-government". I have quoted this phrase from Article 73 of the Charter.

102. At least one administering Member, the United States, was willing, at an earlier stage in the Fourth Committee, to commit itself to the existence of the Committee on Information for as long a period as Non-Self-Governing Territories remain under the control of administering Powers unless, after a three-year period, the General Assembly took a contrary decision.

It is unfortunate that such an amendment, sponsored in the Fourth Committee by the United States and Venezuela, was defeated by a very narrow majority. Now the suggestion appears to be to limit the life of the Committee on Information to a further three-year period, but to say nothing more about its future.

103. May I remind the General Assembly that in 1948, in endorsing the view in favour of the extension of the life of the committee by one year, the General Assembly added the words "without prejudice as to the future" [*resolution 219 (III)*]. Again, in 1949, in renewing its life for a three-year period, the General Assembly laid down, in its resolution, that the 1952 session would take a decision about the future of the committee. It is, of course, true that the General Assembly can at any time take any decision it considers appropriate, whether it has been so authorized or not by a previous session of the General Assembly. But since this session of the General Assembly was requested by resolution 332 (IV), paragraph 6, to "examine in 1952 the question whether the Special Committee should be renewed for a further period, together with the questions of the composition and terms of reference of any such future Special Committee", a simple statement to the effect that the committee will continue for a further three-year period is likely to be misunderstood.

104. My delegation is willing—reluctantly, I must add—to accept any amendment or to propose one itself which specifically refers the decision regarding the committee to the 1955 session of the General Assembly. Strong views have been expressed this morning by some of the administering Members about the committee. My delegation, too, entertains strong views, but in favour of the committee. It seems to my delegation inconceivable that the General Assembly could endorse the position that, in regard to Non-Self-Governing Territories, it will only go thus far and no further. A full measure of self-government for all Non-Self-Governing Territories so that they may become eligible for membership of the United Nations is, in the view of the Indian delegation, the goal visualized in Chapter XI of the Charter.

105. When the United Kingdom representative outlined, in the Fourth Committee, the policy of his Government towards the colonies under United Kingdom administration, my delegation was prompt in acknowledging the progressive spirit underlying many parts of that statement. In that same spirit of candour, I am bound to say today that I listened to the statement of the United Kingdom representative with some disappointment. He made it clear that if draft resolution IV were adopted in the form in which it has come to the General Assembly from the Fourth Committee, the United Kingdom would not be able to participate in the work of the Committee on Information hereafter.

106. Nevertheless, I must add that, strongly as the Indian delegation advocates the establishment of the committee on a permanent basis, we should consider it a set back if the administering Members—even one of them, the United Kingdom—should decide not to participate in its deliberations for any reason. We may not agree with the line of reasoning which has led to such a decision, but, whether we agree or not, the participation of the administering Members is, in the

view of the Indian delegation, necessary if the committee is to yield maximum results.

107. Holding that view, my delegation is willing to put off a decision on the question of the committee being made a permanent body, or not, until the 1955 session of the General Assembly. We should, however, like to make that clear in the draft resolution now before the General Assembly, and therefore my delegation is willing to sponsor an amendment, if I may be permitted to invoke rule 79 of the rules of procedure.

108. We would add a new paragraph if the General Assembly should fail to endorse the second part of paragraph 1 of the operative part of draft resolution IV, and that paragraph—in the event of the General Assembly failing to adopt the second part of paragraph 1—would read as follows:

"Decides that, at its regular session in 1955, the General Assembly will examine the question whether the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories should be renewed for a further period, together with the questions of the composition and terms of reference of any such future committee."

That amendment is substantially the same as paragraph 6 of resolution 332 (IV), in which it was decided to renew the life of the committee for a further period.

109. So far as the Indian delegation is concerned, at no stage have we advanced any arguments or pressed any claims which seemed to us to go beyond the Charter. But we have consistently urged the establishment of conventions which would liberalize the work of the Charter. Such conventions, in our opinion, adapt the written word to the spirit of the times and take into account the experience gained in the work of a written constitution. It is precisely on those lines that progress has been made through the Committee on Information in liberalizing the interpretation of the Charter so far as Non-Self-Governing Territories are concerned. And may I say, without being misunderstood, that it would be most unfortunate if any of us were now to turn back on what has so far been achieved by the General Assembly. We can only go forward if this Organization is to retain and to build up the confidence of dependent peoples throughout the world in the principles and purposes of the Charter.

110. Mr. AGUIRRE (Uruguay) (*translated from Spanish*): With respect to paragraph 1 of draft resolution IV, Uruguay feels that it would be advantageous to the United Nations to prolong the existence of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories and to make it a permanent committee, and it expressed this view in the Fourth Committee. It also feels, however, that if the committee is to be effective, the administering Powers should participate in its work.

111. To that end, considering what would be achieved by the first part of the paragraph, and in view of the statements we have just heard from the representatives of the United Kingdom and Belgium, my delegation, in a desire for harmony and the adoption of constructive and effective resolutions, will abstain from voting on the second part as it now stands, although it supports the solution proposed by the representative of India.

112. As regards draft resolution VI which we have before us, my delegation finds itself in a dilemma. On the one hand, it agrees that the purpose of the proposal is a worthy one; on the other hand, it hesitates to accept the method proposed in the text as the most desirable way to achieve that aim. The second paragraph of the preamble and paragraph 4 of the operative part, which are the most important parts of the draft resolution from a legal point of view, decide some extremely difficult questions about which not only has there been great controversy between the parties, but also considerable argument among those who make a study of the law as applied to treaties; in those circles, the matter has been given special attention. If we were discussing this matter now, my delegation would not hesitate to take part in the discussion on the side of the sponsors of the proposal; but we are not here to discuss it but to take a decision on a controversy which we feel has not yet ended.

113. The second paragraph of the preamble refers to the purposes of Chapter XI of the Charter, which includes Article 73 e, and the discussion of the purposes of Article 73 e has not yet been ended. Paragraph 4 of the operative part affirms the principle that there can be no form of autonomy without a full measure of self-government. That principle, as we see, is based on a very controversial notion; in addition, it is connected with the concept of full self-government. But in reality there are so many different degrees of self-government that until we have a definition, we cannot know with certainty exactly what a full measure of self-government is.

114. If my delegation is to support this proposal, these defects must be remedied. Unanimous agreement to that end among the States represented here would be impossible to achieve; but we should like to have some firm basis which would ensure that the proposal is legally consistent and that it takes full account of realities within the framework of an authoritative interpretation of the Charter.

115. To press on, as this draft resolution does, unheeding the reservations made on the subject and leaving unsettled the objections, the opposition on grounds of principle and the varying interpretations to which it gives rise will be to nurture the germ of insoluble and interminable disputes which may conspire to prevent compliance with the resolution. My delegation pauses when it considers this resistance and believes that the United Nations has hitherto followed the best possible course in this regard. An attempt has been made to achieve a gradual improvement of the methods of implementing the ambiguous text of Chapter XI of the Charter, by means of various resolutions which the General Assembly has adopted at its first, third, fourth and sixth sessions. The achievements and progress known to you all were brought about in this way; it is by this means, that is, by seeking in the first place to lay firm foundations on which to build, that we shall attain our ideal, however distant it may be.

116. To sum up, therefore, Uruguay will abstain from voting for the draft resolution as a whole. If there is a vote by division, it will abstain on the two paragraphs I have mentioned, which, it considers, are legally of the most importance. It will vote for the other paragraphs, thus voting somewhat differently from the way it voted

in committee, because at that time the vote was still to be taken on an amendment which my delegation considered preferable.

117. Mr. PONCE YEPES (Ecuador) (*translated from Spanish*): In the Fourth Committee, the Ecuadorian delegation supported draft resolution IV as it appears in the report of that Committee (A/2296).

118. After hearing the delegations of the United Kingdom, France and Belgium state here this morning that they would not take part in the work of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories if paragraph 1 of the operative part were adopted in the form proposed by the Fourth Committee, my delegation feels that it should reconsider its attitude in part and abstain on the passage beginning "and at the end of that period", while voting for the first part of the paragraph. It is undeniable that the experience and knowledge of those Powers would be an essential contribution to the Committee on Information, which should not be deprived of their collaboration.

119. Although it does not agree with the attitude of the administering Powers, my delegation has taken this decision for practical reasons, in view of *de facto* situations which might have considerable influence on the survival of the committee. My delegation's attitude does not mean, of course, that it agrees with the principles or arguments adduced by the administering Powers against the automatic continuation of the committee, which we hope will be made permanent in the not-too-distant future.

120. My delegation considers the amendment just submitted by the Indian delegation eminently conciliatory and useful, and will support it whole-heartedly.

121. Mr. DE MARCHENA (Dominican Republic) (*translated from Spanish*): The delegation of the Dominican Republic wishes briefly to explain its vote on some of the drafts submitted to the Assembly by the Fourth Committee.

122. Our point of view has always been based consistently on two principles: first, a reasonable and proper interpretation of the Charter and of the resolutions of the General Assembly, particularly on this subject, concerning which there are certain linguistic ambiguities in Chapter XI of the Charter; and, secondly, international collaboration and co-operation, to which the Dominican Republic attributes the utmost importance, especially within the sphere of action of the United Nations. That is why we have always been realistic in our entire outlook on the work of the Fourth Committee. But there are certain problems about which we are concerned in many of the draft resolutions submitted to us for consideration, since these drafts have apparently been conceived for the purposes of a single session only, without due consideration having been given to their consequences; thus they give rise to difficulties which have appeared year after year, at every session.

123. We shall vote in the following manner, consistently with our delegation's unvarying attitude. We shall vote for draft resolution II, but we shall support the United Kingdom amendments, since we believe that they improve the text considerably and eliminate some

practical difficulties likely to arise when it comes to giving effect to the resolution.

124. With regard to draft resolution IV, on the renewal of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories, my delegation has always believed that the committee should one day be placed on a permanent basis. Everything, however, depends on the correct interpretation of Article 73 of the Charter and particularly on the need to clear up the ambiguity which all authorities and jurists have found in the wording of that article. Owing to that uncertainty, my delegation has persisted in believing that the committee should continue to function on the basis of a three-year term, the idea originally proposed by the United States. We were compelled to abstain in the Fourth Committee when the provision for automatic continuation was included in paragraph 1 of the operative part. We shall accordingly vote for the deletion of this automatic factor and then for draft resolution IV.

125. My delegation would like to draw attention to a slight error which it thinks has crept into paragraph 7 of the operative part of draft resolution VI, on factors. It appears in sub-paragraph (a), which refers to "the possibility of defining the concept of self-government for the purposes of Chapter XI of the Charter", as one of the factors to be studied by the proposed committee.

126. We believe that the error lies in using the words "concept of self-government" instead of "concept of a full measure of self-government", which is the phrase used in Article 73 of the United Nations Charter. I think that the words "full measure of" have been omitted by error. I should like the General Assembly to consider the matter, and hope that there will be no objection to correcting the text to read: "The possibility of defining the concept of a full measure of self-government for the purposes of Chapter XI of the Charter."

127. The Dominican Republic abstained from voting on this draft resolution because it thought that, from the legal point of view, the inclusion of the principle of the indivisibility of self-determination in itself precluded any study of factors. If the General Assembly adopted a declaration of this kind, there would be no need, we feel, for a study on such factors. If paragraph 4 is retained, we shall continue to abstain on the draft resolution.

128. For the same reasons, we also take the position that if the Fourth Committee considered that a more thorough study of factors should be continued, there was no need—and it was premature—to approve a list of factors provisionally. We shall, then, continue to abstain not only if paragraph 1 of the operative part of the draft resolution VI is adopted, but also if paragraph 4 is adopted.

129. Mr. RIVAS (Venezuela) (*translated from Spanish*): I shall begin by explaining how my delegation will vote on draft resolution IV submitted by the Fourth Committee. My delegation considers that, so long as the Non-Self-Governing Territories described in Chapter XI of the Charter exist, there will be functions for the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories to perform, and the per-

manent nature of those functions is therefore sufficient justification for the establishment of a permanent body. The constructive work done by that committee has, moreover, been recognized year after year by both administering and non-administering Powers. The reason for this achievement is simple. The committee has filled a gap and has done so in the spirit of the Charter and for the benefit of the inhabitants of Non-Self-Governing Territories. Thanks to the committee, the information transmitted by the administering Powers in fulfilment of the obligations they assumed when they signed the Charter, particularly under Chapter XI, has acquired what I would describe as a dynamic significance, which has benefited the inhabitants of the Non-Self-Governing Territories and has contributed to a better understanding by the outside world of the social, economic and educational work which the administering Powers have been carrying out in the Non-Self-Governing Territories since the Second World War.

130. But despite the committee's successful and beneficial work, the suspicion with which it has always been regarded by some administering Powers, so far from decreasing, appears to be increasing. The real reasons for this suspicion have never been quite clear to my delegation.

131. We have heard the United Kingdom representative announce at the beginning of this meeting that, if the committee is maintained on a permanent basis, his delegation will not only vote against the proposal, but, if the committee is reconstituted, the United Kingdom will refuse to take part in its work. The United Kingdom is the State administering the largest number of Non-Self-Governing Territories. The statement did not surprise my delegation, since it realized from this year's discussions in the Fourth Committee that the United Kingdom would take up, at the least, the attitude which has just been officially stated in categorical terms.

132. In the desire to prevent this move, which must unquestionably be detrimental to the success of the committee's work, my delegation succeeded in persuading the United States representative to join with it in submitting an amendment to the proposal then under discussion, whereby the committee's existence would be automatically extended every three years unless otherwise decided by the General Assembly. That amendment has just been mentioned by the representative of India. Unfortunately, as the representative of India stated, only part of the joint amendment of the United States and Venezuela was adopted. The same conciliatory and practical approach will lead my delegation to abstain on the second part of paragraph 1 of the operative part of draft resolution IV. It will do so in the desire to facilitate a compromise, a compromise relating solely to dates and procedure and not affecting the fundamental issue. That issue is that the committee is envisaged in the Charter, that it is essential for the effective application of Chapter XI, and that it will have functions to perform as long as Non-Self-Governing Territories exist. That is and will continue to be the position for the Government of Venezuela.

133. My delegation was one of the sponsors of draft resolution VI, which was adopted with a few amendments. A number of reservations were expressed in the Fourth Committee concerning the second paragraph of

the preamble and paragraph 4 of the operative part, reservations which do not seem entirely valid to my delegation. For some time, now, the United Nations has been playing this game of baseball, as I described the discussion of the factors question in the Fourth Committee, in search of a phrase which would say and yet not say what the Charter said. But in declaring that, for a Territory to be deemed self-governing in economic, social or educational matters, it is essential that its peoples shall have attained a full measure of self-government as referred to in Chapter XI of the Charter, we are not discovering gunpowder, starting a historical revolution or achieving any awe-inspiring feat. All we are doing is to restate the fundamental basis of the obligations of the administering Powers. Chapter XI of the Charter is quite clear. The administering Powers are required to submit information because the Non-Self-Governing Territories which they administer have not attained a full measure of self-government and, until that stage has been reached, their obligation will continue. This notion is simple, it is merely a repetition of the Charter, but today we seem to be afraid of hearing the Charter quoted.

134. Blatta Ogbazgy DAWIT (Ethiopia): In the course of his explanation of vote, the representative of Belgium made mention of my country and, by way of illustration, attempted to place Ethiopia in a position similar to that of Belgium with respect to its colony in Africa. I should like to call the attention of the representative of Belgium to Ethiopian history and request him to read it before venturing to make such misleading statements. My country does not have any Non-Self-Governing Territories, as Belgium and many other European Powers have.

135. The PRESIDENT: There are no other speakers on my list. We now come to the vote in respect of these six draft resolutions which appear in the report, and in respect of which amendments have been moved.

136. We shall vote first on draft resolution I. A separate vote on paragraph 1 of the operative part has been requested.

Paragraph 1 was adopted by 45 votes to 5, with 2 abstentions.

Draft resolution I was adopted by 45 votes to 5, with 2 abstentions. 643

137. The PRESIDENT: We shall vote now on draft resolution II. An amendment (A/L.127) has been moved by the delegation of the United Kingdom to paragraph 2 of the operative part. That amendment would delete the words "of a racial or religious character" at the end of the paragraph, and would insert the word "such" between the words "any" and "discriminatory".

The amendment was adopted by 37 votes to 6, with 11 abstentions.

Draft resolution II, as amended, was adopted by 51 votes to none, with 1 abstention. 644

138. The PRESIDENT: We now come to draft resolution III. A separate vote has been requested on the third paragraph of the preamble.

The paragraph was adopted by 42 votes to 6, with 9 abstentions.

Draft resolution III was adopted by 47 votes to 2, with 8 abstentions. 645

139. The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly will now consider draft resolution IV. A separate vote has been requested on paragraph 1 of the operative part. Indeed, it has been requested that this paragraph should be divided and a separate vote taken in respect of each part of the paragraph. The delegation of India has moved an amendment to this draft resolution, conditional upon the rejection of the second part of paragraph 1. Therefore, before we consider that amendment, I assume that the General Assembly should vote on this paragraph to see what happens to the second part. If the second part is rejected, I propose to put the Indian amendment to the vote.

140. We shall now vote on the first part of paragraph 1, which reads as follows:

"Decides to continue the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories on the same basis for a further three-year period..."

The first part of paragraph 1 was adopted by 52 votes to 1, with 5 abstentions.

141. The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly will now vote on the second part of paragraph 1, which reads as follows:

"...and at the end of that period, unless otherwise decided by the General Assembly, to continue the committee automatically thereafter for as long as there exist Territories whose peoples have not yet attained a full measure of self-government."

A roll-call vote has been requested.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

Afghanistan, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Czechoslovakia, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Indonesia, Poland, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Yugoslavia.

Against: Australia, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Dominican Republic, France, Iceland, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Panama, Peru, Sweden, Turkey, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Abstaining: Afghanistan, Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, Greece, India, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Liberia, Mexico, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Paraguay, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Thailand, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen.

The second part of paragraph 1 was rejected by 18 votes to 11, with 30 abstentions.

142. The PRESIDENT: That part of paragraph 1 is deleted from the draft resolution. The amendment proposed by the delegation of India would introduce a new paragraph, which reads as follows:

"Decides that, at its regular session in 1955, the General Assembly will examine the question whether the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories should be renewed for a further

period, together with the questions of the composition and terms of reference of any such future committee."

143. The General Assembly will now vote on the Indian amendment to draft resolution IV which I have just read.

The amendment was adopted by 43 votes to 3, with 11 abstentions.

Draft resolution IV, as amended, was adopted by 53 votes to 2, with 3 abstentions. 646

144. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now vote on draft resolution V.

Draft resolution V was adopted by 43 votes to 11, with 4 abstentions. 647

145. The PRESIDENT: We come now to draft resolution VI. In respect of this draft resolution, a delegation has moved that it be treated as an important question.

146. Before taking the vote, which will be by roll-call, I wish to call attention to paragraph 6 of this draft resolution, which reads, in part:

"Decides to set up a new Ad Hoc Committee of ten members, consisting of..."

A blank is left for the membership of that committee. I understand that the Fourth Committee has agreed on the ten countries that should be included in the membership of the committee. I think, therefore, that it would be desirable to vote on the draft resolution in the knowledge of the membership of the committee. The ten countries are: Australia, Belgium, Burma, Cuba, Guatemala, Iraq, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, the United States and Venezuela. The vote will therefore be on the draft resolution with the inclusion of the names of those ten countries, which were agreed upon by the Fourth Committee.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

Uruguay, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Chile, China, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Liberia, Mexico, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Panama, Philippines, Poland, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Thailand, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Against: Australia, Belgium, Canada, Colombia, Denmark, France, Iceland, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Sweden, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Abstaining: Uruguay, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Greece, Israel, Paraguay, Peru.

The result of the vote was 36 in favour, 15 against and 7 abstentions.

Draft resolution VI was adopted, having obtained the required two-thirds majority. 648

147. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Guatemala for an explanation of vote.

148. Mr. TORIELLO GARRIDO (Guatemala) (*translated from Spanish*): I wish to make a short statement, but not in explanation of my vote.

149. The delegation of Guatemala wishes to express its sincere thanks to the delegations of the Central-American republics of El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua and Costa Rica for their statement at this plenary meeting expressing their solidarity with the reservation made by Guatemala in the Fourth Committee. That statement in support of the just claims of my country is very significant not only because of the moral and legal support that it represents, but also because it is further evidence of the sincere friendship and brotherhood which unite our republics.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.



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INFORMATION FROM NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES

Report of the Fourth Committee

Rapporteur: Mr. J. V. SCOTT (New Zealand)



1. At its 382nd plenary meeting on 17 October 1952, the General Assembly referred to the Fourth Committee the following items on its agenda:

"33. Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter: reports of the Secretary-General^{1/} and of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories^{2/}

"(a) Information on social conditions and development^{3/}

"(b) Information on other conditions^{4/}

"(c) Transmission of information

"34. Question of the renewal of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories^{5/}

^{1/} A/2128 and Corr.1, 2129 and Add.1, 2130, 2131 and Add.1 and 2, 2131/Add.2/Corr.1, 2132 and Corr.1, 2132/Add.1, 2133, 2134 and Add.1 and 2, 2134/Add.2/Corr.1, 2134/Add.3 to 5, 2134/Add.6 and Corr.1, 2134/Add.7 to 10, 2135 and Add.1 to 3.

^{2/} A/2219, Official Records of the General Assembly, Seventh Session, Supplement No. 18.

^{3/} Ibid., part I, sections VI and VII, and part II.

^{4/} Ibid., part I, sections V and VIII.

^{5/} Ibid., part I, section XI.

- "35. Participation of Non-Self-Governing Territories in the work of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories: report of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories^{6/}
- "36. Factors which should be taken into account in deciding whether a territory is or is not a territory whose people have not yet attained a full measure of self-government: report of the Ad Hoc Committee on Factors (Non-Self-Governing Territories)."^{7/}

^{6/} Ibid., part I, section XII.

^{7/} Ibid., part I, section XII.

FACTORS WHICH SHOULD BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT IN DECIDING
WHETHER A TERRITORY IS OR IS NOT A TERRITORY WHOSE PEOPLE
HAVE NOT YET ATTAINED A FULL MEASURE OF SELF-GOVERNMENT

39. From its 271st to 278th meetings, the Fourth Committee discussed item 36 on the Assembly's agenda; it had before it the report of the Ad Hoc Committee on Factors (Non-Self-Governing Territories) (A/2178).

40. At the 273rd meeting, Burma, Cuba, Egypt, Guatemala, Iraq and Venezuela submitted a joint draft resolution (A/C.4/L.231 and Corr.1) under the terms of which the General Assembly would: (1) approve the annexed list of factors which might serve as a guide, both for the General Assembly and for the Members of the United Nations which have or assume the responsibility for the administration of Non-Self-Governing Territories, in deciding whether a territory has or has not attained a full measure of self-government; (2) recognize that each concrete case should be considered and decided in the light of the particular circumstances of that case; (3) declare that the factors, while serving as a guide in determining whether the obligations as set forth in Article 73 e of the Charter still existed, should in no way be interpreted as a hindrance to the attainment of a full measure of self-government by the Non-Self-Governing territories; (4) further declare that for a territory to be deemed self-governing in economic, social or educational affairs, it was essential that its people should have attained a full measure of self-government as referred to in Chapter XI of the Charter; and (5) recommend that the annexed list of factors should be taken into account in any case which the General Assembly examined resulting from any communication received by the Secretary-General in virtue of General Assembly resolution 222 (III) concerning the cessation of the transmission of information under Article 73 e of the Charter, or in relation to other questions that might arise concerning the existence of an obligation to transmit information under this Article.

41. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics proposed an amendment (A/C.4/L.233) to the above-mentioned joint draft resolution to add to the third paragraph of the preamble the following words:

"and that, not later than six months after the submission of the aforesaid information, such information as may be required in such cases should be communicated, including information about the constitution, legislative acts

or executive orders regarding the government of the territory as well as about constitutional relationship of the territory of the government of the metropolitan country".

42. Poland proposed an amendment (A/C.4/L.235) to add at the end of the second paragraph of the operative part of the joint draft resolution (A/C.4/L.231 and Corr.1) the following phrase: "and taking into account the right of self-determination of peoples".

43. A joint amendment by the Dominican Republic and Peru (A/C.4/L.234 and Corr.1) to the same joint draft resolution (A/C.4/L.231 and Corr.1) was also introduced. This amendment would (1) delete the second paragraph of the preamble; (2) add as fifth paragraph of the preamble the following: "Having regard to resolution 567 (VI) of the General Assembly"; (3) delete operative paragraph 1 and replace it by the following: "1. Notes with interest the report of the Ad Hoc Committee on Factors (Non-Self-Governing Territories) contained in document A/2178 and considers that report as a valuable contribution to the exhaustive study of the factors which would make it possible to determine when a territory has or has not attained a full measure of self-government"; (4) delete operative paragraphs 2, 3, 4 and 5 and replace them by the following paragraphs: "2. Decides to set up a new ad hoc committee of ten members, consisting of (list of countries), with instructions to continue and carry out a more thorough study of the factors which will have to be taken into account in deciding whether a territory has or has not attained a full measure of self-government; 3. Invites the said committee to take into account, inter alia, the list of factors prepared in 1952 (document A/2178) by the Ad Hoc Committee set up under General Assembly resolution 567 (VI) and, further, to take into account the following additional elements: (a) the possibility of defining the concept of self-government for the purposes of Chapter XI of the Charter, (b) the features guaranteeing the principle of the self-determination of peoples in relation to Chapter XI of the Charter, (c) the manifestation of the freely expressed will of the peoples in relation to the determination of their national and international status; 4. Requests the Secretary-General to convene the ad hoc committee so that it may begin its work two weeks before the opening of the 1953 session of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories".

44. The Netherlands proposed an amendment (A/C.4/L.236) to insert the following

paragraphs after operative paragraph 3 of the joint amendment submitted by the Dominican Republic and Peru (A/C.4/L.234 and Corr.1): "4. Requests the Committee to take into account the statements transmitted by a number of governments in compliance with resolution 567 (VI) of 18 January 1952; 5. Invites all Members of the United Nations to transmit in writing to the Secretary-General, by 1 May 1953, a statement of the views of their governments on the subjects contained in the terms of reference of this committee;" and renumber paragraph 4 as paragraph 6.

45. In an attempt to reconcile the divergent views expressed in the joint draft resolution submitted by Burma, Cuba, Egypt, Guatemala, Iraq and Venezuela (A/C.4/L.231 and Corr.1) and in the joint amendment thereto proposed by the Dominican Republic and Peru (A/C.4/L.234 and Corr.1), Argentina proposed a further amendment (A/C.4/L.237) to the latter joint amendment which would (1) maintain the original paragraphs of the preamble in the joint draft resolution; (2) maintain the original operative paragraph 1 of the joint draft resolution subject to the insertion of the word "provisionally" after the word "Approves"; and (3) add the three operative paragraphs proposed in point 4 of the joint amendment as additional operative paragraphs to the joint draft resolution.

46. At the 278th meeting, the Committee voted on the joint draft resolution (A/C.4/L.231 and Corr.1) sponsored by Burma, Cuba, Egypt, Guatemala, Iraq and Venezuela, paragraph by paragraph, and on the amendments thereto, with the following results:

Preamble

The first paragraph was adopted by a roll-call vote of 55 to none, with no abstentions, as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Lebanon, Liberia, Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Saudi Arabia, Sweden, Syria, Thailand, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of South Africa, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland,

United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia.

Against: None

Abstaining: None

The second paragraph was adopted by a roll-call vote of 36 to 8, with 11 abstentions, as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Chile, China, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Liberia, Mexico, Norway, Pakistan, Philippines, Poland, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Thailand, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia.

Against: Australia, Belgium, Canada, Colombia, Netherlands, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Abstaining: Denmark, Dominican Republic, France, Greece, Israel, Luxembourg, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Peru, Sweden, Uruguay.

Third paragraph

(a) The amendment of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (A/C.4/L.233) was adopted by a roll-call vote of 19 to 11, with 25 abstentions, as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Czechoslovakia, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Mexico, Pakistan, Philippines, Poland, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Yemen, Yugoslavia.

Against: Australia, Belgium, Canada, France, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Sweden, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

Abstaining: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, China, Colombia, Cuba, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Israel, Liberia,

Nicaragua, Peru, Thailand, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela.

(b) The third paragraph, as thus amended, was adopted by a roll-call vote of 35 to 9, with 11 abstentions, as follows:

- In favour: Afghanistan, Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Chile, China, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Liberia, Mexico, Pakistan, Philippines, Poland, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia.
- Against: Australia, Belgium, Canada, France, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.
- Abstaining: Colombia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Israel, Nicaragua, Norway, Peru, Sweden, Thailand, United States of America, Uruguay.

The fourth paragraph was adopted by 52 votes to none, with 2 abstentions.

The fifth paragraph was adopted by 41 votes to 12, with one abstention.

A new sixth paragraph, comprising point 2 of the joint amendment (A/C.4/L.234) of the Dominican Republic and Peru, was adopted by 36 votes to none, with 16 abstentions.

Operative paragraph 1

(a) The Argentine amendment (A/C.4/L.237, point 2) which would insert the word "provisionally" after the word "Approves" was adopted by a roll-call vote of 23 to 4, with 28 abstentions, as follows:

- In favour: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Chile, China, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iran, Israel, Lebanon, Mexico, Peru, Philippines, Thailand, Venezuela, Yugoslavia.
- Against: Australia, Belgium, France, Luxembourg.

Abstaining: Afghanistan, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Colombia, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Ethiopia, Greece, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Liberia, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Pakistan, Poland, Saudi Arabia, Sweden, Syria, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of South Africa, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Yemen.

(b) Operative paragraph 1, as thus amended, was adopted by a roll-call vote of 36 to 16, with 3 abstentions, as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Chile, China, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Liberia, Mexico, Pakistan, Philippines, Poland, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Thailand, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia.

Against: Australia, Belgium, Canada, Colombia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, France, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Peru, Sweden, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Abstaining: Israel, Nicaragua, Uruguay.

(c) The representative of the Dominican Republic withdrew the joint amendment (A/C.4/L.234) to this paragraph.

Operative paragraph 2

(a) The Polish amendment (A/C.4/L.235) was adopted by a roll-call vote of 39 to 7, with 9 abstentions, as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Chile, China, Colombia, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Lebanon, Liberia, Mexico, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Thailand, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia.

Against: Belgium, Canada, France, Luxembourg, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Uruguay.

Abstaining: Australia, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Sweden, United States of America.

(b) Operative paragraph 2, as thus amended, was adopted by 46 votes to one, with 6 abstentions.

Operative paragraph 3 was adopted by 49 votes to one, with 5 abstentions.

Operative paragraph 4 was adopted by a roll-call vote of 35 to 18, with 2 abstentions, as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Chile, China, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Liberia, Mexico, Pakistan, Philippines, Poland, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Thailand, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia.

Against: Australia, Belgium, Canada, Colombia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, France, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Peru, Sweden, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay.

Abstaining: Greece, Israel.

Abstentions: Greece, Israel.

Operative paragraph 5

(a) An Argentine amendment (A/C.4/L.238) which would insert the word "provisionally" after the words "Recommends that" was accepted by the sponsors of the joint draft resolution.

(b) Operative paragraph 5, as thus amended, was adopted by a roll-call vote of 38 to 9, with 8 abstentions, as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Chile, China, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Liberia, Mexico, Pakistan, Philippines, Poland, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Thailand, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia.

Against: Australia, Belgium, Canada, Dominican Republic, France, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland,

Abstaining: Colombia, Israel, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Peru, Sweden, United States of America.

New operative paragraph 6. Paragraph 2 in point 4 of the joint amendment (A/C.4/L.234) of the Dominican Republic and Peru was adopted as operative paragraph 6 by 32 votes to 6, with 15 abstentions.

New operative paragraph 7. The sponsors of the joint amendment (A/C.4/L.234) accepted an amendment by Ecuador (A/C.4/L.239) which would add the phrase "for the purposes of Chapter XI of the Charter" at the end of sub-paragraph (c) of paragraph 3, in point 4 of the joint amendment; and also accepted the first point of the Netherlands amendment (A/C.4/L.236). The text of the joint amendment, as thus modified by the Ecuadorian and Netherlands amendments, read as follows:

"Invites the said committee to take into account, inter alia, the list of factors prepared in 1952 (A/2178) by the Ad Hoc Committee set up under General Assembly resolution 567 (VI); the statements transmitted

by governments in compliance with the aforementioned resolution; and further, to take into account the following additional elements:

- (a) The possibility of defining the concept of self-government for the purposes of Chapter XI of the Charter;
- (b) The features guaranteeing the principle of the self-determination of peoples in relation to Chapter XI of the Charter;
- (c) The manifestation of the freely expressed will of the peoples in relation to the determination of their national and international status for the purposes of Chapter XI of the Charter".

The Committee voted on this text in parts as follows:

- (i) The introductory clause was adopted by 33 votes to none, with 20 abstentions
- (ii) Sub-paragraph (a) was adopted by 20 votes to 17, with 14 abstentions
- (iii) Sub-paragraph (b) was adopted by a roll-call vote of 39 to 4, with 12 abstentions, as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Chile, China, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Liberia, Mexico, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Thailand, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia.

Against: Belgium, France, Luxembourg, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

Abstaining: Australia, Canada, Colombia, Denmark, Israel, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Sweden, Union of South Africa, United States of America.

- (iv) Sub-paragraph (c) was voted on in two parts. The phrase "for the purposes of Chapter XI of the Charter" at the end of the

sub-paragraph was adopted first by 14 votes to none, with 35 abstentions; thereafter, sub-paragraph (c) as a whole was adopted by 39 votes to one, with 14 abstentions.

(v) The new operative paragraph 7 as a whole, as amended, was adopted by 42 votes to none, with 12 abstentions.

New operative paragraph 8. The second point of the Netherlands amendment (A/C.4/L.236) making a new operative paragraph 8 was adopted by 25 votes to none, with 27 abstentions.

New operative paragraph 9.

(i) An oral amendment of the representative of Iraq to replace the words "two weeks" with the phrase "not later than four weeks" was accepted by the sponsors of the joint amendment (A/C.4/L.234)

(ii) Paragraph 4 in point 4 of the joint amendment, as thus amended, was adopted, making a new operative paragraph 9, by 39 votes to none, with 13 abstentions.

47. The joint draft resolution as a whole, as amended, was adopted by a roll-call vote of 34 to 12, with 8 abstentions, as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Chile, China, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Guatemala, Haiti, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Liberia, Mexico, Pakistan, Philippines, Poland, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Thailand, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia.

Against: Australia, Belgium, Colombia, Denmark, France, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Sweden, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Abstaining: Canada, Dominican Republic, Greece, Israel, Nicaragua, Norway, Peru, Uruguay.

48. The text of the resolution, as adopted, is annexed to the present report as draft resolution VI.

49. At the 296th meeting, the Fourth Committee approved the following as members of the proposed Ad Hoc Committee: Australia, Belgium, Burma, Cuba, Guatemala, Iraq, Netherlands, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America and Venezuela.

Draft resolution VI

FACTORS WHICH SHOULD BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT IN DECIDING WHETHER A
TERRITORY IS OR IS NOT A TERRITORY WHOSE PEOPLE HAVE NOT
YET ATTAINED A FULL MEASURE OF SELF-GOVERNMENT

The General Assembly,

Taking into account the obligation to transmit information, accepted in
virtue of Article 73 e of the Charter by the Members which have or assume

responsibilities for the administration of Territories whose peoples have not yet attained a full measure of self-government,

Taking into account that this obligation remains in force with regard to each Territory until such time as the objectives of Chapter XI of the Charter are fulfilled,

Taking into account the statement contained in resolution 222 (III), adopted by the General Assembly on 3 November 1948, to the effect that it is essential for the United Nations to be informed of any change that may take place in the constitutional status of any Non-Self-Governing Territory, and that, not later than six months after the submission of the aforesaid information, such information as may be required in such cases should be communicated, including information about the constitution, legislative acts or executive orders regarding the government of the territory as well as about the constitutional relationship of the territory to the government of the metropolitan country,

Having examined the report of the Ad Hoc Committee on Factors (Non-Self-Governing Territories) (A/2178),

Recognizing that, in deciding whether a Territory has or has not attained a full measure of self-government, an enumeration of factors would be a useful guide both for the General Assembly and for the Administering Member concerned,

Having regard to its resolution 567 (VI) of 18 January 1952,

1. Approves provisionally the annexed list of factors which may serve as a guide, both for the General Assembly and for the Members of the United Nations which have or assume responsibilities for the administration of Non-Self-Governing Territories, in deciding whether a Territory has or has not attained a full measure of self-government;

2. Recognizes that each concrete case should be considered and decided in the light of the particular circumstances of that case and taking into account the right of self-determination of peoples;

3. Declares that the factors, while serving as a guide in determining whether the obligations as set forth in Article 73 e of the Charter still exist, should in no way be interpreted as a hindrance to the attainment of a full measure of self-government by the Non-Self-Governing Territories;

4. Further declares that, for a Territory to be deemed self-governing in economic, social or educational affairs, it is essential that its people shall have attained a full measure of self-government as referred to in Chapter XI of the Charter;

5. Recommends that, provisionally, the annexed list of factors should be taken into account in any case which the General Assembly examines resulting from any communication received by the Secretary-General in virtue of General Assembly resolution 222 (III) concerning the cessation of the transmission of information under Article 73 e of the Charter, or in relation to other questions that may arise concerning the existence of an obligation to transmit information under this Article;

6. Decides to set up a new Ad Hoc Committee of ten members, consisting of (list of countries), with instructions to continue and carry out a more thorough study of the factors which will have to be taken into account in deciding whether a Territory has or has not attained a full measure of self-government;

7. Invites the said Committee to take into account, inter alia, the list of factors (A/2178) prepared in 1952 by the Ad Hoc Committee set up under General Assembly resolution 567 (VI) the statements transmitted by governments in compliance with the aforementioned resolution and, further, to take into account the following additional elements:

- (a) The possibility of defining the concept of self-government for the purposes of Chapter XI of the Charter;
- (b) The features guaranteeing the principle of the self-determination of peoples in relation to Chapter XI of the Charter;
- (c) The manifestation of the freely expressed will of the peoples in relation to the determination of their national and international status for the purposes of Chapter XI of the Charter;

8. Invites all Members of the United Nations to transmit in writing to the Secretary-General, by 1 May 1953, a statement of the views of their governments on the subjects contained in the terms of reference of the Committee;

9. Requests the Secretary-General to convene the Ad Hoc Committee so that it may begin its work not later than four weeks before the opening of the 1953 session of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories.

ANNEX

FACTORS INDICATIVE OF THE ATTAINMENT OF INDEPENDENCE
OR OF OTHER SEPARATE SYSTEMS OF SELF-GOVERNMENT

First Part

Factors indicative of the attainment of independence

A. International status

1. International responsibility. Full international responsibility of the territory for the acts inherent in the exercise of its external sovereignty and for the corresponding acts in the administration of its internal affairs.
2. Eligibility for membership in the United Nations.
3. General international relations. Power to enter into direct relations of every kind with other governments and with international institutions and to negotiate, sign and ratify international instruments.
4. National defence. Freedom of the territory to enter into arrangements concerning its national defence.

B. Internal self-government

1. Form of government. Complete freedom of the people of the territory to choose the form of government which they desire.
2. Territorial government. Freedom from control or interference by the government of another State in respect of the internal government (legislature, executive, judiciary) and administration of the territory.
3. Economic, social and cultural jurisdiction. Complete autonomy in respect of economic, social and cultural affairs.

Second Part

Factors indicative of the attainment of other separate systems of self-government.

A. General

1. Political advancement. Political advancement of the population sufficient to enable them to decide upon the future destiny of the territory with due knowledge.

2. Opinion of the population. The opinion of the population of the territory, freely expressed by informed and democratic processes, as to the status or change in status which they desire.

3. Voluntary limitation by sovereignty. Degree to which the sovereignty of the territory is limited by its own free will when that territory has attained a separate system of self-government.

B. International status

1. General international relations. Degree or extent to which the territory exercises the power to enter freely into direct relations of every kind with other governments and with international institutions and to negotiate, sign and ratify international instruments freely.

2. Eligibility for membership in the United Nations.

C. Internal self-government

1. Territorial government. Nature and measure of control or interference, if any, by the government of another State in respect of the internal government, for example, in respect of the following:

Legislature: The enactment of laws for the territory by an indigenous body whether fully elected by free and democratic processes or lawfully constituted in a manner receiving the free consent of the population;

Executive: The selection of members of the executive branch of the government by the competent authority in the territory receiving consent of the indigenous population, whether that authority is hereditary or elected, having regard also to the nature and measure of control, if any, by an outside agency on that authority, whether directly or indirectly exercised in the constitution and conduct of the executive branch of the government;

Judiciary: The establishment of courts of law and the selection of judges.

2. Participation of the population. Effective participation of the population in the government of the territory: (a) Is there an adequate and appropriate electoral and representative system? (b) Is this electoral system

conducted without direct or indirect interference from a foreign government?^{1/}

3. Economic, social and cultural jurisdiction. Degree of autonomy in respect of economic, social and cultural affairs, as illustrated by the degree of freedom from economic pressure as exercised, for example, by a foreign minority group which, by virtue of the help of a foreign Power, has acquired a privileged economic status prejudicial to the general economic interest of the people of the territory; and by the degree of freedom and lack of discrimination against the indigenous population of the territory in social legislation and social developments.

Factors indicative of the free association of a territory with other component parts of the metropolitan or other country

A. General

1. Political advancement. Political advancement of the population

1/ For example, the following questions would be relevant:

- (i) Has each adult inhabitant equal power (subject to special safeguards for minorities) to determine the character of the government of the territory?
- (ii) Is this power exercised freely, i.e., is there an absence of undue influence over and coercion of the voter and of the imposition of disabilities on particular political parties? Some tests which can be used in the application of this factor are as follows:
 - (a) The existence of effective measures to ensure the democratic expression of the will of the people;
 - (b) The existence of more than one political party in the territory;
 - (c) The existence of a secret ballot;
 - (d) The existence of legal prohibitions on the exercise of undemocratic practices in the course of elections;
 - (e) The existence for the individual elector of a choice between candidates of differing political parties;
 - (f) The absence of "martial law" and similar measures at election times;
- (iii) Is each individual free to express his political opinions, to support or oppose any political party or cause, and to criticize the government of the day?

sufficient to enable them to decide upon the future destiny of the territory with due knowledge.

2. Opinion of the population. The opinion of the population of the territory, freely expressed by informed and democratic processes, as to the status or change in status which they desire.

3. Geographical considerations. Extent to which the relations of the territory with the capital of the central government may be affected by circumstances arising out of their respective geographical positions, such as separation by land, sea or other natural obstacles.

4. Ethnic and cultural considerations. Extent to which the population are of different race, language or religion or have a distinct cultural heritage, interests or aspirations, distinguishing them from the peoples of the country with which they freely associate themselves.

5. Constitutional considerations. Association (a) by virtue of the constitution of the metropolitan country; or (b) by virtue of a treaty or bilateral agreement affecting the status of the territory, taking into account (i) whether the constitutional guarantees extend equally to the associated territory, (ii) whether there are powers in certain matters constitutionally reserved to the territory or to the central authority, and (iii) whether there is provision for the participation of the territory on a basis of equality in any changes in the constitutional system of the State.

B. Status

1. Legislative representation. Representation without discrimination in the central legislative organs on the same basis as other inhabitants and regions.

2. Citizenship. Citizenship without discrimination on the same basis as other inhabitants.

3. Government officials. Eligibility of officials from the territory in all public offices of the central authority, by appointment or election, on same basis as those from other parts of the country.

Internal constitutional conditions

1. Suffrage. Universal and equal suffrage, and free periodic elections, characterized by an absence of undue influence over and coercion of the voter

or of the imposition of disabilities on particular political parties.^{2/}

2. Local rights and status. In a unitary system equal rights and status for the inhabitants and local bodies of the territory as enjoyed by inhabitants and local bodies of other parts of the country; in a federal system an identical degree of self-government for the inhabitants and local bodies of all parts of the federation.

3. Local officials. Appointment or election of officials in the territory on the same basis as those in other parts of the country.

4. Internal legislation. Local self-government of the same scope and under the same conditions as enjoyed by other parts of the country.

^{2/} For example, the following tests would be relevant:

- (a) The existence of effective measures to ensure the democratic expression of the will of the people;
- (b) The existence of more than one political party in the territory;
- (c) The existence of a secret ballot;
- (d) The existence of legal prohibitions on the exercise of undemocratic practices in the course of elections;
- (e) The existence for the individual elector of a choice between candidates of differing political parties;
- (f) The absence of "martial law" and similar measures at election times;
- (g) Freedom of each individual to express his political opinions, to support or oppose any political party or cause, and to criticize the government of the day.

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Agenda item 34

INFORMATION FROM NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES

Report of the Fourth CommitteeRapporteur: Mr. J. V. SCOTT (New Zealand)

ADDENDUM

ELECTION OF FOUR MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE ON
INFORMATION FROM NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES

Consequent on the adoption by the General Assembly at its 402nd plenary meeting on 10 December 1952, of the resolution renewing the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories, ^{1/} the Fourth Committee at its 306th meeting, on behalf of the General Assembly, elected Brazil, China, India and Iraq as members of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories.

1/RESOLUTION/30.

GENERAL
ASSEMBLY

SEVENTH SESSION

Official Records



FOURTH COMMITTEE, 271st

MEETING

Wednesday, 12 November 1952, at 3.30 p.m.

Headquarters, New York

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Chairman: Mr. Rodolfo MUNOZ (Argentina).

Factors which should be taken into account in deciding whether a territory is or is not a territory whose people have not yet attained a full measure of self-government: report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Factors (Non-Self-Governing Territories) (A/2178)

[Item 36]*

1. Mr. KHALIDY (Iraq), speaking as Chairman of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Factors, introduced the Committee's report (A/2178).

2. The question of determining whether a territory had or had not achieved a full measure of self-government was one of the problems posed by the text of the Charter which had in various ways influenced discussions in the Fourth Committee. It had arisen as early as 1946, during the second part of the first session of the General Assembly when, after the consideration of communications from various governments, it had been decided that the best course of action at that time was to incorporate in resolution 66 (I) an enumeration of the territories which had been declared by the Administering Members concerned to fall within the scope of Chapter XI of the Charter. In 1949, following the cessation of the transmission of information under Article 73 e in respect of certain territories, the General Assembly adopted resolution 334 (IV) in which it had invited the Special Committee on Information transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter to examine the factors which should be taken into account in deciding whether any territory was or was not a territory whose people had not yet attained a full measure of self-government. That Committee had been able to transmit to the General Assembly a report (A/1836 and Corr.1, part four) containing a list of factors which it had said was not to be regarded as exhaustive. Using that list as a basis for its consideration of the problem, the Fourth Committee had, at the Assembly's sixth session, established a sub-committee, which had studied the question further and submitted two lists:

* Indicates the item number on the agenda of the General Assembly.

one of factors indicative of the attainment of independence or other separate system of self-government, and the other of factors indicative of the free association of a territory on equal status with other component parts of the metropolitan or other country. On the recommendation of the Fourth Committee, the General Assembly in resolution 567 (W), had decided to take those two lists as a basis, and had also decided that since further study based on more complete information was required for a more definitive list, it would invite Member States to transmit their views to the Secretary-General on the basis of the list drawn up at the sixth session. It had also appointed an *ad hoc* committee of ten members to carry out the further study. That was the Committee whose report was now before the Fourth Committee.

3. The work of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Factors had been governed by certain general considerations. First, it had been agreed that the Committee was concerned only with Non-Self-Governing Territories as covered by Chapter XI of the Charter. The details of the occasions on which that point had been previously made were to be found in paragraph 5 (A) of document A/2178. Secondly, the Committee had decided that the question of what authority should determine that a territory had reached a stage of self-government where it fell outside the scope of Article 73 e of the Charter was not within its competence. Various members of the *Ad Hoc* Committee had reserved their right to deal with that question in the General Assembly. Thirdly, it had been agreed to refer to the General Assembly the question of the extent to which Article 73 e continued to apply in the case of territories which had become neither independent nor fully integrated within another State but which had already attained a full measure of self-government in their internal affairs. The Netherlands Government had submitted a list of factors relating to that question, which had been included in the Committee's report.

4. After those jurisdictional questions had been disposed of, the Committee had co-operated in producing a revised list of proposed factors, which were set out

in detail in the report. The same two general categories had been maintained, but the first had been divided into two parts: first, factors indicative of the attainment of independence; and secondly, factors indicative of the attainment of other separate systems of self-government. The second major category was still entitled "Factors indicative of the free association of a territory with other component parts of the metropolitan or other country."

5. The Government of Iraq had suggested that a new factor relating to the question of armed forces should be added to the list, but as that raised the difficult questions of security which were beyond the terms of the Committee's work, it had been agreed to include a broad reference to the question of responsibility for national defence, and to record the text submitted by the Government of Iraq in paragraph 5 (E) of the report.

6. The United Kingdom Government had sent the Secretary-General a list of factors which, in its view, would ideally have to be taken into account in deciding whether a territory was or was not a territory whose people enjoyed a full measure of self-government. The Committee had found it possible to include in its list the points concerning the political rights of

individuals, while the others, regarding the position of the executive, the judiciary and internal security, had been recorded in the report.

7. The Committee had been able to agree on the individual factors in its list without taking any votes. However, when the report as a whole was adopted, by 7 votes to none with 2 abstentions, some delegations had made formal reservations and it had been agreed that all delegations would be free to re-examine the report in the General Assembly.

8. The most important statement made by the Committee was that no enumeration of factors could do more than serve as a guide in determining whether a territory was or was not fully self-governing. Each specific case would need to be determined by the particular circumstances of that case. Paragraph 5 of the annex to resolution 567 (VI) had underlined that principle by stressing that such a list of factors could not be regarded as exhaustive or definitive.

9. In conclusion, Mr. Khalidy paid a tribute to the spirit of co-operation which had dominated the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Factors and to the diligence and devotion of its secretariat.

The meeting rose at 4.15 p.m.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

SEVENTH SESSION

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FOURTH COMMITTEE, 272nd

MEETING

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Headquarters, New York

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Chairman: Mr. Rodolfo MUNOZ (Argentina).

Factors which should be taken into account in deciding whether a territory is or is not a territory whose people have not yet attained a full measure of self-government: report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Factors (Non-Self-Governing Territories) (A/2178) (*continued*)

[Item 36]*

1. Mr. FORSYTH (Australia) said the Australian delegation in the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Factors had reserved its position and had abstained from voting on the Committee's report because it did not approve of the manner in which the Committee had dealt with the question and revised the list of factors. No precise definition had been given of the basic expressions used during the discussion of the problem, and the status of the territories had been regarded as a factor enabling the measure of self-government they had attained to be determined. In his opinion, the two concepts were not of the same kind. The Australian delegation, moreover, had always doubted the practical value of a list of factors. Not only had those who advocated the study of factors failed to justify the need for such study, but the preparation of the list intended for the guidance of the competent authorities had shown in practice that other questions were involved. The difficulties of the task left little hope for its success.

2. The more than seventy Non-Self-Governing Territories in respect of which the Administering Members transmitted information to the General Assembly differed greatly in geographical situation, population and political conditions and it would be unrealistic to think that the pace or the forms of their advance towards self-government could be uniform. Furthermore, the discussions in the General Assembly and the *Ad Hoc* Committee had shown that, owing to the great variety of their traditions and political philosophies, Member States had had difficulty in reaching agreement on the factors to be formulated. For that reason, Australia had adopted an attitude of reserve; it had seldom

taken part in the discussions and had decided not to transmit to the Secretary-General the statement requested in General Assembly resolution 567 (VI).

3. The Australian delegation's chief criticism was that an attempt had been made to establish that the attainment of independence was one of the means by which a territory could achieve self-government. That view, reflected in the annex to the General Assembly's resolution, was based on an unjustified interpretation of the provisions of Chapter XI of the Charter. The list of factors appearing in that annex should therefore be studied with the greatest care.

4. In the introduction to the annex, the General Assembly stated, in particular, that the essential factors to be taken into account in deciding whether a Non-Self-Governing Territory had attained a full measure of self-government were the following: political advancement of the population sufficient to enable them to decide upon the future destiny of the territory with due knowledge; the opinion of the population of the territory, freely expressed by informed and democratic processes, as to the status or change in status which they desired. With regard to territories which had freely united or associated themselves on a footing of equal status with other component parts of the metropolitan or other country or countries, the following factors, according to the annex, were also essential and should be taken into account: representation in the legislative organs, and citizenship.

5. The whole of the introduction to the annex was very unsatisfactory, and the ideas it contained had made the discussion more confused. In his opinion, an attempt should be made to define the basic terminology. He had made a suggestion to that effect to the *Ad Hoc* Committee, but the latter had deliberately evaded the question. In any case, the Committee's report (A/2178) did not finally settle the matter, and he still thought that before a list of factors was prepared the exact meaning of the words "a full measure of self-government" should be determined, for that concept was at the very basis of Chapter XI of the Charter. Though he did not wish to make a definite proposal, he sug-

* Indicates the item number on the agenda of the General Assembly.

gested that the Committee might, for example, consider that a people had attained a full measure of self-government when the executive power of government was controlled by the will of the community in accordance with the territory's constitution.

6. The most serious mistake that had been made had been to regard independence as a criterion of a full measure of self-government. Thus, paragraph 3 of the introduction to the annex stated that the condition under which the provisions of Chapter XI of the Charter ceased to apply would be that the inhabitants of the territory had attained a full measure of self-government, and that that condition could be fulfilled by two principal means, namely, the attainment of independence, or the union of the territory on a footing of equal status with other component parts of the metropolitan or other territory or its association on the same conditions with the metropolitan or other country. In his delegation's opinion, it was wrong to assert that the attainment of independence was a necessary condition of self-government. Actually, the word "independence" did not appear in Chapter XI of the Charter, and the General Assembly was not competent to state that the attainment of independence was the principal means by which a territory could achieve a full measure of self-government. Independence or association with other countries or territories were not characteristics of complete self-government; they were its consequences. If a people had attained a full measure of self-government, it was for that people to determine its own status.

7. Paragraph 3 also contained the following sentence: "The extent to which the provisions of Article 73 e continue to apply in the case of territories which have become neither independent nor fully integrated within another State but which have already attained a full measure of self-government in their internal affairs is a question which merits further study." In his opinion, that statement was mistaken. When a territory had attained a full measure of self-government, it no longer fell under the provisions of Article 73 e of the Charter, and there was no longer any reason why its case should continue to be considered. That was a typical example of the confusion created by the text under consideration. The confusion was largely due to the fact that independence and self-government were regarded as complementary concepts.

8. With regard to the factors mentioned in paragraphs 6 and 7 of the introduction to the annex, the first two, namely, political advancement and the opinion of the population, should be studied separately from the other two, for they were of such a general nature that it should not take long to deal with them. The fact that the last two factors mentioned in the introduction—legislative representation and citizenship—were regarded as essential derived from the same mistaken conception underlying the list in question. He would like to make it clear that if his delegation took part in the discussion of those factors, that should not be taken to mean that it approved the basic concept.

9. He recalled that the United Kingdom and Belgian representatives had emphasized that a list of factors should be drawn up in such a way as to be useful not only in appraising the provisions of a constitution, but also in determining how those provisions were applied. Furthermore, as he himself had stated in the

Ad Hoc Committee, the word "independence" appeared neither in Chapter XI of the Charter nor in the Committee's terms of reference. The Australian delegation considered that independence was not an essential condition of self-government. It noted, moreover, that its views were shared by the delegations of France and the United Kingdom, which had expressed themselves similarly in the *Ad Hoc* Committee and in the statements they had transmitted to the Secretary-General (A/AC.58/1/Add.2 and 3). A territory could be independent or associated without being self-governing in the sense of Article 73, and vice versa, so that status could not be regarded as a criterion of self-government.

10. Mr. RIEMENS (Netherlands) was of the opinion that the report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Factors (A/2178) dealt with an important and extremely complex problem. As an administering Power, the Government of the Netherlands had always decided for itself whether the territories for which it had responsibility came under Chapter XI of the Charter. When it had seen fit, in respect of any particular territories, to send in the reports referred to in Article 73 e of the Charter, neither the General Assembly nor the subsidiary organs of the United Nations had questioned that decision in any way. Nor had the General Assembly considered whether any Member States other than those which had decided to submit the information provided for in Article 73 e were responsible for territories whose peoples had not yet attained a full measure of self-government. It was for the Members of the United Nations alone to decide in respect of which territories they must submit reports and to determine whether any of the territories which they administered had reached the stage where their populations had attained a full measure of self-government.

11. The report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Factors had been designed to assist the United Nations in determining the circumstances in which a territory advanced towards self-government until the time came when its population had attained a full measure of self-government. Actually, the Charter made a sharp distinction between self-government and independence; and Chapter XI referred throughout to territories which were non-self-governing as opposed to self-governing. The essential thing was to define the terms "*autonomie*" and "self-government". The authors of the Charter had obviously had in mind forms of government which were neither self-governing nor independent. The general criteria of independence could not be applied to territories whose peoples had attained a full measure of self-government.

12. There was an important discrepancy between the text of Article 73 b, concerning Non-Self-Governing Territories, and the text of Article 76 b, which related to the International Trusteeship System. The words "or independence" which occurred in the latter were not to be found in the former. Furthermore, Article 73 b stressed the particular circumstances of the various territories and their populations, and their varying stages of advancement.

13. It might be said that the development of the Non-Self-Governing Territories was chiefly apparent from the changes in their constitutions. Constitutional development, however, was one of the most difficult questions to judge for those who were not entirely

familiar with the particular situation in each territory. Many local and historical factors had to be taken into account. The legal system, the political aspirations of the population, its level of education, the economic relations of the territory with the metropolitan territory and with other countries all played an important part. Furthermore, it was not enough to study the written text of the constitution, for in many cases constitutional practice differed widely from the written text. His own country was a case in point. If the Fourth Committee wished to determine the factors which should be taken into account in deciding whether the population of a territory had attained a full measure of self-government, it would have to study all those aspects of the question.

14. The *Ad Hoc* Committee had not made an adequate study of territories which had become neither independent nor fully integrated within another State, but which had already attained a large measure of self-government in their internal affairs; however, paragraph 3 of the introduction of the annex to General Assembly resolution 567 (VI) had pointed out that that question merited further study. In the second place, the Committee did not appear to have examined the reasons why the administering Powers had ceased to transmit information on certain territories. In the third place, the Committee had not given its opinion on the views transmitted by Member States in compliance with resolution 567 (VI).

15. It would not be impossible to reach a definition of the factors concerned, if a fully competent body devoted all the necessary time to the matter. For the reasons he had previously explained, his delegation was not prepared to submit a draft resolution proposing that a new body should be instructed to continue the work of the *Ad Hoc* Committee, but if a proposal were submitted to that effect his delegation would support it.

16. He explained once more that in his Government's opinion the administering Powers would continue to have full responsibility for deciding when the population of a territory had attained a full measure of self-government, and when, in consequence, the provisions of Chapter XI of the Charter ceased to apply to that territory. When an administering Power had brought a territory to the threshold of self-government, it did not ask the United Nations to shower praises upon it, but neither did it expect an attitude of distrust or censure. Nothing would be more harmful to the prestige of the United Nations than such an attitude.

17. If there were misunderstanding and distrust with regard to the factors determining whether a territory was self-governing, a more exhaustive study of those factors was essential, not only in order to eliminate such misunderstanding, but above all because the United Nations, having begun the study of the problem, was bound in its own interests to continue giving that problem its most careful attention.

18. Mr. HOUARD (Belgium) remarked that his delegation did not intend at that stage to express its views on the merits and the significance of the various factors. The important statements just made by the Australian and Netherlands representatives would undoubtedly help his delegation to determine its attitude on the substance of the problem.

19. The question was an important one; it was by no means limited to the problem of when States should cease to transmit information, for obviously the question of when they should begin to do so was equally important. That was quite clear from paragraph 1 of the operative part of General Assembly resolution 334 (IV). The very title of the *Ad Hoc* Committee's report showed that the drafters of General Assembly resolution 567 (VI) had kept that idea in mind.

20. Subject to any comments it might wish to make later on the substance of the problem, the Belgian delegation wished to emphasize from the very outset that the list of factors would never serve as anything more than a guide, either for the administering Powers or for the Member States which had not yet replied to the Secretary-General's letter dated 29 June 1946.¹

21. His delegation was convinced that the list of factors would help many Member States to re-examine the position of their non-self-governing peoples, as the Belgian representative had invited them to do at the beginning of the current session.

22. Mr. NAUDY (France) began by praising the care and seriousness with which the *Ad Hoc* Committee had undertaken its task. His delegation was glad to note that some of the general considerations set forth in the Committee's report placed the studies in their true context. He was referring in particular to Section IV, paragraph 5 (C), which stated that no enumeration of factors could do more than serve as a guide in determining whether a territory was or was not fully self-governing, and that each specific case would need to be determined by the particular circumstances of that case. In addition, the Committee had been quite right to refrain from taking any decision on the questions of competence which might well have given rise to endless controversies.

23. On the other hand, his delegation wondered whether the list of factors recommended by the *Ad Hoc* Committee really represented any improvement on the list included in the annex to resolution 567 (VI), a list which had already called for reservations.

24. The French Government had submitted its written comments on the old list, which were reproduced in document A/AC.58/1/Add.2, and thought it would be of interest, in view of the discussions which had recently taken place in the Fourth Committee, to quote a general remark which had appeared among those comments. The French Government had pointed out (para. 13) that the study of the factors should provide the necessary basis for a possible extension of the obligations of Article 73 e to those Members which, since the Charter's entry into force, had held that they were not affected by the obligations of Chapter XI in respect of any of the territories dependent on them. In addition, the French Government had stated that it seemed highly desirable that the guarantees contained in Chapter XI should be applied universally, as had undoubtedly been the intention of the drafters of the Charter. In his opinion, any study which did not take that aspect of the problem into account was likely to

¹ In this letter the Secretary-General requested the opinion of Member States on the factors to be taken into account in determining which were the Non-Self-Governing Territories referred to in Chapter XI of the Charter and on the form in which information concerning those territories should be submitted, as well as an enumeration by Member States of the Non-Self-Governing Territories subject to their jurisdiction.

lead to conclusions which would be both unjust and lacking in scientific objectivity. Similarly, none of the criteria of self-government could be fully acceptable if it were inapplicable to States already regarded as self-governing or independent. Any other solution would imply an intention to discriminate against the Non-Self-Governing Territories to which the Fourth Committee would certainly not wish to be a party.

25. The French Government had attached particular importance to its comments on the geographical considerations and the ethnic and cultural considerations. In spite of its criticisms, however, the *Ad Hoc* Committee had again included those considerations in the list of factors indicative of the free association of a territory with other component parts of the metropolitan or other country. In that connexion he quoted paragraphs 23 and 24 of document A/AC.58/1/Add.2. The French delegation still considered those comments to be valid, and regretted that the *Ad Hoc* Committee had not thought fit to take them into account.

26. The new text drafted by the Committee could be criticized for continuing to lay undue stress on the conditions characteristic of an independence which went beyond the self-government in virtue of which a territory came outside the scope of Article 73 e of the Charter. It was quite true that when a territory secured such international independence or such extended separate systems of self-government it ceased to be a Non-Self-Governing Territory. But it could not be said that the acquisition of a status of that kind was a necessary condition of self-government within the meaning of Article 73. On the way towards separate self-government, there was a stage at which a territory might have ceased to be non-self-governing within the meaning of the Charter without having secured complete independence or any other separate system of self-government. It was precisely that stage which the Committee had failed to define. It had not considered itself competent to consider the extent to which the provisions of Article 73 e continued to apply in the case of territories which had become neither independent nor fully integrated within another State but which had already attained a full measure of self-government in their internal affairs. However, paragraph 3 of the introduction of the annex to resolution 567 (VI) stated that that question merited further study. The suggestions made on that point by the Netherlands Government seemed to deserve consideration. On those very important points there was therefore a gap in the work of the *Ad Hoc* Committee.

27. The insertion of what might be called factual criteria together with the legal criteria in the list of factors only served to create confusion, because the factual criteria dealt with individual cases and some of them could not apply to States already recognized as independent and sovereign.

28. Finally, he was surprised to find that the factors of political advancement and the opinion of the population and its participation in the government had disappeared from the new list of factors indicative of the attainment of independence. He wondered whether the conclusion to be drawn was that, as soon as a community attained independence, there was no longer any need to ensure respect for the opinions and rights of individuals and their participation in the government. Article 73, however, was concerned with

protecting the interests, not of a territory considered as an entity, but of a community composed of individuals each of whom had inalienable rights and prerogatives.

29. His delegation reserved the right to make additional comments during the course of the discussion.

30. Mr. DJERDA (Yugoslavia) paid a tribute to the work of the *Ad Hoc* Committee but, for several reasons, was not completely satisfied with the report.

31. In the first place, the drafters of the report had placed the factor entitled "Political advancement" at the head of the list of factors indicative of the attainment of separate systems of self-government other than independence and also of the list indicative of the free association of a territory with other component parts of the metropolitan or other country. His delegation considered that factor to be totally inapplicable, since none of the peoples which were attempting to realize their national aspirations at the present time could be considered incapable of deciding their own fate for themselves.

32. The most important factor was the opinion of the population freely expressed by democratic processes. Any attempt to limit that right was a denial of the very principles on which the United Nations was based.

33. That factor should be combined with another, which might be called "conditions to be fulfilled in order to ascertain the opinion of the population". All other factors must be regarded as secondary and subordinate. The freely expressed will of the people ascertained in objective conditions was the first, and indeed the only, factor to be taken into consideration for a solution of the problem.

34. The factor entitled "National defence" in the first part of the list was superfluous because it was already covered by implication in the preceding factor, "General international relations". The factors listed under "B. Internal self-government", also in the first part of the list, were irrelevant. Lastly, he did not think that the opinions of various governments reproduced in section IV of the document should be considered as part of the substance of the report.

35. The Yugoslav delegation would continue to participate in the study of the problem but, for the reasons he had just given, it would vote against the *Ad Hoc* Committee's report.

36. Mr. PEREZ CISNEROS (Cuba), speaking on a procedural question, asked the Secretariat whether it would be possible for the Committee to receive the texts of the draft resolutions it had adopted in the three working languages before it was called upon to examine the Rapporteur's draft reports.

37. Mr. BENSON (Secretariat) said that the Secretariat would in future circulate the texts of the draft resolutions adopted by the Committee in the three working languages well before the Rapporteur submitted his draft reports, in order to enable delegations to check the concordance of the texts.

38. The CHAIRMAN and Mr. PEREZ CISNEROS (Cuba) thanked the Secretariat.

The meeting rose at 12.20 p.m.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

SEVENTH SESSION

Official Records



FOURTH COMMITTEE, 273rd

MEETING

Thursday, 13 November 1952, at 4 p.m.

Headquarters, New York

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Chairman: Mr. Rodolfo MUNOZ (Argentina).

Factors which should be taken into account in deciding whether a territory is or is not a territory whose people have not yet attained a full measure of self-government: report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Factors (Non-Self-Governing Territories) (A/2178, A/C.4/L.231) (*continued*)

[Item 36]*

1. Mr. RIVAS (Venezuela) said that in the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Factors, the Venezuelan delegation had sought, as was its practice, to reconcile the views of the administering and non-administering Powers on the international aspect of the problem of Non-Self-Governing Territories, and, at the same time, to reduce to reasonable proportions those differences of opinion which some administering Powers interpreted as an indication that the non-administering Powers were setting themselves up as their judges. The cessation of the transmission of information on certain territories which a majority of Member States did not yet regard as fully self-governing had been one of the main reasons why the Fourth Committee was apparently divided into two camps, each suspicious of the other, and had made it impossible to unite the efforts and experience of both sides in any constructive work.

2. Those countries which regarded certain territories as not fully self-governing felt that they had a basis for their belief in law and in fact. None of their arguments had been inspired by the negative and illegitimate desire to trespass upon national sovereignty. Their only motive had been the necessity of continuing the work begun at San Francisco, which was being threatened by legalistic interpretations of Chapter XI not in accordance with the basic trend that had led to the inclusion in the United Nations Charter of a chapter for which no provision had been made in the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals. Venezuela

had been the only country to note the omission. It had objected that the Charter should lay down the principles which would govern the administration of colonies and protectorates, possible changes of sovereignty in such colonies and protectorates, in accordance with their geographical position and the freely expressed will of their inhabitants, and the conditions necessary for their recognition in due course as Member States of the United Nations, with the right to self-government and the other prerogatives inherent in that right.

3. In making that observation, the Venezuelan Government had not been guided merely by humanitarian principles. It had been moved above all by political considerations. International peace and security could not be adequately safeguarded if the problem of the peoples inhabiting territories far removed, both geographically and legally, from their respective metropolitan countries was disregarded. Such territories might well be centres of discontent, even of rebellion and violence. The Venezuelan Government sincerely believed that Chapter XI gave the inhabitants of those territories an assurance that their aspirations could be achieved by peaceful means. It had regarded, and still regarded, the transmission of information referred to in Article 73 e of the Charter as a means whereby the United Nations could show the dependent territories that their political problems were under constant study by the international community. The obligation to submit information, which the administering Powers had accepted, conferred on the Non-Self-Governing Territories a higher political status than that enjoyed by mere dependencies of countries with a higher degree of civilization. In the final analysis, the Non-Self-Governing Territories became dependent upon the international community, which was a step towards their acceptance as embryo subjects of international law.

4. Mr. Rivas quoted a passage from a speech made at San Francisco by Field Marshal Smuts, describing

* Indicates the item number on the agenda of the General Assembly.

the text that later became Chapter XI of the Charter as one which applied the principle of trusteeship to all dependent territories, whether they were under mandate, taken from defeated countries, or the existing colonies of certain Powers.¹ It subjected States, particularly the colonial Powers which were responsible for colonies, to certain obligations. Thus, the reports of the administering Powers on the Non-Self-Governing Territories were clearly intended to provide the United Nations with information which would enable it to appreciate the rate of progress of the non-self-governing peoples towards self-government and suggest general measures to ensure that such progress should continue in a peaceful atmosphere. The Venezuelan delegation had believed, and continued to believe, that the obligation accepted by the administering Powers was based upon the fact that the Non-Self-Governing Territories did not govern themselves, and that until the basis for that obligation disappeared, that is as long as the Non-Self-Governing Territories did not govern themselves, the obligation of the administering Powers would subsist.

5. The Venezuelan Government considered that in defining the "self-government" referred to in Chapter XI, the essential point was not whether such government was good or bad, but whether it was exercised by the inhabitants of the territory without interference by any other government in whose general policy they did not participate on a footing of absolute equality.

6. It had been argued that the non-administering Powers seemed to advocate the independence of the colonies as a sort of magic panacea for all the ills affecting the world. It had been said that the welfare of their inhabitants was often greater under the trusteeship of a more civilized people than under their own leaders, and that there were colonies where educational, social and economic conditions were better than in many sovereign States. It was also alleged that nothing would be gained by according self-government to a community which was not economically self-sufficient. Those arguments were as old as the colonial system itself. At first sight, they were objective and scientific, but the human spirit had needs not always comprehended by science. The nationals of the metropolitan States might well be asked whether they would be satisfied with social, educational and economic advantages extended to them by some remote authority which governed them, on condition that they remained passive and did not seek to legislate or to administer themselves, or to claim full citizenship.

7. Some administering Powers, adhering rigidly to the letter of Article 73 e, had argued that once territories had obtained self-government in the social, economic and educational spheres, the obligation of the metropolitan country was at an end. However, the great mass of the inhabitants of the Non-Self-Governing Territories would not agree with them. The traditional error of the metropolitan Powers had been to consider separatist movements as the invention of a small group of fanatics, unsupported by their fellow countrymen. However, whenever a metropolitan Power had been forced to withdraw its forces to deal with some crisis elsewhere, the mass of the colo-

nial people had been found willing to follow those fanatics, particularly when they were supported by the political or trade rival of the metropolitan country. Chapter XI was expressly designed to minimize that international threat.

8. It was inevitable that the administering Powers' interpretation of their obligations under Chapter XI should disturb those countries which had themselves been colonies. Presumably, the educated members of the indigenous peoples were also disturbed and an easy prey for penetration by subversive organizations.

9. The list of factors under consideration was a series of ideas on self-government on which there had been no major disagreement. Some factors were obvious. No country which did not fully exercise the attributes of external and internal sovereignty could be called independent. Moreover, in other separate forms of self-government, limited sovereignty could not be regarded as fulfilling the needs of the inhabitants unless the consent of those inhabitants was manifest. It could not be considered that a territory participated in the direction of national affairs on a footing of absolute equality with other regions of the State in which it was incorporated if persons born in that territory were not, by that fact alone, citizens of the State, or if they did not participate, on a footing of complete equality, in legislative and executive matters. Again, it was extremely difficult to measure such equal status. It would be difficult for a territory geographically far removed from the metropolitan country to feel itself to be on an equal footing when the government tended to give preference to the interests of the metropolitan territory. The geographical factor was therefore very important. The racial factor was again of considerable importance. If the separation between conqueror and conquered was maintained for centuries, the original population of the territory would have great difficulty in ceasing to regard the dominant white race as aliens.

10. In its general comments on the question of factors (A/AC.58/1/Add.3), the Netherlands Government had said that a metropolitan country could not report on economic, social and educational conditions in territories which had attained self-government in those fields. However, all the administering Powers had only recently asserted in concert that the international representation of the Non-Self-Governing Territories was exercised by the metropolitan government and by the metropolitan government only. That was all the more reason why they should assume full international responsibility for what took place in the Non-Self-Governing Territories.

11. In internal affairs, the inhabitants of certain Non-Self-Governing Territories might be allowed to manage their own budget, organize their own schools and regulate their trade-union activities. However, as long as they did not exercise political sovereignty as independent States or integral parts of another State, on a footing of complete equality with the other component parts of that State, it was obvious that the degree of self-government which they were accorded would always be dependent upon the goodwill of the metropolitan country. The bases of such self-government were precarious, moreover, because they did not derive from the full recognition of the Non-Self-Govern-

¹ See *United Nations Conference on International Organization*, II/16.

ing Territory as an agent absolutely equal, for the purpose of contractual law, to the metropolitan country. Such partial self-government was only one stage on the road towards the goal of Chapter XI. Until that goal had been reached, it was clear that the administering Power's obligations under Chapter XI subsisted, since their cause still remained. Paragraph 3 of the operative part of the draft resolution on the participation of the Non-Self-Governing Territories in the work of the Committee on Information, adopted by the Fourth Committee at its 270th meeting, might provide some solution of the problem of how the administering Powers were to report on progress in such partially self-governing territories. The administering Powers had voted against paragraph 3, yet the continued study which it recommended might find a formula which would solve the general problem raised by the Government of the Netherlands.

12. The list of factors could not of course be interpreted as in any way hindering the administering Powers from helping the peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories, in successive stages, towards full self-government. Nor could it be represented as a series of stages which the peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories must pass through before being regarded as self-governing. On the contrary: if the peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories freely expressed the desire to be self-governing, the United Nations would have no other course than to urge the administering Powers to allow those peoples to exercise sovereignty.

13. The factor relating to political advancement could also be considered from a similar standpoint. On that point, the Venezuelan delegation shared the doubts expressed by the French representative in the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Factors. In certain cases, it would be difficult to apply that factor, because it would be necessary to agree beforehand on the body which was to judge the preparedness of the inhabitants of a territory to assume certain responsibilities. Presumably, if the people of a territory chose independence, they would have to be regarded as sufficiently prepared to take that step. The degree of political advancement of a population would, however, have to be carefully determined, if they appeared to agree to voluntary limitations on the exercise of full self-government. In a situation of that kind, the best thing to do would be to invite the population to choose between full self-government and the partial self-government they enjoyed, and, at the same time, see that the supporters of full self-government had ample opportunity of expressing their views unhindered.

14. The delegations of Burma, Cuba, Egypt, Guatemala, Iraq and Venezuela had joined in submitting the draft resolution in document A/C.4/L.231. All those countries, save Egypt, had been members of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Factors, and the Egyptian delegation had been the original proponent of the idea that the United Nations should study the question of factors. The views of the Venezuelan Government coincided in general with the draft resolution. Moreover, the constructive and conciliatory tone of the draft resolution coincided with the approach of the Venezuelan delegation in exploring those points on which it differed from certain administering Powers with regard to the interpretation of certain principles.

If the administering Powers studied the draft resolution without prejudice, they would at least recognize its good faith and sincerity. That in itself would be a beginning in dispelling the mistrust which seemed to divide the Fourth Committee into two opposing parties, each seeking the discomfiture of the other.

15. Mr. McINNIS (Canada) would like to study the full implications of the joint draft resolution further. At first sight, however, he was obliged to note with regret and disappointment that it seemed unacceptable. It eliminated many of the wide qualifications which gave the list of factors contained in the *Ad Hoc* Committee's report its tentative nature. The draft resolution was much more mandatory and paid only brief lip-service to the need for taking into account the varying conditions in the different colonies.

16. The Venezuelan representative's statement had underlined the idea expressed in the second paragraph of the preamble to the joint draft resolution. Mr. McInnis doubted the validity of that idea: not only had the various categories of information to be transmitted under Article 73 e been carefully restricted, but even those restricted categories were subject to the limitations of security and constitutional considerations. Furthermore, the Non-Self-Governing Territories would obviously advance towards self-government by stages, and it was highly probable that at a given moment they would reach a stage at which the administering Power no longer exercised effective practical control over the social, economic and educational matters on which information was to be submitted. Consequently, the administering Power's obligation to submit such information would then be at an end. That did not, however, imply the end of its obligation, under Chapter XI, to promote a full measure of self-government in the territory concerned.

17. Mr. PEREZ CISNEROS (Cuba) said that his delegation was satisfied with the joint draft resolution contained in document A/C.4/L.231, which embodied, among other ideas, those which the Minister of State of the Republic of Cuba had expressed in his statement before the 379th plenary meeting of the General Assembly. That representative had said then that Cuba would continue to uphold the view that it was essential that the international community should weigh carefully and determine the constitutional considerations upon which any Administering Member might base a decision to cease transmitting information under Chapter XI of the Charter. It would always be the view of the Cuban Government that there could not be economic, social or educational self-government in the absence of political self-government.

18. In co-sponsoring the draft resolution, the Cuban delegation had done its utmost to exclude academic or doctrinal considerations and to remain within the limits of the practical problem which had been occupying the General Assembly's attention in the matter. It considered that the problem was summed up in the replies to two plain questions: first, when did an Administering Member become free of its obligation under Article 73 e to transmit information concerning a given territory; secondly, when did the United Nations become free of its obligation under Article 73 e to receive information concerning a given territory? Those two questions should be borne in mind. The

previous year many delegations had feared that the examination of the subject might lead the Committee into a merely academic debate.

19. In the view of the Cuban delegation there was a duality of competence. He recalled certain passages from a communication transmitted by the Government of Cuba, at the Secretary-General's request, in connexion with the problem of factors (A/AC.58/1/Add.1), declaring that the progress achieved in relation to Chapter XI would in practice be fruitless if the continuous fulfilment of the only concrete obligation contracted by the administering Powers under Article 73 e depended exclusively upon their unilateral judgment. The obligations under Chapter XI were as binding as those under the other chapters of the Charter and could not be annulled without prior agreement between the parties except in the circumstances in which, under the very provisions of the Article, they might be suspended. The only grounds for such action were security or constitutional considerations, but even in those cases, and especially in the latter, it was unlikely that the Charter authorized unilateral action by the administering Power concerned. It was true that cases might arise in which the limitations of security would have to be determined by the administering Power alone, since a public examination of the reasons might itself endanger security, but to admit that unilateral action could be taken on a constitutional issue would be to imperil the principles recognized today by positive international law. It was essential that the United Nations should be kept informed of any change in the constitutional status of any of the Non-Self-Governing Territories as a result of which the responsible governments no longer felt obliged to transmit information.

20. Thus, the international community must weigh carefully the constitutional factors on the basis of which the administering Power had taken the decision to cease to transmit information. Such intervention would not constitute an infringement of Article 2, paragraph 7, as a decision of that nature towards the fulfilment of the Charter's purposes by the international community could not be said to be a matter of domestic jurisdiction. Problems connected with the colonial system could come under international law; many administering Powers had recognized that fact by signing the Treaty of Versailles, Article 119 *et seq* of which required Germany to renounce its colonies, such action being based on the manner in which those colonies had been administered. Those articles could not be explained except by the admission, in sound legal logic, that colonizing governments could not arbitrarily dispose of the peoples or of the territory or of the powers which they exercised.

21. The draft resolution before the Committee touched on the problem of competence with the utmost discretion. The greatest care had been taken in drawing it up because the sponsors wished the text to be as conciliatory as possible.

² Subsequently circulated as document A/C.4/219.

22. Paragraph 4 of the draft resolution dealt with the problem of the indivisibility of the concept of self-government. It appeared necessary to submit to the General Assembly for its final approval the patent truth that there could not be economic, social or educational self-government without political self-government. If that fact were recognized, much fruitless debate might be avoided. To accept the concept of indivisibility would be to invalidate absolutely the argument that the transmission of information could cease because a territory had achieved self-government in the economic, social or educational fields. Partial self-government in certain respects would be illusory unless there was at the same time political self-government within the meaning of the Charter, in other words "a full measure of self-government." Before the transmission of information on a territory could cease, the United Nations should be furnished with supplementary information regarding the degree of political advancement reached by the territory.

23. In order to be free of its obligation to receive information under Article 73 e, the international community must be in a position to affirm that the political situation in the territory concerned was such as to permit and create economic, social and educational autonomy.

24. There was a further point: the draft resolution clearly stated that the list of factors was recommended merely as a guide. No rigid criterion could be devised for determining whether a territory was self-governing or not, and to attempt to do so would merely create doctrinal difficulties. The Cuban delegation therefore whole-heartedly endorsed paragraph 2 of the operative part of the draft resolution, which stated that each case should be decided in the light of its particular circumstances. Over and above the list of factors there would always be the over-riding consideration—the desire of the people for freedom.

25. He would not for the time being propose any additions or amendments to the list of factors, which appeared to him comprehensive, well-considered and likely to serve as a general guide. On the other hand, he would not oppose any suggestions for improvement. He therefore reserved his position with regard to the list.

26. He appealed to the members of the Committee to remember that the problem of ceasing the transmission of information was essentially a political rather than a legal one, since each case must be considered separately.

Requests for oral hearings

27. The CHAIRMAN announced that a request for an oral hearing had been received from the Bloc Démocratique Camerounais.² If there were no objections, it would be circulated as an official document.

It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 5.20 p.m.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

SEVENTH SESSION

Official Records



FOURTH COMMITTEE, 274th

MEETING

Friday, 14 November 1952, at 3 p.m.

Headquarters, New York

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Chairman: Mr. Rodolfo MUNOZ (Argentina).

Factors which should be taken into account in deciding whether a territory is or is not a territory whose people have not yet attained a full measure of self-government: report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Factors (Non-Self-Governing Territories) (A/2178, A/C.4/L.231 and Corr.1) (continued)

[Item 36]*

1. Mr. EL-PHARAONY (Egypt) recalled that the study of the question of factors which should be taken into account in deciding whether a territory had or had not attained a full measure of self-government had originated from a proposal (A/C.4/L.37) made by the Egyptian delegation in 1949. That proposal had been prompted by the great concern with which the Egyptian delegation, among others, had viewed the fact that in 1948 the number of territories on which information was transmitted had dropped to sixty-three, whereas in 1946, according to the terms of General Assembly resolution 66 (I), the number of such territories had been seventy-four. For that reason the General Assembly had adopted resolution 222 (III), which, while welcoming any development of self-government, considered that it was essential for the United Nations to be informed of any change in the constitutional position and status of any Non-Self-Governing Territory as a result of which the responsible government concerned thought it unnecessary to transmit information in respect of that territory under Article 73 e of the Charter. Accordingly, the Members concerned had been requested in any such case to communicate to the Secretary-General appropriate information, including the constitution, legislative act or executive order providing for the government of the territory and the constitutional relationship of the territory to the government of the metropolitan country. It had become clear thereafter that certain criteria had to be taken into consideration in dealing with such situations, and resolution 334 (IV) had called for a

study of the factors which should be taken into consideration in deciding whether a territory had or had not attained a full measure of self-government.

2. The report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Factors (A/2178) was now before the Committee. Previous speakers had dealt in some detail with the various factors listed in the report, some emphasizing particular factors which they felt should be considered essential or decisive while others had dwelt on the report's various shortcomings. At the 273rd meeting, the Venezuelan representative had outlined the elements of the problem and had given a comprehensive analysis of the various factors and the framework within which they should be considered, and the value to be attributed to them. The Egyptian delegation endorsed his views whole-heartedly. It considered that the list of factors should not give rise to much disagreement, so long as it was clearly stated in the report that they could serve only as a guide in determining whether a territory was or was not self-governing, and that no single factor or combination of factors could be regarded as decisive in all cases, each case needing to be examined in the light of its particular circumstances. It was on that understanding that the draft resolution in document A/C.4/L.231, which the Egyptian delegation had joined in sponsoring, proposed that the list of factors should be approved as it appeared in the report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee. The Egyptian delegation was in complete agreement with the views in that regard expressed by the Cuban representative at the 273rd meeting.

3. The Egyptian delegation considered that there was one element of the utmost importance which should be decisive in all cases: the opinion of the people concerned. That was particularly true in cases of association. The natural, logical, and expected process of development was for a people placed under the domination of another to seek freedom from that domination and to proceed gradually to a full measure of self-government and, ultimately, to independence. It was the exception for people to achieve a full measure of self-government or independence through association

* Indicates the item number on the agenda of the General Assembly.

or assimilation with other component parts of the metropolitan or other country, especially when that people was of different race, language or religion, or had a distinct cultural heritage, interests or aspirations, which distinguished them from the people of the country with which they were associated. The terms "association" or "assimilation", no less than "incorporation" or "annexation", suggested a certain element of pressure, an act of authority on the part of the administering Power. That would not, of course, always be the case. However, as a general rule, the goal to be attained was independence, and other forms of self-government through assimilation or association should be covered by every possible guarantee. That was why the sponsors of the draft resolution were anxious that in the case of the assimilation of a territory, there should be assurances of the unqualified, freely expressed and unrestricted will of the people. In all such cases, the United Nations must be satisfied beyond all doubt that the will of the people had been expressed freely either by means of a plebiscite under its auspices or by some other appropriate democratic procedure.

4. The study of the factors involved in the attainment of full self-government should now be followed by an examination of the principles governing the use of those factors as a guide to action by the administering Powers and by the General Assembly. Under General Assembly resolution 66 (I), the Non-Self-Governing Territories had been enumerated on the proposal of the Administering Members concerned. The Administering Members should now be prepared to take into account any list of factors drawn up by the General Assembly when they themselves were examining the question of whether a territory had become fully self-governing. The Fourth Committee should also agree that it would take the same factors into account when it had to consider any particular case of the cessation of information. If the General Assembly made those two points clear, it would help to define the principles involved and the methods to be followed.

5. Mr. Shiva RAO (India) said that apart from its merits or demerits, the joint draft resolution before the Committee was useful in that it focused the Committee's attention on the practical aspects of the problem of factors.

6. At its first session in 1946, the General Assembly had adopted resolution 9 (I) expressing the United Nations' keen awareness of the problems and political aspirations of the peoples who had not yet attained a full measure of self-government and who were not directly represented in the Organization. The resolution went on to emphasize that the obligations accepted under Chapter XI of the Charter by all Members of the United Nations were in no way contingent upon the conclusion of trusteeship agreements or upon the bringing into being of the Trusteeship Council, and were in fact already in force. The operative part of the resolution requested the Secretary-General to include in his annual report an analysis and summary of such information as had been transmitted to him by Members of the United Nations under Article 73 e.

7. From the outset, the General Assembly had shown much practical interest in making use of the infor-

mation supplied by the Administering Members. It had discovered that no list of Non-Self-Governing Territories could be prepared by the Secretary-General because of the difficulty of defining the scope of the phrase "a full measure of self-government". It had, therefore, merely noted that information would be supplied by the Administering Members in respect of the territories mentioned in General Assembly resolution 66 (I). That resolution had not said that the list contained in it was complete; but the General Assembly had not challenged its contents and had accepted it as a working basis. In 1947 and 1948, some Administering Members had failed to transmit information in regard to certain territories without furnishing any explanation for the omission. The General Assembly had thereupon passed the significant resolution 222 (III), which had confirmed the interest of the General Assembly in the development of self-government in Non-Self-Governing Territories, and had established the validity of the contention that the General Assembly had the right to receive political and constitutional information, at least in the last stages. Lastly, the General Assembly had passed resolution 448 (V) on the development of self-government in Non-Self-Governing Territories. That resolution had linked resolution 222 (III) with the attainment of self-government by Indonesia. The preamble and the operative parts of the resolution were equally significant.

8. He did not underrate the need for a comprehensive approach which did not neglect or overlook any aspect of the problem. However, it was necessary at the same time to bear in mind the scheme of things visualized in Chapter XI and developed in practice by General Assembly resolutions over a period of six years. The objective of Chapter XI was "a full measure of self-government". Because the General Assembly had been unable to find a satisfactory definition in 1946, it had accepted from the Administering Members a unilaterally prepared list of Non-Self-Governing Territories, in order that the terms of Article 73 might be promptly fulfilled. In 1947 and 1948 that list had begun to shrink, and the General Assembly had immediately taken note of the omissions and asked for details. Resolution 222 (III) proved that the General Assembly's interest and jurisdiction were not circumscribed by a literal interpretation of Article 73 e. The territories listed in resolution 66 (I) were those territories whose peoples had not yet attained a full measure of self-government. He quoted a passage from the records of the San Francisco Conference to the effect that the word "yet" was held to apply to any degree of self-government short of full self-government, and until that had been attained, the responsibility of the Administering Member subsisted.

9. There were only two ways in which a Non-Self-Governing Territory could be removed from the list: one was by the attainment of a full measure of self-government, as in the case of the erstwhile Non-Self-Governing Territory of Indonesia, now a Member of the United Nations; and the second was by the transfer of the Non-Self-Governing Territory to the Trusteeship System. The General Assembly at no stage lost sight of a Non-Self-Governing Territory; it retained active interest in it under either Chapter XI or Chapters XII and XIII, or through its admission to full membership of the United Nations.

10. The Indian delegation found nothing to criticize in the terms of the draft resolution. It could not understand the objections raised by the Canadian representative at the 273rd meeting to the second paragraph of the preamble. It seemed obvious that the obligations of an administering Power remained in force in regard to each territory until the objectives of Chapter XI were fulfilled. As it stood, the draft resolution seemed to be an unexceptionable statement of existing facts and of the legitimate aims of the General Assembly, leading up to a suggestion of the right approach in future in all cases of Non-Self-Governing Territories regarding which Administering Members had ceased to transmit information.

11. The Indian delegation also regarded the report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Factors as a practical and valuable contribution to the study of a difficult problem.

12. Mr. NAUDY (France) said that the French delegation's first impression of the joint draft resolution had been that it was one of those ambitious proposals which, while claiming to interpret the provisions of the Charter, in fact violated them. It was not the first example of the light-hearted treatment of complicated and far-reaching questions in the Fourth Committee. The draft resolution also took for granted the solution of the difficulties pointed out by many previous speakers in noting the shortcomings of the *Ad Hoc* Committee's work.

13. The second paragraph of the preamble to the joint draft resolution declared that the obligation to transmit information remained in force with regard to each territory until the objectives of Chapter XI were fulfilled. As the Canadian representative had pointed out, that statement of principle was absolutely unwarranted. There were degrees and stages in the development of the Non-Self-Governing Territories towards self-government. The obligation laid down in paragraph e of Article 73, with its reservations and limitations, was the only formal undertaking which accompanied the general undertakings in Chapter XI, and it ceased when it no longer applied, that was to say, when the Non-Self-Governing Territories obtained self-government in the fields mentioned in Article 73 e. The Administering Members could not have greater obligations imposed on them than they had assumed. The transmission of information must cease when there had been sufficient development to free the administering Powers from the special obligation to transmit information; in other words, when the territory in question had reached a stage of development which, although not one of self-government, was certainly not that of a Non-Self-Governing Territory to which the provisions of Article 73 e applied. The *Ad Hoc* Committee on Factors had not studied such border-line cases or defined the criteria to be applied to them. The French delegation considered, therefore, that the problem still existed, and it could not support a proposal which merely assumed it to have been settled. Paragraph 4 of the operative part of the draft resolution was based on a similar principle, also taken for granted, which the Cuban representative had termed the indivisibility of the concept of self-government. The French delegation objected to that on the same grounds as it objected to the second paragraph of the preamble.

14. The fifth paragraph of the preamble and paragraphs 1 and 5 of the operative part assumed that the General Assembly was competent to decide whether a territory had or had not attained a full measure of self-government or to study questions arising from the cessation of the transmission of information or the obligation to transmit information. Previous resolutions adopted by the General Assembly, in particular resolution 334 (IV), had not attributed such competence to the General Assembly but had left the decision, implicitly at least, to the administering Powers. The provisions of the draft resolution tended to establish a degree of United Nations control over the Non-Self-Governing Territories which was contrary to the spirit and the letter of Chapter XI and also to the principles of Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter. The administration of the Non-Self-Governing Territories and the steps taken to ensure their political development came within the competence of the administering Powers, whose parliaments were the final authority in such matters. Any United Nations intervention in that sphere would constitute interference in matters within the domestic jurisdiction of the Powers concerned and would involve a dangerous and quite inadmissible duality of responsibility.

15. The French Government had made a formal reservation in that regard at the San Francisco Conference.¹ It had pointed out each year, in communicating information to the Secretary-General in accordance with Article 73 e, that the determination of territories whose populations were not yet completely self-governing came within the exclusive competence of the administering Powers. The matters of principle so light-heartedly approached in the joint draft resolution were of fundamental importance and the French delegation formally reiterated its reservations. It would oppose the joint draft resolution if it remained unchanged.

16. Mr. WINIEWICZ (Poland) said that there could be no practical answer to the problem of factors without a proper approach to two preliminary but essential considerations. First, what authority was competent to determine that a territory had reached the stage of self-government envisaged by Article 73 as a whole? He stressed the words "as a whole" because of the obstinate attempt on the part of the colonial Powers to restrict the problem of Non-Self-Governing Territories exclusively to paragraph e of that Article. Secondly, what did the Charter mean by the phrase "a full measure of self-government"?

17. During the seven years of the United Nations' existence the colonial Powers had decided by a unilateral decision to withhold information on thirteen Non-Self-Governing Territories and had merely informed the Secretary-General of that fact. The General Assembly had never been given any valid explanation for the cessation of information. The colonial Powers continued to treat the Non-Self-Governing Territories as their exclusive domain. Their attitude in that connexion was a further infringement of the provisions of the Charter.

18. The obligation to transmit information undertaken by the colonial Powers was a binding agreement,

¹ See *United Nations Conference on International Organization*, II/4/8.

and the international responsibility assumed by those Powers could be disposed of only by an international decision of the General Assembly itself. Before any Administering Member could be released from its duty to submit information under Article 73 e, the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories must consider all the data concerning the changes in the status of the territory concerned and submit a recommendation on the cessation of information to the General Assembly, with whom the final decision lay.

19. The Non-Self-Governing Territories were not merely provinces within the sovereign power of the metropolitan country, and they were outside the scope of Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter. Chapter XI had been written in order to establish a special relationship between the dependent territories and the United Nations. The present and future of the dependent peoples was not the sole responsibility of the administering Powers; it was a major concern of all Member States.

20. It was instructive, in connexion with the report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Factors, to study the reasons given by the administering Powers for the unilateral cessation of information from certain Non-Self-Governing Territories. There were two types of explanation. The first hypocritically based the cessation of information on economic, social and educational conditions on the assertion that self-government had been established in those fields and that it was hard to see how a government could continue to be under an obligation in respect of matters for which it was no longer responsible. That argument had been reiterated by the French Government in its observations on particular factors (A/AC.58/4). It was a complete distortion of Chapter XI. Article 73 clearly stated that Non-Self-Governing Territories were those colonies whose peoples had not yet attained a full measure of self-government. The Administering Members were therefore under an obligation to transmit information until a full measure of self-government had been achieved, and alleged self-government in economic, social or educational fields did not relieve them of the duties imposed by Chapter XI or excuse the cessation of information.

21. The second excuse conceived in order to by-pass the Charter was the idea of the association of the Non-Self-Governing Territory—absorption might be a better word—with the metropolitan country, through some constitutional process. That had already occurred on several occasions and it was probable that the same device would be employed in the future, to the detriment of the dependent peoples. Whether the national identity of the indigenous inhabitants was extirpated by obviously brutal or superficially constitutional methods, such an association bore no relation whatsoever to the establishment of the full measure of self-government envisaged by the Charter and should be resisted with the whole force of the authority of the United Nations.

22. It must be emphasized that paragraph e was only one part of Article 73. In the preamble and in paragraphs a, b, c and d of Article 73 the Administering Members had undertaken to ensure, respect and promote the political advancement and aspirations of the dependent peoples, as well as their economic, social

and educational needs. The entire phrasing of Article 73 left no doubt that by "a full measure of self-government" the Charter meant political independence. General Assembly resolution 66 (I) and the other texts cited by the Indian representative all led to the same conclusion.

23. Of the Non-Self-Governing Territories on which information was no longer transmitted, only one, Indonesia, was an independent Member of the United Nations. The others had been withdrawn from any international system of responsibility and were presumably at the sole mercy of the selfish interests of the metropolitan Powers. That development had never been envisaged by the Charter or by the many subsequent resolutions on Non-Self-Governing Territories.

24. Before any dependent territory could undertake full responsibility for its independent future, it must be freed from the dominating influence and pressure of the colonial Power. Paragraph A, 4, in the list of factors indicative of the attainment of independence, given in the Committee's report, mentioned "freedom of the territory to enter into arrangements concerning its national defence". Military bases had been established in many Non-Self-Governing Territories by the colonial Powers and as long as those bases existed, no dependent people could take its future into its own hands with full freedom of action.

25. Another factor supposedly indicative of the attainment of independence was "complete autonomy in respect of economic . . . affairs". It was well known that all the Non-Self-Governing Territories were under the full economic domination of the metropolitan countries. Full economic independence could be established only if the foreign interests were deprived of their holdings. As long as they retained economic control of the Non-Self-Governing Territories there could be no freedom of action for the dependent peoples.

26. The list of factors indicative of the attainment of other separate systems of self-government referred to the "freely expressed" opinion of the population and "informed and democratic processes" for ascertaining the "status or change in status which they desired". Even in those colonial territories where the political maturity of the indigenous population had already achieved a very high level, there was nothing but a mockery of democratic processes. In the few cases where they did exist, the so-called legislative organs were only too often composed of nominated officials, the majority of whom were settlers from the metropolitan country who had nothing in common with the indigenous population. The latter longed for freedom and independence; the former were doing their best to prolong the colonial domination.

27. Paragraph A, 3, of that same list spoke of "voluntary limitation by sovereignty". Both that paragraph and paragraph C, 1, might make it appear that of their "own free will" the people of a territory might choose colonial vassalage. Acceptance of such a notion would make it possible to apply the label "self-governing" to territories on which puppet legislatures and executive councils had been imposed. The reference in paragraph C, 1, to legislatures "lawfully constituted in a manner receiving the free consent of the population" rather than to elected legislatures could imply that the members of a legislature nominated by a colonial Power were

acting with the free consent of the population. Such a meaning should be categorically rejected, since its adoption would signify United Nations agreement to the existing undemocratic system of colonial rule through nominated legislatures.

28. Adoption of the list of factors indicative of the free association of a territory with other component parts of the metropolitan or other country as binding definitions would make it possible to sanction disguised colonial subjugation as practised by the French through the French Union, attempted by the United States through the "Commonwealth" of Puerto Rico, or applied by the United Kingdom through its colonial system. If, for example, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland were federated with Southern Rhodesia, as proposed, the entire federation would presumably become "self-governing" and the United Kingdom Government would no longer feel called upon to submit reports on Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

29. The factors submitted by the *Ad Hoc* Committee contained a significantly large number of phrases about "voluntary" limitation of sovereignty and "free" association with the metropolitan country or other colonies. Only after the colonial yoke had disappeared could the free will of the dependent peoples be fully expressed. The *Ad Hoc* Committee's report did not make that point clear.

30. The *Ad Hoc* Committee had completely failed to reappraise the essential question of the right to national self-determination, which was clearly defined in Article 1, paragraph 2, of the Charter as one of the main purposes of the United Nations. At a given historical moment, that right could be exercised by any one of the dependent peoples. They would not consult a dictionary to discover whether they satisfied all the definitions of a free nation; they would simply ask for the recognition of their right of self-determination, and their struggle for full independence rather than any mechanical classification would decide the issue.

31. His delegation was not in favour of rigid formulae to be applied to all the Non-Self-Governing Territories in all circumstances. If the General Assembly was not realistic, the cessation of information without the corresponding attainment of self-government or independence might reduce to zero the number of Non-Self-Governing Territories discussed annually by the United Nations.

32. The *Ad Hoc* Committee itself had recognized the limitations of its work in paragraph 5 (C) of its report, when it had stated that the "circumstances of each particular case" would have to be "studied separately". Harmful generalizations should be avoided and the General Assembly should analyse every case on its merits, without referring solely to factors in order to ascertain whether the territory concerned had attained a "full measure of self-government", in the terms of the Charter. The main principle was the right of national self-determination, and everything must be done to avoid weakening or distorting that right and to remove the obstacles by which the administering Powers tried to postpone the invoking of that right by the dependent peoples. The Polish delegation had some reservations with regard to the basic concept of the *Ad Hoc* Committee's report, which could be in some situations inconsistent with the right of self-determination.

33. Mr. GERIG (United States of America) said that the United States delegation would support the report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Factors. That report gave evidence of a close and careful study of its complex subject, and the matter had now been brought to a stage where the General Assembly might well adopt the report as representing the best consensus of opinion which could for the time being be achieved. It could of course be improved, and the United States delegation was prepared to consider any proposal to that end.

34. In supporting the report, the United States delegation did so on the understanding which the Committee itself had arrived at, namely, that no enumeration of factors could do more than serve as a guide in determining whether a territory was or was not self-governing. It also agreed with the Committee's view that each specific case would need to be determined by the circumstances of that case, while a single factor or combination of factors could not be regarded as decisive in every case. The Committee was to be commended for having avoided the adoption of over-simple conclusions which could not be helpful in seeking a standard by which to judge whether self-government had been attained.

35. The factors themselves fell into three categories: first, those which were indicative of the attainment of independence; secondly, those which were indicative of the attainment of some other separate system of self-government; and thirdly, those which were indicative of the free association of a territory with other component parts of the metropolitan or other country. The factors listed in each category were relevant in varying degrees, but there were additional points which might well merit inclusion. However, the United States delegation would not suggest any new factors, partly because there might be some danger of laying down so many that the peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories themselves might misunderstand the significance of the list and be somewhat discouraged by the belief that they had to qualify on too many points in order to attain the desired goal of self-government. Indeed, in examining the list of factors, the United States delegation had wondered whether some independent governments of States Members of the United Nations, could in fact qualify for self-government.

36. The United States delegation also commended the *Ad Hoc* Committee for having clearly indicated the difference between independence and self-government: while independent entities were self-governing, not all self-governing entities were independent.

37. The report also recognized clearly that the Non-Self-Governing Territories were not all moving, and might not all wish to move, in the same direction. While some were progressing towards independence, others were clearly moving towards free association with the metropolitan or other State or group of States.

38. With regard to the six-Power draft resolution (A/C.4/L.231 and Corr.1), the United States delegation was indebted to the Venezuelan and Cuban representatives for their clear explanation at the 273rd meeting of the postulates underlying it. From the terms of the draft resolution and the explanations of its sponsors, it was clear that it was based on two fundamental theories, both of which the United States Government, under its Constitution, must reject. The first was that

autonomy was indivisible and that the administering Power would therefore be required to transmit information under Article 73 e until a territory was self-governing not only in economic, social and educational but also in political matters. The second was that authority and responsibility for deciding when a territory had become self-governing and need no longer be reported on rested not with the administering Power alone, but jointly with the General Assembly and the administering Power concerned.

39. On the first point, the United States delegation believed that the people and government of a territory and the people and government of a metropolitan country could, if they wished, freely choose the nature of their mutual relationship, and that in such a freely chosen arrangement they could decide that certain matters, such as economic, social and educational matters, should henceforth be the exclusive concern of the territorial government, and certain others, political matters such as the conduct of foreign affairs and defence, should be the responsibility of the metropolitan government. Under such an arrangement, if the territorial government did not wish to submit reports on its economic and social affairs to the metropolitan government or did not wish them to be transmitted to the United Nations, it would not only be contrary to the agreement if it were compelled to do so, but would in fact be depriving the territory of much of its newly acquired self-government. It was hardly believable that that was the intention of the Cuban representative or of the other sponsors of the draft resolution, but if it was, the United States Government was unwilling to be a party to any action limiting the attainment of self-government and could not support a resolution based on such a premise.

40. On the second point, the United States delegation held that each administering Power was entitled to determine the constitutional position and status of territories under its sovereignty. The decision to cease reporting under Article 73 e on specific territories rested solely with the administering Power concerned. That was not meant to imply that the General Assembly had no part to perform. On the contrary, it could make a useful contribution by trying to determine the proper interpretation of such expressions as "Non-Self-Governing Territories" and "territories whose peoples have not yet attained a full measure of self-government". Since such expressions appeared in the Charter, their definition should be a collective rather than a unilateral matter, and the General Assembly should have authority to discuss and attempt to define those expressions and to recommend to the Administering Members in general the consideration of any definition which it might adopt. The General Assembly might further express its opinion in general terms on the principles which had guided or might guide Administering Members in deciding on which of their territories they would transmit information; but any resolution regarding the decision of an Administering Member to cease the transmission of information should not imply that that decision required the General Assembly's approval or disapproval. If the people of a territory freely chose to become a component part of another State and the Government of that State, through its constitutional processes, adopted the necessary legislation to make such union possible, that legislation could

not be made subject to further review and possible revision by the General Assembly, for the General Assembly did not enter into the legislative processes by which governments, under their constitutions, carried out the duties entrusted to them. No Member of the United Nations recognized that the Fourth Committee or the General Assembly as a whole was competent to enter into the inner legislative processes of Member States. The United Nations was not a world government. The United States had not abrogated its right to determine when a territory had advanced so far that it was qualified for statehood, nor could it yield that right to the Fourth Committee, since it was a constitutional question on which the Government could not surrender its sovereignty and right of decision.

41. For those reasons, the United States Government would be unable to vote for the six-Power draft resolution. It would be more prudent simply to adopt the report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Factors, which the United States would support.

42. Mr. C. LIU (China) said that, bearing in mind the objectives of Chapter XI, he considered that the joint draft resolution was a good one and that it correctly expressed the evolutionary interpretation that the General Assembly had placed on Chapter XI in the various resolutions to which previous speakers had referred.

43. Nevertheless, paragraph 3 of the operative part of the draft resolution was somewhat obscure. He could not conceive that the factors could be interpreted as "a hindrance to the attainment of a full measure of self-government". That could only be hindered by the actions of the indigenous population, the administering Power or other interested parties. He would like some explanation of that paragraph.

44. Paragraph 2 was virtually a repetition of the second sentence of paragraph 5 (C) of the *Ad Hoc* Committee's report and, as such, should logically be combined with the last paragraph of the preamble; those two paragraphs were two facets of a single idea and should not be separated.

45. The relation between the terms "self-governing" and "self-government" in paragraph 4 was rather confusing. The Cuban representative had pointed out that paragraph 4 was intended to stress the indivisibility of all aspects of self-government. That idea might be more clearly expressed if the words "in the political field" were added after the word "self-government".

46. He would not insist on the amendments he had suggested and would in any case vote in favour of the joint draft resolution.

47. Sir Alan BURNS (United Kingdom) said that his delegation had never felt that the question of factors had any great relevance to the principles and purposes of Chapter XI, and had therefore taken no prominent part in the debate on the subject. Nevertheless, in response to General Assembly resolution 567 (VI), it had submitted its considered views to the *Ad Hoc* Committee. It was regrettable that the United Kingdom memorandum (A/AC.58/1/Add.3), with other closely argued memoranda submitted by various Members of the United Nations, had not apparently received the thorough attention they deserved from the *Ad Hoc* Committee, whose report would have been of much greater value had those memoranda been annexed in full for the consideration of the Fourth Committee. It

was quite evident from some of the statements made in the Fourth Committee that the views expressed in the memoranda had not been fully taken into account.

48. Turning to the draft resolution, he pointed out that the obligation to transmit information referred to in the first two paragraphs of the preamble was subject to such limitations as security and constitutional considerations might require. Subject to those limitations, his delegation would agree that the obligation to transmit information remained in force with regard to each territory until the obligations of Chapter XI had been attained in relation to that territory.

49. The wording of the final paragraph of the preamble glossed over some of the complexities of interpreting the Charter. The problem in relation to Chapter XI was to decide whether a territory was or was not a territory whose peoples—that was the operative word—had not yet attained a full measure of self-government. Some confusion was evident in the *Ad Hoc* Committee's report: some of the items referred to the features which would be exhibited by a fully self-governing territory, and some to the features which would be exhibited by a fully self-governing people. It would have been prudent for the *Ad Hoc* Committee to define the words "territory" and "people". Definitions, however, had apparently been shirked by the Committee.

50. The same confusion between "a territory" and the "peoples" of that territory was apparent in paragraph 1 of the draft resolution. The General Assembly, if indeed it ever had to consider the question at all, was presumably interested in the existence of people who did not enjoy a full measure of self-government. That question affected not only the cessation of information but also the recognition of obligations on the part of other States which had not hitherto regarded themselves as having any commitments under Chapter XI.

51. The United Kingdom would have little difficulty in deciding whether any of its territories had or had not attained a full measure of self-government and his Government had no need to approve the list of factors in question. For example, if the United Kingdom decided to accord the peoples of a Non-Self-Governing Territory for which it was responsible a full measure of self-government, an order-in-council could be promulgated precisely to that effect. Such an instrument would be internationally valid in removing the territory in question from the category of territories to which Chapter XI applied. It was quite possible that the political advancement of the population would not be sufficient to enable them to decide the future destiny of the territory with due knowledge, and they might not have had an opportunity to express their opinion, by informed and democratic processes, as to the status or change in status which they desired. Nevertheless, their status would be effectively established in international law by the instrument to which he had referred. Under his country's constitutional practices, therefore, the list of factors would have little real relevance to the basic issue of the status of the territory, either in international law or in relation to Chapter XI.

52. Paragraph 2 of the draft resolution was wise and in accord with his Government's invariable practice. He welcomed paragraph 3, since it would help to dissipate the growing feeling in the Non-Self-Governing Territories that the United Nations would hesitate

to recognize the political advancement of such a territory unless sixty nations could be convinced, through the application of a series of almost incomprehensible criteria, that a level of development had been reached far surpassing that to be found in the majority of Member States.

53. He did not understand the phrase "its people shall have attained a full measure of self-government as referred to in Chapter XI of the Charter" in paragraph 4. The *Ad Hoc* Committee's report contained no definition of "a full measure of self-government". His Government would deem a country self-governing in economic, social or educational affairs when its legislature and executive took independent decisions on those matters. He had no doubt that the sponsors of the joint draft resolution would be able to suggest a definition.

54. He endorsed the last clause of paragraph 5, which clearly recognized the need to admit that there were more than eight Members of the United Nations on whom the obligation to transmit information might well devolve.

55. His delegation felt unable to vote in favour of the draft resolution or to approve the *Ad Hoc* Committee's report. Much remained to be done before the question could be considered as even provisionally elucidated. Many doubts had been expressed regarding the real value of the existing list of factors and many new elements had been brought into the discussion. The thoughtful memoranda submitted by several Governments had been examined in a most cursory way, and virtually all the essential terms remained undefined. He therefore suggested that it might be wise for the Committee to invite the Secretary-General to prepare a further comprehensive study on the subject in the light of all the elements to which he had referred and to submit it to the eighth session of the General Assembly. In the past the General Assembly had appeared to attach great importance to the study of factors, which it was now dismissing in a most light-hearted way.

56. He would not obstruct any attempt to remove a somewhat unreal problem from the agenda by means of the joint draft resolution. Before any vote was taken, however, he fully reserved his Government's position in relation to any claims which might be deemed to be put forward on behalf of the General Assembly in the draft resolution, and in the event of its adoption and a subsequent urging of any claims, his delegation would be obliged to draw attention to that express reservation.

57. Mr. DE MARCHENA (Dominican Republic) said that his delegation had always supported the idea that the General Assembly was competent to decide when a territory was or was not self-governing and, consequently, whether or not information should continue to be transmitted in respect of that territory. Chapter XI was a declaration by the administering Powers, but it was also a treaty between those Powers and the international community represented by the United Nations. In conformity with Article 10 of the Charter, the General Assembly was certainly competent to discuss Chapter XI and to interpret the obligations of the administering Powers thereunder. His delegation had therefore supported the setting up of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Factors and had co-operated in its work. It was convinced, as the Dominican representative had stated in the General Assembly at the 396th plenary

meeting, that the principle of self-determination was a sacred principle and an integral part of international law, unreservedly recognized in the United Nations Charter.

58. Although his delegation had always maintained that it was very difficult to determine absolute criteria of self-government, it had nevertheless replied to the Secretary-General's request for comments on the proposed list of factors. Only about a third of the Member States, however, had felt able to submit such comments; several States had reserved their opinion until they had seen the *Ad Hoc* Committee's report and several States still reserved their opinion. It was obvious that many Member States still retained considerable doubts regarding the proposed list of factors and it therefore seemed highly questionable whether the General Assembly should adopt that list as a conclusive study at the present juncture.

59. He agreed with those representatives who had referred to the political aspects of the question. Nevertheless, it had always been presented to the Committee as a legal problem, and it must be solved by legal formulae derived from international public law. The constitutional provisions governing the relations between a metropolitan country and the Non-Self-Governing Territories for which it was responsible obviously involved far-reaching legal problems. That was why, at the sixth session (216th meeting), his delegation had suggested that the study of factors should be entrusted to the International Law Commission. It still held that view. The *Ad Hoc* Committee's report should be submitted to a technical body for further analysis and in order to bring its terminology more into line with the legal requirements of the problem. Such a step was particularly necessary in the case at issue, since the list of factors would be a document of decisive importance when any revision of the Charter was undertaken. He would therefore support any suggestion for further study, particularly by the International Law Commission, and reserved his right to submit a draft resolution to that effect.

60. The *Ad Hoc* Committee's report was guilty of one major omission: it contained no definition of self-government. His delegation had stated at the 216th meeting of the Fourth Committee that prior to any determination of factors, the principle of self-government from the standpoint of international law must be defined as it derived from the application of constitutional law to international public law. The ambiguity of Chapter XI, especially Article 73 b, in that respect had been repeatedly emphasized by such commentators on the Charter as Hans Kelsen and Lauterpacht. In the French and Roman legal codes, the definition of any crime, for example, always specified the elements of the crime itself. In the same way, any definition of self-government must specify the elements of self-government, that was to say, the factors. There seemed to be a tendency in the Fourth Committee to claim that the General Assembly should first establish the factors and then, at a later stage, define self-government. There seemed to be no reason why those processes should not be undertaken simultaneously; indeed that might be preferable. His delegation had previously suggested that self-government might be defined as the fact of a people or group making its institutions completely independent of the metropolitan country to which it had been legally

and politically linked. It was a prerequisite of any definition of self-government that it should embody the principle of self-determination.

61. Both the *Ad Hoc* Committee's report and paragraph 2 of the draft resolution recognized that no enumeration of factors could do more than serve as a guide. Since, therefore, many other formulae might solve the ambiguities of Chapter XI, his delegation would adopt an intermediate position with regard to the draft resolution.

62. The preamble to the draft resolution was acceptable, since it merely listed the consequences of earlier General Assembly resolutions. The opening statement in paragraph 1 was correctly formulated, but, as he had stated, it would be premature to approve the list of factors as a final study. It should be given further consideration by a re-established *Ad Hoc* Committee or by the International Law Commission. The very vague phrasing in paragraph 2 detracted from the merits of the draft resolution as a whole. Paragraph 4 was apparently a formal declaration by the General Assembly enunciating a formal principle with regard to self-government, namely, that there could be no economic, social and educational self-government without political self-government. That was acceptable as a principle, but in practice it would, if approved, render the entire list of individual factors unnecessary. If the General Assembly wished to make such a declaration, it might do so in a separate resolution. He was not at all sure, however, that such a declaration would not violate Chapter XI of the Charter. As stated in paragraph 4, the idea introduced a fundamental, new element with the gravest legal and political implications. In his opinion, it would be premature at the present juncture for the General Assembly to adopt what was, in essence, a revision of Chapter XI, and he would therefore be unable to vote for paragraph 4.

63. To sum up, his delegation was not against the draft resolution, but felt that it was premature. It would therefore abstain in the vote on the resolution as a whole, but might request a separate vote on certain paragraphs and would vote against those paragraphs.

64. Mr. RYCKMANS (Belgium) wished to remind the Committee of some points that had apparently been overlooked by other speakers. The question before the Committee was not the determination of the conditions under which the cessation of the transmission of information could be allowed; it was merely the determination of the territories in regard to which information should be supplied. Texts to be submitted to the General Assembly must be precise. The question was, therefore, which were the territories whose populations had not yet attained a full measure of self-government.

65. Secondly, every State had sovereign discretion to decide what territories under its administration came within the scope of Chapter XI. It decided in regard to which territories information should be supplied and in regard to which territories circumstances were such that information need no longer be transmitted.

66. The Belgian delegation had grave doubts as to the value of the list of factors drafted by the *Ad Hoc* Committee. That list seemed to have been drawn up in a somewhat random fashion: certain suggestions had been put before the Committee, others had been added,

some had been dropped, other retained. He was sure that no member of the Committee could feel that the problem had been thoroughly sifted. The Committee had not performed what should have been its primary task, namely, giving a definition of what self-government in fact was.

67. His delegation was not, however, taking a stand with reference to the list of factors. All of them were worthy of consideration, though neither any one of them singly nor all of them together could offer an automatic criterion for determining whether a territory did or did not come within the scope of Article 73 e.

68. Nevertheless, the list of factors did confirm the Belgian delegation's opinion that there were many peoples to which the criteria applied and on which information was not transmitted. There were two alternatives: either the criteria were valid, in which case information must be transmitted with regard to all the territories to which they applied; or else they applied to certain territories in regard to which the administering Power concerned or, as some held, the General Assembly, considered that there was no need to transmit information, in which case they were not valid.

69. He would give some examples of territories to which, in the opinion of his delegation, the factors undoubtedly applied. The factors indicative of the attainment of self-government included the opinion of the population of the territory, freely expressed by informed and democratic processes, as to the status or change in status which they desired; the extent to which the relations of the territory with the capital of the central government might be affected by circumstances arising out of their respective geographical positions, such as separation by land, sea or other natural obstacles; and the extent to which the population were of different race, language or religion or had a distinct cultural heritage, interests or aspirations, distinguishing them from the peoples of the country with which they freely associated themselves.

70. In that connexion he referred to the report of the first session of the Committee of Experts on Indigenous Labour of the International Labour Organisation, held at La Paz in 1951, which described the conditions under which the Indian population lived in Brazil. According to that report there were three categories of Indians: the first living in the same communities as civilized people, the second consisting of tribes which maintained peaceful relations with the civilized people but inhabited remote territories near the sources of the rivers, and the third composed of completely savage tribes which lived in isolation in inaccessible territories and offered armed resistance to any attempt by civilized people to make contact with them.

71. In Venezuela, a report published by the Government for the year 1949-1950 stated that attempts were being made to incorporate the Indians of the upper reaches of the Orinoco into civilized life by teaching them religion, Spanish, agriculture and trade and instructing them in hygiene and public health. In a report for 1950-1951 it was stated that the Government, desirous of improving the conditions of the Native populations in distant and inaccessible parts of the country, had entrusted Catholic missions with the task of winning the Indians over to civilization, and that notwithstanding the difficulties the missionaries were making progress.

72. According to a Venezuelan law of 1882, the special system under which the Native communities were administered by the Federal Government would continue until it should be appropriate to raise them to a different status. The legislation which applied to those communities was therefore different from that which applied to the majority of the inhabitants of Venezuela. A law of 1915 had established a number of missions for the purpose of introducing the uncivilized groups which still survived in various areas of the republic to urban life and of settling the more uninhabited parts of Venezuela. The missions were granted authority to maintain order among the Indians and to call on the Federal Government to intervene when important measures were required. Indians who were willing to renounce their nomadic existence would be taught in educational centres how and where to settle permanently. The decision where they should settle would be taken by the head of the mission.

73. He assured the Committee that in speaking of countries within whose boundaries non-assimilated inhabitants dwelt he intended no criticism. Belgium was not ashamed of having semi-civilized peoples under its sovereignty and could sympathize with other countries that faced the same problems. The administering countries were not responsible for the problems, but only for the way in which they endeavoured to solve those problems.

74. In December 1951 a report from the Commissioner of Scheduled Castes and Tribes of the Government of India dealt with the demand for independence of the Naga tribe—a situation of which the Members of the United Nations were aware, since they had received a petition on the subject from that tribe dated November 1949. The Naga people claimed that they had never lost their independence and that they were determined to maintain it. The Naga had recently carried out a raid, and Mr. Nehru, the Prime Minister, had said in Parliament that the territories in question were not administered by the Indian Government or any other government; they were completely unadministered and left to their own resources except when trouble occurred.

75. Mr. Ryckmans could see no good reason why information could not be submitted on all the peoples to which he had referred. The factors in the Committee's list applied to them quite as much as to the peoples in the Non-Self-Governing Territories concerning which information was transmitted in accordance with Article 73 e.

76. He had already mentioned at the 259th meeting the example of Liberia. He did not wish to imply that the Liberian officials were less competent or less devoted to the interests of the population than the French officials of the Ivory Coast, but there appeared to be no good reason why Liberia should not supply information on the peoples inhabiting the adjacent frontier area.

77. Another instance was the Somali nation, which was divided into several parts. Information was supplied annually to the United Nations concerning Somaliland under British administration, Somaliland under French administration and Somaliland under Italian administration. The Somali whose territory had been conquered by the Ethiopians, however, were presumably not self-governing, and therefore information should be

submitted concerning them. It was difficult to see why Ethiopia should be less bound by that obligation than the United Kingdom, France or Italy.

78. According to a book, *Government and Nationalism in Southeast Asia*, published in New York in 1942 by the Institute of Pacific relations, in various parts of the Philippines there were backward tribes living in the mountains and the bush. So far they had been left alone by the Spanish-speaking settlers owing to their fighting prowess and the fact that their territory had no resources which would repay the cost of military operations. The book stated that the tribesmen disliked the Philippine officials and that the latter regarded them as barbarians. While on the subject of the Philippines, he pointed out that the Moros did not have officials elected in the same circumstances as prevailed in other parts of the country. The factors suggested by the *Ad Hoc* Committee applied to their territory and to that of the other tribes in the Philippines.

79. Another case in point was that of the Dyaks in Borneo, on whom the Netherlands Government had supplied information in 1947, 1948 and 1949. According to that information some of the tribes in that part of Borneo were completely isolated and very backward and primitive, and some of them still engaged in head-hunting. It could not be claimed that those peoples enjoyed full self-government under the terms of the Charter.

80. No doubt it would be objected that the Charter did not speak of populations but of ~~territories~~ ^{territories}; he had shown, however, that many such populations inhabited territories which were distinct and clearly defined and yet did not enjoy self-government. There were other territories which were separated by sea from the country which administered them. The peoples of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, for instance, did not enjoy full self-government, and Easter Island was under Chilean sovereignty, yet India and Chile did not submit information concerning them.

81. It had been contended that the Belgian thesis was contrary to the sovereignty of States and would universalize colonialism. The word "colony" did not however appear in Chapter XI nor in Article 23 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, under which the Members of the League had undertaken to secure just treatment of the native inhabitants of territories under their control. No distinction had been made in that connexion between so-called metropolitan countries and colonial territories.

82. The principle of domestic jurisdiction had also been invoked. He could not see what that had to do with territories which were not within the boundaries of the metropolitan country.

83. Most of the States that objected to the Belgian delegation's thesis had been Members of the League of Nations, and they did not explain why the obligation imposed by Article 23 of the Covenant, which had been admissible twenty-five years previously, was inadmissible today. The argument that Article 73 applied to territories and not to peoples was a mere legal quibble. The territories were important because they were inhabited by human beings. Belgian public opinion would be unable to believe in the sincerity of those who engaged in such sophistries and at the same time expressed pious sentiments about the welfare of the non-self-

governing peoples and appealed to the spirit of the Charter, the spirit of international co-operation, and so forth. Belgium would never admit that Chapter XI applied only to the populations of territories in regard to which information had been freely supplied by only eight States. Those eight States had in reality shown a greater spirit of international co-operation than all the rest of the Member States. At least half the Member States of the United Nations contained populations in regard to which information ought to be supplied under Chapter XI, and the refusal to do so resulted in discrimination against the eight Powers in question, the so-called colonial Powers, which in the long run would seriously affect the functioning of the Organization.

84. Mr. CALERO RODRIGUES (Brazil) said that the subject of the Belgian representative's remarks was irrelevant to the question before the Committee. It was true that three were Indians in Brazil. The Brazilian Government co-operated with international institutions, both inter-American organizations and such organizations as the ILO and UNESCO, in matters concerning their interests, but it held that problems concerning them were not the concern of the Fourth Committee. If the question was raised again, he would be compelled to raise a point of order. The Brazilian delegation had no objection to discussing the ethnic, social and cultural problems of the indigenous peoples, but it considered that they were out of place in the Fourth Committee.

85. Mr. RIVAS (Venezuela) said that the history of the question was well known to the Belgian delegation. The population of the territories or provinces of Venezuela inhabited by backward peoples was not large enough to justify the election of a senator. That however was a very different matter from a territory, within the meaning of the Charter. Non-Self-Governing Territories like the Belgian Congo had never been a legitimate part of the territory of the metropolitan country; they were provisionally under the authority of the metropolitan Powers until they became self-governing. The areas of Venezuela that had been referred to had been part of Venezuelan territory since the country had achieved self-government.

86. The CHAIRMAN said that it had been clear from the outset of his statement that the Belgian representative had gone deeply into certain questions affecting a number of sovereign States, most of which were represented in the Fourth Committee. Representatives of those States would wish to comment on those matters, and would undoubtedly do so with their usual knowledge and ability. He might have interrupted the Belgian representative in order to ask him to be more brief, and not to reopen an argument which he had already advanced in connexion with the first item of the agenda, since that would in no way help the Committee in its consideration of the item now before it. He had refrained from doing so because he felt that the Belgian representative should be given every opportunity, as would other representatives, to express his views, because he had wished to extend him every courtesy, and because he had not wished to appear to show prejudice in favour of the countries to which the Belgian representative had referred in his statement. In any event, however, representatives had the right to raise points of order and could do so at any time.

The meeting rose at 6.30 p.m.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

SEVENTH SESSION

Official Records



FOURTH COMMITTEE, 275th

MEETING

Saturday, 15 November 1952, at 10.30 a.m.

Headquarters, New York

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Factors which should be taken into account in deciding whether a territory is or is not a territory whose people have not yet attained a full measure of self-government: report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Factors (Non-Self-Governing Territories) (A/2178, A/C.4/L.231, A/C.4/L.233, A/C.4/L.234) (*continued*)

[Item 36]*

1. Mr. YURANS (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) recalled that Chapter XI of the Charter imposed certain obligations upon Powers administering Non-Self-Governing Territories. General Assembly resolution 66 (I) gave a list of such territories. Under the Charter, the colonial Powers were required to transmit information to enable the United Nations to determine whether they were fulfilling the obligations they had undertaken.

2. Some of the administering Powers had arbitrarily decided to cease transmitting information on a number of Non-Self-Governing Territories, such as Guadeloupe, New Caledonia, the Panama Canal Zone, Malta and the Netherlands Antilles, because they were afraid to reveal the situation in those territories to world public opinion. That was how the question of factors had arisen.

3. The list of factors in the report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Factors (A/2178) marked a step forward, but could not be considered final or complete. When the General Assembly adopted a list of criteria, the way in which it would collect the necessary data to ensure that the people of a given territory had attained a full measure of self-government would still have to be determined.

4. The Soviet Union did not think that any administering Power could cease to provide information concerning any Non-Self-Governing Territory until the

Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories had studied all the information concerning the status of that territory and had advised the General Assembly that the territory no longer fell within the scope of Article 73 e of the Charter. The colonial Powers could cease transmitting information only when the Non-Self-Governing Territories had become independent, sovereign States whose people exercised all powers: legislative, executive and judicial.

5. The Soviet Union would vote for the joint draft resolution before the Committee (A/C.4/L.231) but would submit an amendment (A/C.4/L.233) to the effect that the following text should be added to the third paragraph of the preamble:

"... and that, not later than six months after the submission of the aforesaid information, such information as may be required in such cases should be communicated, including information about the constitution, legislative acts or executive orders regarding the government of the territory as well as about the constitutional relationship of the territory to the Government of the metropolitan country".

6. Mr. RIFAI (Syria) felt that the question studied by the *Ad Hoc* Committee was a delicate and complicated one, and the Committee's report could be considered only as a useful guide. As the United States representative had said at the 274th meeting, in seeking to draw up a list that was too comprehensive there would be the danger of coming to the conclusion that no people qualified for self-government. The Syrian delegation did not think that any new study was needed; it would vote for the joint draft resolution.

7. The statements that the representatives of some of the administering Powers had made during the discussion were disconcerting. According to them, the administering Powers alone were qualified to decide whether a particular territory was or was not self-governing, and the Charter imposed no restriction on their sovereignty

* Indicates the item number on the agenda of the General Assembly.

in that respect. The Syrian Government took the view that it was not for the administering Powers alone to decide whether a given territory had reached the stage of self-government, not because it wished to hamper the development of such territories towards independence, but in order to ensure that such independence was real. To his mind the words "independence" and "self-government" were synonymous. Any attempt to draw a fine distinction between independence and self-government would be contrary to the aims of the Charter. The only purpose of such an unwarranted distinction was to enable the colonial Powers to claim that a territory could be considered as self-governing as soon as it enjoyed a certain degree of autonomy in social, economic and educational matters. Such a concept, in combination with the theory of the exclusive competence of the administering Powers, would destroy all hope for the emancipation of the colonial peoples and would completely nullify Chapter XI of the Charter. If that interpretation were adopted, it would soon be seen that all Non-Self-Governing Territories no longer fell within the purview of the United Nations. For example, Morocco could suddenly reach so-called self-government merely by forming a part of the French Union.

8. The obligations under Chapter XI of the Charter were binding on all Members of the United Nations. Administering Powers could not take unilateral decisions concerning the future of Non-Self-Governing Territories. As the representative of India had said, the status of Non-Self-Governing Territories could be altered in two ways only: they could be given a full measure of self-government as in the case of Indonesia, or they could be transferred to the United Nations Trusteeship System. The United Nations, in deciding on any change in the status of a Non-Self-Governing Territory, would have to take into consideration the freely expressed will of its population.

9. Syria felt that unless the serious gap between the opposing views of the Members of the United Nations on that question was narrowed, the International Court of Justice would have to be asked for an advisory opinion.

10. Mr. ABOU KHADRA (Saudi Arabia) thought that the complex nature of the problem was apparent from the report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee. It was heartening to note that its members had been able to agree on the two principles set out in paragraph 5 (c) of the report.

11. The Saudi Arabian delegation believed that the General Assembly was competent to decide whether a country had become self-governing and the administering Power could cease to transmit information concerning it. If there were any doubts on that point, it might be advisable to request an advisory opinion from the International Court of Justice or to refer the question to the Sixth Committee.

12. It would be dangerous to give the political system of a territory too much weight in determining its progress towards self-government. Political conditions and traditions varied greatly in different territories, and the factors set out in the Committee's report could not be rigidly applied in the various areas falling within the scope of Chapter XI of the Charter.

13. Saudi Arabia thought that the list of factors in the report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee was concise and adequate. As to the factors concerning independence, particular attention should be given to the degree to which an indigenous population was conscious of its political, economic and social unity. That factor was also very important with regard to the association of a territory with the metropolitan or some other country, because it provided the basis for judging whether the people had been completely free in deciding in favour of such association.

14. With reference to the remarks made by the United States representative at the previous meeting, he would say that while a territory might indeed wish freely to associate itself with the metropolitan country or another State, such cases would always be very exceptional. It would be very dangerous to make that a principle applicable to all territories. Non-Self-Governing Territories should, as a general rule, either become independent and be admitted to the United Nations or be placed under the International Trusteeship System.

15. It was unfortunate that several colonial Powers had, in the case of some territories, ceased transmitting information under Article 73 e of the Charter.

16. The joint draft resolution requested the General Assembly to approve the report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee. The Saudi Arabian delegation regarded the report as satisfactory even though parts of it had given rise to varying interpretations. It would therefore vote for the draft resolution.

17. Mr. LANNUNG (Denmark) considered that the list of factors contained in the annex to General Assembly resolution 567 (VI) was an acceptable basis for discussion. The *Ad Hoc* Committee's report did not call for any special remarks by the Danish Government.

18. He had noted with satisfaction that the *Ad Hoc* Committee had preserved the fundamental distinction between factors indicative of the attainment of independence or of other separate systems of self-government and factors indicative of the free association of a territory with other component parts of the metropolitan or other country. In the latter case, it might perhaps be well to classify the factors further so that they would apply, on the one hand, to a territory attached to a State of the federal type and, on the other, to a territory attached to a State of the unitary type. It was, however, of secondary importance whether that subdivision was made or not. The principal matter was that general agreement existed that the population of a territory which by its own free will, freely expressed by informed and democratic processes, associated itself with the metropolitan or another country, certainly would obtain a full measure of self-government. A territory attached to a State of the unitary type should enjoy the same status as the other component parts of that State; the degree of local self-government would not in that case be an all-important factor, because it would depend upon how far the government of that State had been centralized. It should be remembered that where the population of a territory was very small and hardly large enough to enable it to become an independent State, attachment to another State was the only practical way in which the people of that territory could be completely self-governing in accordance with their freely expressed wishes.

19. He would mention the wishes and attitude of the population of Greenland as that had an important bearing on the attitude of his delegation to the factors. The Government of Denmark recalled in that regard that during the past summer, the National Council of Greenland had considered the question of that territory's future status. Mr. Augot Lynge, a member of that Council, had said that Greenland wished to be associated with an integrated Denmark. On Mr. Lynge's motion, the National Council, which consisted of representatives elected by the people of Greenland under a system of universal and equal suffrage, had unanimously adopted a resolution providing that the new Constitution of Denmark should make Greenland an *amt*, that is, a county or province of Denmark and that Greenland should send representatives to the Danish Parliament. The Danish Government and Parliament intended, with the agreement of all political parties, to amend the Danish Constitution so as to comply with the aspirations of the people of Greenland. That might take some time as the rules laid down for an amendment involved a complex procedure.

20. The fundamental factor should be the freely expressed will of the people. If the people of a territory and the administering Power both thought that that people had attained a full measure of self-government as provided in Chapter XI of the Charter, the United Nations obviously should not place any obstacle in their way.

21. The Danish delegation believed, moreover, that the factors set out in the *Ad Hoc* Committee's report should be used to determine not only whether a Power might cease to transmit information under Article 73 e of the Charter, but also whether some Powers should begin to send such information on certain territories under their administration.

22. Denmark had already stated, when General Assembly resolution 218 (III) had been adopted, that a State responsible for a territory was entitled to determine the constitutional status of the territories placed under its sovereignty. Denmark would inform the United Nations of any change in the status of Greenland, but in doing so did not regard any action taken in the matter by its constitutional organs as subject to revision by the United Nations. Denmark's attitude towards the joint draft resolution would be determined by those considerations.

23. Mr. PONCE YEPEZ (Ecuador) said that the obligation of the administering Powers to transmit information on conditions in the Non-Self-Governing Territories arose from a multilateral agreement concluded by those Powers with the other signatories of the Charter. Therefore, the administering Powers could not cease to transmit such information unless conditions in the territories had undergone drastic change. That was why it was important to determine what factors must be taken into account in deciding whether the peoples of a territory had attained a full measure of self-government. The report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee was a valuable study on that especially complex problem. No factor could be considered decisive and the specific conditions in each territory had to be borne in mind.

24. A general criterion which would take account of the principle that self-government was indivisible would

be invaluable. In that connexion he recalled that at the sixth session, 242nd meeting, of the Committee, the representative of an administering Power had stated that economic autonomy was impossible without political autonomy and that autonomy was one and indivisible. The joint draft resolution, and particularly paragraph 4 of its operative part, marked definite progress in that respect.

25. With reference to the interpretation given by one of the administering Powers to the scope of Chapter XI of the Charter, he stated that Article 73 e referred exclusively to Non-Self-Governing Territories and in no case to peoples constituting an essential element of the population of independent and fully sovereign States. Any contrary interpretation would be a flagrant violation of Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter and a threat to the very integrity of modern States.

26. Mr. COOPER (Liberia) recalled the statement of the Belgian representative at the 259th meeting to the effect that Liberia had been a colony. He would like to ask the Belgian representative whether his own country had never been subjected to the oppression of a foreign Power. As a result of violations committed by certain colonial Powers, Liberia had had to proclaim its independence scarcely twenty years after it had been set up as a colony, on the friendly advice of the United States. Liberia had been founded by Negroes forced from their homes by certain colonial Powers and later returned to their fatherland through the generosity of powerful friends. The Constitution of Liberia expressly stated that only Negroes or people of Negro descent could become citizens of Liberia and own real estate in that country. Some representatives might feel that that was a discriminatory measure, but it was partly on account of that provision that Liberia had preserved its independence. If, as the Belgian representative had said, the inhabitants of Liberia spoke an alien tongue, the fault lay with the colonial Powers which had uprooted them from their country.

27. Again at the 274th meeting, the Belgian representative had argued that Liberia should transmit information on certain indigenous tribes. He had emphasized that the Charter did not mention the word "colony", but it was clear that the term "Non-Self-Governing Territory" which appeared in the Charter was synonymous with colony, as shown by the reports of the colonial Powers themselves to the General Assembly. It was absurd to claim that the words "Non-Self-Governing Territory" might also extend to sovereign States. To avoid any such interpretation the authors of the Charter had explicitly prohibited the United Nations from intervening in matters essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of a State. If the principle stated by the Belgian representative were applied to States such as the United Kingdom, the United States, the Soviet Union or Belgium itself, the absurdity of his argument would immediately become manifest.

28. The *Ad Hoc* Committee had been set up because certain administering Powers had ceased to transmit information on several territories under their administration on the grounds that the latter had attained a certain measure of self-government. Even if a list of factors could be drawn up as a basis for determining whether the people of a territory had attained a full measure of self-government, the basic question would

be: Who was authorized to apply those standards to a given territory? Some representatives felt that it was the right of the General Assembly; on the other hand, the administering Powers said they had exclusive authority in that respect; finally, the indigenous peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories could also claim that they were directly affected and that Chapter XI had been drafted specifically for them. So long as that question had not been settled, any resolution which might be adopted could be applied only with the consent of the administering Powers and the purpose of establishing an *Ad Hoc* Committee would be defeated. The authors of the joint draft resolution were perfectly aware of that contingency. Liberia felt that no concrete result could be achieved by adopting the draft resolution. The administering Powers would in any case remain free to apply whatever yardsticks they chose to each territory.

29. It had often been asked what precisely was self-government. In that connexion, the representative of Liberia recalled paragraphs b and e out of Article 73 of the Charter and showed that they led to the conclusion that the question of whether the people of a territory had attained a full measure of self-government depended on political, social, economic and cultural factors, or on a combination of all those factors. From paragraph 4 of the operative part of the joint draft resolution, it would appear that a territory could not be considered as self-governing until it had attained a certain measure of political, economic and social development. Although it was certainly not the intention of the authors, adoption of the draft resolution might result in retarding the advancement of the Non-Self-Governing Territories towards self-government and independence. Liberia therefore considered it more advisable to adopt a resolution which would simply approve the report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee pending a decision by the General Assembly specifying what organs were competent to decide whether a territory was or was not ready for self-government.

30. If the authors of the joint draft resolution should press for a vote on their text as it stood, the Liberian delegation would vote for it, but it considered that there was little chance for it to speed the progress of indigenous peoples towards self-government and independence.

31. Mr. NAJAR (Israel) observed that the joint draft resolution did not give many details with respect to the factors dealt with in the report; on the other hand, it dealt directly with various problems on which the *Ad Hoc* Committee had made no specific decision. The debate had shown that the draft resolution raised the following problems: Who had the right to determine whether a territory was or was not a territory whose people had not yet attained a full measure of self-government? Who had the right to decide that a territory had ceased to be a Non-Self-Governing Territory and had attained a full measure of self-government? What was the precise definition of the term "self-government" used in Chapter XI of the Charter? Did such self-government differ from "independence" as referred to in Chapter XII of the Charter and, if so, how? Could the transmission of information provided for in Article 73 e cease before a territory had become a country whose people had attained a full measure of self-government? Who could decide that information might

cease to be transmitted? Finally, who could determine the validity of a political agreement between an administering Power and a territory which it used to administer but which, it contended, had become self-governing?

32. All of those questions involved the scope of the powers of the General Assembly and came within the framework of the transmission of information and its free discussion by the Fourth Committee. On each of them, the views of the eight administering Powers differed entirely from the views expressed in the joint draft resolution. The administering Powers based their understanding of their obligations on Articles 73 and 76 of the Charter and on Article 2, paragraph 7. Basic constitutional problems therefore arose both from the point of view of international as well as national law.

33. The real solution of the difficulties before the Committee did not lie in the adoption of a resolution laying down principles of major importance by a majority which would not include a single administering Power. The confusion of mind which had arisen was shown by the fact that two delegations which had supported the draft resolution had at the same time referred to the possible necessity of requesting an advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice. The Committee was confronted, on the one hand, by an accumulation of legal arguments and on the other, by a more and more profound analysis of the concepts of self-government and independence, and no one knew whether that analysis would serve or harm the very right of peoples to self-determination which it was desired to encourage.

34. By adopting the course suggested in paragraph 2 of the operative part of the joint draft resolution and considering each territory in the light of its particular circumstances, the Committee would avert a legal dispute which it could not settle and much more substantial progress would be made. The Israel delegation suggested that the solution of the problem should be sought in conciliation or in renewed consultations, because it did not believe that adoption of a resolution which would not be given effect could serve the cause of the United Nations and of the Non-Self-Governing Territories.

35. The report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee certainly showed that an effort had been made, but the question was whether that effort had been necessary. The title given to the list of factors showed that the Committee considered the ultimate objective of Chapter XI of the Charter to be complete political independence, which could assume various forms of separate autonomy or association freely entered into by the peoples of the territories concerned. Such a clear view did not call for a lengthy and laborious enumeration of factors and would not, moreover, solve the Committee's difficulties. The real problem, which remained intact, was to reach a constructive *modus vivendi* with the administering Powers respecting the scope of the relevant provisions of the Charter.

36. Mr. TAJIBNAPIS (Indonesia) recalled that at the previous meeting the Belgian representative had asked why some States which did not administer territories had not sent information to the Secretary-General regarding the backward groups of their population. The reply to the question was very simple. Article 73 did not apply to metropolitan territories. That interpretation

was founded not only on the preparatory work done at San Francisco, but also on Article 74 of the Charter.

37. He quoted from the verbatim minutes of the eleventh meeting of Committee II/4 at the San Francisco Conference,¹ to show that there had been no intention of extending to metropolitan territories the provisions regarding Non-Self-Governing Territories. While acknowledging that the question could not be settled by a chairman's ruling, the Chairman of Committee II/4 had been of the opinion that the provisions in question clearly did not apply to metropolitan territories. So had the Greek and the United Kingdom representatives. He did not doubt that the present Government of the United Kingdom interpreted the provision of Article 73 of the Charter in the same way.

38. He wondered why the Belgian representative had not also asked the United States and Canada the same questions he had put to Indonesia. Why had he addressed those questions only to States of Asia, Latin America or the Middle East? Mr. Tajibnapis requested the Chairman to state that the Belgian representative had not been speaking to the point when he alluded, during the previous meeting, to the situation in certain sovereign States.

39. The CHAIRMAN referred the Indonesian representative to the statement he had made on the matter at the close of the preceding meeting.

40. Mr. Shiva RAO (India) explained that he had not risen to a point of order at the previous meeting when the Belgian representative had spoken of matters which were entirely within the domestic jurisdiction of Members of the United Nations, as he had not wished to give the impression that India had anything to hide. He wished, however, to emphasize that the Belgian representative had clearly not been speaking to the point.

41. Without wishing to do the same himself, he felt bound to reply to the remarks of the Belgian representative concerning the Naga tribe, in north-eastern India, and the Andaman and Nicobar Islands. As the Indian delegation had already stated in the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories, the Indian Government was making considerable efforts to promote the advancement of all those backward tribes and castes, particularly the Nagas. He quoted from a speech made by the Prime Minister of India at Shillong, the capital of Assam, on 19 October 1952, from which it could be seen that the tribes were progressing, while keeping to their own culture and traditions, and that the population enjoyed a considerable degree of self-government. India had been paying particular attention to the advancement of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, the economic potential of which was considerable, but which had been used only as penal settlements up to the time when India had gained its independence. The islands constituted a state of the Union of India.

42. The Belgian representative had consistently maintained that the administration of Non-Self-Governing Territories was a matter coming exclusively within the domestic jurisdiction of the administering Powers. That view was not shared by all, however, and he recalled the

Swedish Foreign Minister's statement before the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee on 12 November 1952,² which showed that the question of the relations between Member States and Non-Self-Governing Territories was of an international nature and no longer fell exclusively within the domestic jurisdiction of the administering Powers.

43. He had listened with much interest to the observations of the Israel representative. He agreed that in the present circumstances it was idle to seek a purely theoretical interpretation of certain provisions, and it would be preferable to aim at an agreement with the administering Powers under which, while continuing to exercise their authority over the Non-Self-Governing Territories, they would allow non-administering States to exert an influence on the administration of those territories. The Indian delegation had ceaselessly advocated the conclusion of special agreements, and he quoted the example of the agreement which had led to the retention of the Indian Republic within the British Commonwealth. There must be no shrinking from new formulas.

44. Mr. INGLES (Philippines) recalled that his delegation had already had occasion to present its views during the 1951 session of the Special Committee on Information transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter and during the sixth session of the General Assembly. Furthermore, the Philippine Government had drawn up the written observations contained in documents A/AC.58/1 and A/AC.58/1/Add.4. In the latter document, the Philippine Government, taking as a basis the preparatory work done at San Francisco, refuted the Belgian Government's argument that Chapter XI of the Charter applied to less-developed minority groups living within the metropolitan territory of a Member State. The Philippine delegation had referred to the minutes of the eleventh meeting of Committee II/4 of the San Francisco Conference to prove that Chapter XI applied only to Non-Self-Governing Territories. He wished, however, to reply to the Belgian representative's remark that the allegedly savage tribes of the Island of Luzon were more backward than the inhabitants of the Congo. In actual fact, those tribes had possessed a civilization of their own long before the creation of the Belgian State. Their method of rice cultivation in terraces built on mountainsides, rising sheer from valley to summit were still marvels of engineering skill.

45. Whether pagans, Christians or Mohammedans, the Filipinos constituted a single race, and they had had an opportunity to demonstrate their solidarity during the past world war. Under the Constitution of 1935, all Philippine citizens, without any distinction, enjoyed the same rights. In particular, no distinction was made between Christians and non-Christians. A Moro from the Island of Mindanao had in fact been elected to the Senate, the members of which were chosen by universal suffrage by the entire country. The non-Christians elected their own representatives to the Lower House of Congress, and their own provincial and municipal officials, the same as in other parts of the country. If the inhabitants of the Congo enjoyed the same basic rights as the Philippine non-Christians, they would

¹ See *United Nations Conference on International Organization*, Committee II/4, May 31, 1945, Vol. 69.

² See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Seventh Session, Ad Hoc Political Committee*, 13th meeting.

indeed be close to the full measure of self-government mentioned in Chapter XI of the Charter.

46. If the Philippines were obliged by an international convention to supply information concerning its internal situation, it would discharge its obligations willingly and, in particular, would not hesitate to provide information on its political progress, as it was proud of what it had achieved in that field.

47. Turning to the substance of the question, he wished to reply to certain remarks made by the Australian and United Kingdom representatives, who had considered that it was important to define first the terms "territories", "peoples" and "self-government". During the general debate, the Philippine Government had shown that Chapter XI applied only to dependent peoples living in dependent territories.

48. The Australian representative had emphasized at the 272nd meeting that the word "independence" did not appear in Chapter XI of the Charter. He quoted from a statement made by the Australian representative at the San Francisco Conference, according to which the provisions concerning Non-Self-Governing Territories did not exclude the possibility that those territories might finally achieve independence which was in fact the highest and best form of self-government. He also quoted a statement made at that time by the United Kingdom representative, who had been of the opinion that the expression "self-government" did not exclude independence.

49. The United States representative had stated, at the eleventh meeting of Committee II/4 of the San Francisco Conference, that four important parts of the Charter had a bearing on Non-Self-Governing Territories, namely the Preamble, which set forth the fundamental principles of the United Nations; Chapter I, which enumerated the general purposes and principles of the United Nations; Chapter XI, which contained a declaration of general policy regarding Non-Self-Governing Territories; and, lastly, Chapter XII, which dealt with the International Trusteeship System. The United States representative had added that it was in the light of those principles that the peoples should progress towards full self-government, which would at last put them upon a footing of sovereign equality with the other nations. It was evident, therefore, that for the administering Powers themselves, the expression "self-government" included the idea of independence. Consequently, the administering Powers could not now claim that the word "independence" had no place among the factors to be taken into account because it had not been explicitly mentioned in Chapter XI.

50. Mr. Inglés also pointed out that Article 73 of the Charter mentioned peoples that had not yet attained a full measure of self-government. It could be immediately deduced from Article 73 that only the independence of the Non-Self-Governing Territories could relieve the administering Powers of their obligations under Chapter XI. Indeed, the New Zealand representative had stated, at the third meeting of Commission II at the San Francisco Conference, on 20 June 1945,³ that for the Dominions of the British Commonwealth

the words "self-government" and "independence" were synonymous.

51. In order to settle the question who was competent to decide whether Chapter XI no longer applied to a particular territory, it should first be ascertained exactly what obligations were imposed by Chapter XI. Those obligations emerged clearly from Article 73. At the 274th meeting the French representative had stated that only paragraph e of that Article imposed obligations upon the administering Powers. In that connexion, he emphasized that, in Article 73 of the Charter, the administering Powers had accepted as a sacred trust the obligation to promote the well-being of the peoples that had not yet attained a full measure of self-government. There was a similarity between the obligations imposed by Chapter XI of the Charter and Article 22 of the League of Nations Covenant, except that the enforcement machinery provided in Article 22 of the Covenant corresponded more closely to the provisions of Chapters XII and XIII of the Charter and the Trusteeship Agreements than to the provisions of Article 73 e of the Charter. But the obligations of the "sacred trust" conferred upon the Non-Self-Governing Territories to which Chapter XI applied, as in the case of mandated territories, a special international status which could not be modified unilaterally by the administering Power without the consent of the United Nations. That had been made clear in the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice with respect to the international status of South West Africa.⁴

52. To be sure, Chapter XI of the Charter, as the administering Powers had said, constituted a unilateral declaration on their part. But, though such had been the case at the time when it had been made, that declaration, by being embodied in the Charter, thenceforth acquired mandatory force. It was therefore the right and duty of all signatories to the Charter to see that the obligations imposed by Chapter XI were fulfilled.

53. It was true that the Governments of France, New Zealand and the United States had made reservations when transmitting information on the Non-Self-Governing Territories which they administered: they had stated that they were transmitting the information without prejudice to whatever definition the term "self-governing territory" might later be given. By so doing, they had not denied the General Assembly's competence, but on the contrary had indicated that they expected a definition from the General Assembly.

54. With regard to the list of factors submitted for the Committee's examination, he must repeat the views expressed by his Government in its statement (A/AC.58/1/Add.4) to the Secretary-General under General Assembly resolution 567 (VI). His Government believed that once the admission was made that there could be a full measure of self-government without independence, the door was thrown wide open to the classification of all conceivable gradations of self-government and the arbitrary selection of certain grades as constituting a full measure of self-government; in other words, it would be possible at any time to "freeze" a territory somewhere on the road before attaining its ultimate goal. In the minds of the framers of the Charter, there were only two possibilities of there

³ See *United Nations Conference on International Organization*, II/16.

⁴ See *International Status of South West Africa, Advisory Opinion: I.C.J. Reports 1950*, p. 128.

being a full measure of self-government without an actual proclamation of independence. They were dominion status in the British Commonwealth and membership of the United Nations, both of which, however, were hardly distinguishable from independence.

55. His delegation therefore could not agree unqualifiedly with the principle of the association of a territory on a footing of equality with other parts of the metropolitan or other country. It believed that union or association could only be the result ultimately of independence or of the free will of the people expressed in a plebiscite in which independence was presented as an alternative to association. His delegation accepted the first part of the list of factors indicative of the attainment of independence, but it could accept the second part only on the understanding that independence, or conditions of absolute freedom of action, were a prerequisite for association with other component parts of the metropolitan or other country. With those reservations, his delegation supported the draft resolution under consideration, which embodied ideas previously expressed by his own delegation.

56. Mr. SALAZAR (Peru) recalled that three different theses had been advanced in the course of the discussion: the delegations of the people's democracies held that the essential factor was the right of peoples to self-determination; the administering Powers claimed that it was for them alone to take a decision; the delegations of the third group thought that a set of principles and standards making it possible to decide whether a territory had attained self-government should be drawn up. He thought the first two theses did not take a sufficient number of elements into account. The first did not take sufficient account of the degree of economic, political and social evolution of the territories concerned, and the second was biased. Moreover, the *Ad Hoc* Committee's list had certain defects; in particular, it did not give a satisfactory definition of the idea of independence. He believed it would be sufficient to study the definitions given by experts on the subject, and to choose the one which appeared most complete, or to draw up a new definition embodying the essential elements of the definitions studied.

57. The list prepared by the *Ad Hoc* Committee was the result of a praiseworthy effort, but the Committee had not had the time necessary to solve that very complex problem. The list was incomplete and should be improved, but it was nonetheless useful as preparatory work. The time element should not intervene in a question of such exceptional interest. For that reason the delegations of Peru and the Dominican Republic were jointly submitting a series of amendments (A/C.4/L.234) to the draft resolution under consideration, which recommended, *inter alia*, that a new committee should be requested to continue the study of factors in order to draw up a list that would be acceptable both to the administering Powers and to the majority of other governments.

58. Mr. DE MARCHENA (Dominican Republic) noted that under point 1 of the joint amendment by the Dominican Republic and Peru the second paragraph of the preamble of the draft resolution would be deleted. That paragraph followed from the fundamental principle on which Chapter XI of the Charter was based and its contents were implicit in the first para-

graph of the preamble of the draft resolution. Point 2 of the amendment referred to General Assembly resolution 567 (VI) and formed a necessary link between the preamble and the operative part. Since various delegations had objected to the adoption by the Fourth Committee of the list drawn up by the *Ad Hoc* Committee, his delegation and that of Peru had thought it would be preferable merely to note the list. That was the aim of point 3 of the joint amendment. With regard to point 4, he drew the Committee's attention to the proposed sub-paragraph 3 (b). The elements specified in that sub-paragraph were directly related to the factor defined in paragraph 2 under heading A of the second part of the list, namely the opinion of the population of the territory, freely expressed by informed and democratic processes. It appeared essential to study the elements which would guarantee such freedom of expression. He added that the authors of the amendments would welcome any useful suggestions which members of the Committee might make.

59. Mr. EGUIZABAL (El Salvador) said that, in his delegation's opinion, Non-Self-Governing Territories were essentially in a state of transition. All those territories were destined to change their status rapidly, taking into account of course their individual position. Besides, the position of those territories no longer came exclusively within the domestic jurisdiction of metropolitan States; it raised questions which concerned the community of nations. Chapter XI of the Charter contained contractual provisions of a multilateral nature which represented a guarantee given by the United Nations to the populations of Non-Self-Governing Territories. It was as a result of the provisions of Article 73 e of the Charter that the United Nations was kept informed of the evolution of those territories.

60. His Government would always support measures intended to ensure the political, economic and administrative emancipation of the Non-Self-Governing Territories. It had already frequently adopted that attitude in the past, for example at the Ninth International Conference of American States held at Bogota in 1948, and at the preliminary meeting of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Central American States held at San Salvador in 1951, where it had declared itself in favour of the elimination of colonialism in America. That liberation might be brought about by recognition of the sovereignty and independence of peoples or at least by the granting of a full measure of self-government, which in practice was equivalent to independence. Such self-government should be granted to the peoples themselves and not to local governments set up to serve the interests of the metropolitan Power. In the latter case, self-government would be merely a façade to conceal the continuation of a colonial system.

61. A full measure of self-government meant essentially political self-government, which would logically involve economic, social, administrative and cultural self-government. It was inadmissible that administering Powers should, in the case of a specific territory, consider themselves freed from the obligation contained in Article 73 e of the Charter under the pretext that, in their opinion, the government of that territory had a certain measure of self-government in the social, economic and educational fields.

62. Unlike some representatives, he thought the absence of a definition was not an insurmountable obstacle. On the contrary, a definition would have certain disadvantages; however perfect it might be, it could never be absolutely foolproof and it would merely establish restrictions and create problems of interpretation. There were concepts which were immanent in the very consciousness of men and peoples. The best way of defining them was to put them into practice and make them come alive. The concept of self-government sprang from the feelings of freedom and independence which, like the sense of justice, were attributes of the human soul.

63. His delegation could not agree that the administering Power should have the exclusive power of deciding whether a territory had attained self-government. There was no doubt that the decision in that field was the prerogative of the international community; in spite of the efforts of El Salvador and Guatemala, the General Assembly had avoided studying that aspect of the question, although it was a fundamental problem which concerned not only the basic principles of international law but also the very life of millions of human beings.

64. His delegation was satisfied with the list of factors in the *Ad Hoc* Committee's report. It was the result of painstaking study, for which the Committee should be thanked. He would, however, have preferred the factors to be classified in three groups: factors indicative of the attainment of independence, factors indicative of the free association of a territory with the metropolitan or another country, and factors indicative of the union of a territory as an integral part of the metropolitan or another country. That classification had been proposed by El Salvador and Guatemala in the joint statement they had submitted to the Secretary-General (A/AC.58/1/Add.3). It would make it possible to apply criteria which would be less susceptible to differing interpretations.

65. The two Governments had also stated that they considered it essential to grant non-self-governing peoples the right to modify by their own will, freely and democratically expressed, the status and ties binding them to the former metropolitan Power or any other country. They had also considered it essential to provide expressly, in accordance with international law, that no metropolitan government might decide to change the political status of a Non-Self-Governing Territory which was the subject of a claim on the part of another State or the cause of a dispute with another State, until the situation forming the subject of dispute had been settled.

66. His delegation would gladly support the joint draft resolution (A/C.4/L.231) for the majority of the latter's provisions were in accordance with the position it had always maintained.

Programme of work

67. The CHAIRMAN recalled that the Committee had before it a request for a hearing by the Bloc Démocratique Camerounais (A/C.4/219). He proposed that the item should be placed on the agenda of a subsequent meeting.

It was so decided.

68. Mr. TAJIBNAPIS (Indonesia) recalled that under General Assembly resolution 568 (VI), the Committee should study the question of the cessation of the transmission of information under Article 73 e of the Charter, as regards the Netherlands Antilles and Surinam. As that should not be done until the report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee had been adopted, he proposed that the Committee should discuss item 6 of its agenda, the report of the Trusteeship Council, before item 5.

It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 1.55 p.m.



Monday, 17 November 1952, at 10.30 a.m.

Headquarters, New York

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Chairman: Mr. Rodolfo MUNOZ (Argentina).

Request for an oral hearing

1. The CHAIRMAN announced that a request for an oral hearing had been received from the Union des Chefs du Nord-Togo and the Parti Togolais du Progrès.¹ In the absence of any objection, it would be circulated to the members of the Committee.

Factors which should be taken into account in deciding whether a territory is or is not a territory whose people have not yet attained a full measure of self-government: report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Factors (Non-Self-Governing Territories) (A/2178, A/C.4/L.231 and Corr.1, A/C.4/L.233, A/C.4/L.234 and Corr.1, A/C.4/L.235) (*continued*)

[Item 36]*

2. Mr. RIEMENS (Netherlands) said that the report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Factors (A/2178) appeared in a different light if it was to be not merely a study, but a guide for future decisions of the General Assembly. That, however, was one of the main points of the joint draft resolution (A/C.4/L.231 and Corr.1) before the Committee.

3. It might be well, as the United Kingdom representative, Sir Alan Burns, had said, to consider how the draft resolution, if adopted, would affect a specific case—for example a large island, surrounded by a number of smaller islands, situated somewhere in an ocean. He would assume that those hypothetical islands, which he would christen the Alan Burns Islands, had been settled as long as three centuries earlier, and that they were inhabited by Scottish, Irish, Scandinavian and African stock, as well as a number of Hindus, some Chinese and some Syrians. The people had enjoyed a measure of self-government for over a century, demo-

cratic institutions had spread to all layers of the population and a general franchise had been established some years previously. Let it be supposed that the United Kingdom had decided after careful consideration to grant a full measure of self-government to the Alan Burns Islands. That decision had been taken after full consultation with the inhabitants through the established mechanism of their Legislative Assembly and their Executive Council and had been greeted with great enthusiasm by both bodies, because it meant that henceforth they would enjoy complete self-government in all internal matters. The Order-in-Council had been signed.

4. Now, if the draft resolution before the Committee had been adopted, the administering Power would have to use the list of factors as a guide. It would naturally consult the Executive Council of the islands, as the highest body representing the interests of the inhabitants, and the Council would turn to the list of factors.

5. That list would undoubtedly strike them as strange, for the *Ad Hoc* Committee had drawn up a list of factors for independence together with, as an exception to the case of independence, a list of factors for "other separate systems of self-government". However, the Executive Councillors would eventually master the list. They would ignore the factors indicative of the attainment of independence, since for so small an area to be independent would be completely unworkable, but they would find that the second part of the list applied at least partially to their case. It was the only part of the list that could possibly apply to them, because they had no desire to become an administrative part of the United Kingdom, which would mean giving up much of the local self-government they had so long enjoyed.

6. The first three factors would cause no difficulty. With regard to the factors determining international status, however, the Councillors would undoubtedly be greatly surprised to find that eligibility for membership of the United Nations was one of them. The

¹ Subsequently circulated as document A/C.4/220.

* Indicates the item number on the agenda of the General Assembly.

imaginary islands he was describing would certainly be unable to afford either to contribute to the United Nations or to pay for representatives to attend its sessions. Furthermore, a number of sovereign States had been for some time waiting in vain for admission and not a single Non-Self-Governing Territory was among its Members.

7. The conclusion to which the consideration of that hypothetical case led was, therefore, that the list of factors was completely unworkable in the case of a large number of territories which were still not self-governing but which might receive a full measure of self-government in the near future.

8. The representative of India had asserted that only two possible ways were open to such territories if they wished to be no longer non-self-governing: either they would have to become independent, or the administering Power responsible would have to transform them into Trust Territories. The representative of the Soviet Union appeared to hold the same view. He appealed to the members of the Committee to take reality into account. It would be a strange reward for the inhabitants of a territory which was already well advanced on the road towards full self-government to be changed into a territory with a less advanced political status, under the dual tutelage of the administering Power and the Trusteeship Council. It was difficult to see why members who were of that opinion needed any list of factors, since the outcome of their consideration was a foregone conclusion. Moreover, the right of the inhabitants to decide upon their own fate was meaningless if in fact they could merely choose between independence and the status of a Trust Territory when they wished for neither.

9. At the 273rd meeting the representatives of Venezuela and Cuba had made statements containing much with which he whole-heartedly agreed, although certain points required elucidation. While agreeing that there could be no real self-government in economic, social and educational matters without self-government in political matters, he would prefer to change the emphasis and to stress that when genuine self-government existed in those two fields it could only be because a large measure of self-government in political matters had already been granted; in other words, political self-government was a prerequisite. Self-government could not be granted in certain fields and not in others. To what extent it existed was another matter and depended on the definition given to the term "a full measure of self-government"—a definition which so far had not been reached.

10. In the case of a territory which had been granted self-government, whose government had acquired political autonomy and full responsibility for all internal matters, including economic, social and educational conditions, the obligation of the administering Power to report on those matters must end because the objective of Article 73 as a whole would no longer be served by the transmission of such reports; indeed there would be no one to transmit them. The administering Power would no longer have the responsibility nor the necessary knowledge and would have to ask the territorial government to make the report, and it was unlikely that a territorial government which had just acquired self-government would be eager to report to

the United Nations on its economic, social and educational policies and submit to an investigation of them. To impose the tutelage of the United Nations in such circumstances would be a travesty of the intentions of Article 73 and would be tantamount to the creation of a new kind of colonialism. Certain representatives appeared to regret that there were fewer Non-Self-Governing Territories in 1952 than there had been in 1946. It would seem that they were over-eager to continue control where it was no longer needed.

11. The Venezuelan representative held the view that since the territory which had obtained self-government was represented abroad by the administering Power, the latter was responsible for all its acts and could continue to report on its economic, social and educational conditions. That seemed too sweeping a statement; to represent a territory abroad implied responsibility for its external relations only.

12. The same representative had also maintained that the voluntary grant of self-government could not relieve the administering Power of its obligation to report because that freedom might be withdrawn later. That, however, seemed most unlikely except in the most unusual circumstances. Even if that were to happen, the position under Article 73 would simply be that the duty of reporting would be revived.

13. The objective of Article 73 was to promote the well-being of the inhabitants of the Non-Self-Governing Territories, one of the means to that end being the reports called for by paragraph e. There was no point in continuing to send them once they ceased to serve the objective.

14. With reference to the joint draft resolution, he had no comments to make on the first paragraph of the preamble. He felt, however, that the second paragraph was somewhat misleading, since on the one hand it referred to the objectives of Chapter XI as a whole and on the other qualified the obligation under Article 73 e by taking it out of its context and placing it on the same footing as the general obligation under the whole Chapter. As he had already said, the obligation to report was a means to an end which became useless when the territory in question had become self-governing in the matters covered by the reports. He would therefore be unable to accept the paragraph as it stood.

15. With regard to paragraph 1 of the operative part, he asked the sponsors whether the list of factors was to be considered as exhaustive or as an enumeration to which more factors would be added as need arose. He could not admit that the list was exhaustive; for instance, the so-called third case of self-government to which his delegation had frequently called attention and which a resolution (567 (VI)) of the sixth session of the General Assembly had said merited further study had found no place in the list.²

16. The Netherlands delegation's main point, however, was that to place a new and heavy responsibility on the General Assembly at the precise moment when a substantial measure of self-government was being granted to a territory would mean that the General Assembly would be given the right to intervene when there was the least reason for it, i.e., when an essential part of the objective of Chapter XI had been realized.

² See document A/2178, part IV, para. 5 (D).

17. He had no objection to paragraph 2 of the operative part of the draft resolution, provided it was the administering Power in conjunction with the government of the territory, and not the General Assembly, which took the final decision on self-government. He reserved the position of his Government in that connexion.

18. His comments on paragraph 4 were similar to those he had made on the second paragraph of the preamble. Until the General Assembly had been able to define self-government, the paragraph appeared to be meaningless and therefore to serve no useful purpose. Since the General Assembly had been unable to define clearly the concept of self-government, it should obviously be left to the administering Power, in conjunction with the government of the territory, to judge the situation and to make its decisions as to when the stage of a full measure of self-government had been reached.

19. He asked the sponsors what was the meaning of the last clause of paragraph 5. He wondered whether the "other questions" referred to territories which fell within the scope of Chapter XI but on which no reports had hitherto been transmitted, or to the obligations of a more general nature to which allusion had frequently been made by the Belgian and other representatives.

20. He would be compelled to vote against the draft resolution as it stood. He considered the amendment to the joint draft resolution submitted by the Dominican Republic and Peru (A/C.4/L.234 and Corr.1) to be a marked improvement and to strike a happy medium between the divergent views expressed during the debate.

21. Mr. MENDOZA (Guatemala) said that it had been suggested that an attempt was being made to impose new obligations on the Administering Members in connexion with the question of factors. What was being sought in fact was to find a formula which would contribute to the solution of the problem.

22. The need to draw up a list of factors arose from the fact that in the past few years the number of Non-Self-Governing Territories had been diminishing at a speed which threatened to make Chapter XI obsolete. That reduction in number would have been welcome if it had been due to the granting of self-government to the territories in question, but that had not been the case. The reason in most cases had been the unilateral adoption by the administering Power concerned of the thesis of the divisibility of self-government, permitting self-government in the economic, social and educational fields, which would place the territories outside the scope of Article 73, without political self-government. Obviously the majority of the members of the Committee did not accept that thesis, because the Charter required self-government to be complete in all spheres and because there could not be self-government in those three spheres without political self-government, which was the most important.

23. It had also been argued that independence was not the objective of Chapter XI of the Charter. That contention was apparently based on the fact that Chapter XI did not contain the word "independence". Nevertheless, despite the efforts of the administering Powers at San Francisco to have the word omitted, the whole Chapter was instinct with the idea of independence.

24. When a people had to choose between two evils, they naturally chose the lesser, but that did not mean that their choice reflected their real aspirations. In order to ascertain the real wishes of a people, it was necessary to give them the alternative of real and complete independence or, as a second choice, annexation or incorporation in the metropolitan country. If they then chose the latter, it would be clear that the choice represented their real desires.

25. Another thesis which had been maintained and which his delegation could not accept was that it was for the administering Power alone to decide whether a territory was or was not self-governing. A contractual clause could not be subject to the unilateral decision of one of the parties, and Article 73 was a contractual clause.

26. The list of factors was undoubtedly open to improvement, but it did contain much that was useful. Objections had been raised to the inclusion of the geographical factor. His delegation attached great importance to that factor because it not only determined the relations between a Non-Self-Governing Territory and the metropolitan country, but it should also be viewed in the light of the security and overall interests of the region to which the territory belonged. During the last war the American States had been greatly concerned about the possible effect on the European colonies and possessions in America of military operations in Europe. That was why they had signed the Convention on the Provisional Administration of European Colonies and Possessions in the Americas, under which, in view of the difficult situation of the administering Powers, they had agreed to assume responsibility for the administration of any territory which might become a threat to the peace and security of America owing to enemy occupation of the metropolitan country, or for any other reason. That convention was still in force.

27. The representative of El Salvador had referred to another important point—the principle that no administering Power could unilaterally change the status of a territory which was the subject of a claim by another State until a settlement had been reached.

28. With reference to the document submitted by the Dominican Republic and Peru (A/C.4/L.234 and Corr. 1), he could not agree that a proposal to the effect that almost the entire text should be deleted and a new text substituted for it could be called an amendment, and he reserved the right to raise that issue when the vote was taken. He would be prepared to accept paragraphs 2, 3 and 4 of the operative part as proposed in that document if they were to be additions to and not substitutions for the existing paragraphs. The word "temporarily" should be added to paragraphs 1 and 5 in connexion with the application of the list of factors and without prejudice to its further study.

29. Mr. FORSYTH (Australia) wished to make two points in reply to the Philippine representative's reference, at the 275th meeting, to Australia's stand at the San Francisco Conference. First, Australia had certainly accepted at that time, and still accepted, the principle of trusteeship—that promoting the advancement of the dependent peoples was an obligation and a sacred trust. That general principle applied to all dependent territories, but the Charter had drawn a

very clear distinction between Trust Territories and Non-Self-Governing Territories in respect of the methods and procedures to be followed in achieving the objectives. Secondly, the Australian proposals at San Francisco³ for supervision by an expert body and for a colonial conference to decide which territories should come within the scope of the Trusteeship System had been rejected; they were therefore irrelevant to the current discussion in the Fourth Committee. The Charter had been adopted in its existing form and Australia had loyally fulfilled its obligations thereunder.

30. In connexion with the words "Members which have or assume responsibility for the administration of territories whose people have not yet attained a full measure of self-government" in the first paragraph of the preamble to the joint draft resolution, he had noted the Belgian representative's suggestion that the obligation to transmit information had not been fulfilled by all the Members of the United Nations who had accepted it in signing the Charter.

31. He fully agreed with the Canadian representative's statement at the 273rd meeting concerning the second paragraph of the preamble: the obligation, under Article 73 e, to report on social, economic and educational matters might well expire before the attainment of full self-government. He also agreed with the United States representative that self-government was not indivisible and, in that connexion, he cited the example of the state of Victoria, in Australia, which had full sovereignty in certain fields, such as education, while such matters as defence and foreign affairs remained within the competence of the Federal Government.

32. In the nineteenth century, Australia and New Zealand, while not regarded as Non-Self-Governing Territories, had enjoyed self-government in all matters except defence and foreign policy; in due course they had attained self-government in those matters too. Western Samoa seemed to be following the same line of evolution. It was noticeable that some members of the Committee who were willing to take an evolutionary view of the United Nations, and particularly of Chapter XI, would not accept the possibility of evolutionary processes in the Non-Self-Governing Territories.

33. The discussions in the Committee revealed a number of similar contradictions. Those supporting an evolutionary interpretation of the Charter stressed the need for being guided by the spirit rather than the letter. Nevertheless, when the Belgian representative, in the same spirit, suggested that the provisions of Article 73 e should be extended to all peoples who were not fully self-governing, they drew back and said that he was out of order.

34. Many difficulties would be avoided if the Committee adhered to the strict text of Chapter XI, which recognized three groups of rights: first, the rights of the dependent peoples; secondly, the rights and responsibilities of the Administering Members; and thirdly, the right of the United Nations to be informed of economic, social and educational conditions in the Non-Self-Governing Territories. The refusal on the part of many members of the Committee to keep to the strict interpretation of those rights appeared to be based, first, on lack of confidence in the good faith of

the administering Powers. Those delegations were not satisfied with the fact that the administering Powers had fulfilled their obligation to transmit information, but apparently wished to impose Fourth Committee control over the fulfilment of the objectives of Chapter XI. He emphatically rejected that attitude and recalled the United States representative's counsel in the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee on the advisability of avoiding actions which were likely to fail and of leaving the fulfilment of declared objectives to the conscience of the countries concerned and the force of world public opinion.

35. Secondly, some representatives seemed to feel that the United Nations was a world government and should assume the government of all the dependent territories. The United Nations, however, was not a world government; it was not authorized by the Charter to govern dependent territories and would not be capable of so doing. Any "imperialistic" attempt by the Fourth Committee to wrest control of the dependent territories from the administering Powers recognized by the Charter would result not in independence, but in government by the United Nations and in utter chaos. No large international committee was competent to assume the responsibilities which the majority of representatives apparently wished the Fourth Committee to assume. The peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories, particularly those familiar with the discussions in the Fourth Committee, would certainly not envisage such a development with confidence and it would deprive them of the guidance and assistance regarded as essential by the Charter.

36. Thirdly, there was a tendency to say that all the dependent peoples should be given independence at once. The advocates of that line of thought seemed unaware that it was contradictory to their argument in favour of United Nations responsibility. Trusteeship had been mentioned as an alternative to independence, but it would be subject to that same defect of unwieldiness as direct international control, not to mention the fact that the Fourth Committee had frequently demonstrated its lack of confidence in the Trusteeship Council and the Trusteeship System. It was not correct to say that independence or trusteeship were the only alternatives, since, by recognizing, in Article 77, paragraph 1 c, that certain territories might be voluntarily placed under the Trusteeship System "by States responsible for their administration," the Charter explicitly recognized another form of administration, namely control by the administering Powers. There was, in fact, yet another alternative, free association in larger areas of self-government.

37. The third paragraph of the preamble of the draft resolution could be extended into a demand for complete information on political development in the Non-Self-Governing Territories, although that was categorically excluded by Article 73 e. In that connexion, he recalled the Danish representative's statement at the 275th meeting that, although his Government would furnish information regarding any change of status in the territories for which Denmark was responsible, it did not consider that its actions in that respect were subject to review or revision by the United Nations.

38. The words "having examined" in the fourth paragraph of the preamble were not strictly true, since

³ See *United Nations Conference on International Organization*, G/14 (1).

there had been scarcely any detailed discussion of the *Ad Hoc* Committee's report.

39. The present list of factors in his view could not be described as "a useful guide", as was suggested in the fifth paragraph of the preamble, since none of the essential terms had been defined. The words "for the General Assembly and for the Administering Member concerned" raised the whole question of competence, which should be debated in full and on a general basis before any decision was taken. If the General Assembly was competent to decide when information should cease to be transmitted, it was, logically, competent to decide when such information should begin to be transmitted and, to that end, to examine the constitutional and factual situation in every Member State. It would be premature to take any decision on competence at that juncture.

40. Paragraph 1 of the operative part also raised the question of competence and was unacceptable for that reason. Furthermore, Mr. Forsyth felt that he had already made it quite clear that in his opinion the existing list of factors would prove a very uncertain guide through the legal and political difficulties which the General Assembly would have to negotiate in deciding whether a territory had or had not attained a full measure of self-government.

41. He had no great objection to paragraph 2, although it seemed somewhat platitudinous.

42. He objected to the implication in paragraph 3 that the administering Powers might use the list of factors to prevent the evolution of the Non-Self-Governing Territories towards self-government. The administering Powers were bound by the obligations of Chapter XI and were working for its fulfilment. He wondered why the word "progressive" had been deleted (A/C.4/L.231/Corr.1) from the phrase "the progressive attainment of a full measure of self-government" in the original text of paragraph 3, when the idea of progressive development was expressed throughout Article 73.

43. His views on paragraph 4 were similar to those that he had already stated in connexion with the second paragraph of the preamble. It was entirely appropriate and in accordance with Article 73 that a stage of development might be reached at which it would be proper for the administering Power to cease reporting on matters for which the territorial government had assumed complete responsibility. That stage might be reached before the territory attained full self-government in all fields. The General Assembly should not at that stage request reports from the territorial government, conceivably against its wishes; such an action would be a complete denial of self-government.

44. Lastly, in connexion with paragraph 5, he had considerable doubts regarding the propriety of recommending that the General Assembly should adopt the list of factors as it stood.

45. The amendments submitted by the Dominican Republic and Peru had much to recommend them. If they were acceptable to the majority, he might be able to support them, though he pointed out that the words "additional elements" raised some extremely complex questions not all of which were necessarily within the scope of the study envisaged.

46. In conclusion, he fully reserved his Government's position with regard to the six-Power draft resolution, should it be adopted.

47. Mr. RIVAS (Venezuela) said that the sponsors of the draft resolution had noted with pleasure the objective and constructive tone of the criticism directed against it by certain of the administering Powers and the other delegations which had expressed reservations in its regard. The various reservations and amendments that had been made seemed to call for some further explanation of the scope of the draft resolution.

48. The representative of the Dominican Republic had dwelt upon the need to define self-government. It was of course true that self-government, like aggression, needed a definition. However, both were extremely difficult to define in a constantly changing situation. The problem was political rather than academic and it would be unwise of the United Nations to engage in prolonged theoretical debate while the practical difficulty went unresolved. It was well-known that the threat in Asia and Africa was growing; the disappointment of the inhabitants of certain Non-Self-Governing Territories might well be used as a weapon against the Western Powers. The security of the West was a matter of concern to Venezuela, which would prefer that the military forces of those Powers did not waste their energies on police duties. Chapter XI of the Charter was intended precisely to prevent the Non-Self-Governing Territories from becoming a threat to international peace and security. The faith of the peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories in the United Nations must be maintained and strengthened, and all Venezuela desired in that connexion was that the Non-Self-Governing Territories should not lose confidence in their administrators.

49. The peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories needed an assurance that the United Nations could not accept, as self-governing, territories which were not so in all fields—economic, social, educational and political. The representatives of Peru and the Dominican Republic believed that that was impossible without a scientific definition of self-government. However, aggression had not yet been officially defined by the United Nations and yet in June 1950 and January 1951 the acts committed by the authorities of North Korea and the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China had been officially dubbed aggression. The United Nations had not been able to wait for a scientifically perfect definition of aggression. The position in the colonies was not, of course, as serious as in Korea. However, it was significant that matters which in normal times would have been discussed in the Fourth Committee had now passed to the First Committee. The Fourth Committee dealt with political matters which did not yet constitute emergencies. All General Assembly committees were political in their structure and in their aims, but what differentiated the First Committee from the rest was the degree of urgency of the problems entrusted to it. The task of the First Committee was to deal with crises, while that of the rest was to prevent them from arising. That was the aim of the joint six-Power draft resolution.

50. The Israel representative had objected that the conclusion in paragraph 4 of the operative part of the

draft resolution was premature. However, the actions taken by the administering Powers on the basis of a unilateral and restricted interpretation of the concept of "a full measure of self-government" as referred to in Chapter XI of the Charter was much more premature. It would have been wise for them to wait until a series of factors had been agreed upon, or a satisfactory interpretation of the phrase evolved.

51. The conclusions in paragraph 4 of the draft resolution were not exclusive to its six sponsors. The Special Committee on Information transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter had agreed at its 1951 session that there were only three systems whereby a Non-Self-Governing Territory could attain a full measure of self-government. Sub-Committee 9 set up by the Fourth Committee during the sixth session of the General Assembly had reached the same conclusion, and the report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Factors had put forward those same three systems—independence, other separate systems of self-government and the free association of a territory with other component parts of the metropolitan or other country—as points on which the administering and non-administering Powers were agreed. The only advance made since 1951 had been on minor points of detail. That did not mean that the Venezuelan delegation opposed continued study as recommended in the joint amendment of Peru and the Dominican Republic, but the settlement of concrete problems must not be allowed to wait upon the conclusions of abstract argument. A committee might well be appointed to make a scientific and political study of the problem of self-government. The *Ad Hoc* Committee on Factors might be prolonged in order to study the scope of the factors relating to geographical and racial considerations or the factors relating to voluntary limitations of sovereignty. At the same time, however, the United Nations must act.

52. The Venezuelan delegation could not understand the doubts of the delegations of Israel, Peru and the Dominican Republic regarding the power of the General Assembly to establish a criterion. The Israel representative had said that such a criterion would be useless unless it was accepted by the administering Powers. However, the case was different from the dispute over extending the life of the Committee on Information. That had been a question of machinery in which the participation of the administering Powers was essential. The draft resolution on factors, on the other hand, was a functional expression of United Nations opinion. The General Assembly expressed its opinion through the affirmative vote of two-thirds of its Members present and voting. The opinion on the commission of aggression by North Korea and the People's Republic of China had not been unanimous, yet it was, legally and politically, the opinion of the United Nations on events in Korea.

53. The expression of the General Assembly's views on the question of factors would not open new fields for Chapter XI of the Charter. The administering Powers were not being asked to undertake more than they had agreed to at the outset. The aim was that the administering Powers should reflect and halt the negative course which they had adopted. By approving the resolution, the General Assembly would merely say that, in its opinion, economic, social and educational self-government in the Non-Self-Governing Ter-

ritories was not enough to release the administering Powers from the obligations they had contracted under Chapter XI. A clear expression of that view would show the administering Powers that the United Nations did not accept semi-self-government as exempting them from their obligations under Chapter XI, and would always leave the international validity of their decision to suspend information open to question. It was unlikely that States such as the administering Powers, which believed in international law and promoted its development, would wish to oppose the views of the entire international community.

54. Moreover, if the United Nations were denied the right to examine decisions to cease the transmission of information on Non-Self-Governing Territories, that would be tantamount to allowing only one of the parties to an agreement to interpret it. United Nations examination of the problem did not mean that it was claiming the right to review national legislation. It could not advise the people of a Non-Self-Governing Territory that they were not bound by certain metropolitan laws because in the eyes of the United Nations those laws were not just. That would be a flagrant violation of Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter. However, when such laws or administrative provisions entered the international sphere, as in the case of the recognition of the attainment of self-government, then the United Nations was entitled to study the documents on which the request for such recognition was based. That was the sense in which the last paragraph of the preamble of the draft resolution and paragraph 1 of its operative part should be read and interpreted. The Venezuelan delegation could not accept the amendment submitted by the Dominican Republic and Peru which sought to delete that point from paragraph 1 of the operative part.

55. The United States representative had suggested the possibility that Non-Self-Governing Territories which had been granted self-government in economic, social and educational matters might not wish the administering Powers to submit information on those matters to the United Nations. Paragraph 2 of the operative part of the draft resolution, which recognized that each case should be considered and decided in the light of its own circumstances, would deal with any such situation. Moreover, a progressive administering Power might use such a refusal by a Non-Self-Governing Territory to transmit information through it as an occasion for seeking direct representation of such a territory in the Committee on Information.

56. Paragraph 3 of the operative part made it clear that neither the list of factors nor the resolution should be regarded as criticizing any advances in self-government or imposing conditions on the Non-Self-Governing Territories. On the contrary, it was the administering Powers which must fulfil those conditions if they wished the international community to recognize that their work was finished and that a dependent territory had become fully self-governing.

57. The draft resolution approved the list of factors as a guide and not as an exhaustive list of requirements. The list was not complete, and some of the factors which were included would not apply in every situation. If the word "Approves" gave rise to doubts, it might be replaced by the phrase "Notes with in-

terest" as proposed by Peru and the Dominican Republic in their amendment.

58. The Indonesian representative had objected to the last phrase of paragraph 5 of the operative part: "or in relation to other questions that may arise concerning the existence of an obligation to transmit information under this article". The phrase was somewhat vague, and the Venezuelan delegation would not oppose the Indonesian suggestion that it should be deleted. The deletion might also give satisfaction to the Australian delegation.

59. The USSR delegation wished to make an addition to the third paragraph of the preamble (A/C.4/L.233). However, one of the chief aims of the sponsors of the draft resolution had been to guard against any appearance of exercising pressure on the administering Powers, and since the USSR amendment introduced a time-limit and required information about constitutions, legislative acts and executive orders, the Venezuelan delegation felt that it would be unwise to add it to the six-Power draft. If the Soviet Union delegation insisted on a vote on its amendment, the Venezuelan delegation would be compelled to abstain. Similar reasons would compel it to abstain from voting on the Polish amendment to paragraph 2 of the operative part (A/C.4/L.235).

60. The draft resolution was not directed against the administering Powers but against the growing danger that the natural impatience of the peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories to administer their own affairs might be turned into a threat to international peace and security. Such administering Powers as Denmark, the United States, France, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom had not, in reserving their positions, assumed any intention to discredit them on the part of the sponsors of the draft resolution. That was at least a beginning at understanding. The Venezuelan delegation was sure that countries which were fundamentally friendly and allied on the world political front could differ in their views and yet continue to co-operate. It was the honest belief of the six sponsoring Powers, and more than thirty-five countries represented in the Fourth Committee, that no matter how praiseworthy the intentions of the administering Powers in so doing, the cessation of information on Non-Self-Governing Territories which had not yet attained political self-government would not promote the security of those territories, nor that of the administering Power concerned or of the rest of the world.

61. Mr. LESCURE (Argentina) congratulated the *Ad Hoc* Committee on its work and its very useful report. He associated himself with the statements of the representatives of Venezuela, Cuba, Egypt and India, among others.

62. He interpreted paragraph A, 4, in the first part of the list of factors to refer exclusively to the freedom of a territory to participate in its own national defence and not to refer to the retention of military bases, which might imply a diminution of sovereignty.

63. He agreed with the *Ad Hoc* Committee's statement, in paragraph 5 (C) of its report, that no enumeration of factors could do more than serve as a guide and that each specific case must be determined by the particular circumstances of that case.

64. Some representatives had suggested that the term "self-government" should be defined before trying to determine its constituent elements. Quite apart from the fact that such a procedure seemed the reverse of logical, any definition of that type was extremely dangerous by its very nature. A rigid definition could not possibly cover every conceivable case and might therefore give rise to serious complications. Indeed, the only point on which there seemed to be unanimity in the Committee was that the list of factors could serve only as a guide and should not be considered exhaustive.

65. The texts of Article 73 b and Article 76 b of the Charter had been compared. In his opinion the difference between the phrases "to develop self-government" and "to promote . . . their progressive development towards self-government or independence" was due solely to the fact that Chapter XI referred to Non-Self-Governing Territories, whereas Article 76 was in Chapter XII, which referred to the International Trusteeship System. The inclusion of the word "independence" in Article 76 b did not imply that the authors of the Charter had wished to make any substantive difference between the two categories of territories; if anything, it tended to broaden the scope of the Charter in respect of Non-Self-Governing Territories. The problem had been extensively discussed at San Francisco, where there had been general agreement that self-government was the ultimate goal. Some representatives had wished to include independence as an alternative objective in Chapter XI of the Charter, but that idea had been rejected on the formal understanding that self-government in no way excluded the possibility of independence.

66. The final objective of self-government had been reaffirmed in the inter-American system on numerous occasions. Resolution XXXIII on colonies and occupied territories in America, adopted at the Ninth International Conference of American States, stated that the historical process of the emancipation of America would not be completed so long as there existed on the American continent peoples and regions subject to a colonial régime, or territories occupied by non-American countries.⁴ That concept could be extended to all parts of the world inhabited by indigenous peoples who still required the protection of the United Nations in their struggle towards self-government. The Argentine Government wished to emphasize that no metropolitan government was entitled to change the political status of a Non-Self-Governing Territory which was the subject of dispute with another State.

67. He urged the representatives of the Dominican Republic and Peru to agree that their amendments should be accepted as an addition to, rather than a substitution for, the relevant paragraphs of the joint draft resolution. It would be useful to continue the study of the question of factors.

68. In conclusion, he announced that his delegation's vote would be determined by the considerations he had just outlined, and he reserved his delegation's right to explain its vote if necessary.

69. Mr. PEREZ CISNEROS (Cuba) said that the Cuban delegation had great difficulty in understanding

⁴ See *Organization of American States, Annals*, Vol. I, No.1—1949, Washington, p. 134-135.

the objection that by adopting the draft resolution before the Committee, the General Assembly would be conflicting with the domestic legislation of sovereign States. The sponsors of the draft resolution had been particularly careful to see that there was nothing in the proposal contrary or foreign to the letter and spirit of the Charter. The Charter could not conflict with domestic law because it had itself been ratified by national parliaments, which had contracted definite obligations to the international community by their acceptance of it. There could be no unilateral termination of an obligation of the kind assumed by the administering Powers in Chapter XI of the Charter, and it was clear that there must be agreement on the cessation of information from the Non-Self-Governing Territories.

70. Cuba had argued on several occasions that Article 73 e of the Charter was a contract between the administering Powers and the United Nations. In support of that thesis, he quoted a passage from a speech made by the Uruguayan representative at the 216th meeting of the Fourth Committee, stating that the General Assembly must represent the United Nations and that it was inadmissible that one of the parties involved should decide unilaterally whether or not a territory had attained independence or self-government. Mr. Perez Cisneros had said that it was for the United Nations also to examine the whole situation in each territory and decide whether or not its people had attained a full measure of self-government. A number of factors had been indicated which should be taken into account in deciding whether a territory was or was not self-governing, but it should also be decided what organ would take the decision on behalf of the United Nations in each case. He had been convinced that that organ could only be the General Assembly. It was inadmissible that one of the parties concerned should unilaterally decide whether or not a given territory had attained complete self-government.

71. The Cuban delegation also had some difficulty in understanding why opponents of the draft resolution claimed that the General Assembly's role should be limited to defining complete self-government, when they realized and agreed that no single factor or combination of factors could be applicable in every case. Paragraph 2 of the operative part of the draft made it clear that each case must be considered in the light of its particular circumstances. As each case was to be decided on its own merits, there should be no difficulty in approving the list of factors as a guide.

72. In connexion with the Cuban thesis regarding the indivisibility of self-government, the Israel representative had said that the administering Powers were unanimous in rejecting it. However, that argument had first been used by an administering Power, and the Netherlands representative had just confirmed what his delegation had said on that topic at the sixth session. At the 242nd meeting of the Fourth Committee, the

Netherlands representative had said that he did not believe that economic self-government was possible without political self-government; self-government was one and indivisible.

73. The various elements of self-government were inextricably interconnected, as was proved by the fact that one great State had struggled for its independence on the maxim "No taxation without representation". That showed how closely related economic conditions were to political structure. Self-government was not the average of a number of factors but a total factor with a political basis; a full measure of self-government meant self-government in all fields at the same time.

74. In connexion with the Australian representative's reference to state self-government under a system of federation, he pointed out that in such cases federal intervention in certain matters was defined constitutionally and the constitution of a federal government was a law that had been approved by the component parts of the federation on an equal footing. Subsequently, all the states of the federation were represented in the federal government, and therefore any intervention by the federal government could not really be considered as intervention from outside which had not been freely accepted beforehand.

75. Several representatives had taken exception to the Cuban statement that the question was political rather than legal. It was true that the problem of defining factors was a legal problem that must be approached in a legal spirit. But that was not the real problem which had to be solved. The real problem was that of the cessation of information on definite territories. To judge whether or not they had reached self-government—which was a political status—could only be a political problem. As proof that the application of factors did not always produce clear results, Mr. Perez Cisneros said that, in the course of history, there had been cases of countries considered as completely sovereign, and therefore granted membership in the international community, which nevertheless by their very constitution might have suffered from a certain type of external intervention, at least in certain cases and for a certain time. But the political factor of their sovereignty having been recognized by the international community remained.

76. The CHAIRMAN suggested that in view of the lateness of the hour Mr. Perez Cisneros might prefer to postpone the remainder of his remarks if the Committee were to agree to hold another meeting that afternoon.

The Committee decided by 20 votes to 12 to hold its 277th meeting that afternoon at 3 p.m.

77. Mr. PEREZ CISNEROS (Cuba) agreed to continue his remarks at the afternoon meeting.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.

GENERAL
ASSEMBLY

SEVENTH SESSION

Official Records



FOURTH COMMITTEE, 277th

MEETING

Monday, 17 November 1952, at 3 p.m.

Headquarters, New York

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Chairman: Mr. Rodolfo MUNOZ (Argentina).

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[Item 36]*

1. Mr. PEREZ CISNEROS (Cuba), resuming the statement he had started at the 276th meeting, said that if the term "a full measure of self-government" was to be defined without taking into consideration either the political circumstances that might surround each case or the intentions of the signatories of the Charter, it could only be regarded as the equivalent of the term "independence". The non-administering Powers had not adopted an intransigent attitude on the matter, for they realized that any attempt to give the term too exclusive a meaning would lead to great difficulties. On the contrary, they were endeavouring to keep the practical aspect of the question in view. In its report (A/2178), the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Factors, supported by those of its members who were not representatives of administering Powers, had proposed various elements as a basis for interpreting the term "a full measure of self-government" to mean either independence, or other separate systems of self-government, or the free association of the territory with the metropolitan or other country.

2. The solution of the problem before the United Nations lay in the answers to the following two questions: when was an administering Power released from the obligation it had assumed under Article 73 e as regards a particular territory, and when was it no longer necessary for the United Nations to receive information under that paragraph concerning a territory upon which it had been receiving information? The answers

depended upon two factors, one of which was academic—the interpretation to be given to the term "self-government"—and the other, practical—the need for the United Nations and the administering Powers to decide by mutual agreement that information need no longer be provided concerning a given territory since that territory had attained self-government.

3. The academic factor could not be defined absolutely and it was clear from paragraph 5 of the introduction to the annex of resolution 567 (VI) that the General Assembly had recognized that fact. It was very difficult to lay down a rule whose application would prove automatically whether a territory had or had not attained self-government. Although it would be useful for the United Nations to formulate guiding principles for that purpose, such principles alone would not suffice to settle the question with regard to a specific territory, for the development of Non-Self-Governing Territories proceeded in such a great variety of ways.

4. It was clear that the Cuban delegation would like to see a progressive decrease in the list of Non-Self-Governing Territories, but it considered it imperative that the General Assembly should consider in each case that the reasons for such action were adequate. He was confident that when specific cases arose, the majority of the General Assembly and the administering Powers could find no difficulty in coming to an agreement. It was in that spirit that paragraph 3 of the operative part of the joint draft resolution (A/C.4/L.231 and Corr.1) had been drafted. Everyone was aware that there were very few territories, and indeed very few sovereign States, whose real status would be in keeping with all the factors listed. Hence, the administering Powers should not consider that all the factors must be applicable to the territories concerned, as in that case they would never consider that such territories had attained self-government.

5. Replying to the Netherlands representative, who had pointed out that the first paragraph of the preamble of the draft resolution referred to Article 73 e only

* Indicates the item number on the agenda of the General Assembly.

while the second paragraph referred to Chapter XI, he said that the limitations mentioned in Article 73 e were satisfactory as long as the information requested continued to be transmitted, but that in order to warrant the cessation of the transmission of such information the territory must no longer be non-self-governing but must be self-governing. It would then be necessary to consider whether all the objectives of Chapter XI, including the political objectives, had been attained. Clearly, Article 73 e could not contradict a Chapter of the Charter of which it was a part, and the various parts of the Charter must be interpreted in the light of the whole text. The term "self-government" should therefore be avoided since it might lead to misunderstanding. The words of the Charter, "a full measure of self-government", should be used. Many famous writers, for example Professor Georges Scelle, had compared the term "self-government" with "colonial status", and in referring to colonies which were and would remain colonies in the classical meaning of that term, had said that they might have a "decentralized status or one of self-government".¹ That was surely not the meaning of "self-government" as used in the Charter.

6. With regard to the joint amendment submitted by the Dominican Republic and Peru (A/C.4/L.234 and Corr.1), he wondered whether the representatives of those two countries would agree that the new paragraphs they proposed should be added to the draft resolution instead of replacing certain paragraphs. It would be better to present a single text.

7. Replying to the Australian representative who had observed that the word "progressive" was not used in paragraph 3 of the operative part of the joint draft resolution to qualify the expression "a full measure of self-government", he pointed out that the Charter sometimes used that word, but only in cases where Chapter XI still applied to territories. Those territories must have attained a full measure of self-government in order not to come under the provisions of that Chapter, as was envisaged in the draft resolution. It was therefore logical for the word "progressive" not to be used in the text.

8. The Cuban delegation hoped that the Committee would be able to reach an agreement that would not be the result of compromise, but a recognition in all good faith of the actual situation that had to be provided for. Such an agreement would be an important factor in the cause of peace.

9. Mr. WINIEWICZ (Poland) said that in his delegation's opinion the draft resolution, while not perfect, would prove quite useful in a number of ways. It reiterated the obligations the administering Powers had contracted, which were of great importance for the future of the Non-Self-Governing Territories, particularly the obligation under Article 73 e to transmit information until such time as the territories in question had attained self-government. The Polish delegation had already spoken on those lines (264th meeting) during the general debate on the renewal of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories. It considered that the draft resolution corresponded with its own attitude in that respect and it appreciated the spirit in which it had been submitted.

¹ See Georges Scelle, *Précis du droit des gens*, Paris, 1932, *Première Partie*, p. 145.

General Assembly resolution 222 (III), which stressed that it was essential that the United Nations should be informed of any change that might take place in the constitutional status of any Non-Self-Governing Territory, was duly taken into account in the preamble. Most of the delegations were convinced that such information must be made available so that it could be seen whether a territory was advancing towards independence or whether its development was being retarded in the interests of the administering Power.

10. The Polish delegation strongly supported the USSR amendment (A/C.4/L.233) to the third paragraph of the preamble of the draft resolution, which would make the original text clearer and more explicit. Moreover, the amendment would make it possible to obtain more explicit information concerning the constitutional bonds uniting a territory to the metropolitan country and to prevent the integration of the territory into the metropolitan country, a matter which had always been the subject of some concern to the Polish delegation; it would prevent the United Nations being presented with a *fait accompli*. As far as the list of factors was concerned—and he had made certain reservations on that subject (274th meeting)—he noted that the draft resolution regarded it simply as a guide for the use of the General Assembly and the administering Powers.

11. Paragraph 3 of the operative part of the draft resolution contained a most important provision, to the effect that the factors should in no way be interpreted as a hindrance to the attainment of a full measure of self-government by the Non-Self-Governing Territories. That provision corresponded to the point of view of the Polish delegation, which considered that the problem must be approached in a realistic manner.

12. He could not accept the joint amendment submitted by the Dominican Republic and Peru, for it would rob the draft resolution of elements which the Polish delegation considered very important.

13. The Polish delegation was submitting an amendment (A/C.4/L.235) to paragraph 2 of the operative part of the draft resolution, to the effect that the words "and taking into account the right of self-determination of peoples" would be added at the end of that paragraph. That right was expressed in Article 1, paragraph 2 of the Charter and it seemed only right to mention it in the draft resolution.

14. In conclusion, Mr. Winiewicz stated that his delegation was prepared, in principle, to vote in favour of the joint draft resolution.

15. Mr. RYCKMANS (Belgium) felt that certain misunderstandings to which his statement of the 274th meeting had given rise should be cleared up. He did not consider that he had strayed from the subject under discussion in any way. He had confined himself to an analysis of the proposed factors, declaring that Belgium was willing to accept them *en bloc*, since they were all, to a greater or lesser degree, worthy of consideration. He had, however, drawn the Committee's attention—and he had every right to do so—to the consequences which the application of certain of the factors might have. The Charter did not speak of "peoples" but of "territories whose peoples..." What was it that made any given area a territory in the meaning of Article

73 e of the Charter? The factors referred to territories separated from the central government by natural geographical obstacles. He had quoted the example of peoples living in areas that were officially regarded as inaccessible to civilized people. Some members considered that before a territory could be said to be separated from the centre of government there must be a stretch of water between the two. He had put forward the case of an island. Why should he not have the right to speak of such specific cases?

16. One of the proposed factors was the political advancement of the inhabitants and their participation in the national life of the territory. He had been perfectly justified in citing the case of savage people who were recognized as such in official documents. All he had done had been to apply the proposed factors to practical cases and to draw attention to the inevitable consequences of certain criteria. If the Committee adopted those criteria, it would of necessity have to consider that any territories to which those criteria applied came under Article 73 e of the Charter.

17. Some representatives had claimed that he had brought the national territory of sovereign States into the question and that a point of order would therefore have been justified. Belgium was a sovereign State like all the other Member States. It had examined the question whether the terms of the Charter applied to the territories under its sovereignty; it had decided that they applied to the Belgian Congo, and it had not felt that to be an infringement of Belgian sovereignty or a slight to national dignity. It was simply asking that other sovereign States should similarly examine their own case. The Indonesian and Philippine representatives had admittedly declared that the records of the work done at San Francisco showed that Chapter XI of the Charter did not concern people living within the national frontiers, but he would point out that the idea was not enshrined in the Charter. The Indonesian representative had refuted the very thing he had been trying to prove when he had recalled that the Chairman of Committee II/4, upon being asked to decide the question, had refused to do so, declaring that it was too important a matter to be the subject of a ruling by the Chair.

18. Others had drawn attention to the word "metropolitan" used in Article 74 of the Charter in order to draw the conclusion that Chapter XI applied only to territories other than metropolitan territories. Now, what was to be understood by "metropolitan territory"? It was the governing territory as compared to the dependent territory, hence there could be no metropolitan territories when there were no colonial territories. Only eight members of the Fourth Committee had metropolitan territories; those were the administering Powers which, by supplying information under Article 73, recognized that their national territory consisted of a metropolitan territory and dependent territories. If there were any others, they had not fulfilled their obligations, for they had not supplied any information concerning their dependencies. Yet it was the very States which used those arguments to evade their obligations that accused the administering Powers of indulging in legal quibbles.

19. The attempt to deprive him of his right of free discussion was the more arbitrary and audacious in that it came from delegations which claimed that the

General Assembly was competent to decide whether or not a territory was self-governing. Considering that a delegation had the right to ask that the question whether or not Surinam came under Article 73 of the Charter should be included in the agenda of the General Assembly, what right had any member to try to prevent the Belgian delegation from asking in its turn for a study of the question whether Ethiopian Somaliland was in the same position?

20. Some representatives had blamed him for speaking of territories placed under the sovereignty of their governments and had taken his words as accusations. He had not intended to attack or to accuse any one. He had simply said that, in the eyes of his Government, the proposed criteria appeared to be applicable to territories other than those concerning which the administering Powers transmitted information.

21. He was proud of being an old colonial official; he was aware of the derogatory meaning attached to the word, but he considered it an honour to have devoted his career to the sacred trust his country had accepted. Among the great colonial officials whose names should be mentioned were Lyautey, who had never thought of victory without thinking of the peace that would follow it; Lugard, father of Nigeria, and founder of what later became a nation; General Rondon, who had never agreed to a battle against the indigenous inhabitants. Mr. Ryckmans would never think of attacking General Rondon's achievement—the service for the protection of Indians in Brazil—from which he could still learn a great deal. He had already said how much colonial officials appreciated the Indian Government's efforts to redeem the disinherited castes. Like the administering Powers in Black Africa, it had to struggle against poverty, ignorance, the caste system and the age-old prejudices of the higher castes. In the desire to hasten the reform, it took measures which might be unpopular and accorded privileges to those who formerly had been the victims of the privileges of others. He did not pass judgment on those measures, but when the Prime Minister of India had proposed a policy of integrated autonomy to the Nagas, saying that isolationism would be disastrous in the modern world, his language had been almost the same as that of the French representative. Without wanting to criticize that policy, Mr. Ryckmans thought that he was entitled to say that, in the light of the factors worked out by the *Ad Hoc* Committee, the question of the self-government of the Nagas should be given serious consideration.

22. He had not reproached Liberia for being a former colony. He had simply said that the founders of Liberia had acquired rights to the Benin coast in the same way as the founders of Netherlands, Danish, United Kingdom or French settlements. The Negroes from America, in penetrating the hinterland, had used the same methods as the English or French in the neighbouring territories. He had not blamed the founders of Liberia for having a language, culture and religion different from that of the indigenous inhabitants of the country they occupied, but the difference was as great as that between the French and the indigenous inhabitants of the Gold Coast. Nor had he questioned Liberia's sovereignty over its entire territory—over the tribes in the interior and the civilized countries on the coast.

23. Indonesia had accused him of choosing his examples from among the small countries. He had given typical examples, and could have cited still others. The statement of the Belgian Government (A/AC.58/1) had indicated the regions inhabited by the Eskimos in Canada, the Indians in Canada and the United States, and the Negroes in South Africa as some of the territories which, in its view, should be studied. The Belgian delegation had never claimed that all those populations came under Article 73 e of the Charter. It had merely said that their position might well be examined and had listed the cases in which examination was most likely to give positive results.

24. The Indian representative had said that the Belgian delegation had made itself the most stubborn champion of the theory of exclusive domestic jurisdiction in colonial matters. Against that reactionary theory he had held up the increasingly liberal interpretation of the Charter, and had recalled the Swedish representative's words that while in principle the Non-Self-Governing Territories came under the jurisdiction of sovereign States, it should be recognized that the fate of those territories had to a certain extent become a matter of international concern.

25. The Belgian delegation noted that for a number of years the majority of the General Assembly, by a one-sided interpretation of the Charter, had been trying to extend the scope of the international protection granted by that instrument to certain populations, while at the same time denying, by an equally one-sided interpretation, many other populations of the protection which the former had been enjoying for a quarter of a century. The Indian representative had also said that the international community took an increasing interest in the fate of the Non-Self-Governing Territories. The opposite was true, as the debates in the Fourth Committee had shown in a striking manner. When he had invited the representatives of States responsible for the administration of certain indigenous populations to consider whether those populations did not come within the purview of Chapter XI of the Charter, a number of them had protested on the grounds that he had encroached on the prerogatives of their sovereign governments.

26. From 1929 to 1934 the League of Nations had discussed at length the question of the treatment by a certain sovereign State of its indigenous inhabitants. No one at the time, not even the State concerned, had thought of questioning the right of the accuser or the right of the Council of the League of Nations to take action. That State was now a Member of the United Nations; it had not submitted information, and its representative was among those who had protested against the Belgian delegation's statements. In the circumstances, it was impossible to say that the international community was taking an increasing interest in Non-Self-Governing Territories or to accuse Belgium of being reactionary. Belgium deplored the fact that Chapter XI should express less concern than Article 23 of the Covenant of the League of Nations. That Article had been clear and had invited all Members to undertake to secure just treatment of all the populations of all territories. Belgium and seven other nations had recognized that Chapter XI related to the territories they administered. The other countries had taken advantage of the ambiguity of Article 73 e to

evade responsibility, which they could not have done if Article 23 of the Covenant of the League of Nations were still in force. They had based themselves on a restrictive interpretation of Article 73. Those countries invoked the principle of national sovereignty for themselves and rejected it for others. Belgium accepted the principle of the overriding interests of the indigenous inhabitants if it was applied to all indigenous inhabitants; it could not accept discrimination. He had already cited the example of New Zealand which applied the principle to the indigenous inhabitants of its own national territory, in the Cook and Tokelau Islands, without considering its sovereignty thereby diminished. All that Belgium asked was that some other States should do likewise.

27. Mr. AMDE MIKAEL (Ethiopia), in reply to the Belgian representative, recalled that the Somali territories had been part of Ethiopia for many centuries. It was only at the end of the nineteenth century that those territories had been temporarily seized from Ethiopia by European imperialists. It was therefore impossible to compare those territories with the African colonies of the European countries.

28. Mr. DE MARCHENA (Dominican Republic) said that if the amendment submitted by the Dominican Republic and Peru was to be combined with the joint draft resolution, the second paragraph of the preamble would have to be deleted, as it was already implied in the first paragraph; also, paragraph 5 of the operative part of the joint draft resolution would have to be modified so as to be brought into line with paragraph 1 of the operative part of the amendment. Paragraph 4 of the operative part of the joint draft resolution could not be retained as it contained a statement on the substance of the problem, which was incompatible with an invitation to continue the study of the factors. The paragraph might possibly be adopted as a separate proposal.

29. Mr. KHATTAK (Pakistan) thought that the list drawn up by the *Ad Hoc* Committee (A/2178) was a useful guide, it being understood that the case of each territory had to be examined in the light of its particular circumstances.

30. The Committee's debates had brought out two different conceptions of the Charter, one static and the other dynamic. According to the former, the Charter was a rigid document. According to the latter, it must develop with the changes in the international situation, and was a starting point rather than the ultimate goal. It was worth noting, however, that the administering Powers which took a rigid view in the Fourth Committee, became idealists in the Political Committee.

31. The administering Powers refused to recognize that the United Nations had any say on the future of the Non-Self-Governing Territories, which they regarded as a purely domestic matter. Pakistan felt, on the contrary, that the United Nations had an abiding interest in the welfare and future of Non-Self-Governing Territories. In order to ascertain whether a territory had reached full self-government, it was not sufficient to examine constitutional texts. The sincerity of the administering Powers' intentions must be established, and that was a question which could not be settled by any list of factors.

32. It was because the case of colonies administered by people of a totally different language, culture and religion was distinct from that of metropolitan regions that the authors of the Charter had devoted a separate chapter to the Non-Self-Governing Territories. The United Nations could release an administering Power from the obligation to transmit information under Article 73 e only after it became convinced that the territory in question was ready for membership of the United Nations, and admission to membership should precede cessation of reports to the United Nations.

33. He would vote in favour of the joint draft resolution.

34. Mr. LOPEZ VILLAMIL (Honduras) noted that Chapter XI of the Charter was part of positive international law and the administering Powers had assumed certain specific legal obligations under Article 73.

35. Some administering Powers seemed to forget the exact scope of Chapter XI, even as the representative of Belgium seemed to forget that his country had once been a Spanish colony. The sole purpose of his irrelevant references to matters concerning sovereign States was to divert the Committee's attention from the point at issue. True, there were, in some countries of Latin America, populations with a lower degree of civilization, but they lived on the territory of sovereign States and enjoyed equal rights with the other inhabitants of those countries. He recalled that in Latin America many persons were proud of having Indian blood in their veins, and racial discrimination was unknown there.

36. If the Committee were to adopt the point of view of the administering Powers, which claimed to be the sole judges of when they would cease to transmit information on a territory, it would be sanctioning colonialism. Even if the United Nations did not exist, the march of history and the enslaved peoples' struggle for liberation and independence could not be stopped.

37. It should be remembered that even after its liberation from the Spanish yoke, Central America had remained the object of the imperialist greed of some European Powers. Thus the United Kingdom had illegally seized the territory of Belize (British Honduras), which it still occupied.

38. He briefly reviewed the history of the Trusteeship System which had followed the mandates system of the League of Nations, and showed that Article 73 constituted a phenomenological rather than ontological norm and that sub-paragraph b of that Article imposed certain political obligations on the administering Powers.

39. The Honduras delegation would vote for the joint draft resolution, which it considered very moderate. The principle of the right of peoples to self-determination was of capital importance and it included also the right of independent peoples to dispose freely of their natural resources.

40. The text submitted by the Dominican Republic and Peru was more in the nature of a separate draft resolution than an amendment. He was ready to agree to the deletion of the second paragraph of the preamble to the joint draft resolution, but saw no reason for changing paragraph 1 of the operative part. He would accept paragraphs 2, 3 and 4 proposed by the

Dominican Republic and Peru as an addition to, but not as a substitution for, the joint draft resolution.

41. U THANT (Burma) said he had not been convinced by the Belgian representative's arguments, which had no bearing whatever on the question under discussion. He recognized that his country, like most others, was faced with minority problems. Nevertheless the overwhelming majority of Karens co-operated fully with the Burmese Government in its efforts to strengthen the recently won independence of Burma. The Belgian representative's remarks concerning an entirely independent country were totally irrelevant.

42. He accepted the amendment proposed by the Dominican Republic and Peru to the preamble to the joint draft resolution, but he could not agree to the proposed amendment to paragraph 1 of the operative part, as the list of factors drawn up by the *Ad Hoc* Committee would serve as a useful guide in determining whether a territory had become completely self-governing. It would in any case be impossible to compile a list including all the factors involved.

43. Burma could accept operative paragraphs 2, 3 and 4 as proposed by the Dominican Republic and Peru only if, instead of replacing the corresponding paragraphs of the joint draft resolution, they were added to the latter. In that case, the texts of paragraphs 1 and 4 of the operative part of the draft resolution should be brought into harmony with the paragraphs of the amendment.

44. Finally, Burma would vote for the USSR amendment, which would strengthen the original text; and for the Polish amendment, which was useful in that it drew attention to the principle of the right of peoples to self-determination.

45. Mr. AGUIRRE (Uruguay) paid a tribute to the generous sentiments which had prompted the authors of the joint draft resolution. While entirely sharing the point of view of the authors of the draft with regard to the objectives to be attained, the Uruguayan delegation considered, however, that the draft resolution went too far because it regarded as settled certain problems in respect of which there were fundamental divergencies of view.

46. Thus the second paragraph of the preamble mentioned the objectives set forth in Chapter XI of the Charter, though those objectives were variously interpreted not only by the parties concerned, but also by experts on international law. It would be unwise to interpret the provisions of Chapter XI in any particular way before the United Nations itself had reached a definite decision on the matter. If the work done was to be of any use, it must be based on a solid legal foundation.

47. Paragraph 4 of the operative part contained the same mistake, since it referred to a full measure of self-government, although that expression had not had any definite interpretation attached to it by the United Nations.

48. The delegation of Uruguay could therefore give its support to the joint draft resolution if the two paragraphs it had criticized were deleted. Furthermore, the amendments submitted by the Dominican Republic and Peru should be incorporated in the joint draft.

49. Mr. ULLRICH (Czechoslovakia) said the administering Powers were attempting to attach to Article 73 of the Charter a meaning similar to that of Articles 22 and 23 of the Covenant of the League of Nations. In particular, they claimed that they themselves were alone competent to decide whether a territory had attained a full measure of self-government. Furthermore, they were putting that theory into practice, and, contrary to the provisions of Article 73 e of the Charter, discontinuing the transmission of information in respect of certain territories.

50. The attitude of the administering Powers in claiming sole responsibility for the Non-Self-Governing Territories was contrary not only to international law but also to the provisions of the Charter itself. Chapter XI set forth principles and imposed obligations which had the force of law for all Members of the United Nations. It was therefore both the right and the duty of the non-administering Members to see that the provisions of Chapter XI were respected.

51. Chapter XI did not merely set forth the principles according to which the Non-Self-Governing Territories should be administered, and the objectives to be attained. Article 73 e also imposed upon the administering Powers definite obligations. Obviously, the rights and obligations under Chapter XI were binding only until a Non-Self-Governing Territory had attained a full measure of self-government. It followed that, sooner or later, the United Nations would have to decide whether a particular territory had attained a full measure of self-government. It was on that principle that General Assembly resolutions 222 (III) and 567 (VI) were based. It also followed that the decision as to whether a territory came under Article 73 of the Charter should be made not by the administering Powers alone but also by the other Members of the United Nations. Only the General Assembly was competent to say when the transmission of information on Non-Self-Governing Territories should begin and when it should end. The General Assembly could agree that the transmission of information should be discontinued only if it was convinced that the territory concerned had attained independence, in other words, if the population of the territory had complete control of the legislative, executive and judicial powers.

52. It was in the light of those considerations that it was necessary to consider the question of the factors which should be taken into account in deciding whether a territory was, or was not, a territory whose people had not yet attained a full measure of self-government. As at present drafted, however, the proposed criteria would allow the administering Powers to discontinue the transmission of information in respect of certain territories on the grounds that those territories had attained self-government in practice.

53. In spite of its omissions, the report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Factors represented a step forward, but the Committee's work would be in vain if the General Assembly did not have the necessary data, particularly the information which the administering Powers were bound to transmit under General Assembly resolution 222 (III).

54. For the reasons it had just stated, the Czechoslovak delegation would vote for all draft resolutions and amendments which protested against the arbitrary

discontinuance of the transmission of information on Non-Self-Governing Territories and were designed to promote the achievement of the objectives of the Charter.

55. Mr. ARAOZ (Bolivia) said he did not wish to repeat the arguments already advanced by a large number of delegations.

56. He expressed his satisfaction with the work done by the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Factors and emphasized that, when a decision had to be taken as to whether or not a territory had attained a full measure of self-government, a list of factors could, in the opinion of the Committee itself, be valuable only as a guide. Obviously, the principles could be finally established only in the light of experience. Quite properly, therefore, paragraph 2 of the operative part of the joint draft resolution recognized that each concrete case should be considered and decided in the light of the particular circumstances of that case. It was no use attempting to define immediately the expression "a full measure of self-government"; and it was better to take certain essential factors as a starting point, to acquire practical experience and then finally to prepare definitions based on the information thus gained.

57. He was also of the opinion that no distinction could be established between the attainment by a territory of a full measure of self-government or independence and the attainment by a territory of self-government in economic, social and educational matters. Some countries, such as Bolivia, had attained political independence before attaining self-government in economic matters.

58. The delegation of Bolivia supported the joint draft resolution as well as the amendments submitted by the Dominican Republic and Peru. It considered, however, that instead of being substituted for certain parts of the joint draft, those amendments should be added to it.

59. Mr. CALERO RODRIGUES (Brazil) considered that the statements made by the Belgian representative at the 274th meeting and at the present meeting revealed a mistaken conception of the principal purpose of Article 73 of the Charter, and particularly of paragraph b of that Article. The Belgian representative had attempted to establish a parallel between the obligations of sovereign States towards the less-developed sections of their populations and the obligations of the colonial Powers towards the peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories. Hence it would appear that the Belgian Government assumed no political obligation with regard to the future of the Belgian Congo. The Fourth Committee should take note of that negative attitude.

60. Furthermore, the representative of Belgium had spoken of General Rondon. Mr. Calero Rodrigues did not think, however, that General Rondon, an eminent Brazilian of Indian descent, would like to see himself compared with certain outstanding colonialists.

61. The Brazilian delegation was in favour of the joint draft resolution, which approached the problem correctly. While approving the list of factors, the draft resolution said it might serve as a guide but that each concrete case should be considered and decided with reference to the particular circumstances of that case.

As several speakers had said, no list of factors would ever be enough to solve the problem, although the *Ad Hoc* Committee has done some very useful work. The factors must not, therefore, be considered absolutely valid.

62. The delegation of Brazil shared the opinion expressed by the United Kingdom representative (274th meeting) with regard to the usefulness of paragraph 3 of the operative part of the joint draft; the factors were safeguards and must never become a hindrance to the attainment by the Non-Self-Governing Territories of a full measure of self-government. As the representative of China had said, however, the drafting of the paragraph could be improved.

63. Like other delegations, the Brazilian delegation was of the opinion that objections could hardly be raised to the second paragraph of the preamble and paragraph 4 of the operative part, which were mere truisms. Paragraph 4 of the operative part might even seem unnecessary, for economic self-government, educational self-government, social self-government were meaningless expressions; self-government could obviously mean only a people's right to manage its own affairs.

64. While recognizing that a Non-Self-Governing Territory might decide to associate itself with the State by which it had formerly been administered, the Brazilian delegation could not agree that administering Powers should be able to free themselves from their obligations under Article 73 e by the mere assertion that they had transferred to a non-self-governing people entire responsibility in economic, social and educational matters. The Charter made no provision for any kind of limited self-government.

65. He also shared the opinion expressed by the representative of Cuba with regard to the indivisibility of self-government. He could not accept the French representative's contention that there were territories which, while not entirely self-governing, were no longer non-self-governing. That idea had no legal basis. Under the provisions of Chapter XI, a full measure of self-government must be attained before the transmission of information provided for in Article 73 e of the Charter came to an end.

66. Mr. FOURIE (Union of South Africa) said that his delegation could not accept the second paragraph of the preamble or paragraph 4 of the operative part of the joint draft resolution because they referred ambiguously to Chapter XI.

67. There were two distinct aspects of Chapter XI of the Charter. On the one hand, it contained a unilateral declaration on the part of the administering Powers, which extended to political matters; on the other hand, it imposed certain obligations, which, however, were confined to the transmission of the information provided for in Article 73 e. For the purpose of Chapter XI, it would therefore be wrong to equate the idea of

self-government of a people with that of the independence of a territory either as a separate international entity or in association with other entities, and consequently to suggest that self-government was not self-government within Article 73 e unless it involved independence.

68. He would like to recall that it was the administering Powers themselves who had unilaterally decided on which territories they would transmit information. It was therefore logical to conclude that they alone also had competence to decide whether any of those territories had attained self-government in the various branches of activity enumerated in Article 73 e.

69. The delegation of the Union of South Africa was of the opinion that it would at present be premature to approve the list of factors that had been prepared, as advocated in paragraph 1 of the operative part of the joint draft resolution. Furthermore, paragraph 5 of the operative part would have the effect of imposing on the administering Powers obligations which they had not assumed when they signed the Charter and of assigning to the General Assembly functions which, under the Charter, it did not possess.

70. Lastly, with regard to the amendments submitted by the Dominican Republic and Peru, he supported the idea of further study. He was not sure, however, as to the meaning and scope of sub-paragraph 3 (b) of the operative part which the Dominican Republic and Peru proposed should be substituted for the operative part of the joint draft.

71. Mr. DE MARCHENA (Dominican Republic) asked the Netherlands delegation, in connexion with the amendment (A/C.4/L.236) it had submitted, whether it would agree to incorporate the new paragraph 4 it proposed in paragraph 3 of the operative part as proposed by the Dominican Republic and Peru. The new paragraph 5 proposed by the Netherlands would come after the paragraph 4 proposed by the Dominican Republic and Peru.

72. Mr. RIEMENS (Netherlands) accepted the proposal of the representative of the Dominican Republic.

73. Mr. PEREZ CISNEROS (Cuba) said he could not accept the proposals made by the delegations of the Dominican Republic and Peru, particularly with regard to the deletion of the second paragraph of the preamble and paragraph 4 of the operative part. The Cuban delegation would, however, vote for those proposals if they were added to the joint draft resolution.

74. Mr. LESCURE (Argentina) proposed the addition to the joint draft resolution of the paragraphs the Dominican Republic and Peru had proposed as a substitute text for the operative part of the draft. He would submit an amendment in writing to that effect.

The meeting rose at 6.20 p.m.

GENERAL
ASSEMBLY

SEVENTH SESSION

Official Records



FOURTH COMMITTEE, 278th

MEETING

Tuesday, 18 November 1952, at 10.30 a.m.

Headquarters, New York

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Chairman: Mr. Rodolfo MUNOZ (Argentina).

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[Item 36]*

1. Mr. COCK (Colombia) said that his country regarded the principle of self-determination as one of the most sacred rights. Each State was entitled to govern itself as it saw fit. It was a norm of international law that the will of the people was the only factor which should be taken into account. Nevertheless, certain territories were obviously not in a position to exercise their right of self-determination and had therefore been granted a special international status under Chapter XI of the Charter.

2. A number of brilliant arguments had been advanced for and against the list of factors contained in the report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Factors (A/2178). Any enumeration was, by its very nature, restrictive and, if the factors in the proposed list were regarded as exhaustive, paragraph 5 of the operative part of the joint draft resolution (A/C.4/L.231 and Corr.1) would impose a binding obligation on the General Assembly. It would be a great mistake to exclude altogether the possibility of other additional factors and, indeed, such a step would seem to contradict the reservation in paragraph 2 of the draft resolution. A restrictive list could only lead to confusion under Article 73 e, particularly since it was clear from paragraph 4 of the draft resolution—which should be deleted—that the concept of self-government had not been defined precisely enough.

* Indicates the item number on the agenda of the General Assembly.

3. His delegation would be prepared to accept the proposed list of factors as a guide which would not impose binding obligations on the General Assembly. No formal resolution was necessary. He could see no objection, however, to noting the list of factors and undertaking a further study, although care should be taken not to make the list even more restrictive than it was. He would therefore vote in favour of the amendments submitted by the delegations of the Dominican Republic and Peru (A/C.4/L.234 and Corr.1) with the exception of the proposed new paragraph 2.

4. The Polish amendment (A/C.4/L.235) and the USSR amendment (A/C.4/L.233) did not substantially change the contents of the original draft resolution so his comments on it applied equally to them.

5. The Netherlands delegation was to be congratulated on its constructive amendment (A/C.4/L.236), but his delegation regretted that it did not feel that it would be opportune to vote in favour of that amendment. The unforeseen must always be borne in mind in international politics.

6. Nor would his delegation be able to vote for the amalgamated text of the original draft resolution and the amendments submitted by the Dominican Republic and Peru suggested in the Argentine amendments (A/C.4/L.237 and A/C.4/L.238).

7. Mr. MIKAoui (Lebanon) said that his delegation's views had been clearly explained by the sponsors of the joint draft resolution. He would vote in favour of that draft resolution and the Argentine amendments, with the exception of the proposed deletion of the second paragraph of the preamble.

8. His delegation was prepared to vote in favour of the Polish amendment, because it had always upheld the principle of self-determination. It would also vote in favour of the USSR amendment, as a formula which had already been adopted by the United Nations. He was also speaking on behalf of the Iraqi delegation.

9. Mr. PONCE YEPEZ (Ecuador) proposed that the words "for the purposes of Chapter XI of the Charter" (A/C.4/L.239) should be added at the end of sub-paragraph (c) of the new paragraph 3 of the operative part as proposed by the amendment of the Dominican Republic and Peru (A/C.4/L.234 and Corr.1, para. 4). He requested that that paragraph should be put to the vote in parts.

10. Mr. DE MARCHENA (Dominican Republic) supported the request in regard to the vote on paragraph 3, but neither his delegation nor the Peruvian delegation could accept the Ecuadorean amendment to their amendment.

11. Both delegations however were prepared to accept the inclusion in their amendment of the two Netherlands sub-amendments.

12. The CHAIRMAN announced that he would put the joint draft resolution to the vote paragraph by paragraph and that the various amendments would be put to the vote in connexion with the paragraphs to which they applied.

13. He put to the vote the first paragraph of the preamble to the joint draft resolution (A/C.4/L.231 and Corr.1).

14. Mr. DE MARCHENA (Dominican Republic) requested a roll-call vote.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

Denmark, having been drawn by lot by the Chairman, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Lebanon, Liberia, Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Saudi Arabia, Sweden, Syria, Thailand, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of South Africa, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Cuba, Czechoslovakia.

Against: None.

The first paragraph of the preamble was adopted by 55 votes to none.

15. The CHAIRMAN put to the vote the second paragraph of the preamble to the joint draft resolution (A/C.4/L.231 and Corr.1).

16. Mr. DE MARCHENA (Dominican Republic) requested a roll-call vote.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

Cuba having been drawn by lot by the Chairman, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Liberia, Mexico, Norway, Pakistan, Philippines, Poland, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Thailand, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Venezuela, Yemen,

Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Chile, China.

Against: Netherlands, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Australia, Belgium, Canada, Colombia.

Abstaining: Denmark, Dominican Republic, France, Greece, Israel, Luxembourg, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Peru, Sweden, Uruguay.

The second paragraph of the preamble was adopted by 36 votes to 8, with 11 abstentions.

17. Mr. RYCKMANS (Belgium) said that he had voted against the second paragraph of the preamble because the statement it contained was incorrect. If a country was granted independence, the obligation to report ceased immediately.

18. The CHAIRMAN put to the vote the USSR amendment (A/C.4/L.233) to the third paragraph of the preamble of the joint draft resolution.

19. Mr. DE MARCHENA (Dominican Republic) requested a roll-call vote.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

Iraq, having been drawn by lot by the Chairman, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Iraq, Lebanon, Mexico, Pakistan, Philippines, Poland, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Czechoslovakia, India, Indonesia, Iran.

Against: Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Sweden, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Australia, Belgium, Canada, France.

Abstaining: Israel, Liberia, Nicaragua, Peru, Thailand, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, China, Colombia, Cuba, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras.

The amendment was adopted by 19 votes to 11, with 25 abstentions.

20. The CHAIRMAN put to the vote the third paragraph of the preamble as amended.

21. Mr. DE MARCHENA (Dominican Republic) requested a roll-call vote.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, having been drawn by lot by the Chairman, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Chile, China, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Liberia, Mexico, Pakistan, Philippines, Poland,

Saudi Arabia, Syria, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

Against: Union of South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Australia, Belgium, Canada, France, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand.

Abstaining: United States of America, Uruguay, Colombia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Israel, Nicaragua, Norway, Peru, Sweden, Thailand.

The third paragraph of the preamble, as amended, was adopted by 35 votes to 9, with 11 abstentions.

The fourth paragraph of the preamble was adopted by 52 votes to none, with 2 abstentions.

The fifth paragraph of the preamble was adopted by 41 votes to 12, with 1 abstention.

22. The CHAIRMAN put to the vote the paragraph proposed as an addition to the preamble by the delegations of the Dominican Republic and Peru (A/C.4/L.234 and Corr.1, para. 2).

The paragraph was adopted by 36 votes to none, with 17 abstentions, and became the sixth paragraph of the preamble.

23. The CHAIRMAN put to the vote the Argentine amendment (A/C.4/L.237, para. 2) to paragraph 1 of the operative part of the joint draft resolution.

24. Mr. DE MARCHENA (Dominican Republic) requested a roll-call vote.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

Norway, having been drawn by lot by the Chairman, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Peru, Philippines, Thailand, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Chile, China, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iran, Israel, Lebanon, Mexico.

Against: Australia, Belgium, France, Luxembourg.

Abstaining: Norway, Pakistan, Poland, Saudi Arabia, Sweden, Syria, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of South Africa, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Yemen, Afghanistan, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Colombia, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Ethiopia, Greece, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Liberia, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua.

The amendment was adopted by 23 votes to 4, with 28 abstentions.

25. The CHAIRMAN put to the vote paragraph 1 of the operative part (A/C.4/L.231 and Corr.1), as amended.

26. Mr. DE MARCHENA (Dominican Republic) requested a roll-call vote.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

Egypt, having been drawn by lot by the Chairman, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Liberia, Mexico, Pakistan, Philippines,

Poland, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Thailand, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Chile, China, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Ecuador.

Against: France, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Peru, Sweden, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Australia, Belgium, Canada, Colombia, Denmark, Dominican Republic.

Abstaining: Israel, Nicaragua, Uruguay.

Paragraph 1 of the operative part, as amended, was adopted by 36 votes to 16, with 3 abstentions.

27. Mr. DE MARCHENA (Dominican Republic) and Mr. SALAZAR (Peru) withdrew paragraph 3 of their joint amendment (A/C.4/L.234 and Corr.1) to the joint draft resolution.

28. The CHAIRMAN put to the vote the Polish amendment (A/C.4/L.235) to paragraph 2 of the operative part of the joint draft resolution.

29. Mr. KHALIDY (Iraq) requested a roll-call vote.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

Nicaragua, having been drawn by lot by the Chairman, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Thailand, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Chile, China, Colombia, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Lebanon, Liberia, Mexico.

Against: Union of South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Uruguay, Belgium, Canada, France, Luxembourg.

Abstaining: Nicaragua, Norway, Sweden, United States of America, Australia, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Netherlands, New Zealand.

The amendment was adopted by 39 votes to 7, with 9 abstentions.

Paragraph 2 of the operative part of the joint draft resolution, as amended, was adopted by 47 votes to 1, with 6 abstentions.

Paragraph 3 of the operative part of the joint draft resolution was adopted by 49 votes to 1, with 5 abstentions.

30. Mr. DE MARCHENA (Dominican Republic) explained that he had voted against paragraph 3 because his delegation maintained its original proposal in the joint amendment (A/C.4/L.234 and Corr.1) to delete paragraphs 2, 3, 4 and 5 of the operative part of the draft resolution.

31. The CHAIRMAN put to the vote paragraph 4 of the operative part of the joint draft resolution (A/C.4/L.231 and Corr.1).

32. Mr. PEREZ CISNEROS (Cuba) requested a roll-call vote.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

Sweden, having been drawn by lot by the Chairman, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Syria, Thailand, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Chile, China, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Liberia, Mexico, Pakistan, Philippines, Poland, Saudi Arabia.

Against: Sweden, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Australia, Belgium, Canada, Colombia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, France, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Peru.

Abstaining: Greece, Israel.

Paragraph 4 of the operative part was adopted by 35 votes to 18, with 2 abstentions.

33. Mr. DE MARCHENA (Dominican Republic) said that he had voted against paragraph 4 of the operative part for the same reason that he had voted against paragraph 3, and also because of his delegation's views regarding the need to define the term "self-government".

34. The CHAIRMAN put to the vote paragraph 5 of the operative part of the joint draft resolution (A/C.4/L.231 and Corr.1), with the insertion of the word "provisionally" as proposed by the Argentine delegation in document A/C.4/L.238 and accepted by the six Powers sponsoring the joint draft resolution.

35. Mr. MENDOZA (Guatemala) requested a roll-call vote.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

Burma, having been drawn by lot by the Chairman, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Chile, China, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Liberia, Mexico, Pakistan, Philippines, Poland, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Thailand, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil.

Against: Canada, Dominican Republic, France, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Australia, Belgium.

Abstaining: Colombia, Israel, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Peru, Sweden, United States of America.

Paragraph 5 of the operative part, as amended, was adopted by 38 votes to 9, with 8 abstentions.

36. The CHAIRMAN put to the vote as an additional paragraph the new paragraph 2 of the operative part proposed in paragraph 4 of the joint Dominican-Peruvian amendment (A/C.4/L.234 and Corr.1).

The paragraph was adopted by 32 votes to 6, with 15 abstentions, and became paragraph 6 of the operative part of the joint draft resolution.

37. The CHAIRMAN put to the vote the first part of the new paragraph 3 of the operative part proposed in the joint Dominican-Peruvian amendment (A/C.4/L.234 and Corr.1, para. 4), with the addition of the new paragraph 4 proposed by the Netherlands in document A/C.4/L.236, the combined text to read as follows:

"Invites the said Committee to take into account inter alia the list of factors (A/2178) prepared in 1952 by the Ad Hoc Committee set up under General Assembly resolution 567 (VI); the statements transmitted by governments in compliance with the aforementioned resolution; and, further, to take into account the following additional elements:"

That text was adopted by 33 votes to none, with 20 abstentions, and became the first part of paragraph 7 of the operative part of the draft resolution.

38. The CHAIRMAN put to the vote sub-paragraph 3 (a) of the operative part as proposed in the amendment submitted by the Dominican Republic and Peru (A/C.4/L.234 and Corr.1, para. 4).

The sub-paragraph was adopted by 20 votes to 17, with 4 abstentions, and became sub-paragraph 7 (a) of the operative part of the draft resolution.

39. Mr. DJERDA (Yugoslavia) requested a roll-call vote on sub-paragraph 3 (b) of the operative part as proposed in the amendment submitted by the Dominican Republic and Peru.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

The Netherlands, having been drawn by lot by the Chairman, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Thailand, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Chile, China, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Liberia, Mexico.

Against: United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Belgium, France, Luxembourg.

Abstaining: Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Sweden, Union of South Africa, United States of America, Australia, Canada, Colombia, Denmark, Israel.

The sub-paragraph was adopted by 39 votes to 4, with 12 abstentions and became sub-paragraph 7 (b) of the operative part of the draft resolution.

40. The CHAIRMAN put to the vote the Ecuadorean amendment (A/C.4/L.239) to sub-paragraph 3 (c) of the operative part as proposed in the amendment submitted by the Dominican Republic and Peru (A/C.4/L.234 and Corr.1, para. 4).

The amendment was adopted by 14 votes to none, with 35 abstentions.

Sub-paragraph 3 (c) as amended, was adopted by 39 votes to 1, with 14 abstentions, and became sub-paragraph 7 (c) of the operative part of the draft resolution.

Paragraph 3 of the operative part as proposed in the amendment submitted by the Dominican Republic and Peru (A/C.4/L.234 and Corr.1, para. 4) was adopted as a whole, as amended by 42 votes to none, with 12 abstentions, and became paragraph 7 of the operative part of the draft resolution.

Paragraph 5 of the operative part as proposed in the amendment submitted by the Netherlands (A/C.4/L.236) was adopted by 25 votes to none, with 27 abstentions, and became paragraph 8 of the operative part of the draft resolution.

41. Mr. KHALIDY (Iraq) suggested that the words "two weeks" in paragraph 4 of the operative part as proposed in the amendment submitted by the Dominican Republic and Peru (A/C.4/L.234 and Corr.1, para. 4) should be changed to "not later than four weeks" in order to give the *ad hoc* committee time to carry out the proposed study.

42. Mr. DE MARCHENA (Dominican Republic) and Mr. SALAZAR (Peru) agreed to that proposal.

The paragraph, as amended, was adopted by 39 votes to none, with 13 abstentions, and became paragraph 9 of the operative part of the draft resolution.

43. Mr. GERIG (United States of America) suggested that before the vote was taken on the draft resolution as a whole the Secretary-General should be asked for an estimate of the expenditure involved.

44. Mr. FOURIE (Union of South Africa) pointed out that according to rule 152 of the rules of procedure an estimate was required before a resolution involving expenditure was adopted by the General Assembly in plenary session.

45. Mr. RYCKMANS (Belgium) said that the French text of rule 152 made it quite clear that no committee could adopt a resolution involving expenditure without first having an estimate.

46. The CHAIRMAN thought that that point should have been raised at an earlier stage of the debate.

47. Mr. KHALIDY (Iraq) observed that in fact there were no financial implications. The only expenditure caused by the previous *Ad Hoc* Committee on Factors had been a small sum for printing, which was not usually taken into consideration by the General Assembly.

A vote was taken by roll-call on the draft resolution (A/C.4/L.231 and Corr.1) as a whole, as amended.

Panama, having been drawn by lot by the Chairman, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Philippines, Poland, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Thailand, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Chile, China, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Guatemala, Haiti, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Liberia, Mexico, Pakistan.

Against: Sweden, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Australia, Belgium, Colombia, Denmark, France, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand.

Abstaining: Peru, Uruguay, Canada, Dominican Republic, Greece, Israel, Nicaragua, Norway.

The draft resolution as a whole, as amended, was adopted by 34 votes to 12, with 8 abstentions.

48. Mrs. SKOTTSBERG-AHMAN (Sweden) wished to explain her delegation's reasons for voting against the draft resolution.

49. That negative vote should not be construed as an objection in principle to the attempt to formulate a list of factors. The Swedish delegation had supported the decision to appoint the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Factors at the sixth session of the General Assembly, on the understanding, as expressly stated in the annex to the Assembly resolution, that the General Assembly could only indicate those factors. That was still more clearly stated in the report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee, which said that no enumeration of factors could do more than serve as a guide in determining whether a territory was or was not fully self-governing.

50. The draft resolution contained in document A/C.4/L.231 and Corr.1 recognized that principle in parts of the preamble, in operative paragraph 1 and in operative paragraph 2, but the Swedish delegation felt that it was contradicted in operative paragraph 4. If a territory was to be regarded as self-governing in economic, social and educational matters only when it had attained self-government in the political field also, no room was left for the consideration of particular circumstances in each case. Such a general declaration of principle went beyond the stated purpose of merely indicating guiding factors and in fact ran counter to it.

51. The Swedish delegation would have welcomed the joint amendment submitted by the Dominican Republic and Peru as a substitute for the original six-Power draft. It had not, however, been satisfied by the incorporation of parts of the amendment in the original draft and had therefore been unable to vote for the final text, especially in view of the fact that paragraph 4 had been retained.

52. Mr. PEON DEL VALLE (Mexico) had voted in favour of the proposal submitted by the Dominican Republic and Peru, though subject to the reservation that the committee's terms of reference should include the duty of reporting to the eighth session of the General Assembly. If that was not the intention, he would have to reserve his delegation's position in the plenary session.

53. Mr. GERIG (United States of America) had voted against the draft resolution for reasons similar to those expressed by the Swedish representative. The resolution appeared to postulate, first, the indivisibility of autonomy and, secondly, the General Assembly's competence to decide on the status attained by a territory, both disputed theories which the United States delegation was unable to accept. Such theories might have been made the subject of study by a committee such as that which had been set up.

54. Mr. DE MARCHENA (Dominican Republic) said he had abstained from voting on the draft resolution as a whole for the reasons he had given during the general debate. The inclusion of certain points from the Dominican-Peruvian proposal had not enabled him to vote for the whole because the second paragraph of the preamble and paragraph 4 of the operative part had been retained.

55. Mr. NAJAR (Israel) had been unable to vote for the draft resolution as a whole because he felt that it treated as settled issues questions on which further consultation would have been advisable. He felt that the empirical nature of the Committee's work

should be stressed and the door left open for a further endeavour to settle the questions of principle involved.

56. Mr. PEREZ CISNEROS (Cuba) raised the question of the list of countries to be chosen as members of the *ad hoc* committee.

57. The CHAIRMAN had assumed that the Committee would return to that question after the draft resolution had been before the General Assembly. There was, however, nothing to prevent representatives from making nominations before then if they wished to do so.

The meeting rose at 2.30 p.m.



Factors which should be taken into account in deciding whether a territory is or is not a territory whose people have not yet attained a full measure of self-government¹

Cessation of the transmission of information under Article 73 e of the Charter: Netherlands Antilles and Surinam¹

Report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Factors (Non-Self-Governing Territories)

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I. CONSTITUTION OF THE *Ad Hoc* COMMITTEE

1. By resolution 648 (VII) adopted on 10 December 1952, the General Assembly appointed an *Ad Hoc* Committee of ten members comprising Australia, Belgium, Burma, Cuba, Guatemala, Iraq, Netherlands, United Kingdom, United States of America and Venezuela, in order to continue and carry out a more thorough study of the factors which will have to be taken into account in deciding whether a territory has or has not attained a full measure of self-government. The Committee was invited to take into account the list of factors prepared in 1952 by the *Ad Hoc* Committee set up under General Assembly resolution 567 (VI) and the statements transmitted by governments in compliance with the aforementioned resolution. The Committee was also invited to take into account certain additional elements (see section 10 below).

2. By resolution 650 (VII) adopted on 20 December 1952, the *Ad Hoc* Committee was invited to examine carefully, in the light of resolution 648 (VII), the documents submitted by the Netherlands Government relating to the cessation of information in respect of the Netherlands Antilles and Surinam.

3. The *Ad Hoc* Committee met at the Headquarters of the United Nations on 21 July 1953 and held eight meetings between that date and 30 July 1953.

II. OFFICERS

4. The officers of the Committee were the following:
Chairman: Mr. Awni Khalidy (Iraq)

Vice-Chairman and Rapporteur: Mr. Benjamin Gerig (United States of America)

¹ Items 33 and 34 (a) respectively of the provincial agenda of the eighth session (A/2416).

III. DEVELOPMENT OF THE STUDY OF FACTORS

5. By resolution 334 (IV) adopted on 2 December 1949, the General Assembly had invited the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories "to examine the factors which should be taken into account in deciding whether any territory is or is not a territory whose people have not yet attained a full measure of self-government".

6. In 1951 the Committee on Information prepared a report which was submitted to the General Assembly at its sixth session.² At that session, the Fourth Committee appointed a sub-committee (Sub-Committee 9) to undertake a further examination of the question; on the report of that Sub-Committee it adopted a resolution which was approved by the General Assembly as resolution 567 (VI).

7. By resolution 567 (VI) the General Assembly decided to take as a basis the list of factors which had been drawn up at the sixth session and to appoint an *ad hoc* committee to carry out a further study of the factors taking into account the information available. This information included the views which the Members were invited to transmit by the resolution itself, and earlier information transmitted to the Secretary-General on the reasons which had led certain of the Administering Members to cease to transmit information on certain of the territories previously enumerated as Non-Self-Governing Territories.

8. The 1952 *Ad Hoc* Committee reported to the General Assembly at its seventh session.³ After the report had been examined by the Fourth Committee,

² See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Sixth Session, Supplement No. 14*, document A/1836, part IV.

³ *Ibid.*, *Seventh Session, Annexes*, agenda item 36, document A/2178.

the General Assembly adopted resolution 648 (VII) approving provisionally the list of factors as established in 1952 but appointing the present *Ad Hoc* Committee with the terms of reference set forth in paragraph 1 above.

9. The foregoing history shows the degree of attention which has been paid to the problem in recent years, and is an indication of the complexities involved. From the beginning, it was agreed that no list of factors could serve as more than a guide in determining whether any particular territory has attained a full measure of self-government. Moreover, as stated in resolution 648 (VII), each concrete case should be considered and decided in the light of the particular circumstances of that case. Taking these circumstances into consideration, it may be thought that, while a further refining and clarification of the list of factors would still be possible, a stage may have been reached in the studies of the subject which makes unnecessary any immediate action, since the present list is sufficient to serve as a guide in the sense indicated in resolution 648 (VII), permitting the full consideration of each concrete case.

10. The representative of Iraq suggested that the General Assembly should refer the list of factors and the question of the interpretation and development of those factors in the light of changing circumstances, to the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories as one of its regular charges and responsibilities. This suggestion was supported by the representatives of Burma, Cuba, Guatemala and Venezuela. The representative of Belgium opposed the suggestion. He considered that even if the Committee on Information could be regarded as constitutionally justified, it had no competence in political matters since these matters were not covered by Article 73 e of the Charter.

IV. ADDITIONAL ELEMENTS RELATING TO SELF-GOVERNMENT AND SELF-DETERMINATION

11. By paragraph 7 of General Assembly resolution 648 (VII), the *Ad Hoc* Committee was invited "to take into account, *inter alia*, the list of factors prepared in 1952 by the *Ad Hoc* Committee set up under General Assembly resolution 567 (VI) and the statements transmitted by governments in compliance with the aforementioned resolution and, further, to take into account the following additional elements:

(a) The possibility of defining the concept of a full measure of self-government for the purposes of Chapter XI of the Charter;

(b) The features guaranteeing the principle of the self-determination of peoples in relation to Chapter XI of the Charter;

(c) The manifestation of the freely expressed will of the peoples in relation to the determination of their national and international status for the purposes of Chapter XI of the Charter."

In connexion with point (a), the *Ad Hoc* Committee agreed that it was not possible to find a satisfactory definition of the concept of a full measure of self-government for the purposes of Chapter XI of the Charter. Even if the concept of self-government could be satisfactorily defined, such a definition would be insufficient unless completed by the definition of "a full measure" of self-government within the framework of Chapter XI.

12. On the other hand, it was agreed that there were a number of features which were helpful in indicating whether a full measure of self-government had been achieved in any particular case. Many of these features were indicated in the list of factors. Others were suggested in the replies of the governments.

13. Thus, the absence of a satisfactory definition was not a serious disadvantage, since in the examination of any particular case the concept would emerge in its practical application to the facts of that case.

14. Points (b) and (c) were examined together, in view of their close inter-connexion.

15. In relation to these two points, the *Ad Hoc* Committee noted that, in virtue of General Assembly resolution 637 C (VII), a study of ways and means of ensuring international respect for the right of peoples to self-determination is being continued through the Economic and Social Council and the Commission on Human Rights. For its part, the Committee considered that among the features guaranteeing the principle of the self-determination of peoples in relation to Chapter XI of the Charter might be found the following:

A. The political advancement of the population sufficient to enable them to decide the future destiny of the territory by means of democratic processes.

B. The functioning of a representative system of government, with periodic elections in which the peoples fully participate, or other democratic processes by which the peoples can exercise their free will.

C. The enjoyment of individual rights, including:

(a) Freedom of the individual and his ability to participate and to have a voice in his government,

(b) Guarantee of basic rights, e.g., freedom of speech, Press, assembly, religion and the right to a fair trial,

(c) Universal adult suffrage, based on adequate educational opportunities,

(d) Freedom of the individual to join political parties and of all the parties to participate freely in the political life of the territory.

D. The absence of any pressure or coercion on the population so that they may be in a position freely to express their views as to the national or international status which they may desire (attainment of independence, attainment of other systems of self-government in continuing association, or free association as an integral part of the metropolitan or other country).

E. Assurance that the views of the population will be respected.

16. With reference to point E above, the representative of the United States of America said that, because the paragraph seemed to require a metropolitan or other State to give assurances in advance that effect would be given to the wishes of a territory which may adopt for statehood or for another form of integration, the United States delegation must completely reserve its position since the action to be taken would be a matter requiring the consent of both parties.

17. Reservations were also made by the representatives of Australia, Belgium, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom.

18. The representative of Australia said he would abstain on any proposal in this connexion because

the question of self-determination had no direct relevance to Chapter XI of the Charter; the representative of Belgium agreed that the phase of development involved was outside the scope of Chapter XI and therefore outside the competence of the Committee.

19. The representative of the United Kingdom felt obliged to reserve the position of his delegation in relation to point E since he interpreted it as an assertion that whenever a people had declared its will its desires must be met. He indicated that any given Non-Self-Governing Territory might well be inhabited by several "peoples" whose freely expressed wishes might be in conflict, and recognition of their several wishes without qualification might simply lead to anarchy and chaos. There was always in such discussions the overwhelming difficulty that no acceptable definition of the word "people" had ever been reached in connexion with the principle of self-determination. His delegation had always regarded this principle as a useful guide to political action, in conjunction with other useful principles such as the need for cohesion and stability in the world, the need to provide for tolerable living standards and the need for the recognition of mutual interests in relations between peoples. While due respect should be accorded to the principle of self-determination, this principle could not be followed blindly with disregard to the equal validity of other principles.

20. The representative of the Netherlands associated himself with the reservations of the other representatives.

21. The representative of Guatemala proposed the addition of a new point F to the above list to read as follows: "Freedom of the peoples of Non-Self-Governing Territories, which have freely limited their sovereignty in favour of the metropolitan or other country, to change their status by democratic processes". The representatives of Cuba, Iraq and Venezuela associated themselves with this text, the representative of Venezuela stating that the whole list should be regarded as an enumeration of features which should not be applied rigidly or inflexibly. A suggestion by the representative of the United States of America that this formulation could be improved by making it subject to existing agreements was not acceptable to the representative of Guatemala, who felt that this would nullify the entire concept.

22. The original text proposed by the representative of Guatemala being retained, reservations were expressed by the representatives of Australia, Belgium, Burma, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom and the United States of America.

23. The representatives of Australia and the Netherlands considered the proposal unacceptable in its present form.

24. The representative of Belgium repeated that this point lay outside the scope of Chapter XI of the Charter and was beyond the competence of the *Ad Hoc* Committee.

25. The representative of Burma said that the final decision as to their future international status should be taken by the people themselves. Once the people, taking all factors and circumstances into consideration, freely elected association with the metropolitan or other country, then secession should be subject to the terms of any agreement entered into at that particular point. His position was based on the assumption that the

decision of association had been arrived at freely, as expressed in the paragraph E which he had proposed.

26. The representative of the United Kingdom recorded the opposition of his delegation to point F since he considered that it related to situations arising in a territory after it had passed beyond the scope of Chapter XI of the Charter and was, therefore, outside the terms of reference of the *Ad Hoc* Committee. Furthermore, such a provision would encourage the unilateral repudiation of agreements, to which his delegation was opposed.

27. The representative of the United States of America agreed with certain of the above reservations and could not consider that an unqualified unilateral right of secession or the unilateral altering of agreements was a sound principle.

28. Finally the representative of Guatemala considered it essential to establish that no metropolitan government might change the political status of a Non-Self-Governing Territory which was the subject of claim or litigation on the part of another State until such claim or litigation had been duly settled.

29. The representative of the United Kingdom observed that he failed to see the relevance of this contention to the list of factors or to any item on the agenda of the *Ad Hoc* Committee. Any disputes as to sovereignty could be adjudicated by the appropriate international body. In the meantime, it was surely the duty of the *de facto* Administering Authority to promote to the utmost the realization of the objectives of Chapter XI, since in the event of a change of sovereignty the new sovereign would fall heir to all the obligations of the old one under this Chapter of the Charter.

V. EXAMINATION OF THE LIST OF FACTORS

30. The list of factors provisionally approved by the General Assembly in 1952 was considered by the *Ad Hoc* Committee and approved, subject to the following changes.

31. The 1952 list was divided into two parts, and the second part into two sections. The first part consisted of factors indicative of the attainment of independence. The second part consisted, first, of factors indicative of the attainment of other separate systems of self-government and, secondly, of factors indicative of the free association of a territory with other component parts of the metropolitan or other country. After various opinions had been expressed on other possible ways of dividing the list, it was agreed that no fundamental change was necessary, but it was suggested by the United Kingdom representative that the division should be into three separate parts concerning (I) Independence; (II) Self-government in continuing association under treaty or constitutional instruments with a metropolitan country; and (III) Self-government as a component part of a federal or unitary State.

32. The first part, concerning factors indicative of the attainment of independence, was approved without change.

33. The representative of the United Kingdom proposed that the title of the second part should read: "Factors indicative of other systems of self-government in continuing association with the metropolitan country." The representative of Guatemala made a reservation that cases might conceivably arise when the association would not be with the original metropolitan country. The representative of Venezuela proposed that

the title should therefore be broadened by the addition of the words "or in other forms", which was accepted by the Committee.

34. Factor A.3 of the second part relates to the voluntary limitation of sovereignty. The representative of Guatemala pointed out that his Government and that of El Salvador had proposed the elimination of this factor. He expressed doubt whether any territory could voluntarily surrender any sovereignty that it did not possess. After other members had held that the factor might be of practical value in certain cases, a phrase was added, on the proposal of the representative of Venezuela, with an amendment proposed by the representative of Cuba, to read "degree of evidence that the attribute or attributes of sovereignty which are not exercised individually will be collectively exercised by the larger entity thus associated".

35. The representative of the Netherlands suggested the inclusion of an additional paragraph after factor B.1 in order to provide for the complimentary case of the obligations of the metropolitan country. After a brief discussion, the Committee agreed to add the following:

"Degree or extent to which the metropolitan country is bound, through constitutional provisions or legislative means, by the freely expressed wishes of the territory in negotiating, signing and ratifying international conventions which may influence conditions in the territory."

36. The representative of the Netherlands, who had requested the deletion of factor B.2—*Eligibility for membership in the United Nations*—from the second part, withdrew his proposal on the ground that the new title of the second part now made possible the retention of such a factor.

37. On the proposal of the United Kingdom representative, it was agreed that the title of the third part should read: "Factors indicative of the free association of a territory with the metropolitan or other country as an integral part of that country".

38. The representative of Guatemala felt that this title, like that of the second part, was too restrictive and implied the concept of continuous associations and did not, therefore, make provision for any other forms.

39. No change was made in the third part, on which the opinion was expressed that it had been carefully studied and was the most satisfactory of the three parts.

40. The Belgian representative made the following reservations concerning the question of factors:

(a) Chapter XI of the Charter appeared to apply to all "Territories whose peoples have not yet attained a full measure of self-government". It was couched in general terms and provided no exceptions. The benefit of the international obligations assumed by States under Chapter XI was not therefore restricted to the peoples of colonies and protectorates.

(b) It was the prerogative of States, and of them alone, to decide with legal effect, each for itself, whether the territories for which they were responsible came, did not come, or no longer came, within the scope of Chapter XI. That was their right under international law and they had not ceded it to any organ of the United Nations. In particular, the General Assembly could not force any definition upon them. Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter was quite categorical: nothing contained in the Charter authorized the United Nations to intervene in matters which were essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any State. The Assembly would

therefore be exceeding its powers if it passed judgment in any capacity or in any way on the status of a specific State or territory.

(c) The Assembly could, however, give its general opinion on the factors which might, in its opinion, serve as a guide to States. They were no more than opinions, however, and were not binding on States.

(d) If the factors drawn up by the General Assembly were considered fit to serve as a guide in determining whether a territory was self-governing, they were, conversely, fit to serve as a guide in determining whether a territory was not self-governing and was hence a subject for the guarantees of Chapter XI. No State which recognized those factors as valid for determining the status of other States could dispute their validity for determining its own status under Chapter XI.

(e) The Belgian delegation had taken no part in the efforts that had led to the study of factors and it was not satisfied with the results. Its attitude concerning the list of factors that had been drawn up was one of abstention. In spite of some vagueness and inaccuracy, however, the studies that had been made had brought to light sufficient evidence to show that there were many peoples in the world who were not yet self-governing and that there were, therefore, many States with obligations under Chapter XI. Henceforth, therefore, it would be useless to endeavour to impose the idea that the only States having obligations under Chapter XI were the eight Member States which had recognized those obligations and, in particular, the obligation to furnish information in accordance with Article 73 e.

VI. LIST OF FACTORS APPROVED BY THE *Ad Hoc* COMMITTEE

41. The following is the list of factors approved by the *Ad Hoc* Committee.

FACTORS INDICATIVE OF THE ATTAINMENT OF INDEPENDENCE OR OF OTHER SEPARATE SYSTEMS OF SELF-GOVERNMENT

First Part

Factors indicative of the attainment of independence

A. *International status*

1. *International responsibility.* Full international responsibility of the territory for the acts inherent in the exercise of its external sovereignty and for the corresponding acts in the administration of its internal affairs.

2. *Eligibility for membership in the United Nations.*

3. *General international relations.* Power to enter into direct relations of every kind with other governments and with international institutions and to negotiate, sign and ratify international instruments.

4. *National defense.* Freedom of the territory to enter into arrangements concerning its national defence.

B. *Internal self-government*

1. *Form of government.* Complete freedom of the people of the territory to choose the form of government which they desire.

2. *Territorial government.* Freedom from control or interference by the government of another State in respect of the internal government (legislature, executive, judiciary, and administration of the Territory).

3. *Economic, social and cultural jurisdiction.* Complete autonomy in respect of economic, social and cultural affairs.

Second Part

FACTORS INDICATIVE OF THE ATTAINMENT OF OTHER SYSTEMS OF SELF-GOVERNMENT IN CONTINUING ASSOCIATION WITH THE METROPOLITAN COUNTRY OR IN OTHER FORMS

A. General

1. *Political advancement.* Political advancement of the population sufficient to enable them to decide upon the future destiny of the territory with due knowledge.

2. *Opinion of the population.* The opinion of the population of the territory, freely expressed by informed and democratic processes, as to the status or change in status which they desire.

3. *Voluntary limitation of sovereignty.* Degree to which the sovereignty of the territory is limited by its own free will when that territory has attained a separate system of self-government. Degree of evidence that the attribute or attributes of sovereignty which are not individually exercised will be collectively exercised by the larger entity thus associated.

B. International status

1. *General international relations.* Degree or extent to which the territory exercises the power to enter freely into direct relations of every kind with other governments and with international institutions and to negotiate, sign and ratify international instruments freely. Degree or extent to which the metropolitan country is bound, through constitutional provisions or legislative means, by the freely expressed wishes of the territory in negotiating, signing and ratifying international conventions which may influence conditions in the territory.

2. *Eligibility for membership in the United Nations.*

C. Internal self-government

1. *Territorial government.* Nature and measure of control or interference, if any, by the government of another State in respect of the internal government, for example, in respect of the following:

Legislature: The enactment of laws for the territory by an indigenous body whether fully elected by free and democratic processes or lawfully constituted in a manner receiving the free consent of the population;

Executive: The selection of members of the executive branch of the government by the competent authority in the territory receiving consent of the indigenous population, whether that authority is hereditary or elected, having regard also to the nature and measure

⁴For example, the following questions would be relevant:

(i) Has each adult inhabitant equal power (subject to special safeguards for minorities) to determine the character of the government of the territory? (ii) Is this power exercised freely, i.e., is there an absence of undue influence over and coercion of the voter and of the imposition of disabilities on particular political parties? Some tests which can be used in the application of this factor are as follows:

(a) The existence of effective measures to ensure the democratic expression of the will of the people;

(b) The existence of more than one political party in the territory;

(c) The existence of a secret ballot;

(d) The existence of legal prohibitions on the exercise of undemocratic practices in the course of elections;

(e) The existence for the individual elector of a choice between candidates of differing political parties;

(f) The absence of "martial law" and similar measures at election times.

(iii) Is each individual free to express his political opinions, to support or oppose any political party or cause, and to criticize the government of the day?

of control, if any, by an outside agency on that authority, whether directly or indirectly exercised in the constitution and conduct of the executive branch of the government;

Judiciary: The establishment of courts of law and the selection of judges.

2. *Participation of the population.* Effective participation of the population in the government of the territory: (a) Is there an adequate and appropriate electoral and representative system? (b) Is this electoral system conducted without direct or indirect interference from a foreign government?⁴

3. *Economic, social and cultural jurisdiction.* Degree of autonomy in respect of economic, social and cultural affairs, as illustrated by the degree of freedom from economic pressure as exercised, for example, by a foreign minority group which, by virtue of the help of a foreign Power, has acquired a privileged economic status prejudicial to the general economic interest of the people of the territory; and by the degree of freedom and lack of discrimination against the indigenous population of the territory in social legislation and social developments.

Third Part

FACTORS INDICATIVE OF THE FREE ASSOCIATION OF A TERRITORY WITH THE METROPOLITAN OR OTHER COUNTRY AS AN INTEGRAL PART OF THAT COUNTRY

A. General

1. *Political advancement.* Political advancement of the population sufficient to enable them to decide upon the future destiny of the territory with due knowledge.

2. *Opinion of the population.* The opinion of the population of the territory, freely expressed by informed and democratic processes, as to the status or change in status which they desire.

3. *Geographical considerations.* Extent to which the relations of the territory with the capital of the central government may be affected by circumstances arising out of their respective geographical positions, such as separation by land, sea or other natural obstacles.

4. *Ethnic and cultural considerations.* Extent to which the population are of different race, language or religion or have a distinct cultural heritage, interests or aspirations, distinguishing them from the peoples of the country with which they freely associate themselves.

5. *Constitutional considerations.* Association (a) by virtue of the constitution of the metropolitan country; or (b) by virtue of a treaty or bilateral agreement affecting the status of the territory, taking into account (i) whether the constitutional guarantees extend equally to the associated territory, (ii) whether there are powers in certain matters constitutionally reserved to the territory or to the central authority, and (iii) whether there is provision for the participation of the territory on a basis of equality in any changes in the constitutional system of the State.

B. Status

1. *Legislative representation.* Representation without discrimination in the central legislative organs on the same basis as other inhabitants and regions.

2. *Citizenship.* Citizenship without discrimination on the same basis as other inhabitants.

3. *Government officials.* Eligibility of officials from the territory to all public offices of the central authority,

by appointment or election, on the same basis as those from other parts of the country.

C. Internal constitutional conditions

1. *Suffrage.* Universal and equal suffrage, and free periodic elections, characterized by an absence of undue influence over and coercion of the voter or of the imposition of disabilities on particular political parties.⁵

2. *Local rights and status.* In a unitary system equal rights and status for the inhabitants and local bodies of the territory as enjoyed by inhabitants and local bodies of other parts of the country; in a federal system an identical degree of self-government for the inhabitants and local bodies of all parts of the federation.

3. *Local officials.* Appointment or election of officials in the territory on the same basis as those in other parts of the country.

4. *Internal legislation.* Local self-government of the same scope and under the same conditions as enjoyed by other parts of the country.

VII. CESSATION OF THE TRANSMISSION OF INFORMATION ON THE NETHERLANDS ANTILLES AND SURINAM

42. By resolution 650 (VII) of 20 December 1952, the General Assembly decided that the *Ad Hoc* Committee should examine carefully the documents submitted by the Netherlands Government relating to the Netherlands Antilles and Surinam in the light of the resolution on factors and should report to the General Assembly at its eighth session.

43. The principal document submitted by the Netherlands Government was in the form of a communication dated 31 August 1951, completed by a communication of 30 November 1951 (A/C.4/200). The document contained an explanatory note by the Netherlands Government and constitutional texts comprising articles of the Constitution of the Netherlands (1948), the Interim Order of Government for the Netherlands Antilles (1950) and the Constitution of the Netherlands Antilles (1950). The texts were transmitted in English and, in addition, the full Dutch texts of the legal regulations of both the Netherlands Antilles and Surinam were annexed.

44. When the *Ad Hoc* Committee met, a further communication was brought before it in the form of a letter to the Secretary-General dated 23 July 1953 from

⁵ For example, the following tests would be relevant:

- (a) The existence of effective measures to ensure the democratic expression of the will of the people;
- (b) The existence of more than one political party in the territory;
- (c) The existence of a secret ballot;
- (d) The existence of legal prohibitions on the exercise of undemocratic practices in the course of elections;
- (e) The existence for the individual elector of a choice between candidates of differing political parties;
- (f) The absence of "martial law" and similar measures at election times;
- (g) Freedom of each individual to express his political opinions, to support or oppose any political party or cause, and to criticize the government of the day.

the Permanent Representative of the Netherlands to the United Nations (A/AC.67/3).

45. In this last communication the Netherlands Government stated that according to Article 73 e, the obligation to transmit information was subject to such limitation as security or constitutional considerations might require. The Netherlands Government based its decision to discontinue the transmission of information in 1951 on this limitation. After the enactment of the Interim Orders of Government which accorded a new status to Surinam and the Netherlands Antilles, there were constitutional objections to continuing the transmission of information. The Netherlands Government further expressed doubt whether the examination of the discontinuance of the transmission of information in the case of the Netherlands Antilles and Surinam would be facilitated by applying the resolution on factors as a yardstick. According to the Netherlands Government, "the point is: has a territory attained such a measure of self-government that it is fully responsible for the three fields mentioned in Article 73 e, viz., the economic, social and educational conditions"?

46. The representative of the Netherlands presented this communication to the Committee, and said that the Netherlands Government was confronted with the impossibility of transmitting information by the fact that the Governments of the territories themselves had opposed such transmission. He invited the Committee, and the Committee agreed, to hear on the subject Mr. Pos and Mr. Debrot, General Representatives to the Netherlands Government in The Hague for Surinam and the Netherlands Antilles respectively, empowered by their respective Governments to act as members of the Netherlands delegation.

47. The representatives of Australia, Belgium, the United Kingdom and the United States of America, though not all for the same reasons, agreed with the Netherlands delegation that information on Surinam and the Netherlands Antilles, hitherto supplied in accordance with Article 73 e, might now cease.

48. The representatives of Burma, Cuba, Guatemala and Iraq did not consider that the reasons advanced by the Netherlands delegation were sufficient to justify the cessation of information because they were not in conformity with the provisions of General Assembly resolution 648 (VII). The representative of Venezuela maintained that, although the *Ad Hoc* Committee was competent by virtue of its terms of reference to deal with the matter, nevertheless, for practical reasons, it would be better to refer the problem directly to the General Assembly.

49. The views expressed by representatives are given in the summary records of the sixth and seventh meetings of the *Ad Hoc* Committee (A/AC.67/SR.6 and 7), to which the attention of the General Assembly is drawn.

50. In view of the wide divergencies which prevailed in the *Ad Hoc* Committee, it was decided that this matter should be referred to the General Assembly without recommendation.

742 (VIII). Factors which should be taken into account in deciding whether a Territory is or is not a Territory whose people have not yet attained a full measure of self-government

The General Assembly,

Bearing in mind the principles embodied in the Declaration regarding Non-Self-Governing Territories and the objectives set forth in Chapter XI of the Charter,

Recalling the provisions of resolutions 567 (VI) and 648 (VII), adopted by the General Assembly on 18 January and 10 December 1952 respectively, indicating the value of establishing a list of factors which should be taken into account in deciding whether a

Territory has or has not attained a full measure of self-government,

Having regard to the competence of the General Assembly to consider the principles that should guide the United Nations and the Member States in the implementation of obligations arising from Chapter XI of the Charter and to make recommendations in connexion with them,

Having examined the report ¹ of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Factors (Non-Self-Governing Territories) set up by resolution 648 (VII),

¹ See document A/2428.

1. *Takes note* of the conclusions of the report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Factors (Non-Self-Governing Territories);

2. *Approves* the list of factors as adopted by the Fourth Committee;

3. *Recommends* that the annexed list of factors should be used by the General Assembly and the Administering Members as a guide in determining whether any Territory, due to changes in its constitutional status, is or is no longer within the scope of Chapter XI of the Charter, in order that, in view of the documentation provided under resolution 222 (III) of 3 November 1948, a decision may be taken by the General Assembly on the continuation or cessation of the transmission of information required by Chapter XI of the Charter;

4. *Reasserts* that each concrete case should be considered and decided upon in the light of the particular circumstances of that case and taking into account the right of self-determination of peoples;

5. *Considers* that the validity of any form of association between a Non-Self-Governing Territory and a metropolitan or any other country essentially depends on the freely expressed will of the people at the time of the taking of the decision;

6. *Considers* that the manner in which Territories referred to in Chapter XI of the Charter can become fully self-governing is primarily through the attainment of independence, although it is recognized that self-government can also be achieved by association with another State or group of States if this is done freely and on the basis of absolute equality;

7. *Reaffirms* that the factors, while serving as a guide in determining whether the obligations as set forth in Chapter XI of the Charter shall exist, should in no way be interpreted as a hindrance to the attainment of a full measure of self-government by a Non-Self-Governing Territory;

8. *Further reaffirms* that, for a Territory to be deemed self-governing in economic, social or educational affairs, it is essential that its people shall have attained a full measure of self-government;

9. *Instructs* the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories to study any documentation transmitted hereafter under resolution 222 (III) in the light of the list of factors approved by the present resolution, and other relevant considerations which may arise from each concrete case of cessation of information;

10. *Recommends* that the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories take the initiative of proposing modifications at any time to improve the list of factors, as may seem necessary in the light of circumstances.

459th plenary meeting,
27 November 1953.

ANNEX

List of Factors

FACTORS INDICATIVE OF THE ATTAINMENT OF INDEPENDENCE OR OF OTHER SEPARATE SYSTEMS OF SELF-GOVERNMENT

First part

FACTORS INDICATIVE OF THE ATTAINMENT OF INDEPENDENCE

A. International status

1. *International responsibility.* Full international responsibility of the Territory for the acts inherent in the exercise of

its external sovereignty and for the corresponding acts in the administration of its internal affairs.

2. *Eligibility for membership in the United Nations.*

3. *General international relations.* Power to enter into direct relations of every kind with other governments and with international institutions and to negotiate, sign and ratify international instruments.

4. *National defence.* Sovereign right to provide for its national defence.

B. Internal self-government

1. *Form of government.* Complete freedom of the people of the Territory to choose the form of government which they desire.

2. *Territorial government.* Freedom from control or interference by the government of another State in respect of the internal government (legislature, executive, judiciary, and administration of the Territory).

3. *Economic, social and cultural jurisdiction.* Complete autonomy in respect of economic, social and cultural affairs.

Second part

FACTORS INDICATIVE OF THE ATTAINMENT OF OTHER SEPARATE SYSTEMS OF SELF-GOVERNMENT

A. General

1. *Opinion of the population.* The opinion of the population of the Territory, freely expressed by informed and democratic processes, as to the status or change in status which they desire.

2. *Freedom of choice.* Freedom of choosing on the basis of the right of self-determination of peoples between several possibilities, including independence.

3. *Voluntary limitation of sovereignty.* Degree of evidence that the attribute or attributes of sovereignty which are not individually exercised will be collectively exercised by the larger entity thus associated and the freedom of the population of a Territory which has associated itself with the metropolitan country to modify at any time this status through the expression of their will by democratic means.

4. *Geographical considerations.* Extent to which the relations of the Non-Self-Governing Territory with the capital of the metropolitan government may be affected by circumstances arising out of their respective geographical positions, such as separation by land, sea or other natural obstacles; and extent to which the interests of boundary States may be affected, bearing in mind the general principle of good-neighbourliness referred to in Article 74 of the Charter.

5. *Ethnic and cultural considerations.* Extent to which the populations are of different race, language or religion or have a distinct cultural heritage, interests or aspirations, distinguishing them from the peoples of the country with which they freely associate themselves.

6. *Political advancement.* Political advancement of the population sufficient to enable them to decide upon the future destiny of the Territory with due knowledge.

B. International status

1. *General international relations.* Degree or extent to which the Territory exercises the power to enter freely into direct relations of every kind with other governments and with international institutions and to negotiate, sign and ratify international instruments freely. Degree or extent to which the metropolitan country is bound, through constitutional provisions or legislative means, by the freely expressed wishes of the Territory in negotiating, signing and ratifying international conventions which may influence conditions in the Territory.

2. *Change of political status.* The right of the metropolitan country or the Territory to change the political status of that Territory in the light of the consideration whether that Territory is or is not subject to any claim or litigation on the part of another State.

3. *Eligibility for membership in the United Nations.*

C. Internal self-government

1. *Territorial government.* Nature and measure of control or interference, if any, by the government of another State in

respect of the internal government, for example, in respect of the following:

Legislature: The enactment of laws for the Territory by an indigenous body whether fully elected by free and democratic processes or lawfully constituted in a manner receiving the free consent of the population;

Executive: The selection of members of the executive branch of the government by the competent authority in the Territory receiving consent of the indigenous population, whether that authority is hereditary or elected, having regard also to the nature and measure of control, if any, by an outside agency on that authority, whether directly or indirectly exercised in the constitution and conduct of the executive branch of the government;

Judiciary: The establishment of courts of law and the selection of judges.

2. *Participation of the population.* Effective participation of the population in the government of the Territory: (a) Is there an adequate and appropriate electoral and representative system? (b) Is this electoral system conducted without direct or indirect interference from a foreign government?^a

3. *Economic, social and cultural jurisdiction.* Degree of autonomy in respect of economic, social and cultural affairs, as illustrated by the degree of freedom from economic pressure as exercised, for example, by a foreign minority group which, by virtue of the help of a foreign Power, has acquired a privileged economic status prejudicial to the general economic interest of the people of the Territory; and by the degree of freedom and lack of discrimination against the indigenous population of the Territory in social legislation and social developments.

Third part

FACTORS INDICATIVE OF THE FREE ASSOCIATION OF A TERRITORY ON EQUAL BASIS WITH THE METROPOLITAN OR OTHER COUNTRY AS AN INTEGRAL PART OF THAT COUNTRY OR IN ANY OTHER FORM

A. *General*

1. *Opinion of the population.* The opinion of the population of the Territory, freely expressed by informed and democratic processes, as to the status or change in status which they desire.

2. *Freedom of choice.* The freedom of the population of a Non-Self-Governing Territory which has associated itself with the metropolitan country as an integral part of that country or in any other form to modify this status through the expression of their will by democratic means.

3. *Geographical considerations.* Extent to which the relations of the Territory with the capital of the central government may be affected by circumstances arising out of their respective geographical positions, such as separation by land, sea or other natural obstacles. The right of the metropolitan country or the Territory to change the political status of that Territory in the light of the consideration whether that Territory is or is not subject to any claim or litigation on the part of another State.

4. *Ethnic and cultural considerations.* Extent to which the population are of different race, language or religion or have a distinct cultural heritage, interests or aspirations, distinguishing them from the peoples of the country with which they freely associate themselves.

5. *Political advancement.* Political advancement of the population sufficient to enable them to decide upon the future destiny of the Territory with due knowledge.

6. *Constitutional considerations.* Association by virtue of a treaty or bilateral agreement affecting the status of the Territory, taking into account (i) whether the constitutional guarantees extend equally to the associated Territory, (ii) whether there are powers in certain matters constitutionally reserved to the Territory or to the central authority, and (iii) whether there is provision for the participation of the Territory on a basis of equality in any changes in the constitutional system of the State.

B. *Status*

1. *Legislative representation.* Representation without discrimination in the central legislative organs on the same basis as other inhabitants and regions.

2. *Participation of the population.* Effective participation of the population in the government of the Territory: (a) Is there an adequate and appropriate electoral and representative system? (b) Is this electoral system conducted without direct or indirect interference from a foreign government?^a

3. *Citizenship.* Citizenship without discrimination on the same basis as other inhabitants.

4. *Government officials.* Eligibility of officials from the Territory to all public offices of the central authority, by appointment or election, on the same basis as those from other parts of the country.

C. *Internal constitutional conditions*

1. *Suffrage.* Universal and equal suffrage, and free periodic elections, characterized by an absence of undue influence over and coercion of the voter or of the imposition of disabilities on particular political parties.^b

2. *Local rights and status.* In a unitary system equal rights and status for the inhabitants and local bodies of the Territory as enjoyed by inhabitants and local bodies of other parts of the country; in a federal system an identical degree of self-government for the inhabitants and local bodies of all parts of the federation.

3. *Local officials.* Appointment or election of officials in the Territory on the same basis as those in other parts of the country.

4. *Internal legislation.* Local self-government of the same scope and under the same conditions as enjoyed by other parts of the country.

5. *Economic, social and cultural jurisdiction.* Degree of autonomy in respect of economic, social and cultural affairs, as illustrated by the degree of freedom from economic pressure as exercised, for example, by a foreign minority group which, by virtue of the help of a foreign Power, has acquired a privileged economic status prejudicial to the general economic interest of the people of the Territory; and by the degree of freedom and lack of discrimination against the indigenous population of the Territory in social legislation and social developments.

^a For example, the following questions would be relevant:

(i) Has each adult inhabitant equal power (subject to special safeguards for minorities) to determine the character of the government of the Territory?

(ii) Is this power exercised freely, i.e., is there an absence of undue influence over and coercion of the voter and of the imposition of disabilities on particular political parties?

Some tests which can be used in the application of this factor are as follows:

(a) The existence of effective measures to ensure the democratic expression of the will of the people;

(b) The existence of more than one political party in the Territory;

(c) The existence of a secret ballot;

(d) The existence of legal prohibitions on the exercise of undemocratic practices in the course of elections;

(e) The existence for the individual elector of a choice between candidates of differing political parties;

(f) The absence of "martial law" and similar measures at election times;

(iii) Is each individual free to express his political opinions, to support or oppose any political party or cause, and to criticize the government of the day?

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(g) Freedom of each individual to express his political opinions, to support or oppose any political party or cause, and to criticize the government of the day.

United Nations
**GENERAL
ASSEMBLY**

EIGHTH SESSION

Official Records



PLENARY MEETING

**Friday, 27 November 1953,
at 3 p.m.**

New York

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Cessation of the transmission of information under Article 73 e of the Charter: (a) Netherlands Antilles and Surinam; (b) Puerto Rico

[Agenda item 34]

1. Mr. RIFAI (Syria), Rapporteur of the Fourth Committee: On behalf of the Fourth Committee, I have the honour to present to the General Assembly the Committee's report [A/2556 and Corr.1] on items 32, 33 and 34 of the agenda of the General Assembly. The agenda items relate to information from Non-Self-Governing Territories, the factors which should be taken into account in deciding whether a territory is or is not a territory whose people have not yet attained a full measure of self-government, and the examination of the cessation of the transmission of information under Article 73 e of the Charter in respect

of the Netherlands Antilles and Surinam, and in respect of Puerto Rico.

2. The Fourth Committee spent thirty-seven meetings in examining these questions. I mention this figure as an indication both of the attention paid by the Fourth Committee to the problems before it and as a possible indication of the growing importance of these questions in the international community.

3. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: In draft resolution V, concerning the employment of international staff from Non-Self-Governing and Trust Territories, it is stated that the Secretary-General has already taken note of the wishes expressed in the Fourth Committee. The draft resolution recommends that the Secretary-General consider the desirability of continuing and increasing the recruitment of suitably qualified inhabitants of the Territories in the United Nations Secretariat.

4. I should like to state on this occasion that the most satisfactory way of meeting the wishes expressed in the draft resolution would be, in the first instance, to provide arrangements for training courses and training service. The possibility of such arrangements will be studied and the results reported to the General Assembly for consideration in its Fifth Committee as the body competent in questions of personnel policy.

5. The PRESIDENT: Before putting to the vote the draft resolutions proposed by the Fourth Committee, I shall call on those members who desire to explain their votes. I believe the proceedings would be expedited if members were able to include in a single intervention the explanations of their votes which they desire to make on any of the draft resolutions now before the General Assembly.

6. Mr. ESPINOSA Y PRIETO (Mexico) (*translated from Spanish*): I would ask representatives to take a look at Article 18 of the Charter. My delegation is of the opinion, which it will support with documents, that the vote on any question connected with Chapter XI of the Charter, whatever its importance, requires at present only a simple majority, and that the two-thirds majority required for other important questions can not apply to that chapter so long as the Assembly has not created a new category to that end.

7. Among the draft resolutions which will come up for discussion today is one on the subject of factors, which some delegations seem to consider as requiring a two-thirds majority vote in view of the importance of the subject. I should like to say first of all that nothing which the Mexican delegation may say here should be interpreted as detracting in any way from the importance of the question. My delegation proceeds on the assumption that any matter with which the Assembly deals is important and worthy of respect. With regard to the draft resolution on factors, the importance attributed by my delegation to that question

is shown by the fact that we were among the sponsors of the principal amendments to the draft.

8. We are only proposing to demonstrate here that under our present rules of procedure it is clear and beyond doubt that questions relating to Non-Self-Governing Territories, whatever the importance of the individual case under consideration, should be decided by a simple majority vote and not by a two-thirds majority. We are stating this view out of loyalty to the United Nations and in a spirit of disinterested co-operation, because it is clear that a uniform rule on the subject will be favourable to some of the draft resolutions we sponsor but not to others. Today we are making use of the same right which other delegations possess to express opinions contrary to ours. We shall expound what we believe and give the sound arguments that militate in our favour. It goes without saying that if the majority of the General Assembly expresses itself in favour of another principle, the Mexican delegation will, as always, respect its decision.

9. Article 18, paragraph 2, reads:

"Decisions of the General Assembly on important questions shall be made by a two-thirds majority of the members present and voting . . ."

The reference here to "important questions" has aroused in many minds a doubt as to whether it applies generally, or merely to the categories which the article proceeds to enumerate and any further categories for the subsequent determination of which provision is made in the same clause. As this confusion is due merely to a drafting defect in the Charter, and as many find it difficult to believe that so solemn an instrument can contain any such glaring omission, it is logical that I should have recourse to the support of an authority who must obviously be uppermost in the minds of all who are in any way connected with the United Nations. Hans Kelsen, in his well-known work, *The Law of the United Nations*, pages 180 and 181, writes as follows:

"As to the voting procedure . . . the Charter distinguishes between 'important questions' and 'other questions'. . . . This is not a very fortunate terminology. If the General Assembly is dealing with a question at all, this question can hardly be considered as unimportant. The intention was to differentiate decisions which require a two-thirds majority and decisions which require only a simple majority. . . ."

It must not be thought that that distinguished writer is our only authority. After tracing the matter to its source, and to the real authority by which all Members of the United Nations should be guided—the records of the San Francisco Conference—we shall refer to other authorities on the same subject.

10. It is easy to imagine the confusion that the Charter would have caused had it spoken of "important questions" without any qualification, in cases where the Assembly had to consider questions which some delegations regarded as "important" and others as "less important". There would then have been no point in enumerating the questions to which the two-thirds majority rule applied, still less in leaving the door open for the determination of new categories of such questions. The confusion begins to disappear when we read in Article 18, paragraph 3, of the Charter that:

"Decisions on other questions, including the determination of additional categories of questions to

be decided by a two-thirds majority, shall be made by a majority of the members present and voting."

Here, as you see, the term "important questions" is dropped in favour of the correct terminology, "questions to be decided by a two-thirds majority". It is this part of Article 18, the origins of which we propose to trace right back to the San Francisco Conference, which establishes beyond any possibility of doubt that the founders of the United Nations had in mind "categories of questions to be decided by a two-thirds majority", i.e. those which, by their importance, gave rise to prolonged and special discussion; that of the expulsion of Members is a case in point.

11. As an illustration of this, it may be observed, for example, that several of the questions enumerated in paragraph 2 of Article 18, such as recommendations with respect to the maintenance of peace and security, questions relating to the operation of the trusteeship system, and budgetary questions, cannot be regarded as being questions in themselves, but as categories or classes of questions, which include a multiple of different topics.

12. A first argument which will help to throw light on this point is the following. The Charter states in so many words that "questions relating to the operation of the trusteeship system" shall be decided by a two-thirds majority. Hitherto we have passed about fifty resolutions in this category, all of course by a two-thirds majority. As I have already stated, the Mexican delegation is not casting doubt on the importance of any of the questions we have under consideration. But no one here present can fail to wonder whether all these fifty resolutions relating to trusteeship can be regarded as important. That is to say, will anyone assert that any of them is more "important" than other resolutions, obviously of outstanding importance, which were adopted by a simple majority because they referred to questions not included in the categories appearing in Article 18? I will take at random resolution 651 (VII), under which the General Assembly, without mentioning a single reason, decided to postpone consideration of the question of South West Africa until the eighth session. All of you know very well that that resolution was adopted because the session was drawing to a close and there was no time to study the question. There was nothing else to be done. Let us take another example, also chosen at random, resolution 654 (VII), which again has no preamble and in which the General Assembly takes note of report of the Trusteeship Council and recommends that the Council, in its future deliberations, should take into account the comments and suggestions made in the course of the discussion of the Council's report at the Assembly's seventh session. The Mexican delegation does not underestimate the importance of either of those resolutions. But a good majority of those here present will agree that the two decisions I have mentioned, which were adopted by a two-thirds majority, were less important than many very weighty resolutions adopted by a simple majority.

13. Let us now look at the reverse side of the medal. Is there anyone here who would deny that a special session of the General Assembly can only be convoked to deal with a matter of particular importance? Yet a decision so serious, so costly and so important as that of convoking a special session of this august body is taken, not by a two-thirds majority, but by a simple

majority, since Article 20 of the Charter, at which I would ask representatives to look, says so explicitly. The importance of the question is self-evident. And yet it is decided by a simple majority.

14. There is one very impressive example which we may consider in order to settle this point. We have been looking at Article 18 of the Charter. Who among us, considering the gravity of our debates on important questions, would feel moved to deny that the "determination of additional categories of questions to be decided by a two-thirds majority" is an especially difficult and serious question, and manifestly of outstanding importance? Consider it for yourselves: under Article 18, paragraph 3, this basic question, which many consider tantamount to a revision of the Charter, is decided by a simple majority of members present and voting, because the Charter says so. A question which gave rise to most complicated and animated debates at San Francisco on account of its obvious importance, and which in my own view is a far bigger matter than the list of factors, is decided by a simple majority. Yet that simple majority is insufficient to recommend that the flag of the United Nations should be hoisted over the Trust Territories. A simple majority is not entitled to express even its most trivial thought with regard to trusteeship questions or to the budget.

15. There can therefore be no doubt that until the General Assembly has determined additional categories, there is nothing in the Charter automatically authorizing decisions on other questions by a two-thirds majority. If, as some representatives will certainly wish to remind me, the Assembly has sometimes agreed to a two-thirds vote on questions to which that system of voting does not apply, the reason must be sought not in Article 18 but in Article 10 of the Charter, which authorizes the Assembly, generally speaking, to do as it likes.

16. The only fair and legal procedure to my mind, in cases such as that before us, is for the Assembly to determine whether or not the question to be decided comes within the categories already specified in Article 18. Goodrich and Hambro¹ refer in that connexion to a basic resolution concerning South Africa, which, after being discussed in its context and despite its manifest importance, was voted upon by a simple majority because it did not fall into any of the categories specified.

17. The matter to which Article 18, paragraph 3, of the Charter expressly refers is the determination of additional categories. If any delegation wished to propose that the questions mentioned in Chapter XI should be decided by a two-thirds majority, it would in fact be proposing the determination of a new category. The determination of a new category of questions to be decided by a two-thirds majority vote would undoubtedly be a subject for discussion by this Assembly. But that question is not on our agenda, and if anyone wishes to propose it, he will assuredly have to wait until the next session or, if he attaches sufficient importance to it, he can try, by using the machinery provided by the rules of procedure, to have the matter accepted for discussion at the present session.

18. As we have seen, Article 18, paragraph 2, of the Charter specifies the category of "questions relating to the operation of the trusteeship system", but does not include in the list questions relating to the Non-Self-Governing Territories. That is to say, questions relating to Chapters XII and XIII of the Charter are expressly included. I thus have a reason for stating that those relating to Chapter XI are expressly excluded.

19. My delegation is not among those responsible for the negotiations, during the last period of the San Francisco Conference, which led to the division into two parts of the chapter dealing with Non-Self-Governing Territories and Trust Territories. Most of those present know that these two subjects, that is to say, all matters relating to non-autonomous peoples, were dealt with at San Francisco by the same commission, Commission II, and by the same committee, Committee 4, in the form of paragraphs A and B of a single draft entitled the Conference "International Trusteeship System". Many of you will remember with pain how that courageous attempt to open up a new era in colonial affairs was finally frustrated. When Commission II held its third meeting, on 20 June 1945, Chapter XI had already been severed from Chapters XII and XIII; Chapter XI had been bereft of most of its force and the influences working against the clear and precise obligations established in Chapters XII and XIII in respect of the administration of Trust Territories had succeeded in raising the barrier of the two-thirds majority vote.

20. Let me remind you first of all of the manner in which the system of categories of questions to be decided by a two-thirds majority vote was introduced. At its first meeting, on 30 May 1945, Commission II heard the Rapporteur say, in explanation of a report from Committee 1; in the following words: "The Committee recommends that the following important questions should be decided in the Assembly by a two-thirds majority. . . ."; there followed a list of six categories of questions, all of which were approved. The Conference had been sitting for two months, but those questions did not include either those relating to Non-Self-Governing Territories or those concerned with trusteeship. I would refer in passing to the precise interpretation given by those who were drafting the Charter to the term "important questions", that is to say, categories expressly specified in the Charter.

21. It was only after the disjunction of the Non-Self-Governing Territories from the Trusteeship System proper that Committee 4 submitted the proposal on voting procedure to Committee 1. The Secretary of Committee 1 entered it in the records of the fifteenth meeting in the following words: "The question relating to the operations of the Trusteeship System can be added as one of the important questions requiring a two-thirds vote of the General Assembly for decision".² Thereupon the Chairman of the Committee addressed the representatives as follows: "The question is to add to the list of important questions in the Charter the question regarding the operations of the Trusteeship System."³ The proposal was approved unanimously. The unity of the single chapter on which the Conference had been working until that point was broken.

¹ See *Charter of the United Nations, Commentary and documents*, second and revised edition, 1949, Leland M. Goodrich and Edvard Hambro.

² See *United Nations Conference on International Organization*, Commission II, Committee 1, 18 June 1945, vol. 60.

³ *Ibid.*

Its two parts, which went under the cognate titles "General Policy" and "International Trusteeship System" received the totally unrelated titles they now bear in the Charter, and care was taken—quite correctly—to draft Article 18 in such a manner as to leave no doubt that the category of questions to be decided by a two-thirds majority applied only to the Trusteeship System.

22. Some of you will doubtless wish to refer to two important resolutions on Non-Self-Governing Territories, resolution 567 (VI) of 18 January 1952 and resolution 648 (VII) of 10 December 1952, for which it was suggested that a two-thirds majority vote should be required. In the case of the first, Denmark asked for a two-thirds majority vote and Cuba objected. In the second case, the President pointed out that one delegation had requested a two-thirds majority vote, and there is no record of any objection.

23. The PRESIDENT: I am sorry, but the speaker has already exceeded the time-limit by many minutes.

24. Mr. ESPINOSA Y PRIETO (Mexico) (*translated from Spanish*): It goes without saying that in those cases, or, indeed, in any other, the legality of such a procedure is open to doubt, as it is clear that there are no provisions authorizing the Chair to make such a decision *ex officio*.

25. The Mexican delegation, like many others, does not consider it right that certain limitations which apply typically to trusteeship affairs should be applied to Chapter XI of the Charter, without any of the benefits contained in Chapters XII and XIII. We have tried constantly to reconcile our point of view with that of the administering Powers, but have invariably come up against this difficulty. When the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories and the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Factors were set up, we were conscious of the persistent shadows of the Trusteeship Council, for the membership of those committees never differed from that of the Fourth Committee, or of the Assembly. That is to say that in moments of crisis we saw our majority melt away and found ourselves discussing fundamental questions on a footing of equality with the administering Powers, although the latter are in a definite, though important, minority. When democratic procedures are applied, it is the majority which logically decides joint action.

26. The procedure to which I have just referred provoked a crisis during the present session, when it was suggested that a sub-committee should be established which would once again reflect the type of membership of the Trusteeship Council. The proposal met with vigorous resistance and the representative responsible for it quickly deleted that part of it, and in its revised form it was on the point of adoption.

27. I have another page of arguments on this point which I shall not read since, as the President has already pointed out, I have exceeded my time. I will make these arguments available to . . .

28. The PRESIDENT: I regret that I cannot allow the representative of Mexico to continue because there are many other speakers. I think that the point has been well made and understood by the Assembly. If the representative of Mexico would like to finish, I shall allow him only one minute more.

29. Mr. ESPINOSA Y PRIETO (Mexico) (*translated from Spanish*): The case of factors, which we are

considering, is typical of this anomaly. Because the majority had given up its rights, we have been considering the question fruitlessly for several years. I am far from discounting its importance. The points suggested to us are not properly speaking factors, but simple lists of considerations providing a framework for debate, in which each can freely express his views and vote accordingly. The examination of any of these factors at random reveals that none of them establishes the degree to which we can, by studying them, determine a territory's independence. I can tell you in all sincerity that if this Assembly today rejects the draft resolution before it, the loss will not be irreparable. There is already a list in resolution 648 (VII), but, above all, there is the fact that at this session we have voted on questions of self-government in three cases, and no one has needed any guidance. It would indeed be inconceivable that we, the representatives of independent countries assembled here, jealous as we are of our own rights, should be unable to define a full measure of self-government.

30. I have now made clear our legitimate purposes and the spirit in which we are putting forward these considerations. In conclusion, we request that any questions relating to Non-Self-Governing Territories may always be decided by a simple majority.

31. The PRESIDENT: I should suggest to representatives that interventions be kept as brief as possible.

32. Mr. LANNUNG (Denmark): I shall try to economize our time. The Danish delegation would, contrary to the views expressed by the representative of Mexico, wish the President to confirm that the question dealt with in draft resolution I, "Factors which should be taken into account in deciding whether a territory is or is not a territory whose people have not yet attained a full measure of self-government", is an important question both in the general sense and, more particularly, as defined in Article 18, paragraph 2, of the Charter and rule 84 of the rules of procedure. Otherwise, these stipulations are really devoid of any meaning.

33. The President will recall that in 1951, and again in 1952, it was suggested that this was an important question and would require a two-thirds majority, and that the General Assembly voted on it with this understanding. The draft resolution now before us purports to lay down certain criteria to be taken into account in determining the field of application of Chapter XI of the Charter. In the view of my delegation, this is clearly an important issue, and I would ask the President to confirm the view taken by her predecessors and accepted by the Assembly that this is so. The views of the authors quoted by the representative of Mexico were already known when the Assembly took an opposite stand on previous occasions. The Assembly will surely wish to act with consistency.

34. The PRESIDENT: In order to expedite the work today, I should like to summarize the situation, as pointed out by the two representatives who have spoken. The representatives of Mexico and Denmark have raised the question of the majority required for the adoption of the draft resolution which is about to be voted upon.

35. According to the record, the Assembly has never been called upon specifically to decide this question, although it did give its tacit assent to a ruling that a

two-thirds majority was required on this subject. I believe, therefore, that inasmuch as the question has been raised in this manner, the best course to follow would be for the Assembly itself to express its opinion.

36. I shall therefore put the motion of the representative of Mexico to the vote. The motion is to the effect that the draft resolution may be carried by a simple majority.

The motion was adopted by 30 votes to 26.

37. Mr. LAWRENCE (Liberia): I am intervening to explain briefly the reason why my delegation will vote in favour of draft resolution VII of the Fourth Committee, originally submitted by seven Latin American Powers, taking note of the opinion of the United States as to the cessation of the transmission of information on Puerto Rico under Article 73 e of the Charter and releasing it from further responsibility to submit information on Puerto Rico.

38. In previous statements, my delegation has stated in a categorical manner its interpretation of the phrase "a full measure of self-government" as it appears in Chapter XI of the Charter. One of the reasons for this intervention is to reaffirm our views on this interpretation and to state emphatically that our vote in this particular instance should not be construed as a renunciation in the slightest degree of this point of view.

39. I do not believe any representative will maintain that Puerto Rico is independent or that it has attained a full measure of self-government, as my delegation has time and again defined the term, but we have been informed by the representative of the United States that the new constitution, which has brought about the present status of Puerto Rico, was freely adopted by more than 80 per cent of the Puerto Rican people in a referendum; and this statement has remained unchallenged in a manner which might have justified a different consideration. The Committee's refusal to grant the oral hearings requested by the Puerto Rican parties, who wanted to appear before it to present what might have been a different point of view about the people and conditions in Puerto Rico, leaves us with nothing other than the statement of the representative of the United States upon which to base our consideration. The point in the United States statement which appealed to my delegation was the assertion that the present form of government in Puerto Rico was the result of the free and untrammelled choice of the people of Puerto Rico taken in popular elections. In these circumstances, we do not feel that any attempt should be made to go behind the statement of the United States delegation, and full faith and credit should be accorded to what it has submitted, in recognition of the principle of mutual respect and consideration.

40. With regard to draft resolution VII, the provisions of paragraph 9 do not close the door to eventual full independence for the Territory whenever the peoples of both countries desire it. As any change in the status of Puerto Rico will require the agreement of both parties, it might be felt that Puerto Rico will be forever bound to the United States in its present limited partnership. This is indeed a possibility, but the traditional generosity and freedom-loving spirit of the people of the United States, which impelled them spontaneously to grant freedom and independence, to

the peoples of the Philippines and Cuba, and which today has made Puerto Rico among the most advanced of the Non-Self-Governing Territories, will, we believe, in due course bring to the people of Puerto Rico a full measure of self-government as we have always defined it in these halls.

41. The history of the people of the United States in colonial affairs supports this liberal view. At the end of the great war of 1914, while its allies were busily engaged in dividing and apportioning the loot of their conquests without reference to the local inhabitants, the United States consistently refused to have any part in this traffic. When the Second World War came to a close, the United States, though in a position to add great land areas to its domain, steadfastly declined to swerve from its traditional opposition to the colonial traffic and remained aloof from it. Trusteeship over Libya was even offered it, but it refused this responsibility and instead lent its aid to the establishment of what is today a free and independent Libya.

42. We do not know of another Power which can boast of a similar record. It is therefore in the light of these achievements, and in the firm conviction that the traditional spirit of freedom and the acknowledgment of the right of peoples to self-determination, which we believe pervades the hearts and minds of the people of the United States, will prevail, that my delegation will feel justified in voting in favour of draft resolution VII.

43. Indeed, the examples which the United States has set in the colonial field should inspire those Powers which are today engaged in throttling, dispossessing and oppressing the peoples of Africa and Asia with a new sense of value and with the realization that the apothegm of the "fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man", to which they have paid such fervent lip service whenever their imperialistic aims may thus be enhanced, will one day come to pass.

44. Mr. VAN LANGENHOVE (Belgium) (*translated from French*): The Belgian delegation wishes to state the main reasons why it will vote against draft resolution I on the factors to be taken into account in determining whether a territory is or is not self-governing.

45. In the first place, the draft resolution is designed to confer upon the Assembly powers which are not conferred upon it by the Charter and to deprive Member States of a sovereignty they have not relinquished. Such a resolution, if adopted despite the justified opposition of all the States it affects, would remain a dead letter; its only result would be to lessen the prestige of the United Nations.

46. Secondly, the draft resolution is designed to sanction a restrictive interpretation of the Charter which the Belgian delegation has constantly resisted, namely, the interpretation favoured by the States which wish to limit the benefit of the provisions of Chapter XI, concerning the Non-Self-Governing Territories, to the indigenous peoples of colonies and protectorates.

47. In contrast to this restrictive interpretation, the Belgian delegation favours a broad interpretation extending the benefit of those provisions to all non-self-governing indigenous peoples, regardless of the territory they inhabit. The Belgian delegation bases this broad interpretation on three fundamental arguments.

48. First of all, a textual argument: the words "colonies and protectorates" do not appear in the Charter, which refers to the territories concerned as "territories whose peoples have not yet attained a full measure of self-government". Obviously, the peoples of the colonies and protectorates are not the only ones which have not yet attained a full measure of self-government. The point has, of course, been made that Article 74 of the Charter implies that the provisions in question do not apply to the peoples of the metropolitan areas, but those who imagine that they can legitimately infer that those clauses are thereby limited to the peoples of colonies and protectorates have failed to pay due attention to the actual terms of the Charter. The only definition of the territories covered by Chapter XI appears in Article 73, and not in Article 74. Article 74 is limited to a reference in that connexion to Article 73. It is therefore a glaring error of logic to look for that definition in Article 74 and to attempt to base it on so arbitrary an interpretation of the term "metropolitan areas" that it is made to include, against all rhyme and reason, islands situated at more than 600 miles from the mainland of the State to which they belong and inhabited by a primitive and almost unknown people.

49. Our second argument is factual. To claim that the colonies and protectorates are the only territories whose peoples are not yet fully self-governing is tantamount to claiming that the indigenous primitive or semi-primitive peoples of America, Asia or Malaya are already fully self-governing within the meaning of the Charter. In fact, they are so backward that, where they do not altogether escape the administration of the State to which they belong, they are placed under a special legal or administrative constitutional system, just like the peoples of colonies. Furthermore, they are totally different, not only by reason of their primitive character but also race, language, and culture, from the peoples from whom the government administering the State emanates. These peoples, who may be counted in their millions, are almost completely isolated from the centres of government. They are generally separated from them by vast stretches of almost impenetrable jungle. They are often practically the sole inhabitants of vast territories where the general legal code does not apply. True, they are an integral part of the State on whose territory they dwell, but the same holds good of, for instance, the peoples of the Congo, the Belgian Congo being also an integral part of the Belgian State.

50. Our third argument is a moral one. Several Members of the United Nations which were previously Members of the League of Nations undertook in Article 23 of the Covenant to "secure just treatment of the native inhabitants of territories under their control". That undertaking, couched in terms almost identical with those contained in the Covenant, reappears in Chapter XI of the Charter. No one ever claimed at the League that that undertaking was limited to the peoples of colonies and protectorates or disputed the view that it covered all indigenous populations. It was cited at the League in circumstances which prove that it was an effective safeguard for those peoples. Nobody will assert that those indigenous peoples have since progressed so far that the international community need no longer concern itself with them. On the contrary, the committee of experts set

up by the United Nations to study the problem of slavery recently carried out an investigation which shows that they are often grossly maltreated. Under Article 23 of the Covenant, the indigenous peoples were entitled to a measure of protection which is called in question today. Thus, their situation, far from having improved, has worsened. It is therefore an elementary humanitarian duty to restore to the indigenous peoples the safeguards of which millions of them have been deprived and to which they are entitled under the very terms of the Charter, instead of permitting the continuance of a state of affairs which, were it to persist, would represent a deplorable retrogression in international law. The Belgian delegation urges all those who have the interests of other peoples at heart to co-operate in this task.

51. Let me now briefly explain our vote on draft resolution VII concerning the cessation of the transmission of the information prescribed in Article 73 e of the Charter in the case of Puerto Rico. The Belgian delegation unhesitatingly subscribes to the views expressed in that draft resolution on the measure of self-government attained by the people of the free, associated State of Puerto Rico. It considers, therefore, that the decision of the United States Government to cease transmitting such information is fully justified. We cannot, however, vote in favour of the draft resolution, because we do not recognize the competence of the Assembly to pass judgment or to take a decision in this matter.

52. The Belgian delegation is actuated by the same fundamental reasoning in its attitude to draft resolution VI, concerning the Netherlands Antilles and Surinam.

53. Mr. CAÑAS (Costa Rica) (*translated from Spanish*): My delegation is going to explain its vote on draft resolution VII, relating to Puerto Rico, which is now before the General Assembly.

54. When we spoke of Puerto Rico in my country, fifteen years ago, we thought of it as a captive and subjugated sister country which desired a future of improvement and progress and we, as nationals of an independent country, awaited the time when we should be able to welcome Puerto Rico to our family of American nations.

55. When we speak of Puerto Rico today in my country, we think of it as an island where progress is in full swing, where freedom is fully enjoyed by all, and where a painstaking group of honest and very conscientious men work ceaselessly to give their country an efficient government with far-reaching powers, an island to which students from my country already go to seek knowledge and from which they return with what they sought.

56. The General Assembly is being requested officially to recognize that Puerto Rico today has the status of a free associated State, which its inhabitants accepted by a free plebiscite, and is not the colonial territory it was before, but one which possesses not only an independent government but a good government.

57. A few weeks ago, my country flew the Puerto Rican flag in honour of the visit of its Governor. For us, whose country is situated in the same geographical area as that island, whose destiny does not lie in our hands but in the hands of the men who live and work on it, Puerto Rico is a beautiful and true example of a stable and democratic government, and of a people

which fully enjoys fundamental freedoms and even those which are not fundamental, if such there be. Puerto Rico is a stimulus to those of us who live in the Caribbean region. The Caribbean, America, and the whole world need the example of stable and democratic governments which look to the future, with bold economic and social ideals and bold programmes of social, educational and human improvement, like the programmes which the present government of Puerto Rico, of its own accord and without any foreign assistance, is today carrying out to the admiration of those who are interested in such matters.

58. If, as events have proved, Puerto Rico has ceased to be a colony, and if the Puerto Rican people has chosen by means of completely free plebiscites and elections—no one disputes the freedom or honesty with which they were conducted—to take the road it wished to take, is the United Nations General Assembly going to tell the Puerto Ricans that this road which they have chosen of their own free will is not the road we feel to be that of self-determination? Are we going to tell them that proper government for them is not the one they have freely chosen, within the framework of one of the most modern of constitutions, but another one, chosen by us? Such an attitude would be contrary both to logic and to realities.

59. My delegation cannot understand how, once a people has its own government, the General Assembly of the United Nations can tell that people that in its opinion it is still a colonial people. We cannot understand how, once the United States has ceased to be the administering Power in Puerto Rico, the Assembly of the United Nations can tell the United States that it is wrong and that it must continue to act as the administering Power in Puerto Rico, although neither it nor Puerto Rico so wishes.

60. The opinion seems to be held in certain circles that the fate of that country, which for us is a sister country, depends on what is decided here. Such an opinion is illusory. A colleague of mine stated, when the matter was being discussed in the Fourth Committee, that Puerto Rico did not need our vote in order to achieve independence because Puerto Rico was independent, with or without that vote. He added, putting it more graphically, that it was not the accolade which made a knight, but that the accolade was required simply in order that a man might be recognized as a knight.

61. Much has been said in books and by writers about Latin America being an area of revolutions and dictatorships. But we have here a country which is not such an area, and which comes to us, not because it has ceased to be such an area, but in order that we may proclaim to the four corners of the earth that it is not such an area. My delegation wishes to appeal to the delegations of the other Latin-American countries to support the draft resolution before us, as an accolade which kindred peoples give to this people which is entirely free and unshackled, this fine democracy which expresses the ideal which the constitution of our regional organization so eloquently describes.

62. What more are we going to ask? That the Puerto Ricans should change their mind and take the road towards independence which the countries here represented point out to them? The Governor of Puerto Rico, when he recently visited my country, stated

in brusque terms: "The Puerto Ricans enjoy the type of independence which they desire and not the type which others wish to impose on them."

63. This General Assembly is fully competent to decide what it has been asked to decide. There is no need to demonstrate that competence explicitly, since it is tacitly recognized by the fact that the item is on our agenda, and that no one has so far objected to it. This is why my delegation does not attach paramount importance to paragraph 6 of the draft resolution, since it merely reiterates what we all admit in fact.

64. But the presence of this paragraph has caused some delegations to consider the draft resolution as inadmissible. Consequently, if the draft is voted upon paragraph by paragraph, my delegation will vote against paragraph 6 in the hope that it will be deleted and that the draft resolution as a whole will then receive the largest possible number of votes. But I ask the other delegations to support the draft even though the paragraph in question remains in it, to the end that the United Nations may fully recognize the autonomy and self-government now enjoyed by the island of Puerto Rico.

65. Mr. LODGE (United States of America): The United States is proud of its new relationship with Puerto Rico and of the joint contribution to political progress which our two peoples have made. While, of course, I strongly favour the new status of Puerto Rico as a self-governing commonwealth associated with the United States, I am not here to review the facts which my colleagues, Mrs. Bolton and Mr. Fernoz, have already explained fully to the Fourth Committee. My purpose in asking to speak now is to bring to the General Assembly the following important message from the President of the United States.

66. I am authorized to say on behalf of the President that if, at any time, the Legislative Assembly of Puerto Rico adopts a resolution in favour of more complete or even absolute independence, he will immediately thereafter recommend to Congress that such independence be granted. The President also wishes me to say that, in this event, he would welcome Puerto Rico's adherence to the Treaty of Rio de Janeiro and the United Nations Charter.

67. The President's statement is an expression of the traditional interest which the United States has always had in encouraging and promoting political freedom for all peoples in all parts of the world whenever conditions are such that their freedom will not be jeopardized by internal or external pressures.

68. Mr. MENDOZA (Guatemala) (*translated from Spanish*): My delegation is much gratified by the statement which the United States representative has just made. It fully confirms what my delegation had the honour to state in the Fourth Committee; we then expressed our certainty that when the people of Puerto Rico said to the United States: "We have been friends and associates, now we wish to be only friends", the United States Government, in keeping with its glorious tradition, would concede the complete independence requested by that people.

69. With regard to the draft resolutions before us, my delegation does not propose to reiterate its views on the question of factors. We stated those views in the Fourth Committee; we derive them from the authors of the Charter, and they show that the argument

frequently advanced by the Belgian delegation in the General Assembly is completely at variance with the legitimate interpretation which the actual authors of the Charter placed on Chapter XI, namely, that Chapter XI applies only to the peoples of territories which have not yet achieved a full measure of self-government, and not to more or less backward peoples living within the national frontiers of independent territories.

70. I wish to refer in particular to draft resolution VII which the Fourth Committee has submitted to the General Assembly and which concerns Puerto Rico. My delegation has repeatedly expressed the view that Puerto Rican people, by its own abilities and thanks to the good will of the United States Government, has already attained a very considerable measure of self-government. My delegation, which represents a country allied by ties of kinship to Puerto Rico, has for centuries followed the Puerto Rican people's struggle for freedom and enthusiastically applauds its progress towards self-government. In doing so, we heartily congratulate both this sister nation and the United States Government, which has made such progress possible.

71. However, we are not called upon to decide whether the status which has been granted to the Puerto Rican people is good or bad, or whether or not it helps that people to realize fully its national aspirations. It is not for us to grant or to deny liberty to the Puerto Rican people. Our task is a different one; it is simply to determine whether or not the degree of self-government which the Puerto Rican people has reached corresponds to what the United Nations Charter calls "a full measure of self-government".

72. With this thought in mind, and from this point of view alone, my delegation is fully convinced that the present government of Puerto Rico is, in practice, subject to such limitations and depends so much on the United States that the country cannot be regarded as having reached the full measure of self-government which the United Nations requires. For this reason, my delegation will again oppose the draft resolution approved by the Fourth Committee, whilst at the same time expressing the sincere hope that the noble Puerto Rican people will every day advance a step further towards a full measure of self-government and will be able of its own free will to achieve its aspirations in their entirety. What are those aspirations? That is the affair of the Puerto Ricans, and theirs alone. By their own free will they must decide what those aspirations are, what it is the people want. And whether that is full independence, or a more or less close association with the United States, or the arrangement which they have at present, my delegation, my people and my government, will applaud their choice whole-heartedly.

73. The PRESIDENT: In connexion with the votes which are about to be taken on each draft resolution, opportunity will be afforded for explanations of vote either before or after each vote. The General Assembly will now vote on the draft resolutions submitted by the Fourth Committee [A/2556 and Corr.1].

Draft resolution I, including the annex, was adopted by 32 votes to 19, with 6 abstentions. 742

Draft resolution II was adopted unanimously. 743

Draft resolution III was adopted by 43 votes to 8, with 7 abstentions. 744

Draft resolution IV was adopted by 48 votes to none, with 8 abstentions. 745

Draft resolution V was adopted by 39 votes to 15, with 6 abstentions. 746

74. Mr. MUNRO (New Zealand): I am aware that the General Assembly has just voted on draft resolution I, dealing with factors, and that it voted a short while ago on the question of the majority necessary for the adoption of these draft resolutions. But I am now approaching another matter. Before the President invites the General Assembly to vote upon draft resolutions VI and VII, I request her to regard them both as raising important questions and, as such, subject to the application of rule 84 of the rules of procedure. These draft resolutions relate to the cessation of the transmission of information under Article 73 e of the Charter with respect to the Non-Self-Governing Territories of the Netherlands Antilles and Surinam, and with respect to Puerto Rico. Decisions have already been taken by the Governments of the Netherlands and the United States respectively to send no further information in accordance with Article 73 e of the Charter to the Secretary-General upon the Territories.

75. May I state very briefly why my delegation regards the draft resolutions as important questions. Article 73 e of the Charter imposes an obligation on Member States which have or which assume responsibilities for the administration of Non-Self-Governing Territories to transmit regularly to the Secretary-General information of a statistical nature on these Territories. The decisions of the General Assembly in relation to a determination by the administering States to cease transmitting information, I submit, may intimately concern the obligations of those Member States. The decisions of the General Assembly on these two matters are, furthermore, of supreme importance to the inhabitants of the Territories concerned. They will be watching what we do here today with the greatest interest, for our decisions may have an important bearing on their political future.

76. Finally, these decisions of the General Assembly involve, to some extent, a judgment upon the actions of the two Member States, a judgment which surely should not be lightly passed. I trust that the members of the Assembly will give these draft resolutions the careful consideration they deserve. If the President should feel obliged to put my request to the vote, I would urge its support upon all representatives who have the welfare and progress of the dependent territories seriously at heart, and I would submit to them, with great respect, that if these questions are not important, then the word has ceased to have importance.

77. The PRESIDENT: I regret that I cannot put the proposal of the representative of New Zealand to the vote because the Mexican proposal was intended to cover draft resolutions VI and VII as well as draft resolution I, and the decision of the Assembly which has already been taken applies to all three draft resolutions.

78. Mr. MUNRO (New Zealand): As the President will appreciate, I would be the last to wish to dispute one of her rulings. All that I wish to say—and I do not know how many of my fellow representatives here agree with me—is that, as I understand the matter—I may be mistaken—the vote of the Assembly was in

respect of draft resolution I, dealing with factors, and that she has allowed representatives to speak on all the draft resolutions by way of explanation of vote. But I had not understood that the vote of the Assembly was one which affected the particular draft resolutions which I have now mentioned.

79. The PRESIDENT: The speech of the Mexican representative covered the entire field. As such, I feel that he intended equally to deal with draft resolutions VI and VII, as well as with draft resolution I. I should like the representative to confirm or to deny that.

80. Sir Percy SPENDER (Australia): I would suggest that this matter ought to be left to the Assembly to decide. It is not my purpose here to contest the understanding of the President of the issue which was placed before us by the representative of Mexico. All I can say is that I am not the only representative in the room who thought otherwise. Had it been so, I certainly would have asked leave to express my views upon the matters which were involved.

81. Since there seems to have been a substantial degree of misunderstanding, I am sure that the President will agree that the Assembly ought to decide whether it intends that the two-thirds majority or the simple majority rule should apply to these two draft resolutions. I can assure the President, without any pretence at all, that I had no idea, when the motion of the representative of Mexico was put to this Assembly, that it applied to draft resolutions VI and VII.

82. Sir Gladwyn JEBB (United Kingdom): Before we take a decision on this extremely important point, I think that we ought to have a little more discussion as to where we are going. I do not really believe that these things can be decided by a sort of snap vote. We ought to have a little more discussion. This, I suggest, is very important. I do not see why representatives should be denied the right to express their views. Therefore, in two minutes, I should like to explain why I, too, in common with the representative of Australia, thought that what was put to the vote when the representative of Mexico had finished speaking was not that all matters arising out of Chapter XI should require a simple majority vote, but rather that the one item relating to factors should require that majority.

83. If, as I understand it, it is now a question of our having to decide that all matters pertaining to Chapter XI should automatically require only a simple majority then, more especially in view of the narrow majority by which the decision on factors was adopted, I think that this Assembly ought to be allowed to have some debate on the matter. It is an important matter and nothing less.

84. In my view, it is a strange theory that is being put to us by the representative of Mexico. It has now been defined what he meant. He said that all matters deriving from Chapter XI should be decided by a simple majority. Now, what does the Charter say? Under Article 18, the Charter lays down that important matters should be decided by a two-thirds majority. It states:

"Decisions of the General Assembly on important questions shall be made by a two-thirds majority. . ."

All important matters should therefore be decided by a two-thirds majority. And it even gives a list of certain items which are regarded as important by

definition in the Charter itself. It then goes on to say—and here, I admit, there may be a certain ambiguity in the Charter:

"Decisions on other questions, including the determination of additional categories of questions to be decided by a two-thirds majority, shall be made by a majority of the members present and voting."

85. In a sense, the question is: does the word "important" mean "important" or does it not? Obviously, from an ordinary reading of the Charter, since it is said specifically that important matters must be decided by a two-thirds majority, the word "other" can only relate to unimportant questions. And incidentally, as we know, among the matters which are specifically stated to be important in the Charter there is the matter of the operation of the Trusteeship System. Now, if the operation of the trusteeship system is laid down in the Charter itself as important, so that resolutions in regard to it require a two-thirds majority, in the light of common reason are not matters relating to Chapter XI, by analogy, equally important? Why should matters relating to Chapter XI be regarded as unimportant and matters relating to the Trusteeship System be regarded as important? There is no logic there of any kind.

86. In my humble opinion, and in the opinion of my delegation, the Mexican argument really amounts to, and must be deemed to amount to, saying that matters relating to Chapter XI of the Charter are unimportant matters. However, that was not the view expressed by the representative of Mexico. He did not say that at all. He said that they were highly important, that all these matters were of the first importance. Therefore there is clearly an inherent contradiction in what the representative of Mexico said. First of all, he said that they were highly important matters. Then he said that decisions by the General Assembly on important questions had no relation to this case. How does he explain that? On the face of it, it seems to me that this is an impossible decision for the Assembly to have taken, even in regard to the question of factors. If it is going to be extended to the whole matter of Chapter XI, it is really rather grave.

87. Of course, I know that under the terms of paragraph 3 of Article 18 it is in fact possible—and it has just been demonstrated that it is possible—for the General Assembly to decide, in its wisdom, by a simple majority that any matter, no matter how important, is not really important but only one of the "other" questions under the Charter. Nothing can prevent it from so deciding. In fact, it showed its wisdom only a little while ago. Therefore nobody can prevent the General Assembly from acting in this way if a simple majority so desires it to act. However, as we see it, with great deference to everybody who shares a different view, this is really an irresponsible act on the part of this great body.

88. More especially was it regrettable, in our view, since, instead of deciding under paragraph 3 of Article 18, as it is empowered to do, that an additional category of questions should be decided by a two-thirds majority, the General Assembly was asked, in the contrary sense, to decide—and is now asked, as I understand it, to decide—that an additional category—in this case of questions relating to Chapter XI—should be decided by a simple majority, which is absolutely the reverse of what the Charter evidently intended.

89. Finally, may I just say that, after all, the presumptive reason why the authors of the Charter provided that some matters specifically, and others because they are important, should be decided by a two-thirds majority, was because they felt, and I think rightly, that a resolution passed by a two-thirds majority, while it could not be binding, as we all know, would at least exercise some moral authority over all Members. It is for those, I suggest, who supported—and who now support—the motion before us to say whether it was their conscious wish, and is their conscious wish, to detract from the moral authority of any resolution relating to Chapter XI which may be passed in the future by the General Assembly. If that is what they want us to do, then let us do it.

90. Mrs. BOLTON (United States of America): I, too, thought that we had voted only in connexion with the draft resolution on factors. I wonder whether, in order to help us all—including the United States delegation—to get out of this confusion, which seems to be general, the President would be good enough to have the stenographic record of her remarks, when she put the matter to vote, read to us? We would greatly appreciate this.

91. The PRESIDENT: I intervened a moment ago to interpret the speech of the representative of Mexico. Since then he has confirmed that my interpretation was correct. However, in view of the situation that has now developed, I am quite prepared to ask the General Assembly whether it wishes the decision taken a while ago to be interpreted as including draft resolutions VI and VII.

92. Sir Percy SPENDER (Australia) (*from the floor*): The correct way in which it should be put is whether the Assembly does or does not apply the two-thirds rule, and not the way in which the President suggested it should be put.

93. The PRESIDENT: I do not see how I can bring that up at this moment. The decision already taken, was in connexion with a simple majority, and that is what we are dealing with at the moment.

94. Mr. MENDOZA (Guatemala) (*translated from Spanish*): My delegation has no objection to the Assembly being consulted in this matter; we wish, however, to call the attention of the members to the rules of procedure. In the first place, we have an Assembly decision adopted by 30 votes to 26. To change this decision, a two-thirds majority is required. In the second place, the President has already given a ruling as regards the interpretation of this matter, and a two-thirds majority is also required in order to change the President's ruling.

95. The PRESIDENT: It was not a ruling, it was only an interpretation.

96. Mr. MENDOZA (Guatemala) (*translated from Spanish*): I thank you for correcting me.

97. Mr. MUNRO (New Zealand): I think I can safely say that the President knows that neither my delegation nor I would pay any disrespect to one of her rulings, and we all know here that it is possible for misapprehensions to arise in respect of a vote.

98. I am most reluctant that there should be a change in the Assembly which would reverse one of the President's findings—one of her rulings—and, indeed, with great respect to the President, I am reluctant that the matter should be approached in the way she sug-

gests. If I may say so, I think it would be fitting to the dignity of the high office which she holds and the responsibilities of this Assembly, if she would agree that, on a matter where there has been misunderstanding, we can vote as the representatives of sovereign States on this most important question as to whether the two-thirds rule is applicable or not.

99. Mr. KYROU (Greece): As I understand the whole situation, the President has not given any ruling; she only interpreted the motion of the representative of Mexico. I think we could go on with this discussion for hours. That is why, in the circumstances, I feel that what the President has just suggested is the only solution. She interpreted the motion of the representative of Mexico as applying to the seven draft resolutions, and this interpretation was confirmed by the Mexican representative himself, so I think the only way out of this difficulty would be to ask whether the Assembly shares this interpretation.

100. Sir Percy SPENDER (Australia) (*from the floor*): Putting it more specifically, the question should be put to the Assembly as to whether it was or was not an important question within the meaning of Article 18, paragraph 2, of the Charter.

101. The PRESIDENT: I would like to draw to the attention of the representatives who have been pressing this point that a vote has been taken already. Therefore the only way in which this matter can be clarified is the way I have just put it to the house. I do not see, after the vote has been taken and the mover of the proposal himself intended it to apply in the way in which it was interpreted by the Chair, that we can suddenly turn round at this stage. Maybe this would be possible after some clarification.

102. Sir Gladwyn JEBB (United Kingdom): I wish to speak on a point of clarification. I must say that I do not find the situation very clear. I thought that the President put the original vote on the Mexican proposal—perhaps I am wrong—in relation simply to the draft resolution on factors. If I had thought that the question was going to be put on the whole issue of Chapter XII, which I understand has now been suggested, then I certainly would have asked for, and I hope the President would have granted me, my right to speak.

103. What exactly is the situation now? Do I understand that the President holds that the vote we took on the Mexican proposal did relate to all matters coming up under Chapter XI, whatever they might be, or only to the seven draft resolutions? That again is obscure, at any rate in my mind. Our decision and our attitude must be governed by exactly what did happen when the question was put. Therefore, may I join with the representative of the United States in asking that the stenographic record of what happened when the President actually put the question should be read out. Then we would all know where we were and what it was to be presumed that we were voting on.

104. The PRESIDENT: I think that probably what happened was that a number of the representatives were not listening very closely to the statement of the representative of Mexico. My interpretation was based solely on the words stated by him; I have not put any words into his mouth. The statement made by him conveyed to the Chair the fact that it was intended to cover draft resolutions VI and VII as well as draft resolution I.

105. Mr. VYSHINSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): The USSR delegation invariably observes the rules governing the activities of the General Assembly and the United Nations as a whole most attentively and meticulously.

106. I should make it clear on behalf of my delegation that I too understood that, as the President has explained, the vote we took on the question a certain representative raised earlier, before we proceeded to vote on these seven draft resolutions, was a vote on all the draft resolutions. This I understood not only from the way the question was put, but from the actual substance of the drafts. The content of none of those seven draft resolutions—as I see the matter, and to the best of my knowledge and belief—is such as to warrant its classification among the important questions, such as those relating to trusteeship, referred to in Article 18 of the Charter and rule 84 of the rules of procedure.

107. The United Kingdom representative quoted the Charter to show that it provides that questions relating to the operation of the Trusteeship System are among the important questions which require a two-thirds majority. Permit me to point out, however, that the draft resolution we are now speaking of, draft resolution VI, is in no way concerned with questions relating to the operation of the Trusteeship System. If you would care to run through the draft resolution now, paragraph by paragraph, you will see that it contains precisely nothing about the operation of the Trusteeship System.

108. That, of course, is no accident. Turning to the rules of procedure, which reproduce the corresponding text of Article 18 of the Charter, we see that they refer not to trusteeship questions in general but to questions relating to the operation of the Trusteeship System. The only place in draft resolution VI where there is any kind of reference to trusteeship is in the last paragraph, which requests the Government of the Netherlands to transmit regularly to the Secretary-General the information specified in Article 73 e of the Charter. But that is not a question relating to the operation of the Trusteeship System. It is simply a request to the Netherlands Government to perform the obligations already incumbent on it. The paragraph goes on: "in regard to the Netherlands Antilles and Surinam such time as the General Assembly takes a decision that the transmission of information in regard to those Territories should be discontinued". So it was obvious to me, and I am sure that it was clear to many other delegations as well, that this is not by any means a question relating to the Trusteeship System, upon which a decision has to be taken by a two-thirds majority, but a question of continuing to transmit information. Now, transmitting information and the Trusteeship System are not the same thing. Questions relating to the Trusteeship System mean any changes that may be required for the operation of that system. I see nothing of that nature here. Naturally, therefore, I assumed that this required a simple majority.

109. I should like to draw attention to the fact that we have reached draft resolution VI. That means that we have already voted on five draft resolutions without anybody bringing up the question of whether it was necessary to have a two-thirds majority. We voted on draft resolutions I, II, III, IV and V by a simple majority; but when we came to draft resolution VI, we were all of a sudden confronted with the suggestion

that this part particular draft was sufficiently important to require a majority of two-thirds. I consider that this draft resolution does not differ, as regards importance, from the preceding ones, any more than from draft resolution VII. Consequently I consider that of course we must vote on this draft by a simple majority, and that the decision taken was in order.

110. If the President puts to the meeting the question whether or not the decision we took concerning a simple majority was in order, then of course, the Guatemalan representative is right to insist on the application of rule 82 of the rules of procedure, which provides for a two-thirds majority. Should it be deemed necessary to vote again on the President's decision—a decision which in my opinion was perfectly in order—it would mean reconsidering a General Assembly decision on the matter. In that case a vote under rule 82 would be unavoidable, which means that this decision that has already been taken can only be altered or departed from if the alteration is decided on by a two-thirds majority at the present session of the Assembly.

111. Mr. MENON (India): It is not clear to my delegation on what item this debate is now being conducted. If it is on a point of order, I understand that there may be two speakers in favour and two speakers against. However, since the precedent has been set up for having a general debate on this matter, I should like to submit that, in the view of my delegation, a proposal was submitted by the representative of Mexico and was opposed by the representative of Denmark. The President's interpretation, or rather, the President's ruling, since there is no provision for an interpretation, was given when she was asked that the motion should cover all seven draft resolutions. The only possible procedure, therefore, is either to challenge the ruling or to submit it voluntarily to challenge. I do not see how we can have another vote on this matter unless the ruling that has been given by the Chair is challenged and a new decision taken.

112. I should like also to point out that, since dealing with draft resolution I, we have already dealt with others on education, self-government and matters of that character, and surely it is only just at this point that the objection has been raised in this manner. I do not think that it would be proper for me to go into the merits of Article 18 of the Charter, but it may be stated that that article refers specifically to matters which must be submitted to the two-thirds rule. And when, in any law, there is a specific mention, then not only the implication but the meaning and the intent of such a clause is that in all other matters that specification shall not apply.

113. For these reasons I submit that we should proceed with this matter in accordance with the ruling already given by the President.

114. Mr. PIGNON (France) (*translated from French*): After the explanations given by some of the previous speakers, it seems to me obvious that the circumstances in which we voted were confused. Did we even vote on a motion? It would appear that what we actually voted on was a speech, which of course contained certain conclusions, but also certain arguments or illustrations which seem to have been mistaken for conclusions in the legal sense of the term.

115. On what was the President's interpretation based? On a confirmation by the representative of

Mexico. But that confirmation was retrospective; it was an afterthought, since it was given after the vote had taken place. It seems to me, therefore, that its value is at best purely relative.

116. In the circumstances, I should like to propose a solution, subject to the Mexican representative's consent. Since the President's ruling was, so to speak, based on his decision, he would be doing us a great service if he would agree, for the sake of clarity and the good understanding that should prevail in the Assembly, that his motion—if I may thus describe what was in fact a speech—was concerned only with the factors of self-government, and if he would permit us to take another vote now.

117. The PRESIDENT: This is developing into a debate. Representative after representative has conveyed the impression to me—and I am becoming a little confused about my own impressions—that there is a confusion. What I am trying to do is to dispel the confusion, and for that reason I had reworded the motion I wanted to put to the vote. I shall now call upon the representative of Australia, who has indicated his desire to address the Assembly on this point, but I do beg that since we are trying to clear up something that is confused we should not add to the confusion.

118. Sir Percy SPENDER (Australia): I shall obey the President's injunction as best I can, and shall seek not to add to the confusion, but I think that the matter is a very simple one.

119. In the first place, may I suggest that a speech does not make a motion. A speech ranges over many fields. The only question is what was the point, the issue or the question before the Assembly. I have taken the trouble to inquire what the question was. There were a number of items on the agenda this afternoon. The item which was voted on was the item concerning factors relating to Non-Self-Governing Territories. No one disputes that. In the course of his speech the representative of Mexico referred to a number of other matters, as one normally does when one makes a point. But the only question is what was the nature of the motion which he intended to put before this Assembly. In truth, no motion was put before the Assembly, but the President interpreted what the representative of Mexico had in mind, and the only question, as I understand it, which was put before the Assembly was on the first item. In putting it to the vote the President said: "The motion is to the effect that the draft resolution"—"draft resolution" in the singular—"may be carried by a simple majority."

120. The representative of the United States asked that the stenographic record should be read. I can only say for myself that I was listening to the debate, as I believe most people were, and that I understood precisely, I think, what was the question put. May I suggest that the stenographic record should be read and that, in any event, no question of technicalities should stand in the way of this Assembly deciding for itself this very important question of whether, under Article 18, paragraph 2, of the Charter, this is or is not an important question.

121. The PRESIDENT: For the very reason raised by the representative of Australia—namely, because I want the Assembly to have the fullest opportunity of deciding as it wishes in the knowledge of what it de-

cided earlier—I have tried to reword the motion. As I said earlier, I am only trying to clarify the understanding that existed at the time of the first vote, and it is by no means clear that everyone's understanding was the same. Therefore I should like to suggest that we take the matter up in the form of ascertaining whether it is the wish of the Assembly to interpret the decision taken on voting procedure as applying only to draft resolution I.

122. Accordingly, I shall put to the vote the proposal that the decision taken on voting procedure shall apply only to resolution I. A vote by roll-call has been requested.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

The United States of America, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: United States of America, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Colombia, Costa Rica, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, France, Iceland, Israel, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Peru, Sweden, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

Against: Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Argentina, Bolivia, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, China, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, Ethiopia, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Liberia, Mexico, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Philippines, Poland, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Thailand, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Abstaining: Chile, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua.

The proposal was rejected by 34 votes to 21, with 4 abstentions.

123. The PRESIDENT: It is necessary now to take a decision on draft resolutions VI and VII, and I should therefore like to put to the vote a motion providing that a simple majority is required to carry draft resolutions VI and VII.

124. Mr. ESPINOSA Y PRIETO (Mexico) (*translated from Spanish*): I promise to be exceedingly brief. I wish to point out that in the whole of my speech I made it abundantly clear that the Mexican Government requested that voting on any matter concerned with Chapter XI should be by simple majority and not by a two-thirds majority. That was clearly stated throughout my speech. Although unfortunate circumstances prevented me from concluding my statement, it will be easy to verify from the verbatim record that I finished with the words:

"We request that any questions relating to Non-Self-Governing Territories may always be decided by a simple majority".

125. My delegation thinks that the President's ruling on this matter should be upheld. We regard the vote which we have just taken as upholding the correct interpretation placed by the President on my words; we therefore think it inappropriate in the circumstances to take a further vote. Naturally my delegation will, as always, act in accordance with the President's ruling.

126. Mr. MATES (Yugoslavia): I agree that it is regrettable that, instead of continuing to take the vote on the draft resolutions, a kind of semi-procedural discussion has developed. I would not have wished to

participate in this discussion if again an interpretation of the Charter had not been put forward which, in my opinion, is completely erroneous, and it is because of this misinterpretation, I think, that most of the difficulties in this debate have arisen.

127. It has been stated here by the representative of the United Kingdom and other representatives that Article 18 of the Charter specifies that on some important questions a vote should be taken by a two-thirds majority, and that the Assembly can decide on other important questions which should also be voted on by a two-thirds majority. First of all, I think it is a very difficult matter to vote on whether a question is important or not; it might have different importance in the minds of various delegations, and it might be extremely difficult to agree on a common denominator in all cases. However, I think that all this argument, which has even gone so far that a vote has been asked on whether the question involved in such and such a draft resolution is important or not, is completely without any point. Article 18 of the Charter states that on important questions the vote will be by a two-thirds majority, and then it gives an exhaustive enumeration of those questions which are important, and paragraph 3 of Article 18 states that the decisions on other questions shall be by a simple majority, including a decision as to whether some additional categories of questions are to be decided by a two-thirds majority.

128. The English text of the Charter may have misled the representative of the United Kingdom, because paragraph 2 of Article 18 says: "These questions shall include"—and then comes an enumeration. But I should like to pay tribute once again to the French language from this rostrum. The French text of the Charter is an official text—and if, in a legal document which is valid in two or more languages, one leaves open a doubt and another is precise, then the interpretation has to be taken from the more precise text. This is a legal concept which I suppose nobody in this Assembly will contest. What is written in the French version of Article 18 of the Charter? I shall quote the French text:

"Les décisions de l'Assemblée générale sur les questions importantes sont prises à la majorité des deux tiers des membres présents et votants."

That is the law. Now comes the definition: "*Sont considérées comme questions importantes*", and then there is an enumeration of the important questions.

129. If there is any meaning in these words, it is that decisions of the General Assembly on important questions shall be by a two-thirds vote, and then these important questions are enumerated. "*Sont considérées*" is a definition of the term "important questions" which is used in the first sentence of Article 18, paragraph 2. "*Sont considérées comme questions importantes*", and then all the questions considered important are enumerated. Nothing concerning Chapter XI of the Charter is in this enumeration. Besides, paragraph 3 states:

"Les décisions sur d'autres questions, y compris la détermination de nouvelles catégories de questions à trancher à la majorité des deux tiers, sont prises à la majorité des membres présents et votants."

That means that unless a question comes within one of the categories enumerated in Article 18, paragraph

2, a vote has to be taken by a simple majority. There can be no doubt about it, and all procedural wrangling about it is completely outside the field of the Charter.

130. As I said, I asked to speak because I think that a much more serious question is involved than a vote on one or two draft resolutions. It is a question of the Charter. I wanted to clarify this point and particularly to point out again that I should consider any vote to consider a question to be important or not as being contrary to the Charter, because the Charter does not require us to pronounce on the importance of questions, but gives a technical term to important questions and gives a definition and enumeration of these categories and says:

"Decisions on other questions, including the determination of additional categories of questions to be decided by a two-thirds majority. . . ."

That means that the Assembly can exceptionally determine to vote on other categories by a two-thirds majority without pronouncing on whether they are important or not.

131. Mr. RYCKMANS (Belgium) (*translated from French*): The Mexican representative has just explained to us very clearly that the purpose of his motion was to decide that the draft resolutions before us today and, generally speaking, the draft resolutions concerning Chapter XI of the Charter, should be subject to the simple majority rule.

132. I do not think this motion should have been put to the vote, since all questions submitted to the General Assembly, except important questions, are subject to simple majority decisions, and the important questions are those mentioned in Article 18, paragraph 2, of the Charter and those which the General Assembly may decide, by a simple majority vote, to classify among the important questions.

133. The question today is not whether the Assembly wishes decisions to be taken by a simple majority—which is the rule—but whether it is prepared to decide that the two questions now before it should be governed by the two-thirds majority rule. These two questions are as follows. First, is the cessation of the transmission of information on the Netherlands Antilles and Surinam justified? Secondly, is the United States decision concerning Puerto Rico justified?

134. If the Chair considers it necessary, I would propose that there be put to the vote a motion that the General Assembly decides that these two problems are important.

135. The PRESIDENT: We shall now proceed to vote on the question of whether draft resolutions VI and VII may be carried by a simple majority.

136. I call upon the representative of Guatemala on a point of order.

137. Mr. MENDOZA (Guatemala) (*translated from Spanish*): I am sorry, Madam President, but I do not quite understand what we are doing. I am under the impression that we are going to vote for the third time to the effect that we do not wish these draft resolutions to be subject to a two-thirds majority vote. The first time was when the President put to the vote the motion of the Mexican representative, the second time was the vote which has just taken place. If I understood the Spanish interpretation correctly, the President put the following to the vote:

does the General Assembly wish that the decision by simple majority should apply only to draft resolution I? The Assembly's reply was a categorical negative. What does that mean? It means that the Assembly wishes the decision on the seven draft resolutions to be taken by a simple majority. Why should we vote again on the question whether the decision on the last two draft resolutions should be taken by a simple majority or by a two-thirds majority?

138. I think that the appropriate procedure is to vote forthwith on draft resolutions VI and VII, and that the decision on those drafts should be taken, in accordance with what the Assembly has already decided, by a simple majority.

139. Mr. RYCKMANS (Belgium) (*translated from French*): The President proposes to put to the vote the question whether the draft resolutions before us may be adopted by a simple majority. That is tantamount to asking the General Assembly whether the Charter may be complied with. The Charter states that all questions are to be voted by a simple majority, with the exception of important questions such as the questions classified as important in Article 18, paragraph 2, of the Charter as well as the questions which the General Assembly itself decides are important. That is how this term has been constantly interpreted since the United Nations was first set up.

140. I say again, I do not believe it is possible to put to the vote the question whether the Charter should be complied with. All questions submitted to the General Assembly are settled by a simple majority, unless, by a decision taken by a simple majority, the General Assembly decides that a particular question is an important one.

141. In order to put an end to the present confused situation, I shall move—and if the Chair considers it necessary I shall submit it as a formal motion—that the General Assembly considers that the two draft resolutions which are to be put to the vote are important questions.

142. Mr. VYSHINSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): If I understood correctly, the question now is whether we should decide on draft resolutions VI and VII by a simple or by a two-thirds majority. In that case I should like to know what we voted on a moment ago. What was our last vote about?

143. The way I saw it was this—and the whole thing is very clear and simple: the Mexican representative proposed that the vote on all the draft resolutions should be by a simple majority. Draft resolution I was voted on by a simple majority; draft resolutions II, III, IV and V were voted on by a simple majority. When we came to draft resolution VI the question arose whether or not the Mexican representative's proposal also applied to draft resolutions VI and VII, that is, to all the draft resolutions—so that they would all be decided on by a simple majority—or whether he had only meant draft resolution I.

144. The President then declared that the Mexican representative's proposal applied to all the draft resolutions. But since it was difficult for the President to impose her opinion to that effect, she put it to the Assembly, after first asking the opinion of the Mexican representative. The Mexican representative confirmed the fact that his proposal had applied to all the draft

resolutions. The question was put to the vote, and it was decided by 34 votes in favour to 21 against, apparently, that the proposal applied to the seven draft resolutions, which meant that all the draft resolutions had to be decided on by a simple majority.

145. The President is now putting the question whether or not the decision on draft resolution VI should be taken by a simple or by a two-thirds majority. But that has been decided already. I entirely agree with the Guatemalan representative that it has been decided. And if it has been decided, why should we decide it again? The President feels a certain diffidence. I understand her scrupulous attitude; she wants to be absolutely objective, and she is right. But we must not be sacrificed to such excessive scrupulousness. We must not be made victims and go on indefinitely speaking and voting on the same question. I believe that we should be guided by the decision taken.

146. To conclude: if the President, or anyone else wants to have another vote on this question, it will mean reconsidering a decision already taken. The decision taken was to vote on all the draft resolutions, including draft resolutions VI and VII, by a simple majority. If the matter is to be reconsidered, rule 82 of the rules of procedure will have to be applied. Rule 82 allows it to be done. But I strongly protest against that rule being invoked, because the vote that has just been taken has confirmed that all the draft resolutions, draft resolution I to draft resolution VII inclusive, must be decided by a simple majority. I therefore beg the President to put these draft resolutions to the vote.

147. Mrs. BOLTON (United States of America): I support the proposal of the representative of Belgium. In particular, the draft resolution concerning Puerto Rico, which directly concerns the United States and the Government and people of Puerto Rico, is to my delegation the most important item in the report of the Fourth Committee. Moreover, this draft resolution directly involves the discharge and the fulfilment of an obligation specifically set forth in an article of the Charter, namely, Article 73. My Government has made every effort possible to discharge this obligation in good faith, and in fact has done more than the letter of the Charter requires. My delegation feels that this question is an important matter within the meaning of Article 18 of the Charter, and therefore definitely requires a two-thirds majority. I hope most earnestly that the President will put the Belgian proposal to the vote.

148. The PRESIDENT: Much as I appreciate the efforts of various representatives to try to clear up this situation, and particularly the effort of the representative of Belgium, I regret that it is not possible for me to do anything at this stage. We have just voted on the interpretation of the motion on voting procedure, and the General Assembly has indicated that it did not intend to limit the application of that motion to resolution I. Now draft resolutions VI and VII remain, and we have to vote on them. I think that point is quite clear, and the only thing we can now do is to go ahead and vote on those two draft resolutions. The decision which the General Assembly has just adopted applies both to draft resolution VI and to draft resolution VII. We shall vote on those two draft resolutions separately.

149. I shall put to the vote first draft resolution VI. A separate vote on both paragraph 3 and paragraph 6 of that draft resolution has been requested.

The preamble and paragraphs 1 and 2 were adopted by 30 votes to none, with 15 abstentions.

Paragraph 3 was adopted by 33 votes to 5, with 13 abstentions.

Paragraphs 4 and 5 were adopted by 39 votes to 2, with 15 abstentions.

Paragraph 6 was adopted by 35 votes to 13, with 2 abstentions.

The draft resolution as a whole was adopted by 33 votes to 13, with 8 abstentions. *149*

150. The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly will vote next on draft resolution VII.

151. Mr. LANNUNG (Denmark): I have two requests in connexion with draft resolution VII. First, I should like a separate vote, by roll-call, to be taken on the last paragraph of the preamble, and, secondly, I request that a vote by roll-call should be taken on draft resolution VII as a whole.

152. The PRESIDENT: Before putting draft resolution VII to the vote, I shall call upon the representative of the Netherlands for an explanation of his delegation's vote on draft resolution VI.

153. Mr. SPITS (Netherlands): When the question of the cessation of the transmission of information on the Netherlands Antilles and Surinam was debated in the Fourth Committee of the General Assembly, the Netherlands delegation informed the Committee that, under the terms of the interim orders of government which at present embody the constitutions of the two Territories concerned, the parliaments of those Territories—freely elected on a basis of general, direct and secret suffrage—have full power to legislate with respect to economic, social and educational affairs, without any interference from the Netherlands Government. The transmission of information on any of these subjects by the Netherlands Government, and the assumption of responsibility which the transmission of information entails, would therefore be an infringement of the autonomy of Surinam and the Netherlands Antilles and contrary to the constitutional provisions of the two Territories concerned, as well as to the Constitution of the Netherlands.

154. Since Article 73 e of the Charter states that the obligation to transmit information to the Secretary-General is "subject to such limitation as security and constitutional considerations may require", the Netherlands Government believed that that article fully authorized the cessation of the transmission of information, in the circumstances which I have just described. This view was supported by representatives of the Netherlands Antilles and Surinam, who declared that their governments and parliaments considered that the transmission of information by the Netherlands Government was incompatible with the implementation and development of the autonomy already established in their countries, and felt that, from a constitutional point of view, they could not be expected to transmit that information to the Netherlands Government for communication to the United Nations under Article 73 e of the Charter.

155. Nevertheless, the Fourth Committee adopted draft resolution VI containing an amendment by the Soviet Union, by which the Netherlands Government was requested "to transmit regularly to the Secretary-General the information specified in Article 73 e of the Charter in regard to the Netherlands Antilles and Surinam until such time as the General Assembly takes a decision that the transmission of information in regard to those Territories should be discontinued."

156. Now that that draft resolution, including operative paragraph 6, which has just been quoted, has been adopted by the General Assembly, I shall not dwell on the question whether it is within the competence of the General Assembly to decide when the transmission of information on a Non-Self-Governing Territory may cease, a competence which the Netherlands Government emphatically denies. I wish only to express the regret of my delegation that the aforesaid paragraph 6 should have been included in this resolution and to state that, whatever the opinion of the majority of the members of the General Assembly may be on this question, the Netherlands Government cannot possibly act in a way which would be contrary to its own laws and Constitution; nor is it prepared to take steps which would be at variance with the opinion and the wishes of the governments and parliaments of the Netherlands Antilles and Surinam, whose interests are at stake in this controversy.

157. The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly will now vote on the first five paragraphs of the preamble of draft resolution VII.

The paragraphs were adopted by 39 votes to none, with 17 abstentions.

158. The PRESIDENT: We shall now vote on the sixth: paragraph of the preamble. A roll-call vote has been requested.

A vote was taken by roll call.

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Argentina, Bolivia, Burma, Byelorussian SSR, Chile, China, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Liberia, Mexico, Pakistan, Philippines, Poland, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Thailand, Ukrainian SSR.

Against: United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Australia, Belgium, Canada, Colombia, Costa Rica, Denmark, France, Iceland, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Sweden, Turkey, Union of South Africa.

Abstaining: Brazil, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Honduras, Israel, Nicaragua, Peru.

The paragraph was adopted by 34 votes to 19, with 7 abstentions.

159. The PRESIDENT: We shall now vote on the whole of the operative part of the draft resolution.

The operative part of the draft resolution was adopted by 26 votes to 11, with 19 abstentions.

160. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now vote on draft resolution VII as a whole. A roll-call vote has been requested.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

The Union of South Africa, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: United States of America, Uruguay, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Greece, Haiti, Honduras, Iran, Israel, Liberia, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Thailand, Turkey.

Against: Union of South Africa, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Yugoslavia, Australia, Belgium, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Guatemala, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Mexico, Poland, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

Abstaining: United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Venezuela, Yemen, Afghanistan, Argentina, Denmark, Egypt, France, Iceland, Lebanon, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Sweden, Syria.

The draft resolution as a whole was adopted by 26 votes to 16, with 18 abstentions. 248

161. Sir Percy SPENDER (Australia): My delegation was compelled to vote against the draft resolution concerning the cessation of the transmission of information on Puerto Rico. My delegation has consistently held the view that the General Assembly is not competent to decide when a territory has reached such a stage of development that information on economic, social and educational advancement, under Article 73 e of the Charter, should cease. The competence to decide such a question rests, in the view of my delegation, solely with the administering Power concerned, in this case the United States of America.

162. We recognize that Puerto Rico has, under the wise and benevolent guidance of the United States, reached a stage when it is no longer necessary, or indeed possible, for the United States to submit information. This has been decided by the United States and the General Assembly is not, under the Charter, called upon to express any conclusion on the question. My delegation has taken precisely the same attitude, firmly based on the principle I have enunciated, in respect of the Netherlands Antilles and Surinam. No other attitude, we think, could be, on our interpretation of the Charter, possible or justified.

163. The resolution which has just been voted upon asserts the competence of the General Assembly to decide on this issue, and, though its conclusion accords with the decision of the United States Government, it conflicts, in our view, with the clear principle which I have stated. My vote, therefore, should not be interpreted in any way as denying the indisputable fact that it is no longer necessary for the United States to continue the transmission of information on Puerto Rico, but as a protest against what we regard as an unwarranted assumption of competence on the part of the Assembly to decide on this issue.

164. Mrs. BOLTON (United States of America): The United States delegation voted for resolutions II, IV and VII. We regret that we were unable to support resolutions I, III, V and VI.

165. With particular regard to the resolution on Puerto Rico, I should like to say that the United States voted in favour of resolution VII because it expresses the agreement of the General Assembly with the conclusion reached by my Government that Puerto Rico has ceased to be a Non-Self-Governing Territory within the meaning of Chapter XI of the United Nations Charter. In a matter of this sort, the role of the General Assembly is limited by the Charter provisions to discussion, expression of views and recommendations. The decision as to whether a territory has ceased to be non-self-governing is one which in the last analysis can only be made by the administering Power.

166. In the case of Puerto Rico, the General Assembly has discussed the status of that territory and in the resolution just voted has expressed its view that Puerto Rico is no longer a Non-Self-Governing Territory under the terms of Article 73 e of the Charter. Whatever the language of the resolution, the General Assembly cannot and does not decide on the status of a territory with reference to the provisions of Article 73. Any participation by the Assembly in such a decision is of course limited to discussion, expression of views and recommendation. In the light of this understanding of the matter, my delegation voted for the resolution which we have just adopted.

167. Finally, I wish to pay a tribute to that outstanding Puerto Rican statesman, Governor Luis Muñoz Marín. Under his leadership, the highly cultured people of Puerto Rico are making a splendid contribution to democracy and freedom. In the future, as in the past, his administration will continue to protect the legitimate rights of minority parties and the cherished freedoms guaranteed in the Constitution of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico. In defence of these ideals, Puerto Rican soldiers fought for the United Nations in Korea, and we can be confident that the great objectives of the United Nations will nowhere find more devoted support than in the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico.

168. Mr. DE MARCHENA (Dominican Republic) (*translated from Spanish*): The delegation of the Dominican Republic was pleased to be able to reaffirm the vote it cast in the Fourth Committee in favour of the draft resolution concerning the cessation of information on Puerto Rico. The attitude of my delegation, adopted on the official instructions of the Dominican Government, is that, as a result of its constitutional status and its recent transformation into a free State associated with the United States, Puerto Rico has attained self-government, and that therefore the submission of information under Article 73 e of the Charter is no longer required of the late administering Power, the United States.

169. Moreover, the decisive factor for us has been the principle of the self-determination of peoples, in which, as expressed through various electoral processes, we found an overriding argument in confirmation of Puerto Rico's status in international law within the meaning of Chapter XI of the Charter; another such argument was derived from the internal development of its constitutional institutions.

170. My delegation cannot conceal the feelings aroused in us by the official declaration made this afternoon by Mr. Lodge on behalf of President Eisenhower. His words lend a brilliant lustre to the resolution which

the Assembly has just adopted, while at the same time doing honour to the United States, and confirming our belief that the fate of Puerto Rico is closely linked with our own, with that of our America and with that of the United Nations; today more than ever the Puerto Rican people can count on the enthusiastic and fraternal support of the whole community of nations.

171. Mrs. MENON (India): We listened with great interest to the announcement made by the representative of the United States Government on behalf of the President of the United States. On behalf of my delegation I should like to give this assurance to the representative of the United States. When the Puerto Ricans become completely free, India will be the first country to congratulate the United States Government on the fulfilment of this noble task, thus setting an example to the other administering Members of the United Nations. In the meantime, my delegation was compelled to vote against draft resolution VII, the resolution on the cessation of information on Puerto Rico by the United States Government, because it felt that the General Assembly had not considered the question in a proper manner.

172. When the matter was raised in the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories, my delegation voted in favour of a final decision being taken by the General Assembly. It does so for two reasons: first, because it is the opinion of my delegation that the General Assembly is alone competent to take such a decision on an important question and, secondly, because my delegation believed that a fuller examination of the subject would be possible in the Fourth Committee. The Secretary-General had, meanwhile, received many communications from leading political parties and representatives of those groups, asking for oral hearings before the Committee took its decision. My delegation, along with others voted in favour of granting those petitions, but the suggestion was not adopted. When that happened, my delegation moved an amendment to the draft resolution, requesting the appointment of an *ad hoc* committee which would study the question, examine the petitions for oral hearings, grant oral hearings and present a report to the Committee next year. Of course, that would have meant a delay of one year. It is not much when we consider that the future and welfare of over 2 million people in Puerto Rico depended on our decision.

173. My delegation has always accorded its full measure of appreciation to the United States Government for the loyalty, sincerity and devotion with which it has always fulfilled its obligations under the Charter, and for the general principles which motivate its present position with regard to Puerto Rico. But this sincere appreciation should not blind us to the fact that the question of the future of a people, not only civilized but the proud possessors of a rich cultural heritage, deserves our careful study. No excuse can justify any haste in this matter, for any step we might take will have far-reaching effects not only on the future of Puerto Rico and its 2 million people, but on the other nearly 18 million people bravely fighting helplessly for their rights against racial discrimination, economic exploitation and political domination. These people look to the United Nations with hope, and our actions should help justify that hope.

174. It is in this wider context that my delegation voted against the resolution. It has been claimed that Puerto Rico has reached a full measure of self-government as envisaged in Chapter XI of the Charter, and that therefore the United States Government should not be called upon to fulfil its obligations under Article 73 e. We have no doubt that constitutional changes have taken place in Puerto Rico, and Puerto Ricans have agreed to a compact with the United States. We have studied the relevant documents with great care. Two things have emerged from that study.

175. The first is that the degree of self-government enjoyed by Puerto Rico under the new constitutional arrangement does not keep it outside the scope of Article 73 e. The second is that, while we do not deny Puerto Rico the right to enter into any kind of arrangement with the United States or any other country, we hold that this can be done validly only after two conditions have been met: when Puerto Rico is fully independent of external pressures at the time of executing such a compact; and when the democratic processes claimed, such as referendum or plebiscite, are conducted in an atmosphere of complete democratic freedom. My delegation is not satisfied that these things have been done in the manner envisaged in the United Nations Charter.

176. It is also the view of my delegation that the administering Member may not abandon its sacred trust or the General Assembly its responsibility without adequate and mature consideration. The protection guaranteed under Chapter XI is deemed necessary for the development of dependent peoples in Non-Self-Governing Territories towards a full measure of self-government. The General Assembly cannot barter away that protection, it cannot ignore that guarantee on the recommendation of the administering Members alone. Nor should we, the non-administering Members of the United Nations here, deal with such questions in a hasty or lighthearted manner. It is well to remember that the paramount consideration is the welfare of the peoples of the dependent territories.

177. To sum up, my delegation is not convinced that Puerto Rico, under its present association with the United States, has become a self-governing territory. In our opinion, there can be no free, just or valid compact, association or agreement between two countries or territories except on a basis of equality. We believe that independence should precede any voluntary association, and the link of an equal and voluntary union between peoples forged out of a genuine desire for co-operation is not incompatible with independence, whereas an association of States under any form in which the inequality of status is not redeemed, would only camouflage the relics of a colonial past. This would be contrary to the Charter, which aims not at the creation or perpetuation of colonialism in some form or other, but its total and complete elimination from the political system and thought of the new world. Therefore my delegation was compelled to vote against a resolution which did not take into account the desire of the Puerto Ricans for international guarantees during the period of its tutelage and the fulfilment of their just aspirations for freedom.

The meeting rose at 6.30 p.m.

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INFORMATION FROM NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES

Report of the Fourth Committee

Rapporteur: Mr. N. RIFAI (Syria)

1. At its 435th plenary meeting on 17 September 1953, the General Assembly referred to the Fourth Committee the following items on its agenda:

"32. Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter: reports of the Secretary-General^{1/} and of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories:^{2/}

"(a) Information on educational conditions^{3/}

"(b) Information on other conditions^{4/}

"(c) Transmission of information^{5/}

"(d) Participation of Non-Self-Governing Territories in the work of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories: recommendations of the Committee^{6/}

^{1/} A/2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2410/Add.1, 2411, 2411/Add.1, 2413, 2413/Add.1-8, 2414, 2414/Add.1 and 2.

^{2/} See Official Records of the General Assembly, Eighth Session, Supplement No. 15, document A/2465.

^{3/} Ibid., part I, section VI, and part II

^{4/} Ibid., part I, sections VIII and IX.

^{5/} Ibid., part I, section XII.

^{6/} Ibid., part I, section XIII.

"33. Factors which should be taken into account in deciding whether a territory is or is not a territory whose people have not yet attained a full measure of self-government: report of the Ad Hoc Committee on Factors (Non-Self-Governing Territories)^{7/}

"34. Cessation of the transmission of information under Article 73 e of the Charter: reports of the Ad Hoc Committee on Factors (Non-Self-Governing Territories) and of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories:

"(a) Netherlands Antilles and Surinam^{7/}

"(b) Puerto Rico."^{8/}

^{7/} A/2428.

^{8/} A/2465, part I, section VII.

FACTORS WHICH SHOULD BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT IN DECIDING
WHETHER A TERRITORY IS OR IS NOT A TERRITORY WHOSE PEOPLE
HAVE NOT YET ATTAINED A FULL MEASURE OF SELF-GOVERNMENT

2. The Fourth Committee decided to deal first with item 33, and discussed it from its 322nd to 331st meetings. The Committee had before it the report of the 1953 Ad Hoc Committee on Factors (Non-Self-Governing Territories) (A/2428), containing a list of factors indicative of the attainment of a full measure of self-government by Non-Self-Governing Territories.

3. At the 325th meeting, Brazil submitted a draft resolution (A/C.4/L.272), according to which the General Assembly would: (1) take note of the conclusions of the report of the Ad Hoc Committee; (2) approve the list of factors contained in that report; (3) recommend that the annexed list of factors should be taken by the Administering Members and the General Assembly as a guide and applied in the light of all relevant circumstances pertinent to each particular situation, in determining whether any Territory, due to changes in its constitutional status, is or is no longer within the scope of Chapter XI of the Charter, in order that, in view of the documentation provided under resolution 222 (III), a decision might be taken on the continuation or cessation of the transmission of information required by Chapter XI of the Charter; (4) recommend that in the study of each case paramount consideration should be given to the evidence which might indicate that the people concerned had exercised its rights to self-determination; (5) reaffirm that the factors, while serving as a guide in determining whether the obligations as set forth in Article 73 e of the Charter shall exist, should in no way be interpreted as a hindrance to the attainment of a full measure of self-government by a Non-Self-Governing Territory; (6) further reaffirm that, for a Territory to be deemed self-governing in economic, social or educational affairs it was essential that its people should have attained a full measure of self-government as referred to in Chapter XI of the Charter; (7) further instruct the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories to study any documentation transmitted hereafter under resolution 222 (III) adopted on 3 November 1948, in the light of the list of factors approved by the present resolution, among other relevant considerations which might arise from each concrete case of cessation of information, when the Committee discharged the

responsibilities entrusted to it by paragraph 1 of resolution 334 (IV) adopted on 2 December 1949, and paragraph 2 of resolution 448 (V) adopted on 12 December 1950; and (8) recommend that the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories should take the initiative of proposing to the General Assembly revisions and interpretations of, or additions to, the list of factors whenever, due to difficulties of application or the arising of new circumstances, the Committee found it so advisable.

4. Joint amendments to this draft resolution were proposed by Bolivia, Egypt, Guatemala, Indonesia, Iraq, Mexico, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Venezuela, Yemen and Yugoslavia (A/C.4/L.273). These amendments would: (1) insert after the second paragraph of the preamble as a new paragraph the following text: "Having regard to the competence of the General Assembly to consider the principles that should guide the United Nations and the Member States in the implementation of obligations arising from Chapter XI of the Charter and to make recommendations in connexion with them"; (2) delete the fourth paragraph of the preamble of the draft resolution; (3) replace paragraph 2 of the operative part by the following text: "Approves the list of factors which is attached to this resolution as a part thereof"; (4) amend the first sentence of paragraph 3 of the operative part to read as follows: "Recommends that the annexed list of factors should be used by the General Assembly and the Administering Members as a guide ... etc."; delete from the same paragraph the sentence: "... and applied in the light of all relevant circumstances pertinent to each particular situation..."; and insert in the same paragraph, between the words "may be taken" and "on the continuation", the words "by the General Assembly"; (5) replace paragraph 4 of the operative part by the following text: "Reasserts that each concrete case should be considered and decided upon in the light of the particular circumstances of that case and taking into account the right of self-determination of peoples"; (6) insert after paragraph 4, the following texts as paragraphs 5 and 6: "5. Considers that the validity of any form of association between a Non-Self-Governing Territory and a metropolitan or any other country essentially depends on the freely expressed will of the people at the time of the taking of this decision; 6. Considers that the manner in which territories referred to in Chapter XI of the Charter can become

fully self-governing is through the attainment of independence, although it is recognized that self-government can also be achieved by association with another State or group of States if this is done freely and on the basis of absolute equality"; (7) renumber paragraph 5 of the operative part as paragraph 7, replacing the words "in Article 73 e" by the words "in Chapter XI"; (8) delete at the end of paragraph 6 of the draft resolution, which should now become paragraph 8, the words "as referred to in Chapter XI of the Charter"; (9) delete in paragraph 7 of the draft resolution, which should now become paragraph 9, the word "further", and delete the rest of the paragraph following the words "of cessation of information"; (10) replace the last paragraph of the draft resolution by the following text: "Recommends that the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories take the initiative of proposing modifications at any time to improve the list of factors, as may seem necessary in the light of circumstances".

5. Amendments (A/C.4/L.274) to the list of factors approved by the Ad Hoc Committee on Factors (Non-Self-Governing Territories) (A/2428) were proposed by the same eleven sponsors of the above joint amendments. The amendments were as follows:

First part (Factors indicative of the attainment of independence) - Replace factor A.4 by the following: "National defence. Sovereign right to provide for its national defence".

Second part - (1) Replace the present heading by the following: "Factors indicative of the attainment of other separate systems of self-government"; (2) change factor A.1 to become factor A.6; (3) change factor A.2 to become factor A.1; (4) insert the following text to become factor A.2: "Freedom of choice. Freedom of choosing on the basis of the right of self-determination of peoples between several possibilities, including independence"; (5) replace the present wording of factor A.3 by the following: "Voluntary limitation of sovereignty. Degree of evidence that the attribute or attributes of sovereignty which are not individually exercised will be collectively exercised by the larger entity thus associated and the freedom of the population of a Territory which has associated itself with the metropolitan country to modify at any time this status through the expression of their will by democratic means"; (6) insert as a new factor A.4 the

following text: "Geographical considerations. Extent to which the relations of the Non-Self-Governing Territory with the capital of the metropolitan government may be affected by circumstances arising out of their respective geographical positions, such as separation by land, sea or other natural obstacles; and extent to which the interests of boundary States may be affected, bearing in mind the general principle of good-neighbourliness referred to in Article 74 of the Charter"; (7) insert as a new factor A.5 the following text: "Ethnic and cultural considerations. Extent to which the populations are of different race, language or religion or have a distinct cultural heritage, interests or aspirations, distinguishing them from the peoples of the country with which they freely associate themselves"; (8) insert as a new factor B.2 the following text: "Change of political status. The right of the metropolitan country or the Territory to change the political status of that Territory in the light of the consideration whether that Territory is or is not subject to any claim or litigation on the part of another State"; (9) change existing factor B.2 to become B.3.

Third part (Factors indicative of the free association of a Territory with the metropolitan or other country as an integral part of that country) - (1) Insert between the words "Territory" and "with" in the heading of this part the following words: "on equal basis"; (2) add at the end of the heading the following: "or in any other form"; (3) change factor A.1 to become factor A.5; (4) change factor A.2 to become factor A.1; (5) insert as factor A.2 the following text: "The freedom of the population of a Non-Self-Governing Territory which has associated itself with the metropolitan country as an integral part of that country or in any other form to modify this status through the expression of their will by democratic means"; (6) add the following text to the existing factor A.3: "The right of the metropolitan country or the Territory to change the political status of that Territory in the light of the consideration whether that Territory is or is not subject to any claim or litigation on the part of another State"; (7) delete in factor A.5, now becoming A.6, the following sentence: "... (a) by virtue of the constitution of the metropolitan country, or (b)"; (8) insert as factor B.2 the text of

factor C.2 from the second part of the list of factors. Factors B.2 and 3 to become 3 and 4; (9) insert as factor C.5 the text of factor C.3 from the second part of the list of factors.

6. The Chairman suggested to the Fourth Committee for its consideration that it should vote on the basis of the Brazilian draft resolution and the amendments thereto. Consequently, on reaching operative paragraph 2 of the draft resolution which proposed to approve the list of factors contained in the report of the Ad Hoc Committee, the amendment approving an "annexed list" would be considered and, if adopted, would lead to the immediate consideration of the list of factors and of the amendments thereto.

7. At its 329th meeting, however, following an oral proposal by the representative of Guatemala, the Committee decided, by 26 votes to 22, with 4 abstentions, to vote on the list of factors approved by the Ad Hoc Committee on Factors (A/2428) and the amendments thereto proposed by Bolivia, Egypt, Guatemala, Indonesia, Iraq, Mexico, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Venezuela, Yemen and Yugoslavia (A/C.4/L.274), as set out in paragraph 5 above.

8. The result of the voting was as follows:

First part

(1) The proposed amendment to replace factor A.4 was adopted by 31 votes to 9, with 10 abstentions.

(2) The first part, as a whole, as amended, was adopted by 34 votes to 7, with 10 abstentions.

Second part

(1) The proposed amendment to replace the present heading was adopted by 27 votes to 15, with 9 abstentions.

(2) The proposed amendment that factor A.1 should become factor A.6 was adopted by 21 votes to 12, with 16 abstentions.

(3) The proposed amendment to insert a new text as factor A.2 was adopted by 27 votes to 15, with 8 abstentions.

(4) The proposed amendment to replace the present text of factor A.3 was voted on in two parts. The first part, as far as the words "the larger entity

thus associated", was adopted by 30 votes to 8, with 12 abstentions. The second part was adopted by a roll-call vote of 25 to 18, with 10 abstentions, as follows:

<u>In favour:</u>	Afghanistan, Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Costa Rica, Cuba, Egypt, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Liberia, Mexico, Pakistan, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Thailand, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia.
<u>Against:</u>	Australia, Belgium, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Colombia, Czechoslovakia, France, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Peru, Poland, Sweden, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of South Africa, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.
<u>Abstaining:</u>	Brazil, Burma, China, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ethiopia, Greece, India, Israel, United States of America.

The proposed amendment, as a whole, was adopted by 25 votes to 18, with 9 abstentions.

(5) The proposed amendment to insert a new factor A.4 was voted upon in two parts. The first part, as far as "land, sea or other natural obstacles", was adopted by 26 votes to 14, with 11 abstentions. The second part was adopted by 23 votes to 18, with 10 abstentions. The proposed amendment, as a whole, was adopted by 24 votes to 19, with 10 abstentions.

(6) The proposed amendment to insert a new factor A.5 was adopted by 26 votes to 17, with 8 abstentions.

(7) The proposed amendment to insert a new factor B.2 and to change the existing factor B.2 to become B.3, was adopted by 23 votes to 18, with 12 abstentions.

(8) The second part of the list of factors, as a whole, as amended, was adopted by 24 votes to 18, with 11 abstentions.

Third part

(1) The proposed amendment to insert the words "on equal basis" between the words "Territory" and "with" in the heading was adopted by 25 votes to 15, with 13 abstentions.

(2) The proposed amendment to add the words "or in any other form" to the end of the heading was adopted by 26 votes to 14, with 13 abstentions.

(3) The proposed amendment to change factor A.1 to become factor A.5 and the present factor A.2 to become A.1 was adopted by 23 votes to 9, with 18 abstentions.

(4) The proposed amendment to insert a new text as factor A.2 was adopted by a roll-call vote of 25 to 17, with 10 abstentions, as follows:

In favour:

Afghanistan, Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Costa Rica, Cuba, Egypt, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Liberia, Mexico, Pakistan, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Thailand, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia.

Against:

Australia, Belgium, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, France, Greece, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Poland, Sweden, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of South Africa, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

Abstaining:

Brazil, Burma, China, Colombia, Dominican Republic, Ethiopia, Israel, Norway, Peru, United States of America.

(5) The proposed amendment to add a new text to the present factor A.3, was adopted by 22 votes to 18, with 11 abstentions. Factor A.3, as a whole, as amended, was adopted by 23 votes to 18, with 8 abstentions.

(6) The proposed amendment to delete in the present factor A.5, which now becomes A.6, the following words "(a) by virtue of the constitution of the metropolitan country, or (b)", was adopted by 28 votes to 13, with 10 abstentions. The factor, as a whole, as amended, was adopted by 23 votes to 18, with 9 abstentions.

(7) The proposed amendment to insert as factor B.2 the text of factor C.2 from the second part of the list of factors, the present factors B.2 and B.3 becoming B.3 and B.4 respectively, was adopted by 25 votes to 16, with 9 abstentions.

(8) The proposed amendment to insert as factor C.5 the text of factor C.3 from the second part of the list of factors was adopted by 25 votes to 17, with 8 abstentions.

(9) The third part of the list of factors, as a whole, as amended, was adopted by 23 votes to 16, with 11 abstentions.

9. The list of factors, as a whole, as amended was adopted by 25 votes to 18, with 8 abstentions. The list of factors, as adopted, is annexed to draft resolution I attached to the present report.

10. At its 330th meeting, the Committee voted on the draft resolution submitted by Brazil (A/C.4/L.272), paragraph by paragraph, and on the amendments thereto (A/C.4/L.273, L.275, L.277).

11. In a statement made before the vote was taken, the representative of Brazil announced that, in view of the adoption at the 329th meeting of an amended list of factors, his delegation had considered withdrawing its draft resolution. In order, however, not to complicate the work of the Committee, it had been decided to maintain the draft resolution since, in the event that its operative paragraph 2 were adopted, that would have the effect of annulling the amended list of factors. He wished to place on record that Brazil's action was designed to facilitate the work of the Committee and that his delegation reserved its position in subsequent discussion of this subject in the General Assembly.

12. The result of the voting on the preamble of the draft resolution was as follows:

The first and second paragraphs were adopted unanimously.

The proposed amendment to insert a new third paragraph as set out in document A/C.4/L.273 was adopted by a roll-call vote of 37 to 11, with 2 abstentions, as follows:

In favour:

Afghanistan, Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Chile, China, Colombia, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Dominican Republic, Egypt, Ethiopia, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Lebanon, Liberia, Mexico, Pakistan, Philippines, Poland, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Thailand, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia.

Against:

Australia, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Abstaining:

Norway, Sweden.

The original third paragraph, which thus becomes the fourth paragraph, was adopted unanimously.

As a result of the vote recorded later on operative paragraph 2, the original fourth paragraph of the preamble was deleted.

13. The result of the voting on the operative part of the draft resolution was as follows:

Paragraph 1 was adopted unanimously.

Paragraph 2. At the request of the representative of Haiti, the proposed amendment set out in document A/C.4/L.273, was voted on in two parts.

The first part, reading "Approves the list of factors which is attached to this resolution", was rejected by 24 votes to 20, with 3 abstentions. As a result, the second part, reading "as a part thereof", became meaningless and was not voted upon. India submitted an amendment (A/C.4/L.277) to the draft resolution to replace the words "contained in that report" by the words "as adopted by the Fourth Committee". The Committee decided, by 25 votes to 19, with 4 abstentions, to vote on this amendment, which was adopted by a roll-call vote of 30 to 18, with 4 abstentions. The result of the voting was as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Argentina, Bolivia, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Chile, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, Ethiopia, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Liberia, Mexico, Pakistan, Poland, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia.

Against: Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Colombia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, France, Israel, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Peru, Sweden, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Abstaining: China, Greece, Philippines, Thailand.

Paragraph 2, as thus amended, was adopted by a roll-call vote of 25 to 23, with 4 abstentions, as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Argentina, Bolivia, Burma, Chile, Cuba, Egypt, Ethiopia, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Liberia, Mexico, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia.

Against: Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Colombia, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, France, Israel, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Peru, Poland, Sweden, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of South Africa, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Abstaining: China, Greece, Philippines, Thailand.

Paragraph 3. The first part of the proposed amendment to paragraph 3, as set out in document A/C.4/L.273, having been accepted by Brazil, was adopted without dissent except by Poland. The proposed amendment to delete the words "and applied in the light of all relevant circumstances pertinent to each particular situation" was adopted by 26 votes to 18, with 6 abstentions. The Philippines proposed two amendments (A/C.4/L.275): the first was to insert

the words "in appropriate consultations" between the words "as a guide" and "and applied", and the second was to replace the words "a decision may be taken" by the words "agreement may be reached". The first of these two amendments was rejected by 26 votes to 15, with 9 abstentions; the second was rejected by 19 votes to 13, with 4 abstentions. The proposed amendment (A/C.4/L.273) to insert the words "by the General Assembly" between the words "may be taken" and "on the continuation" was adopted by 30 votes to 15, with 5 abstentions.

Paragraph 3, as a whole, as amended, was adopted by 25 votes to 23, with 3 abstentions.

Paragraph 4. The proposed amendment to replace paragraph 4 by the text set out in document A/C.4/L.273 was adopted by 35 votes to 11, with 4 abstentions.

Paragraph 5. The proposed amendment to insert a new text as set out in document A/C.4/L.273 was adopted by 29 votes to 19, with 4 abstentions.

Paragraph 6. At the request of the representative of Poland, the proposed amendment to insert as paragraph 6 a new text as set out in document A/C.4/L.273 was voted on in two parts. The first part, reading "Considers that the manner in which territories referred to in Chapter XI of the Charter can become fully self-governing is primarily through the attainment of independence", was adopted by a roll-call vote of 35 to 13, with 4 abstentions. The result of the voting was as follows:

In favour:

Afghanistan, Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma,
Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Chile, Colombia,
Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Dominican Republic, Egypt, Greece,
Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq,
Israel, Lebanon, Liberia, Mexico, Peru, Philippines, Poland,
Saudi Arabia, Syria, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic,
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Uruguay, Venezuela,
Yemen, Yugoslavia.

Against: Australia, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Sweden, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Abstaining: China, Ethiopia, Pakistan, Thailand.

The second part, reading "although it is recognized that self-government can also be achieved by association with another State or group of States if this is done freely and on the basis of absolute equality", was adopted by 28 votes to 7, with 15 abstentions. The paragraph, as a whole, was adopted by 28 votes to 18, with 3 abstentions.

Paragraph 7. The original paragraph 5, now becoming paragraph 7, as amended by the replacement of the words "in Article 73 e" by the words "in Chapter XI", was adopted without dissent.

Paragraph 8. The original paragraph 6, now becoming paragraph 8, as amended by the deletion of the words "as referred to in Chapter XI of the Charter", was adopted without dissent.

Paragraph 9. In the original paragraph 7, now becoming paragraph 9, the proposed amendment to delete the word "further" was adopted by 23 votes to 2, with 21 abstentions. The proposed amendment to delete the rest of the paragraph following the words "of cessation of information" was adopted by 23 votes to 3, with 13 abstentions. The paragraph, as a whole, as amended, was adopted by 28 votes to 21, with 2 abstentions. An amendment (A/C.4/L.276) proposed by the United States of America to insert between the original paragraphs 7 and 8, a new paragraph, reading: "Requests the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories to study the views expressed by the Members of the General Assembly at its eighth session as recorded in the appropriate summary records in connexion with any consideration by the Committee of a further revision of the list of factors", was withdrawn.

Paragraph 10. The proposed amendment to replace the original paragraph 8 with a new text as set out in document A/C.4/L.273, to become paragraph 10, was adopted by 33 votes to 13, with 4 abstentions.

14. The draft resolution, as a whole, as amended, together with the list of factors, as a whole, as amended, was adopted by a roll-call vote of 27 to 23, with 2 abstentions. The result of the voting was as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Argentina, Bolivia, Burma, Chile, Cuba, Egypt, Ethiopia, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Liberia, Mexico, Pakistan, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia.

Against: Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Colombia, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, France, Israel, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Peru, Poland, Sweden, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of South Africa, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Abstaining: China, Thailand.

15. The text of the draft resolution, as adopted, together with the list of factors as adopted, is annexed to the present report as draft resolution I.

RESOLUTION I

FACTORS WHICH SHOULD BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT IN
DECIDING WHETHER A TERRITORY IS OR IS NOT A
TERRITORY WHOSE PEOPLE HAVE NOT YET ATTAINED
A FULL MEASURE OF SELF-GOVERNMENT

The General Assembly,

Bearing in mind the principles embodied in the Declaration regarding Non-Self-Governing Territories and the objectives set forth in Chapter XI of the Charter,

Recalling the provisions of resolutions 567 (VI) and 648 (VII), adopted by the General Assembly on 18 January and 10 December 1952 respectively, indicating the value of establishing a list of factors which should be taken into account in deciding whether a Territory has or has not attained a full measure of self-government,

Having regard to the competence of the General Assembly to consider the principles that should guide the United Nations and the Member States in the implementation of obligations arising from Chapter XI of the Charter and to make recommendations in connexion with them,

Having examined the report of the Ad Hoc Committee on Factors (Non-Self-Governing Territories) set up by resolution 648 (VII) (A/2428),

1. Takes note of the conclusions of the report of the Ad Hoc Committee on Factors (Non-Self-Governing Territories);
2. Approves the list of factors as adopted by the Fourth Committee;
3. Recommends that the annexed list of factors should be used by the General Assembly and the Administering Members as a guide in determining whether any Territory, due to changes in its constitutional status, is or is no longer within the scope of Chapter XI of the Charter, in order that, in view of the documentation provided under resolution 222 (III) of 3 November 1948, a decision may be taken by the General Assembly on the continuation or cessation of the transmission of information required by Chapter XI of the Charter;

4. Reasserts that each concrete case should be considered and decided upon in the light of the particular circumstances of that case and taking into account the right of self-determination of peoples;

5. Considers that the validity of any form of association between a Non-Self-Governing Territory and a metropolitan or any other country essentially depends on the freely expressed will of the people at the time of the taking of the decision;

6. Considers that the manner in which Territories referred to in Chapter XI of the Charter can become fully self-governing is primarily through the attainment of independence, although it is recognized that self-government can also be achieved by association with another State or group of States if this is done freely and on the basis of absolute equality;

7. Reaffirms that the factors, while serving as a guide in determining whether the obligations as set forth in Chapter XI of the Charter shall exist, should in no way be interpreted as a hindrance to the attainment of a full measure of self-government by a Non-Self-Governing Territory;

8. Further reaffirms that, for a Territory to be deemed self-governing in economic, social or educational affairs it is essential that its people shall have attained a full measure of self-government;

9. Instructs the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories to study any documentation transmitted hereafter under resolution 222 (III) in the light of the list of factors approved by the present resolution, among other relevant considerations which may arise from each concrete case of cessation of information;

10. Recommends that the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories take the initiative of proposing modifications at any time to improve the list of factors, as may seem necessary in the light of circumstances.

ANNEX

LIST OF FACTORS

FACTORS INDICATIVE OF THE ATTAINMENT OF INDEPENDENCE
OR OF OTHER SEPARATE SYSTEMS OF SELF-GOVERNMENT

First Part

FACTORS INDICATIVE OF THE ATTAINMENT OF INDEPENDENCE

A. International status

1. International responsibility. Full international responsibility of the territory for the acts inherent in the exercise of its external sovereignty and for the corresponding acts in the administration of its internal affairs.
2. Eligibility for membership in the United Nations.
3. General international relations. Power to enter into direct relations of every kind with other governments and with international institutions and to negotiate, sign and ratify international instruments.
4. National defence. Sovereign right to provide for its national defence.

B. Internal self-government

1. Form of government. Complete freedom of the people of the territory to choose the form of government which they desire.
2. Territorial government. Freedom from control or interference by the government of another State in respect of the internal government (legislature, executive, judiciary, and administration of the Territory).
3. Economic, social and cultural jurisdiction. Complete autonomy in respect of economic, social and cultural affairs.

Second Part

FACTORS INDICATIVE OF THE ATTAINMENT OF OTHER SEPARATE SYSTEMS OF SELF-GOVERNMENT

A. General

1. Opinion of the population. The opinion of the population of the territory, freely expressed by informed and democratic processes, as to the status or change in status which they desire.
2. Freedom of choice. Freedom of choosing on the basis of the right of self-determination of peoples between several possibilities, including independence.
3. Voluntary limitation of sovereignty. Degree of evidence that the attribute or attributes of sovereignty which are not individually exercised will be collectively exercised by the larger entity thus associated and the freedom of the population of a territory which has associated itself with the metropolitan country to modify at any time this status through the expression of their will by democratic means.
4. Geographical considerations. Extent to which the relations of the Non-Self-Governing Territory with the capital of the metropolitan government may be affected by circumstances arising out of their respective geographical positions, such as separation by land, sea or other natural obstacles; and extent to which the interests of boundary States may be affected, bearing in mind the general principle of good-neighbourliness referred to in Article 74 of the Charter.
5. Ethnic and cultural considerations. Extent to which the populations are of different race, language or religion or have a distinct cultural heritage, interests or aspirations, distinguishing them from the peoples of the country with which they freely associate themselves.
6. Political advancement. Political advancement of the population sufficient to enable them to decide upon the future destiny of the territory with due knowledge.

B. International status

1. General international relations. Degree or extent to which the territory exercises the power to enter freely into direct relations of every kind with other governments and with international institutions and to negotiate, sign and ratify international instruments freely. Degree or extent to which the metropolitan country is bound, through constitutional provisions or legislative means, by the freely expressed wishes of the territory in negotiating, signing and ratifying international conventions which may influence conditions in the territory.

2. Change of political status. The right of the metropolitan country or the territory to change the political status of that territory in the light of the consideration whether that territory is or is not subject to any claim or litigation on the part of another State.

3. Eligibility for membership in the United Nations.

C. Internal self-government

1. Territorial government. Nature and measure of control or interference, if any, by the government of another State in respect of the internal government, for example, in respect of the following:

Legislature: The enactment of laws for the territory by an indigenous body whether fully elected by free and democratic processes or lawfully constituted in a manner receiving the free consent of the population;

Executive: The selection of members of the executive branch of the government by the competent authority in the territory receiving consent of the indigenous population, whether that authority is hereditary or elected, having regard also to the nature and measure of control, if any, by an outside agency on that authority, whether directly or indirectly exercised in the constitution and conduct of the executive branch of the government;

Judiciary: The establishment of courts of law and the selection of judges.

2. Participation of the population. Effective participation of the population in the government of the territory: (a) Is there an adequate and appropriate electoral and representative system? (b) Is this electoral system conducted without direct or indirect interference from a foreign government? 1/

1/ For example, the following questions would be relevant: (i) Has each adult inhabitant equal power (subject to special safeguards for minorities) to determine the character of the government of the territory? (ii) Is this power exercised freely, i.e. is there an absence of undue influence over and coercion of the voter and of the imposition of disabilities on particular political parties? Some tests which can be used in the application of this factor are as follows:

- (a) The existence of effective measures to ensure the democratic expression of the will of the people;
 - (b) The existence of more than one political party in the territory;
 - (c) The existence of a secret ballot;
 - (d) The existence of legal prohibitions on the exercise of undemocratic practices in the course of elections;
 - (e) The existence for the individual elector of a choice between candidates of differing political parties;
 - (f) The absence of "martial law" and similar measures at election times.
- (iii) Is each individual free to express his political opinions, to support or oppose any political party or cause, and to criticize the government of the day?

3. Economic, social and cultural jurisdiction. Degree of autonomy in respect of economic, social and cultural affairs, as illustrated by the degree of freedom from economic pressure as exercised, for example, by a foreign minority group which, by virtue of the help of a foreign Power, has acquired a privileged economic status prejudicial to the general economic interest of the people of the territory; and by the degree of freedom and lack of discrimination against the indigenous population of the territory in social legislation and social developments.

Third Part

FACTORS INDICATIVE OF THE FREE ASSOCIATION OF A TERRITORY ON EQUAL BASIS WITH THE METROPOLITAN OR OTHER COUNTRY AS AN INTEGRAL PART OF THAT COUNTRY OR IN ANY OTHER FORM

A. General

1. Opinion of the population. The opinion of the population of the territory, freely expressed by informed and democratic processes, as to the status or change in status which they desire.

2. Freedom of choice. The freedom of the population of a Non-Self-Governing Territory which has associated itself with the metropolitan country as an integral part of that country or in any other form to modify this status through the expression of their will by democratic means.

3. Geographical considerations. Extent to which the relations of the territory with the capital of the central government may be affected by circumstances arising out of their respective geographical positions, such as separation by land, sea or other natural obstacles. The right of the metropolitan country or the Territory to change the political status of that Territory in the light of the consideration whether that Territory is or is not subject to any claim or litigation on the part of another State.

4. Ethnic and cultural considerations. Extent to which the population are of different race, language or religion or have a distinct cultural heritage, interests or aspirations, distinguishing them from the peoples of the country with which they freely associate themselves.

5. Political advancement. Political advancement of the population sufficient to enable them to decide upon the future destiny of the territory with due knowledge.

6. Constitutional considerations. Association by virtue of a treaty or bilateral agreement affecting the status of the territory, taking into account

(i) whether the constitutional guarantees extend equally to the associated territory; (ii) whether there are powers in certain matters constitutionally reserved to the territory or to the central authority; and (iii) whether there is provision for the participation of the territory on a basis of equality in any changes in the constitutional system of the State.

B. Status

1. Legislative representation. Representation without discrimination in the central legislative organs on the same basis as other inhabitants and regions.

2. Participation of the population. Effective participation of the population in the government of the territory: (a) Is there an adequate and appropriate electoral and representative system? (b) Is this electoral system conducted without direct or indirect interference from a foreign government? 2/

3. Citizenship. Citizenship without discrimination on the same basis as other inhabitants.

4. Government officials. Eligibility of officials from the territory to all public offices of the central authority, by appointment or election, on the same basis as those from other parts of the country.

C. Internal constitutional conditions

1. Suffrage. Universal and equal suffrage, and free periodic elections, characterized by an absence of undue influence over and coercion of the voter or of the imposition of disabilities on particular political parties. 3/

2/ See previous footnote 1.

3/ For example, the following tests would be relevant:

- (a) The existence of effective measures to ensure the democratic expression of the will of the people;
- (b) The existence of more than one political party in the territory;
- (c) The existence of a secret ballot;
- (d) The existence of legal prohibitions on the exercise of undemocratic practices in the course of elections;
- (e) The existence for the individual elector of a choice between candidates of differing political parties;
- (f) The absence of "martial law" and similar measures at election times;
- (g) Freedom of each individual to express his political opinions, to support or oppose any political party or cause, and to criticize the government of the day.

2. Local rights and status. In a unitary system equal rights and status for the inhabitants and local bodies of the territory as enjoyed by inhabitants and local bodies of other parts of the country; in a federal system an identical degree of self-government for the inhabitants and local bodies of all parts of the federation.
3. Local officials. Appointment or election of officials in the territory on the same basis as those in other parts of the country.
4. Internal legislation. Local self-government of the same scope and under the same conditions as enjoyed by other parts of the country.
5. Economic, social and cultural jurisdiction. Degree of autonomy in respect of economic, social and cultural affairs, as illustrated by the degree of freedom from economic pressure as exercised, for example, by a foreign minority group which, by virtue of the help of a foreign Power, has acquired a privileged economic status prejudicial to the general economic interest of the people of the territory; and by the degree of freedom and lack of discrimination against the indigenous population of the territory in social legislation and social developments.



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Chairman: Mr. Santiago PEREZ PEREZ (Venezuela).

Factors which should be taken into account in deciding whether a territory is or is not a territory whose people have not yet attained a full measure of self-government: report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Factors (Non-Self-Governing Territories (A/2428) (*continued*)

[Item 33]*

9. Mrs. MENON (India) pointed out that the problem of factors had been before the General Assembly from its inception. In 1946, the administering Members had undertaken to transmit information to the Secretary-General in respect of seventy-four territories.

* Indicates the item number on the agenda of the General Assembly.

That list, though incomplete, had been accepted without question by the General Assembly (resolution 66 (I)). By 1948, however, information had ceased to be supplied in the case of eleven of those territories. Many members of the General Assembly had felt that it was entitled to be informed of the reasons which led to the cessation of information, and resolution 222 (III) had been adopted. The study of factors sprang from that resolution.

10. The latest report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Factors (A/2428) added very little of substance to the report to the seventh session of the General Assembly (A/2178). Her delegation did not think that any useful purpose would be served by further academic examination of the matter, particularly since there was general agreement that a list of factors such as that studied by the *Ad Hoc* Committee could serve only as a guide, and that each case would need special study and careful examination.

11. The administering and non-administering members of the Committee were not agreed on the definition of self-government. That, however, must be examined as a separate issue with reference to each case. For the moment, the Committee was concerned only with the *Ad Hoc* Committee's report, which her delegation would accept as providing adequate guidance for the future consideration of practical problems. Since the basic concepts of national sovereignty and self-government were being constantly modified to meet the growing demands of international co-operation, any factors that might be approved could not be too rigidly enumerated or defined. While self-government could not be measured by the yardstick of factors, because the struggle to be free symbolized the will of the people resisting domination, the list of factors might help the Committee to understand individual situations vitiated by the conflict of interests between the administering Powers and the dependent peoples.

12. It was quite possible that the list of factors might be interpreted or misinterpreted to suit the convenience of various delegations, but any further attempt at definition would be of little help. The Committee should resist any attempt to curtail the right of self-determination and the right to a full measure of self-government envisaged in Chapter XI. It should ensure that the advent of self-government was not delayed by the attempts of the administering Powers to disclaim responsibility while retaining control. It was in that spirit and in full realization of the purposes of Chapter XI that her delegation commended the report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee.

13. Mr. SPITS (Netherlands) pointed out that paragraph 9 of the *Ad Hoc* Committee's report showed that, in that Committee's opinion, no further study of the subject was necessary. The factors had been considered successively, in 1951 by the Special Committee on Information transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter, and its Sub-Committee, as well as by the Fourth Committee of the sixth session of the General Assembly and Sub-Committee 9 of the Fourth Committee; in 1952, by an *Ad Hoc* Committee on Factors (Non-Self-Governing Territories) and by the Fourth Committee of the seventh session of the General Assembly; and in 1953 by the *Ad Hoc* Committee whose report was now under consideration. In the opinion of the Netherlands delegation such prolonged study had been necessary because the General Assembly had been trying to carry out an impossible task. When the last *Ad Hoc* Committee had tried to define

"a full measure of self-government", it had been unable to do so, for the good reason that that concept could not be framed in a definition. Hence any attempt to enunciate principles in that respect was doomed to failure, or at least could produce only incomplete results.

14. In 1931, the United Kingdom Government had applied to the League of Nations to be relieved of the mandate over Iraq. When that request was being examined by the Permanent Mandates Commission, the proposal had been made that general criteria should be established for the purpose of determining whether a mandated territory had developed politically to such an extent that it could be considered as fully self-governing. After thorough consideration, the Mandates Commission had come to the conclusion that it was impossible to establish general rules, since the question whether a territory should be regarded as self-governing was a question not of principle but of fact. That conclusion was equally true today.

15. The *Ad Hoc* Committee had, however, approved a list of factors and the best the Fourth Committee could do was to consider that list as final. The factors enumerated might serve as a guide for an administering Power which had decided to cease to transmit information in respect of a certain territory in communicating the data called for in General Assembly resolution 222 (III). In many cases they would not be applicable, because the answer to the question whether a territory was or was not self-governing depended not only on the mechanical application of the tests enumerated in the list but also, and to a still greater extent, on political and social conditions within the territory and any ties it might have with another country. Those circumstances determined the territory's status, and only those who were fully acquainted with them—i. e., the governments of the territory itself and of the former administering Power—could decide whether self-government had been achieved.

16. Mr. DJERDJA (Yugoslavia) drew attention to the fact that of the original seventy-four Non-Self-Governing Territories on which information had been submitted, fifteen were no longer under the supervision of the United Nations. In other words, the administering Powers were showing an increasing tendency to by-pass the United Nations in revising the status of various Non-Self-Governing Territories. Such a procedure jeopardized all that the international community had had in mind in adopting Chapter XI of the Charter. Viewed in that light, the question of factors was not an academic question and could not be treated in an academic manner. It was a delicate legal and political question. Much would depend on the Committee's answer to the question whether it was permissible that non-self-governing peoples should be deprived of international protection by unilateral action.

17. He congratulated those concerned with the work of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on their efforts in preparing the report in its existing form. It contained a number of relatively clear concepts which might provide a solid basis for the further refining and clarification of the list of factors which, in paragraph 9 of the report, the *Ad Hoc* Committee itself recognized as possible.

18. The list of factors should be drafted in the light of the purposes and principles of the Charter and the duty of the General Assembly in each individual case. Chapter XI had been included to ensure the international protection of non-self-governing peoples and their unhindered advancement towards emancipation.

The fate of those peoples had become so closely linked to the general efforts of the international community to promote progress and world peace that it could no longer be left within the exclusive competence of individual States; it had become a question of international concern. The protection of non-self-governing peoples should cover all the phases of their development until the attainment of the final goal, namely, independence or a full measure of self-government.

19. Article 1, paragraph 2, of the Charter contained the essential elements by which the Administering Members and the United Nations must be guided in solving problems concerning Non-Self-Governing Territories, namely, the right of self-determination and the equality of peoples and the link between those considerations and the efforts of the United Nations to consolidate world peace. The right to self-determination was embodied in Chapter XI, in which the Administering Members recognized that the interests of the inhabitants of Non-Self-Governing Territories were paramount, that it was their duty to promote their political, economic and social progress, to develop self-government and to take due account of the political aspirations of the peoples with the ultimate purpose of leading them to full self-government. In accepting those obligations the Administering Members had indicated that they would be guided by them until the final aims of Chapter XI had been fulfilled, and at the first session of the General Assembly they had stated their intention of submitting information on seventy-four territories. Since then, however, certain Administering Members had interpreted the purposes of Chapter XI unilaterally and had ceased to submit information on the pretext that the territory had attained a degree of self-government in certain spheres or had associated itself with the metropolitan country or one of its component parts. The United Nations had therefore been obliged to assume the task of ascertaining whether the degree of self-government was such that the territory no longer came within the purview of Chapter XI and that the mutual rights and obligations assumed under the Charter had ceased to exist. It had been compelled to examine the legality of the Administering Members' actions and to ascertain whether or not they were in harmony with the Charter.

20. It must be admitted that the report before the Committee did not clearly answer the precise questions raised by the actions of the Administering Members. It should be redrafted to make it an adequate instrument for implementing the right of self-determination.

21. Self-determination presupposed that a people should be absolutely free to choose between several possibilities, including independence, and also to revise its sovereign decision at a later date. His delegation would therefore give its full support to the proposal of the Guatemalan representative set forth in paragraph 21 of the *Ad Hoc* Committee's report. Any misunderstanding regarding its scope should be eliminated in view of the fact that the item on the agenda related to Non-Self-Governing Territories. The clearly and freely expressed will of the inhabitants should head any list of factors and constitute the highest law. Any other factors the Committee deemed it necessary to retain should appear more as conditions and guarantees of the respect for that basic factor than as decisive factors themselves. The recognition of the right of self-determination was the most solid basis for democratic rela-

tions, equal co-operation and international peace. Disregard for or violation of that right was the principal cause of the disturbances and dangers by which the world was plagued.

22. The argument that one territory might be inhabited by several peoples, requesting different solutions, could not offset the importance of the factor that the will of the inhabitants should always be respected. That argument, moreover, only strengthened his doubts about the value of the various administering unions, federations and so on, which were being established. They only hampered the just aspirations of the non-self-governing peoples to attain an independent existence by incorporating them in communities whose framework did not promote the realization of their aspirations. The artificial creation of cohesion and stability where there were no natural conditions for it must necessarily lead to instability and conflict.

23. His delegation could not agree that first place should be given to the factor of political advancement. Among the peoples demanding the fulfilment of their national aspirations, there were none whose consciousness, maturity and ability to decide their own fate could be questioned. In any case, who was competent to decide that issue and on the basis of what criteria? The mere fact that a people was stubbornly and with great sacrifices demanding its independence was sufficient proof of its political consciousness and made any legal and technical formulas superfluous.

24. Since the attainment of independence was the only normal outcome for the evolution of Non-Self-Governing Territories, there should be fewer factors in the first part of the list approved by the *Ad Hoc* Committee (A/2428, section VI). Factor A.1, "International responsibility", included all the other factors in that part and thereby rendered them more or less superfluous. The right of a State to request admission to the United Nations or to enter into international relations and to conclude military agreements were the inalienable attributes of external sovereignty and need not be mentioned separately. So far as the factors concerning internal government were concerned, his delegation did not consider them necessary or even recommendable. It went without saying that an independent State was competent in political, economic, social and cultural affairs. The system of government was the sole concern of the people of each State and any attempt to link the fate of a people to its form of government would constitute a violation of the Charter and of international law.

25. His delegation would find it difficult to accept the attainment of other systems of self-government in continuing association with the metropolitan country or in other forms as the ultimate outcome of political development. Nevertheless, should a people freely elect some form of association, it might be accepted, but only as a stage in their advance towards independence, the attainment of which would be rendered possible by further active assistance and control of the United Nations. In such cases it would be necessary to ensure that certain conditions obtained, *inter alia*, freedom of choice between several alternative possibilities including independence, the free acceptance of such status by the inhabitants of the Territory—the United Nations must have the opportunity of satisfying itself beforehand that such complete freedom of decision existed—the absence of any outside interference with the conduct of the external and internal affairs of the territory, the free request and granting of international

recognition, the establishment of diplomatic and other relations, and the possibility of requesting admission in the United Nations.

26. While the wording of factor A.3 in the second part of the list, "Voluntary limitation of sovereignty" had been somewhat improved by the adoption of the Venezuelan representative's proposal (A/2428, para. 34), that factor should either be omitted, since no case of limitation of sovereignty had yet arisen, or it should be reworded in accordance with the proposal of the Guatemalan representative as set forth in paragraph 21 of the *Ad Hoc* Committee's report.

27. The incorporation of a Non-Self-Governing Territory into a metropolitan country or any of its component parts was completely unacceptable. It would not be consonant with the Charter, as it would substitute a decentralized provincial or regional local autonomy for full self-government. It would be even less acceptable were it the result of unilateral acts by the metropolitan country rather than the implementation of a sovereign decision and contractual agreement reached after consultation of the people and carried out with the active participation of the United Nations.

28. If the Committee were to set up a sub-committee such as that established at the sixth session, the list of factors could be considerably improved. The sub-committee could single out all the essential factors, word them appropriately and assign the factors to the place they deserved. That work could be completed in a relatively short time and the Committee should be able to apply the final list during the discussion of item 3 of its agenda. His delegation would welcome any initiative to that effect. If the list of factors remained unaltered, his delegation would have to consider carefully whether to vote in favour of it, although it did not deny its value. Further effort should, however, be devoted to the problem in order to reach a comprehensive solution.

29. U ON SEIN (Burma) observed that there were two alternatives before the United Nations in its examination of the somewhat complicated question at issue. The first would be to continue setting up committees to cover the same ground again and again in the hope of eventually producing an entirely satisfactory list of factors. The second would be to recognize honestly, as had already been done by the General Assembly in its resolution 648 (VII), that the list of factors could do no more than serve as a guide and that each case must be considered in the light of the particular circumstances. If the second alternative were chosen the list of factors could be approved during the current session and, despite its imperfections, would serve to assist both the Administering Members and the General Assembly in determining whether any particular territory had attained a full measure of self-government. In the light of that consideration the second alternative appeared preferable; indeed, if it were not adopted, the inference would be that certain delegations were unwilling to allow the General Assembly to establish factors which could serve as a yardstick for the progress of political self-government in the Non-Self-Governing Territories.

30. In its reply of 3 July 1952 (A/AC.58/1/Add.3), the Government of the Union of Burma had already brought forward considerations of that nature, and it remained of the opinion that whether a territory had become self-governing as a separate entity or whether it had become associated with a metropolitan country on equal terms were questions of fact which must be

determined in the light of the special circumstances of each case.

31. The Government of Burma continued to hold that the power of determining whether a country had become fully self-governing should be vested in the General Assembly. It recognized, however, that that view was opposed by the Administering Members. Furthermore, General Assembly resolution 648 (VII) provisionally approved a list of factors which might serve as a guide both for the General Assembly and the Administering Members, without indicating which should have the final say in the matter. The same course might be followed at the present session in approving a list of factors for general use. Occasions might arise in the future when the General Assembly and an Administering Member might disagree on whether the latter was justified in ceasing to transmit information on a certain territory. In that event all the complicated international issues involved would be examined on the basis of a concrete case. There was no need to press the theoretical question of the pre-eminence of the General Assembly or of the Administering Members until such a concrete case arose.

32. He drew attention to the emphasis placed by the Burmese representative in the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the need for ensuring that the final decision as to the future international status of a Non-Self-Governing Territory was in fact taken freely by the people of that territory. It must be demonstrated that the people had had complete freedom of choice, and that their decision to choose a status other than complete independence had been taken in the full realization that they could have opted for complete independence had they desired to do so. Otherwise the choice of any international status other than complete independence must remain suspect. Once a people had freely elected association with a metropolitan or other country, secession should be subject to the terms of any agreement reached.

33. The Burmese delegation would view with sympathy any resolution proposed for the purpose of approving the list of factors subject to the consideration that the list should serve as a flexible guide and that each concrete case should be examined in the light of the particular circumstances.

34. Mr. MENDOZA (Guatemala) recalled that the need to draw up a list of factors to be taken into account in determining whether a territory had or had not achieved a full measure of self-government, and above all to ensure that such self-government did exist in practice, had originated in the fact that the list of Non-Self-Governing Territories presented by the Administering Members in 1946 had rapidly diminished as a result of unilateral declarations from the metropolitan countries to the effect that new domestic legislation prevented them from continuing to transmit information on conditions in those territories. Any decrease in the list would have been welcome had it been the result of practical measures granting the dependent territories a full measure of self-government; but in general that did not appear to be the case, and had the procedure been accepted without demur, Chapter XI would soon have lost its *raison d'être* without the purposes of the United Nations having been realized. It was that circumstance which had made it necessary to draw up a list of factors, not in order to delay the political advancement of non-self-governing peoples, but rather to ensure that the obligations of the Administering Members towards those peoples remained intact until

the purposes of the United Nations had been fully realized.

35. The Guatemalan delegation had carefully studied the important report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Factors. It had ceased to attach major importance to the idea of working out a definition of "a full measure of self-government" for it realized that there would be immense difficulty in reaching any agreement and that the adoption of a probably vague technical definition would, far from advancing the cause of the non-self-governing peoples, only make the situation more complicated. However, the Guatemalan delegation was convinced that so-called self-government in economic, social and educational matters, no matter how complete, could never in itself form a full measure of self-government, which was an essentially political concept. As long as a people did not enjoy full political autonomy, it could not enjoy full self-government in any other field.

36. The Guatemalan delegation had always felt some anxiety with regard to the attainment by a people of a full measure of self-government by association, union or integration with the metropolitan country. It did not consider that a people under a colonial régime which accepted such a status as an improvement over the existing one thereby renounced forever its natural aspiration to complete independence. The Guatemalan delegation therefore insisted that it was essential to guarantee to such peoples that their inalienable right to amend any status of that kind would be respected.

37. Most Members of the United Nations, including some Administering Members, had agreed that matters relating to Non-Self-Governing Territories were questions of international interest. Hence, the restriction in Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter did not apply to them. If existing conditions in those territories were matters of international interest, questions relating to the future destiny of the peoples inhabiting them were also of international interest. Moreover, Chapter XI, like the entire Charter, was a multilateral contract duly signed and ratified by all Member States. It could not be modified by the unilateral action of any of the contracting parties. Thus, the United Nations as a whole was competent to decide whether a Non-Self-Governing Territory had achieved a full measure of self-government.

38. In that connexion, the Guatemalan delegation wished to stress the need to reaffirm the principle that no metropolitan government could, by a unilateral act, change the political status of a Non-Self-Governing Territory which was the subject of claim or litigation on the part of another State, until such claim or litigation had been duly settled. That safeguard was not of course intended to impede or delay the advancement of a territory in such circumstances towards genuine self-government.

39. There were a few points to be noted in connexion with the list of factors approved by the *Ad Hoc* Committee. The Guatemalan delegation would support its approval by the Committee and the General Assembly, on the understanding that it could be subject to later modifications in the light of experience. The Guatemalan delegation deplored the tendency to denigrate the utility of the list in advance, and was in favour of its recognition as the compulsory basis upon which all specific cases would be considered.

40. The Guatemalan delegation objected to the word "continuing" in the title of the second part of the list,

as it prejudiced the inalienable right of the peoples of Non-Self-Governing Territories to modify the system associating them with the metropolitan country, and seemed to imply their renunciation of full self-government. The Guatemalan delegation also objected to the first part of factor A.3 of the second part, "Voluntary limitation of sovereignty", since any limitation of that kind had always been regarded as dangerous and illegal. There was no objection to the second part of the paragraph.

41. The Guatemalan delegation reserved the right to make other comments in due course and possibly to submit formal amendments to the report.

42. Mr. ESPINOSA Y PRIETO (Mexico) regretted that the *Ad Hoc* Committee had been unable to establish a precise list of factors. No doubt the majority of delegations would have liked other stipulations to be included; for example, in the second and third parts it would have been desirable to include a stipulation that, before entering into such association, territories should pass through a period of complete freedom and sovereignty. That point could however be raised in connexion with the discussion of concrete cases.

43. The list approved by the *Ad Hoc* Committee could be accepted only as a guide, and each separate case would have to be studied on its merits in relation to the list.

44. The decision whether or not a territory had ceased to be non-self-governing could not be left to the Administering Member concerned; that was a matter that the General Assembly must decide.

45. With reference to factor A.4 of the first part, he maintained that freedom of a territory to enter into arrangements concerning its national defence was not an indication of complete independence and urged that the sentence should be changed to read "to ensure its own national defence".

46. Mr. HURE (France) said that the French delegation had always felt that the study of factors was of genuine theoretical and practical importance. It was of theoretical importance because the term "Non-Self-Governing Territories" used in the Charter had never been defined nor even interpreted; and of practical importance because such a study ought to be of assistance to States which had declared themselves to be responsible for certain territories in deciding when their obligations under Article 73 had ceased, and ought also to furnish the necessary basis for an extension of those obligations to States which had always contended that Chapter XI did not apply to them. Such a study would help to ensure that the application of the principles of the Charter would not be limited to certain countries but would be universal.

47. However, it was clear that in the minds of certain delegations the question was important for quite other reasons. Instead of studying the factors to be taken into account in deciding whether a territory was or was not a territory whose people had not yet attained a full measure of self-government, certain countries preferred to discuss measures which a majority of the Assembly could use to prevent a State which had admitted its obligations towards the peoples under its administration from being able one day to decide that it had fulfilled them and was no longer required to transmit information to the United Nations. Looked at from such a viewpoint, the difficult legal and scientific question became an easy political problem and but one more attempt to violate the provisions of the Charter on the

pretext of interpreting it. The implicit aim of resolution 648 (VII) seemed to be gradually to affirm the competence of the Assembly at the expense of the administering States, for it stated that a list of factors would be a useful guide for the Administering Member concerned and for the General Assembly. It might well be asked what legal text justified the General Assembly in assuming such competence. The French Government had repeatedly maintained that the Assembly's functions were purely advisory. The right to determine whether territories were territories whose people had not yet attained a full measure of self-government was the exclusive prerogative of the States which were responsible for administering those territories.

48. Another attempt to infringe the sovereignty of States was to be found in the number of criteria in the report. It was doubtful whether those who had drawn up the list had thought of verifying whether all independent States satisfied those criteria, or had realized that in trying to accumulate obstacles in order to prevent any action by the Administering Members, they were at the same time indefinitely delaying the achievement of self-government or independence by the Non-Self-Governing Territories. The same desire to infringe the sovereignty of States was to be found in the contention that Article 73 should continue to apply to territories which had become completely self-governing in internal matters, and in the emergence of a concept of the indivisibility of self-government, a concept which the French delegation had consistently rejected. Once governmental and administrative competence had been transferred in economic, social and educational matters, which were the matters covered by Article 73 e, it was hard to see how a government could remain responsible for transmitting information to the United Nations on activities over which it had renounced all control. From that point of view, the list of factors quite disregarded the intermediate stage between non-self-government and independence, and thus distorted the very concept it was supposed to clarify.

49. It might well be asked why the expression of the will of peoples which had been mentioned in the first list of factors had suddenly disappeared. It was rather surprising that the achievement of independence should be the occasion for an abridgement of the right of individuals, when certain Powers were so anxious about those rights when it was a case of separate autonomy or association. On the other hand, quite inexplicably, the right of peoples to self-determination had been brought into the discussion. That was a concept which did not appear in Article 73 of the Charter and was quite outside the Committee's jurisdiction.

50. The French delegation had entered reservations on many occasions, not in order to defend the views of an Administering Member, but to urge respect for general principles. One of those principles was respect for contracts and the refusal to be a party to abusive interpretations. Another principle was the universal application of standards. The current discussion was a clear example of discrimination between States which had admitted to being Administering Members and those which, in order to escape their obligations, had made no such admission. The third principle was that the matter was worthy of the most serious and conscientious consideration. In point of fact, the ruling preoccupations were political, and all concern for legal and scientific exactitude had been swept aside in favour of a political debate. The French delegation, therefore, reserved its position, not with regard to the principle of a study of factors but to the spirit in which that

study seemed to have been undertaken and the results which it had produced.

51. Mrs. BOLTON (United States of America) said that the United States, which had been a member of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Factors, would support the list of factors contained in the Committee's report (A/2428). The United States delegation agreed with paragraph 9 of the report that no list of factors could serve as more than a guide, and it also shared the Committee's conclusion that while a further refining of the list would be possible, the present list was sufficient. The *Ad Hoc* Committee had done useful service and it was not necessary to re-establish it for further study. Its work had succeeded in clarifying thought on the complex and varying elements which constituted a full measure of self-government, and the United States delegation would support the approval of the *Ad Hoc* Committee's report.

52. Mr. RYCKMANS (Belgium) said that his delegation had approached the study of factors in a thoroughly impartial spirit. In 1946, Belgium had designated the Belgian Congo as a Non-Self-Governing Territory for whose administration it was responsible, and it had regularly supplied information on economic, social and educational conditions there since that time. It had no intention of ceasing to supply such information and its interest in the list of factors was therefore purely academic, for Belgium would not be affected by any decision of the General Assembly regarding it.

53. The Belgian delegation had approached the study of factors in an impartial but not an enthusiastic spirit. It had felt that it would be impossible to draw up a list of factors which would be strict, scientific and automatically applicable. There had been no success yet in formulating a satisfactory definition of a full measure of self-government, and it was unlikely that the Fourth Committee would meet with better results.

54. Turning to the list of factors, he noted that since it could be used to determine that a territory was no longer non-self-governing, it could also determine that a given territory was not yet self-governing. There should be no difference between the principle of ceasing to transmit information and beginning to do so. Unless the list was in fact worthless altogether, it was valid in both cases. Similarly, an authority which was competent to decide when information should cease was, for the same reasons and to the same extent, competent to say when information should begin to be transmitted. The Belgian delegation believed that it was the administering Power alone which was entitled to decide whether to begin, or to stop, or to go on transmitting information. Those delegations which held the opposite view and contended that the General Assembly was competent to decide whether an Administering Member should be required to continue submitting information must abide by the logical conclusion. If the majority of the Committee decided that the General Assembly was competent to determine whether an Administering Member should be compelled to continue to transmit information, it must also admit the right of the Assembly to compel other countries to begin to transmit information on non-self-governing peoples under their administration. The General Assembly's decisions must apply to all Members.

55. The Belgian delegation would abstain from voting on the matter under discussion, but it warned the members of the Committee that it would take steps to ensure that the Assembly acted logically.

The meeting rose at 12.30 p.m.

United Nations
**GENERAL
ASSEMBLY**

EIGHTH SESSION
Official Records



FOURTH COMMITTEE, 323rd

MEETING

Thursday, 1 October 1953,
at 3.15 p.m.

New York

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C O N T E N T S

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Factors which should be taken into account in deciding whether a territory is or is not a territory whose people have not yet attained a full measure of self-government: report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Factors (Non-Self-Governing Territories) (*continued*)..... 41

Chairman: Mr. Santiago PEREZ PEREZ (Venezuela).

Factors which should be taken into account in deciding whether a territory is or is not a territory whose people have not yet attained a full measure of self-government: report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Factors (Non-Self-Governing Territories) (A/2428) (*continued*)

[Item 33]*

1. Mr. PACHACHI (Iraq) recalled that since 1949, when the General Assembly had adopted its resolution 334 (IV), the question of factors had been discussed in detail by two *ad hoc* committees and by the Fourth Committee itself. His delegation had taken an active and, it hoped, a useful part in those discussions, which had led to the preparation of the list contained in the present report (A/2428) of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Factors (Non-Self-Governing Territories).

2. He wished first to comment on some of the views expressed during the debate. Both in their replies to the Secretary-General and in the course of the discussions in the Fourth Committee and in the *Ad Hoc* Committee, the Administering Members had without exception categorically stated that they alone were competent to decide whether a territory had attained a full measure of self-government. His delegation strongly contested that claim, which was entirely incompatible with the spirit of the Charter and, in particular, with the provisions of Chapter XI, which proclaimed that the obligation to promote the well-being of the Non-Self-Governing Territories was a sacred trust assumed by the international community.

3. If the thesis of the colonial Powers, so dogmatically propounded by the Belgian delegation at the 322nd meeting, must be accepted, Chapter XI would be null and void, since the General Assembly would have to confine itself to confirming the decisions of the Administering Members without so much as discussing them. Chapter XI, however, was more than an assemblage of pious declarations; it was an important stage in man's progress towards one of his primary objectives: freedom for all peoples and all nations. According to the colonial Powers, the United Nations was empowered by Article 73 e to take cognizance only of the economic,

social and educational advancement of the Non-Self-Governing Territories. Those Powers appeared to forget that Chapter XI, and in particular Article 73 b, also dealt with the political advancement of the territories. Moreover, the General Assembly had declared on several occasions that it had the right to express its opinion on the principles governing the status of the Non-Self-Governing Territories.

4. The Committee should also reject outright the Belgian delegation's attempt to apply the provisions of Chapter XI to the inhabitants of certain sovereign States who did not enjoy complete self-government, since that would only complicate the question by introducing extraneous and illegal considerations.

5. With regard to the impossibility of finding a satisfactory definition of the concept of a full measure of self-government, his delegation was prepared to accept the *Ad Hoc* Committee's conclusions, since each individual case would have to be examined separately; but it remained convinced that the best criterion of complete self-government was total independence, both on the domestic and on the international plane.

6. The list of factors contained in document A/2428 was neither complete nor definitive; it should rather be regarded as a collection of guiding principles which would aid the General Assembly in taking decisions on the cessation of the transmission of information. His delegation accepted the present list of factors, which was only slightly different from the list provisionally adopted by the General Assembly at the preceding session (resolution 648 (VII)). The division of the list into three parts was both logical and practical. He hoped that the Committee would adopt that list, admirably drawn up by the *Ad Hoc* Committee in its final form, and transmit it to the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories.

7. The differences of opinion which divided the colonial and the non-colonial Powers had been manifested once more in the Committee. The Committee would not, however, permit legal quibbles to divert it from its sacred trust: to help dependent peoples to reach complete self-government by peaceful means.

8. Mr. DOMINGUEZ (Cuba) recalled that his delegation, representing a country which had suffered greatly from colonialism, had constantly endeavoured both in the *Ad Hoc* Committee and in the Fourth Committee to bring the administering and the non-administering Powers closer together.

9. Although a satisfactory definition of the concept of a full measure of self-government could not be given, he stressed that it could not be claimed that a territory which was self-governing economically and socially but not yet politically had attained a full measure of self-government.

10. Referring to paragraph 15 of document A/2428, he said that the absence of any pressure or coercion on the population of a territory (point D) would not suffice to enable that population to decide the future des-

* Indicates the item number on the agenda of the General Assembly.

tiny of the territory (point A) unless the necessary measures were taken to ensure that the views of the population would be respected (point E); point E therefore appeared to be a cardinal point, since it supplemented the provisions of points A and D and made them capable of application. The Cuban delegation failed to understand why some delegations had felt obliged to make reservations with regard to point E.

11. The Cuban delegation had also, the better to defend the interests of populations of Non-Self-Governing Territories which aspired to complete independence, supported in the *Ad Hoc* Committee the Guatemalan proposal recognizing the freedom of the peoples of Non-Self-Governing Territories which had freely limited their sovereignty in favour of the metropolitan or any other country to change their status by democratic processes (A/2428, para. 21).

12. Contrary to the affirmations of some delegations, the interpretation and application of the obligations assumed by the Administering Members under Chapter XI of the Charter were not within the exclusive jurisdiction of those Powers; in other words, cessation of the transmission of information on any territory required a previous agreement within the international community, which was the United Nations, between the Administering Members and the other Member States. The provisions of Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter could not be invoked in the present case, since the fate of a Non-Self-Governing Territory did not depend solely on the country which administered it; colonialism was a doctrine of the past, and modern international law prescribed other principles for the administration of territories which were not yet self-governing. Consequently the United Nations as a whole, and not merely the Administering Members, should be guided by the list of factors in determining whether a territory had attained a full measure of self-government. In its reply to the Secretary-General in pursuance of resolution 567 (VI) (A/AC.58/Add.1), the Cuban Government had already indicated that while cessation of the transmission of information on a Non-Self-Governing Territory could, if necessary in given cases, be decided upon unilaterally by an Administering Member if its security so required, in no case could it be admitted that the transmission of such information should cease as a result of a purely unilateral decision taken for "constitutional considerations".

13. He could not define his delegation's position better than by citing the statement made in the general debate by the Cuban Minister for Foreign Affairs (441st plenary meeting), who had said that, while his country was determined to defend the right of peoples to self-determination, it would exercise great caution in that sphere in order to avoid any basic discord which might weaken the position of the free countries in relation to the totalitarian bloc.

14. The list of factors given in document A/2428 was satisfactory but might well be lengthened. The division into three parts was intelligent. The list was, of course, in no way final or binding, since each case of cessation of the transmission of information would be studied in the light of its particular circumstances. The Cuban delegation would welcome any proposal to supplement and improve the present list.

15. Mr. KUCHKAROV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said that the question of factors had arisen because of the refusal of certain Administering Members—France, the United Kingdom, the United States and the Netherlands—to continue to furnish the infor-

mation they were required to transmit under Article 73 e of the Charter with regard to certain Non-Self-Governing Territories. The attitude of those States was contrary to the Charter and amounted to a refusal to carry out the obligations they had assumed under the Charter with regard to Non-Self-Governing Territories. At the fourth and subsequent sessions of the General Assembly many delegations had indicated that the unilateral decision taken by those States could not be accepted.

16. After reviewing the work that had led to the compilation of the list of factors which the General Assembly had examined at its seventh session (A/2178), the USSR representative stated that the list was a step forward towards the goal set by the General Assembly, but was still far from complete and should be improved.

17. The list now submitted to the Fourth Committee by the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Factors differed little from the one approved by the General Assembly at its seventh session. It contained serious gaps, particularly the lack of a definition of the concept of a full measure of self-government. He could not agree with the *Ad Hoc* Committee that the lack of a satisfactory definition raised no serious difficulty. Indeed, without a precise definition of a full measure of self-government it was very difficult to prepare a list of factors to determine whether a territory had attained that objective. In the view of the USSR delegation, Non-Self-Governing Territories would attain a full measure of self-government when they became independent sovereign States in which the legislative, executive and judiciary powers were exercised by the indigenous population. Until then the Administering Members were bound to transmit information under Article 73 e of the Charter. Those were the criteria for determining whether a territory had attained the goal of a full measure of self-government set by the Charter.

18. Examining the list of factors drawn up by the *Ad Hoc* Committee, he said that the USSR delegation accepted the first part in principle, subject to some clarification and addition. The second and third parts, however, it considered unacceptable, as they did not provide for the accession of the Non-Self-Governing Territories to the status of independent, sovereign States. Thus factor A.3 of the second part dealt with voluntary limitation of sovereignty, whereas it was clear that before speaking of the limitation of sovereignty it was necessary to grant sovereignty and independence to Non-Self-Governing Territories and provide for the right of the indigenous people of those territories to decide for themselves their own destiny. He noted that the second and third parts of the list contained factors which allowed for the control and interference of other States in the internal affairs of the territories.

19. He denied the claim of the Administering Members to exclusive competence in the matter. That attitude was contrary to the Charter and to the General Assembly's resolutions. He hoped that the factors which were being worked out by the General Assembly would constitute an obstacle to arbitrary refusal of the Administering Members to transmit the required information and would contribute to the fulfilment of the provisions of the Charter with regard to the peoples of Non-Self-Governing Territories.

20. Mr. TARZI (Afghanistan) recalled that from the outset the United Nations, true to the spirit of the Charter, had been deeply concerned with the future liberation of the Non-Self-Governing Territories and

with the factors indicating self-government. The question was certainly difficult, and until September 1952 the Afghanistan delegation had doubted whether a fair and sound solution could be achieved, since each Administering Member had taken a different view.

21. Although the 1952 *Ad Hoc Committee* had studied the list of factors drawn up by the General Assembly in accordance with resolution 567 (VI), it had at first seemed difficult, when the question was studied again at the seventh session, to find a body competent to determine whether the new list of factors was complete. It had then been decided that the list should simply be regarded as a guide to whether a territory had attained full self-government, and should serve no other purpose.

22. The factors that the two *ad hoc* committees had proposed to the General Assembly were indispensable for the study of social problems in the Non-Self-Governing Territories. If, however, they and the report of the 1953 *Ad Hoc Committee* were adopted, they might well be deemed contrary to the principle of the right of self-determination of peoples, a right on which the freedom of peoples and nations was essentially based. Though the proposed factors might serve as a guide, the decision whether a territory had attained freedom could not be based on them alone. In deciding that question, the opinion of the people concerned must be asked, and must be expressed under the auspices of the United Nations without interference by foreign interests.

23. Miss ROESAD (Indonesia) said that most representatives seemed to feel that the Fourth Committee could eventually adopt the proposed list of factors. Nevertheless, some delegations felt that the General Assembly was not competent to decide whether a territory was or was not a territory whose people had not yet attained a full measure of self-government. Indeed, the representative of France had stated at the preceding meeting that if the General Assembly decided that it alone was competent to settle that question, no Non-Self-Governing Territory would ever achieve independence. The Indonesian delegation failed to understand the grounds for that opinion. On the contrary, the General Assembly was competent to decide whether Chapter XI of the Charter was applicable to a given territory. There seemed to be no need to repeat the legal arguments on which that opinion was based; the representatives of Guatemala and Mexico had stated them very eloquently at the preceding meeting.

24. Paragraph 5 of General Assembly resolution 648 (VII) showed that the General Assembly was competent to rule on the cessation of the transmission of information under Article 73 e of the Charter. In the Indonesian delegation's view, the General Assembly ought to decide whether the cessation of the transmission of information was justified—in other words, whether the population of a Non-Self-Governing Territory was fully in charge of its own administration.

25. The *Ad Hoc Committee*, which the Indonesian delegation congratulated on its good work, had not seen fit to make, in its report, many changes in the list of factors which the General Assembly had provisionally approved in 1952. The Fourth Committee

therefore could recommend that the General Assembly adopt a resolution approving the existing list subject to the considerations contained in resolution 648 (VII), paragraph 2.

26. Furthermore, the principle set forth in paragraph 4 of that resolution should also be reaffirmed, especially as some governments held that the obligation to transmit information under Article 73 e ceased when the questions listed in that article were within a territory's own jurisdiction. There was an urgent need for the General Assembly to take a stand with regard to that contention; indeed, the Netherlands representative had emphasized it particularly in relation to the cessation of the transmission of information regarding the Netherlands Antilles and Surinam.

27. The declaration in resolution 648 (VII) on the whole question of factors should be reaffirmed.

28. The Indonesian delegation would support any proposal which would improve the suggested list of factors, and reserved its position on any future motion made in the Committee on that question.

29. Mr. L. S. BOKHARI (Pakistan) recalled that the Pakistan delegation had stated in the Committee at the seventh session (277th meeting) that the list of factors was a useful guide and that the case of each territory should be examined in the light of the particular circumstances. It had also stated that the United Nations took an abiding interest in the welfare and future of the Non-Self-Governing Territories, and that the transmission of information on those territories should not be discontinued without its consent. His delegation's attitude remained unchanged.

30. After a careful examination of the *Ad Hoc Committee's* report, his delegation agreed with the view expressed by the Indian representative (322nd meeting) that the Committee had not been able to add much to the list of factors approved by the General Assembly in 1952. Although the list could doubtless be improved, it was fairly complete and nothing would be gained by a new study. His delegation was prepared to accept the *Ad Hoc Committee's* report, reserving the right to speak on any proposal later submitted to the Fourth Committee.

31. Some delegations had made statements on the reduction in the number of territories on which reports were submitted to the United Nations. His delegation had nothing against the reduction, provided that the United Nations was certain that the territories in question had reached a degree of development at which supervision was no longer necessary.

32. Pakistan was impatiently waiting for the day when the General Assembly would no longer have to concern itself with the question because no territories would be administered any longer by a foreign Power. In a sense the Administering Members were on a black list: they had to account to the United Nations for certain of their actions in Non-Self-Governing Territories. They would surely be happy to see their names struck from that list. The Pakistan Government itself would be pleased to see the list grow shorter, but it maintained that the final decision rested with the United Nations, which he asked the Administering Members to trust.

The meeting rose at 4.10 p.m.

United Nations
**GENERAL
 ASSEMBLY**
 EIGHTH SESSION
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FOURTH COMMITTEE, 324th

MEETING

**Friday, 2 October 1953,
 at 3.15 p.m.**

New York

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Chairman: Mr. Santiago PEREZ PEREZ (Venezuela).

Factors which should be taken into account in deciding whether a territory is or is not a territory whose people have not yet attained a full measure of self-government: report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Factors (Non-Self-Governing Territories) (A/2428) (*continued*)

[Item 33]*

1. Mr. ABOU-AFIA (Egypt) stressed the importance which the Egyptian delegation attached to Chapter XI of the Charter and recalled the steps it had taken or supported to ensure that the provisions of that Chapter were applied. During the discussion of that question, the representatives of the Administering Members had asserted that the General Assembly was not competent to examine whether a Territory had attained full self-government on the grounds that no text conferred that power upon it. Their point of view had been expressed in the reservations made by the Belgian representative and contained in sub-paragraph (b) of paragraph 40 of the report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Factors (Non-Self-Governing Territories) (A/2428), the text of which he quoted. True to the Charter and to its own principles, the Egyptian delegation felt bound to oppose that point of view. Chapter XI set forth contractual obligations to which all Member States had subscribed and which no Member State could evade by a unilateral act or statement. To admit the contrary would enable the Administering Members to waive too easily the provisions of Chapter XI. There was no doubt whatsoever that the meaning of that Chapter was completely divorced from any unilateral interpretation which the Administering Members might give to it.

2. There were no grounds for invoking the provisions of Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter. Just as in private law contractual obligations were interpreted as a voluntary restriction on individual freedom, so international commitments constituted a voluntary restriction on the sovereignty of States, with reservations of course as to the object of those commitments. As that

principle applied to all international commitments it followed that the restrictions contained in Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter were valid only for questions not dealt with in the Charter. That was not the case for Non-Self-Governing Territories since they were dealt with in Chapter XI. The General Assembly therefore had the right and indeed the duty of ensuring that all States which had signed the Charter fulfilled the commitments thereby incurred. In that connexion, the Assembly had taken a series of decisions and had, *inter alia*, set up the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Factors, which had worked out a list of factors.

3. The Egyptian delegation thanked the Committee for the work it had accomplished and considered that the list it had drawn up was generally satisfactory. With the addition of several amendments, designed to strengthen the provisions governing the right of peoples to self-determination, that list could be used for practical purposes, without however absolving the Assembly from examining the special circumstances of each particular case. The Egyptian delegation intended to submit a draft resolution amending the list of factors on those lines.

4. Mr. LANNUNG (Denmark) also thanked members of the *Ad Hoc* Committee and the Secretariat, whose work had clarified the various aspects of the problem and enabled delegations to define their position. The Danish delegation was prepared to approve the report and to accept the list of factors it contained. The classification of those factors into three parts seemed judicious. The work accomplished so far was satisfactory, and consequently there was no need to maintain the *Ad Hoc* Committee.

5. Among the factors enumerated in the Committee's report there was one of primary importance, namely, the opinion of the population of the territory, freely expressed by informed and democratic processes, as to the status or change in status which they desired. The factors applied not only to the cessation of the transmission of information but just as well to the commencement of the transmission of information. All Member States should examine their own position in the light of the list of factors and decide whether they should transmit information on territories on which they had not so far submitted a report.

6. As to the question of competence, the position which the Danish delegation had taken up at previous sessions had not changed. It considered that the State responsible for the administration of a territory had the right to determine the constitutional status of the territory placed under its sovereignty. None of the provisions of Chapter XI could be interpreted as modifying that principle in any way whatever. Denmark had always been ready to transmit to the United Nations information concerning not only the economic, social and educational situation in the territory it administered, but also the political situation and the development of the constitutional status in that territory. Nevertheless it had never considered that the United Nations was thereby

* Indicates the item number on the agenda of the General Assembly.

empowered to review or revise any action which had been taken by the constitutional bodies of Denmark.

7. Recalling the stages in the constitutional evolution of Greenland, he said that, as early as 1951, the Danish delegation had announced in the Special Committee on Information transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter¹ that Greenland wished to be represented directly in the Danish Parliament. In 1952, the National Council of Greenland had unanimously adopted a resolution expressing the desire that Greenland should be associated with Denmark as an integral part of the metropolitan country, with full equality of status with other parts of Denmark and representation in the Danish Parliament. It had also requested that the Danish Constitution should be amended to that effect. The Danish Government and Parliament had recognized those aspirations. The new Danish Constitution, adopted by Parliament and subsequently endorsed by a referendum of the Danish people, contained in its first article a provision to the effect that Greenland had become an integral part of Denmark and thus had acquired equal status with the rest of Denmark. The population of Greenland now enjoyed the same rights as the rest of the Danish population. By virtue of that constitutional change, therefore, Greenland was no longer a Non-Self-Governing Territory under the terms of Chapter XI of the Charter. Thus, in conformity with General Assembly resolution 222 (III), the Danish Government had sent to the Secretary-General a note dated 3 September 1953 in which it informed him of that development and to which was attached an explanatory memorandum, a translation of the Danish Constitution and the records of the meetings in which the National Council of Greenland had considered and then unanimously adopted the changes in question. It was the understanding of the Danish Government that, in conformity with resolution 448 (V), that documentation would be laid before the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories at its next session, but the Danish delegation wished to bring it to the immediate notice of the Fourth Committee.

8. The decision of the Danish Government was in complete conformity with the fundamental factor which he had previously stressed, namely, the freely expressed will and opinion of the population of the territory. It had been welcomed by the people of both Greenland and Denmark, who were convinced that the new order would serve the interests of Greenland best, and the Government and Parliament where Greenlanders were now sitting side by side with their fellow countrymen, would continue to do their utmost to promote the welfare of the Greenlanders.

9. Mr. ABOU KHADRA (Saudi Arabia) said that the Committee had heavy responsibilities which it must strive to fulfil in a spirit of co-operation on the basis of Chapters XI, XII and XIII of the Charter and in pursuance of the aims and principles proclaimed in the Charter. It might carry out its functions by seeking solutions in the Charter itself, but all the members of the Committee must also agree on the interpretation to be given to the Articles on which its work was to be based. Too often there had been a tendency to limit the scope of the Committee's work and even its competence by the use of juridical arguments which departed from the real meaning of the Charter and from any strict interpretation of its provisions. If the purposes specified by the Charter were to be attained, the

latter must be interpreted more broadly, and he hoped that the discussion on factors would not lead to serious controversy and that, by showing a spirit of sincere co-operation, the Committee could achieve productive results which would make it possible to bring the views of certain groups closer together.

10. His delegation paid a tribute to the way the *Ad Hoc* Committee had carried out its duties. Yet, whatever the number of factors included, no list could be considered complete or final. The list must therefore remain under constant study and be resubmitted for revision. Hence the General Assembly should refer to the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories, in connexion with its normal work and responsibilities, the list of factors, their interpretation and the adjustments to be made in the light of any changes in the situation which might occur. An appropriate draft resolution should be submitted and adopted by the Committee. Moreover, the list of factors could serve only as a guide, a compilation of criteria whereby the stage of development of a given Territory could be ascertained and whereby a decision could be more easily reached on the question whether the Territory had achieved full self-government. In view of the variety of the characteristics of the different dependent territories, those criteria must be applied very flexibly. That point was extremely important.

11. He did not agree with the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Factors that the definition of the notion of full self-government would necessarily raise serious difficulties. To arrive at such a definition it was enough to appreciate the aspirations of the dependent peoples and to rely on two principles: that of the right of self-determination, set forth in Article 1, paragraph 2, of the Charter, and the principle that the interests of the inhabitants of the Non-Self-Governing Territories were paramount, as stated in Article 73. It was easy to define the notion of full self-government, the supreme objective laid down in the Charter, by applying those principles: full self-government meant sovereign independence. When the current popular movements for complete independence were considered, there was reason to doubt that the dependent peoples would freely choose any form of self-government which did not imply full and complete sovereignty. It mattered little whether after achieving independence, a Non-Self-Governing Territory decided to enter into an association with the metropolitan or any other country inasmuch as such association was subsequent to independence. Otherwise there would be serious reasons for doubting whether the dependent territory had exercised a free choice.

12. With regard to the elements for determining whether the principle of self-determination was guaranteed, his delegation accepted the list given in section IV of the *Ad Hoc* Committee's report. It attached particular importance to points D, E and F. If the principle that the interests of the indigenous inhabitants were paramount was to be respected, it was an absolute necessity that the population should be able to express its opinion without any pressure on the part of the administering Powers. Point E (A/2428, para. 15) was an essential supplement to point D, (A/2428, para. 15) because the real aspirations of the peoples concerned could not be determined unless the administering Powers gave the assurance that the views of the inhabitants would be respected. Finally, point F (A/2428, para. 21) was the only factor which could be used in deciding whether a Territory had voluntarily agreed to a limitation of its sovereignty in favour of the metropolitan

¹ See A/AC.35/SR.34.

or any other country. Some areas remained linked to the metropolitan country against the wishes of the inhabitants. The metropolitan countries had always claimed that such association had been effected with the full agreement of the two parties. If such were the case, those countries had no reason to make reservations to point F. If they accepted it, any doubts persisting in certain minds would disappear. The very fact that a Non-Self-Governing Territory was free to change its status by democratic processes, in other words, to withdraw, in a given case, from an association to which it was a party, proved once and for all that the association had not been imposed upon it.

13. He then passed to the list of factors submitted by the *Ad Hoc* Committee (A/2428, section VI). Factor A.3 of the second part, which actually referred to a limitation of sovereignty and independence, should be omitted. While the right of a country to relinquish a part of its sovereignty in favour of a larger entity was one of the attributes of sovereignty, States which had recently acquired their independence were much too jealous of the latter to enter into an agreement which might limit it. The situation in the Middle East, where the elements of one nation, divided to serve the interests of the colonial Powers, were trying gradually to bring about a closer union, was irrelevant. His delegation unreservedly accepted the other factors, on the understanding that the association to which the latter two parts referred had to be effected in accordance with the real aspirations of the people and without pressure.

14. With regard to the question of competence, the General Assembly should be consulted whenever it was to be determined whether a territory had achieved full self-government, because it had to reach a decision on each case individually. Only when a Territory had reached a stage of independence which qualified it for admission to the United Nations could the transmission of the information specified in the Charter cease.

15. Mr. DOBROSIELSKI (Poland) noted that the purely theoretical analyses, which had been made for several years, had not led to a final and complete list of factors. It was to be feared that no substantial progress could be made if the matter continued to be dealt with in a purely academic manner. It was sufficient proof that the list drawn up by the *Ad Hoc* Committee hardly differed from that of 1952 (General Assembly resolution 648 (VII), annex). It was only of value as a collection of general indications. It was difficult to accept some of the factors listed in the second and third parts, to which the Guatemalan and USSR representatives had raised objections (322nd and 323rd meetings).

16. It could be concluded from a study of the history of the problem that the Administering Members were trying to keep the subject on the plane of theory and to prevent the General Assembly from taking the necessary action to change the current situation. That situation was the result of the arbitrary refusal of certain Administering Members, the United States, France, the United Kingdom and the Netherlands, to continue to transmit information on the Non-Self-Governing Territories under their administration, contrary to the obligations which they had assumed under Chapter XI of the Charter. The Administering Members had stopped transmitting information on fifteen of the seventy-four Non-Self-Governing Territories listed in General Assembly resolution 66 (I). The tendency to adopt decisions unilaterally persisted, as proved by the cases of the Netherlands Antilles, Surinam and Puerto Rico. The Administering Members claimed that the Non-Self-

Governing Territories came under their jurisdiction exclusively. The question was international in scope and the United Nations must attach very special importance to the present and future position of the peoples concerned.

17. Hence, without underestimating the importance of a theoretical study of the problem, his delegation considered that practical action should be taken to solve it. It hoped that the General Assembly would very soon compile a list of principles which would make it impossible for the Administering Members to decide unilaterally to stop transmitting information on the territories under their administration. Those Powers were obliged to transmit such information so long as the territories in question were not independent and sovereign States, the inhabitants of which had full executive, legislative and judicial authority. The General Assembly was competent to decide whether a territory had attained full self-government and to rule whether the transmission of information should cease. The Polish delegation would support any positive resolution to settle the matter along those lines.

18. Mr. NAJAR (Israel) said that the Israel delegation had been somewhat concerned to find that the discussion had borne mainly on the question of who should decide whether a Non-Self-Governing Territory had really attained self-government, and when it had become independent. As the question of the cessation of the transmission of information appeared as item 3 on the Committee's agenda, it might have been better if the Committee had paid more attention to factors as such, and less to the use made of the factors, which only led to endless arguments about the interpretation of the Charter. Its time would be better spent if it tried to make some useful contribution to a sane and constructive settlement of the practical political problems facing the United Nations.

19. The Israel delegation did not regard the examination of the factors as absolutely essential since the experience possessed by the sixty Member States practically guaranteed that no aspect of the problems relating to any conceivable type of self-government or independence would be lost sight of when any particular instance was being discussed. The *Ad Hoc* Committee report under consideration merely strengthened that view. One of that Committee's tasks had been to define the notion of a full measure of self-government for the purposes of Chapter XI. The problem had been to ascertain whether the notion fell somewhat short of independence as referred to in Chapter XII and, if so, to decide whether it meant something more than autonomy in economic, social and educational matters as mentioned in Article 73 e. The Committee had decided that it was impossible to arrive at a definition and that the concept would emerge from the examination of each particular case. It had also been the Committee's task to seek criteria to determine whether the principle of the right of peoples to self-determination was guaranteed so far as that Chapter was concerned. The Committee had not come to any definite conclusion or reached any general agreement. Anyone considering the list of factors would be struck by the fact that it failed to reflect the complexity of the problems raised and the positions of the members of the *Ad Hoc* Committee.

20. In considering ways and means of ensuring international respect for the right of peoples to self-determination, there was an unfortunate and growing tendency to overlook individual aspects of that right, although they formed the real basis for it. Historically,

the right of a people to self-determination rested upon the freedom and equality of men bound together by what had been termed the social contract. Nor should it be forgotten that in President Wilson's Fourteen Points, the principle of nationality and the principles of democracy had been identical.

21. The first part of the list of factors dealt with independence. To judge by the heading of the list as given in paragraph 41 of document A/2428, the second and third parts might have been expected to deal with other separate systems of self-government, whereas they dealt with self-government in continuing association with the metropolitan country and with factors indicative of the free association of a territory with the metropolitan or other country as an integral part of that country.

22. It was useless to embed in an extremely complex report a list of factors which seemed to establish the fact that Non-Self-Governing Territories would some day attain independence but that that independence was likely to assume the most varied forms, according to the freely-expressed wishes of the populations concerned. It might well be, therefore, that a more searching analysis of the concepts of self-government and independence might prove a disservice to the right of peoples to self-determination. The study of factors should accordingly come to an end.

23. The *Ad Hoc* Committee's work would, however, have helped to narrow the gap between the administering Powers' ideas and those of the non-administering Powers on an important point, since paragraph 13 of the report stated that the concept of self-government would emerge in the examination of a particular case.

24. One example of the endless debates which the Committee would let itself in for if it constantly discussed problems from the theoretical viewpoint would be the discussion of the Belgian thesis that as there was no restrictive definition of the Non-Self-Governing Territories in Chapter XI of the Charter, the Assembly might discover territories undeclared by the States responsible for them. But it was clear from Article 74 that the provisions of Chapter XI of the Charter could in no circumstances be applied to a metropolitan territory. Would it be wise to engage in a discussion of the concept of a metropolitan territory?

25. Mr. DORSINVILLE (Haiti) welcomed the historical process by which, within a century and a half, the world had progressed from the slave revolt in Santo Domingo to the meeting of the Fourth Committee in which the representatives of free and independent nations were endeavouring to define the requirements that some sixty territories throughout the world, with more than 200 million inhabitants, must fulfil in order to attain self-government or independence.

26. Despite their good intentions, competence and eagerness to comply with their terms of reference, the various subsidiary bodies set up to study the question of factors had not been able either to define the notion of a full measure of self-government or to draw up a list of factors to everyone's entire satisfaction. Document A/2428 was an intellectual exercise without any practical bearing: while admitting that the list of factors was only indicative, it recognized that only specific cases could be considered. The work had not, however, been useless, for it had made it possible to study all the legal, political, economic and social aspects of vast territories whose future was in doubt. There was great wisdom in the following passage in Mr. Pierre Ryckmans' book,

Dominer pour servir: "There is as yet no political problem in the Congo. Now is not the time to solve it, but it is already time to think about it, to provide and prepare for the future . . . When the time comes, people will not wait. If we delay, the crisis will not end in emancipation, but in hatred, revolt and separation" (p. 74).

27. It was precisely in order to avoid outbreaks of hatred that the Haitian delegation had always approved the reports submitted on the question of factors and would vote for the adoption of document A/2428, although it believed that the free expression of the people's wishes should have been the only factor listed. Since the Administering Members had accepted a limitation of their sovereignty, they could not arbitrarily withdraw a territory from the jurisdiction of Article 73. It should be possible to ensure that peoples expressed their opinion with complete freedom if the parties concerned showed goodwill and allowed the United Nations to exercise the requisite supervision.

28. In view of the Administering Members' adamant attitude, his delegation feared that Chapter XI of the Charter might soon become a dead letter. It asked, therefore, that development should go forward in the real interests of the peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories, and it would vote for the adoption of the report (A/2428) so that each case might be studied in accordance with agreed and accepted guiding standards, although it did not thereby acknowledge that the factors listed would thenceforth be unalterable.

29. Mr. SHTOKALO (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) said that some Administering Members evaded their commitment under the Charter to transmit information on the territories they administered because they wished to hide the harsh conditions prevailing in them. Many indications showed that those Powers were shamelessly exploiting the people in those territories and that they were merely trying to make the biggest possible profits out of them rather than to ensure their economic, social and educational advancement. It was enough to recall that the petitions and complaints to the United Nations were continually increasing. The working out of factors to determine whether a territory had or had not attained a full measure of self-government should enable the Administering Members to fulfil the commitments imposed on them by the Charter. Factors had been discussed at length without any satisfactory conclusions being reached, and it could be seen that the *Ad Hoc* Committee had once more failed to comply with its terms of reference. The list of factors it had compiled was incomplete and should be improved. Even worse, the Committee had not even succeeded in working out a definition of the concept of a full measure of self-government. It had claimed that the absence of such a definition was not a serious disadvantage. That conclusion was quite wrong, for it would be impossible to list precisely all the factors to be taken into account in deciding whether a territory had attained complete self-government if no one knew what a full measure of self-government meant.

30. The first part of the list approved by the *Ad Hoc* Committee might be regarded as acceptable, although it should be improved. But the second and third parts could not be accepted, since they dealt with a territory's association, continuing or otherwise, with the metropolitan country, a limitation of its independence, rather than with attaining a full measure of self-government. The factors in the third part would entitle

the Administering Members to cease transmitting information. The *Ad Hoc* Committee's work had, therefore led to a result that was exactly the opposite of the terms of reference given it by the Assembly. To adopt the last two parts would be to play the game of the colonial Powers, which were trying to assume the exclusive right to settle the future of the Non-Self-Governing Territories. Their views had been strikingly illustrated by Belgium's reservations reproduced in the *Ad Hoc* Committee's report (para. 40).

31. It was to be hoped that the Committee would amend the list of factors so that the Administering Members would be enabled to fulfil their commitments under the Charter.

32. Mr. CAMPOS CATELIN (Argentina) complimented the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the care with which it had discharged its duties under the chairmanship of Mr. Khalidy.

33. The Argentine delegation unreservedly approved the conclusions set forth in paragraph 9 of document A/2428. The factors enumerated in the present list were merely a guide and in no way final.

34. As the Mexican representative had pointed out (322nd meeting), factor A.4 of the first part of the list of factors was not acceptable. A State could be said to have achieved a full measure of self-government when it was able to take charge of its own national defence, and not merely to participate therein. Moreover, factor A.4 could not apply to the setting-up and use of military bases in a territory. That would imply an infringement of the sovereignty of the country concerned, since national defence was one of its essential attributes.

35. The adjective "continuing" should be omitted from the title of the second part of the list, especially as the association referred to in that part could not be other than what the parties chose to make it; the association should always be to the benefit of the territory voluntarily accepting a limitation of its sovereignty, but such an association might, at a later date, be detrimental to the interests of the territory concerned. Furthermore, the idea of voluntary limitation of sovereignty was highly dangerous and should therefore not appear in the list unless accompanied by the guarantee proposed by the Guatemalan representative, which was set out in paragraph 21 of the report.

36. Some delegations had found it difficult to draft a satisfactory definition of the concept of "people", as the object of the right of self-determination. In that connexion there was a definition by Professor Georges Scelle, in his *Précis de droit des gens*, which said that a people was a collective entity able to exercise the right of self-determination, an indispensable condition of its existence; a people was the aggregate of the wills of the individuals constituting it; that aggregate of wills implied a unity of purpose founded upon a unity of traditions, upon a common historical and spiritual heritage.

37. With reference to paragraph 40 of the *Ad Hoc* Committee's report, the Argentine delegation wished again to refute the Belgian representative's thesis. The Administering Members' acceptance of the provisions of Chapter XI of the Charter placed under international trusteeship only the peoples referred to in that Chapter, and its provisions applied only to territories which had never been an integral part of a metropolitan State or had never been considered a part thereof. Article 2, paragraph 7, could not be invoked in that connexion because matters of that kind were not within the Administering Members' domestic jurisdiction; that was a

position which the Argentine Government had maintained on many occasions. Such matters were connected with the system of international protection of Non-Self-Governing Territories set up by the Charter and freely accepted by the Administering Members. Those Members had assumed an obligation which, in the words of the Charter itself, constituted a "sacred trust" for them. It was for the General Assembly to decide whether a territory had ceased to be non-self-governing or was still non-self-governing within the meaning of Chapter XI.

38. The Argentine delegation wished to repeat that the Government or the metropolitan State had no right to modify the political status of a territory in the event of a dispute or disagreement.

39. Lastly, the Government of the Argentine Republic considered that, as set forth in resolution XXXIII of the Ninth International Conference of American States at Bogotá in 1948, "The historical process of the emancipation of America will not be complete so long as there remain on the continent peoples and regions subject to a colonial régime, or territories occupied by non-American countries".

40. Mr. S. S. LIU (China) felt that the study of factors had been the subject of long and fruitful work, both in the Committee and in various subcommittees. With the compilation of the present list it had reached a stage where, while the list could certainly be perfected and made more precise, no useful purpose would thereby be served for the moment, as paragraph 9 of the *Ad Hoc* Committee's report pointed out. The present list could serve as a useful guide in determining whether a territory had achieved a full measure of self-government or not. It was clear from the terms of resolution 648 (VII), however, that the decision did not rest exclusively with the Administering Member; it was for the General Assembly to decide in the last resort. That thesis was absolutely in accord with the theory of international responsibility now almost universally admitted.

41. The Chinese delegation would cordially welcome the cessation of the transmission of any information on Non-Self-Governing Territories if such cessation were proof that all Non-Self-Governing Territories, without exception, had achieved independence, thereby attaining the purpose of Chapter XI of the Charter. So long, however, as there were territories not yet enjoying a full measure of self-government, the Administering Members should continue to furnish information. That was the only way the General Assembly could ensure the protection of non-self-governing peoples and safeguard their rights and legitimate interests.

42. The Chinese delegation wished to make three observations on the theory, frequently maintained by certain Administering Members, that the provisions of Chapter XI applied not only to the Non-Self-Governing Territories, but also to certain independent States whose populations, or a part of whose populations, did not as yet enjoy a full measure of self-government. In the first place, the very title of Chapter XI indicated that it referred solely to the Non-Self-Governing Territories. Secondly, the Administering Members, which had accused certain non-administering Members of exceeding the bounds of the provisions of Chapter XI, would be ill-advised to try to extend the application of that Chapter without having any legal justification for so doing. Lastly, extension of the scope of Chapter XI could not in any way release the Administering Members from the obligations they had assumed in respect

of Non-Self-Governing Territories to which that Chapter in fact referred.

43. The Chinese delegation was prepared to support any draft resolution based on the conclusions formulated by the *Ad Hoc* Committee; it reserved the right to speak on that matter later.

44. Mr. DE MARCHENA (Dominican Republic) noted with satisfaction that the *Ad Hoc* Committee's report took into account the various juridical questions which the Dominican delegation had raised since the question of factors had first come under study. That study might make it possible to elaborate principles of international law.

45. Chapter XI of the Charter was of very special importance. On the one hand, it gave the populations of the Non-Self-Governing Territories the hope that their aspirations to independence and freedom would one day be realized, and, on the other, it bore witness to the goodwill with which the metropolitan Powers had agreed at San Francisco to assume the sacred trust of promoting the well-being of the populations of the Non-Self-Governing Territories. His delegation had greatly admired the generosity of the Powers which had subscribed to the obligations set forth in Chapter XI.

46. In view of the great importance of Chapter XI, its real scope should be defined. Since the San Francisco Conference it had given rise to many divergent interpretations. Now that the United Nations was contemplating a revision of the Charter in accordance with Article 109, it would be useful to strengthen Chapter XI by incorporating in it a definition of a full measure of self-government. That was a very arduous task, as those who had taken part in the efforts of the United Nations to define aggression well knew. The difficulty resided to a considerable extent in the fact that there were various ideas of what a definition should be: should it be generic, descriptive, enumerative, or should it combine all three of those features? In the first part of the list of factors, the *Ad Hoc* Committee had succeeded in giving an enumerative definition of independence, and it should be congratulated on its brilliant achievement.

47. The list of factors would certainly never be final and complete, but it would always be a guide to the study of each specific case in the light of its own peculiar circumstances. The present list seemed to be completely logical; it filled a gap in the interpretation of Chapter XI and enabled General Assembly resolution 222 (III) to be better implemented. The Dominican delegation felt that the Committee could now recommend to the General Assembly that it should stop studying factors because the results obtained were satisfactory enough for the item to be taken off the agenda.

48. The first part of the list of factors included very valuable criteria for determining whether a people had attained independence. With regard to the other two parts, he emphasized that any collective entity should have the right to dissociate its political and parliamentary institutions from those of the metropolitan country to which it was attached by historical links when it expressed a desire to do so. In the case of an association with the metropolitan or other country, the fundamental criterion was the freely expressed opinion of the population of the territory concerned. It was desirable to adopt flexible formulas, in harmony with modern viewpoints on that subject.

49. The Dominican delegation was prepared to support any proposal recommending the use of the present list of factors as a guide in determining whether a territory was or was not fully self-governing, it being clearly understood that the paramount factor should still be the opinion, freely expressed by democratic means, of the populations of the territories concerned.

50. As his list of speakers on the question of factors was exhausted, the CHAIRMAN proposed that further discussion of the item should be deferred until the following meeting and that the Committee should begin its consideration of the question of information from Non-Self-Governing Territories transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter.

Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter

[Item 32]*

GENERAL DEBATE

51. Mr. HOPKINSON (United Kingdom) recalled that at the seventh session, he had opened the general discussion in the Fourth Committee (251st meeting) on the report of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories (A/2219 and Corr.1) with a broad review of the policies and achievements of the United Kingdom Government in the territories it administered. It would have been his wish to participate in the discussion for a longer period during the present year. But as a Minister at the Colonial Office, he had unfortunately a very heavy programme of work, which would make it necessary for him to leave New York very shortly. It was for that reason that he had asked for the floor at the present stage.

52. Section VI of the report of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories (A/2405) now before the Fourth Committee dealt with educational conditions in Non-Self-Governing Territories, the Committee's main topic for discussion in 1953. In addition, part two of the document contained a special report by the Committee on education in Non-Self-Governing Territories.

53. He had a personal interest in the problem of education, since he was Chairman of the Advisory Committee established by the Secretary of State for the Colonies to advise him on educational questions. That Committee had originally been established in 1929 to advise the Secretary of State on the formulation of educational policy in the British dependencies. As a result of constitutional and other developments in the colonies, the character of the Advisory Committee's work had changed greatly in recent years. Whereas in the past educational policy had been formulated in London, the considerable development of local initiative in educational matters and the growth of the powers and responsibilities of colonial legislatures had substantially modified the Committee's functions. It was still the case that when the local authorities felt the need for an outside opinion, they referred certain questions to the Secretary of State, who arranged for their consideration by the Advisory Committee. But the Committee could now be regarded much more as a panel of experts ready to offer technical assistance of the highest quality at the request of colonial governments. That change illustrated the new relationship which had come into being between the metropolitan Government and the territories for which it was responsible.

54. His delegation accepted the report of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories as the expression of a consensus of views for

which it had respect, and would transmit it to the authorities of the territories under United Kingdom administration in order that it might be taken into account, as those authorities considered appropriate, in the formulation and execution of their educational policies, in the same way as they would take into account the advisory opinions of the Committee of the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

55. He felt obliged, however, to make one mild criticism, namely that, in his opinion, the report perhaps placed too much emphasis on the rapid extension of primary education. While the defeat of illiteracy was of vital importance, the United Kingdom delegation also felt that a territory must preserve some balance at all stages of its educational development. An effective system of primary education was impossible without a satisfactory system of teacher training. Such a system could not be established without an adequate number of secondary schools from which to recruit student teachers. Quality must not be sacrificed to quantity, since that might seriously jeopardize the development of the territories. Unless stress was laid on quality and on the provision of general, professional and technical education, there was no hope of achieving the objectives set forth in paragraph 12 of the special report on education.

56. The fundamental objective of United Kingdom educational policy was the development of the capacity for responsibility. The objectives of Chapter XI of the Charter could not be met without a constant effort on the part of the Administering Members to thrust more and more responsibility on greater and greater numbers of the inhabitants of the territories. That process of the active devolution of responsibility, of which there were several recent and important examples in the United Kingdom territories, could not, however, be followed blindly. The United Kingdom Government did not, for example, believe that just because there existed in any given territory a handful of brilliant and educated politicians, that territory was necessarily ripe to assume complete responsibility for its own affairs.

57. A stable democracy must be broadly based. There must be enlightened competence at all levels of society, with a flow of educated and disciplined talent to fill the places of the few brilliant individuals to be found in the territories, as in most countries of the world. The United Kingdom Government would regard it as an utter dereliction of its duties if it handed over complete power to the peoples of the territories it administered when those territories had acquired no more than a facade of self-discipline and responsibility. In some cases risks had to be taken, but, if they were taken, an error must readily be recognized when it was seen. If caution was not exercised, there might well be, after half a century of the patient construction of democracy, a relapse into conditions of instability, in which the mass of the people would have very little effective voice in the conduct of their own affairs and would be abandoned to the tyranny and inexperience of a local oligarchy.

58. One of the main reasons why the transition from imperial or colonial rule to independence had been carried out so smoothly in a number of United Kingdom territories was that over a long period of years British administration had evolved a trained and competent civil service and an impartial judiciary.

59. The importance of higher education should not be underestimated in the training of leaders, since such

education contributed to the development of a sense of values. In 1952, there had been approximately 3,500 full-time students in the institutions of higher education of the territories administered by the United Kingdom—the three universities of Malta, Hong Kong and Malaya and the university colleges in the West Indies, East Africa, the Gold Coast and Nigeria. The United Kingdom intended to create a university in Central Africa in the near future.

60. No educational system could expand, or even survive, unless it could draw increasing resources from economic prosperity. Since the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories would again be turning its attention to the problems of economic development the following year, it might be appropriate to recall that in the territories for which the United Kingdom was responsible, the central problem was the wise use of the land. In countries with an agrarian economy, the people had the great responsibility and necessity of conserving and developing the resources of their land, particularly as the problem of overpopulation was becoming increasingly acute in many countries. There were reasons for that state of affairs as well as for the fact that, despite the resources of modern agricultural science, the yield of the land had not kept pace with the increase of population. As had been wisely said, "Poor soil makes poor people, and poor people make poor soil worse". Land tenure and agricultural practices must be changed and changed in such a way and at such a pace as not to shatter the fabric of society. Demands were sometimes made in some Eastern and Central African territories for small areas of land farmed efficiently for generations by European communities to be turned over to African tribes. Such a step could at best provide only slight and temporary relief for African congestion. Expropriation of that kind, which would hand over properly farmed land for destruction, would be an act not only of injustice but of folly. The United Kingdom Government was at present examining the most promising ways of making use of the large areas of empty or half-empty land still existing in Africa by placing them under efficient and permanent cultivation.

61. Agriculture should not, however, be the only element in the economic prosperity of the territories. Some element of industrialization was essential to absorb some part at least of the excess population. The production of cheap power was essential in any programme of industrialization. Two great schemes of hydro-electric development in Africa might be mentioned in that connexion: the Volta scheme, in the Gold Coast, which would cost 144 million pounds sterling to construct, 57 million pounds of which would be provided by the United Kingdom Government, 42 million pounds by the Gold Coast Government and the remainder by the Canadian aluminium company which was co-operating in carrying out the project; and the dam under construction at the Owen Falls in Uganda. The latter would not only act as a great stimulus to industrial development in Uganda, but would also play a part in controlling the waters of the Nile. The United Kingdom was working on that scheme in close collaboration with the governments of other interested countries, and with the Egyptian Government in particular.

62. Such developments in the economic field inevitably gave rise to social problems such as housing, the transformation of tribal society, race relationships, etc. The concept of partnership between the different races was a valid one; it alone offered any hope of a world in which

racial differences would not be a source of discord but would rather give opportunities for the best in all races to be blended into a strong and harmonious society.

63. Referring to a remark made at the 447th plenary meeting by the representative of the Lebanon, Mr. Hopkinson said he also believed that the conditions of the modern world called for something more than a fragmentation based on the old-fashioned idea of pure nationalism. There could be no doubt that the world was moving towards the creation of larger units and towards the attainment of cohesion and stability through emphasis on the things which bound men together rather than those which separated them. That process was going forward in Europe, and the United Kingdom delegation was convinced that it was an inevitable development in all parts of the world. The United Kingdom attached the greatest importance to the development of international co-operation to ensure the progress of Non-Self-Governing Territories. It would play an energetic part in promoting regional groupings for the solution of common technical problems.

64. The United Kingdom welcomed the interest shown by the specialized agencies of the United Nations in the Non-Self-Governing Territories in connexion with technical assistance. It regarded the promotion of an effective technical assistance programme as one of its cardinal functions in the Non-Self-Governing Territories. The aid it was already extending to its own territories could stand comparison with that available to any other country in the world. It felt however that there was great value in co-operation with the United Nations and the specialized agencies in that field. Financial reasons alone prevented the British territories from participating more fully in the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance. The requests the United Kingdom had made had exceeded the resources which could be allocated to it. It was well satisfied that the Technical Assistance Administration viewed its requests with sympathy and was equally satisfied with the energy and effectiveness with which it had provided a wide variety of services in the British territories.

65. In conclusion, he would emphasize that the United Kingdom would never subscribe to the view that there must necessarily be two camps in the Fourth Committee, the small camp of the administering Powers, that was to say, of the Powers who, by definition, might be regarded as reactionary and obstructive, and the large camp of the non-administering Powers who, by definition, were considered to have the monopoly of good intentions. The United Kingdom was convinced that their fundamental objectives were the same. It did not believe that problems were always approached without some degree of prejudice and without some degree of ignorance.

66. It was of the utmost importance both for the fruitfulness of the Fourth Committee's work and for the reputation of the United Nations that the Committee's discussions and recommendations should be based on a true assessment of the nature of the problems and on a generous understanding of the difficulties to be faced. For its part, the United Kingdom had consistently done its utmost to send to meetings of such bodies, and notably to the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories, representatives who could speak with authority and experience on the problems of the territories administered by the United Kingdom. It might be of great assistance if other Member States would make an effort to do likewise.

67. At some stage of the debate which had just opened, the United Kingdom delegation might put forward concrete proposals designed to ensure that the matters dealt with by the Fourth Committee should be examined, not within a preconceived political framework, but as world-wide problems to the solution of which all countries could contribute.

68. It was impossible to deal with the human problems which confronted that Committee wholly in isolation. Many of them were not solely a matter for the Fourth Committee but also came within the terms of reference of other Assembly committees. They could be judged only against the background of the achievements of each country, for after all, it was only the knowledge a country gained in administering itself that taught it to judge the success or failure of others. If, as the drafters of the Charter certainly intended, Member States could work together as one team, if they could discard some of the doubts and suspicions existing on both sides, if they could contribute to the common task the maximum wisdom and technical knowledge which they had gained individually, there was every likelihood that the Fourth Committee's work would go forward harmoniously and rapidly towards the goal which all nations sought to attain—the political economic, social and educational advancement of the peoples of the territories concerned.

69. Mr. CAMPOS CATELIN (Argentina) said he wished, in the name of his Government, to submit a formal reservation to the effect that the transmission by the United Kingdom Government of information on the *Islas Malvinas*—incorrectly designated as the Falkland Islands in document A/2413—in no way affected Argentine sovereignty over the territory, which had been unlawfully occupied by the United Kingdom by an act of force which the Argentine Republic would never accept. He reaffirmed the inalienable and imprescriptible rights of the Argentine Republic over the *Islas Malvinas*, South Georgia, the South Sandwich Islands and the Argentine sector of the Antarctic, which were an integral part of Argentine territory. He requested the Secretariat to use the term *Islas Malvinas* in all documents issued in Spanish.

70. Mr. HOPKINSON (United Kingdom) replied that his Government was sovereign over the territory in question, the population of which was of purely English stock and spoke only English. He affirmed the United Kingdom's sovereign rights over the islands and requested that the correct title of the islands, namely the Falkland Islands, should be used in all documents issued in English.

Records of the Fourth Committee

71. Mr. DE MARCHENA (Dominican Republic) wished to protest against the fact that the summary record of the Committee's 321st meeting devoted only twelve lines to the statement made by his delegation, although the complete text of that statement, which had been handed to the précis-writers, amounted to fifty-five lines in Spanish. He asked that his speech should be included in the summary record concerned without mutilation.

72. The manner in which his statement had been summarized was particularly regrettable because it had dealt with a question of great importance—the request for a hearing by the President of the Puerto Rican Independence Party. His delegation had stated in that con-

nexion that the Dominican Republic had always maintained the best possible relations with the Puerto Rican people. He wondered why someone had seen fit to omit that passage and why his statement had been reduced much more drastically than the statements of other delegations.

73. He also felt that the system of preparing summary records was faulty. The speeches of Spanish-speaking delegations were translated into English or French and then retranslated into Spanish, which gave rise to frequent errors and mistranslations in the summaries of speeches made in Spanish. It was also unsatis-

factory that corrections to the summary records were accepted by the Secretariat only in English or French and not in Spanish.

74. His delegation requested that its complaint should be included in the summary record, and if no action was taken upon it, would be compelled to ask the Chairman to summon the responsible officials before the Fourth Committee.

75. The CHAIRMAN said he was confident that the Secretariat would take whatever action was necessary to satisfy the delegation of the Dominican Republic.

The meeting rose at 6.15 p.m.

United Nations
**GENERAL
 ASSEMBLY**
 EIGHTH SESSION
 Official Records



**FOURTH COMMITTEE, 325th
 MEETING**

Monday, 5 October 1953,
 at 10.55 a.m.

New York

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Chairman: Mr. Santiago PEREZ PEREZ (Venezuela).

Factors which should be taken into account in deciding whether a territory is or is not a territory whose people have not yet attained a full measure of self-government: report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Factors (Non-Self-Governing Territories) (A/2428, A/C.4/L.272) (*continued*)

[Item 33]*

1. The CHAIRMAN called attention to the draft resolution submitted by the Brazilian delegation on the subject of factors (A/C.4/L.272).
2. Mr. FERREIRA DE SOUZA (Brazil) recalled that the Brazilian delegation had outlined its position on the question of factors at the Committee's seventh session (277th meeting).
3. After careful study of the report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Factors (Non-Self-Governing Territories) (A/2428) and after reading the many documents submitted to the Fourth Committee, the Brazilian delegation had considered it unnecessary to speak in the debate on that item of the agenda. It had taken the view that after three years' discussion the members of the Fourth Committee had reached an agreement on premises, on essential points and on preliminary considerations, so that long digressions on the merits, importance and limitations of scope of the list submitted by the *Ad Hoc* Committee could be avoided. Unfortunately, the Brazilian delegation had found that that was not so. Some speakers at previous meetings had practically reopened the entire question.
4. The Brazilian delegation was none the less more than ever convinced that it was unnecessary to study the bases of the question of factors or to digress into definitions. The criteria already listed satisfactorily met the purposes of the General Assembly in recommending the production of a list of factors which might serve as a guide to the Assembly in deciding whether to terminate the obligations imposed by Chapter XI of the Charter. The *Ad Hoc* Committee's report showed that the study of those factors had reached a point where no appreciable advance could be made. It was always

* Indicates the item number on the agenda of the General Assembly.

possible to make improvements to a work of that kind but any changes in the text or in the system would merely reflect personal preferences, and there was consequently a risk of inviting fresh differences of opinion rather than improving the chances of agreement. The Brazilian delegation had therefore been somewhat dismayed by the proposal to set up a third committee to prepare a third edition of the same list, on which fruitless discussions might continue *ad infinitum*.

5. If that vicious circle was to be broken, care should be taken not to attach undue importance to the list. It should be realized that political circumstances were bound to vary and would always resist the application of rigid methods and set principles. Consequently, the existing list could be considered good or bad only in so far as it fulfilled its purpose of serving as a reference and working document.

6. The main criteria which could be applied in judging the measure of self-government were well known to all. The obligations enumerated in Article 73 of the Charter could cease only when the people of a territory had themselves decided their future in full political freedom. Such a decision freely taken must necessarily bring the people in question to the status either of complete independence and admission into the United Nations or the status of association with a sovereign State. If the conditions of such association left the former dependent territory free to exercise political sovereignty within its own borders, the problem would cease to exist. It was not for the Fourth Committee to decide whether the choice of such association had been a wise one. It could only consider whether self-government in internal political affairs could lead to self-government in administrative, economic and social affairs. As long as a nation had no sovereign and absolute power within its borders, it would be useless to assert that the provisions of paragraph b of Article 73 of the Charter, which was the cornerstone of Chapter XI, had been applied. Such were the real criteria of the autonomy of a territory's population. The indications given by the list of factors were of a subsidiary nature and must never obscure the fundamental considerations.

7. The Brazilian delegation was therefore ready to support any draft resolution which would view the list of factors in that way and which would enable the list to be put to the test.

8. If the members of the Fourth Committee would analyse concrete cases objectively, differences on questions of principle would be greatly reduced and the resulting atmosphere of calm would be conducive to solutions in keeping with the spirit of the Charter and reflecting the aspirations of dependent peoples without prejudicing the just and legitimate interests of the Administering Members.

9. In that spirit the Brazilian delegation was formally submitting draft resolution A/C.4/L.272. Its aim was to reconcile the views expressed by several delegations at

recent meetings which were almost identical in several important respects with the views of the Brazilian delegation, particularly with regard to the manner of applying the factors. The draft resolution did not detract in any way from the value which those factors would have when it became necessary to decide the scope of the constitutional changes of which the United Nations was informed by Administering Members in accordance with resolution 222 (III), but it tried to define the spirit in which the newly-established political and juridical criteria should be applied and to stress their relative nature and the importance to be attached, in accordance with the principle stated in resolution 648 (VII), to the particular circumstances of each case.

10. It was true that resolution 648 (VII), in enumerating the basic considerations to be taken into account in the analysis of any situation where a full measure of self-government might be alleged to exist, had referred rather too vaguely to the right of peoples to determine their own future. Moreover, the list of factors had not emphasized sufficiently or exactly enough the importance of that criterion. Consequently, the Brazilian delegation had considered it advisable to give pride of place to a respect for the right of the populations concerned to choose their political status, when considering what evidence was required to support the claim that a full measure of self-government had been reached.

11. He felt sure that many delegations would share his views and would accept the solution proposed in the Brazilian draft. That text repeated paragraphs 3 and 4 of resolution 648 (VII) since it appeared essential to restate the principles contained in that resolution, particularly the principle of the indivisibility of autonomy, which was restated in paragraph 6 of document A/C.4/L.272. That notion was not contested in international or national law, but the Fourth Committee had placed on it certain restrictive interpretations which the Brazilian delegation could not accept. Full political responsibility was the very essence of the concept of self-government as expressed in Article 73 of the Charter. It was true that the idea could have been expressed less vaguely than in resolution 648 (VII), but a new text which in the last instance would merely repeat the same thing might well have given rise to further discussions on the meaning of words, without any practical result.

12. The Brazilian delegation left the revision of the list of factors to the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories which, under resolutions 334 (IV) and 448 (V), was the competent body for initial examination of the information required under resolution 222 (III). Naturally, any final decision must be taken by the General Assembly since a delegation of powers enabling the Committee on Information to have the final word in such questions would be contrary to the principle of the stratification of powers, which must be maintained. On the other hand, it was impossible to exaggerate the importance of the functions of the Committee on Information with regard to the preliminary study of any case of the cessation of the transmission of information required under Article 73 of the Charter. The Brazilian delegation was submitting its draft resolution because it was its sincere desire to give that Committee a sound working document.

13. The Brazilian delegation would welcome any amendment designed to give greater force, precision or clarity to its text; but a resolution such as it was proposing would gain nothing by being overburdened with details or subsidiary considerations.

14. Mr. RIFAI (Syria) recalled the earlier discussions on the matter and urged that a list should be drawn up of factors to serve as a guide in determining whether the obligations set forth in Article 73 e of the Charter still applied. Such guiding principles should not, of course, be regarded as immutable criteria. In that connexion his delegation approved paragraph 9 of document A/2428. No matter how varied the circumstances peculiar to the different territories, however, one factor remained constant: the freely-expressed will of the peoples.

15. His delegation had two general observations to make on the proposed list of factors. First, the list, which was satisfactory on the whole, had in it shortcomings and gaps which could be remedied without referring the text to an *ad hoc* committee. In that respect his delegation agreed with the Guatemalan and Yugoslav delegations that any amendment which would improve the list should be supported. Secondly, no definition could be of permanent value in a world that was rapidly changing. The list would therefore have to be revised as and when circumstances demanded. It could be sent to the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories, which could be guided by it and could draw attention to such imperfections as came to light in the course of its application.

16. The problem did not lie in the value of the list itself, which everybody agreed was to be considered solely as a guide, but in something more fundamental—the disagreement in the Fourth Committee on the interpretation of the obligations placed on Member States by Chapter XI. There was a fundamental difference of opinion between the Administering Members, on the one hand, which held that under Chapter XI it was their exclusive prerogative to say whether a territory was self-governing or not; and the non-administering Members, on the other, which maintained that under Chapter XI the General Assembly was clearly competent to adjudicate on that point. Syria took the latter view. It was not the exclusive prerogative of the Administering Member to decide whether a territory had or had not attained a full measure of self-government. Were it otherwise, the drafting of the list of factors under discussion would be a sheer waste of time and effort. His delegation did not wish to involve the Committee in a legal discussion, but felt called upon to reassert that the General Assembly could not shirk its collective responsibility towards the Non-Self-Governing Territories.

17. The Belgian representative had stated (322nd meeting) that it would not be logical to apply the list of factors to the cessation of the transmission of information referred to in Article 73 e of the Charter without also applying it to the commencement of the transmission of such information. He could hardly believe that the Belgian representative had thereby meant information on sovereign States, Members of the United Nations, and that he wished to apply the provisions of Chapter XI to such States. That would be stretching logic too far.

18. In the present eventful times, it was tragic to note that many countries still thought fit to prolong the discussion on the peoples' desire for freedom, as though what was only temporary could continue indefinitely. Men must pray God to give them the courage to endure what could not be changed and to change what could, and the wisdom to distinguish between the two.

19. Mr. BENITES VINUEZA (Ecuador) stated that the problem of determining the factors in question was

one of the most difficult ever placed before the General Assembly, for on its solution depended the realization of the hopes of millions of human beings living under subservience to foreign governments, although some Administering Members had striven to lead them to independence. Colonialism was an anachronism and the survival of the colonial idea could be only temporary.

20. His delegation reserved the right to submit observations on the draft resolution before the Committee. It would, for the present, confine itself to commenting on the report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee.

21. To begin with, he desired to congratulate the Committee on the work it had accomplished. The problem of factors comprised two distinct elements: on the one hand, the determination of the factors; on the other, the determination of criteria for their application. In regard to the second element, each specific case should be considered and decided on its own merits, and it went without saying that the list of factors could serve only for general guidance in arriving at a decision.

22. The *Ad Hoc* Committee had come to the conclusion in its report that it was not possible to find a satisfactory definition of the concept of a full measure of self government. That was a logical conclusion, for the task was an extremely difficult one, consisting first in analysing the features of self-government and then of making a synthesis of them. The *Ad Hoc* Committee had accomplished the first part of that task, but the list it proposed was not final because it was not complete. The principle of the self-determination of peoples and the principle of self-government were two intimately allied and inseparable concepts. Self-determination presupposed complete freedom. Any pressure would distort the principle of the right of peoples to self-determination. Accordingly, improvements should be made in the list of factors.

23. With regard to the application of the criteria, his delegation had no intention of evading the consideration of that burning problem. On the question which of the two—the Administering Members or the General Assembly—was competent to decide whether a territory had or had not attained a full measure of self-government, he stressed that by signing the Charter the Member States had assumed under Chapter XI, as under the other Chapters, a series of obligations constituting an indivisible whole. From the legal viewpoint, there could be no doubt as to the nature of the obligations under Chapter XI. According to the Administering Members, Chapter XI did not embody legal obligations but was a mere expression of goodwill, a moral declaration, as was clear from the very title of the Chapter: "Declaration regarding non-Self-Governing Territories". The French representative had stated (322nd meeting) that the criteria applied by certain delegations in resolving the question of competence were not legal but political, and he had asked what were the legal arguments it was intended to use in order to interpret Chapter XI as imposing obligations on the Administering Members. The reply was very clear. To begin with, the title of Chapter XI did not in any way change the legal nature of its content. The declaration was not unilateral; it appeared in the Charter, a legal instrument which a number of States had signed and which, for that reason, implied multilateral undertakings. The nature of those undertakings derived from the actual wording of Article 73, which spoke of Member States which had or assumed responsibilities for the administration of Non-Self-Governing Territories. The idea of responsibility excluded the possibility of unilateral action on the part

of the Administering Members. By signing the Charter, those Powers had agreed to report to the United Nations on their administration of the Non-Self-Governing Territories; they had recognized the principle that the interests of the inhabitants of the territories were paramount. It did not constitute an infringement of their sovereignty to invite them to fulfil their obligations, which would not end until the United Nations and the Administering Member concerned had jointly agreed that the provisions of Chapter XI had ceased to apply to a given Non-Self-Governing Territory. The General Assembly was therefore competent in the matter. Furthermore, delegations should not be reproached for invoking both legal and political criteria at one and the same time because the obligations under the Charter were implemented at one and the same time on the political and legal levels.

24. Mr. LYNKOV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) thought that if all States had strictly applied both the letter and the spirit of the Charter, and if the Administering Members had respected the provisions of Article 73 in their administration of the Non-Self-Governing Territories, the number of such territories would have dwindled daily. His delegation would have been the first to welcome such a development, because it would have been not the result of an arbitrary, unilateral decision unmatched by any *de facto* change in the condition of a Non-Self-Governing Territory, but evidence of the natural advancement of the peoples to self-government and independence. The Committee's discussions would have become pointless, and it would not have been necessary to draw up the list of factors which the Committee was now considering.

25. Such was not the case, and it was therefore important to draft a list of factors which, if applied, would prevent the Administering Members from arbitrarily ceasing to transmit the information referred to in Article 73. The list drafted by the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Factors was an advance in the right direction, but it was far from complete and certain improvements should be made. Moreover, some of the *Ad Hoc* Committee's conclusions were unacceptable. In particular, it should not be impossible to find a satisfactory definition of the concept of a full measure of self-government; the absence of such a definition was a serious shortcoming. The *Ad Hoc* Committee had not, therefore, fully discharged the duty the General Assembly had assigned to it.

26. His delegation was able to accept the factors enumerated in the first part of the list in principle, but was opposed to the adoption of those included in the second and third parts; those parts gave the Administering Members an opportunity to interpret and apply the factors in such a way as not to guarantee either the right of peoples to self-determination or their attainment of independence.

27. With regard to the question of competence, the problems of the Non-Self-Governing Territories were international problems. The Administering Members could not therefore unilaterally decide that a territory had attained a full measure of self-government, nor could they cease, on their own initiative, to transmit information on the territory. The Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic had made its position clear in a letter to the Secretary-General dated 29 April 1952 (A/AC.58/1/Add.2) that position was similar to that of the Soviet Union. In his delegation's opinion the Administering Members could not stop transmitting information until the Committee on Information from Non-Self-

Governing Territories, after studying developments in the territory concerned, had recommended to the General Assembly that Article 73 should cease to apply and until the territory in question had become a sovereign State in which the indigenous population fully exercised the executive, legislative and judicial power. It was useless for the Administering Members to try to give a restrictive interpretation to Chapter XI by alleging that the United Nations was not competent to adjudicate on the political advancement of a territory because the information referred to in Article 73 e related solely to economic, social and educational conditions. In point of fact, under Article 73 a the Administering Members were required to ensure the political advancement of the indigenous peoples.

28. Like the Polish delegation, his delegation wished the question of factors to proceed from the theoretical level, at which it had remained so far, to the practical level of specific decisions. It therefore considered the Belgian representative's view, as set forth in paragraph 40 (c) of document A/2428, unacceptable. It was convinced that a useful purpose would be served by continuing the work undertaken and clarifying and improving the list approved by the Committee, which had itself recognized that the list was by no means perfect.

29. In conclusion it was to be hoped that the list on which the Committee was working would make it possible to help the populations of the Non-Self-Governing Territories to attain independence.

30. Mr. ARAOZ (Bolivia) said that the progress made could be seen from the records of the meetings the various organs of the General Assembly had devoted to the question of factors and from the reports and decisions of those organs. It would seem that the international system drawn up for the benefit of Non-Self-Governing Territories might be applied in practice. The future of over 200 million people was bound up with that of the United Nations. Obligations under the Charter could not be nullified by a unilateral decision which certain States had taken solely on the basis of their own interests. The General Assembly was competent in the matter and could lead the dependent peoples toward the objective laid down in the Charter.

31. The list of factors drawn up by the *Ad Hoc* Committee was not final. In approving it, the Fourth Committee would merely be reaffirming the need for practical use of the criteria contained in the report in order to take a better-founded decision in each case. The list was a guide and each case should be dealt with in the light of its own circumstances, including historical circumstances. The Bolivian delegation would support any proposal to continue United Nations supervision until the objectives laid down in Chapter XI had been achieved and peoples subjected to colonial oppression for centuries had become completely self-governing.

32. Definition of the concept of full self-government was the first stage to be reached. The nations represented in the United Nations were able to maintain their national unity because they enjoyed not only economic and social independence, but also political independence. It was erroneous to allege that the application of economic and social criteria was enough to determine whether a territory was fully self-governing. Political independence was a prerequisite of economic and social independence. The peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories should determine their future for themselves, with the assistance of the Administering Members and the United Nations. The list drawn up by the *Ad Hoc*

Committee contained criteria relating to political conditions which seemed to constitute a definition of the concept of full self-government. Agreement seemed to have been reached on that point.

33. Among the criteria which the Assembly had to apply, there was one to which the Bolivian delegation attached great importance, that of respect for the principle of the right of peoples to self-determination. That right was understood to be the achievement of the aspirations of a large majority and not the prerogative of small minorities representing foreign interests. The criterion relating to universal suffrage therefore seemed to be especially important, since universal suffrage enabled the whole population to express its will freely, without any discrimination whatsoever. In that connexion, universal suffrage must not be restricted by introducing the concept of "educational opportunities" referred to in sub-paragraph (c) of point C in paragraph 15 of the report because that might enable minorities to interfere with the development desired by the population as a whole.

34. The Bolivian delegation was prepared to accept the list of factors drawn up by the *Ad Hoc* Committee. Nevertheless, it did not consider that the Fourth Committee's task would stop there. The problem was closely connected with that of the cessation of the transmission of information. It was for the General Assembly to decide. He would therefore support the proposal made by the Mexican representative at the 322nd meeting for the requirements of national defence must not lead to measures contrary to the principle of sovereignty.

35. With regard to the title of the second part of the list, the word "continuing", which was used to describe the association of the territory with the metropolitan country, should be deleted. The population should remain free to express, by democratic means and without any pressure, its views on the form of government it wished; that was implied in respect for the right of people to self-determination.

36. Finally, Mr. Araoz said that he would support the Guatemalan representative's suggestion, contained in paragraph 28 of the *Ad Hoc* Committee's report.

37. The United Nations must be on the watch and must work out the principles which would promote the non-self-governing peoples' attainment of full self-government. Bolivia was the more prepared to help in that work because, in the same spirit, it had undertaken, together with other Latin-American countries, to struggle for as long as was necessary to achieve the independence of the populations of the regions of Latin America which were still occupied by Powers foreign to the Latin-American cultural sphere.

38. The arguments which the Belgian representative had used with such acumen to defend his theory could only add to the complexity of the problem before the Committee, and were legally unfounded. Moreover, there was an obvious contradiction between sub-paragraph (b) and sub-paragraph (e) of paragraph 40 of document A/2428, where the Belgian delegation's thesis was stated. The Bolivian delegation could not admit the principle of applying the provisions of Chapter XI to metropolitan territories because that principle was absolutely incompatible with its own national traditions and with the spirit of the Charter, which made it incumbent on every Member State to respect the great concepts of non-interference in the internal affairs of States, of the right of peoples to self-determination and of freedom. In no case should a sovereign State

agree that its metropolitan territory should be subject to the provisions of Chapter XI of the Charter. Bolivia, which was pursuing its struggle towards economic independence, would never allow itself to be regarded as a colony or territory.

39. In a spirit of co-operation, the Bolivian delegation was prepared to consider favourably any draft resolution or amendment which would take account of the principles he had stated.

40. Mr. FERNANDEZ (Uruguay) pointed out that the problem the Committee was endeavouring to solve was noteworthy both for its importance and for its complexity. The fate of 200 million people was involved and the United Nations had devoted years of study to the problem without being able to find a solution satisfactory to all.

41. General Assembly resolution 66 (I) listed seventy-four territories with respect to which the Administering Members had undertaken to transmit information. That number had subsequently decreased, but the Administering Members had not seen fit to indicate why the territories concerned no longer came within the scope of Chapter XI of the Charter. It was, of course, desirable that the number of Non-Self-Governing Territories should steadily decrease, in so far as the cessation of the transmission of information really meant that those territories had attained independence or self-government and were occupying their rightful place in the community of nations. Nevertheless, it was plainly the duty of the United Nations to ensure that a Non-Self-Governing Territory was not unduly deprived of international protection. Anxiety on that score should not be taken as signifying distrust of the Administering Members, but rather as an expression of the General Assembly's zeal in putting the principles proclaimed in the Charter into practice. It was precisely with a view to helping the General Assembly and the Administering Members to perform their tasks as satisfactorily as possible that a list of factors should be established which could serve as a guide in determining whether a territory had attained self-government.

42. The drawing up of a list of such factors raised two separate problems: the compilation of the list proper and the selection of the authority which was to decide whether a territory was self-governing. The Administering Members claimed that they had exclusive competence in the matter and that they alone could decide whether to continue or to cease transmitting information concerning the territory. It had always been the Uruguayan delegation's view, stated in the Fourth Committee (216th meeting) by Mr. Mattos as early as the sixth session, that the United Nations, and particularly the General Assembly, should examine the situation in a given territory with a view to deciding whether it had attained self-government; it was inadmissible that the Power administering the territory should be able to decide the question unilaterally. By assuming the obligations set out in Chapter XI, the administering Powers had recognized the competence of the international Organization. Moreover, the United Nations had assumed the task of helping the peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories to attain their freedom by democratic and peaceful means.

43. It was therefore the right and the duty of the United Nations most carefully to examine the constitutional reasons advanced by a Power responsible for the administration of a Non-Self-Governing Territory as grounds for ceasing to transmit information concerning that territory. Chapter XI would become completely

meaningless if an Administering Member were able unilaterally to withdraw from the obligation it had assumed.

44. He wished to assert once again that the theory of the universality of Chapter XI had no legal value. Article 74 of the Charter made a very clear distinction between Non-Self-Governing Territories and metropolitan territories. Clearly, therefore, in drafting Article 73, the authors of the Charter had at all times had only the non-metropolitan territories in mind. The theory of universality was unacceptable; it could not be applied in determining either the territories towards which obligations existed under Article 73, or the factors by which the purpose of those obligations could be clearly defined.

45. Referring to the list of factors in document A/2428, he wished to congratulate the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the care and intelligence with which it had performed its task. As the situation varied considerably from one territory to another, it was impossible to establish criteria which would apply rigidly to all Non-Self-Governing Territories; hence, the list of factors should, as the *Ad Hoc* Committee stated in paragraphs 9 and 13 of its report, merely serve as a guide permitting consideration of each concrete case in the light of the particular circumstances of that case. While his delegation had no basic objection to the list of factors proper, it was nevertheless prepared to support any proposal aimed at improving the list.

46. He reserved his delegation's right to speak on that subject in the course of the discussion.

47. Mr. CALLE Y CALLE (Peru) supported the Brazilian draft resolution (A/C.4/L.272), the operative part of which, and particularly paragraphs 3, 4 and 6, embodied eminently acceptable principles. A number of considerations should be borne in mind when studying the draft.

48. First, Article 73 of the Charter and the obligations it imposed could not be affected by the adoption of the list of factors. Secondly, the *Ad Hoc* Committee had studied the possibility of defining the concept of a full measure of self-government and not of defining self-government proper. Thirdly, while each of the factors enumerated in the list represented one aspect of a full measure of self-government, all the factors so listed could not altogether be regarded as constituting a final definition of a full measure of self-government. Fourthly, the fact that the list was in three parts by no means meant that there were three or more systems of self-government; in fact, self-government was indivisible. Fifthly, the list should be entitled: "Factors indicative of the attainment of a full measure of self-government", since there could be no independence, continuing association or free association unless a territory had attained a full measure of self-government. If, on the other hand, it was thought that a full measure of self-government was achieved only with independence, the list should refer to other "degrees" rather than to other "systems", of self-government. Sixthly, the voluntary limitation of sovereignty, as a number of delegations had pointed out, was an attribute of a full measure of self-government and certain systems of association could come about at the very moment when the territory attained self-government.

49. In short, the list before the Committee contained no major improvements as compared with the previous list, given in the annex to resolution 648 (VII). In view of the further fact that the *Ad Hoc* Committee had failed to establish a definition of the concept of

a full measure of self-government, the Peruvian delegation could not give final, but merely provisional, approval to the current list as a body of guiding principles.

50. His delegation reserved the right to speak again later.

51. Mr. L. S. BOKHARI (Pakistan) considered that the discussion had shown that it was pointless at that stage to carry the study of the question of factors any further and that it would be sufficient to amend the existing list if examination of a particular case so required. The Brazilian draft resolution would not appear to be controversial and the Pakistani delegation intended to support it. It was clear from the discussions, both at the current session and at previous sessions, that there was a wide divergence of views between the Administering Members and the other Member States with regard to the interpretation of the Charter. It was time to settle that disagreement, and the Pakistani delegation accordingly called upon the Administering Members to undertake to continue the transmission of information

if the United Nations, after examining the relevant documents, decided that a particular territory had not yet attained a full measure of self-government. He appealed to the good will of the Administering Members and assured them that the United Nations was well aware that it was impossible to apply rigid criteria to each individual case. Relations between individuals as well as between communities, especially political relations, were in a constant state of change. The Administering Members could be sure that the United Nations would examine each case with the greatest impartiality. If, however, they were unable, for reasons which the Pakistani delegation failed to see, to act on its proposal and to trust the United Nations, the opposing parties would have to be referred to the highest existing court, the International Court of Justice.

52. The CHAIRMAN said that he proposed to close the list of speakers at the next meeting.

The meeting rose at 12.30 p.m.

United Nations
**GENERAL
ASSEMBLY**

EIGHTH SESSION

Official Records



FOURTH COMMITTEE, 326th

MEETING

**Tuesday, 6 October 1953,
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C O N T E N T S

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Factors which should be taken into account in deciding whether a territory is or is not a territory whose people have not yet attained a full measure of self-government: report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Factors (Non-Self-Governing Territories) (*continued*)..... 61

Chairman: Mr. Santiago PEREZ PEREZ (Venezuela).

Factors which should be taken into account in deciding whether a territory is or is not a territory whose people have not yet attained a full measure of self-government: report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Factors (Non-Self-Governing Territories) (A/2428, A/C.4/L.272, A/C.4/L.273) (*continued*)

[Item 33]*

1. The CHAIRMAN invited the Committee to continue the discussion of the report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Factors (Non-Self-Governing Territories) (A/2428). A number of amendments to the Brazilian draft resolution (A/C.4/L.272) were proposed by the delegations of Bolivia, Egypt, Guatemala, Indonesia, Iraq, Mexico, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Venezuela, Yemen and Yugoslavia and were set out in document A/C.4/L.273. Delegations wishing to propose further amendments could do so until the close of the following meeting.

2. Ato Katama ABEBE (Ethiopia) considered that all Member States which had subscribed to the Charter had thereby undertaken to co-operate with a view to ensuring that the peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories gained the freedom and political independence promised them in Chapter XI. The Administering Members were therefore not competent to take unilateral decisions in the matter. The aspirations of the peoples for complete self-government were still far from satisfied in full; the establishment of the list of factors was one of the stages in the process which was to lead to a full measure of self-government for all the peoples of the world.

3. His delegation regretted that the *Ad Hoc* Committee had failed to find a satisfactory definition of the concept of a full measure of self-government within the meaning of Chapter XI of the Charter; it agreed, however, that the absence of such a definition was not a serious disadvantage, since in the examination of any particular case the concept would emerge in its practical application to the facts of that case.

4. As regards the right of peoples to self-determination, point E of paragraph 15 of the *Ad Hoc* Committee's report was very important since an assurance that the views of the population concerned would be respected could alone guarantee the full exercise of that right.

5. Some Administering Members had declared that they had granted self-government to some of the territories under their control and that they therefore no longer had the responsibility of transmitting the information referred to in Article 73 e of the Charter. In such cases, well-defined criteria were necessary to determine whether or not a territory really had attained a full measure of self-government. It was also essential that the United Nations should have not only the right but the duty to apply those criteria to each individual case and then to reach a decision.

6. His delegation wished, furthermore, to refute the argument that the provisions of Chapter XI could apply to the metropolitan territories of sovereign States.

7. In conclusion, he considered that the existing list of factors constituted a satisfactory body of guiding principles. It would only be necessary to apply those principles to discover whether modifications were necessary. There was therefore no reason why the Committee should not adopt the list without further delay.

8. The Ethiopian delegation would support the Brazilian draft resolution (A/C.4/L.272) or any similar draft resolution.

9. Mr. RIVAS (Venezuela) deplored the fact that two opposing groups, apparently irreconcilable in their views—at any rate on the question of defining the concept of a full measure of self-government and of determining whether it was for the General Assembly to decide that a territory had attained self-government—were engaged in controversy in the Committee, thereby weakening that spirit of unity without which Chapter XI could not have been drafted at the San Francisco Conference. Abandoning the sensible and generous attitude they had adopted during the drafting of the Charter, the administering Powers were endeavouring to introduce a narrow interpretation of the provisions of Chapter XI for which there was no justification either in the letter or in the spirit of that Chapter. It was legitimate, therefore, to conclude that the administering Powers were actuated by motives alien to the Charter and because of them were advancing once again arguments regarded as completely outworn: self-government alone would not ensure the well-being of the peoples of a territory, while independence could be a disaster for countries not yet able to enjoy it. Forgetful of the great danger which had threatened their own independence during the Second World War, those Powers appeared bent on infringing the independence of certain sovereign States which they did not hesitate to place on the same plane as colonies or protectorates. That survival of colonialism was directly contrary to the provisions of Article 2, paragraph 4,

* Indicates the item number on the agenda of the General Assembly.

of the Charter. Moreover, in invoking Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter to deny the United Nations any competence in matters concerning the fate of a Non-Self-Governing Territory, the Administering Members were ignoring the fact that when Chapter XI had been adopted, it had been understood that matters relating to the Non-Self-Governing Territories did not come within the scope of that paragraph.

10. Nothing could demonstrate more clearly the fallacy of the argument that self-government in the economic, social and educational spheres constituted a full measure of self-government within the meaning of Chapter XI than the conclusions reached by the various committees that had studied the question in 1951 and again in 1952 and 1953. Each of those committees, composed of an equal number of administering and non-administering Powers—a fact which set a valuable seal of impartiality on their views—had declared that a territory which enjoyed self-government in all spheres of public life except the political sphere could not belong to any of the three categories into which territories which had attained a full measure of self-government were divided. Moreover, in 1953 the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Factors had stated, in reply to a question by the Netherlands Government, that there could be no provision for a fourth category of completely self-governing territories to include territories which did not enjoy self-government in the political sphere though enjoying it in economic, social and cultural matters. The reason for that was clear: so long as a territory did not satisfy the conditions laid down in paragraphs a, b, c, d and e of Article 73 it could not be considered to have attained a full measure of self-government and the Administering Member responsible for it continued to be bound by its obligations under Chapter XI. Those obligations were not, as certain Powers would make out, either unilateral or exclusively moral. It was anachronistic in the twentieth century to believe that an agreement could be concluded with an abstract entity; to be objective and valid, international law had to be applied and enforced by a concrete agency which, in the case in question, was the United Nations. Consequently, the United Nations General Assembly was competent to determine in each individual case whether a territory continued to come within the scope of Chapter XI or had attained a full measure of self-government. According to certain delegations the fact that the Administering Members had been instructed to draw up the list of territories contained in General Assembly resolution 66 (I) proved that the General Assembly had recognized the exclusive competence of those Powers. That list, however, had been purely provisional until the General Assembly had confirmed it in its resolution 66 (I); it was designed merely to facilitate the Assembly's work. It was significant that that list included only the territories with regard to which certain stronger, more ingenious States had assumed exclusive competence, without granting them the same rights as the metropolitan territories.

11. It was to those less fortunate countries that the provisions of Chapter XI applied: they could not be extended to other territories without endangering the security and sovereignty of the small countries. It was to avert that threat that at Bogotá in 1948 the Ninth International Conference of American States had adopted resolution XXXIII in which it declared that the process of the emancipation of America would not be complete so long as there remained on the continent a vestige of the European colonial régime. There

could be no question that in other parts of the world where colonies and protectorates still existed the small Powers shared the same views, if not the same apprehension. It was undeniable also that those Powers would be able to co-operate much more fruitfully with the United Nations if the great Powers, and more especially the European Powers, approached that political problem in the spirit of good faith and constructive co-operation which had inspired them at San Francisco.

12. Since the First World War a number of Powers had conquered defenceless peoples or had created States whose independence was wholly fictitious. At the present time, however, the world realized much more clearly than at the time of the League of Nations that the task of promoting the advancement of the peoples of territories other than sovereign States was a matter for the whole body of civilized nations which were Members of the United Nations. As Marshal Smuts had declared at San Francisco, the international Organization's right of supervision should extend even to the colonies and protectorates of the countries which had vanquished the Axis Powers.

13. Chapter XI of the Charter represented an important stage in the process which was to lead all the peoples to freedom, since it was inconceivable that weak countries should be converted into colonies.

14. It was time to conclude the study of factors. The current list was virtually identical with that drawn up in 1952 (resolution 648 (VII), annex). Any prolongation of the discussion gave the Administering Members the opportunity to make statements threatening the independence of the small countries which were still struggling to throw off the last vestiges of colonialism. The amendments contained in document A/C.4/L.273 were based exclusively on the principles proclaimed in the Charter; hence, they could not fail to win the approval of those Member States which did not wish to go beyond the scope of the international convention they had signed.

15. In conclusion, he pointed out how dangerous it might be to delay the solution of certain problems, and especially that of the political development of the peoples of the Non-Self-Governing and Trust Territories, since those problems might then become acute and provoke grave crises.

16. Mr. JUSTINIANO (Chile) said that his delegation congratulated the *Ad Hoc* Committee and unreservedly approved its report. It was ready to accept any proposal enabling the provisions of the Charter to be applied more effectively. Despite what some delegations had said, the Charter, and in particular Chapter XI, clearly defined the obligations of the Administering Members, and there was not the least doubt that those obligations were legal and not merely moral. Chapter XI of the Charter also made unequivocally clear that the Administering Members were not exclusively entitled to decide whether a territory had or had not obtained a full measure of self-government.

17. The Chilean delegation regretted that some Administering Members, through an unjustified interpretation of Chapter XI, were attempting to extend the provisions of that chapter to countries which were formerly colonies. He referred especially to the arguments of the Belgian representative, in paragraph 40 of document A/2428. At the end of the First World War, the possessions of Germany and Turkey had lost their status as colonies and had been entrusted to the victor nations in order to put an end to the

partitioning of Africa and certain areas of Asia. Those former colonies had been made mandated territories, which had been designed as "A", "B" or "C" mandates according to the level of civilization attained by the people. The level of civilization existing in a sovereign State or a part of its territory could not be adopted as a valid basis for asserting that such State came under the provisions of Chapter XI of the Charter. The Chilean delegation accordingly rejected any attempt to set up a comparison between the populations of Non-Self-Governing Territories and the indigenous populations of Latin America, irrespective of the level of civilization of the latter. In Chile, moreover, the problem of indigenous populations did not exist.

18. Lord HUDSON (United Kingdom) said that in the opinion of his delegation the report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee should be accepted and that no further study of the list of factors should be entrusted to a specially appointed body. The Brazilian draft resolution, to the extent that it set out the same conclusions, could be supported by the United Kingdom delegation, but that draft unfortunately contained a number of elements which the United Kingdom Government could not accept.

19. There was room for doubt, for example, concerning the true meaning of the statement in paragraph 6 of the operative part that "it is essential that its people shall have attained a full measure of self-government," because the *Ad Hoc* Committee had not succeeded in satisfactorily defining the term "a full measure of self-government". There was a danger that that paragraph could in practice support interpretations which the Government of the United Kingdom could not accept. When an administering Power and the people of a Non-Self-Governing Territory, by processes well established in law, jointly agreed that the government of the territory should take over full responsibility for certain fields of administration, or that the territory should become self-governing or independent, then that decision should be accepted as final, and it entailed as a necessary consequence that the transmission of information under Article 73 e should cease, since the relationship between the territory and the metropolitan government was no longer governed by the provisions of that article. In the case, moreover, of a territory attaining self-government by stages, a point might be reached when information to be transmitted under Article 73 e would relate to fields that were no longer within the jurisdiction of the administering Power, but it was unlikely that in the circumstances the administering Power would maintain that the territory is in question for that reason no longer fell within the scope of the remainder of Article 73. That was the main objection of the United Kingdom delegation to the Brazilian proposal.

20. He added that despite the skill with which paragraph 3 had been drafted, the United Kingdom delegation could not accept the principle that a decision whether a territory did or did not come under the provisions of Chapter XI of the Charter rested equally with the Administering Member and the Assembly. It was quite clear that the Administering Member should take the initial decision; the General Assembly would be wise to accept that decision after due explanations had been given. It was true that the objectives of the Administering Members and of the General Assembly with regard to Chapter XI were identical, but, in spite of the provisions of paragraph 5, it was to be feared that the Brazilian draft resolution would create the

impression that the Assembly was seeking to interpose some veto on the attainment of self-government by Non-Self-Governing Territories.

21. The United Kingdom delegation also regretted the inclusion in paragraph 4 of the words "the people concerned has exercised its rights to self-determination". That phrase was ill-defined and should be deleted.

22. It was, moreover, superfluous that the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories should be permanently entrusted with studying relevant documentation in the light of the list of factors, as was proposed in paragraph 7.

23. The United Kingdom delegation would vote on the various paragraphs of the Brazilian draft resolution and on the resolution as a whole in the light of the views just expressed.

24. Mr. KAISR (Czechoslovakia) said that the arbitrary decision by the Administering Members to cease transmitting information on conditions in some Non-Self-Governing Territories and the frequent violation of the principles of the Charter, especially of Article 73 e, by those Members had obliged the General Assembly to seek some means of preventing them from taking unilateral decisions in the matter at hand. The means had been the list of factors.

25. The Czechoslovak delegation believed that such a list would never have more than a somewhat theoretical value, even though it were faultless in all respects. It would be productive of practical results only through the concrete application of the factors in each particular case in the light of the objective to be attained, namely the realization of the incontestable right of the people to self-determination. As clearly indicated in resolution 648 (VII), the list of factors was not intended to prevent Non-Self-Governing Territories from attaining a full measure of self-government but, on the contrary, was designed to serve as a guide capable of furthering progress towards self-government and independence and to prevent the administering Powers from arbitrarily and unilaterally changing the status of the Non-Self-Governing Territories. That was why the Czechoslovak Government regarded the drafting of a list of factors as a relatively useful idea.

26. The Czechoslovak delegation had carefully examined the list of factors prepared by the *Ad Hoc* Committee, as provided in resolution 648 (VII). It noted with regret that the so-called new list differed very little from the old one, and thought it should try to find out why that was so. The ten members of the *Ad Hoc* Committee included five administering Powers who, as document A/2428 proved, had exerted considerable effort to weaken the meaning and scope of the factors as much as possible. The membership of the *Ad Hoc* Committee had thus been one of the principal obstacles preventing the Committee from working more efficiently and obtaining more satisfactory results.

27. The Czechoslovak delegation did not regard the list of factors as a rule which could be applied automatically. It regarded the list as a sort of guide, and had observed during the lengthy debate on the question in the Fourth Committee that the same opinion was shared by most delegations, with the sole exception of the Administering Members.

28. The Czechoslovak delegation believed, like several other delegations, that Article 73 of the Charter formed a unit and as such constituted an obligation upon all

Member States without exception. The Administering Members were therefore not justified in regarding paragraph e of that article as merely a formal declaration, because it was a positive rule of law and consequently binding on them.

29. It logically followed that the decision whether a territory referred to in Chapter XI of the Charter had or had not attained a full measure of self-government did not rest exclusively with the Administering Members. The taking of such a decision was, first and foremost, the right and duty of every Member of the United Nations. The list of factors would accordingly be useful in enabling the General Assembly to take decisions of that kind, which it, and it alone, should take.

30. Passing on to a detailed examination of the list of factors set out in document A/2428, he found it necessary to object to some points.

31. The title of the second part contained the words "continuing association" of the territory with the metropolitan country. Resolution 648 (VII) stated clearly, however, that the list of factors should in no way be a hindrance to the attainment of self-government by the territories. The word "continuing" used in the title was neither logical nor appropriate, because in some cases its interpretation might be a hindrance to the attainment of self-government by a particular territory. Even taking for granted the improbable case in which the people of a Non-Self-Governing Territory would, without intervention or pressure, freely renounce their complete independence in order to be freely associated with the metropolitan country, it was inconceivable that the people in question could agree that the association should have a continuing character, because they would thus be renouncing independence for all time.

32. The Czechoslovak delegation could not unreservedly accept factor A.1 of the second part of the list of factors. The drafting of that factor was also inappropriate, since the fact that the people of a territory were asking for self-government and independence was in itself sufficient evidence of their political maturity and any criterion other than a freely expressed desire for a full measure of independence and self-government which might eventually be used for interpreting factor A.1 could easily be a hindrance to the attainment of self-government and independence by the territory concerned.

33. The second and third parts of the list of factors contained criteria which permitted interference by one country in the internal affairs of another. Such criteria were in contradiction with the right of self-determination of peoples and with the concept of a full measure of self-government, a concept for which the *Ad Hoc* Committee, as stated in paragraph 11 of document A/2428, could not find a satisfactory definition.

34. He wondered whether the factors presented by the *Ad Hoc* Committee could not be improved through a more thorough study by a body which could provide a better guarantee of impartiality. The various delegations which had participated in the debate had, by their statements, already shown that such a procedure was possible. In those circumstances the Czechoslovak delegation would support any proposal to improve, revise and clarify the factors before finally adopting them.

35. Thus his delegation was prepared to accept the first part of the list of factors proposed in document

A/2428, but it could not accept the second and third parts of that list; it asked, therefore, that the three parts of the list should be voted upon separately.

36. With regard to the draft resolution submitted by the delegation of Brazil the Czechoslovak delegation likewise requested that each paragraph should be voted upon separately. It was prepared to vote for paragraphs 1, 4, 5, 6 and 8 of the operative part, but would be obliged to vote against paragraphs 2, 3 and 7, because the second and third parts of the list did not seem to accomplish their purpose. It accepted the first three paragraphs of the preamble but objected to the fourth, because the list of factors presented did not seem to correspond satisfactorily with the intentions of the General Assembly as expressed in resolution 648 (VII), especially paragraphs 6 and 7 of that resolution.

37. The Czechoslovak delegation therefore requested that the draft resolution submitted by Brazil (A/C.4/272) should be voted upon paragraph by paragraph.

38. Mr. ITANI (Lebanon) felt that it was not surprising that all the previous speakers had stressed the exceptional importance of the question of factors, since it was so closely connected with the freedom of peoples generally. Lebanon, which had always defended the right of peoples to self-determination and raised its voice in support of freedom for all the countries of the world, was bound to adopt a position in keeping with its past and its traditions.

39. The study of factors had been decided upon by the General Assembly because certain Administering Members had ceased to transmit information on thirteen Non-Self-Governing Territories. Those Members had thus taken a unilateral decision in regard to those territories, although the responsibilities they had assumed were of an international character and could not legally be discontinued except in pursuance of a decision of the General Assembly.

40. The purpose of Chapter XI of the Charter was, above all, to determine the special relations which must exist between the United Nations and the Non-Self-Governing Territories. Unless one wished to depart from the letter and spirit of Article 73 of the Charter, the Administering Members were far from exclusively competent to decide whether a Non-Self-Governing Territory had attained a full measure of self-government.

41. Turning to the list of factors proposed by the *Ad Hoc* Committee, he said that the Lebanese delegation wished to make certain general comments, while reserving its Government's position in relation to any amendment or proposal which might come before the Committee.

42. First, the opinion of the inhabitants of the Non-Self-Governing Territories should be the deciding factor. For that reason, the Lebanese delegation expressed formal reservations in regard to such expressions as "association", "assimilation", "incorporation" or "annexation", particularly where there were differences of race, language, religion, culture and so forth.

43. Secondly, it was of paramount importance to specify the procedure which had to be followed in applying the list of factors; indeed, if the Administering Members did not declare that they were immediately ready to respect the decisions of the Assembly, in accordance with the list, all the work of the *Ad Hoc* Committee would have been a sheer waste of time, and

the prestige of the United Nations would have been severely lowered.

44. Thirdly, it was very difficult, if not impossible, to frame a complete and final definition of the notion of full self-government. For that reason the list of factors was merely an indication and guide, which it was for the Assembly to complete when fresh circumstances so required.

45. Fourthly, though conscious of the need to introduce certain additional elements into the list, the Lebanese delegation wished to thank the *Ad Hoc* Committee for the efforts which the latter had made and which had resulted in the document before the Fourth Committee.

46. Fifthly, the Lebanese delegation called on the Members concerned, in conformity with their liberal traditions, not to fail in the obligations they had assumed when they had acceded to the Charter, but to endeavour to strengthen international collaboration, the brotherhood of peoples and the prestige of the United Nations. If they did so, it would be possible to end the present deadlock and to attain the objective of Article 73 of the Charter.

47. He did not wish to enter upon a detailed examination of the proposed factors because that list required improvement. He considered that the essential condition was to give proof of good faith, and show a sincere desire to solve the question in accordance with international law and the right of peoples to self-determination, setting aside all economic and political interests which might prevent the complete, sincere, and resolute application of Article 73 of the Charter.

48. Mr. NAUDE (Union of South Africa) said that his delegation had not intended to take part in the present debate, but in view of the discussion which had taken place, he felt bound at least to compliment the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the work which it had accomplished, particularly since the notions with which it had had to deal were not capable of definition.

49. His delegation had hoped, after the view originally expressed, that it would not be necessary to propose that the General Assembly should take a formal decision on the list of factors. Unfortunately, the question of competence had been introduced and, in the view of his delegation, had become the principal element in the discussion. The proposed amendments to the Brazilian draft resolution confirmed that opinion.

50. In the present circumstances, his delegation felt that the tendency to introduce the question of competence was not likely to assist the Fourth Committee in successfully completing its work by drafting a text acceptable to all.

51. In the past the South African delegation had on many occasions been obliged to draw attention to the dangers of submitting amendments by interpretation. He regretted that the Fourth Committee was now faced with a case of that nature. It was a serious situation.

52. The Union of South Africa considered that it was exclusively for the Administering Members to decide whether the territories administered by them had attained self-government in the matters listed in Article 73 e. His delegation understood the lofty ideals inspiring those delegations which desired a specific list of factors. It was, however, worth observing that the United Nations was not a world parliament. Nevertheless, the law which governed the

Organization, namely the Charter, seemed to his delegation to be as clear as possible.

53. It was therefore important that the Fourth Committee should give the matter mature consideration, before reaching any decision as to the action to be taken to implement the submitted list of factors.

54. Mr. WORM-MULLER (Norway) stated that the Norwegian Government regarded the development of self-government in Non-Self-Governing Territories as a question of primary importance, and public opinion in Norway strongly supported the emancipation of the peoples of those territories. It was therefore incumbent on the Assembly to take every appropriate step to speed such development.

55. The matter should be regarded from a practical angle. The first step had been taken in San Francisco when Chapter XI was drafted. Under that chapter the Administering Members had accepted a sacred trust. The obligation to transmit information in accordance with Article 73 e provided an incentive to improve conditions in the territories administered. Every Administering Member felt in honour bound to prove that constructive steps had been taken to that end.

56. It was in the interests of the Non-Self-Governing Territories that there should exist a feeling of mutual confidence between the Administering Members and the organs of the United Nations which dealt particularly with those subjects. If there were distrust, the Non-Self-Governing Territories would derive little benefit.

57. It appeared evident that there were sharply divided opinions in the Fourth Committee, and that the Administering Members could not be expected to vote for the draft resolution submitted by the Brazilian delegation. He referred in particular to the statement made earlier in the meeting by the representative of the United Kingdom.

58. Since it had not been possible to find a generally acceptable compromise resolution, it seemed best for the continued close collaboration within the Committee and in the interests of the Non-Self-Governing Territories to lay aside the controversial questions of principle and to proceed to take appropriate decisions concerning the report on factors which had been submitted to the Committee.

59. His delegation could not, therefore, vote for the draft resolution submitted by the Brazilian delegation.

60. Mr. RYCKMANS (Belgium) said that he wished to remove the misunderstanding which seemed to have arisen at the previous meeting, particularly between the representative of Bolivia and himself.

61. The Bolivian representative had pointed out what he regarded as a contradiction in the reservations made by the Belgian representative in the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Factors. According to the former, the Belgian representative had admitted in paragraph 40 (a) of document A/2428 that Chapter XI of the Charter applied only to colonies and protectorates, but had said in paragraph 40 (e) that the same chapter applied to many peoples in sovereign territories.

62. In fact, the Belgian reservations did not state that Chapter XI applied only to the peoples of colonies and protectorates. On the contrary, the very object of those reservations had been to point out that the expressions "territories whose people have not yet attained a full measure of self-government" on the one hand, and "colonies and protectorates" on the other, were not synonymous. The only definition which the

Charter gave of the peoples to whom the protection of Chapter XI extended was in Article 73. The words "colony" and "protectorate" were not to be found in that article, which simply said: "territories whose peoples have not yet attained a full measure of self-government", without making any further distinction. That article could be given a wide interpretation, and also a narrow one. The wide interpretation extended the protection of the Charter to the peoples of all territories whose inhabitants had not a full measure of self-government, whether such territories were included within the continental boundaries of a state or situated overseas. It was that wide interpretation which Belgium adopted and proposed. The other interpretation was restrictive. It limited the application of Chapter XI to the overseas territories of certain so-called "colonial Powers". It deprived all other backward peoples of international protection.

63. None would dispute that there were non-self-governing peoples outside of the colonies, protectorates, and Trust Territories. The memoranda submitted by the Belgian delegation (A/AC.58/1, A/AC.67/2) had listed an impressive number of such peoples. For example, it was beyond doubt that peoples living in a state of complete savagery, without any contact with civilized peoples, were not enjoying full self-government within the meaning of the Charter.

64. The representative of Uruguay had said, at the previous meeting, that the authors of the Charter had never intended Chapter XI to extend to peoples who were not fully self-governing but lived within the frontiers of sovereign States.

65. That was not the right approach to the question. Indigenous peoples, in all territories without distinction, had been included in the protective provisions of the Covenant of the League of Nations. All the Members of the League had solemnly undertaken to ensure fair treatment for all indigenous peoples living throughout their territories, whether metropolitan or colonial, continental or overseas. The wide interpretation of Article 73 maintained that notion of universal protection of indigenous peoples; the restrictive interpretation withdrew it from a large number. The question, therefore, was whether the supporters of the restrictive interpretation wished to exclude from the protection of the Charter peoples who had for twenty-five years enjoyed the protection guaranteed by Article 23 of the League of Nations Covenant, and whether those among them who had also signed that Covenant wished to repudiate their solemn undertakings and refuse to accept the same obligations under the United Nations Charter. If the answer was in the affirmative, his delegation asked that they should admit it. It would also ask them to explain the reason for that retrograde step. Had the indigenous peoples in metropolitan territories been less worthy of interest in 1945 than in 1919? Had the United Nations wished to deprive them of the protection which the League of Nations had accorded them? In the Belgian delegation's view, the answer to both questions was in the negative. The restrictive interpretation of Article 73, imputing to the words "territories whose peoples have not yet attained a full measure of self-government" the meaning of "peoples of colonial territories alone", gave an affirmative answer. His delegation asked each Member State to make its choice.

66. At the previous meeting, the Syrian representative had asked, with irony, whether the Belgian delegation had in mind those dependent territories which

were falsely represented as self-governing. His reply, without irony, was that it referred to all territories, whether dependent or not, whose peoples had not attained full self-government, and concerning which the Secretary-General of the United Nations received no information.

67. The Bolivian representative had said at the same meeting that he could never permit his country to be considered a colony. He felt bound to answer that if, in the light of the work of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Factors, a State conceded that Chapter XI of the Charter applied to certain peoples for which it was responsible, and decided, without any pressure from the Assembly, to transmit the information specified in Article 73 e, all would admire the generosity thus displayed through its liberal interpretation of the Charter. None would dream of disputing the full sovereignty of any such State or of regarding it as a colony.

68. As for the documents before the Committee, he was of the opinion that the Fourth Committee should take note of the meritorious work accomplished by the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Factors.

69. The Belgian representative would abstain from voting on the paragraph of the draft resolution which approved the list of factors proposed by the Committee. It would be forced to vote against all those paragraphs of the draft resolution and all those amendments which, either expressly or by implication, recognized the competence of the Assembly, supported the theory, contrary to reality and facts, of the indivisibility of self-government, or set up some distinction, not justified by the Charter, between the duty to continue to transmit information and the duty to begin transmitting information where that had not previously been done.

70. Mr. LAWRENCE (Liberia) said that his delegation had listened with interest to all that had been said by the various representatives who had participated in the current discussion, many of whom had expressed opinions which he shared.

71. He wished to congratulate the *Ad Hoc* Committee, whose efforts had resulted in the report contained in document A/2428. His delegation agreed with the delegations which considered that the proposed list of factors could serve only as a guide and that each specific case had to be considered in the light of the particular circumstances of that case.

72. One question which had been the subject of particularly lively discussion was that of the procedure to be adopted in applying those factors to a particular territory. The Administering Members had argued that they alone were competent to apply them. An Administering Member could not, however, legally revoke or change the status of a territory unilaterally without reference to the General Assembly. Under the Charter, the General Assembly alone had the power to say whether the people of a territory had attained a full measure of self-government.

73. There was, however, a new difficulty: the meaning of "a full measure of self-government". Two views had been expressed in the Committee: that of the Administering Members and that of the non-administering Members. The former thought that peoples could achieve a full measure of self-government while remaining firmly attached to the administering Power, whereas the latter felt that the well-being of the peoples of those territories should be paramount and that

their desires should receive free expression in connexion with any proposed change in the form of their government.

74. While fully appreciating the high ideals which had always inspired the administering Powers where the well-being of the peoples of those territories was concerned, his delegation felt that the desires and aspirations of those peoples should be determined through the good offices of the General Assembly.

75. His delegation was concerned about another point of procedure, the time when the factors could be applied. From the discussion, it appeared that the factors should, in the opinion of some delegations, be applied after an Administering Member had reported a change in the status of a territory and had then ceased to transmit information, thus presenting the United Nations with a *fait accompli*.

76. His delegation wondered how the ideals of peace, well-being and liberty, which had impelled the governments of Member States to send representatives to the General Assembly, could be achieved as long as millions of human beings throughout the world were exposed to oppression, misery and suffering. The problem could not be solved by avoiding it. On the contrary, the situation must be faced and a solution must be sought conscientiously and with determination.

77. The General Assembly must not be presented with a *fait accompli* by the Administering Members; on the contrary, whenever an Administering Member thought that the people of a given territory had really attained a full measure of self-government, it should so inform the General Assembly so that the latter could take the necessary steps to ascertain whether that was the case and could declare accordingly.

78. Mr. ARAOZ (Bolivia) said that the Belgian representative had again resorted to sophistry in an attempt to misrepresent the statements of certain delegations and to argue that the talk of colonies and protectorates concealed an intention to return to the colonial system. That might be the objective of the administering Powers, but it was certainly not that of the Committee.

79. He had given an outline of developments in Bolivia because he had considered it useful to show how a country which was still struggling for complete independence in certain fields had succeeded in achieving national unity; in so doing, he had hoped that the discussion would be concentrated on a number of specific points. In Bolivia no group was subject to discrimination. The economic, educational and land reform programmes involved the whole population, and the results would bring benefits to all without distinction. If the Belgian representative visited Bolivia he would be able to verify the truth of that statement for himself. He would see a united people working to knit even closer together the various groups of the population and would find evidence of the high cultural values which were the age-old inheritance handed down by the various races that had inhabited Bolivia.

80. The Bolivian delegation was participating in the Committee's discussion in a constructive spirit motivated only by its desire to help the dependent peoples to attain self-government. It would always be ready to defend the fundamental principles which must govern the progress of mankind. His delegation had not objected to the Belgian representative's reservations because it had been offended by the comparison of Bolivia to a colony. On the contrary, the Bolivian

people, formerly scorned and oppressed, was proud that it had freed itself from that oppression and was now ruled by a truly representative government. Bolivia was not ashamed of the semi-feudal situation which still prevailed there, because it was proud of the efforts undertaken to abolish it. The example of Bolivia could appropriately be cited in a discussion on Non-Self-Governing Territories, the peoples of which had the right to determine their own fate in accordance with the wishes of the great majority and not those of an oligarchic minority representing foreign interests.

81. Finally, he maintained his opinion about the contradiction which he had indicated in the Belgian representative's reservations. Those reservations were intended only to divert the Committee from what should be its main task, that of promoting the progress of the dependent peoples towards complete self-government.

82. Mr. TRIANTAPHYLLAKOS (Greece) congratulated the *Ad Hoc* Committee and was prepared to accept the list of factors it had prepared, with two reservations. First, it must be clearly understood that the list could serve only as a guide to assist in the examination of each case in the light of the particular circumstances of that case. Secondly, as the Guatemalan representative and other delegations had pointed out, the word "continuing" used to describe the association of the Non-Self-Governing Territories with the metropolitan country in the title of the second part of the list of factors should be deleted. It was in the light of those considerations, and taking into account the primary need to maintain co-operation among all the parties concerned in order to ensure the implementation of Chapter XI, that the Greek delegation would decide on the Brazilian draft resolution and the amendments thereto.

83. Mrs. BOLTON (United States of America) paid a tribute to the effort made by the Brazilian representative to frame a draft resolution that would be generally acceptable. Her delegation could not, however, accept the principle underlying paragraph 3 of the operative part of that draft. No Member State, whether or not responsible for the administration of a Non-Self-Governing Territory, could relinquish its right to determine the constitutional status of a territory under its sovereignty. It was, therefore, for the Administering Member concerned alone to decide whether to stop transmitting information under Article 73 e.

84. It did not follow that the General Assembly had not a useful part to play. On the contrary, the General Assembly had already done valuable work in that connexion. Under Article 10 the General Assembly was entitled to study the concept of Non-Self-Governing Territories and of territories whose people had not attained a full measure of self-government, and to try to find a definition. The Assembly also had the right to recommend that Member States should study any definition which it might adopt and even to express in general terms its opinion regarding the principles on which the Administering Members might base or might have based their decision to cease transmitting information on the territories under their administration. The Assembly's resolution should not, however, imply that the decision of the Administering Members must be approved or disapproved by the General Assembly.

85. Her delegation would therefore be obliged to vote against the Brazilian draft resolution and against any other proposal which contained the same implications.

86. Mr. PIGNON (France) felt that it was unnecessary to restate the French Government's position, which had already been clearly enough defined; but he proposed to examine the legal theories that had been put forward during the discussion. The French delegation had listened to those theories with interest but had not been, and could not be, convinced by them because they were based on an erroneous interpretation of a treaty, in the case in point, the Charter. To interpret a treaty, it was necessary to determine, by referring to the preliminary work on it, and in particular to the records of the discussions, the intention of its authors—in the present case, the intention of the co-signatories to the Charter—just as in interpreting a law, reference was first made to the records of the parliamentary debates. It was quite clear that the authors of the Charter had neither foreseen nor desired the developments and additions which an attempt was now being made to introduce by means of resolutions.

87. The history of the question of the cessation of the transmission of information showed that that was the case. At its third session the General Assembly had felt so uncertain of its ground and its rights that in resolution 222 (III) it had merely stated that it was essential that the United Nations should be informed of any change in the constitutional position and status of any territory as a result of which the responsible government concerned thought it unnecessary to transmit information in respect of that territory under Article 73 e of the Charter. Memories of San Francisco had still been too fresh in representatives' minds for an attempt to be made to question the exclusive competence of the Administering Member. With resolution 334 (IV) the General Assembly had taken a further step and had considered that it was within the responsibility of the General Assembly to express its opinion on the principles which had guided or which might in future guide the Members concerned in enumerating the territories in question. Even at that stage the Assembly had shown a tendency to limit the freedom of judgment of the responsible governments, but it had asserted its competence only with regard to principles; the power of decision in each particular case had continued to be vested in the Administering Member. At the fifth session, by resolution 448 (V), the Assembly had deliberately gone beyond questions of theory and had requested the Special Committee on Information transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter to examine such information as might be transmitted in future to the Secretary-General in pursuance of General Assembly resolution 222 (III) and to report thereon to the General Assembly. With that resolution, the frontiers which had until then been respected had been crossed, and the Assembly had assumed the right not only of expressing opinions of a general nature but of examining and discussing each particular case. At its sixth session, the Assembly had been too preoccupied with the list of factors to explore further the dangerous field of competence. However, in resolution 568 (VI) it had reaffirmed the principles laid down in resolution 448 (V). The decisive step had been taken at the seventh session when the Assembly had asserted its competence as being self-evident without seeking to base it on any considerations of law or of fact.

88. That history of the successive conquests of the majority showed clearly that the legal construction in question had not been based upon a strict interpretation of the Charter. At its third session the Assembly would not have hesitated to affirm its competence in the particular case then before the Fourth Committee if it had thought it possible to do so in accordance with the Charter. Already, fired with enthusiasm which made them forget the starting point, some representatives were considering further steps. Certain delegations had proposed that only the first part of the list of factors should be retained; others had stated that the notion of full self-government laid down in the Charter could only mean independence. It should not be forgotten, however, that the legal construction which the majority seemed to think required only improvements of detail would remain without foundation and without legal effect until it was embodied in a new treaty or an addition to the Charter in the manner provided in Article 109.

89. The French delegation had listened with great interest to the argument concerning the responsibility of the Administering Members developed by the Ecuadorian representative. The Administering Members did not deny that responsibility, but accepted it unreservedly. However, it remained a moral responsibility without legal consequences because any form of supervisory machinery or specialized jurisdiction which would make that responsibility legal in character had been expressly and intentionally excluded from the Charter. Certain delegations might regret what they considered to be an omission, but they should also understand that it was not in their power to try to remedy it through the inappropriate and ineffective medium of recommendations.

90. The French delegation could not, therefore, support the Brazilian draft resolution although it appreciated the sincere efforts the Brazilian representative had made to end the present deadlock in the Committee's work. Paragraph 3 of the operative part of the resolution in effect reaffirmed the competence of the General Assembly. The same objection applied to paragraph 4, since the Assembly would obviously have the ultimate responsibility of deciding whether evidence that the people concerned had exercised its rights to self-determination had been furnished. Paragraph 6 reintroduced the difficulties of interpretation which an attempt had been made to eliminate by establishing a list of factors. "A full measure of self-government" had still not been defined and although some delegations had made up their minds without hesitation their opinion was not equivalent to a decision. Finally paragraphs 7 and 8 conferred on the Committee on Information powers which the French delegation considered unacceptable and contrary to the compromise which had enabled it to continue to take part in the work of that body. For the same reasons, the French delegation would oppose the amendments submitted jointly by the eleven delegations (A/C.4/L.273). The very fact that those amendments had been submitted gave added force to his argument and fully justified, if further justification were necessary, the French Government's position. Those amendments had systematically eliminated all that was conciliatory in the original Brazilian draft resolution. At least there now remained no doubts or misunderstandings.

91. In view of the importance of the problem the French delegation would not be satisfied merely with registering a negative vote. In accordance with the

formal instructions from its Government it was compelled to repeat explicitly the reservations which it had made on resolution 647 (VII) and which were contained in the summary record of the 279th meeting of the Fourth Committee (A/C.4/SR.279, para. 1 to 3). The French Government had not accepted resolution 647 (VII) as binding in any way whatever, and it would not accept the Brazilian draft resolution as binding if, as was probable, it was adopted. The French delegation felt the more justified in making that statement since, at San Francisco it had taken the precaution of making a reservation on the question of competence; that reservation could be found in the report of Committee 4 of Commission II and in annex D of that report, dated 20 June 1945.¹ Nobody could therefore express surprise at or take exception to an attitude which remained constantly clear, frank and consistent. The French delegation regretted, however, that it was forced to take that negative and defensive position. It was certainly not along those lines that it had envisaged collaboration with the United Nations. It was still possible for the Committee to start afresh and discover ways and means of accomplishing fruitful work. Several days previously, Mr. Maurice Schumann had informed the General Assembly at its 445th plenary meeting that the French Government fully and unreservedly accepted the aims of Chapter XI of the Charter. In the Committee itself the United Kingdom representative had stressed the identity of aims which should unite Committee members. It was sufficient to attempt to apply the Charter without seeking at the moment to supplement or modify it. The French Government had given numerous examples of its good faith; it was ready to make new efforts but it could not remain satisfied with appeals for conciliation which lacked any tangible expression of comprehension and which still presupposed that the administering Powers had to obtain forgiveness for some kind of original sin.

92. The reasons underlying the French Government's position were evident. The French delegation could not admit that the General Assembly should discuss the constitutional development of territories administered by France for the simple reason that such a discussion would involve constitutional questions which were matters of domestic policy and were the exclusive prerogative of the legislature. The French Constitution strictly limited the powers of the executive. In international affairs, the Government could negotiate and undertake commitments subject to the subsequent approval of Parliament. With regard to the status of territories, Parliament held the right of decision, and neither the French Government nor the French delegation could waive in any way whatever the sovereignty of Parliament. It was easy to foresee the consequences of the process which had been set in motion and the increasing demands that would be made to subject the administering Powers to still stricter control by the United Nations. A moment's reflection would suffice to reveal the dangers which would result, in the domestic field, from interference by an international organization which eventually would meddle arbitrarily with internal policies, whether with good intentions or not. Similarly, in the present disturbed international situation such interference would create a situation of constant inferiority at the international level by making possible blackmail and manoeuvres which would serve neither the cause of peace nor that of co-operation between

nations. What the French Government once more requested was that certain members of the Committee should take the trouble to put themselves from time to time in the French Government's place and judge the situation objectively. Whatever the Committee's decision on the Brazilian draft resolution, the discussions which had taken place would have had the great merit of enabling the Committee to discuss the substance of the problem. The Committee had reached the stage where ideological conceptions were clashing with the facts. It should decide whether it should continue to take theoretical decisions or whether, realizing the futility of such an undertaking, it should direct its attention resolutely towards its proper functions.

93. Mr. LOPEZ (Philippines) said that the Philippines, which, after four centuries of oppression, had become an independent State after the Second World War, was deeply interested in the question of factors and in the broader question of Non-Self-Governing Territories.

94. At the San Francisco Conference, the Philippine delegation had argued that the word "self-government" should be replaced, or at least supplemented, by the word "independence" in all the provisions of the Charter where it appeared. His delegation had been afraid that if the notion of independence were replaced by the vaguer notion of self-government, misunderstandings might arise. Experience had shown that those fears were justified. The Philippine delegation had not pressed its suggestion at San Francisco because the administering Powers had given it an assurance that self-government was synonymous with independence and that it was in that way that the notion of self-government would be interpreted in practice. It had been found, however, that the vagueness of the expression "self-government" was the source of many misunderstandings and had led to lengthy studies and prolonged discussions. It had been illogical to speak only of self-government in Chapter XI when in Chapter XII the word "independence" was also used. In any case, the time had come to clarify the notion of self-government. In that respect, the work of the *Ad Hoc* Committee was extremely valuable.

95. Mr. López paid a tribute to the *Ad Hoc* Committee and agreed with the Venezuelan representative that further studies should be suspended. It was time to apply the factors which the *Ad Hoc* Committee had listed. That would be possible only if there was sincere co-operation between the Administering and the non-administering Members. He was convinced that the members of the Committee could resolutely set aside controversial subjects and agree in recognizing that it was necessary to hasten the progress of the peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories in order to maintain peace, a purpose which concerned all States, whether they administered Non-Self-Governing Territories or not. The Administering Members should understand that by basing their claim to exclusive jurisdiction on Article 2, paragraph 7, they gave the impression of wanting to keep at all costs what they regarded as their property. If they recognized that the character of the colonial problem had been changed since the Charter had made the future of the Non-Self-Governing Territories an international problem, it would be possible to proceed to practical action.

96. If an area of agreement was to be found, the principle must first be established that the Administering Members could not decide unilaterally whether a territory had become self-governing, and that such

¹ See *United Nations Conference on International Organization*, II/4/44 (1) (a).

decisions must be made by agreement by those Members and the General Assembly after appropriate consultations. The list of factors was valuable only as a body of general rules the application of which would depend upon political realities varying from territory to territory.

97. He was also of the opinion that the problem of the cessation of the transmission of information had two aspects. In some cases, the Non-Self-Governing Territories might think that by continuing to communicate information about them the administering Power was casting doubts on the reality of their self-government, which might hurt the national feelings of the peoples concerned. In other cases, the administering Powers might seek by that means to conceal the real situation in the territory which they claimed had become self-governing.

98. The Philippine delegation believed that the Brazilian draft resolution provided the framework within which agreement might be reached. It hoped the draft resolution would be studied sympathetically and that the difficulties of principle raised by paragraph 3 might thus be overcome.

99. In conclusion, he emphasized that the Committee's decisions could be fruitful only if an agreement based on political realities was reached.

100. The CHAIRMAN closed the list of speakers in the general discussion. He invited delegations which wished to explain their vote to place their names on the list.

The meeting rose at 1.20 p.m.



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Factors which should be taken into account in deciding whether a territory is or is not a territory whose people have not yet attained a full measure of self-government: report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Factors (Non-Self-Governing Territories) (*continued*)..... 71

Chairman: Mr. Santiago PEREZ PEREZ (Venezuela).

Factors which should be taken into account in deciding whether a territory is or is not a territory whose people have not yet attained a full measure of self-government: report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Factors (Non-Self-Governing Territories) (A/2428, A/C.4/L.272, A/C.4/L.273, A/C.4/L.274) (*continued*)

[Item 33]*

1. Mr. MENDOZA (Guatemala) wished to reply to the points raised by the Belgian representative at the 326th meeting. He recalled that when the Belgian argument had been advanced at the seventh session of the General Assembly, it had been conceded that Guatemala had no responsibility whatever under Chapter XI of the Charter. Nevertheless, he felt that some reply should be made to an ingenious thesis which was tending to distract the Committee from its true objective.

2. In point of fact, the Belgian argument had been dealt with at San Francisco. The question had come up during the discussion of the classification of dependent territories and it had been made quite clear that the "peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world", referred to in a first draft of what had become Article 73 of the Charter, were not peoples within the metropolitan frontiers of any State. He read extracts from the background document prepared by the Secretariat on the definition of the concept of a full measure of self-government (A/AC.67/L.1), which quoted from the records of the meetings at San Francisco at which the declaration regarding the Non-Self-Governing Territories had been discussed, showing that the question had been raised and settled. The drafting sub-committee which had prepared that portion of the Charter had undoubtedly borne those discussions in mind in preparing the final version of Article 73. The Belgian representative's contention that the phrase "territories whose peoples have not yet attained a full measure of self-government" could apply to territories forming part of the metropolitan area was thus disproved by reference to the expressed intentions of the authors of the Charter.

* Indicates the item number on the agenda of the General Assembly.

3. Sir Douglas COPLAND (Australia) said that the Brazilian draft resolution (A/C.4/L.272) was an attempt to steer a course between the two conflicting points of view that had emerged in the Committee and, as such, deserved attention. It should not be forgotten that the Administering Members had freely dedicated themselves to the advancement of the peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories and as freely undertaken to transmit information on economic, social and educational conditions in those territories to the General Assembly. Australia was a country which had itself experienced the rise from dependent status to a full measure of self-government and was thus able to realize that the problem was extremely complicated and that no definite rules could be formulated. He urged the Committee to consider the Brazilian resolution in the light of the difficulty that had been encountered in defining a full measure of self-government, and suggested that it should give up its attempt to find a legal definition. The Australian delegation would consider the resolution, not as a definitive legal interpretation of self-government, but rather as a framework within which it could discharge its responsibilities towards the Non-Self-Governing Territory for which it was responsible.

4. The most serious objection to the list of factors in the report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Factors (Non-Self-Governing Territories), contained in document A/2428, was that it regarded independence as a criterion of a full measure of self-government. The Australian delegation felt that independent status was irrelevant to the question of self-government. Independence was an external attribute, whereas self-government was an internal attribute, the achievement of which was normally followed by external independence. However, a territory could be self-governing without being independent, just as it could be independent without being self-governing. The report also admitted that the *Ad Hoc* Committee had been unable to define a full measure of self-government. In considering the Brazilian draft resolution, therefore, the Committee should take care not to appear to be agreeing on a point on which there was in fact fundamental disagreement. Lastly, the report made it quite clear that the list of factors could be regarded only as a guide and not as a series of hard and fast rules.

5. Paragraphs 1 and 2 of the operative part of the Brazilian draft resolution took note of the conclusions of the report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee and approved the list of factors contained in the report. The Australian delegation found it difficult to accept paragraph 2 because it felt that it was unnecessary to approve the list when paragraph 1 merely took note of the report's conclusions.

6. Paragraph 6 of the operative part of the draft resolution seemed to assume that the attainment of self-government was a definitive act. The Australian delegation felt that self-government was, in fact, reached in stages and in varying forms. Since the *Ad Hoc* Com-

mittee had been unable to define a "full measure of self-government" the Australian delegation could not agree to paragraph 6. Those Member States which had declared themselves to be responsible for certain Non-Self-Governing Territories had undertaken to submit information on economic, social and educational conditions in those territories. The Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories was fully entitled to consider whether the information that was submitted was adequate and relevant. However, if the Committee on Information were to say that an Administering Member must continue to send in such information, despite its agreement with a Non-Self-Governing Territory, on all matters on which information was to be submitted, that would be tantamount to asking the said Power to abrogate the self-government that had been agreed on. If a territory had full control over economic, social and educational matters within its boundaries, it would be entitled to insist that the administering Power had no right to continue to report to the General Assembly upon them. If the General Assembly were to require the continuation of such reports, it would not be promoting self-government in the Non-Self-Governing Territories or helping the Administering Members to discharge their obligations.

7. Operative paragraphs 7 and 8 were over-specific. The question of factors had been examined over and over again; if, in the light of experience, the list was found to be inadequate, an arrangement could be made to revise it at the end of five years or so.

8. Unfortunately, the Brazilian draft resolution had been the subject of a series of drastic amendments submitted jointly by a number of delegations (A/C.4/L.273). As amended, the resolution would take up a position diametrically opposed to that which the Administering Members were charged with defending. He urged the Committee to try to reach some reasonable compromise on the issue, lest the General Assembly should adopt a resolution that would be unenforceable.

9. Mr. FRAZAO (Brazil) would reaffirm that the Brazilian delegation maintained, as it had done in the past, that the final competence for taking a decision concerning the cessation of the transmission of information from a Non-Self-Governing Territory rested with the General Assembly.

10. In his delegation's view, the Charter should not be regarded as a multilateral agreement establishing certain legal obligations. At the time of its signature it had been a contract, but it was one no longer. It was an organic act establishing the competence of the United Nations with regard to the Non-Self-Governing Territories. The United Nations had assumed some of the competence of the contracting parties. Its purposes were more than the sum of the purposes of the contracting parties. That conception of an institution was familiar to those countries where the principles of the *Code Napoléon* had been adopted. His statement on the institutional jurisdiction of the United Nations over the Non-Self-Governing Territories was based on that conception.

11. The amendments contained in document A/C.4/L.273 were not in his opinion amendments in the proper sense of the term. Nevertheless he was able to agree to the new paragraph proposed in amendment 1.

12. He could not, however, agree to the proposal in amendment 2, to the effect that the fourth paragraph of the preamble of the Brazilian draft resolution should be deleted, because he did not consider that the right of peoples to self-determination could be treated as a

factor or given an interpretation in one case which might differ from that given in other cases. The right of peoples to self-determination must be re-established as a postulate.

13. Nor could he agree to amendment 5, which merely reintroduced the previously existing confusion between general principles and specific circumstances.

14. He had no objection to amendment 3; indeed he felt it would improve the Brazilian text.

15. With reference to amendment 4, the Brazilian delegation agreed with the terms of paragraph 2 of General Assembly resolution 648 (VII), i.e., that each concrete case should be considered and decided in the light of the particular circumstances of that case. With regard to the question of competence, there could be no doubt that the meaning of paragraph 3 of the Brazilian draft resolution was that the General Assembly was competent to decide whether a territory was or was no longer within the scope of Article XI. The conclusion was clear, but it had been thought preferable not to state it categorically in order to avoid friction, in view of the conflicting opinions on the subject that existed within the Committee. General Assembly resolution 222 (III) stated that it was essential for the United Nations to be informed of any change that might take place in the constitutional status of any Non-Self-Governing Territory. That was in order that a decision might be reached whether or not information should continue to be transmitted in relation to that territory. Clearly the obligation rested on the Administering Member and the decision would be made by the General Assembly. The members of the Fourth Committee should approach the question in the light of the general principles involved rather than attempt to gain debating points. The Brazilian delegation did not object in principle to the proposed addition of the words "by the General Assembly" in paragraph 3, although it thought it unnecessary. The wording it had proposed said the same thing without offending the administering States.

16. With regard to amendment 6, which proposed new paragraphs 5 and 6, he felt that the Brazilian text said the same thing better and in more general terms. Proof of the wishes of the people was required not only in cases of association but in all cases, including integration in the metropolitan territory. Paragraph 4 of the Brazilian draft resolution already recommended that paramount consideration should be given to evidence indicating that the people concerned had exercised its right to self-determination. The attempt in the amendment to emphasize the principle of the right of peoples to self-determination in special cases tended to weaken its general applicability as a fundamental consideration in all cases. The new paragraph 6 proposed in the amendment tended to compress too many ideas in a single paragraph. It was somewhat illogical to approve the list of factors but at the same time to imply that the three forms of self-government were not equally valid. The Brazilian delegation agreed that the aim of political evolution in the Non-Self-Governing Territories should be complete independence and membership in the United Nations, but Chapter XI of the Charter did contain the notion of domestic self-government, a type of internal political sovereignty that was not yet independence. Chapter XI might be interpreted as justifying the cessation of the transmission of information after a people had freely chosen a system of integration or association which would give it full freedom to decide its domestic affairs while at the same time leaving the attributes of external sovereignty to be exercised by

another State. The proposed new paragraph 6 thus reopened a point which the *Ad Hoc* Committee had already settled.

17. Amendments 7 and 8 of document A/C.4/L.273 improved the Brazilian text and were therefore acceptable.

18. He did not, however, understand the proposal in amendment 9, to the effect that that part of paragraph 7 of the Brazilian draft resolution following "the cessation of information" should be deleted. If a desire for brevity had inspired the proposal, he would accept it, but not if the intention was to discard the provisions of paragraph 2 of resolution 448 (V). The Brazilian delegation felt that the Committee on Information had a great part to play in the advancement of the Non-Self-Governing Territories, and that no attempt should be made to detract from the importance of that part.

19. He felt that the wording of the final paragraph proposed in amendment 10 tended to question the quality of the list of factors in advance, and he preferred the original final paragraph 8 of the Brazilian draft amendment.

20. He urged the Administering Members to accept the Brazilian text in the light of his explanations. He hoped that they would show sufficient goodwill to meet the other members of the Committee half way, and perhaps to inaugurate a new stage in the relations of the administering and non-administering Powers.

21. Mr. KUCHKAROV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said that while his delegation was in general agreement with the first part of the list of factors approved by the *Ad Hoc* Committee, the second and third parts of the list were completely unsatisfactory and unacceptable since they did not envisage the ultimate attainment by the Non-Self-Governing Territories of the status of independent and sovereign States and permitted the limitation of sovereignty and outside intervention in the internal affairs of the Territories concerned. He was therefore unable to accept the fourth paragraph of the preamble to the Brazilian draft resolution. He would vote against any parts of the draft resolution implying the Committee's approval of the list of factors as a whole, but in favour of paragraphs 1, 4, 5, 6 and 8. He asked for a vote paragraph by paragraph.

22. Mr. SPITS (Netherlands) had no objections, in general, to the operative part of the proposal in so far as it instructed the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories to use the list of factors as a guide in studying specific cases. When an Administering Member ceased to transmit information, it was logical, if only as a gesture of courtesy, that it should inform the General Assembly of the reasons for its action. It was logical, too, that the Committee on Information should study those reasons. Nevertheless, that did not imply that the General Assembly was competent to approve or disapprove the cessation of the transmission of information. Several representatives had based their argument that the Assembly was competent on Chapter XI of the Charter, contending that it was in the nature of an international agreement. He was prepared to some extent to agree with the latter contention, provided that it was recognized that Chapter XI had been included in the form of a declaration. Since Chapter XI was admittedly vague, the Committee would do better to resolve its doubts on the basis of practice. In 1946, the Administering Members had enumerated the territories on which they were prepared

to transmit information and, in resolution 66 (I), the General Assembly had taken note of—not approved—that list of territories. It was difficult, therefore, to see why the Assembly's approval should be required in the case of the cessation of the transmission of information. Therein lay his delegation's main objection to the draft resolution. Paragraph 6, moreover, was vague and ambiguous. Hence, although his delegation appreciated the goodwill shown by the Brazilian delegation, he would be compelled to vote against the draft resolution and, guided by the same principles, against the eleven-Power amendments.

23. Mr. SCOTT (New Zealand) doubted whether the action proposed to the General Assembly was realistic. His delegation's position had been stated on many earlier occasions and he had not felt it necessary to intervene in the general debate. He had hoped that the Committee would be prepared merely to adopt the list of factors and recognize the difficulty of defining such terms as "Non-Self-Governing Territories" and "a full measure of self-government". The lack of effective definitions of those terms would continue to be a source of disagreement between the administering and the non-administering Powers and it would be wiser not to press the issue as far as the draft resolution and, more particularly, the amendments did. It was certainly not in the interests of the non-self-governing peoples to perpetuate the disagreement between the Administering Members and the other Member States. That was the reason why his delegation had not replied to the Secretary-General's request for observations on the list of factors.

24. On the main issue of the General Assembly's competence, his delegation's position was very clear. Each Member State alone was competent to decide whether the territories under its sovereignty or jurisdiction fell within the scope of Chapter XI and, similarly, when such territories had reached a stage of development at which its obligations under Article 73 e no longer applied. He would therefore vote against any paragraph implying that the responsibility for such a decision might be shared between the Administering Members and the General Assembly.

25. Mrs. SKOTTSBERG-AHMAN (Sweden) announced that her delegation was prepared to accept the list of factors as it stood and to support the Brazilian draft resolution in so far as it approved that list as a guide. Her delegation had always insisted that the list should not be more than a guide and that each concrete case should be judged on its own merits. That idea was contained in paragraph 3. Paragraph 6, however, somewhat inconsistently attempted to lay down a rigid rule which would leave no lee-way for taking into account the circumstances pertinent to each particular situation. Furthermore, it was generally admitted that it was impossible to define the term "a full measure of self-government" for the purposes of Chapter XI, and it was therefore of doubtful value to make the attainment of that indefinable status a prerequisite for a Territory to be deemed self-governing in economic, social or educational affairs. Her delegation would therefore vote against paragraph 6 and, if it was retained, it would abstain from voting on the draft resolution as a whole.

26. The eleven-Power amendments stressed the competence of the General Assembly almost to the exclusion of the administering Powers. That issue was one of the main dividing lines in the Committee, and it would be most unwise to widen and perpetuate the gulf between the Administering and non-administering Mem-

bers. No useful purpose would be served by adopting categorical statements in the certain knowledge that they would not be accepted by the Administering Members, whose co-operation was essential. Her delegation would therefore vote against the amendments. If they were accepted, it would be compelled to vote against the draft resolution as a whole.

27. Mr. PATTERSON (Canada) said that his delegation fully appreciated the work of the *Ad Hoc* Committee and had no objection in principle to the study of a list of factors, nor to the list itself, which might have a useful bearing on some of the questions pertaining to the work of the Committee and of the Trusteeship Council and be of service to the administering Powers. To that extent, paragraphs 1 and 2 of the Brazilian draft resolution were acceptable.

28. For the reasons which the Canadian representative had outlined in the Fourth Committee (273rd meeting) at the seventh session, he was compelled to take exception to the principles in paragraph 6 and to those implied in paragraphs 3 and 7. The principle contained in paragraph 6 could hardly be accepted by the representatives of a country such as Canada, which had at one stage in its constitutional evolution enjoyed complete autonomy in economic, social and educational affairs, although it had not at the time attained a full measure of self-government. With regard to the wording of paragraphs 3 and 7, the Canadian delegation could not agree that the United Nations alone was entitled to determine whether or not a territory had ceased to be non-self-governing or that every Administering Member should continue to transmit information until the provisions of Chapter XI had been fulfilled. The Non-Self-Governing Territories would normally advance towards self-government by stages and, at a given moment, they would reach a stage at which the Administering Members no longer exercised effective and practical control over the fields in which information was to be submitted. In such cases their obligation to transmit information would logically end, although that would not imply that they no longer had the obligation, under Chapter XI, to promote a full measure of self-government in the territory concerned.

29. His delegation was grateful to the Brazilian delegation for its effort at compromise and for the fact that the Brazilian draft resolution did not call for a continuing study of factors by a special committee; it seriously doubted whether any further study would result in a more satisfactory solution. Nevertheless, the objections he had outlined concerned such fundamental issues that his delegation could not support the Brazilian draft resolution as it stood. Subject to those observations, it was prepared to approve the list of factors contained in the *Ad Hoc* Committee's report on the understanding that it was to be used exclusively as a guide and that it was not meant to be a rigid pattern to be automatically applied by the General Assembly to all Non-Self-Governing Territories. His delegation would oppose the eleven-Power amendments and any subsequent amendment to the Brazilian proposal which ran counter to the basic principles by which it was guided.

30. Mr. NAJAR (Israel) felt that the mandate of the United Nations as expressed throughout the Charter and the corresponding terms of reference conferred on the General Assembly by Article 10 were sufficiently broad to obviate the need for any discussion of the Assembly's competence in the Committee. There seemed to be a general tendency to confuse the Assembly's competence and its powers. Obviously the Assembly re-

ceived information under Article 73 e and documents on the cessation of the transmission of information so that it could express an opinion thereon. Its competence to vote resolutions, therefore, was not at issue, but its powers and rights to have them implemented in fact.

31. During the general debate, he had expressed his delegation's preference for examining each case of the cessation of the transmission of information on its own merits. Generally speaking, if the Assembly wished to preserve its effectiveness and prestige, its recommendations must be realistic. The adoption of doctrinal resolutions might well bring the Assembly into conflict with reality.

32. In the case under discussion, the Administering Members felt that the power to decide whether or not to continue transmitting information rested exclusively with them. Were the General Assembly to assert in a solemn and doctrinal resolution that, on the contrary, such power rested exclusively with the Assembly, it might well find that the constitutional development of the Non-Self-Governing Territories ran counter to its resolutions. That would be most unfortunate. The General Assembly should hesitate before embarking on such open conflicts and administering and non-administering Powers would be well advised to heed the old diplomatic motto, "*Toujours négocier*".

33. His delegation would have preferred merely to adopt the list of factors and to postpone any decision on the theoretical points of principle raised in the Brazilian draft resolution until the Committee had had a chance to apply the factors to the two concrete cases of the cessation of information that it would shortly be considering. Although he questioned the advisability of affirming the competence of the General Assembly as a principle, rather than in relation to concrete cases, his delegation would support the draft resolution on that issue, but he reserved its position with regard to the definition of terms. Such a definition would be tantamount to interpreting the Charter and should not be done through a resolution, especially when several delegations had expressed the view that it would be wise to consult the International Court of Justice on the points.

34. Mr. MENDEZ (Philippines) said that it was clear from the discussion that the General Assembly was a necessary party to the cessation of the transmission of information. The information submitted under Article 73 e was clearly intended to help the Assembly to determine whether or not the situation in the Non-Self-Governing Territories was satisfactory in the light of the Charter. That implied the Assembly's right to decide when such information need no longer be submitted. There was nothing in Chapter XI to suggest that the Administering Members were entitled to act on a unilateral basis. Nevertheless consultation and agreement were preferable to arbitrary and unilateral actions, and paragraph 3 of the Brazilian draft resolution might be improved by inserting the words "in appropriate consultations" after the words "as a guide", and by replacing the words "a decision may be taken" by the words "agreement may be reached".

35. Mr. LANNUNG (Denmark) would not go into the merits of the proposed amendments, but would like to have some elucidation from their sponsors.

36. Amendment 3 apparently meant that the list of factors was accepted as it stood, or with some minor amendments; indeed it had already been agreed to by three of the sponsors—Guatemala, Iraq and Venezuela—which had been members of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Factors. However, the new paragraph 6 which it was

proposed to insert seemed, if not actually in contradiction with amendment 3, at least illogical and inconsistent. He suggested that the words "although it is recognized that self-government can also be achieved" should be deleted and replaced by the word "or".

37. Mr. DJERDJA (Yugoslavia) said that the amendments to the list of factors (A/C.4/L.274), of which his delegation had been one of the sponsors, embodied the constructive suggestions made by different delegations during the debate on the report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee. They were based on the conviction that although the main work of drafting the list of factors had been accomplished, that list must be brought into harmony with the high responsibilities of the General Assembly and the spirit of the times.

38. Drafting a list of factors was not an abstract or theoretical activity. The chief aim of such a list, which must be made as useful and realistic as possible, was to help the United Nations in the protection it afforded to the Non-Self-Governing Territories. As he had already pointed out, the peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories placed great hopes in the United Nations. It must not disappoint those hopes or bring about a situation in which the people concerned would be compelled to follow another road and seek different solutions, with possible serious repercussions for world peace.

39. Some delegations would perhaps find the amendments unacceptable and irreconcilable with their views and interpretations of the Charter. Nevertheless, the Yugoslav delegation felt it to be its duty, today more than ever, to uphold the cause of the peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories, both for reasons of principle and for practical reasons, as long as the problem remained on the agenda. It would be very glad if the problem were to disappear from the agenda as a result of the attainment by those peoples of a status equal to that of the free peoples of the world, but since they had not yet attained such a status, the only possible course was to strive, within the framework of the Charter and in harmony with present necessities, to improve the conditions of the peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories and accelerate their progress towards a better future.

40. The Yugoslav delegation believed that the proposed amendments would make the list of factors clearer and more precise. Only one amendment was submitted to the first part of the list, which clarified the idea without altering the substance. The proposal to change the position of factors A.1 and A.2 in the second part of the list was due to the fact that many delegations had stressed that the opinion of the peoples of Non-Self-Governing Territories should be the basic factor. That concept justified the introduction of a new factor A.2—freedom of choice—since clearly the opinion of the population must be expressed in full freedom to choose between several possibilities, including independence.

41. From the same factor sprang the need to introduce, and to some extent reword, factor A.3, in view of the circumstances in which decisions were often taken re-

garding modifications in the status of Non-Self-Governing Territories.

42. The same observations applied also to the amendments submitted to the third part of the list of factors, which had been rendered somewhat more precise and complete. The freely expressed opinion of the population presupposed association on a basis of equality, and hence there should be no association on the basis of the constitution of the metropolitan country.

43. Mr. KHOMAN (Thailand) thought the list of factors could usefully serve as a guide for the General Assembly and the Administering Members in determining the status of a Territory as well as whether information concerning that Territory should continue to be submitted. The question whether information should continue to be transmitted should undoubtedly be decided by the Administering Member concerned, which was responsible for conducting the Territory's affairs in accordance with the principles laid down by the Charter. But, once that decision had been taken, it was subject to revision by the United Nations in conformity with the principles enunciated in Article 73; otherwise the United Nations would renounce the exercise of one of the essential functions provided under the Charter. Thailand was prepared to support the principle that complete self-government could not be conditional but, although having various aspects, must cover the political, economic and social fields.

44. He would vote in favour of the Brazilian draft resolution. He was unable to agree to some of the proposed amendments, and especially those contained in amendment 6. If the amendments were voted on paragraph by paragraph he would abstain on certain points.

45. Mr. ESPINOSA Y PRIETO (Mexico), referring to the Danish representative's criticism of the proposed new paragraph 6, explained that the word "primarily" had been inserted before the words "through the attainment of independence". That word appeared in document A/C.4/L.273, but did not appear in the earlier draft of the amendments which was before the Danish representative.

46. Mr. DE MARHUENA (Dominican Republic) suggested that in view of the complexity and importance of the question, the debate should be postponed until Thursday, 8 October.

47. Mr. DE HOLTE CASTELLO (Colombia) supported that proposal.

48. Mr. L. S. BOKHARI (Pakistan), referring to the remarks made by the French representative at the previous meeting, explained that in using the expression "black list", in his statement at the 323rd meeting, he had had no intention of giving offence. He agreed that the Administering Members were performing an honourable and arduous task in the Non-Self-Governing Territories. He had merely meant to say that if the name of a Territory remained indefinitely on the list of Non-Self-Governing Territories, that might give rise to certain doubts.

The meeting rose at 5.25 p.m.

United Nations
**GENERAL
 ASSEMBLY**
 EIGHTH SESSION
 Official Records



FOURTH COMMITTEE, 328th

MEETING

**Thursday, 8 October 1953,
 at 10.50 a.m.**

New York

C O N T E N T S

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Factors which should be taken into account in deciding whether a territory is or is not a territory whose people have not yet attained a full measure of self-government: report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Factors (Non-Self-Governing Territories) (*continued*) 77

Chairman: Mr. Santiago PEREZ PEREZ (Venezuela).

Factors which should be taken into account in deciding whether a territory is or is not a territory whose people have not yet attained a full measure of self-government: report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Factors (Non-Self-Governing Territories) (A/2428, A/C.4/L.272, A/C.4/L.273, A/C.4/L.274, A/C.4/L.275) (*continued*)

[Item 33]*

1. The CHAIRMAN drew attention to an amendment by the Philippines (A/C.4/L.275) to the Brazilian draft resolution (A/C.4/L.272); the amendment had been submitted orally at the previous meeting and hence was within the time-limit set by the Committee.

2. He recognized the Iranian representative, who had reserved his right to speak in the general debate.

3. Mr. GHASSEMZADEH (Iran) said that the question of factors was of intimate concern to tens of millions of human beings who, despite differences in race, language, religion, customs, culture and geographical situation, were nevertheless an inseparable part of the human community. In line with the principles which it was possible to enunciate after the Second World War, the Member States which had taken part in the San Francisco Conference had devoted Chapter XI of the Charter to the Non-Self-Governing Territories, and Chapter XII and XIII to the International Trusteeship System. In Article 73 the Administering Members had recognized the principle that the interests of the inhabitants of the Non-Self-Governing Territories were paramount, had accepted as a sacred trust the obligation to promote their well-being, and to that end had accepted responsibility to the international community for the duties set forth in Article 73 a and b. So that the United Nations might supervise the application of those provisions, it had been provided that the Administering Members would transmit regularly to the Secretary-General the information referred to in Article 73 e.

4. The true sense of Article 73, and the views and intentions of the Administering Members in relation to it, were made sufficiently plain in the statements made by the Netherlands and United Kingdom repre-

sentatives at San Francisco, reproduced in document A/AC.67/L.1, paragraphs 46, 48 and 49. The Netherlands representative had said that when the development of economic, social and political institutions in a dependent territory had reached a certain stage, the achievement of the final goal was inevitable. The realization of self-government might take the form of a continued equal partnership within one commonwealth or that of an independent nation, as the inhabitants of the territory might decide. The United Kingdom representative had compared properly constituted colonial empires to a ladder up which non-self-governing peoples were constantly moving as they attained a higher measure of self-government. He had taken the experience of the British Commonwealth and Empire, in which there were the most primitive peoples capable of taking only a very limited part in conducting their own affairs; then territories where the peoples took an ever-increasing part in their own administration, and some of which enjoyed a large measure of local autonomy; and lastly, the great self-governing Dominions. He had added that that progressive, dynamic conception was the right one, that the dependent territories could not all afford the risks of independence for which they were ill-equipped, and that they had to be gradually trained in the management of their own affairs until they were ready for the independence which would ultimately come.

5. The Iranian delegation agreed that very backward populations could not claim independence or even a full measure of self-government, for the peoples in question had to go through a political, economic and social development before they reached that stage. There could be no disagreement between administering and non-administering Powers on that score. But the administering Powers should recognize that, under Chapter XI of the Charter, they had expressly pledged themselves to prepare the dependent peoples, however backward, for a full measure of self-government and even independence. No people could suffer indefinitely economic exploitation and political domination by another people. Chapter XI could not in any way be regarded as a unilateral declaration by the administering Powers; it contained commitments towards the United Nations, was an inseparable part of the Charter and, in common with all the other Chapters, had been signed by all the Member States and ratified by their legislative organs. Moreover, in conformity with the principle of the self-determination of peoples enshrined in the Charter, any dependent people which had attained a sufficient degree of development would be able to declare its independence.

6. With regard to the definition of the notion of a full measure of self-government, he said it was not possible to find an exact and complete definition applicable to every single case; the only value of the list of factors would be that of a set of guiding notes, and each case would have to be decided individually in the light of its special circumstances.

* Indicates the item number on the agenda of the General Assembly.

7. Lastly, referring to the question of jurisdiction, he said it was incorrect to argue from Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter that the Administering Members possessed exclusive jurisdiction; that provision applied only to matters not dealt with by the Charter.

8. The Iranian delegation would support any draft resolution or amendment not inconsistent with the views he had expressed.

9. Mr. ESPINOSA Y PRIETO (Mexico) said that the sponsors of the joint amendment (A/C.4/L.273) had originally intended to submit a draft resolution but, since the Brazilian delegation had been the first to put forward a text on the subject, their draft had, *a fortiori*, taken the form of a series of amendments. The delegations concerned had also submitted a series of amendments (A/C.4/L.274) to the list of factors drawn up by the *Ad Hoc* Committee (A/2428, section VI), and he wished first to offer some explanatory observations on the latter proposal, the text of which had been circulated more recently than that of the amendments to the Brazilian draft resolution.

10. Unlike the representative of Brazil, the co-sponsors of the amendments to the list of factors did not feel that the Committee could adopt the list of factors as it stood. But the amendments, whatever the lively differences of opinion displayed in debate might suggest, made no fundamental alteration to the list. With a few exceptions they were drafting amendments. Thus, for instance, the joint amendments proposed the replacement of the factor A.4 mentioned in the original text of the first part by the following formula: "*National defence*. Sovereign right to provide for its national defence". That wording would indicate better than the original wording that a State had attained its independence, without in any way prejudicing the right of a sovereign State to enter into regional agreements to provide for its defence. The object of some other drafting alterations was to transfer to the second part factors listed in the third part, and vice versa: that was true, for example, of the factors dealing with geographical considerations, at present in the third part, and of that relating to economic, social and cultural jurisdiction, at present in the second part. The joint amendments likewise sought to rearrange certain factors in order of importance, and to change the titles of the second and third parts; in the original text the second and third parts both dealt with an association in which the territory participated, and it would at times be difficult to determine whether the second or the third part was applicable to a given territory. The joint amendment removed all ambiguity concerning that point.

11. The substantive amendments were three in number, and concerned respectively: the freedom to choose, on the basis of the right of self-determination of peoples, between several possibilities, including independence; the voluntary limitation of sovereignty, a provision which stipulated the freedom of the population of a territory which had associated itself with the metropolitan country to modify at any time that status through the expression of their will by democratic means (a similar provision would be introduced into the third part); and the right to change the political status of the territory in the light of the consideration whether that territory was or was not subject to any claim or litigation on the part of another State.

12. Those amendments were not meant to express criticism of the *Ad Hoc* Committee's excellent work;

but the sponsors of the amendments had believed that they could not conscientiously support the very important list of factors which the Committee was asked to adopt without making the changes they deemed requisite.

13. He then discussed the eleven-Power amendments (A/C.4/L.273) to the Brazilian draft resolution (A/C.4/L.272), and thanked the French representative for acknowledging that they had at least illuminated the Committee. They had met with such wide support simply because they showed no sign of an adamant or hostile attitude. Thus, in dealing with the question of competence, they simply stated that the Assembly was competent to consider the principles that should guide the United Nations and the Member States and to make recommendations in connexion with them, which was merely a restatement of the Assembly's undoubted powers. The question whether the Assembly could take a decision could be settled and the misunderstanding that had arisen could be dispelled, as there was a general desire among the members of the Committee to reach agreement. Very many delegations believed that the Administering Members could not unilaterally evade commitments towards the Assembly once they had entered into them. Some had argued that the Administering Members alone were competent, that the Assembly's function was merely to take note of a statement whereby an Administering Member notified it that a Non-Self-Governing Territory was no longer covered by Chapter XI and that the Assembly could neither consider the matter nor express an opinion. Such a view was wholly unacceptable and would jeopardize the United Nations prestige. The amendments were not, however, intended to confer on the Assembly powers not vested in it by the Charter. Under those amendments the Assembly could consider each case and give its opinion in a resolution; if it should reach a conclusion conflicting with that of the Administering Member, it could recommend that the latter should continue to transmit information. If the Administering Member refused to do so, an eventuality which he would regret, nothing could force it to do so.

14. Amendment 5 mentioned the right of self-determination of peoples; that basic principle, which should guide the future of mankind, had been purposely reaffirmed. In the paragraph 6 proposed in amendment 6, the sponsors had stressed that Non-Self-Governing Territories could become fully self-governing primarily through the attainment of independence, but that did not preclude the possibility of an association with one or more States in the circumstances set out in the second and third parts of the list of factors. He fully appreciated the merits of a system similar to the Commonwealth, but preferred independence the expression of another principle laid down in the Charter and one to which Latin Americans were deeply attached. Countries such as the United States, France, the United Kingdom, Belgium and the Netherlands, though they were deeply attached to the idea of independence and though their example had guided others in their fight for independence, would be damaging their own prestige if they appeared to refuse to other territories the independence which they themselves enjoyed.

15. He wished to assure the Administering Members that the sponsors of the joint amendment were quite objective in their motives. They did not underestimate the work those Powers had performed nor the magnitude of the problems raised by the Non-Self-Governing Territories and by public opinion at home, which

sometimes tended to regard the attainment of self-government by dependent peoples with some dislike.

16. Lord HUDSON (United Kingdom) said that he was somewhat amazed at the way in which the discussion had developed during the recent meetings. As a newcomer, he had anticipated taking part in an enlightening debate, which, in keeping with the humanitarian ideals of the Charter, would tend to promote the prosperity of territories whose inhabitants were not yet fully self-governing, and encourage the administrators, who were endeavouring to improve the lot of those territories, in their frequently unrewarding labours.

17. A great deal of work had been expended on drawing up the list of factors. The most recent *Ad Hoc* Committee on Factors had submitted a unanimous report (A/C.4/L.274). At the beginning of the general debate the Committee had seemed generally inclined to adopt that list as the most satisfactory that could be drawn up in existing circumstances. Hence it was astonishing that some delegations, including three which had been members of the *Ad Hoc* Committee, had proposed far-reaching amendments (A/C.4/L.274) to that list. If the Fourth Committee was thus going to reopen the discussion of the list drawn up by the *Ad Hoc* Committee, differences of opinion might well become more acute, as some States believed that some of the arguments heard in Committee almost amounted to intervention in their domestic affairs. Such dissension would be certain to destroy the harmony without which the Committee could not achieve anything worth while. Furthermore, if a committee of sixty started revising the list of factors on which a body of eight had spent so much time, the discussion would be interminable. To forestall those two dangers, he would urge the Fourth Committee to make do with the list of factors in the *Ad Hoc* Committee's report and not to jeopardize, by lengthy and fruitless discussion, the respect that millions had for the United Nations.

18. The conciliatory spirit invariably shown by the Brazilian representative and by the speakers who had supported his draft resolution was commendable. The differences of opinion among members of the Committee should not prevent it from making a constructive effort towards the application of the principles of Chapter XI of the Charter. It was to be hoped that time would solve the problems that now seemed so hard.

19. He asked the Chairman to put the Brazilian draft resolution to the vote forthwith and he urged the Committee to adopt paragraph 2 of the operative part, which implied the rejection of amendment 3 in document A/C.4/L.273. The Committee would thus be adopting the list of factors as it stood in the *Ad Hoc* Committee's report.

20. Mr. LOPEZ (Philippines) said it was time to put an end to the debate on the question of factors and to attack the problem of putting the list into practice. The Committee should cease to be concerned with theoretical and legal considerations and instead consider practical, political questions. Whereas legal principles, for instance, those stated in the list of factors, should be defined as precisely as possible and even perhaps somewhat dogmatically, they should be applied very flexibly and progress should be gradual, with halts, if need be, to take stock. The Committee had only to adopt the Brazilian draft resolution to make that transition, the need for which was becoming increasingly urgent. In so doing it would be consolidating the United Nations

previous achievements and paving the way for fresh advances.

21. The United Nations had gone far in eight years and was exerting an ever-increasing influence on the future of the Non-Self-Governing Territories. Chapter XI of the United Nations Charter was comparable in importance to the Magna Carta, the Declaration of Independence and the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen, but, unlike them, it had not been wrested from a despot but had been freely and generously granted by the metropolitan Powers actuated by the irresistible ideal for which they had fought the Second World War. Chapter XI was a great victory for moral force and a true measure of the evolution of political philosophy in recent centuries. If that Chapter was so regarded, there would be no reason to despair of the United Nations. The Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories, the *Ad Hoc* Committees on Factors and the Fourth Committee itself had given world public opinion a chance to be heard. To proceed from the preparation of legal texts to their enforcement with all the requisite flexibility and energy was a slow process, but nothing could halt it.

22. With those considerations in mind the Philippine delegation had submitted its amendment (A/C.4/L.275) to the Brazilian draft resolution. Perhaps the time was not yet ripe for settling the question of competence and deciding whether it was for the Administering Member alone or for the General Assembly to judge if a territory had attained self-government or not. To adopt the existing list of factors would be wiser. The parties concerned could then conduct consultations, on the basis of that list, and in such exchanges of views reason and sense would inevitably prevail over the dogmatic and uncompromising approach. That was the only way for the Committee to reconcile conflicting views and so to contribute to the relaxation of the international tension that was beginning to be felt in the Security Council, the First Committee and the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee.

23. Sir Douglas COPLAND (Australia) said that he was glad to find a more conciliatory mood prevailing at the current meeting. He agreed with the United Kingdom and Philippine representatives that the only result of considering document A/C.4/L.274 would be to protract the discussion unduly while other urgent matters awaited the Committee's attention and to aggravate the dissensions among Member States. The list of factors so patiently and carefully worked out by the *Ad Hoc* Committee was neither complete nor final, and only after it had been applied for some time could it be changed as circumstances might require. A final decision would be neither possible nor timely at that stage. Reserving the position his delegation would adopt when the vote was taken on the list of factors, he said that the sponsors of document A/C.4/L.274 should accept the list submitted by the *Ad Hoc* Committee if they wished the Fourth Committee to adopt a list of factors in 1953, for if it discussed the amendments it would inevitably refer the questions back to the *Ad Hoc* Committee and thus lose another year. He hoped that debate and a vote on document A/C.4/L.274 could be avoided, so that the Committee could vote on the list of factors as a whole as drawn up by the *Ad Hoc* Committee.

24. Mr. RIVAS (Venezuela) was sorry that the Brazilian representative had regarded the amendments to his draft resolution as a separate resolution. They were intended merely to develop the sound premises and conclusions of the Brazilian draft resolution. The

Brazilian delegation had in any case announced that it was ready to accept some of those amendments, thus showing that it did not claim that its wording could not be carried further.

25. Amendments 4 and 5 in document A/C.4/L.273 were intended merely to alter the arrangement of material in operative paragraphs 3 and 4 of the Brazilian draft resolution. The principle that each "concrete case should be considered and decided upon in the light of the particular circumstances of that case and taking into account the right of self-determination of peoples" had never caused the least difference of opinion between the administering and non-administering Powers. That principle had been accepted, and to reassert it in a separate paragraph, as had always been done, was to preserve a basis for agreement.

26. The new or apparently new feature—that the decision should rest with the Assembly—had already been implied in the Brazilian draft resolution, as the Brazilian representative had himself said at the previous meeting. In any event, whether that principle were expressed or not, the delegations of the Administering Members would still oppose it since in their view only the Administering Member concerned was competent.

27. In order to make it easier to understand new paragraph 5 proposed in amendment 6, he first explained the new paragraph 6 proposed in the same amendment, which also supplemented rather than contradicted the Brazilian proposal so far as substance was concerned. It merely stressed that it was primarily by attaining independence that the territories mentioned in Chapter XI of the Charter could attain full self-government. However, those considerations led directly to the conclusion, repeatedly arrived at by the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Factors, that it was recognized that self-government could also be achieved by association with another State or group of States if that were done freely and on the basis of absolute equality. When embodied in the operative part of a resolution, that conclusion, having been recognized both by the administering and the non-administering Powers, ceased to be a mere guide and became a principle of the General Assembly.

28. The reason why the attainment of independence should be regarded as the essential means by which the territories in question would attain full self-government was so obvious that it had not been discussed either in the Fourth Committee or in the *Ad Hoc* Committee. In fact, it was the least doubtful form of self-government and the one which lent itself least to misinterpretations or to the maintenance of a disguised form of dependence. For that reason, the factors indicative of independence were fewest in number. For that reason also, the factors relating to political advancement and the opinion of the population were not included among them, for it would be inconceivable that independence could be imposed by force on a territory, or that the population of a Non-Self-Governing Territory which chose independence had not reached a sufficient stage of maturity to take that step. The mere fact that a people took that step was a sign of sufficient political advancement. In any case, that was not the issue on which the administering and the non-administering Powers were divided. The reason for the suspiciousness of the former was their fear that a majority of the States Members of the United Nations might treat independence as the only possible means of attaining full self-government. The addition of that new paragraph 6, proposed by the delegations of eleven non-administering

States, was therefore designed to eliminate that cause of misunderstanding.

29. The idea of independence as the means *par excellence* of attaining full self-government necessarily implied the fundamental condition which governed every type of association between a Non-Self-Governing Territory and the metropolitan Power or any other country. That condition was conveyed by the words "the freely expressed will of the people at the time of the taking of this decision", in the new paragraph 5 proposed in amendment 6. It was not impossible that not only an administering Power but also some other State might annex a Non-Self-Governing Territory by force and claim that the territory had thereby attained full self-government. Accordingly, the condition stipulated did not apply only to the metropolitan government, but to any State, whether a Member of the United Nations or not. Furthermore, since the San Francisco Conference no administering Power had attempted to base a territory's change of status on circumstances unconnected with the will of the people concerned. Similarly, however forcefully they might argue the exclusive competence of the administering Power, the delegations of metropolitan Powers had never seriously disputed the proposition that a change of status had to be carried out in conformity with the wishes of the population.

30. Amendment 9 called for no comments from his delegation. However, he would be grateful if the other sponsors of the amendments in document A/C.4/L.273 would agree to withdraw that amendment. The Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories had derived its terms of reference from resolutions 334 (IV) and 448 (V).

31. On the other hand, amendment 10 proposed a wording more appropriate to the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories. That Committee was, in a way, concerned with procedural questions, and was not expected to take action. Its functions were limited to organizing the work and proposing solutions to the General Assembly. Under the particular amendment, the Committee was to propose modifications to improve the list of factors, in other words changes which would clarify the list and make it progressively easier to apply.

32. Finally, he discussed amendments 3 and 4, which had given the Brazilian delegation and some others the most anxiety. That anxiety would have been mitigated very largely if the amendments (A/C.4/L.273) to the Brazilian draft resolution and the amendments to (A/C.4/L.274) to the list of factors had been distributed at the same time. In the light of the amendments proposed to the list of factors it had appeared inappropriate, even illogical, to let paragraph 2 of the Brazilian draft stand.

33. He then commented on the proposed amendments to the list of factors. Those amendments had been worked out by negotiations and compromises between the various delegations sponsoring it. The item had been so forcefully argued in Committee that it was felt something should be done to dispel the mistrust displayed in debate. If each delegation had put forward its own amendments as suggested to it by the examination of the list of factors, no final resolution could have been adopted on the factors, and it would have been impossible to end that regrettable controversy which had divided the delegations of friendly countries with similar viewpoints on world politics. The Venezuelan delegation had always been opposed to extreme proposals. Furthermore, it was convinced that most of the differences of opinion arose

from the form in which those opinions were presented and not from their actual substance, and it had therefore always tried to reconcile different points of view. It was glad to state that it found the same desire for understanding among those delegations which had acted as co-sponsors of the amendments under discussion.

34. New factors were not necessarily new unavoidable conditions, but new guides, new data, which could be used or not, according to the circumstances of each case, and in accordance with the principle laid down the previous year in resolution 648 (VII) and confirmed in paragraph 5 of the Brazilian draft, namely, that the factors "should in no way be interpreted as a hindrance to the attainment of a full measure of self-government by the Non-Self-Governing Territories".

35. The amendment to factor A.4, "National defence", in the first part of the list of factors, was surely generally acceptable; the proposal was due to the initiative of the Mexican delegation.

36. With regard to the second part, amendment 1 was simply intended to restore the title which had been adopted at the Sixth Session by Sub-Committee 9 of the Fourth Committee¹ and which had then been quite acceptable to the representatives of the Administering Members, including the Australian representative, who had rightly asked that the status of Dominions or members of the British Commonwealth should be taken into account. The Commonwealth was certainly an association of independent States which, collectively, limited their sovereignty to a certain extent. However, the term "association" was not only somewhat vague but could also lead to confusion between that distinct form of self-government and the type of union or association referred to in the third part of the list.

37. Amendments 2 and 3 to the second part required no comment, as they simply recommend a rearrangement of the order of the factors.

38. Amendment 4 might be said to introduce a new element. It would, however, be difficult to describe those other distinct forms of self-government as such if the States concerned had not, when the question of association arose, the power and ability to choose independence, as had been the case of Burma, for example, immediately after the Second World War.

39. Amendment 5 merely involved the deletion of the first part of factor A.3, the negative part; it allowed the positive part to stand. The extent to which a territory had freely and on its own initiative limited its sovereignty was not a positive factor. The decisive test for determining whether a people had attained some other separate system of self-government was: how were the attributes of sovereignty, thus limited, exercised? That positive element had been introduced by the *Ad Hoc* Committee in 1953, on his delegation's proposal (A/2428, para. 34).

40. Owing to the successive changes which had been made in the proposals of the several delegations sponsoring the amendments, and with a view to putting the amendments forward as quickly as possible, amendment 8, entitled "Change of political status", contained a passage which might well have been placed at the end of amendment 5.

41. By the very nature of the attainment of full self-government, States associated in that way, being independent, could separate and form distinct units. It would not otherwise be possible to speak of "other separate systems of self-government".

42. The additions proposed in amendments 6 and 7 were based on the need to give territories the possibility of seceding from the association for geographic, cultural or ethnic reasons. The phrase in amendment 6, "the extent to which the interests of boundary States may be affected, bearing in mind the general principle of good-neighbourliness referred to in Article 74 of the Charter" was based on the Charter.

43. He pointed out a typing error in amendment 9, which should read "The existing factor B.2 will become B.1".

44. Commenting on the third part, he said a Non-Self-Governing Territory could hardly attain full self-government by associating with the metropolitan State or with another country or by becoming an integral part of that country, if that incorporation or association did not take place on a basis of absolute equality with the other parts of the State concerned, unless the inequality left the territory the possibility of changing its decision in the future.

45. That was the reason for the addition of the words "or in any other form" and was the purpose of amendment 5, which noted the existence of States with constitutional powers for granting that advantage. His delegation wished to emphasize that, while it endorsed the addition of that new factor, it did not insist that metropolitan and other States should alter their constitutions to give effect to that factor. Any such insistence would constitute an infringement of Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter. The fact that the Venezuelan delegation supported the amendment did not mean that it intended to place obstacles in the path of Non-Self-Governing Territories which, in freely expressing their will, might choose as a means of attaining full self-government association or integration on an absolutely equal basis with other constituent parts of the State in which they were being incorporated or with which they were associating.

46. The Venezuelan delegation was not responsible for introducing amendment 6, but had agreed to sponsor it in accordance with the obligations that it had contracted by approving resolution XXXIII of the Ninth International Conference of American States.

47. Amendment 9 was obviously reasonable. If a Non-Self-Governing Territory were declared to be incorporated in a metropolitan State by virtue of a constitution in the preparation of which the representatives of the Non-Self-Governing Territory had not participated, that incorporation might possibly lack the consent of the inhabitants of the Non-Self-Governing Territories; that would be contrary to Chapter XI, the general spirit of the list of factors and the principle which would be endorsed by a General Assembly resolution if the proposed amendments were adopted.

48. He emphasized that, in associating with other delegations which had drafted the amendments, the Venezuelan delegation had not intended, as had been alleged, to correct the list of factors and to resume the work of the *Ad Hoc* Committee. Nevertheless, the list, which the Venezuelan delegation had helped to prepare as a member of the *Ad Hoc* Committee, could not be regarded as unamendable, so long as its substance was not affected.

49. It was to be hoped that the General Assembly would adopt a definitive resolution at the present session and that a debate which was constantly being resumed and which gave rise to differences between friendly countries would thus be brought to an end.

50. Mr. CALLE Y CALLE (Peru) said that the list of factors reflected the General Assembly's wish to

¹ See A/C.4/L.180 and Corr.2.

establish, for itself and for the Administering Members, regulations for the application of Chapter XI of the Charter. On the basis of those criteria, the General Assembly would be able to judge the merits of any communication notifying it of the cessation of the transmission of information and to decide on the motives for such cessation. The General Assembly could then choose between three decisions: it could take note of the cessation; it could weigh the merits of the case for cessation by applying the criteria of the list of factors and taking into account the circumstances peculiar to each case; or it could disapprove of the decision to cease the transmission of information. It might be assumed that in the third case the Administering Member would continue to transmit the information concerned.

51. By approving the factors, the Fourth Committee would not be taking a decision on the question of competence, nor was it its intention to treat those criteria as though they were rules governing the application of Chapter XI of the Charter. Hence whatever resolution was adopted should not be regarded as having the rigidity of a legislative text. The purpose of the list of factors was to serve as a guide. Accordingly, it would be sufficient to state in the resolution that the General Assembly approved the list of factors submitted in the report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee and that the list was intended, for the time being, as a guide for the application of Chapter XI of the Charter.

52. He agreed that the Brazilian draft resolution was motivated by a conciliatory intention and by the wish to facilitate the task of the General Assembly and that of the Administering Members. The draft was also an improvement on resolution 648 (VII) and contained only judicious language, the practical consequences of which would be visible in the future. Those remarks also applied to the Philippine amendment.

53. His delegation would vote for the Brazilian draft resolution but could not support the amendments to that text or the amendments to the list of factors.

54. Mr. PETERSON (Canada) recalled that his delegation had spoken earlier on the Brazilian draft resolution and the amendments thereto. He now wished to state its attitude to the amendments to the list of factors (A/C.4/L.274).

55. As mentioned before, the *Ad Hoc* Committee's list was a synthesis of the opinions expressed during three years of continued study, during which the list had been even submitted to the governments of all Member States for comment. He therefore agreed with certain other representatives that it would be pointless for a committee of sixty members to reopen the discussion of the existing list of factors. It seemed highly improbable that such a discussion would serve any useful purpose.

56. The Venezuelan representative had said that the amendments in document A/C.4/L.274 seemed to have

aroused unwarranted anxiety and that they were in fact simple and clear. That might be true of some of the amendments, but, in the very short time it had had to consider them, the Canadian delegation had found that some of the proposed changes gave rise to difficulties of interpretation and raised questions of principle which could not be solved merely by brief explanations.

57. As stated at the previous meeting, the Canadian delegation was prepared to vote for the list of factors as submitted by the *Ad Hoc* Committee and hoped that the list would be put to the vote as a whole. If, however, the draft amendments in document A/C.4/L.274 were put to the vote, the Canadian delegation would be obliged to vote against all of them because of the impossibility, in the present circumstances, of giving them adequate consideration.

58. Mr. FERREIRA DE SOUZA (Brazil) explained his delegation's attitude to the amendments contained in document A/C.4/L.273. His delegation would accept amendment 1, which considerably improved the Brazilian text, but could not accept amendments 2 and 3; the latter presupposed the alteration of the list of factors proposed by the *Ad Hoc* Committee. The Brazilian delegation would accept the first part of amendment 4, because it believed that the purpose of the change was to lay stress on the primary responsibility of the General Assembly. With regard to the second part of the amendment, his delegation would vote first for its own text, which it considered clear enough to settle the question of competence. It was unnecessary to repeat why it took that view for it had stated the reasons at the preceding meeting. His delegation would accept amendments 7 and 8, but not amendments 5, 6, 9 and 10.

59. He quite understood the worthy motives underlying the Philippine amendment (A/C.4/L.275) but considered it incompatible with his delegation's basic thesis of the Assembly's competence.

60. The CHAIRMAN read Conference Room Paper No. 1,² in which he explained what voting procedure he proposed to follow concerning the question of factors.

61. Mr. RYCKMANS (Belgium) pointed out that a vote on amendment 1 in document A/C.4/L.273 should be unnecessary since the Brazilian delegation had accepted it. Such a vote would be necessary only if a delegation asked for a separate vote.

62. Mr. SCOTT (New Zealand) asked why the words "and the Member States" had been included after the words "United Nations" in amendment 1 of document A/C.4/L.273.

63. The CHAIRMAN said that both those points would be dealt with at the following meeting.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.

² Distributed to members of the Committee only.



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Factors which should be taken into account in deciding whether a territory is or is not a territory whose people have not yet attained a full measure of self-government: report of the <i>Ad Hoc</i> Committee on Factors (Non-Self-Governing Territories) (<i>continued</i>).....	83

Chairman: Mr. Santiago PEREZ PEREZ (Venezuela).

Factors which should be taken into account in deciding whether a territory is or is not a territory whose people have not yet attained a full measure of self-government: report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Factors (Non-Self-Governing Territories) (A/2428, A/C.4/L.272, A/C.4/L.273, A/C.4/L.274, A/C.4/L.275) (*continued*)

[Item 33]*

1. The CHAIRMAN drew attention to Conference Room Paper No. 1,¹ which contained his proposals for the procedure to be followed in voting.
2. Mr. MENDOZA (Guatemala) suggested that before examining the Brazilian draft resolution, A/C.4/L.272 and the proposed amendments thereto (A/C.4/L.273, A/C.4/L.275), the Committee should consider and vote upon the proposed amendments to the *Ad Hoc* Committee's list of factors (A/C.4/L.274).
3. Mr. BOZOVIC (Yugoslavia) supported that proposal. Logically the Committee should first decide on the list of factors and then consider the Brazilian draft resolution, whose purpose was the adoption of the list, and the proposed amendments to that resolution. The *Ad Hoc* Committee's list should be treated as an original proposal, and in accordance with rule 129 of the rules of procedure the amendments to it should be voted on first.
4. Mr. KAISR (Czechoslovakia) recalled an earlier proposal made by the Czechoslovak delegation (326th meeting) to the effect that a separate vote should be held on the individual sections of the list of factors, and, in that connexion, expressed his delegation's support of the Guatemalan representative's proposal.
5. Lord HUDSON (United Kingdom) suggested that the Chairman's proposal should be put to the vote immediately.
6. Mr. RYCKMANS (Belgium) maintained that the list of factors drawn up by the *Ad Hoc* Committee did not constitute a proposal in the sense of rule 129, but that paragraphs 1 and 2 of the operative part of the Brazilian draft resolution did. The Committee should therefore vote first on the amendments to that draft resolution.

* Indicates the item number on the agenda of the General Assembly.

¹ Document distributed to members of the Committee only.

7. Mr. FERREIRA DE SOUZA (Brazil) thought the Committee should first decide on the principal question: whether or not it wished to adopt the list of factors as it stood. If it rejected the list it could then vote on the amendments.

8. Mr. RYCKMANS (Belgium) supported that proposal.

9. Mr. ARAOZ (Bolivia) supported the Guatemalan proposal.

10. Mr. DE HOLTE CASTELLO (Colombia) suggested that the Chairman should put the Guatemalan proposal to the vote first and then, if that were rejected, his own proposal.

The Guatemalan proposal was adopted by 26 votes to 22, with 4 abstentions.

11. Mr. RYCKMANS (Belgium) suggested that a vote should be taken immediately on amendment 3 of the eleven-Power draft amendments (A/C.4/L.273).

12. The CHAIRMAN called on the Committee to consider the amendments to the list of factors (A/C.4/L.274).

13. Mrs. BOLTON (United States of America) said that she would not touch on the substance of the matter because the United States delegation had serious doubts, on procedural grounds, concerning the practicability of the step the Committee was being asked to take. The list of factors contained in the *Ad Hoc* Committee's report (A/2428) was the outcome of the deliberations of several special committees which had devoted many meetings to a thorough study of the views of governments on the question of factors. The *Ad Hoc* Committee's report had been in the hands of Member States for many weeks. The United States Government considered that the *Ad Hoc* Committee had carried the study of factors as far as it could profitably be pursued at present. However, the Fourth Committee had been presented with a number of amendments which it was expected to examine in a few days. At best, the consideration the Committee would be able to give those amendments would be hurried and incomplete. Furthermore, even such hasty consideration would entail lengthy discussion and take more time than the Committee could spare.

14. The United States delegation was therefore of the opinion that the Committee should not attempt to amend the *Ad Hoc* Committee's list but should approve it as it stood.

15. Mr. PIGNON (France) entirely shared the United States representative's view. Since, however, the majority of the members of the Committee were evidently determined to vote on the amendments he would explain his delegation's position.

16. The position of the French delegation in the matter had always been perfectly clear. While it had the most serious reservations with regard to the General Assembly's competence to apply the list of factors drawn up by the *Ad Hoc* Committee, it considered, as it had

always done, that the study of such a list was legitimate and useful, on the understanding that the list would constitute not a rigid and inflexible code but a guide to States in dealing with specific cases. Despite its obvious imperfections the list contained in document A/2428 could be used as such a guide.

17. However, the amendments submitted, no doubt with the praiseworthy intention of improving the *Ad Hoc* Committee's work, completely vitiated it and destroyed a structure which, though uneven, had nevertheless had a certain balance. The amendments aggravated the list's existing defects to such a point that they rendered it unacceptable.

18. Those defects derived primarily from the fact that, for an increasing number of delegations, political considerations outweighed the objectivity so essential in dealing with such questions. It was the negation of all scientific method to erect a general theory on special cases; yet that was what had been done in the second part of the list by introducing such controversial ideas as those contained in amendments 6, 7 and 8 of the second and third parts of the eleven-Power amendments. For the sake of the prestige of the United Nations the Fourth Committee must be careful of the quality of its work. The proposed new factor A.4, in the second part of the list, to cite an example, introduced a principle of intervention which was contrary to the spirit and the letter of the Charter and which would endanger that very good-neighbourliness which it was intended to foster. An attempt had been made to establish a spurious link between that idea and Article 74 of the Charter.

19. In the view of the French delegation, however, the most serious fault of the amendments was that they created confusion between the three parts of the original list. The factors of independence, of self-government in association and of self-government through integration were completely confused, and he doubted the usefulness of such a list in the proper sphere of the Committee's work—Chapter XI of the Charter. It was hardly necessary to reiterate that self-government could and did exist without independence; he would merely emphasize that the sponsors of the amendments had wished to create the impression that the second and third parts of the list of factors were useless in practice. In so doing they had deliberately ignored the Fourth Committee's terms of reference and the very object of its work, i.e., the progress of certain territories towards self-government.

20. For those reasons, the French delegation would vote against the proposed amendments as a whole.

21. Lord HUDSON (United Kingdom) regretted that the attempt he had made at the previous meeting to prevent a sterile debate and to obtain some measure of agreement had failed.

22. His delegation had made no secret of the fact that the contents of the list of factors were a matter of comparative indifference to it. The United Kingdom Government had no need for factors and their application by others could have no effect on the status of any of the territories for which it was responsible. The application of the list of factors was thereby limited at one stroke to, at the most, one-third of the territories at present reported on.

23. However, the United Kingdom had responsibilities as a Member of the United Nations of the *Ad Hoc* Committee. It had no political interest in the outcome but had sought to assist the Committee in evolving a

list which satisfied a coherence theory of truth and was in line with the political realities of the modern world. Nine other delegations had co-operated in the work. A list had been approved after eight months of preparation and two weeks of debate, during which the views of all governments that had wished to submit written observations had been taken into account. Now, when the Fourth Committee was on the point of voting on a draft resolution, a series of amendments to the list had been submitted by eleven delegations, three of which had been represented in the *Ad Hoc* Committee; indeed the representative of one of them had been its Chairman.

24. In the view of the United Kingdom delegation the amendments were a supreme demonstration of intellectual confusion. For the most part they appeared to be attempts to assert certain political maxims, some of which were unacceptable to his delegation. Many could be identified as arising from the political ends of particular delegations. That fact should be borne in mind during the vote.

25. With regard to the amendment to the first part he would suggest that if a State existed it had a manifest right to provide for its national defence. Its capacity to do so might be more doubtful and might indeed be considered as a factor in its choice of political orientation.

26. In the second part, amendments 6 and 7 attempted to insert two factors from the third part of which the United Kingdom delegation had never been in favour. Amendment 6 was in effect a reaffirmation of what had been called the "salt-water fallacy", namely, that land-locked imperialism was morally admirable whereas transoceanic communities were ethically obnoxious. The experience of the United Kingdom was that the ocean was a link rather than a barrier. Amendment 7 amounted virtually to the endorsement of racial discrimination and was unworthy of the Fourth Committee.

27. With reference to amendment 8, the United Kingdom delegation could not accept the view that the political development of Non-Self-Governing Territories should be impeded by the existence of a dispute between nations claiming sovereignty over them. As the Australian representative had truly said, there was a world of difference between international status and internal responsibility. The duty of any Member State having sovereignty over a Non-Self-Governing Territory was to promote to the utmost the realization of the objectives of Chapter XI of the Charter, including the development of a full measure of self-government. Undoubtedly all members of the Committee would agree that, in the event of a Non-Self-Governing Territory's passing from the sovereignty of one Member State to that of another, the new sovereign would inherit all the obligations of the old under Chapter XI. The representative of Guatemala had referred to sovereign independence as the manifest goal for Non-Self-Governing Territories, even though that objective was not referred to in Chapter XI. It would be strange if an administering Power were to be inhibited from pursuing the objectives of Chapter XI because of the existence of a claim on the part of another State which must be assumed equally to support the principles of that chapter; for otherwise the existence of such a claim might be construed as a claim for the annexation of the territories in question without regard to the objectives of Chapter XI.

28. If the amendments were adopted the only effect they could have would be to prevent the attainment of independence by any Non-Self-Governing Territory.

29. Mr. RYCKMANS (Belgium) regretted that his delegation would be obliged to vote against nearly all the proposed amendments to the list of factors contained in the *Ad Hoc* Committee's report. The only point with which he agreed was the first half of the proposed new factor A.4 in the second part, which seemed to recognize the error of supposing that an ocean was a greater barrier than a land frontier. However, he could not agree to the second half.

30. The representative of Iran had said at the previous meeting that although there were backward peoples which were not in a position to claim their independence, they must not remain indefinitely subject to exploitation by more advanced peoples. Belgium differed on that point: it had always held that backward peoples should never be exploited. The duty of the Administering Members was to administer the Non-Self-Governing Territories on behalf of the peoples of those territories until they were able to do so by themselves; it was clear that the interests of the peoples must be paramount. The votes which the Belgian delegation would be forced to cast against the proposed amendments to the list of factors were therefore based purely on considerations of principle; they did not mean that Belgium did not recognize its obligations under Chapter XI of the Charter or that it would cease to discharge them faithfully.

31. Mr. M. S. ESFANDIARY (Iran) said that the representative of Belgium, in his intervention, had made several references to the statement made by the representative of Iran. While thanking him for his kind words, he would like to reserve his delegation's position in regard to those remarks.

32. Mr. PACHACHI (Iraq) said that, although Iraq had been a member of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Factors, its delegation had made it clear in that Committee that it did not regard the list of factors approved as final and incapable of improvement. The amendments jointly proposed by eleven delegations were improvements over the original list, making it more coherent and affording better protection for the peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories. He deplored the attitude of inflexible opposition adopted by the United Kingdom and Belgian delegations.

33. Mr. CALLE Y CALLE (Peru) said that, although his delegation was not opposed to the principles embodied in the joint amendments, it intended to vote against them all on the ground that it was impractical to pursue any further the discussion of the list of factors proposed by the *Ad Hoc* Committee. The Fourth Committee ought simply to take note of the results of the *Ad Hoc* Committee's deliberations and not attempt to continue that committee's work to the detriment of other items on its own agenda.

34. Mr. MENDEZ (Philippines) noted that the Belgian representative had suggested that a vote on amendment 3 of the joint amendments (A/C.4/L.273) to the Brazilian draft resolution (A/C.4/L.272) might save the Fourth Committee a great deal of time by making it unnecessary to discuss the draft amendments to the list of factors point by point. That suggestion might well have been put to the vote.

35. Mr. MENDOZA (Guatemala) noted, in connexion with certain observations made by the United Kingdom delegation, that the position of the Guatemalan

delegation in regard to dependent territories which were subject to any claim or litigation on the part of another State had been made quite clear at the Committee's 322nd meeting. His Government would welcome the achievement of complete independence by such Non-Self-Governing Territories, but wished to ensure that illegally occupied territories which were subject to litigation should not have their political status changed by forms of association before such litigation was settled.

36. In connexion with the proposed amendments to the list of factors he objected that the question was being made too complicated. The purpose of the list of factors was not to help the General Assembly to decide whether the status conferred on a Non-Self-Governing Territory was good for the territory or whether it was what the territory wanted, but merely to enable it to analyse the situation and determine whether the Administering Member was in fact released from its obligation to transmit information on the territory to the United Nations. If the number of Non-Self-Governing Territories on which information was transmitted remained constant, no list would be necessary; but if it continued to dwindle it was essential that the General Assembly should have some such guide. He did not agree that the General Assembly had not enough time to improve the list of factors suggested by the *Ad Hoc* Committee; the work of the various bodies which had prepared the list of factors had in fact been compressed into a very short time.

37. The CHAIRMAN called upon the Committee to vote on the amendments contained in document A/C.4/L.274 to the list of factors as contained in the report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Factors, document A/2428, section VI.

38. He put to the vote the amendment proposing that a new factor A.4 should be added to the first part of the list.

That amendment was adopted by 31 votes to 9, with 10 abstentions.

39. The CHAIRMAN put to the vote the first part of the list of factors (A/2428, section VI), as amended.

The first part of the list, as amended, was adopted by 34 votes to 7, with 10 abstentions.

40. The CHAIRMAN then put to the vote the amendments (A/C.4/L.274) concerning the second part of the list.

Amendment 1 was adopted by 27 votes to 15, with 9 abstentions.

41. The CHAIRMAN put to the vote amendment 2. The adoption of that amendment would automatically imply the adoption of amendment 3.

Amendment 2 was adopted by 21 votes to 12, with 16 abstentions.

42. The CHAIRMAN put to the vote amendment 4.

Amendment 4 was adopted by 27 votes to 15, with 8 abstentions.

43. Mr. RYCKMANS (Belgium) asked for a separate vote on the first part of the text of amendment 5, up to the words "thus associated". He intended to vote against both parts of that paragraph; however, many delegations might be in favour of the first part of the text but not of the universal right of secession embodied in the second part.

44. The CHAIRMAN put to the vote the first part of amendment 5.

The first part of amendment 5 was adopted by 30 votes to 8, with 12 abstentions.

45. Mr. RYCKMANS (Belgium), requested that the vote on the second part of amendment 5 should be taken by roll-call.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

Lebanon, having been drawn by lot by the Chairman, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Lebanon, Liberia, Mexico, Pakistan, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Thailand, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Costa Rica, Cuba, Egypt, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq.

Against: Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Peru, Poland, Sweden, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of South Africa, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Australia, Belgium, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Colombia, Czechoslovakia, France.

Abstaining: United States of America, Brazil, Burma, China, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ethiopia, Greece, India, Israel.

The second part of amendment 5 was adopted by 25 votes to 18, with 10 abstentions.

46. The CHAIRMAN put to the vote amendment 5 as a whole.

Amendment 5, as a whole, was adopted by 25 votes to 18, with 9 abstentions.

47. Mr. CALLE Y CALLE (Peru) explained that he had voted against the second part of amendment 5 and abstained from voting on the whole amendment because he could not endorse the right of secession in all cases.

48. In response to a request by Mr. RYCKMANS (Belgium), who asked for a separate vote on the two parts of amendment 6, which had nothing in common, the CHAIRMAN put to the vote successively the first and second parts of that amendment.

The first part of amendment 6 was adopted by 26 votes to 14, with 11 abstentions.

The second part of amendment 6 was adopted by 23 votes to 18, with 10 abstentions.

49. The CHAIRMAN put to the vote amendment 6 as a whole.

Amendment 6, as a whole, was adopted by 24 votes to 17, with 8 abstentions.

50. The CHAIRMAN put to the vote amendment 7.

Amendment 7 was adopted by 26 votes to 17, with 8 abstentions.

51. The CHAIRMAN said that no amendments had been submitted to factor B.1 of the second part of the *Ad Hoc* Committee's list, and that, unless there were any objections, he would consider it adopted.

It was so decided.

52. The CHAIRMAN put to the vote amendment 8, the adoption of which would automatically imply the adoption of amendment 9.

Amendment 8 was adopted by 23 votes to 18, with 12 abstentions.

53. The CHAIRMAN put to the vote the second part of the list of factors (A/2428, section VI), as a whole, as amended.

The second part of the list of factors, as a whole, as amended, was adopted by 24 votes to 18, with 11 abstentions.

54. The CHAIRMAN then put to the vote the amendments in document A/C.4/L.274 applying to the third part of the list of factors.

Amendment 1 was adopted by 25 votes to 15, with 13 abstentions.

Amendment 2 was adopted by 26 votes to 14, with 15 abstentions.

55. The CHAIRMAN put to the vote amendment 3, whose adoption would automatically imply the adoption of amendment 4.

Amendment 3 was adopted by 23 votes to 9, with 18 abstentions.

56. Mr. RYCKMANS (Belgium) requested that the vote on amendment 5 should be taken by roll-call.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

France, having been drawn by lot by the Chairman, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Guatemala, Haiti, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Liberia, Mexico, Pakistan, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Thailand, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Costa Rica, Cuba, Egypt, El Salvador.

Against: France, Greece, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Poland, Sweden, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of South Africa, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Australia, Belgium, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Denmark.

Abstaining: Israel, Norway, Peru, United States of America, Brazil, Burma, China, Colombia, Dominican Republic, Ethiopia.

Amendment 5 was adopted by 25 votes to 17, with 10 abstentions.

57. Mr. DE MARCHENA (Dominican Republican) drew the secretariat's attention to certain changes that should be made in the Spanish text of amendment 6.

58. The CHAIRMAN put to the vote amendment 6.

Amendment 6 was adopted by 22 votes to 18, with 11 abstentions.

59. The CHAIRMAN put to the vote factor A.3 of the third part of the list (A/2428, section VI), as amended by the adoption of amendment 6.

Factor A.3, as amended, was adopted by 23 votes to 18, with 8 abstentions.

60. The CHAIRMAN said that no amendments had been submitted to factor A.4 and that, unless there were any objections, he would consider it adopted.

It was so decided.

61. The CHAIRMAN put to the vote amendment 7 (A/C.4/L.274).

Amendment 7 was adopted by 28 to 13, with 10 abstentions.

62. The CHAIRMAN put to the vote factor A.5 of the third part of the list (A/2428, section VI), as amended by the adoption of amendment 7.

Factor A.5, as amended, was adopted by 23 votes to 18, with 9 abstentions.

63. The CHAIRMAN said that no amendments had been submitted to factor B.1., and that, unless there were any objections, he would consider it adopted.

It was so decided.

64. The CHAIRMAN put to the vote amendment 8 (A/C.4/L.274).

Amendment 8 was adopted by 25 votes to 16, with 9 abstentions.

65. The CHAIRMAN put to the vote amendment 9.

Amendment 9 was adopted by 25 votes to 17, with 8 abstentions.

66. The CHAIRMAN put to the vote the third part of the list of factors (A/2428, section VI), as a whole, as amended.

The third part of the list of factors, as a whole, as amended, was adopted by 23 votes to 16, with 11 abstentions

67. The CHAIRMAN put to the vote the list of factors, as a whole, as amended.

The list of factors, as a whole, as amended, was adopted by 25 votes to 18, with 8 abstentions.

68. Mrs. BOLTON (United States of America) had abstained from voting on any of the amendments to the list of factors because the Committee had been able to consider them only in hurried and incomplete fashion. She reserved her delegation's position on their substance and regretted that the Chairman had not followed the procedure suggested by the representative of Belgium, the Philippines and the United States.

69. Mr. S. S. LIU (China) said that his abstention on the amendments had been without prejudice to their substance. The list of factors proposed by the *Ad Hoc* Committee had seemed to be a satisfactory guide, and his delegation had not felt that there was any need to amend it at the present juncture. Furthermore, that list, as the outcome of a long period of arduous work, might have obtained a wider measure of support in the General Assembly itself. No list of factors could be exhaustive or final.

70. Mr. DE HOLTE CASTELLO (Colombia) had abstained on all the amendments without prejudice to their substance and without going into their merits. His delegation supported the Brazilian draft resolution (A/C.4/L.272) and would vote in favour of it.

71. Mr. NAJAR (Israel) said that his abstention on all the amendments should not be construed as implying any stand on the principles and definitions embodied in them. There was a wide difference between adopting proposals at forty-eight hours' notice and adopting a list which had been given long and careful study. It was regrettable that the Committee should not have seized the opportunity for obtaining a broad measure of agreement offered by the list submitted by the *Ad*

Hoc Committee, but had instead preferred to adopt the amended list by a rather small majority. He feared that a list adopted in such circumstances would not produce the desired results.

72. Mr. RYCKMANS (Belgium) explained that he would have abstained from voting on the original list of factors, which represented the work of several years, but he had felt compelled to cast negative votes in the haphazard adoption of amendments that had just taken place.

73. Mr. DONS MOELLER (Denmark) would have been prepared to vote in favour of the list of factors submitted by the *Ad Hoc* Committee. The introduction of the amendments at the present stage had caused his delegation surprise, and there had been very little time to consider them. He had been able to support a few of them but the majority had not appeared to offer any improvement on the original text. The new factor A.2 in the third part, namely, the possible wishes of the population of a Non-Self-Governing Territory at some future date, was not a factor at all because it related to subsequent events. Furthermore, it either implied that the integration with the metropolitan country was not complete, or would constitute intervention in the domestic affairs of another State, which was contrary to the Charter. He had therefore been compelled to vote against the introduction of that new factor and against certain other amendments.

74. Mr. PIGNON (France) noted with regret that the majority which had approved the amended list of factors had not even tried to answer the criticism that had been levelled against the amendments.

75. Mr. DE MARCHENA (Dominican Republic) wished to make it clear once again that his delegation had always been in favour of drawing up a list of factors and had been prepared to approve the list submitted by the *Ad Hoc* Committee. It had been surprised at the introduction of amendments at the present stage, and had been unable to vote in favour of them, since it would have preferred the adoption of the original list.

76. Mr. FERREIRA DE SOUZA (Brazil) explained that his delegation had abstained from voting on any of the amendments in the same spirit of conciliation that had led it to introduce its draft resolution. Moreover, the amendments had not been adequately studied and he reserved his delegation's position on them in the General Assembly.

77. Mr. NAUDE (Union of South Africa) wished to make it quite clear that his voting on the amendments had been without prejudice to their substance.

The meeting rose at 6.5 p.m.

United Nations
**GENERAL
 ASSEMBLY**
 EIGHTH SESSION
 Official Records



**FOURTH COMMITTEE, 330th
 MEETING**

Friday, 9 October 1953,
 at 3.15 p.m.
 New York

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Chairman: Mr. Santiago PEREZ PEREZ (Venezuela).

Factors which should be taken into account in deciding whether a territory is or is not a territory whose people have not yet obtained a full measure of self-government: report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Factors (Non-Self-Governing Territories) (A/2428, A/C.4/L.272, A/C.4/L.273, A/C.4/L.274, A/C.4/L.275, A/C.4/L.276, A/C.4/L.277) (continued)

[Item 33]*

1. Mr. L. S. BOKHARI (Pakistan) said that before the introduction of the eleven-Power amendments (A/C.4/L.274) to the list of factors proposed in the report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Factors (Non-Self-Governing Territories), (A/2428), his delegation had intended to support the Brazilian draft resolution (A/C.4/L.272) since it was in favour of that list of factors as a guide and had felt that further discussion of it in the Committee was unnecessary. He had hoped that the Brazilian draft resolution would be widely supported and help to narrow the gap between the administering and the non-administering Powers. At the previous meeting he had voted against the Guatemalan representative's proposal that the amendments (A/C.4/L.274) to the list of factors should be considered before the Brazilian draft resolution and the amendments thereto. Subsequently, however, since he was not opposed to the substance of the amendments to the list of factors, he had voted in favour of them though he did not feel very satisfied with the result in view of the very small majority by which most of them had been adopted.

2. Mr. FRAZAO (Brazil) said that the procedure followed by the Committee at the previous meeting had led to the adoption of certain decisions, as a result of which his delegation had had to reconsider its attitude to its draft resolution (A/C.4/L.272). That draft resolution had been based on the conviction that there were certain basic principles of international responsibility that the General Assembly should adopt and certain basic responsibilities of the Administering Members. He had hoped that it would prove acceptable to a large majority of the Committee. Its

* Indicates the item number on the agenda of the General Assembly.

central provision was the adoption of the list of factors proposed by the *Ad Hoc* Committee, though the possibility of subsequent revision by the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories had been left open in paragraph 8. The list proposed by the *Ad Hoc* Committee was the outcome of nearly three years' work, and his delegation had advocated its adoption in the belief that it would further international collaboration to promote the objectives of Chapter X of the Charter. He deeply regretted the decisions taken by the Committee at the previous meeting. His delegation had considered withdrawing its draft since paragraph 2 was irreconcilable with those decisions, but in order not to complicate the Committee's work it had in the end decided to maintain it, including paragraph 2. He urged the Committee to adopt that paragraph as it stood, in which case the decisions at the previous meeting would be annulled.

3. He wished to place the motive for his delegation's action on record and to make it clear that his delegation retained full liberty to support any compromise that might be suggested in the General Assembly.

4. Mrs. BOLTON (United States of America) said that her delegation appreciated the effort of the delegation of Brazil. Although her delegation was not entirely satisfied with the Brazilian draft resolution it would, in a spirit of conciliation, vote for eleven of the twelve paragraphs as they stood. If operative paragraph 3 was modified the United States delegation could also support it and vote for the draft resolution as a whole. She hoped that other delegations would vote in the same spirit.

5. The General Assembly had already performed a useful service in clarifying the complex and variable factors which indicated the achievement of a full measure of self-government. Although her delegation could not accept the principle implied in paragraph 3 of the Brazilian draft, its position on that matter was not a negative one. Under Article 10 of the Charter the Assembly was competent to discuss and attempt to define the expressions "Non-Self-Governing Territories" and "territories whose peoples have not yet attained a full measure of self-government"; it was entitled to recommend to the Administering Members in general the consideration of any definition it adopted or even to express its opinion in general terms on the principles which had guided or might guide such Members in deciding on which territories to transmit information. Moreover, her delegation had no objection to discussion by the Assembly of the information transmitted by the Administering Members in explanation of their decision to cease reporting on territories which had become self-governing. However, the United States Constitution gave the United States Congress the sovereign and exclusive power to decide upon changes in the constitutional status of United States territories. Only the United States could decide when one of its territories had attained self-government within the

terms of Article 73 of the Charter. She had therefore been startled to find that some delegations were supporting recommendations which would have no legally binding effect on the United States Congress and would be misunderstood by the people of the United States. As a practical matter such recommendations would be generally meaningless and, to the extent that they had any meaning, harmful. She appealed to the delegations concerned not to try to force such proposals through the Committee.

6. In the hope that her appeal would be effective, she wished to propose a change in paragraph 3 of the operative part of the Brazilian draft resolution. She therefore requested the Chairman to take a separate vote on the words "by the Administering Members and by the General Assembly" in paragraph 3 of the Brazilian draft resolution and on the last part of that paragraph beginning with the words "in order that . . .".

7. Her delegation was prepared to support several of the eleven-Power amendments (A/C.4/L.273) to the Brazilian draft resolution but it would vote against amendments 2 and 3, because it supported the list of factors in the *Ad Hoc* Committee's report. If those amendments were rejected, the Committee would have an opportunity—by voting for the present text of the paragraphs of the Brazilian draft to which they referred—to remedy the hasty and unfortunate action it had taken at the previous meeting and to approve the list of factors proposed by the *Ad Hoc* Committee (A/2428). In order to meet the wishes of the eleven sponsors of the amendments to the list of factors the Committee might consider the possibility of referring the summary records of its debates on the question of factors to the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories with instructions to consider the suggestions of members of the Assembly when and if that Committee decided to consider further revisions in the list of factors.¹

8. Mr. FRAZAO (Brazil) welcomed the United States amendment as a very reasonable solution to the difficulty. He hoped that the sponsors of the amendments in document A/C.4/L.274 would be prepared to vote in favour of it and, consequently, of paragraph 2 of the Brazilian draft resolution. His delegation would be glad of an opportunity to consider the amendments to the list of factors in the Committee of Information and might well be able to support many of them. At the previous meeting, however, those amendments had been adopted without proper consideration.

9. Mr. MENDOZA (Guatemala), supported by Mr. BOZOVIC (Yugoslavia) and Mr. ESPINOSA Y PRIETO (Mexico), argued that to vote on paragraph 2 of the Brazilian draft resolution would be tantamount to reversing the Committee's decisions at the previous meeting. Under rule 122 of the rules of procedure such a step could be taken only if the Committee so decided by a two-thirds majority.

10. Mr. AROAZ (Bolivia) pointed out that whether the Committee approved paragraph 2 of the Brazilian draft or paragraph 3 of the amendments (A/C.4/L.273) the net result would be the same. The Committee had before it only one list of factors, namely, the amended list, since by the very act of amendment the original list of factors proposed by the *Ad Hoc* Com-

mittee had ceased to exist. If the Committee wished to reconsider its decision to amend the list of factors the rules of procedure governing such cases must be strictly applied.

11. Mr. RYCKMANS (Belgium) and Mr. FRAZAO (Brazil) could not agree that the list proposed by the *Ad Hoc* Committee no longer existed. In any case, the Committee had not considered any part of the Brazilian draft resolution or the amendments thereto at the previous meeting. It had voted only on the amendments to the list of factors. It must now proceed to vote on the draft resolution and amendments.

12. The CHAIRMAN ruled that the voting on the Brazilian draft resolution and amendments would not constitute reconsideration of the Committee's previous decisions and, consequently, that rule 122 did not apply.

13. No amendments had been submitted to the first two paragraphs of the preamble of the Brazilian draft resolution (A/C.4/L.272) and, unless there were any objections, he would consider them adopted.

It was so decided.

14. The CHAIRMAN announced that amendment 1 of document A/C.4/L.273, proposing the insertion of a new third paragraph in the preamble, had been accepted by the Brazilian representative.

15. Mr. PIGNON (France) requested that the paragraph should nevertheless be put to the vote.

16. Mr. WINIEWICZ (Poland) requested that the vote should be taken by roll-call.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

Iraq, having been drawn by lot by the Chairman, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Iraq, Israel, Lebanon, Liberia, Mexico, Pakistan, Philippines, Poland, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Thailand, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Chile, China, Colombia, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Dominican Republic, Egypt, Ethiopia, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, India, Indonesia, Iran.

Against: Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Australia, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France.

Abstaining: Norway, Sweden.

The amendment was adopted by 37 votes to 11, with 2 abstentions.

17. The CHAIRMAN announced that no amendments had been submitted to the original third—now fourth—paragraph of the preamble to the Brazilian draft resolution and that, unless there were any objections, he would consider it adopted.

It was so decided.

18. The CHAIRMAN pointed out that the fate of the original fourth paragraph of the preamble to the draft resolution and, consequently, of amendment 2 of the document A/C.4/L.273 would automatically be decided by the vote on paragraph 2 of the draft resolution.

19. No amendments had been submitted to paragraph 1 of the operative part of the Brazilian draft resolution and, unless there were any objections, he would consider it adopted.

It was so decided.

¹ An amendment to that effect was submitted by the United States delegation later in the meeting and was circulated as document A/C.4/L.276.

20. Mr. FRAZAO (Brazil) pointed out that the additional paragraph proposed by the United States might well affect the way in which a number of delegations voted on paragraph 2 of the Brazilian draft resolution and the amendment thereto. He therefore proposed that the meeting should be suspended pending circulation of the United States amendment.

21. The CHAIRMAN put the motion for suspension to the vote.

The motion was rejected by 17 votes to 12, with 14 abstentions.

22. Mr. DORSINVILLE (Haiti) requested a separate vote on the first part of amendment 3 of document A/C.4/L.273, down to the words "is attached".

23. The CHAIRMAN put to the vote the first part of amendment 3.

The first part of amendment 3 was rejected by 24 votes to 20, with 3 abstentions.

24. The CHAIRMAN observed that the second part of the paragraph would be meaningless by itself so that no vote could be taken on it.

25. Mrs. MENON (India) proposed that in paragraph 2 of the operative part of the Brazilian draft resolution the words "contained in that report" should be deleted and replaced by "as adopted by the Fourth Committee".

26. Mr. MENDOZA (Guatemala) supported that proposal, both for reasons of substance and for reasons of procedure. Since the Committee had already approved the amended list of factors, there was no point in voting on a paragraph which approved the *Ad Hoc* Committee's list.

27. Mr. MATHIESON (United Kingdom) maintained that despite the vote taken at the previous meeting there were still two lists of factors: that proposed by the *Ad Hoc* Committee and that approved by the Fourth Committee. There was no reason why the Committee should not vote on a draft resolution approving the former if the Brazilian delegation so wished.

28. Mr. FRAZAO (Brazil), speaking on a point of order, did not consider it proper that a new amendment should be submitted when the Committee had already begun voting on the eleven-Power amendments.

29. Mr. RYCKMANS (Belgium) did not think the Indian amendment could be put to the vote since it would in effect reintroduce the amendment the Committee had just rejected.

30. Mr. PIGNON (France) said the Indian amendment was one of substance and the voting on the eleven-Power amendments could not be interrupted to take a vote on it.

31. Mrs. MENON (India) insisted that by rejecting amendment 3 of the eleven-Power amendments the Committee had in effect rejected the amended list of factors which it had adopted at the previous meeting. On the other hand, by adopting the amended list of factors it had automatically rejected the original list. In fact, therefore, no list remained on which it could vote.

32. Mr. RYCKMANS (Belgium) urged that the Committee should vote on the Brazilian draft resolution.

33. The CHAIRMAN proposed to put the Indian amendment to the vote.

34. Mr. DE MARCHENA (Dominican Republic) emphasized that the Indian amendment was out of

order under rule 127 of the rules of procedure. Furthermore, the amendment reopened a subject on which the Committee had already come to a decision.

35. The CHAIRMAN asked the Committee to decide whether it wished to vote on the Indian amendment.

The Committee decided by 25 votes to 19, with 4 abstentions, to vote on the Indian amendment.

36. Mr. DE MARCHENA (Dominican Republic), speaking on a point of order, said that under rule 119 of the rules of procedure the Indian amendment should be circulated in writing and the Committee should be given time to study it.

37. The CHAIRMAN said that the meeting would be suspended for fifteen minutes to allow the Indian amendment to be circulated in writing.

The meeting was suspended at 5.15 p.m. and was resumed at 5.45 p.m.

38. Mr. CALLE Y CALLE (Peru) said that although rule 119 of the rules of procedure allowed the Chairman to permit the discussion of amendments which had not been circulated, it did not allow him to put such amendments to the vote before circulation. Moreover, rule 127 said that voting could not be interrupted except on a point of order in connexion with the actual conduct of the voting. The Indian amendment (A/C.4/L.277) was not a point of order and it had been submitted in the course of the voting.

39. Mr. DE MARCHENA (Dominican Republic) agreed that the Indian amendment was not purely formal, but insisted that even if it were, the fact that it had been introduced during the voting meant that to receive it would create a very serious precedent. In view of the grave implications he felt that the Committee should have time to study the Indian amendment. He therefore suggested that the meeting should be adjourned.

The proposal was not adopted, 19 votes being cast in favour and 19 against, with 11 abstentions.

40. Mrs. MENON (India) said that the amendment proposed by her delegation was not substantive but merely a consequential change in view of the fact that the Committee had adopted an amended list of factors at its previous meeting.

41. Mr. FRAZAO (Brazil) noted for the purposes of the summary record and the report that at the proposal of the Chairman the Committee had voted on and rejected the first part of amendment 3 of the joint amendments (A/C.4/L.273), and was to vote on the Indian amendment after the rejection of the joint amendment.

42. The CHAIRMAN put to the vote the Indian amendment (A/C.4/L.277) to paragraph 2 of the operative part of the draft resolution submitted by Brazil (A/C.4/L.272).

43. Mr. MENDOZA (Guatemala) requested that the vote should be taken by roll-call.

The vote was taken by roll-call.

Sweden, having been drawn by lot by the Chairman, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Syria, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Argentina, Bolivia, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Chile, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, Ethiopia, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, India, Indonesia,

Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Liberia, Mexico, Pakistan, Poland, Saudi Arabia.

Against: Sweden, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Colombia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, France, Israel, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Peru.

Abstaining: Thailand, China, Greece, Philippines.

The amendment was adopted by 30 votes to 18, with 4 abstentions.

44. The CHAIRMAN put to the vote paragraph 2 of the Brazilian draft resolution (A/C.4/L.272), as amended, noting that the amendment implied the deletion of the fourth paragraph of the preamble.

45. Mr. MENDOZA (Guatemala) requested that the vote should be taken by roll-call.

The vote was taken by roll-call.

The Philippines, having been drawn by lot by the Chairman, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Saudi Arabia, Syria, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Argentina, Bolivia, Burma, Chile, Cuba, Egypt, Ethiopia, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Liberia, Mexico, Pakistan.

Against: Poland, Sweden, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of South Africa, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Colombia, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, France, Israel, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Peru.

Abstaining: Philippines, Thailand, China, Greece.

Paragraph 2, as amended, was adopted by 25 votes to 23, with 4 abstentions.

46. Mrs. BOLTON (United States) withdrew her proposal for a separate vote on paragraph 3 of the Brazilian draft resolution.

47. The CHAIRMAN said that, in the absence of any objection, he would regard the first part of paragraph 3 of the Brazilian draft resolution (A/C.4/L.272) as far as the word "as a guide", as adopted.

It was so decided.

48. Mr. WINIEWICZ (Poland) said that if a vote had been taken, his delegation would have voted against the first part of paragraph 3.

49. The CHAIRMAN put to the vote point (a) of the Philippine amendment (A/C.4/L.275), to the effect that the words "in appropriate consultations" should be inserted after the words "as a guide" in paragraph 3 of the operative part of the Brazilian draft resolution.

The amendment was rejected by 26 votes to 15, with 9 abstentions.

50. The CHAIRMAN put to the vote the second part of amendment 4 of the eleven-Power amendments (A/C.4/L.273), to the effect that the clause "and applied in the light of all relevant circumstances pertinent to each particular situation . . ." should be deleted from paragraph 3 of the operative part of the Brazilian draft resolution.

The amendment was adopted by 26 votes to 18, with 6 abstentions.

51. The CHAIRMAN put to the vote point (b) of the Philippine amendment (A/C.4/L.275), to the effect that the words "a decision may be taken", in

paragraph 3 of the operative part of the Brazilian draft resolution, should be replaced by the words "agreement may be reached".

The amendment was rejected by 19 votes to 13, with 4 abstentions.

52. The CHAIRMAN put to the vote the third part of amendment 4 of the eleven-Power amendments (A/C.4/L.273), to the effect that the words "by the General Assembly" should be inserted between the words "may be taken" and the words "on the continuation", in paragraph 3 of the operative part of the Brazilian draft resolution.

The amendment was adopted by 30 votes to 15, with 5 abstentions.

53. The CHAIRMAN put to the vote the whole of paragraph 3 of the operative part of the Brazilian draft resolution (A/C.4/L.272), as amended.

Paragraph 3, as a whole, as amended, was adopted by 25 votes to 23, with 3 abstentions.

54. The CHAIRMAN put to the vote amendment 5 of the eleven-Power amendments (A/C.4/L.273), proposing a new text for paragraph 4 of the Brazilian draft resolution.

Amendment 5 was adopted by 35 votes to 11, with 4 abstentions.

55. The CHAIRMAN put to the vote the new operative paragraph 5 proposed in amendment 6 of the eleven-Power amendments (A/C.4/L.273).

The new paragraph 5 was adopted by 29 votes to 19, with 4 abstentions.

56. The CHAIRMAN put to the vote the first part of the new operative paragraph 6 proposed in amendment 6 of the eleven-Power amendments (A/C.4/L.273), as far as the words "the attainment of independence", as requested by the representative of Poland.

57. Mr. WINIEWICZ (Poland) requested that the vote should be taken by roll-call.

The vote was taken by roll-call.

Pakistan, having been drawn by lot by the Chairman, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Peru, Philippines, Poland, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Chile, Colombia, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Dominican Republic, Egypt, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Lebanon, Liberia, Mexico.

Against: Sweden, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Australia, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway.

Abstaining: Pakistan, Thailand, China, Ethiopia.

That part of the new paragraph 6 was adopted by 35 votes to 13, with 4 abstentions.

58. The CHAIRMAN put to the vote the remainder of the new paragraph 6.

The remainder of the new paragraph 6 was adopted by 28 votes to 7 with 15 abstentions.

59. The CHAIRMAN put to the vote the new paragraph 6 as a whole.

Paragraph 6, as a whole, was adopted by 28 votes to 18, with 3 abstentions.

60. The CHAIRMAN said that, in the absence of any objection to amendments 7 and 8 of the eleven-

Power amendments (A/C.4/L.273), which had been accepted by Brazil, the original paragraphs 5 and 6 of the Brazilian draft resolution, as amended, which would now become paragraphs 7 and 8, would be regarded as adopted.

It was so decided.

61. The CHAIRMAN put to the vote the first part of amendment 9 of the eleven-Power amendments, to the effect that the word "further" should be deleted from the first line of paragraph 7 of the operative part of the Brazilian draft resolution, which had become paragraph 9.

The amendment was adopted by 23 votes to 2, with 21 abstentions.

62. The CHAIRMAN put to the vote the second part of amendment 9 of the eleven-Power amendments, to the effect that the part of paragraph 9 of the Brazilian draft resolution following the words "of cessation of information" should be deleted.

The amendment was adopted by 23 votes to 3, with 13 abstentions.

63. The CHAIRMAN put to the vote paragraph 9 of the Brazilian draft resolution, as amended.

Paragraph 9, as amended, was adopted by 28 votes to 21, with 2 abstentions.

64. The CHAIRMAN put to the vote amendment 10 of the eleven-Power amendments, which proposed a new text for the last paragraph, formerly paragraph 8, of the Brazilian draft resolution.

The amendment was adopted by 33 votes to 13, with 4 abstentions.

65. Mr. RYCKMANS (Belgium) noted that he had voted against the amendment, but not because he did not think that the list was capable of improvement.

66. The CHAIRMAN stated that the United States amendment (A/C.4/L.276) had been withdrawn.

67. He put to the vote the whole of the Brazilian draft resolution, as amended, with the list of factors, as amended.

68. Mr. ESPINOSA Y PRIETO (Mexico) requested that the vote should be taken by roll-call.

The vote was taken by roll-call.

The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, having been drawn by lot by the Chairman, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Argentina, Bolivia, Burma, Chile, Cuba, Egypt, Ethiopia, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Liberia, Mexico, Pakistan, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Syria.

Against: Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union

of South Africa, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Colombia, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, France, Israel, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Peru, Poland, Sweden.

Abstaining: China, Thailand.

The Brazilian draft resolution, as amended, was adopted by 27 votes to 23, with 2 abstentions.

69. Mr. WINIEWICZ (Poland) said that the position of the Polish delegation on the list of factors had been motivated by its support for the principle of self-determination of peoples. Thus, although it had been able to accept and vote for the first part of the list, it had found the second and third parts unacceptable because they did not provide for the accession of the Non-Self-Governing Territories to the status of sovereign States. The second and third parts could thus be open to an interpretation serving the perpetuation of colonial rule under another form, instead of serving the aim of ultimate independence for dependent peoples.

70. The Polish delegation had been obliged to vote against the Brazilian draft resolution, even as amended, because its essential part consisted of an approval of the unsatisfactory list of factors. Neither the amendments suggested to the list of factors nor the amendments to the draft resolution had improved the original text and thus disposed of the Polish delegation's serious doubts.

71. He wished to re-emphasize another fundamental consideration already expressed by the Polish delegation during the previous discussion of the same topic by the Fourth Committee. The obligation to transmit information undertaken by the colonial Powers was a binding agreement, and the international responsibility assumed by those Powers could be disposed of only by international decision of the General Assembly. Before any Administering Member could be released from its duty to submit information under Article 73 e of the Charter, the General Assembly must consider all the data relating to the changes in the status of the territory and take the final decision, having regard to all the relevant circumstances of the case. Those considerations would guide the Polish delegation in the future, whenever the General Assembly was called upon to decide whether a territory was or was not a territory whose people had not yet attained a full measure of self-government.

The meeting rose at 6.45 p.m.

United Nations
**GENERAL
 ASSEMBLY**
 EIGHTH SESSION
 Official Records



FOURTH COMMITTEE, 331st

MEETING

Monday, 12 October 1953,
 at 10.45 a.m.

New York

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Chairman: Mr. Santiago PEREZ PEREZ (Venezuela).

Factors which should be taken into account in deciding whether a territory is or is not a territory whose people have not yet attained a full measure of self-government: report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Factors (Non-Self-Governing Territories) (A/2428) (*continued*)

[Item 33]*

1. Lord HUDSON (United Kingdom) said that at the 330th meeting his delegation had voted against the Brazilian draft resolution (A/C.4/L.272) for the reasons given in the United Kingdom's first statement in the debate on the item (326th meeting). Moreover, should any member of the General Assembly invoke the resolution in support of any claim that might be put forward at some future date, the United Kingdom delegation expressly reserved its position.

2. Mrs. MENON (India) said that although the Indian delegation had been prepared to accept the report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Factors (Non-Self-Governing Territories) (A/2428) as it stood, it had had no objection to an elaboration and restatement of the principles contained in the list of factors (A/2428, section VI) as well as in the Brazilian draft resolution (A/C.4/L.272). It had therefore voted in favour of the eleven-Power amendments to the list (A/C.4/L.274) and to the draft resolution (A/C.4/L.273). Some delegations had objected to the re-examination of the list of factors on the grounds that the *Ad Hoc* Committee had already worked on the list, and to the proposed amendments on the grounds that the Fourth Committee had not been given time to study them. A small body such as the *Ad Hoc* Committee could obviously not represent the views of all the sixty nations on the Fourth Committee but some of the amendments proposed had first been discussed at the San Francisco Conference, so that the ideas contained in them had long been familiar. It had been agreed that the list of factors was only a guide and therefore illustrative rather than exhaustive, and that each case submitted to the United Nations would be

examined separately in the light of its particular circumstances. The scope and applicability of the list of factors had therefore been at the same time limited and expanded. The list itself was a sincere attempt to fit facts into theories rather than theories into facts and was of purely academic value.

3. To the Indian delegation, two points were important: first, there must be a certain degree of understanding between the Administering and non-administering Members if the Committee's work was to be pursued; and secondly, the Committee's decisions ought to accelerate the progress envisaged in Chapter XI of the Charter. Those objectives could be attained only through co-operation. Although there was nothing in the Charter to compel the Administering Members to adopt a particular course, the Fourth Committee was seeking within its limitations to give effect to the decisions of the General Assembly. Once those limitations had been realized, it seemed unnecessary to argue about the respective claims of the Administering Members and the United Nations. The constant reassertion by the Administering Members that their decisions regarding the status of the Non-Self-Governing Territories for which they were responsible would be unilateral, that they had made all the concessions which they were prepared to make in accepting Chapter XI, and that anything else demanded of them would be a violation of the Charter, did not promote understanding, and at the same time made nonsense of Chapter XI. The Indian delegation believed that when a Member State accepted the Charter, it could not accept some of it as binding and the rest not. It agreed with other delegations that the provisions of Chapter XI were not and could not be regarded as unilateral declarations by certain Member States, but were the content of a treaty to which all the Members of the United Nations were contracting parties. Thus, the obligation to transmit information was not permanently limited to a few Administering Members, for the possibility that other Members might assume such obligations was not excluded. All the Members of the United Nations were responsible for the fulfilment of the objectives listed in Chapter XI, and that was one reason why the non-administering Members were so interested in the welfare of the peoples of dependent territories.

4. The Indian delegation did not underestimate the value of definitions but it believed that facts were more important. There could be voluntary association between countries only when the countries concerned enjoyed equality of status. Thus, association and co-operation at an international level could be valid and feasible only after a territory had been freed from all external political pressure. Therefore, in all such cases the correct procedure would be independence first, followed by association, as in the case of India itself. Since the Charter said that Member States had accepted their various obligations under Article 73 as a sacred trust, it was hard to see why the Administering

* Indicates the item number on the agenda of the General Assembly.

Members should fear the words independence and self-determination of peoples. Their arguments ignored recent developments of political thought. Events showed that theories and legal interpretations had ceased to withstand the force of popular desire for freedom. The administering Powers should move with the times and not wait for time to move them. In Europe, sovereign States were surrendering the right to provide national defence, which had been accepted as one of the distinctive marks of sovereignty, while all over the world dependent peoples were claiming the right to be independent. It was against that background that the Committee had discussed the list of factors.

5. It was strange and unfortunate that certain Member States, which were fulfilling their obligations under Chapter XI in the true spirit, should have expressed their indifference to the list of factors as such and reasserted their oft-repeated claim that neither the General Assembly nor any other power could influence them in decisions regarding the status of the Non-Self-Governing Territories under their administration. The Indian delegation shared the concern for the peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories and as always would extend its full support to any step which accelerated or helped to accelerate the movement for independence in those territories.

6. The Indian delegation did not agree with those delegations which emphasized the difficulty of finding a proper definition of self-government. The difficulty was not the absence of a definition but the absence of agreement on the definition. The Indian delegation believed that there was no difference between a full measure of self-government and independence. There might be degrees of self-government, but a full measure of self-government should be equated with independence.

7. It was those beliefs which had impelled the Indian delegation to accept the eleven-Power amendments and the principles embodied in the Brazilian draft resolution.

8. Mr. RYCKMANS (Belgium) said that the Belgian delegation had voted in accord with certain unvarying principles, of universal application and in full conformity with the law.

9. The representative of the United States had made it quite clear that it was the United States Congress alone which exercised the sovereign power of decision over the status of the United States territories. Similarly, the Belgian Parliament alone could decide the status of the Belgian territories, which were an integral part of the Belgian State. When Belgium had decided that the Belgian Congo fell within the scope of Article 73 e of the Charter, it had decided, without consulting the General Assembly, to transmit the information provided for in that article; the General Assembly had simply noted the decision and had not been called upon to approve it. When Belgium decided that the Belgian Congo had ceased to fall within the purview of Article 73 e, it would decide, again without consulting the General Assembly and without requiring its approval, to cease to transmit information. That was the law and no vote by the Fourth Committee or recommendation by the General Assembly would change it, for they could not invest the General Assembly with powers which the Charter had not conferred upon it and they could not deprive the signatory States of a sovereignty which they had not abdicated. The draft resolution adopted at the previous meeting would therefore remain a dead letter.

10. The Belgian argument that all non-self-governing peoples were entitled to be treated fairly and protected against abuses, and that all States which possessed territories inhabited by peoples who did not administer themselves were obliged, under Article 73 e of the Charter, to supply certain information to the Secretary-General, had never been refuted. In an effort to do so the Guatemalan representative had quoted the views expressed at the San Francisco Conference by the Greek and United Kingdom representatives, but individual opinions could not stand against the clear statement in the Charter. No real defence had been put up against the irrefutable case developed in paragraphs 59 *et seq.* of the Belgian memorandum of 30 April 1953 (A/AC.67/2).

11. If the Charter was applied in the letter and the spirit, there would be nothing alarming in the Belgian argument. All men were entitled to fair treatment and protection from abuse merely as human beings, even had that right never been laid down in the Charter. All civilized States had recognized that right in Article 23 of the Covenant of the League of Nations. Even those States which now claimed not to have recognized it in the Charter would never dare to admit that they had ceased to believe in it and that they wished to deprive their indigenous populations of an international safeguard which they had formerly recognized. All civilized States which administered indigenous populations had set up for their protection services which published reports. The Charter did not require such States, nor were they being asked, to inform the General Assembly of their political difficulties. All that was being asked of them and all that the Charter did require was that they should extract from those reports certain statistical and other information of a technical character relating to economic, social and cultural matters and communicate it officially to the Secretary-General.

12. It was hard to see how such an argument could be unacceptable to any sovereign State. If certain States did reject it it was because they wished to impose on those few Powers which had recognized and were fulfilling their obligations, an abusive interpretation of the Charter which they would not accept in their own cases. However, logic had its own inviolable laws. What was true in the Committee did not become false outside it. Although the decisions taken at the two preceding meetings would not achieve their aim, they would nevertheless have certain repercussions which might prove very different from what had been intended. The extraordinary theories which those decisions implied—the oneness of self-government and independence, the right of secession presented as being inherent in the right of peoples to self-determination, the exclusive competence of the Assembly to decide when a territory ceased to fall within the scope of Article 73 e of the Charter—might cause some amusement in legal circles, and their sponsors might possibly have refused to uphold them elsewhere than in the Fourth Committee. Nevertheless, they had been upheld, and those delegations which had upheld them in the Committee could expect to have them quoted against them in other circumstances. If the factors which had been adopted as criteria were valid, they were so in all countries, not only in the colonial territories. If they could be used to decide when a State could cease to transmit information, they could also be used to decide when a State should start to transmit such information. If the Assembly was competent, it was so in

regard to all States and not only in regard to the colonial Powers.

13. Certain members of the Committee had affirmed in a roll-call vote that the right of the colonial peoples to self-determination included the right of secession. Some governments might well fail to applaud the votes cast in the Committee by their representatives. It was doubtful whether they would confirm them when they had weighed the consequences and when each of them was called upon to assume its responsibilities in the General Assembly. The colonial territories were not the only places where there were peoples subject to a State which they had not chosen and from which they would gladly secede. When such peoples demanded the application of the principles implied in the votes in favour of the list of factors and the amended draft resolution, they would be told that of course the principles applied only to the peoples of "superior" territories and not to peoples living within the continental frontiers of a sovereign State. They might well fail to appreciate the fine shade of meaning. There were many States in which national minorities demanded a certain degree of self-government. They would learn from the resolution that there was no real self-government outside total independence. Henceforth, they might not be content merely to claim self-government. He reminded the members of the Committee of the proverb "Who sows the wind, reaps the whirlwind". Those who had voted for the amended draft resolution were sowing the wind, and when the whirlwind blew it would be too late to disclaim responsibility.

14. Mr. FRAZAO (Brazil) wished to explain the reason for his negative vote on the amendments to his delegation's draft resolution, in order to avoid any possibility of misunderstanding.

15. During the debate he had pointed out that there was no fundamental difference with regard to either principle or purpose between his delegation and the authors of the amendments. That was proved by the fact that the Brazilian delegation had accepted the additional paragraph of the preamble concerning the competence of the General Assembly in the implementation of obligations arising from Chapter XI of the Charter (A/C.4/L.273, amendment 1).

16. With regard to the other amendments, however, the Brazilian delegation had wished to show its preference for the manner in which it had defined the competence of the General Assembly in connexion with the cessation of the transmission of information and the principle of relativity which should condition the application of the list. Moreover, it did not consider that the text had been improved by the deletion of paragraph 4 of the operative part. It would have preferred to retain its own formulation of the right of peoples to self-determination as the main postulate to which all other considerations must be subordinated. Furthermore, it felt that the drafting of paragraphs 5 and 6 of the amended text was not very happy. Paragraph 5 repeated the idea embodied in paragraph 4 of the Brazilian text. Paragraph 6 contained an expression of opinion as to the value of two forms of self-government. The drafting implied a certain prejudice against any form of association and might be interpreted as meaning that the Committee condemned such association and would prefer that the peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories should not choose it. The cessation of the transmission of information on the grounds that the territory reported on had attained a footing of

absolute equality was possible in only three situations: union; federation of the classic type; and the Commonwealth as it existed today, since at one stage in its evolution the Dominions had not possessed absolute equality with the United Kingdom. There was therefore a contradiction in the text adopted. According to paragraph 6 a territory might become self-governing by association with another State if it were done on the basis of absolute equality. That provision would however exclude incorporation or integration in a federation, since when States signed a federal pact their legal personality became subordinate to that of the union. It could not therefore be said that integration in an existing union would be on a footing of equality. Nor did the paragraph admit the possibility of another type of integration: that in a unitary State. He would not, however, go into that question.

17. He thought he had sufficiently explained the apprehensions with which the Brazilian delegation viewed the amended text. He had wished to voice his disapproval of the hasty manner in which the Committee had radically altered the list of factors. In admitting its draft resolution the Brazilian delegation had wished to take advantage of the compromise reached in the *Ad Hoc* Committee. It would have been desirable for the Administering Members willing to accept a list of factors. True, they had not been very favourable to the *Ad Hoc* Committee's list, but they could not reject it since they had helped to draw it up. A resolution supported by them would have had great force. The Brazilian text, in spite of opposition from some quarters, would have secured a large majority in favour of the list. That opportunity had been thrown away.

18. The Committee had not been justified, in the light of past experience, in thinking that it would be able to improve within the space of a few days on the results of three years' work. It had abandoned the prudence with which it had begun the study and classification of factors. In 1952 representatives on the Fourth Committee had reserved their position on the question until their governments had had time to consider the list. At the 330th meeting decisions of far-reaching importance had been taken. The Brazilian delegation had felt that the list of factors had been sufficiently considered and that it would be better for the time being to let the question rest in view of the danger of serious dissension. The *Ad Hoc* Committee had shared that view, as had two-thirds of the speakers in the general debate. Then there had been an abrupt change and a number of speakers had taken the opposite view. The Brazilian delegation had been unable to follow that change of direction and had not had time to consult its Government with regard to the proposed amendments, which required study and consideration. It had taken no further part in the debate; it had not even intimated that it regarded the Indian amendment (A/C.4/L.277) as a substantive one. The last chance of conciliation had been lost when the Committee had refused to consider the United States amendment (A/C.4/L.276).

19. With reference to the statement made earlier by the Belgian representative, he was surprised that such a thesis should be defended at the present stage. He would not, for the time being, deal with the Belgian representative's conclusions, either from the legal point of view or from that of the Charter, but would return to the question when the Committee discussed the report of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories (A/2465).

20. Mr. SHTOKALO (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) reminded the Committee that on 2 October (at the 324th meeting) his delegation had stated that although the first part of the list of factors required elucidation, it was nevertheless acceptable, but that the factors in the second and third parts of the list were not such as would further the aims and purposes of the Committee. Those factors did not relate to the achievement of self-government and independence but to association with the metropolitan country or with other countries. Such factors could only play into the hands of the colonial Powers, who wished to determine the destinies of the Non-Self-Governing Territories without outside control. The Ukrainian delegation had therefore voted for the first part of the list and against the second and third parts. It had also voted against the relevant paragraphs of the Brazilian draft resolution and the draft resolution as a whole, and the relevant paragraphs of the various amendments.

21. Mr. FERNANDEZ (Uruguay) said that he had supported all the amendments proposed by the eleven Powers (A/C.4/L.273) which in his opinion made the text of the draft resolution on factors clear and precise and brought it within the juridical framework of the Charter.

22. Mr. L. S. BOKHARI (Pakistan) said he had favoured the Brazilian draft resolution on the grounds that it was conciliatory and should be acceptable to the Administering Members. However, the debate had shown that those Members were opposed to its operative clauses. Hence he had voted for most of the amendments submitted by the eleven Powers, since he had no serious objections of principle to them. Nevertheless he felt that the draft resolution as finally approved had no chance of a smooth passage through the General Assembly.

23. Despite its affirmative vote, his delegation still hoped that the Committee would find a way to avoid a deadlock and reach a compromise between the administering and the non-administering Powers. He appealed to both groups to reconsider their attitude. His delegation firmly believed that decisions reached in a spirit of goodwill and co-operation would be more useful than decisions forced on the Administering Members in the face of their determined opposition.

24. Mr. KAISR (Czechoslovakia) said that Chapter XI of the Charter was a clear directive to all Member States to accept as a sacred trust the obligation to promote to the utmost the welfare and political aspirations of the dependent peoples, and only those factors could be accepted which faithfully reflected unconditional respect for the freely-expressed will of the peoples and their desire for true and full independence.

25. His delegation had voted for the first part of the list of factors and the amendments (A/C.4/L.274) thereto because it believed that they would assist the Non-Self-Governing Territories in their struggle to achieve self-government and independence. The second and third parts of the list, however, did not strengthen the principles affirmed in the first part but, on the contrary, weakened them; he had therefore voted against those parts of the list and against most of the amendments relating to them. The sincere desire for complete independence was the universal characteristic of all national liberation movements, which never sought any form of association with the metropolitan Powers. Hence, it was absurd that the second and third parts of the list of factors should legalize such an as-

sociation. Even with the eleven-Power amendments, those parts of the list would still permit outside intervention in the domestic affairs of territories and would constitute a dangerous instrument in the hands of the administering Powers and help them to prolong the reign of colonial oppression in the Non-Self-Governing Territories.

26. His delegation had accepted eight paragraphs of the Brazilian draft resolution and the amendments relating to those paragraphs, but it had voted against those parts of the draft resolution and of the amendments which implied approval of the list of factors and against the amended draft resolution as a whole.

27. Mr. ESPINOSA Y PRIETO (Mexico) announced that the eleven delegations that had sponsored the amendments to the list of factors and the Brazilian draft resolution had submitted an explanatory statement which would be circulated as a conference room paper.

28. Mrs. BOLTON (United States of America) said that her delegation shared the regret expressed by the representatives of Brazil and Pakistan, among others, at the Committee's hasty and ill-considered decisions at its two previous meetings. Those decisions would not help the peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories and would jeopardize the co-operation and harmony which had, in the past, made the Committee an effective instrument for promoting the welfare of those peoples. Her Government did its utmost to fulfil its Charter obligations with regard to the Non-Self-Governing Territories under its administration.

29. Mr. LYNKOV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) said that his delegation had always maintained that the first part of the list of factors was acceptable but that the second and third parts were not, since they would not protect the peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories or ensure their independence and sovereignty. He had voted against the fourth paragraph of the preamble and paragraphs 2, 3 and 7 of the Brazilian draft resolution and the relevant amendments and against the draft resolution as a whole, because his favourable vote would have signified approval of the list of factors. For the same reasons, he had also voted against the list of factors and the amendments thereto.

Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter (continued)

[Item 32]*

GENERAL DEBATE (continued)

30. Mrs. MENON (India), speaking as Rapporteur of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories, introduced the Committee's report (A/2465). The Committee's work had been marked by a spirit of harmony and co-operation and both parts of the report had been adopted unanimously.

31. Two draft resolutions were proposed for the consideration of the General Assembly, one on educational conditions and one on the association of representatives from Non-Self-Governing Territories in the work of the Committee on Information. They would be found in annex II to part one of the report. The Committee had adopted a third resolution, on the cessation of the transmission of information on Puerto Rico, which formed an integral part of the Committee's report (A/2465, part one, para. 67). It had been adopted with no opposition and three abstentions. It was submitted to the General Assembly for information only.

32. A real attempt had been made to study the problems sincerely and the new spirit of conciliation was particularly apparent in the draft resolution on the association of indigenous representatives in the Committee's work. There was still far to go, however, before the ideals of Chapter XI would be realized, and she appealed to the members of the Fourth Committee for constructive co-operation.

33. Mr. LOOMES (Australia), speaking as Chairman of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories, commended the Committee's report to the Fourth Committee. The Committee had carried out its detailed study of educational conditions on the basis of the summaries and analyses prepared by the Secretariat from the information transmitted by the Administering Members. A number of excellent studies had been submitted by the United Nations Secretariat¹

¹ See A/2407, A/2408, A/2409, A/2410 and Add.1, A/2411 and Add.1, A/2413 and Add.1 to 6, A/2414 and Add.1 and 2.

and by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, the Food and Agriculture Organization, the International Labour Organisation and the World Health Organization. The Committee had also profited from the presence of educational experts on the delegations of some of the Administering Members. The discussions throughout had been cordial and co-operative, although some divergence of views had become apparent on the question of associating representatives from the territories in the work of the Committee. There too, however, it had ultimately proved possible to reconcile the various points of view to a very large extent. The draft resolution in question had been adopted by 12 votes to one, with 2 abstentions. The draft resolution on educational conditions had been adopted unanimously.

The meeting rose at 11.55 a.m.

1514 (XV). Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples

The General Assembly,

Mindful of the determination proclaimed by the peoples of the world in the Charter of the United Nations to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small and to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,

Conscious of the need for the creation of conditions of stability and well-being and peaceful and friendly relations based on respect for the principles of equal rights and self-determination of all peoples, and of universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion,

Recognizing the passionate yearning for freedom in all dependent peoples and the decisive role of such peoples in the attainment of their independence,

Aware of the increasing conflicts resulting from the denial of or impediments in the way of the freedom of such peoples, which constitute a serious threat to world peace,

Considering the important role of the United Nations in assisting the movement for independence in Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories,

Recognizing that the peoples of the world ardently desire the end of colonialism in all its manifestations,

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

Affirming that peoples may, for their own ends, freely dispose of their natural wealth and resources without prejudice to any obligations arising out of international economic co-operation, based upon the principle of mutual benefit, and international law,

Believing that the process of liberation is irresistible and irreversible and that, in order to avoid serious crises, an end must be put to colonialism and all practices of segregation and discrimination associated therewith,

Welcoming the emergence in recent years of a large number of dependent territories into freedom and independence, and recognizing the increasingly powerful trends towards freedom in such territories which have not yet attained independence,

³⁶ Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifteenth Session, Supplement No. 2 (A/4494).

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

Solemnly proclaims the necessity of bringing to a speedy and unconditional end colonialism in all its forms and manifestations;

And to this end

Declares that:

1. The subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation constitutes a denial of fundamental human rights, is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations and is an impediment to the promotion of world peace and co-operation.

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

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

4. All armed action or repressive measures of all kinds directed against dependent peoples shall cease in order to enable them to exercise peacefully and freely their right to complete independence, and the integrity of their national territory shall be respected.

5. Immediate steps shall be taken, in Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories or all other territories which have not yet attained independence, to transfer all powers to the peoples of those territories, without any conditions or reservations, in accordance with their freely expressed will and desire, without

any distinction as to race, creed or colour, in order to enable them to enjoy complete independence and freedom.

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

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

*947th plenary meeting,
14 December 1960.*

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Note

Monday, 28 November 1960,
at 10.30 a.m.

NEW YORK



United Nations GENERAL ASSEMBLY

FIFTEENTH SESSION

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

AGENDA ITEM 87

Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples

1. Mr. ZORIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): We, the representatives of almost one hundred States of the world, have gathered here to consider and take an historic decision on a question of vital importance for the whole world, the question of the final and complete liquidation of the colonial system and the liberation of all colonial countries and peoples.

2. Our descendants, when studying the development of human society, will have every justification for calling the middle of the twentieth century, after the great October Socialist Revolution, a significant epoch of construction of a new world, a world of freedom and independence of peoples.

3. The destruction of the most shameful phenomenon in the life of mankind, colonialism, has become the sign of our times. During the lifetime of our generation the colonial system has suffered crushing blows. Since the Second World War, India, Indonesia, Burma, Ceylon, Cambodia, the United Arab Republic, Iraq, Morocco, Tunisia, Ghana, Guinea and many other countries have thrown off the domination of the colonialists. In 1960 alone, seventeen new States have burst their colonial bonds and gained independence. Now 1,500 million people, but lately languishing in colonial bondage, are following the path of national regeneration.

4. The liberation struggle has changed the entire face of modern Asia. Tremendous, indeed historic, changes have taken and are still taking place on the African continent. Profound processes of national liberation are going on in the countries of Latin America, whose peoples are rising with ever-increasing resolution to fight imperialism. Close at hand now is the complete collapse of the whole colonial system of imperialism, foreseen by the best minds of mankind and predicted by the great Vladimir Ilyich Lenin.

5. But colonialism is not yet dead. Not all States and peoples by any means have liberated themselves from colonial oppression and enslavement.

6. Even those which have become independent are far from having done away with colonial domination,

with the attempts of the colonialists to regain their lost positions, as is graphically shown by recent events in the Congo, which have been the subject of heated discussion in the General Assembly.

7. There are still many countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America and Oceania that are languishing under the yoke of foreign usurpers. It would be a delusion to consider the struggle against the colonialists as ended. One has only to glance at a map of the world to see scattered upon it, like so many birth-marks of the past, the remains of the ruined colonial empires where the colonialists still succeed in keeping tens of millions of people in slavery. There, colonial wars continue to take their bloody toll. Hundreds and thousands of patriots, fighting for the freedom of their peoples, are confined in prisons and concentration camps there. As a result of the plundering carried out by the colonialists in the colonies, it is there that are to be found, side by side, the longest working day and the lowest standard of living, the highest illiteracy rate, the lowest expectancy of life and the highest mortality rate among the population. Repulsive racial discrimination, which insults and degrades the dignity of man, is practised there in its worst forms.

8. Can the United Nations and its Member States acquiesce in this? Who but we should speak out for the complete and prompt elimination of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations and thus fulfil the task entrusted to us of reaffirming faith in human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person and in the equality of rights of all nations great and small?

9. On 23 September 1960 [869th meeting], the Chairman of the delegation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Nikita Sergeevitch Khrushchev, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, expressing the will of millions of Soviet people, submitted a Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples [A/4502 and Corr.1] for consideration by the United Nations General Assembly at its fifteenth session.

[The speaker then read the text of document A/4502 and Corr.1.1/]

10. The extreme importance of the problem of liberating the peoples and countries still remaining under colonial domination should be obvious to all. The time has come to make an end of colonialism and free mankind from this shameful vestige of the past.

11. Statements to this effect have been made at this session of the General Assembly by Prime Minister Nehru of India [880th meeting], President Nasser of the United Arab Republic [873rd meeting], President Sukarno of the Republic of Indonesia [880th meeting], President Nkrumah of Ghana [869th meeting], Prime

1/ See Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifteenth Session, Annexes, agenda item 87.

Minister Castro of Cuba [872nd meeting], President Sékou Touré of the Republic of Guinea [903rd meeting], Mr. Shukairy, Chairman of the Saudi Arabian delegation [879th meeting], and many other representatives.

12. Speaking in this chamber on 12 October 1960 [902nd meeting], Mr. Khrushchev, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, emphasized that the General Assembly should be fully aware that unless the most urgent measures are taken colonialism is capable of inflicting much more suffering and loss, ruining many more millions of lives and spawning armed conflicts and wars, creating a threat to peace and security not only in certain quarters of the globe but all over the world.

13. The Soviet delegation regards as a good and encouraging sign the unanimous decision of the General Assembly [903rd meeting] to discuss the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples in plenary meeting, that is to say, in the highest forum of the United Nations. This decision can be considered a new blow against colonialism, a new victory for the peace-loving forces in the great struggle for peace and the freedom of peoples.

14. The Soviet Union delegation expresses its firm belief that the fifteenth session of the General Assembly will become a historic landmark on the road to the complete and final liquidation of colonialism and that 1960 will rightfully be called not only the "year of Africa" but also the year of the liberation from colonial slavery of all peoples wherever they lived—in Africa, Asia, Latin America, anywhere in the world.

15. The Declaration submitted by the Soviet Government is a document containing a programme for the struggle for the liberation of all colonial peoples. It defines the principal tasks and indicates the general approach to the solution of this historic problem. We are convinced that the peoples of all continents and all delegations to this session that are anxious for a speedy and radical solution of the historic task of liquidating the shameful colonial system will support this Declaration and its humanitarian, progressive principles as a noble and powerful appeal for the complete liberation of mankind from the shameful past, for the complete freedom and independence of all colonial peoples.

16. Mr. ORMSBY-GORE (United Kingdom): I think my first duty should be to congratulate Mr. Zorin on a very accurate reading of document A/4502, submitted by Mr. Khrushchev on 23 September 1960. I followed the text, which I had read two months ago, and I found his rendering clear and faultless, but I am bound to say that I did not find it any more helpful or constructive than when I first read it for myself two months ago.

17. When the delegation of the Soviet Union asked for the inscription on our agenda of the item which we are now considering, "Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples", I had hoped that the debate upon it could be made the occasion of a serious discussion of the ways in which we can all help to realize the aspirations of those peoples who do not yet enjoy what is described in the Charter of the United Nations as a "full measure of self-government". This is an aspect of world affairs with which we in the United Kingdom have for long been

vitaly concerned. We know the great force of nationalism in the world today. We have seen how the achievement of independence has given to the many millions of people for whose administration we were once responsible the incentive to develop their own countries with added energy and vigour. We have seen how it has given them the opportunity by taking their place here in the United Nations to serve the world community and the interests of international peace and security. The example of the new nations, great and small, of Africa and Asia has been a great stimulus to us in the common effort which we share with the people of the dependent territories which still remain. It has spurred us forward in our policy of helping them build strong and vigorous nations, undivided by tribal, ideological or racial strife and imbued with the strength which only freedom and prosperity can give.

18. I have been shocked, as I am sure many representatives have been, by the manner in which the Soviet delegation and its friends have sought to pervert for their own purposes the deeply and genuinely felt desire for independence of so many millions of people—a desire which is supported and applauded by the great majority of mankind. Both in the document which Mr. Zorin read out to us this morning, in which the Soviet delegation asked for the inscription of this item, and in the speech with which the Soviet representative opened this debate, there is no sign of recognition of the facts of the situation which they have caricatured. Their only purpose seems to be to generate hatred rather than friendship, violence rather than peace, and chaos rather than order.

19. The representative of the Soviet Union appears to wish to use this debate simply as another occasion for vilifying my country and other Administering Powers and for carrying the cold war into Africa, in the hope that perhaps it can there be hotted up to his advantage. I must warn him that if I chose to follow suit, I would have much better ammunition than he has. Since 1939, some 500 million people, formerly under British rule, have achieved freedom and independence, and their representatives sit here. In that same period, the whole or part of six countries, with a population of 22 million, have been forcibly incorporated into the Soviet Union; they include the world's three newest colonies; Lithuania, Estonia and Latvia. In addition the Soviet Union exercises economic, political and military domination over millions of other men and women in neighbouring countries. Countless efforts have been made by national movements in countries under Russian control to gain independence. All have been suppressed. In Central Asia, we have seen examples of a colonial policy which, as Mr. Khrushchev himself told us at great length earlier in the session [869th meeting], has in material terms been an outstanding success. He did not tell us of the mass deportations of populations and the ruthless suppression of nationalities which went with it. I shall not harrow the feelings of this Assembly by reciting the whole grisly catalogue; one or two examples must suffice. The so-called German Autonomous Republic was abolished by a stroke of the pen and the Volga Germans who inhabited it were removed to various localities in the East. This populous group was thus scattered and liquidated as a community. Again, the entire populations of the Crimean Tatar, Kalmyk and Chechen "Autonomous" Soviet Socialist Republics, amounting with some smaller communities to nearly a million people...

20. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of the Soviet Union on a point of order. Perhaps the speaker at the rostrum would kindly stand aside while I deal with the point.

21. Mr. ZORIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): Mr. President, in the statement I just made I did not say one word about the United Kingdom; I did not speak about that country at all.

22. The United Kingdom representative, however, has just attempted to start a discussion of the internal affairs of the Soviet Union. This is a violation of the generally accepted principle that governs the work of this Assembly. I ask you, Mr. President, to protect the delegation of the Soviet Union and the delegations of other countries against attempts to intervene in the Soviet Union's internal affairs.

23. It is perfectly natural that the United Kingdom representative should have nothing to say about the "beneficent" effect the United Kingdom is having on the colonial territories under what he called its "administration". There is, of course, nothing favourable that he can say in that connexion. However, attempts at intervention in the internal affairs of the Soviet Union are inadmissible; we must protest against them and regard the use of such methods of discussion as utterly illegal.

24. The United Kingdom representative said that he wanted to avoid the cold war, but he was the first to take this line in speaking from this rostrum. If he continues in the same vein he will receive an appropriate answer both from the Soviet Union and from the other countries that are anxious to discuss the liquidation of the colonial régimes existing in the territories dependent upon the colonial Powers, but will not permit intervention in the affairs of the peoples that exist and act in freedom within the framework of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

25. The PRESIDENT: The point of order raised by the representative of the Soviet Union places the Chair in somewhat of a difficulty. As all delegations here are aware, charges and accusations of the kind against which the representative of the Soviet Union has just protested have become only too common coin in our discussions here in the Assembly. They are not confined to any one delegation or to any one group of delegations. They are made indifferently by many delegations.

26. The purport of all charges and accusations of this type, and in many cases their actual substance, is the same. It is impossible for the Chair to discriminate between them. To rule some of them out of order and others not would involve the Chair in a series of arbitrary judgements which it would be impossible to justify. To rule them all out of order might rightfully be regarded as an undue restriction of the right of free expression. In these circumstances, the primary responsibility falls on delegations themselves. Charges and accusations of the kind complained of rarely add force to argument and do much to lower the tone of the Assembly's debates. I would appeal, therefore, to the good judgement and the good sense of delegations to refrain from making these charges and accusations gratuitously and, by so doing, to help to keep the tone of this debate on a level in keeping with the importance of the subject matter.

27. I would ask the representative of the United Kingdom kindly to continue.

28. Mr. ORMSBY-GORE (United Kingdom): Mr. President, of course I will bow to your ruling.

29. I felt that we had certain charges made against us. We had been called robbers; we had been told that we indulged in ceaseless carnage, and so on. I did not think the words that I had used in reference to the Soviet Union should have made Mr. Zorin oversensitive. But I am aware that the Soviet delegation does not like discussion here of certain aspects of their home policy, nor does the Soviet Government facilitate the publication by the free Press of the world of the facts about it. Very well; we have to accept that.

30. It is a tragic fact that there is little which we in the United Nations can do to help these people under Soviet domination, and it would be no service to the peoples of the rest of the world who are passionately concerned about their own desire for independence to play the Soviet game, to answer them back in their own kind and thus to allow the affairs of Africa and Asia to become lost underneath a barrage of charges and counter charges. All I ask is that the United Nations machinery for dealing with Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories, and the structure of co-operation which has been built up over the years, should not be destroyed by the unconstructive and irresponsible assaults of the Soviet delegation and their friends. For this reason, I do not propose to waste further time on the draft declaration on this subject put forward by the Government of the Soviet Union.

31. On the subject of colonialism, my Government will listen with the greatest attention to the voices of Africa and Asia; but we see no reason why our serious discussions on this great subject should be degraded by the calumnies and distortions which are the stock in trade of the greatest oppressor of our day.

32. I am heartened that the African and Asian Members of the United Nations do not appear themselves to regard the Soviet contribution to our debates as a particularly serious one, and that they intend to put forward a draft declaration of their own. Let me say at once that the United Kingdom delegation is in entire sympathy with what I know to be the feelings and the main purposes of these delegations, the achievement with all possible speed of full self-government and independence by those people who do not yet enjoy these things. If we have sometimes had differences of opinion on this question, these have been differences of method and sometimes of timing; they are not differences of intention. They are differences which can be discussed between Member States, speaking as equals and speaking in good faith, speaking, in fact, as those who have the same goals in view.

33. Let us look objectively at the nature of the problem. We hear a lot in the United Nations and elsewhere of the fact that colonialism is dying or that it is disappearing. Of course it is, in those parts of the world where we and those who think like us bear responsibility. It is dying in the sense that the Phoenix died, dying at the moment of its greatest glory, when it gives birth to new nations. Indeed, in the sense that colonialism involved the permanent subjection of one people to another, it was already accepted as an out-of-date political relationship by all those who, like the United Kingdom, subscribed without reservation to

Chapter XI of the United Nations Charter and have since honoured it in practice.

34. I find it hard to improve upon the terms of Article 73 of the Charter as a description of the British concept of the modern colonial relationship, which is, by definition, a living and constantly evolving one and one which, by its very nature, must be rapidly replaced by something new. Let me quote a few passages from this article. We, the United Kingdom Government, as an original Member of the United Nations, "recognize the principle that the interests of the inhabitants" of the Non-Self-Governing Territories "are paramount". We "accept as a sacred trust the obligation to promote to the utmost...the well-being of the inhabitants of these territories". We undertake "to ensure, with due respect for the culture of the peoples concerned, their political, economic, social and educational advancement". In this connexion, I notice that Mr. Krishna Menon of India observed in committee the other day that we have never tried to turn other people into Englishmen. Moreover, we undertake "to develop self-government, to take due account of the political aspirations of the peoples, and to assist them in the progressive development of their free political institutions, according to the particular circumstances of each territory and its peoples and their varying stages of advancement".

35. These obligations we have honoured, and the manner in which we have done so is known to all the world. I think it is fair to say that the speed with which we have developed self-government has been remarkable, in the light of the expectations of the world in 1946. The Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories has just reviewed the progress made in these territories during the first ten years. It has observed, and rightly:

"The aspirations of peoples towards self-government or independence have too often far outstripped the pace of their economic and social advancement..."

[A/4371, part two, para. 24.]

36. This is true. Economic and social progress, though steady, has nowhere been as spectacular as political progress. This does not mean that political progress must be slowed down. Far from it. No one can deny that political advance is affected by the success of economic and social policy, but independence cannot be delayed until all economic and social problems are solved. Nor, of course, are these problems solved automatically by independence, and there are other items on our agenda which call attention to the need for the United Nations to continue to expand its work in the newly independent States to help them tackle and solve the problems which remain.

37. Let us look for a moment at the facts and figures of this political progress. It is people that we are concerned with, and not just territories; so the figures I will give are figures of population. The 450 million or so people who lived in India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Burma, all achieved independence after the war. Not counting these, the total population of the Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories of the world was in 1946 approximately 225 million. Ten years later it had fallen to approximately 125 million, a figure which included a natural population increase in the remaining territories of about 25 million over the period. Since 1956, the pace has further speeded up, and roughly another 75 million have achieved their inde-

pendence, all of them in Africa. That is to say that, as regards people living outside the Soviet empire, 650 million have achieved complete independence in the past fifteen years. The only people living within the Soviet empire who have gained their freedom are the few millions who have escaped from it as refugees. Of those who remain in dependent territories, about 40 million live in Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories for which the United Kingdom is responsible. As far as we are concerned, these are the people whom this debate is about.

38. But in these, too, progress towards independence is extremely rapid. Over two million of them live in Sierra Leone, where, according to the representative of the Soviet Union speaking at the beginning of this session, "the struggle for liberation still goes on". This particular "struggle" can best be described as a figment of the Soviet imagination, over-heated perhaps by the perusal of out-of-date Marxist text-books and the incantation of worn-out Leninist slogans. In fact, the people of Sierra Leone know perfectly well that they will be independent in five months' time. The distinguished Sierra Leonean Minister, who is already concerning himself with problems of foreign affairs, was here in New York a few weeks ago studying the problems of United Nations representation for a small country. Many delegations met him. Three million more of these people live in the Federation of the West Indies, which will also, without doubt, be independent in the near future. Nine million more live in Tanganyika, the biggest territory for which the United Kingdom remains responsible and where, according to the representative of the Soviet Union, there has been "unending carnage". There has been nothing of the sort. Instead, there has been an inspiring example of harmony between all communities in the Territory, a harmony which has already brought it to the verge of independence, with a peaceful and exciting future before it. In response to a request from Mr. Julius Nyerere, Chief Minister of Tanganyika, the United Kingdom proposes to introduce, later in this very session of the General Assembly, a draft resolution designed to terminate the Trusteeship Agreement for Tanganyika on its attainment of independence, with effect from a date to be agreed between the United Kingdom Government and the elected leaders of Tanganyika. No one can doubt that that date will not be far away; at least, it is not doubted in Tanganyika or in the United Kingdom. So, proceeding at their own pace and in their own way, the way of co-operation and statesmanship, the people of Tanganyika are blazing the trail for the rest of East Africa.

39. What, then, are the problems which remain? What is so different about the remaining territories, the ones which I have not mentioned, which prevents them from acceding to immediate independence? There are, I think, two different kinds of problem; they differ according to the circumstances of the territories concerned. The first kind concerns territories which are small and sometimes isolated. There are no fewer than twenty-nine Non-Self-Governing Territories now under United Kingdom administration which have a population of under one million each. Fourteen of these have a population of less than 100,000. The people of these small territories have to think carefully about their future. There are many factors, different in each case, which may cause their people to hesitate about separate independence. They may be isolated geographically, with an economy barely sufficient to meet

the expanding needs of their people. These people may have no wish to sacrifice the economic and social progress to which they are entitled in order to assume responsibility for maintaining the expensive apparatus of a modern independent State.

40. Alternatively, in some cases the people of these territories feel—justly or unjustly—threatened by a large and powerful neighbour. They fear that their independence might not long endure and that they might, unprotected, lose the political freedom which they now enjoy.

41. The people of these small territories deserve our consideration just as much as those who live in the great States of the world. They each have their own peculiar political problems, and we in the United Kingdom consider it as our solemn obligation, in accordance with Article 73 b of the Charter, to work out with the people concerned the form of independence which will best satisfy their aspirations.

42. The other day the Fourth Committee adopted, by a majority of 62 to 3,^{2/} a draft resolution [A/C.4/L.648 and Add.1] approving twelve principles, which are to serve as a guide to Member States in determining whether they are under an obligation to transmit information to the Secretary-General in respect of particular territories in accordance with Article 73 e of the Charter. Principles VI, VII, VIII and IX refer to the circumstances in which such territories can be said to have reached a full measure of self-government. I will read out Principle VI:

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

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

43. Principles VII, VIII and IX go on, very properly, to define with some care the circumstances in which free association or integration is acceptable as full self-government.

44. An important point in these principles is that the free and voluntary choice of such a status by the people concerned must be the result—and I use the words of the draft resolution—of "informed and democratic processes". Now, these processes take time; although perhaps, in comparison with an earlier age, not much time.

45. The United Kingdom is doing all it can to hurry on the processes of self-government as fast as possible, but it would surely be a betrayal of the whole spirit of Chapter XI of the Charter for us to say that the people of, for example, the Seychelles Islands, or the Gilbert Islands, should decide immediately what form they wish their ultimate independence to take; or, to take other examples, the people of Basutoland or Hong Kong.

46. So much for the smaller territories; let us look now at the nature of the problems in the larger territories which are still dependent. These are perhaps more important in the eyes of most Members of the United Nations. They contain more people and they are in Africa.

47. Here I must return to the theme which I stated earlier. Every action of the United Kingdom in regard to these territories is directed towards the building of new nations, nations which will be united and free, and through which the people can realize their aspirations for peace, independence, prosperity and individual freedom. It is of fundamental importance to the future peace and prosperity of Africa that the countries of that continent should retain their integrity, and that their independence should not be followed by civil war and economic collapse.

48. In these last few years, during which we still retain a direct responsibility for these territories, we are framing our policy in such a way that the different tribes and communities who inhabit these territories can learn confidence and trust in each other. Working all the time with the people, we are trying to ensure, before the date of independence is determined, that the new States will command the loyalty and the energies of all tribes, all communities alike.

49. We think that this has already been achieved in Tanganyika. In the neighbouring territories in this region of Africa certain fears still remain. The process is a delicate one. There are groups in all these countries, sometimes African, sometimes European, sometimes Asian, who fear that independence when it comes will hurt them. The task is to dispel this fear, as similar fears have been dispelled in countries which have already achieved independence.

50. In these territories, there is no argument about the right of the people to independence; there is no argument whether the people will be independent or not. Certainly they will. The only question is when, and the answer must be, just as soon as there can be confidence that the new nations will thrive, and that their independence will be really effective and have real meaning and will not be sapped by internal strife or external pressure. The people of these countries want independence in the form which suits them, and not according to some ideological pattern imposed on them from outside. They want to avoid violence and chaos, for these things bring with them outside pressure and interference.

51. It is our obligation to see that they achieve their genuine aspirations and to help them frustrate those who wish them ill. In this I am confident that we shall have the support of the great majority of the Members of the United Nations. I only wish that we could have the support of all of them.

52. In view of some of the things which have been said during this Assembly, I should like to emphasize once again that the policy of the United Kingdom in those parts of Africa for which we are responsible is a non-racial policy, as indeed it is elsewhere in the world. To quote the words used by the United Kingdom representative, Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, from this rostrum at the fourteenth session, on 17 September 1959:

"In those territories where different races or tribes live side by side, the task is to ensure that all the people may enjoy security and freedom and the chance to contribute as individuals to the progress and well-being of these countries. We reject the idea of any inherent superiority of one race over another. Our policy therefore is non-racial; it offers a future in which Africans, Europeans, Asians, the peoples of the Pacific and others with

^{2/} See Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifteenth Session, Fourth Committee, 1045th meeting.

whom we are concerned, will all play their full part as citizens in the countries where they live, and in which feelings of race will be submerged in loyalty to new nations." [798th meeting, para. 30.]

53. To sum up, we believe that the peoples of dependent territories should advance to self-government and independence as fast as is humanly possible. We believe that new nations should be strong and prosperous and at peace with themselves and their neighbours. We hold these beliefs because, to us, they are manifestly right, and because we know that the peoples of these countries ardently desire these things. But we also hold these beliefs because they are in our own interests, and indeed in the interests of every one of us represented in this Assembly. If the new nations are strong and peaceful, they have a great contribution to make to world peace, which is indivisible. If they are prosperous and dynamic in their progress, they have a great contribution to make to the raising of standards of living, to the development of world resources and to the progress and well-being of mankind as a whole. These are the deeply and sincerely held beliefs of the British people. For many years they have guided our actions toward the peoples of countries overseas. On them will continue to be founded our common efforts, until we have achieved the goals of our policy and they, the peoples of these countries, have realized their national aspirations.

54. Mr. CARDOSO (Congo, Leopoldville) (translated from French): It is painful for the delegation of the Congo to have to speak after a clash between two powerful delegations. It was not enough that we had to enter the United Nations through an emergency door; we also had to receive our baptism of fire.

55. However, Mr. President, we wish to thank you and all those who have made it possible for us to speak here.

56. On 22 November 1960 the General Assembly decided [924th meeting] that the representatives of the Republic of the Congo (Leopoldville) would not only be recognized here but would also have the right to speak. Having been unanimously admitted to membership in the United Nations on 20 September 1960 [864th meeting], the Republic of the Congo could no longer be denied the right to make its voice heard.

57. While all Members of the Organization have used and even abused the right to speak about the Congo, some of them going so far as to speak in its name, it must be acknowledged that this right belongs, in the first place, to the Congolese themselves. No one is better qualified to speak of the Congo than the Congolese, who are the first to suffer from the Government crisis which has lasted all too long.

58. The decision of 22 November gave international confirmation to the undisputed authority of our country's highest institution, the office of the Head of State. The Congolese people is resolved to defend all the institutions which it has freely chosen. Our Head of State, President Kasa-Vubu, who has been recalled to Leopoldville by duties which permit no delay, has asked me to convey to the General Assembly his regret that he could not himself express his satisfaction at the decision of 22 November, and he has asked me to read the following message to the Assembly:

"The Republic of the Congo fully appreciates the assistance which the United Nations has decided to

afford it in this exceptionally difficult period of its history. It realizes how great are the sacrifices in men and money which several Member States are making in order to help bring about the successful solution of critical problems.

"In expressing the hope that this assistance will continue, I undertake, as Head of the Congolese State, to do everything in my power to make the best use of it for the sake of peace and progress in the Congo. More than any other country, the Congo needs national unity and agreement. At the proper time, all persons of good will who can contribute to this task will be called upon to do so."

59. That is the message from the President of our Republic. You must understand that the Congolese people, in its determination to free itself from imperialism in any form, is in the pay of no one. It is both futile and insulting to preach that any revolution which does not embrace a particular ideology must inevitably be condemned by history.

60. The dialectic whose intellectual legitimacy has never been acknowledged by some, does not seem to tolerate any surprise. The Congo, alas, is a country of surprises. Imperialists of all persuasions have opposed each other there and have all failed lamentably. The Congolese people has defeated colonialism once and for all. The colonialists of the West and East alike, too long accustomed to thinking of Africa as the perfect country for colonization, now seem bent on "decolonizing" it. In obedience to the wave of new ideas, they intend to "decolonize" at any cost, as if to ease their consciences. But Africa remains vigilant and refuses to be taken in by the pedlars of good intentions.

61. It was these same pedlars of good intentions who yesterday devastated our countries with the hateful slave-trade and with colonialism. They are the ones who today promise us the moon and the stars. They act as though they were dealing not only with economic and social under-development, but also with congenital intellectual under-development.

62. Africa, however, is on the alert to protect its freedom and cultural personality. All peaceful means will be used to promote the unity of Africa, and the magic of mere words and slogans will not prevail against it. Tomorrow Africa, one and indivisible, will release from colonialism the peoples still under arbitrary rule, for it cannot be the only continent of "decolonization". Tomorrow Africa will give the world a more human aspect, so that the true hope of mankind, to live in peace, may not be disappointed.

63. The PRESIDENT: I call upon the representative of China in exercise of the right of reply.

64. Mr. LIU (China): In the wild and far-ranging distortions in his statement, the representative of the Soviet Union made a reference to Taiwan against which, he said, "the United States has committed aggression". I did not wish at that moment to interrupt the orderly proceedings of the General Assembly by table-thumping or otherwise raising a point of order, but I ask for the floor now in my exercise of the right of reply to say that the United States military personnel on Taiwan are there by the invitation of my Government in connexion with my Government's programme of defence

against communist aggression in that area. I need not add that no Soviet distortion can alter the fact that the Government of the Republic of China now based on Taiwan is an independent and sovereign Government,

and it is utter falsehood to allege that the United States has committed aggression against China.

The meeting rose at 12.50 p.m.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

FIFTEENTH SESSION

Official Records



57
926th
PLENARY MEETING

Monday, 28 November 1960,
at 3 p.m.

NEW YORK

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

AGENDA ITEM 87

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

1. The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly will continue its consideration of the item entitled "Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples".

2. Before calling on the next speaker inscribed on my list, I give the floor to the representative of Portugal in exercise of his right of reply.

3. Mr. GARIN (Portugal): Mr. President, may I thank you for granting me the right of reply. It is for my delegation a matter of deep regret that the representative from the Soviet Union has thought it appropriate to blur this debate—a debate which should be solely concerned with the discussion of general principles and high ideals—by coming here and making remarks and statements which certainly are not a contribution to harmony and agreement. Indeed, the representative of the Soviet Union has made accusations which my delegation must reject categorically. It is not surprising that such vilifications should be made by the delegation of the Soviet Union: as we all know the delegation of the Soviet Union is always at its best when indulging in sub-standard propaganda, and when addressing to others certain accusations which more properly should be directed elsewhere, namely, to themselves.

4. My delegation strongly rejects and emphatically protests against the statements made in regard to Portugal by the representative of the Soviet Union. They are entirely baseless and, should the representative of the Soviet Union pretend to prove them, he would have to offer still more fabrications.

5. The Soviet representative accused my country of carrying out unending reprisals in the Portuguese Overseas Provinces and of practising forced labour, virtual slavery, colonial tyranny and the like. These are outrageous slanders and my delegation, on behalf of the Portuguese nation and its Government, vehemently denies such accusations and once again repudiates every one of them.

6. When the Soviet representative becomes intoxicated with the high sound of his irresponsible words—particularly when he feels that the Assembly will tolerate his verbal abuse of my country and Govern-

ment—he is likely to stop at nothing for as long as he senses that this forum renders him a degree of immunity.

7. We take pride in the unceasing toil and work that for nearly five centuries of common history we have achieved overseas—it has been the work of maintaining order, organizing community life, promoting economic development, providing education at all levels, investing capital, and raising living standards. However, one thing is certain: at least, the progress and development which we brought and are still bringing into our Overseas Provinces was not and is not done by methods which are repugnant to the conscience of mankind nor by violations of human rights. We have not and we will not achieve progress through subjugation of peoples and territories, physical and moral slavery, complete political repression, deportations of people "en masse", forced migration, absolute lack of freedom—political or intellectual—constant threats against other nations and peoples, exploitation of the weak, and so on.

8. I hope that the Soviet representative will understand why I objected to his irresponsible remarks about Portugal. However, if he insists on fictitious and utterly unwarranted remarks about a so-called Portuguese colonialism, I will be compelled to return here in due course to remind him and to elaborate on a certain type of colonialism, which, I am sure, he is very familiar with.

9. Mr. NONG KIMNY (Cambodia) (translated from French): I have the honour to submit formally to the General Assembly the draft declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples contained in document A/L.323, on behalf of the delegations of Afghanistan, Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, Chad, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Morocco, Nepal, Nigeria, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Togo, Tunisia and Turkey.

10. Since the text was distributed, three other delegations—those of Cyprus, Mali and the United Arab Republic—have joined the co-sponsors [A/L.323/Add.1].

11. In submitting this draft declaration, we wish to inform the General Assembly that we have taken the greatest care in drafting it and giving it its final form. In preparing it we have tried, in particular, to find formulas and solutions which we hope will be acceptable to the great majority of delegations, if not to the entire General Assembly. The co-sponsors of the document therefore appeal to all delegations to consider it with open minds, as a means of putting an end to a situation which is now an anachronism in the history of mankind, the domination of one country by another and the exploitation of one people by another.

12. Since the historic Bandung Conference of 1955, enormous progress has been made in applying the

principles laid down at that first meeting of the African-Asian countries. We are anxious that the present draft declaration should be yet another step forward in the irresistible process of the emancipation of peoples. We hope that all the countries concerned, especially those responsible for the future of the peoples who are still dependent, will see their way to support this declaration; and in our desire to ensure peaceful development and a bright future of freedom for all peoples who have not yet gained independence, we have kept the language used in our draft declaration strictly in conformity with that of the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

13. Since I am speaking now solely to submit our draft declaration formally, I have the honour to inform you that the co-sponsors reserve the right to speak again in order to present their views. I should also like to say that it seems probable that other delegations, which are now waiting for instructions from their Governments, will join us later as co-sponsors of the draft.

14. Mr. VAKIL (Iran) (translated from French): There is no doubt that the debate which began this morning is of exceptional historical importance. Colonialism is in its last throes, as a result of the irresistible and irreversible movement of peoples towards full emancipation; and here we are, the peoples of the United Nations, giving historic expression to this universal moment of truth.

15. It is a moment between a past of inequality and a glorious future, in which all peoples of the world seem resolved to re-establish human brotherhood, now won back at last, and to work together for their common happiness, on a footing of equality and the solidarity of free men.

16. As the representative of one of the oldest free and independent States in the world—though it is situated in a continent which has for long been ravaged by the curse of colonialism—I am deeply aware of the great honour it is for me to be able to put my country's views on the problem before us.

17. At this moment, when the victorious struggle of the colonial peoples has brought about the disintegration of the colonial system, and when more than forty-five countries have become independent since the establishment of the United Nations, over 100 million of our brothers and sisters are still experiencing the horrors of a system which has inflicted indescribable sufferings on dependent peoples.

18. Before I begin to discuss colonialism, it may be useful, I think, to try to define it. Colonialism might be defined as a political and economic system imposed and maintained by foreign Powers on the national territory of other peoples, its main feature in those territories being the arbitrary establishment of a system introduced from outside, without the consent of the peoples administered, and designed mainly to serve the interests of the administering Powers.

19. As this definition shows, one of the main features of colonialism has been the use of force with or without provocation, either brute force or force cleverly disguised in the best paternalistic traditions. We can say, without danger of partiality, that colonialism, stripped of its trappings, was a system established by force, and then developed, becoming more subtle, and even in a way, more humane, likewise by force

and, I must add, a force designed primarily to hold up the development of the colonial peoples whenever development was not seen to be essential, in one way or another, to the development of the colonial interests. It was therefore basically a force opposed to those peoples' development, antagonistic to that development, a force based on principles which often paid no heed to the fate of the subject peoples.

20. This does not mean, by the way, that a settler was by nature a contemptible exploiter; not necessarily so. He was like so many other kinds of men; he might, as an individual, be as pleasant as the next, as helpful and as good as the exploited black person. The trouble was inherent in the very nature of his status and of the colonial system, which sought to exploit the conquered countries in whatever manner would be best for production, profit and a reassuring absence of trouble.

21. In its pursuit of this purpose, the colonial system was, by its very nature, in the opposite camp to the colonial peoples. It unconsciously, but justifiably, considered any real progress and any awakening of the colonial peoples as a real threat to its own existence, and it did not allow those peoples to develop except in so far as their development was essential to its own existence, and only in whatever conditions of peace and stability, or rather social stagnation, were most suitable to the colonial system.

22. Colonialism, initially imposed by force, very soon became a highly complicated system of direct or indirect political and economic domination of all the less developed peoples. Hence, according to the kind of interests concerned and the advantages to be gained, the colonial Power would resort either to direct control of the subject territories, or to indirect control, by systematically supporting ruling classes which were kept in power to defend colonial interests against the indigenous peoples.

23. Whatever the method of controlling these territories applied by the metropolitan country, colonialism succeeded through this control in establishing and maintaining powerful machinery designed to bring in the greatest possible profits, regardless of the interests of the indigenous inhabitants. So the colonial system, by the support it gave to the forces of social reaction in subject territories and to tribal classes and hierarchies which would otherwise have disappeared, distorted the dynamic working of the forces of change and froze political and social development at the primitive stage. This is why colonialism must be held responsible for the considerable backwardness of the dependent countries in relation to the general progress throughout the world, and for the tragic gulf between these dependent countries and the industrialized countries.

24. In order to maintain and increase its profits, to protect colonial enterprise against all risks and dangers and to perpetuate its rule, colonialism was forced to perpetuate an order based essentially on social stagnation and the maintenance of the status quo, and marked by the paralysis of the forces of progress. For these purposes the colonial régime used such devices as racial discrimination, enslavement by humiliation, fear and ignorance, exploitation under paternalistic labels and other practices calculated to deprive the man living under colonialism of his identity and human dignity. As I have said, it permitted no

progress of subject peoples unless such progress was seen to be essential to its own existence.

25. It is, of course, true that, to serve its own purposes and to exploit the wealth of conquered territories in the manner best suited to production, profit and relative absence of trouble, colonialism introduced features typical of more advanced societies.

26. Here, obviously, colonialism could hardly escape the general law of contradiction inherent in every living process. This is also a point which must be brought out if we are to understand the complex and sometimes misleading nature of the colonial problem. It would be a mistake to carry hatred of colonialism, however understandable, to the point of simply denying or refusing to recognize the undoubtedly useful features produced by and inherent in the very exploitation system itself. It is by no means true that colonialism has done absolutely nothing in the colonies. We personally feel that colonialism has undeniably made definite contributions, some of them of the greatest importance for the later development of the colonies. However, we must at once make clear the nature of these contributions and put them in their historical setting, in order to avoid confusion and distortion of the truth. Any objective analysis of the facts will thus show clearly that the so-called benefits of the colonial system, far from being essential features of colonialism, are simply its inevitable secondary consequences, and are caused by the very contradictions in the system.

27. It is important to carry this analysis further. The source of the contradiction lay in the actual development of modern society and in the needs of a system of profitable exploitation of colonial countries. This meant, among other things, that the peoples had to play a greater part in the colonial enterprise. The system needed labour which was not only cheap but also skilled and properly organized. It had to set up what has been called the economic infra-structure necessary for the development of transport, commerce and the economy in general. It could not do without roads, buildings, schools or even hospitals, all of which are now part of any large-scale, efficiently run and expanding commercial enterprise. As I say, these indisputable features of colonialism, although they are there for all to see, are not evidence of any sacred mission of the colonial Powers, but are to be explained as the inevitable consequences of a system based essentially on profit and the colonial interests concerned. These same consequences were also to bring about the gradual disintegration of the system.

28. The contradictions inherent in the colonial system, in fact, became more apparent as the system enlarged its horizons. The development of means of communication, the establishment of urban centres, the introduction of the new system of trade and organized labour, as well as such things as the gradual impoverishment of the indigenous peoples, were strong enough to break out of the framework artificially maintained by the settlers and finally led the colonial peoples to self-awareness in the face of the whole phenomenon of colonialist rule.

29. The revolutionary changes which followed the Second World War and affected the fate of about 1,500 million persons belonging to the Asian peoples gave a new impulse to the independence movement of the African peoples. In a sense, they served to bring to a head what I have called the secondary consequences

of socialism. Those who had been trained and schooled for the deliberate purpose of serving their former masters more diligently became aware of their human and national strength and refused to be used as the instruments of their own ruin.

30. So the African awakening, which has been the most important feature of the history of the black continent over the past fifteen years, pitted against colonialism in Africa a force of such power, scope and lightning development that it has surprised not only the colonialists but sometimes those who set it in motion, namely the prime movers of the African emancipation movement.

31. During the period which followed the African awakening after the Second World War, there was a certain confusion in the colonial camp. Was brute force to be stepped up and were the old colonial methods to be continued, with still heavier oppression and repression? Would it be better to adapt them to the more democratic climate of the time? Or had the time come to make an agonizing reappraisal of the traditional methods and simply to keep pace with the troublemakers?

32. The foreign and colonial offices had never seen such extraordinarily swift deployment of forces which they could not even understand. And, while they tried one solution after another, each testing what seemed to it the most effective way of dealing with the situation, the peoples themselves continued the struggle, which grew like a snowball and threatened to become a general movement going beyond the purposes which the colonial peoples had set for themselves.

33. As may be imagined, the political conditions arising out of the cold war were not likely to make it easier to deal with the more and more threatening rise of the anti-colonial tide. Those who had a clearer sense of history and more practical vision decided at this point to adapt their thinking to the new conditions and to achieve the only possible balance capable of maintaining positions which had become precarious. Some such concern would appear to have been behind the famous "new wind of change" policy in Africa, which the Africans, though they realize its nature, have welcomed. It is a true expression of the real forces concerned, since it exists, clearly, first and foremost because of the courage and struggles of the African peoples for independence, and also because of the practical good sense and enlightenment of the colonial Powers concerned.

34. The United Kingdom, feeling this wind of change, is breaking up its former colonial empire with undeniable success, and often with the effective co-operation of the peoples concerned. In this England has once again shown its political genius for adapting itself to the changing conditions of the times.

35. It is this wind of change that has brought France, with glory and success, to restore to most of its former African possessions the great principles born of the French Revolution and of its rights of man and of the citizen.

36. The admission to the United Nations of ten new States, all members of the French Community, does credit to the courageous decolonization operation undertaken by the Fifth Republic. Let us hope that this wind of change will be strong enough to blow, not only through the former French territories which have already been freed, but also through other territories

in which this sincere effort is still held back by unwarranted vested interests.

37. Thus in the annals of colonialism the wind of change is a new phenomenon which has come to stay. It is an expression of this moment of truth when colonialism, realizing the implications of the emancipation movement and the new and only possible balance of forces, sees no alternative but to make an agonizing reappraisal of its general attitude towards the very problem of the colonial system.

38. Colonialism, which had been more or less firmly founded on brute force—the most efficacious and practical instrument of supremacy at the time—is turning to a new strategy. Instead of opposing the tide, it will now follow the tide. Instead of stopping it with a force which is no longer effective, colonialism will try to use it in a new way, seeking to co-operate with the former rebels and trying now to maintain, as far as possible, its only remaining bastion, namely its economic and technical supremacy.

39. It is of the greatest theoretical and practical importance for the under-developed peoples to study the complex features of this wind of change which has begun to blow through Africa and has opened the last chapter of colonialism. This wind must not deceive the African people by its freshness or by the new sense of dignity and freedom it brings them. Nor should it be neglected and simply opposed, just because it rises in the white hills of the West. Like every historical fact, and like colonialism itself, it is made up of opposing forces. It is our task, as the peoples of the developing countries, to turn it to the best advantage without falling into the snares of inexcusable credulity or of an anachronistic and dogmatic orthodoxy.

40. The colonial peoples, I am sure, will tackle this new situation, with all its inherent hopes and dangers, its possibilities in the way of co-operation, its pitfalls and dilemmas. But this will of course require great vigilance and discernment everywhere. For the constructive and promising aspects of the wind of change are, after all, only an intelligent reaction to and a realistic estimate of the new balance which history has imposed on the colonial Powers. It should be welcomed and encouraged wherever it truly and effectively expresses a realistic and enlightened sense of history and is based on the premise, now evident and well established, that no kind of political enterprise can last in the context of tyranny and the subjugation of peoples.

41. It would be a very different thing if other Powers, more obstinate and less imaginative, were to look on the wind of change as a simple tactical manoeuvre, regarding it in Machiavellian terms as a safety valve to be opened when the pressure reached the point of explosion. The events of the past year have revealed two significant tendencies in the colonial situation at its present stage of development. On the one hand, they have familiarized us with the more intelligent, long-term policy of the wind of change; on the other hand, they have shown us once more that, in their desperate struggle for existence, colonial vested interests have more than one trick up their sleeve and that neo-colonialism is a very much more cunning, and hence far more dangerous, child than the parents who gave it birth.

42. In point of fact, traditional colonialism as such can henceforth be considered as a historical phenomenon belonging to the past. Even if in some territories it is still rampant and still provokes crises marked by the blood and tears of the indigenous people, even if it still exists in a considerable number of territories, with a total population of 100 million, the colonial system as a whole is already on its deathbed, already breathing its last, and its hysterical outbreaks of violence show even more clearly that its end is near and inevitable. Thus it is not the old colonialism, asthmatic and with one foot in the grave, that now threatens to deprive peoples of genuine independence, but the young and virulent neo-colonialism. With its complex network of political, economic, ideological and other weapons, neo-colonialism is out to defend the same interests over the corpse of the old-style colonialism. The nature and purpose of both are the same, and on the whole only the tactics seem to have changed, to fit in with the political, economic and psychological requirements of the modern world. No one should be deceived by appearances, and precisely for that reason, as long ago as 1955, at Bandung, all the African and Asian peoples decided to denounce colonialism, solemnly declaring it, in all its forms and manifestations, to be an evil which must be quickly brought to an end.

43. There is no doubt that the vested interests which caused the colonial scourge to appear in the world and have enabled it to endure will continue to exist long after colonialism itself has been eliminated. Hence it is to be expected that they will refuse to submit to the verdict of the liberated peoples and will do everything they can to return to the scene and recreate colonialism in new forms better suited to the conditions of the modern world. This being so, it is imperative that the peoples concerned should continue to extend their struggle against the colonial phenomenon to all forms of colonialism, whether economic or political, which directly or indirectly threaten their national sovereignty and the workings of the democratic institutions deriving therefrom.

44. The problems and circumstances to which I have referred show clearly that the whole question of colonialism is far from being simple. It has theoretical aspects which particularly call for study so as to enable the peoples of the world to follow its development better as time goes on and to prepare themselves to confront the dangers it presents. But such a study would be altogether outside the scope of this debate. With your permission, therefore, I shall try as briefly as possible to put forward some considerations of a general nature and to deal with the main practical problems which face us today, seeking at the same time to establish certain principles which we feel should be brought to the attention of the Member States concerned.

45. (1) Let me say once more what pleasure it gives my country to note that this year seventeen former colonial territories have come to swell our ranks as fully sovereign and independent Members. It is a brilliant victory, not only for the peoples concerned, but also for the international community as a whole, and, of course, for the United Nations. It is obvious that the contribution of new States not only strengthens the position and prestige of the United Nations, but is also an important factor in ensuring international peace and security.

46. (2) While recognizing the merits and progressive nature of the efforts recently made by certain Administering Powers to lead a large number of territories under their administration towards independence, my delegation hopes that the policy of decolonization thus begun will be adopted and followed by all Powers administering overseas territories and will be extended to all colonial territories where the indigenous peoples are still deprived of the fundamental right of self-determination. By virtue of this recognized right of all peoples, they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development. Article 1, paragraph 2, of the draft International Covenants on Human Rights, already adopted by the Third Committee of the General Assembly, recognizes further that:

"The peoples may, for their own ends, freely dispose of their natural wealth and resources without prejudice to any obligations arising out of international economic co-operation, based upon the principle of mutual benefit and international law. In no case may a people be deprived of its own means of subsistence."^{1/}

47. (3) The United Nations is to be congratulated on its contribution to the movement to emancipate the peoples of Non-Self-Governing and Trust Territories and on its support for the principle of self-determination. The International Trusteeship System, and a dynamic interpretation of the spirit of Chapter XI of the Charter, have proved effective means of helping these peoples to achieve progressive emancipation and preparing them gradually for independence. It is, however, regrettable to note that in this field the resistance of certain Administering Powers to the constructive efforts of the United Nations and their systematic policy of meeting the liberal spirit of the Charter with a narrow and outmoded interpretation of the letter of the Charter have had this effect of reducing considerably, and even paralysing, the possibilities of action by the international community.

48. (4) World development, particularly during the past fifteen years, shows unquestionably that in present circumstances the conditions necessary for lasting international co-operation based on respect for fundamental human rights not only run parallel to, but are identical with, the essential conditions for preserving the legitimate economic and political interests of the great Powers. The incomprehensible insistence of some Powers on maintaining certain colonial practices which in the past proved successful methods of achieving colonial ends, cannot today but ruin the last chances of co-operation between the developing peoples and the more privileged Powers.

49. More particularly, it is of the greatest importance that countries inspired by the ideals of liberty and democracy should yield to the evidence of a new order of things and should not precipitate, whether through indifference or lack of vision, situations which can only benefit the enemies of all peoples. The logical development of the colonial peoples is proceeding at such a furious pace that it is now no longer permissible to keep to a narrow conception of immediate self-interest. Today more than ever, sincere and frank talks between colonial Powers and colonial peoples is necessary, and on these talks depend the future of the

whole world. If they take place and are carried on in a friendly atmosphere, there is every reason to believe that an era of fruitful co-operation for the common good could come about; and that would not be a defeat, but a victory for all.

50. The very natural suspicions of both sides, the misunderstandings, the mutual recriminations, could thus gradually disappear in an atmosphere marked by joint efforts on the part of the free and independent peoples to create a new community of nations, free from unjust bondage, free from racial or other prejudices, and free from the tyranny of things and of men.

51. Such a policy of co-operation is, in our view, the only one which can help the former colonial peoples to follow their course of development without discord and enable them to solve the problems, particularly the economic problems, which will arise along this arduous path. It is also the only one which can lay the foundations of a solid and lasting peace, in the regions concerned and in the whole world. If, by some mischance, such co-operation is not achieved in time, and if the debate does not proceed on a basis of equality and mutual confidence, it is to be feared that the whirlwind of events will engulf all men of goodwill and open the door to tyranny, which alone in such circumstances would be capable of putting an end to the chaos thus unleashed.

52. All peoples, therefore, and all free and independent States, particularly the Administering Powers, must recognize this complex situation, which is as fraught with danger as it is full of opportunities for co-operation. To this end they must establish and develop their relations with the former colonial peoples on the fundamental, sacred principle that all peoples without exception have an inalienable right to complete independence, to the exercise of sovereignty and to the integrity of their national territory, and on this basis are determined to take their destinies into their own hands, in complete freedom, without any pressure from outside. They must realize once and for all that the general movement of peoples towards complete emancipation is an irreversible and irresistible phenomenon and that any attempt, either direct or indirect, to resist it is not only immoral and contrary to international law, but is doomed in advance to certain failure. They must have confidence in all peoples and abstain from any intervention of a political, economic or other kind in their internal affairs. The free peoples and the Powers which were and still are responsible for administering the colonial territories must do all that is in their power to work for the success of this historical movement, on which the future and the happiness of all mankind largely depend.

53. (5) The present situation thus imposes new responsibilities on the former colonial Powers. These new responsibilities must, first of all, lead them to do everything they can to bridge the gap which now separates them from the colonial peoples and, to that end, to seek the required solutions in sincere co-operation with the peoples concerned.

54. These responsibilities must also lead them to establish, instead of keeping up the united front of traditional colonialism, a new united front of free peoples against all those in the world who would like to maintain and establish positions of strength and unwarranted supremacy. The yoke of tyranny is still too fresh in the minds of the newly liberated peoples

^{1/} Official Records of the General Assembly, Tenth Session, Annexes, agenda item 28 (part I), document A/3077, para. 77.

for them to want to seek new masters or to let themselves be deceived by anyone. Hence their most natural allies are those who truly and sincerely seek to make freedom a universal ideal. The colonial peoples will certainly fight as they have fought in the past against any form of domination, subjugation or exploitation in defence of their national dignity and their dearly-won freedom. It is therefore of the highest importance that all Powers with the same ideals of freedom, human dignity and social justice should understand this fact and, above all, that they should not, through lack of vision or patience, or as a result of hasty defensive reactions dictated by emotion or fear, spoil their chances of setting up a united front of freedom and democracy with the former colonial peoples.

55. It would be a great misfortune if the short-sighted desire to retain certain political, economic and other immediate advantages, and continued resort to certain modes of action incompatible with the freedom and the basic interest of these peoples were to aggravate misunderstandings, widen the existing gap and in addition, by omission or commission, force them to seek allies elsewhere than in the camp of those individuals and peoples who are inspired by the same ideals.

56. (6) The colonial Powers must recognize that one of the first and most important attributes of a people's independence is the exercise of sovereignty, which is the sole prerogative of those living within the national territory. Sovereignty appertains to them both de facto and de jure and no one may exercise it on their behalf without their freely-given consent. Hence, the Powers which have exercised sovereignty on behalf of the peoples of the territories under their administration in accordance with the United Nations Charter, must now take immediate measures to transfer that sovereignty to the duly qualified representatives of those peoples.

57. (7) In order to bring about the unconditional independence of the Non-Self-Governing and Trust Territories, and of any other colonial territory which has not yet attained independence, the Administering Powers must take urgent and immediate steps to transfer all powers to the peoples of these territories without any conditions or reservations in accordance with their freely expressed will and aspirations, without any distinction as to race, creed or colour in order to enable them to enjoy complete independence and the freedom to build their national States.

58. (8) The inadequate level of political, economic, social and educational advancement has in the past always been used by the Administering Powers as a reason for delaying the independence of the colonial countries. A more objective scrutiny of the problem reveals the danger inherent in this pretext and the bad faith which has often been behind the use of this argument. In fact, the argument runs in a vicious circle which the colonial interests collectively have sought to perpetuate. Thus, on the one hand, they have delayed giving the peoples the necessary training for various aspects of their national life, while on the other hand they have argued that, since independence requires a certain minimum degree of training, it cannot be granted to them without this. In these circumstances, it is hardly surprising that nothing substantial has been done in most of the colonies to prepare the necessary trained personnel and, correspondingly, that the attainment of independence has

always posed serious problems when the necessary, suitably trained personnel are lacking.

59. Today, the difficulties which always spring from an inadequate level of development and from the shortage of trained personnel in the colonial territories—for which the colonial Powers must assume full responsibility—do not frighten the colonial peoples unduly, because over and above the definite advantages which independence holds out to them, they are confident that the peoples of the world will support them and that organizations like the United Nations will help them to remedy their deficiencies.

60. Moreover, even if their economic, social and political backwardness necessarily imposes a state of relative dependence on some of the under-developed countries, there is no reason to think that such dependence should be imposed upon them by the former Administering Power. The international community and the United Nations, among others, can easily give them the necessary aid and assistance without imposing upon them obligations incompatible with their independence.

61. These peoples know that they are no longer alone in an indifferent world. Moreover, they now possess confidence in themselves, and where they have been given the opportunity they have quickly shown that that confidence was amply justified. More particularly, the mere assumption by a people liberated from slavery of responsibility for their own destiny gives them the necessary strength to overcome all obstacles, including those deriving from their colonial heritage and from an inadequate level of political, economic or other training.

62. (9) In colonial territories where the peace has been disturbed either because of armed conflict or as a consequence of repressive measures taken against the people, the Powers responsible for the situation must take immediate measures for the re-establishment of the peaceful conditions needed if the people are to exercise their sacred and inalienable right to complete independence and to the integrity of their national territory. At the same time it is also essential that any armed or repressive action of any kind whatever should be prohibited and proscribed for the future.

63. In this connexion, let us remember that peace and freedom are indivisible; any nation which oppresses another violates not only the sovereign rights of the latter but also the freedom, conscience and dignity of mankind as a whole. By so doing, it likewise does violence to world peace and security and it must bear the full responsibility. The international community and the United Nations, then, have the right and the duty to make every effort to help the peoples thus subjected to oppression and violence to regain their sacred right to self-determination.

64. (10) There can be no doubt that the transfer of powers will inevitably be subject to the conditions peculiar to each territory. However, it seems to us that, in order to achieve the genuine and complete independence of these territories in a manner corresponding closely to the requirements of a democratic system of national power, the good of the peoples requires that their attainment of independence should, wherever national conditions make it possible and feasible, be preceded by a consultation of the people and by general elections held by universal suffrage and the secret ballot, preferably under the supervision

and control of the United Nations. Such a procedure would make it possible for the States thus attaining their independence to build upon solid and democratic foundations and act as a strong safeguard against the return of colonialism in new guises.

65. (11) It is therefore in the interests of the dependent peoples that the date of their independence and the methods of achieving it should be established as a result of negotiations between the Administering Authorities and the duly qualified representatives of these peoples, meeting on a footing of equality.

66. The Administering Powers should refrain from attaching to independence any conditions or reservations which would restrict the exercise of the people's sovereignty. Unequal and restrictive treaties on economic, political financial or military matters, signed prior to independence and limiting in any way the exercise of national sovereignty, constitute a source of future misunderstandings and friction incompatible with the preservation of an atmosphere of mutual confidence and the maintenance of peaceful and friendly relations.

67. (12) Since freedom for the peoples on the threshold of independence is essentially a process of gradual and progressive liberation from their former bondage, and in particular from the tyranny of want and fear, no extrinsic factor should be allowed to hinder this process through which in the first instance, the peoples concerned themselves must pass. However, the indivisibility of freedom and peace and the cause of human solidarity make it imperative that the international community should spare no effort to help them accelerate this process of liberation if the peoples concerned so request.

68. (13) Since a newly independent State must immediately meet grave problems of all kinds, first and foremost the problems resulting from its colonial heritage, it is particularly necessary that the United Nations should give it all the economic, technical, social, cultural and other assistance it needs to pass through the initial stages of its independence. It is to the interest of the newly independent peoples that the great Powers, which are anxious to bring them aid and assistance, should likewise do so, as far as possible, through the United Nations and its specialized agencies so that no Power whatever should lay upon these peoples any obligation which might limit their freedom of action and thus impede their taking their own independent road towards their own destiny.

69. (14) In order to enable the newly emancipated peoples to devote all their human and economic resources to their national plans of reconstruction and development, all Member States, and in particular the great Powers, should act in such a way that these peoples will never find it necessary, for reasons of national defence, to allocate to military expenditure funds essential to their national development. More particularly, the great Powers are in duty bound to refrain from any action which directly or indirectly is likely to increase the military burden borne by the newly independent countries.

70. (15) It is of course understood that any act of aggression against an independent State constitutes a crime against humanity. This crime takes on an even graver complexion when it is directed against a country which has just attained its independence and is traversing the difficult initial stages of development.

71. Member States, and especially the former Administering Powers, must, moreover, refrain from any attempt aimed at the partial or total disruption of the national unity and the territorial integrity of a country. Thus, it would be desirable if, in the declaration on the termination of colonialism, all Member States would solemnly reaffirm the undertaking they assumed under the United Nations Charter never in any way whatever to violate the national sovereignty and territorial integrity of another State.

72. (16) The peoples of the world should, finally, be on guard to prevent colonialism from trading on the internal weaknesses and difficulties of the small independent States and returning to the scene or infiltrating into the country in new guises. Any intervention by a more powerful State in the domestic affairs of another and any economic, political or ideological pressure being applied from outside with the intention of disrupting the normal functioning of the domestic institutions of a country thus constitute the basic elements of a neo-colonialism which is incompatible with national independence and sovereignty and with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter.

73. Such are the few principles which my delegation deemed it appropriate to recall as we embark on our debate on the general problem of the attainment of independence by the colonial countries and their peoples. They are principles which we have always been proud to champion and support during the whole course of our participation in the work of the United Nations. My country, though it has never suffered from colonialism as such, is nevertheless proud that it has at all times, without exception, pleaded the cause of its less fortunate sister countries of Asia and Africa and contributed its moral support to the cause of all the colonial peoples fighting for their right to independence. Only a short time ago, His Majesty the Shahinshah made himself the mouthpiece of the unanimous sentiments of all the Iranian people when, at the inaugural meeting of the Senate, congratulating the African countries which had achieved independence, he said:

"We are happy that a considerable number of colonial countries have attained freedom and independence and are already taking part in the work of the United Nations and that others will in the future follow in their footsteps. From the bottom of our hearts we congratulate them on their achievement of freedom and wish them all possible prosperity and happiness in their path to true progress in accordance with the principles of democracy and the spirit of the United Nations Charter."

74. My delegation is most proud to have taken an active part in the preparation of the draft declaration which now stands before you [A/L.323 and Add.1] in the name of a large majority of African-Asian Powers, and deems it an honour to be one of the co-sponsors of the document. This draft declaration, which solemnly proclaims the necessity of bringing to a speedy and unconditional end to colonialism in all its forms and manifestations, also contains most of the principles which we feel should be adopted by the Assembly as a whole.

75. Those who have played a part in preparing this draft are best able to bear witness to the constructive spirit shown by its authors. There is no doubt, for example, that many of the co-sponsors of this draft

declaration who have suffered greatly from the ravages of colonialism would have preferred a more expressive text, including clauses condemning colonialism in its most culpable aspects. However, in order to rally all currents of opinion in the Assembly in favour of a text acceptable to all the Members of the United Nations, they have, in a spirit of conciliation, accepted certain phrases of a much more moderate nature. We hope that the same spirit of constructive co-operation will inspire all the Members of this Assembly, and we also hope that they will unanimously support a text of such great historical importance which at this solemn moment is the instrument for the expression of the universal conscience of man in regard to the problem of colonialism in our time.

76. My delegation has the honour warmly to commend the draft declaration in document A/L.323 and Add.1 to the attention of the Members of the Assembly and more particularly to appeal to the Administering Powers to accord it their unreserved support.

77. In conclusion, my delegation would like to thank the Soviet Union delegation for taking the initiative in placing this problem on the agenda of the General Assembly's fifteenth session. However, for reasons having to do firstly with the positive ideas contained in our draft resolution, secondly with the need for securing the largest possible majority for the principles which should govern our attitude of anti-colonialism, and lastly with the need to limit any action which the Assembly may take on this point to those aspects of the question having an essential and exclusive connexion with the problem of colonialism, my delegation will be unable to support the Soviet declaration. Indeed, it earnestly hopes that the Soviet delegation will appreciate the reasons which have impelled the majority of the African-Asian powers to submit their own draft resolution, and will graciously withdraw its draft, making it possible for this Assembly to adopt the African-Asian draft resolution [A/L.323 and Add.1] unanimously. Such unanimity—it cannot be said too often—will give the present draft the historic place which rightfully belongs to it in the annals of anti-colonialism.

78. Mr. NOSEK (Czechoslovakia): The General Assembly has come to the consideration of one of the most important items on its agenda, that is, the declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. It is a question of great international bearing, whose immediate solution is of vital interest to the oppressed and exploited peoples of the colonial and dependent countries and, together with them, to the freedom-loving people all over the world.

79. Today, colonialism still keeps in bondage, mercilessly exploits, and oppresses tens of millions of people in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Pacific. Mankind would be burdened by immense shame if, at a time when it learned to split the atom, when it can harness natural forces, and it prepares to master outer space, it should fail to break the chains of impudent colonialism and to compel the colonialist to grant without delay liberty and independence to the millions of people leading a miserable existence in the colonial countries.

80. The process of complete elimination of colonialism is a historic necessity of our time. The national liberation movement of the colonial and dependent countries makes every year a change in the political map of the world. If, prior to the Second World War,

the map showed vast territories in Africa, Asia and other parts of the world in the few colours depicting the colonial systems of several colonial powers, a glance at this map today shows the substantial changes which have occurred in the world. From the territories of previous colonies there have emerged tens of sovereign States which won their freedom and independence in a long and hard struggle. The colonialists have been putting various obstacles in the way of the struggle of the colonial nations for their national liberation. Sometimes they use such unscrupulous means as napalm bombs and grenades, sometimes the tactics of pitting one colonial nation against the other. Of late, we often hear the contention that this or that nation is not developed, mature enough to shoulder the responsibilities of its freedom and independence and to organize a State of its own. There is no need for the colonialists to be unduly concerned and to cover their unwillingness to put an end to the shameful colonial system by showing "concern" over whether the colonial nations will be capable of running their countries. The example of many new independent countries proves that after their peoples have freed themselves from colonial slavery, they know well how to rule their countries and to build their economies.

81. Another argument we hear from some colonialist countries is the contention that their colonial territories are not in fact colonies, but, as they say, overseas provinces; that is, part of their homeland. There is as little logic or truth in this contention as if we said that some metropolitan countries were not part of Europe, but of the African continent or the Indian sub-continent.

82. The decline of colonialism, engendered by the national liberation movement of the colonial peoples, is inevitable and cannot be stopped by any kind of force, intrigue or juridical formula. It is a historical process which is bound to be crowned by the victories of the idea of liberty and independence.

83. However, the matter now is whether the complete decline of colonialism will be brought about by sanguineous struggles in which further hundreds of thousands of peoples will perish or whether ways and means will be found to accelerate and make easier the inevitable downfall of colonialism.

84. The United Nations, too, must help to find such ways and means. It must try its best to see that, throughout the world, not a single nation remains subjugated by other nations, that the peoples of colonial and Trust Territories be given full independence.

85. Long ago, the people of the world pronounced their verdict on colonialism, and this irrevocable verdict should now receive the full backing of the authority of the United Nations. In any case, it is a debt which the United Nations has, for fifteen years, owed to the purposes and principles embodied in its Charter. Keeping a single nation or even a tribe in the yoke of colonialism is a mockery of the lofty ideals of the United Nations.

86. A passing comparison between the development of metropolitan countries and the development of their colonies suffices to make it clear for everybody what a monstrosity is concealed in the very substance of colonialism. In the metropolitan countries we see examples of wealth and welfare which are the result of a long, unscrupulous robbing of millions of peoples in the colonies and the plunder of the natural wealth

of foreign countries. The result of the colonialist administration of the oppressed countries is that the peoples there live in conditions of utmost poverty, illiteracy, disease; they are doomed to the shortest life span in the world, and more than half of the population dies during infancy.

87. The nations which are struggling against the colonialists for their independence take over their countries in a state which gives an astonishing testimony of the care and the civilizing mission of their former colonial overlords. Such instances as there not being a single factory, an enterprise of the country which could meet the requirements of the population, are not exceptional. The case of the Congo, which won its independence in a situation when there was no Congolese doctor or lawyer, engineer or officer in the country, is not an isolated one. The statistics which are available to the United Nations and the information which leaks from the colonial countries present a shocking picture of the results of the century of colonial rule. A good deal of information on this has been disclosed during the general debate at this session of the General Assembly by the most competent authorities—the representatives of the African countries.

88. But there cannot be other results because all the activities of the colonialists in their colonies have always been subordinated to a single purpose, that is, to ensure maximum profits for metropolitan monopolists. That is why the colonial countries have served as the raw material appendage of the imperialist countries, as a marketplace for metropolitan products; cheap manpower in the colonies and the output of raw materials and their export to the metropolitan countries, at almost no cost whatever, enable the colonialists to get huge profits from selling the raw materials and foodstuffs on world markets. That is why the colonialists deliberately retarded the development of local industries in the colonies and in so far as such industries were developed at all, they were merely raw material processing industries and light industry.

89. The colonialists used to draw attention to all the railways, roads, harbours and communication facilities which they built in the colonies. However, they did not build them in the interests of the local population but in their own interest, in the interest of an easier and intensified exploitation of the colonial people and their natural wealth. This situation in the colonial territories can hardly be a different one; it logically stems from the very substance of the oppressing and piratical nature of colonialism which, despite having been buried by the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom during his statement at this session of the General Assembly, is not yet dead.

90. President Sukarno aptly characterized the present state of colonialism when he said at the current session of the General Assembly:

"People sometimes say that imperialism and colonialism are dead. No, imperialism is not yet dead. It is dying, yes. ... Still—and mark my words well—the dying imperialism is dangerous, as dangerous as the wounded tiger in a tropical jungle."
[880th meeting, para. 63.]

91. The United Nations, which embodied the respect for the principles of equality of rights and self-determination of nations, as well as human rights, in its Charter, cannot continue to stand idly by when the colonialists ruthlessly trample on these rights and keep

the colonial nations in subjugation by the most brutal methods. We cannot pass over the oppression of the colonial nations and the unscrupulous squandering of their national wealth. We cannot close our eyes when we are confronted with colonial wars and the shedding of blood in Algeria, Kenya, Rhodesia, Oman, in the Portuguese colonies and elsewhere, when confronted with the fact that the colonial Powers use every means of naked force to prevent the people of colonial countries to assert their inalienable right to self-determination. The United Nations must exert all efforts aimed at the earliest possible removal of this shameful situation. This is the categorical demand of our time. Consequently, the General Assembly should adopt the declaration on the immediate elimination of colonialism and the granting of independence to all colonial and trust territories.

92. Czechoslovak public opinion welcomed the fact that at the Second Conference of Independent African States at Addis Ababa in June 1960, the African nations themselves expressed their determination to eliminate colonialism in Africa in the resolution on the eradication of colonial rule from Africa, which they adopted. The fact that the people of the African countries are ever more resolutely taking their affairs in their own hands is a matter of great significance as well as an important prerequisite for the earliest possible termination of the complete and final elimination of the colonial system. The determination of the young African States to continue to strive for complete liberation of Africa, a determination about which we learned from statements made in this General Assembly by such outstanding African representatives as the President of Ghana, Dr. Nkrumah, the President of Guinea, Sékou Touré, and others, makes the Czechoslovak delegation believe that the peoples of the remaining African territories will also take their destinies firmly in their own hands.

93. Recent developments have also shown that the perpetuation of the colonial system creates repeated international crises which threaten to drag mankind into the catastrophe of a world war. The immediate elimination of colonialism and all its vestiges would remove one of the sources of permanent tension and conflict in the world and considerably diminish the danger of war. Is it not well known that the disintegration of the colonial system has always been accompanied by provocations, military interventions, and much too often by colonial wars? It is sufficient to recall the colonial wars in Indonesia, Viet-Nam, Laos, Cambodia, the imperialist aggression against Egypt, the armed intervention of the colonialists in the Congo, and others. The United Nations must exert all its efforts to remove the common roots of these crises in Africa, Asia and Latin America, that is, the colonial system.

94. The United Nations must strive to enable the colonial nations to embark upon the road of independent free development. The problem of the consolidation of peace in the world, which is the basic task to which the United Nations must address itself is, therefore, most closely connected with the elimination of colonialism.

95. The Czechoslovak delegation, fully subscribes to the views expressed by the President of Ghana, Mr. Nkrumah, who stated in the general debate of this Assembly:

"As long as a single foot of African soil remains under foreign domination, the world will know no peace. ... The United Nations must call upon all nations that have colonies in Africa to grant complete independence to the territories still under their control. In my view possession of colonies is now quite incompatible with membership in the United Nations." [869th meeting, para. 5.]

96. No one can question the great importance of the emergence of the independent States after the Second World War for the maintenance of peace in the world. The overwhelming majority of these new countries energetically pursue a policy of positive neutrality and peace and refuse to take part in the aggressive groupings of the imperialists. Therefore, nobody can doubt that the immediate liberation of the remaining colonial peoples would be a great contribution to the future destinies and the development of human society. If the colonial Powers are sincerely in favour of the consolidation of peace, as they repeatedly proclaim, and if they take sincerely their commitments towards the United Nations, they should adopt the proposals contained in the declaration submitted by the Soviet Union [A/4502 and Corr.1], that is, they should first of all immediately grant complete independence and freedom to all colonial, trust and other non-self-governing countries and territories, remove all strongholds of colonialism maintained in the form of various domains and leased areas on alien territories, and all countries should strictly respect the sovereignty and territorial inviolability of countries which have recently gained or which will gain, after the adoption of the declaration, their independence.

97. By the adoption of the declaration, the colonial nations would have realistic prospects of achieving freedom by peaceful means, and peace in the world would thus be considerably strengthened. In our view, however, it is not sufficient merely to eliminate colonialism in its old form. The peoples of the countries which have liberated themselves or which will liberate themselves from colonial slavery must be extremely vigilant and stand on their guard against various forms of neo-colonialism which the imperialist Powers try to impose upon them. I have in mind particularly the attempts to drag the African-Asian countries into the aggressive alliances of the imperialists, forcing these countries to make available their territories for the military bases of the imperialists and to accept various kinds of unequal economic agreements and assistance.

98. In this connexion, we cannot pass over the ever-increasing activities of the ruling circles of the Federal Republic of Germany, which, by means of economic penetration into the countries of Asia and Africa, are covertly seeking to regain the lost positions of imperial Germany, which was one of the most brutal of the colonial countries.

99. The immediate elimination of colonialism would also be of tremendous importance for the development of international economic co-operation and the economic development of the present colonies. The colonialists ruthlessly plundered the wealth of the colonial countries, opposed their industrialization, and crippled their economies as a whole by forcing them to maintain a one-crop agricultural production. The liberation of the colonial countries from colonial bondage creates favourable prerequisites for a normal development of their economies, increases the volume

of world trade, and is beneficial to all countries. The immediate elimination of colonialism likewise would be of tremendous importance for the raising of the standards of living and the culture of the peoples of the colonial countries, and for the liquidation of illiteracy and the diseases scourging the population.

100. That the immediate elimination of the shameful system of colonial slavery would be to the common benefit of all nations is clearly apparent from the rich experience gained in the period following the Second World War, when approximately thirty countries with a population of 1,500 million people liberated themselves from the colonial yoke. Bearing this experience in mind, the Czechoslovak delegation deems it right for the United Nations to appeal to all the peoples of the world not to remain indifferent to the suffering of the colonial nations. The United Nations must emphatically call upon the Powers which possess colonial dominions to initiate without delay, and on an equal footing, negotiations with the representatives of the colonial countries on the establishment of freedom and independence in all colonial, trust and non-self-governing territories and countries. If the colonial Powers attempt to delay the liberation of the colonies and deny to their peoples their inalienable rights to freedom and independence, then the peace-loving nations will have to render every material assistance to the people of the colonial countries in their struggle against the oppressors.

101. The warm sympathies of the Czechoslovak people for the national and liberation movements have deep roots. They stem from the bitter experience of the hard times of the Hitlerite occupation, when foreign intruders unscrupulously oppressed our peoples and plundered our country. We proceed, therefore, from the principle that every nation has an absolute right to self-determination and to an independent existence. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic maintains very close and all-round relations, established on the principle of equality and mutual advantage, with the States of Asia and Africa which have liberated themselves from colonial rule. Particularly in the field of economic co-operation, Czechoslovakia contributes within its power and possibilities to enabling these new countries to overcome their present economic backwardness and thus strengthen their political and economic independence. Basing itself on the unshakable principles of the Czechoslovak foreign policy, the delegation of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic fully supports the proposal on the immediate elimination of colonial régimes and the granting of full independence and liberty to the colonial nations. The President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, Mr. Novotný, expressed the will of all the Czechoslovak people when he stated in the general debate of this session of the General Assembly:

"We are convinced that it is necessary to abolish forever the whole system of colonialism and give all nations every opportunity to gain freedom. This is why we unreservedly endorse agenda item 87: Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, submitted by the delegation of the Soviet Union at the present session of the General Assembly." [871st meeting, para. 56.]

102. The delegation of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic fully supports the proposal of the declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples submitted by the delegation of the Union

of Soviet Socialist Republics [A/4502 and Corr.1]. The adoption of this declaration by the General Assembly would be a significant contribution by the United Nations for the improvement of international relations, in the consolidation of peace in the world and the development of friendly international co-operation.

103. This afternoon a twenty-eight-Power draft resolution has been submitted [A/L.323 and Add.1] and introduced by the representative of Cambodia. I reserve my right to comment on it at a later stage of our deliberations.

104. Before concluding, I consider it necessary to reply to the statement made this morning [925th meeting] by the representative of the United Kingdom, who tried to take advantage of the debate on the immediate liquidation of colonialism and attacked slanderously the socialist States. These attacks are aimed at diverting the attention of the Assembly, as well as public opinion, from the solution of the urgent problem of the immediate liquidation of colonialism and the liberation of nations living so far under the colonial yoke. The representative of the United Kingdom endeavoured to divert the Assembly's attention from the question we have under consideration and to substitute the serious, business-like debate on the liquidation of colonialism by offensive attacks against the socialist States in the spirit of the cold war.

105. We are not surprised by these attacks. Some representatives—and the representative of the United Kingdom did it this morning—are following this course because of their hatred of the socialist countries, whose peoples have in the past freely and irrevocably decided their course, namely that of building socialism in their countries. There is no power in the world which could stop the advance of the socialist countries, and the imperialists should realize that.

106. The hundreds of millions of dollars officially allotted every year to financing the subversive activities against the socialist countries, the dispatching of agents and saboteurs, the organization of inflammatory campaigns, the attempts at interference, and other provocations, have proved to be of little help. It is well known that real freedom, independence and the sovereignty of States cannot be evaluated either by the sonority of phrases and statements made in the United Nations or by the rudeness and impertinence of attacks against the socialist States, but, for example, by such criteria as the assurance of equal rights for all, irrespective of colour, sex or denomination, or by economic, cultural and social development, and growth in the living standards of the population.

107. The principal task of our discussion on this question is to adopt an unequivocal declaration on the immediate liquidation of colonialism, to renounce colonialism as a disgrace and dishonour to mankind in the twentieth century. Our debate should be conducive to the adoption of an urgent appeal to colonialist Powers that they grant, without delay, fundamental rights to peoples living so far under the servile and undignified conditions of the colonial rule. Neither the imperialist colonial Powers, which under various pretexts rule and exploit the people in colonies, nor the countries which support the former, can avoid the solution of this urgent question by slanderous attacks against the socialist countries. The democratic public opinion of the world expects from them, by right, an

unequivocal declaration to the effect that they are willing to grant immediate freedom and independence to the oppressed peoples in colonies, in harmony with the noble principles and objectives of the Charter of the United Nations, in place of offensive attacks against the socialist countries in the spirit of the cold war.

Mr. Nesbitt (Canada), Vice-President, took the Chair.

108. Mr. PERERA (Ceylon): The delegation of Ceylon is privileged to co-sponsor the draft resolution which has been presented as document A/L.323 and Add.1. While sponsoring the draft resolution, the delegation of Ceylon also ventures to submit that the item which has resulted in the present discussion marks a turning point in the development of international society and the community of nations.

109. Indeed, I would not be able to improve on the words used by Mr. Khrushchev, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, contained in document A/4502, on 23 September 1960. I would like to quote a few sentences from that document, wherein the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union said:

"Ours is an era of swift renewal of society; an era in which more progressive and equitable ways of life are being affirmed; an era in which man is soaring upwards to unprecedented mastery over forces of nature. The time has come for the complete and final liberation of peoples languishing in colonial bondage." [A/4502.]

110. Indeed, we cannot remind ourselves too often of the maxim: "People that oppress other peoples cannot be free". Chairman Khrushchev in the very same document, as well as President Sékou Touré of Guinea when addressing this Assembly at the fourteenth session [837th meeting], cited this maxim. It is, therefore, in this context that the delegation of Ceylon makes this intervention.

111. The emancipation of subject peoples has always been dear to the hearts of the people of Ceylon. If I may be pardoned for so stating, Ceylon played a not inconsiderable role at some of the great international conferences at which the subject of the ending of colonialism was discussed. And may I say that the Government of Ceylon would prefer to use the term "the ending of colonialism" than "the granting of independence". I refer, in particular, to the Asian Peoples Conference held in New Delhi in 1947 and the Bandung Conference of 1955. Since Bandung, we in Ceylon have not only accepted the declarations of the independent African States at the conferences held in Accra, Conakry and Addis Ababa, but we have been inspired and guided by these principles in the execution of our policies. In fact, the end of colonialism was a cardinal tenet in the policy of the People's Government, which came into power in April 1956, under Prime Minister Bandaranaike. The present Government, headed by Mrs. Bandaranaike, has intensified this policy; and I am not overstating my case when I say that our people regard the ending of colonialism as the first principle of their faith and also the last article of their creed.

112. I do not intend to examine the *arcana imperii* of the colonialist Powers, either of the past or of the present, but I am constrained to say that the "raison d'être" of the draft resolution now before this Assembly derives from the existence of colonialism in

its various manifestations. It is therefore imperative that we take immediate measures to bring colonialism to an end. Let me remind representatives who were once subject people that we cannot be too grateful not only to the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, Mr. Khrushchev, for his untiring and determined efforts to place this item on the agenda of the fifteenth session, but also for the ceaseless activity of the Soviet Union since the Bolshevik revolution of 1917, to this end.

113. We do not accept the thesis that independence is granted to subject nations. I recall Mr. Krishna Menon's words in addressing this Assembly during the course of the general debate on more than one occasion, when he said that the more correct terminology would be "the ending of foreign rule or foreign domination". Of course, in some instances the term "transfer of power" is used. Be that as it may, we believe that the independence of subject peoples or peoples subject to domination, political and economic, has been won either by political struggle or by political struggle combined with international pressures that may be exerted by international bodies like the United Nations, or perhaps by the determined efforts and the stand taken by anti-colonialist Powers in helping those who were once dependent to gain their independence. We have long learned to despise the ignorance or, as some would say, the hypocrisy of those who speak of giving freedom, and here again I am reminded of the words of the poet who said:

*A gift of that which never can be given
By all the blended powers of earth and heaven.*

114. We have before us certain documents, and I, on behalf of the delegation of Ceylon, would like to attempt a dispassionate analysis both of those documents and of the draft resolution which has now been submitted by twenty-eight Asian and African Powers.

115. I must say that I was rather disturbed by the intervention of the Minister of State of the United Kingdom, Mr. Ormsby-Gore, this morning [925th meeting], when he read into document A/4502 an attempt to fan the cold war. I have sought in vain to find any semblance of this attempt to fan the cold war in this document. On the contrary, it is this document on which we have based our discussions, and that is why the delegation of Ceylon would like to place it before the representatives and perhaps draw the attention of representatives to certain passages, because we are here discussing the ending of colonialism and not either the continuation or the cessation of the cold war. In point of fact, the delegation of Ceylon, or, for that matter, the Government of Ceylon, is no party to such a war, even if such a war does exist. Perhaps we are naive enough not to believe that there is such a war. But we are at the moment concerned with the ending of colonialism. May I, therefore, go to the pith of the matter as contained in document A/4502, because it is for that reason that we ourselves are sponsoring a draft resolution. I refer to one sentence from that document: "The elimination of colonialism would be a key measure in reducing international tension." [A/4502]

116. That is one aspect of the matter. The second and perhaps a more important one for our purpose is this, and I quote again from the same document:

"Together with the infamous system of colonialism, the variant of the colonial régime known as the

Trusteeship System has also outlived itself. Being a vestigial remnant of the Mandates System of the League of Nations, the present Trusteeship System in accordance with the United Nations Charter should have promoted the development of the Trust Territories towards self-government and independence. Fifteen years have elapsed, however, since the Charter was adopted, but only four out of eleven Trust Territories have attained independence.

"...

"The Trusteeship System has not justified itself anywhere and should be buried together with the entire colonial system, which is an anachronism." [A/4502.]

117. As I said, the pith of the document lies in these paragraphs. There are also demands at the end of the document, and it is perhaps in respect of the demands that we, that is, the twenty-eight African-Asian States that have submitted the draft resolution, may appear to be at cross purposes. It is my hope that we may be able to find a solution at the end of our debate.

118. If one examines the proposals in document A/4502 and if one examines the draft resolution which we have submitted [A/L.323 and Add.1], one also finds that there is a sort of golden thread underlying both documents. Perhaps in some instances we are in agreement, and in some we are not, but one thing I could say with some confidence is that this very subject, when the question was debated of the allocation of the item either to the First Committee or to plenary meeting, was adopted by acclamation. When the item dealt with in document A/4502, entitled "Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples", was placed before the General Assembly [903rd meeting], it was adopted without any dissension as such, and, what is more, there was no question of the cold war being involved in this. That is why it is disturbing to find that this issue has been raised.

119. On the other hand, we from Ceylon would like to consider this as a matter which concerns the world community as a whole. No doubt we still have Trust Territories, Non-Self-Governing Territories and perhaps colonies in various stages of political and economic development, and that is why I said that it is not for me at this stage to go into it, except very generally; I do not wish to go into the secrets of the nicer points of comparative colonial policy. But I may be permitted to quote from what the Secretary-General at that time, Mr. Trygve Lie, said almost at the beginning of this Assembly. I shall quote from a document dated 26 March 1947, as this is necessary for my argument. These are his words:

"... the International Trusteeship System is no mere prolongation of the Mandates System under the League of Nations. It is a new system of international supervision. Its scope is wider, its powers broader, and its potentialities far greater than those of the Mandates System."^{2/}

120. Bearing that in mind, we must examine it in relation to what document A/4502, submitted by the Soviet Union, states. That is why I submit to this Assembly that, if we consider the ending of colonialism, we must also examine the practical usefulness

^{2/} Official Records of the Trusteeship Council, First Year, First Session, first meeting, p. 4.

of the Trusteeship System as well. We all know that the Mandates System which was propounded at the end of the First World War, if it did not achieve any specific advantages for the subject peoples under the Mandates—of course, there were the variants, the "A", "B" and "C" Mandates—at least influenced public opinion, but are we content with that? The Second World War perhaps created and unleashed forces which the First World War did not. In this context the Trusteeship System has now been working for nearly fifteen years.

121. On the other hand, as far back as the sixth session of the General Assembly, in a memorandum submitted by the then Secretary-General to the Assembly, some misgivings were expressed as to the success of the Trusteeship System as well as about the purposes for which it was created and how those purposes were being served by the Administering Authorities. I refer also to document A/C.4/SR.245, of 12 January 1952, and a summary of that document, in which various views were expressed, clearly indicating that there were reasons why the Trusteeship System was not working properly, the reasons being—I will give just a few—that certain Administering Authorities were not complying with their obligations. In some cases, they had argued that the obligations were wholly unacceptable. What is more, the non-administering Powers repeatedly pointed out that those Administering Authorities were not only not fulfilling their obligations but in some cases were actually violating them. In other words, action was taken by the Trusteeship Council to call the attention of the Administering Authorities to their remissness and their lapses, and also a genuine attempt was made to put right the system. We did not, however, find that the Administering Authorities responded to the high calling of the dignity of their office.

122. Perhaps I am generalizing, but on the other hand these are facts. It is for that reason that the issue now raised demands our close attention, because it is not sufficient for us to comment that a system already exists; it is for us to find ways and means to end colonialism and colonial rule or domination. At the present moment, I submit on behalf of the delegation of Ceylon, there is no positive evidence to support the oft-repeated argument that trusteeship is the surest and quickest way of ensuring the goal of self-government or independence. I say this with a certain amount of emphasis because if the present Trusteeship System did provide such a guarantee I would not be standing here appealing for support for the draft resolution presented by the African-Asian countries.

123. It is in this connexion that I should like to recall certain cardinal principles which have motivated us in this respect. The representative of Iran in his own way attempted a definition of colonialism. This is another concept, a political as well as perhaps a juridical concept which could be defined in many ways, but basically we subscribe to the view that colonialism means economic exploitation, political domination and racial arrogance, and perhaps, in the process of achieving the aims of the Power dominating the subject or dependent people, a system whereby the moral prostitution of the indigenous population is brought about by the raping of its intellect.

124. Here I have attempted a definition. I do not claim that that definition is final for all time, but

that is how it strikes us in Asia and it is a fact that colonialism in its various manifestations does exist. It appears under different names and in point of fact I would argue that Chapters XI, XII and XIII of the Charter became necessary because of the existence of colonialism. It still exists, in different forms perhaps. Its manifestations, or perhaps a better word would be its purposes, are many, and that is why we representatives from African-Asian countries in the Assembly, some of which won their independence quite recently, have not forgotten them and feel we ought to make a contribution to the ending of colonialism.

125. In the past colonialism appeared in various guises; the whole doctrine of extra-territoriality, the doctrine of capitulations—these were all facets of colonialism, as was also the division of the world in terms of colonialism. Even international lawyers talked in terms of colonialism and not in terms of a world or international community. It is perhaps a hackneyed reference, but I may be permitted to refer to this. It was in the nineteenth century that a very famous international lawyer, Professor Lorimer, Professor of International Law at Edinburgh, divided the world into three kinds of humanity. There was civilized humanity, as represented by Europe; there was barbarous humanity, as represented by a few Powers like Turkey and Iraq—because it was after the Treaty of 1856—and there was savage humanity, which covered the rest of Africa and Asia. We have travelled a long way since that time, but nevertheless, if I may put it this way, the *damnosa hereditas* of colonial rule gave rise to the problems which the world of 1945 had to face, and that is why Chapters XI, XII and XIII of the Charter had to be formulated to provide a system to end colonialism. Today we are not discussing the merits of Chapters XI, XII and XIII, but having found them wanting, we are now trying to find a way out.

126. For the moment I am not raising the question of changing the Charter—far be it for me to attempt that—but what I want to point out is that the Trusteeship System has been found wanting. I would like to subscribe to the view that perhaps certain Administering Authorities do observe strictly Article 73 of the Charter, but some do not. We know that; we have only to ask any member of the Fourth Committee to discover that. Some do not, and then there are others who would argue that Article 84 of the Charter gives a certain neutral status to the Administering Authority vis-à-vis the General Assembly itself. Be that as it may, today document A/4502 focuses our attention on the grave lacuna that exists in the Charter itself, and thus we go outside the strictly legal interpretation of the Charter to the existing realities of the world. That is why the movements in Asia and Africa, the conferences to which I referred, marked a turning point not only in the history of Asia and Africa but in the history of the world. Most of us belong to States which have really no armed power as such; we depend on the mobilization of public opinion and the justice of our cause. By remaining silent on this matter, by refraining from saying what we ought to say, it might be maintained that we are contributing to the purpose of history. But in this context I would say that if the General Assembly did remain silent on a matter like this it might, in future years, come to be regarded as perhaps an unconscious tool of history, when history will have got the better of this Assembly. But why not take the other point of view, why not

become the conscious tool of the historical process and do something to end colonialism?

127. I should also refer to the fact that when we talk of the manifestations of colonialism we mean—and this is what the draft resolution tries to meet—the various methods, procedures and legal figments which are used by the colonial Powers to cover the nakedness of rank colonialism. For instance, as I said earlier, there is the question of the transfer of power. Sometimes the transfer of power must wait until the correct party, or the correct group of men, have been found in a colony to whom the power may be transferred. We have to wait, sometimes it is said, until people are politically and socially educated to be the equals of the people of the Administering Authority, and that is why the transfer of power is delayed. We have also seen that monstrous figment that has been brought up here more than once whereby it is argued that overseas territories are provinces of the metropolis, which makes those areas part of the metropolitan country and therefore not colonies or subject countries. That point was well argued elsewhere, and as I am discussing general principles I do not want to pursue the point, but we know that it is under the guise of these figments that some of the most brutal struggles concerning the subject peoples have been going on, where rank inequality has been continued for several years to justify this legal figment that they belong to the metropolis.

128. So, in that context it is my submission that under the guise of these legal figments we have ignored the Charter. After all, it does not require great intelligence or great wisdom to see that Articles 73, 76 and, what is more, Article 1, paragraph 2, of the Charter, or Article 55, are very simple matters, propositions which are accepted by the world community, and yet, in the implementation of these Articles we find that these authorities have not conformed to the obligations, and that is, as I say, the justification for our draft resolution and the justification for the declaration presented by the Soviet Union.

129. I dealt only in a general way with the basis of Chapters XI, XII and XIII. We are now faced also with another aspect of the problem. There have been unequal treaties, which is always a form or manifestation of colonialism—some have referred to this as neo-colonialism. There have been occasions where the Administering Authority or the dominant Power, while abdicating its power or transferring power, has still retained its economic stranglehold. We may call it neo-colonialism—the term does not matter.

130. Many years ago—and here in this context one cannot forget; one need not subscribe to the doctrine of communism or socialism as such—but it has been pointed out that the time may come—and here it was after the Congress of Berlin in the nineteenth century—it was pointed out by socialist theorists that the time may come when the conflict between the colonial Powers may lead to the point where they might combine to keep jointly a colonial stranglehold on some countries and territories.

131. I would like strictly to adhere to my subject, and this is why I am not mentioning any particular Power. Whether we call it neo-colonialism, or, as another author called it, ultra-imperialism, it is still there.

132. In this context I would say—and here I am not saying so because I want to pursue the point as against the representative of the United Kingdom who spoke this morning—that it is not a question of repeating Marxist texts or Leninist incantations. It is the radical tradition—I am using the word in a very broad sense—which has always guided a country's destinies in ultimate fulfilment of its goal. I can only, in this context, without going into comparative studies, refer to the radical tradition of England which was responsible for enlightened colonial policy at certain phases in its history. And that tradition continues, and it is because of that radical tradition that no less a man than Lenin himself, who in his famous book Imperialism—The Highest Stage of Capitalism, acknowledged a debt to J. Hobson, the English economist, who at the close of the nineteenth century wrote his classic book Imperialism. It is not a question of repeating Leninist incantations; it is a question of taking the struggle to a certain point. It is not a dogma like the Charter, for instance. Is the Charter made for all time? Are the organs and systems which were created in the Charter in 1945 good for all time?

133. Institutions, like human beings, are subject to decay. It is for us, therefore, we who want institutions, to see the ways and means whereby we may improve those institutions. It is in that sense that I would argue that one must not forget—it is not a question, I repeat, of Leninist incantations, but it is the strong radical tradition which has been displayed, or the liberal tradition displayed by those who fought for freedom—for example, even the countries of Latin America, if they had waited until all of them were so refined or so educated or politically and socially the equals of the colonial Powers, they would still have to wait perhaps until doomsday. In the long run we will all be dead and that is why it is necessary, at a particular stage in the history of human affairs, that we take stock of these things.

134. It is in that sense that I would argue that when we adopted by acclamation the inscription of this item on the agenda of the Assembly, we took upon ourselves a burden, the task of formulating either by some resolution or other measure—a declaration, if you care to put it that way—a proclamation whereby we would not only offer hope to those who are still in the colonies, but something which would be implemented by the colonial Powers as such.

135. I would like to regard the draft resolution which we have submitted as coming in the long line of various declarations which have now become international law. It is not a question here of a pure juridical concept or the creation of law; on the contrary, it is a question of trying to find the proper place in the development of human society for this particular measure.

136. I would argue that in the same way—and here it may be that some States were not parties to some of the great laws which today mark and perhaps enrich history; for instance, I refer to the Declaration of Paris in 1856, which marked the turning point in the laws of land warfare. I refer to the Declaration of St. Petersburg in 1868 which again took a further step in the development of the humanization of war. I refer, for instance, to the Hague Conventions of 1899 and 1907. Similarly, one could argue that here in our draft resolution perhaps—I would have not only to defend it but see in it certain merits, which may be absent from the Soviet declaration, but I think, and I

submit, that the two are complementary; there is no fundamental disagreement in our basic objectives, and what is more, we can see that on the basic issues we are in agreement although we may say it in different ways.

137. I do not want to repeat that point, but I would like, in addressing an international Assembly like this, to point out that if these great declarations of the past, of the nineteenth century, culminating perhaps in the greatest declarations of our time, namely, the Charter, the judgements and the principles of Nuremberg, if they have been accepted by this Assembly, if they have passed into international law, it would be with a view to achieving a certain objective. It is in that light that I would like to ask the representatives to pass the declaration contained in our draft resolution [A/L.323 and Add.1].

138. Here again, may I say that as an international body we may not be a lawmaking body as such. The draft resolution which is before this Assembly has a sanction. It is the public opinion behind it, or the moral opinion of the world represented here. Perhaps in this declaration we would also find the moral judgement of the nations.

139. On this particular point, let me recall—because I am sure that the speakers who follow me tomorrow will go into the draft resolution in detail—the history, as it was, of one of the most important aspects of colonialism in the past. I regard it as colonialism because it was one form of colonialism of which, perhaps, we are not aware today. Historically, I would state that at the Congress of Vienna in 1815 it was the British delegate, Castlereagh himself, who proposed that in the Final Act of the Congress of Vienna there should be a clause eliminating or dealing with the suppression of the slave-trade, and so it was embodied, but that did not mean that slavery came to an end.

140. That is what I am concerned with when discussing the draft resolution—what was embodied in the Final Act in 1815. Similarly, as I argued—in 1919 we had the Mandates System, perhaps a manifestation of the then enlightened conscience of Europe, and in 1945 the Trusteeship System, but if I am to state the later history of the slave-trade—because it is pertinent to my task—as the slave-trade was not abolished immediately after 1815 because certain countries did not perhaps in their national legislation provide for its abolition. It was only in 1885, when, by the Berlin Act, it was formally adopted by all the nations. At that time the number of nations had increased since the time of the Congress of Vienna.

141. There was a further development in 1890. The Brussels Act also dealt with the suppression of the slave-trade, but unfortunately for the world, both these Acts dealt only with the Congo Basin, where the slave-trade was rampant. Therefore, the world had to wait for several years, even for the implementation of that Act. As recently as 1919, after the First World War, when the peace treaties were being debated and negotiated, it was by the Treaty of Saint-Germain in 1919 that the civilized world admitted that the slave-trade was going on in certain areas and that it had to be put down by the authorities concerned. So we have the Slavery Conventions of 1926 and 1956, the supplementary provisions, being dealt with by the International Labour Organisation, a specialized agency of the United Nations.

142. So you will see that there has been a long history, and I have taken just one example. It is a long history but, unfortunately, in the context of global politics today the world, and especially subject peoples are not content to wait so long for the implementation of such resolutions or such declarations. It is therefore essential that here in this body, where there are Administering Authorities—the so-called Trusteeship Powers, with their obligations to subject peoples—and where at the same time there are present, participating on a basis of equality, those who do not possess colonies or Non-Self-Governing Territories; it is essential, I repeat, that both sides—that is, the Administering Authorities and the non-Administering Authorities—subscribe to the view that we have stated as regards the general principles underlying the declaration contained in our draft resolution.

143. It is for that reason that I submit that the declaration and the draft resolution mark a stage in the development of the international conscience of mankind. In point of fact, I would go further and say that the success of the resolution does not depend on the mere adoption of it because we know that we cannot go to war on the ending of colonialism. The struggle continues because freedom is something which is dear to those people who are struggling for it. We may be told that there are peoples in Africa who perhaps still do not want freedom in that sense, who are content to be under the yoke of their colonial masters. It does not require a very brilliant thesis from me to disprove that. But that is the argument which is always adduced. But we here, who have perhaps seen the actual working of the Trusteeship System, we who have seen its effects, realize that without such a declaration it is not possible to take another step further because year in and year out we find the lapses of the Administering Authorities, we find the interplay of world politics coming into question. We also find that sometimes, when there is no argument to justify the withholding of independence, the argument is that the Administering Authority must protect the subject peoples, the dependent peoples from a pernicious doctrine like communism. I think it was in the eighteenth century that Dr. Johnson, a well-known figure in British literary circles, said that "Patriotism was the last refuge of a scoundrel". I am not one to say that those who now argue that we must keep these people in the subject territories immune to communism would subscribe to Dr. Johnson's statement. I am not going to say that here, but very often this argument has been put forward. It is on that basis perhaps that we all know that after the First World War certain States were created to keep Bolshevism out of Europe; but that did not prevent it.

144. So we in Asia, we who have perhaps seen better days and worse days, we who still may have a long way to go in the evolution of our own society, can, I submit, take a more correct view of the development of human society, and it is for that reason that the delegation of Ceylon, while supporting the draft resolution, would also like to say that we are prepared to accept any suggestion—I think I am speaking on behalf of all the co-sponsors—which would improve the resolution so that we could end colonialism once and for all; the sooner the better for all of us. I submit that the day such a declaration is adopted, it will mark a moment in the conscience of civilized mankind.

The meeting rose at 5.45 p.m.



Tuesday, 29 November 1960,
10.30 a.m.

NEW YORK

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

AGENDA ITEM 87

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

1. Mr. AMADEO (Argentina) (translated from Spanish): Colonial questions have taken up most of the meetings of this Assembly session and will, in all probability, take up a large part of what remains of the session. This predominance of colonial questions in the United Nations is not the result of chance nor is it entirely due to capricious or arbitrary manoeuvres. It is a reflection of the reality that confronts us today.

2. Our Organization is among other things a great sounding-board where the questions of major concern to the world strongly reverberate. It was inevitable, therefore, that it should be confronted with this question of colonialism—or, if you will, the end of colonialism—which is one of the most deeply disturbing and bitterly controversial topics of this mid-twentieth century.

3. The question takes on added relevance and virulence by reason of being closely linked with the international tension between the great Powers, that is, with what has come to be known as the cold war. There does in fact exist an intimate relationship between the process of liquidating the colonial systems and the balance of power between the strongest nations of the earth. That is what complicates the problem and makes it the pivot on which turn the issues of war and peace.

4. Now the colonial question returns once again in a new guise for our consideration, in the shape of a declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. This is clearly no trivial matter. Hence, it seems impossible to deal with it without a general review, however sketchy, of the scope and significance of colonialism. I hasten to state that I shall try to limit my remarks to what is strictly essential to make our position clear.

5. There is one point which we feel compelled to make at the outset. That is the monotonous persistence with which ready-made phrases and prefabricated slogans recur whenever these colonial questions are discussed. The use of propaganda themes and catchwords is indeed one of the evils of the modern world. The slogan has the advantage that it saves us the trouble of thinking, and as many of our fellow human beings have apparently a real horror of the arduous and difficult

task of thinking it is a valuable labour-saving aid. Nevertheless the colonial issue is one of such path and moment that it requires our most objective attention and a serious effort on our part to discern its true essence. We are in fact in the presence of historical events of tremendous importance, and it is lamentable that we who have been privileged to witness such events should, instead of examining them with the passionate interest that is aroused at the sight of history on the march, view them through the veil of sectarianism or the thick cloak of our intellectual poverty.

6. This reproach is not levelled particularly at those who have just emerged from the colonial system or who are seeking to abolish it. When people are suffering or struggling for any cause they have some excuse for not being too impartial. We cannot ignore the legitimate grievances which some colonial peoples may have against their former masters, and a bare, cold analysis of what they have experienced at first hand would be as difficult for them as an objective study of the advantages of a given prison system would be for the inmate of a prison.

7. Those of us, however, whose attitude is not influenced by our past history are in duty bound to consider events in a spirit of justice and with respect for truth. That is the chief contribution which we can make so that this transition between the colonial system and independence may be effected without undue violence and in particular that it may not engender further and more serious explosions.

8. A kind of psychological tyranny has been created which makes it impossible to abandon the currently accepted catchwords in this matter without incurring the charge of complicity in what the phraseology of the moment terms "the enslaving exploitation of the colonial Powers".

9. We wish to state categorically that we shall not allow ourselves to be influenced by this atmosphere, and that we shall define our position without any fear of how it may be interpreted or judged. My country, which has emerged from a process of emancipation that strengthened rather than severed the bonds of affection with its country of origin, is in a position to speak freely on this subject.

10. We do not, it is needless to say, have any colonies, and although we have to make determined claims to one island sector of our territory under foreign control, we have maintained cordial relations in other fields with the Power exercising that control. We have therefore no preconceived notions, and if our sympathies tend to one side or the other, there can be no doubt, in the view of the ample witness which we have given in these very precincts, that these sympathies go to the peoples newly emerging to independence.

11. The colonization process was the outcome of Europe's tremendous impulse for expansion at the end of the Middle Ages. There is no doubt that the "little peninsula backing on Asia", as it was once described, comprised within its narrow confines a collection of peoples gifted with the most extraordinary qualities of intelligence, inventiveness and enterprise that mankind has ever known. The descendants of "Japheth's bold progeny", as the Latin poet called them, soon found the territory assigned to them too small and went off to the four corners of the earth in search of new theatres for the expansion of their creative genius. That was the beginning of the great colonial adventure whose final stages we are now witnessing.

12. We shall not attempt to sketch even briefly the stages in that great historical process which was so complex and had so many different forms and diverse facets. In any event a final judgement on the colonial system would in our opinion be premature. In a general way, however, we do not believe it possible—and least of all at this moment—to pronounce a simple straightforward opinion on what, in the language of Balzac, we might call the "grandeurs and miseries" of the colonial system. Individual cases vary with the period and with the colonizing and the colonized country. To apply a single standard or to render a single concise judgement would, in our opinion, merely misrepresent the extreme complexity of the colonial phenomenon.

13. It is hardly necessary for us to recall that there have been intolerable abuses in the system because we hear it repeated here daily. While some of the evils alleged against the colonial system may be exaggerated, many, on the other hand, are true. When Europe first substituted the desire for gain for the old Christian ideals which directed its first steps towards unknown lands, the profound significance of the colonizing effort was also transformed.

14. We should be engaging in melodramatic truculence if we recalled the now classic impression of those rapacious adventurers which has been conveyed by the cinema and the novel. Such is the disgusting and unfortunately only too true aspect of the colonial system which we cannot condemn too strongly.

15. We have, on the other hand, heard certain representatives of the new countries speaking from this rostrum and telling us that they are indebted to the colonial Powers for nothing except humiliation, tyranny and spoliation. We do not deny the truth of their complaints, but we have noticed one thing: we have noticed that they voice those complaints in an English or a French which is so correct and harmonious that it excites our envy.

16. The point is that when a people has received from another country such a valuable treasure as language, it cannot assert that it owes that country nothing. It is indebted at least for a form of culture so important that it influences even the thought that is expressed in the language. That, however, is not the only positive result of the system that has hitherto been in force. There is also the victorious campaign against disease, the educational work of the missionaries and the constructive efforts of technicians. It may be true that the colonial Powers have themselves benefited from that higher material level and that theirs has often been the lion's share, but it would also be wrong to say that at the end of the period of colonial domination all colonized peoples without exception are morally or

materially worse off than before the arrival of the colonizers.

17. To draw up a balance-sheet of colonialism might take us much further than we want to go. The important thing to note is that whatever judgement may be passed on the system now or by future historians, colonialism no longer fits into the political structures of our time. It is a type of relationship which has ended forever. At a time when equality—and I say equality rather than liberty—represents to the masses the greatest good, the survival of systems in which some peoples are dominated by others is an anachronism. It does not matter now what explanation or justification those systems may have had in the past. What is important is that in our day and age we should refuse to allow them to continue.

18. I think that we are almost all agreed upon that point. In his eloquent statement yesterday [925th meeting] the representative of the United Kingdom made an impressive survey of his country's contribution to the emancipation of peoples. It is a policy which has now become general, and we must not underestimate the corresponding contribution which France, the other great colonial Power, has made to that emancipation. It is no longer a question of discussing whether or not colonialism must be brought to an end, but of determining the methods, time limits and procedures by which the process of liquidation is to be effected.

19. Before voting on the specific proposal that has given rise to this debate, we think that some of the chief problems raised by the liquidation of colonialism should be rapidly examined. It is not enough, in our opinion, simply to decree, with all the omnipotence of the Creator when He separated the light from the dark on the first day of the Creation, that "Colonialism is at an end". What is essential, and particularly for the international Organization to which we belong, is to ascertain and attempt to solve the main problems that will follow the end of colonialism.

20. The most important problem which the end of colonialism brings in its wake is the imbalance between the desire for independence of formerly subject peoples and their economic and technical possibilities for self-development. I should like in this regard to make our position quite clear. We do not believe that because a people does not possess the economic potentialities for self-government it should as a matter of principle be deprived of access to independence. Independence is a spiritual value and cannot therefore be reduced to economic terms. It would not be in keeping with the dignity of the human person to say that a people cannot accede to independence because it does not have the material resources to support itself, or because it does not have enough technicians to establish an industry or because it does not have officials qualified to constitute an organic administration.

21. This does not mean that new countries lacking economic or technical resources will not be faced with problems which, in the present state of the world, automatically take on the character of major international crises. This is true because this inability to meet their own needs and the disproportion between their legitimate and sincere desire for independence and the inadequacy of their resources inevitably raise the question of foreign intervention. And with foreign intervention there also arises the question of a covert

revival of colonialism and the struggle between world blocs for supremacy in the emancipated countries.

22. This explains why there has recently been so much talk here of "neo-colonialism". The term in itself seems tendentious, but the fact that we may object to the term does not mean that the reality which it seeks to define does not exist. The attainment of independence by some countries—and I say some, not all—does create a problem when they lack the material means for assuming all the responsibilities which independence implies.

23. This problem has already arisen and has been solved in various ways. In some cases the independent countries have retained close links with the former metropolitan country, which provides them with equipment, technicians and financial assistance. It is precisely this type of co-operation which has been vilified as "neo-colonialism". We should find it impossible to agree with this attitude because the co-operation and assistance of the former dominating Power to its newly emancipated colony do not seem to us to be intrinsically evil but appear rather to be in keeping with the natural order of things. Who, after all, is more aware of the country's problems, who has greater experience of its needs, and who can provide it with better qualified technicians than the one that is thoroughly familiar with the country? This is said to be a prolongation of colonialism in another form, but do those who say this have any magic formula by which a country structurally in its infancy can alone, and without external aid, achieve the status of a mature nation?

24. There is of course a second formula: support from one or other of the great Powers which are competing for world influence. The new countries can—and legally there is nothing to prevent this—become "clients" in the Roman sense of the word, of one of these great Powers and receive assistance in exchange for full incorporation into its sphere of influence. But what, we may ask, has then been gained? What difference is there between maintaining bonds with a country with which, after all, links forged by past association still remain, and attachment to some new country, whose hegemony automatically implies entry as a passive element into the struggle for world power?

25. There is, however, a third solution, and we believe that all forces should be channelled towards it. This is collective assistance to new countries through an international organization.

26. If the former colonial Powers and the great Powers of the world want the new States to enjoy a prosperity which does not mean making feudal vassals of them nor aligning them with one of the camps in the cold war, then co-operation through international organizations must be regarded as the ideal solution. We are aware that this channelling of aid is not easy to achieve, and in the case of the Congo we have already seen the difficulties it involves. At the least, however, it is important for us to agree that this international co-operation, rather than individual assistance obtained as a result of conflicting influences, provides the solution which we should seek. In the meantime, until a climate favourable to that solution has been created, we refuse to condemn friendly co-operation at any level between the former metropolitan countries and the new countries, and even more do we

refuse to condemn this co-operation when the only alternative is the ideological and political incorporation of the new States into the factions that are struggling for world domination.

27. In making these remarks, it would be unfair not to point out, with reference to the great world Powers, that while the United States has strongly urged that international assistance to the emancipated colonies should be channelled mainly through the United Nations, the Soviet Union, by contrast, has so far done nothing to facilitate this. We have not lost hope, however, that there will be a change of attitude that will allow that great country to co-operate effectively in the effort to place the technical development of the new States under international protection at the level required by their newly acquired independence, and thus keep those countries aloof from the world struggle for power.

28. We cannot conclude these remarks on the assistance that should be provided to new countries without elucidating two basic points.

29. We believe, first of all, that although it may be legitimate for us to consider one form of assistance to be better than another, and although we believe that international assistance is the most beneficial for the recipient country and most conducive to the preservation of peace, we are nevertheless convinced that the final judge of these criteria is the recipient country itself. To place restrictions on its freedom of choice would be to impose conditions on the independence that has been granted to it and to diminish the full sovereignty which that independence implies.

30. Secondly, our support for the continuation of friendly co-operation between the former colonies and metropolitan countries refers only to co-operation that rests on effective equality and mutual respect.

31. We believe that it would be a farce, to which no serious State could lend itself, to grant nominal independence but in fact to maintain clandestine relations of dependency. We do not, however, have any reason to believe that such Machiavellian plans are being carried out, and we have complete faith in the sincerity with which the metropolitan Powers are encouraging the process of emancipation.

32. We have been told, and it has been proposed, that the colonial system should be brought to an immediate end. Our opinion of this proposal is as follows. We think that we have made clear, beyond all doubt, what our views are with regard to the liquidation of colonialism.

33. The problem, then, is not to decide for or against the colonial system, but rather to be prudent in the true Aristotelian sense of the word. Hence any proposal on this subject should, above all, take into account the information provided by actual facts.

34. Now what do the facts tell us? They tell us that the process of "decolonization", if I may be pardoned for the neologism, is going ahead at a rapid pace and will, without any need for artificial assistance, be largely accomplished in a very short space of time. In this respect, we may count upon the assurances given by the main colonial Powers. Also, the fact that this year the United Nations has admitted seventeen new countries, which were previously dependent on these Powers, provides in our opinion a firm guarantee that these assurances were not given in vain.

35. Naturally my Government does not oppose nor could it ever oppose any desire expressed in fulfilment of our common aspiration to see the colonial system come to an end as soon as possible, once and for all. We do not, on the other hand, believe that the fixing of a dead-line here and now would really accelerate the process. The situations are not all the same, and each one requires its own specific tempo. The important thing is to help to create an atmosphere of mutual understanding and harmony that will facilitate the progressive and expeditious dissolution of the old colonial bonds. If they were to be broken in an atmosphere of hatred, the result would be to slow down the process and condemn the countries achieving emancipation to the alternative of chaos or a new and graver form of submission.

36. In declaring that the colonial era has ended, we cannot consider the process of emancipation to be complete so long as certain forms of domination by some States over others, which while not usually included under the term "colonialism" are nevertheless particularly odious and oppressive, persist in the world. Therefore, we cannot allow this opportunity to pass without emphatically stating that if colonialism is to disappear, then there is equally good reason for the elimination of those forms of political and ideological oppression under which many millions of human beings in Europe and in Asia are living today. They also deserve our close attention and solidarity.

37. At this stage of the debate a large group of African-Asian countries has submitted a draft resolution which appears in document A/L.323 and Add.1. My delegation, after carefully examining this text, considers that in its general lines it coincides with the views I have just expressed, and we are therefore in principle ready to support it. My delegation naturally reserves the right to express further opinions on any revision or amendment that may be submitted.

38. In times such as those through which the African and Asian continents are now passing, it is natural that an atmosphere of optimism and elation should arise. These times remind us of the eve of the French Revolution when, in a fervent hour of liberation, the nobility and the clergy gave up century-old privileges. We should, nevertheless, issue a warning of the dangers that may lie ahead. The road that now awaits the new, free countries is, as the nations of Latin America know all too well, both difficult and tortuous.

39. We are convinced that fewer difficulties will be encountered on this road if the new nations will combine their national and continental aspirations with a spirit of generous universality. For this it is necessary that no bitterness should remain from the stage through which they have already passed. Their independence must really mark the beginning of an era dedicated entirely to the future.

40. Argentina greets the awakening of the new nations with optimism and hope and brings them its message of fraternal solidarity.

41. Mr. QUAISON-SACKY (Ghana): This is a day of salvation to millions of people living in colonial territories and other territories which are yet to be independent. For the first time, this world Organization is pronouncing itself on the fate of these millions. In fact, today, the General Assembly has taken up one of the most important problems of contemporary international politics, namely, the problem of the complete

eradication of colonialism from the world. From the earliest times to this very day, the problem of imperialism has vexed and puzzled the human conscience and men have never been able to find a satisfactory solution to it. Mankind has never been able to find any moral justification for the imposition of foreign rule by one country or race over another. The human mind can never justify imperialism, no matter how hard it tries, because it is morally indefensible and utterly unjustifiable for any group of people to claim that they have an inherent right to impose their rule, with all its attendant consequences, over others.

42. We have met on this momentous occasion to find a lasting and just solution to this problem; and to abolish all the inequalities of imperialism. We are not here to engage in an idle or philosophical exercise, because we are dealing with an ever-present issue which endangers the very peace and stability of our present-day world. It is my delegation's view that the issue of the complete eradication of colonialism is inextricably bound up with the problem of establishing and maintaining peace and friendship among peoples of all races and civilizations. In the final analysis, peace and stability can come to the world only when all peoples are free and enjoy equal rights and fundamental freedoms, without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion. This, then, is the noble task on which we have embarked at these historic plenary meetings of the General Assembly. It is the earnest hope of my delegation that no attempts will be made by any delegation to drag into our deliberations any extraneous factors or preoccupations.

43. The question with which we are dealing, namely, the burning desire and aspirations of millions of people who still live in the non-independent territories, is far too serious to be approached in a partisan or irresponsible spirit. Let us therefore deal in a constructive manner with the practical problems of securing freedom for such peoples as have not yet, in the words of Article 73 of the United Nations Charter, attained a full measure of self-government. The colonial Powers have, I believe, accepted the solemn obligations of our Charter to promote to the utmost, as a sacred trust, the welfare of these peoples, to develop self-government, to take due account of the political aspirations of these peoples and to assist them in the progressive development of their free political institutions.

44. With the exception of Portugal and Spain, all the colonial Powers have co-operated with the United Nations in fully accepting the doctrine of international accountability contained in Chapters XI to XIII of the Charter, dealing with peoples living in Non-Self-Governing and Trust Territories. Ghana has always maintained that no part of Africa can be regarded as an extension of Europe. Continental pride alone will not suffer us to take kindly to Portuguese and Spanish claims. Now that the report of the Special Committee of Six [A/4526] has been approved by the Fourth Committee, my delegation appreciates the readiness of the Government of Spain to yield ground, and we hope that both Spain and Portugal will stop clinging to the juridical fiction that their possessions are "overseas provinces" and that they will furnish to the United Nations full information on these territories and will take immediate steps to transfer to the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Ifni and West Sahara all the powers which will enable them to enjoy their sovereignty and independence and to safeguard their territorial inte-

grity. Ghana calls upon Portugal and Spain to follow the example of France and the United Kingdom, which have seen the light of day, and to express their clear intention also to allow their territories in Africa and elsewhere to attain complete independence.

45. It is a source of gratification to my delegation that we have come to a juncture in history when we talk of the complete eradication of colonial rule. I must say that this is a splendid culmination of a process of development in international thinking and morality to which men of good will from all over the world have generously and valiantly contributed. Anti-colonialism is not the monopoly of one group or any race or philosophy or government. It has a long history, which, for convenience, we might date back to the first successful colonial revolutions of our time. I refer, indeed, to the revolutions of the Americans which overthrew the British and Spanish colonial rule in the Western Hemisphere and established the right of the peoples of this continent to live and develop as free men under political institutions of their own choice. The names of George Washington, Simón Bolívar and José Martí, who led the great anti-colonial revolutions against British and Spanish colonial rulers in the Americas, are known all over the world, and the deeds of these men have been sources of inspiration to the leaders of the national liberation movements throughout the world.

46. In fact, it was an Englishman, John Hobson, who in 1902 published a book entitled Imperialism in which he systematically examined the economic relations between the dependent peoples and their colonizers, mostly from the industrial nations of Europe, and thus gave a fruitful turn of meaning to this word which formed the title of his book. Other European thinkers, such as Lenin, starting from socialist assumptions, developed Hobson's analysis further to embrace more recent developments in the colonial world. Such analysis and writings no doubt influenced the thoughts and actions of a generation of leaders who later led the revolt against colonialism in Asia and Africa. It was, however, in the colonial world itself that the peoples, bent upon liberating themselves from alien rule, initiated their own anti-colonialist revolutions and drew on the rich experiences gained in ringing manifestos and resolutions which have become part of the history of our time.

47. In Africa, where many territories are still under foreign domination, words and positive action have not been lacking in making it clear to the colonizers that Africa wants to be completely free from the shackles of imperialism and colonialism. "Seek ye first the political kingdom," thundered Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, "and all other things will be added unto it." Then, to those who have maintained that Africa needs foreign domination, exploitation and Western culture because Africa is a dark continent, the following lines written by Dei-Anang of Ghana in his Africa Speaks are an answer:

"In the pages of the past,
In the faithless days of long ago,
When vision was short, and knowledge scant,
Men called me 'Dark Africa'.

Dark Africa?
I, who raised the regal pyramids,
And held the fortunes
Of conqu'ring Caesars
In my tempting grasp?

Dark Africa?
Who nursed the doubtful child
Of civilization
On the wand'ring banks
Of life-giving Nile,
And gave to the teeming nations
Of the West
A Grecian gift!

The dazzling glare of iron and steel
Sometimes obscures non-metal worth;
So when I disdained my pristine
Bows and arrows,
And cared not much for iron and steel,
They called me 'Dark' in all the world.

But dearer far than cold steel and iron
Is the tranquil art
Of thinking together
And living together.

Dark Africa?
Underneath the clotted roots
Of my kingly whistling palms,
I keep a treasure that none can measure.

Dark Africa!
My dawn is here:
Behold, I see
A rich-warm glow in the East,
And my day will soon be here."

48. There has been a tremendous reawakening in Africa. What Prime Minister Macmillan described during his recent visit to Africa as a "wind of change" is rather a raging hurricane sweeping all before it. The writings of Rousseau, Jefferson, Marx, Thomas Paine, Machiavelli and other political thinkers have had their influence. Thus, everywhere in Africa, Africans demand freedom, equality and justice: whether in Algeria, where the Algerian heroes are fighting for independence against the forces of France; whether in Central Africa, where Africans refuse to have imposed upon them political institutions which they do not like; whether in South Africa, Angola, Mozambique or East Africa, where Africans are opposed to racial segregation and refuse to allow a minority of Europeans to hold in ransom a majority of Africans, the struggle continues.

49. Mention must of course be made of that great gathering of peoples from Asia and Africa at Bandung in 1955, where our leaders collectively declared emphatically their unrelenting opposition to imperialism and colonialism in all its forms. In the final "communiqué" of that great historic conference, the peoples of Asia and Africa agreed:

"First, in declaring that colonialism in all its manifestations is an evil which should speedily be brought to an end;

"Second, in affirming that the subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation constitutes a denial of fundamental human rights, is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations and is an impediment to the promotion of world peace and co-operation."

50. These sentiments have subsequently found echoes in resolutions adopted at the conferences of the independent African States held at Accra, Monrovia and, more recently, at Addis Ababa. It must be recalled that the First Conference of Independent African States held at Accra from 15 to 22 April 1958 marked

a landmark in the history of the African continent. For the first time leaders of the independent African States came together to pool their ideas concerning problems confronting Africa. If in 1885 European Powers met in Berlin to decide what they should do to Africa, namely to scramble to Africa and to set up artificial frontiers, in April 1958 leaders of the independent African States met at Accra to undo that decision. Allow me to quote from the Addis Ababa Conference resolution on the eradication of colonial rule from Africa; it was a very important document:

"Recalling the declaration of Bandung and the resolutions of Accra and Monrovia proclaiming that colonialism in all its manifestations constitutes an evil which should speedily be brought to an end;

"Reaffirming that the subjugation of peoples to alien domination and exploitation constitutes a denial of fundamental rights which is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and is an impediment to the promotion of world peace and co-operation;

"Considering that Africa is the only continent where a large proportion of the inhabitants still live under colonial domination with all its privations and indignities;

"Considering further that the present awakening of the people of Africa and the independence movements can no longer be contained, without the risk of seriously compromising relations between the different nations;

"Believing that the restoration of the natural rights and human dignity to the Africans, in those parts of Africa at present under foreign subjugation, as well as the peaceful enjoyment of the hard-won freedom by the peoples of the Independent African States, could only be achieved through the complete eradication of colonial rule from our continent;

"...

"Urges the colonial Powers to fix dates in conformity with the will of the people for the immediate attainment of independence by all non-independent countries and to communicate those dates to the people concerned;

"Resolves that the Independent African States continue to exert concerted action to achieve through all possible peaceful means the complete eradication of colonial rule from Africa."

51. It must be said that the establishment of the United Nations coincided with a period of profound political transformation and revolution in Asia and Africa. At San Francisco fifteen years ago there was an awareness that something had to be done about the vast areas in Asia and Africa which were then under colonial domination. What prompted the United Nations at that time to draw a line between the former colonies of vanquished Germany on the one hand, and colonies under the rule of the victorious Allies on the other, remains a puzzle to my delegation. The principles of the sacred trust and international accountability should have applied in full measure and equal intensity to all non-independent territories; but instead there were enshrined in the Charter a declaration on Non-Self-Governing Territories and another one on Trusteeship, with the result that Trust Territories have, on the whole, moved faster towards independ-

ence than so-called Non-Self-Governing Territories. Another sorry result is that today the fate of South West Africa hangs in fire. Nevertheless, after the Second World War it became quite clear that it would be impossible to restore the supremacy of Western Europe militarily or economically over large parts of Asia and Africa.

52. Those European countries which misjudged the temper of those times, and thought they could return and set up shop as if nothing had happened, learned to their bitter cost that the times have indeed changed. Great and once submerged nations were thus reborn. The emancipation of Asia from white domination and supremacy was triumphantly proclaimed. Almost all of these reborn nations joined the United Nations, thus enriching our Organization with their ancient wisdom and cultures. This movement, which began in Asia, has now become a general revolt against colonialism everywhere—a revolt against political stranglehold, economic exploitation and racial inequality. As I have already said, there is a great reawakening in Africa, where today the largest concentrations of dependent and non-self-governing peoples are to be found. In summing up the effects of these revolutions in Asia and Africa, the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories, over which I had the privilege to preside, noted in April 1960 the following:

"The number of Territories fell from seventy-four to fifty-five and the aggregate of population from approximately 215 million to approximately 113 million, a figure which includes a natural population increase in the remaining Territories of some 22 million over the period. In particular, the total number of Asian and Pacific peoples identified as belonging to Non-Self-Governing Territories was reduced from more than 113 million to less than 14 million. By the end of the period, the continent of Africa contained the last great groups of peoples, totalling some 96 million, whose political status had yet to be finally determined." [A/4371, part two, para. 10.]

53. Nigeria and the former French territories in Africa have since become independent, but the number of those still living under colonial rule in Africa runs into the millions. It is the fate of these millions that we are called upon here to decide. The vast and most beneficent change that has come over contemporary international society today is that the former colonial peoples are no longer passive objects of policy but driving forces—driving forces for peace, sanity and racial equality in a world torn by bitter ideological conflicts. They have taken the initiative in building a world from which the scourge of war will forever be banished. Today they spearhead the movement to translate the lofty aims of our Charter into concrete actions for the betterment of all mankind.

54. The thinking of all progressive people, therefore, seems to be directed towards the eradication of colonial rule and imperialism because it is now evident that the continuation of this iniquitous system of domination and exploitation poses a serious threat to international peace and stability. The urgent problems that are to be solved on the African continent today are largely colonial problems. There is an urgent task of granting freedom to the peoples of Angola, Kenya, Uganda, Northern and Southern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, Ruanda-Urundi, South West Africa, the 11.5 million Africans of South Africa, Malta, Algeria and Mozam-

bique, to name only a few territories which are yet to be represented in this world Organization.

55. Then, there is the tragic question of them all, and I refer to the problem of Algeria. The heroic struggle of the Algerian people against French colonialism is now in its seventh year. About this great tragedy, I wish to quote briefly from an editorial captioned "Another Seven Years War" which appeared in The New York Times of Wednesday, 2 November 1960:

"The war in Algeria, which began with rebel raids on November 1, 1954, enters its seventh year amid rising international tensions, mounting discord in France itself and growing involvement of the Communist bloc seeking to make this unhappy land a pawn in the cold war.

"This conflict, which in French eyes is a civil war in which no outsiders must interfere, has already cost 150,000—mostly rebel—lives, with an additional 14,000—mostly Moslem—civilians killed by terrorists. It keeps the bulk of the French Army pinned down in Algeria to the detriment of the West's main front in central Europe. It saps France of \$1 billion a year. It raises the twin specters of Communist 'volunteers' in Algeria and another military coup in France.

"The special tragedy of this continued conflict is that both sides agree on the only possible solution for it. This solution is Algerian self-determination, offered by President de Gaulle, accepted by the rebels. But there is no agreement on giving practical effect to this proposal...."

56. I quote The New York Times because it is a paper that cannot be accused of being unsympathetic to the French point of view on this question. But even The New York Times sees clearly the tragedy and the futility of continuing a war which, to the mind of my delegation, will no doubt end only in the victory of the Algerian peoples and the establishment of an independent Algeria. Our world Organization must declare unequivocally that armed intervention against colonial peoples who demand their independence and sovereignty should be banned completely.

57. The solution of the colonial problem has thus become the most urgent problem of our time, and it is upon its solution that the peace, stability and orderly progress of our world depend. The profound aspirations of peoples who are still living under colonial rule in the Non-Self-Governing Territories must be fully realized if wars and racial conflicts are to be avoided. Reasons of inadequate economic, social or educational development must no longer be invoked as a pretext to delay the transfer of freedom and independence to these peoples. Their first and foremost demand is for freedom—freedom which will enable them to undertake the arduous tasks of international reconstruction and development.

58. What we are witnessing in the non-independent territories is what a great American has called the revolution of "rising expectations". The first objective of this resolution is to secure self-government and independence for peoples who still live under alien rule. Without freedom and independence, these peoples cannot hope to solve realistically and speedily their economic and social problems. It has been our experience in Ghana that national freedom and inde-

pendence have released our creative energies and have given a fillip to a tremendous enthusiasm and willingness for building a better material and spiritual life. It has been our noble task, as an economically less developed country, to strive with all our resourcefulness to conquer poverty and malnutrition and to build up adequate social, medical and educational services, thus making Ghana a fit country for heroes to live in. We have no doubt that other re-emergent countries are moving in the same direction.

59. One must never lose sight of the underlying economic and social factors of the great anti-colonial revolutions of our time. Colonialism created a world which was and is, to a large extent, still divided into advanced industrial and under-developed colonial peoples. This division of function, broadly corresponding with a division of political status, was for a long time the basis of the world economy; political inequality matched inequality of economic status, as well as racial inequality. This division of the world between advanced and so-called backward peoples led to the intensive industrialization of metropolitan areas, to the exclusion of the so-called dependent territories. Have these colonial territories not enormous resources which can help transform them to economically advanced countries? It was Sir Winston Churchill who, in his book My African Journey, observed:

"So much power running to waste, such a coign of vantage unoccupied, such lever to control the natural forces of Africa ungripped, cannot but vex and stimulate the imagination."

60. But then, it has never been the policy of colonial Powers to develop the territories under them to an economically high level, because to them colonies must remain sources of raw materials and minerals. Thus it is that I do not know of any colonial territory in Africa which on the attainment of independence can be described as an economically advanced country. It is this sad legacy of colonialism that the anti-colonial revolution aims to destroy and to work for the type of a world economic system which will enable all peoples to enjoy a widely diffused and a high material and cultural standard of living. The pressing task of our time—and this will become more pressing after we have abolished colonialism—is the establishment of sound economic relations between the countries of Asia and Africa and the great industrial countries of Europe and America. Capital investment, technical assistance, planned national economies, planned international trade to protect the economies of these areas from excessive price fluctuations—these elements are necessary if the anti-colonial revolution is to be guided by the United Nations to a peaceful and successful consummation.

61. These great tasks of development can only be undertaken successfully in a world of freedom, independence and national dignity, and under governments freely chosen by these peoples without regard to race, creed or colour. Alien rule, no matter how benevolent or paternalistic, inhibits the free development of peoples, saps their creative energies and deprives them of their national self-respect and dignity. Foreign domination can never be a substitute for independence. Our task, therefore, is to liberate these peoples, to call upon the colonial Powers to take immediate steps to transfer to these peoples their God-given right to independence and sovereignty.

62. It is the conviction of my delegation that greater opportunities will be opened up for more fruitful international co-operation for economic and social development when all the countries that are still non-independent become free and their representatives join us here in the United Nations. We regard the independence of these peoples as a crucial and necessary step in building a world where all peoples, regardless of ideology, race, colour or creed, can co-operate in the establishment of those economic and social conditions which alone can guarantee peace and stability in our world.

63. I submit that our task is only beginning. We must first set these peoples free, so that they can join us here at the United Nations. Our next task will be to devise an appropriate machinery of international co-operation for the development of adequate economic, social and cultural standards for all peoples. I suggest, therefore, that, as a logical follow-up to the declaration which the General Assembly is about to adopt here, we also give serious thought to the speedy establishment of an international machinery which will provide adequate financial and technical aid to these peoples during the initial stages of their national reconstruction and development.

64. I hope that this General Assembly, before it adjourns, will take the first necessary steps to set up a United Nations capital development fund to aid all developing countries. If the rich countries of the world make available one per cent each of their national revenues to such a fund, this would help avoid East-West competition to win allies.

65. In conclusion, may I say that the draft declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples contained in document A/L.323 and Add.1, which is before this Assembly, has been prepared by forty-five Asian and African delegations whose countries have invariably passed through the colonial mill.

66. The declaration itself is self-explanatory. However, my delegation wishes to emphasize categorically, first, that Ghana is uncompromisingly opposed to colonialism in all its forms, and Ghana has no apology to render to anyone for this stand.

67. Secondly, we prefer complete independence with danger to servitude in tranquillity, and, therefore, we are firmly of the opinion that inadequacy of political, economic, social or educational preparedness should never be used as a pretext to delay the transfer of sovereignty and independence.

68. Thirdly, Ghana believes that the attainment of independence should not be based on any conditions. In this regard, Ghana is opposed to colonial Powers who cajole nationalist leaders to sign military treaties permitting the establishment of military bases and to grant economic concessions before independence, and we warn political leaders of this new colonialism which can be more devastating and soul-killing than the traditional colonialism which we all know.

69. Fourthly, Ghana calls upon all colonial Powers to eschew the use of armed action and other repressive acts directed against freedom fighters.

70. Fifthly, it is the firm view of Ghana that immediate measures should be initiated by the colonial Powers to hand over all powers, including the exercise of sovereignty, to all territories that are not yet

independent, in accordance with their legitimate wishes for freedom and independence. If this is done now, Ghana believes that by 1962 all Africa, including Southern Rhodesia, South West Africa, Angola and Mozambique, will be free.

71. Lastly, Ghana reaffirms its faith in the United Nations and is strongly of the belief that the United Nations should serve as a bulwark against all attacks on the territorial integrity, unity and independence of nations.

72. I would like to express the hope of my delegation that this draft declaration submitted by African-Asian States will be adopted unanimously by the General Assembly. This is not a document that should give rise to any partisan rancour. We are here dealing with the hopes and aspirations of millions of people who still live in the Non-Self-Governing and Trust Territories of the world and who look to the United Nations to help them in their long and arduous march towards freedom and independence. Indeed, we would be failing in our duty if we were to forget these peoples and allow this debate to degenerate into one more fruitless exercise in the so-called cold war. History and, indeed, the silent millions in the under-developed areas who are carefully listening to our proceedings, will not forgive us if we allow our endeavours here to be bedevilled by irrelevant ideological wranglings. We should come out boldly and support the right of these peoples to freedom and independence. All of us—those of us from erstwhile colonial areas and those who presently colonize and administer alien peoples—should vote for an end to colonialism now and for the restoration of human rights and fundamental freedoms to all peoples without regard to race, colour or creed.

73. Mr. SHUKAIRY (Saudi Arabia): For the first time in the history of the United Nations, the question of colonialism is brought to the foreground on the platform of this Organization, which has opened its doors wide to it. In past years it is undeniable that colonial issues, whether in the General Assembly or in its Committees, have been examined under one item or the other, but never before has colonialism in its entirety been projected into the full light, into full-fledged discussion, with the lofty hope of collective action worthy of the authority of the United Nations and its dignity.

74. I preface my statement with this firm and sincere hope, for the problem of colonialism ranks uppermost in the history of human relations. It stands as high as a giant in the field of international relations. It involves political captivity, economic domination, social enslavement and cultural subjugation that affect not only the colonial peoples but human society as a whole. To measure its devastating evils, it is sufficient to know that colonialism involves at the present time the future of 100 million people. This fact, treated in passing, may sound of ordinary significance. It may not arouse deep reflection or provoke our imagination. Yet, when we pause for a steady focus, the picture shows up in all its shades and colours, and indeed in all its dimensions. The picture, then, presents the realities of the lives of millions and millions of people; their food—I dare say their starvation; their clothing—I dare say their nakedness; their shelter—I dare say their exposure; their education—I dare say their ignorance; their health—I dare say their debility; their social and economic progress—I dare say their social and economic misery.

75. All this should invite our attention to the importance of the problem. Colonialism is no casual problem which we can examine with our minds at leisure, and with our hearts at ease. It is a problem we should discuss with an alert mind, a lively heart and a restless soul. Of all international problems except disarmament, colonialism is second to none. In fact, colonialism, war and disarmament are the three unscrupulous musketeers that are driving the vehicle of humanity into the abyss—and what an abyss—of annihilation. I have placed colonialism first in order, because war for colonialism is the institution, and armaments are its tools. Armaments are not the great toys and hobbies of humanity; they are the grim reaper of mankind, and colonialism is the harvest. Neither is war an end in itself. All through our history, people did not war for war; they warred to achieve usurpation and exploitation. In plain terms, they warred to usurp the wealth of a territory and exploit the possessions of its people. They warred to realize high returns at a cheap cost, cheap labour and cheap raw materials. They warred to conquer a new ground of exploitation, to expand or to defend what had already been conquered. Even the First World War of 1914, which was thought to be one of ideas and ideals, was principally motivated by colonialism. In the words of Dr. Moon, an American authority on international affairs:

"The catastrophe of 1914 was not brought about by the personal vagaries of William Hohenzollern... The very alignment of European powers was dictated by imperialism, not by race or democracy or kinship of culture ... Imperialism is the root and 'raison d'être' of world politics ..."

76. I do not need to heap the evidence in support of this valid assertion. It is enough to recall that colonialism was behind many treaties, many alliances, many "ententes" and many conferences. Indeed, colonialism was behind the paradox of converting friends into enemies, of making enemies out of friends. In a word, colonialism has been the greatest single factor in history to make bad history. And what history is as bad as that when our generation was destined to witness two-thirds of the world's population groaning under the yoke of colonialism?

77. It is common knowledge that on the eve of the Second World War ten imperialist nations possessed colonies and protectorates seven times the size of Europe. It was estimated that, out of the two billion people inhabiting this planet, one-and-a-half billion were living under the régime of colonialism in company with disease, ignorance and poverty—the most notorious enemies of mankind. The estimate has revealed that every man, woman and child in Great Britain had ten colonial subjects, black, brown and yellow; and that for every acre in France there were twenty in the French colonies. At that time colonies were very much bigger than the so-called mother country. The colonies of Italy were six times the size of Italy; of Portugal, twenty-three times that of Portugal; and of Belgium, eighty-one times the size of Belgium. Hence, contrary to the rules of creation, the child was manifoldly bigger than its parents; indeed all the parents put together.

78. This picture has materially changed. The dimensions of colonialism have decreased and the forces of liberty have increased. Liberty has triumphed and many victories have been scored. The struggle of

peoples for freedom, their yearnings for independence, their stirrings for economic betterment, their agitations for social advance, and in a word, their strivings for human fulfilment, have reversed the wrongful trend of history. Empires have fallen, shattered into splinters, and colonialism was withdrawing in retreat after retreat because liberty was scoring triumph after triumph.

79. The outcome, the glorious outcome, is now with us. Many nations here in the Assembly Hall have achieved their independence; indeed, I would say they have captured their independence. They entered the United Nations—indeed they have forced open its doors—and now they are here in the United Nations occupying their worthy seats, outnumbering their old masters. Many of their representatives, even those who come here to the rostrum of this Assembly, come from jails, from concentration camps and from detention cells as sovereign equals with their jailers.

80. The other day, when the question of the Congo was discussed in the General Assembly, I saw with my own eyes in this passage in the middle of this house, Mr. Ormsby-Gore, the Minister of State for Foreign Affairs of the United Kingdom, kneeling down on his knees and speaking before the delegations of Ghana and Nigeria, begging of them not to press for their proposal. Fortunately or unfortunately, the cameramen of the United Nations missed this historic occasion, that historic pose.

81. This is how the trend of events has been reversed from retrogression into progression, from monstrous history into glorious history and from the abyss of degradation into the heights of human dignity.

82. But the battle for freedom is not yet at an end. We still have an unfinished task to do. We must do it, here and now, at this session and in this Assembly. At this historic moment, when we are debating colonialism, we must recall that many a people in many a country are still chained in colonialism. Call them what you will—colonies, trust territories, non-self-governing countries, dominated areas—the simple truth cries out with anger and vehemence that 100 million people are still under the heels of foreign rule. And mind you, these 100 million souls are listening to our deliberations with mounting hope and promise. They are waiting for your voices to champion their freedom; for your resolutions to sponsor their liberty; and for your votes in support of their independence. That is their right and this is our duty. The dominated peoples are entitled to overthrow this domination, even by the force of arms, and the United Nations is duty-bound to declare its end. In fairness, I should say, this obligation of the United Nations has long been overdue, and it is high time to discharge our obligations, with no delay and without hesitation.

83. Surely our obligation in this regard has been overdue for a long time in the past. In the Charter of the United Nations, in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and in a host of United Nations resolutions, we have pledged ourselves to respect the principle of self-determination for all peoples, large and small. But colonialism is still reigning in many parts of the world.

84. Even in our books, in the United Nations books, the world is classified into dependent and independent peoples, thus consecrating the ugliest discrimination in the treatment of the human race. Dependence,

as a status, must be finished and liquidated forever. By doing so the United Nations will truly become a United Nations. We have no valid title, at least to our name as a United Nations, when 100 million people are not with us in this Organization as fully independent and fully sovereign peoples. They must be with us, not as they have been, so far, as subjects of discussion, or as topics of debates; they should be with us as fully sovereign States and fully independent Members.

85. If colonialism is the impediment, then colonialism should be destroyed, and destroyed forever, and we have the task of destroying it. All peoples should become free. Men are born free, and no man should be allowed to enslave man. This is not only right and just, but it is the dictate of human brotherhood under the fatherhood of God.

86. This is no sermon preached to a religious congregation; neither is our Organization a worshipping house. This is simply a reiteration of our obligations, and a reaffirmation of our objectives. In fact, it is a summation of our Charter to which we have all solemnly subscribed. And if disarmament, as aptly described by Premier Khrushchev, is the problem of problems, then colonialism, I submit, is the evil of all evils, and we have to destroy colonialism, root and branch. This is the unfinished task which we must finish.

87. But this voice does not come only from the newly independent nations. This has been the voice of humanity ever since man started to dominate man. Even when colonialism was at its peak there were heroic voices condemning colonialism. At a time when the frontiers of the British Empire were racing with the setting and rising of the sun, there were many leading Englishmen condemning British imperialism. Jeremy Bentham, father of British radicalism, in a letter published in 1830 under the title "Emancipate Your Colonies", stressed that colonies involve a great military and naval expense, the danger of foreign war, and political corruption in the mother country. This was said just as though he were speaking to this Organization in 1960.

88. Along the same lines, James Mill, in his article in the 1818 supplement to the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, exposed colonialism and its evils. But the most devastating attack has come from Richard Cobden, the apostle of free trade. He called the British Government of that era "a standing conspiracy to rule and bamboozle the people". Probably "bamboozle" is a word foreign to our century, but these are the words of the British gentleman.

89. No matter how polite and courteous one can be, the fact cannot be avoided that colonialism, from beginning to end, is nothing but the exploitation of weak peoples and the usurpation of their wealth. I do not myself wish to use the words "robbery" or "bamboozle", for robbery is inherent in colonialism itself.

90. Of course, colonialism was not left without defence. But this is the case of the culprit who establishes himself as his own judge and pronounces his own innocence. The attempt was always abortive and it simply proved the guilt, and what a most heinous guilt it was.

91. Colonialism, it was claimed, has a civilizing mission, a "mission sacrée", towards the black race. In accordance with this baseless premise, the white man has a right to exercise, a duty to discharge and

a burden to shoulder. The white man's burden is the whole philosophy of colonialism. But this philosophy was exposed by its own philosophers. It was Rudyard Kipling, the poet of imperialism, who sang:

"Take up the white man's burden,
Your new-caught, sullen peoples,
Half-devil and half-child."

92. The truth, I submit, is that colonialism is the devil itself. Colonialism is not the white man's burden. It has proved to be the white man's spoil and prize. If it had been a burden at all, it is because the white man was overburdened with the wealth of the black, with the treasure of the brown and with the riches of the yellow. This is the burden of the white man with which he was overburdened.

93. Yet the white man can legitimately be asked, and I put the question now: who has entrusted you with this burden to shoulder? And who has vested you with that right to exercise? And who has charged you with this obligation to discharge? Of the millions and millions of white men, let one single white man volunteer the answer—but a sensible answer.

94. You cannot deny that an answer to these questions has been attempted by many architects of colonialism. In this field the French have proved to be the cleverest advocates for a losing case. In 1886, Alfred Rambaud, a professor at the Sorbonne, wrote a whole volume in justification of colonialism, with a boastful title: *La France coloniale*. This title is enough to blemish the case of colonialism. In 1870, Beaulieu, a French economist, wrote to say that: "Every day that passes convinces me more and more of the importance of colonization in general, and its importance above all to France." So, above all, it is France which is at stake. More recently, in 1924, Victor Beauregard, in his book *L'empire colonial de la France*, declared: "The study of history reveals a conclusion which has the certainty of an axiom: France more than any other nation has a genius for colonization." This is a genius fallacy, and if this is an axiom then it is an axiom of fallacy. For shortly after this reference to the genius of France, the writer went on to say: "The future of France is in her colonies." So it was France, not the colonies, which was at stake.

95. But the true axiom is that colonialism is not a "mission sacrée", it is a "mission 'désacrée'". What is behind colonialism is subordinated markets, subverted consumers and usurped raw materials. Behind colonialism there is a dominating capital, land dispossession and forced labour—all in the interest of colonizers, under the umbrella of civilization.

96. Right from the very beginning, colonialism was launched as a campaign to capture business, to capture trade and industry—all carried out with a determined purpose of exploitation. Just remember the names of those great enterprises: the East India Companies, the West India Companies, the Levant Companies and the African Companies. And remember too that these companies had armies and mercenary troops which later built those vast empires. There is a lengthy record of confessions by empire builders themselves that the white man's burden is a pale argument. Colonialism is meant primarily to serve the interests of the so-called mother country. And what affection is it to starve the child and nourish the mother? The granting of independence to colonial territories is an economic liberation, for colonialism was intended

initially as an economic domination. The record of colonialism is most eloquent, and here again the record of France rises above every record.

97. In 1884, the French Premier, Jules Ferry, declared in these terms: "The superior races"—and here France is speaking in terms of race superiority—"have a right as regards inferior races ... if France refrained from imperialism she would descend from the first rank to the third or the fourth". Hence colonialism for France is not to help the ascent of its colonies, but to avoid the descent of France to the fourth rank.

98. Again in 1890, the French Premier disclosed that "colonial policy is the daughter of industrial policy". If these words by the Prime Minister of France have any meaning, they only mean that a colony to France is nothing but a market, to sell at the highest price goods made of raw materials bought at the cheapest, with labour at the lowest. Nothing betrays the motives of French colonialism more than this statement by the Prime Minister of France himself.

99. In the same vein, in 1881, Mr. Gambetta justified the conquest of Tunisia, which is now an independent and fully sovereign State represented in the United Nations, in the Chamber of Deputies as follows: "Tunisia is necessary for our material prosperity." Thus it is the prosperity of France not the prosperity of Tunisia which was at stake.

100. Later, in 1895, Mr. Chautemps, Minister of Colonies, described himself—and it is interesting and amusing for the Minister of Colonies so to describe himself—as "in reality a Second Minister of Commerce". This is colonialism and we speak of a "mission sacrée", and the Minister of Colonies says that he is a "Second Minister of Commerce". I say in all humility that he should have described himself as the "First Minister of Commerce".

101. In 1882, Beaulieu, the French economist, exposed French colonialism to the last point of exposure. In plain terms he stated that "colonization is for France a question of life and death". So the matter is not the life and death of the colonial peoples. The heart of the matter is the life of France and the death of France. The colonial people are to live as they could, and they are to die as they should. They are left to their fate, to the mercy of destiny.

102. Thus colonialism is not exposed by its enemies but rather it is defeated by its very authors, by its philosophers, by its engineers, by its dreamers and schemers. The architects of colonialism, the builders of empires, whether dreamers or otherwise, have all gone. But they have left behind them a volume of confessions demonstrating the brutalities of colonialism and demolishing forever the fallacy of humanitarianism as a motive for colonialism. It was in the middle of the nineteenth century, when colonialism was at its peak, that it was stripped naked as a heinous institution primarily intended for usurpation and exploitation on an international scale. I say on an international scale because the words of the notorious imperialist of Great Britain, Cecil Rhodes, are still ringing in our ears. Speaking of the world of the nineteenth century Cecil Rhodes said:

"The world is nearly all parcelled out, and what there is left of it is being divided up, conquered and colonized ... If there be a God"—this is his challenge,

the challenge of the British imperialists—"I think what He would like for me to do is to paint as much of the map of Africa British red as possible...."

Finding the world too small to meet the greed of British colonialism, Cecil Rhodes went on to say: "I would annex the planets if I could, I often think of that. It makes me sad to see them so clear and yet so far."

103. These words, I submit, about dividing, conquering and parcelling the world, as well as painting the map of Africa British red as much as possible, are a vivid expression of colonialism in its classical concept. But the greed, the fiery greed to annex the planets simply discloses that British imperialism of the nineteenth century, not satisfied with colonialism on earth, was hoping for colonialism in outer space. Today, the United Kingdom stands for the peaceful uses of outer space. It does not harbour any plans for colonialism in outer space, probably because it is so far behind in the race for planets.

104. The granting of independence to colonial peoples has another human aspect. In addition to bringing about economic liberation, independence leads to spiritual emancipation. It is a restoration of human dignity and a rehabilitation of human personality. Colonialism is based on race superiority. The supremacy of the whites is the fountainhead from which flows the entire philosophy of colonialism. Colonialism has two gospels—one to preach, on the ground of the white man's burden, and the other to practise, in an unquenchable thirst for prize and hunger for spoils. But the gospel to preach, which is supposed to inculcate an idea or propagate a principle, is drenched with the most shocking ideology—race supremacy.

105. Speaking of British colonialism, Cecil Rhodes declared: "I contend that we are the first race in the world, and that the more of the world we inhabit, the better it is for the human race." This is a blend of a paradox and a complex. It is a paradox that a superior race should condescend to rob the inferior race; and the complex is too flagrant to explain, a superiority complex.

106. But the stubborn reality is that it is human greed and not human grade which is the driving force of colonialism. It is not the gospel of "live and let live". "Live, and let no one else live" is the real gospel of colonialism.

107. This state of affairs is no past history. For all intents and purposes, this is present history. In classifying the world of today the phrase has been coined, here in the United Nations, "the haves and the have-nots". This terminology has found respectable room even in our records. It is a fact that of the 2 billion human beings on earth, one and a half billion are poor, incredibly poor. That explains why the "haves" are the minority and the "have-nots" are the majority. The minority are richer and have better living conditions; the majority are poor, living in misery. Surprisingly, however, the "have-nots" are richer in area, in mineral wealth and in material resources. Why, then, are they poor, incredibly poor? The answer is colonialism. The colonialism of the nineteenth century explains the poverty of the twentieth century. Colonialism is the "raison d'être" for classifying the nations of the world into the "haves" and the "have-nots".

108. In our United Nations books—in estimates and statistics—we are often faced with staggering figures

about the national economy of the various States Members of the United Nations. The fact is frequently referred to, with pride, that certain States have a high standard of living while others have a low one. For instance, the United Kingdom, France and Belgium are shown to have a high standard of living, while countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America are shown to have a low standard of living. This is no credit to the rich, and no shame for the poor. It is not any particular genius which made the Western countries richer; neither is it because of a natural disability that the other countries are poorer. Colonialism is the explanation of the whole phenomenon of disparity. The peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, because of ages of colonialism, have been robbed of their gold, their diamonds, their cotton, their silk, their ivory, their spices, their drugs, their rubber, their oil, their animal wealth, and many times even robbed of their fabulous museums, including the dead kings and queens.

109. That is the whole story of the "haves and the have-nots" traced down to the very root of colonialism. The state of poverty and backwardness now prevalent in many areas of the world is the direct legacy of colonialism. The dominated peoples—those that have become independent and those on the waiting list—have a colossal and outstanding debt to claim. What is extended to them now in the form of economic assistance, grants-in-aid, technical assistance, or anything you please, is only a fraction of the grand total of that debt. It is not a moral debt, but one admitted and confessed with all the attributes of legal indebtedness. Just let me give you one illustration. Speaking on British colonial policy, Joseph Chamberlain said: "The Empire is commerce." Joseph Chamberlain summed up in two words what two volumes cannot say: "The Empire is commerce."

110. This empire of commerce was further portrayed by a well-known British imperialist. In a speech before the Manchester Chamber of Commerce in 1884, Henry Stanley said the following:

"There are 40 million people beyond the gateway of the Congo, and the cotton-spinners of Manchester are waiting to clothe them. Birmingham foundries are flowing with the red metal that will be made into iron-work for them and trinkets that shall adorn those dusky bosoms."

Such plain words call for no comment; they are self-explanatory. They go to show how colonialism has raised the standard of living in Manchester and Birmingham and how the whole of Africa was left in poverty and misery.

111. The present disparity between the "haves" and the "have-nots" could be eliminated and, to be more precise, its elimination could be speeded up by the granting of independence to all dependent countries. Since freedom and peace are indivisible, so economic prosperity also should be indivisible. The economic freedom of dependent countries requires now a chivalrous venture, at least as an expression of repentance on behalf of the colonial Powers, for their enslavement was the result of adventures devoid of chivalry. At times this colonialism of commerce was so outspoken that it required no evidence to prove it. A genius imperialist like Disraeli announced in his famous Crystal Palace speech that imperialism was one main objective in his policy. In practice, Disraeli showed himself to be a big contributor to colonialism

as we find it in its present picture. Disraeli had many connexions with the Rothschilds and many other financiers. When the offer was made for the sale of shares in the Suez Canal enterprise, Disraeli, without waiting for a Parliamentary appropriation, immediately accepted the offer—an adventure which, as we know, added another chapter to the history of imperialism in the Middle East. But, to meet the offer, Disraeli had to borrow £4 million sterling from the Rothschilds; and we are told by Professor Moon, a well-known American authority on international relations, that the Rothschilds made £100,000 on this transaction.

112. This is only one instance to show how the wealth of the people was robbed, how fabulous profit was made and, finally, how colonialism has led to this economic disparity from which most of the nations of the world are suffering up to the present moment.

113. I might at this stage mention that it was this Rothschild who on 2 November 1917 received a letter from the British Foreign Secretary promising the establishment of a Jewish National Home in Palestine. It was Mr. Rothschild, this gentleman who made £100,000 on one single transaction, who received that promise for the establishment of a Jewish National Home in Palestine.

114. I bring this matter to the attention of the Assembly because, in examining colonialism, we should not forget that the establishment of a Jewish National Home in Palestine originated, right from the very beginning as an imperialist policy—just as other imperialist policies have been carried out in Africa, Asia or Latin America. In establishing a Jewish Home in Palestine, the British policy, shared and supported by the United States, has proved to be the ugliest form of imperialism. Colonialism has receded from many parts of the world leaving the land for its people, and the people in their land. But as enforced in Palestine, colonialism has led to the infiltration of one million Jews and the expulsion of one million Arabs, now living as refugees in their camps, as victims of imperialism and colonialism, in its ugliest form. However, the day is soon coming when the refugees will go back to their homeland, their country emancipated from Zionist occupation; and, with full sovereignty, will join the United Nations as the free and independent State of Palestine, embracing all the legitimate citizens of the country: Moslems, Christians and Jews alike.

115. In the remaining areas, consolation is not absent. Having reached its climax in the nineteenth century, colonialism in the twentieth century is now witnessing its own decline. In the past fifteen years, some 1,500 million human beings have destroyed their chains and have gone free. It was the biggest battle that restored liberty to more than half the world's population. Figures are sometimes more telling than volumes. Think of these figures and what they mean. They mean that, when established, the United Nations represented only one-half of the world, and that the second half was still under the yoke of colonialism. Now we have reached the stage where only 100 million peoples remain in this international captivity. The ratio of emancipation in the past fifteen years has been 100 million per year. It is, therefore, imperative that the United Nations should declare, here and now, in this Assembly, the liberty of the 100 million of our friends, of our brethren who are still in bondage. They are our brethren in spite of their race, in spite of their colour,

in spite of their creed and faith, because we stand for no discrimination on any ground; and this is a test case for those who stand for no discrimination, to support the draft resolution sponsored by the African-Asians [A/L.323 and Add.1]. These brethren of ours are scattered far and wide on this planet, but they are united in their struggle for freedom, and their languishing for liberty.

116. The people of Palestine, Kenya, Oman, Aden, extremities of the Arabian peninsula, Nyasaland, Angola, Mozambique, Rhodesia, Ruanda-Urundi, South West Africa, Tanganyika, Uganda, West Irian, Malta, and other parts of the world should be set free in their homelands. Algeria in particular is a burning issue because war in Algeria enters now its seventh year. The people of Algeria are entitled to what we are entitled. They should be free as we are, have independence as we have, and enjoy dignity as we do. All human beings are born free, and as our great Caliph said, "By what right do you enslave the people when their mothers have begot them free?"

117. The colonial peoples have an inherent right to freedom, and it is our duty to recognize it and declare it. I stress recognition for I submit that the phrase, "the granting of independence", which was used in the memorandum of the Soviet Union [A/4501], for me is not a happy expression. The freedom of 100 million people is their privilege, not our grace. It is their inherent right not our grant.

118. Be that as it may, the argument has often been adduced that these people are now under tutelage and that their economic and social advancement requires that such tutelage should continue for some time. Well, this is an antiquated argument not worthy of the spirit of the day. This is a pale argument which is really worthy of a pale smile.

119. These people have been under tutelage for decades and some of them for ages. How long should we wait for this weary ordeal—for this painful trial—for this bitter experiment—an experiment on human beings, not an experiment on animals or senseless material? If the past tutelage has not been able, thus far, to raise these people from dependence to independence, then the tutelage is a failure, and the United Nations should put an end to this failure. There is also the recent plea drawn of the Congo situation. Some voices—and I would say, remnants of imperialism—are labouring to show that the Congo situation is a forceful illustration to warn against the untimely granting of independence. This is the latest fashion of logic, designed by the habitual designers of political fashion—and I would say, ugly political fashion. But this logic lacks every quality of real logic. To impeach such an argument, it is sufficient to know that it has been put on the market by the enemies of liberty, by the enemies of freedom.

120. The situation in the Congo, however, is an argument in the direction of freedom, not in the denial of freedom. The crisis of the Congo is not the outcome of speedy independence or untimely granting of independence. It is the outcome of speedy aggression against a newly emerging independence. Had the Congo been left on its own, the whole crisis would have been averted, the United Nations forces would not have been assembled, the Congo would not have become an item on the agenda of the United Nations; and the imperialists would not have been furnished with a poor illustration in favour of colonialism.

121. All these arguments, or to be more precise, these shallow arguments, fall to the ground. The colonial peoples should be set free. Let them go their way. They will take good care of themselves. They will look after their economic development, their social betterment, and their cultural advancement. They will be in safe hands because they will be in their own hands. There is nothing more useful, nothing more fruitful and nothing more honourable than to be on your own. And nothing is more gratifying for a people than to construct their national life in their own hands. Behind this reconstruction would be their own hands, their minds, their souls and their hearts. The result would no doubt be, not this decaying evolution of tutelage, but the revolutionary evolution of independence.

122. Take Ghana as an illustration. The potentials of water power have been lying dormant in Ghana for years during the colonial régime. With independence, the Volta River project, which shall make of Ghana an industrial plant, is now in execution. So is the case of Guinea with its dramatic projects. They have been lying dormant in the archives, here and there, under foreign domination.

123. Take the United Arab Republic—the project of the Aswan Dam was slumbering in the archives for decades. With real independence, under President Nasser, the project is now between the jaws of the most efficient equipment for development.

124. Take China, for so long dismembered, dominated and humiliated; it has become with independence a production giant, rightly termed the impatient giant. Impatient with time, China is endeavouring to catch up—and I am not bringing in the political implications of China.

125. And lastly, take India and Pakistan which had been, before independence, in complete stagnation. After independence, these two countries have become a beehive of plans and projects.

126. I will not proceed with more illustrations, for the one and a half billion peoples who have been liberated in the past fifteen years, are the greatest illustration of the greatest human experience.

127. One last point should not escape our attention. With colonialism brought to an end, the Trusteeship Council should be brought to an end also. In fact, the United Nations Trusteeship is an institution in the image of the Mandates System of the League of Nations. It is sad that the Trusteeship Council should remain up to this moment a principal organ of the United Nations, an organ which expresses the domination of the people, and still we should admit that one of the principal organs of the United Nations is handling colonialism and people of dependent status.

128. Equally sad is the term "self-government", which was assigned by the Charter as the goal to which the Trust Territories should be led. The final goal should have been expressly declared as independence, instead of the feeble, poor and miserable expression of self-government. When the question of trusteeship was discussed in San Francisco in 1945, Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov recommended that the purpose of the trusteeship should be independence. At that time, only the Philippine delegation stood for independence against self-government, and this is an occasion for me to admire the Philippines. Unfortunately, the opposition was led by the United States representative, Mr. Stettinius, who insisted that it be

phrased as self-government. We hope that at this session our colleague from the United States will be ready to co-sponsor the idea of the elimination of the Trusteeship Council and this poor and miserable expression of self-government. Let us stand for direct independence and be direct and honest in our expressions. There is no shame in independence that we should hide behind this expression that has no meaning.

129. But this is now past history. Whether it is independence or self-government, let us now make a new history more worthy of our age. Let us declare the independence of all peoples, wherever they be and to what race or colour they may belong. Let us liqui-

date colonialism in all its forms and manifestations, from wherever it may come. Let us wind up imperialism in all its manifestations, and let us set free all peoples in all lands.

130. Each of the ninety-eight nations represented in this Organization, and I make no mistake about the number, has an independence day. Let us make this day an independence day for the whole world, so that with joy and pride we can commemorate a glorious achievement, liberty for all, sovereignty for all, independence for all and, what is more, a United Nations for all.

The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

FIFTEENTH SESSION

Official Records


 Wednesday, 30 November 1960,
 at 10.30 a.m.

NEW YORK

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AGENDA ITEM 87

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

1. The PRESIDENT: Before calling on the first speaker inscribed on the list for this morning, I give the floor to the representative of Portugal in exercise of his right of reply.

2. Mr. GARIN (Portugal): I have been compelled to request the right of reply much against my wish because some of the previous speakers have once more attempted from this rostrum to interfere in the internal affairs of my country against the specific provisions of the Charter of the United Nations.

3. The representative of Ghana has gratuitously classified as juridical fiction the constitutional structure of my country. Now, I am sure that all of us will agree that to classify as fiction the constitutional structure of a country is a most serious statement, and this is precisely what the representative of Ghana has attempted to do in relation to my own country.

4. I have explained once and again from this rostrum that the Portuguese nation, as the result of a centuries-old historical process, is a unitarian State where all the component parts enjoy equal status before the law. The representative of Ghana is, of course, at liberty not to like our Constitution. However, not liking a particular national constitution is one thing, but impugning it in this Organization is another thing altogether. It is not only a violation of the principles of the Charter, but it also tends to create a dangerous precedent whereby the internal structure and affairs of Member countries—all of them, including Ghana—may be freely discussed from this rostrum.

5. I have never come here to question the internal political structure of Ghana or of any other State, nor do I intend to do so, and therefore, my delegation cannot accept without protest that an illegal exception should be made against Portugal. The representative of Ghana has carried his attempted interference into the internal affairs of my country to the point of hoping for immediate steps for the transfer of all powers of sovereignty over the Portuguese overseas provinces of Angola and Mozambique.

6. Now, I honestly think that this is carrying matters to a regrettable extent, when a representative, from this rostrum, asks for the dismemberment of a Member

State. However, I prefer to believe that the representative of Ghana did not really weigh his words when he spoke about his hope that the Portuguese nation should be dismembered and that sovereignty over the dismembered components should be elsewhere.

7. But there again, this is a very serious matter, and this Assembly is not the place for levity when the lives of countries and peoples are at stake. Therefore, I must strongly protest such verbal liberties taking place against the letter and spirit of the Charter, the result of which can only embitter the present debate.

8. Needless to say, this answer applies equally to another delegation which, yesterday, also subscribed to such preposterous suggestions. I do hope that the embitterment of this debate can still be avoided.

9. Mr. ALEMAYEHOU (Ethiopia): In 1945, when the United Nations was organized in San Francisco, about 1,000 million people were under the colonial system. A year or two later, with the independence of India and Pakistan, followed by the independence of Burma, Ceylon, Indonesia and other Asian countries, the system of colonialism remained untouched in the continent of Africa and Oceania.

10. In 1955, at the Asian-African Conference held in Bandung, the States assembled at that historic conference took stock of the colonial situation and initiated a number of fundamental principles which have become the cornerstones of the policy of independent countries of Africa and Asia towards the colonial countries and peoples. These principles have also inspired the struggle of the dependent peoples themselves towards freedom and independence in Asia, Africa and Oceania. Meanwhile, the struggle of the African-Asian States for the liberation of the dependent and colonial peoples continued in the Fourth Committee of the General Assembly. The struggle consisted in liberalizing the rather conservative declaration contained in Chapter XI of the Charter of the United Nations. Although the provisions of the Charter were, so to speak, conservative, the African-Asian countries, with the help of Latin American and other countries, succeeded in making that document a living instrument for the purpose of aiding the colonial peoples towards freedom and independence.

11. While the achievement of independence by the colonial peoples cannot be claimed as the work of the United Nations, none the less, it is true to say that the influence of the United Nations has been felt and that the contribution of liberal forces has not been without effect in the colonial territories.

12. At a later stage of the struggle of the dependent peoples towards independence, we find that, with the independence of Sudan, Morocco and Tunisia, a new chapter was opened for ending colonialism on the

continent of Africa. This process culminated with the independence of Ghana on the west coast of Africa, swiftly followed by the independence of Guinea and this year by so many African States and Cyprus which have taken their rightful place in the community of nations.

13. At this point it must be remembered that the African States themselves, following the example of Bandung, enunciated a number of concrete principles designed for the particular purpose of their own continent at their first historical Conference of Independent African States, held at Accra, Ghana, in 1958. At this Conference they adopted thirteen resolutions, all of which dealt with colonialism and the consolidation of the independence of African States. An examination of these resolutions shows that the eight African States were not satisfied in simply enunciating broad principles, but specifically asked the end of colonialism, "apartheid" and racial discrimination. In brief, the application of one vote to one man was called for so that governmental powers in all the colonial territories in Africa could be organized according to the will of the people, and not according to the dictates of so-called mother countries in far-off places.

14. At the same Conference, the African countries, realizing the unique situation of Algeria, called upon France:

"(a) To recognize the right of the people of Algeria to independence and self-determination;

"(b) To put an end to the hostilities and to withdraw all her troops from Algeria;

"(c) To enter into immediate peaceful negotiation with the Algerian Liberation Front with a view to reaching a final and just settlement."^{1/}

It can be seen immediately that the first aim has been achieved, while the remaining two have either become obsolete, due to a change in circumstances, or have been recognized as a necessity even by those who, at the time of the Conference, were moved to condemn the attitude of the African countries. The point, however, is that the demand by the African countries for the independence and self-determination of Algeria is now recognized by practically everyone concerned, and what remains is the application of these principles under conditions that will ensure to the Algerian people free choice as to their future.

15. A year later, the independent African countries assembled once more in an extraordinary conference in Monrovia^{2/} to consider the Algerian problem, in the first instance, and to deal with other problems of an urgent nature, such as the nuclear tests in the Sahara and the intensification of mass massacre and other repressive measures against the indigenous population in Africa as a result of racial discrimination, and adopted resolutions embodying certain principles on each of these problems. These principles, again, have been accepted by practically all the Members of the United Nations. All that remains is for them to be applied concretely on the spot in conditions which will result in respect by all concerned, so that

when the matter has become history the process will have left intact the friendship of the peoples.

16. The independent countries of Africa—this time sixteen in number—met earlier this year in their regular conference at Addis Ababa,^{3/} and discussed and adopted a number of resolutions. These resolutions dealt with: (a) negotiated and peaceful settlement of the Algerian problem; (b) the question of South West Africa; (c) the cessation of nuclear and thermo-nuclear tests in the Sahara; (d) the eradication of colonial rule from Africa; (e) the question of a Central African Federation; (f) the policy of "apartheid" and racial discrimination in Africa; and other questions. One resolution called for the end of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations and proclaimed the equality of all the races in civil and religious matters and, in particular, the application of the principle of one vote for one man so that governmental power in all the colonies may be transferred to the representatives of the people.

17. Accordingly, the present draft resolution [A/L. 323 and Add.1-2], which my delegation has the honour to co-sponsor, is a consolidation of the ideals and principles which the African-Asian countries have proclaimed and supported ever since 1955, in Bandung, Accra, Monrovia and Addis Ababa. An examination of the draft resolution shows at once that all the paragraphs of the preamble have at one time or another and in one form or another been proclaimed in those historic conferences. From our point of view, therefore, the adoption of these principles by the United Nations would mean that their application was supported by each and every Member State.

18. At this point my delegation would like to pay a tribute to and congratulate the Soviet Union for its initiative in proposing to the fifteenth session of the General Assembly [A/4501] the item which is now under consideration—namely, a Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples [A/4502 and Corr.1]. This declaration on the abolition of colonialism, if adopted by the General Assembly—and I hope it will be adopted unanimously will undoubtedly be a great landmark in the history of the world. It will be a turning point in the history of international relations, in the relations of the States and peoples of the world. It will be a realization of the noble ideals and principles of the United Nations Charter. This declaration, if adopted and implemented, would undoubtedly open a new era to the peoples of the world to work together, to co-operate as members of a great family, for the achievement of common objectives—namely, peace and happiness for all. There can never be a lasting peace in such a great family if all members are not equally happy. Where there is not equal happiness, where there is not equal satisfaction for all, there may be an armed truce but not peace.

19. Hence, in order that there may be lasting peace among the nations and peoples of the world, in order that there may be friendly co-operation among the nations and peoples of the world, colonialism in all its forms and manifestations must come to an end, and the colonial Powers must recognize that the peoples under their domination have the same birthright freely to determine their destinies, as have the peoples in the respective colonial countries.

^{1/} Conference of Independent African States, *Declaration and Resolutions*, 22 April 1958, Accra, Ghana (Government Printer, 1958), resolution No. III.

^{2/} Conference of Independent African States, held at Monrovia, Liberia, from 4-8 August 1959.

^{3/} Second Conference of Independent African States, held at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, 14-24 June 1960.

20. It is therefore in the interest of lasting peace as against perpetual conflict, in the interest of brotherly co-operation for the common good as against animosity among the nations and peoples of the world, that we appeal to all States represented here to give their full support to the declaration under discussion so that it may be adopted by acclamation.

21. People under colonial rule and their supporters in Africa and Asia, and elsewhere, have been criticized by neutral—and, I am sure, honest—observers for being impatient and hasty in asking for an immediate and unconditional end to colonialism. According to such observers, the end of colonialism has in some cases led to conflicts among the native political leaders, as a result of the premature conclusion of colonial rule. They cite the situation in the Congo to support their view. These observers argue, further, that, whatever the peoples under colonial rule may feel about their colonizers, these colonizers must necessarily have contributed to the economic, social, educational and political development of the colonial peoples under their respective rule, and they must necessarily have their own economic or other interests which cannot and must not be disregarded. According to those observers, for all those reasons and in order to prepare the native political leaders for a smooth take-over of power, a longer term than that asked for by the colonial peoples and more patience are necessary.

22. But we have said to such observers, and we must reiterate, that the abolition of colonialism is long overdue and can never be premature. We understand these honest observations and criticisms which at first glance seem to be reasonable and sound for all neutral observers. We know how neutral observers, living in freedom, feel about colonialism in general, because we ourselves have lived both in freedom and under colonial rule. But they cannot understand how we feel about colonialism, because they have always lived in freedom and never under colonial rule. It is convenient and easy for all neutral observers, living in freedom, to criticize, because they have never been subjected to the most abject degradation and humiliation, because they have never been foreigners in their own country, because they have never fought and given their lives in wars which were not theirs and only added glory to their already glorious masters, and because they have never laboured to add more wealth to that of their already wealthy masters and to strengthen the hands oppressing them. One has to live under colonialism and experience these things for oneself in order to understand the full impact of colonialism.

23. It must be recognized that the colonial Powers must have contributed, to a greater or lesser degree, to the economic, social and educational development of their respective colonies. But what our critics have completely overlooked is the fact that invariably the contribution in economic, military and other fields made by the colonies to the metropolitan countries has been incomparably greater than that made by the metropolitan countries to their colonies.

24. As to certain political or economic difficulties and conflicts following the end of colonial rule in some countries, we can say to our critics that these difficulties are always engineered by foreign intrigues, with a view to discrediting and frustrating the irreversible movement towards emancipation by the subjugated peoples all over the world, particularly in

Africa and Asia, and with a view to re-establishing the system of exploitation in one form or another. But, even if it is true that difficulties and conflicts among political leaders follow the end of colonialism in some countries, that should not be a reason for denying independence to the peoples claiming it. Fighting for power among political leaders is not an extraordinary thing. It happens everywhere. Political leaders all over the world have always fought for power by various means—some with money, others with their fists and still others with guns, tanks and airplanes. It should not, therefore, be taken as something so extraordinary simply because it happens in former colonial territories. This is purely and simply an excuse or pretext for maintaining colonial subjugation in those territories.

25. The peoples in the liberated countries, left alone without interference from foreign intriguers, will settle their differences in no time, as all the other peoples in similar circumstances have always done. Let the peoples of the liberated countries ~~alone~~. Let them fight if they want to, and settle their own affairs.

26. I say, in the first place, that there is no reason to believe that the colonies which have immensely contributed to the economic wealth of the metropolitan countries would not be able to build up economically viable States of their own. Nor is there any reason to believe that the peoples of the colonies, having fought long and hard to free themselves from colonial subjugation, and provided there is no foreign intrigue and subversion, would fail to enjoy peacefully the benefit of their hard-won freedom.

27. But if, in spite of all, the question would be to choose between freedom with all its attendant economic difficulties and internal conflicts on the one hand, and the maintenance of colonial rule with all its attendant subjugation, exploitation, degradation and humiliation, and so on, on the other, I would right away and unequivocally say that the peoples, all peoples, under colonial rule prefer poverty in freedom to wealth in slavery, and they will definitely prefer fighting in freedom to peace in slavery.

28. There was a time when the spirit of enterprise and heroism, the power, the greatness and prosperity of a nation were measured by the extent and number of its colonies. There was a time when to own colonies gave pride and glory to those nations owning such colonies. But that is all a matter of the past. Today, to own colonies is no longer glorifying. Today it is not in owning but in freeing colonies that nations take pride, and even those which still entertain the hope of keeping their colonies are trying to do so under different names. Thus, the terms "overseas territories", "overseas provinces", etc., are coined for the former colonies. The names "colonial Power" and "colonies", once a source of pride and glorification to those owning colonial territories, are now becoming more and more embarrassing to them, and I think we can safely say that it will not be long when to own colonies not only will be considered as a disgrace but also as a crime, in the same way as slavery has been so considered.

29. All this coining of new names for the colonies and inventing of excuses to delay the liberation of the colonial peoples on the part of the colonial Powers, are significant proof that colonialism is a thing which

cannot be maintained and that the colonial Powers themselves know it.

30. In fact, the representative of the United Kingdom, whose political foresight, particularly, in this field has been widely appreciated, said only the other day from this rostrum [925th meeting] that it was as regards the method of achieving the end and not the end itself that differences of opinion exist between his Government and those insisting on immediate liberation of all the colonies.

31. Well, since there is no difference of opinion as regards the end—that is, the ultimate liberation of all the peoples presently under colonial rule on the basis of their right of self-determination—there cannot, or at least there should not be, in the view of my delegation, differences of opinion as regards the method to achieve such end.

32. We all agree that the ultimate end sought is the liberation of all colonial peoples from the colonial bonds. If so, is there a better method than ascertaining the wishes of the colonial peoples, under free conditions, as to what they think best for their future? We believe that this is the best method.

33. A declaration abolishing colonialism, a declaration telling the colonial peoples that they are free to choose what they want as to their future, does not prevent any of them from freely and voluntarily associating themselves with their former metropolitan countries in any form, if they deem such association advantageous to them.

34. With respect to certain territories in Africa and Asia considered as overseas provinces of metropolitan countries in Europe, we frankly fail to be persuaded by the arguments of our friends and colleagues representing such metropolitan countries. What makes these far-off territories part of the metropolitan countries? It is not geographical, economic, historical, racial, ethnical, cultural, or any other identity; nor is it a common agreement, freely and voluntarily arrived at. It is simply a law unilaterally enacted by the metropolitan countries. As to what effect such a law, enacted unilaterally and lacking the agreement of one of the parties, would have, the answer is, I think, clear. Just imagine country A, somewhere in Africa, enacting a law by which country B, in Europe or in America, is made a province of country A. What effect would such a law have? None. It would have no effect either in law or in fact, because country A has not the necessary military might to enforce its law nor has it the agreement of country B to become a province.

35. In the case between the colonial countries in Africa and Asia and the metropolitan countries in Europe, while the claim of these metropolitan countries that the far-off colonies can be considered as part of themselves cannot have legal effect because the agreement of one of the parties is lacking, such claim, however, has effect, in fact, simply because these metropolitan countries have military might over the unarmed peoples of their colonies. It is, therefore, a question of force; it is a question of domination by force; it is colonialism, again.

36. That is why I said a moment ago that the argument of some of the representatives of the metropolitan countries was not persuasive, and we appeal to these representatives and to all the other Members to give their full support to the draft resolution containing the

declaration of which I have just spoken [A/L.323 and Add.1-2] and which, we believe, will serve the interests of all, including that of the colonial Powers.

37. Mr. WINIEWICZ (Poland): At none of the previous sessions of the General Assembly has the problem of the colonial peoples and of the final abolition of colonialism been presented with such convincing force as at our current session. The admission to United Nations membership of seventeen new States, every one of which in its history has experienced oppression and colonial exploitation, was a great demonstration of the international import of this problem. It became one of the key issues of our general debate. It ran as a major theme through discussions on many items on the agenda of the Main Committees of this session. It is now, on the initiative of the Soviet Union, being discussed here in the General Assembly in all its aspects, with a view to the adoption of the only just decision.

38. The problem has become ripe for final solution. The new balance of forces in the world has created a situation in which the laws of imperialism no longer play a decisive role. The victorious national liberation movements in Asia and Africa strengthen the anti-colonial front and inspire by their example the still dependent peoples.

39. The unprecedented progress of science and technology, the triumph of man's thought over the forces of nature, as well as the broad possibilities of the peaceful development of humanity, do not allow any further tolerance of colonial dependence and of keeping peoples in poverty and ignorance while they, like all of us, have the right to independence and to a better future.

40. Indeed, where colonialism extended its power, we saw the extermination of subjugated peoples, the destruction of their culture, the imposition of alien institutions and patterns. We saw the merciless exploitation of their labour and natural resources, inhuman racial discrimination, denial of the fruits of civilization. Its characteristic traits are not some of the very recent forms of colonial administration, evolved in recent years owing to ever stronger and ever growing pressures of the progressive forces all over the world. Those new forms, obtained thanks to the steadfast resistance of colonial peoples and the anti-colonial debates and resolutions of the United Nations, have not changed the very essence of colonialism.

41. The political importance, economic might and high standards of living of the metropolitan Powers have been built upon the sweat, blood and tears of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America. What benefits accrued to the indigenous populations as the result of the discovery of gold and diamonds in Africa, of the establishment of rubber plantations and exploitation of the mineral riches of Asia, of sugar-cane plantations and tropical fruits in Latin America, of the finding of uranium in the Congo? The fate of those peoples was decided at the stock exchanges and commodity markets in London, Paris, Brussels and New York, and their life was regimented by the colonial offices in the metropolitan territories.

42. To what extent have the great achievements of science and civilization been spread among colonial peoples? What the colonial administration did—if it did anything at all—for the dependent peoples, it did not do in the sense of fulfilling any civilizing mission, as the defenders of colonialism, including the ill-advised

Mr. Ormsby-Gore, would like us to believe. It was done either for the sake of selfish interests or under the pressure of political circumstances.

43. May I be permitted to add here that the United Kingdom representative did try to divert our attention from the problem of colonialism by insinuations regarding the situation in Eastern Europe. But the record of his country in that part of the world cannot withstand any objective scrutiny; it is nothing that anyone can be proud of. I shall not say anything more on the matter. For our part, we prefer to stick to the topic of our debate.

44. I repeat: Whatever was done in the colonies was done for the sake of selfish interests. Roads were built, railways and communications systems established, because they were needed by the colonizers. A minimum of professional education was provided, only to the extent needed for exploitation of those territories. The minimum of political rights was meted out when the pressure of the masses grew and when the balance of forces in the world was changing.

45. What were the results? The per caput national income of France and Belgium is about \$900 but, in some of the African countries which previously were colonies of those States, it does not exceed \$50 to \$70. In the United Kingdom, the per caput national income is about \$1,100, while in Kenya, rich and amply endowed by nature, it is about \$100, including, of course, the high incomes of white colonists. And we know from official United Nations data, from data contained in the report of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories, that the per caput income of Africans in Kenya is thirty-three times less than that of the non-African population. In Rhodesia and Nyasaland, it is forty-three times less.

46. In Southern Rhodesia, 200,000 European settlers have taken 51 per cent of the best land, while the 3 million Africans have been restricted to the worst soil, occupying only 42 per cent of the whole area. The rest of the land is in the hands of the colonial administration and is being administered in the interests of the white settlers. In the African colonies of Portugal, there is forced labour. Almost the whole population is reduced to the humiliating status created by the colonial administration and described as "uncivilized". Shall I go on reminding you of facts which we all know well from the documents and from the proceedings, over many years, of the Fourth Committee?

47. Illiteracy in colonial territories is wide-spread, sometimes encompassing up to 90 per cent of the adult population. It cannot be otherwise when, for long years, the metropolitan Powers supported the principle that limitation of education prevents the growth of national consciousness and of tendencies to political emancipation. Colonial administrations of many countries have purposely, and in a planned way, hampered the education of the indigenous intelligentsia and of the indigenous "cadres" of skilled workers. This was particularly true in the Congo, and many political or administrative difficulties of the new Republic are a direct result of that policy of the colonizers.

48. Today, however, this state of affairs can no longer continue. The just national aspirations of the colonial peoples cannot be killed or deceived by offering piecemeal political rights. Besides, of what value is a constitution such as that of Malta or British Guiana, for

example, which can be suspended by the colonial administration whenever it sees fit, in spite of the wishes of the people and at a moment when they want to avail themselves of the rights given to them? It is no mere coincidence that, at a time when the constitutions of Malta and British Guiana were suspended, Southern Rhodesian laws—forming the basis for the functioning of the colonial administration there, which follows the pattern of the discriminatory policy of the Union of South Africa—remain in force. Out of 3 million Africans in Southern Rhodesia, only 2,000 have the right to vote.

49. Colonial administrators may cherish the illusion that they can gain time by a policy of repression. But is it not obvious that they cannot arrest the ultimate defeat of colonialism? This had to be admitted even by the Advisory Commission of the British Government which inquired recently into the situation in Rhodesia and Nyasaland. We read in Lord Monckton's report:

"To say that events are moving fast in Africa is a truism. They are moving like an avalanche, and it appears only too likely that those who merely cling to their familiar position will be swept away."

They will be swept away, not only in Africa. Colonialism can neither be reformed nor improved. One cannot reform a system the very essence of which is domination by force, to subordinate the interests of the dependent peoples to political and economic needs of the colonial Powers. One cannot improve a system built upon the principle of racial and cultural inferiority of some nations in relation to others, this being a challenge to the basic tenets of humanism. One cannot deny to other peoples what one asks for one's own nation. The abolition of colonialism is in conformity with the objective laws governing the development of society; it is a requirement of justice and equity.

50. The colonial peoples have a right to independent existence. They demand today the right to decide their future, and this demand must be satisfied forthwith as the Soviet Declaration so rightly sets forth. This concerns all the colonial territories irrespective of their formal and legal status; it concerns Non-Self-Governing Territories and Trust Territories within the meaning of the United Nations Charter; it concerns also protectorates and areas leased in foreign lands. The majority of colonial territories are still to be found in Africa, but we should not forget that not only Asia but also Latin America and the Pacific region are not free from colonialism. What is at stake is the future of a hundred million people, and there can be no compromise on that.

51. The experience of history shows that colonialism is not yielding of its own will. Indeed, at times the strength of its stubborn resistance leads to sharp conflicts prolonging and increasing the sufferings of dependent peoples. The history of accession to independence of many post-colonial States such as India, Indonesia, Morocco, Cyprus and others, which are today Members of our Organization, is a telling illustration of this all too well founded truth. As a result of the very same colonial policy, Viet-Nam is still today divided and is not a Member of the United Nations. For seven years the Algerian people have been waging their heroic struggle for the right to freedom and independent existence, while in the Congo we witness attempts at restoring colonial dependence under new

forms, of course, under new guise, even after the proclamation of independence.

52. That is why many leaders of former colonies which have already been liberated or of dependent territories still aspiring to independence were or are political prisoners whom the colonial administration has deprived of their freedom in order to prevent them from influencing their peoples. I can quote here the names of Pandit Nehru, Dr. Banda, Jomo Kenyatta, Dr. Jagan—to mention but a few. Many, like Um Nyobe of the Cameroons, were killed in the struggle for freedom. As the representative of Mali so rightly said in his speech on 28 September 1960: "The emancipation of colonies has always been the result of pressure..." [876th meeting, para. 188].

53. The United Nations decision concerning the final abolition of colonialism should be, therefore, very emphatic, unequivocal in its meaning, and backed by the whole authority of our Organization. We should not be swayed from this road by arguments advanced by the defenders of colonialism in the present discussion. We should in particular not be misled by the view that the colonial peoples allegedly require preparation for their freedom and that political independence must be preceded by a lengthy economic and social development, under foreign guidance.

54. It would be difficult to deny that the predatory colonial system, the exploitation of local labour kept purposely in a state of backwardness and ignorance, the stifling of political life, all those and other inalienable elements of colonialism leave in their wake the under-development of the dependent territories, so that those countries are backward in the technical and economic sense and lack qualified manpower. But all this precisely calls for the speediest possible abolition of the colonial system.

55. The colonizers are not the best educators of nations along the road towards independence. They are those in whose interest it is to maintain the status of dependence as long as possible. To paraphrase George Washington's words, "It is folly in a colonial country to look for disinterested favours from the colonizers". On the other hand, the experience of all newly established States shows clearly that after gaining independence, owing to the creative efforts of their own, they have begun to develop in all fields much quicker as compared with the period when they were under the colonial system.

56. The fallacy of the reactionary theory of dividing nations into those able and those unable to govern themselves has been completely exposed. Therefore, the historic Soviet Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples is fully justified in stating:

"Life shows that on the heels of liberation come the rebirth, upsurge and flowering of distinctive national cultures, the spread of public education, the improvement of health care, the training of skilled national personnel..." [A/4502].

57. The end to colonial exploitation facilitates the better use of the national resources of the hitherto dependent territories, increases their demand for foreign goods, enlarges their exports, raises their industrial capacity and serves the development of the world economy as a whole.

58. If the representative of Guinea will permit me, I will use the example of Guinea. Two years after accession to independence Guinea, in spite of the grave forecasts and in spite of attempts by colonizers, is developing favourably. The Three Year Economic Plan of that country envisages annual investments twenty-five times higher than the average annual investment during the last ten years of the colonial régime. The number of students and pupils has doubled while the number of scholarships has increased three times.

59. Again, with the permission of the representative of Ghana, may I say that the Government of Ghana has published the second Five Year Plan of National Development which envisages a considerable development of industry and diversification of economy. According to official data of the International Monetary Fund, the increase of the gross national product of Ghana in the years 1954-1957—when the country was a British colony—was 2.5 million pounds, whereas the relevant figures for the year following the independence were already 14.4 million pounds.

60. Nigeria is planning the development of its great hydro-electric potential and full utilization of its national riches of iron ores and oil. The independence gave West Africa a stimulus to an unprecedented growth. The same will happen to East Africa and all the countries which have to be released from colonial bonds.

61. The President of Guinea, M. Sékou Touré, was of course fully justified in stating from this rostrum on 10 October 1960:

"... national independence presupposes not only political liberation but also, and above all, total economic liberation. No social progress is possible unless those two essential conditions are met." [896th meeting, para. 16.]

62. The countries liberated from the yoke of colonialism must be assisted to join, under conditions of complete equality and non-discrimination, in the international exchange of goods and services. Those countries should have complete freedom of disposing of their natural resources and of establishing their economic relations with other countries on the basis of mutual advantages. We must create for them the possibilities of diversifying their economic structure. We should prevent them from falling under any new form of dependence. Do not forget how and why three years ago the colonial Powers were opposing here the establishment of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa which can play an important role in the proper defence of the economic interests of that region.

63. At present we see again even more clearly the efforts of certain well-defined circles, particularly in the United States, to strengthen their influence in Africa, in the newly liberated States. Thus the independence of those States, so dearly paid for, could be speedily and cheaply lost in a new form of dependence, neo-colonial dependence. The Polish delegation will discuss this subject again in connexion with other items on the agenda of our session.

64. Only the immediate, complete abolition of colonial dependence can become the ultimate embodiment of the aims and purposes of the United Nations Charter, for the Charter recognized as one of the basic purposes

of our Organization, "respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples". At the same time Article 73 of the Charter recognized the undeniable fact that there were in 1945 peoples who "have not yet attained a full measure of self-government". The very words "not yet" implied the provisional character of "Non-Self-Governing Territories". The same applies to Article 76, which lays down the objectives for the Trusteeship System.

65. Whatever interpretation is applied to Chapters XI and XII of the Charter, they clearly mean that the institutions and procedures provided by them are transitory and temporary. There can be no question as to whether independence is to be accorded to the peoples inhabiting the territories mentioned in these chapters, the only question to which a reply had to be given was "when?"

66. The purposes and principles of the United Nations are of basic character; they are the very foundation of our Organization and its very being depends on their implementation. To implement them, other provisions of the Charter call for proper interpretation. Wherever necessary, certain processes must be completed and terminated. This applies to Chapters XI and XII, which were meant to operate for a limited time only. Their artificial perpetuation or even prolongation would contradict paragraph 2 of Article 1 of the Charter. It would amount to the denial of the purposes of the United Nations to some peoples of our globe. No such meaning could be attributed to the Charter as a whole or to any of its provisions.

67. It is therefore obvious that these stipulations were not meant to last for ever, nor even for very long. The Charter left the reply to the question, when the institutions of Non-Self-Governing Territories or Trust Territories should be replaced by full self-determination and independence, to events, to life. And, indeed, life has offered this reply in the successive years after 1945, and the year 1960 seems to have given it in full. That is why it is in full accord with the Charter, both its letter and spirit, that both the Non-Self-Governing Territories and the Trust Territories ought to disappear, that all dependent territories and peoples should be granted full independence.

68. I would like to recall the words of the President Sukarno of Indonesia, who rightly stressed here on 30 September 1960:

"The balance of the world has changed since that day in June fifteen years ago when the Charter was signed in the United States city of San Francisco, at a moment when humanity was emerging from the horror of war. The fate of humanity can no longer be decided by a few large and powerful nations..." [880th meeting, para. 54].

President Sukarno also said:

"The United Nations is no longer the same body as that which signed the Charter fifteen years ago. Nor is this world the same world. Those who laboured in wisdom to produce the Charter of this Organization could not have foreseen the shape which it has taken today. Of those wise and far-sighted men, but few realized that the end of imperialism was in sight..." [ibid., para. 183].

69. The United Nations Charter was an expression of those ideals for which the peoples fought during the Second World War against fascism and nazism. The

sons of Asia and Africa were also shedding their blood. Common was this struggle and also common should be the fruits of victory. The Charter has strengthened the conviction that the ideals of freedom and equality for which the peoples united in the fight against fascism and nazism gave their lives on the battlefields of the Second World War cannot be reconciled with colonialism, with the subjugation of nations, with racial discrimination. Indeed, in many a dependent territory the return of soldiers from the battlefields of the Second World War sounded the beginning of the struggle for independence. Do I need to cite more than two of those countries—Ghana and Nigeria?

70. All attempts at preserving the colonial system or at defending the privileged position which it has given to colonial Powers are contrary to the Charter. They are bound to render the development of international co-operation more difficult and constitute an obstacle on the road of social, cultural and economic development of all nations. How many conflicts, dangerous to peace, have arisen precisely as a result of the senseless resistance of the colonial forces against the irreversible trend of history?

71. The war in Algeria has become an international problem. The situation in the Congo is fraught with danger. The continuation of the present policy of the Governments of the Union of South Africa and of Portugal gives rise to fears of further disturbances in international relations. The policy pursued by the Western Powers and NATO in establishing military bases and experimental testing grounds for nuclear weapons, contrary to the manifest desires of the whole region, of the countries liberated from the colonial oppression, has also become an international problem. Nor does neo-colonialism, seeking new forms of imposing dependence, serve the interest of peace.

72. On the other hand the complete abolition of colonialism can set free all the best forces of the new nations. The countries liberated from under the colonial yoke have already made their valuable contribution to the building and the strengthening of peaceful coexistence of nations.

73. The Bandung Conference, during which such an important role was played by the People's Republic of China, was a great historic manifestation of the constructive peaceful role of those new forces. Following Bandung there were conferences in Tunis, Tangier, Conakry, Addis Ababa and Accra. The representative of Ethiopia, who preceded me on this rostrum, also mentioned this. All of these conferences were animated by concern not only for the common good of all the peoples of Asia and Africa but also for a further peaceful development of international relations all over the world. Indeed, the abolition of colonial dependence can also foster better understanding between the colonial peoples and the metropolitan nations. That is to be desired. Both would gain. The world community of nations would gain.

74. If the United Nations is to meet fully its tasks, it has also to react speedily to the changes now taking place in contemporary international relations. If it wants actively to influence the shaping of the present reality and reflect the desires and aspirations of peoples, the United Nations should without delay take a decision on the immediate abolition of colonialism.

75. The United Nations decision should urge all the colonial Powers immediately to enter into negotiations

with representatives of the dependent peoples in order to reach an agreement on the establishment of freedom and independence for the hitherto colonial countries. Steps should be advised and undertaken in order to transfer all powers to the peoples of the colonial countries without any conditions or reservations. It should remain the task of the United Nations to safeguard the full implementation of such provisions. The United Nations is facing a historic decision. Historic in this respect is the responsibility of all the delegations assembled here. Let us meet this responsibility.

76. Mr. DJERDJA (Yugoslavia): In taking the floor in this debate, I wish to point out immediately that it is not my intention to examine when and how the phenomenon of colonialism appeared or how, when and why it came about in the world that some peoples imposed their domination upon others, compelling them to a life without freedom, often akin to the slavery of ancient times. A whole literature has been written about this aspect, and ample light has also been shed upon colonialism from this angle during the past fourteen sessions of the Assembly. Perhaps we should only add here that there are fewer and fewer people in the world today who dare openly to defend colonialism and colonial relationships and who dare to assert that such relationships are justified in the present-day world. Both the history and the actual substance of colonialism have been clarified to such an extent and exposed to such general condemnation that, no matter what one might think oneself or how one might try to act in practice, one cannot muster up the necessary courage to identify oneself with or to place oneself openly on the side of colonialism. This fact speaks rather eloquently for itself.

77. Our present debate arises out of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples presented to this session by the delegation of the USSR [A/4502 and Corr.1]. In our opinion, therefore, what we should actually debate here is the specific and complex question of existing colonial relationships as a whole. Or, to be even more precise, it is a question of concrete measures that we and our Organization should undertake here and now in order to put an end to these relationships and thus eliminate from contemporary society the remnants of a system which belongs to the past.

78. It appears from this that the way in which the problem under consideration presents itself to us is rather new. Actually, at earlier sessions we approached colonialism only from the angle of its individual aspects when discussing situations or conflicts in various colonies. A number of different circumstances—among which the evolution of colonialism itself during the past decade also has its place—have brought about a situation where we are today dealing with the colonial problem as a whole and where we are seeking solutions for the most complete and most direct abolition of colonialism in its entirety. During the last decade and a half, several dozens of colonies have found their rightful place in the world and they now live among us and act as free and independent States. They stand among us as a living proof of the obsolescence of a system which was built and maintained only on the basis of the right of the stronger. The remnants of this system in present-day society stand out like suspicious and unhealthy cancerous growths on a healthy human body. If there were no other reasons to search for final measures for a radical liquidation of these

relationships, the very fact would suffice that they can and must be compared only with such growths on a human body which they threaten to poison and destroy if not eliminated entirely. The five-year war against the people of Algeria and also, in its many aspects, the months-long tragedy of the Congo, as a typical product of contemporary colonial policy—not to enumerate other examples for the time being—constitute a bloody confirmation of the truth that colonialism is one of the worst running sores of the present-day social and international community.

79. It actually appears rather absurd that here today, in 1960, while on the one hand we are already conquering the universe, entering an era in the development of mankind about which we could not even dare to dream only a few years ago, at this time we should find ourselves having to argue that we should not stand with a foot in the seventeenth or eighteenth century and that we should finally and forever rid ourselves of prejudices and negative legacies of the past which are dangerously pulling us backwards, threatening to lead us even more dangerously astray.

80. Because of such negative legacies and even more dubious material advantages, the protagonists of colonialism are unable to realize the untenability of their own situation and of the situation that they are creating by their short-sighted policies. They are stubbornly endeavouring to preserve the remnants of the past. For the sake of selfish privileges, they oppose the general course of events without hesitating to undertake actions aimed at forcibly interrupting or changing this course which unavoidably causes crises and conflicts and is a constant threat to peace. The anti-colonial transformation which has changed the face of whole continents since the Second World War, altering thereby the picture of the rest of the world as well, has passed unnoticed by the supporters of colonialism and has remained without echo. It appears that they often draw the conclusion from this and similar beneficial changes which have taken place in the course of the last two decades, namely, that they must persevere in their resistance and continue their efforts to put a stop to the process of change, and to achieve this regardless of the means employed.

81. Let us cite once again, for purposes of illustration and as a proof, the example of Algeria and the case of the Congo—not, perhaps, because they would be the only ones, but merely because their bloody drama, brought about by such a policy of the colonialists, is strikingly unfolding before our eyes. We cannot but point out here that a tendency has manifested itself simultaneously in various colonial capitals in recent times to place in the service of this policy, particularly on the soil of Africa, the military-political machinery of a coalition, which would multiply the present dangers to unheard-of proportions, and would increase our concern for peace and the future of Africa, resulting thereby in its dangerous involvement in the cold war.

82. Under these circumstances, we have discussed, at this session of the General Assembly, the colonial problems first of all in the Fourth Committee and also elsewhere, whenever they came up. Under these conditions it is natural that we approach the colonial problem here in plenary meeting with the conviction that it is high time to undertake measures which would bring about the direct and complete liquidation of remaining colonial relations. Actually, these relationships have

been ripe for liquidation for a long time already; on the other hand, by their perpetuation, they exercise an ever more destructive influence upon progress and peace among nations in the world.

83. In the days of the founding of the United Nations, when the Charter of our Organization was drafted, there seemed to be a general consensus, tacit or explicit, that the days of colonial relationships were numbered, and that the termination of these relationships was one of the important tasks of the United Nations Organization, as well as the principal obligation of the colonial Powers towards the peoples over whom they had established their rule and domination. Since this seemed to be the case, the language of the Charter in regard to the colonial problem is perhaps not always precise; nevertheless, it is very definite and unequivocal, especially if we wish to ascertain the actual substance and to feel the spirit of what is embodied in the Charter.

84. In token of such an understanding, important provisions, contained especially in Chapters XI and XII of the Charter, were devoted to the colonies, and under this term we equally understand Non-Self-Governing as well as Trust Territories. These provisions were drafted and incorporated into the Charter in co-operation with the colonial Powers, which should be particularly borne in mind when interpreting them and when drawing conclusions about the rights and obligations of one side or the other. This co-operation of the colonial Powers with the United Nations was perhaps partly due to the general enthusiasm engendered in the world as a result of the victory over the enemy of freedom, over fascism. If it is so, this does not diminish in the least but, on the contrary—in our view—only enhances the value of the provisions of the Charter on the colonies, because in this way a corresponding moral substance is added to a formal legal obligation.

85. To our mind, the actual meaning of the aforementioned chapters of the Charter, in their substance, is that the colonial Powers should promote the progress of the peoples under their administration and to lead these peoples towards national independence through adequate administration and under the supervision and control of the United Nations. No time limits have been set, nor are the other individual elements sufficiently defined, but the sense and the aim are clear. Why, otherwise, would the chapters of the Charter on the colonies find their place in a document which was accepted in all parts of the world from the very beginning as a Charter of peace and freedom for all, without distinction? It is completely unbelievable that there should be some among us who would assert that these chapters were drafted and became an important component of the Charter of our Organization, perhaps for the purpose of legalizing and perpetuating, on the one hand, the rights and privileges of stronger and more advanced peoples and, on the other hand, the poverty and slavery of weaker and less advanced peoples.

86. What does Chapter XI of the Charter, relating to Non-Self-Governing Territories, specifically say concerning the tasks and obligations of the colonial Powers, and about colonial administration over these territories? Chapter XI stipulates, by way of introduction, that the colonial Powers have assumed, under the Charter, as a "sacred trust", the obligations embodied in sub-paragraphs a and b of Article 73. The said paragraphs read as follows:

"a. to ensure, with due respect for the culture of the peoples concerned, their political, economic, social, and educational advancement, their just treatment, and their protection against abuses;

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

87. As we have already mentioned, the language of the chapter in this respect is perhaps not perfect with regard to precision, and had the texts of the above chapters been drafted later or today, they would probably be better as regards the wording and the form. However, it seems to us that, in spite of this, not an especially great effort is needed to ascertain and to deduce from these words and formulations their real meaning, that is to say, that the peoples in the colonies, all of them, without distinction, who have been deprived temporarily, and in every respect unlawfully, of their fundamental rights, are entitled to progress and national independence to which the colonial administration, under the supervision of the United Nations, should lead them.

88. Let us see now what Chapter XII, Article 76 b, says about Trust Territories:

"b. to promote the political, economic, social, and educational advancement of the inhabitants of the trust territories, and their progressive development towards self-government or independence as may be appropriate to the particular circumstances of each territory and its peoples and the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned, and as may be provided by the terms of each trusteeship agreement."

Both in form and language, this provision is clearer than the others, but the differences in words cannot conceal the substantial identity, in our view, of purposes, missions, and obligations. In both cases it is the task of the colonial Powers to promote the progress of the colonies, to respect their individualities, to protect these peoples from arbitrary acts and abuses, and finally to develop free democratic institutions on the basis of the aims and aspirations of these peoples towards self-government, freedom and independence.

89. If the document of a bureaucratic institution were involved, it might be possible, perhaps, to draw certain conclusions on the basis of isolated words and lack of precision. However, as we are faced here with a major historical document of an eminent moral, political and legal significance, we must approach it differently, we should consider it and appraise it in the light of historical relations and changes, and ascertain the spirit with which it is imbued, and the meaning which is inherent in it. By approaching it in this manner we cannot draw any other conclusions but those which we have constantly formulated and upheld—and not only at the current session of the General Assembly—demanding that the United Nations accept and implement them. Another approach and different conclusions to which the colonial Powers are inclined would mean to appraise the Charter as a document sanctioning and perpetuating the enslavement of some peoples for the benefit of other peoples, which would, in our view, amount to legal nonsense as well as to a morally and politically untenable thesis.

90. One decade and a half after the drafting of the Charter of our Organization, our understanding and interpretation of the aforementioned chapters of the Charter on the colonies have received an indirect, it is true, but rather solid confirmation in an important United Nations document to which we attach all the more significance as it was elaborated with the participation of the representatives of the colonial Powers. I have in mind the report of the Special Committee of Six on the Transmission of Information under Article 73 e of the Charter—submitted this year as document A/4526—which was debated and accepted in the Fourth Committee. The Committee of Six was set up pursuant to General Assembly resolution 1467 (XIV) of 12 December 1959, with the task of formulating the so-called principles on some aspects of colonial problems. The Committee elaborated a report, paragraph 18 of which reads as follows:

"The Charter is a living document and the obligations under Chapter XI must be viewed in the light of the changing spirit of the times. Under Article 73 of the Charter, Members of the United Nations recognize that in Non-Self-Governing Territories the interests of the inhabitants are paramount. The progressive development of self-government must take into account the particular circumstances of a territory and the aspirations of its peoples. Such development must be in tune with the movement towards freedom and equality everywhere." [A/4526, para. 18.]

91. How else could we interpret this but as an expression of the acknowledgement that, according to a correct interpretation of the Charter, the colonial Powers have the duty and obligation to act, in the colonies, in such a way as to lead them to the fulfilment of their yearnings and aspirations, and to the attainment of their elementary right to freedom, of which they were deprived only because they were weak and helpless when the stronger and more powerful imposed their yoke upon them.

92. Therefore, if this happens to be the case, and if words and written documents have any meaning, we could say that there is less and less difference about what the Charter says on the destiny of the colonies and the future of the peoples under colonial administration, as well as on the nature of the obligations and duties of the colonial Powers arising out of the provisions of the Charter.

93. However, the question arises: why have we been obliged constantly, at all former sessions, to solve disputes, to end crises and to extinguish conflagrations which have flared up, now in one colony and then in another, which still happens to be the case today in more than one place in the world? If this is so, why are we then compelled, also at the current session, to substantiate once again the purposes of the Charter and the obligations of the colonial Powers, and to seek to abolish in the colonial sphere—once and for all, this time—the relations which are causing so much uncertainty and uneasiness in the world by their very continuation?

94. In our opinion, the answer to this and similar questions should be sought and can be found in the field of the practical policies in the colonies, in the way in which the colonial powers administer the colonies and operate in them.

95. In practice, in actual fact, almost as a rule, the provisions of the Charter and the obligations arising out of them are ignored. In most of the colonies these Powers have acted as if the colonies were the private property of the colonial Powers and of the colonialist settlers. The fate of the colonies is in their hands and, for this reason, on the whole, they do not wish to be responsible to anyone, either to the international community, or even less to the peoples of the colonies. Even those among the colonial Powers which have been submitting limited information to the United Nations refuse to transmit political information, and especially refuse to permit appropriate United Nations supervision and action when they prove to be necessary.

96. Portugal and Spain, for instance, so far have not permitted the United Nations to approach in any form the colonies under their administration, and even less to gain an insight into what is being done there. Further to increase the irony, they justify this by resorting to legal subterfuges, saying that overseas parts of the metropolitan country are involved, and that, therefore, any United Nations action would constitute an interference in the domestic affairs of Member States.

97. However, the situation in these colonies is sufficiently well known and, judging by the events taking place in Angola, Mozambique, Portuguese Guinea and elsewhere, which have come to light in spite of deliberate attempts at isolation and concealment, the situation is gloomy. The population is officially divided into several categories, of which the category of indigenous inhabitants is, of course, the lowest. The indigenous inhabitants who, in Angola and Mozambique taken together, number approximately 10 million people, belong to the category of "uncivilized" persons, who are outside the laws of the country as they are considered to be unworthy to enjoy the benefits of these laws. Only the settlers or small numbers of persons of mixed race may acquire these privileges; that is, may become equal to Portuguese citizens before the law. Thus it happens that in countries having a population of more than 10 million, only approximately two to three hundred thousand people enjoy the fundamental rights of the laws of the country, and even the majority of this number is composed of foreign settlers.

98. Belgium did not act differently in its colonies, nor is it acting better at present. The author John Gunther, in his well-known book *Inside Africa*, painted, some time ago, an appalling picture of events and relations in the former Belgian colony of the Congo, and this has also been confirmed by other sources. On the other hand, the facts which became public knowledge in June of this year with regard to the eighty-five-year-old policy in the fields of education and training of domestic personnel in the Congo—a country dozens of times larger than Belgium—show that the results achieved are smaller, incomparably smaller, than the results achieved in this field during a much shorter period of time by a small Belgian commune. It is understandable after this that this policy had to have its share in the later tragic developments in the former colony. It is understandable, in the same way, that a similar policy of the same country in Ruanda-Urundi obliges us to watch with uneasiness the future development of that country, if the United Nations does not take adequate action in time.

99. At the current session of the Assembly, only a few weeks ago, we listened to the statements of peti-

tioners from South West Africa, a country which the Government of the Union of South Africa, in spite of its obligations and of the Charter, endeavours to denationalize and annex. The petitioners revealed, in the Fourth Committee, the fact that in their country, which has been under the rule of the Union of South Africa for forty years, there are fewer indigenous inhabitants with higher education than there are fingers on one hand. The Reverend Markus Kooper from the same country revealed on that occasion—I quote from the records of the Fourth Committee—that "in the hospitals at Gobabis and Keetmanshoop, which had been established to meet the criticisms of the United Nations, Africans were sometimes treated worse than dogs".^{4/}

100. The tragedy of Kenya during the past few years is widely known, and the struggle of the people of that country has already found its place in modern history. The peace and calm which reign in that country, at least for us observers from afar, greatly resembles the peace of the graves which have been strewn throughout the land during the course of the prolonged persecutions under various pretexts.

101. We could enumerate such examples indefinitely, and in doing this we could hardly exclude any colony because they have all gone through, or are going through, the trials experienced in their time by the colonies of Indo-China and Kenya, and which are now being experienced by Algeria, Oman and others.

102. The Fourth Committee had on its agenda this year an extraordinarily important document—the report of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories [A/4371], on the progress achieved by the colonies during the last decade. I will quote only a few data on some economic aspects in the development of the colonies, as well as the situation in the field of race relations.

103. Paragraph 95 of the report, which is part of the chapter dealing with economic conditions, says the following:

"To a greater extent than in any other field of economic activity, large-scale mining operations in the Territories were financed by external capital and managed by non-indigenous interests. The direct contribution of mining to an improvement in the standards of living of the population was not always substantial, especially as the number of wage-earners employed was often relatively small. Indigenous participation was usually for the most part through unskilled labour ..." [A/4371, part two, para. 95].

This cannot mean anything else but that the essential riches of Non-Self-Governing Territories have been appropriated by the colonialists and foreigners.

104. The following data are added *inter alia* in paragraph 53 of the report:

"Thus in 1957 in the Belgian Congo the per caput personal income of the African population was \$42.20 and of the non-African \$2,973; in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland the corresponding figures were \$39.20 and \$1,711; and in Kenya \$33.55 and \$1,100." [A/4371, part two, para. 53.]

Any further comment, of course, seems to us superfluous here. The extent of economic exploitation of peoples adequately speaks for itself.

105. In the majority of colonies, or to be more precise, in all the African colonies, the relations between races are poisoned and extremely tense because, in all these countries, actual and legal racial discrimination is being practised to the detriment, of course, of the peoples of the said countries. The world is sufficiently well acquainted with this also, and therefore I would limit myself here to quoting what the report has to say about this matter. The following description is to be found in section C, VI, paragraph 177:

"Discrimination on grounds of race or colour continued to exist in some Non-Self-Governing Territories. It was still to be found in its most acute form in African Territories, where immigrant communities are present. In all these Territories the indigenous inhabitants constitute the vast majority of the population, and the European group is often an extremely small minority, though the latter has exercised special political, social and economic privileges which are denied to the former. Not only was inferior treatment accorded in varying degrees to indigenous inhabitants in the field of human rights and fundamental freedoms, but in the economic and educational fields and in the exercise of political rights also, their role was restricted." [A/4371, part two, para. 177.]

106. In this respect I would like to quote only the example of Southern Rhodesia, which will illustrate concretely the above report. White settlers have divided the country into black and white areas, retaining, of course, as in the case of other colonies, the best land for themselves. This means practically that to the 3 million Africans, 39 million acres of land are allocated, while the less than a quarter of a million white settlers have some 48 million acres of the best land of the country set aside for them. In Southern Rhodesia no African may own land in the white area; he may not rent an office in an urban area, nor carry on business in a town or a city. African businesses must be carried on in segregated African townships.

107. In summarizing these data, which we could enumerate endlessly, we always come to the same conclusion, namely that policies contrary to the spirit and letter of the Charter were and still are pursued in the colonies. Instead of progress, which has been assigned a particularly prominent place in the Charter, an insignificant progress, and even a lagging behind, accompanied by ruthless exploitation, have been registered in the majority of colonies. In fact, this is only one of the by-products of colonialism, and if it were not so, we would not be faced every year with an ever growing list of problems for which we are trying to find solutions here, and which constitute the legacy and consequences of colonialism in the various regions of the world. Instead of the protection of the people against abuses and lawlessness, arbitrary rule and a system of brute force most frequently prevail in the colonies. Racial discrimination flourishes particularly, and in this respect we have reached in the colonies the highest degree of absurdity, namely, that peoples in the twentieth century, in their own countries and their own homes, must struggle for at least an equal place in life with foreign rulers and their followers—the colonialist settlers.

^{4/} Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifteenth Session, Fourth Committee, 1050th meeting.

108. Viewing the problem under consideration in this light, we must come to the conclusion that colonial policy, in trampling under foot the provisions of the Charter, simultaneously violates the basic norms of the civilized world. Even if we accepted for a moment different views on the significance of the provisions of the Charter, and even if we accepted for a moment a different interpretation of the Charter with regard to the colonies, we would still be fully justified in considering that practical policies and actions and their effects in the colonies have no connexion whatsoever even with such views and interpretations.

109. In this connexion I cannot help referring to the example of Malta, which illustrates rather faithfully the assertion I have just made. This territory enjoyed a certain measure of internal self-government from 1947 to 1958, when the Constitution was abrogated. According to that Constitution, foreign relations and defence were in the hands of the British Government. According to the new Constitution, which is now in preparation, in addition to foreign relations and defence, even the civil service and the police—which formerly, under the previous Constitution, had been within the competence of the Maltese Government—are to be under the control of the British Government. In other words, this means that instead of progress towards full self-government, a Constitution is being prepared for Malta which actually amounts to a retrogression compared with earlier achievements. Furthermore, the Constitution is such that the colonial Power may abrogate it at any moment, which shows that there can be no talk of real self-government.

110. The demand that an end be put to colonial relations and that the United Nations exert energetic efforts with a view to undertaking direct and radical measures—this demand constitutes the only realistic policy of the United Nations today, as well as a great historical obligation of the whole international community. To reconcile oneself to the prolongation of the present situation and relations in this field would be for us tantamount, particularly today, to exposing the interests of the international community to a great risk, and to abandoning them to the whims of selfish and short-sighted policies.

111. Colonial relations are incompatible with the requirements and needs of development of contemporary society; they are contrary to the interests of the present-day international community. For this reason they have not been able to escape their fate. The colonial system has been rapidly disintegrating since the Second World War. Thus, it has disappeared, on the whole, in Asia and in the Middle East, whereas in Africa its proportions have been considerably reduced. The formerly numerous colonies have been replaced by independent countries and States, which have taken signal positions in the world in the efforts for peace, independence and progress.

112. Although, today, colonialism continues to exist only in the form of remnants, it nevertheless appears and presents itself as a very acute problem for many reasons. In this final phase of colonialism it is rather natural that the peoples of the colonies should more actively claim their rights and the satisfaction of their national aspirations, which colonial policy tends to smother by resorting to repression and force, out of which stem crises, conflicts, and even wars. It is precisely for the reason that colonies and colonial problems are often viewed from the angle of the stra-

tegic needs of the cold war that this problem gains in urgency and that its solution imposes itself as a component part of our general efforts towards easing tensions and ensuring peace among nations.

113. Actually, it seems today that the liberation of peoples from colonial domination is one of the prerequisites for the success of any serious effort aimed at consolidating peace and relaxing tension in the world. Peace is threatened from various directions and in different ways, but it appears to us that one of the main sources of the danger today to peace is to be found in colonial policy which provokes, now on one point of the globe and now on another, conflicts and conflagrations which can be resolved and extinguished only if the untenable colonial relations are abolished and if the justified aspirations of the peoples are satisfied.

114. We have always considered that colonial relations are untenable, and we have demanded their abolition for legal, historical and moral-political reasons. Today, however, they obviously emerge as a direct threat to the highest interests of the world, and therefore it has become essential in the general interest that the world rid itself of such an anomaly without any hesitation. In pleading for this, my delegation has always believed that we should do it in the general interest and in our own national interests as well. The Yugoslav delegation believes that today the abolition of colonial relationships is also in the well-conceived interests of the colonial Powers themselves, which are facing the danger of bending under the burden of the stubborn pursuit of colonial policy—and we have seen this happen many times already.

115. What can the colonial Powers expect and hope to achieve today by stubbornly prolonging relations which are obsolete and untenable? The maintenance of a huge apparatus for oppression, of expensive armed forces which are exhausting the metropolitan countries both materially and morally, and yet remain without effect: this is a burden which cannot be eschewed, and the results in the end are always tantamount to defeat.

116. In the course of the process of the abolition of colonial relationships, our Organization has considerably contributed to the acceleration of that process and has, within the limits of its possibilities, exerted efforts to assist the peoples in the colonies to realize their legitimate and natural rights. Thanks to these efforts exerted by the United Nations, this process has often evolved less painfully and more rapidly than would otherwise have been the case, and the events in various complex situations have developed more steadily and smoothly than would have been the case without the presence and efforts of our Organization. For these reasons, and because of our belief that the United Nations has great possibilities and a great historical obligation with regard to the abolition of the remaining colonial relationships, we consider that, today also, this Organization's action in that field is vital and essential.

117. In this intervention we have, as on earlier occasions when problems of this nature have been discussed, taken the position upon which progress in the world and peace among nations depend to a very great extent. The United Nations, as the guardian of peace and the instrument of peaceful co-operation among nations, has, in our view, special responsibilities and

great possibilities to make the future of peace and of the world in general more secure through the adoption of adequate decisions. The ideas on the liquidation of colonialism, as well as their adequate implementation, are in harmony with the responsibilities of the United Nations, with the responsibilities of the international community, and with the rights of the peoples in the colonies. Therefore, we consider the implementation of these ideas to be indispensable today.

118. Guided by such considerations, my delegation will accept and support all appropriate resolutions or decisions likely to lead us to the immediate abolition of colonial relationships. My delegation will support every decision likely to lead us to the unreserved

recognition of the right of the peoples in the colonies to independence, every decision likely to bring about the disappearance—in the immediate future—from the soil of Asia, Latin America and, particularly, Africa, of the last remnants of a system which we rightly consider to be the running sore of the contemporary social community and one of the greatest sources of danger to peace in the present-day world.

119. In conclusion, I wish to reserve my delegation's right to speak again, when the time comes, in the debate on concrete draft resolutions or declarations.

The meeting rose at 12.45 p.m.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

FIFTEENTH SESSION

Official Records



60
929th
PLENARY MEETING

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at 3 p.m.

NEW YORK

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

AGENDA ITEM 87

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

1. Mr. FEKINI (Libya) (translated from French): The present General Assembly debate on the adoption of a United Nations declaration on the granting of independence to countries and peoples still under foreign domination, calling for the immediate and final abolition of colonialism, is a significant stage in the history of mankind. The United Nations, by initiating such a declaration, is taking an important step towards discharging one of the solemn obligations to which Member States subscribed when they laid down certain definite purposes for the Organization. One of those purposes was "to develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace".

2. It is now universally acknowledged that the practices of colonialism, which consist purely and simply of the domination of certain countries by others and the subjugation of certain peoples by others, are a flagrant violation of the principle of "equal rights and self-determination of peoples" laid down in the Charter; while the practices of colonialism, by keeping a number of countries and their inhabitants subjected to the domination and exploitation of other countries, are the most obvious causes of the distress, the acts of violence and the disorders which are occurring in several parts of the world and seriously threatening international peace and security.

3. The colonial phenomenon, in the historical sense, reached its peak in the expansionist urge of the western European Powers during the nineteenth century, especially towards the end. Their ambition was achieved at the expense of a large number of Asian and African countries. A product of the mercantilism of earlier centuries, colonial expansion was based essentially on economic and strategic considerations, in a historical period marked by industrialization in Europe and dominated by the need to ensure that raw materials from the colonies found their way to the metropolitan countries, that strategic points were occupied for the control of land and sea routes and that manufactured goods could be disposed of in colonial markets.

4. More recently, colonization was also used as a pretext when a number of countries in Asia, Africa and Oceania were annexed for the establishment of colonial settlements designed to solve the problems of over-population in certain European countries.

5. What some western European historians like to call the colonial saga has produced—along with its plethora of military expeditions and wars of occupation—its missionaries, philosophers and theorists, and even its poets and its epics, as well as the false theories of superior races carrying out so-called civilizing missions among allegedly backward or inferior tribes.

6. But in spite of the various labels which the colonial Powers used to induce an ill-informed public opinion or a reluctant parliament to accept the vast expense of their conquests, the history of colonial expansion has clearly shown the reality of the materialistic motives, often cynical and selfish and dominated by the greed which inspired the colonialists.

7. In any case, colonialism has more often than not resorted to armed force to impose the rule of one country or people over another. In the eyes of colonial peoples, this domination by force has always been a sign of the illegality and immorality of their subjugation and the seizure of their natural wealth by foreign Powers. The colonial peoples have offered physical resistance to foreign domination, sometimes for decade after decade; and where they have submitted, they have not become resigned, but have submitted only temporarily, seizing every opportunity to assert themselves in a variety of ways.

8. The colonial peoples opposed exploitation, injustice and provocation with insubordination and demonstrations, and sometimes with uprisings, rebellions and revolts. Because of the refusal of the colonial peoples to accept foreign domination, and because they were aware of their right to attain their national ambitions, nationalist movements grew up giving the popular feeling of revolt a means of expression, disciplined organization and dynamic methods of action. Just as men are jealous of their personal rights and basic freedoms when these are threatened by the arbitrary rule of princes or States, so the colonial peoples were eager to enjoy self-respect and to regain their freedom with nations fashioned by their suffering and sacrifice and bearing aloft the ideals of national independence and territorial integrity. The modern history of Africa and Asia is dominated by this struggle of peoples subjugated by colonial Powers and oppressed by the forces of exploitation which seized their natural wealth. Since ideals and reactions are the same irrespective of ethnic diversity and geographical separation, the peoples colonized and dominated by foreign Powers found encouragement for their agitation, one after another, in the success of those who had fought the battle before them. Thus a vast movement of solidarity grew up throughout the world. At first it was spontaneous, then deliberate, and finally agreements were

reached and the movement organized among all peoples still under foreign domination. After the Second World War the movement became one of the most important forces in the history of the second half of the twentieth century. This vast liberation movement, aiming at the fulfilment of the aspirations of all peoples under foreign domination, at victory for the dignity of the oppressed peoples and their rapid liberation from the colonial yoke, found a means of expression and a basis for its principles in the League of Arab States set up at the end of the Second World War, in the Conference of African and Asian States held in Bandung in 1955, which worked out a kind of anti-colonialist charter, and at the various pan-African conferences, from the Accra Conference of 1958 to the latest Conference of Independent African States, held at Addis Ababa in June 1960.

9. The principles of the Atlantic Charter and the purposes, principles, and ideals of the Charter of the United Nations have undoubtedly played a decisive part in this historic development of the movement for the abolition of colonialism and of the exploitation of one people by another; and a movement of public opinion in favour of the liberation of colonial peoples has also made a great contribution. This movement has appeared and prevailed because of its humanism, its vision and its nobility of purpose and ideals, even in those countries which are still, unfortunately, dominated by the forces of colonialist reaction. The countries formerly under foreign domination have shown their ability to manage their own affairs and a sense of responsibility in discharging their obligations as sovereign members of the family of nations. In this way they have shown, in the clearest possible way, how untenable are the arguments which the colonial Powers tend to use in order to maintain their supremacy and domination, including the argument that the countries concerned are not ready for self-government. Where peoples have resolved to resort to the most extreme means to achieve their national ambitions, they have shown an exemplary sense of sacrifice in their armed struggle against the forces of colonial oppression which have given the colonial Powers pause. They have realized that the only way to protect their interests is to speed up the process of emancipating the peoples under their domination to prevent them from using such methods to achieve their ends.

10. Thus a process of self-liquidation of colonialism—or decolonization, as it is now called—has made it possible, over the last few years, and especially more recently, for the United Nations to admit to membership many African nations which are free at last from foreign colonial domination.

11. But, alas, there is still much to be done. In several parts of the world, and especially in Africa and the Middle East, tens of millions of oppressed human beings, eager for freedom and a life of dignity and fully aware of their natural and lawful right to self-determination and independence, are fighting bravely against the blind forces of colonial exploitation and oppression. In Algeria, in Palestine, in the south of the Arabian peninsula and in various parts of Africa, the indigenous peoples are revolting against the foreign occupation of their national territory and are fighting against abuse, injustice, hardship, oppression and arbitrary rule. In all these parts of the world, the peoples concerned are paying a heavy tribute in blood, sweat and tears to the triumphant cause of their

freedom, their dignity and the safeguarding of the integrity of their national heritage. The peoples in question are prepared to make great sacrifices, simply because they do not despair of the victory of their just struggle in a world where the forces of equity, justice and morality find their most eloquent expression in the purposes, principles and ideals of the United Nations Charter.

12. It is highly significant that the authors of the Charter tried to base the new order, the order of the United Nations, on the solemn determination of the peoples of the United Nations "to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small", and "to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom".

13. This fundamental concern with the dignity and worth of the human person was the source of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. That solemn proclamation was certainly a historic step forward in the struggle for the triumph of individual rights and essential freedoms.

14. No less important is the United Nations concern to achieve these freedoms within the framework of the equality of nations large and small. Chapters XI, XII and XIII of the Charter deal with obligations towards Non-Self-Governing Territories and territories under international trusteeship. Over the past fifteen years, the United Nations has worked most diligently to implement the provisions of the Charter which relate to these two kinds of territories and are basically concerned with ensuring the political, economic and social progress of the peoples of those territories, developing their administrative ability, catering for their political ambitions, helping them gradually to develop their political institutions and encouraging their steady growth towards self-government or independence.

15. Over the past fifteen years, the dependent peoples, or those under foreign domination, have taken every opportunity of expressing their most ardent and sincere wish to enjoy their freedom and self-respect and to be masters of their own fate. Those among them whose national aspirations have been fulfilled have considered it their duty to make the voice of the still oppressed peoples heard in international circles; they have become the interpreters of the legitimate desire of those peoples for human dignity and national independence.

16. Some of the dependent peoples, as we have already said, have determined in the face of injustice, misunderstanding and provocation to use extreme methods to gain their rights. This has led to tragic situations and bloody wars which are a serious threat to international peace and security. The long and painful war which has now gone on for six years in Algeria between the forces of nationalism and the armies of colonialist oppression, is a distressing and alarming example.

17. The acts of violence, clashes and disturbances, the instability and unrest characteristic of the Asian and African countries under foreign domination today and ever since the Second World War, have been caused mainly by this very failure of the colonial Powers in their so-called civilizing mission and the humanitarian principles they professed in order to bring the local peoples under their yoke. Denial of

human dignity, ignorance of the demands of the indigenous masses and the negation of fundamental freedoms were unfortunately made still more intolerable by the racial discrimination and segregation practised against most of the peoples who had the misfortune to fall under foreign colonial domination.

18. The Administering Authorities have not given all the attention which was expected and desirable to the education of the indigenous masses, the improvement of their health conditions, the raising of their standard of living and their preparation for the responsibility of managing their own affairs.

19. Those peoples which did achieve their national ambitions immediately understood the enormous responsibilities facing their leaders, because almost everything had to be done from scratch. Large-scale public works were of course carried out in countries dominated by foreign Powers; bridges, harbours and roads were built and similar projects were carried out. But clearly all this was done to ensure the efficient running of colonial enterprises with a view to higher economic returns, almost exclusively in the interests of those who had the work done. It is nevertheless encouraging for all concerned that the colonial past, in spite of old scores, has hardly anywhere engendered bitterness or strong feelings, which would have been understandable; nor has it given rise to rankling hate, desire for revenge or xenophobia among the liberated peoples. On the contrary, in most of the countries formerly under European domination, including my own, foreign communities still live in an atmosphere of hospitality and tranquillity and enjoy a growing economic well-being and prosperity. The anxiety of certain colonial Powers to maintain their supremacy in order to ensure the safety and tranquillity of European minorities, is not based on any valid reasoning and is really no more than a pretext for maintaining colonialist privilege. It merely encourages the desire for domination and perpetuates greed for power and profit.

20. However skilful colonialism may be in maintaining its position by indirect economic technical or other domination, its skill will be of no avail in the face of the awakening of the peoples and their new-found awareness in every field.

21. In its constant concern to discharge its solemn obligations and to create the conditions of lasting peace and universal well-being based on respect for the principle of equal rights of peoples and the right of self-determination, the United Nations must take a stand in favour of ending the exploitation of one people by another, solemnly proclaiming the necessity of bringing colonialism in all its forms and manifestations to a speedy and unconditional end.

22. Once it is recognized that all dependent peoples long to achieve their goal of freedom and independence, it is the duty of the United Nations to denounce any subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination or exploitation as immoral, unlawful and contrary to the principles of the Charter. All peoples have the right of self-determination, the right freely to determine their political status and freely to pursue their economic, social and cultural development.

23. If the United Nations is convinced that the maintenance of colonialism is at variance with its ideal of universal peace, it is in duty bound to declare that all armed action or repressive measures directed

against dependent peoples shall cease in order to enable them to exercise peacefully and freely their right to complete independence and to the integrity of their national territory.

24. In accordance with the demands of international morality, as expressed by the great majority of the international community, it is most urgent that the United Nations should declare solemnly that immediate steps shall be taken in all dependent countries, whatever their form of subjection and whatever fictions may be used to keep them in subjection, to transfer all powers to the peoples of those territories, in accordance with their freely expressed will and desire, preferably with adequate international guarantees.

25. For these reasons a number of delegations, including my own, have submitted to the General Assembly a draft declaration [A/L.323 and Add.1-2] expressing the wish of all the peoples of the earth to get rid of colonialism once and for all and proclaiming the right of dependent peoples to enjoy freedom, national independence and territorial integrity as soon as possible.

26. This draft, worded in extremely dignified and moderate language, is a sincere and realistic attempt to bring about the final victory of the principles of the United Nations and its ideals of equality among peoples and human dignity. The draft is a sign of good faith and goodwill, devoid of any harshness or demagoguery. By adopting it, we are convinced that the General Assembly will be taking a timely stand, in keeping with its noble mission throughout the world.

27. The moral effect of such a declaration will be to strengthen the hopes of the oppressed peoples who are fighting bravely to attain their legitimate ambitions, and allow the United Nations to create the conditions for a world governed by freedom, law and human values.

28. I should like on behalf of the Libyan delegation to express to the Soviet Union our heartfelt gratitude for its initiative in asking to have this important question placed on the agenda of the present session of the General Assembly [A/4501] and pressing for its solemn discussion in plenary meeting. I must assure the Soviet delegation that we have studied its draft declaration [A/4502 and Corr.1] with the closest attention, and I must say that we have found complete agreement between the views and purposes set out in their draft resolution and our own. Our purpose in associating ourselves with a number of Asian and African delegations to submit the draft declaration contained in document A/L.323 and Add.1-2 was simply to ensure that this question was considered objectively and without reference to any matters irrelevant to its essential purpose. We recommend it to the General Assembly, in the hope that it will be considered in its proper context and approved on its proper merits.

29. I should also like to express in advance our appreciation to the United States of America for taking the initiative in outlining a United Nations programme for the independence and development of Africa. We shall examine this proposal with equal interest when the time comes to consider it in the First Committee. May I say that the interest in the independence of peoples now shown by the two major Powers of the present world is significant in many ways.

30. In conclusion, my delegation sincerely hopes to see the beginning of a new age in the history of man-

kind when the peoples of the world, free at last from the domination of great Powers, will turn their energies to the service of everlasting peace and fruitful co-operation in a better world, governed by the wise and humane order of the United Nations.

Mr. Nesbitt (Canada), Vice-President, took the Chair.

31. Mr. TARABANOV (Bulgaria) (translated from French): Now that the draft declaration on the abolition of the colonial system and the granting of independence to colonial peoples has been introduced, everyone, even the most determined champions of the colonial system, agrees that colonialism has had its day. Sometimes, however, the champions of colonialism find really ingenious ways of presenting a case which is not in line with the general trend of ideas now uppermost in people's minds regarding the abolition of colonialism. They rack their brains to find expressions such as "an outmoded concept of political relationships" for colonialism, naturally so as not to have to take a clear and unequivocal decision on such a vital question as the abolition of colonialism in our times, or so as to prepare the ground and take up special positions for an out-and-out defence of the colonial system in a new guise.

32. But the declaration on the abolition of colonialism proposed by the USSR is so wide in scope and such a turning point in the history of this question that even those that are involved in colonial exploitation and their friends and allies find it difficult to defend the continuation of the colonial system. Colonialism has caused such untold and incalculable suffering to mankind in general and to the colonial people in particular now that no one can easily defend it openly. For centuries, the colonial peoples have been subjected to a horrible system under which they have been exploited and deprived of the most elementary human rights. We shall not dwell on some of the episodes of colonial history such as the extermination of whole peoples to make room for white settlers, since for the time being these have no direct bearing on the development of the question or on the decision to be taken with regard to the abolition of the colonial system. They are merely historical facts, but they give us an inkling of the ferocity with which colonization was carried out.

33. What is more important is to note that, at the present time, fifteen years after the foundation of the United Nations and the establishment of the system defined in Chapters XI, XII and XIII of the Charter relating to the colonial territories, there has been very little improvement in the situation of the people who are still groaning under the colonial yoke, compared with their lot in the past.

34. Indeed, because the economy of the colonial countries is the most backward in the world, because their agriculture is still at a stage comparable to that of the Middle Ages in Europe, because the fertile land has been taken over and developed by the white settlers while the indigenous population has been herded onto poor and arid land, because industry is very backward and the industrial enterprises are nearly all in the hands of the colonialists, who also exploit all the natural wealth of the colonies, the colonial people are still living in the most frightful poverty and the death rate in the colonies is still so high that the figures themselves do not give an adequate picture of the misery into which the people have been plunged.

In a word, the blood and sweat of the colonial peoples who are still beneath the colonial yoke and the ruthless exploitation of the labour and natural wealth of the colonies are still bringing in fabulous profits for the people who, through their representatives, are trying to convince us of their sacred civilizing mission and of their sincere efforts to prepare the colonial peoples for independence.

35. The results of this civilizing mission are only too obvious and too well known. We shall not dwell on the living standards of the colonial peoples. Other delegations have quoted figures in abundance. It is enough, perhaps, to point out that in most colonies, the per caput income of the indigenous inhabitants is often scores of times lower than the per caput income of the white colonists.

36. And these are not all the so-called virtues of the colonial system. There are others. The indigenous inhabitants are subjected to a monstrous system of racial discrimination, even in their own country—in South West Africa, Angola, Mozambique, Southern Rhodesia and elsewhere. They are not treated like human beings at all, but as though they were cattle. The colonists are indifferent not only to the interests of these people but even to their lives and their very existence.

37. Under these circumstances it is understandable that certain representatives have appealed to delegations not to bring up the appalling history of colonialism again in the present debate, in particular not to mention certain special and particularly vile instances of colonialism. Some have even gone so far as to claim that it would be introducing the language of the cold war to dwell on cases which show us some of the uglier facts of colonialism.

38. We representatives of the socialist countries would certainly like to find a solution to the problem of granting independence to the colonial peoples without going into all the past crimes of the colonialists or bringing up certain special cases. In fact this is the position and attitude we have adopted in the past and still maintain on every question, provided there is no attempt to use special tactics to defer and even prevent the necessary solutions—we have proved this on several occasions. We have no wish to introduce an acrimonious note into the debates on the item under discussion, either in the General Assembly or in the Committees. However, we cannot resign ourselves to mere statements, to expressions of pious hope that a just and adequate solution will be found for the problems facing the General Assembly, if and when the representatives of certain countries start manoeuvring to divert attention and prevent the necessary decisions from being taken. It is regrettable that in the course of the present debate, attempts have been made by the representatives of certain colonial Powers to present the vilest colonialism not only in a favourable light but as a boon to the colonial peoples who for decades and even centuries have been bowed beneath the colonial yoke. The United Kingdom representative, for instance, attempted to prove that the question of granting independence to the colonial peoples could not be considered a colonial question and sought to place it on another footing which he hoped would make it possible to thwart the colonial peoples struggling for their liberation and impatiently awaiting a decision from the Assembly. He strove to transfer the discus-

sion to another field, the field of the cold war; but if we followed him, we should have even more arguments, and really effective ones, not hackneyed arguments such as he uses.

39. Some representatives of the colonial Powers have stood up here, both during the present debate and in other discussions in the United Nations, and tried to champion the colonial system without giving the appearance of doing so. The old form of colonialism, they tell us, is dead or at least dying. The colonial Powers themselves have granted independence to the colonial peoples; why, then, should we discuss the question of colonialism in such detail, they ask. Why propose such urgent measures against a system which is disappearing naturally, of its own accord?

40. It would be difficult to find statements so far from the truth. At the present time, more than a hundred million men are still under the colonial yoke. Not a day goes by without the Press and radio informing us of the cruelest repressive measures against the colonial peoples. Not only are colonialism and the colonialists unwilling to let go their prey, but realizing that their days are numbered, they often become much more aggressive and much more bloodthirsty. Where the colonial Powers are no longer able to resist the pressure of the masses of the people, they make political concessions, while at the same time striving to maintain their economic, strategic and other positions. If these are imperilled, they use every means at their disposal, including armed force, in an attempt to protect them. When they cannot do this alone, they enlist the aid of other colonial and imperialist Powers who are their allies.

41. This aggressive colonialist policy is fraught with enormous dangers for the whole of mankind, for colonialism and its methods of imposing colonial policy have always been linked with war and have always led to war. In the present situation, where there are weapons of mass destruction such as nuclear weapons, mankind can no longer run the risk of allowing such breeding grounds of conflict and the possibilities of war to persist indefinitely.

42. The United Kingdom representative, in his out-and-out defence of the principles of colonial policy and his attempt to find justification for not granting immediate independence to colonial countries, has adduced arguments marked by what, in this day and age, is a strange and completely misplaced logic. He has tried to prove that certain small nations and small territories should not be granted immediate independence. However, there is nothing to be found in the United Nations Charter which establishes an invidious distinction between small and large nations. Moreover, there are, of course, already in the United Nations several countries with a population of less than a million inhabitants. Freedom can surely not be denied to these peoples, still suffering under the colonialist yoke, for the trumped up reasons advanced by the United Kingdom representative. It has also been stated that these small colonial countries had, and will have need of financial assistance and special protection in order to survive. I fear I must question the sincerity of the "generous" concern expressed by the colonialists for those whom they have until now oppressed.

43. In the matter of financial assistance, the balance has, of course, always been in favour of the colonialist Power. As for the protection it is alleged that these

small countries will need, why not let them make their own choice and express their own opinion on that point?

44. Reference has been made to another category of countries, where different tribes and communities live side by side and where "groups ... sometimes African, sometimes European, sometimes Asian ... fear that independence when it comes will hurt them".

45. Which groups are meant? If the reference is to the white colonialists who have profited by the colonization and exploitation of the indigenous populations, it will certainly be difficult to persuade the colonial peoples and world public opinion that the colonial system must be maintained in these countries in order to preserve the monstrous privileges enjoyed by these minorities.

46. As for the other communities, it is notorious that the colonialist policy has always sought to create conflicts among them, the more easily to keep them in subjection and slavery. All these contrived problems will disappear of themselves, once a democratic and independent system is established in the countries concerned, unless the colonialists attempt to interfere once again in the domestic affairs of the liberated countries.

47. All such arguments, as well as those extolling the benefits of the colonialist policy, are put forward here, as we have already stressed, to distract attention from the main question now under discussion, i.e. the immediate granting of independence to colonial peoples, to try to postpone a decision and maintain colonial domination until such time as the colonialist Powers are able to find other devices and other ways of dominating their former colonies. Under these circumstances, we must re-examine certain arguments and assertions that have been employed repeatedly by the representatives of the colonialist Powers.

48. On several occasions we have heard statements here to the effect that since 1939, 500 million men and women who were formerly under British domination have obtained freedom and independence and that their representatives are seated here. That is undoubtedly true. But it is odd that the United Kingdom representative should not hesitate to claim for his Government and for the United Kingdom colonialists in general the honour of having furthered this historical development. An attempt has been made to persuade us that British colonial policy was enlightened and that the United Kingdom Government made a great contribution to the liberation of the former colonies.

49. Perhaps the United Kingdom representative is counting on the colonial peoples having short memories, or is hoping that this joy at being independent has made them forget the dreadful reality of the past, the horror of colonialist subjugation and the protracted and heroic struggles they waged to achieve liberation and independence. The fact that these peoples have not forgotten and will never forget so long as colonial domination exists on this planet has been amply demonstrated in the discussions that have taken place here since the debate on the elimination of colonialism began. I refer to this matter, not to prove what is self-evident but merely to refresh the memory of certain representatives and to make them realize that unsupported assertions cut no ice with world public opinion.

50. The United Kingdom representatives have said more than once that the policies of the United Kingdom

colonialists had brought hundreds of millions of human beings freedom and independence. However, the facts are entirely different. To learn what the United Kingdom policy really has been throughout the period when so many British colonies have attained independence, one must refer, not to the statements made by United Kingdom political leaders after this historical development had reached fruition—such as the statements by the present Prime Minister of the United Kingdom or by Mr. Ormsby-Gore, the United Kingdom representative to the United Nations which I will not cite, since they are so well known—but rather to the statements and acts of the political leaders of the United Kingdom at the time when these decisions were taken and the events in question took place.

51. Thus, we should like to cite the statements of the most eminent political leaders of the United Kingdom at the time when one of the largest British colonies, India, was about to attain independence.

52. Opening the debate on 5 March 1947 on the Labour Government's decision to transfer power in India within fourteen months, Sir Stafford Cripps stated, *inter alia*, that the Government was faced with two alternatives:

"...first, we could attempt to strengthen British control in India on the basis of an expanded personnel in the Secretary of State's services, and a considerable reinforcement of British troops, both of which would have been required, so that we should be in a position to maintain for as long as might be necessary our administrative responsibility"—note that the same innocuous expression is used today by Mr. Ormsby-Gore to describe British colonialist subjugation—"while awaiting an agreement amongst the Indian communities. Such a policy would entail a definite decision that we should remain in India for at least 15 to 20 years ... The second alternative was, we could accept the fact that the first alternative was not possible One thing that was, I think, quite obviously impossible was to decide to continue our responsibility indefinitely ... into a period when we had not the power to carry it out."

53. Thus, according to Sir Stafford Cripps' statement, the United Kingdom was obliged to recognize the independence of India because it did not have the power needed to stay in the country.

54. Sir Winston Churchill, speaking on behalf of the Opposition, declared that the members of the Opposition had to sever themselves altogether "from the Indian policy of His Majesty's Government, and to disclaim all responsibility for the consequences which will darken—aye, and redden—the coming years".

55. That is what Churchill said in 1947, and now Mr. Ormsby-Gore is trying to tell us that the aim of the British policy of this period was to bring about the liberation of the colonial peoples.

56. Later, Churchill said that if the United Kingdom, "through lack of physical and moral strength, cannot wind up our affairs in a responsible ... fashion,"—and by responsible fashion he meant the maintenance of colonialist subjugation in India and the setting up of a Government that would follow British policy—at least it should not end "by a premature, hurried scuttle", thus adding to the "ruin" and disaster, which is what Churchill called the attainment of independence by India and the other British colonies that liberated

themselves thereafter and brought about the collapse of the British Empire.

57. Thus the fact is that India obtained its independence, not because the colonialists granted it independence willingly, but because they did not possess the military power necessary to maintain their colonial domination of that country.

58. But India is a large country. In other colonies, the United Kingdom colonialists were able to maintain enough troops to postpone independence for years and years and to maintain the colonial system by repression and massacre. To cite only one instance, the example of Kenya is still fresh in everybody's mind.

59. In an attempt to find reasons for postponing the liberation of certain countries and their attainment of immediate independence, the United Kingdom representative sought to persuade us that independence had been postponed only through a desire to give "the people of these countries ... independence in the form which suits them, and not according to some ideological pattern imposed on them from outside" [925th meeting, para. 50].

60. It is really startling to hear the United Kingdom representative make such a statement, at least for any one who has had an opportunity to follow the progress of the colonial people's fight for independence.

61. It will be recalled that scarcely seven years ago the People's Progressive Party of British Guiana achieved a signal victory at the polls and thereby chose the form of government which suited it. Unfortunately, that form of government did not suit the British colonialists. The United Kingdom Government sent its battleships, suspended the Constitution and declared the elections invalid. Speaking to the House of Commons on 22 October 1953, Mr. Oliver Lyttelton, Secretary of State for the Colonies, made the following observation: "Her Majesty's Government are not prepared to tolerate the setting up of Communist states in the British Commonwealth" As you see, that is quite a different tone from the one employed by Mr. Ormsby-Gore. Mr. Lyttelton's view was echoed by the following commentary from Mr. Bevan, speaking for the Labour Party. This version of the attitude of the British Government on the right of peoples to have whatever Government they liked was as follows: "You are free to have whatever Government you like as long as it is the kind of Government we like." In other words, the question was whether the Government pleased the British Government.

62. British Guiana is an interesting and instructive example of the manner in which the colonialists think they can arrange matters in their former colonies. For them, the establishment of an independent and popular régime would be a "bad" example which might have an unfortunate effect on the peoples of the adjacent territories.

63. The New York Herald Tribune was quite frank about the situation when it stated, on 9 October 1953, that the case of British Guiana is of vital importance to the United States, not because of the internal events in that colony, but because of its strategic position, since the neighbouring country of Venezuela is synonymous with two products very important to the United States economy: oil and iron ore.

64. That explains why in Guiana great forces were marshalled to disperse the popular régime headed by Mr. Jagan.

65. The entire history of colonialist misdeeds should convince us that it is impossible to trust the good faith and good will of the colonialists. That is just one more reason why the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples [A/4502 and Corr.1], proposed by the Soviet Union, is of capital importance at the present time.

66. The efforts by the colonialists to postpone the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples are made with a view to finding new ways and means of maintaining their economic and political dominion over these countries. But the machinations of the colonialist circles against the oppressed peoples of their colonies should spur us on to take a decision which will make it possible for these peoples to achieve independence immediately and to decide for themselves what form of government they want. The time has come to tell the colonial peoples that the United Nations, faithful to the principles of the Charter, will give them full support in their just fight against the most monstrous system known to mankind—colonial subjugation.

Mr. Boland (Ireland), resumed the Chair.

67. Mr. ALVAREZ RESTREPO (Colombia) (translated from Spanish): A few weeks ago, from this same rostrum, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics referred to Colombia as a colonialist country simply because our delegation had expressed the view that this item could have been discussed in an atmosphere of greater serenity and calm in the First Committee rather than in this Assembly, which seems to lend itself to sharp exchanges of views or vehement oratory, so that statements made here are often uttered in a spirit of propaganda, with an eye to the outside world, rather than with a desire to inform the opinion or influence the calm judgement of the representatives of the various nations.

68. We could not therefore speak in this debate without stating beforehand that our country is one which ardently supports the self-determination of peoples, and which at no time in its history has been associated with any movement aimed at the suppression or limitation of that freedom elsewhere. On the contrary, when, 150 years ago, Colombia was beginning its life as a separate nation, and before it had even consolidated its own independence, it did not hesitate to send its armies to the neighbouring countries of Venezuela, Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia in order to support them in their struggle for final emancipation from Spanish rule.

69. In that magnificent epic struggle, the men of five nations fought under the inspiration and command of Simón Bolívar, the illustrious leader whose legendary exploits fill the pages of American history. The blood of Colombians was thus shed on American soil, from Caracas to La Paz, in a gigantic effort which far exceeded its capacity at the time and which was undertaken by my country with the sole aim of co-operating with the Spanish colonies in order that they might acquire full independence as sovereign nations.

70. We have therefore an honourable history as an anti-colonial country which entitles us to speak in this debate with a full sense of responsibility, and we cannot refrain from pointing out, in passing, that after our armies contributed to the liberation of five countries and the victory was won, all those brave stal-

warts disbanded their armies and went peacefully back to their homeland or settled in the countries which they had helped to liberate, building their homes there and living in peace as simple citizens dedicated to the work and progress of the new emancipated lands. How very different is this attitude from that of other nations which in the very middle of the twentieth century send their armies not to help countries to be free but to co-operate with governments that drown in blood the sovereign aspirations of their peoples.

71. The subject of colonialism is as old as the world. Rome, Greece and Carthage were in their time colonies, as were also France, Spain, Germany and the United Kingdom. The history of the world is the story of the life of countries which, through changes extending over a long procession of years, eventually attained the full realization of their political personalities.

72. In the perpetual flow of time, new forms of life are substituted for others which in their day had their explanation and reason for existence. Even legal institutions change as the years go by; the theory of national sovereignty so dear to the writers of treatises on international law in the nineteenth century has been superseded by the new form of supra-national association which is the basis of the United Nations.

73. Our country too was a colony, and in the initial period of independence our people displayed the same rebellious attitudes and voiced the same bitter complaints as we now hear, with some justification, on the lips of the representatives of the new nations which have recently acquired their freedom and, by virtue of their new status, have been able to join our Organization after having lived for many years under the dominion of some foreign Power. The fact that we were a colony did not prevent us, once we had achieved our independence, from regarding Spain with the greatest affection as the country which governed us during the period of our early formation, and which gave us a language, a religion, a legal system and a broad cultural foundation, four elements which have been the fundamental pillars on which our society has been built.

74. Not every aspect of colonialism is as pernicious and harmful as some representatives here, more from political zeal than from a desire to understand history, try to make it appear. In the gradual formation of new nationalities one of the valuable cultural contributions to their future life is that which has been transmitted during the years of domination by the governing country, as we have been able to appreciate here as we listened to the erudite and judicious speeches of representatives like the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Cameroun and Nigeria in which an outstanding cultural background was apparent.

75. In speaking of colonialism it may perhaps be appropriate at this stage to clear up one point in order to avoid a repetition of what some speakers have had the affrontery to insinuate, vaguely but none the less suggestively, when, in their references to the colonial problem in the world, they appear to include the whole of Latin America within the areas controlled by the colonial system.

76. It is true that in our continent there remain a few small areas under the control of European nations, and we hope that one day those areas may enjoy full liberty. It is equally true, however, that the Latin American countries represented here are not colonies

of any Power. Each country has well-defined geographical and political boundaries, and on the soil of our continent there have arisen sovereign nations, each with its own personality, its own culture, its own history and its own unmistakable human characteristics. The one feature that might stamp us all as members of the same family would be the jealous care which we exercise on all occasions to avoid any threat to our sovereign autonomy. From the greatest to the smallest, from Brazil to Costa Rica, each of the twenty American States has its own personality, its own distinctive features and a proud belief in its independence that can never be effaced however difficult the circumstances that may arise in its national life. In that respect we all bear traces of the heritage we received from the Iberian peninsula, from Spain and Portugal, countries in which the cultivation of one's personality is inseparably linked with the words denoting "honour and nobility", which are so much esteemed in our language. We are no man's slave. Politically we move in the broad area of Western democracy, the same democracy by which the free nations of the world became united in one great phalanx to fight against totalitarian dictatorship. We choose our governments and our parliaments in public elections, in which every citizen has the opportunity of expressing his opinions according to his own conscience; we determine our own fate and order our own destiny according to the dictates of our national needs. It is time therefore for certain delegations to the United Nations to stop insinuating that we are some other nation's colonies when in reality the Latin American countries are sovereign and independent nations because they bought their independence many years ago with the blood of their heroes.

77. It would seem that there is a malicious and deliberate attempt to confuse the term "colonialism" with the term "under-development", but in fact the one term has nothing to do with the other in our case. We are indeed under-developed countries in the sense that we have a high birth-rate, a low per caput income, in many countries a high percentage of illiteracy, serious health and education problems, and in nearly all cases a high degree of dependence on the export of primary commodities. Thus, according to the experts, we have all the features that characterize an under-developed area. Economic backwardness must not, however, be confused with the loss of national dignity or of social and political autonomy. To use a well-known expression we might say, as they said in Spain when the great nobles lost their fortunes, we continue to be nobles despite our poverty.

78. The aim of this debate on colonialism, according to those who requested it, is to ensure the independence of peoples and to eliminate a shameful phenomenon of modern history. The declaration in its literal meaning presents no difficulty to us. Our legal tradition makes us naturally sympathetic to all that is implied by freedom, but this must be complete freedom in all places, in all latitudes and under all systems. We do not believe that colonialism alone deserves criticism as a system of subjection and submission, of control and enslavement. The item must be wider in scope. The great issue to be debated here is that of freedom in all its manifestations, the freedom to create, to worship, to teach, to write, to speak, to disseminate information, to criticize and to protest whenever this becomes necessary for the preservation of human dignity.

79. Mr. Sékou Touré, the President of the Republic of Guinea, said in this Assembly in his statement of 13 October 1960:

"We know that there are problems on which everyone may speak as he wishes, according to his own temperament; but there are other problems which cannot be considered as personal problems, and still less as problems related to the existence of this or that system or bloc. Such problems concern the very foundations of a life of dignity for every human being, whatever political or economic system he may choose and whatever his religion, colour or nationality." [903rd meeting, para. 4.]

He then added:

"There can be no doubt that the problem of freedom is the greatest problem in the world. No people and no thinking person can think that freedom is divisible or that it belongs to a single people, race or religion." [Ibid., para. 5.]

80. In listening to the speakers who have come to this rostrum to present colonialism as a system which has deprived thousands of human beings of their independence, we might have thought that colonialism, and colonialism alone, represents the problem of freedom in the world. All the terms that signify the submission of one country to another have been employed to convey to us the full horror of colonial policy, which subjugates, controls, enchains, oppresses, humiliates and crushes the dignity of many nations that should be free. In an impressive stream of words a picture of enslavement and bondage has been presented to us, but all the criticism has been directed one way and has had one objective, as if the problems of human freedom existed only in this quarter.

81. The truth, however, is that while political colonialism, for the greater good of humanity, moves rapidly towards its close because of the intelligent and far-sighted policy of the former metropolitan countries or through the force of circumstances, another type of colonialism has arisen to take its place. The only difference is that this is not the type of colonialism which exercises control over the soil and the harvests, the mountains and the rivers, the social life and political system, over education and health and, in fact, over all the externals of the life of a people; it is rather a colonialism which keeps watch over man's conscience, suppresses his freedoms and utterly destroys the life of the spirit.

82. There are, of course, deplorable legacies of the old colonial system, and millions of men are still awaiting their deliverance. Traces still remain of the system which until quite recently controlled vast areas of the world, and we have heard here the statement by the representative of the United Kingdom [925th meeting] who explained in detail how his country is preparing to grant complete self-government to those areas which are not yet independent.

83. What we have not heard here is the voice of those who keep in subjection, not newly-emerging countries, but nations with an old culture and noble historical traditions, and who have forced them to accept a régime of terror and silence. It might be said that while the colonialism which controls material factors and the world of wealth is progressively and continuously disappearing from vast areas of the world, there is arising in other areas what we might term the colonialism of

souls. This form of colonialism not only holds in a grip of iron the economic activity of the countries it dominates, but also extends its oppressive sway much further by preventing the free expression of thought and abolishing at one blow the whole decalogue of freedoms written into the Universal Declaration of Human Rights that has been adopted by the United Nations.

84. President Sékou Touré was therefore right when he said that the problem of freedom was the greatest problem in the world, and it is that problem which we shall be attempting to solve by adopting the draft resolution that has been submitted here [A/L.323 and Add.1-2]. It is impossible, however, to divide this problem arbitrarily without falsifying the truth of history, for in the words of the Distinguished President of Guinea, the problems of freedom "concern the very foundations of a life of dignity for every human being".

85. That is the present position of our delegation, the position of a country which has known throughout its history the extraordinary benefits of freedom and will always be on the side of those who are trying to preserve and defend that precious gift for the world for mankind.

86. Some of the statements that have been made here have consisted mainly of an attempt to focus the spotlight and point the accusing finger in one direction only, towards colonialism. They analyse this phenomenon as a monstrous evil, as indeed it has been in the past, since it meant that self-determination was denied to countries which had a right to live in accordance with their own plans and on the product of their own resources. In our opinion, this approach is unilateral and exclusive. The problem of freedom is one and indivisible, and to lament oppression on one front only and in relation to one system only when the total freedom of man has disappeared elsewhere is to take a purely arbitrary stand. One speaker said yesterday that "we do not wish to discuss anything outside the scope of this debate", as if by saying that he could induce us to pass over in silence facts which are at least equal in importance to colonialism since they concern the same social and human phenomenon. They concern in fact all that the peoples of the United Nations jointly affirmed when they stated that they were determined, as the first preambular paragraph of the African-Asian draft resolution also says, to "re-affirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small," and "to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom".

87. These are the guiding principles of our Organization, its true justification in the minds of emancipated consciences, and the fruit of experience accumulated by humanity through many centuries. We are prepared to support the draft resolution submitted here by the thirty Powers, but with a few slight amendments which we consider necessary because of our conviction that any step forward in the process of granting freedom to new countries is a step towards the well-being of all mankind. It is thus with the deepest rejoicing that we welcome the emergence of these new States into the independent life which will enable them to devote all their resources and all their intellectual and moral faculties to the improvement of their own people and the increase of their own wealth. These countries are fortunate in finding the door wide open to inter-

national co-operation and the valuable assistance of the United Nations.

88. When, through their own efforts, the countries of Latin America obtained their freedom, they were faced with the grave problem of having to struggle alone and in isolation, with no economic resources or technical training, and with no one to extend them a helping hand in the first days of their independent existence. They were free, it is true, but they were setting foot on the road of world competition with the hesitating steps of young children. For a century we all went tottering along that road, some more unsteadily than others, but none of us sure of the direction we should take to reach the higher economic goals. We experimented with now one and then another political system which could not successfully take root in a land of rugged warriors who had been on the battlefield for twenty years and found it difficult to submit to a rule of law. This was a situation which continued for a long time and which by reason of its disorder and uncertainty, caused tremendous stores of human energy to be wasted.

89. The countries now coming of age are favoured by a circumstance that is of capital importance for their future, namely, the existence in the world of an atmosphere of unlimited co-operation thanks to the guiding influence of the United Nations. The subject of under-development and the measures to combat it constitute the most important element in the study of modern economics.

90. Hundreds of volumes have been devoted in the last ten years to the searching examination of subjects related to the economic organization of the State, the utilization of natural resources, the internal structure of the State, foreign trade, health and education.

91. Only countries like those of Latin America, which had to undergo a century-long process of uncertainty and doubt, unsuccessful experiments and serious mistakes, can appreciate the extent to which these new nations now coming of age are finding the way clear for their first steps on the road to progress. Their freedom, well-directed, can be of service to us all. Their material progress will be an important element in the balance of the world. Their intellectual activity can become an essential factor in the analysis of future problems. May fortune decree that they may all be able to preserve their independence and proudly maintain their own personality without allowing themselves to be deluded by those who play on the magic flute of friendship in order to attract their attention while preparing the chains that will later strangle their self-determination.

92. We shall vote on a draft resolution on colonialism, not in the spirit of recrimination that some would attach to it, but rather with the noble aim of making this a further step forward on the road to human freedom. It will be a happy day when the inhabitants of all countries of the earth, of all latitudes, from the east, the centre and the west, can truly and effectively live under the protection of the essential freedoms laid down in the United Nations Charter.

93. Mr. SLIM (Tunisia) (translated from French): It is the custom of certain historians to attach a descriptive label to various centuries and epochs in the life of humanity. Thus, the fifteenth century is described as the era of great discoveries, the eighteenth, nineteenth and early twentieth as that of the great colonial

expansion which led to the subjection of the majority of the peoples of Africa and Asia. The year 1960 has been called the year of Africa, which is indeed an apt description since we have had the great satisfaction of welcoming sixteen new African States to our midst.

94. In accordance with the tradition of naming epochs after important events, the second half of the twentieth century will have the distinction of being known as the period of the liberation of peoples. For, whether we like it or not, whether force has to be used or persuasion, whether it is acceptable to the colonizing countries or not, there will soon no longer be any enslaved peoples. The era of colonial domination, of the enslavement of man by man, of the "indigénat" system and other laws imposing forced labour in the colonies, is over. All over the world colonialism, despite its power and resources, is retreating before the irresistible advance of men towards freedom and independence. The irrevocable march of history will certainly not be halted by the obstinacy of France in carrying on a futile and hopeless war in Algeria for the past six years; of Portugal in denying the evidence and clinging to absurd fictions; above all, of South Africa in isolating itself, despite universal reprobation, within an inhuman racism which it has raised to the status of national policy.

95. The upheavals brought about by their stubbornness will perhaps inevitably delay the achievement of freedom by some peoples, but at the cost of much unnecessary suffering and to the detriment of the friendship, understanding and co-operation which are so essential among the peoples.

96. The colonized countries will attain independence with or without the agreement of the colonizers, but they will attain it in any event, for no force in the world can arrest the irresistible march of history.

97. Ever since its establishment, the United Nations has been concerned with the situation of dependent territories and peoples and of those under international trusteeship. The Organization has undoubtedly made a substantial contribution to the peaceful liberation of the colonized peoples through the important debates it has held on the subject, particularly in the Fourth Committee and the Trusteeship Council, and through the numerous recommendations it has made.

98. Nevertheless, that contribution is not sufficient. On the one hand, the impatience of the colonized peoples is continually growing; on the other, the reluctance and the resistance of the colonizing countries have created difficulties which have delayed the recovery of sovereignty and independence by the peoples under their domination.

99. This disharmony between the two movements has frequently led to clashes and to sanguinary conflicts which have endangered the friendship between peoples and international peace and security. It is therefore essential that our Organization should endeavour to lay down basic principles clarifying the application of the Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights to this sphere; it would thus indicate the road to be followed and clear it of obstacles.

100. For the sake of reinforcing the authority and effectiveness of this institution and in the interests of friendship, harmony and peace, it is desirable that the peoples should attain independence within the framework of the United Nations and with its assistance.

101. It is therefore appropriate that the General Assembly should hold a large-scale debate on the subject at this fifteenth session and that it should conclude the debate with the adoption of a resolution which will mark an important date in the history of the United Nations.

102. In the opinion of the Tunisian delegation, it is not enough to round off this debate by drawing up a proclamation stating the principle of the right of peoples to self-determination, since this is already enshrined in the Charter; what we must do, above all, is to reaffirm and strengthen those principles in the light of the difficulties raised by the colonizing countries with a view to delaying the liberation of the peoples under their charge.

103. Our task at this session is undoubtedly to provide a vigorous impetus and to give clear and general guidance on the means to be employed so that the peoples still under colonial domination may attain their end, which is also ours, that is to say universal independence.

104. Our essential purpose is to avoid what happened recently in Viet-Nam, what is happening today in Algeria and what has happened in the Congo.

105. Let me explain myself. Faced with the irresistible drive of those countries towards independence, the reaction of the two Powers which can be quoted as examples of the most recalcitrant colonialism—France and Belgium—has been either stubbornly to maintain domination by force of arms or to agree to independence and then to attempt to divide the liberated nations by preposterous manoeuvres and to regain domination by underhand means.

106. In Viet-Nam, for example, after seven years of appalling warfare which cost tens of thousands of lives, France was obliged to bow to facts and abandon the country, leaving behind not only ruins but a people divided into two States and thus providing more fuel for the cold war.

107. Unfortunately, the French colonialists did not profit by the lesson of Viet-Nam. Having learned nothing and forgotten nothing, for the past six years they have been committing the same mistakes in Algeria which were so disastrous in Viet-Nam both for France, for its former colony and for the whole of humanity.

108. In the Congo, Belgium demonstrated its liberalism to the world by agreeing to proclaim the independence of the country. Yet by instigating the secession of Katanga and Kasai and by engaging in manoeuvres designed to maintain its domination in another form, it has plunged the Congo into the tragedy of which we are aware and which today constitutes one of our most serious causes for anxiety.

109. In both cases the result has been a lamentable and grievous chronicle of ruin, misery and mourning. In neither case could the colonialists have hoped to retain their privileges. On the contrary, owing to the force of circumstances, the rift has steadily deepened and the possibility of understanding, reconciliation and co-operation has diminished with every passing day.

110. Would the result have been the same if the colonizing countries had accepted the inevitable and had spontaneously—or at least rationally—encouraged the liberation movement? I do not seriously think so. Viet-Nam, which joined the French Union in 1947,

might today have been a unified, independent and sovereign State, linked to France by ties of friendship and fruitful co-operation; the same would be true of Algeria if that had been desired, if there had been a wish to avoid the continuation of the war.

111. The Congo would not have been the scene of the unfortunate exodus of the Belgians or of the appalling crisis through which it is now passing.

112. We consider that the time has come when the United Nations should face its responsibilities and resolutely put an end to the tragedy of the colonized peoples. The country which I have the honour to represent was one of the first of those placed by an unjust fate under foreign domination to initiate the struggle for honour, dignity and freedom. For three-quarters of a century—and particularly during the past thirty years—it waged unrelenting war against the occupying Power. At the time Tunisia's struggle might have been likened to that of David with Goliath, since the conscience of the world was not alive as it is today to the heroic efforts of the peoples to achieve dignity, freedom and independence. By the use of persuasion and force and by invoking humanitarian considerations and human solidarity, my country persevered on the road of honour until victory was achieved. Under the leadership of President Bourguiba, it has always advocated that colonial problems should be solved by negotiation, though it accepts the need for the use of force when faced by a lack of goodwill on the part of the colonialists.

113. On the day when it achieved independence, after having in desperation embarked upon a long and bitter armed conflict calling for patience, perseverance, sacrifice and courage, it accepted as an ideal the sacred duty of lending its support to the peoples struggling for freedom. Thus on 1 June 1955, when it had only just achieved internal self-government, when the whole question might have been reopened since France retained military bases and powerful means of action in the country, Tunisia did not hesitate to stand shoulder to shoulder with Algeria in its struggle for freedom. I shall have much to say on that subject when the question of Algeria comes up before the First Committee. For the moment I shall only make such allusions as I consider necessary in the present debate.

114. On 1 June 1956, when he was leaving French soil for his triumphant return to his own country, President Bourguiba said that he hoped with all his heart that the Tunisian experiment would be extended so that fighting might end in Algeria, as it had ended in Tunisia, with a settlement which would enable co-operation to be maintained and to continue.

115. A few months later Tunisia achieved independence and has since devoted all its efforts and all its resources to hastening the end of the war. During the past six years President Bourguiba has spared no endeavour to reconcile the two parties and to persuade them to negotiate. Unfortunately our efforts have not met with the success they deserve.

116. Nevertheless, despite the great anxiety caused to Tunisia by the continuance of the war in Algeria, which sometimes spills across its frontiers, Tunisia has never ceased to be concerned with the fate of the other colonized countries and particularly those of our own continent, Africa.

117. At all the African conferences, at Accra, Monrovia, Addis Ababa and recently at Leopoldville, Tu-

nia has associated itself with the other independent African countries in advocating the end of colonialism and endeavouring to find the most appropriate means to lighten the cross borne by our less fortunate brothers.

118. More than a year and a half ago, on 2 March 1959, at the Neo-Destour Congress, held at Sousse, President Bourguiba made a stirring appeal to the colonial countries to adopt a realistic attitude. I should like to quote briefly from his speech:

"The instability now prevailing in the world is born of the antagonism between two blocs, the West and the East, and of the desire of each to attract the largest number of peoples of Asia and Africa.

"However, we see the wheel of history turning inexorably in the direction of liberation, not colonization. The number of emancipated nations is increasing day by day. The future is certainly on the side of the freedom of nations—colonialism is doomed: France may persist in its obstinacy for a year or two more, but will not prevent Algeria from gaining independence.

"In the same way, the United Kingdom cannot prevent Kenya, Nyasaland, Rhodesia and Somaliland from becoming independent.

"It is futile to try to delay these developments at all costs.

"The reluctance and procrastination of these countries cannot stop the wheel of history, which crushes those who place themselves in its path.

"Why do the Western Powers not consider a return to wisdom?

"Instead of allowing this great battle to continue, in which liberty is waging an unsystematic and improvised struggle against tyranny, instead of leaving matters to chance and relying on the inspiration of events, let common sense take the upper hand, with a willingness to face the facts. I think there is still time for the nations which value liberty and dignity to reverse the trend of events.

"These nations can meet around the conference table to examine and solve the question of 'decolonization' and all its attendant problems in peace and tranquillity.

"The task is to ensure that mankind progresses from the colonial era into the age of co-operation. This process must take place in an atmosphere of calm. Reasonable stages can be established and the possibilities of fruitful co-operation and lasting friendship safeguarded. This must be possible. The colonized countries should not have to seize their independence at the cost of bloodshed and perhaps at the risk of being plunged into an anarchy which might be exploited by a hostile party to inflame grievances, propagate its ideology and pave the way for its domination."

President Bourguiba continued, on 2 March 1959:

"I can readily envisage a large conference attended by all those countries which are still colonies or semi-colonies.

"At such a conference, which would at first be confined to these countries, the latter could reach some agreement. They would then invite the repre-

sentatives of the peoples concerned to meet them around the table, or alternatively, they might set up committees to make a separate study of the case of each individual country and examine its possibilities and particular conditions.

"Much useful information could be obtained from the experience of the United Kingdom, which is now making preparations for the independence of Nigeria in October 1960. By that date, the country's constitution will have been drawn up, administrative and technical personnel will have been trained, and its state institutions will be ready to function.

"What the United Kingdom has done for Ghana and Nigeria, and is preparing to do for Somaliland, can perhaps also be done tomorrow for Rhodesia, Kenya and Tanganyika.

"To adopt such a policy is to follow the natural course of development. Why is it that other countries—France for example—do not adopt this same policy?

"They could establish contact with the nationalist movements and, with their co-operation, organize free elections. Such elections would reveal the most influential and enlightened elements, with whom discussions could be held.

"The risks of terrorism, violence and anarchy could thus be avoided in the evolution of colonial peoples.

"Negotiations between colonists and colonized should be concerned, not only with determining the stages and methods of emancipation, but with the consideration of plans for economic assistance and development. The peoples must be saved from underdevelopment, which is a form of servitude.

"In pursuing such a course, the Western countries would merely be applying the principle which they profess to support, of helping the peoples to achieve political and economic liberation. Under the procedure that I propose, this liberation would be achieved in accordance with a reasonable plan providing for the restoration of power to the nationals of the country concerned, for the holding of elections and the training of the necessary personnel.

"Subsequently, ways and means of providing assistance and arranging investments would be investigated in order to speed up industrialization programmes.

"Thus, the road to economic and technical progress would be opened to the liberated peoples."

119. This appeal launched by President Bourguiba more than a year and a half ago appears prophetic in the light of the serious disturbances—of which he gave warning—that have since occurred in the Congo, South Africa, South West Africa and other important places on the African continent.

120. Unfortunately, his appeal to reason and realism went unheeded. Of course, some countries have since been liberated. Nigeria, the African States which were under French domination, and the Congo. But there has been no solution to the colonial problem as a whole, as urged by President Bourguiba, a solution which would have contributed substantially to the reduction of international tension.

121. It is true that sixteen new African States have recovered their independence and have been admitted

this year to membership in the Organization. But there is still war in Algeria; there is still no programme of decolonization for Angola and Mozambique. This state of affairs should not be tolerated any longer. The experience of recent years has proved how dangerous it is for the colonizer and the colonized, and for all mankind, to allow colonialism to pursue its harmful course. We know that the colonialists and, more generally, all the peoples that dominate others, are clearly aware that their day is drawing to a close. But we also know that, in its death throes, colonialism may still be shaken with convulsions that are extremely dangerous for peace and international security. This was the case in Indonesia—why should we not recall it?—when the Netherlands, after having recognized the independence of that country, then tried to reconquer it.

122. This is the case today in Algeria and the Congo. I am not afraid to repeat myself on this subject, for the grave responsibility of France and Belgium in this connexion cannot be stated often enough. I cite these two cases deliberately, because they are used by the colonialists as arguments in their attempts to justify their policy of domination.

123. Indeed, it is in virtue of French legislation based on faked elections that Algeria is regarded as French territory. It is on the pretext of safeguarding the national heritage that war is at present being waged on the Algerian people.

124. Portugal, too, regards Angola and Mozambique as integral parts of the metropolitan territory.

125. This idea cannot be justified either on historical or geographical grounds. Nor has it any sound juridical foundation. Therefore it is of capital importance to publicize this fact so that the colonizing countries may not be able to evade their obligations by sheltering behind the national territory theory.

126. Now I come to the example of the Congo. The disturbances that occurred in that country immediately after it achieved independence were represented by the champions of colonialism as a solemn warning of the possible dangers of "premature independence". According to them, the lesson to be learned from the situation in the Congo is this: a colony which is liberated before attaining a certain level of economic development and a certain political maturity, and before qualified personnel have been trained, in other words, before it is prepared for its new responsibilities, runs the risk of lapsing into anarchy. This may be true especially if the former controlling Power does everything it can to sow the seeds of anarchy, as was the case in the Congo. But there is another truth which is also illustrated in the Congo, in Angola and in Mozambique: the colonial Powers are unfortunately incapable of preparing these countries for independence for the very good reason that they do not want them to be independent. Therefore, the only rational and fair-minded conclusion we can draw from the situation is the following: the colonial Powers must give a firm undertaking to refrain from any action that may cause disturbances in the liberated countries and avoid any attempt to create difficulties for the new governments. They must strictly respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the new States. In other words, we must prevent any further attempts to do what France hoped to do in Guinea and what Belgium unfortunately succeeded in doing in the Congo. In both these cases, the colonial

Powers tried to sabotage the independence they had been forced to concede by the natural course of development.

127. But an undertaking by the colonial Powers, no matter how solemn, does not, in our opinion, constitute a sufficient guarantee. If need be, the United Nations must be able to ensure that the undertaking will be observed.

128. There is another kind of ruse regularly practised by the colonial Powers. This consists in demanding from the colonized country, under pressure, and before granting its independence, certain economic or other advantages.

129. It was indisputably Tunisia's experience—and this situation is still continuing—that before granting independence, certain Powers try to secure for themselves the largest possible number of cultural, economic, and even strategic advantages, which are presented to the other party as being in the mutual interests of both parties, having regard to the principle of the interdependence of peoples.

130. On the eve of its independence, a colonized people thus finds itself in a quandary: it can either reject the demands for concessions at the risk of losing the opportunity of peacefully recovering its sovereignty; or it can accept them at the risk, after independence, of finding its liberty of action restricted, as well as its freedom to determine its own interests, which are not necessarily identical with those of the former colonizing Power.

131. Faced with this painful conflict of conscience, a colonized people generally opts for the second alternative, but with the firm intention, once its sovereignty is recognized and regained, of retrieving whatever it had been forced to concede under pressure. It is then that new difficulties, and sometimes serious crises, arise in the relations between the new independent State and its former master. The latter argues that commitments which have been entered into must be respected and often tries to equate what it considers to be concessions on its part with the concessions which it extorted before independence. Hence the clashes and wrangling that cloud relations which might otherwise become increasingly friendly and trusting.

132. I have done no more than state the relevant and indisputable conclusions based on experience. I could quote exact facts and introduce irrefutable documentary evidence to show the disastrous consequences of agreements made between a colonial Power and a colonized people before the latter achieved its independence.

133. Such agreements must be considered as vitiated from the start. The colonial Powers should refrain from insisting on them. They should, at the very least, agree with good grace to their revision after the former colony takes over its new responsibilities as an independent and sovereign nation. That is a fundamental principle, which would enable peoples under foreign domination to achieve a real, healthy independence, free from the outset from any kind of mortgage.

134. There is a third point which, in my delegation's view, is of prime importance: the need to ensure that political independence has the best possible chance of functioning effectively in the interests of the people concerned—I am speaking of aid to newly liberated countries. They will need such aid, whether economic

or technical. None of these States will be able to do without it if it wants to develop economically and socially. In general, this urgent need of new States provides a good opportunity for competition between the different forces in the world, and particularly between the two blocs, each seeking to impose its influence on the new countries. Technicians, equipment, and even considerable funds are offered on all sides from purportedly disinterested sources to States which no longer know whether it is more advantageous to turn to the left or the right. Whatever direction they choose, the result is the same: they find themselves aligned, often against their will, with one bloc or the other. From being an object of rivalry they thus become, despite themselves, parties to a struggle in which they have nothing to gain.

135. That is why we appeal to the great Powers of East and West, in the interests of the new States, for the sake of mankind and of peace, to stop making those States a field for competition. We ask them, in all seriousness and sincerity, to realize that by seeking to draw these peoples into their orbit they run the risk of jeopardizing the normal and natural evolution of these young nations.

136. Having their own ideologies, their own problems, these States urgently need to work in peace and freedom for the prosperity of their people, for higher standards of living. They cannot achieve this aim without the help of more developed countries. In order to improve the situation of their people, to set them on the path of economic and social progress and the application of modern science and technology, they are obliged to turn to the Powers which have attained a very high degree of industrialization and whose technical achievements have sometimes been revolutionary.

137. If the colonies, which are at present one of the factors in the cold war, and may even be one of the causes of a real war, are to stop being a source of discord once they have achieved independence, it is essential that the economic and technical aid which they need and which the two blocs are in a position to give should not be used as a means of binding them to one or other of those blocs. My delegation thinks, therefore, that the value of this aid would be enormously enhanced if it were given through the United Nations. In this way it would lose any political colouring, it would become truly unconditional and would be a disinterested manifestation of international co-operation and solidarity.

138. My delegation much appreciated the action of the Soviet Union in proposing this item for inclusion on the agenda of the present session [A/4501]. We are also very grateful for the warmth with which the Soviet delegation argued the case for discussion of this important question in the General Assembly.

139. However, although decolonization is a problem which concerns the whole world, it is no less true that it is our sacred duty, as countries formerly under colonial rule which have suffered directly from the misdeeds of the colonialists, it is, I say, our duty as uncommitted countries to be in the forefront of this battle. We are far from having any desire to claim a monopoly in the struggle for the freedom of peoples or any intention of refusing the assistance of the great Powers. On the contrary, we need everyone's help and we will not exclude anyone. It is just that we do not want to give this debate, I might even say this

whole process of decolonization, an ideological character, which would link it to the struggle at present going on between East and West. We do not want this process to lead to a sterile situation where each of the two blocs tries to outbid the other, nor do we want it to become a means of intensifying the cold war.

140. To put it clearly, we should like there to be less talk of NATO, western bases, the countries of Central Europe and their internal régimes. Neither the first nor the second of these appears on the agenda of this debate, nor, in our opinion, are they related in any way to the question itself. On the contrary, if this debate took on an east-west, partisan, ideological character, we should be liable to get off the subject, to introduce emotion and to make the question a propaganda issue.

141. The problem is so serious that it demands from all of us an effort to lift this debate above any partisan, ideological considerations and give it an objective and disinterested character. I say "from all of us", because I do not see how anyone in this Assembly could honestly oppose the principles which are the very foundation of our Charter. There are still, it is true, some unrepentant colonialists; but, fortunately for mankind, their number is becoming smaller and smaller.

142. But apart from them, who in this hall is not aware of the irreversible process which has led and will lead all peoples to independence? Which of us can sincerely believe for an instant that there could exist any force capable of stopping man's irresistible progress towards freedom? Which of us doubts the impossibility of diverting history from its natural course?

143. There should be no men worthy of the name who refuse other men the right to dignity and freedom on the grounds of their colour, their religion or simply the fact that their countries are not sufficiently developed. Slavery may have been abolished, but is not colonialism one of the most pernicious forms of the enslavement of man by man?

144. In this century of technical progress, in this golden age of science, when man has succeeded in taming the forces of nature, constantly improving his standards of living, there should no longer be any place for servitude. For whereas in the days of slavery, men were bought and sold under a system which no one could have justified in terms of human values, colonialism claims to act in the name of civilization, humanitarian principles, and even by an irony of fate, democracy. Do we not see, even nowadays, States systematically exploiting whole peoples while proclaiming, with the support of figures, that they have lavished education on them, introduced public health services and improved their living conditions? Do we not see States keeping weak peoples under their domination on the grounds that they have granted them the same rights as their own nationals? Yet the results are far from being commensurate with the economic exploitation and the exploitation of human resources in which the colonial Powers have engaged, to the detriment of the colonies.

145. In my statement, I have quoted examples and have made specific mention of certain colonies and colonial Powers. I have done so in order to give this debate a practical character. In the opinion of my delegation, the time for professions of faith and affirmations of

principle is past. Such statements of principle were made as long ago as the period after the First World War and aroused great hopes among the subject peoples. Those statements, however, remained a dead letter. At San Francisco, also, it was solemnly declared that the United Nations was determined "to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person..."

146. This is no longer the time to assert such principles, as no one contests them any longer. Our task is to avoid disappointing the peoples of the world, who believed in the San Francisco Charter, to avoid disappointing them as they were disappointed after the First World War.

147. What the present situation requires of us is no longer words, but a solemn declaration by which all Members of the United Nations would undertake to put those same principles into effect and to respect their commitments. It is our duty to achieve one of the aims of our Organization, namely, to give all men freedom and dignity.

148. It was this consciousness of a sacred duty that we all have towards mankind as a whole which prompted my delegation, together with other African and Asian delegations, to submit a draft resolution [A/L.323 and Add.1-2]. This draft specifies the principles which should be the foundation for a general and rapid decolonization in peace, friendship and understanding.

149. We should, it is true, have liked this draft to define more closely the methods of negotiation which, alone, without any coercion or armed repression, should be used by the colonial Powers. We should have liked the draft to fix as short a time limit as possible for the attainment of complete independence by all peoples who are still, on whatever basis, under foreign domination. We have confined ourselves to stating indisputable principles, which do not seem to us to offer any grounds for controversy.

150. This draft could set our Organization on a new path, bringing it to grips with reality. It is one of the finest tasks that it could undertake. If we succeed in carrying it out, we can lay claim to the gratitude of future generations; we shall have helped, in large measure, to achieve the goal which is set before us by the first words of the Charter:

"We the peoples of the United Nations determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind..."

151. Not only shall we have reduced the risk of war, but we shall have given the world, in addition to peace, stability and prosperity. We shall have restored to hundreds of millions of men the concept of dignity, of honour, of freedom, and hence, of happiness. We shall have washed the brow of humanity free from the blot of colonialism.

Mr. Tarabanov (Bulgaria), Vice-President, took the Chair.

152. Mr. ASHA (United Arab Republic): In view of the importance of the question before us, the General Assembly, in its wisdom, has decided that it be discussed in plenary meeting rather than in committee. The problem of the liquidation of colonialism and the granting of independence to all colonial countries and peoples is, in the view of my delegation, the most important problem that is before this Organization

after the question of disarmament. It raises some of the fundamental issues at stake in the present world and reflects all the cleavages, conflicts and stresses of our time.

153. I would like, therefore, on behalf of my delegation, to express our thanks for the initiative of Chairman Khrushchev in proposing this item: "Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples." The declaration which the General Assembly will adopt will inevitably be one not merely about the matter in hand, but no less about ourselves and the future of our Organization. The inclusion in our agenda of this item was approved by acclamation in this Assembly [903rd meeting]—a fact of great significance. Let us, therefore, approve a declaration which will abolish colonialism and free humanity from its evils in the same manner.

154. My delegation has the honour to be one of the co-sponsors of the draft resolution contained in document A/L.323 and Add.1-2, entitled "Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples", and I shall now state the views of my delegation on this question.

155. My delegation approaches this problem with a great sense of urgency—a sense of urgency which arises, as we had occasion to point out in the General Assembly and in its main committees, from the rapid and increasing pace of the liberation movement which has swept the two great continents of Asia and Africa, culminating in regaining independence for more than two-thirds of humanity. The events of the past fifteen years, and in particular the year 1960, are historic events, unparalleled in the history of mankind. These events have liberated scores of nations who have suffered, for varying periods, the oppression of the colonial system and have restored to them their fundamental human rights and their dignity, proclaimed in the Charter more than fifteen years ago.

156. But the atmosphere of these past fifteen years was, by far, more dynamic than that which existed in San Francisco in 1945, and vastly more so than before the Second World War—an atmosphere impregnated with ideas, revolutionary ideas, reflecting dissatisfaction with colonial rule, economic exploitation and traditional authority; ideas of the true value of human rights, the dignity and worth of the human person, the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small; ideas of political, economic, social and cultural freedom; ideas for more progress and better standards of life in larger freedom.

157. We cannot afford to pretend that these ideas will safely wait in cold storage while economic, social and educational advancement move on at the same slow pace as in the past. We cannot afford to pretend that the colonial peoples, even in the least developed areas, will be content, or indeed should be required, to come upwards to fitness for independence through the same long, slow, fumbling stages of evolution through which our own civilizations have passed in the course of centuries.

158. In this atmosphere, filled with the yearning of the colonial peoples for their inalienable rights of freedom and independence, one colonial empire after the other began to collapse. Yet they have not as yet totally disappeared, as we hope they will. The time has come when colonialism must be given its final death-blow once and for all to liberate the more than 100 million

human beings still suffering from oppression and exploitation in various forms.

159. It is high time for the colonial Powers to forget the glories of former colonial empires and to recognize the emergent historical forces in the areas under their domination. The freedom-loving people of the world must exert all the pressure they can to strike the last nail in the coffin of colonialism, so that peace, stability and friendly relations, based on respect of equal rights, may prevail.

160. One of the great ironies of the present age is the curious inability of the colonial Powers to comprehend the fundamental urges of freedom and independence. Many of them were at one time or the other victims of aggression and lengthy occupation by foreign troops. Have they forgotten the degradation and suffering of these years? Have they forgotten that a great American said:

"... that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

They speak of liberty only to fill the jails and prisons; they declare their solemn devotion to the principles of fraternity and equality only to create more concentration camps for innocent people. They speak of democracy and free speech only to give orders to firing squads. And I ask the existent colonial Powers and the former colonial Powers: How many lives were lost in suppressing the nationalist and freedom-seeking people of their colonies, Trust Territories, Non-Self-Governing Territories, and others? What were their own casualties and what was their net profit and loss? What was the price for colonial domination?

161. Colonialism should have been liquidated a long time ago but, unfortunately, it is still alive. The concept of the right of peoples and nations to independence—that is to say, the right of self-determination—was the earliest aspect of human liberty to be accepted as a matter of international concern. The First World War, which owed its origin in considerable measure to the explosive forces of nationalism, crystallized the concept of self-determination. President Woodrow Wilson became the champion of this ideal even before the United States entered the First World War. He enunciated the principle:

"... that governments derive all their just powers from the consent of the governed, and that no right anywhere exists to hand peoples about from sovereignty to sovereignty as if they were property."

162. The widespread acceptance of this principle contributed significantly to the world trend towards liquidation of colonialism. But neither the establishment by the League of Nations of the Mandates System, nor the Trusteeship System, which was established by the United Nations, was sufficiently effective to eradicate the colonial régime. Nevertheless, the position has been firmly taken that peoples and territories should not be used as pawns or be held by victor nations as "spoils of war".

163. During the past fifteen years colonial problems have come to hold the major place on the agendas of our annual sessions of the General Assembly. Indeed, they have dominated our debates.

164. Chapters XI, XII and XIII of the Charter reflect the serious concern of the founders about colonialism

in 1945 at San Francisco. They devoted three of the nineteen Chapters of the Charter to the colonial problem because they acutely recognized its vital implications for security, and that real progress towards a solution was an essential element in any firm foundation for peace. They were also mindful of the fact that most of the colonial peoples had, in two great wars, fought and sacrificed at the side of the countries that ruled them and had contributed significantly to their victory. Despite this, the colonial peoples had no voice in international councils and little enough in the ordering of their domestic affairs.

165. It is true that over 800 million people have regained their independence, but there are over 100 million still struggling to win their freedom and liberty. As early as 1947, the late Mr. John Foster Dulles, with whom we disagreed on a number of occasions, was bold enough and courageous enough to ask for the liquidation of the colonial system. Speaking on behalf of the United States in the Fourth Committee, he said the following concerning colonialism:

"The colonial system should be done away with. It is obsolete, and if it ever had justification in the past it certainly has none in the future. It has borne some very evil fruit, primarily in that it has put people of one race to rule over those of another, which has been very bad for both races. I cannot find words to express myself sufficiently strongly on my belief that the system must come to an end and be liquidated in a prompt and orderly way." ^{1/}

166. Thirteen years have elapsed since this statement was made and yet this evil, the most sinister of evils, refuses to die of its own will, and it is up to us now to effect its demise. But to do so, all the colonial Powers must bow to the will of public opinion and provide us with the necessary means. The colonial Powers have all contended that the purpose of their remaining in other peoples' lands is to spread their language and culture to the peoples of these colonies and, in general, to enable them to carry out a "civilizing mission". Let me tell them here and now that they are wrong. In the first place, the former colonial peoples and those who are still not independent have their own cultures, their own civilizations, their own traditions, their own languages and their own customs. They are not only proud of their heritage, but they want to maintain it. They are determined to preserve it and to develop it in their own way. In the second place, these activities can be carried out just as well, if not better, if the colonialists make an exit, and a quick exit now.

167. The rulers of the colonies often declare publicly that the people of the colonies love them. If this is the case, that the subject peoples love them and wish to benefit from their culture and civilization, surely, if independence is granted, nothing will prevent the former rulers from carrying on their so-called civilizing work. Their schools will remain open, provided they operate within the national laws of the country; their settlers and traders will carry on their business—not as exploiters but as equals; and, instead of the former relationship of governor and governed, there will develop a new relationship of partnership, equal partnership. All this will be particularly true if, as we hope, all territories which have not as yet achieved independence become independent and the

peoples can exercise their free choice as to the countries from which they wish to receive assistance in building up their society. Recent experience has given proof of the fact that the presence of a European Power as the ruler of an Asian or African country is actually an obstacle to the spreading of the culture and civilization of that European Power. Its presence as the ruler acts as an obstacle because, instead of admiration and love and desire to learn, which perhaps existed before, there is created an attitude of resistance on the part of the governed people, who naturally transfer this resistance from the political sphere to the sphere of the mind and spirit. All this shows that the cultural and civilizing influence, far from being harmed or destroyed by the absence of an accompanying political and administrative influence, may actually be strengthened and encouraged by that absence.

168. The colonial Powers complain, and at times they boast, of the heavy obligations and responsibilities they have to shoulder for the so-called development of the resources of the colonial countries and the welfare of their populations. We have often heard that these financial responsibilities cause a great drain on their treasuries. If this is so, why should they endure such a heavy burden? Would it not be in the interest of the colonial Powers to proclaim independence in their respective colonial territories and thus rid themselves of endless headaches?

169. Another reason why the liquidation of colonialism is in the interests of the colonial Powers themselves in particular and of Europe in general is that it will help them to trust each other. This can best be illustrated from the experience of the northern region of my country following the First World War.

170. The post-war settlement adopted by the League of Nations for the territories of the Ottoman Empire involved the partition of the Arab countries in the northern part of the Arabian peninsula between Great Britain and France. In the period between the two wars, and until the final termination of the French Mandate over Syria and Lebanon, nothing contributed so much to the creation of suspicion, distrust and rivalry between the United Kingdom and France as did their proximity as administering Powers in Palestine on the one hand, and in Syria and Lebanon on the other. The French Government believed that the British were stirring up revolt against their authority in the Levantine States; the British Government believed the French were not adverse to contributing discretely to the difficulties which they were encountering in Palestine. Far be it from me to judge how much truth there was in these mutual accusations; no one, however, could deny that these suspicions and tensions existed. The lesson which we may draw from all this is that nothing contributes so much to the disruption of friendly relations between European Powers as their proximity in territories outside their own metropolitan areas. History, recent history, tells us that many of the wars between the colonial Powers were waged by armies from the colonies and dependent territories. May I suggest that one of the blessings of the abolition of colonialism will be the denial of the manpower of the colonies to the colonial Powers, and that, as a result, the waging of war will become more difficult and the world's chances for peace will thereby be increased.

171. My arguments so far have been concerned only with the strict interests of the colonial Powers. When we consider the aspect of the problem that should be

^{1/} This statement was made at the 43rd meeting of the Fourth Committee, the official record of which was published only in summary form.

foremost in our minds—the liberty and freedom of these territories in accordance with their wishes and interests—any doubts that might linger as to the necessity of immediate independence vanish altogether. Immediate independence, without any conditions or reservations, in accordance with the freely expressed will and desire of the people and without any distinction as to race, creed or colour, must be proclaimed without delay. This is the irrevocable decision which we must take with courage, boldness and determination. If we sincerely believe that the wishes of the people who are struggling for liberty are of paramount importance—and no one can deny this—then the adoption of a declaration to this effect becomes imperative.

172. We are familiar, for example, with the argument that such and such a territory is not ready for independence. When the Ottoman Empire was defeated in the First World War, the territories detached from it were subjected to varying treatment: while on the one hand the least prosperous were left independent, the more developed were placed under the Mandates System. The actual state of the territories in question was not the main criterion; the deciding factors were the rivalries of the great Powers and their inability to agree among themselves.

173. If any colonial Power should venture to say—and I hope none will—that some colonial territories are not prepared to assume independence, then we must treat with the greatest suspicion the assertion advanced by that Power. No serious argument can be advanced to support such an assertion; and if it is made, we are confident that no representative will accept it. In the past we have been told that some colonial territories are too poor to assume the great responsibilities of independence. If the existence of an unbalanced budget were an adequate argument for denying a country its independence, I am afraid we should see many empty seats in this great hall. There are many Governments represented here which do not balance their budgets every year, which receive support from outside sources, which make loans or just juggle along with a perpetual deficit. Only the malicious-minded could suggest that these countries do not deserve independence. Therefore, that argument falls to pieces also because, if the colonial Powers leave these territories, they will, I am sure, take care of themselves and, in co-operation with friendly States and the United Nations family, they will be able to recover their former prosperity once the colonial Powers cease exploiting their riches and natural resources. Financial and technical assistance could be given without denying them independence.

174. Certain colonial Powers are still clinging to the outmoded, discarded, and unjustified claim that certain territories are considered as parts of their metropolitan areas.

175. Those who are versed in the social and human elements colouring and characterizing these territories cannot deny that these territories have far more in common with the people of their sister States in Africa and Asia than with the so-called metropolitan countries. The relationship between these people and the independent people of Africa and Asia has been forged over long centuries of free association and common heritage, while the relationship of the colonial people to the colonial rulers is basically one that is predicated on force. The legal framework linking these territories to the colonialists is one of those anomalies of history that are held and sustained by the imbalance of power.

176. Herein lies a fundamental problem, and in this fact resides the basic cause of the present situation. Whether we take a geographical, historical or cultural approach, these territories cannot be considered as European in character, and I submit that no juridical situation, however valid, can ignore or supersede these basic elements in the formation of the human society. No law is immutable, and, for law to survive, it must ever respond to the dynamic existence of those societies whose evolution it purports to regulate. In the course of centuries of colonial domination these Powers have failed to engender in the conscience of the oppressed people anything of a durable value, and the relationship unfortunately continues to reflect a wide human gap bridged only by force. Otherwise how could we explain the violent upsurge of nationalism in these non-independent territories, this long yearning for independence from the colonial rulers, this turmoil of revolution and suppression in those countries? This is a fact which we must face, and face now. No legal niceties can suffice to explain the situation. It is undeniably a situation that calls for our concern as an international Organization, and the colonial Powers cannot claim in this respect any exclusive domestic jurisdiction. This aspect of the problem has been dealt with during this and past debates, and I need not take the time of the Assembly to dwell on it in detail.

177. Some of my colleagues have already exposed the myth that certain territories are integral parts of the metropolitan countries. It is therefore idle for the metropolitan Powers and those who support their thesis to claim that the questions pertaining to the so-called "overseas territories" are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of the metropolitan Powers. These territories have nothing more than a colonial status and must therefore be liberated without delay.

178. I should like to stress one other point, and that is the preservation of the unity and territorial integrity of the colonial countries. I mention the necessity for unity and territorial integrity because of the unfortunate experience of recent years and of recent events. My delegation attaches full importance to these two considerations. We believe that the question of territorial integrity and unity cannot be divorced from the question of independence.

179. A colonial Power has on one occasion divided a small land into five independent States. In North Africa, Morocco was amputated from an integral part of its territory—Mauritania. Colonialism is also threatening the unity and territorial integrity of the Republic of the Congo (Leopoldville). One cannot forget the situation in Malta, where unfortunately the aspirations of the people are not receiving due respect by the Government of the United Kingdom.

180. In Palestine a division, drastic and disastrous, was the final outcome of the Mandatory régime. The colonialists have conspired against a whole nation. A nation was uprooted wholesale from its motherland and given away to others. In this connexion may I be permitted to quote what President Gamal Abdel Nasser said on 27 September 1960, before this august body:

"Imperialism has its own logic. The logic of imperialism, as manifested in its crime against the people of Palestine, has been to break the geographical unity of the Arab world, on the one hand, and, on the other, to create for itself in the very heart of the Arab world a base from which to threaten the Arab peoples. I believe no stronger proof of this

could be given than the conspiracy which led to the tripartite aggression against us in 1956." [873rd meeting, para. 131.]

This new form of colonialism called Zionism must also be eradicated.

181. Another attempt at destroying unity is under way in Algeria. A colonial war has been waged for over six years. The colonial Power, in this case France, with military assistance from its allies, is using the most inhuman war weapons against the brave and heroic people of Algeria to perpetuate the subjugation of ten million Arabs. These Algerian brothers and sisters, who have suffered more than any people in the cause of regaining their freedom and liberty, are fighting selflessly to that end. As President Nasser said:

"It is really deplorable that the French Government persisted in setting up concentration camps and resorted to all sorts of brutal torture against the free men and women of the Algerian people, in a manner which aroused the human conscience all over the world, including France itself." [Ibid., para. 144.]

182. The valiant people of Algeria have lost hundreds of thousands of martyrs, their towns and villages were destroyed, over two million innocent civilians live in concentration camps, and hundreds of them die every day, so that their liberty may be restored. So far France has refused to settle this bloody war and now is threatening the territorial integrity and unity of Algeria. How much longer can we tolerate this shameful colonial aggression? How much longer can the human conscience endure such a degradation of the human person? It is time that we declare solemnly the end of colonialism in this dear Algeria, and France should be the first to affix its signature.

183. In this connexion I would like to quote President Gamal Abdel Nasser, who, speaking in the general debate on 27 September 1960, said:

"Today the United Nations should perform its duty. I do not think that we would be exaggerating in our demand if we now pressed for the right of the Algerian people to self-determination based on a plebiscite carried out under the supervision and protection of the United Nations." [873rd meeting, para. 147.]

184. Colonialism does not stop in Palestine and Algeria. It is there in Oman, in Southern Arabia and in the so-called protectorates and many parts of Africa. It is in Nyasaland, Angola, Mozambique, Rhodesia, Ruanda-Urundi, South West Africa, Tanganyika, Uganda, West Irian, Portuguese Guinea, and elsewhere. It is attempting to go back from where it was ejected. It must die and we must be certain that it is a genuine and final death.

185. The mighty forces of Asia and Africa have arisen. The two giant continents are awake. The misery of the colonial rule has not yet vanished from their memories. Their strong sympathies are with their brothers and sisters who are still living in bondage and servitude. They are impatient with the remnants of colonialism and they want to give it its death blow. Their voice is on the side of truth, and truth is freedom, and freedom is the road to peace.

186. The struggle against colonialism reached a dramatic climax at the Asian-African Conference in Bandung in April 1955. Among other historic decisions, the Conference declared that colonialism in all its

manifestations is an evil which should speedily be brought to an end. It affirmed:

"that the subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation constitutes a denial of fundamental human rights, is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations and is an impediment to the promotion of world peace and co-operation."

It declared "its support of the cause of freedom and independence for all such peoples", and called "upon the Powers concerned to grant freedom and independence to such peoples".

187. The Independent African States, meeting in Accra in 1958, gave added support to the declaration adopted in Bandung. The African States were convinced that:

"a definite date should be set for the attainment of independence by each of the colonial territories in accordance with the will of the people of the territories and the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations."

188. Meeting in Addis Ababa in June 1960, the Second Conference of Independent African States reaffirmed the declaration of Bandung and the resolutions of Accra and Monrovia and stated:

"...

"Considering further that the present awakening of the people of Africa and the independence movements can no longer be contained, without the risk of seriously compromising relations between the different nations,

"Believing that the restoration of the natural rights and human dignity to the Africans in those parts of Africa at present under foreign subjugation, as well as the peaceful enjoyment of their hard-won freedom by the peoples of the Independent African States, could only be achieved through the complete eradication of colonial rule from our continent,

"...

"Urges the colonial Powers to fix dates in conformity with the will of the people for the immediate attainment of independence by all non-independent countries..."

189. In conclusion, complete, unconditional, and immediate liquidation of colonialism in all its manifestations must be our irreducible decision. Never will its unjust nature, its horrors, its crimes be sufficiently denounced. Colonialism has never given liberty to its victims as a gift. History is full of the heroic struggle of those who wrested their freedom from their oppressors.

190. The era of colonization is over. This year, rightly called the African year, has seen sixteen sister States make their entry into the family of nations. This historical phenomenon of decolonization and of the achievement of an authentic national life is irresistible.

191. We must therefore give our fullest support to the cause of freedom and independence for all colonial people. Let the parties concerned begin immediate negotiations to transfer full sovereignty and authority to the rightful people without delay and let us welcome them in this world Organization as we have welcomed others during the past fifteen years.

192. It is in the pursuance of these aims that the draft resolution, which we have the honour to co-

sponsor [A/L.323 and Add.1-2], has been submitted to the Assembly. There is no essential difference between the draft declaration which it contains and the declaration which has been submitted by the Soviet Union [A/4502 and Corr.1]. Both documents have but one objective, that is, the immediate eradication of colonialism.

193. I reserve the right of my delegation to intervene again later in the debate on the draft resolution, and I hope the President will be kind enough to give me the floor at the appropriate time.

The meeting rose at 6.30 p.m.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

FIFTEENTH SESSION

Official Records



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at 10.30 a.m.

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

AGENDA ITEM 87

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

1. U THANT (Burma): At the outset, let me offer the sincere thanks of my delegation to the delegation of the Soviet Union for having submitted a request [A/4501] for the inscription on our agenda of the item which we are now considering.

2. Since the end of the Second World War, the problem of colonialism has been engaging the attention of leaders of thought all over the world, and perhaps the most conspicuous feature of the post-war period has been the awakening of national consciousness on the part of peoples under colonialism. Immediately after the war, a profound change took place—a change which has affected the political landscape of the whole world. This change has been mainly centred in the continents of Asia and Africa.

3. It will be recalled that the long war years witnessed the sharp deterioration of relations between the rulers and the ruled. The strain and stress resulting from the bitter war were the culmination of a long and painful period of struggle for freedom by peoples under foreign domination. Peoples who hitherto were not sufficiently developed to be animated by any conscious desire for independence, were then demanding the same rights of national sovereignty which more advanced States long ago acquired.

4. It must be admitted that the European nations have benefited immensely by the discovery of vast regions possessing natural wealth where capital could be profitably developed and labour was cheap. The impact of Western civilization on the backward populations, most of whom had many centuries of their own type of civilization, has proceeded on imperialist lines. Usually the missionary and the explorer have been the pioneers, but the trader and the colonial civil servant followed in their wake. It must also be admitted that without this impact, the conditions of many of the native races would presumably have remained relatively primitive. But the incentive which has produced the impact has been the commercial enterprise of the European nations.

5. Whenever one discusses the question of colonialism one is apt to ask the question whether the im-

perialist method has morally justified itself, whether the impact of Western civilization has brought more blessings than evils on the subject peoples. Undoubtedly, the colonial record can claim to have controlled or eliminated some of the worst excesses of primitive life, such as the torture of prisoners or the tyranny of autocratic rulers. It has introduced hospitals and better sanitation. It has attempted to combat ignorance as well as disease.

6. Nevertheless, against these and other substantial reforms must be reckoned many features and tendencies which have counteracted these progressive influences. Chief among them is the fact that the primary motive of the colonial Power in developing the natural resources of a colony has been its own commercial profit. Consequently, the greater proportion of the wealth extracted from the soil has gone into the pockets of the colonial investors. The Republic of the Congo (Leopoldville) has been a classic example. Though the native standard of living may have been raised, it has been in the inevitable interest of the colonizers to keep profits high and, therefore, wages low.

7. Moreover, the cultural effect of the impact of European civilization has been offset by the fact that the European community has carefully segregated itself from native society. Clubs and railway carriages have been reserved strictly for Europeans, and this organized racial discrimination has created bitter resentment in the minds particularly of the educated subject peoples. Above all, the growth of national consciousness among the native peoples has meant a craving for political independence and an increasing antagonism against the white settlers who, whatever the economic and social improvements they have introduced, are regarded as aliens who have seized power and who have no moral title to this possession.

8. One great European colonial Power saw the imperative need to change the whole picture at the end of the Second World War. Britain fixed a definite date for ending its power in India, Pakistan and Burma. At once a catalytic element was introduced into Anglo-Asian relations, to which all else had to react. The day of liberation became a goal, a challenge and an aspiration. Hostility and bitterness melted away, and now, as far as my country is concerned, a very warm friendship with Britain has taken the place of the accumulated bitterness of a hundred years. I wish I could say the same thing regarding other colonial Powers, but the current happenings in the great continent of Africa clearly indicate that similar praise cannot be bestowed on those other masters. That is why this item, introduced by the Soviet Union, is, in the view of my delegation, a most timely one.

9. As I have stated in a previous session of the General Assembly, there is a very true historical maxim: When independence is too long postponed, a mood of frustration and desperation occurs which breeds un-

desirable traits like bitterness and hatred. If a country has to win independence too late, then some extreme forces come to the surface and become dominant. This certainly does not help the cause of democracy, which most of us desire, nor the cause of friendship and amity between nations.

10. Realizing, therefore, that all dependent peoples have a passionate yearning for freedom and the end of colonialism in all its manifestations, and being convinced that all peoples have an inalienable right to complete freedom, the Prime Ministers of five Asian countries—Burma, Ceylon, India, Indonesia and Pakistan—at the Bogor Conference, jointly sponsored the convening of the Asian-African Conference and invited twenty-five Asian-African countries to take part in it. With the exception of the Central African Federation, all these countries accepted the invitation. The Conference which took place in Bandung, Indonesia, has become history. It met from 18 to 24 April 1955, and with the unanimous agreement of the participating countries, the Conference completed its historic task, issued its final communiqué and a Declaration on the Promotion of World Peace and Co-operation, and defined the objectives which the participating countries would jointly strive for.

11. I need not go into the significance of this Bandung Declaration nor its impact on world history. I will say only that opposition to colonialism in all its manifestations and the striving for and safeguarding of national independence were the basic themes of the Conference. Twenty-nine Asian-African countries declared with one voice that colonialism in all its manifestations was an evil which should speedily be brought to an end.

12. Since then many dependent territories have regained their birthright of independence, but many more are still in colonial bondage. For the sake both of peace and of stability, immediate steps must be taken to transfer all powers to the peoples of dependent territories, without any conditions or reservations, in accordance with their freely expressed will and desire. It is also of the utmost importance that all armed action and repressive measures of all kinds directed against dependent peoples cease.

13. This of course does not mean that the colonial Powers must do away with the ordinary police force which has to perform the normal and legitimate function of suppressing crime. Here a sharp distinction must be drawn between ordinary crimes and political actions. One great mistake of the colonial Powers has been, and still is, their failure to distinguish nationalist leaders from criminals. It is a commonplace that almost all the leaders of new nations happen to have spent a good part of their lives in colonialist prisons.

14. With all these considerations in mind, my delegation, along with thirty-nine other Asian-African delegations, has sponsored the draft resolution contained in document A/L.323 and Add.1-4, and I would appeal to the Assembly to give it unanimous support.

15. Before I conclude, let me deal very briefly with one aspect of post-independence phenomena prevailing in many countries which disturbs many observers of the world scene. This relates to the absence of democratic trappings in the set-up of several newly-independent countries. Almost all the nationalist movements are led by a class of people who are, in

a sense, privileged people, that is, who have had the privilege of education—for in Africa this is still a facility enjoyed by few—and who are thus in a very advantageous position in relation to their other fellow countrymen. Through a variety of circumstances, this educated class fights in the vanguard of independence movements, and the transfer of power in most cases goes to this class. It would be a mistake to assume that the political institutions and forms of democracy in most of the newly-independent countries will be of the same type as those prevailing in Britain or the United States, or that there will necessarily be two main parties competing against each other for the votes of the people. The notion that democracy requires the existence of an organized opposition to the government of the day is not valid. Democracy requires only freedom for such an opposition, not necessarily the existence of it. In many newly independent countries—and I am thinking especially of African countries—it is most unlikely that there will be a two-party system for some years to come. The nationalist movements are going to be very powerful indeed; they will control the government and organize local development in the economic and social spheres without there being any effective challenge to them from within. And any challenge from outside will only strengthen them. It will take time before any issues arise in the new countries on which it will be possible to build a real opposition organization. It is worth bearing in mind that the democratic system of government, though most desirable, is at the same time the most difficult form of government to operate.

16. Mr. MILLA BERMUDEZ (Honduras) (translated from Spanish): The delegation of Honduras voted in favour of the inclusion of the item on colonialism in the agenda of the fifteenth session of the General Assembly [903rd meeting]. I now come to this rostrum to do honour to that vote, which responds to the aspirations of those individuals, groups and peoples who are still unable to exercise their sovereign rights because they are dominated by that dying politico-social phenomenon known as colonialism.

17. An objective examination of the facts compels us to state, firstly, that the nation least morally qualified to propose this item is the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. At the same time, we must give due recognition to those nations which, whether voluntarily or under pressure, have shown a favourable attitude towards the granting of freedom to the subjugated peoples and we must pay a tribute to France and the United Kingdom, which since the Second World War have liberated and sponsored for United Nations membership more than thirty peoples representing a total of over 750 million inhabitants and covering a land area of more than 10 million square kilometres.

18. Inspired by our devotion to the Latin American cause and by our desire to remedy situations which are of the utmost urgency but which are unfortunately being postponed or disregarded, we wish to make it clear once and for all that while colonialism may be dying, this process has been going on for a considerable time; that colonialism is not an exclusively African-Asian phenomenon, for colonies still exist in our America; that anti-colonialism is a cause, an object of devotion and above all a fundamental principle of freedom for which the countries of this hemisphere began their struggle more than 150 years ago.

19. In discussing this item, my delegation will eschew the delaying tactics adopted by the exponents of treaties or legal provisions and the subtle arguments to which the high priests of international law and diplomacy are so addicted. Our aim is merely this: to set a date for the elimination of colonies throughout the world and particularly in the Western Hemisphere.

20. The item proposed by the Soviet Union is entitled "Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples" [A/4501]. We should now like to analyse what has been said by various countries during the general debate on this subject. We wish to make it clear that in quoting certain of our colleagues our intention is not to enter into any dispute, much less to appear to be criticizing anyone unfairly. Our sole aim is to draw attention to the persistent failure to define an anti-colonial policy for Latin America.

21. At the beginning of the fifteenth session of the General Assembly, on 22 September 1960, Marshal Tito said:

"These cold war conflicts also threaten on their part to spread to areas which had been or still are under colonial domination..." [868th meeting, para. 113.]

22. On the following day the President of Ghana said:

"The flowing tide of African nationalism sweeps everything before it and constitutes a challenge to the colonial Powers to make just restitution for the years of injustice and crime committed against our continent." [869th meeting, para. 1.]

"For years and years, Africa has been the footstool of colonialism and imperialism, exploitation and degradation... But those days are gone, and gone forever..." [Ibid., para. 3.]

23. On the same day Premier Khrushchev said:

"We must have done with colonialism, for it brings misfortunes and suffering ... to the peoples of the enslaved countries..." [869th meeting, para. 173.]

When Khrushchev says this, we think of the Latvians, Lithuanians, Slovenes, Czechs, Bulgarians, Ukrainians, Hungarians and so on who lost their freedom at the hands of the communizing colonialism of the Soviet Union.

24. When the turn of President Nasser of the United Arab Republic came, he said:

"Four years ago the African continent witnessed the end of one era of colonialism..." [873rd meeting, para. 120.]

But he is wrong. The era of colonialism will not end until all America is free.

25. The representative of Senegal, whose country has just been admitted to the United Nations, said:

"Once it is recognized that decolonization is the outstanding phenomenon of this century ... we see no reason why the parties involved should not endeavour to give effect to it in the best possible way." [876th meeting, para. 171.]

26. In his first statement, his colleague from the Republic of Mali stated:

"While it is true that Guinea first breached the French colonial structure in September 1958, it was Mali that strongly and patiently attacked the very foundations of that edifice which history had condemned." [Ibid., para. 187.]

27. And I ask: will 1961 or 1962 mark the end of colonialism in America?

28. On 29 September 1960 the representative of Liberia stated:

"Colonialism in any form dies painfully and slowly.... Africa is the last bulwark of such colonialism." [878th meeting, para. 255.]

But I ask: is it true that it is dying painfully? Is Africa the last bulwark of colonialism?

29. Mr. Turbay Ayala, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Colombia, after referring to the Conference of San José, Costa Rica, and its resolute stand against any foreign intervention, said:

"Latin America need have no fear of advanced ideas or of social justice... The time has come for the great social evolution..." [880th meeting, para. 242.]

He is right, but he might have dramatized his argument and described the present age and his own thoughts more explicitly by saying that the hour for the emancipation of the colonial territories has struck.

30. Let me reconstruct the pattern underlying these facts. America is continually defending the rights of other peoples to freedom; it now feels concern for Algeria, as earlier it felt concern for Tunisia, Morocco and other Arab States in Africa. It stretches out the hand of friendship to the peoples of "black" Africa as it did formerly to the peoples of Asia. Although not all the American countries support independence and liberation movements, many give them their support, their votes or at least their approval.

31. I now maintain that the hour has come for liberating the colonies that still remain in our America and I ask: Are we going to have the support of the African-Asian Powers?

32. While in one Committee of this Assembly the representative of Mali speaks of the prisons in Angola and makes a severe attack on the recalcitrant colonialist attitude of Portugal, his colleague from Liberia states that "the tide of African nationalism and the demand of the oppressed countries to stand on their own feet and be masters of their own affairs could no longer be treated as a matter of legal niceties and constitutional subtleties".^{1/} Thus both of them view the problem purely from the African point of view and make no mention of the American situation.

33. The Netherlands, for example, does not say very much about the independence of the Antilles, Aruba, Curaçao or Surinam (Dutch Guiana), which comprise more than 300,000 inhabitants and occupy a total area of 140,000 square kilometres. All these territories are geographically separated from the metropolitan country and are ethnically and culturally distinct from the countries which administer and exploit them.

^{1/} Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifteenth Session, Fourth Committee, 1034th meeting, para. 5.

34. France is still holding on to the islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe, as well as French Guiana, which are inhabited by more than half a million people and cover an area of over 94,000 square kilometres.

35. The United Kingdom is still withholding from us territories which will hardly become American under its influence. This process is being brought about through the West Indies Federation, in which Trinidad, Tobago and Jamaica play a preponderant role. It is nevertheless undeniable that the Federation is moving towards self-government and freedom. We therefore have only to rescue Belize, British Guiana and the Malvinas Islands.

36. Our aim therefore is to relate the problem to our continent, to stress its urgency, to include in it the strong currents of nationalism similar to those which gave rise to our own independence, and to ensure that the tide which washes the coast of Africa may extend to the Antilles, the Caribbean and the South Atlantic, for it is the same sea, though with different names, which unites or separates us.

37. During the general debate it became clear that we had forgotten—an unpardonable oversight—the colonial territories which still remain in America and which altogether cover an area of approximately 2,700,000 square kilometres, with an aggregate population of more than 3,000,000. It seems as though there has been a tacit agreement not even to mention the American colonies. It seems as though those territories have been condemned to remain colonies for ever.

38. My delegation finds the Soviet Union draft declaration [A/4502 and Corr.1] unacceptable and will vote against it. We reserve the right to speak about the African-Asian draft resolution [A/L.323 and Add.1-4] later.

39. The delegation of Honduras considers that the best way of achieving a positive solution to this problem is to set up a commission which should prepare a specific report and make practical recommendations. I therefore formally submit the following draft resolution^{2/} for the consideration of this Assembly:

"The General Assembly,

"Considering that mankind cannot remain indifferent to the fact that some peoples do not yet enjoy self-determination and self-government,

"Considering that the process of emancipation must be hastened so that the said peoples may progress, as rapidly as possible, towards the creation of the political and social leadership necessary to enable them to assume the attributes of governmental authority and to exercise rights and contract obligations as subjects of public law,

"1. Proclaims the elimination of colonialism all over the world;

"2. Decides to appoint a commission consisting of five members (one African, one Latin American, one Asian and two nationals of administering Powers) to visit those colonial possessions which do not yet enjoy independence and to submit recommendations to the General Assembly at its sixteenth session concerning the most appropriate, expeditious and effective means of ensuring the complete

abolition of colonialism throughout the world and enabling all peoples which are still under colonial administration to acquire the status of independent and sovereign States."

40. Mr. RIFA'I (Jordan): At this momentous occasion when the General Assembly discusses the granting of independence to all peoples of the world, the cry for freedom echoes from the conscience of history to urge us all, without distinction, to recognize the freedom and independence of those who live in oppression and deprivation. This voice for freedom comes from the graveyard of the martyrs who sacrificed their souls to save their native land, from the battlefield where the soldier stands in defence of the honour of his nation, from the exile where the patriot is deported from his fatherland, from the shabby tent where the refugee is expelled from his home, from the prison where the hero languishes, and this voice for freedom comes from every man and every woman who is suppressed and denied the right of decent life. Freedom and independence are the basic factors for the progress of man and for the establishment of a life of peace and satisfaction in which all peoples enjoy equality and fraternity.

41. In his vast desert, with no confinements to halt his movement and no horizon to limit his imagination, the Bedouin struck far and deep searching for the truth. He explored the sea and discovered the earth. He observed the stars and examined nature. He then found his way towards eternity. Freedom released him from detention and made him a man of energy and action.

42. It was in the early days of the history of the Arabs that their second Caliph, fourteen hundred years ago, set his everlasting rule, "how can people be enslaved when they were born free?" This spirit of liberation flared up all over the Arab world during the last several decades. National revolutions broke out on every side and in every land, and caravans of martyrs fell in the fields of honour, great in life and glorious in death.

43. The Arabs, like many other nations, paid the price of their independence in full. Their plains and hills are true witnesses of their desperate struggle for independence and freedom. In every spot there is a temple of a martyr and a statue of a hero. Independence to us is the earning of years and the outcome of toil and strife. We culled it from the lion's den, and we marched to it under the shadow of spears. To us it is, therefore, the dearest thing we possess.

44. No nation could carry out its mission in life towards itself or towards mankind unless it were free and unless it stood on equal footing with other nations and shared equal opportunities. How could a nation fulfil its own aspirations and respond to its own wishes if its powers are restrained and its vigour is retarded? Independence is essential for a productive and prosperous life.

45. In the past several years, and particularly during the present year, a number of African States have recovered their full freedom and sovereignty. They are now among us, assuming their international responsibilities in a most impressive and remarkable manner, and are in the front line of the defence of the cause of freedom and peace. Many of them are scoring high in social reforms and economic develop-

^{2/} Subsequently circulated as document A/L.324.

ments. This is a fact which should provide the United Nations with the argument that the remaining inhabitants of Africa who have not yet won their independence should immediately be permitted to follow the procession of their African sovereign brothers. In Africa, along the southern shores of the Arabian peninsula, and in other parts of Asia there are still a considerable number of colonies, Trust Territories, protectorates and so-called overseas provinces. They all look today to the United Nations and wait to hear its pronouncement.

46. Today we are discussing the adoption of a solemn declaration to end colonialism and to grant independence to all colonized peoples of the world without exception. In fact, the continuance of colonialism has no justification whatsoever, for it is an old-fashioned rule representing a reactionary mentality which was applied at a time when the colonizer was assuming the status of the master, and the colonized was kept ignorant of the facts and values of life. Now ignorance of such values has vanished. Now the dignity and pride of nations and individuals reject the idea of a master and a slave. Now people realize that, if colonialism had contributed in certain areas, after generations of captivity, to the progress and benefit of some territories and nations, it has mostly brought misery and hardships to many others.

47. Was the Palestine tragedy not the ugliest example of colonialism? Was it not in flagrant violation of the rules of justice, right and honesty that after thirty years of foreign domination the Arabs of Palestine were left to a fatal end and their native land was usurped? Colonialism in Palestine not only dispersed the rightful inhabitants and shattered the territorial integrity of the country but it also established on the ashes of the victims a foreign State which is the tool of imperialistic aggression, whenever aggression is planned, and the means by which colonialism is being reintroduced in Africa, whenever colonialism creeps back in disguise.

48. Colonialism could have folded its pages in many areas with cheers of farewell rather than with the smoke of guns. Algeria could be spared several tens of thousands of the lives of its inhabitants if France would heed the voice of reason and wisdom. Indeed, the call for ending colonialism and declaring the independence of all nations is not a call of vengeance but rather one of harmony and friendship among peace-loving nations. Amicable relations among nations could only be established by goodwill, mutual confidence and the removal of doubt and suspicion. How pleasant life will be when nations live in real brotherhood; when the strong supports the weak; the wealthy helps the needy; the developed assists the under-developed; and when all such aids are made without conditions or strings attached.

49. The heavy yoke of colonialism has caused the new nationalism to adopt an attitude by which it tries to detach itself from all relationships with the outgoing colonial Powers and by which it refuses any aid which might be construed as a return to the colonial influence. Such a tendency is indeed a natural reaction to the manner in which colonial policies were applied in the colonized territories. Thus, if we all wish to develop among nations, new and old, big and small, a spirit of co-operation and trust, we must begin by persuading the big Powers to abandon the concept of might, superiority and exploitation.

50. To some small States that are needy and under-developed or that have newly acquired their independence, the question of how to maintain and safeguard independence is perhaps as difficult as how to achieve it. Keen on carrying out their responsibilities and meeting the requirements of their nationals, they feel in need of seeking foreign aid. They could receive it from old friends or from new acquaintances, but in both cases they have to make accurate calculations which would not pull them back to the old colonial orbit or drag them into the conflict of the cold war. Under such circumstances, the United Nations could undertake a useful task by extending its assistance to such countries for a transitional period which might be found necessary to enable them to stand on their own feet. It might sometimes happen that the poverty of a country leads it to fall under colonial influence. Yet it has always been a fact that colonialism leads countries under its rule, even if rich, to poverty.

51. It is not sufficient in our present world that we get rid of the colonial system in its military or administrative form. After all, international control and the development of democratic theories have offered adequate guarantees against the old imperialistic methods of military aggression and occupation. But there is a new phase of colonialism which aims at weakening other nations or subduing them through other means. It is economic colonialism by which the natural wealth of a nation becomes the target of exploitation and utilization, and the commodities and products of a country fall at the mercy of foreign economic measures. The abolition of the colonial system must, therefore, be accompanied by the eradication of the colonial mentality; otherwise it will continue to be a serious problem in the world, appearing in various forms and following different channels.

52. The delegation of Jordan, in joining many other delegations in the efforts towards adopting a draft resolution which would declare the end of the colonial system and the granting of independence to all dependent peoples in the world, feels confident that this great achievement will be a corner-stone in the establishment of international peace.

53. The independence and freedom of all will remove international friction and will curb rivalry and competition among strong Powers at the expense of small nations. Independence is a constructive development which will raise the tens of millions of human beings who are living at present in stagnation to a level of productivity and action.

54. My country, the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, believing that independence is a means to the fulfilment of higher aims, endeavours through its independence to achieve the following objectives: first, to utilize its potentialities and develop its natural resources for the well-being of its inhabitants and the betterment of their life; second, to lead a progressive life in the fields of technology, education, agriculture, trade, health, architecture, communications and other spheres, so as to raise the present standard of living; third, to promote in the individual a spirit of self-reliance and self-respect to enable him to be an active, free and responsible citizen; fourth, to build up an organized and enlightened society in which reason is the guide; fifth, to develop our national and political strength by promoting Arab unity and national solidarity; and, sixth, to defend peace in our

region and to establish it on the principles of right and justice, and to this end to make every effort to remove aggression from our area, whether it is in the form of armed invasion, military occupation or foreign domination.

55. It is indeed gratifying to see this rostrum of the General Assembly of the United Nations at its fifteenth session a platform for declaring independence and freedom to all peoples of the world. May we hope that this remarkable new achievement will be a further step towards international brotherhood.

56. Mr. HASAN (Pakistan): The debate in which we are now engaged is one of special significance for our Organization. It takes place in a session which has witnessed the admission of sixteen new African States which were colonies until only the other day.

57. Today we join with them in proclaiming the end of colonialism. To conquer and to be conquered has been the fate of all the nations in history and of almost every people of the world. The advance of mankind has reached a state where this process is considered fundamentally iniquitous because it has brought so much misery to a large part of the human race. Its memory is still bitter.

58. While I listened to impassioned words, words which were intended to open up portals of freedom for humanity still in shackles, I was sometimes left untouched because, as one who has traversed the journey through life perhaps longer than some of these passionate fighters for the rights of men who have spoken during the last few days, I thought of the history of man which teaches us that freedom has never been won with words. If I may be forgiven for being a little personal, I would recall that I have seen fall around me thousands of my countrymen, massacred in a few hours because they assembled to protest against an iniquitous law ordained by foreign rulers. I refer to the historical events which occurred in 1919 and which is known as the massacre of Jallianwala Bagh in Amritsar, which was my own native town. I saw that myself as a very young boy, but its remembrance is indelibly scorched in my memory. But the struggle went on and after an even greater holocaust came freedom.

59. The freedom of Pakistan was the first of the series of emancipations of subjugated peoples in Asia and Africa, a series which continues until today and which we earnestly and passionately desire to continue until the last human being in bondage is free. That freedom hallowed the sacrifices and obliterated their bitterness, and now they brighten our history.

60. Our sacrifices taught us to honour and value our own freedom and the freedom of others, and our record in the United Nations over the thirteen years of our membership will show that we have, without one single exception, been on the side of the weak and the oppressed and we have stood and fought for the freedom of all nations. Our record of voting is open and we are proud of it. We have sought only one consistency in our vote: that it be for the righteous cause of freedom.

61. For us freedom came as the climax of a long and bitter struggle and our dedication to it is as deep as the suffering which preceded it. To preserve it, to preserve every inch of the beloved land which became our home, we consider our most sacred duty,

and that devotion teaches us to honour the freedom and devotion to their homes of the other peoples of the world.

62. Our discussion of colonialism at this session, for which credit must be acknowledged to the Soviet initiative, is significant in that it formally registers the recognition that colonialism, political or economic, benign or oppressive, is an untenable system which history sadly recounts but cannot justify. Colonial empires sprang up through the use of armed might, and as newer and vaster areas of the world were overcome, colonialism procured a rationale for its existence. A concern for the welfare of subject peoples became its justification. Dissolution of the system was resisted on the ground that these subject peoples were not ready for self-government and that therefore they needed the tutelage of superior peoples for their welfare. The time has now come when the truth can be declared definitively, that no nation has a right to govern another, whatever its way of life. The right of subject peoples to shape their own destiny without the protection or intervention of another people is fully acknowledged. There is now no other valid basis on which relations between different peoples can be built. The experience of the last decade and a half has clearly shown that States have made greater and more rapid progress in all fields after their independence than when they lacked the right to govern themselves. Their increased prosperity has also been reflected in the prosperity of their erstwhile rulers.

63. The accession of colonial territories to independence has been hastened by the United Nations. The principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples was incorporated in the Charter with the final liberation of Non-Self-Governing Territories in view. By virtue of the provisions of Chapters XI, XII and XIII, the United Nations assumed the ultimate responsibility of bringing about the attainment of self-government by all colonial peoples. As year after year the United Nations dealt with the question of colonies, trust and mandated territories the demand for independence of their peoples was given forceful expression by the Asian and African countries in our proceedings. But although freedom has come to over two-score countries in the last fifteen years, colonialism has not yet completely liquidated itself. Here and there one still finds its remnants, in one case a remnant that is responsible for much strife and tragedy. We, the Members of the United Nations, must give unreserved support to its utter and unconditional termination. It is simply a question of fulfilling the task we all have undertaken in the United Nations Charter itself.

64. The basis of the United Nations is universality. From this principle it derives its greatest strength. There is an urgent need, therefore, for speed in bringing about the conditions in which all peace-loving States can participate equally in its deliberations. The entry of seventeen States this year has infused into the Organization a new vitality, but we cannot rest until the practice of colonialism is abandoned in those remaining areas where it still survives.

65. We deplore the fact that we should still need to declare that all peoples inhabiting this planet have the inalienable right to freedom and equality. But we also believe that a firm and solemn proclamation

by all of us in the United Nations will quicken the emergence into independence of those territories which are still held in subjection. It will be a moral command which will issue from this Assembly and we trust that it will have the unqualified support of all Members. We fully realize the fact that it must be clothed in such words and form as not to lend itself to doubtful interpretation.

66. The end of colonialism must undoubtedly be sought, but it is not necessary to impart in the debate a wasteful note of recrimination. It is of greater importance to be concerned with the future of the newly independent countries, which must be shaped in accordance with their desires. If there is to be a peaceful and happy accession to freedom by others, germs of unrelated controversy and disputes about past happenings must not be allowed to infect our debates.

67. We have read with great interest the extremely well written draft declaration. One might disagree with many words, phrases and thoughts, but one must admire its literary composition. I am sure humanity itself will be grateful to Mr. Khrushchev and his delegation for their solicitude for the emancipation of mankind.

68. We have been reminded of all the exploitations that we have suffered, all the pains which we have borne, and the heritage of woe which descended from generation to generation. Somehow, it is like reminding a man who has recovered in health after a long illness of the dangers and anxieties that his illness entailed. A friend generally helps him to forget it and think only in gratitude to his God for the restored health and the promise of long life ahead.

69. The declaration seeks to keep alive the remembrance of the evil days of servitude. It has almost been sought to form a union of emancipated slaves. It is for the consideration of this General Assembly and the United Nations whether it is in the interest of the newly freed countries themselves to be made increasingly conscious of racial and colour divisions of the world and for chasms to be created between them and the more advanced countries, on whose help they have to depend so much for their economic and social advancement. In our view we are equal, the big and the small, the white and the coloured. Our worth depends on our pride, our dignity and the faith that we shall not be subjugated again. A shortage of wealth in a country does not make that country less proud or less worthy of devotion. The path of constructive action lies in the establishment, in a sense, of the largest community of interests amongst all peoples. This is essential for a smooth transition in the newly independent countries from dependence to independence, unaffected by the stresses and strains which, unhappily, have marred many transfers of power in recent years.

70. The delegation of Pakistan is privileged to co-sponsor, with thirty-nine other countries—Asian-African States, the draft resolution which has been issued as document A/L.323 and Add.1-4. On the strength of the eloquent statements which we have heard from the representatives of our fellow sponsoring Members, and on the basis of the submissions which I have just made, my delegation ventures to hope that the terms of our draft resolution will find general acceptance in this Assembly. Though we believe that these terms have the force of axiomatic truth, it may not perhaps be entirely superfluous to

draw the attention of those Members who are not included among the sponsors of the draft resolution, to three of its provisions.

71. These three provisions are found in paragraphs 4, 5 and 6 of the declaration. While the other paragraphs state the principles, these three give expression to certain basic imperatives of the world situation today.

72. Paragraph 4 calls for the immediate cessation of all armed action or repressive measures against dependent peoples; paragraph 5 calls for the early transfer of all powers to the peoples of Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories.

73. Lest our fellow Members be inclined to think that, in putting forth these imperatives without clarification, we are becoming oblivious to certain related demands of international security and a stable world order, we would point out the provisions of paragraph 6. This paragraph embodies an important safeguard against any attempt to disrupt the national unity and territorial integrity of a country.

74. In introducing this significant point of balance into the scheme of the whole draft resolution, we have, I believe, made it clear that we do not countenance, and do not intend to countenance, a misuse and perversion of the terms of our draft resolution for any ulterior ends of enlarging the territory of one country at the expense of another. In recommending this draft resolution to those Members who are not joined with us in sponsoring it, we are therefore in a position to extend to them a whole-hearted and unequivocal assurance that our proposed declaration shall not lend itself to be used for the disruptive ends of aggrandizement, of interference in the domestic affairs of other countries, and of generating new and unsuspected conflicts.

75. Our concern is with the ending of crises and conflicts. Our object is not to encourage new threats to world peace.

76. Finally, I submit that as we sit here, attempting to bring about the termination of colonialism, it should be our prayer that we will all remain on guard against all forms of this malaise. One form of it, painfully familiar to us all, will soon be extinct. Other forms of it may erupt in other ways. The most sinister would be one which uses no force, but grows insidiously, which seeks to enslave the hearts and minds of men, seduces them from their traditions and their faith with a philosophy which promises, but never attains full life.

77. Mr. BELAUNDE (Peru) (translated from Spanish): At this time of uncertainty and anxiety through which mankind is passing, one encouraging feature is the irreversible movement towards independence and freedom for all peoples. A compensation for the pains and sacrifices of the recent world wars has been the awakening of a patriotic consciousness in peoples under colonial rule, and the heed given to this consciousness, in many cases, by the great Powers exercising dominion or influence over vast expanses of Africa and Asia.

78. It is not our task now to pass judgement on the phenomenon of the formation of empires, nor on its effects in connexion with what the sociologists call "culture diffusion". Our point of view is determined by the supreme principle of the dignity of the human

person, whether considered individually or collectively, and, consequently, of the right of all men to the outward expressions of freedom, including particularly the freedom to combine or associate in collective entities or nations, which, to achieve their ends, need the legal organism of the sovereign State.

79. We have been rightly reminded of the admirable course followed by the United Kingdom in recognizing the freedom of so many countries and, once their independence was established, in forming links of friendship and co-operation with them, thus working for the strengthening of peace.

80. Ten years ago we welcomed with joy the great Republic of Indonesia after its agreements with the Netherlands. It is appropriate to recall the policy recently followed by France whereby we today enjoy the company of the countries of the French Community, Cyprus, the remarkable meeting-place of so many cultures, attained its independence under an agreement which owes much to the United Nations, and thus that independence is a symbol of the efficacy of international co-operation. Belgium decided to grant independence to the Congo, and that country, now a Member of our Organization, is seeking the assistance which will enable it to strengthen its institutions.

81. The old bond of the imperium must be succeeded today by a broad and free co-operation, based on friendship, as President Wilson wished it, in terms of equality and in terms of honour.

82. The movement of liberation which we are witnessing today is no more than a continuation of the revolution which took place in our continent in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The freeing of the peoples of America sowed the seeds, lit the way and provided a model for similar movements in territories of Africa, Asia and Oceania, the seats of ancient civilizations which preceded and influenced Western culture. The ideal expressed with unsurpassable eloquence by our liberators was that our revolution should spread throughout the world in order to bring about, in association with all free peoples, "a federation governed by a code of laws of universal value and based on the principle of absolute equality, without distinctions as to colour or race". I quote these words from that remarkable document—an intimate document of Bolívar's dated 20 February 1826—which was discovered by the Liberator's great biographer, Vicente Lecuna.

83. As far as we Ibero-Americans are concerned, the principles of self-determination which I have recalled were in conformity with the Hispanic juridical tradition in its highest expression. The European countries, and principally Spain and Portugal, adhered to the philosophy which bases the State not on power, as unfortunately was the case in the nineteenth century, but rather on justice. The Spanish "behetrías" and "cabildos" and the Hispano-American or Ibero-American "cabildos" which were their counterpart, were considered the depositories of a sovereignty which, in the event of not being exercised by the monarch, was completely invested in them. The discovery of America determined the concepts of Francisco de Vitoria, who, confronted by the tremendous reality of the empire of Charles V, unreservedly proclaimed the obligation to respect not only individual freedom and property but also the governments of indigenous peoples. Francisco Suárez, the doctor

admirabilis to whom all Europe listened with respect, based the notion of sovereignty on the consent of the governed, and his teaching was in conformity with the ideas of modern political science, greatly surpassing the endeavours of other writers of his time. Thus it was that in the American revolution the vital force of our own self-assertion as nations was united with the spiritual values which we inherited from Spain and Portugal and which gave the revolution a high moral significance and an irrefutable legal foundation.

84. The draft resolution submitted by the African-Asian countries [A/L.323 and Add.1-4], which we are discussing at this time, represents the culmination of this historic evolution, the first signs of which appeared in the Covenant of the League of Nations, but which was emphatically affirmed for the first time in the San Francisco Charter. What we call the spirit of San Francisco had two elements: peace through justice, and the proclamation of the freedom of all men and all peoples. The authority exercised by some nations over territories which were not materially or culturally a part of those nations was not regarded as a privilege, but as a responsibility and a sacred duty to pursue the specific and unwavering objective of preparing those territories for independence. The sponsors of this draft resolution did well to include in its preamble quotations from the Charter by which we are governed, and they did even better by making a reference to the close link between individual freedom and effective national sovereignty. They have also clearly pointed out that the submission or subjugation of some peoples by others—whatever the form and whatever the pretext—involves a danger to peace among mankind today.

85. It might be said that the draft resolution generally follows the spirit and the letter of the Charter and responds to a desire for greater speed in the achievement of its aims than we contemplated fifteen years ago in the hopeful days of San Francisco. This desire for a higher rate of progress is explained by the fact that the rhythm of human progress as a whole has accelerated since that time while, in tragic contrast, there has also been a rapid growth in the causes of conflict, dissatisfaction and discord, with the accompanying danger of a war of universal destruction.

86. The proclamation of the freedom of all peoples cannot and must not in any way be individualistic, incoherent or isolated, but must be characterized by deep solidarity, cohesion and co-operation. Freedom can only be maintained by love and understanding and can never be based on narrow, rigid concepts or on chauvinistic exclusiveness. It must likewise not be an expression of the natural regionalism which has its roots in geography, history or a culture of long standing but which opposes or ignores the universal feeling of our time. The free peoples must, not only as the result of natural forces but also as a guarantee of their existence, move within an ever widening circle of solidarity. While freedom implies the voluntary choice of ways of life and culture, the association which in many cases is still encouraged by the old form of life in common should not leave a bitter residue of uselessly retrospective rancour and resentment. Spinoza said that only he who is inspired by love can fight for freedom. The struggle that has led to national sovereignty was not born of hatred, but of the ideals of creation and co-operation. Nations which have achieved liberty require, like individuals, an atmosphere of

respect, friendship and disinterested help. We trust that the advent of freedom in Africa and Asia will assume the same noble and generous forms as in our own America. In the words of Bolívar, we achieved liberty against the will of the whole world, but yet we have forgotten the obstacles and the struggles, and our countries have offered shelter to all the peoples of the earth. We have diligently sought the friendship and co-operation of those who were our former but noble enemies, our unconvinced allies, or indifferent spectators. This attitude led to the linking of America to the rest of the world. We can thus proudly stress the universal character of our revolution, and we are sure that the same feelings animate the peoples of the African and Asian countries.

87. There is a further reason why this should be so. At the time when we achieved independence, there was no political institution which could claim to represent the whole of mankind. Slowly and painfully we raised—first in Panama, then in the Lima Conferences and finally in the Pan American Conferences—the edifices of our organization, the oldest and most complete of the regional bodies. The nations of Africa and Asia have attained independent life under the protective and watchful eyes of the United Nations. Jealously guarding the principles of the Charter, the United Nations has ensured that the provisions relating to self-government were fulfilled, and when these nations acceded to independence, the United Nations hastened to welcome them joyfully into its midst. Setting aside political debates, forgetting for a moment the problems of armaments, silencing tragic fears, this Organization offered economic and technical assistance to the full extent of its resources in order to prepare and maintain the independence of those nations. The ideal

of peace carried with it another ideal: the possibility of investing, for the improvement of standards of living, the funds which could be saved by reducing armaments.

88. I am convinced that the nations which have recently attained independence will see in the United Nations an institution destined to ensure their liberty and guarantee their progress.

89. The great hope for the peace of the world—and I say this with the deepest conviction of my soul—is that the present Members of the United Nations, and those which tomorrow may become Members, should be inspired by a single ideal and should remain faithful, absolutely faithful, to the principles of the Charter without any affiliation, alliance or alignment which is incompatible with the principles of law and co-operation enshrined in our Charter, and that with stern and unswerving dignity they should defend themselves against all extraneous influence and against all political intrigue which, by reducing and suppressing their personality, might turn them into pawns of the cold war. We trust that they will unanimously defend and strictly apply the principles of the Charter with enthusiasm and with a miraculous spiritual force. The future of the United Nations—and I say this to all friendly nations, including those that will be with us tomorrow—is dependent upon the close union of all of you, great and small, and on your efforts to create an atmosphere which will make co-operation imperative and inevitable for all, both great and small, both strong and weak, in upholding our ideals of justice and peace.

The meeting rose at 12.30 p.m.

United Nations
**GENERAL
ASSEMBLY**

FIFTEENTH SESSION
Official Records



62
**931st
PLENARY MEETING**

Thursday, 1 December 1960,
at 8.30 p.m.

NEW YORK

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

AGENDA ITEM 87

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

*In the absence of the President, Mr. Hasan (Paki-
stan), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

1. The PRESIDENT: I will give the floor to the representative of Netherlands, exercising his right of reply.
2. Mr. EINAAR (Netherlands): This morning [930th meeting] the representative of Honduras mentioned a number of territories in the region of Latin America which were still colonial possessions of other countries. Among those territories still having a colonial status he included "Aruba, Curaçao and Surinam".
3. The reason why I have asked for the floor is merely to point out to the representative of Honduras that the inclusion must have been due to a slip of the tongue, no doubt unintentional.
4. Under the Charter of the Kingdom of the Netherlands of 1954 the three parts of the realm, that is, the Netherlands, Surinam and the Netherlands Antilles, have, of their free will, established a new constitutional order of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, in which the three countries henceforth form a free association of completely equal partners, and in which they conduct their internal interests autonomously, their common interests on a basis of equality, and accord each other reciprocal assistance.
5. Since 29 December 1954—the date on which this jointly drafted and agreed Charter entered into force—colonialism in any form whatsoever in Surinam and the Netherlands Antilles has been a thing of the past.
6. The General Assembly has recognized this by adopting resolution 945 (X) of 15 December 1955 by which the cessation of the transmission of information under Article 73 e of the United Nations Charter in respect of Surinam and the Netherlands Antilles by the Government of the Netherlands was approved.
7. I trust that the representative will accept this correction and will understand that we in Surinam and the Antilles are proud of our full self-government and cannot accept being called colonies.
8. Mr. AW (Mali) (translated from French): In taking part in the present debate on the end of colonialism—the first such debate in the General Assembly in the

annals of the United Nations—the delegation of the Republic of Mali does not intend simply to take part in the trial and conviction of the system known by the name of colonialism. My delegation and the other co-sponsors of draft resolution A/L.323 and Add.1-4 who preceded me on the rostrum are hoping for more and are asking for more, because they consider that colonialism has already been judged. We hope that, by adopting unanimously the draft resolution we are submitting, the General Assembly will express to the whole world its determination to make an end at last of dying colonialism, although certain ill-intentioned hypocrites would like to make us sorry for it by reiterating—without conviction, I must say—that colonialism has not had an entirely bad effect on the peoples under its domination, since there were schools and hospitals built, roads laid out, etc.

9. Before replying to such hypocritical remarks, I should like to pay a tribute to the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, who asked the President to submit to the General Assembly for consideration the item which we are discussing, entitled: "Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples" [A/4501]. This proposal, which was received with well-deserved enthusiasm, is now the subject of our debate, and my delegation is convinced that the United Nations will not fail to seize this opportunity of accomplishing its mission of justice, freedom and peace in what is a particularly sensitive area, involving as it does the fate of tens of millions of human beings exploited in the name of an outdated paternalism for which no one would wish to be responsible before history.

10. Whether the colonialist countries accept or refuse to co-operate conscientiously in the great and noble work which we are undertaking is for them to decide; but let the representatives of those countries not appear here as wolves in sheep's clothing, protesting their innocence of all the sins of which they are accused and trying to divert our just complaints to the shifting sands of the cold war. Let them not tell us that by shooting peaceful and defenceless crowds they are contributing to their well-being, that by torturing patriots they are educating the people, or that by compelling women, children and old men to do forced labour they are raising the level of living. Let those who are trying to salve their conscience and conceal their crimes not tell us: "Before we came to those territories, there was nothing there." How wrong that is! There was nothing there—but before the advent of the colonialists there was independence, and independence means freedom. Is there anything in the world more precious to a people than freedom?

11. When General de Gaulle, in his vexation, told the people of Guinea in August 1958, "You want independence? Well, take it, with all its disadvantages", you will remember President Sékou Touré's retort: "We will take independence with its advantages!"

12. Who can fail to be aware today that the myth of the good Christian leaving his home to bring civilization to the Buddhists of Asia or the pagans of Africa and Oceania is now a matter for ridicule? Who would venture to deny that the general laws of human evolution would, by means of free and friendly exchanges, have allowed the colonial peoples to become happy and prosperous nations had not the colonialists appropriated their wealth, thus denying them all possibility of harmonious development? No enumeration of schools or hospitals built can conceal the dreadful truth of the crime against humanity perpetrated by the bearers of this sacrosanct civilization of theirs.

13. The point is not that colonization may have brought some degree of literacy to the children of the exploited countries or that it brought railways and roads; the point is whether a farmer who calls a veterinarian to care for his sick cow does so for humane reasons or simply to preserve his source of income.

14. Colonization was imposed by force or treachery on peoples which had their own civilization and asked nothing of anyone. Listen to the message dispatched in 1895 by an African emperor, the Moro Naba of Ouagadougou in Upper Volta, to Captain Destenaves who had been sent to him by the French Government to conclude a treaty:

"A long time ago I consulted the omens and they told me that if I saw a white man I would die. I know that the white men want to make me die so as to take my country; yet you assert that they want to help me organize my country. But I think my country is fine as it is. I have no need of them; I know what I need and what I want; I have my traders, so count yourself lucky that I do not have your head cut off. Go, then, and above all never come back."

15. That is clear enough. What, then, was the reason for colonization? There is no more authoritative voice to explain that than Georges Hardy, who wrote in his *Histoire sociale de la colonisation française*:

"For the statesmen of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, in France and elsewhere, colonization was merely business, a mercantile enterprise, an element in the great maritime trade."^{1/}

And Georges Hardy continues:

"There is nothing by which the mainsprings of that colonization are more clearly revealed than the economic system which was imposed upon the colonies and which is known as the colonial system or, more specifically, the exclusive system.

"Each trading company, in compensation for its responsibilities, was granted certain privileges, e.g., sovereign prerogatives in the occupied territories and various exemptions and subsidies. Its main advantage, however, was the monopoly of trade in the areas forming its domain. The inhabitants were obliged to sell their produce to it and to buy from it the goods which they needed; all other trade was excluded from that private preserve.

"This system was of course aimed against foreigners, but it was at the same time designed to prevent possible competition between the colonies and the metropolitan country. Already present in

outline when the first colonies were founded, it took on under Colbert, who was particularly concerned about the shortage of money, the character of an established policy and, despite some modifications, persisted until the revolution. The various regulations to which it gives rise can be summed up in the following general statements: . . . colonial produce exists to supply the French consumer, and only French goods have access to the colonial market. Industries may be established in the colonies only if they do not duplicate French industries. Maritime transport between France and its colonies is permitted only under the French flag."^{2/}

16. This, as described by Mr. Georges Hardy, whom no one could suspect of having subversive or Communist ideas, is the economic system, misleadingly called the "colonial compact", which is the basis and essence of colonization.

17. The truth, however, is sometimes ugly, and the colonialists have had their experts in falsification and cynicism to present the great colonial epic through rose-coloured spectacles, depicting it as a philanthropic enterprise and a disinterested work of pacification and civilization.

18. Aimé Césaire, in the colourful style that is his own, has written as follows in his famous treatise colonialism:

"Colonization and civilization?"

"The most common misfortune in this connexion is to be, in all good faith, the dupe of a collective hypocrisy which is expert in presenting the problems in a misleading way so as better to justify the odious solutions which are provided for them.

"This amounts to saying that the essential thing here is to see clearly, to think clearly—that is to say, dangerously—and to reply clearly to the innocent original question: what in essence, is colonization? To do this is to concede that it is not the preaching of the Gospel, nor a philanthropic enterprise nor a desire to push back the frontiers of ignorance, disease and tyranny, nor the expansion of the kingdom of God, nor the extension of law. It is rather to acknowledge once for all, without fear of the consequences, that the decisive motive here is that of the adventurer and the pirate, the wholesale grocer and the shipowner, the gold seeker and the merchant, of greed and force, and that lurking evilly behind them, is the shadow of a form of civilization which, at a given moment in its history, feels an inner compulsion to extend on a world scale the competition of its antagonistic economic systems.

"Continuing my analysis, I find that the hypocrisy is of recent date, for neither Cortez discovering Mexico from the top of the great Teocalli, nor Pizarro before Cuzco (and still less Marco Polo before Cambaluc) claimed to be the harbingers of a superior system. They killed; they pillaged; they had helmets, lances and covetous instincts; but the loud-mouthed talkers came later. The chief culprit here is sanctimonious Christianity, because it formulated the false equation that Christianity is identical with civilization, and paganism with savagery, so that the inevitable result was the hideousness of

^{1/} Georges Hardy, *Histoire sociale de la colonisation française* (Paris, Editions Larose, 1953), p. 13.

^{2/} *Ibid.*, pp. 14-15.

colonialism and racism, and the victims were the red, the yellow and the black races."^{3/}

19. I have taken the liberty of quoting this remarkable passage, the relevance of which I am sure will escape no one. Aimé Césaire concludes with these words:

"I acknowledge, of course, that it is good for different civilizations to be brought into contact with each other and that the marriage of different worlds is to be commended, for whatever the inner genius of a civilization, it inevitably loses its vigour if it withdraws into itself. I agree that international trade is like oxygen, that Europe's great opportunity lay in having been the crossroads, the geometric locus of all the ideas, the receptacle of all the philosophies and the home of all noble feelings, and that this has made it the best possible redistributor of energy.

"But having said this, I must then ask whether colonization really brought people into contact or, if you prefer, whether it was the best possible way of establishing contact.

"My answer is no, and I say that there is an infinite distance between colonization and civilization. I say that all the vast numbers of colonial expeditions, all the collections of colonial statutes and all the ministerial circulars which have been issued have not succeeded in producing a single human value."^{4/}

20. These words of Aimé Césaire are clear and precise; they seem to us to constitute an extremely sound argument and lead us naturally on to put another question. Is decolonization historically possible? This neologism certainly conceals a dangerous vagueness. The dizzying series of countries which became independent in 1960 has marked that year in the history of mankind and proves to us, if any proof were needed, that it is impossible to speak of progressive evolution when we see events unfolding at such a rate, for the fact is that there are no immature peoples incapable of governing themselves freely. Of course there are bad governments, but it must be admitted that they are to be found everywhere and at all levels.

21. Between Bandung and today, it seems as if several centuries have passed, so far-reaching are the upheavals which are everywhere shaking the edifice of colonialism to its foundations.

22. Fifteen years have passed since San Francisco. Those who, only five years ago, called countries of Asia and Africa their possessions, no longer deny that a people cannot be a possession. The analogy between a colonial subject and a slave has become obvious. If I am not mistaken, it was President Franklin D. Roosevelt who said that future generations would one day ask how it was that slavery had been abolished and yet, so long afterwards, the colonial system of relations between States was still accepted.

23. What was a slave? A human being bought in the market or a prisoner brought back from the battlefield after victory; a human being treated as a personal possession.

24. What is a colonized person? It should be pointed out that he does not exist as an individual phenomenon; individual persons or small groups are not objects of colonization. Colonization is the occupation of a whole

country and the subjugation of an entire people. Like the slave, the colonized person obeys the wishes of his master, the colonizer, who treats him as a personal possession.

25. There can be no doubt about the immoral character of colonial rule, which it must be admitted in no way differs from slavery. Consequently all of us here are now unanimous in our condemnation of colonialism, but there does not seem to be the same unanimity when it comes to taking action. Who is it that disrupts this unanimity on the immediate liquidation of colonialism? It is of course the countries which still possess colonies. Their favourite argument is the gradual advancement of the colonial countries, and they base this argument on their experience as predestined metropolitan countries, particularly well versed in the problem of the advancement of colonies.

26. They like to tell us: we know from experience that by speeding up matters we would be doing these countries a disservice; and they add: look at the example of the former Belgian Congo—it could so easily happen to anyone. I should like to tell the proponents of that kind of argument that they have been overtaken by events.

27. The United Nations is no longer an assembly where, on the one hand, there are countries which can lay claim to long experience as expert colonizers and, on the other, countries which have no colonies and whose praiseworthy intentions concerning oppressed peoples are quickly denounced as demagogic manoeuvres. There are now other voices in the United Nations which can give irrefutable and impressive evidence on the subject of colonialism. There are now in the United Nations the representatives of peoples whose bodies and whose human dignity have suffered under colonialism. It is usually said that every generation feels that it is at a turning point in history. Present generations in dependent and colonial countries are undoubtedly at a turning point in their history, in fact at a turning point in all history. The delegations which speak in this Assembly of their colonial experience or proclaim the benefits of colonization can unfortunately only speak of the empire of their fathers' day; they speak of it as a heritage.

28. If their countries were colonized at some time in history, they know it only from history books. Therein lies the fundamental difference between those delegations and ours, who have personal experience of colonial rule. Our knowledge is not based on hearsay or on what we learnt in school; we were for decades the living embodiment of that system. Ours was a generation which, on coming of age, did not have the right to vote in its own country.

29. May we remind certain delegations that henceforth we, the peoples who were once colonized and dependent, but who are now peoples in our own right, are ready to give super-abundant testimony against the perpetuation of colonialism on any pretext whatsoever.

30. When we hear such commonplace arguments as those which reduce the positive accomplishments of colonialism to the presence of a few good speakers from the newly independent countries, this does not trouble us. On the contrary, we think it proves that the apologists of colonialism have no other arguments left. Perhaps we shall disillusion some delegations when we say that most of the advanced elements in the newly independent countries were not trained under

^{3/} Aimé Césaire, *Discours sur le colonialisme* (Paris, Présence Africaine, 1955), pp. 8-10.

^{4/} *Ibid.*, pp. 10-11.

normal conditions by colonial Powers; most of them were subjected to a special kind of education which opened no horizons and which imbued them with the cult and the superiority of the metropolitan country, while emphasizing their own congenital incapacity. Many of the advanced elements of today reached adolescence at school without having had any opportunity of learning that there were other countries in the world besides the metropolitan country, which was always described as a magnanimous saviour.

31. If these advanced elements have now shown themselves able to face their responsibilities, this should not be regarded as evidence of the colonial Power's intention to lead the dependent peoples towards their maturity, in accordance with the spirit of the United Nations Charter. On the contrary, the successes—which in our opinion are unfortunately too few—should be regarded as proof that no system of education, however severe, can destroy the qualities of a people determined to become free.

32. Our present experience in Africa shows, in any case, how fast the wheel of history can turn, making the astonished colonial Powers giddy, since they cannot understand that they have no choice but to accept the loss of their paradise, a paradise which was a hell for the millions of human beings who for too long had been reduced to the level of beasts of burden in the name of an imaginary racial superiority. Like Mr. Jean Bruhat, we pity the writers of geography textbooks who, he says,

"are hastily making and remaking maps of the Africa of 1956, which had six independent States, as against twenty-six in 1960. No sooner are these States 'set up' (to use the accepted form of words) than their institutions must be transformed."

33. And whenever the colonialists throw off some ballast, they hope to keep the main cargo, for we should never forget that they never lightly give up the exploitation of the countries they dominate.

34. We know that two Powers have thought that they could shelter themselves from the irresistible wind of independence blowing through the continent of Africa by inventing the legal artifice of overseas provinces in order thus to draw a modest veil over the frantic colonialism which they practise in their colonies. We are very pleased by the decision of the Fourth Committee of the United Nations General Assembly,^{5/} which has just levelled this last rampart by voting, by a commendable majority, for a draft resolution declaring that the so-called overseas provinces are simply colonies and should be considered such from now on.

35. The process of liberation has begun and cannot be turned back. In the words of Abraham Lincoln:

"It is true that you may fool all the people some of the time; you can even fool some of the people all the time; but you can't fool all of the people all the time."

36. We should like to tell the die-hard colonialists that the critical point in the liberation of the peoples under foreign domination was passed in 1960. The awakening is now universal, and all attempts to integrate the inhabitants of colonies with the nationals of

metropolitan countries will be in vain. It must be realized, moreover, that the metropolitan country is never sincere in its desire for integration; integration always creates insoluble problems for the metropolitan country, and is directly against its interests, which are based essentially on defrauding those whose rights are ostensibly being restored.

37. Neither the balm of an illusory assimilation, as in Angola, nor organized subversion, as in the Congo, nor open war, as in Algeria, can save colonialism, for its doom has irrevocably been sealed. We repeat that the process is historic and irreversible, and we maintain that it is independent of the colonial Power's will. Let us remember this.

38. In the London Guildhall on 10 November 1942, Sir Winston Churchill said this of the colonies:

"We mean to hold our own. I have not become the King's Prime Minister in order to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire."

39. We should also remember the famous Brazzaville Conference, which, according to the Gaullists, was a liberal achievement of decolonization. This Conference began its recommendations with these words:

"The purposes of the work of civilization which France has carried out in its colonies rule out any idea of autonomy and any possibility of development outside the French bloc of the Empire. Possible self-government in the colonies, even in the distant future—mark this, even in the distant future—is out of the question."

40. Nor should we forget that the French Prime Minister said on 9 June 1960 in the French National Assembly: "We intend to protect our country's political interests, its strategic interests, its intellectual influence and its economic opportunities."

41. Nothing could be clearer. The exploiters of the colonial countries intend to give the colonial peoples with one hand only what they can take away with the other, since Africa produces, for example, 38.4 per cent of the world's diamonds, 66.4 per cent of its cobalt, 45 per cent of its gold, 35 per cent of its phosphates, 29 per cent of its manganese and nearly 25 per cent of its copper, apart from natural reserves of lead, zinc, bauxite, iron and radio-active minerals. The continent of Africa is also the world's largest producer of cocoa, ground-nuts and palm oil.

42. Should we conclude from all this that any independence which is granted is necessarily a false independence that is to be despised? We do not think so, because we are convinced that whenever a colonial people gains a fragment of freedom, it owes it above all to a certain awakening of its masses. Another reason why we do not think so is that we know that whenever a colonial people achieves some form of self-determination, this victory inevitably gives it another opportunity to win a greater victory over the forces of foreign domination.

43. General de Gaulle has understood this very well as he desperately clings to an "Algerian Algeria" while refusing to allow the Algerian people to speak for itself under United Nations control. We would be willing to wager that France, in its obstinate attempt to stifle the will of the proud and brave people of Algeria, will soon awake to the dazzling realities of a radiant Algeria, which will have burst its chains and

^{5/} See Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifteenth Session, Fourth Committee, 1048th meeting.

laid down its arms at the feet of the United Nations, to hear the voice of its people in their new-found confidence.

44. Meanwhile, let us act in such a way that those who are not yet fighting to seize their freedom may be grateful to the United Nations for sparing them from a useless and unjust war. Is that not the first duty of a world-embracing organization that issued from the victory of peace-loving and freedom-loving peoples over the forces of Nazism and Fascism?

45. My delegation hopes that the Assembly will unanimously adopt all draft resolutions giving concrete form to the complete liquidation of colonialism which may be submitted to it. The Assembly must do this, not only because such an attitude is in keeping with the spirit of the Charter, but in particular because it would be the most effective possible contribution to the maintenance of world peace. As long as the United Nations recognizes that some people have the right to control other people, there will be the prospect of conflicts, which at any moment might break out in some corner of Africa, Asia or America and, in view of the present world political situation, lead to a large-scale conflagration.

46. The Assembly should not postpone its decision on the pretext that a State should reach a certain stage of development before being given control of its own affairs. Although it is easy to speak of the principle of a minimum level of development, we do not see how such a level could be defined nor how the criteria for setting time limits could be fixed. We see what Belgium did in the Congo in eighty years; we see what has been done in the other parts of the world in several centuries. When, moreover, we hear references being made to a level, we remember that the Nazi régime of Hitler regarded the countries of Europe as unfit to govern themselves. Everything, of course, is relative.

47. The right of peoples to self-determination is based, above all, on respect for human dignity, which must come before all other considerations. In the name of this sacred principle, my delegation has co-sponsored draft resolution A/L.323 and Add.1-4 and is ready to support any other efforts to speed the movement for the liberation of all peoples under foreign domination and to promote the unconditional granting of independence to all colonial and dependent countries.

48. Mr. DOSUMU-JOHNSON (Liberia): At the outset of my statement, I wish to express my delegation's great satisfaction at the trend of the world attitude towards this most debased political conception which is known as colonialism, and at the fact that we have wisely decided to discuss its complete eradication at this time. By this awareness, the United Nations is set to remove one of the greatest risks and dangers to world peace, and consequently to remove all obstacles between nations. The possession and non-possession of colonies and raw materials have been one of the chief sources of international conflict among the Western Powers, and definitely the cause of the two world wars. The theory of the "haves" and the "have nots" has its origin in colonial reflection and had always engendered jealousy and hatred among industrially developed States. The elimination of colonialism is therefore a contribution to the peace and prosperity of mankind.

49. My contemporaries in African nationalist movements, no matter how divergent our interpretations of present trends may be, will agree with me that World War II was a critical turning-point in modern colonial history. It put an end to complacency towards colonial political, economic and cultural aspirations. It marked the beginning of the positive liquidation of colonial empires, and the recognition of nationalist leaders not as hot-heads and ambitious radicals, but as men of sincere dedication to the cause of their people, entitled to the respect and recognition of the world.

50. But it would be fallacious to conclude that the profound changes now taking place in the interest of subject peoples are manifestly the result of our individual or even collective efforts. To my rather naive mind, looking back over the road we have travelled since 1919 when we organized the National Congress of British West Africa, with a secretariat in the then Gold Coast, and the Congress of the African Peoples of the World here in the United States, and viewing the speed with which things are happening in the colonial world of these days, I am inclined to conclude that some supernatural force, which we call God and others call Allah, is responsible for it all. Some may not agree with me, but this is my belief. We, the agitators, were only instruments in God's hands; and no ingenious manipulation of words from quarters however exalted will shift me one inch from the bed-rock of my confidence in God as the arbiter of human events. How else can you account for great colonial Powers giving up the bread-baskets of their colonial territories without a fight, if God's hand is not in it? I put my faith in God—this not as a set doctrine of belief, but as a tendency towards action, the matrix of a formulated creed and an inspiration to endeavour. Fear not, take courage; thy great sorrows are carved in marble and they will not be inscribed there in vain.

51. This, however, does not imply quiescence or passive gradualism. It does not mean that we should relax our efforts. It means that Heaven helps those who help themselves, and that that God who made possible the independent Ghana, Nigeria, Congo (Leopoldville) and, soon, Sierra Leone, and all the former French colonies now members of the French Community, will soon—possibly in a few years hence—make all Africa free, so that even South Africa and Algeria, I dare say, will be ruled by Africans.

52. My friends tell me that as I become older I become conservative. Nothing could be further from the truth. The simple fact is that my utterances are now governed by circumstances and time. While in the past I agitated with pugnacity, venom and emotion, now I endeavour to deliberate with logic, patience and intellect to achieve the same end. Life is a dynamic equilibrium.

53. Inherent in the Atlantic Charter is the principle of self-determination for all peoples. This principle was, at the formation of the United Nations, embodied in Article 73 of its Charter which I quote in extenso:

[The speaker read the text of Article 73 of the Charter of the United Nations.]

54. This article of the Charter is the basis of the declaration which the African-Asian members of this Assembly have submitted for the unqualified approval of the Assembly.

55. Colonialism has been the subject of much literature of description, analysis and dogma. Its origin is

found in that pathological political attitude which predicated national greatness and prestige on overseas possessions. The subject of our declaration is to the effect that domination of any nation over another is a travesty of human justice; that it is always a source of conflict and, in this age of modern communication and rabid nationalism, can more easily than in the past provoke an international crisis. Any attempt to condone or uphold or support any form of colonialism is, to say the least, immoral.

56. The essence of colonialism is domination of one nation over one or several others. It may take several forms, such as conquest, outright purchase, extra-territoriality or economic condominium. Whatever aspect it assumes, in essence it is a group of persons coming from another land and imposing its will and pleasure on the original inhabitants without regard to their elementary interests, and they are invariably reduced to the position of hewers of wood and drawers of water, forever consigned to providing for the colonizers the prerequisites of a refined and cultured life, while they themselves are prevented by their poverty and ignorance from any share or part in that life.

57. Colonial empires have been built on the sweat and wretchedness of the aborigines. The great explorers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, in their search for adventure, knowledge, glory for their kings, riches for themselves and their friends under the guise of the so-called civilizing mission, exploited, ravaged and pillaged colonial peoples and territories, leaving many of them homeless and debauched. Their complex of superiority left the aborigines no right which the colonizers were bound to respect. The atrocities and deprivations that accompanied colonialism are too sordid for recital here. Suffice it to say that it was a black era for Asia and Africa.

58. With the advent and growth of modern capitalism with its concomitant of commercial and trade expansion, remote areas were penetrated with the protection of Governments. Reluctant mandarins in China were subdued by foreign warships. The East European armies moved against the Emir of Bokhara.

59. Seized by so-called national needs and strategic interests, the British and French became involved in North America and India; Russia and Japan in Manchuria and Korea; Britain, France, Spain, Portugal, the Netherlands, Belgium, Italy and Germany were all involved in Asia and Africa, each netting as part of its booty colonial land areas several times larger than its size. The colonial mentality continued to be so strong an instrument of national policy that the Third Reich planned to turn Poland and Russia into vast colonies to be peopled by foreign farmers who would be served by the slave labour of the population that remained unexterminated.

60. This is among the compelling reasons why this Assembly should take positive steps to remove all traces of colonialism from the face of the earth. To this end my delegation is committed.

61. Here I would like to interpose that we note with satisfaction that the Spanish Government has agreed to review its position and to submit reports on its colonies to the United Nations periodically.

62. Despite the fact that colonialism has been a major topic in all African and Asian conferences of recent

years—Bandung, Accra, Monrovia, Addis Ababa and elsewhere—we have never asked for the final ending of it in the United Nations. We must, therefore, appreciate the Soviet Union's action in placing this question on the agenda of the United Nations.

63. If the British and French were the only colonizing Powers in the world today, our argument would have been very much weakened by recent trends in their colonial policies. Although we are not in complete agreement with them on Algeria, Kenya and the Federation of Rhodesia, we are comforted by their willingness to co-operate, as they are setting their colonies free. They have perhaps learnt that they have more to gain by setting their colonies free and retaining their friendship than by forcing them to war; and the sooner they do this for the remaining colonies the better it will be for them.

64. However, there are die-hards, such as Portugal and Spain, which seek to make Africa a part of Europe. The Portuguese and Spanish colonies are the most deplorable and inhuman in the colonial history of these times, although they have been longer in the colonial field than any other European nations.

65. The Africans in Mozambique—5,780,000—and Angola—4,145,000—live under a dictatorship of the cruelest kind. I was not told this; I went there. All the fancy talk of equal rights and no colour bar, and that colonies are an integral part of Portugal, is a fraud and an insult to the conscience of mankind, because these are benefits designed for civilized persons, and under Portuguese practice few Africans qualify as such. The Africans in these territories live in abject poverty. Forced labour is practised on them, as they are always handed over to employers if they fail to pay the poll-tax. They are not even permitted to drive taxis, as such employment is reserved for Portuguese. Strangers are not permitted to talk to Africans in these two countries unless in the Portuguese language. This is official policy. Bissau and São Tomé are even worse than these. This Assembly must take positive measures to relieve the plight of the Africans in Spanish Fernando Po and the Portuguese colonies, and in the former British colony of South Africa. South Africa was a British colony, and in the transfer of power Britain should have protected the African population. Consequently, it shares responsibility for the plight of the African in the Union of South Africa.

66. Uganda, Kenya, the Central Federation of Rhodesia, South West Africa, Bechuanaland, Basutoland and a few others here and there on the colonial list cry out for independence. They are exposed to a colour bar and other inhuman treatment. Although there are hopeful signs, these are too small. The only remedy open to the Africans is complete political independence as a means of raising themselves from the degrading position of an incarnate Lazarus feeding on the crumbs of alien taxmasters to the posture of equality and human dignity which is their rightful heritage.

67. It is needless to compile statistics to prove the immorality of colonialism. It is a system that takes the manhood out of those exposed to it. It robs the people of their resources and gives them nothing comparable in return.

68. Viewing it in the light of the declaration which my delegation has co-sponsored with alacrity, let us examine this baneful system with regard to its political, economic and cultural implications and, where

possible, disprove all pretexts for delaying independence.

69. Contrary to the belief often entertained by people whose education just suffices to elevate them from the status of boors, the Africans, prior to the advent of European traders in Africa, had a well-ordered and highly developed system of family life, community development, education for boys and girls, arts and health.

70. The heart of African society, since before the European invasion, has been the family. A broad view is taken of family relationship and responsibility. It is composed of every link in the family chain. Marriage is the business of the whole group. The cultural pristine value of the community and the chieftaincy will be attested to by all those who have observed it with unbiased minds, whether they be missionaries, anthropologists or sociologists. Because the African believes in the continuity of family and community, he does his level best to instil in his children the things for which the family and the community stand. The educational processes were by observation, involvement and formal learning. Notwithstanding all its aspects, this culture was ridiculed and the social system ignored or disrespected.

71. To say that the African had no government and that it took the Europeans to introduce political system in Africa is to make a statement without foundation in fact. When God divided the world, He gave a portion each to Shem, Ham and Japheth. Ham took Africa as his portion. With his sons, Cush, Phut and Mizraim, the government of Africa began and later gave rise to the empires of Sokoto, Gando, Kano, Conghoi and the various dynasties of Egypt. When European colonization of Africa began under the intrepid mariners of Prince Henry in the fifteenth century, Africans on the Atlantic shores were in trade contact with Mediterranean traders since as far back as 600 B.C. and were enjoying the benefits of a cultural evolution with its seat in the Nile, Tigris and Euphrates rivers. The claim that they came to protect us is balderdash, for when enemies really came we were usually left to our own fate.

72. Many of the things you hear about today, such as diseases, curable and incurable, did not begin to afflict the African until the invasion of alien forces, which ravaged and pillaged the homes of Africans and in some instances sold them into slavery. Being forced to do things against their will and to work for masters instead of for themselves was too bitter a pill to swallow. Death or indolence or shiftlessness was resorted to as a way of life. Freedom and democracy, the keystone of English liberty and the watchword of Europe, was never exported to the colonial territories. A strange form of freedom was inaugurated in dealing with Asians and Africans.

73. Colonialism in any shape or form is bad. It brought to Asia and Africa a great deal of evil which was encouraged in some instances by the colonizing Powers. Interested in the wealth that they could find to enrich the coffers of merchant princes in Europe, pirates and adventurers like Drake, Frobisher and Hawkins burnt down African towns and villages and sold their inhabitants into slavery. In many places the Africans were only beasts of burden. This is what Kipling's white man's burden did for Africa. We should thank God for the mosquitoes in West Africa.

74. Within forty years Africa's 11,545,000 square miles, with the exception of the areas occupied by sovereign Liberia and Ethiopia, were staked out among the great Powers, with unhappy consequences for the inhabitants. Despite the lofty humanitarian principles which were echoed in the platforms of Europe, the practices of these early colonizers were neither lofty nor humane. If you look at the treaties with their X's as symbols of acceptance by unlettered chieftains, you cannot but be convinced of the varying degrees of deception employed to induce Africans to sign papers they did not understand. If I do not understand these treaties today, you can imagine how much less they understood them then.

75. In some instances political affairs were left to private companies and individuals who were willing to condone the treatment of the African, which was not in harmony with their protestations of concern for his life and liberty. Some of the methods used to recruit labour and to keep it were the same as those employed by the slave driver, and resistance by the conscript met with counter-measures of the most brutal sort.

76. If we are anxious to have a declaration on colonialism in the face of the kaleidoscopic changes taking place in Africa today, it is because consistency is not a part of the vocabulary in colonial circles. The stream of colonial policy has many tributaries which are sensitive to changes in the intellectual climate of the home country.

77. The argument that the colonies are not yet prepared for independence is untenable. They said that about all the colonies that have attained independence. No amount of political tutelage can give a people the real robustness that independence supplies. Go there today and see what Africans have done for themselves since independence. The Africans managed their own affairs before the colonial era; I have no doubt that they can manage them today with the United Nations as their guide.

78. It would be a travesty on the principles of the purest justice if I failed to express my indebtedness to Western missions which set me and many others on the road to modern political practice, yes, my indebtedness to Western science and medicine, engineering, welfare, administration and other modern paraphernalia. But these cannot be substituted for the independence of my brethren who are systematically deprived of the right to speak and move about with the dignity that characterizes manhood.

79. All that the Africans—East, West, North or South—are asking the colonial and administering Powers and the great democratic nations is that they accord the colonies political independence so that they may develop better houses, better food, a higher standard of living generally; a vigorous national economy; a stable society with its concomitants of schools, colleges, welfare centres, hospitals, disciplined army and police, civil and political liberty.

80. People in territories under colonial domination desire a better life. It is not necessary for their children to be damned to come into the world with disease or for them themselves to be subject all their lives to its debilitating and incapacitating effects.

81. It is peculiarly obtuse for any Member of the United Nations to claim any section of Africa as part of his metropolitan territory, as is also the assertion

recently made by a certain European Head of State, that in discussing Africa the United Nations is meddling in the domestic affairs of his country. This is an outmoded subterfuge. Any inhuman practice perpetrated on subject peoples, every colonial question in any part of the world, is within the competence of the United Nations, and it is so understood.

82. The year 1960 should be made complete in its claim as the "African Year" by the adoption of this declaration as a charter of freedom for the remaining colonial territories from exploitation and servitude, and thus make them beneficiaries of the fundamental human rights which the United Nations assures to all peoples.

83. Prepared or unprepared, experience has taught us that they will develop faster under a government of their own choosing.

84. The PRESIDENT: Before I call on the next speaker, I should like to draw the attention of the Assembly to document A/L.323/Add.5, which informs us that Gabon and the Philippines have been added to the list of sponsors of the draft resolution.

85. Mr. TOURA GABA (Chad) (translated from French): The delegation of Chad has listened with clearly understandable interest to the speakers who have preceded it to this rostrum. Indeed, of all the discussions in which it has had the honour to take part, my delegation considers the one in which we are engaged today as being by far the most important because it has a direct bearing on both the present and the future. Colonialism is not a stranger to the ills from which our unfortunate planet suffers.

86. My delegation would in this connexion like to address itself particularly to the delegations of those nations which still have political and economic responsibilities overseas.

87. For reasons which are well known, this debate concerns them as deeply, if not more deeply, than it concerns us, the representatives of the young nations that have co-sponsored the draft declaration on the end of colonialism which will be proposed, towards the end of our discussion, for the acceptance of this Assembly.

88. Since they boast of a Christian civilization which is built, so we are taught, on charity, justice, love for one's neighbour and other such principles, the representatives of the nations indicted in the declaration will undoubtedly find themselves on the horns of a dilemma and, as so many of their co-religionists, the victims of severe attacks of conscience. They certainly know the consequences, happy or disastrous as the case may be, of the vote they will cast at the end of this debate. Never has a vote had so much importance for the whole of the world, and for the white race in particular, paralysed as it is by its deep-rooted instinct of self-preservation. Never, owing to a handful of backward-looking people who obstinately cling to the last vestiges of an irretrievable past, has Christianity, of which the white race is apparently so proud, been in so great danger in the dependent countries. Never have other religions known such popularity in these colonies.

89. My delegation would like to hope that the colonialist nations will, this year, make a magnanimous gesture. They cannot show themselves inferior to those nations which have voluntarily recognized the necessity of liberating their colonies.

90. No one hesitates to proclaim from the roof-tops that he is free and democratic. But can a free and democratic person oppress other men? It is unthinkable to refuse to others what one demands for oneself.

91. Are not the flags and anthems of the colonialist countries themselves a sign of their great love for independence? The need to be free and independent is inherent in the human person. It would therefore be criminal, futile and against the will of God to refuse on any ground whatever to give full and total independence to an individual, and even more to a people, that demands it.

92. My delegation would further like to hope that the colonialist nations, which for well-known reasons have spread progressive ideas throughout the world, will not reverse themselves here; they must not fail to be logical with themselves. Hence my delegation directs a pressing appeal to them to unite their efforts with ours so that we may build a new world from which slavery will be banished and where justice, equality, brotherhood and harmony at last will reign.

93. In order to rouse its people to the struggle for national independence, one of the older republics which sits among us here reinvigorated the religion of its ancestors. Though clothing it in Christian rites, it drew Jesus Christ and his faithful apostles in its own image, excluding Judas of course. These people proudly tell us that without this metamorphosis they would never have succeeded in driving the invader from their country. If the colonialists continue to reason as their ancestors did, and like them allow themselves to be overtaken by the times, we fear that this phenomenon will recur on a large and devastating scale. It will carry everything before it, and nothing which recalls colonialism will remain.

94. Let us see to it together that, for the good of mankind, this calamity, which in poetical language has been described as a return to the well-springs of humanity, does not come about.

95. This sombre prospect gives singular importance to the debate which you, Mr. President, are directing with your customary competence and distinction. Would it be asking too much to beg you to use your influence so that those whom the colonial Powers heed might make an extra effort to bring about the freeing of colonies which all the peoples of the world so ardently desire? Our Assembly, the reflection of these peoples who thirst for justice and deeply believe in the necessity for peaceful coexistence, could not fail to be grateful to you.

96. The African continent is shaped somewhat like a question-mark, but also somewhat like a pistol pointed, as if by chance, at the Union of South Africa. It is for the colonial Powers to see to it that the continent is not transformed into a real pistol, but remains a peaceful question-mark. To do this the colonial Powers must henceforth show that they can respond in time to the questions put to them. This is vital to the interests of peace and friendship among peoples.

97. Africa does not bear malice or seek revenge; it is not racist and has no special dislike for foreigners. All races live there together, all opinions are freely expressed, except of course in the territories which are still under the colonial yoke. Africa also knows how to forget. The proof of this is in the young nations where the indigenous people and colonizers live and work together in friendship and dignity.

98. The draft resolution which is before you in document A/L.323 and Add.1-5 comes from most, if not all, of the formerly colonized nations. It is the expression of those who know the colonial régime better than anyone else and who can assess its advantages and disadvantages in a true perspective. The domination of one people by another, a condition contrary to fundamental human rights and to the Charter of the United Nations, is something that is known to all people. But henceforth colonialism is condemned, and its perpetuation is recognized to be a clear threat to international peace and security.

99. All peoples have the right of self-determination; no political, economic or social pretext may be used to deprive them of this right. We address a pressing appeal to all the great nations to put an end to all armed action and all other repressive measures directed against the still dependent peoples that peacefully claim their independence. Such is the spirit of our draft resolution.

100. Our continent knows its origins and its potentialities; it knows its value both for the present and

for the future. Thus, when Africa and its sister continent Asia have occasion to speak of other continents, they sometimes wear the tender smile of an indulgent mother.

101. Africa cannot therefore ignore or dispense with the other continents. Perhaps more than them it needs outside assistance to develop its fabulous latent riches. It cannot, in the interdependent world of today, set itself apart or withdraw into itself. As in the past it wants to be both donor and recipient of everything that enriches and does honour to our common heritage: civilization.

102. The time has come when Africa as a whole must occupy the select place it deserves in the family of sovereign nations. Its intentions are pure, and, as in the past, it is worthy of confidence.

103. I shall conclude by renewing my appeal to the colonial Powers to join disinterestedly with us so that the breadth of the historic vote we shall take will not be lessened by a discordant note.

The meeting rose at 10.20 p.m.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

FIFTEENTH SESSION

Official Records



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932nd
PLENARY MEETING

Friday, 2 December 1960,
at 10.30 a.m.

NEW YORK

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

AGENDA ITEM 87

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

1. Mr. SHANAHAN (New Zealand): Since the founding of the United Nations a large part of its work has been directed to improving the position of peoples who could not play a full part, as adult members, in the government of the society to which they belonged. This work has not been confined to the application of the provisions of the Charter relating to Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories: it has found expression also in the steps taken by the United Nations to fulfil its declared purpose of promoting respect for human rights and freedoms for all, without distinctions of any kind.
2. The tree of freedom and independence is firmly rooted in the Charter; and, at this session of the General Assembly, we have witnessed its finest flowering. At this moment, when seventeen newly independent countries have so recently been admitted to membership, it is natural that we should turn our attention to the distance still to go, before the task can be completed. That is the reason why the concept of a draft declaration finds such a ready response in this Assembly.
3. The very essence of this project is a belief in the individual worth and dignity of all human beings—a belief which allows of no distinction on grounds of race, of colour or of nationality, and which cannot be fully vindicated as long as one people exercises any form of hegemony over another. My delegation can subscribe whole-heartedly—and without any reservation or qualification—to a reaffirmation of this belief. The people of New Zealand are as eager as those of any other country to see a world of independent nations working together for the common good of mankind, freed from the evils of racial discrimination and from all forms of domination and oppression.
4. Let me say at once that my delegation does not equate those evils with the term "colonialism". It would be no service to the ideals of this Organization to find a catch-phrase for all the shortcomings of the social order in national societies. When the existence of colonialism is openly recognized, as merely a passing phase in the development of a particular territory, it should not be used as a term of disparagement.

That is the position in the cases of the Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories whose peoples are admitted to be within the scope of the relevant chapters of the United Nations Charter.

5. It is a fact worth recalling that the States which have borne the heaviest responsibilities for the administration of Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories were among the founding Members of this Organization, and that they freely and voluntarily assumed the obligations which the Charter created. Their record of performance is symbolized by the presence among us of the representatives of many new States, which have been brought to independence by the United Kingdom, France and other countries. In this process, the influence and moral authority of the United Nations have played their own unique part; but that in turn was made possible because the administering Powers joined with other independent States in framing and subscribing to the provisions of the Charter itself.

6. Any declaration which the Assembly adopts must build on these foundations. In placing on record a solemn expression of our aspirations for all peoples who do not have a full measure of freedom, we must not—as the Soviet Union and its supporters would have us do—ignore or belittle the honest efforts and substantial progress which have been made. Our solicitude must extend to all the peoples whose actual state of independence and subordination is not avowed.

7. In particular, the Assembly's attention should not be confined to the Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories which already come under the scrutiny of the appropriate organs of the United Nations. We must take into account other and truly sinister forms of colonialism—sinister because there are no pledges to end them, no endeavours to redress wrongs actively perpetrated in our own times, in defiance of Charter obligations and in full awareness of the human suffering and degradation they have caused.

8. My delegation has welcomed the initiative taken by the African and Asian States which have put forward a draft declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples [A/L.323 and Add.1-5]. This proposal must be regarded as a continuation of the work begun when the Charter marked out the path towards the goal of universal independence. We would readily agree that to place any obstacles in this path would be wholly at variance with the letter and the spirit of the Charter.

9. Yet the Charter itself recognizes that every people and territory which travels this path must set a pace in keeping with its capabilities. That is why the detailed provisions governing Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories left room for a flexible approach capable of being adjusted to the circumstances of each territory. This flexible approach was necessary only because the immediate grant of self-government or independence would in most cases have been detri-

mental to the real interests of the territory concerned. Many of the sponsors of the draft declaration have first-hand experience of the provisions of Chapters XI and XII of the Charter and how they have worked out in practice. We have not heard any suggestion that when these provisions are fully acknowledged and implemented by the administering Power concerned they operate in any way to the detriment of a Trust or Non-Self-Governing Territory or to delay its independence unreasonably.

10. New Zealand also is in a position to judge for itself the efficacy of the Trusteeship System. There is no doubt that its application to Western Samoa, for example, has substantially hastened the day, now arrived, when the people of Western Samoa feel able and ready to become independent. This is not because in the absence of a trusteeship agreement New Zealand would have wished or would have been able to refuse demands for independence. It is simply that the standards set by the Assembly and by the Trusteeship Council and their careful appraisal of progress have encouraged the growth of political institutions, the development of economic and technical resources and the training of a nucleus of officials, teachers and experts. The existence of this basic equipment is the prerequisite for an independence having any reality or stability. When the Prime Minister of Western Samoa comes here next week to ask this Assembly to set in train the termination of the Trusteeship Agreement, I do not think we shall hear him say—as has been said from this rostrum in the course of this session—that the Trusteeship System has not justified itself anywhere and should be buried.

11. I repeat that we are building on the Charter, and that its detailed provisions have already proved their worth in securing—at a much faster rate than many would have thought possible—the independence of a large number of Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories. This is the reality we need to bear in mind, if we are to make an honest assessment of the value and purposes of a new declaration. Such a document must deal in generalities. It cannot provide a rule of thumb which offers any automatic solution of remaining colonial problems; for, as the Charter recognizes, each case is governed by its own particular circumstances. The test is always that of determining what will best suit the interests of the peoples—of all the peoples—whose destiny is at stake.

12. It is in this light that my delegation judges the draft declaration submitted to us by the African and Asian States. What is here contemplated is not a treaty instrument, every stipulation of which would have to be minutely weighed by each country that contemplated adherence—and, indeed, it would seem to us almost impossible for such an instrument to improve upon the tried and tested provisions of the Charter. Rather it is the object of a declaration to capture and reflect faithfully ideals and principles which are of universal application.

13. A declaration such as that now proposed by the forty-two countries which have joined as co-sponsors [A/L.323 and Add.1-5] would be in the best United Nations tradition if it placed on record an optimum standard of attainment in the work of bringing to an end all forms of colonialism at the earliest possible date. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights is the great example of a statement of principle so generally recognized and so widely supported that it in-

vokes the whole moral authority of the United Nations. To command the same universal respect, a declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples must come up to the same standards of objective validity and reflect the same positive approach. To take its place among the great documents of the United Nations, it must also be scrupulously fair and must not attribute to administering Powers motives and intentions which are the antithesis of their settled policies and the results they have already achieved.

14. We have no doubt that the intentions of the authors of the present draft are in keeping with those aims. It is certainly a praiseworthy objective to try to secure full acceptance and implementation by all States of their Charter obligations, and also to speed up—as much as is consistent with good sense and practical possibilities—the processes leading to independence for all peoples in the form which they themselves have chosen as best suited to their needs.

15. At a session of the Assembly which has been so deeply concerned with the tragic events in the Congo, we must be aware of the difficulties and complexities in bringing a territory to independence. Under the Charter an obligation to prepare dependent peoples for independence is imposed on the administering Power. It is therefore necessary to avoid any expression of principle which may weaken the force of this obligation or cast doubt upon the need for its fulfilment.

16. It may be that in some cases the work of preparing for independence should have begun earlier or have been carried on more quickly—though under the spur of the Charter our conceptions have changed in these last changing years. It is proper to ensure that all administering Powers are aware of their responsibilities and are taking steps to discharge them. But it will serve no one, least of all the peoples of the territory concerned, if the task still to be completed is simply abandoned.

17. We were all impressed when the leader of one of the great African nations admitted to membership this year paid a tribute to the work which the former Administering Authority had put into preparing his country for independence. Let us be honest enough to acknowledge freely the need for this preparation, to recognize that in most cases it is being carried on at an ever increasing rate, with an integrity of purpose and an unsurpassed devotion.

18. For all these reasons my delegation hopes that the sponsors will be willing to consider rephrasing some parts of their draft. In some cases, what is implicit could be made explicit. Understandably, many of the sponsors were preoccupied with the remaining large dependent territories in Africa. There is, however, a need to make sure that the rights of people subject to other forms of colonialism are equally protected, and that the different needs of smaller territories in regions other than Africa are not overlooked.

19. In relation to operative paragraph 5, there can be no reason for not giving express recognition to the acknowledged principle that, when the time comes, the people of these small territories may well choose a form of independence which does not involve their separate existence as a sovereign State. We also think it would be possible to bring out more clearly in this paragraph that the duty of administering Powers is to

set in train immediately the processes which will enable their territories to achieve independence in an orderly manner at the earliest possible date.

20. We also feel that the seventh paragraph of the preamble does not take sufficient account of the many ways in which the more developed countries are sharing their resources with the less developed countries, whether or not they have yet attained independence. From what I have already said, it will be clear that we consider that the ninth paragraph of the preamble would be more happily expressed if it did not imply that colonialism was the source of segregation and discrimination.

21. The draft as a whole should, we think, reflect the fact that most of the administering Powers are already fully committed to the policy of permitting the peoples of their territories freely to determine their own future. In those circumstances it is wrong to imply in operative paragraph 4 that all armed action is necessarily directed toward preventing dependent peoples from exercising this free choice and obtaining its realization. Surely it would be desirable to make it clear that the uses of force which are legitimate in any State are not precluded. For example, the representative of Burma mentioned yesterday [930th meeting] that in order to prevent crime the police might need to use force.

22. Finally, the text should establish beyond doubt that we are concerned not only with the peoples of Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories but with all peoples who do not at present enjoy an effective independence or full freedoms.

23. I mention the desirability of these clarifications because the New Zealand delegation is eager to give its whole-hearted support to a declaration which would testify not only to the uncompromising stand of the United Nations against the continuation of colonialism in any form but also to its ability to recognize good as well as to condemn evil and to face and to grapple with the very real practical problems which must be overcome before all territories and peoples can be truly free and independent.

24. Mr. MENEMENCIOGLU (Turkey): The Turkish delegation considers the discussion on the declaration concerning the independence of colonial countries and peoples as one of the most important tasks which has been taken up by the Assembly during recent years. We share the views expressed by many speakers who have preceded us to the effect that this debate may elucidate a number of important problems and may contribute to formulating certain fundamental principles of the utmost significance for the nations of the world.

25. The subject under consideration includes such high aspirations as "freedom", "self-determination", "independence" and "territorial integrity". These are high ideals which are dear to the people of my country. Indeed, in their history, both old and new, the Turkish people have given ample proof of the value which they attach to these high principles. Sometimes, under adverse conditions, our people have found themselves in the necessity of defending these principles single-handed and at the cost of great sacrifice. In consequence, like many other delegations, we are mindful of the need to give to this debate serious, objective and constructive attention. There should be no doubt that my delegation cannot participate in any attempt

which might be made to deviate this important discussion towards purposes which are foreign to the high principles involved.

26. As we take up this discussion at the present session of the General Assembly, one aspect of this particular gathering is predominant in our minds: the fact that there are so many newly independent States sitting with us in this hall on the basis of equality and bringing their own valuable contributions in this debate which deals with a matter of such vital importance. Some time ago it would have been difficult even to imagine such rapid progress along the path of freedom and independence. This reality is in itself a most significant proof of the fact that the movement towards freedom is irreversible and will remain as the dominant characteristic trend of this century.

27. Another happy trend is constituted by the fact that the evolutionary processes which are culminating in a movement of emancipation over a large part of the world are commonly upheld by the majority of people in all the continents. Consequently, we can see today that the attainment of freedom and independence through evolutionary processes and without hideous bloodshed is gradually becoming the general rule instead of the exception, though, as we all know, quite a number of tragic cases in the opposite direction have existed in recent years and some continue to exist.

28. My own country has had its bitter share of war and bloodshed and devastation in the past. Therefore, we know what it is for a young nation to lose the cream of its youth and to have its resources laid waste. We also know that freedom and independence are to be treasured above everything else. But, as we have witnessed during the last decades, these high ideals have been attained and continue to be attained in certain parts of the world through evolutionary processes. We are of the opinion that, wherever such peaceful transitions may be attained, they should be considered as occasions for particular rejoicing.

29. As we take up this discussion today, these two important facts which I have mentioned show clearly that there exists agreement in large areas of the world over ultimate aims and ideals on the subject under consideration. It is, therefore, an occasion of profound satisfaction for my delegation to co-sponsor a draft declaration in defence of the ideals of freedom and independence, while we are conscious of the fact that today such a declaration cannot be construed as being against anybody, any country or any group of countries. This declaration aims at giving a forceful and epoch-making expression to a set of basic ideas which are deeply rooted among all the peoples of the world. We are confident that these ideals will continue to wield great influence wherever the cause of freedom and independence may be in jeopardy in the future.

30. The draft declaration co-sponsored by over forty countries [A/L.323 and Add.1-5] is aimed at extending freedom and independence to such dependent territories as have not yet attained these attributes. While formulating the conditions under which these territories may enjoy the fruits of their emancipation, it was inevitable and logical that we should try to extend to them all the basic prerequisites of freedom and independence which are cherished by our own peoples.

31. Consequently, the text before us makes reference to such high aspirations as freedom, self-determina-

tion, independence, territorial integrity and racial equality. These are lofty ideals which should be cherished by all countries old and new.

32. The incorporation of these principles in the draft declaration should serve to remind all countries which have newly attained freedom and independence, and all others which will soon follow, to be forever vigilant so as to preserve their freedom and independence in the face of whatever danger they may encounter in the future.

33. The attainment of independence is certainly not an end but a beginning. This was proclaimed with great insistence by Kemal Ataturk, the founder of modern Turkey. The legacy which he has left to the young generations of our country and which has had a profound influence in great areas of the world points to a two-fold purpose: first, to preserve at all cost the freedom, independence and territorial integrity of the country which have been obtained through great sacrifice; and second, to concentrate all efforts for accelerated development in the economic, social, cultural and political fields, not only with the aim of integrating our country with the most advanced conceptions of modern civilization, but also because such development constitutes, in the long run, the only true guarantee for preserving intact the fruits of freedom and independence which are cherished above all by my countrymen.

34. This legacy of our great founder, Kemal Ataturk, together with his motto, "Peace in the motherland and peace in the world", continue to be the solid cornerstones of our political conceptions in Turkey.

35. The Turkish Republic, which was founded some forty years ago on these convictions and which has evolved its policy in the same direction ever since, is particularly happy to collaborate with so many new Members of the United Nations for the solid entrenchment of these ideals in wide areas of the world. The fact that so many other countries will soon attain independence, and that they will soon join us here to make their own valuable contribution to the cause of peace and universal brotherhood in our Organization, is a matter which gives us further cause for satisfaction.

36. As co-sponsors of the draft declaration, we do not advance the pretension that this text in itself has formulated a new conception of human relations. We have attempted to bring together and to crystallize the fundamental ideals of our times in connexion with colonialism in all its forms and manifestations. In so doing, this text in its essence elucidates a basic movement which, having started with some political philosophers in France, the United States and England nearly two centuries ago, has evolved to constitute an outstanding universal trend of the present period.

37. The co-sponsors of this draft declaration have had a constructive and practical aim in mind. As I have said before, we do not construe this text as being directed against anybody; neither is it our intention to hamper any efforts now being made in many territories for a peaceful and orderly transition to independence with the co-operation of all concerned.

38. My delegation is aware that in certain cases the necessity of harmonizing the interests of the peoples who should be the rightful masters of the newly established States has made it imperative to have preparatory consultations in order to arrive at a mutually acceptable constitutional formula upon which

a stable and peaceful national existence could be based. This has been the case in certain federative States and in others which were previously faced by similar problems. We have among us today as Members of the United Nations some outstanding examples of successful solutions which have been found to such problems through the constructive efforts of all concerned. Such constitutional and practical achievements of many nations and peoples represented here, as well as the determined efforts which they have made in order to reach these happy results, can undoubtedly serve as valuable examples wherever similar problems may arise. An atmosphere of union and harmony has always been of the utmost importance for newly-established States in allowing them to concentrate all their efforts towards economic, social, cultural and political advancement, which is the only guarantee of their survival as truly free and independent nations.

39. The draft declaration before us proclaims the end of an era and the beginning of a new one. No one can contest the validity of this claim. What is important today is that all our efforts should be united to make this end speedy and unconditional. There is no better way of serving the cause of international peace and understanding, which are the essence of our Charter, than to accelerate all efforts aimed at securing freedom and independence to the dependent peoples who ardently desire these attributes.

40. At the same time, the draft declaration sets forth certain prerequisites for the full and continued enjoyment of freedom and independence. Therefore, the principles embodied in the draft declaration also recommend themselves as elements which will serve the cause of peace, which is a common aim of the peoples of the world.

41. In conclusion, I wish to state once again that my delegation considers this debate as one of utmost importance. We are aware that the subject-matter deals with problems which are of vital significance at the present time. We have been conscious of the heavy responsibility which weighs upon us, as upon every other delegation in this Assembly, in trying to make a contribution both in this debate and in the preparation of the draft declaration. In making our modest contribution, we have served the ideals in which we strongly believe, while at the same time trying to achieve these ends through harmony instead of discord. We hope that these discussions may bring about such harmony of views and that the principles embodied in the draft declaration may be proclaimed to all the world in a manner which will leave no doubt as to their momentous significance.

42. Mr. MEZINCESCU (Romania) (translated from French): The Romanian delegation attaches particular importance to this debate on the abolition of the colonial régime, an item which was placed on the agenda of the fifteenth session of the General Assembly at the request of the Government of the Soviet Union [A/4501].

43. The achievement of the fundamental aims of the United Nations is inconceivable without the abolition of the colonial régime. The colonial wars and repressive military operations against the patriotic national-liberation movements, which have hardly ceased since the end of the Second World War, are a denial of the principles of the Charter and a permanent threat to international peace and security.

44. At a time when the colonial régime is still depriving more than one hundred million people of their freedom and national independence, how is it possible to speak of friendly relations among nations, "based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples", to quote the terms of Article 1, paragraph 2, of the Charter?

45. As the Head of the Romanian delegation, Mr. Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, stated in the course of the general debate:

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

46. Only the permanent abolition of the colonial régime and of all vestiges of colonialism can satisfy the legitimate desire of the colonial peoples for freedom and national independence, and satisfy progressive public opinion throughout the world, which is demanding that this disgrace to humanity be removed from our planet once and for all.

47. The position taken by States on the abolition of the colonial régime in all its forms and the immediate granting of independence to the colonial peoples is a test of their loyalty to the principles of the United Nations Charter.

48. All those who sincerely adhere to the principles of freedom and of the right of peoples to use the resources of their country for their own benefit cannot fail to support the immediate granting of complete independence to all the colonial countries, to all the Trust Territories and other Non-Self-Governing Territories, and the abolition of the leasing of property and whole areas in the territory of other States.

49. A categorical "yes" by States to the concrete and practical proposal for the immediate abolition of the colonial régime places them on the side of the forces of progress and peace. A negative or evasive reply places them on the side of the forces of reaction and aggression.

50. This is not a case of "psychological terrorism". The laws of historical development of human society create situations in which equivocation is no longer possible, however subtle the masters of that school of thought may be.

51. The force of the liberation and national independence movement, and the irresistible tide of opinion in favour of the abolition of the colonial régime place the colonial Powers and their representatives in this debate in an unenviable position. On no other question is Western diplomacy obliged to conceal more effectively the difference between what it practices and what it preaches.

52. It is admittedly extremely difficult for the colonial masters to reject directly and categorically, in the name of "Western freedom" and the "free world", freedom and independence for over one hundred million people who are still subjected to colonial slavery; it

is equally difficult for them to give a categorically affirmative reply to this question: the tiger does not turn vegetarian just because his prey becomes scarce and elusive.

53. This is why, since the opening of this discussion, we have witnessed the efforts of certain delegations to avoid replying by a categorical yes or no to these questions, and the efforts of other delegations to eulogize the "civilizing mission", the "generosity" and the "magnanimity" of the colonial oppressors.

54. The most authoritative representatives of the peoples who have regained their independence as a result of the collapse of the former colonial empires have already given caustic but dignified replies to the apologists for slavery and colonial exploitation. It is not gratitude towards the former colonialist rulers that they have expressed from this rostrum, but scorn and condemnation of colonial oppression and exploitation.

55. I have only a few remarks to add to what has already been said. We must make no mistake about the motives of colonialism, the reasons for its collapse and the conditions which must be established if it is not to recur in a new form.

56. As regards the "generosity" and the "civilizing mission" of colonialism, I think that Africa—and, at this session of the United Nations, is this not the year of Africa?—is the continent which, better than any other part of the world, reveals the true value of the "generosity" and the "civilizing mission" of the colonialists. From whatever angle we consider the matter and whatever our standard of comparison, Africa is the most backward region of the world with respect to per caput national income, level of industrial development, education, public health and medical assistance. Is this backwardness due to a lack of natural resources, particular climatic conditions, or the inability of its peoples to develop the natural resources of their countries? Certainly not. Africa has the bulk of the capitalist world's reserves of gold, diamonds, uranium, chromium, stibnite and phosphorites, with 60 per cent of its manganese, 48 per cent of its copper, 47 per cent of its bauxite, 40 per cent of its hydro-electric resources, etc. The recent discoveries of petroleum and natural gas in the Sahara are opening new development prospects for Africa and prove that the full extent of its natural resources has still to be explored. In addition, there are the very rich and varied agricultural crops of Africa which, while they may not provide the world with its daily bread, do add a certain spice to it in the form of delicious fruits, dishes and drinks. It is not the natural conditions or the incapacity of the population which have prevented the development of the African soil and sub-soil for the welfare of the peoples of Africa. It is the seizure of these resources and the exploitation of the African peoples by foreign monopolies which are the cause of the poverty and sufferings of the African peoples.

57. It is with African labour, the cheapest in the world, and under African conditions that the Western monopolies are making record profits, recovering their capital investments in only three or four years, or even sooner. The current profits of the Rhodesian Selection Trust group, controlled by the New York Company, American Metal, amount to double the wages of the 39,000 miners which this group employs. The Anglo-American group, with its Chairman Harry Op-

penheimer, whose empire extends from Lake Victoria to the Cape, last year made profits which alone amount to three and a half times the total sum which the United States Government considers necessary for the programme of economic development in Africa. This shows very clearly where the material means to cure Africa of the after-effects of colonialism should be sought.

58. As a further example to add to those already given by other speakers, I shall quote the following lines published in the May 1960 issue of the magazine Fortune. Speaking of the Western Deep Levels gold mine, in the Transvaal, the author of an article in defence of the millionaire Harry Oppenheimer and the Anglo-American group wrote:

"For seven and a half hours a day, since drilling first started in 1945, native miners have been digging out the shafts of the new mine in this watery hell amidst the deafening roar of pneumatic drills..."

59. By 1964 they will be down to the deep reefs at 10,000 feet. Then Western Deep Levels of the Transvaal will be the richest gold mine in the world. In its expected lifetime it will produce more than \$2,200 million worth of gold at today's prices. When the mine is finally in operation, Anglo-American will have spent more than \$84 million—mark the difference!—under the ground and also above it for the plants to turn ore into ingots, for the construction of compounds for native workers—note this well!—and for modern housing for white employees. How kind, how magnanimous and generous! No usurers, however hard-hearted, could fail to be enraptured by such remunerative "generosity".

60. As other speakers before me have shown, it is in fact not a question of generosity or of a civilizing mission, but simply one of plunder and exploitation carried to extremes.

61. If the colonialist Powers are now forced to seek new methods and tactics to ensure the continued flow of profits from the colonial countries, this is due to the pressure of the powerful movement for liberation and national independence among the colonial peoples. The colonialists are obliged, by the force of events, to recognize that when they obstinately cling to extreme forms of colonial oppression—as is the case in Algeria, Kenya and Rhodesia—they risk losing everything.

62. This was frankly admitted by the American ideologists of neo-colonialism, Strausz-Hupé and Hazard, who wrote in their book The Idea of Colonialism: "...the right course for the West is not to retreat or 'get out', but to find acceptable solutions in order to stay"^{1/}—in the colonies, it is understood.

63. When the colonialist Powers claim that a particular territory is not yet ready for self-government, it can be stated, without fear of contradiction, that it is precisely the question of the "succession" that they have failed to solve. This excuse for delaying the granting of freedom and independence to the colonial peoples has been made several times during this debate. But those who wish to use this excuse to involve the solution to the colonial problem in a vicious circle have avoided saying who has prevented and is

still preventing the colonial peoples from preparing themselves for self-government.

64. To admit that after decades—and in some cases centuries—of the "civilizing mission" of the colonialist countries, the peoples concerned are not yet ready to govern themselves, is tantamount to admitting not only the failure of the colonialist "civilizing mission", but also the falsity of any claims based upon it.

65. Dr. Banda, the leader of the national liberation movement in Nyasaland, rightly pointed out that to make the granting of independence contingent upon the degree of preparation of the indigenous inhabitants was equivalent "to asking tennis players first to take part in the Wimbledon Tournament and then to learn to hold a racket".

66. It is the struggle against oppression and colonial exploitation which has been and still is the hard training ground for the "cadres" through which the colonial peoples would be able to govern themselves. This struggle is going on wherever colonies still exist. This training ground has produced remarkable politicians, who have not only proved to be skilled leaders of their peoples but have also gained considerable international authority, such as Nehru, Sukarno, Nkrumah, Sékou Touré, Ferhat Abbas and many others. It is in the prisons, in the concentration camps or in exile that the "cadres" through which the colonial peoples will be able to govern themselves must be sought. It is in the colonialist prisons that are to be found leaders of the vast national liberation movements, such as Kenyatta in Kenya, Rukeba in Ruanda, Mohammed Ben Bella and other leaders of the Algerian people's struggle for national liberation and, according to the latest news, Lumumba in the Congo.

67. Without ignoring past or present difficulties, it is clear that the immediate granting of independence to the colonial peoples is the surest and most rapid means of maturing and training "cadres" in all fields. The example of the States which have become truly independent is most edifying in this regard.

68. My delegation would like to draw the Assembly's attention to the importance of abolishing all forms of colonial domination, which includes the restoring to their legitimate owners of the possessions and leased areas held by the colonial Powers in the territory of other States. In this connexion, it must be pointed out, in the first place, that possessions and leased areas of this kind are used mainly for military purposes and represent a particularly dangerous form of the colonial régime which it is absolutely essential to eradicate.

69. The existence of possessions and leased areas not only prevents States from exercising their sovereignty over the whole of the national territory, but, in addition, is always accompanied by brutal intervention in the domestic affairs of the States in whose territory the possessions and leased areas are situated on the part of the colonial Powers which hold them.

70. Moreover, since these possessions and leased areas, which are scattered throughout Asia, Africa, Latin America and even Europe, are used almost exclusively as sites for military, naval and air bases or for rocket launching grounds, it is easy to see what a threat to international peace and security this form of colonial domination represents.

^{1/} Robert Strausz-Hupé and Harry W. Hazard, The Idea of Colonialism (New York, Frederick A. Praeger, Inc., 1958), pp. 42-43.

71. The most authoritative leaders of the peoples of Africa and Asia have drawn attention to the danger represented by the maintenance and organization of new foreign military bases in Africa and Asia. They rightly concluded, in the course of the general debate, that "as long as a single square yard of African and Asian land is still under foreign domination, the world will know no peace". This is particularly understandable as the network of military bases encircling the globe is controlled by the military alliances of the colonialist countries; this explains the anxiety of so many peoples still subjected to colonial slavery, and of those which have recently regained their independence. These peoples fully realize that the military bases belonging to the United States and its allies are not only directed against the socialist countries, but are also designed to maintain or impose colonial domination in one form or another.

72. Very often, the smaller colonialist countries which are members of NATO use the American military bases installed in different territories of their colonial empire in shameful transactions aimed at obtaining aid and assistance from the United States and the other colonialist NATO Powers to suppress the struggle for liberation of the oppressed peoples. Everyone will undoubtedly remember that the Belgian colonialists made their future participation in NATO contingent on their receiving support from the United States—and the United Nations—and from other colonial Powers for the defence of Belgian colonial interests in the Congo. This support was granted, to the satisfaction of Belgian colonialist circles.

73. The New York Times of 25 October 1960 informed its American readers that a former Minister of Portugal, in an article which appeared at Lisbon, "reminded American leaders that Portugal had granted bases in the Azores to the United States" and said that the United States should manifest "comprehension and solidarity in the case of Portuguese territories in Africa".

74. Once they have gained their freedom and political independence, the former colonial peoples have to face the problem of the struggle for economic independence and the free possession and development of their resources for their own benefit.

75. The struggle for economic independence, which should give real meaning to and consolidate political independence, is as legitimate and inexorable a process as the movement for liberation and national independence among the colonial peoples.

76. If we bear in mind that almost all the fortunes of the Western world were largely built upon the exploitation of the colonial peoples, we can also understand the irritation of certain representatives who have spoken during this debate at the attempt which has been made by the representatives of the colonialist Powers, directly or through other persons, to divert the Assembly's attention from the problem which it is discussing and the roots of the evil which must be eliminated. My delegation thinks that the insinuations made by certain representatives deserve no other reply than the expression of our deepest scorn.

77. The United Nations is now called upon to decide in favour of the total and permanent abolition of the colonial régime. But the peoples which have gained their political independence or will, we hope, gain it in the near future, have and will continue to have to

struggle desperately to rid themselves of the infiltration of foreign monopolies into their economies, which constitutes not only a relic of colonial domination, but also a formidable obstacle to overcoming the lag in economic and cultural development which these peoples have inherited from colonial slavery.

78. The colonialist Powers which succeeded, fifteen years ago, in preventing the words "colony", "colonial" and "colonialism" from appearing in Chapter XI of the Charter, have been unable to prevent the historic destiny of colonialism from being now almost entirely fulfilled. They are no longer able to prevent the last traces of colonialism from being erased.

79. The abolition of colonialism, on which the United Nations must reach a decision, represents the climax of a historical process. This climax can no longer be postponed, whatever decision is taken by the General Assembly. But it could be expedited and the abolition of colonialism could be completed if the General Assembly would unequivocally condemn all forms and manifestations of colonial domination, without exception.

80. Mr. TOURE Ismaël (Guinea) (translated from French): Until 1950, the great majority of the people of Africa, colonialism's favourite continent, lived under foreign domination. Only three States—the Egyptian Province of the United Arab Republic, Liberia and Ethiopia—enjoyed national independence. In other words, ten years ago, the free population of the African continent amounted to only 45 million persons spread over a total area of 2.3 million square kilometres. During the eight-year period from 1950 to 1958, the liberation movement, which began after the last world war, brought about the liberation of 37 million people and 5,250,000 square kilometres. For the statistician, this already reflected considerable progress, because this first thrust towards independence meant an increase of more than 100 per cent in terms of the geographical area of the territories liberated and of more than 80 per cent in terms of the number of people liberated. As we know, this trend has taken a sharp upturn during the year 1960. Returning to our statistics, we note that, in all, 82 million people and 7.5 million square kilometres had passed from the colonial system to sovereignty by 31 December 1958. In 1960 alone, seventeen African States have either regained or are about to regain their independence, a total of more than 85 million people and 12 million square kilometres. In other words, these figures during a single year show an increase of over 100 per cent in terms of numbers of people and 150 per cent in terms of total area.

81. Thus, the year 1960 truly deserves the name "Year of Africa". The liberation movement has grown by geometric progression. The very logic of this progression makes us think that the year 1961 will be the terminal year of the colonial era in Africa, because only the last third of this continent remains to be liberated, though this still means that more than 60 million people and 9.5 million square kilometres remain under foreign domination. With the accession of these 60 million men and women to national independence, the political aspect of the phenomenon of colonialism can be considered as virtually a thing of the past.

82. The end of the colonial system does not, however, imply the end of the effects of the system. The main

characteristic of colonialism—under-development—cannot be eliminated overnight; it will take time, and great effort. And the reason why it is important to put an immediate end to all systems of colonization is precisely so as to speed up the struggle against the aftermath of foreign domination. For a great many years still, the African continent, even after it has completely freed itself from servitude, will have to continue to devote its energies to the development of its economic, social and cultural institutions. Like Asia, Africa has now become aware of the absolute necessity of ridding itself of the colonial system, which has shown itself to be utterly bankrupt in all respects. It is, of course, true that no one actually defends the colonial system, but there are some who wish to delay its demise on the pretext that the colonial peoples must be trained for independence. That is not a very weighty argument nor does it take any account either of the past history of the colonial peoples or of the real problems they must solve in order to build a future for themselves. To those who postulate the need for a period of so-called preparation for independence, it is always a valid reply that that very fact constitutes an additional damning indictment of colonialism. In reality, it has never been any part of the purpose of colonialism to fulfil any mission of civilization whatever or to carry through any endeavour to educate the colonial peoples for the exercise of their sovereignty. Hence, if, in its declining days, colonialism makes a feverish attempt to teach the colonial peoples how to govern themselves, it thereby acknowledges its own failure, because it must not be forgotten that at the time of their colonization, these peoples have in all instances been found eminently capable of governing themselves through their own national institutions, which had sometimes reached an advanced stage of development. These peoples never called in the colonizers, and in some cases they had attained a degree of civilization which was infinitely higher than that of their conquerors. There can be no doubt that colonialism has always been based exclusively on the interests of the colonizers. In the fifteenth century, the main incentive was the search for such products as spices, aromatic drugs, perfumes, sugar, camphor, opium, gums and resins, etc., of which Europe had need and which had at all costs to be sought in other continents.

83. Little by little, the search for gold was added to speculation in exotic spices. In the seventeenth century, the merchant bankers, who allied themselves with the sovereign against the all-powerful feudal lords, began to appear in Europe. At that moment, the era of colonial adventures dawned. The terms civilizing mission, genius, or humanism of any type are out of place here. Thus, it would be altogether ironical to describe that bygone age as an era of so-called builders of empires; the term merely disguises exploiters of whole peoples, even of whole continents. The illustrious Christopher Columbus wrote on 14 October 1492:

"There must be many things growing here which I do not know about, but I cannot let myself be distracted from my purpose, which is to find gold by exploring the islands. If I have the time, I shall ransack the whole island until I find the king and discover the extent of his wealth in gold."

Believing that he had found Japan, he wrote:

"When I see what reserves of gold and spices are to be found here, I shall consider what is the best thing to do."

84. The search for gold very quickly outstripped the search for spices and other exotic curiosities. Colonization brought about the establishment of great colonial companies which engaged in a real scramble for treasure. In an article entitled "The Days of Don Quixote" in the January 1956 issue of the magazine *Europe*, Pierre Vilar wrote:

"The occupation of land, the subjection of men, the pillaging of treasuries do not constitute any kind of preparation for investment, in the capitalist meaning of the term. A nascent bourgeoisie could do this. And from about 1480 to 1550 the Spanish bourgeoisie did exactly that. Only, because of its position astride the silver trade, it first experimented with capitalism at ports and fairs. Much was spent, imported, or loaned out at interest, but little was produced. Prices and salaries soared. Parasitism developed and enterprise declined, spelling future destitution."

85. As a result of this threat, between the years 1870 and 1890 the world was divided up with a view to the more wholesale and more efficient exploitation of the subjugated peoples and their wealth. Each colonial Power set up its own empire and its own zone of influence. We shall not dwell upon colonialist methods, whether peaceful or brutal and ranging from cunning to the most bloody repression, for they are already well known.

"The design of these colonies", Montesquieu wrote in his *Esprit des lois*, "is to trade on more advantageous conditions than could otherwise be done with neighbouring people to whom all advantages are reciprocal. It has been established that the metropolis or mother country alone may trade in the colonies, and that for a very good reason; because the design of the settlement is the extension of commerce, not the foundation of a city or a new empire."

86. It is known that the great country of China, the home of a civilization several thousand years old, was not spared this rush towards the virgin territories. In this feverish race, the idea of "fortune" predominated over the idea of "civilization", which was only a pretext, and the great Powers, no doubt because they were conscience-stricken, spoke of what they called their "civilizing mission".

87. Jules Ferry, the father of the French colonial empire, said in the Chamber of Deputies on 30 November 1883:

"Thus from all sides we see the pull exerted by interest or greed directed towards what was the dream of all and the desire of each: China, that immense treasure of the Pacific; China, the ancient and marvellous; China, the focus of all schemes and hopes, with its immense market of 400 to 500 million consumers, its subsoil rich in coal deposits extending over an area of more than 700,000 square kilometres, its inexhaustible ore deposits, its immense provinces, crying out for industrial equipment, railroads, and metal supplies. And the European rivals vied with one another to reach this Eldorado first and to carve out their portion, their zone of influence, their privileged domain ..."

And he continued:

"... it was Germany which set things in motion by deciding, somewhat belatedly, that it also wanted to become a colonial nation. But greed forced Germany

to make up for lost time. It coveted one of the best morsels of China, Shantung, with its 30 million people and its immense natural wealth. Using as a pretext the convenient killing of two German missionaries, Germany dispatched a squadron, seized Shantung, and gave the signal for the scramble for spoils. Russia hurried in, extended the Trans-Siberian Railway and obtained the lease of Liaotung, which she had forced the Japanese to return. England claimed Weihaiwei, and France, wishing to balance her holdings, occupied Kwangchow, in the vicinity of Indo-China."

88. Some people naively believe that the history of the peoples who have been victims of colonialism began with colonial penetration. This is a serious error which, in the majority of cases, results from the efforts of the colonial system of education to drop the veil completely on the past and the history of those peoples and to instil in them a dependency complex. In this way, the official history of Africa has transformed the foreign conquerors into so-called apostles of civilization.

89. On the other hand, the greatest of the African heroes, who opposed foreign domination and brought the sense of liberty and dignity of our peoples to its highest point, have been disparagingly depicted in the colonial manuals as common bandits or as ambitious and blood-thirsty upstarts.

90. This systematic distortion has been fostered by the lack of written data on the history of the African continent. Bad faith has gone to such lengths that attempts have even been made to convince some Africans that their ancestors were blue-eyed, flax-haired Gauls. This was the best way of providing a semblance of justification for the so-called civilizing mission of the colonial Powers. It had to be shown somehow that at the time of the colonial conquest, Africa was inhabited by barbaric tribes who were incapable of governing themselves. But in the history of Africa as it actually was, several large and well-organized empires such as the Mali Empire of the fourteenth century, had attained a degree of culture and civilization that Europe during the same age might well envy. When Ibn Batuta, a geographer entrusted with a mission for the Sultan of Fez, visited the Mali Empire in 1352, it impressed him as a rich and happy land. Indeed, during the reign of Mansa Suleiman, the Empire of Mali covered all the part of the African continent which today corresponds roughly to West Africa. Nor was the reign of Mansa Suleiman the most brilliant in the history of the Mali Empire. However, according to the account Ibn Batuta gave of his journey, Mansa Suleiman, who reigned as sovereign over Mali from 1336 to 1359, was a great patron of education and culture. He gathered around him a body of men of law and maintained very close diplomatic relations with the sovereigns of the North. Like his brother Mansa Moussa, known as the King of the Pilgrimage, he journeyed to Mecca in 1351. On his return, he built the famous Camanbolon hut, where he deposited the holy books he had brought back with him. Clearly everything that we know about the Mali Empire reveals a State organization that was both democratic and strong and a civilization which bore no resemblance to the usual picture in the manuals on Africa, showing a band of hideous-looking Negroes dancing a weird dance around a wood fire.

91. In the Geographical Description of Spain and Africa another Arab author states that a stable civilization was already flourishing in the Sudan in the eleventh century. At the time when the Empire of Ghana had reached its peak, alchemy, a science composed of an equal proportion of naiveté and superstition, was rampant in Europe.

92. The Mali Empire reached its peak in the fourteenth century under the famous Kankan Moussa, who reigned from 1307 to 1332. Arab writers are unstinting in their praise of Kankan Moussa, a pious emperor who founded the compulsory Koranic School for the children of the capital. His pilgrimage to Mecca in 1324 was of unparalleled importance and magnificence. According to Ibn Khaldun there were no less than 80,000 men in the train of the sovereign El Hajj Mansa Moussa. Tradition, in the form of chanted poetry, has recorded the names of the principal personages in the sovereign's retinue. To mention only a few: Tungku Magnuma, Tungku Manian, the two holy men Kan Touré and Kan Cissé, Sirimanban, Dalamina Mamadou Kouyaté. The Tarikh el-Fettach described the scene of Mansa Moussa's wife's bath in the middle of the desert. There is another, and no less important, aspect of this pilgrimage—it is possible to date the beginning of the so-called Sudanese style of architecture at about 1325. It is still found in Africa, particularly in the present Republic of Mali, and it originated with Ibrahim Es-Sahili, a native of Granada brought back by Kankan Moussa.

93. Ibn Khaldun relates:

"Sultan Merinide Abou Hassein maintained friendly relations with the Sultan of Mali and the two monarchs exchanged gifts through their grand viziers. The Sultan of the Maghreb even had a selection of the finest products of his kingdom made and entrusted Ali Ibn Ghanem, the Emir of the Makils, with the task of bringing this truly royal gift to the Sultan of the Blacks."

94. To give some idea of the strength of Kankan Moussa's army, we may point out that according to Al Omari he had 100,000 foot-soldiers and 10,000 cavalry. Under the influence of Islam, Mali saw the flowering of such great cultural centres as Timbuktu, Kéné, Gao, Oualata and Niani. Several Imams of Mali studied in the cities of North Africa, the most eminent of whom was the jurist of Timbuktu, Kateb Moussa, who studied at Fez. Even Maghrebians did not consider it beneath them to attend the universities on the banks of the Niger. The Tarikh es-Soudan contains the following anecdote:

"Abderhaman et-Temini, who had come from Hedjaz with Mansa Moussa, realized in Timbuktu that he was dealing with eminent jurists. He returned to Fez to complete his education and then came back to hold his own among the scholars of Timbuktu."

95. It was also under the reign of Kankan Moussa that trade between the Sudan and the Mediterranean countries appears to have reached its peak, fostered by the peace then prevailing: gold and salt were the main commodities. More extensive research has made it possible to determine the institutions of this great African empire of the fourteenth century. Life at the court of Mali was regulated by very elaborate protocol. The monarch lived withdrawn in his palaces. According to Ibn Batuta he held two types of audience: one under the famous cupola built by the architect Es-

Saheli, the other in the open air on a dais or "bembé" reserved for the Emperor alone. During the audience under the cupola the Emperor heard complaints and grievances and the reports of the provincial governors or "Farma" and the military chiefs or "Fari". Throughout the audience the lieutenant or "Kanfari" stood by the Sovereign's side. During the open-air audiences, however, the Emperor was seated. Ibn Batuta notes that the dais was covered with silken cloth and strewn with cushions; above was a parasol resembling a silken dome, topped by a golden bird as large as a hawk. It was here that the Emperor received ambassadors and sometimes watched great ceremonial processions.

96. The government consisted chiefly of high dignitaries, jurists and other officials. The principal posts, five in number, were most often entrusted to close relatives of the Emperor. The "Babili Farma" was Minister of Agriculture; the "Waneï Farma" was Minister of Lands; the "Sao Farma" was in charge of forests; the "Khalissi Farma" was Minister of Finance. Lastly, the "Hari Farma" was Minister of Waters, responsible for fisheries and for navigation on the Niger.

97. This brief outline gives some idea of the mighty empire of Mali which began as a modest kingdom, a vassal of Ghana and later of Soso, entered on its period of greatness with Sunjata Keita in 1230 and ultimately extended eastwards of the Niger. It is clear that by the Middle Ages Black Africa had already, several centuries before the colonial penetration, attained a high degree of development and culture.

98. From the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries, after the decay of the Mali Empire, the Songhai Empire of Gao was destined to achieve particular brilliance, reaching its zenith under Askia Mohamed, who reigned from 1492 to 1527. Askia Mohamed founded the system of municipalities; he also made a pilgrimage to Mecca. On that important journey he was escorted by 500 horsemen and 1,000 foot-soldiers. He carried with him 300,000 pieces of gold from the treasury of his predecessor, the Emperor Sonni Ali Ber. He established an élite guard limited to a small number of professional soldiers, well equipped and trained. A great military leader himself, Askia Mohamed is considered in Sudanese history as an enlightened administrator and a great organizer and, as such, deserves a special place among African sovereigns.

99. The civilizations which were founded and developed mainly on the banks of the Nile, the Niger and the Congo were abruptly confronted with the phenomenon of colonialism, which triumphed by force and treachery alone. Closer to our own times, genuine heroes, such as El Hajj Umar, Samory, Behanzin and many others, would never bow to subjection and fought to the end against all foreign domination. In 1895, the Moro Naba of Ouagadougou made the following celebrated declaration to Captain Destenaves, who had been sent to conclude a treaty with him:

"I think my country is fine as it is. I have no need of them"—meaning the conquerors, of course. "I know what I need and what I want. I have my traders, so count yourself lucky that I do not have your head cut off. Go, then, and never come back."

100. Today once more, the whole of Africa is calling with one voice for the immediate ending of the colonial

system. My delegation, one of the sponsors of draft resolution A/L.323 and Add.1-5 submitted by forty-two States of Africa and Asia, wishes to congratulate the delegation of the Soviet Union to whose initiative we owe this debate in the plenary Assembly. If the declaration proposed by that delegation [A/4502 and Corr.1] is put to the vote my delegation will support it whole-heartedly.

101. On the other hand, we shall be unable to support the draft resolution submitted by Honduras [A/L.324], for the very simple reason that it provides no valid answer to the fundamental question of the immediate liberation of the colonial peoples.

102. Law and morality, and the development of fraternal human relations between the peoples of Africa and other nations demand that an answer be given that will, without evasion or hesitation, give the colonial peoples the justice, dignity and equality which are their right. It is not isolation that we want, because, after all, Africa has never been isolated except during the colonial era. Then each territory was isolated from the other and in each the social classes were isolated and opposed to each other.

103. The empires of the different colonizers, even when adjoining or inter-penetrating, were isolated from each other. To put it more concretely, Conakry was closer to Paris than to Freetown, Monrovia or Tunis. To get to Accra from Dakar one had first to go to Paris. To get to Brazzaville, whatever the point of departure in West Africa, the shortest route is still via London or Paris. This isolation is absurd and the peoples of Africa will no longer tolerate it. We want sound and useful relationships to be established among the various African States and their peoples, and between the African continent and all the other continents. For this to be possible, the ancient shackles of colonialism must be broken. The only positive step to be taken for the future is to put an end to this absurdity which history condemns.

104. Africa offers the hand of friendship but demands that the last fetters of foreign domination be broken. There is no hatred on our part in spite of all that we have suffered in the past. We wish only to turn the page and face the future. In calling for an end to the colonial system, we are sure we shall be giving freedom not only to the African people and other colonial peoples, but also to the peoples of the metropolitan countries in whose name the domination and exploitation of the colonies are carried on. Injustice, brutality and plundering in the colonies have always gravely impaired freedom, and even more surely, morality, in the metropolitan countries themselves.

105. On 28 September 1958 my country graduated unexpectedly and, one might say, instantaneously from the status of a colony to that of a sovereign State, without any preparation. In Guinea, independence did not become a political watchword until only a few weeks before General de Gaulle's historic referendum. Naturally the leaders of the young Republic of Guinea have had to face many important problems. It is fitting, too, to stress the wholly peaceful character of our accession to independence, without the shedding of a drop of blood, without a shot being fired and in the most complete national unity, in spite of the provocations of the colonial Power.

106. Those who then predicted disorders and disturbances witnessed how, in the most complete calm,

the Guinean authorities took over all the services which had previously been run by French officials—general and regional administrative officers, judges, army officers, engineers and technicians, and the like. There was no interruption in any of those services, in spite of the deliberate haste with which the French Government withdrew its personnel.

107. Thus, in proclaiming the independence of all territories still under foreign domination, we are convinced that they will find national personnel with sufficient awareness of their capacity and their responsibilities to cope with the immense tasks that confront us, as under-developed countries, in Africa. We do not exclude technical assistance, provided that it is inspired by a spirit that is entirely new and different from the colonial spirit.

108. We know that the attainment of independence will not solve the problem of under-development, but nothing can justify the maintenance of a system that is now an anachronism. Independence is necessary and indispensable but it is not by any means an end in itself. Political independence, so long as it is not supplemented and guaranteed by economic independence, cannot be the goal.

109. On the other hand it would be quite futile to try to ensure any economic development in conditions of non-independence. Neither the psychological conditions nor the material means required to promote a valid economic policy can exist until the former colonial territories exercise full and complete sovereignty.

110. Not only are the colonized peoples incapable of development so long as they remain under foreign domination, but they cannot take any effective part in the efforts that all peoples are making for the maintenance and strengthening of peace. A people that is deprived of freedom and is unable to express itself directly through its own free institutions has no way of contributing to the struggle for the establishment of a world of equality and peace.

111. Thus, the general and immediate proclamation of the independence of the still dependent peoples will strengthen the ranks of the peoples and nations devoted to peace.

112. For Africa, the problem of independence, while still the most urgent, is already giving way to another and much more difficult problem: that of the struggle against neo-colonialism. How will the African States succeed in consolidating their independence while strengthening their unity?

113. This question is today becoming more important than political independence itself. It may be that colonialism will recognize the impossibility of surviving without changing its form, while remaining determined to safeguard its economic interests and privileges. The actual stand taken by the new nations, anxious to maintain national cohesion and poorly equipped to cope with the many problems created by the rapid evolution of the populations for which they are responsible, will

determine whether the outcome is to be a new form of subjugation or a prosperous and stable future.

114. The danger of controlled independence is already a reality, but it is not by delaying the liberation of the still colonized territories that this new scourge will be avoided. It is plain that unity of action alone will enable the new States to avoid the temptation to barter away part of their sovereignty to satisfy the material needs of the moment. It is hard to conceive that any State, large or small, belonging to the category of under-developed countries could make progress and settle its problems at the expense of the others. For Africa, which has known the slave-trade and colonization, a sham independence would be a real catastrophe, an historic curse.

115. In the end the former masters would be the only ones to benefit from division and disagreements among their former colonies. While it is true that assistance and co-operation are indispensable for the progress of the under-developed countries, the gap separating them from the technically advanced countries can only be bridged if loyal co-operation is established within the framework of national independence for all countries, for the task of transforming and industrializing the economic structures of the backward countries.

116. The quality of the contribution by the new States, which has a direct bearing on the question of world peace, will depend not on their governments but on the degree of freedom enjoyed by their peoples and on the opportunities afforded them of devoting their efforts to the general welfare.

117. The future of a former colony can no longer be considered in isolation from that of its neighbours. It would be equally futile to seek a world balance restricted to the advanced and industrialized nations. Henceforth, it is mankind's lot to agree unanimously to deign an indivisible peace and universal happiness. Accordingly it can be said that the question of the liberation of the colonial peoples is directly linked to the crucial question of general and complete disarmament.

118. I should like to conclude this presentation of the views of the delegation of the Republic of Guinea with the following words from President Sékou Touré's message of 30 November 1960:

"The choice before the conscience of your Assembly today is between positive world construction and world division, between unanimous solidarity and domination and exploitation, between the liberation of man and social slavery...".

119. Confident of the outcome of this debate we believe, with President Sékou Touré, that it is for this session to mark in history the opening of a new and decisive era in universal evolution, and to lay the foundation-stone of a world based on loyal co-operation, human solidarity, justice and universal peace.

The meeting rose at 12.55 p.m.

Friday, 2 December 1960,
at 3 p.m.

NEW YORK



United Nations GENERAL ASSEMBLY

FIFTEENTH SESSION

Official Records

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AGENDA ITEM 87

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

1. Mr. BUDO (Albania) (translated from French): On the initiative of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Nations has before it a grave problem with vast international ramifications: the problem of the final and complete eradication of that shameful survival of another era known as colonialism. At a time when human society has taken enormous strides on the road to progress and well-being and when man's genius knows no bounds in harnessing the forces of nature to ensure to all mankind a happy life in prosperity and dignity, the existence on our planet of millions of human beings who still endure the colonialist yoke, in whatever form, not only is an intolerable anachronism unworthy of our society but is at the same time the gravest possible crime against humanity and human civilization and one which directly affects the question of world peace. It is high time to put an end to it altogether, once and for all.

2. The attainment of national independence and freedom by the still subject peoples is inevitable. This is the natural evolution of human history and there is no force in the world powerful enough to stop the tremendous tide of this movement of national liberation which over the last few years has gathered volume at an unprecedentedly rapid rate.

3. Now, however, the world turns to the United Nations to ask it, in accordance with the fundamental purposes and principles of the Charter, to make its important contribution to the immediate abolition of the colonial slavery which has become intolerable and to do this before the peoples, relying only on themselves, achieve their liberation solely through their own efforts. Upon the response which the United Nations will be able to give to this categorical imperative of our century—which is not only the urgent demand of the subjugated peoples but also the ardent wish of mankind as a whole—will depend in large measure the very future of our Organization.

4. Indeed, is it not the human being who is the final end of our Organization? Was it not in order to ensure to peoples and to nations, whether great or small, the full enjoyment of their fundamental rights,

self-determination, equal rights, freedom, independence and well-being that the United Nations was established?

5. The problem of the colonial enslavement of peoples is nothing new. It has existed for centuries, and even goes as far back as the first aggressive wars waged by the strong to enslave the weak and strip them of their wealth. It is the very essence of the history of all the wars which the imperialists have waged to subjugate the peoples of different continents by force, fire and the sword in order to secure for themselves the profits to be obtained by exploiting those peoples and their wealth. In the final analysis all the wars of the past century had the same causes: the inordinate desire of the imperialist Powers to seize control of world markets, the sources of raw materials and areas of investment opportunity and, to that end, to secure colonies and spheres of influence and to divide up and redistribute the world's wealth. The two world wars which have taken place in this century had their origin in the greed of these same Powers for a further division of the world and its wealth, for an imperialist world hegemony and for the selfish and exclusive exploitation of the wealth of this terrestrial globe. The same causes have been at the root of the wars and armed conflicts which have taken place since the end of the Second World War. The cause of these wars has been the imperialists' determination to prevent people from achieving their national liberation and the young States from developing in freedom and independence. This was true of the wars in Indo-China and Indonesia and of the armed aggression against Egypt; it was also true of the aggression and of the armed threats of the imperialist Powers, and primarily of the United States of America, in the countries of the Near and Middle East. The colonialist-imperialist wars are continuing at the present time and are everywhere causing the loss of countless lives and material goods. A case in point is Algeria, where the valiant Algerian people have won the admiration and sympathy of the world in their heroic struggle for national liberation and their six-year resistance to the most brutal kind of armed repression. This is also the case of the Congo, where we are witnessing the armed intervention of the Western Powers which are members of NATO, and in particular the United States and Belgium. Again, this is the case of Oman, where the valiant people of that country, despite the enemy's military superiority, are waging a selfless and unremitting struggle to free themselves of the British imperialist yoke. Lastly, this is the case of Cuba, where the United States imperialists shrink from nothing—neither bombings, nor murder, nor subversion nor demonstrations of force by the United States Navy—in their efforts to undermine the régime set up by the people and to protect, once again, the interests of the United States monopolies. In this connexion, it is pertinent to note that the United States Navy, which at one time

appears off the Mediterranean ports of the Middle East, at another in the Straits of Taiwan and at another in the Caribbean Sea, in accordance with the requirements of the Pentagon's aggressive plans, has become the symbol of provocation, the threat of force and the aggravation of international tension.

6. The problem of the liberation of the peoples enslaved by colonialism thus touches upon the very essence of the question of peace and war, with which it is intimately linked. The eradication from our society of the last vestiges of this shameful rottenness, the colonial system, and the ending of exploitation by foreign monopolies would not only constitute the most elementary recognition of the inalienable right of the colonial peoples to the alleviation of their age-old sufferings, but would also create the necessary conditions for the full social, economic and cultural development of these peoples. Without the slightest doubt, this would serve to reduce international tension and to create propitious conditions for the solution of other international problems, chief among which is the unquestionably urgent problem of general and complete disarmament.

7. We feel called upon at this point to refer to disarmament because we think it essential always to remember that as long as the imperialist Powers have in their hands the means of oppressing other peoples, they will not give up the possibility of using them each time their selfish interests are affected, and thus it will be impossible to ensure a lasting world peace. There can be no doubt that the eradication of the colonial system will very substantially enhance the unremitting efforts of the peace-loving peoples and the peaceful countries to establish co-operative and good-neighbourly relations between all nations, large and small, on the basis of the sovereign equality of States, respect for the right of peoples to self-determination, and non-interference in the internal affairs of other States—all this in the mutual interest of States and in the interest of the international community as a whole. This would be in full conformity with the purposes and principles set forth in the Charter of our Organization.

8. The colonial peoples have always fought for their national liberation. After the great Russian Revolution of October 1917, a new era dawned in the history of mankind. The lofty humanitarian principles of the October Revolution spread throughout the entire world and found an especially warm welcome on the part of the peoples suffering under colonialist-imperialist domination. After the Second World War, a number of countries broke the chains of colonial and national oppression. The great victory over fascism in the Second World War resulted in breaking the chains of imperialism in Central and Eastern Europe, where new Socialist countries came into being. The historic victory of the great Chinese people's revolution gave rise to the People's Republic of China, whose population amounts to some 700 million. These countries now constitute the world's Socialist system, which exerts a salutary influence on the course of world events and represents a factor of paramount importance for international peace and security.

9. During the same period, the struggle of the oppressed peoples enabled many countries of Asia and Africa to throw off the colonial yoke and achieve independence. During its most recent phase, the

liberation movement has gained increasing momentum, and this year has seen the emergence of sixteen new independent States in Africa, so that 1960 has been aptly called "the Year of Africa". The new States, which are now Members of the United Nations, are taking an active part in international life. They have thus greatly enlarged the area of peace. The colonial system is consequently disintegrating, and its very foundations are cracking; a new era is opening up for mankind. The face of Africa and Asia has been completely transformed, and the movement of national liberation and independence is growing in Latin America. Each day the struggle of the peoples still subject to the colonial yoke in Africa, Asia and Latin America is assuming larger dimensions. These peoples, numbering some 100 million human beings, will, without the slightest doubt, attain their independence, but in the meantime they continue to suffer under colonialist-imperialist domination. The United Nations owes it to itself therefore, in accordance with the principles of its Charter, to take effective measures to put an end totally and for all time to this shameful blemish on our civilization.

10. The liberation of the colonial countries has never been attributable to the colonial Powers, despite what their best spokesmen try to make us believe. It has resulted from the sustained efforts of the enslaved peoples and of the support which they have always received from other peaceful States and peoples. The imperialists never of their own volition forfeit the fabulous profits which they derive from the most savage exploitation of other people. The world is well informed on that score. There is no need to seek very far afield for conclusive evidence of this. It is enough to recall here the recent events in the Congo, which show how the imperialists, even at the moment when a country attains independence, conspire to take back what they had been forced to yield.

11. The colonial peoples have languished for centuries under inhuman exploitation by the imperialists. Millions of men have suffered under it; millions have fallen as victims of repression or in the struggle they have waged to achieve a free and independent life. The time has surely come to put an end to this régime of obscurantism, terror and exploitation.

12. One quick glance at the situation now prevailing in the countries still subjected to the colonial system is enough to convince anyone of the urgency of the duty incumbent upon the United Nations to make every effort to bring about the immediate elimination of this shameful aberration in human society, in whatever form it may appear.

13. An examination of the United Kingdom's colonial policy in Africa during recent years gives us an idea of the state of slavery in which the subject peoples live, and shows that the United Kingdom imperialists have not hesitated to adopt the cruellest methods whenever the interests of their powerful financial oligarchy were threatened by a movement of national liberation on the part of the subject peoples.

14. Let us take, for instance, the case of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. In Northern Rhodesia the white settlers, who number only 70,000, hold more than half of the best lands, leaving to more than 2.5 million Africans the other half consisting of infertile lands. A scandalous form of discrimination

between white settlers and indigenous inhabitants is also practised with regard to wages. African workers are employed on the hardest kinds of work and sometimes receive wages twenty to thirty times lower than those of the whites, as in the case of the 40,000 miners of Southern Rhodesia. The colonialists make fabulous profits from the systematic exploitation of the great riches of these territories and cheap labour. Northern Rhodesia, neighbouring on Katanga, is very rich in copper, and in 1959 accounted for 15 per cent of the world copper output. But who enjoys this wealth? Only the United Kingdom colonialists and their partners, while the indigenous inhabitants, for all their exhausting work, lead a life of poverty. To satisfy the need for cheap African labour, the most abominable laws have been enacted which enable the colonialists to apply in one form or another, racial discrimination, forced labour and the herding together of Africans in reservations where a system of unheard-of poverty and terror prevails and where men die by the hundreds. Yet the representatives of the colonial Powers come here to tell us of the benefits of the colonial system! The most elementary rights are trampled underfoot. To cite only one example, the number of Africans on the electoral rolls in Southern Rhodesia in 1938 was forty, and twenty years later, in 1958, that figure was not more than 550. This shows how much the colonialists care about emancipation and civilization with regard to the indigenous inhabitants!

15. The history of foreign domination in central Africa, as indeed in all colonies, is simply a long succession of cunning stratagems, hypocrisy, intrigues, repression and terror exercised by various colonialists.

16. In Kenya, a colony under United Kingdom domination where blood has been shed unceasingly, the struggle for national liberation is developing again after the ferocity with which the national movement was crushed by the United Kingdom colonialists a few years ago. According to the United Kingdom Press itself, more than 4,000 troops have recently been sent to Kenya in order to suppress any desire for freedom and to quell any national movement. During recent months 2,000 persons have been imprisoned; 800 persons have been in prison for fifteen years, and the head of the nationalist movement, Jomo Kenyatta, was after seven years of imprisonment again tried and deported.

17. Portugal, one of the oldest colonial Powers, does not admit that it has colonies, but only overseas provinces. Thus Angola, Mozambique and other Portuguese colonies in Africa and Asia, which are thousands of kilometres away from Portugal, are considered by the Portuguese colonialists to be nothing more than geographical extensions of the metropolitan territory. It is an undeniable fact that in the Portuguese colonies the colonialists employ the cruellest methods to stifle the national feeling of the indigenous population which, despite the most brutal colonial subjugation for many centuries, offers unceasing resistance to assimilation and extermination.

18. To get some idea of the situation in Angola, reference may be made to the booklet published by the American Committee on Africa entitled Angola:

Repression and Revolt in Portuguese Africa. I should like to quote this typical passage:

"While in decades past there may have been fewer visible signs of the color bar in Angola than in some of her neighboring territories, in recent years racial discrimination has grown. . . . Signs on the doors of some restaurants read, 'Right of admission is reserved'. All-white towns . . . have been built. In public service it is hard to find an African in a position higher than that of interpreter. . . . While the color bar is thus obvious in the larger coastal cities, it is even more prevalent in the interior."

19. Clear proof of popular dissatisfaction with the colonial authorities is given by the military preparations which the Portuguese are making in Angola in order to stifle resistance. Recently 2,000 Portuguese soldiers were sent to reinforce the 20,000 already there. These troops are equipped with Panhard type tanks, field guns and armoured transport cars. Barracks and military airfields are being built in haste, and naval vessels are patrolling the coasts and rivers. Angola is thus being transformed into a NATO base to serve the aggressive schemes of the imperialist Powers for dividing Africa and crushing any national liberation movement. Military circles in Portugal were evidently able to convince President Eisenhower when he visited Lisbon in May 1960 of the necessity to use armaments supplied to Portugal by the United States to crush national liberation movements of the African people. This, of course, is nothing new since United States arms have been used for years, under cover of NATO and other aggressive treaties, to crush national liberation movements in various African countries, as is being done in Algeria, the Congo and elsewhere.

20. All this goes to show how the imperialist and colonialist Powers defend their common cause of keeping the colonial peoples under their control and of mercilessly exploiting their wealth and the forced labour of the indigenous inhabitants. The imperialist Powers--beginning with the United Kingdom which is making efforts to appear more liberal, down to the most refractory one, the Union of South Africa, which is flouting all the resolutions adopted by the United Nations General Assembly--are all pursuing the same aims; they have no intention of renouncing their shameful privileges, and they devise all sorts of manoeuvres, intrigues and even crimes to prolong the life of the moribund colonial system. This has been evident even within our Organization, particularly with regard to the Congo question, on which the colonialist Powers have joined forces in order to defend colonial domination. The fact that we see the colonialist Powers drawing more closely together at the very time when colonialism is in its death throes only serves to show their weakness.

21. Let us consider also the case of South West Africa. The Assembly has now been concerned with this question for fifteen years; dozens of resolutions have been adopted; commissions and committees have been set up; and numerous petitioners have been given a hearing in the Fourth Committee and have reported on the intolerable situation in which the indigenous population languishes. It is well known that in that unhappy country "apartheid" and racial discrimination are the rule. Men are treated like beasts of burden, and forced labour is common practice. The Govern-

ment of the Union of South Africa has completely disregarded the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly, and the situation has deteriorated in South West Africa from year to year. It is to be noted that the Government of the Union of South Africa has been encouraged in this attitude by the other colonial Powers.

22. Through systematic and unceasing pillage of colonial territories in Africa, Asia and elsewhere, the monopolies in the various metropolitan countries have accumulated fabulous riches while leaving the subject peoples in a backward state of poverty and under-development that is in striking contrast to the wealth and development of the metropolitan countries.

23. It is understandable then that the imperialists are unwilling to loosen their hold on their colonial possessions and are using every possible means to avoid doing so. To prevent the liberation of the territories under their control the colonial Powers have indeed had recourse to every possible means, for in addition to murderous wars in which they have not hesitated to employ the most barbarous weapons, including napalm bombs, and in which millions of persons have perished, the imperialists have resorted to a wide range of obstacles and manoeuvres. One of the arguments which the colonialists have never ceased to repeat whenever there has been any question of liberating colonies is that colonial or dependent peoples do not yet possess the necessary maturity for independence and self-government, this idea having developed from the racist concept of the imperialists that peoples not belonging to the white race are inferior.

24. In an attempt to justify the policy of colonial domination and the continuance of that domination, the imperialists and their champions never tire of telling us of their famous "civilizing mission". They even have the audacity cynically to claim that nine-tenths of the Africans are illiterate, and that their lack of culture shows that these people are not ready to accede to independence and assume the control of their own affairs. This statement is made as though the imperialists themselves were not responsible for the situation. The world, however, is well aware that as long as the colonial system endures in a country, the doors to education and culture will be closed to the subject peoples, who, without freedom and independence, will never be able to make a start towards national development, progress and prosperity. The reactionary claims that Africans have no cultural tradition are refuted by history, which in fact teaches us that there was a time when Africa was more advanced than Asia and Europe. The fact that Africa has had its own culture is born out by the ancient history of Egypt as well as that of the Napata, Meroë and Aksum States, which were inhabited by the ancestors of the Ethiopians. A remarkable explanation of all these barefaced claims of the representatives of imperialism has been given by the Malagasy poet Rabemananjara, who said "The Negro became a savage on the day when the white man discovered how much profit could be derived from that state".

25. The many countries of Africa, Asia and other parts of the world which have acquired independence and are taking an active part in international life show how peoples which have become free and independent are able to direct and govern their countries and at the same time to become a very important

element of world peace and stability. Countries like India, the United Arab Republic, Guinea and others are playing an active and positive part in the solution of international problems. We cannot adequately convey the joy that we feel when here in the United Nations we see the young African States taking the lead in the struggle for the defence of the legitimate rights of enslaved peoples and for the total and final abolition of their enslavement.

26. Haunted by the possibility of losing everything connected with their colonial system, the colonialists resort to fraud and, by labelling themselves benefactors and philanthropists, try to give the impression that colonialism has now ceased to be colonialism and no longer exists as such. At the same time they endeavour, as it has been aptly said, to shroud the corpse of the discredited colonial system and employ new methods and new approaches to ensure their hold over the economies of their former colonies or of the under-developed countries. The United States and West German imperialists are particularly active in that respect, even to the detriment of the traditional colonial Powers, which seem to have difficulty in adapting themselves to the new conditions.

27. Under the cover of economic aid to the under-developed countries and of association between the industrialized and the under-developed countries, the masters of the monopolies wish to ensure their economic supremacy in those countries. One of their objectives is to delay the industrial development of the under-developed countries so as to be able to dispose of their industrial products in the markets of those countries and to buy their raw materials there at prices which they impose.

28. In order to ensure an economic hold over newly independent and other under-developed countries, an effort is made to include them in organizations like the Common Market and OEEC, the purpose of which is to co-ordinate the economic policy of certain Western Powers so as to embrace under-developed countries which, according to their plans, are to be transformed into economically and politically dependent countries. This is the new phenomenon of collective colonialism, which is being revealed in the common struggle of the colonial and imperialist NATO countries against the national liberation movements of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America. The military treaties of NATO and SEATO help the imperialist Powers to realize their colonial objectives and to gain a footing in other countries, particularly by the construction of military bases for piratical schemes of conquest and world supremacy, thus endangering peace and security, and in particular the peace and security of the countries in which such bases are situated.

29. It should be noted that in their efforts to safeguard their colonial possessions, the European imperialists enjoy the support and aid of the United States of America. The ruling circles in the United States are doing their best to play a double game. While trying to pose as friends of Africa, they are at the same time organizing collective aggression in the Congo and supplying the French Government with money and military equipment to continue the war in Algeria. Furthermore, the American monopolies cherish the hope of seizing the African inheritance which the colonialists of Western Europe are obliged to relinquish, and the same is true of other colonies

previously held by Europeans. Along with the establishment of military, air and naval bases, the United States Government, through so-called advisers and missionaries, is setting up in the African countries a vast espionage network for the purpose, among others, of carrying out sabotage.

30. Africa, however, has completely changed and is today no longer what it was before the Second World War. The people of Africa are well aware of their rights and their interests, and they know where they stand; they can distinguish between their friends and their foes, whatever mask the United States of America may wear.

31. The people of Africa, Asia and Latin America are well aware of the methods by which the imperialists hope to carry out their colonial policy and of how really dangerous that policy is. That is why they are resolutely intensifying their struggle to throw off the colonial and imperialist yoke regardless of the form it may assume.

32. The Albanian people know from their own centuries-long experience what foreign domination means. They have always sympathized with and supported the struggle of peoples for independence.

33. This spirit of deep sympathy which the Albanian people feel for people under the colonial yoke and their whole-hearted support for those people in their heroic struggle for national liberation are the reasons why the delegation of the People's Republic of Albania firmly supports the declaration of the Soviet Union on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples [A/4502 and Corr.1].

34. The elimination from human society of colonialism in all its forms constitutes not only a recognition of the inalienable right of all people to live in sovereign freedom and equality, but also a prerequisite for their progress towards political, economic, cultural and social maturity.

35. The accession of all colonial peoples to a free and independent existence is an irresistible and irreversible process. The world is changing before our very eyes at an incredible speed. The shameful system of colonialism is drawing to an end and only deserves a place on the scrap-heap of history. The decisive factor in this process of change is, of course, the struggle of the colonial and dependent peoples, who have the sympathy and support of all those who believe in progress.

36. It is nevertheless the supreme duty of the United Nations, in conformity with the Charter, to do its utmost to ensure that this inevitable liberation is accomplished within the shortest possible time. The General Assembly should demand the immediate and final accession to complete independence and liberty of all countries under colonial domination and of all Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories.

37. The United Nations should demand and even take action to ensure that the imperialist Powers refrain from any form of interference with, and that they strictly respect, the sovereignty and independence of the newly independent States, and of those which will become independent after the adoption of the declaration now under discussion.

38. The United Nations cannot afford to remain indifferent before the spectacle of the poverty and suffer-

ing at present being endured by the colonial and dependent peoples.

39. No one can doubt that the radical and final elimination of colonialism would be of considerable importance for international economic co-operation on a basis of equality and mutual advantage. That would assist in the creation of the conditions necessary for normal international relations based on understanding and good-neighbourliness and would thus contribute directly and effectively to the relaxation of tension and the strengthening of international peace and security.

40. Hence the adoption by the General Assembly of the declaration submitted by the Soviet Union on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples would be a substantial contribution to the efforts of peace-loving countries for the improvement of international relations and the strengthening of universal peace.

41. Mr. DIOP (Senegal) (translated from French) In this debate we are watching the countries which want to hold on to their colonial possessions, come what may, at bay, facing the final attack of the world conscience; we are watching their last rearguard action and their last desperate struggles.

42. The colonial story is an old, old story, as old as the world itself. It is the eternal story of the exploitation of man by man by brute force. Homo homini lupus, as the ancients used to say.

43. Man was exploited by man in our African land by Europeans, first of all through the establishment of the slave-trade some centuries ago. Millions and millions of men were torn from their native land. They were transplanted to America and elsewhere, and were thus involved in a whole series of frightful miseries and sufferings. Out of the ten million men thus trasplanted, scarcely a million survived.

44. But, just as man's injustice to man is constant, so is the progress of the human conscience. A few centuries later, voices were raised in protest, voices which expressed the highest values of the human conscience. To give only a few examples, the first voice to be heard was that of the great thinkers of the French Revolution of 1789; and in the United States, it was the voice of a man like Abraham Lincoln, at the time of the War of Secession. These voices rang out condemning slavery, demanding its abolition; but their effect was not to be felt until more than a century later, about 1848. Even later than that, when most of the European nations had accepted the principle of the abolition of slavery, there were still some recalcitrants, some backward people, set in their ways, who continued the slave-trade as pirates. The most sincere European nations had to police the seas in order to enforce the abolition of slavery by other European States, and even by their own nationals.

45. Slavery was finally abolished, at last. But scarcely had it been abolished than the exploitation of man by man was reborn from the ashes of slavery under the guise of colonialism. There was no more transplanting: the exploiters went to Africa to do their dominating and exploiting on the spot.

46. This colonialism, which flourished also for more than two hundred and fifty years, was condemned year after year as the conscience of mankind steadily developed and also thanks to the gradual awakening

of the colonized peoples who, little by little, became aware of their own dignity and their national feeling. These colonized peoples gradually abandoned the intellectual, cultural and artistic livery they had worn under colonialism and went back to the sources of their own individual and original genius to draw from them the strength they required to regain their individuality and also their sovereignty and independence. This is a movement of humanism and renewal that some have called "negritude".

47. It may be as well to state here also that this movement of renewal, humanism and liberation at all levels has never had any racial tinge, has never involved the rejection of any other culture or of any other civilization, of the benefits of any other culture or of any other civilization, whatever it might be, whether Graeco-Latin, American or Chinese.

48. At last, in the course of years, human progress triumphed over this second form of the exploitation of man by man, this neo-slavery called colonialism; and considerable progress has been achieved, particularly since the end of the last World War. Particularly in Africa, in less than fifteen years, we have witnessed liberation and the achievement of national independence by three-quarters of the dependent peoples that were once colonized.

49. However—as I emphasized just now—in spite of the abolition of slavery by declarations of principle and through laws enacted by the European countries, there were some recalcitrants, set in their ways, who continued to make slavery a prosperous concern. What happened with regard to slavery is now happening with regard to colonialism.

50. In the field of colonialism also, there are some backward people, some hardened cases, people set in their ways, who wish to maintain their positions in spite of everything and regardless of the trend of history. They will be swept away by the irreversible torrent of history; they will be swept away like straws.

51. But to await the ineluctable future is not enough for the United Nations. Here, at another focus of world conscience, we must take a positive position; we must start a new crusade and this time, in order to police, not the seas, but the continents and to ensure that colonialism and the exploitation of man by man shall cease.

52. That is why the delegation of Senegal has agreed to join in sponsoring a draft resolution [A/L.323 and Add.1-5] calling for the end of colonialism in Africa and everywhere else, and for the dependent nations, in Africa and everywhere else, at last to become free, sovereign and independent.

Mr. Zorin (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics), Vice-President, took the Chair.

53. Mr. PLIMSOLL (Australia): The large number of speeches that we have heard so far and the even larger number that are to come are some evidence of the interest, in the international community here in this Organization and among the peoples that we represent, in the carrying-out of the obligations that are laid down in the Charter towards Trust Territories and towards non-self-governing areas. The Covenant of the League of Nations represented a statement in a formal international document of a new principle, the principle of international accountability, for the administration by Powers over

the indigenous inhabitants of the territories under their control; and this doctrine, this movement, was carried a step further at San Francisco in the Charter of the United Nations. There are very important chapters of the Charter, integral parts of the whole organization that became the United Nations, and in the drafting of those chapters and the working-out of the substance, Australia and New Zealand played a very large part. They were in the forefront of those Powers that were pressing for a clear recognition and acceptance of wider international responsibility and accountability than had existed before the war.

54. After the Charter came into effect, Australia proceeded to place under the International Trusteeship System the mandates which it had held under the League of Nations. Furthermore, although the Charter does not lay down as an obligation the submission of political information on Non-Self-Governing Territories the Australian Government has, from the very beginning, voluntarily submitted this information to the United Nations. We have, throughout, co-operated with the United Nations, we have explained our policies in the Trusteeship Council and in the Fourth Committee, and we have endeavoured in the last fifteen years to discharge our obligations under the Charter faithfully. So we do not come before this Organization now, or at any time, in a reluctant way. We come on each occasion to give an account of what we have voluntarily undertaken and, indeed, gladly undertaken.

55. Colonialism is, like all institutions, a human institution. It varies in different parts of the world; it varies with human beings; it can be bad; it may sometimes be bad. But, at its best, I submit, it has been and is continuing to be a necessary transitional phase, and many of the wrongs that have occurred under colonialism—and some of them have been outlined here in this debate—are really examples of man's inhumanity to man, which we find in so many international and so many human institutions.

56. I have felt when I have heard some of the problems that have been posed here and in the Fourth Committee that they are common problems that we are facing in all our countries—that they are part of our common drive for the betterment of mankind by the raising of standards of living throughout the world, for the observation of human rights and the fostering of human rights everywhere. Many of these problems are problems of humanity.

57. It seems to me that one essential point in considering this question is that we cannot think of all colonies as being exactly the same. They are different not only in their physical conditions, not only in the nature of the inhabitants, not only in the nature of the administering Powers: they are different in their historical background, and in so many other respects. Some of the countries that became colonies were old civilizations, old cultures, perhaps large political groupings. Some of them were not nations but, nevertheless, were aggregates of substantial social groups—perhaps large tribal structures of many, many thousands, even tens of thousands. And then in other cases the colonies consisted of groups, very small in number, disorganized, perhaps unrelated to one another, scattered, unconnected. And our approach to the problems of colonialism can, I think, be fruitful only when we recognize that there are different sorts of colonies, just as there are different sorts of administering Powers, different sorts of

problems to be overcome and different sorts of ways of meeting them.

58. Nor is it true that in all cases colonialism has meant taking independence away from people who would otherwise today be living at the same standards of living as Western Europe. That may be true in some parts of the world, but in other parts of the world it obviously is not true. In some places, before the present administering Powers came, there were no national entities, there was internecine warfare and tribal fighting, there were no human rights, and there was slavery—because slavery is not just an institution that Europeans have practised on other peoples. Slavery is an age-old institution that we have to fight wherever it occurs and whatever the peoples which may be practising it.

59. We have heard in this debate, at various stages, fanciful phrases about the lash of the overseer, about the crimes of the colonialists. And when I heard them I thought that they might be true in some times of history and in some places in this world, but they are certainly not true of any territory that has been administered by Australia, and it is for Australia that I am speaking. I am not speaking for any other administering Power, but it might be useful, and perhaps even helpful, to this Assembly if I said something about eastern New Guinea, for which Australia is responsible.

60. Eastern New Guinea has long been isolated from the rest of the world. Its people had no contacts with other peoples for hundreds of years—probably for thousands of years. It was, therefore, different, for example, from the peoples of Africa who, at various stages over a long period of time, have had fruitful contact with other cultures in other parts of Africa, in parts of Asia and in various other parts of the world. New Guinea was a completely isolated series of communities cut off from cultural and other contacts. Even today it contains fewer than two million people. The population has been growing steadily in recent years, but it is still fewer than two million, and between them they speak 510 languages and some thousands of dialects; and the people who speak one of those 510 languages do not understand anyone who speaks another, so that one has a large number of groups unable, for all practical purposes, to communicate with one another—people who have had no concept of a nation, people who have had no concept of the size of the island that they inhabit and the fact that there might be some common interest, even some common bond, between them and the other people on that island. They have lived primitive lives. On the whole their way of life consisted of gathering food and eating it rapidly. Storage of food, for example, was an idea that barely entered into their way of living. They were dominated by sorcery and witchcraft. In many cases they practised cannibalism.

61. These are not people who, until recent times, formed a nation with a highly sophisticated political or social structure. I am not one of those who confuses civilization with Western ways of living, but I know that there are many Members of this Organization in many continents who have within their borders small groups of peoples living primitive lives, with limited traditions, and with, up to the present, limited opportunities. And I ask the representatives of those countries to imagine an island every one of whose inhabitants is a person of that background.

That shows the immensity of the task. It is a question of bringing men in a few years from the stone age up to the modern complicated civilization. And this is not a problem that confronts any country in this Organization. It is not a problem that has confronted the Members of this Organization in recent times. This is almost a unique situation—unique in the size of the people, whose standard is such that they have quite a way to go before they can take their place among us. This view is not based on any feeling of racial superiority. The people of New Guinea will be able to attain their place alongside everybody else. The relatively backward state in which they found themselves is a product of long isolation from the rest of mankind. It is the result of historical circumstances.

62. Australia has had the great task—and it is a task which we have gladly accepted, and one which we have chosen to accept—of bringing these people into the twentieth century, of making them peaceful neighbours of Australia and of the other countries in our Western Pacific region, people who will be partners of all of us in a peaceful world.

63. Profit has not been our motive. As far as Australia is concerned, the task of administering New Guinea and of advancing the indigenous inhabitants has been a heavy economic and financial burden, and it is a burden that will continue. Therefore, the classical ideas of the economic exploitation of colonies do not apply in the case of New Guinea.

64. The people of New Guinea are our neighbours. The island of New Guinea is next to us; we live with its people cheek by jowl in this world. We want to be friends with them. We want them to be partners with us in a common endeavour and in the interests of our common peace. We look forward to bringing them to nationhood. We have accepted and have gone beyond our obligations under the Charter to bring them to nationhood.

65. Let me say something about the problems that have confronted Australia in a country like New Guinea—and, when I say this, perhaps it will answer questions that could arise in your minds as to why it is taking some time to achieve our objective.

66. Australia has had the Trust Territory of New Guinea for forty years. That is the lifetime of one individual. Before that, it was a German colony. Australia also has a Non-Self-Governing Territory to the south of the Trust Territory, where we have been somewhat longer. But I shall speak about the two together because we are applying common policies, we have a common aspiration of giving self-determination to the people in both territories.

67. New Guinea is in the tropics. It has a rough terrain. It has a jungle that is frequently impenetrable. When you think of New Guinea, perhaps you could put it alongside the Amazon as a vast area which it is extremely difficult to penetrate. That is one of the reasons why it has taken a long time to open up the country. Even today there are areas that are not yet under administration. It has been a hard and a long task. We must remember that all the resources that are available today were not available forty years ago, or even twenty years ago. I am thinking in particular of aircraft and of the bulldozer. It often takes a man on foot many, many days to go a very few miles. We have been able to overcome this problem of space and of impenetrable jungle by using aircraft.

Australia did a lot of the pioneering work in the world in opening up a territory by aircraft. In the late twenties and in the thirties, we built a whole town in the mountains of New Guinea, supplied completely by air—the town of Bulolo—and in those days that was quite a feat. It was something from which other countries learned, but it was something that was not possible until we had mastered the use of aircraft for the transport of heavy machinery and heavy goods. Even today there are settlements in New Guinea where a substantial part of the supplies and communications have to come in by air—an expensive and sometimes a difficult project because, in addition to this jungle, there are high mountain ranges and there are various indentations of valleys. Many people who have come to New Guinea, including some of our United Nations colleagues and visiting missions, have been quite alarmed at the conditions under which they have had to fly from place to place in New Guinea through mists and fogs, a condition that is quite normal in the lives of those who have to live and work in New Guinea.

68. And then we had, in the middle of our task in New Guinea, a war which devastated New Guinea. New Guinea was the scene of active fighting for five years. During that time, a large number of buildings, roads, wharves and docks were destroyed in shelling and other forms of warfare. The jungle swallowed them up.

69. I can remember going to Finschhafen, on the northern coast of New Guinea, where there was a big building of about the same size as the Delegates' Dining Room, with a floor of concrete six to nine inches thick. And yet, in a period of six months, that enormous slab of concrete had been completely destroyed by the jungle: trees had forced themselves up through the concrete, splitting it in two. And so, by the end of five years of fighting, there was very little of a material nature left in northern New Guinea, and we had to start off again from scratch in a material sense. Quite apart from warfare, of course, this great tropical growth of New Guinea imposes enormous tasks upon us annually in maintenance. The task of maintaining roads and buildings is very great.

70. Then there has been the problem of overcoming disease. The whole coast of New Guinea was an area in which malaria was prevalent, an area of great sickness for the indigenous inhabitants and for any Australians who came there. We have gradually overcome that. But it has taken a long while, because the knowledge and the drugs that exist today did not exist until comparatively recently. Here, again, pioneering work has been done in Australia by people like Sir Hamilton Fairley. The work done in New Guinea in coping with malaria has served as a lesson and has been applied in places like Burma and other parts of South-East Asia and in the continent of Africa. Nowadays, in the development of under-developed countries, we can take account of things like atabrin and paludrin. We have learned more about the importance of draining areas, where it is possible, and how to drain them. We have learned about using fish to swallow and keep in check the larvae of mosquitoes. All these things have gradually been learned over the years and applied throughout the world. But, until some of these things were learned, there were serious impediments to the development of many parts of the world and certainly to the development of New Guinea.

71. Scientific research has been needed, and in Australia itself a large part of our economic history has consisted of learning how to acclimatize to Australian conditions animals and vegetation from Europe. We had great problems in getting even sheep, which are now the backbone of our exports, to live in Australia. We had problems with wheat.

72. We have had the same problems in New Guinea. I have been up in the highlands of New Guinea in the last few years, where we have been experimenting with cattle and sheep and pigs—livestock which did not exist in those parts even five years ago, livestock which is still not at home in those parts and still not an economic proposition. The gradual application of research and experimentation will, we hope, make it possible for areas which at present can carry nothing to become productive areas, but these things take time. Even the breeding period for livestock is of some duration. We need time for these things.

73. I have said this because I know, and I have heard it said here, that the development of some of the Non-Self-Governing Territories and the Trust Territories has appeared to go slowly. But one reason in many cases, and certainly one reason in the case of New Guinea, has been the difficulties of the terrain, the physical obstacles that any Government would have had to overcome slowly and painfully.

74. We are making efforts, apart from the material work, some of which I have referred to, such as roads, bridges, hospitals and so on. We have applied ourselves industrially to carry out our obligations to prepare the peoples for self-government, and in this process, of course, there is a fanning out. We started off with nothing in this respect, as far as the indigenous inhabitants were concerned, but you build up a nucleus, and the nucleus itself can play a part in training others, and so you get a fanning out. You teach some teachers, and then the teachers teach other teachers. So, instead of political and economic development proceeding at a steady, uniform pace, we can look to it proceeding at a steadily accelerating pace.

75. In the political field, there is increased participation in the public service and in the central Government. This year there have been reforms in the Legislative Council which have increased the number of indigenous inhabitants serving in that Council. There has been steady development of local and regional government. This is not uniform all over the territories. We are not holding back one province because another province is not ready for a particular form of self-government, but in towns and in villages, and gradually in higher forms of organization, the indigenous inhabitants of the particular localities are playing a bigger and bigger part in running their own affairs.

76. Education is steadily growing. There are now 200,000 at school in New Guinea. As I have said, the total population of adults and children is less than 2 million. Technical training, not only in various forms of industry but in agriculture, is steadily being expanded. For example, I myself visited a large plywood factory in Bulolo in 1956 and again in 1957, and in that period I could see a steadily increasing proportion of indigenous inhabitants taking part in the operations of that establishment, operations which were highly sophisticated, with electric eyes and various operating methods that could be used in any city in the world.

77. Health services have been expanded. This does not only apply to hospitals and so forth where European doctors and others could help, but we are training and preparing the indigenous inhabitants for health services on their own account. We are building so that the people themselves will take over these functions.

78. Law and order now prevails over nearly the whole territory. There are still some areas, as I have said, that are not under administration, but most of it is, and here is law and order where all the people of the territories can look to the protection of the courts against arbitrary action by individuals or arbitrary action by Government. The territory is subject to the rule of law, and the rule of law applies to all the inhabitants.

79. We are gradually reforming or amending restrictions imposed by tribal or religious custom. That, of course, is a complicated question, and many representatives here will have had personal experience and will have personal views on the extent to which an Administering Authority should interfere in old inherited customs. This is something where we have tried as far as possible to adapt ourselves and to adapt our laws to the wishes and the freely accepted desires of the indigenous people. As you know, local customs can make difficult the most economical use of land, to take just one example. However, with regard to land, the Australian Government has pursued the policy that no land can be acquired from the indigenous inhabitants except by the Administration itself, and then only under safeguards. The result is that 97 per cent of the land in New Guinea is under indigenous ownership, and less than 1 per cent is in use by or occupied by non-indigenous people. We have felt that, as part of our sacred trust—using the words of the Charter—we had an obligation to see to it that the lands in New Guinea remained in the ownership and at the disposal of the people of New Guinea.

80. As I have said, Australia has accepted the obligations of the Charter. These are obligations to the United Nations, to the international community, but they are also obligations to the indigenous inhabitants themselves. The Charter is precise on this. It is a treaty obligation.

81. Now we have before us, submitted by a large number of nations on the initiative of the African-Asian group, a declaration [A/L.323 and Add.1-5]. This declaration is different from the Charter. The Charter, as I say, is a treaty obligation and precisely worked out. This declaration is different even from the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which was carefully worked over in a commission and a committee and even then had no binding or enforceable status. It is difficult to be precise in a general declaration. It is designed to cover different types of territory; it is designed to cover different types of administrative régimes. But this declaration, not being able to override the Charter, or go beyond the powers of this Assembly, represents rather a general statement of agreed aspirations.

82. Some here would have liked it to go further, as we have heard. Some would have liked it to go less far. Some would have liked it to be more precise. Others would have preferred different wording. There is, I imagine, no Member here who would not like to see some change in the draft declaration as it appears

before us, who would not have preferred different wording. For example, I do not think it is true that, as stated in the preamble, in all cases the continued existence of colonialism "impedes the social, cultural and economic development of dependent peoples". I hope that what I have said about New Guinea indicates that there at least colonialism is helping the indigenous inhabitants forward and that without the Australian Administering Authority the people would have no immediate hopes of advancement and of self-government.

83. Operative paragraph 3, referring to pretexts for delaying independence, might perhaps be misinterpreted. There are parts of the world where the immediate abandonment by the Administering Authority would result in chaos, but I think we would all agree that as a pretext, as a false reason, unjustified by facts, the conditions in that paragraph should not be used.

84. There has already been reference by the representatives of Burma and New Zealand to operative paragraph 4 about armed action, and they have explained their interpretation that this is not intended to prevent the use of police in the normal maintenance of law and order.

85. There is also a paragraph stating that immediate steps should be taken to transfer all powers in accordance with the freely expressed will of the indigenous inhabitants. As far as we are concerned in our territories, Australia is taking steps—and it has been taking them—to transfer powers as rapidly as possible to the indigenous inhabitants, and we, I believe, are giving effect to that paragraph of this declaration.

86. This debate has been useful in revealing the currents of thought and in demonstrating the feeling, not only among those of us who are here, but among those whom we represent here. The most effective speeches—if I might say so—have been those which were restrained and which balanced good and bad. None of us would say that there is no good or no bad in this institution of colonialism. But we are all agreed that we should bring it, as rapidly as possible, to an end in the form of self-government for all the peoples of the world.

87. I have tried today to make Australia's position clear as an administering Power. I have tried not to mislead the General Assembly, but to show the difficulties and the aims that we have in our territories, how we are trying to cope with those difficulties, and how we are trying to pursue those aims. The Prime Minister of Australia said in this very Assembly hall on 5 October 1960: "... we regard ourselves as having a duty to produce as soon as it is practicable an opportunity for complete self-determination for the people of Papua and New Guinea." [888th meeting, para. 46.]

88. Mr. MIYAZAKI (Japan): The question of the abolition of colonialism is no new issue. In the Covenant of the League of Nations, we have seen the idea of mandate, the forerunner of the international accountability of dependent territories. In the Charter of the United Nations this is more clear and precise. The provisions on Non-Self-Governing Territories and Trust Territories in Chapters XI, XII and XIII envisage future self-government or independence of these Territories.

89. In point of fact as well, since the United Nations came into being, former Non-Self-Governing Territories and Trust Territories, totalling more than thirty, attained independence in accordance with the letter and spirit of the Charter. This is no mean record for the United Nations, and with seventeen newly independent nations among us here at this session, the trend and the urge for independence are all the more mounting and pronounced.

90. My delegation shares the view that the question of colonialism is one of the most important problems of the day. There should be no time lost in bringing the whole question to a reasonable perspective. Unrest in more than one part of still dependent areas in Africa and the situation in the Congo compel our urgent attention to this question.

91. We have three declarations on the end of colonialism before us. All are so phrased as to be applicable throughout the world. My delegation attaches great importance to the scope of application. It is the conviction of my delegation that a declaration of this nature should be universal in its application, that is, such a declaration must be applied to every part of the world without exception.

92. My delegation wishes to point out, however, that although universal in its scope, actual application must be flexible. In a sense, universality of application necessitates flexibility. Especially with regard to the timing of independence, no wholesale determination is practicable or even possible.

93. I submit this because we have to recognize great differences in the conditions obtaining in Africa and those in the Pacific Ocean. In Africa, territories awaiting independence are invariably land masses of considerable size and population. In the case of the Pacific areas, there are thousands of small islands, separated by sea and many of them sparsely populated. Some of them may be too small as a unit of an independent State while, more often than not, cohesion among islands and propensity towards national unity are yet to come. Such peculiarity of the Pacific area was already forcibly and eloquently expressed in the Fourth Committee by the representative of the Philippines. My delegation, also representing an insular nation in that part of the world, fully shares his view and congratulates him on speaking out concerning what is rightly worrying this Government.

94. It may, therefore, be unreasonable to expect a mechanically uniform implementation of the declaration in all territories of the world. Chaos and void, through which anything might creep in, should never be allowed in that part of the world which has, so far, been spared from turmoil and remains true to its name. This caution on the part of my delegation does not imply lack of sympathy for those people on the islands in the Pacific. On the contrary, we hope that those people on the Pacific islands may eventually be enabled to formulate freely what status they shall assume in the future, to give full sway to their own genius, and to enjoy the fruits of their labour to the full.

95. My delegation should like to take this opportunity to pay attention to some considerations necessary for nations which have newly emerged on the international scene.

96. Since the sixteenth century the billows of colonialism stormed my country, but with staunch determin-

ation we maintained our independence against formidable odds. After emergence from three centuries of seclusion, my country encountered the harsh realities of international life. At that time there was no League of Nations or United Nations to lean upon and my country had to see through early days of contact and confrontation with the rest of the world entirely single-handedly.

97. Modernization of political structure and educational institutions, inauguration of industries using machines and electricity, had to be done solely on our own resources. It was a hard road that my country had to trudge along, but will and determination carried us to a position among the nations of the world that is not easily influenced by outside forces.

98. Because of our own experience, we in Japan have a deep sympathy not only for the independence of colonial countries, but also for the inevitable future that awaits them after the attainment of independence—a hard climb uphill taxing them, requiring every bit of will power and arduous work. Today, with the United Nations standing by all Member nations and ready to extend a helping hand where it is reasonably necessary, things are considerably easier. This is surely an advancement of our international society in which we live today. Nevertheless, in spite of all the aid and assistance at the disposal of young nations of today, the mainstay of orderly progress should rest on the self-help of each nation.

99. As I mentioned before, there is a sense of urgency among non-independent peoples today. My delegation fully sympathizes with it. It goes without saying that we must not dally and tarry in bringing about independence or self-government to all the peoples. On the other hand, hatred and mistrust towards colonial Powers linger among some peoples who have experienced the humiliation of subjection under the colonial régime. We perceive this from the tone and vocabulary of some of the speeches in this Assembly. It is understandable and we cannot but sympathize with such feelings.

100. Recollection and recounting of the past with rancour serve little purpose in our march towards freedom and independence. We had better look ahead. We have come to agree that colonialism is a matter of bygone days. The scramble for colonies, which was the order of the day in past centuries, does not and should not exist now. With the change of the times and human thinking, and with the United Nations and its Charter among us, the rules of the game of international society have definitely changed. We should exhort administering Powers to recognize this change of the rules. Accusations, if they should be made, may only be directed to those who refuse to acknowledge the change of the times and spared on those who are quick to acknowledge this and act accordingly.

101. A chain reaction of accusation, impatience, haste and violence is deplorable, to say the least. There is no gainsaying that transition from a status of dependency to independence had better be smooth and peaceful. My delegation, therefore, sincerely appeals to the administering Powers to respect fully the desires of dependent people. Any attempt to delay unduly the progress towards independence or self-government should never be countenanced. At the same time, to the dependent people, my delegation

makes an appeal to have patience and to choose the way of peaceful transition, based on goodwill and co-operation.

102. In conclusion, my delegation wishes to express its earnest hope that adoption by the General Assembly of a declaration on the end of colonialism will put a final period to the era of hatred and antagonism and open a new era of harmony and co-operation in the history of mankind.

103. Mr. COMAY (Israel): The most exciting feature of this historic debate is that it could not have taken place a generation ago. It is five centuries since the vigorous and intelligent nations on the western fringes of Europe started setting out to discover and conquer new continents. They became the masters of the known world, from the vast and nearly empty plains of North America to the ancient civilizations of Asia. One hundred eighty years ago the tide started turning, when a shot was fired at Concord which rang around the world. The American Revolution was followed by the liberation of Latin America, and by the evolution within the British Empire towards Dominion status.

104. What marked this phase was the emancipation, by force or consent, of communities of European stock no longer willing to live under the control of distant parent countries. It was in a much more recent phase that the process extended to the indigenous non-white peoples of Asia and Africa. It is only since the end of World War II, and the signing of the United Nations Charter in San Francisco fifteen years ago, that national independence on these two continents has become an irresistible flood, changing the political face of the earth so radically that the school atlases we used as boys, with the different empires each painted in with its own special colour, have now become museum pieces.

105. Even in the short span of these post-war years, Africa lagged behind Asia, and it now remains the one major field for what has come to be called "decolonization". That is why we have all felt such genuine joy at the spectacular change which has taken place in the last year or two, marked by the admission of so many new African Member States at the present Assembly session. For too long Africa has been the forgotten continent, languishing in poverty and backwardness, its resources squeezed to enrich others, the outside world too often reaching into its depths only in the frightful guise of the slave-trader, whose traffic in human flesh still persists to this day in certain parts of the Middle East.

106. It is only in our time that the philosophical ideals of human freedom and equality are at last being turned into practical international policies. Men will only be brothers in the real sense of the word when the pigment of their skins and the shape of their features are no longer relevant to their individual position in society or to the status of their people.

107. My delegation agrees with what was said by the representative of Argentina in his eloquent statement—namely, that:

"To draw up a balance-sheet of colonialism might take us much further than we want to go. The important thing to note is that whatever judgement may be passed on the system now or by future his-

torians, colonialism no longer fits into the political structures of our time. It is a type of relationship which has ended forever." [927th meeting, para. 17.]

Whatever that balance-sheet may be, there is no question that the earlier record of colonialism is stained with oppression and exploitation. There can also be no question that the contemporary policies and outlook of the two major colonial Powers, the United Kingdom and France, are based on an honourable desire to bring their colonies to self rule. For proof they can legitimately point to the many seats which their former subjects now occupy in this United Nations as sovereign and equal States. Acknowledgement of this fact should not be withheld through proper resentment of the evils of an earlier colonial era.

108. Where new States wish of their own free will to maintain an association with the former metropolitan country, on a basis of equality and mutual respect, and where they find such links to be beneficial to them, there is no need to label such a relationship as "neo-colonialism". This is a matter which the new States must decide for themselves, in the exercise of their own sovereign prerogatives. What is important to stress is that there is no special merit in achieving independence in circumstances of conflict and chaos if the transfer of power can take place in an agreed and orderly manner, as has happened in many cases and as we hope will happen very soon with all the remaining Non-Self-Governing Territories.

109. The principle of national independence, spelt out in the draft resolution in document A/L.323 and Add.1-5, is one which touches the deepest sentiments and the most venerable memories of the people of Israel. Thousands of years ago we were struggling for our independence against the great colonial empires of the ancient world. Time after time their marching armies trampled our freedom into the dust. Time after time the standard of revolt was raised again, for a people can never be finally conquered so long as the love of freedom remains alive in their hearts.

110. This recurrent struggle is enshrined in the Hebrew calendar. Every year, at the Feast of Passover, Jews recall the time, over three thousand years ago, when Moses led the children of Israel out of their bondage in Egypt so that they could live as free men in the Promised Land. Every year, on the ninth day of the month of Av, religious Jews fast in mourning for the destruction of our national independence by Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon, in 586 B.C., and again by the Roman Legions under Titus, in 70 A.D. Channukah, the Feast of Lights, commemorates the revolt of Judas Maccabeas and his brothers against the domination and the religious and cultural suppression of the Syrian-Hellenist empire. On Lag B'Omer, the eighteenth day of the month of Iyar, we remember the heroic and bloodily repressed Jewish revolt led by Bar-Kochba and Rabbi Akiva against the imperial power of Rome, in the second century A.D.

111. These events were the historic background to Israel's renewed independence in 1948, after a bitter and painful struggle against what had in effect become a colonial régime—a struggle which involved deportations, loss of life and the detention of our leaders and thousands of our people. But I do not want to

dwelt upon that conflict now, for throughout its course we kept intact our belief in the basic decency of the British people and our regard for what it has contributed to civilized values, and we are glad that there are today good and friendly relations between the United Kingdom and us. Our only purpose in mentioning our ancient and modern experience is to explain why we so passionately reject any concept of superior or inferior races and any belief that one country, nation or people has the right to rule over another.

112. Who has better reason than we to "reaffirm faith . . . in the dignity and worth of the human person" or to hate and reject "all practices of segregation and discrimination"? Down the centuries, our people have been classic victims of these practices and have survived through many dark and bloody episodes, reaching their climax in our own lifetime in the Nazi design to procure what they called a final solution to the Jewish problem by genocide—that is, by the extermination of a whole people.

113. We cannot forget past suffering, and we would not suggest to others that they do so. What we have, however, urged upon ourselves and do suggest to other newly independent States is that we and they should not dwell too much in the past, but should instead concentrate on building the future.

114. All of us who are newly emergent States have discovered in turn that the proclamation of independence is not an end, but only a beginning. On the morrow of the celebrations, the leaders of each of us have had to face difficult internal problems and looming external dangers, and each of us has suffered failures and frustrations. That is so not only for recently independent countries. We have listened in this debate to sober and mature statements by representatives of Latin American countries which liberated themselves from colonial tutelage over a century ago and are still engaged today in the battle to fill the frame of their sovereignty with the content of human welfare.

115. Speaking in the general debate on 10 October 1960, the Foreign Minister of Israel said:

"We, the new countries, have gained our independence in an era of man's greatest achievements. In parts of the world the standard of living and development has reached fantastic heights. We should not be told to go slow in our development; we should not be told that the advances of the developed countries have taken generations and centuries to attain. We cannot wait. We must develop quickly . . .

" . . . we will never be really free as long as our children need to be fed by others. Our freedom will be complete only when we have learned to bring forth from our own soil the food that we need. The cry that goes out from the African and Asian continents today is: share with us not only food, but also your knowledge of how to produce it. The inequality in the world today is not only in the gap of material things, but what is even more frightening, in the gap between those who literally reach for the moon and those who do not know how to reach efficiently into their own soil to produce their daily needs.

"To satisfy the hunger of the mind is no less urgent than to satisfy the hunger for bread. The question is how the world can organize itself to span the time-lag of generations and share this

knowledge with those who need it." [897th meeting, paras. 128-130.]

116. The aching gulf between the political sovereignty of their countries and the actual conditions of life of their peoples is fully understood by the statesmen of the new countries, as has been reflected in the views expressed here by their delegations. I would mention, in particular, the stress laid by the representative of Ghana on the economic and social factors in the great anti-colonial revolutions of our time, on the creative energies released by independence, and on the need for sound economic relations between the under-developed countries of Asia and Africa, and the great industrial countries of Europe and America. My delegation fully agrees with these views.

117. National independence is essential but it is not enough. No nation can be an island unto itself. We inhabit one world in which all peoples must learn to live together or must perish together. In his Introduction to the Israel Government Year Book, published a few weeks ago, the Prime Minister, Mr. David Ben-Gurion writes:

"Nations of every size, long under foreign rule, some with ancient cultures, others for centuries untutored, are casting that yoke aside and grasping independence. The day cannot be far when all peoples, no matter what their colour, race or culture, will be members of mankind's family, equal in rights, sovereign and free.

"Yet all nations, whatever their strength or stature, are growing more and more dependent each upon the other. There is hardly a State, large, rich and powerful though it be, that can do without the co-operation and support of others."

Beyond the independence of each people lies the interdependence of all peoples.

118. We have carefully studied the wording of the proposed draft resolution contained in document A/L.323 and Add.1-5, and we shall vote for it and support its aspirations. To us, these aspirations are already foreshadowed in the sublime and universal vision of Isaiah, Jeremiah and the other ancient Hebrew Prophets, who preached the equality of all men and all nations. In the words of the Prophet Amos:

"Are ye not as children of the Ethiopians unto me, O children of Israel? saith the Lord."

119. Mr. HERRARTE (Guatemala) (translated from Spanish): The delegation of Guatemala, pursuing the course that it has always followed both inside and outside the United Nations, wishes to declare once again that it is in favour of the freedom of peoples and the abolition of the historical phenomenon known as colonialism, which has definitely been on the decline for some time.

120. We have not come here to make accusations of any kind. As a nation that emerged into independent life after a long colonial period we Guatemalans have learned to love liberty; we jealously guard our independence, and we are firmly convinced that all peoples are capable of self-determination and self-government—the best means of developing their cultural heritage, promoting their welfare and exploiting their natural riches for their own benefit.

121. We would be unjust if we included only those Western nations which possess, or have until recently

possessed, colonies, among the colonial Powers. In our opinion, colonialism began when man first exploited man; when the first tribes subjugated neighboring tribes; when the great empires of antiquity were formed through the conquest of more or less distant nations, which were yet within reach, using the means of communication available at the time. Colonialism was brought by Alexander the Great and his conquering hosts that overran the Middle East; colonialism was practised by ancient Rome, which conquered so many different peoples along the shores of the mare nostrum and converted them into provinces of its vast empire. It was by colonialist methods that such great countries as China were formed, and Holy Russia, which extended its conquests into distant Siberia, the extreme east of the continent of Asia. Neighbouring peoples were brought under their dominion and the frontiers were widened as their conquests were consolidated. Colonialism and imperialism are two terms which overlap and have the same meaning.

122. Advances in the art of navigation and the progress of science enabled the peoples who possessed this knowledge to reach distant continents. The discovery of America charted a new course for colonialism. With the advent of transoceanic communication the Europeans, with their technical skills, overflowed first into America, then into Asia, and finally into Africa and other regions.

123. This is no place to relate the long history of colonialism in modern times. However, as technical knowledge spread and nations became less isolated, colonialism began, paradoxically, to decline until in recent years it reached a point of almost complete disintegration.

124. Now that over a hundred years have elapsed since we became independent of the mother country, we have come to understand that not everything was bad in the colony; that we did receive inestimable spiritual benefits from Spain which form our cultural heritage and give us strength to face the vicissitudes of life. Those new countries, too, which are emerging to independent life today will have to realize that hostility and resentment must give way to understanding and healthy co-operation, which does not mean subjection in any sense, nor disguised exploitation. The road before them is a rough one and is full of stumbling blocks.

125. The liquidation of colonialism, a process which had its feeble beginnings after the First World War when the Mandates System was applied by the League of Nations to the colonies of the defeated countries, took a tremendous step forward with the ratification of the United Nations Charter, establishing the right of peoples to self-determination and instituting the Trusteeship System for the territories formerly under mandate, for the territories taken away from the enemy States during the Second World War, and for those territories which were voluntarily placed under trusteeship by the States responsible for their administration. The provisions relating to the Trusteeship System clearly state that its objectives are to promote political, economic, social and educational advancement of the inhabitants of the Trust Territories, and their progressive development towards self-government or independence, as may be appropriate to the particular circumstances of each territory and the freely expressed wishes of the peoples

concerned. The Charter also contains a special chapter on Non-Self-Governing Territories. Although in this case the provisions do not go so far, nothing else could have been expected, in view of the great political and economic interests of the colonialist Powers. Yet that was the beginning of the end. The Powers undertook to transmit information on those territories when they accepted the sacred trust of administration, and they made binding statements recognizing that the interests of the inhabitants were paramount and obligating themselves to promote self-government and the political aspirations of those peoples.

126. The result of these wise provisions has been definitely encouraging. Of course, the fate of all dependent territories could have been decided at that time by a single stroke of the pen. But the political conditions were not sufficiently favourable and great decisions of that kind are not arrived at suddenly. There is always much reluctance on the part of the colonizing countries to accept the loss of their privileges. That is why the fight for independence is always a bitter one and why in most cases victory is won only after a violent struggle.

127. We should therefore rejoice that in recent years the liquidation of colonialism has developed for the most part along peaceful lines, thanks to the spirit that reigned at the San Francisco Conference, and we should also rejoice that this process is now in its final stage.

128. My country, to its great satisfaction and pride, was a member of the Trusteeship Council and the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories. We believe that we have discharged a great humanitarian duty by watching over and working for the development of the dependent peoples and the achievement of their independence. We have continued to fulfil these duties in the General Assembly.

129. My delegation has witnessed with the deepest satisfaction the entry into the United Nations of many new Members, States which were previously colonies or Trust Territories. The best proof of this process of "decolonization" is provided by the fact that when the United Nations was founded, fifteen years ago, there were in all fifty-one Members and now we are approaching one hundred, or nearly double the original number. If we were to compare a map of the world as it was at the end of the war, showing in different colours the various dependent territories, with a map of today, we should realize how encouraging the prospects are, and that we may now speak of the last remnants of colonialism.

130. Therefore, my delegation believes that the liquidation of colonialism will not take long, and that the matter should not be exploited for demagogic purposes in the cold war, but treated with the seriousness and good sense that the times call for. Above all, we must prevent the countries on the threshold of independence from becoming the victims of the cold war—pawns in a dangerous game, bearing the label of independence but suffering worse subjection than when they were colonies.

131. We should not disregard the praiseworthy efforts of the recently emancipated countries in favour of the total abolition of colonialism. This is the same seed that flourished in America, when the moment for independence spread over the whole continent. It is the same force that was exerted by the Latin American

peoples at the very beginning of the United Nations, for the successive liberation of the peoples of Asia and Africa; now these efforts are being taken up by those peoples themselves, so that colonialism may be done away with once and for all.

132. The spirit that reigned at our famous American Congress of 1826, convened on the initiative of the liberator Simón Bolívar, is the same spirit that was manifested at the Bandung, Accra and Addis Ababa Conferences, so dear to the hearts of the peoples of Asia and Africa.

133. We have heard the demands of these peoples for the liquidation of colonialism in their continents. But there are still vestiges of colonialism in free America, a heritage of former times, which should also be done away with. In the West Indies, in the Guianas and in part of the Guatemalan territory unlawfully occupied by the United Kingdom, our own territory of Belize, colonialism seems still to be deeply rooted. We were encouraged to hear the statement by the United Kingdom representative [925th meeting] to the effect that his country is in entire sympathy with the feelings and aims of the African-Asian delegations as regards the earliest possible achievement of independence by all the peoples not yet enjoying it. These are our own feelings, and I trust that the United Kingdom, honouring its own statement, will decide to put an end to the century-old controversy with Guatemala regarding our territory of Belize and will respect the territorial integrity of a country which, because of its weakness and lack of resources, has no other weapon than the justice of its cause.

134. I do not wish to tax the patience of the Assembly with this particular question and I shall therefore not go into it in detail. However, I must declare that in conformity with Article 1 of our Constitution, Belize is part of the national territory and we consider its reincorporation to be of vital importance.

135. If colonialism cannot be justified anywhere on earth, it is unthinkable that there should still be remnants of this odious system in the American continent, which was the first to accede to independence and to give the world its greatest lesson in liberty and self-determination. In a century and a half of independence we have learned to love freedom, and despite our political wranglings we jealously guard this heritage from our liberators and have devoted our efforts and our enthusiasm to the liberation of other countries. We hope, therefore, that justice will be done also in regard to the American claims. The breath of freedom, which is today a strong wind that blows over the whole world, must also reach America, where it started, and sweep away forever the last remnants of colonialism. We are sure that the peoples of Asia and Africa will respond in the same generous spirit that has been shown by the Latin American countries for the independence of those distant lands.

136. My delegation is firmly convinced that, if we are to implement effectively the provisions of Article 1 of the United Nations Charter, especially in respect of the fundamental aim of maintaining international peace and security, colonialism must be abolished. The subjugation of one people by another inevitably leads to constant irritation between the oppressor

and the oppressed. This irritation is reflected in friction and struggle and sometimes in long, cruel wars which leave behind them a legacy of hatred that is hard to dissipate. There can be no true international co-operation on the basis of the subjection of one people by another or the violation of territorial integrity. For these essential reasons colonialism is an anachronism and if we are to respect the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations Charter, these forms of domination must cease to exist. The well-known pretext that those peoples are backward has no justification. We have seen how peoples regarded as backward are reborn, assimilate modern techniques, and join the universal movement of progress. The struggle against economic and political domination and against racial discrimination in any form is the sign of the times, and nothing can halt the march of the under-developed nations towards their complete economic, political and social liberation.

137. It is also obvious that colonialism is in open conflict with any sound legal and philosophical conception of human rights. How can the empty pretexts which are advanced to justify colonialism be reconciled with the glorious declarations on human rights made in this august Assembly twelve years ago? What arguments, what legal concepts can be raised against the precept, which is but a recognition of the truth, that all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights? The Universal Declaration of Human Rights states that no one shall be held in slavery or servitude, but what is the basis of colonialism if it is not slavery and servitude? Therefore my delegation, in condemning all forms of colonialism, also condemns all its disguised forms, imposed upon countries which once were independent, against which it cannot be said that they lack preparation for independence, countries in which respect for the dignity and freedom of the individual and for great spiritual values has been suppressed. For these reasons, we were surprised that the Soviet Union should propose the abolition of colonialism since it has obdurately opposed any consideration of the case of the nations which have fallen victim to Russian neo-colonialism.

138. Let us then accomplish our task in favour of human liberty, conscious of doing our duty, without demagogical arguments or futile recriminations. My delegation is pleased that in the near future many more countries will take their place in this Organization, after achieving full independence, in fulfilment of our aim of universality and of unity in freedom, now that man, having made prodigious scientific discoveries, faces the choice between his own destruction and the exploration of new worlds. Let this be a sign for man to choose the path of reason and justice.

139. We were pleased at the submission of draft resolution A/L.323 and Add.1-5 sponsored by a large number of countries, especially those of Africa and Asia, and including many of the premises necessary for the abolition of colonialism. We find this draft resolution constructive, and its general lines are in agreement with our point of view. We also welcome the draft resolution introduced yesterday by the delegation of Honduras [A/L.324], calling for the eradication of colonialism and the appointment of a commission to visit the territories which are still dependent and make recommendations to the next session of the General Assembly on the most rapid

and efficient ways of wiping out the colonial system. We shall devote our most careful attention to these draft resolutions and we reserve the right to speak again when they come up for discussion.

Mr. Boland (Ireland) resumed the Chair.

140. Mr. BENTES VINUEZA (Ecuador) (translated from Spanish): In this hall are assembled the representatives of ninety-nine States. It might well be said that this is indeed what has been called the Assembly of Humanity. We are the representatives of the peoples of the United Nations, so speaks the Charter, and this is tantamount to saying that we are the representatives of the peoples of the world. Yet there is a gap in our ranks here which is, paradoxically enough, an accusing presence. I refer to the absence of those who are suffering under the colonial yoke—the subject peoples of the earth.

141. That absence is all too grave an accusation levelled against our consciences as free men, because it confronts us with an inescapable dilemma: these people are not here either because they have not been granted the freedom they deserve or because there are in the world conditions of cultural under-development which do not allow them to exercise their rights to self-government. One way or the other, this signifies the open acceptance of an injustice.

142. While I have heard the representative of a great Power declare that, on colonial questions, he would listen with attention and respect to what the countries of Asia and Africa have to say, I believe that the countries of Latin America also have something to say on this problem. Surely the representative to whom I am alluding is aware of the great contributions in money and blood made by the United Kingdom to the countries of Latin America more than a century ago for their political emancipation, and he is also aware that in America there are still dependent territories and territories claimed by more than one State. I do not, however, think it necessary to invoke special prerogatives in order to speak on the injustice inherent in the colonial system.

143. The State which I represent lived for three centuries under a system of alien domination which, despite the fact that it was actually feudal, is usually referred to as colonial. To achieve emancipation, we had to wage a cruel war of twenty years' duration. That war called for incredible sacrifices, including economic sacrifices which bore heavily upon our future development. We do not want the peoples now striving towards their freedom to have to shed blood, to make sacrifices or to jeopardize their long-range future. We do not want them to have to repeat our painful experiences, and this is as valid a reason as any for coming to this rostrum.

144. As I stand here, I feel the weight of a heavy responsibility. The subject we are dealing with signifies human suffering. A deep and simple thing is expressed in those two words, but there is nothing more sacred than the suffering of man. That is why my delegation cannot consent to this being turned into a means for propaganda or a lamentable instrument of the cold war. We refuse to allow it to be turned into a jugglery of colonialist dialectics; but we also reject its becoming a battle cry of the purveyors of democracy, who are selling their magic recipes for collective happiness in all corners of the world.

145. First, I must express on behalf of the Government of Ecuador, the profound sympathy that we feel for the peoples oppressed under the colonial yoke. Generally speaking, colonialism is a type of racism and has been so throughout its history; the State I represent is based upon a multiracial society that passed through a colonial status. The indigenous society of Ecuador was multiracial; it suffered under the colonialism of the Incas for almost two generations and had to shake off that oppressive domination. Spain, which held its position of colonizer during three centuries, was also a multiracial society, being composed of Celtic, Iberian, Greek, Phoenicians, Roman, Gothic, Hebrew and—lastly and gloriously—Arabic elements. The African contributions were also multiracial—those men and women who were brought over in the slave ships to satisfy the slave-owning rapacity of the white man. Thus we know, from our remote pre-Hispanic past, what is meant by colonial domination, and in the one century of our life as a republic we have known how heavy is the weight of that past.

146. I have hesitated, however, to refer to the three-century domination of Spain in America, and thus also in my own country, as colonialism. The phenomenon of the expansion of Spain beyond the seas is original and unique in history. It did not at all resemble the establishment of ports of call for trading purposes by the Phoenicians in the Mediterranean; nor did it resemble those city states which Greece founded as foci of its marvellous culture, which was based on a system of slave labour; nor, again, did it resemble the Roman colonial system, a masterpiece of organization for the exploitation of tributary lands. Spain yearned to form America in her own image and likeness. It sought the souls of the indigenous inhabitants as the supreme object of its colonizing task in order to save them and, according to its Christian conception, to incorporate them into the Kingdom of God. It was a feeling of tenderness towards this newly-discovered human being, whom through a naive mistake was called the Indian, that, long before Grotius, led Spanish jurists such as Suárez and Vitoria to create a system of international law based upon respect for the dignity of the human person and the denial of the right of conquest. It was this urge that led Spain's jurists to establish the most humane code of laws that any colonizing people has ever formulated—the "Leyes de Indias". Spain raised no barriers between races, but joined with them, creating our mixed society. True, there were injustices; undeniably there was cruelty, but if there was harsh domination, it was the fault of irresponsible people and occurred against the will of the mother country, which always considered the lands in America to be overseas provinces.

147. Colonialism as we see it in the modern world is based on principles contrary to those adopted by Spain. It is founded, in the first place, on the assumption of the inequality of human beings as a basis for economic exploitation. There is an underlying racism in its doctrine or, at least, in its historic basis. The mariners of ancient times on their voyages of discovery believed that when they reached the equator their skins would become black, like those of the men who lived in Africa. This fear of becoming black continued to exist in the subconscious minds of the descendants of the slave-traders who, of course, were never Spaniards. I do not wish to draw unpleasant conclusions or to cite concrete cases, but, obviously,

it is this same state of mind that leads the racists of today to set up the barriers in cities, neighbourhoods and public services between Negroes and Whites.

148. Thus, racism and colonialism were inseparably joined at birth. The search for spice-producing tropical countries was the motive. In their search for spices, the Portuguese set out on the Mare Tenebrum; they rounded the Cape of Good Hope, discovered Madagascar and reached India, while others set off on a different route towards the coasts where the brazil-wood grew. Looking for the Indies where the spices grew, the Spanish navigators set forth on the mysterious western Atlantic, and the Spanish pilots Vicente Yáñez and Martín Alonso Pinzón, in the employ of the navigator Christopher Columbus, discovered America. The discovery of the tropical lands created, in its turn, new needs and brought the beginning of the most inhuman of all trades, the trade in human beings. The Negro became a commodity to be bought and sold. He was hunted on the coasts of Africa. He was hunted like a wild beast. The doctrine of slavery came into being to justify this savage hunt, and slavery became the twin brother of colonialism, which is but the collective form of slavery. Such was the genesis of classic colonialism.

149. Economic necessity gave impetus to its development. The peopling of distant lands increased the investment of capital in industry. Private capital, which, working in closely-knit fashion, had sufficed during the era of discovery, was no longer enough. So there came into being that great instrument of modern capitalism, the limited liability stock company, and it is noteworthy that the first of these was a colonial enterprise, the Dutch East India Company. The colonial system transformed the old guild economy. It produced mercantilism as a State policy, and mercantilism, in its turn, gave greater impetus to colonialism. The struggle for markets inevitably produced international tensions. When colonies could not be obtained through negotiation, wars of conquest or violent diplomatic struggles ensued. We all know the history of Europe between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, and I need not go into it here.

150. Colonialism thus acquired its so-called classic form, which we desire to see liquidated today. From the nineteenth century onwards, it was completely developed as a means of exploiting under-developed countries capable of producing cheap raw materials on a basis almost of slave labour, and of absorbing industrial excess products at high prices. That colonialism has been the cause of strife and war. The States which arrived late in a world already divided up demanded their share. Almost all the wars of that period, including the First World War, were brought about by this struggle for colonial and semi-colonial markets. And it is not to be wondered at that the first attempt at world organization, which came out of the First World War, continued to endorse the colonial system.

151. Please excuse me for this historical digression. I can assure you that it has not been a mere academic pastime. At the start of this debate, mention was made—and rightly so—of classic colonialism and neo-colonialism. It was therefore necessary to glance retrospectively at classic colonialism so as to explain its strength and persistence. I now wish to refer to what lies behind the assumption of its approaching liquidation.

152. My delegation wishes to remain on a strictly objective plane and seek out the guide line which will lead us through the labyrinth of opinions. I shall therefore start with an examination of what the Charter of the United Nations has to say in this regard. It must be noted that the Charter has completely suppressed any recognition of the colonial system, in contrast to the Covenant of the League of Nations. It was logical that this should be so, for the Charter in its Preamble sets forth a body of principles regarding the equality of men and the rights of peoples—principles which are incompatible with colonial servitude. In the face, however, of unavoidable realities, it has created a system of administration for the former colonies which is outlined in Chapters XI and XII.

153. I take the liberty of pointing out that there is no essential difference between those two Chapters. Actually both the Non-Self-Governing Territories and the Trust Territories are under a similar juridical system, and similar provisions govern the relations between dependent territories and the Administering States. The need for making a distinction was based on practical necessities.

154. As a matter of fact, in both cases it is the Organization which grants the power to administer. Article 73 provides, with regard to Non-Self-Governing Territories, that the assumption of administrative responsibility by the administering State is "a sacred trust", and it sets forth the rules for such administration.

155. Article 75 of the Charter states quite clearly that: "The United Nations shall establish under its authority an international trusteeship system for the administration and supervision of such territories as may be placed thereunder by subsequent individual agreements." In both these cases the Charter lays down that it is the Organization which exercises the functions of mandator and the administering State which accepts the obligations of a mandatory and thus binds itself to observe the regulations conforming to that legal relationship.

156. The relationship between the Organization and the administering State established by the Charter—that of mandator and mandatory—creates a series of juridical ties. Just as, in civil law, an administrator does not exercise property rights over the assets he administers, so, on the international plane, the administering State does not exercise sovereignty over the territories in respect of which it exercises a mandate. It has no vested rights in those territories either of ownership or sovereignty. Sovereignty implies a totality of rights which is incompatible with the simple exercise of administration. In this case sovereignty has been suspended until a condition is fulfilled—to wit, the attainment of self-government. Sovereignty belongs to the people whose territory is under administration even though they are unable to exercise it, just as the assets of a minor belong to him even though he cannot at the time exercise full rights over them. The legal status of the dependent peoples is that of incomplete States. Of the three elements of the modern State they have only two—a people and a territory—and they are lacking in the third element, which is self-government.

157. It is obvious that the fulfilment of the condition is not a recommendation that may or may not be

complied with by the administering State, but rather an inescapable obligation to lead the administered peoples toward self-government. The administering State is responsible for the fulfilment of this condition, and the Organization, as the mandator, has the power to insist upon this without regard to the exception provided in Article 2, paragraph 7, since that State has voluntarily placed itself under international jurisdiction by accepting the obligations of the Charter, which is a multilateral treaty.

158. Seven years ago, in 1953, I had the honour to expound this interpretation of Chapters XI and XII of the Charter in the Fourth Committee on behalf of the delegation of Ecuador.^{1/} We held at that time, and we continue to hold, the firm hope that the problems of colonialism can be settled by juridical means through a correct interpretation of the principles set forth in the Charter. Many of the sovereign peoples of today, whose representatives honour this Assembly with their presence, were at that time petitioners. We heard some of them speak, and the fact that they are now sitting among us is a clear proof of the rapid decline of colonialism.

159. I must admit that the presence here in this hall of the representatives of those territories, which at that time were dependent territories but which now are sovereign States, is to a large extent due to their courage, their constancy, their clear fighting spirit, their love of liberty and their tenacity in achieving it. Once again we pay them a tribute. But we cannot ignore the fact that their emancipation has been due also to the efficacy of the principles of the Charter which have helped them in their purposes, and to the understanding shown by many of the administering States which have fulfilled the conditions for leading these peoples towards the final goal of self-government. The wisdom of the representatives of those former colonies which today are independent States is eloquent proof of the concern which, in accordance with the provisions of the Charter, has been shown by the one-time administrators to ensure for them steady educational progress.

160. These facts strengthen the faith of my delegation in the juridical solution of colonial problems in and through the United Nations. Our Organization is the mandator, and it is in the power of the mandator to bring the mandate to an end if and when the conditions are not fulfilled or there are unwarrantable delays in their fulfilment. We accordingly believe that each case should be examined in the light of its own merits and circumstances and against its own background, and that it should be measured in its own consequences. Emancipation "en masse" does not seem to us a good method, any more than is condemnation "en masse".

161. I have so far referred to what is usually called "classic colonialism", but we cannot ignore the fact that colonialism, like Proteus in the Greek myth, is multiform. It has mimetic powers, and it is obvious that there exist forms of neo-colonialism which need to be destroyed at the source.

162. I shall pass now, like the salamander over fire, to a new form of political and economic colonialism which subjugates peoples while leaving them with a self-government which appears to be genuine but is

jealously watched over by military forces ready to drown in blood any attempt at rebellion. I shall not refer to the countries which are suffering under exclusivist political parties. Nor shall I refer to those new "mitimáes"—an old Quechuan word for describing the peoples that were transported wholesale for collective work under the totalitarian imperialism and colonialism of the Incas. There was brainwashing in those days too—a fact that bears out Solomon's remark in Ecclesiastes that there is nothing new under the sun.

163. My delegation feels that in order to combat this neo-colonialism, whether it comes from the left or the right, the Charter sets forth methods which the United Nations should develop and perfect. The methods in question refer to the growing application of the principle of self-determination of peoples. Anything which guarantees its exercise, anything which contributes to implanting its existence, will prevent the development of neo-colonialism. This principle must, however, be exercised broadly without discrimination and without admitting exclusivist subtleties or fallacious exceptions, whether from the side of classic colonialism or of neo-colonialism, and whether from the left or the right.

164. There is, finally, an insidious type of colonialism against which it would be well to arm ourselves. I refer to the so-called economic semi-colonialism which endeavors to preserve a state of under-development in order to retain sources of cheap raw materials and outlets for expensive manufactured goods. It is essential, in this case, to increase international co-operation in the field of economic aid.

165. I will now refer briefly to the draft resolution which has been circulated as document A/L.323 and Add.1-5. Its generous spirit, the wisdom with which it presents the problem and the noble feeling for humanity which pervades it deserve our tribute, because it aspires to be a declaration of the rights of colonial peoples which will complement the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

166. I am bound to examine it in the light of the ideas which my delegation has just submitted, and on this point I must say that I find certain discrepancies. I shall overlook the purely doctrinaire discrepancies, such as that set forth in the fifth preambular paragraph referring to the role of the United Nations in assisting the movement for independence in Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories. It would seem that this paragraph seeks to assign the United Nations an active role as a mediator in colonial problems, placing it in between the dependent territories and the administering States. My delegation has held that the juridical relationship between the United Nations and the Administering States must be that of mandator to mandatory.

167. In the operative part, which takes the form of a declaration of principles, my delegation has certain doubts regarding paragraph 3. These doubts have both a juridical and a practical basis. My delegation believes that the indispensable condition for the attainment of self-government is that dependent peoples should have reached a sufficient degree of cultural, social and economic development which in each case must be assessed against the background of its own circumstances. The declaration in paragraph 3 might lead to a massive emancipation, even in the case where the stage of development necessary for the

^{1/} See Official Records of the General Assembly, Eighth Session, Fourth Committee, 325th and 344th meetings.

granting of self-government has not been reached. The practical difficulties of independence for a people that has not attained the requisite degree of social, economic and cultural development would obviously be very serious indeed.

168. My delegation also entertains certain doubts regarding the usefulness of operative paragraph 4—not so far as the principles are concerned but because it appears to be redundant.

169. Despite these observations, my delegation is happy to congratulate the sponsors of this draft, although we do reserve our right to express a final opinion on it later. We nevertheless wish to state for the record that we unconditionally support two fundamental principles contained in the declaration, namely, the right to self-determination as the basis for the independence of States, and the condemnation of any attempt aimed at the partial or total disruption of the national unity or the territorial integrity of a country.

170. Self-determination is the indispensable premise in any ethical or political consideration of human beings, whether individually or collectively. It is, therefore, the fundamental condition for the existence of democracy. Determinism, which is the philosophical negation of self-determination, leads individuals to automation and peoples to slavery. Anything that is done to strengthen the principle of self-determination and guarantee its exercise will receive the fervent support of my delegation.

171. My delegation also condemns any attempt to disrupt the national unity or territorial integrity of a country as being contrary to the principles of the Charter and to the foundations of law and peaceful co-existence. Wars of conquest, the imposition of treaties that mutilate the territorial heritage of a State, and military occupation as a means of settling international disputes are all unfortunately the survivals of a retarded colonialist mentality.

172. May I be allowed to recall with a certain pride that, in the juridical development of the American continent as embodied in international instruments, the principle of self-determination is set down as the basis for peaceful relations between States and within the international community. The international doctrine of *uti possidetis juris* came into being at the same time as we attained our independence, since Simón Bolívar, our liberator, took it as the basis for the existence of States. On the basis of this principle, nationalities became territorial entities, and respect for this principle has been maintained throughout the course of our American juridical development. Thus, American international law condemns the dismemberment of States by armed intervention and conquest. We cannot allow the civilized world to resound to the tragic *Vae victis* of the ancient barbarians.

173. This is why we give our enthusiastic support to the embodiment of this principle in the declaration contained in the draft resolution.

174. I must also refer to the considerable effort towards a solution of this problem represented by the draft resolution submitted by Honduras [A/L.324]. A commission such as the one proposed would, through a detailed and careful field survey, facilitate an objective appraisal of the situation even though it might not itself provide a solution. My delegation feels that

there is a technical obstacle which will make it difficult for us to support the draft resolution, namely, that when speaking of colonies, it refers to a concept which does not have any legal basis in the Charter and which it might be appropriate to clarify so as to indicate whether the reference is merely to Non-Self-Governing and Trust Territories or also includes those overseas territories that some States regard as part of their metropolitan territory. We therefore consider that there is a certain vagueness about the terms used.

175. I believe that, in this matter of the liquidation of colonialism, we are on the right road; but we have not yet reached the goal. The goal is still very far off, and the road is beset with difficulties. A study such as the one suggested offers one possibility of reaching that goal but another would be to determine how the United Nations could obtain compliance with the measures for the furtherance of self-government when the administering States fail to comply with their obligations. Otherwise, we shall find ourselves in a vicious circle. It will be impossible to give independence to certain peoples because they will be regarded as not fulfilling the necessary conditions for self-government, and it will also be impossible to insist that the administering States achieve those conditions by constructive efforts. This would effectively kill all hope and would perpetuate an injustice.

176. I must again apologize for having spoken at such great length, but this is a sacred cause—that of the oppressed peoples. We do not want them to suffer what we had to suffer to attain our independence. For them we want an independence that is based upon the principle of self-determination, a freedom that is without subterfuge or limitation. We feel responsible for their hopes, and we cannot allow despair to lead them, by logical reaction, to accept the totalitarian Charybdis after having escaped from the colonialist Scylla. The independence of today's dependent peoples, based upon self-determination, will inevitably lead them by their free decisions, free alike from pressures and from blandishments, to their own unique forms of government. This, as far as my delegation is concerned, is the great responsibility of the peoples of the United Nations.

177. Mr. SUMULONG (Philippines): As all delegations are aware, the item "Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples" was originally proposed by the Government of the USSR [A/4501] and unanimously approved by the General Assembly for inclusion in the agenda of the present session. On 23 September 1960, Chairman Khrushchev formally presented the draft text of the declaration which is contained in document A/4502. During the debate on the recommendation of the General Committee to include the item and to allocate it to the First Committee, my delegation was among the first to give its support to an amendment proposed by the delegation of the Soviet Union [A/L.312/Rev.1] to have the question discussed instead in the General Assembly in plenary session. We were in agreement with the Soviet view that the vital importance of this question fully warranted its consideration by this body. We made it clear that, in our opinion, this item had a scope and significance much broader than that which had been indicated by the terms of the explanatory memorandum and of the draft declaration submitted by the Soviet delegation. We accordingly rejected the notion that the General Assembly, in considering this

question, would be bound by the restricted and tendentious terms of the Soviet draft declaration. We maintained that such a declaration must cover the cases of all countries and peoples anywhere in the world that remain under alien subjection, victims of imperialist domination both old and new, and in all its forms and manifestations.

178. It was upon the basis of this understanding that the Philippine delegation co-operated with other countries of Asia and Africa in the elaboration of the draft declaration which is to be found in document A/L.323 and Add.1-5. In accordance with the instructions of my Government, the Philippine delegation has joined the rapidly increasing number of co-sponsors of this proposal, which at the present moment, if I am not mistaken, number forty-two.

179. My country's profound interest in this question is easily explained. Our experience of colonial subjection, which lasted unbroken for nearly four hundred years, was certainly one of the longest in all recorded history. We have drunk of the bitter cup of alien domination to the dregs. But we also recall with relief and gratitude that the Republic of the Philippines was the first-born independent State of this revolutionary era of the United Nations—this era which will forever be distinguished in the annals of human civilization by the emergence into freedom and independence of forty-odd countries within a period of only fifteen years.

180. In his speech before the Assembly on 29 November 1960 [927th meeting], Mr. Shukairy, the representative of Saudi Arabia, was generous enough to recall that the Philippines was the only Asian country that in San Francisco fought for the inclusion in the Charter of the United Nations of independence as the just and rightful goal of the peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories. The colonial Powers at the time would concede no more than the principle that in these territories they would "develop self-government" and "take due account of the political aspirations of the peoples", and they tried hard to convince us that the general concept of self-government would include and would embrace the goal of independence. From this semantic confusion has sprung one of the seeming inconsistencies or, shall we say, one of the political curiosities of the Charter; for, whereas Article 76 of the Charter clearly establishes "self-government or independence" as the goal of the inhabitants of the Trust Territories, Article 73 merely obligates the colonial Powers "to develop self-government" for the peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories.

181. It was the view of the Philippine delegation at the San Francisco Conference, and it still remains the view of the Philippine delegation now, that independence should be the common objective of all the peoples of dependent territories, whether Trust or Non-Self-Governing. We were assured in San Francisco that this was indeed the case, in the spirit if not in the letter of the Charter. We were vastly outnumbered in San Francisco and we lost the struggle for this one crucial word. But this word was not simply a word that could be made to disappear by sleight-of-hand or by incantation. It was a word so instinct with life, so dear and so near to the hearts and minds of so many millions of dependent people, so tightly woven into the fabric of the present and the future, and so linked to the purposes and principles

of the United Nations, that it could not for long be ignored or kept, so to say, in cold storage.

182. The forward movement of history could not be arrested by any kind of verbal legerdemain, however ingenious. Thus, today, we are in the process of adopting a "Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples" as a necessary follow-up and clarification of the "Declaration regarding Non-Self-Governing Territories" which is embodied in Chapter XI of the Charter.

183. Some may wonder whether this new declaration, by specifying independence, does not constitute a revision of the existing declaration in the Charter. This is a legitimate concern which it is well for us to consider. In this connexion, we would recall the assurances that were offered to us in San Francisco to the effect that self-government and independence were virtually synonymous—an interpretation which the dictionary as well as textbooks on political science tend to support.

184. Moreover, Article 73 b of the Charter obligates the colonial Powers "to take due account of the political aspirations of the peoples"—an obligation which most of the colonial Powers have respected during the last fifteen years since the end of the Second World War, by satisfying the supreme political aspiration of any people, which is independence, readily and voluntarily in some cases, grudgingly and by making a virtue of necessity in others.

185. Considering that nearly forty countries have achieved independence since the Charter was promulgated, it is the colonial Powers themselves who have borne the responsibility for the progressive interpretation of Article 73 of the Charter. It is they who have dared to carry the letter of this provision of the Charter to its logical conclusion, and this new declaration which we are proposing does no more than confirm the wisdom they have shown in the face of ineluctable historical necessity.

186. The Philippine delegation stands four-square behind the terms of the declaration proposed by forty-two Asian and African States [A/L.323 and Add.1-5]. If it be objected that this declaration is considerably more exuberant in letter and spirit than the corresponding declaration in the Charter, our answer is that the difference is due to the new complexion of the United Nations and the radically altered environment in which it operates today. In San Francisco the great Powers that won the war influenced and determined the form and character of the Charter; they understandably hoped to preserve what they then possessed for as long as possible and they were not in any mood for voluntary sacrifices and acts of renunciation. Their domination of the San Francisco Conference is therefore reflected in the rather conservative, though not ungenerous, language of Article 73.

187. But fifteen years have passed since then, and the membership of the United Nations has doubled since the Charter was written because of the admission of States newly emerged from colonial subjection. When these new States speak, as they do now, in the proposed declaration, the world must be prepared to hear a voice with strong undertones of remembered injustice and hurt, and vibrant with sympathy for peoples still waiting to be free.

188. Some doubt has been expressed in connexion with paragraph 5 of the draft declaration, which reads:

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

189. At first blush, this provision might appear to be in contrast to the philosophy of gradualism which underlies Article 73 of the Charter and is implicit in the words, "progressive development of . . . free political institutions, according to the particular circumstances of each territory and its peoples and their varying stages of advancement". However, it is clear that what is enjoined in paragraph 5 of the proposed declaration is not the immediate transfer of all powers to the peoples of those territories, but rather the taking or initiating forthwith of steps which would lead to such transfer of power. What is intended to be corrected is a policy of deliberate procrastination and delay, of failure to launch a dependent people upon the road to independence—a policy which, as we have seen, has had such tragic results in the case of the former Belgian Congo.

190. Our support of this paragraph springs from our experience as a former dependent territory of the United States. After the United States had completed the conquest of my country at the turn of the century, the leaders of my people began to petition and campaign for immediate, complete and absolute freedom, and they asked the United States for repeated guarantees towards that end. The American people and Government gave us the guarantees we asked for, and although our independence was not recognized immediately from the moment we petitioned for it, still it was gratifying to recall that by virtue of the guarantees thus obtained there was never any doubt from the beginning that steps would be taken immediately towards the goal of independence.

191. In point of fact, on the exact date promised to us by the United States, on 4 July 1946, Philippine independence was granted and recognized, and all this was accomplished without need of shedding a single drop of human blood.

192. Had the United Nations existed then, my country would surely have benefitted by the moral pressure of the Organization, and the period of preparation would have been much shorter. What paragraph 5, and indeed what the declaration, means is that the deliberate delay or withholding of independence shall no longer be tolerated, having regard for the greatly accelerated pace of developments in the world today, the irrepressible aspirations of peoples for political and economic emancipation, and the irreversible march of history.

193. The heart of the forty-two-Power draft declaration [A/L.323 and Add.1-5], however, is to be found in the words:

"The General Assembly,

"...

"Solemnly proclaims the necessity of bringing to a speedy and unconditional end colonialism in all its forms and manifestations;

"And to this end

"Declares that:

"1. The subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation constitutes a denial of fundamental human rights, is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations and is an impediment to the promotion of world peace and co-operation."

194. By these forthright affirmations, we make it indubitably clear that we intend this declaration to apply to all subjugated peoples in any part of the world, whether in front of the iron and bamboo curtains, or behind them, whether dominated and exploited overtly or covertly by the methods of classical imperialism or neo-imperialism.

195. We have no tears to shed as yet for the old colonial imperialism that has died. Of it we can say truly that the sooner it is finally liquidated, the better for mankind. But equally we have no words of welcome to offer to the new colonial imperialism that is arising to take its place. We feel we have a duty to warn peoples against the new colonialism which is seeking to impose itself upon weak peoples by force or upon unsuspecting nations by stealth. Constant vigilance is our only weapon against the resurgence of the old colonialism that is dying as well as against the new colonialism that is coming to birth.

196. By adopting the African-Asian draft declaration we shall give proof of our capacity to see through pretence and hypocrisy. We shall proclaim the integrity of our own judgement, uninfluenced by pity or flattery. We shall give notice to the neo-imperialists and to the crypto-imperialists that we are not prepared to accept any lessons from them in the matter of winning freedom and independence. But should they persist in the attempt we shall be constrained to say unto them: What you now do to destroy the freedom of human beings and the independence of peoples is so loud, so deafening, that we cannot hear what you say.

197. Mr. PALAMARCHUK (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (translated from Russian): The General Assembly is discussing the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. The vast dome of this chamber seems to have swelled with the passionate, emotional appeal for the complete and final elimination of the colonial régime in all its forms and manifestations. For the first time since its foundation the United Nations is resolutely declaring its convictions, intentions and demands to assist the still oppressed peoples in the colonies to win freedom and independence. The wise and vibrant words of the Soviet Union Declaration [A/4502 and Corr.1], to the effect that "peoples that oppress other peoples cannot be free", should be carved in gold letters in the granite entrance to the United Nations.

198. For several days now page after page has been read out from this rostrum telling with anger, conviction and pride of the broken chains of colonialism in Asia; of the great awakening in Africa; of the bonfires of independence already kindled and burning under the blue skies of Africa; of the disgrace of our century—the remains of the colonial system in the ancient lands of Africa and Asia, on the islands of Oceania and the shores of the Caribbean, where colonialism is still rampant. Land and people, one hundred million people, still bear the colonial yoke of slavery.

199. The calm voices of the representatives of Africa and Asia conceal tremendous strength, the strength of struggle. Its slogan is, as it always has been, "independence and freedom". But the cunning yet cowardly lackeys of imperialism and even the colonialists themselves, with obvious dissimulation and a certain malicious intent, all sing the same tune about the aims and ideas of the Soviet Declaration: be on your guard, they say, the Soviet Declaration is a call for revolt.

200. One might think that the fires of popular revolt had never blazed forth in Africa and Asia; that struggle is not a natural expression of protest against national and social oppression but a sort of export commodity, presented moreover in the form of a "dangerous" declaration.

201. But it is useless to dissimulate: whoever puts chains on other persons, countries or peoples kindles the sacred flame of struggle in their hearts. Struggle, not submission. Struggle, not non-resistance to that most terrible evil, colonialism. It is this struggle, nothing else, that is pushing forward the frontiers of independence and freedom in Asia and Africa and in other parts of the world.

202. It is the duty of the free peoples, of the whole United Nations to help the still oppressed peoples to remove the barbed wire of colonialism wherever it still remains, protecting stagnation against progress, slavery against freedom, darkness against light. The citadels of the old order have always collapsed whenever the burden of the obsolescent became intolerable, whenever the old garments became too tight for the mighty and growing human society.

203. The great October Socialist Revolution in our country was the result of mankind's century-old struggle for freedom and progress. The revolutionary explosion of indignation of the multi-million masses of the former Russian empire was prepared by the whole course of historical development. A new era, an era of liberation of the working people from all forms of oppression—colonial, national and social—was born in the world to testify to the fact that mankind had become mature enough for the greatest historic accomplishments.

204. A most important constitutional instrument adopted by the young Soviet Republic—the "Declaration of the rights of toiling and exploited mankind"—proclaimed the elimination of all exploitation of man by man and repudiated the policy of enslavement by so-called chosen nations of "hundreds of millions of the toiling population in Asia, in the colonies generally and in the small countries". In the new historical conditions, that Declaration emphasized with particular force the need for a radical solution of the colonial problem in favour of the enslaved nations. Immediately after the victory of the October Socialist Revolution, the founder of the Soviet State, the great Lenin, expressed the firm conviction that the time was near when

"the popular masses of the East will rise as independent participants, as creators of a new life, because hundreds of millions of these populations belong to the dependent, under-privileged nations which, as far as capitalist culture and civilization are concerned, exist only as material for fertilizer".^{2/}

^{2/} V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works* (Russian edition), vol. 30, pp. 138-139.

205. These words of Lenin, which sparkle with the clarity of his thought and foresight, are extremely noteworthy today. They can provide the key to understanding the reasons why the imperialists plunder the colonies and seek to maintain the colonial régimes, and also to understanding the fear which besets certain representatives of the colonial Powers in this Assembly. You will recall with what haste the United Kingdom representative, despite the staidness of the British character, used every effort to banish from his sight, like an apparition, the demands of the Soviet Union's Declaration. Such was his haste, indeed, that he declared his sympathy—whether warm or not, I cannot say—for the voices of Africa and Asia which, at the time he began to speak, he had not yet heard, as they had not spoken. I do not reproach him for this: I merely note the fact.

206. Subsequently, in the usual Western fashion, he lost his footing in the slippery task of contrasting the ideas, arguments and aims of the Soviet Declaration and those of the African-Asian countries, as he attempted in fact to dissociate those countries from the socialist countries with respect to their common views on the question of the complete and immediate liquidation of colonialism. These are favourite, though, to tell the truth, excessively straightforward tactics, that are being employed with particular emphasis at this session of the General Assembly. However, let the United Kingdom representative be heartened that, as he thinks, the African and Asian Members of the United Nations "do not . . . regard the Soviet contribution to our debates as a particularly serious one". May God grant him his daily illusion on this score! His statement, however, the Ukrainian delegation most firmly believes, makes one think of a straw in the flood of accusatory denunciations of the remnants of the colonial system and demands for their prompt liquidation. For that, indeed, is the whole tenor and burden of the discussion that is taking place in the Assembly in connexion with the submission by the Soviet Union Government, for the Assembly's consideration, of the historic Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples [A/4502 and Corr.1].

207. To return, however, to the main point: the peoples of Asia and Africa have awakened and are acting in the interests of the destiny of all mankind. That is now an irrefutable fact. Colonialism today, raised to the highest degree of parasitism, is the source of the peoples' calamities and sufferings. It plunders and sucks the blood of the peoples and places a blank wall between them and progressive development. During the years of their domination the colonial Powers have wrung untold wealth out of the subjugated countries. In the period 1955-1958, for instance, Belgium had a favourable payments balance in its trade with the Congo amounting to 373 million pounds sterling. Of this sum only 82 million pounds went back to the Congo in the same period. This means that in four years the clear profit extorted from the colony amounted to the enormous sum of 291 million pounds.

208. According to the most modest estimates, the United States monopolies made a profit of more than \$1,500 million in Africa alone in the post-war years 1946-1959, a sum sufficient to pay for the construction of more than one hundred and fifty 100,000-kilowatt power stations for the Africans.

209. For many decades, throughout the entire history of colonialism indeed, the economy of the colonial countries has remained dreadfully backward, and the colonialists are doing everything possible to perpetuate that condition. In all the African colonies and the dependent countries two economic sectors have been created, which differ both socio-economically and nationally: they are the highly-organized capitalist economy of the Europeans, in which foreign capital predominates, and the wretched subsistence and petty-commodity economy of the indigenous population. The foreign monopolies doom the economy of the countries they exploit to unnatural one-sided development, use the colonies as sources of cheap raw materials and labour, and pitilessly exploit them by means of an unbalanced system of trade between the countries.

210. However, as already stated, the plundering of the colonies is not only directed against productive capital. The colonial countries are doing everything possible to deny the colonies and under-developed countries access to the world market and are endeavouring to dominate completely the foreign trade and much of the domestic trade of the colonies, amassing great wealth in the process. For instance, in 1951 the cost of a ton of oil extracted in Kuwait was 73 cents, while the same oil was sold on the world market at the price of the most expensive oil, \$US17-18 per ton. In other words, the monopolies earned a profit of 2,000 per cent on each ton.

211. The colonialists are thus reaping a rich harvest, while the colonial peoples are becoming impoverished and are falling further and further below the level of the highly-developed countries.

212. I should like to draw the attention of representatives to an interesting document—the report of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories [A/4371]. This report was prepared pursuant to resolution 1461 (XIV) of the United Nations General Assembly. The Committee set itself the task of formulating observations and conclusions on the progress achieved by the inhabitants of the so-called Non-Self-Governing Territories in the past fifteen years. The objective sense of the Committee's report is that the so-called Non-Self-Governing Territories essentially have the status of colonies, with all the ensuing consequences. The Committee reached the conclusion that to this day "the economy of the Territories remained, in general, at a low stage of development, based mainly on subsistence agriculture and, also, on the production of a few primary products for export" [A/4371, part two, para. 45]. The economy of these Territories is doomed to stagnation, since "the production of capital goods remained in its infancy" [ibid., para. 46]. The report contains striking illustrations of the fact that, in its words, "the per caput personal incomes of the indigenous population of the African Territories for which data were available for 1956 or 1957 were among the lowest in the world" [ibid., para. 53], and that there is an enormous disparity, measurable in factors of ten, between the incomes of the Territory's various population groups—and not, of course, in favour of the indigenous Africans, i.e., the indigenous population of the colonies. The report also acknowledges many other equally eloquent facts: the weakening of family ties among the indigenous population, an increase in juvenile delinquency, unemployment and underemployment, the spread of dreadful diseases, in many places wide-

spread illiteracy, deprivation of rights and racial discrimination.

213. Can such a situation be tolerated any longer? No, it cannot, if we cherish the interests of the cause of peace, the interests of humanity and progress.

214. Each year the United Nations receives thousands of petitions from the inhabitants of so-called Trust Territories. These petitions are often the only form in which the dependent peoples can appeal to the international community for help. There are 20,000 such petitions buried in the dusty archives of the United Nations which should rather be published in millions of copies.

215. One of these petitions states that in South West Africa there is an organization known as the South West Africa Native Labour Association. This Association is authorized to sell (I emphasize the word sell) Africans from the Native reservations outside the territory.

216. I shall now quote from another petition:

"At this moment when the General Assembly of the United Nations is going into the details of colonial matters and discussing colonial administration in dependent overseas territories, we, the peoples' representatives of the British crown colony of British Guiana, would like to draw the attention of the Honourable delegates to our unfortunate plight.

Hereby we, the frustrated people of British Guiana... take the opportunity of presenting our case before this world assembly. We want political independence. We want to run our national affairs, political, social and economic, according to the wishes and aspirations of our people and for a better Guiana. We place here before the Honourable delegates no indictment, as our intention is not of impeaching British imperialism. We only endeavour to show our national wounds, which the shoe of colonialism has made into our body politic. Ours is a cry of mortal agony and what we request is that Great Britain be asked by this distinguished assembly to be great enough and lift her shoe because where the shoe rests there happens to be more than half a million feeble Guianese throats."

217. There are other documents too, the documents of the Conference of Independent African States that was held at Accra. The Conference heard moving reports by representatives of the participating organizations of the brutal deeds of colonialism and imperialism on the African continent. It was told that through the activities of the imperialists the Africans have been deprived of the basic human rights, freedom of speech, of assembly, of movement, freedom to live in plenty. Wherever the remains of the colonial system persist there is dreadful poverty, denial of rights to oppressed peoples, the savage rule of ignorance and violence, and people dying off like burnt grass. Only those whose hearts are made of stone and who today stand guard for colonialism close their ears to this.

218. Document A/AC.73/3, which has been distributed to this Assembly, contains a number of statements which, we think, should also be published in a great many copies so that the whole world may see the foul visage of the champions of the colonial system. One of these statements alleges that "'Apartheid' is to the black people a perfectly comprehensible system which they employ among themselves" [A/AC.73/3,

petition No. 10]. In another equally shameful statement it is frankly asserted that "Once the natives govern themselves, we are convinced that the history of Africa will be turned back by 100 to 200 years" [ibid., petition No. 20].

219. In order to ensure that history is not "turned back", crimes are committed. The conscience of mankind winces at these crimes, whether committed in Algiers, in South West Africa or in the Republic of the Congo. Judging by the nature of the events that are taking place there, the Republic of the Congo has been chosen as a testing ground in which to raise the tree of neo-colonialism, no less poisonous than colonialism itself. Renegades of the Mobutu type are ploughing this ground with weapons. The example of the Republic of the Congo makes it clear to all that colonial fascism and neo-colonialism are twins and are attempting to stifle everything live, independent and national in the colonial countries.

220. A long time ago a "Tree of Liberty" was planted in American soil liberated from the British colonialists, and Thomas Jefferson said that for the tree to grow it had to be refreshed with the blood of tyrants. From American soil we have heard the fiery words of Walt Whitman who declared that a world in which masters and slaves existed had grown old, and who passionately believed that a new and mighty race of men with firm and regular step would remove from our planet the traces of oppression of man by man.

221. Today, however, other voices are heard from the United States of America. According to reports, the United States Congress intends to spend several million dollars on propaganda in Africa in the 1960-1961 financial year. Several thousand United States missionaries have already entrenched themselves in a number of African countries and the messengers of all kinds of "charitable foundations", such as those of Ford and Rockefeller, have gone there in droves. With no sense of constraint Senator Cross openly declared in the United States Congress that a propaganda campaign must be prepared for the African continent, so as to open up that vast new region where wealth lay waiting to be mined. With even greater candour the Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs said that the United States would soon be able to make up for the comparative lack of success of its policy in Asia and the Middle East, that Africa afforded it the opportunity to get its revenge. What is involved, then, is the United States desire to establish its political, economic and military domination over Africa. Neo-colonialism, daubed with the paint and powder of imperialism, is being implanted to replace the old colonialism that is now discredited forever.

222. The words "get revenge" are a faithful reflection of policy and, behind this policy, of practical action being taken inside and outside the United States. Life, of course, teaches even the colonialists something: it has taught them—not all of them perhaps—to seek to gain their ends by more subtle methods. Today they do not say: colonialism is a boon and do not dare ask for its abolition. In their lexicon the words "independence" and "self-government" are employed only as indicating mere intentions that relate to the remote future. One speaker quite clearly and definitely indicated that there were no differences of intention between the colonialist Powers and the countries of

Asia and Africa; there were differences as to the methods and sometimes the time for granting independence and freedom.

223. But they have long been singing these odes to good intentions that have no reference to time, while the date for the complete elimination of the colonial régime is being deferred on various ridiculous and, I might say, demagogic pretexts. That precisely is the crux of the differences of principle. At one pole stand the colonial countries with their intentions, at the other pole the countries demanding immediate elimination of the colonial system. The declaration of the African-Asian countries [A/L.323 and Add.1-5], like that of the Soviet Union, solemnly proclaims the necessity of bringing to a speedy and unconditional end colonialism in all its forms and manifestations. What need then was there for the draft resolution of Honduras [A/L.324]? It was needed by those who stand behind Honduras, and who they are it is not hard to guess. Its purpose is to prevent, if possible, the adoption of the declaration and thus prolong the life of the colonial system. Our delegation—and I say this with full respect for the countries of Latin America—would be greatly disturbed to learn that the Honduran draft resolution expresses the views of all Latin American countries.

224. That draft resolution in fact repeats the demagogic and slanderous assertion that the colonies are not prepared for self-government, that they lack the political and social leadership necessary to enable them to assume the functions of government.

225. The draft resolution, of course, proclaims the elimination of colonialism throughout the world. But it does not indicate when the eradication of this blot on the twentieth century is to take place. It is not difficult to understand that once again it is a question of intentions, and in order to mask those intentions it is proposed that a commission should be appointed. What is this commission to do? It is to visit the colonial possessions and draft recommendations for proposal to the General Assembly at its sixteenth session. Recommendations about what? About the most appropriate, expeditious and effective way of achieving the complete abolition of colonialism. This is a mere meaningless collection of words. The same thing has happened before in the United Nations: as soon as it is desired to block any sound and progressive action by the Organization, a heavy-weight draft resolution, like that of Honduras, is got ready. For some delegations, perhaps, such a draft resolution is a sort of safety-valve or a shadow in which they can hide conveniently. For its part, however, the Ukrainian delegation wishes to state clearly that the Honduran draft resolution is unacceptable from beginning to end. We cannot support a draft resolution which has as its aim not the elimination of colonialism but merely the ascertaining, the verification of the readiness of the colonies for independence and self-government.

226. The peoples fighting for their liberation and the establishment of genuine independence have a tremendous strength which is set against all the cowardly stratagems of the colonialists and neo-colonialists. That strength is unity and solidarity. At Bandung, the Asian and African States formulated the basic principles of African-Asian solidarity. That solidarity is based on a common hatred of colonialism in whatever form; a common hatred of racism; and

a common desire for the preservation and consolidation of peace in the world. Since that time there have been similar meetings of the fighting peoples, at Accra, Tunis and Conakry. The voice of Latin America, embodied in the ardent appeals of the Havana Declaration, has reverberated throughout the world.

227. At the present time, on the initiative of the Soviet Union—a country of peace, a country of true fraternity and friendship of peoples, a country which, in the words of a distinguished leader of modern Asia, has laid the foundation of a new civilization in which the world can move ahead—the almost one hundred States represented in the United Nations are considering and discussing with deep emotion the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. The liberation of nations and peoples from colonial domination will bring about an improvement in international relations and a strengthening of peace. The struggle of the colonial peoples for liberation cannot be halted. As Nikita Sergeevich Khrushchev said in his statement at the present session of the General Assembly, "it is a great historic process, one of ever-growing and invincible power". We say, and we repeat, that full independence and freedom must be given to the peoples of the colonies and the Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories, not some time in the future, but today, without delay.

228. The free people and Government of independent Soviet Ukraine stand side by side and shoulder to shoulder with all free peoples and give full and unqualified support to the lofty ideas and aims of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples.

229. Mr. CHAMPASSAK (Laos) (translated from French): The reason why my delegation feels impelled to take part in the discussion of the problem of granting independence to the colonial peoples is that it believes that the problem of colonialism is of exceptional importance. Some of the speakers who have preceded me have stressed that it was infamous that the colonialist scourge should still exist. Others have emphasized the progressive disappearance of colonialism and also the appearance of this scourge in a new form, aimed at perpetuating the domination of one country by another and the exploitation of man by man. They have all adduced abundant proof that colonialism in all its forms is a danger to international peace and security.

230. After the Second World War great waves of nationalism beat on the continent of Asia, shaking the colonial positions that had stood so firm in the past. Nearly a thousand million men have recovered their outraged dignity and freedom. There can be no doubt that the San Francisco Charter, proclaimed amid the rejoicing at the end of the Second World War, has accelerated the process of decolonization, because of its moral bases. The policy of the traditionally anti-colonialist countries, rapid technical progress and the increasing exchange of ideas have made the positions of the colonialist Powers untenable. Under the combined influence of these different factors, empires have broken up more quickly.

231. The Bandung Conference of 1955, which was a historic milestone in the relations of the peoples of Africa and Asia, gave a new impetus to the liberation movement in Africa.

232. After Asia, Africa, with all its wealth and human potential, is awaking to international life and, as every speaker here has stressed, quite rightly, 1960 is Africa's year. By its dynamic energy, Africa has already made an important contribution to our work.

233. Except for a few isolated areas where the colonialists are dominant and still the law-makers, it may be said that this is the end of the colonialist era. These few areas still exist, but the deeply rooted emancipation movement will soon sweep them away. For in this era of interdependence and of a peace that is one and indivisible, a dying colonialism can hardly survive.

234. The Laotian people, belonging to a Buddhist country, have always found all forms of domination, whether ideological or material, utterly repugnant. We feel that humiliation is worse than poverty, that a man can get used to hunger but never to humiliation. However, brought up on principles of tolerance and humanism, we refuse to look only at the dark side of this problem.

235. We strongly support the peoples who are struggling for freedom and independence. We feel that it is only through self-determination that the political consciousness of the oppressed peoples can be changed and harmony re-established. We are convinced the emancipation movement is irresistible and irreversible, but we are opposed to those who foster hatred, who use violent slogans for social or racial ends, or merely to divert attention from political difficulties, for we feel that these are debased ways of thinking which are incompatible with moral principles.

236. Let us take care, however, not to let ourselves be involved in demonstrations of hysterical racism through hatred of colonialism. It is not enough to denounce colonialism in verbal fireworks; the reasons for its continued existence must be removed so that it cannot return. Racism and xenophobia are in our opinion the two keynotes on which the supporters of colonialism play in an attempt to resuscitate their past grandeur and superiority. If such feelings were outlawed, the colonial Powers would be forced increasingly into isolation, and the very germs of colonialism would be destroyed. Newly acquired independence must not develop into blind dependence, for there is no alternative to freedom. We feel that the battle against colonialism must be fought at the same time as the battle for social well-being and economic progress, for to combat colonialism on only one front, while neglecting the problem of hunger and ignorance, would be useless and worse than a crime.

237. Our anti-colonialism must not blind us to the political designs of any ideological bloc which is trying to capture the new States while they are still weak and at a loss, and either bring them directly within its orbit or turn them into useful clients. Any State that falls into the traps set by this new imperialism runs the risk of becoming a mere cog in a machine. In that case, the independence for which it has struggled would be only second-class independence.

238. In the view of my delegation it would be pointless to indulge in controversy if we have not the same concept of freedom and human dignity. If the freedom and equality of peoples has not the same meaning, the same significance, everywhere, if it is merely an export for the consumption of the poor and ignorant

masses, to serve the cause of certain interests, then there is no point in passionately fighting the ancient scourge of colonialism here in the United Nations.

239. Our way to peace and harmony will always be strewn with obstacles as long as there are nations which, for all their talk of peace, freedom and emancipation, are really dreaming only of extending their pride and power beyond their frontiers either by force of arms, or by cunning and subversion, a worse evil than colonialism itself. These nations, over-sure of their philosophy, convinced that they have the key of the future and imbued with missionary spirit, use any means, even the most brutal, to impose their domination. These Powers, which are trying to give us a new version of the colonial saga, must be told that the dissolution of the colonial empires has now gone so far that only the most conciliatory and imagi-

native liberalism can replace past obligations by freely accepted links. The necessary adjustments must be made through a dispassionate appraisal of the present relationships between the Powers, by redefining interest, so that it excludes vulgar concepts of national grandeur, in order to re-establish confidence, friendship and peace.

240. My delegation is one of the sponsors of the forty-two-Power draft resolution [A/L.323 and Add.1-5] which has been submitted to this Assembly for its consideration. It believes that the structure and ideas of this draft resolution are a faithful reflection of the noble principles of the United Nations Charter. It hopes that the draft resolution will be adopted by the largest possible majority.

The meeting rose at 7.25 p.m.

United Nations
**GENERAL
ASSEMBLY**

FIFTEENTH SESSION

Official Records



65
934th
PLENARY MEETING

Saturday, 3 December 1960,
at 10.30 a.m.

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

AGENDA ITEM 87

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

1. Mr. TSATSOS (Greece) (translated from French):
The colonial era is a recent stage of world history the
last vestiges of which are rapidly disappearing from
the face of the earth. That is a fact that no one doubts
today, and from that fact certain problems arise. But
before examining them, and in order to dispel any mis-
understandings—which are all the more undesirable as
the atmosphere in which we live is already heavy with
suspicion—it might be useful to define the historical
notion of colonies and colonialism.

2. The modern understanding of the term "colony" is
very different from what it was in ancient times. A
colony is the result of the forceful domination by an
organized people having its own territory—hence a
State—over a people living in another territory, irre-
spective of the legal form the domination takes and the
organization it involves. "Colonialism" is the body of
circumstances relating to the establishment and main-
tenance of colonies in modern times. This definition of
"colony" and "colonialism" may be too narrow for
some to accept, but it has the advantage of not giving
rise to serious controversy. It should be added that
colonialism is not the only possible form of domination
of one people by another. Anyone who fails to condemn
such domination in all its forms must be lacking in
logic and moral consistency.

3. Oddly enough, before colonialism has quite dis-
appeared, we already know the moral judgement that
history will pass on it. To the extent that it impeded
instead of hastening the development of peoples, it was
one of the worst forms of domination of man by man,
and in that sense it was a prolongation of slavery. But
to the extent that it enabled the colonial peoples to
attain a higher cultural and social level, colonialism
was a positive factor in world evolution. In any case,
it is now fated to disappear, and on this world public
opinion is in unanimous agreement, for I do not sup-
pose that there is a single nation in our great world
family which wishes to or can contend that there is or
could still be any justification for colonialism.

4. The ending of a historical era always raises the
same problem: What should be remembered and what
forgotten? Generally speaking, the memories of co-
lonialism evoke in the minds of all peoples, but

especially those that have been colonized, a profound
bitterness, the legitimacy of which cannot be denied.
This bitterness disturbs the unanimity with which the
world conscience today pronounces its condemnation
of colonialism. To be able to forget the evil done to us
is sometimes a necessity. It is an especially vital
necessity in politics. And it is particularly important
today, at least for those who have no psychological
complexes to blind their eyes and divert them from
their goals and who truly wish to strengthen the unity
needed to hold the international community together and
maintain world peace.

5. No one could possibly doubt that the principle of
freedom for individuals and peoples cannot be deemed
to have been realized in practice if it has been applied
in only one part of the world. It is only when it is
world-wide and the entire globe is mantled in its royal
purple, that this freedom will become a reality. This
no one would venture to deny. Indeed, that declaration
itself gives us a glimpse of one of the finest victories
awaiting mankind, a victory which will be all the
greater because it will be won, and won gloriously,
under the sole moral impetus of the idea of freedom.

6. It will be recalled that in the two Americas, both
North and South, colonialism yielded before the
patriots' boldness and courage and before the force of
arms. Later, in Asia, it had to beat a retreat mainly
because of the magnificent moral resistance displayed
by the Asian peoples. Finally, in Africa, the accession
to independence of so many peoples, whose worthy
representatives we are proud to have among us today,
was due to part, of course, to these peoples' resolve
to win their place among the free nations, but it was
also partly the result of the ripening in Europe of the
great liberal and peace-minded climate of opinion that
led to the political changes which are bringing the
colonial era to a close. It would be both unjust and
dangerous to try to overlook this fact which, moreover,
as we are bound to admit, offers the only genuine
guarantee of the final and enduring victory of freedom
in a world without war.

7. The end of colonialism in Africa and wherever else
it still clings on is only a matter of time. No one doubts
this, but it would be ingenuous to believe that the end
can be instantaneous. To undo the evil, while taking
pains to preserve the good, to remove what has been
accumulated over many decades, is an operation on the
largest scale, and if it is to succeed it must be exe-
cuted without procrastination but also with prudence
and with a deep sense of responsibility. Each case has
features particular to it. The Charter itself provides
for several different paths of development. What is
essential is to guarantee that in each case the decisive
factor is the freely expressed will of the people. That
is the common denominator in this vast operation to
sweep away the remnants of colonialism. Those who
claim that a lightning attack on colonialism could be
carried out on a world scale are setting an impossible

goal for themselves. We trust that the course of our debate will demonstrate that it is not the wish of the Assembly to compromise the possible by demanding the impossible.

8. But if the end of what remains of colonialism cannot be instantaneous, it can—and since it can, it must—be rapid. Furthermore, it must be recognized that to the extent that this process is not moving along at the accelerated pace one might wish, the blame for it rests in the first instance with certain colonial Powers which have adopted a policy running counter to the current of history and to the real interests of these Powers themselves, viewed in the light of their own future. Hence it is the bounden duty of all colonial Powers to speed up the emancipation of the peoples still under their domination and to do this by stages, on the basis of a detailed plan. I should like to repeat that this is not only the bounden duty of the colonial Powers, but it is also in their own interests, for only in this way can they give decisive proof of their good faith, proof that they are acting not by force of circumstances but because their own conscience makes it morally necessary for them to put an end to colonialism as quickly as possible.

9. If to achieve this goal the colonial Powers need our confidence, let us give it to them. I am thinking not of a mere gesture. My argument runs deeper than that. If the African victory had been won on African soil alone, if it had not become part and parcel of the European conscience, the confidence I speak of could justly be withheld. But, as I have pointed out, the African victory was won not only in Africa itself but also in Europe. I believe this fact to be of capital importance. It enables us to see the problem, as it will develop in the future, in its true perspective, and this is the only consideration which should occupy our minds if we are to deal constructively with the question of wiping out colonialism. The fact that colonialism was fought on its own ground, that public opinion in the colonial Powers is almost unanimously opposed to the unjustified perpetuation of a system which the course of history has condemned, assures us not only that it will disappear, but that its disappearance will be quick and irrevocable. No Government, no power on earth can oppose this moral force which springs from the very depths of the popular conscience, a conscience which is by nature liberal.

10. The political maturity and the excellent grasp of history and sociology displayed by the representatives of the new African States give proof of the advancement of the African élite and demonstrate the possibility of a general development of their peoples. But we must note that there is a difference between the levels of political development and economic development achieved in a number of the former colonies. This gives rise to a problem which is very difficult to solve. What must be said, and said with emphasis, is that political independence must not be delayed until a corresponding degree of economic development has been attained. Consequently, the nations which have achieved a high degree of economic development bear a moral obligation—whose urgency is no whit lessened by its nature—to help the African world to develop its economy without interfering politically and without seeking any direct benefit. By acting in this way, countries would in the long run be accomplishing a double purpose: they would be acting at once justly and in their own interests, because it is only by bringing the African

world, on a footing of equality, as an active factor, into the world economy that a more stable and highly developed world economy can be achieved.

11. Although I am an Athenian, and proud of it, I have a high regard for Sparta and laconic speech. I have tried to be brief, and I have but a few words to add. I know that there was a time, and it was not so long ago, when the word "never" would have been the only reply—tinged possibly with some contempt—to idealists who might have undertaken an anti-colonialist campaign and asserted then what all of us nowadays regard as an obvious truth. But those who are an active element in the shaping of world history should know that it is a serious mistake to use the word "never".

12. Ancient Greece created the idea of liberty and the ideal of democracy. We are proud of that. But we are even prouder of the example which, ever since its rebirth at the beginning of the last century, modern Greece has given to the world by its sacrifices and its devotion to the ideas of liberty and human dignity. The Greek nation greets the end of colonialism as a human conquest of world-wide importance, to the achievement of which it has contributed to the fullest extent of its ability.

13. Mr. PETER (Hungary): As an introduction to what I am going to say I wish to invoke an old African proverb: "When minds are the same, that which is far off will come." The saying goes back to the ancient life of the East-African peoples. It is still current in the Swahili language and has a direct application to this debate.

14. By quoting this ancient proverb I wish to pay at least symbolic tribute to the living heritage in the thinking of peoples emerging from the shadows of colonial ages. However long and disastrous the centuries of slavery were in many parts of the colonial territories, old human traditions were preserved everywhere in the form of legends, songs, proverbs, written or engraved words, popular customs and monuments—all rich in cultural values. The peoples have not forgotten their own ancient history. It is being transmitted orally from generation to generation. We are already and will go on witnessing a resurgence of national life, a revival of old cultural values with the coming of independence and a rebirth of the consciousness of peoples everywhere, which will be effectively instrumental in shaping the economic and political life in the new age of their existence. This national renaissance will add to the cultural treasure of the family of nations as a whole.

15. The proverb I have just quoted expresses something essential regarding the present collapse of the colonial system. A few years ago one could hardly have imagined the speed with which the peoples of the old colonial territories would regain their freedom and independence. Among the many factors which have contributed toward this happy development, one of the most striking has been the joint effort of those who for generations have struggled against colonial rule. The minds of peoples and those of their national leaders have become the same and so that which seemed to be far off has come.

16. Now, in the present debate in this Organization, we are about to achieve an even greater unity of all minds and forces in order to complete the liquidation of every kind of colonial rule. The peoples of Africa and Asia have become so strong and united in their

struggle for independence that they would be powerful enough to rid themselves by force of what is left from old colonial times. The very fact that this session of the General Assembly is debating this question shows that there is a real possibility of a peaceful solution of remaining problems. The greater the unity of minds willing to put a definite end to colonial rule, the brighter will be the prospects of finding an immediate and peaceful solution to all colonial problems. In this connexion we may say that when minds are the same here in this hall, that which is still far off will soon be reached.

17. We should find it easier to reach a common understanding if we could all accept the same interpretation of the colonial system which peoples having experienced colonial rule for generations are giving to it. For beyond all its connotations the word "colonialism" has two essential meanings. These two meanings are confronting each other in this debate whenever the discussion becomes controversial. The meaning of colonialism is not the same for the colonial Powers and their successors as it is for the peoples under colonial rule. For the colonial Powers there is nothing dishonest in colonialism. Not so long ago in Europe the possession of as many colonies as possible was one of the main criteria for the international and worldwide authority of some States. As a child under the late Austro-Hungarian Empire, I saw that beyond subjugating a whole series of nationalities, one of the main objectives was to acquire by conquest or otherwise the richest possible territories in Asia or Africa for colonial administration. The attack in the thirties by Mussolini's Italy on Ethiopia was one of the last displays of appetite for colonial territories. Unfortunately, those bad old days are not entirely past. There are still governments which do not consider it dishonest to have colonial offices and ministries for colonial affairs, and to train officials to regard it as an honour to serve in a colonial administration.

18. But the other aspect of colonialism is entirely, essentially different, in fact just the opposite. In the eyes of peoples that have experienced colonial rule, colonialism is the most detestable evil of human life. It would be worth while to reiterate what has been already said by Asian and African delegations about the tragic conditions of colonial times, because for the sake of a better future it is as well not to forget the past and the vestiges of the past. Yet I will not do so. Instead, I will sum up the general impressions left by their statements.

19. If human sufferings were measurable and comparable experiences, it could be argued that centuries of colonial slavery had caused human societies even more suffering, loss, devastation and impoverishment than all the wars fought during the whole history of mankind, and let us add that wars have mostly been fought against peoples under colonial rule and at their expense. But even if human sufferings are not comparable the comparison has its meaning, and it does stand to indicate what colonialism meant to those familiar with its inside story.

20. Any resolution resulting from this debate can have real value and can mean effective help to peoples under colonial rule only if it is based on a true interpretation of the meaning of colonialism as understood by those whose fate lay or still lies under the shadow of colonialism. Both the declaration presented by the Government of the Soviet Union [A/4502] and the draft

resolution submitted by a number of States [A/L.323 and Add 1-5] are based on this interpretation. The latter should be made to coincide more closely with the former mainly as regards the means of implementation. The more delegations there are which understand the real meaning of colonialism as seen by the peoples of the colonial territories, the greater will be the possibility of formulating the results of this debate in such a way as to be really effective against colonial domination.

21. Mr. President, before venturing to suggest the main characteristics of a possible resolution likely to prove effective, I should like, with your kind permission, to say a few words about the basic principle guiding my delegation in the common effort to achieve the best possible results from this discussion. Only one motivation is justifiable in the eyes of those on whose behalf this whole debate has been initiated—only one, namely, the consciousness of human solidarity. All the delegations which in this debate have stood up for the immediate liquidation of all the remains of the colonial past have borne witness to deep human solidarity. The best guarantee of a helpful attitude in this matter is unconditional solidarity with those peoples for whose sake this item has been placed on the agenda. Any attempt to avoid or postpone an effective resolution or to sidetrack the debate indicates that the true feeling of human solidarity has relinquished its decisive role and certain other interests have taken its place—interests alien to the cause of liquidating all types of colonial rule. Mr. President, as you may know, the Secretary-General was good enough to provide an excellent illustration of this attitude by distributing a so-called report by an extremely distinguished special representative. But I do not wish to elaborate on this point. On the basis of human solidarity an effective stand by the General Assembly on the problems of colonial countries and peoples should be characterized by a genuine and meaningful document designed to avert all possible attempts at embellishing the picture of colonialism and to condemn unreservedly the ages of colonialism and make it clear that the United Nations will not tolerate colonial rule any longer.

22. To embellish the picture serves no justifiable or unjustifiable purpose. It does not even serve the interests of the colonial Powers. It is no use trying to embellish the picture. The peoples familiar with the intimate picture of colonialism will never accept any misrepresentation of that true picture. It may be that persons of colonial origin who have lost every organic contact with their peoples will be taken in by such embellishments, but it will be impossible to mislead the peoples themselves. On the contrary, any attempt at embellishment merely helps to aggravate the situation in every respect, both in the colonial territories and in the United Nations also. Here is an example to illustrate this.

23. A recent report by an American (Negro) writer on the situation in Africa, based on a journey to Africa last summer, gives an astonishing account of a talk with a white settler in Kenya who is a political figure, and even a person of some importance, having taken part in the Lancaster House conference. Speaking to this American (Negro) writer about the prospects in Kenya, he said:

"I think Kenya should be independent. I think the Africans must one day run the country. But first I

think the British Government should give us £10 million to launch a full-scale education programme for these Africans. That will take from ten to twenty years. That is the only way to do it. I have said this on the floor of Parliament and I have told it to the Colonial Secretary. Now I realize I will get nowhere with this. So I have asked Mr. Mboya and his African friends to give us Europeans the following assurances: a promise that land and properties will not be confiscated once Africans are in control, and a promise that we will be free to send our children to schools of our own choice. And I have asked the British Government to impound certain Kenya money to guarantee that Africans will respect and honour such an agreement once it is made."^{1/}

I think it would be rather instructive to quote other parts of that talk, but I do not propose to do so as they are of an even more inflammatory character.

24. To realise all the dangerous and even tragic implications of such a tragicomic attitude, we must remember that the talk to which I have just referred took place in Nairobi, Kenya, at exactly the same time as the crisis which broke out in Leopoldville. The attitude of certain prominent figures in the colonial territories largely reflects that of the colonial Powers themselves and their allies, who thus make official or semi-official statements designed to redress the colonial past and present. All such attempts at embellishment will only provide new motives for renewed tragedies. The march of history hits back in a merciless way at all who venture to trifle with the real forces at work in a historical process.

25. Here is another example to illustrate my point, and which refers to an experience common to all of us in this hall.

26. During the last two or three weeks we have seen that on some controversial issues, for instance in connexion with the Congo, the Western Powers, although opposed by the majority of Asian and African delegations, have succeeded in attaining majority votes with the help of their military allies. The smell of victory has been in the air—and what a smell! But those who want to embellish the situation do not realize that such actions carried out against the common will of the majority of Asian and African States will only contribute to widening the gap and sharpening the contradictions between Asian and African countries and the Western Powers. If we, from the point of view of the socialist countries, looked upon these happenings in a cold-war spirit, we would feel gratified to see the way in which some Western Powers undermine their own relations with Asian and African countries. But we are not guided by a cold-war spirit. We are not gratified when we see many delegations from Asia and Africa becoming embittered by the power-policy of the cold war. No, we are not. We are so anxious for peaceful coexistence that we wish former colonies to be on good terms with their former colonial masters, on the basis of equality and mutual respect. We desire the peaceful coexistence of Cuba and the United States, of the two States of the Congo and France and Belgium, and so on. Hence, the illusions created by an embellishment of colonial conditions even work against the very interests of the Western Powers. To conclude: for the sake of peace, security and the peaceful

coexistence of former colonies and former colonial Powers, a real, helpful and effective document should condemn the colonial systems, with a view to liquidating all their remains.

27. The second main characteristic of such a real, helpful and effective document, following logically from the condemnation of colonial rule, should be to stress the urgent need to liquidate all existing colonial systems. Any delay will only aggravate the situation. In the general debate on the subject in this hall, the First Secretary of the Socialist Workers' Party of Hungary, Mr. Janos Kádár, as Chairman of my delegation, spoke as follows:

"The foundations of the colonial system have been shaken so much that any attempt at obstructing the progress of liberation will not stop but accelerate it." [883rd meeting, para. 30].

Yes, accelerate it; any attempt to halt or divert this process will result in renewed forcible action on the part of peoples under colonial rule. In the present world situation real conditions prevail for an immediate and peaceful solution of these problems. It is not a sheer coincidence that this world Organization is dealing with problems of general and complete disarmament and problems of liquidating all kinds of colonial rule almost at the same time. The two issues are interdependent and the feasibility of both rests on the present international situation, where the new balance of power is in favour both of disarmament and the liquidation of the colonial system. In view of the great political, moral and material forces at the disposal of the Soviet Union and the socialist countries in general, present international relations are not such as to favour the colonial Powers if they try to thwart the independence movements of colonial peoples. The forces of the colonial peoples, together with those recently liberated in Asia and Africa, are so powerful that they could achieve their demands by forcible action, and this will certainly happen if the solution comes too late. And it is almost too late—as we see now from recent events in the Congo. The peoples of the former colonies and of those still existing, together with their leaders, would like to avoid the use of violence and to act in a peaceful way. If the present session of the General Assembly heeds the signs of the times, they will be helped to implement their goodwill. To conclude: for the sake of a peaceful solution, a real, helpful and effective document will make clear the urgent need for finding a solution to the problems of the colonial territories.

28. Many previous speakers have underlined how important it is that the proposal of the Soviet Union on the problem of colonialism as a whole should become a main concern of this Organization. The Government of the Soviet Union has thereby rendered a service not only to the colonial peoples by bringing their case to the attention of the General Assembly but also to this Organization, and even to the colonial Powers—even to them. This Organization has been given a great opportunity to say what it should so as to usher in a new era for all mankind, and the colonial Powers have been offered friendly aid in liquidating a dishonest heritage of the past in a decent, honest and peaceful way.

29. The results of re-establishing the independence of all colonial countries will be of tremendous benefit not only to the countries concerned but to all of us, and this for two reasons. This new situation will help to

^{1/} Louis E. Lomax, *The Reluctant African*, New York, Harper and Brothers, 1960, p. 71.

eliminate tensions and create more relaxed international relations beneficial to all countries, large and small, without exception. At the same time the family of nations will be enriched by the participation of the newly independent nations in international endeavours. Peoples and their representatives, inspired by their struggle for independence, peace and human existence, usually bring a powerful and constructive element into international organizations, and this promotes the honest solution of such controversial issues as peace, security and social progress. May I be allowed to express the hope that the present debate will serve this end.

30. The PRESIDENT: Before I call on the next speaker, may I intervene at this point to say that, according to the best information available to the Chair, if the Assembly were prepared to sit until sometime after 2 o'clock—which I think would not be later than 2.30 p.m.—it would be possible to dispose of the list of speakers inscribed for today and an afternoon meeting would not be necessary. The Chair would propose, with the agreement of the Assembly, to pursue this course.

It was so decided.

31. Mr. GARIN (Portugal): The important item being discussed now deserves the closest attention of my delegation—particularly because its common interpretation requires some points of clarification—and this is the reason for my intervention. Either directly or indirectly, many speakers from this rostrum during the present debate have attempted to include Portugal in the problem of the elimination of colonialism in the world. However, the more I heard about colonialism as an economic and political system, the more I heard about its fundamental characteristics and the different facets it presents, the more it became manifest that Portuguese nationhood was completely alien to the practice of colonialism. Whatever the confused reasonings, misunderstandings, innuendoes and insinuations advanced in good or bad faith by some, in connexion with the moral, political and juridical structure of my country, the fact remains that no type of colonialism is practised within the Portuguese nation.

32. Portugal has been for centuries a unitary nation and it has always been recognized as such by the international community. We are, like many other nations, multi-racial; our land and our people are dispersed over several continents, as is also the case with other nations. But we form only one unit, completely independent and solid—politically, juridically and socially, one country with the same strong national feeling. Nowhere in my country is there any subjugation of peoples to foreign domination because all our people, wherever they may live, are themselves the body and soul of the nation. From the point of view of economic initiative, no one part of the nation enjoys any special privilege or benefit with respect to other parts or to the whole, and all Portuguese nationals, whatever their race, origin or religion, enjoy identical economic privileges on a footing of absolute equality, wherever they may find themselves.

33. Juridically, there is no distinction among the Portuguese in any part of the nation in their enjoyment of Portuguese nationality, with its privileges and its opportunities. Whatever their origin, race or religion, the Portuguese have always found in the law the means of enjoying the same rights and opportunities and of holding the highest posts, whether in government or

private enterprise, as well as in public and social life. A nation which has had as President of its Supreme Court of Justice in Lisbon a Portuguese national of a non-European race, born in an overseas province—not to speak of Cabinet Members and countless other high government officials—certainly is not a country which follows the tenets of colonialism. This tradition is long and deeply rooted; it was not improvised overnight to please some of the Members of this Assembly. It is a tradition of equality that has never faltered. The same fundamental human rights and freedoms are guaranteed to all nationals, and we draw justifiable pride from the fact that we have been pioneers of non-racism in the four corners of the globe during the last five centuries. On this score, we are certainly not prepared to accept lessons or advice from anybody, however well-meaning these may appear, especially from those who seem to have discovered only recently that racism constitutes disrespect for the will of God.

34. Politically as well as juridically, the Portuguese Overseas Provinces are, and always have been, an integral part of the nation and, as such, they enjoy administrative and financial autonomy and dispose entirely of their own revenues. Through their directly-elected representatives in the National Assembly, where they have been represented since 1821 when we held our first parliament after the Napoleonic wars, they play an active part in the formation and functioning of the central organs of sovereignty on a basis of absolute equality. This situation, resulting from a long historical process, is indeed remarkable, since it does not correspond to the outsider's preconceived ideas of paramount economic motives and feelings of racial pride which are often associated with the relations between peoples of different continents. The impartial observer, travelling in Portuguese territory, cannot fail to observe this complete identity between Portuguese populations of different races and religions, but with the same national ideal. The moral climate discerned by the impartial observer reflects the profound fact that only one nation exists in the minds of the people and is represented in their institutions and ways of life. Admittedly, the Portuguese nation presents a unique case which does not lend itself to alien standards of measurement—quite apart from the fact that such alien standards would not be applied for the benefit of our people, but for the selfish and hypocritical purposes of some outsiders. But here again, our particularism was not designed overnight as a matter of expediency; it sprang from the roots of our national character, was moulded by the circumstances of history, and consolidated in the centuries-old communion and brotherhood of our populations.

35. It was indeed a radically different process, an altogether different attitude, from that associated with the exploitation of the soil and sub-soil through commercial enterprises which did not call for permanent settlement by the European. In such cases, the States responsible for the administration of the territories concerned have always declared their intention of steering the local populations towards independence. When the Portuguese nation was set up and extended over other continents, usually on unoccupied or unused land, some very striking factors became apparent: to those peoples which had not yet conceived the idea of a homeland, it offered one; it also offered a common language, the guarantee of peace and an organized economic and community life without disrupting the indigenous way of life.

36. In his recent speech before the National Assembly in Lisbon, the President of the Council of Ministers of Portugal declared:

"The idea of racial superiority is not ours, but that of human brotherhood certainly is, as well as equality before the law based on the principle of equality of merit, as is proper to progressive societies.

"In all these territories the mingling of populations was intended to aid the process of forming a multi-racial society. The most important element, however, the truly essential one, lay in the spirit of familiar contact with local elements, the recognition of possibilities of access in economic and social life, the principles of a more advanced culture and a higher moral code that, even when isolated, was the rule of public and private behaviour. These means have necessarily exercised a slow action, but where a community has been formed with a certain degree of cohesion by them, then we can say that the task has been successful: the independence and equality of the peoples integrated with their territories into a national unity.

"Inspired by that same ideal, we worked in Brazil for over three hundred years and what is to be observed there is truly extraordinary. Brazil opens its doors to people from almost everywhere in the world and welds them into the variety of its population. It absorbs them, assimilates them, and yet does not lose any of its own spirit. There is no country to whose formation different races have contributed that can compare with Brazil in the matter of so complete an absence of racial prejudices in legislation, in political organization and in social conduct. Brazil is the greatest modern experiment in a multiracial society and is at the same time a magnificent example of the transposition of Western civilization into the tropics and onto the continent of America. Peaceful, stable, dynamically progressive, Brazil, even when it improves upon its own creations, does not need to deny its origins or its homeland.

"A multiracial society is therefore possible, whether of Luso-American stock, as in Brazil, on a Luso-Asiatic basis, as in Goa, or Luso-African, as we see in Angola and Mozambique.

"There is nothing, there has never been anything, which could lead one to accept the opposite conclusion. The simple fact is that such a society excludes any manifestation of racism—whether white, black or yellow—and calls for a long development and the toil of centuries, within the principles that underlie the Portuguese community".

37. Later in his speech before the Portuguese National Assembly, Dr. Oliveira Salazar continued:

"It is possible to find many defects in our work, and we are the first to regret that our limited resources have not enabled us to make greater progress. Much remains for us to do, above all in communications, the spread of educational facilities, health organization. But, even in these, as in many other fields, when we compare ourselves with others we have no call to feel ashamed. Our towns and villages, our railways, our ports, the hydro-electrical schemes, the preparation of irrigated land and its distribution to white men and black, the exploitation of the wealth of the sub-soil, the installations of our public services—all have their merits. But a greater

achievement still is the atmosphere of security, peace and brotherly contact among the very different elements of the population, which is something unique in present-day Africa, for material progress can be attained by anyone who has money at his disposal, whereas this achievement of ours cannot".

38. The factors to which I have referred concerning the unity of the nation in the plurality of its territories also call for unity of political orientation, with the co-operation of all elements; but this principle does not affect certain problems which relate to administrative organization and to the greater or lesser degree of decentralization and autonomy. In this connexion, the President of the Council of Ministers of Portugal stated in the course of his speech of a few days ago:

"In the last few decades the economy of the Overseas Provinces, especially that of Goa, Angola and Mozambique, has undergone a great development, while side by side with economic progress and the progress in education an increasingly large class of persons capable of administering the territories has come forward. This is, furthermore, a natural feature—the tendency for functions to expand in relation to growing needs and the means available. On the other hand, the vast size of the territories, and even the distances separating them, as well as the particular features of some of their problems, will make it inevitable for larger sectors of their administration to be handed over to local organs. This may represent a gain of time and even, at least theoretically, a truer appreciation of local circumstances; yet nothing can dispense with the need for the competent leadership of a large élite in the government services. One factor only would seem to me to belie the spirit of unity, and that would be the conception of a kind of exclusiveness or privilege whereby a Portuguese would be denied the right to work or serve in any part of our territory, according to his ability. Have we not Goans and people from Mozambique in Lisbon, Europeans and inhabitants of Cabo Verde in Guinea, people from Angola or Guinea in Mozambique, and people from Mozambique in Timor? So, I think, it should continue to be.

"The Government keeps an open mind as to all modifications in the administrative structure, except in the case of those which might endanger the unity of the nation and the general interest".

39. It is certainly deplorable that this Organization, created to uphold peace and harmony between nations, has been used as a stage and an instrument by some delegations for slanderous attacks and false accusations against a nation which, perhaps more than any other in the history of the world, had the foresight to build with faith and feelings of racial brotherhood and religious tolerance a political and human unity which, in these times of turmoil, lives and works in peace in four continents of the earth, without the slightest unrest among its populations a state of peace which no outsiders will be allowed to disturb. Some of the self-appointed champions of anti-colonialism allege that colonies cannot be integrated into a political unitary body simply by a stroke of the pen or a juridical fiction—I believe these were the expressions used by certain delegations, that Portugal has merely attached a label to its overseas territories as an expedient device to face the wave of anti-colonialism. Those who may have made such a statement in good faith—and I wish to stress that not all have necessarily done so—

reveal a total ignorance of the ideals and methods which inspired the formation of the Portuguese nation and of the history of its constitutional laws.

40. Some of our detractors attempt to convince the Assembly that we have hurriedly converted "colonies" into "provinces". Such an objection has already been answered. But if it is a question of technical nomenclature, I have no difficulty in answering our earnest but ill-informed critics: it simply is not true that Portugal has only recently named its extra-European territories "provinces". Anyone who will take the trouble to look into Portuguese constitutional history before attacking us on false premises can easily find out for himself the following facts:

41. The political and administrative concept of "province" is a tradition in Portuguese common law as well as in customary law. The great Portuguese historian João de Barros in the sixteenth century, as well as the other chroniclers of the time, refers to the lands beyond the seas as "Provinces". In the public documents of the following century, the seventeenth, the same designation is applied. Laws enacted in 1663 formalized the expression "Overseas Province". The designation has since been adopted by the Constitutional Laws of Portugal. For the enlightenment of interested parties, I should like to stress that the Portuguese Cortes, or Parliament, of 1820, which provided the basis for the first written Constitution, adopted the designation "Overseas Provinces" as being the most accurate and consistent with the principles of national unity. Clearly, the Portuguese legislators of 1820—140 years ago—were not thinking of the United Nations Organization nor of any other international body, when they referred to our Overseas Provinces as such.

42. The first Constitution, of 1821, says, in Article 132: "The administration of the provinces will remain as it is for the time being, until altered by law". Title X of the 1832 Constitution reads: "The Overseas Provinces". The same designation was adopted in Title X of the Constitution of 2 May 1842, as well as in the Constitutional Amendment of 1852, and again in the Overseas Legislation of 1867. The tradition has not been changed with the Republic. Title V of the 1911 Constitution was: "Administration of the Overseas Provinces". The 1933 Constitution, at present in force, refers in Article 135 to "The Overseas Provinces...". Furthermore, since 1612 the Overseas Provinces have been considered as being an integral part of the Portuguese nation. Portuguese Public Law has always followed this traditional pattern, which has been reflected accordingly in the acts of the administration. And Article 135 of the present Constitution says: "The Overseas Provinces, as an integral part of the Portuguese State, are united as between themselves and with Metropolitan Portugal". It is also evident that the attitude of the Portuguese from the very beginning of their communion with the peoples overseas was in advance of the times; the so-called "winds of change" came to us long ago. To those who express their incomprehension of the Portuguese attitude, we can only reply that we cannot sacrifice the sacred interests of the Portuguese populations in the national community simply in order to meet their desires or gratify their emotions.

43. The unitary Portuguese nation represents a unique historical realization which has always obtained international recognition. It was precisely that politico-social structure of a unitary state with its overseas

provinces integrated in the nation—it was precisely that political structure, I repeat—which was admitted unanimously as a Member of the United Nations. The personality of a State is inalienable and indivisible. That personality is made up of the spiritual values common to the populations as well as of the material values, that is, the territories which constitute the physical body of the State. Thus, the indivisibility of the State refers to the unity of its spiritual values as well as to the physical components of the whole. It is, then, the integrity and unity of the Portuguese State, as well as of any other State admitted to this Organization, which all Members of the United Nations have committed themselves to respect and protect. This has been the attitude invariably adopted by this Organization and very recently reaffirmed in resolutions of the Security Council and of this Assembly. Certainly no unitary or federal State Member of this Organization would tolerate a request for the disintegration of that State. No delegation, no matter how obsessed by the results of propaganda has the legal or moral right to go so far, and we solemnly protest against those who come here with such preposterous suggestions.

44. Using an alleged colonialism as an excuse, some of the delegations in this Assembly have addressed slanderous attacks against my country. But their true intentions are perfectly clear to us. Their aim is to spread disorder where peace reigns, to encourage subversion where perfect harmony exists, and to create new problems artificially so as to make even more difficult the solution of the complex ones already facing the world, and for which the countries represented by the delegations I have in mind are mostly responsible. I am not going to address myself to these malevolent delegations whose partisan motives are transparent. I have listened to them with the contempt they deserve, as my delegation fully knows that such detractors are not interested in the truth. I am also convinced that one or two other delegations, moved by their customary hostility toward Portugal, will likewise not be interested in listening to me. But I particularly regret the remarks made by those who allowed themselves to be guided by their emotions—emotions inspired in political concepts which are alien and not adaptable to the Portuguese case. I have in mind particularly the allegations made by one or two delegations from the African States.

45. First of all, I should like to address myself to those African delegations to tell them of the very sincere desire and intention of the Portuguese nation to maintain the most cordial relations with all the African States in accordance with the principles of peaceful coexistence and good-neighbourliness—principles which have always been traditional in our policy. My Government firmly believes that the great changes which have taken place in the political structure of the territories adjacent to my country in Africa—due to the welcome access to independence of those new States—should not hinder in the least the relations of mutual trust and friendship which have hitherto existed between our respective peoples—indeed, that such relations will have an effective bearing on the necessary contacts and commercial and cultural exchanges between neighbours. In our relations with the new African States, we shall always be inspired by the scrupulous application of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

46. Together with the new African States, we are deeply interested in the return to normality of the en-

tire African continent, to an atmosphere of harmony and joint constructive effort that will permit the solution of existing problems in peace and goodwill and the building of a future of mutually beneficial work and prosperity. Certainly, my country's interest in solving the problems of Africa is no less than that of the most interested parties. The accusations directed against my country by one or other of the African States are entirely without foundation. As I prefer to believe that those delegations which are responsible for them would not act in bad faith or merely on a whim, I am convinced that the reason for their accusations lies in the distorted or fabricated information somehow placed in their hands.

47. My Government has always, and scrupulously, respected its international obligations. We have been dealing with other countries and Governments for many centuries and our record of living by the law and of observing the rules of international conduct is blameless. We are not going to change our attitude as a responsible and sovereign State and a Member of the United Nations simply because those delegations attacking us appear to forget the principles of parliamentary responsibility. We could, if we wanted, be as fertile as the representative of Liberia, for example, in the matter of gratuitous accusations. After all, the easiest thing in the world, under the immunity afforded by this Assembly, is to make accusations the accuracy of which need not be proved. But we shall not embark on that easy path, because we hold self-respect in high esteem and we continue to believe that the spirit of this Organization deserves more respectful treatment.

48. It must be admitted that in the last few weeks the irresponsible or malevolent accusations voiced against Portugal in this Organization—particularly during a recent debate in the Fourth Committee—have had a considerable effect in my country, though certainly not the effect our detractors had hoped for. Anyone who has recently travelled through Portugal—European or Overseas—or anyone who may read the Portuguese newspapers, will realise what a tremendous wave of indignation is sweeping the nation. There have been massive demonstrations, as impressive and intense in the Overseas provinces as in continental Portugal, to protest against the attempted vilification and verbal attacks directed against Portugal by various delegations. Such eloquent demonstrations, which have taken place daily in both the larger and smaller towns of continental Portugal, in Angola and Mozambique and in other Portuguese overseas provinces, are the natural outcome of genuine offended feelings. The Portuguese press, in Europe or overseas, printed, for what they were worth, the full texts of the accusations brought against us in this Organization. The effect was an immediate reaction of indignation and outraged feelings by the people, by the whole nation, against such attacks and the countries responsible for them, and the reaffirmation of the profound patriotism and brotherhood which unites all Portuguese, regardless of origin, race, colour or creed. From one end of the Portuguese nation to the other, from the Atlantic islands of Cape Verde to the distant shores of Timor, on every parcel of the national territory where the Portuguese people of all races live and work in peace, there has been a simultaneous protest and absolute rejection of these vile accusations, and the united and determined voice of the entire Portuguese nation has never been stronger.

49. Mr. KISELEV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (translated from Russian): We are at present discussing a historic document—the "Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples" [A/4502], submitted for our consideration by the Soviet delegation. As the Declaration states, the immediate abolition of the colonial system and the transformation of the present colonies into independent States will pave the way for replacing relationships of domination and subjection by relationships based on the principles of equality of rights, friendship and mutual respect.

50. But that will be impossible while colonialism and the discrimination against entire countries and peoples which it involves still exist. As has been rightly pointed out in the statements made earlier in the debate by the representatives of the Soviet Union, Ghana, Guinea, the United Arab Republic, Saudi Arabia, Ceylon and other countries, the immediate liquidation of colonialism would be a signal victory for the forces of peace, progress, freedom and independence in their fight against the forces of reaction.

51. In his statement made on 23 September, during the general debate at the present session of the Assembly, Mr. Khrushchev, the head of the Soviet Government, said:

"...there is no means and no force which can halt this struggle of the peoples for their liberation, for it is a great historic process, one of ever-growing and invincible power. It may be possible to prolong the dominion of one State over another for a year or two, but just as in the past the bourgeois order of things came to replace feudalism and as, now, socialism is replacing capitalism, so colonial slavery is giving place to freedom. Such are the rules of human development, and only adventurers can believe that mountains of corpses and millions of victims will delay the advent of a radiant future." [869th meeting, para.172]

52. In these few brief words the historically inevitable development which is taking place in our era is defined. It must be pointed out that whatever the colonialists do to preserve their dominion over the colonies, their efforts will fail. The abolition of colonialism would undoubtedly be an important contribution to the consolidation of peace and security throughout the world, and a vital step towards reducing international tension. It is the duty of the United Nations to put an immediate end to this evil.

53. We are living in remarkable times, times in which we can witness with our own eyes the irresistible struggle of countries and peoples to liberate themselves from the colonial yoke. Many representatives in this chamber have raised the banner of freedom and national independence in their own countries and are taking an active part in the struggle for the emancipation of hundreds of millions of oppressed people from colonial slavery. Let me venture on behalf of the Byelorussian people to congratulate them on their glorious victory. In the fifteen years since the end of the war, forty new States with a population amounting to 1500 million—or more than half the population of the world—have come into being and are successfully developing.

54. Asia, in particular, has been transformed unrecognizably, thanks to the great successes won by its peoples in their struggle for national liberation. Since the war, sixteen new States have come into being in

Asia, among them such great States as India, Indonesia and Burma, which are carrying out a policy of independence and neutrality and are successfully strengthening their independence and sovereignty.

55. Great events are taking place in our era on the African continent. The heroic fight of the peoples of Africa for their freedom and independence has borne its splendid fruit. When the United Nations came into existence, Africa was represented in the Organization by only four States; today it already counts thirty Member States, with a population of one hundred million. At the current session of the General Assembly alone, we have had the opportunity to admit as Members of the United Nations sixteen new African States [resolutions 1476 (XV) to 1488 (XV) and 1490 (XV) to 1492 (XV)]. How true has proved the great Lenin's prophecy that "In the history of the world, tomorrow will be the day when the peoples oppressed by imperialism, now awakened, will open their eyes once and for all, and when the decisive, long and laborious struggle for their liberation will begin."

56. Colonialism has been sentenced to death by history: its day is over. The disintegration of the time-honoured colonial system now taking place bears unmistakable witness to the truth of Lenin's prophecy. The question of the complete and immediate abolition of colonial systems has been placed on the order of the day by life itself; for all objective conditions are ripe for the downfall of colonialism—that black page in the great annals of history.

57. But it would be premature to conclude that the colonial system of imperialism has breathed its last. The Western colonial Powers still retain their domination over vast territories, territories which are of great importance from the standpoint of economics and military strategy.

58. At present, more than a hundred million people in Asia and Africa are still suffering under direct colonial oppression. In Asia, more than fifty million people are suffering under the colonial yoke. And more than sixty million indigenous inhabitants of Africa are still being oppressed by the colonialists. Thus, the liquidation of the colonial system is not yet complete. Imperialism and colonialism still exist; they are trying to turn the wheel of history back and doing everything in their power, stopping at nothing, to preserve their domination. As Mr. Sukarno, the President of Indonesia, has said in this chamber, "Imperialism is not yet dead...the dying imperialism is dangerous, as dangerous as the wounded tiger in a tropical jungle." [880th meeting, para. 63]. The disintegration of colonialism is being accompanied not only by the constructive process of the formation of new independent States, whose admission to membership in the United Nations we here welcome fervently and with all our hearts, but also by determined efforts on the part of the colonialists to preserve their domination in the colonies in new forms. These activities of the colonialists are giving rise to an extremely tense situation in Asia and Africa, and are creating the danger of new conflicts which could have serious consequences.

59. But the advance of the peoples of Asia and Africa towards immediate independence is an impetuous and irresistible one. As Mr. Khrushchev said last autumn from the rostrum of the United Nations General Assembly.

"The last strongholds of the decaying colonial system are crumbling away for good, and that is one of the most significant factors of our time. If we look at the map of Asia and Africa we shall see the spectacle of the liberation of hundreds of millions of people from foreign exploitation after centuries of repression."^{2/}

60. The grandiose events taking place in our era confirm the truth of Mr. Khrushchev's words. The knell of colonial robbery has sounded. But if even the very idea of colonialism is to become a thing of the past, the United Nations, in accordance with the spirit of its Charter, must help the peoples and countries which are still groaning under colonial oppression to win their independence more rapidly. At the same time, it is important that this process of liberation should not take place to the sound of the alarms of war and the groans of human beings; for emancipation from colonialism has in the past cost many peoples too much blood and too many lives. We must see that the conditions which permit the colonialists illegally to continue their domination in foreign countries, on the pretext that the colonial peoples are not mature enough and not yet ready for self-government and independence, are done away with for good. We believe that any people can govern itself; all that needs to be done is to give it the opportunity to do so—and that means to abolish colonial oppression and colonial domination.

61. The representatives of the United Kingdom, Portugal and other countries have enlarged here on the "civilizing mission" which they profess to have carried out, and to be carrying out, in the colonial and dependent countries. They have cited statistics on the development of industry, agriculture, public education, public health and transport in their colonies to convince us that they have made a great contribution to the prosperity and culture of the peoples concerned. But what, in point of fact, have the colonialists of Europe and America brought these peoples? Let me quote some facts which illustrate the results of former colonialist rule.

62. I have recently read a highly interesting book, A Hundred Countries and One-and-a-Quarter Billion People, written by the present Managing Director of the United Nations Special Fund, Paul Hoffman, an American, and published this year in Washington^{3/}. It deals with the problem of economic assistance to the under-developed countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. According to the author, there are over one hundred such countries in the world, numbering more than 1,250 million people. The annual average income per person in those countries, Hoffman says, is at present \$100, whereas the corresponding figure for the United States and most of Western Europe is \$1000-2000, or ten to twenty times greater. These figures show what merciless exploitation and robbery the indigenous populations have suffered.

63. According to the report^{4/} of the United Nations Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories, drawn up this April for the fifteenth session of the General Assembly, per capita personal income in the African territories for which data are available for the year 1957 was among the lowest in the

^{2/} Official Records of the General Assembly, fourteenth session, plenary meetings, 799th meeting, para. 35.

^{3/} Albert D. and Mary Lasker Foundation, 1960.

^{4/} A/4371, Supp. No. 15, Fifteenth Session.

world. In Nigeria the figure was \$67, in Uganda \$43.34, in the former Belgian Congo, \$42.2 and in Kenya, \$35.55. Thus per capita income in the United Kingdom is some tens of times greater than per capita income in Nigeria, Uganda and Kenya. These figures, which would be difficult to deny, speak for themselves.

64. As we see, then, colonialism is in essence a repulsive mixture of unprecedented exploitation, discrimination of various kinds and deprivation of elementary human rights. By the blood and sweat of the indigenous peoples the colonialists amass vast riches out of which all they leave the peoples they exploit is a few miserable crumbs. The export of their wealth, the accumulation of fabulous profits, hunger, poverty and arbitrary law—that is what the colonialists bring the indigenous peoples.

65. Let me quote a few figures which illustrate the sharp contrast between the incomes of the indigenous peoples and those of the European settlers. According to the report I have mentioned, per capita personal income in the former Belgian Congo in 1957 was \$42.2 for the African population, and \$2973, or eighty times more, for the Europeans. In the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, European incomes were 43 times greater; in Kenya, 30 times. Such are the fruits of Western "civilization" in Africa.

66. Representatives of the colonial Powers who have addressed the United Nations General Assembly at various sessions have said not one word about the profits they make from their "benevolence". They have deliberately failed to mention such horrifying facts as the almost complete illiteracy which exists in the colonies and the fact that they have the highest death rate and the lowest life-expectancy in the world. Whereas life-expectancy in the United Kingdom is sixty years, in Nigeria, which has only just freed itself from colonial rule, it is substantially less than thirty. Relatively speaking, the population of Nigeria has sixty times fewer doctors than that of the United Kingdom; and it has only one dentist per two million inhabitants. The wage of the Negro worker in this former British colony is twelve times smaller than the average wage of the British worker. The United States has an average of 1.1 doctors per thousand inhabitants. The corresponding figure for Africa is 0.11, which means that Africa has only thirty-six doctors per million inhabitants. The illiteracy rate among the population of Africa is seventy to ninety per cent. In Algeria the illiteracy rate among the Moslem population is ninety per cent, whereas in 1830, when France conquered Algeria, there was less illiteracy there than in France. Such are the "achievements" of the French "civilizers" in that colonial country. Hunger and sickness, brutal exploitation and forced labour—all these have brought about the extinction of entire peoples. During the half-century of Belgian domination the population of the Congo has been almost halved; in Madagascar, sixty years of French domination have more than halved the population. I have taken these figures from the American journalist John Gunther's book Inside Africa^{5/}, published in New York in 1955. Gunther, who is a spokesman and theoretician of American neo-colonialism, was compelled to acknowledge the existence of the frightful colonial practice of mutilation—the amputation of the hands or feet of Negroes for bad work in the plantations and mines—and to publish photographs illustrating it. These barbarities prac-

tised by the Europeans are in no way different from the barbarities perpetrated by the Nazis during the Second World War.

67. The efforts of the colonial Powers to preserve their weakened positions in Africa are explained by the fact that the African continent possesses enormous mineral resources and is a vital market and source of raw materials for the capitalist countries. According to United States figures, Africa accounts for 98 per cent of the world's output of diamonds, 81 per cent of its cobalt, 59 per cent of its gold, 42 per cent of its antimony, 40 per cent of its chromite, 36 per cent of its manganese and 27 per cent of its copper. Africa provides more than four-fifths of the capitalist world's output of uranium ore. In the Sahara, petroleum has been discovered in huge deposits amounting to thousands of millions of tons. Africa possesses more than 40 per cent of the world's resources of water-power. Many African territories have rich deposits of bauxite, manganese ores, iron ore, nickel, zinc, lead, phosphates and other minerals. That is why Africa is of such great importance both to the United States and to Western Europe; for it is one of the greatest world producers of certain scarce raw materials.

68. However, the interests of the colonialists differ from those of the indigenous inhabitants of the African territories. The representatives of the monopolists look upon the Africans as cheap labour, labour which can be mercilessly exploited. The so-called plans for the industrialization of the African territories mean nothing more than the development of sectors of industry—in particular the mining industry—which the colonialists find profitable. But there is not a word in these plans of the colonialist Powers about the creation of a heavy industry—the essential foundation of any genuine independence for the new States.

69. At the same time, Africa plays an essential part in the colonial Powers' strategic preparations, which envisage the use of the continent as a powerful base and rear echelon of the West Atlantic bloc. In his book L'Eurafrrique—notre dernière chance^{6/}, the French author Pierre Nord writes:

"Strategically speaking, no one would dare to attack the geo-military complex of Eurafrica: Eurafrica, a vaster living-space than Siberia; Eurafrica, a safer industrial base than the Urals; Eurafrica, where in a few years we shall be able to produce atom bombs over the deposits which provide their raw materials."

70. Thus the purpose of the association of Europe with Africa, in this author's mind, is the creation of a mighty bloc of States designed to combat the national liberation movement of the African peoples and to solve the internal difficulties of the metropolitan countries at the expense of the indigenous inhabitants of the African territories. The white settlers, according to the colonialists' plans, are to be assigned a privileged position and to perform the function of defenders of colonialism. The author is a zealous advocate of the theory of "collective colonialism", the object of which is to preserve Africa, by the combined efforts of the industrially advanced countries of Western Europe and America, as a colonialist base.

71. Such are the words and the deeds of the present-day colonialists. Thus there is no justification whatsoever for the appeal addressed to us by Mr. Macmillan,

^{5/} Harper and Brothers.

^{6/} Paris, Librairie Arthème Fayard, 1955, p. 11.

the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, when he called on us in his statement to the plenary meeting of this General Assembly held on 29 September to "free ourselves from old and worn-out slogans and obsolete battle-cries"—which is how he sees the words "colonialism" and "imperialism". [877th meeting, para. 98].

72. No, Mr. Macmillan, these are not old and worn-out slogans: to put an end at once to the remnants of the shameful heritage of imperialism is the real battle-cry of our era. The sacred fire of struggle for freedom burns in the hearts of all the colonial peoples, and of the peoples of all the other dependent territories. And in this fire the fetters of slavery are melting away and real independence is being forged. All the world knows of the heroic struggle of the people of Kenya for their freedom and independence. The revolt they began in 1952 was brutally crushed by the colonialists after four years of colonial warfare during which 10,000 of the people of Kenya were killed and 150,000 thrown into prison. Kenya has 6 million African inhabitants, and 63,000 British settlers. Yet the British own the most fertile areas, having cleared them of their indigenous inhabitants and settled them with 12,000 British farmers. Each of these farmers owns an average of 2.5 square kilometres of land, whereas the indigenous inhabitants of Kenya live in reservations in which the density of population is as high as 400 per square kilometre. No wonder, then, that the average annual income of an indigenous Kenyan is thirty times smaller than that of a British settler. Ask any indigenous inhabitant of Kenya whether the immediate abolition of colonialism is an obsolete slogan. His reply, I venture to think, will be that it is far from obsolete; that on the contrary it is a highly topical and vital slogan.

73. Mr. Macmillan, singing the praises of his action in the British colonies, declared from this rostrum:

"Our aim is...clear and constant: to build the people of these countries, or help them build up, societies in which all these, the people, of whatever race, tribe or religious persuasion, may live and work harmoniously together. To that purpose we are pledged, and for that purpose we shall continue to work." [Ibid., para. 106].

74. Mr. Ormsby-Gore, the United Kingdom representative, told us roughly the same thing, though in different words, when he addressed us here on 28 November. Mr. Macmillan and Mr. Ormsby-Gore tried to represent themselves to us as good "fatherly" men and to depict the colonial peoples as children, who need to be taught, prepared to go out into the world, to be sent to school. Naturally, therefore, they said nothing about the acts of brutality and repression and the other deeds perpetrated by the British colonialists in their colonies, of the sufferings, want, arbitrary rule and harsh exploitation to which they have subjected them. Mr. Macmillan and Mr. Ormsby-Gore were silent about the guns which are at present thundering in the ancient lands of Oman—representatives of which are here among us—Nyasaland and Rhodesia. The whole world knows that the independence achieved by the former British colonies is not the fruit of "British magnanimity" but has been won by the bloody struggle of the peoples of those countries. To assert that the independence of these countries is the result of the colonialists' solicitude for their "progress" is to falsify history. The liberation of the peoples of the colonies from colonial oppression and the collapse of

the colonial system are part of an objective historical process which no repression, no guns and machine guns can arrest. The colonialists are trying to stop this inexorable historical process, and even to turn it back; but they will not succeed.

75. As you know, the proposed Declaration [A/4502] calls for the immediate grant to the oppressed colonial peoples of complete independence and freedom. Only in conditions of genuine independence, as is convincingly demonstrated by the manifold development of the young African republics, including Guinea, Ghana and other States, can all the political, economic, social and cultural problems involved be solved. What we are witnessing is the efforts of the monopolists of the Western countries and the United States to make up for their defeat in Asia at the expense of Africa. Immediately after the Second World War they began the policy of pushing forward their expansion in Africa. The Rockefeller, Morgan and Mellon monopolist groups now have huge investments in Africa.

76. Direct private investment by American companies in Africa was estimated to amount at the end of 1958 to \$789 million—three times the figure for 1950. At the end of 1959 about 200 American companies "had interests" in Africa, most of them companies engaged in the extraction of industrial raw materials, especially strategic raw materials. With its rich natural resources and the exceptionally low wages of its workers, Africa offers the United States monopolies prospects of profits and wealth that are extraordinary even in the conditions of colonialism. Interesting data in this connexion may be found in a report, published in 1959 in Washington, compiled under the African Research Programme of Northwestern University for the United States Senate Foreign Relations Committee. According to the data it provides, while the average rate of profit on American capital invested abroad as a whole is 26 per cent, the figure for Africa is 30 per cent. The report shows that American monopolies are taking a direct part, together with Western European monopolies, in exploiting the peoples of Africa and extracting profits from Africa. In the Congo, for example, the United States, according to American data, every year takes out of the country 60 per cent of its output of cobalt, 64 per cent of its manganese, 79 per cent of its tantalum, 87 per cent of its diamonds, and nearly 100 per cent of its uranium ore and lithium. In addition, part of the Congo's resources is diverted to West Germany's war industry, which is controlled by the United States. It must be clear to everyone that this penetration of United States capital into Africa is barefaced neo-colonialism, which represents a new form of enslavement of the African peoples. And close on the heels of the American monopolists come the West German industrialists, some of whom recently toured the African countries. In the international consortium set up under the name of "Konsafrik", the German Deutsche Bank is a partner with Belgian, British and French banks. German monopolies have a predominant influence in this consortium, which has interests in the iron ore, manganese, aluminium and other mineral deposits of the Congo and other African territories. Since the Congo's basic mineral resources are at present exploited in Katanga, any talk of recognizing Katanga as a separate State is a manoeuvre of the Belgian and United States colonialists aimed at preserving the main source of their high profits—the exploitation of Katanga's natural resources. The Byelorussian people, together with all the other peoples of

the Soviet Union and with progressive mankind as a whole, believes that the day is not far off when the natural resources of the Republic of the Congo will advance the people of that country to the forefront of the struggle for the progress of all Africa and of the entire human race.

77. The struggle for national freedom and independence is continuing and spreading in Oman, Uganda, Tanganyika and Zanzibar, in the Portuguese colonies of Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea, in the Belgian Trust Territory of Ruanda-Urundi, in the South African colony of South West Africa, in the United States colony of Puerto Rico and in many other areas.

78. The colonialists are trying to preserve their rule over the countries they have enslaved at all costs, and are using a wide variety of means to that end. As the Soviet Declaration [A/4502] rightly states: "they compel the colonial peoples to maintain foreign troops and a foreign administration in peacetime, i.e. to pay for the chains in which they are held." They make extensive use of the old system of "divide and rule", setting tribe against tribe, as at present in the Congo. They also use subtler methods, manoeuvring and making apparent concessions, such as extending the franchise for Africans; and they engage in the large-scale bribery of African leaders, so as to have others to do their dirty work for them. Referring to the new methods at present being used to preserve colonialism, Mr. Nasser, the President of the United Arab Republic, rightly said from this rostrum that "The aggression on Suez was the end of unmasked imperialism and its graveyard. Today we find the Congo presenting us with masked imperialism, which does not shrink from exploiting the United Nations itself in order to realize its hidden designs and aims." [873rd meeting, para. 120] We entirely agree with that statement.

79. Nowadays the colonialists are even going to the length of granting their colonies political independence; but they retain the key positions in economic affairs, finance and the armed forces for themselves, and not infrequently select traitors to their own people to place in power as their puppets. There is no fundamental difference between all these methods; all of them are identical in purpose: to preserve, or at any rate prolong, their colonial rule and the spoliation of the colonial peoples.

80. People all over the world are alarmed at the news of the forcible seizure of the person of Mr. Patrice Lumumba, Prime Minister of the Congolese Government, by Mobutu's armed gangs. This act of gross violence and lawlessness against the legal head of the Government of the Republic of the Congo has been committed despite the presence in the Congo of United Nations forces sent there at Mr. Lumumba's request. The mission of the United Nations is to carry out the Security Council's decisions; yet the policy actually being carried out is one of appeasing the illegal and dictatorial régime of Mobutu, the henchman of the Belgian, United States and French colonialists.

81. The Byelorussian delegation wishes to protest emphatically, from this rostrum, against the savage, arbitrary and illegal arrest of Mr. Patrice Lumumba, Prime Minister of the Republic of the Congo, and demands his immediate release. We believe that conditions must be created in the Congo such as to permit the Parliament of the Republic to resume its activity...

82. The PRESIDENT: I am sorry to interrupt the speaker at the rostrum. I hope, however, that he is not going to take advantage of his intervention in this essentially general debate on the subject of colonialism to discuss the present situation in the Congo, a subject upon which the General Assembly has decided to adjourn discussion. I am afraid that any detailed statement of views on the situation in the Congo would not be in order in the present debate. I would ask the speaker to continue, taking account of the statement I have just made.

83. Mr. KISELEV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (translated from Russian): I have said what I had to say. I will continue.

84. The abolition of the colonial system also implies the abolition of its twin—the trusteeship system. When, in accordance with the United Nations Charter, the trusteeship system was established, the assumption was that the Administering Authorities were under the obligation of promoting the development of the Trust Territories towards self-government and independence. Yet fifteen years after the adoption of the Charter, only four of the eleven Territories originally under trusteeship have attained their independence. So far as concerned the other Trust Territories, no firm dates have been set for their independence. The largest of them are Tanganyika, Ruanda-Urundi and New Guinea; and the vast African territory of South West Africa has been annexed by the racists of the Union of South Africa. The colonial Powers responsible for "trusteeship" are in reality, and in defiance of the United Nations Charter, preserving the colonial regime in the Trust Territories, brutally exploiting the local peoples and despoiling their natural resources for the benefit of their own monopolies, holding back the economic and political development of the Territories and savagely repressing all who demand independence—including those who send petitions to the United Nations. The United Nations receives thousands of petitions from the peoples of the Trust Territories, which are examined by the Fourth Committee. They speak for millions of the inhabitants of the Trust Territories. These petitions, many of them written in human blood, constitute an indictment of the policies of the Administering Authorities. The facts they cite arouse the anger and indignation of the public all over the world.

85. As the Soviet Declaration rightly says, "The trusteeship system has not justified itself anywhere and should be buried together with the entire colonial system, which is an anachronism" [A/4502].

86. The representative of Portugal, who addressed the Assembly just before me, asserted in defiance of truth and of the facts that colonialism is alien to his country. Such fairy-tales, surely, must be addressed to innocents, and are intended to pull the wool over people's eyes. The whole world knows that in the Portuguese African colonies of Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea, which have an area equal to more than half that of Western Europe, with a population of 11 million, there is not a single institution of higher education, and virtually no secondary or primary education. The Portuguese colonialists pursue their policy of oppression and racial discrimination behind the smoke-screen of a policy of "assimilation". According to them, the Africans are progressively being granted civil rights, and even Portuguese citizenship.

87. But to acquire these advantages Africans must know the Portuguese language and must satisfy educational qualifications and a high property qualification. In the five centuries of their rule the colonialists have "assimilated" less than 0.3 per cent of the African population; the remaining 99.7 per cent have no rights of any kind and are mercilessly exploited by their oppressors, who can even drive Africans off any land that pleases them. If the Africans resist and protest, the Portuguese authorities resort to repressive measures of the most ferocious kind. In 1959 the Portuguese Government was even obliged to dispatch aircraft and warships to Guinea to beat down the population. Those facts are known to the Portuguese representative and to the whole world.

88. I should like also to speak briefly of the United Nations Trust Territory of Ruanda-Urundi under Belgian administration, which has a population of 5 million inhabitants including 6,000 Europeans. In connexion with this Territory the General Assembly adopted recommendations [1413 (XIV) and 1419 (XIV)] under which Belgium was to fix a period during which the Territory was to be prepared for political independence; but the Belgian Government has not complied with these recommendations.

89. In Ruandi-Urundi monstrous racial discrimination is practised in all its forms, political, legal and social, and flogging still exists as a judicial penalty—in our era! According to UNESCO data, about 400,000 of Ruanda-Urundi's 600,000 children do not go to school. The result of more than forty years of Belgian rule is the general impoverishment of the local population. In November 1959 the masses of the people, reduced to despair by the oppression of the Belgian colonialists, rose in revolt, but were crushed with the use of parachute troops. Violent methods of repression were used, causing hundreds of deaths and the burning of some tens of villages. All this was reported in the American Press. Many other facts could be cited; but those I have mentioned are enough to show that the nature of colonialism has not changed. Africa has a population of more than 200 million. Of this figure, only 5 million are Europeans, or 2 per cent of the population.

90. The flames of freedom are sweeping through the African continent and will rapidly consume the strongholds of colonialism. The colonialists are offering stubborn resistance, manoeuvring, and attempting to arrest by fire and sword the onrush of the national liberation movements. But the struggle of the peoples for their freedom and independence is constantly expanding and deepening. There is not one corner left on African soil where the ground is not burning under the colonialists' feet. Whatever means of repression they use, the colonialists will not be strong enough to halt the course of history. We believe that the day is not far off when Africa will be free.

91. The experience of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries in dealing with the national question shows that the cause of close co-operation among the peoples can be served only by granting all peoples genuine equality of rights and the opportunity of free national development.

92. The United Nations could effectively promote the abolition of colonialism and racism. The United Nations must make its contribution to the abolition of the colonial system, in accordance with the provisions of

its Charter proclaiming the right of nations to self-determination. It could best make this contribution by adopting the "Declaration on the grant of independence to colonial countries and peoples" submitted for our consideration by the Soviet Union. The Declaration provides that all States Members of the United Nations should solemnly proclaim the following demands:

"1. All colonial countries and Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories must be granted forthwith complete independence and freedom to build their own national States in accordance with the freely expressed will and desire of their peoples. The colonial system and colonial administration in all its forms must be completely abolished in order to afford the peoples of the territories concerned an opportunity to determine their own destiny and form of government.

"2. Similarly, all strongholds of colonialism in the form of possessions and leased areas in the territory of other States must be eliminated.

"3. The Governments of all countries are urged to observe strictly and steadfastly the provisions of the United Nations Charter and of this Declaration concerning the equality and respect for the sovereign rights and territorial integrity of all States without exception, allowing no manifestations of colonialism or any special rights or advantages for some States to the detriment of other States." [A/4502.]

The Declaration also provides that Powers which have colonial possessions should enter into negotiations on an equal footing with representatives of the peoples of the colonies and reach agreements on the granting of freedom and independence to the colonial countries, definite and early dates being fixed for the negotiations and any possibility of coercion and aggression on the part of the colonial Powers being eliminated.

93. In the opinion of the Byelorussian delegation, the Declaration represents a programme of action that could and should, in present conditions, be followed by the United Nations with a view to the abolition of the colonial system. It lays down general principles by which all States Members of the United Nations should be guided in dealing with this problem. Naturally, we do not expect the Western colonial Powers to support the Soviet Declaration. They have thought up every possible idea, have resorted to every possible "argument", in order to distort the sense and the motives of the Soviet Declaration.

94. I should like to comment briefly on these "arguments". We have heard the old, hackneyed argument that this is all "Soviet propaganda". We are all, I think, used to the United States and its military partners crying "propaganda" whenever the Soviet Union presents any proposal designed to reduce international tension. I have heard that accusation here year after year. But what prevents the Western Powers from carrying on propaganda of the same kind? Clearly, they have nothing in store to set against the Soviet proposals; and that is inevitable, for the Soviet Union has truth on its side, and there can only be one truth. In asserting that the Soviet Declaration is "propaganda" they are giving themselves away; they are showing that they have nothing to oppose to it because in reality they are against the abolition of the colonial system and for continuing the looting of the colonies. No juggling with words will help them here.

95. It is also said that the Soviet Declaration is too general; that the problem of the abolition of colonialism is a highly complex one, that one must bear in mind the "services" the colonial Powers have rendered to their colonies by establishing a link between the colonies and the metropolitan countries, and so forth. One speaker who took this line was Mr. Ormsby-Gore, the representative of the United Kingdom, in his statements during the discussion of the Soviet Declaration at the plenary meetings held on 12 October [902nd meeting] and 28 November [925th meeting]. So far as concerns the "services" rendered by the colonialists in the colonies, I have already dealt with that subject in some detail, and I shall not repeat myself.

96. It is said, too, that the adoption of the Declaration would entail amending the United Nations Charter, in its provisions relating to the trusteeship system. That assertion was made, in particular, by Mr. Shanahan, the representative of New Zealand, in his statements in plenary session on 12 October [902nd meeting] and 2 December [932nd meeting], as an "argument" against the adoption of the Declaration. But is it an argument? We drafted and signed the United Nations Charter, and we are equally entitled to amend it in the light of the radical changes which have taken place in the international situation. There is nothing eternal on earth. Governments change, so do States; social systems change, and even life on earth changes. A fortiori, the United Nations Charter can be changed.

97. Many Western leaders, particularly in the United States, are opposing the Declaration on the ground that it is an invitation to disturbances in the colonies. In his statement to the Assembly on 28 November, Mr. Ormsby-Gore, the representative of the United Kingdom, went to the length of indulging in a gross distortion of the facts and a direct slander of the Soviet Union, when he asserted that the only purpose of the Soviet Declaration was "to generate hatred rather than friendship, violence rather than peace, and chaos rather than order". [925th meeting, para. 18].

98. These statements give their authors away; their meaning is that they fear the colonial independence movements, are putting obstacles in the way of the prompt granting of independence, and are trying to prolong colonial rule. It is precisely their policy and practice in the colonies which lead to disturbances. Such "disturbances", "violence" and "chaos" occurred long before the Soviet Declaration was submitted to the Assembly; they occurred, are still occurring, and will continue to occur so long as independence is denied to the oppressed peoples of the colonies and so long as the colonialists refuse to leave the colonies and go back to their own countries.

99. The great historical significance of the "Declaration on the grant of independence to colonial countries and peoples" cannot be challenged; for the Declaration has raised an issue which should long ago have been disposed of—that of the complete and final abolition of the colonial system in all its forms and manifestations. It has met with an enthusiastic welcome among the peoples of the colonial and former colonial countries, and among freedom-loving peoples all over the world.

100. The United Nations, unless it is content to let the great historical process of the abolition of the colonial régime pass it by, must adopt recommendations designed to bring that system to an end. If it does not, then, as Mr. Khrushchev, the head of the Soviet Govern-

ment, said in his statement to the plenary meeting of the General Assembly held this session on 12 October:

"...the peoples of the colonial countries will have no option but to take up arms. If they are not granted the right to lead an independent existence, to have a political and social system of their own choosing and to organize their life in their own country as they themselves see fit, they will win that right in combat." [902nd meeting, para. 13.]

101. Thus, it is the duty of all peoples which stand for the abolition of the colonial system to give every possible assistance to those who are fighting against colonial oppression, against the colonialists and imperialists; to give moral, material and all other help in order to bring the sacred and righteous struggle of the peoples for their independence to its consummation.

102. For its part, the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, like all the other Republics of the great Soviet Union, faithful to its policy of peace and of supporting the struggle of oppressed peoples for national independence—a policy proclaimed by Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, the founder of the Soviet State—has stood, still stands and will always stand at the side of the peoples fighting for liberation from colonial oppression and for freedom and national independence. To all these peoples we hold out a helping hand. Nothing can prevent the collapse of the doomed colonial system.

103. The Byelorussian delegation warmly supports the "Declaration on the grant of independence to colonial countries and peoples" submitted by the Government of the Soviet Union for the consideration of the General Assembly at its present session. We call upon all States Members of the United Nations to support this Declaration. We appeal to the representatives of the Asian and African countries which have recently emancipated themselves from the colonial yoke, and to the countries of Latin America, and call upon them to vote for the "Declaration on the grant of independence to colonial countries and peoples".

104. I should like to conclude my remarks with a quotation from a poem by an African poet, Bernard Dadié, a native of the Ivory Coast, which speaks of the great march of events in present-day Africa:

"In the chaos of the century ancient Africa has
awoken;
People, be not weak!
At the crossroads, under the baobab trees,
In the prisons and in the huts of the workers'
districts
I shout to every man and woman,
To the poor people of my land:
You — you are the king of the factories! You
are the king of the fields!
You are the people,
You then are the Master!"*

105. Mr. KAKA (Niger) (translated from French): In taking the floor, Mr. President, may I be allowed to congratulate you, although it is a little late to do so.

106. As the Argentine representative pointed out with great relevance: "This predominance of colonial questions in the United Nations is not the result of chance nor is it entirely due to capricious or arbitrary

* Translated from Russian text.

manoeuvres. It is a reflection of the reality that confronts us today." [927th meeting, para. 1]. That reality has made this fifteenth session of the United Nations the session of Africa and of the many problems born of under-development and all its consequences.

107. My voice is that of a country which came out from the shadow of the colonial system only a few months ago, and it will not be a timid voice. I wish at once to declare solemnly that my country, which has fought for years to break the yoke of colonialism, is proud to add its name to the long list of nations which propose that this Assembly should adopt the draft resolution [A/L.323 and Add.1-5] on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. I said that my voice would not be a timid voice; nor will the tone be one of hatred. I should like it to be impassioned only when I speak of the right to freedom and the right to dignity, which are clearly recognized by the Charter and which must be granted immediately to the peoples living under foreign domination.

108. History teaches us that certain nations, at certain times, could no longer be contained within their narrow frontiers. Led now by a spirit of adventure, now by self-interest, they convinced themselves that it would be good to impose their science, their culture and their civilization on other peoples. Since they were masters of the world at the time, they resorted to the right of the strongest. The need to survive by bringing many kinds of influence to bear overseas, the need for markets to develop their economies and hence their industrial methods, and the search for resources to raise the standard of living of their people—these are the only justifications for their many misdeeds. I shall not abuse my right as an ex-colonial to censure them. Colonization is a fact of history, and every people represented here has known periods of greatness and periods of humiliation. Some have been driven from their lands, others have been crushed under the heel of blood-thirsty and ambitious conquerors, while still others were not merely dominated but "digested". None has escaped these tragic upheavals, which have marked the history of mankind from time immemorial.

109. When colonialism first began, international law was confined to the established nations of the old continent. A certain meeting, held at the end of the last century to discuss taking possession of Africa and cutting it up, affords a striking example of the spirit and conception of this law. This law was based on the "right of the strongest", which is unjust and which all here condemn, in its essence and right down to its least manifestations. But the narrowly circumscribed world of that day could create its own rights to suit its interests. Now that our world embraces the whole planet, and now that distances are so reduced that the opinion of any man, anywhere on the globe, weighs in the balance of human relations, colonization can no longer be justified.

110. The administering nations which have adapted or are adapting their ideas to modern life do not, I think, deserve the systematic and impassioned charges made against them. They certainly still have much to do, and the best thing they can do is to hasten the liberation of all the peoples they still dominate. It is not my purpose to justify any form of domination. But we are dealing with a historical fact. I intend to put it in its context, so that it can be appraised calmly and objectively. I know that, if we took all the modern cases of colonization, we should have a very sombre picture. Direct or

indirect domination, and imperialism in every shape and form, are by their nature hateful. There is no need for me to list the facts which condemn them. There are many in this Assembly who preach anti-colonialism and, since this discussion opened, most of the delegations of former colonies have had occasion to portray, with icy self-control, the misdeeds of colonialism. Yet there is one point I should like to stress.

111. Some colonialist methods, marked by a spirit of cynicism, consist in infecting the dependent peoples with the virus of a complex—a racial complex, an inferiority complex, an imperfectibility complex—deliberately maintaining cultural malnutrition and turning the person into a human wreck, incapable of initiative and of healthy and logical reactions. Man, in whom all dignity has been blunted, is thus morally diminished. Certain administering nations have come to commit this moral genocide in order to ensure perpetual domination. Shut up in their ivory towers, they imagine that no prying eyes can glimpse the consummate art with which they contrive to mould servile minds. While these nations in their folly continue secretly to plunder human resources, all mankind will rise up to say no.

112. We want—nay, we demand—the liberation of peoples and of individuals. Those who hold back, who believe they can escape from the realities of the second half of the twentieth century by subterfuges, will bear a heavy responsibility before history. Their contempt for human dignity carries in it the fertile seeds of conflict. With the passing of time, this senseless contempt will seem more and more intolerable. The principles of the United Nations Charter clearly set forth the right to freedom, and allow of no biased interpretation. It is unthinkable that otherwise brave and worthy nations, whose history has not lacked human greatness, should continue to practise dishonesty by following a policy different from that laid down in the United Nations Charter, which they have solemnly accepted before the eyes of the world. Such an attitude is indecent. The right of the strongest is out of date. It can no longer be a foundation for contemporary relations between peoples.

113. In conclusion, I appeal most earnestly, on behalf of my delegation, to the great Powers which divide the world into spheres of influence. The end of colonialism, for which all hope so fervently, is certainly one of the most important human problems that our generation has had to face. For the sake of suffering men deprived of their elementary rights and kept in servitude, for the sake of those destitute ones who have just broken free and whose first steps are still unsure, we ask you to protect us, at least for a time, from your cold war disputes. Decolonization cannot be used as an instrument to demonstrate the particular advantages of a social system. The young liberated peoples will need to find their bearings and, with the means at hand, patiently to build up their countries.

114. We know that there are some who yearn for the past, and think themselves shrewd enough and strong enough, where decolonization is concerned, to take back with their left hand what they have given with their right. We also know that some are chafing with impatience to replace the administrators of yesterday. These struggles for influence between friendly or hostile brothers are unrealistic. We are of age from the moment when we have the full use of our freedom. There are no countries which are under age when it

comes to the exercise of freedom. We firmly condemn colonialism in all its forms.

115. I need hardly say that the peoples which aspire to freedom and independence expect much of this august Assembly. I ask you, in the name of human dignity, whether you can say no to this natural and legitimate aspiration?

116. I am still convinced that all nations which love peace, justice and freedom will join us, and that this Assembly will adopt the resolution unanimously.

117. Mr. De FREITAS-VALLE (Brazil): Before going into the heart of the subject, it appears to me indispensable to follow an ancient practice: to define what is to be discussed, namely, to establish the concept of colonialism. The first difficulty is immediately encountered, as current concepts of colonialism derive from different political philosophies.

118. There is, on the one hand, what might be called the expansionist definition of colonialism, for example that of Hobson:^{2/}

"Colonialism, in its best sense, is a natural overflow of nationality; its test is the power of colonists to transplant the civilization they represent to the new natural and social environment in which they find themselves."

On the other hand, one might recall the old Pan-Germanistic definition of colonialism—only recently revived by Nazi-Fascism. Here we have the lebensraum theory: the power of peoples, who consider themselves superior, to occupy the space required for the accomplishment of their political aims. We could also refer to Lenin's interpretation of colonialism as the inevitable consequence of the development of capitalism and imperialism. Then there are those who look upon colonialism as the "white man's burden": the humanitarian mission incumbent upon certain powers to bring progress, technical know-how, education and material comfort to backward peoples. In most cases, this definition served to conceal naked imperialism. One could not overlook the most modern and highly aggressive form of colonialism: ideological colonialism. This is tantamount, as we all know, to the total domination of one people by another, through the imposition of an alien ideology upon the dominated people.

119. The colonialism that we are considering in this debate—to remain strictly within the limits of our agenda—refers to the political and juridical status of the territories which, in the terms of the Charter, "have not yet attained a full measure of self-government". [Art. 73].

120. The classic forms of colonialism—sprung from the Industrial Revolution, capitalism, the spirit of adventure, need to expand and also from greed, often unscrupulous—have already completed their historic cycle. In this regard, it would appear to me not to be an exaggeration to attribute to the authors of the United Nations Charter the delivery of the coup de grâce to colonialism. The Declaration regarding Non-Self-Governing Territories—which was not contained in the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, but which was wisely incorporated into the very text of the Charter [Chapter XI]:—deals with the juridical situation of the heritage of colonialism and establishes the conditions for its

gradual elimination. Owing chiefly to the principles of the Charter, to its practical and political devices and to the moral impact of its decisions, the United Nations is gradually being transformed into the real instrument of the great revolution of our times: the liberation of the colonial peoples not only from political slavery but also from economic slavery. This is not the time to draw up a balance-sheet of the achievements of the United Nations in this field. But even the most casual onlooker knows that the United Nations has contributed substantially to the multiplication of the coloured flags which glorify this Organization.

121. In order to examine the colonial question in the light of the Charter, one should seek to face it with an open heart within the context of the political reality of the times. One should remember that we live in one world which is split into two rival political blocs and which is paralysed by the terror of a thermo-nuclear war. Consequently, the colonial question unfortunately tends to be examined in terms of ideological struggle and of power politics. This is a serious and dangerous error. To increase the areas of political tension, multiply points of friction, reinforce the walls of misunderstanding, signifies not only to prejudice the immediate and future interests of the colonial peoples, but also to weaken the possibilities of peaceful settlement of the problems which separate the rival blocs. This would also transform the United Nations, not into the instrument of the revolution of hope for which we, soldiers of peace, fight, but into the instrument of a revolution of resentment.

122. If one must separate the colonial question from the problem of the cold war, one cannot, however, separate it from the fundamental political problems of our time. The colonial question, for instance, speeds up the nationalist movement which is sweeping over Asia and Africa. The nationalist movement occurs at the same time as the ideological offensive of Communism throughout the world. Many fear that this coincidence might taint the independence of the newly independent peoples. Others fear that the old colonial Powers may seek to grant to the newly independent countries merely nominal independence, continuing to maintain over them a disguised political domination through economic control.

123. On the other hand, the scientific revolution of our day brings a new dimension to the nationalist movement in the colonial countries. The awareness of their misery coincides with the maximum utilization of the resources of the new technology in the highly industrialized countries. Instead of being at the service of the whole of humanity, the new technology widens the already so striking gap between the "haves" and the "have nots". To give one example, I would recall that the exploitation of nuclear energy today benefits very few countries, while its risks and dangers threaten every human being. The newly independent States join the international community with the fear that the cold war is going to delay the solution of their fundamental problems. In their despair, many States, under the delusion of accelerating their economic and social development and of appeasing the restlessness of their populations, might seek political solutions which could jeopardize their newly acquired independence.

124. I realize that it is most difficult to reason in abstracto when such grave problems weigh on the hearts of millions and on my own heart. But I am convinced that we in the United Nations have the obligation

^{2/} J. A. Hobson, "Imperialism—a study", London, George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1938, p. 7.

to separate the colonial question from the battles and skirmishes of the cold war.

125. The San Francisco Charter, in its Chapter XI, outlines, wisely and cautiously, the course we should follow. I refer in principle to Article 73. It is incumbent upon us to implement its provisions with determination and, above all, with sincerity. To do so, it is necessary for the colonial Powers to admit that the legitimacy of a juridical situation cannot halt the nationalist explosion which sprang less from the physical distances existing between the metropolitan Powers and the colonies than from sociological and cultural differences and from unquenchable aspirations. It is necessary that the colonial Powers also convince themselves of the uselessness of any attempts to substitute indirect domination for classic colonialism. It is necessary that the former colonial Powers and the peoples who attained their independence from them join hands in the new struggle for the social and economic development of the latter. It is necessary that the world's two rival blocs refrain from considering the States reaching independence as a no-man's-land over which they might extend their influence in order to tip in their favour the balance of power. Lastly, it is necessary that the peoples still under a colonial régime convince themselves that independence is not just a magic word followed by a flag, an anthem and diplomatic representation, but the effective political, economic and cultural mastery of the country's wealth and heritage, their utilization in the service of the whole population, and the practice of liberty through political institutions based upon a representative régime with full freedom of opinion.

126. The obligation of the United Nations—our obligation—is to prepare the peoples still under colonial régimes for independence with the utmost speed. We would be failing in our obligation by delaying their complete emancipation. But we would be improperly fulfilling this obligation if we were to forget the provisions of the Charter by exposing these peoples indiscriminately and without the proper precautions—in the name of an independence which would therefore be fictitious—to the risks and dangers of two new colonialisms: the colonialism of the totalitarian ideologies, which suppresses freedom of the people, and the form of colonialism consisting of possible attempts by the former colonial Powers towards maintaining under a new guise their economic and political domination.

127. The statesmen who drew up the United Nations Charter had political vision and firmness in establishing the course to be followed. Having in mind the principles of the Charter and guided by the observations I have just made, the Brazilian delegation considers with sympathy the draft resolution [A/L.323 and Add.1-5] and will examine it in the light of the suggestions and remarks put forth during this debate.

128. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Mexico in exercise of the right of reply.

129. Mr. CUEVAS CANCINO (Mexico) (translated from Spanish): In his brilliant speech yesterday [933rd meeting], the representative of Guatemala referred to the future of the Territory of Belize. I have come to this rostrum for a few minutes to make some remarks on that subject.

130. My country has rights to Belize which it has claimed for many years, and I feel it necessary for me to reiterate its position on this occasion. Ever since

the people of Mexico attained their independence, the Mexican Government has fought for the total abolition of the colonial system. It looks upon that system as an anachronism which should not continue to exist in the world of today. It is thus pursuing the American road of liberty and justice for all, with which ideal it links the principle of non-intervention. We consider that every people must develop freely within the norms which it chooses for itself, in accordance with its understanding of history. We also consider that every people should create its own form of organization in conformity with its ideals, developed independently from those of other nations.

131. The great strides taken by the United Nations towards a final liquidation of colonialism are now bringing it toward its goal. Thus aspirations which have a long history in the annals of America are being fulfilled. The Inter-American Conferences have referred to the subject on many occasions; resolution 96 of the Tenth Inter-American Conference, held in Caracas in March 1954 in particular, is especially relevant. The American nations reiterate therein their conviction that self-determination for all peoples is an essential bulwark, and declare that it was the will of the nations of America that colonialism maintained against the desire of peoples, and the occupation of American territories, should be definitively ended.

132. The very next resolution of that same Inter-American Conference, namely, resolution 97, expresses the need that extra-continental countries having colonies in the territory of America should carry to completion the measures envisaged in our Charter in order to make it possible for those American peoples that have not yet done so to exercise fully their rights to self-determination.

133. These two documents embody the two key principles on which the position of the Mexican Government in respect of Belize is based. The first includes the historical and legal background of the Territory. The origins of British rule in this part of the American continent are quite humble: a concession granted by the Spanish sovereign for the cutting of logwood became with the passage of time a presumed and imaginary right. The repeated requests for the recognition of its sovereignty made by the Government of Mexico during the course of the nineteenth century fell on deaf ears. The great colonial Power awaited the advent of difficult times in Mexico in order to force on it the acceptance of an onerous treaty, in contravention of Mexico's rights; nevertheless, my country has respected that treaty scrupulously. However, that has not prevented it from repeatedly pointing out that if the status of Belize is altered, it has rights, based on legal grounds, which it can and must exercise.

134. The other and basic guiding principle for my country in the matter is founded on Article 73 of the Charter. As was well said by the representative of Guatemala yesterday [933rd meeting], the interests of the inhabitants of Non-Self-Governing Territories are paramount. In the case of Belize, my Government considers that the promotion of self-government and the fulfilment of the political aspirations of the people of Belize constitute a task which the international community cannot evade.

135. This, then, is Mexico's position with regard to Belize. My Government has declared, and reiterates here, that, should the present status of Belize be al-

tered, Mexico, while using only means in keeping with the peaceful and friendly procedures which characterize its international relations, will put forward claims which are based on well-known historical and legal factors. My Government recognizes, at the same time, that the interests of the inhabitants of the Territory of Belize are paramount. It therefore holds that in the attainment of self-government by the Territory of Belize, the true and freely expressed political aspirations of its people cannot be ignored.

136. Consequently, as the Mexican Foreign Minister stated before this Assembly on 6 October 1958,^{8/} the Government of Mexico will not omit to take into account, when the time comes, that a solution to the problem of the future of Belize must be based on freedom and independence for the people of Belize.

137. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Belgium, who wishes to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

138. Mr. PARISIS (Belgium) (translated from French): Among the glaring misrepresentations concerning Belgium in the speeches made from this rostrum, I shall refer to only one today.

^{8/} Official Records of the General Assembly, thirteenth session, plenary meetings, 771st meeting.

139. People have taken pleasure in writing and saying that during half a century of Belgian colonial domination, the population of the Congo was reduced to less than half its former size as a result of punitive expeditions, famine and disease. It is absurd to compare current population figures with estimates for a period when the territory was unexplored and impenetrable in many places. It had to be open to traffic in all directions for decades before a census could be taken. That this is a glaring error of judgement becomes obvious if we analyse the drop in the mortality rate and the increase in the birth rate and if we consider that, as a result, the growth rate of the population quadrupled over twenty years, from 1935 to 1957, for example. On the eve of independence, half the population of the Congo consisted of children under fifteen, an exceptional sign of dynamic growth, especially if we remember that in the last century, unfortunately, one out of every two children born in the Congo died in infancy.

140. The error which I have just pointed out is but one example of the bad faith shown in some speeches, but this does not prevent Belgium from being proud of what it has achieved in collaboration with the Congolese people.

The meeting rose at 2.15 p.m.

**GENERAL
ASSEMBLY**

FIFTEENTH SESSION

Official Records

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

it appropriate to go into the matter in detail. However, at the 934th meeting on 3 December 1960, the representative of Mexico saw fit to refer to the case of Belize in connexion with my statement, and stated the problem in a form open to misunderstanding and misinterpretation.

18. My delegation thanks the representative of Mexico for giving it the opportunity to go into the problem of Belize in more detail. My delegation wishes to state once again, as it has been doing for several years, that the claim recently put forward by Mexico regarding rights in the territory of Belize which it would advance if that territory's status should be changed in response to Guatemala's demands, is not, under any circumstances or for any reason, to be regarded as a move made jointly or in concert with my country, which has claimed exclusive rights to the territory for over 100 years.

19. I should like to add a few comments on this matter. The Belize problem is purely and simply a case of seizure of territory by a great Power from a weak country which lacked the means to ensure that its rights were respected. It is true that, as the representative of Mexico said, the occupation of the territory began in virtue of the permits for timber felling granted to Great Britain by Spain under the treaty of 1773, for the area from the river Hondo to the river Belize, and the treaty of 1776, which added the area between the river Hondo and the river Sibún. In both treaties, Spain expressly reserved its sovereignty over the territory while granting the British the usufruct thereof free of charge, subject to certain restrictions, particularly with regard to the right to build fortifications. These concessions lay within the Captaincy-General of Guatemala, in the Province of Petén; the river Hondo separated the Captaincy-General of Guatemala from the Captaincy of Yucatán.

20. When the Captaincy-General of Guatemala was declared independent on 15 September 1821, the Federal Republic of Central America was formed and inherited all rights of sovereignty over the territories which it covered. The United Kingdom's precarious usufruct of the Belize area expired in virtue of international law, inasmuch as new States start their independent existence free of all commitments made by the previous sovereign, such commitments being res inter alios acta.

21. The independent existence of the Federal Republic of Central America was beset by many trials; the great Power in question, wishing to gain control of the canal routes, worked for its division. The Federal Republic of Central America was unable to secure recognition by the United Kingdom save at the price of cession of the territory of Belize. It also extended, by way of the Mosquitia shore and the Bay Islands, to the territories of Honduras and Nicaragua.

22. When the Federal Republic of Central America was dissolved and divided into the five independent Republics of Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua and Costa Rica, each with jurisdiction over the territory of the corresponding former State, the territory of Belize fell within the jurisdiction of Guatemala under the rule of uti possidetis.

23. The serious threat that loomed over the Central American States was to some extent dispelled by the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty of 1850, under which Great

AGENDA ITEM 87

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

16. The PRESIDENT: Before I come to the list of speakers inscribed today on the item before us, I give the floor to the representative of Guatemala in exercise of his right of reply.

17. Mr. HERRARTE (Guatemala) (translated from Spanish): In its statement in the general debate on the item "Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples", the delegation of Guatemala mentioned in passing the wrongful occupation of the Guatemalan territory of Belize by the United Kingdom, but, in view of the general nature of the item now under discussion, we did not consider

Britain and the United States undertook not to occupy any part of Central America.

24. For reasons which I need not go into here, and under the pressure of circumstances, the Government of Guatemala was forced to conclude with Great Britain the Convention of 1859. This was a real treaty of cession and increased the area of the territory from 6,000 to more than 22,000 square kilometres. It contained a compensation clause with which the United Kingdom did not comply; Guatemala has therefore denounced the treaty, but the United Kingdom has not returned the territory wrongfully held.

25. The Government of Mexico concluded with the United Kingdom Government in 1893 a frontier treaty under which the river Hondo—the boundary between the Captaincy of Yucatán and the Captaincy-General of Guatemala in colonial times, as we have seen—was recognized as the frontier between the territory of Belize and the Province of Yucatán, in Mexico. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Mexico recognized at the time that the 1859 Convention between Great Britain and Guatemala had been a treaty concerning the cession of territory, that the only issue with Mexico was one of boundaries and that no sacrifice of Mexican territory was involved.

26. At this point, I should like to remind the Mexican representative of what some illustrious Mexicans have said in connexion with the Guatemalan case regarding Belize. General Eduardo Hay, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Mexico, in a very cordial note to the Guatemalan Foreign Ministry in 1939, recognized Guatemala's rights to Belize "in accordance", as he put it, "with the historical, geographical and legal background to the case". General Lázaro Cárdenas, the President of Mexico, said in a statement in 1940:

"Just as Mexico feels strengthened by these proofs of solidarity, it also feels bound to reciprocate, either by making proposals for peace or neutrality or by supporting the territorial claims of sister nations which, like Guatemala in Belize, justly seek the settlement of long-standing disputes and the healing of mutilations inflicted by force and in defiance of the rules of international law."

27. The same attitude of solidarity has been shown by the Central American Republics on several occasions and more particularly in the Declaration of Principles of Central American Co-Existence (Declaration of Antigua Guatemala), which included the following:

"The First Meeting of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Central America declares, on behalf of the States represented:... Seventhly: its rejection of the survival of colonialism in America and its express statement that the territory of Belize is an integral part of Guatemalan, and therefore of Central American, territory, and that the action taken to reclaim it concerns all the States signatories of this Declaration."

28. It would take a long time to narrate the Guatemalan people's unrelenting, heroic and worthy struggle for the victory of their just cause. We have heard the voices of the most eminent jurists and public figures of our continent raised in encouragement and support of our right. It is consequently painful to us that, in recent years, the delegation of Mexico has advanced at the United Nations claims which it had never previously made, which are opportunist in character, and which present the Belize problem in a form very

different from the historical reality. I should also like to remind the Mexican representative of what his country means to us. We are proud of the historical and cultural bonds between us. For the small countries of Central America, Mexico is like an elder brother. We admire its great civic deeds, its nobility, its deep and historical sense of continental solidarity, and its relations with our peoples have always been most cordial. We are therefore entitled to expect from that great country what Benito Juárez, one of its greatest men, expressed in the monumental words: "Peace is respect in the rights of others".

29. Mr. OBEID (Sudan): May my first words in this brief intervention be words of tribute and congratulation to the delegation of the Soviet Union, under the leadership of Premier Khrushchev, for having taken the very timely initiative of proposing that this item be placed on the agenda of this session and for having successfully advocated its discussion in plenary meeting.

30. The progress of the debate thus far has demonstrated with devastating force the depth of convictions guiding the freedom-loving peoples of the world in this determined struggle to eradicate a sinister phenomenon from which humanity has suffered only too long and which has generated much poison in the relations between man and man.

31. I believe that everything that ought to be said has been said by the more enlightened speakers who have preceded me to this rostrum and I am, therefore, not going to protract this debate by covering the same ground again. It is not my intention to go into the details of the history of colonialism; but I shall try to follow a brighter theme—that of the struggle against colonialism which has resulted in freedom and independence.

32. Two conceptions have, over the years, been developed by the colonial Powers as justifications for dominating others. In the first place, they tell us that, in subjugating the colonial peoples, they have a civilizing mission to perform. In the second place, they tell us that they have been entrusted with that mission because they are superior. This latter conception went to the heads of some of the colonial Powers to an extent that it has developed into a policy as sinister and as diabolical as colonialism itself and which we now call "racialism". It does not need much ingenuity to discover the flimsiness and even absurdity of such theories. Civilization is one of those great words that has so far defied definition. Theories of racial superiority have led their propagators to nothing but inevitable and all-embracing disaster, and history sometimes repeats itself. It is not naïve to state that these theories are used to cover the exploitation of peoples and to justify the enjoyment of the material fruits of their land and their labour. But human beings, by their very nature, cannot accept or tolerate foreign domination and the injustice, humiliation and degradation that necessarily accompany it. It was only natural then for those peoples to rise, to resist, and to struggle to redeem a birthright. These resistance movements against colonialism were rather isolated in the early days of colonialism. The odds were heavy, the conditions were adverse, the costs were incalculable, countless lives were lost or sacrificed, prisons overflowed with what the colonialists called "agitators" but who were, in fact, freedom lovers. But the will of God and the determination of his creatures to redeem what he

has decreed for them prevailed against injustice and inequality.

33. Rivalries between the colonial Powers helped this liberation movement. Many times, and notably during the last two wars, they tried to win the colonial peoples to their side and gave them glittering promises which were soon to be forgotten after the hour of distress was over. But the colonial peoples did not forget; they accelerated their efforts and intensified their struggle, so that the colonial Powers were, in the end, forced to concede to them what was theirs—their independence.

34. The best example of these promises unfulfilled is the famous Arab revolt. When the First World War broke out and Turkey joined the side of Germany, the Allies encouraged the Arabs—who were under Turkey then—to revolt. They promised them complete independence after victory. The Arabs revolted, fought bravely on the side of the Allies and, within two to three years, the Turks were driven out of Arabia, Syria, Palestine and Lebanon. To the dismay of the Arabs, it was soon discovered that the Allies had made a secret treaty between them, called the Sykes-Picot Agreement, sharing, amongst themselves, the Arab world. Not only that, but by the Balfour Declaration, Great Britain promised the creation of a national home for the Jews in Palestine against the clearly expressed wish of the overwhelming majority of the Palestinians. The tragic consequences of that unfortunate decision are well known, since they have been with us here in the United Nations for the last thirteen years.

35. But the Arabs did not succumb. They continued the bitter fight even after the Allies had won the war and imposed their authority over the Arab world. Again, the wishes of the people and their indomitable determination to realize them prevailed and most of the Arab countries of the Middle East have achieved their complete independence. It is regrettable that one of the Arab countries in that area is still fighting for its independence, but we hope it will not be long before Palestine will join the free nations of the world, in spite of attempts to keep it in the present forced desert camp settlement.

36. The sacrifice and endurance of the colonial peoples during their struggle were worth while; after the Second World War, many Afro-Asian countries, led by the great peoples of the Indian Sub-continent and by Burma, Ceylon and Indonesia, gained their independence.

37. This episode brings us to the new and auspicious era of the collective rise against colonialism. The leaders of the independent Asian and African countries realized that the plight of the colonial peoples in Asia and Africa was the same and that their collective efforts against colonialism would be more effective than their individual action. Hence, the epoch-making Asian-African Conference held at Bandung in 1955, which constitutes a veritable landmark in man's relentless and purposeful march on the road of liberty and independence. The lofty principles adopted by the Conference are ever inspiring and shall always stand as a beacon of liberty and freedom. Then followed the first Conference of Independent African States, held at Accra in 1958. All Africa listened and held its breath for its results. It adopted forceful resolutions, particularly in the sphere of freedom and the future of dependent territories in Africa. Resolution II reads:

"The Conference of Independent African States,

"Recognising that the existence of colonialism in any shape or form is a threat to the security and independence of the African States and to world peace,

"Considering that the problems and the future of dependent territories in Africa are not the exclusive concern of the Colonial Powers but the responsibility of all Members of the United Nations and in particular of the Independent African States,

"Condemning categorically all colonial systems still enforced in our Continent and which impose arbitrary rule and repression on the peoples of Africa,

"Convinced that a definite date should be set for the attainment of independence by each of the Colonial Territories in accordance with the will of the people of the territories and the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations,

"1. Calls upon the Administering Powers to respect the Charter of the United Nations in this regard, and to take rapid steps to implement the provisions of the Charter and the political aspirations of the people namely self-determination and independence, according to the will of the people;

"2. Calls upon the Administering Powers to refrain from repression and arbitrary rule in these territories and to respect all human rights as provided for in the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights;

"3. Calls upon the Administering Powers to bring to bring to an end immediately every form of discrimination in these territories;

"4. Recommends that all Participating Governments should give all possible assistance to the dependent peoples in their struggle to achieve self-determination and independence;

"5. Recommends that the Independent African States assembled here should offer facilities for training and educating peoples of the dependent territories;

"6. Decides that the 15th April of every year be celebrated as Africa Freedom Day."

My purpose in quoting this resolution in full is to have it recorded in the annals of the United Nations.

38. This is how and why the present liberation movement in Africa gathered force and brought the sweeping change in the continent. Just this year, sixteen African countries gained their independence and others are on the way to independence. It is the collective will and stand of all Africa for freedom and independence that brought the change and determined to eradicate colonialism and racialism from the soil of Africa. Africa—a continent that has for so long been ravished by the scourge of colonialism and its concomitants—has shaken its chains. It will not wear them again.

39. We, the African people, who have suffered so much and who have now, through our own efforts and with the assistance of the freedom-loving peoples, achieved our independence, realize the difference between our miserable past and the bright present, and still brighter future. It has been demonstrated beyond any doubt that countries progress more rapidly in all fields after independence.

40. In the report of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories (A/4371, part I,

para. 23), the representatives of India and Iraq stated that, although in the past the Administering Members had held that self-government should be the culmination of a long process of economic and social development, experience had shown that the Territories progressed more rapidly after they had become self-governing or independent. The representative of India also emphasized that the Committee should consider not only the progress achieved but what more should and could be done. Moreover, it was important that the progress should be assessed not only in terms of statistics and percentages, but also by the extent to which the needs or aspirations of the people had been met. He emphasized that it could no longer be accepted that the attainment of freedom by peoples in Non-Self-Governing Territories should be made conditional on their prior attainment of certain standards in other fields.

41. Judging by our own experience, we totally agree with these views. It has been proved beyond doubt that colonialism is sterile and cannot contribute to progress. The African independent States followed the march of struggle to free the remaining part of the continent. The three conferences in Accra, Monrovia and Addis Ababa intensified the pressure against colonialism. But in spite of the march of freedom, we find today some colonial Powers which hide their heads in the sand. Portugal follows the most oppressive and degrading policy in its African colonies of Mozambique, Angola, Guinea and others. Its policy can easily be compared with the racist policy of the Union of South Africa, which is also applied in the Territory of South West Africa. We should like these two countries to watch the tempo of the time and to act in harmony with the requirements of the age in which they, and we, live. These people will not be forsaken or forgotten. They will find assistance from all Africa and the freedom-loving countries, until they achieve their independence. We call upon the administering Powers responsible for the affairs of Rhodesia, Nyasaland, Kenya, Uganda, Malta, West Sahara, Somalia territory under France, and West Irian to accede to the will, wishes and aspirations of the peoples of these territories.

42. As for Algeria, the greatest tragedy of our time, so much has been said but very little has been done to put an end to a brutal war now in its seventh year. With every day that passes, this war in Algeria becomes more and more furious. Loss of human life—both French and Algerian—mounts by the hour. More than one-fourth of the population of Algeria are held in prisons and internment camps where they are subjected to the most cruel and humiliating treatment. This latter aspect of this inhuman war was shockingly revealed in a report of the International Committee of the Red Cross and was the subject of a strong protest addressed to the Secretary-General by twenty Afro-Asian Members of the United Nations in February of this year.

43. This was the tragic result of the French Government's not abiding by President de Gaulle's recognition of the right of the Algerian people to self-determination. The behaviour of the Provisional Government of Algeria, since President de Gaulle's declaration of 16 September 1959, has consistently been characterized by a sense of responsibility, political maturity, statesmanship and peaceful intentions.

44. In its declaration of 28 September 1959, in response to General de Gaulle's declaration, the Provisional Government of Algeria agreed with the French position that the right of self-determination should be the basis for a solution of the Algerian problem. It also agreed with the French Government that recourse to universal suffrage as a means of determining the political future of Algeria cannot take place without the return of peace. It only asked for an opportunity to discuss with France the political and military conditions for the cease-fire and the conditions and guarantees for the application of the principle of self-determination. This was a natural demand. But, from what transpired during the year since President de Gaulle's declaration, France seems insistent that any discussions regarding the cease-fire or regarding the conditions and modalities of any meeting between France and the representatives of the Provisional Government of Algeria should be unilaterally decided by France. We have ample proof of this from what took place at Melun between 25 and 29 June of this year. The conditions made by France at that meeting—these conditions and modalities of a meeting between French and Algerian delegations—were described by a former French Prime Minister, Mr. Mendes-France, as follows and I quote: "conditions so humiliating that they were equivalent to a demand for capitulation."

45. But the valiant Algerian people, who have fought so long and so courageously for an honourable cause, will not capitulate to the weight of French armour, because they have the right on their side and the right will ultimately win.

46. We are convinced that Algeria will be independent and that the representatives of Algeria will soon be sitting amongst us here. We are happy that today the United Nations decided to throw its moral weight against colonialism and for the independence of subjugated peoples. It has contributed greatly in the movement of progress and independence of Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories. It is acting in accordance with the determination proclaimed by the peoples of the world in the Charter of the United Nations:

"...to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small,

"...to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,".

47. To us, the draft resolution [A/L.323 and Add.1-5], of which my delegation has the honour to be a co-sponsor, marks the climax of the struggle and the formal denunciation of colonialism in any form or shape. We are convinced that the continued existence of colonialism prevents the development of international co-operation, impedes the social, cultural and economic development of dependent peoples and militates against the United Nations ideals of universal peace. We are convinced that the craving of dependent peoples for freedom and independence is natural and rational and that the process of liberation is irresistible and irreversible, and, in order to avoid serious crises, an end must be put to colonialism and all practices of segregation and discrimination associated with it. The United Nations is richer and stronger with the emergence of the new independent States, and we must

see that all peoples of the world are free and loyal Members of the United Nations.

48. The policy of my Government towards the freedom movement in Africa is well defined and set forth clearly. It leaves no room for doubt. We shall help, morally and materially, all African peoples struggling for freedom, independence and equality. In a recent communiqué, the President of the United Arab Republic and the President of the Republic of the Sudan declared their condemnation of the policies designed to subjugate and enslave the peoples, or to undermine human dignity because of colour, race or creed. They also declared that they will continue to support the cause of national liberation of the African countries which are yet to achieve independence. They condemned all nefarious attempts aimed at disorganizing this liberation struggle and supported all attempts to uproot colonialism and racialism from African soil.

49. We shall not remain silent in the face of injustice nor fail to criticize whatever is manifestly wrong. We shall always express our views honestly and fearlessly and shall always render any assistance within our power to freedom fighters all over the world until freedom and justice for all peoples throughout the world are ensured.

50. In conclusion, we hope that the draft resolution will be carried unanimously and that its implementation will immediately follow its adoption. The goodwill and the co-operation of the Administering Powers are hopefully sought in rising to this challenge. We shall expect them to try to forget the theories with which they sought to justify colonialism. On our part, we shall also try to forget and what we cannot forget we shall try to forgive.

51. Mr. SHAHA (Nepal): My delegation welcomes the initiative of the delegation of the USSR in sponsoring the item entitled "Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples". We feel that the time has come for the United Nations to pronounce itself clearly and unequivocally on the necessity and urgency of unconditionally ending colonialism in all its forms and manifestations.

52. The advanced thinking and the enlightened conscience of mankind in the mid-twentieth century has far outstripped even the most radical and progressive concepts of colonialism, no matter what justification the colonial Powers themselves may have for their own policies and actions in this regard. It is true that some countries have a better colonial record than others, but this alone does not entitle those countries with a more favourable record to seek justification for the pursuit of their colonial policy in the changed circumstances of the present-day world.

53. We might have some reservations of our own with regard to the form of the Soviet declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples [A/4502 and Corr.1], but it cannot be denied that the Soviet declaration brings this idea of the ending of colonialism into a sharp focus. Every Member should realize the importance and seriousness of this matter that is presently being debated and should direct all its efforts and attention towards enabling the peoples still under colonial domination in the world to realize their aspirations for freedom and independence in the immediate future.

54. We are afraid of one thing and this is that, like any other subject, it might also be treated by certain interested parties as an item for cold war propaganda. But to us, in Asia and Africa, who have experienced colonial domination in the past and are even now seeing the true picture of colonialism with its grim consequences to the people under its yoke, this is a matter which should not be treated lightly and must not be allowed to be given the cold war treatment in this debate. To us it is something which is vital to the evolution of a new world order based on freedom, justice and equality for all men, irrespective of their colour or the region to which they belong. In our opinion, this is the kind of world order which is envisaged in the Charter of the United Nations itself.

55. We were heartened and gratified to hear Mr. David Ormsby-Gore, the Minister of State for Foreign Affairs of the United Kingdom, remark earlier in the course of his intervention on this subject:

"Let me say at once that the United Kingdom delegation is in entire sympathy with what I know to be the ... main purposes of these delegations"—from the context it follows that these delegations are the Asian and African delegations—"the achievement with all possible speed of full self-government and independence by those people who do not yet enjoy these things." [925th meeting, para. 32.]

The Minister of State for Foreign Affairs of the United Kingdom referred—and I must say rightly—to the obligations the colonial Powers have undertaken under Article 73 of the United Nations Charter. But the question is how many of the colonial Powers, even to this day, have shown respect for these obligations in their colonial policies.

56. Yet, from another point of view, the speed with which the Government of the United Kingdom itself might have advanced the cause of self-government in different colonies—Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories under its administration—might have been "remarkable in the light of the expectations of the world in 1946"—these are the words of Mr. David Ormsby-Gore [*ibid.*, para. 35]—but the relevant question is whether this speed with which self-government has been advanced in the above-mentioned Territories satisfies the growing demands of world public opinion in 1960.

57. As we have said before, if the United Nations is to keep pace with events in the world and with the growth of consciousness among the peoples of the world in this regard, the time has come for it to declare its position on this question in clear and unmistakable terms. We know that the Principles and Purposes of the United Nations Charter, and the chapters in it dealing with international economic and social co-operation and the international trusteeship system are oriented towards the eventual eradication of colonialism. But that alone does not seem to satisfy the rising expectations of the peoples in the countries that are still under colonial domination. This is the main reason that has led us, along with so many other Asian and African delegations, to co-sponsor the draft resolution.

58. For understandable reasons, my delegation does not wish to go into the origins of colonialism at this stage, nor does it wish to analyse its causes and motives. In our opinion, colonialism, as a force in inter-

national politics, has to be examined in terms of its effects on international relations. Judged in this light, it has proved to be an unmitigated evil which has not only vitiated the relations between the colonial peoples but also has led to wars between the colonial Powers themselves.

59. The history of the scramble for Africa in the last century, and even in the early twentieth century, bears testimony to this fact. The end of the Second World War gave new impetus to the freedom movement in Asia and Africa and, as a result of the general awakening that ensued, quite a few countries in Asia and Africa attained their independence and freedom and took their rightful places in the community of nations.

60. If there has been any subject on which the nations of Asia and Africa have been able to put up a united front before the world, it has been that of colonialism. The Conference of the African-Asian nations held at Bandung in April 1955 gave an answer to the question as to how the peoples of Asia and Africa stand on this subject.

61. It is our sincere belief that colonialism is no longer tenable, that it is indeed on its last legs and that a final effort must be made, here and now, for its complete eradication. The Soviet initiative has given us an opportunity to reaffirm our faith in the lofty principles of the Charter in relation to colonialism and declare ourselves finally and unequivocally against it. In the opinion of my delegation, a solemn declaration to the effect that colonialism must and will go quite a long way to inspire hope and confidence in the minds of the peoples of the world, and particularly those of Asia and Africa, who have suffered and continue to suffer most from colonialism.

62. As I have already said, my delegation is aware that different colonial Powers have different colonial records and these Powers make different kinds of claims as to the success or failure of the colonial system. Over-enthusiastic colonial thinkers have even tended to regard colonialism as an unmixed blessing. According to them, colonialism is just an extension of the great European liberal tradition of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries—a movement of civilization itself. The adoption of this attitude towards colonialism has led many colonial Powers to make extravagant claims on behalf of their colonies. For instance, it is sometimes claimed that a strong colonial Power has established unity where there was chaos before. Moreover, statistics are adduced to prove that there has been constant social and economic progress in the colonies.

63. My delegation, while admitting that the balance-sheet of colonialism is far from uniform, as applied to the records of different colonial Powers, believes that colonialism is unsatisfactory as a system of relations among nations. European liberalism has achieved many wonderful things no doubt, but colonialism is not one of its strongest points. In the face of poverty and backwardness, which are wide-spread over the colonies and former colonies in Asia and Africa, in the face of wide-spread disturbance in many such territories before and after independence, and in the face of complete balkanization of continents such as that occurring in the continent of Africa at the present moment, claims of unity, order and progress made on behalf of colonies appear to us unjustified.

64. We recognize that remarkable progress has been made since the last war towards the emancipation of the colonial peoples. People who have become free are far larger in number than people who still remain to be freed. But since a large number of people have attained freedom, the continuation of a smaller number in the dependent status has become even more unacceptable and more irritating. Judging from the intensity of bitterness that continued colonialism engenders, not only in the minds of the peoples of the dependent countries, but also in the minds of peoples who have recently freed themselves from colonialism, we are persuaded to believe that the continuation of colonialism, even in small territories, is undesirable. The volume and intensity of ill feeling alone seem to outweigh all other considerations, practical or otherwise, that might be cited in favour of maintaining the status quo in a particular territory.

65. In these circumstances, it would have been most fitting if the colonial Powers themselves had taken the initiative to persuade the United Nations to declare itself in unmistakable terms against colonialism. Colonialism, as it was understood in the nineteenth century and has been understood so far, is definitely in its death throes, and the colonial Powers have themselves realized this. We hope, therefore, that all the States Members of this Organization will find it possible to support the forty-two-Power draft resolution which has been submitted to the General Assembly on behalf of the Asian and African group. In the opinion of its sponsors, the question of colonialism is far too serious a subject, and in the drafting of the text care has been taken to make it acceptable to all.

66. I should like to explain the draft resolution which we have the honour to co-sponsor with forty-one other Powers. I do not wish to refer to its preambular paragraphs in detail, because they do not contain anything which is not already contained in the United Nations Charter and which has not, as such, been accepted by the Members of this Organization. If there are any suggestions with regard to improvement of the phrasing of these paragraphs, they could be considered by the sponsors, but I need hardly add that the process in which United Nations resolutions are drafted and prepared is not always conducive to the production of the best text.

67. The first preambular paragraph speaks of the determination proclaimed by the peoples of the world in the same words in which it is expressed in the Preamble of the United Nations Charter. The second preambular paragraph is obviously based on Article 55 of Chapter IX of the Charter that deals with international economic and social co-operation; and the remaining paragraphs merely state facts or principles of international co-operation and conduct that have been accepted by all. We do not think that any delegation represented here will have any serious objections to the preambular paragraphs as such.

68. The final communiqué of the Asian-African Conference at Bandung shows that the Conference was, inter alia, agreed on the following: first, in declaring that colonialism, in all its manifestations, is an evil which should speedily be brought to an end; secondly, in affirming that the subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation constitutes a denial of fundamental human rights, is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations and is an impediment to the promotion of world peace and co-operation;

thirdly, in declaring its support of the cause of freedom and independence for all such peoples; and finally, in calling upon the Powers concerned to grant freedom and independence to such peoples.

69. The operative part of the forty-two-Power draft resolution begins with the words:

"Solemnly proclaims the necessity of bringing to a speedy and unconditional end colonialism in all its forms and manifestations;

"And to this end

"Declares that:

"1. The subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation constitutes a denial of fundamental human rights, is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations and is an impediment to the promotion of world peace and co-operation."

As is clear, these paragraphs are based on the text of the final communiqué of the Asian-African Conference at Bandung. It is also to be noted that the second Conference of Independent African States which met at Addis Ababa from 14 to 26 June 1960 voiced the same sentiments and aspirations in its resolutions on the eradication of colonial rule in Africa.

70. The second principle in the operative part of the draft resolution relates to the right of self-determination and is based on article 1 of the draft Covenant on Human Rights dealing with the right of self-determination which has been accepted by most of the Members of this Assembly.

71. The third principle is self-explanatory and merely implies that political, economic, social or educational unpreparedness must not be used as a pretext for delaying independence.

72. The fourth principle implies that the people in the countries under colonial domination must not be subjected to armed action or repressive measures that will prevent them from exercising their right to independence freely and without pressure of any kind from Administering Authorities. It further says that the integrity of the national territory shall be respected. The stipulations contained in this principle are based on the practical experience of the countries in their struggle for freedom against the colonial Powers. Hence, it is full of meaning and significance to the peoples still under the colonial yoke.

73. The fifth principle is, in our opinion, the most important one and forms the key paragraph in the whole draft resolution, the implementation of which alone can make it effective. It has been argued that this paragraph appears a little irresponsible because it does not take into account the peculiar circumstances of each territory under colonial or Trust administration, and its adoption may make it unnecessarily difficult for the Administering Power to discharge its responsibilities. However, it is proposed by the sponsors merely in the hope and belief that the adoption of this paragraph will give an added incentive to the colonial Powers to draw up and declare suitable time limits for the granting of independence to the countries under colonial rule as soon as feasible, taking into account both the rising expectations and demands of the peoples and the peculiar circumstances prevailing in each dependent territory, Trust Territory or colony.

74. The sixth principle cautions, in the light of the living experience of the colonial territories, against any attempt on the part of the colonial Powers at the partial or total disruption of the national unity and the territorial integrity of the colonial country by stating that such attempts would be incompatible with the Charter of the United Nations.

75. Paragraph 7 merely reiterates and reaffirms that all States shall observe the provisions of the declaration along with those of the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, on the basis of equality, non-interference in the internal affairs of all States, and respect for the sovereign rights of all peoples and their territorial integrity. The principles that have been put forward as the basis for the observance of the above-mentioned provisions of the Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights are manifestly the principles which have been enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations itself and generally accepted by every Member of this Organization.

76. We commend this draft resolution to the unanimous acceptance of the Members of this Assembly.

77. Mr. PAZHAWAK (Afghanistan): The serious interest demonstrated in the consideration of the item before the General Assembly is in itself evidence of the great importance which the people of the world and the United Nations attach to the necessity of an immediate end to the system of domination of peoples and nations. I do not see any need to restate my country's traditional firm policy of full support of the absolute elimination of the system of domination in all its forms and manifestations. Our stand on this matter is not only clear but has been outstanding.

78. In my intervention of 12 October 1960 before the General Assembly [902nd meeting], I emphasized that a declaration on the abolition of colonialism should have been the first order of business at the time of the establishment of the United Nations, and I regretted that it had been delayed. I have asked permission to speak on this issue at this stage to explain why we have actively participated in the drafting of one of the declarations which we have ultimately co-sponsored and to state our own understanding of this declaration.

79. We have listened to all the statements with great care. We have naturally felt associated with all strong arguments in favour of the urgent abolition of the system of domination and colonialism put forward by those who have preceded us. However, on our part, we are proud to say that we do not have anything to complain about regarding the colonial Powers, if the colonial Powers which attempted to attack us have nothing to complain about regarding us. They attacked us and we defended our rights, and that is that. It is a matter which belongs to a history which we do not wish to be repeated. Therefore, I do not intend to repeat the tragic history or the sad consequences of the policies of domination, as we think we are here not to deal with the faults of the past but to prevent their continuation and to abolish the possibility of their revival—a history which should in no way be allowed to repeat itself.

80. Moreover, I do not intend to go into the matter of the definition of colonialism or domination of peoples and nations, particularly since I speak before an Assembly the majority of whose Members are eye-witnesses to different forms of suffering emanating

from the different forms of domination. Without the intention, therefore, of repeating what has already been said, I shall confine myself to a few general observations, as our specific ideas are incorporated in the draft resolution under consideration of which we are a co-sponsor.

81. First, the system that we should like to see immediately abolished is the domination of any people by an alien people in all its forms and manifestations. Second, independence from domination should apply not only to those peoples and territories which are usually called colonies but to all dependent peoples. Third, the abolition of domination by giving independence should be complete; it can be completed only if it is meant to stop forever any attempt at the revival of any alien influence on peoples and nations after they have achieved their independence. Fourth, independence should not mean only political independence, but should mean economic and cultural independence, free from any direct or indirect influence or exercise of pressure of any kind on peoples and nations in any form and under any pretence. Fifth, the implementation of the provisions of the declaration should be universal and should apply to all peoples and territories, not only for the achievement but also for the preservation of their full and absolute independence, solely dependent on the free will and determination of the peoples themselves, and free from any influence whatsoever.

82. The draft resolution covers all these principles in the real sense and spirit of its provisions. No other interpretation should be considered a part of our understanding of this declaration, particularly anything which would in any way cast a shadow of doubt on these principles and their undeniable acceptance by the peoples of the world.

83. There are two paragraphs in this draft resolution which were incorporated as a result of the particular interest which my delegation attaches to their provisions: operative paragraph 2 of the declaration, which reads:

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

and the eighth paragraph of the preamble, which affirms that:

"peoples may, for their own ends, freely dispose of their natural wealth and resources without prejudice to any obligations arising out of international economic co-operation, based upon the principle of mutual benefit, and international law,".

84. I mention this only to emphasize the importance of these provisions among other provisions of the declaration for the abolition of dependence and colonialism, to all of which we have agreed with full conviction.

85. It is our strong hope that the United Nations will not fail to adopt the most effective measures at the conclusion of its consideration of the issue before it. My delegation will support any other constructive measures which would strengthen the stand of the United Nations in favour of the natural and undeniable right of peoples and nations and which would bring about the end of all forms of domination of man by man.

86. Before concluding, I wish to express our appreciation of one of the great constructive changes which separates our time from that of the past. With the world following two main ideological systems, it is a source of gratification to us that, within each system, the Powers most capable of domination are not colonial Powers. I refer, evidently, to the Soviet Union and the United States. The great responsibilities of these big Powers in the implementation of the declaration cannot and should not be ignored.

87. The fact that the initiative for a declaration on the abolition of domination and colonialism to be acted upon by the United Nations was taken by the delegation of the Soviet Union is greatly appreciated by us. I wish to pay a warm tribute to the Government and people of the Soviet Union for their effort in this field. It is our hope that all other Powers, including the colonial Powers, will follow the same policy for the achievement and preservation of the right of all nations and peoples to freedom and the right of man to dignity.

88. When the declaration on the abolition of domination and colonialism is put to the vote, it will be an historic moment in which the real stand and the real, sincere intentions of all countries, large and small, will be put to the test. This will not be a vote that, if cast negatively, will leave room for any positive explanation of vote understandable to mankind.

89. It is our strong hope, therefore, that no nation in this Organization will fail itself in this great historic test.

90. Mr. AIKEN (Ireland): When my delegation read the statement introducing the proposed "Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples" [A/4502 and Corr.1], we feared we were about to witness only another intense propaganda battle. We feared that the greater part of the discussion would be directed not to the consideration of how best to win independence for the peoples not now enjoying independence, but that their rightful aspirations and vital interests would be set at naught in an attempt to use them as cannon fodder in the cold war.

91. We welcome, therefore, the constructive efforts of those who prepared the draft resolution [A/L.323] and of all those who contributed to this debate with the sole object of securing a fruitful outcome; instead of sowing hatred and confusion, they have tried to promote friendship, co-operation and freedom. We welcome, too, the many emphatic statements that the peoples have the inalienable right to enjoy a full measure of independence for their national territories. Many peoples stand deprived of that right today. Some of these peoples have never achieved independent statehood. Some others—and their fate is not less tragic—had their independence and lost it.

92. Representing a nation that fought for centuries to uphold the principles of freedom for men and nations—the principles that are now inscribed in our Charter—the Irish delegation, like most other delegations, has one interest and one interest only in this debate: that is, to secure the passage of a resolution by this Assembly that will best serve the long-term interests of all nations and give fresh impetus to the speedy and orderly implementation of our Charter principles. In this way, we can help to lay firm foundations for a true peace and for a great co-operative effort to reduce poverty, illiteracy and disease throughout the world.

93. Most of us here, I believe, are concerned to ensure that our resolution shall be as universal in its application as is the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It is essential that it should not be selective or directed to certain cases or to certain parts of the world; it is essential, we submit, that the rights it proclaims for peoples not now enjoying full national independence should be applicable to all peoples in all parts of the world, east or west, north or south; that the right to exercise full national independence should be recognized as justly belonging to all peoples, whether the oppressors and the oppressed were of the same race, creed or colour or of different races, creeds and colours; whether the oppressed peoples came under the domination of an outside Power many centuries ago like my own country, or in the last century like many countries in Africa, or in recent years like Tibet. We are concerned also to ensure that if, in the future, a small country anywhere in the world should come under the domination of an outside Power, our resolution should affirm the right of that country to regain its freedom.

94. The draft resolution sponsored by Afghanistan and forty-one other countries, clearly maintains this essential principle of universality when it reminds us that the Charter of the United Nations reaffirms our "faith in fundamental human rights" and in the "equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small".

95. The draft resolution emphasizes the need for "respect for the principles of equal rights and self-determination of all peoples, and of universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion".

96. The draft resolution recognizes further "the passionate yearning for freedom in all dependent peoples" and the fact that "the peoples of the world ardently desire the end of colonialism in all its manifestations".

97. It asserts our conviction that "the continued existence of colonialism prevents the development of international ... co-operation... and militates against the United Nations ideal of universal peace".

98. It affirms the right of peoples freely to dispose of their national wealth in accordance with the principle of mutual benefit and international law.

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

100. It "solemnly proclaims the necessity of bringing to a speedy and unconditional end colonialism in all its forms and manifestations".

101. The draft resolution firmly maintains the principle of universality when it declares that "the subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation constitutes a denial of fundamental human rights, is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations and is an impediment to the promotion of world peace and co-operation".

102. The same principle of universality is explicitly asserted in the declaration, namely: "All peoples have the right to self-determination".

103. This principle also underlies the following declarations:

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

"All armed action or repressive measures of all kinds directed against dependent peoples shall cease in order to enable them to exercise peacefully and freely their right to complete independence, and the integrity of their national territory shall be respected."

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

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

104. It will be noted, I am sure, that all the quotations I have given from various paragraphs of the draft resolution are couched in clear and unambiguous language and are of universal application. In these paragraphs definite and clear-cut principles are asserted without limitation of time or geography, or limitation as to race, creed or colour; the rights apply universally to all peoples, and the duties apply universally to all peoples.

105. In the quotations I have given, the draft resolution speaks of the "fundamental" human rights, of the "equal rights of nations", of the rights to self-determination of "all peoples", of the freedom of "all" dependent peoples, of the end of colonialism in "all its manifestations", of the right of peoples to dispose of their national wealth, of the end of "all practices" of segregation, of the inalienable right of "all peoples" to complete freedom, independence and territorial unity, of an end to colonialism in "all its forms" and manifestations, of the principle that independence shall "never" be delayed by a pretext of unpreparedness, of the duty of "all States" to observe the Charter of the United Nations and respect the sovereign rights of "all peoples" and their territorial integrity, of the truth that human rights and fundamental freedoms belong to "all peoples", without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion.

106. All the assertions of rights to which I have just referred seem to me to be general and universal in their application. The opening part of operative paragraph 5 seems, however, to be more restricted in its scope. It refers to territories which have not yet attained independence, without referring specifically to the case of peoples who once enjoyed independence, but lost it.

107. For the sake of clarity and uniformity with other parts of the draft resolution, my delegation therefore would prefer that the opening part of operative paragraph 5 should read:

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

108. However, we know the difficulty, in the few days now at our disposal for this debate, of changing the wording of a draft already agreed upon by the Governments of forty-two Member States after many weeks of discussion between their representatives. We are accordingly prepared, if the sponsors are not in a position to amend the wording as I have suggested, to accept the draft resolution as a whole as meaning that all peoples in all parts of the world now subject, or who may become subject in the future, in whole or in part, to an outside Power are entitled to full national independence for all their territory, and that immediate steps shall be taken to apply to them, in a speedy and orderly manner, the fundamental rights proclaimed for all peoples in this declaration.

109. In addressing this Assembly containing so many representatives of newly emerged nations and of the Powers which once held dominion over them, I wish to say how profoundly we are impressed by the widening of freedom which has occurred in our time through the efforts of former subject peoples and, often, through the wise and realistic statesmanship of the colonial Powers. The United Nations is entitled to be proud of the help it has given in the peaceful and orderly achievement of independence by many States in the last fifteen years. The result has been spectacular.

110. What Irishman would have believed forty years ago that he would live to hear a British statesman proclaim, in relation to all the remaining territories under United Kingdom administration, the words uttered here a few days ago by the representative of the United Kingdom, Mr. Ormsby-Gore: "In these territories", he said, "there is no argument about the right of the people to independence; there is no argument whether the people will be independent or not. Certainly they will" [925th meeting, para. 50]. Which of us would have believed forty years ago that he would have lived to see a hundred nations participating on the basis of equality in a world Organization with a fundamental law such as the Charter of the United Nations? I gladly pay tribute to the part played in that achievement not only by the gallant men and noble women of the subject countries who fought for freedom through the centuries, but also by forward-looking statesmen and liberal-minded citizens of the colonial Powers.

111. The draft resolution we are discussing emphasizes the fact that, though much has been accomplished in the widening of freedom, much remains to be done.

112. In Ireland, we have not yet recovered the historic unity of our national territory. We therefore note with particular satisfaction the principle declared in operative paragraph 6 of this draft resolution:

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

113. We have every hope that, with the growth of goodwill and better understanding, the unity of our country will be recovered with reasonable speed and in a peaceful and orderly manner, in keeping with the interests of the Irish nation as a whole, and of the United Kingdom as well.

114. In many parts of the world, there are still many millions not now enjoying the rights proclaimed in this draft resolution. We trust the good work of extending

freedom will continue until all the peoples of the world are free and until, through peaceful and generous co-operation, the resources and skills at the disposal of mankind are fully developed to bring peace, prosperity and the chance of happiness to all corners of the globe.

115. Mr. KAMIL (Federation of Malaya): The delegation of the Federation of Malaya considers it a special and signal honour and pride to be associated with more than forty other delegations of Asian and African countries in co-sponsoring the draft declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples [A/L.323 and Add.1-5].

116. While in terms of sponsorship this declaration appears essentially an Asian-African initiative, this in no way implies that the liquidation of colonialism in all its forms is exclusively the concern of the Asian-African world. The distaste and abhorrence for the institution and practice of the subjugation of man by man and the domination of nations by nations is universally shared by men of conscience everywhere, inasmuch as the yearning for freedom and the determination to defend it are commonly felt by all humanity.

117. I would venture to say that the noble aims enunciated in this declaration, echoing and reiterating as they do the lofty principles of the United Nations Charter, will be welcomed as a source of stirring inspiration by all peoples, not only in Asia and Africa where the vestiges of colonialism still persist in one form or another, but also in other parts of the world where millions of people are forcibly denied the full enjoyment of complete freedom and national independence. Freedom and liberty are universal, and any declaration for the cause of freedom and liberty must, as a matter of course, be taken as universal in its application and scope.

118. That the Asian and African countries show a particular concern and anxiety for the speedy liquidation of colonialism is easily explained by the events of history. For the past many centuries, the pattern of history has been shaped by the subjugation and domination of weaker peoples by stronger nations. Invariably in this process, the victims had been, by and large, the Asian and African peoples. For centuries, Asia and Africa laboured and stagnated under a foreign yoke of one form or another. Although the force of nationalism and the yearning for freedom stirred in the hearts and souls of men, it was only in this century that this force gathered momentum and unleashed its full impact. Thus, the last few decades—particularly since the end of the Second World War—witnessed the emergence into full independence and sovereignty of a great many countries, first in Asia, then in Africa, representing over 500 million people of the world's population. The year 1960 alone saw the emergence of eighteen independent States, almost all of them from the great continent of Africa.

119. The admission of so many new States to membership of the United Nations during this session of the General Assembly was indeed a stirring reminder of the irreversible course of history in the direction of freedom and emancipation of peoples long subjected to alien domination. This process is still continuing, gathering momentum and ever powerful force with the passage of time. It is the tragedy of the moment that there are still instances where the ruling authorities fail to take full cognizance of this historical force,

but chose instead to repress the aspirations of their subject peoples.

120. My delegation is gratified, on the other hand, to note the assurances given by some colonial Powers of their undertaking to prepare their colonial peoples and territories for the exercise of full sovereignty without undue delay. It is only in conditions where the Powers concerned take full cognizance of the aspirations of their subject peoples for independence and, accordingly, take the necessary steps to facilitate the early fulfilment of these aspirations, that the danger of hate and violence can be averted and independence achieved in a friendly and harmonious atmosphere. Any obstinacy on the part of the ruling authorities to recognize and give way to the irrepressible urge of the subject peoples for emancipation will inevitably erupt into violence which, ultimately, could have far-reaching consequences detrimental to relations among nations and to international peace and harmony.

121. On the other hand, a sensible and realistic handling of this problem on the part of the ruling authorities, as has been proven in many cases, cannot but lead to a cordial and harmonious transfer of power which, instead of abruptly breaking the ties between the master and the ruled in an atmosphere of hate and vengeance, would upon a new vista of happy relations and co-operation between them as equal partners in the world community of sovereign nations.

122. The Federation of Malaya happily is one of several countries that acceded to full sovereignty in a friendly and constitutional process. Today, as an independent nation, we enjoy the warmest and most cordial relations with the United Kingdom. Yet, our struggle for national liberation did not follow an easy path. There were many difficulties in the way and many obstacles to overcome. But, throughout this process, both our leaders and peoples, as well as the Administering Authority, displayed such measure of wisdom and understanding that our independence was achieved earlier than planned and without leaving any traces of hate or resentment. The harmonious transfer of power which marked the end of a colonial régime marked also an auspicious beginning for our task of national development and consolidation and for new relations with the United Kingdom as equal partners in the Commonwealth of Nations.

123. My delegation, therefore, understands the joy and gratification of those many new nations which have regained their independence in a similarly harmonious atmosphere. We realize, however, that not all are as fortunate. Many of our sister nations have achieved liberty only at the high sacrifice of human lives and material resources to the extent that their task of national development has been rendered extremely difficult by the added task of national rehabilitation and reconstruction. My delegation views, therefore, with the profoundest concern, the instances in some parts of the world today where unnecessary and senseless war is being waged against subject peoples who are struggling for their just and legitimate right to self-determination.

124. As a nation which had just attained its independence from colonial rule, however beneficent that régime may be, the Federation of Malaya has dedicated and continues to dedicate itself to the just cause of peoples and nations everywhere for the right to self-

determination and freedom from alien bondage in all its forms, manifestations and guises. This dedication to the cause of freedom has become one of the cardinal principles that form the cornerstone of my Government's foreign policy.

125. It is in this spirit that my delegation has felt proud and honoured to join other delegations of Asian and African countries, most of whom—like our country—had had a colonial past, in proposing the adoption of the draft declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. It would be wishful thinking to suggest that this declaration is intended to create the process of history. Rather, the aim is to assist and accelerate the course of history that is already set in motion by the irrepressible urge of subjected peoples for their emancipation from bondage to freedom and liberty.

126. This declaration, when adopted, as I have no doubt it will be, and I hope unanimously by all Members of this Assembly, will become another momentous, living and inspiring document of the United Nations, such as the Charter itself. Its aims are noble and lofty and are bound to touch the hearts and souls of all freedom-loving peoples. Its scope, as my delegation sees it, is universal; that is to say it speaks out for freedom of all peoples still living in colonial bondage, all peoples who in one way or another are forcibly denied the full enjoyment of complete and unrestricted sovereignty and independence. Thus the declaration proclaims in operative paragraph 2:

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

127. In calling for the total elimination of alien rule, the declaration is also mindful of the danger to which new nations in their tender years are liable to be exposed. Thus, to guarantee the safety of the newly won independence, the declaration stresses in paragraph 7:

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

128. My delegation is fully aware, from the experience of our own country, of the dangers of new forms of alien domination which come in subtle guises, such as economic domination and, most dangerous of all, ideological domination. The latter, if unchecked, could lead to the total compromise of the political and economic independence to alien subjugation. Even before the attainment of our independence—and through the years of our existence as a sovereign nation—our people have steadfastly fought to keep the nation free from being subjugated by this form of alien ideological domination. We are determined to continue to be alert against this new and more sinister form of human bondage.

129. The Asian and African sponsored declaration, as my delegation sees it, is realistic in its approach to the problem of colonialism. It seeks not to condemn the colonial Powers, for condemnation, however justified in some cases, does not serve the interest of

the colonial peoples. But, rightly so, it focuses attention on the evils and dangers inherent in the institution and practice of colonialism. It brings to light the anachronism of colonialism in the present-day world in which the ideals of equality and liberty have become an ever powerful driving force in the course of history. It points out that the continuation of colonial domination is not only opposed to the Charter of the United Nations, but constitutes an impediment to the promotion of world peace and co-operation.

130. Thus, it calls for the ending of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations and for immediate steps to be taken in Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories and all other territories which have not yet attained independence to transfer all powers to the peoples concerned. By making this call, the declaration does not envisage, in the view of my delegation, that all powers shall be transferred forthwith. What is called for is that immediate steps be taken for the necessary preparation for the final transfer of power. All too often colonial Powers have delayed independence on the fabricated grounds of unpreparedness, while nothing is done towards this preparation, if indeed the territory concerned is as yet unprepared. Thus, alleged inadequacy of political, economic, social or educational preparedness has all too often been used as a pretext for delaying independence. This is a deplorable attitude on the part of the colonial Powers and contrary to the obligations under the Charter, which provides as a responsibility and duty of the Administering Authority that preparations be made for subject peoples to assume responsibility in the shortest possible time for independence.

131. My delegation deems it essential that all Administering Authorities of Trust Territories, Non-Self-Governing Territories and all other colonial territories carry out faithfully their obligations under the Charter so that the neglect of their responsibilities will not be the lamentable cause of indefinite delays for the fulfilment of the aspirations of their subject peoples for independence. The consequences of neglect should furthermore be studied closely and in true conscience, for such consequences of neglect have been demonstrated so glaringly in the crisis of the Congo.

132. I should like to venture to conclude my intervention with a reminder that the problem with which this Assembly is seized is a serious and grave problem which affects the lives, destiny and aspirations of millions of our fellow mankind who are still labouring under some form of alien subjugation or other. These people have no voice here, nor can their voice be heard outside of their own homes. They look to us here to champion their cause, with the keenest hope and anticipation that this momentous and historic debate will pave the way for the eventual removal of the injustices and humiliation they have suffered for so long. My delegation sincerely hopes, in the interests of these still subjected peoples and in the interest of future international harmony and co-operation, that this debate, in trying to pave the way for the liquidation of colonialism, does not leave in its wake traces of resentment and bitterness which might inject a sour note to future international peace and co-operation. The ending of colonialism should be an auspicious and happy landmark in the history of mankind, and to this end we should all dedicate ourselves.

Mr. Illueca (Panama), Vice-President, took the Chair.

133. Mr. TSIANG (China): The United Nations has, in the past fifteen years, frequently debated particular colonial questions arising from different parts of the world. The General Assembly, the Security Council and, of course, the Trusteeship Council have all had colonial questions on their agenda. Hitherto, all such questions considered by the United Nations have been concrete questions, relating to a particular country or region. This is the first time that the United Nations is considering colonialism in general.

134. My delegation has delayed our participation in this discussion because we are not sure about the practical fruitfulness of such a debate. If the purpose of the present debate is to achieve a general agreement on the principles relating to colonialism, such a debate does not seem particularly necessary, since we have had such general agreement already for fifteen years. The principles relating to colonialism are all enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, to the fulfilment of which we are all legally and morally committed. If, on the other hand, the present debate is intended to promote the application of the principles to the colonial questions that still remain, then, I submit the debate should be particularized and not generalized. No two colonial problems are alike; each colonial area or country has its special background and its special present-day conditions. What is suitable for one area is not necessarily suitable for the others. It is only through systematic study of each question by itself that we can make progress. I hope that the present debate will be useful in hastening the end of colonialism everywhere. I am, however, certain that it is not, and cannot be, a substitute for the systematic study of particular concrete colonial questions.

135. Among the countries of Asia and Africa, my country is one of the earliest to embrace modern nationalism and to fight for emancipation from European colonialism or imperialism. Sun Yat-sen, the father of the Chinese Republic—indeed, the father of modern Chinese nationalism—began, towards the end of the nineteenth century, to lead the Chinese people in their two-fold task of freeing China from European exploitation and of building up in China a modern State, ready and capable of exercising the full rights of national sovereignty and of providing for the welfare of the Chinese people. In the course of this struggle, Sun Yat-sen found that there were many peoples in Asia and Africa living under conditions as bad as those prevailing in China and, in some cases, even worse. In his last will and testament, Sun Yat-sen emphasized that the new China—Nationalist China—should always sympathize with and support the oppressed peoples of the world and give them, in their struggle for independence and freedom, such support as the Chinese people are capable of.

136. My delegation and my Government have always been faithful to the teachings of Sun Yat-sen. When I first came here to represent my country, one of the critical problems that the United Nations faced at that time was the struggle for national independence by the people of Indonesia. In the long debates in the Security Council on that question, my delegation was second to none in its warm support of Indonesian freedom. From that time to the present, my delegation has been consistent in this respect.

137. It is generally assumed that the problem of colonialism is a problem between certain European peoples on the one side and certain Asian-African

peoples on the other side. It is also generally assumed that the problem of colonialism concerns the relations between the industrialized nations and the under-developed nations of the world. My delegation believes that these two assumptions are in general correct, but we also believe, however, that these assumptions over-simplify the problem of colonialism. There are exceptions to and variations of these assumptions that call for some consideration in order to get at the full truth. I wish, therefore, to speak briefly on the variations and exceptions to the general rule.

138. It is not true that the problem of colonialism only arises when more highly developed nations try to dominate less developed nations. History records many instances where less developed people have tried to exercise domination over a more developed people. I shall cite an example which has the merit of not arousing any contemporary controversy. The example is that of the Mongol empire of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The Mongols, led by Genghis Khan, were predominantly nomads. Their economy was very primitive, mainly limited to sheep-raising. Their political organization was in the main along tribal lines. Yet, these people conquered China and held it under subjection for almost a century. They conquered and held in subjection also large parts of western Asia and eastern Europe which were, for the most part, as was China, far more advanced than Mongolia was in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

139. The Mongols, under Genghis Khan, were not seeking markets for their export trade, for in fact they had almost nothing to export. They were not seeking foreign fields for investment, for in fact they had no capital to invest in their own country, to say nothing about foreign countries. They were not seeking raw materials, for in fact they would not have known what to do with coal, iron, rubber, oil, coconut or tin. They were seeking power and tribute. Nevertheless, such a relatively under-developed people, motivated by a crude desire for power and loot, built an empire as big as any that the history of mankind has ever seen.

140. The example of the Mongol Empire demonstrates conclusively that colonialism or imperialism is not the exclusive property of any particular economic, political or social system. Indeed, if we study history carefully, we find that peoples in all parts of the world, in all stages of development, from the Stone Age through nomadism, agriculture, commerce to modern mechanical industry and capitalism, have all made attempts at colonization and empire-building. The problem of colonialism is as old and as complex as human history itself.

141. It is also not true that only European peoples have practised colonialism and imperialism, or that they practise colonialism and imperialism only against non-European peoples. My example of the Mongol Empire is a case of an Asian people practising colonialism and imperialism against other Asian peoples and against Europe as well. In the mediaeval period, there was the Moorish Empire, stretching to Portugal and Spain and even at one time threatening to colonize France. In the early modern period, there was the Ottoman Empire covering parts of Asia, Africa and south-eastern Europe. Europe itself has practised colonialism and imperialism against European, as well as against non-European, peoples. I need only cite here the case of the Napoleonic Empire. I might also cite the case of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

142. In connexion with the Austro-Hungarian Empire, I might be permitted to remind the Assembly of the Peace Conference in Paris in the middle of the nineteenth century, at the end of the Crimean war. One of the nationalist movements of that time was that of Italy. Led by Cavour and other Italian statesmen and prophets, the Italian people strove for emancipation from Austro-Hungarian domination of Lombardy-Venetia as well as for Italian unity. At the Paris Conference, France sympathized with Italian nationalism and wished to give Cavour a chance to plead for Italian freedom and unity and to speak about Lombardy-Venetia. The Austro-Hungarian delegation to the Paris Conference protested on the ground that the question of Lombardy-Venetia was one of Austrian domestic jurisdiction, that the Austrian title to Lombardy-Venetia had been sanctified by treaty and tradition, and that, therefore, it was an uncalled-for interference if the Conference in Paris should touch on problems relating to northern Italy.

143. As is well known, the Austro-Hungarian objections were overruled by Count Walewski, the President of the Conference, and Count Cavour had his chance to speak on behalf of Italian freedom and unity. I recall this episode partly because, although it occurred one hundred years ago, it still holds certain lessons valid for us today and partly because that episode is a good demonstration of the fact that the European nations have exercised colonialism and imperialism over other European peoples.

144. Colonialism changes with time. It is as varied as human society itself. It would be unrealistic and ineffective if we limited our attention to any one type of colonialism and overlooked the dangers and threats of other types of colonialism.

145. In the modern period of history, that is, in the last four or five centuries, the main trend of colonialism is that of European expansion to the other continents of the world. It is in the main a struggle of the economically and politically better organized States of Europe against the politically and economically less developed peoples of Asia, Africa and America. In the course of these centuries, the whole world has been, to some degree at least, Europeanized. If there is one feature in modern history that can be said to dominate the whole period, we can say that it is the Europeanization of the world. The process has been a mixture of the evil with the good. I shall not stop to analyse and differentiate or to assign blame and responsibility. Some of the evil done by Europe to Asia and Africa was unintended; some was intended. Likewise with the good; some of the good done was incidental and unintended; on the other hand, there has been some good which was intentional and planned. The whole process of the Europeanization or colonization of the world is indeed very human—a great mixture of the good with the evil.

146. When Europe started on its grand movement for expansion beyond Europe, it divided into two currents. Nations of Western Europe expanded overseas to America, Asia and Africa. Russia, that is Tsarist Russia, on the other hand, expanded overland. The Russians crossed the Ural Mountains to conquer and colonize Siberia and Central Asia. Furthermore, Russia took Crimea, the Caucasus and certain parts of Eastern Europe. It has been an accident of geography that most of the countries of Asia and Africa were reached only by the overseas expansion of Western

Europe and were untouched by the overland expansion of Tsarist Russia. As a result of this geographical circumstance, most of the peoples of Asia and Africa, but not all, have had the colonialism of Western Europe burned into their consciousness and have almost no room in their minds for the overland colonialism of Russia. For this reason, the present prevailing opinion in many Asian-African countries in regard to European colonialism is one-sided, distorted and, to a certain degree, non-objective.

147. The two currents of European expansion, that is, the overseas expansion of Western Europe and the overland expansion of Russia, met with relatively weak opposition on the part of the peoples of Asia, Africa and America. In both currents, the participants were a great mixture of adventurers, lawless persons, patriots, religious zealots and fortune hunters. In the case of Russia, the first expansionist leader was Yermak, who led a band of 840 men across the Ural Mountains in the year 1579. In about sixty years, a succession of Russian adventurers managed to reach the Pacific Coast, in the region of Okhotsk. In those sixty years, the entire extent of Siberia became a part of the Tsarist Empire, with a total area of 4 million square miles, more than twice the size of European Russia.

148. In this long march to the Pacific across Siberia, the first organized opposition the Russians met came from the Kuchum Khanate, on the upper part of the Ob River. The Khanate was one of the remnant parts of the great Mongol Empire. In 1583, Yermak captured Sibir, whence the name of Siberia, the capital of the Khanate. When the Russians reached the Far East, they met the opposition of China. Here, in the region watered by the upper tributaries of the Amur River, China and Russia fought a series of skirmishes. Militarily it was a draw. The military stalemate resulted in the Treaty of Nerchinsk, signed on 27 August 1689. According to that Treaty, the valley of the Amur River and its tributaries was acknowledged to be part of China.

149. In the nineteenth century, the Russians renewed their aggression along the Amur River. By a combination of military action and diplomacy, Tsarist Russia took from China the northern bank of the Amur River and the eastern bank of the Ussuri River. These two areas today constitute the Amur Province and the Maritime Province of the Russian Far East. The city of Vladivostok was, up to 1860, a Chinese settlement called "Hai-shen-wei"; the Russians changed it to "Vladivostok", which means "Dominant of the East". These regions of the Amur and Ussuri, which Tsarist Russia took from China in 1860, and which Soviet Russia retains, have a total area of 400,000 square miles.

150. I shall not relate here the history of Russian expansion in Central Asia. The so-called Republics of Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kirghizia, Turkmenistan and Tadzhikistan of today had been independent countries before they were annexed by Tsarist Russia. I shall also not relate the story of Russian expansion in Europe itself. Others in this hall know that story even better than I do.

151. In his long speech before the General Assembly on 23 September 1960 which, among other things, opened the present debate on colonialism, Mr. Khrushchev, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the

Soviet Union, had some very important as well as interesting things to say about colonialism in Tsarist Russia:

"The Tsarist Government pursued in the borderlands of Russia an essentially colonialist policy which differed little from what can be observed today in colonial countries, Uzbeks, Kazakhs, Tadzhiks and other non-Russian nationalities were scornfully called 'aliens'. They were not considered human beings and were ruthlessly exploited. National differences, hatred and dissension were fomented between these nationalities, and the Tsarist Empire was held together only by bayonets and oppression." [869th meeting, para. 207.]

152. With Mr. Khrushchev as our authority, we can conclude that Russia, at least up to the Revolution of 1917, had a colonial empire, differing but little from the other colonial empires of the world. What he called "borderlands... held together only by bayonets and oppression" included Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Bessarabia, the Ukraine, the Caucasus, Central Asia, Eastern Siberia and parts of Manchuria. They covered 15 million square kilometres of land, or about 70 per cent of the total area of the Russian Empire. That is the heritage left by Tsarist Russia to Soviet Russia. The all-important question is: What has the Soviet Union done with this Tsarist heritage?

153. At the time of the Revolution in 1917, all former colonial areas of Russia rose in revolt and declared their independence. Some succeeded, some failed. Finland, under Marshal Mannerheim, won its war of independence which ended with the signing of the treaty of 14 October 1920; the same happened in Poland, which, under Marshal Pilsudski, had its independence confirmed by a treaty signed on 18 March 1921; and also in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, which signed treaties on 22 February, 11 August and 12 July 1920, respectively. But it was not the same for the other colonial areas. The independence of the Ukraine was suppressed in August 1920, that of Georgia in February 1921, and that of Central Asia through a long campaign that lasted from 1922 to 1924. In recent years, the Soviet Union has retaken Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania and has, in addition, brought other European countries under its domination. Today, the Soviet Empire is bigger than that of the Tsars. We know from the example of Hungary how the Soviet Union would deal with any of its subject peoples if they should fight for freedom.

154. The Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union painted a bright picture of the development of the Central Asian Republics in the Soviet Union on the one side, and a dark picture of the colonies of Western European nations on the other. Certain delegations in this Assembly hall can examine his account of conditions in the Western colonies with greater authority than I. I wish, for the moment, to call the attention of the Assembly to conditions in Central Asia. Mr. Khrushchev admitted the following:

"Conditions in remote areas of the Tsarist empire hardly differed from those of colonies because their populations were cruelly exploited by the autocracy, by capitalism." [Ibid., para. 192.]

He went on to say that the picture has greatly changed since the October 1917 Revolution:

"Today Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kirghizia, Turkmenistan, Tadzhikistan—all the sister republics of Central Asia—have been transformed from backward colonies of Tsarist Russia into advanced, industrially developed socialist republics." [*Ibid.*, para. 193.]

155. It is true indeed that there has been considerable industrial development in Soviet Central Asia, but there has likewise been considerable industrial development in many of the Western colonies. The fact remains that in the huge Soviet Empire industrialization has been very uneven. Take the example of the textile industry. According to Mr. Baransky, a member of the Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Union, in his book on the economic geography of the Soviet Union, 80 per cent of the textile industry of the USSR is concentrated in the three purely Russian regions of Moscow, Yaroslavl and Ivanovo, and only 20 per cent in the cotton-producing areas which are in Central Asia.

156. The natural resources of the Soviet Union are unevenly distributed. The non-Russian Republics of Turkestan, Caucasasia and the Ukraine and some historically non-Russian areas of Siberia are the richest in the Soviet Empire. Almost 100 per cent of the oil resources are concentrated in the Moslem republics. Basic iron and coal deposits, manganese, non-ferrous metals, sugarbeet, cotton, grain and cattle breeding are also mostly concentrated in non-Russian areas, while the ethnic Russian areas are generally poor in natural resources. In spite of this fact, industrial development has been much more concentrated in Russia proper and is much less significant in the non-Russian territories. According to official Soviet statistical sources, Russia proper produces 75 per cent of all Soviet engineering and metal-working products, 92 per cent of all automobiles, 87 per cent of all finished cotton goods and 82 per cent of wool products.

157. In addition to the favoured position of Russia proper in the huge Soviet Empire, the Russians have migrated in large numbers into many of these so-called sister republics. According to the Great Soviet Encyclopaedia, the population of Kazakhstan, which is the largest of the non-Russian republics, was, in 1933, 57 per cent native Kazakh and 19.7 per cent Russian, with a certain percentage of other minor groups. According to the Soviet census of 1959, the population of Kazakhstan has become only 30 per cent Kazakh, 42.7 per cent Russian, 9.2 per cent Ukrainian, with the remainder consisting of minor ethnic groups.

158. Mr. Khrushchev had also much to say on the subject of the cultural development of the non-Russian republics in the Soviet Union. He said:

"It is known, for example that before the revolution the peoples of Kazakhstan and the Central Asian republics were almost entirely illiterate. There were almost no people with secondary and higher education. The Soviet Power has made education and culture widely accessible to all peoples." [*Ibid.*, para. 199.]

Unfortunately, we do not know much about the cultural conditions in Central Asia in the earlier periods—at least, I do not. Nevertheless, I have the feeling that Mr. Khrushchev's characterization of these peoples as being almost entirely illiterate is a gross caricature. According to the Russian geographer, Khanykov, who explored the Bukhara region in about 1840, and

who was, by the way, strongly anti-Moslem, schools in the Bukhara Emirate were spread all over the country, both in towns and in villages. In towns, almost every street had its primary school and, according to an approximate evaluation, about one-quarter of the population of the Emirate was literate. During the first half of the nineteenth century, such a high percentage of literacy was high even for Western countries.

159. Leaving aside the cultural conditions of Central Asia in the pre-Russian period, we know for certain that the cultural development in the Soviet Union is also uneven. Take, for example, Uzbekistan. The population of Uzbekistan is 14.5 times less than that of Russia proper, but the number of students is 18 times less, the number of books and journals published per year is 44 times less and the number of issues of newspapers published per year is 40 times less.

160. Let us take Kazakhstan. The population of Kazakhstan is 12 times less than that of Russia proper, but the number of students is 24.5 times less, books and journals published per year 66 times less and newspapers issued 35 times less.

161. Or let us take the Ukraine. According to official Soviet statistics, the population of the Ukrainian Republic is 2.8 times less than that of the Russian Republic, but the number of students in higher schools is 3.6 times less, the number of books and journals published per year is 10 times less and the number of issues of newspapers published per year is 7 times less. There was a time when the culture of the Ukraine was ahead of that of Russia. One cannot possibly argue that the present state of Ukrainian culture is due to its old backwardness.

162. Mr. Khrushchev painted for us a glorious picture of the national freedom in the Soviet Union, when he said:

"Under the Constitution, each of our fifteen Union Republics has the right to remain in the Union or to leave it, if it so desires. The existence of nineteen autonomous republics, nine autonomous regions and ten national territories makes it possible to preserve the national characteristics and cultural originality and individuality of each people and nationality." [*Ibid.*, para. 209.]

163. It is true that article 17 of the Soviet Constitution does declare that every Soviet Republic has the right to secede from the Soviet Union. But Mr. Khrushchev forgot to mention to us two other articles of the same Constitution, namely, articles 21 and 133. Article 21 stipulates: "Uniform Union citizenship is established for citizens of the USSR." Article 133 reads: "To defend the country is the sacred duty of every citizen of the USSR. Treason to the Motherland—violation of the oath of allegiance, desertion to the enemy, impairing the military power of the State, espionage—is punishable with all the severity of the law as the most heinous of crimes". In fact, any attempt to obtain any advantage from article 17 of the Constitution automatically becomes a serious crime, according to articles 21 and 133.

164. It should be remembered that, while the political structure of the Soviet Union is nominally a federation, actual political power is centralized in the Russian Communist Party. The Communist Parties of the constituent republics are treated as local committees of the Russian Communist Party.

165. The question may be asked: Why do the Soviets, while refusing their own captive peoples the right to secede and establish themselves as independent States, propagate the slogan of liberation of colonial peoples in Asia and Africa? Lenin answered this question in the following words:

"We, as Communists, must and will support the bourgeois emancipation movements in colonial countries when those movements have a real revolutionary character and when the representatives of those movements will not hinder us in educating and organizing the peasants and the exploited masses in the revolutionary spirit."

I have taken this quotation from Lenin's Works, 4th Edition, Volume XXXI, page 217.

166. Later, Stalin also gave an answer to this question:

"The slogan of self-determination of nations at the present moment, when the flame of emancipation is spreading in the colonies, is a revolutionary password for us. While the Soviet States are uniting into a federation of their own will, the nations forming the Russian Socialist Federation will not voluntarily use the right of secession. However, if we deal with colonies still under the claws of Britain, France, America, Japan, if we deal with such countries as Arabia, Mesopotamia, Turkey, India, which are colonies or half-colonies of the Entente, then the right of nations to separate becomes a revolutionary slogan and to give it up means to help the imperialists."

I take this quotation from the Works of Stalin, Volume V, page 43.

167. In plain language, Stalin's idea was this: the Soviet Union supports the liberating movements in Western colonies because such support will help the Soviet Union to spread its power and its interests the world over. Within the borders of the Soviet Union, the Soviets are naturally against any liberating move-

ments and against any form of federation of free nations. That is the crux of the matter. Let us not misunderstand the Soviet initiative in this session of the General Assembly.

168. Lenin declared long ago:

"Marxism cannot be reconciled with nationalism even if the latter is just, irreproachable and civilized. Marxism is moving forward ahead of every nationalism as an international idea of the amalgamation of all nations into a higher whole. National culture is in general the culture of estate-owners, clergy and bourgeoisie."

This quotation is found in Lenin's Works, Volume XX, page 8.

169. We are against colonialism of any type, shape or origin. A colony is a colony, whether it is the product of overseas expansion or the product of overland expansion. We have nothing good to say about colonialism. We wish it to be terminated as early as possible and, for this reason, my delegation will support the forty-two Power draft resolution [A/L.323 and Add.1-5]. Wherever people in Asia, Africa, Europe or America struggle against colonialism, China will lend them its support.

170. The world faces a gigantic contradiction in its developments. On the one hand, we have the development of the colonies of Western European countries into independent nations, many of which are represented here today. On the other hand, we have the Soviet Empire ever expanding. I think I am not wrong or immoderate when I say that the nations of Western Europe are trying to live up to, even though somewhat slowly, too slowly, the principles of the Charter and the basic aspirations of mankind. The Soviet Empire is today pushing and forging ahead against the ideals of the United Nations Charter and the basic yearnings for freedom of people everywhere. This is the problem of colonialism which the United Nations faces today.

The meeting rose at 6 p.m.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

FIFTEENTH SESSION

Official Records

67
936th
PLENARY MEETINGMonday, 5 December 1960,
at 8.30 p.m.

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AGENDA ITEM 87

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

1. Mr. THORS (Iceland): For the last eight days, we have been discussing here in plenary session a declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples [A/4502]. This is a great cause, a big order, and much has been said by many delegations and remains to be said by others. The delegation of Iceland wishes to testify to its great interest in this matter by giving expression to a few of its deliberations.

2. From the very beginning of the United Nations, from the days of its creation in San Francisco in 1945, the question of colonialism in all its forms has been one of its chief preoccupations. Thus, one of the main bodies of the Organization was to become the Trusteeship Council, and one of the six of the original permanent Committees—the Fourth Committee—was to devote its time and thought to these problems, including those of the Non-Self-Governing Territories.

3. At the end of the Middle Ages, colonialism began to set its mark on the continents of the world and soon became a great factor in the development of human history. It has had its few beneficial aspects, but many more destructive influences on the colonialized peoples through exploitation and stagnation, and it has even led to misery for those peoples. Colonialism was created by the exploratory and expansionist spirit of the brave and adventurous European explorers who sailed to every corner of the world and discovered new continents. These new lands were made colonies of the then dominating Powers of Europe, and the colonial system reached its peak in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

4. Today times have changed radically, and we are even, with the feeling of being fully justified by reality, here and now planning the complete liquidation of colonial rule. This evolution has been marked by hard struggles inside and outside all the colonialized lands. It has caused the shedding of blood on many continents and imposed tremendous sacrifices and sufferings on the subjugated peoples everywhere.

5. The people of Iceland have always taken the side of the subjugated peoples and held dearly to the ideal that every people should, through the right of self-determination, become master of its fate and future.

We have here in the United Nations, therefore, always and in every case—such as, for example, the questions of Cyprus and Algeria—voted for the self-determination of the small countries, no matter what big Power saw reason to oppose such moves towards freedom and independence. We, the Icelandic people, could not act otherwise, since we have had our own experience of foreign domination, and therefore we can appreciate the blessings and benefits enjoyed by each nation when it is master in its own house and in a position to utilize for its own benefit the country's natural resources on land and in the sea so as to bring progress to, and increase the prosperity of its own people.

6. Although Iceland was independent for three centuries—from the ninth to the thirteenth—we only regained our full sovereignty in 1918, and therefore have had a renewed experience of sovereign rule for over forty years, although our reborn Republic only dates back to 1944. Our history is different from that of many countries since we parted with our former political associate, Denmark, as a result of negotiations and as good friends, only to become still more closely and intimately linked with her after the complete separation.

7. It can be said that colonialism has been on the wane and gradually losing ground during the last two centuries. Perhaps the greatest blow it ever suffered was delivered here during the American Revolution, when, in the Declaration of Independence of 1776, it was stated:

"We, therefore, the Representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress, Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the Name, and by the Authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be Free and Independent States;"

About two years later, after a vigorous and victorious fight against heavy odds for the maintenance of this independence, George Washington wrote to a friend these brave and wise words:

"Nothing, short of independence, it appears to me can possibly do. A peace on other terms would, if I may be allowed the expression, be a peace of war".

8. The revolution in North America and the words and deeds of men like George Washington, inspired the leaders of the Latin American countries such as Simón Bolívar, José Martí and similar outstanding men, who led the widespread anti-colonial revolution against the British and Spanish colonial rulers in the Americas. The lives and deeds of these men and of their friends and associates gave inspiration to later generations and to their leaders who, thenceforward and up to the present day, were to take up the torch to light the road of the nations to freedom and independence. The peoples of the world have always been

either dominated or led, either under the authority of rulers who take or under that of leaders who give. It became obvious in the relations between the colonial Powers and the colonized countries that charity begins at home. The interests of the homeland were paramount and in most cases the colonial rulers exploited the resources of the far-away regions of the world and enriched themselves, whereas the people of the colonies were kept under, in poverty, illiteracy, and even misery.

9. Experience gained during the two most horrifying conflicts in human history—World War I and World War II—opened people's eyes everywhere to the reciprocal relations between nations and to the fact that, since people everywhere were forced, or might be forced, to bear burdens and make sacrifices for mankind, they could therefore claim to enjoy the same human rights and to be masters of their own destiny.

10. Such has been the trend of the times, and to this point had the evolution of human thought and yearning for universal human rights reached when the United Nations Charter was drawn up in San Francisco, in 1945. These progressive ideas found expression in various provisions of the Charter.

11. In Article 1, para. 2, one of the main purposes of the United Nations is stated to be as follows:

"To develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace;"

In the next paragraph of the same article, we have all expressed our support of the high ideal of "promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion;". Similar commitments are repeated in Article 55. Let us remember that three whole chapters of the United Nations Charter are devoted to what we call colonial questions. These are Chapters XI, XII and XIII. It is also well to remember some of the principles of the Declaration contained in Article 73, which states:

"Members of the United Nations which have or assume responsibilities for the administration of territories whose peoples have not yet attained a full measure of self-government recognize the principle that the interests of the inhabitants of these territories are paramount, and accept as a sacred trust the obligation to promote to the utmost, within the system of international peace and security established by the present Charter, the well-being of the inhabitants of these territories..."

In Article 76, it is further stated that one of the basic objectives of the trusteeship system is

"to promote the political, economic, social and educational advancement of the inhabitants of the Trust Territories and their progressive development towards self-government or independence as may be appropriate to the particular circumstances of each territory and its peoples and the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned..."

12. I have found it appropriate to cite all these explicit expressions in the Charter in order to remind us all that these are firm commitments which each and every Member of the United Nations has solemnly undertaken by signing the United Nations Charter. It

might therefore be asked whether a renewed adherence to these lofty principles was necessary or imperative. The Icelandic delegation is of the opinion that this exhaustive and world-wide debate should be concluded by adopting a resolution. Let us also remember that these ideals of freedom and independence were proclaimed at the African-Asian Conference at Bandung in 1955, although they were expressed in the following form: "That colonialism in its manifestations is an evil which should speedily be brought to an end". The same sentiments have subsequently been repeated in resolutions adopted at various other conferences of African States.

13. Let us now consider for a moment what has happened in the world since the tremendous undertakings of the United Nations Charter in 1945. It must be a source of pride and satisfaction to all adherents of freedom and independence that since 1945 more than forty-five countries have acceded to independence, among them such countries as India, Pakistan, Ceylon and Burma with a total of more than 450 million inhabitants. Besides that more than 175 million who belonged to colonies, Trust Territories or Non-Self-Governing Territories have acquired their full freedom. These are enormous steps forward which have all been taken within the last fifteen years. During this session of the General Assembly, we have seen seventeen new nations emerge and become fully fledged and independent Members of our Organization, which is a great encouragement for all of us and augurs well for the future. Let us remember that when we refer to these figures we are not dealing with statistics but with human beings, individual souls and minds, who have received the gift of freedom and whose life therefore looms brighter than ever before.

14. However, there are still some 100 million people in various continents who continue to live under the domination of some foreign and distant Power. It is the present position of these peoples and their future fate with which we are immediately concerned at this juncture, under the item appearing with the imposing title: "Declaration of the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples." This item was proposed by Mr. Khrushchev, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, during his visit to the General Assembly [869th meeting], and it is an initiative which, at this present stage, is to be welcomed. The Icelandic delegation, however, regrets that it is unable to consider that all the statements and assertions expressed in the declaration of the Soviet Union are relevant in this case or helpful to the cause of the liberation of all oppressed peoples; nor could we subscribe to many of the allegations therein contained. We are, therefore, not in a position to vote for that declaration as a whole should the Soviet Union want to put it to a vote in the Assembly.

15. We are grateful to the forty-five nations of the African-Asian group who worked jointly in preparing another declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples which is now before us [A/L.323 and Add.1-5], and which already has been sponsored by forty-two countries. It is with optimism and a feeling of great satisfaction, that the Icelandic delegation will vote for every expression contained in the African-Asian declaration and for the draft resolution as a whole.

16. Allow me to express some few considerations relating to the draft resolution.

17. In paragraph 6 of the preamble it is stated that the General Assembly "recognizes that the peoples of the world ardently desire the end of colonialism in all its manifestations". We are certain that this is a true statement of the actual position. The same applies to the assertion in paragraph 9 where it says that we

"believe that the process of liberation is irresistible and irreversible and that in order to avoid serious crises, an end must be put to colonialism and all practices of segregation and discrimination associated therewith".

18. We are glad to see that segregation and discrimination against races are repudiated and such a declaration is in complete conformity with what the Icelandic delegation has maintained and voted for through all the sessions of the General Assembly. The practices of segregation and discrimination should be repudiated, not only in the colonized countries, but everywhere in the world, in all countries whether they be old or new. Furthermore, the declaration solemnly proclaims the necessity for bringing to "a speedy and unconditional end colonialism in all its forms and manifestations". We think it is appropriate and wise to use the word "speedy" in this connexion, but not "immediate", as reality shows us that the complete liquidation of colonialism in various parts of the world will, in view of the individual people's actual position and standard of development, have to come gradually and progressively and as soon as possible. Therefore we find it necessary in this respect to stress the important role of the United Nations in assisting the movement for independence in Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories, as expressed in paragraph 5 of the preamble.

19. It is evident that international assistance, preferably through the United Nations, will be required by the peoples still under the colonial system. This includes financial assistance, and clearly on a large scale, which, as in all such cases, has to come from the greater and richer countries of the world; we have to admit, in all humility, that a small country like Iceland can be of only little assistance in this matter. It would certainly be of the greatest benefit to mankind as a whole if every nation would voluntarily agree to sacrifice some part of its military budget and to devote even if it be no more than one per cent of the amount thus saved annually to increase welfare and promote industry in the less developed countries of the world and assist the colonized peoples in their endeavours to acquire financial and economic independence.

20. It is also evident that greatly increased technical assistance in all spheres is urgently required, whether it be for industrial purposes, communications or for training sufficient personnel from among the nationals of those countries to enable them to take over efficiently the administration of their own affairs. Paragraph 3 of the draft declaration states that:

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

We agree that no such pretexts should be applied, but it is equally clear that independence should not come all of a sudden without due preparedness, but must be gradually obtained step by step, and that such procedures are by necessity required. In this respect

we can also subscribe to paragraph 5, which states that:

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

21. The Icelandic delegation wishes to stress the importance of the words "immediate steps", which mean that independence cannot come like lightning from the skies but only through evolution and progressive development. These words, in our opinion, mean that such evolution should commence immediately and the first steps should be taken without delay. The road to independence may be short in some cases, somewhat longer in others. But it is of the utmost importance that the hope and assurance of independence and liberty be immediately bestowed on all the peoples of the world so that they can, in confidence and security, march forward on the road to complete freedom.

22. The Icelandic delegation welcomes this declaration of freedom and is grateful to the African-Asian countries for having taken the lead in this sincere and idealistic movement and for having brought the light of a happier and better future to all oppressed and discontented peoples everywhere. We trust that this declaration of freedom will be genuinely and wholeheartedly supported and implemented by all the nations of the world, and particularly by those nations that still hold dominion over peoples in any part of the world. We consider that this declaration of freedom does not only refer to those peoples that at present are governed by other nations, but means that all nations of today and tomorrow should enjoy their full freedom without undue and undesirable interference from any other nation whatever.

23. May the torch of liberty be kindled in every nation, in every part of our globe. But let us not forget that lofty ideals and high-sounding words and promises are of little avail if they are not followed by genuine acts. Let us also remember that whereas no nation has the right to govern other nations, so is it the primary duty of each nation to govern itself and firmly and adequately to pursue its independence on its own, and lead its own people to progress, education and prosperity.

24. Every nation—and particularly the small nations—should be truly conscious of the fact that its struggle for independence does not end with the formal proclamation and celebration of independence. On the contrary, it is then that the struggle for real independence begins. The nation has then to chart its own course across the immense ocean of world affairs. It must then be master of its own ship and breast the high waves of international struggle and intrigue, and only through the combined and skilful efforts of the crew can it hope to reach its desired destination. Without a united crew, the ship of state may be wrecked. Vigilance, caution and perseverance will of necessity be required.

25. In voting for the declaration of independence of all peoples, the Icelandic delegation does so without

angry or reproachful feelings toward any nation, but with a sincere expression of good wishes to all nations, large and small.

26. Mr. WIRJOPRANOTO (Indonesia): This is the first time that the United Nations is considering the entire question of colonialism. Concretely speaking, this is the first time that the United Nations is asked to proclaim solemnly "the necessity of bringing to a speedy and unconditional end colonialism in all its forms and manifestations". [A/L.323 and Add.1-5, last paragraph of preamble] If it had done this a decade earlier, it would certainly have been hailed as a bold and historic act of international statesmanship. If it had done this in 1955, following the great conference of Asian and African nations at Bandung, or even in 1958, following the first conference of independent African nations at Accra, it still would have been an enlightened and inspiring act. But we have had to wait until 1960 for a full and open airing of this pressing question.

27. Some may feel, therefore, that our discussions have come rather late in the day. Instead of spearheading the drive for freedom, the United Nations seems to be trailing behind the rapid march of events. But, though we may have reached the twilight hour, we feel it is still not too late to act. The grave of colonialism has been dug. Now the United Nations must prepare for its final burial.

28. In the life of nations, negotiations for freedom succeed the active and often violent struggle for national liberation. Sometimes, as in the case of my own country, negotiations may be interrupted by a renewal of armed conflict, precipitated by the stubborn and reactionary resistance of the colonial mind to the winds of change. However, notwithstanding some momentary setbacks, the victory of the dependent peoples remains in sight.

29. This is the stage we have now reached in the United Nations. The first major battle has been won. There is no longer any serious quarrel with the assertion that colonialism must disappear from the face of the earth. We are participating today, on an international level, in discussions for the complete eradication of colonialism and the acceptance of the new trend, the new forces of nationalism, in the world.

30. Seen in this perspective, our struggle has not been in vain. Not only are our voices being heard, not only has our struggle confirmed the inexorable demise of colonialism, but it has created the hope of today that the speedy end of colonialism will be brought about by our concerted efforts in accordance with the United Nations Charter. Let not this hope of today be still-born.

31. Under the preamble of the Charter, we, the peoples of the United Nations, are determined "to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small", and "to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom". We ask this Assembly now to express the conviction "that all peoples have an inalienable right to complete freedom, the exercise of their sovereignty and the integrity of their national territory". [A/L.323 and Add.1-5, paragraph 11 of the preamble] We ask this Assembly solemnly to proclaim the speedy and unconditional end of colonialism. For there still is colonialism in the world. A few colonial

Powers are still locked in the arms of the past. They even have some friends who sympathize with their colonial affliction. We could perhaps pity them, if all our pity, all our sadness, all our thoughts were not directed toward the peoples whom they condemn, by their blindness, to live a senseless life of subjugation. It is the suffering of these peoples that is our heavy burden. It is their grief that fills our hearts and minds with anguish and with anxiety.

32. Our anxiety should indeed be shared by all. Surely no one who has lived through the last fifteen restless years can look with equanimity upon the persistence of the most virulent form of colonialism, which seeks to maintain a nation, a people, as its own private preserve. This antiquated way of thinking is responsible today for the war in Algeria, the turmoil in the Congo, the strife in South Africa, South West Africa, Mozambique and Angola, as well as in other parts of Africa, Asia and even the Americas. It is responsible for the dangerously smouldering discontent in West Irian. Wherever it persists, it breeds such despair as is bound to explode into armed conflict. This is no inflammatory statement. It is a fact, and a clear warning. From our own tragic experience, we call upon the colonial Powers and their sympathizers to open their eyes and see the writing on the wall. We appeal to them to follow the example of others who are walking towards the light.

33. Scanning this Assembly, one cannot but be struck by the changing world picture. It finds its physical embodiment here. We are certainly grateful for the healthy realism shown by some colonial Powers towards the drive for freedom. But, at the same time, we are aware of the heavy sacrifices made by the dependent peoples in the attainment of their independence. If blood, sweat and tears made possible the triumph of democracy over totalitarianism, if it made possible the United Nations, then it must be said that the same blood, sweat and tears of the dependent peoples have made possible the triumph of democracy over colonialism, have made possible our new United Nations, our new world. Their deep yearning for freedom has accomplished much. Think of the fact that, about thirty years ago, the Indonesian national leader, Sukarno, was imprisoned for merely prophesying the end of colonialism and the freedom of Indonesia. Today, Indonesia is free, along with other African-Asian nations, and President Sukarno could proclaim before this Assembly [880th meeting], without fear of dissent, that colonialism is dying.

34. Is it then merely a question of when all colonies are to be free, not whether they are to be free? Is it only a question of patience or impatience? No. That is only one aspect of a much broader and fundamental issue. Indeed, the central issue today is the lack of a common judgement of colonialism, of its actual character. The absence of a common understanding on this point continues to be a source of discord and even conflict. Here is where the real and present danger lurks.

35. We, the nations of new Asia and new Africa, reject colonialism in all its forms and manifestations because it is an evil. On the other hand, there are those who, even while acknowledging it as an evil, seek to justify colonialism on the basis of some ideal. But those who adopt this attitude should remember that, though the innocent victims of incarceration may for their own comfort extract some crumbs of con-

solation from their confinement, the gaoler should beware of preaching that prison is a good rather than an evil. To think that consolation can be a justification for evil is dangerous and misleading. Nevertheless, the colonial Powers and their supporters try to justify in humanitarian, economic, social and cultural terms the exploitation of man by man, discrimination because of race, colour or creed. What are the claims, and what are the facts? Let me briefly recall the past.

36. It is said that colonialism brought progress and prosperity to the colonies. Waste and open lands were converted into plantations; the wealth of the sub-soil was exploited; transportation was taken care of so that a stream of valuable primary products, including minerals and oil, became available to the world. Gradually, in the belief that they caused poor and barren countries to become fertile and productive territories, the colonizing nations found an economic justification for their domination of foreign peoples. They believed so strongly in this kind of reasoning that the voice of their conscience became silent and numb. Moreover, when at long last some education was given to the colonized nations, bolder assertions were made. These grew into the well-known theory of the "white man's burden", according to which a noble and high humanitarian, cultural and economic mission was being fulfilled. But, in fact, when the colonizers came to our shores, we were neither poor nor without civilization. It was indeed the wealth of our lands that had attracted their attention for centuries. Our economy was developed in those days. It was diversified. We in Indonesia, for example, were the producers of many products—now called the products of small-scale industries, of ships, in addition to the pepper, cloves and other spices that particularly attracted the Portuguese and Dutch. We were willing to exchange our goods for the products of the West. Ours were of a high quality and much desired by the peoples who came to us—unfortunately, so much so that they were not satisfied to obtain them through the channels of mutually beneficial trade. Our States—yes, our States, because we were nations possessing statehood in those days—became the victims of the military might of the West.

37. Then we entered a long, agonizing period of darkness, which has been lifted in some, but not all, parts of the world. Much of our productive capacity was wantonly destroyed by the colonizers in order to maintain high prices in the world market. In Indonesia, there were the well known Hongi raids by the Dutch, which destroyed the spice plantations of our people so as to ensure high prices in the world market. In more recent days, restrictions were imposed on the production of rubber on the people's plantations, not the large foreign estates. The interest of our countries was certainly not the dominating factor in organizing our productive capacity. No longer masters of our own fate and destiny, our diversified economy gradually became one-sided. The economic face of our land turned agrarian, our merchant fleet did not carry our own produce and ceased to exist as such. The plantations that came into being were cultivated by our people, as indentured labour, and produced the crops demanded by the markets of our rulers.

38. It would be interesting to speculate, at this point, on the possible economic situation of our countries if we had not been colonized, if we could have pursued the course of our own national life, if we could have

organized our own production after our contacts with the new markets of the West. For example, how would the developing technology in the West have affected us if that technology had come within our reach through peaceful contacts? As it is, such technology was withheld from us. I cannot prove—at least not mathematically—that under conditions of freedom our countries would undoubtedly have developed economically since such conditions were not given to us. But we have the previous example of Japan, and, in our days, that of China, India, the other countries of Asia including my own, those of Latin America, the Middle East and Africa—all of which are on the march to achieve economic progress without colonial rule. I am confident we will succeed.

39. It is, therefore, an unfair interpretation of the facts to state that colonialism brought wealth to our countries which would not have been created without colonial rule. Of course, at a very heavy cost, we inherited some productive capacity from our former rulers. But if one robs a house and later puts some furniture in it, one cannot claim that the owner had a poor house which he could not furnish himself. The owner was deprived of the liberty to adorn his own house. Moreover, aside from the tantalizing question of whether we could have created our own wealth, as we had in the past, what was the share accorded to our people on whose soil and with whose labour mines and plantations came into being?

40. I will not tire this Assembly with an abundance of figures. Allow me to cite just the following: In 1936, about 97 1/2 per cent of the total population of my country were Indonesians. Their share in the national income was estimated at about 20 per cent. Asian aliens amounted to approximately 2 per cent of the total population. Their share in the total national income was also 20 per cent. The non-Asian aliens were only one half per cent of our total population. Their share in our national income was the remaining 60 per cent. One half per cent of the total population, 60 per cent of the total national income. These are Dutch figures, illustrating the prosperity—or, rather, deprivation—of my people under colonial rule. This was the paradox of Indonesia: a rich country—a "garland of emerald round the equator" as one Dutchman described it—with a desperately poor people. As another Dutchman described it, Indonesia was a nation of coolies and a coolie among the nations.

41. In the light of these facts and figures, does not the philosophy of the "white man's burden", with his self-imposed mission to civilize and develop, sound rather hollow? I have only mentioned the economic stagnation, without touching upon the social and cultural stagnation, the destruction of human dignity, that accompany colonial rule. In fact, if colonialism is so benign and benevolent, why did the Americans in the North and South revolt? Why, in our time, have Asia, Africa, the Middle East revolted? Because colonialism is evil, because it is based on greed, because it means the domination of man by man. No fairy-tale of a mission, of a task, of a responsibility can quench the burning desire in man to be free, to be his own master, to take his destiny into his own hands. Yet, not only do the colonial Powers and their supporters cling desperately to their "white man's burden" but, what is worse, they attempt now to rationalize their justification of colonialism into a justification for maintaining colonial rule in their former dependent

territories, directly or indirectly. On the justification of the past, they seek to build a new edifice of colonial rule. Believing—alas, perhaps in good faith—that they know best, they hope to maintain their economic, strategic, social and cultural dominance, even while recognizing political independence. I speak here soberly from our own recent experience.

42. When the Dutch departed from Indonesia, we were saddled with an enormous debt, including the debts incurred by the Dutch in their first and second military aggressions against us. We were confronted not only with this unjust financial burden but with an empty treasury as well. We were left with only a handful of trained administrators and technicians. More than 95 per cent of our exports, imports, banking, shipping and industries remained in Dutch hands. The Dutch retained their economic control, while we were to remain as the hewers of wood and drawers of water in our own country. We had political freedom without economic freedom, and that is no real freedom at all. We were determined, therefore, to uproot this inequity. We did uproot it. Notwithstanding the most dire warnings of imminent economic collapse, we took over the instruments of production and the financial institutions, and we survived. Today, instead of the Dutch or other aliens, Indonesians are playing the most important role in our economic life. Unquestionably we face economic difficulties. Undoubtedly we make mistakes. But they are our difficulties and our mistakes. We are now masters in our own house, and that is what counts.

43. There were also Dutch attempts to retain political and military control over Indonesia. We overcame the Dutch-inspired design to fragmentize our unitary State into numerous weak States, which they could then dominate, divide and rule. We put down the military disturbances caused by the Dutch adventurer Westering. We nullified the separatist movements, originated or encouraged by Dutch colonial groups, such as that of the so-called Republic of the Moluccas. We nullified their recent encouragements to separatism in Java, Sumatra, Celebes and other islands of Indonesia. We eliminated all these political, economic and military acts of subversion that were instigated and encouraged by those Dutch interests which still sought to preserve themselves in our territory and to capitalize on a troubled and turbulent situation.

44. However, one act of subversion, one question remains—the question of West Irian. It is not my intention to dwell in detail on this dispute which arose, solely and directly, from the Netherlands' refusal to live up to their explicit agreement, their solemn pledge, that the complete, unconditional and irrevocable transfer of sovereignty to the independent Republic of Indonesia was to cover the whole territory of the former Netherlands East Indies. But, in the context of examining the Western pretexts for continuing colonialism, I would like to expose their distortion of the right of self-determination. In West Irian, the Dutch are perverting this right of self-determination into a justification for an amputation of Indonesian sovereign territory. Again, the "white man's burden" is being used as a cloak for the retention of colonial rule and the unilateral annexation of a part of a sovereign nation.

45. The Dutch claim that they must train and prepare the people of West Irian to exercise their right of self-determination. The Dutch, who even after 350

years of colonial rule—yes, even after adhering to the Charter of the United Nations—sought by armed conflict and subversion to destroy this right of self-determination for the Indonesian people, now so suddenly, so piously, so exclusively invoke this noble right. It is ridiculous and certainly suspicious. Do they really wish to prepare the Indonesians in West Irian for self-determination, and I stress the word "self"? No, what they mean today, as in the recent past, is not self-determination but Dutch-made, Dutch-dictated determination. Why else do they ban the use of the Indonesian language in West Irian? Why else do they forbid the West Irians to listen to the radio broadcasts of the Republic of Indonesia? Why do they smash all organizations that favour the reuniting of West Irian and Indonesia? Why do they imprison any West Irian who shows the slightest sympathy for the Republic of Indonesia? Why try thus to brain-wash the West Irians, whose leaders and political organizations, together with the leaders and political organizations of the rest of Indonesia, have fought for the freedom of the whole of our country? Do not forget that the people of West Irian have long ago exercised their right of self-determination. They have done so in the same manner, with the same fervour and at the same time as all the other people of Indonesia. Moreover, is the massacre of our people in West Irian—in the Baliem Valley of West Irian—part and parcel of the Dutch programme of self-determination? This happened recently under the time-worn pretext of pacification.

46. All these are concrete questions to which we have never received any answers from the Dutch, because they cannot answer. Indeed, instead of answers that cannot be forthcoming, we want solutions of these colonial problems and disputes.

47. Make no mistake about it: we are standing at a new crossroads. Colonialism is dying, and in its place the nationalism of Asia and Africa, of former dependent peoples throughout the world, is surging to the centre of the stage. Will this bring peace or a new confrontation? Will there be an understanding of the positive forces at play in the reawakened and reborn nations of the world, or will a new colonialism, seeking to justify the past, arise from the ashes of the old to cross swords with the resurgent nationalism of Asia, Africa and Latin America? That is the choice, the challenge, of today.

48. Reject colonialism in all its manifestations, and there will be an end to the recurrent conflicts. Reject the colonial attitude, and you will be able to see our nationalism as a positive force for peace. Understand that our nationalism is not a chauvinistic and aggressive nationalism. Born in the crucible of foreign domination, it seeks new horizons not in the conquest or plunder of foreign lands, but in the development of our own material resources, in the rediscovery of our own creative resources, in the achievement of greater opportunities for all our people. Basically our nationalism is an assertion of our right and responsibility to live our own lives, to fashion our own political, economic, social and cultural institutions, in accordance with our needs and conditions.

49. We are still in the exciting process of rediscovering and perfecting our own national personality. Do not label us, then, as advocates of the right or the left, as sibling capitalists or sibling communists. You will misunderstand us unless you approach us as pioneers in search of our own way of life. Of course, in

the process of that search we shall make mistakes. We do not boast of perfection. But is the right to make mistakes, to correct one's own mistakes, not an essential attribute of freedom? Look backwards to the grave mistakes committed in this century alone by the old, established nations, and then ask yourselves if a paternalistic attitude is not rather arrogant. God forbid that we should be guilty of such mistakes. In the search for our own, unique personality, we shall imbibe deeply from the fountain of world knowledge and ideas. But we also intend to make our contribution. We believe that we have something to contribute in new ideas to the world fund of knowledge.

50. Finally, we need and we want certain assistance in the rebuilding of our nationhood because we are engaged in a great war against poverty and disease. We are waging war on the sources of war themselves. We are racing against time to fulfil the rising demands—not expectations, but demands—of our people. In asking for assistance in this battle, which is the battle of all mankind, we insist, however, that such assistance should be rendered as between equals, in a spirit of mutual benefit and mutual respect. We are, in fact, not alone on the receiving end. We know that we also have something to give in the search for international peace and stability. That our assistance is needed has been abundantly proven, for instance, in the operations of the United Nations. We have not shirked our obligations in that respect.

51. Indeed, there must exist a co-operative relationship in the community of nations. Mutual help rather than the survival of the fittest—that is the underlying philosophy of the Indonesian way of life. That is also in conformity with the spirit and avowed purpose of the United Nations: to achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural and humanitarian character. That is the very basis, the "raison d'être", of the forty-two-Power draft declaration [A/L.323 and Add.1-5] on the independence of colonial countries and peoples, of which my country is a co-sponsor. Several of our co-sponsors have already presented and effectively explained this draft declaration to the Assembly. I shall limit myself, therefore, to underlining what we consider to be some of its salient features.

52. The pillars of the draft resolution are the three main principles underlying the declarations of Bandung, Accra and Addis Ababa. These are: the United Nations reaffirmation of faith in the equal rights of nations, large and small; the United Nations purpose to develop friendly relations among nations, based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples; and the human right, as adopted and enshrined in the draft Covenants on Human Rights, that all peoples have the right to self-determination.

53. The heart of the forty-two-Power draft declaration is, of course, the solemn proclamation that a speedy and unconditional end shall be put to colonialism in all its forms and manifestations. Let us be clear, therefore, about what we mean by colonialism in all its forms and manifestations. There should be no confusion on this issue. We are not here describing situations in the world that reflect the present day ideological conflict, in either its political or its military forms. Nor have we drafted a declaration for use by either side to promote its particular ideological aims. This draft declaration is not concerned with

so-called satellites or with military bases, but exclusively with those still dependent peoples and territories whose fate was in the minds of the drafters of the United Nations Charter. To avoid the possibility of any misunderstanding on this point, we have, in paragraph 5 of our draft declaration, clearly delineated these dependent peoples and territories as "Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories or all other territories which have not yet attained independence". As a material expression of the solemn pledge to end colonialism in all its forms and manifestations, we declare that immediate steps should be taken to transfer all powers to the peoples of these specified territories. If the adoption of a solemn pledge on other issues is desired, we urge that that be done in the same exclusive manner.

54. There is another issue on which I should like to offer a brief clarification, so as to avoid any future misunderstanding. Our declaration on the independence of colonial countries and peoples is an assertion of the fact that the relationship between colonial Powers and their dependent peoples is a matter of United Nations concern and action. Consequently, the provision in paragraph 7 on non-interference in the internal affairs of another State can be understood only as non-interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign State and, in particular, non-interference by colonial Powers in the internal affairs of their former dependent territories. Our entire declaration is, in fact, designed to obtain concerted action, through the United Nations, for the independence of dependent peoples and territories, without any conditions or reservations, without any undermining of their right freely to develop their own political, economic, social and cultural institutions.

55. Moreover, it is a matter of great importance to us that this declaration is designed to prevent any attempt aimed at the partial or total disruption of the national unity and territorial integrity of a country. It emphatically declares in paragraphs 4, 6 and 7 that the integrity of the national territories of peoples which have attained independence shall be respected. This is a rejection of colonial activities which create disputes such as that of West Irian between Indonesia and the Netherlands. It is a categorical rejection, therefore, of the Dutch colonial policy which, as I have already pointed out, misuses the sacred right of self-determination in order to continue colonialism in an integral part of our national territory, West Irian.

56. In co-sponsoring the 42-Power draft declaration, we are expressing our firm belief that it represents a major and decisive contribution towards making our Organization a viable instrument for peace, ready to meet and capable of meeting the pressing needs of the time.

57. Mr. AKAKPO (Togo) (translated from French): At this fifteenth session the United Nations is about to turn, on behalf of ninety-nine States, to a new page in the history of mankind. It is to examine today the very important question of the abolition of colonialism, under the heading of: "Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples". I am confident that this new page of history will open on a new world in which all peoples, whoever they may be and whatever their whereabouts on this planet, are to be free and equal. Colonialism is no longer tolerated in our time, because it has always been—and now, in mid-twentieth century, is even more markedly—a

shameful, hideous and repellent phenomenon. It is not an exploit of which the colonialists should be proud. All the speakers who have preceded me to this rostrum have branded colonialism, and stressed all the harm it has done to the world at large and to the colonial peoples in particular.

58. How did the whole thing start? Before the colonial period began in Africa, the African peoples lived a happy life. Their woods were full of fruit, their fields of crops, and their forests of game. All this belonged to them. The sunlight filled them with health and vigour, so that they constantly sang, danced and laughed with carefree hearts. At night the African sky rang with their laughter, the sound of their tom-toms, and their songs. Every village had its chief and its court, and they meted out justice according to their laws. They had their own civilization which, like any other civilization, followed its normal course and obeyed the inexorable law of evolution.

59. The colonialists who filtered in among these people in Africa were aware of the venality of their own designs, and their work of colonization almost always began with a lie. They almost always said that they had come to bring the people health, friendship and the protection of their great white chiefs far, far away across the sea, and asked permission to stay and trade. The African, by nature hospitable and generous, often agreed without demur and welcomed his guests, with no suspicion that they had in their luggage only fetters with which to shackle him in the name of colonialism.

60. The colonialism thus established in Africa for nearly 500 years has changed the face of the continent, the course of events and the character of men, by arresting the development of Africa's own civilization. The colonial system has prevailed in Africa for nearly 500 years; it consists of the out and out exploitation of man by man, robbing the colonized of all freedom, dignity, rights and individuality. In the territories under foreign rule, despite steadily increasing labour, poverty spreads ever more widely among the colonized peoples. Who knows what the civilization of the peoples harnessed for centuries to the colonial yoke might have produced if it had been allowed to evolve unchecked? But I do not wish to dwell on the nature of colonialism. As I said a few moments ago, other speakers have described it in all its aspects.

61. As soon as the Second World War ended, there was a universal revulsion against colonialism, chiefly in the territories under its sway. All men of good conscience are in revolt against the domination of peoples, and know that peace and security in the world in which we live depend upon the elimination of all injustice and the restoration of the freedom and rights of nations, large or small.

62. The States which met at San Francisco, desiring to build a new world on a firm foundation of freedom and equal rights for all peoples, were disturbed at the exploitation visited upon the colonized peoples and regarded it as a shameful crime. They called for the elimination of that injustice. The United Nations Charter, produced at the San Francisco Conference as soon as the Second World War had ended, was the first instrument to impose on the colonial Powers an obligation to liberate the colonized countries. Article 73, regarding Non-Self-Governing Territories, provides as follows:

"Member^s of the United Nations which have or assume responsibilities for the administration of territories whose peoples have not yet attained a full measure of self-government recognize the principle that the interests of the inhabitants of these territories are paramount, and accept as a sacred trust the obligation to promote to the utmost, within the system of international peace and security established by the present Charter, the well-being of the inhabitants of these territories, and, to this end:...

"b. to develop self-government ...".

As to the Trust Territories, Article 76 requires those Powers:

"...b. to promote the political, economic, social, and educational advancement of the inhabitants of the trust territories, and their progressive development towards self-government or independence..."

These are the obligations we assumed when we agreed to become Members of the United Nations.

63. One of the basic purposes of the Bandung Conference of 1955, at which the Asian and African States representing the aspirations of the colonized countries were assembled, was the condemnation of colonialism. The famous "communiqué" which was issued at this Conference, and which has become historic, stressed that the members were agreed:

"(a) in declaring that colonialism in all its manifestations is an evil which should speedily be brought to an end;

"(b) in affirming that the subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation constitutes a denial of fundamental human rights, is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations and is an impediment to the promotion of world peace and co-operation;"

Those present at Bandung expressed the aspirations of millions upon millions of people, mainly those who are still under domination and who want to put an end to the degrading colonial system as rapidly as possible. As the anti-colonialist movement has gained ever-widening support, yet more conferences have recently been held, at Accra, Monrovia and Addis Ababa, on the colonialism which continues to defile our century and which must at all costs be abolished.

64. The awakening of the Africans and Asians and their aspiration to freedom can no longer be checked without causing serious disturbances which may jeopardize world peace and security. All men of good will voice the need to make short work of colonialism and to restore freedom and dignity to the Africans, to the Asians, and to all those whom the system of exploitation has kept from the enjoyment of their natural rights. The colonized peoples have done with the shackles of slavery. They have done with forced labour for masters. They have done with seeing their continents plundered. They have done with subjection to racial discrimination. They have done with arbitrary imprisonment, concentration camps and pointless suffering. They have done with famine and ignorance. They want their independence, their freedom, their rights, their dignity as human beings. The might of their aspirations is such that all repressive measures must go down before it.

65. The grant of their independence is a matter of urgency, for the greatest good of mankind. Our con-

cern here is not merely to condemn colonialism and adopt the principle of the grant of independence. It is of the greatest importance that we should also draw up, here and now, a time-table of dates on which the colonized territories are to be granted independence. Otherwise the countries still in bondage will have to face another long struggle against colonial power. To take an example: Togo, my country, was as you know a Trust Territory for whose independence no date had been fixed, and the Togolese people had to struggle for that independence for twelve years; whereas in Italian Somaliland, which was also a Trust Territory but for whose liberation a date had been fixed, the people calmly awaited their independence. The need for a time-table did not escape the Addis Ababa Conference. Allow me, Mr. President, to quote in this connexion a paragraph from the operative part of the resolution adopted at that Conference:

"Urges the colonial Powers to fix dates in conformity with the will of the people for the immediate attainment of independence by all non-independent countries and to communicate those dates to the people concerned."

66. The movement of liberation from the colonial yoke which began, as I said, immediately after the Second World War has some sensational victories to its credit. The liberation, first of all, of India, Ghana, Tunisia, Morocco, Indonesia, Cambodia, Ceylon, Guinea, Burma, etc., and then this year, in 1960, of Cameroun, Togo, Congo (Leopoldville), Somalia, Dahomey, Niger, Upper Volta, Ivory Coast, Congo (Brazzaville), Gabon, Chad, Central African Republic, Cyprus, Nigeria, Senegal, Mali and Madagascar, has restored their freedom to millions upon millions of human beings.

67. But, despite those mortal blows, colonialism is not yet completely defeated. It is staggering, but is still showing fight in some places. Thus in North Africa blood has been flowing for more than six years; in central Africa the people are subjected to inhuman reprisals; and in South Africa to racial discrimination. Elsewhere colonialism is trying to disguise itself, to change its name. Forced to release its prey, it resorts to subterfuge. Thus—as the Togolese delegation pointed out in the Fourth Committee^{1/}—certain Powers maintain that the Non-Self-Governing Territories under their rule, although ethnically, culturally,

economically and politically different from the metropolitan country, are nevertheless an integral part of it, solely in virtue of the enactment by the metropolitan Parliament of a law to that effect, merely replacing the word "colony" by the word "province" and taking no account of the people's will and deep aspirations. Other Powers have invented a whole series of names for their empires in order to placate the subject peoples and to conceal the truth about the administration of their colonies.

68. For the sake of peace—of lasting peace—this must be done away with once and for all. Real independence must be granted to all peoples. There are still many peoples demanding their freedom. Most of them are in Africa and Asia. On the continent of Africa alone, colonialism must be stamped out in the territories of Algeria, Uganda, Kenya, Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, South West Africa, Ruanda-Urundi, Angola, Mozambique, Portuguese Guinea and Spanish Guinea, to mention only a few.

69. On behalf of all the peoples that are suffering all over the world, we are going to vote unanimously, here in this Assembly Hall, to abolish the colonial system. The delegation of Spain has already told the Fourth Committee^{2/} that Spain is anti-colonialist, and that it has always condemned, and still condemns as an anachronism, colonialism and the exploitation of peoples. I hope that, when we vote on the draft resolution co-sponsored by my country, we shall find Spain in the ranks of the anti-colonialist countries in favour of demolishing colonialism.

70. At this historic moment, we, the representatives of ninety-nine nations are faced with a most poignant humanitarian problem, on which we are about to take a decision which will be vital to the progress of peoples throughout the world, now and in the future, and to peace and security on this earth. The votes we cast will go down to posterity, which will thank us for ridding the world of a scourge. For ourselves, we shall have peace of mind and the satisfaction of having helped to see justice triumph, to revive human dignity, to restore equal rights among all peoples, and to maintain peace and the greatness of our respective countries.

The meeting rose at 10.40 p.m.

^{1/} Official records of the General Assembly, fifteenth session, Fourth Committee, 1,015th meeting.

^{2/} Ibid., 1,046th meeting.

United Nations
**GENERAL
ASSEMBLY**

FIFTEENTH SESSION
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68 **937th
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Tuesday, 6 December 1960,
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President: Mr. Frederick H. BOLAND (Ireland).

AGENDA ITEM 87

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

1. The PRESIDENT: Before coming to the first speaker inscribed for this afternoon, I give the floor to the representative of Honduras in exercise of his right of reply.

2. Mr. MILLA BERMUDEZ (Honduras) (translated from Spanish): In exercising its right of reply, my delegation wishes also to take this opportunity to clarify, as requested, some points in its draft resolution (A/L.324).

3. In the first place, the Honduran proposal is in no sense an alternative to the African-Asian draft resolution. On the contrary, it is a supplement which we consider necessary for the implementation of the latter proposal. What is more, my delegation will vote in favour of the African-Asian draft resolution [A/L.323 and Add.1-5]. The Honduran proposal, then, is designed merely to help in solving the problem of ways and means, of the proper implementation of the African-Asian draft resolution. In other words, we establish a right and proper link between the two. I should also like to make it quite clear that the position of Honduras in this matter, as in any other, is above suspicion, and that we shall never lend ourselves to manoeuvres on either side.

4. In the second place, I have been told that no provision is made for an East European country among the members of the commission. I disagree. The proposal provides for the representation of two Administering Powers. It is therefore incorrect to call the Honduran proposal inadmissible on the ground that it excludes a representative area, for there is nothing to prevent the inclusion of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics as an Administering Power.

5. In the third place, I have been asked to specify what I mean by colonies, or what colonies I have in mind. This is a more difficult question to answer, for there are disputes pending now before the Assembly, for which no solution has been found in previous years; Algeria is a case in point. We all know which colonies still exist in the world. But if debate or the interpretation of international law has so far failed to produce, or if entanglement in the conflict of two worlds and in the cold war has so far prevented any agreement on this

matter, it is hardly for the Honduran delegation to supply the panacea—the solution to this problem—by defining which territories are still colonies. This Assembly has not been able to define exactly what constitutes aggression either. Nevertheless, if pressed sufficiently, we might hazard the following definition: colonies are all those groups or peoples that do not yet govern themselves and cannot choose their rulers by democratic means.

6. In the fourth place, we have been told that the commission proposed by Honduras would solve nothing and would merely delay matters. We do not agree. The commission can do a great service; it can chart the course for the peoples that are still seeking independence. Again, the argument that visiting commissions should not be sanctioned, because they are not allowed to enter the territories concerned, is no reason for rejecting the draft resolution, for such a situation is not new to this Assembly. Four years have passed since the establishment of the Special Committee on the Problem of Hungary, and Sir Leslie Munro, a former President of this Assembly, has just submitted another report [A/4606] to us without setting foot on Hungarian soil.

7. To sum up: the Honduran draft resolution supplies the African-Asian group's proposal with a means of carrying out the liberation process.

8. Mr. WADSWORTH (United States of America): Through all its life, the United Nations has been deeply concerned with the progress of dependent peoples towards self-government and independence. That progress has embraced nearly 800 million people. It has become the greatest tide of political liberation in all history.

9. This year, with the admission of seventeen newly-established nations to our midst, the independence movement has reached a climax. It is well, therefore, in the presence of so many nations which have achieved independence in recent times, that this session of the General Assembly should consider the future of this momentous movement. The movement itself is natural, just, and irresistible. It is determined not so much by what we say here as by historic forces which cannot be reversed. But it seems reasonable to hope that our deliberations here may help to speed it, and to make it more orderly, more peaceful and more just for the scores of millions whose future is bound up with it.

10. No people supports the idea of freedom and national independence more eagerly or more proudly than the people of the United States. All delegations here are aware of the historical background which led the founders of my country to make and carry into effect the famous Declaration of Independence, which we celebrate every fourth of July. After one hundred and fifty years of colonial rule, and after the economic and social development of the original colonies had attained a point where they were able to stand on their

own feet, and when repressive acts reached a point where they were regarded as unendurable, our leaders issued this immortal declaration. By it they brought into being a new nation, founded on certain self-evident truths: "that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

11. Our founders declared, and we still hold, that these truths are not the heritage of any particular race or any particular nation but of all men. And so it has proved in fact, for the influence of that Declaration reverberated around the world and still reverberates today.

12. Therefore the general sentiment of the American people has always been that freedom and independence are among the basic natural rights of every people and nation. Our public opinion has shown no ambition to dominate other nations and has had little enthusiasm for colonial ventures, whether by ourselves or by others. When a former colony emerges as a new nation we instinctively remember our own origin and we respond with heartfelt rejoicing.

13. In this debate, on a subject where so many nations have greater experience than we, it would be idle for the United States to try to preach to anybody. Nor shall we try to rouse passions by lurid accusations. We are more interested in the future than in the past. We believe that the rapid progress of the independence movement is essential to peace. And in this statement we shall try to set forth some of the broad principles by which that progress should be governed.

14. From its very founding the United Nations conceived of the long-established colonial Governments, which then embraced a major part of the globe, not as sources of profits to the governing Power but rather as a "sacred trust" and a means of progress for dependent peoples. This was made plain by Article 73 of the Charter, under Chapter XI entitled: "Declaration regarding Non-Self-Governing Territories". That Article makes clear that the Administering Powers have a responsibility to the community of nations; that the interests of the indigenous populations come first; that among those interests are progress toward self-government and free institutions and the realization of their "political aspirations"—which, in most cases, has meant independence. The same article also makes clear that the pace and method of progress must take into account the "particular circumstances of each territory and its peoples and their varying stages of advancement".

15. In the fifteen years of the United Nations, Article 73 has been put into effect with greater speed and on a grander scale than any other provision of the Charter. Some thirty-four countries, containing over 775 million people, have attained independence since 1946. Nearly all are Members of the United Nations with representatives in this hall. In Africa alone no less than twenty-one States have made this transition, until two thirds of the whole of Africa is free and independent. And, as the representative of the United Kingdom reminded us in his statement early in this debate [925th meeting], still others will follow in the years just ahead.

16. Now this success has given a powerful impetus to the drive for independence and full self-government in other countries which are still dependent today and which feel themselves to be part of the same great stream of history. It is natural and healthy that this should be so. The very presence in our midst of a greatly increased number of new nations, all free to express their views as they think right, imparts to this question a new urgency.

17. It is equally fitting that, within the context of the Charter provisions to which I referred just now, an effort should be made to state the sense of the General Assembly in a new declaration which accords with the circumstances of 1960. For that task no one among us is so well qualified as the nations of Africa and Asia, to most of whom this question is a matter of first-hand experience and who are the sponsors of the draft resolution [A/L.323 and Add.1-5] before the Assembly. We of the United States wish to be in a position to support their declaration. We hope that whatever questions of language might remain can still be worked out. We applaud their initiative and the spirit which animates it.

18. In this statement, rather than dissect the draft resolution, I shall try to set forth in broad terms the point of view of the United States.

19. First, let me say what we mean by colonialism. There is no need for a formal definition. We have learned from history certain of its characteristics. It is the imposition of alien power over a people, usually by force, and without the formal and free consent of the governed. It is the perpetuation of that power. It is the denial of the right of self-determination—whether by suppressing free expression or by withholding necessary educational, economic and social development. Obviously not all colonial régimes have been the same. Some have been benevolent and have expended great sums for the benefit of the indigenous people; others have been harsh and repressive. Some have understood the justice and inevitability of progress by the indigenous people to full self-government and self-determination, and have shaped their policies accordingly; others have not. But however important these differences, the fact remains that colonialism in any form is undesirable. Neither the most benevolent paternalism by a ruling Power, nor the most grateful acceptance of these benefits by indigenous leaders can meet the test of the Charter or satisfy the spirit of this age. In fact, the only colonial rule which can meet that test is that which energetically works to turn over full power to the indigenous people and thus seeks to bring itself to an end as soon as possible. Time and again, that test has been met. The vast areas which, in generations past, were overseas possessions of Western nations have been transformed by the joint efforts of the governing and the governed, until today the complete end of this traditional colonial era is a certainty. In spite of inevitable friction and some tragic instances of violence, this historic transformation has been largely peaceful; and for that blessing great credit is due to statesmen and leaders on both sides.

20. The United States devoutly hopes that the complete ending of the colonial age will be still more peaceful and harmonious. That this should be so is manifestly in the future interest of all concerned. We cannot help remarking on the fact that some speakers who have taken a prominent part in this debate, and who maintain that they themselves are all free and independent and have no colonies, have outdone all the rest of the

speakers here in the violence of their language. They give the impression that they would prefer, for reasons best known to themselves, to see the colonial regimes of which they speak brought to an end by violence, with the greatest possible hatred and bitterness on both sides.

21. Now we could describe at this point, if it would be helpful to any suffering people to do so, a new colonial system which does not span any oceans but which is nonetheless as complete a violation of the rights of man as any that has ever existed. This colonial system was imposed by force on many peoples of many races, many of whom had for centuries been free and independent States and had been Members of the League of Nations. Some lost their independence even in form; all of them lost it in fact. This entire system is disguised by censorship, by ruthless thought control, and by an elaborate misuse of words like "democratic" and "autonomous". But its tragic reality is attested by the millions who have escaped from it and by the tens of thousands who have died in their vain efforts to shake it off.

22. That is the new colonialism. In the very years when the old colonialism was being transformed by the independence movement, the new colonialism was spreading to still other nations. It is the largest colonial empire in all the world today, yet it seeks to spread still further under the false banner of "liberation". Fortunately, its further spread has been checked by the increasing ability of free peoples to understand the reality through the disguise. We are convinced that this new colonial system too will die out—and we hope and pray it will die peacefully. Its time, perhaps, is not yet, but its time will come. Meanwhile, when we hear the practitioners of this new colonialism launch their thunderbolts against the old, we are tempted to recall the old proverb: "What you do speaks so loud that I cannot hear what you say".

23. The arch practitioner of this new and lethal colonialism demonstrated to us as recently as last Sunday the true colours of its cynical and hypocritical nature, which it hides under the false banner of liberation and behind masses of words and slogans expounding freedom from colonial domination and independence for all peoples of the world. I know I do not need to refresh your memories that it was the Soviet Union which, last Sunday morning in the Security Council,^{1/} vetoed the draft resolution proposing the admission of the recently free and independent Islamic Republic of Mauritania. This veto, a bare-faced attempt to blackmail the Security Council into accepting a package deal, has effectively prevented Mauritania from achieving its full status and rights in the community of nations. I ask you to think about the implications of the Soviet Union's action on Sunday morning. Particularly consider this veto on the admission of a sovereign State to the United Nations when the representative of the Soviet Union next takes the floor to champion, with his hollow oratory, the independence and equal rights of all peoples.

24. I have made this short digression to describe the "new colonial system" so that we may not forget the many millions of people who suffer under this "new colonialism" and whose fate, rightly or wrongly, most Members of the General Assembly have chosen not to talk about at this time. At the same time, I think, we

should and must recall that the draft resolution now before us quite rightly speaks out against colonialism "in all its manifestations", just as did the historic declaration following the Bandung Conference. I return now, however, to the old colonial system. In the view of the United States, certain points are clear.

25. First, the ending of the colonial era is already far advanced and its complete end is certain. The sentiment of nationalism is one of the strongest and most irresistible forces of modern times. It should not be thwarted or suppressed—indeed, it cannot be. Modern history records many instances of nations which were partitioned or completely extinguished, only to emerge again as members of the family of nations. Some of these are sitting in our midst today; others may be here tomorrow. In any case, those who have responsibility under Chapter XI of the United Nations Charter for the administration of Non-Self-Governing Territories must realize that their tutelage at best can be only temporary. Any attempt to prolong it by unnecessary delays, any failure to prepare for it with all possible speed, will only frustrate the inevitable and sow a harvest of bitterness which will persist long after independence has been achieved.

26. Secondly, it is not enough merely to liquidate the old; it is necessary also to plan soundly for what will replace it. And in this the wishes of the indigenous people must be paramount. Experience shows that a separate independence is usually, but by no means always, the people's choice. For instance, contrary to the impression left by the declaration which Mr. Zorin read here some weeks ago [925th meeting], the people of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico do not now desire independence. They are fully self-governing and have freely chosen to be associated with the United States as a self-governing commonwealth. There are strong economic, financial and other reasons behind their decision. On 8 November last they re-elected Governor Munoz Marín, who is a strong advocate of the commonwealth solution and in fact one of its chief architects, by a clear majority of 58 per cent of the vote in a free election. Perhaps just as significant is the fact that another 32 per cent of the voters advocated statehood, or full political integration with the United States, and that means in simple terms that over 90 per cent of the voters of Puerto Rico wish to have commonwealth status or a closer permanent tie with the United States. There are other examples, countries which, on emerging from colonial rule, have freely chosen to join with a neighbouring State in a single sovereignty. Solutions like these may also be preferred by other peoples, particularly those who live in small and widely scattered islands. Thus independence is only the most obvious of several possible choices. The essential point is that the people should choose.

27. My third point is related to this principle of popular choice. The vital test for the administering authority of every dependent area is the test of free consultation with the people through free elections or through some equally valid means of self-determination. This means more than a ceremony in which the people are permitted to ratify a single predetermined decision. It means an actual choice among alternatives. That is the essence of the principle of self-determination of peoples which is included among the Purposes of the United Nations. It is futile to argue that the people may make the wrong decision, or a decision which may prove to be bad for them. At some moment,

^{1/} Official Records of the Security Council, Fifteenth Year, 911th meeting.

and better soon than late, the administering authority must trust in the people's wisdom and put their destiny in their own hands. This has been done with success in so many cases that there can be no denying its practical validity. Let more use be made of free elections, then, so that peoples everywhere may be free to determine their own destiny.

28. Now I come to the question of time. How soon shall the remaining dependencies become independent or be given the opportunity to decide their future? The United States believes that steps must be taken immediately towards self-government or independence. In many cases this process is already far advanced. Where it is not so advanced, there must be no delay. Certainly no administering authority should maintain the colonial status or relationship one day longer than may be necessary to enable each territory to stand on its own feet in the strenuous conditions of the modern world. Moreover, the determination of a timetable should not be arbitrary but should be the result of continuous consultation with the indigenous peoples and with their leaders. The Charter makes it clear, in its Declaration regarding Non-Self-Governing Territories, that the progressive development of free political institutions is to be carried out according "to the particular circumstances of each territory and its peoples and their varying stages of advancement" [Article 73 b]. All Members of the United Nations, in subscribing to the Charter, have accepted this principle; and its wisdom has been fully demonstrated by experience. If independence is to be real and not merely formal, it must be accompanied by economic, social and political growth and stability. Even in the same region there may be wide variations in this regard. The Trust Territory of Western Samoa, for example, which will soon have a plebiscite regarding its future, has a very advanced society compared to the Trust Territory of New Guinea, large parts of which are still unexplored and unknown to the outside world. Thus, to deal with both as if they were in comparable stages of advancement would not ensure to either what the Charter pledges, namely, "their just treatment, and their protection against abuses".

29. We can sum up our views on the matter of timing in this way. Common sense, and the terms of the Charter as well, make it inescapable that independence—or whatever final result the people may choose—must be reached in progressive steps. Sometimes the remaining road is short; in other cases it is still long, and a long road should not be attempted in one leap. It is a poor service to any people to convert them overnight from colonial subjection to a paper independence which they are not equipped to sustain. The result is certain to be a collapse into chaos and violence—and perhaps an attempt by other stronger Powers to put them under a new yoke. It could be simply jumping from the frying pan into the fire.

30. Yet none of these cautions should be used as an excuse for delay with the urgent business in hand. Administering authorities should consult with the people to establish timetables of progress. And the steps along the way must be immediate. Both the administering authority and the people must feel an urgent obligation to speed the day of full liberation. That obligation is imposed upon us by history, and to shirk it would lead only to tragic and needless conflict.

31. We are speaking here of one of the great liberating movements of history—the creation of new sovereign

nations. It is fitting to recall to ourselves how much this movement already owes—and how much it is sure to owe in the future—to the United Nations. Not only has this Organization, under its Charter, already taken a substantial and creative interest in the liberating process itself; the United Nations also provides—and this may be even a greater service in the long run—a house for the community of nations. And here the world's many independent nations, in all their variety and despite all their discord, can find a sound and strong framework within which to dwell in peace.

32. This priceless value of the United Nations for the emerging nations was recognized by President Eisenhower—when he proposed, in his address to the General Assembly on 22 September [868th meeting], a United Nations programme for Africa. Among the points in this programme are an immediate increase in the size of the United Nations Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance and of the United Nations Special Fund; expansion and permanent status for the United Nations programme to provide operational and executive personnel to newly developing countries; special attention to Africa by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Monetary Fund; and a new United Nations programme of education, so that the peoples of Africa can more rapidly acquire the mental tools to preserve and develop their freedom.

33. We shall develop these proposals further when the Assembly considers the item which the United States delegation proposed entitled "Africa: a United Nations programme for independence and development" [Item 88]. We shall welcome particularly the ideas of the African States on that programme. Already we have been greatly interested to hear a number of speakers from Africa, during the present debate, emphasize their wish that aid to Africa should come as much as possible through the United Nations. With that attitude we entirely agree.

34. By such steps as these, we shall take the most statesmanlike course of all—the course which strengthens the independence of nations and at the same time strengthens the world institutions which bind us together in peace. Only from that unity in diversity can a peaceful world community be built. And only in such a community can freedom be achieved, and securely sustained, for all the peoples of the world. The President of the United States, in his address to the General Assembly earlier this fall, described this ideal in these words:

"This concept of unity in freedom, drawn from the diversity of many racial strains and cultures, we would like to see made a reality for all mankind. This concept should apply within every nation as it does among nations. We believe that the right of every man to participate, through his or her vote, in self-government is as precious as the right of each nation here represented to vote its own convictions in this Assembly. I should like to see a universal plebiscite in which every individual in the world would be given the opportunity freely and secretly to answer this question: 'Do you want this right?' Opposed to the idea of two hostile, embittered worlds in perpetual conflict, we envisage a single world community, as yet unrealized but advancing steadily towards fulfilment through our plans, our efforts and our collective ideas.

"Thus we see, as our goal, not a super-State above nations, but a world community embracing them all, rooted in law and justice and enhancing the potentialities and common purposes of all peoples." [868th meeting, paras. 84-85]

35. In the light of those ideals, we rejoice to see the age of colonies pass into history and a host of new nations emerging into the community of freedom. Let that great community grow steadily to completion, overcoming all fanatical divisions and groundless ambitions, until it embraces—as one day it surely must—all the members of the family of man.

36. Mr. AMMOUN (Lebanon) (translated from French): During these memorable days we are writing a great page of history, not the history we studied not so long ago about nations and their kings and wars, but universal history as it must henceforth be taught: the history of mankind, of its progress and achievements. The history of mankind is a history of continuous liberation—liberation from domination of man by man, whether it involved individuals, communities or peoples, that is to say, liberation from slavery and colonialism.

37. But before we reached our present stage, how much suffering was inflicted, how much blood and tears shed! And also, how many failures, set-backs and painful new beginnings! At each turning in this tortuous road a bright summit has emerged like the peak of Mount Sinai. Once it was the great Phoenician invention of the alphabet, then, closer to our time, paper imported into Europe from China by the Arabs, then Gutenberg's printing press and finally the newspaper—all stages in the extension of knowledge and the liberation of thought and hence the liberation of man. The flowering of democracy in Great Britain and its extension to other parts of the world was to be one of the main consequences of that process of liberation which is today enshrined in the democratic principles of the United Nations Charter.

38. Today the subjugation of individuals by slavery is coming to an end. Nevertheless it has not completely vanished. Remnants of it remain in racial discrimination, serfdom and forced labour.

39. Until the beginning of the Christian era there was only a sporadic struggle against this endemic evil and revolts which were speedily repressed. In the eyes of his contemporaries Spartacus was a rebel to be punished, a rebel against an established institution, a threat to one of the foundations of the civilization of the time.

40. With the advent of Christianity, the legitimacy of slavery was called in question. After it had been abolished in Europe it still subsisted in Czarist Russia in the milder form of serfdom, despite repeated attempts at liberation and the two great revolutions in the United States and France, together with the Declarations of the Rights of Man which they brought forth in pain. But it needed an Abraham Lincoln and a Civil War for slavery to be abolished in the United States, and the General Act of the Brussels Conference relative to the African Slave Trade of 1890^{2/} for it to be condemned also in Asia and Africa. The Powers that had officially protected the slave trade on the Atlantic Ocean made it

their duty to combat it in the eastern seas. That was a reparation they owed to the peoples they had oppressed. The activities of European navies against the African slavers were instrumental in suppressing this hideous trade, which was ended for good by the International Convention for the Suppression of Slavery adopted by the League of Nations, and signed at Geneva on 25 September 1926.^{3/}

41. But, as has been observed, the remnants of slavery remain in the form of racial discrimination, which rages in at least two countries: the Union of South Africa and Israel.

42. It is time, high time, that these inhuman practices should cease. The struggle against racial discrimination in the United States is proceeding successfully, albeit slowly and considerably more in the legislative acts and court decisions than in popular practices and reactions, but so far little progress has been made in South Africa despite repeated United Nations intervention. The policy of "apartheid", which we have condemned more than once, remains an open sore in the side of mankind. How long will the United Nations tolerate this affront to its most noble and lofty principles? The draft resolution before us [A/L.323 and Add.1-5], and on which we are called upon to vote, condemns once and for all this policy which violates both moral law and the precepts of religion, of all religions. Will the Government of the Union of South Africa withhold its vote from this draft resolution? It is being offered an opportunity to reconsider its policy, which is as disastrous for the community which it defends as for the one which is its wretched victim.

43. As to Israel, there have been many denunciations of its policy, a State policy which has racial discrimination as one of its corner-stones. The very Constitution of Israel, a theocratic State, is based on the notion that only the Jew is a real citizen, the non-Jew being a second class subject. Racial discrimination results from the existence of a racist State. It appears there as an institution of the State itself. Whether in the form of segregation imposed on the Arabs under the pretext of national security, or of inequality before the State and the public authorities, it constitutes one of the fundamental laws of the State. The censure incurred by the Union of South Africa is merited to an even greater extent by Israel. How long will people close their eyes to this anomaly, to this monstrosity of racist policy in an anachronistic State, and of the Zionism which nourishes it?

44. Slavery in all its forms, as the League of Nations declared, slavery in its most diverse shapes and with all its hideous remnants, must finally give way to real equality between men of all races and colours, and to respect for the human dignity of each and every person.

45. Even before voting on the resolution condemning racial discrimination, we should like to believe that this resolution will not, like so many other United Nations resolutions, remain a dead letter. A people whose actions violate the principles of the Charter and the provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, whether it be Israel or any other country, must henceforth incur not only moral penalties in the form of United Nations censure, but the legal penalties attaching to the violation of the rules of conduct for peoples

^{2/} General Act of the Brussels Conference relative to the African Slave Trade, signed at Brussels on 2 July 1890, British and Foreign State Papers, 1889-1890, vol: LXXXI1 (London, H.M. Stationery Office).

^{3/} See Publications of the League of Nations, VI.B.Slavery, 1926. VI.D.7. (document C.586.M.223.1926. VI.).

and individuals. We hope that the world, which has seen the advent of independence for so many peoples, will in the near future see the advent of universal law and justice for all.

46. A last word before turning from racial discrimination, which besets the individual, to colonialism, which affects entire peoples. For the common good, we hope that racial discrimination will not spring up again in the relations between the newly emancipated peoples, or those soon to be freed, and their former masters. We entreat these long-suffering peoples to rise above malice and vengeance. At stake are their own interests, which can be fulfilled only through co-operation on an equal footing, in an atmosphere of mutual confidence among all men and peoples.

47. The draft resolution before us states that the liberation of peoples is an irreversible process. Whatever anyone may say, international morality is winning a victory. It will be one of the greatest achievements of the United Nations, if not the greatest of all, to have taken part in this regeneration of the world by helping all peoples still in bondage in their struggle for independence. What the League of Nations did to free the individual from slavery, the United Nations is in the process of doing to liberate all peoples from the bonds of servitude.

48. We do not wish to deny to the colonial Powers, or at least some of them, the merit of having understood this movement and of having risen to the heights of this morality, yielding to the pressure of peoples striving for freedom. In the past two decades the United Kingdom, France and Italy have cut the bonds of subjection placed on more than thirty nations inhabited by more than a thousand million people. This Organization and these Powers are today insistently urged to extend to all the peoples of the earth, on whatever continent they live, and whether they are black or white, the blessings of freedom and dignity. Let them put a speedy end to bloodshed in the countries where the struggle is continuing. Let the territories taken away from sovereign nations be restored to them, for parts of their flesh and blood in Asia and Africa remain in the hands of occupying Powers and forces.

49. Special mention should be made of a land, the most holy of lands, which a rapacious colonialism, Zionism, has usurped and occupied in defiance of human laws and, I may add, of Divine Law, since this is the land of the Holy Places and the Holy City. While the whole world acknowledges that the age of conquest and colonialism is past and while dozens of nations are holding up their heads and advancing towards freedom and light, colonialist Zionism is clinging desperately to the alleged rights of conquest so as to dispossess a people of its ancestral fatherland and open the land for colonization. Palestine—the land of Canaan—was not a Sahara, an uninhabited desert. It was, in the words of the Bible, a land flowing with milk and honey, a land bearing huge bunches of grapes that astonished the nomadic Israelites. It was conquered in the time of Joshua, and conquered again three thousand years later in a no less cruel fashion, under the very eyes of the United Nations and in spite of and in violation of its principles and its most solemn resolution. Israel, in defiance of logic and decency, masks this new colonialism under a screen of principles proclaiming freedom, but the United Nations must be true to itself by unmasking this deception, by exposing and hunting down colonialism wherever it seeks to perpetuate or rein-

state itself. By occupying a part of Arab Palestine, Zionism has violated both the sovereignty of the people it expelled from their homes and the integrity of the national territory. While pretending to assert a right, it violates with impunity the most elementary principles of good faith.

50. Without a doubt, the colonial Powers have spread their civilization in the colonized countries, to a greater or lesser extent. This cultural expansion was at times attended by violence. It was imposed rather than accepted. It may be that without this culture and without this violence, the colonized countries would not have awakened so quickly to independence and freedom. This has happened at various times in history. In antiquity, in the Middle Ages and in modern times the currents of culture sweeping through the world, sometimes from East to West and sometimes from West to East, were not always peaceful currents. Far from it. But this no longer holds true today. The book can dispense with the sword and the rifle. Economic development must no longer mean exploitation, as it often meant in times gone by, in all eras and under all skies—exploitation of natural resources as well as of men.

51. Our age is one of co-operation among free and equal peoples and men. More still, it is an age of human brotherhood, association and mutual assistance. This mutual assistance is more particularly necessary since justice—economic and social justice—did not always in the past govern the relations between nations. The economic and technical development of some peoples was sometimes achieved at the expense of others.

52. The proposal for assistance to African countries which have attained independence, submitted by the United States [868th meeting], comes at a timely moment. It springs from the new spirit. It will be welcome, as will also be any assistance which the countries of western Europe may propose to give to the States they once administered. The same may be said of the decision of the Soviet Union, announced in the Second Committee,^{4/} to increase its contribution to the programme of assistance to newly independent States.

53. This assistance has already been the subject of two important resolutions of the Second Committee, one on assistance to newly independent States [A/4649, draft resolution I] and the other on concerted action for the economic development of all peoples [A/4648, draft resolution I]. These two resolutions underline the duty of the United Nations to promote the economic and social advancement of all the less developed peoples. They complement the draft resolution which is now before you. They constitute the economic charter of a new world in which all peoples must work together.

54. If this assistance is accompanied by respect for the independence and sovereignty of young States, as required by the draft resolution on concerted action for economic development, if the recipient States are not drawn into the conflicts and rivalries of the Great Powers and are enabled to develop in peace and tranquillity, an effective contribution will indeed have been made to human progress and universal harmony in the world. Let us not regard this as a vision or as a figment of the imagination. It will be the reality of our time, and of the years to come, dictated by the sequence

^{4/} Official Records of the General Assembly, fifteenth session, Second Committee, 698th meeting.

of events and the course of history. The United Nations will give the seal of its approval by adopting the draft resolution sponsored by forty-two States [A/L.323 and Add.1-5]. This resolution will be the new charter proclaiming the freedom of peoples and the dignity of man.

Mr. Nesbitt (Canada), Vice-President, took the Chair.

55. Mr. VELAZQUEZ (Uruguay) (translated from Spanish): The delegation of Uruguay is taking part in this debate in full awareness of the importance of the matter before us.

56. There are still many millions of people in Asia, Africa and even our own America for whom the words we speak here have special significance. There are many millions of people whose eyes are fixed on the United Nations at this moment, and who await from us a word to hearten them in their struggle, a word of encouragement to help them to endure their ceaseless sufferings, a word of hope in their dejection.

57. This lends particular gravity to our discussion and compels us to approach the subject with the honest intention of working only for the objective which we have set ourselves. We do not want this debate to be used as a cold weapon in a cold war, much less as an instrument of propaganda for an ideology which has itself proved to be a modern version of colonialism—of a colonialism that is implacable, rigid and inhuman. My delegation has therefore been glad to note the moderation and deliberation which have characterized the statements of many countries that in recent times have fought most fiercely against the colonial system. The peoples of Asia and Africa, more immediately affected than ourselves by whatever is said or done in this Assembly, have shown an admirable prudence. We hail this fact as a favourable augury for the future of the United Nations.

58. Uruguay, like its fellow nations of Spanish and Latin America, can claim a special justification for intervening in this debate. Our independence, like that of our fellows, was attained at the cost of great sacrifices. The war of independence in South America lasted fourteen years and, even after the Battle of Ayacucho, which set the final seal on America's destiny, we had to fight on for another five years. For then we had no United Nations. There was no chapter XI and no Trusteeship System. There was only an indomitable will to independence. Independence did not come to us as a gift. Nor was it an act of justice on our behalf by a third party. Independence was the exercise of a right; but the right was exercised through sacrifice and pain.

59. It is true that the circumstances then were not the same as those which came to prevail in the countries exploited by the typical colonialism of the nineteenth century. We should be unfair, and we should be simplifying historical fact to the point of distortion, if we failed to distinguish between the colonialism against which we rose and the colonialism of more recent times, particularly in the ruthless forms which characterized it at least until the end of the First World War.

60. For our part—and this point has already been made by other representatives of Spanish America—we must acknowledge that the Spanish venture began in an age when values and standards higher than the capricious will of men were still acknowledged; in an age still strong enough in Christian tradition to resist the

divorcement of political action from ethical action; in an age which still held man to be fully responsible for his every action.

61. Spain may have made many mistakes in the American Indies. Indeed, its very conception of the enterprise of colonization—as a gigantic effort to lift the conquered countries to what it considered a higher plane of morality and living—may have been a mistake. It may have been a mistake from beginning to end; and yet, for all the fire and passion which we put into our struggle for independence, that mistake does not blind us to the beauty and transcendence of the conception. With all its faults and cruelties—though the latter seem innocuous in comparison with the methods of mass extermination used in our century—it was an enterprise of high civilization. It was the Spanish moralists, jurists and theologians who proclaimed before the world that justice was the source of all law, and that reason and morality prevailed above the absolute will of monarchs. It was they who drafted the admirable pages of the Code of the Indies that governed the life of the American communities for three hundred years.

62. Spain's work in America is present here today; we ourselves are that work—we who, for a century and a half, have been dealing with the mother country on a footing of equality, with no misgivings, suspicions or fears. Even without our presence to testify to its continuity, the earth and flesh of America would still abound with evidence of its prodigious labour of civilization, to which these lines from Quevedo's moving sonnet could well be applied: "They will abandon their bodies, but not their care. They will be ashes, but will have feeling. They will be dust, but loving dust."

63. I said that we should be unfair if we simplified historical fact by attaching the same label or applying the same yardstick to all colonialism. To be fair, we must now recognize that it was the West itself which, in the context of the modern age, took a tragically wrong turning. It was Western thought that questioned the existence of those supreme and objective values of justice and morality which could and did give meaning to the Spanish enterprise of colonization. That scepticism, rooted deep in history, had enormous explosive force. If there was no law but that imposed on the community by the monarch; if it was will, and not reason, that made the legal rules; if in so doing, that will was not enlightened by the law of understanding and the objective nature of things; if force was not measured and regulated by a higher law, by that law whose edicts in the fine words of Sophocles' heroine Antigone, "are not of yesterday or today, but everlasting, though where they came from, none of us can tell"; then is it any wonder that crime should now be rewarded and transgression praised? If whatever is good and just is not good and just of itself, but only because an omniscient and omnipotent ruler willed it so, then in the name of what logic, that we shall never succeed in understanding, has our conscience the right to revolt against the daily spectacle of injustice and disorder? I do not know whether they were many or few who perceived at the time the danger that lurked in this philosophy. I know only that we have here the rightful fruits of that philosophy: the grave of Katyn, the gas chambers of Dachau, the fiery mushroom over Hiroshima, the millions of human beings who still live in fear, anguish and slavery.

64. It was colonialism conceived in the shadow of that sceptical and therefore materialistic philosophy; it was

colonialism born beneath the sign of the spirit of gain; it was colonialism as the legitimate child of the capitalistic spirit, which was responsible for the sad reality of the colonial empires, the exploitation of peoples, and the stupid myth of racial superiority. It is this cold, calculating, unfeeling colonialism that we are going to condemn in this Assembly in the name of the essential equality of men and peoples, in the name of that common ancestry of the human race which makes us but a single community and a single family.

65. To be completely fair—and, I repeat, we have heard much that was just and sensible said in this debate—we must obviously be extremely cautious when it comes to judging or condemning any specific colonial situation. The responsibility of the colonial Powers is not always self-evident, nor can we affirm *a priori* that the Governments of those Powers must in all cases be held answerable for the acts of their nationals. Many noble efforts to guide social conduct along more rational paths come up against indifference, prejudice or selfishness. Moreover, we are bound to say, not everything stems from foreign oppression. Since colonialism, in the sense of exploitation of human beings, is a state of mind, there is national colonialism as well as foreign colonialism. The exploitation of our peoples by men of the same stock, by groups indifferent to the requirements of the common good, is a moral and adverse fact, as adverse as colonialism itself; and, be it said in passing, that situation of privilege and injustice has always been the most effective ally of foreign interests in reducing the sovereignty of weak and small nations to thralldom.

66. Although independence and self-government represent the first objectives to be attained in the process of gaining freedom and eradicating colonialism, they are not the ultimate goal. The ultimate goal is independence in the fullest sense of the word, independence which really makes us masters of our fate, independence in each and every activity of the political community to which we belong. I readily acknowledge that political independence may be a *sine qua non* for the achievement of this other independence; but it is not in itself enough. We, the peoples of Spanish America, know a great deal about this. At any rate we know—and perhaps our experience may be of some use in this debate—that political independence and the establishment of a country's own Government presuppose an intelligent adaptation of legal forms to the sociological realities of that country. Speaking for a country which, like its fellows in America, was in the past perpetually torn between ideal constitutions and real constitutions, between written constitutions and sociological constitutions—happily, the conflict was settled in Uruguay more than fifty years ago—we can appreciate how important it is that the formulas through which free institutions develop should be made to fit—not like a ready-made suit, but like one made to measure—the always complex conditions in which the Government is to function. Every country must, of course, experiment with formulas for itself; but the goal must be the same for all: to ensure that—subject to those basic principles, such as the sovereignty of the people and respect for fundamental human rights, which have absolute validity regardless of the situation—the institutions are adapted to the real structure of the country. Otherwise independence leads to chaos, and chaos reverts to colonialism or to spurious forms of political government which, as experience has shown, are always used

to further interests foreign to the legitimate interests of the nation.

67. It would, however, be naive to think that political independence can be maintained without breaking the bonds of economic colonialism. I neither mean nor claim that such bonds can be broken overnight once freedom is won. We know all too well that the intricate network of interests in which the world is, to some extent, held prisoner cannot be broken so easily. Again, it has never, perhaps, been the part of political wisdom to make an abrupt break; whether we like it or not, we have to reckon with world realities. What is important is to fight on resolutely and with a true sense of patriotism. Let there be an end to the paradox of political independence and economic dependence. At a time when the end of colonialism is already a fact, perhaps our main concern should be, not so much to issue a declaration which in the last analysis merely takes note of that fact, as to issue a warning that there will be no real end to colonialism while the peoples enjoy no genuine and authentic freedom to dispose of and exploit their natural wealth and resources for the benefit of their communities; while we must rest content with the role of mere providers of raw materials for the industrial Powers, and while we lack that minimum of self-sufficiency which, within the natural interdependence of nations, is the truest sign of full and genuine independence.

68. An understanding of these truths, a generous attitude on the part of those who until yesterday were the masters—by what right we need not consider now—of the fate and wealth of vast areas of the world, is not merely an attitude which morality dictates but perhaps the one factor upon which, in the long run, the fate of the free world depends. Whenever the free world clashes within itself, whenever the West betrays the great and imperishable principles which have sealed the greatness of its culture, the West loses a battle; and every battle lost by the West is a battle lost for man; for the values of the West—the freedom which Greece bequeathed to us, the sense of law and order contributed by the genius of Rome, the grace whereby Christianity transformed the temporal meaning of our life—are, in one way or another, the values of mankind, which are now threatened by atheistic and totalitarian reaction. If the West understands, there is nothing to fear, whatever triumphs the adversary may seem to gain. If the West does not understand, that lack of understanding, and not nuclear war, will be the real self-destruction of mankind.

69. Mr. MARTINO (Italy) (translated from French): The problem of the independence of Non-Self-Governing Territories and colonial peoples has already, in the past, been the subject of lively debate in which many contrasting views have been expressed. That is quite logical, for it is no accident that one of the main purposes of this Organization, since it was established, has been to urge and to help Member States to lead the territories which they administer, and which have not yet gained their independence, to the gradual achievement of that supreme aspiration of mankind.

70. The freedom of peoples is now the central preoccupation of the human race. We live in an age marked by continual changes in the relations between peoples. These changes are partly the effect of extraordinary technical progress, but it is not only technical progress which unites the thoughts and interests of men and which now allows no man to live separate from his

fellows. Technical progress is a creation of the human mind and its inventions are the fruit of ideals. Technical progress is therefore bound to obey moral and spiritual demands.

71. Whatever may be the motives which have led a Member of the Assembly to request this debate, we regard the initiative as a useful one. It further demonstrates the importance which this problem has acquired and the urgent need to seek a solution. The present, which has its roots in the past, is dominated by a powerful unifying force. We are moving towards unity.

72. Italy is convinced that, because of its recent experience, its awareness of present problems and the general approval of its action in the territories it once administered, it is in a position to speak objectively, to calm passions and to make a fair assessment of the true aspects of the problem, without any attempt at demagogic exaltation or ideological or political exploitation. I believe I can say truly that the Italian nation has, to its own great satisfaction, played a part in the development of the countries for whose government and administration it was responsible. This is borne out by the cordial relations of trust and co-operation that have been established with the States which were once under Italian trusteeship or which were Italian colonies.

73. We are also convinced that nothing is more likely to lead to useful results, in the best interests of all countries, than sincere technical and economic co-operation. Some are strongly critical of such co-operation between countries which have just gained their independence and their former administrators. They speak of neo-colonialism, condemning it as a sequel to or a substitute for past colonial exploitation. Even if we can sometimes understand and appreciate the reasons for these charges, we should resist the temptation to make them indiscriminately. Such a generalization would not only be completely unjustified, it would also be dangerous. It might be used as a pretext by those who are in no way concerned lest such co-operation should hinder peaceful progress towards the independence of the former colonial countries, but who are concerned and afraid that such co-operation might be an obstacle to the enslavement and ideological domination of these peoples—by those who fan the flames of resentment and pride, in the hope that the work of renewal will take the form of an anti-western movement and an attack on certain ways of life, rather than on certain western peoples.

74. This shows the delicate nature and the importance of the question we are discussing today. The Italian delegation is firmly convinced that every possible effort must be made to ensure that the debate will lead to useful and constructive decisions. It can obviously have but one objective, the ending in all continents, of all forms of rule over one people by another; no other objective would be justified. But, if we are to achieve this objective by the most suitable means, we must calmly assess what has been done in the past to the same end, and we must then look towards the future, having made a correct and intelligent assessment of the past.

75. We believe that several forces have helped to determine and to accelerate the emancipation of colonial peoples, but it is true, as the representative of Lebanon has said, that this process was helped and furthered by the policy of those countries which understood the

historical reality of the hour and the true meaning and responsibilities of their mission. Within this very Assembly, several representatives of territories which were until recently non-self-governing, have acknowledged this fact and have openly declared themselves satisfied with the work done by the administering countries, with which, in several cases, the new countries have relations of close co-operation. A few moments ago I referred to the concern which this co-operation may cause. Yet, although we recognize that such a concern is legitimate in certain cases, we can only consider the tendency to oppose such co-operation as the most serious threat to the development of the former colonial peoples. These peoples feel a deep desire for renewal—a desire which should not be a cause of separation and inevitable conflict, but should, as a rule, lead to closer understanding and more fruitful and lasting co-operation. If there is to be such an understanding, it is essential that both sides should quickly free themselves of all remnants of resentment and regret.

76. When we speak of colonization, it is necessary to emphasize, not only its executive aspects, but also the spiritual values and forces which it eventually succeeded in releasing. This is exactly what the distinguished representative of Uruguay did a few moments ago. K. M. Panikkar, the Indian author of Asia and Western Dominance, which is regarded as the sternest indictment of the colonizing West, once, in the course of a lecture emphasized India's debt to the West in terms which may perhaps apply to all former colonial peoples. He said that social reform in Hindu society, the raising of the untouchables and the profoundly significant purification of Hinduism, all of which were greater and more lasting things than even the independence of India, were reflections of that country's western heritage. The organization of the democratic and secular State, the structure of its institutions and the political principles on which it was based were essentially European in inspiration.

77. As in all human history, good is inseparable from evil and must always combat it. It is to be hoped that the countries which have gained their independence will find in themselves the strength to reject both the bondage of their recent past, which still bears the germs of distrust and resentment, and the repeated and tempting incitements of those who would gain by their isolation which would place them more completely at their mercy. But it is also desirable that the peoples of the West should understand that their task does not end where the independence of colonial countries begins. The assistance which the more advanced countries should give to the less developed nations is not a complete moral and political solution. The peoples of the West must play a part in the creative efforts of the newly self-governing countries, to their full capacity and with a firm resolve to understand the full meaning of those efforts and to further them with a view to making joint progress.

78. In this survey of the problem before us, we cannot forget the part which the United Nations, through its organs, has played in this emancipation process, particularly at the moment of accession to independence. The Trusteeship Council has certainly done excellent work from every point of view. The work of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories has increased our understanding of many situations, especially in the economic, social and cul-

tural sectors and with regard to the rate of development towards political independence. In this connexion may we also point out that, if we consider the various fields of international co-operation provided for in the Charter of the United Nations, we will find that the same results and the same progress have not been achieved in each of these sectors in the fifteen years of our Organization's life. However, as far as the Non-Self-Governing Territories and the trusteeship system are concerned, remarkable progress has been made, possibly even exceeding the initial expectations. I shall not pause here to repeat the list of admittedly extraordinary achievements which the representative of the United Kingdom [925th meeting] quoted to us on the first day of our debate. Those facts and figures are in any case well known to all Members of the United Nations. The number and population of the Non-Self-Governing Territories are today a very small fraction of what they were in 1945. The progress made in the Trust Territories has been no less rapid and decisive. It seems to us indisputable, after what I have just said, that the Non-Self-Governing Territories have come a long way in the last fifteen years. The United Nations must take the credit for this development, especially for the gradual and orderly way in which it has been achieved. Experience has shown that the principles enunciated in Chapters XI, XII and XIII of the Charter were inspired by very wise and well balanced views. It is those principles that have guided our action, and we feel that it is in that we should seek inspiration for the decisions we must take in this debate.

79. We also believe that our most important task is to look beyond the simple question of independence. The achievement of political independence by the new countries should be a stage rather than a goal, although it is, of course, a very important stage. Independence should not give rise to disorder and chaos. It should not mean political and economic isolation. It should not cause sudden imbalances and, above all, it should not provide an occasion for friction or controversy. I said that the emancipation of peoples still ruled by or under trusteeship of another country was the main goal which we should set ourselves. But that task, arduous and ambitious though it may be, does not exhaust the role the United Nations has to play. The essential task of the Organization is to defend peace and put an end to war as a means of settling disputes between peoples. To this end, we must fight the causes of war, which are poverty, slavery and ignorance. It is essential to establish living conditions which are by nature peaceful, and forces for peace. It is therefore indispensable to create, in the social structure of the various peoples, conditions more conducive to understanding and co-operation, to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights and in the dignity and worth of the human person, and to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom.

80. The circumstances of each people being different, so also is their capacity to participate in the common effort needed to establish peace as a part of civilization. All peoples, however, have a duty to contribute to the best of their ability. That is why the new idea of collective solidarity, which is reflected in the United Nations Charter and replaces the earlier antagonism created when the more advanced nations took control of the less-developed countries, is an essential part of our Organization's activity and one of the most suitable instruments for the maintenance of world peace.

81. There is no need for me to recall the principles enunciated in Chapters XI and XII of the Charter, but I think it may be useful to point out that these principles set two essential tasks for the United Nations.

82. The first is to encourage and promote in the best possible way the further development of Non-Self-Governing or Trust Territories which have not reached the final stage of their political development. This does not mean, however, that attainment of this objective necessarily entails the creation of new national entities. Certain territories—it is true—because of their limited size or population, do not have the necessary resources to become independent States. However, in such cases, it is necessary at least to provide for special forms of self-government, in association with the metropolitan country or with other adjoining countries. Such forms of government are in keeping with the United Nations Charter, which envisaged them as a natural conclusion of the development of Non-Self-Governing Territories.

83. The second task facing the United Nations today is that of selecting the best means of helping those countries which have only recently become independent because, as I said before, political independence is only one stage in the present complex process of development. Forms of economic co-operation with these countries will become increasingly necessary, as will also forms of political co-operation, which may frequently prove effective in a regional framework. Co-operation on a basis of trust, between the more developed and industrialized countries and the less developed ones may be the best means of furthering development in the political field. This co-operation may be based on technical assistance, commercial interests and economic co-operation. As well as economic relations, cultural relations can also make a considerable contribution to a later development towards more perfect forms of political self-government.

84. We have heard in this Assembly of the cultural enslavement of colonial peoples. I should like to point out that culture is an end and not a means. Political institutions, as the poet T.S. Eliot says, are the things that are built, but culture is something that grows. It is not possible to build it, just as it is not possible to build a tree. Hence there can be no true cultural enslavement. Only people deprived of their freedom can take what is often called unilateral education to be culture. The life of the mind is a perpetual synthesis, bringing together and developing various ideas, and conditions of freedom are necessary to this synthesis. If such conditions do not exist, we may truly say there is enslavement; but we cannot speak of culture.

85. As I mentioned at the opening of my statement, the forces which have encouraged the process of development that has already taken place in a large number of countries, and which are the ones that will inevitably determine future progress, have not affected all geographical areas in the same degree. These signs of development, in which we take pride, and which have led to the formation of new States which are now Members of the United Nations, have not appeared in certain areas. In certain cases we have even seen movements in the opposite direction, towards the enslavement and foreign domination of peoples who once were free. It is clear that the historic expansion known as colonialism, which occurred essentially in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, was not confined to the countries of

western Europe. Other countries played their part in it, including Tsarist Russia which extended its power beyond the Urals to the frontiers of China, into the very heart of widely different territories and peoples. Even today, in the centre of Asia, we have witnessed expansionist moves with all the painful oppression and repression they entail, which have been made in defiance of the traditional freedoms of the Tibetan people. Other States of eastern and northern Europe, which yesterday were still free, have now lost their freedom.

86. We cannot remain indifferent to the fate of these peoples. Any declaration or resolution which we are to approve cannot concern only some other continent; it must be regarded as being equally valid in every corner of the earth, where peoples still live under any form of foreign oppression, even if such oppression is concealed or consists only of a limitation of their independence.

87. The Italian delegation hopes that this debate will lead to an agreement which is the result of enlightened and objective considerations, not of acrimonious attempts to disturb the atmosphere of international relations. We are bound to distrust the Soviet Union's proposals, because it is clear that they are designed to stir up the hatred and resentment of former colonial countries against their previous rulers and to excite their passions, in order to turn their energies to the advantage of the Soviet Union. Its initiative is too obviously designed to serve Soviet propaganda purposes to be favourably viewed by this Assembly. It is only a clumsy attempt to make the germs of distrust more virulent, in order to separate the West from the peoples who have recently emerged to independence and to bring them under the ideological and political domination of the Soviet Union.

88. On the other hand, my delegation does view with favour the initiative taken by a group of African-Asian countries, which has submitted for our consideration a responsible and constructive draft resolution [A/L.323 and Add.1-5]. We sincerely appreciate its aim, even if we have some doubts regarding the manner in which certain points in the declaration are expressed. The Italian delegation fervently hopes that any final text the Assembly may approve will mention the results already achieved and our gratitude to the United Nations organs which have laboured most effectively with results of which we can rightly be proud.

89. Looking ahead, the most important task is to ensure a more rapid development of the Territories which are still non-self-governing. But this should be done in an orderly and peaceful manner, in international co-operation. This is the goal we must set ourselves in this debate.

90. Mr. ROA (Cuba) (translated from Spanish): This year has been called, with more than ample justification, the Year of Africa. In the course of 1960, sixteen African countries have attained independence and are already sharing in the duties and responsibilities of the United Nations. This year should also be the Year of the Proclamation of Independence for all colonial countries and peoples. The majority of the peoples and countries still subjugated beneath the yoke of colonialism are to be found in Africa. There are also countries and peoples in colonial status in Asia and Oceania, while various European Powers still have colonial establishments in Latin America. The United States has possessions, dependencies, leased territories and an

inter-ocean canal in Latin America and its economic policy towards the Latin-American nations is in its nature, structure and objectives, typically colonialist. If we proclaimed the abolition of all vassal status in all continents where it survives in one form or another, the Year of Africa might reach a glorious culmination as the Year of the Liberation of Humanity. This is not a flight of fantasy. Such a proclamation would be an act of free will depending exclusively on the representatives of the peoples of the United Nations.

91. Colonialism is the most shameful survival of a régime of mercantile expansion and of a geographical shift of political power spurred on first and foremost by the prospect of boundless wealth. This régime and the remaining vestiges of it have now come into fundamental contradiction with contemporary society's need for development and progress. They are dying before our very eyes. They are doomed to destruction. Even though mortally wounded, however, the Leviathan that is colonialism still possesses sufficient strength and sufficient means to prolong its last gasping breath and its death-throes. It also has before it the alternative of peacefully surrendering a degrading but highly profitable dominion which will be snatched away from it at the eleventh hour by the inexorable laws of history. This alternative was given to it by the General Assembly when by acclamation [903rd meeting] it approved the allocation to the plenary meetings of the item "Declaration on the granting of independence to the colonial countries and peoples", proposed by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics; and in the face of this alternative there is no room for compromises or half-measures. The time has come for straightforward statements, not for circumlocution. The time has come to put the finishing touches on the process of emancipation of the peoples, not to retard it. Cuba is utterly at variance with those who, demagogically donning the Phrygian cap, have tried to light a resplendent candle to the god of colonialism and a feeble one to the devil of anti-colonialism. And since it is impossible to serve both God and Mammon, what they serve, objectively, is colonialism and what they are trying to undermine, subjectively, is anti-colonialism. Trying to appear subtle, they turn out to be heavy-handed. It is understandable that the instigators and beneficiaries of the colonial system should resort to subterfuge, phantasy and dissembling; what is not understandable is that those who in the past have suffered its crudest manifestations, and even those who are still suffering them in disguised form, should do so too.

92. The unconditional and immediate abolition of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations—that is what Cuba demands of this historic debate. How could Cuba take any other stand without betraying itself, the tradition of Bolívar and the peoples who are struggling heroically to win self-determination, independence, sovereignty and dignity? How could a people which, in the flesh and in the spirit, has suffered without respite the colonial system of Spain and the imperialistic domination of the United States take any other stand?

93. It is worth placing this on record. Three years ago, Cuba would not have been able to speak in the straightforward, upright manner it uses today. Three years ago, the true voice of Cuba was not heard in this universal forum of the nations. The flatulent tones of the docile, muffled and obsequious voice of its official representatives reflected a state of international vassalage which gave the lie to the bogus independence and

sovereignty of the Cuban State. According to its official political and juridical structure, Cuba was a republic and possessed the formal attributes of independence and sovereignty: a flag, a shield, an anthem, a separate colour on the map, and a seat in international organizations. But its voice in those organizations was mere mimicry, an echo pure and simple of the political, economic, military and diplomatic interests of a foreign Power. Its voice sounded with borrowed accents. It was not Cuba which spoke, but imperialism. Colonies, where they are officially acknowledged, have nothing to say. Where they exist in disguise, they speak with a voice not their own. And now, because Cuba has for ever ceased to be a colony and effectively exercises its own self-determination and sovereignty, the voice of its official representatives is the clear, full, deep voice of its people and its Government, merged for the first time in our history, in a dynamic community of thought and action. Since the fourteenth regular session, which coincided with the glorious year of its liberation, this new Cuba has given clear and firm proof of the independence of its foreign policy. Cuba—let it be said at once—supports all parts of the draft declaration submitted by the Soviet Union [A/4502].

94. At this stage of the debate, it would be idle to enter into the history of colonialism or to refer to its depredations, its perfidies, its outrages and its opportunism. The task of refreshing the memory of those who find it convenient to disguise themselves as innocent angels has already been undertaken in a dramatic recital of injuries and facts and figures by representatives of peoples whose backs, torn by the claws of colonial exploitation, still bear mute witness to their wounds, suffering and brutal treatment. But what we must not fail to emphasize is the true nature, the real motives and the specific aims of the colonial system. Cuba has lived in the monster's maw, and it has a moral obligation to reveal it to the world.

95. Colonialism is the legitimate child of the profound and sweeping changes that took place in the economic structure of European society during the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and of their concomitant repercussions on political, juridical, social, religious and cultural life. Renaissance humanism—the evocation of the *uomo singolare* in a society rent internally—is the fine flower of the tempestuous advent of modern capitalism, and the spring-like flowering of ideal societies that went with it, starting with Thomas More's *Utopia*, was a denunciation in advance of its miseries, degradations, inequalities, performances, conflicts, wars and revolutions. This new society which rose victorious from the crackling embers of feudalism, rested on the more and more pronounced predominance of merchants, money-lenders, bankers, entrepreneurs, and ship-owners. Its emblem was the class system; its instrument, the Graeco-Roman culture; its oracle, nature; its Archimedean lever, technology; its desire, the chimera of gold; its cry, liberty; its fetish, trade; and its criterion of truth, quantitative evaluation.

96. The dynamics of the new constellation of economic interests, social relations, political forms and tables of ethical values which accompanied this prodigious upheaval required, before it could take root and grow, the freedom of labour, of markets and of expansion, and also the unlimited assistance of science and technology to stimulate its rate of development and satisfy

its desire for domination. The questioning spirit, held back for ten centuries by the brake of scholasticism, thrust forward into all fields and expanded the horizons of scientific knowledge. The clock conquered time; the telescope, space; the experimental method, nature; the compass, the sea; the machine, production; rationalist philosophy, the conscience of man. The acquisitive spirit and the lust for expansion, spurred on by this extraordinary adventure of the mind and impelled by the beckoning gleam of precious metals, was soon crystallized in commercial operations, mercantile enterprises and agencies for exploiting the *terra incognita* which was taken over by the great maritime Powers of the time, especially Spain, England, Holland, Portugal and France, by a process similar to the transformation of territorial revenues into monetary wealth.

97. The main source of the political power and economic potential of the rising merchant class was its huge profits derived from the pillaging of the colonies, from mass slavery and from the systematic depletion of the soil and sub-soil of the territories which had been discovered, conquered and subjugated. "We have become rich", wrote Werner Sombart, "because whole peoples and races have died on our account; on our account, whole continents have been decimated." Here in a few words is summed up the real essence of colonialism, which had, and still has, its theoreticians and its apologists skilled in the art of making "spiritual values" tally with highly lucrative necessities. Language and religion, education and culture were tools used to twist the minds of the subjugated peoples, psychological devices for castrating any urge to break away, just as highways and hospitals, railways and factories tended and still tend to increase the productivity of forced labour and total returns. This was and is the total achievement of the "civilizing mission" of the colonial and administering Powers. Their education and indoctrination is for slavery, not for freedom; they exploit the resources and wealth of other people for themselves, not for the peoples who produce them in labour, sweat and poverty.

98. In this respect, Cuba the Spanish colony, and Cuba the American colony, nurses bitter experience in plenty. But it has always been able to keep the social root of the crime and the historical background of the oppression separate from the people in whose name and on whose behalf they were committed. Thus, when it took its stand against the colonial domination of Spain, it stated clearly that the war was against Spanish domination and not against the Spanish people, just as it has established, with equal clarity, that its struggle for emancipation from the colonial domination of the United States is directed against the instigators, beneficiaries and agents, and not against the American people, despite the fact that their wealth, power and standard of living are in large measure based on colonialist and imperialistic exploitation. In the last analysis, the people do not share the responsibilities contracted by their governing castes towards the inexorable justice of history. This principle affords ample ground for fruitful co-operation in the future between the former colonial peoples and the former colonialist peoples on the basis of mutual respect, mutual benefit and absolute equality. The day will come when both, prompted by identity of interests, needs, values and aspirations in a world in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all, will consider colonialism, imperialism and thermo-nuclear war as the most abhorrent and

primitive form of life in the days before the advent of human coexistence.

99. I must stress this point. The peoples who have been subjugated and exploited in the name of civilization were just as civilized in the sociological meaning of the word as their self-appointed tutors—and in some important aspects, far more so. Some were the repositories of ancient and lofty cultures, like China and India. When the ancestors of the English were still climbing trees—as Julius Caesar records in his Commentaries—the Chinese were already living in cities, were politically organized in an empire, had discovered gunpowder and could print the writings of their philosophers, poets and statesmen. Yet that same China, which set standards for the world and today, rejuvenated, is waging a bitter struggle for self-determination, independence and unity, is denied its rightful place in this Assembly through the pressure of the colonial Powers which in former times usurped its wealth.

100. In India, religion and culture had reached remarkable levels centuries before Socrates brought his penetrating wisdom to the market-places of Athens and before Jesus and his disciples, in persecution and poverty, had founded Christianity. Ceylon, Indonesia and Burma, like many other Asian nations, have an eminent position in the history of human culture. Egypt, the age-old cradle of a complex and mature civilization, made a decisive contribution, through the Minoan civilization, to the advent of that ever-glorious triumph of the human spirit, the "Greek miracle". The Arabs, who created a unique civilization and preserved the wisdom of Greece and Rome, revived and enriched with priceless contributions the apathetic and turbid currents of Western thought. Its imprint on Spanish culture and on the Renaissance still sheds a brilliant light. Preserved in the sub-soil of the plains of Black Africa there are vestiges of ancient and highly-developed cultures which have been mysteriously lost or have disappeared; and that continent may well boast of its vivid folklore, its rich patrimony of art forms, its priceless contribution to the universal culture, and above all, its burning passion for liberty, which is the highest possible form of cultural expression when slavery is the mode of life. Cuba, though geographically located in the Western hemisphere and a Spanish-speaking country, prides itself on the African sap which strengthens and colours its folklore, its art, its culture, its religion and its national development.

101. The international landmarks of the "civilizing mission" of colonialism and imperialism—the same process of economic exploitation and political domination carried one stage further—are called by sadly familiar names: Overseas provinces, Holy Alliance, Monroe doctrine, Manifest destiny, Platt Amendment, Spheres of influence, Reciprocal agreements, Open-door policy, Dollar diplomacy, War debts, Protectorates, Quota system, Tariff privileges, Mandates, Private investments, Associated free State, Dumping, Guantánamo Naval base, Trusts, North Atlantic Treaty Organization, South-East Asia Treaty Organization, Central Intelligence Agency. These landmarks have been a source of friction, violence, rapine, and wars between imperialists. They are at present the major obstacles to the independent development of the emancipated peoples, the launching-platforms for neo-colonialism and the worst enemies of international peace and security. A good proof of this is the policy

of harassment, intrigue, compulsion, threats, subversion and aggression waged by the U.S. Department of State, the Pentagon and the American monopolies with the crude aim of breaking the Cuban people by force and making them surrender through hunger. And if this is not proof enough, you have only to look at the Congo which was for a time a former Belgian colony and is today the coveted prey fought over by those in temporary alliance—its former colonizers and neo-colonialism whose main driving force is American imperialism.

102. The plot against the self-determination, independence and sovereignty of the Congo, to which this Organization is unfortunately no stranger, is an unequivocal sign of colonialism's stubbornness in continuing by other means the economic exploitation and political domination of the territories and peoples which have apparently been freed. Colonialism is moribund; but even so, like Proteus, it can assume new forms and overtly or covertly reconquer its privileges and reimpose its exactions. Before our very eyes, the neocolonialists and imperialists have destroyed the constitutional structure of the Congo, deposed Lumumba, conferred autocratic powers on Mobutu, recognized the secession of Tshombe and given its full support to Kasa-Vubu after the latter had capitulated to their evil designs. Neocolonialism and imperialism have again planted the boot on the Congo. At this moment, the Congo is the victim of intervention. The self-determination, independence, sovereignty, unity, security and peace of Africa are in danger; and international peace and security is also in danger. The arrest, derision and abuse of Lumumba by Mobutu's Praetorian guard and his probable execution at the bidding of neocolonialism and imperialism constitute a flagrant attack on the right of peoples and a portent of tragic times to come. The life of Lumumba, the rightful Prime Minister of the Congo and the indomitable leader of the Congolese people, hangs by a thread and the responsibility for saving it rests upon the United Nations. The Revolutionary Government of Cuba has given me express instructions to press for rapid, energetic and effective action before it is too late.

103. Some representatives have deplored the scant attention that has been paid in this debate to the vestiges and methods of colonialism in Latin America; but I have been surprised to see that in their indictments the majority have merely asked for the abolition of the European colonies and have omitted mention of the colonial dependencies of the United States and its colonialist policy in our hemisphere. They have also forgotten the Panama Canal, the Guantánamo Naval Base and the Swan Islands. I should like to give this subject the urgent attention it deserves.

Mr. Boland (Ireland) resumed the Chair.

104. The PRESIDENT: I am sorry to interrupt the Foreign Minister of Cuba, but a point of order has been raised from the floor. I call upon the representative of Honduras, on a point of order.

105. Mr. MILLA BERMUDEZ (Honduras) (translated from Spanish): I protest at the implication that the Islas del Cisne, or Swan Islands, are a United States colony. The fact of the matter is that these islands are Honduran territory. They have been illegally and arbitrarily occupied by the United States, but I will never tolerate their being described as a United States colony.

106. The PRESIDENT: I would ask Members of the Assembly, when they ask for the floor on a point of order, to do so only when the point they have to raise is one of order. Other points may be dealt with by way of the right of reply; but the right to intervene on a point of order exists only where there is a point of order involved.

107. I ask the Foreign Minister of Cuba to be good enough to resume.

108. Mr. ROA (Cuba) (translated from Spanish): I should like to point out to the representative of Honduras that I fully share his point of view. As far as we are concerned, the Swan Islands belong to Honduras, but they are occupied arbitrarily by the United States, which considers them as a colony, and that is a different matter.

109. To define the United States as an imperialist power is tautology indeed, since in this case what is defined constitutes the definition. The history of the United States is, for the most part, the history of its territorial expansion at the expense of Spain and Latin America and of its exploitation of the natural resources of peoples living between the Rio Grande and Patagonia. This ambitious design of expansion and supremacy was conceived in the very earliest days of the independence of the thirteen colonies. Jefferson, Madison and John Quincy Adams were its first prophets and exponents. From Adams came the theory of the ripe fruit—according to the law of political gravity, Cuba must inevitably fall into the lap of the Union; and likewise from Adams, who imitated the Englishman Canning while thwarting his cunning, came the Monroe doctrine, which may be summed up in the motto: "Rest of the world, hands off America; free hand for the United States." This unilateral doctrine, ostensibly directed against hypothetical reconquests by the Holy Alliance, and in fact applied to prevent Cuba from liberating itself from Spain if it was not acquired or annexed by the United States, converted the whole of Latin America, without its consent and to the detriment of its unity, development and emancipation, into a sphere of North American influence, thanks to the use, as a political weapon with an obvious purpose, of dollar diplomacy, hemispheric isolation, and international intimidation. Under the protection of this colonialist doctrine and its imperialist corollaries the Government of the United States, with the close co-operation of Latin-American dictators and oligarchies, opened up the way for its merchants, bankers and corporations in their economic exploitation of our under-developed, unarmed and disunited peoples.

110. Among these corollaries may be mentioned in connexion with Cuba the Platt Amendment, the Treaty defining the relations between the United States and Cuba, the compulsory lease of the Guantánamo Naval Base, treaties of reciprocal aid, the sugar agreement, public service monopolies and mining concessions; and in connexion with Latin America the occupation of Puerto Rico, the control of the Panama Canal zone and the exploitation of natural resources, the control of markets, leonine loans and investments of the colonial type, throughout Latin America.

111. So far as Cuba is concerned, Prime Minister Fidel Castro made a very acute and shrewd analysis of the devastating consequences of the political domination and economic exploitation of the country by the United States up to the time of the triumph of our Revolu-

tion, and there is nothing to add. I do propose, however, to make a few comments on the Guantánamo Naval Base. It is true that the territory on which the Base is situated was leased to the United States for the incredible sum of two thousand dollars a year, under article VIII of the Platt Amendment, the Treaty of Relations and the agreements signed in 1903. It is equally true, however, that no civil contract or international treaty is complete unless the parties thereto negotiate on an equal footing and are allowed free expression of their wishes. The Platt Amendment was a law approved by the United States Congress and imposed on the Cuban Constituent Convention in a territory under military occupation. The lease first granted under article VIII of that Amendment is therefore null and void under international law. The Naval Base, the outcome of the most outrageous chicanery, undermines the territorial integrity of the Cuban State and constitutes a threat to the security of the island, placing it at the mercy of the warlike adventures and disputes of the United States. Furthermore, it is today a focus of conspiracy, provocation and subversion against the Government and people of Cuba.

112. It should not surprise us that the United States Government considers as its own property a territory which it usurped fraudulently and which therefore does not belong to it. Imperialist countries think that wherever they set foot the soil belongs to them. They believe, too, that they can utilize the air space of other nations as though it were their own preserve without exposing the inhabitants of their own country to the danger and destruction that might result from the explosion of their erratic missiles over the territory of others, as has just happened in the eastern region of Cuba. Nor is it surprising that President Eisenhower finally threw off the mask before world public opinion, and from the "bag of stinging adders" kept by the United States Government to combat democracy, anti-colonialism and socialism produced \$1 million to subsidize the subversive activities of Cuban war criminals and counter-revolutionaries, in defiance and disregard of the United Nations Charter and of international juridical order in the Americas.

113. The Revolutionary Government of Cuba solemnly repeats to the United Nations General Assembly that it has not intended and does not intend to reclaim by force that part of its national territory occupied by the Guantánamo Naval Base. It also repeats, however, with equal solemnity that it intends to ask for the return of the Base, when it deems the time appropriate, under the rules of international law. Consequently and for the time being it considers that claim to be covered by the declaration proposed by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [A/4502] and by the draft resolution submitted by a number of African-Asian countries (A/L.323 and Add.1-5).

114. For four centuries Puerto Rico was under the Spanish yoke. For more than half a century it has been under United States domination. Puerto Rico, the smallest island of the Greater Antilles, a stable country with a cultural tradition, a history, a seasoned personality and a national consciousness all its own, has not yet been able to take its place among the American States. Endowed with all the attributes of a nation, the people whom José Martí helped to gain their freedom together with ours are the only American people of Spanish origin who, in spite of their unshakable will for independence, have never been free. That is there

drama, a drama shared by all nations of our America and particularly by those who live in the area of the Antilles. The catastrophic fall of José Martí and the intervention of the United States in the Spanish-Cuban War, when the liberators of my country were already at the gates of the capital of the colony and the Spanish army was practically routed, changed the destiny of Cuba and Puerto Rico. On 25 July 1898 the vanguard of the occupation army landed at Guánica. General Nelson A. Miles, Commander-in-Chief of the expeditionary forces, declared emphatically that the people of the United States had come to Puerto Rico in the name of humanity and justice, bearing the banner of freedom and inspired by a noble purpose. And the joint resolution of the United States Congress proclaimed that the people of Cuba were and had the right to be free and independent. In spite of that emphatic statement and the solemn undertaking of the joint resolution, Cuba was taken over temporarily and the Platt Amendment was imposed. And Puerto Rico was handed over as the spoils of war to the United States Government and subjected to an absolutist régime which was to convert it into a military outpost and an area of dispute.

115. The mask of the "civilizing mission" was of course intended to cover up the real aim of nascent United States imperialism. The Puerto Ricans, as in earlier times the Indians, the Chinese, the Egyptians, the Arabs, the Sudanese, the Nigerians, the Ghanaians, the Burmese, the Ceylonese, the Indonesians, the Guineans and the Congolese, were not yet ready for self-government and the exercise of their sovereignty. They needed a prolonged paternalistic education, to forget their past, to deny their culture, to debase their language and to accept joyfully as a promise of future bliss, the self-righteous trusteeship of their generous redeemers. Beveridge said as much when he stated that the United States war against Spain was the great purpose of God manifested in the instincts of the Anglo-Saxon race; its immediate phase represented personal gain, but the final end was the christianization of humanity. It had to be so, since they were dealing with a "racially inferior" people, of different culture, providing cheap labour and able to produce sugar plentifully at low cost. To be a colony of plantations and the black market of imperialism was the manifest destiny of Puerto Rico. It became apparent that the Puerto Rican people had simply changed masters; and the new master was still more hateful than the old because he brought enslavement in the name of freedom. As was only natural, from bewilderment they passed abruptly to perplexity, from perplexity to confusion, from confusion to scepticism, from scepticism to desperation, from desperation to rebellion and then from rebellion to the organization of the independence movement already consecrated with the blood of heroes and martyrs.

116. Seventy-two years after the United States Government undertook, in article IX of the Peace Treaty between Spain and the United States, signed in Paris on 10 December 1898, to settle the problem of its sovereignty, Puerto Rico, a freely associated State on paper, is still a dependent territory, placed outside the jurisdiction of the United Nations by a clever stratagem. In 1953 the United States Government sent a note [A/AC.35/L.121] to the Secretary-General informing him that from that date no further information on the dependent territory of Puerto Rico would be transmitted since it had ceased to be a dependent territory by virtue of provisions in the constitution of the Com-

monwealth of Puerto Rico approved by the United States Congress. When the matter was brought before it the Fourth Committee decided by 22 votes to 18, with 19 abstentions to refer it to the General Assembly.^{5/} When the item was before the General Assembly the United States representative made an official declaration^{6/} guaranteeing that if at any time the Legislative Assembly of Puerto Rico adopted a resolution in favour of independence the Executive would immediately thereafter recommend to Congress that such independence be granted. The General Assembly was favourably impressed by that declaration and agreed [resolution 748 (VIII)] to relieve the United States of the obligation to submit annual information in accordance with Article 73 e of the Charter. The undertaking was violated, in connivance with the United States Government, by the Legislative Assembly of Puerto Rico and, against the sovereign will of its people, the smallest of the Great Antilles is today a dependent territory.

117. Like every colonial nation, the people of Puerto Rico have no power to speak for themselves in international bodies. Those who speak officially on their behalf do not and cannot represent them. The Cuban delegation, in renewal of the pact of José Martí, interprets the voice and spirit of Puerto Rico and requests the General Assembly in its name and on its behalf to uphold the just claim and right of Puerto Rico to be a constituent nation by granting it absolute self-determination, independence and sovereignty.

118. At this critical juncture in the history of the United Nations Cuba reaffirms emphatically its anti-colonialist position. My delegation will vote without reservations in favour of the memorable declaration submitted by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and will carefully study the draft resolution sponsored by a number of African-Asian countries, reserving its right to make at the appropriate time the serious comments which it deserves.

119. Interpreting the feeling of peoples and countries which desire but have not yet been able to secure freedom, and especially the spirit of the intrepid, selfless and invincible warriors of Algeria, brothers in courage and ideals of the Cuban guerrillas of the Sierra Maestra, my delegation proposes that we do not abandon this debate until we have broken the last links in the chain of colonialism.

120. Mr. JAWAD (Iraq): This is indeed a historic and momentous occasion. At long last, the General Assembly has been given the opportunity to consider and to pronounce its opinion clearly and unequivocally on the most important issue of our time: that of freedom from colonial rule and domination. The present debate on colonialism is, therefore, one of the most historic and far-reaching ever held by this General Assembly or any other international body. We are most grateful, therefore, for the initiative of the Soviet Union in bringing this urgent and important problem to the attention of the United Nations at a moment when the future of civilization is in danger and when colonialism still keeps in bondage many millions of people all over the world. The draft declaration presented by the Soviet Union [A/4502] represents a true appraisal of world feeling towards colonialism and its adoption would

^{5/} Ibid., eighth session, Fourth Committee, 355th meeting.

^{6/} Ibid., plenary meetings; 459th meeting.

provide the world with a basis for positive action in dealing with the problem.

121. The fight against colonialism has become one of the most decisive factors shaping the present age. The peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, after centuries of alien domination, have reached a highly advanced stage in their heroic struggle against foreign rule and exploitation. Motivated by their strong desire to live freely, they have followed the example of many peoples in America, and in Europe itself who, during the last two centuries, were able to throw off the shackles of foreign domination. The movements of national liberation have spread all over Asia, Africa and the Middle East, and the struggle against imperialism in its various forms has become a major factor in the development of these countries and the establishment of their national and international status.

122. The struggle for freedom is as old as civilization itself; in fact, it has always been the propelling force for the progress and development of human society. Ever since human society was organized, man has been endeavouring to achieve higher levels of liberty and justice in order to free himself from the despotism of his fellow men and gain control over social and natural forces.

123. Man has experienced many types of despotism, but one of the worst and most shameful was that produced under the colonial system in its modern form, involving the alien subjugation and oppression of nations, the exploitation of their human and material resources for the benefit of others, and the denial of their right to lead a free and decent life.

124. With the extension of European domination over large areas of Asia and Africa, another evil was added to the many evils of colonialism: the evil of racial discrimination which is still practised on a large scale toward some of the people of Africa. It is hardly necessary to cite in detail the evils of the colonial system and the immeasurable suffering and hardship it has inflicted upon the people who have fallen under its domination. Neither is it necessary to explain the way in which the colonial system has restricted the development of the people colonized. These evils are well known, although they are too many to enumerate. I must mention, however, some of the examples that we in the Arab world have experienced.

125. I do not think that I exaggerate when I say that few nations in the world have suffered as much as the Arab nation under colonial rule. Our first experience of European imperialism in modern times was the French conquest of Algeria in 1830. This was followed by the French occupation of Tunisia in 1881, the British occupation of Egypt in 1882 and the Sudan in 1898; the Italian conquest of Libya in 1911 and the French occupation of Morocco in 1912. Then came the turn of Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, Jordan and Iraq, which fell under French and British rule during and after the First World War. If we add the gradual extension of British influence and rule in large parts of Southern and South-Eastern Arabia, we will have the complete colonial picture in the Arab world. With a few exceptions, almost the entire Arab homeland was thus occupied by foreign invaders during the nineteenth and the early part of the twentieth century. This imposed upon our people the duty to wage a relentless struggle to achieve their freedom and independence. It took Egypt more than seventy years to liberate itself

from British occupation, only to be subjected shortly thereafter to invasion and war by certain colonial Powers in an effort to reimpose once again their colonial domination. Libya's struggle against the Italian invaders took over thirty years, marked by recurrent rebellions and severe repressions. Only recently Morocco and Tunisia were able to achieve their freedom and independence, at the cost of considerable suffering and sacrifice.

126. In our area of the Middle East, foreign European rule was perpetuated for a long time under the guise of the Mandates System, imposed on unwilling peoples by the colonial Powers after their countries had been conquered during the First World War. The people of Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Palestine and Jordan never accepted the Mandates and waged a relentless struggle against this new form of colonialism. In Iraq, the Mandate which was officially terminated in 1932 was replaced by a new relationship which retained for the former Mandatory Power great influence in the affairs of the country. It took another twenty-six years and our great July Revolution of 1958 for the people of Iraq to rid the country finally of the last vestiges of foreign domination and influence.

127. Our experience of the Mandate—bitter as it was—cannot be compared with the tragedy which befell the people of Palestine. They were the victims of the worst type of colonialism, a type which has no parallel in the annals of modern history. The ostensible objective of the Mandate was to help the peoples liberated from the rule of the vanquished Powers after the First World War, to stand by themselves. Theoretically, the principle underlying the whole Mandates System was that the interests and well-being of the people themselves was a sacred trust of the world community. How was this sacred trust carried out in the case of the people of Palestine? The interests of the Arabs, who constituted over 90 per cent of the population of the country at the beginning of the Mandate in 1920, were subordinated to the interests of the Mandatory Power and, under its protection, to the Zionist immigrant invaders. In no other colony or Mandated Territory were the interests of a whole nation so systematically ignored and disregarded. Nowhere were the legitimate aspirations of a whole people so ruthlessly suppressed and their basic rights so flagrantly violated. The sacred trust became a nightmare of treachery, oppression and deceit. A whole country was taken away from its people and given to the foreigners with the encouragement and connivance of the Mandatory Power. When Great Britain finally gave up her Mandate and relinquished her sacred trust, she left behind her in Palestine the shambles of a once proud nation, now destitute refugees living on the charity of the world community.

128. If we survey the Arab world today, we see that, besides Palestine, there are still areas where imperialism is waging a stubborn fight to stem the tide of national liberation. France has, for the last six years, been waging a war of murder and devastation against the Algerian people in order to keep them in bondage and slavery, and to prevent them from joining the community of free and independent nations. In this way, France is trying to deny other nations the rights and liberties which every Frenchman enjoys. We are confident that France is trying in vain, for the bitter and heroic struggle of the Algerian people will ultimately triumph. In Oman and Southern Arabia, also, the

struggle against foreign rule and domination continues unabated. While this General Assembly is expressing itself most forcefully against the colonial system and in support of a people's right to live in freedom and peace, the armed forces of Great Britain are carrying out repressive operations in Oman, Southern Arabia and the colony of Aden.

129. It can be seen from what I have just said that the Arab people have known colonialism in its worst forms and manifestations. They have experienced at first hand its oppression and treachery and have suffered from it physically, materially and spiritually as few others have. This is one of the reasons why we have such a deep sympathy and understanding for the struggle of other nations for freedom and independence and will continue to support the aspirations of the peoples of the remaining colonies in Africa and elsewhere.

130. Our experience of colonialism has been extensive. We have seen economic exploitation and the plundering of our wealth and resources by the colonialists. We have had the bitter experience of the suppression of our liberties by force and we have known the methods by which a nation can be kept at a low level of cultural and political development. These facts do not perhaps require great emphasis, but one thing really should be recalled here, that is the use of colonial people in the process of suppressing the movement towards liberation of other people under colonial rule. The sad story of the Indian soldiers who fell in the valleys of Mesopotamia during the First World War, or the Moroccans who lost their lives on European battlefields, or the other millions of colonial peoples who were driven to fight neither under their own banner nor for their own national cause but to defend the colonialists' interests and to suppress the rights and liberties of oppressed peoples will ever figure in the tragic annals of history. This shameful employment of the colonial peoples as cannon-fodder should remind us of the value set by the colonialists on the human lives of those whom they dominated.

131. Because of our tragic experience of colonialism, and in view of our belief in the right of all nations to live freely and in peace, we have taken a strong stand on all colonial questions in the United Nations. In the Fourth Committee, where these questions have been discussed, Iraq has spared no effort to serve the cause of freedom in Africa and elsewhere. We have tried and succeeded in breathing life into the Declaration regarding Non-Self-Governing Territories contained in Chapter XI of the Charter. Through our collective efforts we have been able to make the United Nations play a significant and beneficent role in the progress of a number of dependent Territories towards freedom and independence, and thus assisted in bringing to fruition one of the most important principles of the Charter.

132. As to the draft declaration [A/L.323 and Add.1-5] which my delegation has the honour to co-sponsor, together with a number of Asian and African States, we present it to the Assembly in the hope that it will become a universal declaration like the one on human rights—a landmark and a great milestone in the work of this Organization. This is a charter of freedom for the dependent and oppressed peoples of the world submitted by countries many of which have emerged from colonialism in the very recent past.

133. In this draft declaration we recall some of the basic principles and ideals of the Charter and we emphasize the dangers to international peace and security resulting from conflicts arising out of the denial of freedom to dependent peoples. The declaration proclaims certain facts and principles which are self-evident—that colonialism prevents the development of international economic co-operation and impedes the social, cultural and economic development of dependent peoples; that alien subjugation and exploitation constitute a denial of fundamental human rights and are contrary to the Charter of the United Nations, and that all peoples have the right to self-determination. The declaration categorically rejects the arguments that the colonialists have consistently advanced to justify the perpetuation of their domination over dependent countries, one argument being that the peoples of the colonies are not prepared to rule themselves, that they lack political maturity, and that economically, socially and educationally they are not sufficiently developed to be fully independent. The fallacy of this argument is evident and has been discredited even by some of the colonial Powers themselves, which today admit that political independence and emancipation should not be delayed on account of the inadequacy of political, economic and social preparedness. The world has come to recognize, too, that freedom and independence provide a very powerful stimulus for accelerating the pace of advance in all fields of human activity. It is hardly necessary to cite the examples of so many countries, including my own, which have been able to advance at a much more rapid pace after achieving their full liberation from foreign rule.

134. One of the most important articles in this declaration is the one which deals with the need for stopping all armed action and repressive measures directed against dependent peoples struggling to achieve their just aspirations for freedom and dignity. Examples of such armed action and aggression are too well known to make it necessary for me to elaborate on this theme; but it is essential that nations should not be compelled to pay the heavy price of partitioning their own homeland in order to achieve independence. We have already seen many examples of this and it is a danger which the United Nations must always guard against. It is therefore imperative that the declaration should contain a paragraph condemning the partial or total disruption of the national unity and territorial integrity of countries.

135. Paragraph 5 of the draft declaration is of special significance. It asks that immediate steps be taken in all territories which have not yet obtained their independence to arrange the unconditional transfer of all powers to the peoples of those territories in accordance with their freely expressed will and desire. This is a call to all those Powers that presently administer dependent territories to take immediate action with a view to enabling the peoples of those territories to achieve their independence without delay.

136. By adopting this declaration unanimously, the General Assembly would be fulfilling one of the greatest purposes of the Charter and would cause a fundamental change in the present dangerous trends of development in the power relations between States and in the balance of risks which have so far dominated human relationships. The final liquidation of the colonial system is bound to usher in a new era in the history of human society, an era in which relationships between nations

will evolve according to principles of justice and equity, aiming at the elimination of violence and the use of force. Above all, it will reduce international tension and pave the way for a better understanding between the advanced and the under-developed countries.

137. It is the highest duty of the United Nations to assist in the emergence of this new community of nations by helping forward the emancipation of those nations which were—and still are—under colonial rule, thus responding to the exigencies of the present era in history. In the words of Mr. Khrushchev:

"Ours is an era of swift renewal of society; an era in which more progressive and equitable ways of life are being affirmed; an era in which man is soaring upwards to unprecedented mastery over forces of nature. The time has come for the complete and final liberation of peoples languishing in colonial bondage." [A/4502]

The United Nations cannot remain indifferent to the way certain colonial Powers are trampling on the rights of peoples and keeping them in subjugation by the most brutal methods. It cannot close its eyes to the way in which these colonial Powers are plundering the wealth of other nations, thus keeping them in great poverty and backwardness. The immediate elimination of colonialism will no doubt be in the interests of all nations. Recent experience has shown most clearly how much emancipated nations are able to contribute to world progress and prosperity. The liberation of the colonial countries has created many new conditions favouring their normal economic, political and cultural development and contributed to an appreciable rise in the standard of living everywhere.

138. Only free people can join in building up the new world order envisaged in the United Nations Charter, and the colonial system is a denial of freedom and therefore contrary to the principles of that Charter and to the spirit and rising forces of our modern age.

139. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Panama who wishes to exercise his right of reply.

140. Mr. ILLUECA (Panama) (translated from Spanish): A few moments ago the Foreign Minister of Cuba made a reference to the Panama Canal Zone which my delegation cannot allow to go unanswered.

141. The Panama Canal Zone, a small strip of land some ten miles wide and barely fifty miles long, is an integral part of the territory of the Republic of Panama, which exercises its sovereignty and has sovereign rights over that territory. Those rights have been recognized by the United States Government, by the President of the United States, and the flag of Panama flies over the Canal Zone.

142. I deeply deplore the fact that the Foreign Minister of Cuba should have made a reference of this kind at a time when a representative of the Republic of Panama was present in this Assembly. Just as the Cuban Foreign Minister affirmed here that his country is free and is not under the trusteeship of the United States or of the Soviet Union, so the Republic of Panama is also a free, honourable and sovereign State with its representative in the world Organization, and the Panamanian people does not wish any more than his to be under the trusteeship of any Power great or small, and obviously not under the trusteeship of Cuba either.

143. I would therefore beg the Foreign Minister of Cuba, the next time he speaks on any matter of an international nature in this Assembly, to be good enough to respect the legitimate rights of other representatives constituting this august body.

144. My delegation reserves the right to speak again on this matter if circumstances so require.

The meeting rose at 6.15 p.m.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

FIFTEENTH SESSION

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938th PLENARY MEETING

Tuesday, 6 December 1960,
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President: Mr. Frederick H. BOLAND (Ireland).

AGENDA ITEM 87

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

*Mr. Illueca (Panama), Vice-President, took the
Chair.*

1. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): Continuing the debate on the agenda item, I give the floor to the representative of the United States of America in exercise of his right of reply.

2. Mr. PAYNE (United States of America): It is not surprising to us that in his statement the representative of Cuba saw fit to refer to the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, and I cannot really say that we are disappointed—because the remarks of the representative of Cuba make it possible for us to talk on a subject which is a considerable source of pride to the United States. I must say, however, that references to Puerto Rico by the representative of Cuba, while not intended to make our proceedings more orderly, may in fact result in a positive contribution to our discussions, positive because facts—and I repeat, facts—will be brought to light.

3. Since Puerto Rico was last mentioned in our general debate—that was in September—an election has been held in Puerto Rico, and the results of that election, to which Mr. Wadsworth referred in his statement this afternoon [937th meeting], speak more eloquently than I could hope to do. With these results in mind, one could wonder for what purpose this subject was raised in this debate. Surely it must strike many here as ironic that a Commonwealth where true democracy exists should be attacked by the Foreign Minister of a country whose people have not been allowed freely to express their wishes through democratic processes.

4. By its resolution 748 (VIII) of 27 November 1953 the General Assembly recognized that the people of Puerto Rico expressed their will in a free and democratic way, that they effectively exercised their right to self-determination, and that Puerto Rico clearly was an autonomous political entity. Operative paragraph 9 of this resolution had this to say:

"Expresses its assurance that, in accordance with the spirit of the present resolution, the ideals embodied in the Charter of the United Nations, the traditions of the people of the United States of America

and the political advancement attained by the people of Puerto Rico, due regard will be paid to the will of both the Puerto Rican and American peoples in the conduct of their relations under their present legal statute, and also in the eventuality that either of the parties to the mutually agreed association may desire any change in the terms of this association".

5. The people of Puerto Rico and the people of the United States have lived up in every way to the expectations of the United Nations, a fact which is a source of pride to all Americans.

6. If any of you assembled here have any doubts concerning the present status of Puerto Rico, I would suggest that you read the full text of the message from the Honourable Luis Muñoz Marín, Governor of the Commonwealth, which was circulated as a United Nations document. I should like to quote a part of it [A/4519]:

"The people of Puerto Rico strongly adhere to the democratic way of life, based on the respect of minority rights, the protection and furtherance of individual freedoms, and the effective exercise of the right to vote in free, unhindered elections. There can be no genuine self-determination unless these conditions are met.

"Puerto Rico has truly and effectively met them and it has freely chosen its present relationship with the United States. The people of Puerto Rico are a self-governing people freely associated to the United States of America on the basis of mutual consent and respect. The policies regarding the cultural and economic development of Puerto Rico are in the hands of the people of Puerto Rico themselves for them to determine according to their best interests.

"The United Nations General Assembly, by resolution of November 1953, has solemnly recognized that the people of Puerto Rico effectively exercised their right to self-determination in establishing the Commonwealth as an autonomous political entity on a mutually agreed association with the United States. In further regard to the principle of self-determination, the Commonwealth Legislative Assembly has approved this very year a law authorizing another vote on Puerto Rico's status whenever 10 per cent of the electors request it".

7. That is what the Governor had to say. And what of his opposition? Only today, Mr. Wadsworth received this telegram:

"As gubernatorial candidate of the Statehood Republican Party of Puerto Rico advocating statehood for this island, which polled more than 250,000 or 32.4 per cent votes cast election last November which, when added to 58 per cent votes polled by the party in power, which also advocated permanent

union between Puerto Rico and the United States, with common American citizenship representing more than 90 per cent our electorate, we consider it improper for small group of Independentist leaders whose party polled only 24,000 votes or less than 3 per cent of electorate, to go before United Nations to misrepresent the situation in Puerto Rico, which is a community of American citizens by its own free will. This is a reproachable attempt to interfere with the process of self-determination which has been freely exercised by the community of American citizens of Puerto Rico.

(Signed) Luis A. Ferre

8. If, after hearing these communications, any representative in the Assembly still has doubts about the wishes of the Puerto Rican people, I recommend that he go there to see for himself. He will be greeted with the traditional warmth and innate courtesy of the Puerto Rican people—American citizens all—and he will find Puerto Rico one of the most delightful islands on this globe, a place particularly well suited for relaxation after this rather arduous session of the Assembly is over.

9. Mr. PARISIS (Belgium) (translated from French): Belgium brought the colonial régime to an end of its own accord. The independence proclaimed at Leopoldville on 3 June 1960 was not the outcome of age-long struggle or the end of a régime of oppression. The transfer of power was complete and unreserved; there has never been any question of going back on it. The Belgians have no other colonies.

10. At the present time Belgium still exercises trusteeship over Ruanda-Urundi. It does so in virtue of a Trusteeship Agreement which succeeded a League of Nations mandate. Belgium, through its Government, stated on 9 September 1960 the wish that the trusteeship regime should end in the first six months of 1962. This was confirmed by the representative of Belgium in the Fourth Committee on 25 November 1960.^{1/}

11. With a little more discernment, a little more concern for truth, we shall have a clearer insight into the problems that confront us. I need only recall the wise words uttered by President Fulbert Youlou on 18 November:

"We know what colonialism, like any other human activity, has sometimes imposed on us in the way of humiliations and injustices, but we do not wish to deny the extent to which it has also enriched us, both materially and spiritually." [917th plenary meeting, para. 8.]

12. On the other hand, I am bound to note that the Soviet statement [A/4502] contains errors of the first magnitude. I have already disposed of the slanderous allegation that the population of the Congo was decimated in fifty years. I have shown that, on the contrary, the rate of increase of the Congolese people has quadrupled during the past twenty years. This same document even contains the audacious statement that when the independence of the Republic of the Congo was proclaimed "only a few of its inhabitants could read and write". Is it not realized, then, that in July 1960 there was a complete educational system, comprising teacher training, technical, secondary and pri-

mary schools, attended by nearly 2 million children, or one-sixth of the total population of the Congo? This figure represented 57 per cent of the school-age population. Fifty-seven per cent! This figure must be compared with that for African countries which have been independent for a long time, and where school attendance varies between 5 and 25 per cent of the school-age population. Mr. Khrushchev does not mention the existence of two Congolese universities, which were established, respectively, in 1954 at Leopoldville, and at Elisabethville in 1956, and where racial discrimination is unknown.

13. Perhaps he does not know that the only nuclear reactor in Africa is in operation at the University of Lovanium, twenty kilometres from Leopoldville.

14. In the same document Mr. Khrushchev says of Africa that "... its main agricultural implements, just as they were thousands of years ago, are the mattock, the wooden plough and the sharpened stake; its primitive system of agriculture is causing soil exhaustion and erosion". Unfortunately he pulled out the wrong index card; the description he gives us applies to the situation fifty-two years ago, when the Belgian State set to work on African soil. Since then the Belgians have laid an economic and social infrastructure which has entailed the investment of \$3,000 million over the past ten years. This represents a per capita investment rate of \$148 a year, whereas in other independent African and Asian countries the rate of such investment does not exceed \$30 a year.

15. Again, need I remind the Assembly of the report of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories, which refers to the ten-year development plan^{2/} that has been carried out at a cost of 48,000 million francs—or about \$1,000 million—entirely by the Belgians in the Congo? If we consider the countries of Africa that are in process of industrialization, we read in the same report that "... the Belgian Congo, with 152,758 employed in 1956, representing 4.86 per cent of the total economically active population, was well in the lead among African territories ..."^{3/}

16. Belgium has just brought about the accession of the Republic of the Congo to independence. Contrary to what has been said, that accession was prepared. Elections took place and were followed by the setting up of local institutions in 1957 and 1959. A parliamentary working group travelled all over the Congo in 1958. Two round-table conferences, one dealing with political questions and the other with economic and financial problems, were held at Brussels in January and May 1960 respectively. There Congolese leaders met with representatives of Belgium to work out terms for the accession to independence. The joint task was completed in 1960 by the holding of general elections. Such were the stages in setting up the institutions of the Republic of the Congo.

17. At the same time the Belgians made available to the new State, along with extensive aid, the services of its own qualified personnel: 10,000 teachers, magistrates and civil servants were placed under the exclusive authority of the Congolese Government.

18. It has been stated from this rostrum that Belgium showed liberalism in agreeing to proclaim the inde-

^{1/} Official Records of the General Assembly, fifteenth session, Fourth Committee, 1065th meeting.

^{2/} Ibid., Supplement No. 15 (A/4371), second part, para. 55.

^{3/} Ibid., para. 78.

pendence of the Congo; but it was added that Belgium had sabotaged that independence. Such an accusation is as absurd as it is unjust and groundless. Belgian policy is based essentially on the principle of respect for the sovereignty and independence of the Republic of the Congo, and on non-interference in its domestic affairs. The Belgians consider that those affairs should be handled exclusively by the Congolese.

19. If we re-read our history we find that a great many countries represented here have been in the course of their history, by turns, colonized and colonizing. Belgium itself had known many a foreign domination before, in this century, it was invaded twice in twenty-five years, from 1914 to 1918 and from 1940 to 1945. The misdeeds of colonialism are, alas! to be seen everywhere—throughout the past, and in all parts of the world. We cannot but condemn them wherever they appear, not excepting the USSR. The representative of the Soviet Union may have maintained at the Assembly's 925th meeting that internal affairs were involved. But colonial questions are, in principle, internal in character because they relate to Territories under the sovereignty of a State. That does not prevent the Soviet Union from mounting a solid attack on the countries which have, or have had, colonies. In meeting the representative of the Soviet Union on his own ground, I am merely exercising my right of reply. There cannot be two sets of standards....

20. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): I would ask the representative of Belgium kindly to leave the rostrum in order that the representative of the Soviet Union may raise a point of order.

21. Mr. ROSHCHIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): Mr. President, we are here discussing the colonial question. This question is on the General Assembly's agenda and, accordingly, the references that the Belgian representative is making here to the Soviet Union and other countries and that have no bearing on this question, are not related in any way to the item we are discussing in this Assembly. I should be glad, therefore, if the President would call the representative of Belgium to order, since it is precisely the colonial question that we are considering.

22. The Belgian representative spoke here of the very great work that has been done in the Congo. We are ourselves witnessing just what is going on in the Congo today; it is just the situation which has now arisen in the Congolese Republic that the General Assembly is discussing, precisely through Belgium's fault. There is no direct connexion between the matter we are now discussing—colonialism—and the question touched upon here by the Belgian representative. I would accordingly ask the President to call the Belgian representative to order and to point out to him the need to adhere strictly to the questions we are now discussing.

23. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): The Chair wishes to be objective and, at the same time, to give all representatives ample opportunity to express the views of their Government. Nevertheless I should like to remind all representatives, as Mr. Boland has done on other occasions, that the General Assembly has decided to postpone its consideration of the question of the Congo. That being so, I would request all representatives, when speaking, to confine their remarks to the agenda item under discussion.

24. The representative of Belgium may again have the floor.

25. Mr. PARISIS (Belgium) (translated from French): In the course of these discussions, many attacks have been made on my country. We have never interrupted; we have exercised our right of reply when necessary, and we thought we could count on the President for protection.

26. I resume my statement where I left off. I regret that Mr. Roshchin found it necessary to interrupt me, for I was about to quote from a report of 12 January 1957 by Mr. Gorkin, Secretary of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, and I do not imagine that the representative of the Soviet Union will impugn this authority. The quotation reads as follows:

"The Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party took cognizance of certain facts that are in flagrant violation of the fundamental principles of Leninist policy regarding nationalities in the Soviet State. These violations took the form of the unwarranted eviction of whole peoples and the imposition of restrictions on them in their new place of residence. Thus at the end of 1943 and at the beginning of 1944 the Balkars, Chechens, Kalmuks and Karachais were sent from the northern Caucasus to areas in Kazakhstan and Central Asia ...".

27. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): I would request the representative of Belgium to be good enough to leave the rostrum to allow the representative of the Soviet Union to raise a point of order.

28. Mr. ROSHCHIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): I would like to point out to the President that in this instance he is not maintaining sufficient objectivity in the conduct of this plenary meeting.

29. The item under discussion is the colonial question. This is determined quite clearly by the agenda and the range of questions that we are considering. In order to distract the Assembly's attention from consideration of this item, the Belgian representative is trying to divert the Assembly into discussing matters that have no bearing on this item. If he were to attract closer attention by the General Assembly to colonial matters and, in particular, to the situation into which the Belgian administration has brought the Congo, that would, of course, be in the order of business and would perhaps be a contribution to our discussion of this item. Indeed, the situation in the colonies and, in particular perhaps, in the Belgian colonies is receiving great public attention throughout the world, in all countries. The colonial question has aroused great and profound interest in all continents of the globe. The discussion we have had here has shown that all delegations wish to speak on this urgent and important question of the day.

30. In order to diminish the tremendous effect that the discussion of this question is having in all circles throughout the world and on public opinion in all countries, the Belgian representative is now attempting to divert attention by referring to events which took place in various countries and which were due to certain historical circumstances, to the war, the extremely grievous war endured by all the peoples of the world, and particularly the peoples of the Soviet Union. In this way he seeks to divert attention from the matters which the General Assembly is now dis-

cussing and on which the attention of the whole world is focused, to matters which have no connexion whatsoever with our agenda.

31. I should be glad, if, in view of this circumstance, the President would call the Belgian representative to order, so that he should not take up any more of our time, since the matter is one of such extreme importance. There are many other questions we could discuss here in connexion with this circumstance. If there were need, we could now begin a detailed and thorough examination of the Belgian administration's activities in the Congo. But the situation in the Congo and the patently unlawful acts of the Belgian administration, the Belgian Government and the Belgian ruling circles in that country constitute a separate agenda item which we shall discuss at the meeting of the Security Council tomorrow morning and in the plenary General Assembly two days hence. I wish once again to draw the President's attention to the necessity of calling the Belgian representative to order.

32. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): I give the floor to the representative of Ceylon who has asked for it in order to raise a point of order.

33. Mr. PERERA (Ceylon): I am intervening to support the point of order raised by the representative of the Soviet Union. As a sponsor of the draft resolution.

34. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): I would ask the representative of Ceylon to bear in mind the fact that the point of order raised by the representative of the Soviet Union must be ruled upon by the President. Points of order are not open to debate. I would therefore ask him to allow the Chair to deal with the point of order raised by the representative of the Soviet Union. If the representative of Ceylon then desires to raise a new point of order I shall be glad to grant him the floor. I cannot, however, allow him to continue to speak now, since I have to rule on the point of order raised by the representative of the Soviet Union.

35. Mr. PERERA (Ceylon): I bow to your ruling, but I want to save you from making two rulings. It is on the same point. Maybe I can clarify it this way: as a sponsor of the draft resolution [A/L.323 and Add.1-6] on the ending of colonialism, I submit, Mr. President, that the representative of the Belgian Government has made submissions which are improper and irrelevant.

36. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): I wish to refer to the point of order raised by the representative of the Soviet Union.

37. I repeat that I wish to allow representatives who have the floor to state the position of their Government. In that connexion I invite representatives to exercise discretion, because I cannot stop a representative who is stating a position. The Chair wishes to point out that the representative of Belgium was quoting something and that the representative of the Soviet Union will have an opportunity in due course to exercise his right of reply. I repeat, however that the President cannot stop the representative of Belgium from speaking, since his rights are those guaranteed to every Member of this Assembly. I call upon the representative of Belgium to continue his statement.

38. Mr. PARISIS (Belgium) (translated from French): I have finished my quotation from the report of Mr. Gorkin, Secretary of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet. I have nothing to add to it and no comment to make on it; but I am amazed at Mr. Roshchin's touchiness, which is of a completely different order from our own patience.

39. Mr. Roshchin has said that colonialism has aroused the deepest interest on all continents. To go on from there, I shall observe with reference to the joint draft resolution, that the Belgian delegation cannot but declare itself in favour of the basic principle underlying that proposal. It is a principle which Belgium, for the reasons I have just stated, has recently applied to the full in the case of the Congo and whose implementation it is actively pursuing in the case of Ruanda-Urundi. However, my delegation is bound to note that the resolution contains several inaccuracies, including some of a legal nature.

40. Like the other delegations that have spoken here, we censure the misdeeds of colonialism and other forms of subjection. We believe that the essential co-operation among peoples must develop in an atmosphere of mutual respect and esteem; and whatever our detractors may say, the General Assembly can be sure that it was this honest conviction which led us to summon our Congolese brothers to independence.

41. Mr. LHEYET-GABOKA. (Congo [Brazzaville]) (translated from French): In addressing this Assembly, I cannot claim to produce any remedy, any support, or any palliative for the uneasiness left by the many statements which have been made here regarding the colonial system. Quite the contrary. The many speakers who have succeeded one another at this rostrum have already examined all the symptoms and diagnosed all the ills; one after another, they have put their finger on the open sore of colonialism in all its forms and in all its ambitions. Those speakers have laid bare the truth—a truth hot as heat itself, tasteless, bitter, and indigestible for those who joy in the conquest and submission of the weak; in colonies and their inexhaustible wealth; and in peoples deceived, perpetual children doomed to bondage.

42. My predecessors at this rostrum, then, have put their finger on the running sore of colonialism. Since we must burn colonialism to ashes; since we must corner it and face it with its own image; since we must lance the abscess in this Assembly; since we have the opportunity to speak freely and frankly, you gentlemen will not hold it against me if I, in my turn, clear a little ground on the path to freedom. That freedom is not a favour begged by long-subjected peoples from their alleged masters but an indefeasible, legitimate right; for all men are born free and equal, whatever their skin pigmentation, the level of their civilization, the size of their nation and the geographical position of their country.

43. No race here below, whether white, yellow or black, can claim a right of seniority over other races in order to impose its will on them. There are only good-natured people, who too often preen themselves on the enlightened nature of their civilization and pass on that account for the world's most intelligent; but intelligence does not follow the barometer. Birth in a cold country is not a title to everything there is, and birth in a hot country is not an atavism which debars one from everything, even from freedom.

44. Will you not agree with me that a bird shut up in a cage escapes, if it can, to fly in the air again? Will you not agree with me that a dog long pent in its kennel barks madly for release? If animals, with only instinct to guide them, can grasp and understand the need to be free and to live their own lives, how could man, the thinker, fail to share that imperative need?

45. Every child, in his youth, inexperience and lack of initiative, lives under the wing of his parents. When he grows up, he leaves his parents' home, goes out into the world and makes a home for himself far from those who reared him, because he feels free in his person and personality. Then should the colonized, ever submissive, have his freedom rationed by his colonizer? In the country of the blind, where the one-eyed man is king, does nothing begin and nothing end? Is colonialism to survive indefinitely in Africa, Asia and Oceania, to mention only three parts of the globe? Must slavery, imperialism, dogmatism and all their viruses continue to thrive in Africa, in Asia, and in Oceania? Must colonialism be upheld in order to avoid cold war, to disarm the nations and to pacify the whole world? I do not think so. Everything here below has a beginning and an end, and only the naïve expect to outlive their allotted span. Only the blind cannot see where the sun rises and where it sets.

46. Not long ago we were being poisoned with the sugared venom of colonization—colonization with its "Alice in Wonderland" marvels, its milkless breasts, and its keen-edged mandibles, which cut slowly but more surely than a lancet. Not long ago we watched what our masters did, and said not a word to them. Our masters took advantage of our silence to sate themselves on our natural wealth. They took advantage of it to plunder our villages, and in return—a fine return!—they taught us to go backwards instead of forwards and gave us tools, good or bad, without showing us how to use them.

47. But we have outgrown the stage of servitude, we are no longer credulous children who can be made to believe in Santa Claus forever. Those days are over, and colonialism has been outstripped at every point. Africa, Asia and Oceania are no longer an "open sesame" for men who, through their own rudeness, their own discourteous and humiliating ways, have bred embittered minds, peaceful revolutionaries who seek only the liberation of their country and people from the yoke of colonial occupation.

48. Yesterday we were told, uphill and down dale and in emphatic terms, about a wet-nurse by the name of colonization. Today that wet-nurse has been dressed up and is called "decolonization". It is a fine thing, this dressing-up, this neologism that is the outcome of several distressing and regrettable events. What did they mean yesterday by "colonizing"? What do they mean by "decolonizing" today? The answer to that question lies ready in the minds of yesterday's colonizers and today's decolonizers.

49. I have no wish to labour the point but it will be well to remind our princelings that colonizing, to them, meant "divide and rule"; it meant breaking up the conquered lands and sharing them out like game, so as to make fat profits from them at the expense of other men, who are yet their equals in the redness of their blood and the invisibility of their souls. Colonizing meant entrenching themselves in countries which did not belong to them, in order to corner their wealth

and to oppress their peoples, to the length of reducing them to their lowest terms—to utter non-existence.

50. Well, they have at last come round to the idea of decolonizing; and in my humble opinion as a Negro, and thus as one of yesterday's subject people, decolonizing means admitting their past errors, making confession after plundering and playing the master, after paralysing and immobilizing the evolution of the beasts of burden. Decolonizing means lifting off Africa, Asia and Oceania the heavy and massive carapace of colonialism. Decolonizing means restoring freedom to peoples who were born free but who, out of sheer presumption, were long condemned to ignorance and bondage. That is the part of greatness and sincerity.

51. At a time when the United Nations is taking up the question of colonialism we must be mindful of the existence, spread across the world, of colonized peoples, subjugated peoples, who are looking to us. These peoples, whether African or European, expect of the United Nations positive action to deliver them for all time from the yoke of colonialism, the system that disgraces the twentieth century, in which nuclear weapons seem a superhuman discovery. My meaning is that our century is the one in which mankind has reached perfection; also that the time has come when the colonizers must realize that our cries of protest are justified; for in this century, in which man has mastered science and rivals the Creator in inventiveness, freedom for the former colonies must not be the cause of bloodshed and mourning.

52. Convinced that decolonization will fling wide the gates to independence for the colonial countries and peoples, the delegation of the Republic of the Congo takes this opportunity to express once again its gratitude to France and to General de Gaulle, President of France, who was quick to realize that to keep the peoples subject to an outdated system in this century was contrary to the principle that every people should enjoy self-determination.

53. My delegation wishes also to congratulate all those African and Asian States which worked at Bandung in 1955 and denounced colonialism in all its forms. The Congolese people are grateful to all those who have helped and are helping to condemn the colonialist system. The Congolese people are proud that they are now free to join the ranks of the fighters for the freedom of all peoples. Not long ago my country was a French colony. Eminent speakers from this rostrum have vigorously and eloquently branded every aspect of colonialism. As an African, and as a Congolese, I am too well acquainted with the horrors of the colonized not to associate myself with all who, for love of freedom, are waging a bitter struggle to end the colonialist system once and for all.

54. The political developments which, happily, have lately been gathering speed, enabling many African States to attain independence, gave rise in 1960 to acts made more memorable by the fact that that year will be remembered as the year in which Africa's history started anew. It should be recognized that a great step has already been taken towards the freedom of the colonized countries and peoples; even more, however, it should be stressed that, for the future, decolonization must be effected without disguise and without hypocrisy. For we have also to wage a determined war on racial segregation and to bury it for all time.

55. There is a country—Cabinda—which knows no freedom. Though the sun is said to shine for everyone, the people of Cabinda still vegetate under colonialist rule. Its foreign occupiers seek to dazzle the world by representing it as part of a Portuguese province, whereas there is in reality a considerable margin between colonizers and colonized in that country. I do not wish to go into details, but merely to draw the attention of the United Nations to a situation which is certain to cost us more bloodshed and mourning in Africa. From 1946 to 1958, according to a provision of the French Constitution of 1946, we Congolese were French citizens; but this did not prevent France from giving us independence. What France has done other nations can do, especially those which claim to be Christian.

56. But if there are still peoples under the colonialist yoke in Africa, it should not be forgotten that there are countries elsewhere in the world which know no freedom either. Even in Europe, which prides itself on its civilization, we can count up the peoples who, at the present time, certainly envy the lot of the African States which have attained independence. We must not forget those countries whose cries are stifled and hence cannot reach us. What are their colonizers waiting for before decolonizing them?

57. I have no desire to set myself up as defence counsel for France in this Assembly. I know that that nation, like all other civilizing nations, committed serious mistakes in the countries which were under its colonial occupation. But allow me, in passing, to emphasize the greatness shown by France in knowing when to free its African colonies, after having brought them to an undeniable political maturity, after seeing them climb the successive rungs of the "indigénat" system, the "loi-cadre" that led to internal self-government, and finally independence.

58. France's nobility of heart is far from being equalled by other civilizing nations, which cling jealously to their colonies. France did not wait for pressure from outside before recognizing the right of its former colonies to the freedom it owed them. I do not want to put the cart before the horse by stating this as a fact, but the state of public opinion indicates to me that France will not delay much longer in decolonizing Algeria; for, speaking personally, I have complete confidence in its good faith and greatness, whatever people may say. France will not wait until the most disastrous possible moment like Portugal, which persists in ruling Cabinda by magic wand and keeping it under the yoke of its prejudices. France has not waited for the hour of doom as did Belgium which, through obstinacy and lust for permanent dominion, carried monsters on its shoulders and turned the Congo (Leopoldville) into a vast arena for brawls, massacres, fratricidal war and senseless violence.

59. Freedom is not a shoddy item to be bought, in the world's every market place, for the blood that has become current coin in our times. It is an inborn right; no one here below can claim to be freedom's master, to give it or take it away as he pleases. Down with colonialism! Down with dogmatism, down with the imperialists and capitalists who plundered Africa, my native land, that became a laughing-stock for other nations!

60. This brings me to the end, but I must state in conclusion that the Congo (Brazzaville) delegation will

join wholeheartedly in voting for the draft resolution before us [A/L.323 and Add.1-6] and keenly desires to see decolonization speeded up, so that all peoples may live in freedom and independence.

Mr. Liu (China), Vice-President, took the Chair.

61. Mr. N'GOUA (Gabon) (translated from French): My delegation, representing an independent State which was once a colonial territory, cannot remain silent on the important question of colonialism which we are now discussing. I shall be brief, firstly in order to avoid the repetition to which some speakers are prone, and secondly in order not to abuse the indulgence of the Assembly. But I do not wish to forego this opportunity of expressing my country's views.

62. In its latest report, which has been circulated to delegations, the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories noted that

".... the Administering Members, and others alike, seem agreed that the peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories are entitled in each case, and on a basis of complete equality, regardless of the differences of race, colour or creed, to complete independence, or, if they prefer, to some form of full self-government freely chosen by them, and that it will be for them to determine their future status."⁴

63. Here, clearly defined, is the basic principle upon which—I hope—everyone in this Assembly is agreed. In giving his approval to this principle, however, the representative of Gabon has no sensation of pushing an open door, for it became clear to him during the discussions in Committee that there were differences of opinion on various points, particularly as to the form in which that development should take place; differences which were sometimes on minor points but which, influenced by partisan feeling, often confused the discussion and obscured the main issue, just as it is sometimes impossible to see the wood for the trees.

64. That is why Gabon wishes to play its part in restoring calm by recalling a few elementary truths; these are worth repeating after so many statements which, although perhaps inspired by very lofty considerations of political principle, have in many cases been distorted by what I might call a certain demagoguery. The representative of Argentina rightly said in Committee, as many others had said before him, that one of the principal conditions for the peaceful evolution of Non-Self-Governing Territories towards independence was the existence of proper administrative and technical staffs capable of operating the complex services required by the modern structure of the State. In our view it is not sufficient to clamour for the immediate liberation of thousands of beings who are still, in one way or another, dependent; the right conditions must be created for that liberation. There may be a desire—and a most laudable one—to bring the date of independence or self-government forward somewhat; but the main consideration is to have ready for the take-over the new structures without which there can be no viable and durable independence. It is a fact that the colonial system is outmoded and doomed, but the problem is to prepare the peoples for their new responsibilities. That will not be accomplished by subversion, hatred and the unleashing of political passions.

⁴/ Ibid., para. 25.

65. I referred, in my short statement in Committee, to the example of the former Belgian Congo. The causes of the chaos which now reigns in that unhappy country could be discussed indefinitely. It pains me, as a brother African, to learn each day of fresh misfortunes afflicting that young nation. Each one may, according to his political lights, lay greater or lesser stress on the underlying causes of that unfortunate situation and throw the blame for the catastrophe on this or that State or political ideology; but the fact remains—and I do not think I am the only African to reason thus—that the main cause of this fiasco is the lack of preparation for, or rather the improvisation of, that independence. It is not my purpose here to expatiate on the errors which may have been committed by the responsible Power. Impartial observers recognize that Belgium made commendable efforts; but without wishing to overwhelm that country with reproaches we must admit that, intentionally or not, the colonial Power failed to prepare the Congo sufficiently for independence. Proof of this truth has unfortunately been supplied by the distressing events we have experienced. But that is not all. If we turn to the Second Progress Report of Mr. Dayal, Special Representative of the Secretary-General in the Congo, we read the following:

"There is clear evidence of the steady return, in recent weeks, of Belgians to the Congo, and within this framework, of increasing Belgian participation in political and administrative activities, whether as advisers, counsellors or executive officials." [A/4557, para. 39.]

Mr. Dayal goes on to say that there is at Brussels a recruiting agency for the Congo, the object of which seems to be to assist in re-establishing a civil service of Belgian nationality principally at the policy level. Here, then, is a striking case in point. An attempt was made to rush the fences—to climb the ladder too fast. The rungs gave way, and the climber was back where he started, if not further down.

66. These are the serious disadvantages of independence granted without transition, disadvantages which the Governments of some colonial Powers have endeavoured to avoid. Thus the majority of African States recently admitted here have attained independence quite smoothly and without jolts; and, although not everything is yet perfect in our countries, the conditions are set for steady progress. Our new States are firmly established, and our accession to independence is none the less genuine and irreversible for having come about gradually. By way of illustration I need only recall the stages through which Gabon has passed: from the colonial regime, known as the French Empire, to the institutions of the French Union; then to the more liberal "loi-cadre" which transformed what had been a colony into a territory already enjoying broad self-government, with its own Parliament and Government; and finally to the recent proclamation of the Gabon Republic and the ultimate accolade of our country's admission to this Organization.

67. It could thus be said that here was a perfectly successful decolonization. I do not think this can be seriously questioned on the legal or political side: our freedom and independence are real. On the other hand it could also be said, and rightly, that on the economic side inequality persists. We are aware of it. We know that in the near future we must aim at more satisfactory economic structures, including an ade-

quate industrial sector. We know that we should move away from the single-product type of economy, which is particularly vulnerable, and try to secure more equitable terms of trade so that our international dealings do not go against us. We know all that.

68. But we know also that our countries are under-developed, and that we are in great need of capital equipment. Furthermore, until national personnel can be trained, we badly need international technical assistance, whether bilateral or multilateral under the United Nations. As we listened to some representatives, however, we received the impression that these needs were sometimes overlooked, and that the provision of assistance to under-developed countries like ours was sometimes regarded as a manifestation of neo-colonialism in that it crystallized the inequality between the country assisting and the country assisted. I therefore wish to state, on my country's behalf, that economic aid or technical assistance of any kind, rendered with no thought of domination, that is to say on an equitable basis and in respect for our freedom and independence, cannot be dubbed neo-colonialism.

69. My country decided to associate itself with the submission of the draft resolution on decolonization [A/L.323 and Add.1-6], and that was a perfectly natural step to take. Gabon, proud of its independence and imbued with the principles of freedom, cannot but wish all peoples without exception, not only in Africa but on all continents, to enjoy the supreme benefits of freedom and independence.

70. I also felt it my duty, however—and I think the Assembly will share my feeling—to stress the need to avoid exposing this independence to the scourges that arise from improvisation. True, we mistrust those enemies of freedom who always tend to think it too soon to make the necessary changes. The trend to emancipation is irreversible. But we should not wish our brethren in Africa or elsewhere who are still living under foreign tutelage to be thrown without preparation or resources into the formidable tasks that confront young States. Such a policy of the worst way out would mean in practice that they would pass from foreign domination to the tyranny of anarchy, in which all freedoms and prospects of well-being perish together. The process of liberation, then, must be speeded up; but so must the installation of the personnel and machinery in whose absence the freedom granted would be merely nominal and would founder in chaos; for we well know that the confusion thus created would deprive the recently emancipated peoples of the benefits they are entitled to expect, and give free rein to the least acceptable influences.

Mr. Liu (China), Vice-President, took the Chair.

71. Mr. ILLUECA (Panama) (translated from Spanish): The delegation of Panama voted, both in the General Committee of the Assembly and in the plenary meeting, to place on the agenda item 87, concerning the declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. Our attitude reflects a political view which the Republic of Panama has constantly maintained, ever since the foundation of the United Nations—the view that all peoples should effectively enjoy the right of self-determination, respect for their integrity and independence and all fundamental human rights and freedoms, and that colonialism should be abolished by peaceful means. In this connexion, I need only recall that Panama was the

country which had the honour to submit to the San Francisco Conference the first draft universal declaration of human rights considered by the Organization.

72. An outstanding feature of the history of Latin America is the struggle for one of the fundamental ideals advocated by the Liberator, Simón Bolívar. This ideal was the safeguarding of the political independence and territorial integrity of American States, which entailed the condemnation of the so-called right of conquest. This question of safeguarding the territorial integrity and political independence of American States was dealt with in the Treaty of Perpetual Union, League of Perpetual Confederation, conceived at the Congress of Panama convened by Bolívar in 1826. That treaty laid the foundations of our present American regional system and anticipated this world Organization.

73. The views of the leaders of our region were expressed at the International Conferences of American States, which began towards the end of the last century. I shall quote a few examples. The resolution adopted on 18 April 1890 by the First Conference, held in Washington, declared that "the principle of conquest shall not, ... be recognized as admissible under American public law" and that "all cessions of territory ... shall be void if made under threats of war or in the presence of an armed force".

74. The Seventh International Conference of American States held at Montevideo in 1933, laid down a fundamental doctrine of American public law in article 11 of the Convention on the Rights and Duties of States. That article provides as follows:

"The contracting states definitely establish as the rule of their conduct the precise obligation not to recognize territorial acquisitions or special advantages which have been obtained by force whether this consists in the employment of arms, in threatening diplomatic representations, or in any other effective coercive measure. The territory of a state is inviolable and may not be the object of military occupation nor of other measures of force imposed by another state directly or indirectly or for any motive whatever even temporarily."

75. We also think the thought of Bolívar was accurately expressed in resolution XCVI of the Tenth Inter-American Conference [Caracas, 1-28 March 1954], which reaffirms the right to self-determination of peoples and declares that it is the will of the peoples of America that colonialism and the occupation of territories should be definitively ended.

76. It is against this background that my country comes to this rostrum to reaffirm its democratic faith and, through its representative, to declare that it intends to contribute, to the best of its ability and within the United Nations system, to the achievement of the aims of the Organization's Charter, in order that the countries and peoples still under colonial domination may obtain their independence. We believe sincerely that those countries and peoples could become a beneficial influence and could help to bring about the conditions of peace, harmony, goodwill and confidence, which the modern world needs if it is to move towards a creative peace that will put science to work for the progress, security and well-being of mankind in every part of the world.

77. In this endeavour we can look towards a more promising future, in which the threat of war and internal struggles will disappear and, in their place, we shall see a strengthening of the independence of States great and small which, exercising the principle of sovereign equality, are prepared to co-operate in a sound and well-directed international effort to solve the grave and distressing economic and social problems which afflict great masses of people in various parts of the world.

78. This debate, with all its vicissitudes and controversies, must serve constructive purposes. There is no denying that colonialism, as a system of political and economic domination, has lost its hold. The greatest contemporary historians go so far as to say that, in the not too distant future, nationalism, which is the latest stage but which now seems very deeply rooted, will also give way to a new system of world government, in which frontiers and political boundaries will disappear.

79. I do not intend to digress into historical or philosophical considerations and shall therefore confine myself to a few brief remarks on the item we are discussing. One cannot generalize on the subject of colonialism, a system which has influenced the history of many peoples. Impartiality requires us to consider each case separately. Some metropolitan Powers have evolved a wise policy, which, in the course of time, has led to a voluntary and harmonious association between former colonies and the metropolitan country. Their contribution to the international community cannot be ignored. There are other Powers, however, which in the course of history have used an utterly repugnant kind of colonialism as an instrument of repression, cruelty and exploitation, and have left no pleasant memories in the lives of colonial peoples. Yet cultural and religious forces have played a significant part in the restoration of harmonious relations between the independent peoples and their former oppressors.

80. It is fitting that we should recognize the immense value of the work done by the United Nations in furthering the political, economic, social and educational advancement of the inhabitants of the dependent subject territories and their gradual development towards independence. The important role which the United Nations Trusteeship System has played in this connexion, in spite of its limitations cannot be overestimated, as the results it has achieved demonstrate. A large number of independent States, which are now seated with honour and dignity in this Assembly, achieved their independence through the United Nations Trusteeship System.

81. We are therefore extremely surprised that the draft declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples [A/4502], submitted for the consideration of the Assembly by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, Mr. Khrushchev, states, *inter alia*, the following:

"The trusteeship system has not justified itself anywhere and should be buried together with the entire colonial system, which is an anachronism."

82. As far as the Trusteeship System is concerned, my delegation does not believe that this violent statement is justified either by the facts or by any arguments. For the last fifteen years the Soviet Union has been a permanent member of the Trusteeship Coun-

cil. It is therefore aware of the tasks successfully carried out by that body, not only with its participation but with its vote and its co-operation with the United States, the United Kingdom, France, China and other Member States.

83. The Trusteeship System cannot be buried with a mere sentence, however resounding it may be. To bury means to inter something dead or to stifle something living. If what the Soviet Union proposes in its draft declaration is the ending and abolition of the International Trusteeship System and its removal from the structure of the United Nations, it should resort legally to Chapter XVIII of the Charter, which deals with amendments to that instrument. We are apparently faced with a contradiction, since it has not yet proved possible to alter the membership of the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council, owing to opposition by one of the great Powers, whose negative vote amounts to a veto of any attempt to do so.

84. The day is not far off when all dependent countries and peoples will have achieved independence. Then, and only then, will Chapters XI, XII and XIII of the Charter cease to apply and the Trusteeship Council, having no reason to exist, will disappear in accordance with the Charter, since there will no longer be any Administering Authorities, Trust Territories or trusteeship agreements. However, until the ideal of self-government has been achieved by all peoples, we must strengthen the United Nations system in order to achieve the highest purposes of the Charter.

85. The experience obtained by the Trusteeship Council suggests that we should strengthen rather than weaken the United Nations system as far as the Non-Self-Governing Territories and the International Trusteeship System, referred to in Chapters XI and XII of the Charter, are concerned so that, as stated in the African-Asian draft resolution [A/L.323 and Add.1-5], steps are taken, in Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories or all other territories which have not yet attained independence, to transfer all powers to the peoples of those territories, in order to enable them to enjoy complete independence and freedom.

86. There is no doubt that Chapter XI of the Charter has led to heated controversies since it was adopted at San Francisco. The declaration regarding Non-Self-Governing Territories which is embodied in the Charter, means that the colonial Powers accepted extensive general obligations to promote to the utmost the well-being of the inhabitants of Non-Self-Governing Territories under their administration and to assist them in the progressive development of their free political institutions. There was, however, one defect in the drafting of the provisions of the Charter, not only because it did not specify the means by which the Administering Powers' obligations were to be made effective, but because it did not define the functions of the United Nations with regard to the fulfilment of obligations assumed by Member States.

87. In this connexion it might have been useful to take in account the recommendations of certain experts, such as Professors Grenville Clark and Louis B. Sohn. In the second edition of their book "World Peace through World Law", published by the Harvard University Press in 1960, they propose to amend Article 73 in order to clarify the obligations accepted by member states as to Non-Self-Governing Territories under their administration, and completely to revise

Article 87 so as to broaden the responsibility and authority of the General Assembly and the Trusteeship Council in respect of many Non-Self-Governing Territories other than Trust Territories.

88. I would now like to turn to the draft resolution which the representative of Honduras has submitted for our consideration [A/L.324]. Perhaps the Honduran draft, which has been laid before the Assembly by a sovereign country inspired by sound motives, aims to give the United Nations greater influence in the process of emancipation of the Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories. Although we appreciate our Honduran colleague's good intentions, my delegation reserves the right to make certain comments on his draft in a future statement, if circumstances make this advisable.

89. Paragraph 5 of the draft declaration submitted by the African-Asian countries [A/L.323 and Add.1-6] reads as follows:

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

90. My delegation wonders what immediate steps should be adopted in accordance with the African-Asian draft. The document does not say. It says, of course, that all powers should be transferred to the peoples of those territories in accordance with their freely expressed will and desire. But what legal means are to be used to determine the peoples' choice? Is that to be a matter exclusively within the internal jurisdiction of the Administering Authority, or is the United Nations to exercise international supervision over the method of consultation? All these are problems which will have to be considered, and presumably they cannot be settled immediately through the power of some miraculous phrase. Objective analysis is required if practical steps are to be taken to enable the United Nations to promote efforts to secure the independence of Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories.

91. My delegation is aware of the complexity of the question we are considering and realizes that a declaration of this kind cannot cover all the practical aspects of attainment of its objectives. We must recognize that this declaration by itself will not be enough, and that we shall have to continue to work within the framework of the United Nations for the freedom of subject peoples, through a peaceful process which is of the greatest interest to the whole international community.

92. My delegation cannot support the Soviet draft resolution [A/4502] in the form in which it has been submitted to this Assembly, as it contains certain elements which would make it difficult to find harmonious and peaceful settlements. We are opposed to injection of a controversial, hostile and harmful cold war atmosphere into a matter of such great importance.

93. I have already said on a previous occasion that the small Powers should become a real force for mediation and understanding between the great op-

posing blocs. For this reason we view with considerable favour the joint draft resolution submitted to this Assembly by the African-Asian delegations.

Mr. Illueca (Panama), Vice-President, took the Chair.

94. Mr. NIMNANHEMINDA (Thailand): It affords me much pleasure to note that the General Assembly has unanimously accepted [903rd meeting] the proposal made by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to discuss the vexed question of colonialism in the plenary meeting instead of referring this most momentous subject to the First Committee. On this point I am happy to note that for once the view of my delegation is in perfect accord with that of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The matter is ripe to be brought before this Assembly so that wholehearted attention can be paid to it.

95. My delegation wishes to put it on record that we unreservedly support the draft resolution [A/L.323 and Add.1-6], submitted by Afghanistan, Burma and other Member States, and that we shall vote for it and for all that it stands for.

96. Ours is one of the very few nations in Asia that somehow or other succeeded in eluding the clutch of colonialism or imperialism, eastern as well as western, during the last 700 years of its distinctive existence, after the Thai people had finally settled in its present territory. I am sure that our past experiences both in dodging and in temporizing with evil—and I think that everybody agrees that colonialism is evil—when such evil became inevitable, may prove to be of interest to some of us here today in dealing with the evil aspects of colonialism that they may come across, now or in the near future.

97. As you know, my country is called Thailand in English. In our language, we call it "Pratate Thai" or "Muang Thai", which means "The Land of the Free". The mind of our people, as its name implies, is always actively conscious of the idea of freedom and independence, and it always arouses our sympathy to observe that so many of our fellow beings are still deprived of their birthright, the right to be free and to be master of their own destiny. The fact that we always have been free makes us all the more sympathetic to the yearnings and aspirations of our less fortunate fellow beings. In our contact with many peoples, we are constantly being asked on what day we celebrate our independence, and we are always at a loss to answer this query. We have no Independence Day; every day, to us, is always our Day of Independence.

98. Perhaps by this time you must be thinking that I am carried away by emotional feelings, so let me make my position clear. Our past efforts in defending our independence and in eluding and evading foreign domination or colonialism, entailed an almost infinite amount of hardship, privation, self-restraint plus no less an amount of self-renunciation and personal sacrifice. We had often to exercise infinite patience and to pocket our pride in the face of great and irritating provocations.

99. It is my thesis, however, that whilst it is not beyond human effort and endeavour to acquire freedom and independence, it is definitely more difficult, once complete freedom from enslaving colonialism has been acquired, to maintain and preserve this independence

intact for future generations. Circumspection as well as wisdom and correct self-appraisal must be vigilantly kept in mind, or else we may fall into another and greater evil.

100. Let me cite an example of how we managed to evade and then to temporize with the expansionism and imperialistic drive from our then powerful—and still no less powerful now—neighbour of the North.

101. Towards the middle of the thirteenth century of the Christian era, the great Mongol Emperor who ruled over China, Kublai Khan, ordered his invincible army to attack the early Thai principalities of Nan Chao, or what is now known as the Chinese Province of Yunnan. Instead of submitting tamely to the Chinese yoke and accepting the colonialism which they abhorred, the Thais of various branches preferred to migrate elsewhere where they could breathe the air of freedom as far from Chinese contact as was then possible. Some of them moved into present-day Assam Province, in India; a large group calling themselves "The Major Thais" settled down in the Shan States of Burma; some migrated into present-day Viet-Nam; while the largest group managed to move farther south into present-day Thailand and Laos.

102. In spite of all these mass migrations, the great Kublai Khan's territorial appetite was not completely satiated. He later on sent envoys into these new colonies or territories to demand tribute and acknowledgement of his suzerainty. Similar envoys were also sent to Sukhothai, the then capital of Thailand. There is a Thai proverb which says "Do not attempt to break the handle of a chopper with your own knees", meaning, of course, that one should not attempt the impossible and hurt oneself at the same time. King Ram Kamhaeng of Thailand, therefore, for the first time, put into practice what is known as personal diplomacy by personally travelling to Peking to make better acquaintance with Kublai Khan himself, and paid him due respect in virtue of his seniority in rank as well as age. By this gracious gesture, he found favour with the Emperor who initiated, for the first time in our history, a technical assistance programme, sending back with King Ram Kamhaeng a group of experts on pottery, who taught our people the art of glazing pottery by setting up kilns at Sangkaloke and Sukhothai for turning out Sangkaloke ware which found its way to different markets as far apart as Borneo and Persia.

103. Not more than two and a half centuries after having settled in the country, we began to receive attention from the outside world; first, from early Portuguese adventurers, envoys and Roman Catholic priests of that nationality. They were always welcomed with warmth and tolerance in accordance with the teachings of Buddhism. Land was given to them on which to build their camps and their churches and many of them were taken into the King's service as gunners.

104. The advent of the Dutch some time later weakened the hold of the Portuguese and lessened their arrogance. After having consolidated themselves firmly, the Dutch began to exercise pressure on us. As a result of a treaty signed in 1664, we granted the Dutch monopolies in various commodities and in the shipping of our produce to neighbouring countries. They in turn were responsible for the introduction into Thailand, for the first time, of that obnoxious and subsequently much abused practice of extraterritoriality.

105. Finding the presence of, and pressure from, the Dutch well-nigh intolerable, the Thais sought relief by addressing themselves to the French and entering into diplomatic relations with Louis XIV, who exchanged several ambassadors with our King, Phra Narai. But, there again, we soon found that the French intentions did not much differ from those of the Dutch, except that there were far more French troops in the country. It was only by means of a timely Thai version of the famous Sicilian Vespers that we were able to stave off the first attempt to plant a French colonial empire upon us. From that time onwards until the fall of Ayudhya in 1767, our relations with western countries were chiefly confined to a small amount of trading carried on by private traders from the West.

106. In 1833, less than sixty years after the Americans had discarded their colonial yoke and made their presence felt in the commerce of Asia, and twenty years before Commodore Perry's forcible opening of Japan to other nations in addition to the Dutch, the Thais entered into diplomatic relations with the United States of America. From 1855 onwards, treaties of friendship and commerce were concluded with the United Kingdom, France and other Western Powers.

107. Although we freely opened our country before forcible measures were taken against us, this does not mean that we have come out of the colonialistic game unsullied and unscathed. In order to avoid total extinction, we had to submit to the conclusion of a series of one-sided, unjust and iniquitous treaties without any terminating clause, thereby perpetuating that odious extraterritorial practice and the limitation imposed on our fiscal autonomy, which precluded us from levying duties on exports or imports over and above 3 per cent *ad valorem*. Furthermore, our borders were also subjected to periodical grabbings, known euphemistically as "rectification of frontiers".

108. To the Thai people, extraterritoriality was both humiliating and unjust. Fiscal limitation prevented us from embarking upon several necessary reforms through want of essential revenues. Before Thailand's association with colonial Powers, the area of the country exceeded 350,000 square miles, or 900,000 square kilometres. After 1907, its area was reduced to barely 200,000 square miles, or just over 500,000 square kilometres.

109. Throughout the whole of the nineteenth century, and for many years after, the keynote of Thai policy was that it was better to lose a certain part than to lose the whole country: half a loaf seemed better than no bread. I think that a well-known Russian story will illustrate our policy at that time very graphically.

A certain Russian gentleman went on a business trip in a carriage drawn by four horses. On his way home, he was pursued by a pack of hungry wolves. The gentleman drove hard, yet the pack managed somehow to overtake him after some time. To save the situation, he cut loose one of the horses to distract the wolves from pursuing him, at any rate for a brief respite. After that horse had been made short work of, the howling pack rushed after him again. He repeated this with a second and a third horse, until finally he reached a post of safety with but one horse. I need not point out the moral of this fable, nor trouble you with the identities of those big bad wolves.

110. Now we can more or less breathe freely seeing that the brazen type of land grabbing and the naked and shameless type of colonialism have become things of the past. In Thailand we deem that we managed to escape from "the mouths of the tigers and the bears" with the skin of our teeth. We are proud of the wisdom of our forbears in having chosen the better part so as to preserve our independence to this very day. We adhere, as good Buddhists, to our Lord's teaching, which says: "Hatred ceaseth not with hatred, hatred ceaseth only with non-hatred, this is an old law." Thus said the Buddha. We adopt a realistic view of the world. We refuse to live in the past, nor will we keep looking backward to the past all the time. We deem it a waste of time to cry over spilt milk, but we shall take care not to spill any more milk. It is our aim and our objective to lead our people to the goal where reign freedom from fear, from hunger, from disease and from ignorance.

111. Colonialism of the old days is dead, and in this Assembly we are driving home the nails into its coffin. But like the phoenix of old, while land-grabbing colonialism is no longer with us, out of its ashes a new type of colonialism is arising. It is far more dangerous, because it is cynically insidious; like the Kingdom of God, it seldom comes with observation; it often comes under the guise of liberation; it preaches a new gospel of salvation; it heralds a new millenium; and it comes in sheep's clothing. In my delegation's opinion, it is far more dangerous because of its deceptive ideological attraction. When it enters by one door, freedom flies out of the other. I think the case of present-day Tibet is an example which clearly illustrates my point.

112. Now, may I put one question: What shall it profit a country to gain complete independence only to lose its own soul?

The meeting rose at 10.55 p.m.

Wednesday, 7 December 1960,
at 3 p.m.

NEW YORK



United Nations GENERAL ASSEMBLY

FIFTEENTH SESSION

Official Records

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

AGENDA ITEM 87

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

1. Mr. ZORIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian) The debate on the question of the immediate and complete abolition of the colonial system which has been proceeding in the plenary General Assembly has shown how timely it was to place this question before the General Assembly, how essential it is that the United Nations should take action at once to ensure the freedom and independence of the countries and peoples which are still under colonial rule. Thanks to the initiative taken by Mr. Khrushchev, the head of the Soviet Government, in submitting the "Declaration on the grant of independence to colonial countries and peoples" to the General Assembly for consideration at its fifteenth session [869th meeting], the question of the abolition of the colonial order, of the immediate liberation of the colonial peoples, is being exhaustively discussed for the first time in the history of the United Nations, in the Organization's highest forum—the plenary General Assembly.

2. It has to be said that the colonial Powers have not entered into this discussion willingly, but have been compelled to agree to it by the mighty pressure of the anti-colonialist forces. For as everyone well knows, the colonial Powers have in the past, throughout the existence of the United Nations, always opposed any discussion of questions relating to the political development of the Non-Self-Governing Territories. Such Powers as Spain and Portugal have resorted to a variety of legal fictions to try to pretend that they have no colonies at all, and that there is absolutely no such thing as Spanish and Portuguese colonialism. The General Assembly's decision to consider the question of the abolition of the colonial system is in itself alone an important victory for the countries which are fighting against colonial rule.

3. The Soviet delegation expresses its gratitude to those representatives who have voiced appreciation of the step taken by the Soviet Government, and by Mr. Khrushchev in person, in raising the question of the abolition of colonialism before the General Assembly, and of the Soviet Union's consistent and energetic struggle, since 1917, for the emancipation of all colonial and dependent peoples. Life itself now

demands the full discussion and correct solution of this burning problem.

4. Some representatives of the colonial Powers, including the representative of the United Kingdom, have tried to assert that in calling upon the General Assembly to adopt the "Declaration on the grant of independence to colonial countries and peoples" the Soviet Union is pursuing "ulterior motives"; that the Soviet delegation is trying to exploit the debate on this question for its own private purposes, to fan the flames of the "cold war". But as all delegations have been able to see for themselves, it is actually the representatives of the United Kingdom, the United States, Belgium and other colonial Powers who have attempted to impose "cold war" polemics on the General Assembly and to divert its attention from any serious and practical discussion of the supremely important question of the immediate and complete abolition of the colonial system.

5. Of course, the purposes of the Soviet delegation are diametrically opposed to those of the delegations of the colonial Powers. In submitting its "Declaration on the grant of independence to colonial countries and peoples" to the General Assembly for its consideration, the Government of the Soviet Union is pursuing a single goal: that of putting an immediate and final end to colonialism, of bringing freedom and independence to all colonies. It is precisely for that reason that the Soviet Union is interested in a serious discussion of this question, and in the adoption of effective measures for its solution. The delegations of the United States, the United Kingdom, Belgium, Portugal and the other colonial Powers, on the other hand, are trying to preserve the colonial system. Because of that, they would like to embroil the question in a wrangle conducted in the worst spirit of the "cold war". Naturally, it would be most convenient for the colonialists if they could succeed in disrupting any practical discussion and in preventing the General Assembly from adopting any measures on this question. That is why they have tried to inflame the atmosphere here by injecting "cold war" elements into our debate

[The speaker was interrupted by shouts from the public gallery]

6. That shows very well how serious debate on the question of colonialism is organized in the United States. It offers even better evidence of the fact that the United Nations cannot work tranquilly in United States territory, where patently provocative outbursts are organized during the General Assembly's discussions.

7. As the debate on the colonial system has shown, these manoeuvres by the colonialists have been a fiasco. The colonialists have not been successful in diverting the attention of the General Assembly from the essential problem of colonialism and in leading

it off into a discussion of matters having nothing to do with that problem. The overwhelming majority of those attending this session, expressing the demands of history in its objective advance, have supported the proposal for the abolition of colonialism at the earliest possible date, regarding the existence of the colonial system as a disgrace to humanity.

8. In the course of the discussion the representatives of the socialist countries, and of many African and Asian States, have voiced well-founded and convincing criticism of the colonial order, have cited actual examples and facts to show not only that the colonial system is a brake on the economic, social and cultural development of the colonial peoples, but that it crushes, tramples underfoot and oppresses millions of people, robs them of human dignity, humiliates them and inflicts countless sufferings upon the colonial peoples.

9. So great is the pressure of the anti-colonialist forces at this session of the General Assembly that even the colonialists do not dare to defend the colonial system openly. They try to do so in veiled form, and resort to tricks and manoeuvres of all kinds in order to justify the preservation of their colonial rule, to justify their attempts to keep the colonial countries in dependence for as much longer as possible. One of the so-called arguments in defence of colonialism advanced by the colonialists and their sympathizers is that colonialism has brought the peoples under their rule modern civilization, has enriched their culture, has encouraged the diffusion of the "creative genius" of man, as one speaker put it. Naturally, the purpose of such sophistries is to distort the historical reality and the causes of colonial usurpation and of the enslavement of entire peoples by foreign Powers. Those who indulge in arguments of this kind try to do everything possible to whitewash the history of colonialism and to pretend that the conscience of the colonialists is clear; that they have brought the colonies of the present and the past no sufferings but only benefits.

10. But the colonialists are well aware that the seizure of vast territories in Asia, Africa and Latin America and the enslavement of their indigenous peoples were carried out for purposes of profit and for the plunder of the natural and human resources of the countries concerned. The history of colonial usurpation in various parts of the world, and particularly in Africa, shows what injustices and what crimes have been committed by the colonialists against the peoples of those continents. As long ago as the first half of the nineteenth century, that was well described by William Howitt in his book Colonization and Christianity. Let me cite one sentence from that book:

"The barbarities and desperate outrages of the so-called Christian race, throughout every region of the world, and upon every people that they have been able to subdue, are not to be paralleled by those of any other race, however fierce, however untaught, and however reckless of mercy and of shame, in any age of the earth."^{1/}

That was written even in the nineteenth century.

11. The defenders of colonialism usually deny that any African civilization existed before the arrival of Europeans in Africa. Quite often it is asserted that even civilizations such as those of Ethiopia and Egypt

were founded and developed by members of the white race. All these theories have one aim and one alone: to justify colonialism. Their purpose is to convince Africans that they have never possessed any developed civilization; that they have given mankind nothing of value; that culture and civilization came to them only with colonization. This denial of the cultural past of the African peoples serves as an ideological weapon, used, firstly, to magnify the non-existent "services" rendered by the colonialists in spreading civilization on the African continent, and secondly, to induce the African peoples to renounce any national aspirations and to bend their backs submissively to the burden of colonialism, either in its old or, so to speak, "classical" form or in new camouflaged forms.

12. But these theories are false from beginning to end, and have nothing to do with the historical truth. In recent years a great deal of objective historical research has been published by scholars of various countries, research showing that long before the appearance of the first white man on the African continent the peoples of Africa lived an independent life, created States of their own, developed their native cultures, carried on trade. This research of course includes Basil Davidson's book Old Africa Rediscovered, published in London in 1960. The author, using the most recent archaeological data, throws considerable light on the history of a number of areas of Africa which have hitherto been little studied. For example, he describes the civilization of Kush, of the famous cities of Napata and Meroe, from which, as long ago as eight centuries before our era, there were diffused new tools and new methods of working metals. He tells us of the ancient States of the Western Sudan, Mali, Ghana and Songhay, which at their peak were the equals of many States of medieval Europe. The gold of these States did much to promote the development of the economy of Europe before the inauguration of the great geographical discoveries. He describes in detail the ancient city-States of the east coast of Africa, Kilwa, Gedi, Mogadiscio and others, which according to the reports of the Portuguese, yielded nothing to the most prosperous cities of Europe. Another author, Sheikh Anta Diop, points out in his book Nations nègres et culture^{2/} that even in the fifteenth century the African States were, in political and social organization, the equals, and in some cases indeed the superiors, of the European States.

13. The martyrdom of the peoples of the African continent began with the arrival of the European slave-traders. The first ship laden with Africans captured for sale into slavery arrived in Lisbon, the capital of Portugal, in 1441. For nearly four centuries after that, millions of slaves were exported from Africa, and vast numbers fell in inter-tribal wars caused by the slave-traders and in their armed raids. That was an incalculable disaster. The African continent was depopulated. Its economy and culture decayed. Dr. Du Bois, the well-known historian, whose great-grandfather was captured by slave-traders on the Guinea coast of Africa and carried off to America, writes:

"It would be no exaggeration to say that the slave trade cost Negro Africa 100 million souls. Yet today there are still people who seek the reasons for the stagnation in the development of Africa's culture!"

^{1/} William Howitt, Colonization and Christianity, London, 1838, p.9.

^{2/} Paris, éditions Brésence africaine, 1955.

14. The nineteenth century was the era of the territorial partition of Africa by the European colonial Powers, the era of colonial wars and the military seizure of African lands. So far as they were able, the Africans offered stubborn resistance to the European invaders. The colonialists met this resistance by sending entire armies to Africa, armies supplied with the best technical equipment of their day. For several decades, the earth of Africa was plentifully watered with the blood of its peoples. Hundreds of thousands of Africans defending their freedom fell in unequal struggle.

15. An example of the heroic resistance offered by the peoples of Africa to the foreign invaders, one which at the same time refutes the colonialists' assertions that the penetration of the African continent by the Europeans was a peaceful process, may be found in the struggle of the Matabele and Mashona peoples, inhabiting the region between the rivers Zambezi and Limpopo, against the seizure of their territory by the British company controlled by Cecil Rhodes. In the eighties of the last century, British colonialists were actively scheming to appropriate Southern African lands rich in gold, diamonds and other minerals, in the territory since named after its conqueror Rhodesia. Operating in that area at the time was one of the most powerful British groups of capitalists, represented by Rhodes, and in 1888 this group forced Lobengula, the king of the Matabele, to accept an agreement of far-reaching intention. In return for a small rent, the British won the exclusive right to exploit all minerals in the territories subject to the Matabele. That agreement was an outright fraud on the Africans, since their king, like his retainers illiterate, was entirely ignorant of the real significance of the document to which he had set his mark by way of signature. Nevertheless, the British Government used the agreement of 1888 to justify the outright annexation of the lands of the Matabele and Mashona peoples. In the wars which followed, the Maxim guns used by the British turned every battle between the colonialists and the Africans into a massacre. Rhodes himself estimated the Matabele losses at 3,000. The beaten Matabele were forced to surrender; their territory became a colony, and was given the name of Southern Rhodesia.

16. In the new British possessions, Africans were brutally exploited. All their best lands were expropriated. By decision of a land commission made up of representatives of the British Government and of Rhodes' company, the Africans were driven into reservations. Some idea of the nature of these reservations may be gained from the fact that they consisted partly of areas of endemic sleeping-sickness and partly of areas of drought.

17. Those are a few historic facts. For more than sixty years now, colonial oppression has persisted in this country, named after the man who drenched it in blood. Events during this period show that the successors of Cecil Rhodes are carrying on his black business. For what is the situation in Southern Rhodesia sixty years after? How has the United Kingdom promoted the development of this country in the "interests" of its indigenous, African population? Clearly, that can best be told us by the inhabitants of the territory themselves, and for that reason I venture to cite a few extracts from a brochure on Southern Rhodesia published in London in 1960 by the National

Democratic Party of Southern Rhodesia. According to this brochure:

"Thanks to the various methods devised to prevent Africans from taking part in elections, the Parliament of Southern Rhodesia has since 1923 enjoyed pure white representation.

"As a result, 1923 saw the initiation of a series of despotic and discriminatory statutes directed against Africans. There are at present 70,000 European voters and less than 2,000 African voters.

"Since 1949, 82,500 African families have been resettled outside the so-called native lands, and 21,500 have been moved from the Zambezi River basin to special areas. It is anticipated that by 1962 all Africans living in native lands or in localities settled by Europeans will have been moved to these areas."

"Under the Masters and Servants Act, the African worker is entirely dependent on and at the mercy of the European. He is prohibited by law from leaving his work if he considers that his employer is treating him badly or sweating him. If he strikes, he is prosecuted like a criminal.

"Totalitarianism, oppression and intimidation have taken the place of the freedom and democracy which are supposed to be the traditional characteristics of the British people.

"The colour bar remains just what it was before 1953. Everywhere there are notices 'Natives Only', 'Europeans Only'. Africans are still not allowed to enter cinemas, shops and hotels. Africans are still discriminated against just as badly as they were ten years ago."

Those are all quotations from this brochure. This, I may say, is not Soviet propaganda—the colonialists' favourite catchword. It is the first-hand report of a political party of Southern Rhodesia.

18. Life itself confirms the truth of Karl Marx's comment that the profound hypocrisy characteristic of bourgeois civilization is revealed not in the metropolitan countries, where that civilization assumes respectable forms, but in the colonies, where it operates without the slightest concealment. The facts, both of history and of the present day, lend particular relief to the hypocrisy and sanctimoniousness of those who attempt to whitewash colonialism, to represent it as virtually the noblest enterprise of civilized Christian men—an enterprise which for some unknown reason is now coming to a close at the zenith of its glory, to quote some representatives at this session.

19. Mr. Ormsby-Gore, in his efforts to present United Kingdom policy in whatever favourable light he can, has tried to make out that for the last century, at least, Britain's only concern has been either to grant its colonies independence or to intensify its efforts, sparing no pains, to prepare them for independence. But the historical truth is that the colonialists themselves never voluntarily grant the peoples of the colonies independence, and have never done so. Did not the peoples of India, Burma, Pakistan, Ghana and other now independent States have to win their independence in stubborn struggle with the colonialists; were not the leaders of the national liberation movements in those countries incarcerated for long years in British jails; and were they not also subjected to other forms of repression? Did not the French colonialists crush the struggle for emancipation of the

peoples of Madagascar and Cameroun by the most savage and merciless means, just as they are at present trying to drown in blood the selflessly courageous struggle of the Algerian people for their independence and liberty?

20. The colonialists are compelled to agree to the grant of independence to their colonies only when the national liberation movement acquires such strength that the colonial Powers are unable to cope with it. For that reason, the principal factors in the liberation of the colonies are the struggle of the oppressed peoples themselves for their national freedom and independence and the support given to that righteous struggle by all progressive forces.

21. When one listens to statements such as that made by Mr. Ormsby-Gore, one can only wonder. For the entire history of Britain's colonial rule in Africa, Asia and other parts of the world abounds in examples of colonial wars and brutal violence against the indigenous peoples. Has Mr. Ormsby-Gore forgotten that in the last few years alone, British army and police units have exterminated thousands of Africans and cast tens of thousands into prisons and concentration camps in Kenya, Nyasaland, Southern and Northern Rhodesia and other colonies? The world knows that in 1952-1955 numerous Africans of Kenya were savagely beaten and shot down. Using as their pretext for crushing the national liberation movement in Kenya the myth of the terrorist activities practised by a secret society known as Mau-Mau—a myth invented by the British settlers—the British colonialists tried to make an end of the patriotic forces of Kenya once and for all. By 1955, thanks to punitive expeditions, mass round-ups and man-hunts, more than 11,000 indigenous inhabitants had been murdered and 62,000, including 14,000 women and 2,000 children, herded into concentration camps. Many inhabitants, entire tribes, were transferred to barren reservations in remote areas. The African political parties in Kenya, and then in Nyasaland and Northern and Southern Rhodesia, were declared "subversive" organizations and banned.

22. The colonialists regard any struggle for freedom and independence as subversive, while at the same time hypocritically declaring that they are helping forward the emancipation of the colonies. One must really have lost all sense of shame to take up such an attitude in the General Assembly, where there are so many men who have felt in their own persons or seen with their own eyes the crimes of the colonialists, the oppression and repression, the prisons and concentration camps in their countries.

23. The tyranny of the British colonialists is not confined to the territory of the African continent. In other parts of the world, too, there are still remnants of the once spacious British Empire where independence movements are crushed by means of outright violence. One of these is British Guiana, in South America. In a petition dated 11 November 1960 addressed to the United Nations General Assembly, Dr. Cheddi Jagan, leader of the People's Progressive Party of British Guiana, cites numbers of facts illustrating the British colonialists' oppression of the local people. This document has been circulated in the United Nations. Refuting the colonialists' professions of their "lofty, civilizing mission", Cheddi Jagan writes:

"... the Guianese are tired and sick of being told that the metropolitan countries hold colonies in trust for their colonial subjects; that the policy of such countries is to lead step by step all colonies to the goal of independence. Bribery and corruption and intrigue and deception, and the constant threat of the use of force are the order of the day. Are the Guianese to believe that these are the means to lead them to freedom and democracy and to the building of a New Nation?"

From its foundation in 1950, the People's Progressive Party led by Jagan has tirelessly agitated for the grant of independence to British Guiana. In 1953, the Party won eighteen out of twenty-four seats in the elections to the House of Assembly; but after a few months they were removed by force. As the petition states, battleships and British soldiers with the threat of bullets replaced the ballot box. For four years, from 1953 to 1957, the people of Guiana suffered under an authoritarian police régime. At the 1957 elections, the British authorities gerrymandered the electoral constituencies in order to ensure the defeat of the Party defending the interests of the people of Guiana. Yet even then the People's Progressive Party won a victory, gaining nine out of fourteen seats. Jagan, the leader of the Party, goes on in his petition to say that although his Party heads the present Government of British Guiana, his hands are fettered in colonialist shackles. He ends the petition with an appeal to the United Nations General Assembly to help the people of British Guiana: "British Guiana needs your help to free itself from the yoke of foreign rule, because like peace, political independence and freedom are also indivisible."

24. The colonialists also use other methods, whose goal, however, remains identical—to preserve their rule in the colonies, and prevent any transfer of real power to the indigenous peoples of the colonies. This policy is carried on under the false slogans of "racial harmony" and "peace and tranquillity" in the colonies. The representative of the United Kingdom has developed this argument here at some length. But let us see what this policy of "racial harmony" amounts to in actual fact.

25. So far as concerns East Africa, which Mr. Ormsby-Gore mentioned here, the obvious aim of the United Kingdom Government's policy is to create States or Unions on the lines of the Union of South Africa, that is, ostensibly independent States in which all power and all positions of control are in the hands of the European settlers who constitute a quite insignificant minority of the population. Instead of satisfying the just demands of the peoples of Northern and Southern Rhodesia and of Nyasaland, the British colonialists have in defiance of the wishes of these peoples set up the so-called Central African Federation, and have extended the power of the upper stratum of white settlers in Southern Rhodesia to cover Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia. By this means they hope to carry through their plan to establish in the centre of Africa yet another racist State on the lines of the Union of South Africa. The establishment of the so-called administrative union between the Trust Territory of Tanganyika and the colonies of Kenya and Uganda is intended to serve similar aims. The United Kingdom Government is doing everything in its power to crush and beat down the national liberation movements in Kenya and Uganda, to consolidate the positions of the

white settlers in Kenya and then to attach Tanganyika and Uganda to Kenya in order to place them in a position of subjection within the union thus created. In its territories in East Africa, the United Kingdom has carried out measures by means of which all political power and control has been placed in the hands of the European minority. Thus the "racial harmony" which the colonialists are attempting to ensure in Africa, where the population is 97 per cent African and only 3 per cent non-African, is one under which the 3 per cent of Europeans and other outsiders are to dominate the 97 per cent of Africans, within the framework of so-called independent States.

26. The European colonial settlers seize control not only over political life in the colonies, but also over their economies. With the help of the colonial authorities, vast areas of land belonging to the indigenous population are alienated to European colonists and foreign companies. We all know the story—a sad one for the Africans—of the "White Highlands" of Kenya, where the finest land in the country, the most fertile and the best-suited to agriculture, was transferred to the exclusive monopoly ownership of Europeans. In Southern Rhodesia, the centre of the colonialist Central African Federation, that process has gone so far that the Europeans, who make up no more than 9 per cent of the country's population, now own more than half the total land area, while the Africans, or 90 per cent of the population, are crowded into 22 per cent of the territory's area. And it must be noted that those same Europeans work only 2.5 per cent of the land they have usurped. That is a practical example of how the colonialists "care" for the interests of the indigenous peoples, of how they develop the economies of the colonies in the interests of their peoples. In Tanganyika, the alienation of land belonging to the indigenous population has gone on for many years and has proceeded on such a scale that up to the present more than 2.5 million acres have been taken from the indigenous population and transferred to Europeans. And it must be remembered that, according to the report prepared by a British Royal Commission, the alienated lands are those best suited to crops of various kinds and are located in the areas having the best rainfall and climate.

27. Yet the United Kingdom representative has spoken to us here, in the plenary General Assembly, of the "racial harmony" and "co-operation" that exist in Tanganyika between Europeans and Africans! No wonder people in Africa now say: "When the white men came to us, they had the Bible and we had the land; now, they have the land and we have the Bible." The United Kingdom representative specifically mentioned Tanganyika, in his statement, as an example of a territory where "racial harmony" reigned. But what is the United Kingdom representative so pleased about; and what is it he is extolling under the guise of this celebrated "racial harmony"? The British colonialists have proclaimed this slogan in order to ensure the hegemony of the European minority over the Africans and thereby put off the day for the granting of independence to Tanganyika. At first, the British authorities tried to establish in Tanganyika the principle of so-called "parity of representation" between the three racial groups—Africans, Asians and Europeans. Under this system, Africans and Europeans would have been represented on a basis of "parity" in Tanganyika's legislative and administrative organs, although the country has 9 million Africans and only 20,000 Euro-

peans. The British authorities' attempts to impose the system of "parity representation" on the Africans of Tanganyika met with failure. But Britain did not give up its plans. Under the guise of reform, a system was introduced in this Trust Territory under which the Africans have one representative for every 180,000 inhabitants, whereas the Europeans have one representative for every 2,000 inhabitants. There is equality of rights for you! There you have the "racial harmony" and "equitable race representation" which were defended in such glowing terms by the United Kingdom representative!

28. The Administering Authority is doing everything it can to put off the day of Tanganyika's independence. It is a typical fact that only recently, at the Trusteeship Council's twenty-third session, held in 1959, the representatives of the Administering Authority refused even to entertain the idea of Tanganyika's being granted independence in the near future. They asserted that while Tanganyika would be granted independence as soon as possible, the Territory still had a long way to go before it could attain self-government. The Administering Authority to this day refuses to comply with the demands of the Trust Territory's largest political parties—the Tanganyika African National Union and the Tanganyika African National Congress—for the immediate grant of independence to Tanganyika. In a memorandum submitted to the United Nations Visiting Mission which came to the Trust Territory in 1960, the Tanganyika African National Union declared that:

"Events in Africa, other Trust Territories and the world at large, and within the Territory are such that Tanganyika has to attain independence immediately . . . We strongly believe that most economic and social development can only be accelerated and attained under conditions of political independence."^{3/}

Despite these clear and specific demands of Tanganyika's main political parties for the immediate grant to the Territory of independence, the United Kingdom, as in the past, is trying to put off to some later date what will, for all its efforts, inevitably have to be done; is trying to prolong its rule over Tanganyika until the last possible moment. Speaking at this session of the General Assembly, the United Kingdom representative has kept silence with regard to this paramount and crucial issue for the Trust Territory. Instead of naming a specific date for the proclamation of Tanganyika's independence, he has limited himself to an obscure statement to the effect that the United Kingdom proposes at this session of the General Assembly to submit a proposal for the termination of the Trusteeship Agreement for Tanganyika after the proclamation of the Trust Territory's independence. No one can be in any doubt that the Trusteeship Agreement will in fact cease to have effect after the proclamation of the Trust Territory's independence. But the whole point is, when will the independence of Tanganyika be proclaimed? We are confident that the people of Tanganyika will win their independence in the very near future despite all the obstacles placed in their path by the Administering Authority.

29. In Tanganyika, as in other colonial Trust Territories, colonialism is leaving behind a grim heritage:

^{3/} Official Records of the Trusteeship Council, twenty-sixth session, Supplement No. 2 (T/1532 and Add.1), Annex II.

an almost complete lack of any manufacturing industry, a highly backward subsistence agriculture, a deficient transport system, disordered finances and a chronic budget deficit, poor public health and an inadequate educational system, a low standard of living among the indigenous population—that is what the Administering Authority is bequeathing the people of Tanganyika after forty years of rule. If we turn to one of the territories under British administration in West Africa, we shall find there again another example of the tragic outcome of many years of colonial oppression.

30. Thus, in the Trust Territory of the Cameroons under British administration, official data indicate that in the southern areas of the country 90 per cent of the population are illiterate. The figure for the northern areas is 96 per cent. This information may be found in the report of the Administering Authority for 1958 (page 298). According to UNESCO figures for 1957, Africa had about 100 million illiterates, representing 80 to 85 per cent of the continent's total population. Only 4.7 per cent of the African population—and in Angola, for example, only 1.4 per cent—were receiving elementary education. These figures are literally an indictment of colonialism, which beneath the mask of trusteeship has for many decades doomed the population of Africa to darkness and illiteracy.

31. All these facts show that the goal of the colonialists has not been the development of the colonies in the interests of their peoples—has not, in particular, been the development of education. The colonialists have deliberately kept the colonial peoples illiterate, and are still doing so; they have barred their access to education and have prevented them from acquiring trained leaders and administrators of their own—and all this with the aim of keeping them in a state of colonial slavery on the pretext that they lack adequate numbers of trained personnel, of qualified and educated people. The same position was taken by the representative of Belgium, in trying to justify to us Belgium's colonial rule over the Congo. But the results of this colonial rule are today making themselves acutely felt in the events at present taking place in the Congo.

32. In the large and populous territories with well-developed national liberation movements, the British colonialists try to do everything possible to put off the day for granting political independence, and to ensure that the European minorities in these countries continue in the future to maintain their positions of dominance. In the small territories, however, they take a different line—that of trying to preserve them as strongholds of colonialism, of merging or "uniting" them with the metropolitan country. That is the general policy followed by all the colonialists. The United States, the United Kingdom, France, Spain and Portugal are trying at all costs to retain such territories as the Panama Canal, Gibraltar, Singapore, Goa, Macao, West Irian, Belize, the Falkland Islands, the Azores and the Canary Islands, Fernando Po, Rfo Muni, Ifni and so forth as strategic bases and strongpoints for use in crushing the national liberation struggle of the colonial peoples and in bringing pressure to bear on neighbouring independent States.

33. It is for this reason that the second point in the Soviet draft declaration [A/4502], which refers to the liquidation of strongholds and strategic bases, is of great importance for the solution of the problem of the abolition of colonialism as a whole.

34. In his statement of 28 November [925th meeting], Mr. Ormsby-Gore, the representative of the United Kingdom, took a position opposed in principle to the existence as independent States of small territories at present under the colonial yoke. He referred in this connexion to territories having a population of under one million. The people of these territories, he felt, should not sacrifice economic and social "progress" in order to "assume responsibility for maintaining the expensive apparatus of a modern independent State". What solicitude for the lot of the small territories! It would seem in order to ask the United Kingdom representative a question on this point—and the United States representative too, since he takes the same position. What is their attitude to the existence as independent States of such countries as Luxembourg, with a population of 300,000, or Iceland, with a population of 164,000? Or do the United Kingdom and United States representatives have two different sets of standards, one for Western countries and another for African and Asian countries at present in a state of colonial dependence?

35. We take a different view. We believe that all colonial peoples ought to be liberated.

36. It was not for nothing, we suspect, that the United Kingdom representative referred in his statement to the twelve principles approved by the Fourth Committee [See A/C.4/L.648 and Add.1] and particularly to that part of them relating to the association or integration of a colony with an independent State. Clearly, the association or integration of the colonies with the metropolitan countries would be most convenient to the colonialists. They would like in this way to retain their position in those territories while at the same time formally complying with certain "principles" by proclaiming, for appearances' sake, that the goal of full self-government or independence for the colonies had already been attained. But there is one not unimportant fact that must be mentioned in this connexion. When the principles to which the United Kingdom representative referred were being discussed, many African and Asian representatives in the Fourth Committee emphasized that the peoples of the colonies must be guaranteed full freedom to express their will by democratic means, without any obstacles or threats. As such a guarantee of the free exercise of the will of the peoples of the colonies, the Delegations of Togo and Tunisia proposed, before the Fourth Committee [1043rd meeting], the adoption of a provision entitling the United Nations, whenever it felt that such action was necessary, to exercise supervision over the implementation of the right of the peoples of the colonies to free self-determination. The Soviet Union, the other socialist countries and most of the African and Asian countries supported that proposal. Yet the representatives of the United States, the United Kingdom, France and other colonial Powers which hypocritically come forward here in the role of supporters of the free self-determination of peoples, opposed this proposal and voted against it in the Fourth Committee.

37. The United Kingdom representative devoted a considerable part of his statement to emphasizing the need of special care for the small territories. Let us see, then, how the colonialists actually care for the small territories and peoples. Let us take as our example, if you will, the tiny dependent territory of Nauru, an island under trusteeship, which has only

some few thousand inhabitants. As you know, trusteeship over this territory is the responsibility of three States—the United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand. It may be wondered why trusteeship over so small an island had to be assigned to so powerful a combination of forces. The answer is very simple: virtually the entire island of Nauru consists of phosphates, and for that reason the Governments of the United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand came to an agreement on the exploitation of these phosphate deposits as far back as 1919. This agreement may with entire justification be called a colonial treaty for the robbery and apportionment of Nauru's natural resources. The agreement fixes the share of each party: the United Kingdom is to receive 42 per cent of the total output, Australia 42 per cent and New Zealand 16 per cent. Provision to this effect may be found in article 14 of the agreement signed on 2 July 1919. But even now that Nauru has formally been brought under the International Trusteeship System, the United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand are still as in the past despoiling the island of its natural resources and gradually turning it into a barren desert. It has been calculated that Nauru's remaining deposits of phosphates will last for about another thirty to forty years; and its population will then have to abandon their island, since it will no longer provide them with a livelihood. For that reason, the Administering Authority declares—verbally—that it is preparing the population of Nauru for the attainment of the goal of trusteeship, that is, self-government or independence. In fact, however, and by its practical actions, it is simply preparing for the removal of the inhabitants of Nauru from the island so as to prevent them from interfering with the continued looting of its natural resources. In a document submitted to the Trusteeship Council, the Administering Authority has plainly stated that the only real possibility for the Nauruans is to agree to be re-settled as immigrants in some country in the Pacific region. And it is a statement of this kind that the Administering Authority tries to represent as reflecting the freely expressed will of the population of this Trust Territory, as an expression of its care for a small people under its trusteeship.

38. Such is the face of the old type of colonialism—what might be called the "classical" type. But in present-day conditions that is not the only and not the principle form of colonialism. In our day the mightiest colonial State is not enfeebled Britain or France, not decrepit Portugal or backward Spain, but the United States of America, the greatest imperial Power.

39. The United States representative, who for some reason preferred to speak at the very close of this debate, tried in his statement to infuse new life into the cold war themes which the United Kingdom representative had so carefully attempted to insinuate into our discussion. However, the statements of all the speakers who followed him showed that Mr. Wadsworth's efforts were just as unsuccessful as Mr. Ormsby-Gore's. A suitable answer to these two representatives of the two existing variants of national oppression—"classic" colonialism and neo-colonialism—was given by many speakers. Even the representatives of countries such as Honduras and Panama were obliged to acknowledge publicly that a number of territories seized or, as it is euphemistically termed, leased by the United States are, in fact,

part of those countries. The statement made by the representative of Cuba completely demolished the hypocritical assertions of United States representatives that they have granted "freedom" to Puerto Rico and have no designs on the freedom and independence of other countries, the Latin American countries in particular.

40. Mr. Wadsworth's statement could easily have given some innocent the impression that the United States, the dominant colonial and imperial Power, is the best and most unselfish friend of the colonial peoples, that it is doing everything possible to bring about their liberation, and is moved to joy and ecstasy whenever a new independent State is born. In reality, however, the United States representative's remarks are made up partly of hypocrisy and partly of outright attempts to justify the preservation of colonial régimes indefinitely, on the pretext of preventing "chaos" and "violence" and of giving the colonies the training necessary to enable them to "stand on their own feet". Characteristically, the United States representative said not a word to us about when the United States proposes to grant independence to its own colonies—the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, Guam, the Virgin Islands, Samoa and Puerto Rico. Why is it that while New Zealand has agreed to terminate its trusteeship over Western Samoa in 1961, the United States still obstinately clings to its colony of Samoa and intends to keep that island in a state of colonial subjection? Why does the United States stubbornly refuse to grant independence to Puerto Rico, falsely and cynically asserting that the people of that country do not at present desire independence?

41. The United States representative yesterday enlarged at some length on the importance of ensuring that the dependent peoples are given the opportunity of freely and democratically expressing their will. Why, then, did the United States representative in the Fourth Committee vote at this session of the General Assembly against the African countries' proposals for United Nations supervision to ensure the free expression of the will of the colonial peoples, with a view to preventing the intrigues which the colonialists engage in with such alacrity? That in itself alone demonstrates the hypocrisy of United States "care" for the fate of the colonial peoples, and exposes that country's real colonialist policy.

42. While United States colonialism is in many respects similar to the colonialism of the old European Powers, it has an even more dangerous and sinister side. The history of United States colonialism, too, is full of wars and armed expeditions organized with a view to the seizure of foreign territories and the oppression of other peoples, or with a view to repressive action against "recalcitrant" native peoples. As we know, the Spanish-American War of 1898 was the first imperialist war fought for the repartitioning of an already partitioned world. As a result of that war the United States was able to take over the Philippines and Puerto Rico and to subjugate Cuba. The United States still holds some of these territories as outright colonies. But the inhabitants of these colonies, like the other colonial peoples, are legitimately demanding their freedom and independence, and consider that the time has come to put an end to American colonialism.

43. Let me cite as an example the statement made by two inhabitants of the Marshall Islands, Mr. Bolkein,

Magistrate of Kwajalein Atoll, and Mr. Amata Kabua, a former President of the Marshall Islands Congress, at the Trusteeship Council's twenty-sixth session. The petitioners declared as follows:

"Our complaints are simple. Our standard of living under United States rule has gone down. Our land has been taken for sixteen years and no payment was offered us until thirteen years after it was taken from us. Our island home has been made an atomic testing ground. Our people have suffered radiation sickness and burns and other serious damages.... Our ancient ways are being destroyed. We fear for our future as the Marshallese race....

"Many, many years ago we protected ourselves without help from any other nation. Then came the Spanish who protected us, and we became a colonial possession. Next the Germans came to protect us. This was more colonialism.... Now the United States is protecting us. We are still a part of colonialism. We think we can protect ourselves better and much more cheaply. We are willing to learn democracy. We believe that democracy is a good way. But we do not believe the way we are being treated is a good example of democracy.

"...Maybe it would be better if we were given our ancient freedom. The people of Africa and Asia are getting their freedom. We think we can do as good a job of governing ourselves as do these new countries."^{4/}

That is what these petitioners declared. That is the voice of the indigenous population of the American colonies—a voice which the United States, for all its efforts, will certainly never succeed in stifling.

44. In speaking of American colonialism, however, it has to be borne in mind that this type of colonialism is expressed not only in the form of the open seizure and possession of foreign territories, but also in the concealed—and therefore more dangerous—form of the subjugation and control of even formally independent territories and countries. The economic penetration of American monopolies into the countries of Latin America, Asia and Africa has resulted in the creation of an outwardly "invisible" United States colonial empire.

45. The main features of American colonialism which have taken shape in this way were described some years ago very expressively by Mr. Nehru, in a letter to his daughter dated 3 January 1933—at which time, of course, he was not his country's Prime Minister. This is what Mr. Nehru wrote to his daughter:

"Do not imagine that the Empire of the United States is confined to the Philippine Islands. Outwardly that is the only empire they have got, but, profiting by the experience and troubles of other imperialist powers, they have improved on the old methods. They do not take the trouble to annex a country, as Britain annexed India; all they are interested in is profit and so they take steps to control the wealth of the country. Through the control of the wealth it is easy enough to control the people of the country and, indeed, the land itself.

And so without much trouble, or friction with an aggressive nationalism, they control the country and share its wealth. This ingenious method is called economic imperialism. The map does not show it. A country may appear to be free and independent if you consult a geography or an atlas. But if you see behind the veil you will find that it is in the grip of another country, or rather its bankers and big businessmen. It is this invisible empire that the United States of America possess."^{5/}

46. The history of the years which have followed the writing of these words has only confirmed their truth. Since the Second World War, the characteristic feature of United States colonialism has been its drive to secure for itself the undivided dominion of the economically under-developed and colonial countries, to dislodge its competitors—in the name of the battle against "world communism"—from their positions, to take over their former colonial possessions, and to crush the national liberation movements in the countries of Asia, Latin America and Africa. Particularly active in recent years have been United States efforts to penetrate into Africa. While the commanding positions in Africa's economy are still, as in the past, in the hands of the United Kingdom and France, these countries are more and more being crowded out by American colonialism. This is well illustrated by the single fact that in 1959 United States private and public investment in Africa had already reached more than \$2000 million, or more than twenty times the figure for the pre-war period. During the same period, American private investment in Africa rose by about 1100 per cent—which means that it had more than doubled the over-all rate of growth of United States private investment abroad. As a result, the tentacles of American monopoly capital have already fastened onto many African countries.

47. The United States is not in the slightest interested in the peoples of the colonies achieving full and genuine independence, for in that event the American monopolies would lose their privileged positions in the colonies, would lose the sources of their self-enrichment. The United States cannot be present in the ranks of those who fight for the liberation of the colonies and for the abolition of colonialism, since it takes a direct and active part in the spoliation of the colonies. American imperialism has become the dominant international exploiter, the main bastion of present-day colonialism.

48. Headed by the United States, the imperialists are making desperate efforts to continue by new methods and in new forms the colonial exploitation of the peoples of the former colonies. The monopolies are trying to retain in their hands the levers of economic control and political influence in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Their aim in these efforts is to preserve their old positions in the economies of the liberated countries and to gain possession of new positions under the cloak of economic "assistance", to inveigle the liberated countries into military blocs, to plant military dictatorships and set up military bases in them. The imperialists are trying to emasculate and subvert the national sovereignty of the liberated countries, to distort the meaning of self-determination, to impose on them,

^{4/} This statement was made at the 1061st meeting of the Trusteeship Council, the official record of which was published only in summary form.

^{5/} Jawaharlal Nehru, *Glimpses of World History*, Allahabad, 1935, pp 748 and 749.

under the guise of "inter-dependence", new forms of colonial rule, to place imperialist puppets in power in the liberated colonial countries, to bribe part of their national bourgeoisie, and to exploit the poisoned weapon of ethnic discord in order to sap the strength of these young and still feeble States. For these purposes they make active use of aggressive military blocs and bilateral aggressive military alliances.

49. The main colonialist bloc is NATO. One of its fundamental purposes is to set up a system of collective colonialism and to organize collective measures for the repression of the national liberation movement in the colonies. For direct proof of this one need look no further than the fact that NATO includes in its ranks such colonial Powers as the United Kingdom, France, Belgium, the Netherlands and Portugal. This indicates that the colonial Powers, faced with the extraordinary drive of the national liberation movement and unable to meet it in isolation, are endeavouring to find the necessary strength in union. The United States has repeatedly and openly formed a united front with the old colonial Powers in combating the national liberation movement. It has interfered flagrantly in the internal affairs of many countries and tried to turn them into bases for attacks on other countries.

50. Convincing evidence of the fact that the United States is now assuming the role of main bastion of the colonial system may be found in the "Eisenhower doctrine", a doctrine of patently imperialist character based on the policy of "negotiating from strength". In the past, the function of policeman in the Near East was carried out mainly by the British and French imperialists; today, the United States is trying to step into that role. The United States-United Kingdom intervention in Lebanon and Jordan in 1958 showed the whole world what the "Eisenhower doctrine" means.

51. The position taken by the United States is creating serious difficulties for Indonesia in its struggle for West Irian. The United States prefers West Irian to remain in the hands of the Netherlands, which with time it may be able to edge out of this area—as occurred with France in South Viet-Nam.

52. Under the banner of the "Monroe Doctrine", the United States has declared Latin America its own preserve and sphere of influence. But the days of tranquil and undisturbed United States hegemony in Latin America are past. A new day has dawned—the day of growing national self-consciousness among the peoples of the American continent and of their emancipation from United States spoliation.

53. As the principal colonial Power, the United States gives active assistance to its decrepit and senile partners, the other colonial Powers, in order to preserve their rule over the peoples fighting for their freedom and independence. The United States helped the French colonialists in their unsavoury war against the people of Viet-Nam. Now it is giving the French militarists arms and financial and economic assistance in their efforts to crush the revolt of the people of Algeria. It must be said plainly that the colonial war in Algeria would be impossible, and the Algerian people would long ago have won their freedom and independence, if the American imperialists and colonialists had not given the French colonialists all possible assistance. And is it not a fact that the collective aggression of the NATO States in the Congo is being

carried out with the direct help of the United States? I do not, of course, propose to embark at this point on a detailed analysis of the situation in the Congo; that is a special item on our agenda. But I think it desirable that I should draw attention to those general aspects of the question which are bound up with the problem of colonialism as a whole.

54. Events in the Congo have shown that the North Atlantic bloc, headed by the United States, has openly taken the field against the people of the Congo, who have united around the Government of Patrice Lumumba and the Congolese Parliament. The purpose of this aggression is to destroy the independence won by the Congolese people in a tenacious struggle. What is going on in the Congo at present is a redistribution of influence as between the colonial Powers—the United States, Belgium, the United Kingdom and France. This redistribution, as in similar cases in the past, is taking place on the basis of the new balance of forces and of changes in the appetites of the colonialists for the wealth of other peoples

55. The PRESIDENT: I hope the speaker at the rostrum will adhere to the statement of intention which he himself made just now and refrain from going into the question of the situation in the Congo in any detail. As he knows, this question is at present under discussion elsewhere, and it is also an item on the agenda of the Assembly, an item on which the Assembly has decided to adjourn debate. I hope, therefore, that he will not try to go into the question in any detail now. As he knows, other speakers who have seemed to do so have been asked to refrain from discussing the question of the Congo. I must ask the representative of the Soviet Union to do the same.

56. Mr. ZORIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): As I said when I took up this point, it is not my intention to go into a detailed discussion of the problem of the Congo as such. My intention is to deal with it in its relation—and solely in its relation—to the problem of colonialism, and that is what I have largely done already. For the colonialists are as one man trying to exploit the example of the Congo as a "lesson" to the peoples of Africa, and trying to prove their theory—a theory they themselves invented—that the young African States which have won their independence will be unable to live and develop without the aid of those who for many decades and even centuries have crushed all attempts by the African peoples to win their freedom and independence. I am convinced, however, that the lessons which the peoples of Africa, Asia and the whole world will learn from the tragic example of the Congo will be different ones.

57. It is hardly necessary to show that a weak and backward country like Portugal could not possibly preserve its rule over eleven million Africans without assistance from the United States and its other NATO allies. Portugal has dared to defy all the African peoples and countries and to deny independence to Angola, Mozambique and its other colonies only because it feels itself to be supported by the other colonial Powers. I entirely agree with the following statement made by Mr. Nkrumah, President of the Republic of Ghana, in his address to the General Assembly at this session, on 23 September:

"In regard to Portugal, my view is that a particular responsibility rests on the NATO members who

are also Members of the United Nations . . . " [869th meeting, para. 47].

58. But after all, how can the United States fail to help its Portuguese friends when the Portuguese colonies are dominated by American banks and companies like Standard Oil, the Chase National Bank, the National City Bank of New York and the Gulf Oil Corporation, which control most of the Portuguese diamond, petroleum, rubber and other companies? Thus, the colonialists form a mutual guarantee system—a system which reflects their moral and spiritual affinity. As the proverb has it, dog does not eat dog. Naturally, the United States cannot now come forward publicly in the United Nations and declare to the whole world, as it did at the close of the bilateral conversations between the United States and Portugal, that it supports Portugal and that there are no differences of opinion between the two States. At this session the United States representative prefers to keep silent on that point. It must nevertheless be pointed out that the question of the Portuguese and Spanish colonies has been discussed in some detail at this session in the Fourth Committee and that that discussion made it clear that Portugal is in a position of almost complete isolation.

59. Many delegations from African, Asian, socialist and other countries have sharply criticized the brutal colonialist practices established by Portugal in its colonies. They have cited many facts and a great deal of evidence, which the Portuguese representative was unable to refute. In addressing this plenary session [934th meeting], the Portuguese representative found no better way than to deny indiscriminately all the facts and arguments advanced by other delegations. But is it not a fact that a brutal system of racial discrimination and forced labour exists in the Portuguese colonies? Neither in the Fourth Committee nor in the plenary General Assembly has the Portuguese representative even attempted to deny that in the Portuguese colonies all the inhabitants are classified as "civilized" (assimilated) or "uncivilized". And that in the twentieth century! So far as legal form is concerned, Africans in the Portuguese colonies may raise themselves to the status of "assimilated", but to do that they must prove that they know the Portuguese language, are Catholics, possess specified means, and are willing to renounce local custom and their own culture and traditions and to live in European style. In actual fact, however, only three out of every thousand Africans have been able, after five centuries of Portuguese occupation, to acquire "assimilated" status; the rest are still as in the past called natives and denied all civil and political rights. They have no representation in any single administrative organ or in the metropolitan legislative organs; they enjoy no legal protection of any kind. They can be arbitrarily expelled from lands which have been theirs from time immemorial; the authorities can have them flogged or sent to do forced labour without trial for any misdemeanour. The only thing that is prohibited in the Portuguese colonies is the overt enslavement of the indigenous inhabitants; all other forms of servitude are not only not prohibited but sanctified by law.

60. In Mozambique, for example, systematic trade in Africans still goes on, under the guise of the contract system. Under the so-called Mozambique Convention of 1928, which is regularly renewed, 100,000 Negroes are exported every year from Mozambique to the Union of South Africa and about the same number to

Rhodesia and Nyasaland. In addition, there is a special Government organization whose function it is to recruit labour for the gold-mines and coal-pits of the Transvaal. Most of the contracted workers, according to bourgeois observers, die on the journey, from sickness, hunger and epidemics, or perish on the job itself.

61. I should like to cite the issue for 8 April 1960 of The Guardian, an English newspaper. According to this newspaper, the use of forced labour in the Portuguese colonies has constantly expanded over the last twenty years; and the practice has now become so widespread that forced labour is the predominant form of labour both in Mozambique and in Angola. And allow me also to quote from a memorandum circulated to representatives attending the fifteenth session of the General Assembly by the Union of Peoples of Angola:

"The basic feature of Portuguese colonialism is Fascism of the worst type, bearing the stamp of the most inhuman racism. Racist policy is in practice carried out with brutal ferocity in the spheres of culture, economics and social affairs."

Later in the same document it is stated that:

"Since the beginning of 1959 a veritable policy of bloody intimidation has been carried on. Mass murders in so-called Portuguese Guinea, the arrival of military reinforcements in Angola, arrests, tortures and the exile of patriots in Angola, the distribution of arms to the colonialists, who are converted into militiamen authorized to destroy any suspicious individual. Our compatriots are subjected to every imaginable form of punishment and torture. Examples which can be cited are those of the patriot Alfred Bengé, who was left dumb and paralyzed, and Ramos Lundila, who lost his reason after torture with electricity and is now in a psychiatric institution . . . the patriots José Manuel Martins, Domingo João and Manuel Francisco were executed at Ramal de Bengo."

62. Can the Portuguese representative deny this testimony to the tortures, repressions and hardships inflicted on the indigenous population? Is it not a fact that in Mozambique about one out of every two new-born infants dies in the first days of life? Is it not a fact that 99 per cent of the indigenous population of Angola, Mozambique and other Portuguese colonies remain illiterate after five hundred years of "enlightened" administration and "civilization"?

63. The Portuguese representative prefers to remain silent on these matters and merely to assert gratuitously that some delegations engage in "propaganda" and make unjustified attacks on Portugal. He even goes so far as to assert that those delegations which are trying to bring about the abolition of the colonialist order in the Portuguese colonies are interfering in Portugal's internal affairs; that in any event, Portugal has no colonies at all, but only overseas provinces. The falsity of such assertions is quite obvious. For the mere fact that on 11 June 1951 the Portuguese Constitution was amended by proclaiming the Portuguese colonies to be overseas provinces in no way altered the situation of these territories, and the colonial system has continued in them quite unchanged. No one, I need hardly say, will be deceived by legal sophistries or chicaneries of that kind, and the demand voiced by all freedom-loving peoples that the shameful phenomenon of colonialism be brought

to an end applies fully and without qualification to the Portuguese colonies too. And if the Portuguese colonialists stop their ears to the voice of reason and fail to understand the historical inevitability of the collapse of the colonial order, then they will ultimately be swept from the face of Asia and Africa by the mighty surge of the national liberation movement.

64. We have not cited all these facts merely for the sake of criticizing the colonial Powers: this has not been criticism for the sake of criticism. The Soviet Union, with other peace-loving and freedom-loving countries, tirelessly opposes the colonial system, because it is vile, because it means depriving entire peoples of elementary rights and freedoms, because it is a mockery of human dignity, because it means the humiliation and suffering of the many millions of inhabitants of the colonies.

65. The total collapse of the system of colonial slavery under the pressure of the national liberation movement is inevitable; it is an irresistible and irreversible process. A sharp intensification in the struggle of the colonial peoples for their liberation took place under the impetus of the great October Socialist Revolution, which awakened the East and swept the colonial peoples into the general tide of the world revolutionary movement of emancipation. History is confirming the truth of the prophecy made by the great Lenin that:

"The period of the awakening of the East to the revolution of our times will be followed by a period in which all the peoples of the East will take part in deciding the destinies of the whole world, will cease to be a mere object of exploitation; a period in which all peoples will decide the destinies of all mankind."

The victory of the Soviet Union in the Second World War, the establishment of the people's democratic system in a number of countries of Europe and Asia, the triumph of the socialist revolution in China, the formation of a world socialist system have enormously accelerated the development of this process.

66. The heroic struggle of the colonial peoples and the support given them in that struggle by the socialist and other freedom-loving countries—those are the basic factors ensuring the collapse of the colonial system. But for the existence of the world socialist system, the imperialists would by their united efforts have crushed the national liberation movement in the colonial and dependent countries. But the world balance of forces is now such that the colonialists can no longer, even by force of arms, stave off the disintegration of the colonial system. The special feature of the situation in our day is that the imperialists, under pressure from the peoples and given the existence of a mighty camp of peace and socialism, are compelled in many cases to withdraw "peacefully" from their colonies, although they strive to enmesh them in inconscionable agreements of various kinds. With the representatives of the colonial Powers in mind, Mr. Khrushchev, the head of the Soviet Government, in a statement made to the General Assembly at this session, said:

"We cannot, of course, expect that our proposals for the liquidation of the colonial system, consistent though they are with mankind's vital interests, will meet with sympathy on the part of those who are

still clinging to the colonial order of things. I can hear in advance the criticism of those who defend the colonial system. But to those accustomed to build their prosperity at the expense of the oppressed peoples of the colonies we say this: Think, look carefully at what is happening around you. If not today, then soon, very soon, will come the final collapse of the colonial order, and if you do not get out of the way in time, you will be swept away just the same. The life of the doomed colonial system of government cannot be lengthened either by plots or even by force of arms. Such efforts will merely intensify and embitter the struggle of the peoples against this utterly decayed system." [869th meeting, para. 221].

67. The Soviet Union fights consistently and as a matter of principle for the immediate liquidation of the disgraceful colonial system. We openly criticize the colonial Powers and do not fear their slanders or insinuations, for we are fighting for a just cause—the freedom and independence of the colonial peoples. Our present statement is a reply not only to those representatives of the colonial Powers who have spoken from this rostrum in the course of this debate, but also to the representatives of France, Spain and the Netherlands, who have preferred to keep silent. We regard that as a ruse on the part of colonialists who are waging war in Algeria and are maintaining their occupation of various territories in Africa and Asia. We say bluntly to the representatives of the colonial Powers: Understand the historical necessity and inevitability of the liquidation of colonialism; quit the colonies of your own volition and with whole skins. Otherwise the peoples of the colonies will throw you out of their countries. At this moment you are being called upon in the United Nations to agree to grant the colonial peoples their independence peacefully. But if the colonialists refuse to take this course and compel the oppressed peoples to take up arms to expel their discredited oppressors, then it will be the duty of all peace-loving countries to give assistance of every kind in the righteous cause of the national liberation of the colonial peoples.

68. The debate on the colonial system at this fifteenth session of the General Assembly puts the United Nations to a serious test. Colonialism will be destroyed whatever may happen, with or without the help of the United Nations, for the collapse of the colonial system is part of the objective march of history, which no one can arrest. But the issue for the United Nations is this: either that Organization will hasten progress, or, remaining indifferent to the destinies of millions of oppressed people and allowing itself to be controlled by the colonialists, it will stand aside from this progress, or, what is worse, will be an obstacle to the speedy abolition of the despicable colonial system.

69. The broad discussion which has taken place on the subject of the draft declaration on the grant of independence to colonial countries and peoples has shown that world public opinion is so strongly in favour of the immediate and complete abolition of colonialism that it cannot be ignored by the colonial Powers. As the debate has shown, most delegations take their stand on behalf of a genuine struggle against colonialism. The Soviet delegation has listened with great attention and interest to the statements made by the representatives of Ceylon, Saudi Arabia, Ghana, Guinea, Mali, the United Arab Republic, India, Indonesia, Morocco, Iraq and other countries of Africa

and Asia, and is gratified to note the community of aspirations and goals in the struggle against colonialism which was manifested in those statements.

70. At the same time, it has to be noted that some delegations, while paying lip-service to the cause of anti-colonialism, in actual fact came to the defence of colonialist interests and argued in favour of putting off the inevitable end of the colonial system. For example, the representative of the Philippines [933rd meeting], despite the fact that at the last moment he even joined the original co-sponsors of the African-Asian draft resolution [A/L.323 and Add.1-6], made it clear that he interpreted the purposes and intentions of that draft resolution in a way completely different from the purposes and intentions of the overwhelming majority of its co-sponsors. He gave a mistaken interpretation of paragraph 5 of the African-Asian draft resolution, asserting that it did not imply the immediate transfer of all powers to the peoples of the colonies. It would appear that the representative of the Philippines set himself the task of subverting the meaning of the African-Asian draft resolution and castrating it for the benefit of the colonialists. That, essentially, was also the position taken by the Argentine representative [927th meeting], who, in effect, opposed the immediate liberation of the colonies and appealed to us not to precipitate artificially the process of decolonization, which, in his view, is going ahead at a rapid pace. He also opposed the establishment of a time-limit for the grant of independence to colonial countries and peoples. It is clear that statements of this kind merely encourage the colonial Powers in their refusal to grant the colonies freedom and independence. The representative of Honduras went even further. He has submitted a draft resolution [A/L.324/Rev.1] which amounts to a colonialist proposal. The Honduran draft resolution can be regarded only as a diversionary manoeuvre directed against the desire of the great majority of Members of the United Nations to put an end to colonialism. The Soviet delegation will of course vote against the Honduran proposal, which, while it puts up a show of opposition to the colonial system, actually implies the continuance of that system. We are confident that the General Assembly will not allow itself to be diverted from dealing with historically important issues, whatever tricks and manoeuvres the colonial Powers and their myrmidons may resort to.

71. The debate in plenary Assembly has also shown that there are a number of delegations which for various reasons either will not or cannot put the question of the abolition of colonialism in sharp and decisive form; which are aiming at some sort of "compromise" on the question with the colonial Powers. They apparently do not realize that on a matter of principle as vital for millions of people as the abolition of colonialism, efforts at compromise with the colonialists can only harm the anti-colonial struggle, can only operate to the advantage of the foreign oppressors. Any concession to the colonialists will prolong the sufferings of the colonial peoples. Surely that has been proved by the fourteen years of unsuccessful search for a compromise with the Government of the Union of South Africa on the question of South West Africa. The outcome of such concessions to the South African colonialists has been the preservation of colonial slavery in South West Africa and the de facto annexation of that territory.

Further evidence of the pernicious results of concessions to the colonialists and of efforts at compromise with them is provided by the present tragic situation of the Congolese people.

72. For that reason, the Soviet Union's view is that the question of the abolition of colonialism must be raised in consistent and decisive form, and that a radical solution to it must be found within the framework of the United Nations. Such a solution means that the General Assembly would have to express quite definitely, at this session, its support for the immediate and final abolition of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations. The Soviet delegation considers that the draft declaration submitted by the Soviet Union for consideration at this session [A/4502] most fully meets the demands of the colonial peoples, since it calls for their immediate and complete liberation from foreign rule. That is a demand made by life itself. Such a decision would have enormous historic—and immediately practical—significance. It would hasten the hour of liberation of all peoples from foreign oppression, and would enable us to end the shameful phenomenon of colonialism for good. We are convinced that all countries which are sincerely interested in the grant of freedom and independence without delay to all colonies and Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories will support the draft declaration submitted by the Soviet Union.

73. In accordance with rule 93 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly, the Soviet draft declaration should be put to the vote first, since it was introduced for consideration first. The Soviet delegation formally proposes that that procedure, which is provided for in the rules of procedure, should be followed.

74. With regard to the draft resolution submitted by the African and Asian States [A/L.323 and Add.1-6], the Soviet delegation applauds the desire shown by the overwhelming majority of African and Asian delegations that measures should be taken at the fifteenth session of the General Assembly to advance the realization of that lofty goal—the complete liberation of the peoples of all colonies and dependent countries. We remember that as long ago as 1955, the representatives of twenty-nine Asian and African States proclaimed at Bandung that colonialism in all its manifestations is an evil which should be speedily brought to an end. We also remember that in 1960, at Addis Ababa, the representatives of ten independent African countries and of a number of African territories which had not yet obtained their independence, addressed an urgent appeal to the colonial Powers to fix dates in conformity with the will of the people for the attainment of independence by all non-independent countries, and to communicate those dates to the people concerned.

75. The Soviet delegation reserves the right to speak at a later stage and explain its views on the specific provisions of the African-Asian draft resolution.

Mr. Hasan (Pakistan), Vice-President, took the Chair.

76. Mr. SOSA RODRIGUEZ (Venezuela) [translated from Spanish]: The discussion in this Assembly of item 87 entitled "Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples" unquestionably constitutes a landmark of decisive importance in the history of mankind. The mere fact

that an item whose object is a solemn proclamation that colonialism should once and for all be considered a thing of the past has been included in the agenda of this Assembly without reservations or objections, is evidence of the vast progress being made in this second half of the twentieth century in regard to the recognition of human dignity.

77. The history of colonialism is almost as old as the history of the world itself. It is the history of the desire of the stronger to dominate the weaker. By whatever title the process is graced and on whatever pretext it is carried out, it is always the history of the exploitation of the weaker by the stronger. Everywhere and at all times, a colonial system has invariably begun with an act of force, the imposition by force of a system contrary to the legitimate and natural aspirations of the human being. It is therefore not surprising that in all times and places there has always been a violent reaction to this system. History is full of examples of so-called colonial wars; both wars of conquest and wars to preserve conquests already made.

78. Underlying any colonial system—and I do not think this is an over-simplification—there have always been two factors: a belief in the racial, cultural or intellectual superiority of certain peoples over others, and a desire to exploit the natural resources of some peoples for the benefit of others. In certain cases there has also been a desire for territorial expansion as a solution to problems of over-population.

79. Human relations being a complex and subtle matter, other factors have also entered into the phenomenon of colonialism, and for that reason the balance sheet of colonial régimes has not been entirely negative. Many peoples have attained higher levels of culture and material progress under the influence of the colonizing country, but that is not a sufficiently cogent argument to justify the evil inherent in all colonial régimes. Except for the missionaries who went to foreign lands in a spirit of selfless devotion to preach their faith and whose goal was to win souls for God, I doubt whether any colonial undertaking could be said to be free of ulterior motives.

80. Nevertheless, the fact that Spain's colonial endeavour in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was marked by that spiritual quality gave it special features which we do not find in the colonialization of the twentieth century. Throughout the period of the Spanish colonial régime in America in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Spain and its American colonies were gradually forging a common identity. The children of the "conquistadores" were children of America and the American territories became an extension of Spain. That is why the American peoples, who on acquiring a sense of their own individuality, struggled for long years to win their independence from Spain, nevertheless retain for it the love of children for their mother—we even call Spain the mother country—since Spanish blood flows in our veins and our language and religion are also a legacy of Spain.

81. Racial discrimination is unknown to Spanish America and the concept of a superior race or people is completely alien to us. It is for that reason that the process of colonialization in Asia and especially in Africa, despite the benefits which the peoples of the colonies may sometimes have derived from it, has

always been repugnant to our consciences and has stirred us deeply.

82. Venezuela was called upon to play a leading part in the process of the emancipation of America, and it is to the genius and perseverance of Simón Bolívar that six nations of our continent owe their independence. That is why there exists in my country a profound antipathy to colonialism and a lively sympathy for the cause of the peoples who are still struggling for their independence.

83. The Charter of the United Nations unquestionably marked a great advance towards the solution of the problem of colonialism and brought hope to those peoples still subjected to that régime. Clearly, the existence of the colonial régime is incompatible with many of the principles embodied in our Charter, and the provisions of Chapters XI and XII, viewed in the spirit of the Charter, can be considered only as the last compromise between the interests of the colonial Powers and the powerful movement in favour of the sacred principles of self-determination of peoples and absolute equality among men.

84. The system established by the Charter has yielded excellent results and, thanks to the increasing acceptance of its guiding principles by the peoples, we have witnessed the emergence since 1945 of a large number of newly independent States which are today Members of the United Nations. Millions of human beings are, however, still living under the colonial régime and, in their interest, more rapid progress must be made. The declaration on the independence of those countries and peoples, which we are discussing in this year 1960, will meet this requirement and fulfil that legitimate aspiration. This declaration will be the instrument which will make possible the adoption of measures directed towards the final eradication of colonialism. The United Nations must continue to play a vital part in this process, by providing the newly independent nations with the technical assistance they need and by protecting them from economic dependence on the former colonial Power, or on any other Power.

85. Political independence does not by itself constitute real independence; it needs to be accompanied by economic independence. That is why the principle of the right of peoples to the use of their natural resources is of such importance; in other words, this right is an integral part of the right of self-determination. Natural resources should be used for the advantage and benefit of the country owning them, subject of course to the obligations stemming from economic co-operation among nations and from international law.

86. The course of events is the same with nations as with individuals. A human being cannot develop his talents to the full or be truly free unless, in addition to enjoying all the civil and political rights which freedom implies, he has reached a certain level of economic well-being which enables him to make effective use of that freedom. In the field of domestic law, we can trace this process of liberation from the French Revolution, which established the principle of equality before the law and abolished class privileges, to the enactment during the past and especially the present century of social legislation specifically designed to protect the worker and the economically weak classes. This process of evolution which has taken place in domestic law in relation

to the individual is the same as is now taking place in international law in relation to nations, and in this process the existence of the United Nations has unquestionably been, and will continue to be, a dominant and decisive factor. The declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, which this Assembly will adopt, will constitute a major landmark in this process of evolution.

87. Although the declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples refers specifically to those countries and peoples which the United Nations Charter defines as Non-Self-Governing or Trust Territories, it must in fact have a much wider application, as it once again endorses the principle of self-determination of peoples, which includes the right of every people to choose its own form of government, to enjoy its spiritual and material patrimony without restriction, to live freely in accordance with its most cherished traditions, and to be exempt from any form of subjection to any other more powerful nation or people.

88. This point underlines a characteristic which any declaration on the abolition of colonialism must possess, namely, universality. Such a declaration is, in effect, based on universal principles which cannot be limited to any particular time or place. These are the principles underlying the dignity of the human being and the undeniable right of peoples to freedom:

freedom to become independent nations; freedom to choose the political system which most closely corresponds to their traditions and ideals; freedom of education; freedom of religion; in short, freedom to live their own lives, subject only to respect for the same rights of other peoples. The declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples must, therefore, apply to all countries and peoples in all continents who remain subject to the colonial régime or who do not enjoy such independence, and it must also apply not only to the past and the present, but also to the future in the sense that independent countries must be prevented from again falling victims to colonialism.

89. It is in this broad sense that my delegation interprets any declaration against colonialism, and it is from this standpoint that it will vote on the draft resolutions submitted for the consideration of this Assembly. In voting in favour of a declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, the Venezuelan delegation will merely reaffirm the position it has consistently taken and endorsed by its votes and its statements in the United Nations in favour of the independence of all peoples and the implementation in all continents of the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations Charter.

The meeting rose at 5:30 p.m.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

FIFTEENTH SESSION

Official Records



71
944th
PLENARY MEETING

Tuesday, 13 December 1960,
at 10.30 a.m.

NEW YORK

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

In the absence of the President, Mr. Hasan (Pakistan), Vice-President, took the Chair.

AGENDA ITEM 87

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

1. The PRESIDENT: The first speaker on my list this morning is the representative of Portugal, in exercise of the right of reply.

2. Mr. GARIN (Portugal): Using the most insulting language, the baseness of which I can only guess at from the English translation, the Soviet representative, at the 939th meeting, unrestrainedly insulted Portugal and the Portuguese people from this rostrum. Pursuing his Government's well-known policy of injecting falsehoods and distortions into any issue, the Soviet representative embarked the other day on a rampant and vicious attack against many countries. My own country was included, and the Soviet representative unleashed against us unprovoked, unjustified, unwarranted, gratuitous and thoroughly malevolent accusations. This abuse by the Soviet delegation of a self-respecting Member of this Organization cannot go unanswered.

3. The Soviet representative began his false allegations by asserting that in the Portuguese Overseas Provinces are found " . . . American banks and companies like Standard Oil, the Chase National Bank, the National City Bank of New York and the Gulf Oil Corporation, which control most of the Portuguese diamond, petroleum, rubber and other companies" [939th meeting, para. 58]. None of these allegations is true. Neither the National City Bank nor the Standard Oil Company nor the Chase National Bank controls anything in Portuguese territory, nor have they in any territory even an agency. All those who know the Portuguese economy and who are acting in good faith are very much aware that there is no American control, nor any foreign control for that matter, over any Portuguese enterprises or companies, and that any American interests, as they may exist, are negligible. Besides, in accordance with Portuguese law, the administration of any company or enterprise, even though it may have some foreign capital, must always remain in Portuguese hands; and under the provisions of the current Portuguese legislation,

foreign capital is not allowed to hold more than 40 per cent of the total social capital. Therefore, we have here a plain falsehood and a plain distortion of the true facts.

4. The Soviet representative also placed before the Assembly the question whether or not it was a fact that in Portuguese territory " . . . a brutal system of racial discrimination and of forced slave labour exists . . . " [ibid., para. 59]. No, it is not a fact. It is merely another falsehood, and we firmly and strongly repudiate it. I am not going to burden the Assembly with details, but I must say that there is absolute freedom of labour and absolute freedom of choice of employment. Furthermore, my Government has ratified the Convention concerning Forced or Compulsory Labour of 1930^{1/} and the Convention concerning the Abolition of Forced labour of 1957^{2/} of the International Labour Organisation. Also, the Portuguese Constitution and the labour laws explicitly prohibit forced labour, or any other form of compulsory labour, which is considered by us as a crime. Anyone wishing to do so can consult our laws.

5. As for the allegation concerning racial discrimination, no imagination, no matter how fertile, could conceive of any more unjust and unfounded accusation, nor of any accusation which could have hurt us more deeply had it come from a responsible source. Let me quote a responsible source, the renowned historian Arnold Toynbee, who in an article published in The New York Times magazine section of 7 August 1960 wrote:

"There are large and important sections of the human race in which race prejudice is conspicuous by its absence: I am thinking particularly of the Moslems and of the Spanish-speaking and Portuguese-speaking peoples."

And again, the same historian wrote in the same article:

"Anyway, the freedom of the Spanish- and of the Portuguese-speaking peoples from race feeling is an unquestionable fact, whatever its historic origins may be."

6. I could quote many other independent and responsible authorities, but I doubt that the Soviet representative would be much interested in independent and responsible sources.

7. Here is another accusation by the Soviet delegation:

"Neither in the Fourth Committee nor in the plenary General Assembly has the Portuguese representative even attempted to deny that in the Portuguese colonies all the inhabitants are classified as

^{1/} International Labour Conference, Conventions and Recommendations, 1919-1949 (Geneva, International Labour Office, 1949), Convention No. 29.

^{2/} International Labour Office, Official Bulletin, vol. XL (1957), No. 1, Convention No. 105.

'civilized' (assimilated) or 'uncivilized'." [939th meeting, para. 59.]

The Portuguese delegation has done more than try to deny; we have strongly denied it, and, what is more, the Portuguese delegation has explained in detail that such accusations have no foundation whatever in Portuguese law or practice. The indisputable fact is that the distinction between "civilized" and "uncivilized" is unknown to Portuguese law and if others, like the Soviet delegation, have framed such an invention for reasons of propaganda and political expediency, the fault is not ours and we reject any such blame.

8. For those who may be interested in more details, I would refer them to the debates in the Fourth Committee on this question in which this point was fully explained beyond doubt.

9. Then the Soviet delegation has stated that in one Portuguese territory there has been carried on "a veritable policy of bloody intimidation" and "mass murders" [*ibid.*, para. 61]. Those were the actual words. This is a most outrageous accusation and, unless the Soviet delegation is accustomed to taking such things lightly, it seems to my delegation inconceivable that any responsible member of this Assembly should make such preposterous statements without substantiation and without the vaguest proof.

10. I strongly protest against these outrageous accusations made by the Soviet delegation. There is still another falsehood. The Soviet representative said that the inhabitants of our overseas territories "have no representation in any single administrative organ or in the metropolitan legislative organs" [*ibid.*, para. 59]. It is not true; they have such representation. The Soviet representative said that the population "may be arbitrarily expelled from lands which have been theirs from time immemorial" [*ibid.*]. It is not true; they cannot.

11. Shall I go on? I do not wish to try the patience of the Assembly. I submit that it would be a divine miracle if the Soviet Government which, by ruthless and violent means, has consistently denied freedom, and whose record of oppression is second to none, were truly interested in what it calls the freedom of colonial peoples. Actually, we are left with the same old story of Soviet manoeuvres in this Assembly. They will use anything—that is, anything but the truth—or anyone, to plant the seeds of hatred and chaos on earth so that the ground will be ripe for communist conquest and exploitation, through penetration in Africa and elsewhere in the world, so as to carry out the "prophecy of the great Lenin" to which the Soviet representative referred at the same meeting [*ibid.*, para. 65].

12. These matters of the subjugation of peoples and territories, physical and moral slavery complete with political repression, deportations of people *en masse*, forced immigration, absolute lack of political and intellectual freedom, constant threats against other nations and peoples, exploitation of the weak, of which the Soviet representative spoke at length in his slanderous speech, are well known characteristics of the new type of colonialism which the world is facing: Soviet colonialism. It is tragically ironical that the Soviet representative carried his effrontery to the point of accusing the Portuguese nation of murderous activities. And who is making this accusation? It is the representative of the Soviet empire, if you please.

13. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Argentina to exercise his right of reply.

14. Mr. AMADEO (Argentina) (translated from Spanish): In his speech made on 7 December [939th meeting] the representative of the Soviet Union referred to the attitude adopted by the Argentine delegation in this debate.

15. The Soviet representative has blatantly distorted the views expressed by Argentina by asserting that, inasmuch as my speech showed, as he puts it, that we were opposed to the artificial acceleration of the decolonization process, it was encouraging the colonial Powers to refuse independence to their colonies.

16. The position of the Argentine delegation regarding the liquidation of the colonial system has been so clearly expounded that it does not need to be explained. In my speech I said:

"The important thing to note is that whatever judgement may be passed on the system now or by future historians, colonialism no longer fits into the political structure of our time. . . . It does not matter now what explanation or justification those systems may have had in the past. What is important is that in our day and age we should refuse to allow them to continue." [927th meeting, para. 17.]

17. This point of view is sufficiently clear-cut to require no clarification. The fact that we believe that the transfer of power to the new States must be effected as far as possible peacefully and in accord with the former metropolitan Powers and within the time-limits that are most convenient to the liberated countries, does not in any way mean that we modify the statement of principle affirming our opposition to the existence of the colonial system.

18. Accordingly, our vote in favour of the African-Asian draft resolution [A/L.323 and Add.1-6] is based on the conviction that the immediate steps referred to in paragraph 5 of the declaration imply the creation without delay of the conditions requisite for independence. We do not believe, on the other hand, that they presuppose an obligation to transform the existing juridical system.

19. It seems to us that the countries most directly interested in these problems have adopted a much more realistic attitude and one, undoubtedly, that will prove more advantageous to the non-self-governing peoples than those countries which have made a propaganda slogan out of the colonial problem.

20. As far as our attitude is concerned, we will allow no one to interpret it in a sense that is contrary to the letter and the spirit of our own words. We can accept criticism of the views we express but we reject interpretations which, whether from fair or from unfair motives, seek to change them.

21. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Spain to exercise his right of reply.

22. Mr. DE LEQUERICA (Spain) (translated from Spanish): At the meeting on Wednesday last, 7 December [939th meeting], the representative of the Soviet Union made a speech which was heard by several members of the Spanish delegation, including myself personally, in its Spanish interpretation. We found not the slightest mention in it of the Canary Islands. Neither is any reference made in the Spanish text of the Soviet speech as it appeared in the pro-

visional verbatim record to this province of Spain. But, on studying the English and French texts, we find a list which the Soviet representative gave of the various territories, some of them Spanish, which are customarily quoted in such cases, which could serve as bases for colonialism in countries other than the metropolitan countries, and we find cited in this list the Canary Islands.

23. I do not desire to offend the intelligence of fellow representatives, for you are all well aware of the fact that the Canaries are a very ancient Spanish province, an older member of the Spanish national community than some of the provinces in the European peninsula. Christopher Columbus stopped at the Canaries when he was sailing to America and the Canaries were a real centre for spreading the creative work of Spain in the Western hemisphere. In America, during the centuries when it was united with the Spanish crown, people talked constantly of "peninsular Spaniards" and "Canarian Spaniards". Many Americans of Central and South America come from the Canaries, speak our language and belong to our race. The greatest Spanish novelist of the nineteenth century, Galdós, came from the Canaries. It is, therefore, a historical monstrosity, unworthy of the culture of the Soviet delegation, to say what was stated by its spokesman. It is to manifest ignorance of something that any schoolboy with a slight knowledge of European geography knows.

24. A Minister of the Spanish Government, Mr. Carrero Blanco, gave a good definition of the historical and geographical character of Spain when he said that the Spanish nation is, geographically, a peninsula that has a tenuous link with the European continent and various islands and territories in the Atlantic and Mediterranean that are Spanish land. The peninsula, the Minister went on, has a great resemblance to an island. The sole bond of union of our nation is the sea, and he concluded by saying that we are an immense archipelago.

25. But, above all, the Soviet Union representative's statement implies an attack on Spain's sovereignty and integrity, which are guaranteed by the Charter of the United Nations, and against this we enter a most energetic protest and we deeply regret that such an act of aggression should have occurred in these discussions.

26. When the United Kingdom representative referred [925th meeting] to mass deportations of whole populations of the Soviet Union and to the suppression of nationality which accompanied those deportations, pointing out that this had happened to the Crimean Tartars, the Kalmucks and other smaller communities, the representative of the Soviet Union violently protested and, bursting with indignation, came to this platform to declare that it was a violation of the principles generally recognized as governing the proceedings of this Assembly. And he requested the President to protect the Soviet delegation and the delegations of other States against such an attempt to interfere in the domestic affairs of a country. I take the opportunity of making the same appeal in this case and, following the precedent thus established, I appeal to you, in the spirit and the letter of our Charter, to take cognizance of this unspeakable attack made by the delegation of the Soviet Union, which obviously has no respect for the law nor for the text, that we all know so well, of the Charter. The

Soviet Union has two quite different methods of approach to a problem; whenever any reference is made to the notorious Soviet imperialism or colonialism, it immediately voices a loud protest but, at the same time, it does not hesitate, as the whole history of the Soviet régime shows, to intervene in the domestic affairs of other countries and to attack the territorial integrity of my country, as it did last Wednesday.

27. As we are only very indirectly affected by colonial problems, we can speak on the subject in an impartial and disinterested fashion. I take advantage of this occasion—though I had not intended to intervene in this discussion—to pay tribute to the honest way in which the African and Asian countries, in spite of the major interest they have in the problem, have avoided making the same mistake in this discussion as the Soviet delegation and have maintained the debate on colonialism on the appropriate intellectual and political level, without resorting to the acrobatic tricks of those who seek not to achieve the progress of mankind but to find pretexts for confusing the issue.

28. As I have this opportunity here, I cannot refrain from mentioning that the peoples of Central and Southern America have given recognition in moving terms—and these are gratefully acknowledged—and on a high intellectual and critical level to the past history of Spain and have maintained their links with the old European peninsula and its Canary Islands, Balearic Islands and other island provinces.

29. Before concluding, I must say that God forbid I should follow the bad example set by the Soviet Union, as that would only mean interrupting the very important discussions that have been begun and which, as I have already said, concern the social advancement of the whole world. Were I to be tempted, however—which God forbid—merely to read an article in The New York Times of 24 September 1960, we would find subject matter to talk about Soviet colonialism for many more meetings. This article enumerates all the countries which have been "colonized" by violence by Soviet Russia, and I have no desire to mention the nations that figure among us here as independent nations since we have very definite scruples on this point. There was a discussion in this Assembly on the question of Tibet and, as we were not sure that Tibet was independent of Chinese suzerainty, we abstained from voting out of respect for the Charter, although the aggression committed there was obvious. In the article in The New York Times, as I was saying, you will find listed, among the countries colonized by the Soviet Union, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Armenia, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Kirgizia, Tadzhikistan, Kazakhstan, Tartu and the Yakut and Buriat territories. What a long time we could spend discussing each and every one of these problems and submitting proposals designed to alleviate the lot of those peoples. But, I repeat, it would never occur to us to do so.

30. And without going such a distance or delving into all the complications of human geography, we could, with reference to Sir Leslie Munro's report,^{3/} cite the case of the Hungarians. And we could, by merely taking a glance at the map, mention Eastern Germany. But we prefer for the moment not to trouble this

^{3/} Official Records of the General Assembly, Fourteenth Session, Annexes, agenda item 74, document A/4304.

meeting with such superfluous references which do little honour to those who make them and would carry no more serious weight than would be implicit in, say, a request by us to free Odessa or Leningrad from Soviet colonialism.

31. Mr. RAKOTOMALALA (Madagascar) (translated from French): The speakers who have preceded me at this rostrum have defined in very lofty intellectual phrases the object and purposes of the discussion which is now proceeding in the United Nations General Assembly and is being attentively followed by the whole world. The peoples who are longing for their emancipation are turning hopefully towards us and are expecting that speedy and positive solutions will emerge from our proceedings.

32. I shall now deal briefly with the substance of the problem.

33. With the advent of the eighteenth century and the French Revolution, despotic régimes disappeared and the rights of man were affirmed.

34. Slavery was abolished in the nineteenth century.

35. The twentieth century should see the triumph of equality as between all peoples. In the first half of this century human folly led men to kill their fellow-men in two terrible wars. Now, in the second half of the century, the peoples, having reached the age of reason, will no longer, so we hope, seek to subjugate one another.

36. The hearts of all who yearned for independence were filled with immense joy when, fifteen years ago, the Charter of the United Nations drafted at San Francisco solemnly declared that the Powers which had control over non-self-governing peoples had the obligation to lead them towards self-government and democratic management of their own affairs. A fresh chapter was thus opened up in the book of the life of nations and we have the privilege now of writing the last pages which will prepare for the closing of this chapter.

37. The draft resolution of which Madagascar is a sponsor [A/L.323 and Add.1-6] is designed to give a firm reminder to the Powers who still administer Non-Self-Governing Territories that it is high time that the provisions of the Charter be implemented all over the world and that the United Nations resolutely follow the policy which is laid down in the Charter and which should end in the abolition of colonialism.

38. My country has regained its international sovereignty after a break of sixty-four years. Determined as it is to safeguard this priceless gift of independence, it has entered the big family of the United Nations firmly resolved to contribute unreservedly to the maintenance of peace and the territorial integrity of States, but also, and above all, to pursue the lofty ideal of fraternity and equality which is the very foundation of the United Nations.

39. My delegation sincerely hopes that the draft resolution which it submits to you jointly with all the other African and Asian States will be adopted unanimously or, at any rate, by such a large majority that it will have to be regarded as manifesting the determination of the peoples of the world not to accept any further useless and endless delays. It is convinced that the Powers who are still administering Non-Self-Governing Territories will loyally bow to this will and will immediately take steps to enable

the populations concerned to express their feelings freely. It considers that it is the duty of these Powers, in any case, to prepare all the peoples for democratic self-government. Preparations must forthwith be made by stages to ensure that changes of status are made in orderly fashion, to see that the essential organs of modern administration are installed as soon as possible and that fully qualified nationals get immediately accustomed to the exercise of authority.

40. It is only by following this peaceful procedure, which Madagascar itself was fortunate to experience when France granted her internal autonomy in 1957 and independence in 1960, that the struggles and disorders can be avoided which bring suffering on the populations and leave germs of hatred and xenophobia behind in peoples' hearts.

41. My delegation makes a very broad-based appeal, therefore, to the consciences of the administering Powers and begs them to comply not only with the letter but also with the spirit of our draft resolution.

42. My delegation also trusts that the peoples who will be called upon to choose their future lot will fully realize the obligations they will have to assume on gaining their freedom. As they evoke and strengthen their national feelings and their patriotism, let them also try to ensure that their accession to international sovereignty is not accompanied by disorder, for the accession to such sovereignty should not be motivated by hatred but should form an important contribution to friendship and concord between men and nations.

43. It is with this prospect in mind that the Malagasy delegation, having given its support to the forty-three-Power draft resolution, will refuse to accept any amendment which would alter its meaning or scope, and will support it fervently, realizing that in so doing it is helping to promote the ideal of justice and peace throughout the world.

44. Mr. WACHUKU (Nigeria): I thank the President for giving me the opportunity to make a short statement with regard to the subject under consideration, that is, the declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples.

45. First of all, I want to express the gratitude of my delegation to the delegation of the Soviet Union, which took the initiative in having this subject placed on the agenda of the plenary meetings of the General Assembly. I also want to express my thanks to the delegations of the United Kingdom, the United States and all those non-African countries who are not bound by the force of circumstances as intimately with this subject as we are, but have expressed their support for the drive against this nefarious practice which holds mainly Africa in thralldom.

46. I speak as one who is more closely concerned with the subject. The main colonial area of the world today is Africa. Therefore when one discusses colonialism, it is of greater concern to African States than to any other States. Indeed, other countries can abstain; they can walk away. They can say, "Well, it does not concern us." And they would be quite entitled to do so. But no African State can do likewise. For my delegation and for Nigeria the total liberation of African territory from foreign domination and imperialism is of primary concern. Indeed, that is one of the pillars and canons of our future policies. He who is not with us in this matter must be considered to be against us.

47. As I have said before, along with colonialism there is also the question of the humiliation of peoples of African descent throughout the world; in other words, racial discrimination against people of African descent.

48. As far as Nigeria is concerned, the time has come when this subject will no longer be considered an internal affair of any State but indeed as something quite intimately connected with our foreign policy. Anybody who is not prepared to eradicate the humiliation that has been meted out to people of African descent or people of our racial stock cannot claim to love us.

49. Colonialism and imperialism go hand in hand, and for Nigeria independence is not an end in itself but a means to an end: Nigeria is prepared to be the guinea pig, the sacrificial lamb, for the purpose of the total liberation of the African continent. There are so many millions of our people of Africa today who are under foreign domination. Therefore, when you see the name of Nigeria as one of the sponsors of the draft resolution submitted by the African-Asian group [A/L.323 and Add.1-6] you can appreciate why we whole-heartedly support this resolution.

50. Africa was broken up by European Powers at the Conference of Berlin in 1884-1885. At that time, no African was there; no representative of Africa was there. Those who were present sat down and used a carving knife and divided up the whole continent, each taking its own share, as though it were a Christmas turkey.

51. But now Africa is coming back into its own, and it is only right that we who constitute the largest single country in Africa, the most populous country in Africa and one that is not badly off as far as resources are concerned, should, in the very early stages of our independence, make our position in this matter very, very clear. There should be no doubt where Nigeria stands in this matter.

52. I take this opportunity once more, as I have done before, to address certain colonial Powers which still believe in certain strange ideologies. I must mention Portugal categorically. I want to tell Portugal not to deceive itself any longer when it tells us here that Angola, Mozambique and other African territories are part and parcel of Portugal's metropolitan territory. That is nonsense. Nigeria will never accept that fictitious doctrine. Portugal, all along, has been behaving as if it is not aware of the changes that are taking place in the world today. We do not hate it, but we love our Africans more. And I am taking this opportunity to serve notice upon Portugal that, while Nigeria does not hate Portugal, Nigeria can never agree with Portugal on an issue which means that the people of Africa in Angola will be held in thralldom and that no attempt will be made to give them an opportunity to live life more abundantly.

53. Portugal should learn a lesson from what is happening in the Congo. It is because Leopold II regarded the Congo as his private estate and, when the Belgians took it over, regarded it as a farm and trained people only as farmhands to produce wealth for the Belgian State, that, when the time came for nationalism to take its turn, Belgium was not up to dealing with the problem that was raised. And what have we on our hands now as far as the Congo is concerned? Chaos.

54. It is because we want to avoid a repetition of this type of anarchy and chaos elsewhere on the continent of Africa that we come here today to speak on this subject. Those who have ears to hear should hear—but those who have none, or those who have ears and are prepared to block them, should not be surprised when history repeats itself.

55. Since we came to this Assembly, we have read all sorts of things. In fact, there was a circular letter that we received at one time from a strange organization in this great country—when we demand total liquidation of all colonies, it is this type of thing that makes us do so unhesitatingly—and I think it is right that I should read that document so that everybody will know its contents. I know that it is the work of certain marginal individuals, but the fact that such marginal individuals can exist and that such organizations can exist in a democratic society, in a society that is governed by law—individuals and organizations aiming at the destruction or humiliation of people different from themselves because they regard them as colonials—acts as a stimulus to us. It does not generate hate in our hearts. Rather than that, it serves as a challenge to us to insist that, from now on, every square inch of African territory and every square inch of Asian territory and every square inch of any colonial territory must be liberated from foreign domination.

56. By doing that, we will be contributing to the establishment of peace and tranquillity in the world. There can never be any peace in our world until all colonial territories are liberated from colonialism. Let us not deceive ourselves. So long as any State believes that it can hold another State in bondage and exploit the resources of that other country to its own advantage—not utilizing the resources of that other country to the advantage of that country's people, but hoping to build up its own economy at the expense of the economy and well-being of other people—there can never be peace in our world. Let no one deceive himself about that. These people want the good things of this world; they want to develop their culture, their traditions and their institutions; they want to develop their spiritual, intellectual and moral qualities. For one nation to hold another in bondage, to repress it and suppress it and subjugate it, is to sow the seeds of world catastrophe.

57. The most unpredictable thing in the world is man himself. You can predict the weather these days, but you cannot say exactly what a man is likely to do so long as he has a mind of his own. In other words, the most uncertain thing in the world is man, and, so long as there is the fire of God and the divine element in man, he always has potentialities for good or bad.

58. If you repress the people for too long there comes a time when they do not count the cost and are prepared to die for a cause which they believe to be very dear to their hearts. I am saying this in relation to South Africa. Today colonialism is not confined to Europe. The Union of South Africa is one of those imperialistic States where a minority of 3 million people decide to subjugate, humiliate and virtually destroy the souls of 11 million others.

59. I say, just as I have told Portugal—and the same thing refers to Spain and other countries of Europe who think of Africa as the target of their ambitions—

that the minority in South Africa that has had an opportunity to do good has decided to do evil all along. Nigeria takes this opportunity to serve notice on the minority elements that Nigeria cannot accept indefinitely the present position. But Nigeria is broad-minded enough to appreciate the forces of history. We do not want to treat the minority elements as aliens of South Africa to be driven into the sea or destroyed or expropriated.

60. I have said this before and I want to repeat it in this august Assembly: all we want South African rulers to practise today is the rule of law. There must be one law for all the people in South Africa. Those who are in power in South Africa must appreciate that if they are to survive in the near future they must acknowledge the rule of law and make use of the powers and the resources at their disposal to enable the majority to re-establish themselves so as to regain the confidence that they have lost because of years of oppression and repression. If they do not take the hint it is not Nigeria that will start the ball rolling; there will come a time when the majority will revolt, and we have already read of a number of incidents occurring in South Africa. There will be a time when the majority will revolt, and if those in power should be so indiscreet as to allow such an incident to occur, I cannot say nor can I imagine what the consequences may be. I can only say mildly that it will be a great disaster.

61. In order to avoid this holocaust Nigeria takes this opportunity to ask the minority rulers of South Africa to eradicate the colonialism and imperialism which have persisted in that territory for so long, and the humiliation that has been the lot of the people of Africa.

62. There is no use in telling Nigeria that this is an internal affair. We will never accept that as an internal affair of the Union of South Africa. As long as we live on a continent where there is racial discrimination against people of African descent—or as long as there is discrimination against people of African descent anywhere in the world—it can never be considered by Nigeria as an internal affair of any country. The sooner it is understood the better. That is one of the pillars of our policy in relation to all countries, and the sooner the United Nations puts an end to colonialism, imperialism and all that goes with them—which are so obnoxious, objectionable and unacceptable in a polite society—the sooner that is done the better we will be preparing for the establishment of world peace and human understanding.

63. I said that I was going to read a document. This was circulated to the new African States and the Asian States. This came to my office and I think it is necessary that we should put it on record. It is headed "White America rejects a bastardized United Nations".

"A foul stench spreads out from the East River and hangs over New York like a pall. It is the smell of sweat, the greasiest sweat of the black races of Africa and yellow races of Asia which have invaded the United Nations. It is enough to make every white Protestant American vomit.

"These sub-humans have come down from the trees and out of the swamps to lord it over the white race. Are they going to get away with it?

"The degenerate French, the Latin nations dominated by the Roman Pope and the Jew Slavs have already yielded, but we say America is white. We shall keep it white, no matter if the rest of the world is mongolized we shall keep our America pure.

"The Ku Klux Klan is on guard against the black and yellow peril sweeping in from across the seas.

"The present session of the General Assembly of the United Nations is controlled by the inferior races. It is a meeting of blacks and their brown and yellow brethren who are plotting to overthrow white Protestant America.

"What an insult to the founding fathers of our Republic for the black Nkrumah, the brown Nehru, the tan Nasser, the yellow Sukarno and the communistic-atheistic Tito, a traitor to God and the white race, to try to force President Eisenhower into a summit with the anti-Christ Khrushchev. These monkeys should have been tanned and feathered.

"The Lord in his infinite wisdom created the white race to rule over the animal kingdom and the lower races. Our Saviour Jesus Christ taught us to love and cherish even the slave, but he did not preach the domination of the slave over the master.

"The Ku Klux Klan wants the black and yellow delegates to stay close to the buildings of the United Nations and the brothels of Harlem and not to defile the hotels and restaurants of our white city. Our police will not relax their vigilance against the lawless acts of Africans like the delegate from Cameroun and other umpty blacks, and if you don't like it, get out. There is no welcome in America for a black and yellow United Nations. The fiery crosses shall burn."

64. I have read this document not with a view to engendering ill feeling, but to point out to this Assembly what greater reason we have for our determination to see to it that colonialism in all its forms is eradicated from the surface of this world.

65. I know that this organization, as I said, is composed of marginal individuals who cannot be considered to express the general will of the people of this great country. I know that this organization is composed of some men who are so warped in their outlook that they cannot see history—and perhaps they have not read history and have not had the opportunity of appreciating the lesson of history. They forget that even the wealth of the country of which they are proud to be loyal citizens was built with the sweat, blood and tears of these very blacks. Without them the economy and the greatness and even the creation of their great country would not have been possible, and the country could not be what it is today. That is history; we know that. I am prepared to acknowledge that this is due more to ignorance than to anything else, because Europe has dominated the course of history for so many centuries, and it is only recently that the Asian and African countries have come into the picture, in our twentieth century. These people with warped intellects have come to believe that there were no other people than themselves.

66. However, we find in the United Nations a mirror reflecting the various segments of the world. The United Nations is trying to bring about a balanced picture, and it is because of the resistance of such

people to the simple truths that are shown here through the presence of the diverse nations and diverse races working in harmony for common humanity that such elements are afraid of the truth and are prepared to die in their ignorance. I have read this in order to enable the representatives of the great country that acts as our host to appreciate the amount of harm such organizations can do to a relationship between itself and other nations, so that they may exercise themselves in sending a message to their nation to take steps to eradicate this type of cancer in their political midst. I have not read it because I am embittered; rather I take it in my stride, because I have read worse than this, written even by men of learning, professors, who have prostituted their knowledge to serve imperialistic purposes. We have read and analysed these things, and our reading has not deviated us from the course we have set ourselves.

67. It is when we see this type of thing happening, when we see the justification of injustice because of fallacious theories and fallacious concepts, that we realize that the only way to prove conclusively that these things are erroneous is not by hate or bitterness against anybody but by organized effort to eradicate those things that make such warped thinking exist at all. One of the ways of doing that is the complete liquidation of all forms of colonialism in all the areas that are dominated by others. I am certain that when that happens the goodness that is in man will be liberated, the finer aspects of humanity will come to the surface, and the world will benefit by the diversity of the contributions that come from all sections of the world. We will have a world with many facets contributing to the totality of world culture, a world in which the mutual appreciation of one another and the mutual appreciation of diverse cultures and the recognition of the contribution of others in other spheres will bring a sense of balance and bring peace and harmony between State and State and between man and man.

68. We, the delegation of Nigeria, look at the future with confidence. It has been said that the world looks at us and expects us to play an important role in Africa and in the world. It is our intention to play this role—if it is our lot to play such a role—honestly, sincerely, fearlessly, with the truth as our guiding light. When it comes to a situation of this nature, one must face it, and face it boldly. It is in that light that I have read this document, so that those who have ears to hear may hear, those who have thoughts may think and those that have capacity to reflect may reflect and find a solution to this problem before it becomes too late.

69. The other races of mankind are determined to have the right to live in their territories, to make use of the good things that are located within their territories, to organize them, to exploit them, to build their institutions, to perpetuate their kind and their culture and their traditions and to be able to come to an assembly of this nature to contribute to the well-being of the world. They cannot do that if, by any fictitious doctrine or by any dubious means, any nation puts forth an idea that it has any divine right to govern another one. We know that this is not true. We know it is false. We know that throughout history the rise and fall of empires have been due to this very thing. It is said that history repeats itself, but history does not repeat itself necessarily. As long

as men refuse to learn the lesson of history, that lesson still remains there until it is learnt. If it is not learnt, then it repeats itself because it has not been learnt. It is an assignment that has not been done. Then history repeats itself, and the lesson is learnt in a very expensive way.

70. The sponsors of the African-Asian draft resolution hope and believe that, following the trend of the discussion here, the Assembly will adopt this draft resolution unanimously, without any equivocation, so as to give hope to those countries that have been subjugated, those countries that have been deprived of their wherewithal, those countries that have been held in bondage, those countries that have been kept under heel, those countries that have not been allowed to exercise their God-given right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. I sincerely hope that the great Powers who profess democracy, who profess high ideals, who desire peace in the world, will see that by eradicating all forms of colonialism and opposing all forms of imperialism we will be achieving one of the objectives, indeed one of the corner-stones, in the achievement of world peace.

71. Colonialism and imperialism go hand in hand with war and destruction. You cannot maintain imperialism by peaceful means. It is always maintained by brute force. And brute force is the brother and the sister of war. That being the case, I take this opportunity to ask the great Powers and the small Powers, the medium Powers and the baby Powers, to go hand in hand in voting for this resolution, so that this Assembly can look back to this session with a feeling of satisfaction that something has been achieved.

72. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of the United States, who wishes to make a brief statement concerning the letter read by the representative of Nigeria.

73. Mr. MORSE (United States of America): In behalf of my delegation and my Government I have asked for this opportunity to make a brief reply to the representative of Nigeria, Ambassador Jaja Wachuku. I want him to know that I speak out of a great personal fondness and a very high respect for him.

74. He has read this very unfortunate letter that was circulated to delegates. And I am glad that he read it because it gets it out on top of the table, so to speak, and gives us an opportunity to reply to it.

75. I want to say that we share his appraisal of the letter. We think it is a shocking epistle. I want him to know that we think it is not only an affront to the delegates from Africa and Asia and the other countries which it attacks, but it is an affront to the American people. I want to assure the representative from Nigeria that it does not represent the point of view of the American people but represents apparently the bias and the prejudice and the bigotry of some fringe group in America, if it was written by a fringe group in America.

76. This delegation of the United States at the United Nations is headed by a great American who believes in the dignity of man and in the equality of man and who has demonstrated, time and time again, these great qualities in his leadership of this delegation. On the very day this shocking, bigoted letter was sent to certain delegates at the United Nations, Mr. James Wadsworth, on 28 November, issued a statement

which I am about to read. I think in fairness to this great American, who is the Chairman of our delegation, that our delegation owes it to him this morning to read his reply to the letter into the record in view of the fact that the representative of Nigeria has made it now a matter of public record—and I say quite rightly so. Mr. Wadsworth said on 28 November:

"It has come to my attention that a number of delegates received by mail today a scurrilous letter, purportedly originating from the Ku Klux Klan, which contains an outrageous racist attack. The author of this letter may be a crackpot. All societies have their crackpots, and the United States has laws designed to protect all members of society against vicious and threatening abuse created in sick minds.

"Whether this is the work of a crackpot or the work of others who seek to embarrass the United States, it is not possible to say at this time. I therefore ask that all those who have received this shocking letter be good enough to give me the envelopes, the letters and any other pertinent information. I have already asked the Federal Bureau of Investigation to launch an immediate investigation, and it is imperative that we receive as much evidence as is available in order to identify the source so that appropriate steps can be taken by United States authorities."

I think this answer by Mr. Wadsworth speaks for itself.

77. Let me add only this in addition. The internal contents of this letter are strange in some of its wordings. For example, it refers to "tan and feather". Let me say that if it were actually written by a bigoted group, such as the Ku Klux Klan, that group would well understand the meaning of "tar and feather" rather than "tan and feather". And this linguistic mistake in the letter, I think, speaks a great deal to the premise which we contend as to who produced the letter, namely, that it came from some obviously sick mind.

78. May I say further, as one in the Senate of the United States, who for many years in the Senate has been in the forefront of the fight against all discrimination in my country based upon race, colour or creed, that I can give assurance to this Assembly that this letter referred to by the representative from Nigeria does not bespeak the point of view of the American people.

79. I also want to say a word in behalf of a very distinguished member of our delegation, one of the great Negro women of America, Mrs. George. Dr. George is a personification, I think, of proof to this Assembly that we in our country and we as a Government believe in the elimination of any discrimination based upon race, colour or creed. And I know I bespeak the point of view of Dr. George when I give you further assurance that this letter does not represent either the point of view of the great Negro leaders in our society.

80. It is very difficult to apologize in behalf of people whom you do not know. But if this letter really were written by an American crackpot, I think that it is only fitting and proper on this occasion, in behalf of our delegation and of our Government, to express to the General Assembly our apologies that anyone in our country would see fit to spread such vicious bigotry.

81. I want to assure the representative of Nigeria that we have taken no offence over the fact that the letter was read into the record. In fact, as I said in the beginning, it is a good thing that it was done. But I want to give him assurance that this delegation and this Government stand behind him and every delegation here to do everything that we can to see to it that their stay in our country is pleasant. We are at their service, and we want them to know that this letter in no way bespeaks the point of view of any responsible citizen of the United States of America.

82. Mr. Krishna MENON (India): We are now coming very near to the end of a great debate which has taken several days of the working time of this Assembly, over fifty speaking hours, and in which some seventy speakers have participated. Now, it is easy to say that words do not have a real effect, but the very fact that the Assembly, in the seriousness of its business, has devoted its time to this item, and that a number of nations have participated in the debate—both those who have been here for a long time and those others who have recently joined, on whom the impact of the subject which we are discussing is more recent than on some of the others—is eloquent in itself. It should not be forgotten, however, that some of the more powerful nations of today who are here have also gone through the phase of being under colonial rule, and it is much to their credit and the advantage of the world as a whole that they still have memories of it and of their effort to throw it off, and are aware of its impact upon the history of the world.

83. Now, the subject comes before us this time, thanks to the initiative of the Soviet Union, in the shape of an item on the agenda; but it is by no means a new matter to the United Nations, being written into the Charter. I will not read these words and clauses, which are so familiar to everyone. Not only is it written into the Charter, but a Chapter of the Charter deals with this problem of Non-Self-Governing Territories, though perhaps in 1960 not as adequately, in the present circumstances of the world, as may have appeared in 1945.

84. Again that reminds us that even the Charter, good as it is, is not like the proverbial law of the Medes and the Persians, unalterable, but has to be vivified, has to be made more useful, by being responsive to the developing conditions of the world.

85. Colonialism, as it is called, the expansion of countries outside their borders, usually into far-off lands, resulting either in conquest or occupation, and what is called government from a distance—that is what it used to be called in the nineteenth century—is no new phenomenon, so far as we are concerned. I do not want to go into all the ancient history of this. It goes back perhaps to the early stages of the pre-Christian era, when Alexander the Great embarked upon his expeditions right to the frontiers of our own country, where he won his battle, but from where he returned without establishing an empire there. And then we had the whole period of the development of Europe, where they were concerned with their own internal troubles, European nations either coalescing with each other or throwing the yoke of one on the other, so that the present colonial lands of Asia and Africa did not attract their attention for a long time except in connexion with trade.

86. Now we come to the more important period of today. I say this because we should not think that suddenly, with the industrial civilization, a new idea developed in the mind of man, because then we are likely to think that we should not have to guard against these evils in the future. So in more recent times there has been expansion. This expansion took place partly as a result of exploration, partly in an attempt to gain riches, partly in order to provide for migration, and for dozens of causes—through the merchant; the explorer; the promoter of enterprises; the missionary; the political leaders of some countries; the advancing might of armies; more and more in recent years, particularly since the industrial revolution, the engineer; and also sometimes the very nationalistic, patriotic expansionist who saw in the conquest of other territories the glory of his own. All this is depicted by—I will not call it the newer surge of nationalism.

87. I want to say a word about this conception of nationalism, because it is at once the cause, the soul of empire and the mainspring of the resistance to it. After all, colonialism, as we understand it, is the attempt to expand power from one's own territory into another area. Europe particularly, having gone through the phase somewhere about the sixteenth century, or perhaps a little earlier, of having evolved into nations from small tribal states, found in that unification the possibility of greater unity. Now, as then, it was often coloured by idealism: either it could be talked about in the shape of pan-Christian ideas or the spreading of some universal doctrines, or the spread of the gospel, or whatever it may be. In fact, you will find that in the expansion of all these areas the source of authority has come from charters or other instruments granted to explorers which give the sovereign power of life and death over non-Christian peoples. It appears in the clauses of the charter of the East India Company in regard to India, in which Queen Elizabeth gave these merchants, who were private citizens in her kingdom at that time, sovereign rights of life and death over non-Christian people. That is how her empire began. But it is a great mistake to think that one motive or another can explain this.

88. And so we go through various phases where people explore everywhere in search of wealth and do not find it, or as in the case of Columbus, they stumble by mistake upon another land of vast riches, and so on. Skipping over this period from the early times of the explorers, or the Phoenician period, we hear of the discoveries that gave America its name by the Italian explorer, as it is said—I do not vouch for this. Afterwards there came the expansion to the four great territories of Asia, Africa, the Caribbean, and the American continent, resulting in what today—or yesterday, I should say—what yesterday was the situation, where a small number of people in each of these metropolitan countries ruled a very considerable number of people in other areas. But fortunately this phenomenon, with the exception of one or two countries, or one or two combinations, is on the way out. If I may submit without being misunderstood, one of the most potent hindrances, one of the greatest impediments in the way of progress, is not to recognize that progress is being made, because if we do not recognize that progress is being made, we are likely to apply the same remedies, have the same reactions to the changed conditions as to the previous con-

ditions and thereby get all our orientation and our policies misrepresented, misunderstood and misapplied. Similarly, if we do not recognize that progress is being made, it is very likely that those who have been pressured into progress either by the agitations of colonial peoples or by liberal sentiments in their own countries will be encouraged to fall back and say to their own peoples, "We told you so." Therefore, we have to recognize that some progress has been made.

89. In modern times, since the fall of Constantinople, the European peoples, not knowing how to preserve their meat, had to resort to spices, and it was about that time that they learned the art of cooking properly. At the time when Constantinople went out of the Christian ambit as such, the sea routes became open and then all the European population, led by the Portuguese and the Spaniards, followed by the Dutch and the French, and the English last, came into all these areas. They spread out into the new world in America, they spread out into Asia, and later on, much later on, in some cases they spread out into Africa. At first this exploration was carried out by people with a real desire to travel to these lands, the great sea dogs of the time, people who just wanted to explore for the sake of exploration. But these exploration enterprises remind us of some of our modern sports tournaments; that is to say, some person who wants to establish himself in a very big way in some sport and wants to play in tournaments abroad gets promoted by the manufacturer of some commodity used in that sport. In the same way, behind the explorer gathered those interests who could gain by his explorations; thus economic interests got tied up with the pioneering spirit. But again, we must not forget that the great urge was nationalism, that it was the birth of nationalism in the European nation States, pride in a flag, rivalry with other nations, the fear that other nations may establish themselves in areas to the disadvantage of themselves, that pushed people forward time after time.

90. First we have the phase—and when we speak about phases we have to look for clear-cut, sharp lines of division—first we have the phase of the empires of settlement. Those empires of settlement may have arisen either as a result of a deliberate policy of sending people out or because—I will not mention names—in some cases of great imperial countries they used these far-away places to deport personalities whose liberal ideas were not acceptable at home; therefore the convict settlements, as they were called at that time, were composed of miscreants and anti-social people, as we would call them now. But they were probably the pioneers of revolutions, those who rebelled against the old order at home, so they were sent abroad to the colonies of settlement. In those areas the indigenous populations—and we will draw a curtain over their history—by and large became extinct and the settlements became practically patches of the old country in a new area. They were the colonies of settlement which are now full-fledged nations, and they have in various ways contributed both to progress and to regress in regard to this colonial system.

91. Then we come to the period from the beginning of the third phase, from the nineteenth century onward, when, as a result of the second industrial revolution and the growth of technology and, what is more, through mercantile expansion, the search for markets

and raw materials began. Machines produced large quantities of goods. Sweated labour was available in the home country for some time. However, that source did not last because the people who were drawn from the rural part of the countryside in countries like the United Kingdom, for example, into the towns saw the attractions of industry and a way to live better, and so they began to put pressure on those who owned the machines because they wanted higher wages.

92. However, there was overseas a source of this underpaid labour and there was no particular difficulty in obtaining labourers. Most of these territories were not democratic. Public opinion of course always exists but agreements were reached with individual rulers which were to the advantage of the colonizing nations.

93. So we have a period where raw materials were produced by sweat-shop labour and where there were vast markets of underpaid people whose purchasing power was small but who made up for it by their numbers. Thus you have an empire which it is generally argued is an empire of profit. That was so in the old days, because it is most unlikely that most of these colonizing expeditions would have taken place if there had been no profit involved and thus no incentive.

94. Then came the break with imperialism, in which there have been many pioneers from distant times up to more modern times. The first break with imperialism was when some of the colonies revolted and in other cases the colonies—as I said, they were colonies of settlement—began to organize themselves into communities and as a result of the breakaway of others, some concession had to be made to them. I will not go into great detail about this or into the controversies that prevailed in the home countries. The most outstanding instance of this is the breakaway of the thirteen American colonies which was achieved under conditions which are well known in history by this time. This however had an effect—I suppose I may be wrong—on the expansion of the United States in later times because right through history you will find that the consolidation of that territory as it is today was by and large not achieved by the process of conquest but by methods which today perhaps we would decry but which at that time were regarded as progressive, namely, the purchase of territories. Thus we have the purchase of Florida, of Alaska, Louisiana or Rhode Island, which is very different from the way the colonial frontiers expanded in the case of other imperial territories.

95. In more modern times the most outstanding instance of the abdication of colonialism was soon after the 1917 revolution in Russia when the imperial possessions of the Czar were dispossessed by the Russians themselves. I will not go into the details of it, and this is no reference to modern history, it is only a historical survey of a situation. However, by that time other events had taken place. In more modern times the rule of colonial people has been of one race over another and thus, apart from the economic factor, the racial element was important, and gave rise to a racial doctrine, which now persists in South Africa and other places: "There are some people who are born to rule and some others to be ruled, and it is not possible to train people of certain racial origins to practise self-government". As against that, there was both in the metropolitan countries and

in the countries so ruled a revolt against it. So there was some opposition to the racial doctrine, which however was responsible for the growth of slavery. But with the abolition of slavery on the one hand and the progress of liberal doctrines in the home country on the other, the situation changed.

96. However, the most outstanding instance in the context of our thinking was the blow to this racial superiority which was struck—though it seems far-fetched today—when in 1905 the Japanese defeated the Russians in the Russo-Japanese War. In those days we did not think of economic, ideological and other questions as we do today. But the whole of Asia saw this as the defeat of a European empire by a small, short-statured Asiatic people. I am not going into the question of the relevance of this struggle or the title to Port Arthur or anything of that kind. I am only dealing with the psychological aspect.

97. All through that period, when we were but children, this idea—which may have been a very half-cooked idea—that there was no longer a superiority of race spread. Then it was further developed in the period of the First World War. I am not for a moment suggesting that wars are to be prepared for or that they should take place in order that colonies should be liberated. But at the time of the First World War a great part of the world—I would not like to say how much, but the greater part of the world—was under colonial domination or something of that kind. Here I should like to say that a colony is a colony—I would not say as I have defined it, but as I have described it before—whatever it may be called. The British system, with which I am more familiar, has many types of colonies, such as crown colonies, which in the beginning were the private property of the crown, dependencies—India was called a dependency, not a colony—protectorates, and protected States. There are places like Malta which thirty years ago was called a British ship. Then there are other areas, but from an economic, social or political point of view all these are really part of the colonial empire.

98. So in modern times we have the great colonial Powers, the United Kingdom, France, the Netherlands, Portugal and Spain. It is interesting that it is the most powerful of these empires that have given way first; this has been due to a large number of circumstances, and world organizations played their part in this—and I mention the International Labour Organisation in Geneva in this connexion. This was one of the survivors of the League of Nations which even survived the outbreak of the Second World War. With the impact of the International Labour Organisation it became difficult for countries that respected conventions to maintain the standards of labour in dependent countries, and impossible for them to do so formally.

99. Secondly, there was the spread of movements devoted to the emancipation and elevation of the working classes. This also made it difficult for the continuation of this process; so that in some instances, not all of them, you will find that empires have ceased to pay. Although empires have ceased to pay, this does not mean that some people did not make considerable profits on account of political power or that some countries did not do so. However, what is usually forgotten is that the great military arm of the Powers, the item that goes under the consolidated account with regard to obligations undertaken for these

purposes, also comes under the cost of empire. So while it is quite true that it could be said that such and such a country spent so much on a territory, and that its balance of trade is favourable or unfavourable, that presents only one part of the picture. But at any rate there is very little doubt that this was one of the considerations.

100. Then later, when the world began to be divided up—one of those things that we must take care of in the future—between the great Powers, yet another category of empire was introduced, or came into existence, that usually called "spheres of influence", and the modern expression "filling a power vacuum" is a descendant of these "spheres of influence". So when France and Germany and Great Britain claimed various spheres of influence in various places, those territories, while sovereign, still did not have independence.

101. Now, there are cousins, descendants, of this today. As I said, there are "vacuums" being filled in the way of ambassadors in some countries who are not viceroys there, but who sometimes function as such. There is also the attempted penetration or conquest of the mind, as it is called—or conquest of the body, it may be. These things still resurrect themselves in various forms.

102. Now, why do I say all these things? Because, looking at the figures, we would find a vast liquidation process—I will give you the figures in a moment—a vast liquidation process where we are told that these great, enormous empires are now shrunk. But as to independence of the former colonies, we have to see whether the real substance is there, and if it is there, whether it is likely to last. In that connexion one would like to say that while we debate here day after day—and seventy speakers have taken part in the discussion—there is an air of unreality about the whole business, considering what happened in Algeria only two days ago; when there are countries today like France and Portugal that claim the people of these places are nationals of the metropolitan countries. As I have repeatedly said to this Assembly the British did not insult us by calling us Englishmen; the Portuguese and the French do the equivalent of that.

103. The war that has been raging in Algeria for seven or eight years could not be called a Moslem revolt, an Arab revolt or a revolt of anybody else: it is really a war of colonial independence, of the same type that occurred in this country, of the same type that has occurred in China. This has not occurred in our country because we achieved our independence by other methods, though you could also call it a war in some other form if you like. It is the resistance of the people against the force of arms, against the armed might of great empires.

104. That brings us to the consideration of several other problems concerned with world politics, and I want to spend the little time I have, not in the description either of the balance-sheet of empire in terms of pounds and pence or dollars and cents, or of the costs of this, that or the other. I think we must be realistic; we must realize that empires can flourish only in one way, and that is by imperialist methods. That is to say, when you want to suppress somebody, you will suppress them. So we have to take this in our stride and see how the modern world

is likely to assist in the survival or the liquidation of imperialism.

105. On the one hand, after the period of the First World War, with the break-up of the Ottoman Empire the greater part of western Asia began to achieve its freedom irrespective of whatever internal progress in democracy might have been made. The Ottoman Empire, defeated in the war, in the old days would have had its territories annexed; but with the revolution in Czarist Russia, one of the great Allies in the war was removed from the context of the empire. With the emergence of the United States as one of the great Allies, having one of the strongest voices in the making of the peace treaties, its President brought up that conception once more before the world, but it was called "the sacred trust"—I am not talking about trusteeship at the moment. But there were no other peoples in the world that professed this. This brought in what, in the future, would emerge as a new theory of sovereignty, that is, sovereignty thrust on the people but not conferred upon them. What the empire does is just to oppress them; it remains latent and legal. And then the empire is lifted and the sovereign people come into their own. This really should be the modern theory of sovereignty instead of the command of a sovereign, anyway in the modern period.

106. So first of all there was this conception that there would be no annexations of territory, and though the discussions at Versailles and Geneva did not produce the results that were required, there was a break with imperialism; and so you find a third phase, where the attempt is made—at least in words—to expand or transform empires into what may be called "brotherhoods".

107. This is all the positive side of it. But at the same time there is the other side of the picture. There is Algeria; there is South Africa, where there is a situation of another type—I am not referring to the Union itself—where a Trust Territory has been misappropriated by the administering Power and treated as part of an empire; there is the situation in the Portuguese territories, where alone in the world today forced labour bordering on slavery prevails; there is, again, the attempt by France by force of arms to subjugate a people who are as capable of and as much entitled to freedom as any community sitting here, and who have, what is more, demonstrated to the world that their sacrifices and capacities, in spite of their limitations, could be as great as their aspiration for independence.

108. But in this matter we must not forget—and this is where, perhaps, there should be some soul-searching on the part of the people concerned—that the great military alliances of the world are an aid to these empires. It so happens that these great colonial Powers like France and Portugal depend on these alliances. Let us take Portugal as an example. Portugal is a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), and this organization definitely states that these alliances are not only in regard to the metropolitan countries but in regard to the whole of the sovereign areas. Now, it is quite difficult for a country like the United States, which has no colonies except for the territories in the Pacific area which could be considered in this broad category—it is quite difficult for them to say that they will make an alliance, but minus these territories. Whether or not there is

going to be any such alliance, that would be a matter which I would not wish to go into. But it becomes an alliance with an empire. It is as though a free man were making a friendly agreement with a slave-master in regard to both his own free possessions and the master's possessions.

109. So these great military alliances, whether in the North or in Europe or elsewhere, become part of an agreement with colonialists of the worst type. It is not only in theory that this is bad—and here, now, there may be reservations on this; we believe that the resources of metropolitan France and Portugal for the oppression of the colonies, their moral power to maintain them, the size of the opposition that the revolting people have to face, are all affected by this factor. Portugal has proclaimed before that its presence in NATO attracts the friendship of its oldest ally, the United Kingdom. One of the oldest treaties in existence is that between the United Kingdom and Portugal.

110. Although the United Kingdom has made great strides in advancing independence—sometimes tardily, sometimes under pressure, sometimes under various circumstances as in the case of our own country, or, as in the case of the United States, by revolt followed by agreement—there still remain vast possessions. And these vast possessions have to become free countries.

111. Certain problems have to be considered at this stage. First, what is to happen to small areas of 50,000, 100,000 or 200,000 people who are as conscious of nationalism as any large country? To say to them that they are only a small speck of land somewhere and that they cannot be independent would neither fit into the Charter nor satisfy their desire for liberty in their own lands. That is one of the problems that both the United Nations and the metropolitan countries have to face. And I would like to submit that any attempt either to disregard their desire for national independence on the one hand, or to tell them they will be free in their master's home on the other hand, would not in the long run meet the bill. The Assembly will remember the recent example of Cyprus. Cyprus, incidentally, brought modern Greece into the context of anti-colonialism—and I hope it remains there. We found one of those great European countries, a NATO ally, standing up ultimately for colonial independence; but when they first came here, the idea was to divert attention from the agitation in the colony by presenting it either as a defence problem or a security problem for some people, or making the Cypriots a bargain for a cut-up among two or three people.

112. My own Government took the view that there was no question of this being anything but a colonial matter. Cyprus, by law and by circumstance, by economic factors, political factors, sociological factors, was a colony and nothing but a colony and, therefore, had to be treated as a colonial country entitled to full independence, and although it took a great deal of struggle in the United Nations—perhaps not always with the assistance of everybody concerned—Cyprus ultimately attained its independence, though on that basis it has been vitiated by circumstances. What I want to point out is that in the attempt to argue against the people who want freedom, often extraneous circumstances are introduced, which may perhaps provide some help for some time, but ultimately the people claim their own; and all that is left behind is a great deal of ill will and newer problems,

newer complications which, if subject peoples do not take enough care, will become what will be called a joint imperialism.

113. I think it is right to say that a mandate, or a trusteeship, certainly represents the idea of the sacred trust and of divesting the old country of its colonial territories, but if the United Nations does not stick to the principles of the Charter and its spirit and intent, then it is likely to become a joint domination of a helpless people by a more powerful people. This is always in the minds of the colonial peoples.

114. Next I should like to say, before I come to specific problems, that sometime in 1939 the colonial territories of the great Powers were the following: the United Kingdom alone had about 13 million square miles; France had a huge empire of about 4 million square miles, eighty times that of Belgium; the Netherlands had its own colonies. All that is now dispersed, but still there are in this world somewhere about 75 million people who are under colonial rule. Out of the 75 million people, some 20 million belong to the British hegemony and are on the path towards self-government. Therefore, there actually remain some 50 million people still to be liberated; and when we think that out of this 50 million, 14,871,195 belong to the empire of Portugal, we have the situation that the Portuguese are the biggest imperial Power in the world. And it would be no answer to say that these people are not colonials, that they are Portuguese citizens, as I think has been argued here. So the greater part of these 50 million people are the 14 to 15 million in the Portuguese empire and the 11 to 12 million in Algeria. Thus, between France and Portugal are divided the largest colonial possessions—not the most scattered, but the largest colonial possessions.

115. In regard to their position in Africa, certain new problems are faced. Unless colonialism is totally liquidated on the African continent, it is more prone to become the scene of contending ambitions, either real or suspected, which will place the fortunes and development of the African people in serious jeopardy. Therefore, the total withdrawal of the empire from these territories is necessary and, as in the case of peace and war, there is no half-way house in this: either you have an empire or you do not have an empire. And that is why we do not believe that it would be possible to progress from stage to stage at this period of world evolution.

116. There is no country in the world that is not capable of governing itself. We have all had the experience of being asked, just before our imperial rulers left us: "Who will command your armies? Who will command your air force and your fleet? Who will administer? Who will run the finance ministry?", and so on. None of us found very serious difficulties with it any more than other countries, and I believe that these problems are common to independent countries as well. But then we are told that there are countries in Asia, such as Pakistan, India and Ceylon, which have ancient civilizations and, therefore, have had long periods of the rule of law, and so on, but it is our submission that civilization is not a peculiar monopoly of any part of the world. All we mean by making this distinction is that those of us who speak about it probably do not understand other people's civilizations; so we must abandon this distinction also and go straight to the position that this world must really be free in that sense. There should be

no territory under foreign rule, no country whose territory can be used by someone else for purposes that have no relation to the benefit or the advantage of the people who inhabit it. That is why, particularly in this present time of vast military alliances, when the old system of strategic points, lifelines of empire, etc. is being transformed into the position of holding the strategic areas for purposes which are not strictly germane to the progress of the country, we must present our opposition.

117. As a result of this debate, whatever may have been the nature of the facts presented, the attention of the world which we represent is largely focused upon this question. We have also the situation that the resources of the world are attracting greater attention than ever before; and in this question of world development, every item of liberation, the more people we bring into the area of dynamic freedom, then the more people there are for constructive endeavour.

118. Let us take the case of Africa: the vast untold resources of the world are in Africa. This is not a counsel for other people to go and exploit them. In an area of somewhere about 11 million square miles with a population of about 222 million, 98 per cent of all the diamonds in the world, 94 per cent of all the columbite, 84 per cent of the copper, 55 per cent of the gold, 45 per cent of the radium, 33 per cent of the manganese, and so on, are in this continent; and these are required not necessarily for the purpose of building armaments, but in order that the world may move to higher standards of civilization. Therefore, even from the point of view of making available the resources of the world, and making those resources available without the cost of blood and pressure—which is what a colonial war means—it would be to our advantage to introduce this gospel to implement the United Nations Charter in its reality. The Charter says this in what may be called more or less embryonic language, but it should be made a reality in that we must now address ourselves to the total liberation of these territories.

119. It is not a question of setting targets and dates. The only limitation of time on this should be the time required for transfer. And if one may say so, those people with the responsibility should not be permitted to take the attitude of the gauntlet with a gift in it: that is, to say as in the case of the Congo: "There is freedom"—and then to come back the other way because there had been no preparation for it. I think that the Belgian Congo as it was formerly is the most distressing instance of an empire of modern times. After seventy or eighty years of colonial rule nothing has been left in the political, administrative or other organizations, and what is more, after the withdrawal of the empire the former ruler comes back. That is one thing we have to guard against.

120. The second thing is that no Trust Territory should be given independence merely on the intimation of the Administering Authority that it is ready for independence, without our being shown that it is so, and without the United Nations taking care that the transfer of power will be carried out in such a way as to make re-entry impossible. In the Fourth Committee soon we shall be discussing the problem of Ruanda-Urundi, and my Government takes a serious view of this question. I informed the Security Council only two days ago that, to the best of our knowledge,

there were two concentrations in Ruanda for the purpose of operations against the Congo. But over and above that, we have now been told that Ruanda-Urundi is fit for independence and, therefore, an election is to take place in a short time. I do not want to discuss the details here because it will come up in the Fourth Committee, but while we yield to no one in the passion to limit the period of transition, we do not want to see that used in such a way that independence becomes "independence"—that is, things change only to remain the same or become worse. That situation should not arise.

121. Thirdly, I would like to say that we of the colonial areas who have been liberated have to take to heart the lessons of the empires of the past, and the fate of the peoples who are still not liberated. Therefore the Assembly, and particularly those nations who have different views from ours on colonial questions, should bear with us when we feel moved, when we seem to concern ourselves with something that is not our own territory. The place of every liberated country—I am not speaking of the others—is with the struggle of the colonial peoples. It is the determined policy of the Government of India that while we shall not participate in external military or other movements, while we shall not promote trouble in any areas, while we believe that no revolutions can be exported, our sympathies and our solidarity are with those who struggle for independence. It is part and parcel of a country's attainment of national independence that it does not run away from the whole campaign for human freedom, for the freedom of colonial peoples.

122. Again, it is necessary that people like ourselves who have been liberated from colonial empires should see to it that our place in world politics is a functional position leading to progress rather than to regression. That is to say, our independent positions should not be used by us or by others in order to further aggressive causes or to fasten tutelage upon other people. It would be the greatest tragedy if some of our liberated countries found themselves aligned against the campaigns of independence or the liberation of other peoples. That independence is not real, even though it may have all the forms and the trappings of independence. The reality of independence must come from the people themselves. And that reality is really not only political but also economic.

123. We, ourselves, do not object—in fact, it is a good thing—if there are fraternities formed either among the liberated territories or with their former rulers on the basis of freedom. But this should not be merely another name for empire—whether you call it a commonwealth or co-operation, whatever it is—that would not meet the situation. Those of us who are liberated have to make use of our liberation. We should not be subject peoples under another name.

124. It is in the sense of the advancement of our territories in economic terms—more food, more shelter, more sanitation, more education and more use of liberation—that is the implementation of independence.

125. We constantly say in India that on 15 August 1947, what happened was not independence but the removal of the main obstacle to independence, namely foreign rule; independence had still to be attained. When people have adequate food, adequate shelter,

adequate sanitation, adequate dignity, the capacity to exercise them—that is independence.

126. No country should, under any circumstances, be drawn willy-nilly into any kind of alliance, any kind of alignment which promotes either war or the domination of that country. Far be it from me to say that sovereign territories which are independent cannot make their own policies. But we have the right to hope that people who have seen the consequences of the worst wars in history—the great wars have been imperialist wars, whatever form they may take—should contribute their might, their ideals, their moral authority, in order to extend the areas of peace.

127. That is why you will find, in spite of the great conflicts in the world, that colonial territories tend more and more to move into the position, even if they are formally members of an alliance, of asking to be left alone. And I think the most outstanding instance of this is the United States of America which for 150 years wanted to keep free from foreign entanglements and wanted to be left alone for its own economic development.

128. So it behooves those who are powerful people, who have other interests, not necessarily of a selfish character, but who see things in another way, to leave these territories alone to develop for themselves. The cause of world peace would be assisted by the contribution that liberated peoples can make with the enthusiasm which they bring, and what is more, by the evidence they give to the world that human efforts and human co-operation can lead to advancement.

129. It should not be forgotten that in the last few years, apart from all alliances, apart from all Charter provisions and so on, the conditions in the liberated territories, which have an economic impact upon other countries, have led to the process of co-operation. There is no country in the world today which either has refused to receive or does not receive or does not give assistance in one form or another. Therefore, willy-nilly, a form of world co-operation develops. But for all this, it is necessary that there should be no reservations in this matter: no giving with one hand and taking away with the other. That is why a young country like ours stands very strongly against any imperialist power making agreements before independence in regard to either political, territorial or other rights. That is to say, if these areas which are in tutelage before they become free agree, as the price of freedom, to the establishment of bases or to enter into trade agreements or military agreements, they have not gained real freedom.

130. What is more, the liberty that the liberated territories get is conditioned by the burdens which they cannot carry. And I think the great countries of the world must take the risk that in conditions of freedom, peoples would act sensibly, would act in the line of progress and not otherwise; and immediate advantages should not take precedence over these distant ideals.

131. It is one of the great phenomena of the world that while some forty or fifty years ago maybe 1,200 million or 1,600 million people were under one form of subjection or another and—if we exclude China which, though colonial in an economic and social sense, was not so in a literal sense—nearly 1,000 million people were under colonial rule. As I said,

only some 75 million people are left, but they are scattered all over the world. They form a cancer on the body politic of the world. So long as there is any place in the world which is not liberated, so long as the people struggle for liberation, no attempt to give colonial rule other names, no show of force, no military alliances or anything of that kind, would succeed.

132. We have made progress on this subject at the present session. That progress has resulted not only from the fact that we have debated these matters here, but from the fact that the United Nations has asked Portugal to supply information. Portugal is the last stronghold of colonialism, and that stronghold has not fallen but it is very badly beleaguered. Spain has agreed to accept the provisions of the Charter; Portugal has not agreed, and therefore stands today isolated. If this last stronghold falls, we shall have made another advance.

133. But we must not forget that the real objective is to abolish from this world any kind of rule by one nation or people of another nation or people, particularly if it is based on racial discrimination and similar considerations. After all, a people's own economic interests are more important to it than the economic interests of someone else.

134. There are various drafts before the Assembly on this subject. The first, the draft declaration in document A/4502, has been submitted by the Soviet Union. We have read that text, and we find nothing in it to which we can object. That is to say, we are in favour of national States' achieving their freedom in accordance with the freely expressed will and desire of their peoples; we are against extraterritoriality in any form; and we are in favour of the implementation of the principles of the Charter.

135. The second, the draft resolution in document A/L.323 and Add.1-6, is sponsored by my delegation, among others. It is quite true that the draft resolution could have been shorter; perhaps there is a certain amount of repetition. On the whole, however, it represents what I have been trying to submit to the Assembly. There is no attempt at recrimination, no attempt to place responsibility on anyone but the United Nations as a whole.

136. I would conclude by saying that the emergence of so many countries into freedom is one of the great assets of the United Nations. While we may not always say this in so many words—and it is not applicable to every country—we have to pay a tribute to those countries which, whatever their past, have in more recent times made progress. We must recognize that progress is being made, but it is not being made fast enough. And the fact that progress is being made is no argument for our stopping our efforts. In the next year or two we should see the liquidation of all these dependent and colonial territories. All these places—whether they be small, like the Island of Malta, or large, like Algeria—should emerge into complete statehood and become Members of this Organization, unless they themselves choose something else. We would be the last people to say that because a State is independent it should not seek its fraternity. In fact, that is our hope and it is the purpose of the present debate.

137. I hope that the drafts before the Assembly on the liquidation of colonialism will gain unanimous ap-

proval. It will be recalled that when the decision was taken to discuss this item my delegation said that we did not very much care where it was discussed so long as it was discussed. It was unanimously decided to discuss it in plenary meetings of the Assembly. That result was brought about by the arguments presented here and it is an index of our ca-

capacity to persuade each other and of the desire on all sides of this Assembly that colonial territories should be a thing of the past, that this world should become really free and that the process of peace and world co-operation should thus be facilitated.

The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.



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

NEW YORK

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

AGENDA ITEM 87

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

19. In a similar theme, paragraph 7 reads:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"The subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation constitutes a denial of fundamental human rights, is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations and is an impediment to the promotion of world peace and co-operation.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"Add the following paragraphs after operative paragraph 7:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The meeting rose at 6.30 p.m.

United Nations
**GENERAL
ASSEMBLY**

FIFTEENTH SESSION

Official Records



**946th
PLENARY MEETING**

Wednesday, 14 December 1960,
at 12 noon

NEW YORK

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AGENDA ITEM 87

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

1. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Israel in exercise of the right of reply.

2. Mr. COMAY (Israel): In the earlier stages of this debate several Arab speakers tried to drag into it the differences which unfortunately still persist between Israel and the Arab States. In its statement before the Assembly on 2 December [933rd meeting], my delegation deliberately refrained from reacting to these attacks, and did not refer to them at all. We felt that the subject of this debate was of such deep and serious concern to the world, and especially to the new States, and to those who are still subject peoples, that we should disregard attempts to exploit it for propaganda purposes. Unfortunately, this self-restraint was one-sided. I would refer particularly to the statement made on 6 December [937th meeting] by the representative of Lebanon, which, as a piece of mudslinging against another Member State of the United Nations, was just about as offensive as anything yet heard from this rostrum. My delegation feels obliged briefly to exercise its right of reply. We shall do so in relation to three points which have been raised, although none of them, in our opinion, are really relevant to the item under discussion.

3. Firstly, we repudiate as morally unworthy and historically stupid the attempt to equate Zionism with colonialism. Zionism is one of the noblest, the most moving, the most constructive national movements in human history. Behind it lies a unique and unbroken connexion, extending over 4,000 years, between the Jewish people and Palestine. No Jew could dwell in Israel as a stranger or an alien, for there is not a foot of its soil unhallowed by the bones of his Biblical ancestors. It was here that the moral and spiritual genius of our people gave birth to Judaism, from which also sprang the Christian religion. It was here that our people enjoyed national independence, which they lost and regained and lost again, in the perpetual struggle against the great colonial empires of that time. The vital bond between the Jewish people and the land of Israel is the very essence of our long and often tragic history.

4. In modern times, spurred by the twin forces of nationalism and persecution, our people dreamt of rebuilding its ancient homeland, and organized the Zionist movement to promote this ideal, both by gaining understanding for it amongst the nations, and by constructive pioneering work in what had become a backward corner of the Ottoman Empire. This idea gained support at one time from Britain, for which we were grateful, and the concept of a Jewish National Home was expressly written into the terms of the League of Nations Mandate for Palestine. In the end, however, Israel gained its independence through a bitter struggle against British rule, and a further struggle for survival against invading Arab armies. We stand ready today, as we always have been, to live in peace with our neighbours. But we are not ready to have the nature of the Zionist movement perverted to serve demagogic purposes.

5. These labels of "colonialism" are blatantly meant to influence other new States in Asia and Africa which have relations with Israel. In the statement in reply made by the Israel Foreign Minister, in the general debate, on 17 October, Mrs. Meir dealt with this point, and I would take leave to quote a few sentences:

"We know that this is nonsense. The Arabs know that it is nonsense and, what is more important, the Africans themselves know that it is nonsense. The leaders of African countries are not to be frightened by meaningless slogans. They can be relied upon to judge their relations with other countries by the behaviour of those other countries towards them, and not by propaganda speeches in New York." [907th meeting, para. 87.]

6. It is not Israel but certain other States who profess to be the brothers of the African peoples, but meddle in their affairs and act as Trojan horses for new imperialisms in Africa. As to who these States are, the African peoples will judge for themselves, in the light of recent experience on their continent.

7. Secondly, the representative of Lebanon wept crocodile tears over the treatment of Israel's Arab citizens, of whom there are a quarter of a million, both Moslems and Christians. Here again, I would refer to the statement by the Israel Foreign Minister on 17 October, in which she again pointed out that Israel Arabs enjoy exactly the same political rights as do Israel Jews; that their economic, social and cultural standards have risen rapidly since the establishment of the State of Israel; and that "no Arab State can point to the achievement of a standard of living for the masses of its population that may be compared favourably to the standard of living of the Israel Arabs" [*Ibid.*, para. 83]. Our country is open to the world, and anyone is free to visit it and verify these facts for himself. Tens of thousands of visitors have done so; their impressions are on record, and they refute the calumnies which have been repeated here.

8. Thirdly and lastly, the representative of Lebanon had the effrontery to suggest that Israel was one of two countries in which vestiges of slavery remained. The charge itself is too silly to be taken seriously. Israel's Constitution and way of life ensure equality and freedom for all its citizens without distinction of race, sex or religion. But, if I were an Arab representative, I would be very hesitant about raising the issue of slavery, in the context of a debate on colonialism. Does he think the African peoples have forgotten the black and ugly record of the Arab slave traders on their continent? Does he think they are unaware that there are Arab countries in the Middle East in which African men, women and children, and especially young girls, are still bought and sold like cattle? If he himself is unaware of these facts, I would advise him to read the many reports which have been published on the matter in recent years, including those of the Anti-Slavery Society.

9. My delegation has intervened again in the debate with reluctance. We have no desire to engage in controversy on these matters. On the other hand, the impression should not gain ground that any Arab representative can, with impunity, utilize the forum of the United Nations in order to besmirch the State of Israel.

10. The PRESIDENT: A number of delegations have asked to explain their vote before the voting. I propose to call on these delegations in order. I give the floor first to the representative of Sweden.

11. Mrs. RÖSSEL (Sweden): The Swedish delegation will cast its vote in favour of the draft declaration submitted, in document A/L.323 and Add.1-6, by the African-Asian countries. We will do so because we find that it is in full accord with the spirit of the Charter provisions on self-determination, self-government and national independence. The Swedish Government and the Swedish people have followed with intent interest and great sympathy the historical process by which the large majority of formerly dependent peoples have come to enjoy the great boon of national freedom. If the declaration will help to keep the desire for freedom burning in men's minds everywhere, it will serve a useful purpose.

12. The attitude of my delegation does not mean, however, that we are entirely happy about the language used in some parts of the draft resolution. In fact, there are some paragraphs that seem to us to leave room for different interpretations, while other paragraphs, in our view, are too categorical or too rigid. Let me give you a few examples to illustrate my point.

13. The last preambular paragraph of the draft resolution states that "all peoples have an inalienable right to complete freedom, the exercise of their sovereignty and the integrity of their national territory". The application of this unimpeachable principle in practice could surely become a matter of controversy. We all remember how, during the recent debate in the First Committee on the problem of Mauritania, there existed different opinions even among those countries sponsoring the present draft declaration on how this principle should find expression in that particular case.

14. The same principle is also laid down in paragraph 2 of the draft declaration, which declares that "all peoples have the right of self-determination". One may be allowed to wonder whether the practical implication of this general principle would be, to take only one example, that provinces of the Republic of

the Congo (Leopoldville) would be justified in claiming the right to separate from other parts of the Republic. Or should another paragraph of the draft declaration be applied in such cases, namely paragraph 6, which opposes "any attempt aimed at the partial or total disruption of the national unity and the territorial integrity of a country"?

15. Another observation which comes to our mind when studying the text of the draft declaration is that there are in some parts of the world dependent territories which are too small and too isolated to be able to lead a successful life as independent States. Also, it seems to my delegation that we should not overlook the fact that too rapid a transition of a territory from colonial status to independence may cause serious difficulties for its population. A transitional period may be necessary.

16. The comments I have now made do not deter us from supporting the draft declaration. We understand it to be meant as a statement of general objectives and not as an act of legislation which would place immediate juridical obligations on Member States and which is designed to be applied literally. The General Assembly does not have the competence to adopt acts of legislation which are binding on the Member States. From a legal point of view, the draft declaration would, therefore, seem to be of the same nature as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

17. In making a comparison between the two declarations it is, perhaps, appropriate to draw attention to the fact that while the goals set out in the earlier declaration, that is, to further the observance of human rights in the whole world, are still very far from being achieved, the aims pursued by the present declaration, that is, to secure the right of the peoples to national independence, have already largely been attained as far as the former colonial empires are concerned. Without wishing to diminish the importance of this new declaration, one cannot escape the conclusion that it will not play the same constructive and instructive role as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which, ever since it was adopted in 1948, has no doubt served as a useful model for legislation in many countries and as a constant reminder of certain noble principles which are all too often honoured more in the breach than in the observance.

18. In the light of the observations which I have made, the Swedish delegation is, as I said before, prepared to vote in favour of the draft resolution submitted by the African-Asian States as a whole and in its present form, and will vote against other draft resolutions and amendments.

19. Mr. AUGUSTE (Haiti) (translated from French): The problem of colonialism is the chief focus of international attention at this session; it is accompanied by an avalanche of documents and a torrential flow of words which often call to mind the heated atmosphere in which the equally important questions of disarmament and under-development were discussed. In theory, colonialism as we have known it in the past when it sought by false, erroneous and sophisticated reasoning to justify the domination of one Power over another and exalt to the level of a dogma the privileges and prerogatives which certain reputedly superior races had arrogated to themselves, has irrevocably and undoubtedly had its day.

20. It can no longer continue to function as an economic or politico-economic system, that is, as a kind of area

reserved for the home country guaranteeing it a market sheltered from all competition and freely open for the full expansion of its foreign trade. This form of exploitation of man by man, accompanied at times by episodes which do little honour to those who have raised the ridiculous claim of the inequality of races—this situation individuals and the passage of time have undertaken to liquidate.

21. But, when this thorny problem is mentioned, I would be loath not to mention the United Nations, this great crossroads which for fifteen years past has served as a happy meeting-place between peoples, a kind of melting-pot of humanity where the course of history has perhaps been speeded up in a different direction.

22. But ideas, generally speaking, take a lot of killing. Those people, who, as they recall their reading, remember the pages on scientific subjects bequeathed to them by great writers, realize the long process of their development, as well as their authority and their strength, when they merge into our subconscious mind. Ideas might be compared to a tree with numerous, long-living roots. Merely to cut down the trunk without uprooting the tree would sometimes do not more than retard its growth.

23. All those who, in a remote or recent past, have suffered from colonialism, know this. Therefore, steps must be taken to prevent its return, not so much in the impossible form it assumed in the past, as in the pretentious, distinctly dangerous—yes, I would add, extremely dangerous—form it assumes in the present day world, full of malice, guile and trickery, like a wolf in sheep's clothing.

24. I confess that these are reflections which an authentic son of the Republic of Haiti could not help but feel as he listened to the charges levelled by certain self-constituted public prosecutors, lifting the veil off the policy of neo-colonialism, of which Alfred de Musset, if he were still among us—yes, Musset, the delightful poet of those immortal nights we all used to sing about in days gone by—would say: "but it all looks as much like you as your brother."

25. The struggle against this new type or new form or structure of colonialism must be our constant concern and we must fight it wherever it sets itself up.

26. I confess I fear it just as much as I do its older brother, which did such great harm to my ancestors and to the men of my race. As a more pernicious phenomenon, characterized by great astuteness, because it assumes the guise of both wolf and shepherd, it wins over simple minds nowadays by offering them not gifts of gold, as formerly, but something rather more subtle—the magic and the seduction of the promises latent in the new organization of the world of tomorrow, securing the well-being and the dignity of all men in order to put an end to the economic inequalities from which they have so long suffered.

27. To destroy colonialism in order to have it replaced by another evil—let us agree to call it neo-colonialism—would be to reject as hopeless the lessons of history, of experience, of human intelligence and even the need for freedom and independence felt by all those who have been deprived of it for so long; it would be like saying: "Get out of there and let me in."

28. My delegation would like to congratulate all those who have so clearly discerned the danger of neo-

colonialism in all its forms. True to the anti-colonialist policy of the great Dessalines, who founded the Haitian nation, faithful also to the policies of the father of my country's republic, the distinguished Alexandre Petion, who in 1811, inspired by the same lofty sentiments and high ideals which animate us all today, assisted Bolívar in his fight for liberation from Spanish domination, my delegation, as heir to the political testament of those giants in the history of my country, will vote in favour of any draft resolution which condemns colonialism, demands independence and freedom for some, while at the same time devising means of protecting others, by forestalling the introduction anywhere in the world of neo-colonialism in any shape or form.

29. Mr. PAZHWAK (Afghanistan): I have asked to speak in order to explain my vote on the various proposals which are now before the General Assembly. This explanation will be given in the light of the statement which I made in the general debate [935th meeting] in which I expressed the views of my delegation on the principles to which we adhere and which guide us in taking a position on any action by the Assembly with respect to this item. Afghanistan is a sponsor of one draft resolution [A/L.323 and Add.1-6], and we have explained our reasons for sponsoring it. My explanation of vote will therefore refer to the other draft resolutions of which we are not sponsors.

30. With respect to the draft resolution submitted by Honduras [A/L.324/Rev.2], we hope that, in view of the nature of this draft, it will not be pressed to a vote and will be withdrawn. However, if it is put to the vote, my delegation will be compelled to vote against it. We are opposed to this draft resolution because, in the consideration at this stage by the General Assembly of the item before us related to the abolition of colonialism and domination in all its forms as soon as possible and, in our view, immediately, the presentation of such a draft is completely out of place. We do not think that it would serve any useful purpose, and we therefore do not believe that it should be adopted by the General Assembly. We shall vote against this draft resolution.

31. With respect to the amendments submitted by Guatemala [A/L.325] to the draft resolution contained in document A/L.323 and Add.1-6, we have no objection in principle to them but we think that the provisions of these amendments are covered in paragraph 6 of the draft declaration of the African-Asian countries. We therefore believe that these amendments are superfluous and we shall abstain in the vote on them.

32. The Soviet Union has submitted two amendments [A/L.328] to the draft resolution which we have sponsored. These amendments are useful and constructive, and my delegation will vote for them. The contents of these amendments are quite simple, but they bring out certain points of which we want to take particular note, and that is why we shall vote for them. The first point recognizes in substance the right of the rightful representatives of peoples and nations to enter into negotiations on the basis of self-determination, a principle to which we have always adhered in all cases related to dependent peoples. Secondly, these amendments contain the element of the time-limit, which expresses what we had asked for in the general debate, namely, the immediate abolition of colonialism and domination in all its forms and manifestations. Thirdly, these amendments emphasize the implementation

of the resolution on the abolition of colonialism, which, to us, has always been the true and only effective aim with respect to the question of the abolition of the colonial system.

33. I come now to the draft declaration submitted by the Soviet Union (A/4502), which we have considered very carefully. We would have preferred to have the substantive part of this draft put to the vote, and not the whole declaration. If the entire document is put to the vote, I should like to request the President to put it to the vote in two parts. We suggest that a separate vote should be taken on the part beginning with the words "... the States Members of the United Nations solemnly proclaim the following demands:" and including the numbered paragraphs 1, 2 and 3. A separate vote should be taken on the rest of the document.

34. When the separate vote is taken, my delegation will vote for the substantive part to which I have referred, and we will vote for it without any reservations whatsoever. When the rest of the document is put to the vote, my delegation will support it because we do not see any objection to the principles contained therein; but we would like to state, in explanation of our vote, that our vote in favour of that part of the document should be considered as being confined to the principles contained therein and only to the principles which would help the immediate abolition of domination and colonialism.

35. Secondly, we would like to state here that in supporting this part of the document, it is our understanding that the territories to which specific reference has been made in this document do not constitute a complete list of the territories or peoples which are under alien domination, and should not be taken as such. By this we mean that the implementation of this draft declaration at any time should not be confined to the territories and peoples which, as a matter of example, have been mentioned in the document, and that the provisions should apply to all territories and all peoples under any form of domination in any part of the world, even though they have not been mentioned in this document.

36. With these two reservations, we would like to state once again that our support of this document should be considered as being confined to the principles contained therein.

37. Mr. RIFA'I (Jordan): I am taking the floor in order to explain the position of my delegation on the Soviet draft declaration contained in document A/4502 and on the amendments to the African-Asian draft resolution of which my delegation is a sponsor.

38. The forty-three Power draft resolution [A/L.323 and Add.1-6] is the outcome of thorough consideration and wide consultations. It was drafted in a way which would respond to the universal call for freedom and independence and which would, at the same time, secure the maximum possible support in this General Assembly. We certainly do not claim that it contains all the views and wishes within the scope of the national aspirations of the peoples. My delegation considers that the Soviet amendments contained in document A/L.328 and the Guatemalan amendments contained in document A/L.325 contain some of these views. In accepting or opposing these amendments, my delegation, as one of the sponsors of the African-Asian draft resolution, wishes to avoid any procedure which

might lead to a reduction of the support for this draft resolution, but in this case the question of principle is involved. In the case of the Soviet amendments and the Guatemalan amendments, my delegation feels that it should give priority to the principles contained in each of these amendments rather than to the technicalities to which I have referred.

39. The Soviet amendments contain a principle which my delegation fully supports, and we shall therefore vote in favour of them. The Guatemalan amendments include the principle of the right of nations to recover their territorial integrity; they also provide that the principle of self-determination of peoples may in no case impair the right to territorial integrity of any State. We know that there have been certain cases in which the territorial integrity of nations was impaired. The usurpation of a part of the Arab territory of Palestine by the joint aggression of colonialism and Zionism is an outstanding international question. We uphold the right of the lawful people of any territory to recover their territorial integrity. We shall therefore vote in favour of the Guatemalan amendments.

40. With regard to the Soviet draft declaration contained in document A/4502, we are told that this document is going to be put to the vote as one unit. We are ready to support most of its parts, but we cannot subscribe to every paragraph in it. In one of the paragraphs, reference is made to my own country. In another place, China is mentioned, and it is known that my country recognizes Nationalist China. Therefore, if this draft declaration is put to the vote as a whole, my delegation cannot support it.

41. Mr. SUGAIR (Saudi Arabia): My delegation will vote in favour of the draft declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and people, embodied in document A/4502. In the opinion of my delegation, it is in conformity with the principles of the United Nations Charter as well as with the principles of human rights. Our vote, therefore, in support of this draft declaration signifies our endorsement of the basic principles contained therein. This does not mean, however, that we are in full agreement with certain conclusions made or with certain of its phraseology. Worthy of particular mention is the question of the status of Nationalist China.

42. Mr. RAHNEMA (Iran) (translated from French): My delegation has already had occasion to set forth, in detail and without equivocation, its attitude on all the aspects of the problem of the unconditional liquidation of the colonial régime. Consequently, my explanation of vote will bear solely on the Soviet amendments [A/L.328], the Guatemalan amendments [A/L.325] and the draft resolution submitted by Honduras [A/L.324/Rev.2]. In so doing, I shall try, more particularly, to reply to certain objections made yesterday [945th meeting] by the Soviet representative to the forty-three-Power draft resolution [A/L.323 and Add.1-6].

43. The Soviet delegation considered that the forty-three-Power draft resolution was obscure on certain points and might give rise to ambiguities as regards how it could be interpreted. My delegation, which took quite an active part in drafting this draft resolution, does not think that is so.

44. Indeed, I feel that the principles we wanted to defend are set forth rather clearly. I am prepared to agree with Mr. Zorin that the points in question can be variously interpreted. But, quite frankly, what text,

in the context in which we are operating in this Assembly, could fail to give rise to different interpretations? The interpretations that we attach to a text must always be deduced by the majority of the members of this Assembly and, above all, by the sponsors of the text submitted. The interpretation of this draft resolution has already been amply expounded, particularly by its sponsors, who have given their explanations on the matter and who have, almost all of them, done this fairly clearly.

45. Almost all the members of the African-Asian group have, after all, interpreted this document as one which must solemnly proclaim the necessity of bringing to a speedy and unconditional end colonialism in all its forms and manifestations, the need never to delay the granting of independence on the pretext, for example, of inadequate preparation in the political, economic, social or other fields, and, lastly, the need for immediate steps to be taken to transfer power to the peoples of Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories or all other territories which have not yet attained independence, without any conditions or reservations, in accordance with their freely expressed will and desire, without any distinction as to race, creed or colour, in order to enable them to enjoy complete freedom and independence.

46. We have tried, in the text now before you, to state as clearly as possible the principles that we wanted to defend. But I must tell the Soviet representative that, for reasons which will be easily understood and which will derive from the special circumstances of each State, we did not want to specify how these principles should be applied. For example, the Soviet representative has pointed out that an exact date or time-limit should have been specified for countries to attain independence. In preparing this text we felt that we should not fix a date arbitrarily but should simply state the need for putting an end, speedily and unconditionally, to colonialism. We considered that, in certain cases, it would be advisable even that the transfer of power should not be effected immediately, for it would be essential beforehand to make sure that this transfer was made to the genuine representatives of the population in accordance with their freely expressed will and desire. Some latitude should also be left; some countries, for instance, demand an immediate technical transfer; others demand a rather short interval for the transfer of power. So we thought that, in a general declaration of this kind, it was better to confine ourselves to laying down the principle. This principle is clear: it is the principle of unconditional and speedy independence, leaving it to the various committees to decide how the principle should be implemented in each particular case. Consequently, the fact that we have not, in our draft resolution, specified a date or fixed an exact time-table does not in the least mean that we were opposed to fixing such a time-table in certain particular cases or that we intended deferring independence in any way whatsoever. It simply means that we felt that the fixing of a rigid target date—the same date for all the countries—would smack of artificiality and would not suit the differing and individual circumstances of each particular case.

47. Moreover, there were divergent views on this point among the sponsors. One delegation, for instance, thought that the date should be an immediate date, say 1960 or 1961; other delegations considered that the dates should be in the very near future. Therefore, as I have just said, we left it to the various commit-

tees which deal with the problems attaching to each particular case to decide on these dates.

48. Another objection raised by the Soviet delegation related to the problem of universal suffrage and elections. Here again we thought it was essential not to lay down a hard and fast rule, which, however unexceptionable it might be in general, might raise certain special problems within the context of the special nature of the development of each State fighting for its independence. Some delegations even thought that, in some cases, the organization of elections by universal suffrage might ultimately be used as a pretext for delaying independence. Hence the need to specify the principle of the transfer of power, as I have pointed out, in accordance with the freely expressed will and desire of the peoples. This will, of course, can and in most cases should—I emphasize, in most cases—be expressed by organizing a plebiscite or elections on the basis of universal suffrage held in due and proper form and preferably—and wherever it is possible—guaranteed by the presence and supervision of the United Nations. Nevertheless, this should, as I said just a moment ago, be decided for each State according to the special circumstances of its development.

49. For example, at the present moment there are two draft resolutions before the Fourth Committee, one on Ruanda-Urundi [A/C.4/L.664] and one on Western Samoa [A/C.4/L.663], in which it is proposed to apply these principles, in the light of the local conditions and special circumstances, to those territories. The committees concerned will take up the matter and will see that the general principles are applied with the maximum flexibility and with due consideration for the special situation of each of these Territories.

50. Speaking as a member of the group which drafted the forty-three-Power draft resolution, I would like to assure the Soviet Union representative that we spent a long time weighing the pros and cons of each sentence, each phrase and each word. We did so because we never forgot that we had to frame a text that reflects as closely as possible the general aspirations of the African and Asian peoples—aspirations which we are very glad to have the Soviet representative's assurance he also shares—as well as the sometimes complicated conditions surrounding the liquidation of the colonial régime.

51. I must admit that this is not a perfect text. But in a collective task of this kind, where allowance has to be made for the complicated nature of the problems and the differing points of view held about their solution, it is, humanly speaking, very difficult to arrive at a general text which will best express the collective aspirations of the African and Asian peoples.

52. As regards the draft resolution submitted by Honduras [A/L.324/Rev.2] and the Guatemalan amendments [A/L.325] to the forty-three-Power draft resolution, I should like to make a brief comment.

53. The draft resolution submitted by Honduras, though it pursues praiseworthy aims, seems to us at the present moment rather remote from the immediate objectives which the anti-colonial Powers are pursuing in the present circumstances; the Honduran text does not, we feel, satisfy current requirements.

54. Regarding the amendments submitted by Guatemala, I admit that we are in agreement with the inten-

tions behind it. However, I should immediately add that, in so far as these intentions relate to the objective of the present declaration, they are stated and expressed clearly enough in paragraph 6 of the declaration in our draft resolution, which reads as follows:

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

55. In conclusion, I would like to add once again that this text was the result of lengthy discussions and exchanges of views, which took a very long time to materialize. It represents an important piece of work and its particularly delicate balance has been achieved as a result of the fixed determination of the African and Asian Powers to express the aspirations of their peoples through a historical text which—and this is most important—would reflect the united front of these peoples and of all countries against colonialism.

56. Such being the case, we consider that the adoption, or even the insertion, of the amendments submitted might spoil this difficult and especially delicate balance that we have tried to maintain and would even threaten to split the unity of the African-Asian peoples on this question.

57. My delegation would be extremely happy if the sponsors of these draft resolutions and amendments, in the light of the explanations we have given, would not press for them to be put to the vote. If that should not be the case, however, my delegation, for the reasons already stated, but mainly in a spirit of African-Asian solidarity, would not be able to support them.

58. I would like to add one last word regarding the text of paragraph 9 submitted by the USSR in document A/L.328, according to which the General Assembly

would decide to consider the question of the implementation of the resolution at its sixteenth regular session.

59. Quite obviously, my delegation—just as much, I fancy, as any of the other sponsors of the draft resolution—has no objection in principle to this paragraph, but the reason why we did not think fit to include it is that we felt it touched on a point of procedure which, in our view, was out of place in a historical declaration which would virtually be a classic text to be studied in schools and in various kinds of organizations, that is, one in which a sentence of a technical character like the one proposed would really be out of place.

60. In my opinion this proposal might be made later by a delegation, possibly as part of another draft resolution, but we really do believe that it is out of place in such an important, such a very solemn declaration as that which we are at present discussing.

61. However, since on this procedural point we have no objection to raise in principle—all the more so as it would not in substance change the balance of the text in any way—we would leave its adoption or rejection, as it now stands, to the collective wisdom of the Assembly and will ourselves abstain from voting on this point.

62. The PRESIDENT: The list of speakers on this item is now finally concluded and the Assembly, therefore, is in a position to proceed to the vote. In view of the fact, however, that the voting on the various proposals before the Assembly is likely to be a protracted process and that it is now a few minutes before the usual time of adjournment, the Chair proposes to adjourn the meeting now and to ask the Assembly to proceed to vote as the first item of business at its next meeting.

The meeting rose at 12.55 p.m.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

FIFTEENTH SESSION

Official Records

74 947th
PLENARY MEETINGWednesday, 14 December 1960,
at 3 p.m.

NEW YORK

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

AGENDA ITEM 87

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

1. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now proceed to vote on the various proposals that are before it in connexion with agenda item 87.

2. I propose to submit to the vote first the draft declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples submitted by the USSR in document A/4502.

3. I propose, secondly, to submit to the vote the amendments submitted by Guatemala [A/L.325] to the draft resolution submitted by forty-three African and Asian countries [A/L.323 and Add.1-6].

4. Thirdly, I propose to put to the vote the amendments submitted by the USSR [A/L.328] to the forty-three-Power draft resolution.

5. Fourthly, I propose to put to the vote the draft resolution submitted by forty-three African and Asian countries [A/L.323 and Add.1-6].

6. That leaves only the draft resolution submitted by Honduras [A/L.324/Rev.2]. In connexion with this document, I have been informed by the head of the delegation of Honduras that he does not desire that this draft resolution should be submitted to the vote.

7. I call on the representative of Indonesia on a point of order.

8. Mr. PALAR (Indonesia): It was not the intention of my delegation to explain its vote before the voting takes place, but we believe that an explanation of paragraph 6 in the draft resolution submitted by the forty-three Powers may persuade the representative of Guatemala to withdraw his amendments to this draft resolution. In fact, my delegation requests the representative of Guatemala to withdraw his amendments for the following reasons. Allow me to read paragraph 6:

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

9. When drafting this document my delegation was one of the sponsors of paragraph 6, and in bringing it into the draft resolution we had in mind that the con-

tinuation of Dutch colonialism in West Irian is a partial disruption of the national unity and the territorial integrity of our country.

10. As we have often explained here, the Dutch are using the right of self-determination—in fact, they are misusing it—to justify the continuation of their colonial activities in West Irian. We do not consider it necessary to explain this again, particularly as we have already done so in our statement during the general debate on this item [936th meeting]. It is for this reason that we consider that the idea expressed in the Guatemalan amendments is already fully expressed in paragraph 6 of our draft resolution, and it is for the same reason that we consider that the territories and peoples which the Guatemalan delegation had in mind have been taken into consideration in our paragraph 6.

11. Since I am on this rostrum and attempting to persuade the representative of Guatemala to withdraw his amendments, I should like to take this opportunity of explaining our vote on the draft resolution and on the amendments...

12. The PRESIDENT: I am very reluctant indeed to interrupt the representative of Indonesia, but I gave him the floor on a point of order and, as I announced at the end of the meeting this morning, the list of speakers, including those wishing to give explanations of vote, was finally closed this morning. I should like very much to be able to allow the representative of Indonesia to continue, but I am afraid that, on the basis of the procedure which we have adopted, it is no longer open to me to do so.

13. Mr. PALAR (Indonesia): I apologize. I hope that my effort to persuade the representative of Guatemala may be considered as a point of order.

14. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Guatemala on a point of order.

15. Mr. HERRARTE (Guatemala) (translated from Spanish): I have just heard the statement of the representative of Indonesia, who requested my delegation to withdraw its amendments [A/L.325] to the forty-three-Power draft resolution [A/L.323 and Add.1-6].

16. As a matter of fact, we heard this morning several of the sponsors of the draft resolution giving their interpretation of paragraph 6. We fully accept this interpretation and, although we would have liked to have the principle of territorial integrity more clearly expressed, as it is in the text contained in our amendments, I raise no objection and will ask the President, on behalf of my delegation, not to put our amendments to the vote.

17. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Ghana on a point of order.

18. Mr. QUAISON-SACKEY (Ghana): I must apologize for taking the time of the Assembly to raise a point

of order, but I am moved by the hope that delegations who submitted amendments to our draft resolution might find their way clear to withdrawing them, and I appeal to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics also to withdraw its amendments [A/L.328], particularly its proposed paragraph 8.

19. I make this appeal because I find that on reading that particular paragraph in conjunction with our paragraph 5, the two do not read very well. In paragraph 5 of our draft declaration [A/L.323 and Add.1-6] we say:

"Immediate steps shall be taken, in Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories or all other territories which have not yet attained independence, to transfer all powers ...".

20. Paragraph 8 proposed by the USSR (A/L.328) calls upon the colonial Powers to "enter into negotiations". The same idea is there. One says "transfer all powers"; the other says "enter into negotiations". The only novel aspect of their paragraph is the date which they have fixed. I think those of us who took part in the drafting of the African-Asian draft know very well the various views expressed before paragraph 5 was put in. Therefore on the basis that we shall be voting on the draft declaration of the Soviet Union without any amendment, we feel that all amendments to our draft resolution should be withdrawn.

21. Therefore, in that spirit, may I appeal to the representative of the Soviet Union to withdraw his amendment.

22. Mr. ZORIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): The Soviet delegation has already explained the reasons why we considered it essential to introduce the amendments to which the representative of Ghana has just referred. In our statement we emphasized that our motive was to facilitate the adoption at this session of a resolution that would basically settle this question of the elimination of colonialism. Accordingly, we did not submit any amendments to the actual paragraphs of the resolution introduced by the forty-three African and Asian countries, precisely in order to facilitate the positive solution of this problem.

23. As regards the additional paragraphs proposed in our document, and, in particular, the additional paragraph 8, to which the representative of Ghana referred, we consider that addition absolutely essential because the main issue now is how to implement this decision on the liquidation of colonialism and the liberation of dependent and colonial peoples, and the paragraph in question contains an effective indication of how to solve this problem and sets a time-limit for its successful solution.

24. We know, of course, that there is no one single point of view on this question, even among the African and Asian countries themselves; we believe, however, that the absence of such a single point of view will not make it difficult for those countries that regard the elimination of colonialism as an urgent and pressing problem to vote for the proposal introduced in the amendment to which I have just referred since, in the last analysis, the representative of Ghana, when he spoke here expressing his views, the views of his Government, said that the Government of Ghana considered that the deadline for the completion of this process of liquidating the colonial system should be the beginning of 1962.

25. Thus, between our proposal and the view defended by the Government of Ghana there are no major differences of substance. Of course, there are other points of view too, but I believe that the voting should disclose the positions of all countries and reveal who is interested in the speedy elimination of the colonial system. We regret, therefore, that we shall not be able to comply with the Ghanaian representative's request and shall press for a vote on both our amendments.

26. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now proceed to the vote. The Assembly will have before it three documents which I propose to submit to the vote in the following order: first, the draft declaration proposed by the Soviet Union and contained in document A/4502; secondly, the amendments submitted by the Soviet Union [A/L.328] to the forty-three-Power draft resolution; and finally, the forty-three-Power draft resolution itself [A/L.323 and Add.1-6].

27. Coming to the first vote which is the vote on the draft declaration submitted by the Soviet Union, as representatives may remember, a request was made this morning [946th meeting] to have the vote on this draft declaration in parts: first, a separate vote on the part beginning with the words, "... the States Members of the United Nations solemnly proclaim the following demands:" and including the numbered paragraphs 1, 2 and 3. Then a vote will be taken on the rest of the draft declaration, and finally a vote on the draft declaration as a whole.

28. I now put to the vote the part of the draft declaration submitted by the Soviet Union [A/4502] beginning with the words, "... the States Members of the United Nations solemnly proclaim the following demands:" and including the following paragraphs numbered 1, 2 and 3.

29. A roll-call vote has been requested.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

Mexico, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Morocco, Nepal, Poland, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Togo, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Albania, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Mali.

Against: Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Norway, Panama, Philippines, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Thailand, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Denmark, El Salvador, France, Greece, Honduras, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg.

Abstaining: Mexico, Nigeria, Pakistan, Paraguay, Peru, Senegal, Somalia, Tunisia, Upper Volta, Venezuela, Austria, Bolivia, Burma, Cambodia, Cameroun, Central African Republic, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Leopoldville), Cyprus, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Federation of Malaya, Finland, Gabon, Guatemala, Haiti, Iran, Ivory Coast, Laos, Madagascar.

That part of the declaration was rejected by 35 votes to 32, with 30 abstentions.

30. The PRESIDENT: I will now put to the Assembly the rest of the Soviet draft declaration. I think that the request for a roll-call covers the declaration as a whole, so I propose to put this part to a vote by roll-call also.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

Albania, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Albania, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Ceylon, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, Hungary, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Liberia, Madagascar, Mali, Morocco, Niger, Poland, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, Yemen, Afghanistan.

Against: Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Denmark, Ecuador, El Salvador, Federation of Malaya, France, Greece, Guatemala, Honduras, Iceland, Iran, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Thailand, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela.

Abstaining: Austria, Burma, Cambodia, Cameroun, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Leopoldville), Cyprus, Dominican Republic, Finland, Gabon, Haiti, India, Indonesia, Jordan, Laos, Lebanon, Libya, Mexico, Nepal, Nigeria, Senegal, Somalia, Sudan, Togo, Tunisia, Upper Volta, Yugoslavia.

The rest of the declaration was rejected by 43 votes to 25, with 29 abstentions.

31. The PRESIDENT: As neither part of the draft declaration has received the approval of the Assembly, it is perhaps unnecessary to submit to the Assembly the draft declaration as a whole.

32. I now propose to put to the vote the amendments submitted by the USSR [A/L.328] to the forty-three-Power draft resolution. Separate roll-call votes have been requested on each of the paragraphs in document A/L.328. Therefore, I now put to the vote the first of these two paragraphs, paragraph 8.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

Indonesia, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Mali, Mexico, Morocco, Poland, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Sudan, Togo, Tunisia, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Albania, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Ethiopia, Guinea, Hungary.

Against: Iran, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Japan, Laos, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Thailand, Turkey, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Brazzaville), Costa Rica, Denmark,

El Salvador, Federation of Malaya, France, Gabon, Greece, Guatemala, Honduras, Iceland.

Abstaining: Indonesia, Nepal, Nigeria, Paraguay, Senegal, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Burma, Cambodia, Cameroun, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Congo (Leopoldville), Cyprus, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Finland, Ghana, Haiti, India.

The paragraph was rejected by 47 votes to 29, with 22 abstentions.

33. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now proceed to vote on paragraph 9, which is the second amendment proposed in document A/L.328.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

Haiti, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Hungary, India, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Mali, Mexico, Morocco, Nepal, Nigeria, Poland, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Sudan, Togo, Tunisia, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Albania, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroun, Ceylon, Chad, Congo (Leopoldville), Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea.

Against: Honduras, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Japan, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Norway, Pakistan, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Thailand, Turkey, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Denmark, Federation of Malaya, Finland, France, Greece.

Abstaining: Haiti, Indonesia, Iran, Israel, Laos, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Senegal, Upper Volta, Argentina, Austria, Cambodia, Central African Republic, Chile, Congo (Brazzaville), Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Gabon, Guatemala.

The result of the vote was 41 in favour, 35 against, and 22 abstentions.

The paragraph was not adopted, having failed to obtain the required two-thirds majority.

34. The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly will now proceed to vote on the forty-three-Power draft resolution [A/L.323 and Add.1-6].

A vote was taken by roll-call.

Haiti, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Japan, Jordan, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Mali, Mexico, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Somalia, Sudan, Sweden, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia, Turkey, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Albania, Argentina, Austria, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Cameroun, Canada, Central Afri-

can Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Leopoldville), Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Federation of Malaya, Finland, Gabon, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea.

Against: None.

Abstaining: Portugal, Spain, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Australia, Belgium, Dominican Republic, France.

The draft resolution was adopted by 89 votes to none, with 9 abstentions.^{1/}

35. The PRESIDENT: A number of representatives have asked to explain their votes after the voting. I give the floor to the first of these, the representative of Canada.

36. Mr. NESBITT (Canada): I wish to explain the vote of the Canadian delegation on the forty-three-Power draft resolution on the granting of independence to colonial countries.

37. The Canadian delegation welcomed the initiative taken by the sponsors of this draft resolution, which we think a very good one and for which we were very pleased to vote. We are inclined indeed to congratulate the United Nations itself upon an achievement which should give encouragement to our Member Governments and peoples at a moment when perhaps the United Nations can do with a breath of encouragement. It is an event worth noting, when forty-three nations, some with, some without a history of colonialism, agree upon the content of a resolution of this breadth and depth in an area by no means devoid of controversy.

38. In a resolution of this length and importance there are inevitably passages which one might wish on first reading to have seen differently worded. For this reason, we have cause to be grateful to the several sponsors who took the trouble of explaining or interpreting various clauses and expressions. We were pleased to hear from some of the sponsors, for example, that a condemnation of all colony-holding States in the past and present is not intended. Canada would belie its own history, its history under two colonizing States over a period of 200 years, if we were not to affirm that the partnership and harmony of one country and another, even though at first not in terms of mutual equality, must often result in benefit to both. A dozen speakers have given this testimony in the present debate.

39. When, however, that harmony vanishes, the benefits fail, and then the whole of the old colonial system must perish, as it is perishing before our eyes.

40. Nevertheless, history also has its rights and prerogatives, of which no power on earth can deprive it. If interrupted too recklessly, too precipitately, in its course, history takes its own revenge. We do not need to look far to see examples of this.

41. We note with care, therefore, what this resolution says; it says: let all colonies be liberated. It does not say, and several of its sponsors have pointed out that it does not mean: let all colonies and territories, regardless of their circumstances, regardless of their

readiness, regardless even of their own wishes, be liberated at this moment. The resolution does not try to force any people against its own wishes and against its own best interests into any particular form of government or into any prescribed relationship in reference to any other country. Nor does it seek to forbid to any territory the right to maintain a connexion with another territory if it desires to maintain that connexion. To do these things would, in fact, be contrary to the principles already recommended by the Fourth Committee for adoption in this Assembly, following consideration by that Committee of the report of the Special Committee of Six on the Transmission of Information under Article 73 e of the Charter [A/4526].

42. In voting for this draft resolution, Canada is glad to have had the opportunity of joining the sponsors who have put forward this resolution and the many speakers who have supported it and clarified its terms, as well as those administering Powers who have demonstrated their compliance with its principles.

43. I should now like to add a word of explanation in connexion with the vote which the Canadian delegation cast against the Soviet draft declaration in document A/4502. The sponsors of the African-Asian draft resolution [A/L.323 and Add.1-6] made it very clear in their statements before the Assembly that they wished this matter of the independence of colonies and Trust Territories to remain completely divorced from the great Powers' rivalry and the political objectives of any of the great Powers. We had hoped that the delegation of the USSR would have taken this evident and laudable desire of the sponsors into consideration and refrained from pressing their declaration to a vote, couched as it is in highly inflammatory terms. At the very least, we had hoped that the Soviet delegation would not have seized this as an appropriate opportunity to wage propaganda warfare.

44. Contrary to these reasonable expectations, the Soviet delegation, in every intervention, has attacked the administering Powers, always extravagantly, often savagely, and in nearly every case unjustly. Under these circumstances, we now feel free to recall to the mind of the Assembly certain words spoken by the Prime Minister of Canada from this rostrum at the beginning of this session. Mr. Diefenbaker invited the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, who then stood before us as the self-proclaimed liberator of the colonial peoples, "... to give to those nations under his domination the right of free elections—to give them the opportunity to determine the kind of government they want under genuinely free conditions." [871st meeting, para. 197.] By doing so, Mr. Khrushchev could show that he really desired "the complete and final elimination of the colonial régime in all its forms and manifestations". These circumstances constitute part, but by no means all, of the reasons why the Canadian delegation voted against the Soviet draft declaration.

Mr. Hasan (Pakistan), Vice-President, took the Chair.

45. Mr. ORMSBY-GORE (United Kingdom): My delegation has listened to the long debate on this item with the greatest attention, for it is a debate on a matter of vital concern to us. An important part of the obligations we owe to the international community concerns the remaining overseas territories under our administration. These obligations are covered by two

^{1/}The delegation of Dahomey, which was absent when the vote was taken, subsequently informed the President that it would have voted in favour of the draft resolution (see paragraph 99 below).

sections of the United Nations Charter, different in character but with the same objectives—Chapter XI, covering Non-Self-Governing Territories, and Chapters XII and XIII, covering Trust Territories.

46. The debate has shown that there is widespread understanding and indeed appreciation here in the United Nations of the manner in which we are discharging those obligations. The degree to which the peoples of these territories, with our help, can succeed in creating new nations, undivided, strong and genuinely independent, is, we believe, crucial both to their own future happiness and to the progress and well-being of mankind as a whole. It is with this in mind that we have approached this debate.

47. Many of the sponsors of the forty-three-Power draft resolution, which has just been adopted by the Assembly, have made it clear by what they have said in the debate that their basic objectives are the same as ours. They are indeed the objectives set forth in the Charter of the United Nations. For this reason we would like to have been able to vote for the declaration, especially since, as some of the sponsors have said, it is intended to be universal in its application, to bring within its scope those forms of—and I use the words of the resolution—"alien subjugation, domination and exploitation", the practitioners of which try to exempt themselves from the strictures of world public opinion.

48. But in a matter as important as this, we have felt bound to look most closely at the wording of the resolution, and, to our regret, we came to the conclusion that its wording in certain respects was not such that we could support it. We would have been prepared in a matter which concerns us so closely to have had discussions on the drafting with the sponsors. We believe that had this been done we could have contributed some suggestions from our own experience which would not have derogated from the basic purpose of the draft and could have, at the same time, made it possible for us to accept it.

49. The majority of the peoples now covered under Chapters XI, XII and XIII of the Charter live in territories under United Kingdom administration. We have a special responsibility, therefore, to ensure that our position on the matters covered by the declaration is not misunderstood. For example, paragraph 1 of the declaration is, I must assume, simply not applicable to the people in these territories for which we are responsible, since it refers to a system of alien domination which is contrary to the United Nations Charter, whereas the United Kingdom administration of dependent territories is conducted strictly in accord with the relevant provisions of the Charter. I wish that the sponsors could have made this more explicit in the text of paragraph 1. As it is, I think that it may be open to misinterpretation.

50. There are other paragraphs in the declaration which cannot be held to apply to territories for which the United Kingdom is responsible. For example, the seventh paragraph of the preamble reads:

"Convinced that the continued existence of colonialism prevents the development of international economic co-operation, impedes the social, cultural and economic development of dependent peoples..."

The policies which the United Kingdom Government is pursuing in connexion with the territories under

its administration are framed strictly in accord with Article 73 of the Charter. Under this we are obliged to ensure the political, economic, social and educational advancement of the dependent peoples and to promote co-operation with international bodies with a view to the practical achievement of these purposes. This we do, and the manner in which we do it is well known and is exhaustively examined by various organs of the United Nations.

51. All delegations here are aware, for example, of the participation of territories under United Kingdom administration in the work of such bodies as the Economic Commission for Africa. The development of inspiring examples of international economic co-operation of this kind has not been impeded by the fact that these territories are not yet fully independent. Equally, social, cultural and economic development is going steadily forward in the territories under our administration through the joint efforts of the peoples concerned and ourselves.

52. My delegation regrets the criticism implied, in this and other paragraphs, of the policies which we are carrying out in accordance with our Charter obligations. We also feel that the declaration might in several places have laid more stress on the positive responsibilities of those who still administer dependent territories. For instance, we accept that the inadequacy of preparedness in the various fields mentioned in paragraph 3 should not serve as a pretext—and by pretext I mean what one of the sponsors defined as "fabricated grounds of unpreparedness"—for delaying independence. But we also share the views of those sponsors who urged that constructive steps must be taken in the political, economic, social and educational fields as a preparation for independence in order that independence, when it comes, can be effective and have real meaning. We think that the declaration could have been improved if these constructive aspects could have found a place in it.

53. On the other hand, paragraph 2 of the declaration seems to my delegation to be out of place in this context. The United Kingdom, of course, subscribes wholeheartedly to the principle of self-determination set out in the Charter itself, and we feel that we have done as much to implement this principle during the past fifteen years as any delegation in this Assembly. Nevertheless, members of the Assembly will be familiar with the difficulties which have arisen in connexion with the discussion of the draft International Covenants on Human Rights and in defining the right to self-determination in a universally acceptable form. These difficulties have not yet been finally resolved by the Assembly, and we feel that it might have been better not to make the attempt now in a rather different context.

54. Some of the sponsors have described paragraph 5 of the declaration as the key paragraph and have emphasized that what this means is that immediate steps should be taken for the necessary preparation for the final transfer of power to the inhabitants of the territories and that there should be no deliberate procrastination and delay in this. The United Kingdom delegation entirely agrees with these sentiments, although we wish that this paragraph too might have been expressed more clearly. The method and timing of progress towards independence must be a matter for the people themselves to work out together with the administering Power. The circumstances of every

territory are different, and there is no one pattern which can be imposed from outside upon them all. In this respect, the speech of the representative of Australia [933rd meeting] describing the problems facing New Guinea is worth close attention, particularly by those who, like the representative of the Soviet Union, have used the debate for the repetition of outworn political slogans and have revealed an astonishing ignorance of the whole subject.

55. For all the reasons I have mentioned, my delegation abstained on this draft resolution. Nevertheless, I should like to say that we do regard it as a considerable achievement that forty-three delegations should have been able to agree upon the text of a declaration upon so controversial a matter as this. We should like to pay tribute to those delegations which we know have worked hard and long to produce a text which could command as wide a support as this one has. We should especially like to congratulate them on having produced a text which, in spite of the imperfections which we still see in it, has succeeded in emancipating the subject of the granting of independence to all colonial countries and peoples from the tendentious and unconstructive language of the Soviet draft declaration which was rejected by this Assembly. I do not think that the Assembly would expect me to comment on the extraordinary collection of falsehoods in the speech of the representative of the Soviet Union on a number of occasions, and particularly on 7 December. Anyone familiar with the political situation in East Africa, for example, will know how completely he misrepresented it. The aspirations of the people of Africa are not what Mr. Zorin says they are and he cannot speak for them. The amendments that his delegation submitted again showed how ill qualified he was to speak on their behalf and how much he has to learn of the real problems involved.

56. We are proud of the work which we are doing in co-operation with the peoples of the territories for which we are responsible, helping them by every means at our command to create new nations, prosperous and free. We look to the future not to the past, a future in which new and strong nations will take their places in the world community without fear of internal strife or outside pressure.

57. In the course of this debate one of the sponsors of the draft resolution referred with approval to a paragraph in the report of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories which concludes with the following sentence:

"The Committee is confident that the knowledge that their ultimate destiny is for them to choose, will encourage the inhabitants of the Territories to multiply many times their own efforts to build a new and prosperous future for themselves during a period of smooth, constructive and purposeful transition."
[A/4371, part two, para. 25.]

58. We share that confidence and we are grateful to all those Members of the General Assembly who share it also and who have shown understanding of the policies which the United Kingdom is following to bring about this new and prosperous future with all speed.

59. Mr. SCHURMANN (Netherlands): My delegation voted for the draft resolution which was sponsored by forty-three African and Asian countries [A/L.323 and Add.1-6]. We did so because we agree with the principles it contains, which are also the principles by

which we are guided in the administration of the only Non-Self-Governing Territory still under our administration.

60. Our agreement with the principles of the resolution does not mean that we are entirely happy about all of its wording. Although we are convinced, for instance, that independence will foster the development of international economic co-operation and will promote social, economic and educational development, we do not consider that the mere fact of dependence necessarily impedes development. As administering Power we are doing all we can to promote these various forms of development in Netherlands New Guinea, as is indeed our duty under the terms of Article 73 e of the Charter.

61. I could give some more examples of not fully accurate phrasing, but the fact that we voted for the resolution as a whole proves that we did not consider them of decisive importance and so I shall not revert to them.

62. What we cannot accept, however, is the inference drawn by one speaker in the debate from paragraph 6 of the declaration. That paragraph is a reaffirmation of Article 2, paragraph 4, of the United Nations Charter. As such it naturally has our full support and approval. But we fail to see by what strange kind of reasoning the representative of Indonesia could possibly deduce from the terms of paragraph 6 of the declaration that the right of self-determination should be granted to all peoples of the world except only to the people living in the western half of the island of New Guinea, which is Netherlands New Guinea. Such a contention is contrary to the Charter and most certainly finds no basis in the resolution.

63. Mr. HERRARTE (Guatemala) (translated from Spanish): In supporting the draft resolution of the African-Asian Powers [A/L.323 and Add.1-6], my delegation had introduced the amendment contained in document A/L.325 to the effect that the principle of the self-determination of peoples may in no case impair the right of territorial integrity of any State or its right to the recovery of territory. This reservation seemed to be absolutely desirable since there are many territories disputed or claimed by other States as an integral part of their respective countries which are improperly held by colonial Powers, and in such disputes the solution cannot run counter to the principle of self-determination, as that would infringe the other very important principle of a country's territorial integrity.

64. It is true that paragraph 6 of the resolution contains a positive statement to the effect that "any attempt aimed at the partial or total disruption of the national unity and the territorial integrity of a country is incompatible with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations". However, my delegation thought it appropriate to make its point of view clearer, as is set out in the amendments already mentioned. Nevertheless, my delegation made no objection to withdrawing its amendments in view of the statements made by several of the sponsors in interpreting paragraph 6 and the request made by the representative of Indonesia, on the understanding that the rights it was seeking to safeguard would be duly protected by paragraph 6.

65. We are extremely gratified that the draft resolution of the African and Asian countries has been

approved by such a large majority. In any case my delegation wishes to state that the adoption of the resolution cannot in any way affect the legitimate rights that Guatemala has been maintaining against the United Kingdom regarding the Guatemalan territory of Belize. The occupation of this territory is no more than a sequel to the old British piracy practised on the coasts of Central America and merely represents the triumph of might over right.

66. I must on this occasion place on record the fact that, at the San Francisco Conference, Guatemala expressly reserved its rights when the international trusteeship system was discussed^{2/} and also during the discussion concerning reports from countries administering non-self-governing territories. It has restated these reservations in this Assembly, in the Trusteeship Council and in various United Nations committees when it was necessary.

67. The Republic of Guatemala has maintained the same attitude at the various inter-American conferences that have dealt with the abolition of colonialism, an idea to which it has given its warmest and most enthusiastic support. At the Chapultepec Conference in 1945, when the American States endorsed the principles of the Atlantic Charter,^{3/} Guatemala also entered a formal reservation^{4/} to the effect that the principle of self-determination could not affect its right of territorial integrity as regards the problem of Belize, being a territory in dispute.

68. Consequently, my delegation maintains that the resolution adopted will not affect territories which are the subject of dispute or litigation.

69. Mr. PERERA (Ceylon): The delegation of Ceylon in its intervention on 28 November [926th meeting] explained its position regarding documents A/L.323 and A/4502. Today the delegation of Ceylon has voted for both parts of the Soviet draft declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. We agree in toto with every word that is stated in the declaration of the Soviet Union and contained in document A/4502. The delegation of Ceylon abstained on the first of the Soviet amendments in document A/L.328 to the forty-three-Power African-Asian draft resolution, and we abstained for the following reasons.

70. First, in paragraph 5 of the African-Asian draft resolution we have, to some extent, covered the ground dealt with in the first paragraph of the Soviet amendments. Secondly, we abstained on the first paragraph because we found that it does not perhaps cover every possible issue that may arise in the future. I refer particularly—and this is in line with the intervention by the delegation of Ceylon on 28 November—to the fact that not only must we safeguard ourselves against the colonialist Powers that still exist in the world, but we must also safeguard the position of the colonial peoples in the event of the colonial Powers combining to continue and perpetuate colonialism. It was the view of the delegation of Ceylon that although the principle contained in the first paragraph of the amendment of the Soviet Union may be correct, what in principle may be correct does not go far enough.

71. In short, the Government of Ceylon takes a more revolutionary position regarding the substance of the first of the Soviet amendments. It is the submission of the delegation of Ceylon, in explaining our vote, that it is tantamount, to some extent, to a fetter on certain rights which all colonial peoples will have.

72. I do not wish to refer to items which are now being discussed in the First Committee of the Assembly, but I would say that any attempt made by a group of colonial Powers, or by a single colonial Power, to perpetuate colonialism would also mean that in future the right of conquest would give the peoples of those colonies the right to rebellion. In that sense, the Government of Ceylon goes further than the first paragraph proposed in document A/L.328.

73. It is for that reason that the delegation of Ceylon abstained on that paragraph. But may I say that on the principles contained therein, we are in agreement with the Soviet Union; and if colonial peoples, through their elected representatives, can negotiate with the colonial masters, or the colonial Powers, we shall welcome it. But we also act on the principle: "peacefully if we may, forcibly if we must"; in short, the principle that the right of conquest gives the right of rebellion to the people, and not merely the right to negotiate.

74. For those reasons we abstained on the first paragraph of the Soviet amendments but we voted for the second paragraph, which would have placed this question on the agenda of the sixteenth session. We did so because we feel that this is in line with what is contained in document A/4502—and here I repeat, the delegation of Ceylon accepts every word in the Soviet draft declaration—and because it is necessary to put the colonial Powers "on the spot", if I may use that expression. That is why we voted for it.

75. I take this opportunity, while explaining our vote, to say that the Government of Ceylon, through the delegation of Ceylon, expresses its gratitude to the Soviet Union for having requested the inclusion of this item in the agenda of the fifteenth session.

76. Mr. ZORIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): More than two months have passed since Mr. Khrushchev, the Head of the Soviet Government, submitted to the General Assembly for its consideration the declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples and called on all Members of the United Nations to adopt a decision on the immediate and complete elimination of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations [869th meeting].

77. That proposal proved to be a powerful means of mobilizing all anti-colonial forces and a broad discussion developed around it in which more than seventy delegations took part. Of great significance was the fact that with the exception of a very insignificant group of colonial Powers and their stooges, the great majority of delegations condemned colonialism and demanded its complete and immediate elimination. The discussion in the United Nations on the question of the liberation of all colonial countries and peoples shows that powerful forces opposed to the shameful colonial system have come into being in the world today and have joined together. At the present time the relationship of economic, political and military factors is such that the colonial Powers can now no longer maintain their colonial possessions under their domi-

^{2/}United Nations Conference on International Organization, II/4/24.

^{3/}See Final Act of the Inter-American Conference on Problems of War and Peace, Mexico City, February-March 1945 (Pan American Union, Washington, D.C., 1945), resolution XII, p. 50.

^{4/}*Ibid.*, Declaration by Guatemala, p. 109.

nation and cannot avert the collapse of the colonial system. A situation has come about in which the peaceful elimination of the colonial system is possible. If all States, all forces that are demanding freedom and independence for the colonial peoples unite and together take action against the attempts of the colonial Powers to maintain their domination over territories and peoples not their own.

78. Taking this real relationship of forces into account, the Soviet Union took the initiative in the United Nations and called on all States to declare themselves in favour of a peaceful solution of the problem and of the adoption, within the framework of the United Nations, of measures which would help to bring about the complete elimination of the colonial system. The declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples that has just been adopted by the General Assembly is a great victory for the united front of anti-colonial forces represented in the United Nations. It is noteworthy that only eight colonial Powers—Portugal, Spain, Belgium, the Union of South Africa, Australia, the United Kingdom, France and the United States—did not approve that declaration, although they did not venture, in face of the powerful anti-colonial front, openly to oppose its endorsement. The whole world can now see who in fact is in favour of eliminating the shameful colonial system and who is opposed to it.

79. The Soviet delegation expresses its gratification that the overwhelming majority of States Members of the United Nations have supported the fundamental provisions of the Soviet draft declaration that are reflected in the text of the declaration now approved by the General Assembly. We are happy, too, that thirty-two delegations actively supported with their votes all the operative paragraphs of the Soviet draft declaration, and that twenty-nine delegations voted in favour of the Soviet proposal for the granting of independence to all colonial countries and peoples not later than 1961.

80. The fact that forty-one delegations have deemed it necessary to place the question of the implementation of the resolution just adopted on the agenda of the sixteenth session of the General Assembly indicates that the question will inevitably come up at the sixteenth session. The whole course of the discussion on this item confirms that the Soviet Union's action in raising the question of the elimination of colonialism in the General Assembly has fully justified itself. The draft declaration submitted by the Soviet Government on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples played an effective and positive role in determining the position of delegations and in preparing the ground for the adoption of the solemn United Nations declaration on the elimination of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations. The declaration submitted by the Soviet Union is a living document of historic importance, a programme of action for the peoples of the colonial countries. It will serve as a symbol of the support of all peace-loving forces for the national-liberation movement in the colonies and will be a call to all peoples to make an end of colonialism without delay and to erase this monstrous phenomenon, this blot on the twentieth century, from the face of the earth.

81. Mr. NINCIC (Yugoslavia): I would just like to say a word in explanation of the votes my delegation has just cast on the draft resolutions that were before us.

82. My delegation has voted in favour of that part of document A/4502 which, in our view, contained the declaration proper. We abstained with regard to the rest of the document because we felt it was of an explanatory nature, and that to vote for it might well have created a precedent. That is why we did not deem it possible to accept every word of the text thus formulated, no matter how much we were in agreement with its general context. Had the document been put to the vote as a whole, we would, of course, have voted in its favour.

83. My delegation also voted in favour of the forty-three-Power draft resolution, which we felt met the basic requirements of the situation and whose overwhelming adoption a moment ago constitutes, in our view, a highly important and most welcome event.

84. We also voted in favour of the Soviet amendments to that draft resolution which, in our view, would have strengthened it quite considerably.

85. Mr. JHA (India): The declaration that has just been adopted is truly one of the landmarks in the progress of the United Nations. I believe that future historians will regard it as one of the noblest declarations, one of the noblest resolutions coming out of the United Nations; and there is no doubt that this resolution will rank perhaps as the most constructive achievement of this session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. It is a resolution which will inspire everyone, inspire the peoples who are under colonial domination, and give them hope and faith, not only in themselves but in the United Nations. We have no doubt that it will enormously expedite the processes which are working towards the liberation of dependent peoples.

86. I take the floor for just a few minutes in order to explain the voting of my delegation on the draft declaration contained in document A/4502 and on the amendments contained in document A/L.328.

87. My delegation voted for the three paragraphs of the draft declaration numbered 1, 2 and 3 in document A/4502. There was nothing in these paragraphs which was contrary to the expressed views and attitudes of the Government of India. Indeed, we found in these paragraphs all that my country has stood for ever since the inauguration of the United Nations and the views expressed by the responsible leaders and the Government of India. Therefore, we whole-heartedly supported those three paragraphs.

88. As for the rest of the document, we would like to say that we are entirely in accord with a very large part of it. Indeed, the rest of this document contains statements which are highly noble and inspiring. For example, it says:

"We all inhabit the same planet. On this planet we are born, we work, raise our children and pass on to them all we have achieved in life. And although there exist different States in the world, all men are born equal in dignity."

This is a noble statement, and there is no one—certainly not in my delegation—who would have the slightest hesitation or compunction in voting for this.

89. As I said, we are in whole-hearted agreement with most of the draft declaration, but our understanding as regards voting on a historic declaration of this nature, which goes into the formal records of the United Nations, is that if we vote for it, we subscribe

to each and every sentence of it, and we found some difficulty in doing that. We found that some parts, some statements, or perhaps the manner of expressing certain views, were such as did not accord with the traditional position and the traditional attitudes of the Government of India. We were, therefore, unable to vote in favour of it and we abstained on that part of the document.

90. Coming to the amendments contained in document [A/L.328, we abstained on the first amendment, which would have figured as paragraph 8 in the forty-three-Power draft resolution. I should like to make it clear on behalf of my delegation that we would welcome, and we do welcome, the immediate emancipation and freedom of all dependent peoples. None would be happier to see the end of the colonial system in all its forms and manifestations by the end of 1961 so that the world might become a completely free world by that date. But in the discussions that preceded the vote—very lengthy discussions and, if I may say so, very thorough discussions, which were conducted with a great sense of responsibility and of realization of the importance of this declaration—it was felt that we should strike a somewhat different line; we should keep the resolution in the form of a declaration of principles which will be a source of inspiration and guidance perennially and which can be used and cited at any time. It was felt that any circumscription of those principles by putting a target date would be somewhat out of tune with the conception that was behind that resolution.

91. Secondly, we felt that the proposed paragraph 8 in some ways—of course it was an advance in the sense that it wanted independence to be attained at the end of 1961—was some sort of limitation on the key paragraph, which is paragraph 5 of the forty-three-Power draft declaration. Paragraph 5 is very clear. It says:

"Immediate steps shall be taken, in Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories or all other territories which have not yet attained independence, to transfer all powers to the peoples of those territories ... without any conditions or reservations..."

It seemed to us that the idea of negotiations embodied in the proposed paragraph 8 was in some way a limitation inasmuch as negotiations presuppose the possible introduction of some conditions or reservations. The thing behind paragraph 5—at least from the point of view of my delegation—is that there is nothing further to be done; no pretext can be advanced for delaying the freedom of dependent peoples. All that is necessary is to take immediate steps. Those steps, naturally, have to be taken in accordance with democratic practices, but the steps cannot be delayed on any ground, and no negotiations can be a ground for delaying the taking of immediate steps—and these immediate steps might even mean immediate independence, that is to say, even before the end of 1961. Therefore, while we fully appreciated the spirit behind the proposed paragraph 8, we felt, being sponsor of the forty-three-Power draft resolution, and with the thinking that went behind paragraph 5 of that text, that we should abstain on paragraph 8 as proposed in document A/L.328.

92. We had no difficulty in deciding to vote for the second Soviet amendment because we feel that the whole question cannot be left like that. The question of implementation of this resolution must come before the General Assembly at its sixteenth session in some form or other.

93. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Indonesia has asked for the floor to exercise his right of reply.

94. Mr. PALAR (Indonesia): It is not only in order to exercise our right of reply that I have taken the floor; my delegation wishes also to explain its vote on the amendments submitted by the USSR in document A/L.328.

95. My delegation participated intensively in the preparation of the forty-three-Power draft resolution. We felt that it was a happy compromise between views that were very far apart. It took us about four weeks to draft this resolution and, therefore, it is understandable that the sponsors should have some difficulty in accepting amendments. As a matter of fact, we were inclined to accept the amendments submitted by the USSR but, as I explained before, we took the position that it would not be helpful to accept any amendment to our resolution. That was also the reason why we succeeded in persuading the representative of Guatemala to withdraw his amendments.

96. Now I should like to make use of my delegation's right of reply to the representative of the Netherlands.

97. The representative of the Netherlands has tried to interpret paragraph 6 of our declaration in his own way. In fact, what he tried to do was to tell us that his delegation knew better than the forty-three sponsors of the draft resolution what their desire was in submitting this resolution. We have had some experience of Dutch masterfulness in the interpretation of resolutions and agreements. I should like to draw the attention of the Assembly to something that happened between the Netherlands and Indonesia about fifteen years ago when we concluded an agreement with the Dutch. This agreement was called the Linggadjati Agreement. In that agreement there was a provision that if the parties did not agree on its interpretation, this difference of opinion should be submitted to arbitration. At that time I was a Member of the Dutch Parliament and I experienced much astonishment that the Dutch Parliament and Government succeeded in convincing themselves that this provision of arbitration did not in fact mean anything resembling arbitration. In fact, they managed to convince themselves that while there was a provision for arbitration in the agreement, it was not necessary for them to accept arbitration.

98. This is a kind of interpretation that we know from the Netherlands. I can understand that the Netherlands could try to treat Indonesia, which was very inexperienced, this way, but I am quite surprised to see the representative of the Netherlands come to this forum and try to give his own interpretation of a resolution that has been sponsored by forty-three members of this body. Obviously, the representative of the Netherlands knows better what we wish than we ourselves. It is very difficult to characterize this, but I think we may just call it Dutch.

99. The PRESIDENT: Before I proceed with the list of speakers I have an announcement to make. The representative of Dahomey has asked me to announce his inability to attend the voting on this item, but he wishes it to be recorded that had he been present he would have voted for the forty-three-Power draft resolution [A/L.323 and Add.1-6].

100. I give the floor now to the representative of Portugal.

101. Mr. GARIN (Portugal): I wish to explain briefly the vote of my delegation. My delegation has followed with great attention the debate on colonialism which the Assembly has just concluded. Much was said from this rostrum with which my delegation is in agreement. As was stressed by many representatives during the debate, the most criticized aspects of colonialism implied the idea of race superiority, of economic exploitation, and of subjugation of peoples for ideological or political purposes. With the exception of a few delegations I am sure no one in this Assembly is a defender of such features of colonialism, and my delegation whole-heartedly shares such feelings. In this context my delegation joins others in their anxiety for the termination of that kind of new and ruthless colonialism which is found within a great State or in those nations which during the last few decades have lost their independence or which enjoy nothing but symbolic independence.

102. Also, in respect of Trust Territories or other territories in regard to which there may be international obligations, it is certainly desirable that the principles of the United Nations Charter should be implemented, due respect being paid to the particular circumstances of each case, in a way and at a time which should not be detrimental to the real interests of all concerned.

103. My delegation had carefully studied the draft resolutions and the amendments submitted thereto. My delegation felt that although we have had a prolonged and exhaustive debate the texts before us were not sufficiently discussed in the debate with the care that the importance of the subject would seem to require. The texts which the Assembly has just approved do not, in our view, take into account the complexity of the various problems which they raise and the repercussions to which they may lead. Many implications and practical realities have not been taken into consideration and proper perspective is lacking; and certain political, economic and cultural aspects may be involved without due attention having been paid to them.

104. Also, we have heard from this rostrum leaders from four or five countries who have referred to the new type of colonialism which is certainly the worst and the most repugnant political and economic system that the world has ever been confronted with and which has brought about the tyrannical subjugation and oppression of many countries. My delegation would have thought that this type of colonialism would have found its proper place in the draft resolution and we believe that an effort in that direction could have been made for the benefit of mankind. The Assembly, however, felt differently and the text just adopted has therefore lost the wider meaning and impact which it could have had otherwise.

105. Finally, during the debate some unfounded and unwarranted attacks were addressed to my country, and a few delegations have been at great pains to connect principles and situations which in fact bear no relation and which were quite outside the scope of the debate. We had the opportunity to repudiate the accusations made, but the fact that they were made raised in our minds some doubts which the course of the debate did not otherwise dispel.

106. For all these reasons and in the context of the statement which I had the opportunity of delivering during the debate [934th meeting], my delegation found it necessary to abstain.

107. Mr. SHAWARBI (Yemen): The Government of Yemen strongly believes in the necessity of taking all measures which would lead to the granting of full independence to all peoples. The Yemen delegation therefore voted for the draft resolution contained in document A/L.323 and Add.1-6, calling for immediate steps to transfer all powers to the peoples of all dependent territories, and respect for the territorial integrity of any State.

108. Mr. OWANO (Cameroun) (translated from French): The delegation of the Republic of Cameroun does not need to explain the vote it has given in favour of the draft resolution submitted by the delegations from Africa and Asia, since it was a sponsor of that resolution. The quasi-unanimity of the vote sufficiently and eloquently stresses the importance of this historic fact and illustrates the absolute necessity of a community of views on finding solutions for African problems. If it still needed to be emphasized here, this vote would go to show that the needs of Africa and of the African countries can only be properly analyzed, surveyed and studied by Africans and the parties concerned and that, for all their goodwill, all the non-African countries cannot but hold different views from ours on the problems affecting us and cannot but follow methods which are inapplicable to our continent and our peoples.

109. The applause which greeted the vote makes comment superfluous.

110. I would like to add a few words to explain my delegation's vote on the Soviet draft declaration [A/4502] and the Soviet amendments [A/L.328] to the African-Asian draft resolution. I did not want to ask the Assembly to adopt the method which, I felt, would best have enabled it to express its views on the subject of the Soviet draft declaration. For I felt that the work of this Assembly was drawing to its close, that there were still decisions to be taken on important problems, that the discussions on this declaration had lasted long enough and that it was undesirable to protract the debate further on points of procedure. Had that not been so, we would have asked for separate consideration to be given to each of the three numbered paragraphs of the Soviet declaration. My delegation would have had good reasons for wanting separate votes to be taken on these particular paragraphs.

111. The first of the numbered paragraphs reads as follows:

"1. All colonial countries and Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories must be granted forthwith complete independence and freedom to build their own national States in accordance with the freely-expressed will and desire of their peoples. The colonial system and colonial administration in all its forms must be completely abolished in order to afford the peoples of the territories concerned an opportunity to determine their own destiny and form of government."

This part of the Soviet declaration is in conformity with the views of the Camerounian delegation, so we would have liked a vote to have been taken on this specific paragraph. My delegation would have voted in favour of this paragraph, except for the word "forthwith", which I would have asked to be deleted. I shall explain my position on this point later on in connexion with the Soviet amendment.

112. The second numbered paragraph reads as follows:

"2. Similarly, all strongholds of colonialism in the form of possessions and leased areas in the territory of other States must be eliminated."

Had a separate vote been taken on this paragraph, my delegation would have abstained because of the wording: "leased areas in the territory of other States". As I have already explained, it is the view of my delegation that neither the United Nations nor anyone else in the world can express an opinion on a lease or a contract made in a foreign country. So we would have abstained if a vote had been taken on that particular paragraph.

113. My delegation would have voted in favour of the paragraph numbered 3 in the Soviet draft declaration. Unfortunately, it was not voted on separately, and so we were unable to express our Government's view on that paragraph.

114. We abstained during the voting on the Soviet draft declaration because we thought that the African-Asian draft resolution summarized, in general terms, the Soviet point of view and that, besides, a country which had sponsored a resolution submitted by all the Powers concerned could not well dissent from the views it had already stated.

115. As regards the Soviet amendments [A/L.328], we would also have asked for the deletion of the second part of paragraph 8, which would then have read as follows:

"Calls upon the Powers concerned to ensure the transfer of full and sovereign power to the peoples of all dependent territories in accordance with the principles stated above and, for this purpose, to enter into negotiations with representatives of the colonial peoples".

That is where I would have stopped and I would have asked for a vote to be taken on this first part of paragraph 8. My delegation would have supported this paragraph for, as I have already said in connexion with paragraph 1 in the Soviet draft declaration [A/4502], I think that the words "forthwith" and "negotiation" cannot go together.

116. In the same way as we were obliged to abstain on the Soviet draft declaration because of the word "forthwith" in paragraph 1, so we had to abstain in the vote on paragraph 8 of the Soviet amendments because of the second part of the text of that paragraph. I did not manage to ask for a separate vote to be taken on the first part of that paragraph asking for negotiations to be initiated. The Camerounian Government is in favour of negotiations; it has welcomed the admission of seventeen new African and Asian Member States to the United Nations at this session of the Assembly—and the accession of these States to independence followed on negotiations. My delegation would have voted in favour of negotiations because they would have led inevitably to the independence and sovereignty of the African peoples.

117. Now I would like to explain why I voted in favour of paragraph 9 of the Soviet amendments reading:

"Decides to consider the question of the implementation of this resolution at its sixteenth regular session."

The Cameroun delegation considered that, whatever the Assembly decided, the question would have to be examined in future by our Organization. We supported this amendment because we thought that, even though a similar text was not included in our draft, this question would in any case be placed again on the agenda of the sixteenth session of the Assembly and that it was highly desirable that our draft resolution should contain provisions that would enable an evaluation to be made of the text we have adopted virtually unanimously.

118. Those are the reasons which induced my delegation to abstain in the voting on the draft declaration and amendments submitted by the USSR, and to cast our vote simply on a paragraph which was put to the vote separately.

119. To conclude, I would say that the Camerounian Government and I myself are thoroughly convinced that the result of the voting on the African-Asian draft resolution proves absolutely beyond a doubt that any action that may be taken in Africa will be doomed to failure unless the Africans are consulted and unless an opportunity is given them of expressing their wishes and indicating how they expect them to be realized.

120. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): We believe that the draft resolution which we sponsored dealt fully and satisfactorily with the problem of foreign domination and colonialism, with which the people of Cyprus had been concerned for quite a long time. We therefore abstained from voting on any other declarations or on amendments to our resolution except in so far as concerned the implementation of our resolution.

121. This session had been noted until now for its ineffectiveness, as no agreement had been reached on any of the issues before it and, therefore, no fruitful results were yielded. Jokes even went around about the "Do-Nothing Committee" and the "Special Do-Nothing Committee". But the resolution that has just been adopted almost unanimously more than compensates for ineffectiveness in other directions. It redeems this session and, indeed, places it high in the records of the United Nations. By this resolution, ideals and concepts which have been in the minds and in the hearts of men through the ages, and for which wars were waged, now take in a peaceful way a concrete form and realization. This is a great and historic fact. This resolution has a significance which is far-reaching. History will place this session in rank of importance immediately after the original session by which the United Nations was established, for the document which has now been adopted is an epoch-making document, second only to the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, on both of which it is based and both of which it revitalizes; for they needed revitalization, and this resolution does in effect revitalize them.

122. This resolution puts an end to a long chapter in history, that of domination by force and subjugation and exploitation, and a new chapter is opened, one based on equality and the brotherhood of man. We therefore can, with modesty, be proud about the resolution which has just been almost unanimously adopted.

123. Mr. AMMOUN (Lebanon) (translated from French): I come to the rostrum to explain my delegation's vote on the Soviet Union's draft declaration. We voted for the three numbered paragraphs in the

said draft because they condemn colonialism everywhere and in all its forms. We find in it, essentially, the condemnation of a new and sinister manifestation of colonialism: Zionist colonialism.

124. How can a certain representative of Israel dare deny the fact when we see a motherland taken away from its inhabitants by brute force and occupied by people scraped together here and there from all over the world? While these aliens occupy the country they have invaded, a whole people is left without a home and without a mother country. Colonialism in Asia...

125. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Israel, who wishes to speak on a point of order.

126. Mr. COMAY (Israel): I would just like to ask the President whether it is in order under rule 90 of the rules of procedure, dealing with explanations of vote, for a delegation, in explaining its vote on a draft resolution, to indulge in a renewed attack on another Member State. I would recall that this attack was made before, and in the legitimate exercise of its right of reply my delegation briefly replied to it at the end of the debate on this item and before we came to the voting and the explanations of vote.

127. I would therefore suggest that it would be in accordance with the rules of procedure and in accordance with the interests of winding up our debate if the President ruled out of order any renewed attacks, to which I have already had occasion to make a reply here today.

128. The PRESIDENT: I would request the representative of Lebanon to confine himself to the explanation of his vote.

129. Mr. AMMOUN (Lebanon) (translated from French): The explanation of vote that I am giving relates to a text which my delegation did not help to draft. Lebanon, together with other countries from all over the world, submitted to the Assembly a draft resolution [A/L.323 and Add.1-6] which has been adopted. My explanation, however, concerns a different text which was submitted by another delegation and which bears on certain points on which I must give some explanations, since I voted for this new text. With the permission of the President, I shall continue the explanation of this vote given by my delegation in support of the Soviet draft declaration [A/4502].

130. I was saying that colonialism in Asia and in Africa really does come, all the same, under the scope of colonialism. This colonialism in Asia and in Africa occupies, or has occupied, certain regions without dispossessing their inhabitants or pillaging everything that belonged to them. These inhabitants are now becoming independent again and masters of their own country. That was not what happened in another colonized country and that is still what I am referring to. I am referring to Palestine, a country which has not only been occupied but stripped, not merely of its possessions but even of its inhabitants. And the representative whom you have just heard was brazen-faced enough to deny that this was colonialism, whereas we have here a case of double colonialism, as it were, since the country is deprived both of its sovereignty and of its territory. Not only did the representative in question deny the facts but he has also, unwittingly, given the lie to a certain personality whom all Jews respect and who was the actual founder of Zionism a hundred years ago and who, as we all know,

entreated Great Britain to help in creating a Jewish national home in Palestine, so that Palestine might become, as he said, a bridge-head for European colonialism in Asia.

131. Unfortunately, though colonialism has disappeared or is disappearing from Asia, the bridge-head has remained and that is precisely what has got to be eliminated.

132. Secondly, the condemnation of colonialism made in the Soviet text, in favour of which my delegation has voted, castigates the manifestation of the endemic evil of racial discrimination. Can the brazen denials of the representative of Israel, or even of the delegates who spoke before him, conceal a reality which is so blatant? Israel is, after all, a Jewish State. Therefore, it follows incontrovertibly that a non-Jew is a citizen of a different category. Is it not in a Jewish State's Parliament that people are discussing the question whether the Jews of the Exodus were six thousand or sixty thousand or six hundred thousand and where the Head of the Government, Mr. Ben Gurion, because he ventured to express views differing from those held by certain other political parties, is now faced with an interpellation and even, possibly, a vote of confidence? Is that body a Parliament or a synagogue? We are perfectly justified in asking that question.

133. The Jewish State of Israel being what it is, a non-Jew is, in point of fact, treated as a second-class citizen, as a gentile, as the Jews used formerly to say. We are again passing through an era of gentleness! It is this new manifestation of colonialism that is condemned by the Soviet text which we voted for.

134. Thirdly, and finally, the representatives of Israel uttered vehement protests when we explained how Palestine had been invaded and colonized. They protested, more particularly, against the charge of having employed Hitler-like methods against the population of the Holy Land. After all, though, it was not the Arabs who compared Israeli behaviour with Hitler's of ten years previously. It happened in 1948 in the Security Council and the person who spoke in those terms was not an Arab representative. The one who was aroused by the disgraced behaviour of Jews and who said that the Jews in Palestine had been...

135. Mr. COMAY (Israel) (from the floor): A point of order.

136. Mr. AMMOUN (Lebanon) (translated from French): I have finished, Mr. President.

137. The PRESIDENT: As the representative of Lebanon has finished, I give the floor to the representative of Israel on a point of order.

138. Mr. COMAY (Israel): I think the kindest thing I can do about the last speaker's statement is to repudiate it in toto and refer him for the reasons to the statement I made this morning [946th meeting] in reply to the statement his delegation made earlier.

139. My delegation fully supported the draft resolution submitted by a group of Asian and African countries, and we are happy that it has been adopted without opposition. This result gives proper expression to the dramatic changes that have come over the world in our time. We feel that it is in the best interests of the subject peoples themselves that attainment of independence and the transfer of powers should, wherever

possible, take place in an agreed and orderly manner, and not in circumstances of conflict and chaos.

140. It is for that reason that we have voted against proposals which would categorically insist that all Non-Self-Governing Territories should become independent forthwith, or even by the end of 1961. The more flexible and realistic wording of draft resolution A/L.323 and Add.1-6 commended itself to us more strongly, particularly as it constitutes the common ground which evolved in the discussions among the sponsors themselves.

141. We have also voted against a declaration which injected the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples into the controversies of the cold war. We believe this, too, is not what is beneficial for the peoples concerned and not what they want themselves.

142. Mr. WADSWORTH (United States of America): I wish to explain the attitude of the United States towards the forty-three-Power draft resolution, which has just been adopted without opposition, and the reasons for our abstention in the vote. The United States, as I said in my previous intervention in this debate [937th meeting], warmly supports and endorses the interest and concern of the United Nations in promoting larger freedom for peoples everywhere. The support of freedom is a concept springing from deeply-held beliefs of the American people. We accordingly welcomed the underlying purpose of this resolution sponsored by the forty-three delegations, which we understand to be the advancement of human freedom in the broadest sense.

143. The concept of human freedom, as the resolution just passed makes perfectly clear, applies not only to peoples who are achieving self-government or independence under the administration of the various Member States, but also to other peoples whose desire to live under free institutions of their own choosing is brutally stifled. Freedom is indeed indivisible.

144. Now, there are difficulties in the language and thought of this resolution, which I shall comment on more specifically in a moment, which made it impossible for us to support it, because they seem to negate certain clear provisions of the United Nations Charter. This we deeply regret, that these questions of language could not have been straightened out, and we regret it because, as I have said, the United States endorses the support of the United Nations, as set forth in its Charter, for the basic quest of people everywhere for political institutions and governmental forms in keeping with their rights to live in dignity and in freedom.

145. One thing is clear, however. This resolution applies equally to all areas of the world which are not free, whether they are in the Western hemisphere, in Africa, Asia or Europe. It speaks of freedom from alien subjugation, domination and exploitation for all peoples. It proclaims that all people have the right to self-determination. It condemns colonialism in all its manifestations. Members of the United Nations would not be true to their trusts and responsibilities under the Charter if they failed to consider the plight of some of the peoples to whom the Charter's provisions and those of the new declaration are clearly relevant. I refer specifically to peoples living under Soviet colonial domination, whose plight I mentioned in my previous intervention.

146. We found difficulties, as I noted earlier, in the language and thought of this resolution. For instance, it is hard to understand why a resolution on this broad subject should be completely silent on the important contributions which the administering Powers, including my own Government, have made in the advancement of dependent peoples towards self-government or independence.

147. The resolution also is heavily weighted towards complete independence as the only acceptable goal, thus ignoring the Charter provisions for self-government of dependent areas within larger political contexts. We see this reflected in the title of the resolution and in many of its paragraphs. The penultimate preambular paragraph, for example, speaks of the inalienable right of all peoples to complete freedom, which seems to point to full independence in all cases.

148. For our part, we must question the wisdom of espousing principles which would result in some cases in unnecessary political fragmentation and which would also fly in the face of political and economic realities in many areas of the world. Full democratic self-government within a larger and stable political system is sometimes a more worthy immediate objective than full political independence.

149. In examining with care, as we have done, the major aspects of this resolution, we reached the conclusion that paragraphs 3, 4 and 5 are susceptible to serious misinterpretations which could cause basic misunderstanding of the attitude of the various Governments here on the need for orderly and effective preparations for self-government or independence in accordance with the Charter provisions. Although we are sure that this was not the intent of the sponsors of the resolution, paragraph 3 permits the interpretation that the question of preparation for independence is wholly irrelevant. Adequate preparation for self-government or independence is a matter of elementary prudence and is a responsibility which must be accepted by those administering dependent peoples. It is clearly essential that emerging peoples be reasonably able to undertake the responsibilities they will have to face. On the other hand, we would never agree that false allegations in respect of political, economic, social or educational preparation should be used to retard political development.

150. Paragraph 4, written in unqualified language, seems to preclude even legitimate measures for the maintenance of law and order, and this is, of course, incompatible with the obligations of the Administering Authorities towards the peoples under their administration.

151. As for paragraph 5, here again is a very strong statement that only complete independence and freedom is the acceptable political goal for dependent peoples. This paragraph also calls for immediate steps to transfer all powers to the peoples of Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories, without any conditions or reservations.

152. The record of the United States in taking steps for the self-government or independence of peoples under its administration is an open book. We are proud of that record. We have taken many steps in the past, we are taking steps now, and we will take further steps in the future, and we will do this in a manner in consonance with our international respon-

sibilities under the Charter and our responsibilities for the people under our administration. Like many other Members of the United Nations, we regard the provisions of Chapters XI and XII of the Charter, which deal specifically with Non-Self-Governing and Trust Territories, as controlling so far as the Territories for which we are responsible are concerned. The United States Government will continue to advance these Territories and their peoples towards self-government or independence in accordance with the provisions of the Charter and the obligations we have assumed under the Trusteeship Agreement for the Trust Territory we administer.

153. I would call attention to a very wise statement which was made from this rostrum not long ago by the representative of India who, while discussing his delegation's position on another matter, said, "We do not feel that we could fully support it unless we could support every word of it". This is the major reason why the United States felt constrained to abstain on this particular vote. I should like to say, however, that I am sure that the devotion of the United States to the principles of human freedom and political advancement will be judged by what the United States has done, is doing and will continue to do in the cause of freedom. I have every confidence that our support of these principles will be considered on the basis of our record in action as it really is, and not as it is distorted or may in the future be distorted by the words of others.

154. I will turn now very briefly to the Soviet draft which the Soviet delegation pressed before the Assembly in this debate. That draft would have added nothing useful to the forty-three-Power draft resolution, which we all knew would be adopted without opposition. We regret that the Soviet representative insisted on pressing it, as well as on pressing his amendment to the forty-three-Power draft resolution; in view of the Soviet record of imperialism and colonialism in the relatively brief history of the USSR, and particularly since the Second World War, it would have been a travesty to adopt the Soviet proposal on this question, and we therefore voted against it.

155. Mr. BEN ABOUD (Morocco) (translated from French): All the declarations and resolutions concerning the eradication of colonialism in all its forms follow the normal trend of history and all of them, without exception, correspond to the hopes of mankind as a whole for the advent and the consolidation of the reign of positive and real freedom. That is why we voted in favour of the draft declaration submitted by the Soviet Union [A/4502], more especially as regards the three numbered paragraphs. Of course, the substance of the provisions contained in this declaration is to be found, more or less, in the declaration which is contained in the African-Asian draft resolution [A/L.323 and Add.1-6]. We are pleased to note that this latter document has been adopted without opposition.

156. We voted in favour of the draft declaration submitted by the Soviet Union so that we might by so doing contribute to the final abolition of the enslavement, overt or covert, of man by his fellow man. Nevertheless, if there is an objection at this late hour to giving a lengthy enumeration of the reasons for our vote, we feel it is important to state one at least of these reasons.

157. The three numbered paragraphs in the Soviet Union's declaration refer to: real and not fictitious independence, complete and unequivocal; the elimination of colonialist strongholds, which nowadays disturb the tranquillity of the international atmosphere, and respect for territorial integrity.

158. The same principles are mentioned in the African-Asian draft resolution. In particular, paragraph 6 explains very well what our delegation understands by territorial integrity. When we discussed this document and agreed to become a sponsor, we had in mind a long list of examples of the partitioning and disruption of the unity of national territories. I shall confine myself to mentioning three of these examples.

159. First, there is the attempt, which we trust will prove futile and unsuccessful, to dismember the Congo, particularly in Katanga.

160. Secondly, I would mention the regrettable dismemberment and occupation of Palestine, which we trust is only temporary and brief, by this new phenomenon of foreign colonialism known as international Zionism.

161. Thirdly, there are the efforts—employing the soft and silent tactics of the viper—of French colonialism to partition Morocco and disrupt its national territorial unity, by setting up an artificial State in the area of Southern Morocco which the colonialists call Mauritania. The population of that area does not even know the word "Mauritania". If you tell a Bedouin of so-called Mauritania that you are in Mauritania, he will not understand what you are talking about. In that area a miniature capital has been created out of absolutely nothing; up to now it did not even have a single hotel. A newly-built school has even been converted into living quarters.

162. Thus, the Soviet draft declaration for which we voted follows a line similar to that of the African-Asian declaration demanding the radical and complete elimination of colonialism, be it European or Zionist, and of the kind of balkanization that is being practised in Africa, the Middle East and elsewhere.

163. The PRESIDENT: All delegations wishing to explain their votes have now done so and the item "Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples" is concluded. The Assembly may well congratulate itself on this accomplishment.

The meeting rose at 6.15 p.m.

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DECLARATION ON THE GRANT OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

Submitted by Mr. N.S. Khrushchev, Chairman of the Council of
Ministers of the USSR, Chairman of the USSR Delegation, on
23 September 1960 for consideration by the United Nations
General Assembly at its fifteenth session

The States that set up the United Nations founded its Charter upon the lofty and humane ideals of equality of rights and the self-determination of nations and peoples.

Born in the period of victorious conclusion of the Second World War, the United Nations embodied hopes that the inequality and enslavement of some nations and peoples by others would disappear along with the barbarity and criminal acts of fascism and militarism. But not all the hopes of the peoples came true. Still unsolved is a vital problem of our time: the complete liberation of mankind from the shameful colonial regimes inherited from the past.

Ours is an era of swift renewal of society; an era in which more progressive and equitable ways of life are being affirmed; an era in which man is soaring upwards to unprecedented mastery over forces of nature. The time has come for the complete and final liberation of peoples languishing in colonial bondage. Therefore the States Members of the United Nations solemnly declare their convictions, intentions and demands for the grant of independence to colonial countries and peoples.

Peoples that oppress other peoples cannot be free. Every free people should help to win freedom and independence for the peoples that are still oppressed.

The great rebirth of the enslaved peoples

The swift liberation and emancipation of countries and peoples is a significant feature of our time. Even in the lifetime of the present generation, two thirds of the world's population were living under colonial conditions. At the end of the First World War the chains of the colonial oppression of nations fell away in a number of countries. The banner of national independence, raised high over the world, has become now the banner of hundreds and hundreds of millions of people on all continents of the globe. The time has come for the liberation and rebirth of nations, peoples and tribes which were but recently oppressed and downtrodden. Tens of new States have joined the family of independent countries. The democratic ideas of equality of rights and self-determination of nations are being translated into reality.

The myth of the inability of colonial peoples to govern, to create and to build has crumbled to dust.

Today no one can say that the peoples of Asia, Africa or Latin American cannot govern themselves. Gigantic forces have awakened, exulting, to build a new independent life. Indeed, the settlement of international affairs is now inconceivable without the participation of the People's Republic of China, without the participation of the liberated peoples of India, Indonesia, Burma, Ceylon, the United Arab Republic, Iraq, Ghana, Guinea and other States, large and small.

Today no one can say that the liberation of nations and peoples formerly under the yoke of colonialism will bring in its train an expansion of the zone of conflicts and clashes between countries. On the contrary, national liberation has broadened the zone of peace, while colonial oppression and colonial policy have led, and still lead, to wars.

Today no one can assert that the liberation of nations will lead to depression of the economy, trade, crafts or agriculture. On the contrary, experience shows that it is the political liberation of colonial peoples and the establishment of new independent States that open the way for a genuine rise in the national economy.

Today no one will dare to assert that the liberation of peoples from the colonial yoke will lead to the decline of culture. Life shows that on the heels of liberation come the rebirth, upsurge and flowering of distinctive national

cultures, the spread of public education, the improvement of health care, the training of skilled national personnel, and increased potentialities for enriching world culture.

It is not only the peoples of the East who gain from the liberation of previously oppressed nations, but the peoples of the West as well. The cause of the freedom of peoples, of relations among them on a footing of equality, and the preservation of peace in the world are placed on a firmer foundation.

But the liquidation of the colonial regime is yet to be completed.

The States Members of the United Nations cannot remain indifferent to the fact that, in the ancient lands of Africa and Asia, on the islands of Oceania, on the islands of the Caribbean and in other places, over one hundred million people still languish in colonial subjugation. The peoples of these countries have the right to national independence; nevertheless they are still without rights, they are still kept in the stocks. In these countries, violence and lawlessness reign as before; in these countries the highest law is profit for foreigners. Their interest is all, and the inalienable rights of man and people are nothing. The sway of foreign administrators who despise and loot the local population; the persecution of tribes; the derision of national customs; inequality of status and rights for the indigenous inhabitants; shameful disregard for their vital interests; and the humiliation of national and human dignity; all these arouse profound indignation in every man of honour.

There the swish of the overseer's lash is heard; there heads fall under the executioner's axe.

The peoples of the colonies do not want to live in slavery or in conditions of servitude; they are fighting for their rights and independence, for everything that other peoples enjoy. In their path, however, stand the selfish interests of imperialist circles in the West, hindering the fulfilment of the peoples' just aspirations. Colonial wars, punitive expeditions, the open looting of peoples by the monopolies, military tribunals and secret trials, reservations, colour bars, prisons and concentration camps - these are some of the methods by which overt and covert colonialists try to strangle everything alive, independent and national in colonial countries.

The Conference of African nations in Accra justly set the brand of colonial fascism on all this.

/...

Those who stand for the preservation of the old systems of colonial rule still yearn for savage measures of retribution in the colonies. Of course, such measures are hampering liberation. But does not life take its course? Did cruel reprisals, carried out over a period of decades, stop the liberation of Indonesia? Did the massacre of tens and hundreds of thousands of people in Indo-China save colonial domination there? Can the crimes now being committed against the peoples of Africa stop the irresistible process of the liberation of African nations?

No forces of oppression and despotism will save the absolute colonial order. And of those killed on the road to freedom it cannot be said that they are dead; no, they are alive in the memory of the peoples, they will live forever as heroes of the struggle for national liberation.

Colonialism is in its death-throes. But in its last hour it can cause much suffering and take many victims, ruin many more lives in colonies and metropolitan countries, destroy much of the wealth created by the labour of many generations.

The United Nations appeals to all peoples on earth and to all Governments not to stand by as indifferent observers of the sufferings of the colonial peoples. Is it possible to remain deaf to the groans of the people of Kenya, where for eight years the colonial authorities have been exterminating the local population after driving it into reservations, prisons and concentration camps; to the sufferings of the people of Oman, against whom a war of usurpation is being waged? Who can remain calm in the face of the unending reprisals visited on the population of Nyasaland, Angola, Mozambique, Rhodesia, Ruanda-Urundi, South West Africa, Tanganyika, Uganda and West Irian?

It is inadmissible in this age of progress, brilliant scientific discoveries and immeasurably greater human control over the forces of nature that France should be waging a colonial war in Algeria with aircraft, artillery, tanks, napalm bombs and other means of mass destruction against the Algerians who have fought for nearly six years with selfless courage for the freedom and independence of their motherland. Hundreds of thousands of Algerians have been killed, many Algerian towns and villages burned and destroyed, a fifth of the country's population herded into concentration camps. Many sons of France are dying for this unjust cause.

/...

Can such a situation continue to be tolerated? No, it cannot, if the interests of the great cause of peace, the interests of humanity and progress are valued.

For what purpose do those who refuse to renounce colonial rule wage murderous wars against peoples? Why are the freedom-loving aspirations of the enslaved peoples suppressed? Sometimes it is said that this is done in the interests of the "civilization" of the less developed countries to prepare them for self-government.

But this is a lie given the guise of truth.

What civilization have five centuries of colonial tyranny brought to the African countries of Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea, with an area of more than half that of Western Europe and a population of eleven million? They have brought poverty, the loss of all rights, the forcible confiscation of land watered with the sweat of many generations and the expulsion of farmers to barren and drought-ridden regions.

There, arbitrary rule, famine, ignorance and disease are rampant and virtual slavery and forced labour are still practised. There is not a single higher educational institution and practically no secondary education.

Why is Portugal allowed to practise such colonial despotism in this age? On what grounds?

In half a century of Belgian colonial domination the Congo's population declined by more than half through punitive expeditions, starvation and disease. When the independence of the Republic of the Congo was proclaimed only a few of its inhabitants could read and write.

The situation in other African colonies is no better.

Of course, in some parts of the colonies, roads, airfields, ports, mines and a few schools have been built. But all this is for the purpose of exploiting the indigenous population and plundering the natural wealth of those colonies.

The assertion that colonial rule is necessary to prevent strife, fratricidal wars between tribes and peoples in the colonies is also a deliberate lie.

Developments in the Congo show that colonialism thrives on discord and deliberately instigated quarrels between tribes and peoples. It tries to weaken their common struggle for liberation. The motto of the colonialists is still "divide and rule!"

...

What is inscribed on the banners of Asian and African peoples fighting for their national freedom and independence? The peace and solidarity slogans of Bandung and Accra are there inscribed.

Indifferent to the calls of justice, the colonialists try to preserve arbitrarily-drawn frontiers dividing peoples and tribes, as well as kindred economic regions of Africa and to disrupt the unity and territorial integrity of many countries.

The times demand independence for colonial countries and peoples

The United Nations appeals to peoples and Governments irrespective of where their countries may be - East or West, North or South - to ask the question posed today by events themselves: does the rotten colonial system match the ideals of nations and the potentialities of the present age?

One need only compare the development in the past century of the independent countries of Europe or North America with that of colonial countries in Africa to realize that the path of colonialism leads to the regression, atrophy, ruin and degradation of the forcibly enslaved countries.

While in the economically-developed countries industry, transport, agriculture, science and culture have reached a high level, vessels propelled by atomic energy have been built and artificial celestial bodies launched into space, Africa, a land of fabulous wealth, is backward and has become a continent of famine; its main agricultural implements, just as they were thousands of years ago, are the mattock, the wooden plough and the sharpened stake; its primitive system of agriculture is causing soil exhaustion and erosion.

There is now a veritable abyss between the highly-industrialized independent States and the colonial countries, whereas Asia and Africa were once the cradle of great civilizations which enriched the culture and civilization of other peoples.

The main object of the colonial regime is in fact to secure enormous profits for big foreign monopolies, which have seized the key economic positions in the colonies and to extort their wealth by every possible means. Therefore, the entire economy of a colony is one of exploitation. Having first of all been subordinated to the narrow interests and needs of the markets of the individual industrial countries, its development is slow, deformed and one-sided.

Only after Ghana had been liberated was it recognized that its future lies not in the production of cocoa alone, but in the development of modern industries with extensive utilization of its large resources of hydroelectric power and enormous deposits of bauxite and that this constitutes its greatest value in terms of world economy.

Under the colonial regime the enormous hydro-power resources of the Republic of the Congo also remained untapped, although their potential capacity is nearly equal to the present output of electric power in all the countries of Western Europe put together. The utilization of these resources alone would not only allow the full exploitation of colossal mineral wealth and raise the level of agriculture in the Republic of the Congo, but also substantially transform the entire economic pattern of the Central African countries and greatly improve the well-being of their populations.

It has been scientifically established that all the countries of the African continent, as well as those in other continents, possess vast, diverse and as yet largely unexplored natural resources. They could be made to serve the peoples of these countries and thereby serve the whole of mankind. But the colonial system deliberately and artificially perpetuates the economic backwardness of the colonies, hindering their industrialization and the rational utilization of their resources. This is coupled with an unprecedented squandering of public property, immense waste of labour and the predominance of the parasitic single-crop method of economic administration of the colonial countries adapted to the selfish interests of the metropolitan countries.

The present level of industrial and technological development and the latest achievements of science, agriculture and culture make it possible to place all this vast wealth in the service of the peoples within a comparatively short time. In order to use it, however, it is first of all necessary to secure for the peoples the right to an independent existence, to eliminate the colonial system, and to provide economic assistance in making use of this wealth. This will make it possible to improve the well-being of the local population, to expand the capacity of the internal market, and to do away with existing illiteracy, with the shortage of national cadres, and with the domination of the one-crop system in the colonial economy. The colonial system does not permit the solution of problems of this kind or the great technological achievements which are an inseparable part of modern civilization.

/...

The benefits deriving from the exploitation of colonies do not in any sense go to the peoples but primarily to the big foreign monopolies - to billionaires. The peoples of both East and West are compelled to pay a heavy tribute to colonialism. Oil and coffee, rubber and cotton, copper and bananas, a variety of raw materials and foodstuffs brought in from the colonies are sold at prices many times higher than those for which they are purchased on the spot. The monopolies rob people twice - in the East when they buy and in the West when they sell colonial goods and raw materials.

Moreover, they compel the colonial peoples to maintain foreign troops and a foreign administration in peacetime, i.e. to pay for the chains in which they are held. At the same time, the monopolies impose higher taxes on taxpayers in the metropolitan countries for the purpose of inducting punitive expeditions and colonial wars, forcing the peoples of the metropolitan countries as well to pay for the shackles in which the monopolist-colonialists put other peoples. In fact, they are burying in fields of devastation the freedom of their own peoples together with the independence of other nations. This state of affairs is in itself a serious indictment of the colonial system.

Yet, if the States Members of the United Nations and above all, of course, those which at one time imposed the yoke of colonialism on numerous peoples showed even a minimum degree of understanding of the urgent needs of these peoples, they would find ways of meeting those needs. One of the main methods of doing this is to resolve the disarmament problem and curtail the military expenditure of States.

As is generally known, the States belonging to the military-colonialist North Atlantic bloc alone spend \$62,000 million annually on the arms race. If even half of this sum that is spent annually for unproductive purposes that are dangerous to peace were used for the development and advancement of, for example, the African countries, gigantic engineering projects could be carried out, including the Ingui, Concure, ^{Zambesi}~~Zambesi~~ and Volta plans - plans for the construction of large hydroelectric stations, irrigation systems and industrial enterprises and for agricultural development. The liberated nations of Africa could build schools, universities, hospitals and roads everywhere and carry out other measures which would enable them to raise agriculture as well to a higher level of modern development.

At the same time, if the bonds of colonialism were removed from the African and other colonies, that would facilitate the utilization of their natural resources, increase the demand in those countries for European and American machinery and other industrial products, expand exports of raw materials for the industry of Europe and the United States, increase employment and the utilization of productive capacity, and raise the living standards of the peoples of the industrially-developed countries.

Every honest person and every Government that really stands for the equality of peoples, for the realization of the great purposes and principles proclaimed in the United Nations Charter, cannot but see that colonialism is an obsolete and shameful phenomenon in modern life. The complete and final elimination of colonialism would be the prelude not only to social progress but also to swift technical strides in industry and agriculture, just as the end of the slave trade lent a powerful impetus to the development of the productive forces of society.

The elimination of colonialism would be a key measure in reducing international tension. It was precisely the desire to prevent the liberation and the national development of the young States of Asia, Africa and Latin America that led to such armed conflicts and wars in the post-war period as those in Indonesia, Indo-China and Algeria, the aggression against Egypt, the foreign intervention in Lebanon and Jordan, the conspiracies against Syria and Iraq, and so forth. Indeed, throughout the last century most wars and armed conflicts were in one way or another connected with colonialism, with the struggle of the major Powers for the division and redistribution of colonies.

The peoples have on more than one occasion been subjected to the terrible danger that colonial wars would develop into a new world war. And now the intervention against the Republic of the Congo has led to aggravation of the international situation and has jeopardized the cause of peace in Africa and, indeed, not only in Africa. Can one forget that under present-day conditions, with nuclear and rocket weapons in existence, the flames of war, once kindled on one continent, can engulf in an instant the entire globe.

Many of the most important foci of the present international tension - in the Middle and the Far East, in Africa and in Latin America - are to a considerable degree the outgrowth of colonialist policy. Colonies and other

so-called "non-self-governing territories" are often used as military bases of foreign Powers, as proving grounds for atomic tests. Can such a situation make people feel secure, relieve them of the fear of war, show them how to extricate themselves from the poverty, hunger and disease which are still the lot of the peoples of the countries which remain colonies and Trust Territories?

In addition to large colonies and Trust Territories, some Powers also retain strong points in different areas of the world, such as West Irian, Okinawa, Goa and Puerto Rico, not to mention Taiwan, against which the United States has committed aggression by occupying this territory of the People's Republic of China. Why do the highly-developed industrial Powers need such bases and "possessions" on the territory of other countries? Is this not a direct survival of the former era of colonial domination? What would the Europeans or Americans say if some Asian or African countries demanded bases for themselves in the countries of Western Europe or North America?

There cannot be two opinions on this score: these bases are retained in order to threaten the national independence and security of the neighbouring peoples. Just as the trading stations in the early days of colonialism served as a base for the extension of the system of colonial oppression in Africa, Asia and America, so today, when colonialism is disintegrating, the imperialists are trying to use the remaining bases and colonies to exert brutal pressure on the independent States of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The shameful colonial regime should be buried

The States Members of the United Nations submitting this Declaration are of the opinion that every Government which is for peace and progress in deeds, and not in words should respect the lawful rights of all nations without exception in their demands for equality, justice and independence. Either these demands will be recognized by all States or the oppressed peoples, with the support of their numerous friends throughout the world, will take their destiny in their own hands and will win liberty and independence, breaking down all the artificial barriers erected in their way by the colonialists. The primary duty of all nations is to extend a helping hand in the sacred struggle for independence and against colonialist domination.

Together with the infamous system of colonialism, the variant of the colonial regime known as the trusteeship system has also outlived itself. Being a vestigial remnant of the mandates system of the League of Nations, the present trusteeship system in accordance with the United Nations Charter should have promoted the development of the Trust Territories towards self-government and independence. Fifteen years have elapsed, however, since the Charter was adopted, but only four out of eleven Trust Territories have attained independence.

So far no exact dates have been fixed for granting independence to Trust Territories, including the largest of them - Tanganyika, Ruanda-Urundi and New Guinea.

The Powers responsible for "trusteeship", disregarding the principles of the United Nations, are in fact preserving colonial regimes, mercilessly exploiting the population and plundering natural resources, repressing those who submitted petitions to the United Nations, hampering the economic and political development of the Trust Territories.

The trusteeship system has not justified itself anywhere and should be buried together with the entire colonial system, which is an anachronism.

The regime of colonial oppression has left to mankind a burdensome legacy in the form of numerous complicated problems. The tragic events taking place in the Congo as well as in other parts of the world where peoples are waging a just struggle for their rights, demand a reasonable solution of the problem of relations between the indigenous population and the settlers who came from other continents.

Racial discrimination in all its odious forms, i.e., division of peoples and nations into the privileged and the "inferior" is nothing but racism, an attempt to justify the crime of genocide, an adding of new atrocities to those already committed, of new crimes to old, a fomenting of mutual hatred and endless bloody conflicts between countries and peoples.

Different peoples have skins of a different colour, but the colour of their blood is the same. And not a single people can lay a claim to domination over other peoples.

The ties and relations between the peoples created at the time of colonialism must be replaced by new relations based on the principles of equality, friendship and mutual respect, regardless of the social and political systems

....

of States, the ideology and political views of people or the colour of their skin. The peoples in colonies should be given real independence, not a fictitious one under which they would, in fact, be kept under a modified colonial regime. They are now demanding not only greater freedom within the colonial rule but the final elimination of this system, freedom for progress, the right to be their own masters, to use their own wealth and the fruits of their labour. Every form of enslavement, every manifestation of "trusteeship" or "charity" towards peoples is a serious insult to their dignity.

Present realities make it imperative to choose between stagnation and progress, between slavery and freedom, between division of the peoples and their unity, between war and peace.

The United Nations considers it its duty to urge the Powers that have colonial possessions to enter into negotiations on an equal footing with representatives of the peoples of the colonies and reach agreement on the granting of freedom and independence to the colonial countries.

Definite and early dates for negotiations should be fixed and any possibility of coercion or aggression on the part of the colonial Powers should be eliminated. But should those Powers turn a deaf ear to such an appeal, should they delay the liberation of the colonies and suppress the liberation movement of the colonial peoples, the peace-loving nations should render every assistance, moral and material, to the peoples fighting for their independence.

The States Members of the United Nations proceed from the premise that every country, every nation has a full and inalienable right to independent existence. They feel confident that the elimination of the colonial regime will not mean the alienation of the countries of Africa and Europe from one another. On the contrary, it will promote still greater co-operation among them. Such unity and co-operation, however, should be reciprocal and freely granted.

The more consistently and directly the great principles of international co-operation are realized - the principles of equality, sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-interference in each others internal affairs, mutual benefit, peaceful coexistence and economic co-operation - the greater will be the mutual understanding and agreement among free and equal States of the world.

Only thus will the countries of the West and the East, the North and the South make progress towards genuine peaceful collaboration among nations,

utilizing the great achievements of modern science and culture. Only thus can the high principles of the right of nations and peoples to self-determination enunciated in the United Nations Charter be translated into reality.

Moved by a fervent desire for the earliest establishment of mutual goodwill and agreement among States and peoples as well as between the indigenous population of the Non-Self-Governing Territories and those who have settled in such territories and wish to live there enjoying the same rights as those of the nationals of such countries, the States Members of the United Nations which have affixed their signatures to this Declaration appeal to all people, irrespective of language and race, religion and political views:

Let all the people of the globe hear us!

We all inhabit the same planet. On this planet we are born, we work, raise our children and pass on to them all we have achieved in life. And although there exist different States in the world, all men are born equal in dignity.

The very course of historic development now poses the question of complete and final elimination of the colonial regime in all its forms and manifestations, not some time in the distant future, but immediately and unconditionally!

Accordingly, the States Members of the United Nations solemnly proclaim the following demands:

1. All colonial countries and Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories must be granted forthwith complete independence and freedom to build their own national States in accordance with the freely-expressed will and desire of their peoples. The colonial system and colonial administration in all these forms must be completely abolished in order to afford the peoples of the territories concerned an opportunity to determine their own destiny and form of government.

2. Similarly, all strongholds of colonialism in the form of possessions and leased areas in the territory of other States must be eliminated.

3. The Governments of all countries are urged to observe strictly and steadfastly the provisions of the United Nations Charter and of this Declaration concerning the equality and respect for the sovereign rights and territorial integrity of all States without exception, allowing no manifestations of colonialism or any special rights or advantages for some States to the detriment of other States.

In keeping with the lofty principles of the Charter, the States Members of the United Nations cannot but regard the elimination of colonial rule as a most important stage in international life. This act in itself will provide a solid foundation for the development of friendly relations among all States and among all peoples and thereby for the realization of the great objective of securing a strong and lasting peace on earth.

It is the sacred duty of each State and each Government to promote an early and full implementation of this Declaration.

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ASSEMBLY



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Fifteenth session

DECLARATION ON THE GRANT OF INDEPENDENCE TO
COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

Submitted by Mr. N.S. Khrushchev, Chairman of the Council of
Ministers of the USSR, Chairman of the USSR Delegation, on
23 September 1960 for consideration by the United Nations
General Assembly at its fifteenth session

Corrigendum

Page 8, sixth line from bottom:

For "Zanzibar" read "Zambesi".



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Fifteenth session
Agenda item 87

DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

Afghanistan, Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, Chad, Cyprus, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Morocco, Nepal, Nigeria, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Togo, Tunisia and Turkey: draft resolution

The General Assembly,

Mindful of the determination proclaimed by the peoples of the world in the Charter of the United Nations "to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small" and "to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom",

Conscious of the need for the creation of conditions of stability and well-being and peaceful and friendly relations based on respect for the principles of equal rights and self-determination of all peoples, and of universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion,

Recognizing the passionate yearning for freedom in all dependent peoples and the decisive role of such peoples in the attainment of their independence,

Aware of the increasing conflicts resulting from the denial of, or impediments in the way of freedom of such peoples which constitute a serious threat to world peace,

Considering the important role of the United Nations in assisting the movement for independence in Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories,

Recognizing that the peoples of the world ardently desire the end of colonialism in all its manifestations,

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

Affirming that peoples may, for their own ends, freely dispose of their natural wealth and resources without prejudice to any obligations arising out of international economic co-operation, based upon the principle of mutual benefit, and international law,

Believing that the process of liberation is irresistible and irreversible and that, in order to avoid serious crises, an end must be put to colonialism and all practices of segregation and discrimination associated therewith,

Welcoming the emergence of a large number of dependent territories into freedom and independence in recent years, and recognizing the increasingly powerful trends towards freedom in such territories which have not yet attained independence,

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

Solemnly proclaims the necessity of bringing to a speedy and unconditional end colonialism in all its forms and manifestations;

And to this end

Declares that:

1. The subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation constitutes a denial of fundamental human rights, is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations and is an impediment to the promotion of world peace and co-operation.

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

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

4. All armed action or repressive measures of all kinds directed against dependent peoples shall cease in order to enable them to exercise peacefully and freely their right to complete independence, and the integrity of their national territory shall be respected.

/...

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

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

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

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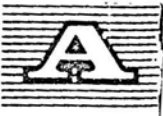
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Fifteenth session
Agenda item 87

DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE
TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

Afghanistan, Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, Chad, Ethiopia, Ghana,
Guinea, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Liberia,
Libya, Morocco, Nepal, Nigeria, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Togo,
Tunisia and Turkey: draft resolution

Add Cyprus, Mali and the United Arab Republic to the list of sponsors of
the draft resolution.



UNITED NATIONS

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UN/SA COLLECTION



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DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE
TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

Afghanistan, Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, Chad, Cyprus, Ethiopia,
Ghana, Guinea, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon,
Liberia, Libya, Mali, Morocco, Nepal, Nigeria, Pakistan, Saudi
Arabia, Sudan, Togo, Tunisia, Turkey and United Arab Republic:
draft resolution

Add Laos and Senegal to the list of sponsors of the draft resolution.

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DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE
TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

Afghanistan, Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, Chad, Cyprus, Ethiopia,
Ghana, Guinea, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Laos,
Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Mali, Morocco, Nepal, Nigeria, Pakistan,
Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sudan, Togo, Tunisia, Turkey and United
Arab Republic: draft resolution

Add Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Leopoldville), Dahomey, Ivory Coast, Niger
and Upper Volta to the list of sponsors of the draft resolution.

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GENERAL
ASSEMBLY



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DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE
TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

Afghanistan, Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, Chad, Congo (Brazzaville),
Congo (Leopoldville), Cyprus, Dahomey, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea,
India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jordan, Laos, Lebanon,
Liberia, Libya, Mali, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan,
Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sudan, Togo, Tunisia, Turkey, United Arab
Republic and Upper Volta: draft resolution

Addendum

Add Cameroun, Central African Republic, Federation of Malaya and Madagascar
to the list of sponsors of the draft resolution.

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DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE
TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

Afghanistan, Burma, Cambodia, Cameroun, Central African Republic,
Ceylon, Chad, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Leopoldville), Cyprus,
Dahomey, Ethiopia, Federation of Malaya, Ghana, Guinea, India,
Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jordan, Laos, Lebanon,
Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Mali, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria,
Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sudan, Togo, Tunisia, Turkey,
United Arab Republic and Upper Volta: draft resolution

Add Gabon and the Philippines to the list of sponsors of the draft
resolution.



UNITED NATIONS
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ASSEMBLY



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DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE
TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

Afghanistan, Burma, Cambodia, Cameroun, Central African Republic,
Ceylon, Chad, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Leopoldville), Cyprus,
Dahomey, Ethiopia, Federation of Malaya, Gabon, Ghana, Guinea,
India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jordan, Laos, Lebanon,
Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Mali, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria,
Pakistan, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sudan, Togo, Tunisia,
Turkey, United Arab Republic and Upper Volta: draft resolution

Add Somalia to the list of sponsors of the draft resolution.

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GENERAL
ASSEMBLY



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DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO
COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics: amendment to
the draft resolution contained in document A/L.323
and Add.1-6

Add the following paragraphs after operative paragraph 7:

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

"9. Decides to consider the question of the implementation of this resolution at its sixteenth regular session."

case to determine whether or not an obligation exists to transmit information under Article 73 e of the Charter.

*948th plenary meeting,
15 December 1960.*

ANNEX

PRINCIPLES WHICH SHOULD GUIDE MEMBERS IN DETERMINING WHETHER OR NOT AN OBLIGATION EXISTS TO TRANSMIT THE INFORMATION CALLED FOR IN ARTICLE 73 e OF THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS

Principle I

The authors of the Charter of the United Nations had in mind that Chapter XI should be applicable to territories which were then known to be of the colonial type. An obligation exists to transmit information under Article 73 e of the Charter in respect of such territories whose peoples have not yet attained a full measure of self-government.

Principle II

Chapter XI of the Charter embodies the concept of Non-Self-Governing Territories in a dynamic state of evolution and progress towards a "full measure of self-government". As soon as a territory and its peoples attain a full measure of self-government, the obligation ceases. Until this comes about, the obligation to transmit information under Article 73 e continues.

Principle III

The obligation to transmit information under Article 73 e of the Charter constitutes an international obligation and should be carried out with due regard to the fulfilment of international law.

Principle IV

Prima facie there is an obligation to transmit information in respect of a territory which is geographically separate and is distinct ethnically and/or culturally from the country administering it.

Principle V

Once it has been established that such a *prima facie* case of geographical and ethnical or cultural distinctness of a territory exists, other elements may then be brought into consideration. These additional elements may be, *inter alia*, of an administrative, political, juridical, economic or historical nature. If they affect the relationship between the metropolitan State and the territory concerned in a manner which arbitrarily places the latter in a position or status of subordination, they support the presumption that there is an obligation to transmit information under Article 73 e of the Charter.

Principle VI

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

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

Principle VII

(a) Free association should be the result of a free and voluntary choice by the peoples of the territory concerned expressed through informed and democratic processes. It should be one which respects the individuality and the cultural characteristics of the territory and its peoples, and retains for the peoples of the territory which is associated with an independent State the freedom to modify the status of that territory through the expression of their will by democratic means and through constitutional processes.

(b) The associated territory should have the right to determine its internal constitution without outside interference, in accordance with due constitutional processes and the freely

1541 (XV). Principles which should guide Members in determining whether or not an obligation exists to transmit the information called for under Article 73 e of the Charter

The General Assembly,

Considering the objectives set forth in Chapter XI of the Charter of the United Nations,

Bearing in mind the list of factors annexed to General Assembly resolution 742 (VIII) of 27 November 1953,

Having examined the report of the Special Committee of Six on the Transmission of Information under Article 73 e of the Charter,¹² appointed under General Assembly resolution 1467 (XIV) of 12 December 1959 to study the principles which should guide Members in determining whether or not an obligation exists to transmit the information called for in Article 73 e of the Charter and to report on the results of its study to the Assembly at its fifteenth session,

1. *Expresses its appreciation* of the work of the Special Committee of Six on the Transmission of Information under Article 73 e of the Charter;

2. *Approves* the principles set out in section V, part B, of the report of the Committee, as amended and as they appear in the annex to the present resolution;

3. *Decides* that these principles should be applied in the light of the facts and the circumstances of each

¹² *Ibid.*, agenda item 38, document A/4526.

expressed wishes of the people. This does not preclude consultations as appropriate or necessary under the terms of the free association agreed upon.

Principle VIII

Integration with an independent State should be on the basis of complete equality between the peoples of the erstwhile Non-Self-Governing Territory and those of the independent country with which it is integrated. The peoples of both territories should have equal status and rights of citizenship and equal guarantees of fundamental rights and freedoms without any distinction or discrimination; both should have equal rights and opportunities for representation and effective participation at all levels in the executive, legislative and judicial organs of government.

Principle IX

Integration should have come about in the following circumstances:

(a) The integrating territory should have attained an advanced stage of self-government with free political institutions, so that its peoples would have the capacity to make a responsible choice through informed and democratic processes;

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

Principle X

The transmission of information in respect of Non-Self-Governing Territories under Article 73 e of the Charter is subject to such limitation as security and constitutional considerations may require. This means that the extent of the information may be limited in certain circumstances, but the limitation in Article 73 e cannot relieve a Member State of the obligations of Chapter XI. The "limitation" can relate only to the quantum of information of economic, social and educational nature to be transmitted.

Principle XI

The only constitutional considerations to which Article 73 e of the Charter refers are those arising from constitutional relations of the territory with the Administering Member. They refer to a situation in which the constitution of the territory gives it self-government in economic, social and educational matters through freely elected institutions. Nevertheless, the responsibility for transmitting information under Article 73 e continues, unless these constitutional relations preclude the Government or parliament of the Administering Member from receiving statistical and other information of a technical nature relating to economic, social and educational conditions in the territory.

Principle XII

Security considerations have not been invoked in the past. Only in very exceptional circumstances can information on economic, social and educational conditions have any security aspect. In other circumstances, therefore, there should be no necessity to limit the transmission of information on security grounds.

United Nations
**GENERAL
ASSEMBLY**

FIFTEENTH SESSION
Official Records



948th
PLENARY MEETING

Thursday, 15 December 1960,
at 3 p.m.

NEW YORK

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

In connexion with these draft resolutions there is one point which is not immediately apparent from the report and which I believe deserves special mention. That is the fact that in the voting on each of these seven draft resolutions as a whole, not a single negative vote was cast in the Fourth Committee.

49. Another point to which I would like to draw special attention relates to paragraph 60 in document A/4650. Normally, consideration of an item is concluded by the Assembly once a report has been presented by a Committee and resolutions have been adopted. However, as members will see, the Fourth Committee decided that in view of the relation between this subject and the resolution which the Assembly adopted yesterday on colonialism [resolution 1514 (XV)], the items should be kept open so that, should the Fourth Committee so desire, it may consider them further at the resumed fifteenth session.

50. Finally, in connexion with document A/4650 I would like to make one small technical point. An error has crept into the text of this report, and I should now like to give the Assembly the corrected text. In paragraph 3, the sentence beginning with the words "The representative of Mexico ..." should read as follows: "The representative of Mexico restated the position of his Government regarding any change in the status of British Honduras (Belize)".

51. I now turn to the report contained in document A/4651. This report covers agenda item 38 and deals with the principles which should guide Members in determining whether or not an obligation exists to transmit information under Article 73 e of the Charter. As a result of the deliberations on this subject in the Fourth Committee, two draft resolutions are submitted to the Assembly.

52. Draft resolution I deals with the principles which should apply in this context, and in an annex to this draft resolution twelve principles are listed. I might mention that these twelve principles, with one modification in principle IX (b), are exactly the same twelve principles as those which were proposed to the Fourth Committee by the Special Committee of Six established by this Assembly last year under resolution 1467 (XIV).

53. Draft resolution II deals with the concrete application of the principles.

54. With these brief remarks, I have the honour to submit, for the consideration and approval of the General Assembly, these two reports together with the draft resolutions attached thereto.

55. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of Indonesia, who desires to explain his vote before the vote is taken.

56. Mr. PADMADISASTRA (Indonesia): Before a vote is taken on the draft resolutions contained in documents A/4650 and A/4651 on questions regarding Non-Self-Governing Territories falling under Article 73e of the Charter, permit me, under definite instructions of my Government, to express my Government's position with regard to that part of the territory of my country on which the Government of the Netherlands, on the false assumption of having sovereignty over the territory, has submitted information.

57. For the sake of our proceedings, I would not venture an all-out debate on this question in this

REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE (A/4650) AGENDA ITEM 38

Study of principles which should guide Members in determining whether or not an obligation exists to transmit the information called for in Article 73 e of the Charter of the United Nations: report of the Special Committee established under General Assembly resolution 1467 (XIV)

REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE (A/4651)

46. Mr. BOEG (Denmark), Rapporteur of the Fourth Committee: I appear before the General Assembly as Rapporteur of the Fourth Committee in full awareness of the heavy pressure of time under which the Assembly is now labouring. For that reason I shall be very brief and shall refrain from going into any detailed comments on the reports of the Committee. For the same reason, I shall, with the approval of the President, adopt the same procedure as was adopted by the Rapporteur of the Second Committee—in other words, I shall briefly comment upon the two Fourth Committee reports at the same time.

47. The first of the two reports presented to the Assembly today by the Fourth Committee [A/4650] relates to agenda items 37, 39, 40 and 41, pertaining to information from Non-Self-Governing Territories and various related questions. This is a procedural report outlining the deliberations which took place in the Fourth Committee on these items. The Committee has presented a joint report on these items because it decided to debate them jointly since the four items are so very much interrelated.

48. As a result of its deliberations, the Committee is submitting seven draft resolutions to the Assembly.

Assembly. Members may recall the exhaustive debates on this question at past sessions of the General Assembly and are well aware of the long-standing unresolved dispute which has caused so much bad blood between two Members of this Organization. What is more—and you may recall the statements in this Assembly of President Sukarno [880th meeting], of my Foreign Minister [888th meeting] and of Mr. Luns, the Foreign Minister of the Netherlands [886th meeting]—relations between the two nations have lately further deteriorated, due to the sending of reinforcements by the Netherlands to that territory.

58. Today, I would limit myself only to the following points relevant to our documents.

59. The first point concerns the question of submission of information on West Irian by the Netherlands Government, allegedly under the provisions of Article 73 e of the Charter.

60. Article 73 e, as a sub-paragraph of Article 73 of the Charter, pertains to Non-Self-Governing Territories. West Irian is not a Non-Self-Governing Territory. It was a residency, that is, part of a province of the former colony of the Netherlands Indies. The Netherlands renamed the "Netherlands Indies" as "Indonesia" by an Act of 3 September 1948 amending the Constitution, so that West Irian therefore is nothing but a residency of Indonesia. The Netherlands Government recognized Indonesia as an independent State, after more than four years of warfare, on 28 December 1949, and on 28 September 1950 [289th meeting] the independent Republic of Indonesia was admitted unanimously as the sixtieth Member of our Organization.

61. West Irian, as a residency of Indonesia, is therefore only part of one of the provinces of another Member State of the United Nations and is by no means a Non-Self-Governing Territory. If the people of the territory continue to be barred at this time from enjoying the same rights and privileges as those living in the other provinces of Indonesia, it is only because of the Dutch military occupation of the territory.

62. I therefore wish here and now, on behalf of the Government and people of Indonesia, to submit a strong protest against the presence of Netherlands occupation forces in West Irian and the designation of that part of Indonesia as a Non-Self-Governing Territory.

63. My second point has to do with the assumption of Netherlands sovereignty over West Irian.

64. If I have shown that there are no legal or other arguments for the designation of West Irian as a Non-Self-Governing Territory, much less is there any basis for the assumption by the Netherlands Government of responsibilities in connexion with Article 73 of the Charter with regard to West Irian. As a Member State of the United Nations, the Netherlands Government, in the years 1947, 1948 and 1949, submitted to the Secretary-General, pursuant to Article 73 e of the Charter, information on the Non-Self-Governing Territory of the Netherlands Indies. As I said earlier, the Netherlands Government in 1948 replaced the designation of "Netherlands Indies" in all laws and regulations by the new name of "Indonesia". With the recognition of Indonesia as an independent Republic by the Government of the Nether-

lands on 28 December 1949, and its admission to the United Nations on 28 September 1950, the Netherlands ceased to have any obligation whatsoever in connexion with Article 73 e of the Charter with regard to the entire territory of Indonesia. The Netherlands Government knows this well. Consequently, it ceased the submission of information on Indonesia. There is no basis, therefore, for the Netherlands to start anew submitting reports on a part of her former colony that if recognized without any reservations as an independent Republic in 1949 and whose membership in the United Nations it sponsored and welcomed in September 1950.

65. Could it not be interpreted, then, that by submitting information on West Irian the Netherlands Government has conquered new territory in this part of the world? Further, with the submission of information on West Irian, is not the Netherlands Government actually suggesting that the United Nations accept this conquest?

66. My delegation wishes to state that the continued occupation by the Netherlands of a part of Indonesian territory is also in flagrant violation of earlier agreements, to the effect that the political status of West Irian should be determined by negotiations between the representatives of the Governments of Indonesia and the Netherlands.

67. The action of the Government of the Netherlands in continuing occupation of this territory beyond 27 December 1950 was a unilateral solution of a dispute and cannot but be regarded by Indonesia as an illegal action on the part of the Netherlands. My Government, as the Assembly may well be aware, has requested the General Assembly to seek a peaceful solution through negotiations, in accordance not only with the provisions of earlier agreements between the two parties but also in accordance with the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter, to which both the Netherlands and Indonesia adhere as Members. As no such peaceful solution has been possible, because of the refusal of the Netherlands to negotiate, my Government at this stage cannot but protest, in the strongest possible terms, against this unilateral illegal action of the Netherlands in continuing the occupation of Indonesian territory.

68. My third point is the designation of West New Guinea as "Netherlands New Guinea". This new name was only established by the Netherlands in the amendments to the Constitution of 10 September 1956. It has come to the attention of the Government and people of Indonesia that even United Nations documents pertaining to the territory of West New Guinea bear the denomination of "Netherlands New Guinea". In view of the considerations mentioned earlier, such a designation is, of course, totally unacceptable and causes nothing but feelings of bitterness, discontent and unrest among all strata of our people in Indonesia as well as in sympathizing nations.

69. My delegation, of course, can only speak for Indonesia, and wishes to protest against this unilateral designation of the territory. We hope that at least United Nations documents will not use that title, which creates the impression of biased opinion on the issue.

70. The objective and neutral designation for the territory of West Irian since 1949—as the issue indeed was recorded for the first time in United Nations documents in that year—has been "the Residency of

New Guinea (Irian)*. This is the accepted title by both parties concerned and does not provoke any prejudice on the issue. Members of this Organization are aware of the still unsolved problem between the Governments of the Netherlands and Indonesia on the political status of this territory. In the absence of any solution, my delegation believes that changes in the accepted title are not desirable, much less since these changes have met with the strong opposition and protests from one of the interested parties. A unilateral change in 1956, in the midst of the dispute, without the consent of the other interested party, runs counter to the United Nations tradition of being objective in such political matters and does harm only to the prestige of our Organization.

71. Lastly, I would like to reiterate my Government's position with regard to an argument that has been advanced by the Government of the Netherlands in the matter of the submission of information on West Irian. The Netherlands raised the argument that if West Irian is administratively reunited with the rest of Indonesia the United Nations will no longer receive information on that territory under Article 73 e of the Charter. Aside from the fact that West Irian is not a Non-Self-Governing Territory but is part of an independent Member State of the United Nations, the absurdity of the argument of the Government of the Netherlands is obvious.

72. West Irian, when administratively reunited with free Indonesia, will be as open to the world and to all other media of information, including those of the United Nations, as are the other provinces or parts of Indonesia. This is not the situation on West Irian under the present legal military occupation of the Netherlands. It is because of the isolating policies of colonial Powers that the Charter provides for the transmission of information on Non-Self-Governing Territories. Such information is desirable only as a means of keeping some kind of check on the policies of certain colonial Powers. It certainly is not an end in itself, since otherwise no territory would ever be independent, on the ground that this would end the transmission of information to the United Nations under Article 73 e of the Charter. Not only the absurdity but indeed the perversion of the very principles and purposes of the Charter, implicit in such an argument, is typical of that conception, as was also pointed out yesterday [947th meeting] by the representative of Indonesia in regard to the question of the declaration on colonialism and, therefore, needs no further elaboration.

73. The fact that the Netherlands has raised this argument confirms the belief that it is their intention to hold on to West Irian indefinitely, keeping the people within their colonial grip. On the other hand, when fully restored to the Republic of Indonesia, the people of West Irian will be able to work in freedom, building up their country together with the people in the other provinces of Indonesia.

74. In voting for the draft resolutions in documents A/4650 and A/4651, my delegation wishes to reiterate that the territory of West Irian is not a Non-Self-Governing Territory but is part and parcel of Indonesia. Any of the resolutions contained in those documents, including the attached twelve principles in document A/4651, therefore, are not applicable to the territory of West Irian.

75. The PRESIDENT: I give the floor to the representative of the Netherlands in the exercise of the right of reply.

76. Mr. SCHURMANN (Netherlands): I am sure it must be becoming very boring for the members of the General Assembly to hear the Indonesian delegation air its views on Netherlands New Guinea on all suitable and unsuitable occasions. I must say that I personally consider this an unsuitable occasion, and I shall therefore not answer the remarks made by the representative of Indonesia.

77. Suffice it to say that my Government has submitted reports on Netherlands New Guinea for ten years now, that these reports have always been gratefully received by the Assembly and have been discussed in the Fourth Committee and in the plenary meetings; and my Government intends to go on doing this and to go on submitting these reports until the time when the population of Netherlands New Guinea will have itself decided about its future.

78. The PRESIDENT: May the Chair, for its part, remind the members of the General Assembly that, in considering the reports of Committees, interventions are limited to explanations of vote unless the procedure provided for in rule 68 of the rules of procedure is resorted to. In explanation of vote it is not in order to go into the substance or the merits of the reports made by the respective committees unless a due motion has been made under article 68. Explanations of vote should be limited to explanations of vote.

79. Since no other representative wishes to explain his vote before the voting takes place, I propose now to put to the General Assembly the seven draft resolutions recommended by the Fourth Committee in document A/4650.

Draft resolution I was adopted by 81 votes to none, with 11 abstentions.

Draft resolution II was adopted by 69 votes to none, with 20 abstentions.

80. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution III concerns racial discrimination in Non-Self-Governing Territories. A vote by roll call has been requested.

A vote was taken by roll call.

Indonesia, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Japan, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Mali, Mexico, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Senegal, Somalia, Spain, Sudan, Sweden, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia, Turkey, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Albania, Argentina, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Canada, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Leopoldville), Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Federation of Malaya, Finland, France, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, India.

Against: None.

Abstaining: United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Australia.

Draft resolution III was adopted by 88 votes to none, with 2 abstentions.

Draft resolution IV was adopted by 75 votes to none, with 11 abstentions.

Draft resolution V was adopted by 76 votes to none, with 11 abstentions.

Draft resolution VI was adopted by 79 votes to none, with 10 abstentions.

81. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution VII, which concerns offers by Member States of study and training facilities for inhabitants of Non-Self-Governing Territories, was adopted unanimously by the Fourth Committee. If there is no objection I would propose to record it as being approved also by the General Assembly.

Draft resolution VII was adopted.

82. The PRESIDENT: I now give the floor to the representative of the United Kingdom, who has expressed a desire to explain his vote after the voting.

83. Sir Andrew COHEN (United Kingdom): I should like to explain the vote of my delegation on the third of the resolutions which have just been adopted—draft resolution III about racial discrimination in Non-Self-Governing Territories.

84. It is a matter of great regret to my delegation that the Fourth Committee did not submit to the General Assembly a draft resolution on this subject to which we could have given our whole-hearted support. The United Kingdom Government entirely supports the spirit of this resolution, and most of the things in it are things which we would subscribe to without any qualification whatsoever. Nevertheless, my delegation found itself in the position of having to abstain on this resolution because of our great respect both for the spirit and the letter of resolutions adopted by the United Nations. We do not make a practice of voting for a resolution unless we are convinced that we can carry it out completely both in the spirit and the letter.

85. In two places this resolution calls for immediate action which, taken literally, would not, in our belief, necessarily produce the desired effect. In particular, operative paragraph 2 makes no provision for the continuance in force of legislation of a differentiating character which is still required in some Territories for the protection of the interests of the indigenous people. Operative paragraph 3 asks not only that there should be no discrimination between races in voting rights, but that there should be the immediate grant of universal franchise. This goes beyond the scope of removing racial discrimination.

86. In some of the Territories for which we are responsible we have been introducing a progressively widening qualitative franchise, a franchise which gives the vote very widely to the people of the Territories and which is on a non-racial and non-discriminatory basis. This we believe to be the right way of proceeding in these Territories and we could not, therefore, vote for the resolution.

87. Finally, I must repeat once more that we are absolutely opposed to racial discrimination and are

dedicated to the task of removing it as quickly as possible by all means which are in our power. Even though we would have preferred to see this resolution passed in a form for which we ourselves could have voted, nevertheless we shall continue to do everything that we can in the Territories for which we are responsible to eradicate racial discrimination and thereby to achieve the principal objective of this resolution.

88. The PRESIDENT: The report of the Fourth Committee on agenda item 38 [A/4651] has already been presented to the Assembly by the Rapporteur. As no representative has asked to explain his vote before the two draft resolutions in this report are put to the vote, I propose now to put to the vote draft resolution I.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

Chile, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Chile, Colombia, Congo (Leopoldville), Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Denmark, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Federation of Malaya, Finland, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Haiti, Honduras, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Ivory Coast, Japan, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Mali, Mexico, Morocco, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Senegal, Somalia, Sudan, Sweden, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia, Turkey, United Arab Republic, Upper Volta, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Argentina, Austria, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Cambodia, Cameroun, Canada, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad.

Against: Portugal, Union of South Africa.

Abstaining: China, Czechoslovakia, Dominican Republic, France, Hungary, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Poland, Romania, Spain, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Albania, Australia, Belgium, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic.

Draft resolution I was adopted by 69 votes to 2, with 21 abstentions.

89. The PRESIDENT: The Chair has received some requests that separate votes be taken on parts of draft resolution II. It might be helpful to the Assembly if I asked those proposing these separate votes to come to the rostrum and explain the separate votes that they wish to have.

90. Mr. IMAM (Pakistan): I have asked for a separate vote on operative paragraph 1 of draft resolution II in document A/4651. This paragraph contains a list of territories to which this resolution would apply. We are not in a position to give our support with regard to all these territories. For this reason, we have asked that a separate vote be taken on the territories listed in items "(a) The Cape Verde Archipelago" to "(f) Mozambique" and a separate vote on the territories listed in the remaining items, from "(g) Goa and dependencies, called the State of India" to "(i) Timor and dependencies".

91. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Pakistan has asked for two separate votes, one on the list of territories from (a) to (f) inclusive and another on the

list of territories from (g) to (i) inclusive, in operative paragraph 1 of draft resolution II [A/4651]. I propose now to put this draft resolution to the vote. I would ask the Assembly to vote first on the inclusion in the draft resolution of items (a) to (f), inclusive, in operative paragraph 1.

Items (a) to (f) were adopted by 57 votes to 4, with 22 abstentions.

92. The PRESIDENT: I now put to the Assembly the second separate vote which was asked for, which concerns the territories listed in items (g) to (i), inclusive, in operative paragraph 1.

Items (g) to (i) were adopted by 55 votes to 5, with 28 abstentions.

93. The PRESIDENT: I now put to the Assembly draft resolution II as a whole.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

Chile, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Leopoldville), Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Federation of Malaya, Finland, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Ivory Coast, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Mali, Mexico, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Somalia, Sudan, Sweden, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia, Turkey, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, Upper Volta, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Albania, Argentina, Bolivia, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Cameroun, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad.

Against: France, Portugal, Spain, Union of South Africa, Belgium, Brazil.

Abstaining: Chile, China, Colombia, Dominican Republic, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Panama, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Australia, Austria, Canada.

Draft resolution II was adopted by 68 votes to 6, with 17 abstentions.

94. The PRESIDENT: Two or three members of the Assembly have expressed a desire to explain their votes after the voting. I call first on the representative of Spain.

95. Mr. DE LEQUERICA (Spain) (translated from Spanish): The Spanish delegation wishes to have it placed on record in the Assembly that it abstained on draft resolution I submitted by the Fourth Committee in document A/4651 because, though the principles set out therein contain valuable ideas, the draft seems to us to be confused, imprecise and open to erroneous interpretation.

96. We voted against draft resolution II contained in the same report because we did not think it fair that, without the elementary formality of publishing and circulating the text of the previous draft resolution that the Assembly has just approved (draft resolution I in document A/4651), conclusions prejudicial to a specific country should be drawn from that text.

97. Nevertheless, the Spanish delegation would point out that, had separate votes been taken, it would have reaffirmed the position which it took in the Fourth Committee and, consequently, it would have voted in favour of the fourth paragraph of the preamble and operative paragraph 4.

98. Mr. GARIN (Portugal): I wish to explain briefly the vote my delegation cast in regard to draft resolution II, contained in document A/4651, which the Assembly has just adopted.

99. In the view of my delegation, the resolution assumes in respect of Chapter XI of the Charter, and particularly in regard to Article 73 e, an interpretation which goes beyond the explicit terms of the Charter. It is our firm conviction that, as opposed to Chapters IX and X on the one hand and Chapter XII on the other, Chapter XI does not place and cannot be understood as placing upon Member States obligations which those States themselves are either not willing to undertake or not allowed to undertake in accordance with, and as a result of, their own constitutional law, which they, and they alone, are in a position to and have authority to interpret and apply.

100. The text of the resolution just approved is the outcome of a different interpretation which runs counter to the provisions of the Charter and, consequently, in our opinion is a clear violation of the basic law of our Organization.

101. On the other hand, the resolution ascribes to the General Assembly a competence which the Assembly does not possess. In fact, never in the past has the Assembly claimed to have competence to determine the legal and political status of any territory, nor has the Assembly ever claimed to have competence to impose on Member Governments the transmission of information on territories which, having no status subject to international jurisdiction or accountability, fall within the exclusive responsibility of Member States and for whose political status they alone are responsible. The General Assembly is not entitled to question replies from Governments of Member States in regard to the status of territories under their national sovereignty, and such replies, given in conformity with national and constitutional law, have to be accepted by the Assembly, which is not authorized by the Charter to impugn them. The resolution takes a different view, and by doing so is exceeding the competence of the Assembly, and this has not been the practice of the Assembly since the very beginning of this Organization.

102. If the Assembly now assumes a different attitude, and does so only in respect of a particular country, one is entitled to state that the Assembly has embarked upon a course of action which represents a clear discrimination against that country. This fact was clearly established during the debate on agenda item 38 in the Fourth Committee, when the report of the Special Committee of Six on the Transmission of Information under Article 73 e of the Charter [A/4526] on the principles which should guide Members in determining their obligations under that Article and the draft resolution I am now commenting upon were discussed. In reality, although many delegations stated that the report should be widely and generally applied, the fact is that such a report, which is a guide for Member States and not the

Assembly as such, was used solely for the purpose of questioning and attacking the replies of two Member Governments—in particular, the Portuguese reply—and it never occurred to delegations that were we to make a proper assessment of the principles of the report, then an opportunity should have been given to all Member Governments to study the report in its final text, something which the Fourth Committee simply refused to do.

103. We cannot escape the conclusion, therefore, that there was a purpose of discrimination against some countries, thereby violating the principle of the equality of Member States which is embodied in the Charter.

104. My delegation thinks it only right to point out that the views I am expressing are not held by my delegation alone. With regard to the correct interpretation of Article 73 and, in the context of its application, in respect of the voluntary obligations which may stem therefrom, and again on the question of the competence of the Assembly, many other delegations both in past sessions and at this session have expressed views similar to those which I have just outlined. I do not propose to take the time of the Assembly and I shall refrain from making any quotations, but I would draw the attention of members to the statements which were made at the 1049th meeting of the Fourth Committee in explanation of votes cast in respect of the resolution I am referring to by some delegations—among others, the delegations of the United States, the United Kingdom, France and Belgium—and all were to the effect that the resolution which has now been approved is not in conformity with a correct interpretation of Article 73 nor in accordance with the competence of the General Assembly, since it does not have competence in this case.

105. This opinion was also held by many other delegations as recently as the fourteenth session, but they have changed their attitude at this session for reasons of their own, reasons which, unfortunately, remain unknown to us.

106. Finally, it is the duty of my delegation to refer to another point. Whatever the interpretation any of us may hold as to the meaning of Article 73, and whatever the views anyone may have as to the competence of the Assembly in this matter, it has been made abundantly clear, both in the Fourth Committee and in this Assembly, that Article 73 does not apply to Portugal and that, therefore, no obligations may be placed on my Government in connexion with the implementation of that provision. Any attempt in an opposite direction means a flagrant violation of Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter.

107. I do not wish to comment in detail on the actual text of the resolution. My delegation believes that the reasons which I have just set forth are sufficient to explain the stand of my delegation. Those were the reasons which compelled my delegation to cast a negative vote.

108. In view of the decision taken by the Assembly, however, it is my duty categorically to reserve the position of my Government, as my delegation did in the Fourth Committee [1048th meeting], in respect of this resolution.

109. Mr. ORMSBY-GORE (United Kingdom): I should like to explain the vote of my delegation on draft

resolution II which has just been adopted. My delegation adheres to its view that it is not for the General Assembly to express an opinion whether or not an obligation exists to transmit information under Article 73 e in any particular case.

110. In resolution 1467 (XIV), the General Assembly expressed the opinion that it would be desirable for it to enumerate the principles which should guide Members—I repeat, Members—in determining whether or not an obligation exists to transmit the information called for in Article 73 e. For this reason we were unable to vote for or against this particular resolution, since to do either might have been taken as an expression of opinion on the substance of the matter dealt with in the resolution. We therefore abstained.

111. I should, however, like to make two comments upon this resolution. The latter part of the third preambular paragraph states that the denial of the right of dependent peoples to self-determination constitutes a threat to international peace. This language seems to my delegation to be exaggerated. It is not clear to us in any case precisely what it means. The words "a threat ... to international peace" are words which in the United Nations should, in our view, be used with extreme care and only in circumstances where they have a more precise meaning. We question whether the use of these words was justified or necessary in this resolution, and we regret that these words were included.

112. My other comment is the following. This resolution singles out from all the Members of the United Nations the Government of Portugal. The Government of the United Kingdom has a long-standing friendship with Portugal, a friendship which is as strong today as it has ever been. Our treaty relations with Portugal date back to the fourteenth century, and in all those six hundred years our countries have enjoyed the closest ties and have remained amicably at peace with one another. A resolution singling out Portugal is therefore naturally distressing to us. This resolution, moreover, deals with a matter which in our view it is for the Government of Portugal rather than the General Assembly to determine. For that reason we were unable to support it.



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STUDY OF PRINCIPLES WHICH SHOULD GUIDE MEMBERS IN
DETERMINING WHETHER OR NOT AN OBLIGATION EXISTS TO
TRANSMIT THE INFORMATION CALLED FOR IN ARTICLE 73 e
OF THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS: REPORT OF THE
SPECIAL COMMITTEE ESTABLISHED UNDER GENERAL ASSEMBLY
RESOLUTION 1467 (XIV)

Report of the Fourth Committee

Rapporteur: Mr. Poul BOEG (Denmark)

1. At its 881st plenary meeting on 1 October 1960, the General Assembly allocated to the Fourth Committee the following item on its agenda:

"38. Study of principles which should guide Members in determining whether or not an obligation exists to transmit the information called for in Article 73 e of the Charter of the United Nations: report of the Special Committee established under General Assembly resolution 1467 (XIV)."

2. The Committee considered this item from its 1031st to its 1049th meetings inclusive, from 1 to 14 November 1960.

3. The Committee had before it the report of the Special Committee of Six on the Transmission of Information under Article 73 e of the Charter^{1/} established under General Assembly resolution 1467 (XIV) of 12 December 1959, containing, as a result of its study, the general considerations and twelve principles which, in the unanimous opinion of the Committee of Six, should guide Members in determining whether or not an obligation exists to transmit the information called for under Article 73 e of the Charter.

^{1/} A/4526.

4. Following the general debate on this item, the Committee, at the 1042nd meeting, took up a draft resolution (A/C.4/L.648) jointly sponsored by Iraq, Ireland, Nigeria and Venezuela. Subsequently, Bolivia joined as a co-sponsor (A/C.4/L.648/Add.1). Under the terms of this draft resolution, the General Assembly would, inter alia: (1) express its appreciation of the work of the Special Committee of Six; (2) approve the list of principles contained in the report of the Special Committee (and annexed to the text of the draft resolution); and (3) decide that these principles should be applied in the light of the facts and the circumstances of each case to determine whether or not an obligation exists to transmit the information called for under Article 73 e.

5. The Committee discussed this draft resolution from its 1042nd to its 1045th meetings inclusive. At the 1043rd meeting, Togo and Tunisia submitted an amendment (A/C.4/L.650) which would replace the last sentence of sub-paragraph (b) of Principle IX, reading "it is recognized that in certain circumstances United Nations supervision of such processes may be desirable", by "Supervision of such processes by the United Nations is necessary". Many Members recalled that the Special Committee, which had been composed of an equal number of Administering and non-Administering Members, in the interest of unanimity, had accepted the text of the principles as a compromise, and appealed to the representatives of Togo and Tunisia to withdraw their amendment so that the principles could be adopted with the greatest possible majority. In response to these appeals, the representative of Tunisia, speaking also on behalf of Togo, at the 1044th meeting, orally revised the amendment to read: "The United Nations could, when it deems necessary, supervise these processes".

6. At the 1045th meeting, the representative of Guinea orally reintroduced the original amendment submitted by Togo and Tunisia but replaced the word "necessary" by the word "indispensable". Subsequently, at the same meeting, in response to appeals addressed to him by the sponsors of the original amendment, the representative of Guinea withdrew his amendment.

7. At the same meeting, the representative of Iran orally proposed an amendment to operative paragraph 2 to insert after the word "Approves" the words "the general considerations set out in part A and".

8. At the 1045th meeting, the Committee voted on the draft resolution (A/C.4/L.648) and the annex thereto, and the amendment (A/C.4/L.650) as orally revised. The representative of Haiti, who had expressed reservations concerning the principle of integration of a dependent Territory with an independent State as a satisfactory way of achieving independence in conformity with the objectives of the Charter, asked for Principles VI (c), VIII and IX to be put to the vote separately. The Committee decided to vote first separately on the various paragraphs in the annex. In the course of the vote, the representative of Iran withdrew his amendment. Following the adoption of the amendment to sub-paragraph (b) of Principle IX and the adoption of the annex as a whole, the representative of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland orally suggested a drafting change in operative paragraph 2 of the draft resolution to read "Approves the principles set out in part B of section V of the report of the Special Committee of Six, as amended, and as they appear in the annex to this resolution". The Committee agreed to this suggestion.

(1) The amendment submitted by Togo and Tunisia (A/C.4/L.650) as orally revised, was adopted by a roll-call vote of 38 to 24, with 26 abstentions. The voting was as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroun, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo (Brazzaville), Czechoslovakia, Ecuador, Ethiopia, Hungary, Indonesia, Ivory Coast, Jordan, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Mali, Morocco, Niger, Pakistan, Panama, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Somalia, Sudan, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, Uruguay, Yugoslavia.

Against: Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, China, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Finland, France, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Abstaining: Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, El Salvador, Federation of Malaya, Ghana, Guatemala, Guinea, Haiti, India, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Nepal, Nigeria, Paraguay, Peru, Turkey, Venezuela.

/...

(2) Sub-paragraph (c) of Principle VI contained in the annex to the draft resolution (A/C.4/L.648) was adopted by 63 votes to none, with 19 abstentions.

(3) Principle VI, as a whole, was adopted by 67 votes to none, with 22 abstentions.

(4) Principle VIII was adopted by 69 votes to none, with 18 abstentions.

(5) Principle IX, sub-paragraph (a) was adopted by 68 votes to none, with 19 abstentions.

(6) Principle IX, sub-paragraph (b), as amended, was adopted by 57 votes to 5, with 24 abstentions.

(7) Principle IX, as a whole, as amended, was adopted by 50 votes to 3, with 32 abstentions.

(8) The principles annexed to the draft resolution (A/C.4/L.648), as a whole as amended, were adopted by a roll-call vote of 66 to 3, with 19 abstentions. The voting was as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Argentina, Austria, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Cambodia, Cameroun, Canada, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Congo (Brazzaville), Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Denmark, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Federation of Malaya, Finland, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Haiti, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Ivory Coast, Japan, Jordan, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Mali, Mexico, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Somalia, Sudan, Sweden, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia, Turkey, United Arab Republic, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia.

Against: Portugal, Spain, Union of South Africa.

Abstaining: Albania, Australia, Belgium, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, China, Czechoslovakia, Dominican Republic, France, Hungary, Italy, Netherlands, New Zealand, Poland, Romania, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

(9) The draft resolution and the annex thereto, as a whole, as amended, was adopted by a roll-call vote of 62 to 3, with 19 abstentions. The voting was as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Argentina, Austria, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Cambodia, Cameroun, Canada, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Denmark, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Federation of Malaya, Finland, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Haiti, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Ivory Coast, Japan, Jordan, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Mexico, Morocco, Nepal, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Sudan, Sweden, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia, Turkey, United Arab Republic, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia.

Against: Portugal, Spain, Union of South Africa.

Abstaining: Albania, Australia, Belgium, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, China, Czechoslovakia, Dominican Republic, France, Hungary, Italy, Netherlands, New Zealand, Poland, Romania, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

9. The text as approved by the Committee appears in paragraph 19 of the present report as draft resolution I.

10. At the 1040th meeting, Afghanistan, Burma, Ceylon, Ghana, Guinea, India, Nepal and Nigeria jointly submitted a draft resolution (A/C.4/L.649) on the transmission of information under Article 73 e of the Charter. Under the terms of this draft resolution, the General Assembly would, inter alia: (1) enumerate the territories under the administration of Spain and Portugal^{2/} which it considered to be Non-Self-Governing Territories in the light of the provisions of Chapter XI of the Charter, General Assembly resolution 742 (VIII) of 27 November 1953 and the principles enumerated by the Special Committee of Six; (2) request the Governments of Portugal and Spain to transmit information in accordance with Article 73 e of

^{2/} The Spanish Territories as enumerated were Ifni, West Sahara, Fernando Póo and Rio Muni. For the list of the Portuguese Territories, see paragraph 19 of the present report, draft resolution II.

the Charter on these territories; and (3) urge the Governments of Portugal and Spain to ensure to the indigenous populations of these territories the enjoyment of full freedom for democratic political activities which would accelerate their attainment of independence.

11. The Committee considered this draft resolution from its 1046th to its 1049th meetings inclusive. At the 1046th meeting, the sponsors introduced a revised text of the draft resolution (A/C.4/L.649/Rev.1 and Rev.1/Corr.1) to take into account a statement made by the representative of Spain at the 1038th meeting on the transmission of information under Article 73 e.^{3/} The revised text also omitted the operative paragraph of the draft resolution referred to under (3) in paragraph 10 of the present report. Iraq, Liberia, Libya and Senegal joined as co-sponsors (A/C.4/L.649/Rev.1/Add.1).

12. At the same meeting, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic submitted amendments (A/C.4/L.651). These amendments were as follows: (1) In the fourth paragraph of the preamble to delete the words "with satisfaction", and add at the end of the paragraph "concerning the following Non-Self-Governing Territories: Ifni, West Sahara, Fernando Póo, Rio Muni, Canary Islands"; (2) to insert, as operative paragraph 2, the following:

"1. Urges the Governments of Spain and Portugal to grant to the indigenous populations of the Non-Self-Governing Territories under their administration the enjoyment of full freedom for democratic political activities which would ensure their attainment of independence;"

(3) In operative paragraph 2, to insert after the words "concerning these Territories" the following: "until they are granted full independence"; (4) To delete operative paragraph 4.

13. At the 1048th meeting, the representative of Guinea orally proposed a drafting change in the list of territories enumerated as Non-Self-Governing Territories under the administration of Portugal, so that Cabinda, instead of being listed separately, would be listed with Angola as "Angola, including the enclave of Cabinda". This was accepted by the Committee.

14. The representative of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic did not insist on a vote on paragraph 2 of his amendment in view of the fact that the representative of Guinea stated during the discussion that a draft resolution would subsequently be submitted on the substance of this amendment.

^{3/} The statement of the representative of Spain was further clarified at the 1048th meeting (A/C.4/453), see paragraph 15 of the present report.

15. At the same meeting, the representative of Spain in further clarification of the position of his Government, stated that "The Government of Spain had decided to transmit to the Secretary-General the information pertaining to the territories referred to in Chapter XI of the Charter". In view of this statement, the representative of Bulgaria orally proposed an amendment to insert the words "at the 1048th meeting" in the fourth preambular paragraph, in which reference was made to the statement by Spain.

16. At the 1048th meeting, the Committee voted on the draft resolution (A/C.4/L.649/Rev.1 and Rev.1/Corr.1 and Rev.1/Add.1) and some of the amendments thereto submitted by the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (A/C.4/L.651). In consequence of the adoption of the draft resolution on the principles,^{4/} the Committee accepted a drafting change in operative paragraph 1 as suggested by the Chairman to delete the words "enumerated by the Special Committee of Six and".

(1) The amendment to the fourth preambular paragraph to delete the words "with satisfaction" was rejected by 50 votes to 11, with 11 abstentions.

(2) The amendment orally proposed by the representative of Bulgaria to insert in the fourth preambular paragraph the words "at the 1048th meeting" was adopted by 57 votes to none, with 17 abstentions.

(3) The amendment to add at the end of the fourth paragraph of the preamble the words "concerning the following Non-Self-Governing Territories" was rejected by 42 votes to 15, with 16 abstentions. In consequence, the Committee did not vote on the remaining part of paragraph 1 of the Ukrainian amendment.

(4) The fourth preambular paragraph, as a whole, as amended, was adopted by a roll-call vote of 54 to 8, with 13 abstentions. The voting was as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Burma, Cambodia, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Cuba, Cyprus, Denmark, Ecuador, Ethiopia, Federation of Malaya, Finland, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Haiti, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Japan, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Spain, Sweden, Thailand, Turkey, United Arab Republic, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Venezuela.

^{4/} See paragraph 19 of the present report, draft resolution I.

Against: Albania, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Portugal, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Abstaining: Brazil, Chad, Dominican Republic, France, Hungary, Italy, Mali, Morocco, Romania, Togo, Tunisia, Union of South Africa, Yugoslavia.

(5) The third preambular paragraph was adopted by 64 votes to none, with 11 abstentions.

(6) In operative paragraph 1, the first part of the list of territories administered by Portugal, from "The Cape Verde Archipelago" to "Mozambique", as orally amended by Guinea, was adopted by 45 votes to 6, with 22 abstentions.

(7) The last part of the list of territories administered by Portugal, namely, "Goa and dependencies, called the 'State of India', Macao and dependencies, and Timor and dependencies", was adopted by 44 votes to 6, with 24 abstentions.

(8) Operative paragraph 1, as a whole, as revised and amended, was adopted by a roll-call vote of 50 to 6, with 19 abstentions. The voting was as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Argentina, Bolivia, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Chad, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Ecuador, Ethiopia, Federation of Malaya, Finland, Ghana, Greece, Guinea, Haiti, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Mali, Morocco, Nigeria, Norway, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Sweden, Togo, Tunisia, Turkey, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, Venezuela, Yugoslavia.

Against: Belgium, Brazil, France, Portugal, Spain, Union of South Africa.

Abstaining: Australia, Austria, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Dominican Republic, Guatemala, Italy, Japan, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Thailand, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

(9) The amendment to operative paragraph 2 to add the words "until they are granted full independence" was rejected by 28 votes to 21, with 21 abstentions.

(10) The amendment to delete operative paragraph 4 was rejected by a roll-call vote of 51 to 9, with 14 abstentions. The voting was as follows:

In favour: Albania, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Against: Afghanistan, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Burma, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Cuba, Cyprus, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ethiopia, Federation of Malaya, Finland, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, India, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Spain, Sweden, Thailand, Tunisia, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Venezuela.

Abstaining: Brazil, Cambodia, Chad, Ecuador, France, Guinea, Indonesia, Mali, Morocco, Somalia, Togo, Union of South Africa, United Arab Republic, Yugoslavia.

(11) Operative paragraph 4 of the draft resolution was adopted by 52 votes to 10, with 9 abstentions.

(12) Operative paragraph 5 of the draft resolution was adopted by 51 votes to 3, with 19 abstentions.

(13) The draft resolution, as a whole, as orally revised and amended, was adopted by a roll-call vote of 45 to 6, with 24 abstentions. The voting was as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Argentina, Bolivia, Burma, Cambodia, Chad, Cuba, Cyprus, Denmark, Ecuador, Ethiopia, Federation of Malaya, Finland, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Haiti, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Mali, Mexico, Morocco, Nigeria, Norway, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Sweden, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia, Turkey, United Arab Republic, Venezuela, Yugoslavia.

Against: Belgium, Brazil, France, Portugal, Spain, Union of South Africa.

Abstaining: Albania, Australia, Austria, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Czechoslovakia, Dominican Republic, Hungary, Italy, Japan, Netherlands, New Zealand, Pakistan, Panama, Poland, Romania, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

17. The representative of Portugal reserved the position of his Government.

18. The text as approved by the Committee appears in paragraph 19 of the present report as draft resolution II.

RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE

19. The Committee therefore recommends to the General Assembly the adoption of the following draft resolutions.

DRAFT RESOLUTION I

Principles which should guide Members in determining whether or not an obligation exists to transmit the information called for under Article 73 e of the Charter

The General Assembly,

Considering the objectives set forth in Chapter XI of the Charter of the United Nations,

Bearing in mind the list of factors annexed to General Assembly resolution 742 (VIII) of 27 November 1953,

Having examined the report of the Special Committee of Six on the transmission of information under Article 73 e of the Charter^{5/} appointed under General Assembly resolution 1467 (XIV) of 12 December 1959 to study the principles which should guide Members in determining whether or not an obligation exists to transmit the information called for in Article 73 e of the Charter, and to report on the results of its study to the General Assembly at its fifteenth session,

1. Expresses its appreciation of the work of the Special Committee of Six on the transmission of information under Article 73 e of the Charter;
2. Approves the principles set out in part B of Section V of the report of the Special Committee of Six as amended and as they appear in the Annex to the present resolution;
3. Decides that the principles as annexed to this resolution should be applied in the light of the facts and the circumstances of each case to determine whether or not an obligation exists to transmit information under Article 73 e of the Charter.

ANNEX

LIST OF PRINCIPLES

Principles which should guide Members in determining whether or not an obligation exists to transmit the information called for in Article 73 e of the Charter of the United Nations

Principle I

The authors of the Charter of the United Nations had in mind that Chapter XI should be applicable to territories which were then known to be of the colonial type. An obligation exists to transmit information under Article 73 e of the Charter in respect of such territories whose peoples have not yet attained a full measure of self-government.

Principle II

Chapter XI embodies the concept of Non-Self-Governing Territories in a dynamic state of evolution and progress towards a "full measure of self-government". As soon as a territory and its peoples attain a full measure of self-government, the obligation ceases. Until this comes about, the obligation to transmit information under Article 73 e continues.

Principle III

The obligation to transmit information under Article 73 e of the Charter constitutes an international obligation and should be carried out with due regard to the fulfilment of international law.

Principle IV

Prima facie there is an obligation to transmit information in respect of a territory which is geographically separate and is distinct ethnically and/or culturally from the country administering it.

Principle V

Once it has been established that such a prima facie case of geographical and ethnical or cultural distinctness of a territory exists, other elements may then be brought into consideration. These additional elements may be, inter alia, of an administrative, political, juridical, economic or historical nature. If they affect the relationship between the metropolitan State and the territory concerned in a manner which arbitrarily places the latter in a position or status of subordination, they support the presumption that there is an obligation to transmit information under Article 73 e of the Charter.

Principle VI

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

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

Principle VII

(a) Free association should be the result of a free and voluntary choice by the peoples of the territory concerned expressed by information and democratic processes. It should be one which respects the individuality and the cultural characteristics of the territory and its peoples, and retains for the peoples of the territory, which is associated with an independent State, the freedom to modify the status of that territory through the expression of their will by democratic means and through constitutional processes.

(b) The associated territory should have the right to determine its internal constitution without outside interference, in accordance with due constitutional processes and the freely expressed wishes of the people. This does not preclude consultations as appropriate or necessary under the terms of the free association agreed upon.

Principle VIII

Integration with an independent State should be on the basis of complete equality between the peoples of the erstwhile Non-Self-Governing Territory and those of the independent country with which it is integrated. The peoples of both territories should have equal status and rights of citizenship and equal guarantees of fundamental rights and freedoms without any distinction or discrimination; both should have equal rights and opportunities for representation and effective participation at all levels in the executive, legislative and judicial organs of government.

Principle IX

Integration should have come about in the following circumstances:

(a) The integrating territory should have attained an advanced stage of self-government with free political institutions, so that its peoples should have the capacity to make a responsible choice through informed and democratic processes;

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

Principle X

The transmission of information in respect of Non-Self-Governing Territories under Article 73 e is subject to such limitation as security and constitutional considerations may require. This means that the extent of the information may be limited in certain circumstances, but the limitation in Article 73 e cannot relieve a Member State of obligations of Chapter XI. The "limitation" can relate only to the quantum of information of economic, social and educational nature to be transmitted.

Principle XI

The only constitutional considerations to which Article 73 e refers are those arising from constitutional relations of the territory with the Administering Member. They refer to a situation in which the constitution of the Territory gives

it self-government in economic, social and educational matters through freely elected institutions. Nevertheless, the responsibility for transmitting information under Article 73 e continues, unless these constitutional relations preclude the Government or parliament of the Administering Member from receiving statistical and other information of a technical nature relating to economic, social and educational conditions in the territory.

Principle XII

Security considerations have not been invoked in the past. Only in very exceptional circumstances can information on economic, social and educational conditions have any security aspect. In other circumstances, therefore, there should be no necessity to limit the transmission of information on security grounds.

DRAFT RESOLUTION II

Transmission of information under Article 73 e of the Charter

The General Assembly,

Recalling that, by resolution 742 (VIII) of 27 November 1953, the General Assembly approved a list of factors to be used as a guide in determining whether a Territory is or is no longer within the scope of Chapter XI of the Charter of the United Nations,

Recalling also that differences of views arose among Member States concerning the status of certain territories under the administrations of Portugal and Spain, described by them as "overseas provinces" of the metropolitan State concerned, and that with a view to resolving those differences the General Assembly, by resolution 1467 (XIV) of 12 December 1959, appointed the Special Committee of Six on the Transmission of Information under Article 73 e of the Charter to study the principles which should guide Members in determining whether or not an obligation exists to transmit the information called for in Article 73 e,

Recognizing that the desire for independence is the rightful aspiration of peoples under colonial subjugation and that the denial of their right to self-determination constitutes a threat to the well-being of humanity and a threat to international peace,

Recalling with satisfaction the statement of the representative of Spain at the 1048th meeting of the Fourth Committee of the General Assembly,^{6/} that his Government agrees to transmit information to the Secretary-General in accordance with the provisions of Chapter XI of the Charter,

Mindful of its responsibilities under Article 14 of the Charter,

Being aware that the Government of Portugal has not transmitted information on the territories under its administration which are enumerated in operative paragraph 1 below, and has not expressed any intention of doing so, and because such information as is otherwise available in regard to the conditions in these territories gives cause for concern,

1. Considers that, in the light of the provisions of Chapter XI of the Charter, General Assembly resolution 742 (VIII) and the principles approved by the General Assembly in resolution _____, the territories under the administration of Portugal listed hereunder are Non-Self-Governing Territories within the meaning of Chapter XI of the Charter:

- (a) The Cap Verde Archipelago;
- (b) Guinea, called Portuguese Guinea;
- (c) Sao Tome and Principe and their dependencies;
- (d) Sao Joao Baptista de Ajuda;
- (e) Angola, including the enclave of Cabinda;
- (f) Mozambique;
- (g) Goa and dependencies, called the "State of India";
- (h) Macao and dependencies;
- (i) Timor and dependencies;

2. Declares that an obligation exists on the part of the Government of Portugal to transmit information under Chapter XI of the Charter concerning these territories and that it should be discharged without further delay;

3. Requests the Government of Portugal to transmit to the Secretary-General information in accordance with the provisions of Chapter XI of the Charter on the conditions prevailing in the territories under its administration enumerated in operative paragraph 1 above;

^{6/} A/C.4/453.

4. Requests the Secretary-General to take the necessary steps in pursuance of the declaration of the Government of Spain that it is ready to act in accordance with the provisions of Chapter XI of the Charter;

5. Invites the Governments of Portugal and Spain to participate in the work of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories in accordance with the terms of operative paragraph 2 of General Assembly resolution 1332 (XIII) of 12 December 1958.

United Nations
**GENERAL
ASSEMBLY**

FIFTEENTH SESSION

Official Records



**FOURTH COMMITTEE, 1031st
MEETING**

Tuesday, 1 November 1960,
at 10.55 a.m.

NEW YORK

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Chairman: Mr. Adnan M. PACHACHI (Iraq).

AGENDA ITEM 38

Study of principles which should guide Members in determining whether or not an obligation exists to transmit the information called for in Article 73 e of the Charter of the United Nations: report of the Special Committee established under General Assembly resolution 1467 (XIV) (A/4526)

GENERAL DEBATE

1. Mr. JHA (India), introducing the report of the Special Committee of Six on the Transmission of Information under Article 73 e of the Charter (A/4526), expressed the hope that the report would assist the Fourth Committee in the formulation and enumeration of the principles which should serve as a universal guide to Members in the discharge of their obligations under Chapter XI of the Charter. The conclusions in the report were related as closely as possible to the terms of reference of the Special Committee. The heart of the report was section V, part B, which enumerated twelve principles on the basis of which the General Assembly could appraise the circumstances in which information in respect of a Non-Self-Governing Territory should be transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter.

2. All the members of the Committee, which was composed of an equal number of administering and non-administering Powers, had made sincere efforts to reach agreement and had shown mutual understanding and a readiness to compromise where that was possible without sacrificing essential principles. They had endeavoured to reach unanimous conclusions, in the belief that any conclusions on which there was a division of opinion would not be of much assistance to the Assembly.

3. No better example of the harmony that had prevailed in the Committee could be found than that reflected in the formulation of the principles, for while both the administering and the non-administering members had been tempted to insist on their respective points of view on particular aspects of the principles, they had realized that that would have made agreement

impossible and would have produced two sets of conflicting principles. They had therefore made every effort to reach unanimity. Where reservations had been made, they were recorded in paragraphs 13, 14 and 15 of the report. Any points which had arisen during the Committee's deliberations but were not explicitly covered in the report could be found in the summary records of the Committee (A/AC.100/SR.1-14).

4. The Special Committee had decided to confine itself to the enumeration of universal principles without reference to any particular Non-Self-Governing Territories, although individual Territories had occasionally been cited to illustrate certain points. The entire discussion had been held in the context of the present-day situation and of the problems of the Non-Self-Governing Territories as they had been studied in recent years in the Fourth Committee and the General Assembly. Not only had the Committee's work been carried out against the background of the no longer controversial ideal of a world in which no people could dominate another, but it had also taken account of such practical aspects as the different sizes, geographical situations and so forth of the Non-Self-Governing Territories, the development and experiences of the last few years and the various studies that had already been made on the subject.

5. The Committee had taken fully into account the views of Member States submitted in response to General Assembly resolution 1467 (XIV) which were set out in document A/AC.100/1 and Add.1 and were submitted to the Fourth Committee together with the report. It had also taken into account the factors for determining whether or not a Non-Self-Governing Territory had attained a full measure of self-government, as laid down in General Assembly resolution 742 (VIII). It had been considerably assisted by the documentation prepared by the Secretariat, especially the reports in documents A/AC.100/2 and Add.1 and 2.

6. In presenting its report, the Committee felt that it had formulated principles on the basis of which the General Assembly would be able to determine in each specific case whether or not an obligation to transmit information existed under Article 73 e of the Charter. If, as the Committee hoped, the Fourth Committee and the General Assembly could unanimously adopt a set of principles, it would be possible to apply them effectively to individual cases. The adoption of the twelve principles proposed would remove any uncertainty with regard to the existence of an obligation to transmit information or the circumstances in which such an obligation existed and would provide a legal and constitutional basis for any action which the General Assembly might take in the matter.

7. Mr. ALWAN (Iraq) proposed that the full text of the Indian representative's statement should be distributed as a document.

It was so decided.^{1/}

8. Mr. CUEVAS CANCINO (Mexico) said that the interpretation of Chapter XI of the Charter, which had imposed certain obligations on the Powers administering Territories other than their own, had given rise to much heated controversy in the General Assembly. Many attempts had been made to clarify the meaning and scope of that Chapter; and even greater efforts had been made by the Fourth Committee to determine when such obligations began and ended. A firm direction had been given to those efforts by General Assembly resolution 1467 (XIV), under which the Special Committee had been established.

9. His delegation had participated with enthusiasm in the work of the Committee, for the Mexican Government had always considered that the United Nations must concern itself with the future of the Non-Self-Governing Territories. In view of the fact that the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals had said nothing on that point, that the Mexican Government had felt that the work begun by the League of Nations should be continued and that the peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories were asking for self-determination, Mexico had firmly maintained that the international community should supervise the development of those peoples which were still not free to conduct their own affairs and had affirmed that the international community itself should decide which Territories should be placed under its protection.

10. It would be a mistake to approach the item under discussion as if it were a question of adopting something entirely new. What the Committee was trying to do was to give substance to the doubts and hesitations which had accompanied the colonial movement. Western civilization had always presented two aspects: the aggressive spirit which had given rise to expansionist colonialism, under which so many nations had suffered; and the constructive spirit, which had always tried to oppose that movement, with its false emphasis on material aims. Thus at the present day, rising in opposition to the obsolescent colonial system, were those who defended the primacy of world interests over the private interests of any one Power.

11. From the very outset there had been great European intellectuals who had opposed the colonial system and had thought that there should be restrictions on the exercise of force against weak foreign nations. The same spirit had led Europe to reject slavery. Just as colonialism and its abuses had come from Europe, so had Europe also provided the antidote to colonialism: the idea of an international community, human rights, the primacy of general interests over the private interests of any one State.

12. The United Nations was therefore simply following a trend which had been in existence for centuries. The United Nations had been based upon ideas which Europe itself had conceived to eliminate the grave defects implicit in its expansionist surge. It was thus continuing a task which had begun with colonialism itself and its success would be the happy culmination of a process which crystallized the highest spiritual aspirations of mankind.

13. It had been the task of the Special Committee to study colonial problems as they had existed since the

founding of the United Nations. That idea had found expression in the first of the principles it had adopted.

14. The ideas that had prevailed at the San Francisco Conference had changed in the course of fifteen years of colonial evolution. It had been said that the Special Committee should not interpret the Charter; yet he wondered whether that was not exactly what the Assembly or any other organ of the United Nations did with every action it took. The United Nations would be acting wrongly if, for fear of exceeding its powers, it were to abandon one of the primary goals sought by the Charter: the elimination of the colonial system throughout the world.

15. International development was observable in all fields, but in none more than in that of colonialism. What had been scarcely aspirations in 1945 were now accomplished facts. The reason was that other equally productive ideas had come to fulfilment, such as the concept of the sacred trust. That idea could be interpreted as the desire of the administering Powers to form the Non-Self-Governing Territories in their own image. Such an interpretation was not, however, acceptable in the present era, which admitted the co-existence of various civilizations from whose development along parallel lines a universal civilization would emerge. The sacred trust could not be interpreted as an imposition of Western values; on the contrary, it embodied the implicit undertaking to safeguard the culture of the non-self-governing peoples. His delegation considered it essential that the culture of each of those peoples should be preserved, as a necessary basis for their future development, without which they would have great difficulty in establishing themselves in a developing world. Of equal importance were their basic principles of justice and political organization. The General Assembly would do well to bear in mind the need for each of those peoples to reach self-determination according to its own standards.

16. Many colonial ideas were destructive, not the least being the imposition of alien juridical rules. Law was a social product and its indiscriminate application to national groups of different mental and political backgrounds could be extremely harmful. The problems of the non-self-governing peoples were very different from those of the administering Powers. The United Nations should assure them that they would attain independence according to their own legal concepts.

17. The Special Committee of Six had repeatedly stressed cultural distinctness. Under the Charter, all civilizations were of equal value and none was supreme; in consequence, the new nations found that the world was prepared to welcome their contribution to law and politics.

18. For centuries, statesmen in metropolitan countries, and notably in Spain, had inveighed against colonialism as a system of government. The reasons advanced by them were echoed in the Charter, the aim of which was to put an end to so outmoded and harmful a system. In so doing, it was guided by two main precepts: the first was to ensure that the just demands of the colonized peoples did not give rise to heavy loss of life, and the second to help those peoples to achieve independence in a way that would ensure their happiness. Unlike the Latin American countries in the days of their struggle for independence, the new nations could count on a favourable atmosphere.

^{1/} See A/C.4/450.

19. There was a close relationship between the reasoning which had led to General Assembly resolution 742 (VIII) and the principles which were now before the Committee. When it had approved those principles, the General Assembly would have established rules for dealing with two aspects of the same problem, namely, in what circumstances information regarding the Non-Self-Governing Territories should be transmitted to the United Nations, and in what circumstances the Administering Member was justified in ceasing to supply that information: in other words, the point at which a territory came under international supervision, and the point at which such supervision was no longer required. As the debates of the Committee had shown, the former question was of very great importance and principle IV made it clear that a prima facie obligation existed when a territory was geographically separate and ethnically and culturally distinct from the country administering it. With regard to principle V, he would lay particular emphasis on the reference to a territory being arbitrarily placed in a position or status of subordination.

20. Principles VI, VII, VIII and IX dealt with cases in which it could definitely be stated that there was no longer any reason for supervision. The basic idea was the same as that in General Assembly resolution 742 (VIII); where the principles differed was with regard to the actual historical moment when the transformation was complete.

21. His delegation considered the conclusions reached by the Special Committee of Six to be eminently constructive. It was only natural to assume that those who had drafted the Charter had considered the possibility of introducing changes in the quantity and scope of the information provided but they had certainly not contemplated its being reduced to nothing. What the Charter had sought to achieve was that the peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories should be assisted in every possible way to achieve independence; anything that prevented that objective from being attained was contrary to the spirit of the Charter. As paragraph 17 of the report pointed out, the Charter was the culmination of progressive evolution in international thinking; the fulfilment of its behests was an important factor in the preservation of international peace and security.

22. The all-important question was whether the provisions of Chapter XI of the Charter imposed an obligation on the Administering Members. His Government had never doubted that it did. It based its conviction on many reasons—the identity of views regarding the nature of the colonial problem which had informed both the Covenant of the League of Nations and the United Nations Charter; the fact that at San Francisco as much attention had been paid to the Non-Self-Governing Territories as to the Trust Territories; the fact that it was by a mere chance that the heading "Declaration" had been adopted for Chapter XI; the implication in the wording of that Chapter that an obligation existed; and the opinion of Professor Hans Kelsen, who had considered that the provisions of the Preamble and even more those of that Chapter entailed an obligation. If no clear statement regarding that question was to be found in document A/4526, it was because the positions of the delegations concerned had been established beforehand; nevertheless, marked progress had been made, thanks to the spirit of understanding shown by the members of the Special Committee of Six.

23. Principle III, which recognized that the obligations inherent in the possession of colonies were of an international nature, was of fundamental importance. Thus, the administration of colonies was no longer an instrument of policy of any Member State and the right of peoples to self-determination was no longer governed solely by the policies of the administering Power. The aim of international law was to ensure that justice would prevail among the nations and that each nation would receive its due, no matter what pressure was brought to bear. Principle III accordingly laid down that the fulfilment of the provisions of Article 73 e was an international obligation. If the international obligation to transmit information was accepted, then supervision by the General Assembly must be accepted also; were it not so, international rules could not be carried out.

24. His delegation considered that there was also a moral obligation and in that connexion he wished to emphasize the very importance which his delegation attached to Article 74 of the Charter. The principle of good neighbourliness, adopted by the American States as a legal tenet, had found expression both in the Preamble to the Charter and in Article 74; it was a modern adaptation of the old idea of the brotherhood of man. It meant that international relations were not to be conducted on the basis of selfish national interests. Every nation desiring to behave as a good neighbour was bound to take into consideration the well-being of the community and to ensure that its own interests were co-ordinated with those of the world in which it lived. The social meaning of private property had come to receive wide acceptance, and the same should be true of the universal meaning of State sovereignty. The implications of Article 74 were perfectly clear: no country was free to govern its colonies without taking into consideration the views of the international community. It was clear, therefore, that good neighbourliness was far more than a mere question of geographical proximity; it was founded on moral obligations which transcended geography. Moreover, it meant that the administering Powers must not only guide their colonies towards independence, but also take into account developments in the regions where those Territories were situated. All those aspects of the matter were well summarized in paragraph 19 of document A/4526 and his delegation was convinced that the introduction of that principle would have valuable results.

25. Although the principles drawn up by the Special Committee would probably fail to win the approval of those holding extremist views, they set out with sufficient clarity the conditions in which the obligations imposed under Article 73 e of the Charter were applicable. His delegation found them completely satisfactory and recommended them to the Fourth Committee.

26. Mr. DJERDJA (Yugoslavia) paid a tribute to the Special Committee of Six for the work it had done and the efforts it had made. His delegation was in agreement with virtually all its conclusions and observations. In particular it agreed with the opinion expressed in paragraph 18 of the Committee's report that "the Charter is a living document and the obligations under Chapter XI must be viewed in the light of the changing spirit of the times". The fact that that idea had been elaborated by a Committee in whose work representatives of administering Powers had taken

part endowed it in his opinion with a practical significance and a special value.

27. The obligation to transmit information under Article 73 of the Charter, and all the other obligations embodied in Chapter XI, were legal obligations equally with any others arising out of the Charter. They could not therefore be abrogated by unilateral action or arbitrary interpretation by any Member State. The obligation to transmit information applied to all Territories whose peoples had not yet attained a full measure of self-government and remained in force from the time the administering Power concerned was admitted to the United Nations until the attainment of full self-government by the Non-Self-Governing Territories. Nothing less than full and complete self-government could free the Administering Members from that obligation. A limited measure of self-government in certain functional fields mentioned in Article 73 could not serve as a basis for the cessation of the transmission of information under that Article.

28. The General Assembly was competent to decide whether a territory had attained a full measure of self-government, or in other words whether it came within the purview of Chapter XI of the Charter. The competence of the General Assembly in that matter was clear from the relevant provisions of the Charter and had been confirmed by the General Assembly in numerous resolutions.

29. Nevertheless, the question of the establishment and determination of certain principles had no longer the same practical significance it had had in the past and had become to some extent academic. The situation had changed greatly since the time when the Charter had been adopted, and even since the fourteenth session of the General Assembly, when the Special Committee of Six had been established. The question of the liquidation of obsolete colonial relationships and of the granting of freedom and independence to all dependent peoples had become a question of the highest international significance, as was shown by the fact that at the present session attention was focused on colonial problems. The United Nations could not permit its decisions and actions to be overtaken by developments in the colonial and other fields; its decisions must keep abreast with the times and give concrete form to contemporary trends and aspirations. The enslaved peoples of Angola, Mozambique, so-called Portuguese Guinea and other territories, who were deprived of basic national rights and dignity, were confidently awaiting much more than a mere confirmation of principles from the decisions of the General Assembly.

30. His delegation, like many others, had never doubted that the territories under Portuguese and Spanish administration had always been and would remain colonies in the full sense of the word so long as they did not achieve complete independence. Those territories therefore came within the purview of Chapter XI of the Charter. The fact that Portugal had replaced the term "colonies" by "overseas provinces" did not alter their colonial status.

31. During the general debate on the question of Non-Self-Governing Territories his delegation had given some particulars concerning the situation in the Territories under Spanish and Portuguese control, as had other delegations, especially those from Africa. It would be useless for the administering Powers to attempt to refute the facts.

32. His delegation felt that the Fourth Committee should be concerned less with the determination of principles than with appropriate action leading to the early attainment of full independence by all Non-Self-Governing Territories and to the rapid elimination of colonial relationships in general.

33. The question of the Spanish and Portuguese colonies was a component part of the colonial problem and any decisions the General Assembly might take on that problem at the present session must apply to all dependent territories equally. He had in mind particularly the draft resolution relating to the participation of the Non-Self-Governing Territories in the work of the United Nations and the specialized agencies approved by the Committee at its 1022nd meeting. On the basis of that resolution his delegation expected qualified representatives of the indigenous populations of the Portuguese and Spanish possessions to participate in the work of United Nations organs until they had achieved full liberation.

34. His delegation was ready to support every action designed to ensure the early and full emancipation of all Non-Self-Governing Territories.

35. Mr. SIDI BABA (Morocco) said that he had little to add to what had been said by the representatives of India and Mexico. As was only natural in view of the parity composition of the Special Committee of Six, the report represented a compromise and had to a certain extent been drafted in less categorical terms than the delegations of the non-administering Members might have desired. The Special Committee of Six had left it to the Fourth Committee to enumerate the territories in respect of which the obligation to transmit information should be applied and to specify the colonialist Powers concerned. In the opinion of the delegation of Morocco all dependent territories without exception should be included. All the colonialist Powers should abide by the principles laid down in the report and should take account of recent developments. The General Assembly had decided to examine in plenary session the draft declaration on the grant of independence to colonial countries and peoples (A/4502 and Corr.1). Thus a great evolution had taken place since the report of the Special Committee had been drafted.

36. He proposed that the statement just made by the representative of Mexico should be circulated as a Committee document.

37. Sir Andrew COHEN (United Kingdom) said that he would not make a long statement at the present stage but would like to make one or two general remarks.

38. The United Kingdom delegation had agreed to take part in the work of the Special Committee of Six because it had thought that Committee had a useful task to perform. None of those who had participated in the work of the Fourth Committee in past years could have failed to notice that, despite the close and friendly relations which existed between members, there had been a difference of view on the subject matter covered by the report of the Special Committee. Such differences were inevitable, since they arose from divergencies of national approach, but he felt that the degree of difference in the Committee was greater than it need have been. His delegation had always been convinced that, if a close study could be made of the principles which should guide Member States in the matter and if delegations could achieve greater understanding of each other's views, the differences could be greatly

narrowed. Before the Special Committee had begun its work he had thought that the chances of arriving at an agreed report were problematical. The Fourth Committee could congratulate itself on the fact that that Committee had been able, through the good faith, sympathy, mutual understanding, patience and hard work of its members, to produce an agreed report.

39. The United Kingdom delegation had felt impelled to enter certain reservations with regard to some parts of the report; but in other parts of the report, the language had not been entirely satisfactory to it and his delegation had not made reservations. As the representative of Morocco had observed, it had been difficult at times to reach complete agreement and both sides had had to make every effort to do so. The fact that agreement had been reached showed that where important matters which affected the interests and future of millions of people were concerned it was possible for the members of the Special Committee of Six or of any other United Nations body to arrive by negotiation and compromise at something which could be widely if not unanimously accepted. That was encouraging and he hoped that in other important matters affecting the subject under discussion it would be possible to proceed in the same way. The United Kingdom delegation was glad that the Special Committee had been able to agree on principles which, in the words of General Assembly resolution 1467 (XIV), "should guide Members in determining whether or not an obligation exists to transmit the information called for in Article 73 e of the Charter". In his delegation's view those principles should be commended by the General Assembly to

Member States. They would have all the authority of a text agreed upon by such a widely representative Committee.

40. He supported the suggestion made by the representative of Morocco that the statement of the representative of Mexico should be circulated as an official document.

41. The CHAIRMAN said that if there were no objections the text of the statement made by the representative of Mexico would be circulated as a Committee document.

It was so decided.^{2/}

42. Miss BROOKS (Liberia) said that for the time being she would make no statement on the item before the Committee. She wished, however, to pay a tribute to Mr. Espinosa y Prieto, of Mexico, on whose initiative the draft resolution calling for the establishment of the Special Committee of Six had been submitted to the Fourth Committee at the fourteenth session. She thanked him, on behalf of the African States represented in the Committee, for his valiant defence of the interests of the dependent peoples.

43. Mr. CUEVAS CANCINO (Mexico) said that he would convey the remarks made by the representative of Liberia to Mr. Espinosa y Prieto.

The meeting rose at 12.20 p.m.

^{2/} See A/C.4/451.

United Nations
**GENERAL
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FIFTEENTH SESSION

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**FOURTH COMMITTEE, 1032nd
MEETING**

Wednesday, 2 November 1960,
at 10.50 a.m.

NEW YORK

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Chairman: Mr. Adnan M. PACHACHI (Iraq).

AGENDA ITEM 38

Study of principles which should guide Members in determining whether or not an obligation exists to transmit the information called for in Article 73 e of the Charter of the United Nations: report of the Special Committee established under General Assembly resolution 1467 (XIV) (A/4526) (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE (continued)

1. Mr. DINGEMANS (Netherlands) said that it had been a source of satisfaction to his delegation as a member of the Special Committee of Six on the Transmission of Information under Article 73 e of the Charter, that that Committee had been able to arrive at an agreed report (A/4526) and he wished to pay a tribute to the spirit of harmony and good will that had prevailed. The final result naturally showed signs of compromise; nevertheless, it was a shining example of what could be achieved when Member States were united in good faith and perseverance. The language, especially that of the principles set out in section V, part B, of the report, was logical and clear, and his delegation had no doubt that the principles would be a useful guide to the Fourth Committee in determining whether an obligation existed to transmit the information called for in Article 73 e of the Charter.

2. His delegation commended the report and hoped that it would receive unanimous approval.

3. Mr. BRAIMAH (Ghana) congratulated the Special Committee of Six, and in particular its Chairman, on the admirable work it had done. His delegation was glad to note that there had been a wide area of agreement on the approach to the problem and the basic principles involved, which had enabled the Committee to reach unanimous conclusions.

4. In the opinion of the delegation of Ghana, the primary task of the Special Committee had been to determine whether the non-European possessions of Spain and Portugal were to be regarded as provinces

of those countries or as Non-Self-Governing Territories and thus whether those two European countries should be regarded as Administering Members with obligations to transmit information under Article 73 e of the Charter.

5. He drew attention to principle IV, and recalled that by a law of 11 June 1951 the status of the Portuguese overseas possessions, which were geographically separate from Portugal and whose populations were ethnically and culturally distinct from the Portuguese, had been changed from that of colonies to that of "overseas provinces". That change in status had not come about as a result of a free and voluntary choice by the people of the territories concerned expressed through informed and democratic processes; the law had not given those peoples the right to determine their internal constitution or taken into account their wishes and their aspirations.

6. The delegation of Ghana had always been of the opinion that Portugal, like other Western European colonial Powers, was engaged in a pure and old-fashioned colonialist and imperialist venture in Africa and Asia. The results of Portuguese colonialist expansion in those areas were no different from those of the actions of any other colonial Power in so far as they had meant domination over alien peoples. His delegation could not, therefore, agree that Portugal by a unilateral act should be allowed to escape the obligations of international accountability which were clearly set forth in Article 73 e of the Charter. The basic question was how the Portuguese themselves viewed their empire. Responsible Portuguese spokesmen fully agreed that Portugal was engaged in an old-fashioned and outmoded imperialist enterprise in their so-called overseas provinces. In the introduction (p. 11) to an official publication of the Portuguese Ministry of Overseas Provinces entitled Inquiry on Anti-Colonialism, published in 1957, the former Portuguese Minister for Overseas Provinces had written:

"It is an accepted fact that a great part of Western Europe has its history, its economy, its people and its very life bound up with Africa. Any acts likely to effect a separation would have direct repercussions on the economic independence of Europe and even in certain cases on the actual political independence of some countries.

"The European nations, so-called, once deprived of their African complement, would ineluctably be heading for ruin. Europe would thus lose her value in the Western alliance.

"...

"Their sovereign rights [i.e., the rights of the Western European Powers] cannot be contested, nor yet may one doubt the benefits accruing to the peoples living therein, independently of their ethnic origins, from a rule and administration based on

the organic structure of the old metropolitan countries with experience, means and strength of character to undertake a mission of progress and civilization which is continuing with assurance and enthusiasm. To try to break this rhythm in favour of granting independence to unqualified population groups, who have no title to preferential rights and, what is worse, would have put forward no claims of this kind had they not been suggested and encouraged from outside—to this, is to render a disservice to Africa and to all her inhabitants. It seems obvious that these peoples would have everything to gain from the continuation of their upward march, with the assistance and guidance, both protective and paternal, of the old metropolitan countries."

7. The philosophy expressed there was one of naked colonialism and imperialism and made a mockery of the Portuguese claim that Angola and Mozambique were provinces of Portugal in exactly the same way as Minho and Beira.

8. Another writer in the same volume dealt at length with the same outmoded and dangerous doctrines. He called for an organization of colonial Powers to safeguard their interests in Africa "despite the deviations, the weaknesses, the imprudence, the errors, — and, let the truth be stated courageously, the cowardice of some" (op. cit., p. 253), presumably referring to some of Portugal's allies which had been forced to liberate some of their colonial possessions. According to the writer, the organization in question should be built up by agreement among the States of Europe that possessed territories in Africa and the old independent or newly formed States of that continent (op. cit., p. 261). Both writers realized that what Portugal held in Africa was held by force and that the days of its imperialist rule in that rapidly changing continent were numbered. It was the assumptions and the words of these writers rather than any legalistic formulas advanced by the Portuguese Government that should be weighed carefully by the Fourth Committee in deciding whether Portugal should transmit information on its possessions in conformity with Article 73 e of the Charter.

9. In her book entitled *Salazar in Portugal*,^{1/} a French writer, Christine Garnier, described how the Prime Minister, when asked what system Portugal had adopted for the government of its overseas territories, had called its policy one of integration and had added that the reversion to the old name of "overseas provinces" did not imply any change of attitude on the part of Portugal as it did in other countries where colonies had become "States overseas". Thus the Prime Minister of Portugal himself admitted that the change in nomenclature meant no change in Portugal's traditional attitude towards its colonies and that the old system of domination and exploitation continued as before. It was that continuation of the old attitude which explained the inconsistencies which arose in practice when the conception of integration came to be applied in the overseas territories. The law regulating the status of the inhabitants of those territories differentiated between the Portuguese citizen and the Portuguese "Native". On that subject Lord Hailey had written that the Portuguese "Citizens" included of course those "civilizados" who had

achieved the full status of citizenship; the Portuguese "Natives" comprised all the inhabitants of the territory who had not reached that status. The Portuguese conceived of Portuguese "Natives" as being in the position of minors who might become full citizens of Portugal when they reached the cultural maturity which entitled them to that standing.^{2/}

10. Needless to say the delegation of Ghana categorically rejected the racist approach which had led Portugal to adopt such an inhuman system of classifying human beings. Once more to quote Lord Hailey, for the purposes of the civil law the affairs of Portuguese "Natives" were regulated by custom and customary law and for administrative purposes they fell under the control of the Native Authorities, subject to the overriding authority of the administrative officers of the Government. In the matter of labour they came under a special régime, the Labour Code. In regard to land, their rights and tenures were regulated by the customary law and not by the "common law". The "Native" as such had no direct representation in the legislative organs of government; until he arrived at the full status of citizen he was compelled to carry an identification book and to show it on demand and he could not move from one locality to another without an authorization, which was duly entered in his identification book.^{3/}

11. It was clear from the above that there was no legal equality between the Portuguese and the people who inhabited their overseas possessions. The classification contravened principle VIII of the Special Committee of Six. It was the contention of the delegation of Ghana that the sharp distinctions which existed made a mockery of the Portuguese concept of integration, which purported to confer equal rights of citizenship on Europeans and Africans. Not only were the indigenous people denied a share in the political life of the territories but there was a real difference in juridical and administrative status between the two categories of inhabitants. The basis for the classification disregarded the rights and the self-respect of those peoples and was designed to destroy their cultural identity.

12. It was clear from what he had said that the participation of the indigenous inhabitants of the Portuguese possessions in the conduct of their affairs was severely limited, if not non-existent. There was no evidence to show that large sections of the population were actively associated with the formulation and implementation of policies affecting their economic, social, educational and political advancement. On the contrary, as Lord Hailey had noted, in all those possessions there was a high degree of centralization in government and administration, which had the effect of placing those possessions in a status of subordination to Portugal since the result was the integration of the economies of the territories in the economic system of Portugal. Hence Portugal could not escape the obligation to transmit information under Article 73 e.

13. Much of what he had said with regard to the Portuguese territories applied with equal force to the territories of Spain in Africa. Lord Hailey had

^{1/} New York, Farrar, Straus and Young, 1954. Translated from the French.

^{2/} Lord Hailey, *An African Survey*, rev. 1956 (Oxford University Press, 1957), p. 562.

^{3/} *Ibid.*

not found much difference between the practices of colonial administration by those two countries.

14. The great movement for freedom and independence which was now sweeping Africa could not be stopped by legal and juridical formulas. Africans and Asians could not be transformed into Portuguese or Spaniards by a mere decree of the Portuguese or Spanish Government. Those two Governments should come to terms with the realities of the twentieth century and take fully into account the aspirations of the peoples for freedom and independence. It was a source of great concern to the delegation of Ghana that Portugal seemed determined actively to resist the great liberation movement in Africa. The so-called overseas provinces could not indefinitely be isolated from the wind of change which was sweeping Africa. Recent events in Nyasaland and the Congo had influenced those who were fighting for freedom in Mozambique and Angola, and recent events in French Africa had had repercussions in so-called Portuguese Guinea. The flight to Ghana of increasing numbers of political refugees from Angola indicated that the nationalist movement in that Territory was being intensified. The continued suppression by the Portuguese authorities of such nationalist movements would only lead to explosions such as had already occurred elsewhere and perhaps even to conflicts which might directly endanger international peace and security. The independent countries of Africa were determined to ensure that formal and legalistic constitutional devices were not invoked as justification for undermining freedom and independence to the Africans inhabiting the so-called Portuguese provinces in Africa. At the Second Conference of Independent African States, held recently at Addis Ababa, those States had resolved to continue to exert concerted action to achieve through all possible means the complete eradication of colonial rule from Africa.

15. His delegation welcomed the report of the Committee of Six; it was now for the Fourth Committee to implement its principles. As a first urgent step the Committee should call upon Portugal and Spain to transmit immediately information in accordance with Article 73 e of the Charter, to free imprisoned nationalist leaders, to refrain from suppressing the national liberation movements in territories under their control and to set a definite date for the emancipation and independence of those territories.

16. Mr. KENNEDY (Ireland), after expressing his appreciation of the work accomplished by the Special Committee of Six, said that his delegation was in general agreement with the clear-cut basic principles which that Committee had evolved. Its report could hardly have come at a more appropriate time, dealing as it did with a crucial Chapter of the Charter concerned with the aims and hopes of millions of people spread over immense geographical areas. The old colonial system was crumbling all over the world and, in his delegation's view, the great importance of the Special Committee's work lay in the fact that it had been responsive to the mighty tide of freedom and social equality and that it had shown the Charter to be a living, evolving instrument, the spirit of which had to be adapted to the rapidly changing contemporary world.

17. His delegation had been encouraged to note that the Special Committee's general approach in formulating the twelve principles had been very similar to

the views expressed by the Irish Government in its memorandum (A/AC.100/1/Add.1, paras. 3-7). That was true in particular of principle IV, the essence of the whole question, which his delegation welcomed and which constituted a sensible, realistic approach to the problem.

18. His delegation trusted that the twelve principles would be embodied in a resolution which would serve as a guide to all the Administering Members in assessing their responsibilities under Article 73 e and that every Member State would take the principles fully into consideration in assessing its obligations to the United Nations. Therein lay the only real hope of orderly and rapid progress towards the goals of the Charter in co-operation with the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories and the other organs of the United Nations. At the current session the Fourth Committee, which meant so much to the smaller countries, was facing a deeply significant issue, to which the task entrusted to the Special Committee of Six was directly related. The issue was whether the progress of recent years was to continue in the immediate years to come in conditions of peace and security within the framework of the United Nations, or whether the organs of the United Nations and the very provisions of the Charter were to be abandoned and an end put to the great endeavours of the Fourth Committee. The Special Committee had shown the way towards orderly progress in the future and his delegation hoped that all Members would sustain and implement the principles it had drawn up.

19. Mr. ZULOAGA (Venezuela) said that, before it produced any draft resolutions to put into effect the twelve principles upon which the Special Committee of Six had unanimously agreed, the Fourth Committee would do well to consider one striking aspect of its recent unanimous approval of three draft resolutions of major importance. While unanimity was a worthy goal, it should not be allowed to obscure any subtle intention to undermine the resolutions and make them ineffectual and impossible to put into effect. On closer examination, it would be seen that the colonial Powers had been skilfully employing the tactics of abstention: either a simple abstention, which passed unnoticed, or abstention with an explanation of vote in which reservations were made that were sometimes more categorical than an outright negative vote would have been. One Power was employing the rather franker method of absenting itself. One of the Powers which systematically abstained in the vote did not even recognize the existence of the Committee on Information while two others managed, by employing certain terms and indulging in some juridical sleight-of-hand, to exclude themselves from the category of Administering Members. While every delegation represented in the Committee had the right to vote in any way it pleased, other delegations were entitled to analyse the votes and to draw their own conclusions about whether or not the resolutions would be duly implemented. The Fourth Committee should therefore endeavour to frame its draft resolutions in precise terms and should not be tempted to aim at a meaningless unanimity.

20. His delegation felt that the remedy for such parliamentary manoeuvres lay in amending the terms of reference of the Committee on Information to take account of the three very important draft resolutions which the Committee had unanimously approved.

21. With regard to the report of the Special Committee of Six (A/4526), his delegation considered that the statement in paragraph 18 that the Charter was a living document and that the obligation under Chapter XI must be viewed in the light of the changing spirit of the times was so important that it should appear in the preamble of every resolution the Committee approved during the current session. In that connexion, it was only fair to point out that some delegations which the previous year had opposed with determination and skill all the draft resolutions proposing the establishment of a committee to examine the principles to guide Members in determining whether or not an obligation existed to transmit information had whole-heartedly co-operated in the work of the Special Committee. There was therefore reason for optimism in regard to "the changing spirit of the times".

22. With regard to principle III, he pointed out that, by signing the Charter and thereby contracting certain international obligations, each Member State had surrendered a portion of its sovereignty and had acquired certain rights and the advantage of the protection of the international Organization, which was especially important to the smaller nations.

23. He would comment at a later stage on the United Kingdom reservation to principle IX, as set out in paragraph 13 of the Special Committee's report. That country's reservation to principle X, recorded in paragraph 15 of the report, was an example of the type of reservation to which he had referred and robbed its approval of the principle of all value.

24. He congratulated the six delegations on their excellent work which, he was confident, would enable the Fourth Committee to put an end to a situation in which the refusal of certain States to transmit information had discredited the United Nations in the eyes of the world, and in particular of the newly independent States and those which were still dependent upon metropolitan States.

25. Mr. LOIZOU (Cyprus) recalled that his country, which had recently won its independence by great sacrifices, honoured and supported all those in every part of the world who were still striving for libera-

tion. It considered that the work of the Fourth Committee, though limited in scope by juridical considerations, was of the utmost importance for the speedy and peaceful accession to independence of all peoples who were still denied their inalienable right to self-determination.

26. His delegation noted with satisfaction the twelve principles specifying and governing the obligation to transmit information under Article 73 e of the Charter, an obligation which could be terminated only when a territory had attained a full measure of self-government. No pretext advanced by any Administering Member could justify its refusal to comply with that legal obligation. Principles VI, VII, VIII and IX provided a clear definition of the term "full measure of self-government" and constituted a complete refutation of the arguments of those Powers who tried to give those words an arbitrary interpretation and who consistently disregarded the importance of the freely expressed will of the dependent peoples in determining their political and constitutional future. His delegation saw in that definition an expression of the principle of self-determination, for the words "free and voluntary choice ... expressed by informed and democratic processes" could have no other meaning.

27. With the foregoing considerations in mind, his delegation welcomed the report and agreed with its main conclusions and observations. He hoped that the report would be accepted by all Member States, particularly those who had hitherto interpreted the Charter in such a way as to serve their own interests and their aim of prolonging their domination over other peoples.

28. His country considered that anything short of the immediate and complete liberation of all peoples was only a form of temporary relief in a case calling for drastic and urgent action. It was unthinkable that in the present age any people should be deprived of freedom. He earnestly hoped that with the realization of the aspirations of all dependent peoples, the work of the Fourth Committee would very soon be brought to an end.

The meeting rose at 11.55 a.m.

United Nations
**GENERAL
ASSEMBLY**

FIFTEENTH SESSION

Official Records



**FOURTH COMMITTEE, 1033rd
MEETING**

Wednesday, 2 November 1960,
at 3.20 p.m.

NEW YORK

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Chairman: Mr. Adnan M. PACHACHI (Iraq).

AGENDA ITEM 38

Study of principles which should guide Members in determining whether or not an obligation exists to transmit the information called for in Article 73 e of the Charter of the United Nations: report of the Special Committee established under General Assembly resolution 1467 (XIV) (A/4526) (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE (continued)

1. Mr. MORSE (United States of America) recalled that his delegation had voted in favour of General Assembly resolution 1467 (XIV). It had also participated in the work of the Special Committee of Six on the Transmission of Information under Article 73 e of the Charter, established under that resolution, and in the drafting of that Committee's report (A/4526).

2. The United States Government had already applied the principles established by the Special Committee of Six in the Territories under its administration. It had regularly transmitted detailed information; in the case of Puerto Rico, Alaska and Hawaii, it had only ceased to do so when the people of those countries had themselves determined their new status.

3. He hoped that the report of the Special Committee of Six would win the approval of the General Assembly, not only because of the logical, reasonable and practical nature of the principles enunciated but also because they had had the unanimous support of the members of the Committee, which could be considered as representative of the General Assembly as a whole. His delegation supported the report of the Special Committee.

4. He would speak again later, when draft resolutions relating to the report were being considered.

5. U TIN MAUNG (Burma) recalled that the General Assembly had been studying the question of the transmission of information under Article 73 e of the Charter for many years. The attitude of Portugal,

which stubbornly refused to transmit information on the territories under its administration, had been a source of considerable concern to the United Nations for many years. The other Administering Members transmitted more or less complete information on their Non-Self-Governing Territories; Portugal did not fulfil the obligation devolving upon it under Article 73 e, under the false pretext that its African possessions were an integral part of Portuguese territory. In the opinion of his delegation, those territories were indeed colonies; they had rightly been called the "Zone of Silence". In refusing to transmit information, Portugal was trying to evade the obligation placed upon it by Article 73 of the Charter to promote to the utmost the well-being of the indigenous inhabitants.

6. Before passing to the examination of the principles set out by the Special Committee of Six, he stressed that the mere solemn proclamation of those principles would not be enough to help the colonized peoples to attain independence or self-government. Much more radical measures were required and his delegation would endorse any draft resolution which was designed to oblige the colonialist Powers to modify their attitude with regard to the Non-Self-Governing Territories.

7. Some Administering Members advanced a number of arguments to explain their refusal to transmit information. They maintained, for example, that a territory could come under the general provisions of Chapter XI without, however, the obligation to transmit information being applicable to it. The General Assembly had never accepted that point of view. His delegation, for its part, was firmly convinced that the provisions of sub-paragraph e could not be isolated from the rest of Article 73 or from the political declaration that Chapter XI constituted. If that fallacious argument were accepted, the transmission of the information referred to in sub-paragraph e would be the ultimate objective, whereas it was only one of the means of achieving the aims set forth in the Charter.

8. The Administering Members also claimed that it was difficult for them to transmit information on territories whose constitutional development, according to them, was highly advanced. Those territories, they said, managed their own internal and external affairs and it was their Governments which should be asked to supply the information referred to in Article 73 e. That argument, however, was inadmissible for two reasons. First, those so-called self-governing or responsible Governments did not represent sovereign States and they had no seat in the United Nations General Assembly or in any other bodies of the international community. Secondly, Article 73 was a contract agreed on between the Administering Members and the rest of the United Nations. It was therefore the responsibility of the Administering Members to

transmit information, and not that of the so-called autonomous Governments of territories which the United Nations had not yet recognized as having attained a full measure of self-government.

9. It was essential that the Administering Members should transmit information, so that the General Assembly not only could ascertain whether they were fulfilling their obligations to the people of the Non-Self-Governing Territories, but could also judge how close those Territories had come to self-government or complete independence. Only by studying the information transmitted by the Administering Members could the General Assembly ascertain whether they were complying with the obligations imposed upon them by Article 73 a, b, c and d. It was therefore regrettable that, despite the encouragement given by the General Assembly, very few of the Administering Members had agreed voluntarily to transmit political information on the Territories under their administration. Similarly, it was deplorable that some Administering Members agreed to transmit information out of respect for the General Assembly but resented the discreet supervision exercised by the United Nations under the Charter.

10. The obligations of Member States under Chapter XI were not limited to Article 73. Under Article 74, the Member States agreed to respect the principle of good neighbourliness, not only in respect of their metropolitan areas but also in regard to the territories for which they assumed responsibility. At a time when the forces of national liberation were spreading on the African continent and throughout the world, the Administering Members could no longer remain silent and stand apart in an attitude of negation, lest they endanger international peace and security.

11. He went on to consider the principles set forth by the Special Committee in section V, part B, of its report. He thought it highly regrettable that although the Committee had adopted its conclusions unanimously some members had expressed reservations with regard to a number of the principles. Those reservations were tantamount to saying both yes and no. The reservation that the representative of the United Kingdom had made in regard to principle IX (A/4526, para. 13) was particularly serious. Integration was such an important step that the people of a territory should have the capacity to make their choice in full knowledge of the facts; they could only do so if they could freely express their wishes through democratic processes, by means of impartial elections based on universal adult suffrage. To deny the inhabitants of the territories the right to decide their future by universal adult suffrage was an insult to their intelligence. Still referring to principle IX, his delegation agreed with the majority of the Special Committee that United Nations supervision might be desirable in some cases, but was not indispensable.

12. With regard to principle I, he wished only to point out that the General Assembly was competent to decide whether or not information should be transmitted on a given territory. It was likewise competent to decide if a territory had attained a full measure of self-government, as mentioned in principle II.

13. Under principle IV, Portugal could no longer consider itself exempt from the obligation to transmit information in respect of the territories under

its administration, since those territories were geographically separate and ethnically and culturally distinct from the metropolitan country.

14. In conclusion, he stated that the peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories were demanding independence more and more vehemently. Africa had recently proclaimed its desire to free itself from the last vestiges of colonialism. Faithful to the noble principles of the Charter, the United Nations was in duty bound to reject the manoeuvres of the colonialists and to promote the liberation of all Non-Self-Governing Territories.

15. Miss SAFFOURI (Jordan) whole-heartedly endorsed the principles set forth in the report of the Special Committee of Six.

16. Her delegation agreed with that Committee that the Charter was a living document and that all the Administering Members must fulfil their obligations under Chapter XI. Moreover, those obligations were not limited to Article 73; the Administering Members were obliged to take into account the provisions of Article 74 also.

17. Without political independence there could be no economic, social or cultural independence. So long as a territory had not attained political independence, the obligations assumed by the administering Power remained valid. The Jordan delegation considered that the contention that no obligation existed for Portugal and Spain to transmit information under Article 73 e was not valid in regard to territories such as Mozambique and Angola, since the integration or association was in fact not free and since the status of the territories, in law and in practice, was not identical with that of the metropolitan countries. Hence the colonial policy of Portugal in that regard was in full contradiction with principles IV, VII and VIII.

18. It was the imperative duty of the United Nations to urge the Governments of Portugal and other Member States to transmit information on the territories under their administration; it should be pointed out, in that connexion, that the General Assembly alone was competent to decide whether a territory was or was not self-governing. The main task of the United Nations in that field was to contribute by every possible means to the speediest attainment of independence of the Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories and thereby implement the Principles and Purposes set forth in the United Nations Charter with regard to those territories.

19. Lastly, she wished to point out that her delegation considered the principles laid down in the Special Committee's report to be a means and not an end. It approved of them only to the extent that they could accelerate the progress of territories towards independence. Jordan's acceptance of those principles should not be taken to mean that it was prepared to agree to any delay in the attainment of independence by the Non-Self-Governing Territories. On the contrary, the independence of those Territories was the objective of the Fourth Committee.

20. Mr. NOGUEIRA (Portugal) reserved the right to reply later to the representatives who had spoken.

21. Mr. NEKLESSA (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) declared that the question now under dis-

cussion was not merely a theoretical, academic controversy. It had arisen because two colonial Powers, Spain and Portugal, refused to fulfil the obligations laid upon them by Chapter XI of the Charter. Those two Powers justified their position by claiming that Chapter XI laid no obligations on Member States, since it confined itself to expressing wishes, and that, above all, there were no Spanish or Portuguese colonies. The Ukrainian delegation, like the majority of the members of the Committee, could not accept either that interpretation of the Charter or that fiction. It had repeatedly affirmed that all Member States which administered colonial territories must be guided by the Purposes and Principles proclaimed in the Charter. The Charter laid international obligations on those States, including the obligation to further the well-being of the indigenous peoples, to develop self-government, and to transmit to the United Nations information on conditions in the colonies.

22. As was clear from principles I, II, III and X, the report of the Special Committee of Six confirmed the international character of the obligations deriving from Chapter XI; it also showed, in principles I and IV, how to distinguish those territories to which the provisions of Chapter XI applied. As the Moroccan representative had observed, the Committee had not mentioned any territory by name; it was evident that, since Administering Members made up half of its membership, it had not wished to offend Spain and Portugal. The fact was that the territories administered by Spain and Portugal were colonies and the Fourth Committee had wasted four years in proving that fact.

23. Taking advantage of the slow pace at which the United Nations was moving in the matter, the Spanish Government, which had originally decided to provide information on its colonies, had later changed its attitude and had declared, through its legislative bodies, that those colonies were now "overseas provinces". A change of name was in reality of little significance if colonial methods and the colonial régime did not disappear.

24. Portugal's dependencies, which were of the same area as Europe and had 11 million inhabitants, were among the oldest colonies in the world. The Portuguese colonizers had of course constantly proclaimed that they were fulfilling a "civilizing mission"; in the days of the ancestors of the present Portuguese colonialists that mission had been called the slave trade. In the course of two centuries 30,000 African slaves had been shipped to America each year from Angola alone. In 1939, Prime Minister Salazar himself had stated that the object of the Portuguese policy, which he called a bold one, was to defend the "inferior races" more effectively. In an issue of *Foreign Affairs* published in 1956, Prime Minister Salazar had expressed the view that most of Africa should remain under the domination of civilized peoples for an indefinite period.

25. What had been the fruits of that "civilizing mission" in the Portuguese colonies? No one could now be ignorant of the wretched system prevailing in Angola and Mozambique: the absence of political rights; restrictions on freedom of movement; a lack of doctors—one to every 80,000 inhabitants in Angola and 149 out of 6 million inhabitants in Mozambique;

almost universal illiteracy, amounting to 99 per cent in Angola; forced labour—Portugal had long refused to sign the ILO Convention concerning the Abolition of Forced Labour; inhuman employment contracts involving the breaking up of families; corporal punishment and the like. Only 30,000 Angolans had been able to satisfy the conditions demanded by the "assimilation" law passed in 1917. At that rate, it would take more than 70,000 years for all the inhabitants of the territory to be assimilated. With its so-called policy of assimilation Portugal was concealing its policy of oppression of 11 million Africans. Moreover, assimilation signified in practice the application of the racist theory of the superiority of the white man and his civilization and the destruction of the African culture, for in order to be assimilated and to acquire the rights of citizenship Africans had to renounce their own culture, read and write Portuguese and adopt the Portuguese way of life. The equality which should theoretically have existed since 1951 between the metropolitan country and its so-called overseas provinces was simply a delusion: the governors and the governors-general had very wide discretionary powers and paid no heed, in practice, to the opinions of the legislative councils, which were composed of equal numbers of elected members and nominated members and included only a few so-called assimilated inhabitants. The Portuguese Government itself acknowledged that its rule in the overseas provinces was a "benevolent dictatorship".

26. In response to the intensification of oppression by the Portuguese colonialists and the foreign monopolies with which they were allied, the peoples of Angola and Mozambique had recently begun to demand more and more insistently the immediate granting of independence to their respective countries; to hold back that movement the Portuguese Government had instituted a reign of terror, arresting and torturing the leaders of the national movements and sending them to concentration camps; it was sending out reinforcements and was starting to construct aerodromes. The Portuguese colonial Press was publishing articles about the "enormous firepower available in the colonies for the purpose of destroying the agents of international communism". The countries of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization gave their support to Spain and Portugal for very obvious reasons: according to *The New York Times* of 25 October, a former Portuguese Minister for Foreign Affairs had asked the United States to continue to support Portugal in the United Nations, with the very apposite reminder that his country had given the United States military bases in the Azores. At the present time, Portuguese military circles were trying to have United States legislation with regard to military aid amended so that it would be possible to use American arms in Africa. According to a dispatch published in the United States Press at the time of the visit made to Portugal by the President of the United States, the President had stated that the United States and Portugal were working together without any differences of opinion.

27. The CHAIRMAN, intervening on a point of order raised by Mr. NOGUEIRA (Portugal), requested the representative of the Ukrainian SSR to keep to the point under discussion.

28. Mr. NEKLESSA (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic), continuing his statement, said that Portuguese

capital, which had been predominant until recently, was tending to give way to American, British and Belgian capital, invested in the leading branches of agriculture and the mining industries; for example, the American oil company in Mozambique had obtained a huge concession and prospecting licences from the Portuguese Government.

29. The Governor-General of Angola had stated that there could be no question of giving self-government or independence to the territory and that the Portuguese authorities would take care that the present situation was maintained. The indigenous people were well aware, however, that that situation could not go on. There was no doubt that if, on their side, the Spanish and Portuguese Governments, in the face of the events taking place on the African continent, accepted the fact that the complete abolition of colonies was inevitable and took measures accordingly, they would avoid very unpleasant consequences. If they did not, the people of the colonies would themselves throw off the colonial yoke, throw off the shackles of slavery, just as their brothers in the neighbouring colonies had done. The liquidation of colonialism was to be discussed by the General Assembly in plenary session: it was essential that the United Nations should decide upon immediate independence for all colonies, including those of Portugal and Spain. The problem was not merely a theoretical one and it should not be a matter solely for oratorical contests on legal points: it required a practical and immediate conclusion, which could only be the immediate independence of the colonies of Portugal and Spain together with the other colonies, as proposed in the draft declaration submitted by the delegation of the Soviet Union (A/4502 and Corr.1) for consideration by the General Assembly at its fifteenth session.

30. Mr. DIALLO (Mali) expressed his delegation's congratulations to the members of the Special Committee of Six, who had managed to set out in a clear, concise and thorough report the guiding principles which would enable Member States to determine whether or not an obligation existed to transmit the information called for in Article 73 e of the Charter. Spain and Portugal, which refused to transmit information on the territories which they administered, must finally realize that their chauvinistic machiavellianism was a weapon of despair which could no longer protect them. The United Nations had merely requested information in order that it might know what progress was being made in the Non-Self-Governing Territories; by refusing to give that information, Spain and Portugal made it clear that they were not easy in their conscience. Their refusal further increased and intensified the responsibility of the United Nations towards the oppressed peoples which were struggling for freedom and which placed their trust and their hopes in the Purposes and Principles proclaimed in the Charter.

31. The Portuguese Government claimed that Portugal had no colonies. Yet in 1957, 750,000 inhabitants of Angola had been subjected to forced labour; in 1959, three patriots of Angola had been executed merely because they had asked that basic human rights should be respected. The very term "colonies" had appeared in the Portuguese Constitution until 11 June 1951, when it had been replaced by the term "overseas provinces". At the previous meeting the

Ghanaian representative had described the political and social conditions of Africans in the Portuguese colonies. The black population was classified into "non-civilized" and "civilized" persons, the latter being those closest to the Portuguese masters. No indigenous person could be elected; if he had voting rights, they could be used only to elect a Portuguese citizen; the authorities mercilessly imprisoned, tortured, exiled or killed those indigenous inhabitants who had succeeded in acquiring a certain degree of education. The United Nations therefore had a heavy moral and humanitarian obligation towards the liberation movements which had sprung up in the last two years in the Portuguese territories and which were suffering the onslaught of the Portuguese troops; it should be realized, however, that the combined armies of the whole world could never keep a people in slavery.

32. The Mali delegation fully subscribed to the principles and conclusions in the report of the Special Committee of Six; it hoped that the draft resolution that the Fourth Committee would approve would condemn those Powers which refused to supply information on human beings to whose plight the rest of the world could not remain indifferent. Portugal was well aware of that risk, for according to a press dispatch the Administration of Angola had for some time been subjecting political prisoners to strong pressure to compel them to protest against any resolution adopted by the General Assembly. Portugal declared that it would never leave Africa, claiming that its departure would open the door to the exploitation of blacks by blacks. For his own part, he was convinced that Portugal would indeed leave Africa, for it was impossible for one human being, whether black or white, to go on indefinitely exploiting another human being.

33. Mr. KIANG (China) said that the obligation to transmit information presented two problems which the General Assembly had been trying to solve since 1951. The first was to define what constituted a Non-Self-Governing Territory and the second, to determine the point at which such a Territory had achieved self-government or independence. The General Assembly had examined those questions in terms of the factors to be taken into account in deciding whether a Territory had attained a full measure of self-government, and it had been generally agreed that no enumeration of factors could do more than serve as a guide, since each case would have to be considered on its own merits. But what authority was to decide that the transmittal of information should cease? There had been no agreement on that point: the majority of Administering Members maintained that the competence to take that decision lay exclusively with them while the great majority of non-administering Members thought that the General Assembly should have the authority, either exclusively or jointly with the Administering Member concerned, to decide whether a Territory had ceased to be non-self-governing within the meaning of Chapter XI of the Charter. In spite of that difference of opinion all countries admitted that Chapter XI was not only a declaration of principles—which required all Member States to recognize the principle that the interests of the inhabitants of Non-Self-Governing Territories were paramount—but also a declaration of obligations accepted by Member States administering Non-Self-Governing Territories. In order to ensure respect

for those obligations the Administering Members were urged to transmit statistical information, subject to such limitation as security and constitutional considerations might require.

34. His delegation had always believed that it was for the General Assembly to determine collectively the interpretation to be given to the term "Non-Self-Governing Territories" and "territories whose peoples have not yet attained a full measure of self-government". It therefore endorsed the principles laid down in the report of the Special Committee of Six for the guidance of the General Assembly in determining whether or not an obligation existed to transmit information. It would be dogmatic to argue that a definition of those principles was unnecessary. Such a definition would certainly be of value if it had the effect of changing certain rigid positions adopted since 1952 and 1953.

35. Mr. GUARDADO (El Salvador) wished to associate himself with the representatives who had congratulated the Special Committee of Six on its concise report, which would guide the Assembly in its implementation of the fundamental principles of the Charter. The work of that Committee had unfortunately not been in time to prevent certain regrettable developments which ran counter to the ideas proclaimed at the San Francisco Conference. His delegation regretted that the debate had not been confined to a legal study of the principles defined by the Special Committee but had extended to the application of those principles to particular cases like those of Spain and Portugal.

36. Since there had been no criticism of the report of the Special Committee, he moved the closure of the debate under article 118 of the rules of procedure.

37. Mr. KANAKARATNE (Ceylon) expressed astonishment at such a strange proposal so early in the debate. The Committee had not even devoted three full meetings to consideration of the report of the Special Committee of Six, which had only been introduced in the Fourth Committee at the 1031st meeting. His own delegation wished to study closely both the report and the interventions made thus far before stating its views. Any attempt to prevent delegations from speaking on so important a matter would be a serious encroachment upon freedom of discussion. The representative of El Salvador believed that the Committee should confine itself to the legal aspect of the problem. While the Committee must naturally concern itself with the principles laid down by the Special Committee of Six, the item under discussion was not an academic topic but a serious problem which the United Nations had been studying for several years. Sooner or later those principles would have to be applied, and without taking any stand at that stage on the situation in a given territory as depicted by certain representatives, his delegation would submit its views on the manner, time and place of their application. It should be given an opportunity for doing so. For that reason he strongly opposed the motion for closure.

38. Mr. Krishna MENON (India) pointed out that the report of the Special Committee of Six had only been before the Fourth Committee since the previous day. The latter would certainly need as much time to con-

sider the report as the Special Committee had spent on its drafting. If the debate was closed immediately, the Fourth Committee would be unable to approve any draft resolution, as the delegations had had no opportunity to consult each other. That would be all the more regrettable since the item under discussion had been occupying the United Nations for a long time. The Committee should trace the problem back to its origins, namely to the drawing up of the Charter, whose authors had obviously intended to impose on Members administering Non-Self-Governing Territories similar obligations to those imposed on Authorities administering Trust Territories. Since those Members had received a sacred trust, they should be accountable for their actions to the international community. The Committee should not be content with an academic discussion of the principles involved but should decide how and in what circumstances they should be applied in order to avoid any violation of the Charter. He therefore hoped that the Committee would be able to go on with its work in the normal way.

39. Mr. GUARDADO (El Salvador) said that he had merely wished to draw the Committee's attention to the need for concentrating the debate on the principles laid down in the report because he feared that premature discussion of their application to any given country might jeopardize the success of many years' work in the United Nations. He was now confident that he had achieved that purpose and would withdraw his motion.

40. Mr. SALAMANCA (Bolivia) stressed the complex nature of the legal and political problem before the Committee. It was indeed difficult to say what constituted a nation. Certain countries were born weak and gradually gained strength; others had long-standing problems in the shape of minorities or regions difficult to integrate with the national community. A nation was a continual creation and might only represent in effect the will of a certain group to become a nation. The Committee must of course make sure that the will of such groups was not ignored, but it should not approve a draft resolution which would only have the effect of creating a climate of tension.

41. The principles laid down in the report of the Special Committee of Six raised very delicate problems; it might be fair to ask, for instance, how many independent States where the people were completely self-governing were to be found in the world of today. The essential thing was not to try to make all territories independent even if they had only a minute population but to ensure that human rights were everywhere respected. In discussing a report of such vast scope the representatives could obviously quote all the examples and mention all the territories they wished, but they should bear in mind that a general declaration must not be used as a weapon against one or two countries. The value of such a text would lie in its unanimous acceptance. The Fourth Committee would have to adopt the principles of the Special Committee of Six and see how they could be implemented before it could decide whether any given country was right or wrong to refuse to transmit information. For the time being any condemnation was premature.

The meeting rose at 5.30 p.m.

United Nations
**GENERAL
ASSEMBLY**

FIFTEENTH SESSION

Official Records

**FOURTH COMMITTEE, 1034th
MEETING**

Wednesday, 3 November 1960,
at 11 a.m.



NEW YORK

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Chairman: Mr. Adnan M. PACHACHI (Iraq).

AGENDA ITEM 38

Study of principles which should guide Members in determining whether or not an obligation exists to transmit the information called for in Article 73 e of the Charter of the United Nations: report of the Special Committee established under General Assembly resolution 1467 (XIV) (A/4526) (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE (continued)

1. Miss BROOKS (Liberia) said that for a number of years the Liberian and other delegations had tried to impress upon the General Assembly the need for establishing a committee which would impartially and objectively enumerate principles on the basis of which Members which administered overseas territories could be asked to account for the administration of those territories before the international forum, in accordance with the terms of Chapter XI of the Charter. All attempts in that direction had been consistently frustrated until at its fourteenth session the General Assembly had decided that a study of such principles was advisable and necessary. As a consequence of the adoption of General Assembly resolution 1467 (XIV), a six-member committee had been appointed whose composition gave the assurance of impartiality and whose report (A/4526) represented the points of view of both administering and non-administering Powers.

2. On many occasions in the past the question had been asked in the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories, the Fourth Committee and the General Assembly whether there were any Member States which administered territories on which information under Article 73 e of the Charter was due but had not been forthcoming. The question had never received an authoritative reply; some delegations had given an affirmative answer, while others had asserted that the Assembly possessed no instrument on which a categorical ruling could be based. The factors outlined in General Assembly resolution 742 (VIII) had been considered by some to be in-

applicable, since they had been intended to cover the cessation of the transmission of information rather than the obligation to transmit information under Article 73 e. Furthermore it had been contended that Article 73 e contained a limitative clause relating to security and constitutional considerations and also that under Article 2, paragraph 7, the administration of territories was a matter of domestic jurisdiction and therefore outside the competence of the United Nations.

3. The principles set forth in section V, part B, of the report of the Special Committee of Six on the Transmission of Information under Article 73 e of the Charter (A/4526) would finally refute those contentions. If the Fourth Committee or any of its members felt that a legal instrument was needed defining the accountability of Members for the administration of dependent territories, such a legal instrument had been provided by the report of the Special Committee of Six. Although her delegation was not in favour of legal disputations about questions that by nature were not necessarily legal, it was glad to have available a well-documented instrument to strengthen its position in a matter which was fraught with political dangers and consequences.

4. Nothing in the principles enunciated by the Special Committee could cause her delegation to have any doubts that Portugal was an Administering Member in the fullest sense of the term and that the territories administered by the Portuguese Government were territories on which information should be transmitted without delay, in compliance with Article 73 e of the Charter. Even had her delegation's position not been strengthened and corroborated by the existence of the legal document, it would not have hesitated to address to the Government of Portugal an earnest appeal to fulfil its obligations. The political situation in the world, and more particularly in Africa, was such that the question of international responsibility for the administration of the Portuguese territories had become a matter of the utmost urgency. She felt that it would be a disservice not only to the United Nations, to Africa and to the whole world, but even to Portugal itself, not to insist that that country should take account of the present dangerous situation and relinquish its intransigent attitude for the sake of world peace.

5. The tide of African nationalism and the demand of the oppressed countries to stand on their own feet and be masters of their own affairs could no longer be treated as a matter of legal niceties and constitutional subtleties. There was an abundance of material available from Angola, Mozambique and dependent Guinea relating to the situation of the indigenous populations there and the determination of the people to obtain freedom by any means that were available to them. She would not dwell on the conditions prevailing in the territories under Portuguese adminis-

tration, for those conditions were well known and the facts could be found in many books, pamphlets and newspapers. The representative of Portugal had in the past vigorously denied the facts but no documentation had been produced to corroborate such denials.

6. In its reply to the Secretary-General (A/AC.100/1, paras. 143-162) in compliance with General Assembly resolution 1467 (XIV), the Portuguese Government had given a learned interpretation of the meaning of the word "Declaration" as the title of Chapter XI of the Charter, had upheld the competence of the State concerned as opposed to that of the General Assembly and had drawn a subtle distinction between the political status of territories and that of peoples. The time for such legal quibbles was past. If the Portuguese Government needed a legal document it had one in the report of the Special Committee of Six. However minutely any of the principles put forward by the Special Committee was examined, the conclusion must be that information on the territories under Portuguese administration was called for. The reality of the situation was more compelling than nice legal points. The fact that the Portuguese territories came within the purview of Chapter XI of the Charter was confirmed by the twelve principles, regardless of what their status might be according to the Constitution of Portugal. The territories were geographically separate and ethnically and culturally distinct from the country which administered them, in accordance with the terms of principle IV. They were not freely associated with an independent State, within the meaning of principle VII, or integrated into an independent State within the meaning of principles VIII or IX.

7. The question of constitutional limitation had been raised by the representative of Portugal on two previous occasions but in the light of the Portuguese reply to the Secretary-General's note that point would seem to have been abandoned by the Portuguese Government and she would therefore not dwell on it. The question of non-interference by the United Nations in Portugal's domestic affairs was much more fully covered in its reply. Her delegation had, however, already established the need for international accountability. The lesson of the former Belgian Congo had contributed much to Liberia's justified fears in that respect and the Government of Portugal would do well to heed that bitter lesson.

8. The General Assembly, her delegation submitted, had no choice but to request the Government of Portugal to implement the obligations it had undertaken in joining the United Nations. Furthermore, the General Assembly should recommend to the Government of Portugal that it should advance with the tide of history and see that the territories under its administration and the peoples under its rule in Africa and Asia were delivered from Portuguese administration and joined the community of free nations. Such a recommendation would be in accordance with the reality of the situation as it was today and as it would develop in the near future—perhaps nearer than anyone could foresee. The forecasts made five years earlier, or even less, regarding the date of the attainment of independence by dependent peoples had shown an astonishing lack of foresight on the part of certain Governments. There had been a great change from the spirit that had prevailed in the Fourth Committee and in the Committee on Information a few years earlier, when certain Administering Members had

taken their stand on the principle of non-interference by the United Nations in the domestic affairs of States. Her delegation was glad to see that change and appreciated the wisdom of those Administering Members which had in fact and in practice accepted international responsibility for the administration of dependent territories and had adjusted their policies to the facts. It was to be hoped that a similar change, but a more rapid one, would take place on the part of the Portuguese Government.

9. With regard to the application of the principles enunciated by the Committee of Six to the territories administered by Spain, she thought that members of the Fourth Committee would agree that while the approach of the Spanish Government to the question of transmitting information with respect to the territories it administered was rather different from that of Portugal, the final result was the same. At the 670th meeting of the Fourth Committee, during the twelfth session of the General Assembly, the representative of Spain had stated that Spain's reply to the communication addressed by the Secretary-General to the new Member States in connexion with obligations under Article 73 of the Charter would be received in due course and that it would be entirely in accordance with the spirit of the Charter. Later the Spanish Government, through its Permanent Mission, had confirmed that statement^{1/} and had announced that the reply of Spain was under consideration and would shortly be transmitted to the Secretary-General and that it would be in keeping with the spirit of the Charter. In November 1958, however, the Spanish Government, through its Permanent Mission, had informed the Secretary-General^{2/} that Spain possessed no Non-Self-Governing Territories, since the territories subject to its sovereignty in Africa were classified as provinces of Spain and that consequently the Spanish Government did not regard itself as affected by Article 73.

10. The delegation of Liberia could never accept the principle that an administering State could by legislation deprive the dependent people it administered of their rights as guaranteed under the Charter; such action was in fact diametrically opposed to principles VI, VII, VIII and IX of the Special Committee of Six. Thus it was the duty of the General Assembly to call upon Spain to fulfil its obligations under the Charter in connexion with the territories it administered.

11. Her delegation was happy that many of the Non-Self-Governing Territories on which France had formerly transmitted information had joined the United Nations as independent States. Her delegation was, however, concerned about the territory commonly called French Somaliland. It considered that the United Nations should be informed by France of the exact conditions and status of that territory. If by the sixteenth session of the General Assembly French Somaliland had not obtained independent status, her delegation felt that France should be obliged to transmit information concerning that territory and to state specifically when it would attain independence.

12. On behalf of the millions of dependent peoples everywhere, the majority of whom dwelt in the conti-

^{1/} See A/C.4/375.

^{2/} See A/C.4/385/Rev.1.

ment of Africa, she appealed to Portugal, Spain and every colonial Power to direct their efforts towards the fulfilment of the provisions of the Charter and in doing so to accelerate their plans so that in the very near future all dependent people would be liberated and take their rightful place among the free nations of the world.

13. Mr. DIALLO (Mali), replying to the remarks made by the Bolivian representative at the 1033rd meeting, said that his delegation felt that it was its duty, in furthering the cause of justice and peace, to denounce the abominable practices of certain Powers, not in a spirit of malice but in order to save the United Nations from being considered an accomplice in the crimes committed by Portugal and Spain, which ignored the moral principles proclaimed by the United Nations.

14. Mr. Najmuddine RIFAI (United Arab Republic) said that the Committee would be well advised to concentrate on the principles elaborated by the Special Committee of Six; after adopting those principles, it could then proceed to investigate their application.

15. From the earliest days of the United Nations there had been arguments about the interpretation of Chapter XI of the Charter. With the passage of time, the legal position of some of the administering Powers had undergone a commendable change and the gap between the two opposing views had been narrowed. The Committee of Six had done its work well; his delegation fully endorsed both its findings and the principles set out in its report, which entirely confirmed the views it had unswervingly upheld, and it trusted that no more would be heard of the untenable thesis that the transmission of information was a purely voluntary act depending solely on the Administering Member concerned. The principles had the added advantage of providing the General Assembly with criteria which would enable it to determine whether or not any given territory was self-governing. Accordingly, the Administering Members could no longer sustain the argument that it was their prerogative to decide that point; that argument had been shown to be invalid from the legal point of view. Nor could it any longer be maintained that responsibility was not collective and that the General Assembly was not competent to decide whether or not an obligation to transmit information about a given territory existed.

16. Events had rendered discussion about the legal interpretation of Chapter XI increasingly unreal. He wondered what the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and many other territories would say if they heard that the United Nations was engaged in an academic discussion of that subject. At a time when many former dependent territories had become sovereign States, it was disheartening to find that, on the basis either of treaties which had invariably been imposed rather than negotiated or of certain constitutional provisions about which the colonial peoples had never been consulted, there were colonial Powers who still maintained that certain territories were outside the purview of Chapter XI of the Charter. Such an attitude was a danger to peace and was indeed harmful to those who upheld it.

17. The events occurring in the central part of northern Africa showed what was bound to happen

in other colonial territories if considerations of fictitious legality were allowed to stand in the way of the tide of freedom. He appealed to the representatives of Spain and Portugal and to the other Administering Members to heed the lessons of history and not to try and prolong the life of a dying system; for no amount of legal verbiage or of twisting the meaning of the Charter could change reality. The peoples of Angola, Mozambique and other territories alleged to be fully self-governing and to be integral parts of the metropolitan country showed signs of holding views which did not tally with the views held by Portugal and Spain. That was because they had a different history and different racial and cultural characteristics, facts which no amount of legal assertion could alter. It was the Committee's duty to act speedily lest events overtook it.

18. Miss SHELTON (Cuba) said that, in view of the many debates and the different points of view held in the Fourth Committee on the question of the interpretation of Chapter XI of the Charter, the clear and precise report of the Special Committee of Six was particularly welcome.

19. Her delegation, which had voted in favour of General Assembly resolution 1467 (XIV) setting up the Special Committee, endorsed the statement in paragraph 17 of the report that independence was among the rightful aspirations of every nation, the fulfilment of which was an important factor in the preservation of international peace and security. The wind of change referred to by various representatives in the Committee had brought with it a clarion call for independence. Evidence of that was the presence in the Committee of a number of representatives of States which had recently been liberated from colonialism: her delegation welcomed their liberation with great joy, for Cuba had always championed the equality of rights of all peoples and their right to representation in the international community. It agreed with the statement in paragraph 18 of the Special Committee's report that the Charter was a living document and the obligations under Chapter XI must be viewed in the light of the changing spirit of the times.

20. In its twelve principles the Special Committee had given a clear and precise interpretation of Chapter XI, and especially Article 73 e. She would not comment on those principles, for there was little to add to what had already been said by previous speakers, and particularly by the Indian and Mexican representatives at the 1031st meeting, in their brilliant statements on the subject.

21. She associated herself with the Liberian representative in paying a tribute to Mr. Espinosa y Prieto of Mexico, whose conciliatory spirit, clear thinking and wide knowledge had contributed much to the success of the Fourth Committee's work, especially on the item at present before it.

22. Mr. THAPA (Nepal) said that he was glad to see from the Special Committee's report how large an area of agreement there was between the different groups of Member States even on seemingly controversial questions. The report reflected the spirit of understanding and compromise shown by the administering and the non-administering Powers. Although the stresses and strains of compromise were visible

in certain passages, it was a good, practical report and a good basis for the Fourth Committee's work.

23. The validity of Article 73 of the Charter derived from its contribution to world peace. With the growth of nationalism in the colonies, it had been felt that the United Nations could establish peace only if it declared itself positively on the side of self-government. To keep a large part of the world's population in a dependent status from which it wished to free itself would be a threat to world peace. Article 73 must be interpreted in that context. When it was so interpreted, there appeared to be no limitations on the obligation to transmit information regarding any Non-Self-Governing Territory.

24. Moreover, Chapter XI was an expression of the human conscience, as it had developed after the bitter experience of the Second World War, in relation to the peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories. The conscience of the world community as expressed in the Charter rejected any type of dependent status as a permanent solution. The United Nations therefore had a sacred responsibility and must work increasingly for the promotion of self-government in all the Non-Self-Governing Territories through the political, economic, social and educational advancement of those peoples. It could not properly discharge that responsibility without the possession of reliable and comprehensive information on the actual state of affairs obtaining in the Territories.

25. Some Member States, however, were not prepared to interpret that Article as liberally as his delegation would wish. No information had been supplied, for example, on Goa, Angola, Mozambique and other territories. In some cases political and constitutional difficulties were cited as an excuse for not transmitting information. In his delegation's opinion, where such difficulties existed the constitutional position should be adjusted to comply with the spirit of the Charter, rather than the spirit of the Charter being strained to accommodate a constitutional position which no longer accorded with it.

26. His delegation would have been happier if there had been no need to enunciate principles and if information had been transmitted on all Non-Self-Governing Territories. In the absence of such information, however, the next best thing was for the Committee to clarify the position by the enunciation of principles.

27. Principle I asserted that all colonial territories that had existed at the time of the drafting of the Charter were covered by Chapter XI; an absolute obligation existed to transmit information on each territory until it attained self-government either through association, integration or emergence as a sovereign and independent State. If there were any limitations to that obligation they pertained only to the granting of the information and not to the obligation itself.

28. His delegation hoped that the principles would be adopted and that the Member States which had refused to transmit information would reconsider their position.

Mr. Ortiz de Rozas (Argentina), Vice-Chairman, took the Chair.

29. Mr. KUCHAVA (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said that it would be a useless exercise for the Committee to embark on an academic discussion of the report of the Special Committee of Six, which was the result of the Fourth Committee's inertia in past years. It was a well-known fact that Spain and Portugal, in violation of the Charter, had refused to provide information regarding their colonies and that with the support of other colonial Powers, they had several times succeeded in preventing the adoption of a definite decision to the effect that they were bound by the obligations laid down in Chapter XI of the Charter. In the end, and to a large extent on the initiative of the United Kingdom representative, the General Assembly had adopted resolution 1467 (XIV) and the Committee of Six had been set up.

30. To his delegation, like many others, it had always been perfectly clear that any legal investigation was pointless, since Angola, Mozambique, so-called Portuguese Guinea, Cape Verde and the Islands of São Tomé and Príncipe were colonies of Portugal, and that Ifni, the so-called Spanish Sahara, and the Canary Islands were colonies of Spain, acquired in all cases by military conquest leading to the enslavement of their peoples. Those facts were known to any schoolboy, yet the adult representatives of the colonial Powers were trying to pretend that those territories were an integral part of the metropolitan countries concerned. That attitude deceived no one and it was useless for Spain and Portugal to try to absorb those territories by calling them provinces of the metropolitan country. At a time when the national liberation movement of the colonized peoples had reached a decisive stage, the only realistic approach was the complete liquidation of colonialism, and the General Assembly would soon be considering a declaration to that effect. Were Portugal and Spain to be exceptions? Was the General Assembly to agree tacitly to the continuation of colonialism in their territories? It was obvious that the contentions of Spain and Portugal were fallacious, and his delegation regretted that the United Nations had taken several years to discover the fact. The basic objective now was not to ascertain whether the Spanish and Portuguese territories were colonies but to bring all colonial domination to an immediate end in both the Non-Self-Governing Territories and the Trust Territories; that included the Spanish and Portuguese colonies.

31. The Committee should not waste time discussing general principles, but should rather try and keep pace with events. It should immediately take note of the fact that since 1955, when Spain and Portugal had become Member States, they had been under an unconditional obligation under Article 73 of the Charter to transmit information about their colonies. Next, the General Assembly should deal with the vital question of the grant of independence to all Non-Self-Governing Territories, including those of Spain and Portugal, where so many millions of indigenous inhabitants were deprived of all rights and were the victims of cruel oppression.

32. The Spanish and Portuguese had often spoken of their "civilizing mission", as if they were bringing culture and civilization to "inferior" races but if their deeds rather than their words were examined an altogether different picture emerged. There was no information to show that industries were being

established in Angola or Mozambique, that rapid economic progress was being made, or that the level of living and the literacy rate were being raised; on the contrary, despite strict Press censorship, reports showed that the African population had been deprived of its rights, that patriotic organizations were being persecuted and that the indigenous inhabitants lived in conditions of slavery.

33. By an amendment to the Portuguese Constitution made on 11 June 1951, the Portuguese colonies had become "overseas provinces" of Portugal, but their situation had remained exactly the same. Neither the colonies nor their inhabitants enjoyed equal rights with the metropolitan country; indeed, the indigenous population was subjected to cruel racial discrimination. The indigenous inhabitants were divided into "assimilated" and "non-assimilated" groups and under the law an African could rise to assimilated status only if he knew the Portuguese language, became a Catholic, possessed a certain amount of money and was prepared to reject local customs, culture and traditions and to live like a European. An African who fulfilled those conditions was given the right to Portuguese citizenship, and a Portuguese passport, he could vote and his children could receive education. Thus the policy of assimilation was a convenient means by which the Portuguese colonialists oppressed 11 million Africans. After five hundred years of Portuguese occupation, only 0.3 per cent of the Africans had been assimilated; the others enjoyed no political or civil rights, nor were they represented in any of the administrative or legislative organs of the metropolitan country. They were required to carry identity cards at all times, they could not move from one place to another without special permission and they enjoyed no protection under the law. They could be driven from their land and impressed into forced labour, which was in fact slave labour. Each year male indigenous inhabitants were required to contribute six months of compulsory labour. In the Portuguese colonies only overt slavery was prohibited: all other forms of enslavement not only were not forbidden, but were even legal. An organized trade in indigenous inhabitants went on in Mozambique under the guise of contract labour. Under the Mozambique Convention of 1928, 100,000 Africans from Mozambique were sent to the Union of South Africa each year and some 100,000 to Rhodesia and

Nyasaland. There was a special government organ to recruit manpower for the Transvaal mines. The majority of those recruited died either en route, from disease, malnutrition or epidemics, or from work in the mines. In its issue of 8 April 1960, *The Manchester Guardian* had said that over the past twenty years forced labour had been playing a constantly increasing part in Mozambique and Angola.

34. That cruel colonial exploitation had reduced the indigenous populations of the Spanish and Portuguese territories to starvation and misery. Indeed, the colonial régime had brought them nothing but suffering. Why did approximately one out of every two newborn infants die in its first year in Mozambique? Why were 99 per cent of the indigenous population of Angola, Mozambique and other Portuguese colonies still illiterate after 500 years of "enlightened" administration and "civilization"? Surely no further proof was needed that the colonial régime constituted a major obstacle to the progress of the populations of the Portuguese, Spanish and other colonies. That obstacle must be removed immediately and the necessary conditions created for the economic, social and educational development of those peoples. The colonial Powers had often spoken of the "white man's burden"; the time had come to liberate them from that burden, but most of all to liberate the colonial peoples from their tutelage.

35. The USSR delegation called upon the Fourth Committee to decide formally that the Portuguese and Spanish colonies were Non-Self-Governing Territories, that Portugal and Spain bore full responsibility for implementing the obligations outlined in the Charter, and that the present and future resolutions of the General Assembly concerning the fulfilment of the purposes and principles of the Charter in regard to the Non-Self-Governing Territories and the immediate and complete liquidation of the colonial system in those Territories applied to the Spanish and Portuguese territories.

36. The Fourth Committee had already wasted much time in studying procedural and formal questions; the time had come for it to take an immediate decision on liberating the colonial peoples from the hated colonial régime.

The meeting rose at 12.35 p.m.

United Nations
**GENERAL
ASSEMBLY**

FIFTEENTH SESSION

Official Records

**FOURTH COMMITTEE, 1035th
MEETING**

Thursday, 3 November 1960,
at 3.25 p.m.



NEW YORK

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Agenda item 38:

Study of principles which should guide Members in determining whether or not an obligation exists to transmit the information called for in Article 73 e of the Charter of the United Nations: report of the Special Committee established under General Assembly resolution 1467 (XIV) (continued)
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Chairman: Mr. Adnan M. PACHACHI (Iraq).

In the absence of the Chairman, Mr. Ortiz de Rozas (Argentina), Vice-Chairman, took the Chair.

AGENDA ITEM 38

Study of principles which should guide Members in determining whether or not an obligation exists to transmit the information called for in Article 73 e of the Charter of the United Nations: report of the Special Committee established under General Assembly resolution 1467 (XIV) (A/4526) (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE (continued)

1. Mr. HUSAIN (Pakistan) said that for the moment he would confine his remarks to the principles enunciated by the Special Committee of Six on the Transmission of Information under Article 73 e of the Charter in section V, part B, of its report (A/4526); he would have an opportunity at a later stage to discuss the application of those principles to particular territories.

2. The only means that the United Nations possessed for securing ultimate self-government for the Non-Self-Governing Territories, the goal it had boldly set itself in Chapter XI of the Charter, was to request the Administering Members to keep it informed of the economic, social and educational development of those Territories. That means had proved to be a powerful weapon enabling the United Nations to keep a close watch over the situation. Advancement in the economic, social and educational fields had spurred on political progress and many Territories had attained independence as a result of the watchfulness of the small nations and the good will of a number of administering Powers.

3. Some Members, however, had refused to provide that information. They had argued that certain territories did not come within the scope of Chapter XI or that others were already self-governing, because the

Charter failed to specify what constituted a Non-Self-Governing Territory. The General Assembly had previously decided that an Administering Member would not cease to have an obligation to transmit information in respect of a territory until that territory had attained a full measure of self-government and had made it clear that it was for the Assembly alone to determine, on the basis of certain criteria laid down in General Assembly resolution 742 (VIII), whether a given territory had reached that stage. The Special Committee of Six, reproducing the basic concepts of resolution 742 (VIII) in a more coherent form and a more logical order, had defined the principles which should serve as a guide in determining whether or not an obligation existed to transmit information.

4. Although it reserved the right to suggest some changes, the Pakistan delegation generally endorsed the Special Committee's recommendations. It agreed with the Committee that the Charter was a living document and that the application of Chapter XI should be viewed in the light of political realities and of the changing spirit of the times. It considered further that the principles should be applied in the light of the facts and the specific circumstances of each case. Geographical separation combined with ethnic distinctness created a *prima facie* presumption that the obligation to transmit information existed. The burden of proof that the presumption was not necessarily conclusive and that, as a result of constitutional and juridical factors, there was no obligation—notwithstanding that geographical separation and ethnic distinctness—lay with the Administering Member. Judging from the way in which certain countries interpreted Chapter XI, and in particular Article 73 e, it would appear that they denied that freedom was the highest of man's natural endowments and not the product of any political system and that every nation had the right to be free itself in order to protect the rights and freedoms of its citizens. Yet it was the vitality of that concept which had led many African States to independence and now enabled them to work for the development of Africa by Africans, for Africans and in the African way, free from the influence of the cold war. Most of the other peoples of Africa would like to achieve the same status, notwithstanding the anachronistic thinking of those who clung to imperialism.

5. Mr. ROHAL-ILKIV (Czechoslovakia) said that, in considering all the items on the Committee's agenda, his delegation continued to bear in mind the proposal of the Soviet Union for a declaration on the granting of independence to colonial peoples and countries (A/4502 and Corr.1). It firmly believed that colonialism should be totally and speedily liquidated and that it would ultimately cease to exist. That did not mean, however, that the Committee should be satisfied and await the end of colonialism. On the contrary, action should be taken simultaneously on all fronts and the

problem under discussion was also a factor in the struggle against colonialism.

6. The Czechoslovak delegation had consistently striven for a correct interpretation of Article 73 e. Since the very inception of the United Nations, some administering Powers had been reticent about the territories for which they were responsible, evading the obligation assumed under Article 73 e, and had gone so far as to cease transmitting information. The non-administering Members had fought against that policy, with some measure of success, as would be seen from General Assembly resolutions 222 (III), 334 (IV), 742 (VIII) and 747 (VIII). Resolution 747 (VIII) gave the Assembly the right to decide when the transmission of information in regard to a Non-Self-Governing Territory should be discontinued, and that right was confirmed in resolution 748 (VIII), which established the competence of the Assembly to decide whether a Non-Self-Governing Territory had or had not attained a full measure of self-government as referred to in Chapter XI of the Charter.

7. Portugal and Spain refused to transmit information in regard to the territories under their administration on the grounds that they no longer had any "colonies" and that those territories were now "overseas provinces". It would be interesting to ask an indigenous inhabitant of Angola whether life had changed in his "province" since it had ceased to be a colony: there could be no doubt regarding his reply, for the whole world knew that the Portuguese was the most brutal of colonial régimes. According to an article published in *The Times* of London on 21 and 22 June 1960, entitled "Portuguese Way in Africa", the legal fiction of changing the label did not alter the fact that Angola was still a colony; the density of its population was very low despite favourable conditions and the indigenous inhabitants were subjected to forced labour. In the opinion of *The Times* correspondent, the policy of assimilation applied in Angola might result in a "Portuguese Algeria".

8. As a result of the refusal of certain Administering Members to discharge their obligations under Chapter XI of the Charter, the General Assembly, in resolution 1467 (XIV), had established a special committee to draw up the principles which should guide those Members in determining whether or not the obligation to transmit information was applicable to them. Some conclusions of the Special Committee of Six could effectively serve the cause of the emancipation of colonial peoples: the Charter was indeed a living document and the obligations under Chapter XI should be viewed in the light of political realities and the changing spirit of the times; the obligations assumed by Member States were not limited to Article 73 and Chapter XI did indeed embody the concept of Non-Self-Governing Territories in a dynamic state of evolution and progress. Those conclusions and principles should, however, have been expressed in more forceful terms and should be accompanied by practical measures for their implementation. The Czechoslovak delegation had not expected revolutionary results from the Special Committee of Six since half of its members had been representatives of colonial Powers. In the General Assembly, however, there were only a few colonial Powers and that fact should be reflected in the decisions adopted.

9. The main thing was to dispose once and for all of the argument of the colonial Powers to the effect that

Chapter XI was a mere declaration of intention which did not connote any obligation. On the contrary, like the Charter, of which it was a part, Chapter XI was an international instrument which imposed obligations on, and granted rights to, certain States. In the view of the Czechoslovak delegation, all Member States without exception were legally bound to transmit information in regard to the territories for which they were responsible. In practice, the General Assembly, and the General Assembly alone, should be the judge of whether a territory had attained a full measure of self-government. Moreover, the obligation to transmit information under Chapter XI meant not only that the Administering Member was not entitled to discontinue the transmission of information on its own authority, but also that it was obliged to transmit that information if the General Assembly so requested. Resolution 747 (VIII) left no doubt regarding the Assembly's competence in that respect.

10. In deciding whether there were grounds for continuing or ceasing the transmission of information on a particular Non-Self-Governing Territory, the Assembly should ask itself whether the Territory in question had or had not attained self-government. In the opinion of the Czechoslovak delegation, the essential test could only be the attainment of genuine political independence, based on the freely expressed will of the people of the Territory, and not the attainment of a fictitious independence or independence proclaimed in a unilateral declaration of the administering Power.

11. Likewise, with regard to the volume of information to be submitted, he was of the opinion that Article 73 of the Charter should be interpreted as a whole: although sub-paragraph e of that Article mentioned only information "relating to economic, social, and educational conditions in the territories", sub-paragraphs a and b of the same Article spoke of the "political advancement" of the territories and of the "progressive development of their free political institutions". There was, moreover, a close relationship between the advancement achieved in each of those fields, and that advancement was more rapid when the territory had attained full independence. The Administering Members should therefore be required to transmit information of a political nature, for there was no other way of determining exactly how the principle of self-government of the peoples was implemented in those territories and to what extent they approached the objective set forth in the Charter, namely, independence. It was essential to act without delay and the United Nations should, as a first step, oblige Spain and Portugal to acknowledge that the territories they were administering were not self-governing territories and immediately to transmit information regarding them. But that was only the first step. It was necessary for those territories to be granted complete independence without delay.

12. The time had come to take a firm stand in support of the colonized peoples. The recent admission of new African States as Members of the United Nations worked in favour of that decision. Ever since the second session, the General Assembly and the Committee had been discussing the interpretation to be given to Article 73 e; the colonized peoples would not wait for the result of their debates and the Assembly had no right to hinder the course of history. The precise definition of the principles that should

govern the interpretation of Article 73 was only a link in the chain of measures expediting that evolution. The Czechoslovak delegation was convinced that, by adopting a resolution compelling the Administering Members to respect the obligations imposed upon them by the Charter, the Assembly would have taken a favourable step forward towards the ultimate objective, immediate and complete elimination of colonialism.

13. Mr. KANAKARATNE (Ceylon) said that he would deal mainly with the principles formulated by the Special Committee of Six, for it was only after the Fourth Committee had expressed its views on those principles that it would be able to specify which Administering Members should consider themselves bound by them and on which territories those Members should transmit information. In adopting resolution 1467 (XIV), the General Assembly had declared itself competent to determine the scope of Chapter XI of the Charter, and in particular Article 73 e; on that point, the Ceylonese delegation did not in any way share the reservations of certain delegations. As early as the 16th meeting of the Fourth Committee, held during the second part of the first session of the Assembly, Mr. John Foster Dulles, representing the United States of America, had stated that his country, having adopted a broad view of its responsibilities under Chapter XI, had forwarded to the Secretary-General information relating to all the Non-Self-Governing Territories under its authority. The representative of Norway, in turn, had stated that Chapter XI might develop into a Magna Carta of liberty which would give new faith and hope to millions of people who were not represented among the United Nations. It was in that spirit that Chapter XI must be interpreted and applied to all peoples to whom it was applicable.

14. Certain countries that had transformed colonies into "overseas provinces" by a mere change of appellation and amendment of their basic laws were using that constitutional fiction as a basis for refusing to transmit information. It should be noted, however, that in 1946 all countries then administering Non-Self-Governing Territories had decided to transmit information, and the General Assembly had noted this in its resolution 66 (I), adopted in that year. Could Portugal and Spain be heard to say, in 1960, that if they had been Members of the United Nations in 1946—and had not, by a mere accident of history, become Members only in 1955—they would have had the effrontery at that time to refuse what Australia, Belgium, Denmark, the United States, France, New Zealand, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom accepted? Were the obligations assumed by the founding Members of the United Nations not binding upon the countries who became Members later?

15. It was moreover another accident of history that Ceylon had not remained a Portuguese colony and had thus been able to become a Member of the United Nations. If the Netherlands, and then the United Kingdom, had not in turn taken possession of the island, would Ceylon have been considered, like Angola or Mozambique today, to be an "overseas province" of Portugal to which the provisions of Chapter XI of the Charter did not apply? Every one in the Committee, including the representatives of Spain and Portugal, would agree that that would have been absurd. It might be asked in what respect the

present situation of Angola or Mozambique differed from what Ceylon's situation would have been in that case.

16. The Ceylonese delegation unreservedly endorsed the principles defined by the Special Committee of Six in its objective report. It noted, however, the United Kingdom reservation recorded in paragraph 15. For its part it considered that the constitutional limitation mentioned in principle X could apply only to the scope of the information and that it never exempted a Member State from the obligations incurred under Chapter XI. Acceptance of the United Kingdom's reservation would mean starting all over again from the beginning, for it was precisely because some States had refused to transmit information on the pretext of constitutional considerations that the Assembly had established the Committee of Six.

17. The Fourth Committee should not restrict itself to a mere academic discussion of the legal aspects of the question. The interpretation of Article 73 e was not a formal exercise in semantics but the means of attaining the lofty aims expressed so eloquently in 1946 by the representative of Norway. The adoption of the principles proposed by the Special Committee would mark not the end, but the beginning, of the work of the Committee, which was not an assembly of jurists but a political organ which was required to act in the context of current political realities. If it did not ensure that the principles were applied in practice, its efforts would have been in vain. The Ceylonese delegation was anxious that those principles should not remain a dead letter, for it was eager to secure a peaceful adjustment of a perilous situation, which it deemed likely to impair the general welfare or friendly relations among nations if it were allowed to continue. This was a duty imposed on the General Assembly by Article 14 of the Charter. If his delegation did not call for the peaceful adjustment of the situation in relation to the territories fictitiously incorporated in metropolitan countries, it would be false to the pledges it had made to itself, to its Government and to its people.

18. Mr. NOGUEIRA (Portugal), exercising his right of reply, said that he was glad that the history of Ceylon had so willed it that that former Portuguese colony was today a Member of the United Nations. If the United Nations had existed at the time when the Netherlands had expelled the Portuguese from Ceylon, Portugal would perhaps have appealed for United Nations intervention, and, as a result of that intervention, Ceylon would not now be sitting with the other members of the Committee.

19. Sir Andrew COHEN (United Kingdom) wished to reassure the delegations which had expressed concern about the United Kingdom's reservation with regard to the application of principle X and had gone so far as to call the United Kingdom delegation's remarks "double-talk".

20. Paragraph 15 of the Special Committee's report was not a reservation but a clarification. Principles X and XI, which should be read together to avoid misunderstanding, were concerned only with Non-Self-Governing Territories for which constitutional considerations might limit the scope of the information transmitted. The constitutional considerations referred to in Article 73 e could, as principle XI said, only arise from the constitutional relations between

the territory and the administering State. Moreover, principle XI laid down that the responsibility for transmitting information continued unless the Government or Parliament of the Administering Member was prevented from receiving from the territory the information called for in Article 73 e. Those principles described a situation which might arise, if only exceptionally, in the constitutional relationships between the United Kingdom and a territory under its administration. The limit on the question of information could only apply when the territory enjoyed self-government in economic, social and educational matters.

21. Mr. ZULOAGA (Venezuela), exercising his right of reply, apologized for using the expression "double-talk", which had offended Sir Andrew Cohen. It would have been fairer to say, as had the representative of Burma, that in making his reservation about principle X the United Kingdom representative in the Special Committee of Six had said both yes and no. The explanation which Sir Andrew Cohen had just given did not convince him. If it was admitted that there might be circumstances in which constitutional considerations reduced to nil the amount of information which could be transmitted, that meant that it might be possible for a Member State to transmit no information whatever; that would run counter to principle X, which said that the extent of the information might be limited in certain circumstances, but that the limitation in Article 73 e could not relieve a Member State of obligations of Chapter XI. All the principles laid down by the Special Committee were made void by that dangerous reservation.

22. He wished to draw the Committee's attention to the importance of the first two sentences of principle XI. That passage might have applied, for instance, to Malta, or to Nigeria before its independence, because their constitutions gave them self-government in economic, social and educational matters through freely elected institutions; but in no case could it apply to the colonies of Spain and Portugal, the two countries which transmitted no information. The reservation made by the United Kingdom, which should have been completely satisfied by the last sentence of principle XI, might be used by Spain and Portugal as a pretext for giving no information about their territories.

23. Mr. SINGH (India), speaking on a point of order, requested that the full text of Sir Andrew Cohen's statement should be distributed to the Committee as soon as possible.

24. Sir Andrew COHEN (United Kingdom), exercising his right of reply, thanked the Venezuelan representative for his kind words. He said that the latter might be right in thinking the United Kingdom's position could have been met by principle XI alone.

25. Mr. ZULOAGA (Venezuela) requested that the full text to be distributed to the Committee should include also the United Kingdom representative's second statement.

26. The CHAIRMAN said that, if there was no objection, the full text of the two statements by the United Kingdom representative would be circulated as a document.

It was so decided.^{1/}

27. Mr. BAMALLI (Nigeria) thanked the members of the Special Committee of Six for their work. If that work had been done earlier, it might have prevented certain Member States from now deliberately violating the letter and spirit of the Charter and evading the obligations they had accepted at the time of their admission to the United Nations.

28. He feared, however, that principles X and XI as set forth in the Committee's report would provide a means of escape for Member States which refused to give information on territories they administered.

29. It was difficult to imagine a situation in which constitutional considerations might limit the extent of the information to be transmitted on a particular territory. The last two sentences of principle X defined the situation more clearly, but the Nigerian delegation thought that, when a territory enjoyed self-government in economic, social and educational matters but still came under Chapter XI of the Charter, it could only be said that the administering Power had delegated some powers to it; the final responsibility still lay with the administering Power and the obligation to transmit information was still valid. It was hard to see what difficulties an administering Power might experience in obtaining information from the Government of such a territory. Why should the constitution of a Non-Self-Governing Territory provide that it would not transmit information to the Administering Member? Such a provision would imply that the Government was completely independent. In order that principle XI should not provide a means of escape for Administering Members which wanted to avoid giving information, he proposed that principles X and XI should contain an additional clause to the effect that the transmission of information could be subject to such limitations as constitutional considerations might require only when the constitution of the Non-Self-Governing Territory concerned gave all its inhabitants the right to vote.

30. The Nigerian delegation thought that the General Assembly was competent to decide whether a territory was or was not covered by Chapter XI of the Charter. That meant that any Member State which was tempted to declare that it administered no Non-Self-Governing Territories must submit to the General Assembly's opinion. It had been argued that such an interpretation would give the General Assembly the right to discuss the constitution of a Member State and therefore ran counter to the principle of national sovereignty. Chapter XI of the Charter, however, already recognized implicitly that world public opinion considered that the administration of Non-Self-Governing Territories was no longer a matter of national sovereignty.

31. Turning to the practical implementation of the principles laid down by the Special Committee of Six, he pointed out that Portugal persistently refused to give information about Angola and Mozambique, on the pretext that those colonies had become integral parts of Portugal. Principle VIII said that integration with an independent State should be on the basis of complete equality between the peoples of the erstwhile Non-Self-Governing Territory and those of the independent country with which it was integrated. Not only were Mozambique and Angola geographically and ethnically distinct from Portugal, but their people did not enjoy equality with the Portuguese people. Less than 0.1 per cent of the inhabitants of those territories were Portuguese citizens. The law called the rest "indigenas". The laws applicable to Portuguese citizens

^{1/} See A/C.4/452 and Corr.1.

did not apply to "indigenas". The economies of Mozambique and Angola were based on forced labour. Ninety-nine per cent of the indigenous population was illiterate. The African people had no part in the administration of the territories and did not enjoy the most elementary safeguards against interference with their persons or their property. No "indigena" could travel or exercise a profession without permission; the Government could order or forbid him to sell his cattle and could force him to grow certain crops. The authorities' brutality towards the indigenous inhabitants was repugnant to human conscience. Yet the Portuguese representative had been cynical enough to vote in favour of the draft resolution on racial

discrimination in Non-Self-Governing Territories (A/C.4/L.643 and Add.1 and 2), adopted at the Committee's 1028th meeting.

32. Summing up, he said that the so-called overseas provinces, Mozambique and Angola, were not integral parts of Portugal; they had no free political institutions; the indigenous peoples did not enjoy the same rights as Portuguese citizens; they took no real part in the administration; and their so-called integration was not the result of their freely expressed will. They were, in fact, two Non-Self-Governing Territories and came under Chapter XI of the Charter.

The meeting rose at 5.10 p.m.

United Nations
**GENERAL
ASSEMBLY**

FIFTEENTH SESSION

Official Records

**FOURTH COMMITTEE, 1036th
MEETING**

Friday, 4 November 1960,
at 11 a.m.



NEW YORK

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Chairman: Mr. Adnan M. PACHACHI (Iraq).

AGENDA ITEM 38

Study of principles which should guide Members in determining whether or not an obligation exists to transmit the information called for in Article 73 e of the Charter of the United Nations: report of the Special Committee established under General Assembly resolution 1467 (XIV) (A/4526) (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE (continued)

1. Mr. ALWAN (Iraq) recalled that the initiative for the establishment of a special committee to study the principles which should guide Members in determining whether or not an obligation existed to transmit information called for in Article 73 e of the Charter had been taken by his delegation in 1955, after several new Members had been admitted to the United Nations. The Secretary-General had addressed letters to the new Members, including Portugal and Spain, drawing their attention to the obligation under Chapter XI and requesting them to inform him if they had under their administration any territories whose people had not yet attained a full measure of self-government. The replies of those two Governments had been negative. His delegation had therefore felt that it was the duty of the General Assembly to establish a committee to lay down the criteria for determining the territories to which Chapter XI applied. The Assembly had, however, failed to establish such a committee until its fourteenth session.

2. The Administering Members, who had played a leading role in the drafting of Chapter XI and in introducing the concept of the sacred trust, had adamantly opposed the establishment of a special committee; they had been joined by other Members, guided by the principle of expediency. One of the arguments advanced had been that any such proposal impugned the good faith of Members; yet in his delegation's opinion the negative answers of Spain and Portugal to the Secretary-General's letter

impugned the good faith of the Secretary-General and of world public opinion. It had also been contended that an examination of the replies of the new Members would amount to discrimination against them, since the Assembly had not examined the replies received in 1946. Had Portugal been admitted to membership of the United Nations in 1945, however, Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea would automatically have been considered Non-Self-Governing Territories under Chapter XI. Another argument advanced had related to the principle of non-intervention in matters which were essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any State; it must always be remembered, however, that the Charter was a multilateral treaty and that the General Assembly was empowered to call upon Member States to fulfil their obligations under it.

3. A remarkable change had come about at the fourteenth session, at a time when momentous events had been taking place in Africa. The opposition had subsided to a great degree and the draft resolution which had become General Assembly resolution 1467 (XIV) had been adopted by the Fourth Committee with only nine negative votes—a remarkable achievement and the result of four years of tireless work by the anti-colonial groups.

4. In that connexion, he paid a tribute to Mr. Espinosa y Prieto of Mexico, who had played a leading role in the matter. The resolution was a credit to him and an honour to the liberal policies adopted by Mexico on colonial issues.

5. He was sure that, with the guidance of the principles set forth in Section V, part B, of the report of the Special Committee on the transmission of information under Article 73 e of the Charter (A/4526), Member States would cease to express differing opinions on the application of the obligation under Article 73 e. It was encouraging that both the administering and the non-administering Powers represented on the Special Committee had arrived at a unanimous agreement and that the Committee had regarded the Charter as an instrument of welfare and freedom.

6. He proposed to examine the applicability of the principles to the so-called Portuguese provinces, not in the light of what had been said by African nationalists from those colonies, whom the Portuguese representative might consider biased, but on the basis of the report by Professor Marvin Harris entitled "Portugal's African 'Wards'",^{1/} which had been sponsored by the American Committee on Africa and dealt with labour and education in Mozambique.

7. Principle I dealt with the applicability of Chapter XI to territories which at the time of the drafting of the Charter had been known to be of the colonial type. The Portuguese territories had been so considered even by the representative of the Union of South Africa, who in May 1945, at the United Nations Conference on

^{1/} Published in *Africa Today*, vol. V, No. 6, November–December 1958.

International Organization had said that Portugal held valuable colonial territories. Moreover, prior to 1951 Portugal itself had referred to the so-called provinces as colonies. When the Constitution had been amended in 1951, the word "colonies" had been replaced by "overseas provinces".

8. According to principle II, Chapter XI embodied the concept of Non-Self-Governing Territories in a dynamic state of evolution toward a full measure of self-government. It was evident, however, from Professor Harris's statement to the effect that many people had risked their personal safety to tell him about the conditions in which they were forced to live, that, far from preparing the people of Mozambique for a full measure of self-government, Portugal kept them under a reign of terror.

9. According to principle III, the transmission of information was an international obligation. Portugal could not ignore that obligation as long as it was a Member of the United Nations.

10. Principle IV stated that there was an obligation to transmit information in respect of a territory which was geographically separate and was distinct ethnically and/or culturally from the country administering it; he left it to the members of the Committee to decide whether that principle applied to the so-called Portuguese provinces.

11. Principle V stated that if in addition, administrative, political, juridical, economical or historical elements affected the relationship between the metropolitan State and the territory concerned in a manner which arbitrarily placed the latter in a position of subordination, the obligation to transmit information existed.

12. Before dealing with the administrative subordination of the indigenous population in Mozambique, he thought it might be useful to touch upon the Portuguese administrative system for the "overseas provinces". The central organ of administration was the Ministry of Overseas Provinces, in Lisbon. According to the Organic Law relating to Portuguese Overseas Provinces, the functions of the Minister for Overseas Provinces included the appointment and dismissal of officials in the overseas provinces, in the Ministry and on the staff of any province and the approval, modification or rejection of suggestions on matters within his jurisdiction that were submitted to him by the governments of overseas provinces. A governor was the supreme authority in each overseas province, but the provinces of metropolitan Portugal had neither governors nor provincial legislative councils. Moreover, the indigenous population of the overseas provinces were subjected to a system of judicial and administrative controls known as the "indigenato". According to Professor Harris, that system rested upon the doctrine that the mass of Africans were culturally, linguistically, morally and intellectually unprepared to exercise Portuguese citizenship. Portugal's presence in Africa was officially described as a civilizing mission designed to convert the mass of the indigenous inhabitants into Portuguese citizens—a process known officially as assimilation, which required them to speak Portuguese correctly and to adopt the habits and customs presupposed for the application of Portuguese common law. Since the first assimilation law in 1917, only 5,000 Africans in Mozambique, or less than one-tenth of 1 per cent of

the African population, had been granted the status of citizen.

13. The "indigenato" gave the Administration the power to control all the activities of the African masses. Among other things it empowered the Portuguese authorities to impose corporal punishment on maladjusted or disobedient persons; such punishment could be carried out simply by administrative decision. It also enabled the Portuguese Government to exercise control over the movement of the indigenous inhabitants through the devices of the passbook, which all Africans were required to carry at all times and without which they were unable to travel from one district to another, and the curfew, for the violation of which punishment could be prescribed at the whim of the Administrator. A third form of control was deportation: any African considered undesirable could, at the whim of the authorities, be deported to the island of São Tomé, which was greatly feared by the Africans. A political refugee from Mozambique had recently told the Iraqi delegation that most, if not all, of the undesirables were dropped into the sea before the boat arrived at São Tomé.

14. It was obvious that administratively subordinate as they were to metropolitan Portugal, the territories were also politically subordinate to it. One aspect of the question was that of racial discrimination. Notwithstanding the Portuguese representative's statement at the 1028th meeting that Portugal repudiated racial discrimination, the Statute of 20 May 1954 concerning Portuguese Natives of the Provinces of Guinea, Angola and Mozambique stipulated that Negroes who did not possess the learning and the social and personal habits presupposed for the unrestricted application of the public and private law pertaining to Portuguese citizens were considered to be Natives. Professor Harris had written that the effect of that special status was to deny to Negroes, but not to Whites, the most elementary safeguards against violations of person and property. Professor Harris had added that it was strange that a country which professed a tradition of anti-racism and which had amply demonstrated it in other quarters of the globe should in Mozambique be dedicated to one of the most systematic and thorough attempts to erect discriminatory barriers against the well-being and social progress of the great mass of the Negro population.

15. A simple examination of the Portuguese Organic Law showed the existence of juridical subordination also. Under that law, the Minister for Overseas Provinces had the power to annul the legislative measures taken by the governments of overseas provinces or decisions of the governor; the "indigenato" system made it impossible for civil maturity to be achieved outside the Portuguese State; and civil, commercial or criminal actions against the governor or the administrator of a province could be brought only in Lisbon courts.

16. The existence of economic subordination was proved by the fact that under the Portuguese Constitution, the Organic Law and the labour and agricultural system in the overseas provinces flagrant economic injustices were inflicted upon the indigenous people. To mention only a few, the Constitution forbade the overseas provinces to negotiate loans in foreign countries and declared that the achievement of a proper balance between the development needs and welfare of the peoples of the overseas provinces and the rights

and legitimate advantage of the Portuguese nation was reserved to metropolitan Portugal; the Organic Law provided that banks of issue must maintain their reserves, headquarters and central administration in mainland Portugal; and that the Minister for Overseas Provinces must authorize the establishment, reopening and change of equipment or site of industrial enterprises and approve concessions of public land, railways deemed in the public interest, and important public works. The Minister also directed and controlled the budgets of the overseas provinces, and authorized budget transfers. According to Mr. Marcello Caetano, a former Portuguese Minister for the Colonies, Portugal did not accept in absolute terms the principle of the primacy of the interests of the indigenous inhabitants.

17. As for labour conditions in the overseas provinces, the Labour Code of 1899 prescribed that all Natives of the Portuguese provinces were subject to the obligation of seeking work and, if they did not comply with that obligation, the public authorities could force it upon them. Under that Code, African men and women were forced to work wherever they were needed. Professor Harris stated that forced labourers were paid the minimum legal wage in each region, ranging from \$5 to less than \$2 a month. He described the hygienic conditions under which the labourers worked as so appalling that during the early years of the mining operations the mortality rate among the Africans had been as high as among combatants in the Second World War. In other parts of the Portuguese colonies the exploitation of the African took the form of obliging farmers to plant specific crops. Professor Harris said that the aim of that policy was to bind the farmer to the land and to force him to plant cotton, which he must sell to the concession companies—which were private Portuguese companies—at prices which were fixed by the Government far below those available on the international market.

18. In view of the Portuguese representative's statement at the 892nd meeting of the General Assembly that Portugal had been able to ratify the two ILO Conventions concerning the abolition of forced labour without altering its internal laws, he would like to hear from the representative of the ILO whether that organization knew of the systems of forced labour in the Portuguese territories and what measures it had taken to put an end to them.

19. Principle VII (a) stipulated that free association should be the result of a free and voluntary choice by the peoples of the territory concerned expressed by informed and democratic processes. An examination of the legal and judicial systems revealed that the indigenous inhabitants of the provinces had no voice whatever because they were not Portuguese citizens. In that connexion, it was worth noting that under the Constitution the legislative functions of the governments of the overseas provinces were exercised under the supervision of the bodies in which sovereignty resided, namely the Head of State, the National Assembly, the Government and the courts of justice—all at Lisbon. According to article 151 of the Constitution, legislative measures by the governments of the overseas provinces could not revoke, suspend or be contrary to the provisions of the Constitution or of any other measures approved by the legislative bodies of metropolitan Portugal. By virtue of the

Organic Law as amended by Law No. 2076, if the governor, who presided over the sessions of the overseas legislative councils, disagreed with the opinion of the council, he submitted the matter for decision to the Minister for Overseas Provinces. In accordance with the Organic Law, the majority of the legislative councils in the African provinces consisted of members elected every four years from among Portuguese citizens only.

20. It was clear from what he had said that the indigenous population of Africa had no place in the legal and constitutional picture. There could be no doubt that Portuguese sovereignty was imposed upon the people of the African territories and that the Constitution had been framed without even their knowledge.

21. Principle VIII determined the criteria of integration of a Non-Self-Governing Territory with an independent State. The application of those criteria to the peoples and territories of Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea led to certain conclusions. The first was that not all the inhabitants of the overseas provinces were Portuguese citizens, the overwhelming majority being indigenous inhabitants, or "non-civilized"; in Mozambique only about 1 per cent of the population were Portuguese citizens, in Angola about 3 per cent. Secondly, according to the Constitution and the Organic Law, the State could compel "Natives" to work on public works of general interest to the community, in the execution of judicial sentences of a penal character or for the discharge of fiscal liabilities. Thirdly, the acquisition of individual rights over real property by indigenous inhabitants was regulated by the Statute of May 1954 and those rights could in no case be freehold. Fourthly, the cultivation of certain cash crops was compulsory in the overseas provinces, for the purpose of providing supplies for the metropolitan country.

22. According to James Duffy's book entitled *Portuguese Africa*,^{2/} although native lands were guaranteed by the Statute, the actual boundaries of African lands were not clear; some African land was absorbed by European coffee plantations in north-eastern Angola and some Africans had been resettled in Mozambique to make room for sugar plantations. The same book spoke of the unequal status and rights of the European and indigenous populations and stated that every male "indigena" was required to possess an identification card and passbook with his tax record and fingerprints.

23. It was clear that the Portuguese system of colonialism went much further than any other form of European colonialism. It not only sought economic and political advantages but was endeavouring to obliterate the very concept of African nationalism. Under the assimilation system the African was taught to think of himself as a Portuguese and not as an African.

24. After the slave trade, armed conquest and colonial war, Portugal had brought those African territories under the heel of colonialism. Conquest did not, however, confer any rights; the Charter did not recognize that Members of the United Nations should hold on to their possessions. In the Portuguese colonies an unprecedented system of humiliation and servitude was practised with the implied approval of the so-called free world. If Portugal was to be regarded as part of

^{2/} Published by Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1959.

the free world, another definition of freedom should be sought. The delegation of Iraq believed that humanity was one and indivisible and the reign of terror in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea was regarded by his Government with the utmost seriousness. It earnestly hoped that its concern was shared by other countries, in particular by those which claimed to stand for freedom.

25. Mr. BOUZIRI (Tunisia) recalled that the question under discussion had already been debated at length in the Fourth Committee but that, owing to the obstruction of the colonial Powers and in particular of Portugal, it had not been possible to lay down clear principles that could be embodied in a document which the General Assembly would approve. Now, however, as a result of the struggle of the oppressed peoples, colonialism was on the wane everywhere and the administering Powers themselves had agreed to the principles included in the report of the Special Committee of Six. That agreement was a matter of rejoicing to the Tunisian delegation.

26. In the view of his delegation, as of all the speakers who had preceded him, the report of the Special Committee was clear, concise and full of substance. There had apparently been some disagreement and certain reservations had been made, but they did not affect the value of the report. He would not make a detailed analysis of the report but would draw attention to certain passages which he felt to be particularly important.

27. His delegation was grateful to the Special Committee for having stressed the important truth stated in the last sentence of paragraph 17. It hoped that the colonialist Powers would appreciate its scope and assess the heavy responsibility which would be theirs if they continued to oppose the desire for independence of the nations under their yoke.

28. His delegation enthusiastically endorsed the idea expressed in paragraph 18, namely, that the Charter was a living document and the obligations under Chapter XI must be viewed in the light of the changing spirit of the times. The truth of that statement was manifested by the world-wide movement in favour of freedom and equality. Any attempt to stop or to delay that movement would not only create disturbances and upheavals over a large part of the earth but would be a serious blow to the principles of the Charter.

29. The Tunisian delegation had carefully studied the principles enunciated in the report. Actually those principles were not new and their reformulation might have been of purely academic interest had it not been for the fact that on the present occasion the administering Powers had accepted them and that the fate of millions of human beings depended upon their application. All the principles were based on common sense and on the understanding and precise interpretation of the United Nations Charter and of international law.

30. If any doubts still subsisted about the obligation to transmit information in accordance with Article 73, they should be finally dispelled by principles I and III; he hoped never again to hear the claim that the transmission of information depended on the good will of the Administering Member concerned. The ensuing principles defined the characteristics of Non-Self-Governing Territories which governed that obligation.

31. The principles should help to put an end to the legal fictions created by the colonial Powers, which

were all too familiar to the formerly dependent territories. Those fictions deceived no one and the device by which Portugal and Spain had transformed their territories into overseas provinces would be overcome by the pressure of facts and reality. In the light of the racial discrimination practised in those territories, the geographical separation and the political, ethnical and cultural differences, there could be no doubt of the fact that those so-called provinces were in reality Non-Self-Governing Territories in the terms of Article 73 of the Charter.

32. His delegation would have been happy to see Spain and Portugal adopt a more reasonable attitude in conformity with their obligations as Member States. Unfortunately that had not occurred. It hoped that the report of the Special Committee and the principles enunciated therein would lead them to a more reasonable conception of their relations with the non-Self-Governing Territories under their domination and to the granting of independence as a pacific solution of their colonial problems. Those two countries should not forget that the United Nations, which was competent to decide the question, would no longer tolerate the decisions of the General Assembly being ignored. They should realize that if they persisted in their stubborn attitude, their aggressive policy would lead to serious consequences for which they would bear the entire responsibility. They should realize that all the African countries were behind the colonized territories in their struggle against colonialism and that they would not relinquish the struggle until all those territories, and especially those occupied by Portugal and Spain, achieved freedom. Lastly, they should realize that all the struggles of colonialism against the oppressed peoples had been defeated, that those it was now waging were being lost and that while they involved great sacrifices for the oppressed peoples they also entailed great human, material and spiritual losses for the colonizing countries.

33. In a few days his delegation would state its position on the inevitable end of colonialism, but in the meantime it hoped the Fourth Committee would adopt the principles in the report of the Special Committee of Six and seek a way of putting an end to the challenge to the United Nations launched by some of its Members.

34. Mr. NOGUEIRA (Portugal) said that, before explaining the position of his delegation with regard to the report of the Special Committee of Six, he thought it his duty to reiterate the stand of his Government regarding the proceedings which had led to the establishment of that Committee. In that connexion he drew attention to the relevant passage of his Government's reply to the Secretary-General in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1467 (XIV) (A/AC.100/1, para. 143), which clarified his delegation's position in respect of the resolution and of any developments arising therefrom. His delegation, however, always kept an open mind and had studied the report without any preconceived views. It had also examined with all due respect and attention the replies received from other Governments. Incidentally, he pointed out that only twenty-six Governments had taken the trouble to respond to the Secretary-General's invitation—a fact which would seem to suggest that the subject had not aroused the interest of the large majority of Member Governments. Finally, his delegation had taken into account the compilation of legal opinions and other documents prepared by the Secre-

tariat (A/AC.100/2/Add.2), the account of discussions (A/AC.100/2) and the various drafts of the report before its final formulation.

35. He thought the members of the Committee would agree with him that the question before it was once again the interpretation of Article 73 of the Charter. Precisely because various divergent interpretations had been placed on Article 73, the Special Committee of Six had tried to establish a set of principles which sought to implement that provision without interpreting it. His delegation, however, considered that no provision of the Charter or of any other legal document could be properly implemented without prior definition of its meaning and scope and that there could be no agreement on the implementation if there was no agreement on the substance. The question of interpretation therefore became once again of paramount importance.

36. Many interpretations had been suggested for Article 73. Every delegation was entitled to its opinion; his delegation requested for its views the same respect that it readily accorded to others. Nevertheless, the fact remained that Article 73 was a written provision of the Charter and that no interpretation was valid unless it was based on it. Many delegations were tempted to see everything they wished in Article 73. The following sentence from the first draft report of the Special Committee of Six gave a clear indication of the frame of mind of some delegations: "It [the Committee] therefore approached the problem from a practical point of view, bearing in mind the political realities of the world situation".^{3/} A practical point of view or the idea of a given political situation were, however, matters of individual interpretation and all sincere interpretations were equally valid and worthy of respect. Nevertheless they did not provide a juridical or legal foundation for any obligation. His delegation did not therefore feel that that was a good point of departure for an interpretation of Article 73 of the Charter. The only way was to revert to the letter and the spirit of Article 73 and try to make clear its meaning without indulging in flights of fancy.

37. Notwithstanding the views of individual delegations, Chapter XI was entitled "Declaration regarding Non-Self-Governing Territories". Some might suggest that the word "declaration" should not be understood literally but rather in the sense of an obligation. Such an interpretation might in principle be valid, but its validity must be tested and to that end Chapter XI must be placed in its proper context. If that were done it immediately became clear that the word "declaration" meant in fact nothing else but a declaration—an act which was entirely left to the initiative and discretion of Member Governments. The question therefore was in what context Article 73 and Chapter XI should be read and the obvious answer was that they should be read in the context of the Charter. The first clear indication provided by the Charter was that it established three different systems for the promotion of the welfare of peoples and for co-operation among nations in the social, economic, educational and political fields. The first system was that provided by Chapters IX and X of the Charter, entitled "International economic and social co-operation"; the second was that outlined in Chapter XI, entitled "Declaration regarding Non-Self-Governing

Territories"; the third was laid down in Chapter XII, entitled "International Trusteeship System". Those systems were clearly delimited and the Charter had emphasized the differences by creating different forms of application for each of them. The first and third systems were "international" systems; in other words the authors of the Charter, by placing them under that heading, had intended that the international community, through the appropriate machinery of the United Nations, should have a say in their implementation. In regard to the second system, however, the word "international" had been omitted, which was an indication that the problem was considered to be national rather than international in character. Furthermore, the Charter emphasized the differences among the various systems by providing machinery for "international economic and social co-operation" in the form of the Economic and Social Council and for the "International Trusteeship System" in the form of the Trusteeship Council, while it did not provide any machinery for the supervision of the implementation of Chapter XI. There was no doubt, therefore, that the Charter did not ascribe to Chapter XI the same scope and the same obligations that it had embodied in Chapters IX and X on the one hand and Chapter XII on the other.

38. That conclusion was substantiated by the history of the provisions of the Charter with regard to the subject. Both the Preamble and Article 23 of the Covenant of the League of Nations had recognized the need for co-operative action in the economic, social and humanitarian fields. After the Second World War it had been obvious to the drafters of the Charter that the work done by the League in that sphere should be continued and even intensified. Therefore, in the Preamble and in Chapters IX and X of the Charter the idea had again been expressed that international peace and security on the one hand and economic and social welfare on the other were unavoidably linked. To strengthen international co-operation in that field provision had been made for adequate machinery within the framework of the United Nations. The purpose and meaning of Chapter XII, though very different in nature, had a somewhat similar origin: the Mandates System had not provided the necessary conditions that would enable all the territories under mandate to achieve independence and it had therefore been necessary to establish a new form of administration of those territories under international supervision, so the International Trusteeship System had come into being. Again adequate machinery had been needed and the Trusteeship Council had been established.

39. That contention could be given further proof by an analysis of other parts of the Charter; whenever the Charter provided for international action by the United Nations or action by Members which must be carried out under United Nations supervision, it provided for the existence of competent organs for the purpose. When the Charter had not provided for machinery and organs, that lack of machinery was clearly due to the fact that the subject had been deemed by the authors of the Charter to be of a national rather than an international character. That was precisely the case where Chapter XI was concerned.

40. A close scrutiny of the Charter confirmed those conclusions. Article 13, for instance, empowered the General Assembly to "initiate studies and make re-

^{3/} See A/AC.100/L.1, para. 12.

commendations" and explicitly referred to Chapters IX and X. No reference was made to Chapter XI. Article 16 dealt with the functions of the General Assembly and explicitly referred to Chapters XII and XIII; again no mention was made of Chapter XI. Chapter IX provided further evidence: Article 55 mentioned the United Nations, Article 56 spoke of co-operation with the Organization, under Article 58 the Organization was entitled to make recommendations, Articles 59 and 60 entrusted the Organization with certain functions and responsibilities. Nothing similar was to be found in Chapter XI. As far as Chapters XII and XIII were concerned, Article 75 ascribed certain powers to the United Nations; Article 83 referred to the functions of the United Nations, as did also Articles 85 and 87. Again nothing equivalent was to be found in Chapter XI. The inescapable conclusion was that the Charter ascribed to the General Assembly certain functions and responsibilities in connexion with the implementation of the international system of economic co-operation and with the International Trusteeship System but none whatever in connexion with the "Declaration regarding Non-Self-Governing Territories". On the contrary, whereas the Charter always referred to the United Nations when dealing with matters covered by Chapters IX and XII, in Chapter XI the emphasis was on "Members of the United Nations", thereby placing upon them, and upon them only, the responsibilities and powers which under the other two systems were placed in the General Assembly. Members of the United Nations were not even requested to co-operate with the Organization for the implementation of Articles 73 and 74, as they were in connexion with Chapters IX and XII.

41. There could therefore be no doubt that the three systems were entirely different in nature and in scope. Similar views, although in another context, had been many times expressed in the Fourth Committee. As long ago as 1947, during the second session of the General Assembly, the United States representative had spoken of a sharp and fundamental distinction made at San Francisco between Chapter XI on the one hand and Chapters XII and XIII on the other. He had stated that in many Non-Self-Governing Territories sovereignty or jurisdiction was vested in the Administering States and that nothing in the Charter changed that fundamental fact. On the other hand, he had said, supervision of Trust Territories lay in the hands of the United Nations. It had appeared to the United States delegation to be of fundamental importance that the sharp differentiation made in the Charter between territories and peoples under the sovereignty or jurisdiction of an independent State and those which were not should be maintained. Chapters XII and XIII, he had concluded, materially altered the status of Non-Self-Governing Territories coming within their scope, whereas Chapter XI did not, and no effort should be made to blur that distinction.

42. For all those well-founded reasons, it was most surprising that some delegations had expressed the opinion that the provisions of the International Trusteeship System should apply also to the system of the Declaration regarding Non-Self-Governing Territories. Curiously enough, those same delegations rejected the logical consequences of their opinion and refused to accept in respect of Chapter XI the provision requiring a two-thirds majority for decisions on trusteeship matters, as also the provision of Arti-

cle 77 c concerning the voluntary placing of territories under trusteeship.

43. The entire text of Articles 73 and 74 was addressed to Member States and they alone had the power to make declarations in consequence of which they might accept certain obligations. It was nowhere suggested that a declaration, whether in the form of a resolution or otherwise, might be made by the United Nations itself. Moreover, the text referred to Members which had or had assumed certain responsibilities. Although the United Nations might be aware of existing responsibilities, declared by a Member State, it had no means of learning what further responsibilities any Member State had assumed except by a new declaration from that State, which was free to declare such new responsibilities at its discretion. Again, Article 73 referred to "territories", a word which had no precise juridical meaning in international law and might have widely varying meanings in a constitutional text. It was nowhere defined in the Charter and it was therefore obvious that the General Assembly's powers to define its meaning were expressly limited to Article 77; in fact, the definition of the status of any territory other than those mentioned in Article 77 was left solely to Member States.

44. In his delegation's view, the concern of the Committee was rather with the people inhabiting a territory than with the definition of the status of a territory. The Charter stated in Article 73 that the interests of the inhabitants were paramount; that simply meant that the Charter took for granted the political status of the territory as defined by Member Governments and was therefore concerned only with the condition of the people.

45. Article 73 e referred to two important points: the question of the transmission of information and the question of the limitations arising from security and constitutional considerations. His delegation had devoted much attention to the subject and had taken into consideration the opinions expressed both within and without the Committee; the more it did so, the more firmly did it abide by the convictions which it held. There was no question that Article 73 did not, either in letter or spirit, prescribe any specific obligation other than that of making a declaration, the terms and scope of which were left entirely to the discretion of Member States. It followed that the only obligations assumed by Member States were those arising from that declaration; were it not so, the precepts laid down in Articles 73 and 74, addressed solely to Member States, would not be comprehensible. In fact the General Assembly, by accepting the practice established by the United Nations Secretariat, had always endorsed that interpretation—indeed, it could not do otherwise; Governments had always been free to reply to the Secretary-General in accordance with their own understanding of what was required of them under own legal and constitutional systems, of which they were the sole judges.

46. If the constitutional limitations referred to in Article 73 e derived from the constitutions of the Non-Self-Governing Territories themselves, as some delegations had claimed, then the security limitations referred to in the same paragraph would also derive from those constitutions, and responsibility for them would devolve on the Non-Self-Governing Territories rather than on the Member States concerned. That was certainly not the intention of the Charter, since

Articles 73 and 74 concerned Member States only, no other entities being recognized by the Charter. If Member States, by their free declarations, assumed obligations under Article 73, they and they alone had the power to determine, in accordance with their own constitutions, the limitations which might exist. The interpretation of a national constitution was a matter within the exclusive competence of a Member State and was not one for discussion by any international body; a dangerous precedent would be set by acting otherwise. Constitutional limitation operated in two ways: it could limit the nature or amount of the information provided, in cases where a Government was allowed to transmit information, and it could prohibit a Member State from supplying information on territories and populations whose political status that State alone could define.

47. In short, the only obligation arising from Articles 73 and 74 was that Member States were required to make a declaration defining the obligation, if any, which they undertook. The scope of that declaration was left to the discretion of that State and constitutional considerations might limit or prevent the transmission of information. Many other delegations did in fact share that point of view, as did many authorities on international law. Some delegations on the other hand thought discussion of the provisions of the Charter to be useless and academic. The representative of Iran, for example, had maintained that, after fifteen years, many legal concepts of the Charter were out of date and failed to meet reality. But it was not possible to twist the meaning of the Charter to suit individual ideas or theories: it was the basic law of the United Nations. That was not to say that his delegation did not consider that some of its provisions failed to meet modern needs, but a way to effect changes in the Charter was provided in Articles 108 and 109. His delegation agreed that the Charter was a living document which should be kept alive; the best way to accomplish that end was to respect it, not to destroy it through distortions.

48. His delegation was not alone in holding those views. In an advisory opinion, recorded on page 62 of its *Yearbook, 1947-1948*, the International Court of Justice had said that the question of the interpretation of a provision of the Charter was a purely legal one. Again, General Assembly resolution 171 (II) had stated that it was of paramount importance that the interpretation of the Charter should be based on recognized principles of international law. At the 113th plenary meeting, held during the second session of the General Assembly, the Soviet Union representative, Mr. Vyshinsky, had said that the principles contained in the Charter were apparently regarded as a stumbling block by some delegations, which under the guise of various amendments and resolutions were seeking to amend it in the direction which they considered important.

49. Mr. Lachs, the Polish representative in the Sixth Committee, had said that the success or failure of the United Nations depended on how it adapted itself to the requirements of the day and that, to be successful, it must reflect changes in the field of law; the United Nations could not rely on the world of yesterday or the world as some wished it to be, but must maintain close contact with life.

50. His delegation's interpretation of the Charter had necessarily guided it in its examination of the report of the Special Committee of Six. Principle I referred

to territories known at the time when the Charter had been drafted to be of the "colonial type". That not only implied that the word "colony" had been previously defined but it gave the report a much wider scope. In his delegation's view, that was an improvement. Again, principle I seemed to take it for granted that an obligation to transmit information did in fact exist under Article 73 e of the Charter—a view with which his delegation did not agree—whereas, by the terms of General Assembly resolution 1467 (XIV), the Special Committee of Six had been given the very task of ascertaining whether or not such an obligation existed.

51. As to principle II, his delegation failed to understand what, in legal terms, a "dynamic state of evolution" might mean. Presumably the word "dynamic" was used in opposition to "static"; but, whatever those words might mean in terms of science, they were utterly meaningless in terms of law. Perhaps the phrase was intended to mean that the concept of a Non-Self-Governing Territory was a continuously changing reality evolving towards a certain target. If that was so, it confused two entirely distinct notions: the theoretical concept of Non-Self-Governing Territories, on the one hand, and the physical reality to which the concept applied on the other. The one was immutable, whereas the other could undergo a gradual change until it fell under a different concept, namely, the concept of a self-governing territory. Until it became a self-governing territory, however, and no matter how near it might be to that status, it was still a Non-Self-Governing Territory. If for the sake of argument fifty conditions had to be fulfilled before a territory became self-governing, it would still be non-self-governing if forty-nine of them had been met. Consequently, the words "dynamic evolution" were entirely meaningless and irrelevant.

52. Like principle I, principle III reached a conclusion on the basis of an assumption which was not discussed, when it was precisely that conclusion that was the subject of controversy.

53. With regard to principles IV and V, it was not clear whether geographical, ethnical or cultural distinctness were to be taken separately or together. If taken separately, it would mean that there could be a Non-Self-Governing Territory contiguous to, or even within, a metropolitan State, provided that ethnical or cultural differences existed; if there was no ethnical or cultural difference, a territory might be fully self-governing even though it might be geographically separate. Again, it might mean that a territory was non-self-governing if, being geographically contiguous and ethnically identical, it was culturally different. His delegation believed the philosophy behind those hypotheses to be in sharp contrast with the highest ideals of mankind. The suggestion was that all ethnic groups, no matter how small, should constitute different and autonomous entities with separate and autonomous political power and that such groups should necessarily be in conflict with other groups. It was a denial of the fact that, in the great and progressive nations of the world, a combination of many races and cultures had made possible their outstanding contribution to civilization, whereas a society having only one race, one culture or one language might seem to be happy but was certainly stagnant.

54. His delegation did not in principle reject the elements of an administrative, political, juridical, economic or historical nature referred to in

principle V, and took it to mean that if those elements did not arbitrarily affect the relationship between the metropolitan country and a given territory and that if such a relationship did not place that territory in a position of subordination, then the result was a fully self-governing territory.

55. In principle VI, the Special Committee appeared to have taken it for granted that everyone knew when a State had emerged as a sovereign and independent State. That was not the case; sovereignty in international law was a very controversial subject and it had to be admitted that in the international community there were several degrees of sovereignty. There were States, like Andorra or San Marino, which, though independent, were not fully sovereign. Nor did such States fall within the next category mentioned in the report—namely, free association with an independent State—because they were themselves independent. Were they therefore not self-governing? Again, there were States which did not enjoy recognition by other States; recognition was unavoidably linked with sovereignty, since in international law the entry into legal existence of a State was marked by recognition. On the other hand, there were States which were not recognized by others but were Members of the United Nations, and States, like Switzerland, which had been recognized by all but which were not Members of the United Nations. The phrase "sovereign independent State" was therefore unfortunate and ambiguous, since emergence as a sovereign and independent country was not an immediately recognizable factor constituting a universally accepted criterion.

56. In principle VII, the Special Committee of Six had merely described a federation or a confederation of States. He thought that the Committee was agreed on those two possibilities but there had been an important omission; the principle made no reference to the secession of a State or territory after acceding to the federation or confederation concerned. Moreover, principle VII used the words "democratic processes" and "democratic means". Those words were difficult to define; there was more than one type of democracy; there were even ruthless dictatorships which called themselves not only democratic but popular. In his delegation's view, respect for national laws provided the only basis for an agreed definition of a democratic process through which the wishes of the people could be expressed.

57. His delegation had no comments to make on principle VIII and was in general agreement with that part of the report, but if principle VIII was to be taken with principle IX, then his earlier observations would again apply. In particular, his delegation would object to any recognition of supervision by the United Nations as being desirable in certain circumstances. The Charter nowhere envisaged such a supervision where Non-Self-Governing Territories were concerned, and his delegation was not prepared to subscribe to any violation of the Charter or to endorse any attempt to force the Charter to say what it did not say.

58. His delegation did not agree with principles X, XI and XII. He would not repeat what he had already said on the question of the transmission of information. He noted, however, that the Special Committee of Six had admitted that the quantum of information could be limited. Carried to its logical conclusion, that would mean that constitutional limitations might reduce the

amount of information to nothing, and he wondered why the Special Committee had shied away from saying so. On the other hand, were the views of that Committee to be accepted, the way would be open for the examination and criticism of national constitutions by the various organs of the United Nations, for the question of the constitutional relations of a territory with the Administering Member could not be examined by the United Nations without examining the constitutions of Member States, which in his delegation's view would be unacceptable.

59. The points arising out of Articles 73 and 74 and the Special Committee's report might seem to be questions of detail, but the fact was that the Committee was facing a much wider problem and one which should be of the gravest concern to all Member States. The issue was most serious and the future work of the United Nations might be at stake. The Charter did not define a Non-Self-Governing Territory and the question under discussion was whether a legal definition should be accepted or whether a political definition should be evolved. Two guiding principles were provided by the Charter: namely, the responsibility of Member States for the administration of any given territories and the measure of self-government obtained by such territories: in other words, there was on the one hand the national constitution of a Member State and, on the other, the political situation of a territory and its inhabitants. The two factors were of an entirely different nature and could not be combined: a precise definition could only be reached if there was no divergence between the guiding criteria. As it was, the Committee had to choose between the acceptance or the rejection of national law. Once the international community had recognized a State, it was not entitled to express any further differing views; national law, it was his delegation's firm opinion, was not a matter for discussion. Some delegations, when defining a Non-Self-Governing Territory, sought to discard entirely the concept of national law and were apparently guided exclusively by political considerations: for them, legal arguments and the existence of national law were merely obstacles to progress and to the development of societies and peoples. That was a dangerous path to follow and, if they discarded the national laws of others, the time might come when their own might be brushed aside. Such a course of political expediency involved seeking shelter behind a majority gathered at random and prompted by motives which, however much they might at one time coincide, might become opposed; the States concerned would then be in a minority, at a time when their own national law was no longer respected. The question arose whether the majority of the General Assembly had the power to impose its decisions on a country in matters pertaining to that country's internal juridical order. His delegation's reply to that question was firmly in the negative; the United Nations was not a world parliament nor was it a world government.

60. He wished to draw attention to a most serious omission in the report of the Special Committee. As was well known, questions involving Non-Self-Governing Territories had been dealt with in association with what was called colonialism and imperialism. The Fourth Committee had for years concerned itself with a particular and narrow type of colonialism and imperialism; but the subject was in fact wider and should embrace imperialism of a political and ideological nature. In recent decades a new and more

dangerous type of colonialism had developed and the report had failed to take that reality into account.

61. In conclusion, he wished to say that his country had been subjected to constant attack and to slanderous accusations in the Committees; he reserved his right to reply to them and to speak again if necessary.

62. Mr. KUCHAVA (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said that the representative of Portugal, in his attempt to convince the Committee that the Charter did not oblige his country to transmit information on the Portuguese colonies, had tried to enlist Mr. Vyshinsky in his cause. In the passage which the representative of Portugal had quoted, Mr. Vyshinsky had not spoken in favour of colonialism; he had been appealing for strict compliance with the terms of the Charter. That was precisely what his delegation required of Portugal.

Expression of sympathy on the occasion of the disasters
in Pakistan

63. The CHAIRMAN expressed to the representative of Pakistan his own and the Committee's heartfelt sympathy on the two disasters which had occurred in Pakistan in recent weeks and on the heavy loss of life caused by the typhoons. He asked him to convey the Committee's sympathy to the Government and people of Pakistan.

64. Mr. HUSAIN (Pakistan) thanked the Chairman for his expression of sympathy, which he would convey to his Government.

The meeting rose at 1.20 p.m.

United Nations
**GENERAL
ASSEMBLY**

FIFTEENTH SESSION

Official Records



**FOURTH COMMITTEE, 1037th
MEETING**

Friday, 4 November 1960,
at 3.25 p.m.

NEW YORK

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Chairman: Mr. Adnan M. PACHACHI (Iraq).

In the absence of the Chairman, Mr. Ortiz de Rozas (Argentina), Vice-Chairman, took the Chair.

AGENDA ITEM 38

Study of principles which should guide Members in determining whether or not an obligation exists to transmit the information called for in Article 73 e of the Charter of the United Nations: report of the Special Committee established under General Assembly resolution 1467 (XIV) (A/4526) (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE (continued)

1. Mr. LOOMES (Australia) associated his delegation with the congratulations offered to the members of the Special Committee of Six on the Transmission of Information under Article 73 e of the Charter, on the constructive goodwill they had shown in the examination of a very complicated question. Although there was general agreement on the aims of Chapter XI of the Charter and on the fact that the interests of the inhabitants were paramount, opinions differed on the methods to be employed.

2. His delegation endorsed in general the twelve principles enunciated by the Special Committee in section V, part B, of its report (A/4526). Principle IX was the only one about which it had doubts: it wondered whether it was really necessary to insist on universal suffrage. The application of the principles, however, raised questions which would have to be studied later and in connexion with which his delegation reserved the right to make a further statement. The Australian Government had always transmitted the information requested in Article 73 e; it had even voluntarily provided information of a political and constitutional nature on Papua.

3. He was glad to note that principle VI, while recognizing various ways in which a Non-Self-Governing Territory could reach a full measure of self-govern-

ment, took into account the development of the modern world, as a result of which certain small States could ~~understandably~~ decide in favour of association with a larger State, it being clearly understood that such association, as was stated in principle VII, should be the result of "a free and voluntary choice by the peoples of the territory concerned". The provisions of principle IX, which dealt with the integration of a territory with another independent State, were equally important. The principles drawn up by the Special Committee were also, however, a reflection of more general considerations, embodying the idea that the progressive development of self-government must take into account the particular circumstances of a territory and the aspirations of its peoples. It was on the basis of those principles and considerations that the smooth transition of the territories from dependent status to self-government or independence should be ensured.

4. Mr. KUDRYAVTSEV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) said that, in his view, the point under discussion was not the subject for an academic exercise but was a practical problem of very great and urgent importance. Its importance was due not so much to the principles themselves, which were nothing new, as to the violation by two Member States, Spain and Portugal, of the provisions of Chapter XI of the Charter. The two countries in question described territories which were simply colonies as "overseas provinces". It might seem surprising that the United Nations should tolerate that violation of the Charter, but Spain and Portugal had the support of other colonialist countries which were members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, such as the United States, the United Kingdom and Belgium. No legal argument, however, would convince the Committee that the territories administered by Spain and Portugal were not colonies, under the complete domination of the metropolitan country.

5. The Portuguese colonies were characterized by their economic backwardness. There were facts to prove it: in a lecture given at Lisbon in 1956 on Portugal in Africa, a Portuguese lecturer had said that there were some grounds for concern at the industrial and economic backwardness of Mozambique; an article in *The Times* of London on 22 June 1960 had pointed out that very little industrialization had taken place in Angola, with a view to preventing its competing with the metropolitan country. Thus for five hundred years the Portuguese colonialists had kept their colonies under the yoke in order to derive the greatest profits from them; under the pretext of bringing European civilization to Africa, they had sucked the Africans' blood. The result of Portugal's "civilizing mission" was well known: slaves, recruited by armies of mercenaries and transported to America, had increased the incomes of the Portuguese "bourgeoisie" in the metropolitan country. That policy, followed also by Spanish, English, French and other colonizers, had transformed Africa into a human hunting ground and

had cost more than one hundred million Africans their life and freedom. Mankind would never forget the misfortunes of the colonial peoples. According to the same article in *The Times*, the slave trade and forced labour had reduced Angola to such a state of destitution that the density of the population was at present the lowest of all the countries of black Africa. The need for so-called assimilation had led the Portuguese authorities to introduce the system of contract labour, under which every African over eighteen years of age was obliged to work for at least six months in the year.

6. As far as education was concerned, according to the official statistics quoted by *The Times* only four Angolese out of 4,200,000 had had an opportunity to continue their studies beyond the secondary level, and the few schools, which were, moreover, run by the missions, were for European children only.

7. At the present time, when the whole world was tired of colonialism and more and more African States were acceding to independence, when life itself demanded that the whole colonial system should be abolished forthwith, the Portuguese colonizers were trying to extend their possessions by demarcating their frontiers. Thus they were continuing to practise in respect to the African population a policy of racial discrimination based on the theory of the superiority of European moral principles. That policy of racism was sanctioned by article 3 of the Statute of 20 May 1954, which laid down that any compromise with indigenous ways and customs was conditioned upon moral and humanitarian considerations and the supremacy of Portuguese interests. It was an affront to the dignity of the Africans, and the words spoken by the Portuguese representative at the previous meeting seemed ludicrous indeed beside the sufferings of the African peoples. Portugal had, of course, the support of the United States and its well defined place in the Western military blocs. At the present day, however, events showed that the African peoples had decided to sacrifice everything in order to win freedom. They were awakening, becoming aware of their strength, breaking the chains of slavery and driving out the invaders. The new Africa was being born in a terrible struggle of immense historic significance. The "backward" peoples were rising against those who claimed to be civilizers; the former were fighting for human freedom and dignity; the latter were endeavouring to obstruct their path to freedom. But no guns could withstand the will of peoples.

8. The United Nations should make its contribution to the great cause of the liberation of the colonial peoples forthwith. It should recognize that the Spanish and Portuguese possessions were colonies, and as such subject to the provisions of Chapter XI of the Charter. It should adopt the draft declaration on the granting of independence (A/4502 and Corr.1), the implementation of which would mark the end of colonial rule and would bring freedom to all oppressed peoples.

9. Mr. EILAN (Israel) said that the report of the Special Committee was so important that it should certainly be taken into account whenever questions of colonial status arose. It had also, however, an immediate historic importance in that it demonstrated the Committee's responsibility in that field.

10. In voting in favour of General Assembly resolution 1467 (XIV) establishing the Special Committee, his delegation had been guided by two main considerations.

It had realized the practical value of principles in determining whether a territory had attained independence. It had also wished that everything possible should be done to accelerate the process of national emancipation, especially in Africa. During the general debate in the Assembly (897th plenary meeting) the Israel Minister for Foreign Affairs had said that nothing was so debasing as national dependence and inequality and nothing so exhilarating as national independence and equality, and that no nation had been ordained to rule over others or fated to be ruled by others.

11. The Special Committee's report sought to interpret certain provisions of Chapter XI of the Charter in the light of changing circumstances. If it were adopted, it would have to be regarded as an authoritative interpretation of the provisions governing the obligations of Member States in relation to territories for which they were responsible. Expressing his satisfaction that the Special Committee had achieved unanimity, he pointed out that the report rightly linked the fulfilment of the legitimate aspirations of dependent peoples with the preservation of international peace and security; the existence in Africa of Non-Self-Governing Territories side by side with free and independent States might well cause international friction.

12. Moreover, the Special Committee had confined itself strictly to its terms of reference. Despite the diversity among territories "of the colonial type", it stated, in principle I, that every Administering Member was under the obligation to transmit information; and, in principle III, that that obligation should be carried out with due regard to the fulfilment of international law. Principles IV and V defined the territories to which that obligation applied. In assuming that a territory might reach a full measure of self-government by free association with an independent State or by integration with an independent State, the Committee had obviously been guided by certain specific cases with which it was acquainted and by a problem with which it was faced at the current session and which concerned the practical application of the principles.

13. The representatives of Ghana, Liberia and Venezuela, among others, had drawn the Committee's attention to the specific case of the Portuguese possessions in Africa. Although there was no reference to them in the report, there was no doubt that it was a question of testing the contention of the Government of Portugal that those possessions were not colonies but an integral part of the metropolitan territory. That contention was based on the constitutional amendment of 11 June 1951, which had transformed the overseas territories into overseas provinces. It was essential, however, that the political realities of the day should be taken into account: if the principles set forth in the report were to be applied to Mozambique and Angola, the inevitable conclusion would be that principle IV imposed an a priori obligation on Portugal to transmit information on those two territories; similarly, that the integration which had taken place in 1951 had not met the conditions laid down in principle IX and that the people of the two territories did not possess "equal status and rights of citizenship and equal guarantees", as provided for in principle VIII. Angola and Mozambique could therefore be regarded as territories "of the colonial type", in the terms of principle I.

14. The question was whether or not Portugal was under an obligation—legal or moral—to submit information on the social, economic and educational advancement of those territories. The present situation was fraught with danger, for, as the Special Committee had pointed out, the obligations of Members under Chapter XI were not limited to Article 73: the principle of good neighbourliness mentioned in Article 74 reinforced the obligation to transmit information. His delegation therefore sincerely hoped that Portugal would consent to carry out to the full its obligations and responsibilities, as other Western Powers, no less great and ancient, had freely done.

15. Mr. SALL (Senegal) said that the obligations imposed on the Administering Members by the Charter reflected the unshakable determination of the international community to lead the colonized peoples to self-government or independence. Since 1946 more than a hundred million people in nearly thirty Non-Self-Governing Territories had attained the objectives of Chapter XI; the determination of the fifty founding Members to abolish the colonial system had therefore become the will of nearly ninety-nine States. The Committee was now better able to interpret Article 73 e in accordance with the interests of the inhabitants of the Non-Self-Governing Territories, for many of its members had experienced colonization and knew that independence was no longer a favour to be granted by the administering Power but an international obligation arising out of the political evolution of those Territories. It was the bounden duty of the United Nations to do away with the colonial system, which was characterized by political domination, economic exploitation and loss of human dignity. For that reason the Senegalese delegation was in favour of the clear and logical principles set out in the report of the Special Committee of Six, which would enable Member States to interpret Article 73 e in accordance with the spirit and letter of the Charter and with the lessons learnt from the political advancement of the Non-Self-Governing Territories.

16. Principle IV would suffice to prove that the possessions of Portugal and Spain, particularly those in Africa, were Non-Self-Governing Territories and that, by refusing to transmit information on those territories, the two States were violating the Charter. The Senegalese delegation solemnly urged the two States to abandon their negative attitude and to assist the peoples under their domination to advance towards self-government and independence in an orderly and peaceful manner. Those peoples, who knew themselves to have a civilization and a culture as authentic as those claimed by Spain and Portugal, would inevitably achieve the independence they aspired to, for Spain and Portugal would not be able to resist the terrific force of African nationalism. He could confirm the absolute accuracy of the information given at the previous meeting by the representative of Iraq, for refugees from Portuguese Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands were arriving in Senegal day after day. Radio Dakar had even organized special broadcasts in Portuguese for them. The humiliating system of servitude, to which the inhabitants of the Portuguese and Spanish possessions were subjected, was but one more reason for insisting on the application of Article 73 e to those territories. Portugal's contention was a myth which deceived no one. How could an inhabitant of Portuguese Guinea identify himself with

a Portuguese, from whom he was divided by race, language, religion and belief? The entire system of Portuguese domination was based on the principle that the Portuguese were superior to the indigenous inhabitants. The truth was that the metropolitan country governed what it claimed were its overseas provinces without regard to the wishes of their inhabitants, whom it wrongly regarded as Portuguese, for they had never been consulted about the integration of their territories with Portugal. The explanations given by the Portuguese representative had not convinced the Senegalese delegation. It would vote in favour of the principles proposed by the Special Committee of Six and for their application to the Spanish and Portuguese possessions.

17. Mr. SOUZA-BRAGA (Brazil) remarked that, at previous sessions of the General Assembly, his delegation had considered only the legal aspects of the interpretation to be given to Chapter XI, and particularly Article 73 e, for the Brazilian people believed in law and were deeply suspicious of interpretations, because of their own history and the fact that their frontiers had been defined by arbitration. For that reason, the Brazilian delegation had always felt bound to exercise caution when considering international legal problems during the phase in which sources of law were being sought, the phase which a famous jurist had called that of "une construction de droit". When the Committee had approved the report before it, his delegation would feel bound to respect that decision also. It would then be a matter of "une constation de droit" and of defending a legal text.

18. The Brazilian delegation might be considered by some to be too loyal to its friends. It would emphasize, however, that the Africans, too, were its friends, for Brazil was the Latin-American country which was closest to Africa. Furthermore, bias usually arose from hatred, not from friendship. He who deplored a disagreement between two friends was often the person who listened to the voice of reason and whose only aim was to assist them.

19. The Brazilian delegation endorsed the principles set out in the report of the Special Committee of Six, which it would support. It trusted that the interpretation of those principles would be beyond reproach. It would be for the United Nations to make the final moral judgement, dispassionately. His delegation felt that it was too early, from a technical point of view, to give its opinion on the various theories which had been put forward regarding the application of the principles. It merely hoped that the draft resolutions to be submitted to the Committee—on which it reserved its position—would really help to improve the situation of the Non-Self-Governing Territories and that the decision would be just and humane.

20. Mr. ABIKUSNO (Indonesia) observed that he had already pointed out, at the fourteenth session, that in view of the varying interpretations given to Article 73 and of recent events in Africa, it had become urgently necessary to establish the criteria for determining whether a territory was or was not a Non-Self-Governing Territory. The twelve principles defined by the Special Committee of Six were therefore very useful. They appeared to confirm the real nature of the links between the administering Powers and their dependent territories. As they were the result of agreement between three colonial Powers and three

non-administering Powers, they should be a step forward towards a solution of the conflict between those two groups of Member States. Indeed, the administering Powers appeared to have no more doubts about their obligation to inform the United Nations of the policy they were applying in the Non-Self-Governing Territories. The regrettable reservations made by some delegations, however, made it questionable whether the administering Powers had really been convinced that their former position was untenable. Only the application of the principles would show whether real progress had been made.

21. Principle I showed that there had been a considerable advance in colonial thinking, for it underlined the multilateral character of Chapter XI, particularly when principle I was considered in relation to principle III. It showed that it was for the United Nations to decide whether territories of the colonial type still existed and whether information about conditions in those territories should be transmitted. His delegation had always interpreted Chapter XI in that way.

22. Nevertheless, the Committee might still be faced with the same difficulties as before. Principle X acknowledged that the authority of the United Nations could be limited by security and constitutional considerations, which the colonial Powers would define unilaterally. Principle X therefore conflicted with principle III. Whereas principle III stated that the obligation to transmit information should be carried out in accordance with international law, under principle X the very elements of that law, such as the political and constitutional advancement of the territories, which would affect their future behaviour towards foreign countries, would remain within the exclusive competence of the colonial powers. The Fourth Committee had, however, recognized in many resolutions that advancement in the different fields was interconnected. Furthermore, the development of the former Non-Self-Governing Territories which had now become independent showed how desirable it was that the United Nations should be kept informed of the political and constitutional advancement of those Territories. It should be the responsibility of the United Nations to decide when security and constitutional considerations were to be taken into account. Otherwise, the United Nations might find itself without any information at a certain stage in the development of those Territories. The Indonesian delegation trusted that the principles defined by the Special Committee of Six would help the Non-Self-Governing Territories to achieve independence in a peaceful manner. It had nevertheless felt obliged to point out the difficulties which might arise in their application, particularly as the considerations put forward by Spain and Portugal to justify their intransigent attitude were of a constitutional nature.

23. Mr. KABBANI (Saudi Arabia) recalled that for many years the Committee had been holding long debates, in which some delegations had put forward legal quibbles to deny the real facts of geography and history, on the obligation laid down in Article 73 e, until the General Assembly had decided, in resolution 1467 (XIV), to establish the Special Committee of Six. He congratulated that Committee on the work it had done and whole-heartedly supported the twelve principles set forth in its report (A/4526).

24. Principles I, IV, VII, VIII and IX—the last two being so complementary that his delegation regarded them as one—conflicted with the views put forward by some of the administering Powers. It was not enough, however, to call some territories "overseas provinces" in order to avoid the obligation of transmitting information. In that connexion, he associated himself with the comments made by the representatives of Ceylon (1035th meeting) and Venezuela (1032nd meeting).

25. The twelve principles were, however, meaningless by themselves; they would take on full significance only if the Committee saw that they were applied in a realistic manner by clearly defining and listing the Non-Self-Governing Territories regarding which the Administering Members would be expected to transmit information. His delegation would be prepared to co-sponsor a draft resolution directed towards that end.

26. Mr. MAGHERU (Romania) observed that, by defining what should be understood by a "full measure of self-government", the Special Committee of Six had established the criteria for the application of Chapter XI and thus rendered a valuable service to the General Assembly; yet in so doing it had only reproduced, in greater detail, the sense of certain resolutions that had already been adopted on that question of principle. Its work had been essential, for since 1955, despite the efforts of the majority of delegations in the Fourth Committee, Spain and Portugal had refused to carry out their obligations under Chapter XI. The standards laid down by the Special Committee confirmed the fact that some territories such as Angola, Mozambique, Portuguese Guinea and Spanish Sahara, were not yet self-governing and did not satisfy the conditions set forth in principles VI *et seq.* of the report of the Special Committee; consequently, Spain and Portugal administered colonial territories and were therefore obliged to comply with the provisions of Chapter XI.

27. The continued refusal of those two States to accept their obligations was the more serious in that the national liberation movement of the colonial countries, especially those of Africa, was gaining unprecedented momentum and that the agenda of the General Assembly included a study of the draft declaration on the granting of independence. Yet the steps taken in the Portuguese colonies, for example, were not in the direction of independence but were designed to suppress any aspirations to independence; in a report made before the United States House of Representatives, some alarming facts had been disclosed: deportation and execution of leaders of the national liberation movement, official encouragement of colonization in Angola and Mozambique, exploitation of indigenous workers, corporal punishment and legally sanctioned racial discrimination. His delegation was convinced that the inhabitants of the Portuguese and Spanish territories had as much right to independence as any other people under colonial administration, and any decision which the General Assembly might take to proclaim the independence of the colonial peoples would be applicable to those territories.

28. Mr. ZIKRIA (Afghanistan) said that the Charter was a wisely integrated body of rules which should further the development of the international community in peace and security towards a prosperous and free

world. It was thus a living document, the Chapters of which all hung together and could not be arbitrarily divided into totally separate entities. His delegation, which upheld that realistic and dynamic conception, had always wanted Chapter XI to be interpreted in keeping with the well-being of all peoples subjected to the domination of administering Powers and not in the interests of those Powers themselves. It had also maintained that the General Assembly itself was competent to decide on the principles which should guide Members in determining whether or not an obligation existed to transmit the information called for in Article 73 e and it had voted in favour of General Assembly resolution 1467 (XIV) establishing the Special Committee of Six.

29. The clarity and precision of the report submitted by the Special Committee was praiseworthy. The principles it set forth listed all the factors on the basis of which it could be concluded that all the territories known to be of the colonial type were indeed Non-Self-Governing Territories within the meaning of the Charter. They marked a decisive step in the history of the development of the right of peoples to self-determination and would make it possible to refute all the allegedly juridical arguments which certain colonial Powers, hopeful of protecting their private interests, had not hesitated to set up against the opinion of the large majority of Member States.

30. His delegation could not, however, fully endorse all the principles in their present form. It had particular reservations regarding principle IX (b), under which the possibility of United Nations supervision of the process of integration of a Non-Self-Governing Territory with an independent State was regarded only as a desirable contingency in certain circumstances. It could not agree that the peoples to whom the provisions of Chapter XI applied should not receive the same treatment as did the peoples under trusteeship and it had always called for effective United Nations supervision in the Non-Self-Governing Territories. It categorically rejected the idea of the association or integration of a colonial territory with an independent State without supervision, for association and integration had often been effected against the will of the inhabitants and hence in defiance of the principles of self-determination and the provisions of Chapter XI.

31. His delegation had reservations also about principle II, which spoke only of a full measure of self-government as the objective for the territories, and not of independence, in spite of the definition of full autonomy given in principle VI. His delegation strongly urged that the term "independence" should appear in all parts of all documents dealing with the future of the Non-Self-Governing Territories.

32. His delegation's general endorsement of the principles formulated by the Special Committee of Six did not imply that it wished to prolong the existence of the colonial system. The days of that system were numbered. Nothing could prevent the peoples still in subjection from attaining independence. The Administering Members would be well advised to carry out their Charter obligations in respect of dependent peoples conscientiously, before they were obliged to bow to an inescapable fate.

33. Mr. DARMAN (Somalia) said that, although his country had not taken part in the discussion which had led to the establishment of the Special Committee of Six, it could not, as an African State, fail to be concerned with the principles set forth in that Committee's report, since the fate of so many Africans depended on the outcome of the Fourth Committee's deliberations. Some speakers had implied that, as the item under discussion was of a delicate nature, the new Members should approach it with caution and should even abstain from participating in the debate. Yet it was precisely because his country was an African State which had only recently attained independence that it should make clear what independence meant to it, and there was no better way of doing that than by supporting any body of principles or resolutions which were calculated to accelerate the progress of all Africans and all dependent peoples towards a full measure of self-government. For Somalia to abdicate that responsibility would be to forfeit its right to independence.

34. His delegation fully supported the principles set forth by the Special Committee because they were equitable and just and respected both the spirit and the letter of Chapter XI of the Charter. Furthermore, they recognized the collective responsibility of Member States in respect of the self-determination of dependent peoples. It had been as a result of that collective responsibility that the General Assembly, in resolution 289 (IV), had placed Italian Somaliland under trusteeship for ten years, with such successful results that Somalia had become independent five months before the prescribed date.

35. He associated himself in particular with the observations of the representatives of Ghana (1032nd meeting), Mexico (1031st meeting), Nigeria and Ceylon (1035th meeting). Some speakers had named Mozambique, Angola and the Canary Islands as territories to which the twelve principles outlined by the Special Committee should apply; his delegation could think of other territories, too, and it reserved the right to advocate a more general application of the principles. It held that the General Assembly was competent to establish principles to guide the Administering Members in determining the territories for which there was an obligation to transmit information. His delegation would therefore support the approval of the report submitted by the Special Committee.

36. Mr. AZNAR (Spain), speaking on a point of order, pointed out to the Somali representative that no speaker had tried to include the Canary Islands among the territories to which the provisions of Article 73 should apply.

37. Mr. NOGUEIRA (Portugal) asked whether, in accordance with the established procedure, the Secretariat had written to the new Members to inquire whether they administered territories to which the provisions of Chapter XI applied and, if so, whether their replies had been received.

38. Mr. KUNST (Secretary of the Committee) said that the Secretariat had not yet had time to write to the new Members on the subject.

39. Mr. DIALLO (Mali) said that, as the representative of a new Member State, he considered it discourteous of the Portuguese representative to imply that the sixteen States which had just been admitted to the United Nations might have colonies. Those

States, most of which were African, could in fact be proud of never having shown any racism.

40. Mr. NOGUEIRA (Portugal) explained that he had simply made use of his undeniable right to ask the Secretariat whether it had followed an established procedure.

41. Mr. BOUZIRI (Tunisia) observed that no doubt the Portuguese representative had not intended to be discourteous, but he had asked his question in a tendentious way, so that the African States had had reason to feel offended; in that sense he joined the Malian representative in protesting against statements which could cast aspersions on the new African States. The question asked by the representative of Portugal was in line with the colonialist policy of his government.

Statements by the representatives of Mali and Liberia

42. Mr. DIALLO (Mali) asked the Chairman of the Committee to convey his country's condolences to the

family of Mr. Félix-Roland Moumié, whose recent death at Geneva had been the result of poisoning.

43. Miss BROOKS (Liberia) associated herself with the tribute to Mr. Moumié and wished also to pay a tribute to the memory of Mr. John Kale, who had likewise been active in the struggle for the liberation of Africa.

44. She announced that the Governments of Ethiopia and Liberia had instituted proceedings against the Union of South Africa in the International Court of Justice.

45. The CHAIRMAN took note of the statements made by the representatives of Mali and Liberia.

The meeting rose at 5.35 p.m.

United Nations
**GENERAL
ASSEMBLY**

FIFTEENTH SESSION

Official Records

**FOURTH COMMITTEE, 1038th
MEETING**

Monday, 7 November 1960,
at 10.50 a.m.



NEW YORK

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Chairman: Mr. Adnan M. PACHACHI (Iraq).

AGENDA ITEM 38

Study of principles which should guide Members in determining whether or not an obligation exists to transmit the information called for in Article 73 e of the Charter of the United Nations: report of the Special Committee established under General Assembly resolution 1467 (XIV) (A/4526) (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE (continued)

1. Mr. BLUSZTAJN (Poland) wondered why the representative of Portugal had felt called upon to deal at such length on legal matters in his statement at the Committee's 1036th meeting, since in that representative's view the question under discussion was not of direct concern to his country. Perhaps Portugal believed that it had not only a civilizing mission in Africa but also an educating mission in the United Nations, or perhaps it thought itself to be the only true defender of international law and the Charter. Such a defence would be more convincing if it was more disinterested. The arguments put forward were not new. They had already been rejected by the majority of the Members of the United Nations and by a majority of the exponents of international law and commentators on the Charter. They were also in obvious contradiction to the entire body of practice of the General Assembly.

2. The representative of Portugal had, in support of his theory, cited various legal opinions, including that of Mr. Vyshinsky. Those opinions, however, tended rather to prove that the United Nations could only exist if its Members acted in conformity with the provisions of the Charter, and that the Charter, far from having been created as a means of perpetuating the colonial system, provided especially for the liberation of all people under colonial domination through the exercise of their right to self-determination. Those opinions also proved that the task of the United Nations was to apply the rules of international law in the interests of peace and progress. Neither the United Nations nor international law was an end in

itself but rather the outcome of the social and historical evolution of the world, and they should both make it possible to find appropriate solutions for international problems.

3. The abstract title of the agenda item under discussion should not be allowed to mislead. It was not a question of indulging in theoretical discussions or of increasing already copious documentation but of solving practical problems arising from the refusal of two States to conform to the obligations of the Charter and to transmit information on overseas territories which to all intents and purposes were colonies. His delegation had voted without any great enthusiasm for General Assembly resolution 1467 (XIV), under which the Special Committee of Six on the Transmission of Information under Article 73 e of the Charter had been set up, because it had been convinced that the problem should have been solved long before and that the conclusions of that Committee would only confirm the opinions of his delegation. He asked whether there was any need to prove that the Charter was a multilateral international treaty whose every Chapter was a source of rights and obligations for Member States whatever the date of their admission; whether it was still necessary to prove that all the provisions of the Charter imposed obligations, regardless of the Chapter in which those provisions were contained; and whether it was still possible to deny that colonial problems were the concern of the international community and had therefore ceased to be within the exclusive jurisdiction of the administering Powers. No trick of interpretation could hide the fact that the principles of the sacred trust of the administering Powers and of the paramount interests of the inhabitants of the territories would be meaningless if the policy of those Powers was judged in the light of their own ideas of the happiness of the peoples of their colonies rather than according to the true aspirations of those peoples. Unilateral constitutional reforms were not sufficient to change the nature of a policy which remained fundamentally the same, for all the available information confirmed the tragic situation of the inhabitants of the territories administered by Spain and Portugal. The Governments of those countries would not make the inhabitants Spaniards or Portuguese by such methods. In any case, even if that policy succeeded, which seemed doubtful, it would be a reprehensible one, because no country had the right to assume the power of imposing on another people its own religion, culture and way of life. The policy of assimilation was a dishonest one which never aimed at equality between the colonizer and the colonial peoples but at maintaining the domination of the one over the other.

4. His delegation thought it unnecessary to analyse in detail the principles set forth in section V, part B, of the report of the Special Committee of Six (A/4526), since it was no longer a question of determining

whether a given country should or should not transmit information on its colonies but of making a solemn declaration in favour of abolishing colonialism in all its forms and liberating immediately all peoples under colonial domination, including those colonized by Spain and Portugal.

Mr. Ortiz de Rozas (Argentina), Vice-Chairman, took the Chair.

5. Mr. CABA (Guinea) noted that the Special Committee of Six, in the light of the factors annexed to General Assembly resolution 742 (VIII), had established twelve principles which affirmed the exact legal interpretation to be given to Article 73 e of the Charter and which were applicable to certain African countries still under Portuguese, Spanish or United Kingdom domination.

6. Those who continued to defend the idea of integration or assimilation of so-called overseas provinces would come into conflict with the criterion of geographical separation set out in principle IV enunciated by the Special Committee. In those territories all legislative, executive and judicial powers were in the hands of the metropolitan country. Faced with the irresistible movement of African nationalism, certain Powers had attempted to give their colonies the fictitious status of overseas provinces by unilaterally providing them with constitutions which could not, however, in any way be binding on the people concerned. Any referendum on the question of association, assimilation or integration in Angola, Mozambique, Portuguese Guinea, the Cape Verde Islands, Rio de Oro or Spanish Guinea would prove that geographically, politically and economically the inhabitants of those territories had nothing in common with Portugal or Spain. In that connexion he would refer the Fourth Committee to principle VII of the Special Committee of Six.

7. Economic and social conditions in the territories under Portuguese, Spanish and United Kingdom domination bore all the marks of acute under-development. With the increase in the technical and industrial progress of the metropolitan countries, the economic imbalance in their colonies became more pronounced. In Angola, for instance, four fifths of the coffee plantations belonged to the colonists, and the colonial Administration fixed the prices of indigenous agricultural products at very low levels, was abolishing the system of barter, contributed no effective technical assistance, systematically drove the Africans from the most fertile lands, and confiscated agricultural implements on the pretext that the farmers were not paying their taxes. Under-nourishment was rife, and in most of the territories there was less than one physician to 100,000 inhabitants. According to information provided by WHO, the infant mortality rate among the people of Angola, for instance, was more than 40 per cent. In the island of São Tomé the mortality rate was the highest in the world. The people were deliberately kept in ignorance. The enforced use of foreign languages hindered the development of national languages, the flowering of indigenous arts, and the growth of a national consciousness. The Portuguese Government gave the most striking example of racial discrimination embodied in a constitutional law by dividing the inhabitants of Angola into five categories—Portuguese born in Portugal; Portuguese born in Angola or elsewhere in Africa; mulattos;

assimilated Negroes, who constituted a very small minority; and other Negroes, namely the vast majority. Apropos of such a clearly defined system, he would like to ask the representative of Portugal how many of the people of Angola were represented on an equal footing with Portuguese in the metropolitan Parliament, since in the Portuguese colonies only Portuguese citizens had the right to vote.

8. He would point out, moreover, that when faced with the nationalist demands of underground movements, the Portuguese Government had mobilized a whole system of military repression in its colonies, and as a preventive measure had increased patrols, strengthened air force installations, fortified the more important frontier posts, and would soon increase the strength of Portuguese troops in Angola to 60,000 men.

9. The Africans were still struggling for their independence, and the Portuguese authorities were adopting repressive and often blood-thirsty measures, as they had done in February 1953 when thousands of Africans had been massacred, or in August 1959 when some thirty persons had been killed in so-called Portuguese Guinea. Political movements had nevertheless been launched, the best known of which was the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola, to which the majority of the fifty-seven persons involved in the Luanda trial belonged. In all the countries under Portuguese domination patriots were demanding more and more forcibly the immediate recognition of the right of peoples to national independence, as well as total and unconditional amnesty, the immediate release of all political prisoners, the establishment and effective exercise of public liberties, the immediate withdrawal of Portuguese armed forces and the liquidation of existing military bases on their territories. They were also demanding that before the end of 1960 a round-table conference, in which all political parties of the different countries and the Portuguese Government would be represented, should be held for the purpose of seeking a peaceful solution of the colonial problem in the so-called overseas provinces in the interests of all parties concerned, and particularly of the Portuguese Government.

10. In the view of his delegation, there was no doubt that the territories administered by Portugal, Spain and the United Kingdom were in a position of subordination to a foreign Power and thus came within the scope of principle V enunciated by the Special Committee of Six. He observed that, in spite of the facts, the Spanish, French and Portuguese Governments had, like true colonial Powers, expressed identical views on the obligation to transmit the information called for in Article 73 e of the Charter and had declared that they alone were competent in all matters concerning territories under their full sovereignty. While those three Powers admitted that the main concern of the Charter was the well-being and advancement of peoples, they considered that the legal and political status of a territory need only be taken into account in so far as it affected the life of the people. In that case, patent facts like forced labour, the officially sanctioned transfer each year of more than 400,000 Africans to the mines of Rhodesia and South Africa, the massacre of more than 1,000 Negroes on the island of São Tomé in February 1953, the tragic plight of Algeria and the fearful infant mortality rate in the Cape Verde Islands would all be deemed to

be of no consequence in the life of the peoples concerned.

11. Mr. MAX (France), speaking on a point of order, recalled that the Committee was not discussing the question of Algeria.

12. Mr. ALWAN (Iraq) noted that the representative of Guinea had mentioned Algeria in the course of general remarks on colonialism, so that there seemed to him to be no need to raise a point of order.

13. The CHAIRMAN recalled that speakers should limit their remarks to the agenda item under discussion, but that the representative of Guinea had not brought up Algeria in connexion with the substance of the discussion.

14. Mr. MAX (France), taking the floor on a point of order, repeated his remark.

15. Mr. CABA (Guinea), continuing his statement, noted that the colonial Powers often cited the restrictive clauses in Article 73 e of the Charter, while forgetting that those clauses could refer only to the volume of information relating to economic, social and educational conditions that was to be transmitted and that the obligation to transmit that information remained. There likewise remained the obligation assumed by the Administering Members to assist the inhabitants in their progressive advancement towards self-government.

16. He was of the opinion that the Fourth Committee and the General Assembly ought to adopt unequivocally the principles formulated by the Special Committee of Six. Such action would make it possible to establish that: firstly, Rio de Oro, Ifni Territory, Spanish Guinea, the island of Fernando Pó and Rio Muni were Non-Self-Governing Territories under Spanish domination; secondly, so-called Portuguese Guinea, Angola, Mozambique, the Cape Verde Islands, the enclave of Cabinda, the islands of São Tomé and Príncipe, São João Batista de Ajudá, Goa and dependencies, Macau and dependencies, Timor and dependencies were Non-Self-Governing Territories under Portuguese domination; thirdly, Southern Rhodesia, Bechuanaland, Basutoland, Swaziland and Zanzibar were Non-Self-Governing Territories under United Kingdom domination. Portugal, Spain and the United Kingdom, which would thus be obliged to transmit information on those Territories, maintained that the General Assembly was not competent to require Member States to begin submitting information. The General Assembly had stated, however, in the last preambular paragraph of resolution 748 (VIII) and of resolution 849 (IX), that it was competent to decide whether a Non-Self-Governing Territory had or had not attained a full measure of self-government as referred to in Chapter XI of the Charter. The General Assembly was thus by that fact also competent to decide when the Administering Members ought to begin submitting the information in question. He likewise recalled that the General Assembly had decided not to require a two-thirds majority in voting on questions dealing with information from Non-Self-Governing Territories and could therefore decide by a simple majority of the Member States to request Portugal, Spain and the United Kingdom to fulfil the obligations imposed on them by Article 73 e of the Charter.

17. That decision was especially urgent as people of the colonized countries were more than ever deter-

mined to break the colonial yoke and henceforth only the will of the people concerned and their rightful aspirations to national independence should count. Portugal, Spain, the United Kingdom and France could not in any case block the national liberation movements, and in that connexion the discussion of the report of the Special Committee of Six was already outpaced by events, since the General Assembly had before it a draft declaration calling for the independence of the peoples in the colonial territories (A/4502 and Corr.1). The colonial Powers would be well advised to abandon their colonial positions in Africa before it was too late.

Mr. Pachachi (Iraq) resumed the Chair.

18. Mr. NOGUEIRA (Portugal) reserved the right to reply to the representative of Guinea as soon as he had been able to study the text of his statement, but he asked for clarification of the number and date of the Portuguese law which, according to the Guinean representative, was supposed to have established in Angola five categories of inhabitants.

19. Mr. CABA (Guinea) assured the representative of Portugal that his statement had been based on archives, official documents and statistics that were available to him. He added that the establishment of the five categories of inhabitants in Angola was but one discriminatory measure among many others.

20. Mr. AZNAR (Spain) felt that the present discussion should have given him an opportunity to prove the Spanish delegation's strong determination to take part in the work of the United Nations and co-operate in the common task provided for in the Charter. Two reasons had obliged him to change his plans and refrain from delivering the remarks he would have liked to utter. In the first place, at the 1036th meeting the representative of Portugal, in a remarkable speech, had analysed in detail the scope and significance of Article 73 e of the Charter, and it would be difficult to equal his arguments. It was unfortunate, however, that the political passions dominating the discussion were preventing the Committee from engaging in a thorough study of the legal problem stated by the Portuguese representative. In the second place, the intransigent position of those who refused to consider the substance of the problem because they could see only its superficial aspects might entail serious consequences for the coexistence, within the United Nations, of delegations of differing opinions and might extend the cold war to the Committee itself. What lay beyond the screen of quotations, figures and statistics was no more than desperate and furious political campaign instead of poised and serene argument.

21. The Committee had before it the report of the Special Committee of Six, which supposedly was to be considered in connexion with the present agenda item. In an important section of that report were listed the principles that were to guide the Member States in determining whether the obligation to submit information, in accordance with the provisions of Article 73 e of the Charter, applied to them or not. The Spanish delegation, after careful study of the report and its principles, had felt in all good faith that the members of the Fourth Committee, disregarding their political position, would take up that code of conduct, that brief fundamental charter of information concerning the Non-Self-Governing Territories. Up to the present stage of the discussion, however, the Committee had been divided into three groups. Firstly, there were

those that deemed it useful to consider the principles without as yet discussing their practical application; secondly, those that wished merely to consider the practical implementation of the principles; and, thirdly, those that maintained that it was pointless to open a discussion whose result was a foregone conclusion. For the last-mentioned delegations, any further argument and any further statement by the representatives of Spain or Portugal were rejected in advance on the grounds that the Committee had no time to waste in legal quibbling.

22. He asked, however, whether the Fourth Committee, with the exception of a few delegations, had seriously raised the question whether the principles enumerated by the Special Committee were consonant with reason, whether they were in accordance with the historical and legal realities of the problem, and whether they were in harmony with the fundamental principles of international law. Had it sufficiently clarified the question whether those principles really served the principles set forth in the Charter? Absolutely not. The representative of El Salvador, in proposing the closure of the debate at the 1033rd meeting, had, of course, intended only to draw the Committee's attention to the need for bringing the discussion to bear on the principles enumerated; at the same meeting the representative of Bolivia had, it is true, raised problems of interpretation of constitutional law; in a statement at the 1035th meeting the representative of Czechoslovakia had, indeed, approached the question in the manner desired by the Spanish delegation and had only cited specific examples out of concern for the substance of the problem; in presenting the Special Committee's report (1031st meeting), the representatives of Mexico and India had displayed, as usual, a lofty spirit. The fact remained, nevertheless, that the report of the Special Committee and the list of twelve principles had been praised in very general terms, as if out of mere courtesy.

23. For its part, the Spanish delegation wished to congratulate the Special Committee, several of whose members had had to renounce certain ideas and abandon certain profound personal convictions. That sacrifice, however, had led that Committee to take refuge behind a whole series of very vague expressions scattered throughout a framework that was imprecise and subject to the most widely varying interpretations. When the representative of Bolivia had noted the polemics on the concept of "nation" mentioned in paragraph 17 of the report, he had been told that that was merely a subject of academic interest. Likewise, when the Special Committee stated in paragraph 18 of its report that the "Charter is a living document and the obligations under Chapter XI must be viewed in the light of the changing spirit of the times", the question might be asked to whom this discovery was directed and whether the inescapable corollary to it was that the Fourth Committee might modify the Charter simply to keep it in step with the "changing spirit". When it was realized to what extent a country's constitution was protected against any violation and how provision was made for amendments only through a carefully controlled process, one could not help but ask what would happen if a majority group could without hindrance interpret a national constitution along lines favourable to its interests. Who, moreover, was going to define "the changing spirit of the times"? The truth was that when the Special Committee of Six considered

that the principles should be applied "in the light of the facts and specific circumstances in each case", as was stated in paragraph 20 of its report, it was leaving the way open for all possible interpretations. To all appearances, then, its report was nothing more than an expression of an ideal which, though lofty, was very difficult to attain.

24. The Charter was categorical. If its wording was felt as not clearly representing the thoughts of its authors, then it must be amended by the prescribed procedure. Such a revision of the Charter was perhaps desirable, but there could be no question of altering its underlying meaning. The Special Committee had laid down, in principle IV, that there was, prima facie, an obligation to transmit information in respect of a territory which was geographically separate and distinct ethnically and/or culturally from the country administering it. It might be asked what the basis was for this criterion of geographical separation, and why it had been introduced into the principle in question. How wide must the separation be: the width of a strait or of an ocean? It was easy to see what dangers might result from too loose an interpretation of that principle. Yet the Special Committee had thought it proper to lay down, in addition to the geographical, ethnical and cultural distinctions, other elements of "an administrative, political, juridical, economic or historical nature" (principle V). Who was to define the various factors enumerated in those two principles—the Fourth Committee, the Special Committee, a tribunal or a supreme authority? If the various criteria there laid down had to be taken into consideration, the independence, liberty and sovereignty of States would be in jeopardy.

25. A majority of Member States might give their support to the principles set out by the Special Committee. Nevertheless, the substance of the problem would not have been examined by the Fourth Committee, doubtless because when political elements had been removed, there was nothing left of the document except the efforts made by its drafters to formulate definitions on paper with regard to a most complex matter.

26. Those delegations which considered that the Fourth Committee was wasting its time should perhaps be thanked for their frankness. Unless it was wished to embark on a protracted legal discussion of the principles contained in the report, there seemed to be little point in having raised the question or in having allowed the discussion to develop very rapidly into a series of specific attacks on two countries. The Fourth Committee had not observed the rules of a genuine discussion on universal principles applicable to all Member States. The supposition that Spain was a monster which lived on the flesh and blood of the African peoples and that its opponents were a group of archangels defending the liberty of the world had led the Committee to accuse and condemn one country, in an indefensibly discriminatory manner, under a law which did not yet exist. When the scale of values was reversed in that way, one could only cling to the hope that moral and spiritual forces would restore justice where it was being flouted and remedy the wrong.

27. The fact was that many delegations had forgotten the position taken up by the Spanish delegation on the interpretation of Chapter XI of the Charter, or had not yet had time to take note of it. He therefore felt

obliged to repeat what he had said at the previous session, namely, that Spain did not know what a Non-Self-Governing Territory was and did not accept the obligation to send information on any so-called Non-Self-Governing Territories which it administered, but that in view of its desire to co-operate with the United Nations it was prepared in due course to transmit information on its overseas provinces, in the selection of which information he had himself collaborated. Although some had considered that attitude questionable, the allegation could hardly be made that the Spanish Government only replied with refusals. Spain condemned colonialism and all exploitation of peoples as being an anachronism, and had always done so. There was no problem which came within its jurisdiction which could not be resolved by means of bilateral negotiations with countries which considered that they had some just claim. The Spanish Government based its attitude on honour and justice, and only asked the same in return.

28. He reserved the right to speak again later with regard to the application of the principles contained in the report of the Special Committee of Six.

29. Mr. GASSOU (Togo) said that he was pleased to note that Spain considered itself an anti-colonialist country, and he hoped that in due time it would turn its statements into deeds.

30. The item on the agenda might seem a legal question. In reality it was an essentially political question. The reason why it was so important to discover the ideas behind Article 73 e, and to set that Article in its historical context, was that certain Member States had systematically refused to furnish any information at all on the territories which they ruled, on the pretext that those territories, in spite of their remoteness and their economic, ethnical and cultural differences, formed an integral part of the metropolitan country simply on the grounds that the metropolitan parliament had so decided without consulting the indigenous peoples. By invoking such legal and constitutional fictions, Portugal and Spain were in fact only repeating arguments which had already been invoked by other colonialist States, but the various appellations that the latter had successively given to their empires had not prevented those empires from crumbling. The mere change in names decided on by Portugal in 1951 had deceived nobody, not even the Portuguese; its sole object had been to enable Portugal, after its admission to the United Nations, to dispute the Organization's right to be informed on the conditions in which it administered its colonies. The reason was obvious. It would presumably not have had the courage to admit openly that the inhabitants of the territories were subjected to forced labour, slavery and racial discrimination.

31. The true meaning of Article 73 e of the Charter was made clear by the preamble of that Article, in

which the words "not yet" indicated that it was essential that the peoples in question should one day attain a full measure of self-government; and by paragraphs a and b, which laid on Administering Members the obligation to ensure the economic and social advancement of the peoples, with due respect for their culture, and to develop self-government and assist in the progressive evolution of free political institutions. The obligations contained in paragraph e only ceased when a territory had attained a full measure of self-government; in other words, when the people, through free democratic processes, had appointed a parliament and a government or had decided in favour of union with some other independent country.

32. In its excellent report, the Special Committee of Six had clearly and logically codified the principles which should guide Member States in the interpretation of Article 73 e. The Togolese delegation endorsed that Committee's view that the Charter was a living document and that the obligations under Chapter XI must be viewed in the light of the changing spirit of the times. Since the drawing up of the Charter, the composition of the United Nations and the political map of the world had greatly altered, and the concessions made in 1945 to the colonial Powers would doubtless not have been possible today. Principle V was one of the most important and would be very useful in helping to decide whether the Portuguese territories were colonies or not. The reservations expressed by the United Kingdom with regard to principle X (A/4526, para. 15) were not encouraging if they meant that the information to be supplied could be reduced to nil even if the territory concerned was still of a colonial type. They were only acceptable if the requirements set out in alternative (a) of principle VI were fulfilled; in other words, if the territory became independent. Otherwise, the requirements laid down in principles VII, VIII and IX must be satisfied. The "constitutional relations" mentioned in principle XI were only to be taken into account if they resulted from the free expression of the wishes of the people, under universal adult suffrage, in a ballot supervised by the United Nations. Such supervision ought to be the rule in order to guarantee that the voting procedures were impartially conducted and to avoid what were commonly known as "elections 'à l'algérienne'".

33. The Togolese delegation therefore subscribed fully to the twelve principles set out by the Special Committee of Six, but reserved the right to speak again when consideration was given to the application of those principles in the case of the Portuguese and Spanish territories.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.

United Nations
**GENERAL
ASSEMBLY**

FIFTEENTH SESSION

Official Records

**FOURTH COMMITTEE, 1039th
MEETING**

Monday, 7 November 1960,
at 3.20 p.m.



NEW YORK

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Chairman: Mr. Adnan M. PACHACHI (Iraq).

In the absence of the Chairman, Mr. Ortiz de Rozas (Argentina), Vice-Chairman, took the Chair.

AGENDA ITEM 38

Study of principles which should guide Members in determining whether or not an obligation exists to transmit the information called for in Article 73 e of the Charter of the United Nations: report of the Special Committee established under General Assembly resolution 1467 (XIV) (A/4526) (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE (continued)

1. Miss BROOKS (Liberia) recalled that at the 1036th meeting the representative of Portugal had quoted extracts from a statement made to the Committee by the representative of the United States at the second session of the General Assembly. She would point out that many of those extracts had been quoted out of context. According to the Portuguese representative, the United States representative had said that sovereignty over dependent territories rested with the administering Power. In her view, which was supported by eminent international lawyers, that was not the case.
2. The representative of Portugal had quoted provisions of the Charter which he felt supported his point of view, but he had failed to substantiate his case or to convince the Liberian delegation that the principles set forth in section V, part B, of the report of the Special Committee on the Transmission of Information under Article 73 e of the Charter (A/4526) did not apply to the territories administered by Portugal.
3. Referring to the statement by the representative of Spain at the previous meeting, she said that while she took issue with that representative on his interpretation of Chapter XI of the Charter and, in certain respects, of the principles, she welcomed his assurance that his Government intended to transmit information on the territories it administered.
4. Mr. NOGUEIRA (Portugal) said that, though he appreciated the spirit in which her observation had

been made, he felt bound to protest against the Liberian representative's suggestion that he had quoted passages out of context. The passage in question had been quoted from a book by Mr. Hans Kelsen,^{1/} who was a great authority on international law and a serious and reliable scholar.

5. Mr. FARAHMAND (Iran) said that his delegation had been glad to learn that there had been a wide area of agreement within the Special Committee of Six on the basic principles involved. The Committee's report was a document of major importance since it had tried to reflect the spirit of Article 73 of the Charter.

6. The report, particularly principle IV, showed that the provisions of the Charter, and especially its emphasis on the fact that the interests of the inhabitants of the territories were paramount, contradicted the narrow interpretation of the wording of Chapter XI put forward by certain administering Powers in order to justify a position which could not be reconciled with the principles and purposes of the Charter. The clear statement in the first paragraph of Article 73 that the interests of the inhabitants of the Non-Self-Governing Territories were paramount governed the rest of that Article, including the obligation to transmit information, laid down in sub-paragraph e. Before being admitted to membership of the United Nations, States accepted the obligations imposed in the Charter: Article 73 e clearly laid down that it was the obligation of Member States administering Non-Self-Governing Territories to transmit information about them. Consequently, the whole question was merely one of determining whether or not a territory was actually self-governing. To do so it was necessary to take certain facts into account, such as the geographical considerations which had given rise to the notion of "metropolitan areas" referred to in Article 74 of the Charter, and other considerations such as differences in race, language and cultural heritage. There were also the factors listed in General Assembly resolution 742 (VIII), but those should be regarded purely as a guide and individual cases should be decided in the light of their particular circumstances.

7. The obligation to transmit information was an international obligation: in view of the movement towards independence in all Non-Self-Governing Territories and the existing world situation, failure to comply with it was tantamount to a rejection of international co-operation and to a denial of the principles and spirit of the Charter. The obligation remained in force until all the Territories had achieved a full measure of self-government, and an Administering Member was bound to comply with it until the General Assembly had examined all the information relevant to a change in a Territory's status. It was the application of that principle which gave the provisions of Article 73 their real meaning.

^{1/} Hans Kelsen, *The Law of the United Nations* (New York, Frederick A. Praeger Inc., 1950), pp. 552-553, footnote.

8. His delegation was in full agreement with the principles drawn up by the Special Committee of Six and hoped that, when adopted, they would be effectively applied to each individual colony.

9. Mr. KUKAN (Libya) said that, like the Special Committee of Six, his Government regarded the Charter as a living document and it carried out its international obligations in conformity with the principles of the Charter. Unfortunately, Portugal and Spain, though adhering to the Charter, had never fully carried out their obligations under it; indeed, they were trying to convince the Committee that they had no obligations under Article 73 e. His delegation's view was that the General Assembly alone was competent to decide whether or not an obligation existed to transmit information; it could not accept any other interpretation. His country had suffered long from colonialism and his delegation was therefore in a good position to realize what the inhabitants of the dependent territories were suffering and to appreciate their struggle for freedom. It was the duty of Member States to support those peoples, who could not speak for themselves, and to put an end to their humiliation; the United Nations must take immediate steps to help the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea to achieve self-government and independence in accordance with the aims of the Charter.

10. His delegation subscribed to the ideas voiced at the 1031st meeting by the representatives of Mexico and Yugoslavia, at the 1032nd meeting by the representatives of Ghana and Venezuela and at the 1036th meeting by the representative of Iraq; and it associated itself with the tributes to the Special Committee of Six. It strongly supported the principles which that Committee had evolved and believed that they would put an end to differences of opinion on the subject of whether or not a territory was self-governing; it urged the Administering Members not to disregard them.

11. Mr. EL AMIN (Sudan) said that Article 73 of the Charter imposed definite obligations on Member States responsible for Non-Self-Governing Territories, with which the majority of those States had complied. The Charter should not be interpreted unilaterally by individual Member States; that was a task which the General Assembly alone was competent to undertake. His delegation could not accept the arguments put forward by the representative of Portugal. The Spanish representative's statement, though interesting, lacked positive and constructive features; despite that representative's condemnation of colonialism, it was nevertheless a fact that there were African territories under Spanish colonial domination. It was regrettable that neither Spain nor Portugal had complied with the obligation to transmit information. Portugal's failure to do so was due to a political misconception that the territories it administered were an integral part of the metropolitan country. Not until 1951 had it adopted that position; for five hundred years before then its territories had been considered colonies.

12. The report of the Special Committee of Six was of the greatest importance. His delegation accepted the principles enumerated by that Committee and regarded them as a true interpretation of the Charter. One of the main purposes in setting up the Special Committee had been to establish whether the colonies of Portugal and Spain were to be regarded as provinces or as Non-Self-Governing Territories. If principle IV

was applied to them, it was clear that they were geographically separate and ethnically and culturally distinct, from which it followed that the two Powers were under an obligation to transmit information under Article 73 e.

13. The policy followed by Portugal in its territories contradicted both Chapter XI of the Charter and the principles in the report, especially principles V, VI, VII, VIII and IX. The policy of integration pursued by Portugal was detrimental to progress; that of so-called assimilation was not in the interests of the indigenous inhabitants and was carried on in defiance of Article 73 a of the Charter. Moreover, that policy had failed to produce many "assimilados"—in Mozambique there were only 4,349 out of a total population of some 5,650,000, the remainder being considered by the Portuguese authorities to be "non-civilized". The situation in the other Portuguese territories was no better and it was clear that the policy was only a cover for a ruthless policy of exploitation, the object of which was to keep the inhabitants in subjection in their own countries and to deprive them of education and national pride. He quoted several authorities who had reported that African adult males in those territories were compelled to work on the roads; if the men were absent on forced labour, then the women and children were called upon to repair the roads. Such conscript labour had to provide its own food and often its own tools.

14. In a recent joint communiqué, the Emperor of Ethiopia and the President of the Sudan had reaffirmed their determination to pursue the cause of the freedom of all Africans and the elimination of colonialism from Africa. His delegation and other African delegations were disturbed at the plight of Africans in the dependent territories. But there was a limit to human endurance; the nationalist movements around those peoples would not pass unheeded and his delegation felt that the policies in question were a danger to peace. A similar political myth had given rise to the situation in Algeria.

15. His delegation hoped that the principles would be approved unanimously.

Mr. Pachachi (Iraq) took the Chair.

16. Mr. MAX (France) protested against the reference in the closing remarks of the Sudanese representative's statement to a subject which was not on the agenda.

17. Mr. WESTERMAN (Panama) said that the Special Committee had carried out its task with great care and had succeeded in achieving agreement. The report marked a notable step forward towards the attainment of the aims set forth in Article 73 of the Charter, in particular in sub-paragraph b.

18. His delegation considered that the principles evolved by the Special Committee of Six, which were both moderate and precise, should be endorsed by the Fourth Committee and by the General Assembly. That was a matter of urgency in view of the shadows still cast over humanity by an anachronistic colonialism now completely outmoded. Principle III was of the greatest importance and his delegation fully agreed with the views the representative of Mexico had expressed on that principle at the 1031st meeting, to the effect that the fulfilment of the provisions of Article 73 e was an international obligation, that the inter-American system had affirmed that war was no longer an instrument of national policy, and that in the same manner the administration of colonies was no longer

an instrument of policy of any Member State and the right of peoples to self-determination was no longer governed solely by the policies of the administering Power.

19. The Moroccan representative on the Special Committee of Six had stated that it was a point of principle for his Government that the process of consultation should be supervised by the United Nations. That was also the view of the Panamanian delegation, which attached great importance to popular consultations. Principle IX merely recognized the desirability of United Nations supervision; he was aware, however, that that wording was due to the fact that in some cases United Nations supervision could only take place with the consent of the State administering the territory in question.

20. It was his delegation's view that there should be international supervision in the circumstances envisaged in cases (b) and (c) of principle VI. It followed from that that international supervision should be contemplated not only in the case of integration, referred to in principle IX, but also in the circumstances set out in principle VII, i.e., free association with an independent State. When situations arose which endangered good relations between peoples, common sense rendered it advisable that a popular consultation should take place under United Nations supervision. That was all the more necessary in cases where hostilities had resulted, producing loss of life and suffering among the civilian population; where fundamental human rights must be protected and peace and international security preserved. Thus, if a popular consultation of the kind proposed by President de Gaulle was held in Algeria, its effect on international opinion would be heightened if it took place under United Nations supervision.

21. In his delegation's view, principles IV and V met the situation which had arisen as a result of the establishment of so-called overseas provinces. Obviously, a country which had not reached an advanced stage of self-government, which lacked free political institutions and whose inhabitants were not in a position to take responsible decisions, could not be incorporated into another State in that manner.

22. The principles formulated by the Special Committee of Six, which his delegation hoped the Fourth Committee would approve, would serve as a guide to Member States in determining whether or not an obligation existed to transmit the information called for in Article 73 e of the Charter. An honourable solution would thus be found for cases such as Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea—territories which, on the basis of the principles, were certainly covered by the provisions of Chapter XI of the Charter. His delegation hoped that those territories and any others in similar circumstances would benefit from any action which the General Assembly would take. It was confident that the Powers concerned would co-operate with the General Assembly and ensure that information would be forthcoming concerning all territories covered by Chapter XI of the Charter.

23. The main virtue of the principles under discussion lay in their conception of a peaceful procedure whereby peoples which had not yet achieved a full measure of self-government would be given an opportunity to advance and, at the appropriate moment, to exercise their right to self-determination, and in

their encouragement of the idea that relations between the administering Powers and their dependent territories should be based on the general principle of good neighbourliness.

24. In conclusion, he associated himself with the tribute paid by the Liberian representative at the 1031st meeting on behalf of the African States, to the work done by the former representative of Mexico, Mr. Espinosa y Prieto, in the interest of the dependent peoples.

25. Mr. MAKKAWI (Lebanon) said that, in view of the comprehensive character of the statements made by the speakers who had preceded him in the debate, he would confine himself to explaining his Government's position on the important question before the Committee and on the report presented by the Special Committee of Six. It was encouraging to see that the two opposing groups in the Committee—the representatives of the administering and of the non-administering Powers—had managed to agree upon twelve principles. His delegation endorsed every word of those principles, which, if accepted, would constitute the basic premises for determining whether or not a particular territory fell within the scope of Article 73 e of the Charter.

26. The replies (A/AC.100/1 and Add.1) which certain countries had sent to the Secretary-General in response to General Assembly resolution 1467 (XIV) outlined a number of basic factors. Iran's reply, for instance, singled out the geographical considerations which had given rise to the notion of "metropolitan areas", found in Article 74 of the Charter; and differences in race, language, religion or cultural heritage. Morocco held the view that Chapter XI of the Charter applied to any territory whose people displayed marked differences, from the ethnical, geographical, historical, cultural or social standpoints, when compared with the people of the colonial Power, and any territory whose relationship with the administering Power arbitrarily placed the indigenous inhabitants on a lower footing. Those premises were clearly set out in principles IV and V.

27. A thorough examination of the so-called overseas provinces showed conclusively that principles IV and V applied to them. It might well be asked on what basis those territories were regarded as overseas provinces, whether that status had arisen as a result of a free and voluntary choice and whether informed and democratic processes had been at work. That was why his delegation attached great importance to principles VII, VIII and XI of the report.

28. The tide of nationalism and the yearning for freedom were at their peak everywhere, and particularly in Africa. It was high time for the colonial Powers, and especially Spain and Portugal, to change their attitude and meet the challenge of the day. His country, which had always sympathized with the dependent peoples in their struggle for emancipation, would vote in favour of a resolution approving the principles in the report of the Special Committee of Six.

29. Mr. LAMANI (Albania) said that, although Chapter XI of the Charter gave a clear definition of the obligations which administering Powers assumed on their admission to membership of the United Nations, the General Assembly—many years after the signing of the Charter—was still marking time because of the nega-

tive attitude adopted by the colonial Powers, while millions of human beings in the colonies were clamouring impatiently for complete and immediate independence. Whereas paragraph 18 of the report of the Special Committee of Six stated that the Charter was a living document and that the obligations under Chapter XI should be viewed in the light of the changing spirit of the times, the colonial Powers were not prepared to conform to the political situation and the changes occurring in the modern world. Portugal and Spain went so far as to supply no information on their colonies, on the pretext that they had no colonies but only "overseas provinces", and that there was therefore no obligation to transmit information.

30. The Fourth Committee and the General Assembly should adopt a firm attitude and should take the necessary steps for the liberation of the colonial peoples, whose complete independence could no longer be delayed. The people of the dependent territories were waiting for the United Nations to give them effective help.

31. While the colonial peoples were fighting to throw off the yoke, the representatives of the colonial Powers were endeavouring to defend the "principles" of colonialism, if that word could be applied in the context. The representative of the United Kingdom, who had obstinately defended the thesis, recorded in paragraph 15 of the report, that "there might be circumstances in which... considerations... reduced to nil the amount of information which could be transmitted", had taken exception to the Venezuelan representative's conclusion that such a reservation constituted a kind of "double-talk". The important point, however, was that the passage in question clearly demonstrated the efforts deployed by the United Kingdom representative in the Special Committee of Six and in the Fourth Committee with a view, first, to limiting the amount of information transmitted—on the basis of principle X—and then reducing it to nil with the help of the reservation in question. It was to be regretted that, despite the efforts which the representatives of India, Mexico and Morocco had made in the Special Committee to further the cause of the colonial peoples, the representatives of the colonial Powers had been successful in imposing upon certain paragraphs a wording that lent itself to interpretation in the interests of the prolongation of the system of colonial exploitation.

32. The colonialists had been trying to conceal the true situation in their colonies. Although the Portuguese representative had tried to deny facts which were there for everyone to see, the Committee could never forget the statements made by the representatives of Iraq, Ghana, Guinea and other countries, describing the inhuman methods to which the Portuguese colonialists resorted. In a publication entitled "Angola: Repression and Revolt in Portuguese Africa", the American Committee on Africa supplied evidence of racial segregation, forced labour and corporal punishment and torture; it spoke of military patrols which tried to prevent desertions from contractual labour obligations and of the careful screening of African students before they were allowed to leave Angola for higher education in Portugal.

33. In 1956, 1957 and 1958 efforts had been made by the Assembly to deal with the question of Portuguese and Spanish colonies in a diplomatic way but, as a result of the subtle manoeuvres of the colonialist and

imperialist Powers, even the draft resolutions proposing the establishment of a committee to study the question had come to nought. It had not been until the fourteenth session that the problem had been discussed more openly and the Special Committee of Six set up.

34. Mankind could no longer tolerate a situation in which people were divided into masters and slaves. The United Nations was in duty bound to help the struggle of the colonial peoples for emancipation. The Albanian delegation fully associated itself with the numerous delegations which had stated that the Portuguese and the Spanish colonies should be regarded as Non-Self-Governing Territories until they attained complete independence. The United Nations should call upon Portugal and Spain to fulfil their obligations under the Charter.

35. Although his delegation could not endorse the report of the Special Committee of Six in its entirety, it wished to stress once again that it was ready to support all measures designed to promote the liberation of the colonial peoples.

36. Mr. CARPIO (Philippines) said that his country, which had never been a colonial Power or administered any dependent territories, could approach the question before the Committee with the objectivity that was indispensable for a wise solution. In dealing with the twelve principles drawn up by the Special Committee of Six, the Fourth Committee should discuss whether they were wise and whether they conformed with the letter and spirit of the Charter. Unfortunately, however, three tendencies had emerged: some speakers held that the Committee was dealing with a purely political question, which should be decided according to political views and to the spirit of the times, irrespective of whether the decision was in accordance with the letter of the Charter; others approached the problem in a purely legalistic way, ignoring altogether the temper of the times; a third group saw in the question a mixture of both political and juridical considerations.

37. His delegation, which had always taken an independent line in the United Nations, thought that in approaching the question now before the Committee it was necessary to recall the atmosphere prevailing at San Francisco in 1945. At that time the paramount consideration had been to ensure that the generations to come would be saved from the scourge of war. In order to achieve that goal it had been necessary to eliminate all the causes of misunderstanding. That aim, in its turn, had necessitated the creation of international machinery to promote better living conditions and greater freedom for the people in the world.

38. He could not agree with the delegations which argued that since Chapter XI of the Charter was entitled "Declaration regarding Non-Self-Governing Territories" the provisions of Article 73 were subject to unilateral interpretation by Member States. The heading of a legal text could clearly help in interpreting the text but the interpretation should be based on the actual wording of that text. Article 73 stated that Member States which administered dependent territories accepted an obligation as a sacred trust. It was quite clear that that obligation was as binding as any other portion of the Charter. It was for that reason that his delegation had always given Article 73 a very liberal interpretation, going further in that respect than most delegations. The obligation to transmit informa-

tion on political developments was implied in the duty expressed in Article 73 a and b.

39. It was perhaps unfortunate that the Charter did not define the nature of a Non-Self-Governing Territory, but in fact the meaning of the term was clear. There might be cases where, although a people had not achieved a full measure of self-government, no obligation had been created on the part of the administering Power concerned. The great majority of Administering Members had voluntarily transmitted information on the territories under their administration and by so doing had assumed responsibility under the terms of Article 73, but the question was whether it could be shown that those which had not transmitted information had by their acceptance of the Charter assumed such responsibility. It was for that reason that, after two or three years of failure, the General Assembly had had, at its fourteenth session, set up the Special Committee of Six. The problem now before the Fourth Committee was to determine what factors should be taken into account and whether or not an obligation to transmit information existed. The problem differed from that considered by the Ad Hoc Committee on Factors (Non-Self-Governing Territories), which had related chiefly to the conditions which should govern the cessation of the transmission of information. The point now at issue was whether and when the transmission of information should begin. Instead, however, of delegations examining the principles proposed by the Special Committee of Six in a dispassionate and well-reasoned manner, and so obtaining the co-operation and good will of every Member of the United Nations, the subject had been approached in the three different ways that he had already described.

40. One of the purposes of the United Nations was that it should constitute a harmonious whole in the solution of international problems. He could not help wondering what direction the United Nations was taking when he heard extremist views expressed, based on the assumption that the obligation to transmit information existed, condemning those who were supposedly disregarding that obligation and accusing certain Member States of committing crimes in their administration of dependent territories. In his delegation's opinion the Committee should first consider the principles and later, provided it approved them, endeavour to secure their enforcement. The proper way to proceed would be to reason with the Administering Members and try to persuade them to do what was right. It was going too far to utter dogmatic pronouncements to the effect that every people was entitled to independence immediately. His delegation fully understood and shared the desire of the nations of Africa that all dependent peoples should achieve freedom at an early date, but the Charter provided that relations between Member States must be governed by international law and must be based on understanding, friendship and good neighbourliness. It was not acting in accordance with the Charter to accuse fellow Members of crimes.

41. Turning to the principles, he observed that the first sentence of principle I gave rise to certain questions: firstly, what had been the territories known to be of the colonial type at the time of the drafting of the Charter, and secondly, why the obligation to transmit information under Article 73 e should be confined to those territories. The latter thesis seemed hardly consistent with the statement in paragraph 18 that the Charter was a living document and that the obligations

under Chapter XI must be viewed in the light of the changing spirit of the times. There might be territories which had become territories of the colonial type since 1945; that was a matter for the Committee to consider. In his view the principles should be of universal application.

42. Throughout the report the Special Committee had used language that was consistent with the terms of Article 73. To assert, as did some delegations, that independence was the sole aim of all dependent peoples and that they should be liberated immediately was not in conformity with the letter or the spirit of that Article.

43. There appeared to be no important divergence of views about the wording of principle III; the words "international obligation" were in accordance with the text of Article 73.

44. His delegation had serious reservations with regard to principle IV. His own country, for example, consisted of over a thousand islands inhabited by a number of ethnic groups and he felt sure that there were other Member States which were similarly composed. Similarly there were countries in which different ethnic groups had become merged through intermarriage. Furthermore, the exact nature of the geographical separation referred to in principle IV was not clear.

45. His delegation welcomed the twelve principles submitted by the Special Committee of Six and considered that their adoption would constitute a practical step in the right direction. It wished, however, to dissociate itself from some of the statements that had been made condemning certain Member States for non-compliance with obligations which had not been proved to exist.

46. Mr. GRINBERG (Bulgaria) said that in assessing the work of the Special Committee of Six there were two possible approaches. If the report were looked at against the background of previous years it might be a source of considerable satisfaction owing to the fact that much that it contained, if taken at its face value, would indicate a substantial evolution in the views of some of the colonial Powers. In that connexion, he drew attention to the last sentence of paragraph 17 and the first sentence of paragraph 18.

47. In his delegation's view, however, the report should be judged entirely in the light of the circumstances at present prevailing. The general trend could be epitomized in two words: immediate independence. That idea overshadowed everything else; its presence threw doubt upon the attempts of the colonial Powers to demonstrate that there had been progress in their views.

48. Many delegations would remember the obstacles raised by the colonial Powers in recent years to prevent any action by the General Assembly to bring the colonies of Portugal and Spain within the purview of Chapter XI of the Charter. The sponsors of draft resolutions had done their utmost to couch them in the most inoffensive terms. References to Portugal and Spain had been taboo both in the draft resolutions and in most of the speeches. Yet the colonial Powers had opposed the adoption of any measure, no matter how innocuous it might be. At the fourteenth session of the General Assembly, however, there had been a sudden change. The colonial Powers had presumably realized

that the mounting anti-colonialist tide in the world and the outcry for independence for all colonies necessitated the adoption of less exposed positions and that the imminent increase in the number of anti-colonialist countries in the United Nations demanded improved tactics. Thus the twelve principles had been worked out and submitted to the Fourth Committee, which should now decide what action it would take. The colonial Powers would doubtless advise the Committee to approve the principles without taking any specific action in regard to the colonies of Portugal and Spain. That would give the colonial Powers an opportunity to claim to have made a positive contribution towards the solution of the problem of the Portuguese and Spanish colonies while in actual fact it would amount to practically nothing.

49. The twelve principles enunciated by the Special Committee derived from Chapter XI of the Charter and merely reaffirmed positions that had been held by the anti-colonialist countries ever since the establishment of the United Nations. Up to the present Portugal and Spain had totally disregarded Chapter XI and there seemed little likelihood that the colonial countries would be more generous in respect of the twelve principles. Indeed, since Portugal had voted in favour of the draft resolution recommending the immediate abolition of racial discrimination (A/C.4/L.643 and Add.1 and 2), adopted at the Committee's 1028th meeting, it would not be surprising to see that delegation vote in favour of the adoption of the principles and subsequently claim that they did not apply to Portugal. In fact, in his long speech at the 1036th meeting the representative of Portugal, while not committing himself with regard to the principles as a whole, had made it clear that his Government did not intend to proceed with the fulfilment of its obligations under Chapter XI. He had analysed many of the Articles and Chapters of the Charter in an attempt to infuse new life into the moribund colonial thesis that it was within the sole discretion of the colonial Powers to decide whether or not to implement the provisions of Chapter XI. He had, however, omitted to mention Article 10, which was the key provision of the Charter and gave a complete answer to the question regarding the competence of the General Assembly in matters relating to Non-Self-Governing Territories. No less an authority than Mr. Hans Kelsen, in his book The Law of the United Nations, wrote (p. 551): "Since the General Assembly under Article 10 is authorised to discuss any matter within the scope of the Charter and to make recommendations on such matters to the Members or to the Security Council, and since the administration of the territories to which Chapter XI applies is certainly a matter within the scope of the Charter, the Assembly may discuss the matters to which Articles 73 and 74 refer and make

recommendations on these matters". In a further passage of the same book he wrote (p. 556): "If the General Assembly is competent to make recommendations on matters regulated by Chapter XI, and that means to apply its provisions, the Assembly may—in form of a recommendation—specify these territories".

50. He would not go any further into that question since, with the exception of Portugal and Spain, no colonial Power seemed now to lay any emphasis on the alleged non-competence of the General Assembly.

51. The representative of Portugal had dwelt at great length on a number of juridical and other arguments but had not tried to refute any of the facts which had been brought forward by many delegations and which proved beyond doubt that the so-called overseas provinces of Portugal were nothing but colonial territories. The Committee should not allow itself to be drawn into futile discussion but should face the incontrovertible fact that Portugal possessed geographically separated territories inhabited by over 12 million people who were distinct ethnically and culturally from the Portuguese people and who had been arbitrarily placed in a position of subordination. The Portuguese representative had made references to democracy in his statement, but the situation in the Portuguese colonies could not be spoken of in terms of democracy since the facts pointed to something akin to slavery.

52. Nearly everything he had said applied with equal force to Spain, whose representative had, at the previous meeting, fully associated himself with the views expressed by the representative of Portugal.

53. In the opinion of the Bulgarian delegation, the United Nations had reached the stage of considering the immediate abolition of colonialism. That fact must obviously have a bearing on the way in which different colonial problems would be solved. If the Fourth Committee was to fulfil its responsibilities it should approve a draft resolution unequivocally stating that upon the admission of Portugal and Spain to United Nations membership the provisions of Chapter XI of the Charter had become applicable to all their colonial territories, namely: Madeira, the Azores, São Tomé and Príncipe, São João Batista de Ajudá, Cabinda, Angola, Mozambique, Macau, Goa, Timor and other dependencies, under the administration of Portugal; and Infní, Spanish Sahara, Fernando Póo, Rio Muni and the Canary Islands, under the administration of Spain. Naturally any resolution which the General Assembly might adopt later regarding the immediate liberation of all colonies would apply also to the colonies of Portugal and Spain.

The meeting rose at 5.25 p.m.

United Nations
**GENERAL
ASSEMBLY**

FIFTEENTH SESSION

Official Records

**FOURTH COMMITTEE, 1040th
MEETING**

Tuesday, 8 November 1960,
at 10.55 a.m.



NEW YORK

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Chairman: Mr. Adnan M. PACHACHI (Iraq).

AGENDA ITEM 38

Study of principles which should guide Members in determining whether or not an obligation exists to transmit the information called for in Article 73 e of the Charter of the United Nations: report of the Special Committee established under General Assembly resolution 1467 (XIV) (A/4526, A/C.4/L.648 and Add.1, A/C.4/L.649) (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE (continued)

1. Mr. DORSINVILLE (Haiti) said that he was speaking, not with reference to the report of the Special Committee of Six on the Transmission of Information under Article 73 e of the Charter (A/4526), which in the main the Haitian delegation approved of except for a few remarks elicited by the so-called integration principle, but rather to exercise his right of reply. In connexion with the definition of the word "territory", the representative of Portugal had repeated at the 1036th meeting, with respect for the letter but in contradiction to their spirit, certain terms of a statement which he himself had made in the Fourth Committee on 31 January 1957, during the eleventh session (618th meeting), at the time the Fourth Committee had been considering document A/C.4/331 and Add.1.

2. Repeating the text of his first statement, he made it clear that the word "territory" had, of course, no precise legal meaning in international law and might have widely varying meanings in a constitutional text. For example, the Australian Government had considered the Territory of Papua a Non-Self-Governing Territory, to which the provisions of Chapter XI of the Charter were applicable, but no one had ever disputed that the Northern Territory of Australia, which formed part of the Australian continent, was not included in those same provisions. It was quite apparent that at the San Francisco Conference there had been unanimity in excluding metropolitan territories from the field of application of Chapter XI, which could be applied only to non-metropolitan regions, called colonies, possessions and protectorates, whose inhabitants had not

yet attained full self-government. That was the argument which the Government of the United Kingdom had still maintained at the eighth session in connexion with the Fourth Committee's Consideration of the question of factors.

3. As for determining the difficult point whether "sovereignty" could be invoked with reference to Non-Self-Governing Territories, he simply drew attention to the fact that there was no mention whatever of sovereignty in Chapter XI of the Charter. The obligations it contained were assumed by the Member States "who have...responsibilities for the administration" of those Territories. Even where Territories integrated into the metropolitan country were concerned, the transmission of information under the provisions of Article 73 e had raised no problem for New Zealand, for example, with respect to the Cook Islands or the Tokelau Islands.

4. It had been said that the list of Territories enumerated in General Assembly resolution 66 (I) had confirmed the decision of only a few Member States, that that decision could not be binding upon other Member States, and that at San Francisco it had been decided not to discuss one Territory or another in particular. He recalled, however, that at San Francisco the Australian delegation had put forward the idea, which unfortunately had not been retained, that the General Assembly might designate the Territories for which the Administering Members were to submit annual reports to the United Nations, and that the General Assembly might also, before designating those Territories, call one or more conferences to be attended by those States administering territories whose inhabitants were not yet able to cope alone with the difficulties of the modern world and might take into consideration the recommendations emerging from such gatherings. Measures of that sort would have made it possible to settle once and for all the question still before the Committee. The fact none the less remained that the decision made at San Francisco was not final, and that the General Assembly had on several occasions made known its views concerning the obligation to transmit information on Non-Self-Governing Territories, as, for instance, in its resolutions 66 (I), 334 (IV) and 648 (VII).

5. Professor Hans Kelsen, an expert on the Charter, had concluded, with regard to Chapter XI, that the obligations embodied in that Chapter were binding upon States that had not taken part in the San Francisco Conference but had since become Members of the United Nations; that repeated violation of the obligations contained in Chapter XI might cause sanctions to be applied; that in its resolution 66 (I) the General Assembly had left to the Member States the task of determining which territories came within the category designated in Chapter XI; and that the General Assembly might nevertheless designate those territories

in the form of a recommendation which would not, however, be mandatory.^{1/}

6. It could not be gainsaid, as was apparent from the last-mentioned conclusion, that the recommendations of the General Assembly might often be disregarded. It was true, none the less, that in becoming a Member of the United Nations, a State bound itself to respect both the spirit and the letter of the Charter, so that a simple study of the actual situation of certain territories might, apart from any legal argumentation, rightfully cause the question to be raised whether or not it would be proper to apply in some particular case or other the provisions of Articles 73 and 74. In his mind there was no doubt that in the territories under Portuguese administration, there was no equality of rights between the people administered and those administering.

7. Mr. Krishna MENON (India) said that he was keenly interested in the discussion of the principles that should govern the application of Article 73 e of the Charter, for the question was a fundamental one, involving the very meaning of the Charter. After admitting Spain and Portugal in 1955, the General Assembly had tried unsuccessfully, at its tenth, eleventh and twelfth sessions, to clarify the meaning of Chapter XI. That was why it had decided at its fourteenth session, in its resolution 1467 (XIV), to establish the Special Committee of Six, composed of Administering Members and non-administering Members. That Committee had formulated some excellent principles, which were set out in section V, part B, of its report and which the Fourth Committee would no doubt adopt.

8. In different ways, Spain and Portugal were maintaining that none of the territories under their administration came within the scope of the provisions of Chapter XI and that they were therefore not obliged to transmit information under Article 73 e. Spain, however, had adopted a more conciliatory attitude, in the sense that, although making legal reservations, it had transmitted material to the Secretary-General for information purposes. That was a gratifying step forward, and he hoped to be able to note further progress when the General Assembly had clearly expressed its opinion.

9. Portugal, on the other hand, felt itself under no obligation, as if its rights and duties were different from those of other States signatories to the Charter. It would be plainly to its advantage, however, to transmit information, since by keeping silent about its territories it in no wise prevented the world, and the Indian delegation in particular, from forming its own ideas about the lot of the local inhabitants. Actually, the problem was not so much one of transmitting information as of applying the Charter. The many proposals put forward during and after the Second World War, some even by administering Powers like the United Kingdom and Australia, had tended to recognize that the dependent peoples were a kind of moral "trust" and had therefore to be prepared for independence. The Charter was based upon that idea, notwithstanding the formal legal distinctions between Non-Self-Governing Territories and Trust Territories. Portugal claimed to be the only one to interpret the Charter properly—an extraordinary claim—and denied any obligation.

However, the United Nations was a body of States which had all accepted the provisions of the Charter. The Charter was an organic whole; to deny one of its provisions was tantamount to denying all of them. It was not a mere manifesto, but a multilateral instrument binding upon each signatory. Unlike conventions or treaties, it did not allow the Members of the United Nations the option of making reservations to some of its parts or of denouncing it as a whole. Each Member of the United Nations was bound by the Charter unless, through a regrettable decision, it decided to leave the Organization. Since Portugal had asked to be admitted, it ought to consider itself bound by the Charter.

10. The provisions of Articles 73 and 74 were applicable to all Member States without exception. Portugal claimed exemption from the obligations imposed by those Articles by using as an argument the meaning of the word "territory". It must however be noted that that word signified only an area of land or a region of the world; since it was not capitalized, there was no need to give it a special definition or interpretation. Therefore, Portugal could not claim that its colonies were not "territories", since that word had no special meaning. The only way of knowing whether the regions were within the scope of Articles 73 and 74 was to determine whether their peoples had not yet attained a full measure of self-government. That was indeed the case with the Portuguese possessions.

11. In accepting the sacred trust defined in Article 73, States signatories to the Charter acknowledged their accountability to the United Nations. While those Articles did not, like the ones dealing with the International Trusteeship System, give the United Nations the right to exercise supervision, they placed the General Assembly under a duty to require information from the Administering Members, in order to see that they discharged their trust. No Administering Member before Portugal had made the slightest difficulty; Portugal alone had raised the question of interpretation. But that stage had long since been passed. From 1945 to 1955 Member States had laid down how the Charter was to be understood. On becoming a Member of the United Nations, Portugal had become bound not only by the Charter, but also by the interpretation given to it by the General Assembly in ten years' practice.

12. Nor could Portugal take refuge in the argument of the supremacy of its national Constitution. That supremacy existed only to a certain degree. All the States signatories to the Charter had renounced the right to acquire territories by force, and municipal law could not take precedence over international law. That was also the view of the commentators on the Charter. Of the twenty-two jurists quoted in document A/AC.100/2/Add.2, which had been made available to the Special Committee of Six, only four, one of them Portuguese, had certain reservations on that point. Mr. Louis Delbez stated, on the other hand, in his *Manuel de droit international public*^{2/} (p. 139):

"All the Members of the United Nations agree to restrict their jurisdiction immediately in respect of all territories in their possession, which are no longer called colonies, but 'dependent territories'."

"As a result the legal status of the colonial territory is changed. Although it is still part of the

^{1/} See Hans Kelsen, *The Law of the United Nations* (New York, Frederick A. Praeger Inc., 1950), pp. 553, 556-557.

^{2/} Paris, Librairie générale de droit et de jurisprudence, 1951.

national territory, it is detached from the metropolitan territory in the sense that it is no longer subject to the same juridical system. The metropolitan territory continues to be governed solely by municipal law, whereas the colonial territory is now in large measure subject to international law."

13. Furthermore, even if one accepted Portugal's argument that Chapter XI of the Charter was merely a unilateral declaration, one would be obliged to add that it was also the unilateral declaration of Portugal, as a Member of the United Nations. But Chapter XI was not a unilateral declaration. The use of the word "Declaration", at the head of the Chapter, should not cause misunderstanding. If some Chapters had binding force while others were mere statements of opinion, the result would be anarchy. The text in question was not a preamble, nor an explanatory note, nor a schedule, but a declaration which was as fully binding as a concordat or as the Paris Declaration of 1856. To think otherwise would amount to saying that a convention was not as binding as a treaty, because it bore a different name.

14. In reality, Portugal's only title was the right of conquest. It was first in search of spices, and then to spread Christianity, that the Portuguese explorers had set out to discover the world. The only ground invoked by Portugal for keeping its possessions was that they were very old. No conquest of that kind would be accepted today. Be that as it might, Portugal was the only country which wanted to make the inhabitants of its colonies Portuguese. The United Kingdom had never claimed that the Indians were English! The Indian delegation did not consider that conquest gave sovereignty to the conquering power. Sovereignty resided solely in the people of the conquered territory, and reverted to it when colonial rule ended.

15. The Portuguese possessions were not settled territories like Australia, but conquered territories, whose inhabitants were subjected by laws enacted without their consent to treatment different from that accorded to the inhabitants of the metropolitan country. The Portuguese themselves regarded those territories as colonies. In an article in the review *Foreign Affairs*^{3/}, Prime Minister Salazar had written in 1956: "...it may be said that Africa lives and must continue for an unforeseeable time to live under the control and guidance of a civilized State." Was not the domination of one country by another colonialism? By asserting the necessity of colonialism, was the Prime Minister not repudiating the very aim of the Charter? Prime Minister Salazar went on: "Public administration and the guidance of labor is unavoidably in the hands of a small minority of Europeans. Their tasks cannot be abandoned or handed over to the indigenous elements indiscriminately and all at once." In the same article, the Prime Minister had written: "In fact, when it is conscious of its mission the colonizing country ensures peace, is responsible for maintaining order, organizes life, promotes economic development... It may well be asked whether the same end would be reached as quickly in any other way." That meant that colonialism was not only necessary but desirable.

16. Accounts published of conditions in those territories—exaggerated accounts, perhaps, but it was for Portugal to prove that—were scarcely encouraging.

^{3/} Oliveira Salazar, "Goa and the Indian Union: The Portuguese View". *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 34, No. 3 (April 1956).

According to Mr. Peter Ritner in his book *The Death of Africa*,^{4/} all the inhabitants of the Portuguese African territories, with the exception of Europeans and some 10,000 "assimilated" persons, were liable to forced labour, instituted by the authorities at the end of the nineteenth century to make it appear that the territories had been Europeanized. Portugal had, in particular, signed labour agreements with the Union of South Africa to "facilitate" the hiring of Africans in Mozambique. According to Mr. Marvin Harris, idleness had become immoral and illegal for Africans. If an African could not prove that he was not idle, he was carried off to the police station; he then had to find a European employer, or agree to be hired by a South African agent, or be drafted by the Government into one of the conscript gangs which carried out construction works.

17. In Mozambique, a company set up by the mines had been granted a monopoly by the Portuguese authorities for the hiring of indigenous labour; since the formation of that company, the wages offered had fallen to a level below that of 1896. The vigorous suppression of labour agitation had contributed not a little to that result. There was in fact no collective bargaining and no law to protect indigenous labour. If the author of an article published in Lisbon in *O Seculo* on 4 August 1956 was to be believed: "It has been more than once demonstrated that the white man in Africa cannot carry out heavy tasks, which demand a fatiguing and exhausting human effort... He may only be given the task of directing and of guiding, administratively and technically. Other tasks are naturally reserved for the Negroes, since they are the only ones capable of carrying them out." Did not that mean that slavery was conceived for the good of the slave, who was good for nothing else?

18. Without wishing to dwell on discriminatory practices which were well known, and admittedly not the worst in the world, he must stress the deplorable educational situation. In Angola, with a population of 4 million, only 58,000 children had been attending school in 1954. In 1950 the proportion of African illiterates had been 99 per cent, as against 23 per cent of whites. Most schools reserved the few vacant places for the Portuguese. In 1956 the public primary schools had comprised 2,531 children of whites born in Europe, 3,382 children of whites born in Africa, 3,210 children of mulattos and only 737 children of Africans. The proportion had been a little better in the private schools, but generally speaking it appeared that only 5 per cent of the children of school age were able to attend school. According to Lord Hailey, the Portuguese territories were the only major areas in Africa unaffected by the acceleration of social and economic change which had elsewhere been the most important result of participation in the Second World War.

19. Lastly, the populations enjoyed no civil liberties. In Goa in particular, public meetings were banned, and permission was required even for prayer meetings. In 1955, Portuguese troops had fired on the inhabitants taking part in demonstrations of passive resistance. Many people had been killed. Others had been sentenced to terms of imprisonment of up to twenty-eight years; yet others had been deported to Africa and to Portugal. Between 1954 and 1959, several hundred Goans had been arrested, tortured and imprisoned for taking part

^{4/} New York, Macmillan, 1960.

in the freedom movement. Some were still in prison; others carried on them the marks of wounds or mutilations caused by the Portuguese. Despite that, India had stationed no troops on the Goan frontier. However, it must not be thought that its silence meant approval. It was because India was aware of its international responsibilities that it did not want to have any difficulties with Portugal or the international community. Nevertheless, it reserved the right to call for the liberation of Goa, which was as much an integral part of Indian territory as were the former French establishments.

20. It was no good ignoring the realities of the world. It had become impossible to speak of colonies from a purely legalistic point of view. The Charter prescribed respect for human rights and the maintenance of international peace and security. It imposed on the Portuguese Government the obligation at least to transmit information on economic, social and educational conditions in the territories it administered, and the General Assembly had the right to apply in that connexion the provisions of Article 10 of the Charter. It was because it was convinced of the truth of that assertion that his delegation had sponsored jointly with other delegations the draft resolution in document A/C.4/L.649. His delegation hoped that the draft resolution would receive the unanimous support of the Committee, particularly that of Portugal and Spain.

21. Mr. NOGUEIRA (Portugal) rejected categorically the Indian representative's allegations concerning conditions in the Portuguese territories; as to the legal arguments, he reserved the right to revert to them when he had studied the text of the Indian representative's statement.

22. Recalling that Mr. Krishna Menon himself had stated in the Security Council on 21 November 1957 that the fact that a majority of States were of the same opinion did not mean that the opinion was necessarily right^{5/}—from which it could be deduced *a posteriori* that the minority opinion was not necessarily wrong—he failed to understand why the representative of India now thought it extraordinary that the Portuguese delegation's view should differ from that of other delegations or even of the large majority of Assembly Members.

23. Mr. ROHAL-ILKIV (Czechoslovakia) said he wished to clear up any possible misunderstanding concerning a statement made by the representative of Spain at the 1038th meeting, which had been unexpected, to say the least, seeing that Spain and Czechoslovakia held diametrically opposed views on colonialism. If the representative of Spain considered that the ideas of the Spanish delegation and those of the Czechoslovak delegation coincided, it must be because he misunderstood the Czechoslovak delegation's position. Its attitude was very clear: it was essential to liquidate the colonial system immediately. In the particular case of the Spanish and Portuguese colonies, the Assembly should insist on the information called for under Article 73 e and should require Spain and Portugal to recognize that the territories they administered were not so-called overseas provinces but colonies.

24. Mr. KRIGA (Chad), after extending his delegation's congratulations to the Chairman of the Fourth Committee on his election and to the members of the Special Committee for their report, said that the

twelve principles enumerated in section V, part B, of that report gave precise and unequivocal expression to the will of the Members of the United Nations as set out in the Charter and more particularly in Article 73. The principles gave an exact definition of Non-Self-Governing Territories, and his delegation was ready to support any draft resolution fully endorsing them.

25. While it was to be hoped that the debates of the current session would lead to the complete and rapid abolition of the colonial system, Spain and Portugal were still maintaining, particularly in Africa, colonies, which they cynically called provinces, where the most inhuman colonialism was rife. In Angola, for example, there were only 47,000 children in the primary schools out of a total population of 4.5 million inhabitants; 700,000 inhabitants were subjected to forced labour, and the population was living under the threat of internment in concentration camps, torture and even death; the inhabitants were classified as civilized, assimilated and non-civilized. In the whole of the Portuguese possessions there were only 35,000 out of 11 million inhabitants who had the vote, and the administrative system differed from that of the metropolitan country. It was therefore understandable that the Spanish Government and the Portuguese Government found some difficulty in transmitting information on their so-called overseas provinces.

26. Since 1946, 100 million people in nearly thirty Non-Self-Governing Territories had become independent; but 150 million, mainly in Africa, were still awaiting their freedom and were looking towards the United Nations. Yet, if the colonialist Powers had not constantly blocked the decisions of the international Organization, it would now have sufficiently powerful means at its disposal to impose its will, if necessary, on the few countries still imbued with colonialism. The non-self-governing peoples wanted independence and freedom. The United Nations had the overriding duty of rescuing them from the political, economic, social and cultural domination of the colonial system. No constitutional amendment could be an excuse for continuing to exploit the colonial territories; on the contrary, the domination of one people by another people which differed from it in race, language, culture, religion and philosophy was an international matter, of concern to all the Members of the United Nations. Yet up till now the vague notions which had been adopted had allowed colonialism to be maintained.

27. To those who stated, in a Portuguese periodical, that they would never leave Africa unless driven out by force and that they would not consent to the exploitation of blacks by blacks, he would reply that there was not an iota of metropolitan territory in Africa and that Africa was African. He asked the colonial Powers and all those with designs on Africa to heed the voice, growing ever stronger, of the African peoples, who, in complete solidarity, were claiming their freedom; for nothing could hold back the wave of nationalism which was sweeping over the African continent. Consequently, his delegation thought that the Committee should adopt the twelve principles formulated by the Special Committee. The loyal application of those principles would enable the United Nations to follow the political, economic and social evolution of the Non-Self-Governing Territories in fulfilment of its responsibility under the Charter, the aim of which was to ensure the equality, happiness and brotherhood of all mankind.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.

^{5/} See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twelfth Year*, 805th meeting, para. 58.

United Nations
**GENERAL
ASSEMBLY**

FIFTEENTH SESSION

Official Records



**FOURTH COMMITTEE, 1041st
MEETING**

Tuesday, 8 November 1960,
at 4.40 p.m.

NEW YORK

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Chairman: Mr. Adnan M. PACHACHI (Iraq).

AGENDA ITEM 38

Study of principles which should guide Members in determining whether or not an obligation exists to transmit the information called for in Article 73 e of the Charter of the United Nations: report of the Special Committee established under General Assembly resolution 1467 (XIV) (A/4526, A/C.4/L.648 and Add.1, A/C.4/L.649) (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE (continued)

1. Mr. NOGUEIRA (Portugal) said that, despite the existence of many extremely important and urgent questions on which mankind's very survival depended, it was the question of colonialism which had constantly been in the forefront of the discussions in plenary meeting, and in all the Committees, at the General Assembly's fifteenth session. Although that was particularly true of the debates in the Fourth Committee, there was no definition of what constituted "colonialism" or a "colony". It was, however, important that the Committee should know what it was fighting against, and it was equally important that it should offer a positive alternative to colonialism and imperialism; otherwise the Committee would be adopting a purely negative and destructive attitude.

2. Several representatives had described a "colony" as a territory that was geographically separated from the metropolitan territory and that was inhabited by people of a different race or culture who were socially and economically at a lower stage of development. Such a definition, however, was untenable. The geographical separation of territories was an irrelevant factor because a number of independent States consisted of archipelagos or other combinations of geographically distinct areas. The inadequacy of geographical separation as a criterion had been recognized by the representative of Ireland in the Fourth Committee, and by Mexico in its reply to the Secretary-General (A/AC.100/1, paras. 73-118). Referring to the principles enumerated in section V, part B, of the report of the Special Committee of Six on the Transmission of Information under Article 73 e of the Charter (A/4526),

he noted that the Special Committee itself had stated, in principle IV, that geographical separation was only a prima facie consideration.

3. His delegation also rejected the criterion of racial or cultural differences, because it was opposed to all discrimination based on race or colour. In reality, under principle IV racial and cultural distinctness was regarded merely as a prima facie factor. There was a contradiction inherent in the argument itself, since the Fourth Committee was—quite rightly—unanimous in opposing all racial segregation or discrimination and in striving to bring about international co-operation and solidarity. The assertion that racial or cultural distinctness should necessarily imply a political distinctness ran counter to those aims. His delegation believed that all Americans, Africans, Europeans or Asians were human beings first and foremost, entitled to equal rights and opportunities. The acceptance of any other standpoint would impoverish mankind socially and culturally by preventing the blending of races and cultures, which was the only source of progress. It would surely be generally agreed that there were many independent countries inhabited by a number of races with different cultures and backgrounds; indeed it might be said that all countries were multiracial, since there was no such thing as a pure race and the universal tendency was towards the development of multiracial societies. His delegation therefore agreed with the conclusion in the report that racial and cultural criteria were immaterial in defining a "colony".

4. Lastly, it had been argued that a territory whose economic level was low in comparison with that of any other territory of the same country constituted a colony. The report of the Special Committee of Six, however, referred to that question only briefly, in principle V, and subject to the important reservation that such an economic element must affect the relationship between territories in a manner which arbitrarily placed one territory in a position of subordination to the other. His delegation agreed with that concept, because if there was arbitrariness in such relationship there was economic exploitation, which was one of the elements of colonialism. If there was no arbitrariness in the relationship, however, the economic situation was irrelevant; and that was further substantiated by the fact that in all independent countries, whether geographically united or separated, there were various degrees of economic development. The conclusion therefore was that the economic situation of a territory did not, of itself, indicate whether or not it was a colony.

5. He would not elaborate on the point at length; but in the light of all the considerations put forward in the Fourth Committee and in other Committees, certain conclusions might be reached. A "colony" existed when one people dominated another, when the principle of equality of rights and opportunity was not accepted, when there was economic and financial exploitation,

when territories were held for military reasons or to further national power, when a particular religion, creed or culture was imposed on others, and when political and ideological doctrines were imposed on peoples to increase the power and prestige of a country or group of countries.

6. All those aspects had been mentioned by various delegations in connexion with the report of the Special Committee of Six; and he would have expected the report to be debated in the light of such considerations, so as to enable the Fourth Committee to proceed to the general application of the principles enunciated by the Special Committee. His delegation had been astonished and, indeed, appalled at the manner in which the Fourth Committee had proceeded. The report was being used, not for a general and objective investigation, but merely as an instrument against two countries: Spain and Portugal. Apparently it had not occurred to a number of delegations that others might wish to question some of the replies to the Secretary-General besides those from Spain and Portugal. His delegation did not agree that replies from Member Governments should be discussed; but it had doubts on the replies received from certain countries such as, for example, the Soviet Union or the Indian Union. At the present stage, however, he would merely state the position of his own country in respect of the report, and answer some of the arguments that had been advanced by delegations which had tried to apply the report to Portugal.

7. The Portuguese nation was scattered over various continents, but it had been shown that geography alone did not imply any idea of colonialism. Many nations had territories in more than one continent, and the independence of the various component parts had not been questioned. The only difference was that the Portuguese nation had existed in its present form for five centuries. Mr. James Duffy, in his book *Portuguese Africa*,^{1/} had written (p. 5): "On the southern bank of one of the world's great rivers the Portuguese crown in the sixteenth century attempted a modest program of co-operation and development with a primitive people, which, compared with the policies of many European powers in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, remains, in some of its ideals, a model of diplomatic understanding and restraint." True, there had been wars at various stages, which was a matter of regret, but that had nothing to do with the point under discussion. Principle V of the report of the Special Committee of Six mentioned the historical element as one of the additional elements which might be taken into account.

8. Another accusation which had been made was that the various provinces of Portugal were inhabited by different races. That was indeed so, but the same was true of many nations; indeed, practically all countries were inhabited by more than one race. His delegation could see nothing reprehensible in that state of affairs, and refused to take account of any considerations based on race or colour. Once again, principle IV made allowance for such a situation.

9. It had been indicated that the Portuguese overseas provinces were not at the same economic level as the European territory. That was partly true and partly untrue, since there were some territories overseas where economic growth was faster than in Europe. That again, however, was meaningless in terms of colonial-

ism or self-government, and economic development was referred to in principle V as an additional element. In many countries, even the most highly developed, there were areas which were less advanced; and if it were accepted, as it must be, that geography, race and culture were irrelevant in terms of colonialism, the economic element was certainly not decisive.

10. Many delegations had stressed that up to 1951 the overseas territories had been called colonies and that only in 1951 had the name been changed to "provinces", the implication being that such a change had been made for reasons of expediency. None of the delegations in question, however, had mentioned the fact that the word "provinces" had been used for centuries; in Portuguese general law and customary law the word "province" had been applied to overseas territories for the first time around 1576; since then it had been used repeatedly—in various laws and ordinances, in the Constitutions of 1820, 1832, 1842 and 1911, and in the Constitution of 1933, which was still in force. The word "colony" had been used for a brief period because in 1935, when administrative reforms had been introduced, the drafters of those reforms had considered that the word "colony" had a more dignified connotation, in accordance with Roman law. Public opinion however, especially overseas, had gradually reacted, and when the Constitution had been amended in 1951 and Portuguese Parliament had reverted to the old nomenclature. Thus that particular argument used against Portugal proved nothing.

11. Another line of accusation was that, since the seat of the Government and of the national parliament was in the European territory, the overseas territories were governed from outside. He was surprised that such an argument should have been advanced. It was of course true that the Head of the State, the National Assembly and the Government had their seat at Lisbon, as did also the Supreme Judicial Court, the Supreme Administrative Court and the Council of State. He had repeatedly pointed out in the Fourth Committee that Portugal was not a federation or a confederation; it was a unitary State, and sovereignty was not, therefore, divided or exercised by degrees. That being so, and since the same organs of sovereignty had competence throughout the whole national territory, there was political unity; the nation was one, and where there was the nation there also had to be the State. Precisely for that reason, the Portuguese Constitution did not allow of any discrimination among the various territories; it was impossible to apply one political status to one territory on the international plane and a different political status to another territory. Hence Article 73 did not apply to Portugal, which could not be required to transmit information to the Secretary-General. Portugal's attitude in that respect was very firm.

12. A number of delegations had raised the question of the so-called division of the Portuguese population in the overseas territories into "civilized" and "non-civilized". In fact, the two categories of "civilized" and "non-civilized" were not established by Portuguese law; the Portuguese word had been wrongly translated by various foreign writers, and had been given wide circulation. Incidentally, the representative of Guinea at the 1038th meeting had made the unfounded statement that there was a Portuguese law establishing five categories of inhabitants of Angola—a statement which had been culled from a pamphlet circulated by the

^{1/} Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1959.

American Committee on Africa. To repeat: there was no such division as "civilized" and "non-civilized". But there was a second factor which had been conveniently disregarded: in five of the eight Portuguese overseas provinces, all the population had full rights in all fields, including the right to vote and to be elected. Since people of many races inhabited those five territories, he failed to understand how certain delegations could dare to affirm that the system was based on racial considerations. With regard to the other three territories, in Portugal, as in all countries, there were still some segments of the population which had not reached an advanced stage of progress. His delegation did not deny that that situation existed, but he did not consider that Portugal should be blamed for it, especially since every effort was being made to remedy it. In the course of the debate the representatives of Mali and India had admitted that some of the populations of those territories did have full rights, including political rights. He was well aware that if it were proved—as it could be—that in the five territories which he had mentioned full political and other rights were enjoyed, that the process of integration there had long ago been completed, that the people voted and were elected, and that they had full representation and were on a footing of absolute equality, the Committee would still not be prepared to accept those facts because they would not suit certain delegations.

13. In that connexion he recalled that figures relating to 1950 had been quoted by certain representatives. Ten years had elapsed, many events had occurred, and the figures in question were no longer valid.

14. During the debate he had wondered at times whether his reply would be ready to delegations or to a pamphlet by Professor Marvin Harris entitled "Portugal's African 'Wards'",^{2/} which was the main source from which delegations had drawn their conclusions. At the 1036th meeting, the representative of Iraq had frankly stated that he was quoting from that pamphlet, but many other delegations had quoted from it without mentioning the fact. The author himself admitted in the pamphlet that it had not been written in a disinterested or unemotional frame of mind. In other words, the pamphlet was biased and partial, and had been based on preconceived ideas. Professor Harris, as a private individual, was entitled to write as he wished; but delegations speaking on behalf of their Governments were not entitled to take such a pamphlet as the sole basis for unfounded accusations against another delegation and another country. There was a wide range of available books on the subject by writers who were also scholars and men of integrity, but all those books had been ignored. Other quotations had been made rather loosely, to say the least. For example, at the 1032nd meeting the representative of Ghana, in quoting from an article written by Mr. Sarmento Rodrigues, a former Portuguese Minister for Overseas Provinces, as the introduction to a book entitled *Inquiry on Anti-Colonialism* published by the Ministry for Overseas Provinces in 1957, had read passages taken from various paragraphs as though they formed a single, continuous text. Similarly he had quoted from the same book selected passages from a Portuguese writer, Professor da Silva Cunha, in such a way as to convey the impression that the author was advocating a vast international plot against Africa, whereas in fact he had been suggesting that some kind

of regional co-operation should be created in order to protect the interests of Africa. Much had also been made of an article contributed by the Prime Minister of Portugal to the review *Foreign Affairs*.^{3/} That article had been mentioned many times in the Committee; he would not deal with the point at length, but would merely state once again that the Prime Minister had had two purposes in writing the article: to try to define the substance of colonialism, and to show that colonialism was not practised by the Portuguese Government.

15. While on the subject of misquotations, he would refer to a statement made by the representative of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic concerning an exchange of telegrams, between the former Head of the Portuguese State and the Head of another State, from which that representative had concluded that there had been modifications in the frontier "around" Lake Nyasa and that large blocks of territory and people had changed hands. The facts were that on, not around, Lake Nyasa—which was a vast stretch of water 200 to 250 miles long and nearly fifty miles wide—the frontier had never been demarcated and that various problems had arisen with regard to jurisdiction, fisheries and so forth. It had therefore been necessary to demarcate an ideal line on the water. When the work had been completed and the agreement signed, there had, as a matter of normal courtesy, been the exchange of telegrams to which he had referred. No land and no populations had been transferred. He was surprised that the representative of the Byelorussian SSR had made such a baseless accusation, and wondered whether that representative had forgotten the extensive modifications of frontiers and the large-scale transfers of populations forcibly carried out after the Second World War, without United Nations supervision, for the exclusive benefit of a single powerful country.

16. The representative of Iraq had alleged that the Minister for Overseas Provinces had a special position; that there were administrative and economic differences between the European provinces and the overseas provinces, only the latter having governors; and that the overseas provinces were not an integral part of the nation. In fact, the Minister for Overseas Provinces had no kind of special position or competence within the Government; like any other minister, he was responsible to the Prime Minister. The European provinces were in point of fact also headed by governors, while the administrative and economic differences were clearly established in the Constitution. Those differences were to be found in all constitutions, and did not imply any division or fragmentation of sovereignty. The meaning of the economic differentiations was that, by law, no funds from any province could be invested or transferred elsewhere; there was thus no possibility of taking advantage of a particular territory for the benefit of another—in other words, of practising what in the Fourth Committee went by the name of economic exploitation.

17. The representative of Iraq had quoted from the Portuguese Constitution. That representative, however, had omitted any reference to certain other articles of the Constitution, stipulating that sovereignty was vested in the nation, which consisted of all Portuguese citizens; that Portuguese citizens were all those persons who were born in Portuguese territory as defined in article 1 of the Constitution; and that the

^{2/} See *Africa Today*, vol. V, No. 6 (New York, American Committee on Africa, 1958). Also available as *Africa Today*, Pamphlet No. 2.

^{3/} Oliveira Salazar, "Goa and the Indian Union: The Portuguese View". *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 34, No. 3 (April, 1956).

Portuguese State was a unitary State. Again, article 72 of the Constitution made it clear that the whole nation participated in the political life of the State.

18. Since many delegations had expressed the view that the report of the Special Committee of Six applied only to Spain and Portugal, his delegation felt obliged to state, firstly, that the principles set forth in the report did not apply to his country and, secondly, that his delegation rejected the report. There had been a fundamental contradiction in the Committee's proceedings; the Fourth Committee was opposed to colonialism wherever it might be found, yet the implementation of the Special Committee's report was discriminatory and, apart from Spain and Portugal, it was not known to what other territories it should also apply. He wondered whether it applied to countries which had been independent and recognized as such by the international community but which had been integrated without any supervision by the United Nations. There were other contradictions: some delegations did not vote for certain draft resolutions because of the anti-colonialist declaration to be discussed in plenary meeting, but they had already stated that they would vote for any draft resolutions directed against Spain and Portugal. Again, it was said that the report was a universal guide and that each case should be examined; yet it did not seem to occur to anyone to mention any nations other than Spain and Portugal. From the fact that Portuguese overseas territories had been called colonies for a few years, without any change of structure, members of the Committee had drawn the conclusion that they were colonial territories. First his country was accused of not respecting the individuality and cultural characteristics of the peoples of the overseas territories, then it was reproached because in some provinces integration was not complete. It had been stated that colonialism was a global fact and should be treated on a global scale; but so far there had been no suggestion that the report should also cover what many delegations had described, in plenary meeting, as the worst type of colonialism.

19. He reserved his delegation's right to make further replies and any other statements which might be called for. He wished to say, in conclusion, that delegations had not hesitated to defame his country in the gravest manner. It was an undoubted fact that decisions in the Committee were arrived at before any discussion had taken place; threats were made, and the accusers were also the judges. Though the tendency of the Committee appeared to be towards a system under which all non-concurring voices would be muffled in the hope of their being finally silenced, his delegation refused to be either muffled or silenced.

20. Mr. MORSE (United States of America) said that his delegation's final decision with regard to draft resolution A/C.4/L.649 would depend very much on its final wording.

21. In his view, the Committee was making a mountain out of a molehill where the legal interpretation of Articles 73 and 74 of the Charter was concerned. Since those Articles had already been part of the Charter when Spain and Portugal had become Member States, it followed that those two States thereby assumed the obligations inherent in the legal meaning of the terms used in Articles 73 and 74, obligations which were binding in the absence of any limitation in those Articles. In the latter, the word "territories" was not used in a restrictive sense. Whatever the terms used

by an individual country to define its overseas areas, those areas could become a source of world tension. It was obviously one of the purposes of the United Nations that it should be used as a forum where the causes of world tension could be discussed, and an effort should therefore be made to find an amicable solution to the problem of the overseas territories of Spain and Portugal.

22. Those responsible for drafting Article 73 e of the Charter had clearly had two kinds of territory in mind, since they had referred to "the territories... other than those territories to which Chapters XII and XIII apply"; they had thus drawn a distinction between the Trust Territories and a State's other territories beyond its borders. In view of that language, and given the fact that Spain and Portugal had made no reservations at the time when they had become Member States, they were not, in his delegation's view, on very firm legal ground when they claimed that they themselves should decide to which territories Article 73 e referred. He did not question the sovereign right of any country to follow that course, but it was the duty of the United Nations to pass judgement on that State's action in so doing. It was difficult to conclude that it had been the intention of the Special Committee of Six that any overseas area where another country exercised domination over the indigenous inhabitants should be excluded from the scope of its report. He denied the contention that the report was directed solely against Spain and Portugal; it merely so happened that those two countries were not prepared voluntarily to submit information.

23. His delegation would like to see some changes made in the language of draft resolution A/C.4/L.649, with a view to making it more conciliatory. Progress had already been made in that direction, and the wording was far from dictatorial—indeed, he felt that the sponsors should be complimented on their moderate and careful language and their obvious desire to phrase the proposal in such a way as to obtain the widest possible support. He felt that the list of territories might be reconsidered. Whatever modifications were effected, it should be made clear to the subject peoples that the United Nations would hear their voice. The Committee must find a basis upon which all Governments could use the United Nations as a clearing house for the type of information which the Special Committee of Six had contemplated. The real test was whether Member States were ready to apply the principles set out in the Special Committee's report to specific areas in the world.

24. Mr. WEEKS (Liberia) said that his delegation had had recourse to diplomatic procedure and persuasion in its attempt to induce Portugal to submit information under Article 73 e of the Charter. The representative of Portugal was trying to buttress his Government's position by resorting to legal technicalities. In the Liberian delegation's opinion, the Portuguese territories in Africa and elsewhere were in fact colonies in the true sense of the word. Changes had been made in the Portuguese Constitution merely in order to circumvent the Charter.

25. The concept of geographical separation, referred to in principle IV as set out in the Special Committee's report, was self-explanatory, despite the doubts cast upon it by the representative of Portugal. The territories in Africa could not be described as part of the State of Portugal.

26. The Fourth Committee was justified in concentrating on imperialism and colonialism despite the existence of other major problems in the world, since it was the only Committee concerned with human beings—without whom there would be no communities in the world. No definition of the term "imperialism" had been given because there were various kinds of imperialism—social, political, religious or commercial—all of which destroyed the ethnic and social units in the territories in which they were active.

27. The representative of Portugal had referred to economic exploitation as a criterion for deciding whether or not a territory was a colony. Evidence of the existence of exploitation was furnished by the author of a study entitled "Portugal's African 'Wards'", who referred *inter alia* to the activities of a commission sent to Lourenço Marques in 1893. The commission had been told that nothing could be accomplished without a new labour code because the labour of the Natives was needed for the economy of Europe and the progress of Africa; the Negroes were a race which had never produced the reduments of civilization by their own spontaneous efforts.

28. Mr. NOGUEIRA (Portugal) intervened to ask the name of the author referred to.

29. Mr. WEEKS (Liberia) replied that it was Professor Marvin Harris.

30. Professor Harris's book also contained material relevant to another criterion of colonial status suggested by the representative of Portugal, namely the imposition of an alien creed or ideology. In May 1954 a statute had been passed concerning the inhabitants of Mozambique, Angola and Portuguese Guinea. It established educational qualifications for individuals of the Negro race or their descendants born and habitually resident in those provinces. The process of assimilation implied in that statute constituted conversion to, and the imposition of, ideological principles alien to the customs and ideology of the indigenous inhabitants, who were thus being asked to adopt the habits and customs applied by Portuguese general law. The fact that the legislation in question did not apply to the illiterate Europeans in those territories indicated that that was indeed its purpose.

31. He knew, from personal observation, that in Portugal's African territories there were different classes of citizens, who lived in separate areas. The representative of Portugal could not deny it.

32. Sovereignty was an absolute concept. It belonged to the people of a given territory and their right to own the natural wealth of the territory was not, either, open to doubt.

33. Mr. NIKOI (Ghana) said that he did not find the arguments of the representative of Portugal very convincing. While it was quite true that his delegation had quoted, in its statement at the 1032nd meeting, population figures mentioned in the 1956 revised edition of Lord Hailey's book *An African Survey*,⁴ it had been forced to resort to those out-of-date figures because Portugal had been refusing to supply more recent ones.

34. A more serious, though implied, charge made by the Portuguese representative concerned quotations from the book entitled *Inquiry on Anti-Colonialism*, published by the Ministry for Overseas Provinces of the Portuguese Government in 1957. The choice of

title for that official publication was, indeed, curious and if one was not conversant with the contents one might have thought that Portugal had embraced anti-colonialism. In actual fact, the Portuguese Government was interested in convincing its allies, and particularly the United States, of the dangers inherent in the anti-colonialist revolution sweeping across Africa. It was true that, in quoting from the book in its earlier statement, his delegation had omitted certain passages; but, as the Committee would see, the omissions had not vitiated the author's argument. After stating quite clearly, in paragraph 3 of the introduction, what the purpose of the book was, the author of the introduction went on, in paragraph 5, to call the Union of South Africa the most important independent country of the continent, closely bound up with Europe; in the same passage he said that Liberia had close links with the United States, that the attitude of the North African countries was not well defined, while the attitude of Ghana appeared to be hardly favourable to Europeans' continued presence in Africa.

35. His intention in quoting from the book had been to indicate a state of mind and a system of approach. In his view, Portugal's African territories were 100 per cent imperialist and colonialist possessions. It might have helped the Committee if the Portuguese representative had addressed himself to the views expressed in the book and had told the Committee whether they still constituted official policy. The author of one of the studies included in the book, Professor da Silva Cunha, argued that in the face of the freedom movement in Africa the colonial Powers should collaborate not only in the elaboration of agreed policies but also in the adjustment of their internal policies, with specific reference to their attitude and methods of action in relation to the indigenous inhabitants; a regional organization, complementary to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), could serve as a basis for common defensive action in Africa, and would help to neutralize the anti-colonialism that still existed in the United States. On page 263 of the book Professor Cunha indicated that such a regional organization should be spearheaded by Portugal, which was a NATO member and which, at the same time, was bound by bilateral treaties to Spain; the collaboration of Spain, which enjoyed high prestige in the Arab world, might counterbalance the disintegrating influences at work in North Africa.

36. In the light of the foregoing, the delegation of Ghana could not be accused of having failed to interpret correctly the intent of Professor Cunha, who had been arguing in favour of a regional organization for stemming the tide of nationalism in Africa. It was open to the Portuguese delegation to deny that fact, but the delegation of Ghana, on the basis of facts and of the statements made by official spokesmen of the Portuguese Government, was forced to conclude that by refusing to co-operate to the extent of submitting information to the United Nations, and by calling loudly for the establishment of a regional organization excluding the new independent African States, Portugal left to the countries directly concerned with the welfare of Africa's inhabitants no alternative but to consider what action they should take in the best interests of all the African States.

37. He reserved the right to revert to the question after he had had time to study in greater detail the statement made by the Portuguese representative.

⁴ Oxford University Press, 1957.

38. Mr. CARPIO (Philippines) moved the adjournment of the meeting under rule 119 of the rules of procedure.

The motion was adopted by 42 votes to 1, with 18 abstentions.

The meeting rose at 6.30 p.m.

SIXTY-FOURTH PLENARY MEETING

*Held on Saturday, 14 December 1946,
at 2.30 p.m.*

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President: Mr. P.-H. SPAAK (Belgium).

SOIXANTE-QUATRIEME SEANCE PLENIERE

*Tenue le samedi 14 décembre 1946,
à 14 h. 30.*

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Président: M. P.-H. SPAAK (Belgique).

183. Transmission of Information by Members under Article 73 e of the Charter: report of the Fourth Committee: resolution (documents A/249, A/249/Corr.1 and A/249/Add.1)

The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): The next item on the agenda is the report of the Fourth Committee on the transmission of information by Members under Article 73 e of the Charter (annex 78).

I call upon Mr. Lisicky, Rapporteur.

Mr. LISICKY (Czechoslovakia), Rapporteur (*translated from French*): The resolution contained in document A/249 concerns the transmission of statistical and other information of a technical nature relating to Non-Self-Governing Territories, as provided in Chapter XI of the Charter.

In accordance with Article 73 e, Members of the United Nations who have the responsibility of the administration of such territories have agreed to transmit such data regularly to the Secretary-General for information purposes.

The draft resolution before you was carried in the Committee by twenty-three votes to twelve, with three abstentions.

With a view to utilizing the information received by the Secretary-General, the recommendation provides for the establishment of an *ad hoc* committee with a membership as suggested in paragraph 4 of our conclusions. If this

183. Transmission des renseignements communiqués par les Membres en application de l'Article 73 e de la Charte. Rapport de la Quatrième Commission. Résolution (documents A/249 et A/249/Add.1)

Le PRÉSIDENT: L'ordre du jour appelle la discussion du rapport de la Quatrième Commission sur la transmission des renseignements communiqués par les Membres en application de l'Article 73 e de la Charte (annexe 78).

Je donne la parole à M. Lisicky, Rapporteur.

M. LISICKY (Tchécoslovaquie), Rapporteur: La résolution qui fait l'objet du document A/249 concerne la transmission des renseignements statistiques et autres, de nature technique, relatifs aux territoires non autonomes visés par le Chapitre XI de la Charte.

Les Membres qui ont la responsabilité d'administrer ces territoires ont, en vertu des dispositions de l'Article 73 e de la Charte, accepté de communiquer régulièrement au Secrétaire général, à titre d'information, les renseignements en question.

Le projet de résolution qui vous est soumis a été adopté en commission par vingt-trois voix contre douze, et trois abstentions.

En vue d'utiliser les renseignements reçus par le Secrétaire général, la recommandation prévoit la création d'un comité *ad hoc* dont la composition est indiquée au point 4 de nos conclusions. L'Assemblée sera donc appelée, si elle approuve

meets with approval, the Assembly will thus be called upon to elect the Members to be invited to send representatives to the meeting of the *ad hoc* committee.

Having said this, I shall limit myself to reading the recommendation from paragraph 4 onwards. The first three paragraphs were carried unanimously in the Committee.

"The General Assembly:

"(4) *Invites* the Secretary-General to convene, some weeks before the opening of the second session of the General Assembly, an *ad hoc* committee composed in equal numbers of representatives of the Members transmitting information under Article 73e of the Charter and of representatives of Members elected, by the General Assembly at this session, on the basis of an equitable geographical distribution;

"(5) *Invites* the Secretary-General to request the Food and Agriculture Organization, the International Labour Organization, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, and the World Health Organization and the International Trade Organization, when constituted, to send representatives in an advisory capacity to the meeting of the *ad hoc* Committee;

"(6) *Invites* the *ad hoc* Committee to examine the Secretary-General's summary and analysis of the information transmitted under Article 73e of the Charter with a view to aiding the General Assembly in its consideration of this information, and with a view to making recommendations to the General Assembly regarding the procedures to be followed in the future and the means of ensuring that the advice, expert knowledge and experience of the specialized agencies are used to the best advantage."

The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): I call upon Mr. Blom, representative of the Netherlands.

Mr. BLOM (Netherlands): The Netherlands delegation has stressed in committee that, in the international sphere, no better means exists to promote the well-being of the inhabitants of Non-Self-Governing Territories, than, first, co-operation of the governments and administrations concerned, which could be established and developed most profitably on a regional basis, and which will allow the peoples themselves to be associated in this work; secondly, by obtaining comparative reports and studies of experts in every field suitable to raising the standards of living of the peoples concerned. Such reports and studies could most successfully be made by expert organizations such as the specialized agencies, whose co-operation in this matter has to be requested and discussed.

la résolution, à procéder à des élections de membres qui feront partie de comité.

Sous le bénéfice de ces observations préliminaires, je me contenterai de lire la recommandation à partir du paragraphe 4. Les trois premiers paragraphes ont été adoptés à l'unanimité par la Commission.

"L'Assemblée générale:

"4) *Invite* le Secrétaire général à réunir quelques semaines avant l'ouverture de la deuxième session de l'Assemblée générale un comité *ad hoc* composé d'un nombre égal de représentants des Membres transmettant des renseignements en application de l'Article 73 e de la Charte et de représentants des Membres élus par l'Assemblée générale à cette session, sur la base d'une répartition géographique équitable;

"5) *Invite* le Secrétaire général à demander à l'Organisation pour l'alimentation et l'agriculture, l'Organisation internationale du Travail, l'Organisation des Nations Unies pour l'éducation, la science et la culture, l'Organisation mondiale de la santé et l'Organisation internationale du commerce, une fois constituées, d'envoyer à titre consultatif des représentants à la réunion du comité *ad hoc*.

"6) *Invite* le comité *ad hoc* à examiner les résumés et analyses faits par le Secrétaire général des renseignements transmis en application de l'Article 73 e de la Charte, en vue d'assister l'Assemblée générale dans son examen de ces renseignements et de faire des recommandations à l'Assemblée générale concernant la procédure à suivre à l'avenir et les moyens d'assurer que les avis, les connaissances techniques et l'expérience des institutions spécialisées soient utilisés au mieux."

Le PRÉSIDENT: Je donne la parole à M. Blom, représentant des Pays-Bas.

M. BLOM (Pays-Bas) (*traduit de l'anglais*): La délégation des Pays-Bas a attiré l'attention de la Commission sur deux moyens que, dans le domaine international, elle estime les plus propres à favoriser le progrès des populations de territoires qui ne s'administrent pas encore eux-mêmes. Il s'agit: premièrement, d'une collaboration des gouvernements et des autorités administratives intéressés, collaboration qui pourrait être établie et développée avec le plus d'avantages sur une base régionale et qui permettrait aux populations elles-mêmes de participer aux mesures prises; deuxièmement, de rapports et d'études comparatives d'experts dans tous les domaines, propres à favoriser l'amélioration du niveau de vie des peuples intéressés. Il serait bon que ces rapports et ces études soient l'œuvre d'organismes spéciaux comme les institutions spécialisées, dont il convient de demander et de discuter la collaboration en la matière.

The Netherlands delegation is convinced that there is no better way of international co-operation in the interest of the populations concerned than by having drawn up, discussed and published regularly, expert comparative reports on social, health, educational, economic, and whatever other technical subjects are suitable for the purpose.

The draft resolution proposed by the Fourth Committee, as it now stands, and particularly paragraphs 4, 5 and 6, which invite the Secretary-General to convene an *ad hoc* committee before the next session of the General Assembly to examine the Secretary-General's report on the information transmitted in accordance with Article 73e of the Charter, is, in our opinion, not a desirable procedure. The recommendation of convening this committee has political implications; their conformity with the basic character of Chapter XI of the Charter is subject to grave doubt. Moreover, more important still, the recommendation will not serve the best interests of the populations concerned. We feel that it would be regrettable indeed if international co-operation in the interest of the populations in Non-Self-Governing Territories were endangered by aiming, if only implicitly, at interference with the development of the internal political organization of the territories concerned.

During the debate on the Philippine resolution, the representative of the United States, among others, very eloquently and very convincingly explained why such interference is not in accordance with the Charter. The reasons which he mentioned are equally applicable in this case. Moreover, it would not only be contrary to the Charter, but it would also hamper the peaceful development of the populations, and might well impair good relations.

For these reasons, the Netherlands delegation is not in favour of establishing the *ad hoc* committee proposed. And may we remind the General Assembly that it has often been rightly stressed that the very able Secretariat should be considered well qualified for the task of reporting to the General Assembly on the information transmitted in accordance with Article 73e of the Charter?

The Netherlands delegation feels quite justified in taking this view, because, as is well known, the Netherlands Government intends to give the overseas territories of our Kingdom full self-government in the near future. We therefore look at this matter from a detached point of view. As stated before, the Netherlands delegation is opposed to paragraphs 4, 5 and 6 of this proposal. The first part of the resolution, however, is very valuable, and we fully agree with its contents.

To give us the opportunity to express this

La délégation des Pays-Bas est convaincue qu'il n'existe pas de meilleur moyen de collaborer, sur le plan international, dans l'intérêt des populations en question, que d'élaborer, de discuter et de publier régulièrement des rapports comparatifs d'experts sur les questions sociales, économiques, d'hygiène et d'enseignement, ainsi que sur toutes autres questions techniques dont l'étude peut aider à la réalisation des fins visées.

Toutefois, le projet de résolution proposé par la Quatrième Commission, sous sa forme actuelle, et notamment les paragraphes 4, 5 et 6 qui invitent le Secrétaire général à réunir un comité *ad hoc* avant la prochaine session de l'Assemblée générale afin d'examiner le rapport du Secrétaire général sur les renseignements communiqués conformément à l'Article 73 e de la Charte, ne constitue pas, à notre avis, une procédure souhaitable. La recommandation de réunir cette commission comporte des implications politiques dont on peut douter fortement qu'elles soient en harmonie avec l'esprit du Chapitre XI de la Charte. En outre, et ce qui est encore plus important, cette recommandation n'est pas de nature à servir au mieux les intérêts des populations intéressées. Nous estimons qu'il serait éminemment regrettable que la collaboration internationale dans l'intérêt des populations de territoires qui ne s'administrent pas eux-mêmes soit compromise parce qu'elle viserait, même implicitement, à faire intervenir les Nations Unies dans l'organisation politique intérieure des territoires intéressés.

Au cours de la discussion de la résolution de la délégation des Philippines, le représentant des Etats-Unis, entre autres, a démontré avec beaucoup d'éloquence, et d'une manière fort convaincante, qu'une intervention de ce genre ne s'accorderait pas avec la Charte. Les raisons qu'il a données de son opinion valent également pour le cas qui nous occupe. L'ingérence des Nations Unies, non seulement serait contraire à la Charte, mais encore générerait le progrès pacifique des populations et pourrait bien altérer de bonnes relations.

Pour ces motifs, la délégation des Pays-Bas n'est pas favorable à la création du comité *ad hoc* envisagé. Qu'il lui soit permis de rappeler à l'Assemblée générale que l'on a souvent, et à bon droit, fait observer que le très capable Secrétariat des Nations Unies devrait être considéré comme parfaitement qualifié pour faire rapport à l'Assemblée générale sur les renseignements communiqués conformément à l'Article 73 e de la Charte.

La délégation des Pays-Bas estime que son attitude se justifie parfaitement car, comme on le sait, le Gouvernement des Pays-Bas se propose d'accorder, dans un avenir rapproché, l'autonomie complète à ses territoires d'outre-mer. C'est donc avec détachement qu'il considère la question. Ainsi qu'elle l'a déjà déclaré, la délégation des Pays-Bas est opposée aux paragraphes 4, 5 et 6 de la proposition. Toutefois, elle attache du prix à la première partie de la résolution et approuve sans réserve son contenu.

Pour nous donner l'occasion d'exprimer ce

point of view, we would request you, Mr. President, to put this draft resolution to the vote in two parts: first, the preamble and paragraphs 1, 2, and 3 of the formal resolution; secondly, paragraphs 4, 5, and 6 of the resolution. We should like to have a roll-call on that second part.

The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): I call upon Mr. Garcia Granados, representative of Guatemala.

Mr. GARCÍA GRANADOS (Guatemala) (*translated from French*): The delegation of Guatemala asks the Assembly to note that in document A/249, paragraph 2, of the resolution, after the words "British Honduras" there is a reference to the *Journal* of the United Nations, No. 55, 10 December 1946, Supplement No. 4, pages 79 and 80.

The delegation of Guatemala desires to repeat before the Assembly the statement which was inserted in the said Supplement of the *Journal* of the United Nations on the page mentioned above.

At the time of the discussion, in the Fourth Committee, of the draft resolution now before the Assembly, our representative abstained from voting, and emphasized that he had done so because, in this resolution, the territory of Belize, incorrectly called British Honduras, is mentioned as a British possession.

He added that he wished to prevent his affirmative vote from being interpreted later as the recognition of a *de facto* situation in this territory, since Guatemala does not and cannot recognize the sovereignty of Great Britain over the territory of Belize.

I must add that the United Kingdom representative stated that his Government had proposed to submit the dispute to the International Court of Justice, but that Guatemala had not yet accepted this proposal. Our representative replied that Guatemala in turn had proposed that the Court should try the case *ex aequo et bono* in conformity with Article 38 of the Statute of the International Court of Justice.

In repeating before the Assembly the various statements made on this subject by our representative in the Fourth Committee, the delegation of Guatemala does not attempt to open a controversy on the substance of the dispute existing with Great Britain. It merely desires to affirm specifically its position in this matter, although, in the same meeting of this Committee and in connexion with the incident already mentioned, the representative of Mexico had declared, and the representative of no country entered any arguments to the contrary, that it must be clearly understood that "the adoption of the resolution in no way implies the recognition of the sovereignty of any Power over any territory whatsoever. It has only the practical significance of indicating which were the *de*

point de vue, nous vous serions obligés, Monsieur le Président, de bien vouloir diviser en deux parties ce projet de résolution en le mettant aux voix; la première partie comprendrait le préambule et les paragraphes 1, 2 et 3 de la résolution; la seconde, les paragraphes 4, 5 et 6. Nous aimerions qu'il soit procédé à un vote par appel nominal sur cette dernière partie.

Le PRÉSIDENT: Je donne la parole à M. Garcia Granados, représentant du Guatemala.

M. GARCÍA GRANADOS (Guatemala): La délégation du Guatemala prie l'Assemblée de vouloir bien observer que, dans le document A/249, au paragraphe 2 de la résolution, il y a une note en bas de page relative au Honduras britannique, laquelle renvoie au *Journal* des Nations Unies, No 55, du 10 décembre 1946, Supplément No 4, pages 79 et 80.

La délégation du Guatemala désire répéter devant l'Assemblée la déclaration qui fut insérée dans ledit Supplément du *Journal* des Nations Unies, aux pages déjà mentionnées.

Lors de la discussion, à la Quatrième Commission, du projet de résolution qui est maintenant soumis à l'Assemblée, notre représentant s'abstint de voter et souligna qu'il l'avait fait parce que, dans cette résolution, le territoire de Belize incorrectement appelé Honduras britannique était mentionné comme possession britannique.

Il ajouta qu'il voulait éviter qu'un vote affirmatif de sa part pût plus tard être interprété comme la reconnaissance d'une situation existant de fait dans ce territoire, puisque le Guatemala ne reconnaît pas, ni ne peut reconnaître la souveraineté de la Grande-Bretagne sur le territoire de Belize.

Je dois dire aussi que le représentant du Royaume-Uni prit la parole pour signaler que son Gouvernement a proposé de soumettre le différend à la Cour internationale de Justice, mais que le Guatemala n'a pas encore accepté cette proposition. A quoi notre représentant répondit que le Guatemala, à son tour, a proposé que la Cour puisse juger *ex aequo et bono*, conformément à l'Article 38 du Statut de la Cour internationale de Justice.

En répétant devant l'Assemblée les diverses déclarations faites sur ce sujet par notre représentant au sein de la Quatrième Commission, la délégation du Guatemala ne prétend pas ouvrir une polémique sur le fond de la controverse existant avec la Grande-Bretagne. Elle veut seulement marquer spécifiquement sa position dans cette affaire, bien que, dans la même séance de ladite Commission et à propos de l'incident déjà cité, le représentant du Mexique ait déclaré, sans que le représentant d'aucun pays n'eût argumenté contre, que l'on doit entendre clairement que "l'adoption de la résolution n'a, en aucune façon, le caractère d'une reconnaissance de la souveraineté d'une Puissance quelconque sur un territoire quelconque. Elle n'a qu'une signification pratique qui est de rappeler quelles sont les

facto authorities responsible at present for the administration of the territories in question."

Guatemala desires to live in harmony with all the nations of the world. For this reason she repeats her sincere desire that the dispute existing between her and Great Britain may shortly find a just and friendly solution.

The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): I call upon Mr. Thomas, representative of the United Kingdom.

Mr. THOMAS (United Kingdom): I confirm that the view of the representative of Guatemala is correct in that the return of information, under Article 73 of the Charter, carried no implications with regard to sovereignty. It is undoubtedly a fact that the United Kingdom is the administering authority in British Honduras, and therefore we are under an obligation to return the information which is mentioned in the paper before us.

The dispute is a familiar one. It is a boundary dispute arising out of a treaty of 1859, and I share the view of the representative of Guatemala that this matter can be settled quite amicably. I know that His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs will be very glad indeed to take up the question through the ordinary diplomatic channels. And I hope that it can be amicably settled.

As you recall, we have announced our willingness to have the matter remitted to the International Court for settlement, and to abide by its judgment. He has asked, however, that it should be treated, not by the ordinary rules of law, but *ex aequo et bono*. We have seen no reason for departing in such a manner from the rules of law normally applicable to a treaty, but in view of the tone in which the representative of Guatemala approached this matter, for which I thank him very sincerely, I have no doubt that this question can easily be settled.

I turn now to the resolution before us. Like the representative of the Netherlands, I think this resolution consists of a good part and a bad part, or perhaps I should say one good part and a less good part. I very readily accept, on behalf of the United Kingdom delegation, paragraphs 1, 2 and 3. Paragraphs 4, 5 and 6 raise the question of an *ad hoc* committee to examine the information provided under Article 73e.

There is a preliminary difficulty, in that it is hardly possible for this Assembly to set up an *ad hoc* committee for the next Assembly. Each Assembly must conduct its own business, and until representatives have assembled and their credentials have been examined, I hardly see

autorités de fait qui ont la responsabilité actuelle de l'administration des territoires énumérés".

Le Guatemala veut vivre en bonne harmonie avec toutes les nations du monde. C'est pour cela qu'il réitère son sincère désir que le différend existant actuellement entre lui et la Grande-Bretagne puisse être résolu prochainement sur une base juste et amicale.

Le PRÉSIDENT: Je donne la parole à M. Thomas, représentant du Royaume-Uni.

M. THOMAS (Royaume-Uni) (*traduit de l'anglais*): En déclarant que la transmission d'informations prévue par l'Article 73 de la Charte n'a aucune incidence sur la souveraineté nationale, le représentant du Guatemala a exprimé une opinion, qui, je tiens à le confirmer, est exacte. C'est un fait incontestable que le Royaume-Uni est l'autorité qui assure l'administration du Honduras britannique. Il s'ensuit que nous avons l'obligation de communiquer les renseignements prévus dans le texte qui nous est soumis.

Cette controverse nous est familière. Il s'agit d'une contestation relative au tracé de la frontière et qui a surgi à la suite d'un traité datant de 1859; je pense comme le représentant du Guatemala que c'est une affaire qui pourrait parfaitement être réglée à l'amiable. Je sais que le Secrétaire d'Etat britannique aux Affaires étrangères sera tout disposé à entamer l'examen de cette question par la voie diplomatique ordinaire et j'espère qu'elle pourra être réglée à l'amiable.

Comme vous le savez, nous avons annoncé que nous étions disposés à nous en remettre à la Cour internationale pour le règlement de cette affaire et à nous incliner devant sa décision. Le représentant du Guatemala, toutefois, a demandé que cette affaire soit traitée, non en appliquant les règles ordinaires du droit, mais *ex aequo et bono*. Pour notre part, nous ne voyons pas de raisons de nous écarter ainsi des règles du droit normalement applicables à un traité; mais, étant donné le ton que le représentant du Guatemala a donné à son intervention sur ce sujet, et je tiens à lui en exprimer ma sincère gratitude, il ne me paraît pas douteux que cette question pourra être réglée aisément.

Je passe maintenant à la résolution que nous avons à examiner. Comme le représentant des Pays-Bas, je pense que cette résolution se compose d'une partie qui est bonne et d'une partie qui est mauvaise, ou peut-être, devrais-je dire, d'une partie qui est bonne et d'une partie qui l'est moins. J'accepte très volontiers, au nom de la délégation du Royaume-Uni, les paragraphes 1, 2 et 3. Les paragraphes 4, 5 et 6 soulèvent la question d'un comité *ad hoc* chargé d'examiner les renseignements qui seraient fournis aux termes de l'Article 73 e.

Une difficulté préliminaire se présente du fait qu'il n'est guère possible pour cette Assemblée de constituer un comité *ad hoc* pour la prochaine Assemblée. Chaque Assemblée doit décider elle-même de l'organisation de ses propres travaux et aussi longtemps que les représentants

how it is possible to set up such a committee. In the few cases where this can be done, it has been specifically provided for, as in the Budgetary and Administrative Committee. I do not think that it would be constitutionally possible to do it in this case.

But I do not wish to base my argument on purely constitutional grounds. There are other objections of a more important character. On 9 February, a resolution was passed by this Assembly at its London session, disposing of the treatment of information under Article 73e of the Charter. It was then decided that this information should be summarized by the Secretary-General in his report, and most of us thought that there the matter was at an end. What would happen under that procedure is that the Secretary-General, with the help of his Secretariat, would examine the information transmitted and prepare a summary. The Secretariat is composed of experts in their particular fields, than whom there are a few persons better qualified to deal with this material. It would be included in the Secretary-General's report. Debate could arise on it, and it would then be transmitted to a committee of the Assembly where it would be examined in minute detail. If the Fourth Committee, supposing it was the Fourth Committee to which it would be transmitted, desired to set up another committee or an *ad hoc* committee, I suppose it could be done.

I submit that this is the right way to deal with the information, and it was the way decided upon at the London session of the Assembly. I submit, therefore, that we should not introduce new machinery now. The reasons given for establishing the *ad hoc* committee are as follows: in the first place, that the examination of this information needs experts. But what better experts are there than those already in the Secretariat? They have been carefully chosen for this work, and I am sure that we can all feel confident of their ability to discharge it properly. Think of the members of the *ad hoc* committee you would choose, if this resolution were adopted, and ask yourselves whether any of them would be likely to do this work better than the Secretariat itself. That disposes, I think, of the argument that some other body of experts is needed.

The second argument which has been advanced, not tonight, but in the Committees, is that this work would have a political character, and that, therefore, it would not be appropriate for the Secretariat to deal with it. The idea that the examination of the information under Article 73e has a political character, is one that the United Kingdom delegation must strenuously resist. The article in question states that the information is to be statistical or other informa-

ne se trouvent pas réunis et que leurs pouvoirs n'ont pas été examinés, je ne vois guère comment il serait possible de constituer un tel comité. On a expressément prévu les quelques cas où on peut le faire, par exemple pour la Commission des questions budgétaires et administratives. Je ne pense pas qu'il soit constitutionnellement possible de le faire dans le cas présent.

Cependant je ne désire pas étayer mon argumentation uniquement sur des considérations d'ordre constitutionnel. Il y a d'autres objections qui sont plus importantes. Le 9 février, cette Assemblée a adopté, au cours de sa session de Londres, une résolution qui décidait de la façon dont seraient utilisés les renseignements fournis en vertu de l'Article 73 e de la Charte. Elle a alors décidé que le Secrétaire général résumerait ces renseignements dans son rapport et la plupart d'entre nous pensaient que la question était ainsi réglée. Dans la pratique, cette manière de procéder aurait l'effet suivant: le Secrétaire général, avec l'aide de son Secrétariat, examinerait les renseignements qui lui auraient été communiqués et en ferait un résumé. Le Secrétariat est composé de fonctionnaires qui, dans leurs domaines respectifs, sont des experts spécialisés et dont certains sont parmi les personnes les mieux qualifiées pour s'occuper de cette documentation. Le résumé figurerait dans le rapport du Secrétaire général. Il pourrait faire l'objet d'une discussion, puis il serait transmis à une Commission de l'Assemblée qui l'examinerait en détail; et si la Quatrième Commission — j'imagine que, comme on peut le supposer, il s'agirait de la Quatrième Commission — désirait constituer un autre comité ou un comité *ad hoc*, je suppose qu'elle pourrait le faire.

Je prétends que c'est la bonne méthode à appliquer à ces renseignements, et que c'est celle que l'Assemblée de Londres a décidé d'adopter. Je propose donc que nous n'instituons aucun nouveau mécanisme maintenant. Les raisons que l'on a invoquées en faveur du comité *ad hoc* portent, en premier lieu, sur la nécessité de confier à des experts l'examen des renseignements. Où trouverons-nous des experts meilleurs que ceux qui font déjà partie du Secrétariat? Ils ont été soigneusement choisis pour cette tâche, et je suis sûr que nous pouvons tous compter sur leur aptitude à l'accomplir convenablement. Quelles sont les personnes en faveur desquelles nous pourrions être amenés à voter, si cette résolution était adoptée, pour constituer le comité spécial? Pensez-vous réellement que certaines personnes seraient en mesure de faire ce travail mieux que le Secrétariat lui-même? Voilà réfuté, je pense, l'argument suivant lequel il y a lieu de constituer un autre comité d'experts.

Le deuxième argument qui a été invoqué, non pas ce soir, mais dans les Commissions, est que cette tâche aurait un caractère politique et que, par conséquent, il ne conviendrait pas que le Secrétariat s'en occupât. Cette idée que l'examen des renseignements fournis en exécution de l'Article 73e a un caractère politique est une idée contre laquelle la délégation du Royaume-Uni se voit contrainte de s'élever énergiquement. L'Article en question stipule qu'il doit s'agir de

tion of a technical nature relating to economic, social, and educational conditions in the territories for which we are responsible.

It is out of the question that the examination of such information could have a political character. That is deliberately excluded by the article, and we must keep it excluded. Many of us have come to feel from our long discussions in the Fourth Committee that if we were to appoint an *ad hoc* committee a political character would be injected into this work, a political character which is not intended by the authors of the Charter.

We feel it essential, therefore, to come back to the Charter, and for that purpose, we think it would be better that this examination should be conducted, as was intended by the London resolution, by the Secretariat. The result of it will come before the General Assembly in the form of the Secretary-General's report and be referred to a committee. It is open to the Assembly to do whatever it pleases with the information, within the terms of the Charter.

For these reasons, I hope the Assembly will agree to accept paragraphs 1, 2 and 3 of the resolution, which fulfil a very useful purpose and are the result of long deliberations in the Committee, and will reject paragraphs 4, 5 and 6.

The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): We are not getting along very fast. So far, we have examined only two points of our agenda this afternoon. There are still twenty-four items. In any case, we must give up hope of finishing today, but if we continue at this rate we shall not finish tomorrow either. Many representatives are leaving, and the heads of delegations wish to leave. Consequently, we must make an effort to expedite the debates.

There are now three representatives still on my list: the representatives of Cuba, of the United States of America, and of Argentina.

I should have liked to finish this item before dinner and adjourn the meeting at 9 o'clock. If, however, the speeches of the representatives on my list are going to be long, we shall have to listen to them after dinner.

If the paragraphs of the resolution are adopted, we must elect eight members.

Mr. PÉREZ CISNEROS (Cuba) (*translated from French*): Mr. President, I should like to make my statement now.

Mr. ARCE (Argentina) (*translated from French*): My remarks will be very brief.

The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): We might hear these three speakers before dinner, if their speeches are not long, and waive the interpretation.

Mr. PÉREZ CISNEROS (Cuba) (*translated from French*): The proposal before the

données statistiques et d'autres renseignements de caractère technique relatifs aux conditions économiques et sociales et de l'instruction dans les territoires dont les Etats en question sont responsables.

On ne saurait dire que l'examen de ces renseignements puisse avoir un caractère politique. Cette idée a été délibérément exclue par l'Article 73 et doit continuer à l'être. Après nos longues discussions à la Commission, beaucoup d'entre nous en sont venus à penser que si nous constituons un comité spécial, nous donnerions à ce travail un caractère politique, un caractère qui ne correspond pas aux intentions des auteurs de la Charte.

Nous jugeons donc qu'il est indispensable de nous reporter à la Charte et, à cette fin, nous pensons qu'il serait préférable que le Secrétariat effectuât cet examen comme la résolution de Londres le prévoyait; le résultat en sera, alors, soumis à l'Assemblée générale sous la forme d'un rapport du Secrétaire général et renvoyé à une commission. Il sera loisible, à ce moment, à l'Assemblée de donner à ces renseignements la suite qui lui conviendra, en conformité avec les termes de la Charte.

Pour ces motifs, j'espère que l'Assemblée décidera d'accepter les paragraphes 1, 2 et 3 dont l'utilité est réelle et qui sont le résultat de longues délibérations de la Commission, et qu'elle écartera les paragraphes 4, 5 et 6 de la résolution.

Le PRÉSIDENT: Nous n'avancons pas très vite. Nous avons examiné deux points seulement de notre ordre du jour cet après-midi; il en reste vingt-quatre. De toute façon, nous devons renoncer à en terminer aujourd'hui, mais si nous continuons à la même allure, nous n'arriverons pas à terminer demain non plus. De nombreux représentants s'en vont, petit à petit. Les chefs des délégations désirent partir. Par conséquent, nous devons faire un effort pour hâter la fin des discussions.

Au point où nous en sommes, trois représentants restent inscrits sur ma liste: celui de Cuba, celui des Etats-Unis d'Amérique et celui de l'Argentine.

J'aurais voulu essayer de terminer ce point avant le dîner et de suspendre la séance à 21 heures. Cependant, si les discours des représentants inscrits doivent être longs, nous devons les entendre après le dîner.

Si les paragraphes de la résolution sont votés, nous devons élire huit membres.

M. PÉREZ CISNEROS (Cuba): Monsieur le Président, je désirerais pouvoir faire ma déclaration dès maintenant.

M. ARCE (Argentine): La déclaration que j'ai à faire sera très courte.

Le PRÉSIDENT: Peut-être pourrions-nous entendre ces trois orateurs avant le dîner, si leurs discours ne sont pas trop longs et si nous nous passons de l'interprétation.

M. PÉREZ CISNEROS (Cuba): La proposition qui vous est soumise et qui a été approuvée par

Assembly, which was approved by the Committee by a fairly large majority, has made great progress. A short time ago it was alleged, in the sub-committees, that it was unconstitutional and contrary to the Charter. Today, arguments of a minor order are used against it. I should like to contradict them in my turn, for if in the case of the veto Cuba desired to amend the Charter in accordance with the Charter, nevertheless my country does not wish to amend it every day, and in any case, never, save by the methods laid down in the Charter.

The question is very simple: Article 73 of the Charter speaks of the "sacred trust" accepted by the Members of the United Nations which "assume responsibilities for the administration of territories whose peoples have not yet attained a full measure of self-government". This sacred trust gives rise to certain obligations accepted by the Members, *inter alia*, in accordance with paragraph e, "transmit regularly to the Secretary-General for information purposes, subject to such limitation as security and constitutional considerations may require, statistical and other information of a technical nature relating to economic, social and educational conditions in the territories for which they are respectively responsible other than those territories to which Chapters XII and XIII apply".

Not only have these governments generously accepted obligations spontaneously at San Francisco, but the majority, and perhaps nearly all, have communicated this information.

What have we done with the information? We have filed it among the records of our delegations. We have had this information in our hands and looked at it, but no committee, not even a sub-committee, during the first part of the session of this Assembly, has given this information the attention it deserved; it has remained in our drawers and in our brief-cases.

We must decide whether we shall continue to deal with these documents in this manner. The Fourth Committee is awaiting our decision. In its Sub-Committee 2, it was asked whether we shall limit ourselves to receiving these papers, binding them, burying them in the archives and filing them away on our library shelves. It is clear that we cannot do this. We must deal with **them in a manner worthy of them**. These reports must fulfil the principles of the Charter which require that the peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories—those millions of people whose voices are not heard in this Assembly—be permitted to develop and become self-governing.

As was already stated during the discussions of the Sub-Committee, it would be an insult to the authors of the most generous chapter of the Charter not to utilize the information supplies.

It must be recognized that all the delegations have accepted the obligations of Article 73; they have submitted information; all of them wish

la Commission à une assez forte majorité a fait de grands progrès. Il n'y a pas longtemps encore, on l'accusait, dans les sous-commissions, d'être inconstitutionnelle et d'aller contre la Charte. Aujourd'hui, des arguments d'ordre mineur sont employés contre elle; je voudrais les combattre à mon tour, car si, dans le cas du veto, Cuba voulait réformer la Charte d'accord avec la Charte, mon pays ne désire pas la réformer tous les jours et, en tout cas, il ne désire jamais le faire sans employer les méthodes indiquées par la Charte.

La question est très simple: l'Article 73 de la Charte parle de la "mission sacrée" qu'ont les Membres des Nations Unies qui, "assument la responsabilité d'administrer des territoires dont les populations ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes". De cette mission sacrée découlent certaines obligations acceptées par les Membres, entre autres, conformément au paragraphe e, de "communiquer régulièrement au Secrétaire général, à titre d'information, sous réserve des exigences de la sécurité et de considérations d'ordre constitutionnel, des renseignements statistiques et autres de nature technique relatifs aux conditions économiques, sociales et de l'instruction dans les territoires dont ils sont respectivement responsables, autres que ceux auxquels s'appliquent les Chapitres XII et XIII".

Non seulement ces Gouvernements ont généreusement accepté cette obligation d'une façon spontanée à San-Francisco, mais la plupart d'entre eux, et peut-être presque tous, ont communiqué des renseignements.

Qu'avons-nous fait de ces renseignements? Nous les avons dans les archives de nos délégations; ils ont passé entre nos mains; nous les avons feuilletés, mais aucune commission et même aucune sous-commission n'a donné, au cours de la première partie de la session de l'Assemblée, l'accueil qu'ils méritent à ces documents; l'information est restée dans nos tiroirs et dans nos portefeuilles.

Il faudrait savoir si nous allons continuer à traiter ainsi ces documents. La Quatrième Commission s'est demandé ce que nous allions faire. A la Sous-Commission 2 de cette Commission, on a posé la question de savoir si nous allions nous borner à les recevoir, les relier, les enfouir dans les archives, les classer sur les rayons des bibliothèques. Evidemment, nous ne pouvons pas le faire; il faut leur accorder un traitement digne d'eux; il faut que ces rapports servent à remplir les principes contenus dans la Charte, en vertu desquels les populations des territoires non autonomes — ces millions d'hommes dont la voix n'est pas entendue dans cette Assemblée — puissent se développer et devenir autonomes.

Comme cela a déjà été dit lors des délibérations de la Sous-Commission, ce serait une véritable injure pour les auteurs de ce Chapitre où bat le cœur le plus généreux de la Charte, de ne pas utiliser les renseignements fournis.

Il faut le reconnaître, toutes les délégations ont accepté les obligations de l'Article 73; elles ont envoyé des renseignements; toutes sont d'ac-

this information to be utilized. The end is the same; but the means which we have evolved during the course of our discussions differ somewhat. As you see, it is simply a matter of procedure,

When this question came up in Sub-Committee 2 of the Fourth Committee, certain doubts and certain difficulties became apparent. We appealed to the organ to which we have always appealed, and which is always ready to help; I refer to the Secretariat. We asked the Secretariat to draft a recommendation to try to overcome the difficulty.

Very objectively, very spontaneously, without hearing the opinions of the Governments, the Secretariat soon submitted its plan to us.

Then the Cuban delegation, which agreed on several items of the plan, amended it slightly, made some additions and adopted the Secretariat's plan as its own. Consequently, the draft before you represents, first, the viewpoint of the Secretariat, and secondly, the viewpoint of the Cuban delegation.

The Secretariat consulted my delegation in this matter. An *ad hoc* committee must collect and study, before the next meeting, the documents which will be prepared for it by the Secretariat, documents supplied in conformity with Article 73 of the Charter.

This *ad hoc* committee will meet a few weeks before the General Assembly, in order to prepare a report for the Fourth Committee. Consequently, this committee is not a new body, it is not just a new wheel in the machinery. It will simply act as a rapporteur, a function which is shared by a number of persons, a number of delegations. It is quite simple.

Another delegation, the Chinese, proposed that the Trusteeship Council should deal with this report. Later, the Chinese delegation withdrew its proposal.

All we have before us now is the Secretariat's proposal and the proposal of a number of delegations, including, I believe, the United Kingdom and the United States. This latter proposal would permit the Secretariat itself to deal with the question. We must therefore confine ourselves to examining these two solutions.

Let us first of all consider the advantages and disadvantages of utilizing the Secretariat. The advantages are obvious. The Secretariat has assembled in this particular section, as I was able to ascertain myself, a staff which is particularly competent, very objective, and inspired by a frankly progressive spirit. These are real advantages, and the Secretariat is a good candidate. But there are disadvantages and, on this account, we must rule out the Secretariat.

You are aware of how sensitive governments are with respect to their sovereignty. These territories are administered by sovereign governments, and the reports submitted by these governments will have to be considered, and judged, perhaps in the form of recommendations.

The Secretariat might find itself in a difficult situation; it might be embarrassed, in fact, and

cord pour vouloir que ces renseignements soient utilisés. La fin est la même; mais les moyens qui se sont dégagés au cours de nos débats diffèrent quelque peu. Vous le voyez, il ne s'agit ici que d'une question de procédure.

Lorsque cette question a surgi à la Sous-Commission 2 de la Quatrième Commission, certains doutes et certaines difficultés se sont fait jour. Nous avons alors recouru à l'entité à laquelle nous avons toujours fait appel et qui répond toujours généreusement: au Secrétariat; nous lui avons demandé de rédiger un projet de recommandation pour essayer de résoudre la difficulté.

Très objectivement, très spontanément, sans avoir entendu les opinions des Gouvernements, le Secrétariat nous a aussitôt fourni son projet.

Ensuite, la délégation cubaine, qui était d'accord sur plusieurs points du projet, l'a légèrement amendé, y a apporté plusieurs additions et a fait sien le projet du Secrétariat; par conséquent, le projet qui vous est soumis comprend, en premier lieu, le point de vue du Secrétariat et ensuite, le point de vue de la délégation cubaine.

C'est ma délégation que le Secrétariat a consultée en ceci. Il faut qu'un comité adopte, étudie, avant la séance prochaine, les documents que lui préparera le Secrétariat, documents qui auront été fournis sur la base de l'Article 73 de la Charte.

Ce comité *ad hoc* se réunira quelques semaines avant l'Assemblée générale, afin de fournir un rapport à la Quatrième Commission. Par conséquent, ce comité n'est pas un organisme nouveau, il n'est pas un nouveau rouage. Il fait simplement fonction de rapporteur, fonction qui est répartie entre plusieurs personnes, entre plusieurs délégations. C'est tout à fait simple.

Une autre délégation, celle de la Chine, a proposé le Conseil de tutelle pour s'occuper de ce rapport. Plus tard, la délégation chinoise a retiré sa proposition.

Il ne nous reste maintenant sur table que le projet du Secrétariat, et celui de plusieurs délégations parmi lesquelles, je crois, le Royaume-Uni et les Etats-Unis. Ce dernier projet tendrait à ce que le Secrétariat lui-même traite de la question. Nous devons, par conséquent, nous borner à examiner ces deux solutions.

Voyons d'abord les avantages et les désavantages qu'offre le Secrétariat. Il offre des avantages évidents. Le Secrétariat est constitué, dans cette section spécialement, j'ai pu m'en rendre compte, d'un personnel spécialement compétent, très objectif, et d'un esprit franchement progressif. Ce sont, par conséquent, des avantages réels et le Secrétariat est un bon candidat. Mais il y a des désavantages, et c'est à cause de ces désavantages que nous écartons le Secrétariat.

Vous savez, en effet, combien les Gouvernements sont susceptibles en matière de souveraineté. Ces territoires sont administrés par des Gouvernements souverains, et il s'agit d'examiner, de juger, sous la forme de recommandations peut-être, les rapports fournis par ces Gouvernements.

Le Secrétariat se trouverait peut-être dans une situation difficile; il serait gêné, mal à l'aise,

ill at ease, whenever it became necessary to point out to a government that such and such a thing might be done better or that such and such a government administers a territory more progressively than another. Owing to the analyses and classifications which the Secretariat would be obliged to make, it would find itself in an extremely difficult situation with respect to the governments, so difficult in fact, that quite spontaneously, and without hearing the opinion of any government, it has recommended that it should not deal with the question, but that it should rather be left to a committee composed of representatives of governments.

Let us now see the advantages and disadvantages of the committee and consider first of all if such a committee can be set up. It can be set up. To obviate all discussion, it is sufficient to refer to rule 100 of the provisional rules of procedure for the General Assembly, which reads: "The General Assembly may set up such committees and subsidiary organs as it deems necessary for the performance of its functions".

Let us see if there are precedents, for it is obvious that the General Assembly cannot prepare a committee for another General Assembly.

The General Assembly is an entity. It is a constitutive body which subsists from year to year, and indeed we trust that it will have a long life.

Consequently, the General Assembly prepares its own work; this is quite normal and quite possible. It is so normal that the delegations which opposed this plan used this argument and have just approved a recommendation submitted to the General Committee for the establishment of a committee which will draw up a report on the rules of procedure which we shall employ for the second session of the Assembly.

Here again we recall the committee which prepared the General Assembly, although it was created by a constituent assembly such as that of San Francisco. Consequently, it is quite possible, and we have all the necessary precedents.

Now let us consider the advantages and disadvantages.

I can see only one disadvantage—namely, that this committee has not yet been set up and that we are liable to lose many a quarter of an hour before it is elected. Of course, we are all tired by now, and we must perhaps consider this disadvantage. The advantages are, however, very great, for this committee is elected by the Assembly on an equitable basis; it is composed of members of governments. It is perfectly free to use the information supplied by the governments.

This committee will have the advantage of attracting the interest of the nations which are perhaps not directly concerned, thus giving to Chapter XI of the Charter all the importance, all the power which we desire that it should possess. This committee is well balanced with respect to its composition and, it will above all,

lorsqu'ils s'agirait de faire remarquer à un Gouvernement que telle ou telle chose pourrait être mieux faite ou que tel ou tel Gouvernement administre d'une manière plus progressiste qu'un autre. Le Secrétariat, par les analyses et par les classements auxquels il serait contraint, se trouverait dans une situation extrêmement pénible à l'égard des Gouvernements, si pénible même, que, d'une façon spontanée et sans avoir entendu l'opinion d'aucun Gouvernement, il a recommandé que ce ne fût pas lui qui traitât cette question, mais plutôt un comité composé des représentants des Gouvernements.

Voyons maintenant les avantages et les désavantages du comité et voyons d'abord si celui-ci peut-être créé. Il peut l'être. Il suffit pour éviter toute autre discussion, de se référer à l'article 100 du règlement intérieur provisoire de l'Assemblée générale qui dit: "L'Assemblée générale peut constituer les commissions et organismes subsidiaires qu'elle juge nécessaires pour l'accomplissement de sa tâche."

Voyons, d'autre part, s'il y a eu des antécédents, car il est bien entendu que l'Assemblée générale ne peut pas préparer un comité pour une autre Assemblée générale.

L'Assemblée générale est une entité; elle forme un corps constitutif qui subsiste d'année en année et nous espérons qu'elle vivra très longtemps.

Par conséquent, c'est l'Assemblée générale qui prépare son propre travail et ceci est tout à fait normal et tout à fait possible. C'est tellement normal que les délégations qui s'opposent à ce projet se servent de cet argument et viennent d'approuver une recommandation présentée au Bureau en vue de créer une commission qui établira, pour la deuxième session de l'Assemblée générale, un rapport sur les règles de procédure que nous utiliserons.

Là aussi, nous nous souviendrons de la commission qui prépara l'Assemblée générale, quoiqu'elle soit née d'une Assemblée constituante comme celle de San-Francisco. Par conséquent, cela est tout à fait possible et il y aura tous les antécédents voulus.

Voyons maintenant le chapitre des avantages et des désavantages.

Je ne vois qu'un désavantage, c'est que ce comité n'est pas encore créé et que nous pouvons perdre quelques quarts d'heure avant qu'il soit élu. Evidemment, actuellement, nous sommes tous fatigués, il faut peut-être considérer ce désavantage; mais les avantages sont très grands, car ce comité est élu par l'Assemblée sur une base équitable; il est composé de membres de Gouvernements; il pourra utiliser avec toute la liberté possible les renseignements qui seront fournis par les Gouvernements.

Ce comité aura l'avantage d'intéresser les nations qui ne sont peut-être pas directement intéressées et ainsi de donner au Chapitre XI de la Charte toute l'importance, toute la force que nous voulons voir lui donner. Ce comité est très équilibré, quant à sa composition, et il aura avant tout le grand avantage de libérer le Secré-

have the great advantage of relieving the Secretariat of all kinds of political responsibility. The information will thus be utilized in the most appropriate manner.

When we go to see the director of an undertaking and we are received by the secretary, we are not content. We should prefer to be received by the director himself. The Cuban delegation proposes that it should be the director of the undertaking who receives the information, and not the secretary.

I do not desire to say more in defence of this very sensible scheme, which, will I think, receive an enthusiastic welcome from the Assembly. Nevertheless, as we are constantly discussing questions of procedure, I should like to deal with a few points.

It is quite certain that we shall come to consider whether a subject under discussion is important or not. All the subjects with which we deal here are important. Of course, this thesis can be defended, but we must always revert to rule 78 of the rules of procedure. I see nothing in that rule which might imply that the question now under discussion is important.

Only one sentence might be thus regarded; it is said that questions relating to the trusteeship system must be decided by a two-thirds majority. But the question before us is not one relating to the trusteeship system within the meaning of Chapters XII and XIII of the Charter; it is a question within the meaning of Chapter XI. Rule 78 of the rules of procedure therefore does not apply. To apply the two-thirds majority rule, it would be necessary to have resort to rule 79 and to create a new category. The two-thirds majority would be necessary for the creation of this category.

The question is very important and I must insist on several points. First of all, the committee is only to be set up for one meeting, with a view to preparing the work of the second session of the Assembly. Consequently, the committee is destined from its very inception, to be short-lived. Naturally, if the Assembly, during its second session, considers it advisable, it might confer immortality upon the committee, but only if all the members agree.

On the other hand, this committee could deal only with provisional questions. I invite you to read once again paragraph 6 of the resolution, which is as follows:

"Invites the *ad hoc* committee to examine the Secretary-General's summary and analysis of the information transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter with a view to aiding the General Assembly in its consideration of this information, and with a view to making recommendations to the General Assembly regarding the procedures to be followed in the future and the means of ensuring that the advice, expert knowledge and experience of the specialized agencies are used to the best advantage."

This committee will have only a few items to

tariat de toutes sortes de responsabilités politiques. Ces renseignements seront utilisés vraiment de la façon la plus convenable.

Lorsque nous allons visiter le directeur d'une entreprise, et lorsque c'est le secrétaire seulement qui nous reçoit, nous ne sommes pas satisfaits; nous préférierions être reçus par le directeur lui-même. La délégation cubaine propose que ce soit le directeur de l'entreprise qui reçoive les renseignements et non pas le secrétaire.

Je ne veux pas en dire plus pour la défense de ce projet très simple et qui recevra, je pense, l'accueil le plus enthousiaste de la part de l'Assemblée. Cependant, comme nous discutons constamment les questions de procédure, je voudrais aborder quelques points.

Nous allons certainement voir surgir la question de savoir s'il s'agit d'un sujet important ou non. Tous les sujets que nous traitons ici sont importants. Evidemment, on pourrait défendre cette thèse, mais il faut se reporter toujours à l'article 78 du règlement intérieur. Je ne vois vraiment rien, dans cet article, qui puisse impliquer que la question dont il s'agit ici est importante.

Une seule phrase de cet article pourrait être considérée ainsi; il est dit que les questions relatives au fonctionnement du régime de tutelle demandent une majorité des deux tiers. Mais il n'y a pas ici une question relative au régime de tutelle visée par les Chapitres XII et XIII de la Charte; il y a une question directement visée par le Chapitre XI. L'article 78 du règlement intérieur n'est donc pas applicable. Si l'on voulait appliquer la règle des deux tiers, il faudrait recourir à l'article 79 et créer une nouvelle catégorie. C'est pour la création de cette catégorie que sera nécessaire la majorité des deux tiers.

La question est très importante. J'insisterai sur plusieurs points. D'abord, il ne s'agit de créer un comité que pour une séance. Cette création sera faite seulement pour préparer le travail de la deuxième session de l'Assemblée. Par conséquent, ce comité est voué, dès sa naissance, à une courte existence. Evidemment, si l'Assemblée, au cours de sa deuxième session, le juge opportun, elle pourra lui donner l'immortalité, mais seulement si tous les Membres sont d'accord.

D'autre part, ce comité ne pourra traiter que des questions provisoires. Je vous invite à relire le paragraphe 6; il est ainsi conçu:

"Invite le comité *ad hoc* à examiner les résumés et analyses faits par le Secrétaire général des renseignements transmis en application de l'Article 73 e de la Charte, en vue d'assister l'Assemblée générale dans son examen de ces renseignements et de faire des recommandations à l'Assemblée générale concernant la procédure à suivre à l'avenir et les moyens d'assurer que les avis, les connaissances techniques et l'expérience des institutions spécialisées soient utilisés au mieux."

Ce comité aura très peu de matière à traiter

deal with, and as a matter of fact, its sole purpose will be to prepare for the General Assembly a procedure to enable the information supplied in accordance with Article 73e to be correctly and usefully dealt with.

I would also remind you that this proposal was submitted first of all by the Secretariat, then by the Cuban delegation, and that in the Sub-Committee it was approved by ten votes to ten, that in the Committee it was adopted by a majority of twenty-one votes to twelve and, lastly that it contemplates the only really recommendable procedure—namely, the establishment of an *ad hoc* committee.

These are the reasons for which the Cuban delegation asks you to vote in favour of its proposal, which is also that of the General Committee, for the establishment of the only provisional body capable of utilizing to the utmost the valuable information so generously offered by the colonial Powers.

Mr. DULLES (United States of America): We all want this information that is transmitted to be live, valuable information. The question is how to make it so. We believe that the proposal made in the resolution, which calls for transmission of information to the Secretary-General—which is in accordance with the Charter—so that a summary and analysis may be made by the Secretary-General for transmission to the Members before the second session of the Assembly, is the most practical way to handle the matter.

If the Secretary-General and his staff are not competent to do it and require the services of a committee of sixteen people to help them, I think there is something wrong with the Secretariat. I cannot think of any more inefficient way of handling this information than to surround the Secretariat with a special committee of sixteen persons. In my opinion, that will go very far towards burying this information and destroying its usefulness. It can be made useful if we have a trained, competent Secretariat to study the matter.

On the basis of the information transmitted this year, we can judge that this involves a study of reports from eighty different States. If, in addition to the Secretariat, you would appoint a special committee of sixteen to deal with those eighty reports, I just cannot conceive that anything useful will come out for the next General Assembly.

Mr. ARCE (Argentina): The Argentine delegation will abstain from voting on this question for the reasons given in the Committee, which are summarized in the note to paragraph 3 of the resolution.

The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): We shall now proceed to vote. The representative of the Netherlands has asked that the vote should be split. We shall therefore vote first of all on paragraphs 1, 2 and 3, by a show of hands, then

et, en fait, son but unique sera de préparer pour l'Assemblée générale une procédure pour que les renseignements fournis en vertu de l'Article 73e soient correctement et utilement traités.

Je rappelle aussi que cette proposition a été présentée tout d'abord par le Secrétariat, puis par la délégation cubaine; que, dans la Sous-Commission, elle a été approuvée par dix voix contre dix; que, dans la Commission, elle a été adoptée par une majorité de vingt et une voix contre douze; et que finalement, elle prévoit la seule procédure vraiment recommandable: la création d'un comité *ad hoc*.

Telles sont les raisons pour lesquelles la délégation cubaine vous demande de voter pour sa proposition, qui est aussi celle du Bureau, créant le seul organisme provisoire capable d'utiliser au maximum les précieuses informations qu'ont si généreusement offert de fournir les Puissances coloniales.

M. DULLES (Etats-Unis d'Amérique) (*traduit de l'anglais*): Nous voulons tous que les renseignements communiqués soient des renseignements à jour et qui aient de la valeur. Dès lors, la question qui se pose est celle-ci: comment faire pour qu'il en soit ainsi? Nous croyons que la résolution proposée offre les moyens les plus pratiques d'y parvenir; elle prévoit: que les renseignements seront communiqués au Secrétaire général, ce qui est conforme à la Charte, et que le Secrétaire général les résumera et les analysera, et que ce résumé sera transmis aux Etats Membres avant la deuxième session.

Si le Secrétaire général et son personnel ne peuvent s'acquitter de cette tâche, et s'ils ont besoin pour cela des services d'un comité de seize membres, j'estime qu'il y a quelque chose qui ne va pas au Secrétariat. Je ne puis imaginer de plus mauvais moyen de traiter ces renseignements que d'adjoindre au Secrétariat un comité spécial de seize membres. A mon avis, cette manière de procéder aurait pour effet d'ensevelir en grande partie ces renseignements et de leur ôter beaucoup de leur utilité. Or, ils peuvent être utiles si nous avons un Secrétariat expérimenté et compétent qui les étudie.

Les renseignements qui ont été communiqués cette année montrent qu'il va falloir étudier les rapports de quatre-vingts Etats. Si l'on ajoute au Secrétariat un comité spécial de seize membres pour s'occuper de ces quatre-vingts rapports, je ne puis imaginer ce qu'il pourra sortir d'utile de tout cela pour la prochaine Assemblée générale.

M. ARCE (Argentine) (*traduit de l'anglais*): La délégation de l'Argentine s'abstiendra de voter sur cette question, pour les raisons qu'elle a exposées à la Commission et qui se trouvent résumées dans la note relative au paragraphe 3 de la résolution.

Le PRÉSIDENT: Nous allons procéder au vote. Le représentant des Pays-Bas a demandé la division du vote. Nous allons donc voter tout d'abord sur les paragraphes 1, 2 et 3 ensemble, à main levée, puis sur les paragraphes 4, 5

on paragraphs 4, 5 and 6 by roll-call, as requested.

Decision: *The first three paragraphs of the resolution were adopted by forty-one votes to none, with four abstentions.*

A vote by roll-call was then taken on paragraphs 4, 5 and 6.

The PRESIDENT (translated from French): The result of the vote is as follows:

Votes for: Brazil, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Honduras, India, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Philippine Republic, Poland, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Venezuela, Yugoslavia.

Votes against: Australia, Belgium, Denmark, Ecuador, France, Greece, Iceland, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom, United States of America, Uruguay.

Abstentions: Afghanistan, Argentina, Bolivia, Czechoslovakia, Guatemala, New Zealand, Turkey.

Decision: *Paragraphs 4, 5 and 6 of the resolution were adopted by twenty-eight votes to fifteen, with seven abstentions.*

A vote was taken on the whole resolution by a show of hands.

Decision: *The resolution was adopted by twenty-seven votes to seven, with thirteen abstentions.*

The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I suggest that we elect the eight members of the *ad hoc* Committee at tonight's meeting. In the intervals, between the votes, we could take the simpler items on the agenda so as not to lose too much time.

The meeting rose at 8 p.m.

et 6 par appel nominal, selon la demande qui a été formulée.

Décision: *Les trois premiers paragraphes de la résolution sont adoptés par quarante et une voix sans opposition, et quatre abstentions.*

Il est procédé au vote par appel nominal sur les paragraphes 4, 5 et 6.

Le PRÉSIDENT: Le résultat du scrutin est le suivant:

Vote pour: Brésil, République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie, Canada, Chili, Chine, Colombie, Cuba, République Dominicaine, Egypte, Salvador, Ethiopie, Honduras, Inde, Iran, Irak, Liban, Mexique, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, République des Philippines, Pologne, Arabie saoudite, Syrie, République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine, Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques, Venezuela, Yougoslavie.

Vote contre: Australie, Belgique, Danemark, Equateur, France, Grèce, Islande, Luxembourg, Pays-Bas, Norvège, Suède, Union Sud-Africaine, Royaume-Uni, Etats-Unis d'Amérique, Uruguay.

S'abstiennent: Afghanistan, Argentine, Bolivie, Tchécoslovaquie, Guatemala, Nouvelle-Zélande, Turquie.

Décision: *Les paragraphes 4, 5, et 6 de la résolution sont adoptés par vingt-huit voix contre quinze, et sept abstentions.*

Il est procédé au vote à main levée sur l'ensemble du projet.

Décision: *Le projet de résolution est adopté dans son ensemble par vingt-sept voix contre sept, et treize abstentions.*

Le PRÉSIDENT: Je propose que nous procédions lors de la séance de nuit, à l'élection de huit membres du Comité *ad hoc*. Nous pourrions procéder à ce vote tout en abordant, dans les intervalles, les points faciles de notre ordre du jour, de façon à ne pas perdre trop de temps.

La séance est levée à 20 heures.

GENERAL
ASSEMBLYASSEMBLEE
GENERALEA/249
11 December 1946
FRENCH
ORIGINAL : ENGLISHTRANSMISSION DES RENSEIGNEMENTS COMMUNIQUE PAR LES MEMBRES
EN APPLICATION DE L'ARTICLE 73 (e) DE LA CHARTE

RAPPORT DE LA QUATRIEME COMMISSION

Rapporteur : M. C. Lisicky (Tchécoslovaquie)

La question ci-dessus a été renvoyée par la Quatrième Commission à sa Sous-commission 2. Le rapport de la Sous-commission a été distribué aux Membres de l'Assemblée générale dans les documents A/C.4/68 et A/C.4/68/Corr.1.

La résolution adoptée par la Quatrième Commission (par 23 voix contre 12 et 3 abstentions) n'est pas la même que celle recommandée par la majorité de la Sous-commission par 10 voix contre 4 et 5 abstentions. Le Préambule et les trois premiers alinéas sont ceux recommandés par la Sous-commission; les alinéas suivants 4 à 6 reproduisent un amendement de la délégation de Cuba semblable à celui qu'elle avait proposé à la Sous-commission où il avait été rejeté par 10 voix contre 8, et une abstention.

Les arguments pour et contre cet amendement, qui prévoit la création d'un Comité ad hoc, sont exposés dans le rapport de la Sous-commission. De plus, il y a lieu de noter que lorsque le représentant de la Chine a fait part de son intention de voter en faveur de l'amendement de Cuba, il a demandé qu'il fût fait expressément mention dans le rapport de la Commission que dans la Sous-commission il avait exprimé l'opinion que le Conseil de tutelle était logiquement l'autorité normale pour recevoir et examiner les renseignements communiqués en application du chapitre XI ; et que l'amendement qu'il avait proposé à cet effet n'avait été repoussé à la Sous-commission que par 10 voix contre 9. Le représentant de la Chine maintenait sa position, mais en vue de faciliter les travaux de la Commission il ne représenta pas son amendement.

L'amendement de la délégation de Cuba remplace en ses alinéas 4 à 6 le texte suivant recommandé par la majorité de la Sous-commission.

"4. recommande que le Secrétaire général consulte les institutions spécialisées en vue de formuler des propositions à soumettre à l'Assemblée générale lors de sa deuxième session, pour assurer la meilleure utilisation des conseils, des connaissances techniques et de l'expérience des institutions spécialisées."

Un vote par appel nominal eut lieu à la Quatrième Commission sur l'amendement, qui fut adopté par 21 voix contre 12 et 4 abstentions.

C'est pourquoi la Quatrième Commission recommande à l'Assemblée générale d'adopter la résolution suivante :

"Résolution sur la transmission des renseignements visés à l'Article 73 (e) de la Charte.

L'Assemblée générale a approuvé le 9 février 1946, une résolution relative aux populations non autonomes. Par cette résolution le Secrétaire général avait été invité à inclure dans son rapport annuel sur l'activité de l'Organisation, une déclaration résumant les renseignements qui lui auraient été transmis par les Membres des Nations Unies en application de l'Article 73 (e) de la Charte et relatifs aux conditions économiques, sociales et de l'instruction dans les territoires dont ils sont responsables, autres que ceux auxquels s'appliquent les chapitres XII et XIII.

L'Assemblée générale note que des renseignements ont été transmis par les Gouvernements de l'Australie, sur la situation de la Papouasie; de France, sur la situation de l'Afrique occidentale française, l'Afrique équatoriale française, la Côte française des Somalis, Madagascar et Dépendances, les Etablissements français de l'Océanie, l'Indochine, les Etablissements français de l'Inde, la Nouvelle-Calédonie et Dépendances, Saint-Pierre et Miquelon, le Maroc, la Tunisie, les Nouvelles-Hébrides sous condominium franco-britannique,

la Martinique, la Guadeloupe et Dépendances, la Guyane française et la Réunion (sans préjuger le statut futur de ces territoires); de la Nouvelle-Zélande, sur la situation des îles de Cook (sans préjuger de l'interprétation du terme "territoire non autonomes", attendu que les îles de Cook sont une partie intégrante de la Nouvelle-Zélande); du Royaume-Uni, sur la situation de la Barbade, les Bermudes, la Guyane britannique, le Honduras britannique, (1) les îles Fidji, la Gambie, Gibraltar, les îles Sous-le-Vent, l'île Maurice, Sainte Lucie et le protectorat de Zanzibar; et des Etats-Unis d'Amérique, sur la situation de l'Alaska, la partie américaine des Samoa, l'île de Guam, les îles Hawaï, la Zone du Canal de Panama, (2) Porto-Rico et les îles Vierges.

L'Assemblée générale a également pris note que les gouvernements suivants ont fait connaître leur intention de transmettre des renseignements : la Belgique, sur le Congo belge; le Danemark, sur le Groënland; les Pays-Bas, sur les Indes néerlandaises, Surinam et Curaçao; la Nouvelle-Zélande, sur les îles Tokelau; le Royaume-Uni sur Aden (colonie et protectorat), Bahama, le Basutoland, le Protectorat de la Betchouanaland, le Protectorat de la Somalie anglaise, Brunéi, Chypre, Dominique, les îles Falkland, (3) la Côte de l'Or (colonie et protectorat), Grenada, Hong Kong, la Jamaïque, le Kenya (colonie et protectorat), l'Union Malaise, Malte, le Nigéria, la partie nord de Bornéo, la Rhodésie du Nord, le Nyasaland, Sainte Hélène et Dépendances, Saint Vincent, Sarawak, les Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapour, le Souaziland, la Trinité et Tobago, le Protectorat de l'Ouganda; et les territoires du Pacifique occidental sous Haute Commission (la colonie des îles Gilbert et Ellis, le protectorat des îles Salomon, les îles Pitcairn).

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- 1) A ce sujet, se référer au Journal des Nations Unies No 55 du 10 décembre 1946, Supplément 4, pages 79 et 80.
 - 2) A ce sujet se référer au document A/200 en date du 26 novembre 1946.
 - 3) Au sujet des Iles Falkland, la délégation de l'Argentine, lors de la vingt-cinquième séance de la Commission, a fait une réserve, ayant pour objet de déclarer que le Gouvernement argentin ne reconnaissait pas la souveraineté britannique sur les Iles Falkland. La délégation du Royaume-Uni a fait une réserve parallèle, ne reconnaissant pas la souveraineté de l'Argentine sur ces îles.

La valeur de la participation des territoires non autonomes à l'activité des institutions spécialisées a été soulignée comme un moyen d'atteindre les buts du Chapitre XI de la Charte.

La procédure à suivre par l'Organisation concernant les renseignements transmis par les Membres au sujet des populations non autonomes, a été examinée avec soin.

Par ces motifs, l'Assemblée générale :

1. Invite les Etats Membres, qui doivent fournir les renseignements, à mettre le Secrétaire général en possession, pour le 30 juin de chaque année, des renseignements les plus récents dont ils disposent.

2. Recommande que les renseignements transmis au cours de l'année 1947 par des Membres des Nations Unies en application de l'Article 73 (e) de la Charte, soient résumés, analysés et classifiés par le Secrétaire général et inclus dans son rapport à la deuxième session de l'Assemblée générale, afin que, à la lumière de l'expérience ainsi acquise, l'Assemblée générale puisse décider si une autre procédure est désirable à l'avenir pour l'utilisation de ces renseignements.

3. Recommande que le Secrétaire général communique aux institutions spécialisées les renseignements transmis, afin que toutes les données intéressantes puissent être mises à la disposition de leurs groupes d'experts et de leurs organes délibérants.

4. Invite le Secrétaire général à réunir quelques semaines avant l'ouverture de la deuxième session de l'Assemblée générale un Comité ad hoc composé d'un nombre égal de représentants des Membres transmettant des renseignements en application de l'Article 73 (e) de la Charte et de représentants des Membres élus par l'Assemblée générale à cette session, sur la base d'une répartition géographique équitable.

5. Invite le Secrétaire général à demander à l'Organisation pour l'Alimentation et l'Agriculture, l'Organisation internationale de Travail, l'Organisation des Nations Unies pour l'Education, la Science et la Culture,

l'Organisation Mondiale de la Santé et l'Organisation internationale du Commerce, une fois constituées, d'envoyer à titre consultatif des représentants à la réunion du Comité ad hoc.

6. Invite le Comité ad hoc à examiner les résumés et analyses faits par le Secrétaire général des renseignements transmis en application de l'Article 73 (e) de la Charte, en vue d'assister l'Assemblée générale dans son examen de ces renseignements et de faire des recommandations à l'Assemblée générale concernant la procédure à suivre à l'avenir et les moyens d'assurer que les avis, les connaissances techniques et l'expérience des Institutions spécialisées soient utilisés au mieux."

L'ensemble de cette résolution fut adoptée par la Quatrième Commission par un vote de 23 voix contre 12 et 3 abstentions. Le représentant de la France a réservé formellement la position de son Gouvernement, déclarant qu'il ne pouvait prendre l'engagement au nom du Gouvernement français d'envoyer des représentants à un Comité ad hoc établi en contravention des stipulations de l'Article 73 (e) de la Charte.

Les délégations de l'Australie, de la Belgique et du Royaume-Uni ont également réservé la position de leurs Gouvernements.

Si l'Assemblée générale approuve la convocation de ce Comité ad hoc comme il est dit dans les alinéas 4 et 6 de la Résolution ci-dessus, l'Assemblée générale devrait choisir, lors de la présente session, les huit membres qui seront invités à envoyer des représentants à la réunion du Comité ad hoc.

GENERAL
ASSEMBLYASSEMBLEE
GENERALE

A/249/Add.1

A/250/Add.2

A/251/Add.1

12 December 1946

FRENCH

ORIGINAL : ENGLISH

TRANSMISSION DES RENSEIGNEMENTS COMMUNIQUE PAR LES MEMBRES
EN APPLICATION DE L'ARTICLE 73 (e) DE LA CHARTRE

DECLARATION DE L'UNION SUD-AFRICAINNE SUR LE RESULTAT DE
SES CONSULTATIONS POURSUIVIES AVEC LES PEUPLES DU SUD-
OUEST-AFRICAIN RELATIVEMENT AU STATUT FUTUR DU TERRITOIRE
SOUS MANDAT ET SUITE A DONNER AUX DESIDERATA EXPRIMES.

RESOLUTION CONCERNANT DES CONFERENCES REGIONALES DE REPRESENTANTS
DE TERRITOIRES NON AUTONOMES

ADDENDA AUX RAPPORTS DE LA QUATRIEME COMMISSION

La Sous-Commission 2 de la Quatrième Commission était composée
des représentants des Membres suivants :

Argentine

France

Australie

Inde

Belgique

Norvège

Brésil

Nouvelle-Zélande

Chine

Pays-Bas

Cuba

Philippines

Danemark

Pologne

Egypte

Royaume-Uni

Etats-Unis d'Amérique

Union Sud-Africaine

Union des Républiques socialistes
soviétiques

FOURTH COMMITTEE

TRUSTEESHIP

Summary Record of Meetings

QUATRIEME COMMISSION

TUTELLE

Compte rendu des Séances

Monday, 16 December 1946	Lundi 16 décembre 1946
<p>TWENTY-FOURTH MEETING</p> <p><i>Held at Lake Success, New York, on Tuesday, 10 December 1946, at 11.30 a.m.</i></p> <p><i>Chairman: Mr. R. MACEachen (Uruguay).</i></p>	<p>VINGT-QUATRIEME SEANCE</p> <p><i>Tenue à Lake Success, New-York, le mardi 10 décembre 1946, à 11 h. 30.</i></p> <p><i>Président: M. R. MACEachen (Uruguay).</i></p>

3. Draft reports of the Fourth Committee to the General Assembly concerning matters discussed in Sub-Committee 2 (documents A/C.4/76, A/C.4/77 and A/C.4/78)

The **RAPPEUR** introduced the draft reports. He asked the Committee whether it wished to make proposals to the General Assembly on the composition of the *ad hoc* committee provided in the resolution concerning the transmission of information by Members under item *e* of Article 73 of the Charter.

Mr. **NAGGIAR** (France) thought that it was premature to discuss this point, since it was not yet certain that the General Assembly would adopt the resolution. The French Government had not yet decided whether it desired to be represented in this *ad hoc* committee, and the French delegation had reserved its point of view on its establishment.

He asked, moreover, that the Committee take note of the formal reservations made by his and other delegations on the Philippine proposal as adopted by the Committee.

The Committee decided that the reservations expressed by the representatives of France, the United Kingdom and other countries would be included in the report.

The meeting was adjourned at 2.15 p.m.

3. Projet de rapport de la Quatrième Commission à l'Assemblée générale concernant les questions discutées à la Sous-Commission 2 (documents A/C.4/76, A/C.4/77 et A/C.4/78)

Le **RAPPEUR** présente les projets de rapport. Il demande à la Commission si elle désire faire des propositions à l'Assemblée générale sur la composition d'une commission *ad hoc*, prévue dans la résolution concernant la transmission d'informations par les Membres, selon le point *e* de l'Article 73 de la Charte.

M. **NAGGIAR** (France) estime qu'il est prématuré de discuter cette question, puisqu'il n'est encore sûr que l'Assemblée générale adoptera cette résolution. Le Gouvernement français n'a pas encore décidé s'il désire être représenté à cette commission *ad hoc*, et la délégation française a même réservé son avis sur l'établissement de cette commission.

En outre, il demande que la Commission prenne note des réserves formelles faites par la délégation française et par d'autres délégations, sur la proposition de la République des Philippines telle qu'elle a été adoptée par la Commission.

La Commission décide que ces réserves formelles faites par les représentants de la France, du Royaume-Uni et d'autres pays seront consignées dans le rapport.

La séance est levée à 14 h. 15.

FOURTH COMMITTEE

TRUSTEESHIP

Summary Record of Meetings

QUATRIEME COMMISSION

TUTELLE

Compte rendu des Séances

Monday, 16 December 1946	Lundi 16 décembre 1946
TWENTY-FIFTH MEETING <i>Held at Lake Success, New York, on Wednesday, 11 December 1946, at 11.30 a.m.</i> <i>Chairman: Mr. MACEachen (Uruguay).</i>	VINGT-CINQUIEME SEANCE <i>Tenue à Lake Success, New-York, le mercredi 11 décembre 1946, à 11 h. 30.</i> <i>Président: M. R. MACEachen (Uruguay).</i>

2. Consideration of the Rapporteur's draft report concerning the transmission of information by Members under Article 73(e) of the Charter (documents A/C.4/77 and A/C.4/77/Corr.1)

Mr. PEREZ CISNEROS (Cuba) reiterated his observations made with reference to document A/C.4/76.

Mr. STEIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) shared the view of the Cuban representative and stated that in the case of each recommendation the vote should be recorded.

Mr. NAGGIAR (France) restated the reservation which the French delegation had made with regard to the establishment of an *ad hoc* committee. He could not undertake that France would be prepared to send a representative to that committee as she considered its establishment a contravention of the provisions of Article 73(e) of the Charter. He requested that the reservation of his delegation should be included in the Rapporteur's report.

Mr. STEIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) considered that any delegation had the right to make a reservation and that it was entitled to its inclusion in the report.

Mr. ANDREWS (Union of South Africa), noting that the number of members absent had been listed in the Rapporteur's draft report concerning South West Africa, suggested that the same procedure should be followed in the document under consideration.

Mr. STEIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) doubted whether it was necessary to list the number of members absent.

An exchange of views followed in which Mr. PEREZ CISNEROS (Cuba), Mr. PRADENAS (Chile), Mr. NAGGIAR (France), Mr. LIU (China) and Mr. THOMAS (United Kingdom) participated.

The CHAIRMAN stated that a decision on that point would affect the previous report. He put the question to a vote.

Decision: *By thirty-seven votes to none with four abstentions it was decided not to mention the number of members absent in the report.*

Mr. NAGGIAR (France) wished to insert the clause "without prejudice to the future status of these territories" after the enumeration of the French possessions on page 2.

Mr. MENON (India) questioned the use of the term "establishments", suggesting that it should be replaced by "possessions".

Mr. BENSON (Secretary) explained that the term "establishments" was generally accepted.

2. Examen du projet de rapport du Rapporteur relatif à la transmission des renseignements communiqués par les Membres en application de l'Article 73 e) de la Charte (documents A/C.4/77 et A/C.4/77/Corr.1)

M. PEREZ CISNEROS (Cuba) réitère les observations précédentes concernant le document A/C.4/76.

M. STEIN (Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques) se rallie à l'opinion exprimée par le représentant de Cuba, et déclare que le vote sur chaque recommandation doit être enregistré séparément.

M. NAGGIAR (France) renouvelle la réserve faite par la délégation française au sujet de l'établissement d'un comité spécial. Il ne peut prendre l'engagement, au nom du Gouvernement français, d'envoyer un représentant à ce comité, son pays considérant la création de celui-ci comme allant à l'encontre des dispositions de l'Article 73 e) de la Charte. Il demande que les réserves faites par sa délégation soient insérées dans le rapport du Rapporteur.

M. STEIN (Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques) estime que toutes les délégations ont le droit de formuler des réserves et d'en demander l'insertion au rapport.

M. ANDREWS (Union Sud-Africaine) prend note que le nombre des absents a fait l'objet d'une mention dans le projet de rapport du Rapporteur relatif au Sud-Ouest Africain, et propose que l'on suive la même procédure dans le document actuellement à l'examen.

M. STEIN (Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques) exprime des doutes quant à la nécessité de mentionner le nombre des absents.

Un échange de vues s'ensuit auquel prennent part M. PEREZ CISNEROS (Cuba), M. PRADENAS (Chili), M. NAGGIAR (France) M. LIU (Chine) et M. THOMAS (Royaume-Uni).

Le PRÉSIDENT déclare qu'une décision sur ce point concerne également le rapport précédent et met la question aux voix.

Décision: *On décide, par trente-sept voix contre zéro et quatre abstentions, de ne pas mentionner les noms des absents dans le rapport.*

M. NAGGIAR (France) désire qu'à la suite de l'énumération des possessions françaises qui figure à la page 2, on insère les termes "sans préjudice du statut futur de ces territoires".

M. MENON (Inde) met en doute l'emploi du terme "établissements" et suggère qu'on le remplace par "possessions".

M. BENSON (Secrétariat) explique que le terme "établissements" est généralement accepté.

Mr. DULLES (United States of America) suggested that reference should be made in the report to the statement of the delegation of Panama concerning the Panama Canal zone. He thought that it could best be done in the form of a footnote.

Mr. MENDOZA (Guatemala) requested that reference to his statement concerning the territory of Belice should also appear in the report.

The CHAIRMAN suggested that the reference should cover the statements made by the delegations of Guatemala, Mexico and the United Kingdom.

Mr. FERRER VIEYRA (Argentina) wished to make a reservation concerning the Falkland Islands and in particular Malvina.

The CHAIRMAN proposed that the representative of Argentina should consult with the representative of the United Kingdom with the view of preparing a joint statement for inclusion in the report.

Mr. ALFARO (Panama) agreed with the formula suggested by the United States representative for recording the position of the delegation of Panama.

Mr. PEON DEL VALLE (Mexico) thought that in the case of the statements of the delegations of Guatemala and the United Kingdom it would be sufficient if the report referred to the *Journal* containing the summary record of the meeting at which the statements had been made.

Mr. FERRER VIEYRA (Argentina) and Mr. THOMAS (United Kingdom) submitted the following joint statement:

"In regard to the Falkland Islands, the Argentine delegation, at the twenty-fifth meeting of the Committee, made a reservation to the effect that the Argentine Government did not recognize British sovereignty in the Falkland Islands. The United Kingdom delegation made a parallel reservation, not recognizing Argentine sovereignty in those islands".

Mr. THOMAS (United Kingdom) pointed to the difficulties inherent in the last paragraph of document A/C.4/77. The creation of an *ad hoc* committee would involve an expenditure. According to rule 112 of the provisional rules of procedure for the General Assembly, no resolution involving expenditure could be passed until the Administrative and Budgetary Committee had expressed its opinion. Rule 82 stipulated that all elections should be taken by secret ballot. Consequently it would be impossible to follow the procedure outlined in the draft report.

Mr. PEREZ CISNEROS (Cuba) believed that the Committee could elect the members of the *ad hoc* committee and submit their names for the approval of the General Assembly.

M. DULLES (Etats-Unis d'Amérique) propose que mention soit faite au rapport de la déclaration de la délégation du Panama relative à la zone du Canal de Panama. A son avis, il est préférable de placer cette note au bas de la page.

M. MENDOZA (Guatemala) demande que sa déclaration au sujet du territoire de Bélize figure également au rapport.

Le PRÉSIDENT propose de faire état, dans la même note, des déclarations faites par les délégations du Guatemala, du Mexique et du Royaume-Uni.

M. FERRER VIEYRA (Argentine) désire formuler une réserve concernant les îles Falkland, en particulier celle de Malvina.

Le PRÉSIDENT propose que le représentant de l'Argentine se mette en rapport avec le représentant du Royaume-Uni afin de préparer une déclaration conjointe qui sera incluse dans le rapport.

M. ALFARO (Panama) approuve la formule proposée par le représentant des Etats-Unis concernant la position de la délégation du Panama.

M. PEON DEL VALLE (Mexique) estime qu'en ce qui concerne les déclarations faites par les délégations du Guatemala et du Royaume-Uni, il serait suffisant que la rapport porte la référence du *Journal* contenant le compte rendu de la séance au cours de laquelle ces déclarations ont été faites.

M. FERRER VIEYRA (Argentine) et M. THOMAS (Royaume-Uni) présentent la déclaration conjointe ainsi conçue:

"Relativement aux îles Falkland, la délégation argentine, au cours de la vingt-cinquième séance de la Commission, a formulé la réserve que le Gouvernement argentin ne reconnaissait pas la souveraineté britannique sur les îles Falkland. La délégation du Royaume-Uni a formulé une réserve parallèle, ne reconnaissant pas la souveraineté de l'Argentine sur ces îles.

M. THOMAS (Royaume-Uni) relève les difficultés devant lesquelles on se trouve dans le dernier paragraphe du document A/C.4/77. La création d'un comité spécial ne manquera pas d'occasionner des frais. Conformément à l'article 112 du règlement provisoire de l'Assemblée générale, on ne peut adopter aucune résolution entraînant des frais avant que la Commission administrative et budgétaire ait donné son avis. L'article 82 stipule que l'on procède à toutes les élections par voie de scrutin secret. En conséquence, il serait impossible de suivre la procédure exposée dans le projet de rapport.

M. PEREZ CISNEROS (Cuba) pense que la Commission a le pouvoir d'élire les membres du comité spécial sous réserve de soumettre leurs noms à l'approbation de l'Assemblée générale.

Mr. NAGGIAR (France) thought that it would be difficult to ascertain the number of States to be elected to membership on the *ad hoc* committee. Moreover, the problem of election was not urgent and therefore could be left open for the time being.

Mr. THOMAS (United Kingdom) associated himself with the views of the French representative. He proposed that the entire last paragraph after the word "abstentions" should be deleted.

Mr. PEREZ CISNEROS (Cuba) disagreed and suggested a modification of the last paragraph to the effect that the number of States should be defined.

Mr. RYCKMANS (Belgium) and Mr. BAILEY (Australia) associated themselves with the reservations made by the representatives of France and of the United Kingdom.

The RAPPOREUR was of the opinion that the membership of the *ad hoc* committee should be composed of eight States.

Mr. NAGGIAR (France) opposed the insertion of a definite figure.

Mr. STEIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) favoured that figure. It rested with the Governments concerned to send or not to send their representatives to the *ad hoc* committee. He proposed that the discussion should be closed.

Decisions: (1) *It was decided that the report should be modified to indicate that, if the General Assembly approved the creation of the committee, it should be invited to elect eight Members to send representatives.*

(2) *The whole of the Rapporteur's draft report on the transmission of information by Members under Article 73(e) of the Charter was adopted as amended.*

M. NAGGIAR (France) considère qu'il sera difficile de déterminer le nombre des États susceptibles d'être représentés au comité spécial. Il ajoute que, la question de l'élection n'étant pas urgente, elle peut être mise de côté pour le moment.

M. THOMAS (Royaume-Uni) se rallie à l'opinion du représentant de la France. Il propose la suppression de tout le dernier paragraphe après le mot "abstentions".

M. PEREZ CISNEROS (Cuba) exprime son désaccord et propose de modifier le dernier paragraphe afin d'y déterminer le nombre des États.

M. RYCKMANS (Belgique) et M. BAILEY (Australie) s'associent aux réserves faites par les représentants de la France et du Royaume-Uni.

Le RAPPOREUR est d'avis que le comité spécial soit composé des représentants de huit États.

M. NAGGIAR (France) s'oppose à l'établissement d'un chiffre défini.

M. STEIN (Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques) se prononce en faveur de ce chiffre. Il appartient aux Gouvernements d'envoyer ou de ne pas envoyer des représentants à ce comité spécial. Il propose la clôture de la discussion.

Décisions: 1) *La Commission décide que le rapport sera modifié de façon à indiquer qu'au cas où l'Assemblée générale approuverait la création du comité, elle devra élire huit États Membres qui y seront représentés.*

2) *Ainsi amendé, l'ensemble du projet de rapport du Rapporteur, relatif à la transmission des renseignements communiqués par les Membres, en application de l'Article 73 e) de la Charte, est adopté.*

334 (IV). Territoires auxquels s'applique le Chapitre XI de la Charte

L'Assemblée générale,

Considérant l'obligation qu'ont acceptée les Etats Membres des Nations Unies qui ont ou qui assument la responsabilité d'administrer des territoires dont les populations ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes, de communiquer les renseignements visés à l'Article 73 e de la Charte,

Considérant la résolution 66 (I)¹⁵ adoptée par l'Assemblée générale le 14 décembre 1946 et où sont énumérés soixante-quatorze territoires qui, d'après les déclarations des gouvernements responsables, relevaient de l'Article 73 e,

Ayant pris acte des renseignements fournis par certains Membres des Nations Unies au sujet des modifications d'ordre constitutionnel qui ont motivé la cessation de la transmission des renseignements visés à l'Article 73 e, en ce qui concerne certains des territoires qui sont énumérés dans la résolution 66 (I),

1. *Estime* que l'Assemblée générale a compétence pour exprimer un avis sur les principes qui ont guidé ou qui peuvent à l'avenir guider les Etats Membres intéressés dans l'énumération des territoires pour lesquels ils sont tenus de transmettre les renseignements visés à l'Article 73 e de la Charte;

2. *Invite* tout comité spécial que l'Assemblée générale pourra instituer pour examiner les renseignements transmis en vertu de l'Article 73 e de la Charte, à étudier les facteurs dont il convient de tenir compte pour décider si tel ou tel territoire est ou n'est pas un territoire dont les populations ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes.

*263ème séance plénière,
le 2 décembre 1949.*

¹⁵ Voir les *Résolutions adoptées par l'Assemblée générale* pendant la seconde partie de sa première session, page 124.

DEUX CENT SOIXANTE-DEUXIEME SEANCE PLENIERE

Tenue à Flushing Meadow, New-York, le jeudi 1er décembre 1949, à 15 heures.

Président: le général Carlos P. RÓMULO (Philippines).

Renseignements provenant des territoires non autonomes: rapport de la Quatrième Commission (A/1159); rapport de la Cinquième Commission (A/1166)

115. M. DE MARCHENA (République Dominicaine), Rapporteur de la Quatrième Commission, rappelle que l'Assemblée générale a renvoyé à la Quatrième Commission ce point de l'ordre du jour, qui comporte l'examen du rapport du Secrétaire général (Résumés et analyses des renseignements transmis en vertu de l'Article 73 e de la Charte) et du rapport du Comité spécial chargé de l'examen des renseignements transmis en vertu de l'Article 73 e de la Charte (A/923).

* Voir page 218 de l'avis consultatif de la Cour internationale de Justice (A/960).

116. La Commission a consacré un certain nombre de séances¹ à l'étude des six projets de résolution recommandés par le Comité spécial qui avait étudié la question au cours de l'année 1949. Ces projets de résolution avaient trait à la transmission facultative de certains renseignements classés dans la partie I du schéma relatif aux territoires non autonomes, à l'égalité de traitement en matière d'enseignement, à la langue de l'enseignement, à la lutte contre l'analphabétisme, à la collaboration internationale en matière économique, sociale et culturelle dans les territoires non autonomes et à la création d'un comité spécial chargé de l'examen des renseignements transmis en vertu de l'Article 73 e de la Charte.

117. De sa 123ème à sa 127ème séance, la Quatrième Commission a examiné cinq autres projets de résolution ainsi que divers amendements qui avaient été présentés.

118. Ces projets de résolution comprenaient : un projet de résolution de l'Egypte, autorisant tout comité spécial que l'Assemblée générale pourrait instituer à étudier les facteurs dont il convient de tenir compte pour décider quels sont les territoires qui relèvent du Chapitre XI de la Charte ; un projet de résolution proposé par l'Inde en remplacement du texte du Comité spécial et prévoyant la création d'un comité spécial dont les membres seraient élus par l'Assemblée générale et qui serait chargé de l'examen des renseignements transmis en vertu de l'Article 73 e de la Charte — ce projet a abouti à la résolution mentionnée dans le document A/1159 ; un projet de résolution commun présenté par Cuba, l'Equateur et le Guatemala, invitant le Secrétaire général à compléter les résumés et analyses en publiant régulièrement des données relatives à certains aspects particuliers des progrès réalisés dans les territoires non autonomes ; un projet de résolution commun présenté par le Mexique et les Etats-Unis d'Amérique, aux termes duquel le Comité spécial, sans préjudice de ses autres champs d'activité mentionnés à l'Article 73 e de la Charte, concentrerait son attention sur l'étude d'une seule question chaque année et serait invité à s'attacher en 1950 à la question de l'enseignement ; enfin, un projet de résolution proposé par l'Australie, priant le Secrétaire général de tenir le Comité spécial au courant de la nature de l'assistance technique que les territoires non autonomes reçoivent des organismes internationaux.

119. Les questions que la Commission a examinées à la suite du rapport du Comité spécial concernent très directement les territoires non autonomes et les millions d'habitants qui les peuplent ; M. de Marchena estime que la Commission a accompli à cet égard une tâche fort utile.

120. Le représentant de la République Dominicaine attire particulièrement l'attention de l'Assemblée générale sur les résolutions relatives aux moyens de lutte contre l'analphabétisme, à la collaboration internationale en matière économique, sociale et culturelle dans les territoires non autonomes, à l'assistance technique et au sort du Comité spécial chargé de l'examen des renseignements transmis en vertu de l'Article 73 e de la

Charte. Cette dernière résolution est le résultat d'un débat animé, au cours duquel des tendances diverses se sont fait jour touchant la durée du mandat de ce Comité : les uns ayant voulu le fixer à un an, d'autres à trois ans, d'autres enfin ayant suggéré de faire de ce Comité un organe subsidiaire permanent de l'Assemblée générale.

121. M. de Marchena signale également à l'attention de l'Assemblée générale le projet de résolution concernant les territoires auxquels s'applique le Chapitre XI de la Charte, projet qui est l'aboutissement d'un débat sur la compétence qu'a l'Assemblée générale pour décider si un territoire appartient ou non à la catégorie des territoires dont les populations ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes.

122. A la différence de ce qui s'est produit à la Quatrième Commission lors des sessions antérieures, à la présente session, les projets de résolution ont été recommandés à l'Assemblée générale par une majorité importante ; ce fait permet de penser qu'il existe une tendance commune et précise touchant l'application de l'Article 73 e et du Chapitre XI de la Charte et la réalisation des objectifs qui y sont fixés.

123. Le PRÉSIDENT indique que l'Assemblée générale est saisie d'un rapport de la Cinquième Commission (A/1166) sur les incidences financières du projet de résolution IX, dont l'adoption a été recommandée par la Quatrième Commission.

124. M. WINIEWICZ (Pologne) déclare que la délégation polonaise a déjà, au cours des débats de la Quatrième Commission, souligné la nécessité de respecter non seulement la lettre, mais aussi l'esprit, des Chapitres XI et XII de la Charte relatifs aux territoires non autonomes. La majorité de la Quatrième Commission a partagé son point de vue et ceux qui s'efforcent de maintenir la tradition de l'exploitation coloniale sont restés la minorité.

125. L'un des projets de résolution soumis à l'Assemblée générale prévoit l'établissement d'un comité spécial chargé de l'examen des renseignements transmis en vertu de l'Article 73 e de la Charte, et un autre concerne les territoires auxquels s'applique le Chapitre XI de la Charte. Ces textes représentent une étape dans l'application des dispositions de la Charte relatives aux territoires non autonomes. Comme ces dispositions sont insuffisantes, il faut les appliquer avec un grand sens politique pour qu'elles donnent de bons résultats. Pour ces raisons, ces deux résolutions ne peuvent être considérées comme une interprétation définitive de la Charte. La Pologne attend une interprétation plus précise, qui empêchera les Puissances coloniales de réduire à néant, par une attitude de non-coopération, les efforts accomplis par les Nations Unies. La Pologne collaborera avec toutes les nations qui, dans le monde entier, entendent lutter contre le colonialisme.

126. Le comité spécial qui doit être créé en vertu du projet de résolution examinera tous les renseignements transmis sur les conditions économiques, sociales, culturelles et humanitaires des territoires non autonomes. Ce comité coordonnera les efforts des nations qui cherchent à atteindre les idéals fixés par la Charte. Dès que la Charte des Nations Unies a été signée, le sort des populations non autonomes est devenu, pour tous les Membres des Nations Unies, une responsabilité sacrée et

¹ Voir les Documents officiels de la quatrième session de l'Assemblée générale, Quatrième Commission, 108ème à 129ème séances, 139ème et 142ème séances.

cessé de ne relever que de la législation nationale des gouvernements des Puissances coloniales.

127. Le Chapitre XI de la Charte a déchiré le voile qui cachait le sort de plus de 200 millions d'êtres humains. Les Nations Unies sont responsables devant l'opinion mondiale du sort des territoires non autonomes, et, malgré que cette responsabilité ne soit que morale, les Nations Unies doivent blâmer les Puissances coloniales qui négligeraient de tenir compte des intérêts des populations de ces territoires.

128. Les Puissances coloniales n'ont pas suffisamment compris que leur situation s'est considérablement modifiée depuis San-Francisco. Les récents débats de la Quatrième Commission n'ont pas été rassurants quant à l'attitude de ces Puissances. Elles se sont, en effet, une fois de plus montrées peu disposées à transmettre les renseignements nécessaires et certaines d'entre elles ont même fait connaître leur intention de ne plus transmettre de renseignements sur certains de leurs territoires coloniaux. Dans certains cas, elles ont cherché à se dérober derrière le principe de la souveraineté nationale, en particulier lorsqu'on a soulevé le problème des colonies européennes en Amérique latine.

129. A la Chambre des lords britannique, Lord Listowel est allé encore plus loin que le représentant du Royaume-Uni à la Quatrième Commission et il a pratiquement déclaré que son gouvernement estimait qu'il pouvait interpréter comme il l'entendait les dispositions de la Charte. Ce fait n'est pas pour surprendre de la part d'une Puissance coloniale qui a refusé d'arborer le drapeau des Nations Unies dans les Territoires sous tutelle.

130. Le 29 novembre 1949, le *Times* de Londres a publié un éditorial dans lequel il était dit que, si le Royaume-Uni se conformait aux dispositions de la Charte et aux décisions de l'Assemblée, il se trouverait placé, avec toute son expérience coloniale, dans la position intolérable d'avoir à se soumettre aux directives que lui donnerait un organisme purement politique sur la façon de répondre aux espoirs que les peuples ont mis en lui. Cet article est une nouvelle preuve de la tendance qui prédomine vers une attitude de non-coopération. Le *Times* indique qu'une des raisons de cette attitude, c'est, par exemple, que le Comité spécial pourrait se servir de renseignements qui n'auraient été donnés qu'à titre d'information pour présenter des résolutions et formuler des critiques sur les nombreux aspects de l'administration coloniale courante.

131. Les nations qui, au sein de l'Assemblée, ont reconnu si souvent la nécessité de respecter la Charte, sont les premières à refuser de se conformer à ses dispositions lorsque le sort des populations non autonomes est en jeu. Cela prouve clairement leur manque de sincérité.

132. L'examen des renseignements fournis, pour insuffisants que soient ces renseignements, décèle une situation dans les territoires non autonomes qui est loin d'être satisfaisante. Ces renseignements ne sont pas rassurants, malgré qu'ils ne représentent, en fait, que de sèches données numériques et des statistiques. Les populations non autonomes continuent à n'être considérées que comme une main-d'œuvre grâce à laquelle les Puissances métropolitaines peuvent se procurer des matières pre-

mières. Dans ces territoires, les mesures discriminatoires existent toujours, l'éducation est négligée, la culture locale est supprimée, les institutions autonomes sont considérées comme des centres dangereux d'opposition et des méthodes brutales d'occupation militaire sont appliquées. Le représentant de la Pologne cite, en exemple, la péninsule malaise, dont il a déjà parlé à la Quatrième Commission.

133. Si les renseignements fournis par les Puissances coloniales dissimulent la misère des populations, d'autres sources la font ressortir avec une force convaincante. Des troubles sanglants ont éclaté récemment dans l'un des territoires non autonomes placés, en vertu de la Charte, sous la responsabilité des Nations Unies. Les organisations ouvrières et politiques de la Nigéria ont renoncé à leurs divergences d'opinions pour créer un front unique comprenant tous les partis, et ils ont constitué un comité extraordinaire pour protester contre la fusillade des mineurs qui luttaient pour obtenir un salaire journalier minimum s'élevant à 84 cents environ. Des réunions ont été organisées et des résolutions ont été adoptées pour faire savoir, ainsi que l'a relaté le *New York Times*, que les habitants de la Nigéria ne pouvaient tolérer cet état de choses. M. Winiewicz n'a pas l'intention d'engager une discussion détaillée sur l'exploitation de la main-d'œuvre indigène par les Puissances coloniales; il se borne à citer un cas pour montrer quelle valeur il convient d'attacher aux renseignements fournis en explication de l'Article 73 e de la Charte, et pour indiquer les événements que l'on éviterait si l'Organisation des Nations Unies pouvait attirer l'attention de l'opinion publique sur certaines situations qui existent dans les territoires non autonomes.

134. Cependant, l'intérêt de l'Organisation des Nations Unies ne doit pas se limiter au bien-être matériel des peuples non autonomes, ni se contenter de noter que ces territoires peuvent devenir un marché sur lequel on écoulera les marchandises pour éviter aux pays capitalistes la calamité des crises économiques. L'Organisation des Nations Unies n'a pas à se préoccuper de savoir si une augmentation des salaires accordée aux indigènes se traduira, pour les Puissances métropolitaines, par un accroissement de la production d'étain ou de caoutchouc. Elle doit se préoccuper davantage du but final prévu par la Charte et qui, aux termes de l'Article 55, reconnaît aux peuples ordinairement assujettis le droit à l'autonomie et à l'indépendance.

135. L'autonomie et l'indépendance nationales peuvent être acquises en vertu de l'Article 77 c de la Charte, qui stipule que les territoires non autonomes peuvent être volontairement placés sous le Régime de tutelle; ou bien encore, l'évolution permettant à un pays non autonome d'obtenir l'indépendance peut prendre une forme différente; de toute façon, le but reste le même. Par conséquent, pour apprécier la situation réelle d'un territoire non autonome, il est essentiel d'avoir à sa disposition tous les renseignements pertinents relatifs au développement des institutions gouvernementales locales.

136. Certaines Puissances coloniales n'ont pas fait preuve à cet égard d'un esprit de collaboration. Elles ont affirmé, et elles continuent d'affirmer, que les Puissances chargées de l'administration ont seules le droit de décider si un

territoire est ou non autonome. Elles prétendent que la Charte ne les oblige en aucune façon à fournir des renseignements sur le développement des institutions autonomes parmi les peuples qui dépendent d'elles. Mais on ne peut dire que Malte soit devenue un territoire autonome simplement parce que le Royaume-Uni a refusé de fournir sur ce territoire les renseignements prévus à l'Article 73 e de la Charte.

137. La résolution 66 (I) que l'Assemblée générale a adoptée le 14 décembre 1946 citait soixante-quatorze territoires auxquels devait s'appliquer l'Article 73 e. L'Assemblée générale est le seul organe qui puisse libérer une Puissance coloniale de l'obligation d'envoyer les renseignements sur le statut des peuples non autonomes. Or, pour prendre une telle décision, l'Assemblée doit examiner tous les faits pertinents.

138. Le projet de résolution actuellement en discussion prévoit que cette tâche doit être entreprise par le Comité spécial. La délégation polonaise appuiera donc chaleureusement ce projet de résolution. S'il était adopté, on pourrait espérer que les Puissances coloniales fourniraient les renseignements pertinents ou que, si elles refusaient de le faire, l'Assemblée générale les en blâmerait comme elles le méritent.

139. Le progrès politique n'est qu'un aspect du progrès économique et social des populations autochtones dans les territoires non autonomes. Il ouvre la voie à l'indépendance. Le refus de fournir des renseignements à cet égard impliquerait, pour le moins, le refus de reconnaître le droit à l'autonomie, et cette attitude constituerait une violation de la Charte. C'est la seule interprétation qu'on puisse donner des intentions des auteurs de la Charte, et ces intentions ne peuvent être dénaturées par aucun subterfuge juridique.

140. M. FARRAG (Egypte) dit que sa délégation appuiera tous les projets de résolution soumis par la Quatrième Commission. Il ne parlera que de la résolution VIII qui concerne les territoires auxquels s'applique le Chapitre XI de la Charte.

141. Un certain nombre de questions essentielles intéressent la mission de l'Organisation des Nations Unies et les relations de celle-ci avec les territoires non autonomes ne sont pas de la compétence du Comité spécial. L'une de ces questions est celle de l'application de la résolution 222 (III) relative à la cessation de la transmission des renseignements. Si l'Assemblée générale a adopté cette résolution, c'est parce que le nombre de territoires sur lesquels des renseignements sont communiqués au Secrétaire général a diminué depuis 1946. Mais l'Organisation des Nations Unies n'a pas eu le moyen de vérifier officiellement si cette diminution était due au fait que les territoires intéressés avaient accédé à l'indépendance ou avaient atteint la capacité de s'administrer complètement eux-mêmes, ou si cette diminution était due à d'autres raisons.

142. Le Comité spécial a examiné des communications envoyées au Secrétaire général par deux Puissances administrantes concernant la cessation de la transmission de renseignements concernant certains territoires (A/915 et A/915/Add.1). Ces communications ont fait l'objet d'observations au sein du Comité spécial, lequel a toutefois décidé, à juste titre, qu'il n'était pas habilité à

connaître de cette question et qu'il devait la renvoyer à la Quatrième Commission. Il en a été ainsi fait, et la Quatrième Commission a adopté la résolution VIII dont l'Assemblée générale est actuellement saisie.

143. Ce projet de résolution complète la procédure prévue par la résolution 222 (III). Les deux Puissances administrantes intéressées ont donné des raisons différentes du fait qu'elles avaient cessé de communiquer des renseignements en vertu de l'Article 73 e, mais elles se sont trouvées d'accord pour estimer que les Puissances administrantes sont seules compétentes pour décider quels sont les territoires dont les populations ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes. Si l'on acceptait ce point de vue, la résolution 222 (III) perdrait toute efficacité et, en fin de compte, le Chapitre XI deviendrait lettre morte, si bonnes que puissent être les intentions des Puissances administrantes.

144. Il se peut qu'une telle opinion ait été valable avant l'entrée en vigueur de la Charte des Nations Unies. Mais, en son Chapitre XI, la Charte a promulgué un principe nouveau, en vertu duquel les relations entre les territoires non autonomes et les Puissances administrantes ne peuvent pas être du domaine exclusif des lois constitutionnelles nationales des Puissances administrantes. Ceci ressort clairement du texte de l'Article 73, en vertu duquel les Puissances administrantes ont accepté certaines obligations à l'égard des territoires non autonomes et, entre autres, l'obligation de communiquer régulièrement au Secrétaire général des Nations Unies des renseignements relatifs aux conditions économiques, sociales et culturelles dans ces territoires.

145. Du temps de la Société des Nations, les Puissances administrantes n'avaient pas à transmettre de renseignements de cette nature, mais elles sont tenues d'en communiquer régulièrement à l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Si elles négligent de le faire, l'Organisation les invitera à s'acquitter de l'engagement qu'elles ont pris.

146. A la première partie de la première session de l'Assemblée générale, les représentants des Puissances administrantes ont, à plusieurs reprises, reconnu ce principe nouveau dont ils ont souligné l'importance dans leurs déclarations. A cette époque, les idéaux qui ont inspiré les auteurs de la Charte étaient encore présents à la mémoire de tous les représentants et les déclarations qu'ils prononçaient étaient conformes à ces idéaux. Peut-être ne serait-il pas inutile de rappeler les belles paroles prononcées par deux hommes d'Etat éminents, M. Dulles et M. Creech Jones, parlant au nom des Etats-Unis et du Royaume-Uni à la session de l'Assemblée générale de février 1946¹. M. Dulles a dit alors que sa délégation tenait à préciser une fois pour toutes que la déclaration relative aux territoires ne s'administrant pas eux-mêmes intéresse non pas seulement les Puissances coloniales, mais aussi les Nations Unies. M. Creech Jones a déclaré que le Royaume-Uni, parce qu'il agit déjà en harmonie avec les principes définis dans la Charte, se réjouit en toute sincérité de voir enfin figurer au Chapitre XI une convention coloniale internationale que

¹ Voir les *Documents officiels de la première partie de la première session de l'Assemblée générale*, 27ème séance plénière.

toutes les Puissances coloniales adhérant à l'Organisation des Nations Unies seront tenues de respecter.

147. Cette déclaration contient deux idées : l'idée que le Chapitre XI renferme une convention coloniale internationale et, d'autre part, l'idée que les Puissances coloniales adhérant à l'Organisation des Nations Unies sont tenues de respecter cette convention.

148. Quant à la question de savoir quelle est l'autorité qui a mission de rappeler aux Puissances coloniales qu'elles sont tenues de respecter cette convention coloniale internationale, il est aisé de la résoudre : cette autorité, c'est l'Organisation des Nations Unies et, plus particulièrement, l'Assemblée générale.

149. C'est en exécution de cette mission que l'Assemblée générale a demandé en 1946 aux Etats Membres de dresser la liste des territoires non autonomes dont ils assumaient l'administration. Les Etats Membres ont énuméré alors soixante-quatorze de ces territoires. Aujourd'hui, le nombre des territoires non autonomes sur lesquels des renseignements sont communiqués, n'est plus que de soixante-deux ; aucun renseignement n'est plus transmis sur douze territoires non autonomes. Si cette cessation était due au fait que les territoires en question s'administrent complètement eux-mêmes, il y aurait là de quoi se réjouir. Mais, lorsque cesse la communication de renseignements relatifs à un territoire porté sur la liste des territoires non autonomes, ou qu'aucun renseignement n'est transmis sur certains de ces territoires, l'Assemblée générale a le devoir d'inviter la Puissance administrante intéressée à respecter l'obligation que lui impose l'Article 73 de la Charte.

150. M. Bailey, le représentant de l'Australie, disait en 1946 à la Quatrième Commission, au cours d'un débat sur cette même question, que si, pour un territoire donné, aucun renseignement n'était communiqué, tout membre de l'Assemblée générale aurait le droit de signaler le fait. Tel est exactement le sens du projet de résolution VIII dont l'Assemblée générale est saisie. On peut considérer que la résolution 222 (III) a été la première mesure dans la série de celles qu'il faudra prendre pour assurer l'application du Chapitre XI de la Charte. Le projet de résolution VIII, qui invite les Puissances administrantes à respecter la nouvelle convention coloniale internationale contenue dans le Chapitre XI de la Charte, constitue une mesure nouvelle dans ce sens.

151. La question qui fait l'objet de ce projet de résolution a été discutée en 1946 par la Sous-Commission 2 de la Quatrième Commission¹. On n'en a pas poussé l'examen jusqu'à rédiger une résolution car, à ce moment-là, le besoin ne s'en faisait pas sentir. Mais, depuis lors, des modifications importantes sont intervenues. Le nombre des territoires non autonomes a diminué ; d'autre part, on a prétendu, contrairement aux principes du Chapitre XI de la Charte, que c'est aux seules Puissances administrantes qu'il appartenait de

déterminer si un territoire est, ou n'est pas, autonome. Les discussions qui se sont déroulées

Sous-Commission 2 de la Quatrième Commission, en 1946, ont ceci de remarquable que les représentants des Puissances administrantes y ont participé dans un esprit positif de collaboration internationale. C'est ainsi que M. Bailey, que M. Farrag vient de citer, représentait l'Australie, Puissance administrante.

152. Les procès-verbaux montrent que les représentants des Puissances administrantes ont estimé que l'examen de ce problème ne constituait pas un empiètement sur les droits souverains que ces Puissances exercent dans les territoires non autonomes. Ils n'ont pas dit un seul mot qui pût être interprété comme mettant en doute la compétence de l'Assemblée générale et de ses Commissions à ce sujet. M. Farrag constate avec regret que certaines Puissances administrantes refusent actuellement de reconnaître à l'Assemblée générale le droit de demander aux Puissances administrantes de continuer à lui transmettre des renseignements sur les territoires non autonomes, aussi longtemps que ceux-ci n'ont pas accédé à l'autonomie.

153. Au cours des discussions qui ont eu lieu à la Quatrième Commission au sujet du projet de résolution, les représentants de certaines Puissances administrantes ont déclaré que, si ce texte visait à définir l'expression "territoire non autonome", ils n'y objecteraient pas, mais que, s'il avait pour objet de donner à l'Assemblée générale le droit de déterminer si tel ou tel territoire est, ou n'est pas autonome, ils le combattraient.

154. Il est évident que cette attitude est manifestement contradictoire. En effet, s'ils acceptent la définition, ils doivent en accepter également la conséquence logique ; si cette définition s'applique à un territoire particulier, c'est qu'il s'agit d'un territoire non autonome, et la Puissance administrante qui en est responsable ne peut refuser de communiquer les renseignements nécessaires.

155. On a soutenu à la Quatrième Commission que les Puissances administrantes avaient le droit de cesser de transmettre des renseignements en vertu de la réserve suivante, contenue dans l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 : "sous réserve des exigences de la sécurité et de considérations d'ordre constitutionnel".

156. On a prétendu, à ce propos, que les raisons pour lesquelles on avait employé ce membre de phrase avaient été très clairement précisées lors de la Conférence de San-Francisco, qui les aurait acceptées.

157. M. Farrag a consulté les procès-verbaux de la Conférence de San-Francisco à ce sujet, mais n'y a trouvé aucune mention de ces raisons, qui auraient été clairement précisées.

158. Tous les membres de l'Assemblée savent que le Chapitre XI a été élaboré par le Comité 4 de la Commission II de la Conférence des Nations Unies sur l'organisation internationale. Les raisons pour lesquelles on a employé ce membre de phrase ne sont pas indiquées dans les procès-verbaux de ce Comité qui figurent aux pages 565 à 589 du volume X de la Conférence.

159. Le rapport sur les travaux de ce Comité a été soumis à la Commission II de la Conférence des Nations Unies sur l'organisation internatio-

¹ Pour la discussion de cette question à la Sous-Commission 2 de la Quatrième Commission, voir les *Documents officiels de la seconde partie de la première session*, Quatrième Commission, annexe 21, pages 278 et suivantes.

nale. Le procès-verbal de la Commission II relatif au Chapitre XI, qui figure aux pages 160 à 187 du volume VIII, ne mentionne pas non plus ces fameuses raisons. Il appartient donc à l'Assemblée générale de déterminer le sens de cette expression.

160. En l'analysant, on s'aperçoit qu'elle contient deux parties: tout d'abord, la transmission de renseignements peut être limitée; deuxièmement, cette limitation peut être imposée par des exigences de sécurité et des considérations d'ordre constitutionnel.

161. Pour ce qui est du premier point, la limitation de la transmission des renseignements ne signifie nullement qu'on doive cesser entièrement de les transmettre. Toute limitation à cet égard doit être une exception à la règle, qui est la transmission des renseignements; cette réserve doit être appliquée avec modération. Si les auteurs de la Charte avaient envisagé la possibilité de la cessation complète de la transmission de renseignements par les Puissances administrantes, ils auraient formulé leur intention à cet égard en termes tout à fait différents.

162. En ce qui concerne le deuxième point, l'Assemblée générale a le droit d'examiner les considérations de sécurité ou d'ordre constitutionnel, afin de déterminer si elles sont fondées. En effet, l'Assemblée générale a déjà statué à ce sujet en adoptant sa résolution 222 (III) par laquelle elle invite les Puissances administrantes à l'informer de toute modification intervenue dans la constitution et le statut de l'un quelconque des territoires non autonomes, en vertu de laquelle la transmission des renseignements a cessé.

163. Il va sans dire que l'Assemblée générale n'entendait pas que les renseignements sur les modifications intervenues dans la constitution ou le statut des territoires intéressés fussent consignés aux archives du Secrétariat, où ils seraient classés définitivement. Il convient d'examiner ces renseignements et, s'il y a lieu, de formuler des observations à leur sujet.

164. M. Farrag demande donc aux Puissances administrantes d'interpréter d'une façon plus large le Chapitre XI. M. Stassen a déclaré à ce sujet à la Commission qui a élaboré la Charte, que celle-ci est une chose vivante; elle doit évoluer, elle doit changer et se développer, elle doit devenir quelque chose de plus grand et de meilleur.

165. Le représentant de la Norvège a fort bien exprimé la même idée, en 1946, en disant que, à son avis, le Chapitre XI pourrait devenir une sorte de *Magna Carta* de la liberté, qui donnerait une foi nouvelle et un espoir nouveau à des millions de gens qui ont fait d'immenses sacrifices pendant la guerre mais dont les pays ne comptent pas parmi les Nations Unies.

166. M. Farrag espère que l'Assemblée générale adoptera à l'unanimité le projet de résolution. Il demande qu'il soit mis aux voix par appel nominal.

167. M. DE BRUYNE (Belgique) déclare que, afin de préciser l'attitude de sa délégation à l'égard de la résolution VI que, sous référence à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte, la Quatrième Commission a soumise à l'Assemblée pour le rétablissement du Comité spécial, il se voit forcé de rappeler quelques considérations juridiques qu'il a développées devant cette Commission.

168. Par l'alinéa e de l'Article 73, les Etats qui administrent des territoires non autonomes visés par le Chapitre XI de la Charte ont accepté de communiquer au Secrétaire général certains renseignements relatifs aux conditions dans ces territoires. L'alinéa e détermine soigneusement la nature de ces renseignements, ainsi que les matières sur lesquelles ils porteront. Sont seuls prévus les renseignements statistiques et autres de nature technique relatifs aux conditions économiques, sociales et culturelles. Tels sont les renseignements que les Etats ont accepté de communiquer; leur acceptation ne s'étend donc pas à des renseignements d'autre nature ou relatifs à d'autres domaines, tels que le domaine politique. Au surplus, ces renseignements, ils n'ont accepté de les fournir que sous réserve des exigences de la sécurité et de considérations d'ordre constitutionnel.

169. L'acceptation donnée en vertu de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 est donc de portée limitée. Notamment, l'alinéa e ne reconnaît à l'Organisation des Nations Unies ou à ses organes aucune faculté de contrôle ni même de vérification. Il ne reconnaît que le pouvoir du Secrétaire général de recevoir les renseignements qui lui sont communiqués, pouvoir qui comprend celui de les classer, de les analyser, en un mot d'en faciliter l'accès aux Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies.

170. En particulier, les Etats visés n'ont pas accepté de faire rapport à l'Organisation, de venir se justifier devant elle, de lui rendre des comptes. L'alinéa e stipule d'ailleurs, expressément, que les renseignements sont communiqués "à titre d'information".

171. C'est, du reste, très compréhensible. Il s'agit, en effet, de territoires qui font partie intégrante du sol national des Etats contractants. Ainsi, en ce qui concerne la Belgique, le Congo est exclusivement soumis à la souveraineté de l'Etat belge. C'est spontanément que les Etats ont souscrit au Chapitre XI qui, pour bien marquer sa genèse et son caractère très spécial, a été qualifié de "Déclaration", d'où le contraste que présente le Chapitre XI avec les Chapitres XII et XIII qui concernent des territoires dont la situation est toute différente.

172. Alors que, pour les Territoires sous tutelle, la Charte règle leur statut, prévoit la participation des Nations Unies dans leur organisation et dans la surveillance de leur administration, elle ne contient aucune disposition de cette nature à l'égard des territoires qui font l'objet du Chapitre XI.

173. On a, il est vrai, invoqué l'Article 10 de la Charte, qui permet à l'Assemblée générale de discuter de toutes questions rentrant "dans le cadre de la Charte" et de faire, à ce sujet, des recommandations aux Etats Membres. Mais la fonction de cet Article n'est pas de déterminer l'étendue des obligations de ces Etats. Les recommandations de l'Assemblée ne sauraient restreindre la liberté que l'alinéa e laisse aux Etats; elles ne sauraient leur imposer des contrôles ou d'autres obligations qu'ils n'ont pas acceptés. Pourvu, donc, qu'un Etat respecte les stipulations explicites du Chapitre XI, en particulier de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73, il doit être considéré comme tenant ses promesses, qu'il se conforme ou non aux modalités que recommanderait l'Assemblée. Comme telles, en effet, ces recom-

mandations sont sans caractère obligatoire. L'Assemblée ne dispose pas d'ailleurs, en la matière, d'un pouvoir de décision. Notamment, elle ne dispose pas du pouvoir de se prononcer, avec effet obligatoire, sur la manière dont les Etats doivent procéder pour agir régulièrement selon le Chapitre XI ou sur le point de savoir si leur action a, ou n'a pas, été régulière.

174. En outre, l'Assemblée doit se maintenir "dans le cadre de la Charte". Or, elle sort de ses attributions constitutionnelles lorsqu'elle prétend appeler les Etats à accomplir des prestations qui ne sont pas visées par le texte de la Charte. Elle en sort également lorsqu'elle crée des organes subsidiaires investis de pouvoirs qui supposent, de la part des Etats, l'accomplissement de pareilles prestations.

175. Mais c'est surtout par le jeu de l'alinéa 7 de l'Article 2 de la Charte que sont restreintes les compétences de l'Assemblée.

176. Selon cet alinéa, aucune disposition de la Charte n'autorise l'Organisation des Nations Unies à intervenir dans "des affaires qui relèvent essentiellement de la compétence nationale d'un Etat", ni n'oblige les Etats Membres à soumettre des affaires de ce genre à une procédure de règlement aux termes de la Charte.

177. Ce principe est une règle d'interprétation qui domine toutes les dispositions de la Charte, sauf celles qui concernent l'application des mesures de coercition prévues au Chapitre VII. Cette règle s'impose, d'autre part, à tous les organes des Nations Unies, principaux, secondaires ou subsidiaires, car aucun d'eux, cela va de soi, ne saurait avoir plus de pouvoir que l'Organisation elle-même.

178. Il est donc juridiquement impossible d'interpréter l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 — pas plus que toute autre disposition du Chapitre XI — comme permettant une intervention dans des affaires qui relèvent essentiellement de la compétence nationale. La même limitation affecte l'interprétation de l'Article 10.

179. Dès lors que le domaine réservé par l'alinéa 7 de l'Article 2 est en cause, l'Assemblée se voit incapable d'intervenir. Partant, son action, dans ce cas, doit être particulièrement circonspecte; elle ne peut jamais aller jusqu'à l'"intervention". Si l'Assemblée peut se prêter à un débat, où il soit loisible à chacun de s'exprimer, elle ne peut donner aux Etats de directives, sous quelque forme que ce soit.

180. La Charte ne définit pas ce qu'il faut entendre par "affaires qui relèvent essentiellement de la compétence nationale". Bien plus, la Conférence de San-Francisco a repoussé à une forte majorité un amendement belge tendant à conférer aux organes des Nations Unies le pouvoir de décider souverainement qu'une affaire relève ou ne relève pas essentiellement de la compétence nationale.

181. L'orateur vient de rappeler les règles applicables en la matière. Or, ces règles, la résolution VI, présentée par la Quatrième Commission, ne les respecte pas. Elle vise, en effet, à rétablir pour un long terme une institution, le Comité spécial,

dont l'activité antérieure révèle qu'elle tend toujours davantage à s'arroger, à l'égard des territoires visés au Chapitre XI, une fonction similaire à celle que remplit le Conseil de tutelle à l'égard des Territoires sous tutelle. Les Etats sont amenés à s'expliquer devant lui, à rendre compte de la manière dont ils exercent leur souveraineté, même dans des domaines qui relèvent essentiellement de leur compétence nationale. Cette orientation de l'activité du Comité spécial ne fait, d'ailleurs, que refléter la tendance que montre l'Assemblée elle-même. Ainsi, lorsque, en 1946, elle établit le premier Comité spécial, alors modestement dénommé Comité *ad hoc*¹, l'Assemblée limita ses pouvoirs de recommandation à de pures mesures de procédure. Il était question, en effet, de la procédure à suivre pour communiquer les renseignements prévus par l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 et pour assurer l'utile concours des institutions spécialisées. En 1947 déjà, l'Assemblée générale renforçait les directives de 1946². Elle recommandait aux Etats un schéma destiné à leur servir de guide pour la préparation des renseignements. Ce schéma excédait, de plus, ce qui a été assumé par ces Etats, puisque, notamment, il comportait un chapitre visant à l'obtention de données de nature très nettement politique, matière non visée par l'Article 73. L'Assemblée, en même temps, investissait le Comité spécial, qu'elle créait, d'une compétence supplémentaire: celle de faire des suggestions techniques en général. Bien plus, ce faisant, elle n'excluait nullement les questions qui relèvent essentiellement de la compétence nationale des Etats. Ces pouvoirs, l'Assemblée les confirma en 1948³.

182. La résolution qu'on voudrait voir adopter aujourd'hui va plus loin encore. Elle contient, en effet, une clause de portée générale de laquelle il résulte qu'il s'agira désormais d'apprécier, dans l'esprit de l'Article 55 de la Charte, si les Etats conforment ou ne conforment pas leur comportement aux résolutions prises par l'Assemblée dans les domaines économique, social et culturel. A cela s'ajoute que le Comité spécial, qui n'avait jamais été rétabli que pour une année, le serait pour trois ans, s'acheminant ainsi rapidement vers la permanence.

183. Cette progression dans l'ingérence et dans l'intervention ne semble pas devoir s'arrêter là. La résolution prévoit, en effet, que l'Assemblée aura à réexaminer, dès 1952, la teneur du mandat du Comité. Cette précision est délibérée. Elle a donné lieu à un débat au sein de la Quatrième Commission, pleinement consciente de ses implications.

184. La Belgique est fermement résolue à persévérer dans l'observation fidèle des dispositions du Chapitre XI, qu'elle a librement acceptées comme répondant à une mission sacrée. Mais elle n'entend pas aller au-delà; elle n'entend pas, notamment, se plier à des mesures ou à des situations prises ou créées en méconnaissance des limites que comportent ses engagements aux termes de la Charte. En particulier, le territoire du Congo relève de la souveraineté belge. Jamais la Belgique ne consentira à ce qu'il soit traité en Territoire sous tutelle.

¹ Voir les *Documents officiels de la deuxième session de l'Assemblée générale, Résolutions*, Nos 142 et 146.

² Voir les *Documents officiels de la troisième session de l'Assemblée générale, première partie, Résolutions*, Nos 218 et 219.

³ Voir les *Résolutions adoptées par l'Assemblée générale pendant la seconde partie de la première session*, No 66.

Le projet de résolution de la Quatrième Commission apparaît comme une nouvelle phase de l'évolution dénoncée comme contraire aux prévisions de la Charte.

185. La délégation belge se verra donc contrainte de voter contre le projet de résolution et, pour le cas où celui-ci serait adopté, elle doit réserver, dès à présent, l'entière liberté de son gouvernement quant à l'attitude à observer à l'égard de cette mesure.

186. Le PRÉSIDENT annonce que la liste des orateurs sera close à la fin de la séance.

187. M. McNEIL (Royaume-Uni) croit qu'il est nécessaire d'expliquer l'attitude de son gouvernement, non seulement à l'égard des résolutions dont l'Assemblée générale est saisie, mais également à l'égard d'une tendance qui s'est fait jour au cours des dernières années et qui s'est manifestée au plus haut point dans les débats de la Quatrième Commission en 1949.

188. Il s'agit de la tendance à élargir la portée du Chapitre XI, autrement dit, à mettre dans la Charte des obligations et des fonctions qui n'y sont pas.

189. C'est en grande partie grâce à l'initiative du Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni que la Déclaration relative aux territoires non autonomes, qui constitue le Chapitre XI, a été introduite dans la Charte. Cette Déclaration formule les principes qui ont inspiré la politique coloniale du Royaume-Uni bien avant la création de l'Organisation des Nations Unies et que le Royaume-Uni aurait continué d'appliquer même si la Charte n'avait pas été adoptée.

190. Le seul élément de cette Déclaration qui entraîne l'adoption de nouvelles dispositions est l'acceptation de l'obligation précise et limitée de transmettre au Secrétaire général certains renseignements d'ordre technique nettement définis. Bien que ce ne soit pas le Royaume-Uni qui ait eu l'idée de cette obligation, la délégation du Royaume-Uni l'a acceptée parce qu'elle était conforme à la politique de son gouvernement, qui a toujours donné la plus large diffusion possible aux informations sur les travaux qu'il accomplissait dans les territoires d'outre-mer dont il assumait la responsabilité. En outre, le Royaume-Uni, en sa qualité de Membre fondateur de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, a estimé qu'il était souhaitable et qu'il convenait que les renseignements d'ordre économique et social transmis à l'Organisation fussent aussi complets et aussi universels que possible, notamment en raison des grands espoirs que le monde met dans les travaux des institutions spécialisées.

191. C'est donc de bonne foi que la délégation du Royaume-Uni a transmis les renseignements demandés en vertu des dispositions de la Charte, dans la pensée qu'ils seraient utilisés à titre d'information, comme le prévoit la Charte. M. McNeil se demande si la bonne foi que le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni a montrée en transmettant les renseignements a rencontré la même bonne foi chez les autres signataires de la Charte.

192. Lorsque l'on étudie les dix résolutions adoptées par la Quatrième Commission, on a peine à y retrouver l'alinéa e de l'Article 73, tel qu'il figure dans la Charte. M. McNeil y voit, au contraire, la confirmation de la tendance dont

il a parlé tout à l'heure et sur laquelle les représentants du Royaume-Uni ont appelé maintes fois l'attention du Comité spécial et de la Quatrième Commission, c'est-à-dire cette tendance à s'écarter à la légère, de plus en plus, des dispositions du Chapitre XI et à fonder les résolutions de l'Assemblée générale sur une hypothèse que les auteurs de la Charte ont délibérément omis de formuler.

193. Il s'agit de cette hypothèse absolument injustifiée selon laquelle, en souscrivant à la Déclaration du Chapitre XI, les Etats Membres administrant des territoires non autonomes ont accepté le principe du contrôle international de l'administration de ces territoires. Certains représentants ont reconnu que l'on s'était, en effet, écarté des dispositions de la Charte. Toutefois, ils ont cherché à expliquer et à justifier cette attitude en invoquant l'esprit de la Charte et en se fondant sur la possibilité du développement d'une interprétation conventionnelle de la Charte.

194. On a essayé, dans d'autres domaines, de modifier les dispositions de la Charte, en recourant à ce que M. Vychinsky a très justement appelé des "moyens détournés". La délégation du Royaume-Uni n'est toujours élevée contre les tentatives qui ont été faites pour modifier la Charte par ces moyens, mais il est à remarquer qu'aucune délégation n'a été plus résolue — et peut-être plus résolue à juste titre — que la délégation de l'URSS dans son opposition contre cette "infiltration" de la Charte. L'exemple le plus frappant et le plus récent est celui de la modification que l'on voulait apporter à la procédure d'admission des nouveaux Membres.

195. L'insistance avec laquelle M. Vychinsky et, avant lui, M. Molotov ont tenu à ce que l'on appliquât la Charte à la lettre dans la question dont M. McNeil vient de parler est une attitude que le représentant du Royaume-Uni approuve entièrement; elle contraste toutefois avec l'attitude que les représentants de l'URSS ont adoptée à la Quatrième Commission, où ils ont essayé à maintes reprises, ainsi que d'autres représentants, de mettre dans les dispositions du Chapitre XI des obligations et des principes qui n'y sont pas, en prétendant qu'ils sont conformes à l'esprit de la Charte. Certes, il est bon de rechercher l'intention des auteurs d'une convention internationale pour les points sur lesquels les dispositions ne sont pas claires, mais la majorité de ceux qui ont invoqué l'esprit de la Charte au sujet de la question en discussion ont invoqué, à l'appui de leur thèse, certaines théories qui ont été délibérément écartées de la Charte à la majorité des voix lors d'un scrutin effectué en bonne et due forme à San-Francisco.

196. Il est inconcevable que l'on puisse interpréter l'esprit de la Charte, ainsi que le font certaines délégations, comme si la Charte englobait des questions que ces délégations auraient voulu qu'elle visât, mais qui, à tort ou à raison, heureusement ou malheureusement, n'ont pu recueillir le nombre de voix nécessaire. La procédure à suivre pour reviser la Charte est bien connue; le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni accepte la Charte telle qu'elle est actuellement. Il s'est conformé, et fera tout son possible pour se conformer à l'avenir, aux exigences de la Charte en ce qui concerne les territoires non autonomes dont il assume la responsabilité.

197. Toutefois, les dix projets de résolution comprennent de nombreux points qui, non seulement dépassent de beaucoup toutes les exigences de la Charte, mais vont également à l'encontre des exigences de la situation qui existe actuellement dans de nombreux territoires non autonomes dont le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni a la responsabilité. Il semble qu'un grand nombre de Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies aient une conception entièrement fautive : à moins qu'un territoire ne soit entièrement autonome ou complètement indépendant, sa population ne participe nullement à son gouvernement et à son administration ; dans ce cas, ses affaires seraient gérées directement par la Puissance métropolitaine d'une manière absolument autoritaire.

198. Les représentants du Royaume-Uni se sont efforcés, à maintes reprises, de corriger cette idée fautive, mais leurs efforts n'ont apparemment pas abouti. M. McNeil pense parfois que ceux à qui l'on adresse les informations ne veulent pas prendre note des précisions qu'on leur apporte.

199. Les populations des territoires non autonomes dont s'occupe le Royaume-Uni se voient confier de plus en plus, et à un rythme accéléré, la responsabilité de l'administration de leur territoire. L'exemple le plus frappant et le plus récent est fourni par le rapport du *Committee on Constitutional Reform* (Comité de réforme constitutionnelle) de la Côte-de-l'Or, présidé par M. Coussey, éminent magistrat africain, juge à la Cour suprême de la Côte-de-l'Or. Ce Comité de trente-huit membres est composé uniquement d'Africains. Tous ceux qui ont lu ce rapport ont été frappés par l'évidente maturité politique de ces habitants de la Côte-de-l'Or. Le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni a accepté le rapport en formulant certaines réserves ; il a estimé que ce rapport constituait un plan de travail exécutable dans le cadre duquel l'évolution constitutionnelle pourrait se poursuivre.

200. Ainsi, grâce à l'évolution rapide de leurs propres institutions, les populations des territoires dont a parlé M. McNeil ont constamment la possibilité d'exprimer en toute liberté leur volonté au sujet des questions qui les touchent le plus. Ces colonies ne sont pas des nations indépendantes et cette situation semble délecter les juristes qui abondent parfois à la Quatrième Commission. Cependant, M. McNeil tient à assurer à l'Assemblée que les populations autochtones sont de plus en plus fières de leurs propres institutions et de leurs traditions, et qu'elles s'y montrent de plus en plus attachées. Au stade actuel de leur développement politique, ces populations ne sont certainement pas plus disposées que n'importe quel peuple indépendant à tolérer une intervention internationale dans leurs affaires intérieures. Le représentant du Royaume-Uni pense que cette thèse a été remarquablement exposée, et d'une façon claire et convaincante, par son collègue, M. Grantley Adams, de la Barbade, qui a représenté le Royaume-Uni aux précédentes sessions de l'Assemblée générale. Ceux qui proposent que les territoires non autonomes fassent l'objet d'un traitement discriminatoire de ce genre sont coupables d'engendrer ce même sentiment d'infériorité que toute politique coloniale éclairée doit précisément viser à faire disparaître.

201. Peu de pays échappent à la critique, et M. McNeil ne prétendra pas que le Royaume-Uni

soit du nombre. Au cours des débats, plusieurs Etats Membres ont été sévèrement critiqués à cet égard par d'autres Etats. Cependant, les Puissances administrant des territoires non autonomes se trouvent dans une situation assez particulière par rapport aux autres Etats souverains, étant donné qu'elles assument des responsabilités particulières. Cela les expose peut-être plus à la critique. Certes, elles ont été très abondamment critiquées à la Quatrième Commission, dont les critiques irréflechies sont devenues proverbiales. La délégation du Royaume-Uni estime que, au sein de cette Commission, les représentants de certains Etats qui n'ont pas à affronter les difficultés et les responsabilités des Puissances administrant des territoires non autonomes se sont permis, et ont parfois été autorisés, à dépasser les limites de la critique équitable et impartiale. Les déclarations du genre de celles qui ont fait l'objet des protestations de certains de ses collègues émanent souvent de représentants de pays dont la politique intérieure n'est nullement au-dessus de toute critique, notamment lorsque ces pays ont, eux aussi, la responsabilité du développement progressif de populations autochtones qui, pour autant qu'elles n'ont pas atteint la maturité, sont toujours relativement peu évoluées.

202. Il semble que ces déclarations ne sont que trop souvent inspirées par la passion, et parfois même par la jalousie, au lieu de témoigner de l'objectivité et de l'impartialité auxquelles les Puissances administrantes estiment avoir droit. En tant que Puissance administrant des territoires non autonomes, le Royaume-Uni doute que ces Puissances soient traitées avec équité en ce qui concerne certaines questions intéressant non seulement ces Puissances elles-mêmes, non seulement les populations qu'elles administrent, mais aussi — et cela devient de plus en plus clair — tous les pays jaloux du prestige et de l'autorité de l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Il est évident que certaines déclarations que l'on fait de temps à autre ne tendent nullement à aider les Puissances administrantes à s'acquitter des obligations qu'elles ont assumées envers les populations intéressées, envers elles-mêmes et envers l'Organisation des Nations Unies.

203. Le Royaume-Uni, qui a acquis une expérience unique en créant les organes nécessaires à l'établissement de gouvernements autonomes, n'a pas l'intention de revenir en arrière et d'imposer aux populations des territoires intéressés une politique que ces populations elles-mêmes n'ont pas aidé à formuler et que le Royaume-Uni trouve mal avisée et souvent même trahissant l'incompétence.

204. Sur les dix projets de résolution soumis par la Quatrième Commission, quatre, à savoir les résolutions VI, VII, VIII et X, traitent de l'avenir du Comité spécial et des nouvelles fonctions à lui assigner. En acceptant en 1946, en 1947 et enfin en 1948 la reconduction de ce Comité pour un an seulement, le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni a précisé que, à son avis, les seules fonctions que ce Comité pût utilement exercer, les seules fonctions dont il pût s'acquitter sans entrer en conflit avec le Chapitre XI de la Charte, étaient des fonctions de procédure. Le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni a estimé que le Comité avait, et devait avoir, pour mission de perfectionner la technique de la transmission, en vue

d'assurer que "des renseignements statistiques et autres de nature technique relatifs aux conditions économiques, sociales et de l'instruction" dans les territoires non autonomes soient communiqués aux institutions spécialisées, où ils seront examinés par des experts, dans une atmosphère non politique, et où ces experts disposeront d'informations sur les problèmes analogues qui se posent aux Etats Membres. Il n'y a aucune raison de monter en épingle la situation dans les territoires non autonomes. On ne saurait, en effet, considérer les problèmes qui se posent dans ces territoires comme des problèmes isolés. Ils s'intègrent à l'ensemble des problèmes existant dans tous les pays relativement peu développés, quelle que soit la manière dont les juristes définissent le statut politique de ces pays. Il faut que les institutions spécialisées examinent ces problèmes sur le plan mondial, voire sur le plan régional, et qu'elles exposent les résultats de leurs études dans les rapports annuels qu'elles adressent à l'Assemblée générale. Pour ces raisons, M. McNeil ne voit ni la nécessité ni l'opportunité d'établir, pour trois ans, un comité dont les fonctions dépasseraient largement les attributions du Comité de 1949. En conséquence, la délégation du Royaume-Uni votera contre les projets de résolution VI, VII et VIII et elle s'abstiendra de voter sur le projet de résolution X.

205. La délégation du Royaume-Uni se voit également dans l'obligation de voter contre les projets de résolution II et III. Même si l'on fait abstraction de certaines objections d'ordre technique que les membres de la Quatrième Commission connaissent déjà bien, ces deux résolutions invitent les Puissances administrantes à prendre certaines mesures bien définies à l'égard des territoires non autonomes dont elles ont la responsabilité; elles impliquent donc l'existence d'une responsabilité envers la communauté des nations en ce qui concerne l'administration des territoires non autonomes, responsabilité qui n'est prévue ni par le Chapitre XI ni par aucun autre Chapitre de la Charte. Pour toutes ces raisons, la délégation du Royaume-Uni votera contre ces deux projets de résolution, bien que les mesures prises par le Gouvernement britannique soient, en fait, conformes à ces résolutions.

206. Les projets de résolution IV, V et IX traitent essentiellement du rôle que devront jouer les institutions spécialisées et le Secrétaire général lors de l'examen des questions prévues à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte. M. McNeil estime

que ces résolutions sont inutiles parce que, dans bien des cas, les mesures qu'elles prévoient sont déjà appliquées et que, dans d'autres cas, ces résolutions n'engendreront que des mesures faisant double emploi et un foisonnement inutile de fonctions et de documents. A la Quatrième Commission, la délégation du Royaume-Uni a déjà formulé des observations détaillées à propos de ces projets de résolution: M. McNeil ne les répètera pas. Il tient à souligner simplement que sa délégation s'abstiendra de voter sur le projet de résolution IV, mais votera contre les projets de résolution V et IX.

207. En ce qui concerne le projet de résolution I, qui invite les Autorités administrantes à transmettre certains renseignements complémentaires sur les territoires non autonomes dont elles assument la responsabilité — renseignements qu'elles ne sont nullement tenues de transmettre aux termes de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte — le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni s'est déjà, à plusieurs occasions, prononcé si clairement sur la question qu'il n'est guère besoin pour M. McNeil de répéter ces arguments. Toutefois, puisque son gouvernement n'est pas tenu de transmettre ces renseignements et puisqu'il n'a pas l'intention de le faire, la délégation du Royaume-Uni votera contre ce projet de résolution, comme elle a déjà voté contre les résolutions analogues dans le passé.

208. Bref, pour les raisons qui ont déjà été exposées en séance plénière aussi bien qu'à la Quatrième Commission, la délégation du Royaume-Uni votera contre tous les projets de résolution, à l'exception des projets de résolution IV et X, sur lesquels elle s'abstiendra de voter. En procédant de la sorte, la délégation du Royaume-Uni réserve entièrement la position de son gouvernement à l'égard de toutes questions pouvant résulter de ces résolutions, au cas où celles-ci seront adoptées par l'Assemblée générale.

209. M. McNeil regrette d'avoir eu à faire une déclaration de ce genre. Mais il a été obligé de la faire, parce que sa délégation doit être aussi jalouse du caractère et du prestige de l'Organisation des Nations Unies qu'elle est jalouse de ses propres responsabilités. Il est heureux de constater que les représentants distingués de plusieurs délégations, conscientes de leurs responsabilités et modestes, ont adopté la même attitude.

La séance est levée à 18 h. 30.

DEUX CENT SOIXANTE-TROISIEME SEANCE PLENIERE

Tenue à Flushing Meadow, New-York, le vendredi 2 décembre 1949, à 10 h. 45.

Président: le général Carlos P. RÓMULO (Philippines).

Renseignements provenant des territoires non autonomes: rapport de la Quatrième Commission (A/1159); rapport de la Cinquième Commission (A/1166) (fin).

1. M. GARREAU (France) rappelle que la délégation française s'est abstenue à la Quatrième Commission sur quatre des résolutions proposées

et a voté contre les six autres¹. Elle a, de plus, formulé les réserves les plus expresses quant aux conséquences pouvant résulter de l'adoption des six projets de résolution en question. Ces réserves, elle tient à les renouveler d'une façon explicite devant l'Assemblée générale.

¹ Pour la discussion de ce sujet à la Quatrième Commission, voir les *Documents officiels de la quatrième session de l'Assemblée générale*, Quatrième Commission, 108ème à 110ème, 113ème à 127ème et 142ème séances.

2. M. Garreau ne reprendra pas la discussion qui a eu lieu à la Quatrième Commission. Tous connaissent l'objection fondamentale que fait la délégation française à cette partie des travaux de la Commission. Il s'agit de l'institution, pour trois ans, du Comité spécial et des pouvoirs exorbitants — le représentant de la France a même dit, et il le répète, des pouvoirs inconstitutionnels — dont on prétend doter ce Comité.

3. La délégation française affirme — et elle s'appuie pour ce faire sur le texte même de la Charte et sur les délibérations de San-Francisco — qu'une innovation telle que la création d'un Comité spécial qui tendrait à devenir permanent et qu'on investissait de véritables pouvoirs de contrôle sur des territoires relevant de la souveraineté française, contredit la volonté des signataires de la Charte et qu'elle ne pourrait, en conséquence, être établie que selon la procédure d'amendement de la Charte.

4. La Charte est un contrat. Ce contrat ne peut, par définition, que contenir la volonté commune de toutes les parties contractantes. Qui peut prétendre que le Chapitre XI exprime la volonté commune des signataires de la Charte — M. Garreau insiste sur le mot "commune" — de placer sous contrôle international les territoires non autonomes?

5. Une telle assertion est évidemment insoutenable et c'est pourquoi, quelque torture que l'on cherche aujourd'hui à infliger aux textes, la France s'en tient aux termes du contrat et dénie à l'Assemblée le droit de les modifier par une simple résolution votée à la majorité. Mais elle tient, d'autre part, à mettre en évidence le respect qu'elle observe, et qu'elle n'a jamais cessé d'observer, des obligations véritablement contenues dans le Chapitre XI.

6. Ces obligations sont de deux sortes: l'une est de forme et lie la France vis-à-vis de l'Organisation des Nations Unies; l'autre est de fond et la lie vis-à-vis des populations des territoires non autonomes.

7. Vis-à-vis de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, la France est tenue de fournir sur les territoires des renseignements non politiques. Elle l'a fait avec sérieux et ponctualité et son esprit de coopération avec l'Organisation internationale ne s'est jamais démenti, dans ce domaine ou dans aucun autre, depuis trois ans.

8. Vis-à-vis des populations, l'obligation que la Charte qualifie à juste titre de sacrée est une obligation qui engage la France tout entière. Elle doit mener ces populations au progrès et tout spécialement au progrès politique. Bien que n'ayant pas de comptes à rendre à l'Assemblée sur ce point, la délégation de la France n'est-elle pas autorisée à dire que la politique française s'inspire fidèlement des principes contenus dans le Chapitre XI de la Charte, s'il n'est pas arrivé qu'elle les ait même devancés?

9. Ainsi, la question est claire: de la part de la France, il y a eu, il y a, il y aura toujours, respect de la Charte, ce qui signifie volonté constante de progrès dans l'Union française et de coopération avec l'Organisation internationale, dans les termes du contrat de San-Francisco. Si ces termes étaient dépassés — et la France estime aujourd'hui qu'ils le sont — la France observerait le même respect vis-à-vis de l'Organisation

des Nations Unies, sans pourtant se considérer comme obligée de la suivre sur un terrain qui n'est pas le sien.

10. Tels sont les motifs pour lesquels la délégation française doit renouveler ses plus expresses réserves sur tous ceux des projets de résolution présentement soumis au vote (A/1159) qui tendent à instituer un contrôle international sur les territoires de l'Union française.

11. M. Garreau ne fera de remarques particulières que sur le projet de résolution VIII qui charge le Comité spécial d'étudier les facteurs dont il convient de tenir compte pour décider si tel ou tel territoire est ou n'est pas non autonome.

12. La délégation française s'oppose résolument à ce projet de résolution, non seulement parce qu'il mentionne un Comité spécial que la délégation française estime inconstitutionnel, mais aussi parce que les pouvoirs supplémentaires dont le Comité spécial se trouverait investi sont évidemment d'ordre politique. La violation de l'Article 73 de la Charte est ici si flagrante qu'il est difficile de la considérer comme involontaire. A partir de renseignements d'ordre économique, social et culturel, c'est un véritable comité de contrôle des lois et des constitutions internes que l'on prétend mettre sur pied. Le Comité pourrait dire si telle disposition de la Constitution française concernant les Etats ou territoires de l'Union française lui convient ou ne lui convient pas.

13. On voit bien qu'il ne s'agit plus de la Charte; il s'agit d'un droit nouveau, étranger à la Charte, contraire à la Charte. Ce droit, la délégation de la France ne saurait le reconnaître, non seulement parce qu'elle tient au respect des contrats internationaux, mais aussi parce qu'elle répond ici de 100 millions de citoyens de l'Union française, dont les institutions politiques, générales ou particulières, sont le bien propre et relèvent de leur compétence souveraine.

14. M. Shiva RAO (Inde) avait l'intention de se borner à commenter très brièvement quelques-unes des dix résolutions soumises à l'Assemblée générale. Mais il se trouve qu'il doit prendre la parole immédiatement après certains porte-parole des Puissances administrantes qui ont critiqué de façon sévère, et même exagérée, non seulement les résolutions, mais aussi la Quatrième Commission elle-même. A titre de représentant d'une délégation qui, à la Quatrième Commission, a appuyé tous les projets de résolution lorsqu'ils ont été mis aux voix, et qui se propose d'agir de même à l'Assemblée générale, M. Rao estime de son devoir de relever certaines des critiques exprimées.

15. En ce qui concerne les projets de résolution eux-mêmes, ils semblent avoir un objectif principal. Ils cherchent à améliorer la qualité des renseignements transmis par les Puissances administrantes en vertu de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte et à en étendre la portée. Ces résolutions permettraient de rendre efficace et de coordonner la collaboration avec les institutions spécialisées dont il est question à l'alinéa d de cet Article. Les projets de résolution soulignent la nécessité urgente d'accélérer les progrès de l'instruction dans les territoires non autonomes, sans pour cela ralentir les efforts entrepris dans les domaines de l'activité sociale et économique. Enfin, ils

s'efforcent de créer, sous les auspices de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, un mécanisme qui permettrait de donner à l'Article 73 tout entier plus de réalité et d'importance pour les millions d'individus qui vivent dans les territoires non autonomes.

16. L'Article 73 contient certains principes généraux que les Puissances administrantes ont nettement acceptés. Ces principes sont, il est vrai, présentés sous forme de déclaration, mais cette déclaration fait partie intégrante de la Charte que tous les Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies se sont engagés à respecter. Ces principes sont, tout d'abord, la primauté des intérêts des habitants des territoires non autonomes et l'obligation de favoriser dans toute la mesure du possible leur prospérité; en second lieu, le devoir d'assurer leur progrès politique, économique et social, ainsi que le développement de leur instruction, de les traiter avec équité et de les protéger contre les abus; en troisième lieu, le développement de leur capacité à s'administrer eux-mêmes et de leurs libres institutions politiques; enfin, l'obligation de favoriser des mesures constructives de développement, d'encourager des travaux de recherche et de coopérer avec les institutions spécialisées en vue d'atteindre effectivement les buts sociaux, économiques et scientifiques énoncés à l'Article 73.

17. Le champ d'application de ces principes est très vaste. Mais il y a encore un autre principe: les Puissances administrantes doivent communiquer régulièrement des renseignements relatifs à tous les territoires dont elles sont responsables, à la seule exception des territoires auxquels s'appliquent les Chapitres XII et XIII, relatifs à la Tutelle. Les exigences de la sécurité et certaines considérations d'ordre constitutionnel peuvent entraîner une limitation des renseignements transmis, mais, même dans ce cas, il ne s'agit que d'une limitation et non d'une suppression des renseignements.

18. Le projet de résolution VIII, qui traite de la possibilité de ne plus appliquer l'Article 73 à un territoire qui figurait primitivement dans l'énumération des territoires non autonomes fournie par une Puissance administrante, s'est révélé sujet à controverse; cette observation s'applique particulièrement au paragraphe qui affirme que l'Assemblée générale a compétence pour exprimer un avis sur les principes qui ont guidé, ou qui peuvent à l'avenir guider, les Etats Membres intéressés dans l'énumération des territoires pour lesquels ils sont tenus de transmettre des renseignements. Le nombre des territoires non autonomes est passé en trois ans de soixante-quatorze à soixante-deux, du fait que douze territoires ont cessé d'avoir le statut de territoire non autonome, au sens de l'Article 73. Ce fait, du point de vue de l'Assemblée, n'est pas d'un intérêt négligeable. Comme la délégation de l'Inde l'a déjà souligné à la Quatrième Commission, il ne s'agit pas d'un problème simple et facile à résoudre. Le projet de résolution considéré invite le Comité spécial, dont la création fait l'objet d'une résolution distincte, à étudier les facteurs dont il convient de tenir compte pour arriver à une décision sur ce point. Il ne doit s'agir que d'une simple étude des facteurs, rien de plus; la délégation de l'Inde estime donc qu'une telle entreprise est légitime et mérite d'être tentée, si l'on considère les consé-

quences incalculables qu'entraînerait l'adoption par les Puissances chargées d'administration de décisions unilatérales. La délégation de l'Inde votera donc en faveur du projet de résolution VIII.

19. Un certain nombre de projets de résolution examinent divers aspects de l'instruction et du développement, dans les territoires non autonomes, d'établissements de formation professionnelle dans les domaines économique et social. Ces projets envisagent de supprimer l'analphabétisme et d'encourager l'usage des langues autochtones. Ils insistent également de façon particulière sur l'étude des problèmes de l'instruction dans les territoires non autonomes. La délégation de l'Inde reconnaît volontiers qu'il est d'un intérêt vital d'encourager par tous les moyens possibles le progrès de l'instruction des populations autochtones des territoires non autonomes; elle appuie donc tous les projets de résolution présentés. Cependant, le représentant de l'Inde tient à répéter un avertissement que sa délégation a donné à la Quatrième Commission: il ne faut pas inviter l'UNESCO à entreprendre, dans les territoires non autonomes, un programme d'action trop ambitieux qu'il lui sera peut-être impossible d'exécuter immédiatement. D'autre part, ainsi qu'il ressort du projet de résolution V sur la collaboration internationale en matière économique, sociale et culturelle, il existe, dans d'autres domaines que celui de l'instruction, un grand nombre de problèmes d'une importance et d'une urgence égales, comme l'érosion du sol, la nutrition, la question de la main-d'œuvre migrante en Afrique, la criminalité juvénile, le développement des services d'assistance sociale, l'habitat dans les régions tropicales, la formation de personnel médical, etc. A la Quatrième Commission, certaines délégations ont été d'avis que les travaux du Comité spécial auraient une efficacité plus grande si ce Comité s'attachait chaque année à l'étude d'une question essentielle, l'instruction devant faire l'objet de la première étude. La délégation de l'Inde partage cet avis et estime qu'il y a là, en tout cas, une expérience qui vaut la peine d'être tentée.

20. La délégation de l'Inde ne peut admettre, comme on l'a affirmé, qu'une étude et une enquête détaillées des divers problèmes mentionnés, faites par les institutions spécialisées, lésaient d'une façon ou d'une autre les droits souverains des Puissances administrantes. Le projet de résolution n'envisage nullement, comme on l'a dit, que les institutions spécialisées procèdent à des études et à des enquêtes séparées dans les territoires non autonomes et il est étonnant que cette critique lui ait été adressée.

21. Comme on l'a déjà dit, il est question, à l'alinéa d de l'Article 73, de deux types de collaboration internationale, grâce auxquels il serait possible d'atteindre effectivement les buts sociaux, économiques et scientifiques énoncés dans l'article. La première méthode de collaboration internationale est la coopération entre les Puissances administrantes elles-mêmes; la deuxième, selon les propres termes de la Charte, est la coopération des Puissances administrantes "quand les circonstances s'y prêteront, avec les organismes internationaux spécialisés". En d'autres termes, c'est aux Puissances administrantes elles-mêmes qu'il appartient, à tout moment, de prendre l'initiative

de rechercher l'assistance et la coopération des institutions spécialisées. L'Assemblée générale s'efforce simplement de présenter un certain nombre de suggestions de nature à permettre à cette deuxième méthode de collaboration de devenir de plus en plus fructueuse et efficace. Le projet de résolution mentionne certains problèmes, qui ne présentent peut-être pas tous la même importance et la même urgence dans tous les territoires non autonomes. Il n'y a là aucune ingérence dans les droits souverains des Puissances administrantes. L'Assemblée générale, organe suprême de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, s'est efforcée, chaque année, de rechercher de nouveaux moyens susceptibles de faire de l'Article 73 une réalité pour les populations des territoires non autonomes. Cette année, pour la première fois, l'Assemblée générale a attiré l'attention sur l'Article 55, relatif à la coopération économique et sociale entre les nations; cet article met particulièrement l'accent sur le respect universel et effectif des droits de l'homme et des libertés fondamentales pour tous, sans distinction.

22. Ainsi que la délégation de l'Inde l'a fait remarquer, tant au Comité spécial qu'à la Quatrième Commission, les membres de l'Assemblée générale ont le devoir d'insister sur la nécessité de développer la collaboration internationale par l'intermédiaire des institutions spécialisées, maintenant qu'il apparaît de façon de plus en plus évidente que les Puissances administrantes sont en train d'établir un système de coopération mutuelle en dehors des Nations Unies. L'Assemblée générale a le droit de dire que les principes de l'Article 73 doivent avoir la primauté sur toute autre forme de coopération internationale dans les territoires non autonomes.

23. Pour terminer, le représentant de l'Inde parle de la constitution du Comité spécial. Certaines délégations, y compris celle de l'Inde, ont exprimé l'avis que ce Comité devrait devenir un organe permanent — en fait, un organe subsidiaire des Nations Unies. Cependant, par esprit de compromis, elles n'ont pas insisté et ont accepté la proposition des Etats-Unis qui prévoit un mandat de trois ans pour le Comité, laissant à l'Assemblée générale le soin de décider, au cours de sa session de 1952, s'il convient d'en prolonger l'existence et lui laissant également le soin d'en fixer la composition et d'en définir le mandat. La délégation de l'Inde ne pense pas que l'on puisse, en toute honnêteté, voir dans cette proposition une tentative déguisée faite dans le but de modifier la Charte. Les principales résolutions adoptées par l'Assemblée générale, en la matière, au cours des années précédentes, ont amélioré progressivement la technique de l'étude et de l'utilisation des renseignements communiqués par les Puissances administrantes. En outre, l'Assemblée générale a élaboré un système qu'elle s'est efforcée de développer régulièrement en tenant compte de l'expérience. Elle a institué un Comité spécial qui a démontré son utilité dans la pratique au cours des deux dernières années. C'est pourquoi la Quatrième Commission présente maintenant un certain nombre de projets de résolution de la plus haute importance pour les populations des territoires non autonomes. Etant donné que le schéma est en voie de révision, et que les institutions spécialisées doivent présenter des rapports annuels sur les résultats obtenus ou sur les expériences tentées dans les différents territoires non auto-

nomes, le Comité spécial aura de plus en plus de travail. En 1952, l'Assemblée générale sera à même de décider s'il convient de maintenir ce Comité, et dans quelles conditions.

24. La délégation de l'Inde ne voit là aucune attaque ouverte ou cachée contre la Charte. Les membres de la Quatrième Commission ont constaté avec satisfaction que deux Puissances administrantes au moins — les Etats-Unis et le Danemark — n'ont pas semblé partager les craintes et les inquiétudes des autres Puissances administrantes et ont adopté une attitude positive à l'égard de la plupart des projets de résolution.

25. Le représentant de l'Inde estime qu'il conviendrait de rendre plus vivantes les dispositions de la Charte, afin de permettre à l'Assemblée générale de mieux remplir sa tâche. Il conviendrait également de s'efforcer constamment de rendre plus libérale l'application de la Charte, afin de permettre aux nombreux peuples qui échappent au contrôle direct de l'Organisation des Nations Unies d'arriver à l'indépendance le plus rapidement possible et d'être en mesure de devenir eux-mêmes membres de l'Organisation. Il s'agit là de fonctions légitimes de l'Assemblée générale, auxquelles elle ne saurait renoncer.

26. Revenir sur tout ce qui a déjà été accompli par l'Assemblée générale, comme certaines Puissances administrantes semblent le proposer, aurait les répercussions les plus graves dans les territoires non autonomes. Pour les populations de ces territoires, le Chapitre XI, d'après l'interprétation qu'en a donnée l'Assemblée générale dans les résolutions qu'elle a adoptées au cours des sessions précédentes, est un symbole d'espoir pour l'avenir. L'Assemblée générale doit continuer dans cette voie, avec, si possible, l'appui des Puissances administrantes, si elle veut avoir la confiance des populations qui "ne sont pas directement représentées ici", selon les termes mêmes de la première résolution¹ qu'elle a adoptée, à propos de ce problème essentiel lors de sa première session.

27. M. NORIEGA (Mexique) estime que les travaux de la Quatrième Commission ont été caractérisés, à la présente session, par l'aggravation des divergences de vues entre certaines Puissances administrant des territoires non autonomes et la majorité. Les Puissances administrantes en question ont soutenu la thèse de la souveraineté et ont qualifié d'intervention toute critique ou observation dont elles ont fait l'objet.

28. La majorité de la Commission estime que le développement des peuples qui ne sont pas encore parvenus à l'autonomie doit faire l'objet des préoccupations et engager la responsabilité de toutes les nations.

29. Il est vrai que les Puissances administrantes en question n'ont jamais contesté ce principe, mais elles affirment être seules responsables de son application. Elles qualifient de sentimental et d'ignorant quiconque désire leur donner, de bonne foi, une indication, mais ce sont elles qui pèchent par l'émotivité avec laquelle elles affirment leur autorité et par leur ignorance des éléments sur lesquels se fonde l'opinion de la majorité.

30. La communauté internationale exerce son action dans les territoires coloniaux depuis une

¹ Voir les Résolutions adoptées par l'Assemblée générale pendant la première partie de sa première session, page 13.

centaine d'années, depuis le début de la décadence de l'Empire ottoman, et le partage de l'Afrique a fait l'objet d'une série d'accords internationaux, dont le plus important a été le traité de 1912 relatif au Bassin du Congo. On n'a pas oublié non plus que, par le Traité de Berlin de 1885, les Puissances coloniales ont reconnu qu'elles avaient le devoir sacré de se conformer à certaines obligations humanitaires. Ces principes ont été réaffirmés, en 1919, dans le Traité de Saint-Germain-en-Laye.

31. M. Noriega n'entend pas refaire l'historique des événements contemporains. Nul n'ignore, en effet, que le régime des mandats, de même que le Régime de tutelle, reposent sur l'action collective et la responsabilité internationale.

32. Toutefois, ce n'est pas de la tutelle qu'il s'agit, mais des questions qui font l'objet du Chapitre XI de la Charte. L'Assemblée a approuvé, moins de vingt-quatre heures plus tôt, un document présenté par la délégation des Etats-Unis et la délégation du Royaume-Uni, intitulé: "Eléments essentiels de la paix"¹. Le temps ne permet pas de revenir sur les quatre points de ce document qui peuvent s'appliquer à la politique coloniale ni de dissenter sur les rapports de cette politique avec l'Organisation des Nations Unies; d'ailleurs, les représentants ont certainement étudié le document en question.

33. Les diverses interventions qui ont eu lieu au cours des débats sur cette question ont mis en évidence une crise très délicate, en ce qui concerne le Régime de tutelle et l'application des dispositions du Chapitre XI de la Charte.

34. La délégation mexicaine a pris part avec la plus entière bonne foi aux débats de la Quatrième Commission; elle ne croit pas que les résolutions adoptées par cette Commission contiennent rien qui soit contraire aux dispositions de la Charte, qui constitue une intervention dans les affaires intérieures des Etats ou qui porte atteinte à la souveraineté des Puissances administrantes.

35. M. Noriega dit que, si l'on met en doute l'esprit du Chapitre XI de la Charte, la lettre de ce chapitre constitue une déclaration qui impose aux Puissances administrantes des obligations nettes et positives envers l'Organisation. Au cas où il subsisterait quelque doute sur les attributions ou les pouvoirs de l'Assemblée générale, et notamment de la Quatrième Commission, le représentant du Mexique attire l'attention de l'Assemblée sur la fin de l'Article 74, qui termine le Chapitre XI de la Charte.

36. M. Noriega se demande quel serait le rôle de la Quatrième Commission dans l'examen des renseignements transmis si elle ne devait pas s'assurer que la politique poursuivie par les Puissances coloniales est conforme à l'Article 74 de la Charte.

37. Il espère que les doutes et les objections exprimés par certaines Puissances administrantes à l'égard des travaux de la Quatrième Commission n'empêcheront pas cette dernière de fonctionner normalement à la prochaine session de l'Assemblée générale.

38. Peut-être le mieux serait-il que les Puissances en question consultassent la Cour inter-

nationale de Justice pour lui demander de décider si la Quatrième Commission et l'Assemblée générale travaillent conformément à la Charte. Sinon, on ne sortira pas des discussions stériles, qui se sont pas de nature à améliorer le sort des populations auxquelles l'Organisation des Nations Unies porte un si grand intérêt.

39. M. FAHY (Etats-Unis d'Amérique) rappelle que, à la Quatrième Commission, la délégation des Etats-Unis a voté pour chacun des projets de résolution présentés à l'Assemblée générale, sauf les projets de résolution I et VIII. Elle a voté contre le premier et s'est abstenue dans le vote sur le second. M. Fahy tient à expliquer cette abstention.

40. Certains éléments entrant en jeu dans le projet de résolution VIII ont conduit la délégation des Etats-Unis d'Amérique à penser qu'il eût mieux valu que l'Assemblée n'eût pas à se prononcer sur ce projet pour le moment. M. Fahy se demande qui doit décider à quels territoires non autonomes s'applique le Chapitre XI, quel est ou quel devrait être le rôle du Comité spécial en la matière, à supposer qu'il en eût un, et quels sont les territoires non autonomes visés par la Charte. Il y a encore une autre considération. Le Comité spécial n'a pas le droit de demander des renseignements d'ordre politique. Or, comme des considérations politiques entrent en jeu, les Etats-Unis d'Amérique auraient préféré étudier d'avantage la question avant de prendre définitivement position à l'égard du projet de résolution VIII. La délégation des Etats-Unis d'Amérique réservera sa position en s'abstenant dans le vote sur ce projet de résolution.

41. A tous autres égards, la délégation des Etats-Unis d'Amérique maintiendra la position qu'elle a adoptée à la Quatrième Commission.

42. M. FLETCHER-COOKE (Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord) fait remarquer que le représentant de l'Egypte a déclaré à la 262ème séance de l'Assemblée générale, que rien, dans les comptes rendus des séances de la conférence de San-Francisco et en particulier dans ceux des séances du Sous-Comité 2 de la Commission IV, ne vient à l'appui de l'affirmation du représentant du Royaume-Uni à la Quatrième Commission, d'après laquelle les mots: "sous réserve des exigences de la sécurité et de considérations d'ordre constitutionnel", dans l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte, avaient été insérés dans cet article, avec l'assentiment de la Commission, sur la demande de Lord Cranborne, qui représentait le Royaume-Uni à cette époque.

43. Il est exact que le procès-verbal des séances ne mentionne pas les raisons pour lesquelles ces mots, proposés par Lord Cranborne et acceptés par la Commission IV, ont été insérés dans l'Article 73. Néanmoins, le fait qu'elles ne figurent pas dans les comptes rendus, qui ne mentionnaient au début que les décisions prises par les comités, ne prouve pas que ces raisons n'aient pas été exposées; les archives du Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni indiquent formellement que ces raisons ont bien été fournies à la Commission qui les a admises.

44. Le PRÉSIDENT met aux voix le projet de résolution I (A/1159).

Par 33 voix contre 9, avec 11 abstentions, la résolution est adoptée.

¹ Voir les Documents officiels de la quatrième session de l'Assemblée générale, Résolutions, n° 290.

45. Le PRÉSIDENT met aux voix le projet de résolution II (A/1159).

Par 44 voix contre une, avec 7 abstentions, la résolution est adoptée.

46. Le PRÉSIDENT met aux voix le projet de résolution III (A/1159).

Par 34 voix contre 4, avec 13 abstentions, la résolution est adoptée.

47. Le PRÉSIDENT met aux voix le projet de résolution IV (A/1159).

Par 42 voix contre zéro, avec 10 abstentions, la résolution est adoptée.

48. Le PRÉSIDENT met aux voix le projet de résolution V (A/1159).

Par 39 voix contre 2, avec 8 abstentions, la résolution est adoptée.

49. Le PRÉSIDENT met aux voix le projet de résolution VI (A/1159).

Par 44 voix contre 5, avec 4 abstentions, la résolution est adoptée.

50. Le PRÉSIDENT met aux voix le projet de résolution VII (A/1159).

Par 35 voix contre 5, avec 9 abstentions, la résolution est adoptée.

51. Le PRÉSIDENT met aux voix le projet de résolution VIII (A/1159), en indiquant que le vote par appel nominal a été demandé.

Il est procédé au vote par appel nominal.

L'appel commence par le Mexique, dont le nom est tiré au sort par le Président.

Votent pour: Mexique, Pakistan, Philippines, Pologne, Arabie saoudite, Thaïlande, République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine, Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yémen, Yougoslavie, Afghanistan, Argentine, Brésil, Birmanie, République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie, Chine, Cuba, Tchécoslovaquie, Egypte, Ethiopie, Guatemala, Haïti, Inde, Iran, Irak, Israël, Liban, Libéria.

Votent contre: Pays-Bas, Nouvelle-Zélande, Norvège, Suède, Turquie, Union Sud-Africaine, Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord, Australie, Belgique, Canada, France, Luxembourg.

S'abstiennent: Nicaragua, Pérou, Etats-Unis d'Amérique, Bolivie, Chili, Danemark, République Dominicaine, Grèce, Honduras, Islande.

Par 30 voix contre 12, avec 10 abstentions, la résolution est adoptée.

52. Le PRÉSIDENT met aux voix le projet de résolution IX (A/1159).

Par 31 voix contre 4, avec 16 abstentions, la résolution est adoptée.

53. Le PRÉSIDENT met aux voix le projet de résolution X (A/1159).

Par 46 voix contre une, avec 5 abstentions, la résolution est adoptée.



ASSEMBLEE GENERALE

A/1159
29 novembre 1949
FRANCAIS
ORIGINAL : ESPAGNOL

Quatrième session

Point 35 de l'ordre du jour

RENSEIGNEMENTS PROVENANT DES TERRITOIRES NON AUTONOMES

Rapport de la Quatrième Commission

Rapporteur : M. E. DE MARCHENA (République Dominicaine)

1. Ce point de l'ordre du jour, qui comporte l'examen du rapport du Secrétaire général (Résumés et analyses des renseignements transmis en vertu de l'Article 73 e. de la Charte) et du rapport du Comité spécial chargé de l'examen des renseignements transmis en vertu de l'Article 73 e. de la Charte (A/923), a été renvoyé à la Quatrième Commission par l'Assemblée générale, lors de sa 224^{ème} séance, tenue le 22 septembre 1949.

2. La discussion générale a commencé au cours de la 109^{ème} séance de la Quatrième Commission, après une déclaration préliminaire du Rapporteur du Comité spécial; elle s'est poursuivie jusqu'à la 117^{ème} séance.

3. De sa 117^{ème} séance à sa 122^{ème} séance inclusivement, la Commission a examiné les six résolutions dont le Comité spécial avait recommandé l'adoption (A/923, Annexe II).

4. Cinq projets de résolution supplémentaires et un certain nombre d'amendements ont été présentés; la Commission les a examinés de sa 123^{ème} à sa 127^{ème} séance inclusivement. Ces projets de résolution comprenaient :

- I. Un projet de résolution de l'Egypte autorisant tout comité spécial que l'Assemblée pourrait instituer à étudier les facteurs dont il convient de tenir compte pour décider quels sont les territoires qui relèvent du Chapitre XI de la Charte.
- II. Un projet de résolution proposé par l'Inde pour remplacer le texte du Comité spécial et prévoyant la création d'un comité spécial qui serait constitué par l'Assemblée générale.
- III. Un projet de résolution commun présenté par Cuba, l'Equateur et le Guatemala, invitant le Secrétaire général à compléter les résumés et analyses en publiant régulièrement des données relatives à certains aspects particuliers des progrès réalisés dans les territoires non autonomes.
- IV. Un projet de résolution commun présenté par le Mexique et les Etats-Unis d'Amérique, aux termes duquel le Comité spécial concentrerait son attention sur l'étude d'une seule question

chaque année, et invitant ce comité à s'attacher, en 1950, à la question de l'instruction.

- V. Un projet de résolution présenté par l'Australie, priant le Secrétaire général de tenir le Comité spécial au courant de la nature de l'assistance technique que les Territoires autonomes reçoivent de temps à autre des organismes internationaux.

PROJET DE RESOLUTION RELATIF AUX TERRITOIRES AUXQUELS S'APPLIQUE
LE CHAPITRE XI DE LA CHARTE

63. Le représentant de l'Egypte a proposé le projet de résolution suivant relatif aux territoires auxquels s'applique le Chapitre XI de la Charte :

"L'Assemblée générale,

"Considérant l'obligation qu'ont acceptée les Etats Membres des Nations Unies qui ont ou qui assument la responsabilité d'administrer des territoires dont les populations ne s'administrent pas encore

complètement elles-mêmes, de communiquer les renseignements visés à l'Article 73 e de la Charte,

Considérant la résolution 66 (I) adoptée par l'Assemblée générale le 14 décembre 1946 et où sont énumérés soixante-quatorze territoires qui, d'après les déclarations des gouvernements responsables, relevaient de l'Article 73 e.,

Ayant pris acte des renseignements fournis par certains Membres des Nations Unies au sujet des modifications d'ordre constitutionnel qui ont motivé la cessation de la transmission des renseignements visés à l'Article 73 e, en ce qui concerne certains des territoires qui sont énumérés dans la résolution 66 (I),

Estime qu'il appartient à l'Assemblée générale d'exprimer son avis sur les principes qui ont guidé ou qui peuvent à l'avenir guider les Etats Membres intéressés dans l'énumération des territoires pour lesquels ils sont tenus de transmettre les renseignements visés à l'Article 73 e de la Charte,

Invite tout comité spécial que l'Assemblée générale pourra instituer pour examiner les renseignements transmis en vertu de l'Article 73 e de la Charte, à étudier les facteurs dont il convient de tenir compte pour décider si tel ou tel territoire est ou n'est pas un territoire dont les populations ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes."

64. Le représentant de l'Egypte a accepté la proposition du représentant de la Thaïlande tendant à remplacer le membre de phrase "il appartient à l'Assemblée générale" figurant au quatrième paragraphe par "l'Assemblée générale a compétence pour".

65. S'efforçant de concilier les deux points de vue exposés au cours de la discussion, le représentant de l'Uruguay a proposé un amendement suivant lequel l'Assemblée générale ferait connaître son opinion sur la signification du terme "Territoires non autonomes" et que le Comité spécial examinerait chaque année la liste des territoires à propos desquels le Secrétaire général aurait reçu les renseignements visés à l'Article 73 e. Toutefois le Comité a rejeté l'amendement.

66. Le Comité a adopté alors le projet de résolution proposé par l'Egypte; le vote par appel nominal a donné les résultats suivants : 30 voix pour, 10 contre et 7 abstentions.

Ont voté pour : Afghanistan, Arabie saoudite, Birmanie, Brésil, Chine, Colombie, Cuba, Equateur, Egypte, Ethiopie, Guatemala, Inde, Irak, Iran, Israël, Liban, Libéria, Mexique, Pakistan, Philippines, Pologne, République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie, République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine, Syrie, Thaïlande, Tchécoslovaquie, Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques, Venezuela, Yémen, Yougoslavie.

Ont voté contre: Australie, Belgique, Canada, Cuba, France, Norvège, Nouvelle-Zélande, Royaume-Uni, Suède, Union Sud-Africaine.

Se sont abstenus: Argentine, Chili, Danemark, Etats-Unis d'Amérique, République Dominicaine, Grèce, Uruguay.

~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~

77. La Quatrième Commission recommande donc à l'Assemblée générale d'adopter les projets de résolution ci-après :

RESOLUTION VIII

TERRITOIRES AUXQUELS S'APPLIQUE
LE CHAPITRE XI DE LA CHARTE

L'Assemblée générale,

Considérant l'obligation qu'ont acceptée les Etats Membres des Nations Unies qui ont ou qui assument la responsabilité d'administrer des territoires dont les populations ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes, de communiquer les renseignements visés à l'Article 73 e de la Charte,

Considérant la résolution 66 (I) adoptée par l'Assemblée générale le 14 décembre 1946 et où sont énumérés soixante-quatorze territoires qui, d'après les déclarations des Gouvernements responsables, relevaient de l'Article 73 e ,

Ayant pris acte des renseignements fournis par certains Membres des Nations Unies au sujet des modifications d'ordre constitutionnel qui ont motivé la cessation de la transmission des renseignements visés à l'Article 73 e , en ce qui concerne certains des territoires qui sont énumérés dans la résolution 66 (I),

1. Estime que l'Assemblée générale a compétence pour exprimer un avis sur les principes qui ont guidé ou qui peuvent à l'avenir guider les Etats Membres intéressés dans l'énumération des territoires pour lesquels ils sont tenus de transmettre les renseignements visés à l'Article 73 e de la Charte;

2. Invite tout comité spécial que l'Assemblée générale pourra instituer pour examiner les renseignements transmis en vertu de l'Article 73 e de la Charte, à étudier les facteurs dont il convient de tenir compte pour décider si tel ou tel territoire est ou n'est pas un territoire dont les populations ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes.

CENT NEUVIEME SEANCE

Tenue à Lake Success, New-York, le jeudi 27 octobre 1949, à 15 heures.

Président: M. H. LANNUNG (Danemark).

Renseignements provenant des territoires non autonomes (suite)

1. Le PRÉSIDENT ouvre la discussion générale sur la question des renseignements provenant des territoires non autonomes; il invite la Commission à examiner simultanément les résumés et analyses préparés par le Secrétariat et le rapport du Comité spécial (A/923). Les six projets de résolution qui figurent à la fin de ce dernier document sont également en discussion et les membres de la Commission peuvent y apporter des amendements; un premier amendement (A/C.4/L.2) a déjà été présenté par la délégation de Cuba. Les six projets de résolution seront discutés et mis aux voix séparément.
2. M. DE MARCHENA (République Dominicaine), Rapporteur du Comité spécial, présente le rapport de ce comité (A/923). Ce document a été distribué aux délégations il y a un mois déjà et contient non seulement les recommandations formulées par le Comité spécial mais aussi un aperçu général des discussions qui ont eu lieu au Comité.
3. M. de Marchena rappelle que le Comité spécial qui s'est réuni cette année est le troisième organe de cette nature, chacun ayant été créé en vertu d'une résolution de l'Assemblée générale. Le dernier en date a été constitué par elle lors de sa troisième session (résolution 219 (III)) à Paris. Il s'est réuni à Lake Success du 25 août au 12 septembre 1949 et a tenu vingt séances. La tâche du Comité a été grandement facilitée par une série de documents spécialement préparés par le Secrétariat à son intention. Il semble que la Quatrième Commission veuille appeler l'attention du Conseil de tutelle sur l'avantage qu'il y aurait à disposer de documents analogues en ce qui concerne les Territoires sous tutelle.
4. Le rapport du Comité spécial fait état des diverses opinions qui ont été exprimées au sujet des renseignements fournis, mais il mentionne également que certaines questions soulevées au cours des débats ont été considérées par le Comité lui-même comme n'étant pas de sa compétence. Ce qui importe avant tout, néanmoins, c'est d'appeler l'attention sur les six projets de résolution que le Comité a approuvés et qu'il soumet à l'Assemblée générale. Le premier projet de résolution, relatif à la transmission spontanée de renseignements figurant dans la première partie du schéma, contient une recommandation de procédure. Les quatre projets suivants appartiennent plutôt à la catégorie des suggestions de fond concernant des questions techniques en général, et ils insistent particulièrement sur les activités des institutions spécialisées et sur le rôle que ces dernières peuvent jouer, en collaboration avec les Puissances administrantes, dans le développement des territoires non autonomes. La dernière résolution concerne également une question de procédure mais elle est très importante parce qu'elle prévoit la création d'un comité spécial avec un mandat de trois ans.
5. M. de Marchena croit que la tendance générale est de considérer qu'au sujet des questions relatives aux territoires non autonomes ou aux Territoires sous tutelle, les membres des différents organes des Nations Unies sont divisés en deux groupes, à savoir les Puissances administrantes d'une part et les autres pays d'autre part. Ce fait n'est pas rigoureusement exact, ainsi que l'ont prouvé les dernières sessions du Conseil de tutelle et plus particulièrement la dernière session du Comité spécial; bien que les membres autres que les Autorités administrantes aient souvent tendance à aller plus loin que ces dernières lorsqu'il s'agit de responsabilités administratives, on peut constater que les quatre projets de résolution concernant des questions de fond ont été adoptés par une très forte majorité, ce qui montre que la plupart des membres du Comité spécial font preuve d'esprit de collaboration, conformément à la Charte, dans l'intérêt des populations des territoires non autonomes. Les projets de résolution que le Comité spécial de l'an dernier avait présentés à l'Assemblée générale ont été adoptés sans modifications de fond. Les projets de résolution que présente cette année le Comité spécial sont conçus dans le même esprit de collaboration internationale que les projets de résolution antérieurs; aussi méritent-ils d'être étudiés avec soin.
6. M. de Marchena rappelle que le Comité spécial a adopté son rapport par 13 voix contre une, avec 2 abstentions. Les travaux du Comité ont révélé un mouvement continu d'idées et représentent une phase intéressante des travaux relatifs aux territoires non autonomes.
7. M. FARRAG (Egypte) félicite le Secrétariat pour l'excellent travail qu'il a accompli et rend hommage à M. Gerig pour la manière dont il a assumé la présidence du Comité spécial. Il constate avec satisfaction que les renseignements transmis en 1948 se sont révélés plus instructifs que ceux dont on a disposé l'année précédente. Il espère que la qualité des renseignements sera encore meilleure l'an prochain; il fait observer à ce propos que certains renseignements sont parvenus après la date limite qui avait été fixée; de tels retards risquent de mettre le Comité spécial et le Secrétariat dans une situation difficile, et de les empêcher d'examiner certains points d'une manière aussi approfondie qu'ils le désireraient. Aux termes de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte, les Autorités administrantes sont tenues de transmettre des renseignements uniquement dans les domaines économique et social et dans le domaine de l'enseignement. Aussi M. Farrag note-t-il avec plaisir que certaines Autorités administrantes ont néanmoins spontanément transmis des renseignements de caractère politique. Il espère que les autres Autorités administrantes feront de même à l'avenir.
8. L'analyse des renseignements concernant le travail (A/920) révèle que la migration de la main-d'œuvre en Afrique a atteint un tel degré qu'elle menace de désorganiser la vie coutumière locale et de nuire à la perpétuation de la race. La situation en matière d'emploi telle qu'elle est reflétée dans les renseignements transmis, se carac-

térise par un accroissement des besoins en main-d'œuvre, dans de nombreux territoires, et par la satisfaction de cette demande, dans de vastes régions d'Afrique, par un système de migration de main-d'œuvre qui affectent profondément l'économie des régions rurales (A/920). Notamment, la migration en provenance de territoires administrés par le Royaume-Uni constitue un apport substantiel dans les mines sud-africaines (A/920). Le représentant de l'Egypte est certain que la situation préoccupe les Autorités administrantes, mais il considère qu'il faut avant tout prendre des mesures très énergiques; l'Organisation internationale du Travail a étudié la question de la main-d'œuvre migrante en 1947. Il souhaite que le Secrétariat prenne contact avec cette organisation et fasse connaître les résultats de ses travaux.

9. M. Farrag déclare qu'il votera pour les six projets de résolution contenus dans le rapport du Comité spécial. Il rappelle que ces textes ont été beaucoup étudiés et remaniés, notamment les projets de résolution B et C pour lesquels un comité de rédaction a été constitué; les projets de résolution sont le résultat heureux de l'esprit de collaboration et de conciliation dont ont fait preuve les membres du Comité. M. Farrag rappelle que, l'an dernier, certains membres de la Quatrième Commission, poussés par le seul désir de favoriser le développement des populations des territoires non autonomes d'une manière directe, ont reproché au Comité spécial de n'avoir formulé que des recommandations de procédure; cette méthode est néanmoins logique, car c'est seulement après avoir pris des dispositions sur la procédure que le Comité pourra véritablement traiter les questions de fond; on constate d'ailleurs qu'au nombre des projets de résolution présentés par le Comité spécial à l'issue de sa dernière session figurent quatre projets concernant des problèmes de fond. Le seul but est de favoriser l'amélioration des conditions qui règnent dans les territoires non autonomes et l'application sincère des recommandations du Comité aidera à atteindre les objectifs formulés dans le Chapitre XI de la Charte. M. Farrag espère que la Quatrième Commission adoptera ces projets de résolution par une forte majorité, sinon à l'unanimité, et que les représentants qui s'y sont opposés au Comité spécial sauront voter en leur faveur à l'Assemblée générale.

10. Par ailleurs, le Comité spécial a estimé qu'il n'était pas compétent pour examiner certaines questions et plus particulièrement la question de la cessation de la transmission de renseignements, qui fait l'objet de rapports du Secrétaire général (A/915 et A/915/Add.1). Ces rapports font état des raisons qu'ont invoquées le Royaume-Uni et la France pour justifier le fait qu'ils ont cessé de transmettre des renseignements sur certains territoires. Le Gouvernement français rappelle notamment, à ce propos, que la détermination des territoires non autonomes relève exclusivement de la compétence des Etats qui ont la responsabilité d'administrer lesdits territoires. Ce principe était peut-être vrai avant la mise en vigueur de la Charte des Nations Unies, mais celle-ci prévoit que les relations entre les territoires non autonomes et les métropoles qui les administrent ne concernent plus exclusivement les territoires et les pays intéressés, mais intéressent également la communauté internationale, ainsi qu'en témoigne

l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte. Les Autorités administrantes elles-mêmes ont maintes fois souligné ce principe alors que l'Organisation était au début de son existence et que la Charte était nouvelle, ce qui ne les empêche pas maintenant de contester la validité de ce même principe. Quelle autorité sinon l'Organisation des Nations Unies elle-même pourrait donc veiller à ce que les Autorités administrantes respectent les dispositions du Chapitre XI de la Charte? En 1946, l'Assemblée générale a invité les Autorités administrantes à établir une liste des territoires non autonomes au sujet desquels elles devraient transmettre des renseignements. La liste qui fut constituée comptait 74 territoires; les Autorités administrantes ne sauraient donc cesser de transmettre des renseignements sur certains de ces territoires sans commettre une violation de la Charte, à moins cependant que les territoires en question n'aient acquis leur autonomie.

11. Les Autorités administrantes ont avancé certains arguments pour justifier leur action. Elles ont prétendu que les déclarations relatives aux territoires non autonomes avaient un caractère unilatéral. Faut-il entendre par là que les Autorités administrantes se réservent le droit de se dégager quand il leur plaît des obligations qu'elles ont assumées? On ne saurait admettre que les obligations stipulées au Chapitre XI soient considérées comme unilatérales; encore le seraient-elles qu'elles auraient force exécutoire, conformément au droit international. On ne peut néanmoins les interpréter comme étant unilatérales pour peu que l'on se souvienne des débats, des consultations, des compromis et des suggestions diverses dont ont fait l'objet les termes du Chapitre XI lors de son élaboration à la Conférence de San-Francisco. Le représentant du Royaume-Uni lui-même déclarait à l'époque que ce chapitre constituait une convention coloniale internationale qu'il faut accepter au nom des populations des territoires non autonomes. Les Autorités administrantes ont également prétendu que le Chapitre XI avait été accepté comme une obligation morale. Or aucune disposition de ce chapitre ne peut être interprétée dans ce sens; cet argument est invoqué dans la seule intention d'affaiblir le caractère obligatoire des dispositions du chapitre. Les Autorités administrantes déclarent aussi que le Chapitre XI a un caractère provisoire, alors qu'à San-Francisco il a été considéré comme devant rester en vigueur aussi longtemps qu'il y aurait des territoires non autonomes. M. Stassen, représentant des Etats-Unis, avait lui-même déclaré à l'époque que ce chapitre était appelé à évoluer et qu'il resterait une réalité vivante. Les Autorités administrantes prétendent par ailleurs que le Comité spécial et l'Assemblée générale ont tenté d'amender en fait les dispositions de la Charte, ce qui est inexact car le Comité spécial n'a fait que mettre à exécution une résolution de l'Assemblée générale dont le but est d'assurer l'application de la Charte. Elles ont également dit que les renseignements visés à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 ne devaient être transmis qu'à titre d'information et ne sauraient, par conséquent, être examinés ni commentés; il est évident que les auteurs de la Charte n'ont jamais envisagé que l'on interprète cette disposition dans ce sens. Le représentant de l'Australie a lui-même déclaré au moment de l'élaboration du Chapitre XI qu'une telle disposition représentait un progrès et qu'elle provoquerait une émulation salutaire entre les Autorités administrantes. II

serait donc tout à fait illogique et déloyal de se contenter de recevoir ces renseignements sans les examiner. La seule restriction à l'utilisation de ces renseignements consiste à veiller à ce qu'ils ne soient pas utilisés à des fins de propagande politique.

12. En conclusion, la transmission des renseignements en vertu de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte au sujet des 74 territoires non autonomes doit être continuée jusqu'au moment où ces territoires s'administreront eux-mêmes.

13. Il est évident que le fait d'incorporer un territoire non autonome à la métropole ne peut relever le Membre de l'Organisation des Nations Unies responsable de l'administration de ce territoire de l'obligation de transmettre des renseignements en vertu de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 au sujet de ce territoire.

14. Le représentant du Royaume-Uni a déclaré qu'il lui était impossible de transmettre des renseignements sur l'île de Malte, parce que les questions économiques, sociales et de l'instruction relèvent actuellement de la compétence du gouvernement de l'île. Le représentant de l'Égypte pense que cette raison n'est pas suffisante pour justifier la cessation de la transmission de renseignements. Par ailleurs, la résolution 222 (III) de l'Assemblée générale invite les Membres responsables de l'administration de territoires non autonomes à informer l'Organisation des Nations Unies "de toute modification intervenue dans la constitution et le statut de l'un quelconque de ces territoires". Le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni ne s'est pas conformé à cette exigence.

15. Certaines délégations ont soutenu que le Chapitre XI de la Charte ne concerne que les Membres responsables de l'administration de territoires non autonomes. Cette allégation est sans fondement et le représentant de l'Égypte est persuadé que la Quatrième Commission confirmera que le Chapitre XI intéresse l'ensemble des Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Deux cent millions d'autochtones mettent leur espoir en l'Organisation et M. Farrag est certain qu'elle ne les décevra pas. Le devoir de l'Assemblée générale est de veiller à ce que les dispositions de la Charte soient appliquées aussi bien lorsqu'elles sont en faveur du plus faible que du plus fort.

16. En ce qui concerne l'établissement de comparaisons entre les renseignements transmis en vertu de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 et ceux de même nature provenant de pays indépendants que l'Assemblée générale a demandé au Secrétaire général par sa résolution 218 (III) du 3 novembre 1948, M. Farrag a quelques doutes sur les avantages que présentera le résultat de ces comparaisons pour la population des territoires non autonomes. D'ordinaire, les statistiques provenant de ces territoires sont incomplètes et inexactes, contrairement aux données établies par les pays indépendants. Il est donc impossible de procéder à des comparaisons qui aient quelque valeur.

17. Afin de pallier cette difficulté, la délégation de l'Égypte suggère que l'Assemblée générale envoie une mission chargée de visiter certains territoires non autonomes ainsi que des États indépendants de la même région pour établir des comparaisons. Il est évident qu'il faudra obtenir à l'avance le consentement des pays indépendants

qui seront certainement heureux de se prêter à cette visite. Ce projet nécessitera la dépense de quelques milliers de dollars, mais il semble que cela en vaille bien la peine.

18. Le représentant de l'Égypte sera heureux d'entendre les vues des autres représentants au sujet de cette proposition.

19. M. SHIVA RAO (Inde) désire s'associer aux éloges que le représentant de l'Égypte a adressés au Secrétariat pour le travail qu'il a accompli à l'intention du Comité spécial. Abordant la question des renseignements transmis en vertu de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte, le représentant de l'Inde estime que le rapport du Comité spécial est très complet et ne demande aucun commentaire détaillé. Toutefois, il désire attirer l'attention de la Commission sur quelques points particuliers.

20. Le premier de ces points est la question de la cessation de la transmission de renseignements. Le représentant de l'Égypte a fait un excellent historique de la question. M. Shiva Rao rappelle aux membres de la Commission que l'Assemblée générale, par sa résolution 222 (III), a invité les Membres responsables de l'administration des territoires non autonomes à informer l'Organisation des Nations Unies de toute modification intervenue dans la constitution et le statut des territoires non autonomes pour lesquels il n'est plus transmis de renseignements. La délégation de l'Inde a estimé que cette question ne relevait pas de la compétence du Comité spécial, mais devait être examinée par la Quatrième Commission.

21. Une fois qu'un territoire a été inscrit sur la liste des territoires non autonomes, il garde cette qualité jusqu'au moment où il répond aux conditions requises pour devenir Membre de l'Organisation des Nations Unies.

22. Il convient de noter que le nombre des territoires inscrits sur la liste diminue d'année en année et est passé de 74 à 62. Cette question est extrêmement importante, notamment en raison du fait que les gouvernements des Puissances administrantes ont déclaré qu'il était de leur compétence exclusive de déterminer les territoires auxquels s'applique l'alinéa e de l'Article 73. Si ces gouvernements continuent à prendre des décisions unilatérales à l'égard de ces territoires, il est à craindre qu'une telle situation n'influe sur les fonctions dont l'Assemblée générale doit s'acquitter aux termes du Chapitre XI de la Charte.

23. Afin que la Quatrième Commission puisse examiner cette question à la prochaine session, M. Shiva Rao suggère que le Secrétariat prépare une étude préliminaire à l'intention du Comité spécial sur le statut constitutionnel des territoires au sujet desquels on a cessé de transmettre des renseignements.

24. Le représentant de l'Inde attire l'attention de la Commission sur la discussion qui a eu lieu au sein du Comité spécial sur la question de savoir si le Gouvernement des Pays-Bas était en droit de transmettre des renseignements sur l'Indonésie en vertu de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73. La délégation de l'Inde estime que l'Indonésie s'administre elle-même et que les renseignements communiqués par les Pays-Bas ne devraient pas être inclus dans le recueil des résumés et analyses des renseignements transmis au Secrétaire géné-

ral. M. Shiva Rao saisit cette occasion pour signaler l'inquiétude que cause à sa délégation le fait que la Conférence de la table ronde à La Haye n'est encore arrivée à aucune conclusion.

25. Le représentant de l'Inde aborde la question de la transmission spontanée de certains renseignements, question qui fait l'objet du chapitre VII du rapport du Comité spécial. Il note avec satisfaction l'attitude libérale adoptée par les Etats-Unis et le Danemark à cet égard et constate qu'un nombre plus élevé de Membres responsables de l'administration de territoires non autonomes ont, en 1948, transmis de leur propre initiative des renseignements sur les points figurant dans la partie facultative du Schéma. Il y a lieu d'encourager cette tendance.

26. La délégation de l'Inde tient à appeler l'attention de la Commission sur un point qu'elle juge assez important. L'Assemblée générale a adopté, ou envisage d'adopter, plusieurs conventions internationales. La Troisième Commission a examiné la question des obligations qui incombent à cet égard aux Puissances responsables de l'administration des territoires non autonomes. Il semblerait souhaitable que l'Assemblée générale recommandât aux Membres intéressés de transmettre, suivant de nouvelles directives, des renseignements sur l'application de ces conventions internationales dans les territoires dont ils ont la charge.

27. En ce qui concerne la collaboration internationale en matière économique, sociale et culturelle dans les territoires non autonomes, M. Shiva Rao fait observer que le paragraphe d de l'Article 73 de la Charte mentionne deux formes de collaboration : celle qui doit exister entre les Membres responsables de l'administration des territoires non autonomes, en dehors de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, et la collaboration avec les institutions spécialisées de l'Organisation des Nations Unies.

28. Les Puissances administrantes ont organisé des conférences en vue d'examiner certains problèmes d'intérêt commun. Elles envisagent de développer et de donner un caractère permanent à cette forme de collaboration. Celle-ci est tout à fait conforme aux dispositions du paragraphe d de l'Article 73 de la Charte. Toutefois, il semble qu'elle ait pour but de rechercher principalement les bénéfices que pourraient en retirer les Membres intéressés eux-mêmes et, incidemment seulement, ceux que pourraient en retirer les populations des territoires non autonomes. Or le premier paragraphe de l'Article 73 reconnaît le principe de la primauté des intérêts de ces populations. Par conséquent, il est indispensable d'encourager l'autre forme de collaboration, c'est-à-dire celle avec les institutions spécialisées, afin de veiller tout particulièrement aux intérêts des populations autochtones.

29. La délégation de l'Inde considère, ainsi qu'elle l'a énoncé dans le projet de résolution qu'elle présenta au Comité spécial et reproduit au rapport, qu'il est urgent que les institutions spécialisées procèdent à ces enquêtes et fassent des recherches en vue d'assister les populations des territoires non autonomes. Les représentants des institutions spécialisées devraient aussi à l'avenir participer plus activement aux travaux du Comité spécial.

30. En ce qui concerne l'avenir du Comité spécial, M. Shiva Rao rappelle que sa délégation

a demandé l'établissement d'un comité permanent, en raison des conséquences malheureuses que pourrait avoir sa dissolution pour les populations des territoires non autonomes et parce qu'elle estime que les discussions qui ont lieu au sein du Comité spécial aident les Membres responsables de l'administration de ces territoires à améliorer les conditions de vie de leurs populations. La délégation de l'Inde a constaté avec regret que ces Membres ne partageaient pas ce point de vue. Il a donc été proposé, dans le projet de résolution adopté par le Comité spécial, de constituer un comité pour une période de trois ans.

31. La délégation de l'Inde a l'intention de présenter ultérieurement des modifications à ce projet de résolution. Elle désirerait, notamment, que les membres du Comité spécial soient élus, non par la Quatrième Commission, mais par l'Assemblée générale elle-même.

32. M. MUGHIR (Syrie) fait observer que le premier problème à résoudre lorsqu'on étudie la question des territoires non autonomes est de savoir si l'Organisation des Nations Unies a compétence pour se prononcer sur le développement et le sort de ces territoires. Une interprétation superficielle du Chapitre XI de la Charte peut laisser croire que l'Organisation doit se borner à recevoir des renseignements de caractère technique sur les conditions économiques, sociales et de l'instruction dans les territoires non autonomes, et qu'elle ne peut ni solliciter ni étudier des renseignements sur les conditions politiques. Une telle interprétation ne saurait être acceptée par la communauté internationale actuelle. Le Comité spécial n'est pas une simple agence de renseignements. Le progrès et le bien-être de l'humanité, le respect des droits de l'homme et l'obtention par tous les peuples de leur souveraineté nationale et de leur indépendance sont devenus des questions qui affectent et qui intéressent l'ensemble de cette communauté.

33. Aux termes du Chapitre XI de la Charte, les Puissances qui assument la responsabilité d'administrer des territoires non autonomes ont solennellement reconnu le principe de la primauté des intérêts des habitants de ces territoires. Elles ont accepté de respecter un certain nombre de principes pour favoriser le progrès politique, économique et social, ainsi que le développement de l'instruction dans les territoires qu'elles administrent. La Charte dispose que ces Puissances doivent communiquer au Secrétaire général des renseignements de nature technique relatifs aux conditions économiques, sociales et de l'instruction dans les territoires dont elles sont respectivement responsables. Cela revient à dire que, si l'Organisation des Nations Unies estime que l'administration des territoires non autonomes est satisfaisante, elle se contente de recevoir les renseignements prévus ; mais, si ces renseignements révèlent que l'administration des territoires non autonomes n'est pas ce qu'elle devrait être, l'Organisation des Nations Unies doit exprimer son opinion et donner les conseils nécessaires.

34. Le représentant de la Syrie tient à souligner que sa délégation se rend parfaitement compte des difficultés auxquelles doivent faire face les Puissances qui administrent des territoires non autonomes ; le fait d'étudier et de critiquer les conditions qui règnent dans ces territoires ne signifie pas que l'on doute de la bonne foi des Puissances administrantes. Bien que la Syrie ait

eu à souffrir de la politique et des méthodes coloniales, elle gardera une attitude objective dans l'exposé de ses observations.

35. Le représentant de la Syrie estime que les renseignements communiqués au Secrétaire général ne sont pas suffisants pour permettre une analyse circonstanciée de l'administration et du développement des territoires non autonomes. Le cas du Maroc permet d'illustrer parfaitement cette observation.

36. Les renseignements transmis par la France au sujet du Maroc (A/909/Add.1) ne fournissent aucun détail sur les modifications réalisées ou envisagées dans la vie politique de ce pays. Au contraire, les quelques renseignements communiqués révèlent que l'administration du Maroc n'a subi aucun changement depuis l'occupation du pays par les troupes françaises et la conclusion du Traité de Fès, en 1912. En fait, le Résident général a pour mission principale de veiller à l'exécution de ce Traité. Il en résulte qu'aucun effort n'a été fait pour introduire au Maroc un système parlementaire quelconque; il n'y a pas d'assemblée législative élue; les chambres consultatives n'ont, en effet, rien de commun avec un organe législatif; ces chambres consultatives ne représentent que des intérêts économiques, et non pas des intérêts politiques. Le système judiciaire marocain n'est ni libéral, ni approprié aux conditions actuelles; on peut même supposer qu'il permet toutes sortes de corruptions et d'abus.

37. Au point de vue de la liberté individuelle, les renseignements transmis indiquent que "aucune arrestation ne peut être effectuée qu'en vertu d'un mandat régulièrement délivré par l'autorité compétente". On peut se demander à ce sujet quelle est l'autorité compétente? Le Maroc n'a pas de code pénal. Des sources sûres permettent d'affirmer que l'on peut être arrêté et emprisonné pendant des mois sans jugement.

38. Les journaux de langue arabe doivent être autorisés par arrêté viziriel, alors qu'il n'y a aucun contrôle pour les journaux français. Ceci explique sans doute le très petit nombre de journaux de langue arabe, nombre qui, d'ailleurs, n'est pas indiqué dans les renseignements communiqués au Secrétaire général.

39. Les renseignements indiquent que "la création d'une association est soumise au principe du dépôt préalable des statuts comme en France". On est heureux de constater que les autorités françaises appliquent au Maroc les mêmes lois que dans la métropole; si le peuple marocain jouit des mêmes libertés et des mêmes institutions démocratiques que le peuple français, on peut être certain que le Maroc connaîtra bientôt son indépendance. Cependant, avant de pouvoir tirer une telle conclusion, on aimerait savoir si la loi de 1901 relative à la liberté d'association est appliquée dans les territoires administrés par la France.

40. M. LAPIE (France) soulève une question d'ordre. Il fait remarquer que le représentant de la Syrie a entrepris un débat d'ordre politique qui n'est pas de la compétence de la Commission.

41. M. MUGHIR (Syrie) poursuit et expose que, dans le domaine de l'enseignement, le rapport du Gouvernement français indique que 20 pour 100 des enfants marocains fréquentent les écoles. Toutefois, un document officiel, intitulé "Conjoncture économique marocaine de 1947", indique

que le nombre d'enfants âgés de 5 à 14 ans s'élève à 1.865.645; les renseignements transmis en 1948 indiquent que le nombre d'enfants fréquentant les écoles s'élève à 128.107. On constate ainsi que seulement un sur quatorze et non pas un sur cinq des enfants fréquentent les écoles. Les renseignements transmis sont très incomplets sur la question de l'enseignement supérieur; ils sont muets, notamment, au sujet des deux universités musulmanes. Ces dernières ne semblent pas être en faveur auprès de la Puissance administrante et elles ne reçoivent aucune subvention gouvernementale.

42. Les autorités françaises semblent être très fières de diffuser la langue française comme langue de culture, de façon à conduire plus promptement l'élite marocaine à la connaissance du monde contemporain. La langue et la culture françaises sont aimées et admirées dans le monde entier; néanmoins, les Arabes du Moyen-Orient qui sont appelés à entrer en relations avec les Marocains ont ressenti les conséquences tragiques de cette diffusion de la langue française au Maroc; les Marocains parlent maintenant un mélange de français et d'arabe; ils ne peuvent plus comprendre les Arabes du Moyen-Orient, ni se faire comprendre d'eux. En perdant leur propre langue, les Marocains ont perdu en même temps tout attachement à leur culture et à leur histoire.

43. La situation en Tunisie n'est ni plus brillante, ni plus encourageante. Les renseignements transmis au sujet des conditions économiques, notamment, sont très peu détaillés et parfois difficiles à interpréter.

44. Au Maroc comme en Tunisie, la répartition des terres semble avoir été effectuée en dépit de toute équité et sans justification aucune.

45. Les renseignements relatifs aux conditions de la main-d'œuvre et de l'emploi sont insuffisants, pour le Maroc comme pour la Tunisie. Ces renseignements donnent l'impression qu'il n'y a pour ainsi dire pas de conflits collectifs du travail dans ces deux pays. Ils passent sous silence les fréquents conflits dans l'industrie minière, notamment dans les industries du fer et du phosphate. Ils n'expliquent pas comment ont été réglées les grèves, notamment celles des dockers, des fonctionnaires et de l'industrie du charbon, qui ont eu lieu au Maroc en 1948. De nombreux grévistes ont été emprisonnés et certains ont été abattus par la police.

46. Le représentant de la Syrie tient à faire remarquer qu'il a évoqué le cas du Maroc et de la Tunisie à titre d'exemple et qu'il ne faut pas en conclure que la situation est meilleure dans les autres territoires non autonomes. Il ajoute que ses critiques ont pour seul but d'aider et de guider les Puissances administrantes; la délégation de la Syrie ne cherche nullement à faire de la propagande politique et elle n'a aucun motif caché.

47. La délégation de la Syrie est parfaitement consciente du fait que certains territoires non autonomes ont atteint un stade très satisfaisant de développement. A ce propos, il faut féliciter le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis de la façon dont il administre les territoires dont il est responsable.

48. La délégation de la Syrie tient à manifester son inquiétude au sujet de la cessation de la transmission de renseignements. Certains territoires,

bien que ne s'administrant pas eux-mêmes, n'ont pas été inclus dans la liste des territoires non autonomes. C'est le cas, par exemple, pour l'Algérie. Ce pays arabe, qui est occupé par la France depuis le milieu du XIXème siècle, n'a aucun espoir d'obtenir sa liberté et son indépendance. Bien que, sur une population totale de 7.235.684 habitants il y ait 6.247.432 Arabes, l'Algérie, dit-on, ne peut pas être classée dans la catégorie des territoires non autonomes. La raison, en vérité surprenante, est que ce pays a été annexé à la République française.

49. La délégation de la Syrie s'oppose à la conception selon laquelle les Puissances intéressées ont seules le droit de déterminer quels sont les territoires non autonomes. Elle se réserve le droit de reprendre la parole sur ce point au cours de la discussion.

50. Le PRÉSIDENT appelle l'attention des membres de la Commission sur la nécessité d'épuiser l'ordre du jour avant la fin du mois de novembre.

51. M. PEREZ CÍSNEROS (Cuba) pose une question relative à l'emploi de la langue espagnole. Le document intitulé *Territoires non autonomes; Résumés et analyses des renseignements transmis au Secrétaire général au cours de l'année 1948* a été publié en anglais et en français, mais non en espagnol; ceci est contraire aux dispositions de la résolution 262 (III) de l'Assemblée générale. Dans le même ordre d'idée, la délégation de Cuba aimerait savoir quelles sont les

intentions du Secrétaire général en ce qui concerne les documents annuels dont il est fait mention à l'alinéa b) du paragraphe 4 de la résolution 218 (III). D'autre part, la délégation de Cuba tient à signaler que la Commission américaine des territoires non autonomes créée par la neuvième Conférence internationale américaine tenue à Bogota, a demandé au Secrétaire général de lui communiquer les documents relatifs aux territoires non autonomes; elle a reçu des documents rédigés en anglais et en français, mais non en espagnol.

52. M. BENSON (Secrétariat) fait observer que le document mentionné par le représentant de Cuba est un résumé des renseignements transmis en 1948, c'est-à-dire avant l'adoption de la résolution 262 (III). La question de la publication de ce document en espagnol est encore à l'examen au service compétent du Secrétariat. La question n'a pas encore été tranchée non plus de savoir sous quelle forme seront présentés les documents mentionnés dans la résolution 218 (III). Toute suggestion à ce sujet sera vivement appréciée par le Secrétariat. Il est évidemment regrettable que le Secrétariat n'ait pas été en mesure d'adresser à la Commission américaine des territoires non autonomes des documents rédigés en langue espagnole; par suite de l'adoption de la résolution 262 (III), la situation sera différente à l'avenir.

La séance est levée à 17 h. 30.

CENT TREIZIEME SEANCE

Tenue à Lake Success, New-York, le mercredi 2 novembre 1949, à 11 heures.

Président: M. H. LANNUNG (Danemark).

Renseignements provenant des territoires non autonomes (suite)

1. Le PRÉSIDENT annonce que la Commission va poursuivre l'examen des renseignements provenant des territoires non autonomes.

2. M. WINIEWICZ (Pologne) fait remarquer que, lorsqu'on examine les renseignements transmis en vertu de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73, il ne faut pas s'inspirer seulement de cet article et qu'il convient de tenir compte des dispositions du Chapitre XI de la Charte dans son ensemble. Ce chapitre a pour objet de lutter contre les survivances de l'impérialisme colonial, régime qui est fondé sur ce principe que les populations des territoires coloniaux ne sont pas les égales des populations des Puissances coloniales. Les temps ont changé, la surface du globe occupée par les colonies a diminué, mais les vestiges de ce régime subsistent.

3. L'Article 73, par lequel débute le Chapitre XI, pose en principe que ce sont les intérêts des habitants des territoires non autonomes qui ont la primauté et non ceux des nations impérialistes. Aux termes de l'alinéa a de cet Article, les Etats Membres des Nations Unies qui ont assumé la responsabilité d'administrer ces territoires s'engagent à respecter la culture des populations. La tendance à remplacer cette culture par celle des Puissances coloniales se manifeste encore; c'est un obstacle au développement de l'instruction et au progrès social des populations qui ne s'administrent pas elles-mêmes et, par conséquent, à leur progrès politique. L'alinéa b de l'Article 73 vise à assurer le développement progressif de la capacité des populations de s'administrer elles-mêmes et l'alinéa c indique que ce développement doit servir les intérêts de la paix et de la sécurité internationales, qui pourraient être compromis par l'oppression de nations, notamment de celles qui sont en état de s'administrer elles-mêmes ou de mener une existence nationale indépendante. L'alinéa d du même Article insiste sur le devoir, qui incombe aux Puissances coloniales, de favoriser des mesures constructives de développement, pour servir non pas leurs intérêts égoïstes, mais les buts généraux énoncés dans l'Article.

4. Il est vrai que la Charte ne prévoit pas d'intervention directe pour assurer l'exécution de ces dispositions. Cependant, l'Organisation des Nations Unies est en mesure d'attirer l'attention de l'opinion publique sur des situations contraires aux dispositions de la Charte; l'Article 73 marque

donc un progrès important en affirmant la responsabilité des Puissances coloniales envers l'ensemble des Nations Unies.

5. La délégation polonaise connaît bien les arguments qu'invoquent les Puissances coloniales lorsqu'elles cherchent à se dérober à cette responsabilité. Le *New York Times* a publié dernièrement un article constatant que les Puissances coloniales soutiennent que le Comité spécial chargé de l'examen des renseignements transmis en vertu de l'Article 73 e de la Charte a outrepassé les pouvoirs qu'il tenait de la Charte en faisant des remarques souvent défavorables au sujet des méthodes que ces Puissances suivent à l'égard des populations autochtones et en recommandant certaines modifications. En outre, poursuit ce journal, ces Puissances font valoir que les renseignements qu'elles fournissent sur les conditions régnant dans les territoires qu'elles administrent sont à la disposition, sous forme de publication, de quiconque désire en prendre connaissance.

6. La délégation polonaise se réserve le droit de définir plus tard son attitude à l'égard du Comité spécial. Toutefois, elle croit devoir faire remarquer que, aux termes de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte, il est évident que les Puissances coloniales sont tenues de transmettre des renseignements statistiques et autres sur les territoires qu'elles administrent; l'Assemblée générale a donc le droit de se faire donner les éléments d'information nécessaires pour juger de la valeur de ces renseignements, afin de veiller à la prospérité des populations non autonomes et à leur accession ultérieure à l'autonomie.

7. Cette dernière tâche aurait été plus facile à accomplir si les résumés et analyses des renseignements n'avaient pas porté sur les domaines particuliers et limités de l'enseignement, du travail, de l'assistance sociale, etc., et s'ils avaient contenu des indications plus complètes, notamment au sujet de la participation de la population autochtone aux organes du gouvernement local autonome. Il serait souhaitable qu'avant de formuler des conclusions quelconques, la Quatrième Commission examine les renseignements fournis en se plaçant d'un point de vue plus général et en tenant compte de certaines tendances qui semblent différencier certaines régions par rapport à d'autres. Les réponses données à des questions portant sur des sujets très différents prouvent que des intérêts de groupe et de race font obstacle à la réalisation des buts énoncés au Chapitre XI de la Charte.

8. Par exemple, l'analyse des renseignements concernant l'instruction (A/919) qu'a fournie le Secrétaire général montre qu'il existe au Kenya une différence notable entre les facilités offertes aux enfants européens et celles qui sont données aux enfants africains. Le représentant du Royaume-Uni au Comité spécial a parlé de la participation financière appréciable fournie par la communauté européenne pour l'instruction de ses enfants. Or la population africaine, qui est exploitée, n'est pas en mesure d'apporter une participation de ce genre, et il n'est que juste d'exiger que ceux qui l'exploitent fassent davantage pour instruire les exploités.

9. De même, le résumé des renseignements sur la Tunisie (A/909/Add.1) qu'a publié le Secrétaire général met en évidence l'existence d'une fâcheuse discrimination en ce qui concerne les facilités offertes, dans le domaine de l'instruction, aux différentes races qui cohabitent ce pays. La faible proportion des enfants musulmans qui fréquentent les écoles primaires et secondaires, par rapport à celle des enfants français et juifs, fait obstacle au développement de l'instruction de la population musulmane et l'empêche, par conséquent, de parvenir à l'autonomie. En ce qui concerne le Maroc, la situation qui y règne dans le domaine de l'instruction est obscure, mais les faits cités dans le résumé du Secrétaire général permettent de conclure à l'existence d'inégalités raciales analogues.

10. A propos du régime de l'instruction dans les territoires non autonomes, M. Winiewicz tient à souligner que ce régime devrait se fonder, dans toute la mesure du possible, sur la culture intellectuelle indigène. Les Puissances coloniales ne devraient jamais oublier que cette culture est, dans bien des cas, plus ancienne et plus riche que la leur. La discrimination dont elle fait l'objet se manifeste souvent parce qu'on tente de contre-carrer des aspirations intellectuelles qui pourraient être de nature à faciliter l'avènement de l'indépendance nationale.

11. L'analyse du Secrétaire général relative à la santé publique (A/921) montre que les Puissances coloniales prêtent, dans ce domaine, à des critiques du même genre. C'est ainsi qu'au Congo belge, le degré le plus élevé dans la formation professionnelle médicale auquel peuvent aspirer les élèves est celui d'assistant médical, et il n'y a que bien peu d'élèves dans les deux écoles de médecine dont fait mention le résumé du Secrétaire général. Dans le territoire du Bassoutoland, administré par le Royaume-Uni, on a pris des dispositions en vue de permettre à un petit nombre d'étudiants de recevoir une formation médicale dans l'Union Sud-Africaine; cependant, étant donné la politique suivie par ce pays, il est douteux que de telles dispositions puissent être généralisées. De l'avis de la délégation polonaise, il faut que les facilités offertes aux habitants des territoires non autonomes en vue de la formation professionnelle médicale soient suffisantes pour faire face à tous les besoins en personnel médical.

12. L'analyse des renseignements relatifs à la main-d'œuvre (A/920) qu'a fait effectuer le Secrétaire général ne donne malheureusement que

peu de renseignements sur les écarts entre les salaires ou sur la discrimination raciale dans les territoires non autonomes africains; elle passe également sous silence la question du montant des salaires. M. Winiewicz cite des passages tirés de résumés de renseignements ayant trait à des territoires particuliers, en vue d'illustrer la disproportion entre les salaires payés aux travailleurs européens et ceux que touchent les Africains. Il fait remarquer qu'il est difficile de ne pas en conclure que, si on maintient les salaires à des niveaux bas et si l'on a recours à des mesures discriminatoires, c'est en vue d'empêcher les populations autochtones de prendre conscience des intérêts de classe et de s'opposer à ce que se développe chez elles un sentiment national.

13. Bien que l'analyse du Secrétaire général ne donne qu'un aperçu superficiel des questions économiques fondamentales, elle signale que, pendant la guerre, la production est restée stationnaire dans bien des territoires, grand elle n'a pas baissé, et que ce phénomène ne se limite pas aux territoires directement touchés par la guerre. Dans l'analyse de certains aspects de l'évolution économique générale (A/C.28/W.5), la pénurie de main-d'œuvre qualifiée est présentée comme un des facteurs qui retardent l'industrialisation des territoires non autonomes. Il serait évidemment possible de faire disparaître cette pénurie en propageant l'instruction et en payant des salaires plus élevés aux travailleurs autochtones, mais de telles mesures seraient contraires à la tradition coloniale et certaines régions voient même se poser la question du chômage.

14. Il ressort clairement du tableau XIII, à la page 590 du volume contenant les renseignements sur les territoires non autonomes¹, que les échanges desdits territoires s'effectuent presque exclusivement avec les pays métropolitains. Le récent accroissement des échanges entre les pays dépendant de Puissances européennes et les Etats-Unis constitue une exception frappante à cette règle générale. Selon le *Rapport sur l'économie mondiale pour 1948*², l'Afrique (Egypte et Union Sud-Africaine non comprises) a importé des Etats-Unis, en 1937, des marchandises d'une valeur totale de 49.700.000 dollars; le chiffre correspondant pour 1948 est de 257 millions de dollars. Pendant la même période, les exportations à destination des Etats-Unis sont passées de 64.200.000 dollars à 242.200.000 dollars.

15. On a parfois accusé les adversaires du régime colonial d'inconséquence, parce que, tout en critiquant le retard du développement économique des territoires non autonomes, ils attaquaient les progrès économiques déjà réalisés. Cependant, leur attitude n'est pas dénuée de logique, car le développement économique qui a pu s'effectuer a favorisé les intérêts des seules Puissances coloniales.

16. La délégation polonaise n'est pas dupe des efforts que l'on déploie pour présenter la question des populations non autonomes comme s'il ne s'agissait que de tribus arriérées de la brousse. Or beaucoup de territoires non autonomes sont habités par des populations à culture intellectuelle très développée, qui mériteraient d'ores et déjà d'être admises dans l'Organisation des Na-

¹ Voir *Territoires non autonomes, résumés et analyses des renseignements transmis au Secrétaire général au cours de l'année 1948*, Publications des Nations Unies, numéro de vente: 1949. VI. B. I.

² Voir le *Rapport sur l'économie mondiale, 1948*, Nations Unies, Département des affaires économiques, Publications des Nations Unies, numéro de vente: 1949. 11.C.3, page 211.

tions Unies. Sans la chute de l'Empire colonial italien, la Libye, la Somalie italienne et l'Erythrée seraient encore rangées parmi les territoires non autonomes et soumises à une Puissance coloniale. Il existe encore en Amérique latine des territoires qui ne sont pas autonomes, bien qu'il soit évident qu'ils devraient être rattachés à des voisins entièrement indépendants. Il en est de même en Asie. La délégation polonaise estime qu'il faut étudier séparément le cas de chacun des territoires intéressés.

17. En attendant, il est indispensable que la mentalité colonialiste change au plus tôt, ne serait-ce que parce que l'alinéa c de l'Article 77 de la Charte prévoit que des territoires pourront être volontairement placés sous le Régime de tutelle et tomber de ce fait sous le coup des dispositions du Chapitre XII de la Charte. Il ne faut pas en conclure que le Régime de tutelle est la seule voie menant à l'autonomie et à l'indépendance; toutefois, il est indispensable de veiller à ce que la désintégration d'une Puissance coloniale n'entraîne pas l'assujettissement des populations non autonomes à une autre forme d'impérialisme.

18. Il est regrettable que la question soit mal comprise. Malte fournit à cet égard un exemple significatif. Le Royaume-Uni a cessé de communiquer des renseignements sur cette île, sous prétexte qu'elle serait devenue autonome. Pourtant, selon un article publié le 10 octobre 1949 dans la *New Republic*, les Maltais auraient adressés au *Colonial Office* un ultimatum dans lequel ils menaçaient d'organiser un référendum en vue d'autoriser le gouvernement de l'île à solliciter l'aide des Etats-Unis. En échange de cette aide, les Maltais auraient l'intention d'offrir aux Etats-Unis des bases militaires et même, le cas échéant, toute l'île, comme une sorte de protectorat. Ce n'est pas ainsi, dit le représentant de la Pologne, que l'on accède à l'indépendance.

19. C'est pour des raisons de ce genre que les termes du Chapitre XI de la Charte ont acquis une importance encore plus grande qu'à San-Francisco.

20. Certains Etats Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies ont soutenu à maintes reprises qu'il fallait organiser la collaboration et l'entraide internationales au moyen des seules institutions spécialisées. Toutefois, la question n'est nullement d'ordre technique. Elle est, essentiellement et fatalement, de caractère politique. L'Assemblée générale peut inviter les institutions spécialisées à assurer certains services techniques déterminés, mais elle ne saurait se dérober à la responsabilité de veiller à ce que lesdits services soient fournis au bénéfice des populations des territoires non autonomes, et non dans l'intérêt de certains groupes de pays. La délégation polonaise tient, une fois de plus, à se déclarer solidaire des éléments qui défendent les intérêts des populations non autonomes.

21. Le monde traverse une période de changements révolutionnaires. En Asie, le joug colonial se relâche de plus en plus, et cela malgré les efforts des Puissances coloniales, qui cherchent à surmonter leur crise monétaire intérieure en augmentant les exportations de caoutchouc et d'étain que produisent les peuples non autonomes. Les éléments rétrogrades espèrent retarder le développement historique en recourant, au besoin, à la violence. Il suffit de citer à ce propos la situation

existant en Malaisie, où 120.000 soldats britanniques s'efforcent de réprimer la lutte pour l'indépendance. Une situation analogue existe en Indonésie et au Viet-nam. Cependant, rien ne pourra empêcher le succès final de cette lutte.

22. Certains rétrogrades espèrent conserver les territoires non autonomes en qualité de bases militaires. C'est ainsi que Lord Tweedsmuir déclare dans les *African Transcripts* parus en mai 1946 qu'avec un peu de temps et de patience, le Royaume-Uni pourra constituer une armée africaine de premier ordre; il importe peu de savoir qui en assumera les frais; l'essentiel, c'est que le Ministère de la guerre britannique exerce son autorité sur cette armée. Il ajoute que les deux tiers de l'Empire britannique se trouvent sur le continent africain, qui prend de ce fait une importance stratégique vitale.

23. Pour justifier ce désir de conserver les bases coloniales, on prétend que ces pays risquent de se trouver dans un état de chaos. Mais ce que les rétrogrades redoutent en réalité, c'est de perdre les profits économiques qu'ils retirent des territoires intéressés, les capitaux qu'ils y ont investis et les avantages stratégiques dont ils bénéficient.

24. Au contraire, le Congrès national indien d'Afrique orientale a adopté en septembre 1946 une résolution déclarant que le Congrès estime d'une importance vitale d'assurer un accord complet entre les communautés africaines, arabes et indiennes, et qu'il faut prendre des mesures d'ordre pratique afin de créer une organisation chargée de veiller au développement général des populations intéressées.

25. Le rapport du Comité spécial (A/923) reflète l'attitude intenable qu'ont adoptée certains membres de ce Comité. On a affirmé, en effet, que le Comité spécial devait se borner à examiner des questions de procédure et que la Charte ne comportait nullement l'obligation de rendre des comptes au sujet des territoires non autonomes.

26. M. Winiewicz ne tient pas, pour le moment, à examiner les propositions détaillées du Comité spécial, mais il ne peut s'empêcher d'attirer l'attention de la Commission sur un point qui mérite d'être examiné à la lumière des renseignements fournis par les gouvernements eux-mêmes. La situation présente ne contribuera guère à améliorer les conditions sociales et politiques. Il faut qu'un changement intervienne. Il est du devoir de la Quatrième Commission et de l'Assemblée générale de déclarer, en termes énergiques, que la mise en application rapide du Chapitre XI de la Charte constitue un élément essentiel de la paix du monde.

27. La délégation polonaise demande qu'on reconnaisse en toute sincérité que les travaux de la Quatrième Commission intéressent des êtres humains qui ont le même droit à la liberté que ceux de toutes les autres nations. Leur indépendance est le but final qu'il s'agit d'atteindre.

28. M. KHADRA (Arabie saoudite) déclare que sa délégation s'intéresse vivement au sort des territoires non autonomes. Cet intérêt se fonde, en premier lieu, sur des considérations de principe. Sa délégation, comme beaucoup d'autres d'ailleurs, attend avec impatience le jour où tous les territoires non autonomes auront atteint à l'indépendance souveraine.

29. Le XXème siècle a vu pénétrer en Asie et en Afrique une force des plus dynamiques qui s'était manifestée en Europe au cours des deux siècles derniers. Cette force, c'est le nationalisme. Rien ne pourra réprimer ou retarder l'éveil du sentiment national parmi les populations autochtones. Certaines d'entre elles ont développé leur conscience nationale plus tôt que d'autres, grâce aux progrès matériels et scientifiques qu'elles ont accomplis; mais il ne s'agit là que d'une question de temps.

30. Nombre de représentants viennent de pays d'Asie et d'Afrique qui, encore récemment, tombaient sous le coup du Chapitre XI. Les pays qui ont eu le bonheur d'obtenir leur indépendance au cours des quelques dernières années espèrent que le même sort attend les autres territoires non autonomes d'Afrique et d'Asie. A en croire certains rapports, des mouvements nationaux se développent rapidement et revêtent une importance de plus en plus marquée dans nombre de territoires d'Afrique, et notamment dans la Côte-de-l'Or britannique et la Nigéria.

31. En deuxième lieu, la délégation de l'Arabie saoudite s'intéresse à la question parce que la communauté des nations suit, plus attentivement que jamais, la situation des territoires non autonomes. L'on ne saurait tolérer que les peuples du monde continuent à être divisés en deux catégories différentes, en peuples dominants et en peuples dominés; il faut qu'ils fassent tous partie d'une seule et même catégorie et qu'ils jouissent tous de droits égaux: Il ne fait pas de doute que le jour où tous les peuples intéressés auront assuré leur indépendance, on aura supprimé une cause dangereuse de rivalité entre Puissances coloniales.

32. L'Article 73 du Chapitre XI de la Charte des Nations Unies proclame la primauté des intérêts des habitants des territoires non autonomes, mais il semble qu'il existe une certaine confusion quant à la question de savoir ce qu'il faut et ce qu'il ne faut pas croire. D'une part, il y a les principes élevés de la Charte; mais, d'autre part, il y a les faits et les actes des Puissances administrantes. Cependant, il n'y a pas lieu de désespérer. La logique veut que l'on redouble d'efforts pour atteindre les objectifs fixés par la Charte.

33. Il y a enfin une troisième raison qui pousse la délégation de l'Arabie saoudite à s'intéresser à la question; c'est que, sur les 200 millions d'hommes habitant les territoires qu'on qualifie de non autonomes, 20 millions au moins sont des Arabes. Il n'est que naturel que ces Arabes recherchent l'assistance des pays qui professent leur religion et dont la situation est plus favorable que la leur. Il est du devoir des Etats arabes d'élever leur voix à l'Organisation des Nations Unies.

34. Pour justifier leur refus de retirer leurs forces des territoires intéressés, les Puissances coloniales invoquent notamment des considérations de stratégie et de sécurité. Mais si ce critère venait à être adopté, le chemin de l'indépendance serait bien long.

35. Un autre argument, qui a beaucoup de poids auprès des Puissances coloniales, est celui de l'intérêt matériel. M. Khadra se demande, cependant, si les intérêts des populations autochtones présentent autant d'importance aux yeux des Puissances métropolitaines. Pourtant, la Charte proclame, en termes clairs et nets, la primauté des intérêts

des populations non autonomes; on ne saurait donc sacrifier leurs intérêts au bien-être matériel des Puissances administrantes.

36. La Quatrième Commission se trouve maintenant aux prises avec la question de savoir si les renseignements prévus continueront ou non à être fournis. Il faut certainement regretter qu'après avoir reçu au cours des années précédentes des renseignements sur soixante-quatorze territoires non autonomes, le nombre de ces territoires ait été réduit cette année à soixante-deux. Si les Puissances qui administrent des territoires non autonomes sont fières des résultats qu'elles ont obtenus, elles devraient s'efforcer de fournir tous les faits et tous les chiffres pertinents, au lieu de se réfugier derrière l'épais barrage des considérations d'ordre juridique. L'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte et la résolution 9 (I) de l'Assemblée générale enjoignent aux Puissances administrantes de fournir au Secrétariat tous les renseignements que celui-ci leur aura demandés. D'autre part, la résolution 218 (III), que l'Assemblée générale a adoptée le 3 novembre 1948, demande d'une façon encore plus catégorique la transmission de ces renseignements. Le refus de fournir ces informations constitue, selon M. Khadra, une infraction au principe de la liberté de l'information auquel ont souscrit toutes les Puissances administrantes. Il ne voit pas comment les représentants de ces Puissances peuvent prendre, à la Quatrième Commission, une attitude différente de celle qu'ils ont adoptée à la Troisième.

37. Il ne partage pas l'opinion selon laquelle il faut laisser aux Puissances administrantes le soin de définir les territoires tombant sous le coup de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte. Ce serait là une méthode parfaitement arbitraire et qui ne saurait se justifier. La délégation de l'Arabie saoudite estime que, tant qu'un territoire n'a pas atteint son indépendance, rien ne doit empêcher la libre transmission des informations. M. Khadra espère qu'à l'avenir les renseignements fournis sur ces territoires auront un caractère plus complet, plus détaillé et plus précis.

38. Il ne voit aucune raison de demander que des informations soient fournies sur la République d'Indonésie. Plusieurs pays, y compris les Etats arabes, en ont reconnu l'indépendance; ceci étant, il n'y a pas lieu de s'attendre à ce que des renseignements continuent à être transmis à son sujet.

39. En ce qui concerne le Comité spécial, la délégation de l'Arabie saoudite tient à ce que celui-ci soit institué à titre permanent. En effet, le Comité spécial, non seulement facile, en les hâtant, les travaux de la Quatrième Commission, mais encore il réunit et il coordonne les renseignements reçus et il formule les recommandations appropriées en les soumettant sous forme de résolution. La délégation de l'Arabie saoudite espère donc qu'à l'expiration de la période de trois ans pendant laquelle ce Comité doit fonctionner, l'Assemblée générale fera le nécessaire pour lui assurer une existence permanente.

40. M. Khadra tient à formuler quelques observations à propos de la situation politique, sociale et économique des territoires non autonomes, ainsi que sur l'état dans lequel se trouve l'agriculture de ces pays. Il a le regret de constater que, dans le domaine de l'instruction publique, la population autochtone et sa culture continuent à faire l'objet de mesures discriminatoires. Il est

évident que ces mesures sont contraires aux dispositions très précises de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73.

41. Le progrès politique des populations autochtones et le transfert du pouvoir entre les mains des autorités locales continuent à être extrêmement lents dans bon nombre de territoires. M. Khadra espère qu'à l'avenir il sera porté remède à cette situation et qu'on initiera les populations autochtones à l'art de se gouverner elles-mêmes.
42. Un autre fait fâcheux qui apparaît dans les rapports, c'est l'importance des biens que possèdent dans les territoires non autonomes les ressortissants des pays chargés de l'administration. Dans ces territoires les investissements ont été effectués, en grande partie, sinon en totalité, par des sociétés et trusts étrangers, de sorte que les autochtones ne participent pas à l'exploitation des ressources de leur pays. M. Khadra estime que l'on devrait prêter plus d'attention à cette situation afin d'éviter qu'elle prenne des proportions dangereuses.
43. La délégation de l'Arabie saoudite désire que les territoires non autonomes progressent plus rapidement; elle pense donc que la collaboration des institutions spécialisées avec les Autorités administrantes est une excellente chose. M. Khadra espère qu'à l'avenir les institutions spécialisées exerceront une surveillance de plus en plus active sur la situation de ces territoires et feront part de leurs constatations à l'Assemblée générale.
44. De même, la délégation de l'Arabie saoudite approuve la collaboration qui s'est établie sur le plan international entre les Puissances administrantes, à condition que cette collaboration serve les intérêts des populations autochtones.
45. Bien que les six projets de résolution adoptés par la Commission spéciale (A/923, annexe II) soient imparfaits, la délégation de l'Arabie saoudite les appuiera. M. Khadra comprend qu'il est difficile de rassembler une majorité pour l'adoption de ces résolutions et c'est dans un esprit de compromis que sa délégation votera en faveur des textes présentés.
46. En conclusion, M. Khadra déclare que rien ne détournera sa délégation de son intention de travailler à la réalisation des idéals qui viennent d'être indiqués, jusqu'à ce que les territoires non autonomes soient à même de participer à la communauté de nations sur le même plan que les autres pays.
47. M. D'AQUINO (Brésil) déclare que le Brésil est très fier d'appartenir au Comité spécial, puisque c'est à cet organe qu'appartient la tâche de veiller à la stricte application du Chapitre XI de la Charte des Nations Unies. Le système de tutelle a créé, comme cela est bien connu, un régime de surveillance de l'administration des Territoires sous tutelle. Le Chapitre XI de la Charte n'affecte pas les responsabilités souveraines des Puissances qui ont assumé l'administration des territoires non autonomes. On peut dire, cependant, que le Chapitre XI institue une responsabilité envers la communauté internationale puisque des données officielles sont fournies à titre d'information aux Nations Unies, données qui permettent de discuter les problèmes qu'elles mettent en évidence. M. d'Aquino rappelle que, en 1946, parlant à l'oc-

casation d'une séance plénière de l'Assemblée générale, M. Creech Jones, après avoir rappelé la précieuse contribution offerte par les peuples non autonomes pour l'extermination du nazisme, a déclaré: "En conséquence il nous appartient d'aider ces populations à atteindre un haut degré de prospérité et de progrès social, et à parvenir, dans le plus court délai possible, au stade où elles pourront se gouverner elles-mêmes. Telle est la mission que s'est assignée le Royaume-Uni, mission qui sera facilitée par la mise en œuvre du système prévu par les Chapitres XI, XII et XIII de la Charte et les buts qui y sont définis. Nous avons pour but de diriger ces populations dans la voie qui pourra les amener au point où elles seront à même de jouer pleinement, sur un pied d'égalité avec les autres pays, leur rôle dans la vie plus riche de l'humanité"¹. Deux années plus tard, à la Conférence africaine, le même Secrétaire d'Etat aux colonies du Royaume-Uni, en se référant à l'ancienne politique coloniale britannique en Afrique, reconnaissait qu'elle était périmée, conçue dans les conditions du "laissez-faire", très souvent négligente en ce qui concerne les devoirs sociaux et souvent oublieuse des droits de l'homme. Le système contenait des éléments antiéconomiques et abusifs; il était spéculatif et coûteux pour ceux qui prétendaient en profiter. A cette même occasion, M. Creech Jones signalait que l'attitude actuelle du Royaume-Uni était moins criarde et moins exubérante qu'au commencement de ce siècle. Nous voyons plus clairement, disait-il, la place et les besoins des peuples dans le monde où nous vivons, et l'impérative importance de construire des amitiés et de connaître les droits authentiques des peuples des autres territoires. Notre politique économique continue à être vraie dans ses bases essentielles, mais elle est devenue flexible et adaptable aux conditions de la nouvelle situation. La science et l'économie, ainsi que la politique, ont modifié l'Afrique pendant ces derniers cinquante ans et notre conception de politique s'est transformée aussi.

48. Il est clair qu'au XXème siècle le colonialisme classique est devenu périmé. Les responsabilités que les Puissances coloniales ont assumées aux termes du Chapitre XI de la Charte sont liées à celles qui sont énoncées aux Chapitres XII et XIII. M. d'Aquino rappelle à ce sujet qu'en 1947 l'Inde avait soumis un projet de résolution invitant les Puissances coloniales à étendre le Régime de tutelle aux autres territoires non autonomes², et que ce projet, adopté par la Quatrième Commission par 25 voix contre 23, avec 3 abstentions, a obtenu à l'Assemblée générale 24 voix contre 23 avec 3 abstentions. La résolution de l'Inde s'inspirait d'une idée que Sir Hubert Murray avait déjà eue en 1924, quand il a déclaré que l'application des principes du système des mandats devrait être étendue aux colonies et aux territoires coloniaux.

49. Aux termes de l'Article 73 de la Charte, les Puissances coloniales se sont engagées à favoriser dans toute la mesure possible la prospérité des populations autochtones.

50. Le résumé que le Secrétariat a établi des informations transmises par les Puissances coloniales montre qu'au cours des trois dernières an-

¹ Voir les *Documents officiels de la première partie de la première session de l'Assemblée générale*, 27ème séance plénière, page 375.

² Voir les *Documents officiels de la deuxième session de l'Assemblée générale*, Quatrième Commission, 43ème séance, page 78, et annexes 5 a et 5 b, pages 217 et 218.

nées la production et les exportations se sont accrues. Les territoires sont mieux outillés, bien que le progrès ait été limité en ce domaine par les difficultés financières, par les besoins de la reconstruction de l'Europe, par l'insuffisance de la production industrielle et par la pénurie de devises étrangères.

51. Les territoires non autonomes exportent surtout des produits agricoles: arachides, huile de palme, cacao, café, sucre, caoutchouc, tabac, thé, sisal, bois, copra, bananes et fruits divers. La plupart de ces exportations ont notablement augmenté depuis quelques années. En ce qui concerne les produits minéraux, l'extraction s'est accrue nettement dans les territoires non autonomes et, dans beaucoup d'entre eux, ces produits constituent la majeure partie des exportations. Le développement économique des territoires non autonomes s'accélère, notamment en Afrique; ce continent n'a pas encore été touché par l'agitation communiste qui menace la structure politique de beaucoup de territoires d'Asie. Bien qu'en Afrique l'industrialisation soit encore à un stade peu avancé, des problèmes sérieux se posent déjà dans le domaine social et sanitaire. Le mouvement des travailleurs vers les centres miniers et urbains, la dépopulation des villages, l'absence prolongée des hommes, les maladies vénériennes et autres conditions particulières aux grands centres de population qui sont la conséquence du développement industriel, ont créé de graves difficultés aux Puissances administrantes. L'industrialisation de l'Afrique se trouve retardée par le manque de charbon, par l'insuffisance de la production d'énergie électrique, par le manque de travailleurs spécialisés, par le gaspillage de la main-d'œuvre non spécialisée et par l'insuffisance des moyens de transport.

52. En tant que représentant d'un pays immense, dont les deux tiers sont situés dans les tropiques, M. d'Aquino comprend parfaitement les difficultés presque insurmontables que présente la colonisation des régions tropicales. Le Brésil n'a pas encore terminé l'œuvre de colonisation entreprise dans son hinterland. Il suit donc avec un très grand intérêt les efforts que font les Puissances administrantes pour développer les ressources du continent africain.

53. Au cours de la discussion générale du rapport du Conseil de tutelle, M. d'Aquino a déjà eu l'occasion de déclarer que les Nations Unies ne pouvaient admettre la thèse selon laquelle des programmes ayant pour principal objectif d'approvisionner les industries du territoire métropolitain — comme, par exemple, le programme de culture de l'arachide au Tanganyika — sont de nature à contribuer au progrès économique des Territoires sous tutelle. La même observation s'applique aux projets d'exploitation des ressources minérales des colonies. Les exportations aux Etats-Unis de l'étain provenant des Etats malais et du manganèse de la Côte-de-l'Or sont une source appréciable de dollars pour le Royaume-Uni. La production de minéraux des colonies représente 100 millions de livres sterling sur un total d'un milliard pour l'ensemble de la production du Commonwealth, dans laquelle le Royaume-Uni et le Canada entrent pour 700 millions de livres sterling. En Rhodésie du Nord, le nombre d'Africains du sexe masculin qui travaillent dans les mines est sur le point d'atteindre le maximum. Près des deux tiers des hommes ont quitté les régions

rurales où, cependant, leur travail est indispensable pour produire les denrées alimentaires dont la population africaine a besoin.

54. M. d'Aquino croit que la nouvelle orientation imprimée au développement agricole de l'Afrique produira des résultats vraiment bien-faisants pour les populations autochtones dont le niveau de nutrition est tellement bas. Le représentant du Brésil cite une étude publiée dans la *Colonial Review*, où le Dr H. C. Trowell, en examinant les problèmes de la nutrition du travailleur africain, a dit que l'Afrique continue à aller au travail avec le ventre vide, et jamais, dans aucun endroit au monde, à aucun moment de l'histoire humaine, un bon travail n'a pu être obtenu de cette façon. M. d'Aquino ajoute qu'à la Chambre des communes s'est déroulé récemment un débat fort intéressant sur l'Afrique. Le Secrétaire d'Etat aux colonies a posé ainsi le problème africain: comment augmenter la production économique de manière à la rendre susceptible de suivre la demande correspondant à un meilleur niveau social pour le peuple et la demande additionnelle en vue de l'abolition de la famine et de l'alimentation suffisante d'une population croissante? De l'avis du Secrétaire d'Etat, il faut, pour le résoudre, attaquer le problème de tous les côtés: production sur une grande échelle quand elle est possible et en même temps encouragement au petit producteur afin qu'il puisse, non seulement se nourrir et conserver sa santé, mais aussi disposer d'un surplus pour l'alimentation de la population en général. Le Secrétaire d'Etat aux colonies, au cours de son intervention, a attiré l'attention sur le fait que, pour chaque livre sterling dépensée par le budget britannique du *Development and Welfare*, les gouvernements coloniaux fournissent au moins deux autres livres, provenant de nouvelles recettes et d'emprunts, et ceci en plus des dépenses normales.

55. Les documents présentés par le Secrétariat ne précisent pas le montant des investissements en dollars effectués dans les colonies. On sait que l'exploitation de la bauxite en Guyane britannique est entre les mains de capitalistes américains et que les Américains ont engagé de gros capitaux dans les entreprises d'exploitation de bois et de manganèse en Afrique occidentale ainsi que dans d'autres entreprises de Malaisie et de la Rhodésie du Sud. Les gouvernements coloniaux peuvent, en vertu du *Colonial Loans Act*, emprunter auprès de la Banque internationale pour la reconstruction et le développement, et la *Colonial Development Corporation* a déjà obtenu un prêt de 10 millions de dollars. D'après les études préparées par le Secrétariat, les plans établis pour le développement des territoires français prévoient des achats d'outillage mécanique et autre matériel s'élevant à plus de 190 millions de dollars.

56. Il ne faut pas oublier qu'au titre du Plan Marshall, les Etats-Unis ont apporté aux pays de l'Europe occidentale une aide financière dépassant 8 milliards de dollars. Une partie de cette somme a été employée pour développer des colonies. Ce fait a incité la délégation du Brésil à attirer l'attention de la Deuxième Commission sur le danger de voir certaines Puissances coloniales transformer le programme d'assistance technique en une annexe du Plan Marshall¹.

¹ Voir les *Documents officiels de la Quatrième session de l'Assemblée générale*, Deuxième Commission, 94ème séance.

57. M. d'Aquino rend hommage au Royaume-Uni, qui a réalisé des progrès dans l'établissement de constitutions pour les territoires non autonomes, notamment dans l'hémisphère occidental et en Afrique. Au cours du débat sur l'union administrative entre le Togo sous administration britannique et la Côte-de-l'Or, le représentant du Royaume-Uni a annoncé que la réforme constitutionnelle envisagée pour la colonie serait également appliquée au Territoire sous tutelle. Il a ajouté que le Secrétaire d'Etat aux colonies avait approuvé le rapport de la Commission présidée par le juge Coussey¹, qui avait été chargée d'étudier la question. Cette Commission était entièrement composée d'Africains; le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni mérite d'être félicité de l'heureux résultat de cette remarquable expérience.
58. En 1948, le représentant de la France à la Quatrième Commission a déclaré que les territoires non autonomes sous administration française avaient fait des progrès dans la voie de l'indépendance et qu'un conseil suprême de l'Union française serait créé prochainement². M. d'Aquino fait remarquer que ce conseil, qui constituerait l'un des principaux organes de l'Union française, n'a pas encore été établi et que les renseignements communiqués au sujet du Maroc et de la Tunisie, deux des Etats qui seraient représentés au Conseil, passent sous silence cette importante question.
59. Les problèmes d'ordre constitutionnel qui se posent à l'égard des territoires non autonomes que le Royaume-Uni administre sont difficiles à résoudre. Le problème de l'Afrique, en particulier, paraît presque insoluble. C'est ainsi, par exemple, que la création de la fédération centrale africaine peut avoir une série de conséquences extrêmement graves; la manière avisée, ferme et courageuse dont le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni a défendu, à Londres, les intérêts des populations autochtones a été publiquement reconnue dans une résolution adoptée par les autochtones de Mufulira.
60. L'Union française constitue à plusieurs égards une amélioration sensible par rapport à la centralisation excessive qui caractérisait l'Empire colonial français. M. d'Aquino exprime sa confiance en la réalisation du plan de développement politique, économique, social et culturel prévu pour les dix années à venir. Il importe toutefois que ce plan, qui vise également à accroître la production agricole, tienne toujours compte des intérêts des populations en cause.
61. M. d'Aquino félicite les Autorités administrantes des excellents renseignements qu'elles ont communiqués au Secrétaire général conformément à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte.
62. Il rend également hommage au travail accompli par les fonctionnaires des différents services coloniaux, hommes et femmes, qui, en dépit de grands dangers et de difficultés considérables, se sont appliqués avec dévouement à élever le niveau de civilisation de populations se trouvant encore souvent au stade de la barbarie.
63. Il rappelle que la délégation brésilienne a voté pour la résolution 222 (III) de l'Assemblée générale. Il fait observer à ce propos que, selon le *Times* de Londres, le Gouvernement de l'Union Sud-Africaine tente d'obtenir que les territoires britanniques du Bassoutoland et du Souaziland, ainsi que le protectorat du Betchouanaland, soient incorporés à son propre territoire.
64. Si le Royaume-Uni accédait à cette demande, l'Assemblée générale aurait l'occasion de discuter la question en s'appuyant sur la résolution 222 (III). Cependant, d'après le *New York Times*, tout en admettant que l'incorporation se défend du point de vue géographique et économique, le Royaume-Uni aurait exigé que les habitants des territoires, noirs comme blancs, fussent consultés. M. d'Aquino tient à déclarer qu'il approuve l'attitude du Royaume-Uni.
65. Il fait observer que les Etats-Unis et le Danemark sont les seuls qui aient répondu de manière complète à la partie facultative du Schéma. Il constate avec satisfaction qu'au cours de l'année écoulée, un plus grand nombre de renseignements ont été communiqués spontanément. La délégation brésilienne estime qu'il y a lieu d'encourager cette tendance; c'est pourquoi elle s'est prononcée au Comité spécial en faveur du projet de résolution présenté à cet effet par la délégation de l'Inde (A/923, annexe II, projet de résolution A). La communauté des nations doit être à même de suivre les progrès réalisés dans le domaine politique par les populations dont il s'agit.
66. La Quatrième Commission devra se prononcer sur l'avenir du Comité spécial pour l'examen des renseignements transmis en vertu de l'Article 73 e de la Charte. Etant donné le caractère permanent des obligations assumées par les Autorités administrantes et de l'obligation de préparer des résumés et des études qui incombent au Secrétaire général, la délégation brésilienne estime qu'il devrait y avoir, pour examiner ces résumés et ces études, un comité permanent dont les membres seraient nommés par l'Assemblée générale pour une période de trois ans. Malheureusement, un projet de résolution assurant au Comité une existence permanente n'a pas réuni la majorité des voix au Comité spécial, qui lui a préféré un projet de résolution des Etats-Unis (A/923, annexe II, projet de résolution F) renouvelant le mandat du Comité pour trois ans. La délégation du Brésil estime que le Comité a réussi, en dépit de nombreuses difficultés, à accomplir d'une manière satisfaisante la tâche extrêmement importante qui lui avait été confiée. De grands progrès ont été réalisés depuis 1945. Peu à peu, on a établi le mécanisme par lequel l'Organisation des Nations Unies peut remplir les fonctions prévues au Chapitre XI, que l'on ne saurait séparer des Chapitres XII et XIII.
67. La délégation du Brésil appuie les divers projets de résolution soumis à l'Assemblée générale par le Comité spécial et contenus dans son rapport. Elle votera pour la résolution des Etats-Unis renouvelant le mandat du Comité pour une période de trois ans, à moins que la Quatrième Commission ne décide qu'il soit possible d'assurer

¹ Voir *Report to His Excellency the Governor by the Committee on Constitutional Reforms, 1949*, "Colonial Paper no. 241", London.

² Voir les *Documents officiels de la première partie de la troisième session de l'Assemblée générale*, Quatrième Commission, page 30.

à ce Comité une existence permanente, ainsi que l'ont proposé la Chine, l'Égypte, l'Inde et le Venezuela, avec l'appui du Brésil.

68. Le PRÉSIDENT annonce qu'en l'absence d'objection, la date limite pour la présentation des

projets de résolution sera fixée au vendredi 4 novembre, à 11 heures.

En l'absence de toute objection, il en est ainsi décidé.

La séance est levée à 13 h. 10.

CENT QUATORZIEME SEANCE

Tenue à Lake Success, New-York, le jeudi 3 novembre 1949, à 11 heures.

Président: M. H. LANNUNG (Danemark).

Renseignements provenant des territoires non autonomes (*suite*)

1. M. LIU (Chine) déclare que la délégation chinoise s'associe aux félicitations qui ont été adressées au Rapporteur du Comité spécial pour son rapport et au Secrétariat pour la contribution qu'il a apportée aux travaux du Comité.

2. La délégation chinoise s'intéresse très vivement au statut des territoires non autonomes et à la prospérité de leurs habitants. La politique de la Chine consiste essentiellement à soutenir le faible contre le fort, et ce principe a été adopté par le parti qui a créé la République chinoise. L'ironie est que la Chine, dont la politique étrangère est inspirée par des mobiles altruistes, ait été depuis un siècle et plus la victime de l'exploitation étrangère, et qu'aujourd'hui encore son indépendance politique et son intégrité territoriale se trouvent gravement menacées.

3. Il est naturel qu'après avoir subi tant de vicissitudes, la Chine porte un intérêt tout particulier à la prospérité des peuples qui n'ont pas encore acquis leur indépendance.

4. Quant au fait que des renseignements ne sont plus transmis relativement aux territoires non autonomes, la délégation chinoise n'approuve pas les Puissances administrantes lorsqu'elles prétendent que les pays métropolitains sont seuls juges de la question de savoir si des renseignements sur les territoires doivent, ou non, être transmis à l'Organisation des Nations Unies. M. Liu estime que c'est seulement lorsqu'un territoire sera devenu autonome que l'autorité qui l'administrait n'aura plus d'informations à fournir. L'attitude de la délégation chinoise est dictée par le principe de la responsabilité envers la communauté des nations, sur lequel est fondé le Chapitre XI de la Charte; elle appuiera donc en principe le projet de résolution soumis par la délégation de l'Egypte (A/C.4/L.37).

5. Si la délégation chinoise a voté au Comité spécial en faveur du projet de résolution des Etats-Unis tendant à prolonger les fonctions du Comité pour une période de trois ans (A/923, annexe II, projet de résolution F), c'est seulement parce que ce texte contenait l'expression "sans préjuger l'avenir". M. Liu estime que le Comité spécial devrait avoir un caractère permanent, et il regrette que le projet conjoint de résolution, à la rédaction duquel il a participé, n'ait pas été adopté par le Comité. Il n'est nullement d'avis de limiter la compétence du Comité aux questions de procédure; une telle interprétation est du reste contraire aux dispositions de la résolution 219 (III) de l'Assemblée générale, qui prévoit

que le Comité spécial dont elle définit le mandat doit faire des suggestions de fond.

6. Si le Comité spécial devenait un organisme permanent, les Puissances administrantes continueraient à bénéficier de ses observations et de ses critiques, et cette mesure apporterait d'autre part un encouragement aux populations des territoires non autonomes.

7. La délégation de l'Inde a présenté un projet de résolution (A/C.4/L.39) qui va un peu plus loin que la proposition des Etats-Unis et qui correspond donc beaucoup mieux aux vues de la délégation chinoise. M. Liu votera donc en principe pour le projet de résolution de l'Inde, mais, si la majorité de la Commission se montrait favorable au maintien du Comité spécial sur une base permanente, M. Liu appuierait une résolution à cet effet.

8. M. GALAGAN (République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine) déclare qu'à divers points de vue, les renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes transmis en vertu de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte ne sont point satisfaisants.

9. Les Membres des Nations Unies qui assument la responsabilité d'administrer des territoires non autonomes se sont engagés, aux termes de l'Article 73 de la Charte, à tenir compte des aspirations politiques des populations et à développer leur capacité de s'administrer elles-mêmes; les renseignements transmis par les Puissances administrantes auraient donc dû comprendre, pour une large part, des informations relatives au progrès politique des autochtones. Mais ces Puissances prétendent que l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte ne les oblige pas à transmettre ce genre d'informations; cette interprétation est incorrecte et il s'agit là d'une manœuvre en vue d'empêcher l'Assemblée générale de contrôler l'application des dispositions énoncées à l'Article 73. Si l'on tient compte de l'esprit dans lequel cet Article a été rédigé, il est clair que les Puissances administrantes sont tenues de fournir, entre autres, des informations sur le développement de la capacité des populations de s'administrer elles-mêmes. L'Assemblée générale doit examiner les renseignements reçus avec le dessein d'assurer le progrès politique des habitants de ces territoires.

10. Les informations relatives aux conditions sociales, économiques et culturelles dans les territoires non autonomes ne sont pas satisfaisantes; elles sont trop superficielles et trop générales. Les renseignements donnés sur le niveau de vie des autochtones ne permettent pas, en beaucoup de cas, de se faire une opinion sur la situation matérielle des populations.

11. En tant que source de matières premières nécessaires à l'armement et en tant que bases navales et aériennes, certains territoires non autonomes occupent dans les dispositifs stratégiques des Puissances coloniales une place importante. L'emploi de ces territoires à de telles fins est contraire à l'alinéa c de l'Article 73 de la Charte et il n'en est pas fait mention dans les renseignements transmis. En subordonnant les régimes économiques de leurs colonies, et aussi ceux d'autres pays, aux intérêts des groupes bellicistes qui préparent une nouvelle guerre, les Etats-Unis et le Royaume-Uni violent les dispositions de la Charte et négligent les intérêts des peuples non autonomes.

12. Les décisions prises unilatéralement de ne plus transmettre d'informations sur les territoires non autonomes sont inacceptables. Seul le Comité spécial peut prendre la décision de suspendre l'envoi des renseignements et une telle décision doit être fondée sur les informations données par les Puissances administrantes relativement aux institutions administratives autonomes créées dans le territoire dont il s'agit et à la participation des autochtones à l'administration dudit territoire.

13. Il résulte clairement des maigres informations qu'elles ont transmises que les Puissances administrantes ne se conforment pas aux dispositions du Chapitre XI de la Charte et qu'elles continuent de pratiquer les vieilles méthodes de l'administration coloniale.

14. Sous l'administration des Etats-Unis, Porto-Rico ne cultive plus que la canne à sucre, ce qui porte préjudice aux intérêts de la population autochtone. Ce territoire n'a d'échanges commerciaux qu'avec les Etats-Unis et dans des conditions très défavorables. Le chômage et la sous-alimentation sont très fréquents, et la population, qui était réputée pour sa forte santé, a maintenant l'un des taux de mortalité les plus élevés du monde. Cette population ne possède aucun droit politique et les représentants qu'elle envoie au Congrès des Etats-Unis ne peuvent prendre la parole, même sur les questions qui intéressent directement Porto-Rico, que si une décision unanime du Congrès les y autorise. L'Assemblée législative ne peut pas prendre des dispositions conformes aux intérêts véritables du territoire, car les projets de loi dont elle établit le texte peuvent faire l'objet d'un veto du Gouverneur et, en dernier ressort, d'un veto du Président des Etats-Unis. On s'est efforcé de détruire la civilisation nationale du territoire en interdisant l'emploi dans les écoles de l'espagnol, la langue du pays.

15. La situation dans les territoires administrés par le Royaume-Uni n'est guère meilleure. A la Chambre des communes, M. Driberg, membre du parti travailliste, a déclaré, le 4 février 1949, que la Jamaïque, souvent décrite dans les guides comme un paradis tropical, est un taudis tropical.

16. Dans la plupart des territoires britanniques, l'année 1948 a été marquée par une baisse de salaires et un accroissement du chômage et, d'autre part, par une hausse très nette du coût de la vie. C'est ainsi qu'à Bornéo l'indice du coût de la vie s'est élevé en 1948 à 320, sur la base de 100 correspondant à l'année 1938. Dans beaucoup de territoires britanniques, une discrimination est pratiquée, en matière de salaires, contre la population autochtone. Dans la Rhodésie du Nord, par exemple, le travailleur africain reçoit, pour le même travail, un salaire treize ou qua-

torze fois moindre que celui du travailleur européen. Une discrimination est également pratiquée contre la population autochtone dans le domaine de l'enseignement. Ainsi, dans le Kenya, les crédits affectés à l'enseignement sont respectivement de 171.000 livres sterling pour la population européenne, relativement peu nombreuse, et de 157.276 livres sterling seulement pour la population africaine.

17. La sous-alimentation favorise le développement des maladies; le taux de la mortalité, notamment celui de la mortalité infantile, est très élevé. Il n'y a pas assez de médecins ni assez d'hôpitaux et les crédits affectés à la santé publique sont tout à fait insuffisants.

18. Tous ces faits démontrent que les Puissances administrantes suivent une politique absolument contraire aux dispositions du Chapitre XI de la Charte. La délégation ukrainienne estime que l'Assemblée générale ne peut pas se contenter d'observer passivement cette situation; l'Assemblée doit déclarer aux Puissances administrantes que la primauté appartient aux intérêts de la population autochtone des territoires non autonomes et non aux intérêts égoïstes de ces Puissances, lesquels ne sont nullement conformes aux desseins des Nations Unies.

19. M. MENDOZA (Guatemala) dit que la position de sa délégation à l'égard du problème colonial a toujours été claire et nette. Depuis la Conférence de San-Francisco, le Guatemala s'est toujours préoccupé du sort des populations des territoires non autonomes et a appuyé avec enthousiasme toute proposition tendant à favoriser le progrès politique, social et culturel de ces populations et le développement de leur instruction, ainsi qu'à abolir le régime colonial qu'il considère comme un anachronisme. Il est absurde qu'au milieu du XXème siècle 200 millions d'être humains soient encore dans un état de dépendance politique.

20. Pour défendre le régime colonial, on a prétendu qu'il constituait la première étape vers l'indépendance, une sorte d'école où les populations arriérées pouvaient apprendre l'art de s'administrer elles-mêmes. De l'aveu général, le régime colonial est beaucoup plus humain et beaucoup plus libéral qu'il n'était autrefois, mais il est inexact de le représenter comme une école où les populations peuvent apprendre à s'administrer elles-mêmes. C'est une école dont les élèves ne seront jamais autorisés à passer l'examen de sortie; les Puissances coloniales estimeront toujours que les territoires sous leur dépendance ont besoin de leurs soins maternels. Cependant, il est un signe de maturité auquel on ne saurait se tromper: la rébellion armée que la Puissance métropolitaine est dans l'impossibilité de réprimer.

21. La leçon des événements qui se sont passés sur le continent américain empêche aussi le représentant du Guatemala d'admettre la théorie selon laquelle le régime colonial préparerait les populations à l'indépendance. La colonisation espagnole, bien qu'elle fût marquée, à maints égards, d'un esprit bienveillant et paternel, n'a rien fait pour enseigner aux populations à s'administrer elles-mêmes ni pour les aider à devenir indépendantes. L'Espagne s'est montrée sourde aux avertissements qui lui étaient donnés de la désagrégation de son empire. L'Amérique est devenue indépendante au cours du XIXème siècle, non pas avec le consentement de l'Espagne, mais par sa propre

volonté d'être libre, et personne ne saurait dire que les Républiques de l'Amérique latine n'ont pas réussi. Ces peuples jeunes et vigoureux donnent au monde l'exemple de la solidarité, de la coopération et de la paix. L'Union panaméricaine, dont la fondation remonte à 1826, est une institution dont toute l'Amérique est fière.

22. Les considérations qui précèdent ne sont nullement hors de propos dans les discussions de la Quatrième Commission, puisqu'elles illustrent le fait que l'indépendance politique est un élément indispensable du progrès réel des peuples. Au début du XIX^{ème} siècle, il y avait des territoires qui étaient aussi arriérés que les colonies espagnoles; ces territoires, les Puissances métropolitaines ne les considèrent toujours pas comme ayant atteint la capacité de s'administrer eux-mêmes.

23. L'insuffisance du développement économique de ces territoires est présentée aussi comme un obstacle. Toutefois, le régime économique colonial est le plus grand obstacle à la réalisation des aspirations d'un peuple à l'indépendance. Tant que les peuples ne renversent pas cet obstacle, ils ne sauront jamais s'ils sont capables de se gouverner eux-mêmes.

24. Quand les colonies espagnoles ont conquis leur liberté, il n'existait pas d'organisations internationales pour s'intéresser à leur sort et certaines Puissances ont essayé de profiter de la situation en concluant des traités qui imposaient de lourdes charges aux nouveaux États. Dans le monde contemporain il n'y a aucune raison pour que 200 millions d'êtres humains, assurés de la sympathie et de l'appui de la majorité des nations, demeurent dans un état de sujétion.

25. Le Guatemala, qui souffre encore de certaines conséquences du régime colonial, se préoccupe vivement du sort des peuples qui sont sous la domination d'autres nations et en particulier du sort des peuples d'Amérique qui sont sous la dépendance d'empires lointains. Cette préoccupation, toutes les Républiques américaines la partagent. La résolution XXXIII de la neuvième Conférence internationale américaine, tenue à Bogota en 1948, renferme la condamnation solennelle du régime colonial et exprime l'espoir qu'il disparaîtra du continent américain. Cette résolution a été adoptée sans opposition, avec seulement 3 abstentions, et les pays qui se sont abstenus ne combattaient pas son principe.

26. Il a été dit à la Conférence de Bogota que le régime colonial était un anachronisme incompatible avec l'idéal et les principes américains de liberté, d'unité et de solidarité; on a dit qu'il portait préjudice à l'économie du continent et que l'Amérique ne serait pas entièrement libre tant que des parties de son sol demeureraient dans la sujétion. On a attiré l'attention sur le fait que l'existence de colonies constituait une menace pour la sécurité du continent, comme l'a prouvé ce qui s'est passé à la Martinique lors de la deuxième guerre mondiale. En 1940, une Convention pour l'administration provisoire des colonies et possessions européennes en Amérique a été élaborée à La Havane pour la mise sous contrôle de tout territoire colonial susceptible d'être transformé en base ennemie. Cette Convention est toujours en vigueur.

27. A Bogota, les Républiques américaines ont rangé les territoires non autonomes de l'Amérique en deux catégories: colonies et territoires occu-

pés. La première catégorie comprend tous les territoires non autonomes administrés par une Puissance métropolitaine dont les titres sont reconnus en droit international; la seconde comprend les territoires qui sont aux mains de l'étranger pour des raisons de fait. Bélize, connu sous le nom de Honduras britannique, et les îles Malouines, connues sous le nom d'îles Falkland, ont été rangés dans les territoires occupés. A propos de ces territoires, M. Mendoza se voit obligé de rappeler, malgré la remarque du représentant du Royaume-Uni selon laquelle ce serait un rite immanquable à la Quatrième Commission, que Bélize est un territoire guatémaltèque, illégalement occupé par la Grande-Bretagne et qu'il fait l'objet, depuis plus de cent ans, d'une controverse entre le Guatemala et le Royaume-Uni.

28. M. Mendoza ne veut pas entrer dans les détails relatifs aux antécédents historiques et juridiques de cette vieille controverse; il désire toutefois affirmer une fois de plus la position du Guatemala à ce sujet et déclarer que son gouvernement s'est constamment efforcé de parvenir à une solution équitable et pacifique du différend, mais que jusqu'à présent il n'a pas rencontré auprès du Gouvernement de Londres des dispositions semblables.

29. Le représentant du Royaume-Uni peut bien répondre que son gouvernement a, dès 1946, manifesté sa bonne volonté en proposant de saisir de la question la Cour internationale de Justice; il peut affirmer également que, si la Cour n'est pas parvenue à une décision, c'est faute par le Gouvernement du Guatemala d'avoir présenté sa thèse devant ce tribunal, et ajouter que ceci provient du peu de crédit que mérite la propre cause de ce gouvernement.

30. Le Gouvernement du Guatemala apprécie vivement les bonnes intentions du Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni et se rend compte du sacrifice que s'impose une grande Puissance en se soumettant au jugement d'un tribunal international. Toutefois, l'intention du Royaume-Uni est de restreindre la question à une appréciation purement juridique et à l'interprétation d'un traité que le Gouvernement du Guatemala, faute par le Royaume-Uni de s'acquitter d'une de ses clauses importantes, s'est vu obligé de dénoncer en le déclarant nul et non avenue.

31. Telles sont quelques-unes des raisons pour lesquelles le Guatemala ne peut accepter la juridiction de la Cour aux conditions que désire le Royaume-Uni; mais le Gouvernement du Guatemala a proposé à son tour que ce tribunal soit autorisé à juger *ex aequo et bono* en prenant en considération tous les aspects de la question controversée et pas seulement tous ses aspects purement juridiques. Cette proposition a été repoussée par le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni.

32. En dépit du passé, le Gouvernement du Guatemala tient à affirmer qu'il continue à entretenir le plus ferme espoir que le Guatemala et le Royaume-Uni pourront parvenir à une formule équitable d'accord à l'amiable sur cette importante question, à la solution de laquelle le Guatemala porte le plus vif intérêt.

33. En ce qui concerne les îles Falkland, M. Mendoza dira simplement que le Guatemala appuie en tous points les revendications de l'Argentine sur ces îles. La résolution adoptée à Bogota a créé la Commission américaine pour les territoires non autonomes, qui est chargée de recueillir des infor-

mations sur les territoires non autonomes américains, d'étudier le problème et de suggérer des solutions pacifiques et pratiques. Cette Commission a travaillé pendant cinq mois et a présenté un rapport volumineux qu'examinent actuellement les gouvernements des Etats américains.

34. La délégation du Guatemala se déclare favorable à toute proposition destinée à améliorer la situation actuelle dans les territoires non autonomes, comme à toute mesure de nature à contribuer à faire sortir les peuples de ces territoires de l'état de sujétion où ils se trouvent pour en faire des citoyens libres, s'administrant eux-mêmes et maîtres de leur propre destinée.

35. M. SHAHBAN (Pakistan) fait remarquer que l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte limite à certaines catégories bien définies les renseignements qui doivent être transmis au Secrétaire général; par conséquent, l'Organisation des Nations Unies se heurte constamment à la question de savoir si les Puissances administrantes sont tenues de fournir des renseignements relatifs au développement politique des territoires non autonomes.

36. Alors qu'un certain nombre d'Etats ont répondu volontiers à l'invitation qui leur était faite, dans la résolution 144 (II) de l'Assemblée générale, de présenter spontanément de tels renseignements, d'autres ont continué à prétendre que leurs obligations se limitaient à l'exécution des dispositions de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73.

37. Cependant, l'Article 73, considéré dans son ensemble, indique clairement que les Puissances métropolitaines ont accepté comme une mission sacrée l'obligation de favoriser la prospérité des territoires non autonomes et, à cette fin, de favoriser le développement de leur capacité de s'administrer eux-mêmes. Aussi la délégation du Pakistan espère-t-elle que les Etats Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies qui, jusqu'à présent, se sont montrés peu disposés à accepter d'autres obligations que celles que leur impose, selon leur interprétation, l'alinéa e de l'Article 73, répondront à l'invitation contenue dans la résolution 144 (II). Sans leur collaboration, l'Organisation des Nations Unies ne peut avoir une connaissance suffisante des progrès politiques réalisés dans les territoires non autonomes et n'est pas en mesure d'évaluer les progrès réalisés dans les domaines économique, social et de l'instruction.

38. On a constamment souligné que les renseignements demandés en vertu de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte étaient transmis uniquement à titre d'information. Toutefois, il est évident que de tels renseignements doivent être étudiés et examinés de façon à permettre à l'Organisation des Nations Unies d'aider, dans toute la mesure du possible, les gouvernements métropolitains à favoriser l'évolution vers l'indépendance des territoires non autonomes.

39. La délégation du Pakistan n'a pas l'intention de suggérer que l'Organisation des Nations Unies intervienne dans l'administration intérieure des territoires non autonomes, ni que les renseignements fournis soient utilisés pour servir la propagande d'un parti. Cependant, il est incontestable que, dans l'intérêt des 200 millions d'habitants des territoires non autonomes comme dans

l'intérêt des Puissances administrantes, l'Organisation des Nations Unies doit être en mesure d'accorder l'aide la plus large possible. Elle ne peut y parvenir que si elle reçoit les renseignements nécessaires.

40. Le rapport du Comité spécial (A/923) et le rapport annuel du Secrétaire général indiquent qu'en 1947 et 1948 certains gouvernements ont cessé de transmettre des renseignements sur un certain nombre de territoires, sous prétexte que ces territoires n'appartenaient plus à la catégorie des territoires non autonomes en vertu de prétendues modifications constitutionnelles.

41. Tout en accueillant avec satisfaction tout progrès réalisé dans le sens de l'autonomie, la résolution 222 (III) de l'Assemblée générale, en date du 3 novembre 1948, invite les Membres intéressés à transmettre au Secrétaire général, dans un délai maximum de six mois, tous renseignements utiles, y compris les textes constitutionnels, législatifs ou réglementaires, concernant le gouvernement du territoire et les textes relatifs aux liens constitutionnels entre le territoire et le gouvernement métropolitain.

42. Il est regrettable que cette résolution soit restée lettre morte et que certains Etats aient pris des mesures unilatérales en vue de cesser de transmettre des renseignements sur un certain nombre de territoires.

43. Le représentant du Royaume-Uni a affirmé qu'il appartient aux seules Puissances métropolitaines de décider sur quels territoires il convient de fournir des renseignements et que le gouvernement intéressé est seul compétent en ce qui concerne la question des rapports constitutionnels entre le gouvernement métropolitain et les territoires relevant de sa juridiction.

44. Précédemment, le représentant du Royaume-Uni est même allé jusqu'à déclarer que ni l'Assemblée générale ni la Cour internationale de Justice n'avaient à se faire entendre en la matière. Toutefois, une telle attitude n'est pas de nature à donner des résultats. Nul ne peut contester le droit exclusif qu'ont les gouvernements métropolitains d'administrer les territoires non autonomes, mais le refus de transmettre des renseignements sur le progrès de certains territoires dans la voie de l'autonomie ne peut qu'engendrer la méfiance et provoquer des débats inutiles.

45. En ce qui concerne les résumés et analyses des renseignements transmis, préparés par le Secrétaire général², la délégation du Pakistan tient à s'associer à la délégation de l'Inde pour demander que les prochains rapports contiennent des renseignements sur la mise en vigueur des lois relatives au travail. Elle estime également qu'il conviendrait de prendre des mesures en vue d'accroître la production des produits alimentaires par l'emploi de méthodes modernes et la destruction des insectes et des plantes nuisibles. En outre, la délégation du Pakistan tient à s'associer aux représentants de la Chine, de l'Egypte, du Venezuela et de la République Dominicaine pour demander que des améliorations soient envisagées dans le domaine de l'hygiène et de l'instruction. D'une manière générale, le représentant du Pakistan accepte les projets de résolution proposés

¹ Voir les *Documents officiels de la quatrième session de l'Assemblée générale*, Supplément n° 1, page 133.

² Voir *Territoires non autonomes, résumés et analyses des renseignements transmis au Secrétaire général au cours de l'année 1948*, Publications des Nations Unies, numéro de vente: 1949. VI. B. 1.

par le Comité spécial dans son rapport, mais il se réserve le droit de présenter des observations définitives, s'il en a à formuler, lorsque ces résolutions seront examinées en détail.

46. En conclusion, M. Shahban exprime l'espoir que des difficultés d'ordre financier et politique n'empêcheront pas, comme dans le passé, le Comité spécial de devenir un organisme permanent servant à la mise en œuvre des dispositions du Chapitre XI, qui a lui-même un caractère permanent. Les membres de la Quatrième Commission ne peuvent examiner minutieusement la très grande quantité de renseignements transmis, ni faire les recommandations appropriées. Comme l'a souligné le représentant du Venezuela, la création d'un Comité spécial ayant un caractère permanent ne constitue pas davantage une violation de la Charte que la création de la Commission intérimaire. En conséquence, la délégation du Pakistan appuiera sans réserves tout projet de résolution tendant à rendre permanent le Comité spécial, plutôt que des résolutions qui ne feraient qu'en prolonger le mandat.

47. M. MARTIN (Royaume-Uni) annonce que le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni réserve sa position en ce qui concerne les arguments exposés par le représentant du Guatemala à propos du Honduras britannique et des îles Falkland.

48. M. CARPIO (Philippines) tient à mettre au point certaines questions soulevées au cours de la discussion.

49. Il a pris connaissance avec intérêt du rapport du Comité spécial et a suivi attentivement les interventions de ses collègues. Trois manières de voir se sont manifestées au sujet des territoires non autonomes. Les tenants de la première tendent au radicalisme. Ils ont formulé d'amères critiques, tant à la Quatrième Commission qu'à l'Assemblée générale et, sauf erreur, au Comité spécial. Personnellement, M. Carpio ne partage pas cette manière de voir, qu'il juge dangereuse pour les buts de l'Organisation des Nations Unies.

50. Le deuxième groupe, dont les conceptions sont diamétralement opposées à celles du premier, manifeste des tendances réactionnaires; ses membres ont pris l'habitude d'invoquer la Charte de manière à favoriser leurs propres intérêts. A les en croire, le seul objet de la Charte serait de contribuer à perpétuer le régime colonial.

51. La délégation des Philippines préfère se ranger dans le troisième groupe, qui envisage la question des territoires non autonomes d'un point de vue objectif. Pour pouvoir faire preuve d'objectivité, il importe tout d'abord de se rendre nettement compte des obligations que la Charte impose aux Puissances administrantes. Il convient ensuite de déterminer les pouvoirs de l'Assemblée générale en la matière. En dernier lieu, il faut que la Commission et l'Assemblée générale étudient les moyens propres à mettre en œuvre ces pouvoirs.

52. Le Chapitre XI de la Charte ne contient que deux courts Articles, les Articles 73 et 74. Le nœud de la question est la manière dont il convient d'interpréter l'Article 73. Des membres de la Commission ont soutenu, en diverses occasions, que l'Article 73 n'imposait aux Puissances administrantes d'autres obligations que celles énoncées dans l'alinéa e de cet Article.

53. M. Carpio se demande si cette interprétation peut être considérée comme inspirée par le sens des réalités ou même comme exacte. Si les Puissances administrantes ne doivent avoir d'autre obligation que de fournir des renseignements sur les territoires non autonomes, le Chapitre XI est sans intérêt. L'idée d'interpréter la Charte de cette manière n'a jamais pu venir à l'esprit des hommes éminents qui ont rédigé la Charte à San-Francisco.

54. Une lecture attentive de l'Article 73 démontre que ses alinéas a, b, c et d imposent plusieurs obligations aux Autorités administrantes.

55. Quant à l'alinéa e, il mérite d'être mentionné à part. De l'avis de la délégation des Philippines, il est faux que cet alinéa soit le seul à imposer une obligation. Il se borne à faire mention de l'obligation, pour les Puissances administrantes, de fournir des renseignements sur les territoires dont ils ont la charge. La majorité est donc d'avis que l'Article en question implique plusieurs obligations bien définies.

56. Il reste toujours à trancher la question de savoir quels sont les pouvoirs de l'Assemblée générale en ce qui concerne la mise en œuvre des dispositions du Chapitre XI. L'Article 10 de la Charte stipule que l'Assemblée générale peut discuter toutes questions ou affaires rentrant dans le cadre de la Charte, sous réserve des dispositions de l'Article 12. Il est clair que l'Article 73 tombe sous le coup de cette disposition. En conséquence, le représentant du Guatemala était fondé à traiter de la question du Honduras britannique et de celle des îles Falkland. La discussion en cours porte sur les territoires non autonomes; cette expression s'applique incontestablement aux deux régions qu'a mentionnées le représentant du Guatemala.

57. La plupart des difficultés auxquelles se heurtent la Commission et l'Assemblée générale proviennent du fait qu'il n'a pas été prévu de mécanisme en vue de la mise en œuvre des dispositions du Chapitre XI.

58. Les Puissances administrantes sont responsables aux yeux de toutes les nations, mais ceci n'implique pas qu'en vertu du Chapitre XI, des territoires non autonomes aient été placés sous le contrôle direct de l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Toutefois, les idées formulées dans les Chapitres XI, XII et XIII sont si neuves qu'on a pu qualifier ces chapitres de "Charte internationale de l'administration coloniale".

59. L'Assemblée générale a créé un Comité spécial, ce qui représente déjà un progrès. Il se peut, en effet, que ce Comité constitue la première partie du mécanisme nécessaire pour mettre en œuvre l'Article 73.

60. Les auteurs de la Charte, à San-Francisco, étaient inspirés par de nobles sentiments et par des idéaux élevés; ils ont voulu convaincre le monde qu'ils avaient pour buts principaux d'établir une paix durable et d'abolir les injustices. C'est à cela qu'ils visaient en rédigeant les Chapitres XI, XII et XIII de la Charte. C'est alors que, pour la première fois dans l'histoire, l'idée de la tutelle a été envisagée.

61. Les Puissances administrantes n'ont pas consenti jusqu'ici à conformer leurs actes à l'esprit de l'Article 73. Il s'agit cependant d'une ques-

tion urgente; à l'heure actuelle, plus de 200 millions d'habitants vivent dans les territoires non autonomes, et le sort de 15 ou 16 millions d'entre eux seulement est de la compétence du Conseil de tutelle. Aussi la délégation des Philippines estime-t-elle que le Chapitre XI a d'autant plus d'importance.

62. Les projets de résolution présentés par le Comité spécial ne satisfont pas absolument M. Carpio; toutefois, étant donné que ces projets de résolution représentent, malgré tout, un certain progrès, la délégation des Philippines les appuiera,

tout en se réservant le droit de proposer tout amendement qu'elle pourra juger utile.

63. M. TEDÍN URIBURU (Argentine) remercie le représentant du Guatemala de sa déclaration très claire à propos de la question des territoires non autonomes de l'Amérique latine; il constate que le point de vue qu'il a exposé est conforme à la politique du Gouvernement de l'Argentine, telle que l'a exposée le représentant de ce pays à la Commission américaine pour les territoires non autonomes à La Havane.

La séance est levée à 13 heures.

CENT QUINZIEME SEANCE

Tenue à Lake Success, New-York, le jeudi 3 novembre 1949, à 15 h. 15.

Président: M. H. LANNUNG (Danemark).

Renseignements provenant des territoires non autonomes (suite)

1. Le PRÉSIDENT invite la Commission à poursuivre la discussion générale sur la question des renseignements provenant des territoires non autonomes.

2. M. ZARUBINE (Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques) fait observer qu'au cours des travaux du Comité spécial, plusieurs membres du Comité ont attiré l'attention sur le fait que certains gouvernements ne remplissent pas les obligations qu'ils ont assumées en vertu du Chapitre XI de la Charte en ce qui concerne la transmission de renseignements sur les territoires non autonomes qu'ils administrent. Ainsi, quelques gouvernements, notamment ceux de la France et du Royaume-Uni, ont décidé de ne plus transmettre de renseignements pour un certain nombre de territoires.

3. Le représentant de l'URSS a déclaré au Comité spécial que cette décision était arbitraire et illégale; il a présenté une proposition tendant à empêcher la cessation de la transmission de renseignements tant que le Comité spécial n'aurait pas examiné toutes les données concernant les modifications du statut du territoire en question, et n'aurait pas présenté à l'Assemblée générale une recommandation visant à suspendre l'application à ce territoire des dispositions de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte. Il est regrettable que le Comité spécial n'ait pas adopté cette proposition.

4. La délégation de l'URSS est d'avis que la Quatrième Commission doit examiner la question de la cessation de la transmission de renseignements et prendre des mesures énergiques en vue de faire respecter les dispositions de la Charte.

5. M. Zarubine attire l'attention de la Commission sur le fait que les renseignements transmis par les Puissances administrantes sont nettement insuffisants et ne donnent pas une idée exacte de la situation qui règne dans les territoires non autonomes. Par ailleurs, ces renseignements tendent à semer la confusion en ce qu'ils ne mentionnent aucun cas concret ni aucune donnée statistique. Les Puissances administrantes n'ont transmis aucun renseignement sur le développement des organes locaux de gouvernement et n'indiquent pas de quelle manière on développe la capacité

des populations indigènes de s'administrer elles-mêmes. L'on peut conclure des renseignements transmis que les Puissances administrantes ne remplissent pas leurs obligations et ne contribuent pas au progrès politique, économique et social des populations des territoires non autonomes.

6. En ce qui concerne les conditions sociales, le chapitre II, section B, paragraphe 5, du Schema demande aux Puissances administrantes de transmettre le résumé des lois et règlements principaux en vigueur pour la protection des travailleurs ainsi qu'une brève description des mesures prises pour assurer l'application de ces lois et règlements. Les renseignements transmis énumèrent bien diverses lois et dispositions, mais ne fournissent aucune indication sur ce qu'elles représentent en réalité. Ainsi, on ne compare jamais la situation juridique des ouvriers autochtones à celle des ouvriers européens. On n'y trouve non plus aucune donnée statistique concernant le chômage.

7. Le même manque de précision se remarque en ce qui concerne les renseignements sur les conditions économiques. On observe également qu'un grand nombre de renseignements font défaut, notamment au sujet des sociétés industrielles qui ont effectué des investissements, des bénéfices que ces sociétés réalisent grâce à l'exploitation éhontée de la population autochtone, et de la participation de celle-ci à la vie économique du territoire.

8. Les Puissances administrantes maintiennent leur politique d'exploitation sans se soucier des intérêts des populations qu'elles administrent. De larges portions de la population africaine sous administration britannique, française et belge vivent encore sous un système tribal périmé, que l'on maintient en vigueur afin de condamner la population à ne faire aucun progrès et à végéter misérablement.

9. Ces Puissances freinent l'évolution dans le domaine agricole. Les meilleures terres sont exploitées par des compagnies qui ne s'y livrent qu'aux cultures les plus rémunératrices, sans se soucier des intérêts de la population autochtone. Ainsi, à la Barbade, la culture de la canne à sucre en grandes plantations couvre une superficie de 77.063 acres alors que les autochtones ne disposent que de 17.283 acres. La même situation se retrouve dans de nombreux territoires non

autonomes. Cette politique agricole des Puissances administrantes a pour conséquence d'appauvrir le sol, d'entraîner une pénurie de produits alimentaires et de faire empirer les conditions de vie de la population autochtone, qui est vouée à la misère et à la faim.

10. Le résumé des renseignements transmis par le Gouvernement belge (A/910) donne des renseignements édifiants au sujet du niveau des salaires des ouvriers au Congo belge. A Léopoldville, un maçon autochtone gagne de 12 à 65 francs par jour et un menuisier de 23 à 66 francs. Le niveau des salaires étant moins élevé dans les autres régions du Congo, on peut considérer que le salaire d'un ouvrier autochtone non qualifié ne dépasse pas 12 francs par jour. Si l'on compare ce salaire au salaire d'un ouvrier européen, on constate que l'Européen reçoit trente-deux fois plus que l'ouvrier autochtone. En outre, l'Européen est logé et transporté gratuitement; il reçoit également des soins médicaux gratuits. La même situation se présente dans d'autres territoires non autonomes, où l'on observe également une discrimination raciale dans le domaine des salaires. On a constaté, par exemple, quatre-vingt sept conflits ouvriers au Kenya, dont la cause est l'insuffisance des salaires. D'autre part, le chômage sévit et les ouvriers autochtones ne bénéficient d'aucunes mesures de sécurité sociale.

11. Les services de santé publique sont également déficients. Par exemple, à Madagascar on ne compte que 356 médecins pour 2.146.000 cas de maladies environ, dont 314.000 cas de syphilis. Les taux de mortalité sont trois fois plus élevés dans les territoires non autonomes que dans les métropoles. Le nombre des médecins est dérisoire par rapport à la population et à l'importance de la mortalité. Le caractère incomplet des statistiques démographiques témoigne du fait que les Puissances administrantes ne se soucient pas du bien-être social et de la santé publique des populations autochtones. Elles ne remplissent donc pas les obligations qu'elles ont assumées en vertu de l'Article 73 de la Charte.

12. La situation de l'enseignement n'est guère plus brillante. Il ressort de l'analyse des renseignements transmis que de larges couches de la population sont illettrées. Par exemple, en Somalie, 1 pour 100 de la population sait lire et écrire, en Ouganda, 30 pour 100, et en Côte-de-l'Or, 20 pour 100. Au Sierra-Leone, on constate une régression: en 1946, 30 pour 100 de la population savait lire et écrire, alors qu'en 1948 le taux ne s'élève plus qu'à 28 pour 100. De l'avis du représentant de l'URSS, il conviendrait de vérifier les critères employés en cette matière par les Puissances administrantes. En effet, ces dernières considèrent qu'une personne sait lire et écrire après deux ans d'école; le représentant de l'URSS estime que deux ans d'école ne suffisent pas. Il ressort des renseignements transmis qu'une discrimination raciale flagrante est pratiquée dans le domaine de l'enseignement par les Puissances administrantes. Il est dépensé pour l'instruction d'un enfant européen beaucoup plus d'argent que pour l'instruction d'un enfant indigène. Par exemple, au Kenya, l'on dépense 0,04 livre sterling pour un écolier indigène, alors que l'instruction d'un écolier européen coûte 5,84 livres sterling, soit cent quarante-cinq fois plus; en Rhodésie du Nord, elle coûte vingt-quatre fois plus et, au Nyassaland, quatre-vingt fois plus. Ces

chiffres, ainsi que le tableau qui figure au document A/919, montrent que les crédits alloués par les Puissances administrantes pour l'enseignement des autochtones sont tellement infimes qu'on peut à peine parler de l'existence d'un système d'enseignement. Le représentant de l'URSS estime qu'il y aura lieu de vérifier sérieusement les pourcentages donnés, qui ne semblent pas toujours correspondre à la réalité.

13. En ce qui concerne l'enseignement secondaire, il résulte de l'examen des renseignements transmis que les Puissances administrantes ne prennent aucune mesure pour assurer le développement de cet enseignement et condamnent ainsi la population à l'ignorance, afin de la priver de la possibilité de participer activement à la vie politique, économique et sociale du territoire. A Madagascar, par exemple, sur une population de 4 millions d'habitants, 2.065 élèves seulement fréquentent les établissements secondaires; en Nigéria, sur une population de 21 millions d'habitants, 8.750 élèves seulement sont inscrits dans les écoles secondaires.

14. Le représentant de l'URSS souligne que, même en se fondant sur les renseignements insuffisants dont dispose la Quatrième Commission, on peut affirmer que les Puissances administrantes pratiquent une politique de discrimination à l'égard des populations autochtones et qu'elles ne remplissent pas les obligations découlant de l'alinéa b de l'Article 73 de la Charte, aux termes duquel elles doivent s'administrer elles-mêmes, en tenant compte de leurs aspirations politiques, et les aider dans le développement progressif de leurs libres institutions politiques. Enfin, elles ne transmettent pas de renseignements sur le degré de participation des populations autochtones aux organes locaux de gouvernements. Mais il ressort des autres renseignements transmis en matière économique, sociale et de l'éducation que les Puissances administrantes ne préparent pas les populations autochtones à s'administrer elles-mêmes, mais les maintiennent dans un état de sauvagerie et d'ignorance qui les voue à une existence de misère.

15. La délégation de l'URSS estime que la Quatrième Commission doit prendre des mesures énergiques pour que les dispositions de la Charte soient respectées par les Puissances administrantes.

16. En terminant, M. Zaroubine déclare que l'URSS soutiendra toute proposition tendant à créer un comité spécial permanent, qui contribuerait à assurer l'application des dispositions de la Charte, en particulier celles de l'Article 73.

17. M. PÉREZ CISNEROS (Cuba) déclare que sa délégation, ainsi que les délégations des autres Etats de l'Amérique latine qui ont participé à la conférence tenue à La Havane par la Commission américaine des territoires non autonomes, s'intéresse vivement à la question des renseignements provenant des territoires non autonomes. Cette conférence, à laquelle ont participé treize Etats de l'Amérique latine, a étudié le problème colonial en se fondant principalement sur les données fournies par le Secrétaire général de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, notamment les résumés et analyses des renseignements transmis au cours de l'année 1948¹.

¹ Voir *Territoires non autonomes, résumés et analyses des renseignements transmis au Secrétaire général au cours de l'année 1948*. Publications des Nations Unies, numéro de vente: 1949. VI. B. 1.

18. Les membres de cette Conférence ont déplore, ainsi que le représentant de Cuba l'a indiqué précédemment, le fait de ne pouvoir disposer d'une traduction espagnole de ce document. C'est pourquoi les délégations de Cuba, de l'Equateur et du Guatemala ont précisé, au quatrième paragraphe du projet de résolution qu'elles ont présenté (A/C.4/L.40), que l'Assemblée générale devrait veiller à ce que les résumés et analyses soient publiés à l'avenir dans les trois langues de travail.
19. Par ailleurs, les délégations de Cuba, de l'Equateur et du Guatemala ont remarqué qu'il manquait dans la majorité des renseignements transmis des données essentielles dont il faut tenir compte lors de l'examen de la situation régnant dans un territoire. Il s'agit des renseignements d'ordre géographique et historique. Il faut reconnaître que dans le Schéma adopté en 1947, on a classé ces renseignements dans la partie facultative; il n'en est pas moins vrai qu'ils sont indispensables et ne devraient donc pas être facultatifs.
20. Ces trois délégations se sont posé une autre question. M. Pérez Cisneros pense qu'il est inutile de rappeler aux membres de la Commission que les articles de la Déclaration universelle des droits de l'homme s'appliquent à tous les Etats, ainsi qu'aux territoires non autonomes, et que maints articles traitent des droits de l'homme dans les domaines économique, social et culturel, qui sont précisément les trois domaines prévus à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte. Dans ces conditions, il est difficile de comprendre pourquoi les renseignements sur les droits de l'homme sont facultatifs. On constate cependant dans le résumé des renseignements volontairement transmis sur la partie facultative du Schéma (A/AC.28/W.8) que les renseignements relatifs aux droits de l'homme n'ont été communiqués que pour un nombre très réduit de territoires non autonomes.
21. C'est afin de ne plus voir les renseignements généraux relatifs à la géographie, l'histoire, la démographie et les droits de l'homme classés dans la partie facultative du Schéma que la délégation de Cuba a présenté un amendement (A/C.4/L.2, paragraphe 1) au projet de résolution relatif à la transmission spontanée des renseignements figurant dans la première partie du Schéma (A/923, annexe 11, projet de résolution A). Par cet amendement, la délégation de Cuba exprime en outre l'espoir que les Membres qui n'en ont pas pris l'initiative ajouteront de leur propre mouvement les renseignements qui donnent, en vertu de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte, des indications détaillées sur l'administration des territoires non autonomes. La délégation de Cuba reconnaît que les renseignements fournis en 1948 ont été plus nombreux qu'en 1947. Toutefois, elle a constaté en ce qui concerne certains aspects de la question, notamment l'hygiène publique dans les territoires non autonomes d'Amérique, que la documentation était trop vague. Ce manque de précision a empêché la Commission américaine des territoires non autonomes de se faire une idée exacte de la situation. Par ailleurs, la délégation de Cuba a constaté avec étonnement que la population des Caraïbes de descendance française recevait l'enseignement primaire exclusivement en anglais. Le représentant de Cuba reprendra cette question en détail à l'occasion de l'examen du projet de résolution relatif aux langues de l'enseignement (A/923, annexe II, projet de résolution C).
22. M. Pérez Cisneros aborde la question de la cessation de la transmission de renseignements. La délégation de Cuba partage entièrement l'opinion de la délégation de l'Egypte; il est difficile d'admettre la thèse selon laquelle la détermination des territoires dont la population ne s'administre pas encore complètement elle-même relève de la compétence exclusive des Etats qui ont ou qui assument la responsabilité de les administrer. Le Comité spécial a décidé à une importante majorité qu'il n'était pas compétent pour prendre une décision sur cette question. Il appartient maintenant à la Quatrième Commission de prendre une initiative à ce sujet et de présenter un projet de résolution à l'Assemblée générale. La délégation de l'Egypte a soumis à la Commission un projet de résolution (A/C.4/L.37) qui traite la question de façon fort satisfaisante. La délégation de Cuba pense qu'il est possible de présenter certains amendements de rédaction, mais elle approuve entièrement la substance du projet de résolution égyptien.
23. M. Pérez Cisneros explique ensuite les raisons qui ont incité sa délégation à présenter un amendement (A/C.4/L.42, paragraphe 2) au projet de résolution relatif à l'égalité de traitement en matière d'enseignement (A/923, annexe II, projet de résolution B). Les Puissances qui administrent des territoires non autonomes ont fourni des explications plus ou moins satisfaisantes sur leur politique en matière d'enseignement dans ces territoires. Il serait bon que ces Puissances donnent des arguments plus détaillés et concrets pour justifier la discrimination qui est pratiquée dans ce domaine. C'est pour obtenir de telles explications précises que la délégation de Cuba propose de compléter le projet de résolution par l'addition d'un second paragraphe.
24. Le projet de résolution relatif à la lutte contre l'analphabétisme (A/923, annexe II, projet de résolution I) est également l'objet d'un amendement de la délégation de Cuba (A/C.4/L.2, paragraphe 3). Cet amendement porte sur le paragraphe 1 du dispositif; il consiste essentiellement à remplacer les mots "en 1950" par les mots "chaque année". En effet, s'il est essentiel que les plans généraux élaborés par les Puissances administrantes soient communiqués à l'Assemblée générale dans le meilleur délai possible, il n'en est pas de même des renseignements que l'UNESCO est invitée à communiquer aux Puissances administrantes et du rapport qu'elle doit adresser à l'Assemblée générale sur les résultats de la lutte contre l'analphabétisme. L'action de l'UNESCO dans ce domaine doit être continue; il n'est pas logique que les termes du projet de résolution la limitent à l'avenir immédiat.
25. Le projet de résolution relatif à la collaboration internationale en matière économique, sociale et culturelle dans les territoires non autonomes (A/923, annexe II, projet de résolution E) est l'objet d'un amendement identique de la délégation de Cuba (A/C.4/L.2, paragraphe 4). Comme dans le cas précédent, il n'est pas judicieux de préciser que les institutions spécialisées communiqueront des renseignements à l'Assemblée générale en 1950. Il semble préférable de prévoir que ces renseignements seront communiqués chaque année. M. Pérez Cisneros se demande si le Comité spécial a eu des raisons particulières pour proposer la communication de renseignements en 1950 seulement; si une justification valable n'est

pas donnée à la Commission, la délégation de Cuba maintiendra son amendement.

26. Le projet de résolution concernant la création d'un Comité spécial chargé de l'examen des renseignements transmis en vertu de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte (A/923, annexe II, projet de résolution F) ne fait l'objet d'aucun amendement de la part de la délégation de Cuba. Cette dernière approuve ce projet et lui donnera son appui. Elle aurait cependant préféré voir triompher la tendance selon laquelle le Comité spécial devrait être un organisme permanent. La délégation de Cuba a été en faveur de cette idée depuis la création de l'Organisation des Nations Unies; c'est même elle qui a pris, en 1946, l'initiative de la création d'un organisme chargé de l'examen des renseignements transmis en vertu de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte. Il faut espérer, que lorsque le mandat du Comité spécial expirera, en 1952, toutes les délégations seront d'accord pour le renouveler sans limitation de durée.

27. La délégation de Cuba regrette de constater que quelques Puissances administrantes seulement transmettent des renseignements sur les conditions politiques dans les territoires non autonomes. Elle tient à rendre hommage aux Puissances qui transmettent spontanément de tels renseignements.

28. La délégation de Cuba est de celles qui estiment que le système colonial est en voie de disparition depuis la fin de la première guerre mondiale. Ce phénomène est conforme aux aspirations des peuples du monde. La Commission américaine des territoires non autonomes s'est prononcée en faveur de l'élimination de tout système colonial, car la communauté des nations n'admet plus aujourd'hui l'existence de Puissances métropolitaines et de colonies qui en dépendent absolument dans tous les domaines. Il semble que cette question ait été acceptée par les Puissances qui administrent des territoires non autonomes lorsqu'elles ont voté pour l'adoption du Chapitre XI de la Charte. Ces Puissances feraient preuve de générosité et d'esprit de coopération si elles acceptaient de transmettre spontanément des renseignements d'ordre politique.

29. M. Pérez Cisneros appelle l'attention sur le dernier paragraphe du projet de résolution présenté en commun par les délégations de Cuba, de l'Equateur et du Guatemala (A/C.4/L.40). Aux termes de ce paragraphe, le Secrétaire général est invité à compléter les résumés et analyses ainsi que les documents annuels complémentaires en publiant régulièrement des données relatives à certains aspects des progrès réalisés dans les territoires non autonomes.

30. Les renseignements transmis en vertu de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte, obligatoirement ou spontanément, sont si nombreux et portent sur un si grand nombre de domaines qu'il serait bon que certaines données fassent l'objet de publications spéciales. Une telle procédure permettrait à la Quatrième Commission d'accomplir sa tâche de façon plus rapide et plus efficace, car il lui est difficile, dans les conditions actuelles, d'étudier et d'analyser tous les renseignements transmis.

31. M. Pérez Cisneros aimerait connaître l'opinion du Secrétariat sur ce point; il voudrait notamment savoir si le Secrétariat pourrait donner suite sans de trop grandes difficultés maté-

rielles aux dispositions du dernier paragraphe du projet de résolution commun.

32. M. BENSON (Secrétariat) fait observer tout d'abord qu'il est difficile au Secrétariat de publier *in extenso* tous les renseignements transmis par les Puissances administrant des territoires non autonomes; le document qui en résulterait aurait un tel volume qu'il serait impossible au Comité spécial, et à plus forte raison à la Quatrième Commission, de l'étudier avec profit. C'est pour cette raison que le Secrétaire général publie des résumés et analyses des renseignements transmis et qu'il publiera à l'avenir des documents annuels complémentaires.

33. Le Secrétariat a déjà étudié la question de publier dans les documents séparés des études techniques relatives à certains aspects des progrès réalisés dans les territoires non autonomes. Il a même préparé un tel document à titre d'expérience. Ce document n'a pas été publié, car il ne constitue qu'un essai à l'usage du Secrétariat.

34. M. PÉREZ CISNEROS (Cuba) estime que le document préparé à titre expérimental par le Secrétariat pourrait intéresser les membres de la Quatrième Commission, en dépit de ses imperfections éventuelles. Il demande donc s'il serait possible que ce document soit porté à la connaissance des membres de la Commission, car il permettrait à ces derniers de se rendre compte de l'intérêt réel de la proposition faite dans le dernier paragraphe du projet de résolution présenté par les délégations de Cuba, de l'Equateur et du Guatemala.

35. M. BENSON (Secrétariat) déclare que le document mentionné sera communiqué pour information à tous les membres de la Quatrième Commission; il tient cependant à faire toutes réserves sur la présentation et la nature de ce document, qui n'a été préparé, répète-t-il, qu'à titre d'expérience.

36. M. GHORRA (Liban) déclare que sa délégation a toujours considéré la question en cours d'examen sans idée préconçue et avec objectivité. Ainsi que l'a fait remarquer le représentant des Philippines à la séance précédente, trois tendances distinctes se sont manifestées parmi les membres de la Commission; les uns ont adopté une attitude radicale, les autres une attitude conservatrice et réactionnaire, alors que d'autres encore, au nombre desquels se trouve la délégation du Liban, estiment qu'il faut avant tout respecter les principes de la Charte et veiller à l'application des dispositions qu'elle contient. M. Ghorra pense, en effet, que la Quatrième Commission ne doit pas devenir une tribune de propagande, ni servir uniquement à critiquer ou à féliciter les Puissances administrantes pour l'œuvre qu'elles ont accomplie; la Quatrième Commission doit, au contraire, participer à l'élaboration des mesures propres à entraîner la réalisation des objectifs fixés par le Chapitre XI de la Charte et à favoriser la collaboration entre les Puissances administrantes et les autres Membres de l'Organisation.

37. La délégation du Liban ne saurait partager le point de vue de certains représentants qui interprètent l'Article 73 de la Charte d'une manière trop restrictive, en le réduisant pratiquement aux seules dispositions de l'alinéa e, qui n'est en réalité qu'une fraction de l'Article en question. Pareille interprétation aboutirait au classement des renseignements transmis par les Puissances admi-

nistrantes dans les archives de l'Organisation à seules fins de références. S'il devait en être ainsi, pourquoi transmettre ces renseignements aux Membres de l'Organisation et réunir la Quatrième Commission en les lui soumettant pour examen? M. Ghorra ne croit pas, personnellement, qu'il faille réduire le rôle du Secrétaire général à celui d'un simple messenger, et que les représentants puissent se contenter de lire les documents en question comme on lit un article de journal.

38. Les Puissances administrantes ont volontairement accepté d'assumer les obligations prévues à l'Article 73 et se sont engagées, notamment, à reconnaître le principe de la primauté des intérêts des habitants des territoires non autonomes. Le devoir de la Quatrième Commission est donc d'examiner les renseignements qui ont été transmis, de formuler à leur sujet les critiques qu'elle juge opportunes et de prévoir ensuite les mesures propres à assurer l'application des dispositions de la Charte et le respect des principes qui y sont énoncés; c'est ainsi que l'on pourra rehausser le prestige de l'Organisation, encourager la collaboration entre les Puissances administrantes et les autres Etats Membres, et réaffermir, chez les populations des territoires non autonomes, la foi en l'Organisation des Nations Unies.

39. Le représentant du Liban a constaté, à la lecture des résumés et des analyses qu'a préparés le Secrétaire général, que les Puissances administrantes ont pris, au cours des dernières années, des mesures en vue d'améliorer la situation sociale dans de nombreux territoires et d'y développer l'enseignement. Il est évidemment difficile d'affirmer que cette tendance générale est la conséquence immédiate des critiques et des recommandations formulées par la Commission, auxquelles les Puissances administrantes s'efforceraient de se conformer, mais il est certain que les travaux accomplis par l'Organisation constituent un stimulant utile. L'Assemblée générale est allée de l'avant et il faut espérer que les Puissances administrantes feront de même. Il conviendrait d'affirmer progressivement l'autorité de l'Organisation et de créer une atmosphère de confiance qui favoriserait la collaboration entre les Puissances administrantes et l'Organisation des Nations Unies.

40. M. Ghorra rappelle, à ce propos, que certains des pays qui assument l'administration des territoires non autonomes ont délibérément cessé de transmettre des renseignements sur certains de ces territoires ou sur certaines questions qui les concernent, et il espère que ces pays reviseront leur position. On constate par ailleurs que dans maints territoires, ce sont des missions ou des institutions religieuses qui s'occupent des questions de bien-être social et d'enseignement et que l'activité des gouvernements est très réduite, alors que c'est à ces derniers qu'appartient en fait la responsabilité d'élaborer des programmes et de prendre des mesures dans ces domaines.

41. Le représentant du Liban appelle également l'attention sur le fait que l'enseignement des langues vernaculaires est souvent négligé et relégué au second plan, ce qui est difficilement admissible, notamment dans le cas de la langue arabe, qui est une langue de civilisation et se trouve ainsi réduite à jouer un rôle qui ne correspond pas à sa valeur. M. Ghorra est tout à fait partisan de l'enseignement des langues étrangères dans les

territoires non autonomes, mais il ne faut pas que cet enseignement se fasse au détriment des langues vernaculaires. Il considère, par ailleurs, que les renseignements concernant l'Indonésie ne sont pas à leur place dans la documentation relative aux territoires non autonomes; il rappelle, à cette occasion, que le Liban a été l'un des premiers pays à reconnaître l'indépendance des Etats-Unis d'Indonésie. M. Ghorra exprime l'espoir que ce nouvel Etat sera bientôt accueilli parmi les membres des Nations Unies.

42. La délégation du Liban considère qu'il faut donner au Comité spécial un statut permanent, car les obligations que contient l'Article 73 de la Charte ont un caractère durable. Elle est disposée à voter en faveur de tout projet de résolution conçu dans ce sens. S'il n'en est pas présenté, elle votera pour le projet de résolution des Etats-Unis (A/923, annexe II, projet de résolution F) qui prévoit un mandat de trois ans pour le Comité spécial, mais elle s'opposera à toute résolution qui serait plus restrictive que cette dernière.

43. La délégation du Liban appuie également, en principe, les six résolutions qui figurent en annexe au rapport du Comité spécial, au sujet desquelles elle formulera des observations en temps utile.

44. M. ASTAPENKO (République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie) rappelle qu'en vertu des dispositions du Chapitre XI de la Charte, les Etats Membres de l'Organisation qui assument l'administration de territoires non autonomes doivent veiller, autant que possible, à assurer le bien-être des populations de ces territoires. C'est à cette fin qu'il est prévu, à l'Article 73 de la Charte, que ces pays s'engagent à favoriser les progrès politique, économique et social de ces populations, ainsi que le développement de leur instruction, et à développer leur capacité de s'administrer elles-mêmes, en tenant compte de leurs aspirations politiques et en les aidant dans le développement progressif de leurs libres institutions politiques. Par ailleurs, les Puissances administrantes sont tenues d'informer l'Organisation des dispositions qu'elles prennent en vue de s'acquitter des obligations qu'elles ont contractées dans ces différents domaines. Or, certaines de ces Puissances semblent ne pas vouloir tenir compte du caractère obligatoire de la transmission de renseignements sur les territoires non autonomes; le Royaume-Uni a refusé de fournir des renseignements sur l'île de Malte, et la France a décidé de ne pas en transmettre au sujet de la Guadeloupe, de la Martinique, de la Guyane, de la Nouvelle-Calédonie, des possessions françaises du Pacifique, etc.

45. Ces Puissances nient ainsi le droit des Nations Unies, et plus particulièrement du Comité spécial, d'examiner le fond des renseignements transmis, et cela en vue d'empêcher l'Organisation de surveiller la mise en œuvre des principes et des dispositions de la Charte. Il est évident que les Nations Unies ne sauraient tolérer de tels actes, à la fois incompatibles avec la Charte et préjudiciables aux intérêts des populations intéressées. Le fait de réduire le rôle que joue l'Organisation en ce qui concerne les territoires non autonomes ne saurait que nuire à la qualité des renseignements qu'elle doit recevoir, renseignements qui sont déjà insuffisants et incomplets. A ce sujet, M. Astapenko souligne l'absence totale de renseignements sur les mesures prises par les Puissances

administrantes en vue de préparer les populations des territoires à l'autonomie, et sur la participation des autochtones à la vie publique. On ne peut se faire une idée précise de la situation réelle qui règne dans les territoires non autonomes car les renseignements ne contiennent pas suffisamment de détails.

46. Il est aisé de constater néanmoins, d'après la documentation pourtant insuffisante et incomplète dont on dispose, que les Puissances administrantes se livrent à une exploitation éhontée des territoires dont elles ont la charge et ne s'acquittent pas des obligations qu'elles ont contractées aux termes de la Charte, notamment en ce qui concerne le développement économique de ces territoires. Ainsi, ces régions deviennent de plus en plus dépendantes des métropoles, dont la politique entrave leur développement économique propre en les maintenant dans une situation précaire, tant du point de vue des conditions de vie des habitants que du point de vue culturel. Le représentant de l'URSS a cité un certain nombre d'exemples qui suffisent à illustrer cet état de choses.

47. L'économie des territoires non autonomes est ainsi déformée, car ceux-ci ne servent en fait qu'à fournir des matières premières aux métropoles. La situation des travailleurs autochtones est difficile; l'ouvrier autochtone perçoit un salaire trente-deux fois inférieur à celui de l'ouvrier européen au Congo belge, et onze fois inférieur en Rhodésie du Nord. En Somalie française, les dockers et les ouvriers non spécialisés perçoivent un salaire mensuel équivalant à 16 dollars. Il faut ajouter à cela qu'il n'existe nulle part de services de sécurité sociale, et que les maladies les plus meurtrières sévissent parmi les populations des territoires. A ce propos, M. Astapenko souligne que les Puissances administrantes ne se préoccupent pas de la question de la santé publique; à Aden, par exemple, il existe un médecin pour 350.000 personnes.

48. Abordant la question de l'instruction publique, M. Astapenko fait observer que des masses

considérables de la population des territoires sont encore illettrées; en Somalie britannique, 1 pour 100 de la population sait lire et écrire; en Afrique Occidentale française, 5 pour 100 seulement des enfants d'âge scolaire fréquentent les écoles et, au Maroc, la proportion est de 20 pour 100. On est ainsi contraint d'admettre qu'il existe une discrimination en matière d'enseignement, si l'on sait qu'en 1947 les crédits prévus au Kenya pour l'enseignement destiné aux Européens étaient quarante fois supérieurs aux crédits pour l'enseignement destiné aux autochtones. En Ouganda, les crédits représentaient un dixième de livres sterling par habitant autochtone et plusieurs livres par habitant européen.

49. Il est donc clair que les Puissances administrantes ne s'acquittent pas des obligations qu'elles ont assumées et ne favorisent pas le progrès des territoires non autonomes. La délégation de la Biélorussie estime que les Puissances administrantes devraient transmettre des renseignements complets, sans oublier notamment de donner des détails sur les mesures qu'elles prennent pour préparer les populations intéressées à l'autonomie et les faire participer à la vie politique des territoires.

50. Le PRÉSIDENT déclare que, si les membres de la Commission ne s'y opposent pas, le représentant de la France sera autorisé à prendre la parole à la prochaine séance pour faire une déclaration rentrant dans le cadre de la discussion générale. Le même droit sera accordé au représentant des Etats-Unis, qui en a fait la demande.

51. Le Président signale que toute délégation pourra évidemment exercer son droit de réponse, conformément aux dispositions du règlement intérieur.

52. Il propose d'aborder l'examen des projets de résolution présentés par le Comité spécial.

53. M. FARRAG (Egypte) propose l'ajournement de la séance.

Il en est ainsi décidé.

La séance est levée à 17 heures.

CENT SEIZIEME SEANCE

Tenue à Lake Success, New-York, le vendredi 4 novembre 1949, à 10 h. 45.

Président: M. H. LANNUNG (Danemark).

Renseignements provenant des territoires non autonomes (*suite*)

1. M. LAPIE (France) déclare qu'il désire préciser la position prise par le Gouvernement français à l'égard de la question des territoires non autonomes et du rapport du Comité spécial (A/923). Il rappelle que la position de la France a été exposée au sein du Comité spécial, où sa délégation a voté pour tous les projets de résolution figurant à l'annexe II du rapport à l'exception de celui qui prévoit la prolongation du mandat du Comité spécial pour une nouvelle période de trois ans.
2. M. Lapie indique que sa déclaration porte sur deux sujets différents: le premier concerne la prolongation de l'existence du Comité spécial et le second la décision du Gouvernement français de ne plus transmettre de renseignements sur certains territoires non autonomes.
3. Avant de traiter ces questions, il désire répondre à certaines critiques dont la France a fait l'objet. A son avis, les critiques ont été à la fois peu nombreuses et sans grand fondement. Parmi tous les membres de la Commission, quatre seulement ont formulé des critiques précises. Toutes les autres critiques ont été vagues ou ont revêtu un caractère de propagande.
4. M. Lapie a été heureux de constater que certains représentants ont joint des éloges à leurs critiques. Ceci est particulièrement vrai dans le cas de la déclaration du représentant du Brésil, qui a eu le courage de souligner aussi bien le bon côté que le mauvais côté de l'administration française. Tout en accueillant avec plaisir un appui de cet ordre, sa délégation désire préciser que la France ne recherche pas les louanges, mais simplement la reconnaissance de l'œuvre qu'elle a accomplie.
5. Toutes les Puissances administrantes ont fait l'objet de critiques. Il semble que, de l'avis de certaines délégations, notamment celle de l'URSS,

le fait d'être une Puissance administrante est blâmable en soi. M. Lapie se demande si l'URSS n'administre pas elle-même certains territoires. Si tel était le cas, il serait intéressant d'entendre l'écho des opinions des populations libérées au lieu de se trouver en face du silence des opprimés.

6. Le représentant de la France désire donner quelques précisions au sujet de la déclaration du représentant du Brésil selon laquelle la France aurait freiné l'évolution des territoires non autonomes vers l'indépendance. A cet égard, il rappelle que la Constitution française prévoit la création de l'Union française et de son Conseil suprême. L'Union française est, à l'heure actuelle, en cours d'organisation. Une telle entreprise demande du temps et de la patience, mais M. Lapie est persuadé qu'elle portera ses fruits en temps voulu. Le Conseil suprême a été créé par une loi promulguée en février 1949.

7. Certaines critiques précises ont été faites sur l'instruction en Tunisie. M. Lapie désire citer quelques chiffres à cet égard. En 1938, il y avait 1.907 instituteurs en Tunisie; depuis, ce nombre a augmenté et l'on compte, en 1949, 2.749 instituteurs dont 1.104 sont Tunisiens. Durant la même période, le nombre de professeurs de l'enseignement secondaire s'est accru et a passé de 356 à 668, dont 404 sont Tunisiens. Le représentant de la France se demande comment l'on peut dire qu'il n'y a eu aucun progrès dans le domaine de l'instruction lorsque l'effectif du corps enseignant a doublé au cours des dix dernières années. Il désire souligner, en même temps, que l'enseignement est donné dans les écoles en arabe et en français.

8. En ce qui concerne les critiques sur l'administration du Maroc, M. Lapie estime qu'elles ont pour mobile la propagande. En réalité, les crédits consacrés à l'enseignement représentent, au Maroc, 15 pour 100 du budget total et ont doublé en dix années, entre 1938 et 1949. Par une autre déclaration, on a prétendu que 100.000 enfants seulement fréquentaient les écoles marocaines, alors que le chiffre exact était en 1947 de 150.000, dont 110.000 mahométans, soit dix fois plus qu'en 1920. Le nombre des professeurs a augmenté en conséquence.

9. M. Lapie indique que sa délégation regrette que le représentant de la Syrie ait accusé la France de chercher à faire disparaître la culture musulmane au Maroc. Il est notoire que des groupes de savants ont été envoyés au Maroc aux fins d'étudier et de recommander des méthodes propres à préserver et à favoriser l'expansion de la culture musulmane. Il existe au Maroc l'Institut des études islamiques qui se compose de treize Facultés où se donnent des cours sur des sujets extrêmement variés. Dans ces conditions, le représentant de la France estime que les critiques du représentant de la Syrie sont injustifiées.

10. Pour expliquer les raisons qui ont poussé la délégation de la France à voter contre la proposition tendant à prolonger de trois ans l'existence du Comité spécial, M. Lapie désire remonter à l'origine de la question. Par sa résolution 66 (I), l'Assemblée générale a créé en 1946 le Comité pour un an, connu sous le nom de Comité *ad hoc*; l'année suivante, par sa résolution 146 (II), l'Assemblée générale a prolongé l'existence du Comité pour une autre année et a changé son nom en celui de Comité spécial. Le Comité a été prorogé

de même en 1948 par la résolution 219 (III). Aujourd'hui, il est proposé de prolonger l'existence du Comité, non pas pour un an mais pour trois ans. Il est évident que l'on essaie, de cette manière, de créer un organe dont les fonctions doubleraient celles du Conseil de tutelle. La délégation de la France estime qu'aucune des dispositions de la Charte ne justifie cette mesure et elle a donc refusé de l'approuver.

11. Se référant à l'exposé que le représentant des Philippines a fait à la 114ème séance, M. Lapie signale que si les auteurs de la Charte avaient envisagé de créer un organe parallèle au Conseil de tutelle, ils l'auraient certainement fait. Par conséquent, la déclaration affirmant qu'une telle intention est contenue implicitement dans l'esprit de la Charte n'a aucun fondement réel. Il est exact que la question a été soulevée à la Conférence de San-Francisco, mais elle a été rejetée et la Charte a été rédigée dans sa forme actuelle. La France a participé à ces discussions et a appuyé la majorité qui a décidé de ne pas créer un tel organe. En étudiant la question en détail, on constaterait que la création du Comité spécial proposée constitue en fait une violation des dispositions de la Charte.

12. Cela ne veut pas dire qu'un Comité spécial ne puisse jamais être institué mais, pour le créer, il serait indispensable de modifier la Charte. Le Chapitre XVIII expose le mécanisme prévu pour reviser la Charte; il s'agit donc de savoir si on désire recourir à ce mécanisme.

13. M. Lapie reconnaît que le Comité spécial pourrait jouer un rôle utile pour les questions de procédure. Mais cela demande à être étudié avec soin. Les changements ne doivent pas être trop rapides. La délégation de la France estime, pour cette raison, qu'il faudrait prolonger les pouvoirs du Comité spécial pour un an, mais non pour trois ans.

14. On a demandé pourquoi la France avait cessé de transmettre des renseignements au sujet d'un certain nombre de territoires non autonomes qu'elle administre. On trouvera la réponse à cette question dans la Constitution française et dans la réserve relative à des considérations d'ordre constitutionnel qui est formellement exprimée à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte. Tout en étant entièrement disposé à répondre aux observations qui ont été faites, le représentant de la France souligne que son pays ne se considère pas le moins du monde comme étant en position d'inculpé. La délégation de la France estime que tous les membres de la Commission collaborent à une tâche commune, c'est-à-dire qu'ils s'efforcent ensemble d'améliorer le sort d'une partie du genre humain.

15. La conception de l'Union française est quelque chose de nouveau dans l'histoire; elle peut paraître déconcertante au premier abord, et peut-être est-il nécessaire de donner quelques explications.

16. M. Lapie signale les mots "sous réserve des exigences de la sécurité et de considération d'ordre constitutionnel", qui figurent à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte. Aux termes de la Constitution française, les anciens territoires coloniaux et le territoire de la métropole sont unis dans l'Union française. Il n'existe qu'une seule Constitution qui vaut pour la métropole, les départe-

ments d'outre-mer, les territoires d'outre-mer, les Territoires sous tutelle et les Etats associés. On ne saurait dire que la France contrevient aux dispositions de la Charte lorsqu'en certains cas elle se prévaut d'une réserve qui figure effectivement dans la Charte.

17. Le représentant de la France rappelle que, dans une lettre en date du 29 avril 1949 adressée au Secrétaire général (A/915), le Ministre des affaires étrangères de la France a exposé en détail les raisons qui ont incité le Gouvernement français à cesser de transmettre des renseignements pour un certain nombre de territoires. L'Union française, animée de l'esprit même qui a inspiré la Charte, a pour but d'émanciper les peuples qu'elle unit. Cette Union fait place aux territoires qui ont accédé à l'autonomie. Il n'est donc pas nécessaire de continuer à transmettre des renseignements en vertu de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 à partir du moment où l'évolution d'un territoire donné a fait des progrès suffisants.

18. En tout cas, la France affirme qu'en vertu de sa propre Constitution, et conformément aux réserves formulées dans la Charte, elle est seule juge du degré d'émancipation atteint par les populations qu'elle administre.

19. M. Lapie répond au représentant du Guatemala qui, comparant le régime colonial à une école d'indépendance politique, a prétendu à la 114ème séance que c'était une école dans laquelle les élèves n'étaient jamais reçus à l'examen de sortie; il fait observer à ce sujet que, pour ce qui concerne la France, un certain nombre de territoires qui, avant la guerre, étaient considérés comme des colonies, sont devenus des Etats indépendants, en vertu d'accords conclus avec la France. Quant à la question de savoir quels sont les critères dont il est tenu compte pour la délivrance des diplômes d'indépendance, c'est l'avis de la France que le seul critère qu'il soit possible d'appliquer est celui de l'esprit démocratique et de la maturité civique, lesquels s'obtiennent par l'enseignement et l'exercice de la responsabilité politique. La France a développé l'enseignement dans ces territoires; elle a très largement accordé le droit de vote, et étendra encore ce droit au fur et à mesure des progrès de l'instruction. Les autorités française elles-mêmes ont été étonnées de la rapidité avec laquelle l'idée de démocratie a pris racine en Afrique. C'est là un fait qui permet de bien augurer de l'avenir.

20. La création de l'Union française a été une tâche ardue. La France demeure fidèle à l'esprit de la Charte. Si elle s'autorise des exceptions prévues à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73, ce n'est pas pour contrevenir à la Charte, c'est au contraire pour l'appliquer, mais la France tient à ce que cette application se fasse de la façon qu'elle estime la meilleure. La Charte des Nations Unies et la Constitution de l'Union française ont été signées en même temps, avec les mêmes espoirs et pour les mêmes fins. L'idée de l'Union française a vu le jour à Alger, en pleine guerre, au moment même où l'idée de l'Organisation naissait de la Charte de l'Atlantique. L'une et l'autre se proposent le même but, à savoir la liberté et un niveau de vie élevé pour toute l'humanité. La France n'a d'autre souci que de servir l'humanité.

21. M. FAHY (Etats-Unis d'Amérique) déclare que la population de Porto-Rico sera vivement blessée par le tableau déformé que le représentant

de la RSS d'Ukraine a fait de son pays à la 114ème séance. Le représentant des Etats-Unis ne tient pas à imposer à la Commission l'audition de tous les progrès réalisés par le peuple de Porto-Rico, et encore moins de l'aide apportée à ce dernier par le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis; il estime toutefois qu'il importe de signaler un certain nombre de faits.

22. Le 2 janvier 1949, M. Luis Muñoz Marín, premier Gouverneur élu de Porto-Rico — qui est né dans l'île et y a fait ses études — a prêté serment. Pour autant que M. Fahy le sache, Porto-Rico est le seul territoire non autonome qui élise son administrateur suprême au suffrage universel. Le territoire élit deux assemblées législatives. Vingt pour cent de son budget sont consacrés à l'instruction, qui est gratuite et obligatoire. Le représentant de la RSS d'Ukraine a prétendu que le Commissaire à l'instruction publique de Porto-Rico était nommé par le Président des Etats-Unis; c'est une indication qu'il a sans doute trouvée dans les renseignements présentés pour l'année 1947. Mais il ressort clairement des renseignements présentés l'année suivante que c'est désormais le Gouverneur de Porto-Rico qui procède à cette nomination; la population de l'île fixe et applique elle-même ses propres principes en matière d'enseignement.

23. M. Fahy a peine à comprendre sur quoi se fondent les allégations du représentant de la RSS d'Ukraine selon lesquelles la culture propre de Porto-Rico serait en voie de disparition. C'est l'espagnol qui est la langue d'enseignement dans les écoles primaires. Le territoire possède trois établissements d'enseignement supérieur (dont une université où étaient inscrits, pendant l'année scolaire 1947-1948, 10.000 étudiants, chiffre jamais atteint encore), qui s'emploient tout spécialement à former des fonctionnaires afin de hâter l'évolution du pays vers la capacité de s'administrer lui-même. L'école des arts industriels de Porto-Rico reçoit des étudiants qui proviennent de toute la région des Antilles.

24. Le représentant de la RSS d'Ukraine a décrit Porto-Rico comme un territoire de monoculture entièrement tributaire du marché des Etats-Unis et livré à l'hégémonie des Etats-Unis. Comme c'est le cas pour le reste de la région des Antilles, l'économie de Porto-Rico est essentiellement agricole. Mais la proportion de la population employée dans l'agriculture n'a cessé de diminuer depuis le début du siècle et, maintenant qu'ont été créées plus de cinquante industries nouvelles, ce pourcentage est inférieur à 40 pour 100. Le représentant de la RSS d'Ukraine a prétendu que Porto-Rico n'avait d'échanges commerciaux qu'avec les Etats-Unis. Or, en 1948, les importations de ce pays provenaient de cinquante-trois pays différents et les exportations de produits finis ou de denrées agricoles originaires de l'île se répartissaient entre trente-cinq pays.

25. Le représentant de la RSS d'Ukraine a fait état des ravages de la tuberculose à Porto-Rico. Il est vrai que la population souffre beaucoup de cette maladie mais il importe de ne pas oublier que son traitement, dans les régions tropicales, pose des problèmes particuliers. Les services sanitaires de Porto-Rico ont entrepris, sur toute l'étendue du territoire, une campagne au cours de laquelle seront vaccinés contre la tuberculose tous

les enfants du pays; c'est l'une des premières fois qu'une campagne antituberculeuse de cette envergure est entreprise à l'aide du vaccin BCG.

26. M. FAHY ne se propose pas de rappeler la part que le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis a prise au progrès de Porto-Rico, mais il tient à assurer la Commission que son Gouvernement continuera à donner à la population de l'île toute l'assistance en son pouvoir.

27. M. CARPIO (Philippines), répondant au représentant de la France, rappelle qu'au cours de son intervention précédente, consacrée à l'interprétation juridique du Chapitre XI de la Charte, il a fait ressortir, en premier lieu, que l'Article 73 impose aux Puissances coloniales un certain nombre d'obligation ayant priorité sur celles qui sont énumérées à l'alinéa e dudit Article, et c'est là une affirmation qui n'a pas été démentie; en second lieu, qu'aux termes de l'Article 10 de la Charte, l'Assemblée générale a le droit de discuter des questions visées à l'Article 73 et de formuler des recommandations sur ces questions, et, en troisième lieu que, si le Conseil de tutelle est l'organe habilité à connaître des questions relatives aux Chapitres XII et XIII de la Charte et à formuler des recommandations à leur sujet, aucune disposition ne prévoit quel est l'organe compétent pour les questions se rapportant au Chapitre XI. Le représentant des Philippines avait indiqué alors que l'Assemblée générale devrait prendre des mesures pour combler cette lacune.

28. Mais le représentant de la France a prétendu qu'une telle décision rendrait nécessaire une révision de la Charte et serait contraire à l'esprit qui animait les auteurs de celle-ci. M. Carpio ne doute pas que le représentant de la France, qui est également un juriste, admettra que, quand il y a droit, il doit y avoir aussi moyen d'exercer ce droit; pour cette raison, puisque l'Assemblée générale dispose de certains droits en vertu de l'Article 73 de la Charte, elle doit également avoir le pouvoir d'exercer ces droits.

29. Le représentant des Philippines demande au représentant de la France de répondre à trois questions. Il voudrait savoir d'abord si le représentant de la France reconnaît l'existence des obligations découlant de l'Article 73 que M. Carpio a énumérées dans son intervention précédente, ou si le représentant de la France estime que les obligations des Puissances coloniales sont limitées à celles dont il est question à l'alinéa e de cet Article. En second lieu, il voudrait savoir si le représentant de la France reconnaît qu'en vertu des dispositions de l'Article 73, considérées en liaison avec celles de l'Article 10, l'Assemblée générale et la Quatrième Commission sont compétentes pour procéder à des examens et pour formuler des recommandations en vue de garantir le respect des obligations imposées par la Charte. Troisièmement, il voudrait savoir si le représentant de la France reconnaît ou non qu'il est nécessaire d'établir une procédure propre à assurer le respect des obligations énumérées à l'Article 73.

30. M. MUGHIR (Syrie) répond au représentant de la France qui a laissé entendre que le représentant de la Syrie n'avait pas lu le rapport du Gouvernement français relatif à l'instruction dans les territoires non autonomes administrés par la France. Non seulement il a lu ce rapport, mais

il a également étudié quantité de renseignements provenant de sources marocaines et tunisiennes.

31. Le représentant de la France a parlé de la contribution apportée par son pays aux travaux des Instituts islamiques du Maroc et de la Tunisie. Or, ces Instituts existaient bien avant la conquête de l'Afrique du Nord par la France. D'autre part, ils n'ont jamais reçu aucune aide financière des autorités françaises.

32. Lorsque les Français ont occupé l'Afrique du Nord, ils ont trouvé un système cohérent d'administration ayant à sa tête un chef temporel et spirituel, situation dont parle dans ses ouvrages l'écrivain français Lyautey. Le représentant de la France n'a pas indiqué l'existence, au Maroc, d'une assemblée législative élue au suffrage universel; il n'a pas davantage laissé entrevoir que la création d'une telle assemblée pût être envisagée. Il n'existe, dans le territoire, aucune séparation entre le pouvoir exécutif et le pouvoir judiciaire. La liberté de déplacement est limitée comme l'est la liberté d'association. Il existe également une censure sévère de la presse. En mars 1948, il y avait plus de 1.200 publications arabes interdites. Les Marocains n'ont pas le droit de créer des syndicats ouvriers. Leurs biens peuvent être expropriés pour de multiples raisons. La situation économique a empiré sous l'occupation française; l'accroissement rapide du déficit budgétaire en témoigne. Les salaires n'ont pas augmenté en proportion du coût de la vie.

33. M. FARRAG (Egypte) dit que les arguments avancés par le représentant de la France pour justifier la décision de son gouvernement de ne plus transmettre des renseignements sur un certain nombre de territoires ne sont pas nouveaux. La délégation française s'est servie d'arguments semblables au cours de la première session de l'Assemblée générale, lorsque la France a essayé d'annexer les Territoires sous mandat du Togo et du Cameroun. Cette tentative a fort heureusement échoué et le représentant de la France a finalement été obligé d'admettre qu'aucune Puissance n'avait le droit de s'emparer des territoires placés sous son administration après la guerre de 1914-1918. Les restrictions imposées par les considérations d'ordre constitutionnel mentionnées à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte s'appliquent, de toute évidence, aux constitutions qui existaient avant l'adoption de la Charte des Nations Unies. La nouvelle constitution dont parle le représentant de la France a été adoptée en 1946.

34. M. ZARUBINE (Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques) rappelle que le représentant de la France, lorsqu'il s'est efforcé de réfuter les faits avancés par un certain nombre de représentants, a accusé d'autres délégations de faire de la propagande. Cette manière de faire est un stratagème auquel les Puissances coloniales ont coutume de recourir pour éviter de donner une réponse directe aux critiques qui leur sont adressées. Pour sa part, la délégation de l'URSS a fondé ses observations exclusivement sur les faits contenus dans les renseignements transmis au Secrétaire général par les Puissances administrantes; en toute justice, elle ne peut donc être accusée de faire de la propagande.

35. Le représentant de la France n'a pas essayé de nier les faits cités qui sont une preuve évidente de l'absence de droits politiques dans les territoires non autonomes, de leur exploitation et de

leur terrible pauvreté. Il est impossible de modifier les faits et les Puissances coloniales préfèrent s'en tenir à des généralités destinées à cacher à l'opinion publique mondiale les conditions qui existent dans les territoires non autonomes.

36. Le Gouvernement français a pris, unilatéralement, la décision de ne plus transmettre de renseignements sur certains territoires. Cependant, sans aucun doute, les Puissances administrantes doivent continuer à transmettre les renseignements exigés par l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte. La Quatrième Commission a le devoir de veiller à ce que les renseignements requis soient transmis, et de rappeler aux Puissances coloniales l'obligation qu'elles ont contractée de favoriser la prospérité des territoires non autonomes.

37. M. GALAGAN (République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine) dit que, si le représentant des Etats-Unis a affirmé que la description des conditions existant à Porto-Rico faite par le représentant de la RSS d'Ukraine est inexacte, il n'a démenti aucun des faits avancés dans le discours de M. Galagan.

38. Le représentant des Etats-Unis n'a pas démenti que le Président de son pays pouvait user de son veto à l'égard des lois adoptées par l'Assemblée législative de Porto-Rico. Il n'a pas davantage démenti que le représentant de Porto-Rico au Congrès n'avait pas le droit de voter, ni même celui de prendre la parole, sauf quand le Congrès l'y autorisait à l'unanimité.

39. Le représentant des Etats-Unis s'est efforcé de contester les faits exposés par M. Galagan à propos de la situation économique de Porto-Rico. Cependant, les renseignements transmis en vertu

de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 indiquent clairement que Porto-Rico n'est qu'une dépendance des Etats-Unis, que ses ressources sont exploitées dans l'intérêt des Etats-Unis alors que les habitants de Porto-Rico souffrent de la faim. Le représentant des Etats-Unis n'a pas nié l'existence d'un chômage généralisé ni celle d'un mouvement important d'émigration vers les Etats-Unis. Les émigrants de Porto-Rico vivent dans la misère et la délégation de la RSS d'Ukraine a reçu des lettres de certains d'entre eux qui se plaignent des conditions dans lesquelles ils vivent.

40. Le représentant de la RSS d'Ukraine mentionne également l'existence à Porto-Rico d'une loi relative à la limitation des naissances et indique qu'on pratique dans ce pays la stérilisation des mères.

41. Le représentant des Etats-Unis s'est également élevé contre l'accusation selon laquelle son gouvernement s'efforcerait de détruire la culture de Porto-Rico. Il n'a cependant pas démenti le fait que le Président des Etats-Unis a récemment usé de son veto à propos d'une loi relative à l'enseignement de l'espagnol dans les écoles de Porto-Rico.

42. Il est évident que les Puissances coloniales n'ont pas l'intention de se conformer aux obligations stipulées dans le Chapitre XI de la Charte. L'Assemblée générale ne doit pas permettre que des accusations faisant état d'une prétendue propagande l'empêchent d'exiger que les obligations découlant de ce Chapitre soient strictement remplies.

La séance est levée à 13 h. 30.

CENT VINGT-QUATRIEME SEANCE

Tenue à Lake Success, New-York, le lundi 14 novembre 1949, à 10 h. 45.

Président: M. H. LANNUNG (Danemark).

Renseignements provenant des territoires non autonomes (*suite*)

1. Le PRÉSIDENT invite la Commission à examiner le projet de résolution présenté par la délégation de l'Égypte, relatif aux territoires auxquels s'applique le Chapitre XI de la Charte (A/C.4/L.37).

2. M. FARRAG (Égypte) ne veut pas passer en revue les différentes étapes des travaux qui ont abouti à l'adoption du Chapitre XI de la Charte à San-Francisco, ni interpréter les dispositions de ce chapitre; il tient cependant à souligner que le projet de résolution présenté par sa délégation a un fondement solide étant donné qu'il est conforme à la fois à l'esprit et à la lettre de ce chapitre.

3. Il rappelle qu'à la session de l'Assemblée générale tenue en février 1946 le représentant des États-Unis, M. John Foster Dulles, a précisé que la déclaration relative aux territoires non autonomes ne concerne pas seulement les Puissances administrantes, mais bien l'ensemble des Nations Unies¹. M. Arthur Creech Jones, représentant du Royaume-Uni, a ajouté qu'il se réjouissait de voir enfin, dans le Chapitre XI, une convention coloniale internationale que toutes les Puissances qui ont adhéré à la Charte des Nations Unies seront dans l'obligation de respecter².

¹ Voir les *Documents officiels de la première session de l'Assemblée générale, première partie, 27ème séance plénière*, page 367.

4. Étant donné de telles déclarations, M. Farrag estime qu'il est du devoir des Nations Unies, et plus particulièrement de l'Assemblée générale, d'inviter les Puissances administrantes à respecter cette convention, qui prévoit, entre autres, la transmission régulière de renseignements sur les territoires non autonomes.

5. Selon la résolution 66 (I), adoptée par l'Assemblée générale le 14 décembre 1946, le nombre des territoires non autonomes énumérés par les Puissances administrantes s'élevait à soixante-quatorze. En 1949, le nombre des territoires pour lesquels des renseignements ont été transmis est tombé à soixante-deux. M. Farrag pense que l'Assemblée générale a le droit de savoir si la diminution du nombre des territoires pour lesquels des renseignements ont été transmis est due à une modification quelconque intervenue dans la constitution et le statut de certains territoires. C'est à cette fin que l'Assemblée générale a adopté, en 1948, la résolution 222 (III). Le projet de résolution présenté par la délégation égyptienne a pour objet de compléter la procédure établie par la résolution 222 (III) et de permettre à l'Assemblée générale de s'acquitter des responsabilités qui lui incombent au sujet de la transmission par les Puissances administrantes des renseignements prévus à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte.

6. On a prétendu que l'Assemblée générale ne saurait adopter un projet de résolution tel que

² *Ibid.*, page 374.

celui qui est présenté par la délégation égyptienne, car cela serait une atteinte aux droits souverains des Puissances administrantes. Cet argument n'est pas nouveau; il a déjà été soulevé devant la Quatrième Commission. M. Farrag rappelle que cette question a déjà fait l'objet de longues discussions en 1946, lorsqu'on a cherché à définir d'une manière plus précise l'expression "territoire non autonome". Il se réfère à ce sujet aux comptes rendus analytiques de la Sous-Commission II de la Quatrième Commission¹ et au document A/C.4/52 qui a été soumis à la Quatrième Commission en 1946². Les opinions exprimées à cette époque révèlent que les Puissances administrantes n'avaient pas soulevé la question de la compétence et n'avaient pas estimé que leurs droits souverains étaient menacés.

7. En ce qui concerne le projet de résolution présenté par la délégation égyptienne, M. Farrag estime que son contenu ne saurait donner lieu à des objections. Le préambule est fondé sur la Charte et est conforme à la résolution 222 (III). Le dispositif se borne à réaffirmer certaines prérogatives de l'Assemblée générale.

8. Le premier paragraphe du dispositif a trait à l'énumération des territoires non autonomes pour lesquels les Puissances administrantes doivent transmettre des renseignements, et dont le nombre est passé depuis 1946 de soixante-quatorze à soixante-deux. La délégation égyptienne estime qu'il y a lieu de se féliciter si certains de ces territoires sont arrivés à l'indépendance ou à l'autonomie. Toutefois, aussi longtemps qu'il existera des territoires qui ne s'administrent pas eux-mêmes, les obligations des Puissances administrantes subsisteront et l'Assemblée générale devra s'assurer que ces obligations sont respectées. Il est indispensable qu'il y ait coopération entre les Puissances administrantes et les autres Membres des Nations Unies; c'est pourquoi le projet de résolution de l'Egypte devrait être accueilli favorablement. En ce qui concerne le deuxième paragraphe du dispositif, M. Farrag estime que le Comité spécial est l'organe le plus approprié pour étudier les facteurs dont il convient de tenir compte et pour fournir un avis à l'Assemblée générale sur ce point.

9. M. DUARTE (Brésil) estime que les principes qui ont inspiré le projet de résolution égyptien sont conformes à l'esprit du Chapitre XI de la Charte. Le paragraphe 7 de l'Article 2 de la Charte a été interprété de façons tellement diverses qu'il est devenu presque impossible pour les Nations Unies de définir exactement l'expression "territoire non autonome".

10. Les mêmes interprétations ont été données en 1946 lorsqu'on a envisagé la constitution du Comité *ad hoc*. On a prétendu que la Charte ne prévoyait aucun mécanisme pour la mise en vigueur des dispositions du Chapitre XI, que la constitution du Comité *ad hoc* porterait atteinte à la souveraineté nationale de certains Etats et équivaldrait à une tentative d'amendement de l'Article 2 de la Charte. En dépit de cette opposition, le Comité a néanmoins été créé.

11. L'expérience a montré que le mot "intervenir", au paragraphe 7 de l'Article 2 de la Charte,

ne doit pas s'entendre dans un sens étroit et technique lorsqu'il s'agit des responsabilités des Puissances administrantes. Dans le cas actuel, la Commission traite de questions qui ne relèvent pas essentiellement de la compétence nationale des Puissances administrantes; il n'est donc pas nécessaire d'analyser en détail les arguments d'ordre juridique et politique qui pourraient être avancés en faveur des principes estimables qui ont inspiré le projet de résolution de l'Egypte.

12. La délégation du Brésil votera en faveur de ce projet de résolution et elle espère qu'il recevra l'appui de la majorité des membres de la Commission. Etant donné l'importance de ce projet de résolution, M. Duarte demande que le vote ait lieu par appel nominal.

13. M. KHADRA (Arabie saoudite) appuie le projet de résolution de l'Egypte, car sa délégation estime qu'il est conçu dans l'esprit et selon la lettre de la Charte et qu'il servira les intérêts primordiaux des populations des territoires non autonomes.

14. Etant donné le ton mesuré et la nature conciliante de ce projet de résolution, M. Khadra espère que les Etats Membres qui administrent des territoires non autonomes seront mus par un sincère esprit de conciliation et voteront en faveur de ce projet.

15. M. Khadra estime que l'on évitera de nouveaux débats acerbes si l'on adopte le projet de résolution égyptien, parce qu'il donne le moyen d'établir des critères pour décider dans quelles circonstances les Puissances administrantes pourront cesser de transmettre des renseignements concernant les territoires dont elles ont la responsabilité. M. Khadra craint que, si ce projet de résolution n'est pas adopté, l'on n'entende les mêmes récriminations à la cinquième session de l'Assemblée générale et l'on ne risque d'aboutir à une impasse sérieuse.

16. Les Puissances administrantes ont peut-être des raisons qu'elles considèrent valables pour cesser de transmettre des renseignements sur un certain nombre de territoires, mais il est également possible que les Etats Membres qui n'administrent pas de territoires non autonomes réfutent ces raisons. M. Khadra pense que le projet de résolution égyptien propose une bonne solution pour établir des critères permettant de déterminer si un territoire est, ou n'est pas, non autonome. D'autre part, ce projet de résolution n'impose pas aux Puissances administrantes d'obligations autres que celles qu'elles ont acceptées lorsqu'elles ont ratifié la Charte.

17. M. Khadra espère que les délégations qui ne considèrent pas ce projet de résolution comme suffisamment énergique ne nuiront pas aux intérêts des populations des territoires non autonomes en ne votant pas en sa faveur.

18. M. Shiva RAO (Inde) déclare que plusieurs membres sont préoccupés par la décision unilatérale que certaines Puissances administrantes ont prise de cesser de transmettre des renseignements sur plusieurs territoires non autonomes énumérés dans la résolution 66 (I) de l'Assemblée générale.

19. Il tient à appeler l'attention de la Commission sur la résolution 222 (III) de l'Assemblée

¹ Voir les *Documents officiels de la seconde partie de la première session de l'Assemblée générale*, Quatrième Commission, troisième partie, pages 8 et 9.

² *Ibid.*, Quatrième Commission, première partie, pages 273 à 275.

générale, qui se borne à demander aux Puissances administrantes d'exposer les raisons pour lesquelles elles cessent de transmettre des renseignements sur ces territoires. L'Assemblée générale s'est demandée si une telle décision de la part des Puissances administrantes était due au fait que les territoires intéressés avaient acquis l'indépendance ou l'autonomie, ou s'il s'agissait d'une simple omission ou si les Puissances avaient obéi à d'autres raisons encore. Le projet de résolution présenté par la délégation égyptienne ne met en doute ni le bien-fondé ni l'opportunité des décisions prises par les Puissances administrantes; son but est d'élucider la question en allant plus avant que la résolution 222 (III) de l'Assemblée générale.

20. Le premier paragraphe du dispositif du projet de résolution établit clairement que l'Assemblée générale a le devoir d'exprimer son avis quant aux obligations contractées par les Puissances administrantes aux termes de l'Article 73 de la Charte. Le deuxième paragraphe invite le Comité spécial à étudier les facteurs dont il faut tenir compte pour décider si un territoire s'administre lui-même ou non.

21. Les Puissances administrantes elles-mêmes ne sont pas d'accord sur les critères qu'il faut appliquer pour prendre une telle décision. M. Rao se reporte aux déclarations du Royaume-Uni et de la France qui figurent dans le document A/915. Toutefois, les Puissances administrantes estiment que ce n'est pas à l'Assemblée générale, mais à la Puissance administrante intéressée qu'il appartient de déterminer si un territoire a cessé d'être un territoire non autonome. Il conviendrait donc que le Secrétaire préparât un document de travail sur la question, dont le Comité spécial pourrait s'inspirer lorsqu'il étudierait les facteurs dont il y a lieu de tenir compte.

22. Pour les raisons qui viennent d'être exposées, la délégation de l'Inde votera en faveur du projet de résolution de l'Egypte.

23. M. MARTURET (Venezuela) déclare que, de l'avis de sa délégation, la question des renseignements transmis en vertu de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte a une importance capitale.

24. Il rappelle qu'en 1946 les territoires au sujet desquels des renseignements ont été transmis étaient au nombre de soixante-quatorze; toutefois, par la suite, les Puissances administrantes n'ont plus transmis de renseignements que pour soixante-deux territoires.

25. La délégation du Venezuela estime que pour savoir comment il conviendra de mettre en œuvre les dispositions du Chapitre XI, l'Assemblée générale devrait déterminer nettement ce qu'il faut entendre par "territoire non autonome". L'expérience a montré que l'expression "non autonome" n'est pas suffisamment précise. Elle a donné lieu à des interprétations divergentes qui ont rendu difficile la tâche de l'Assemblée générale en ce qui concerne la mise en œuvre de l'Article 73. Aussi M. Marturet estime-t-il que tout effort de l'Assemblée générale en vue de clarifier la situation se justifierait. Le projet de résolution de l'Egypte est, à son avis, un pas dans la bonne voie, étant donné qu'il pourrait servir de base pour définir ultérieurement ce qu'il faut entendre par "territoire non autonome".

26. Ce projet de résolution établit nettement que l'Assemblée générale a le devoir de formuler une opinion quant aux principes sur lesquels se sont fondés les Etats Membres intéressés lorsqu'ils ont énuméré les territoires non autonomes au sujet desquels ils sont tenus de communiquer des renseignements. Il est évident que l'on ne saurait considérer l'énoncé de ces principes comme une ingérence dans les affaires qui relèvent de la compétence nationale des Puissances administrantes.

27. La délégation du Venezuela a déjà exprimé l'avis que le Comité spécial n'était pas compétent pour traiter la question de la transmission de renseignements sur les territoires non autonomes, mais elle considère que l'Assemblée générale est pleinement compétente pour le faire. S'il existait un organe spécial des Nations Unies chargé de déterminer la nature des liens qui doivent exister entre une Puissance administrante et un territoire non autonome, on pourrait interpréter ce fait comme constituant une ingérence dans les affaires intérieures de cette Puissance. On ne saurait en dire autant, néanmoins, si cet organe spécial se bornait à effectuer certaines études de nature juridique, politique, économique ou sociale qui serviraient à déterminer s'il convient de classer tel ou tel territoire comme territoire non autonome ou non.

28. M. Marturet considère donc que la majorité des membres devraient pouvoir accepter le projet de résolution de l'Egypte; sa délégation, pour sa part, votera en faveur de ce texte.

29. M. FLETCHER-COOKE (Royaume-Uni) rappelle qu'en présentant son projet de résolution le représentant de l'Egypte a déclaré que les Puissances administrantes étaient liées par les dispositions du Chapitre XI, puisqu'elles ont signé la Charte. Toutefois, M. Fletcher-Cooke tient à faire remarquer que les Puissances qui n'administrent pas de territoires non autonomes sont également liées par ces dispositions. Ni celles-ci, ni les Puissances administrantes ne peuvent rien ajouter ni rien supprimer dans ce Chapitre, si ce n'est conformément à la procédure de révision de la Charte qui a été adoptée.

30. Il sait bien qu'en présentant son projet de résolution, le représentant de l'Egypte ne pensait pas uniquement ni même principalement aux territoires dont le Royaume-Uni assume l'administration. Toutefois, M. Fletcher-Cooke croit utile de préciser la position de son Gouvernement, étant donné que le projet de résolution donne à penser que l'on s'est mépris sur les raisons pour lesquelles le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni a cessé de transmettre des informations sur Malte.

31. Lorsqu'il a cessé de transmettre des renseignements sur Malte, le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni n'a pas allégué que ce territoire avait atteint une complète autonomie au sens du Chapitre XI de la Charte. Toutefois, au cours de l'évolution d'un territoire non autonome vers l'autonomie, il y a souvent un stade, comme c'est le cas pour Malte, où la responsabilité de la gestion des affaires économiques et sociales et de l'enseignement, questions qui sont mentionnées à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte, n'incombe plus à la Puissance administrante intéressée, mais est confiée par la Constitution au gouvernement du territoire, bien que celui-ci n'ait pas encore atteint une entière autonomie. Lorsqu'on en est

à ce point, les considérations d'ordre constitutionnel mentionnées à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte peuvent empêcher le gouvernement métropolitain de transmettre des renseignements sur ces questions car celles-ci ne sont plus de son ressort. Les mots "sous réserve . . . des considérations d'ordre constitutionnel" ont été insérés, à San-Francisco, dans le projet de texte de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 sur l'initiative du représentant du Royaume-Uni, précisément pour prévoir une telle situation, et ce membre de phrase a été accepté avec l'addition des mots "des exigences de la sécurité et" qui avaient été proposés par le représentant des Etats-Unis. Etant donné qu'aux termes de la Constitution de 1947 Malte administre elle-même ses affaires intérieures, y compris celles qui sont énumérées à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73, le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni ne s'occupe plus de ces questions, pour des raisons d'ordre constitutionnel, et ne peut donc pas communiquer de renseignements à leur sujet. Il n'y a pas de doute que seule la Puissance administrante est à même de se prononcer sur la question des exigences de la sécurité et sur la nature de ses liens constitutionnels avec chacun des territoires dont elle est responsable. Ainsi que le représentant du Royaume-Uni l'a précisé au cours de la discussion de la résolution 222 (III) à la troisième session de l'Assemblée générale, le Royaume-Uni est disposé à aviser le Secrétaire général chaque fois que l'un des territoires qu'il administre atteindra un stade de développement constitutionnel où le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni cessera d'être responsable des domaines énumérés dans l'alinéa e de l'Article 73, situation qui aura pour conséquence l'impossibilité constitutionnelle de transmettre les renseignements exigés par cet Article. Il s'agit donc simplement de faire savoir au Secrétaire général que cet état de choses existe; mais la Charte ne contient pas de dispositions confiant à l'Assemblée générale le soin de déterminer quels sont les effets des deux limitations mentionnées — exigences de la sécurité et considérations d'ordre constitutionnel — sur l'obligation de transmettre des renseignements incombant à un Etat Membre.

32. Il ne sera donc pas d'une grande utilité de chercher à déterminer ce qu'est un territoire non autonome, étant donné que ce facteur n'est pas nécessairement décisif. Au cas où le Comité spécial serait chargé de procéder à une étude de cette question, M. Fletcher-Cooke se verrait dans l'obligation de réserver la position de son Gouvernement quant à sa participation à ces travaux.

33. M. SHAHBAN (Pakistan) déclare que le projet de résolution de l'Egypte correspond tout à fait à l'opinion de sa délégation; celle-ci se prononcera donc sans réserve en sa faveur.

34. La délégation du Pakistan a peine à comprendre que l'on puisse élever des objections contre la proposition de l'Egypte, qui est entièrement conforme aux dispositions de la Charte. Le fait de cesser, par une décision unilatérale, de transmettre des renseignements sur un territoire pour la raison que ce territoire n'appartient plus à la catégorie des territoires non autonomes, peut donner lieu à des malentendus et faire naître des suspicions. Si un territoire acquiert son autonomie ou même une autonomie partielle, comme c'est le cas pour Malte, et si le gouvernement métropolitain intéressé en informe l'Organisation des Nations Unies en lui exposant toute la situation, l'Organi-

sation acceptera volontiers de réduire le nombre des territoires au sujet desquels des renseignements doivent être communiquée.

35. M. GARREAU (France), tout en appréciant l'esprit dans lequel la délégation de l'Egypte a présenté son projet de résolution, se croit tenu de souligner qu'il est avant tout nécessaire de définir de façon satisfaisante ce qu'est, aux termes du Chapitre XI de la Charte, un territoire non autonome. Si la Puissance administrante peut décider de transmettre des renseignements sur un territoire, elle peut tout aussi bien décider, de son propre chef, qu'elle cessera de le faire. A San-Francisco, l'expression "territoire non autonome" n'a pas été définie; c'est une omission sur laquelle la France a constamment attiré l'attention au cours des trois dernières années. Si l'on adoptait le projet de résolution de l'Egypte sans formuler auparavant cette définition, ce serait mettre la charrue avant les bœufs.

36. La liste des territoires non autonomes qui intéressent l'Assemblée générale n'est pas complète, en ce sens qu'elle ne comprend pas tous les territoires auxquels les dispositions du Chapitre XI de la Charte peuvent s'appliquer. Il est donc injuste de considérer ce Chapitre comme ne s'appliquant qu'aux Puissances qui en ont loyalement observé les dispositions. Il s'applique à tous les Etats Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies.

37. La délégation de la France a élevé des objections de principe contre le projet de résolution soumis par les délégations du Mexique et des Etats-Unis qui a été adopté à la séance précédente. Le dispositif du projet de résolution de l'Egypte appelle les mêmes objections; aussi, tout en formulant de nouveau des réserves quant à la position du Gouvernement français à l'égard du Comité spécial lui-même, dont elle conteste la légalité, la délégation de la France votera contre le projet de résolution égyptien.

38. M. DE BRUYNE (Belgique) déclare que la délégation belge se trouve dans une situation privilégiée pour exprimer son avis sur le projet de résolution de l'Egypte; en effet, la Belgique a librement décidé que le Congo belge est le seul territoire non autonome sur lequel elle exerce des droits souverains et elle s'est engagée à fournir les renseignements prévus à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte. La délégation belge estime que toutes les populations moins évoluées du globe ont droit à ce que les Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies déclarent accepter à leur égard la mission sacrée que la Belgique a acceptée vis-à-vis du Congo belge.

39. Comme le représentant de la France l'a fait remarquer, la définition des populations non autonomes n'a pas encore été formulée. Certaines populations non autonomes vivent sur des territoires, d'autres dans des réserves; les régions où elles habitent sont, en certains cas, englobées dans les frontières d'un Etat ou bien contiguës à celles-ci, alors que dans d'autres cas elles en sont séparées par la mer.

40. De l'avis de la délégation belge, certains des arguments qui ont été présentés à ce sujet au cours des séances de la semaine précédente ne sont pas valables. Du point de vue juridique, que la région habitée par ces populations non autonomes soit englobée dans les frontières d'un Etat ou

qu'elle leur soit extérieure, l'Etat plus évolué a certains droits sur cette région. Le Congo belge fait partie du territoire belge et il est soumis aux lois belges, tout comme certaines réserves sont soumises à la souveraineté d'autres Etats.

41. A propos d'une intervention de la délégation belge, le représentant du Mexique a dit que, dans son pays, la politique suivie à l'égard des populations moins évoluées est soumise au contrôle de l'opinion publique et du Parlement. Il en est exactement de même en Belgique et les annales parlementaires viennent prouver le souci humanitaire avec lequel tous les partis politiques belges suivent l'évolution des populations non autonomes.

42. Le Congo belge a connu deux statuts politiques: celui d'Etat indépendant et celui de colonie. Lorsqu'il était Etat indépendant, il était soumis à un monarque souverain et administré par une poignée de blancs; il avait son propre drapeau et un conseil colonial indépendant du Parlement belge. C'était en fait un Etat autoritaire. Si le Congo avait gardé son statut indépendant, il aurait ressemblé à bien des Etats représentés à l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Il aurait eu son propre délégué, qui aurait répudié toute immixtion, étrangère ou internationale, dans ses affaires intérieures. Du point de vue de la publicité internationale, la Commission admettra sans doute que le sort des populations du Congo est mieux assuré par le régime actuel que par celui qui l'a précédé.

43. A une séance précédente, le représentant de l'Uruguay a déclaré que, depuis la Conférence de San-Francisco, la politique coloniale a été soumise au jugement de la conscience universelle. La délégation belge ne juge certainement pas cela fâcheux, mais elle estime que ce contrôle moral de l'opinion publique devrait venir s'ajouter à un contrôle légal exercé par des institutions parlementaires.

44. Il pourrait être avantageux pour toutes les nations et pour les populations non autonomes d'avoir des renseignements officiels sur les mesures prises par certains Etats pour protéger et développer les langues, par exemple, celles des Indiens de l'Amérique centrale, de l'Amérique du Sud et du Nord, des Négritos des Philippines, etc. Il serait utile que tous les Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies reçoivent des statistiques sur le progrès de l'enseignement et, notamment, sur la formation économique et sociale des indigènes moins évolués dans tous les pays. Les projets de résolution adoptés au cours des tout derniers jours permettent de se rendre compte que si l'on prenait des mesures du même ordre dans tous les domaines sur lesquels la transmission de renseignements est prévue à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte, la prospérité des populations non autonomes s'en trouverait grandement favorisée. La délégation belge espère que le projet de résolution de l'Egypte a été inspiré par le désir d'étendre le bénéfice du Chapitre XI de la Charte au plus grand nombre possible de populations non autonomes.

45. La Commission ne doit pas se dissimuler qu'il existe, chez ses membres, une méfiance profonde, méfiance de la part des Puissances non administrantes à l'égard des *unhappy few*, et méfiance de la part des Puissances administrantes à l'égard d'une majorité qui rejette délibérément

les garanties constitutionnelles explicitement prévues au Chapitre XI de la Charte.

46. En ce qui concerne le texte du projet de résolution égyptien, la délégation belge aurait préféré une référence plus courte au texte de l'Article 73 car, dans sa rédaction actuelle, la résolution égyptienne paraît préjuger l'interprétation de cet Article. Elle aurait préféré que le préambule comportât un considérant de plus, ainsi libellé: "Considérant que la résolution 66 (I), notant une situation de fait, ne peut interpréter au sens restrictif l'Article 73 relativement aux Membres des Nations Unies qui ont ou qui assument la responsabilité d'administrer des territoires non autonomes". Toutefois, les principales objections qu'élève la délégation belge au projet de résolution portent sur la rédaction du dernier paragraphe du dispositif. Dans ce paragraphe le membre de phrase "dont il convient de tenir compte" présente un caractère impersonnel, et on ne voit pas clairement si c'est à l'Assemblée générale ou à chacun des Etats qu'il appartient de tenir compte des facteurs dont il est question.

47. Comme elle l'a déjà indiqué à plusieurs reprises, la délégation belge estime que l'Assemblée générale n'est pas compétente pour exprimer une opinion ayant un effet obligatoire sur la manière dont les Puissances administrantes doivent se conformer aux dispositions du Chapitre XI. Par conséquent, même si l'Assemblée générale arrivait à définir ce qu'est un territoire non autonome, soit par la voie empirique, soit par toute autre méthode, elle n'aurait toujours aucun pouvoir pour décider si la définition s'applique à tel ou tel territoire. Toute décision de ce genre appartient aux seuls Etats Membres.

48. Ces arguments d'ordre juridique auraient suffi pour justifier une opposition au projet de résolution de l'Egypte. Tout en maintenant toutes les réserves qu'elle a formulées, notamment en ce qui concerne le Comité spécial, la délégation belge s'abstiendra lors du vote sur le projet de résolution de l'Egypte car elle tient à souligner, et elle a en cela l'appui de la majorité des Membres, que toutes les populations non autonomes du globe doivent recevoir de la part de l'Organisation des Nations Unies les mêmes garanties effectives.

49. M. NORIEGA (Mexique) ne pense pas que la proposition égyptienne constitue une modification de la Charte comme l'estime le représentant du Royaume-Uni. La valeur de la Charte dépend de la bonne volonté et de la bonne foi de tous les Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Selon le représentant de la France, les huit pays qui ont accepté volontairement de transmettre des renseignements en vertu du Chapitre XI sont parfaitement libres de cesser, à quelque moment que ce soit, de transmettre ces renseignements. Néanmoins, le Chapitre XI forme partie intégrante de la Charte et il institue des obligations internationales, à la fois pour les Membres des Nations Unies qui ont la responsabilité d'administrer des territoires non autonomes et pour ceux qui n'ont pas cette responsabilité. Le projet de résolution de l'Egypte doit être examiné en tenant compte de ce fait.

50. Le représentant du Royaume-Uni a déclaré que, par suite de modifications d'ordre constitutionnel survenues à Malte, le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni ne s'occupe plus, dans ce terri-

toire, des questions d'ordre économique, social et culturel. Il a reconnu cependant que la population maltaise ne s'administrerait pas encore complètement elle-même. Dans ces conditions, le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni devrait continuer à transmettre des renseignements sur Malte. En somme, le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni n'a fait que déléguer des pouvoirs au Gouvernement de Malte.

51. En ce qui concerne les observations des représentants de la France et de la Belgique, M. Noriega estime que le cas de noyaux de population qui sont sous la dépendance d'une race étrangère est entièrement différent de celui des territoires non autonomes. Ces noyaux de populations, bien que pour des raisons d'ordre culturel ils ne fassent pas partie intégrante de la communauté, jouissent néanmoins des mêmes droits civils et politiques que le reste de la population. Il est vrai que certains groupes de populations sont soumis à des mesures discriminatoires et de ségrégation; la délégation du Mexique fera tout ce qui est en son pouvoir pour leur faire rendre justice.

52. Le représentant du Mexique invite les Puissances administrantes à faire preuve d'esprit de conciliation en proposant une formule qu'elles jugent acceptable et qui donne satisfaction à l'Assemblée générale. Il voudrait voir se réduire la liste des territoires non autonomes et les populations de ces territoires parvenir à s'administrer vraiment elles-mêmes. La délégation du Mexique sera la première à féliciter les Puissances administrantes lorsque ce résultat sera atteint.

53. M. CARPIO (Philippines) fait observer que le nombre des territoires pour lesquels des renseignements sont transmis en vertu de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte est tombé de soixante-quatorze à soixante-deux, sans que les Puissances administrantes fournissent, à ce sujet, la moindre explication; en effet, ces Puissances prétendent qu'il leur appartient à elles seules de décider si elles doivent ou ne doivent pas transmettre des renseignements sur les territoires non autonomes figurant dans la liste initiale. Le projet de résolution présenté par la délégation égyptienne conteste la validité de cet argument et soulève la question de savoir si l'Assemblée générale a ou n'a pas son mot à dire en la matière.

54. La délégation des Philippines estime qu'une fois qu'un territoire non autonome est inscrit sur la liste des territoires auxquels s'applique l'alinéa e de l'Article 73, il n'appartient plus à la Puissance administrante seule de décider si elle doit ou non continuer de transmettre des renseignements sur ce territoire. Par l'Article 73, les Puissances administrantes ont reconnu le principe de la primauté des intérêts des habitants des territoires non autonomes et elles ont accepté comme une mission sacrée l'obligation de favoriser leur prospérité. Le concept primordial du système des mandats était que l'homme blanc avait des responsabilités à assumer à l'égard des populations moins évoluées. Ce concept a été énoncé, en des termes différents, dans l'Article 73. Les dispositions du Chapitre XI s'appliquent à environ 200 millions d'habitants qui, jusqu'ici, n'ont guère eu voix au chapitre dans l'administration de leurs propres intérêts. Néanmoins, des progrès sont réalisés dans ce domaine; c'est ainsi qu'en trois ans, un certain nombre de pays du sud-est de l'Asie sont parvenus à l'indépendance.

C'est une évolution historique qui s'accomplit et que rien ne peut empêcher; c'est pour cette raison qu'il importe que la décision à prendre sur le point de savoir s'il y a lieu ou non de transmettre des renseignements ne soit pas unilatérale. Le seul critère à observer, c'est de savoir si les populations sont en mesure de s'administrer entièrement elles-mêmes; jusqu'à ce que cette condition soit réalisée, les Puissances administrantes n'ont aucune raison de prétendre qu'elles ont rempli leurs obligations découlant du Chapitre XI.

55. La Charte indique aux Membres des Nations Unies les moyens de contribuer au bien-être des populations du globe. Bien souvent, le mécanisme n'a pas été créé, mais la voie est néanmoins tracée et tous les Membres des Nations Unies ont le devoir de la suivre, afin que l'Organisation des Nations Unies soit une réalité vivante, capable de faire face aux exigences changeantes des temps modernes.

56. M. Carpio comprend fort bien, comme le représentant de la Belgique, que l'établissement du critère fixant le moment à partir duquel la transmission des renseignements doit cesser offre de nombreuses difficultés, et il reconnaît la force de l'argument juridique du Royaume-Uni. Néanmoins, jusqu'à ce que les populations soient en mesure de s'administrer complètement elles-mêmes, l'obligation pour les Puissances coloniales de transmettre les renseignements reste entière.

57. La délégation des Philippines votera, en conséquence, en faveur du projet de résolution égyptien.

58. M. PÉREZ CISNEROS (Cuba) fait observer que le représentant de l'Égypte a rappelé qu'en 1946 la délégation de Cuba s'est élevée contre la proposition de définir l'expression "territoires non autonomes". Cuba a toujours désiré que l'Article 73 soit interprété dans le sens le plus large possible et s'est toujours montré hostile à une définition prématurée de ce terme qui aurait pu avoir un effet limitatif; toutefois, la délégation de Cuba estime que le moment est venu d'établir cette définition. L'Article 73 est parfaitement clair. Il parle de "territoires dont les populations ne s'administrent pas encore elles-mêmes". Jusqu'à ce qu'elles soient en mesure de le faire, toutes les dispositions de l'Article 73 restent en vigueur. Il y a donc lieu de s'accorder sur le sens exact à donner à l'expression "ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes". A cette condition seule, les Puissances administrantes connaîtront exactement leurs obligations touchant la transmission des renseignements. Le représentant de Cuba ne peut partager l'opinion suivant laquelle, parce qu'un territoire est parvenu à l'autonomie dans le domaine social et de l'instruction, la transmission des informations relatif à ce territoire doit cesser automatiquement.

59. Répondant au représentant de la France, M. Pérez Cisneros estime qu'une fois que la liste des territoires non autonomes a été établie, cette liste est uniquement du ressort de l'Organisation des Nations Unies et l'Assemblée générale doit, par conséquent, continuer à recevoir des informations sur tous les territoires qui y sont inscrits. Il partage l'avis du représentant de la France suivant lequel la liste des territoires non autonomes devrait être étendue et non pas réduite. Il n'existe aucune véritable différence de principe entre les Membres des Nations Unies qui assument la res-

ponsabilité d'administrer les territoires non autonomes et ceux qui n'ont pas de responsabilité de ce genre; M. Pérez Cisneros estime que la plupart des Etats Membres rentrant dans la première catégorie voteront en faveur du projet de résolution.

60. Il peut sembler que la délégation de Cuba ait modifié son point de vue, mais en réalité elle estime comme elle l'a toujours fait que l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 doit être interprété dans le sens le plus large possible. Le représentant de Cuba votera donc en faveur du projet de résolution égyptien.

61. M. GARREAU (France) souligne que la question qu'il a posée, et qu'a posée également le représentant de la Belgique, n'a reçu aucune réponse: la question fondamentale de définir exactement les populations non autonomes.

62. Le prince WAN WAITHAYAKON (Thaïlande) approuve le but visé par le projet de résolution égyptien.

63. En ce qui concerne le dernier paragraphe du dispositif de ce projet, il semble que la tâche du Comité spécial sera particulièrement difficile; il faut néanmoins que l'essai soit tenté. En conséquence, il votera en faveur de ce paragraphe.

64. Pour ce qui est du premier paragraphe du dispositif, il est acceptable en principe. Le représentant du Royaume-Uni a attiré l'attention de la Commission sur la réserve concernant les considérations d'ordre constitutionnel qui est prévue par l'alinéa e de l'Article 73; toutefois, le texte de l'alinéa indique nettement que l'Assemblée générale pourra examiner les considérations d'ordre constitutionnel invoquées pour cesser de transmettre ou pour ne pas transmettre des renseignements, et elle pourra faire connaître son avis. Le prince Wan Waithayakon ne pense pas qu'il soit bon que le premier paragraphe du dispositif impose une obligation à l'Assemblée générale et il propose que le début de cet alinéa soit ainsi conçu: "Estime que l'Assemblée générale a compétence pour exprimer un avis . . ." Si cette modification est acceptée, il votera en faveur du projet de résolution. Dans le cas contraire, il s'abstiendra.

65. M. FARRAG (Egypte) accepte la proposition du représentant de la Thaïlande.

66. Il propose de lever la séance.

Il en est ainsi décidé.

La séance est levée à 13 h. 20.

CENT VINGT-CINQUIEME SEANCE

Tenue à Lake Success, New-York, le mercredi 16 novembre 1949, à 15 heures.

Président: M. H. LANNUNG (Danemark).

Renseignements provenant des territoires non autonomes (*suite*)

1. Le PRÉSIDENT invite la Commission à poursuivre l'examen du projet de résolution relatif aux territoires auxquels s'applique le Chapitre XI de la Charte, projet présenté par la délégation de l'Egypte (A/C.4/L.37/Rev.3).
2. M. FLETCHER-COOKE (Royaume-Uni) tient à présenter à nouveau la position du Royaume-Uni en ce qui concerne le projet de résolution présenté par la délégation de l'Egypte.
3. Tout d'abord, le représentant du Royaume-Uni n'a pas dit, comme l'a prétendu le représentant du Mexique à la 124ème séance, qu'il y aurait lieu de modifier la Charte si l'Assemblée générale adoptait le projet de résolution en question. Le représentant du Royaume-Uni a déclaré en fait que tous les Membres des Nations Unies ont souscrit au Chapitre XI, c'est-à-dire que les Puissances administrantes ont accepté une obligation déterminée en vertu de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73, tandis qu'au même titre les Puissances non administrantes ont accepté certaines réserves qui figurent dans ce même Article. En outre, aucune disposition de la Charte ne permet à l'Assemblée générale de déterminer les effets de ces réserves sur l'obligation pour un Etat Membre de transmettre les renseignements exigés. En fait, les termes du paragraphe 7 de l'Article 2 de la Charte semblent exclure spécialement cette possibilité.
4. M. Fletcher-Cooke fait observer que trois points ont été examinés au cours de la présente discussion. Le premier point a trait à la définition de l'expression "territoire non autonome"; le deuxième est relatif à la suggestion selon laquelle l'Assemblée générale a le droit de décider à quel territoire doit s'appliquer la définition établie. La délégation du Royaume-Uni estime que la définition de l'expression "territoire non autonome" est suffisamment claire. Bien que cette question ait fait l'objet de nombreux examens depuis 1946, aucune définition nouvelle n'a été donnée. Le représentant du Royaume-Uni partage les doutes exprimés à la 124ème séance par le représentant de la Thaïlande qui s'est demandé si le Comité spécial réussirait à énoncer une définition plus satisfaisante. Le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni estime qu'une définition plus précise n'est pas nécessaire, car il n'a jamais contesté le fait que les dispositions de l'Article 73 s'appliquent aux quarante-trois territoires non autonomes sous administration britannique énumérés dans la liste établie en 1946. Toutefois, si la Commission tient à rechercher une meilleure définition, la délégation du Royaume-Uni ne s'y opposera pas.
5. S'il est prévu de demander au Comité spécial de définir les termes "territoire non autonome", M. Fletcher-Cooke pense qu'on devrait trouver une rédaction plus explicite pour le dernier paragraphe du projet de résolution de l'Egypte (A/C.4/L.37/Rev.3). La délégation du Royaume-Uni ne serait pas opposée en principe à une définition de l'expression "territoire non autonome"; toutefois, si le but de ce paragraphe est de demander à l'Assemblée générale de décider si tel ou tel territoire est ou n'est pas un territoire non autonome, la délégation du Royaume-Uni s'y opposera, car l'Assemblée générale n'a pas compé-

tence pour agir en ce sens. C'est exclusivement aux Puissances administrantes qu'il appartient de déterminer si un territoire est ou n'est pas un territoire non autonome.

6. Le troisième point a trait à la suggestion selon laquelle l'Assemblée générale est habilitée à se prononcer sur la situation créée par le recours à la réserve prévue à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 et ainsi conçue: "sous réserve des exigences de la sécurité et de considérations d'ordre constitutionnel". De l'avis de la délégation du Royaume-Uni, il appartient aux seules Puissances administrantes de décider si, comme dans le cas de l'île de Malte, des considérations d'ordre constitutionnel empêchent la transmission de renseignements en vertu de l'Article 73. M. Fletcher-Cooke fait remarquer qu'à l'exception du représentant de la Thaïlande, aucun membre de la Commission n'a pris position sur ce point. Il répète que les raisons de l'inclusion de cette réserve à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 ont été clairement exposées par le représentant du Royaume-Uni à la Conférence de San-Francisco et acceptées par celle-ci. Si toutefois les membres de la Commission désirent revenir sur ce point, ils devraient faire connaître leur position. M. Fletcher-Cooke ne peut approuver l'interprétation donnée par le représentant de la Thaïlande à la 124ème séance; il espère que ce dernier pourra reviser sa position.

7. Le représentant du Royaume-Uni précise à nouveau qu'il appartient uniquement aux Puissances administrantes de décider de la portée de la réserve énoncée à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73, car elles sont seules en mesure d'apprécier les éléments de la situation. La Commission devrait donc accepter l'opinion des Puissances administrantes en la matière.

8. Se fondant sur cette thèse, la délégation du Royaume-Uni est opposée au projet de résolution de l'Egypte. Cette opposition est suscitée en particulier par les termes du premier paragraphe du dispositif de ce projet; en effet, si l'Assemblée générale a le droit d'exprimer son avis sur l'expression "territoire non autonome", elle n'a pas le droit de se prononcer sur des considérations d'ordre constitutionnel dans un cas particulier. Toutefois, bien qu'elle estime que ce projet de résolution est inutile et qu'elle partage les doutes du représentant de la France sur l'opportunité de confier cette tâche au Comité spécial, la délégation du Royaume-Uni serait moins opposée au projet de résolution si la délégation de l'Egypte consentait à supprimer la fin du premier paragraphe du dispositif après les mots "exprimer son avis" et d'insérer les mots "sur la signification de l'expression territoire non autonome". Si cette suggestion était acceptée, il conviendrait de modifier le dernier paragraphe afin de préciser qu'il s'agit bien d'une définition de l'expression "territoire non autonome".

9. M. Fletcher-Cooke partage entièrement l'opinion exprimée à la 124ème séance par le représentant de Cuba, qui a déclaré que toutes les dispositions de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 restent en vigueur jusqu'à ce qu'un territoire non autonome déterminé devienne complètement indépendant. M. Fletcher-Cooke prétend que l'une des dispositions de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73, à savoir la réserve constitutionnelle, reste en vigueur et peut empêcher la transmission de renseignements dans un cas déterminé.

10. Le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni n'a pas accordé une Constitution à Malte afin de justifier la cessation de la transmission de renseignements, mais parce que cela est conforme à sa politique dans ce domaine et à l'alinéa b de l'Article 73 de la Charte aux termes duquel les Puissances administrantes ont accepté la mission sacrée d'aider les populations des territoires non autonomes dans le développement progressif de leurs libres institutions politiques. Le Royaume-Uni est donc fondé à se prévaloir de la réserve qui a été incluse dans l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte en ce qui concerne la transmission de renseignements.

11. En conclusion, la délégation du Royaume-Uni est opposée au projet de résolution, non pas tant parce qu'il invite l'Assemblée générale à préciser la définition de l'expression "territoire non autonome", que parce qu'il reconnaît à l'Assemblée générale le droit de décider s'il convient ou non que les Puissances administrantes transmettent des renseignements concernant tel ou tel territoire. Ce droit n'appartient qu'aux Puissances administrantes intéressées.

12. M. MENDOZA (Guatemala) considère que le projet de résolution de l'Egypte revêt une grande importance. La délégation du Guatemala est préoccupée par la manière dont certaines délégations tentent d'affaiblir ou de nier le caractère obligatoire des dispositions du Chapitre XI de la Charte. Les Puissances administrantes se sont engagées à respecter les obligations découlant de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73; c'est pourquoi la majorité de la Commission a été surprise de constater qu'elles se servent d'expédients pour se dérober à ces obligations. La question n'est pas de savoir si un territoire non autonome est une colonie ou un protectorat: il s'agit de déterminer si un territoire qui figure dans la liste dressée en 1946 est toujours soumis au même statut ou si, actuellement, ses populations s'administrent complètement elles-mêmes. Dans le cas où des changements ont été apportés, il y a lieu de savoir s'ils ont été effectués en tenant compte des aspirations des populations.

13. L'Organisation des Nations Unies a accepté une liste de soixante-quatorze territoires non autonomes et elle seule a pouvoir de la modifier, en éliminant les territoires devenus indépendants.

14. Le projet de résolution de l'Egypte sert de sauvegarde contre toute tendance à rendre sans effet les dispositions du Chapitre XI. L'Assemblée générale doit prendre d'urgence des mesures pour lutter contre toute atteinte au respect des dispositions de la Charte. C'est pour cette raison que la délégation du Guatemala appuie ce projet de résolution.

15. M. Mendoza tient à déclarer, en terminant, que sa délégation a pleinement confiance dans la bonne foi des Puissances administrantes, mais elle tient à ce que soit sauvegardé le principe de l'autorité supérieure des Nations Unies.

16. M. HOOD (Australie) est surpris que le représentant du Guatemala ait déclaré qu'il existait une tendance à rendre sans effet les dispositions du Chapitre XI. Les débats de la Quatrième Commission et du Comité spécial et les résolutions antérieures de l'Assemblée générale semblent prouver le contraire. Les projets de résolution déjà adoptés s'inspirent d'une interprétation plus

large du Chapitre XI que celle qu'on lui donnait au moment de la signature de la Charte.

17. Le texte du projet de résolution de l'Égypte mettrait le Comité spécial devant une tâche difficile, car ce texte n'est pas clair. D'autre part, les propositions qu'il présente sont prématurées et semblent ne pas tenir compte de l'attitude prise par les Puissances administrantes. Le représentant de l'Australie votera donc contre le projet de résolution sous sa forme actuelle.

18. En ce qui concerne la question du statut de territoire non autonome, M. Hood estime qu'il appartient uniquement aux Puissances administrantes de déterminer si un territoire non autonome s'administre désormais complètement lui-même.

19. Le représentant de l'Australie désirerait que le représentant de l'Égypte précisât notamment le sens des deux paragraphes du dispositif de son projet de résolution. Les dispositions du premier paragraphe du dispositif ne sont pas compatibles avec celles du second. Le représentant du Royaume-Uni a appelé l'attention des membres de la Commission sur l'ambiguïté du membre de phrase "dont il convient de tenir compte pour décider". Il faut en effet préciser si la décision sera prise par l'Assemblée générale ou par les Puissances administrantes elles-mêmes. D'autre part, M. Hood ne comprend pas pourquoi on parle de "principes" au premier paragraphe du dispositif, alors qu'on parle de "facteurs" au second. Il semble que ces deux mots représentent la même notion et on ne voit donc pas le rôle que jouerait le Comité spécial une fois que l'Assemblée générale aurait exprimé son avis.

20. M. FARRAG (Égypte) rappelle que le représentant du Royaume-Uni a déclaré que si les Puissances administrantes sont tenues de respecter les dispositions du Chapitre XI, il en est de même pour les autres Puissances. M. Farrag tient à souligner, à ce sujet, que nul ne cherche à aller au-delà des dispositions de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte, mais que l'on demande simplement qu'elles soient strictement respectées.

21. Le représentant du Royaume-Uni a déclaré que la réserve des considérations d'ordre constitutionnel s'applique au cas de Malte. M. Farrag estime qu'il s'agit d'une question d'interprétation; les représentants du Mexique et de la Thaïlande se sont déjà prononcés sur ce point. Des considérations d'ordre constitutionnel ne sauraient justifier une infraction aux dispositions de la Charte et les constitutions doivent se conformer à ces dispositions et non s'y opposer.

22. Le représentant du Royaume-Uni pense que le Comité spécial ne pourrait pas accomplir la tâche qui lui serait confiée, tâche qui consisterait à étudier "les facteurs dont il convient de tenir compte", et qu'il ne saurait faire mieux que la Sous-Commission 2 en 1946. M. Farrag tient à faire observer que la Sous-Commission 2 avait simplement pour tâche d'établir la liste des territoires non autonomes et qu'on ne lui avait pas demandé d'étudier la question des critères qui serait confiée maintenant au Comité spécial.

23. M. Farrag ne voit aucune ambiguïté dans son projet de résolution, qui reproduit en substance une idée exposée en 1946 par le représentant de l'Australie.

24. Le représentant de l'Égypte regrette de ne pouvoir accepter la suggestion du représentant du Royaume-Uni concernant le premier paragraphe du dispositif, car une telle modification rendrait le projet de résolution sans objet.

25. M. MAC EACHEN (Uruguay) propose, à la suite de la modification du premier paragraphe du dispositif suggérée par le représentant du Royaume-Uni, et si ce dernier accepte cet amendement, de supprimer la dernière partie du dernier paragraphe après les mots "à étudier" et de la remplacer par le membre de phrase "à la lumière de l'opinion mentionnée au paragraphe précédent, la liste des territoires au sujet desquels des renseignements ont été reçus en vertu de l'Article 73 e de la Charte, en informant l'Assemblée générale du résultat de cette étude".

26. M. GARREAU (France) demande si le représentant de l'Égypte a songé à concilier son projet de résolution avec le projet de résolution adopté par la Commission à sa 122ème séance et concernant la création d'un comité spécial chargé de l'examen des renseignements transmis en vertu de l'Article 73 e de la Charte. En effet, l'Assemblée générale, par cette résolution, chargerait le Comité spécial d'examiner les résumés et analyses des renseignements transmis en vertu de l'Article 73 e sur les conditions économiques, sociales et culturelles des territoires non autonomes. Or, le projet de résolution de l'Égypte chargerait le Comité spécial de fonctions dont l'exécution exigerait que les Puissances administrantes transmettent à ce Comité des renseignements d'ordre politique qui ne sont pas prévus à l'Article 73 e de la Charte.

27. Il y a donc contradiction flagrante entre le mandat très précis du Comité spécial et les fonctions dont le chargerait le projet de résolution de l'Égypte.

28. M. KOLENKY (Libéria) constate que le projet de résolution de l'Égypte est celui qui a été le moins critiqué au sein de la Quatrième Commission. Ce fait prouve qu'il est conforme aux dispositions de la Charte et que ce projet mérite l'appui de la majorité de la Commission. La délégation du Libéria se prononcera en faveur du texte proposé par l'Égypte et modifié par la Thaïlande à la 124ème séance.

29. Le prince WAN WAITHAYAKON (Thaïlande) regrette de ne pouvoir modifier son point de vue, ainsi que le représentant du Royaume-Uni le lui a demandé; en effet, il est convaincu, après un nouvel examen du texte même de la Charte, que la formule employée établit nettement que l'Assemblée générale a le droit d'apprécier le bien-fondé des considérations d'ordre constitutionnel qui sont invoquées par les Puissances administrantes.

30. M. FLETCHER-COOKE (Royaume-Uni) maintient son interprétation au sujet de la réserve figurant à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte.

31. En ce qui concerne l'amendement proposé par l'Uruguay, M. Fletcher-Cooke répète que le Comité spécial est, à son avis, incompétent pour définir ce qu'il faut entendre par "territoire non autonome". Il partage à cet égard le point de vue du représentant de la France. Il ne saurait donc voter en faveur d'aucun projet de résolution reconnaissant cette compétence au Comité spécial.

32. De plus, l'amendement de l'Uruguay présente une difficulté d'ordre technique, à savoir

qu'il est difficile d'imaginer comment le Comité spécial pourrait examiner la liste des territoires non autonomes à la lumière de l'opinion de l'Assemblée générale, alors que cette opinion n'aura pas encore été formulée.

33. Par ailleurs, la délégation du Royaume-Uni ne saurait accepter que n'importe quelle définition de "territoire non autonome" soit appliquée à un territoire particulier. Une telle définition peut seulement servir d'indication aux Puissances administrantes.

34. M. MAC EACHEN (Uruguay) rappelle que le représentant du Royaume-Uni a déclaré ne pouvoir accepter que le Comité spécial donne une définition applicable à un territoire particulier. Or, conformément au premier paragraphe du dispositif du projet de résolution de l'Égypte, amendé ainsi que le propose le représentant de l'Uruguay, c'est l'Assemblée générale qui donnerait son opinion sur ce qu'il faut entendre par "territoire non autonome". Si le Comité spécial étudie de son côté la liste des territoires, non seulement il le fera en tant qu'organe subsidiaire de l'Assemblée générale, et dans la limite de la compétence qui lui est ainsi conférée, mais il tiendra compte évidemment, en effectuant cette étude, de l'opinion qu'aura pu formuler l'Assemblée générale sur la question. En tant qu'organe subsidiaire, le Comité spécial doit renseigner l'Assemblée générale, et l'opinion publique par conséquent, sur la mesure dans laquelle les principes du Chapitre XI de la Charte sont mis en œuvre et respectés.

35. Le représentant de l'Uruguay tient à préciser, d'ailleurs, que sa proposition n'indique pas quels pourront être les effets de l'étude du Comité spécial, mais recommande simplement que ce Comité étudie la question en tenant compte de l'opinion formulée par l'Assemblée générale.

36. Le général BURNS (Canada) déclare que les populations de maints territoires actuellement non autonomes finiront par s'administrer complètement elles-mêmes et qu'il est intéressant de savoir à quel moment et dans quelles conditions on peut déclarer qu'un territoire est devenu autonome. Une telle décision, néanmoins, ne saurait être prise par le Comité spécial. Pour quelles raisons obtiendrait-il en cette matière un meilleur résultat que la Quatrième Commission? Le Comité spécial n'est pas l'organe approprié pour examiner une telle question; en effet, le Comité spécial a été créé pour effectuer un travail déterminé, et c'est dans ce sens que la délégation du Canada s'est prononcée en faveur de la création de ce Comité. En confiant une tâche supplémentaire au Comité spécial, on risquerait de le gêner dans l'accomplissement du travail pour lequel il a été spécialement créé.

37. Le général Burns tient d'ailleurs à faire observer qu'au cours de la dernière session du Comité spécial, ainsi qu'en témoigne le rapport de ce Comité (A/923), les représentants de l'Égypte, de l'Inde, de la République Dominicaine et du Venezuela, et d'autres représentants encore, ont déclaré que le Comité spécial n'était pas compétent pour décider si un territoire non autonome a acquis son autonomie ou son indépendance. On ne voit pas en quoi la prochaine session du Comité spécial pourrait différer, à ce point de vue, de la précédente session. Le projet de résolution de l'Égypte n'a pas de valeur pratique et le repré-

sentant du Canada ne votera pas en sa faveur. Il ne pense pas davantage que l'amendement proposé par le représentant de l'Uruguay rende le texte plus clair et plus précis.

38. M. DE BRUYNE (Belgique) rappelle que les représentants de l'Australie et du Royaume-Uni, ainsi que lui-même, ont exprimé des doutes quant au sens précis qu'il faut donner au deuxième paragraphe du dispositif du projet de résolution de l'Égypte. Le représentant de ce pays a déclaré au cours de la séance que le texte de son projet de résolution lui paraissait très clair. M. de Bruyne constate, en fait, que le sens du paragraphe en question est de plus en plus ambiguë et il demande, à propos du membre de phrase "des facteurs dont il convient de tenir compte" si c'est l'Assemblée générale elle-même ou les États Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, qui doivent tenir compte de ces facteurs.

39. M. FARRAG (Égypte) reconnaît qu'il a jugé le Comité spécial incompétent lors de sa dernière session, mais il déclare, en réponse au représentant du Canada, que c'est précisément pour que ce Comité devienne compétent pour étudier la question qu'il a présenté son projet de résolution.

40. Quant aux observations que vient de formuler le représentant de la Belgique, M. Farrag rappelle qu'en 1946 la Quatrième Commission a appelé l'attention sur l'avantage qu'il y aurait à indiquer les critères sur lesquels il conviendrait de se fonder pour déterminer quels territoires devraient relever du Chapitre XI de la Charte. Les gouvernements ont subséquemment formulé une opinion quant à ces critères et il semble qu'il appartienne logiquement au Comité spécial d'étudier la question et de se prononcer sur ces critères.

41. A la demande de M. PÉREZ CISNEROS (Cuba), M. BENSON (Secrétariat) donne lecture des premier et second paragraphes du dispositif du projet de résolution de l'Égypte amendé par le représentant de l'Uruguay.

42. M. CARPIO (Philippines) constate qu'on a exprimé l'opinion qu'il appartient aux seules Puissances administrantes de déterminer les considérations d'ordre constitutionnel ou les considérations fondées sur les exigences de la sécurité qui pourraient justifier la cessation de la transmission de renseignements sur tel ou tel territoire non autonome. Mais dans le cas où les Puissances administrantes feraient un usage abusif de cette prérogative ou décideraient arbitrairement de cesser de transmettre des renseignements sur certains territoires, situation qui pourrait évoluer jusqu'au point où aucun renseignement ne serait plus transmis sur aucun des soixante-quatorze territoires énumérés, M. Carpio se demande si les Puissances administrantes prétendent que, dans de telles conditions, les Nations Unies n'auraient aucun recours et seraient dans l'impossibilité de procéder à une enquête.

43. M. FLETCHER-COOKE (Royaume-Uni) se félicite que le représentant de Cuba ait demandé qu'il soit donné lecture du nouveau texte du premier paragraphe du dispositif. Il constate, en effet, que la suggestion qu'il a formulée auparavant est utilisée de telle manière qu'il est obligé de ne plus la reconnaître comme sienne. En effet, il a suggéré de supprimer toute la fin du paragraphe, après les mots "d'exprimer son avis" et d'insérer les mots "sur la signification de l'expression territoire non autonome". Il constate que

l'on réintroduit la notion qui figurait dans le texte primitif, à savoir l'obligation de transmettre les renseignements visés à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte. M. Fletcher-Cooke ne peut accepter le texte nouveau du paragraphe ainsi rédigé.

44. En réponse aux observations du représentant des Philippines, M. Fletcher-Cooke rappelle que les Puissances administrantes ont accepté l'obligation de transmettre des renseignements sur les territoires non autonomes qu'elles administrent sous réserve de certaines limitations. Le Royaume-Uni se propose de respecter cette obligation et il regrette que l'on ait pu laisser entendre que les Puissances administrantes pourraient se soustraire à leurs engagements.

45. M. CARPIO (Philippines) craint que sa question n'ait été mal comprise. Il ne veut pas laisser entendre que les Puissances administrantes décideront nécessairement d'une manière arbitraire de cesser de transmettre des renseignements en se prévalant des limitations prévues à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73; mais il signale que la Charte elle-même prévoit implicitement que les Etats Membres peuvent éventuellement faire preuve de mauvaise foi. Il tient à préciser, néanmoins, qu'il n'a voulu faire allusion à aucun Etat particulier.

46. M. MUGHIR (Syrie) fait observer que le projet de résolution de l'Egypte soulève la question de la compétence de l'Assemblée générale pour décider si un territoire est indépendant ou non. Il considère que l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 n'est pas le seul qui impose des obligations aux Puissances administrantes. Les autres parties de cet Article en contiennent également, car elles sont fondées sur les grands principes de la Charte. M. Mughir pense que le projet de résolution de l'Egypte facilitera grandement la tâche du Comité spécial. En outre, le fait de confier à ce Comité le soin d'étudier "la question des facteurs dont il convient de tenir compte pour décider si un territoire est ou non un territoire non autonome", permettra d'éviter que la Commission se voie à nouveau contrainte de rechercher les raisons pour lesquelles telle ou telle Puissance administrante a cessé de transmettre des renseignements. M. Mughir déclare que sa délégation se prononcera sans réserve en faveur du projet de résolution de l'Egypte.

47. M. PÉREZ CISNEROS (Cuba) rend hommage à la contribution de la délégation de l'Uruguay aux travaux de la Commission, mais il regrette, en l'occurrence, de ne pouvoir approuver l'amendement que vient de proposer cette délégation. Le premier paragraphe du dispositif du projet de résolution de l'Egypte énonce un principe général en reconnaissant la compétence de l'Assemblée générale. Le dernier paragraphe est au centre du problème, car il expose la procédure à laquelle l'Assemblée générale peut avoir recours pour donner une forme concrète à son opinion, procédure selon laquelle elle fait appel à cette fin à un organe subsidiaire, ce qui est conforme aux dispositions de l'Article 22 de la Charte. Or l'amendement de la délégation de l'Uruguay n'est pas clair en soi et fait perdre beaucoup de valeur au projet de résolution. En effet, il recommande au Comité spécial d'étudier les facteurs dont il s'agit en tenant compte de l'opinion formulée par l'Assemblée générale dont il est question au premier paragraphe du dispositif; toutefois, aucune opinion n'est formulée dans ce paragraphe, qui

ne fait en réalité que reconnaître le droit de l'Assemblée générale de formuler une telle opinion, si bien que le Comité spécial ne disposera pas en fait de l'avis de l'Assemblée générale.

48. Pour une autre raison encore, l'amendement de l'Uruguay n'est pas acceptable; il fait seulement état de la liste des territoires au sujet desquels des renseignements ont été transmis, alors qu'il serait intéressant au contraire d'examiner la liste des territoires au sujet desquels aucun renseignement n'a été transmis.

49. La délégation de Cuba ne saurait donc appuyer l'amendement de l'Uruguay; elle votera par contre en faveur du texte primitif du projet de résolution de l'Egypte.

50. M. MAC EACHEN (Uruguay) pense qu'il serait peut-être possible de donner satisfaction au représentant de Cuba en ajoutant les mots "et décide par conséquent de formuler une opinion" au premier paragraphe du dispositif du projet de résolution.

51. Il fait observer, en outre, que les termes du projet de résolution de l'Egypte dépassent les limites de la compétence de l'Assemblée générale. La délégation de l'Uruguay estime, en effet, que l'Assemblée générale ne peut exprimer une opinion sur les principes qui guident ou qui ont guidé les Puissances administrantes dans l'énumération des territoires pour lesquels elles sont tenues de transmettre des renseignements. Par contre, l'Assemblée générale peut définir les caractéristiques d'un territoire non autonome et, ce faisant, elle ne risque pas d'empiéter sur la juridiction nationale de certains Etats. M. Mac Eachen pense que l'Assemblée générale, ainsi que la Quatrième Commission, sont uniquement compétentes pour formuler des conclusions en se fondant, d'une part, sur la liste des territoires non autonomes et, d'autre part, sur les caractéristiques des territoires au sujet desquels les Puissances administrantes sont tenues de transmettre des renseignements.

52. M. PÉREZ CISNEROS (Cuba) fait observer que la nouvelle modification suggérée par le représentant de l'Uruguay n'élimine pas la difficulté qu'il a signalée. En effet, il est dit que l'Assemblée générale peut formuler une opinion, mais on ignore toujours quelle est la nature de cette opinion.

53. M. FARRAG (Egypte) regrette de ne pouvoir accepter les modifications proposées par le représentant de l'Uruguay. Il estime qu'elles affaiblissent considérablement le texte de son projet de résolution et réduisent sa portée en omettant les territoires non autonomes au sujet desquels il n'est pas transmis de renseignements.

54. M. MENDOZA (Guatemala) considère qu'il est inutile de se perdre en conjectures pour définir le terme "territoire non autonome", dont la Charte elle-même donne une définition claire et précise. Le véritable problème consiste à déterminer si un territoire particulier a effectivement acquis un degré d'autonomie ou d'indépendance qui permette à la Puissance administrante responsable de ne plus transmettre de renseignements à son sujet. L'Assemblée générale est en possession d'une liste de territoires au sujet desquels les Puissances administrantes ont accepté de transmettre des renseignements et il est naturel, lorsqu'une Puissance administrante cesse de transmettre des renseignements au sujet de certains de

ces territoires, que l'Assemblée générale cherche à savoir quelles en sont les raisons.

55. La question devient grave lorsqu'une Puissance administrante a cessé de transmettre des renseignements sur un territoire non autonome, alors qu'il est évident que les populations de ce territoire ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes.

56. Telles sont les raisons pour lesquelles la délégation du Guatemala ne saurait appuyer l'amendement de l'Uruguay. Elle votera, par contre, en faveur du projet de résolution de l'Égypte.

57. M. Shiva RAO (Inde) regrette de constater que la discussion porte surtout sur des subtilités juridiques qui font perdre de vue l'aspect purement humain de la question.

58. Le but du projet de résolution présenté par la délégation de l'Égypte consiste simplement à affirmer que "l'Assemblée générale a compétence pour exprimer un avis". Il ne semble pas que ce soit là une prétention exorbitante. L'Assemblée générale est l'autorité suprême pour interpréter la Charte et son opinion doit recevoir la considération qu'elle mérite.

59. L'Assemblée générale invitera ensuite le Comité spécial à étudier les "facteurs dont il convient de tenir compte". Il s'agit là d'une tâche importante et délicate, qui ne pourra être accomplie efficacement qu'avec l'aide du Secrétariat, lequel devrait être invité à fournir à ce Comité spécial tous les documents de travail nécessaires.

60. Il est indéniable que l'Assemblée générale a compétence pour examiner les facteurs qui permettraient de décider qu'un territoire est, ou n'est pas, non autonome; cette étude semble s'imposer, étant donné que le nombre des territoires non autonomes est passé, depuis 1946, de soixante-quatorze à soixante-deux. Il restera ensuite à établir si l'étude de l'Assemblée générale, ou du Comité spécial créé à cet effet, conduira à des conclusions positives ou simplement à l'expression d'une opinion.

61. M. Rao appelle l'attention sur les derniers mots de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte. Ils montrent clairement que les Puissances administrantes doivent communiquer les renseignements sur tous les territoires autres que les Territoires sous tutelle. Le représentant du Royaume-Uni a cité le cas de Malte; il a reconnu que ce territoire ne s'administre pas encore complètement lui-même, puisque le Royaume-Uni est responsable, par exemple, de ses relations diplomatiques. Par conséquent, Malte rentre dans la catégorie des territoires pour lesquels on doit communiquer des renseignements aux termes de l'Article 73 de la Charte. Si le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni estime qu'il n'a pas à transmettre de renseignements, en se fondant sur des considérations d'ordre constitutionnel, il devrait en informer le Comité spécial créé par l'Assemblée générale, qui aurait à étudier si, en fait, la Constitution de Malte est un des facteurs dont il y a lieu de tenir compte pour déterminer la mesure dans laquelle la population de l'île s'administre elle-même et pour justifier la cessation de la transmission de renseignements. M. Rao souligne qu'il a cité l'exemple de Malte, mais que la situation est identique pour tous les territoires qui sont dans des conditions analogues.

62. M. Rao conclut en déclarant que le projet de résolution présenté par l'Égypte est particulièrement opportun dans les conditions actuelles et qu'il votera en sa faveur.

63. M. NORIEGA (Mexique) fait remarquer que les considérations juridiques ne permettent pas toujours de trancher toutes les questions. Dans le cas actuel, si l'on se borne à interpréter la Charte en se fondant sur des critères purement juridiques, on n'aboutira à aucune solution concrète, car les interprétations ainsi obtenues peuvent être totalement différentes. Il importe avant tout de faire preuve de bonne foi et d'esprit de collaboration.

64. Si les Puissances administrantes estiment que l'opinion de l'Assemblée générale en ce qui concerne la définition de l'expression "territoire non autonome" n'a qu'une valeur académique, elles risquent de jeter ainsi le discrédit sur l'Assemblée générale et de rendre vains et sans objet les travaux de la Quatrième Commission et de l'Assemblée elle-même.

65. La définition de l'expression "territoire non autonome" ne devrait pas soulever de grandes difficultés. Après avoir reçu le texte de l'accord entre les Pays-Bas et la République d'Indonésie, on a pu conclure immédiatement que l'Indonésie était devenue un Etat souverain, pour lequel il ne saurait être question de transmettre des renseignements aux termes de l'Article 73 de la Charte. Par contre, lorsque le Royaume-Uni déclare que Malte ne s'administre pas encore complètement elle-même, il semble logique de conclure que l'on a affaire à un territoire non autonome, pour lequel la Puissance responsable doit transmettre des renseignements aux termes de l'Article 73 de la Charte. La situation est identique en ce qui concerne tous les territoires qui, comme Malte, n'ont pas encore obtenu l'autonomie ou l'indépendance complète.

66. M. Noriega comprend fort bien que le représentant de l'Uruguay ait présenté son amendement pour pallier certaines difficultés et éviter ainsi des objections de la part des Puissances administrantes. Il pense, néanmoins, que cet amendement ne rendra pas le projet de résolution plus acceptable pour les Puissances administrantes. Par conséquent, il semble préférable de s'en tenir au texte même du projet de résolution de l'Égypte, qui est clair et précis. Si ce projet de résolution est adopté par l'Assemblée générale, les Puissances administrantes apprécieront peut-être plus tard le fait que la situation aura été nettement exposée.

67. La délégation du Mexique votera donc en faveur du texte actuel du projet de résolution présenté par l'Égypte.

68. Le PRÉSIDENT invite la Commission à procéder au vote d'abord sur l'amendement de l'Uruguay et ensuite sur le projet de résolution de l'Égypte (A/C.4/L.37/Rev.3).

Par 28 voix contre une, avec 16 abstentions, l'amendement de l'Uruguay est rejeté.

A la demande du représentant du Brésil, il est procédé au vote par appel nominal sur le projet de résolution de l'Égypte.

Votent pour: Afghanistan, Brésil, Birmanie, République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie, Chine, Colombie, Cuba, Tchécoslovaquie, Equa-

teur, Egypte, Ethiopie, Guatemala, Inde, Iran, Irak, Israël, Liban, Libéria, Mexique, Pakistan, Philippines, Pologne, Arabie saoudite, Syrie, Thaïlande, République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine, Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques, Venezuela, Yémen, Yougoslavie.

Votent contre: Australie, Belgique, Canada, France, Pays-Bas, Nouvelle-Zélande, Norvège, Suède, Union Sud-Africaine, Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord.

S'abstiennent: Argentine, Chili, Danemark, République Dominicaine, Grèce, Etats-Unis d'Amérique, Uruguay.

Par 30 voix contre 10, avec 7 abstentions, le projet de résolution de l'Égypte est adopté.

69. M. DE MARCHENA (République Dominicaine) explique son vote. Si le projet de résolution avait été mis aux voix paragraphe par paragraphe, il aurait voté pour la plupart des paragraphes; toutefois, le vote ayant eu lieu sur l'ensemble du texte, il a été dans l'obligation de s'abstenir, car il estime que le Comité spécial n'a pas compétence pour étudier la question mentionnée. Si l'Assemblée générale, qui, elle, est compétente, approuve le projet de résolution et délègue ses pouvoirs à un organe subsidiaire, le Comité spécial, la délégation de la République Dominicaine admettra alors la compétence de ce dernier.



Sixième session
QUATRIEME COMMISSION
Sous-Commission 9

Distribution double

RENSEIGNEMENTS PROVENANT DE TERRITOIRES NON AUTONOMES

Territoires auxquels s'applique le Chapitre XI de la Charte

Facteurs approuvés en première lecture

I. FACTEURS PERMETTANT DE CONCLURE QU'UNE POPULATION EST
PARVENUE A S'ADMINISTRER ELLE-MEME DE FACON AUTONOME

A. Facteurs de caractère général

1. Progrès politique : Le progrès politique des populations est suffisant pour leur permettre de décider elles-mêmes, en connaissance de cause, de l'avenir du territoire.

2. Opinion des populations : Les populations du territoire ont exprimé librement, en connaissance de cause et par des voies démocratiques, leur opinion sur le statut ou le changement de statut qu'elles désirent.

B. Statut international

1. Indépendance : Le territoire a obtenu son indépendance ou la gestion complète de ses relations extérieures et de ses affaires intérieures.

2. Possibilité de faire partie d'organisations internationales : Le territoire a la possibilité de devenir Membre de l'Organisation des Nations Unies ou de devenir membre ou membre associé d'autres organisations internationales ; sa représentation est assurée par des délégués choisis par le gouvernement du territoire.

3. Relations internationales en général : Le territoire a la faculté d'entrer en relations directes avec d'autres Etats ou avec des institutions internationales et il a le droit de négocier, de signer et de ratifier des conventions internationales.

C. Autonomie interne :

1. Gouvernement du territoire : Le gouvernement interne du territoire (pouvoirs législatif, exécutif et judiciaire) échappe à tout contrôle et à toute intervention qui seraient le fait du gouvernement d'un autre Etat.
2. Participation de la population au pouvoir : La population participe effectivement à l'exercice des pouvoirs constitutionnels du territoire.
3. Compétence en matière économique et sociale : Le gouvernement du territoire a pleine compétence pour gérer les affaires économiques et sociales du territoire.

II. FACTEURS PERMETTANT DE CONCLURE QU'UN TERRITOIRE EST LIBREMENT ASSOCIE, SUR UN PIED D'EGALITE (DANS UN CADRE FEDERAL OU UNITAIRE), A D'AUTRES PARTIES CONSTITUTIVES DE LA METROPOLE OU D'UN AUTRE PAYS.

A. Facteurs de caractère général

1. Progrès politique : Le progrès politique des populations est suffisant pour leur permettre de décider elles-mêmes, en connaissance de cause, de l'avenir du territoire.
2. Opinion des populations : Les populations du territoire ont exprimé librement, en connaissance de cause et par des voies démocratiques, leur opinion sur le statut ou le changement de statut qu'elles désirent.
3. Considérations d'ordre géographique : Mesure dans laquelle les relations du territoire avec le siège du gouvernement central peuvent être affectées par des circonstances tenant à leur situation géographique respective, telles que le fait qu'ils sont séparés par une étendue de terre ou de mer ou par d'autres obstacles naturels.
4. Considérations ethniques et culturelles : Mesure dans laquelle la race, la langue, la religion, ou le patrimoine culturel, les intérêts ou les aspirations différencient les populations du territoire de celles du pays avec lequel elles s'associent librement.

5. Considérations d'ordre constitutionnel : L'association est intervenue a) en vertu de la Constitution de la métropole ou b) en vertu d'un traité ou d'un accord bilatéral affectant le statut du territoire ; il importera à cet égard de tenir compte des éléments suivants :

- i) Les garanties constitutionnelles s'appliquent-elles sur un pied d'égalité au territoire associé ?
- ii) Le territoire possède-t-il certaines compétences en matière constitutionnelle ?
- iii) Le territoire a-t-il le droit de participer, sur un pied d'égalité, aux modifications qui peuvent être apportées au régime constitutionnel de l'Etat ?

B. Statut

1. Représentation dans les organes législatifs : Représentation sans discrimination au sein des organes législatifs centraux, sur un pied d'égalité avec les autres habitants et les autres régions.
2. Citoyenneté : Citoyenneté sans discrimination, sur un pied d'égalité avec les autres habitants.
3. Fonctionnaires du gouvernement : Nomination ou élection des fonctionnaires du territoire dans les mêmes conditions que dans les autres parties de l'Etat.

C. Conditions internes d'ordre constitutionnel

1. Droit de vote : Suffrage universel égal pour tous, élections périodiques libres, au scrutin secret ; liberté dans le choix des candidats aux élections.
2. Droits et statut des habitants et des organes locaux : Egalité de droit et de statut pour les habitants et les organes locaux du territoire et pour les habitants et les organes locaux d'autres parties de l'Etat.
3. Fonctionnaires locaux : Nomination ou élection des fonctionnaires du territoire dans les mêmes conditions que dans les autres parties de l'Etat.

Ayant entrepris une révision des facteurs susdits,

Considérant que l'élaboration d'une liste plus définitive des facteurs en question exige des études prolongées et complexes fondées sur des renseignements plus complets que ceux dont on a pu disposer en 1951,

1. *Décide* de prendre pour base la liste de facteurs établie lors de la sixième session de l'Assemblée générale, et annexée à la présente résolution;

2. *Invite* les Membres des Nations Unies à communiquer par écrit au Secrétaire général, le 1er mai 1952 au plus tard, un exposé des vues de leur gouvernement touchant les facteurs dont il convient de tenir compte pour décider si un territoire est, ou n'est pas, un territoire dont les populations ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes;

3. *Désigne* un Comité *ad hoc* de dix membres composé des pays suivants: Australie, Belgique, Birmanie, Cuba, Danemark, Etats-Unis d'Amérique, France, Guatemala, Irak et Venezuela, en vue de poursuivre l'étude des facteurs dont il convient de tenir compte pour décider si un territoire est, ou n'est pas, un territoire dont les populations ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes;

4. *Invite* le Comité *ad hoc* à prendre en considération tous les renseignements disponibles, y compris ceux qui auront été communiqués au Secrétaire général sur les motifs qui ont amené certains Membres administrants à cesser de communiquer des renseignements sur certains de ces territoires et à faire rapport à l'Assemblée générale, lors de sa septième session ordinaire;

5. *Invite* le Secrétaire général à réunir le Comité *ad hoc* de façon qu'il puisse commencer ses travaux une semaine avant l'ouverture de la session de 1952 du Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes²⁷.

361ème séance plénière,
le 18 janvier 1952.

567 (VI). Procédure pour la poursuite de l'étude des facteurs dont il convient de tenir compte pour décider si un territoire est, ou n'est pas, un territoire dont les populations ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes

L'Assemblée générale,

Rappelant que par sa résolution 334 (IV), adoptée le 2 décembre 1949, elle a invité tout comité spécial qui pourrait être institué pour examiner les renseignements transmis en vertu de l'Article 73, e, de la Charte à étudier les facteurs dont il convient de tenir compte pour décider si tel ou tel territoire est ou n'est pas un territoire dont les populations ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes,

Ayant examiné le rapport préparé à ce sujet par le Comité spécial pour l'examen des renseignements transmis en vertu de l'Article 73, e, de la Charte²⁸,

²⁷ *Ibid.*, sixième session, Supplément n° 14, première partie, chapitre IX.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, quatrième partie.

ANNEXE

Facteurs dont il convient de tenir compte pour décider si un territoire est, ou n'est pas, un territoire dont les populations ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes

INTRODUCTION

1. Les territoires auxquels s'applique le Chapitre XI de la Charte sont ceux dont les populations ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes. On peut noter que pour qualifier les termes "s'administrent elles-mêmes", la Charte emploie les mots "*full measure*" dans le texte anglais, "*complètement*" dans le texte français, et "*plenitud*" dans le texte espagnol.

2. La tâche de l'Assemblée générale consiste à l'heure actuelle à indiquer les facteurs dont il faut tenir compte pour déterminer si le résultat des progrès accomplis par la population d'un territoire donné est tel que ce territoire a atteint un degré d'autonomie qui le place en dehors du champ d'application de l'Article 73, e, de la Charte.

²⁹ Par sa résolution 569 (VI), l'Assemblée générale a décidé que le Comité spécial pour l'examen des renseignements transmis en vertu de l'Article 73, e, de la Charte serait désormais appelé: le "Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes".

3. La condition, pour que cessent de s'appliquer les dispositions du Chapitre XI de la Charte, consiste en ce que les habitants du territoire ont atteint, par le progrès politique, leur autonomie complète. Cette condition peut être remplie de différentes manières qui comportent, dans tous les cas, la libre expression de la volonté de la population. Les deux principaux moyens sont: a) l'accès à l'indépendance, et b) l'union du territoire sur la base d'une égalité de statut avec les autres parties constitutives de la métropole ou d'un autre pays — ou son association dans les mêmes conditions avec la métropole, un autre pays ou d'autres pays. La mesure dans laquelle les dispositions de l'Article 73, e, continuent de s'appliquer au cas de territoires qui n'ont pas accédé à l'indépendance ou n'ont pas été pleinement intégrés à un autre Etat, mais ont atteint une complète autonomie dans le domaine de leurs affaires intérieures, est une question qui mérite un complément d'étude.

4. Les deux formes principales du progrès politique mentionnées au paragraphe précédent postulent l'examen de différents facteurs pour déterminer si un territoire a, ou n'a pas, atteint un degré d'autonomie qui le place en dehors du champ d'application de l'Article 73, e, de la Charte.

5. En conséquence, l'Assemblée générale énumère ci-après sous deux rubriques différentes les facteurs à prendre en considération, tout en soulignant que la liste ne saurait être considérée comme complète ou définitive et qu'un facteur particulier ou une combinaison déterminée de facteurs ne peut être considéré comme décisif dans chaque cas. La question de savoir si les populations d'un territoire doivent être considérées comme ayant atteint un degré d'autonomie où il n'existe plus aucune obligation de communiquer des renseignements, doit être résolue à la lumière des situations constatées à l'un ou à l'autre titre, en tenant compte des circonstances propres à chaque cas particulier, circonstances qu'il sera nécessaire d'étudier séparément.

6. Toutefois, l'Assemblée générale estime que les facteurs essentiels dont il convient de tenir compte pour décider si un territoire non autonome est parvenu à l'autonomie complète sont les suivants:

- i) *Progrès politique*: Progrès politique des populations suffisant pour leur permettre de décider elles-mêmes, en connaissance de cause, de l'avenir du territoire;
- ii) *Opinion des populations*: Opinion des populations du territoire librement exprimée en connaissance de cause par des voies démocratiques, en ce qui concerne le statut ou le changement de statut qu'elles désirent.

7. Ces facteurs sont valables à la fois pour les territoires non autonomes qui ont accédé à l'indépendance et pour ceux qui se sont librement unis ou associés, sur la base d'une égalité de statut, avec d'autres parties constitutives de la métropole, d'un autre pays ou d'autres pays. Dans le dernier cas cependant, les facteurs suivants sont essentiels aussi et doivent être pris en considération:

- i) *Représentation dans les organes législatifs*: Représentation sans discrimination au sein des organes législatifs centraux, sur un pied d'égalité avec les autres habitants et les autres régions;
- ii) *Citoyenneté*: Citoyenneté sans discrimination, sur un pied d'égalité avec les autres habitants.

I. — FACTEURS PERMETTANT DE CONCLURE QU'UNE POPULATION A ACCÈDE À L'INDEPENDANCE OU À TOUTE AUTRE FORME D'AUTONOMIE SEPARÉE

A. — FACTEURS DE CARACTÈRE GÉNÉRAL

1. *Progrès politique*: Progrès politique des populations suffisant pour leur permettre de décider elles-mêmes, en connaissance de cause, de l'avenir du territoire.

2. *Opinion des populations*: Opinion des populations du territoire, librement exprimée en connaissance de cause et par des voies démocratiques, en ce qui concerne le statut ou le changement de statut qu'elles désirent.

B. — STATUT INTERNATIONAL

1. *Indépendance*: Accès du territoire à l'indépendance ou gestion complète de ses relations extérieures et de ses affaires intérieures.

2. *Possibilité de faire partie d'organisations internationales*: Possibilité de devenir Membre de l'Organisation des Nations Unies ou de devenir membre ou membre associé d'autres organisations internationales; représentation assurée par des délégués choisis par le gouvernement du territoire.

3. *Relations internationales en général*: Capacité d'établir des relations directes de toute nature avec d'autres gouvernements et avec des institutions internationales ainsi que de négocier, signer et ratifier des conventions internationales.

4. *Limitation volontaire de souveraineté*: Mesure dans laquelle la souveraineté du territoire a été librement et de sa propre volonté limitée au moment où ce territoire a accédé à l'indépendance ou à toute autre forme d'autonomie séparée.

C. — AUTONOMIE INTERNE

1. *Gouvernement du territoire*: Absence de contrôle ou d'intervention de la part du gouvernement d'un autre Etat sur le gouvernement interne (pouvoirs législatif, exécutif et judiciaire) et l'administration du territoire.

2. *Participation de la population au gouvernement*: Participation effective de la population au gouvernement du territoire, par un système électoral et représentatif approprié.

3. *Compétence en matière économique et sociale*: Pleine compétence du gouvernement du territoire pour gérer les affaires économiques et sociales de ce dernier.

II. — FACTEURS PERMETTANT DE CONCLURE QU'UN TERRITOIRE EST LIBREMENT ASSOCIÉ SUR UN PIED D'ÉGALITÉ (DANS UN CADRE FÉDÉRAL OU UNITAIRE) À D'AUTRES PARTIES CONSTITUTIVES DE LA MÉTROPOLE OU D'UN AUTRE PAYS

A. — FACTEURS DE CARACTÈRE GÉNÉRAL

1. *Progrès politique*: Progrès politique des populations suffisant pour leur permettre de décider elles-mêmes, en connaissance de cause, de l'avenir du territoire.

2. *Opinion des populations*: Opinion des populations du territoire, librement exprimée en connaissance de cause et par des voies démocratiques, en ce qui concerne le statut ou le changement de statut qu'elles désirent.

3. *Considérations d'ordre géographique*: Mesure dans laquelle les relations du territoire avec le siège du gouvernement central peuvent être affectées par des circonstances tenant à leur situation géographique respective, telles que le fait qu'ils sont séparés par une étendue de terre ou de mer ou par d'autres obstacles naturels.

4. *Considérations ethniques et culturelles*: Mesure dans laquelle la race, la langue, la religion ou le patrimoine culturel, les intérêts ou les aspirations différencient les populations du territoire d'avec celles du pays auquel elles s'associent librement.

5. *Considérations d'ordre constitutionnel*: Association: a) en vertu de la constitution de la métropole, ou b) en vertu d'un traité ou d'un accord bilatéral affectant le statut du territoire; en tenant compte des éléments suivants: i) si les garanties constitutionnelles s'appliquent d'une façon égale au territoire associé, ii) s'il existe en faveur du territoire des domaines constitutionnels réservés, iii) si le territoire a le droit de participer, sur un pied d'égalité, aux modifications qui peuvent être apportées au régime constitutionnel de l'Etat.

B. — STATUT

1. *Représentation sur le plan législatif*: Représentation sans discrimination au sein des organes législatifs centraux, sur un pied d'égalité avec les autres habitants et les autres régions.

2. *Citoyenneté*: Citoyenneté sans discrimination, sur un pied d'égalité avec les autres habitants.

3. *Fonctionnaires du gouvernement*: Nomination ou élection des fonctionnaires originaires du territoire dans les mêmes conditions que ceux qui sont originaires des autres parties du pays.

C. — CONDITIONS INTERNES D'ORDRE CONSTITUTIONNEL

1. *Droit de vote*: Suffrage universel égal pour tous, élections périodiques libres, au scrutin secret; liberté dans le choix des candidats aux élections.

2. *Droits et statut des habitants*: Droits et statut égaux pour les habitants et organes locaux du territoire à ceux qui sont reconnus aux habitants et aux organes locaux d'autres parties du pays.

3. *Fonctionnaires locaux*: Nomination ou élection des fonctionnaires dans le territoire dans les mêmes conditions que ceux qui sont nommés ou élus dans les autres parties du pays.

4. *Législation interne*: Autonomie législative complète du territoire, au moyen de systèmes d'élections et de représentation, dans tous les domaines qui, selon les règles habituelles de l'association ne sont pas, dans le cas d'un système non unitaire, réservés au gouvernement central.



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Président : M. Luis PADILLA NERVO (Mexique).

Examen des différentes questions à l'ordre du jour de la séance

1. Le **PRESIDENT** (traduit de l'espagnol) : Vous avez devant vous l'ordre du jour de la séance ; il comprend les rapports de la Quatrième Commission, qui a maintenant terminé ses travaux, et un rapport de la Première Commission. Avant que nous n'abordions l'examen de ces rapports, je dois consulter l'Assemblée sur l'application de l'article 67 du règlement intérieur dont voici le texte :

« Le rapport d'une grande Commission fait l'objet d'une discussion en séance plénière de l'Assemblée générale si le tiers au moins des Membres présents et votants en séance plénière estime cette discussion nécessaire. Les propositions à cet effet ne sont pas discutées, mais sont immédiatement mises aux voix. »

2. Quelqu'un désire-t-il proposer l'ouverture d'une discussion sur l'une des sept premières questions à l'ordre du jour ?

Il est décidé de ne pas discuter les sept premières questions (points 12, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36 et 37 de l'ordre du jour).

3. Le **PRESIDENT** (traduit de l'espagnol) : Il est bien entendu que la décision que l'Assemblée vient de prendre ne prive nullement les représentants du droit d'expliquer leur vote sur chacun de ces points.

4. Nous passons à la huitième question sur laquelle le représentant de l'Union Sud-Africaine a demandé qu'un débat ait lieu. Je mets donc aux voix la proposition visant à ouvrir un débat sur la huitième question à l'ordre du jour de la séance.

Il y a 17 voix pour, 18 voix contre et 12 abstentions. Il est décidé de discuter la huitième question (point 38 de l'ordre du jour).

5. Le **PRESIDENT** (traduit de l'espagnol) : Notre ordre du jour comprend une autre question, la neuvième, qui concerne le rapport de la Première Commission sur la question des mesures tendant à écarter la menace d'une nouvelle guerre mondiale et à consolider la paix et l'amitié entre les peuples.

6. Y a-t-il une proposition en faveur de la discussion de ce point ?

Il est décidé de ne pas discuter la neuvième question (point 67 de l'ordre du jour).

Renseignements provenant des territoires non autonomes : a) situation et développement économique des territoires non autonomes ; b) résumé et analyse des renseignements transmis en vertu de l'Article 73, e, de la Charte ; c) renseignements transmis en vertu de l'Article 73, e, de la Charte : rapport de la Quatrième Commission (A/2057)

[Point 36 de l'ordre du jour]

99. M. LANNUNG (Danemark) (*traduit de l'anglais*) : J'ai l'honneur de soumettre à l'Assemblée générale le rapport relatif aux renseignements provenant des territoires non autonomes que la Quatrième Commission a adopté à l'unanimité.

100. L'Assemblée générale avait renvoyé trois questions à la Quatrième Commission au titre du point 36. Ces questions étaient les suivantes : Situation et développement économiques des territoires non autonomes ; Résumé et analyse des renseignements transmis en vertu de l'Article 73, e, de la Charte ; et Renseignement transmis en vertu de l'Article 73, e, de la Charte.

101. En ce qui concerne la situation et le développement économiques des territoires non autonomes, le projet de résolution I qui est maintenant soumis à l'Assemblée générale tend à approuver le rapport du Comité spécial sur cette question et invite le Secrétaire général à transmettre ce rapport pour examen aux Etats Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies ayant la responsabilité d'administrer des territoires non autonomes, au Conseil économique et social, au Conseil de tutelle et aux institutions spécialisées intéressées. Lorsqu'elle a rédigé ce projet de résolution, la Quatrième Commission a suivi la procédure qu'elle avait déjà adoptée à la cinquième session lorsqu'elle avait été saisie du rapport du Comité spécial sur l'enseignement dans les territoires non autonomes. Compte tenu du fait qu'un grand nombre des problèmes économiques qui se posent dans les territoires non autonomes ressemblent à ceux des régions insuffisamment développées du monde, le Comité spécial a mentionné dans son rapport les résolutions pertinentes du Conseil économique et social relatives à des questions telles que l'apport de capitaux dans les régions insuffisamment développées, la réforme agraire, etc.

102. Le projet de résolution II prend acte du rapport du Comité spécial sur les travaux de sa session de 1951 et approuve les dispositions proposées par ce comité en ce qui concerne ses travaux pour 1952. Après avoir étudié les problèmes relatifs à l'enseignement en 1950 et la question du développement économique en 1951, le Comité spécial étudiera, en 1952, les problèmes qui se posent dans le domaine social.

103. Le projet de résolution III tend à associer plus étroitement les territoires non autonomes aux travaux du Comité spécial et ce dernier est invité à examiner la possibilité d'une participation plus étroite.

104. Le projet de résolution IV a trait à la procédure à suivre pour continuer d'étudier les facteurs dont il convient de tenir compte pour décider si un territoire est ou n'est pas un territoire dont les populations ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes. L'Assemblée générale déciderait de prendre pour base la liste des facteurs établie par la sous-commission 9 désignée par la Quatrième Commission pour examiner ces facteurs, liste annexée au projet de résolution ; elle inviterait les Membres des Nations Unies à transmettre par écrit au Secrétaire général un exposé des vues de leur

gouvernement touchant ce problème et elle désignerait un comité *ad hoc* chargé de poursuivre l'étude de ces facteurs. Cette question, par l'un de ses aspects, est liée au problème de la cessation de la transmission de renseignements en vertu de l'Article 73, e, de la Charte en général.

105. Plus particulièrement, le projet de résolution V a trait à la cessation de la transmission des renseignements concernant les Antilles néerlandaises et Surinam. L'Assemblée générale remercierait le Gouvernement des Pays-Bas d'avoir communiqué tous les renseignements demandés par la résolution 222 (III) de l'Assemblée générale. Enfin, aux termes de ce projet de résolution, l'Assemblée générale déciderait d'inscrire à l'ordre du jour de sa prochaine session la question de la cessation de la transmission de renseignements, compte tenu du fait que, à ce moment, le Comité *ad hoc* chargé de poursuivre l'étude des facteurs dont il convient de tenir compte aura précisé davantage les questions qu'il a été chargé d'examiner, et du fait qu'une conférence réunissant sur un pied d'égalité les représentants des Pays-Bas, des Antilles néerlandaises et de Surinam se tiendra en mars 1952 pour décider de l'établissement d'un nouveau système constitutionnel.

106. Aux termes du projet de résolution VI, il est décidé que pour se mieux prêter à une large diffusion, le nom du Comité spécial devrait être modifié comme suit : « Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes ». Le mandat du comité demeure inchangé. En outre, agissant au nom de l'Assemblée générale, la Quatrième Commission a élu l'Equateur et l'Indonésie membres du Comité spécial, pour remplacer le Mexique et les Philippines.

107. Puisque j'ai la parole, le Président me permettra peut-être de déclarer, en tant que représentant du Danemark, que nombre de mes collègues de la Quatrième Commission et moi-même considérons que le projet de résolution IV, relatif aux facteurs dont il convient de tenir compte pour décider si un territoire est ou n'est pas un territoire dont les populations ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes, est une question importante à la fois au sens général de ce terme, et, plus particulièrement, conformément à la définition qu'en donne l'Article 18 de la Charte. Par conséquent, nous voudrions suggérer que l'on applique au vote sur ce projet de résolution IV les dispositions du paragraphe 2 de l'Article 18 de la Charte et l'article 84 du règlement intérieur.

108. Le **PRESIDENT** (*traduit de l'espagnol*) : Je donne la parole au représentant de Cuba sur une question d'ordre.

109. M. PEREZ CISNEROS (Cuba) (*traduit de l'espagnol*) : Je n'interviens qu'au sujet de la procédure que vient de proposer le représentant du Danemark pour le vote sur le projet de résolution IV. Il demande que la question soit considérée comme importante et qu'un mode spécial de vote soit exigé pour l'adoption du projet. Je me permets de faire remarquer qu'il ne s'agit pas ici du fond de la question, mais simplement de la procédure à suivre à l'avenir. Par conséquent, ma délégation ne pense pas qu'en l'état actuel du problème, il soit logique de soulever le point de savoir s'il s'agit d'une question importante. Au stade où en sont nos travaux, il ne s'agit encore que de la procédure à suivre dans l'avenir.

110. Le **PRESIDENT** (*traduit de l'espagnol*) : Le rapport de la Quatrième Commission [A/2057] contient six pro-

jets de résolution que la Commission recommande à l'Assemblée générale d'adopter. Nous voterons séparément sur chacun de ces projets.

111. Je mets aux voix le projet de résolution.

Par 48 voix contre 5, avec une abstention, le projet de résolution I est adopté.

112. Le **PRESIDENT** (traduit de l'espagnol) : Nous passons au projet de résolution II qui a été approuvé sans opposition par la Quatrième Commission. En l'absence d'objection, je considérerai ce projet comme adopté.

Le projet de résolution II est adopté sans observation.

113. Le **PRESIDENT** (traduit de l'espagnol) : Je mets aux voix le projet de résolution III.

Par 47 voix contre 2, avec 7 abstentions, le projet de résolution III est adopté.

114. Le **PRESIDENT** (traduit de l'espagnol) : Je mets aux voix le projet de résolution IV.

Par 46 voix contre zéro, avec 7 abstentions, le projet de résolution IV est adopté.

115. Le **PRESIDENT** (traduit de l'espagnol) : Nous passons au projet de résolution V.

116. Je donne la parole au représentant des Pays-Bas pour une explication de vote.

117. **M. KERNKAMP** (Pays-Bas) (traduit de l'anglais) : La délégation néerlandaise voudrait demander que le paragraphe 3 de ce projet de résolution soit mis aux voix séparément et, en même temps, expliquer son vote sur ce texte. Je serai très bref, car l'attitude du Gouvernement des Pays-Bas à l'égard de ce projet de résolution a déjà été exposée devant la Quatrième Commission.

118. Nous n'avons pas d'objections à soulever contre l'étude de ce que l'on a appelé les facteurs — j'entends évidemment les facteurs dont il convient de tenir compte pour décider si un territoire est ou n'est pas un territoire dont les populations ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes. Nous approuvons sans réserve l'établissement d'une telle liste de facteurs, mais nous ne pouvons l'accepter que comme un guide, car, à notre avis, la liste ne renferme que des indications.

119. Nous demeurons convaincus que, juridiquement parlant, c'est aux Puissances administrantes qu'il appartient de décider, sur le terrain constitutionnel, si un territoire déterminé cesse, à un moment donné, de tomber sous le coup de l'Article 73, e. Nous sommes persuadés que les Antilles néerlandaises et Surinam ont déjà atteint une autonomie complète ; les autorités démocratiques qui les gouvernent le reconnaissent elles-mêmes. En conséquence, nous sommes opposés à ce que le paragraphe 3 de la résolution fasse mention de la prochaine conférence de la table ronde car, si importante que cette conférence puisse être en elle-même du point de vue de la reconstruction du Royaume des Pays-Bas, nous estimons que la mention de cette conférence n'est pas pertinente dans le texte en cause, étant donné l'autonomie dont jouissent déjà les Antilles néerlandaises et Surinam.

120. C'est pourquoi nous voterons contre le paragraphe 3 de ce projet de résolution et nous nous abstiendrons lors du vote sur l'ensemble du projet de résolution.

121. Le **PRESIDENT** (traduit de l'espagnol) : Le représentant des Pays-Bas a demandé un vote distinct sur le paragraphe 3 du dispositif du projet de résolution V. Nous allons voter tout d'abord sur ce paragraphe.

Par 41 voix contre 7, avec 8 abstentions, le paragraphe 3 du dispositif du projet de résolution V est adopté.

122. Le **PRESIDENT** (traduit de l'espagnol) : Je mets aux voix l'ensemble du projet de résolution V.

Par 47 voix contre zéro, avec 9 abstentions, l'ensemble du projet de résolution V est adopté.

123. Le **PRESIDENT** (traduit de l'espagnol) : Le projet de résolution VI, qui a été approuvé sans opposition par la Quatrième Commission, a pour objet de modifier le nom actuel du Comité spécial pour l'examen des renseignements transmis en vertu de l'Article 43, e, de la Charte. En l'absence d'objection, je considérerai le projet de résolution VI comme adopté.

Le projet de résolution VI est adopté sans observation.



Sixième session

Distribution double

Points 36 et 37 de l'ordre du jour

RENSEIGNEMENTS PROVENANT DES TERRITOIRES NON AUTONOMES

Rapport de la Quatrième Commission

Rapporteur : M. Hermod LANNUNG (Danemark)

1. A sa 342ème séance plénière, tenue le 13 novembre 1951, l'Assemblée générale a renvoyé à la Quatrième Commission le point 36 de son ordre du jour, relatif aux renseignements provenant des territoires non autonomes et le point 37 relatif à l'élection de deux membres du Comité spécial pour l'examen des renseignements transmis en vertu de l'Article 73 e de la Charte.
2. Le point 36 de l'ordre du jour était subdivisé comme-suit :
 - a) Situation et développement économiques des territoires non autonomes : rapport du Comité spécial pour l'examen des renseignements transmis en vertu de l'Article 73 e de la Charte. ⁽¹⁾
 - b) Résumé et analyse des renseignements transmis en vertu de l'Article 73 e de la Charte : Rapport du Secrétaire général. ⁽²⁾
 - c) Renseignements transmis en vertu de l'Article 73 e de la Charte : rapport du Comité spécial. ⁽³⁾
3. Après des exposés préliminaires faits à la 205ème séance par le Président et le Rapporteur du Comité spécial, la discussion générale s'est ouverte sur l'ensemble du point 36 et s'est poursuivie jusqu'à la 211ème séance.
4. Au cours de la discussion générale, les représentants de l'Indonésie et des Pays-Bas ont réservé la position de leurs gouvernements respectifs sur la

- 1) A/1836, Documents officiels de l'Assemblée générale, Sixième session, Supplément n° 14, Section V de la Première Partie, et Troisième Partie.
- 2) A/1823, Corr.1 et Add.1, 1824, et Corr.1, A/1824/Add.1 et Corr.1, A/1824/Add.2 et Corr.1, 1824/Add.3, 1826, 1827 et Corr.1 et Add.1, 1828, 1829 et Corr.1, 1830, 1835.
- 3) A/1836, Documents officiels de l'Assemblée générale, Sixième session, Supplément n° 14.

Nouvelle-Guinée hollandaise (Irian occidental) en ce qui concerne la souveraineté et les renseignements transmis à son sujet. Les représentants du Guatemala et du Royaume-Uni ont fait des réserves au sujet de la souveraineté sur le Honduras britannique (territoire de Belize); les représentants du Yémen et du Royaume-Uni en ce qui concerne le territoire d'Aden, et les représentants de l'Argentine et du Royaume-Uni en ce qui concerne les îles Falkland (islas Malvinas).

TERRITOIRES AUXQUELS S'APPLIQUE LE CHAPITRE XI DE LA CHARTE

8. Au cours de ses 215 à 218ème séances, la Commission a examiné la question des Territoires auxquels s'applique le chapitre XI de la Charte; cette question est traitée à la section XI de la Première Partie du rapport du Comité spécial ainsi que dans la Quatrième Partie de ce même rapport.

9. La Quatrième Commission était saisie à cet égard des textes suivants :

I. Un projet commun de résolution, présenté par le Danemark et le Pakistan (A/C.4/L.151), dont voici le dispositif : L'Assemblée générale,

- 1) Décide d'accepter, à toutes fins utiles, le rapport du Comité spécial comme directives provisoires; 2) Invite les Etats Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies à transmettre par écrit au Secrétaire général, le 1er juin 1952 au plus tard, un exposé des vues de leur Gouvernement touchant les facteurs dont il convient de tenir compte pour décider si un Territoire est, ou n'est pas, un Territoire dont les populations ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes; 3.) Prie le Secrétaire général de transmettre, à cette fin, à tous les Etats Membres copie de la présente résolution ainsi que de la Quatrième Partie du rapport du Comité spécial; 4) Invite le Comité spécial pour l'examen des renseignements transmis en vertu de l'Article 73 e de la Charte à examiner, à sa session de 1952, les exposés transmis en exécution de la présente résolution et à réexaminer, à la lumière de ces exposés, la liste qu'il a établie en 1951; 5.) Invite le Comité spécial à désigner, à cette fin, dès le début de sa session de 1952, un sous-comité qui préparera sur ces questions un rapport destiné au Comité spécial.

II. Un projet de résolution du Guatemala (A/C.4/L.152) invitant la Quatrième Commission à créer une sous-commission chargée: 1. D'étudier et de définir dans un projet de résolution les facteurs fondamentaux et généraux dont il y a lieu de tenir compte pour décider si un Territoire est, ou n'est pas, un Territoire dont les populations ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes; 2. D'étudier s'il convient de créer un Comité qui aurait pour fonctions: a) de procéder à une étude plus approfondie de ces facteurs; b) d'analyser la situation des territoires dont les populations, de l'avis de certaines puissances administrantes, sont parvenues à s'administrer complètement elles-mêmes; et c) de soumettre à l'Assemblée générale, à sa prochaine session, des projets de résolution appropriés.

III. Le représentant du Guatemala a, par la suite, remanié son projet de résolution : le nouveau texte prévoyait que la sous-commission serait char-

gée d'étudier le problème à la lumière du rapport du Comité spécial et des débats de la Quatrième Commission, et qu'elle présenterait son rapport à la Commission au cours de la présente session (A/C.4/L.152/Rev.1).

IV. Un projet de résolution du Venezuela (A/C.4/L.153), dont le dispositif prévoit que l'Assemblée générale décide: 1. de réaffirmer les principes consacrés par la résolution 534 (IV) que l'Assemblée générale a adoptée le 2 décembre 1949, touchant la compétence de l'Assemblée en ce qui concerne l'examen des renseignements qui sont transmis par les autorités administrant des Territoires non autonomes, conformément à l'Article 73 e) de la Charte, 2. De créer un comité spécial composé des représentants de qui sera chargé de procéder, au cours de l'année 1952, à une étude détaillée : a) des facteurs dont il convient de tenir compte pour décider si un Territoire est ou n'est pas un Territoire dont les populations ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes; b) de la situation des Territoires dont les populations, de l'avis de certaines puissances administrantes, s'administrent désormais complètement elles-mêmes; 3. d'ajourner l'examen des chapitres XI et XII de la Première Partie, ainsi que l'ensemble de la Quatrième Partie du rapport du Comité spécial pour l'examen des renseignements transmis en vertu de l'Article 73 e) de la Charte, jusqu'à ce que le Comité spécial visé dans la présente résolution ait présenté son rapport; 4. d'inviter le Comité spécial qui sera créé en vertu de la présente résolution à terminer son rapport pour le 15 août 1952 au plus tard.

V. Un amendement de l'Uruguay (A/C.4/L.154), tendant à ajouter l'alinéa suivant au paragraphe 2 du projet de résolution du Venezuela:

"c) De la possibilité de créer un organe permanent chargé de faire rapport à l'Assemblée générale et de soumettre, dans chaque cas, un projet de résolution touchant les éléments visés aux alinéas a) et b) ci-dessus.

10. A la suite de consultations entre les auteurs des projets de résolution sus-mentionnés, le projet de résolution ci-après (A/C.4/L.155) a été présenté conjointement par le Danemark, le Guatemala, le Pakistan et le Venezuela :

" La Quatrième Commission

" Décide de créer une sous-commission composée des représentants des pays suivants: _____ qui sera chargée :

" 1. D'étudier, à la lumière du rapport du Comité spécial et des débats de la Quatrième Commission les facteurs fondamentaux et généraux dont il y a lieu de tenir compte pour décider si un Territoire est, ou n'est pas, un Territoire dont les populations ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes;

" 2. D'étudier s'il convient d'arrêter une procédure permettant de poursuivre l'examen du problème, compte tenu des projets de résolution sur cette question soumis à la Quatrième Commission dans les documents A/C.4/L.151, A/C.4/L.152, A/C.4/L.152/Rev.1, A/C.4/L.153 et A/C.4/L.154."

11. A sa deux cent dix-huitième séance, la Commission a adopté le projet de résolution commun par 16 voix contre zéro avec 9 abstentions et a approuvé pour la sous-commission la composition suivante: Australie, Cuba, Danemark, Etats-Unis d'Amérique, France, Guatemala, Irak et Venezuela.

12. La Sous-Commission (Sous-Commission 9) a élu M. Awnikhalidy (Irak) Président et M. Guy Perez Cisneros (Cuba) rapporteur. La Sous-Commission a tenu onze séances et a adopté un rapport (A/C.4/L.180 et Corr.1) destiné à être soumis à la Quatrième Commission. Ce rapport se termine par un projet de résolution prévoyant que l'Assemblée générale 1) décide de prendre pour base la liste de facteurs établie par la Sous-Commission; 2) invite les Etats Membres à communiquer leurs vues touchant le problème des facteurs, le 1er mai 1952 au plus tard; 3) désigne un Comité ad hoc de huit membres chargés de procéder à de nouvelles études; 4) invite le Comité ad hoc envisagé à prendre en considération tous les renseignements disponibles et à faire rapport à l'Assemblée générale, lors de la septième session ordinaire et 5) invite le Secrétaire général à réunir le Comité ad hoc de façon qu'il puisse commencer ses travaux une semaine avant l'ouverture de la session de 1952 du Comité spécial.

13. A sa deux cent quarante-et-unième séance la Commission a examiné le rapport de la Sous-Commission. Elle a décidé de porter de huit à dix le nombre des membres du Comité ad hoc envisagé, celui-ci devant être composé des pays suivants: Australie, Belgique, Birmanie, Cuba, Danemark, Etats-Unis d'Amérique, France,

Guatemala, Irak, et Venezuela. Sous réserve de cette modification, à la suite d'un vote par appel nominal, la Commission a adopté le projet de résolution proposé par la Sous-Commission par 39 voix contre zéro avec 6 abstentions. Les résultats du vote ont été les suivants:

Ont voté pour : Afghanistan, Arabie Saoudite, Argentine, Australie, Belgique, Birmanie, Brésil, Canada, Chili, Chine, Colombie, Cuba, Danemark, Egypte, Equateur, Etats-Unis d'Amérique, France, Grèce, Guatemala, Haïti, Inde, Indonésie, Irak, Iran, Israël, Liban, Liberia, Mexique, Nouvelle-Zélande, Pakistan, Philippines, République Dominicaine, Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord, Salvador, Syrie, Thaïlande, Venezuela, Yémen, Yougoslavie.

Se sont abstenus : Pays-Bas, Pologne, République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie, République socialiste d'Ukraine, Tchécoslovaquie, Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques.

14. Le texte du projet de résolution, adopté, est tel qu'il a été joint en annexe au présent rapport sous le titre résolution IV.

La Quatrième Commission recommande à l'Assemblée générale d'adopter les résolutions suivantes :.

RESOLUTION IV

PROCEDURE FUTURE POUR LA POURSUITE DE L'ETUDE DES
FACTEURS DONT IL CONVIENT DE TENIR COMPTE POUR
DECIDER SI UN TERRITOIRE EST, OU N'EST PAS, UN
TERRITOIRE DONT LES POPULATIONS NE S'ADMINISTRENT
PAS ENCORE COMPLETEMENT ELLES-MEMES

L'Assemblée générale,

Rappelant que par sa résolution 334 (IV), adoptée le 2 décembre 1949, elle a invité tout Comité spécial qui pourrait être institué pour examiner les renseignements transmis en vertu de l'Article 73 e) de la Charte à étudier les facteurs dont il convient de tenir compte pour décider si tel ou tel Territoire est ou n'est pas un Territoire dont les populations ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes,

Ayant examiné le rapport préparé à ce sujet par le Comité spécial pour l'examen des renseignements transmis en vertu de l'Article 73 e) de la Charte,

Ayant entrepris une révision de ces facteurs,

Considérant que l'élaboration d'une liste plus définitive des facteurs en question exige des études prolongées et complexes fondées sur des renseignements plus complets que ceux dont on a pu disposer en 1951,

1. Décide de prendre pour base la liste de facteurs établie lors de la sixième session de l'Assemblée générale, et annexée à la présente résolution ;
2. Invite les Membres des Nations Unies à transmettre par écrit au Secrétaire général, le 1er mai 1952 au plus tard, un exposé des vues de leur Gouvernement touchant les facteurs dont il convient de tenir compte pour décider si un Territoire est, ou n'est pas, un Territoire dont les populations ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes ;
3. Désigne un Comité ad hoc de dix membres composé des pays suivants :
Australie, Belgique, Birmanie, Cuba, Danemark, Etats-Unis d'Amérique, France, Guatemala, Irak et Venezuela, en vue de poursuivre l'étude des facteurs dont il convient de tenir compte pour décider si un Territoire est, ou n'est pas, un Territoire dont les populations ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes ;

4. Invite le Comité ad hoc à prendre en considération tous les renseignements disponibles, y compris ceux transmis au Secrétaire général sur les motifs qui ont amené des Puissances administrantes à cesser de communiquer des renseignements sur certains de ces Territoires et à faire rapport à l'Assemblée générale, lors de sa septième session ordinaire ;

5. Invite le Secrétaire général à réunir le Comité ad hoc de façon qu'il puisse commencer ses travaux une semaine avant l'ouverture de la session de 1952 du Comité spécial pour l'examen des renseignements transmis en vertu de l'Article 73 e) de la Charte.

ANNEXE

FACTEURS DONT IL CONVIENT DE TENIR COMPTE POUR DECIDER SI
UN TERRITOIRE EST, OU N'EST PAS, UN TERRITOIRE DONT LES
POPULATIONS NE S'ADMINISTRENT PAS ENCORE COMPLETEMENT ELLES-MEMES

Introduction

1. Les Territoires auxquels s'applique le Chapitre XI de la Charte sont ceux dont les populations ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes. On peut noter que pour qualifier les termes "s'administrent elles-mêmes", la Charte emploie les mots "full mesure" dans le texte anglais, "complètement" dans le texte français, et "plenitud" dans le texte espagnol.
2. La tâche de l'Assemblée générale consiste à l'heure actuelle à indiquer les facteurs dont il faut tenir compte pour déterminer si le résultat des progrès accomplis par la population d'un Territoire donné est tel que ce territoire a atteint un degré d'autonomie qui le place en dehors du champ d'application de l'Article 73 e) de la Charte.
3. La condition, pour que cessent de s'appliquer les dispositions du Chapitre XI de la Charte, consiste en ce que les habitants du Territoire ont atteint, par le progrès politique, leur autonomie complète. Cette condition peut être remplie de différentes manières qui comportent, dans tous les cas, la libre expression de la volonté de la population. Les deux principaux moyens sont : a) l'accès à l'indépendance, et b) l'union du Territoire sur la base d'une égalité de statut avec les autres parties constitutives de la Métropole ou d'un autre pays ou d'autres pays - ou son association dans des conditions identiques avec la Métropole, un autre pays ou d'autres pays. La mesure dans laquelle les dispositions de l'Article 73 e) continuent de s'appliquer au cas de Territoires qui n'ont pas accédé à l'indépendance ou n'ont pas été pleinement intégrés à un autre Etat mais ont atteint une complète autonomie dans le domaine de leurs affaires intérieures, est une question qui mérite un complément d'étude.
4. Les deux formes principales du progrès politique mentionnées au paragraphe précédent postulent l'examen de différents facteurs pour déterminer si un Territoire a, ou n'a pas, atteint un degré d'autonomie qui le place en dehors du champ d'application de l'Article 73 e) de la Charte.

5. En conséquence, l'Assemblée générale énumère ci-après sous deux rubriques différentes les facteurs à prendre en considération, tout en soulignant que la liste ne saurait être considérée comme complète ou définitive et qu'un facteur particulier ou une combinaison déterminée de facteurs ne peut être considéré comme décisif dans chaque cas. La question de savoir si les populations d'un Territoire doivent être considérées comme ayant atteint un degré d'autonomie où il n'existe plus aucune obligation de transmettre des renseignements, doit être résolue à la lumière des situations constatées à l'un ou à l'autre titre, en tenant compte des circonstances propres à chaque cas particulier, circonstances qu'il sera nécessaire d'étudier séparément.

6. Toutefois, l'Assemblée générale estime que les facteurs essentiels dont il convient de tenir compte pour décider si un Territoire non autonome est parvenu à l'autonomie complète sont les suivants :

i) Progrès politique : Progrès politique des populations suffisant pour leur permettre de décider elles-mêmes, en connaissance de cause, de l'avenir du territoire.

ii) Opinion des populations : Opinion des populations du Territoire librement exprimée en connaissance de cause et par des voies démocratiques, en ce qui concerne le statut ou le changement de statut qu'elles désirent.

7. Ces facteurs sont valables à la fois pour les Territoires non autonomes qui ont accédé à l'indépendance et pour ceux qui se sont librement unis ou associés, sur la base d'une égalité de statut, avec d'autres parties constitutives de la Métropole, d'un autre pays ou d'autres pays. Dans le dernier cas cependant, les facteurs suivants sont essentiels aussi et doivent être pris en considération :

i) Représentation dans les organes législatifs : Représentation sans discrimination au sein des organes législatifs centraux, sur un pied d'égalité avec les autres habitants et les autres régions.

ii) Citoyenneté : Citoyenneté sans discrimination, sur un pied d'égalité avec les autres habitants.

FACTEURS DONT IL CONVIENT DE TENIR COMPTE POUR DECIDER
SI UN TERRITOIRE EST, OU N'EST PAS,
UN TERRITOIRE DONT LES POPULATIONS NE S'ADMINISTRENT PAS
ENCORE COMPLETEMENT ELLES-MEMES

I. Facteurs permettant de conclure qu'une population a accédé à
l'indépendance ou à toute autre forme d'autonomie séparée

A. Facteurs de caractère général

1. Progrès politique: Progrès politique des populations suffisant pour leur permettre de décider elles-mêmes, en connaissance de cause, de l'avenir du Territoire.

2. Opinion des populations: Opinion des populations du Territoire, librement exprimée en connaissance de cause et par des voies démocratiques, en ce qui concerne le statut ou le changement de statut qu'elles désirent.

B. Statut international

1. Indépendance: Accès au Territoire à l'indépendance ou gestion complète de ses relations extérieures et de ses affaires intérieures.

2. Possibilité de faire partie d'organisations internationales: Possibilité de devenir Membre de l'Organisation des Nations Unies ou de devenir membre ou membre associé d'autres organisations internationales; représentation assurée par des délégués choisis par le Gouvernement du Territoire.

3. Relations internationales en général: Capacité d'établir des relations directes de toute nature avec d'autres Etats et avec des institutions internationales ainsi que de négocier, signer et ratifier des conventions internationales.

4. Limitation volontaire de souveraineté: Mesure dans laquelle la souveraineté du Territoire a été librement et de sa propre volonté limitée au moment où ce Territoire a accédé à l'indépendance ou à toute autre forme d'autonomie séparée.

C. Autonomie interne

1. Gouvernement du Territoire: Affranchissement de tout contrôle et de toute intervention de la part du Gouvernement d'un autre Etat sur le Gouvernement interne (pouvoirs législatif, exécutif et judiciaire) et l'Administration du Territoire.

2. Participation de la population au pouvoir : Participation effective de la population au Gouvernement du Territoire, par un système électoral et représentatif approprié.

3. Compétence en matière économique et sociale : Pleine compétence du Gouvernement du Territoire pour gérer les affaires économiques et sociales de ce dernier.

II. Facteurs permettant de conclure qu'un territoire est librement associé, sur un pied d'égalité (dans un cadre fédéral ou unitaire), à d'autres parties constitutives de la métropole ou d'un autre pays

A. : Facteurs de caractère général

1. Progrès politique : Progrès politique des populations suffisant pour leur permettre de décider elles-mêmes, en connaissance de cause, de l'avenir du Territoire.

2. Opinion des populations : Opinion des populations du Territoire, librement exprimée en connaissance de cause et par des voies démocratiques, en ce qui concerne le statut ou le changement de statut qu'elles désirent.

3. Considérations d'ordre géographique : Mesure dans laquelle les relations du Territoire avec le siège du Gouvernement central peuvent être affectées par des circonstances tenant à leur situation géographique respective, telles que le fait qu'ils sont séparés par une étendue de terre ou de mer ou par d'autres obstacles naturels.

4. Considérations ethniques et culturelles : Mesure dans laquelle la race, la langue, la religion ou le patrimoine culturel, les intérêts ou les aspirations différencient les populations du Territoire d'avec celles du pays auquel elles s'associent librement.

5. Considérations d'ordre constitutionnel : Association : a) en vertu de la Constitution de la Métropole ou b) en vertu d'un traité ou d'un accord bilatéral affectant le Statut du Territoire ; en tenant compte des éléments suivants : i) si les garanties constitutionnelles s'appliquent d'une façon égale au Territoire associé, ii) s'il existe en faveur du Territoire des domaines

constitutionnels réservés, iii) si le Territoire a le droit de participer, sur un pied d'égalité, aux modifications qui peuvent être apportées au régime constitutionnel de l'Etat.

B. Statut

1. Représentation dans les organes législatifs : Représentation sans discrimination au sein des organes législatifs centraux, sur un pied d'égalité avec les autres habitants et les autres régions.

2. Citoyenneté : Citoyenneté sans discrimination, sur un pied d'égalité avec les autres habitants.

3. Fonctionnaires du Gouvernement : Nomination ou élection des fonctionnaires originaires du Territoire dans les mêmes conditions que ceux qui sont originaires des autres parties de l'Etat.

C. Conditions internes d'ordre constitutionnel :

1. Droit de vote : Suffrage universel égal pour tous, élections périodiques libres, au scrutin secret ; liberté dans le choix des candidats aux élections.

2. Droits et statut des habitants : Droits et statut égaux pour les habitants et organes locaux du Territoire à ceux reconnus aux habitants et aux organes locaux d'autres parties de l'Etat.

3. Fonctionnaires locaux : Nomination ou élection des fonctionnaires du Territoire dans les mêmes conditions que ceux qui sont nommés ou élus dans les autres parties de l'Etat.

4. Législation interne : Autonomie législative complète du Territoire, au moyen de systèmes électoral et représentatif, dans tous les domaines qui selon les règles habituelles de l'association ne sont pas, dans le cas d'un système non-unitaire, réservés au Gouvernement central.

ASSEMBLÉE GÉNÉRALE

SIXIÈME SESSION

Documents officiels



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QUATRIÈME COMMISSION, 241^e
SÉANCE

Mercredi 9 janvier 1952, à 15 heures

Palais de Chaillot, Paris

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Président : M. Max HENRÍQUEZ UREÑA (République Dominicaine).

Renseignements provenant des territoires non autonomes (suite)

[Point 36*]

RAPPORT DE LA SOUS-COMMISSION 9 CHARGÉE D'Étudier LES FACTEURS DONT IL CONVIENT DE TENIR COMPTE POUR DÉCIDER SI UN TERRITOIRE EST, OU N'EST PAS, UN TERRITOIRE DONT LES POPULATIONS NE S'ADMINISTRENT PAS ENCORE ELLES-MÊMES (A/C.4/L.180 ET CORR.1)

49. M. PEREZ CISNEROS (Cuba) (Rapporteur de la Sous-Commission 9) présente le rapport de la Sous-Commission (A/C.4/L.180 et Corr.1). Il précise qu'en vertu d'une décision de la Sous-Commission, l'annexe I et l'annexe II constituent un tout, et que la Commission doit examiner ensemble les deux annexes.

50. Il fait observer que la Sous-Commission a adopté le paragraphe 7 du rapport, bien que le Secrétariat ait invoqué une résolution de l'Assemblée générale pour déclarer qu'il ne lui était pas possible d'assurer une large distribution des comptes rendus analytiques des séances de la Sous-Commission. La résolution en question ne s'applique qu'aux comptes rendus sténographiques et n'affecte donc pas la faculté accordée à la Sous-Commission par l'article 60 du règlement intérieur de l'Assemblée générale de fixer la forme dans laquelle seront établis ses comptes rendus. En conséquence, en sa qualité de Rapporteur, M. Perez Cisneros insiste pour que le Secrétariat fasse distribuer au moins à chaque membre de la Quatrième Commission un jeu complet de comptes rendus analytiques de la Sous-Commission en triple exemplaire.

51. M. Perez Cisneros rend hommage à tous les fonctionnaires du Secrétariat qui ont aidé la Sous-Commission dans son travail difficile, et notamment à M. Benson, Directeur de la Division des renseignements provenant des territoires non autonomes. Il se réserve le droit de prendre la parole plus longuement sur le fond de la question à un stade ultérieur du débat, en qualité de représentant de Cuba, et se contente de déclarer, au stade actuel, que les textes qui figurent aux annexes I et II du rapport, marquent à son avis un net progrès par rapport aux documents antérieurs sur la question.

52. M. KHALIDY (Irak), prenant la parole en sa qualité de Président de la Sous-Commission 9, ne croit pas opportun d'examiner actuellement le fond de la question, le rapport prévoyant lui-même la procédure à suivre pour continuer l'étude du problème. Il s'agit d'un projet complexe et nouveau, et la Sous-Commission s'est acquittée de sa tâche avec beaucoup de succès.

53. M. LANNUNG (Danemark) félicite le Président et le Rapporteur de la Sous-Commission et remercie les membres de la Sous-Commission et du Secrétariat de l'œuvre qu'ils ont accomplie. La délégation du Danemark accepte d'une manière générale les propositions qui figurent à l'annexe I et à l'annexe II du rapport de la Sous-Commission. M. Lannung retrace les étapes parcourues au cours de l'étude du problème, et il estime que le rapport de la Sous-Commission constitue un pas décisif en avant, en ce qui concerne notamment le groupement systématique des facteurs.

54. La délégation du Danemark attache une importance toute spéciale aux paragraphes 3, 4 et 5 de l'introduction

de l'annexe II. Toutefois, M. Lannung a toujours réalisé qu'une nouvelle étude montrerait vraisemblablement qu'il serait normal de subdiviser en deux parties la liste des facteurs permettant de conclure qu'un territoire est librement associé à d'autres parties constitutives de la métropole ou d'un autre pays (Annexe II), en considérant séparément les cas où le territoire se trouve associé avec un Etat de type fédéral et les cas où il sera uni à un Etat de type unitaire; le rapport de la Sous-Commission fait d'ailleurs état de cette idée au paragraphe 12. On peut, pour prouver la nécessité d'une telle subdivision, citer le dernier facteur qui figure dans cette liste; ce facteur ne devrait être considéré que comme s'appliquant aux Etats appartenant à un système non unitaire. Dans le cas d'un Etat unitaire, le critère décisif reste l'égalité de droits et de statut entre le territoire et les autres parties constitutives de l'Etat unitaire auquel il a été rattaché.

55. En ce qui concerne la méthode à suivre pour continuer l'étude du problème, la délégation du Danemark aurait préféré que cette étude fût confiée au Comité spécial pour l'examen des renseignements transmis en vertu de l'Article 73, e, de la Charte ou à un organe subsidiaire de ce Comité, mais elle a cru possible d'adopter, par esprit de compromis, la solution proposée aux paragraphes 3 et 5 de l'annexe I.

56. M. Lannung propose à la Commission d'adopter les propositions de la Sous-Commission figurant aux annexes I et II du document A/C.4/L.180.

57. M. TOBIAS (États-Unis d'Amérique) estime que le rapport de la Sous-Commission marque un progrès utile dans l'étude d'un problème complexe. Il n'a aucune modification à suggérer et votera pour le projet de résolution. Il propose que le comité *ad hoc* prévu par le paragraphe 3 du projet de résolution (annexe I) se compose des mêmes pays que la Sous-Commission, à savoir l'Australie, Cuba, le Danemark, les États-Unis d'Amérique, la France, le Guatemala, l'Irak et le Venezuela.

58. M. MAVROS (Grèce) partage l'opinion de la Sous-Commission quant au caractère non définitif de la liste des facteurs qu'elle a élaborée. Le comité *ad hoc* envisagé devra d'abord aborder l'examen de la question méthodologique, pour déterminer si l'établissement d'une liste de facteurs constitue la méthode la plus appropriée pour la solution de la question de fond. En effet, le caractère éminemment politique de l'application des critères choisis conduira toujours à résoudre chaque cas particulier en fonction de considérations d'ordre politique, étrangères aux facteurs en question. De plus, la Sous-Commission n'a pas abordé la question de savoir quelle autorité sera chargée de constater en pratique si un facteur donné existe dans un cas particulier.

59. M. MAVROS est en plein accord avec les auteurs du rapport pour établir une distinction entre l'autonomie complète et la soi-disant autonomie qui se limite à la seule gestion des affaires intérieures.

60. La délégation de la Grèce estime qu'il faut se garder d'un optimisme exagéré au sujet des résultats que peut donner le rapport. En ce qui concerne les territoires non autonomes, il se pose deux questions d'une importance capitale : à quel moment une population qui ne s'administre pas elle-même atteint-elle un degré de maturité tel que le droit de s'administrer elle-même doit lui être accordé, d'une part; d'autre part, quelle est l'autorité compétente pour décider que ce degré de maturité est atteint? Or, les Puissances administrantes estiment qu'elles ont seules le droit de trancher cette question. Il est alors inévitable qu'elles fassent intervenir des consi-

dérations politiques étrangères aux intérêts et aux aspirations des populations de ces territoires, contrairement à l'esprit et à la lettre même de la Charte. Cette pratique est absolument illogique, parce qu'elle place les territoires non autonomes dans une situation moins favorable que les Territoires sous tutelle, dont l'évolution vers l'indépendance jouit de garanties internationales. Cette situation paradoxale porte atteinte au prestige même de l'Organisation des Nations Unies.

61. M. RIVAS (Venezuela) estime que la Sous-Commission a accompli un travail constructif, grâce surtout à la compétence avec laquelle le représentant de l'Irak a présidé ses travaux.

62. Le représentant du Venezuela est en plein accord avec le représentant de la Grèce pour estimer que les Nations Unies doivent établir des règles précises en la matière. Chaque territoire non autonome présente des caractéristiques différentes, d'ordre géographique, ethnique, économique, etc. La meilleure manière d'étudier les facteurs de cet ordre consiste à analyser les cas où une Puissance administrante a déclaré qu'elle cessait d'envoyer les renseignements prévus par l'Article 73 de la Charte. Tout changement apporté au statut d'un territoire non autonome ne saurait être valable que s'il est reconnu sur le plan international. Seule l'Assemblée générale a qualité pour décider quand un territoire non autonome a atteint la plénitude de l'autonomie proprement dite. C'est à elle seule qu'il appartiendra d'appliquer les critères que l'on cherche actuellement à déterminer.

63. Le représentant du Venezuela espère que la Commission approuvera le projet de résolution qui figure à l'annexe I du rapport. Il estime que le comité *ad hoc* n'est pas appelé à examiner la question de la compétence de l'Assemblée générale en la matière, car cette compétence ressort de la Charte elle-même.

64. M. DE PAIVA LEITE (Brésil) félicite la Sous-Commission et son Président de l'excellent travail qu'ils ont accompli. Il appelle les membres de la Commission à ne pas soulever à nouveau au stade actuel les problèmes complexes qui se posent à cet égard. Le Brésil estime judicieuse la procédure envisagée par le projet de résolution pour une étude plus approfondie de la question, et il votera pour le rapport et ses annexes.

65. M. PEREZ CISNEROS (Cuba) attire l'attention de la Commission sur le paragraphe 12 du rapport de la Sous-Commission. Il estime que la liste de facteurs doit être subdivisée en trois catégories selon le statut des territoires : premièrement, territoires qui jouissent d'une complète indépendance, d'une pleine souveraineté et ont leur propre représentation à l'étranger; deuxièmement, les territoires membres de fédérations, qui n'ont pas leur propre représentation diplomatique, mais jouissent en matière législative d'une large autonomie qui leur permet notamment de sauvegarder leurs droits et leurs intérêts traditionnels; troisièmement, les territoires qui ont atteint un statut de pleine souveraineté par l'incorporation à la métropole ou à un autre pays, sans disposer de représentation diplomatique propre, ni d'autonomie législative. C'est dans ce dernier cas que l'Organisation des Nations Unies devrait appliquer les critères les plus stricts.

66. M. Pérez Cisneros fait observer ensuite qu'il ne suffit pas d'opposer le concept d'autonomie à la notion de non-autonomie. Un territoire peut parfaitement être autonome financièrement ou administrativement, tout en restant une colonie au sens classique de ce terme, comme l'a précisé M. Georges Scelle, l'éminent juriste français. Les termes de l'Article 73 de la Charte, loin d'exclure

l'accès des territoires non autonomes à l'indépendance complète, semblent au contraire la présupposer.

67. Le représentant de Cuba rappelle que la transmission de renseignements concernant les progrès accomplis par la population des territoires non autonomes dans le domaine politique n'a pas été imposée aux États Membres administrants par l'Article 73 de la Charte; toutefois, pour que les Nations Unies soient en mesure de déterminer si un territoire a cessé d'être non autonome, il est indispensable qu'elles soient informées des progrès politiques accomplis par sa population.

68. En dernier lieu, le représentant de Cuba tient à faire observer que lorsqu'un pays cesse de transmettre des renseignements sur un territoire, l'Assemblée générale, au nom de la communauté internationale, a le droit et le devoir d'examiner et de décider si la cessation de la transmission des renseignements est conforme aux critères définis. La délégation de Cuba ne comprend pas que certains pays puissent hésiter à reconnaître ce droit et ce devoir, dont le Traité de Versailles notamment a donné un exemple historique, en exigeant de l'Allemagne qu'elle renonce à ses colonies pour n'avoir pas rempli ses obligations de caractère international à leur égard.

69. M. Pérez Cisneros signale ensuite certaines ambiguïtés dans le texte de l'introduction à l'annexe II. Pour sa part, la délégation de Cuba ne peut admettre que l'on considère séparément d'une part l'autonomie dans les affaires sociales, économiques et culturelles et d'autre part l'autonomie politique; sur la réalisation de cette dernière repose toute autre forme d'autonomie véritable.

70. M. DE MARCHENA (République Dominicaine) appuie sans réserves les déclarations du représentant du Brésil. A son avis, le rapport est acceptable comme solution de compromis. Il a considérablement aidé la Commission dans ses débats et la Sous-Commission mérite d'être félicitée pour avoir établi une liste de facteurs limitée que les consultations avec les gouvernements permettront de parfaire.

71. La délégation dominicaine tient cependant à ce que le compte rendu de la séance mentionne expressément son désir de voir le comité *ad hoc* envisagé s'attacher à élaborer une définition juridique de l'autonomie qui servira de base à ses travaux. A cette condition, elle approuve le projet de résolution et propose d'adopter le rapport aussi rapidement que possible sans prolonger inutilement le débat.

72. M. MENDOZA (Guatemala) tient à préciser que le dernier facteur qui figure sur sa demande dans la liste des facteurs permettant de conclure qu'un territoire est librement associé à d'autres parties constitutives de la métropole ou d'un autre pays (annexe II) ne peut s'appliquer qu'aux fédérations et autres types d'association et qu'il ne concerne pas les systèmes unitaires.

73. M. LANNUNG (Danemark) demande que cette explication soit consignée au compte rendu.

74. M. KHALIDY (Irak), appuyé par M. LANNUNG (Danemark) et M. DE MARCHENA (République Dominicaine), demande au représentant de la France, qui se propose de ne prendre la parole qu'à la séance suivante, de ne pas retarder le débat et de ne pas empêcher la Commission de passer au vote avant de lever la séance.

75. M. DE LACHARRIERE (France) explique qu'il se dispensera d'analyser les facteurs puisque le comité *ad hoc* sera chargé, conformément à une procédure approuvée par la délégation française, de mettre au point la liste

des facteurs en tenant compte des observations présentées par les gouvernements.

76. Il rappelle ensuite les réserves formulées par la France (A/C.4/L.180, paragraphe 15) en ce qui concerne certains facteurs qui mettent en cause la race et la religion et au sujet de l'identification entre l'autonomie et l'indépendance complète.

77. Répondant aux représentants de la Grèce, de Cuba et du Venezuela, il affirme que la détermination des territoires sur lesquels il y a lieu de transmettre des renseignements en vertu de l'article 73, e, est de la compétence exclusive de la Puissance administrante. D'autre part, relevant la comparaison faite par le représentant de la Grèce entre le régime des Territoires sous tutelle et celui des territoires non autonomes, il déclare que la distinction entre ces régimes résulte de la Charte à laquelle son Gouvernement entend se tenir. M. de Lacharrière fait observer que si la France a accepté de travailler à l'établissement des facteurs, c'est dans le cadre de la résolution 334 (IV) de l'Assemblée générale, aux termes de laquelle l'Assemblée ne peut donner qu'un avis destiné à guider les gouvernements, lesquels sont seuls compétents pour prendre une décision en la matière.

78. Enfin, la question de l'autonomie ne devrait pas se poser seulement dans le cas où un pays cesse de transmettre des renseignements sur un territoire, mais aussi dans celui des territoires pour lesquels aucun renseignement n'a jamais été transmis. De l'avis du représentant de la France, certains gouvernements ont, dans le ressort de leur juridiction, des territoires ou des populations qui devraient être protégés par le Chapitre XI de la Charte.

79. M. SPITS (Pays-Bas) explique qu'il s'abstiendra, lors du vote, parce que la question est si complexe que sa délégation a toujours douté que l'on puisse établir une liste complète de facteurs répondant à tous les cas. De plus, seules les Puissances administrantes ont compétence pour décider quels sont les territoires auxquels sont applicables les dispositions du Chapitre XI de la Charte.

80. M. PEREZ CISNEROS (Cuba) appuyé par M. TAJIBNAPIS (Indonésie), M. KHALIDY (Irak), M. INGLÉS (Philippines), M. RYCKMANS (Belgique) et M. DE PAIVA LEITE (Brésil), fait observer que l'Extrême-Orient devrait être représenté au Comité *ad hoc* que l'on va désigner et il propose la candidature de la Birmanie.

81. Le PRÉSIDENT suggère, pour maintenir la parité entre les Puissances administrantes et les autres pays, de désigner la Birmanie et la Belgique comme membres du comité *ad hoc*, avec l'Australie, Cuba, le Danemark, les États-Unis d'Amérique, la France, le Guatemala, l'Irak et le Venezuela.

Il en est ainsi décidé.

82. Le PRÉSIDENT met aux voix l'ensemble du projet de résolution (A/C.4/L.180 et Corr.1, annexes I et II).

83. Sur la demande de M. KHALIDY (Irak), le PRÉSIDENT annonce que le vote aura lieu par appel nominal.

Il est procédé au vote par appel nominal.

L'appel commence par le Danemark, dont le nom est tiré au sort par le Président.

Vote pour: Danemark, République Dominicaine, Équateur, Égypte, Salvador, France, Grèce, Guatemala, Haïti, Inde, Indonésie, Iran, Irak, Israël, Liban, Libéria, Mexique, Nouvelle-Zélande, Pakistan, Philippines, Arabie saoudite, Syrie, Thaïlande, Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord, États-Unis d'Amérique,

Venezuela, Yémen, Yougoslavie, Afghanistan, Argentine, Australie, Belgique, Brésil, Birmanie, Canada, Chili, Chine, Colombie, Cuba.

S'abstiennent : Pays-Bas, Pologne, République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine, Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques, République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie, Tchécoslovaquie.

Par 39 voix contre zéro, avec 6 abstentions, l'ensemble du projet de résolution est approuvé.

84. U HLA MAUNG (Birmanie) remercie ceux de ses collègues qui ont proposé sa candidature.

85. M. RYCKMANS (Belgique) déclare qu'il s'est prononcé en faveur du projet de résolution, parce qu'il présente un caractère intérimaire et que son pays est d'accord pour entreprendre les études prévues.

86. Il signale cependant une grave omission dans l'annexe II où l'on ne considère que le cas des territoires pour lesquels la Puissance administrante cesse de transmettre des renseignements. Rappelant la résolution 334 (IV) de l'Assemblée générale, il déclare que son pays, qui se réjouit de voir disparaître un territoire de la liste, se réjouirait également d'y voir apparaître certains territoires qui malheureusement n'ont jamais donné lieu à la transmission de renseignements.

87. M. MATHIESON (Royaume-Uni) dit qu'il s'est prononcé en faveur du projet de résolution malgré les doutes qui subsistent dans l'esprit de sa délégation quant à l'opportunité d'instituer un comité *ad hoc*.

88. Il précise, d'autre part, que la résolution ne soulève pas la question de compétence et que, par conséquent, il n'a pas à formuler de réserves à ce sujet.

89. M. LANNUNG (Danemark) déclare qu'à son avis les facteurs établis devraient s'appliquer au même titre aux territoires pour lesquels on cesse de transmettre

des renseignements et à ceux pour lesquels on devrait commencer d'en transmettre.

90. Compte tenu des facteurs, tous les pays devront se demander s'ils ne doivent pas transmettre des renseignements concernant certains territoires pour lesquels ils n'en ont pas transmis jusqu'alors.

91. Quant à la résolution 222 (III) du 3 novembre 1948, la délégation du Danemark a eu l'occasion de se rallier au point de vue selon lequel un État chargé d'un territoire a le droit de fixer lui-même le statut constitutionnel du territoire qui relève de sa souveraineté.

92. Il fait observer que rien dans le Chapitre XI ne peut être interprété comme permettant d'adopter un point de vue différent. Le Danemark avisera l'Organisation des Nations Unies de tout changement de statut qui viendrait à se produire à l'égard du territoire dont il est chargé; mais ce faisant, il ne considère pas qu'une mesure prise par ses organes constitutionnels puisse faire l'objet d'une révision de la part de l'Organisation des Nations Unies.

93. M. MENDOZA (Guatemala) et M. PEREZ CISNEROS (Cuba) font valoir que la résolution ne préjuge en rien la question de la compétence qui, à leur avis, appartient à l'Assemblée générale.

La séance est levée à 19 h. 20.

NATIONS UNIES

ASSEMBLEE GENERALE



Septième session

Facteurs dont il convient de tenir compte pour décider si un territoire est, ou n'est pas, un territoire dont les populations ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes

RAPPORT DU COMITE *AD HOC* POUR L'ETUDE DES FACTEURS (TERRITOIRES NON AUTONOMES)

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I.—CONSTITUTION DU COMITÉ

1. Par sa résolution 567 (VI) adoptée le 18 janvier 1952, l'Assemblée générale a institué un Comité *ad hoc* de dix membres, composé de l'Australie, de la Belgique, de la Birmanie, de Cuba, du Danemark, des Etats-Unis d'Amérique, de la France, du Guatemala, de l'Irak et du Venezuela, en vue de poursuivre l'étude des facteurs dont il convient de tenir compte pour décider si un territoire est, ou n'est pas, un territoire dont les populations ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes.

Le Comité s'est réuni le 4 septembre 1952 au siège de l'Organisation des Nations Unies et a tenu six séances entre le 4 et le 9 septembre 1952.

II.—BUREAU

2. Le bureau du Comité était composé de la manière suivante :

M. Awni Khalidy (Irak), *Président*,
M. Benjamin Gerig (Etats-Unis d'Amérique), *Vice-Président et Rapporteur*.

III.—NOTE PRÉLIMINAIRE

3. C'est la troisième fois en un an qu'un Comité de l'Assemblée générale procède à une étude détaillée du problème des facteurs. Le Comité pour l'examen des renseignements provenant des territoires non autonomes a examiné la question en 1951 et a approuvé un rapport préparé par un sous-comité (A/1836, quatrième partie). A la sixième session de l'Assemblée générale, la Quatrième Commission, après avoir étudié ce rapport, a constitué un sous-comité dont le rapport a servi de base à la résolution 567 (VI). Tous ces travaux préliminaires ont permis de préciser un certain nombre des éléments du problème en cause; d'autre part, la complexité et l'importance des questions fondamentales qu'ont laissé apparaître un grand nombre des discussions relatives aux territoires non autonomes qui ont eu lieu depuis les premières réunions de l'Assemblée générale, justifiaient les travaux en question.

4. L'actuel Comité *ad hoc* a été chargé de poursuivre l'étude entreprise. Pour procéder à cet examen,

il s'est fondé sur une liste de facteurs établie par l'Assemblée générale à sa sixième session, ainsi que sur les exposés de leurs vues que les Etats Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies avaient fait parvenir au Secrétaire général en exécution du paragraphe 2 de la résolution 567 (VI). En outre, le paragraphe 4 de la même résolution autorisait le Comité *ad hoc* à prendre en considération tous les renseignements disponibles y compris ceux qui auraient été communiqués au Secrétaire général sur les motifs qui ont amené certains Membres administrants à cesser de communiquer des renseignements sur certains des territoires précédemment portés sur la liste des territoires non autonomes.

IV.—CONSIDÉRATIONS D'ORDRE GÉNÉRAL

5. Au cours des débats du Comité, on a fait valoir certaines considérations d'ordre général dont il convient de faire mention pour préciser la nature des travaux du Comité.

A) Le Comité devait s'occuper des territoires non autonomes auxquels s'applique le Chapitre XI de la Charte. Ce point a été précisé à trois occasions antérieures où le sujet a été discuté :

1) La résolution 334 (IV) de l'Assemblée générale, en date du 2 décembre 1949, est intitulée "Territoires auxquels s'applique le Chapitre XI de la Charte"; cette résolution rappelle l'énumération de territoires contenue dans la résolution 66 (I) de l'Assemblée générale et fait mention de la cessation de la transmission de renseignements au sujet de certains de ces territoires.

2) Le paragraphe 11 de la quatrième partie du rapport (A/1836) approuvé en 1951 par le Comité pour l'examen des renseignements précise que le Comité est d'avis qu'il existe de nombreux éléments dont il faut tenir compte "pour arriver à une décision sur le point de savoir si un territoire donné entre ou non dans le champ d'application du Chapitre XI de la Charte".

3) Dans le paragraphe 2 de son annexe, la résolution 567 (VI) précise que "la tâche de l'Assemblée générale consiste à l'heure actuelle à indiquer les facteurs dont il faut tenir compte pour déterminer si le résultat

des progrès accomplis par la population d'un territoire donné est tel que ce territoire a atteint un degré d'autonomie qui le place en dehors du champ d'application de l'Article 73, e, de la Charte".

Le représentant de la Belgique a déclaré que la résolution 334 (IV) vise aussi bien le commencement que la cessation de l'envoi de renseignements; que ceux qui reconnaissent à l'Assemblée compétence pour décider qu'il y a lieu de continuer l'envoi de renseignements doivent lui reconnaître la même compétence pour décider qu'il y a lieu de commencer l'envoi de renseignements pour un territoire sur lequel aucun renseignement n'a été fourni jusqu'alors. Le représentant de la France s'est associé à cette manière de voir. Les représentants du Guatemala et du Venezuela ont formulé des réserves à cet égard.

B) On a considéré que le Comité *ad hoc* n'était pas compétent pour dire quelle autorité doit décider qu'un territoire s'administre lui-même dans une mesure telle qu'il se trouve en dehors du champ d'application de l'Article 73, e, de la Charte. Toutefois, divers membres du Comité ont fait connaître qu'il s'agissait, selon eux, de questions à soumettre à l'Assemblée générale.

C) L'accord s'est fait d'une manière générale parmi les membres du Comité pour considérer qu'une énumération de facteurs ne pouvait avoir que la valeur d'une indication lorsqu'il s'agit de déterminer si un territoire s'administre ou non complètement lui-même. Chaque cas particulier doit être tranché en tenant compte des circonstances qui lui sont propres. Le paragraphe 5 de l'annexe à la résolution 567 (VI) met ce principe en lumière en soulignant qu'une telle liste de facteurs "ne saurait être considérée comme complète ou définitive et qu'un facteur particulier, ou une combinaison déterminée de facteurs, ne peut être considéré comme décisif dans chaque cas. La question de savoir si les populations d'un territoire doivent être considérées comme ayant atteint un degré d'autonomie où il n'existe plus aucune obligation de communiquer des renseignements doit être résolue à la lumière des situations constatées à l'un ou à l'autre titre, en tenant compte des circonstances propres à chaque cas particulier, circonstances qu'il sera nécessaire d'étudier séparément".

D) Une troisième question d'ordre général a trait à la mesure dans laquelle les dispositions de l'Article 73, e, continuent de s'appliquer au cas de territoires qui n'ont pas accédé à l'indépendance ou n'ont pas été pleinement intégrés à un autre Etat, mais ont atteint une complète autonomie dans le domaine de leurs affaires intérieures.

Le paragraphe 3 de l'annexe à la résolution 567 (VI) stipule qu'il s'agit là d'une question qui mérite un complément d'étude. Un certain nombre de réponses reçues des gouvernements expriment des opinions divergentes à propos de cette importante question de principe. Le Gouvernement des Pays-Bas a estimé que, dès qu'un territoire a atteint un degré d'autonomie dans les domaines mentionnés à l'Article 73, e, la Puissance administrante n'est plus tenue de communiquer des renseignements, et se fondant sur cette thèse, il a proposé une nouvelle liste de facteurs dont une Puissance administrante devrait tenir compte pour décider si elle doit cesser de communiquer des renseignements.

Des opinions diverses ont été exprimées par les membres du Comité sur le point de savoir si son

mandat lui permettait d'examiner cette question. Il a été convenu de renvoyer la question à l'Assemblée générale qui souhaitera peut-être en poursuivre l'étude.

Les facteurs proposés par le Gouvernement des Pays-Bas sont les suivants:

a) Le territoire a-t-il un parlement qui représente la population, et la composition de ce parlement est-elle fondée sur le résultat d'élections?

b) Comment le parlement coopère-t-il à l'exercice du pouvoir législatif dans les domaines mentionnés à l'Article 73, e?

c) Dans quelle mesure le pouvoir exécutif est-il lié par les décisions du parlement dans les domaines mentionnés à l'Article 73, e?

d) Les restrictions imposées par la métropole à l'autonomie du territoire dans les domaines mentionnés à l'Article 73, e, se limitent-elles à des cas prévus dans une constitution volontairement acceptée par le territoire?

e) Quelles exceptions sont prévues à l'autonomie du territoire, dans les domaines mentionnés à l'Article 73, e, du fait que ces questions intéressent également la métropole et le territoire? Ces questions sont-elles réglées conjointement, et quel est le rôle du territoire à cet égard?

f) Le territoire est-il indépendant du point de vue financier et son budget est-il soumis à l'approbation du parlement?

g) Quelles garanties existe-t-il du respect des droits de l'homme et des libertés fondamentales?

E) Le Gouvernement de l'Irak a proposé d'ajouter à la liste actuelle un nouveau facteur concernant les forces armées. Certains membres du Comité ont été d'avis que les éléments de cette proposition soulevaient des problèmes difficiles touchant des questions de sécurité et qui échappaient à la compétence du Comité. Il a été convenu de mentionner la question générale de la compétence en matière de défense nationale dans la liste de facteurs et de reproduire, dans le présent rapport, le texte complet proposé par le Gouvernement de l'Irak. Ce texte est le suivant:

"a) Le territoire possède-t-il ses propres forces armées? Si tel est le cas, qui exerce sur ces forces armées l'autorité politique, administrative et financière? Une Puissance étrangère ou alliée contribue-t-elle financièrement à l'entretien de ces forces armées? Si tel est le cas, quel est le pourcentage de cette contribution par rapport au total des crédits inscrits au budget national pour les forces armées? Existe-t-il dans le territoire une mission militaire étrangère accréditée auprès des forces armées? Si tel est le cas, quel est le rôle de cette mission étrangère? Si elle joue le rôle de mission militaire consultative, dans quelle mesure peut-elle influencer, en théorie comme en pratique, la politique et l'administration des forces armées de ce territoire?"

"b) Une Puissance étrangère a-t-elle des unités militaires terrestres, aériennes ou navales sur ce territoire? Si tel est le cas, ces forces sont-elles là avec l'accord du territoire?"

F) Le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni a énuméré un certain nombre de facteurs dont il faudrait, à son avis, tenir compte, dans l'idéal, pour décider si un territoire est ou n'est pas un territoire dont la population s'administre complètement elle-même. Le Comité

a incorporé dans sa liste ceux des facteurs énumérés dans la liste du Royaume-Uni qui ont trait aux droits politiques des personnes. On a émis l'opinion que d'autres facteurs, relatifs à la situation du pouvoir exécutif, au pouvoir judiciaire et à la sécurité intérieure étaient exposés de manière trop détaillée pour être incorporés également dans la liste du Comité, mais qu'il convenait d'en faire état dans le rapport. Il s'agit des facteurs suivants :

Situation du pouvoir exécutif

a) L'organe exécutif se compose-t-il de personnes qui jouissent de l'appui de la population ou de ses représentants élus ?

b) Les membres du gouvernement sont-ils choisis parmi les représentants élus par le peuple et leur maintien au pouvoir dépend-il de l'appui du peuple ? En d'autres termes, le retrait de l'appui et du consentement du peuple entraîne-t-il la chute du gouvernement ?

c) Le gouvernement est-il tenu, à des intervalles raisonnables fixés par la loi, de se démettre de ses pouvoirs et de donner à la population une nouvelle possibilité de déterminer le gouvernement du territoire ?

Pouvoir judiciaire

a) Les tribunaux sont-ils soustraits à toute influence politique, c'est-à-dire la nomination des magistrats dépend-elle ou ne dépend-elle pas de leurs affinités politiques ?

b) Existe-t-il une séparation absolue entre le pouvoir judiciaire et le pouvoir exécutif, c'est-à-dire la situation des juges est-elle indépendante au point de ne pas dépendre de tel ou tel parti politique ou de tel ou tel gouvernement particulier et de ne pas être influencée par les difficultés de ce parti ou de ce gouvernement ?

Sécurité intérieure

a) Les représentants élus par le peuple et les tribunaux sont-ils libres de toute pression exercée par la violence populaire, par des factions armées ou par des influences analogues ?

b) L'individu est-il à l'abri de toute arrestation arbitraire ? Existe-t-il des moyens (comme l'*habeas corpus*) de mettre fin à une détention arbitraire ?

c) Les forces armées de l'Etat et ses forces de police sont-elles subordonnées en dernier ressort aux représentants de la population ?

V.—LISTE DES FACTEURS PROPOSÉS

6. En conséquence, la liste de facteurs que le Comité *ad hoc* soumet à l'Assemblée générale, et dont il conviendrait de tenir compte pour décider si un territoire est ou n'est pas un territoire dont les populations ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes, est la suivante :

FACTEURS PERMETTANT DE CONCLURE QU'UNE POPULATION A ACCÉDÉ À L'INDÉPENDANCE OU À TOUTE AUTRE FORME D'AUTONOMIE SÉPARÉE

Première partie

Facteurs permettant de conclure qu'une population a accédé à l'indépendance

A.—Statut international

1. *Responsabilité internationale*.—Responsabilité internationale entière du territoire en ce qui concerne les actes inhérents à l'exercice de sa souveraineté externe

ainsi que pour ce qui est des actes relatifs à son administration interne.

2. *Possibilité de devenir Membre de l'Organisation des Nations Unies*.

3. *Relations internationales en général*.—Capacité d'établir des relations directes de toute nature avec d'autres gouvernements et avec des institutions internationales ainsi que de négocier, signer et ratifier des traités.

4. *Défense nationale*.—Liberté pour le territoire de conclure des accords relatifs à sa défense nationale.

B.—Autonomie interne

1. *Forme de gouvernement*.—Pleine liberté pour la population de se donner la forme de gouvernement qu'elle juge bonne.

2. *Gouvernement du territoire*.—Absence de contrôle ou d'intervention de la part du gouvernement d'un autre Etat sur le gouvernement interne (pouvoirs législatif, exécutif et judiciaire) et l'administration du territoire.

3. *Compétence en matière d'économie, sociale et culturelle*.—Pleine compétence du gouvernement du territoire pour gérer les affaires économiques, sociales et culturelles de ce dernier.

Deuxième partie

Facteurs permettant de conclure qu'une population a accédé à une autre forme d'autonomie séparée

A.—Facteurs de caractère général

1. *Progrès politique*.—Progrès politique des populations suffisant pour leur permettre de décider elles-mêmes, en connaissance de cause, de l'avenir du territoire.

2. *Opinion des populations*.—Opinion des populations du territoire librement exprimée, en connaissance de cause, et par des voies démocratiques, en ce qui concerne le statut ou le changement de statut qu'elles désirent.

3. *Limitation volontaire de souveraineté*.—Mesure dans laquelle la souveraineté du territoire a été librement et de sa propre volonté limitée au moment où ce territoire a accédé à une forme d'autonomie séparée.

B.—Statut international

1. *Relations internationales en général*.—Degré et mesure dans lesquels le territoire jouit du pouvoir d'établir librement des relations directes de toute nature avec d'autres gouvernements et avec des institutions internationales ainsi que de négocier, signer et ratifier librement des traités.

2. *Aptitude à devenir Membre de l'Organisation des Nations Unies*.

C.—Autonomie interne

1. *Gouvernement du territoire*.—Nature et degré du contrôle ou de l'intervention éventuels du gouvernement d'un autre Etat sur le gouvernement interne, par exemple dans les domaines suivants :

Pouvoir législatif : Adoption des lois du territoire par une assemblée autochtone, soit élue tout entière par des voies libres et démocratiques, soit légalement constituée d'une manière librement approuvée par la population ;

Pouvoir exécutif : Choix des membres du pouvoir exécutif par l'autorité compétente qui a dans le terri-

toire l'agrément de la population autochtone, que cette autorité soit héréditaire ou élective, en tenant également compte, s'il y a lieu, de la nature et du degré du contrôle éventuel qu'exercerait directement ou indirectement sur la constitution et l'exercice du pouvoir exécutif un élément étranger;

Pouvoir judiciaire: Constitution des tribunaux et choix des juges.

2. *Participation de la population au gouvernement.*—Participation effective de la population au gouvernement du territoire: a) Existe-t-il un système électoral et représentatif adéquat et approprié? b) Ce système électoral fonctionne-t-il sans intervention, directe ou indirecte, d'un gouvernement étranger?

3. *Compétence en matière économique, sociale et culturelle.*—Degré d'autonomie en ce qui concerne les affaires économiques, sociales et culturelles, tel qu'il peut ressortir de l'absence plus ou moins complète de pression économique exercée, par exemple, par un groupe minoritaire étranger qui aurait acquis, grâce à l'aide d'une Puissance étrangère, une situation économique privilégiée, portant ainsi préjudice à l'intérêt économique de l'ensemble de la population du territoire; et tel qu'il peut ressortir également du degré de liberté et de l'absence de discrimination contre la population autochtone du territoire en matière de législation sociale et de progrès sociaux.

Facteurs permettant de conclure qu'un territoire est librement associé à d'autres parties constitutives de la métropole ou d'un autre pays

A.—*Facteurs de caractère général*

1. *Progrès politique.*—Progrès politique des populations suffisant pour leur permettre de décider elles-mêmes, en connaissance de cause, de l'avenir du territoire.

2. *Opinion des populations.*—Opinion des populations du territoire, librement exprimée, en connaissance de cause et par des voies démocratiques, en ce qui concerne le statut ou le changement de statut qu'elles désirent.

3. *Considérations d'ordre géographique.*—Mesure dans laquelle les relations du territoire avec le siège du gouvernement central peuvent être affectées par des circonstances tenant à leur situation géographique respective, telles que le fait qu'ils sont séparés par une étendue de terre ou de mer ou par d'autres obstacles naturels.

¹ Il y aurait lieu, par exemple, de se poser les questions suivantes: i) Chaque habitant adulte a-t-il le droit, en pleine égalité (sous réserve de garanties spéciales pour la protection des minorités), de déterminer le caractère du gouvernement du territoire? ii) Ce pouvoir s'exerce-t-il librement, c'est-à-dire l'électeur n'est-il soumis à aucune influence injustifiée ni à aucune contrainte, et n'y a-t-il pas de partis politiques frappés de certaines incapacités? Pour l'application de ce facteur, on pourra vérifier les faits suivants:

a) Existence de mesures efficaces pour garantir que la population exprime sa volonté de façon démocratique;
b) Existence de plus d'un parti politique dans le territoire;
c) Existence d'un scrutin secret;
d) Existence d'interdictions légales visant le recours à des pratiques non démocratiques en période électorale;
e) Possibilité pour l'électeur de choisir entre des candidats qui appartiennent à des partis politiques différents;
f) Absence de "loi martiale" et de mesures analogues pendant la période électorale.

iii) Chaque personne est-elle libre d'exprimer ses opinions politiques, de se prononcer pour ou contre un parti ou une cause politique, et de critiquer le gouvernement au pouvoir?

4. *Considérations ethniques et culturelles.*—Mesure dans laquelle la race, la langue, la religion ou le patrimoine culturel, les intérêts ou les aspirations différencient les populations du territoire d'avec celles du pays auquel elles s'associent librement.

5. *Considérations d'ordre constitutionnel.*—Association: a) en vertu de la constitution de la métropole; ou b) en vertu d'un traité ou d'un accord bilatéral affectant le statut du territoire; en tenant compte des éléments suivants: i) si les garanties constitutionnelles s'appliquent d'une façon égale au territoire associé; ii) s'il existe en certains domaines une compétence réservée en vertu de la constitution en faveur du territoire ou du pouvoir central; et iii) si le territoire a le droit de participer, sur un pied d'égalité, aux modifications qui peuvent être apportées au régime constitutionnel de l'Etat.

B.—*Statut*

1. *Représentation sur le plan législatif.*—Représentation sans discrimination au sein des organes législatifs centraux, sur un pied d'égalité avec les autres habitants et les autres régions.

2. *Citoyenneté.*—Citoyenneté sans discrimination, sur un pied d'égalité avec les autres habitants.

3. *Fonctionnaires du gouvernement.*—Accès des fonctionnaires originaires du territoire par nomination ou élection à tous les emplois publics relevant du pouvoir central dans les mêmes conditions que ceux qui sont originaires des autres parties du pays.

C.—*Conditions internes d'ordre constitutionnel*

1. *Droit de vote.*—Suffrage universel et égal pour tous, et élections périodiques libres dans lesquelles l'électeur n'est soumis à aucune influence injustifiée ni à aucune contrainte, et dans lesquelles aucun parti politique n'est frappé de certaines incapacités².

2. *Droits et statut des habitants.*—Dans un système unitaire, droits et statut égaux pour les habitants et organes locaux du territoire à ceux qui sont reconnus aux habitants et aux organes locaux d'autres parties du pays et, dans un système fédéral, degré identique d'autonomie pour les habitants et organes locaux de toutes les parties de la fédération.

3. *Fonctionnaires locaux.*—Nomination ou élection des fonctionnaires dans le territoire dans les mêmes conditions que ceux qui sont nommés ou élus dans les autres parties du pays.

4. *Législation interne.*—Compétence législative ou réglementaire locale égale à la compétence législative ou réglementaire dont bénéficient les autres parties du territoire et exercée dans les mêmes conditions.

² Il y aurait lieu, par exemple, de vérifier les faits suivants: a) Existence de mesures efficaces pour garantir que la population exprime sa volonté de façon démocratique;

b) Existence de plus d'un parti politique dans le territoire;
c) Existence d'un scrutin secret;
d) Existence d'interdictions légales visant le recours à des pratiques non démocratiques en période électorale;
e) Possibilité pour l'électeur de choisir entre des candidats qui appartiennent à des partis politiques différents;
f) Absence de "loi martiale" et de mesures analogues pendant la période électorale;

g) Liberté pour chaque personne d'exprimer ses opinions politiques, de se prononcer pour ou contre un parti ou une cause politique, et de critiquer le gouvernement au pouvoir.

de l'Article 73 de la Charte, l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements,

Considérant que cette obligation subsiste, à l'égard de chaque territoire, tant que les objectifs énoncés au Chapitre XI de la Charte ne sont pas atteints,

Considérant que l'Assemblée générale a déclaré, dans sa résolution 222 (III) adoptée le 3 novembre 1948, que l'Organisation des Nations Unies doit nécessairement être informée de toute modification qui pourrait intervenir dans le statut constitutionnel de l'un quelconque des territoires non autonomes et précisé que, dans un délai maximum de six mois après la communication des renseignements susvisés, tous renseignements qui peuvent être nécessaires dans de tels cas devraient être communiqués, y compris des renseignements sur la constitution, les lois et les règlements concernant le gouvernement du territoire, et des renseignements relatifs aux liens constitutionnels entre le territoire et le gouvernement métropolitain,

Ayant examiné le rapport du Comité *ad hoc* pour l'étude des facteurs (territoires non autonomes)*,

Reconnaissant que, lorsqu'il s'agit de décider si un territoire a atteint ou non une complète autonomie, une liste de facteurs pourrait servir utilement de guide, tant à l'Assemblée générale qu'au Membre administrant intéressé,

Vu la résolution 567 (VI) de l'Assemblée générale, en date du 18 janvier 1952,

1. *Approuve* provisoirement la liste de facteurs jointe en annexe, qui peut servir de guide à l'Assemblée générale ainsi qu'aux Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies qui ont ou qui assument la responsabilité d'administrer des territoires non autonomes, lorsqu'il s'agit de décider si un territoire a atteint ou non une complète autonomie;

2. *Reconnaît* que chaque cas d'espèce doit être examiné et tranché en tenant compte des circonstances qui lui sont propres et du droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes;

3. *Déclare* que ces facteurs, tout en servant de guide, lorsqu'il s'agit de déterminer si les obligations énoncées à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte existent encore, ne doivent nullement être interprétés comme faisant obstacle à l'autonomie complète des territoires non autonomes;

4. *Déclare en outre* que, pour qu'un territoire puisse être considéré comme autonome dans les domaines économique, social et de l'enseignement, il est essentiel que sa population s'administre complètement elle-même, selon les termes du Chapitre XI de la Charte;

5. *Recommande* que, provisoirement, l'Assemblée générale tienne compte de la liste de facteurs jointe en annexe chaque fois qu'elle étudie un cas, soit à la suite de toute communication reçue par le Secrétaire général en application de la résolution 222 (III) de l'Assemblée générale relative à la cessation de la transmission de renseignements en vertu de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte, soit à propos d'autres questions qui peuvent se poser touchant l'existence d'une obligation de transmettre des renseignements en vertu de cet article;

6. *Décide* de créer un nouveau Comité *ad hoc* de dix membres, composé des Etats suivants: Australie,

648 (VII). Facteurs dont il convient de tenir compte pour décider si un territoire est, ou n'est pas, un territoire dont les populations ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes

L'Assemblée générale,

Considérant que les Etats Membres qui ont ou qui assument la responsabilité d'administrer des territoires dont les populations ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes ont accepté, en vertu de l'alinéa e

* Voir le document A/2178.

Belgique, Birmanie, Cuba, Etats-Unis d'Amérique, Guatemala, Irak, Pays-Bas, Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord et Venezuela, qui sera chargé de poursuivre et d'approfondir l'étude des facteurs dont il convient de tenir compte pour décider si un territoire a atteint ou non une complète autonomie;

7. *Invite* ledit comité à prendre notamment en considération la liste des facteurs¹ arrêtée en 1952 par le comité créé aux termes de la résolution 567 (VI) et les communications faites par les gouvernements conformément à ladite résolution, et à tenir compte, en outre, des autres éléments suivants:

a) La possibilité de définir la notion de complète autonomie, aux fins du Chapitre XI de la Charte,

b) Les critères permettant de décider si le principe du droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes se trouve garanti, en ce qui concerne le Chapitre XI de la Charte,

c) La libre expression de la volonté des peuples, s'agissant de déterminer leur statut national et international aux fins du Chapitre XI de la Charte;

8. *Invite* tous les Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies à communiquer par écrit au Secrétaire général, le 1er mai 1953 au plus tard, leurs vues sur les questions qui figurent dans le mandat du comité;

9. *Invite* le Secrétaire général à réunir le Comité *ad hoc* de façon qu'il puisse commencer ses travaux au plus tard quatre semaines avant l'ouverture de la session de 1953 du Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes.

402ème séance plénière,
le 10 décembre 1952.

ANNEXE

Facteurs permettant de conclure qu'une population a accédé à l'indépendance ou à toute autre forme d'autonomie séparée

PREMIÈRE PARTIE

Facteurs permettant de conclure qu'une population a accédé à l'indépendance

A.—Statut international

1. *Responsabilité internationale*.—Responsabilité internationale entière du territoire en ce qui concerne les actes inhérents à l'exercice de la souveraineté externe ainsi que pour ce qui est des actes relatifs à son administration interne.

2. *Aptitude à devenir Membre de l'Organisation des Nations Unies*.

3. *Relations internationales en général*.—Capacité d'établir des relations directes de toute nature avec d'autres gouvernements et avec des institutions internationales ainsi que de négocier, signer et ratifier des traités.

4. *Défense nationale*.—Liberté pour le territoire de conclure des accords relatifs à sa défense nationale.

B.—Autonomie interne

1. *Forme de gouvernement*.—Plaine liberté pour la population de se donner la forme de gouvernement qu'elle juge bonne.

2. *Gouvernement du territoire*.—Absence de contrôle ou d'intervention de la part du gouvernement d'un autre Etat sur le gou-

vernement interne (pouvoirs législatif, exécutif et judiciaire) et l'administration du territoire.

3. *Compétence en matière économique, sociale et culturelle*.—Plaine compétence du gouvernement du territoire pour gérer les affaires économiques, sociales et culturelles de ce dernier.

DEUXIÈME PARTIE

Facteurs permettant de conclure qu'une population a accédé à une autre forme d'autonomie séparée

A.—Facteurs de caractère général

1. *Progrès politique*.—Progrès politique des populations suffisant pour leur permettre de décider elles-mêmes, en connaissance de cause, de l'avenir du territoire.

2. *Opinion des populations*.—Opinion des populations du territoire librement exprimée, en connaissance de cause, et par des voies démocratiques, en ce qui concerne le statut ou le changement de statut qu'elles désirent.

3. *Limitation volontaire de souveraineté*.—Mesure dans laquelle la souveraineté du territoire a été librement et de sa propre volonté limitée au moment où ce territoire a accédé à une forme d'autonomie séparée.

B.—Statut international

1. *Relations internationales en général*.—Degré et mesure dans lesquels le territoire jouit du pouvoir d'établir librement des relations directes de toute nature avec d'autres gouvernements et avec des institutions internationales ainsi que de négocier, signer et ratifier librement des traités.

2. *Aptitude à devenir Membre de l'Organisation des Nations Unies*.

C.—Autonomie interne

1. *Gouvernement du territoire*.—Nature et degré du contrôle ou de l'intervention éventuels du gouvernement d'un autre Etat sur le gouvernement interne, par exemple dans les domaines suivants:

Pouvoir législatif: Adoption des lois du territoire par une assemblée autochtone, soit élue tout entière par des voies libres et démocratiques, soit légalement constituée d'une manière librement approuvée par la population;

Pouvoir exécutif: Choix des membres du pouvoir exécutif par l'autorité compétente qui a dans le territoire l'agrément de la population autochtone, que cette autorité soit héréditaire ou élective, en tenant également compte, s'il y a lieu, de la nature et du degré du contrôle éventuel qu'exercerait directement ou indirectement sur la constitution et l'exercice du pouvoir exécutif un élément étranger;

Pouvoir judiciaire: Constitution des tribunaux et choix des juges.

2. *Participation de la population au gouvernement*.—Participation effective de la population au gouvernement du territoire:

a) Existe-t-il un système électoral et représentatif adéquat et approprié? b) Ce système électoral fonctionne-t-il sans intervention, directe ou indirecte, d'un gouvernement étranger?

¹ Il y aurait lieu, par exemple, de se poser les questions suivantes:

i) Chaque habitant adulte a-t-il le droit, en pleine égalité (sous réserve de garanties spéciales pour la protection des minorités), de déterminer le caractère du gouvernement du territoire?

ii) Ce pouvoir s'exerce-t-il librement, c'est-à-dire l'électeur n'est-il soumis à aucune influence injustifiée ni à aucune contrainte, et n'y a-t-il pas de partis politiques frappés de certaines incapacités? Pour l'application de ce facteur, on pourra vérifier les faits suivants:

a) Existence de mesures efficaces pour garantir que la population exprime sa volonté de façon démocratique;

¹ Voir le document A/2178.

3. Compétence en matière économique, sociale et culturelle.

Degré d'autonomie en ce qui concerne les affaires économiques, sociales et culturelles, tel qu'il peut ressortir de l'absence plus ou moins complète de pression économique exercée, par exemple, par un groupe minoritaire étranger qui aurait acquis, grâce à l'aide d'une Puissance étrangère, une situation économique privilégiée, portant ainsi préjudice à l'intérêt économique de l'ensemble de la population du territoire; et tel qu'il peut ressortir également du degré de liberté et de l'absence de discrimination contre la population autochtone du territoire en matière de législation sociale et de progrès sociaux.

Facteurs permettant de conclure qu'un territoire est librement associé à d'autres parties constitutives de la métropole ou d'un autre pays

A.—Facteurs de caractère général

1. *Progrès politique.*—Progrès politique des populations suffisant pour leur permettre de décider elles-mêmes, en connaissance de cause, de l'avenir du territoire.

2. *Opinion des populations.*—Opinion des populations du territoire, librement exprimée, en connaissance de cause et par des voies démocratiques, en ce qui concerne le statut ou le changement de statut qu'elles désirent.

3. *Considérations d'ordre géographique.*—Mesure dans laquelle les relations du territoire avec le siège du gouvernement central peuvent être affectées par des circonstances tenant à leur situation géographique respective, telles que le fait qu'ils sont séparés par une étendue de terre ou de mer ou par d'autres obstacles naturels.

4. *Considérations ethniques et culturelles.*—Mesure dans laquelle la race, la langue, la religion ou le patrimoine culturel, les intérêts ou les aspirations différencient les populations du territoire d'avec celles du pays auquel elles s'associent librement.

5. *Considérations d'ordre constitutionnel.*—Association: a) en vertu de la Constitution de la métropole; ou b) en vertu d'un traité ou d'un accord bilatéral affectant le statut du territoire; en tenant compte des éléments suivants: i) si les garanties constitutionnelles s'appliquent d'une façon égale au territoire associé; ii) s'il existe en certains domaines une compétence réservée en vertu de la Constitution en faveur du territoire ou du pouvoir central; et iii) si le territoire a le droit de participer, sur un pied d'égalité, aux modifications qui peuvent être apportées au régime constitutionnel de l'Etat.

B.—Statut

1. *Représentation sur le plan législatif.*—Représentation sans discrimination au sein des organes législatifs centraux, sur un pied d'égalité avec les autres habitants et les autres régions.

2. *Citoyenneté.*—Citoyenneté sans discrimination, sur un pied d'égalité avec les autres habitants.

3. *Fonctionnaires du gouvernement.*—Accès des fonctionnaires originaires du territoire, par nomination ou élection, à tous les emplois publics relevant du pouvoir central dans les mêmes conditions que ceux qui sont originaires des autres parties du pays.

(Suite de la note a.)

- b) Existence de plus d'un parti politique dans le territoire;
- c) Existence d'un scrutin secret;
- d) Existence d'interdictions légales visant le recours à des pratiques non démocratiques en période électorale;
- e) Possibilité pour l'électeur de choisir entre des candidats qui appartiennent à des partis politiques différents;
- f) Absence de "loi martiale" et de mesures analogues pendant la période électorale.
- iii) Chaque personne est-elle libre d'exprimer ses opinions politiques, de se prononcer pour ou contre un parti ou une cause politique, et de critiquer le gouvernement au pouvoir?

C.—Conditions internes d'ordre constitutionnel

1. *Droit de vote.*—Suffrage universel et égal pour tous, et élections périodiques libres dans lesquelles l'électeur n'est soumis à aucune influence injustifiée ni à aucune contrainte, et dans lesquelles aucun parti politique n'est frappé de certaines incapacités^b.

2. *Droits et statut des habitants.*—Dans un système unitaire, droits et statut égaux pour les habitants et organes locaux du territoire à ceux qui sont reconnus aux habitants et aux organes locaux d'autres parties du pays et, dans un système fédéral, degré identique d'autonomie pour les habitants et organes locaux de toutes les parties de la Fédération.

3. *Fonctionnaires locaux.*—Nomination ou élection des fonctionnaires dans le territoire dans les mêmes conditions que ceux qui sont nommés ou élus dans les autres parties du pays.

4. *Législation interne.*—Compétence législative ou réglementaire locale égale à la compétence législative ou réglementaire dont bénéficient les autres parties du territoire et exercée dans les mêmes conditions.

Il y aurait lieu, par exemple, de vérifier les faits suivants:

- a) Existence de mesures efficaces pour garantir que la population exprime sa volonté de façon démocratique;
- b) Existence de plus d'un parti politique dans le territoire;
- c) Existence d'un scrutin secret;
- d) Existence d'interdictions légales visant le recours à des pratiques non démocratiques en période électorale;
- e) Possibilité pour l'électeur de choisir entre des candidats qui appartiennent à des partis politiques différents;
- f) Absence de "loi martiale" et de mesures analogues pendant la période électorale;
- g) Liberté pour chaque personne d'exprimer ses opinions politiques, de se prononcer pour ou contre un parti ou une cause politique, et de critiquer le gouvernement au pouvoir.

ASSEMBLEE GENERALE



SEANCE PLENIERE

Mercredi 10 décembre 1952, à 10 h. 30

SEPTIEME SESSION

Documents officiels

Siège permanent, New-York

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Président: M. Lester B. PEARSON (Canada).

9. Les délégations auront, naturellement, la faculté d'expliquer leur vote. J'aimerais que ces explications de vote puissent avoir lieu, soit avant l'ensemble des votes sur les six projets de résolution, soit — ce qui vaudrait encore mieux — après ces votes, de telle sorte qu'il n'y ait pas besoin d'explications de vote pour chaque projet séparément. Si cette façon de procéder agréée à l'Assemblée générale, j'estime qu'il conviendrait de ne pas demander aux représentants d'abrégier leurs explications de vote comme dans le passé, lorsqu'il y avait moins de projets de résolution à examiner et moins de votes à expliquer. D'un autre côté, je suis sûr d'avoir l'assentiment de l'Assemblée si j'exprime l'espoir que l'on ne se servira pas des explications de vote pour rouvrir une discussion générale.

10. Si la procédure que je propose ne rencontre pas d'opposition, je vais inviter le Rapporteur de la Quatrième Commission, M. Scott, représentant de la Nouvelle-Zélande, à présenter le rapport de cette Commission.

11. M. SCOTT (Nouvelle-Zélande), Rapporteur de la Quatrième Commission (*traduit de l'anglais*) : J'ai l'honneur de présenter à l'Assemblée générale le rapport de la Quatrième Commission sur les points 33, 34, 35 et 36 de l'ordre du jour de l'Assemblée. Ce rapport, qui a été adopté par la Quatrième Commission sans opposition, constitue le document A/2296 qui vous est actuellement soumis. Je n'ai que de très brèves explications à fournir.

12. Vous constaterez que la Quatrième Commission a consacré vingt-sept séances à l'examen des questions dont elle était saisie au sujet des territoires non autonomes. Si je mentionne ce chiffre, c'est qu'il montre que la Commission a procédé à une étude approfondie du sujet; on peut dire que c'est là le résultat de l'importance croissante que l'Assemblée générale attache à l'examen des questions qui découlent des dispositions du Chapitre XI de la Charte.

13. La Quatrième Commission soumet à l'Assemblée générale six projets de résolution. Les projets de résolution I et II découlent directement de l'examen, par la Quatrième Commission, des renseignements relatifs à la situation sociale des territoires non autonomes. Le projet de résolution III est étroitement lié à ce même programme de travail puisqu'il vise l'usage que l'on pourrait faire des rapports spéciaux rédigés par le Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes sur la situation économique, sociale et scolaire dans ces territoires. Le projet de résolution IV a trait à la reconduction du Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes. Le projet de résolution V traite de la participation des territoires non autonomes aux travaux du Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes. Certains aspects de ces importants projets de résolution retiendront vraisemblablement l'attention de l'Assemblée ici réunie en séance plénière, car toutes les délégations comprendront certainement l'influence qu'ils peuvent avoir sur le progrès des travaux des Nations Unies.

14. Enfin, les délégations trouveront dans le projet de résolution VI l'écho des travaux du Comité *ad hoc* pour l'étude des facteurs, créé à la dernière session de l'Assemblée générale [*résolution 567 (VI)*], ainsi que de l'examen du rapport de ce comité par la

Rapport de la Quatrième Commission (A/2296) :

Renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes, transmis en vertu de l'Article 73, e, de la Charte: a) renseignements relatifs à la situation et au progrès dans le domaine social; b) renseignements relatifs à la situation dans d'autres domaines; c) transmission de renseignements

[Point 33 de l'ordre du jour]

Question de la reconstitution du Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes

[Point 34 de l'ordre du jour]

Participation des territoires non autonomes aux travaux du Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes

[Point 35 de l'ordre du jour]

Facteurs dont il convient de tenir compte pour décider si un territoire est, ou n'est pas, un territoire dont les populations ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes

[Point 36 de l'ordre du jour]

8. Le **PRESIDENT** (*traduit de l'anglais*) : Quelqu'un demande-t-il, conformément à l'article 67 du règlement intérieur, que l'Assemblée discute le rapport de la Quatrième Commission? Personne ne demandant la discussion, nous allons procéder, quand le Rapporteur de la Quatrième Commission aura présenté son rapport, au vote sur les projets de résolution qui y figurent.

Quatrième Commission. On voit que ce projet de résolution approuve provisoirement la liste des facteurs dont il convient de tenir compte pour décider si un territoire est ou n'est pas un territoire dont les populations ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes; il propose en même temps la création d'un nouveau comité *ad hoc* chargé de poursuivre l'étude de ce problème complexe. Je pense me faire l'interprète de l'ensemble de la Quatrième Commission en déclarant que, dans notre esprit, ce nouveau comité ne serait créé que pour 1953 et ferait rapport à l'Assemblée générale lors de la prochaine session.

15. Tels sont les six projets de résolution qui vous sont soumis. Le rapport donne des indications sur l'adoption de ces textes par la Commission, en précisant le résultat des votes auxquels il a été procédé; je présente donc à l'Assemblée générale ces projets de résolution en même temps que le rapport.

16. Avant de quitter cette tribune, qu'il me soit permis d'ajouter, en ma qualité de représentant de la NOUVELLE-ZELANDE, que nombre de mes collègues à la Quatrième Commission et moi-même considérons comme particulièrement importants, non seulement d'un point de vue général mais surtout au regard de l'Article 18 de la Charte, les projets de résolution IV et V qui visent respectivement la reconduction du Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes et la participation des territoires non autonomes aux travaux de ce comité. Je voudrais donc proposer que, comme par le passé, l'on applique le paragraphe 2 de l'Article 18 de la Charte et l'article 84 du règlement intérieur aux projets de résolution IV et V.

17. M. LLOYD (Royaume-Uni) (*traduit de l'anglais*): Je désire expliquer de quelle façon ma délégation va se prononcer sur les six projets de résolution qui ont été présentés en même temps que le rapport de la Quatrième Commission.

18. Nous voterons pour le projet de résolution I.

19. En ce qui concerne le projet de résolution II, ma délégation a déposé un amendement [A/L.127] qui tend à remplacer, au paragraphe 2 du dispositif, les mots "de caractère racial ou religieux" par les mots "de cet ordre". Le texte actuel du paragraphe résulte de l'adoption d'un amendement que ma délégation avait proposé à la Quatrième Commission. Par suite de l'adoption de cet amendement, certaines délégations ont jugé qu'il leur était impossible de voter pour le projet de résolution ainsi amendé, car elles estimaient que les mots "de caractère racial ou religieux" restreignaient par trop la portée du paragraphe 2 du dispositif. Or, en proposant cet amendement, ma délégation avait cherché à élargir la portée de ce paragraphe; aussi n'aimerions-nous guère voir émettre, à propos de ce projet, des votes qui seraient dus à une fausse interprétation de notre intention. Ma délégation a donc présenté l'amendement dont l'Assemblée est actuellement saisie, pour bien préciser qu'à nos yeux, la portée du paragraphe 2 du dispositif doit être la même que celle du paragraphe 1 de ce dispositif. J'espère que cet amendement sera adopté et que, de ce fait, le projet de résolution en faveur duquel ma délégation se propose de voter pourra bénéficier de l'appui le plus large. Toutefois, nous n'émettrons un vote favorable qu'avec la réserve que nous avons déjà exprimée à la Quatrième Commission, à savoir que l'appli-

cation immédiate du paragraphe 4 du dispositif pourra, dans certains cas, s'avérer impossible pour des raisons d'ordre purement pratique ou administratif.

20. J'en viens maintenant au projet de résolution III. Ma délégation estime que le paragraphe 1 du dispositif de ce projet de résolution invite les Puissances administrantes à donner au Secrétaire général des renseignements dont la portée dépasse largement celle des renseignements de nature statistique ou technique que ces Etats Membres sont obligés de communiquer aux termes de l'Article 73, e, de la Charte. C'est pour cette raison que ma délégation a voté contre ce paragraphe à la Quatrième Commission et qu'elle votera de nouveau contre lui s'il fait ici l'objet d'un vote séparé. Toutefois, les renseignements régulièrement transmis par le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté fournissent une documentation qui suffit largement à permettre à ceux qui les étudient de se former une opinion sur la mesure dans laquelle certains principes généraux énoncés par l'Assemblée générale trouvent leur expression dans la politique que nous suivons et les mesures que nous prenons dans les territoires dont nous avons la responsabilité. Ma délégation s'abstiendra pour cette raison lors du vote sur l'ensemble du projet de résolution III.

21. Le projet de résolution IV, relatif à la reconduction du Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes, présente pour nous de plus sérieuses difficultés. Les représentants du Royaume-Uni ont à maintes reprises indiqué quelle était l'attitude du Gouvernement de Sa Majesté à l'égard de l'existence d'un Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes. Il n'y a dans la Charte aucune disposition qui prévoie l'examen systématique et la critique, par un organe spécial, des renseignements communiqués par les Puissances administrantes en vertu de l'Article 73, e, de la Charte; à notre avis, il n'était pas dans les intentions des auteurs du Chapitre XI qu'un tel organe existât. Il est bien facile de s'en apercevoir si l'on met en regard la situation des territoires non autonomes et celle des Territoires sous tutelle, pour lesquels la Charte a créé Conseil de tutelle. En outre, aux termes mêmes de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73, les renseignements sont communiqués "au Secrétaire général, à titre d'information". Aussi longtemps que le Comité des renseignements n'existait qu'à titre temporaire, le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni, comme d'autres Puissances administrantes, a estimé pouvoir participer à ses travaux. Il l'a fait pour donner une marque de son esprit de coopération aux nombreux Membres des Nations Unies qui avaient montré de l'intérêt pour le développement des territoires non autonomes et qui désiraient avoir la possibilité d'étudier avec les Puissances administrantes les renseignements qu'elles avaient communiqués.

22. Toutefois, à chacune des sessions du comité, le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni a formellement réservé sa position en ce qui concerne l'existence même du comité car, même implicitement, il ne pouvait souscrire à la thèse qui voudrait que les Puissances administrantes dussent rendre compte à l'Organisation des Nations Unies de l'administration des territoires non autonomes qui dépendent d'elles. Mais cette réserve ne concerne pas la contribution apportée aux travaux du comité par les représentants du Royaume-Uni; ils

ont essayé de faciliter dans toute la mesure du possible la tâche du comité.

23. Pour ce qui est des travaux du comité, la plupart des Puissances non administrantes ont d'ailleurs exprimé l'avis que ses études étaient utiles, mais elles ont affirmé, au cours de la présente session, qu'il ne suffisait pas d'avoir un comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes dont le caractère serait temporaire.

24. Quant à nous, nous n'avons jamais bien compris en quoi le caractère, temporaire ou non, de ce comité pouvait affecter la qualité de son travail, et les principes qui ont déterminé jusqu'ici l'attitude du Royaume-Uni à l'égard de ce comité n'ont pas changé. Le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni serait néanmoins disposé, pour prouver sa bonne volonté, à participer aux travaux d'un comité restreint reconstitué sur la même base temporaire que par le passé et pour une semblable période de trois ans. A l'expiration de cette période, l'Assemblée générale devra aborder la question de la révision de la Charte, et il nous semble que ce serait alors le moment pour les Etats de soulever d'importantes questions de principe, telles que les attributions de l'Assemblée générale en fonction des dispositions actuelles de l'Article 73, e, de la Charte. En attendant, le projet de création d'un comité permanent des renseignements ne tend qu'à assimiler les territoires non autonomes aux Territoires sous tutelle, malgré la claire distinction tracée par la Charte, et à préjuger les décisions qui pourraient être prises à cette époque.

25. Il ressort clairement de ce que je viens de dire que l'objection essentielle que nous faisons à ce projet de résolution est qu'il donne en fait à ce comité un caractère permanent. Il tend à interpréter le Chapitre XI de la Charte d'une manière que mon gouvernement ne peut accepter. Il préjuge le résultat des discussions qui auront sans doute lieu dans trois ans.

26. Si l'Assemblée générale tient à affirmer à tout prix une certaine façon de voir et à préjuger ces discussions, mon gouvernement saura exactement ce qui lui reste à faire. Il se trouvera dans l'impossibilité d'assister aux travaux de ce comité. Mais si la résolution adoptée limitait la reconduction de ce comité à une nouvelle période de trois ans, nous participerions comme par le passé à ses travaux. Nous pensons que, lorsqu'il y a des divergences de vues sur l'interprétation à donner à la Charte en la matière, nous devons essayer de concilier nos façons de voir dans un esprit de bonne volonté et sans reculer devant un compromis. A notre avis, ce comité n'est ni nécessaire, ni légalement constitué. Mais, dans un esprit de compromis, nous sommes prêts à participer à ses travaux pour une nouvelle période de trois ans, comme je l'ai dit tout à l'heure. D'autre part, le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté m'a chargé de déclarer que si l'Assemblée repousse cette offre, que nous considérons comme une offre raisonnable, inspirée par un esprit de conciliation, nous ne participerons plus aux travaux de ce comité.

27. J'en viens maintenant au projet de résolution V, relatif à la participation des territoires non autonomes aux travaux du Comité des renseignements. Nous ne pensons pas que la participation directe des territoires non autonomes aux travaux du comité puisse vraiment faciliter la marche de ces territoires et de leurs populations vers l'idéal consacré par le Chapitre XI de la Charte. Nous pourrions trouver bon d'associer quel-

quefois à notre délégation, dans ce comité ou dans d'autres, des représentants qualifiés venant de nos territoires non autonomes. Nous avons agi de la sorte dans le passé et nous continuerons à le faire dans l'avenir quand cela semblera utile. Mais nous tenons à demeurer seuls juges de la composition qu'il convient de donner à nos délégations aux organes internationaux et nous considérons en outre que seuls les Membres des Nations Unies doivent être éligibles aux comités de l'Assemblée générale. Ces comités doivent demeurer des réunions de gouvernements souverains et responsables. Il ne peut être question de les transformer en tribunaux où les Etats Membres des Nations Unies se verraient mis en accusation par les populations indigènes des territoires non autonomes. Pour cette raison fondamentale, nous nous verrons obligés de voter contre le projet de résolution V.

28. Pour ce qui est du projet de résolution VI, relatif aux facteurs dont il convient de tenir compte, ma délégation émettra, ici encore, un vote négatif. Le statut des territoires non autonomes pour lesquels le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté assume une responsabilité internationale ne saurait être déterminé par les Nations Unies. Il est déterminé par les actes législatifs de caractère constitutionnel que promulgue le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté. A parler franchement, nous ne croyons pas que la liste des facteurs jointe au projet de résolution puisse nous être d'une grande utilité pour l'interprétation de ces actes.

29. De plus, nous ne pouvons accepter le principe, énoncé dans le paragraphe 1 du dispositif, que l'Assemblée générale aurait qualité pour décider si un territoire a atteint ou non son autonomie complète.

30. Quant au paragraphe 2 du dispositif, je ne crois pas que la Commission des droits de l'homme soit déjà parvenue à définir d'une manière satisfaisante le droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes — je ne suis même pas bien sûr qu'elle en ait donné une définition. Je crois que cette question de stricte définition s'est avérée beaucoup plus complexe que beaucoup ne s'y attendaient.

31. Nous ne pouvons pas non plus accepter l'affirmation figurant au paragraphe 4 du dispositif, selon laquelle l'autonomie dans les domaines économique, social et de l'enseignement est inséparable de l'autonomie totale en matière politique.

32. Pour toutes ces raisons, nous devons voter encore contre ce projet de résolution. Néanmoins, dans l'esprit que je viens de préciser, nous avons accepté de siéger au nouveau comité *ad hoc* que ce projet de résolution prévoit pour examiner les études qui servent de base à ce texte. Notre participation ne modifiera en rien notre attitude quant aux importantes questions de principe qui, comme je l'ai expliqué, nous obligent à nous opposer au projet de résolution. Nous espérons que cette participation nous permettra de convaincre nos collègues du bien-fondé de notre attitude sur ces questions de principe. Mais nous considérons que l'esprit de conciliation auquel je viens de faire allusion doit nous convaincre d'accepter de participer aux travaux de ce comité.

33. Pour ma part, je suis navré de voir que ma délégation ne peut que s'opposer à un si grand nombre des projets de résolution que nous soumet la Quatrième Commission. Nous avions espéré que la Quatrième

Commission était sur le point d'adopter une attitude plus compréhensible, à nos yeux, à l'endroit des importantes questions qui découlent du Chapitre XI de la Charte. Nos espoirs en la matière n'ont pas encore été exaucés. Mais l'une des consolations de l'existence humaine, c'est que l'espoir renaît toujours de ses cendres et je ne désespère pas de voir une plus grande mesure de collaboration et de compréhension s'établir peu à peu au sein de cette Commission.

34. M. PIGNON (France) : La délégation française a eu l'occasion d'exposer devant la Quatrième Commission son point de vue touchant les questions qui font l'objet du rapport et des projets de résolution actuellement soumis à l'Assemblée. Elle a formulé cette opinion de façon détaillée et sans ambiguïté aucune. Elle confirme aujourd'hui les observations qu'elle a déjà présentées.

35. De plus, eu égard à la gravité des problèmes en cause, la délégation française estime indispensable de souligner certains points sur lesquels l'attention ne saurait être appelée avec trop d'insistance.

36. Tout d'abord, et de façon générale, la délégation française déplore que la plupart des projets présentés par la Quatrième Commission dans le domaine des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes procèdent d'une conception contraire à l'esprit et à la lettre de la Charte. Elle est obligée de constater, une fois de plus, la manifestation d'une volonté de modifier unilatéralement le sens et la portée d'un traité qui ne pourrait être amendé qu'en usant des procédures légales prévues à cet effet. Elle déclare de la façon la plus solennelle que la poursuite d'une telle entreprise est de nature à compromettre la collaboration et la coopération qui sont les fins de cette Organisation. Elle met en garde contre les conséquences dangereuses que pourrait entraîner, en pratique, la continuation de ces errements.

37. A la lumière des considérations qui viennent d'être énoncées, la délégation française désire maintenant préciser sa position et sa doctrine en ce qui concerne certains des projets de résolution qui figurent dans le rapport de la Quatrième Commission.

38. Premièrement, la délégation française votera pour le projet de résolution II relatif à la discrimination raciale, parce qu'elle représente un peuple passionnément opposé à toute forme de discrimination. Elle renouvelle cependant, à cette occasion, les réserves qu'elle a présentées devant la Quatrième Commission touchant la nécessité de traiter un tel problème sur le plan de l'universalité, et selon des méthodes mieux appropriées que celles qu'a suivies la Quatrième Commission.

39. Deuxièmement, la délégation française remarque que le projet de résolution V intitulé "Participation des territoires non autonomes aux travaux du Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes" reprend, dans les paragraphes 2 et 3 de son dispositif, les idées les plus contestables sur lesquelles se fondait déjà la résolution 566 (VI) du 18 janvier 1952 concernant le même objet. La délégation française estime que la création, sous une forme plus ou moins déguisée, du statut de membre associé du Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes est inconstitutionnelle. Elle déclare qu'il ne saurait exister, au sein des organes des Nations Unies,

une dualité de représentation au bénéfice de la Puissance administrante et du territoire non autonome à la fois. Elle rappelle que le Chapitre XI de la Charte, de même que les dispositions du paragraphe 7 de l'Article 2, laissent à la Puissance administrante, et à elle seule, la responsabilité de l'administration des territoires non autonomes et écartent dans ce domaine toute ingérence des Nations Unies.

40. Troisièmement, la délégation française s'abstiendra de relever à nouveau le caractère gratuit et contradictoire des dispositions du projet de résolution VI intitulé : "Facteurs dont il convient de tenir compte pour décider si un territoire est ou n'est pas un territoire dont les populations ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes". La délégation française tient, au contraire, à souligner qu'elle ne saurait reconnaître les principes inclus dans ce projet qui, notamment, donne compétence à l'Assemblée générale pour décider si un territoire est ou n'est pas non autonome.

41. Si la délégation française a pu participer à l'étude des facteurs de l'autonomie, c'est parce que cette étude avait été entreprise dans le cadre tracé par la résolution 334 (IV) de l'Assemblée générale suivant laquelle l'Assemblée "a compétence pour exprimer un avis sur les principes qui ont guidé ou qui peuvent à l'avenir guider les Etats Membres intéressés dans l'énumération des territoires pour lesquels ils sont tenus de transmettre les renseignements visés à l'Article 73, e, de la Charte". La délégation française avait admis que l'Assemblée générale était fondée à étudier, selon les procédures qui avaient été prévues, le moyen de guider les Etats responsables par un avis portant sur les principes propres à les instruire dans la détermination des territoires auxquels s'applique l'Article 73, e, de la Charte et elle avait pu participer aux travaux préliminaires qui avaient été poursuivis à Paris, lors de la sixième session, et au sein du Comité *ad hoc* pour l'étude des facteurs (territoires non autonomes). Toutefois, la compétence de l'Assemblée générale ne saurait aller au-delà de cet avis donné sur la nature des principes susceptibles de guider les Etats Membres. A plusieurs reprises, le Gouvernement français a rappelé officiellement que la détermination des territoires dont les populations ne se dirigent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes selon les termes de la Charte relève de la compétence exclusive des Etats qui ont la responsabilité d'administrer ces territoires. La compétence des Puissances administrantes à cet égard, qui découle de la Charte, ne saurait être affectée, réduite ou contrôlée en vertu d'une décision quelconque de l'Assemblée générale. En conséquence, la délégation française se voit dans l'obligation, pour l'immédiat comme pour l'avenir, de réserver de la façon la plus expresse la compétence que son gouvernement détient à cet égard en vertu de la Charte.

42. Quatrièmement, en ce qui concerne le projet de résolution IV intitulé : "Reconduction du Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes", la délégation française tient à rappeler qu'elle a toujours formulé les réserves les plus expresses touchant la légalité d'un organe appelé à examiner les renseignements qui, aux termes de l'Article 73, e, de la Charte, sont communiqués seulement au Secrétaire général des Nations Unies pour information. Cet organe n'a du reste été en aucune manière prévu par la Charte. De même, la délégation française s'est toujours élevée

contre cette conception fondée sur une interprétation erronée du Chapitre XI qui tend à conférer à notre Organisation une sorte de droit de contrôle sur les territoires non autonomes et dont la création de ce comité constitue à coup sûr la manifestation la plus nette. Une telle conception est en effet en contradiction avec les termes mêmes du Chapitre XI, et avec d'autres stipulations de la Charte, ainsi qu'avec les travaux préparatoires de la Conférence de San-Francisco.

43. Si, dans le passé, la délégation française a pu participer aux travaux du Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes, c'était en raison du caractère non permanent de cet organisme. Il s'agissait là d'une situation provisoire, d'une période de durée définie durant laquelle la délégation française, avec le souci de se conformer dans la mesure du possible aux principes de coopération internationale inscrits dans la Charte, n'avait pas refusé de se prêter à un examen en commun des questions générales intéressant les territoires non autonomes afin de contribuer à mieux faire connaître ces problèmes. En posant le principe de la permanence du comité, le projet de résolution IV consacre au contraire l'illégalité à laquelle je viens de faire allusion. Il donne officiellement au Chapitre XI de la Charte l'interprétation tendancieuse et la portée induite que la délégation française ne peut accepter. Il confère à un organisme dont l'utilité apparaît, au demeurant, très contestable et dont les travaux se déroulent de plus en plus dans une atmosphère dépourvue d'objectivité et de compréhension, un caractère tout à fait incompatible avec les dispositions de l'Article 73, e, de la Charte qui ont essentiellement pour objet la publicité.

44. Ceci étant, la délégation française doit, au nom de son gouvernement, déclarer, en tout état de cause, qu'elle ne prendra pas part l'an prochain aux travaux du comité si le paragraphe 1 du dispositif du projet de résolution IV est adopté sous sa forme actuelle, c'est-à-dire si le mandat du comité est renouvelé pour une période indéfinie.

45. M. VAN LANGENHOVE (Belgique): La délégation belge juge nécessaire d'exposer les raisons fondamentales pour lesquelles elle ne peut donner son approbation aux projets de résolution concernant les territoires non autonomes.

46. Les obligations énoncées par l'Article 73 de la Charte sont générales. Elles s'étendent incontestablement, selon nous, à tous les Etats Membres sur le territoire desquels vivent des populations indigènes arriérées et à qui incombe la responsabilité d'assurer leur progrès. Ces obligations sont semblables à celles qui étaient contenues dans l'Article 23 du Pacte de la Société des Nations, par lequel les Etats Membres s'étaient engagés "à assurer le traitement équitable des populations indigènes dans les territoires soumis à leur administration".

47. La présente Assemblée compte de nombreux Etats qui ont été Membres de la Société des Nations. Aucun n'a jamais contesté que cette disposition s'appliquât aux populations indigènes vivant à l'intérieur de ses frontières.

48. Or, parmi ces Etats autrefois Membres de la Société des Nations, il en est seulement sept qui reconnaissent encore cette obligation. A tous les autres,

nous sommes en droit de demander quelles sont les raisons pour lesquelles ce qu'ils ont accepté pendant tant d'années, sans élever la moindre protestation, leur est devenu aujourd'hui inacceptable. Cette question, nous l'avons déjà posée et elle est demeurée jusqu'ici sans réponse. En vain avons-nous souligné que restreindre le bénéfice des garanties internationales à quelques populations indigènes est commettre une injustice envers toutes les autres et que semblable restriction constitue un déplorable recul dans la poursuite de l'idéal humanitaire auquel notre Organisation est vouée.

49. Ce n'est pas le seul aspect sous lequel il faille considérer la situation actuelle. Au sein de la Société des Nations, les obligations que la Belgique assumait à l'égard des populations de ses territoires d'Afrique — sous la seule réserve de ses territoires sous mandat — étaient identiques à celles qu'assumaient tous les autres Etats Membres, aussi bien en Amérique et en Asie qu'en Afrique. Dans ce dernier continent — en Afrique — ces obligations étaient les mêmes en ce qui concernait l'Ethiopie, le Libéria ou l'Union Sud-Africaine qu'à l'égard du Congo, de l'Afrique-Equatoriale française ou de l'Ouganda. A présent, la Belgique y reste seule soumise, avec la France et le Royaume-Uni. Tous les autres Etats Membres, bien que leurs responsabilités soient semblables aux nôtres, ont cessé de reconnaître la validité de ces obligations.

50. En même temps, on s'est appliqué à étendre la portée de ces obligations d'année en année. Moins il y a d'Etats disposés à s'y soumettre, plus il s'est révélé facile de réunir des majorités prêtes à voter des résolutions qui, sans ménagements pour la souveraineté d'autrui, tendent à voir transformer progressivement les dispositions du Chapitre XI de la Charte en un régime de quasi-tutelle que la Conférence de San-Francisco a délibérément exclu et qui, pour ce qui est de la Belgique, ne correspond aucunement aux engagements souscrits par elle et approuvés par son Parlement.

51. Bien que tous les Etats Membres administrant des populations indigènes soient placés devant les mêmes devoirs, on les a ainsi rangés en deux catégories suivant qu'ils reconnaissent ou non que l'Article 73 de la Charte leur est applicable: les uns sont invités à accepter des obligations de plus en plus étendues tandis que les autres n'en acceptent aucune. Parmi ceux-ci, l'absence de responsabilité conduit aux exagérations et à la surenchère. On aboutit ainsi, comme le constatait récemment le Gouvernement belge, à une situation difficilement tolérable et ce serait sans doute se faire illusion que de s'imaginer qu'elle puisse durer.

52. On n'atteindra un régime stable que si les Etats placés devant les mêmes responsabilités font honneur, sans exception, aux obligations générales qui correspondent à ces responsabilités. D'autre part, c'est manquer de générosité et de justice à l'égard des populations indigènes que de ne point accorder à toutes, comme le faisaient les Membres de la Société des Nations, le bénéfice des garanties générales formulées en leur faveur. Ce sont là les principes sur lesquels est fondée l'interprétation que le Gouvernement belge donne au Chapitre XI et auxquels il entend se tenir. Les dispositions qui les méconnaissent n'auront pas son concours.

53. Le Gouvernement belge déterminera, en s'inspirant des considérations qui précèdent, s'il y a lieu

pour lui de participer désormais aux travaux du Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes. Il n'y participera en tout cas pas si, conformément au projet de résolution IV soumis à l'Assemblée, ce comité est transformé en un organe quasi permanent.

54. M. LANNUNG (Danemark) (*traduit de l'anglais*) : Je voudrais faire quelques brèves observations au sujet du projet de résolution IV relatif à la reconduction du Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes. Depuis que la Quatrième Commission a approuvé le projet de résolution IV, on savait d'une manière générale — et nous en avons aujourd'hui été expressément informés — que le Royaume-Uni, la France et la Belgique, les trois Membres des Nations Unies qui sont responsables de l'administration de la plupart des territoires non autonomes, estimaient qu'il leur serait impossible de participer aux travaux du Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes si l'on décidait de le maintenir en fonctions à titre permanent ou semi-permanent, comme le recommande la Quatrième Commission.

55. Que l'on me permette de rappeler l'historique de la question et le fait que les membres du Comité des renseignements s'accordaient assez généralement pour vouloir que le comité restât en fonctions, dans les mêmes conditions que jusqu'ici, pendant une nouvelle période de trois ans; c'est la Quatrième Commission qui a remanié le paragraphe 1 du dispositif du projet de résolution IV de manière à transformer le comité en un organisme permanent ou semi-permanent.

56. L'objectif visé serait d'ailleurs pratiquement atteint si nous adoptions aujourd'hui une proposition qui tendrait à proroger le mandat du comité pour une nouvelle période de trois ans, dans les mêmes conditions que jusqu'à présent. Comme, en agissant de cette manière, on s'assurerait la coopération précieuse — et, en vérité, indispensable — des trois Puissances administrantes, ma délégation et plusieurs autres pensent que leur devoir est tout tracé et qu'elles doivent voter de façon à parvenir à ce compromis: reconduire le comité pour une nouvelle période de trois ans. Cette décision ne préjugerait en rien, bien entendu, le désir que l'Assemblée pourrait avoir de maintenir le comité en fonctions à l'expiration de cette nouvelle période de trois ans. En prorogeant ainsi son mandat, nous permettrions à ce comité, auquel plusieurs de nos collègues attachent une grande importance, de poursuivre ses travaux sans interruption et avec la participation de tous ses membres.

57. Je demanderai donc, conformément à l'article 89 du règlement intérieur relatif à la division des propositions, que l'on mette séparément aux voix la dernière partie du paragraphe 1 du projet de résolution IV à partir des mots "et qu'à l'expiration de cette période".

58. Je voterai contre cette dernière partie du paragraphe dans un esprit de compromis, de conciliation et de coopération et dans l'espoir que cette addition au texte primitif sera rejetée. Si cette addition était supprimée, le paragraphe se lirait comme suit:

"Décide que le Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes restera en fonctions, dans les mêmes conditions, pendant une nouvelle période de trois ans."

Nous reviendrons ainsi à la formule proposée à l'origine à la Quatrième Commission par le Comité des renseignements, formule grâce à laquelle nous serions assurés de la coopération de tous les Etats Membres aux travaux de ce comité.

59. Si la dernière partie du paragraphe est supprimée, ma délégation votera pour le reste du paragraphe ainsi que pour l'ensemble du projet de résolution; elle espère que de très nombreuses délégations feront de même.

60. M. RIEMENS (Pays-Bas) (*traduit de l'anglais*) : Je me bornerai à parler du projet de résolution VI, relatif aux facteurs dont il convient de tenir compte pour décider si un territoire est, ou n'est pas, un territoire dont les populations ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes. La délégation des Pays-Bas éprouve certaines appréhensions à l'égard du texte de ce projet tel que l'a arrêté la Quatrième Commission; c'est pourquoi nous avons le ferme espoir que toutes les autres délégations examineront soigneusement si ce document, sous sa forme présente, peut avoir leur agrément.

61. La réalisation de la pleine autonomie représente le but élevé que les Etats Membres responsables de l'administration de territoires non autonomes se sont engagés à viser en souscrivant à l'Article 73 de la Charte. Plusieurs Etats Membres, les Pays-Bas y compris, ont à leur actif de grandes réalisations; ils ont franchi de grandes étapes sur cette voie. Quand ils considèrent les progrès difficiles et quelque peu hésitants des principes démocratiques dans de nombreuses parties du monde au cours des récentes années, mon gouvernement ainsi que les peuples des Pays-Bas, des Antilles néerlandaises et du Surinam ont quelque raison d'éprouver une légitime fierté à l'égard de ces réalisations.

62. A notre avis, les Nations Unies doivent se réjouir d'une telle évolution qui est, de toute évidence, entièrement conforme à la lettre comme à l'esprit de la Charte. Toutefois, le projet de résolution VI dont nous sommes saisis soumet l'appréciation de cette évolution à tant de critères que nous avons grand-peur qu'au lieu d'exprimer la joie que l'Organisation ressent dans des cas comme le nôtre, cette résolution n'exprime que le chagrin.

63. Pendant plus d'un an, l'Organisation des Nations Unies a étudié la question des facteurs dont il convient de tenir compte pour déterminer si un territoire donné a atteint sa pleine autonomie. L'Organisation des Nations Unies s'étant attachée à énumérer ces facteurs dans des listes qui portent sur les diverses formes d'indépendance et d'autonomie, nous estimons qu'il est nécessaire qu'une telle étude soit poussée jusqu'à une conclusion plus satisfaisante que celle à laquelle le Comité *ad hoc* a abouti au cours de cette année et qui a pris la forme d'une annexe au projet de résolution. Que dis-je? On a fait observer au cours des débats de la Quatrième Commission que ces listes étaient si complètes qu'il n'y a guère d'Etats souverains, Membres des Nations Unies, qui seraient à même de subir avec succès une épreuve d'autonomie aussi rigoureuse. Il est significatif que cette remarque soit venue, non pas de l'une des Puissances administrantes, mais d'une Puissance non administrante.

64. Après tout, il n'y a rien de bien étonnant à cela. D'une part, nous voyons dans le monde d'aujourd'hui

que l'idée d'une souveraineté absolue et illimitée appartient au passé et qu'à présent, pour pouvoir survivre et prospérer, les nations sont forcées de coopérer au sein de groupes plus étendus et d'abandonner, l'une à l'autre ou aux nouvelles communautés dont elles font partie, une portion non négligeable de cette souveraineté. En face de cette évolution, qui est indéniable, nous voyons le Comité *ad hoc* dresser une liste qui pose des conditions tellement rigides pour la réalisation de l'autonomie sous ses diverses formes que cette liste perd tout caractère pratique quand on cherche à l'appliquer à un grand nombre de cas concrets. Une telle tendance, qui va à l'encontre de l'évolution du monde moderne — et plus particulièrement peut-être, à l'encontre de l'évolution des nations les plus avancées — est intransigeante et les résultats auxquels elle a abouti ne sont donc pas satisfaisants. Bien que le projet de résolution affirme le contraire dans une partie de son dispositif, l'établissement d'une si rigide liste de facteurs pourrait fort bien mettre en danger l'évolution future des territoires dans le sens d'une pleine autonomie. C'est être malavisé que de fixer une norme si élevée qu'il est impossible de l'atteindre dans la pratique.

65. Les critiques adressées à la liste des facteurs ont été assez générales au sein de la Commission, et l'appui dont cette liste a bénéficié était faible et indécis. Ainsi, l'idée de refaire cette étude en l'élargissant a gagné du terrain; en fait, cette idée se trouve également exprimée dans le projet de résolution dont il s'agit. Un nouveau comité pour l'étude des facteurs se créerait donc, avec un mandat plus large que celui du précédent comité, pour recevoir dans leur totalité les problèmes qui se posent.

66. Par elle-même, cette décision nous paraît sage. Sa conséquence logique, toutefois, aurait été et devrait être de laisser de côté les travaux du comité précédent et de voir, à la prochaine session de l'Assemblée générale, si le nouveau comité peut présenter une liste de facteurs d'un caractère plus pratique et plus réaliste.

67. Il est regrettable, selon notre délégation, que la Commission n'en ait pas décidé ainsi et qu'au contraire, le paragraphe 1 du dispositif du projet de résolution accepte comme guide la liste actuelle de facteurs. Ce fait est d'autant plus grave que la Commission propose également de donner à l'Assemblée générale un pouvoir nouveau, réel, qu'elle exercerait en appliquant cette liste de facteurs si peu réaliste. Cette liste de facteurs, dit le projet de résolution, peut servir de guide à l'Assemblée générale ainsi qu'à la Puissance administrante en cause lorsqu'il s'agit de décider si un territoire a atteint ou non une complète autonomie. Ce pouvoir donné à l'Assemblée générale est sans aucun fondement dans la Charte des Nations Unies. Avec la meilleure volonté du monde, on ne saurait lui trouver un fondement dans une interprétation du texte de l'Article 73, seul article pertinent.

68. Comment l'Assemblée va-t-elle exercer ce pouvoir qui ne se fonde sur rien? En appliquant précisément une liste de facteurs qui a besoin d'une révision. Non seulement c'est une piètre façon d'exprimer une idée, mais c'est aussi une dangereuse façon d'essayer de mettre en œuvre cette idée. Quelques-unes des délégations qui ont proposé cette partie du projet hybride n'ont pas laissé d'éveiller des soupçons quant aux objectifs véritables qu'elles cherchaient à atteindre.

69. Ces objectifs étaient de donner à l'Assemblée générale un pouvoir qu'elle ne possède pas aux termes de la Charte et, puisqu'il fallait lui conférer ce pouvoir sans se préoccuper de savoir si le critère à appliquer dans l'exercice de ce pouvoir était bon ou mauvais, on peut se demander si tout au moins un petit nombre des délégations qui ont formulé la proposition n'avaient pas pour seul objectif de faire condamner par l'Assemblée générale tous les efforts que font les Puissances administrantes pour établir, dans des territoires qui n'étaient pas autonomes jusqu'ici, une forme d'autonomie qui ne soit pas l'indépendance totale ou la cession à une Puissance non administrante. Certaines délégations ont eu la franchise d'exprimer des idées de cette nature au cours de la discussion.

70. Cette attitude extrémiste — qui est précisément celle de l'Union soviétique, lorsqu'il s'agit de discuter de territoires non autonomes que gouvernent d'autres Puissances que l'Union soviétique — a été partagée, notre délégation a le regret de le dire, par un petit nombre de délégations qui semblent apparemment en faveur de mouvements révolutionnaires plutôt que d'une évolution harmonieuse qui amènerait graduellement les territoires à l'autonomie. Pour ces délégations — dont le nombre est heureusement réduit — le projet de résolution dont nous sommes saisis servirait de paravent pour cacher leurs véritables intentions. Ces délégations doivent accueillir avec joie les contradictions et obscurités que l'on relève actuellement dans ce document puisque, au cas où le projet de résolution serait adopté et devrait servir de base aux décisions futures de l'Assemblée, personne ne pourrait dire si la résolution est appliquée correctement ou de travers.

71. Etant donné ces considérations — et bien qu'elle soit disposée à accueillir avec satisfaction une nouvelle étude de la question des facteurs, si cette étude était entreprise dans un esprit de réalisme et de compromis — la délégation des Pays-Bas s'oppose au projet de résolution dans son ensemble et, d'une façon plus particulière, au paragraphe 1 de son dispositif. Nous espérons qu'il n'obtiendra pas la majorité requise pour une décision de cette importance, et nous nous permettons de demander au Président qu'il applique au cours du vote la règle de la majorité des deux tiers.

72. M. FOURIE (Union Sud-Africaine) (*traduit de l'anglais*): Nous avons déjà, en plusieurs occasions, exposé la façon dont nous envisageons la portée du paragraphe 7 de l'Article 2 de la Charte. Fidèles à cette attitude, nous considérons que le paragraphe 2 du projet de résolution II ne rentre pas dans le cadre du Chapitre XI de la Charte; notre abstention signifie, par conséquent, que nous ne participons pas au vote.

73. M. AVELINO (Brésil): La position de la délégation du Brésil, quant à la question de la prolongation du mandat du Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes, est bien connue; nous estimons que ce comité devrait devenir permanent parce que, aussi longtemps qu'il existera des territoires non autonomes, des renseignements devront être fournis conformément à l'Article 73, e, de la Charte, et que, dans ces conditions, nous avons besoin d'un organe spécial de l'Assemblée générale pour l'étude de ces renseignements.

74. Nous tenons pour nulles les objections d'ordre constitutionnel soulevées à l'encontre du caractère permanent à donner au comité dont il s'agit. Toutefois,

nous sommes en présence de déclarations formelles, faites par des Puissances administrantes, quant à leur intention de ne pas participer aux travaux du comité au cas où l'Assemblée générale adopterait le projet de résolution IV qui a été approuvé par la Quatrième Commission.

75. Ma délégation a examiné avec le plus grand soin cette question. Tout en désapprouvant la position prise par les Membres en question, qui sont des Puissances administrantes, nous ne pouvons que nous rendre à l'évidence: notre travail tout entier, dans le domaine relatif aux territoires non autonomes, serait mis en danger si nous tenions à conserver notre position originale.

76. En conséquence, ma délégation, bien à contre-cœur, est arrivée à la conclusion qu'elle doit reconsidérer sa position quant à la dernière partie du paragraphe 1 du dispositif du projet de résolution IV. Nous nous abstenons de voter sur cette partie du paragraphe qui recommande qu'après trois ans, le comité soit automatiquement reconduit aussi longtemps qu'il existera des territoires dont la population ne s'administre pas encore elle-même. Nous ne souhaitons pas contribuer, par notre vote, à l'approbation d'une disposition qui, nous en sommes persuadés, rendrait impossible pour le Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes de continuer ses utiles travaux sur les mêmes bases.

77. M. KHALIDY (Irak) (*traduit de l'anglais*): Ma délégation voudrait en quelques mots expliquer son vote et dire quelle est sa position à l'égard des projets de résolution dont est saisie l'Assemblée générale. Nous voterons pour tous les projets de résolution présentés par la Quatrième Commission, sous réserve des deux modifications que nous allons exposer.

78. En ce qui concerne le projet de résolution II, la délégation du Royaume-Uni a présenté un amendement que nous sommes heureux de pouvoir accepter. Nous estimons que cet amendement au paragraphe 2 du dispositif du projet de résolution II améliore le texte. A notre avis, cet amendement, en mettant le paragraphe 2 en harmonie avec le paragraphe 1, s'appuie, pour ainsi dire, sur deux piliers: la Charte et la Déclaration universelle des droits de l'homme. Il est donc inutile de donner des précisions supplémentaires qui risqueraient de compliquer la situation et de constituer un blâme. Je dirai dans un instant ce que j'entends par "blâme". Il est bon qu'il y ait plus d'harmonie entre le paragraphe 2 et le paragraphe 1; c'est pourquoi il est logique d'accepter l'amendement du Royaume-Uni. Le paragraphe 2, tel qu'il est rédigé actuellement, serait un peu trop catégorique et risquerait de constituer un blâme.

79. Permettez-moi de prendre un exemple. Il y a des musulmans au Cameroun et en Afrique occidentale, territoires qui ne sont pas autonomes. Il y a également des païens. Les païens ne demanderaient peut-être qu'à descendre de leurs montagnes pour anéantir les communautés musulmanes ou chrétiennes et leurs établissements religieux. Les Puissances administrantes ont le devoir de garantir aux habitants la liberté de culte en vertu de la Charte et de la Déclaration universelle des droits de l'homme. En conséquence, ils désirent assurer — et assurent, j'en suis certain — la liberté du culte. On peut donc, en un sens, dire qu'il s'agit là d'une mesure discriminatoire en faveur des

mosquées, mais ce n'est pas là le genre de discrimination qu'envisage la Charte ou la Déclaration universelle des droits de l'homme.

80. Voyons maintenant le texte actuel du paragraphe 2 du dispositif du projet de résolution II; les deux dernières lignes sont ainsi conçues: "... en vue d'abolir toutes dispositions ou pratiques discriminatoires de caractère racial ou religieux qui pourraient exister". L'exemple que je viens de donner montre que cette disposition ne correspond pas exactement à la complète liberté de culte que les Puissances administrantes ont le devoir de garantir en vertu de tous les préceptes de la Charte et de la Déclaration universelle des droits de l'homme. C'est pourquoi nous estimons que l'amendement du Royaume-Uni est de nature à améliorer le texte du projet de résolution; nous serons heureux de lui donner notre appui.

81. J'en viens maintenant au projet de résolution IV, qui a trait à la reconduction du Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes; la division ayant été demandée pour les deux parties du paragraphe 1 du dispositif, nous voterons pour la première partie. En ce qui concerne la deuxième, nous avons soumis la situation à un nouvel examen, très attentif, et nous sommes arrivés à la conclusion suivante:

82. Je me hâte de préciser — en particulier à l'intention de tous ceux qui, à la Quatrième Commission et ailleurs, nous ont apporté leur coopération à ce sujet — que nous n'aimerions rien tant que de voir le Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes devenir un organe permanent. Et, soit dit en passant à l'intention de nos collègues des Puissances administrantes, il y a bien peu de différence, dans la pratique, entre la reconduction du comité et sa transformation en un organe permanent. Cependant, les Puissances administrantes semblent s'attacher à une question de principe, ce en quoi elles ont peut-être raison.

83. A l'heure actuelle, l'essentiel, selon nous, est que le comité continue à fonctionner et à compter parmi ses membres les Puissances coloniales qui, je le souhaite vivement, continueront à lui prêter leur concours et à participer à ses travaux. Si cette considération primordiale risque d'être compromise par une attitude qui a déjà été précisée du haut de cette tribune, nous n'insisterons pas sur un point qui, si je ne m'abuse, peut faire l'objet d'un nouvel examen et d'une nouvelle décision dans un, deux ou trois ans.

84. Plusieurs Puissances coloniales, en dehors de la Quatrième Commission et devant l'Assemblée, ont laissé entendre qu'elles modifieraient leur attitude passée à l'égard du comité si l'on exigeait le maintien de la deuxième partie du paragraphe 1 du dispositif du projet de résolution IV. Nous avions espéré qu'elles reviendraient sur leur intention de modifier leur attitude et qu'elles continueraient à assister aux séances du comité. Mais le représentant du Royaume-Uni vient de nous déclarer formellement, au nom de son gouvernement, que sa délégation ne pourrait pas siéger au comité si la deuxième partie de ce paragraphe était adoptée.

85. Il faut parfois savoir accepter des compromis nécessaires. Entre deux solutions, il faut choisir celle qui s'avérera à la longue la plus utile, la plus pratique.

Nous sommes d'avis que la deuxième partie du paragraphe 1 du dispositif du projet de résolution IV ne revêt pas, à l'heure actuelle, l'importance que certains lui attachent. La question doit, de toute façon, faire l'objet d'un nouvel examen au bout de trois ans. De plus, je ne crois pas un seul instant qu'un Membre des Nations Unies voudrait proposer de mettre un terme aux travaux du Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes. Je ne pense pas qu'une telle proposition, au cas improbable où elle se ferait jour, aurait la moindre chance d'être adoptée.

86. Pour les raisons que je viens d'exposer, ma délégation s'abstiendra lors du vote sur la deuxième partie du paragraphe 1 du dispositif du projet de résolution IV.

87. M. McINNIS (Canada) (*traduit de l'anglais*) : Je voudrais expliquer très brièvement l'attitude de la délégation canadienne à l'égard des deux projets de résolution qui nous préoccupent particulièrement : le projet de résolution IV, relatif à la reconduction du Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes, et le projet de résolution VI, qui traite des facteurs.

88. Dès que la Quatrième Commission a commencé à examiner le projet de résolution VI, ma délégation a exprimé les doutes sérieux que lui inspirait ce projet. Les affirmations péremptoires qui figurent dans ce projet de résolution, et notamment celles que l'on peut lire au deuxième paragraphe du préambule et au paragraphe 4 du dispositif, ne nous paraissent guère valables. Au sein de la Commission, nous avons voté contre ces dispositions et aussi contre certaines autres. Nous nous sommes abstenus lors du vote sur le projet de résolution dans son ensemble, car toute une série d'amendements et d'additions se trouvaient incorporés au texte définitif et nous désirions avoir le temps d'étudier de façon très complète ce texte après les changements que lui avait fait subir la Commission.

89. Nous avons maintenant examiné ce projet de résolution avec le plus grand soin ; il ne nous satisfait toujours pas. S'il n'est pas apporté de modification à sa forme actuelle, nous serons obligés de voter contre ce texte.

90. L'attitude que nous venons d'exposer a une répercussion directe sur la reconduction du Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes. Qu'il me soit permis de dire qu'en principe, nous sommes partisans de la reconduction du comité. Nous avons même approuvé la disposition à cet effet qui figure dans le projet de résolution dont nous sommes actuellement saisis, bien que nous eussions nettement préféré que la durée du mandat du comité fût limitée à trois ans. Nous avons toutefois loyalement averti la Commission que si des faits nouveaux se produisaient ou si l'on introduisait de nouveaux facteurs, nous pourrions être obligés de revenir sur notre décision.

91. Il nous semble que ces nouveaux éléments se trouvent sous-entendus dans le projet de résolution VI relatif aux facteurs, même s'ils n'y figurent pas effectivement. L'interprétation que les affirmations péremptoires avancées dans les clauses en question forceraient à donner à l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements dépasse tout ce que nous avons envisagé lorsque nous avons approuvé le projet de

résolution qui portait reconduction du Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes. Nos objections ne disparaîtraient pas complètement, même si l'Assemblée rejetait le projet de résolution relatif aux facteurs. L'institution du comité sur une base semi-permanente laisserait la porte ouverte à de nouvelles propositions de caractère analogue qui pourraient modifier radicalement les bases sur lesquelles nous nous sommes fondés pour approuver sa reconduction. Pour ajouter à notre souci, d'autres commissions ont marqué une certaine tendance à imposer des obligations auxquelles on ne songeait pas lors de l'adoption du projet de résolution qui porte reconduction du Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes.

92. Aussi sommes-nous maintenant persuadés que, puisqu'il est souhaitable de se garantir contre les éventualités que je viens d'indiquer, une bonne garantie serait de renouveler le mandat du comité pour une période donnée, de façon que l'Assemblée puisse plus tard, à la lumière des événements survenus entre-temps, reprendre et examiner à fond la question de son maintien en fonctions. Ce sont ces raisons qui ont motivé notre décision, que nous avons prise avant d'avoir eu connaissance de la décision définitive des Puissances administrantes de ne pas participer aux travaux du comité si le mandat de cet organe était renouvelé sous la forme prévue dans le projet de résolution. Toutefois, l'annonce de cette décision a naturellement beaucoup renforcé notre désir de voir limiter à trois ans le mandat du comité.

93. Nous espérons donc vivement que le projet de résolution sera remanié dans le sens indiqué par la délégation du Danemark. S'il n'en est pas ainsi, nous serons dans l'obligation de refuser notre appui au projet de résolution tel qu'il se présente sous sa forme définitive.

94. M. URQUIA (Salvador) (*traduit de l'espagnol*) : Au paragraphe 3 du rapport de la Quatrième Commission [A/2296], on peut lire que le représentant du Guatemala a fait des réserves au sujet du territoire de Belize ; au nom de ma délégation et de trois autres délégations d'Amérique centrale, je tiens à faire à cette occasion la déclaration suivante : les délégations du Costa-Rica, du Salvador, du Honduras et du Nicaragua, apprenant que leur sœur d'Amérique centrale, la République du Guatemala, a décidé au cours de la présente session de l'Assemblée générale qu'elle réservait les droits souverains qui sont les siens sur le territoire de Belize, et considérant qu'il s'agit là d'un problème qui touche directement à l'unité géographique de l'Amérique centrale, tiennent à déclarer qu'elles se solidarisent avec la réserve formulée par la délégation du Guatemala.

95. M. Shiva RAO (Inde) (*traduit de l'anglais*) : Je tiens à expliquer brièvement les votes de la délégation de l'Inde sur les divers projets de résolution dont l'Assemblée générale est actuellement saisie.

96. A la Quatrième Commission, ma délégation a estimé devoir s'abstenir lors du vote sur le projet de résolution II relatif à la discrimination raciale dans les territoires non autonomes, car il lui semblait que l'amendement apporté au paragraphe 2 du dispositif restreignait grandement l'utilité pratique de ce projet de résolution. L'amendement maintenant proposé par la délégation du Royaume-Uni rétablit, en substance,

le sens primitif du paragraphe 2, tout en le rattachant au paragraphe précédent. D'après le présent amendement, toutes les lois, tous les règlements et toutes les ordonnances en vigueur dans les territoires non autonomes seraient examinés par les Puissances administrantes à la lumière des principes de la Charte et de la Déclaration universelle des droits de l'homme; l'examen ne se limiterait pas aux dispositions ou pratiques de caractère racial ou religieux. Ma délégation approuve l'amendement du Royaume-Uni, pour lequel elle votera.

97. Depuis son adoption par la Quatrième Commission, un autre projet de résolution a fait naître une controverse; il s'agit du projet de résolution IV relatif à la reconduction du Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes. La question qui se pose est la suivante: faut-il donner au comité un caractère permanent ou ne le reconduire que pour une période de trois ans? Plusieurs des déclarations qui ont été faites aujourd'hui du haut de cette tribune font ressortir nettement que le projet de résolution IV soulève une difficulté réelle. Un très grand nombre des membres de la Quatrième Commission donneraient, je le sais, leur appui à une proposition tendant à donner immédiatement un caractère permanent au comité. Le comité, comme l'Assemblée générale l'a reconnu en plus d'une occasion, a, depuis sa création en 1946, accompli un travail très utile. Il a donné une vie nouvelle à l'Article 73 de la Charte. Dans le monde entier, les peuples non autonomes voient maintenant en lui leur agent de liaison avec l'Organisation.

98. Ma délégation a toujours participé aux travaux du comité depuis sa création et nous sommes convaincus qu'aussi longtemps que les Puissances administrantes seront dans l'obligation de fournir des renseignements au Secrétaire général, conformément à l'Article 73, e, de la Charte, un comité de cette nature, quel que puisse être son nom, est indispensable à l'Assemblée générale. Un comité de seize membres, auquel des Puissances administrantes et des Puissances non administrantes sont représentées en nombre égal, qui étudie de multiples renseignements sur les conditions économiques, sociales et de l'enseignement et qui maintenant, dans plusieurs cas, s'attache aux conditions politiques dans les territoires non autonomes, présente de nombreux avantages pour toutes les parties intéressées, même pour les Puissances administrantes. Le comité a mis au point une méthode de travail qui lui est propre et il a créé, pour l'analyse et l'étude objective de tous ces renseignements, une ambiance qui, elle aussi, lui est propre.

99. La Quatrième Commission et l'Assemblée générale comptent sur le comité pour les guider de ses conseils en ce qui concerne les territoires non autonomes. Si cet organe devait être un jour dissous, la Quatrième Commission n'aurait plus qu'à créer une sous-commission pour s'acquitter de la tâche qui incombe actuellement au Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes. Cette tâche, il faudrait beaucoup plus de quatre semaines pour l'accomplir et les résultats obtenus seraient bien moins satisfaisants.

100. Que cela plaise ou non aux Puissances administrantes, il semble à ma délégation que l'existence d'un comité des renseignements est inévitable aussi longtemps qu'il y aura des territoires non autonomes et que

l'Article 73 continuera de figurer dans la Charte. Ma délégation ne partage pas l'avis selon lequel il faudrait réviser la Charte pour donner au comité un caractère permanent; l'Article 22 est clair; j'en citerai les termes: "L'Assemblée générale peut créer les organes subsidiaires qu'elle juge nécessaires à l'exercice de ses fonctions."

101. Ma délégation estime qu'aux termes de cet article, l'Assemblée est incontestablement en droit d'établir le comité sur une base permanente. Si, reconnaissant à la fois son utilité et son caractère inévitable, toutes les Puissances administrantes avaient accepté la proposition présentée à cet effet, ce projet de résolution n'aurait, ce matin, pas donné lieu à discussion. En l'acceptant, elles auraient, bien mieux qu'elles n'auraient jamais su le faire par le simple exercice de l'autorité politique, renforcé les liens entre Puissances administrantes et territoires non autonomes, assurant de la sorte un progrès plus rapide des populations coloniales vers la capacité à s'administrer complètement elles-mêmes, selon les termes de l'Article 73 de la Charte.

102. L'une au moins des Puissances administrantes — les Etats-Unis d'Amérique — s'est déclarée prête, au cours de l'une des séances précédentes de la Quatrième Commission, à accepter que le comité demeure en fonctions tant que des territoires se trouveront soumis au contrôle des Puissances administrantes, sauf décision contraire prise, après une période de trois ans, par l'Assemblée générale. Il est regrettable qu'à une très faible majorité on ait rejeté cet amendement, présenté par les Etats-Unis et le Venezuela. Maintenant, il est question de limiter l'existence du comité à une nouvelle période de trois ans, sans prévoir en rien son avenir.

103. Je me permets de rappeler aux membres de l'Assemblée générale qu'en 1948, lorsqu'elle a été d'avis de reconduire le comité pour une durée d'un an, l'Assemblée générale a ajouté les mots "sans préjuger l'avenir" [*résolution 219 (III)*]. Et, en 1949, lorsqu'elle l'a reconduit pour une période de trois ans, l'Assemblée générale a stipulé dans sa résolution qu'elle se prononcerait, à sa session de 1952, sur l'avenir du comité. Il est vrai que l'Assemblée générale peut, à tout moment, prendre les décisions qui lui paraissent appropriées, qu'elle y soit ou non autorisée par une résolution d'une session antérieure. Toutefois, étant donné qu'aux termes du paragraphe 6 de la résolution 332 (IV), l'Assemblée générale est invitée, à sa présente session de 1952, à examiner "la question de savoir si le Comité spécial devrait être reconstitué pour une nouvelle période, ainsi que la question de la composition et du mandat de ce nouveau Comité spécial", une simple déclaration selon laquelle le comité demeurera en fonctions pour une nouvelle période de trois ans risquerait d'être mal comprise.

104. Ma délégation est disposée, bien qu'à regret, à accepter ou à proposer elle-même un amendement qui tendrait expressément à renvoyer la décision concernant l'avenir du comité à la session de 1955 de l'Assemblée générale. A la séance de ce matin, certaines des Puissances administrantes ont exposé leur point de vue d'une façon très nette. Ma délégation a également une opinion bien définie, mais cette opinion est favorable au comité. Elle ne peut s'imaginer que l'Assemblée générale puisse adopter le point de vue de ceux qui pensent que, pour ce qui est des territoires non

autonomes, l'Assemblée n'ira pas au-delà d'un point déterminé. La délégation de l'Inde estime que, d'après le Chapitre XI de la Charte, il s'agit que tous les territoires non autonomes arrivent à s'administrer pleinement eux-mêmes de façon à remplir les conditions requises pour devenir Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies.

105. Lorsque le représentant du Royaume-Uni a exposé, à la Quatrième Commission, la politique suivie par son pays dans les territoires qu'il administre, la délégation de l'Inde n'a pas hésité à reconnaître que l'esprit de progrès inspirait une grande partie de cet exposé. Avant la même franchise, je dois déclarer aujourd'hui que j'ai été quelque peu déçu par l'intervention du représentant du Royaume-Uni, qui a clairement indiqué que son pays ne pourrait plus participer aux travaux du comité si le projet de résolution IV était adopté sous la forme sous laquelle la Quatrième Commission l'a présenté à l'Assemblée générale.

106. Je dois néanmoins ajouter que, si désireuse que la délégation de l'Inde soit de voir donner un caractère permanent au comité, elle estime que ce serait faire un pas en arrière si les Puissances administrantes — ou même une seule d'entre elles, le Royaume-Uni — décidaient, pour une raison quelconque, de ne pas participer aux travaux du comité. On peut ne pas accepter les arguments qui ont conduit à la décision actuellement envisagée, mais, que nous soyons ou non d'accord, la participation des Puissances administrantes est, de l'avis de la délégation de l'Inde, indispensable si l'on veut que les travaux du comité soient couronnés de succès.

107. Cela étant, ma délégation est prête à accepter que l'Assemblée ne décide pas avant sa session de 1955 si elle entend ou non donner un caractère permanent au comité. Toutefois, nous voudrions que le projet de résolution dont l'Assemblée générale est saisie en ce moment en fasse mention. En conséquence, ma délégation est prête à proposer un amendement, s'il m'est permis d'invoquer l'article 79 du règlement intérieur.

108. Nous proposons donc d'ajouter un nouveau paragraphe au cas où l'Assemblée générale n'accepterait pas la deuxième partie du paragraphe 1 du dispositif du projet de résolution IV; ce nouveau paragraphe serait rédigé dans les termes suivants:

"Décide qu'à sa session ordinaire de 1955, l'Assemblée générale examinera la question de savoir si le Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes devrait être reconstitué pour une nouvelle période, ainsi que la question de la composition et du mandat de tout comité de cette nature qui serait créé."

Cet amendement reproduit pratiquement le paragraphe 6 du dispositif de la résolution 332 (IV), par laquelle l'Assemblée avait décidé de reconduire le comité pour une nouvelle période.

109. Pour sa part, la délégation de l'Inde n'a à aucun moment soutenu des arguments ou formulé des demandes qui lui paraissent déborder le cadre de la Charte. Mais nous avons toujours insisté pour que l'on arrête des dispositions qui permettraient une application plus souple de la Charte. Selon nous, des dispositions de cette nature seraient le moyen d'adapter les textes à l'esprit des temps actuels et de tenir compte de l'expérience que l'on a acquise en appliquant un instrument donné. C'est précisément en s'inspirant de

ces principes que l'on a accompli des progrès grâce au Comité des renseignements, et que l'on a pu assouplir l'interprétation des dispositions de la Charte qui ont trait aux territoires non autonomes. Je tiens à ajouter — et j'espère que mes paroles ne seront pas mal interprétées — qu'il serait infiniment regrettable que l'un de nous revienne sur ce qui a été accompli jusqu'à présent par l'Assemblée générale. Il est indispensable que nous allions de l'avant si l'Organisation entend maintenir et développer l'attachement que les peuples non autonomes du monde entier portent aux principes et aux buts de la Charte.

110. M. AGUIRRE (Uruguay) (*traduit de l'espagnol*): Au sujet du paragraphe 1 du projet de résolution IV, l'Uruguay estime qu'il est de l'intérêt de l'Organisation des Nations Unies de rendre permanent le mandat du Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes: c'est dans cet esprit que sa délégation est intervenue à la Quatrième Commission. D'autre part, il estime que, pour être efficaces, les travaux du comité doivent bénéficier de la participation des Puissances administrantes.

111. C'est pourquoi, si ce que prévoit la première partie du paragraphe est acquis et devant les déclarations que viennent de faire les représentants du Royaume-Uni et de la Belgique, ma délégation, dans l'intérêt de l'harmonie et de l'adoption de résolutions efficaces et constructives, s'abstiendra de voter sur l'actuelle deuxième partie du paragraphe, bien qu'elle approuve la solution proposée par le représentant de l'Inde.

112. Pour ce qui est du projet de résolution VI dont l'Assemblée est saisie, ma délégation se trouve dans la situation suivante; d'une part, elle reconnaît pleinement l'intérêt du but que vise ce projet; d'autre part, elle répugne à accepter comme la plus sûre la voie que ce projet de résolution propose de suivre pour atteindre ce but. En effet, le deuxième considérant et le paragraphe 4 du dispositif, qui sont les dispositions du projet de résolution les plus importantes du point de vue juridique, tranchent des questions extrêmement délicates qui font toujours l'objet d'une controverse ardente, non seulement entre les parties, mais encore entre les théoriciens qui se consacrent plus particulièrement au droit des traités. Si nous procédions actuellement à une telle discussion, l'Uruguay n'hésiterait pas à prendre parti avec les auteurs du projet de résolution; toutefois, il ne s'agit pas ici de discuter, mais bien de donner notre opinion dans une polémique qui, à notre avis, est loin d'être close.

113. Le deuxième paragraphe du préambule fait allusion aux objectifs énoncés au Chapitre XI de la Charte, dans lequel figure l'alinéa e de l'Article 73; or, les objectifs énoncés dans cet alinéa n'ont jamais cessé de faire l'objet de vives discussions. Le paragraphe 4 du dispositif consacre le principe qu'il ne peut y avoir d'autonomie réelle tant que la population ne s'administre pas complètement elle-même; il se fonde, on le voit, sur une notion très discutée; de plus, il est lié au concept de la capacité d'un peuple à s'administrer complètement lui-même, alors que les nombreuses nuances de ce concept ne nous permettent pas — l'expérience nous le montre — de déterminer exactement, au moyen d'une définition, en quoi consiste pour un peuple le fait de s'administrer complètement lui-même.

114. Pour que ma délégation pût appuyer ce projet, il faudrait que l'on remédiât à ces insuffisances, non par

l'acceptation unanime des Etats Membres de l'Assemblée générale, car elle est impossible à obtenir, mais bien en fournissant une base solide qui garantirait aux yeux de tous la cohérence juridique du projet, ainsi que son respect des réalités, dans le cadre d'une interprétation autorisée de la Charte.

115. Aller de l'avant comme le fait ce projet de résolution, sans tenir compte des réserves formulées à son encontre et sans lever les objections ni les oppositions de principe ou les interprétations qu'il soulève, serait provoquer une source de conflits insolubles et interminables qui pourraient empêcher la mise en œuvre de la résolution. Ma délégation hésite devant une telle résistance et estime que les Nations Unies ont suivi jusqu'à présent la meilleure voie en la matière. On a cherché à améliorer progressivement les modalités de mise en œuvre du texte ambigu du Chapitre XI de la Charte, grâce à diverses résolutions que l'Assemblée générale a adoptées au cours de ses première, troisième, quatrième et sixième sessions. C'est ainsi qu'ont été réalisés les conquêtes et les progrès que l'on sait; c'est en suivant cette voie, qui consiste à jeter d'abord les fondations sur lesquelles bâtir, que nous réaliserons notre idéal, quelque lointain qu'il soit.

116. En conclusion, l'Uruguay s'abstiendra lors du vote sur l'ensemble du projet de résolution; si la division du vote est demandée, il s'abstiendra sur les deux paragraphes que j'ai mentionnés et que nous considérons comme les plus importants du point de vue juridique. Il votera pour les autres paragraphes; ce faisant, il ne votera pas exactement comme il l'a fait à la Quatrième Commission, car la Commission était saisie à ce moment-là d'un amendement que ma délégation estimait préférable.

117. M. PONCE YEPEZ (Equateur) (*traduit de l'espagnol*): La délégation de l'Equateur a appuyé, à la Quatrième Commission, le projet de résolution IV tel qu'il figure dans le rapport de cette Commission (A/2296).

118. Après avoir entendu les déclarations faites ce matin, à l'Assemblée générale, par les délégations du Royaume-Uni, de la France et de la Belgique, déclaration d'où il ressort qu'elles ne participeront pas aux travaux du Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes si le paragraphe 1 du dispositif est adopté sous la forme que propose la Quatrième Commission, ma délégation estime qu'il y a lieu de modifier légèrement son attitude et de s'abstenir en ce qui concerne la partie du paragraphe qui commence par les mots "... et qu'à l'expiration de cette période...", tout en votant pour la première partie de ce paragraphe. Il est évident que l'expérience et les connaissances des Puissances que je viens de citer est nécessaire au bon fonctionnement du comité qui ne devrait pas se voir privé de leur concours.

119. Bien que ma délégation n'ait pas adopté la même attitude que les Puissances administrantes, son attitude s'inspire de considérations pratiques, en présence de situations de fait qui pourraient avoir une influence considérable sur l'existence du comité. Cette prise de position de la part de ma délégation ne signifie pas, bien entendu, que nous nous inclinons devant les principes ou les arguments que les Puissances administrantes ont invoqués pour s'opposer à la reconduction automatique du comité, que nous espérons voir transformer en organe permanent dans un proche avenir.

120. Ma délégation appuiera sans réserve l'amendement que vient de présenter la délégation de l'Inde, à cause de son caractère de conciliation et du grand intérêt qu'il présente.

121. M. DE MARCHENA (République Dominicaine) (*traduit de l'espagnol*): La délégation de la République Dominicaine désire expliquer brièvement son vote en ce qui concerne certains des projets de résolution soumis à l'Assemblée générale par la Quatrième Commission.

122. Nous nous sommes toujours inspirés de deux principes: d'abord, une interprétation modérée et exacte de la Charte et des résolutions de l'Assemblée générale, surtout dans ce domaine à propos duquel il existe dans le Chapitre XI de la Charte certaines ambiguïtés de terminologie; ensuite, la grande importance que la République Dominicaine attache à la collaboration et à la coopération internationales, notamment dans la sphère d'action des Nations Unies. De là le réalisme dont notre délégation fait toujours preuve dans les travaux de la Quatrième Commission. Mais il y a certains points qui nous préoccupent dans plusieurs des projets de résolution qui nous sont soumis, car il semble que ces projets soient conçus pour les besoins d'une session donnée, sans que l'on ait réfléchi à leurs conséquences; ils font ainsi surgir des difficultés qui sont apparues année après année, au cours de chacune des sessions.

123. Nous voterons donc de la façon suivante, qui est conforme à la politique constante suivie par notre délégation. Nous voterons pour le projet de résolution II, mais en appuyant les amendements du Royaume-Uni, car nous estimons qu'ils améliorent considérablement le texte et élimineront certaines difficultés pratiques lorsque le moment sera venu de mettre la résolution en œuvre.

124. En ce qui concerne le projet de résolution IV, qui porte sur la reconduction du Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes, notre délégation a toujours pensé qu'il faudra un jour donner à ce comité un caractère permanent. Tout dépend, toutefois, de l'interprétation correcte de l'Article 73 de la Charte et, surtout, de la nécessité d'éliminer l'ambiguïté, reconnue par tous les experts et les juristes, des termes de cet article. En raison de ce doute, notre délégation a maintenu sa façon de voir: le mandat du comité devrait être renouvelé tous les trois ans, ce qui était la proposition présentée à l'origine par les Etats-Unis. Nous avons dû nous abstenir, à la Quatrième Commission, lorsqu'il s'est agi d'introduire dans le paragraphe 1 du dispositif la notion de reconduction automatique. Nous voterons donc pour l'élimination de cette notion de caractère automatique; nous pourrions nous prononcer alors en faveur du projet de résolution IV.

125. En ce qui concerne le projet de résolution VI, ma délégation désire attirer l'attention sur une légère erreur qui semble s'être glissée dans le texte espagnol du paragraphe 7 du dispositif: il s'agit de l'alinéa *a* qui mentionne "la possibilité de définir la notion d'autonomie, aux fins du Chapitre XI de la Charte" parmi les éléments qu'aura à étudier le comité que l'on envisage de reconstituer.

126. L'erreur consiste, à notre avis, dans le fait que le texte porte: "notion d'autonomie" au lieu de: "notion de complète autonomie", qui est l'idée qu'on trouve dans l'Article 73 de la Charte des Nations Unies. Comme,

à notre avis, il s'agit purement et simplement d'une erreur, qui a fait omettre le mot "complète", nous voudrions que l'Assemblée générale tint compte de ce fait et nous espérons qu'elle ne s'opposera pas à ce que l'on rectifie le texte dans ce sens, c'est-à-dire de façon qu'il porte: "la possibilité de définir la notion de complète autonomie" aux fins du Chapitre XI de la Charte des Nations Unies.

127. La République Dominicaine s'est abstenue lors du vote sur ce projet de résolution en premier lieu parce qu'elle estime que, du point de vue juridique, le fait d'énoncer au paragraphe 4 du dispositif le principe de l'indivisibilité de l'autonomie élimine automatiquement toute étude des facteurs. Le fait, pour l'Assemblée générale, d'adopter une déclaration de cette nature rendrait inutile, à notre avis, l'étude de ces facteurs. En conséquence, si le paragraphe 4 est maintenu, nous nous abstenons de nouveau lors du vote sur le projet de résolution.

128. Pour les mêmes raisons, nous estimons aussi que, si la Quatrième Commission jugeait nécessaire de poursuivre de façon plus approfondie l'étude de ces facteurs, il était inutile et prématuré d'approuver provisoirement une liste desdits facteurs. Nous continuerons donc à nous abstenir non seulement si l'on adopte le paragraphe 1 du dispositif du projet de résolution VI, mais également si le paragraphe 4 est adopté.

129. M. RIVAS (Venezuela) (*traduit de l'espagnol*): Je commencerai par expliquer dans quel sens la délégation du Venezuela votera sur le projet de résolution IV présenté par la Quatrième Commission. Mon gouvernement est d'avis que, tant qu'il existera des territoires non autonomes du genre de ceux qui sont mentionnés au Chapitre XI de la Charte, le Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes aura des fonctions à remplir. Par conséquent, la permanence de ces fonctions constitue une base suffisante pour la création d'un organe permanent. En outre, l'œuvre constructive que le comité a accomplie a été reconnue, chaque année, tant par les Puissances administrantes que par les Puissances non administrantes. La raison de ce résultat est simple: le comité a comblé une lacune, et il l'a comblée dans l'esprit de la Charte et au profit des habitants des territoires non autonomes. C'est grâce à ce comité que les renseignements que les Puissances administrantes communiquent en exécution des obligations qu'elles ont assumées en souscrivant à la Charte, et notamment au Chapitre XI, revêtent, pour ainsi dire, une signification dynamique bienfaisante pour les autochtones des territoires non autonomes, et permettent aux autres pays de comprendre l'œuvre que les Puissances administrantes accomplissent, dans les territoires non autonomes, depuis la deuxième guerre mondiale, dans les domaines social, économique et de l'enseignement.

130. Toutefois, en dépit de ces résultats et de ces bienfaits qui sont l'œuvre du comité, la méfiance que certaines Puissances administrantes ont toujours éprouvée à son égard a augmenté au lieu de diminuer. Ma délégation n'a jamais pu bien comprendre les véritables raisons de cette méfiance.

131. Nous avons entendu, au début de la présente séance, la déclaration du représentant du Royaume-Uni: si l'on propose de prolonger indéfiniment le mandat du comité, non seulement la délégation du Royaume-Uni se prononcera contre une telle proposition, mais elle refusera, en cas de reconduction, de participer aux tra-

vaux de cet organe. Le Royaume-Uni est la Puissance qui administre le plus grand nombre de territoires non autonomes. Ces paroles n'ont pas surpris ma délégation, qui savait, depuis les débats de la Quatrième Commission au cours de la présente session, que la délégation du Royaume-Uni adopterait, pour le moins, l'attitude qu'on vient de nous faire connaître d'une manière officielle et catégorique.

132. Désireuse d'éviter une telle prise de position, qui est sans aucun doute de nature à porter préjudice au succès des travaux du comité, ma délégation est parvenue à convaincre la délégation des Etats-Unis de présenter avec elle un amendement qui tendait à modifier la proposition alors en discussion de telle façon que le mandat du Comité fût automatiquement renouvelé de trois ans en trois ans, à moins que l'Assemblée générale n'en décidât autrement. Cet amendement vient d'être mentionné par le représentant de l'Inde. Malheureusement — et je ne fais que répéter les termes de ce représentant — la Commission n'a adopté qu'une partie de l'amendement commun des Etats-Unis et du Venezuela. C'est dans le même esprit de conciliation et le même esprit pratique que ma délégation s'abstiendra lors du vote sur la deuxième partie du paragraphe 1 du dispositif du projet de résolution IV. Son abstention exprimera son désir de faciliter la réalisation d'un nouveau compromis qui, après tout, ne concerne qu'une simple question de dates et de procédure, sans effet sur le fond de la question proprement dite; le fond de la question, c'est que le comité a sa base dans la Charte, qu'il est indispensable pour une mise en œuvre dynamique des dispositions du Chapitre XI et qu'il aura des fonctions à exercer tant qu'il existera des territoires non autonomes. C'est du moins ce que pense et continuera de penser le Gouvernement du Venezuela.

133. En ce qui concerne le projet de résolution VI, ma délégation a été l'un des premiers auteurs du projet approuvé par la suite, après certains amendements. Le deuxième considérant et le paragraphe 4 du dispositif ont, eux aussi, suscité des réserves au sein de la Quatrième Commission. En réalité, ces réserves ne paraissent pas, à ma délégation, bien solidement fondées. Il y a un certain temps que l'Organisation des Nations Unies se livre à ce jeu de base-ball — comme j'ai appelé la discussion des facteurs à la Quatrième Commission — pour trouver une expression qui dise, sans le dire, ce que dit la Charte. Lorsque nous déclarons ici que, pour considérer qu'un territoire jouit de l'autonomie dans les domaines économique, social et de l'enseignement, il est indispensable que son peuple ait réalisé sa pleine autonomie au sens des dispositions du Chapitre XI de la Charte, nous n'avons vraiment pas inventé la poudre, nous ne révolutionnons pas l'histoire, nous ne nous livrons pas à d'impressionnants tours de force. Nous ne faisons qu'énoncer à nouveau la base fondamentale des obligations des Puissances administrantes. Le Chapitre XI de la Charte est clair: les Puissances administrantes ont l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements parce que les territoires non autonomes qu'elles administrent ne sont pas parvenus à leur autonomie complète, et, tant que ces territoires ne seront pas complètement autonomes, les obligations des Puissances administrantes subsisteront. Cette idée est simple, elle ne fait que répéter la Charte, mais il semble qu'on ait peur maintenant d'entendre citer la Charte.

134. Blatta OGBAZGY DAWIT (Ethiopie) (*traduit de l'anglais*): Au cours de son explication de vote, le

représentant de la Belgique a cité mon pays et, pour appuyer son argumentation, a tenté d'assimiler le rôle de l'Ethiopie à celui que la Belgique joue vis-à-vis de ses colonies d'Afrique. Je tiens à rappeler au représentant de la Belgique qu'il aurait intérêt à lire l'histoire de l'Ethiopie avant de se risquer à formuler des propos aussi erronés. A la différence de la Belgique et d'un grand nombre d'autres Puissances européennes, mon pays n'administre aucun territoire non autonome.

135. Le PRESIDENT (*traduit de l'anglais*): La liste des orateurs étant épuisée, j'invite l'Assemblée générale à se prononcer sur les six projets de résolution qui figurent dans le rapport et dont certains ont fait l'objet d'amendements.

136. Je vais d'abord mettre aux voix le projet de résolution I. On a demandé que le paragraphe 1 du dispositif soit mis aux voix séparément.

Par 45 voix contre 5, avec 2 abstentions, le paragraphe 1 est adopté.

Par 45 voix contre 5, avec 2 abstentions, le projet de résolution I est adopté.

137. Le PRESIDENT (*traduit de l'anglais*): Nous passons au projet de résolution II. La délégation du Royaume-Uni a déposé un amendement (A/L.127) au paragraphe 2 du dispositif de ce projet de résolution. Cet amendement tend à remplacer, à la fin du paragraphe, les mots "de caractère racial ou religieux" par les mots "de cet ordre".

Par 37 voix contre 6, avec 11 abstentions, l'amendement est adopté.

Par 51 voix contre zéro, avec une abstention, le projet de résolution II, ainsi modifié, est adopté.

138. Le PRESIDENT (*traduit de l'anglais*): Nous passons maintenant au projet de résolution III. On a demandé que le troisième considérant soit mis aux voix séparément.

Par 42 voix contre 6, avec 9 abstentions, le troisième considérant est adopté.

Par 47 voix contre 2, avec 8 abstentions, le projet de résolution III est adopté.

139. Le PRESIDENT (*traduit de l'anglais*): L'Assemblée générale doit maintenant se prononcer sur le projet de résolution IV. On a demandé que le paragraphe 1 du dispositif soit mis aux voix séparément et même en deux parties. La délégation de l'Inde présente un amendement à ce projet de résolution au cas où la seconde partie du paragraphe serait rejetée. Je présume donc que l'Assemblée générale, avant d'examiner l'amendement de la délégation de l'Inde, voudra se prononcer sur le paragraphe en question et décider si elle accepte la seconde partie. Si la seconde partie est rejetée, j'ai l'intention de mettre aux voix l'amendement de la délégation de l'Inde.

140. J'invite l'Assemblée à se prononcer maintenant sur la première partie du paragraphe 1, dont voici la teneur :

"Décide que le Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes restera en fonctions, dans les mêmes conditions, pendant une nouvelle période de trois ans..."

Par 52 voix contre une, avec 5 abstentions, la première partie du paragraphe 1 est adoptée.

141. Le PRESIDENT (*traduit de l'anglais*): Je mets maintenant aux voix la seconde partie du paragraphe 1 qui est ainsi conçue :

"... et qu'à l'expiration de cette période, il sera, sauf décision contraire de l'Assemblée générale, automatiquement reconduit aussi longtemps qu'il existera des territoires dont les populations ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes."

L'appel nominal éié demandé.

Il est procédé au vote par appel nominal.

L'appel commence par l'Afghanistan, dont le nom est tiré au sort par le Président.

Votent pour: République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie, Tchécoslovaquie, Salvador, Guatemala, Haïti, Honduras, Indonésie, Pologne, République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine, Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques, Yougoslavie.

Votent contre: Australie, Belgique, Canada, Danemark, République Dominicaine, France, Islande, Luxembourg, Pays-Bas, Nouvelle-Zélande, Norvège, Panama, Pérou, Suède, Turquie, Union Sud-Africaine, Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord, Etats-Unis d'Amérique.

S'abstiennent: Afghanistan, Argentine, Bolivie, Brésil, Birmanie, Chili, Chine, Colombie, Costa-Rica, Cuba, Equateur, Egypte, Ethiopie, Grèce, Inde, Iran, Irak, Israël, Libéria, Mexique, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Paraguay, Philippines, Arabie saoudite, Syrie, Thaïlande, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yémen.

Par 18 voix contre 11, avec 30 abstentions, la seconde partie du paragraphe 1 est rejetée.

142. Le PRESIDENT (*traduit de l'anglais*): La seconde partie du paragraphe 1 du projet de résolution est supprimée. L'amendement proposé par la délégation de l'Inde tend à ajouter un nouveau paragraphe, rédigé dans les termes suivants :

"Décide qu'à sa session ordinaire de 1955, l'Assemblée générale examinera la question de savoir si le Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes devrait être reconstitué pour une nouvelle période, ainsi que la question de la composition et du mandat de tout comité de cette nature qui serait créé."

143. L'Assemblée générale va maintenant voter sur cet amendement que la délégation indienne propose d'apporter au projet de résolution IV.

Par 43 voix contre 3, avec 11 abstentions, l'amendement est adopté.

Par 53 voix contre 2, avec 3 abstentions, le projet de résolution IV, ainsi modifié, est adopté.

144. Le PRESIDENT (*traduit de l'anglais*): L'Assemblée va maintenant voter sur le projet de résolution V.

Par 43 voix contre 11, avec 4 abstentions, le projet de résolution V est adopté.

145. Le PRESIDENT (*traduit de l'anglais*): Nous passons maintenant au projet de résolution VI. En ce qui concerne ce projet de résolution, une délégation a proposé d'appliquer la procédure prévue pour les questions importantes.

146. Avant que nous passions au vote, qui aura lieu par appel nominal, je tiens à appeler l'attention de l'Assemblée sur le paragraphe 6 du projet de résolu-

tion qui est libellé comme suit: "Décide de créer un nouveau Comité *ad hoc* de dix membres, composé des Etats suivants..." Un espace est laissé en blanc pour la liste des membres de ce comité. Je crois savoir qu'à la Quatrième Commission, l'accord s'est fait sur les dix Etats qui composeraient ce comité. Je crois donc qu'il y a intérêt à rappeler, avant le vote, quels seraient les membres du comité. Ces dix Etats sont les suivants: Australie, Belgique, Birmanie, Cuba, Etats-Unis, Guatemala, Irak, Pays-Bas, Royaume-Uni, Venezuela. Les noms des dix pays sur lesquels l'accord s'est fait à la Quatrième Commission figureront par conséquent dans le projet de résolution sur lequel nous allons voter.

Il est procédé au vote par appel nominal.

L'appel commence par l'Uruguay, dont le nom est tiré au sort par le Président.

Votent pour: Venezuela, Yémen, Yougoslavie, Afghanistan, Argentine, Bolivie, Brésil, Birmanie, République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie, Chili, Chine, Cuba, Tchécoslovaquie, Equateur, Egypte, Salvador, Ethiopie, Guatemala, Haïti, Honduras, Inde, Indonésie, Iran, Irak, Libéria, Mexique, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Panama, Philippines, Pologne, Arabie saoudite, Syrie, Thaïlande, République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine, Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques.

Votent contre: Australie, Belgique, Canada, Colombie, Danemark, France, Islande, Luxembourg,

Pays-Bas, Nouvelle-Zélande, Norvège, Suède, Union Sud-Africaine, Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord, Etats-Unis d'Amérique.

S'abstiennent: Uruguay, Costa-Rica, République Dominicaine, Grèce, Israël, Paraguay, Pérou.

Il y a 36 voix pour, 15 contre et 7 abstentions. Ayant obtenu la majorité requise des deux tiers des membres présents et votants, le projet de résolution VI est adopté.

147. Le PRESIDENT (*traduit de l'anglais*): La parole est au représentant du Guatemala pour une explication de vote.

148. M. TORRILLO (Guatemala) (*traduction de l'espagnol*): Je voudrais faire non pas une explication de vote, mais une brève déclaration.

149. La délégation du Guatemala voudrait exprimer sa profonde gratitude aux délégations des républiques d'Amérique centrale, le Salvador, le Honduras, le Nicaragua et le Costa-Rica, pour la déclaration qu'elles ont faite au cours de cette séance plénière pour appuyer les réserves formulées par la délégation du Guatemala à la Quatrième Commission. Cette déclaration, faite par ces pays pour appuyer la juste demande de mon pays, constitue un acte d'une grande portée, non seulement par la force morale et juridique qu'elle représente, mais encore parce qu'elle est un témoignage de l'amitié et de la fraternité sincères qui unissent nos républiques respectives.

La séance est levée à 13 h. 10.

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Septième session
QUATRIEME COMMISSION
Points 33, 34, 35 et 36 de l'ordre du jour

RENSEIGNEMENTS RELATIFS AUX TERRITOIRES NON AUTONOMES

Rapport de la Quatrième Commission

Rapporteur : M. J.V. SCOTT (Nouvelle-Zélande)

1. A sa 382ème séance plénière, le 17 octobre 1952, l'Assemblée générale a renvoyé à la Quatrième Commission les questions ci-après, qui étaient inscrites à son ordre du jour :

"33. Renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes, transmis en vertu de l'Article 73 e) de la Charte : rapports du Secrétaire général^{1/} et du Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes^{2/} :

"a) Renseignements relatifs à la situation et au progrès dans le domaine social^{3/}

"b) Renseignements relatifs à la situation dans d'autres domaines^{4/}

"c) Transmission de renseignements

"34. Question de la reconstitution du Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes.^{5/}

1/ A/2128 et Corr.1, 2129 et Add.1, 2130, 2131 et Add.1 et 2, 2131/Add.2/Corr.1, 2132 et Corr.1, 2132/Add.1, 2133, 2134 et Add.1 et 2, 2134/Add.2/Corr.1, 2134/Add.3 à 5, 2134/Add.6 et Corr.1, 2134/Add.7 à 10, 2135 et Add.1 à 3.

2/ A/2219, Documents officiels de l'Assemblée générale, septième session, supplément n° 18.

3/ Ibid, partie I, sections VI et VII, et partie II.

4/ Ibid, partie I, sections V et VIII.

5/ Ibid, partie I, section XI.

- "35. Participation des territoires non autonomes aux travaux du Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes : rapport du Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes.^{6/}
- "36. Facteurs dont il convient de tenir compte pour décider si un territoire est, ou n'est pas, un territoire dont les populations ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes : rapport du Comité ad hoc pour l'étude des facteurs (territoires non autonomes)".^{7/}

^{6/} A/2219, Documents officiels de l'Assemblée générale, septième session, supplément n° 18, partie I, section XII.

^{7/} A/2178.

FACTEURS DONT IL CONVIENT DE TENIR COMPTE POUR DECIDER SI UN
TERRITOIRE EST, OU N'EST PAS, UN TERRITOIRE DONT LES POPULATIONS
NE S'ADMINISTRENT PAS ENCORE COMPLETEMENT ELLES-MEMES

39. De sa 271^{ème} à sa 278^{ème} séance, la Quatrième Commission a examiné le point 36 de l'ordre du jour de l'Assemblée générale; elle était saisie du rapport du Comité ad hoc pour l'étude des facteurs (territoires non autonomes) (A/2178).
40. A la 273^{ème} séance, la Birmanie, Cuba, l'Egypte, le Guatemala, l'Irak et le Venezuela ont présenté en commun un projet de résolution (A/C.4/L.231) aux termes duquel l'Assemblée générale : 1) approuverait la liste de facteurs jointe en annexe, qui pourrait servir de guide à l'Assemblée générale ainsi qu'aux Etats Membres des Nations Unies qui ont ou qui assument la responsabilité d'administrer des territoires non autonomes, lorsqu'il s'agit de décider si un territoire a ou non atteint une complète autonomie; 2) reconnaîtrait que chaque cas d'espèce doit être examiné et tranché en tenant compte des circonstances qui lui sont propres; 3) déclarerait que ces facteurs, tout en servant de guide lorsqu'il s'agit de déterminer si les obligations énoncées à l'Article 73 e) de la Charte existent encore, ne doivent nullement être interprétés comme faisant obstacle à l'autonomie complète des territoires non autonomes; 4) déclarerait en outre que, pour qu'un territoire puisse être considéré comme autonome dans les domaines économique, social et de l'enseignement, il est essentiel que sa population s'administre complètement elle-même, selon les termes du Chapitre XI de la Charte; et 5) recommanderait que l'Assemblée générale tienne compte de la liste de facteurs jointe en annexe chaque fois qu'elle étudie un cas, soit à la suite de toute communication reçue par le Secrétaire général en application de sa résolution 222 (III) relative à la cessation de la transmission de renseignements en vertu de l'Article 73 e) de la Charte, soit à propos d'autres questions qui pourraient se poser touchant l'existence d'une obligation de transmettre des renseignements en vertu de cet Article.
41. L'Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques a présenté un amendement (A/C.4/L.233) au projet de résolution commun précité, qui tendait à ajouter, à la fin du troisième alinéa du préambule, le membre de phrase suivant :

"... et précisé que, dans un délai maximum de six mois après la communication des renseignements susvisés, il convient de transmettre tous autres renseignements qui peuvent être nécessaires dans de tels cas, y compris les textes constitutionnels, législatifs ou réglementaires concernant le gouvernement du territoire, et les textes relatifs aux liens constitutionnels entre le territoire et le gouvernement métropolitain".

42. La Pologne a présenté un amendement (A/C.4/L.235) au projet de résolution commun (A/C.4/L.231) qui tendait à ajouter, à la fin du paragraphe 2 du dispositif, les mots "et du droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes".

43. La République Dominicaine et le Pérou ont présenté en commun un amendement (A/C.4/L.234 et Corr.1) au projet de résolution commun; cet amendement tendait 1) à supprimer le deuxième alinéa du préambule; 2) à ajouter au préambule un cinquième alinéa, ainsi conçu : "Vu la résolution 567 (VI) de l'Assemblée générale"; 3) à remplacer le paragraphe 1 du dispositif par le texte suivant : "1. Prend acte avec intérêt du rapport du Comité ad hoc pour l'étude des facteurs (territoires non autonomes) contenu dans le document A/2178, et estime que ce rapport constitue une contribution importante à l'étude complète des éléments qui permettraient de déterminer si un territoire a atteint ou non une complète autonomie"; 4) à remplacer les paragraphes 2, 3, 4 et 5 du dispositif par le texte suivant :

"2. Décide de créer un nouveau Comité ad hoc de dix membres, composé des Etats suivants (énumération des Etats), qui sera chargé de poursuivre et d'approfondir l'étude des facteurs dont il convient de tenir compte pour décider si un territoire a atteint ou non une complète autonomie; 3. Invite ledit Comité à prendre notamment en considération la liste des facteurs arrêtée en 1952 (A/2178) par le Comité créé aux termes de la résolution 567 (VI), et à tenir compte, en outre, des autres éléments suivants : a) la possibilité de définir la notion d'autonomie, aux fins du Chapitre XI de la Charte; b) les critères permettant de décider si le principe du droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes se trouve garanti en ce qui concerne le Chapitre XI de la Charte; c) la libre expression de la volonté des peuples, s'agissant de déterminer leur statut national et international;

4. Invite le Secrétaire général à réunir le Comité ad hoc de façon qu'il puisse commencer ses travaux deux semaines avant l'ouverture de la session de 1953 du Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes".

44. Les Pays-Bas ont présenté un amendement (A/C.4/L.236) qui tendait à insérer après le texte proposé pour le paragraphe 3 du dispositif par l'amendement commun de la République Dominicaine et du Pérou (A/C.4/L.234 et Corr.1), les paragraphes 4 et 5 suivants : "4. Prie le Comité de tenir compte des exposés communiqués par certains gouvernements en application de la résolution 567 (VI) en date du 18 janvier 1952; 5. Invite tous les Etats Membres des Nations Unies à communiquer par écrit au Secrétaire général, le 1er mai 1953 au plus tard, leurs vues sur les questions qui figurent dans le mandat du Comité;" le paragraphe 4 du dispositif proposé par les délégations de la République Dominicaine et du Pérou devient le paragraphe 6.

45. Pour concilier les divergences entre le projet de résolution commun de la Birmanie, de Cuba, de l'Egypte, du Guatemala, de l'Irak et du Venezuela (A/C.4/L.231) et de l'amendement commun de la République Dominicaine et du Pérou (A/C.4/L.234 et Corr.1) qui s'y rapportait, la délégation de l'Argentine a proposé un nouvel amendement (A/C.4/L.237) audit amendement commun qui visait, 1) à maintenir le préambule initial du projet de résolution commun; 2) à maintenir le paragraphe 1 initial du dispositif du projet de résolution commun en y ajoutant le mot "provisoirement" entre le mot "approuve" et les mots "la liste de facteurs"; 3) à ajouter au dispositif du projet de résolution commun les trois paragraphes proposés pour le dispositif dans la quatrième partie de l'amendement commun de la République Dominicaine et du Pérou.

46. A la 278ème séance, la Commission a voté, par division, sur le projet de résolution commun (A/C.4/L.231) présenté par la Birmanie, Cuba, l'Egypte, le Guatemala, l'Irak et le Venezuela, ainsi que sur les amendements y afférents. Les résultats des scrutins ont été les suivants :

Préambule

Le premier alinéa a été adopté à la suite d'un vote par appel nominal, par 55 voix contre zéro, sans abstention.

Ont voté pour :

Afghanistan, Arabie saoudite, Argentine, Australie, Belgique, Bolivie, Brésil, Birmanie, Canada, Chili, Chine, Colombie, Cuba, Danemark, Equateur, Egypte, Etats-Unis d'Amérique, Ethiopie, France, Grèce, Guatemala, Haïti, Honduras, Inde, Indonésie, Irak, Iran, Israël, Liban, Libéria, Luxembourg, Mexique, Nicaragua, Norvège, Nouvelle-Zélande, Pakistan, Pays-Bas, Pérou, Philippines, Pologne, République Dominicaine, République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie, République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine, Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord, Salvador, Suède, Syrie, Thaïlande, Tchécoslovaquie, Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques, Union Sud-Africaine, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yémen, Yougoslavie.

Ont voté contre : Néant.

Se sont abstenus : Néant.

Le deuxième alinéa a été adopté à la suite d'un vote par appel nominal, par 36 voix contre 8, avec 11 abstentions.

Ont voté pour :

Afghanistan, Arabie saoudite, Argentine, Bolivie, Brésil, Birmanie, Chili, Chine, Cuba, Egypte, Equateur, Ethiopie, Guatemala, Haïti, Honduras, Inde, Indonésie, Iran, Irak, Liban, Libéria, Mexique, Norvège, Pakistan, Philippines, Pologne, République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie, République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine, Salvador, Syrie, Tchécoslovaquie, Thaïlande, Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques, Venezuela, Yémen, Yougoslavie.

Ont voté contre :

Australie, Belgique, Canada, Colombie, Etats-Unis d'Amérique, Pays-Bas, Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord, Union Sud-Africaine.

Se sont abstenus :

Danemark, France, Grèce, Israël, Luxembourg, Nicaragua, Nouvelle-Zélande, Pérou, Suède, République Dominicaine, Uruguay.

Troisième alinéa

- a) L'amendement de l'Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques (A/C.4/L.233) a été adopté, à la suite d'un vote par appel nominal, par 19 voix contre 11, avec 25 abstentions.

Ont voté pour : Afghanistan, Arabie saoudite, Birmanie, Inde, Indonésie, Irak, Iran, Liban, Mexique, Pakistan, Philippines, Pologne, République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie, République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine, Syrie, Tchécoslovaquie, Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques, Yémen, Yougoslavie.

Ont voté contre : Australie, Belgique, Canada, France, Luxembourg, Norvège, Nouvelle-Zélande, Pays-Bas, Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord, Suède, Union Sud-Africaine.

Se sont abstenus : Argentine, Bolivie, Brésil, Chili, Chine, Colombie, Cuba, Danemark, Etats-Unis d'Amérique, Egypte, Equateur, Ethiopie, Grèce, Guatemala, Haïti, Honduras, Israël, Libéria, Nicaragua, Pérou, République Dominicaine, Salvador, Thaïlande, Uruguay, Venezuela.

- b) Le troisième alinéa, ainsi amendé, a été adopté, à la suite d'un vote par appel nominal, par 35 voix contre 9, avec 11 abstentions.

Ont voté pour : Afghanistan, Arabie saoudite, Argentine, Bolivie, Brésil, Birmanie, Chili, Chine, Cuba, Egypte, Equateur, Ethiopie, Grèce, Guatemala, Haïti, Honduras, Inde, Indonésie, Irak, Iran, Liban, Libéria, Mexique, Pakistan, Philippines, Pologne, République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie, République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine, Salvador, Syrie, Tchécoslovaquie, Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques, Venezuela, Yémen, Yougoslavie.

Ont voté contre : Australie, Belgique, Canada, France, Luxembourg, Nouvelle-Zélande, Pays-Bas, Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord, Union Sud-Africaine.

Se sont abstenus : Colombie, Danemark, Etats-Unis d'Amérique, Israël, Nicaragua, Norvège, Pérou, République Dominicaine, Suède, Thaïlande, Uruguay.

Le quatrième alinéa a été adopté par 52 voix contre zéro, avec 2 abstentions.

Le cinquième alinéa a été adopté par 40 voix contre 12, avec une abstention.

Un sixième alinéa nouveau, incorporant le point 2 de l'amendement commun (A/C.4/L.234) de la République Dominicaine et du Pérou, a été adopté par 36 voix contre zéro, avec 16 abstentions.

Paragraphe 1 du dispositif

- a) L'amendement de l'Argentine (A/C.4/L.237, point 2) tendant à insérer le mot "provisoirement" entre le mot "approuve" et les mots "la liste des facteurs" a été adopté à la suite d'un vote par appel nominal, par 23 voix contre 4, avec 28 abstentions.

Ont voté pour : Argentine, Bolivie, Brésil, Birmanie, Chili, Chine, Cuba, Egypte, Equateur, Guatemala, Haïti, Honduras, Iran, Israël, Liban, Mexique, Pérou, Philippines, République Dominicaine, Salvador, Thaïlande, Venezuela, Yougoslavie.

Ont voté contre : Australie, Belgique, France, Luxembourg.

Se sont abstenus : Afghanistan, Arabie saoudite, Canada, Colombie, Danemark, Etats-Unis d'Amérique, Ethiopie, Grèce, Inde, Indonésie, Irak, Libéria, Nicaragua, Norvège, Nouvelle-Zélande, Pakistan, Pays-Bas, Pologne, République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie, République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine, Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord, Suède, Syrie, Tchécoslovaquie, Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques, Union Sud-Africaine, Uruguay, Yémen.

- b) Le paragraphe 1 du dispositif, ainsi amendé, a été adopté à la suite d'un vote par appel nominal, par 36 voix contre 16, avec 3 abstentions.

Ont voté pour : Afghanistan, Arabie saoudite, Argentine, Bolivie, Brésil, Birmanie, Chili, Chine, Cuba, Egypte, Equateur, Ethiopie, Grèce, Guatemala, Haïti, Honduras, Inde, Indonésie, Irak, Iran, Liban, Libéria, Mexique, Pakistan, Philippines, Pologne, République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie, République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine, Salvador, Syrie, Tchécoslovaquie, Thaïlande, Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques, Venezuela, Yémen, Yougoslavie.

Ont voté contre : Australie, Belgique, Canada, Colombie, Danemark, Etats-Unis d'Amérique, France, Luxembourg, Norvège, Nouvelle-Zélande, Pays-Bas, Pérou, République Dominicaine, Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord, Suède, Union Sud-Africaine.

Se sont abstenus : Israël, Nicaragua, Uruguay.

- c) Le représentant de la République Dominicaine a retiré l'amendement commun. (A/C.4/L.234) à ce paragraphe.

Paragraphe 2 du dispositif

- a) L'amendement de la Pologne (A/C.4/L.235) a été adopté, à la suite d'un vote par appel nominal, par 39 voix contre 7, avec 9 abstentions.

Ont voté pour : Afghanistan, Arabie saoudite, Argentine, Bolivie, Brésil, Birmanie, Chili, Chine, Colombie, Cuba, Danemark, Egypte, Ethiopie, Grèce, Guatemala, Haïti, Honduras, Inde, Indonésie, Irak, Iran, Israël, Liban, Libéria, Mexique, Pakistan, Pérou, Philippines, Pologne, République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie, République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine, Salvador, Syrie, Tchécoslovaquie, Thaïlande, Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques, Venezuela, Yémen, Yougoslavie.

Ont voté contre : Belgique, Canada, France, Luxembourg, Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord, Union Sud-Africaine, Uruguay.

Se sont abstenus : Australie, Etats-Unis d'Amérique, Equateur, Pays-Bas, Nicaragua, Norvège, Nouvelle-Zélande, République Dominicaine, Suède.

- b) Le paragraphe 2 du dispositif, ainsi amendé, a été adopté par 46 voix contre zéro, avec 6 abstentions.

Le paragraphe 3 du dispositif a été adopté par 49 voix contre une, avec 5 abstentions.

Le paragraphe 4 du dispositif a été adopté, à la suite d'un vote par appel nominal, par 35 voix contre 18, avec 2 abstentions.

Ont voté pour : Afghanistan, Arabie saoudite, Argentine, Bolivie, Brésil, Birmanie, Chili, Chine, Cuba, Egypte, Equateur, Ethiopie, Guatemala, Haïti, Honduras, Inde, Indonésie, Irak, Iran, Liban, Libéria, Mexique, Pakistan, Philippines, Pologne, République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie, République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine, Salvador, Syrie, Tchécoslovaquie, Thaïlande, Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques, Venezuela, Yémen, Yougoslavie.

Ont voté contre : Australie, Belgique, Canada, Colombie, Danemark, Etats-Unis d'Amérique, France, Luxembourg, Nicaragua, Norvège, Nouvelle-Zélande, Pays-Bas, Pérou, Suède, République Dominicaine, Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord, Union Sud-Africaine, Uruguay.

Se sont abstenus : Grèce, Israël.

Paragraphe 5 du dispositif

- a) Un amendement de l'Argentine (A/C.4/L.238) tendant à ajouter le mot "provisoirement" après le mot "tienne", a été accepté par les auteurs du projet de résolution commun.
- b) Le paragraphe 5 du dispositif, ainsi amendé, a été adopté à la suite d'un vote par appel nominal, par 38 voix contre 9, avec 8 abstentions.

Ont voté pour : Afghanistan, Arabie saoudite, Argentine, Birmanie, Bolivie, Brésil, Chili, Chine, Cuba, Danemark, Egypte, Equateur, Ethiopie, Grèce, Guatemala, Haïti, Honduras, Inde, Indonésie, Irak, Iran, Liban, Libéria, Mexique, Pakistan, Philippines, Pologne, République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie, République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine, Salvador, Syrie, Tchécoslovaquie, Thaïlande, Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yémen, Yougoslavie.

Ont voté contre : Australie, Belgique, Canada, France, Luxembourg, Pays-Bas, République Dominicaine, Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord, Union Sud-Africaine.

Se sont abstenus : Colombie, Etats-Unis d'Amérique, Israël, Nicaragua, Norvège, Nouvelle-Zélande, Pérou, Suède.

Nouveau paragraphe 6 du dispositif. Le paragraphe 2 du point 4 de l'amendement (A/C.4/L.234) présenté en commun par le Pérou et la République Dominicaine, a été adopté comme paragraphe 6 du dispositif par 32 voix contre 6, avec 15 abstentions.

Nouveau paragraphe 7 du dispositif. Les auteurs de l'amendement commun (A/C.4/L.234) ont accepté un amendement au point 4 de l'amendement commun présenté par l'Equateur (A/C.4/L.239), et qui tendait à ajouter à la fin de l'alinéa c) du paragraphe 3 du dispositif, le membre de phrase "aux fins du Chapitre XI de la Charte"; ils ont également accepté le premier point de l'amendement des Pays-Bas (A/C.4/L.236). Le texte de l'amendement commun, ainsi modifié par les amendements de l'Equateur et des Pays-Bas, est ainsi conçu :

"Invite ledit Comité à prendre notamment en considération la liste des facteurs (A/2178) arrêtée en 1952 par le Comité créé aux termes de la résolution 567 (VI) de l'Assemblée générale; les communications faites par les gouvernements conformément à ladite résolution et à tenir compte, en outre, des autres éléments suivants :

- a) La possibilité de définir la notion d'autonomie, aux fins du Chapitre XI de la Charte;

- b) Les critères permettant de décider si le principe du droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes se trouve garanti en ce qui concerne le Chapitre XI de la Charte;
- c) La libre expression de la liberté des peuples, s'agissant de déterminer leur statut national et international aux fins du Chapitre XI de la Charte".

La Commission a voté par division sur ces textes; les résultats des scrutins ont été les suivants :

- i) La clause d'introduction a été adoptée par 33 voix contre zéro, avec 20 abstentions.
- ii) L'alinéa a) a été adopté par 20 voix contre 17, avec 14 abstentions.
- iii) L'alinéa b) a été adopté, à la suite d'un vote par appel nominal, par 39 voix contre 4, avec 12 abstentions.

Ont voté pour : Afghanistan, Arabie saoudite, Argentine, Birmanie, Bolivie, Brésil, Chili, Chine, Cuba, Egypte, Equateur, Ethiopie, Grèce, Guatemala, Haïti, Honduras, Inde, Indonésie, Irak, Iran, Liban, Libéria, Mexique, Pakistan, Pérou, Philippines, Pologne, République Dominicaine, République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie, République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine, Salvador, Syrie, Tchécoslovaquie, Thaïlande, Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yémen, Yougoslavie.

Ont voté contre : Belgique, France, Luxembourg, Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord.

Se sont abstenus : Australie, Canada, Colombie, Danemark, Etats-Unis d'Amérique, Israël, Nicaragua, Norvège, Nouvelle-Zélande, Pays-Bas, Suède, Union Sud-Africaine.

- iv) L'alinéa c) a été mis aux voix en deux parties. D'abord le membre de phrase "aux fins du Chapitre XI de la Charte", qui figure à la fin de l'alinéa, a été adopté par 14 voix contre zéro, avec 35 abstentions, ensuite, l'ensemble de l'alinéa c)

a été adopté par 39 voix contre une, avec 14 abstentions.

- v) L'ensemble du nouveau paragraphe 7 du dispositif, ainsi amendé,
a été adopté par 42 voix contre zéro, avec 12 abstentions.

Nouveau paragraphe 8 du dispositif. Le deuxième point de l'amendement des
Pays-Bas (A/C.4/L.236) tendant à insérer un nouveau paragraphe 8
dans le dispositif, a été adopté par 25 voix contre zéro, avec
27 abstentions.

Nouveau paragraphe 9 du dispositif

- i) Un amendement verbal du représentant de l'Irak, qui tendait à
remplacer les mots "deux semaines" par "au plus tard quatre
semaines" a été accepté par les auteurs de l'amendement commun
(A/C.4/L.234).
- ii) Le paragraphe 4 du point 4 de l'amendement commun, tendant à
insérer un nouveau paragraphe 9 dans le dispositif, a été adopté
sous sa forme modifiée, par 39 voix contre zéro, avec 13 abstentions.

47. L'ensemble du projet de résolution commun, ainsi amendé, a été adopté à
la suite d'un vote par appel nominal, par 34 voix contre 12, avec 8 abstentions.

Ont voté pour : Afghanistan, Arabie saoudite, Argentine, Birmanie, Bolivie,
Brésil, Chili, Chine, Cuba, Egypte, Equateur, Ethiopie,
Guatemala, Haïti, Inde, Indonésie, Irak, Iran, Liban,
Libéria, Mexique, Pakistan, Philippines, Pologne, République
socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie, République socialiste
soviétique d'Ukraine, Salvador, Syrie, Tchécoslovaquie,
Thaïlande, Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques,
Venezuela, Yémen, Yougoslavie.

Ont voté contre : Australie, Belgique, Colombie, Danemark, Etats-Unis
d'Amérique, France, Luxembourg, Nouvelle-Zélande, Pays-Bas,
Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord, Suède,
Union Sud-Africaine.

Se sont abstenus : Canada, Grèce, Israël, Nicaragua, Norvège, Pérou, République Dominicaine, Uruguay.

48. Le texte de la résolution, tel qu'il a été adopté, figure en annexe au présent rapport (projet de résolution VI).

49. A la 296ème séance, la Quatrième Commission a approuvé la composition suivante pour le Comité ad hoc envisagé : Australie, Belgique, Birmanie, Cuba, Etats-Unis d'Amérique, Guatemala, Irak, Pays-Bas, Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord, Venezuela.

Projet de résolution VI

FACTEURS DONT IL CONVIENT DE TENIR COMPTE POUR DECIDER SI UN TERRITOIRE EST, OU N'EST PAS, UN TERRITOIRE DONT LES POPULATIONS NE S'ADMINISTRENT PAS ENCORE COMPLETEMENT ELLES-MÊMES

L'Assemblée générale,

Considérant que les Etats Membres qui ont ou qui assument la responsabilité d'administrer des territoires dont les populations ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes ont accepté, en vertu de l'Article 73 e) de la Charte, l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements,

Considérant que cette obligation subsiste, à l'égard de chaque territoire, tant que les objectifs énoncés au Chapitre XI de la Charte ne sont pas atteints,

Considérant que l'Assemblée générale a déclaré, dans sa résolution 222 (III) adoptée le 3 novembre 1948, que l'Organisation des Nations Unies doit nécessairement être informée de toute modification qui pourrait intervenir dans le statut constitutionnel de l'un quelconque des territoires non autonomes et précisé que, dans un délai maximum de six mois après la communication des renseignements susvisés, tous renseignements qui peuvent être nécessaires dans de tels cas, devraient être communiqués, y compris des renseignements sur la Constitution, les lois et les règlements concernant le gouvernement du territoire, et des renseignements relatifs aux liens constitutionnels entre le territoire et le gouvernement métropolitain,

Ayant examiné le rapport du Comité ad hoc pour l'étude des facteurs (territoires non autonomes) (A/2178),

Reconnaissant que, lorsqu'il s'agit de décider si un territoire a ou non atteint une complète autonomie, une liste de facteurs pourrait servir utilement de guide, tant à l'Assemblée générale qu'au Membre administrant intéressé,

Vu la résolution 567 (VI) de l'Assemblée générale, en date du 18 janvier 1952,

1. Approuve provisoirement la liste de facteurs jointe en annexe, qui peut servir de guide à l'Assemblée générale ainsi qu'aux Etats Membres des Nations Unies qui ont ou qui assument la responsabilité d'administrer des territoires non autonomes, lorsqu'il s'agit de décider si un territoire a ou non atteint une complète autonomie;

2. Reconnaît que chaque cas d'espèce doit être examiné et tranché en tenant compte des circonstances qui lui sont propres et du droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes;

3. Déclare que ces facteurs, tout en servant de guide, lorsqu'il s'agit de déterminer si les obligations énoncées à l'Article 73 e) de la Charte existent encore, ne doivent nullement être interprétés comme faisant obstacle à l'autonomie complète des territoires non autonomes;

4. Déclare en outre que, pour qu'un territoire puisse être considéré comme autonome dans les domaines économique, social et de l'enseignement, il est essentiel que sa population s'administre complètement elle-même, selon les termes du Chapitre XI de la Charte;

5. Recommande que, provisoirement, l'Assemblée générale tienne compte de la liste de facteurs jointe en annexe chaque fois qu'elle étudie un cas, soit à la suite de toute communication reçue par le Secrétaire général en application de sa résolution 222 (III) relative à la cessation de la transmission de renseignements en vertu de l'Article 73 e) de la Charte, soit à propos d'autres questions qui peuvent se poser touchant l'existence d'une obligation de transmettre des renseignements en vertu de cet Article;

6. Décide de créer un nouveau Comité ad hoc de dix membres, composé des Etats suivants (liste des pays), qui sera chargé de poursuivre et d'approfondir l'étude des facteurs dont il convient de tenir compte pour décider si un territoire a atteint ou non une complète autonomie;

7. Invite ledit Comité à prendre notamment en considération la liste des facteurs (A/2178) arrêtée en 1952 par le Comité créé aux termes de la résolution 567 (VI), les communications faites par les gouvernements conformément à ladite résolution et à tenir compte, en outre, des autres éléments suivants :

a) La possibilité de définir la notion d'autonomie, aux fins du Chapitre XI de la Charte;

b) Les critères permettant de décider si le principe du droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes se trouve garanti, en ce qui concerne le Chapitre XI de la Charte;

c) La libre expression de la volonté des peuples, s'agissant de déterminer leur statut national et international aux fins du Chapitre XI de la Charte;

8. Invite tous les Etats Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies à communiquer par écrit au Secrétaire général, le 1er mai 1953 au plus tard, leurs vues sur les questions qui figurent dans le mandat du Comité;

9. Invite le Secrétaire général à réunir le Comité ad hoc de façon qu'il puisse commencer ses travaux au plus tard quatre semaines avant l'ouverture de la session de 1953 du Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes.

ANNEXE

FACTEURS PERMETTANT DE CONCLURE QU'UNE POPULATION A ACCÈDE A L'INDEPENDANCE OU A TOUTE AUTRE FORME D'AUTONOMIE SEPARÉE

PREMIERE PARTIE

Facteurs permettant de conclure qu'une population a accédé à l'indépendance

A. - Statut international

1. Responsabilité internationale. - Responsabilité internationale entière du territoire en ce qui concerne les actes inhérents à l'exercice de sa souveraineté externe ainsi que pour ce qui est des actes relatifs à son administration interne.
2. Aptitude à devenir Membre de l'Organisation des Nations Unies.
3. Relations internationales en général. - Capacité d'établir des relations directes de toute nature avec d'autres gouvernements et avec des institutions internationales ainsi que de négocier, signer et ratifier des traités.
4. Défense nationale. - Liberté pour le territoire de conclure des accords relatifs à sa défense nationale.

B. - Autonomie interne

1. Forme de gouvernement. - Pleine liberté pour la population de se donner la forme de gouvernement qu'elle juge bonne.
2. Gouvernement du territoire. - Absence de contrôle ou d'intervention de la part du gouvernement d'un autre Etat sur le gouvernement interne (pouvoirs législatif, exécutif et judiciaire) et l'administration du territoire.
3. Compétence en matière économique, sociale et culturelle. - Pleine compétence pour les affaires économiques, sociales et culturelles.

DEUXIEME PARTIE

Facteurs permettant de conclure qu'une population a accédé à une autre forme d'autonomie séparée

A. - Facteurs de caractère général

1. Progrès politique. - Progrès politique des populations suffisant pour leur permettre de décider elles-mêmes, en connaissance de cause, de l'avenir du territoire.

2. Opinion des populations. - Opinion des populations du territoire librement exprimée, en connaissance de cause, et par des voies démocratiques, en ce qui concerne le statut ou le changement de statut qu'elles désirent.

3. Limitation volontaire de souveraineté. - Mesure dans laquelle la souveraineté du territoire a été librement et de sa propre volonté limitée au moment où ce territoire a accédé à une forme d'autonomie séparée.

B. - Statut international

1. Relations internationales en général. - Degré et mesure dans lesquels le territoire jouit du pouvoir d'établir librement des relations directes de toute nature avec d'autres gouvernements et avec des institutions internationales ainsi que de négocier, signer et ratifier librement des instruments internationaux.

2. Aptitude à devenir Membre de l'Organisation des Nations Unies

C. - Autonomie interne

1. Gouvernement du territoire. - Nature et degré du contrôle ou de l'intervention éventuels du gouvernement d'un autre Etat sur le gouvernement interne, par exemple dans les domaines suivants :

Pouvoir législatif : Adoption des lois du territoire par une assemblée autochtone, soit élue tout entière par des voies libres et démocratiques, soit légalement constituée d'une manière librement approuvée par la population;

Pouvoir exécutif : Choix des membres du pouvoir exécutif par l'autorité compétente qui a dans le territoire l'agrément de la population autochtone, que cette autorité soit héréditaire ou élective, en tenant également compte, s'il y a lieu, de la nature et du degré du contrôle éventuel qu'un organisme extérieur exercerait directement ou indirectement sur la constitution et l'exercice du pouvoir exécutif;

Pouvoir judiciaire : Constitution des tribunaux et choix des juges.

2. Participation de la population au gouvernement. - Participation effective de la population au gouvernement du territoire : a) Existe-t-il un système électoral et représentatif adéquat et approprié ? b) Ce système électoral

fonctionne-t-il sans intervention, directe ou indirecte, d'un gouvernement étranger ^{1/} ?

3. Compétence en matière économique, sociale et culturelle.- Degré d'autonomie en ce qui concerne les affaires économiques, sociales et culturelles, tel qu'il peut ressortir de l'absence plus ou moins complète de pression économique exercée, par exemple, par un groupe minoritaire étranger qui aurait acquis, grâce à l'aide d'une Puissance étrangère, une situation économique privilégiée portant préjudice à l'intérêt économique de l'ensemble de la population du territoire; et tel qu'il peut ressortir également du degré de liberté et de l'absence de discrimination contre la population autochtone du territoire en matière de législation sociale et de progrès sociaux.

FACTEURS PERMETTANT DE CONCLURE QU'UN TERRITOIRE EST LIBREMENT ASSOCIE
A D'AUTRES PARTIES CONSTITUTIVES DE LA METROPOLE OU D'UN AUTRE PAYS

A.- Facteurs de caractère général

1. Progrès politique.- Progrès politique des populations suffisant pour leur permettre de décider elles-mêmes, en connaissance de cause, de l'avenir du territoire.

1/ Il y aurait lieu, par exemple, de se poser les questions suivantes :

- i) Chaque habitant adulte a-t-il le droit, en pleine égalité (sous réserve de garanties spéciales pour la protection des minorités), de déterminer le caractère du gouvernement du territoire ?
- ii) Ce pouvoir s'exerce-t-il librement, c'est-à-dire l'électeur n'est-il soumis à aucune influence injustifiée ni à aucune contrainte, et n'y a-t-il pas de partis politiques frappés de certaines incapacités ? Pour l'application de ce facteur, on pourra vérifier les faits suivants :
 - a) Existence de mesures efficaces pour garantir que la population exprime sa volonté de façon démocratique;
 - b) Existence de plus d'un parti politique dans le territoire;
 - c) Existence d'un scrutin secret;
 - d) Existence d'interdictions légales visant le recours à des pratiques non démocratiques en période électorale;
 - e) Possibilité pour l'électeur de choisir entre des candidats qui appartiennent à des partis politiques différents;
 - f) Absence de "loi martiale" et de mesures analogues pendant la période électorale;
- iii) Chaque personne est-elle libre d'exprimer ses opinions politiques, de se prononcer pour ou contre un parti ou une cause politique et de critiquer le gouvernement au pouvoir ?

2. Opinion des populations.- Opinion des populations du territoire, librement exprimée, en connaissance de cause et par des voies démocratiques, en ce qui concerne le statut ou le changement de statut qu'elles désirent.

3. Considérations d'ordre géographique.- Mesure dans laquelle les relations du territoire avec le siège du gouvernement central peuvent être affectées par des circonstances tenant à leur situation géographique respective, telles que le fait qu'ils sont séparés par une étendue de terre ou de mer ou par d'autres obstacles naturels.

4. Considérations ethniques et culturelles.- Mesure dans laquelle la race, la langue, la religion ou le patrimoine culturel, les intérêts ou les aspirations différencient les populations du territoire d'avec celles du pays auquel elles s'associent librement.

5. Considérations d'ordre constitutionnel.- Association : a) en vertu de la Constitution de la métropole; ou b) en vertu d'un traité ou d'un accord bilatéral affectant le statut du territoire; en tenant compte des éléments suivants : i) si les garanties constitutionnelles s'appliquent d'une façon égale au territoire associé; ii) s'il existe en certains domaines une compétence réservée en vertu de la Constitution en faveur du territoire ou du pouvoir central; et iii) si le territoire a le droit de participer, sur un pied d'égalité, aux modifications qui peuvent être apportées au régime constitutionnel de l'Etat.

B.- Statut

1. Représentation sur le plan législatif.- Représentation sans discrimination au sein des organes législatifs centraux, sur un pied d'égalité avec les autres habitants et les autres régions.

2. Citoyenneté.- Citoyenneté sans discrimination, sur un pied d'égalité avec les autres habitants.

3. Fonctionnaires du gouvernement.- Accès des fonctionnaires originaires du territoire par nomination ou élection à tous les emplois publics relevant du pouvoir central dans les mêmes conditions que ceux qui sont originaires des autres parties du pays.

C.- Conditions internes d'ordre constitutionnel

1. Droit de vote.- Suffrage universel et égal pour tous, et élections périodiques libres dans lesquelles l'électeur n'est soumis à aucune influence injustifiée ni à aucune contrainte, et dans lesquelles aucun parti politique n'est frappé de certaines incapacités. 2/

2. Droits et statut des habitants.- Dans un système unitaire, droits et statut égaux pour les habitants et organes locaux du territoire à ceux qui sont reconnus aux habitants et aux organes locaux d'autres parties du pays et, dans un système fédéral, degré identique d'autonomie pour les habitants et organes locaux de toutes les parties de la Fédération.

3. Fonctionnaires locaux.- Nomination ou élection des fonctionnaires dans le territoire dans les mêmes conditions que ceux qui sont nommés ou élus dans les autres parties du pays.

4. Législation interne.- Compétence législative ou réglementaire locale égale à la compétence législative ou réglementaire dont bénéficient les autres parties du pays et exercée dans les mêmes conditions.

2/ Il y aurait lieu, par exemple, de vérifier les faits suivants :

- a) Existence de mesures efficaces pour garantir que la population exprime sa volonté de façon démocratique;
- b) Existence de plus d'un parti politique dans le territoire;
- c) Existence d'un scrutin secret;
- d) Existence d'interdictions légales visant le recours à des pratiques non démocratiques en période électorale;
- e) Possibilité pour l'électeur de choisir entre des candidats qui appartiennent à des partis politiques différents;
- f) Absence de "loi martiale" et de mesures analogues pendant la période électorale;
- g) Liberté pour chaque personne d'exprimer ses opinions politiques, de se prononcer pour ou contre un parti ou une cause politique, et de critiquer le gouvernement au pouvoir.



Septième session
Point 34 de l'ordre du jour

RENSEIGNEMENTS RELATIFS AUX TERRITOIRES NON AUTONOMES

Rapport de la Quatrième Commission

Rapporteur : M. J.V. SCOTT (Nouvelle-Zélande)

ADDITIF

ELECTION DE QUATRE MEMBRES DU COMITE DES RENSEIGNEMENTS RELATIFS AUX
TERRITOIRES NON AUTONOMES

A la suite de l'adoption par l'Assemblée générale, à sa 402ème séance plénière du 10 décembre 1952, de la résolution portant reconduction du Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes ^{1/}, la Quatrième Commission, agissant au nom de l'Assemblée générale, a, au cours de sa 306ème séance, élu le Brésil, la Chine, l'Inde et l'Irak, membres du Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes.

1/ A/RESOLUTION/30



Mercredi 12 novembre 1952, à 15 h. 30

Siège permanent, New-York

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Président: M. Rodolfo MUNOZ (Argentine).

Facteurs dont il convient de tenir compte pour décider si un territoire est, ou n'est pas, un territoire dont les populations ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes: rapport du Comité *ad hoc* pour l'étude des facteurs (territoires non autonomes) [A/2178]

[Point 36*]

1. M. KHALIDY (Irak), parlant en qualité de Président du Comité *ad hoc* pour l'étude des facteurs, présente le rapport du Comité (A/2178).

2. La question de savoir si un territoire est ou n'est pas complètement autonome est un des problèmes résultant des dispositions de la Charte qui a influencé de diverses manières les discussions de la Quatrième Commission. Ce problème s'est posé dès 1946, au cours de la seconde partie de la première session de l'Assemblée générale, lorsqu'après avoir examiné les communications adressées par les gouvernements l'Assemblée générale a décidé que la meilleure procédure à suivre à l'époque consistant à inclure dans la résolution 66 (I) de l'Assemblée générale une liste des territoires qui, d'après les déclarations des Puissances administrantes, relevaient des dispositions du Chapitre XI de la Charte. En 1949, comme plusieurs Puissances administrantes avaient cessé de transmettre au sujet des certains territoires des renseignements prévus à l'Article 73, e, de la Charte, l'Assemblée générale, dans sa résolution 334 (IV) a invité le Comité spécial sur les renseignements transmis en vertu de l'Article 73, e, de la Charte à étudier les facteurs dont il conviendrait de tenir compte pour décider si tel ou tel territoire est ou n'est pas un territoire dont les populations ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes. Ce comité a été en mesure de présenter à l'Assemblée générale un rapport (A/1836, quatrième partie) contenant une liste de facteurs, mais il a précisé que cette liste ne devait pas être considéré comme étant complète. La Quatrième Commission a examiné

le problème en se fondant sur cette liste et elle a créé, pendant la sixième session de l'Assemblée générale, un comité chargé d'étudier la question d'une manière plus approfondie. Ce comité a dressé deux listes de facteurs: la première énumère les facteurs qui permettent de conclure qu'un territoire a accédé à l'indépendance ou à toute autre forme d'autonomie séparée; la seconde énumère les facteurs qui permettent de conclure qu'un territoire est librement associé, sur un pied d'égalité, à d'autres parties constitutives de la métropole ou d'un autre pays. Sur la recommandation de la Quatrième Commission, l'Assemblée générale, dans sa résolution 567 (VI), a décidé de prendre pour base ces deux listes; dans la même résolution l'Assemblée générale, considérant que l'élaboration d'une liste plus définitive des facteurs en question exigeait une étude approfondie fondée sur des renseignements plus complets, a invité les Membres des Nations Unies à faire connaître leurs vues au Secrétaire général au sujet des facteurs énumérés dans les listes préparées à la sixième session de l'Assemblée générale et elle a créé un Comité *ad hoc* de dix membres, chargé de poursuivre l'étude de la question. C'est du rapport de ce comité que la Quatrième Commission est maintenant saisie.

3. Le Comité *ad hoc* a été guidé, dans ses travaux, par certaines considérations d'ordre général. Il a été décidé, en premier lieu, que le Comité devait s'occuper uniquement des territoires non autonomes auxquels s'applique le Chapitre XI de la Charte; on trouvera au paragraphe 5, A, du document A/2178 le détail des circonstances antérieures dans lesquelles ce point a été discuté. En second lieu, le Comité a admis qu'il n'était pas compétent pour prévoir quelle autorité doit décider qu'un territoire s'administre lui-même dans une mesure telle qu'il se trouve en dehors du champ d'application de l'Article 73, e, de la Charte. Plusieurs membres du Comité *ad hoc* se sont réservé le droit de reprendre cette question à l'Assemblée générale. En troisième lieu, le Comité a convenu de renvoyer à l'Assemblée générale la question de savoir dans quelle mesure les dispositions de l'Article 73, e, continuent de s'appliquer au cas de territoires qui n'ont pas accédé à l'indépendance ou n'ont

* Numéro affecté à la question dans l'ordre du jour de l'Assemblée générale.

pas été pleinement intégrés à un autre Etat, mais ont atteint une complète autonomie dans le domaine de leurs affaires intérieures. Le Gouvernement des Pays-Bas a présenté sur cette question une liste de facteurs qui a été incorporée au rapport du Comité.

4. Après avoir ainsi réglé ces questions de compétence, le Comité a établi une liste révisée des facteurs dont il a donné le détail dans son rapport. Les deux grandes catégories générales ont été maintenues, mais la première a été subdivisée en deux: d'une part, les facteurs qui permettent de conclure qu'une population a accédé à l'indépendance, d'autre part, les facteurs permettant de conclure qu'une population a accédé à une autre forme d'autonomie séparée. La deuxième catégorie générale porte, comme auparavant, le titre: "Facteurs permettant de conclure qu'un territoire est librement associé à d'autres parties constitutives de la métropole ou d'un autre pays".

5. Le Gouvernement de l'Irak a proposé d'ajouter à la liste un nouveau facteur concernant les forces armées; mais, comme cette proposition soulevait des questions difficiles de sécurité qui échappaient à la compétence du Comité, il a été convenu de mentionner dans la liste des facteurs la question de la compétence en matière de défense nationale et de reproduire dans le paragraphe 5, E, du rapport le texte proposé par le Gouvernement de l'Irak.

6. Le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni a adressé au Secrétaire général une liste de facteurs dont il conviendrait, à son avis, de tenir compte dans toute la mesure possible pour décider si un territoire est ou n'est pas un territoire dont la population s'administre complète-

ment elle-même. Le Comité a décidé d'incorporer dans sa liste les points ayant trait aux droits politiques des personnes. Pour ce qui est des autres points concernant la situation du pouvoir exécutif, le pouvoir judiciaire et la sécurité intérieure, il a été convenu de les mentionner dans le rapport.

7. L'accord a pu se faire sur chaque facteur de la liste sans qu'il soit nécessaire de les mettre aux voix. Cependant, lors de l'adoption de l'ensemble du rapport, par 7 voix contre zéro, avec 2 abstentions, certaines délégations ont formulé des réserves formelles et il a été décidé que toutes les délégations pourraient librement réexaminer le rapport au cours de la session de l'Assemblée générale.

8. La déclaration la plus importante qu'ait faite le Comité est la suivante. Une énumération de facteurs ne peut avoir qu'une valeur d'indication lorsqu'il s'agit de déterminer si un territoire s'administre ou non complètement lui-même. Chaque cas particulier doit être tranché en tenant compte des circonstances qui lui sont propres. Le paragraphe 5 de l'annexe à la résolution 567 (VI) met ce principe en lumière en soulignant qu'une telle liste de facteurs ne saurait être considérée comme complète ou définitive.

9. En terminant, M. Khalidy se félicite de l'esprit de collaboration dans lequel le Comité *ad hoc* pour l'étude des facteurs a procédé à ses travaux et il rend hommage à la diligence et au dévouement du secrétariat de cet organe.

La séance est levée à 16 h. 15.



Jeudi 13 novembre 1952, à 10 h. 30

Siège permanent, New-York

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Président: M. Rodolfo MUNOZ (Argentine).

Facteurs dont il convient de tenir compte pour décider si un territoire est, ou n'est pas, un territoire dont les populations ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes: rapport du Comité *ad hoc* pour l'étude des facteurs (territoires non autonomes) (A/2178) [suite]

[Point 36*]

1. M. FORSYTH (Australie) rappelle que la délégation de l'Australie au Comité *ad hoc* a réservé sa position et s'est abstenue lors du vote sur le rapport du Comité, parce qu'elle n'approuvait pas la manière dont ce comité a abordé la question et a révisé la liste des facteurs. En effet, il n'a été donné aucune définition précise des termes fondamentaux utilisés au cours de la discussion du problème et le statut des territoires a été considéré comme un facteur permettant de déterminer le degré d'autonomie de ces territoires. De l'avis de M. Forsyth, ces deux notions ne sont pas du même ordre. La délégation de l'Australie a d'ailleurs toujours douté de la valeur pratique d'une liste de facteurs. Non seulement ceux qui ont préconisé l'étude de ces facteurs n'ont pas donné de raisons convaincantes pour justifier la nécessité de cette étude, mais, en fait, l'établissement de la liste destinée à guider les autorités compétentes s'est trouvée mêlé à d'autres questions. Les difficultés que présente ce travail ne laissent pas grand espoir quant à son succès.

2. Il y a plus de soixante-dix territoires non autonomes au sujet desquels les Puissances administrantes transmettent des renseignements à l'Assemblée générale. Ces territoires diffèrent beaucoup en ce qui concerne la situation géographique, la population et les conditions politiques et ce serait faire preuve d'un manque de réalisme que de penser que le rythme ou les modalités de leur progrès vers l'autonomie peuvent être uniformes. En outre, les débats à l'Assemblée générale et au Comité *ad hoc* ont montré que les Membres des Nations

Unies ont eu de la peine à se mettre d'accord sur les facteurs à élaborer, étant donné la grande variété de leurs traditions et de leurs philosophies politiques. C'est pourquoi l'Australie a adopté une attitude de réserve; elle est rarement intervenue dans les débats et a décidé de ne pas adresser au Secrétaire général l'exposé demandé dans la résolution 567 (VI) de l'Assemblée générale.

3. La principale critique que l'Australie tient à formuler est que l'on s'est efforcé d'établir que l'accès à l'indépendance est un des moyens d'assurer l'autonomie d'un territoire. Cette opinion, qui apparaît dans l'annexe à la résolution de l'Assemblée générale, provient d'une interprétation injustifiée des dispositions du Chapitre XI de la Charte. Il conviendrait donc d'étudier avec le plus grand soin la liste de facteurs qui figure dans cette annexe.

4. Dans l'introduction de cette annexe, l'Assemblée générale déclare, notamment, que les facteurs essentiels dont il convient de tenir compte pour décider si un territoire non autonome est parvenu à l'autonomie complète sont les suivants: progrès politique des populations, suffisant pour leur permettre de décider elles-mêmes, en connaissance de cause, de l'avenir du territoire; opinion des populations du territoire, exprimée librement et en connaissance de cause, par des voies démocratiques, en ce qui concerne le statut ou le changement de statut qu'elles désirent. En ce qui concerne les territoires qui se sont librement unis ou associés sur la base d'une égalité de statut avec d'autres parties constitutives de la métropole, d'un autre pays ou d'autres pays, les facteurs suivants, aux termes de cette annexe, sont également essentiels et doivent être pris en considération: représentation dans les organes législatifs et citoyenneté.

5. M. Forsyth considère que toute l'introduction de l'annexe est fort peu satisfaisante et que les notions qui y sont exposées ont rendu les discussions plus confuses. Il faudrait, à son avis, chercher à définir la terminologie fondamentale. Il a fait une suggestion dans ce sens au Comité *ad hoc*, mais cet organe a délibérément évité

* Numéro affecté à la question dans l'ordre du jour de l'Assemblée générale.

d'aborder la question. De toute façon, le rapport du Comité (A/2178) ne règle pas définitivement la question et M. Forsyth persiste à croire qu'avant d'établir une liste de facteurs, il conviendrait de savoir exactement ce que l'on entend par "autonomie complète", car cette notion est la base même du Chapitre XI de la Charte. Sans vouloir présenter une proposition concrète, il indique à la Commission que l'on pourrait, par exemple, considérer qu'une population s'administre complètement elle-même lorsque le pouvoir exécutif du gouvernement est contrôlé par la volonté de la collectivité, conformément à la constitution du territoire.

6. L'erreur la plus grave que l'on ait commise a été de considérer l'indépendance comme le critère de l'autonomie complète. Ainsi, au paragraphe 3 de l'introduction de l'annexe, on peut lire que la condition pour que les dispositions du Chapitre XI de la Charte cessent de s'appliquer est que les habitants du territoire aient atteint leur autonomie complète; cette condition peut être remplie de deux manières principales, soit par l'accès à l'indépendance soit par l'union du territoire, sur la base d'une égalité de statut, avec les autres parties constitutives de la métropole ou d'un autre pays, ou son association dans les mêmes conditions avec la métropole ou un autre pays. De l'avis de la délégation de l'Australie, il est inexact de prétendre que l'accès à l'indépendance est une condition nécessaire de l'autonomie. Le terme indépendance ne figure d'ailleurs pas dans le Chapitre XI de la Charte, et l'Assemblée générale n'a pas compétence pour déclarer que l'indépendance est le principal moyen d'assurer l'autonomie complète d'un territoire. L'indépendance ou l'association avec d'autres pays ou territoires ne sont pas des caractéristiques de l'autonomie complète, elles en sont la conséquence. En effet, si une population s'administre complètement elle-même, il lui appartient de se prononcer sur son propre statut.

7. Ce même paragraphe 3 contient la phrase suivante: "La mesure dans laquelle les dispositions de l'Article 73, e, continuent de s'appliquer au cas de territoires qui n'ont pas accédé à l'indépendance ou n'ont pas été pleinement intégrés à un autre Etat, mais ont atteint une complète autonomie dans le domaine de leurs affaires intérieures, est une question qui mérite un complément d'étude." C'est là, selon M. Forsyth, une déclaration erronée. En effet, lorsqu'un territoire a acquis une complète autonomie, il ne relève plus des dispositions de l'Article 73, e, de la Charte et il n'y a donc plus lieu de continuer l'examen de la question. Ce fait est un exemple typique de la confusion créée par le texte en cours d'examen. Cette confusion est due en grande partie à ce que l'on considère l'indépendance et l'autonomie comme deux notions solidaires.

8. Passant aux facteurs énoncés aux paragraphes 6 et 7 de l'introduction de l'annexe, M. Forsyth fait observer que les deux premiers facteurs, à savoir le progrès politique et l'opinion des populations, devraient être étudiés séparément des deux autres facteurs, car ils ont un caractère si général que leur examen ne devrait pas demander beaucoup de temps. Quant aux deux derniers facteurs mentionnés dans cette introduction — la représentation dans les organes législatifs et la citoyenneté — le fait de les considérer comme essentiels relève de la même conception erronée sur laquelle repose la liste en question. M. Forsyth tient à préciser que, si

sa délégation prend part à la discussion de ces facteurs, il ne faudra pas en conclure qu'elle approuve cette conception.

9. Il rappelle enfin que les représentants du Royaume-Uni et de la Belgique ont souligné qu'une liste de facteurs devrait être établie de façon qu'elle puisse servir à juger non seulement les dispositions d'une constitution, mais aussi la manière dont ces dispositions sont appliquées. Il rappelle également qu'il a lui-même déclaré devant le Comité *ad hoc* que le terme "indépendance" ne figurait ni dans le Chapitre XI de la Charte, ni dans le mandat du Comité. La délégation de l'Australie considère que l'indépendance n'est pas une condition essentielle de l'autonomie. Elle constate, en outre, que ses vues sont partagées par les délégations de la France et du Royaume-Uni qui ont fait des déclarations analogues au Comité *ad hoc* et dans les exposés qu'elles ont adressés au Secrétaire général (A/AC.58/1/Add.2 et Add.3). Un territoire peut être indépendant ou associé sans être autonome au sens de l'Article 73 et vice versa. Le statut d'un territoire ne peut donc être considéré comme un critère de l'autonomie.

10. M. RIEMENS (Pays-Bas) estime que le rapport du Comité *ad hoc* pour l'étude des facteurs (A/2178) concerne un problème important et des plus complexes. Le Gouvernement des Pays-Bas, en sa qualité de Puissance administrante, a toujours décidé lui-même si les territoires dont il assume la responsabilité relèvent du Chapitre XI de la Charte. Lorsqu'il a jugé bon d'envoyer les rapports mentionnés à l'Article 73, e, de la Charte au sujet de certains territoires, ni l'Assemblée générale, ni les organes subsidiaires des Nations Unies n'ont formulé aucune opinion sur la validité de cette décision. L'Assemblée générale n'a pas examiné non plus si des Etats Membres autres que ceux qui avaient décidé d'envoyer les renseignements prévus à l'Article 73, e, étaient responsables de territoires dont la population ne s'administrait pas encore complètement elle-même. Il appartient uniquement aux Membres des Nations Unies de décider quels sont les territoires sur lesquels ils doivent soumettre des rapports et de déterminer si certains des territoires qu'ils administrent ont atteint le stade où leur population s'administre complètement elle-même.

11. Le rapport du Comité *ad hoc* avait pour objet d'aider l'Organisation à comprendre dans quelles circonstances un territoire évolue vers l'autonomie et quand il atteint le point où sa population s'administre complètement elle-même. En réalité, la Charte fait une distinction nette entre l'autonomie et l'indépendance, et il est question, dans tout le Chapitre XI, des territoires qui sont non autonomes, en tant qu'ils s'opposent aux territoires autonomes. Toute la question consiste à définir les termes "autonomie" et "self-government". Il est clair que les auteurs de la Charte pensaient aux formes de gouvernement qui ne relèvent ni de l'autonomie ni de l'indépendance. On ne peut appliquer aux territoires dont la population s'administre complètement elle-même les critères que l'on applique en général à l'indépendance.

12. M. Riemens attire également l'attention de la Commission sur une différence importante entre le texte de l'Article 73, alinéa b, qui a trait aux territoires non autonomes, et celui de l'Article 76, alinéa b, qui se rapporte au régime international de tutelle. Il

fait observer que les mots "ou l'indépendance", qui figurent dans le second, ne se trouvent pas dans le premier. De plus, l'Article 73, b, insiste sur les conditions particulières des divers territoires et de leurs populations et sur leurs degrés variables de développement.

13. On dira que l'évolution des territoires non autonomes se manifeste principalement dans les modifications de leur constitution. Toutefois, cette évolution constitutionnelle est l'une des questions les plus difficiles à juger pour ceux qui ne sont pas parfaitement au courant de la situation particulière de chaque territoire. Il faut tenir compte, en effet, de nombreux facteurs géographiques et historiques. Le système juridique, les aspirations politiques de la population, son degré d'éducation, les rapports économiques du territoire avec la métropole et les autres pays jouent un rôle important. De plus, il ne suffit pas d'étudier le texte écrit de la constitution, car la pratique constitutionnelle en est souvent très éloignée; le représentant des Pays-Bas cite à ce sujet l'exemple de son propre pays. Si la Quatrième Commission tient à déterminer les facteurs dont il convient de tenir compte pour décider si la population d'un territoire s'administre complètement elle-même, il est nécessaire qu'elle étudie tous ces aspects de la question.

14. Le Comité n'a pas procédé à une étude adéquate des territoires qui ne sont pas devenus indépendants ou qui n'ont pas été complètement rattachés à un autre Etat, mais qui ont déjà atteint un large degré d'autonomie dans la conduite de leurs affaires intérieures. Et cependant, le paragraphe 3 de l'introduction de l'annexe de la résolution 567 (VI) de l'Assemblée générale a signalé que cette question méritait une étude plus approfondie. En second lieu, le Comité ne semble pas avoir examiné les motifs pour lesquels les Puissances administrantes ont cessé de transmettre des renseignements sur certains territoires. En troisième lieu, le Comité n'a pas donné son avis sur les vues transmises par les Etats Membres conformément à la résolution 567 (VI).

15. M. Riemens estime qu'il ne serait pas impossible de parvenir à définir les facteurs en question, si un organe pleinement compétent consacrait à ce problème tout le temps nécessaire. Pour les motifs qu'il a exposés précédemment, sa délégation n'est pas disposée à présenter un projet de résolution tendant à charger un nouvel organe de poursuivre l'œuvre du Comité *ad hoc*. Toutefois, si une proposition est formulée dans ce sens, la délégation des Pays-Bas pourra lui accorder son appui.

16. Le représentant des Pays-Bas précise de nouveau que, de l'avis de son gouvernement, les Puissances administrantes conservent la pleine responsabilité de décider à quel moment la population d'un territoire s'administre complètement elle-même, et, par suite, à quel moment les dispositions du Chapitre XI de la Charte cessent de s'appliquer à ce territoire. Lorsqu'une Puissance administrante a amené un territoire au seuil de l'autonomie, elle ne demande pas à l'Organisation des Nations Unies de la couvrir de louanges, mais elle ne s'attend pas non plus à rencontrer une attitude de méfiance ou de censure. Rien ne serait plus nuisible au prestige des Nations Unies qu'une telle attitude.

17. S'il existe des malentendus et de la méfiance au sujet des facteurs qui permettent de décider si un territoire est autonome, une étude plus approfondie de

ces facteurs est indispensable, non seulement pour éliminer ces malentendus, mais surtout parce que les Nations Unies, ayant commencé l'étude de ce problème, se doivent à elles-mêmes de la poursuivre avec le plus grand sérieux.

18. M. HOUARD (Belgique) commence par faire observer que sa délégation n'entend pas se prononcer, dès à présent, sur la valeur des différents facteurs et sur leur signification. Les importantes déclarations que viennent de faire les représentants de l'Australie et des Pays-Bas aideront sans aucun doute la délégation belge à se former une opinion sur le fond de la question.

19. Il s'agit d'une question importante, qui ne se limite nullement au problème de la cessation de la transmission des renseignements; de toute évidence, le commencement de la transmission des renseignements est un point au moins aussi important. Cela ressort clairement du paragraphe 1 du dispositif de la résolution 334 (IV) de l'Assemblée générale. Le titre même du rapport du Comité *ad hoc* en discussion indique que cette notion est restée présente dans l'esprit des auteurs de la résolution 567 (VI) de l'Assemblée générale.

20. Sous réserve des observations qu'elle pourrait formuler ultérieurement sur le fond du problème, la délégation de la Belgique tient à souligner dès maintenant que l'énumération des facteurs n'aura jamais que la valeur d'une indication tant pour les Puissances administrantes que pour les Etats Membres que n'ont pas encore répondu à la lettre du Secrétaire général, en date du 29 juin 1946¹.

21. La délégation belge est persuadée que la liste des facteurs permettra à de nombreux Etats Membres de réexaminer la situation de leurs populations non autonomes, comme le représentant de la Belgique les y a invités au début de la présente session.

22. M. NAUDY (France) rend d'abord hommage au soin et au sérieux avec lesquels le Comité *ad hoc* a abordé la tâche qui lui était confiée. La délégation française se félicite que certaines des considérations d'ordre général formulées dans le rapport du Comité placent des études entreprises dans leur véritable contexte. Il pense notamment aux considérations mentionnées au paragraphe 5, C, de la section IV selon lesquelles une énumération de facteurs ne peut avoir que la valeur d'une indication lorsqu'il s'agit de déterminer si un territoire s'administre ou non complètement lui-même, et chaque cas particulier doit être tranché en tenant compte des circonstances qui lui sont propres. De même, le Comité a été bien inspiré en évitant de se prononcer sur les questions de compétence qui risqueraient de donner lieu à des controverses sans issue.

23. En revanche, la délégation française se demande sincèrement si la liste des facteurs recommandée par le Comité *ad hoc* constitue une réelle amélioration par rapport à celle qui figurait en annexe de la résolution 567 (VI) et qui appelait déjà des réserves.

¹ Dans cette lettre, le Secrétaire général demandait aux gouvernements des Etats Membres de communiquer leur avis sur les facteurs à prendre en considération pour déterminer les territoires non autonomes auxquels s'applique le Chapitre XI de la Charte et sur la forme sous laquelle les renseignements devraient être transmis ainsi qu'une énumération des territoires non autonomes soumis à leur juridiction.

24. M. Naudy rappelle que le Gouvernement français a formulé au sujet de l'ancienne liste des observations écrites qui sont reproduites dans le document A/AC.58/1/Add.2 et estime qu'il n'est pas sans intérêt, compte tenu des débats qui se sont déroulés récemment à la Quatrième Commission, de citer une remarque d'ordre général qui figurait parmi ces observations. Le Gouvernement français indiquait (par. 13) que l'étude des facteurs devrait fournir la base nécessaire à une extension éventuelle des obligations de l'Article 73, e, aux Etats qui, depuis l'entrée en vigueur de la Charte, ont considéré que les obligations du Chapitre XI ne les concernaient pour aucun des éléments territoriaux dépendant d'eux. Il ajoutait qu'il paraissait éminemment souhaitable que l'application des garanties inscrites au Chapitre XI pût revêtir le caractère d'universalité qui était sans aucun doute présent à l'esprit des auteurs de la Charte. De l'avis du représentant de la France, toute étude qui négligerait cet aspect du problème risquerait d'aboutir à des conclusions dépourvues à la fois d'objectivité scientifique et d'équité. Dans un ordre d'idées analogue, aucun des critères de l'autonomie ne serait pleinement acceptable s'il ne pouvait s'appliquer à des Etats qui sont déjà considérés comme autonomes ou indépendants. Toute autre solution traduirait, à l'égard des territoires dits non autonomes, une intention de discrimination à laquelle la Quatrième Commission ne voudrait certainement pas souscrire.

25. Le Gouvernement français attachait une importance particulière à celles de ses observations qui avaient trait aux considérations d'ordre géographique et aux considérations ethniques et culturelles. Cependant, malgré ses critiques, ces considérations ont été reprises par le Comité *ad hoc* dans la liste des facteurs qui permettent de conclure qu'un territoire est librement associé à d'autres parties constitutives de la métropole ou d'un autre pays. M. Naudy cite à ce propos le texte des paragraphes 23 et 24 du document A/AC.58/1/Add.2. Ces observations conservent toute leur valeur aux yeux de la délégation française, qui regrette que le Comité *ad hoc* n'ait pas cru devoir en tenir compte.

26. On peut reprocher au nouveau texte rédigé par le Comité de continuer à placer exagérément l'accent sur les conditions qui caractérisent une indépendance se situant au delà de l'autonomie par laquelle un territoire sort du domaine de l'application de l'Article 73, e, de la Charte. Il est certain que lorsque cette indépendance internationale ou telles formes étendues d'autonomie séparée sont acquises à un territoire, celui-ci a cessé d'être un territoire non autonome. Mais on ne saurait dire que l'acquisition de statuts de ce genre soit une condition nécessaire de l'autonomie au sens de l'Article 73. Dans la voie de l'autonomie séparée, il est une étape où le territoire a pu cesser d'être non autonome sans avoir pour autant accédé à l'indépendance complète ou à toute autre forme d'autonomie séparée. C'est cette étape ultérieure que le Comité n'a justement pas caractérisée. En effet, il n'a pas estimé qu'il était compétent pour examiner la question de la mesure dans laquelle les dispositions de l'Article 73, e, continuent de s'appliquer au cas de territoires qui n'ont pas accédé à l'indépendance ou n'ont pas été pleinement intégrés à un autre Etat, mais ont atteint une complète indépendance dans le domaine de leurs affaires intérieures. Cependant, le paragraphe 3 de l'introduction de l'annexe à la résolution 567 (VI) constatait que cette question

méritait un complément d'étude. Les suggestions présentées sur ce point par le Gouvernement des Pays-Bas paraissent mériter d'être prises en considération. Il existe donc sur ces points capitaux une lacune dans les travaux du Comité *ad hoc*.

27. D'autre part, l'inclusion, dans les listes de facteurs, à côté de critères juridiques, de ce que l'on peut appeler des critères de fait, n'apporte que de la confusion, puisque ces derniers critères visent des cas particuliers, et que certains d'entre eux ne pourraient s'appliquer à des Etats qualifiés d'indépendants et souverains.

28. M. Naudy s'étonne enfin que, dans les nouveaux critères concernant l'accession à l'indépendance internationale, le progrès politique ainsi que l'opinion des populations et leur participation au gouvernement aient disparu des listes. Il se demande à ce propos s'il faut en déduire qu'à partir du moment où une collectivité a accédé à l'indépendance, le souci d'assurer le respect de l'opinion et des droits des individus ainsi que leur participation au gouvernement s'atténue au point de disparaître. Aux termes de l'Article 73, il s'agit cependant de protéger, non pas les intérêts d'un territoire considéré comme une entité, mais ceux d'une collectivité composée d'individus dont chacun a des droits et des prérogatives imprescriptibles.

29. La délégation française se réserve de présenter, au cours du débat, des remarques complémentaires.

30. M. DJERDA (Yougoslavie) rend hommage aux efforts accomplis par le Comité *ad hoc*, mais il estime, pour plusieurs raisons, que ce rapport ne peut pas être considéré comme satisfaisant.

31. Tout d'abord, en ce qui concerne les formes d'autonomie séparée autres que l'indépendance, ainsi que les formes d'association libre d'un territoire à d'autres parties constitutives de la métropole ou d'un autre pays, les auteurs du rapport ont mis au premier rang des facteurs le facteur intitulé "Progrès politique". La délégation yougoslave est d'avis que ce facteur est absolument inapplicable, car aucun des peuples qui cherchent actuellement à réaliser leurs aspirations nationales ne saurait être considéré comme incapable de décider lui-même de son propre sort.

32. Le facteur essentiel est l'opinion des populations, exprimée librement et d'une manière démocratique. Toute tentative en vue de limiter ce droit constitue une négation des principes mêmes sur lesquels est fondée l'Organisation des Nations Unies.

33. Ce facteur doit se combiner avec un deuxième élément, que l'on pourrait appeler "Conditions à remplir pour déterminer l'opinion des populations". Tous les autres facteurs doivent être tenus pour secondaires et accessoires. La volonté librement exprimée des populations, déterminée dans des conditions objectives, constitue le principal et même le seul facteur à considérer pour résoudre le problème.

34. En outre, le facteur intitulé "Défense nationale", dans la première partie de la liste, est superflu, car il est déjà contenu implicitement dans le facteur précédent, "Relations internationales en général". Dans cette même partie, les facteurs énumérés sous "B—Autonomie interne" ne sont pas pertinents. Enfin, la Yougoslavie estime que les opinions des divers gouvernements

reproduites dans la section IV du document, ne devraient pas faire partie du rapport proprement dit.

35. La délégation de la Yougoslavie continuera de participer à l'étude du problème, mais elle votera, pour les raisons qu'elle vient d'indiquer, contre le rapport du Comité *ad hoc*.

36. M. PEREZ CISNEROS (Cuba), intervenant sur une question de procédure, demande au Secrétariat s'il serait possible de soumettre à la Commission, avant qu'elle ne soit appelée à examiner les projets de rapports du rapporteur, les textes des projets de résolution

adoptés par la Commission, dans les trois langues de travail.

37. M. BENSON (Secrétariat) déclare que le Secrétariat soumettra désormais, avant les projets de rapports du rapporteur, les textes, dans les trois langues, des projets de résolution adoptés par la Commission, pour permettre aux délégations de vérifier la concordance des textes.

38. Le PRESIDENT et M. PEREZ CISNEROS (Cuba) remercient le Secrétariat.

La séance est levée à 12 h. 20.



Jeudi 13 novembre 1952, à 15 heures

Siège permanent, New-York

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Facteurs dont il convient de tenir compte pour décider si un territoire est, ou n'est pas, un territoire dont les populations ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes: rapport du Comité *ad hoc* pour l'étude des facteurs (territoires non autonomes) [A/2178, A/C.4/L.231] (suite)

[Point 36*]

1. M. RIVAS (Venezuela) déclare qu'au sein du Comité *ad hoc* pour l'étude des facteurs, la délégation du Venezuela s'est efforcée, comme elle le fait toujours, de concilier les vues des Puissances administrantes et des Puissances non administrantes concernant l'aspect international de la question des territoires non autonomes, et à ramener en même temps à des proportions raisonnables les divergences d'opinion qui ont fait penser à certaines Puissances administrantes que les Puissances non administrantes s'élevaient en juges à leur égard. La cessation de la communication des renseignements relatifs à certains territoires qu'une majorité d'Etats Membres ne considèrent pas encore comme pleinement autonomes a été l'un des principaux facteurs qui ont, semble-t-il, divisé la Quatrième Commission en deux camps dont chacun suspecte l'autre, et empêche l'union des efforts et de l'expérience acquise de part et d'autre en vue d'une œuvre constructive.

2. Les pays qui considèrent que certains territoires ne sont pas pleinement autonomes estiment que leur thèse est fondée en droit et en fait. Aucun de leurs arguments n'est inspiré par le désir antagoniste et illégitime d'empiéter sur la souveraineté nationale d'autres Etats; ils ne sont animés que par la volonté de poursuivre l'œuvre entreprise à San-Francisco, œuvre qui se trouvait menacée par des constructions juridiques échafaudées sur le Chapitre XI et en désaccord avec la tendance fondamentale qui a amené l'inclusion, dans la Charte des Nations Unies d'un chapitre

que les propositions de Dumbarton Oaks ne prévoyaient pas. Le Venezuela a été le seul pays qui ait signalé cette lacune. Il a fait valoir que la Charte devrait poser les principes qui régiraient l'administration des colonies et protectorats, les changements de souveraineté qui pourraient se produire, compte tenu de leur situation géographique et des aspirations librement exprimées de leurs populations, ainsi que les conditions qui devaient être remplies pour qu'ils soient reconnus en temps utile comme Etats Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, jouissant du droit de se gouverner eux-mêmes et des autres prérogatives inhérentes à ce droit.

3. En formulant ces observations, le Gouvernement du Venezuela n'a pas été guidé simplement par des principes humanitaires. Il était mû avant tout par des considérations d'ordre politique. La paix et la sécurité internationales ne pourraient être sauvegardées comme il convient, si l'on négligeait le problème représenté par des populations habitant des territoires qu'une grande distance géographique et juridique sépare de leurs métropoles respectives. Ces territoires pourraient devenir des foyers de mécontentement, voire de rébellion et de violence. Le Gouvernement du Venezuela croit sincèrement que le Chapitre XI donne aux habitants de ces territoires l'assurance qu'ils peuvent réaliser leurs aspirations par des moyens pacifiques. Il avait considéré et il continue de considérer que la communication des renseignements prévus à l'Article 73, e, de la Charte permettrait à l'Organisation des Nations Unies de montrer aux populations des territoires non autonomes que leurs problèmes politiques sont l'objet d'une étude constante de la part de la collectivité internationale. L'obligation de communiquer des renseignements, que les Puissances administrantes ont acceptée, confère aux territoires non autonomes un statut politique d'un niveau plus élevé que celui de dépendance pure et simple d'un pays plus civilisé. En dernière analyse, les territoires non autonomes sont passés sous la protection de la collectivité internationale, ce qui représente un progrès vers leur admission comme sujets, à l'état naissant, du droit international.

* Numéro affecté à la question dans l'ordre du jour de l'Assemblée générale.

4. M. Rivas cite un passage d'un discours prononcé à San-Francisco par le maréchal Smuts, présentant le texte qui est devenu par la suite celui du Chapitre XI de la Charte et montrant qu'il appliquait le principe de la tutelle à tous les territoires dépendants, qu'il s'agit de territoires sous mandat, de territoires enlevés à des pays vaincus ou des colonies existantes de certaines Puissances¹. Il imposait aux Etats, en particulier aux Puissances coloniales qui avaient la responsabilité de colonies, certaines obligations. Ainsi, les rapports que devaient présenter les Puissances administrantes sur les territoires non autonomes étaient clairement destinés à fournir à l'Organisation des Nations Unies des renseignements de nature à lui permettre d'apprécier le rythme de l'évolution des populations non autonomes vers la capacité de s'administrer elles-mêmes et à suggérer des mesures d'ordre général pour assurer que cette évolution se poursuivrait dans une atmosphère pacifique. La délégation du Venezuela croyait, et continue de croire, que l'obligation acceptée par les Puissances administrantes repose sur le fait que les territoires non autonomes ne se gouvernent pas eux-mêmes et que, tant que cette base n'a pas disparu—c'est-à-dire tant que les territoires non autonomes ne s'administrent pas eux-mêmes—l'obligation en question subsiste.

5. Le Gouvernement du Venezuela estime que pour définir la "capacité de s'administrer elles-mêmes" des populations, dont il est fait mention au Chapitre XI, il n'est pas essentiel de savoir si cette administration est bonne ou mauvaise, mais si elle est assurée par les habitants du territoire sans intervention d'aucun autre gouvernement à la politique générale duquel ce territoire ne participe pas sur un pied de parfaite égalité.

6. On a prétendu que les Puissances non administrantes semblaient préconiser l'indépendance des territoires coloniaux comme une sorte de panacée magique pour tous les maux dont souffre le monde. On a dit que le bien-être des habitants de ces territoires était souvent plus grand sous la tutelle d'un peuple plus civilisé que sous l'autorité de leurs propres chefs et qu'il y avait des colonies où la situation dans les domaines économique, social et de l'instruction, était meilleure que dans beaucoup d'Etats souverains. On a encore allégué que l'on ne gagnerait rien à accorder l'autonomie à des collectivités qui ne peuvent se suffire à elles-mêmes du point de vue économique. Ces arguments sont aussi vieux que le système colonial lui-même. A première vue, ils semblent objectifs et scientifiques; mais l'esprit humain a des besoins qui échappent quelquefois à la science. On pourrait aussi bien demander aux ressortissants des pays métropolitains s'ils seraient satisfaits de jouir des avantages sociaux, économiques et culturels que leur accorderait quelque autorité lointaine qui les gouvernerait à condition qu'ils demeurent passifs et ne demandent ni à légiférer, ni à s'administrer eux-mêmes, ni à réclamer une citoyenneté pleine et entière.

7. Certaines Puissances administrantes, qui s'en tiennent trop étroitement à la lettre de l'Article 73, e, ont prétendu que, lorsque des territoires sont parvenus à l'autonomie dans les domaines économiques, social et de l'instruction, l'obligation qui découle de cet article pour les pays métropolitains prend fin. La grande masse des habitants des territoires non autonomes ne serait

cependant pas de cet avis. L'erreur traditionnelle des Puissances métropolitaines a été de considérer les mouvements séparatistes comme l'idée de quelques éléments irresponsables ne jouissant d'aucun appui de la part du reste de la population. Pourtant, chaque fois qu'une Puissance métropolitaine a été forcée de réduire ses forces dans un territoire pour faire face à une situation critique ailleurs, la masse de la population s'est montrée prête à suivre ces éléments irresponsables en particulier lorsqu'ils étaient soutenus par les rivaux politiques ou commerciaux de la Puissance métropolitaine. Le Chapitre XI est expressément destiné à minimiser cette menace internationale.

8. Il était inévitable que l'interprétation, par les Puissances administrantes, des obligations qui leur incombent aux termes du Chapitre XI, inquiète les pays qui ont été eux-mêmes des colonies. Il est probable que les éléments évolués des populations autochtones ont éprouvé la même inquiétude, ce qui en a fait une proie facile pour les organisations subversives.

9. La liste des facteurs dont la Commission est saisie représente une suite d'idées sur l'autonomie, au sujet desquelles aucun désaccord important ne s'est manifesté. Certains de ces facteurs ont un caractère évident. Aucun pays qui ne possède pas pleinement les attributs de la souveraineté extérieure et intérieure ne peut être dit indépendant. De plus, en ce qui concerne les autres formes d'autonomie séparée, la souveraineté limitée ne saurait être considérée comme satisfaisant aux besoins des habitants d'un territoire, à moins que le consentement de ceux-ci ne soit manifeste. On ne peut dire qu'un territoire participe à la direction des affaires nationales sur un pied de parfaite égalité avec d'autres régions dépendant de l'Etat dans lequel il est incorporé, si des personnes nées dans ce territoire ne sont pas, de ce seul fait, citoyens de cet Etat, ou si elles ne participent pas, sur un pied de parfaite égalité au pouvoir législatif et au pouvoir exécutif. Là encore, il est extrêmement difficile de déterminer dans quelle mesure l'égalité existe. Il serait difficile pour un territoire géographiquement très éloigné de la métropole de se considérer comme traité en égal lorsque le gouvernement tend à favoriser les intérêts du territoire métropolitain. Le facteur géographique revêt par conséquent une très grande importance. Le facteur racial importe aussi grandement. Si la distinction entre conquérants et conquis est maintenue pendant des siècles, il est très difficile à la population autochtone des territoires de ne plus considérer les blancs qui les dominent comme des étrangers.

10. Selon les observations d'ordre général que le Gouvernement des Pays-Bas a formulées sur la question des facteurs (A/AC.58/1/Add.3), il serait impossible à un pays métropolitain de communiquer des renseignements sur la situation économique, sociale et de l'enseignement dans des territoires qui ont atteint leur autonomie dans ces domaines. Cependant, tout récemment encore, les Puissances administrantes ont été unanimes à affirmer que la représentation internationale des territoires non autonomes était exercée par les gouvernements métropolitains, et par eux seuls. C'est là une raison de plus pour que les Puissances administrantes assument une responsabilité internationale pleine et entière en ce qui concerne les territoires non autonomes.

¹ Voir la *Conférence des Nations Unies pour l'organisation internationale*, II/16.

11. Sur le plan intérieur, on pourrait permettre aux habitants de certains territoires non autonomes de gérer leur propre budget, d'organiser leurs écoles et de réglementer leur activité syndicale. Toutefois, aussi longtemps que ces territoires n'exerceront pas la souveraineté politique en tant qu'Etats indépendants ou parties intégrantes d'un autre Etat, sur un pied d'égalité absolue avec les autres parties constitutives de cet Etat, il est évident que la mesure d'autonomie qui leur sera accordée dépendra toujours de la bonne volonté de la métropole. En outre, les bases d'une telle autonomie sont instables, car elles ne dérivent pas de la pleine reconnaissance du territoire non autonome comme un partenaire ayant absolument les mêmes droits que la métropole du point de vue des engagements contractuels. Une autonomie partielle de ce genre ne constitue qu'une étape vers l'objectif final énoncé au Chapitre XI de la Charte. Tant que cet objectif n'est pas atteint, il est évident que les obligations imposées par le Chapitre XI à la Puissance administrante subsistent, puisque les raisons qui les ont motivées demeurent. Le paragraphe 3 du dispositif du projet de résolution adopté par la Quatrième Commission à sa 270ème séance concernant la participation des territoires non autonomes aux travaux du Comité des renseignements pourrait apporter quelque solution à la question de savoir comment les Puissances administrantes doivent faire rapport sur les progrès réalisés dans les territoires ainsi dotés d'une autonomie partielle. Les Puissances administrantes ont voté contre le paragraphe 3, et pourtant, la continuation de l'étude qu'il recommande pourrait permettre de trouver une formule propre à résoudre le problème d'ordre général soulevé par le Gouvernement des Pays-Bas.

12. La liste des facteurs ne peut évidemment être considérée en aucune façon comme étant de nature à faire obstacle aux efforts des Puissances administrantes tendant à aider les populations des territoires non autonomes à parvenir progressivement à leur pleine autonomie. On ne saurait non plus la considérer comme une suite de conditions que les populations des territoires non autonomes doivent remplir avant d'être considérées comme autonomes. Bien au contraire, si ces populations manifestent librement le désir de s'administrer elles-mêmes, l'Organisation des Nations Unies ne pourra qu'inviter les Puissances administrantes à leur permettre d'exercer leur souveraineté.

13. Il est également possible d'envisager sous un angle analogue le facteur relatif au progrès politique. Sur ce point, la délégation du Venezuela partage les doutes qui ont été exprimés par le représentant de la France devant le Comité *ad hoc* pour l'étude des facteurs. Il pourrait être difficile de tenir compte de ce facteur, dans certains cas, car il faudrait au préalable se mettre d'accord sur la nature de l'organe qui décidera si les habitants d'un territoire donné sont prêts à assumer certaines responsabilités. Vraisemblablement, on peut considérer que si la population d'un territoire choisit l'indépendance, elle est suffisamment prête à assumer ces responsabilités. Toutefois, il conviendra de déterminer avec soin le progrès politique d'une population si celle-ci semble accepter volontairement des limitations à l'exercice de son autonomie. Dans un cas de ce genre, le mieux serait d'inviter la population à choisir entre l'autonomie complète et l'autonomie partielle dont elle jouissait, et de veiller en même temps à ce que les partisans de

l'autonomie complète aient la possibilité d'exprimer leur opinion en toute liberté.

14. Les délégations de la Birmanie, de Cuba, de l'Egypte, du Guatemala, de l'Irak et du Venezuela ont présenté conjointement le projet de résolution distribué sous la cote A/C.4/L.231. A l'exception de l'Egypte, tous ces pays ont été membres du Comité pour l'étude des facteurs, et c'est la délégation égyptienne qui, la première, a avancé l'idée que l'Organisation des Nations Unies devrait entreprendre l'étude des facteurs. Dans l'ensemble, les vues du Gouvernement du Venezuela s'accordent avec le projet de résolution. En outre, le caractère constructif et conciliant du projet de résolution est conforme à l'esprit dans lequel la délégation du Venezuela a examiné les points au sujet desquels elle est en désaccord avec certaines Puissances administrantes concernant l'interprétation de principes. Si les Puissances administrantes étudient objectivement le projet de résolution, elles reconnaîtront au moins la bonne foi et la sincérité qui l'ont inspiré. Cette reconnaissance contribuerait en soi à dissiper la méfiance qui paraît diviser la Quatrième Commission en deux camps adverses dont chacun cherche à mettre l'autre en déroute.

15. M. MCINNIS (Canada) désirerait étudier plus à fond toutes les implications du projet de résolution commun. De prime abord, cependant, il éprouve une déception et du regret à constater que ce texte paraît inacceptable. Il supprime beaucoup des larges conditions qui donnaient à la liste des facteurs proposée dans le rapport du Comité *ad hoc* son caractère provisoire. Le projet de résolution a un caractère beaucoup plus impératif et ne fait que parcimonieusement mention de la nécessité de tenir compte des conditions particulières à chaque territoire.

16. Le représentant du Venezuela a souligné l'idée exprimée dans le deuxième considérant du projet de résolution commun. M. McInnis doute que cette idée soit bonne: non seulement les diverses catégories de renseignements qui doivent être transmis en vertu de l'Article 73, e, de la Charte ont été limitées avec soin, mais ces catégories limitées elles-mêmes sont sujettes à restriction selon les exigences de la sécurité et les considérations d'ordre constitutionnel. En outre, il est évident que l'évolution des territoires non autonomes vers la capacité à s'administrer eux-mêmes doit être progressive, et il est infiniment probable qu'à un moment donné, ils arriveront à un stade auquel la Puissance administrante ne pourra plus exercer un contrôle effectif sur les domaines social, économique et de l'instruction, pour lesquels les renseignements doivent être communiqués. L'obligation de la Puissance administrante à cet égard prendra donc fin. Cela, toutefois, n'entraînera pas la fin de l'obligation que lui fait le Chapitre XI de la Charte de favoriser l'évolution du territoire intéressé vers l'indépendance.

17. M. PEREZ CISNEROS (Cuba) dit que sa délégation approuve le projet de résolution commun A/C.4/L.231, qui reprend entre autres les idées exprimées par le Ministre d'Etat de la République de Cuba devant l'Assemblée générale à la 379ème séance plénière. Le Ministre a déclaré que Cuba persisterait à soutenir qu'il est essentiel que la collectivité internationale pèse et évalue les considérations d'ordre constitutionnel sur

lesquelles une Puissance administrante quelconque pourrait fonder sa décision de cesser de communiquer les renseignements qu'exige le Chapitre XI de la Charte. Le Gouvernement cubain estimera toujours qu'aucune autonomie n'est possible dans le domaine économique, social et de l'enseignement si elle ne s'accompagne pas de l'autonomie politique.

18. En se joignant aux promoteurs du projet de résolution, la délégation cubaine a fait tout son possible pour exclure les considérations académiques ou doctrinales et pour demeurer dans les limites du problème pratique qui a retenu l'attention de l'Assemblée générale de prendre des mesures en la matière considérée. Elle estime que le problème se résume aux réponses à donner à deux questions bien simples: premièrement, dans quelles circonstances une Puissance administrante est-elle libérée de l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements sur un territoire déterminé, obligation que lui incombe aux termes de l'Article 73, e? Deuxièmement, dans quelles circonstances l'Organisation des Nations Unies est-elle libérée de l'obligation de recevoir des renseignements sur un territoire déterminé, obligation qui lui incombe aux termes de l'Article 73, e? Ces deux questions doivent rester présentes à l'esprit. L'année dernière, de nombreuses délégations ont exprimé la crainte que l'examen du sujet entraîne la Commission dans un débat purement académique.

19. La délégation cubaine estime qu'il s'agit d'une dualité de compétence. M. Pérez Cisneros rappelle certains passages d'une communication relative au problème des facteurs (A/AC.58/1/Add.1) envoyée, à la demande du Secrétaire général, par le Gouvernement cubain qui a déclaré que les progrès réalisés par l'adoption du Chapitre XI seraient vains dans la pratique si l'exécution régulière de la seule obligation concrète contractée par les Puissances administrantes aux termes de l'Article 73, e, dépendait uniquement de leur jugement unilatéral. Les obligations découlant du Chapitre XI ont tout autant force obligatoire que celles qu'imposent les autres chapitres de la Charte et ne peuvent cesser d'exister sans un accord préalable entre les parties. Les seuls motifs prévus à cet effet, sous réserve des circonstances dans lesquelles l'Article 73 lui-même permet d'en suspendre l'exécution, sont les exigences de la sécurité et les considérations d'ordre constitutionnel, mais, même dans ces cas, et surtout dans le deuxième cas, il est plus que douteux que la Charte autorise une action unilatérale de la Puissance administrante intéressée. Il est vrai qu'il peut y avoir des cas dans lesquels la détermination des limitations imposées par la sécurité ne pourrait être le fait que de la Puissance administrante, car un examen public des raisons de ces limitations serait de nature à porter atteinte à cette sécurité, mais en autorisant des mesures unilatérales d'ordre constitutionnel on risquerait de rendre vains tous les principes aujourd'hui reconnus par le droit international positif. Il est essentiel que l'Organisation des Nations Unies soit informée de toute modification du statut constitutionnel de l'un quelconque des territoires non autonomes en vertu de laquelle le gouvernement responsable estimerait n'être plus tenu de communiquer de renseignements.

20. Il incombe donc à la collectivité internationale de peser les facteurs d'ordre constitutionnel qu'une Puissance administrante prend en considération pour décider

de ne plus communiquer de renseignements. Cette intervention ne constituerait pas une violation à l'alinéa 7 de l'Article 2 de la Charte, car une décision de ce genre, par laquelle la communauté internationale tend à accomplir les desseins de la Charte, ne peut pas être considérée comme relevant de la compétence nationale de la Puissance intéressée. Les problèmes relatifs au régime colonial peuvent relever de la juridiction internationale et diverses Puissances administrantes l'ont reconnu en signant le traité de Versailles, dont les articles 119 et suivants ont exigé de l'Allemagne qu'elle renonce à ses colonies en raison de la manière dont elle les avait administrées. Il est impossible d'expliquer ces articles si on n'admet pas, en bonne logique juridique, que les Puissances coloniales ne peuvent disposer arbitrairement ni de la population, ni du territoire, ni des pouvoirs qu'elles exercent.

21. Le projet de résolution soumis à la Commission aborde le problème de la compétence avec le maximum de réserve. Il a été rédigé avec le plus grand soin, ses auteurs désirant que le texte soit aussi conciliant que possible.

22. Le paragraphe 4 du projet de résolution traite du problème de l'indivisibilité du principe de l'autonomie. Il a paru nécessaire de soumettre à l'approbation définitive de l'Assemblée générale la vérité évidente qu'il ne saurait y avoir d'autonomie dans les domaines économique, social ou de l'enseignement sans autonomie politique. Reconnaître qu'il en est ainsi éviterait bien des discussions stériles. En acceptant le principe de l'indivisibilité, on enlèverait définitivement toute valeur à l'argument selon lequel il peut être mis fin à la communication des renseignements lorsqu'un territoire a accédé à l'autonomie dans les domaines économique, social ou de l'enseignement. Cette autonomie partielle dans divers domaines sera illusoire s'il n'y a pas en même temps l'autonomie politique au sens où la Charte l'entend, c'est-à-dire la capacité des populations de s'administrer complètement elles-mêmes. Avant que cesse la communication de renseignements au sujet d'un territoire, il faut que l'Organisation des Nations Unies reçoive des informations supplémentaires quant au stade d'évolution politique atteint par ce territoire.

23. Pour être libérée de l'obligation de recevoir les renseignements prévus à l'Article 73, e, il faut que la collectivité internationale soit en mesure d'affirmer qu'il existe dans le territoire intéressé des conditions politiques telles qu'elles permettent et créent l'autonomie dans les domaines économique, social et de l'instruction.

24. Il convient de remarquer aussi que le projet de résolution déclare nettement que la liste des facteurs est simplement recommandée comme guide. Aucun critère absolu ne peut être fixé pour déterminer si un territoire a acquis ou non la capacité de s'administrer lui-même et en essayant de le faire on n'arriverait qu'à créer des difficultés doctrinales. La délégation cubaine souscrit donc sans réserves au paragraphe 2 du dispositif du projet de résolution qui dit que chaque cas d'espèce doit être tranché en tenant compte des circonstances qui lui sont propres. La liste des facteurs demeurera toujours subordonnée à une considération primordiale: l'aspiration des populations à la liberté.

25. M. Pérez Cisneros ne propose pas, pour le moment, d'augmenter ou de modifier la liste des facteurs qui, à son avis, peut servir désormais de guide général;

pourtant, il n'est pas opposé à des suggestions tendant à l'améliorer. Il réserve donc sa position au sujet de cette liste.

26. Le représentant de Cuba invite les membres de la Commission à se souvenir que la question de savoir si un pays peut cesser de transmettre des renseignements soulève un problème politique plutôt que juridique, puisque chaque cas d'espèce doit être examiné en particulier.

Demande d'audition

27. Le PRESIDENT annonce qu'il a reçu une demande d'audition du bloc démocratique camerounais. Si aucune objection n'est formulée, le texte de cette demande sera distribué comme document officiel².

Il en est ainsi décidé.

La séance est levée à 17 h, 20.

² Distribué ultérieurement sous la cote A/C.4/219.



Vendredi 14 novembre 1952, à 15 heures

Siège permanent, New-York

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Facteurs dont il convient de tenir compte pour décider si un territoire est, ou n'est pas, un territoire dont les populations ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes: rapport du Comité *ad hoc* pour l'étude des facteurs (territoires non autonomes) [A/2178, A/C.4/L.231] (suite) 167

Président: M. Rodolfo MUNOZ (Argentine).

Facteurs dont il convient de tenir compte pour décider si un territoire est, ou n'est pas, un territoire dont les populations ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes: rapport du Comité *ad hoc* pour l'étude des facteurs (territoires non autonomes) [A/2178, A/C.4/L.231] (suite)

[Point 36*]

1. M. EL-PHARAONY (Egypte) rappelle que l'étude des facteurs dont il convient de tenir compte pour décider si un territoire est, ou n'est pas, un territoire dont les populations ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes a été entreprise à la suite d'une proposition formulée en 1949 par la délégation de l'Egypte (A/C.4/L.37). Cette proposition était motivée par les graves préoccupations qu'avait éprouvées la délégation de l'Egypte, ainsi que certaines autres délégations, en constatant qu'en 1948 le nombre des territoires au sujet desquels des renseignements étaient transmis était tombé à soixante-trois, alors qu'en 1946, suivant la résolution 66 (I) de l'Assemblée générale, le nombre de ces territoires était de soixante-quatorze. C'est pourquoi l'Assemblée générale a adopté la résolution 222 (III) aux termes de laquelle elle accueillait avec satisfaction tout progrès réalisé dans le sens de l'autonomie, mais considérait cependant que l'Organisation des Nations Unies devait nécessairement être informée de toute modification intervenue dans la constitution et le statut de l'un quelconque des territoires non autonomes en vertu de laquelle le gouvernement responsable estime inutile la communication de renseignements aux termes de l'Article 73, e, de la Charte. Les Membres intéressés ont donc été invités en pareils cas à transmettre au Secrétaire général tous renseignements utiles, y compris les textes constitutionnels, législatifs ou réglementaires concernant le gouvernement du territoire et les textes relatifs aux liens constitutionnels entre le territoire et le gouvernement métropolitain. Par la suite, il est devenu évident qu'il

conviendrait de tenir compte de certains critères en examinant des situations de ce genre; la résolution 334 (IV) a préconisé l'étude des facteurs dont il convient de tenir compte pour décider si un territoire est, ou n'est pas, un territoire dont les populations s'administrent complètement elles-mêmes.

2. La Commission est saisie maintenant du rapport du Comité *ad hoc* pour l'étude des facteurs (A/2178). Des orateurs précédents ont examiné en détail les divers facteurs énumérés dans le rapport; les uns ont mis l'accent sur des facteurs particuliers qui, à leur avis, devraient être considérés comme essentiels ou déterminants, alors que d'autres ont souligné les diverses lacunes du rapport. Le représentant du Venezuela, à la 273^{ème} séance, a mis en lumière les éléments du problème et a fait une analyse d'ensemble des divers facteurs, du cadre dans lequel il conviendrait de les considérer et de la valeur qu'il fallait leur attribuer. La délégation de l'Egypte appuie chaleureusement le point de vue du représentant du Venezuela. Elle estime que la liste des facteurs ne doit pas donner lieu à de sérieuses divergences de vues dès l'instant où le rapport précise nettement que les facteurs ne peuvent avoir que la valeur d'une indication lorsqu'il s'agit de déterminer si un territoire s'administre ou non complètement lui-même et qu'un facteur particulier, ou une combinaison déterminée de facteurs, ne peut être considéré comme décisif dans chaque cas, car chaque cas particulier doit être tranché en tenant compte des circonstances qui lui sont propres. C'est dans cet esprit que le projet de résolution commun (A/C.4/L.231), à l'élaboration duquel la délégation de l'Egypte a participé, propose d'approuver la liste de facteurs telle qu'elle figure dans le rapport du Comité *ad hoc*. La délégation de l'Egypte partage entièrement l'opinion exprimée par le représentant de Cuba à ce sujet, à la 273^{ème} séance.

3. La délégation de l'Egypte considère que l'opinion des populations intéressées est un élément de la plus haute importance, qui devrait être déterminant dans tous les cas. Cela est particulièrement vrai dans le cas d'une association: le processus naturel, logique et

* Numéro affecté à la question dans l'ordre du jour de l'Assemblée générale.

normal de l'évolution veut qu'un peuple assujéti à un autre cherche à se libérer de cette domination, à accéder progressivement à l'autonomie complète, et, finalement, à l'indépendance. Ce n'est que dans des cas exceptionnels que des peuples accèdent à l'autonomie complète ou à l'indépendance par association ou par assimilation à d'autres parties constitutives de la métropole ou d'un autre pays, en particulier lorsqu'il existe des différences de race, de langue, de religion, de patrimoine culturel, d'intérêts et d'aspirations entre ces populations et celles du pays auquel elles sont associées. Les termes "association" ou "assimilation", aussi bien que les termes "incorporation" ou "annexion" sous-entendent une certaine pression, un acte d'autorité de la part de la Puissance administrante. Bien entendu, il n'en est pas toujours ainsi. Cependant, d'une manière générale, l'objectif à atteindre est l'indépendance, et les autres formes d'autonomie, par assimilation ou par association, devraient être entourées de toutes les garanties nécessaires. C'est pourquoi les auteurs du projet de résolution tiennent essentiellement à ce que, dans le cas de l'assimilation d'un territoire, on s'assure de la volonté expresse, librement et nettement exprimée, de la population. Dans tous les cas de ce genre, l'Organisation des Nations Unies doit avoir la preuve, sans qu'il subsiste le moindre doute, que la volonté de la population s'est exprimée librement soit par la voie d'un plébiscite organisé sous ses auspices, soit suivant toute autre procédure démocratique.

4. L'étude des éléments constitutifs de l'autonomie complète devrait être suivie de l'examen des principes qui doivent guider les Puissances administrantes et l'Assemblée générale lorsqu'il s'agit d'appliquer ces facteurs. Dans la résolution 66 (I), l'Assemblée générale a donné la liste des territoires non autonomes d'après les indications des Puissances administrantes intéressées. Les Puissances administrantes devraient être disposées maintenant à tenir compte de toute liste de facteurs élaborée par l'Assemblée générale, lorsqu'elles examinent la question de savoir si un territoire a accédé à l'autonomie complète. La Quatrième Commission devrait également décider de tenir compte des mêmes facteurs lorsqu'elle est appelée à examiner un cas particulier dans lequel une Puissance a cessé de transmettre des renseignements. Si l'Assemblée générale se prononçait clairement sur ces deux points, il deviendrait plus facile de définir les principes en cause et la procédure à suivre.

5. M. Shiva RAO (Inde) déclare que, quels que soient ses avantages ou ses inconvénients, le projet de résolution commun en cours d'examen est utile en ce qu'il appelle spécialement l'attention de la Commission sur les aspects pratiques de la question des facteurs.

6. A sa première session, en 1946, l'Assemblée générale a adopté la résolution 9 (I) indiquant que les Nations Unies se rendaient pleinement compte des problèmes et des aspirations des populations qui ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes et qui ne sont pas directement représentées à l'Organisation. Cette résolution soulignait également que des obligations acceptées par tous les Membres de l'Organisation aux termes du Chapitre XI de la Charte n'étaient nullement liées à la conclusion d'accords de tutelle ou à la constitution du Conseil de tutelle, et qu'elles étaient en fait dès lors en vigueur. Le dispositif de cette résolution invitait le Secrétaire général à

inclure dans son rapport annuel un résumé des renseignements que pourraient lui transmettre des Etats Membres des Nations Unies en vertu de l'Article 73, e, de la Charte.

7. Dès le début, l'Assemblée générale s'est vivement intéressée, sur le plan pratique, à l'étude des renseignements fournis par les Puissances administrantes. Elle a constaté que le Secrétaire général n'était pas en mesure de préparer une liste des territoires non autonomes parce qu'il était difficile de définir le sens exact de l'expression "dont les populations ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes". L'Assemblée générale s'est donc contentée de noter que les Puissances administrantes transmettraient des renseignements au sujet des territoires énumérés dans la résolution 66 (I) de l'Assemblée générale. L'Assemblée générale n'a pas précisé que la liste qui figure dans cette résolution était complète, mais elle n'a pas mis en cause le contenu de cette liste et elle l'a acceptée comme base de travail. En 1947 et en 1948, certaines Puissances administrantes n'ont pas transmis de renseignements au sujet de certains territoires et n'en ont pas donné les raisons. C'est alors que l'Assemblée générale a adopté son importante résolution 222 (III) par laquelle elle rappelait l'intérêt qu'elle porte au développement des territoires non autonomes et affirmait que l'Organisation des Nations Unies est en droit de recevoir des renseignements d'ordre politique et constitutionnel, tout au moins aux derniers stades de l'évolution des territoires non autonomes. Enfin, l'Assemblée générale a adopté la résolution 448 (V) relative au développement des territoires non autonomes. Cette résolution, dont le préambule et le dispositif sont aussi importants l'un que l'autre, reliait la résolution 222 (III) à l'accession de l'Indonésie à l'autonomie.

8. M. Rao reconnaît pleinement la nécessité d'étudier le problème comme un tout sans en négliger aucun aspect. Cependant, il faut également tenir compte des principes énoncés dans le Chapitre XI et des résolutions par lesquelles l'Assemblée générale les a mis en vigueur depuis plus de six ans. L'objectif du Chapitre XI de la Charte est la complète autonomie. Comme l'Assemblée générale n'a pas pu donner une définition satisfaisante de cette notion en 1946, elle a accepté la liste des territoires préparée unilatéralement par les Puissances administrantes, afin que l'Article 73 de la Charte puisse être appliqué sans délai. En 1947 et en 1948, cette liste a commencé à décroître; l'Assemblée générale a immédiatement pris note de ce fait et en a demandé les raisons. La résolution 222 (III) prouve que l'intérêt que l'Assemblée porte à la question, et sa compétence, ne sont pas limités par une interprétation littérale de l'Article 73, e. Les territoires énumérés dans la résolution 66 (I) sont des territoires dont les populations ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes. M. Rao cite un passage des comptes rendus officiels de la Conférence de San-Francisco d'où il ressort que les mots "pas encore" doivent se rapporter à tous les degrés d'autonomie partielle qui précèdent l'autonomie complète, qui seule peut libérer la Puissance administrante de sa responsabilité.

9. Un territoire non autonome ne peut être supprimé de la liste que pour deux raisons: l'accès à l'autonomie complète, comme c'est le cas de l'Indonésie, qui, après avoir été territoire non autonome, est devenu Membre des Nations Unies, et le passage du statut de territoire

non autonome à celui de Territoire sous tutelle. L'Assemblée générale ne perd de vue un territoire non autonome à aucun stade de son évolution; elle continue à s'y intéresser activement soit en vertu de Chapitre XI, soit en vertu des Chapitres XII et XIII, soit en l'admettant comme Membre de l'Organisation.

10. La délégation de l'Inde ne trouve rien à critiquer dans les termes du projet de résolution. Elle ne comprend pas les objections que le représentant du Canada a formulées à la 273ème séance au sujet du deuxième considérant. Il semble évident que les obligations des Puissances administrantes, à l'égard de chaque territoire, subsistent tant que les objectifs énoncés au Chapitre XI de la Charte ne sont pas atteints. Sous sa forme actuelle, le projet de résolution semble ne devoir soulever aucune objection, puisqu'il expose des faits, rappelle les buts légitimes que l'Assemblée générale s'est fixés, et aboutit à une suggestion quant à la bonne méthode à employer pour étudier à l'avenir le cas de territoires non autonomes au sujet desquels les Puissances administrantes cesseraient de transmettre des renseignements.

11. Enfin, la délégation de l'Inde considère que le rapport du Comité *ad hoc* pour l'étude des facteurs contient des éléments concrets qui peuvent très utilement contribuer à l'étude de ce problème complexe.

12. M. NAUDY (France) déclare que la première impression éprouvée par la délégation française à la lecture du projet de résolution commun est qu'il se classe dans la catégorie des propositions ambitieuses qui prétendent interpréter les dispositions de la Charte, alors qu'en réalité, elles les transgressent. Ce n'est pas la première fois que la Quatrième Commission résout d'un trait de plume des questions complexes et grosses de conséquences. En outre, le projet de résolution suppose résolues les difficultés signalées par la plupart des orateurs qui ont pris la parole pour signaler les lacunes du travail effectué par le Comité *ad hoc*.

13. Le deuxième considérant du projet déclare que l'obligation de transmettre les renseignements subsiste, à l'égard de chaque territoire, tant que les objectifs énoncés au Chapitre XI de la Charte ne sont pas atteints. Comme le représentant du Canada l'a souligné, cette position de principe est absolument gratuite. Il existe, dans l'évolution des territoires non autonomes vers l'autonomie, des degrés et des étapes. L'obligation énoncée à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73, avec ses réserves et ses limitations, est la seule obligation formelle que comporte l'engagement général contracté en vertu du Chapitre XI, et cette obligation cesse lorsqu'elle n'a plus d'objet, c'est-à-dire lorsque les territoires non autonomes ont atteint l'autonomie dans les domaines visés à l'Article 73, e. Il est impossible d'imposer aux Puissances administrantes des obligations plus importantes que celles qu'elles ont souscrites. La transmission de renseignements doit cesser lorsque le degré d'évolution d'un territoire est suffisant pour libérer les Puissances administrantes de cette obligation particulière. L'évolution dont il s'agit a fait parvenir le territoire intéressé à une situation qui n'est peut-être pas encore celle de l'autonomie, mais qui n'est plus celle de la non-autonomie à laquelle s'appliquent les dispositions de l'Article 73, e. Le Comité des facteurs n'a pas étudié des cas limites de ce genre, ni défini les critères qu'il faudrait leur appliquer. La délégation française estime donc

que le problème reste entier et ne saurait approuver des dispositions qui le supposent résolu. Le paragraphe 4 du dispositif repose sur un principe analogue que l'on semble également considérer comme acquis et que le représentant de Cuba a appelé l'indivisibilité du concept d'autonomie. La délégation de la France rejette ce paragraphe pour les mêmes raisons qu'elle rejette le deuxième considérant.

14. Le cinquième considérant et les paragraphes 1 et 5 du dispositif supposent que l'Assemblée générale a compétence pour décider si un territoire a ou n'a pas atteint une complète autonomie, ou pour étudier les questions qui se posent à propos de la cessation de la transmission de renseignements ou de l'obligation de transmettre des renseignements. Les résolutions précédentes adoptées par l'Assemblée générale, et notamment la résolution 334 (IV), ne donnaient pas à l'Assemblée générale une telle compétence et la laissaient, implicitement au moins, aux Puissances administrantes. Or, les dispositions du projet de résolution commun tendent à donner aux Nations Unies certains pouvoirs de contrôle sur les territoires non autonomes, qui sont contraires à l'esprit et à la lettre du Chapitre XI, ainsi qu'aux principes énoncés au paragraphe 7 de l'Article 2 de la Charte. L'administration des territoires non autonomes et les mesures prises pour assurer leur évolution politique entrent dans les attributions des Puissances administrantes dont les parlements statuent à cet égard en dernier ressort. Toute intervention des Nations Unies dans ce domaine constituerait une ingérence dans les affaires intérieures des Puissances intéressées et entraînerait une dualité de responsabilités tout à fait inconcevable et dangereuse.

15. Le Gouvernement français a formulé une réserve formelle à cet égard à la Conférence de San-Francisco¹. Il a rappelé chaque année, dans les communications par lesquelles il transmettait des renseignements au Secrétaire général en vertu de l'Article 73, e, que la détermination des territoires dont les populations ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes relève de la compétence exclusive des Puissances administrantes. Les questions de principe qui sont traitées avec désinvolture dans le projet de résolution commun revêtent, en réalité, une importance capitale et la délégation française réitère solennellement ces réserves. Elle s'opposera au projet de résolution commun si celui-ci demeure dans sa forme actuelle.

16. M. WINIEWICZ (Pologne) estime qu'il ne peut y avoir de réponse pratique au problème des facteurs si l'on ne tient pas dûment compte de deux considérations préliminaires, mais indispensables. En premier lieu, qui a qualité pour déterminer si un territoire a atteint le stade d'autonomie envisagé dans l'ensemble de l'Article 73? M. Winiewicz insiste sur les mots "l'ensemble de l'Article 73", en raison de l'obstination avec laquelle les Puissances coloniales essaient de limiter exclusivement le problème des territoires non autonomes à l'alinéa e de cet article. En second lieu, quel sens faut-il attribuer dans la Charte aux mots "territoire dont les populations... s'administrent... complètement elles-mêmes"?

17. Au cours des sept années d'existence de l'Organisation, les Puissances coloniales ont décidé unilatéralement

¹ Voir *Conférence des Nations Unies pour l'organisation internationale*, II/4/8.

de cesser de transmettre des renseignements pour treize territoires non autonomes, en se contentant de porter ce fait à la connaissance du Secrétaire général. L'Assemblée générale n'a jamais reçu aucune explication valable au sujet de la cessation de la transmission des renseignements. Les Puissances coloniales continuent de traiter les territoires non autonomes comme leur domaine exclusif. Leur attitude à cet égard constitue une nouvelle violation des dispositions de la Charte.

18. Les Puissances coloniales sont tenues de transmettre des renseignements en vertu d'une convention obligatoire; la responsabilité internationale assumée par ces Puissances ne peut cesser qu'en vertu d'une décision internationale prise par l'Assemblée générale elle-même. Avant qu'une Puissance administrante quelconque puisse être libérée de son obligation de transmettre les renseignements prévus à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73, le Comité des renseignements doit examiner toutes les données concernant la modification du statut du territoire en question, et soumettre à l'Assemblée générale, à qui appartient la décision finale en la matière, un recommandation tendant à ce que les renseignements cessent d'être transmis au sujet du territoire en question.

19. Les territoires non autonomes ne sont pas de simples provinces qui relèvent de la puissance souveraine du pays métropolitain; le paragraphe 7 de l'Article 2 de la Charte ne peut leur être appliqué. L'objet du Chapitre XI est d'établir un rapport particulier entre les territoires non autonomes et l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Les Puissances administrantes ne sont pas seules responsables du sort présent et futur de populations non autonomes; ce sort intéresse au premier chef tous les Etats Membres.

20. En ce qui concerne le rapport du Comité *ad hoc* pour l'étude des facteurs, il est instructif d'étudier les raisons données par les Puissances administrantes pour justifier leur décision unilatérale de cesser de transmettre des renseignements sur certains territoires non autonomes. Ces explications sont de deux sortes. La première excuse consiste à prétendre hypocritement que les renseignements sur la situation économique, sociale et de l'instruction ne sont plus transmis parce que ces territoires sont devenus autonomes dans ces domaines et qu'on concevrait mal qu'un gouvernement puisse continuer d'être lié par une obligation au sujet d'activités qui ne relèvent plus de lui. Le Gouvernement français a réitéré cet argument dans ses observations sur certains facteurs (A/AC.58/4). C'est là une déformation complète du sens du Chapitre XI. L'Article 73 montre clairement que les territoires non autonomes sont les colonies dont les populations ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes. Les Puissances administrantes ont donc l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements à leur sujet jusqu'au jour où elles seront devenues complètement autonomes. Une prétendue autonomie en matière économique et sociale et dans le domaine de l'enseignement ne saurait délier les Puissances coloniales des obligations que leur impose le Chapitre XI de la Charte ni les dispenser de transmettre des renseignements.

21. La deuxième excuse qu'on a présentée pour esquiver les obligations de la Charte est l'association du territoire non autonome à la métropole (il vaudrait mieux dire l'absorption) au moyen d'une mesure consti-

tutionnelle. On a eu recours à ce procédé à plusieurs reprises, et il est probable qu'on emploiera le même procédé à l'avenir au détriment des populations non autonomes. Que l'identité nationale des autochtones soit détruite brutalement et ouvertement ou bien par des méthodes en apparence constitutionnelles, ce genre d'association n'a absolument rien de commun avec l'autonomie complète envisagée par la Charte. L'Organisation des Nations Unies doit s'opposer à ces mesures de toute son autorité.

22. Il convient de souligner que l'alinéa e n'est qu'une partie de l'Article 73. Aux termes du préambule et des alinéas a, b, c, et d de l'Article 73, les Puissances administrantes se sont engagées à assurer et à favoriser le progrès politique des populations non autonomes, à respecter leurs aspirations et à assurer leur progrès économique et social et le développement de leur instruction. Le texte de l'Article 73 ne laisse aucun doute: par les mots "territoires dont les populations . . . s'administrent . . . complètement elles-mêmes" la Charte entend des territoires politiquement indépendants. La résolution 66 (I) de l'Assemblée générale et les autres textes cités par le représentant de l'Inde conduisent tous à la même conclusion.

23. Parmi les territoires non autonomes au sujet desquels les renseignements ne sont plus transmis, seule l'Indonésie est devenue indépendante et Membre des Nations Unies. Les autres territoires ont été exclus du système de la responsabilité internationale et sont apparemment laissés à la merci des intérêts égoïstes des Puissances métropolitaines. Cette évolution n'a jamais été envisagée dans la Charte ni dans les nombreuses résolutions adoptées ultérieurement au sujet des territoires non autonomes.

24. Avant qu'un territoire non autonome puisse assumer en toute indépendance la responsabilité de son avenir, il doit être libéré de la domination et de la pression de la Puissance coloniale. L'alinéa 4 du paragraphe A de la première partie de la liste des facteurs, qui figure dans le rapport du Comité, fait état de la "liberté pour le territoire de conclure des accords relatifs à sa défense nationale". Des bases militaires ont été établies dans plusieurs territoires non autonomes par les Puissances coloniales, et tant que ces bases existeront, aucun peuple non autonome ne pourra assurer librement la responsabilité de son propre avenir.

25. Un autre facteur qui doit, paraît-il, permettre de conclure qu'une population a accédé à l'indépendance est la "pleine compétence pour gérer les affaires économiques". Chacun sait que tous les territoires non autonomes sont sous la domination économique absolue des métropoles. Il n'est possible d'instaurer une parfaite indépendance économique qu'en expropriant les intérêts étrangers. Tant que ces intérêts conserveront la direction économique des territoires non autonomes, les populations non autonomes ne seront pas libres.

26. La deuxième partie de la liste des facteurs dit que pour déterminer "le statut ou le changement de statut" que les populations désirent, il faut que l'opinion des populations du territoire soit "librement exprimée, en connaissance de cause, et par des voies démocratiques". Même dans les territoires coloniaux où la population autochtone a déjà atteint une grande maturité politique, il n'existe que des simulacres de la démocratie. Dans les rares cas où ces voies démocratiques existent, les

prétendus organes législatifs sont trop souvent composés de représentants désignés, dont la plupart sont des colons venus de la métropole et qui n'ont rien en commun avec la population autochtone. Les autochtones aspirent à la liberté et à l'indépendance, les colons font tout en leur pouvoir pour prolonger la domination coloniale.

27. L'alinéa 3 du paragraphe A de la deuxième partie parle de "limitation volontaire de souveraineté". Ce paragraphe, de même que l'alinéa 1 du paragraphe C, pourrait faire croire que, "de sa propre volonté", la population d'un territoire pourrait opter pour le joug colonial. On pourrait, alors qualifier d'autonomes des territoires auxquels la Puissance administrante aurait imposé un pouvoir législatif et un conseil exécutif fantoches. Dans l'alinéa 1 du paragraphe C il est question d'une assemblée législative "légalement constituée d'une manière librement approuvée par la population", et non d'une assemblée élue; cela peut signifier que les membres d'une assemblée législative constituée par une Puissance coloniale agissent d'une manière librement approuvée par la population. Cette interprétation est à rejeter de façon catégorique, car son adoption signifierait que les Nations Unies approuvent le système actuel, fort peu démocratique, en vertu duquel le régime colonial s'exerce par l'intermédiaire d'assemblées législatives désignées.

28. Adopter comme des définitions obligatoires les facteurs "permettant de conclure qu'un territoire est librement associé à d'autres parties constitutives de la métropole ou d'un autre pays" permettrait de sanctionner un régime colonial déguisé, comme les Français le pratiquent par l'intermédiaire de l'Union française, comme les États-Unis ont essayé de l'instaurer par le "Commonwealth" de Porto-Rico ou comme le Royaume-Uni l'applique dans ses colonies. Si, par exemple, la Rhodésie du Nord et le Nyassaland formaient une fédération avec la Rhodésie du Sud, comme il en est question, il est probable que la fédération tout entière deviendrait "autonome" et le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni ne s'estimerait plus tenu de présenter des rapports concernant la Rhodésie du Nord et le Nyassaland.

29. Il est significatif que dans l'énoncé des facteurs présenté par le Comité *ad hoc* il est souvent question de limitation "volontaire" de la souveraineté et d'association "librement" décidée avec la métropole ou d'autres colonies. C'est seulement quand le joug colonial aura été supprimé que la libre volonté des peuples non autonomes pourra s'exprimer pleinement. Le rapport du Comité *ad hoc* ne précise pas ce point.

30. Le Comité *ad hoc* a complètement échoué dans sa tentative de porter un jugement neuf sur la question essentielle du droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes; or, ce droit est clairement défini au paragraphe 2 de l'Article premier de la Charte comme l'un des principaux objectifs des Nations Unies. A un moment historique donné, ce droit peut être exercé par l'un quelconque des peuples non autonomes. Ces peuples ne consulteront pas un dictionnaire pour savoir s'ils répondent parfaitement à la définition d'une nation libre: ils demanderont simplement que soit reconnu leur droit à disposer d'eux-mêmes et la question sera résolue non par une classification mécanique, mais par la lutte qu'ils mèneront pour leur entière indépendance.

31. La délégation polonaise n'est pas pour les formules rigides qui s'appliqueraient à tous les territoires non autonomes en toutes circonstances. Si l'Assemblée générale ne fait pas preuve de réalisme, les Puissances administrantes cesseront de transmettre des renseignements sans que les territoires soient devenus autonomes ou indépendants et le nombre des territoires non autonomes dont la situation est étudiée chaque année par les Nations Unies sera réduit à zéro.

32. Le Comité spécial lui-même a reconnu les limitations de son travail au paragraphe 5, C, de son rapport quand il déclare qu'il faudra tenir "compte des circonstances propres à chaque cas particulier, circonstances qu'il sera nécessaire d'étudier séparément". Il faut éviter les généralisations dangereuses et l'Assemblée générale devrait faire un examen critique et objectif de chaque cas, sans se reporter uniquement à des facteurs pour déterminer si le territoire intéressé s'administre complètement lui-même, aux termes de la Charte. Le principe essentiel dont il faut tenir compte est le droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes; on doit mettre tout en œuvre pour éviter d'affaiblir ou de fausser ce droit, et pour éliminer les obstacles que les Puissances administrantes essaient de susciter pour différer le jour où les peuples non autonomes l'invoqueront. La délégation polonaise doit faire certaines réserves en ce qui concerne le principe même du rapport du Comité *ad hoc*, qui, dans certains cas, pourrait être incompatible avec le droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes.

33. M. GERIG (Etats-Unis d'Amérique) déclare que sa délégation approuve le rapport du Comité *ad hoc*. Le rapport témoigne de l'étude minutieuse et attentive qui a été consacrée à cette question complexe. Il convient que l'Assemblée générale adopte le rapport, car il représente le maximum d'accord auquel il soit possible de parvenir pour le moment. Bien entendu, le texte pourrait être perfectionné et la délégation des Etats-Unis est disposée à prendre en considération toute proposition présentée à cette fin.

34. En approuvant le rapport, la délégation des Etats-Unis tient à préciser, que, comme le Comité l'a dit lui-même, il est bien entendu qu'une énumération de facteurs ne peut avoir que la valeur d'une indication lorsqu'il s'agit de déterminer si un territoire s'administre ou non lui-même. Elle partage également l'avis du Comité selon lequel chaque cas particulier doit être tranché en tenant compte des circonstances qui lui sont propres et qu'un facteur particulier ou une combinaison de facteurs ne peut être considérée comme décisive dans chaque cas. Il faut louer le Comité d'avoir évité les conclusions simplistes qui ne faciliteraient pas la recherche du critère qui doit permettre de juger si un territoire s'administre lui-même.

35. Les facteurs se rangent en trois catégories. Premièrement, ceux qui permettent de conclure qu'une population a accédé à l'indépendance; deuxièmement, ceux qui permettent de conclure qu'une population a accédé à une autre forme d'autonomie séparée; troisièmement, ceux qui permettent de conclure qu'un territoire est librement associé à d'autres parties constitutives de la métropole ou d'un autre pays. Les listes de facteurs sont plus ou moins pertinentes; certains éléments complémentaires mériteraient peut-être d'y figurer. Cependant, la délégation des Etats-Unis ne propose aucun facteur nouveau, en partie parce qu'il

serait peut-être dangereux d'avoir une liste si longue que les populations des territoires non autonomes elles-mêmes risquent de s'y méprendre et de se laisser décourager en s'imaginant qu'elles doivent répondre à trop de conditions pour atteindre le but désiré, à savoir l'autonomie. A vrai dire quand elle a étudié la liste des facteurs, la délégation des Etats-Unis s'est demandée si certains Etats indépendants Membres des Nations Unies remplissaient les conditions requises pour se dire autonomes.

36. La délégation des Etats-Unis félicite le Comité *ad hoc* d'avoir clairement indiqué la différence entre l'indépendance et l'autonomie: alors que les gouvernements indépendants sont autonomes, les gouvernements autonomes ne sont pas tous indépendants.

37. Il est en outre nettement reconnu dans le rapport que les territoires non autonomes ne progressent pas tous dans la même direction et peuvent ne pas tous désirer prendre le même chemin. Si les uns évoluent vers l'indépendance, d'autres vont manifestement vers une libre association avec la métropole ou un autre Etat ou groupe d'Etats.

38. En ce qui concerne le projet de résolution A/C.4/L.231, la délégation des Etats-Unis est reconnaissante aux représentants du Venezuela et de Cuba d'avoir clairement expliqué à la 273^{ème} séance sur quels postulats leur texte est fondé. Il ressort des termes employés dans le projet de résolution et des explications fournies par ses auteurs que ce projet de résolution se fonde sur deux hypothèses que le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis doit, vu sa constitution, rejeter l'une et l'autre. La première de ces hypothèses veut que l'autonomie soit indivisible et qu'en conséquence les Puissances administrantes soient tenues de transmettre les renseignements prévus à l'Article 73, e, jusqu'au moment où le territoire en question sera autonome non seulement sur le plan économique, social et de l'enseignement, mais encore sur le plan politique. La seconde hypothèse veut que la responsabilité et le droit de décider qu'un territoire est devenu autonome et ne doit plus faire l'objet de communications de renseignements appartienne non seulement à la Puissance administrante seule mais conjointement à l'Assemblée générale et à la Puissance administrante intéressée.

39. En ce qui concerne le premier de ces points, la délégation des Etats-Unis estime que la population et le gouvernement d'un territoire et la population et le gouvernement de la métropole peuvent, s'ils le désirent, déterminer librement la nature de leurs relations mutuelles et que, dans un arrangement ainsi librement convenu, ils peuvent décider que certaines questions comme les problèmes économiques, sociaux et de l'enseignement, doivent à l'avenir relever exclusivement du gouvernement du territoire tandis que le gouvernement métropolitain doit avoir la responsabilité de certaines autres questions, d'ordre politique, telles que les relations extérieures et la défense. Si, dans le cadre d'un arrangement de ce genre, le gouvernement du territoire ne désire pas soumettre de rapport sur ses affaires économiques et sociales au gouvernement métropolitain, ou ne désire pas que les renseignements fournis soient transmis aux Nations Unies, non seulement il serait contraire à l'accord de l'obliger à le faire, mais encore cela aboutirait en fait à priver le territoire d'une grande partie de l'autonomie nouvellement acquise par lui. Il

est difficile de croire que telle est l'intention du représentant de Cuba ou des autres auteurs du projet de résolution. Quoi qu'il en soit, le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis ne saurait s'associer à une action qui limiterait l'autonomie d'un territoire; il ne pourra appuyer une résolution fondée sur de telles prémisses.

40. Quant au second point, la délégation des Etats-Unis considère que chaque Puissance administrante a le droit de fixer la position constitutionnelle et le statut des territoires soumis à sa souveraineté. La décision de cesser de communiquer les renseignements prévus à l'Article 73, e, appartient uniquement à la Puissance administrante. Cela ne veut pas dire que l'Assemblée générale n'a pas de rôle à jouer. Au contraire, elle pourrait utilement préciser l'interprétation convenable d'expressions telles que "territoires non autonomes" ou "territoires dont les populations ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes". Puisque ces expressions se trouvent dans la Charte, la définition en doit être décidée collectivement plutôt que de façon unilatérale. L'Assemblée générale devrait pouvoir discuter ces expressions, tenter de les définir et recommander à l'attention des Puissances administrantes la définition qu'elle aura adoptée. L'Assemblée générale pourrait en outre exprimer son opinion en termes généraux sur les principes que les Puissances administrantes ont pris ou pourraient prendre comme guide pour décider de transmettre des renseignements sur tels ou tels territoires; mais une résolution relative à la décision d'une Puissance administrante de cesser de transmettre des renseignements ne doit pas sous-entendre que cette décision est sujette à l'approbation ou au désaveu de l'Assemblée générale. Si la population d'un territoire choisit librement de devenir partie intégrante d'un autre Etat et que le gouvernement de cet Etat prend, dans le cadre de sa constitution, les mesures législatives nécessaires en vue de cette union, ces mesures législatives ne peuvent faire l'objet d'un nouvel examen ni d'une éventuelle révision de la part de l'Assemblée générale, car l'Assemblée générale ne peut s'ingérer dans les dispositions législatives par lesquelles les gouvernements s'acquittent, conformément à leur constitution, des devoirs qui leur sont confiés. Aucun des Membres des Nations Unies n'admet que la législation des Etats Membres relève de la compétence de la Quatrième Commission ou de l'Assemblée générale. L'Organisation des Nations Unies n'est pas un gouvernement mondial. Les Etats-Unis n'ont pas renoncé à leur droit de décider quand un territoire a suffisamment évolué pour devenir un Etat et ne peuvent céder ce droit à la Quatrième Commission, puisqu'il s'agit d'une question constitutionnelle au sujet de laquelle le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis ne peut renoncer à sa souveraineté et à son droit de décision.

41. Pour ces raisons, le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis ne pourra voter en faveur du projet de résolution A/C.4/L.231. Il serait plus prudent d'adopter simplement le rapport du Comité *ad hoc*, que les Etats-Unis appuieront.

42. M. C. LIU (Chine) estime, compte tenu des objectifs définis au Chapitre XI de la Charte, que le projet de résolution commun est fort bien venu et qu'il exprime de façon correcte l'interprétation évolutionnaire que l'Assemblée générale a donnée du Chapitre XI dans les diverses résolutions que les orateurs précédents ont rappelées.

43. Néanmoins, le paragraphe 3 du dispositif du projet de résolution est quelque peu obscur. M. Liu ne peut concevoir qu'on puisse interpréter les facteurs comme "faisant obstacle à l'autonomie complète". Les obstacles ne peuvent venir que de la population autochtone, de la Puissance administrante ou d'autres parties intéressées. Le représentant de la Chine aimerait quelques explications à ce sujet.

44. Le paragraphe 2 constitue pratiquement la répétition de la seconde phrase du paragraphe 5, C, du rapport du Comité *ad hoc* et devrait donc logiquement être rattaché au dernier considérant; ces deux passages ne sont que deux aspects d'une seule et même idée et ne devraient pas être séparés.

45. La relation qui existe entre les termes "autonome" et "s'administre complètement elle-même" employés au paragraphe 4 ne paraît pas très claire. Le représentant de Cuba a déclaré que le paragraphe 4 était destiné à souligner l'indivisibilité de tous les aspects de l'autonomie. Cette idée ressortirait plus clairement si l'on ajoutait les mots "dans le domaine politique" après "s'administre complètement elle-même".

46. M. Liu n'insistera pas sur les amendements qu'il a suggérés; de toute façon, il votera en faveur du projet de résolution commun.

47. Sir Alan BURNS (Royaume-Uni) dit que sa délégation a toujours pensé que la question des facteurs était plutôt étrangère aux principes et objectifs du Chapitre XI. Aussi n'a-t-elle pas pris une part très active au débat. Néanmoins, en application de la résolution 567 (VI) de l'Assemblée générale, elle a communiqué au Comité *ad hoc* son opinion dûment réfléchie. Il est regrettable que l'exposé du Royaume-Uni (A/AC.58/1/Add.3), ainsi que les autres exposés où les divers Etats Membres ont soigneusement présenté leurs arguments, n'aient pas apparemment reçu du Comité toute l'attention qu'ils méritaient; le rapport du Comité aurait eu beaucoup plus de valeur si le texte intégral de ces exposés y avait été inséré et soumis à l'examen de la Quatrième Commission. Il ressort clairement de certaines déclarations faites à la Quatrième Commission que l'on n'a pas pleinement tenu compte des opinions exprimées dans les exposés des Etats Membres.

48. Passant au projet de résolution, Sir Alan Burns souligne que l'obligation de transmettre des renseignements, dont il est question dans les deux premiers considérants, est sujette aux limitations que pourraient imposer des considérations de sécurité ou d'ordre constitutionnel. Sous réserve de ces limitations, la délégation du Royaume-Uni admet que l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements existe pour un territoire donné tant que les objectifs définis au Chapitre XI n'ont pas été atteints en ce qui regarde ce territoire.

49. La rédaction du dernier considérant esquivait certaines des difficultés que présente l'interprétation de la Charte. Le problème en ce qui concerne le Chapitre XI est de déterminer si un territoire est ou n'est pas un territoire dont les populations — ce sont là les mots essentiels — ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes. Une certaine confusion apparaît dans le rapport du Comité *ad hoc*: tantôt les caractéristiques mentionnées s'appliquent à un territoire autonome, et tantôt elles s'appliquent à une population autonome. Il aurait été prudent de la part du Comité *ad hoc* de

définir les mots "territoire" et "population". Le Comité apparemment a reculé devant les définitions.

50. La même confusion entre "territoire" et "populations" apparaît dans le paragraphe 1 du projet de résolution. En principe, l'Assemblée générale, si tant est qu'elle doive examiner la question, s'intéresse à l'existence de populations qui ne sont pas encore parvenues à l'autonomie complète. Ce problème l'intéresse non seulement du point de vue de la cessation de la transmission de renseignements mais aussi de celui de la reconnaissance de leurs obligations par les Etats qui n'ont pas jugé jusqu'ici que des obligations leur incombaient aux termes du Chapitre XI.

51. Le Royaume-Uni n'aura guère de difficulté à décider si l'un quelconque de ses territoires a ou non atteint une autonomie complète et le Gouvernement britannique n'a pas besoin d'approuver la liste des facteurs. Par exemple, si le Royaume-Uni décidait d'accorder l'autonomie complète aux populations d'un territoire non autonome, il pourrait promulguer un ordre en conseil spécialement à cet effet. Un tel instrument, qui aurait autorité sur le plan international, retirerait le territoire en question de la catégorie des territoires qui relèvent du Chapitre XI. Il est parfaitement possible que le progrès politique des populations en question ne soit pas suffisant pour leur permettre de décider en connaissance de cause de l'avenir du territoire, et ses populations pourraient ne pas être en mesure de manifester leurs opinions en connaissance de cause et par des voies démocratiques, en ce qui concerne le statut ou le changement de statut qu'elles peuvent désirer. Néanmoins, leur statut serait fixé en droit international d'une manière effective par ledit ordre-en-conseil. En conséquence, étant donné la procédure constitutionnelle du Royaume-Uni, la liste des facteurs est une question qui est étrangère à la question fondamentale du statut du territoire, tant du point de vue du droit international que du point de vue du Chapitre XI.

52. Le paragraphe 2 du projet de résolution fait preuve de sagesse et est conforme à la pratique constamment suivie par le Gouvernement britannique. Sir Alan se félicite de la présence du paragraphe 3, car il servira à dissiper l'impression, qui va grandissant dans les territoires non autonomes, que les Nations Unies hésiteraient à reconnaître le progrès politique d'un territoire donné, à moins qu'il ne soit possible, au moyen d'une série de critères presque incompréhensibles, de convaincre soixante pays que ce territoire est parvenu à un degré d'évolution supérieur de loin à celui de la majorité des Etats Membres.

53. Sir Alan ne comprend pas les mots du paragraphe 4 "sa population s'administre complètement elle-même, selon les termes du Chapitre XI de la Charte". Le rapport du Comité *ad hoc* ne contient aucune définition de mots "qui s'administre complètement elle-même". Le Gouvernement britannique juge qu'un pays s'administre lui-même en ce qui concerne les questions économiques, sociales ou de l'éducation, lorsque les pouvoirs législatif et exécutif de ce pays prennent leur décision dans ces domaines en toute indépendance. L'orateur est convaincu que les auteurs du projet de résolution commun seront en mesure de proposer une définition.

54. Sir Alan approuve le dernier membre de phrase du paragraphe 5 qui reconnaît nettement qu'il existe plus de huit Membres des Nations Unies à qui pourrait

incomber l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements.

55. Cependant, la délégation britannique ne votera pas le projet de résolution et n'approuvera pas le rapport du Comité *ad hoc*. Il reste beaucoup à faire avant qu'il ne soit possible de considérer cette question comme élucidée, même provisoirement. On a exprimé de nombreux doutes au sujet de la valeur réelle de la liste des facteurs et on a introduit de nombreux éléments nouveaux dans la discussion. Les exposées mûrement réfléchis que plusieurs gouvernements ont présentés n'ont fait l'objet que d'un examen très rapide et presque tous les termes essentiels restent à définir. En conséquence, Sir Alan pense qu'il serait sage que la Commission invite le Secrétaire général à préparer une nouvelle étude d'ensemble sur la question en tenant compte de tous les éléments dont il vient de parler et de la présenter à la huitième session de l'Assemblée générale. Dans le passé, l'Assemblée générale a paru attacher une grande importance à l'étude des facteurs, qu'elle dépêche maintenant de façon si légère.

56. Sir Alan ne s'opposera pas à une tentative visant, au moyen de ce projet de résolution commun, à retirer de l'ordre du jour un problème quelque peu irréal. Cependant, avant de passer au vote, il tient à réserver entièrement la position de son gouvernement à l'égard de toutes prétentions que l'on jugerait pouvoir émettre au nom de l'Assemblée générale. Si ce projet de résolution est adopté et si, par la suite, on émet des prétentions quelconques, la délégation britannique sera contrainte de rappeler les réserves expresses qu'elle vient de formuler.

57. M. DE MARCHENA (République Dominicaine) dit que sa délégation a toujours soutenu que l'Assemblée générale a compétence pour décider si un territoire est ou n'est pas autonome et par conséquent s'il faut ou non continuer de communiquer des renseignements au sujet de ce territoire. Le Chapitre XI de la Charte est une déclaration des Puissances administrantes, mais c'est également un traité entre ces Puissances et la collectivité internationale représentée par l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Conformément à l'Article 10 de la Charte, l'Assemblée générale est sans aucun doute compétente pour discuter le Chapitre XI et pour interpréter les obligations que les Puissances administrantes ont assumées en vertu de ce chapitre. La délégation de la République Dominicaine a en conséquence préconisé l'établissement du Comité *ad hoc* pour l'étude des facteurs et a participé à ses travaux. Elle est convaincue, comme le représentant de la République Dominicaine l'a déclaré à la 396ème séance plénière de l'Assemblée générale, que le principe du droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes est un principe sacré; ce principe fait partie intégrante du droit international et a été reconnu sans réserve dans la Charte des Nations Unies.

58. La délégation de la République Dominicaine a toujours soutenu qu'il est très difficile d'établir des critères absolus de l'autonomie. Néanmoins, elle a répondu à la lettre par laquelle le Secrétaire général l'a priée de présenter ses observations sur la liste des facteurs. Un tiers seulement des Etats Membres ont cru pouvoir présenter leurs observations à ce sujet; plusieurs Etats ont réservé leur opinion jusqu'au moment où ils auraient eu connaissance du rapport du Comité *ad hoc* et plusieurs Etats réservent encore leur opinion

à l'heure actuelle. Il est évident qu'un grand nombre d'Etats Membres conservent encore des doutes sérieux au sujet de la liste des facteurs et l'on peut vraiment se demander, par conséquent, si l'Assemblée générale devrait considérer cette liste comme définitive et l'adopter.

59. M. de Marchena partage l'opinion des représentants qui ont fait allusion aux aspects politiques de la question. Néanmoins, le problème a toujours été présenté à la Commission comme un problème juridique; il doit donc être résolu par des formules juridiques tirées du droit international public. Les dispositions constitutionnelles qui régissent les relations entre un territoire métropolitain et les territoires non autonomes dont il est responsable soulèvent de toute évidence des problèmes juridiques considérables. C'est pourquoi, à la sixième session de l'Assemblée générale, la délégation de la République Dominicaine a suggéré à la Quatrième Commission (216ème séance) que l'étude des facteurs soit confiée à la Commission du droit international. Elle est toujours de cet avis. Le rapport du Comité *ad hoc* devrait être soumis à un organe technique qui procéderait à une plus ample étude et adapterait la terminologie aux nécessités juridiques du problème. Une telle mesure est particulièrement nécessaire dans le cas présent, car la liste des facteurs sera un document d'une importance décisive lorsque l'on entreprendra un jour la révision de la Charte. La délégation de la République Dominicaine appuiera donc toute suggestion tendant à ce que ce problème fasse l'objet d'une étude plus approfondie, notamment par la Commission du droit international; elle se réserve le droit de présenter un projet de résolution à cet effet.

60. Le rapport du Comité *ad hoc* pêche par une grave omission: il ne contient aucune définition de l'autonomie. La délégation de la République Dominicaine a déclaré à la 216ème séance de la Quatrième Commission qu'avant toute détermination des facteurs, il faudrait définir le principe de l'autonomie du point de vue du droit international car ce principe dérive de l'application du droit constitutionnel au droit international public. L'ambiguïté du Chapitre XI à ce sujet, et notamment de l'Article 73, b, a été soulignée à plusieurs reprises par différents commentateurs et en particulier par MM. Hans Kelsen et Lauterpacht. En droit français et en droit romain, la définition d'un crime, par exemple, contient toujours la définition des éléments du crime. De même, toute définition de l'autonomie doit définir les éléments du gouvernement autonome, c'est-à-dire les facteurs. Il semble que l'on ait tendance, à la Quatrième Commission à prétendre que l'Assemblée générale doit tout d'abord déterminer les facteurs, puis plus tard, définir l'autonomie. M. de Marchena ne voit aucune raison pour que l'on n'entreprenne pas ces deux tâches simultanément; en fait il serait sans doute préférable de procéder de la sorte. La délégation de la République Dominicaine a déjà proposé de définir l'autonomie comme suit: le fait pour un peuple ou un groupe de population, de rendre ses institutions indépendantes du territoire métropolitain auquel il était jusque là lié légalement et politiquement. Toute définition de l'autonomie doit nécessairement contenir le principe du droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes.

61. Le rapport du Comité *ad hoc*, aussi bien que le paragraphe 2 du projet de résolution, reconnaissent

qu'aucune énumération de facteurs ne peut faire plus que de servir de guide. Etant donné que beaucoup d'autres formules pourraient résoudre les ambiguïtés du Chapitre XI, la délégation de la République Dominicaine adoptera une attitude intermédiaire à l'égard du projet de résolution.

62. Le préambule du projet de résolution lui paraît acceptable, puisqu'il ne fait qu'énumérer les conséquences des résolutions précédentes de l'Assemblée générale. La déclaration liminaire du premier paragraphe est bien formulée mais, comme M. de Marchena l'a déjà déclaré, il serait prématuré de considérer la liste des facteurs comme définitive. Elle devrait être examinée d'une manière plus approfondie par un nouveau comité *ad hoc* ou par la Commission du droit international. Le libellé trop vague du paragraphe 2 diminue la valeur de l'ensemble du projet de résolution. Le paragraphe 4 semble être une déclaration de l'Assemblée générale, énonçant le principe formel qu'il ne peut y avoir d'autonomie dans les domaines économique et social et dans celui de l'enseignement sans autonomie politique. Ce principe est acceptable mais, en pratique, s'il était approuvé, il rendrait inutile toute la liste des facteurs. Si l'Assemblée générale désire faire une telle déclaration, elle peut le faire dans une résolution séparée. Toutefois, M. de Marchena n'est pas du tout certain qu'une déclaration de ce genre ne violerait pas le Chapitre XI de la Charte. Comme il est indiqué au paragraphe 4, cette idée introduit un élément nouveau et fondamental lourd de conséquences juridiques et politiques très graves. Il serait prématuré, pour le moment, que l'Assemblée générale adopte ce qui est, au fond, une révision du Chapitre XI. C'est pourquoi M. de Marchena ne votera pas le paragraphe 4.

63. En résumé, la délégation de la République Dominicaine n'est pas opposée au projet de résolution, mais elle estime qu'il est prématuré. Elle s'abstiendra par conséquent au cours du vote sur l'ensemble de la résolution, mais demandera peut-être un vote séparé sur certains paragraphes, à propos desquels elle émettra un vote négatif.

64. M. RYCKMANS (Belgique) tient à appeler l'attention de la Commission sur certains points qui paraissent avoir échappé aux précédents orateurs. Il ne s'agit pas pour la Commission de déterminer sous quelles conditions les gouvernements peuvent être autorisés à cesser de transmettre des renseignements, il s'agit simplement de décider quels sont les territoires pour lesquels il convient de fournir des renseignements. Les textes à soumettre à l'Assemblée générale doivent être rédigés en termes précis. La question qui se pose est donc la suivante: quels sont les territoires dont les populations ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes?

65. En second lieu, chaque Etat est libre — c'est son droit souverain — de décider quels sont, parmi les territoires qu'il administre, ceux qui relèvent du Chapitre XI de la Charte. C'est lui qui décide pour quels territoires il fournira des renseignements et pour quels territoires il n'est plus nécessaire d'en transmettre.

66. La délégation de la Belgique doute sérieusement de la valeur de la liste des facteurs préparée par le Comité spécial. Peut-être cette liste a-t-elle été établie un peu au hasard. Certaines suggestions ont été pré-

sentées au Comité, on en a ajouté d'autres, quelques-unes ont été supprimées, certaines ont été retenues. M. Ryckmans est convaincu qu'aucun membre de la Commission n'a l'impression que la question a fait l'objet d'une étude minutieuse. Le Comité n'a pas accompli ce qui aurait dû être sa tâche essentielle: définir l'autonomie.

67. La délégation de la Belgique ne prend pas position en ce qui concerne la liste des facteurs. Tous ces facteurs méritent considération; cependant, pris ensemble ou isolément, ils ne sauraient constituer un critère permettant de décider automatiquement si un territoire relève ou non du champ d'application de l'Article 73, e.

68. La liste des facteurs vient toutefois corroborer l'opinion de la délégation de la Belgique selon laquelle il existe beaucoup de peuples auxquels on pourrait appliquer ces critères et à propos desquels on ne transmet pourtant pas de renseignements. De deux choses l'une: ou bien ces critères sont valables et, dans ce cas, il convient de transmettre des renseignements sur tous les territoires auxquels on peut les appliquer, ou bien ils s'appliquent à certains territoires pour lesquels la Puissance administrante — ou, suivant certains, l'Assemblée générale — estime qu'il n'est pas nécessaire de transmettre des renseignements, et dans ce cas, ils ne sont alors pas valables.

69. M. Ryckmans va donner quelques exemples des territoires auxquelles, de l'avis de sa délégation, ces facteurs s'appliquent incontestablement. Parmi les facteurs qui permettent de conclure qu'une population a accédé à l'indépendance, on trouve: l'opinion des populations du territoire librement exprimée, en connaissance de cause et par des voies démocratiques, en ce qui concerne le statut ou le changement de statut qu'elles désirent; la mesure dans laquelle les relations du territoire avec le siège du gouvernement central peuvent être affectées par des circonstances tenant à leur situation géographique respective, telles que le fait qu'ils sont séparés par une étendue de terre ou de mer ou par d'autres obstacles naturels; enfin, la mesure dans laquelle la race, la langue, la religion ou le patrimoine culturel, les intérêts ou les aspirations différencient les populations du territoire d'avec celles du pays auquel elles s'associent librement.

70. Le représentant de la Belgique se réfère à ce propos au rapport sur les travaux de la première session de la Commission d'experts pour le travail des autochtones, tenue par l'Organisation internationale du Travail à La Paz en 1951, dans lequel sont décrites les conditions d'existence de la population indienne au Brésil. D'après ce rapport, il existe trois catégories d'Indiens: les Indiens appartenant à la première catégorie vivent dans les mêmes agglomérations que les gens civilisés; la deuxième catégorie est constituée par des tribus qui entretiennent des relations pacifiques avec les gens civilisés, mais qui habitent des régions éloignées, proches des points où les fleuves ont leur source; la troisième est composée de tribus absolument sauvages, vivant isolées dans des régions inaccessibles et qui résistent par les armes à toute tentative que font les gens civilisés pour entrer en contact avec eux.

71. Il est dit, dans un rapport publié par le Gouvernement du Venezuela pour l'année 1949-1950 que l'on essaie de civiliser les Indiens du bassin supérieur de l'Orénoque

en les initiant à la religion, en leur enseignant l'espagnol, l'agriculture et le commerce, ainsi que des principes d'hygiène et de salubrité publique. Dans un rapport du même gouvernement pour l'année 1950-1951, il est dit que, désireux d'améliorer la situation des autochtones qui vivent dans des régions lointaines et inaccessibles, le gouvernement a confié la tâche de les civiliser à des missions catholiques et qu'en dépit des difficultés rencontrées l'œuvre des missionnaires fait des progrès.

72. D'après une loi vénézuélienne de 1882, le Gouvernement fédéral continuera d'administrer les populations autochtones selon un régime spécial, jusqu'au moment jugé opportun pour leur donner un statut différent. La législation applicable à ces populations est donc différente de celle qui s'applique à la majorité des habitants du Venezuela. Une loi de 1915 a porté création de plusieurs missions chargées d'initier à la vie urbaine les groupes barbares qui subsistaient encore dans diverses parties du territoire de la République et de coloniser les régions les moins peuplées du Venezuela. Les missions ont reçu les pouvoirs nécessaires pour assurer le maintien de l'ordre parmi les Indiens et pour demander l'intervention du Gouvernement fédéral au cas où des mesures importantes devraient être prises. On fera l'éducation des Indiens, qui sont disposés à renoncer à l'existence nomade, dans des centres spéciaux où on leur apprendra où et comment s'établir de façon permanente. C'est le chef de la mission qui décidera de l'endroit où ils doivent se fixer.

73. M. Ryckmans donne à la Commission l'assurance que lorsqu'il parle des pays où l'on trouve encore des habitants non assimilés, il n'entend formuler aucune critique. La Belgique n'éprouve aucune honte à avoir sous sa souveraineté des populations à demi civilisées, et elle ne peut que sympathiser avec les autres pays qui ont à faire face aux mêmes problèmes. Les pays administrants ne sont pas responsables des problèmes, mais seulement de la manière dont ils travaillent à les résoudre.

74. Dans un rapport du Commissioner of Scheduled Castes Tribes du Gouvernement de l'Inde, publié en décembre 1951, il est question de la demande par laquelle la tribu des Nagas a réclamé son indépendance — situation que les Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies n'ignorent pas, puisqu'ils ont reçu de cette tribu une pétition à cet effet, datée du mois de novembre 1949. Dans cette pétition, le peuple naga affirme n'avoir jamais perdu son indépendance et être déterminé à la conserver. Récemment, les Nagas ont effectué une incursion, et le Président du Conseil, M. Nehru, a déclaré devant le Parlement que les territoires éprouvés n'étaient administrés ni par le Gouvernement de l'Inde ni par un autre gouvernement; ils ne sont soumis à aucune administration et leur population est livrée à elle-même, sauf en cas de troubles.

75. M. Ryckmans ne voit pas pourquoi l'on ne transmettrait pas de renseignements sur toutes les populations qu'il a mentionnées. Les facteurs énumérés dans la liste de la Commission s'appliquent autant à ces populations qu'à celles des territoires non autonomes sur lesquels l'Organisation reçoit des renseignements conformément à l'Article 73, e.

76. Il a déjà cité l'exemple du Libéria à la 259ème séance. Sans songer à prétendre que les fonctionnaires

du Libéria sont moins compétents ou moins dévoués aux intérêts de la population que les fonctionnaires français de la Côte-d'Ivoire, il ne voit pas pourquoi le Libéria ne fournirait pas de renseignements sur les populations qui habitent la région frontière limitrophe.

77. La nation somalie, qui est divisée en plusieurs parties, constitue un autre exemple. L'Organisation reçoit chaque année des renseignements au sujet de la Somalie sous administration britannique, de la Somalie sous administration française et la Somalie sous administration italienne. La Somalie dont le territoire a été conquis par les Ethiopiens n'est probablement pas autonome; il faudrait que l'Ethiopie fournisse des renseignements sur ce territoire. M. Ryckmans ne voit pas pourquoi l'Ethiopie serait moins liée par cette obligation que ne le sont le Royaume-Uni, la France ou l'Italie.

78. D'après un livre intitulé *Government and Nationalism in Southeast Asia* publié par l'Institute of Pacific Relations, à New-York en 1942, il existe aux Philippines des tribus arriérées qui vivent dans les montagnes et dans la brousse. Les colonisateurs espagnols ne s'étaient pas occupés d'elles, en raison de leur combativité et parce que leur territoire ne possédait aucune ressource permettant de compenser les dépenses qu'entraîneraient des opérations militaires. Il est affirmé, dans ce livre, que les membres de cette tribu détestent les fonctionnaires philippins et que ces derniers les considèrent comme des barbares. Toujours aux Philippines, les Moros n'élisent pas leurs fonctionnaires dans les mêmes conditions que ceux qui sont élus dans les autres parties du pays. Leur territoire et ceux des autres tribus qui habitent les Philippines entrent dans les définitions proposées par le Comité *ad hoc* dans la liste des facteurs.

79. On peut également citer le cas des Dyaks qui vivent dans l'île de Bornéo et au sujet desquels le Gouvernement des Pays-Bas a fourni des renseignements en 1947, 1948 et 1949. Selon ces renseignements, un certain nombre des tribus qui vivent dans cette partie de Bornéo se trouvent complètement isolées et elles sont très arriérées et primitives; on trouve encore parmi ces tribus des chasseurs de tête. On ne peut affirmer que ces populations jouissent de l'autonomie complète telle qu'on l'entend dans la Charte.

80. On objectera sans doute que la Charte mentionne non pas les populations mais les territoires; M. Ryckmans a cependant démontré qu'un grand nombre de ces populations habitent dans des territoires distincts et nettement délimités et qu'elles ne sont pas autonomes. Il y a aussi le cas de certains territoires qui sont séparés par la mer des pays qui les administrent. Ainsi, les îles Andaman et les îles Nicobar ne sont pas entièrement indépendantes et l'île de Pâques se trouve sous la souveraineté du Chili; pourtant, l'Inde et le Chili ne communiquent aucun renseignement à leur sujet.

81. On a prétendu que la thèse belge est contraire aux principes de la souveraineté des Etats et qu'elle rendrait le colonialisme universel. Toutefois, le terme "colonie" ne figure ni au Chapitre XI de la Charte ni à l'Article 23 du Pacte de la Société des Nations, aux termes duquel les Membres de la Société des Nations s'étaient engagés à assurer le traitement équitable des populations indigènes dans les territoires soumis à leur

administration. Il n'a été établi à cet égard aucune distinction entre les pays dits métropolitains et les territoires coloniaux.

82. On a également invoqué le principe de la compétence nationale. M. Ryckmans ne voit pas le rapport que ce principe peut avoir avec les territoires qui ne sont pas situés dans les limites des frontières du territoire métropolitain.

83. La plupart des Etats qui se sont opposés à la thèse de la délégation belge étaient Membres de la Société des Nations; ils n'ont pas expliqué pourquoi l'obligation imposée par l'Article 23 du Pacte de la Société des Nations, qui était admissible il y a vingt-cinq ans, ne l'est plus aujourd'hui. L'argument selon lequel l'Article 73 s'applique aux territoires et non pas aux populations n'est qu'une pure chicanerie juridique. Les territoires ne sont importants que parce qu'ils sont habités par des êtres humains. L'opinion publique belge ne pourra pas croire à la sincérité de personnes qui se livrent à de tels sophismes tout en exprimant de beaux sentiments au sujet du bien-être des populations non autonomes, et en en appelant à l'esprit de la Charte, à l'esprit de coopération internationale, etc. La Belgique n'admettra jamais que le Chapitre XI de la Charte s'applique uniquement aux populations des territoires au sujet desquels des renseignements n'ont été librement transmis que par huit Etats. En fait, ces huit Etats ont fait preuve d'un esprit de coopération internationale bien plus grand que tous les autres Etats Membres de l'Organisation. La moitié au moins des Etats Membres des Nations Unies comprennent des populations au sujet desquelles des renseignements devraient être transmis en vertu du Chapitre XI de la Charte; le fait que ces Etats refusent de transmettre ces renseignements a pour conséquence que les huit Puissances en question, les Puissances dites coloniales, sont victimes d'une discrimination qui, à la longue, affectera gravement le fonctionnement de l'Organisation des Nations Unies.

84. M. CALERO RODRIGUES (Brésil) déclare que les observations du représentant de la Belgique sont totalement étrangères à la question dont s'occupe la Commission. Il est vrai qu'il y a des Indiens au Brésil. Le Gouvernement brésilien a d'ailleurs étudié, en commun avec diverses institutions internationales, organisations interaméricaines et institutions spécialisées telles qu l'OIT et l'UNESCO, des questions touchant les intérêts de ces Indiens, mais il est d'avis que les problèmes qui intéressent ces populations ne relèvent

pas de la Quatrième Commission. Si la question est de nouveau soulevée à la Commission, le représentant du Brésil se verra obligé de présenter une motion d'ordre. Sa délégation ne voit pas d'inconvénient à ce que les problèmes ethniques, sociaux et culturels de ces populations autochtones fassent l'objet de discussions, mais elle estime que ces discussions ne doivent pas avoir lieu à la Quatrième Commission.

85. M. RIVAS (Venezuela) rappelle que l'historique de la question est bien connu de la délégation belge. Les territoires ou les provinces du Venezuela habités par des populations arriérées ne sont pas assez peuplés pour justifier l'élection d'un sénateur. Il s'agit là cependant d'une question très différente de la question des territoires non autonomes au sens de la Charte. Les territoires non autonomes comme le Congo belge n'ont jamais fait légitimement partie du territoire métropolitain; ce sont des territoires placés provisoirement sous l'autorité des Puissances métropolitaines jusqu'à ce qu'ils deviennent autonomes. Au contraire, les régions du Venezuela auxquelles on a fait allusion ont toujours fait partie intégrante du territoire vénézuélien depuis que le pays a conquis son indépendance.

86. Le PRESIDENT dit qu'il était visible, depuis le début de sa déclaration que le représentant de la Belgique avait abordé des questions touchant de près un certain nombre d'Etats souverains, dont la plupart sont représentés à la Quatrième Commission. Les représentants de ces Etats désireront vraisemblablement présenter des observations sur ces questions et ils le feront sans aucun doute avec leur compétence et leur talent habituels. Il fait observer qu'il aurait pu interrompre le représentant de la Belgique et lui demander d'être plus bref et de ne pas s'étendre de nouveau sur un argument qu'il avait déjà avancé à propos du premier point de l'ordre du jour, puisque cela ne pouvait en aucune manière aider la Commission à examiner la question dont elle est saisie. Il s'est cependant abstenu d'interrompre le représentant de la Belgique parce qu'il a estimé qu'il devait avoir, comme tous les autres représentants, toute possibilité d'exprimer ses opinions, parce qu'il a voulu faire preuve de la plus grande courtoisie à son égard et parce qu'il n'a pas voulu donner l'impression de favoriser les nations sœurs auxquelles le représentant de la Belgique a fait allusion dans sa déclaration. En tout cas, les membres de la Commission ont le droit de soulever des questions d'ordre et ils peuvent le faire à tout moment.

La séance est levée à 18 h. 30.

ASSEMBLEE
GENERALE

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SEANCE

SEPTIEME SESSION

Documents officiels

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Siège permanent, New-York

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Facteurs dont il convient de tenir compte pour décider si un territoire est, ou n'est pas, un territoire dont les populations ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes: rapport du Comité *ad hoc* pour l'étude des facteurs (territoires non autonomes) [A/2178, A/C.4/L.231, A/C.4/L.233, A/C.4/L.234] (suite)

[Point 36*]

1. M. YOURANS (Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques) rappelle que le Chapitre XI de la Charte impose certaines obligations aux Puissances qui administrent des territoires non autonomes. Dans sa résolution 66 (I), l'Assemblée générale a indiqué la liste de ces territoires. En vertu de la Charte, les Puissances coloniales sont tenues de transmettre des renseignements qui doivent permettre à l'Organisation de déterminer si elles s'acquittent des obligations qu'elles ont contractées.

2. Certaines Puissances administrantes ont décidé arbitrairement de ne plus soumettre de renseignements sur plusieurs territoires non autonomes comme la Guadeloupe, la Nouvelle-Calédonie, la Zone du Canal de Panama, Malte, les Antilles néerlandaises, et d'autres, parce qu'elles craignent de révéler à l'opinion publique mondiale la situation qui règne dans ces territoires. C'est ainsi que s'est posée la question des facteurs.

3. La liste de ces facteurs, qui figure dans le rapport du Comité *ad hoc* (A/2178) marque un progrès, mais elle ne peut être considérée comme définitive ou complète. Lorsque l'Assemblée générale aura adopté une liste de critères, il faudra encore déterminer de quelle manière elle réunira les données nécessaires pour s'assurer que les populations d'un territoire donné s'administrent complètement elles-mêmes.

4. L'Union soviétique estime qu'aucune Puissance administrante ne peut cesser de fournir des renseigne-

ments sur un territoire non autonome quelconque avant que le Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes ait examiné tous les renseignements concernant le statut de ce territoire et fait savoir à l'Assemblée générale que ce territoire ne relève plus de l'Article 73, e, de la Charte. Les Puissances coloniales ne pourront cesser de transmettre des renseignements que lorsque les territoires non autonomes seront devenus des Etats indépendants et souverains dont la population exerce tous les pouvoirs: pouvoir législatif, pouvoir exécutif et pouvoir judiciaire.

5. L'Union soviétique votera le projet de résolution commun (A/C.4/L.231) mais elle présente un amendement (A/C.4/L.233) tendant à ajouter le membre de phrase suivant à la fin du troisième considérant:

"et précisé que, dans un délai maximum de six mois après la communication des renseignements susvisés, il convient de transmettre tous autres renseignements qui peuvent être nécessaires dans de tels cas, y compris les textes constitutionnels, législatifs ou réglementaires concernant le gouvernement du territoire, et les textes relatifs aux liens constitutionnels entre le territoire et le Gouvernement métropolitain."

6. M. RIFAI (Syrie) estime que la question examinée par le Comité *ad hoc* est délicate et complexe. Le rapport du Comité *ad hoc* ne peut être considéré que comme un guide utile. Comme le représentant des Etats-Unis l'a déclaré au cours de la 274^{ème} séance de la Commission, on risquerait, en essayant d'établir une liste trop complète, de conclure qu'aucune population n'est digne de se gouverner elle-même. La délégation syrienne estime qu'une nouvelle étude n'est pas nécessaire à cet égard; elle votera pour le projet de résolution commun.

7. M. Rifai juge inquiétantes les déclarations faites au cours du débat par les représentants de certaines Puissances administrantes. Selon ces représentants, seules les Puissances administrantes ont qualité pour déterminer si un territoire donné est autonome ou ne l'est pas, et la Charte ne limiterait en rien leur souve-

* Numéro affecté à la question dans l'ordre du jour de l'Assemblée générale.

raineté à cet égard. Si le Gouvernement syrien estime qu'il n'appartient pas aux seules Puissances administrantes de déterminer si un territoire donné a atteint le stade du "self-government", ce n'est pas pour entraver le progrès de ces territoires vers l'indépendance, mais afin de s'assurer que cette indépendance n'est pas illusoire. M. Rifai précise que dans son esprit les mots indépendance et "self-government" sont synonymes. Toute tentative d'établir une distinction subtile entre l'indépendance et le "self-government" serait contraire aux objectifs de la Charte. Cette distinction injustifiée a pour seul objet de permettre aux Puissances coloniales de prétendre qu'un territoire peut être considéré comme se gouvernant lui-même dès qu'il jouit d'une certaine autonomie en matière sociale, économique et scolaire. Une telle conception, jointe à la théorie de la compétence exclusive des Puissances administrantes, réduirait à néant tout espoir d'émancipation des peuples coloniaux et enlèverait toute raison d'être au Chapitre XI de la Charte. Si l'on adoptait cette interprétation, on s'apercevrait bientôt qu'aucun territoire non autonome ne relève plus des Nations Unies. C'est ainsi par exemple que le Maroc pourrait soudain atteindre une prétendue autonomie en étant simplement rattaché à l'Union française.

8. Les obligations du Chapitre XI de la Charte lient tous les Membres des Nations Unies. Les Puissances administrantes ne peuvent prendre de décisions unilatérales sur l'avenir des territoires non autonomes. Comme l'a déclaré le représentant de l'Inde, le statut des territoires non autonomes ne peut changer que de deux manières : ou bien ces territoires peuvent accéder à l'indépendance complète, comme dans le cas de l'Indonésie, ou bien ils peuvent être transformés en Territoires sous tutelle. L'Organisation des Nations Unies, en envisageant une modification du statut d'un territoire non autonome, devra tenir compte de la volonté librement exprimée de sa population.

9. La Syrie pense que si les graves divergences de vues qui séparent à ce sujet les Membres des Nations Unies ne s'atténuent pas, il conviendrait de demander un avis consultatif à la Cour internationale de Justice.

10. M. ABOU KHADRA (Arabie saoudite) estime que le caractère complexe de la question ressort du rapport du Comité *ad hoc*. Il est réconfortant de constater que les membres du Comité *ad hoc* ont pu se mettre d'accord sur les deux principes qui figurent dans le paragraphe 5, C, du rapport.

11. La délégation de l'Arabie saoudite est d'avis que l'Assemblée générale a qualité pour décider si un pays a atteint le stade du "self-government" et si la Puissance qui l'administre peut cesser de transmettre des renseignements à son sujet. S'il existe un doute quelconque à ce sujet, peut-être conviendrait-il de rechercher l'avis consultatif de la Cour internationale ou de renvoyer la question à la Sixième Commission.

12. Il serait dangereux d'accorder une importance excessive au régime politique en vigueur dans un territoire pour déterminer le stade qu'il a atteint sur la voie de l'autonomie. La situation et les traditions diffèrent considérablement à cet égard d'un territoire à l'autre et les facteurs énumérés dans le rapport du Comité ne peuvent être appliqués d'une manière rigide aux diverses régions qui relèvent du Chapitre XI de la Charte.

13. L'Arabie saoudite pense que la liste des facteurs qui figurent dans le rapport du Comité *ad hoc* est concise et adéquate. Pour ce qui est des facteurs concernant l'indépendance, il convient de tenir particulièrement compte de la mesure dans laquelle la population autochtone a pris conscience de son unité politique, économique et sociale. Ce facteur est également très important dans le cas de l'association d'un territoire donné avec la métropole ou avec un autre Etat, car il permet de juger si les populations se sont prononcées pour une telle association en toute liberté.

14. En réponse aux observations formulées au cours de la séance précédente par le représentant des Etats-Unis, M. Abou Khadra déclare qu'il est certes possible qu'un territoire désire librement s'associer à la métropole ou à un autre Etat, mais que de tels cas ne sauraient jamais être que de rares exceptions à la règle. Il serait très dangereux d'en faire un principe applicable à tous les territoires. En règle générale, les territoires non autonomes doivent ou bien accéder à l'indépendance et devenir membre de l'Organisation des Nations Unies ou bien être placés sous le régime international de tutelle.

15. Le représentant de l'Arabie saoudite regrette que plusieurs Puissances coloniales aient cessé pour certains territoires, de transmettre les renseignements prévus à l'Article 73, e, de la Charte.

16. Le projet de résolution commun demande à l'Assemblée générale d'approuver le rapport du Comité *ad hoc*. En dépit des divergences d'interprétation auxquelles certaines parties de ce rapport ont donné lieu, la délégation de l'Arabie saoudite estime que ce document est satisfaisant. Elle votera donc en faveur du projet de résolution.

17. M. LANNUNG (Danemark) considère que la liste des facteurs qui figure dans l'annexe à la résolution 567 (VI) de l'Assemblée générale constitue une base de discussion acceptable. Le rapport du Comité *ad hoc* n'appelle pas d'observations particulières de la part du Gouvernement danois.

18. M. Lannung a constaté avec satisfaction que le Comité a maintenu la distinction fondamentale entre les facteurs qui permettent de conclure qu'une population a accédé à l'indépendance ou à une forme d'autonomie et ceux qui permettent de conclure qu'un territoire s'est librement associé à d'autres parties constitutives de la métropole ou d'un autre pays. En ce qui concerne ces derniers facteurs, il conviendrait peut-être de procéder à une subdivision en envisageant, d'une part, les cas où le territoire est rattaché à un Etat du type fédéral, et d'autre part les cas où il est rattaché à un Etat du type unitaire. Mais, que cette division soit faite ou non, la question est secondaire. La question essentielle est que l'on soit d'accord pour admettre que la population d'un territoire qui, de sa propre volonté — librement exprimée en connaissance de cause et par des voies démocratiques — s'associe à la métropole ou à un autre pays, a acquis de ce fait une autonomie complète. Dans le cas d'un Etat unitaire, il est essentiel que le territoire rattaché à cet Etat jouisse du même statut que les autres parties constitutives de cet Etat. Dans ce cas, le degré d'autonomie locale n'est pas un facteur capital, car il dépend du caractère plus ou moins centralisé de cet Etat. Il convient de se souvenir que pour un territoire dont la population est très faible et n'est

guère assez nombreuse pour lui permettre de former un Etat indépendant, le rattachement à un autre Etat constitue le seul moyen pratique de permettre à la population de ce territoire de s'administrer complètement elle-même, conformément aux vœux librement exprimés par cette population.

19. M. Lannung mentionne à ce sujet les vœux et l'attitude de la population du Groenland; la position de la délégation danoise en ce qui concerne la question des facteurs a été influencée par cette attitude. Le Gouvernement du Danemark rappelle à ce propos que le Conseil national du Groenland a examiné au cours de l'été 1952 la question du statut futur de ce territoire. M. Augot Lynge, membre du Conseil national groenlandais, a déclaré notamment que le Groenland désire être associé ou intégré au Danemark. Sur la proposition de M. Lynge, le Conseil national groenlandais, composé de représentants élus au suffrage universel et égal pour tous par la population du Groenland, a adopté à l'unanimité une résolution tendant à ce que la nouvelle constitution du Danemark fasse du Groenland un *amt* — c'est-à-dire un comté ou une province du Danemark et à ce que le Groenland envoie des représentants au Parlement danois. Le Gouvernement et le Parlement danois ont l'intention, avec l'accord de tous les partis politiques, de modifier la Constitution du Danemark conformément aux aspirations de la population du Groenland. Cela pourrait prendre un certain temps car la procédure d'amendement est complexe.

20. M. Lannung considère que le facteur fondamental doit être la volonté librement exprimée de la population. Si la population d'un territoire et la Puissance administrante estiment toutes deux que la population du territoire s'administre complètement elle-même au sens du Chapitre XI de la Charte, il est évident que l'Organisation ne devrait placer aucun obstacle sur leur chemin.

21. D'ailleurs, la délégation danoise pense que les facteurs qui figurent dans le rapport du Comité *ad hoc* doivent servir à déterminer non seulement si une Puissance peut cesser de transmettre les renseignements prévus à l'Article 73, e, de la Charte, mais aussi si certaines Puissances ne devraient pas commencer d'envoyer ce genre de renseignements sur certains territoires qu'elles administrent.

22. Le Danemark a déjà affirmé, lors de l'adoption de la résolution 218 (III), de l'Assemblée générale, que l'Etat responsable de l'administration d'un territoire a le droit de déterminer lui-même le statut constitutionnel des territoires qui sont placés sous sa souveraineté. Le Danemark fournira à l'Organisation des renseignements sur toute modification apportée au statut du Groenland, mais, ce faisant, il estime qu'aucune mesure prise à ce sujet par ses organes constitutionnels n'est sujette à révision par les Nations Unies. L'attitude du Danemark à l'égard du projet de résolution commun sera déterminée par ces considérations.

23. M. PONCE YEPEZ (Equateur) déclare que l'obligation pour les Puissances administrantes de transmettre des renseignements sur la situation des territoires non autonomes résulte d'un accord multilatéral conclu par ces Puissances avec les autres signataires de la Charte. Les Puissances administrantes ne peuvent donc cesser de transmettre ces renseignements que si la situation des territoires en question s'est radicalement

modifiée. C'est pourquoi il est important de déterminer les facteurs dont il convient de tenir compte pour déterminer si les populations d'un territoire s'administrent complètement elles-mêmes. Le rapport du Comité *ad hoc* constitue une étude précieuse sur ce problème particulièrement complexe. Aucun facteur ne peut être considéré comme décisif et il convient de tenir compte de la situation particulière de chaque territoire.

24. Il serait extrêmement utile de pouvoir énoncer un critère général, qui tienne compte du principe de l'indivisibilité de l'autonomie. M. Ponce Yépez rappelle à ce sujet qu'au cours de la sixième session, à la 242ème séance de la Commission, le représentant d'une Puissance administrante a déclaré que l'autonomie économique n'était pas possible sans autonomie politique et que l'autonomie est une et indivisible. Le projet de résolution commun, et notamment le paragraphe 4 de son dispositif, marquent un net progrès dans ce sens.

25. En ce qui concerne l'extension qu'une certaine Puissance administrante voudrait donner au Chapitre XI de la Charte, M. Ponce Yépez soutient que l'Article 73, e, s'applique uniquement et exclusivement aux territoires non autonomes et jamais aux populations qui sont des éléments constitutifs et essentiels des Etats indépendants et pleinement souverains. Toute interprétation contraire constituerait une violation évidente du paragraphe 7 de l'Article 2 de la Charte et un danger pour l'intégrité même des Etats modernes.

26. M. COOPER (Libéria) rappelle que le représentant de la Belgique a déclaré au cours de la 259ème séance que le Libéria a été une colonie. M. Cooper demande au représentant de la Belgique si son pays n'a jamais été soumis à l'oppression d'une Puissance étrangère. A la suite de violations commises par certaines Puissances coloniales, le Libéria a dû proclamer son indépendance vingt ans à peine après sa constitution en colonie, sur les conseils amicaux des Etats-Unis. Le Libéria a été fondé par des noirs qui avaient été enlevés à leurs foyers par certaines Puissances coloniales et qui sont ensuite revenus dans leur pays grâce à la générosité de puissants amis. La Constitution du Libéria stipule expressément que seuls les noirs ou les personnes d'ascendance noire peuvent devenir citoyens du Libéria et posséder des terres dans ce pays. Certains représentants pourraient estimer qu'il s'agit là d'une disposition discriminatoire, mais c'est en partie grâce à cette clause que le Libéria a préservé son indépendance. Si, comme l'a déclaré le représentant de la Belgique, les habitants du Libéria parlent une langue étrangère, la faute en est aux Puissances coloniales qui les ont arrachés à leur pays.

27. Le représentant de la Belgique a prétendu à nouveau à la 274ème séance que le Libéria devrait transmettre des renseignements sur certaines tribus autochtones. Il a fait valoir que la Charte ne mentionne pas le mot "colonie", mais il est évident que le terme "territoire non autonome", qui figure dans la Charte, est synonyme de colonie, comme en témoignent les rapports adressés par les Puissances coloniales elles-mêmes à l'Assemblée générale. Il est absurde de prétendre que la portée des mots "territoire non autonome" peut également s'étendre aux Etats souverains. C'est pour éviter toute interprétation de cet ordre que les auteurs de la Charte ont expressément interdit à l'Organisation d'intervenir dans les affaires qui relèvent

essentiellement de la compétence nationale d'un Etat. Si l'on essayait d'appliquer le principe énoncé par le représentant de la Belgique à des Etats comme le Royaume-Uni, les Etats-Unis, l'Union soviétique ou la Belgique elle-même, on en apercevrait immédiatement toute l'inanité.

28. On a créé le Comité *ad hoc* parce que certaines Puissances administrantes ont cessé de transmettre des renseignements sur plusieurs territoires qu'elles administrent, sous prétexte que ces territoires ont atteint un certain degré d'autonomie. Même s'il était possible d'établir une liste des facteurs qui permettent de déterminer si la population d'un territoire s'administre complètement elle-même, la question essentielle serait de savoir qui a qualité pour appliquer ces critères à un territoire donné. Certains représentants estiment que ce droit appartient à l'Assemblée générale; de leur côté les Puissances administrantes déclarent qu'elles sont seules compétentes dans ce domaine; enfin les populations autochtones des territoires non autonomes peuvent également faire valoir qu'elles sont directement intéressées en la matière et que c'est pour elles qu'a été rédigé le Chapitre XI de la Charte. Tant que cette question n'aura pas été réglée, toute résolution adoptée ne pourra être appliquée qu'avec le bon vouloir des Puissances administrantes, et le but qu'on a recherché en créant un Comité *ad hoc* ne sera pas atteint. Les auteurs du projet de résolution commun ont d'ailleurs conscience de ce fait. Le Libéria estime que l'adoption du projet de résolution ne pourra donner aucun résultat concret. Les Puissances administrantes conserveront en effet, de toute manière, la liberté d'appliquer à chaque territoire les critères qui leur conviennent.

29. On a souvent demandé en quoi consiste le "self-government". Le représentant du Libéria rappelle à ce sujet la disposition des alinéas b et e de l'Article 73 de la Charte et il fait observer qu'on peut en conclure que la question de savoir si la population d'un territoire s'administre complètement elle-même dépend de facteurs politiques, sociaux, économiques et culturels ou d'une combinaison de ces facteurs. Il semble ressortir du paragraphe 4 du dispositif du projet de résolution commun qu'un territoire ne peut être considéré comme s'administrant lui-même que lorsqu'il a atteint un certain degré de développement politique, économique et social. Bien que telle ne soit certainement pas l'intention de ses auteurs, l'adoption du projet de résolution risque de retarder l'évolution des territoires non autonomes vers l'autonomie et l'indépendance. Le Libéria estime donc préférable d'adopter simplement une résolution approuvant le rapport du Comité *ad hoc*, jusqu'au moment où l'Assemblée générale aura réglé la question de savoir quels sont les organes compétents pour décider si un territoire est prêt ou non à s'administrer lui-même.

30. Si les auteurs du projet de résolution commun insistent pour que leur projet soit mis aux voix tel qu'il est, la délégation du Libéria votera en faveur de ce texte, mais elle estime qu'il n'a guère de chance d'accélérer l'évolution des populations autochtones vers l'autonomie et l'indépendance.

31. M. NAJAR (Israël) constate que le projet de résolution commun n'est pas très détaillé en ce qui concerne les facteurs dont il est question dans le rapport; par contre, il aborde de front divers problèmes sur lesquels le Comité *ad hoc* ne s'est pas prononcé

directement. Les débats ont montré que ce projet soulève les questions suivantes: Qui a le droit de décider si un territoire est ou n'est pas un territoire dont la population ne s'administre pas encore complètement elle-même? Qui a le droit de décider qu'un territoire non autonome a cessé de l'être et s'administre complètement lui-même? Quelle est la définition exacte de l'expression "capacité de s'administrer elles-mêmes" ou "self-government" utilisée au Chapitre XI de la Charte? Ce "self-government" se distingue-t-il de l'indépendance dont il est question au Chapitre XII de la Charte et, dans l'affirmative, en quoi? La transmission des renseignements, dont il est question à l'Article 73, e, peut-elle cesser avant qu'un territoire soit devenu un pays dont la population s'administre complètement elle-même? Qui peut décider que la transmission des renseignements peut prendre fin? Et, finalement, qui peut décider de la validité d'un accord politique intervenu entre une Puissance administrante et un territoire dont elle avait autrefois l'administration, mais qui, suivant elle, a accédé à l'autonomie?

32. Dans l'ensemble, ces questions mettent en cause l'étendue des pouvoirs de l'Assemblée générale et sortent du cadre de la transmission des informations et de leur libre discussion par la Quatrième Commission. Sur chacune d'elles, les vues des huit Puissances administrantes s'opposent totalement aux opinions exprimées dans le projet de résolution commun. Les Puissances administrantes fondent leur conception de leurs obligations sur les Articles 73 et 76 de la Charte et, aussi, sur le paragraphe 7 de l'Article 2 de la Charte. Des problèmes constitutionnels fondamentaux se posent donc sur le plan du droit international autant que sur le plan du droit interne.

33. La solution réelle des difficultés auxquelles se heurte la Commission ne réside pas dans le vote d'une résolution de caractère doctrinal et d'importance majeure par une majorité qui ne compterait aucune des Puissances administrantes. Le trouble des esprits est bien traduit par le fait que deux délégations qui ont appuyé le projet de résolution ont évoqué en même temps l'éventuelle nécessité de solliciter un avis consultatif de la Cour internationale de Justice. On se trouve ainsi en présence tantôt d'une accumulation de thèses juridiques, tantôt d'une analyse de plus en plus poussée des conditions de l'autonomie et de l'indépendance, dont on ne sait si elle sert ou dessert la cause du droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes que l'on veut promouvoir.

34. En agissant comme le préconise le paragraphe 2 du dispositif du projet de résolution commun, c'est-à-dire en examinant le cas de chaque territoire selon les circonstances particulières, on éviterait un conflit juridique que la Quatrième Commission ne pourrait pas résoudre et on réaliserait des progrès bien plus substantiels. La délégation d'Israël suggère que l'on recherche la solution du problème dans la conciliation ou dans des consultations renouvelées, car elle ne croit pas que l'adoption d'une résolution qui demeurerait sans effet servirait la cause des Nations Unies et celle des territoires non autonomes.

35. Quant au rapport du Comité *ad hoc*, il représente certes un effort, mais on peut se demander s'il était nécessaire. En effet, le titre que ce rapport donne à la liste des facteurs signifie qu'il considère que l'objectif

final du Chapitre XI de la Charte est l'indépendance politique totale, qui peut revêtir des formes diverses d'autonomie séparée ou associée librement acceptées par les populations des territoires intéressés. Une vue aussi claire ne demandait pas une longue et laborieuse énumération de facteurs et ne résout pas du reste les difficultés. Le problème réel, qui demeure entier, consiste à conclure un *modus vivendi* constructif avec les Puissances administrantes en ce qui concerne la portée des dispositions pertinentes de la Charte.

36. M. TAJIBNAPIS (Indonésie) rappelle qu'à la séance précédente, le représentant de la Belgique a demandé pourquoi certains Etats qui n'administrent pas de territoires n'ont pas envoyé au Secrétaire général des renseignements concernant les groupes arriérés de leur population. La réponse à cette question est fort simple. L'Article 73 ne s'applique pas aux territoires métropolitains. Cette interprétation n'est pas seulement fondée sur les travaux préparatoires de San-Francisco, mais également sur l'Article 74 de la Charte.

37. M. Tajibnapis cite des extraits du compte rendu sténographique de la onzième séance du Comité II/4 de la Conférence de San Francisco¹ pour prouver que l'on n'avait pas eu l'intention d'étendre aux territoires métropolitains les dispositions relatives aux territoires non autonomes. Tout en reconnaissant que cette question ne pouvait être tranchée par une décision présidentielle, le Président du Comité II/4 avait estimé que les dispositions en question ne s'appliquaient manifestement pas aux territoires métropolitains. Tel avait été également l'avis des représentants de la Grèce et du Royaume-Uni. M. Tajibnapis ne doute pas que le gouvernement actuel du Royaume-Uni n'interprète de la même manière les dispositions de l'Article 73 de la Charte.

38. Par ailleurs, il voudrait savoir pourquoi le représentant de la Belgique n'a pas adressé également aux Etats-Unis et au Canada les questions qu'il a posées à l'Indonésie. Pourquoi les a-t-il adressées seulement à des Etats d'Asie, d'Amérique latine ou du Moyen-Orient? M. Tajibnapis demande au Président de déclarer que le représentant de la Belgique est sorti du cadre de la discussion, au cours de la séance précédente, lorsqu'il a fait allusion à la situation dans certains Etats souverains.

39. Le PRESIDENT rappelle qu'il a fait une déclaration à ce sujet à la fin de la séance précédente. Il invite le représentant de l'Indonésie à s'y reporter.

40. M. Shiva RAO (Inde) déclare qu'il n'a pas soulevé une motion d'ordre lorsqu'à la séance précédente, le représentant de la Belgique a traité des questions relevant exclusivement de la compétence nationale d'Etats Membres des Nations Unies. Il n'a pas voulu donner l'impression que l'Inde avait quoi que ce soit à cacher. Il tient cependant à affirmer que le représentant de la Belgique est sorti manifestement du cadre de la discussion.

41. Sans vouloir s'engager sur la même voie que lui, M. Rao tient à répondre aux observations que le représentant de la Belgique a faites en ce qui concerne la

tribu des Nagas, dans le nord-est de l'Inde, et des îles Andaman et Nicobar. Comme la délégation de l'Inde l'a fait remarquer déjà au sein du Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes, le Gouvernement de l'Inde consacre des efforts considérables au développement de toutes ces tribus et castes arriérées, et notamment des Nagas. A ce propos, M. Rao cite des extraits d'un discours qu'a prononcé le Premier Ministre de l'Inde à Shillong, capitale de l'Etat d'Assam, le 19 octobre 1952; il ressort de ce discours que les tribus se développent dans le cadre de leur culture et de leurs traditions propres et que la population jouit d'une autonomie considérable. D'autre part, l'Inde s'est attachée à développer les îles Andaman et Nicobar, dont le potentiel économique est considérable mais qui n'ont été utilisées que comme colonies pénitenciaires jusqu'à l'accession de l'Inde à l'indépendance; ces îles constituent d'ailleurs un Etat de l'Union indienne.

42. Le représentant de la Belgique n'a cessé de défendre la thèse suivant laquelle l'administration des territoires non autonomes relève exclusivement de la compétence nationale des Puissances administrantes. Ce point de vue n'est cependant pas universellement partagé et M. Rao rappelle la déclaration qu'a faite le Ministre des affaires étrangères de la Suède devant la Commission politique spéciale, le 12 novembre 1952²; il ressort de cette déclaration que la question des relations entre les Etats Membres et les territoires non autonomes revêt un caractère international et ne relève plus exclusivement de la compétence nationale des Puissances administrantes.

43. M. Rao a écouté avec beaucoup d'intérêt les observations formulées par le représentant d'Israël. Dans les circonstances actuelles il est vain, en effet, de rechercher une interprétation purement théorique de certaines dispositions et il serait préférable de rechercher un accord avec les Puissances administrantes, aux termes duquel ces dernières, tout en continuant d'exercer leur autorité sur les territoires non autonomes, permettraient aux Etats non administrants d'exercer une influence sur l'administration de ces territoires. La délégation de l'Inde n'a cessé de préconiser la conclusion d'accords particuliers et M. Rao cite l'exemple de l'accord qui a abouti au maintien de la République indienne dans le cadre du Commonwealth britannique. Il ne faut jamais reculer devant les formules nouvelles.

44. M. INGLES (Philippines) rappelle que sa délégation a déjà eu l'occasion de faire connaître son point de vue au Comité spécial pour l'examen des renseignements transmis en vertu de l'Article 73, e, de la Charte, à sa session de 1951, et au cours de la sixième session de l'Assemblée générale. De plus, le Gouvernement des Philippines a formulé des observations écrites qui figurent dans les documents A/AC.58/1 et A/AC.58/1/Add.4. Dans ce dernier document, le Gouvernement des Philippines, s'appuyant sur les travaux préparatoires de San-Francisco, rejette la thèse du Gouvernement belge suivant laquelle le Chapitre XI de la Charte s'applique aux groupes minoritaires moins développés qui habitent sur le territoire métropolitain d'un Etat Membre. La délégation des Philippines a cité des extraits du compte rendu de la onzième séance du Comité II/4

¹ *United Nations Conference on International Organization, Committee II/4, May 31, 1945, Volume 69.*

² Voir les Documents officiels de l'Assemblée générale, septième session, Commission politique spéciale, 13ème séance.

de la Conférence de San-Francisco, pour prouver que le Chapitre XI ne s'applique qu'aux territoires non autonomes. M. Inglès tient cependant à répondre aux observations du représentant de la Belgique qui, parlant des tribus prétendument sauvages de l'île de Luzon, a dit qu'elles étaient plus arriérées que les Congolais. Or, ces tribus avaient une civilisation à elles bien avant la création de l'Etat belge. Leurs méthodes de culture du riz sur les terrasses s'élevant à pic des vallées jusqu'au sommet des montagnes s'avèrent, maintenant encore, des merveilles d'ingéniosité.

45. Qu'ils soient païens, chrétiens ou musulmans, les Philippins constituent une seule race, et ils ont eu l'occasion de manifester leur solidarité au cours de la dernière guerre mondiale. En vertu de la Constitution de 1935, tous les citoyens philippins ont les mêmes droits, sans aucune distinction. Il n'existe notamment aucune distinction entre les chrétiens et les non-chrétiens. Un Moro de l'île de Mindanao fait partie du Sénat dont les membres sont élus au suffrage universel dans tout le pays. Les non-chrétiens élisent leurs représentants à la Chambre des députés, ainsi que leurs représentants aux organes régionaux et municipaux; il en est de même dans tout le reste du pays. Si les Congolais jouissaient des mêmes droits fondamentaux que les non-chrétiens philippins, ils seraient bien proches de l'autonomie complète dont il est question au Chapitre XI de la Charte.

46. Si les Philippines étaient tenues, par une convention internationale, de communiquer des renseignements sur leur situation intérieure, elles s'exécuteraient bien volontiers et n'hésiteraient pas notamment à fournir des renseignements sur leur progrès politique, car elles sont fières de leurs réalisations dans ce domaine.

47. Abordant ensuite le fond de la question, M. Inglès tient à répondre à certaines observations formulées par les représentants de l'Australie et du Royaume-Uni, qui ont estimé qu'il importait de définir d'abord les termes "territoires", "populations" et *self-government*. Au cours du débat général, le Gouvernement des Philippines a démontré que le Chapitre XI ne s'applique qu'aux populations dépendantes vivant dans les territoires dépendants.

48. Le représentant de l'Australie a insisté, d'autre part, au cours de la 272^{ème} séance, sur le fait que le mot "indépendance" ne figure pas dans le Chapitre XI de la Charte. A ce propos, M. Inglès cite un extrait d'une déclaration faite par le représentant de l'Australie à la Conférence de San-Francisco d'où il ressort que les dispositions relatives aux territoires non autonomes n'excluent pas la possibilité pour ces territoires d'accéder finalement à l'indépendance, qui est en fait la forme d'autonomie la plus haute et la meilleure. M. Inglès cite également une déclaration faite à l'époque par le représentant du Royaume-Uni qui avait estimé que le terme *self-government* n'exclut pas l'indépendance.

49. De son côté, le représentant des Etats-Unis avait déclaré à la onzième séance du Comité II/4 de la Conférence de San-Francisco que la Charte comporte quatre parties importantes intéressant les territoires non autonomes, à savoir le Préambule, qui énonce les principes fondamentaux de l'Organisation, le Chapitre I qui énonce les buts et principes généraux de l'Organisation, le Chapitre XI qui contient une déclaration de

politique générale en ce qui concerne les territoires non autonomes et enfin le Chapitre XII relatif au régime international de tutelle. Le représentant des Etats-Unis avait ajouté que c'était dans le cadre de ces principes que devait se produire l'évolution des peuples vers l'autonomie complète, qui, finalement, les placerait sur un pied de souveraine égalité avec les autres nations. Ainsi donc, il est évident que, pour les Puissances administrantes elles-mêmes, l'expression *self-government* comprend l'idée d'indépendance. Les Puissances administrantes ne sauraient donc prétendre aujourd'hui que le mot "indépendance" n'a pas sa place dans la liste des facteurs parce qu'il n'a pas été explicitement mentionné dans le Chapitre XI.

50. Par ailleurs, M. Inglès fait observer que l'Article 73 de la Charte mentionne les populations qui ne s'administrent pas encore "complètement" elles-mêmes. On peut déduire sans hésitation de l'Article 73 que seule l'indépendance des territoires non autonomes peut libérer les Puissances administrantes des obligations qui leur incombent en vertu du Chapitre XI. Le représentant de la Nouvelle-Zélande a d'ailleurs déclaré à la troisième séance de la Commission II de la Conférence de San-Francisco, le 20 juin 1945³, que pour les dominions du Commonwealth britannique, les mots *self-government* et indépendance sont synonymes.

51. Lorsqu'il s'agit de déterminer à qui il appartient de décider si le Chapitre XI cesse de s'appliquer à un territoire particulier, il convient de rechercher d'abord quelles sont exactement les obligations qu'impose le Chapitre XI. Ces obligations ressortent clairement de l'Article 73. Pour sa part, le représentant de la France a déclaré, au cours de la 274^{ème} séance, que seul l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte imposait des obligations aux Puissances administrantes. M. Inglès souligne à ce propos que dans l'Article 73 de la Charte les Puissances administrantes ont accepté comme une mission sacrée l'obligation de favoriser la prospérité des populations qui ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes. Il existe d'ailleurs une similitude entre les obligations qu'impose le Chapitre XI de la Charte et l'article 22 du Pacte de la Société des Nations. Seulement les modalités d'application de l'article 22 du Pacte correspondent plus étroitement aux dispositions des Chapitres XII et XIII de la Charte et aux Accords de tutelle qu'aux dispositions de l'Article 73, e, de la Charte. Mais les obligations que suppose la "mission sacrée" confèrent aux territoires non autonomes à qui s'appliquent le Chapitre XI, tout comme aux territoires jadis sans mandat, un statut international spécial qui ne saurait être modifié unilatéralement par les Puissances administrantes sans le consentement des Nations Unies, ainsi qu'il ressort de l'avis consultatif de la Cour internationale de Justice sur le statut du Sud-Ouest africain⁴.

52. Certes, comme l'ont déclaré les Puissances administrantes, le Chapitre XI de la Charte constitue une déclaration unilatérale de leur part. Mais s'il en était ainsi au moment où cette déclaration a été faite, son incorporation dans la Charte lui donne désormais un caractère obligatoire. Il s'ensuit que tous les signataires

³ Voir *Conférence des Nations Unies pour l'organisation internationale*, II/16.

⁴ Voir *Statut international du Sud-Ouest africain, Avis consultatif*: C. I. J., Recueil 1950, p. 128.

de la Charte ont le droit et le devoir de veiller au respect des obligations qu'impose le Chapitre XI.

53. Il est vrai que les Gouvernements de la France, de la Nouvelle-Zélande et des Etats-Unis ont formulé des réserves en transmettant des renseignements sur les territoires non autonomes qu'ils administrent. Ils ont déclaré qu'ils transmettaient ces renseignements sans préjudice de la définition du terme "territoire autonome" qui pourrait être donnée ultérieurement. Ce faisant, ils n'ont pas nié la compétence de l'Assemblée générale, mais ont, au contraire, indiqué qu'ils attendaient une définition de l'Assemblée générale.

54. Au sujet de la liste des facteurs soumis à l'examen de la Commission, M. Inglès ne peut que réitérer les déclarations que son gouvernement a faites dans l'exposé (A/AC.58/1/Add.4) qu'il a adressé au Secrétaire général en vertu de la résolution 567 (VI) de l'Assemblée générale. Le Gouvernement des Philippines estime que si l'on admet qu'il peut y avoir autonomie complète sans indépendance, rien ne s'oppose plus à ce que l'on établisse une classification de tous les degrés possibles d'autonomie en décidant arbitrairement que certains de ces degrés constituent une autonomie complète; autrement dit, on aurait la possibilité de bloquer à n'importe quel moment l'évolution d'un territoire vers l'indépendance. Dans l'esprit des auteurs de la Charte, il ne pouvait y avoir que deux cas possibles d'autonomie complète sans proclamation d'indépendance, à savoir le statut de dominion tel qu'il existe dans le Commonwealth britannique et la qualité de Membre des Nations Unies. Dans un cas comme dans l'autre, cette autonomie se distingue à peine de l'indépendance.

55. La délégation des Philippines ne peut donc accepter sans réserve le principe de l'association d'un territoire sur un pied d'égalité à d'autres parties de la métropole ou d'un autre pays. Elle estime que l'union ou l'association ne peuvent être que la conséquence de l'indépendance ou d'un plébiscite où la population, ayant à choisir entre l'indépendance et l'association, se sera librement prononcée en faveur de cette dernière solution. La délégation des Philippines accepte la première partie de la liste des facteurs permettant de conclure qu'une population a accédé à l'indépendance, mais elle ne pourra accepter la deuxième partie que s'il est entendu que l'indépendance ou une complète liberté d'action sont une condition préalable de l'association à d'autres parties constitutives de la métropole ou d'un autre pays. Avec ces réserves, la délégation des Philippines approuve le projet de résolution en cours d'examen, qui exprime des idées qu'elle a elle-même soutenues.

56. M. SALAZAR (Pérou) rappelle que trois thèses différentes ont été exposées au cours des débats. Les délégations des démocraties populaires estiment que le facteur essentiel est le droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes. Les Puissances administrantes prétendent que c'est à elles seules qu'il appartient de prendre une décision. Les délégations du troisième groupe estiment qu'il convient d'élaborer un ensemble de principes et de normes permettant de déterminer si un territoire a accédé à l'autonomie. M. Salazar considère que les deux premières thèses ne tiennent pas compte d'un nombre suffisant d'éléments. La première ne tient pas suffisamment compte du degré d'évolution économique, politique et social des territoires intéressés et la deuxième est

partiale. D'autre part, la liste du Comité *ad hoc* présente certains défauts et, notamment, ne donne pas une définition satisfaisante de la notion d'indépendance. M. Salazar considère qu'il suffirait d'étudier les définitions données par des experts en la matière, et de choisir celle qui semble la plus complète, ou d'élaborer une nouvelle définition qui contienne les éléments essentiels des définitions étudiées.

57. La liste préparée par le Comité *ad hoc* est le résultat d'un effort méritoire, mais le Comité n'a pas disposé du temps nécessaire pour résoudre ce problème si complexe. La liste est incomplète et devrait être améliorée, mais elle n'en est pas moins utile en tant que travail préparatoire. L'élément temps ne doit pas intervenir lorsqu'il s'agit d'une question d'un intérêt aussi exceptionnel. C'est pourquoi les délégations du Pérou et de la République Dominicaine présentent conjointement une série d'amendements (A/C.4/L.234) au projet de résolution en cours d'examen, visant notamment à charger un nouveau comité de continuer l'étude du problème des facteurs afin d'établir une liste qui soit acceptable à la fois par les Puissances administrantes et par la majorité des autres gouvernements.

58. M. DE MARCHENA (République Dominicaine) explique que le premier point de l'amendement commun de la République Dominicaine et du Pérou consiste à supprimer le deuxième considérant du projet de résolution. En effet, ce considérant découle du principe fondamental sur lequel repose le Chapitre XI de la Charte, et son contenu est implicite dans le premier considérant du projet de résolution. Le deuxième point de l'amendement consiste à rappeler la résolution 567 (VI) de l'Assemblée générale et constitue un lien nécessaire entre le préambule et le dispositif. Diverses délégations ayant formulé des objections quant à l'adoption par la Quatrième Commission de la liste préparée par le Comité *ad hoc*, les délégations de la République Dominicaine et du Pérou ont pensé qu'il serait préférable de se borner à prendre acte de cette liste. Tel est le but du troisième point de l'amendement commun. En ce qui concerne le quatrième point de cet amendement, M. De Marchena appelle l'attention de la Commission sur l'alinéa *b* du nouveau paragraphe 3 proposé. Les éléments spécifiés dans cet alinéa sont en rapport direct avec le facteur énoncé à l'alinéa 2 du paragraphe A de la deuxième partie de la liste, à savoir l'opinion des populations du territoire librement exprimée en connaissance de cause, et par des voies démocratiques. Il semble indispensable d'étudier les éléments qui garantissent cette liberté d'expression. M. De Marchena ajoute que les auteurs des amendements sont disposés à accueillir toutes les suggestions utiles que pourraient faire les membres de la Commission.

59. M. EGUIZABAL (Salvador) déclare que, de l'avis de sa délégation, la situation des territoires non autonomes est essentiellement provisoire. Tous ces territoires sont appelés à changer de statut rapidement, compte tenu, bien entendu, de la situation particulière dans laquelle ils se trouvent. D'ailleurs la situation de ces territoires ne relève plus exclusivement de la juridiction nationale des Etats métropolitains; elle pose des questions qui intéressent la communauté des nations. En effet, le Chapitre XI de la Charte contient des dispositions contractuelles de caractère multilatéral qui représentent une garantie donnée par les Nations Unies

aux populations des territoires non autonomes. C'est grâce aux dispositions de l'Article 73, e, de la Charte que les Nations Unies sont mises au courant de l'évolution de ces territoires.

60. Le Gouvernement du Salvador appuiera toujours les mesures visant à assurer l'émancipation politique, économique et administrative des territoires non autonomes. Il a déjà adopté maintes fois cette attitude dans le passé, notamment à la IX^{ème} Conférence internationale américaine de Bogota, en 1948, et à la réunion préliminaire des Ministres des affaires étrangères des Etats d'Amérique centrale, tenue à San-Salvador en 1951, où il s'est prononcé en faveur de l'élimination du colonialisme en Amérique. Cette libération pourra s'effectuer par la reconnaissance de la souveraineté et de l'indépendance des peuples, ou tout au moins de l'autonomie complète, qui équivaut pratiquement à l'indépendance. Cette autonomie complète doit être accordée aux populations elles-mêmes et non pas aux gouvernements locaux constitués pour servir les intérêts de la métropole. En effet, dans ce dernier cas, l'autonomie ne serait qu'une façade destinée à masquer la continuation d'un régime colonial.

61. L'autonomie complète signifie essentiellement l'autonomie politique, dont découle logiquement l'autonomie économique, sociale, administrative et culturelle. Il est inadmissible que les Puissances administrantes se considèrent dégagées de l'obligation contenue dans l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte en ce qui concerne un territoire déterminé, sous prétexte qu'à leur avis le gouvernement de ce territoire jouit d'un certain degré d'autonomie dans les domaines social, économique et scolaire.

62. Contrairement à certains représentants, M. Eguizabal estime que l'absence de définition n'est pas un obstacle insurmontable. Bien au contraire, une définition présenterait des inconvénients; en effet, si parfaite qu'elle puisse être, elle ne pourra jamais être absolument rigoureuse et ne fera qu'établir des limitations et créer des problèmes d'interprétation. Il y a des notions qui sont immanentes et qui font partie de la conscience même des hommes et des peuples. La meilleure manière de les définir est de les mettre en pratique, de les rendre vivantes. La notion d'autonomie est issue du sentiment de la liberté, de l'indépendance qui, comme le sens de la justice, sont des attributs de l'âme humaine.

63. La délégation du Salvador ne saurait admettre que la faculté de décider si un territoire est devenu autonome appartient exclusivement à la Puissance administrante. Dans ce domaine, il est hors de doute que la décision appartient à la communauté internationale; malgré les efforts du Salvador et du Guatemala, l'Assemblée générale a éludé l'étude de cet aspect de la question, bien qu'il s'agisse d'un problème fondamental qui touche non seulement aux principes essentiels du droit international mais aussi à la vie même de millions d'êtres humains.

64. La délégation du Salvador considère que la liste de facteurs contenus dans le rapport du Comité *ad hoc* est acceptable. Elle est le résultat d'une étude laborieuse dont il convient de remercier le Comité. Toutefois, M. Eguizabal aurait préféré que les facteurs soient classés en trois catégories: facteurs permettant de conclure qu'un territoire a accédé à l'indépendance, facteurs permettant de conclure qu'un territoire s'est librement associé à la métropole ou à un autre pays, et facteurs permettant de conclure qu'un territoire s'est uni à la métropole ou à un autre pays et en est devenu partie intégrante. Cette classification a été proposée par le Salvador et le Guatemala dans l'exposé qu'ils ont présenté en commun au Secrétaire général (A/AC.58/1/Add.3). Elle permettrait d'appliquer des critères qui seront moins susceptibles d'interprétations divergentes.

65. Les deux gouvernements ont également déclaré qu'ils jugeaient essentiel d'accorder aux populations non autonomes le droit de modifier, de leur propre gré, en toute liberté et d'une manière démocratique, le statut ou les liens qui peuvent les rattacher à l'ancienne métropole ou à tout autre pays. Ils ont également jugé indispensable de prévoir expressément, conformément au droit international, qu'aucun gouvernement métropolitain ne pourra décider de modifier le statut politique d'un territoire non autonome qui ferait l'objet d'une revendication d'un autre Etat ou serait la cause d'un différend avec un autre Etat, tant que la situation qui fait l'objet du litige n'aurait pas été réglée.

66. La délégation du Salvador appuiera volontiers le projet de résolution commun (A/C.4/L.231), car la plupart des dispositions qu'il contient sont conformes à la position qu'elle a toujours soutenue.

Programme de travail

67. Le PRESIDENT rappelle que la Commission est saisie d'une demande d'audition du Bloc démocratique camerounais (A/C.4/219). Il propose d'inscrire cette question à l'ordre du jour d'une prochaine séance.

Il en est ainsi décidé.

68. M. TAJIBNAPIS (Indonésie) rappelle qu'en vertu de la résolution 568 (VI) de l'Assemblée générale, la Commission devrait étudier la question de la cessation de la transmission, en vertu de l'Article 73, e, de la Charte, de renseignements concernant les Antilles néerlandaises et Surinam. Il conviendrait d'attendre, pour aborder cette question, que le rapport du Comité *ad hoc* soit adopté. Aussi, propose-t-il à la Commission de discuter le point 6 de son ordre du jour, c'est-à-dire le rapport du Conseil de tutelle, avant le point 5.

Il en est ainsi décidé.

La séance est levée à 13 h. 55.



Lundi 17 novembre 1952, à 10 h. 30

Siège permanent, New-York

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Président: M. Rodolfo MUNOZ (Argentine).

Demande d'audition

1. Le PRESIDENT annonce que l'Union des chefs du Nord-Togo et le Parti togolais du progrès ont présenté une demande aux fins d'audition¹; puisqu'il n'y a pas d'opposition, cette requête sera distribuée aux membres de la Commission.

Facteurs dont il convient de tenir compte pour décider si un territoire est, ou n'est pas, un territoire dont les populations ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes: rapport du Comité *ad hoc* pour l'étude des facteurs (territoires non autonomes) [A/2178, A/C.4/L.231, A/C.4/L.233, A/C.4/L.234, A/C.4/L.235] (suite)

[Point 36*]

2. M. RIEMENS (Pays-Bas) déclare que le rapport du Comité *ad hoc* pour l'étude des facteurs (A/2178) apparaît sous une lumière différente si, au lieu de constituer une simple étude, il doit servir de guide pour les décisions futures de l'Assemblée générale. Or, c'est là une des idées maîtresses du projet de résolution commun (A/C.4/L.231).

3. Il pourrait être utile, comme le représentant du Royaume-Uni l'a dit, d'envisager la question de savoir comment ce projet de résolution s'appliquerait, s'il était adopté, à un cas particulier, par exemple à celui d'une grande île entourée d'un certain nombre d'îles plus petites et située quelque part au milieu de l'océan. M. Riemens part de l'hypothèse que ces îles imaginaires, qu'il va appeler les îles Alan Burns, ont été colonisées il y a trois cents ans environ et que leur population se compose d'Écossais, d'Irlandais, de Scandinaves et d'Africains, ainsi que d'un certain nombre d'Hindous, de quelques Chinois et de quelques Syriens. Depuis plus

d'un siècle les habitants ont joui d'une certaine autonomie, le bénéfice d'institutions démocratiques a été étendu à toutes les classes de la population et le suffrage universel a été institué il y a quelques années. M. Riemens suppose en outre qu'après avoir examiné la question avec soin le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni a décidé d'octroyer aux îles Alan Burns une autonomie complète. Il a pris cette décision après avoir procédé à des consultations étendues avec les habitants, par l'intermédiaire d'organes déjà existants, leur assemblée législative et leur conseil exécutif, et ces deux organes ont accueilli sa décision avec enthousiasme, parce qu'elle signifie qu'à l'avenir ils jouiront d'une autonomie complète dans toutes les questions intérieures. Un ordre en conseil a été signé à cet effet.

4. Or, si le projet de résolution dont la Commission est saisie était adopté, la Puissance administrante serait tenue de suivre les indications données dans la liste des facteurs, qui devrait lui servir de guide. Elle consulterait bien entendu le conseil exécutif des îles, car ce conseil est l'organe suprême chargé de représenter les intérêts des habitants, et le conseil passerait à l'examen de cette liste des facteurs.

5. Cette liste lui paraîtrait sans aucun doute étrange, car le Comité *ad hoc* a établi une liste des facteurs permettant de conclure qu'une population a accédé à l'indépendance, ainsi qu'une liste des facteurs permettant de conclure qu'une population a accédé à "une autre forme d'autonomie séparée", ce qui constitue une exception au cas de l'indépendance. Cependant, les membres du conseil exécutif viendraient finalement à bout de cette liste. Ils ne tiendraient pas compte des facteurs qui permettent de conclure à l'indépendance, car l'indépendance n'est pas réalisable pratiquement pour une région si petite, mais ils trouveraient que la deuxième partie de la liste s'applique, du moins partiellement, à leur cas. C'est en effet la seule partie qui puisse intéresser leurs îles, car ils ne tiennent pas à devenir une subdivision administrative du Royaume-Uni, ce qui signifierait pour

* Numéro affecté à la question dans l'ordre du jour de l'Assemblée générale.

¹ Ultérieurement distribuée sous la cote A/C.4/220.

eux renoncer à une grande partie de l'autonomie dont ils jouissent déjà depuis si longtemps.

6. Les trois premiers facteurs ne seraient source d'aucune difficulté. Au contraire, en ce qui concerne les facteurs déterminant le statut international, les membres du conseil seraient sans doute très surpris de constater que l'aptitude à devenir Membre de l'Organisation des Nations Unies est un des facteurs. Les îles imaginaires dont il s'agit ne seraient certainement pas en mesure de verser une contribution à l'Organisation des Nations Unies ou de faire face aux dépenses qu'entraîne l'envoi de représentants aux sessions de l'Organisation. D'autre part, depuis un certain temps un grand nombre d'Etats souverains attendent en vain d'être admis comme Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies et aucun territoire non autonome n'en fait encore partie.

7. L'examen de ce cas hypothétique permet donc de conclure que la liste des facteurs est absolument inapplicable à un grand nombre de territoires qui sont encore non autonomes mais qui peuvent accéder à l'autonomie complète dans un avenir rapproché.

8. Le représentant de l'Inde a affirmé que deux possibilités seulement s'offraient aux territoires non autonomes qui voulaient accéder à l'autonomie : ou bien ils devaient devenir indépendants, ou bien la Puissance administrante devait en faire des Territoires sous tutelle. Le représentant de l'Union soviétique semble partager cette opinion. M. Riemens invite la Commission à se montrer plus réaliste. Ce serait une récompense étrange à accorder aux habitants d'un territoire qui a déjà fait des progrès considérables dans la voie d'une autonomie complète, que d'octroyer à leur territoire un statut politique moins avancé, en le plaçant sous la double tutelle de la Puissance administrante et du Conseil de tutelle. Il est difficile de comprendre pourquoi les membres de la Commission qui défendent cette opinion ont besoin d'une liste de facteurs, puisque le résultat de leur examen est déterminé d'avance. Qui plus est, le droit des habitants à décider eux-mêmes de leur sort perdrait tout son sens si en réalité on ne leur offrait que le choix entre l'indépendance et le statut de Territoire sous tutelle, alors qu'ils ne souhaitent ni l'une ni l'autre de ces solutions.

9. A la 273^{ème} séance, les représentants du Venezuela et de Cuba ont fait des déclarations qui comportaient un certain nombre d'idées auxquelles M. Riemens souscrit sans réserve, alors que certaines autres idées demandent à être éclaircies. Tout en reconnaissant qu'à défaut d'autonomie politique il ne peut y avoir d'autonomie réelle dans les domaines économique, social et de l'instruction, le représentant des Pays-Bas estime qu'il vaudrait mieux formuler cette idée de façon différente et dire qu'une véritable autonomie dans ces trois domaines ne peut exister que lorsqu'on a déjà octroyé à la population une autonomie assez vaste dans le domaine politique. En d'autres termes, l'autonomie politique constitue une condition préalable. On ne peut accorder l'autonomie dans certains domaines et la refuser dans d'autres. La portée de cette autonomie constitue une autre question et dépend de la définition que l'on donne au terme "autonomie complète", définition que l'on n'est pas encore parvenu à établir.

10. Dans le cas d'un territoire auquel on a accordé l'autonomie, dont le gouvernement a reçu l'autonomie politique et l'entière responsabilité dans toutes les

affaires d'ordre intérieur, notamment en ce qui concerne les conditions économiques, sociales et de l'instruction, l'obligation imposée à la Puissance administrante de communiquer des renseignements relatifs à ces questions doit prendre fin, étant donné que la communication de ces renseignements ne présenterait plus d'intérêt pour les objectifs que vise l'ensemble de l'Article 73; en fait, il n'y aurait même plus personne qui puisse communiquer ces renseignements. La Puissance administrante ne serait plus en charge et ne disposerait plus elle-même des renseignements nécessaires, et elle devrait demander au gouvernement du territoire d'établir le rapport; or, il est peu probable que le gouvernement d'un territoire qui vient d'accéder à l'autonomie marque beaucoup d'empressement à présenter à l'Organisation des Nations Unies des rapports sur sa politique dans les domaines économique, social et de l'instruction et à se soumettre aux enquêtes de cette Organisation. Dans ces conditions, imposer la tutelle de l'Organisation des Nations Unies constituerait une parodie des intentions de l'Article 73 et équivaldrait à créer un nouveau type de colonialisme. Certains représentants semblent regretter que les territoires non autonomes soient moins nombreux en 1952 qu'ils ne l'étaient en 1946. Il semble que ces représentants soient par trop désireux de continuer à exercer un contrôle dont la nécessité ne se fait plus sentir.

11. Le représentant du Venezuela estime, puisque le territoire qui a accédé à l'autonomie est représenté à l'étranger par la Puissance administrante, que cette dernière est responsable de tous les actes dudit territoire et qu'elle pourra continuer à communiquer des renseignements relatifs aux conditions économiques, sociales et de l'instruction dans ce territoire. Cette déclaration semble par trop générale; représenter un territoire à l'étranger implique seulement la responsabilité de ses relations extérieures.

12. Le même représentant a en outre soutenu qu'en octroyant volontairement l'autonomie la Puissance administrante n'était nullement dispensée de présenter des rapports, étant donné que cette liberté pourrait être retirée ultérieurement. Cette éventualité paraît toutefois fort peu probable, sauf en cas de circonstances très extraordinaires. A supposer même que le fait se produise, il se passerait simplement, d'après l'Article 73, que l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements serait remise en vigueur.

13. L'Article 73 a pour objet de favoriser la prospérité des habitants des territoires non autonomes, les rapports prévus au paragraphe e constituant l'un des moyens utilisés à cette fin. Il n'y a pas lieu de continuer à envoyer ces rapports lorsqu'ils cessent de servir à cette fin.

14. En ce qui concerne le projet de résolution commun, le représentant des Pays-Bas n'a pas d'observations à présenter au sujet du premier considérant. Il estime toutefois que le deuxième considérant peut prêter à confusion, puisque, d'une part, il se réfère aux objectifs de l'ensemble du Chapitre XI et que, d'autre part, il modifie l'obligation visée à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73, en la séparant de son contexte et en la plaçant sur le même plan que l'obligation générale visée par l'ensemble du chapitre. Ainsi qu'il l'a déjà dit, l'obligation de présenter un rapport ne constitue qu'un moyen utilisé à une fin précise et deviendra sans objet lorsque le terri-

toire en question aura acquis l'autonomie dans les domaines visés par les rapports. C'est pourquoi le représentant des Pays-Bas ne pourra accepter ce considérant tel qu'il est rédigé.

15. En ce qui concerne le paragraphe 1 du dispositif, M. Riemens demande aux auteurs du projet de résolution si la liste des facteurs doit être considérée comme complète ou comme une simple énumération à laquelle d'autres facteurs pourraient venir s'ajouter lorsque la nécessité s'en fera sentir. Il ne peut pas considérer la présente liste comme complète; par exemple, ce que l'on appelle le troisième cas d'autonomie, sur lequel sa délégation a souvent appelé l'attention et dont une résolution [567 (VI)] adoptée par l'Assemblée générale à sa sixième session a dit qu'elle méritait un complément d'étude, ne figure pas dans la liste².

16. Toutefois, la principale objection de la délégation des Pays-Bas est la suivante; confier une lourde responsabilité nouvelle à l'Assemblée générale au moment précis où une large autonomie est accordée à un territoire équivaldrait à reconnaître à l'Assemblée générale le droit d'intervenir lorsqu'elle aurait le moins de raison de le faire, c'est-à-dire lorsqu'une partie essentielle des objectifs du Chapitre XI auraient été atteints.

17. M. Riemens ne présente pas d'objection au paragraphe 2 du dispositif, pourvu que ce soit la Puissance administrante, conjointement avec le gouvernement du territoire, et non l'Assemblée générale, qui prenne la décision finale en ce qui concerne l'autonomie. Il réserve la position de son gouvernement à cet égard.

18. Au sujet du paragraphe 4, ses observations sont semblables à celles qu'il a présentées sur le deuxième considérant. Tant que l'Assemblée générale n'aura pu donner une définition de l'autonomie, le paragraphe ne semble pas avoir de sens et, par conséquent, d'utilité. Puisque l'Assemblée générale n'a pas pu définir clairement la notion d'autonomie, il faut manifestement laisser à la Puissance administrante, conjointement avec le gouvernement du territoire, le soin d'apprécier la situation et de décider à quel moment le stade de l'autonomie complète est atteint.

19. M. Riemens demande aux auteurs du projet quelle est la signification qu'ils attachent à la dernière phrase du paragraphe 5. Il se demande si les mots "autres questions" se rapportent à des territoires visés par le Chapitre XI mais au sujet desquels aucun rapport n'a jusqu'à présent été communiqué, ou bien aux obligations d'un caractère plus général auxquelles le représentant de la Belgique et d'autres représentants ont fréquemment fait allusion.

20. Le représentant des Pays-Bas se verra obligé de voter contre le projet de résolution tel qu'il est rédigé. Il considère l'amendement au projet de résolution commun, présenté par le Pérou et la République Dominicaine (A/C.4/L.234), comme proposant une nette amélioration du texte et constituant un heureux compromis entre les vues opposées qui ont été exprimées au cours de la discussion.

21. M. MENDOZA (Guatemala) dit qu'on a laissé entendre qu'une tentative était faite en vue d'imposer de nouvelles obligations aux Puissances administrantes en ce qui concerne la question des facteurs. Ce que l'on

cherche, en réalité, c'est une formule qui puisse contribuer à la solution du problème.

22. La nécessité de dresser une liste des facteurs résulte du fait qu'au cours des dernières années le nombre des territoires non autonomes a diminué à une allure qui menace de retirer tout champ d'application au Chapitre XI. On n'aurait qu'à se féliciter de cette diminution si elle résultait de l'octroi de l'autonomie aux territoires en question, mais il n'en est pas ainsi. Dans la plupart des cas, la raison en est l'adoption unilatérale par la Puissance administrante intéressée du principe de la divisibilité de l'autonomie, en octroyant l'autonomie dans les domaines économique, social et de l'instruction, et en rendant ainsi les dispositions de l'Article 73 inapplicables au territoire, sans toutefois lui accorder l'autonomie politique. Il est manifeste que la majorité des membres de la Commission n'acceptent pas ce principe, parce que la Charte exige que l'autonomie soit complète dans tous les domaines et parce qu'il ne peut y avoir d'autonomie véritable si elle existe dans ces trois domaines seulement et non pas aussi dans le domaine politique, qui est le plus important.

23. Certains représentants ont également soutenu que l'indépendance ne serait pas l'objectif visé par le Chapitre XI de la Charte. Cette assertion se fonde apparemment sur le fait que le mot "indépendance" ne figure pas dans le texte du Chapitre XI. Néanmoins, en dépit des efforts que les Puissances administrantes ont déployés à San-Francisco pour faire omettre ce mot, ce chapitre tout entier est imprégné de la notion d'indépendance.

24. Lorsqu'un peuple doit choisir entre deux maux, il choisit naturellement le moindre, mais cela ne signifie pas que ce choix reflète ses véritables aspirations. Pour déterminer la véritable volonté d'un peuple, il faut lui offrir le choix entre l'indépendance réelle et absolue, et l'annexion ou l'incorporation à la métropole. Si le peuple en question choisit cette dernière solution, il sera évident que ce choix est l'expression de sa véritable volonté.

25. D'autres représentants ont soutenu la thèse que la délégation du Guatemala ne peut accepter, suivant laquelle il appartiendrait exclusivement à la Puissance administrante de décider si un territoire est ou n'est pas autonome. Les clauses contractuelles ne peuvent être subordonnées à une décision unilatérale de l'une des parties; or, l'Article 73 est une clause contractuelle.

26. Il n'y a pas de doute que l'on pourrait améliorer la liste des facteurs, mais en fait elle contient de nombreux éléments utiles. Certaines objections ont été élevées contre l'inclusion du facteur géographique. La délégation du Guatemala attache une grande importance à ce facteur non seulement parce qu'il détermine les rapports entre un territoire non autonome et la métropole dont il relève, mais aussi parce qu'il faut l'envisager du point de vue de la sécurité et des intérêts généraux de la région à laquelle appartient ce territoire. Pendant la dernière guerre, les États américains se sont beaucoup préoccupés des conséquences que les opérations militaires en Europe pourraient avoir sur les colonies et les possessions des pays européens en Amérique. C'est pourquoi ils ont signé la Convention relative à l'administration provisoire des colonies et possessions européennes en Amérique; aux termes de cette convention, ils étaient convenus, en raison de la situation difficile

² Voir le document A/2178, par. 5, D.

dans laquelle se trouvaient les Puissances administrantes, de se charger de l'administration des territoires qui pourraient devenir une menace contre la paix et la sécurité de l'Amérique du fait de l'occupation de la métropole par l'ennemi ou pour toute autre raison. Cette convention est toujours en vigueur.

27. Le représentant du Salvador a mentionné un autre point important, le principe suivant lequel aucune Puissance administrante ne peut modifier unilatéralement le statut d'un territoire qui fait l'objet d'une revendication de la part d'un autre Etat, tant qu'un règlement ne sera pas intervenu.

28. En ce qui concerne le document présenté par le Pérou et la République Dominicaine (A/C.4/L.234), M. Mendoza ne peut accepter qu'une proposition tendant à supprimer presque tout le texte et à le remplacer par un autre texte soit considérée comme un amendement, et il réserve le droit de sa délégation de soulever cette question au moment du vote. Le représentant du Guatemala est disposé à accepter les paragraphes 2, 3 et 4 du dispositif tels qu'ils figurent dans ce document, si ces paragraphes sont destinés à être ajoutés aux paragraphes existants et non à les remplacer. Il y aurait lieu de faire figurer le mot "provisoirement" dans le texte des paragraphes 1 et 5, en ce qui concerne l'utilisation de la liste des facteurs et sans préjudice des nouvelles études dont elle fera l'objet.

29. M. FORSYTH (Australie) a deux observations à formuler en réponse au représentant des Philippines, qui a fait mention à la séance précédente de l'attitude adoptée par l'Australie à la Conférence de San-Francisco. Tout d'abord, l'Australie reconnaissait certainement à cette époque, et elle reconnaît toujours le principe de la tutelle qui veut que le progrès des peuples dépendants constitue une obligation et une mission sacrée. Ce principe général vaut pour tous les territoires dépendants, mais, en ce qui concerne les méthodes et les procédures à suivre pour atteindre cet objectif, la Charte établit une distinction très nette entre les Territoires sous tutelle et les territoires non autonomes. Deuxièmement, l'Australie avait proposé à San-Francisco³ que la surveillance soit exercée par un groupe d'experts et qu'une conférence coloniale détermine quels territoires seraient placés sous le régime de tutelle; ces propositions ayant été rejetées, il n'y a donc pas lieu de s'y référer dans la discussion qui est en cours devant la Quatrième Commission. La Charte a été adoptée sous sa forme actuelle et l'Australie s'est scrupuleusement acquittée des obligations qui en découlent pour elle.

30. Au sujet des mots "les Etats Membres qui ont ou qui assument la charge d'administrer des territoires dont les populations ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes", qui figurent au premier considérant du projet de résolution commun, M. Forsyth a noté l'observation du représentant de la Belgique qui a indiqué que les Membres des Nations Unies ne s'acquittent pas tous de l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements, qu'ils ont acceptée en signant la Charte.

31. M. Forsyth s'associe entièrement à la déclaration faite par le représentant du Canada à la 273ème séance au sujet du deuxième considérant: il se peut que l'obligation, imposée par l'Article 73, e, de communiquer des

renseignements sur les conditions économiques, sociales, et de l'instruction, prenne fin avant que le territoire s'administre complètement lui-même. De plus, M. Forsyth estime, comme le représentant des Etats-Unis, que l'autonomie n'est pas indivisible; il cite à ce sujet l'exemple de l'Etat de Victoria, en Australie, pleinement autonome dans certains domaines tels que celui de l'enseignement, mais qui, dans d'autres domaines, tels que ceux de la défense nationale et des affaires étrangères, dépend du Gouvernement fédéral.

32. Au XIXème siècle, l'Australie et la Nouvelle-Zélande, qui n'étaient pas considérées comme territoires non autonomes, s'administraient elles-mêmes à tous égards sauf pour la défense nationale et la politique étrangère; par la suite, elles ont obtenu l'autonomie en ces deux domaines. Le Samoa-Occidental paraît évoluer dans le même sens. Il est à remarquer que certains membres de la Commission ont une conception dynamique des Nations Unies, notamment du Chapitre XI de la Charte mais n'admettent pas la possibilité d'une évolution pour les territoires non autonomes.

33. Un certain nombre de contradictions analogues se sont fait jour pendant les débats de la Commission. Les délégations qui interprètent la Charte dans un sens dynamique insistent sur la nécessité de se guider sur l'esprit plutôt que sur la lettre. Mais quand le représentant de la Belgique propose, dans le même esprit, d'étendre les dispositions de l'Article 73, e, à tous les peuples qui ne s'administrent pas encore complètement eux-mêmes, ces délégations se rétractent et déclarent la proposition irrecevable.

34. La Commission éviterait bien des difficultés si elle s'en tenait strictement à la lettre du Chapitre XI, qui consacre trois catégories de droits: premièrement, les droits des populations qui ne s'administrent pas elles-mêmes; deuxièmement, les droits et responsabilités des Puissances administrantes; troisièmement, le droit de l'Organisation des Nations Unies d'être informée des conditions économiques, sociales et de l'instruction dans les territoires non autonomes. En premier lieu, il semble que, si plusieurs membres de la Commission refusent de s'en tenir à l'interprétation stricte de ces droits, on doive imputer ce refus à leur manque de confiance dans la bonne foi des Puissances administrantes. Il ne suffit pas à ces délégations que les Puissances administrantes se soient acquittées de leur obligation de communiquer des renseignements; apparemment, elles voudraient imposer le contrôle de la Quatrième Commission en ce qui concerne les mesures prises pour donner effet aux dispositions du Chapitre XI. M. Forsyth condamne énergiquement cette attitude et rappelle le conseil donné par le représentant des Etats-Unis à la Commission politique spéciale, lorsqu'il a dit qu'il valait mieux éviter de prendre des décisions qui avaient toutes chances de ne pas aboutir et qu'il était préférable, si l'on voulait réaliser certains objectifs que l'on se proposait, de s'en remettre à la conscience des pays intéressés et à l'influence de l'opinion publique mondiale.

35. En deuxième lieu, certains représentants paraissent concevoir l'Organisation des Nations Unies comme un gouvernement mondial, qui devrait prendre en charge l'administration de tous les territoires non autonomes. Mais l'Organisation des Nations Unies n'est pas un gouvernement mondial; la Charte ne l'autorise pas à

³ Voir *Conférence des Nations Unies pour l'Organisation internationale*, G/14/1.

administrer des territoires non autonomes et elle ne serait du reste pas en mesure de le faire. Toute mesure "impérialiste" que la Quatrième Commission pourrait prendre pour arracher aux Puissances administrantes, que la Charte reconnaît, l'autorité qu'elles exercent sur les territoires non autonomes aboutirait, non pas à l'indépendance des peuples intéressés, mais à leur gouvernement par l'Organisation des Nations Unies et au chaos intégral. Aucune commission internationale composée de nombreux membres ne peut assumer les responsabilités que la majorité des membres de la Quatrième Commission semblent vouloir confier à cette dernière. Les populations des territoires non autonomes, surtout celles qui suivent de près les discussions de la Quatrième Commission, n'envisageraient certes pas avec confiance une telle mesure qui les priverait, au demeurant, de l'aide et des conseils que la Charte considère comme essentiels.

36. En troisième lieu, une tendance se dessine au sein de la Commission en faveur de l'indépendance immédiate de toutes les populations qui ne s'administrent pas encore elles-mêmes. Les tenants de cette thèse semblent ignorer qu'elle contredit l'argument selon lequel l'Organisation des Nations Unies a des responsabilités dans ce domaine. On a suggéré qu'à défaut de l'indépendance, on pourrait envisager la tutelle, mais cette solution présenterait les mêmes défauts de rigidité qu'un contrôle direct international, sans compter que la Quatrième Commission a souvent montré qu'elle n'a que peu de confiance dans le Conseil de tutelle et le régime de tutelle. Il n'est pas exact de dire que le choix se limite à l'indépendance et à la tutelle, car la Charte, en mentionnant à l'alinéa 1, c, de l'Article 77, les "territoires volontairement placés sous ce régime [de tutelle] par les Etats responsables de leur administration", reconnaît explicitement une autre forme d'administration: le contrôle exercé par les Puissances administrantes. En fait, il existe encore une autre solution, la libre association au sein d'un ensemble gouvernemental autonome plus vaste.

37. On pourrait interpréter le troisième considérant comme exigeant des renseignements complets sur le progrès politique des territoires non autonomes, bien que cela soit absolument exclu aux termes de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73. A cet égard, M. Forsyth rappelle la déclaration que le représentant du Danemark a faite à la séance précédente, lorsqu'il a dit que son pays fournirait à l'Organisation des renseignements sur toutes modifications apportées au statut des territoires qu'il gèrait, mais estimait qu'aucune mesure prise à ce sujet par ses organes constitutionnels n'était sujette à examen ou à révision par les Nations Unies.

38. Les mots "ayant examiné" par lesquels commence le quatrième considérant ne sont pas tout à fait conformes à la vérité, puisque la Commission n'a pas procédé à une étude détaillée du rapport du Comité *ad hoc*.

39. La présente liste des facteurs ne saurait, de l'avis de M. Forsyth, "servir utilement de guide", comme le prétend le cinquième considérant du projet de résolution, car l'on n'y trouve la définition d'aucun des termes essentiels. Les mots "tant à l'Assemblée générale qu'au Membre administrant intéressé" soulèvent l'ensemble de la question de compétence, dont la Commission devrait examiner tous les aspects au cours d'une discussion

générale avant de prendre une décision quelle qu'elle soit. Si l'Assemblée générale est compétente pour décider du moment où les autorités responsables doivent cesser de communiquer des renseignements, elle est également compétente, en toute logique, pour décider des moments où ces autorités doivent commencer à communiquer ces renseignements, ce qui l'habiliterait à s'informer de la situation dans chaque Etat Membre du point de vue constitutionnel comme du point de vue des faits. Toute décision relative à la compétence serait prématurée à ce stade.

40. Le paragraphe 1 soulève lui aussi la question de la compétence; il est par conséquent inacceptable. En outre, M. Forsyth estime qu'il a déjà précisé d'une façon tout à fait claire qu'à son avis la liste des facteurs existante va se révéler un guide très peu sûr dans les difficultés juridiques et politiques à travers lesquels l'Assemblée générale devra se frayer un chemin pour décider si un territoire a atteint ou non sa pleine autonomie.

41. M. Forsyth n'a pas d'objection sérieuse à formuler à l'égard du paragraphe 2, bien que ce dernier lui paraisse un peu plat.

42. Il s'élève contre l'idée implicite contenue dans le paragraphe 3, selon laquelle les Puissances administrantes pourraient utiliser la liste des facteurs pour empêcher les territoires non autonomes d'évoluer vers leur autonomie. Les Puissances administrantes sont liées par les obligations que le Chapitre XI leur impose et elles s'acquittent de ces obligations. M. Forsyth se demande pourquoi le mot "*progressive*" a été supprimé, par un corrigendum, du texte anglais primitif du paragraphe 3, où il figurait dans le membre de phrase "*the progressive attainment of a full measure of self-government*"; l'idée d'évolution progressive est cependant exprimée dans tout l'Article 73.

43. Son point de vue sur le paragraphe 4 est analogue à celui qu'il a déjà exprimé à propos du deuxième considérant. Il est tout à fait normal et conforme à l'Article 73 que, lorsqu'un certain degré d'évolution est atteint, les Puissances administrantes cessent de faire rapport sur des domaines dans lesquels le gouvernement du territoire a assumé une responsabilité complète. Ce stade peut être atteint avant que le territoire ait obtenu sa pleine autonomie dans tous les domaines. L'Assemblée générale ne devrait pas pour l'instant demander des rapports au gouvernement du territoire, car on peut concevoir que ce soit contraire aux désirs de ce gouvernement; une demande de ce genre serait une négation totale de l'autonomie.

44. Enfin, en ce qui concerne le paragraphe 5, M. Forsyth doute fortement qu'il convienne de recommander à l'Assemblée générale d'adopter la liste des facteurs sous sa forme actuelle.

45. Il y a beaucoup à dire en faveur des amendements présentés par les délégations de la République Dominicaine et du Pérou. Si ces amendements sont acceptables pour la majorité, M. Forsyth pourra peut-être voter en leur faveur, bien qu'il ait déjà souligné que les mots "autres éléments" soulèvent des questions extrêmement complètes qui n'entrent pas forcément toutes dans le cadre de l'étude envisagée.

* Le mot "*progressive*" ne figurait que dans le texte anglais.

46. En conclusion, M. Forsyth réserve l'attitude de son gouvernement à l'égard du projet de résolution commun, pour le cas où ce projet serait adopté.

47. M. RIVAS (Venezuela) déclare que les auteurs du projet de résolution commun ont constaté avec plaisir le ton objectif et l'esprit constructif des critiques qui ont été dirigées contre le projet par certaines des Puissances administrantes, ainsi que des réserves formulées à son égard par d'autres délégations. Les diverses réserves formulées et les amendements proposés semblent appeler des explications supplémentaires en ce qui concerne la portée du projet de résolution.

48. Le représentant de la République Dominicaine a souligné la nécessité de définir l'autonomie. Il est vrai, et cela va de soi, que l'autonomie, à l'exemple de l'agression, a besoin d'être définie. Toutefois, l'une et l'autre sont extrêmement difficiles à définir dans une situation sans cesse en évolution. Le problème est plus politique qu'académique, et il serait peu sage de la part de l'Organisation des Nations Unies de se lancer dans un débat théorique prolongé en laissant la difficulté pratique sans solution. Il est notoire qu'en Asie et en Afrique, la menace ne cesse de croître; la déception des habitants de certains territoires non autonomes pourrait bien être utilisée comme une arme contre les Puissances occidentales. La sécurité de l'Occident intéresse le Venezuela, qui préférerait que les forces militaires de ces Puissances ne gaspillent pas leur énergie à des tâches de police. Le Chapitre XI de la Charte est précisément destiné à empêcher les territoires non autonomes de devenir une menace contre la paix et la sécurité internationales. Il faut maintenir et renforcer la foi des peuples des territoires non autonomes dans l'Organisation des Nations Unies; tout ce que le Venezuela désire à cet égard est que les territoires non autonomes ne perdent pas confiance dans leurs administrateurs.

49. Il faut donner aux populations des territoires non autonomes l'assurance que l'Organisation ne peut accepter de considérer comme autonomes des territoires qui ne jouissent pas de l'autonomie dans tous les domaines, dans les domaines économique, social et de l'instruction et dans le domaine politique. Les représentants du Pérou et de la République Dominicaine sont d'avis que l'Organisation ne peut adopter cette position en l'absence d'une définition scientifique de l'autonomie. Or, l'Organisation n'a pas, jusqu'à présent, donné une définition officielle de l'agression, et pourtant aux mois de juin 1950 et de janvier 1951 elle a officiellement déclaré que les actes commis par les autorités de la Corée du Nord et le Gouvernement central du peuple de la République populaire de Chine constituaient une agression. L'Organisation n'a pas pu attendre qu'une définition scientifiquement parfaite de l'agression fût élaborée. Certes, la situation des territoires non autonomes n'est pas aussi grave que celle de la Corée. Il est cependant significatif que des questions qui, en temps normal, auraient été examinées à la Quatrième Commission soient actuellement renvoyées à la Première Commission. La Quatrième Commission examine les questions politiques qui ne constituent pas encore des cas d'urgence. La structure des Commissions de l'Assemblée générale et les objectifs qui leur sont assignés leur confèrent à toutes un caractère politique; cependant, ce qui rend la Première Commission différente des

autres, c'est le degré d'urgence des problèmes qui lui sont confiés. La tâche de la Première Commission consiste à examiner des crises, alors que celle des autres Commissions consiste à empêcher ces crises de se produire. C'est l'objectif que vise le projet de résolution commun.

50. Le représentant d'Israël a objecté que la conclusion qui figure au paragraphe 4 du dispositif du projet de résolution serait prématurée. Or, les mesures que les Puissances administrantes ont prises en se fondant sur une interprétation unilatérale et restrictive de la notion de "populations qui ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes", telle qu'elle figure au Chapitre XI de la Charte, le sont encore bien davantage. Les Puissances administrantes auraient agi plus sagement si elles avaient attendu qu'une série de facteurs aient été établis d'un commun accord ou qu'une interprétation satisfaisante de cette expression ait été élaborée.

51. Les conclusions énoncées au paragraphe 4 du dispositif du projet de résolution ne sont pas uniquement celles des six auteurs de ce texte. A sa session de 1951, le Comité spécial chargé de l'examen des renseignements transmis en vertu de l'Article 73, e, a reconnu que trois systèmes seulement permettaient à un territoire non autonome d'atteindre une autonomie complète. Lors de la sixième session de l'Assemblée générale, à Paris, la Sous-Commission 9 créée par la Quatrième Commission a fait sienne cette opinion; de plus, le Comité *ad hoc* pour l'étude des facteurs a indiqué dans son rapport que les Puissances administrantes et les Puissances non administrantes étaient d'accord sur l'existence des trois systèmes suivants: l'indépendance, toute autre forme d'autonomie séparée, et l'union ou l'association, sur un pied d'égalité, à d'autres parties constitutives de la métropole ou d'un autre pays. Les progrès réalisés depuis 1951 n'ont porté que sur des points de détail d'importance secondaire. Il ne faut pas en conclure que la délégation du Venezuela s'oppose à ce que le Comité poursuive l'étude des facteurs, comme le recommande l'amendement du Pérou et de la République Dominicaine; cependant on ne peut attendre les conclusions d'une discussion abstraite pour régler des problèmes concrets. On peut fort bien nommer un comité chargé de procéder à une étude scientifique et politique du problème de l'autonomie. On peut également prolonger le mandat du Comité *ad hoc* pour l'étude des facteurs afin de lui permettre d'examiner la portée des facteurs relatifs aux considérations d'ordre géographique ou racial, ou les facteurs relatifs aux limitations volontaires de la souveraineté. Pendant ce temps, l'Organisation doit néanmoins agir.

52. La délégation du Venezuela ne peut comprendre les doutes qu'éprouvent les délégations d'Israël, du Pérou et de la République Dominicaine sur la compétence de l'Assemblée générale à établir un critère. Le représentant d'Israël a dit que ce critère ne servirait à rien si les Puissances administrantes ne l'acceptaient pas. Cependant, le cas n'est pas le même que celui du différend qui avait surgi au sujet de la prolongation du mandat du Comité des renseignements. Dans ce dernier cas, il s'agissait d'un système auquel la participation des Puissances administrantes était essentielle. Au contraire, le projet de résolution relatif aux facteurs constitue une expression technique d'opinion de la part de l'Organisation. L'Assemblée générale exprime

son opinion par le vote affirmatif des deux tiers des membres présents et votants. L'opinion selon laquelle la Corée du Nord et la République populaire de Chine avaient commis une agression n'a pas été adoptée à l'unanimité; cependant, du point de vue juridique et du point de vue politique, cette opinion représente le jugement que l'Organisation a porté sur les événements de Corée.

53. L'opinion que l'Assemblée générale exprimera sur la question des facteurs n'élargira pas la portée du Chapitre XI. Il n'est pas demandé aux Puissances administrantes d'aller au-delà des engagements auxquels elles ont souscrit à l'origine. Le but visé est d'amener les Puissances administrantes à réfléchir et à renoncer à l'attitude négative qu'elles ont prise. En adoptant le projet de résolution, l'Assemblée générale ne fera que déclarer qu'à son avis l'autonomie dans les domaines économique, social et de l'instruction ne suffit pas pour relever les Puissances administrantes des obligations qu'elles ont contractées aux termes du Chapitre XI. En exprimant nettement cette opinion, l'Assemblée générale montrera que les Nations Unies ne considèrent pas qu'une semi-autonomie dispense les Puissances administrantes de se conformer aux obligations qu'elles ont contractées aux termes du Chapitre XI, et que la validité, sur le plan international, de toute décision de leur part de cesser la communication des renseignements, restera toujours douteuse. Il est peu probable que des Etats comme les Puissances administrantes, qui respectent le droit international et en favorisent le développement, veuillent s'opposer à l'opinion exprimée par la communauté internationale tout entière.

54. En outre, si l'on déniait aux Nations Unies le droit d'examiner si la décision prise par une Puissance administrante de cesser la communication des renseignements relatifs à un territoire non autonome est fondée, cela équivaldrait à permettre à l'une des parties à un accord d'interpréter seule cet accord. Le fait que les Nations Unies examinent la question ne signifie pas qu'elles s'arrogent le droit d'étudier les dispositions d'une législation nationale. Les Nations Unies ne peuvent déclarer à la population d'un territoire non autonome qu'elle n'est pas soumise à certaines lois métropolitaines pour la raison que, de l'avis d'un organe des Nations Unies, ces lois ne seraient pas équitables. Une telle attitude constituerait une violation flagrante des dispositions de l'alinéa 7 de l'Article 2 de la Charte. Toutefois, lorsque des lois métropolitaines ou des dispositions administratives sont d'un intérêt international, comme dans le cas de la reconnaissance de l'accession d'un territoire à l'autonomie, les Nations Unies sont fondées à examiner la documentation fournie à l'appui d'une demande faite en vue de cette reconnaissance. Tel est le sens dans lequel doit être compris et interprété le dernier considérant du projet de résolution et le paragraphe 1 de son dispositif. La délégation du Venezuela ne peut accepter l'amendement du Pérou et de la République Dominicaine, qui tend à éliminer cet aspect du paragraphe 1 du dispositif du projet.

55. Le représentant des Etats-Unis a suggéré que les territoires non autonomes auxquels a été octroyée l'autonomie dans les domaines économique, social et de l'instruction peuvent ne pas désirer que les Puissances administrantes communiquent aux Nations Unies des renseignements sur ces questions. Le paragraphe 2 du dispositif du projet de résolution, qui

reconnaît que chaque cas d'espèce doit être examiné et tranché en tenant compte des circonstances qui lui sont propres, répond à cette éventualité. De plus, une Puissance administrante d'esprit progressif peut se réclamer du refus opposé par un territoire non autonome de communiquer des renseignements par l'intermédiaire de cette Puissance, pour demander que le territoire non autonome en question soit directement représenté au Comité des renseignements.

56. Le paragraphe 3 du dispositif du projet de résolution précise que ni la liste des facteurs ni la résolution elle-même ne doivent être interprétées comme constituant une critique des progrès qui ont pu être accomplis par un territoire vers l'autonomie, ou comme imposant certaines conditions aux territoires non autonomes. Tout au contraire, ce sont les Puissances administrantes qui doivent remplir ces conditions si elles désirent que la communauté internationale reconnaisse que leur tâche est terminée et qu'un territoire a atteint une complète autonomie.

57. Le projet de résolution approuve la liste des facteurs qui doivent servir de guide et ne la considère pas comme une liste complète de conditions à remplir. La liste des facteurs n'est, en effet, pas complète et certains des facteurs qui y figurent ne s'appliquent pas à tous les cas. Si le mot "Approuve" gêne certaines délégations, on pourrait lui substituer l'expression "Prend acte avec intérêt de", comme le propose l'amendement du Pérou et de la République Dominicaine.

58. Le représentant de l'Indonésie a élevé une objection à l'égard du dernier membre de phrase du paragraphe 5 du dispositif, qui se lit : "soit à propos d'autres questions qui peuvent se poser touchant l'existence d'une obligation de transmettre des renseignements en vertu de cet article". Cette partie du texte est assez vague et la délégation du Venezuela ne s'oppose pas à la proposition de l'Indonésie qui tend à la supprimer. Cette suppression donnera également satisfaction à la délégation de l'Australie.

59. La délégation de l'URSS désire voir ajouter un membre de phrase à la fin du troisième considérant. Toutefois, les auteurs du projet de résolution ont surtout cherché à éviter de donner l'apparence d'une pression quelconque exercée sur les Puissances administrantes; puisque l'amendement de l'URSS impose un délai maximum et exige des renseignements relatifs aux textes constitutionnels, législatifs ou réglementaires, la délégation du Venezuela estime qu'il ne convient pas de l'incorporer dans le projet des six Puissances. Si la délégation de l'URSS insiste pour que son amendement soit mis aux voix, la délégation du Venezuela sera obligée de s'abstenir. Pour les mêmes raisons, elle devra s'abstenir sur l'amendement de la Pologne au paragraphe 2 du dispositif (A/C.4/L.235).

60. Le projet de résolution n'est pas dirigé contre les Puissances administrantes, mais contre le risque croissant de voir se transformer en une menace contre la paix et la sécurité internationales la naturelle impatience des populations des territoires non autonomes qui veulent pouvoir gérer leurs propres affaires. En réservant leur attitude, des Puissances administrantes telles que le Danemark, les Etats-Unis, la France, les Pays-Bas et le Royaume-Uni n'ont pas prêté aux auteurs du projet de résolution l'intention de jeter sur elles le

discrédit. C'est là, tout au moins, un premier signe de compréhension mutuelle. La délégation du Venezuela est convaincue que des pays unis par des sentiments de profonde amitié et qui sont des alliés dans la lutte politique mondiale peuvent poursuivre leur collaboration malgré des divergences de vues. Les six Puissances et plus de trente-cinq pays représentés à la Quatrième Commission croient sincèrement que, quelque louables que soient les intentions des Puissances administrantes, la cessation de la communication de renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'autonomie politique ne contribuerait pas à assurer la sécurité de ces territoires, de la Puissance administrante intéressée ou du reste du monde.

61. M. LESCURE (Argentine) félicite le Comité *ad hoc* pour le travail qu'il a accompli et l'excellent rapport qu'il a élaboré. Il s'associe notamment aux déclarations des représentants du Venezuela, de Cuba, de l'Égypte et de l'Inde.

62. Il interprète le paragraphe 4 de la section A de la première partie de la liste des facteurs comme se référant uniquement à la liberté, pour le territoire, de participer à sa propre défense nationale, et non au maintien de bases militaires, qui pourrait impliquer une restriction de sa souveraineté.

63. Il partage l'opinion que le Comité *ad hoc* a exprimée au paragraphe 5, C, de son rapport, selon laquelle une énumération de facteurs ne peut avoir que la valeur d'une indication, chaque cas particulier devant être tranché en tenant compte des circonstances qui lui sont propres.

64. Certains représentants ont estimé qu'il y aurait lieu de définir le terme "autonomie" avant d'essayer d'énumérer les facteurs qui la constituent. On peut dire non seulement qu'une telle procédure semblerait absolument contraire à la logique, mais encore que pareille définition serait extrêmement dangereuse dans sa nature même. Une définition rigoureuse ne pourrait évidemment prévoir tous les cas imaginables et serait donc de nature à provoquer de sérieuses complications. A vrai dire, la Commission ne paraît unanime que sur un seul point, à savoir que la liste des facteurs ne peut avoir que la valeur d'une indication et ne peut être considérée comme complète.

65. On a comparé les textes de l'Article 73, b, et de l'Article 76, b, de la Charte. De l'avis de M. Lescure, la différence entre les mots "de développer leur capacité de s'administrer elles-mêmes" et les mots "favoriser... leur évolution progressive vers la capacité à s'administrer eux-mêmes ou l'indépendance" est due seulement au fait que le Chapitre XI a trait aux territoires non autonomes, alors que l'Article 76 figure dans le Chapitre XII qui a trait au régime international de tutelle. L'inclusion du mot "indépendance" à l'Article 76, b, n'implique pas que les auteurs de la Charte aient voulu établir une différence fondamentale entre les deux catégories de territoires; le moins qu'on puisse dire est que cette inclusion tend à élargir la portée de la Charte en ce qui concerne les territoires non autonomes. Le problème a fait l'objet d'une discussion prolongée à San-Francisco, où il y a eu accord sur le principe selon lequel la "capacité [des populations] de s'administrer elles-mêmes" (self-government) est l'objectif final. Certains représentants auraient voulu que l'indépendance soit mentionnée

comme autre objectif du Chapitre XI de la Charte, mais cette idée a été rejetée, après qu'il a été expressément entendu que l'autonomie n'excluait aucunement l'accession éventuelle à l'indépendance.

66. L'Organisation interaméricaine a affirmé à de nombreuses reprises que l'autonomie constitue l'objectif final. A la neuvième Conférence interaméricaine, la résolution 33, relative aux colonies et aux territoires occupés d'Amérique latine, a déclaré que l'évolution historique de l'émancipation de l'Amérique ne sera pas achevée aussi longtemps que des peuples, des régions ou des territoires du continent américain seront soumis au régime colonial ou occupés par des pays non américains⁵. On peut étendre cette théorie à toutes les parties du monde dont les populations autochtones ont encore besoin de la protection des Nations Unies dans leur lutte pour l'autonomie. Le Gouvernement de l'Argentine tient à souligner qu'aucun gouvernement métropolitain n'est habilité à modifier le statut politique d'un territoire non autonome qui fait l'objet d'un différend avec un autre Etat.

67. M. Lescure s'adresse aux représentants du Pérou et de la République Dominicaine en leur demandant instamment d'accepter que leurs amendements viennent s'ajouter aux paragraphes pertinents du projet de résolution commun et non les remplacer. Il serait utile de poursuivre l'étude de la question des facteurs.

68. En terminant, M. Lescure annonce que le vote de sa délégation sera déterminé par les considérations qu'il vient d'exposer et il réserve le droit de sa délégation d'expliquer son vote le cas échéant.

69. M. PEREZ CISNEROS (Cuba) dit qu'il est très difficile à sa délégation de comprendre comment, suivant une objection que l'on a présentée, l'Assemblée générale pourrait entrer en conflit avec la législation interne d'Etats souverains en adoptant le projet de résolution A/C.4/L.231. Les auteurs du projet de résolution ont pris particulièrement soin de ne rien mettre dans leur proposition qui soit contraire ou étranger à la lettre et à l'esprit de la Charte. La Charte ne peut être en conflit avec le droit interne, car elle a été ratifiée par les Parlements des divers Etats, qui ont contracté en la ratifiant des obligations précises envers la communauté internationale. Une obligation comme celle que les Puissances administrantes ont contractée aux termes du Chapitre XI de la Charte ne peut être résiliée unilatéralement et il est clair qu'il faut qu'il y ait un accord entre la communauté internationale et les Puissances administrantes avant que l'on puisse cesser de transmettre des renseignements sur les territoires non autonomes.

70. Cuba a fait valoir à plusieurs reprises que l'Article 73, e, de la Charte constitue un contrat entre les Puissances administrantes et l'Organisation des Nations Unies. A l'appui de cette thèse, M. Pérez Cisneros cite un passage de la déclaration prononcée au cours de la 216ème séance de la Quatrième Commission par le représentant de l'Uruguay qui a dit que l'organe qui doit représenter les Nations Unies ne peut être que l'Assemblée générale et qu'il est inadmissible que l'une des parties intéressées décide de façon unilatérale si un territoire déterminé a atteint l'indépendance ou

⁵ Voir *Organisation des Etats américains, Annales*, vol. I, No 1, 1949, Washington, p. 137 et 138.

l'autonomie. Le représentant de L'Uruguay a ajouté que c'est à l'Organisation des Nations Unies qu'il appartient d'examiner la situation dans chaque territoire pour déterminer si la population de ce territoire s'administre complètement elle-même ou non. On a énuméré un certain nombre de facteurs qui doivent servir de guide pour déterminer si un territoire est ou n'est pas autonome, mais il faut également décider quel organe, au nom de l'Assemblée générale, prendra cette décision dans chaque cas. Le représentant de l'Uruguay s'est déclaré convaincu que cet organe ne peut être que l'Assemblée générale. Il serait inadmissible que l'une des deux parties intéressées décide de façon unilatérale si un territoire déterminé a atteint l'indépendance ou la plénitude du "self-government".

71. Il est également assez difficile à la délégation cubaine de comprendre pourquoi les adversaires du projet de résolution prétendent que le rôle de l'Assemblée générale doit se limiter à donner une définition du concept de "self-government" alors qu'ils savent bien et reconnaissent eux-mêmes qu'aucun facteur ni aucune combinaison de facteurs ne peuvent s'appliquer dans tous les cas. Il est précisé au paragraphe 2 du dispositif du projet de résolution A/C.4/L.231 que chaque cas d'espèce doit être examiné et tranché en tenant compte des circonstances qui lui sont propres. Chaque cas devant être tranché selon ses mérites propres, l'approbation de la liste des facteurs en tant que guide ne devrait soulever aucune difficulté.

72. Le représentant d'Israël a dit que les Puissances administrantes rejettent unanimement la thèse de Cuba sur l'indivisibilité de l'autonomie. Or, cette thèse a été présentée d'abord par une Puissance administrante et le représentant des Pays-Bas vient de confirmer ce que sa délégation a dit sur ce point au cours de la sixième session. A la 242ème séance de la Quatrième Commission, le représentant des Pays-Bas a dit qu'il ne croyait pas que l'autonomie économique fût possible sans autonomie politique, et que l'autonomie était indivisible.

73. Les divers éléments du "self-government" sont fondus et confondus ensemble, comme le prouve la devise avec laquelle un grand Etat a lutté pour son indépendance: "pas d'imposition sans représentation". Cela montre à quel point les conditions économiques sont étroitement liées à la structure politique. L'autonomie n'est ni la somme ni la moyenne d'un certain nombre de facteurs, mais un vaste tout; parvenir à l'autonomie complète signifie parvenir à l'autonomie dans tous les domaines à la fois.

74. En ce qui concerne les Etats qui jouissent de l'autonomie au sein d'une fédération, dont a parlé le représentant de l'Australie, M. Pérez Cisneros fait observer que, dans les cas de cet ordre, l'intervention du gouvernement fédéral dans certains domaines est définie par la constitution et que cette constitution est la loi qui a été adoptée dans des conditions d'égalité par tous les Etats qui forment la fédération. D'ailleurs, tous les Etats membres de la fédération sont représentés au sein du gouvernement fédéral; par conséquent, l'intervention du gouvernement fédéral ne peut vraiment être considérée comme une intervention extérieure puisqu'elle a été, d'avance et librement, acceptée par tous.

75. Plusieurs représentants ont objecté au représentant de Cuba que la question est plutôt d'ordre politique que juridique. Il est exact que le problème de la définition des facteurs est un problème juridique et qu'il doit être abordé dans un esprit juridique. Mais ce n'est pas là le vrai problème à résoudre; le vrai problème est celui de la cessation de la communication des renseignements sur tels ou tels territoires; examiner des cas concrets pour déterminer si les territoires en question sont parvenus ou non à l'autonomie complète — qui est un statut politique — ne peut être qu'un problème avant tout politique. Pour prouver que l'application des facteurs ne donnerait pas toujours des résultats très nets, l'orateur rappelle qu'il y a eu, au cours de l'histoire, des cas où des pays ont été jugés complètement souverains et ont été admis officiellement dans la communauté des nations et, cependant, de par leur constitution même, ils ont pu subir, du moins dans certains cas et pour un certain temps, une intervention étrangère. Mais il y a eu du moins ce fait politique que constitue la reconnaissance de la souveraineté du pays par la communauté des nations.

76. Le PRESIDENT fait observer qu'en raison de l'heure tardive, M. Pérez Cisneros préférerait peut-être remettre à plus tard la suite de sa déclaration, si la Commission décidait de tenir une autre séance pendant l'après-midi.

Par 20 voix contre 12, la Commission décide de tenir sa 277ème séance l'après-midi à 15 heures.

77. M. PEREZ CISNEROS (Cuba) accepte de poursuivre son intervention au cours de la séance de l'après-midi.

La séance est levée à 13 h. 10.



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Facteurs dont il convient de tenir compte pour décider si un territoire est, ou n'est pas, un territoire dont les populations ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes: rapport du Comité *ad hoc* pour l'étude des facteurs (territoires non autonomes) [A/2178, A/C.4/L.231, A/C.4/L.233, A/C.4/L.234, A/C.4/L.235, A/C.4/L.236] (*suite*) 197

Président: Mr. Rodolfo MUNOZ (Argentine).

Facteurs dont il convient de tenir compte pour décider si un territoire est, ou n'est pas, un territoire dont les populations ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes: rapport du Comité *ad hoc* pour l'étude des facteurs (territoires non autonomes) [A/2178, A/C.4/L.231, A/C.4/L.233, A/C.4/L.234, A/C.4/L.235, A/C.4/L.236] (*suite*)

[Point 36*]

1. M. PEREZ CISNEROS (Cuba), reprenant l'exposé qu'il avait commencé à la 276ème séance, dit que, si l'on essaie de définir l'expression "territoires dont les populations . . . s'administrent . . . complètement elles-mêmes" employée à l'Article 73 de la Charte sans tenir compte des circonstances politiques qui peuvent entourer certains cas ni des intentions des signataires de la Charte, on ne peut que la juger équivalente au terme "indépendance". Sur ce point, les Puissances non administrantes n'ont pas adopté une attitude intransigeante, car elles savaient que l'on créerait de grandes difficultés si l'on voulait donner à ce terme un sens trop exclusif. Elles s'efforcent au contraire de tenir compte de l'aspect pratique du problème. C'est ainsi que le Comité *ad hoc*, avec le vote affirmatif de ses membres représentant des Puissances non administrantes, a proposé dans son rapport (A/2178) divers éléments permettant d'interpréter le terme "territoires dont les populations . . . s'administrent . . . complètement elles-mêmes" au sens de l'indépendance ou d'autres formes d'autonomie ou de l'association du territoire avec des éléments constitutifs de la métropole ou un autre pays.

2. La solution du problème qui se pose aux Nations Unies réside dans les réponses aux deux questions suivantes: Quand une Puissance administrante est-elle libérée de l'obligation contractée en vertu de l'Article 73, e, à l'égard d'un territoire déterminé? Quand les Nations Unies sont-elles libérées de l'obligation, qui

découle du même article, de recevoir des renseignements sur un territoire au sujet duquel elles en reçoivent actuellement? Les réponses dépendent de deux éléments: un élément doctrinal, l'interprétation à donner à l'expression "territoires dont les populations . . . s'administrent . . . complètement elles-mêmes" et un élément pratique, la nécessité pour les Nations Unies et la Puissance administrante intéressée de décider d'un commun accord que la transmission de renseignements sur un territoire peut cesser, la population de ce dernier s'administrant complètement elle-même.

3. L'élément doctrinal ne peut se définir avec une parfaite précision et l'Assemblée l'a reconnu dans le paragraphe 5 de l'introduction de l'annexe à sa résolution 567 (VI). Il est en effet très difficile de concevoir et de formuler une règle juridique dont l'application démontre automatiquement que la population d'un territoire donné s'administre désormais complètement elle-même. S'il est utile que les Nations Unies donnent des directives sur ce que devrait être une telle règle, ces directives ne peuvent permettre à elles seules de résoudre aucun problème concret, car l'évolution des territoires non autonomes prend des formes infiniment variées.

4. Il est évident que la délégation de Cuba souhaite voir diminuer progressivement la liste des territoires non autonomes; mais elle juge indispensable que chaque fois que le nom de l'un de ces territoires est rayé de la liste, l'Assemblée générale ait pu constater que cette suppression est motivée. M. Pérez Cisneros est convaincu que, dans le cas concrets qui se présenteront, il n'y aura aucune difficulté à parvenir à un accord entre la majorité des membres de l'Assemblée générale et les Puissances administrantes. C'est dans cet esprit qu'est rédigé le paragraphe 3 du dispositif du projet de résolution commun (A/C.4/L.231). En effet, chacun sait qu'il y a fort peu de territoires, et même d'Etats souverains, dont le statut répond à tous les facteurs établis. Ainsi, il faut avant tout éviter que les Puissances administrantes puissent estimer que les territoires doivent répondre à tous les facteurs, parce qu'alors elles ne pourraient

* Numéro affecté à la question dans l'ordre du jour de l'Assemblée générale.

presque jamais considérer que les populations de ces territoires s'administrent complètement elles-mêmes.

5. En réponse au représentant des Pays-Bas qui lui a fait observer que le premier considérant du projet de résolution mentionne uniquement l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 alors que le deuxième considérant mentionne le Chapitre XI dans son ensemble, le représentant de Cuba déclare que tant qu'il s'agit de la transmission des renseignements et des effets de ces renseignements, les réserves de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 sont légitimes, mais pour que puisse cesser la transmission des renseignements au sujet d'un territoire donné, il faut que ce territoire sorte de la catégorie des territoires non autonomes et entre dans celle des territoires dont les populations s'administrent complètement elles-mêmes, et qu'il faut donc examiner s'il a atteint tous les objectifs du Chapitre XI, et notamment les objectifs politiques. Il est évident que l'Article 73, e, ne peut jamais être en contradiction avec le chapitre dont il fait partie, car les diverses parties de la Charte doivent s'interpréter dans le cadre de l'ensemble du texte. En passant, le représentant de Cuba signale que le terme "autonomie" doit être évité dans ce contexte, car il peut prêter à des malentendus; c'est l'expression de la Charte "territoires dont les populations . . . s'administrent . . . complètement elles-mêmes" qu'il faut employer; de nombreux juristes spécialistes du droit international, comme par exemple le professeur Georges Scelle, assimilent parfois le terme "autonomie" au "statut colonial"; c'est ainsi que le juriste en question, en parlant des colonies qui sont et demeurent des colonies au sens classique du terme, dit qu'elles peuvent avoir un "statut de décentralisation ou d'autonomie"¹; ce n'est certainement pas dans ce sens qu'il faut interpréter le Chapitre XI.

6. En ce qui concerne l'amendement du Pérou et de la République Dominicaine (A/C.4/L.234), M. Pérez Cisneros demande aux représentants de ces deux pays s'ils accepteraient que les nouveaux paragraphes qu'ils proposent soient ajoutés au projet de résolution commun au lieu d'en remplacer certains paragraphes. Il y aurait avantage à présenter un texte unique.

7. En réponse au représentant de l'Australie qui a fait observer que le paragraphe 3 du dispositif du projet de résolution commun ne contenait pas ce mot "progressive" pour qualifier l'expression "autonomie complète", le représentant de Cuba fait observer que la Charte, en effet, emploie parfois ce qualificatif, mais seulement dans les cas où le Chapitre XI s'applique encore aux territoires en question; pour que ces territoires échappent aux dispositions de ce chapitre, cas envisagé dans le projet de résolution, leurs populations doivent s'administrer complètement elles-mêmes. Il est par conséquent logique de ne pas employer le qualificatif "progressive" dans ce contexte.

8. La délégation de Cuba désire que la Commission parvienne à un accord qui ne soit pas le résultat d'un compromis mais d'une reconnaissance en toute bonne foi de la situation concrète à régler. Un tel accord serait un important facteur de paix.

9. M. WINIEWICZ (Pologne) déclare que, de l'avis de sa délégation, le projet de résolution commun n'est pas parfait mais contient plusieurs éléments positifs

importants. Il réitère les obligations contractées par les Puissances administrantes, qui sont d'une grande importance pour l'avenir des territoires non autonomes, notamment l'obligation de transmettre des renseignements en vertu de l'Article 73, e, de la Charte jusqu'à ce que ces territoires aient acquis leur autonomie. La délégation de la Pologne a déjà parlé en ces termes (264ème séance) au cours de la discussion générale sur la reconstitution du Comité des renseignements relatifs aux Territoires non autonomes; elle considère que le projet de résolution est conforme à son attitude, à cet égard, et elle apprécie l'esprit dans lequel il a été présenté. Le préambule tient dûment compte de la résolution 222 (III) de l'Assemblée générale qui souligne que les Nations Unies doivent nécessairement être informées de toutes modifications qui pourraient intervenir dans le statut constitutionnel de l'un quelconque des territoires non autonomes. La majorité des délégations sont convaincues de la nécessité de disposer de tels renseignements pour déterminer si un territoire évolue vers l'indépendance ou si, au contraire, son évolution est freinée dans l'intérêt de la Puissance administrante.

10. La délégation de la Pologne appuie fermement l'amendement de la délégation de l'URSS (A/C.4/L.233) au troisième considérant du projet de résolution; cet amendement rendra le texte initial plus clair et plus explicite; de plus, il permettra de se rendre plus exactement compte des liens constitutionnels qui unissent un territoire à la métropole et d'éviter l'intégration du territoire dans la métropole, question qui a toujours préoccupé la délégation de la Pologne; il évitera que les Nations Unies ne se trouvent un jour devant un fait accompli. Quant à la liste des facteurs, au sujet desquels M. Winiewicz a formulé certaines réserves (274ème séance), il constate que le projet de résolution ne l'envisage que comme un guide à l'intention de l'Assemblée générale et des Puissances administrantes.

11. Le paragraphe 3 du dispositif contient une disposition très importante selon laquelle les facteurs ne doivent nullement être interprétés comme faisant obstacle à l'autonomie complète des territoires non autonomes. Cette disposition est conforme au point de vue de la délégation de la Pologne qui estime que le problème doit être abordé d'une manière réaliste.

12. M. Winiewicz ne peut accepter l'amendement du Pérou et de la République Dominicaine, car il supprimerait du projet des éléments que la délégation de la Pologne juge très importants.

13. La délégation polonaise propose un amendement (A/C.4/L.235) au paragraphe 2 du dispositif du projet de résolution commun. Cet amendement consiste à ajouter à la fin du paragraphe les mots "et du droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes." Ce droit est énoncé au paragraphe 2 de l'Article premier de la Charte et il semble qu'il y ait lieu de le mentionner dans le projet de résolution.

14. En conclusion, M. Winiewicz déclare que sa délégation est disposée en principe à voter pour le projet de résolution commun.

15. M. RYCKMANS (Belgique) juge indispensable de dissiper certains malentendus auxquels a donné lieu son intervention à la 274ème séance. Il estime qu'il ne s'est écarté en rien du problème en discussion. Il s'est

¹ Voir Georges Scelle, *Précis du droit de gens*, Paris, 1932, Première partie, p. 145.

borné à analyser les facteurs proposés et il a dit que la Belgique était prête à les accepter en bloc, tous méritant à divers degrés d'être pris en considération. Toutefois, il a appelé l'attention de la Commission — et il avait parfaitement le droit de le faire — sur les conséquences qu'impliquerait l'application de tel ou tel facteur. M. Ryckmans fait observer que la Charte parle non de "populations" mais de "territoires dont les populations . . ." Or, que faut-il pour qu'une région soit un territoire au sens de l'Article 73, e, de la Charte? Les facteurs font allusion à des territoires séparés du siège du gouvernement par des obstacles géographiques naturels. M. Ryckmans a cité l'exemple de populations vivant dans des régions considérées officiellement comme inaccessibles aux civilisés. Certains estiment que, pour qu'un territoire soit considéré comme séparé du siège du gouvernement, il faut qu'il le soit par une étendue de mer. M. Ryckmans a cité le cas d'une île. Pourquoi n'aurait-il pas le droit de mentionner de tels cas d'espèce?

16. Un des facteurs proposés est le progrès politique de la population et sa participation à la vie nationale du territoire. M. Ryckmans avait le droit de citer le cas des populations sauvages reconnues comme telles dans des actes officiels. Il n'a rien fait d'autre qu'd'appliquer à des cas concrets les facteurs proposés et d'appeler l'attention sur les conséquences inéluctables de certains critères. Si la Commission adoptait ces critères, force lui serait de considérer les territoires auxquels ils s'appliquent comme relevant de l'Article 73, e, de la Charte.

17. Certains ont prétendu que M. Ryckmans aurait mis en cause le territoire national d'États souverains et aurait ainsi justifié une motion d'ordre. Or la Belgique est un État souverain tout comme les autres États Membres. Elle a examiné si les termes de la Charte s'appliquaient à des territoires placés sous sa souveraineté. Elle a décidé qu'il en était ainsi pour le Congo belge et elle n'y a vu aucune atteinte à sa souveraineté ou à sa dignité nationale. Elle demande seulement que certains États souverains procèdent, eux aussi, en ce qui les concerne, à cet examen. Il est vrai que les représentants de l'Indonésie et des Philippines ont déclaré que les travaux de San-Francisco montrent que le Chapitre XI de la Charte ne concerne pas les populations vivant à l'intérieur des frontières nationales, mais M. Ryckmans fait observer que cette idée n'est pas consignée dans la Charte. Le représentant de l'Indonésie a réfuté lui-même ce qu'il cherchait à prouver en rappelant que le Président du Comité II/4, invité à trancher la question, avait refusé de le faire en déclarant qu'elle était trop importante pour faire l'objet d'une décision présidentielle.

18. D'autre part, on invoque le terme "métropolitain" employé dans l'Article 74 de la Charte, pour conclure que le Chapitre XI ne s'applique qu'à des territoires autres que des territoires métropolitains. Or, que faut-il entendre par "territoire métropolitain"? C'est le territoire dominant par rapport au territoire dépendant, d'où il s'ensuit qu'il ne peut y avoir de territoires métropolitains quand il n'y a pas de territoires coloniaux. A la Quatrième Commission, il n'y a que huit membres qui ont des territoires métropolitains, ce sont les Puissances administrantes qui, en fournissant des renseignements en vertu de l'Article 73, reconnaissent

que leur territoire national se compose d'un territoire métropolitain et de territoires dépendants. S'il en existe d'autres, ils n'ont pas respecté leurs obligations, puisqu'ils n'ont pas fourni de renseignements sur leurs dépendances; ce sont ceux-là mêmes qui invoquent de tels arguments pour se soustraire à leurs obligations qui accusent les Puissances administrantes de se livrer à des arguties juridiques!

19. La prétention de priver le représentant de la Belgique de son droit de libre discussion est d'autant plus arbitraire et osée qu'elle émane de délégations qui prétendent que l'Assemblée générale est compétente pour décider si un territoire est autonome ou non. Dès l'instant où une délégation a le droit de demander l'inscription à l'ordre du jour de l'Assemblée générale de la question de savoir si le Surinam relève ou non de l'Article 73 de la Charte, de quel droit peut-on empêcher la délégation belge de demander à son tour que l'on étudie la question de savoir si la Somalie éthiopienne est dans une situation analogue?

20. Certains ont reproché à M. Ryckmans d'avoir parlé de territoires placés sous la souveraineté de leurs gouvernements et ont pris ses paroles pour des accusations. M. Ryckmans n'a voulu attaquer ni accuser personne. Il a simplement dit qu'aux yeux de son gouvernement les critères proposés semblent pouvoir s'appliquer à d'autres territoires que ceux au sujet desquels les Puissances administrantes transmettent des renseignements.

21. M. Ryckmans est fier d'être un vieux colonial. Il connaît le sens péjoratif que l'on donne à ce terme, mais pour lui ce fut un honneur que de consacrer sa carrière à la mission sacrée qu'a acceptée son pays. Parmi les grands coloniaux, certains noms méritent d'être mentionnés: Lyautey, qui n'a jamais pensé à la victoire sans penser à la paix qui allait suivre; Lugard, père de la Nigéria, créateur de ce qui devint une nation; le général Rondon, qui n'a jamais accepté une bataille contre les autochtones. M. Ryckmans ne songerait jamais à attaquer l'œuvre de cet homme, le service de protection des Indiens au Brésil, et il y cherche encore des leçons. Il rappelle qu'il a déjà dit à quel point les coloniaux rendent hommage au Gouvernement de l'Inde pour les efforts qu'il déploie en vue de relever les castes déshéritées. Tout comme les Puissance administrantes en Afrique noire, l'Inde doit lutter contre la pauvreté, l'ignorance et la routine de ces castes, mais aussi contre les préjugés séculaires des castes influentes. Voulant hâter la réforme, elle prend des mesures qui risquent d'être impopulaires et donne des privilèges à ceux qui étaient autrefois victimes des privilèges d'autrui. M. Ryckmans se garde de porter un jugement sur ces mesures, mais, lorsque le Premier Ministre de l'Inde propose aux Nagas une politique intégrée en disant qu'un esprit isolationniste serait désastreux dans le monde moderne, son langage est presque identique à celui du représentant de la France. Sans vouloir critiquer l'œuvre ainsi entreprise, M. Ryckmans estime qu'il a le droit de prétendre qu'à la lumière des critères élaborés par le Comité *ad hoc*, la question des Nagas mériterait, sur le plan de l'autonomie, de faire l'objet d'un examen sérieux.

22. Il n'a pas reproché au Libéria d'être une ancienne colonie. Il a dit simplement que les fondateurs du Libéria ont acquis des droits sur la côte du Bénin dans

les mêmes conditions que les fondateurs des établissements néerlandais, danois, anglais ou français. Les nègres venant d'Amérique ont pénétré dans l'arrière-pays en utilisant les mêmes méthodes que les Anglais ou les Français dans les territoires voisins. Il n'a pas reproché aux fondateurs du Libéria d'avoir une langue, une culture et une religion différentes de celles des autochtones du pays qu'ils occupaient, mais la différence est aussi grande que celle qui existe entre les Français et les autochtones de la Côte-d'Ivoire. Il n'a pas davantage contesté la souveraineté du Libéria sur tout son territoire, que ce soit sur les tribus de l'intérieur ou sur les comtés civilisés de la côte.

23. De son côté, l'Indonésie a reproché au représentant de la Belgique d'avoir choisi des exemples parmi les petits pays. M. Ryckmans a choisi des exemples typiques, et il aurait pu en citer d'autres. Si l'on se reporte à l'exposé communiqué par le Gouvernement de la Belgique (A/AC.58/1), on peut voir qu'au nombre des territoires qui, de l'avis de ce gouvernement, méritent de faire l'objet d'un examen, figurent les régions habitées par des Esquimaux au Canada, par des Indiens au Canada et aux Etats-Unis, et par des noirs en Afrique du Sud. La délégation de la Belgique n'a jamais prétendu que toutes ces populations relevaient de l'Article 73, e, de la Charte. Elle a seulement dit qu'elles méritent de faire l'objet d'un examen, et elle a choisi les cas dans lesquels cet examen donnerait le plus probablement un résultat positif.

24. Le représentant de l'Inde a dit que la délégation de la Belgique se faisait le champion le plus obstiné de la théorie de la compétence nationale exclusive dans le domaine colonial. A cette théorie réactionnaire, il a opposé l'interprétation de plus en plus libérale de la Charte et il a rappelé les paroles du représentant de la Suède qui a déclaré que les territoires non autonomes relèvent en principe de la compétence des Etats souverains, mais qu'il faut reconnaître que le sort de ces territoires est devenu dans une certaine mesure une question d'intérêt international.

25. Or, la Belgique constate que, depuis plusieurs années, la majorité des Membres de l'Assemblée générale cherchent, par une interprétation unilatérale de la Charte, à étendre la protection internationale que cet instrument accorde à certaines populations, tout en s'efforçant, par une interprétation également unilatérale, de priver de nombreuses autres populations de cette protection dont les premières jouissent depuis un quart de siècle. Le représentant de l'Inde a dit également que le sort des territoires non autonomes suscitait l'intérêt croissant de la communauté internationale. Le contraire est vrai. Les débats à la Quatrième Commission viennent d'en faire la preuve la plus éclatante. Lorsque M. Ryckmans a demandé aux représentants d'Etats responsables de l'administration de certaines populations autochtones d'examiner si ces populations relevaient du Chapitre XI de la Charte, plusieurs délégations ont protesté, estimant qu'il empiétait sur les prérogatives de leurs gouvernements souverains.

26. De 1929 à 1934, la question du traitement des indigènes par un certain Etat souverain fut longuement débattue à la Société des Nations. Personne alors, pas même l'Etat en cause, n'a songé à contester le droit de l'accusateur ni le droit du Conseil de la Société des Nations de prendre des mesures. Cet Etat est mainte-

nant Membre des Nations Unies; il n'a pas fourni de renseignements et il est un de ceux dont le représentant a protesté contre les déclarations de M. Ryckmans. Comment peut-on dire que la communauté internationale s'intéresse de plus en plus aux territoires non autonomes et comment peut-on accuser la Belgique d'être réactionnaire? La Belgique déplore que la sollicitude dont témoigne le Chapitre XI soit moindre que celle dont témoignait l'Article 23 du Pacte de la Société des Nations. Cet article était clair et demandait à tous les Membres de s'engager à assurer un traitement équitable à toutes les populations de tous les territoires. La Belgique et sept autres nations ont reconnu que le Chapitre XI concerne des territoires qu'elles administrent. Les autres pays ont profité de l'ambiguïté de l'Article 73 pour se dérober, alors qu'ils ne l'auraient pas fait si l'Article 23 du Pacte de la Société des Nations était en vigueur. Ils ont pu adopter cette attitude grâce à une interprétation restrictive de l'Article 73. Ces pays invoquent la souveraineté nationale quand il s'agit d'eux-mêmes; ils sont contre ce principe quand il s'agit des autres. La Belgique accepte le principe de la primauté des intérêts des autochtones, pour tous les autochtones, mais elle n'accepte pas la discrimination. M. Ryckmans a déjà signalé l'exemple de la Nouvelle-Zélande, qui a appliqué ce principe en faveur d'autochtones de son propre territoire national, dans les îles Cook et Tokelau, sans y voir aucune atteinte à sa souveraineté. La Belgique demande seulement que certains autres Etats fassent de même.

27. Ato AMDE MIKAEL (Ethiopie) rappelle, en réponse aux observations du représentant de la Belgique, que les territoires somalis ont fait partie de l'Ethiopie depuis de nombreux siècles. C'est seulement à la fin du XIX^e siècle que ces territoires ont été arrachés provisoirement à l'Ethiopie par les impérialistes européens. Il est donc impossible de comparer ces territoires avec les colonies africaines des pays européens.

28. M. DE MARCHENA (République Dominicaine) estime que, pour combiner le projet de résolution commun avec l'amendement présenté par la République Dominicaine et le Pérou, il faut maintenir l'élimination du deuxième considérant, qui est déjà contenu implicitement dans le premier considérant; il convient également de modifier le paragraphe 5 du dispositif du projet de résolution afin de le mettre en harmonie avec le paragraphe 1 du dispositif de l'amendement. Le paragraphe 4 du dispositif du projet de résolution commun ne peut être maintenu dans un texte refondu, car il contient une affirmation qui concerne le fond du problème et ne peut se concilier avec une invitation à poursuivre l'étude de la question des facteurs. Peut-être pourrait-on toutefois adopter ce paragraphe sous la forme d'une proposition distincte.

29. M. KHATTAK (Pakistan) estime que la liste établie par le Comité *ad hoc* (A/2178) constitue un guide utile, étant entendu que le cas de chaque territoire doit être examiné en fonction des circonstances qui lui sont propres.

30. Les débats de la Commission ont mis en lumière deux conceptions divergentes de la Charte, l'une statique, l'autre dynamique. Selon la première conception, la Charte est un document rigide et immuable. Selon la deuxième, la Charte doit évoluer en fonction des

modifications de la situation internationale et elle constitue plutôt un point de départ qu'un but à atteindre. M. Khattak fait toutefois observer que les Puissances administrantes, qui adoptent à la Quatrième Commission une attitude rigide, prennent figure d'idéalistes au sein de la Commission politique.

31. Les Puissances administrantes refusent de reconnaître une compétence quelconque aux Nations Unies au sujet de l'avenir des territoires non autonomes, qu'elles considèrent comme une question purement interne. Le Pakistan estime au contraire que le bien-être et l'avenir des territoires non autonomes intéressent au premier chef l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Pour déterminer si un territoire a atteint le stade de l'autonomie complète, il ne suffit pas d'examiner les textes constitutionnels. Il faut encore apprécier la sincérité des intentions des Puissances administrantes et c'est là une question qu'aucune liste de facteurs ne permettra de trancher.

32. C'est parce que le cas des colonies administrées par des peuples dont la langue, la culture et la religion sont différentes est absolument distinct du cas des régions métropolitaines que les auteurs de la Charte ont consacré aux territoires non autonomes un chapitre distinct. L'Organisation ne peut relever une Puissance administrante de l'obligation de transmettre les renseignements prévus par l'Article 73, e, que lorsqu'elle a acquis la conviction que le territoire en question peut devenir Membre des Nations Unies, et l'admission aux Nations Unies doit précéder la cessation de la transmission des renseignements.

33. Le Pakistan votera pour le projet de résolution commun.

34. M. LOPEZ VILLAMIL (Honduras) rappelle que le Chapitre XI de la Charte fait partie du droit international positif et que les Puissances administrantes ont assumé, aux termes de l'Article 73, certaines obligations précises d'ordre juridique.

35. Certaines Puissances administrantes semblent oublier la portée exacte du Chapitre XI, tout comme le représentant de la Belgique semble oublier que son pays a été autrefois une colonie espagnole. En soulevant hors de propos des questions qui ont trait aux Etats souverains, ce représentant a uniquement pour but de détourner l'attention de la Commission du point en discussion. Certes, il existe dans certains pays d'Amérique latine des populations dont le niveau de civilisation est inférieur, mais elles vivent sur le territoire d'Etats souverains et jouissent de droits égaux à ceux des autres habitants de ces pays. M. Villamil rappelle qu'en Amérique latine beaucoup de personnes sont fières d'avoir du sang indien dans les veines et que la discrimination raciale y est inconnue.

36. Si la Commission adoptait le point de vue des Puissances administrantes, qui prétendent être seules juges du moment où elles peuvent cesser de transmettre des renseignements sur chaque territoire, elle ne ferait qu'entériner le colonialisme. Or, même si l'Organisation n'existait pas, nul ne pourrait arrêter la marche de l'histoire et la lutte des peuples asservis pour leur liberté et leur indépendance.

37. Le représentant du Honduras rappelle également que l'Amérique centrale, même après s'être libérée du

joug espagnol, a continué de faire l'objet des convoitises impérialistes de certaines Puissances européennes. C'est ainsi que le Royaume-Uni s'est illégalement emparé du territoire de Belize (Honduras britannique), qu'il occupe encore.

38. M. López Villamil retrace brièvement l'histoire du régime de tutelle, qui a succédé au régime des mandats institué par la Société des Nations; il montre que l'Article 73 constitue une norme d'ordre phénoménologique et non pas ontologique et que l'alinéa b de cet article impose aux Puissances administrantes certaines obligations de nature politique.

39. La délégation du Honduras votera pour le projet de résolution commun qui lui semble un texte très modéré. Elle estime que le principe du droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes est d'une importance fondamentale en la matière et que ce principe comprend également le droit des peuples indépendants de disposer librement de leurs ressources naturelles.

40. Le texte présenté par la République Dominicaine et le Pérou constitue plutôt un projet de résolution distinct qu'un amendement. Le Honduras peut accepter la suppression du deuxième considérant du projet de résolution commun, mais ne voit aucune raison de modifier le paragraphe 1 du dispositif. Il peut accepter les paragraphes 2, 3 et 4 proposés par le Pérou et la République Dominicaine, à condition que ces paragraphes viennent s'ajouter au texte du projet de résolution commun au lieu de s'y substituer.

41. U THANT (Birmanie) n'a pas été convaincu par les arguments du représentant de la Belgique, qui ne concernent nullement la question en cause. Il reconnaît que dans son pays, comme dans la plupart des autres, se posent certaines problèmes relatifs à une minorité. Toutefois, l'immense majorité des Karens eux-mêmes collaborent sans réserve avec le Gouvernement birman dans ses efforts pour stabiliser l'indépendance encore récente de la Birmanie. Les observations formulées par le représentant de la Belgique au sujet d'un pays pleinement indépendant sont absolument hors de propos.

42. La Birmanie estime acceptables les modifications que le Pérou et la République Dominicaine proposent d'apporter au préambule du projet de résolution commun, mais elle ne peut accepter la modification proposée au paragraphe 1 du dispositif, car elle estime que la liste des facteurs établie par le Comité *ad hoc* peut constituer un guide utile afin de déterminer si un territoire est devenu complètement autonome. Il serait d'ailleurs impossible d'établir une liste absolument complète des facteurs en question.

43. La Birmanie peut accepter les paragraphes 2, 3 et 4 proposés dans l'amendement du Pérou et de la République Dominicaine à condition qu'ils s'ajoutent aux paragraphes correspondants du projet de résolution commun au lieu de les remplacer. Dans ce dernier cas il conviendrait de mettre les paragraphes 1 et 4 du dispositif du projet de résolution en harmonie avec les paragraphes de l'amendement.

44. Enfin, la Birmanie votera pour l'amendement de l'URSS qui a pour effet de renforcer le texte primitif et pour l'amendement de la Pologne qui rappelle utilement l'importance du principe du droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes.

45. M. AGUIRRE (Uruguay) rend hommage aux sentiments élevés qui ont inspiré leurs auteurs du projet de résolution commun. Néanmoins, tout en partageant entièrement le point de vue des auteurs quant aux objectifs à atteindre, la délégation de l'Uruguay estime que le projet de résolution va trop loin en considérant comme réglés certains problèmes qui font l'objet de divergences de vues fondamentales.

46. En effet, le deuxième considérant fait état des objectifs énoncés au Chapitre XI de la Charte alors que ces objectifs sont diversement interprétés non seulement par les parties intéressées, mais encore par des théoriciens du droit international. Il serait fâcheux de vouloir interpréter d'une manière particulière les dispositions du Chapitre XI avant que l'Organisation des Nations Unies elle-même se soit explicitement prononcée sur ce point. Si l'on veut accomplir œuvre utile, il faut s'appuyer sur des éléments juridiques solides.

47. Le paragraphe 4 du dispositif contient la même erreur puisqu'il y est question de la capacité de la population de s'administrer complètement elle-même alors que ce terme n'a pas encore fait l'objet d'une interprétation précise de la part de l'Organisation.

48. La délégation de l'Uruguay pourrait donc accorder son appui au projet de résolution commun si l'on en supprimait les deux paragraphes qu'elle critique. En outre, il conviendrait d'incorporer dans le projet commun les amendements du Pérou et de la République Dominicaine.

49. M. ULLRICH (Tchécoslovaquie) déclare que les Puissances administrantes tentent d'attacher à l'Article 73 de la Charte une signification analogue à celle des Articles 22 et 23 du Pacte de la Société des Nations; elles prétendent notamment qu'elles sont seules compétentes pour décider si un territoire a accédé à l'autonomie complète. De plus, elles appliquent cette théorie et, contrairement aux dispositions de l'Article 73, e, de la Charte, elles cessent de transmettre des renseignements au sujet de certains territoires.

50. L'attitude des Puissances administrantes, qui prétendent avoir seules la responsabilité des territoires non autonomes, est contraire non seulement au droit international mais encore aux dispositions mêmes de la Charte. En effet, le Chapitre XI énonce des principes et impose des obligations qui ont force de loi pour tous les Membres de l'Organisation. Les Membres non administrants ont donc le droit et le devoir de veiller à ce que les dispositions du Chapitre XI soient respectées.

51. Le Chapitre XI ne se borne pas à énoncer les principes suivant lesquels les territoires non autonomes doivent être administrés ainsi que les objectifs à atteindre; l'Article 73, e, impose également des obligations précises aux Puissances administrantes. Il est évident que les droits et les obligations que prévoit le Chapitre XI ne revêtent un caractère obligatoire que jusqu'au moment où un territoire non autonome accède à l'autonomie complète. Il en résulte que, tôt ou tard, l'Organisation des Nations Unies devra se prononcer sur la question de savoir si un territoire déterminé a accédé à l'autonomie complète. C'est d'ailleurs sur ce principe que reposent les résolutions 222 (III) et 567 (VI) de l'Assemblée générale. Il en résulte également que la décision sur le point de savoir si un territoire relève de l'Article 73 de la Charte appartient non seulement aux

Puissances administrantes mais également aux autres Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Seule l'Assemblée générale est habilitée à se prononcer sur le commencement et la cessation de la transmission de renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes. L'Assemblée générale ne peut accepter qu'il soit mis fin à la transmission de renseignements que si elle est convaincue que le territoire intéressé a accédé à l'indépendance, c'est-à-dire si la population de ce territoire dispose entièrement des pouvoirs législatif, exécutif et judiciaire.

52. C'est à la lumière de ces considérations qu'il faut examiner les facteurs dont il convient de tenir compte pour décider si un territoire est, ou n'est pas, un territoire dont les populations ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes. Or, tels qu'ils sont actuellement énumérés, ces critères offrent aux Puissances administrantes la faculté de cesser de transmettre des renseignements au sujet de certains territoires sous prétexte que ces derniers ont pratiquement accédé à l'autonomie.

53. Malgré ses lacunes, le rapport du Comité *ad hoc* pour l'étude des facteurs constitue un pas en avant, mais le travail de ce Comité serait vain si l'Assemblée générale ne possédait pas les données nécessaires et notamment les renseignements que les Puissances administrantes sont tenues de transmettre en vertu de la résolution 222 (III) de l'Assemblée générale.

54. Pour les raisons qu'elle vient d'indiquer, la délégation de la Tchécoslovaquie votera pour tous projets de résolution et tous amendements s'élevant contre la cessation arbitraire de la transmission de renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes et tendant à atteindre les objectifs de la Charte.

55. M. ARAOZ (Bolivie) ne tient pas à répéter les arguments qui ont déjà été avancés par un grand nombre de délégations.

56. Il exprime sa satisfaction à l'égard des travaux effectués par le Comité *ad hoc* pour l'étude des facteurs et il souligne que, de l'avis même du Comité, une énumération de facteurs ne peut avoir que la valeur d'une indication lorsqu'il s'agit de déterminer si un territoire s'administre ou non complètement lui-même. Il est évident que c'est à la lumière de l'expérience que l'on pourra finalement énoncer les principes. C'est donc à juste titre que le paragraphe 2 du dispositif du projet de résolution commun reconnaît que chaque cas d'espèce doit être examiné et tranché en tenant compte des circonstances qui lui sont propres. Il serait vain de vouloir définir dès à présent le terme "autonomie complète"; il est préférable de prendre comme point de départ certains facteurs essentiels, de réaliser des expériences pratiques et enfin d'élaborer les définitions en se fondant sur ces enseignements.

57. M. Aráoz estime d'autre part que l'on ne peut établir de distinction entre l'autonomie complète ou l'indépendance d'un territoire et son autonomie dans les domaines économique, social et de l'enseignement. D'ailleurs, certains pays, tels que la Bolivie, ont accédé à l'indépendance politique avant d'avoir atteint l'autonomie économique.

58. La délégation de la Bolivie se prononce en faveur du projet de résolution commun ainsi que des amendements du Pérou et de la République Dominicaine; elle

estime cependant qu'au lieu de se substituer à certaines parties du projet commun, ces amendements devraient être ajoutés à ce projet.

59. M. CALERO RODRIGUES (Brésil) estime que les déclarations faites par le représentant de la Belgique à la 274ème séance et à la présente séance révèlent une conception erronée de l'objectif principal de l'Article 73 de la Charte, notamment du paragraphe b de cet article. Le représentant de la Belgique a tenté d'établir un parallèle entre les obligations des Etats souverains à l'égard des éléments moins développés de leur population et les obligations des Puissances coloniales à l'égard des populations des territoires non autonomes; il faut apparemment en déduire qu le Gouvernement belge n'assume aucune obligation de caractère politique en ce qui concerne l'avenir du Congo belge. Il conviendrait que la Quatrième Commission prenne acte de cette attitude négative.

60. Par ailleurs, le représentant de la Belgique a parlé du général Rondon; M. Calero Rodrigues ne croit cependant pas que le général Rondon, Brésilien éminent, de sang indien, aimerait se voir comparer à certains colonialistes fameux.

61. La délégation du Brésil se prononce en faveur du projet de résolution commun qui aborde correctement le problème. En effet, tout en approuvant la liste de facteurs, elle reconnaît que ces derniers doivent servir de guide et que chaque cas d'espèce doit être examiné et tranché en tenant compte des circonstances qui lui sont propres. Comme l'ont dit plusieurs orateurs, une liste de facteurs ne suffirait jamais à résoudre le problème, bien que le Comité *ad hoc* ait accompli un travail fort utile; il ne faut donc pas accorder à ces facteurs une valeur absolue.

62. La délégation du Brésil partage l'opinion exprimée par le représentant du Royaume-Uni (274ème séance) en ce qui concerne l'utilité du paragraphe 3 du dispositif du projet commun; en effet, des facteurs sont des éléments de sauvegarde et il ne faudrait donc pas qu'ils fassent obstacle à l'autonomie complète des territoires non autonomes. Toutefois, comme l'a dit le représentant de la Chine, la rédaction de ce paragraphe pourrait être améliorée.

63. Comme d'autres délégations, la délégation du Brésil estime que l'on pourrait difficilement s'opposer à l'adoption du deuxième considérant et du paragraphe 4 du dispositif, qui ne sont autre chose que des truismes. On peut même juger inutile le paragraphe 4 du dispositif, car l'autonomie dans les domaines économique, social et de l'enseignement est une expression qui n'a pas de sens; il est évident que l'autonomie ne peut que signifier la capacité pour un peuple de gérer entièrement ses propres affaires.

64. Certes, la délégation du Brésil reconnaît qu'un territoire non autonome peut décider de s'associer avec l'Etat sous l'administration duquel il se trouvait auparavant; mais elle ne peut admettre que les Puissances administrantes se libèrent des obligations qu'impose l'Article 73, e, en se bornant à affirmer qu'elles ont transféré à un peuple non autonome l'entière responsabilité des questions économiques, sociales et de l'enseignement. En effet, la Charte ne prévoit pas d'autonomie limitée.

65. En outre, M. Calero Rodrigues partage l'opinion exprimée par le représentant de Cuba en ce qui concerne l'indivisibilité de l'autonomie; il ne peut admettre la thèse du représentant de la France suivant laquelle il existerait des territoires qui ne sont pas entièrement autonomes, mais qui ne sont plus non autonomes. Cette conception ne repose sur aucun fondement juridique. En vertu des dispositions du Chapitre XI, l'autonomie complète doit être atteinte avant que prenne fin la transmission des renseignements prévus à l'Article 73, e, de la Charte.

66. M. FOURIE (Union Sud-Africaine) déclare que sa délégation ne peut accepter le deuxième considérant et le paragraphe 4 du dispositif du projet de résolution commun parce qu'ils font état du Chapitre XI, en termes ambigus.

67. Il fait observer à ce propos que le Chapitre XI de la Charte revêt deux aspects distincts. D'une part, il contient une déclaration unilatérale de la part des Puissances administrantes, déclaration qui s'étend au domaine politique; d'autre part, il impartit certaines obligations, lesquelles se limitent cependant à la transmission des renseignements prévus à l'Article 73, e. On aurait donc tort, aux fins du Chapitre XI, de considérer comme des idées synonymes la capacité d'une population à s'administrer elle-même et l'indépendance d'un territoire sous forme d'entité internationale distincte ou en association avec d'autres entités, et de prétendre en conséquence que la capacité d'une population à s'administrer elle-même ne peut exister, au sens de l'Article 73, e, que dans l'indépendance.

68. M. Fourie tient à rappeler que ce sont les Puissances administrantes elles-mêmes qui ont décidé unilatéralement quels étaient les territoires au sujet desquels elles transmettraient des renseignements. Par conséquent, il est logique de conclure qu'elles sont également seules compétentes pour décider si certains de ces territoires ont accédé à l'autonomie, dans les divers domaines qui sont énumérés à l'Article 73, e.

69. La délégation de l'Union Sud-Africaine estime qu'il serait prématuré d'approuver dès à présent la liste de facteurs qui a été élaborée, comme le préconise le paragraphe 1 du dispositif du projet de résolution commun. En outre, le paragraphe 5 de ce dispositif tend à imposer aux Puissances administrantes des obligations qu'elles n'ont pas assumées en signant la Charte et à attribuer à l'Assemblée générale des fonctions qu'elle ne possède pas en vertu de la Charte.

70. Enfin, en ce qui concerne les amendements du Pérou et de la République Dominicaine, M. Fourie se prononce en faveur de l'idée d'un complément d'étude. Toutefois, il a des doutes quant à la signification et la portée de l'alinéa b du paragraphe 3 du dispositif que le Pérou et la République Dominicaine proposent de substituer au dispositif du projet commun.

71. M. DE MARCHENA (République Dominicaine) demande à la délégation des Pays-Bas, à propos de l'amendement (A/C.4/L.236) soumis par celle-ci, si elle accepterait d'incorporer le nouveau paragraphe 4 qu'elle propose dans le paragraphe 3 proposé dans l'amendement du Pérou et de la République Dominicaine. Le nouveau paragraphe 5 proposé par les Pays-Bas viendrait à la suite du paragraphe 4 proposé dans

l'amendement du Pérou et de la République Dominicaine.

72. M. RIEMENS (Pays-Bas) accepte la proposition du représentant de la République Dominicaine.

73. M. PEREZ CISNEROS (Cuba) ne peut accepter les propositions des délégations du Pérou et de la République Dominicaine, notamment en ce qui concerne la suppression du deuxième considérant et du paragraphe 4 du dispositif. Toutefois, la délégation de Cuba

voterait pour les amendements du Pérou et de la République Dominicaine s'ils venaient s'ajouter au projet de résolution commun.

74. M. LESCURE (Argentine) propose d'ajouter au projet de résolution commun les paragraphes du dispositif que le Pérou et la République Dominicaine ont proposé de substituer au dispositif de ce projet. Il présentera un amendement écrit dans ce sens.

La séance est levée à 18 h. 20.



Mardi 18 novembre 1952, à 10 h. 30

Siège permanent, New-York

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Facteurs dont il convient de tenir compte pour décider si un territoire est, ou n'est pas, un territoire dont les populations ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes: rapport du Comité *ad hoc* pour l'étude des facteurs (territoires non autonomes) [A/2178, A/C.4/L.231, A/C.4/L.233, A/C.4/L.234, A/C.4/L.235, A/C.4/L.236, A/C.4/L.237, A/C.4/L.238, A/C.4/L.239] (suite) 205

Président: M. Rodolfo MUNOZ (Argentine).

Facteurs dont il convient de tenir compte pour décider si un territoire est, ou n'est pas, un territoire dont les populations ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes: rapport du Comité *ad hoc* pour l'étude des facteurs (territoires non autonomes) [A/2178, A/C.4/L.231, A/C.4/L.233, A/C.4/L.234, A/C.4/L.235, A/C.4/L.236, A/C.4/L.237, A/C.4/L.238, A/C.4/L.239] (suite)

[Point 36*]

1. M. COCK (Colombie) dit que son pays considère le droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes comme l'un des droits les plus sacrés. Chaque Etat a le droit de s'administrer comme il l'entend. C'est un principe du droit international que le seul facteur dont il faille tenir compte est la volonté des populations intéressées. Cependant, les populations de certains territoires ne se trouvent évidemment pas en mesure d'exercer leur droit de disposer d'elles-mêmes; c'est pourquoi la Charte leur accorde dans son Chapitre XI, un statut international particulier.

2. On a présenté un grand nombre de brillants arguments pour ou contre la liste des facteurs qui figure dans le rapport du Comité *ad hoc* pour l'étude des facteurs (A/2178). Toute énumération est, par essence, limitative; si la liste proposée est tenue pour complète, le paragraphe 5 du projet de résolution commun (A/C.4/L.231) limiterait la liberté d'action de l'Assemblée générale. On commettrait une grave erreur si l'on écartait définitivement la possibilité de tenir compte de facteurs nouveaux; une telle mesure semblerait, à vrai dire, contredire la réserve que l'on trouve au paragraphe 2 du projet de résolution. Toute liste limitative ne peut que mettre la confusion dans l'application de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73; cela est d'autant plus évident qu'il ressort clairement du paragraphe 4 du projet de résolution — que l'on devrait, du reste, supprimer — que

la notion d'autonomie n'est pas encore définie d'une façon assez précise.

3. La délégation colombienne est disposée à accepter la liste de facteurs que propose le rapport mais à titre d'indication, et à condition que cette liste ne lie par l'Assemblée générale. Point n'est besoin d'adopter une résolution à ce sujet. M. Cock ne voit pas d'inconvénient, toutefois, à ce que la Commission prenne acte de la liste de facteurs et qu'elle poursuive ses études dans ce domaine; elle devrait veiller toutefois à ne pas accentuer le caractère déjà limitatif de la liste. M. Cock votera donc en faveur des amendements présentés par le Pérou et la République Dominicaine (A/C.4/L.234), mais il se prononcera contre le nouveau texte qu'ils proposent pour le paragraphe 2.

4. L'amendement de la Pologne (A/C.4/L.235) et celui de l'URSS (A/C.4/L.233) n'apportent aucune importante modification de fond au projet primitif; les observations que la délégation colombienne a présentées à propos du projet de résolution s'appliquent donc également à ces deux amendements.

5. La délégation des Pays-Bas mérite des félicitations pour l'amendement constructif qu'elle a proposé (A/C.4/L.236); la délégation colombienne ne peut cependant, à son grand regret, considérer comme opportun d'adopter une telle proposition. En politique internationale, en effet, il faut toujours tenir compte de l'imprévu.

6. La délégation colombienne ne pourra pas non plus accorder sa voix au texte issu de la fusion du projet primitif avec les amendements de la République Dominicaine et du Pérou selon la formule proposée par la délégation de l'Argentine (A/C.4/L.237 et A/C.4/L.238).

7. M. MIKAOUÏ (Liban) déclare que les auteurs du projet de résolution commun ont exposé avec clarté des idées qui sont celles de sa propre délégation. Il votera en faveur du projet de résolution avec les

* Numéro affecté à la question dans l'ordre du jour de l'Assemblée générale.

amendements proposés par l'Argentine, sauf en ce qui concerne la proposition de supprimer le deuxième considérant.

8. La délégation du Liban, qui a toujours défendu le droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes, est prête à voter pour l'amendement polonais. Elle votera aussi en faveur de l'amendement de l'URSS, qui reprend une formule déjà adoptée par l'Organisation des Nations Unies. M. Mikaoui ajoute qu'il parle également au nom de la délégation de l'Irak.

9. M. PONCE YEPEZ (Equateur) propose (A/C.4/L.239) d'ajouter à la fin de l'alinéa c du nouveau paragraphe 3 du dispositif proposé dans l'amendement du Pérou et de la République Dominicaine (A/C.4/L.234, par. 4) les mots "aux fins du Chapitre XI de la Charte". Il demande que ce paragraphe 3 fasse l'objet d'un vote séparé.

10. M. DE MARCHENA (République Dominicaine) appuie la demande en faveur d'un vote séparé sur le paragraphe 3, mais ni sa délégation ni celle du Pérou ne peuvent accepter l'amendement proposé par la délégation de l'Equateur à leur amendement.

11. Les deux délégations sont prêtes, toutefois, à faire place dans leur amendement aux deux sous-amendements proposés par les Pays-Bas.

12. Le PRESIDENT annonce qu'il mettra aux voix, paragraphe par paragraphe, le projet de résolution commun; les amendements à ce projet seront mis aux voix immédiatement avant le paragraphe auquel ils s'appliquent.

13. Il invite les membres de la Commission à se prononcer sur le premier considérant du projet de résolution commun (A/C.4/L.231).

14. M. DE MARCHENA (République Dominicaine) demande le vote par appel nominal.

Il est procédé au vote par appel nominal.

L'appel commence par le Danemark, dont le nom a été tiré au sort par le Président.

Votent pour: Danemark, République Dominicaine, Equateur, Egypte, Salvador, Ethiopie, France, Grèce, Guatemala, Haïti, Honduras, Inde, Indonésie, Iran, Irak, Israël, Liban, Libéria, Luxembourg, Mexique, Pays-Bas, Nouvelle-Zélande, Nicaragua, Norvège, Pakistan, Pérou, Philippines, Pologne, Arabie saoudite, Suède, Syrie, Thaïlande, République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine, Union Sud-Africaine, Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques, Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord, Etats-Unis d'Amérique, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yémen, Yougoslavie, Afghanistan, Argentine, Australie, Belgique, Bolivie, Brésil, Birmanie, République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie, Canada, Chili, Chine, Colombie, Cuba, Tchécoslovaquie.

Vote contre: néant.

Par 55 voix contre zéro, sans abstention, le premier considérant est adopté.

15. Le PRESIDENT met aux voix le deuxième considérant du projet de résolution commun (A/C.4/L.231).

16. M. DE MARCHENA (République Dominicaine) demande le vote par appel nominal.

Il est procédé au vote par appel nominal.

L'appel commence par Cuba, dont le nom a été tiré au sort par le Président.

Votent pour: Cuba, Tchécoslovaquie, Equateur, Egypte, Salvador, Ethiopie, Guatemala, Haïti, Honduras, Inde, Indonésie, Iran, Irak, Liban, Libéria, Mexique, Norvège, Pakistan, Philippines, Pologne, Arabie saoudite, Syrie, Thaïlande, République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine, Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques, Venezuela, Yémen, Yougoslavie, Afghanistan, Argentine, Bolivie, Brésil, Birmanie, République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie, Chili, Chine.

Votent contre: Pays-Bas, Union Sud-Africaine, Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord, Etats-Unis d'Amérique, Australie, Belgique, Canada, Colombie.

S'abstiennent: Danemark, République Dominicaine, France, Grèce, Israël, Luxembourg, Nouvelle-Zélande, Nicaragua, Pérou, Suède, Uruguay.

Par 36 voix contre 8, avec 11 abstentions, le deuxième considérant est adopté.

17. M. RYCKMANS (Belgique) explique qu'il a voté contre le deuxième considérant parce que le texte renferme une inexactitude. L'obligation de communiquer des renseignements au sujet d'un territoire donné prend fin dès qu'il accède à l'indépendance.

18. Le PRESIDENT met aux voix l'amendement que l'URSS propose (A/C.4/L.233) d'apporter au troisième considérant du projet de résolution commun.

19. M. DE MARCHENA (République Dominicaine) demande le vote par appel nominal.

Il est procédé au vote par appel nominal.

L'appel commence par l'Irak, dont le nom a été tiré au sort par le Président.

Votent pour: Irak, Liban, Mexique, Pakistan, Philippines, Pologne, Arabie saoudite, Syrie, République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine, Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques, Yémen, Yougoslavie, Afghanistan, Birmanie, République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie, Tchécoslovaquie, Inde, Indonésie, Iran.

Votent contre: Luxembourg, Pays-Bas, Nouvelle-Zélande, Norvège, Suède, Union Sud-Africaine, Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord, Australie, Belgique, Canada, France.

S'abstiennent: Israël, Libéria, Nicaragua, Pérou, Thaïlande, Etats-Unis d'Amérique, Uruguay, Venezuela, Argentine, Bolivie, Brésil, Chili, Chine, Colombie, Cuba, Danemark, République Dominicaine, Equateur, Egypte, Salvador, Ethiopie, Grèce, Guatemala, Haïti, Honduras.

Par 19 voix contre 11, avec 25 abstentions, l'amendement est adopté.

20. Le PRESIDENT met aux voix le troisième considérant, ainsi amendé.

21. M. DE MARCHENA (République Dominicaine) demande le vote par appel nominal.

Il est procédé au vote par appel nominal.

L'appel commence par l'Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques, dont le nom a été tiré au sort par le Président.

Votent pour: Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques, Venezuela, Yémen, Yougoslavie, Afghanistan, Argentine, Bolivie, Brésil, Birmanie, République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie, Chili, Chine, Cuba, Tchécoslovaquie, Equateur, Egypte, Salvador, Ethiopie, Grèce, Guatemala, Haïti, Honduras, Inde, Indonésie, Iran, Irak, Liban, Libéria, Mexique, Pakistan, Philippines, Pologne, Arabie saoudite, Syrie, République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine.

Votent contre: Union Sud-Africaine, Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord, Australie, Belgique, Canada, France, Luxembourg, Pays-Bas, Nouvelle-Zélande.

S'abstiennent: Etats-Unis d'Amérique, Uruguay, Colombie, Danemark, République Dominicaine, Israël, Nicaragua, Norvège, Pérou, Suède, Thaïlande.

Par 35 voix contre 9, avec 11 abstentions, le troisième considérant amendé, est adopté.

Par 52 voix contre zéro, avec 2 abstentions, le quatrième considérant est adopté.

Par 41 voix contre 12, avec une abstention, le cinquième considérant est adopté.

22. Le PRESIDENT met aux voix le considérant que les délégations du Pérou et de la République Dominicaine proposent d'ajouter au préambule (A/C.4/L.234, par. 2)

Par 36 voix contre zéro, avec 17 abstentions, ce considérant est adopté et devient le sixième considérant.

23. Le PRESIDENT met aux voix l'amendement (A/C.4/L.237, par. 2), que l'Argentine propose d'apporter au paragraphe 1 du dispositif du projet de résolution commun.

24. M. DE MARCHENA (République Dominicaine) demande le vote par appel nominal.

Il est procédé au vote par appel nominal.

L'appel commence par la Norvège, dont le nom est tiré au sort par le Président.

Votent pour: Pérou, Philippines, Thaïlande, Venezuela, Yougoslavie, Argentine, Bolivie, Brésil, Birmanie, Chili, Chine, Cuba, République Dominicaine, Equateur, Egypte, Salvador, Guatemala, Haïti, Honduras, Iran, Israël, Liban, Mexique.

Votent contre: Australie, Belgique, France, Luxembourg.

S'abstiennent: Norvège, Pakistan, Pologne, Arabie saoudite, Suède, Syrie, République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine, Union Sud-Africaine, Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques, Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord, Etats-Unis d'Amérique, Uruguay, Yémen, Afghanistan, République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie, Canada, Colombie, Tchécoslovaquie, Danemark, Ethiopie, Grèce, Inde, Indonésie, Irak, Libéria, Pays-Bas, Nouvelle-Zélande, Nicaragua.

Par 23 voix contre 4, avec 28 abstentions, cet amendement est adopté.

25. Le PRESIDENT met aux voix le paragraphe 1 du dispositif (A/C.4/L.231) ainsi amendé.

26. M. DE MARCHENA (République Dominicaine) demande le vote par appel nominal.

Il est procédé au vote par appel nominal.

L'appel commence par l'Egypte, dont le nom est tiré au sort par le Président.

Votent pour: Egypte, Salvador, Ethiopie, Grèce, Guatemala, Haïti, Honduras, Inde, Indonésie, Iran, Irak, Liban, Libéria, Mexique, Pakistan, Philippines, Pologne, Arabie saoudite, Syrie, Thaïlande, République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine, Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques, Venezuela, Yémen, Yougoslavie, Afghanistan, Argentine, Bolivie, Brésil, Birmanie, République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie, Chili, Chine, Cuba, Tchécoslovaquie, Equateur.

Votent contre: France, Luxembourg, Pays-Bas, Nouvelle-Zélande, Norvège, Pérou, Suède, Union Sud-Africaine, Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord, Etats-Unis d'Amérique, Australie, Belgique, Canada, Colombie, Danemark, République Dominicaine.

S'abstiennent: Israël, Nicaragua, Uruguay.

Par 36 voix contre 16, avec 3 abstentions, le paragraphe 1 du dispositif amendé est adopté.

27. M. DE MARCHENA (République Dominicaine) et M. SALAZAR (Pérou) retirent le paragraphe 3 de leur amendement (A/C.4/L.234) au projet de résolution commun.

28. Le PRESIDENT met aux voix l'amendement de la Pologne (A/C.4/L.235) au paragraphe 2 du dispositif du projet de résolution commun.

29. M. KHALIDY (Irak) demande le vote par appel nominal.

Il est procédé au vote par appel nominal.

L'appel commence par le Nicaragua, dont le nom est tiré au sort par le Président.

Votent pour: Pakistan, Pérou, Philippines, Pologne, Arabie saoudite, Syrie, Thaïlande, République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine, Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques, Venezuela, Yémen, Yougoslavie, Afghanistan, Argentine, Bolivie, Brésil, Birmanie, République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie, Chili, Chine, Colombie, Cuba, Tchécoslovaquie, Danemark, Egypte, Salvador, Ethiopie, Grèce, Guatemala, Haïti, Honduras, Inde, Indonésie, Iran, Irak, Israël, Liban, Libéria, Mexique.

Votent contre: Union Sud-Africaine, Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord, Uruguay, Belgique, Canada, France, Luxembourg.

S'abstiennent: Nicaragua, Norvège, Suède, Etats-Unis d'Amérique, Australie, République Dominicaine, Equateur, Pays-Bas, Nouvelle-Zélande.

Par 39 voix contre 7, avec 9 abstentions, l'amendement est adopté.

Par 47 voix contre une, avec 6 abstentions, le paragraphe 2 amendé du dispositif du projet de résolution commun est adopté.

Par 49 voix contre une, avec 5 abstentions, le paragraphe 3 du dispositif du projet de résolution commun est adopté.

30. M. DE MARCHENA (République Dominicaine) a voté contre le paragraphe 3 parce que sa délégation

a maintenu sa proposition initiale qui figure dans l'amendement commun (A/C.4/L.234) et qui tendait à supprimer les paragraphes 2, 3, 4 et 5 du dispositif du projet de résolution.

31. Le PRESIDENT met aux voix le paragraphe 4 du dispositif du projet de résolution commun (A/C.4/L.231).

32. M. PEREZ CISNEROS (Cuba) demande le vote par appel nominal.

Il est procédé au vote par appel nominal.

L'appel commence par la Suède, dont le nom est tiré au sort par le Président.

Votent pour: Syrie, Thaïlande, République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine, Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques, Venezuela, Yémen, Yougoslavie, Afghanistan, Argentine, Bolivie, Brésil, Birmanie, République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie, Chili, Chine, Cuba, Tchécoslovaquie, Equateur, Egypte, Salvador, Ethiopie, Guatemala, Haïti, Honduras, Inde, Indonésie, Iran, Irak, Liban, Libéria, Mexique, Pakistan, Philippines, Pologne, Arabie saoudite.

Votent contre: Suède, Union Sud-Africaine, Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord, Etats-Unis d'Amérique, Uruguay, Australie, Belgique, Canada, Colombie, Danemark, République Dominicaine, France, Luxembourg, Pays-Bas, Nouvelle-Zélande, Nicaragua, Norvège, Pérou.

S'abstiennent: Grèce, Israël.

Par 35 voix contre 18, avec 2 abstentions, le paragraphe 4 du dispositif est adopté.

33. M. DE MARCHENA (République Dominicaine) a voté contre le paragraphe 4 du dispositif pour les mêmes motifs que ceux pour lesquels il a voté contre le paragraphe 3 et aussi parce que sa délégation estime qu'il faudrait définir les mots "s'administre complètement elle-même".

34. Le PRESIDENT met aux voix le paragraphe 5 du dispositif du projet de résolution commun (A/C.4/L.231); le mot "provisoirement" y figure conformément à la proposition de la délégation argentine (A/C.4/L.238) et est accepté par les six auteurs du projet de résolution.

35. M. MENDOZA (Guatemala) demande le vote par appel nominal.

Il est procédé au vote par appel nominal.

L'appel commence par la Birmanie, dont le nom est tiré au sort par le Président.

Votent pour: Birmanie, République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie, Chili, Chine, Cuba, Tchécoslovaquie, Danemark, Equateur, Egypte, Salvador, Ethiopie, Grèce, Guatemala, Haïti, Honduras, Inde, Indonésie, Iran, Irak, Liban, Libéria, Mexique, Pakistan, Philippines, Pologne, Arabie saoudite, Syrie, Thaïlande, République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine, Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yémen, Yougoslavie, Afghanistan, Argentine, Bolivie, Brésil.

Votent contre: Canada, République Dominicaine, France, Luxembourg, Pays-Bas, Union Sud-Africaine,

Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord, Australie, Belgique.

S'abstiennent: Colombie, Israël, Nouvelle-Zélande, Nicaragua, Norvège, Pérou, Suède, Etats-Unis d'Amérique.

Par 38 voix contre 9, avec 8 abstentions, le paragraphe 5 amendé du dispositif est adopté.

36. Le PRESIDENT met aux voix, en tant que nouveau paragraphe, le paragraphe 2 du dispositif, proposé dans le point 4 de l'amendement soumis par le Pérou et la République Dominicaine (A/C.4/L.234).

Par 32 voix contre 6, avec 15 abstentions, ce paragraphe est adopté et devient le paragraphe 6 du dispositif du projet de résolution.

37. Le PRESIDENT met aux voix la première partie du paragraphe 3 du dispositif proposé dans le point 4 de l'amendement du Pérou et de la République Dominicaine (A/C.4/L.234), complété par le texte du paragraphe 4 proposé par les Pays-Bas (A/C.4/L.236). Le texte mis aux voix se lira donc comme suit:

"Invite ledit comité à prendre notamment en considération la liste des facteurs (A/2178) arrêtée en 1952 par le Comité créé aux termes de la résolution 567 (VI), les communications faites par les gouvernements conformément à ladite résolution et à tenir compte, en outre, des autres éléments suivants:"

Par 33 voix contre zéro, avec 20 abstentions, le texte est adopté et devient la première partie du paragraphe 7 du dispositif du projet de résolution.

38. Le PRESIDENT met aux voix l'alinéa a du paragraphe 3 du dispositif qui figure dans le point 4 de l'amendement soumis par le Pérou et la République Dominicaine (A/C.4/L.234).

Par 20 voix contre 17, avec 4 abstentions, cet alinéa est adopté et devient l'alinéa a du paragraphe 7 du dispositif.

39. M. DJERDA (Yougoslavie) demande le vote par appel nominal sur l'alinéa b du paragraphe 3 du dispositif qui figure dans le point 4 de l'amendement soumis par le Pérou et la République Dominicaine.

Il est procédé au vote par appel nominal.

L'appel commence par les Pays-Bas dont le nom est tiré au sort par le Président.

Votent pour: Pakistan, Pérou, Philippines, Pologne, Arabie saoudite, Syrie, Thaïlande, République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine, Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yémen, Yougoslavie, Afghanistan, Argentine, Bolivie, Brésil, Birmanie, République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie, Chili, Chine, Cuba, Tchécoslovaquie, République Dominicaine, Equateur, Egypte, Salvador, Ethiopie, Grèce, Guatemala, Haïti, Honduras, Inde, Indonésie, Iran, Irak, Liban, Libéria, Mexique.

Votent contre: Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord, Belgique, France, Luxembourg.

S'abstiennent: Pays-Bas, Nouvelle-Zélande, Nicaragua, Norvège, Suède, Union Sud-Africaine, Etats-Unis d'Amérique, Australie, Canada, Colombie, Danemark, Israël.

Par 39 voix contre 4, avec 12 abstentions, l'alinéa b est adopté et devient l'alinéa b du paragraphe 7 du dispositif.

40. Le PRESIDENT met aux voix l'amendement de l'Equateur (A/C.4/L.239) à l'alinéa c du paragraphe 3 du dispositif, dans l'amendement soumis par le Pérou et la République Dominicaine (A/C.4/L.234, par. 4).

Par 14 voix contre zéro, avec 35 abstentions, cet amendement est adopté.

Par 39 voix contre une, avec 14 abstentions, l'alinéa c amendé du paragraphe 3 du dispositif est adopté et devient l'alinéa c du paragraphe 7 du dispositif.

Par 42 voix contre zéro avec 12 abstentions, l'ensemble du paragraphe 3 amendé du dispositif qui figure dans le point 4 de l'amendement soumis par le Pérou et la République Dominicaine (A/C.4/L.234) est adopté et devient le paragraphe 7 du dispositif.

Par 25 voix contre zéro, avec 27 abstentions, le paragraphe 5 du dispositif qui figure dans l'amendement des Pays-Bas (A/C.4/L.236) est adopté et devient le paragraphe 8 du dispositif.

41. M. KHALIDY (Irak) propose de remplacer les mots "deux semaines", qui figurent au paragraphe 4 du dispositif proposé dans le point 4 de l'amendement du Pérou et de la République Dominicaine (A/C.4/L.234), par les mots "au plus tard quatre semaines", afin de donner au Comité *ad hoc* le temps de terminer l'étude prévue.

42. M. DE MARCHENA (République Dominicaine) et M. SALAZAR (Pérou) acceptent cette proposition.

Par 39 voix contre zéro avec 13 abstentions, le paragraphe, ainsi modifié, est adopté et devient le paragraphe 9 du dispositif.

43. M. GERIG (Etats-Unis d'Amérique) suggère qu'avant de voter sur l'ensemble du projet de résolution, la Commission demande au Secrétaire général d'établir une prévision des dépenses qu'entraînera l'adoption de ce projet de résolution.

44. M. FOURIE (Union Sud-Africaine) fait observer qu'aux termes de l'article 152 du règlement intérieur, l'Assemblée générale ne peut adopter en séance plénière aucune recommandation susceptible d'entraîner des dépenses sans qu'une prévision de dépenses ait été préparée par le Secrétaire général.

45. M. RYCKMANS (Belgique) dit que le texte français de l'article 152 précise nettement qu'aucune commission ne peut recommander de résolution comportant engagement de dépenses à l'approbation de l'Assemblée générale sans que cette résolution soit accompagnée d'une prévision des dépenses préparée par le Secrétaire général.

46. Le PRESIDENT estime que cette question aurait dû être soulevée à un stade antérieur du débat.

47. M. KHALIDY (Irak) fait remarquer que l'adoption du projet de résolution n'entraînera aucune dépense. Les seules dépenses occasionnées par les décisions de l'ancien Comité *ad hoc* pour l'étude des facteurs ont été des frais minimes d'imprimerie peu élevés, dont l'Assemblée ne tient généralement pas compte.

Il est procédé au vote par appel nominal sur l'ensemble du projet de résolution (A/C.4/L.231) modifié.

L'appel commence par le Panama dont le nom est tiré au sort par le Président.

Votent pour: Philippines, Pologne, Arabie saoudite, Syrie, Thaïlande, République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine, Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques, Venezuela, Yémen, Yougoslavie, Afghanistan, Argentine, Bolivie, Brésil, Birmanie, République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie, Chili, Chine, Cuba, Tchécoslovaquie, Equateur, Egypte, Salvador, Ethiopie, Guatemala, Haïti, Inde, Indonésie, Iran, Irak, Liban, Libéria, Mexique, Pakistan.

Votent contre: Suède, Union Sud-Africaine, Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord, Etats-Unis d'Amérique, Australie, Belgique, Colombie, Danemark, France, Luxembourg, Pays-Bas, Nouvelle-Zélande.

S'abstiennent: Pérou, Uruguay, Canada, République Dominicaine, Grèce, Israël, Nicaragua, Norvège.

Par 34 voix contre 12, avec 8 abstentions, l'ensemble du projet de résolution est adopté sous sa forme amendée.

48. Mme SKOTTSBERG-AHMAN (Suède) voudrait indiquer les raisons pour lesquelles sa délégation a voté contre le projet de résolution.

49. Le vote négatif de la délégation de la Suède ne doit pas être interprété comme une objection de principe contre les tentatives faites pour établir une liste des facteurs. A la sixième session de l'Assemblée générale, la délégation suédoise a appuyé la décision prise de désigner un Comité *ad hoc* pour l'étude des facteurs étant entendu, comme il est expressément indiqué dans l'annexe à la résolution adoptée par l'Assemblée, que la tâche de l'Assemblée générale se bornerait à indiquer ces facteurs. Ce fait est indiqué encore plus nettement dans le rapport du Comité *ad hoc*, qui souligne qu'une liste des facteurs ne peut servir que de guide pour décider si un territoire est, ou n'est pas, un territoire dont les populations ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes.

50. Le projet de résolution qui figure dans le document A/C.4/L.231 reconnaît ce principe dans le préambule, et dans les paragraphes 1 et 2 du dispositif, mais la délégation suédoise estime que le paragraphe 4 du dispositif est contraire à ce principe. Si un territoire ne doit être considéré comme autonome dans les domaines économique, social et de l'enseignement que lorsqu'il est parvenu également à l'indépendance politique, aucun cas d'espèce ne peut plus être examiné. Cette déclaration de principe générale va au-delà du but que l'on s'était fixé, qui était seulement d'indiquer les facteurs pouvant servir de guide; en fait, elle va à l'encontre de ce but.

51. La délégation suédoise aurait appuyé l'amendement soumis par le Pérou et la République Dominicaine en tant que texte destiné à remplacer le projet initial des six Puissances. Elle n'approuve pas l'incorporation de certaines parties de cet amendement dans le projet initial et elle n'a pas pu, par conséquent, voter pour le texte définitif en raison, notamment, du fait que l'on a conservé le paragraphe 4.

52. M. PEON DEL VALLE (Mexique) a voté en faveur de la proposition soumise par le Pérou et la République Dominicaine, étant entendu que le mandat du Comité comprendra l'obligation de faire rapport à la huitième session de l'Assemblée générale. Si telle n'est pas l'intention de la Commission, il réserve la position que prendra sa délégation en séance plénière.

53. M. GERIG (Etats-Unis d'Amérique) a voté contre le projet de résolution pour des raisons similaires à celles qu'a indiquées la représentante de la Suède. Le projet de résolution semble postuler que l'autonomie est indivisible et que l'Assemblée générale est compétente pour décider du statut atteint par un territoire. Ce sont là deux thèses contestables que la délégation des Etats-Unis n'est pas en mesure d'accepter. Ce genre de thèses aurait pu faire l'objet d'une étude par un comité semblable à celui qui vient d'être créé.

54. M. DE MARCHENA (République Dominicaine) s'est abstenu de voter sur l'ensemble du projet de résolution pour les raisons qu'il a indiquées au cours de la discussion générale. L'incorporation, dans le projet de résolution, de certaines dispositions de l'amendement soumis par le Pérou et la République Dominicaine ne

lui a pas permis de voter pour l'ensemble du projet de résolution, car le deuxième considérant et le paragraphe 4 du dispositif ont été conservés.

55. M. NAJAR (Israël) n'a pas été en mesure de voter pour l'ensemble du projet de résolution parce qu'il estime que ce projet considère comme réglées des questions sur lesquelles les consultations auraient dû être poursuivies. Il conviendrait de souligner le caractère empirique des travaux de la Commission et conserver la possibilité d'entreprendre de nouveaux efforts pour régler les questions de principe qui sont en jeu.

56. M. PEREZ CISNEROS (Cuba) soulève la question de l'établissement de la liste des pays qui seront désignés pour faire partie du Comité *ad hoc*.

57. Le PRESIDENT pense que la Commission reviendra sur cette question après que le projet de résolution aura été soumis à l'Assemblée générale. Toutefois, rien n'empêche les membres de la Commission de présenter des candidats avant cette date, si tel est leur désir.

La séance est levée à 14 h. 30.

AUG 31 1953

Facteurs dont il convient de tenir compte pour décider si un territoire est, ou n'est pas, un territoire dont les populations ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes¹

Cessation de la transmission, en vertu de l'Article 73, e, de la Charte, de renseignements relatifs à un territoire non autonome: Antilles néerlandaises et Surinam¹

Rapport du Comité *ad hoc* pour l'étude des facteurs (territoires non autonomes)

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I. CONSTITUTION DU COMITÉ *ad hoc*

1. Par sa résolution 648 (VII), adoptée le 10 décembre 1952, l'Assemblée générale a créé un Comité *ad hoc* de dix membres, composé des Etats suivants: Australie, Belgique, Birmanie, Cuba, Etats-Unis d'Amérique, Guatemala, Irak, Pays-Bas, Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord et Venezuela, qui serait chargé de poursuivre et d'approfondir l'étude des facteurs dont il convient de tenir compte pour décider si un territoire a atteint ou non une complète autonomie. Elle a invité le Comité à prendre en considération la liste des facteurs arrêtée en 1952 par le Comité créé aux termes de la résolution 567 (VI) de l'Assemblée générale et les communications faites par les gouvernements conformément à ladite résolution. Elle l'a invité en outre à tenir compte de certains autres éléments (voir section IV ci-après).

2. Par la résolution 650 (VII), adoptée le 20 décembre 1952, l'Assemblée générale a invité le Comité *ad hoc* à étudier avec soin, compte tenu de la résolution 648 (VII), les documents présentés par le Gouvernement des Pays-Bas et relatifs à la cessation de la transmission de renseignements concernant les Antilles néerlandaises et le Surinam.

3. Le Comité *ad hoc* s'est réuni au Siège de l'Organisation des Nations Unies le 21 juillet 1953 et a tenu huit séances entre cette date et le 30 juillet 1953.

II. BUREAU

4. Le bureau du Comité était composé de la manière suivante:

M. Awni Khalidy (Irak), *Président*

M. Benjamin Gerig (Etats-Unis d'Amérique), *Vice-Président et Rapporteur*.

III. HISTORIQUE DE L'ÉTUDE DES FACTEURS

5. Par la résolution 334 (IV), adoptée le 2 décembre 1949, l'Assemblée générale a invité le Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes "à étudier les facteurs dont il convient de tenir compte pour décider si tel ou tel territoire est ou n'est pas un territoire dont les populations ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes".

6. En 1951, le Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes a rédigé un rapport qu'il a présenté à l'Assemblée générale lors de sa sixième session². Au cours de cette session, la Quatrième Commission a constitué une sous-commission (Sous-Commission 9) qu'elle a chargée de poursuivre l'étude de la question; sur rapport de cette Sous-Commission, elle a adopté une résolution que l'Assemblée générale a fait sienne à son tour [résolution 567 (VI)].

7. Par la résolution 567 (VI), l'Assemblée générale a décidé de prendre pour base la liste de facteurs établie lors de la sixième session et de désigner un comité qui poursuivrait l'étude des facteurs, compte tenu de tous les renseignements disponibles. Au nombre de ces renseignements se trouvaient un exposé des vues que l'Assemblée générale invitait les Etats Membres à transmettre par la même résolution et ceux que le Secrétaire général aurait reçus sur les motifs qui auraient amené certaines Puissances administrantes à cesser de communiquer des renseignements sur certains des territoires précédemment portés sur la liste des territoires non autonomes.

8. Le Comité *ad hoc* créé en 1952 a adressé un rapport à l'Assemblée générale lors de sa septième session³. Après examen du rapport par la Quatrième

² Voir Documents officiels de l'Assemblée générale, sixième session, Supplément n° 14, document A/1836, quatrième partie.

³ Ibid., septième session, Annexes, point 36 de l'ordre du jour, document A/2178.

¹ Respectivement points 33 et 34, a, de l'ordre du jour provisoire de la huitième session (A/2416).

Commission, l'Assemblée générale a adopté la résolution 648 (VII), par laquelle elle a approuvé provisoirement la liste de facteurs arrêtée en 1952, mais a créé le Comité *ad hoc* actuel dont le mandat est énoncé au paragraphe ci-dessus.

9. Les faits rappelés dans les paragraphes précédents montrent l'attention qui a été consacrée au problème au cours des dernières années et en font ressortir la complexité. Dès le début des discussions, on s'est accordé à considérer qu'une liste de facteurs ne pouvait avoir que la valeur d'une indication lorsqu'il s'agit de déterminer si un territoire s'administre ou non complètement lui-même. En outre, comme l'Assemblée l'a déclaré dans la résolution 648 (VII), chaque cas d'espèce doit être examiné et tranché compte tenu des circonstances qui lui sont propres. Dans ces conditions, et bien qu'il soit encore possible de perfectionner et de préciser la liste des facteurs, on peut estimer qu'on a peut-être atteint dans l'étude du sujet un point tel qu'aucune décision immédiate ne s'impose, la liste actuelle étant suffisante pour servir de guide conformément à la résolution 648 (VII) et permettre d'examiner à fond chaque cas d'espèce.

10. Le représentant de l'Irak a proposé que l'Assemblée générale renvoie au Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes, dans le cadre de ses tâches et responsabilités normales, la liste des facteurs et la question de leur interprétation et des mises au point à y apporter pour tenir compte des changements qui surviennent dans la situation. Les représentants de la Birmanie, de Cuba, du Guatemala et du Venezuela ont appuyé cette proposition. Le représentant de la Belgique s'y est opposé, déclarant que, même à le supposer constitutionnel, le Comité des renseignements ne pouvait connaître de questions politiques, celles-ci n'étant pas visées par l'Article 73, e, de la Charte.

IV. AUTRES ÉLÉMENTS RELATIFS À L'AUTONOMIE ET AU DROIT DES PEUPLES À DISPOSER D'EUX-MÊMES

11. Au paragraphe 7 de sa résolution 648 (VII), l'Assemblée générale a invité le Comité *ad hoc* "à prendre notamment en considération la liste des facteurs arrêtée en 1952 par le Comité créé aux termes de la résolution 567 (VI) et les communications faites par les gouvernements conformément à ladite résolution, et à tenir compte, en outre, des autres éléments suivants :

"a) La possibilité de définir la notion de complète autonomie, aux fins du Chapitre XI de la Charte ;

"b) Les critères permettant de décider si le principe du droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes se trouve garanti, en ce qui concerne le Chapitre XI de la Charte ;

"c) La libre expression de la volonté des peuples, s'agissant de déterminer leur statut national et international aux fins du Chapitre XI de la Charte."

En ce qui concerne l'alinéa *a* ci-dessus, le Comité *ad hoc* a conclu qu'il n'était pas possible de trouver une définition satisfaisante de la notion de complète autonomie aux fins du Chapitre XI de la Charte. Même si l'on pouvait définir la notion d'autonomie d'une manière satisfaisante, cette définition serait inadéquate si elle n'était pas complétée par une définition de la notion d'autonomie "complète" dans le cadre du Chapitre XI de la Charte.

12. En revanche, le Comité a conclu qu'un certain nombre d'éléments fournissaient des indications utiles sur le point de savoir si l'autonomie complète avait été atteinte dans tel ou tel cas particulier. Certains de ces

éléments figuraient sur la liste des facteurs. D'autres étaient suggérés dans les réponses des gouvernements.

13. Ainsi, l'absence d'une définition satisfaisante n'était pas un grave inconvénient puisque, pour chaque situation particulière, la notion se dégagerait de l'étude des éléments de cette situation.

14. Etant donné le rapport étroit qui existe entre les alinéas *b* et *c*, le Comité a examiné ces alinéas conjointement.

15. Au sujet de ces deux alinéas, le Comité *ad hoc* a constaté qu'en exécution de la résolution 637 (VII) de l'Assemblée générale, le Conseil économique et social et la Commission des droits de l'homme poursuivent l'étude des voies et moyens destinés à assurer le respect, sur le plan international, du droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes. Pour sa part, le Comité a jugé que, parmi les critères qui permettent de décider si le principe du droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes se trouve garanti en ce qui concerne le Chapitre XI de la Charte, il conviendrait de mentionner les éléments suivants :

A. Un progrès politique des populations assez grand pour leur permettre de décider elles-mêmes, par des voies démocratiques, de l'avenir du territoire.

B. L'existence d'un régime représentatif caractérisé par des élections périodiques auxquelles les populations participent pleinement ou par d'autres procédés démocratiques qui permettent aux populations d'exprimer librement leur volonté.

C. La jouissance de droits individuels dont :

a) La liberté individuelle et le droit pour chaque individu de prendre part à la direction des affaires publiques de son pays ;

b) La garantie de droits fondamentaux, comme la liberté de parole, la liberté de la presse, le droit de réunion, la liberté de conscience et le droit à un procès équitable ;

c) Le suffrage universel des adultes, la base étant la possibilité de s'instruire ;

d) La liberté pour l'individu d'adhérer aux partis politiques et la liberté pour tous les partis de participer librement à la vie politique du territoire.

D. L'absence de toute pression ou coercition exercée sur les populations, de telle sorte qu'elles soient en mesure d'exprimer librement leur opinion sur le statut national et international qu'elles désirent (accession à l'indépendance, accession à d'autres systèmes d'autonomie en association permanente ou libre, en tant que partie intégrante avec la métropole ou un autre pays).

E. Assurance que les vues de la population seront respectées.

16. Pour ce qui est du point E ci-dessus, le représentant des Etats-Unis d'Amérique a déclaré que le texte paraissait comporter, pour une métropole ou pour tout autre Etat, l'obligation d'assurer à l'avance qu'il se conformerait au désir exprimé par un territoire d'accéder à la qualité d'Etat membre d'une union ou à toute autre forme d'intégration, et que la délégation des Etats-Unis devait entièrement réserver sa position car la décision à prendre rendait nécessaire le consentement des deux parties.

17. Les représentants de l'Australie, de la Belgique, des Pays-Bas et du Royaume-Uni ont également formulé des réserves.

18. Le représentant de l'Australie a déclaré qu'il s'abstiendrait sur toute proposition en ce domaine parce que la question du droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-

mêmes n'avait pas de rapport direct avec le Chapitre XI de la Charte, et le représentant de la Belgique a reconnu que la phase d'évolution envisagée sortait du cadre du Chapitre XI et, par conséquent, de la compétence du Comité.

19. Le représentant du Royaume-Uni s'est trouvé dans l'obligation de réserver la position de sa délégation en ce qui concerne le point E ci-dessus, qu'il a interprété comme signifiant que, chaque fois qu'une population aurait exprimé ses désirs, il y aurait lieu de s'y conformer. Il a fait remarquer que dans un territoire non autonome pouvaient se trouver des "populations" différentes dont les désirs librement exprimés pourraient diverger et que la reconnaissance pure et simple de ces désirs pourrait conduire à l'anarchie et au chaos. Ce genre de discussion comportait toujours une difficulté insurmontable due au fait que l'on n'était jamais arrivé à définir de façon convenable le mot "population" du point de vue du principe du droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes. Sa délégation avait toujours considéré ce principe comme extrêmement utile en tant que guide d'action politique, mais il y avait d'autres principes très utiles tels que la nécessité de maintenir dans le monde la cohésion et la stabilité, la nécessité d'établir des niveaux de vie acceptables et la nécessité de tenir compte des intérêts de toutes les parties dans les relations entre les populations. Il convenait d'accorder au principe du droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes tout le respect qui lui revient, mais on ne pouvait s'y conformer aveuglément en négligeant d'autres principes d'égale valeur.

20. Le représentant des Pays-Bas s'est associé aux réserves des autres représentants.

21. Le représentant du Guatemala a proposé d'ajouter à la liste d'éléments ci-dessus un nouveau point F, ainsi conçu: "Liberté pour les habitants des territoires non autonomes qui ont librement consenti une limitation de leur souveraineté en faveur de la métropole ou d'un autre pays, de modifier leur statut par des voies démocratiques". Les représentants de Cuba, de l'Irak et du Venezuela se sont associés à cette proposition; le représentant du Venezuela a déclaré que l'ensemble de la liste devait être considéré comme une simple énumération de critères qu'il convenait d'appliquer sans rigueur inflexible. Le représentant des Etats-Unis a proposé d'améliorer la formule en posant comme condition le respect des accords en vigueur, mais le représentant du Guatemala a jugé que cette proposition n'était pas acceptable car, selon lui, elle ôterait toute valeur à la formule en question.

22. Le texte original proposé par le représentant du Guatemala ayant été maintenu, les représentants de l'Australie, de la Belgique, de la Birmanie, des Etats-Unis d'Amérique, des Pays-Bas et du Royaume-Uni ont formulé des réserves à son sujet.

23. Les représentants de l'Australie et des Pays-Bas ont estimé que la proposition était inacceptable sous sa forme actuelle.

24. Le représentant de la Belgique a répété que cette question ne rentrait pas dans le cadre du Chapitre XI de la Charte et n'était donc pas de la compétence du Comité *ad hoc*.

25. Le représentant de la Birmanie a déclaré que la décision finale concernant le statut international futur d'un Territoire devrait être prise par les habitants du Territoire. Une fois que la population, compte tenu de tous les facteurs et de toutes les circonstances, avait librement décidé de s'associer à la métropole ou à un

autre pays, la sécession ne pouvait avoir lieu que conformément aux dispositions de l'accord qui avait été conclu. La position du représentant de la Birmanie était fondée sur l'hypothèse que la décision concernant l'association avait été prise librement, comme il était dit au point E qu'il avait lui-même proposé.

26. Le représentant du Royaume-Uni a déclaré que sa délégation était opposée à l'adoption du point F, car ce paragraphe visait des situations qui ne pouvaient se produire que dans un territoire auquel ne s'appliquaient plus les dispositions du Chapitre XI de la Charte et qui ne relevait donc pas du mandat du Comité *ad hoc*. En outre, une telle disposition encouragerait la dénonciation unilatérale des accords, à laquelle la délégation du Royaume-Uni était opposée.

27. Le représentant des Etats-Unis d'Amérique a appuyé certaines des réserves ci-dessus, en faisant observer que le droit de sécession unilatéral et sans restriction ou la dénonciation unilatérale d'accords n'étaient pas des principes acceptables.

28. Enfin, le représentant du Guatemala a estimé qu'il importait d'établir qu'un gouvernement métropolitain ne pouvait pas modifier le statut politique d'un territoire non autonome qui faisait l'objet d'une revendication de la part d'un autre Etat, ou d'un litige, tant que cette revendication ou ce litige n'avaient pas été dûment réglés.

29. Le représentant du Royaume-Uni a fait observer qu'il ne voyait pas le rapport de cette proposition avec la liste des facteurs ou avec un point quelconque de l'ordre du jour du Comité *ad hoc*. Tout différend quant à la souveraineté sur un territoire pouvait être tranché par l'organisme international compétent. Cependant, la Puissance exerçant l'autorité de fait sur le territoire en question avait certainement pour devoir de favoriser dans toute la mesure du possible la réalisation des desseins du Chapitre XI, car, s'il y avait transfert de souveraineté, la nouvelle Puissance administrante devrait assumer toutes les obligations qui incombait à l'ancienne en vertu de ce chapitre de la Charte.

V. EXAMEN DE LA LISTE DES FACTEURS

30. Le Comité *ad hoc* a examiné et adopté avec les modifications suivantes la liste des facteurs que l'Assemblée générale avait adoptée provisoirement en 1952.

31. La liste de 1952 comportait deux parties et la deuxième partie se divisait en deux sections. La première partie était constituée par les facteurs permettant de conclure qu'une population a accédé à l'indépendance. La deuxième partie comportait, premièrement, les facteurs permettant de conclure qu'une population a accédé à une autre forme d'autonomie séparée et, deuxièmement, les facteurs permettant de conclure qu'un territoire est librement associé à d'autres parties constitutives de la métropole ou d'un autre pays. Après que diverses opinions eurent été exprimées sur d'autres façons de présenter la liste, il a été décidé qu'aucun changement fondamental n'était nécessaire, mais le représentant du Royaume-Uni a proposé de la diviser en trois parties différentes concernant: I. L'indépendance; II. L'autonomie réalisée dans le cadre d'une association permanente avec la métropole conformément à un traité ou à des instruments constitutionnels; et III. L'autonomie dans le cadre d'un Etat fédéral ou unitaire.

32. La première partie concernant les facteurs permettant de conclure qu'une population a accédé à l'indépendance a été adoptée sans modification.

33. Le représentant du Royaume-Uni a proposé de rédiger comme suit le titre de la deuxième partie: "Facteurs permettant de conclure qu'une population a accédé à une autre forme d'autonomie séparée, en association permanente avec la métropole". Le représentant du Guatemala a formulé une réserve concernant la possibilité d'une association avec un pays autre que l'ancienne métropole. Le représentant du Venezuela a, par suite, proposé d'élargir la portée du titre en ajoutant les mots "ou d'une autre façon", formule que le Comité a adoptée.

34. Le facteur A.3 de la deuxième partie porte sur la limitation volontaire de souveraineté. Le représentant du Guatemala a rappelé que son gouvernement et celui du Salvador en avaient proposé la suppression. Il a exprimé des doutes sur la question de savoir si un territoire pouvait renoncer de sa propre volonté à une souveraineté qu'il ne possédait pas. Plusieurs membres ayant fait valoir que le facteur en question pouvait, dans certains cas, présenter un intérêt pratique, un membre de phrase a été ajouté sur la proposition du représentant du Venezuela, avec un amendement présenté par la représentante de Cuba. Le texte se trouve donc ainsi rédigé: "Mesure dans laquelle il est prouvé que l'attribut ou les attributs de la souveraineté qui ne s'exercent plus à titre individuel seront exercés à titre collectif par l'entité plus vaste ainsi constituée".

35. Le représentant des Pays-Bas a proposé d'ajouter après le facteur B.1 un nouveau paragraphe destiné à prévoir le cas complémentaire des obligations de la métropole. Après un court débat, le Comité a décidé d'ajouter ce qui suit:

"Degré et mesure dans lesquels la métropole est liée, en vertu de dispositions constitutionnelles ou législatives, par les désirs librement exprimés du territoire, lorsqu'il s'agit de négocier, de signer ou de ratifier des conventions internationales qui peuvent influencer sur la situation du territoire".

36. Le représentant des Pays-Bas, qui avait demandé la suppression, dans la deuxième partie, du facteur B.2 intitulé "Aptitude à devenir Membre de l'Organisation des Nations Unies", a retiré sa proposition, estimant que le nouveau titre de la deuxième partie permettait de conserver ce facteur.

37. Sur la proposition du représentant du Royaume-Uni, il a été décidé de rédiger comme suit le titre de la troisième partie: "Facteurs permettant de conclure qu'un territoire est librement associé à la métropole ou à un autre pays, et en constitue une partie intégrante".

38. Le représentant du Guatemala a estimé que ce titre, comme celui de la deuxième partie, était trop restrictif, impliquait l'idée d'association permanente et, de ce fait, excluait toute autre forme d'association.

39. Aucun changement n'a été apporté à la troisième partie, dont on a dit qu'elle avait fait l'objet d'une étude minutieuse et que l'on a jugé être la plus satisfaisante des trois parties.

40. Le représentant de la Belgique a fait les réserves suivantes concernant la question des facteurs:

a) Le Chapitre XI de la Charte apparaît comme s'appliquant à tous "les territoires dont les populations ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes". Il est, en effet, conçu en termes généraux: il ne prévoit aucune exception. Le bénéfice des obligations internationales que les Etats ont solennellement assumées par le Chapitre XI n'est donc pas réservé aux populations des colonies et protectorats.

b) Il appartient aux Etats, et à eux seuls, chacun pour ce qui le concerne, de déterminer avec effet juridique si des territoires se trouvant sous leur autorité relèvent, ne relèvent pas ou ne relèvent plus du Chapitre XI. C'est une faculté qu'ils tiennent du droit international et à laquelle ils n'ont pas renoncé, notamment, au profit des organes des Nations Unies. L'Assemblée générale, en particulier, ne saurait leur imposer des définitions. Le paragraphe 7 de l'Article 2 de la Charte est d'ailleurs formel: aucune disposition de la Charte n'autorise les Nations Unies à intervenir dans des affaires qui relèvent essentiellement de la compétence nationale d'un Etat. L'Assemblée excéderait donc ses pouvoirs si, à quelque titre et sous quelque forme, elle se prononçait sur la situation d'un Etat particulier, d'un territoire particulier.

c) L'Assemblée peut certes s'exprimer d'une manière générale sur les facteurs susceptibles, selon elle, de servir de guide aux Etats. Toutefois, ce ne sont là que des avis, qui ne lient pas les Etats.

d) Si les facteurs énoncés par l'Assemblée sont jugés propres à servir de guide pour discerner si un territoire est autonome, ils doivent être *a contrario* jugés propres à servir de guide pour discerner si un territoire n'est pas autonome et, partant, doit jouir des garanties du Chapitre XI. L'Etat qui tient ces facteurs pour valables ne saurait contester leur validité pour l'appréciation de sa propre situation à l'égard du Chapitre XI, alors qu'il affirmerait cette validité pour l'appréciation de la situation des autres Etats.

e) La délégation belge n'a été pour rien dans les initiatives qui ont conduit à entreprendre la détermination des facteurs. Elle n'est pas satisfaite des résultats: son attitude, concernant les facteurs énoncés, est une attitude d'abstention. Toutefois, en dépit des inexactitudes et des imprécisions, les travaux auxquels il a été procédé ont mis en valeur des éléments d'appréciation suffisants pour confirmer que nombreuses sont, de par le monde, les populations ne s'administrant pas encore complètement elles-mêmes et que, par conséquent, nombreux sont les Etats liés par le Chapitre XI. Aussi serait-il désormais futile de tenter de faire prévaloir l'idée que sont seuls tenus des obligations de ce chapitre les huit Etats qui ont reconnu ces obligations, et notamment l'obligation de fournir les renseignements prévus par le paragraphe e de l'Article 73.

VI. LISTE DE FACTEURS APPROUVÉE PAR LE COMITÉ *ad hoc*

41. La liste des facteurs approuvée par le Comité *ad hoc* est la suivante:

FACTEURS PERMETTANT DE CONCLURE QU'UNE POPULATION A ACCÉDÉ À L'INDÉPENDANCE OU À TOUTE AUTRE FORME D'AUTONOMIE SÉPARÉE

Première partie

Facteurs permettant de conclure qu'une population a accédé à l'indépendance

A. Statut international

1. *Responsabilité internationale.* Responsabilité internationale entière du territoire en ce qui concerne les actes inhérents à l'exercice de la souveraineté externe ainsi que pour ce qui est des actes relatifs à son administration interne.

2. *Aptitude à devenir Membre de l'Organisation des Nations Unies.*

3. *Relations internationales en général.* Capacité d'établir des relations directes de toute nature avec d'autres gouvernements et avec des institutions internationales ainsi que de négocier, signer et ratifier des traités.

4. *Défense nationale.* Liberté pour le territoire de conclure des accords relatifs à sa défense nationale.

B. *Autonomie interne*

1. *Forme de gouvernement.* Pleine liberté pour la population de se donner la forme de gouvernement qu'elle juge bonne.

2. *Gouvernement du territoire.* Absence de contrôle ou d'intervention de la part du gouvernement d'un autre Etat sur le gouvernement interne (pouvoirs législatif, exécutif et judiciaire) et l'administration du territoire.

3. *Compétence en matière économique, sociale et culturelle.* Pleine compétence du gouvernement du territoire pour gérer les affaires économiques, sociales et culturelles de ce dernier.

Deuxième partie

FACTEURS PERMETTANT DE CONCLURE QU'UNE POPULATION A ACCÉDÉ À UNE AUTRE FORME D'AUTONOMIE, EN ASSOCIATION PERMANENTE AVEC LA MÉTROPOLE OU D'UNE AUTRE FAÇON

A. *Facteurs de caractère général*

1. *Progrès politique.* Progrès politique des populations suffisant pour leur permettre de décider elles-mêmes, en connaissance de cause, de l'avenir du territoire.

2. *Opinion des populations.* Opinion des populations du territoire librement exprimée, en connaissance de cause, et par des voies démocratiques, en ce qui concerne le statut ou le changement de statut qu'elles désirent.

3. *Limitation volontaire de souveraineté.* Mesure dans laquelle la souveraineté du territoire a été librement et de sa propre volonté limitée au moment où ce territoire a accédé à une forme d'autonomie séparée. Mesure dans laquelle il est prouvé que l'attribut ou les attributs de la souveraineté qui ne s'exercent plus à titre individuel seront exercés à titre collectif par l'entité plus vaste ainsi constituée.

B. *Statut international*

1. *Relations internationales en général.* Degré et mesure dans lesquels le territoire jouit du pouvoir d'établir librement des relations directes de toute nature avec d'autres gouvernements et avec des institutions internationales ainsi que de négocier, signer et ratifier librement des traités. Degré et mesure dans lesquels la métropole est liée, en vertu de dispositions constitutionnelles ou législatives, par les désirs librement exprimés du territoire, lorsqu'il s'agit de négocier, de signer ou de ratifier des conventions internationales qui peuvent influencer sur la situation du territoire.

2. *Aptitude à devenir Membre de l'Organisation des Nations Unies.*

C. *Autonomie interne*

1. *Gouvernement du territoire.* Nature et degré du contrôle ou de l'intervention éventuels du gouvernement d'un autre Etat sur le gouvernement interne, par exemple dans les domaines suivants :

Pouvoir législatif: Adoption des lois du territoire par une assemblée autochtone, soit élue tout entière par des voies libres et démocratiques, soit légalement cons-

tituée d'une manière librement approuvée par la population ;

Pouvoir exécutif: Choix des membres du pouvoir exécutif par l'autorité compétente qui a dans le territoire l'agrément de la population autochtone, que cette autorité soit héréditaire ou élective, en tenant également compte, s'il y a lieu, de la nature et du degré de contrôle éventuel qu'exercerait directement ou indirectement sur la constitution et l'exercice du pouvoir exécutif un élément étranger ;

Pouvoir judiciaire: Constitution des tribunaux et choix des juges.

2. *Participation de la population au gouvernement.* Participation effective de la population au gouvernement du territoire : a) Existe-t-il un système électoral et représentatif adéquat et approprié ? b) Ce système électoral fonctionne-t-il sans intervention directe ou indirecte d'un gouvernement étranger ?⁴

3. *Compétence en matière économique, sociale et culturelle.* Degré d'autonomie en ce qui concerne les affaires économiques, sociales et culturelles, tel qu'il peut ressortir de l'absence plus ou moins complète de pression économique exercée, par exemple, par un groupe minoritaire étranger qui aurait acquis, grâce à l'aide d'une Puissance étrangère, une situation économique privilégiée, portant ainsi préjudice à l'intérêt économique de l'ensemble de la population du territoire ; et tel qu'il peut ressortir également du degré de liberté et de l'absence de discrimination contre la population autochtone du territoire en matière de législation sociale et de progrès sociaux.

Troisième partie

FACTEURS PERMETTANT DE CONCLURE QU'UN TERRITOIRE EST LIBREMENT ASSOCIÉ À LA MÉTROPOLE OU À UN AUTRE PAYS ET EN CONSTITUE UNE PARTIE INTÉGRANTE

A. *Facteurs de caractère général*

1. *Progrès politique.* Progrès politique des populations suffisant pour leur permettre de décider elles-mêmes, en connaissance de cause, de l'avenir du territoire.

2. *Opinion des populations.* Opinion des populations du territoire librement exprimée, en connaissance de cause et par des voies démocratiques, en ce qui concerne le statut ou le changement de statut qu'elles désirent.

3. *Considérations d'ordre géographique.* Mesure dans laquelle les relations du territoire avec le siège du gou-

⁴ Il y aurait lieu, par exemple, de se poser les questions suivantes :

i) Chaque habitant adulte a-t-il le droit, en pleine égalité (sous réserve de garanties spéciales pour la protection des minorités), de déterminer le caractère du gouvernement du territoire ?

ii) Ce pouvoir s'exerce-t-il librement, c'est-à-dire l'électeur n'est-il soumis à aucune influence injustifiée ni à aucune contrainte et n'y a-t-il pas de parties politiques frappées de certaines incapacités ? Pour l'application de ce facteur, on pourra vérifier les faits suivants :

a) Existence de mesures efficaces pour garantir que la population exprime sa volonté de façon démocratique ;

b) Existence de plus d'un parti politique dans le territoire ;

c) Existence d'un scrutin secret ;

d) Existence d'interdictions légales visant le recours à des pratiques non démocratiques en période électorale ;

e) Possibilité pour l'électeur de choisir entre des candidats qui appartiennent à des partis politiques différents ;

f) Absence de "loi martiale" et de mesures analogues pendant la période électorale.

iii) Chaque personne est-elle libre d'exprimer ses opinions politiques, de se prononcer pour ou contre un parti ou une cause politique, et de critiquer le gouvernement au pouvoir ?

vernement central peuvent être affectées par des circonstances tenant à leur situation géographique respective, telles que le fait qu'ils sont séparés par une étendue de terre ou de mer ou par d'autres obstacles naturels.

4. *Considérations ethniques et culturelles.* Mesure dans laquelle la race, la langue, la religion ou le patrimoine culturel, les intérêts ou les aspirations différencient les populations du territoire d'avec celles du pays auquel elles s'associent librement.

5. *Considérations d'ordre constitutionnel.* Association : a) en vertu de la Constitution de la métropole ; ou b) en vertu d'un traité ou d'un accord bilatéral affectant le statut du territoire ; en tenant compte des éléments suivants : i) si les garanties constitutionnelles s'appliquent d'une façon égale au territoire associé ; ii) s'il existe en certains domaines une compétence réservée en vertu de la Constitution en faveur du territoire ou du pouvoir central ; et iii) si le territoire a le droit de participer, sur un pied d'égalité, aux modifications qui peuvent être apportées au régime constitutionnel de l'Etat.

B. Statut

1. *Représentation sur le plan législatif.* Représentation sans discrimination au sein des organes législatifs centraux, sur un pied d'égalité avec les autres habitants et les autres régions.

2. *Citoyenneté.* Citoyenneté sans discrimination, sur un pied d'égalité avec les autres habitants.

3. *Fonctionnaires du gouvernement.* Accès des fonctionnaires originaires du territoire, par nomination ou élection, à tous les emplois publics relevant du pouvoir central dans les mêmes conditions que ceux qui sont originaires des autres parties du pays.

C. Conditions internes d'ordre constitutionnel

1. *Droit de vote.* Suffrage universel et égal pour tous, et élections périodiques libres dans lesquelles l'électeur n'est soumis à aucune influence injustifiée ni à aucune contrainte, et dans lesquelles aucun parti politique n'est frappé de certaines incapacités¹.

2. *Droits et statut des habitants.* Dans un système unitaire, droits et statut égaux pour les habitants et organes locaux du territoire à ceux qui sont reconnus aux habitants et aux organes locaux d'autres parties du pays, et, dans un système fédéral, degré identique d'autonomie pour les habitants et organes locaux de toutes les parties de la Fédération.

3. *Fonctionnaires locaux.* Nomination ou élection des fonctionnaires dans le territoire dans les mêmes conditions que ceux qui sont nommés ou élus dans les autres parties du pays.

4. *Législation interne.* Compétence législative ou réglementaire locale égale à la compétence législative ou réglementaire dont bénéficient les autres parties du territoire et exercée dans les mêmes conditions.

¹ Il y aurait lieu, par exemple, de vérifier les faits suivants :

- a) Existence des mesures efficaces pour garantir que la population exprime sa volonté de façon démocratique ;
- b) Existence de plus d'un parti politique dans le territoire ;
- c) Existence d'un scrutin secret ;
- d) Existence d'interdictions légales visant le recours à des pratiques non démocratiques en période électorale ;
- e) Possibilité pour l'électeur de choisir entre des candidats qui appartiennent à des partis politiques différents ;
- f) Absence de "loi martiale" et de mesures analogues pendant la période électorale ;
- g) Liberté pour chaque personne d'exprimer ses opinions politiques, de se prononcer pour ou contre un parti ou une cause politique, et de critiquer le gouvernement au pouvoir.

VII. CESSATION DE LA TRANSMISSION DE RENSEIGNEMENTS CONCERNANT LES ANTILLES NÉERLANDAISES ET LE SURINAM

42. Par sa résolution 650 (VII) du 20 décembre 1952, l'Assemblée générale a décidé que le Comité *ad hoc* étudierait avec soin les documents relatifs aux territoires des Antilles néerlandaises et du Surinam présentés par le Gouvernement des Pays-Bas à la lumière de la résolution sur les facteurs adoptée par l'Assemblée générale, et ferait rapport à la huitième session de l'Assemblée générale.

43. Le principal document présenté par le Gouvernement des Pays-Bas revêtait la forme d'une communication en date du 31 août 1951, complétée par une communication en date du 30 novembre 1951 (A/C.4/200). Ce document contenait une note explicative du Gouvernement des Pays-Bas, ainsi que des textes constitutionnels comportant certains articles de la Constitution des Pays-Bas (1948), le Statut provisoire de gouvernement pour les Antilles néerlandaises (1950) et la Constitution des Antilles néerlandaises (1950). Ces textes ont été soumis en anglais, et le texte complet en néerlandais des dispositions législatives concernant les Antilles néerlandaises et le Surinam y était joint.

44. Lorsque le Comité *ad hoc* s'est réuni, il a été saisi d'une nouvelle communication sous forme d'une lettre en date du 23 juillet 1953 adressée au Secrétaire général par le représentant permanent des Pays-Bas aux Nations Unies (A/AC.67/3).

45. Dans cette dernière communication, le Gouvernement des Pays-Bas a déclaré qu'aux termes de l'Article 73, e, l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements existe sous réserve des exigences de la sécurité et de considérations d'ordre constitutionnel. C'est en se fondant sur ces réserves que le Gouvernement des Pays-Bas avait décidé, en 1951, de cesser de transmettre des renseignements. Après la promulgation des statuts provisoires de gouvernement qui ont accordé un nouveau statut au Surinam et aux Antilles néerlandaises, il avait des raisons d'ordre constitutionnel pour ne pas continuer à transmettre des renseignements. Le Gouvernement néerlandais ajoutait qu'il était douteux que la question de la cessation de la communication de renseignements sur les Antilles néerlandaises et le Surinam puisse être facilement examinée si l'on prenait comme règles les termes de la résolution relative aux facteurs. Selon le Gouvernement des Pays-Bas, "la question qui se pose est la suivante : Un territoire a-t-il atteint un degré d'autonomie tel qu'il est pleinement responsable dans les trois domaines mentionnés à l'Article 73, e, à savoir les conditions économiques, sociales et de l'instruction ?"

46. Le représentant des Pays-Bas a présenté cette communication au Comité et a déclaré que le Gouvernement des Pays-Bas se trouvait dans l'impossibilité de transmettre des renseignements du fait que les gouvernements des territoires en question s'y étaient opposés. Il a prié le Comité, et le Comité a accepté, d'entendre à ce sujet MM. Pos et Debrôt, représentants généraux du Surinam et des Antilles néerlandaises auprès du Gouvernement des Pays-Bas à La Haye, qui avaient été habilités par leurs gouvernements respectifs à exercer les fonctions de membres de la délégation des Pays-Bas.

47. Les représentants de l'Australie, de la Belgique, des Etats-Unis d'Amérique et du Royaume-Uni, bien que pour des raisons diverses, se sont accordés avec la délégation des Pays-Bas à reconnaître que le Gouvernement des Pays-Bas pouvait désormais cesser de transmettre, au sujet du Surinam et des Antilles néerlandaises,

daïses, les renseignements qu'il avait fournis jusqu'ici en application de l'Article 73, e.

48. Les représentants de la Birmanie, de Cuba, du Guatemala et de l'Irak ont estimé que les raisons invoquées par la délégation des Pays-Bas ne suffisaient pas à justifier la cessation des renseignements parce qu'elles n'étaient pas conformes aux dispositions de la résolution 648 (VII) de l'Assemblée générale. Le représentant du Venezuela a soutenu que, bien que le Comité *ad hoc* soit habilité par son mandat à s'occuper de la question, il valait mieux cependant, pour des raisons d'ordre pra-

tique, que le problème soit renvoyé directement à l'Assemblée générale.

49. Les opinions exprimées par les membres du Comité *ad hoc* figurent dans les comptes rendus analytiques des sixième et septième séances du Comité (A/AC. 67/SR.6 et 7), que le Comité signale à l'attention de l'Assemblée générale.

50. En raison des profondes divergences de vues qui se sont manifestées entre ses membres, le Comité *ad hoc* a décidé de renvoyer la question à l'Assemblée générale sans formuler de recommandation.

742 (VIII). Facteurs dont il convient de tenir compte pour décider si un territoire est, ou n'est pas, un territoire dont les populations ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes

L'Assemblée générale,

Tenant compte des principes énoncés dans la Déclaration relative aux territoires non autonomes et des objectifs fixés dans le Chapitre XI de la Charte,

Rappelant que, dans ses résolutions 567 (VI) et 648 (VII) adoptées les 18 janvier et 10 décembre 1952 respectivement, elle a indiqué qu'il serait utile de dresser une liste de facteurs dont il conviendrait de tenir compte pour décider si un territoire a atteint ou non une complète autonomie,

Tenant compte du fait que l'Assemblée générale est compétente pour examiner les principes qui devraient guider l'Organisation des Nations Unies et les Etats Membres en ce qui concerne le respect des

obligations qui découlent des dispositions du Chapitre XI de la Charte, et faire des recommandations à leur sujet,

Ayant examiné le rapport¹ du Comité *ad hoc* pour l'étude des facteurs (territoires non autonomes) créé par la résolution 648 (VII),

1. *Prend acte* des conclusions du rapport du Comité *ad hoc* pour l'étude des facteurs (territoires non autonomes) ;

2. *Approuve* la liste de facteurs adoptée par la Quatrième Commission ;

3. *Recommande* à l'Assemblée générale et aux Puissances administrantes de prendre pour guide la liste de facteurs jointe en annexe lorsqu'il s'agira de déterminer si, du fait de modifications de son statut constitutionnel, un territoire est ou n'est plus visé par les dispositions du Chapitre XI de la Charte, afin que l'Assemblée générale puisse décider, d'après la documentation fournie en vertu de la résolution 222 (III), adoptée le 3 novembre 1948, s'il y a lieu de continuer ou de cesser de communiquer les renseignements prévus au Chapitre XI de la Charte ;

4. *Réaffirme* que chaque cas d'espèce doit être examiné et tranché en tenant compte des circonstances qui lui sont propres et du droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes ;

5. *Considère* que la validité de toute forme d'association entre un territoire non autonome et la métropole ou tout autre pays dépend essentiellement de la volonté de la population intéressée, librement exprimée au moment où cette association est décidée ;

6. *Considère* que c'est avant tout en accédant à l'indépendance que les territoires visés au Chapitre XI de la Charte peuvent atteindre l'autonomie complète, bien qu'il soit admis qu'un territoire peut aussi devenir autonome en s'associant à un Etat ou à un groupe d'Etats, à condition que cette association soit effectuée librement et sur un pied d'égalité absolue ;

7. *Réaffirme* que ces facteurs, tout en servant de guide lorsqu'il s'agit de déterminer si les obligations énoncées au Chapitre XI de la Charte existent encore, ne doivent nullement être interprétés comme faisant obstacle à l'autonomie complète d'un territoire non autonome ;

8. *Réaffirme également* que, pour qu'un territoire puisse être considéré comme autonome dans les domaines économique, social et de l'enseignement, il est essentiel que sa population s'administre complètement elle-même ;

9. *Charge* le Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes d'étudier toute documentation qui sera désormais communiquée en vertu de la résolution 222 (III), en tenant compte de la liste de facteurs approuvée par la présente résolution et d'autres considérations pertinentes qui pourront intervenir à propos de chaque cas où l'on aura cessé de communiquer des renseignements ;

10. *Recommande* que le Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes prenne l'initiative de proposer, lorsqu'il le jugera utile du fait des circonstances, des modifications propres à améliorer la liste de facteurs.

459^eme séance plénière,
le 27 novembre 1953.

ANNEXE

Liste de facteurs

FACTEURS PERMETTANT DE CONCLURE QU'UNE POPULATION A ACCÉDÉ À L'INDÉPENDANCE OU À UNE AUTRE FORME D'AUTONOMIE SÉPARÉE

Première partie

FACTEURS PERMETTANT DE CONCLURE QU'UNE POPULATION A ACCÉDÉ À L'INDÉPENDANCE

A. — Statut international

1. *Responsabilité internationale.* — Responsabilité internationale entière du territoire en ce qui concerne les actes inhérents à l'exercice de la souveraineté externe ainsi que pour ce qui est des actes correspondants relatifs à son administration interne.

2. *Aptitude à devenir Membre de l'Organisation des Nations Unies.*

3. *Relations internationales en général.* — Capacité d'établir des relations directes de toute nature avec d'autres gouvernements et avec des institutions internationales ainsi que de négocier, signer et ratifier des traités.

4. *Défense nationale.* — Droit souverain de pourvoir à sa défense nationale.

B. — Autonomie interne

1. *Forme de gouvernement.* — Pleine liberté pour la population de se donner la forme de gouvernement qu'elle juge bonne.

2. *Gouvernement du territoire.* — Absence de contrôle ou d'intervention de la part du gouvernement d'un autre Etat sur le gouvernement interne (pouvoirs législatif, exécutif et judiciaire) et l'administration du territoire.

3. *Compétence en matière économique, sociale et culturelle.* — Pleine compétence du gouvernement du territoire pour gérer les affaires économiques, sociales et culturelles de ce dernier.

Deuxième partie

FACTEURS PERMETTANT DE CONCLURE QU'UNE POPULATION A ACCÉDÉ À UNE AUTRE FORME D'AUTONOMIE SÉPARÉE

A. — Facteurs de caractère général

1. *Opinion des populations.* — Opinion des populations du territoire librement exprimée, en connaissance de cause et par des voies démocratiques, en ce qui concerne le statut ou le changement de statut qu'elles désirent.

2. *Liberté de choix.* — Liberté pour la population de choisir entre plusieurs possibilités, y compris l'indépendance, en vertu du droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes.

3. *Limitation volontaire de souveraineté.* — Mesure dans laquelle il est prouvé que l'attribut ou les attributs de la souveraineté qui ne s'exercent plus à titre individuel seront exercés à titre collectif par l'entité plus vaste ainsi constituée et liberté, pour la population d'un territoire qui s'est associé à la métropole, de modifier ce statut à tout moment, en exprimant sa volonté par des voies démocratiques.

4. *Considérations d'ordre géographique.* — Mesure dans laquelle les relations du territoire non autonome avec le siège du gouvernement métropolitain peuvent être affectées par des circonstances tenant à leur situation géographique respective, telles que le fait qu'ils sont séparés par une étendue de terre ou de mer ou par d'autres obstacles naturels ; et mesure dans laquelle les intérêts des Etats limitrophes peuvent être affectés, compte tenu du principe général de bon voisinage mentionné à l'Article 74 de la Charte.

5. *Considérations d'ordre ethnique et culturel.* — Mesure dans laquelle la race, la langue, la religion ou le patrimoine culturel, les intérêts ou les aspirations différencient les populations du territoire d'avec celles du pays auquel elles s'associent librement.

6. *Progrès politique.* — Progrès politique des populations suffisant pour leur permettre de décider elles-mêmes, en connaissance de cause, de l'avenir du territoire.

¹ Voir le document A/2428.

B. — Statut international

1. *Relations internationales en général.* — Degré et mesure dans lesquels le territoire jouit du pouvoir d'établir librement des relations directes de toute nature avec d'autres gouvernements exprimés du territoire, lorsqu'il s'agit de négocier, de négocier, signer et ratifier librement des traités. Degré et mesure dans lesquels la métropole est liée, en vertu de dispositions constitutionnelles ou législatives, par les désirs librement exprimés du territoire, lorsqu'il s'agit de négocier, de signer ou de ratifier des Conventions internationales qui peuvent influencer sur la situation du territoire.

2. *Changement de statut politique.* — Droit de la métropole ou du territoire de modifier le statut politique de ce dernier, compte tenu de la question de savoir si le territoire fait ou non l'objet d'une revendication ou d'une contestation de la part d'un autre Etat.

3. *Aptitude à devenir Membre de l'Organisation des Nations Unies.*

C. — Autonomie interne

1. *Gouvernement du territoire.* — Nature et degré du contrôle et de l'intervention éventuelle du gouvernement d'un autre Etat sur le gouvernement interne, par exemple dans les domaines suivants :

Pouvoir législatif : adoption des lois du territoire par une assemblée autochtone, soit élue tout entière par des voies libres et démocratiques, soit légalement constituée d'une manière librement approuvée par la population.

Pouvoir exécutif : choix des membres du pouvoir exécutif par l'autorité compétente qui a, dans le territoire, l'agrément de la population autochtone, que cette autorité soit héréditaire ou élective, en tenant également compte, s'il y a lieu, de la nature et du degré de contrôle éventuel qu'exercerait directement ou indirectement sur la constitution et l'exercice du pouvoir exécutif un organisme extérieur.

Pouvoir judiciaire : constitution des tribunaux et choix des juges.

2. *Participation de la population au gouvernement.* — Participation effective de la population au gouvernement du territoire : a) existe-t-il un système électoral et représentatif adéquat et approprié ? b) ce système électoral fonctionne-t-il sans intervention directe ou indirecte d'un gouvernement étranger ?

3. *Compétence en matière économique, sociale et culturelle.* — Degré d'autonomie en ce qui concerne les affaires économiques, sociales et culturelles, tel qu'il peut ressortir de l'absence plus ou moins complète de pression économique exercée, par exemple, par un groupe minoritaire étranger qui aurait acquis, grâce à l'aide d'une Puissance étrangère, une situation économique privilégiée, portant ainsi préjudice à l'intérêt économique de l'ensemble de la population du territoire ; et tel qu'il peut ressortir également du degré de liberté et de

* Il y aurait lieu, par exemple, de se poser les questions suivantes :

i) Chaque habitant adulte a-t-il le droit, en pleine égalité (sous réserve de garanties spéciales pour la protection des minorités), de déterminer le caractère du gouvernement du territoire ?

ii) Ce pouvoir s'exerce-t-il librement, c'est-à-dire l'électeur n'est-il soumis à aucune influence injustifiée ni à aucune contrainte et n'y a-t-il pas de partis politiques frappés de certaines incapacités ? Pour l'application de ce facteur, on pourra vérifier les faits suivants :

a) Existence de mesures efficaces pour garantir que la population exprime sa volonté de façon démocratique ;

b) Existence de plus d'un parti politique dans le territoire ;

c) Existence d'un scrutin secret ;

d) Existence d'interdictions légales visant le recours à des pratiques non démocratiques en période électorale ;

e) Possibilité pour l'électeur de choisir entre des candidats qui appartiennent à des partis politiques différents ;

f) Absence de "loi martiale" et de mesures analogues pendant la période électorale.

iii) Chaque personne est-elle libre d'exprimer ses opinions politiques, de se prononcer pour ou contre un parti ou une cause politique, et de critiquer le gouvernement au pouvoir ?

l'absence de discrimination contre la population autochtone du territoire en matière de législation sociale et de progrès sociaux.

Troisième partie

FACTEURS PERMETTANT DE CONCLURE QU'UN TERRITOIRE EST LIBREMENT ASSOCIÉ SUR UN PIED D'ÉGALITÉ À LA MÉTROPOLE OU À UN AUTRE PAYS COMME PARTIE INTÉGRANTE DU PAYS EN QUESTION, OU SOUS TOUTE AUTRE FORME

A. — Facteurs de caractère général

1. *Opinion des populations.* — Opinion des populations du territoire librement exprimée, en connaissance de cause et par des voies démocratiques, en ce qui concerne le statut ou le changement de statut qu'elles désirent.

2. *Liberté de choix.* — Liberté pour la population d'un territoire non autonome qui s'est associé avec la métropole comme partie intégrante de ce pays, ou sous toute autre forme, de modifier ce statut en exprimant sa volonté par des voies démocratiques.

3. *Considérations d'ordre géographique.* — Mesure dans laquelle les relations du territoire avec le siège du gouvernement central peuvent être affectées par des circonstances tenant à leur situation géographique respective, telles que le fait qu'ils sont séparés par une étendue de terre ou de mer ou par d'autres obstacles naturels. Droit de la métropole ou du territoire de modifier le statut politique de ce dernier, compte tenu de la question de savoir si le territoire fait ou non l'objet d'une revendication ou d'une contestation de la part d'un autre Etat.

4. *Considérations ethniques et culturelles.* — Mesure dans laquelle la race, la langue, la religion ou le patrimoine culturel, les intérêts ou les aspirations différencient les populations du territoire d'avec celles du pays auquel elles s'associent librement.

5. *Progrès politique.* — Progrès politique des populations suffisant pour leur permettre de décider elles-mêmes, en connaissance de cause, de l'avenir du territoire.

6. *Considérations d'ordre constitutionnel.* — Association en vertu d'un traité ou d'un accord bilatéral affectant le statut du territoire, en tenant compte des éléments suivants : i) si les garanties constitutionnelles s'appliquent dans des conditions égales au territoire associé ; ii) s'il existe dans certains domaines une compétence réservée, en vertu de la Constitution, en faveur du territoire ou du pouvoir central ; et iii) si le territoire a le droit de participer sur un pied d'égalité aux modifications qui peuvent être apportées au régime constitutionnel de l'Etat.

B. — Statut

1. *Représentation sur le plan législatif.* — Représentation sans discrimination au sein des organes législatifs centraux, sur un pied d'égalité avec les autres habitants et les autres régions.

2. *Participation de la population au gouvernement.* — Participation effective de la population au gouvernement du territoire : a) existe-t-il un système électoral et représentatif adéquat et approprié ? b) ce système électoral fonctionne-t-il sans intervention directe ou indirecte d'un gouvernement étranger ?

3. *Citoyenneté.* — Citoyenneté sans discrimination, sur un pied d'égalité avec les autres habitants.

4. *Fonctionnaires du gouvernement.* — Accès des fonctionnaires originaires du territoire, par nomination ou élection, à tous les emplois publics relevant du pouvoir central dans les mêmes conditions que ceux qui sont originaires des autres parties du pays.

C. — Conditions internes d'ordre constitutionnel

1. *Droit de vote.* — Suffrage universel et égal pour tous, et élections périodiques libres dans lesquelles l'électeur n'est soumis à aucune influence injustifiée ni à aucune contrainte, et dans lesquelles des incapacités ne frappent pas tels ou tels des partis politiques^b.

^b Il y aurait lieu, par exemple, de vérifier les faits suivants :

a) Existence de mesures efficaces pour garantir que la population exprime sa volonté de façon démocratique ;

b) Existence de plus d'un parti politique dans le territoire ;

c) Existence d'un scrutin secret ;

2. *Droits et statut des habitants.* — Dans un système unitaire, droits et statut égaux pour les habitants et organes locaux du territoire à ceux qui sont reconnus aux habitants et aux organes locaux d'autres parties du pays, et, dans un système fédéral, degré identique d'autonomie pour les habitants et organes locaux de toutes les parties de la fédération.

3. *Fonctionnaires locaux.* — Nomination ou élection des fonctionnaires dans le territoire dans les mêmes conditions que dans les autres parties du pays.

4. *Législation interne.* — Autonomie locale de même étendue et s'exerçant dans les mêmes conditions que dans les autres parties du pays.

5. *Compétence en matière économique, sociale et culturelle.* — Degré d'autonomie en ce qui concerne les affaires économiques, sociales et culturelles, tel qu'il peut ressortir de l'absence plus ou moins complète de pression économique exercée, par exemple, par un groupe minoritaire étranger qui aurait acquis, grâce à l'aide d'une Puissance étrangère, une position économique privilégiée, portant ainsi préjudice à l'intérêt économique de l'ensemble de la population du territoire; et tel qu'il peut ressortir également du degré de liberté et de l'absence de discrimination contre la population autochtone du territoire en matière de législation sociale et de progrès sociaux.

(Suite de la note ^b de la page précédente).

d) Existence d'interdictions légales visant le recours à des pratiques non démocratiques en période électorale;

e) Possibilité pour l'électeur de choisir entre des candidats qui appartiennent à des partis politiques différents;

f) Absence de "loi martiale" et de mesures analogues pendant la période électorale;

g) Liberté pour chaque personne d'exprimer ses opinions politiques, de se prononcer pour ou contre un parti ou une cause politique, et de critiquer le gouvernement au pouvoir.

ASSEMBLEE GENERALE

HUITIEME SESSION

Documents officiels



SEANCE PLENIERE

Vendredi 27 novembre 1953,
à 15 heures

New-York

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Facteurs dont il convient de tenir compte pour décider si un territoire est, ou n'est pas, un territoire dont les populations ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes

Cessation de la communication des renseignements visés à l'Article 73, e, de la Charte: a) Antilles néerlandaises et Surinam; b) Porto-Rico

Présidente: Mme Vijaya Lakshmi PANDIT (Inde).

Rapport de la Quatrième Commission (A/2556 et Corr.1):

Renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes transmis en vertu de l'Article 73, e, de la Charte: a) renseignements relatifs à la situation dans le domaine de l'enseignement; b) renseignements relatifs à la situation dans d'autres domaines; c) transmission de renseignements; d) participation des territoires non autonomes aux travaux du Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes

[Point 32 de l'ordre du jour]

Facteurs dont il convient de tenir compte pour décider si un territoire est, ou n'est pas, un territoire dont les populations ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes

[Point 33 de l'ordre du jour]

Cassation de la communication des renseignements visés à l'Article 73, e, de la Charte: a) Antilles néerlandaises et Surinam; b) Porto-Rico

[Point 34 de l'ordre du jour]

1. M. RIFAI (Syrie), Rapporteur de la Quatrième Commission (*traduit de l'anglais*): Au nom de la Quatrième Commission, j'ai l'honneur de présenter à l'Assemblée générale le rapport de la Commission [A/2556 et Corr.1] sur les points 32, 33 et 34 de l'ordre du jour de l'Assemblée. Les points en question ont trait aux renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes, aux facteurs dont il convient de tenir compte pour décider si un territoire est, ou n'est pas, un territoire dont les populations ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes et à la cessation

de la communication des renseignements visés à l'Article 73, e, de la Charte, en ce qui concerne, d'une part, les Antilles néerlandaises et le Surinam et, d'autre part, Porto-Rico.

2. La Quatrième Commission a consacré trente-sept séances à l'examen de ces questions. Je cite ce chiffre pour montrer toute l'attention qu'elle a accordée aux problèmes dont elle était saisie.

3. Le SECRETAIRE GENERAL (*traduit de l'anglais*): Dans le projet de résolution V relatif à l'emploi de fonctionnaires internationaux originaires des territoires non autonomes et des Territoires sous tutelle, il est dit que le Secrétaire général a déjà pris acte des vœux que la Quatrième Commission a exprimés à ce sujet. Ce projet de résolution recommande au Secrétaire général de tenir compte du fait qu'il est souhaitable de poursuivre et d'accroître le recrutement, pour le Secrétariat des Nations Unies, de personnes dûment qualifiées originaires des territoires non autonomes et des Territoires sous tutelle.

4. Je voudrais faire remarquer à cette occasion que la façon la plus satisfaisante de répondre aux vœux exprimés dans ce projet de résolution serait, tout d'abord, de prendre des mesures pour organiser des cours et un service de formation. Cette possibilité sera étudiée et les résultats auxquels on sera parvenu seront communiqués à l'Assemblée générale pour que la Cinquième Commission, organe compétent en matière d'administration du personnel, les examine.

5. La PRESIDENTE (*traduit de l'anglais*): Avant de mettre aux voix les projets de résolutions proposés par la Quatrième Commission, je vais donner la parole aux membres de l'Assemblée qui désirent expliquer leur vote. Je crois que l'on gagnerait du temps si les orateurs pouvaient se limiter à une seule intervention pour dire de quelle façon ils entendent voter sur les projets de résolutions dont l'Assemblée générale est saisie.

6. M. ESPINOSA Y PRIETO (Mexique) (*traduit de l'espagnol*): J'invite les membres de l'Assemblée à se reporter à l'Article 18 de la Charte. Ma délégation estime — et elle se propose de le démontrer documents en main — que toute question qui se rattache au Chapitre XI de la Charte, quelle qu'en soit l'importance, doit être tranchée à la majorité simple et que la majorité des deux tiers, requise pour d'autres questions importantes, ne peut s'appliquer à ce chapitre, à moins que l'Assemblée générale ne crée une nouvelle catégorie à cet effet.

7. Au nombre des projets de résolution que nous devons examiner aujourd'hui s'en trouve un qui a trait à la "liste des facteurs"; de l'avis de certaines délégations, elle doit être votée à la majorité des deux tiers en raison de son importance. Je tiens à préciser avant tout que rien de ce que nous dirons ici ne doit en aucun cas être interprété comme minimisant l'importance de la question. Ma délégation part du principe que toutes les questions dont l'Assemblée générale s'occupe sont

importantes. Quant au projet de résolution relatif à la "liste des facteurs", l'intérêt que lui porte ma délégation ressort du fait que nous sommes, avec d'autres délégations, les auteurs des principaux amendements qui ont été apportés à ce projet.

8. Pour le moment, nous nous proposons uniquement de montrer comment, indépendamment de l'importance des cas concrets qu'il nous arrive d'étudier, il est clair et indubitable, d'après notre règlement intérieur, que les questions relatives aux territoires non autonomes doivent être tranchées à la majorité simple et non à la majorité des deux tiers. En énonçant ce principe, nous sommes mus par un sentiment de loyauté envers l'Organisation et par un esprit de collaboration désintéressée, car il est manifeste que, si l'on observe à cet égard une règle fixe, tantôt elle jouera en faveur des projets que nous présenterons, et tantôt elle jouera contre eux. Nous allons maintenant user du droit qu'invoqueront d'autres délégations pour défendre une thèse opposée à la nôtre. Nous allons exposer quelle est notre conviction et soumettre les arguments solides qui l'étayent. Il va sans dire que, si la majorité de l'Assemblée générale entend adopter un autre principe, la délégation mexicaine, comme toujours, s'inclinera devant sa volonté.

9. Au paragraphe 2 de l'Article 18 on lit ce qui suit :

"Les décisions de l'Assemblée générale sur les questions importantes sont prises à la majorité des deux tiers des membres présents et votants."

A lire l'expression "questions importantes", beaucoup se sont demandé si elle s'applique de manière générale ou si elle ne comprend que les catégories énumérées dans le cours du même article et celles qui, comme prévu, pourront être déterminées par la suite. Comme cette confusion provient d'une simple imperfection dans le texte de la Charte et que nombreux sont ceux qui ont peine à croire qu'un document si solennel puisse présenter des lacunes aussi flagrantes, il est normal que je veuille m'appuyer, à cet égard, sur une autorité à laquelle songent naturellement la plupart de ceux qui ont affaire, de près ou de loin, avec l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Hans Kelsen, dans son livre célèbre, intitulé : *The Law of the United Nations*, pages 180 et 181, dit ce qui suit :

"Pour la procédure de vote... la Charte distingue entre les "questions importantes" et les "autres questions". Cette distinction n'est pas très heureuse. Du moment que l'Assemblée générale s'occupe d'une question, il n'est guère possible de considérer que cette question ne présente pas d'importance. Dans l'intention des auteurs, il s'agissait de distinguer entre les décisions qui exigent une majorité des deux tiers et celles qui n'exigent qu'une majorité simple..."

Mais il ne faut pas croire que cet éminent commentateur soit notre seul guide. Après être remontés à l'origine de la question et à l'autorité véritable qui doit guider tous les Membres des Nations Unies, c'est-à-dire aux documents de San-Francisco, nous indiquerons ce que d'autres auteurs écrivent sur ce même sujet.

10. Il est facile de comprendre la confusion qu'aurait provoquée la Charte si elle avait parlé de "questions importantes" sans donner de précisions à leur sujet et s'il s'était présenté ensuite à l'Assemblée générale des questions que certains eussent considérées comme "importantes" et d'autres comme "moins importantes". Il n'y aurait pas eu lieu d'énumérer ensuite les questions auxquelles s'applique la majorité des deux tiers et encore moins de laisser la porte ouverte à l'établisse-

ment de nouvelles catégories de questions. La confusion commence à se dissiper lorsqu'on lit plus avant, au paragraphe 3 du même Article 18 de la Charte :

"Les décisions sur d'autres questions, y compris la détermination de nouvelles catégories de questions à trancher à la majorité des deux tiers, sont prises à la majorité des membres présents et votants."

On voit clairement ici que l'expression "questions importantes" a fait place à sa définition exacte de "questions à trancher à la majorité des deux tiers...". C'est cette partie intégrante de l'Article 18 de la Charte, dont nous allons retracer l'origine jusqu'à la Conférence de San-Francisco, qui précise, sans laisser place au doute, que les créateurs des Nations Unies pensaient aux "catégories de questions à trancher à la majorité des deux tiers", lesquelles, étant donné leur importance, avaient fait l'objet de discussions détaillées et prolongées, comme ce fut le cas de la catégorie de questions relatives à l'expulsion de Membres.

11. Pour illustrer ce point, il suffit de faire observer, par exemple, qu'en aucun cas on ne pourrait considérer plusieurs des questions énumérées au paragraphe 2 de l'Article 18, telles que les recommandations relatives au maintien de la paix et de la sécurité, les questions relatives au fonctionnement du régime de tutelle et les questions budgétaires, comme "une question", mais comme "des catégories ou des rubriques" sous lesquelles se rangent une multitude de questions différentes.

12. Nous ferons tout d'abord un premier raisonnement pour bien éclaircir ce point. La Charte déclare nettement que les "questions relatives au fonctionnement du régime de tutelle" seront votées à la majorité des deux tiers. Jusqu'ici, nous avons adopté, dans cette catégorie, une cinquantaine de résolutions, toutes, bien entendu, à la majorité des deux tiers. J'ai déjà dit que la délégation mexicaine ne met en doute l'importance d'aucun des problèmes que nous examinons ici. Cependant, nul ici ne peut manquer de se demander si toutes les résolutions relatives au fonctionnement du régime de tutelle peuvent être considérées comme "importantes". Autrement dit, peut-on affirmer que chacune d'entre elles est plus importante que d'autres, manifestement capitales, adoptées à la majorité simple au sujet de questions qui n'entraient pas dans les catégories définies à l'Article 18? Pour bien illustrer ma thèse, j'invite les membres de l'Assemblée à se reporter, par exemple, à la résolution 651 (VII), par laquelle l'Assemblée générale, sans un seul considérant, a décidé d'ajourner à sa huitième session l'examen de la question du Sud-Ouest Africain. Tous les représentants qui sont ici savent que l'Assemblée a adopté cette résolution parce que la session touchait à sa fin et qu'elle n'avait plus le temps d'examiner la question. Il n'y avait pas d'autre solution. Prenons, au hasard encore, la résolution 654 (VII), que l'Assemblée a adoptée également sans considérants et par laquelle elle prend acte du rapport du Conseil de tutelle et recommande au Conseil de tenir compte, lors de ses sessions futures, des observations et suggestions formulées à la septième session de l'Assemblée générale. La délégation mexicaine ne méconnaît l'importance d'aucune de nos résolutions. Mais la plupart de ceux qui sont ici conviendront que l'importance des deux décisions que j'ai citées, qui ont été prises à la majorité des deux tiers, est moindre que celle de résolutions très sérieuses adoptées à la majorité simple.

13. Voyons maintenant l'autre aspect de la question. Qui, dans cette salle, niera qu'une session extraordinaire de l'Assemblée générale ne peut être convoquée que

pour examiner une question particulièrement importante. Eh bien, une décision aussi grave, aussi coûteuse et aussi importante que celle de la convocation d'une session extraordinaire ne se prend pas à la majorité des deux tiers, mais à la majorité simple, car telles sont les dispositions expresses de l'Article 20 de la Charte, auquel j'invite les représentants à se reporter. L'importance de la question saute aux yeux. Or, l'affaire est décidée à la majorité simple.

14. Pour en finir avec cet aspect de notre discussion, examinons un cas particulièrement impressionnant. Nous venons de voir l'Article 18 de la Charte. Qui d'entre nous, considérant le caractère sérieux de nos débats sur les questions importantes, songerait à nier que la "détermination de nouvelles catégories de questions à trancher à la majorité des deux tiers" est un problème particulièrement ardu, grave et d'une importance évidente? Que les membres de l'Assemblée en jugent par eux-mêmes: selon le paragraphe 3 de l'Article 18, ce problème fondamental, qui, pour beaucoup, équivaut à une réforme de la Charte, est résolu à la majorité simple des membres présents et votants, parce que la Charte en dispose ainsi. Une question qui, à San-Francisco, a donné lieu aux discussions les plus complexes et les plus mouvementées, à cause de son importance évidente, qui, à moi personnellement, me semble supérieure à celle de la liste des facteurs, est tranchée à la majorité simple. Et cependant, cette majorité simple ne suffit pas à recommander que l'on arbore le drapeau de l'Organisation dans les Territoires sous tutelle. La majorité simple n'a le droit d'exprimer aucun avis, même le plus insignifiant, quand il s'agit de questions relatives au régime de tutelle ou de questions budgétaires.

15. Il est donc hors de doute que, tant que l'Assemblée générale n'aura pas déterminé de nouvelles catégories, rien dans la Charte ne saurait autoriser que d'autres questions soient tranchées à la majorité des deux tiers. S'il est arrivé, comme certains voudront certainement me le rappeler, que, dans certains cas, l'Assemblée ait accepté de voter à la majorité des deux tiers sur des questions pour lesquelles ce mode de scrutin n'était pas prévu, il ne faut pas en chercher la raison dans l'Article 18, mais dans l'Article 10 de la Charte, qui autorise l'Assemblée, d'une manière générale, à agir comme elle l'entend.

16. Le seul point qu'il semble juste et légitime de déterminer ici, dans des cas comme celui qui nous occupe, est de savoir si la question sur laquelle il faut voter entre ou non dans l'une des catégories déjà définies à l'Article 18. Goodrich et Hambro¹ citent à cet effet une résolution fondamentale relative à l'Afrique du Sud; après l'avoir étudiée sous cet angle, l'Assemblée a décidé, malgré son importance manifeste, de voter à la majorité simple, car la question ne rentrait dans aucune des catégories déjà définies.

17. Il s'agit expressément, au paragraphe 3 de l'Article 18 de la Charte, de la détermination de nouvelles catégories. Si une délégation veut proposer que les questions relatives au Chapitre XI soient votées à la majorité des deux tiers, ce qu'elle propose en réalité c'est que l'on établisse une catégorie nouvelle. L'établissement d'une nouvelle catégorie de questions à trancher à la majorité des deux tiers pourrait, à n'en pas douter, constituer un sujet de discussion pour

l'Assemblée générale. Si quelqu'un désire le proposer, puisque cette question ne figure pas à notre ordre du jour, il lui faudra certainement attendre la prochaine session, ou bien, s'il attribue à la question une importance extrême, il pourrait mettre en mouvement les rouages que le règlement intérieur prévoit pour que la question puisse encore être discutée à la présente session.

18. Nous avons vu que, dans le paragraphe 2 de l'Article 18 de la Charte, figure la catégorie des "questions relatives au fonctionnement du régime de tutelle", mais non celle des questions relatives aux territoires non autonomes. Les seules questions qui entrent dans cette catégorie sont celles qui relèvent des Chapitres XII et XIII de la Charte. J'ai donc des raisons d'affirmer que les questions relatives au Chapitre XI en sont expressément exclues.

19. Ma délégation ne fait pas partie du groupe de délégations qui portent la responsabilité d'avoir réussi vers la fin de la Conférence de San-Francisco, à scinder en deux le chapitre qui avait trait aux questions relatives aux territoires non autonomes et aux Territoires sous tutelle. La plupart de ceux qui sont ici savent comment ces deux séries de questions — c'est-à-dire l'ensemble des questions qui avaient trait aux peuples non autonomes — ont été, à San-Francisco, étudiées par une même commission, la Commission II, par un même comité, le Comité 4, en tant que parties A et B, d'un même projet qui s'appelaient, à cette conférence, "le régime de tutelle". Plus d'un représentant ici présente se rappellera avec amertume comment cette généreuse tentative d'ouvrir une ère nouvelle dans le domaine colonial n'a finalement abouti à rien. C'est un fait qu'au moment où la Commission II a tenu sa troisième séance, le 20 juin 1945, le Chapitre XI avait déjà été disjoint des Chapitres XII et XIII. On avait enlevé au Chapitre XI l'essentiel de sa force. Quant aux obligations claires et précises que les Chapitres XII et XIII imposaient aux autorités administrantes, les intéressés avaient réussi à dresser contre ces obligations l'obstacle de la majorité des deux tiers.

20. Rappelons-nous tout d'abord comment ont vu le jour les catégories de questions à trancher par la majorité des deux tiers. Au cours de sa première séance qu'elle a tenue le matin du 30 mai 1945, la Commission II a entendu le Rapporteur, rendant compte d'un rapport du Comité I, déclarer que le Comité recommande que les questions importantes énumérées ci-après soient décidées par une majorité des deux tiers à l'Assemblée générale; suivait une énumération de six catégories de questions, qui furent toutes approuvées. Au nombre de ces questions ne figuraient, après pourtant deux mois de travail, ni les questions relatives aux territoires non autonomes, ni les questions relatives aux Territoires sous tutelle. Je me permets de souligner, en passant, l'interprétation précise que ceux qui rédigeaient alors la Charte ont donnée à l'expression "questions importantes" qui désignait pour eux des catégories expressément définies dans la Charte.

21. C'est seulement après avoir réussi à séparer les territoires non autonomes du régime de tutelle proprement dit que le Comité 4 a présenté au Comité 1 la proposition relative à la procédure de vote. Le Secrétaire du Comité 1 l'a enregistrée dans les procès-verbaux de la quinzième réunion en précisant que "les questions relatives aux opérations du régime de tutelle" peuvent être ajoutées à la liste des questions importantes qui exigent la majorité des deux tiers à l'Assem-

¹ Voir *Charter of the United Nations, Commentary and documents*, deuxième édition revue et corrigée, 1949, Leland M. Goodrich et Edward Hambro.

blée générale². Après quoi, le Président du Comité s'est adressé au Comité et a déclaré qu'il s'agissait d'ajouter à la liste des questions importantes mentionnées dans la Charte les questions relatives au fonctionnement du régime de tutelle³. La proposition a été acceptée à l'unanimité. L'unité du chapitre commun, auquel on avait travaillé jusque là, était brisée. Les deux tronçons du chapitre, qui portaient alors des titres apparentés, "Politique générale" et "Régime international de tutelle", ont pris alors des titres distincts, ceux qu'ils portent aujourd'hui dans la Charte, et dans l'Article 18 on a naturellement eu soin de préciser, sans laisser place au doute, que la catégorie à laquelle s'applique la majorité des deux tiers ne comprend que le régime de tutelle.

22. Je ne doute pas que quelques-uns des représentants ici présents ne veuillent renvoyer à deux résolutions importantes relatives aux territoires non autonomes : les résolutions 567 (VI) du 18 janvier 1952 et 648 (VII) du 10 décembre 1952, auxquelles on a voulu appliquer la règle des deux tiers. Dans le cas de la première, le Danemark a demandé la majorité des deux tiers et Cuba s'y est opposé. Dans le deuxième cas, le Président a signalé qu'une délégation avait demandé un vote à la majorité des deux tiers et personne, semble-t-il, n'a élevé d'objection.

23. La PRESIDENTE (*traduit de l'anglais*) : Je regrette, mais l'orateur a déjà largement dépassé le temps qui lui était fixé.

24. M. ESPINOSA Y PRIETO (Mexique) (*traduit de l'espagnol*) : Il convient de dire que la légalité de cette procédure peut être mise en doute, car il est clair qu'aucune disposition n'autorisait le Président à prendre seul cette décision.

25. Comme beaucoup d'autres délégations, la délégation du Mexique estime qu'il n'est pas juste d'essayer d'appliquer au Chapitre XI de la Charte des restrictions qui s'appliquent typiquement à la tutelle, sans accorder en contrepartie aucun des avantages des Chapitres XII et XIII. Dans les efforts constants que nous avons faits pour concilier nos vues avec celles des Puissances administrantes, nous nous sommes heurtés à cette faiblesse. Lorsqu'on a créé le Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes et le Comité des facteurs, nous avons vu sans cesse planer sur nous l'ombre du Conseil de tutelle ; ces comités, en effet, ne devaient jamais avoir une composition différente de celle de la Quatrième Commission ou de celle de l'Assemblée. Autrement dit, dans les cas de crise, nous avons vu disparaître notre majorité et nous avons discuté les questions essentielles sur un pied d'égalité avec les Puissances administrantes, bien que celles-ci ne constituent nettement qu'une minorité, importante il est vrai. Quand on applique les procédés démocratiques, la majorité est la force logique qui décide de l'action commune.

26. La procédure à laquelle je fais allusion a provoqué une crise au cours même de la session actuelle, parce qu'on nous a proposé de créer un comité qui correspondait une fois de plus à la composition paritaire du Conseil de tutelle. Comme il se heurtait à une vigoureuse opposition, le représentant qui avait présenté ce projet a aussitôt retiré cette partie de sa proposition

et, sous cette nouvelle forme, son texte a failli l'emporter.

27. J'ai encore une page d'arguments touchant cette question, mais je ne la lirai pas, puisque, comme la Présidente me l'a fait remarquer, j'ai dépassé le temps réglementaire. Je tiens ces arguments à la disposition de...

28. La PRESIDENTE (*traduit de l'anglais*) : En raison du nombre d'orateurs qui figurent encore sur ma liste, je suis au regret de devoir interrompre le représentant du Mexique. Je crois que tous ses arguments, qu'il a très clairement exposés, ont été parfaitement compris par l'Assemblée. S'il désire conclure, je lui accorderai encore une minute.

29. M. ESPINOSA Y PRIETO (Mexique) (*traduit de l'espagnol*) : Le problème des "facteurs" que nous étudions en ce moment est typique de cette anomalie. C'est parce que la majorité a renoncé à ses prérogatives que nous discutons vainement cette question depuis des années. Loin de moi l'idée de méconnaître son importance. Les éléments que l'on nous présente ne sont pas à proprement parler des "facteurs", mais de simples listes de considérations destinées à orienter la discussion, chacun exposant librement ses vues et votant en conséquence. Il suffit d'examiner au hasard n'importe lequel des "facteurs" pour voir que la liste ne prévoit jamais dans quelle mesure tel facteur détermine l'autonomie d'un territoire. Je peux vous dire en toute sincérité que, si notre Assemblée rejetait aujourd'hui le projet de résolution proposé, la perte ne serait pas irréparable. Nous avons déjà la liste de la résolution 648 (VII) ; d'ailleurs, au cours de la présente session, nous avons tranché trois cas relatifs à l'autonomie et personne n'a eu besoin d'aucun guide. Il semblerait vraiment inconcevable que les représentants de pays indépendants qui sont réunis ici et qui sont tous si jaloux de leurs droits ne sachent pas définir ce qu'est l'autonomie complète.

30. Je viens d'exposer quelles sont nos intentions légitimes et dans quel esprit nous soumettons ces considérations. En conclusion, nous demandons que, dans tous les travaux relatifs aux territoires non autonomes, on procède au vote à la majorité simple.

31. La PRESIDENTE (*traduit de l'anglais*) : Je demanderai aux représentants de faire en sorte que leurs interventions soient aussi brèves que possible.

32. M. LANNUNG (Danemark) (*traduit de l'anglais*) : Je m'efforcerai d'être très bref. Contrairement à l'opinion exprimée par le représentant du Mexique, la délégation danoise souhaiterait que la Présidente confirme que la question à laquelle a trait le projet de résolution I, à savoir les "facteurs dont il convient de tenir compte pour décider si un territoire est, ou n'est pas, un territoire dont les populations ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes", est une question importante, tant au sens général du terme — et plus particulièrement au sens du paragraphe 2 de l'article 18 de la Charte — qu'au sens de l'article 84 du règlement intérieur ; autrement, ces deux dispositions seraient vraiment dépourvues de toute signification.

33. La Présidente se rappellera certainement que déjà en 1951, et de nouveau en 1952, on avait suggéré qu'il s'agissait là d'une question importante, exigeant par conséquent la majorité des deux tiers, et que c'est dans cet esprit que l'Assemblée générale avait procédé au vote. Le projet de résolution dont nous sommes maintenant saisis aurait pour effet de fixer certains critères à prendre en considération pour déterminer le champ

² Voir Documents de la Conférence des Nations Unies sur l'Organisation internationale, II/1/40.

³ Voir Verbatim records of the United Nations Conference on International Organization, Commission II, Committee I, 18 juin 1945, vol. 60.

d'application du Chapitre XI de la Charte. De l'avis de ma délégation, il s'agit incontestablement là d'une question importante et je demanderai à la Présidente de décider qu'il en est bien ainsi et de confirmer par là la pratique des présidents précédents, à laquelle s'est rangée l'Assemblée. Les opinions des auteurs cités par le représentant du Mexique étaient déjà connues de l'Assemblée lorsqu'elle a antérieurement adopté un point de vue opposé. L'Assemblée voudra certainement rester logique avec elle-même.

34. La PRESIDENTE (*traduit de l'anglais*): Afin d'accélérer nos travaux, je voudrais résumer la situation, telle que les deux représentants qui viennent de prendre la parole l'ont exposée. Les représentants du Mexique et du Danemark ont soulevé la question de savoir quelle était la majorité requise pour l'adoption du projet de résolution qui va être mis aux voix.

35. On ne voit nulle part que l'Assemblée ait jamais été appelée à se prononcer expressément sur ce point, bien qu'elle ait approuvé de façon tacite une décision présidentielle aux termes de laquelle la question dont il s'agit devait être votée à la majorité des deux tiers. Puisque maintenant ce point est soulevé, j'estime que le mieux serait de laisser l'Assemblée se prononcer elle-même.

36. Je vais donc mettre aux voix la motion du représentant du Mexique, selon laquelle le projet de résolution peut être adopté à la majorité simple.

Par 30 voix contre 26, la motion est adoptée.

37. M. LAWRENCE (Libéria) (*traduit de l'anglais*): Je prends la parole pour expliquer brièvement la raison pour laquelle ma délégation votera en faveur du projet de résolution VII de la Quatrième Commission, présenté à l'origine par sept Puissances de l'Amérique latine. Dans ce projet de résolution, l'Assemblée prend acte de l'opinion exprimée par le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis concernant la cessation de la transmission des renseignements visés à l'Article 73, e, de la Charte en ce qui concerne Porto-Rico et considère qu'il convient de mettre fin à la transmission de ces renseignements.

38. Par des déclarations antérieures, ma délégation a fait savoir de façon catégorique quelle interprétation elle donnait au membre de phrase "qui ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes", que l'on trouve au Chapitre XI de la Charte. Si je prends la parole aujourd'hui c'est, entre autres raisons, pour confirmer cette interprétation et pour déclarer expressément que notre vote, dans ce cas particulier, ne doit pas être considéré comme signifiant que nous modifions nos vues dans quelque mesure que ce soit.

39. Je ne crois pas qu'un seul membre de cette Assemblée veuille soutenir que Porto-Rico est indépendant ou qu'il s'administre complètement lui-même au sens que ma délégation a maintes fois donné à ces termes; mais le représentant des Etats-Unis nous a fait savoir que le statut actuel de Porto-Rico, tel qu'il résulte de la nouvelle constitution, a été adopté librement lors d'un référendum par plus de 80 pour 100 de la population porto-ricaine; personne n'a contesté cette affirmation d'une façon qui aurait pu justifier une opinion différente. La Commission ayant refusé d'entendre les représentants de partis politiques porto-ricains qui désiraient lui présenter au sujet des Porto-Ricains et des conditions qui règnent sur leur territoire des vues qui auraient pu être différentes, nous n'avons, pour nous faire une opinion, que la déclaration du représentant des Etats-Unis. Dans cette déclaration, ma délégation a

relevé avec intérêt l'affirmation selon laquelle le Gouvernement de Porto-Rico, sous sa forme actuelle, résulte du choix effectué librement et sans contrainte par le peuple de Porto-Rico par voie d'élections populaires. Dans ces circonstances, il ne faut pas, à notre avis, rechercher quelque arrière-pensée dans la déclaration de la délégation des Etats-Unis, et il y a lieu d'accorder la foi la plus entière à l'exposé qu'elle nous a soumis, en reconnaissance du principe de respect et de considération mutuels.

40. Pour ce qui est du projet de résolution VII, les dispositions du paragraphe 9 ne ferment pas la porte à l'établissement final de l'indépendance absolue du territoire lorsque les deux pays en exprimeront le désir. Etant donné que toute modification du statut de Porto-Rico exige l'accord des deux parties, on pourrait croire que la situation de Porto-Rico envers les Etats-Unis sera indéfiniment, comme elle l'est à l'heure actuelle, celle d'un simple associé. Certes, c'est là une possibilité; toutefois, la générosité traditionnelle et l'amour de la liberté — qui ont poussé le peuple des Etats-Unis à accorder spontanément la liberté et l'indépendance aux populations des Philippines et de Cuba et qui, aujourd'hui, ont fait de Porto-Rico l'un des territoires non autonomes les plus avancés — apporteront, nous en sommes convaincus, en temps voulu, au peuple de Porto-Rico l'autonomie complète, telle que nous l'avons toujours définie dans cette enceinte.

41. L'histoire des Etats-Unis en matière d'affaires coloniales confirme cette perspective libérale. A la fin de la grande guerre de 1914, alors que leurs alliés étaient occupés à se partager le butin des pays conquis sans égard pour leurs habitants, les Etats-Unis refusèrent obstinément de participer en quoi que ce soit à ces tractations. Lorsque prit fin la seconde guerre mondiale, les Etats-Unis, qui étaient pourtant à même d'étendre considérablement leurs territoires, refusèrent obstinément de déroger à leur opposition traditionnelle aux transactions coloniales, et ils se tinrent à l'écart. On leur offrit la tutelle de la Libye, mais ils refusèrent cette responsabilité; au lieu de cela, ils contribuèrent à la création de ce qui est aujourd'hui une Libye libre et indépendante.

42. Nous ne connaissons aucune autre Puissance qui puisse se targuer de réalisations semblables. En présence de tels exemples, ma délégation est fermement convaincue que prévaudra l'esprit traditionnel de liberté et de respect pour le droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes qui sont au fond des cœurs et des esprits du peuple américain; ma délégation votera donc en faveur du projet de résolution VII.

43. Qu'il nous soit permis d'espérer que les exemples donnés par les Etats-Unis dans le domaine colonial inspireront un nouveau sens des valeurs aux Puissances qui, à l'heure actuelle, oppriment, dépossèdent et subjuguent les peuples de l'Afrique et de l'Asie, et leur feront comprendre que le grand principe de la "paternité de Dieu et de la fraternité des hommes" auquel elles ont rendu — du bout des lèvres — de si fervents hommages chaque fois que cela pouvait servir leurs fins impérialistes, deviendra un jour une réalité.

44. M. VAN LANGENHOVE (Belgique): La délégation belge désire exposer les principales raisons pour lesquelles elle votera contre le projet de résolution I relatif aux facteurs dont il faut tenir compte pour déterminer si un territoire est ou non autonome.

45. En premier lieu, le projet de résolution tend à investir l'Assemblée de pouvoirs que la Charte ne lui

a pas conférés et à priver les Etats Membres d'une souveraineté qu'ils n'ont pas abdiquée. Semblable résolution, votée malgré l'opposition justifiée de tous les Etats qu'elle vise, demeurerait lettre morte; son seul effet serait de porter atteinte au prestige des Nations Unies.

46. Le projet de résolution tend, d'autre part, à consacrer une interprétation restrictive de la Charte, interprétation contre laquelle la délégation belge n'a cessé de protester; cette interprétation est celle des Etats qui veulent limiter le bénéfice des dispositions du Chapitre XI, relatif aux territoires non autonomes, aux seules populations indigènes des colonies et protectorats.

47. A cette interprétation restrictive, la délégation belge oppose une interprétation large, suivant laquelle le bénéfice des dispositions dont il s'agit doit s'étendre à toutes les populations indigènes non autonomes, quel que soit le territoire où elles vivent. En soutenant cette interprétation large, la délégation belge s'appuie sur trois arguments fondamentaux.

48. Nous nous appuyons d'abord sur un argument de texte: les mots "colonies et protectorats" ne figurent pas dans la Charte; celle-ci désigne les territoires visés par ces termes: "territoires dont les populations ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes". Il est évident que les populations des colonies et protectorats ne sont pas les seules qui ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes. Sans doute, fait-on valoir, il résulte des termes de l'Article 74 de la Charte que les dispositions dont il s'agit ne s'étendent pas aux populations des territoires métropolitains; mais ceux qui croient pouvoir en conclure qu'elles sont dès lors limitées aux populations des colonies et protectorats n'ont pas lu avec une suffisante attention les termes mêmes de la Charte. C'est dans l'Article 73, et non pas dans l'Article 74, que se trouve la seule définition des territoires auxquels s'applique le Chapitre XI. L'Article 74 se borne à se référer à cet égard à l'Article 73. On commet, par conséquent, une grossière erreur de raisonnement en cherchant cette définition dans l'Article 74 et en essayant de la fonder sur une interprétation de l'expression "territoires métropolitains", à ce point arbitraire qu'elle aboutit à la conséquence absurde de comprendre, par exemple, parmi les territoires métropolitains, des îles situées à plus d'un millier de kilomètres du territoire continental de l'Etat auquel elles appartiennent et habitées par des populations primitives à peine connues.

49. Nous nous appuyons, en second lieu, sur un argument de fait. Prétendre que les colonies et protectorats sont les seuls territoires dont les populations ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes revient à prétendre que les populations indigènes primitives ou semi-primitives d'Amérique, d'Asie ou de Malaisie s'administrent déjà complètement elles-mêmes au sens de la Charte. Or, leur état arriéré est tel que, quand elles n'échappent pas à toute administration de l'Etat dont elles relèvent, elles sont soumises à un régime constitutionnel juridique ou administratif spécial, tout comme les populations des colonies. D'autre part, elles sont, non seulement par leur caractère primitif, mais par la race, la langue et la culture, totalement différentes des populations dont le gouvernement de l'Etat est l'émanation. Ces populations, qui se chiffrent par millions, vivent à peu près complètement isolées des centres gouvernementaux. Elles en sont généralement séparées par d'énormes étendues de jungle presque impénétrable. Elles sont souvent à peu près les seuls habitants de

vastes territoires soustraits au droit commun. Sans doute constituent-elles une partie intégrante de l'Etat sur le territoire duquel elles vivent, mais il n'en est pas autrement, par exemple, des populations congolaises, le Congo belge étant, de même, partie intégrante de l'Etat belge.

50. Nous nous appuyons, troisièmement, sur un argument moral. Les nombreux Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies qui étaient précédemment membres de la Société des Nations avaient pris l'engagement, dans l'article 23 du Pacte, d'"assurer le traitement équitable des populations indigènes dans les territoires soumis à leur administration". Cet engagement se retrouve, formulé en des termes qui ne sont guère différents, dans le Chapitre XI de la Charte. Nul n'a jamais prétendu, à l'époque de la Société des Nations, que cet engagement se limitât aux populations des colonies et protectorats; nul n'a jamais contesté qu'il s'étendit à toutes les populations indigènes. Il fut invoqué devant la Société des Nations dans des conditions qui prouvent qu'il constituait pour ces populations indigènes une garantie effective. Personne n'affirmera que les populations indigènes dont il s'agit ont réalisé, depuis, des progrès tels que l'Organisation internationale n'a plus à s'en soucier. Au contraire, le Comité d'experts chargé par les Nations Unies d'étudier le problème de l'esclavage a récemment procédé à une enquête révélant qu'elles sont victimes de graves abus. Elles trouvaient autrefois, dans l'article 23 du Pacte, une protection qui leur est aujourd'hui contestée. Leur situation, loin de s'améliorer, a ainsi empiré. Il y a donc un devoir élémentaire d'humanité à restituer aux populations indigènes les garanties dont, par millions, elles ont été dépouillées, bien qu'elles y aient droit suivant les termes mêmes de la Charte, et à ne point laisser subsister un état de choses qui constituerait, s'il devait durer, une déplorable régression du droit international. C'est là une tâche à laquelle la délégation belge convie tous les esprits généreux.

51. Permettez-moi, maintenant, d'expliquer en deux mots notre vote sur le projet de résolution VII relatif à la cessation de la communication des renseignements visée à l'Article 73, e, de la Charte, en ce qui concerne Porto-Rico. La délégation belge partage sans hésitation l'opinion exprimée dans ce projet sur l'autonomie acquise par le peuple de l'Etat libre associé de Porto-Rico. Elle considère, par conséquent, que la décision du Gouvernement des Etats-Unis de cesser de transmettre des renseignements est pleinement justifiée. Si néanmoins nous ne pouvons voter en faveur de la résolution, c'est parce que nous ne reconnaissons à l'Assemblée aucune compétence pour formuler un jugement ou pour statuer à ce sujet.

52. La même raison fondamentale détermine l'attitude de la délégation belge à l'égard du projet de résolution VI concernant les Antilles néerlandaises et le Surinam.

53. M. CAÑAS (Costa-Rica) (*traduit de l'espagnol*): Ma délégation désire expliquer son vote sur le projet de résolution VII qui a trait à Porto-Rico.

54. Dans mon pays, lorsque nous parlions de Porto-Rico, il y a une quinzaine d'années, nous pensions aussitôt à ce pays comme à une nation sœur captive et subjuguée, mais qui aspirait au progrès et à un avenir meilleur, et en tant que citoyens d'un Etat indépendant, nous attendions le moment où nous pourrions saluer et accueillir avec satisfaction Porto-Rico dans la famille des nations américaines.

55. Dans mon pays, lorsque nous parlons de Porto-Rico, aujourd'hui, nous évoquons une île en plein progrès et en plein essor, où chacun jouit pleinement des libertés civiques, où une équipe laborieuse d'hommes honnêtes et consciencieux travaille sans relâche à donner à son pays un gouvernement capable, doté de tous les pouvoirs, et nous évoquons une île en plein progrès et en plein essor, où les étudiants de notre pays vont s'instruire et dont ils rapportent des enseignements.

56. On demande à l'Assemblée générale de reconnaître officiellement que Porto-Rico est aujourd'hui, avec son statut d'Etat libre associé, qui a été accepté par ses habitants au cours d'un libre plébiscite, non plus une colonie comme jadis, mais un territoire avec un gouvernement bien à lui et, qui plus est, un bon gouvernement.

57. Il y a quelques semaines, nous avons hissé à Costa-Rica le drapeau de Porto-Rico à l'occasion de la visite du Gouverneur de cet Etat. Pour nous qui vivons dans la région du monde où est située cette île, dont le destin ne dépend pas de nous mais des hommes qui y vivent et travaillent, Porto-Rico est une belle, une exemplaire réalité; Porto-Rico offre l'exemple d'un gouvernement stable et démocratique, d'un peuple qui jouit pleinement des libertés essentielles, et même de celles qui ne le sont pas, s'il en existe. Pour nous, les habitants de la région des Antilles, Porto-Rico est aujourd'hui un exemple stimulant. Les Antilles, l'Amérique, le monde entier ont besoin d'avoir sous les yeux l'exemple de gouvernements stables et démocratiques qui regardent vers l'avenir et se lancent dans d'audacieuses réalisations sociales et économiques, dans d'audacieux programmes de perfectionnement social, humain et culturel, tels les programmes que le Gouvernement actuel de Porto-Rico, de sa propre volonté et sans aucune ingérence étrangère, réalise de nos jours, au milieu de l'admiration de tous ceux qui se préoccupent de ces questions.

58. Si Porto-Rico a cessé d'être une colonie, comme les faits le prouvent, si le peuple porto-ricain, au cours de plébiscites et d'élections entièrement libres et dont personne n'a contesté la liberté et la bonne foi, a suivi la voie qu'il souhaitait, l'Assemblée générale des Nations Unies va-t-elle dire aux Porto-Ricains qu'elle estime que la voie qu'ils ont eux-mêmes décidé de suivre n'est pas celle qu'elle aurait voulu les voir suivre? Allons-nous leur dire que le gouvernement qui leur convient n'est pas celui qu'ils ont librement choisi, dans le cadre de la plus moderne des constitutions, mais un autre gouvernement choisi par nous? Une telle attitude serait contraire à la logique et aux réalités.

59. La délégation de Costa-Rica, n'arrive pas à comprendre comment, lorsqu'un peuple a choisi son propre gouvernement, l'Assemblée générale peut dire à ce peuple qu'elle le considère toujours comme un peuple colonial. Ma délégation n'arrive pas à comprendre comment, alors que les Etats-Unis ne sont plus Puissance administrante à Porto-Rico, l'Assemblée générale peut dire aux Etats-Unis qu'ils se sont trompés et qu'ils doivent continuer à agir à Porto-Rico en qualité de Puissance administrante, alors que ni les Etats-Unis ni Porto-Rico ne veulent qu'il en soit ainsi.

60. On semble croire dans certains milieux que le destin de cette nation, qui est pour nous une nation sœur, dépend des décisions de l'Assemblée générale. Cette croyance est illusoire. Un de nos collègues l'a déjà fait remarquer lorsqu'on a débattu cette question devant la Quatrième Commission: pour être autonome,

a-t-il dit, Porto-Rico n'a pas besoin de notre vote, car avec ou sans ce vote le territoire est autonome. Et il a ajouté, employant une image, que la cérémonie du sacre n'a jamais fait un chevalier mais qu'elle était, tout au plus, un moyen de reconnaître la qualité de chevalier.

61. On répète beaucoup — les livres et les auteurs le répètent — que l'Amérique latine est la terre des révolutions et des dictatures. Or voici un pays qui n'est pas la terre des révolutions et qui a recours à nous, non pour cesser de l'être, mais pour que nous proclamions aux quatre coins du monde qu'il ne l'est pas. La délégation de Costa-Rica tient à s'adresser aux délégations des autres pays d'Amérique latine pour leur demander de voter en faveur du projet de résolution dont nous sommes saisis, pour que ce vote soit comme une consécration que les nations sœurs accordent à ce peuple libre et sans entraves, à cette belle démocratie qui représente l'idéal dont parle en termes si éloquents la constitution de notre organisation régionale.

62. Qu'allons-nous demander d'autre? Que les Porto-Ricains changent d'idée et que, dans la voie de l'autonomie, ils suivent le chemin que leur montre l'Assemblée? Il y a peu de temps, à Costa-Rica, le Gouverneur de Porto-Rico a déclaré en termes brusques: "Nous autres Porto-Ricains, nous avons le genre d'autonomie que nous voulons et non celui que veulent les autres."

63. L'Assemblée générale est pleinement compétente pour se prononcer sur la question qui lui a été posée. Il n'est pas nécessaire de prouver cette compétence de façon explicite, puisqu'elle est reconnue tacitement du fait que ce point figure à notre ordre du jour et que personne n'en a encore contesté l'inscription. C'est pourquoi, la délégation de Costa-Rica n'attache pas une importance particulière au paragraphe 6 du projet de résolution, puisqu'il ne fait que répéter ce que nous admettons tous en fait.

64. Mais plusieurs délégations ont jugé inadmissible le projet de résolution, parce que ce paragraphe y figure. En conséquence, s'il est procédé au vote paragraphe par paragraphe, la délégation de Costa-Rica votera contre le paragraphe 6 pour qu'on le retire du projet de résolution; ainsi, l'ensemble du projet de résolution obtiendra le plus grand nombre de voix possible. Mais ma délégation demandera aux autres délégations de voter en faveur du projet de résolution qui va être mis aux voix, même si le paragraphe en question continue d'y figurer. Il convient en effet que l'Organisation des Nations Unies reconnaisse pleinement que Porto-Rico est autonome et que l'île possède actuellement son propre gouvernement.

65. M. LODGE (Etats-Unis d'Amérique) (*traduit de l'anglais*): Les Etats-Unis sont fiers des nouveaux rapports qui les unissent à Porto-Rico et de l'effort commun accompli par nos deux peuples dans le sens du progrès politique. Il va sans dire que j'approuve fermement le nouveau statut de Porto-Rico, qui est devenu un Etat autonome associé aux Etats-Unis; toutefois, il n'entre pas dans mes intentions de passer en revue ici les faits que mes collègues, Mme Bolton et M. Fernoz, ont déjà exposés en détail devant la Quatrième Commission. Si j'ai demandé la parole, c'est pour apporter à l'Assemblée générale un message important du Président des Etats-Unis.

66. Au nom du Président, je suis autorisé à déclarer que, si l'Assemblée législative de Porto-Rico adopte à n'importe quel moment une résolution en faveur d'une indépendance plus complète, voire absolue, le Président

recommandera immédiatement au Congrès d'accorder cette indépendance. Le Président désire également que je déclare qu'il accueillerait avec satisfaction, en pareille circonstance, l'adhésion de Porto-Rico au Traité de Rio et à la Charte des Nations Unies.

67. Ce message du Président marque l'intérêt traditionnel des Etats-Unis pour la liberté politique de tous les peuples, dans tous les pays du monde, chaque fois que la situation qui règne est telle que cette liberté ne puisse être mise en péril par des pressions intérieures ou extérieures.

68. M. MENDOZA (Guatemala) (*traduit de l'espagnol*): C'est avec un vif plaisir que la délégation du Guatemala a écouté la déclaration du représentant des Etats-Unis. Cette déclaration confirme entièrement ce que ma délégation a eu l'honneur de dire devant la Quatrième Commission: nous sommes certains que, lorsque le peuple porto-ricain dira aux Etats-Unis: "Nous avons été amis et associés; maintenant nous ne voulons plus être que des amis", le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis, fidèle à sa glorieuse tradition, accordera à ce peuple l'indépendance totale qu'il réclame.

69. Pour ce qui est des projets de résolution dont nous sommes saisis, ma délégation ne tient pas à reprendre ici au sujet des facteurs les arguments qu'elle a exposés devant la Quatrième Commission et qu'elle a empruntés aux auteurs mêmes de la Charte de San-Francisco, pour démontrer que la thèse que la délégation belge nous a maintes fois exposée à l'Assemblée générale, et en plusieurs sessions, s'oppose totalement à l'interprétation légitime que les auteurs mêmes de la Charte ont donnée au Chapitre XI, savoir que le Chapitre XI s'applique exclusivement aux populations des territoires qui n'ont pas encore atteint l'autonomie complète, et non aux populations plus ou moins évoluées qui vivent à l'intérieur des frontières nationales de territoires indépendants.

70. Je veux parler particulièrement du projet de résolution VII que la Quatrième Commission a soumis à l'Assemblée générale et qui a trait à Porto-Rico. A plusieurs reprises, ma délégation a reconnu que la population de Porto-Rico, grâce à ses mérites et à la bonne volonté du Gouvernement des Etats-Unis, a déjà atteint un haut degré d'autonomie. La délégation du Guatemala, qui représente un peuple frère du peuple porto-ricain et qui a suivi depuis des siècles la lutte de ce peuple pour sa liberté, applaudit avec enthousiasme aux progrès effectués par le peuple porto-ricain sur la voie de l'accession à l'autonomie; en applaudissant à ces progrès, elle félicite de tout cœur ce peuple frère, ainsi que le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis qui a rendu ces progrès possibles.

71. Cependant, il ne s'agit pas ici de déterminer si le statut que l'on a donné au peuple porto-ricain est satisfaisant ou non, si ce statut aide ou non le peuple porto-ricain à réaliser intégralement ses aspirations nationales; il ne s'agit pas ici d'accorder ou de refuser la liberté au peuple porto-ricain: notre tâche est tout autre, mais c'est une tâche très simple, dénuée de toute complication. Notre tâche consiste uniquement à savoir si le degré d'autonomie que le peuple porto-ricain a atteint à ce jour correspond ou ne correspond pas à la faculté de "s'administrer complètement lui-même", suivant l'expression employée par la Charte.

72. Compte tenu de cette idée et de cette interprétation limitée, ma délégation a la conviction absolue que le Gouvernement actuel de Porto-Rico se trouve à tel point limité dans l'exercice de ses prérogatives et dépend

à tel point des Etats-Unis qu'il n'est pas possible de considérer qu'il a atteint l'autonomie complète que demande l'Organisation des Nations Unies. C'est pourquoi ma délégation votera une fois encore contre le projet de résolution adopté par la Quatrième Commission; en même temps, elle formule des vœux très sincères pour que le noble peuple porto-ricain se rapproche chaque jour de l'autonomie complète et puisse, de sa propre initiative et en toute liberté, réaliser intégralement ses aspirations. Quelles sont ces aspirations? C'est une question qui intéresse les Porto-Ricains, et uniquement les Porto-Ricains. C'est à eux qu'il appartient, de leur propre volonté, de définir ces aspirations et d'affirmer ce que désire la population. Qu'il s'agisse d'indépendance absolue, d'association plus ou moins étroite avec les Etats-Unis ou qu'il s'agisse du statut actuel, ma délégation, mon peuple et mon gouvernement y applaudiront de tout cœur.

73. La PRESIDENTE (*traduit de l'anglais*): Nous allons mettre aux voix chacun des projets de résolution présentés par la Quatrième Commission [A/2556 et Corr.1]. Les délégations pourront expliquer leur vote avant ou après chaque scrutin.

Par 32 voix contre 19, avec 6 abstentions, le projet de résolution I, y compris son annexe, est adopté.

A l'unanimité, le projet de résolution II est adopté.

Par 43 voix contre 8, avec 7 abstentions, le projet de résolution III est adopté.

Par 48 voix contre zéro, avec 8 abstentions, le projet de résolution IV est adopté.

Par 39 voix contre 15, avec 6 abstentions, le projet de résolution V est adopté.

74. M. MUNRO (Nouvelle-Zélande) (*traduit de l'anglais*): Je n'oublie pas que l'Assemblée générale vient de voter sur le projet de résolution I, relatif aux facteurs, et sur la question de la majorité requise pour l'adoption des projets de résolution dont nous sommes saisis, mais c'est une autre question que je veux aborder maintenant. Avant que la Présidente n'invite l'Assemblée générale à voter sur les projets de résolution VI et VII, je voudrais lui demander de considérer qu'ils traitent tous les deux de questions importantes et qu'il y a par conséquent lieu d'appliquer à leur sujet l'article 84 du règlement intérieur. Ces projets de résolution concernent la cessation de la communication des renseignements visés à l'Article 73, e, de la Charte en ce qui concerne, d'une part, les territoires non autonomes des Antilles néerlandaises et du Surinam et, d'autre part, Porto-Rico. Le Gouvernement des Pays-Bas et celui des Etats-Unis ont déjà décidé de ne plus envoyer au Secrétaire général, pour ce qui est de ces territoires, les renseignements visés à l'Article 73, e, de la Charte.

75. Je voudrais simplement dire en quelques mots pourquoi ma délégation considère que ces projets de résolution traitent de questions importantes. L'Article 73, e, de la Charte impose aux Etats Membres qui ont ou qui assument la responsabilité d'administrer des territoires non autonomes l'obligation de communiquer régulièrement au Secrétaire général des renseignements d'ordre statistique sur ces territoires. J'estime que les décisions de l'Assemblée générale relatives à la détermination de Puissances administrantes de ne plus communiquer ces renseignements ont un rapport très étroit avec les obligations de ces Etats Membres. Les décisions de l'Assemblée générale sur ces deux questions sont en outre d'une importance primordiale pour les habitants des territoires en cause, qui doivent observer avec le

plus grand intérêt ce qui se passe ici aujourd'hui et qui peut avoir d'importantes conséquences pour leur avenir politique.

76. Enfin, ces décisions de l'Assemblée générale constituent, dans une certaine mesure, un jugement porté sur l'action de deux Etats Membres, et un tel jugement ne doit certes pas être porté à la légère. Je veux donc croire que les membres de l'Assemblée donneront à ces projets de résolutions la sérieuse attention qu'ils méritent. Si la Présidente estime devoir mettre ma proposition aux voix, je prierai tous ceux des membres de l'Assemblée qui ont à cœur le bien-être et le progrès des territoires non autonomes de l'appuyer, et je ferai très respectueusement remarquer que, si ces questions n'ont pas d'importance, c'est que ce mot a cessé d'en avoir aussi.

77. La PRESIDENTE (*traduit de l'anglais*): Je regrette de ne pouvoir mettre aux voix la proposition du représentant de la Nouvelle-Zélande, car la proposition du Mexique visait les projets de résolution VI et VII aussi bien que le projet de résolution I, et la décision que l'Assemblée a déjà prise s'applique aux trois projets.

78. M. MUNRO (Nouvelle-Zélande) (*traduit de l'anglais*): Je serais certainement le dernier à m'élever contre une décision de la Présidente. Tout ce que je veux dire — et j'ignore combien de représentants sont de mon avis — c'est que, si j'ai bien compris, mais je puis me tromper, le vote de l'Assemblée portait sur le projet de résolution I relatif aux facteurs et que la Présidente a autorisé tous les représentants à exprimer leur avis, sous forme d'explication de vote, sur chacun des projets de résolution. Mais, dans mon esprit, le vote de l'Assemblée ne concernait pas les projets de résolution particuliers que j'ai mentionnés.

79. La PRESIDENTE (*traduit de l'anglais*): L'intervention du représentant du Mexique portait sur l'ensemble de la question. Je crois donc qu'il avait en vue aussi bien les projets de résolution VI et VII que le projet de résolution I. Je voudrais que le représentant du Mexique confirme ou contredise cette interprétation.

80. Sir Percy SPENDER (Australie) (*traduit de l'anglais*): Je proposerais que cette question soit laissée à la décision de l'Assemblée. Je ne me propose pas de contester l'interprétation que la Présidente a donnée de la décision prise sur la proposition du représentant du Mexique. Tout ce que je puis dire c'est que je ne suis pas le seul membre de l'Assemblée à avoir compris autrement. Si tel n'avait pas été le cas, j'aurais certainement demandé la possibilité d'exprimer mon avis sur les questions en cause.

81. Comme il semble qu'il y ait eu un malentendu assez sérieux, je suis certain que la Présidente conviendra avec moi que nous devrions laisser à l'Assemblée le soin de décider si elle entend appliquer, pour les deux projets de résolution, la règle de la majorité des deux tiers ou celle de la majorité simple. Je puis en toute sincérité assurer la Présidente que, lorsque l'Assemblée a été saisie de la première motion concernant les vues du représentant du Mexique, je n'avais nullement l'impression que cette proposition visait les projets de résolution VI et VII.

82. Sir Gladwyn JEBB (Royaume-Uni) (*traduit de l'anglais*): J'estime qu'avant de prendre une décision sur ce point extrêmement important, nous devrions essayer de voir où nous allons. Je ne crois vraiment pas que l'on puisse trancher des questions de ce genre en

votant sur elles en un tournemain, si je puis dire. Il convient d'en discuter davantage. A mon avis, la chose est très importante, et je ne vois pas pourquoi les représentants n'auraient pas le droit d'exposer leurs vues. Je voudrais donc expliquer, en deux minutes, pourquoi j'ai cru, moi aussi, comme le représentant de l'Australie, que ce dont il s'agissait, lorsque nous avons voté après l'intervention du représentant du Mexique, n'était pas de savoir si toutes les questions que peut soulever le Chapitre XI devaient être décidées à la majorité simple, mais plutôt si la question des facteurs exigeait cette majorité.

83. Si, comme je crois le comprendre, il s'agit maintenant de décider que toutes les questions concernant le Chapitre XI doivent invariablement être tranchées à la majorité simple, j'estime, en raison surtout de la faible majorité à laquelle a été prise la décision sur les facteurs, que l'on devrait donner à l'Assemblée l'occasion de débattre cette question. Il ne s'agit de rien moins qu'une question importante.

84. C'est à mon avis une étrange théorie que celle que nous a présentée le représentant du Mexique. Il a dit, si j'ai bien compris sa pensée telle qu'elle vient d'être précisée, que toutes les questions découlant du Chapitre XI devraient être décidées à la majorité simple. Or, que dit la Charte? En son Article 18, elle prescrit que les questions importantes doivent être tranchées à la majorité des deux tiers. Le libellé de cet article est le suivant: "Les décisions de l'Assemblée générale sur les questions importantes sont prises à la majorité des deux tiers..." Toutes les questions importantes doivent donc être décidées à la majorité des deux tiers. Cet article énumère même certaines questions qui, par définition, sont considérées par la Charte elle-même comme importantes. L'Article dit encore, et je reconnais qu'il peut y avoir une certaine ambiguïté dans la Charte elle-même:

"Les décisions sur d'autres questions, y compris la détermination de nouvelles catégories de questions à trancher à la majorité des deux tiers, sont prises à la majorité des membres présents et votant."

85. En un sens, la question qui se pose est la suivante: le mot "importantes" signifie-t-il oui ou non "importantes"? De toute évidence, la Charte ayant expressément déclaré que les questions importantes doivent être tranchées à la majorité des deux tiers, le mot "autres" ne peut se rapporter qu'à des questions non importantes. A ce propos, nous savons que, parmi les questions expressément énoncées dans la Charte comme importantes figure le fonctionnement du système de tutelle. Or, si le fonctionnement du système de tutelle est en fait mentionné dans la Charte elle-même comme une question importante, et si par conséquent les résolutions qui s'y rapportent doivent être adoptées à la majorité des deux tiers, le sens commun n'exige-t-il pas que l'on considère, par analogie, les questions relevant du Chapitre XI comme également importantes? Pourquoi les questions relevant du Chapitre XI devraient-elles être considérées comme non importantes et les questions touchant au système de tutelle comme importantes? Il n'y aurait là rien de logique.

86. A mon humble avis, et de l'avis de ma délégation, la thèse mexicaine revient à dire — et doit en réalité être ainsi considérée — que les questions relatives au Chapitre XI de la Charte ne sont pas des questions importantes. Ce n'est pourtant pas là l'opinion exprimée par le représentant du Mexique, qui a dit, au contraire, que ces questions sont très importantes, de toute pre-

mière importance. Il semble donc qu'il y ait contradiction dans sa déclaration. Le représentant du Mexique a tout d'abord dit qu'il s'agissait de questions extrêmement importantes. Puis il a dit que les décisions de l'Assemblée générale concernant les questions importantes sont sans rapport avec le sujet qui nous occupe. Comment expliquer cela? A première vue, il me semble impossible que l'Assemblée ait pu prendre pareille décision, même à propos des facteurs. Mais si cette décision doit s'étendre à tout le Chapitre XI, cela devient assez grave.

87. Je n'ignore pas, bien entendu, qu'aux termes du paragraphe 3 de l'Article 18 il est en fait possible à l'Assemblée générale — et elle vient de montrer que la chose est possible — de décider à la majorité simple, si elle en décide ainsi dans sa sagesse, qu'une question quelconque, quelle que soit son importance, n'est pas en réalité importante mais qu'elle est simplement l'une des "autres" questions prévues par la Charte. Rien ne peut empêcher l'Assemblée d'en décider ainsi. En fait, l'Assemblée a manifesté sa sagesse il y a seulement un instant. Nul ne peut donc empêcher l'Assemblée générale d'agir ainsi si elle se prononce en ce sens à la majorité simple. Nous n'en estimons pas moins, avec tout le respect que nous devons à tous ceux qui professent une opinion différente, que c'est là une décision irréfléchie de la part de cet important organe.

88. Il a été particulièrement regrettable, à notre avis, qu'au lieu de décider, comme l'autorise le paragraphe 3 de l'Article 18, qu'une nouvelle catégorie de questions serait tranchée à la majorité des deux tiers, l'Assemblée a été invitée au contraire à décider — comme on le lui demande maintenant, si je comprends bien — qu'une nouvelle catégorie de questions, en l'espèce des questions touchant au Chapitre XI, sera tranchée à la majorité simple, ce qui est absolument le contraire de ce que voulait manifestement la Charte.

89. Je voudrais dire enfin, et je n'en ai plus que pour quelques minutes à vous infliger mes vues, qu'au fond, si les auteurs de la Charte ont prévu que certaines questions spéciales et d'autres questions, du fait de leur importance, doivent être tranchées à la majorité des deux tiers, c'est vraisemblablement parce qu'ils pensaient — avec raison je crois — qu'une résolution adoptée à la majorité des deux tiers, bien que n'étant pas obligatoire comme nous le savons tous, jouirait tout au moins d'une certaine autorité morale aux yeux de tous les membres. Je crois donc qu'il appartient à ceux qui ont appuyé — et qui appuient maintenant — la proposition dont nous sommes saisis de dire s'ils ont consciemment voulu et s'ils veulent consciemment diminuer l'autorité morale de toute résolution que l'Assemblée générale pourrait désormais adopter à propos du Chapitre XI. Si c'est là ce qu'ils attendent de nous, agissons donc.

90. Mme BOLTON (Etats-Unis d'Amérique) (*traduit de l'anglais*): J'ai cru, moi aussi, que nous ne votions que sur les facteurs. Je me demande si, pour nous permettre à tous — y compris la délégation des Etats-Unis — de sortir d'une confusion qui semble être générale, vous ne pourriez avoir l'obligeance de nous faire lire le compte rendu sténographique de vos propres observations, en tant que Présidente, lorsque vous avez mis la question aux voix. Nous vous en serions très reconnaissants.

91. La PRESIDENTE (*traduit de l'anglais*): Je suis intervenue il y a un instant pour donner une interprétation du discours du représentant du Mexique. Celui-ci

a ensuite confirmé l'exactitude de mon interprétation. Cependant, étant donné la tournure qu'a prise le débat, je suis tout à fait disposée à demander à l'Assemblée si elle désire préciser que la décision adoptée tout à l'heure doit être comprise comme s'étendant aux projets de résolution VI et VII.

92. Sir Percy SPENDER (Australie) (*parlant de sa place: (traduit de l'anglais)*): Pour être présentée correctement, la question ne doit pas être posée de la façon proposée par la Présidente; il convient de demander si l'Assemblée applique ou non la règle des deux tiers.

93. La PRESIDENTE (*traduit de l'anglais*): Je ne vois pas comment je pourrais soulever cette question pour l'instant. La décision adoptée parlait de majorité simple et c'est de cela que nous nous occupons en ce moment.

94. M. MENDOZA (Guatemala) (*traduit de l'espagnol*): Ma délégation ne voit aucun inconvénient à ce que l'on consulte l'Assemblée sur cette question, mais elle tient à attirer l'attention des Membres de l'Assemblée sur le règlement intérieur. En premier lieu, nous avons une décision de l'Assemblée qui a été adoptée par 30 voix contre 26. Une majorité des deux tiers est nécessaire pour modifier cette décision. En second lieu, la Présidente de l'Assemblée a déjà donné son interprétation et, pour modifier sa décision, une majorité des deux tiers est également nécessaire.

95. La PRESIDENTE (*traduit de l'anglais*): Il ne s'agissait pas d'une décision; ce n'était qu'une interprétation.

96. M. MENDOZA (Guatemala) (*traduit de l'espagnol*): Je vous remercie de m'avoir montré l'erreur que j'ai commise.

97. M. MUNRO (Nouvelle-Zélande) (*traduit de l'anglais*): Vous savez, Madame la Présidente, je crois pouvoir le dire sans me tromper, que ni ma délégation ni moi-même ne voudrions méconnaître une de vos décisions. Mais nous savons tous ici qu'un vote peut donner lieu à des malentendus.

98. Il me déplairait qu'en changeant d'avis, l'Assemblée vienne annuler une de vos conclusions — une de vos décisions — et, avec tout le respect que je vous dois, il me déplairait que la question soit abordée sous la forme que vous proposez. Si vous me permettez de m'exprimer ainsi, je crois qu'il serait conforme à la dignité de vos hautes fonctions et aux responsabilités de cette Assemblée que vous acceptiez, à propos d'une question qui a donné lieu à un malentendu, que nous votions en notre qualité de représentants d'Etats souverains, sur la très importante question de savoir si la règle des deux tiers est applicable ou non.

99. M. KYROU (Grèce) (*traduit de l'anglais*): Si je comprends bien l'ensemble de la situation, vous n'avez pris aucune décision, Madame la Présidente. Vous n'avez fait qu'interpréter la motion présentée par le représentant du Mexique, et je crois que nous pourrions continuer cette discussion pendant des heures. C'est pourquoi, dans ces conditions, je crois que la seule solution est celle que vous venez de proposer. Vous avez interprété la motion présentée par le représentant du Mexique comme s'appliquant aux sept projets de résolution, et cette interprétation a été confirmée par le représentant du Mexique lui-même; je crois donc que la seule façon de sortir de la difficulté présente consiste à demander à l'Assemblée si elle approuve votre interprétation.

100. Sir Percy SPENDER (Australie) *parlant de sa place (traduit de l'anglais)*: Plus précisément, la question à poser à l'Assemblée devrait être celle de savoir s'il s'agit ou non d'une question importante au sens du paragraphe 2 de l'Article 18 de la Charte.

101. La PRESIDENTE (*traduit de l'anglais*): Je voudrais attirer l'attention des honorables représentants qui ont insisté sur ce point qu'un vote a déjà eu lieu. La seule façon de résoudre la question est donc celle que je viens de proposer à l'Assemblée. Je ne vois pas comment, après que le vote a eu lieu et que l'auteur même de la proposition a déclaré qu'elle devait s'entendre de la façon indiquée par la Présidente, nous pourrions maintenant, au point où nous en sommes, revenir subitement en arrière. Peut-être cela sera-t-il possible lorsque la situation aura été éclaircie.

102. Sir Gladwyn JEBB (Royaume-Uni) (*traduit de l'anglais*): Je voudrais demander un éclaircissement. Je dois dire que je trouve la situation assez confuse. J'avais compris — je me suis peut-être trompé — que la Présidente n'avait initialement mis aux voix la proposition du Mexique que pour le projet de résolution relatif aux facteurs. Si j'avais cru qu'on votait sur l'ensemble de la question du Chapitre XI — ce qui, si je comprends bien, est ce qu'on suggère maintenant — j'aurais certainement demandé à prendre la parole et je pense que la Présidente m'en aurait accordé le droit.

103. Quelle est exactement la situation en ce moment? Dois-je comprendre que la Présidente estime que le vote auquel nous avons procédé sur la proposition du Mexique se rapportait à toutes les questions, quelles qu'elles soient, qui se posent à propos du Chapitre XI, ou considère-t-elle que ce vote ne se rapportait qu'aux sept projets de résolution? C'est encore là un point obscur, pour moi du moins. Notre décision et notre attitude dépendront de ce qui s'est exactement passé lorsque la proposition a été mise aux voix. C'est pourquoi je voudrais me joindre au représentant des Etats-Unis pour demander qu'on donne lecture du passage du compte rendu sténographique correspondant au moment où la Présidente a effectivement mis la proposition aux voix. De cette manière, nous saurions tous où nous en sommes et ce sur quoi nous pouvions supposer que nous votions.

104. La PRESIDENTE (*traduit de l'anglais*): Ce qui s'est probablement passé, à mon sens, c'est qu'un certain nombre des représentants n'ont pas écouté très attentivement la déclaration du représentant du Mexique. Mon interprétation se fondait uniquement sur ce qu'il avait dit; je ne lui ai pas prêté des propos qu'il n'avait pas tenus. Sa déclaration m'a donné l'impression qu'elle se rapportait aussi bien aux projets de résolution VI et VII qu'au projet de résolution I.

105. M. VYCHINSKY (*traduit du russe*): La délégation soviétique respecte toujours avec le plus grand soin et la plus grande attention les lois qui régissent l'activité de l'Assemblée générale et de toute notre Organisation.

106. Au nom de ma délégation, je dois dire que moi aussi j'ai compris, comme l'a précisé la Présidente, que le vote auquel nous avons déjà procédé sur la question posée par un représentant, avant la mise aux voix de ces sept projets de résolutions, portait sur l'ensemble des projets. La chose m'a semblé évidente d'après la façon dont la question était posée, mais aussi d'après le fond même de ces textes. Le contenu d'aucun de ces projets de résolution — tel que je le vois, le comprends et le considère — ne revêt un caractère tel qu'on puisse

le ranger parmi les questions importantes, telles que celles qui concernent le régime de la tutelle, que visent l'Article 18 de la Charte et l'article 84 du règlement intérieur.

107. Se référant à la Charte, le représentant du Royaume-Uni vient de déclarer que, d'après celle-ci, les questions relatives au fonctionnement du régime de tutelle font partie des questions importantes à trancher à la majorité des deux tiers. Or, je me permets d'affirmer que le projet de résolution VI, que nous examinons actuellement, ne traite nullement de questions relatives au fonctionnement du régime de tutelle. Si vous voulez bien l'examiner en détail, paragraphe par paragraphe, vous constaterez qu'il ne contient justement rien sur le fonctionnement du régime de tutelle.

108. Ce n'est pas là, évidemment, un effet du hasard. Si nous nous reportons au règlement intérieur qui reproduit l'article correspondant de la Charte, c'est-à-dire l'Article 18, nous voyons qu'il n'y est pas fait mention de la tutelle en général, mais des questions qui intéressent le fonctionnement du régime de tutelle. Le seul passage du projet de résolution VI où l'on parle, si peu que ce soit, de tutelle, c'est le dernier paragraphe, qui prie le Gouvernement des Pays-Bas de communiquer régulièrement au Secrétaire général les renseignements visés à l'Article 73, c; mais ce n'est pas une question relative au fonctionnement du régime de tutelle. Il s'agit simplement de l'obligation, pour le Gouvernement des Pays-Bas, de s'acquitter des obligations dont il est tenu actuellement. On y lit: "en ce qui concerne les Antilles néerlandaises et le Surinam ... jusqu'au moment où l'Assemblée générale aura décidé qu'il y a lieu de cesser la communication des renseignements relatifs à ces territoires". Par conséquent, pour moi — et, j'en suis convaincu, pour de nombreux autres représentants — la situation était claire; il ne s'agissait nullement d'une question relative au régime de tutelle et exigeant, à ce titre, la majorité des deux tiers, mais simplement d'une invitation à continuer de communiquer des renseignements au Secrétaire général. La communication de renseignements est une chose; le régime de tutelle en est une autre. Les questions relatives au régime de tutelle, ce sont, par exemple, telles ou telles modifications nécessaires pour le fonctionnement de ce régime. Je n'en vois pas ici. C'est pourquoi, tout naturellement, j'ai pensé qu'il fallait un vote à la majorité simple.

109. Je voudrais appeler l'attention de l'Assemblée sur un point. Nous en sommes au projet de résolution VI. Nous avons donc voté sur cinq projets de résolution avant d'en arriver là, et personne n'a demandé s'il fallait un vote à la majorité des deux tiers. Nous avons voté à la majorité simple sur les projets de résolution I, II, III, IV et V, puis soudain, avant que nous n'abordions le vote sur le projet de résolution VI, voilà qu'on fait valoir que ce projet présente une importance telle qu'il exige une décision prise à la majorité des deux tiers. A mon avis, ce projet de résolution, quant à son importance, ne diffère nullement des précédents, pas plus que du projet de résolution VII. C'est pourquoi j'estime — et cela va de soi — que nous devons voter sur ce projet de résolution à la majorité simple, et que la décision prise a été correcte.

110. Si la Présidente pose la question de savoir si la décision que nous avons prise touchant le vote à la majorité simple était fondée ou non, le représentant du Guatemala a évidemment raison d'insister pour que l'on applique l'article 82 du règlement intérieur, qui

prévoit un vote à la majorité des deux tiers. Si, sur ce point, on juge nécessaire de soumettre à un vote l'opinion de la Présidente, opinion qui me semble parfaitement correcte, cela revient à demander à l'Assemblée un nouveau vote sur une décision qu'elle a déjà adoptée. Dans ce cas, nous serons obligés de voter en conformité avec l'article 82, c'est-à-dire que cette décision, qui a déjà été prise, ne peut être modifiée ou rejetée à la présente session que si l'Assemblée générale se prononce pour la majorité des deux tiers.

111. M. MENON (Inde) (*traduit de l'anglais*) : La délégation de l'Inde ne voit pas très clairement quel est le sujet de la discussion actuelle. S'il s'agit d'une motion d'ordre, on peut, autant que je sache, donner la parole à deux orateurs pour et à deux orateurs contre. Néanmoins, puisqu'il y a eu un précédent de discussion générale à ce propos, je voudrais dire qu'à l'avis de ma délégation une proposition a été présentée par le représentant du Mexique et que le représentant du Danemark s'est déclaré contre cette proposition. La Présidente a fait connaître son interprétation, ou plutôt, puisque aucun texte ne prévoit d'interprétation, sa décision, lorsqu'on lui a demandé si la proposition se rapportait à l'ensemble des sept projets de résolution. En conséquence, la seule procédure possible est que quelqu'un en appelle de la décision présidentielle, ou que celle-ci soit volontairement mise aux voix. Je ne vois pas comment nous pourrions procéder à un nouveau vote sur cette question s'il n'était pas fait appel de la décision présidentielle et si une nouvelle décision n'était pas prise.

112. Je voudrais aussi souligner que, depuis l'examen du projet de résolution I, nous en avons déjà discuté d'autres relatifs à l'éducation, à l'autonomie et à des questions de même nature; or ce n'est qu'actuellement qu'on soulève des objections de cet ordre. Je ne pense pas qu'il convienne que je discute du fond de l'Article 18 de la Charte, mais on peut noter que dans cet article, il est fait expressément mention des questions qui doivent être soumises à la règle de la majorité des deux tiers. Quand, dans un texte juridique quelconque, figure une mention expresse, non seulement il est sous-entendu, mais encore c'est le sens et l'intention mêmes de la clause en question que, dans le cas de toutes les autres questions, les dispositions énoncées ne s'appliquent pas.

113. Pour ces raisons, je suggère que nous poursuivions le débat conformément à la décision prise par la Présidente.

114. M. PIGNON (France) : Il me paraît évident, après les explications qui ont déjà été données par un certain nombre des orateurs qui m'ont précédé, que nous avons voté dans la confusion. Avons-nous même voté sur une motion? Il semble bien, en fait, que nous ayons voté sur un discours, lequel comportait, évidemment, des conclusions, mais également des arguments ou des exemples qui semblent avoir été confondus avec des conclusions au sens juridique du terme.

115. Quelle a été la base de l'interprétation donnée par la Présidente? Une confirmation du représentant du Mexique. Mais cette confirmation a été rétrospective, elle a été tardive; elle est venue après que le vote ait été acquis. Par conséquent, il me semble qu'elle ne présente qu'une valeur en tout cas relative.

116. Dans ces conditions, j'ai une solution à proposer, si elle convient au représentant du Mexique. Etant donné que c'est sa décision qui, en quelque sorte, a été à la base de la décision même de la Présidente, si le

représentant du Mexique consentait à admettre dans l'intérêt de la clarté et de la bonne entente qui doit régner au cours des travaux de l'Assemblée, que sa motion — si j'ose ainsi qualifier ce qui a été, en fait, un discours — n'avait qu'une portée relative aux facteurs d'autonomie et s'il nous permettait d'avoir maintenant un nouveau vote, il nous rendrait certainement un très grand service.

117. La PRÉSIDENTE (*traduit de l'anglais*) : Un véritable débat semble s'engager. Plusieurs représentants m'ont donné l'impression — mais mes impressions mêmes deviennent un peu confuses — qu'il existe une certaine confusion. Ce que je cherche, c'est à dissiper la confusion; c'est pourquoi j'ai modifié les termes de la motion que je voulais mettre aux voix. Je donne la parole au représentant de l'Australie, qui a manifesté le désir de faire connaître son opinion à ce sujet, mais je demande que, puisque nous cherchons à éclaircir une situation confuse, nous n'ajoutions pas à la confusion.

118. Sir Percy SPENDER (Australie) (*traduit de l'anglais*) : J'obéirai de mon mieux aux instructions de la Présidente et je chercherai à ne pas ajouter à la confusion, mais je crois que la question est très simple.

119. En premier lieu, qu'il me soit permis de rappeler qu'un discours ne constitue pas une motion. Dans un discours, on touche à un grand nombre de points. Le seul problème est de savoir quel était le point, l'affaire, la question dont l'Assemblée était saisie. Je me suis donné la peine de chercher quelle était cette question. Il y avait un certain nombre de points inscrits à l'ordre du jour de cet après-midi. Le vote a porté sur la question des facteurs relatifs aux territoires non autonomes; personne ne le conteste. Dans son discours, le représentant du Mexique a évoqué un certain nombre d'autres problèmes, comme il est normal quand on présente une argumentation; mais la seule question est de savoir de quelle nature était la motion qu'il entendait proposer au cours de la présente séance de l'Assemblée. A vrai dire, aucune motion n'a été soumise à l'Assemblée, mais la Présidente a interprété les intentions du représentant du Mexique et, autant que je comprenne, la seule question qui ait été posée à l'Assemblée se rapportait au premier point de l'ordre du jour. En mettant cette question aux voix, la Présidente a dit : "La motion selon laquelle le projet de résolution" — le projet de résolution au singulier — "peut être adopté à la majorité simple."

120. Le représentant des Etats-Unis a demandé que l'on donne lecture du compte rendu sténographique. En ce qui me concerne, je puis seulement dire que j'ai suivi la discussion comme, je crois, la majorité d'entre nous et que j'ai compris exactement, je pense, quelle était la question posée. Je me permets de suggérer qu'on donne lecture du compte rendu sténographique; en tout cas, aucune considération de procédure ne doit empêcher l'Assemblée de résoudre par elle-même ce problème d'un intérêt considérable: la question qui se pose est-elle ou non une question importante au sens du paragraphe 2 de l'Article 18 de la Charte?

121. La PRÉSIDENTE (*traduit de l'anglais*) : C'est précisément pour la raison évoquée par le représentant de l'Australie — c'est-à-dire parce que je veux que l'Assemblée ait toute possibilité de prendre la décision qui lui conviendra en pleine connaissance de ce qu'elle a décidé antérieurement — que je me suis efforcée de donner une nouvelle forme à la motion. Comme je l'ai dit précédemment, je cherche uniquement à préciser dans quel esprit on a voté la première fois; il n'est pas

du tout clairement établi que tous aient compris le vote de la même façon. C'est pourquoi je suggère que nous abordions la question de la façon suivante: assurons-nous si l'intention de l'Assemblée est de considérer que la décision prise au sujet de la procédure de vote s'applique uniquement au projet de résolution I.

122. En conséquence, je mets aux voix la proposition ci-après: "La décision prise au sujet de la procédure de vote ne s'applique qu'à la résolution I". Le vote par appel nominal a été demandé.

Il est procédé au vote par appel nominal.

L'appel commence par les Etats-Unis d'Amérique, dont le nom est tiré au sort par la Présidente.

Votent pour: Etats-Unis d'Amérique, Australie, Belgique, Brésil, Canada, Colombie, Costa-Rica, Danemark, République Dominicaine, Equateur, France, Islande, Israël, Luxembourg, Pays-Bas, Nouvelle-Zélande, Norvège, Pérou, Suède, Union Sud-Africaine, Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord.

Votent contre: Uruguay, Venezuela, Yémen, Yougoslavie, Afghanistan, Argentine, Bolivie, Birmanie, République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie, Chine, Cuba, Tchécoslovaquie, Egypte, Ethiopie, Grèce, Guatemala, Haïti, Inde, Indonésie, Iran, Irak, Liban, Libéria, Mexique, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Philippines, Pologne, Arabie saoudite, Syrie, Thaïlande, République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine, Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques.

S'abstiennent: Chili, Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua.

Par 34 voix contre 21, avec 4 abstentions, la proposition est rejetée.

123. La PRÉSIDENTE (*traduit de l'anglais*): Nous devons maintenant prendre une décision en ce qui concerne les projets de résolution VI et VII, et je voudrais mettre aux voix une motion selon laquelle la majorité simple seulement est requise pour l'approbation des projets de résolution VI et VII.

124. M. ESPINOSA Y PRIETO (Mexique) (*traduit de l'espagnol*): Je vais être très bref. Je tiens à déclarer que, dans toute mon intervention, je me suis efforcé de faire comprendre que la demande du Gouvernement mexicain tendait à faire adopter la majorité simple et non la majorité des deux tiers pour toute question touchant au Chapitre XI. J'ai abondamment soutenu cette thèse dans tout mon exposé; même si, par suite de circonstances malheureuses, je n'ai pu conclure mon exposé, il sera facile de voir dans le compte rendu sténographique, que j'ai terminé en disant ceci:

"Nous demandons que, dans tous les travaux relatifs aux territoires non autonomes, on procède au vote à la majorité simple."

125. La délégation mexicaine estime qu'il convient de maintenir sur ce point la décision présidentielle; elle estime que le scrutin qui vient de se terminer doit consacrer la juste interprétation que la Présidente a donnée de mes paroles. La délégation mexicaine ne croit pas qu'il convienne en l'occurrence de procéder à un nouveau scrutin. Il va de soi que la délégation mexicaine se conformera, comme toujours, à la décision de la Présidente.

126. M. MATES (Yougoslavie) (*traduit de l'anglais*): Je reconnais qu'il est regrettable qu'au lieu de poursuivre le scrutin sur les projets de résolution, nous ayons laissé se développer une discussion de semi-procédure. Je n'aurais pas tenu à participer à cette

discussion si l'on n'avait présenté à nouveau une interprétation de la Charte qui me paraît entièrement erronée, et c'est précisément cette mauvaise interprétation qui, à mon avis, est à l'origine de la plupart des difficultés rencontrées au cours de ce débat.

127. Le représentant du Royaume-Uni et quelques autres représentants ont soutenu qu'aux termes de l'Article 18 de la Charte la majorité des deux tiers est requise pour certaines questions importantes, et que l'Assemblée peut décider que d'autres questions importantes doivent également être tranchées à la majorité des deux tiers. Tout d'abord, je crois qu'il est très difficile de voter pour décider si une question est importante ou non; il est possible que cette question ne revête pas la même importance dans l'esprit des différentes délégations, et il serait peut-être malaisé de convenir d'un dénominateur commun pour tous les cas. On est allé jusqu'à demander qu'un vote soit pris sur le point de savoir si la question traitée dans certains projets de résolutions était importante ou non. Toutefois, je crois que cette discussion est hors de propos. L'Article 18 de la Charte stipule que les décisions de l'Assemblée sur les questions importantes sont prises à la majorité des deux tiers; vient ensuite une énumération complète des questions qui ont été déclarées importantes; le paragraphe 3 de l'Article 18 stipule que les décisions sur d'autres questions, y compris la détermination de nouvelles catégories de questions à trancher à la majorité des deux tiers, sont prises à la majorité simple.

128. Il est possible que le texte anglais de la Charte ait induit en erreur le représentant du Royaume-Uni; en effet, nous lisons au paragraphe 2 de l'Article 18: "*These questions shall include*"; vient ensuite une énumération. Je tiens à rendre hommage une fois de plus depuis cette tribune à la langue française. Le texte français de la Charte est un texte officiel, et lorsqu'il existe des textes d'un document juridique en deux ou plusieurs langues faisant également foi, si l'un des textes prête à équivoque et si l'autre est précis, il convient d'interpréter ce document d'après le texte le plus précis. C'est là un concept juridique que personne dans cette Assemblée, je présume, ne contestera. Or, que dit le texte français de l'Article 18 de la Charte?

"Les décisions de l'Assemblée générale sur les questions importantes sont prises à la majorité des deux tiers des membres présents et votants."

Ceci est la règle. Vient ensuite la définition: "Sont considérées comme questions importantes", et nous trouvons ensuite une énumération des questions importantes.

129. Ces mots ne peuvent avoir d'autre sens que de signifier que les décisions de l'Assemblée générale sur les questions importantes sont prises à la majorité des deux tiers, ces questions importantes étant énumérées ensuite. "Sont considérées" est une définition des mots "questions importantes" que l'on retrouve dans la première phrase du paragraphe 2 de l'Article 18. "Sont considérées comme questions importantes" toutes les questions qui y sont énumérées comme telles. Cette énumération ne contient rien qui se rapporte au Chapitre XI de la Charte. En outre, il est stipulé au paragraphe 3:

"Les décisions sur d'autres questions, y compris la détermination de nouvelles catégories de questions à trancher à la majorité des deux tiers, sont prises à la majorité des membres présents et votants."

Cela signifie que, si une question quelconque ne fait pas partie des catégories énumérées au paragraphe 2 de l'Article 18, il est procédé au vote à la majorité simple.

Ces mots ne laissent subsister aucun doute, et toute discussion de procédure à ce sujet est complètement en dehors du cadre de la Charte.

130. Si j'ai demandé la parole, c'est parce que je crois qu'il s'agit d'un problème beaucoup plus grave que d'un simple vote sur un ou deux projets de résolution. Il s'agit d'une interprétation de la Charte. J'ai voulu éclaircir ce point, et j'ai tenu plus particulièrement à signaler à nouveau qu'à mon avis tout vote visant à déterminer si une question est importante ou non irait à l'encontre de la Charte; en effet, celle-ci ne nous demande pas de nous prononcer sur l'importance des questions, mais elle donne un sens technique aux questions importantes; elle définit et énumère ces catégories et stipule:

"Les décisions sur d'autres questions, y compris la détermination de nouvelles catégories de questions à trancher à la majorité des deux tiers..."

Cela signifie que l'Assemblée peut, à titre exceptionnel, décider de trancher d'autres catégories de questions à la majorité des deux tiers sans décider si ces questions sont importantes ou non.

131. M. RYCKMANS (Belgique): Le représentant du Mexique vient de nous exposer très clairement que l'objet de sa motion était de décider que les projets de résolution qui nous étaient soumis aujourd'hui et, d'une façon générale, les projets de résolution relatifs au Chapitre XI de la Charte devaient être soumis à la règle de la majorité simple.

132. Je ne crois pas que cette motion aurait dû être mise aux voix; en effet, toutes les questions présentées à l'Assemblée générale font l'objet de décisions prises à la majorité simple, à l'exception des questions importantes, et ces questions importantes sont celles qui sont mentionnées au paragraphe 2 de l'Article 18 de la Charte et celles que l'Assemblée générale décide, par un vote à la majorité simple, d'inclure dans la catégorie des questions importantes.

133. Aujourd'hui, la question ne se pose pas de savoir si l'Assemblée veut que les décisions soient prises à la majorité simple, ce qui est la règle; il s'agit de savoir si l'Assemblée générale est prête à décider que les deux questions qui lui sont actuellement présentées doivent être soumises à la règle de la majorité des deux tiers. Ces deux questions sont les suivantes: d'une part, la cessation de la communication des renseignements sur les Antilles néerlandaises et sur le Surinam est-elle justifiée? D'autre part, la décision des Etats-Unis relative à Porto-Rico est-elle justifiée?

134. Si la Présidente le juge nécessaire, je proposerai de mettre aux voix une motion tendant à ce que l'Assemblée générale considère ces deux questions comme étant des questions importantes.

135. La PRESIDENTE (*traduit de l'anglais*): Nous allons mettre aux voix la question de savoir si les projets de résolution VI et VII peuvent être adoptés à la majorité simple.

136. Je donne la parole au représentant du Guatemala pour une motion d'ordre.

137. M. MENDOZA (Guatemala) (*traduit de l'espagnol*): Je vous prie de m'excuser si je ne comprends pas bien ce que nous sommes en train de faire. J'ai l'impression que nous allons décider pour la troisième fois que nous ne voulons pas voter sur ces projets de résolution à la majorité des deux tiers. Nous l'avons fait une première fois lorsque la Présidente a mis aux voix la motion du représentant du Mexique; nous

venons de le faire une deuxième fois. Si j'ai bien compris l'interprétation en espagnol, la Présidente a mis aux voix la proposition suivante: l'Assemblée veut-elle interpréter cette décision comme signifiant que la majorité simple s'applique uniquement au projet de résolution I? L'Assemblée a répondu nettement par la négative. Que signifie cette réponse? Elle signifie que l'Assemblée veut que la décision sur les sept projets de résolution soit prise à la majorité simple. Pourquoi procéder à un nouveau scrutin sur la question de savoir si la décision sur les deux derniers projets de résolution devra être prise à la majorité simple ou à la majorité des deux tiers?

138. Il convient à mon avis de mettre aux voix immédiatement les deux projets de résolution VI et VII; la décision sur ces projets de résolution devra, conformément à la décision de l'Assemblée générale, être prise à la majorité simple.

139. M. RYCKMANS (Belgique): La présidence se propose de mettre aux voix la question de savoir si les projets de résolution qui nous sont soumis peuvent être votés à la majorité simple; ceci revient à demander à l'Assemblée générale si la Charte peut être obéie. Car la Charte dit que toutes les questions sont votées à la majorité simple, à l'exception des questions importantes, et sont considérées comme importantes les questions présumées importantes en vertu du paragraphe 2 de l'Article 18, de la Charte ainsi que les questions dont l'Assemblée générale elle-même décide qu'elles sont importantes. Telle est l'interprétation qui a été donnée d'une façon constante à ce terme depuis que l'Organisation des Nations Unies existe.

140. Je ne crois pas, je le répète, qu'il soit possible de mettre aux voix la question de savoir si nous devons obéir à la Charte. Toutes les questions soumises à l'Assemblée générale sont tranchées à la majorité simple, sauf si, par une décision prise à la majorité simple, l'Assemblée générale décide qu'il s'agit d'une question importante.

141. Pour mettre fin à cette confusion, je sou mets la motion — et je fais une proposition formelle en ce sens si la Présidente l'estime nécessaire — que l'Assemblée générale considère comme importants les deux projets de résolution sur lesquels nous allons avoir à voter.

142. M. VYCHINSKY (Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques) (*traduit du russe*): Si j'ai bien compris, la question posée est de savoir si le vote sur les projets de résolution VI et VII doit être pris à la majorité simple ou à la majorité des deux tiers. Dans ce cas, je dois vous demander une précision: sur quoi venons-nous de voter? En quoi consistait notre dernier vote?

143. A mon avis, voici ce qui s'est passé; l'histoire est brève et très claire: le représentant du Mexique a proposé que nous nous prononcions sur tous les projets de résolution à la majorité simple. Nous avons voté sur le projet de résolution I à la majorité simple, puis successivement sur les projets II, III, IV et V. Quand nous en sommes venus au projet de résolution VI, on a posé la question de savoir si la proposition du représentant du Mexique s'appliquait également à ce projet, ainsi qu'au projet VII, c'est-à-dire, si elle s'étendait à tous les projets de résolution en question, ou bien si elle ne visait que le premier de ces projets.

144. La Présidente a alors déclaré que la proposition du représentant du Mexique avait trait à tous les projets de résolution. Mais comme, évidemment, la Présidente a préféré ne pas imposer son opinion, elle

a consulté l'Assemblée, et tout d'abord le représentant du Mexique. Celui-ci a confirmé que sa proposition s'étendait à tous les projets de résolution. Nous avons voté: par 34 voix contre 21, si je ne me trompe, l'Assemblée a décidé que la proposition visait tous les projets de résolution, c'est-à-dire que nous devions donc nous prononcer sur tous ces projets à la majorité simple.

145. Maintenant, la Présidente pose la question suivante: faut-il voter sur le projet de résolution VI à la majorité simple ou à la majorité des deux tiers? Or, cette question a déjà été tranchée. Je pense, tout à fait comme le représentant du Guatemala, que la question a été réglée. S'il en est ainsi, à quoi bon prendre une nouvelle décision? La Présidente éprouve, me semble-t-il, quelque hésitation. S'il en est ainsi, je comprends ses scrupules: elle veut faire preuve d'une objectivité absolue, et elle a raison de s'y efforcer, mais nous ne devons pas être victimes de cet excès de scrupule. Nous ne devons pas en être les victimes et continuer indéfiniment à parler de la même question, à voter sur le même texte. A mon avis, nous devrions suivre la décision qui a été prise.

146. Enfin, si la Présidente ou un représentant désirent procéder à une nouvelle épreuve, cela signifiera que l'Assemblée devra réexaminer une décision déjà prise. Cette décision, c'est que le vote sur tous les projets de résolution — donc aussi sur les projets VI et VII — doit être pris à la majorité simple. Si l'on veut remettre la chose en question, nous devons nous reporter à l'article 82 du règlement intérieur. Cet article nous permet de procéder ainsi. Mais je m'oppose catégoriquement à l'application de cet article; en effet, le vote qui vient d'avoir lieu a confirmé que tous les projets de résolution — du projet I au projet VII inclus — doivent faire l'objet d'un vote à la majorité simple. C'est pourquoi je prie respectueusement la Présidente de mettre aux voix ces projets de résolution.

147. Mme BOLTON (Etats-Unis d'Amérique) (*traduit de l'anglais*): J'appuie la proposition du représentant de la Belgique. En particulier, le projet de résolution relatif à Porto-Rico intéresse directement les Etats-Unis ainsi que le Gouvernement et le peuple de Porto-Rico; il constitue pour ma délégation l'élément le plus important du rapport de la Quatrième Commission. En outre, ce projet de résolution est étroitement lié à l'exécution et à l'accomplissement d'une obligation expressément énoncée dans un article de la Charte, à savoir l'Article 73. Mon gouvernement a fait tous les efforts en son pouvoir en vue de s'acquitter en toute bonne foi de cette obligation; en fait, il a accompli plus que n'exigeait la lettre de la Charte. Ma délégation estime que c'est là une question importante au sens de l'Article 18 de la Charte et sur laquelle une décision ne peut être prise qu'à la majorité des deux tiers. Je veux espérer que la Présidente mettra aux voix la proposition du représentant de la Belgique.

148. La PRESIDENTE (*traduit de l'anglais*): Pour autant que je sois sensible aux tentatives faites par divers représentants, et plus particulièrement à l'effort du représentant de la Belgique, en vue d'éclaircir la situation, je regrette qu'il me soit impossible de faire quoi que ce soit au point où nous en sommes. Nous venons de voter sur l'interprétation de la motion relative à la procédure de vote, et l'Assemblée générale a marqué sa volonté de ne pas limiter l'application de cette motion au seul projet de résolution I. Il nous reste encore à voter sur les projets de résolution VI

et VII. Il me semble que cela est très clair, et la seule chose que nous puissions faire à l'heure actuelle est de continuer et de procéder au vote sur ces deux projets de résolution. La décision que l'Assemblée générale vient d'adopter s'applique aux projets de résolution VI et VII. Nous allons voter séparément sur ces deux projets de résolution.

149. Je mettrai d'abord aux voix le projet de résolution VI. Un vote par division a été demandé sur les troisième et sixième paragraphes de ce projet de résolution.

Par 30 voix contre zéro, avec 15 abstentions, le préambule et les paragraphes 1 et 2 sont adoptés.

Par 33 voix contre 5, avec 13 abstentions, le paragraphe 3 est adopté.

Par 39 voix contre 2, avec 15 abstentions, les paragraphes 4 et 5 sont adoptés.

Par 35 voix contre 13, avec 2 abstentions, le paragraphe 6 est adopté.

Par 33 voix contre 13, avec 8 abstentions, l'ensemble du projet de résolution est adopté.

150. La PRESIDENTE (*traduit de l'anglais*): L'Assemblée générale votera maintenant sur le projet de résolution VII.

151. M. LANNUNG (Danemark) (*traduit de l'anglais*): J'ai deux demandes à présenter en ce qui concerne le projet de résolution VII; je demanderais premièrement qu'il soit procédé à un vote distinct, par appel nominal, sur le dernier paragraphe du préambule, et, deuxièmement, qu'il soit procédé à un vote par appel nominal sur l'ensemble du projet de résolution.

152. La PRESIDENTE (*traduit de l'anglais*): Avant de mettre aux voix le projet de résolution VII, je donne la parole au représentant des Pays-Bas qui désire expliquer le vote de sa délégation sur le projet de résolution VI.

153. M. SPITS (Pays-Bas) (*traduit de l'anglais*): Lorsque la Quatrième Commission de l'Assemblée générale a recherché s'il y avait lieu de cesser la communication des renseignements relatifs aux Antilles néerlandaises et au Surinam, la délégation des Pays-Bas a informé la Commission qu'aux termes des arrangements provisoires qui constituent actuellement les constitutions des deux territoires en question, leurs parlements — librement élus au suffrage universel direct et secret — ont plein pouvoir pour légiférer dans les domaines économique et social et dans le domaine de l'instruction sans aucune intervention de la part du Gouvernement des Pays-Bas. La transmission par le Gouvernement néerlandais de renseignements sur ces questions, et la prise de responsabilités que cette transmission de renseignements comporterait, constitueraient une atteinte à l'autonomie du Surinam et des Antilles néerlandaises et seraient contraires aussi bien aux dispositions constitutionnelles des deux territoires intéressés qu'à la Constitution des Pays-Bas.

154. L'Article 73, e, de la Charte stipule que l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements au Secrétaire général s'exerce "sous réserve des exigences de la sécurité et de considérations d'ordre constitutionnel". Le Gouvernement néerlandais a estimé que, dans les conditions que je viens de décrire, cet article l'autorisait pleinement à cesser la communication des renseignements. Cette opinion était partagée par les représentants des Antilles néerlandaises et du Surinam qui ont déclaré que leurs parlements et leurs gouvernements considéraient la transmission de renseignements par le

Gouvernement des Pays-Bas comme incompatible avec la réalisation et les progrès de l'autonomie déjà proclamée dans leur pays. Ils ont ajouté que, du point de vue constitutionnel, ils n'avaient pas à communiquer ces renseignements au Gouvernement néerlandais afin que ce dernier les communique à son tour à l'Organisation des Nations Unies conformément à l'Article 73, e, de la Charte.

155. Cependant, la Quatrième Commission a adopté le projet de résolution VI contenant un amendement de l'Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques aux termes duquel le Gouvernement des Pays-Bas est prié "de communiquer régulièrement au Secrétaire général, en ce qui concerne les Antilles néerlandaises et le Surinam, les renseignements visés à l'Article 73, e, de la Charte, jusqu'au moment où l'Assemblée générale aura décidé qu'il y a lieu de cesser de communiquer des renseignements relatifs à ces territoires".

156. Maintenant que ce projet de résolution, dont je viens de citer le paragraphe 6 du dispositif, a été adopté par l'Assemblée générale, je ne m'attarderai pas sur la question de savoir si l'Assemblée générale a compétence pour décider à quel moment peut cesser la communication des renseignements concernant un territoire non autonome. Cette compétence, le Gouvernement néerlandais refuse de la reconnaître. Je désire simplement exprimer le regret de ma délégation concernant l'insertion du paragraphe 6 dans la résolution, et déclarer que, quelle que soit l'opinion de la majorité de l'Assemblée générale sur ce point, le Gouvernement des Pays-Bas ne peut agir contrairement à ses propres lois et à sa constitution; il ne saurait pas davantage adopter des mesures allant à l'encontre de l'opinion et de la volonté des Gouvernements et Parlements des Antilles néerlandaises et du Surinam dont les intérêts sont en jeu dans ce débat.

157. La PRESIDENTE (traduit de l'anglais): J'invite l'Assemblée générale à se prononcer sur les cinq premiers paragraphes du préambule du projet de résolution VII.

Par 39 voix contre zéro, avec 17 abstentions, les paragraphes sont adoptés.

158. La PRESIDENTE (traduit de l'anglais): Nous allons maintenant voter sur le sixième paragraphe du préambule. Le vote par appel nominal a été demandé.

Il est procédé au vote par appel nominal.

L'appel commence par l'Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques, dont le nom est tiré au sort par la Présidente.

Votent pour: Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yémen, Yougoslavie, Afghanistan, Argentine, Bolivie, Birmanie, République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie, Chili, Chine, Cuba, Tchécoslovaquie, Egypte, Salvador, Ethiopie, Grèce, Guatemala, Haïti, Inde, Indonésie, Iran, Irak, Liban, Libéria, Mexique, Pakistan, Philippines, Pologne, Arabie saoudite, Syrie, Thaïlande, République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine.

Votent contre: Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord, Etats-Unis d'Amérique, Australie, Belgique, Canada, Colombie, Costa-Rica, Danemark, France, Islande, Luxembourg, Pays-Bas, Nouvelle-Zélande, Norvège, Panama, Paraguay, Suède, Turquie, Union Sud-Africaine.

S'abstiennent: Brésil, République Dominicaine, Equateur, Honduras, Israël, Nicaragua, Pérou.

Par 34 voix contre 19, avec 7 abstentions, le paragraphe est adopté.

159. La PRESIDENTE (traduit de l'anglais): Je mets maintenant aux voix le dispositif du projet de résolution.

Par 26 voix contre 11, avec 19 abstentions, le dispositif est adopté.

160. La PRESIDENTE (traduit de l'anglais): L'Assemblée votera maintenant sur l'ensemble du projet de résolution VII. L'appel nominal a été demandé.

Il est procédé au vote par appel nominal.

L'appel commence par l'Union Sud-Africaine, dont le nom est tiré au sort par la Présidente.

Votent pour: Etats-Unis d'Amérique, Uruguay, Bolivie, Brésil, Chili, Chine, Colombie, Costa-Rica, Cuba, République Dominicaine, Equateur, Salvador, Ethiopie, Grèce, Haïti, Honduras, Iran, Israël, Libéria, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Pérou, Philippines, Thaïlande, Turquie.

Votent contre: Union Sud-Africaine, Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques, Yougoslavie, Australie, Belgique, Birmanie, République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie, Canada, Tchécoslovaquie, Guatemala, Inde, Indonésie, Irak, Mexique, Pologne, République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine.

S'abstiennent: Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord, Venezuela, Yémen, Afghanistan, Argentine, Danemark, Egypte, France, Islande, Liban, Luxembourg, Pays-Bas, Nouvelle-Zélande, Norvège, Pakistan, Arabie saoudite, Suède, Syrie.

Par 26 voix contre 16, avec 18 abstentions, l'ensemble du projet de résolution est adopté.

161. Sir Percy SPENDER (Australie) (traduit de l'anglais): Ma délégation s'est vue obligée de voter contre le projet de résolution concernant la cessation de la transmission de renseignements relatifs à Porto-Rico, parce qu'elle a toujours estimé que l'Assemblée générale n'a pas compétence pour décider du moment où un territoire a atteint un degré de développement suffisant pour que cesse la communication des renseignements, prévue à l'Article 73, e, de la Charte, sur les conditions économiques, sociales et de l'instruction. Ma délégation estime que seule l'Autorité chargée de l'administration — en l'occurrence les Etats-Unis d'Amérique — a compétence pour prendre une telle décision.

162. Nous reconnaissons que, sous la direction sage et bienveillante des Etats-Unis, Porto-Rico a atteint un degré de développement tel qu'il n'est plus nécessaire, ni même possible, pour les Etats-Unis de communiquer des renseignements sur ce territoire. Les Etats-Unis ont pris une décision à cet égard et l'Assemblée générale n'a pas, aux termes de la Charte, à formuler de conclusion sur ce point. Ma délégation a adopté exactement la même attitude, dictée par le principe que je viens d'énoncer, en ce qui concerne les Antilles néerlandaises et le Surinam. Nous estimons que la façon dont nous interprétons la Charte n'autorisait ni ne justifiait aucune autre attitude.

163. La résolution qui vient d'être adoptée affirme que l'Assemblée générale a compétence pour prendre une décision sur ce point. Bien que la conclusion de cette résolution concorde avec la décision prise par le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis, nous estimons qu'elle est contraire au principe très net que je viens d'énoncer. Il ne faut donc pas interpréter notre vote comme un refus de reconnaître le fait indiscutable qu'il n'est plus nécessaire que les Etats-Unis continuent de communiquer

des renseignements relatifs à Porto-Rico; notre vote est une protestation contre ce qui nous paraît être, de la part de l'Assemblée, une usurpation de compétence.

164. Mme BOLTON (Etats-Unis d'Amérique) (*traduit de l'anglais*): La délégation des Etats-Unis a voté en faveur des projets de résolution II, IV et VII. A son regret, elle n'a pu voter en faveur des projets de résolution I, III, V et VI.

165. En ce qui concerne, en particulier, le projet relatif à Porto-Rico, je tiens à dire que les Etats-Unis ont voté en faveur du projet de résolution VII parce que, aux termes de ce projet, l'Assemblée générale était d'accord avec mon gouvernement pour reconnaître que Porto-Rico a cessé d'être un territoire non autonome au sens du Chapitre XI de la Charte des Nations Unies. Dans des questions de ce genre, les dispositions de la Charte limitent le rôle de l'Assemblée générale, qui ne peut que discuter, exprimer des opinions et faire des recommandations. En dernière analyse, seule la Puissance administrante peut décider qu'un territoire a cessé d'être un territoire non autonome.

166. Dans le cas de Porto-Rico, l'Assemblée générale a discuté le statut de ce territoire; dans la résolution qui vient d'être votée, elle a exprimé l'opinion que Porto-Rico n'est plus un territoire non autonome au sens de l'Article 73, e, de la Charte. Quels que soient les termes employés dans la résolution, l'Assemblée générale ne peut et ne saurait décider du statut d'un territoire en se fondant sur les dispositions de l'Article 73. L'Assemblée ne peut que discuter la question, exprimer des opinions et faire des recommandations. C'est sous réserve de cette interprétation que ma délégation a voté pour la résolution que nous venons d'adopter.

167. Pour terminer, je désire rendre hommage à ce grand homme d'Etat porto-ricain, le gouverneur Luis Muñoz Marín. Sous sa direction, le peuple si cultivé de Porto-Rico apporte une contribution magnifique à la démocratie et à la liberté. Son administration continuera à protéger dans l'avenir, comme elle l'a fait par le passé, les droits légitimes des minorités et les libertés qui leur sont chères et qui sont garanties par la Constitution de l'Etat associé de Porto-Rico. C'est pour défendre ces idéaux que les soldats de Porto-Rico ont combattu en Corée avec les forces des Nations Unies, et nous pouvons être sûrs que les objectifs élevés des Nations Unies ne trouveront nulle part un soutien plus chaleureux que dans l'Etat associé de Porto-Rico.

168. M. de MARCHENA (République Dominicaine) (*traduit de l'espagnol*): La délégation de la République Dominicaine a eu le plaisir de voter de nouveau pour le projet de résolution relatif à la cessation de la communication des renseignements concernant Porto-Rico, comme elle l'avait fait à la Quatrième Commission. Notre délégation, conformément aux instructions officielles du Gouvernement de la République Dominicaine, a fondé son attitude sur le fait que Porto-Rico, en raison de son statut constitutionnel et de sa transformation en Etat libre associé aux Etats-Unis d'Amérique, a accédé à l'autonomie, d'où il résulte que les Etats-Unis, devenus l'ex-Puissance administrante, ne sont plus tenus de communiquer des renseignements en vertu de l'Article 73, e, de la Charte.

169. En outre, nous avons tenu particulièrement compte du principe du droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes, qui, par l'intermédiaire des divers processus électoraux, a servi d'argument dominant pour réaffirmer en droit international la situation de Porto-Rico dans le cadre du Chapitre XI de la Charte et

même dans l'évolution locale de ses institutions de droit public.

170. Ma délégation ne peut dissimuler l'émotion qu'elle a éprouvée en écoutant la déclaration officielle qu'a faite cet après-midi M. Lodge au nom du président Eisenhower. Ces paroles donnent un éclat magnifique à la résolution proposée par la Quatrième Commission, et en même temps elles font honneur aux Etats-Unis, elles renforcent notre conviction et elles réaffirment que le destin de Porto-Rico est solidaire du nôtre, de celui de notre Amérique, de celui de l'Organisation des Nations Unies; aujourd'hui plus que jamais, le peuple porto-ricain peut compter sur l'appui fraternel et enthousiaste de la communauté internationale.

171. Mme MENON (Inde) (*traduit de l'anglais*): Nous avons entendu avec beaucoup d'intérêt la déclaration faite par le représentant des Etats-Unis au nom du Président de son pays. Au nom de ma délégation, j'aimerais donner au représentant des Etats-Unis l'assurance que, lorsque les Porto-Ricains seront entièrement libres, l'Inde sera le premier pays à féliciter le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis d'avoir mené à bien sa noble tâche et d'avoir ainsi donné l'exemple aux autres Etats Membres qui administrent des territoires. Ma délégation s'est vue cependant obligée de voter contre le projet de résolution VII autorisant le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis à cesser de transmettre des renseignements relatifs à Porto-Rico, parce qu'elle estime que l'Assemblée générale n'a pas étudié la question comme il convenait de le faire.

172. Lorsque la question a été examinée par le Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes, ma délégation a jugé que la décision finale revenait à l'Assemblée générale, et elle a voté dans ce sens pour deux raisons: d'abord, parce qu'à son avis l'Assemblée générale est seule compétente pour prendre une décision sur une question aussi importante; ensuite parce que ma délégation estimait que cette question pouvait être examinée d'une façon beaucoup plus complète par la Quatrième Commission. Le Secrétaire général avait, dans l'intervalle, reçu de nombreuses communications émanant de partis politiques importants et de représentants de ces groupes, qui demandaient à être entendus avant que la Commission ne prenne une décision. Ma délégation, avec plusieurs autres, estimait qu'il fallait faire droit à ces pétitions, et elle a voté en ce sens, mais l'opinion opposée a prévalu. Nous avons alors présenté un amendement au projet de résolution, dans lequel nous demandions la création d'un comité spécial chargé d'étudier la question, d'examiner les pétitions, d'accorder les audiences et de présenter l'an prochain un rapport à la Commission. Cette procédure signifiait évidemment un délai d'un an. C'était peu de chose, car nous considérions que l'avenir et le bien-être de plus de 2 millions de Porto-Ricains dépendaient de notre décision.

173. Ma délégation a toujours rendu l'hommage qui s'imposait à la loyauté, à la sincérité et au dévouement dont les Etats-Unis ont constamment fait preuve en s'acquittant des obligations de la Charte, et elle comprend les principes généraux qui motivent son attitude actuelle à l'égard de Porto-Rico. Mais cet hommage sincère ne doit pas nous faire oublier qu'il s'agit de l'avenir d'un peuple civilisé, héritier d'une riche culture dont il est fier; cette question mérite donc toute notre attention. Rien ne peut justifier la hâte dans ce domaine, car toutes les mesures que nous pourrions prendre auront des répercussions lointaines, non seulement sur

l'avenir de Porto-Rico et de ses 2 millions d'habitants, mais sur les autres 18 millions d'êtres humains qui, pour faire reconnaître leurs droits, livrent courageusement un combat désespéré contre la discrimination raciale, l'exploitation économique et la domination politique. Ils ont mis leur espoir dans l'Organisation des Nations Unies, et nos décisions doivent contribuer à justifier cet espoir.

174. C'est en tenant compte de tout cela que ma délégation a voté contre le projet de résolution. On a affirmé que Porto-Rico avait atteint l'autonomie complète que prévoit le Chapitre XI de la Charte et que, par conséquent, le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis n'avait plus à remplir les obligations qui lui incombent aux termes de l'Article 73, e. Nous ne doutons pas que des changements constitutionnels soient intervenus à Porto-Rico, ni que les Porto-Ricains soient parvenus à un accord avec les Etats-Unis. Nous avons étudié avec beaucoup de soin les documents qui se rapportent à cette question. Cette étude nous a permis d'aboutir à deux conclusions :

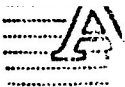
175. Tout d'abord, malgré le degré d'autonomie que lui confèrent les nouvelles dispositions constitutionnelles, Porto-Rico continue à relever des dispositions de l'Article 73, e, de la Charte. Deuxièmement, tout en reconnaissant que Porto-Rico a le droit de passer des accords de tout ordre avec les Etats-Unis ou d'autres pays, nous estimons que, pour être valables, ces accords doivent remplir deux conditions : il faut que Porto-Rico ne soit soumis à aucune pression extérieure au moment de la signature d'un tel accord et il est indispensable que les méthodes démocratiques dont il est fait mention, telles que le référendum ou le plébiscite, soient appliquées dans une atmosphère de complète liberté démocratique. Ma délégation n'est pas certaine que ces deux conditions aient été remplies dans l'esprit de la Charte des Nations Unies.

176. Nous pensons d'autre part que l'Autorité chargée de l'administration ne peut abandonner la mission sacrée

qui lui a été confiée, et que l'Assemblée générale ne peut se dégager de cette responsabilité sans avoir longuement et mûrement réfléchi. Nous estimons que les populations des territoires non autonomes ont besoin de la protection qui leur est promise en vertu du Chapitre XI de la Charte pour accéder progressivement à l'autonomie complète. Cette protection ne saurait faire l'objet d'aucun troc et l'Assemblée ne peut abandonner cette garantie sur la recommandation de la seule Puissance administrante. Les Etats Membres qui n'administrent pas de territoire ne doivent pas traiter ces questions hâtivement ou à la légère. Souvenons-nous qu'il faut avant tout penser aux intérêts des populations des territoires non autonomes.

177. Pour me résumer, je dirai que ma délégation n'est pas convaincue que Porto-Rico, dans son association actuelle avec les Etats-Unis, soit devenu un territoire autonome. Il ne saurait, à notre avis, y avoir d'association ou d'accord équitables et valables entre deux pays ou deux territoires si ce n'est sur la base de l'égalité. Nous estimons que l'indépendance doit précéder toute association volontaire ; les liens qui se forment entre deux peuples, dans un désir véritable de collaboration, ne sont nullement incompatibles avec l'indépendance ; mais une association d'Etats où subsiste une inégalité de statut ne peut que masquer les reliques d'un passé colonial. Cela serait contraire à la Charte qui tend, non pas à créer ou à perpétuer le colonialisme sous une forme quelconque, mais à l'éliminer complètement des systèmes et de la pensée politiques du monde moderne. C'est pourquoi ma délégation s'est vue contrainte de voter contre un projet de résolution qui ne tient pas compte du désir de Porto-Rico de bénéficier des garanties internationales pendant la période de non-autonomie, et dans laquelle il n'est pas question de donner aux Porto-Ricains la liberté à laquelle ils aspirent.

La séance est levée à 18 h. 30

ASSEMBLEE
GENERALEDistr.
GENERALE

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Huitième session

Points 32, 33 et 34 de l'ordre du jour

NOV 20 1953

RENSEIGNEMENTS RELATIFS AUX TERRITOIRES NON AUTONOMES

Rapport de la Quatrième CommissionRapporteur : M. N. RIFAI (Syrie)

1. A sa 435^{ème} séance plénière, le 17 septembre 1953, l'Assemblée générale a renvoyé à la Quatrième Commission les points suivants de son ordre du jour :

"32. Renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes transmis en vertu de l'Article 73 e de la Charte : rapports du Secrétaire général^{1/} et du Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes^{2/} :

a) Renseignements relatifs à la situation dans le domaine de l'enseignement^{3/}

b) Renseignements relatifs à la situation dans d'autres domaines^{4/}

c) Transmission de renseignements^{5/}

d) Participation des territoires non autonomes aux travaux du Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes : recommandations du Comité^{6/}

33. Facteurs dont il convient de tenir compte pour décider si un territoire est, ou n'est pas, un territoire dont les populations ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes : rapport du Comité ad hoc pour l'étude des facteurs (territoires non autonomes)^{7/}

^{1/} A/2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2410/Add.1, 2411, 2411/Add.1, 2413, 2413/Add.1-8, 2414, 2414/Add.1 et 2.

^{2/} Voir les Documents officiels de l'Assemblée générale, Huitième session, Supplément n° 15, document A/2465

^{3/} Ibid., première partie, section VI et deuxième partie.

^{4/} Ibid., première partie, sections VIII et IX.

^{5/} Ibid., première partie, section XII.

^{6/} Ibid., première partie, section XIII.

^{7/} A/2428

34. Cessation de la communication des renseignements visés à l'Article 73 e de la Charte : rapports du Comité ad hoc pour l'étude des facteurs (territoires non autonomes) et du Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes :

a) Antilles néerlandaises et Surinam^{8/}

b) Porto-Rico^{9/}

35. Election de deux membres du Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes."

^{8/} A/2428.

^{9/} A/2465, première partie, section VII.

FACTEURS DONT IL CONVIENT DE TENIR COMPTE POUR DECIDER SI UN TERRITOIRE EST, OU N'EST PAS, UN TERRITOIRE DONT LES POPULATIONS NE S'ADMINISTRENT PAS ENCORE COMPLETEMENT ELLES-MEMES

2. Ayant décidé d'examiner d'abord le point 33 de son ordre du jour, la Quatrième Commission a discuté cette question, de sa 322ème séance à sa 331ème séance. Elle était saisie du rapport de 1953 du Comité ad hoc pour l'étude des facteurs (territoires non autonomes) (A/2428), contenant une liste de facteurs permettant de décider si les territoires non autonomes s'administrent complètement eux-mêmes.

3. A la 325ème séance, le Brésil a présenté un projet de résolution (A/C.4/L.272) aux termes duquel l'Assemblée générale aurait :

1) Pris acte des conclusions du rapport du Comité ad hoc; 2) approuvé la liste de facteurs contenue dans ce rapport; 3) recommandé aux Puissances administrantes qui sont Membres de l'Organisation et à l'Assemblée générale de prendre pour guide la liste de facteurs jointe en annexe et d'appliquer ces facteurs en tenant compte de toute circonstance propre à chaque cas particulier, lorsqu'il s'agit de déterminer si, du fait de modifications de son statut constitutionnel, un territoire est visé, ou n'est plus visé par les dispositions du Chapitre XI de la Charte, afin que l'on puisse décider, d'après la documentation fournie en vertu de la résolution 222 (III), s'il y a lieu de continuer ou de cesser la communication des renseignements prévus au Chapitre XI de la Charte; 4) recommandé que, lors de l'étude de chaque cas particulier, on accorde une importance primordiale aux éléments qui prouveraient que la population intéressée a exercé son droit à disposer d'elle-même; 5) réaffirmé que ces facteurs, tout en servant de guide lorsqu'il s'agit de déterminer si les obligations énoncées à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte existent encore, ne doivent nullement être interprétés comme faisant obstacle à l'autonomie complète des territoires non autonomes; 6) réaffirmé également que, pour qu'un territoire puisse être considéré comme autonome dans les domaines économique, social et de l'enseignement, il est essentiel que sa population s'administre complètement elle-même selon les termes du Chapitre XI de la Charte; 7) chargé en outre le Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes, lorsqu'il s'acquittera des fonctions qui lui sont dévolues par le paragraphe 1 de la résolution 334 (IV) adoptée le 12 décembre 1949 et le paragraphe 2 de la résolution 448 (V) adoptée le 2 décembre 1950, d'étudier toute documentation qui sera désormais communiquée en vertu de la résolution 222 (III)

adoptée le 3 novembre 1948, en tenant compte de la liste de facteurs approuvée par la présente résolution, et d'autres considérations qui pourront intervenir à propos de chaque cas concret où l'on aura cessé de communiquer des renseignements; 8) recommandé que le Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes prenne l'initiative de proposer à l'Assemblée générale de reviser, d'interpréter ou de compléter la liste de facteurs, chaque fois que, du fait de difficultés d'application ou de circonstances nouvelles, le Comité le jugerait utile.

4. L'Arabie saoudite, la Bolivie, l'Egypte, le Guatemala, l'Indonésie, l'Irak, le Mexique, la Syrie, le Venezuela, le Yémen et la Yougoslavie ont présenté des amendements communs (A/C.4/L.273) à ce projet de résolution. Ces amendements avaient pour objet : 1) d'ajouter après le deuxième alinéa du préambule un nouveau paragraphe ainsi conçu : "Tenant compte du fait que l'Assemblée générale est compétente pour examiner les principes qui devraient guider l'Organisation des Nations Unies et les Etats Membres en ce qui concerne le respect des obligations qui découlent des dispositions du Chapitre XI de la Charte, et faire des recommandations à leur sujet;" 2) de supprimer le quatrième alinéa du préambule du projet de résolution; 3) de remplacer le paragraphe 2 du dispositif par le texte suivant : "Approuve la liste de facteurs qui, jointe en annexe, forme partie intégrante de la présente résolution;" 4) de modifier comme suit le début du paragraphe 3 du dispositif : "Recommande à l'Assemblée générale et aux membres administrants de prendre pour guide...etc"; de supprimer dans le même paragraphe les mots "et d'appliquer ces facteurs en tenant compte de toutes circonstances propres à chaque cas particulier"; de remplacer à la fin du même paragraphe les mots "afin que l'on puisse décider" par les mots "afin que l'Assemblée générale puisse décider"; 5) de remplacer le paragraphe 4 du dispositif par le texte suivant : "réaffirme que chaque cas d'espèce doit être examiné et tranché en tenant compte des circonstances qui lui sont **propres** et du droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes"; 6) d'ajouter, après le paragraphe comme paragraphes 5 et 6, les paragraphes suivants : "5. Considère que la validité de toute forme d'association entre un territoire non autonome et la métropole ou tout autre pays dépend essentiellement de la volonté de la population intéressée, librement exprimée au moment où cette association est décidée."; 6. Considère que c'est avant tout en accédant à l'indépendance que les territoires visés au Chapitre XI de la Charte peuvent atteindre l'autonomie complète, bien qu'il soit admis qu'un territoire peut aussi devenir autonome en s'associant à un Etat ou à :

un groupe d'Etats, à condition que cette association soit effectuée librement et sur un pied d'égalité absolue."; 7) de donner le numéro 7 au paragraphe 5 du dispositif et de remplacer les mots "à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73" par les mots "au Chapitre XI"; 8) de donner le numéro 8 au paragraphe 6 du dispositif et, à la fin du paragraphe, de supprimer les mots "selon les termes du Chapitre XI de la Charte"; 9) de donner le numéro 9 au paragraphe 7 du dispositif et de modifier comme suit le début du paragraphe : "9. Charge le Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes d'étudier toute documentation qui ..."; 10) de modifier comme suit le dernier paragraphe du dispositif : "Recommande que le Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes prenne l'initiative de proposer lorsqu'il le juge utile des modifications propres à améliorer la liste de facteurs en fonction des circonstances".

5. Les onze auteurs des amendements précités ont proposé d'autres amendements (A/C.4/L.274) à la liste de facteurs approuvée par le Comité ad hoc pour l'étude des facteurs (territoires non autonomes) (A/2428). Ces amendements étaient les suivants :

Première partie (Facteurs permettant de conclure qu'une population a accédé à l'indépendance) : - modifier le facteur A.4 comme suit : "Défense nationale. Droit souverain d'assurer sa défense nationale".

Deuxième partie : 1) remplacer le titre de cette partie par le titre suivant "Facteurs permettant de conclure qu'une population a accédé à une autre forme distincte d'autonomie"; 2) faire du facteur A.1 le facteur A.6; 3) faire du facteur A.2 le facteur A.1; 4) ajouter le texte suivant, comme facteur A.2 : "Liberté de choix. Liberté pour la population de choisir entre plusieurs possibilités, y compris l'indépendance, en vertu du droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes"; 5) rédiger le facteur A.3 comme suit : "Limitation volontaire de souveraineté. Mesure dans laquelle il est prouvé que l'attribut ou les attributs de la souveraineté qui ne s'exercent plus à titre individuel seront exercés à titre collectif par l'entité plus vaste ainsi constituée et liberté, pour la population d'un territoire qui s'est associé à la métropole, de modifier ce statut à tout moment, en exprimant sa volonté par voies démocratiques"; 6) ajouter un nouveau facteur A.4 ainsi conçu : "Considérations d'ordre géographique. Mesure dans

laquelle les relations du territoire non autonome avec le siège du gouvernement métropolitain peuvent être affectées par des circonstances tenant à leur situation géographique respective, telles que le fait qu'ils sont séparés par une étendue de terre ou de mer ou par d'autres obstacles naturels; et mesure dans laquelle les intérêts des Etats limitrophes peuvent être affectés, compte tenu du principe général de bon voisinage mentionné à l'Article 74 de la Charte"; 7) ajouter un facteur A.5 ainsi conçu : "Considérations d'ordre ethnique et culturel. Mesure dans laquelle la race, la langue, la religion ou le patrimoine culturel, les intérêts ou les aspirations différencient les populations du territoire d'avec celles du pays auquel elles s'associent librement"; 8) ajouter un nouveau facteur B.2 ainsi conçu : "Changement de statut politique. Droit de la métropole ou du territoire de modifier le statut politique de ce dernier, compte tenu de la question de savoir si le territoire fait ou non l'objet d'une revendication ou d'une contestation de la part d'un autre Etat."; 9) faire du facteur B.2 actuel le facteur B.3.

Troisième partie. (Facteurs permettant de conclure qu'un territoire est librement associé à la métropole ou à un autre pays et en constitue une partie intégrante). 1) ajouter dans le titre ci-dessus les mots "sur un pied d'égalité" entre le mot "associé" et les mots "à la métropole"; 2) remplacer à la fin du titre les mots "et en constitue une partie intégrante," par les mots "comme partie intégrante de ces pays, ou sous toute autre forme"; 3) faire du facteur A.1 le facteur A.5; 4) faire du facteur A.2 le facteur A.1; 5) ajouter un facteur A.2 ainsi conçu : "Liberté pour la population d'un territoire non autonome qui s'est associé avec la métropole comme partie intégrante de ce pays, ou sous toute autre forme, de modifier ce statut en exprimant sa volonté par des voies démocratiques."; 6) ajouter le texte suivant au facteur A.3 actuel : "Droit de la métropole ou du territoire de modifier le statut politique de ce dernier, compte tenu de la question de savoir si le territoire fait ou non l'objet d'une revendication ou d'une contestation de la part d'un autre Etat."; 7) supprimer, dans le facteur A.5, qui deviendrait le facteur A.6, les mots "...a) en vertu de la Constitution de la métropole; ou b)"; 8) reproduire, comme facteur B.2, le texte du facteur C.2 de la deuxième partie de la liste de facteurs, les facteurs B.2 et B.3 devenant les facteurs B.3 et B.4; 9) reproduire comme facteur C.5 le texte du facteur C.3 de la deuxième partie de la liste de facteurs.

6. Le Président a proposé à la Quatrième Commission que le vote ait lieu sur la base du projet de résolution brésilien et des amendements à ce projet. En conséquence, lorsqu'elle en viendrait au paragraphe 2 du dispositif du projet de résolution, qui proposait d'approuver la liste de facteurs contenue dans le rapport du Comité ad hoc, la Commission examinerait l'amendement approuvant une liste à joindre à la résolution; si elle l'adoptait, elle étudierait, immédiatement après, la liste de facteurs et les amendements à cette liste.

7. Toutefois, à sa 329^{ème} séance, à la suite d'une proposition verbale du représentant du Guatemala, la Commission a décidé, par 26 voix contre 22, avec 4 abstentions, de voter sur la liste de facteurs approuvée par le Comité ad hoc pour l'étude des facteurs (A/2428) et sur les amendements à cette liste proposés par l'Arabie saoudite, la Bolivie, l'Egypte, le Guatemala, l'Indonésie, l'Irak, le Mexique, la Syrie, le Venezuela, le Yémen et la Yougoslavie (A/C.4/L.274), qui sont indiqués au paragraphe 5 ci-dessus.

8. Le vote a donné les résultats suivants :

Première partie

1. Le texte proposé pour remplacer le facteur A.4 a été adopté par 31 voix contre 9, avec 10 abstentions.
2. L'ensemble de la première partie, dans sa forme remaniée, a été adopté par 34 voix contre 7, avec 10 abstentions.

Deuxième partie

1. Le texte proposé pour remplacer le titre actuel a été adopté par 27 voix contre 15, avec 9 abstentions.
2. L'amendement tendant à faire du facteur A.1 le facteur A.6 a été adopté par 21 voix contre 12, avec 16 abstentions.
3. L'amendement tendant à ajouter à la liste un nouveau facteur portant le numéro A.2 a été adopté par 27 voix contre 15, avec 8 abstentions.
4. L'amendement tendant à remplacer le texte actuel du facteur A.3 a été mis aux voix en deux parties. La première partie jusqu'aux mots "l'entité plus vaste ainsi constituée" a été adoptée par 30 voix contre 8, avec 12 abstentions. La seconde partie a été adoptée, à la suite

d'un vote par appel nominal, par 25 voix contre 18, avec 10 abstentions.

Ont voté pour : Afghanistan, Argentine, Bolivie, Chili, Costa-Rica, Cuba, Egypte, Salvador, Guatemala, Haïti, Indonésie, Iran, Irak; Liban, Libéria, Mexique, Pakistan, Philippines, Arabie saoudite, Syrie, Thaïlande, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yémen, Yougoslavie.

Ont voté contre: Australie, Belgique, République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie, Canada, Colombie, Tchécoslovaquie, France, Luxembourg, Pays-Bas, Nouvelle-Zélande, Norvège, Pérou, Pologne, Suède, République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine, Union Sud-Africaine, Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques, Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord.

Se sont abstenus : Brésil, Birmanie, Chine, Danemark, République Dominicaine, Ethiopie, Grèce, Inde, Israël, Etats-Unis d'Amérique.

L'ensemble de l'amendement a été adopté par 25 voix contre 18, avec 9 abstentions.

5. L'amendement tendant à ajouter à la liste un nouveau facteur portant le numéro A.4 a été mis aux voix en deux parties. La première partie, jusqu'aux mots "ou par d'autres obstacles naturels;", a été adoptée par 26 voix contre 14, avec 11 abstentions. La deuxième partie a été adoptée par 23 voix contre 18, avec 10 abstentions. L'ensemble de l'amendement a été adopté par 24 voix contre 19, avec 10 abstentions.
6. L'amendement tendant à ajouter à la liste un nouveau facteur portant le numéro A.5 a été adopté par 26 voix contre 17, avec 8 abstentions.
7. L'amendement tendant à ajouter à la liste un nouveau facteur portant le numéro B.2 et à faire du facteur B.2 le facteur B.3 a été adopté par 23 voix contre 18, avec 12 abstentions.

8. L'ensemble de la deuxième partie de la liste de facteurs, dans sa forme remaniée, a été adopté par 24 voix contre 18, avec 11 abstentions.

Troisième partie

1. L'amendement tendant à ajouter dans le titre les mots "sur un pied d'égalité" entre le mot "associé" et les mots "à la métropole" a été adopté par 25 voix contre 15, avec 13 abstentions.
2. L'amendement tendant à ajouter les mots "ou sous toute autre forme" à la fin du titre a été adopté par 26 voix contre 14, avec 13 abstentions.
3. L'amendement tendant à faire du facteur A.1 le facteur A.5 et du facteur A.2 le facteur A.1 a été adopté par 23 voix contre 9 avec 18 abstentions.
4. L'amendement tendant à ajouter à la liste un nouveau facteur portant le numéro A.2 a été adopté, à la suite d'un vote par appel nominal, par 25 voix contre 17, avec 10 abstentions :

Ont voté pour : Afghanistan, Argentine, Bolivie, Chili, Costa-Rica, Cuba, Egypte, Salvador, Guatemala, Haïti, Inde, Indonésie, Iran, Irak, Liban, Libéria, Mexique, Pakistan, Philippines, Arabie saoudite, Syrie, Thaïlande, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yougoslavie.

Ont voté contre : Australie, Belgique, République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie, Canada, Tchécoslovaquie, Danemark, France, Grèce, Luxembourg, Pays-Bas, Nouvelle-Zélande, Pologne, Suède, République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine, Union Sud-africaine, Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques, Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord.

Se sont abstenus : Brésil, Birmanie, Chine, Colombie, République Dominicaine, Ethiopie, Israël, Norvège, Pérou, Etats-Unis d'Amérique.

5. L'amendement tendant à compléter le texte actuel du facteur A.3 a été adopté par 22 voix contre 18, avec 11 abstentions. L'ensemble du facteur A.3, sous sa forme modifiée, a été adopté par 23 voix contre 18, avec 8 abstentions.
 6. L'amendement tendant à supprimer dans le texte du facteur A.5, qui portera désormais le numéro A.6 les mots "...a) en vertu de la Constitution de la métropole, ou b) "a été adopté par 28 voix contre 13, avec 10 abstentions. L'ensemble du facteur ainsi modifié a été adopté par 23 voix contre 18, avec 9 abstentions.
 7. L'amendement tendant à faire du facteur C.2 de la deuxième partie de la liste de facteurs le facteur B.2, les facteurs P.2 et B.3 de la liste actuelle devenant les facteurs B.3 et B.4 respectivement, a été adopté par 25 voix contre 16, avec 9 abstentions.
 8. L'amendement tendant à faire du facteur C.3 de la deuxième partie de la liste le facteur C.5 a été adopté par 25 voix contre 17, avec 8 abstentions.
 9. L'ensemble de la troisième partie de la liste de facteurs, ainsi modifié, a été adopté par 23 voix contre 16, avec 11 abstentions.
9. L'ensemble de la liste de facteurs, dans sa forme remaniée, a été adopté par 25 voix contre 18, avec 8 abstentions. La nouvelle liste de facteurs est jointe au projet de résolution I qui est reproduite à la fin du présent rapport.

10. A sa 330ème séance, la Commission a voté sur le projet de résolution du Brésil (A/C.4/L.272), paragraphe par paragraphe; elle a voté aussi sur les amendements qui se rapportaient à ce texte (A/C.4/L.273, L.275, L.277).

11. Dans une déclaration prononcée avant que la Commission ne passe au vote, le représentant du Brésil a annoncé que, vu l'adoption d'une liste de facteurs modifiée à la 329ème séance, la délégation brésilienne avait envisagé de retirer son projet de résolution. Cependant, afin de ne pas compliquer le travail de la Commission, elle s'était résolue à maintenir ce projet puisqu'il aurait pour effet, au cas où la Commission adopterait le paragraphe 2 du dispositif, d'annuler la liste de facteurs modifiée. Le représentant du Brésil a tenu à déclarer formellement que sa délégation cherchait ainsi à faciliter le travail de la Commission et qu'elle réservait la position qu'elle prendrait au cours des débats ultérieurs sur cette question en séance plénière de l'Assemblée générale.

12. Le vote sur le préambule du projet de résolution a donné les résultats suivants :

Le premier et le deuxième alinéas ont été adoptés à l'unanimité.

L'amendement tendant à ajouter, après le deuxième alinéa du préambule, un troisième alinéa, rédigé dans les termes indiqués dans le document A/C.4/L.273, a été adopté, à la suite d'un vote par appel nominal, par 37 voix contre 11, avec 2 abstentions.

Ont voté pour : Afghanistan, Argentine, Bolivie, Brésil, Birmanie, République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie, Chili, Chine, Colombie, Cuba, Tchécoslovaquie, République Dominicaine, Egypte, Ethiopie, Grèce, Guatemala, Haïti, Honduras, Inde, Indonésie, Iran, Irak, Israël, Liban, Libéria, Mexique, Pakistan, Philippines, Pologne, Arabie saoudite, Syrie, Thaïlande, République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine, Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yougoslavie.

Ont voté contre : Australie, Belgique, Canada, Danemark, France, Luxembourg, Pays-Bas, Nouvelle-Zélande, Union Sud-Africaine, Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord, Etats-Unis d'Amérique.

Se sont abstenus : Norvège, Sude.

Le troisième paragraphe du texte initial, qui devient ainsi le quatrième alinéa, a été adopté à l'unanimité.

A la suite du vote sur le paragraphe 2 du dispositif, dont le résultat est consigné plus loin, le quatrième alinéa du texte initial du préambule a été supprimé.

13. Le vote sur le dispositif du projet de résolution a donné les résultats suivants :

Le paragraphe 1 a été adopté à l'unanimité.

Paragraphe 2. A la demande du représentant d'Haïti, la proposition d'amendement présentée dans le document A/C.4/L.273 a été mise aux voix en deux parties. La première partie, ainsi conçue : "Approuve la liste de facteurs qui est jointe en annexe," a été rejetée par 24 voix contre 20, avec 3 abstentions. En conséquence, la deuxième partie : "comme partie intégrante de la présente résolution" n'avait plus lieu d'être et n'a pas été mise aux voix. L'Inde a proposé un amendement (A/C.4/L.277) au projet de résolution, tendant à remplacer les mots "contenue dans ce rapport", par les mots "adoptée par la Quatrième Commission". La Commission a décidé, par 25 voix contre 19, avec 4 abstentions, de mettre aux voix cet amendement qui a été adopté, à la suite d'un vote par appel nominal, par 30 voix contre 18, avec 4 abstentions :

Ont voté pour : Afghanistan, Argentine, Bolivie, Birmanie, République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie, Chili, Cuba, Tchécoslovaquie, Egypte, Ethiopie, Guatemala, Haïti, Honduras, Inde, Indonésie, Iran, Irak, Liban, Libéria, Mexique, Pakistan, Pologne, Arabie saoudite, Syrie, République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine, Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yémen, Yougoslavie.

Ont voté contre : Australie, Belgique, Brésil, Canada, Colombie, Danemark, République Dominicaine, France, Israël, Luxembourg, Pays-Bas, Nouvelle-Zélande, Norvège, Pérou, Suède, Union Sud-Africaine, Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord, Etats-Unis d'Amérique.

Se sont abstenus : Chine, Grèce, Philippines, Thaïlande.

Le paragraphe 2, ainsi modifié, a été adopté à la suite d'un vote par appel nominal, par 25 voix contre 23, avec 4 abstentions.

Ont voté pour : Afghanistan, Argentine, Bolivie, Birmanie, Chili, Cuba, Egypte, Ethiopie, Guatemala, Haïti, Honduras, Inde, Indonésie, Iran, Irak, Liban, Libéria, Mexique, Pakistan, Arabie saoudite, Syrie, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yémen, Yougoslavie.

Ont voté contre : Australie, Belgique, Brésil, République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie, Canada, Colombie, Tchécoslovaquie, Danemark, République Dominicaine, France, Israël, Luxembourg, Pays-Bas, Nouvelle-Zélande, Norvège, Pérou, Pologne, Suède, République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine, Union Sud-Africaine, Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques, Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord, Etats-Unis d'Amérique.

Se sont abstenus : Chine, Grèce, Philippines, Thaïlande.

Paragraphe 3. Le Brésil ayant accepté la première partie de l'amendement au paragraphe 3, dont le texte figure dans le document A/C.4/L.273, ce texte a été adopté sans objection, sinon de la part de la Pologne. L'amendement tendant à supprimer les mots "et d'appliquer ces facteurs en tenant compte de toutes circonstances propres à chaque cas particulier" a été adopté par 26 voix contre 18, avec 6 abstentions. Deux amendements proposés par les Philippines (A/C.4/L.275), tendant l'un à ajouter les mots "dans les consultations auxquelles elles procéderont" après les mots "pour guide", l'autre à ajouter après les mots "que l'on puisse décider" les mots "d'un commun accord" ont été rejetés, le premier par 26 voix contre 15, avec 9 abstentions, le second par 19 voix contre 13, avec 4 abstentions.

L'amendement (A/C.4/L.273) tendant à remplacer les mots "afin que l'on puisse décider" par les mots "afin que l'Assemblée générale puisse décider" a été adopté par 30 voix contre 15, avec 5 abstentions.

L'ensemble du paragraphe 3, ainsi modifié, a été adopté par 25 voix contre 23 avec 3 abstentions.

Paragraphe 4. L'amendement tendant à remplacer le paragraphe 4 par le texte présenté dans le document A/C.4/L.273, a été adopté par 25 voix contre 11, avec 4 abstentions.

Paragraphe 5. L'amendement tendant à ajouter le texte nouveau présenté dans le document A/C.4/L.273 a été adopté par 29 voix contre 19, avec 4 abstentions.

Paragraphe 6. A la demande du représentant de la Pologne, l'amendement tendant à ajouter un nouveau paragraphe 6 rédigé dans les termes indiqués dans le document A/C.4/L.273, a été mis aux voix en deux parties. La première partie, ainsi conçue : "Considère que c'est avant tout en accédant à l'indépendance que les territoires visés au Chapitre XI de la Charte peuvent atteindre l'autonomie complète" a été adoptée, à la suite d'un vote par appel nominal, par 25 voix contre 13, avec 4 abstentions.

Ont voté pour : Afghanistan, Argentine, Bolivie, Brésil, Birmanie, République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie, Chili, Colombie, Cuba, Tchécoslovaquie, République Dominicaine, Egypte, Grèce, Guatemala, Haïti, Honduras, Inde, Indonésie, Iran, Irak, Israël, Liban, Libéria, Mexique, Pérou, Philippines, Pologne, Arabie saoudite, Syrie, République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine, Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yémen, Yougoslavie.

Ont voté contre : Australie, Belgique, Canada, Danemark, France, Luxembourg, Pays-Bas, Nouvelle-Zélande, Norvège, Suède, Union Sud-Africaine, Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord, Etats-Unis d'Amérique.

Se sont abstenus : Chine, Ethiopie, Pakistan, Thaïlande.

La deuxième partie ainsi conçue : "bien qu'il soit admis qu'un territoire peut aussi devenir autonome en s'associant à un Etat ou à un groupe d'Etats à condition que cette association soit effectuée librement et sur un pied d'égalité absolue", a été adoptée par 28 voix contre 7, avec 15 abstentions. L'ensemble du paragraphe a été adopté par 28 voix contre 18, avec 3 abstentions.

Paragraphe 7. Le paragraphe 5 du texte initial, portant maintenant le numéro 7 et dans lequel les mots "à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73" sont remplacés par les mots "au Chapitre XI" a été adopté sans objection.

Paragraphe 8. Le paragraphe 6 du texte initial, qui porte maintenant le numéro 8, et dans lequel on a supprimé les mots "selon les termes du Chapitre XI de la Charte", a été adopté sans objection.

Paragraphe 9. Le paragraphe 7 du texte initial, qui porte maintenant le numéro 9 et dont le début a été modifié comme suit : "Charge le Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes", a été adopté par 23 voix contre 2, avec 21 abstentions. L'amendement tendant à supprimer les mots "lorsqu'il s'acquittera des fonctions... le 2 décembre 1950", a été adopté par 23 voix contre 3, avec 13 abstentions. L'ensemble du paragraphe, ainsi modifié, a été adopté par 28 voix contre 21, avec 2 abstentions. Les Etats-Unis d'Amérique ont retiré un amendement (A/C.4/L.276) tendant à ajouter entre les paragraphes 7 et 8 un nouveau paragraphe ainsi conçu : "Invite le Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes, chaque fois qu'il examinera la possibilité de reviser de nouveau la liste de facteurs, d'étudier les opinions que les Etats Membres ont exprimées à la huitième session de l'Assemblée générale, telles qu'elles sont consignées dans les comptes rendus analytiques pertinents".

Paragraphe 10. L'amendement tendant à remplacer le paragraphe 8 du texte initial par le texte nouveau présenté dans le document A/C.4/L.273, qui porterait le numéro 10, a été adopté par 33 voix contre 13, avec 4 abstentions.

14. L'ensemble du projet de résolution, dans sa forme remaniée, ainsi que l'ensemble de la liste de facteurs modifiée ont été adoptés à la suite d'un vote par appel nominal par 27 voix contre 23, avec 2 abstentions :

Ont voté pour : Afghanistan, Argentine, Bolivie, Birmanie, Chili, Cuba, Egypte, Ethiopie, Grèce, Guatemala, Haïti, Honduras, Inde, Indonésie, Iran, Irak, Liban, Libéria, Mexique, Pakistan, Philippines, Arabie saoudite, Syrie, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yémen, Yougoslavie.

Ont voté contre : Australie, Belgique, Brésil, République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie, Canada, Colombie, Tchécoslovaquie, Danemark, République Dominicaine, France, Israël, Luxembourg, Pays-Bas, Nouvelle-Zélande, Norvège, Pérou, Pologne, Suède, République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine, Union Sud-Africaine, Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques, Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord, Etats-Unis d'Amérique.

Se sont abstenus : Chine, Thaïlande.

15. Le texte du projet de résolution que la Commission a adopté, accompagné de la liste de facteurs modifiés, est reproduit à la fin du présent rapport (projet de résolution I).

Résolution I

FACTEURS DONT IL CONVIENT DE TENIR COMPTE POUR DECIDER SI UN TERRITOIRE EST, OU N'EST PAS, UN TERRITOIRE DONT LES POPULATIONS NE S'ADMINISTRENT PAS ENCORE COMPLETEMENT ELLES-MEMES

L'Assemblée générale,

Tenant compte des principes énoncés dans la Déclaration relative aux territoires non autonomes et des objectifs fixés dans le Chapitre XI de la Charte,

Rappelant que, dans ses résolutions 567 (VI) et 648 (VII) adoptées les 18 janvier et 10 décembre 1952 respectivement, elle a indiqué qu'il serait utile de dresser une liste de facteurs dont il conviendrait de tenir compte pour décider si un territoire a atteint ou non une complète autonomie,

Tenant compte du fait que l'Assemblée générale est compétente pour examiner les principes qui devraient guider l'Organisation des Nations Unies et les Etats Membres en ce qui concerne le respect des obligations qui découlent des dispositions du Chapitre XI de la Charte, et faire des recommandations à leur sujet,

Ayant examiné le rapport du Comité ad hoc pour l'étude des facteurs (territoires non autonomes) créé par la résolution 648 (VII) (A/2428),

1. Prend acte des conclusions du rapport du Comité ad hoc pour l'étude des facteurs (territoires non autonomes);
2. Approuve la liste de facteurs adoptée par la Quatrième Commission;
3. Recommande à l'Assemblée générale et aux Puissances administrantes de prendre pour guide la liste de facteurs jointe en annexe lorsqu'il s'agira de déterminer si, du fait de modifications de son statut constitutionnel, un territoire est ou n'est plus visé par les dispositions du Chapitre XI de la Charte, afin que l'Assemblée générale puisse décider, d'après la documentation fournie en vertu de la résolution 222 (III) adoptée le 3 novembre 1948, s'il y a lieu de continuer ou de cesser de communiquer les renseignements prévus au Chapitre XI de la Charte
4. Réaffirme que chaque cas d'espèce doit être examiné et tranché en tenant compte des circonstances qui lui sont propres et du droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes;

5. Considère que la validité de toute forme d'association entre un territoire non autonome et la métropole ou tout autre pays dépend essentiellement de la volonté de la population intéressée, librement exprimée au moment où cette association est décidée;

6. Considère que c'est avant tout en accédant à l'indépendance que les territoires visés au Chapitre XI de la Charte peuvent atteindre l'autonomie complète, bien qu'il soit admis qu'un territoire peut aussi devenir autonome en s'associant à un Etat ou à un groupe d'Etats, à condition que cette association soit effectuée librement et sur un pied d'égalité absolue;

7. Réaffirme que ces facteurs, tout en servant de guide lorsqu'il s'agit de déterminer si les obligations énoncées au Chapitre XI de la Charte existent encore, ne doivent nullement être interprétés comme faisant obstacle à l'autonomie complète d'un territoire non autonome;

8. Réaffirme également que, pour qu'un territoire puisse être considéré comme autonome dans les domaines économique, social et de l'enseignement, il est essentiel que sa population s'administre complètement elle-même;

9. Charge le Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes d'étudier toute documentation qui sera désormais communiquée en vertu de la résolution 222 (III), en tenant compte de la liste de facteurs approuvée par la présente résolution et d'autres considérations qui pourront intervenir à propos de chaque cas concret où l'on aura cessé de communiquer des renseignements;

10. Recommande que le Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes prenne l'initiative de proposer, lorsqu'il le jugera utile, des modifications propres à améliorer la liste de facteurs en fonction des circonstances.

ANNEXE

LISTE DE FACTEURS

FACTEURS PERMETTANT DE CONCLURE QU'UNE POPULATION
A ACCEDE A L'INDEPENDANCE OU A TOUTE AUTRE FORME
D'AUTONOMIE SEPARÉE

Première partie

FACTEURS PERMETTANT DE CONCLURE QU'UNE POPULATION A ACCELE A L'INDEPENDANCE

A. Statut international

1. Responsabilité internationale. Responsabilité internationale entière du territoire en ce qui concerne les actes inhérents à l'exercice de la souveraineté externe ainsi que pour ce qui est des actes relatifs à son administration interne.

2. Aptitude à devenir Membre de l'Organisation des Nations Unies.

3. Relations internationales en général. Capacité d'établir des relations directes de toute nature avec d'autres gouvernements et avec des institutions internationales ainsi que de négocier, signer et ratifier des traités.

4. Défense nationale. Droit souverain d'assurer sa défense nationale.

B. Autonomie interne

1. Forme de gouvernement. Pleine liberté pour la population de se donner la forme de gouvernement qu'elle juge bonne.

2. Gouvernement du territoire. Absence de contrôle ou d'intervention de la part du gouvernement d'un autre Etat sur le gouvernement interne (pouvoirs législatif, exécutif et judiciaire) et l'administration du territoire.

3. Compétence en matière économique, sociale et culturelle. Pleine compétence du gouvernement du territoire pour gérer les affaires économiques, sociales et culturelles de ce dernier.

Deuxième partie

FACTEURS PERMETTANT DE CONCLURE QU'UNE POPULATION A ACCEDE A UNE AUTRE FORME
DISTINCTE D'AUTONOMIE

A. Facteurs de caractère général

1. Opinion des populations. Opinion des populations du territoire librement exprimée, en connaissance de cause, et par des voies démocratiques, en ce qui concerne le statut ou le changement de statut qu'elles désirent.

2. Liberté de choix. Liberté pour la population de choisir entre plusieurs possibilités, y compris l'indépendance, en vertu du droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes.

3. Limitation volontaire de souveraineté. Mesure dans laquelle il est prouvé que l'attribut ou les attributs de la souveraineté qui ne s'exercent plus à titre individuel seront exercés à titre collectif par l'entité plus vaste ainsi constituée et liberté, pour la population d'un territoire qui s'est associé à la métropole, de modifier ce statut à tout moment, en exprimant sa volonté par des voies démocratiques.

4. Considérations d'ordre géographique. Mesure dans laquelle les relations du territoire non autonome avec le siège du gouvernement métropolitain peuvent être affectées par des circonstances tenant à leur situation géographique respective, telles que le fait qu'ils sont séparés par une étendue de terre ou de mer ou par d'autres obstacles naturels; et mesure dans laquelle les intérêts des Etats limitrophes peuvent être affectés, compte tenu du principe général de bon voisinage mentionné à l'Article 74 de la Charte.

5. Considérations d'ordre ethnique et culturel. Mesure dans laquelle la race, la langue, la religion ou le patrimoine culturel, les intérêts ou les aspirations différencient les populations du territoire d'avec celles du pays auquel elles s'associent librement.

6. Progrès politique. Progrès politique des populations suffisant pour leur permettre de décider elles-mêmes, en connaissance de cause, de l'avenir du territoire.

B. Statut international

1. Relations internationales en général. Degré et mesure dans lesquels le territoire jouit du pouvoir d'établir librement des relations directes de toute nature avec d'autres gouvernements et avec des institutions internationales ainsi que de négocier, signer et ratifier librement des traités. Degré et mesure dans

lesquels la métropole est liée, en vertu de dispositions constitutionnelles ou législatives, par les désirs librement exprimés du territoire, lorsqu'il s'agit de négocier, de signer ou de ratifier des conventions internationales qui peuvent influencer sur la situation du territoire.

2. Changement de statut politique. Droit de la métropole ou du territoire de modifier le statut politique de ce dernier, compte tenu de la question de savoir si le territoire fait ou non l'objet d'une revendication ou d'une contestation de la part d'un autre Etat.

3. Aptitude à devenir Membre de l'Organisation des Nations Unies.

C. Autonomie interne

1. Gouvernement du territoire. Nature et degré du contrôle et de l'intervention éventuelle du gouvernement d'un autre Etat sur le gouvernement interne, par exemple dans les domaines suivants :

Pouvoir législatif : Adoption des lois du territoire par une assemblée autochtone, soit élue tout entière par des voies libres et démocratiques, soit légalement constituée d'une manière librement approuvée par la population;

Pouvoir exécutif : Choix des membres du pouvoir exécutif par l'autorité compétente qui a, dans le territoire, l'agrément de la population autochtone, que cette autorité soit héréditaire ou élective, en tenant également compte, s'il y a lieu, de la nature et du degré de contrôle éventuel qu'exercerait directement ou indirectement sur la constitution et l'exercice du pouvoir exécutif un élément étranger;

Pouvoir judiciaire : Constitution des tribunaux et choix des juges.

2. Participation de la population du gouvernement. Participation effective de la population au gouvernement du territoire : a) Existe-t-il un système

électoral et représentatif adéquat et approprié ? b) Ce système électoral fonctionne-t-il sans intervention directe ou indirecte d'un gouvernement étranger ? 1/

3. Compétence en matière économique, sociale et culturelle. Degré d'autonomie en ce qui concerne les affaires économiques, sociales et culturelles, tel qu'il peut ressortir de l'absence plus ou moins complète de pression économique exercée, par exemple, par un groupe minoritaire étranger qui aurait acquis, grâce à l'aide d'une Puissance étrangère, une situation économique privilégiée, portant ainsi préjudice à l'intérêt économique de l'ensemble de la population du territoire; et tel qu'il peut ressortir également du degré de liberté et de l'absence de discrimination contre la population autochtone du territoire en matière de législation sociale et de progrès sociaux.

1/ Il y aurait lieu, par exemple, de se poser les questions suivantes : i) Chaque habitant adulte a-t-il le droit, en pleine égalité (sous réserve de garanties spéciales pour la protection des minorités), de déterminer le caractère du gouvernement du territoire ? ii) Ce pouvoir s'exerce-t-il librement, c'est-à-dire l'électeur n'est-il soumis à aucune influence injustifiée ni à aucune contrainte et n'y a-t-il pas de partis politiques frappés de certaines incapacités ? Pour l'application de ce facteur, on pourra vérifier les faits suivants :

a) Existence de mesures efficaces pour garantir que la population exprime sa volonté de façon démocratique;

b) Existence de plus d'un parti politique dans le territoire;

c) Existence d'un scrutin secret;

d) Existence d'interdictions légales visant le recours à des pratiques non démocratiques en période électorale;

e) Possibilité pour l'électeur de choisir entre des candidats qui appartiennent à des partis politiques différents;

f) Absence de "loi martiale" et de mesures analogues pendant la période électorale.

iii) Chaque personne est-elle libre d'exprimer ses opinions politiques, de se prononcer pour ou contre un parti ou une cause politique, et de critiquer le gouvernement au pouvoir ?

Troisième partie

FACTEURS PERMETTANT DE CONCLURE QU'UN TERRITOIRE EST LIBREMENT ASSOCIE SUR UN PIED D'EGALITE A LA METROPOLE OU A UN AUTRE PAYS COMME PARTIE INTEGRANTE DE CES PAYS, OU SCUS TOUTE AUTRE FORME

A. Facteurs de caractère général

1. Opinion des populations. Opinion des populations du territoire librement exprimée, en connaissance de cause et par des voies démocratiques, en ce qui concerne le statut ou le changement de statut qu'elles désirent.
2. Liberté de choix. Liberté pour la population d'un territoire non autonome qui s'est associé avec la métropole comme partie intégrante de ce pays, ou sous toute autre forme, de modifier ce statut en exprimant sa volonté par des voies démocratiques.
3. Considérations d'ordre géographique. Mesure dans laquelle les relations du territoire avec le siège du gouvernement central peuvent être affectées par des circonstances tenant à leur situation géographique respective, telles que le fait qu'ils sont séparés par une étendue de terre ou de mer ou par d'autres obstacles naturels. Droit de la métropole ou du territoire de modifier le statut politique de ce dernier, compte tenu de la question de savoir si le territoire fait ou non l'objet d'une revendication ou d'une contestation de la part d'un autre Etat.
4. Considérations ethniques et culturelles. Mesure dans laquelle la race, la langue, la religion ou le patrimoine culturel, les intérêts ou les aspirations différencient les populations du territoire d'avec celles du pays auquel elles s'associent librement.
5. Progrès politique. Progrès politique des populations suffisant pour leur permettre de décider elles-mêmes, en connaissance de cause, de l'avenir du territoire.
6. Considérations d'ordre constitutionnel. Association en vertu d'un traité ou d'un accord bilatéral affectant le statut du territoire, en tenant compte des éléments suivants : i) si les garanties constitutionnelles s'appliquent d'une

façon égale au territoire associé; ii) s'il existe dans certains domaines une compétence réservée, en vertu de la Constitution, en faveur du territoire ou du pouvoir central; et iii) si le territoire a le droit de participer sur un pied d'égalité aux modifications qui peuvent être apportées au régime constitutionnel de l'Etat.

B. Statut

1. Représentation sur le plan législatif. Représentation sans discrimination au sein des organes législatifs centraux, sur un pied d'égalité avec les autres habitants et les autres régions.

2. Participation de la population au gouvernement. Participation effective de la population au gouvernement du territoire : a) Existe-t-il un système électoral et représentatif adéquat et approprié ? b) Ce système électoral fonctionne-t-il sans intervention directe ou indirecte d'un gouvernement étranger ? 1/

3. Citoyenneté. Citoyenneté sans discrimination, sur un pied d'égalité avec les autres habitants.

4. Fonctionnaires du gouvernement. Accès des fonctionnaires originaires du territoire, par nomination ou élection, à tous les emplois publics relevant du pouvoir central dans les mêmes conditions que ceux qui sont originaires des autres parties du pays.

C. Conditions internes d'ordre constitutionnel

1. Droit de vote. Suffrage universel et égal pour tous, et élections périodiques libres dans lesquelles l'électeur n'est soumis à aucune influence

1/ Voir la note précédente.

injustifiée ni à aucune contrainte, et dans lesquelles aucun parti politique n'est frappé de certaines incapacités.^{1/}

2. Droits et statut des habitants. Dans un système unitaire, droits et statut égaux pour les habitants et organes locaux du territoire à ceux qui sont reconnus aux habitants et aux organes locaux d'autres parties du pays, et, dans un système fédéral, degré identique d'autonomie pour les habitants et organes locaux de toutes les parties de la Fédération.

3. Fonctionnaires locaux. Nomination ou élection des fonctionnaires dans le territoire dans les mêmes conditions que ceux qui sont nommés ou élus dans les autres parties du pays.

1/ Il y aurait lieu, par exemple, de vérifier les faits suivants :

- a) Existence des mesures efficaces pour garantir que la population exprime sa volonté de façon démocratique;
- b) Existence de plus d'un parti politique dans le territoire;
- c) Existence d'un scrutin secret;
- d) Existence d'interdictions légales visant le recours à des pratiques non démocratiques en période électorale;
- e) Possibilité pour l'électeur de choisir entre des candidats qui appartiennent à des partis politiques différents;
- f) Absence de "loi martiale" et de mesures analogues pendant la période électorale;
- g) Liberté pour chaque personne d'exprimer ses opinions politiques, de se prononcer pour ou contre un parti ou une cause politique, et de critiquer le gouvernement au pouvoir.

4. Législation interne. Compétence législative ou réglementaire locale égale à la compétence législative ou réglementaire dont bénéficient les autres parties du territoire et exercée dans les mêmes conditions.

5. Compétence en matière économique, sociale et culturelle. Degré d'autonomie en ce qui concerne les affaires économiques, sociales et culturelles, tel qu'il peut ressortir de l'absence plus ou moins complète de pression économique exercée, par exemple, par un groupe minoritaire étranger qui aurait acquis, grâce à l'aide d'une Puissance étrangère, une situation économique privilégiée, portant ainsi préjudice à l'intérêt économique de l'ensemble de la population du territoire; et tel qu'il peut ressortir également du degré de liberté et de l'absence de discrimination contre la population autochtone du territoire en matière de législation sociale et de progrès sociaux.

Nations Unies
**ASSEMBLEE
GENERALE**

HUITIEME SESSION
Documents officiels



45
QUATRIEME COMMISSION, 322^e
SEANCE

Jeudi 1er octobre 1953,
à 10 h. 45

New-York

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Président: M. Santiago PEREZ PEREZ (Venezuela).

Facteurs dont il convient de tenir compte pour décider si un territoire est, ou n'est pas, un territoire dont les populations ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes: rapport du Comité *ad hoc* pour l'étude des facteurs (territoires non autonomes) (A/2428) [*suite*]

[Point 33 *]

* Numéro affecté à la question dans l'ordre du jour de l'Assemblée générale.

9. Mme MENON (Inde) fait remarquer que le problème des facteurs a été porté devant l'Assemblée générale dès sa création. En 1946, les Membres administrants se sont engagés à communiquer au Secrétaire général des renseignements sur soixante-quatorze territoires. Cette liste, bien qu'incomplète, a été acceptée sans discussion par l'Assemblée générale [résolution 66 (I)]. Toutefois, dès 1948, certains gouvernements avaient cessé de communiquer des renseignements pour onze de ces territoires. De nombreux États Membres ont estimé que l'Assemblée générale était en droit de connaître les motifs de cette omission, d'où la résolution 22 (III). Cette résolution est à l'origine de l'étude des facteurs.

10. Le dernier rapport du Comité *ad hoc* pour l'étude des facteurs (A/2428) n'ajoute pas grand-chose au rapport présenté à l'Assemblée générale lors de sa septième session (A/2178). La délégation de l'Inde doute qu'il soit utile de poursuivre une discussion purement théorique sur ce point, d'autant plus que les membres de la Commission s'accordent à reconnaître qu'une liste de facteurs du genre de celle que le Comité *ad hoc* a approuvée ne serait guère qu'un guide et que chaque cas d'espèce exigerait de toute façon une étude spéciale et un examen attentif.

11. Les représentants de Puissances administrantes ne sont pas d'accord avec les autres Membres de la Commission sur la définition de l'autonomie. C'est là, toutefois, une question qu'il faut examiner séparément, compte tenu des circonstances propres à chaque cas. La Commission ne s'occupe pour le moment que du rapport du Comité *ad hoc*, que la délégation de l'Inde est disposée à approuver, car elle estime qu'il peut à l'avenir guider utilement les membres de la Commission dans l'examen des problèmes d'ordre pratique. Comme les notions fondamentales de souveraineté nationale et d'autonomie évoluent constamment en fonction des exigences sans cesse accrues de la coopération internationale, il est impossible d'énumérer ou de définir avec une précision absolue les facteurs qui viendraient à être approuvés. S'il est impossible de ramener l'autonomie à une série de facteurs, puisque la lutte pour la liberté symbolise la volonté des peuples dressés contre la domination, la liste des facteurs peut néanmoins aider la Commission à mieux comprendre certaines situations particulières faussées par les conflits d'intérêts entre Puissances administrantes et peuples dépendants.

12. Il se peut fort bien que chaque délégation interprète cette liste des facteurs à sa guise, mais il ne servirait de rien de chercher à définir plus avant. La Commission doit s'opposer à toute manœuvre tendant à limiter le droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes et le droit à une complète autonomie prévu au Chapitre XI de la Charte. Elle doit veiller à ce que les Puissances administrantes, en cherchant à dégager leur responsabilité tout en conservant la haute main sur un territoire, ne retardent pas l'accession de ce territoire à l'autonomie. Dans cet esprit, et pleinement consciente des objectifs du Chapitre XI, la délégation de l'Inde approuve le rapport du Comité *ad hoc*.

13. M. SPITS (Pays-Bas) fait observer que le Comité *ad hoc*, si l'on en croit le paragraphe 9 de son rapport, estime qu'il n'y a pas lieu de poursuivre l'examen de la question. Les facteurs ont été étudiés successivement, en 1951, par le Comité spécial pour l'examen des renseignements transmis en vertu de l'Article 73, e, de la Charte et par un de ses sous-comités, ainsi que par la Quatrième Commission — lors de la sixième session de

l'Assemblée générale — et la Sous-Commission de la Quatrième Commission; en 1952 par le Comité *ad hoc* pour l'étude des facteurs (territoires non autonomes) et, à la septième session de l'Assemblée générale, par la Quatrième Commission; enfin, en 1953, par le Comité *ad hoc* dont la Commission étudie actuellement le rapport. La délégation des Pays-Bas estime que si cette étude dure depuis si longtemps, c'est que l'Assemblée générale cherche à s'acquitter d'une tâche impossible. Lorsque le dernier Comité *ad hoc* a voulu définir la notion de "complète autonomie", il a échoué pour la simple raison que cette notion échappe à la définition. Il s'ensuit que si l'on veut poser des principes dans ce domaine, on va nécessairement au-devant d'un échec ou, tout au moins, d'un demi-échec.

14. En 1931, le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni avait demandé à la Société des Nations d'être déchargé de son mandat sur l'Irak. Lors de l'examen de cette requête par la Commission permanente des mandats, on a proposé de fixer des critères généraux d'après lesquels il serait possible de déterminer si un territoire sous mandat a atteint un degré de développement politique qui permet de le considérer comme un territoire complètement autonome. Après un examen approfondi de cette proposition, la Commission des mandats en est venue à la conclusion qu'il est impossible d'arrêter des règles générales, savoir si un territoire doit être ou non considéré comme autonome n'étant pas une question de principes mais une question de faits. Cette conclusion demeure valable aujourd'hui.

15. Le Comité *ad hoc* a néanmoins approuvé une liste de facteurs et le mieux que la Quatrième Commission puisse faire, c'est de considérer cette liste comme définitive. Les facteurs énumérés pourront servir de guide à une Puissance administrante qui, ayant décidé de ne plus communiquer de renseignements sur un territoire déterminé, voudrait faire tenir au Secrétaire général les données requises par la résolution 222 (III) de l'Assemblée générale. Dans bien des cas, ces facteurs ne seront pas applicables; en effet, pour savoir si un territoire est ou non autonome, il ne suffit pas d'appliquer mécaniquement les formules de la liste, il faut aussi — et c'est là le plus important — bien connaître les conditions politiques et sociales qui règnent dans le territoire et les liens qui peuvent exister entre ce territoire et un autre pays. Tous ces éléments déterminent le statut du territoire et seuls ceux qui les connaissent intimement — c'est-à-dire le gouvernement du territoire et le gouvernement de l'ancienne Puissance administrante — sont à même de décider si un territoire s'administre lui-même.

16. M. DJERDJA (Yougoslavie) appelle l'attention des membres de la Commission sur le fait que, des soixante-quatorze territoires non autonomes pour lesquels, à l'origine, la communication de renseignements avait été la règle, quinze échappent aujourd'hui à la surveillance de l'Organisation des Nations Unies. En d'autres termes, les Puissances administrantes tendent de plus en plus à modifier le statut des territoires non autonomes sans en référer à l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Cette procédure compromet les buts mêmes que la communauté internationale s'est proposé d'atteindre lorsqu'elle a adopté le Chapitre XI de la Charte. Envisagée à la lumière de ces considérations, la question des facteurs est loin d'être de pure rhétorique et l'on ne saurait la traiter comme telle. C'est une question qui pose des problèmes juridiques et politiques ardues. Il est notamment d'une importance capitale de savoir si la Commission conclura que des populations qui ne s'ad-

ministrent pas encore elles-mêmes peuvent être légitimement privées de la protection internationale par une action unilatérale.

17. M. Djerdja félicite ceux qui ont participé aux travaux du Comité *ad hoc* des efforts qu'ils ont consacrés à l'élaboration du présent rapport. On y trouve l'énumération d'un certain nombre de concepts relativement clairs et cohérents, à partir desquels on pourra utilement chercher à préciser encore la liste des facteurs, comme le Comité *ad hoc* l'a lui-même reconnu au paragraphe 9 de son rapport.

18. Pour arrêter la liste des facteurs il faut tenir compte des buts et principes de la Charte ainsi que des obligations qui peuvent incomber à l'Assemblée générale dans les cas d'espèce. Le Chapitre XI de la Charte a pour objet de garantir la protection internationale des populations qui ne s'administrent pas encore elles-mêmes et d'assurer leur libre évolution vers l'émancipation. Le sort de ces populations est aujourd'hui si étroitement lié aux vastes efforts que la communauté internationale déploie en faveur du progrès et de la paix du monde, qu'il n'est plus possible de l'abandonner à la compétence exclusive des États: il s'agit maintenant d'une question d'intérêt international. La protection des populations qui ne s'administrent pas encore elles-mêmes doit s'exercer à tous les stades de leur développement et ne cesser que lorsqu'elles ont atteint le but final, qui est l'indépendance ou l'autonomie complète.

19. Le paragraphe 2 de l'Article premier de la Charte renferme les éléments essentiels dont les Membres administrants et l'Organisation des Nations Unies doivent tenir compte pour résoudre les problèmes relatifs aux territoires non autonomes; ces éléments sont le droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes, le principe de leur égalité, et le lien entre ces considérations et les tentatives entreprises par l'Organisation des Nations Unies pour affermir la paix du monde. Le droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes est consacré dans le Chapitre XI, aux termes duquel les Membres administrants reconnaissent la primauté des intérêts des populations des territoires non autonomes, leur obligation d'aider ces populations à réaliser des progrès dans l'ordre politique, économique et social, de développer leur capacité de s'administrer elles-mêmes et de tenir compte de leurs aspirations politiques, en vue de les amener, en dernière analyse, à l'autonomie complète. En assumant ces obligations, les Membres administrants avaient indiqué qu'ils ne les répudieraient pas avant que ne soient atteints les buts ultimes du Chapitre XI, et, à la première session de l'Assemblée générale, ils avaient déclaré leur intention de communiquer des renseignements concernant soixante-quatorze territoires. Mais, depuis, certains Membres administrants ont interprété de façon unilatérale les buts énoncés au Chapitre XI et ont cessé de communiquer des renseignements au sujet d'un territoire donné, en alléguant que ce territoire avait accédé à une certaine autonomie dans tel ou tel domaine ou s'était associé à la métropole ou à l'un de ses territoires. L'Organisation des Nations Unies s'est donc vue dans l'obligation d'assumer la tâche de déterminer si le degré d'autonomie atteint par un territoire donné était bien tel que ce territoire cessait de relever des dispositions du Chapitre XI et que les droits et obligations mutuels stipulés dans la Charte étaient devenus caducs. Il a fallu qu'elle examine si les mesures prises par les Membres administrants étaient légales et qu'elle établisse si elles étaient conformes à la Charte.

20. Il faut bien reconnaître que le rapport dont la Commission est saisie n'apporte pas une réponse claire et nette aux questions précises que posent les décisions des Membres administrants. Il convient d'en remanier le texte si l'on veut en faire un instrument capable d'assurer la mise en œuvre du droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes.

21. Le droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes implique que toute population doit avoir la liberté pleine et entière de faire un choix entre plusieurs solutions, l'une de ces solutions étant l'indépendance, et de réserver la faculté de modifier à une date ultérieure sa décision définitive. Au i la délégation yougoslave appuierait elle sans réserve la proposition présentée au Comité *ad hoc* par le représentant du Guatemala et exposée au paragraphe 21 du rapport. Aucune mesure n'est possible sur la portée de cette proposition, étant donné que la question inscrite à l'ordre du jour concerne les territoires non autonomes. Le facteur qui doit gouverner en tête de toute liste est la volonté clairement et librement exprimée des populations; cette volonté doit constituer la loi suprême. Tous les autres facteurs que la Commission jugerait nécessaire d'approuver doivent être retenus, non pas en tant que facteurs décisifs en eux-mêmes, mais en tant que conditions indispensables du respect de ce facteur fondamental. La reconnaissance du droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes est le fondement le plus ferme des relations démocratiques, de la collaboration dans l'égalité et de la paix internationale. La méconnaissance ou la violation de ce droit est la principale source des troubles et des dangers qui assaillent le monde.

22. L'argument selon lequel un territoire pourrait être habité par des populations diverses aspirant chacune à une solution différente ne saurait l'emporter sur le principe que la volonté des populations doit être respectée en toutes circonstances. Au surplus, cet argument ne fait que confirmer le représentant de la Yougoslavie dans ses doutes sur la valeur des diverses unions administratives, fédérations et autres groupements analogues qui ne font qu'entraver les justes aspirations des populations des territoires non autonomes à une existence indépendante, en les incorporant dans des systèmes fondés sur des principes qui ne favorisent pas la réalisation de ces aspirations. Créer de façon artificielle la cohésion et la stabilité là où les conditions ne s'y prêtent pas naturellement doit nécessairement aboutir à l'instabilité et au conflit.

23. La délégation yougoslave ne partage pas l'opinion suivant laquelle il faudrait accorder la première place au progrès politique. On ne saurait mettre en doute la prise de conscience politique ni la maturité d'aucun des peuples qui exigent que l'on donne satisfaction à leurs aspirations nationales, pas plus que leur capacité de décider de leur propre sort. De toute façon, qui serait compétent pour trancher la question, et sur quelle norme s'appuierait-on? Le fait pour un peuple de revendiquer obstinément, au prix de sacrifices considérables, son indépendance, suffit à prouver cette prise de conscience politique et rend superflue toute définition légale ou technique.

24. On pourrait abrégier la liste des facteurs énumérés dans la première partie de la liste approuvée par le Comité *ad hoc* (A/2428, section VI) puisque l'accession à l'indépendance est la seule conclusion normale de l'évolution des territoires non autonomes. Le facteur A. 1 (Responsabilité internationale) englobe tous les autres facteurs compris dans cette partie, et, de ce fait,

les rend plus ou moins superflus. Le droit qu'a un Etat de solliciter son admission dans l'Organisation des Nations Unies, ou d'entretenir des relations sur le plan international et de conclure des accords militaires, est propre à la souveraineté extérieure; il ne pourrait être aliéné et n'a pas à être mentionné à part. Quant aux facteurs relatifs à l'administration intérieure, la délégation yougoslave ne pense pas qu'ils soient nécessaires, ni même qu'il faille les recommander. Il va sans dire qu'un Etat indépendant a compétence dans les domaines politique, économique, social et culturel. Seule la population de chaque Etat a voix au chapitre lorsqu'il s'agit du régime politique, et toute tentative pour associer le destin d'un peuple à son régime violerait la Charte et le droit international.

25. La délégation yougoslave trouve difficile d'admettre que le stade ultime du développement politique puisse résider dans l'établissement de régimes autonomes autres que l'indépendance, dans le cadre d'une union permanente avec la métropole ou sous d'autres aspects. Néanmoins, on peut admettre qu'un peuple se prononce librement en faveur d'un statut d'association, pourvu que ledit statut ne constitue qu'une étape dans la voie de l'indépendance, que l'Organisation des Nations Unies permettrait d'atteindre en continuant d'accorder activement son aide et en exerçant à cette fin son contrôle. En pareil cas, il faudrait s'assurer que certaines conditions sont remplies, et notamment le libre choix entre plusieurs formules, dont l'indépendance, la libre acceptation de ce statut par les habitants du territoire — auquel cas l'Organisation des Nations Unies doit avoir la possibilité de vérifier, au préalable, que la population est à même de prendre sa décision sans contrainte aucune — l'absence de toute ingérence de l'étranger dans les affaires extérieures et intérieures du territoire, la possibilité de demander librement à être reconnu par les autres Etats et l'assurance qu'il sera fait droit à cette requête, l'établissement de relations diplomatiques et autres et la faculté de solliciter à être admis dans l'Organisation des Nations Unies.

26. Quoique la rédaction du facteur A. 3 (Limitation volontaire de souveraineté) dans la deuxième partie de la liste ait été un peu améliorée par l'adoption de la proposition du représentant du Venezuela (A/2428, par. 34), on n'en devrait pas moins soit supprimer ce facteur — puisque aucun cas de limitation de souveraineté ne s'est encore produit — soit le rédiger conformément à la proposition du représentant du Guatemala formulée dans le paragraphe 21 du rapport.

27. Incorporer un territoire non autonome à la métropole ou à l'une des régions faisant partie de la métropole est absolument inadmissible. Pareil état de choses serait incompatible avec la Charte, puisqu'il remplacerait l'indépendance totale par une autonomie locale décentralisée à l'échelon provincial ou régional. Il serait encore moins admissible que cette situation résulte d'actes unilatéraux de la métropole, et non de l'application d'une décision souveraine, d'un accord contractuel auquel la métropole serait arrivée après avoir consulté la population, et qu'elle mettrait à exécution avec le concours actif de l'Organisation des Nations Unies.

28. On pourrait améliorer sensiblement la liste des facteurs si la Commission créait un sous-comité analogue à celui qui a été institué à la sixième session. Ce sous-comité pourrait isoler tous les facteurs essentiels, leur donner la rédaction qui convient et les mettre à la place qui leur revient. Cette tâche pourrait être menée à bien relativement vite, et la Commission devrait se trouver à

même de faire usage de la liste définitive pendant les débats relatifs au point 3 de son ordre du jour. La délégation yougoslave réserverait un accueil favorable à toute initiative destinée à atteindre cet objectif. Si l'on ne modifiait pas la liste des facteurs, la délégation yougoslave, sans en contester l'utilité, serait contrainte d'étudier de très près si elle peut émettre un vote favorable. De toute façon, il convient de s'attacher davantage à la question afin de parvenir à une solution générale.

29. U ON SEIN (Birmanie) fait remarquer que, pour l'examen de la question assez complexe qu'elle étudie, l'Organisation des Nations Unies a le choix entre deux méthodes. La première consisterait à créer des comités destinés à revoir continuellement les mêmes points dans l'espoir d'établir finalement une liste entièrement satisfaisante. La seconde consisterait à reconnaître en toute sincérité, comme l'a fait l'Assemblée générale dans sa résolution 648 (VII), que la liste des facteurs ne peut, dans le cas le plus favorable, être qu'un guide, et que chaque cas doit être examiné compte tenu des circonstances qui lui sont propres. Si l'on s'en tient à la seconde solution, on pourrait adopter la liste des facteurs à la présente session; quoique imparfaite, cette liste contribuerait à aider et les Membres administrants et l'Assemblée générale à déterminer si un territoire a atteint l'autonomie complète. Si l'on considère les choses sous cet angle, la seconde solution paraît préférable; en effet, si l'on ne l'adoptait pas, il faudrait en déduire que certaines délégations ne veulent pas laisser l'Assemblée générale élaborer des facteurs qui puissent servir d'étalon pour mesurer le progrès politique accompli par les territoires non autonomes.

30. Dans sa réponse du 3 juillet 1952 (A/AC.58/1/Add.3), le Gouvernement de l'Union birmane a déjà fait valoir des considérations de cet ordre; il continue de penser que, lorsqu'on veut savoir si un territoire est devenu autonome en tant qu'entité distincte, ou s'il s'est associé avec la métropole dans des conditions d'égalité, il s'agit là de questions de fait, qu'il faut régler en tenant compte des circonstances propres à chaque cas.

31. Le Gouvernement birman soutient toujours que c'est à l'Assemblée générale qu'il doit appartenir de déterminer si un pays a atteint l'autonomie complète. Néanmoins, il sait que tel n'est pas l'avis des Membres administrants. En outre, par sa résolution 648 (VII), l'Assemblée générale a adopté, à titre provisoire, une liste de facteurs propre à guider éventuellement l'Assemblée générale et les Membres administrants, sans indiquer qui, de l'Assemblée ou des Puissances intéressées, aura le droit de décision. On peut procéder de la même manière à la présente session, en adoptant une liste de facteurs qui puisse être généralement utilisée. Il peut se faire, par la suite, que l'Assemblée générale et l'un des Membres administrants se trouvent en désaccord sur le point de savoir si le Membre administrant est fondé à cesser de communiquer des renseignements relatifs à un certain territoire. En pareil cas, on examinerait, d'après un cas concret, toutes les questions complexes que cette divergence de vues soulèverait sur le plan international. Tant qu'il ne présente aucun cas concret de ce genre, il est inutile d'insister pour savoir si, en théorie, c'est l'Assemblée générale qui a le dernier mot, ou si ce sont les Membres administrants.

32. U On Sein fait remarquer que le représentant de la Birmanie au Comité *ad hoc* a insisté sur la nécessité d'assurer que la décision définitive qui fixe le statut international futur d'un territoire non autonome est bien le résultat du libre choix de la population de ce terri-

toire. Il faut prouver que les habitants ont pu se décider en toute indépendance, et qu'en optant pour un statut qui n'est pas l'indépendance totale ils savaient parfaitement qu'ils auraient pu opter pour l'indépendance totale s'ils l'avaient voulu. Faute de quoi, le choix de tout statut international autre que l'indépendance totale demeure sujet à caution. Lorsqu'un peuple s'est prononcé en toute liberté en faveur de l'association avec la métropole ou avec un autre pays, les conditions de retrait de cette association doivent être réglées par l'accord conclu, quel qu'il soit.

33. La délégation birmane réserverait un accueil favorable à toute résolution tendant à l'adoption de la liste des facteurs, étant entendu que cette liste sera utilisée avec souplesse, à titre indicatif, et que chaque cas concret sera examiné compte tenu des circonstances qui lui sont propres.

34. M. MENDOZA (Guatemala) rappelle que si l'on a éprouvé la nécessité d'établir une liste des facteurs dont il convient de tenir compte pour décider si un territoire a ou n'a pas atteint l'autonomie complète et surtout pour s'assurer que cette autonomie existe bien en fait, c'est parce que la liste des territoires non autonomes que les Membres administrants ont présentée en 1946 s'est rapidement réduite à la suite de déclarations unilatérales dans lesquelles les pays métropolitains signalaient qu'en vertu d'une nouvelle législation intérieure ils n'étaient plus en mesure de continuer à communiquer des renseignements relatifs à ces territoires. Chaque réduction de la liste aurait reçu un accueil favorable auprès de l'Organisation si elle avait résulté de mesures concrètes tendant à accorder aux territoires dépendants l'autonomie complète. Mais il ne semble pas, en général, qu'il en ait été ainsi, et si l'on avait approuvé cette procédure sans faire d'objections, le Chapitre XI aurait bientôt perdu sa raison d'être sans que l'on ait pu atteindre les buts des Nations Unies. C'est pourquoi il a fallu établir une liste de facteurs. Cette liste n'a pas pour objet de retarder le progrès politique des territoires non autonomes, mais plutôt d'assurer que les Membres administrants demeureront bien soumis aux mêmes obligations à l'égard des populations intéressées tant que les objectifs des Nations Unies n'auront pas été intégralement atteints.

35. Après avoir étudié avec soin l'important rapport du Comité *ad hoc* pour l'étude des facteurs, la délégation du Guatemala a cessé d'attacher une importance particulière à la mise au point d'une définition de la notion d'"autonomie complète". Elle a compris, en effet, qu'il serait extrêmement difficile d'aboutir à un accord sur ce point et qu'en adoptant une définition qui serait probablement vague et technique, on ne ferait que compliquer la situation au lieu de faire progresser la cause des territoires non autonomes. En outre, la délégation du Guatemala a la conviction que ce que l'on appelle compétence en matière économique, sociale et culturelle ne pourra jamais constituer, quel que soit le degré de cette compétence, l'autonomie complète, car il s'agit là d'une notion essentiellement politique. Un peuple ne peut avoir compétence pleine et entière dans un domaine particulier tant qu'il ne jouit pas de l'autonomie complète dans le domaine politique.

36. La délégation du Guatemala a toujours éprouvé une certaine inquiétude en ce qui concerne l'accession d'un peuple à l'autonomie complète par association, union ou intégration à la métropole. Elle ne considère pas qu'un peuple soumis à un régime colonialiste qui accepte l'un de ces statuts pour améliorer son sort

renonce à tout jamais, par la même occasion, à l'indépendance totale à laquelle il aspirera toujours. C'est pourquoi la délégation du Guatemala insiste sur le fait qu'il est indispensable de garantir aux peuples de ces territoires que leur droit inaliénable d'amender leur statut politique sera toujours respecté.

37. La plupart des Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, et notamment plusieurs Membres administrants, ont reconnu que les questions relatives aux territoires non autonomes présentaient un intérêt international. Par conséquent, la réserve du paragraphe 7 de l'Article 2 de la Charte ne s'applique pas ici. Si la situation actuelle de ces territoires présente un intérêt international, le sort des populations intéressées et les problèmes connexes sont également des questions d'intérêt international. En outre, le Chapitre XI, comme d'ailleurs la Charte tout entière, est un contrat multilatéral que tous les Etats Membres ont formellement signé et ratifié. Aucune des parties contractantes ne peut en modifier les dispositions par un acte unilatéral. Ainsi, c'est à l'Organisation dans son ensemble qu'il appartient de décider si un territoire non autonome a atteint l'autonomie complète.

38. A ce propos, la délégation du Guatemala tient à souligner la nécessité de réaffirmer le principe qu'aucun gouvernement métropolitain ne peut changer par un acte unilatéral le statut politique d'un territoire non autonome qui fait l'objet d'une revendication ou d'un litige mettant en cause un Etat tiers avant le règlement formel de cette revendication ou de ce litige. Il est bien entendu qu'une garantie de cet ordre n'a pas pour objet de faire obstacle à l'accession à une véritable autonomie d'un territoire qui se trouverait dans la situation envisagée, ni de retarder cette accession.

39. La délégation du Guatemala voudrait formuler quelques observations au sujet de la liste des facteurs que le Comité *ad hoc* a approuvée. Elle en appuiera l'adoption par la Commission et par l'Assemblée générale s'il demeure entendu que cette liste pourra faire l'objet de modifications ultérieures qui tiennent compte de l'expérience acquise. La délégation du Guatemala déplore la tendance qui consiste à nier à l'avance l'utilité de la liste; elle préconise l'adoption de la liste, qui servira obligatoirement de base pour l'étude de tous les cas particuliers.

40. La délégation du Guatemala désapprouve le mot "permanente" qui figure dans le titre de la deuxième partie de la liste. Ce mot porte préjudice au droit inaliénable des peuples des territoires non autonomes de modifier le régime qui les associe aux pays métropolitains, et semble impliquer que ces territoires renoncent à l'autonomie complète. La délégation du Guatemala se prononce également contre le début du facteur A. 3 de la deuxième partie (Limitation volontaire de souveraineté); en effet, une limitation de cet ordre a toujours été considérée comme dangereuse et illégale. Elle n'a pas d'objections à formuler au sujet de la fin de ce facteur.

41. La délégation du Guatemala se réserve le droit de faire d'autres observations en temps utile et de présenter éventuellement des amendements formels au rapport.

42. M. ESPINOSA Y PRIETO (Mexique) regrette que le Comité *ad hoc* n'ait pas été en mesure d'établir une liste de facteurs plus précise. La majorité des délégations aurait certainement souhaité que l'on y insérât d'autres stipulations; ainsi, il eût été utile de faire figurer dans les deuxième et troisième parties une disposition prévoyant que les territoires devraient passer

par une période de liberté et de souveraineté complètes avant de participer aux associations dont il est question. Ce point peut néanmoins être soulevé lors de l'examen de cas particuliers.

43. On ne saurait adopter la liste approuvée par le Comité *ad hoc* qu'à titre de guide auquel on ne se reporterait qu'en tenant dûment compte des éléments particuliers de chaque cas.

44. On ne peut laisser au Membre administrant intéressé le soin de décider si un territoire a bien cessé d'être non autonome; une décision de cet ordre relève de la compétence de l'Assemblée générale.

45. En ce qui concerne le facteur A. 4 de la première partie, M. Espinosa y Prieto maintient que la liberté pour un territoire de conclure des accords relatifs à sa défense nationale n'indique pas que ce territoire soit complètement indépendant; il demande que la fin de la phrase en question soit remplacée par la formule "en vue d'assurer sa défense nationale".

46. M. HURE (France) déclare que la délégation française a toujours estimé que l'étude des facteurs revêtait une importance réelle, à la fois théorique et pratique. Importance théorique, puisque au terme de "territoires non autonomes" qu'emploie la Charte il manque non pas seulement les éléments d'une définition, mais même un début d'interprétation. Importance pratique, puisqu'une telle étude devrait d'une part aider les Etats qui se sont déclarés responsables des territoires à déterminer le moment où cessent les obligations de l'Article 73 et, d'autre part, fournir la base nécessaire à une extension de ces obligations aux Etats qui ont toujours considéré que les obligations du Chapitre XI ne les concernaient pas. Ainsi, et grâce à cette étude, l'application des principes de la Charte ne serait pas limitée à certains, mais revêtirait un caractère d'universalité.

47. Il semble toutefois que dans l'esprit de certaines délégations l'intérêt de cette question a revêtu un tout autre aspect. Au lieu d'étudier les facteurs dont il convient de tenir compte pour décider si un territoire est ou n'est pas un territoire dont les populations ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes, certains pays ont préféré déterminer les moyens que pourrait employer une majorité de l'Assemblée pour empêcher qu'un Etat, ayant une fois proclamé ses devoirs envers les peuples qu'il administre, ne puisse un jour estimer qu'il les avait remplis et n'avait plus à rendre compte à l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Vu sous cet angle, ce difficile problème juridique et scientifique devenait un problème politique très simple et constituait une tentative de plus pour transgresser les dispositions de la Charte sous prétexte de les interpréter. Affirmer peu à peu la compétence de l'Assemblée au détriment de la compétence des Etats qui se sont reconnus administrants, c'est bien ce qui paraît l'objet sous-entendu de la résolution 648 (VII) puisque celle-ci postule qu'une liste de facteurs pourrait servir de guide non seulement à l'Etat membre intéressé mais encore à l'Assemblée générale. On peut demander en vertu de quel texte de droit l'Assemblée générale aurait cette compétence. Le Gouvernement français a déclaré à plusieurs reprises que l'Assemblée ne pouvait donner que des avis. Déterminer quels sont les territoires dont les populations ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes est la prérogative exclusive des Etats qui ont la responsabilité d'administrer ces territoires.

48. Ce désir de décider à l'encontre de la souveraineté des Etats s'aperçoit encore dans la multiplication des

critères de faits dont fait mention le rapport. On peut se demander si les rédacteurs ont pensé à vérifier si tous les Etats indépendants satisfaisaient à ces critères, ou s'ils ont compris qu'à vouloir ainsi accumuler les obstacles pour prévenir toute initiative des Membres qui se sont reconnus administrants, ils retardaient du même coup indéfiniment l'accession des territoires à l'indépendance ou à l'autonomie. Ce désir de décider à l'encontre de la souveraineté des Etats s'aperçoit aussi dans l'observation avec laquelle on estime que l'Article 73 doit continuer de s'appliquer aux territoires devenus complètement autonomes dans le domaine intérieur, et dans l'élaboration d'une notion d'indivisibilité de l'autonomie, notion contre laquelle la délégation française n'a cessé de s'élever. Lorsque les compétences gouvernementales et administratives ont été transférées dans le domaine des affaires économiques, sociales, et dans celui de l'instruction publique, qui sont les matières sur lesquelles doivent porter les renseignements aux termes de l'Article 73, e, on conçoit mal qu'un gouvernement puisse conserver la charge d'informer l'Organisation des Nations Unies sur les activités qui ont cessé de relever de lui. Sous cet aspect, l'énumération des facteurs méconnaît l'état intermédiaire entre la non-autonomie et l'indépendance, faussant ainsi la notion même qu'il s'agit de préciser.

49. On se demande par contre pour quelle raison l'expression des volontés des populations qui se trouvaient mentionnées dans la première rédaction des facteurs a soudainement disparu. Il est à bon droit permis de s'étonner qu'une accession à l'indépendance puisse être l'occasion d'une atténuation du droit des individus, alors que certaines Puissances se montrent si jalouses de ce droit lorsqu'il ne s'agit que d'autonomie séparée ou d'association. On se demande pourquoi, à l'opposé, on voit apparaître la question du droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes. C'est une notion qui ne figure pas dans l'Article 73 de la Charte et qui échappe complètement à la compétence de la Commission.

50. La délégation française a formulé ces réserves maintes fois, non pour défendre un point de vue de Membre administrant, mais pour défendre des règles générales d'une très grande portée. L'une de ces règles se définit par le respect des contrats et le refus de se prêter à des interprétations abusives. Une autre règle est l'universalité des principes, qui doivent être applicables à tous. La présente discussion fournit un exemple manifeste de discrimination faite entre, d'une part, les Etats qui ont eu la sincérité de se reconnaître administrants et, d'autre part, des Etats qui, pour échapper à leurs obligations, ont préféré se taire sur leurs responsabilités. Une troisième règle tient aux garanties de sérieux, de science et de conscience dont on doit s'entourer lorsqu'on entreprend une étude aussi importante. Or les préoccupations politiques ont pris le pas sur le souci d'exactitude juridique ou scientifique. C'est pourquoi la délégation française réserve sa position, non sur le principe de l'étude des facteurs, mais sur l'esprit dans lequel cette étude paraît avoir été entreprise et sur les résultats qu'elle a produits.

51. Mme BOLTON (Etats-Unis d'Amérique) déclare que les Etats-Unis, qui ont été représentés au Comité *ad hoc*, approuvent la liste contenue dans le rapport de la Commission (A/2428). La délégation des Etats-Unis approuve le paragraphe 9 du rapport où il est dit qu'une liste de facteurs ne peut avoir que la valeur d'une indication. Elle fait sienne également la conclusion à laquelle la Commission est parvenue lorsqu'elle a jugé que la

liste actuelle, bien qu'il soit encore possible de l'améliorer, était suffisante. Le Comité *ad hoc* a rendu de précieux services et il n'est pas nécessaire de le proroger et de le charger de poursuivre ses travaux. Il a réussi à élucider les éléments complexes et divers qui composent une autonomie complète. La délégation des Etats-Unis approuvera le rapport du Comité *ad hoc*.

52. M. RYCKMANS (Belgique) déclare que sa délégation a abordé l'étude des facteurs avec une entière objectivité. En 1946, la Belgique a déclaré le Congo belge territoire non autonome administré par elle et, depuis lors, elle a régulièrement communiqué des renseignements sur les conditions économiques, sociales et scolaires dans ce territoire. Elle n'a pas l'intention de cesser de communiquer ces renseignements et la liste de facteurs ne présente donc pour elle qu'un intérêt purement théorique puisque aucune des décisions que pourrait prendre l'Assemblée générale au sujet de cette liste ne la touchera directement.

53. Si la délégation belge a abordé l'étude des facteurs avec objectivité, elle l'a fait sans enthousiasme. Elle a pensé qu'il serait impossible de dresser une liste de facteurs qui soient applicables rigoureusement, scientifiquement et automatiquement. Nul n'a encore réussi à donner une définition satisfaisante de l'autonomie complète, et il est peu probable que la Quatrième Commission y parvienne.

54. Quant à la liste des facteurs, M. Ryckmans fait observer que puisque cette liste peut servir à déterminer si un territoire a cessé d'être un territoire non autonome, elle peut également permettre de décider qu'un

territoire donné n'est pas encore devenu autonome. On ne devrait faire aucune différence entre le fait de cesser de communiquer des renseignements et le fait de commencer à en communiquer. Ou la liste n'a aucune valeur, ou elle est valable dans les deux cas. Une autorité qui a qualité pour décider du moment où il y a lieu de cesser de communiquer des renseignements a, pour les mêmes raisons et dans la même mesure, qualité pour décider à partir de quel moment il y a lieu de communiquer des renseignements. La délégation belge estime que la Puissance administrante a seule qualité pour décider s'il faut commencer, cesser ou continuer de communiquer des renseignements. Les délégations qui soutiennent l'opinion contraire et prétendent que l'Assemblée générale a qualité pour décider si un Membre administrant doit continuer à communiquer des renseignements doivent être logiques avec elles-mêmes. Si la majorité des membres de la Commission reconnaît à l'Assemblée générale compétence pour décider qu'un Membre administrant doit continuer à communiquer des renseignements, il faut également qu'elle reconnaisse à l'Assemblée le droit de contraindre d'autres Etats à commencer à communiquer des renseignements sur les peuples non autonomes placés sous leur administration. Les décisions de l'Assemblée générale doivent s'appliquer indistinctement à tous les Etats Membres.

55. La délégation belge s'abstiendra de voter sur la question en discussion, mais elle tient à avertir les membres de la Commission qu'elle veillera à ce que l'Assemblée prenne des décisions logiques.

La séance est levée à 12 h. 30.

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HUITIEME SESSION
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QUATRIEME COMMISSION, 323^e 46

SEANCE

Jeudi 1er octobre 1953,
à 15 h. 15

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Facteurs dont il convient de tenir compte pour décider si un territoire est, ou n'est pas, un territoire dont les populations ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes: rapport du Comité *ad hoc* pour l'étude des facteurs (territoires non autonomes) [suite]..... 43

Président: M. Santiago PEREZ PEREZ (Venezuela).

Facteurs dont il convient de tenir compte pour décider si un territoire est, ou n'est pas, un territoire dont les populations ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes: rapport du Comité *ad hoc* pour l'étude des facteurs (territoires non autonomes) [suite]

[Point 33*]

1. M. PACHACHI (Irak) rappelle que depuis 1949, date à laquelle l'Assemblée générale a adopté sa résolution 334 (IV), la question des facteurs a fait, tant à deux comités spéciaux qu'à la Commission elle-même, l'objet de délibérations détaillées auxquelles la délégation de l'Irak a pris une part active — et, espère-t-elle, utile — et qui ont abouti à l'élaboration de la liste contenue dans le présent rapport du Comité *ad hoc* pour l'étude des facteurs (territoires non autonomes) [A/2428].

2. Le représentant de l'Irak tient tout d'abord à formuler quelques observations à propos de certaines opinions émises au cours des débats. En premier lieu, aussi bien dans les réponses qu'ils ont fait parvenir au Secrétaire général qu'au cours des délibérations à la Commission et au Comité *ad hoc*, les Membres administrants ont, sans exception, catégoriquement affirmé qu'ils étaient seuls compétents lorsqu'il s'agissait de décider si ce territoire était parvenu à l'autonomie complète. La délégation de l'Irak s'élève vigoureusement contre cette prétention, absolument incompatible avec l'esprit de la Charte et, en particulier, avec les dispositions du Chapitre XI qui proclament que l'obligation d'assurer la prospérité des populations des territoires non autonomes est une mission sacrée incombant à la collectivité mondiale.

3. S'il fallait admettre la thèse des Puissances coloniales, que la délégation belge a formulée à la 322^e séance avec tant de dogmatisme, le Chapitre XI deviendrait nul et sans effet, car l'Assemblée générale des Nations Unies devrait se borner à entériner la décision du Membre administrant sans pouvoir même la discuter; or, le Chapitre XI n'est pas uniquement un ensemble de déclarations pieuses: il marque une étape essentielle sur la voie qui doit permettre à l'humanité d'atteindre un de ses principaux objectifs: la liberté, pour tous les

peuples et pour toutes les nations. A en croire les Puissances coloniales, l'Organisation des Nations Unies n'aurait à connaître, en vertu de l'Article 73, e, que du développement économique et social et du développement de l'instruction dans les territoires non autonomes; ces Puissances paraissent oublier que le Chapitre XI, et notamment l'alinéa b de l'Article 73, vise aussi le développement politique des territoires non autonomes. En outre, l'Assemblée générale a déclaré à plusieurs reprises qu'il lui appartenait d'exprimer son opinion sur les principes qui régissent le statut des territoires non autonomes.

4. D'autre part, la Commission devrait repousser catégoriquement, parce qu'elle compliquerait la question en y introduisant des considérations étrangères et illégales, la tentative de la délégation belge visant à appliquer les dispositions du Chapitre XI aux habitants de certains Etats souverains qui ne jouiraient pas d'une complète autonomie.

5. En ce qui concerne l'impossibilité de trouver une définition satisfaisante de la notion d'autonomie complète, la délégation de l'Irak est disposée à accepter les conclusions du Comité *ad hoc*, puisque chaque cas particulier doit être examiné séparément; mais elle demeure persuadée que l'indépendance totale, à l'intérieur comme à l'extérieur, constitue la meilleure norme de l'autonomie complète.

6. La liste des facteurs qui figure dans le document A/2428 n'est ni complète ni définitive; il faut plutôt l'envisager comme un ensemble de principes directeurs qui aiderait l'Assemblée à prendre une décision sur la cessation de la communication de renseignements. La délégation de l'Irak accepte la présente liste des facteurs, qui diffère d'ailleurs fort peu de la liste que l'Assemblée générale avait adoptée à titre provisoire à la session précédente [résolution 648 (VII)]. La division de la liste en trois parties est logique et pratique. Il faut espérer que la Commission adoptera cette liste, admirablement établie par le Comité *ad hoc* dans sa forme définitive, et qu'elle la transmettra au Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes.

7. En conclusion, M. Pachachi indique qu'une fois de plus les divergences de vues qui séparent les Puissances coloniales et les Puissances non coloniales se sont manifestées à la Commission. Mais celle-ci ne se laissera détourner par aucune argutie juridique de sa mission sacrée: aider les peuples dépendants à accéder, par des moyens pacifiques, à l'autonomie complète.

8. M. DOMINGUEZ (Cuba) rappelle que la délégation cubaine, représentant un pays qui a tant souffert du colonialisme, a toujours travaillé, au Comité *ad hoc* comme à la Commission, à favoriser un rapprochement entre les Membres administrants et les autres Puissances.

9. Bien qu'il ne soit pas possible de donner une définition satisfaisante de la notion d'autonomie complète, la délégation cubaine tient à souligner qu'on ne saurait

* Numéro affecté à la question dans l'ordre du jour de l'Assemblée générale.

prétendre qu'un territoire qui jouit de l'autonomie dans le domaine économique et social, mais qui n'y a pas encore accédé dans le domaine politique, est parvenu au stade de l'autonomie complète.

10. A propos du paragraphe 15 du document A/2428, M. Domínguez fait remarquer que l'absence de toute pression ou coercition exercée sur la population d'un territoire (point D) ne suffirait pas à garantir que cette population pourra décider elle-même de l'avenir de ce territoire (point A) si l'on ne prenait pas les dispositions nécessaires pour assurer que les vues de la population seront respectées (point E); on peut donc dire que le point E est essentiel, puisqu'il complète les dispositions prévues aux points A et D et qu'il en permet la mise en œuvre; la délégation cubaine ne comprend pas pourquoi certaines délégations ont cru devoir formuler des réserves à propos du point E.

11. C'est également pour mieux défendre les intérêts des populations des territoires non autonomes qui aspirent à l'indépendance totale que la délégation cubaine a appuyé, au Comité *ad hoc*, la proposition du représentant du Guatemala tendant à reconnaître aux habitants des territoires non autonomes, qui ont librement consenti une limitation de leur souveraineté en faveur de la métropole ou d'un autre pays, la liberté de modifier leur statut par des voies démocratiques (A/2428, par. 21).

12. Contrairement à ce que certaines délégations ont affirmé, l'interprétation et l'application des obligations qui, en vertu des dispositions du Chapitre XI de la Charte, incombent aux Membres administrants ne doivent pas relever de la compétence exclusive de ces membres; c'est dire qu'il ne peut y avoir cessation de la communication de renseignements qu'après accord, au sein de la collectivité internationale que constitue l'Organisation des Nations Unies, entre les Membres administrants d'une part et les autres Etats Membres. Il est faux d'invoquer en l'occurrence les dispositions du paragraphe 7 de l'Article 2 de la Charte, car le sort d'un territoire non autonome ne dépend pas uniquement du pays qui en a assumé l'administration; le colonialisme est une doctrine du passé et le droit international moderne pose des principes différents pour l'administration des territoires non encore autonomes. C'est donc l'Organisation des Nations Unies, et non pas les seuls Membres administrants, qui devra s'inspirer des facteurs énumérés dans la liste pour décider si un territoire a accédé à l'autonomie complète. Dans la réponse (A/AC.58/1/Add.1) qu'il a fait parvenir au Secrétaire général en exécution de la résolution 567 (VI), le Gouvernement cubain indiquait déjà que, si la cessation de la communication de renseignements sur un territoire non autonome pouvait être, à la rigueur et dans des cas bien déterminés, le résultat d'une simple mesure unilatérale de la part du Membre administrant lorsque la sécurité de ce Membre l'exigeait, il était absolument inadmissible que cette cessation eût lieu à la suite d'une décision purement unilatérale prise en raison "de considérations d'ordre constitutionnel".

13. M. Domínguez ne saurait mieux définir la position de la délégation cubaine qu'en rappelant le discours prononcé au cours de la discussion générale par le Ministre des affaires étrangères de Cuba (441ème séance plénière); celui-ci a déclaré que son pays, si résolu qu'il fût à défendre le droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes, ne cesserait de faire preuve dans ce domaine de la plus extrême prudence pour éviter tout désaccord

fondamental qui risquerait d'affaiblir la position des pays libres en face du bloc totalitaire.

14. La liste des facteurs qui figure dans le document A/2428 est satisfaisante, mais elle gagnerait à être étendue. Sa division en trois parties semble judicieuse. Il convient de rappeler que cette liste n'a rien de définitif ou d'obligatoire, car chaque cas de cessation de la communication de renseignements sera étudié en fonction des circonstances particulières qui l'entourent. La délégation cubaine accueillera avec sympathie toute proposition tendant à compléter et à améliorer la présente liste de facteurs.

15. M. KOUTCHKAROV (Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques) déclare que la question des facteurs a son origine dans le refus de certains Membres administrants: la France, le Royaume-Uni, les Etats-Unis et les Pays-Bas, de continuer à fournir, au sujet de certains territoires non autonomes, les renseignements qu'ils sont tenus de communiquer en vertu de l'Article 73, e, de la Charte. L'attitude de ces Etats est contraire à la Charte; elle traduit un refus de remplir les obligations que celle-ci leur impose à l'égard des territoires non autonomes. A la quatrième session de l'Assemblée générale et aux sessions suivantes, de nombreuses délégations ont déclaré que la décision unilatérale que ces Etats avaient prise était inacceptable.

16. M. Koutchkarov fait l'historique des travaux qui ont abouti à la mise au point d'une liste de facteurs (A/2178) que l'Assemblée a examinée à sa septième session. La délégation de l'URSS a déclaré alors que cette liste permettait de se rapprocher un peu de l'objectif visé par l'Assemblée mais qu'elle était loin d'être complète et qu'il fallait y apporter des améliorations.

17. La liste actuellement présentée à la Commission par le Comité *ad hoc* pour l'étude des facteurs ne diffère guère de celle que l'Assemblée avait approuvée à sa septième session. Elle comporte de sérieuses lacunes, en ce sens, notamment, qu'elle ne contient pas de définition de la notion d'autonomie complète. A cet égard, M. Koutchkarov ne peut partager l'opinion du Comité, selon laquelle l'absence d'une définition satisfaisante ne serait pas un grave inconvénient. En effet, il serait très difficile d'élaborer une liste des facteurs qui permettraient de déterminer si un territoire a atteint l'objectif fixé, si l'on ne possède pas une définition précise de cet objectif suprême. La délégation de l'URSS estime que les territoires non autonomes auront accédé à l'autonomie complète lorsqu'ils seront devenus des Etats souverains et indépendants, où le pouvoir législatif, exécutif et judiciaire sera exercé par la population autochtone. Jusqu'à là, les Membres administrants sont tenus de communiquer les renseignements prévus par l'Article 73, e, de la Charte. Telle est la conception dont il faut s'inspirer pour déterminer si un territoire a atteint l'objectif d'autonomie complète fixé par la Charte.

18. Examinant la liste des facteurs établie par le Comité *ad hoc*, M. Koutchkarov indique que la délégation de l'URSS est en principe disposée à en accepter la première partie, qui devrait cependant être précisée et complétée. Par contre, les deuxième et troisième parties lui paraissent inacceptables, car elles ne prévoient pas l'accès des territoires non autonomes à la position d'Etats souverains et indépendants. C'est ainsi qu'au facteur A. 3 de la deuxième partie, on étudie la question de la limitation volontaire de la souveraineté, alors qu'il est clair qu'il faut, avant de parler de limiter la souveraineté, accorder la souveraineté et l'indépendance et prendre les dispositions nécessaires pour donner aux

autochtones de ces territoires le droit de décider eux-mêmes de leur sort. Le représentant de l'URSS constate que les deuxième et troisième parties de la liste contiennent des facteurs qui permettent à d'autres Etats d'exercer un contrôle sur les affaires intérieures des territoires ou d'intervenir dans ces affaires.

19. M. Koutchkarov tient à réfuter les déclarations des Membres administrants qui prétendent posséder en la matière une compétence exclusive. Il souligne que cette position est contraire à la Charte et aux résolutions de l'Assemblée générale. En terminant, il exprime l'espoir que les facteurs que l'Assemblée générale élabore actuellement constitueront un obstacle au refus arbitraire des Membres administrants de communiquer les renseignements requis et qu'ils contribueront à répondre aux dispositions de la Charte touchant les populations des territoires non autonomes.

20. M. TARZI (Afghanistan) rappelle que, depuis sa création, l'Organisation des Nations Unies s'est préoccupée, conformément à l'esprit de la Charte, de la libération des territoires non autonomes et de la question des facteurs. Certes, cette question est difficile à résoudre et, jusqu'en septembre 1952, la délégation de l'Afghanistan doutait qu'il fût possible d'y apporter une solution juste et raisonnable, car les opinions variaient suivant les Membres administrants.

21. Bien que le Comité *ad hoc* de 1952 eût étudié, conformément aux dispositions de la résolution 567 (VI), la liste des facteurs que l'Assemblée générale avait établie, il apparut difficile tout d'abord, lorsque la question fut reprise à la septième session, de trouver un organisme compétent qui pût décider si la nouvelle liste des facteurs était complète. On a estimé alors que la liste des facteurs devait tout simplement être considérée comme un guide permettant de décider si un territoire a atteint l'autonomie complète, et ne devait pas jouer d'autre rôle.

22. Les facteurs que les deux comités *ad hoc* ont proposés à l'Assemblée générale sont des éléments indispensables à l'étude des questions sociales qui intéressent les territoires non autonomes; mais, si ces facteurs et les travaux du Comité *ad hoc* de 1953 sont adoptés, il est à craindre qu'ils ne soient considérés comme contraires au principe du droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes, droit qui est le fondement essentiel de la liberté des peuples et des nations. Si les facteurs proposés peuvent servir de guide, ils ne suffisent cependant pas pour décider de la libération d'un territoire. Ce qui est essentiel pour résoudre cette question, c'est l'opinion des peuples intéressés, et il est indispensable que cette opinion soit exprimée sous les auspices de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, sans l'intervention d'intérêts étrangers.

23. Mlle ROESAD (Indonésie) a l'impression que la plupart des délégations estiment que la Quatrième Commission peut enfin adopter la liste de facteurs proposée. Certaines délégations estiment cependant qu'elles ne peuvent reconnaître la compétence de l'Assemblée générale pour décider si un territoire est ou n'est pas un territoire dont les populations ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes. En fait, le représentant de la France a déclaré à la séance précédente que si l'Assemblée générale devait se considérer seule compétente pour se prononcer sur cette question, aucun territoire non autonome ne deviendrait indépendant. La délégation indonésienne ne parvient pas à comprendre sur quels arguments cette opinion se fonde. Au contraire, c'est l'Assemblée générale qui est compétente

pour décider si le Chapitre XI de la Charte s'applique à tel ou tel territoire. Il ne semble pas nécessaire de répéter les arguments juridiques sur lesquels se fonde cette opinion: les représentants du Guatemala et du Mexique l'ont fait avec beaucoup d'éloquence à la séance précédente.

24. Mlle Roesad attire l'attention des membres de la Commission sur le paragraphe 5 de la résolution 648 (VII) de l'Assemblée générale d'où il ressort que l'Assemblée générale est compétente pour prendre une décision relative à la cessation de la transmission des renseignements visés à l'Article 73, e, de la Charte. De l'avis de la délégation indonésienne, l'Assemblée générale doit décider si la cessation de la transmission de renseignements est justifiée, c'est-à-dire si la population d'un territoire non autonome s'administre complètement elle-même.

25. En ce qui concerne le rapport du Comité *ad hoc*, ce comité, que la délégation indonésienne félicite de s'être si bien acquitté de sa mission, n'a pas jugé bon de modifier sensiblement la liste de facteurs que l'Assemblée générale avait approuvée provisoirement en 1952. La Quatrième Commission pourrait donc recommander l'adoption d'une résolution aux termes de laquelle l'Assemblée générale approuverait la liste actuelle, sous réserve des considérations qui figurent au paragraphe 2 de la résolution 648 (VII).

26. Il importe, en outre, de confirmer le principe énoncé au paragraphe 4 de ladite résolution, d'autant plus que certains gouvernements soutiennent que l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements en vertu de l'Article 73, e, cesse lorsque les questions énumérées dans cet article relèvent de la compétence propre d'un territoire. La nécessité pour l'Assemblée générale de prendre position vis-à-vis de cette affirmation paraît urgente; en effet, c'est un point sur lequel le représentant des Pays-Bas a insisté, notamment au sujet de la cessation de la transmission des renseignements relatifs aux Antilles néerlandaises et au Surinam.

27. Enfin, il paraît essentiel de renouveler la déclaration faite dans la résolution 648 (VII) au sujet de la question générale des facteurs.

28. La délégation de l'Indonésie appuiera toutes propositions tendant à améliorer la liste de facteurs proposée, et réserve sa position vis-à-vis de toutes autres propositions dont la Commission pourrait être saisie ultérieurement au sujet de cette question.

29. M. L. S. BOKHARI (Pakistan) rappelle que la délégation du Pakistan a déclaré à la septième session, au sein de la Quatrième Commission (277ème séance), que la liste des facteurs constituait un guide utile et que le cas de chaque territoire devait être examiné compte tenu des circonstances qui lui sont propres. Elle a déclaré aussi que l'Organisation des Nations Unies portait un intérêt constant au bien-être et à l'avenir des territoires non autonomes et que la communication de renseignements relatifs à ces territoires ne devait pas cesser sans le consentement de l'Organisation. Son attitude n'a pas changé.

30. Après avoir examiné attentivement le rapport du Comité *ad hoc*, la délégation du Pakistan constate, comme la représentante de l'Inde (322ème séance), que le Comité n'a pas pu ajouter grand-chose à la liste de facteurs que l'Assemblée générale avait approuvée en 1952. Bien que cette liste puisse sans aucun doute être améliorée, elle est assez complète, et il n'y aurait aucun

avantage à entreprendre une nouvelle étude. La délégation du Pakistan est disposée à accepter le rapport du Comité *ad hoc*, tout en se réservant le droit d'intervenir plus tard si des propositions particulières étaient présentées à la Commission.

31. Se référant aux déclarations faites par certaines délégations au sujet de la réduction du nombre des territoires qui font l'objet de rapports à l'Organisation des Nations Unies, la délégation du Pakistan souscrit à une telle réduction, à condition toutefois que l'Organisation ait la certitude que les territoires intéressés ont atteint un degré de développement tel qu'une surveillance n'est plus nécessaire.

32. En fait, il tarde au Pakistan de voir arriver le jour où l'Assemblée générale n'aura plus besoin de s'occuper de cette question, le jour où il n'y aura plus de territoires administrés. Les Membres administrants figurent en quelque sorte sur une liste noire; ils doivent rendre compte à l'Organisation des Nations Unies de ce qu'ils font dans certains domaines à l'égard des territoires non autonomes. Ces Membres seraient certainement heureux de voir leurs noms rayés de cette liste. Pour sa part, le Gouvernement du Pakistan verra avec plaisir la liste diminuer, mais il soutient que la décision finale appartient à l'Organisation et c'est à elle qu'il demande aux Membres administrants de faire confiance.

La séance est levée à 16 h. 10.



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Président: M. Santiago PEREZ PEREZ (Venezuela).

Facteurs dont il convient de tenir compte pour décider si un territoire est, ou n'est pas, un territoire dont les populations ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes: rapport du Comité *ad hoc* pour l'étude des facteurs (territoires non autonomes) [A/2428] (suite)

[Point 33*]

1. M. ABOU-AFIA (Egypte) souligne l'intérêt que la délégation égyptienne attache au Chapitre XI de la Charte et rappelle les initiatives qu'elle a prises ou appuyées pour en maintenir la portée. A l'occasion des débats sur cette question, les représentants des Membres administrants ont affirmé que l'Assemblée générale n'était pas compétente pour examiner si un territoire avait atteint l'autonomie complète; ils ont allégué qu'aucun texte ne lui conférerait ce pouvoir. Leur point de vue s'est notamment exprimé dans les réserves formulées par le représentant de la Belgique, réserves qui sont rappelées à l'alinéa *b* du paragraphe 40 du rapport du Comité *ad hoc* pour l'étude des facteurs (territoires non autonomes) [A/2428] et dont M. Abou-Afia cite à nouveau le texte. Fidèle à la Charte et à ses propres principes, la délégation égyptienne ne peut que s'élever contre cette manière de voir. Le Chapitre XI énonce des engagements contractuels qui ont fait l'objet d'un accord entre tous les Etats Membres et auxquels aucun Etat Membre ne peut se soustraire par un acte ou une déclaration de caractère unilatéral. Admettre le contraire serait permettre aux Membres administrants d'annuler trop aisément les dispositions du Chapitre XI. Il ne fait aucun doute que le sens de ce chapitre ne dépend aucunement de l'interprétation unilatérale qu'en donnent les Membres administrants.

2. Rien n'autorise à invoquer en l'occurrence les dispositions du paragraphe 7 de l'Article 2 de la Charte. En effet, de même qu'en droit privé les obligations contractuelles sont conçues comme une restriction volontaire de la liberté individuelle, de même les engagements internationaux constituent une restriction volontaire de

la souveraineté des Etats — sous réserve, bien entendu, de l'objet de ces engagements. Ce principe s'applique à tous les engagements internationaux; il s'ensuit que les restrictions prévues au paragraphe 7 de l'Article 2 de la Charte ne sont valables que pour les questions qui ne sont pas traitées dans la Charte, ce qui n'est pas le cas en ce qui concerne les territoires non autonomes, puisque ceux-ci font l'objet du Chapitre XI. L'Assemblée générale a donc le droit, et même le devoir, de veiller à ce que tous les Etats qui ont signé la Charte remplissent les engagements qui en découlent. A cet effet, l'Assemblée a pris une série de décisions; notamment, elle a créé le Comité *ad hoc* pour l'étude des facteurs, dont les travaux ont abouti à l'élaboration d'une liste de facteurs.

3. La délégation égyptienne tient à remercier le Comité du travail qu'il a accompli; elle estime que, dans l'ensemble, la liste qu'il a mise au point est satisfaisante. Avec quelques modifications, destinées à assurer plus effectivement le droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes, cette liste pourra servir des fins pratiques, sans que l'Assemblée soit pour autant dispensée d'examiner chaque cas particulier en fonction des éléments qui le caractérisent. La délégation égyptienne se propose de présenter un projet de résolution tendant à modifier la liste des facteurs dans le sens que M. Abou-Afia vient d'indiquer.

4. M. LANNUNG (Danemark) s'associe aux remerciements adressés aux membres et au secrétariat du Comité *ad hoc*, dont les travaux ont éclairé les divers aspects du problème et permis aux délégations de préciser leur position. La délégation danoise est disposée à approuver le rapport et à accepter la liste des facteurs qui y figure. La classification de ces facteurs en trois parties lui semble judicieuse. Enfin, elle est d'avis que les travaux accomplis jusqu'à présent sont suffisants et que, par conséquent, il n'est pas nécessaire de proroger le Comité *ad hoc*.

5. Parmi les facteurs énumérés dans le rapport du Comité, il en est un qui revêt une importance essentielle: l'opinion des populations du territoire librement exprimée, en connaissance de cause et par des voies démocratiques, en ce qui concerne le statut ou le changement de statut qu'elles désirent. Ce facteur s'applique non seulement à la cessation de la communication des renseignements, mais encore au fait de commencer à fournir ces renseignements. Tous les Etats Membres devront s'inspirer de la liste des facteurs pour s'interroger et se prononcer sur la question de savoir s'ils devraient communiquer des renseignements au sujet de territoires pour lesquels ils n'ont pas adressé de rapport jusqu'à présent.

6. En ce qui concerne la question de compétence, la position que la délégation danoise a prise aux précédentes sessions n'a pas varié: elle estime que c'est à l'Etat responsable de l'administration d'un territoire qu'il appartient de déterminer le statut constitutionnel du territoire placé sous sa souveraineté. Aucune des

* Numéro affecté à la question dans l'ordre du jour de l'Assemblée générale.

dispositions du Chapitre XI ne saurait être interprétée comme modifiant ce principe de quelque façon que ce soit. Le Danemark a toujours été disposé à communiquer à l'Organisation des Nations Unies des renseignements relatifs non seulement à la situation économique, sociale et de l'enseignement touchant le territoire qu'il administre, mais encore à la situation politique et à l'évolution du statut constitutionnel de ce territoire. Néanmoins, il n'a jamais considéré que l'Organisation des Nations Unies pourrait, de ce fait, examiner ou reviser une mesure qui aurait été adoptée par les organes constitutionnels du Danemark.

7. M. Lannung retrace pour la Commission les étapes de l'évolution constitutionnelle du Groenland. En 1951, la délégation danoise avait déjà annoncé au Comité spécial pour l'examen des renseignements transmis en vertu de l'Article 73, e, de la Charte¹ que le Groenland souhaitait être représenté directement au Parlement danois. En 1952, le Conseil national du Groenland a adopté, à l'unanimité, une motion exprimant le désir de voir le Groenland associé au Danemark en tant que partie intégrante de la métropole, sur un pied d'entière égalité avec les autres parties du Danemark, et représenté au Parlement danois; il demandait, en outre, que la Constitution danoise fût amendée à cet effet. Le Gouvernement et le Parlement danois ont fait droit à ces aspirations. La nouvelle Constitution danoise, adoptée par le Parlement et ultérieurement approuvée par un référendum de la population danoise, dispose en son article premier que le Groenland est devenu une partie intégrante du Danemark, et qu'il a, de ce fait, le même statut que les autres parties de ce pays. La population du Groenland jouit actuellement des mêmes droits que le reste de la population danoise. En raison de ce changement constitutionnel, le Groenland n'est donc plus un territoire non autonome au sens du Chapitre XI de la Charte. Aussi, conformément à la résolution 222 (III) de l'Assemblée générale, le Gouvernement danois a envoyé au Secrétaire général une note datée du 3 septembre 1953, par laquelle il l'informait de cette évolution et à laquelle étaient joints un mémoire explicatif, une traduction de la Constitution danoise et les procès-verbaux des séances auxquelles le Conseil national du Groenland avait examiné, puis adopté à l'unanimité, les changements en question. Le Gouvernement danois sait que, conformément à la résolution 448 (V), cette documentation sera présentée au Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes, à sa prochaine session, mais la délégation danoise a tenu à en informer dès à présent la Quatrième Commission.

8. La décision du Gouvernement danois est entièrement conforme au facteur fondamental que M. Lannung a souligné, à savoir la volonté librement exprimée des populations du territoire. Elle a été accueillie avec joie tant par la population du Groenland que par la population du Danemark, toutes deux persuadées que cet ordre nouveau servira au mieux les intérêts du Groenland et que le gouvernement et le Parlement, où les habitants du Groenland siègent maintenant avec leurs compatriotes, continueront de faire tout leur possible pour favoriser le bien-être de la population de ce territoire.

9. M. ABOU KHADRA (Arabie saoudite) déclare que la Commission est chargée de lourdes responsabilités, dont elle doit s'efforcer de s'acquitter dans un esprit de coopération en s'appuyant sur les Chapitres XI, XII et XIII de la Charte et en s'inspirant des buts

et principes que la Charte a proclamés. Il est possible de remplir cette mission en recherchant des solutions qui s'inscrivent dans le cadre de la Charte, mais encore faut-il que tous les membres de la Commission s'entendent sur leur interprétation qu'ils donnent de ceux des articles qui doivent inspirer ses travaux. Il s'est trop souvent manifesté une tendance à restreindre la portée des travaux de la Commission, voire même sa compétence, à l'aide d'arguments juridiques qui s'écartent du sens réel de la Charte ou d'une interprétation rigide de ses dispositions. Si l'on veut atteindre les buts fixés par la Charte, il faut interpréter celle-ci plus largement et M. Abou Khadra espère que les débats sur la question des facteurs ne donneront pas lieu à de sérieuses controverses et que, grâce à un esprit de coopération sincère, la Commission pourra aboutir à des résultats féconds, qui permettront de rapprocher les points de vue de certains groupes.

10. La délégation de l'Arabie saoudite tient à rendre hommage à la façon dont le Comité *ad hoc* s'est acquitté de sa tâche. Elle estime cependant que, si nombreux que soient les facteurs qui y figureraient, aucune liste ne saurait être considérée comme complète ou définitive. Cette liste doit donc demeurer constamment à l'étude et être soumise à des revisions. L'Assemblée générale devrait donc renvoyer au Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes, dans le cadre de ses tâches et responsabilités normales, la liste des facteurs et la question de leur interprétation et des mises au point à y apporter pour tenir compte des changements qui surviennent dans la situation. Il serait bon qu'un projet de résolution à cet effet soit déposé et que la Commission l'adopte. D'autre part, la liste des facteurs ne peut constituer qu'un guide, un ensemble de critères permettant de mesurer le degré de développement d'un territoire et de se prononcer, dans de meilleures conditions, sur la question de savoir si ce territoire a accédé à l'autonomie complète. En outre, étant donné la diversité des caractéristiques des différents territoires dépendants, ces critères doivent être appliqués avec une grande souplesse. Cet élément est de la plus haute importance.

11. Contrairement au Comité *ad hoc* pour l'étude des facteurs, M. Abou Khadra ne pense pas que la définition de la notion d' "autonomie complète" doive poser de sérieuses difficultés. Pour l'élaborer, il suffit de prendre conscience des aspirations des peuples dépendants et de se fonder sur deux principes: celui du droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes, consacré au paragraphe 2 de l'Article premier de la Charte, et celui de la primauté des intérêts des habitants des territoires non autonomes, énoncé à l'Article 73. On peut aisément définir la notion d'autonomie complète, objectif suprême fixé par la Charte, en fonction de ces principes: autonomie complète signifie indépendance souveraine. Si l'on considère les mouvements populaires qu'on enregistre actuellement en faveur de l'indépendance complète, on peut douter que les peuples dépendants choisissent librement une forme d'autonomie qui n'équivaudrait pas à la souveraineté pleine et entière. Il importe peu qu'après avoir accédé à l'indépendance un territoire non autonome décide de s'associer à la métropole ou à un autre pays, dans la mesure où cette association est postérieure à l'indépendance; sinon l'on aurait de sérieuses raisons de douter que le territoire dépendant l'ait librement choisie.

12. En ce qui concerne les critères qui permettent de décider si le principe du droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes est garanti, la délégation de l'Arabie

¹ Voir A/AC.35/SR.34.

saoudite accepte la liste que le Comité a donnée dans la section IV de son rapport; elle attache une importance particulière aux points D, E et F; en effet, si l'on veut assurer le respect du principe de la primauté des intérêts des autochtones, il faut absolument que la population puisse exprimer son opinion sans aucune pression de la part des Puissances administrantes. Le point E (A/2428, par. 15) apporte au point D (A/2428, par. 15) un complément indispensable, car, si les Puissances administrantes ne donnent pas l'assurance que l'opinion de la population sera respectée, rien ne permettra de déterminer les aspirations réelles des populations intéressées. Enfin, le point F (A/2428, par. 21) est le seul facteur sur lequel on puisse se fonder pour décider si un territoire a volontairement consenti une limitation de sa souveraineté en faveur de la métropole ou d'un autre pays. Certaines régions demeurent associées à la métropole contre la volonté de leurs habitants; les pays métropolitains ont toujours prétendu que cette association avait été effectuée avec le plein accord des deux parties. Si tel est bien le cas, ces pays n'ont aucune raison de faire des réserves quant au point F; s'ils l'acceptaient, les doutes qui peuvent exister dans l'esprit de certains disparaîtraient. Le fait même qu'un territoire non autonome est libre de modifier son statut par des voies démocratiques — c'est-à-dire, en l'occurrence, de se retirer d'une association dont il faisait partie — prouve irréfutablement que cette association ne lui a pas été imposée.

13. M. Abou Khadra passe à la liste des facteurs présentée par le Comité *ad hoc* (A/2428, section VI). A son avis, il faudrait supprimer le facteur A. 3 de la deuxième partie, qui vise en fait une limitation de la souveraineté et de l'indépendance. Il est vrai que le droit d'abandonner une partie de sa souveraineté en faveur d'une entité plus large constitue l'un des attributs de la souveraineté; mais les Etats qui ont récemment acquis leur indépendance en sont bien trop jaloux pour accepter de conclure un accord qui pourrait la limiter. La situation du Proche-Orient, où les éléments d'une même nation ont été partagés pour servir les intérêts des Puissances coloniales et s'efforcent de réaligner progressivement une union plus étroite, ne joue pas en l'occurrence. La délégation de l'Arabie saoudite accepte sans réserve les autres facteurs, étant bien entendu que l'association visée dans les deuxième et troisième parties doit être effectuée conformément aux aspirations réelles de la population et sans qu'aucune pression ait été exercée sur elle.

14. En ce qui concerne la question de compétence, l'Assemblée générale devrait être consultée chaque fois qu'il s'agit de déterminer si un territoire a atteint l'autonomie complète et étant donné qu'elle doit se prononcer sur chaque cas en fonction des éléments qui le caractérisent. Ce n'est que lorsqu'un territoire a atteint le degré d'indépendance qui lui permet d'être admis dans l'Organisation des Nations Unies que peut cesser la communication des renseignements prévus par la Charte.

15. M. DOBROSIELSKI (Pologne) constate que les analyses purement théoriques auxquelles on a procédé depuis plusieurs années n'ont pas permis d'établir une liste définitive et complète de facteurs. Il est à craindre qu'aucun progrès sensible ne puisse être réalisé si l'on continue de traiter la question de façon purement théorique. Pour en avoir la preuve, il suffit de constater que la liste élaborée par le Comité *ad hoc* ne diffère guère de celle de 1952 [résolution 648 (VII) de l'Assemblée générale, annexe] et qu'elle doit simple-

ment avoir la valeur d'un ensemble d'indications générales. Il est difficile d'accepter certains des facteurs qui sont énumérés à la deuxième et à la troisième parties de la liste, et qui ont du reste soulevé des objections de la part des représentants de l'URSS et du Guatemala (322ème et 323ème séances).

16. L'étude de l'historique du problème permet de conclure que les Membres administrants s'efforcent de maintenir la question sur le plan théorique et d'empêcher l'Assemblée générale de prendre les mesures qui s'imposent pour modifier la situation actuelle. Cette situation résulte du refus arbitraire de certains Membres administrants — les Etats-Unis d'Amérique, la France, le Royaume-Uni et les Pays-Bas — de continuer à communiquer des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes qu'ils administrent, en violation des obligations qu'ils ont acceptées en vertu du Chapitre XI de la Charte. Les Membres administrants ont cessé de communiquer des renseignements au sujet de quinze des soixante-quatorze territoires non autonomes énumérés dans la résolution 66 (I) de l'Assemblée générale. La tendance à prendre une décision unilatérale persiste, comme le prouve le cas des Antilles néerlandaises, du Surinam et de Porto-Rico. Les Membres administrants prétendent que les territoires non autonomes relèvent de leur compétence exclusive. Or, il s'agit d'un problème international, et l'Organisation des Nations Unies doit attacher un intérêt tout particulier à la situation actuelle et à l'avenir des populations en cause.

17. C'est pourquoi, sans sous-estimer l'importance d'une étude théorique du problème, la délégation polonaise considère qu'il importe de prendre des mesures pratiques pour résoudre la question. Elle espère que l'Assemblée générale élaborera très prochainement un ensemble de principes qui mettront les Membres administrants dans l'impossibilité de prendre unilatéralement la décision de cesser de communiquer des renseignements relatifs aux territoires qu'ils administrent. Les Membres administrants sont tenus de transmettre ces renseignements aussi longtemps que les territoires en question ne sont pas devenus des Etats indépendants et souverains dont la population exerce sans réserves le pouvoir exécutif, législatif et judiciaire. C'est l'Assemblée générale qui est compétente pour décider si un territoire a atteint l'autonomie complète et pour se prononcer sur la cessation de la communication des renseignements. La délégation polonaise appuiera toute proposition positive qui permette de régler le problème dans cet esprit.

18. M. NAJAR (Israël) dit que la délégation israélienne a été quelque peu déçue de voir que les débats ont porté essentiellement sur la question de savoir qui devait décider si un territoire non autonome avait réellement accédé à l'autonomie et quand il était devenu autonome. La question de la cessation de la communication des renseignements figurant au point 3 de l'ordre du jour de la Commission, il aurait mieux valu, pour l'avancement des travaux de la Commission, s'attacher davantage à l'étude de la question des facteurs en soi et moins à l'étude des questions relatives à l'emploi de ces facteurs, sources de querelles sur l'interprétation de la Charte; il serait plus fructueux de rechercher la manière de contribuer utilement au règlement humain et constructif des problèmes politiques difficiles et concrets qui se posent à l'Organisation des Nations Unies.

19. La délégation israélienne n'attache pas une importance fondamentale à l'étude des facteurs, car l'expé-

rience que possèdent les soixante Etats Membres est une garantie pratiquement absolue qu'aucun aspect des problèmes rattachés à toutes les formes concevables d'autonomie ou d'indépendance ne peut être perdu de vue au moment de la discussion de tel ou tel cas particulier. Le présent rapport du Comité *ad hoc* ne fait que confirmer la délégation israélienne dans cette manière de voir. En effet, le Comité *ad hoc* était chargé notamment de définir la notion d'autonomie complète aux fins du Chapitre XI. Le problème consisterait à rechercher si elle se situe en deçà de l'indépendance dont parle le Chapitre XII et, dans l'affirmative, si elle se situe au-delà de l'autonomie dans les domaines économique, social et de l'instruction mentionnés à l'Article 73, e. Le Comité a répondu que la définition n'était pas possible et que la notion se dégagerait de l'étude de chaque situation particulière. Le Comité devait également rechercher les critères permettant de décider si le principe du droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes est garanti en ce qui concerne le même chapitre. Aucune condition bien précise ni aucun accord entre les membres du Comité n'ont été atteints. Si l'on examine la liste des facteurs, on est frappé de constater qu'elle ne reflète plus rien de la complexité des problèmes soulevés et des attitudes adoptées par les différents membres du Comité *ad hoc*.

20. La délégation israélienne regrette de constater une fâcheuse tendance à négliger de plus en plus, dans l'étude des voies et moyens destinés à assurer le respect, sur le plan international, du droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes, l'aspect individuel de ce droit, qui en constitue pourtant la véritable base. Du point de vue historique, le droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes repose sur la liberté et l'égalité des hommes liés par ce qu'on a appelé le contrat social. Il ne faut pas non plus oublier que, dans les quatorze points du président Wilson, il y avait identité entre le principe des nationalités et les principes démocratiques.

21. La première partie de la liste des facteurs traite de l'indépendance; on serait donc fondé à penser, d'après le titre général de la liste contenue dans le paragraphe 41 du document A/2428, que les deuxième et troisième parties traiteraient des autres formes d'autonomie séparée. Or, ces parties traitent de l'autonomie en association permanente avec la métropole et des facteurs permettant de conclure qu'un territoire est librement associé à la métropole ou à un autre pays et en constitue une partie intégrante.

22. La délégation israélienne estime qu'il était inutile d'introduire dans un rapport fort complexe une liste des facteurs qui semble bien établir que, si les territoires non autonomes doivent un jour accéder à l'indépendance, cette indépendance est cependant susceptible de revêtir les formes les plus diverses selon la volonté librement exprimée des populations intéressées. On peut donc se demander si une analyse théorique plus poussée et de plus en plus délicate des notions d'autonomie et d'indépendance ne risquerait pas de desservir la cause du droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes. Il conviendrait donc de mettre un terme à cette étude des facteurs.

23. Les travaux du Comité *ad hoc* auront toutefois permis de réduire sur un point important l'écart qui existe entre les conceptions des Puissances administrantes et des Puissances non administrantes, puisque le paragraphe 13 du rapport admet que la notion d'autonomie se dégagera de l'examen de chaque situation particulière.

24. Un exemple des débats sans issue dans lesquels la Commission s'engagerait si elle se plaçait constamment sur un terrain doctrinal serait la discussion de la thèse belge selon laquelle le Chapitre XI ne contenant pas de définition limitative des territoires non autonomes, l'Assemblée pourrait en découvrir qui n'auraient pas été déclarés par les Etats responsables. Cependant, il ressort de l'Article 74 qu'un territoire métropolitain ne peut en aucun cas tomber sous le coup des dispositions du Chapitre XI. Serait-il sage de s'engager dans une discussion de la notion de territoire métropolitain?

25. M. DORSINVILLE (Haïti) se félicite de l'évolution qui, en cent cinquante ans, a conduit le monde de la révolte des esclaves de Saint-Domingue à la séance de la présente Commission, où les représentants de nations libres et indépendantes cherchent à fixer les conditions essentielles que doivent réunir, pour accéder à l'autonomie ou à l'indépendance, quelque soixante territoires disséminés à travers le monde et comptant plus de 200 millions d'êtres humains.

26. En dépit de leur bonne volonté, de leur compétence et de leur désir de remplir fidèlement le mandat qui leur était imparti, les membres des divers sous-comités chargés de l'étude des facteurs n'ont pu ni définir le concept d'autonomie complète ni établir une liste des facteurs qui donnât entièrement satisfaction à tous. Le document A/2428 est un exercice intellectuel sans portée pratique: d'une part on reconnaît que l'énumération des facteurs n'est qu'indicative, d'autre part on admet qu'il ne peut y avoir que des cas d'espèce. Le travail accompli n'aura cependant pas été inutile, car il a permis d'examiner dans toutes ses applications juridiques, politiques, économiques et sociales la situation de vastes territoires dont il faut bien se demander quel est leur avenir. M. Dorsinville cite un passage du livre de M. Pierre Ryckmans, *Dominer pour servir*, où s'exprime une profonde sagesse: "Le problème politique ne se pose pas encore au Congo. Il n'est pas temps de le résoudre, mais il est temps déjà d'y penser, de prévoir et de préparer l'avenir... Quand l'heure est venue, les peuples n'attendent pas. Si l'on tarde, ce n'est plus l'émancipation qui termine la crise, c'est la haine, la révolte, la rupture" (p. 74).

27. C'est en vue précisément d'éviter des explosions de haine que la délégation haïtienne a toujours approuvé les différents rapports présentés sur la question des facteurs et qu'elle votera encore pour le document A/2428, bien qu'elle estime que l'unique facteur, en l'occurrence, eût dû être la libre expression de l'opinion des populations. Puisque les Puissances administrantes ont accepté une limitation de leur souveraineté, elles ne sauraient soustraire "arbitrairement" un territoire au régime de l'Article 73. Il devrait être possible d'assurer que les populations expriment leur opinion en toute liberté si les parties intéressées faisaient preuve de bonne volonté et permettaient à l'Organisation des Nations Unies d'exercer le contrôle nécessaire.

28. Devant la nette prise de position des Puissances administrantes, la délégation haïtienne craint que le Chapitre XI de la Charte ne soit très bientôt vidé de son contenu; elle demande, pour apaiser ses scrupules, que l'évolution ait lieu réellement dans le meilleur intérêt des populations des territoires non autonomes, et c'est afin que chaque cas d'espèce soit étudié conformément à des normes guides, convenues et acceptées, qu'elle votera pour l'adoption du rapport A/2428, sans admettre pour autant que les facteurs énumérés dans la liste sont désormais intangibles.

29. M. CHTOKALO (République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine) déclare que si certains Membres administrants se dérobent à l'obligation que leur impose la Charte de transmettre des renseignements relatifs aux territoires qu'ils administrent, c'est parce qu'ils veulent dissimuler la situation difficile qui règne dans ces territoires. De nombreux éléments d'information montrent que ces Membres exploitent sans vergogne les populations des territoires en question et que, loin de s'efforcer d'assurer le progrès des populations dans le domaine économique, social et de l'enseignement, ils ne cherchent qu'à obtenir des bénéfices aussi élevés que possible. Il suffit de rappeler à ce propos que le nombre des pétitions et des plaintes adressées à l'Organisation des Nations Unies augmente sans cesse. L'élaboration de facteurs permettant de déterminer si un territoire a ou non accédé à l'autonomie complète doit permettre de mettre les Membres administrants à même de s'acquitter des obligations que la Charte leur impose. La question des facteurs a été longuement discutée sans qu'on y ait apporté de solution satisfaisante et l'on constate une fois de plus que le Comité *ad hoc* n'a pas suivi son mandat. La liste de facteurs qu'il a élaborée est incomplète; il faut l'améliorer. Bien plus, le Comité n'a même pas été en mesure de mettre au point une définition de la notion d'autonomie complète; il a prétendu que l'absence de cette définition n'était pas un inconvénient grave. C'est là une conclusion tout à fait erronée; en effet, comment serait-il possible d'énumérer de façon précise tous les facteurs dont il faut tenir compte pour déterminer si un territoire est devenu absolument autonome, alors qu'on ignore ce qu'il faut entendre par autonomie complète?

30. La délégation de la RSS d'Ukraine estime que la première partie de la liste approuvée par le Comité *ad hoc* est acceptable, bien qu'il faille y apporter certaines améliorations. Par contre, la deuxième et la troisième partie ne sauraient être retenues, car elles visent non pas l'accès d'un territoire à l'autonomie complète, mais son association, permanente ou non, avec la métropole, c'est-à-dire une limitation de son indépendance. Les facteurs indiqués à la troisième partie donneraient aux Membres administrants le droit de cesser de communiquer des renseignements. Les travaux du Comité *ad hoc* ont donc abouti à un résultat exactement contraire au mandat que l'Assemblée avait donné au Comité. Adopter ces deux dernières parties serait faire le jeu des Puissances coloniales, qui tentent de s'arroger le droit exclusif de régler le destin des territoires non autonomes et dont les vues trouvent une illustration particulièrement frappante dans les réserves de la Belgique que le Comité *ad hoc* a reproduites dans son rapport (par. 40).

31. En terminant, M. Chtokalo exprime l'espoir que la Commission apportera à la liste des facteurs les modifications nécessaires pour que les Puissances administrantes soient mises en demeure de remplir les obligations que la Charte leur impose.

32. M. CAMPOS CATELIN (Argentine) tient tout d'abord à féliciter le Comité *ad hoc* du soin avec lequel il s'est acquitté de sa tâche sous la présidence de M. Khalidy.

33. La délégation argentine approuve sans réserve les conclusions formulées au paragraphe 9 du document A/2428. Les facteurs énumérés dans la liste actuelle ne constituent que de simples indications et n'ont aucun caractère définitif.

34. Comme le représentant du Mexique l'a fait remarquer (322ème séance), le facteur A. 4 de la première

partie de la liste des facteurs n'est pas acceptable. En effet, un Etat a accédé à l'autonomie complète lorsqu'il peut assurer lui-même sa défense nationale et non seulement y participer; en outre, le facteur A. 4 ne peut s'appliquer à l'établissement et à l'utilisation de bases militaires dans un territoire, qui impliqueraient une atteinte à la souveraineté du pays intéressé dont la défense nationale est un attribut essentiel.

35. Il conviendrait de supprimer, dans le titre de la deuxième partie, l'adjectif "permanente", d'autant que l'association visée dans cette partie ne peut avoir d'autre caractère que celui que les parties veulent lui donner, cette association devant toujours jouer au profit du territoire qui a accepté une limitation volontaire de sa souveraineté; or, pareille association pourrait, à une date ultérieure, porter atteinte aux intérêts du territoire en question. En outre, la notion de limitation volontaire de souveraineté est éminemment dangereuse et ne devrait donc pas paraître dans la liste, à moins de l'assortir de la garantie que le représentant du Guatemala a proposée et qui figure au paragraphe 21 du rapport.

36. Certaines délégations ont éprouvé des difficultés à élaborer une définition satisfaisante de la notion de "peuple" en tant que sujet du droit à l'autodétermination. M. Campos Catelin cite à ce propos la définition que le professeur Georges Scelle donne dans son *Précis de droit des gens* et d'après laquelle le peuple est l'entité collective capable d'exercer le droit à l'autodétermination, condition indispensable de son existence; le peuple serait la cohésion des volontés des sujets qui le composent; cette cohésion de volontés implique une unité de buts qui repose sur une unité de traditions, sur un patrimoine commun, historique et spirituel.

37. A propos du paragraphe 40 du rapport du Comité *ad hoc*, la délégation argentine tient à réfuter une fois de plus la thèse soutenue par le représentant de la Belgique. Le fait que les Puissances administrantes aient accepté les dispositions du Chapitre XI de la Charte ne place sous la tutelle de la collectivité internationale que les peuples visés par ce chapitre, dont les dispositions ne s'appliquent qu'aux territoires qui n'ont jamais formé partie intégrante d'un Etat métropolitain ou n'ont jamais été considérés comme en faisant partie. Il est impossible d'invoquer en l'occurrence le paragraphe 7 de l'Article 2, car des questions de cet ordre ne relèvent pas de la compétence intérieure des Puissances administrantes; c'est une position que le Gouvernement argentin a maintes fois défendue. Ces questions sont liées au régime de la protection internationale des territoires non autonomes créé par la Charte et librement accepté par les Puissances administrantes. Ces dernières ont assumé une obligation qui, aux termes mêmes de la Charte, constitue pour elles une mission sacrée. C'est à l'Assemblée générale qu'il appartient de décider si un territoire a cessé d'être non autonome, ou s'il continue d'être non autonome aux fins du Chapitre XI.

38. La délégation argentine tient à répéter une fois de plus qu'en cas de litige ou de différend, le gouvernement de l'Etat métropolitain administrant n'a pas le droit de modifier le statut politique de ce territoire.

39. Enfin, conformément aux termes de la résolution XXXIII adoptée par la IXème Conférence internationale américaine qui s'est tenue à Bogota en 1948, le Gouvernement de la République Argentine estime que "le processus historique de l'émancipation de l'Amérique ne sera pas terminé tant qu'il existera sur le continent des peuples et des régions soumis au régime colonial ou des territoires occupés par des pays non américains".

40. M. S. S. LIU (Chine) estime que l'étude de la question des facteurs, qui a fait l'objet de longs et fructueux travaux tant à la Commission qu'aux divers sous-comités, est parvenue, avec l'élaboration de la liste actuelle, à un stade où il serait certes possible de perfectionner et de préciser cette liste, mais où il devient inutile pour l'instant de poursuivre les efforts dans ce sens, comme le Comité *ad hoc* l'indique au paragraphe 9 de son rapport. La présente liste peut servir utilement de guide pour décider si un territoire a atteint ou non une complète autonomie. Mais il ressort nettement des termes de la résolution 648 (VII) que la décision n'appartient pas unilatéralement au Membre administrant; c'est à l'Assemblée générale qu'il appartient de trancher en dernier ressort. Cette thèse est en conformité absolue avec la théorie de la responsabilité internationale à peu près universellement admise aujourd'hui.

41. La délégation chinoise accueillerait avec la plus vive satisfaction la cessation de toute communication de renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes s'il fallait voir là une preuve que tous les territoires non autonomes sans exception ont accédé à l'indépendance, atteignant ainsi l'objectif que vise le Chapitre XI de la Charte. Mais, tant qu'il existera des territoires qui ne jouissent pas encore de l'autonomie complète, les Membres administrants devront continuer à fournir des renseignements. C'est de cette manière seulement que l'Assemblée générale peut assurer la protection des peuples non autonomes et sauvegarder leurs droits et leurs intérêts légitimes.

42. La délégation chinoise tient à formuler trois observations à propos de la théorie, maintes fois défendue par certaines Puissances administrantes, selon laquelle les dispositions du Chapitre XI s'appliquent non seulement aux territoires non autonomes mais également à certains Etats indépendants dont la population ou une fraction de la population ne jouit pas d'une complète autonomie. En premier lieu, le titre même du Chapitre XI indique que ce chapitre vise exclusivement les territoires non autonomes. En deuxième lieu, les Membres administrants, qui ont accusé certains Membres non administrants de sortir du cadre des dispositions du Chapitre XI, seraient malvenus à essayer d'étendre l'application de ce chapitre sans y être légalement fondés. Enfin, l'élargissement de la portée du Chapitre XI ne saurait aucunement dégager les Membres administrants des obligations qu'ils ont assumées à l'égard des territoires non autonomes qui sont réellement visés par ce chapitre.

43. En conclusion, la délégation chinoise est disposée à appuyer tout projet de résolution qui s'inspire des conclusions formulées par le Comité *ad hoc*; elle se réserve le droit d'intervenir ultérieurement à ce sujet.

44. M. DE MARCHENA (République Dominicaine) constate avec satisfaction que le rapport du Comité *ad hoc* tient compte des diverses questions de nature juridique que la délégation de la République Dominicaine a soulevées dès le début de l'étude de la question des facteurs. Cette étude peut permettre d'élaborer des principes qui s'inscriront éventuellement dans le droit international.

45. Le Chapitre XI de la Charte présente une importance toute particulière; d'une part, il donne aux populations des territoires non autonomes l'espoir que leurs aspirations à l'indépendance et à la liberté seront un jour réalisées; d'autre part, il est un témoignage de la bonne volonté avec laquelle les Puissances métropolitaines ont accepté, à San-Francisco, de se charger de la

mission sacrée de favoriser la prospérité des populations des territoires non autonomes. M. de Marchena rappelle que sa délégation a vivement admiré la générosité des Puissances qui ont souscrit aux obligations énoncées dans le Chapitre XI.

46. Etant donné l'importance capitale du Chapitre XI, il convient d'en préciser la véritable portée, car, depuis la Conférence de San-Francisco, il a donné lieu à de nombreuses interprétations divergentes. Alors que les Nations Unies envisagent actuellement, conformément aux dispositions de l'Article 109, de procéder à une révision de la Charte, il serait utile de renforcer l'efficacité du Chapitre XI en y introduisant une définition de la notion de complète autonomie. C'est là une tâche fort ardue, ainsi que le sait fort bien le représentant de la République Dominicaine, qui a participé aux efforts entrepris par l'Organisation des Nations Unies en vue de donner une définition de l'agression. La difficulté vient en grande partie de ce qu'il existe diverses manières de concevoir une définition: une définition doit-elle être générique, descriptive, énumérative, ou doit-elle participer de ces trois caractères? Dans la première partie de la liste des facteurs, le Comité *ad hoc* est parvenu à donner une définition de l'indépendance par énumération. Il convient de le féliciter de cette brillante réussite.

47. M. de Marchena est convaincu que la liste des facteurs ne saurait jamais être définitive ni complète, mais qu'elle constituera toujours un guide permettant d'étudier chaque cas particulier en fonction des circonstances qui lui sont propres. La liste actuelle paraît tout à fait rationnelle; elle comble une lacune dans l'interprétation du Chapitre XI et permet une meilleure mise en œuvre de la résolution 222 (III) de l'Assemblée générale. La délégation de la République Dominicaine estime que la Commission pourrait maintenant recommander à l'Assemblée générale de mettre fin à l'étude de la question des facteurs, car les résultats obtenus sont assez satisfaisants pour que ce point disparaisse de l'ordre du jour.

48. La première partie de la liste des facteurs renferme de très précieux critères sur lesquels on pourra désormais se fonder pour conclure qu'une population a accédé à l'indépendance. En ce qui concerne les deux autres parties, M. de Marchena souligne que toute entité collective, lorsqu'elle en exprime le désir, doit avoir le droit de dissocier ses institutions politiques et parlementaires de celles de l'Etat métropolitain auquel elle était rattachée par des liens historiques. Dans le cas d'association avec la métropole ou avec un autre pays, le critère fondamental est l'opinion librement exprimée de la population du territoire intéressé; il convient d'adopter en cette matière des formules souples conformes aux conceptions modernes.

49. La délégation de la République Dominicaine est disposée à appuyer toute proposition visant à recommander l'utilisation de la présente liste de facteurs comme guide lorsqu'il s'agira de déterminer si un territoire s'administre ou non complètement lui-même, étant bien entendu que le facteur primordial doit demeurer l'opinion, librement exprimée par des voies démocratiques, des populations des territoires intéressés.

50. Le PRESIDENT propose, puisqu'il n'y a plus d'orateurs inscrits au sujet de la question des facteurs, de renvoyer la suite de l'examen de cette question à la séance suivante et d'aborder dès maintenant la question des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes transmis en vertu de l'Article 73, e, de la Charte.

Renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes, transmis en vertu de l'Article 73, e, de la Charte

[Point 32*]

DISCUSSION GÉNÉRALE

51. M. HOPKINSON (Royaume-Uni) rappelle que lors de la septième session, à la Quatrième Commission (251ème séance), il avait ouvert la discussion générale sur le rapport du Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes (A/2219 et Corr.1) en faisant un exposé général de la politique suivie et de l'œuvre accomplie par le Royaume-Uni dans les territoires qu'il administre. Cette année, M. Hopkinson aurait aimé participer plus longuement aux débats. Malheureusement, en sa qualité de Ministre des colonies, il a un programme de travail extrêmement chargé qui l'oblige à quitter New-York sous peu. C'est pourquoi il a demandé à prendre la parole dès maintenant.

52. Le présent rapport du Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes (A/2463) traite, au chapitre VI, de la situation de l'enseignement dans les territoires non autonomes, objet principal de ses travaux de cette année. La deuxième partie du document contient en outre un rapport spécial du Comité sur l'éducation dans les territoires non autonomes.

53. M. Hopkinson s'intéresse personnellement au problème de l'éducation, car il préside le Comité consultatif que le Secrétaire d'Etat aux colonies du Royaume-Uni a institué pour lui donner des avis sur les questions relatives à l'enseignement. Ce comité, créé en 1929, avait à l'origine pour mandat de donner des avis au Secrétaire d'Etat en vue de l'élaboration de la politique de l'enseignement dans les territoires sous administration britannique. Par suite de l'évolution, d'ordre constitutionnel et autre, qui s'est produite dans les colonies, la nature des travaux de ce comité consultatif a beaucoup changé au cours de ces dernières années. Alors que dans le passé la politique de l'enseignement était définie à Londres, le développement considérable de l'initiative locale en matière d'enseignement et l'extension des pouvoirs et des attributions des corps législatifs des territoires coloniaux ont modifié sensiblement le rôle du Comité consultatif. Certes, lorsqu'un avis extérieur leur paraît nécessaire, les autorités locales renvoient encore certaines questions au Secrétaire d'Etat, qui les fait examiner par le Comité consultatif. Mais, actuellement, le Comité peut être considéré beaucoup plus comme un groupe d'experts chargés d'offrir à la demande des autorités des territoires coloniaux une assistance technique d'un ordre supérieur. Cette évolution illustre la nature des rapports qui existent maintenant entre le gouvernement métropolitain et les territoires dont il a la responsabilité.

54. En ce qui concerne le rapport du Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes, le représentant du Royaume-Uni déclare que sa délégation le considère comme l'expression d'une opinion générale qu'elle respecte et dont elle fera part aux autorités des territoires sous administration britannique, pour qu'elles en tiennent compte dans la mesure qu'elles jugeront appropriée lorsqu'elles élaboreront et appliqueront leur politique scolaire, tout comme elles tiendraient compte des avis du Comité consultatif du Secrétaire d'Etat aux colonies.

* Numéro affecté à la question dans l'ordre du jour de l'Assemblée générale.

55. Le représentant du Royaume-Uni croit cependant devoir faire une légère critique. A son avis, le rapport du Comité insiste peut-être un peu trop sur la nécessité de développer rapidement l'instruction primaire. Certes, la lutte contre l'analphabétisme est d'une importance vitale, mais la délégation du Royaume-Uni considère aussi qu'un territoire doit assurer un certain équilibre à tous les degrés du développement de l'instruction. Il ne peut exister un système efficace d'enseignement primaire sans un système satisfaisant de formation du personnel enseignant. Un tel système ne peut être édifié sans un nombre suffisant d'écoles secondaires qui assurent la formation des maîtres. Il ne faut pas sacrifier la qualité à la quantité, car on risque de causer un grave préjudice au développement des territoires. Si l'on n'insiste pas sur la qualité et sur l'enseignement général, professionnel et technique, on ne saurait espérer atteindre les objectifs énoncés au paragraphe 12 du rapport spécial sur l'éducation.

56. Le but fondamental de la politique scolaire du Royaume-Uni est de développer la capacité à assumer des responsabilités. Les objectifs du Chapitre XI de la Charte ne pourront pas être atteints si les Membres administrants des territoires non autonomes ne s'efforcent pas constamment d'imposer une responsabilité de plus en plus grande à un nombre de plus en plus élevé d'habitants des territoires. Toutefois, ce transfert actif des responsabilités, dont les territoires administrés par le Royaume-Uni offrent plusieurs exemples récents et importants, ne peut pas s'effectuer aveuglément. Par exemple, le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni ne croit pas que sous le seul prétexte qu'il existe dans un territoire quelconque une poignée de politiciens brillants et instruits, ce territoire a nécessairement atteint le degré de maturité nécessaire pour assumer la responsabilité complète de ses propres affaires.

57. Il faut établir les bases d'une démocratie stable. Une compétence éclairée doit exister à tous les niveaux de la société et un afflux de gens éduqués et disciplinés doit permettre de remplacer les quelques individus brillants que l'on trouvera dans les territoires, comme on les trouve dans la plupart des pays du monde. Le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni est convaincu qu'il faillirait à son devoir s'il abandonnait tous les pouvoirs aux populations des territoires qu'il administre tant que ces territoires n'auront acquis qu'un sens superficiel de la discipline et de la responsabilité. Dans certains cas il faut courir des risques, mais si l'on court ces risques il faut être toujours prêt à reconnaître une erreur quand on la voit. Si l'on ne fait pas preuve de prudence, on pourrait très bien, après un demi-siècle de construction patiente de la démocratie, retomber dans l'instabilité, et la majeure partie de la population, au lieu de participer à la conduite de ses propres affaires, serait abandonnée à la tyrannie et à l'inexpérience d'une oligarchie locale.

58. La délégation du Royaume-Uni estime que l'une des principales raisons pour lesquelles un certain nombre de territoires britanniques sont passés si facilement du régime impérial ou colonial à l'indépendance est que depuis longtemps l'administration britannique avait créé un corps de fonctionnaires compétents et instruits et une magistrature impartiale.

59. Il ne faut pas sous-estimer l'importance de l'enseignement supérieur pour la formation des chefs, car cet enseignement permet de développer le sens des valeurs. M. Hopkinson rappelle qu'en 1952 il y avait approximativement 3.500 étudiants à temps complet dans les établissements d'enseignement supérieur des terri-

toires administrés par le Royaume-Uni, à savoir les trois universités de Malte, de Hong-kong et de Malaisie britannique et les collèges universitaires des Antilles britanniques, de l'Afrique orientale, de la Côte-de-l'Or et de la Nigéria. Le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni a l'intention de créer prochainement une université en Afrique centrale.

60. Aucun système d'enseignement ne saurait se développer ni même survivre s'il n'est alimenté par des ressources croissantes provenant de la prospérité économique. Puisque le Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes se penchera de nouveau l'année prochaine sur les problèmes que pose le développement économique, il est peut-être bon de rappeler que, dans les territoires qu'administre le Royaume-Uni, le problème essentiel est celui de l'utilisation rationnelle des terres. M. Hopkinson souligne que, dans les pays à économie agricole, les populations doivent être conscientes du devoir impérieux de développer et de conserver les ressources de leurs terres, d'autant plus que dans de nombreux pays le problème du surpeuplement est de plus en plus grave. M. Hopkinson énumère les raisons de ce phénomène ainsi que les raisons pour lesquelles, malgré les ressources de la science agricole moderne, le rendement des terres n'a pas augmenté dans la même proportion que le chiffre de la population. Comme on l'a dit justement, "un sol pauvre signifie une population pauvre et une population pauvre rend le sol encore plus pauvre". Il convient de changer le régime foncier et les méthodes agricoles, et de le faire d'une manière et à une cadence qui ne risquent pas de briser l'édifice de la société. On entend parfois demander, dans certains territoires de l'Afrique orientale et de l'Afrique occidentale, que de petites superficies de terres cultivées de manière efficace depuis des générations par des communautés européennes soient transférées à des tribus africaines. Une telle mesure pourrait tout au plus apporter un soulagement très faible et temporaire à la congestion africaine. Ce genre d'expropriation, qui livrerait à la destruction des terres convenablement cultivées, ne serait pas seulement un acte d'injustice mais une folie. Le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni étudie actuellement les meilleurs moyens d'utiliser les vastes superficies de terres inexploitées ou insuffisamment exploitées qui existent encore en Afrique, en les mettant en culture de façon efficace et permanente.

61. Toutefois, l'agriculture ne doit pas être l'élément unique de la prospérité économique des territoires. Une certaine industrialisation est nécessaire pour absorber au moins une partie du surpeuplement. La production de force motrice à bon marché est nécessaire pour l'exécution de n'importe quel programme d'industrialisation. A ce propos, M. Hopkinson cite deux grands projets d'aménagement hydro-électrique en Afrique: l'aménagement de la Volta, en Côte-de-l'Or, dont la construction coûtera 144 millions de livres sterling, sur lesquels 57 millions seront fournis par le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni, 42 millions par le Gouvernement de la Côte-de-l'Or et le reste par la Compagnie canadienne d'aluminium qui participe à la réalisation de cette entreprise, et d'autre part le barrage que l'on construit aux chutes Owen, en Ouganda. Non seulement ce barrage stimulera le développement industriel de l'Ouganda, mais il permettra en outre de régulariser les eaux du Nil. Le Royaume-Uni travaille à ce projet en collaboration étroite avec les gouvernements des autres pays intéressés, notamment le Gouvernement égyptien.

62. Des développements de ce genre dans le domaine économique posent inévitablement des problèmes sociaux: problème du logement, transformation de la société tribale, relations entre les diverses races, etc. La notion d'association entre les différentes races est une notion juste; elle est la seule qui permette d'espérer l'avènement d'un monde dans lequel les différences de races ne seront pas une source de discorde mais fourniront plutôt l'occasion aux meilleurs éléments de toutes les races de se fondre en une société forte et harmonieuse.

63. Faisant allusion à une remarque que le représentant du Liban a faite à la 447^{ème} séance plénière, M. Hopkinson croit lui aussi que le monde moderne exige quelque chose de plus qu'une fragmentation fondée sur la notion surannée du nationalisme pur. Le monde évolue sans aucun doute vers la création de groupes plus importants et vers une cohésion et une stabilité fondées sur ce qui unit les hommes plutôt que ce qui les sépare. Cette évolution se produit en Europe, et la délégitimation du Royaume-Uni est convaincue qu'elle se produira inévitablement dans le monde entier. Le Royaume-Uni attache la plus grande importance au développement de la coopération internationale pour assurer le progrès des territoires non autonomes. Il contribuera pour sa part énergiquement à la formation de groupements régionaux chargés de résoudre les problèmes techniques communs.

64. Le Royaume-Uni constate avec plaisir l'intérêt que les institutions spécialisées des Nations Unies portent, dans le domaine de l'assistance technique, aux territoires non autonomes et considère que l'un de ses principaux devoirs envers les territoires non autonomes consiste à favoriser l'exécution d'un programme efficace d'assistance technique. L'aide qu'il apporte déjà aux territoires qu'il administre peut soutenir la comparaison avec celle qui est mise à la disposition de n'importe quel autre pays dans le monde. Il considère cependant qu'il est extrêmement utile de collaborer dans ce domaine avec l'Organisation des Nations Unies et les institutions spécialisées. Seules des raisons financières empêchent les territoires britanniques de participer dans une plus grande mesure à l'exécution du programme élargi d'assistance technique. Les demandes que le Royaume-Uni a faites dépassent le montant des ressources qui peuvent lui être allouées. Le Royaume-Uni est très heureux que l'Administration de l'assistance technique examine ses demandes dans un esprit de compréhension et il est satisfait de l'énergie et de l'efficacité avec lesquelles elle a fourni des services très divers aux territoires britanniques.

65. Pour conclure, le représentant du Royaume-Uni tient à affirmer que son pays ne souscrira jamais à l'opinion selon laquelle il doit y avoir deux camps à la Quatrième Commission, le camp peu nombreux des Puissances administrantes, c'est-à-dire des Puissances qui, par définition, peuvent être considérées comme des pays réactionnaires pratiquant l'obstruction, et le camp important des pays qui n'administrent pas de territoires et qui, par définition, sont censés avoir le monopole des bonnes intentions. Le Royaume-Uni est convaincu que les objectifs fondamentaux de tous sont les mêmes. Il ne croit pas que les problèmes soient toujours abordés sans un certain degré de parti pris et sans un certain degré d'ignorance.

66. M. Hopkinson considère qu'il est de la plus haute importance, pour l'utilité des travaux de la Quatrième Commission et pour le prestige de l'Organisation des

Nations Unies, que les discussions et recommandations de la Quatrième Commission reposent sur une évaluation exacte du caractère des problèmes et une compréhension généreuse des difficultés à résoudre. Pour sa part, le Royaume-Uni s'est toujours efforcé d'envoyer aux réunions de ce genre, notamment à celles du Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes, des représentants qui peuvent parler avec autorité et compétence des problèmes qui se posent dans les territoires administrés par le Royaume-Uni. Il serait peut-être très utile que d'autres Etats Membres s'efforcent de faire de même.

67. Au cours du débat qui s'engage, la délégation du Royaume-Uni présentera des propositions concrètes tendant à ce que les questions que la Quatrième Commission examine soient traitées non pas dans un cadre politique préconçu, mais en tant que problèmes mondiaux à la solution desquels tous les pays peuvent contribuer.

68. Il est impossible d'apporter aux problèmes humains que la Quatrième Commission est appelée à traiter une solution absolument isolée. La plupart d'entre eux dépassent le cadre du mandat de la Quatrième Commission et relèvent également de la compétence d'autres commissions de l'Assemblée. Ces problèmes ne peuvent être jugés qu'en fonction des réalisations de chaque pays, car, en somme, seules les connaissances acquises dans sa propre administration apprennent à un pays à juger du succès ou de l'échec des autres. Si, comme c'était certainement l'intention des rédacteurs de la Charte, les Etats Membres peuvent collaborer dans un esprit d'équipe, s'ils peuvent dissiper certains doutes et des soupçons qui existent de part et d'autre, s'ils peuvent apporter à l'œuvre commune le maximum de sagesse et de connaissances techniques qu'ils ont acquises individuellement, il est probable que les travaux de la Quatrième Commission progresseront harmonieusement et rapidement vers le but que toutes les nations cherchent à atteindre: le progrès politique, économique, social et scolaire des populations des territoires intéressés.

69. M. CAMPOS CATELIN (Argentine) déclare qu'il fait, au nom de son gouvernement, une réserve formelle: le fait que le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni communique des renseignements sur les îles Malouines — improprement dénommées îles Falkland dans le document A/2413 — n'affecte nullement la souveraineté argentine sur ce territoire, dont le Royaume-Uni s'est assuré l'occupation grâce à un coup de force que la République Argentine n'acceptera jamais. M. Campos Catelin ajoute qu'il affirme de nouveau les droits inaliénables et imprescriptibles de la République Argentine sur les îles Malouines, la Géorgie du Sud, les Sandwich du Sud et la zone antarctique argentine, qui font partie

intégrante du territoire argentin. Il demande au Secrétariat d'employer l'expression *Islas Malvinas* dans tous les documents rédigés en espagnol.

70. M. HOPKINSON (Royaume-Uni) répond que son gouvernement est souverain sur ce territoire, dont les populations, de souche purement anglaise, ne parlent que l'anglais. Le représentant du Royaume-Uni affirme les droits de souveraineté de son pays sur les îles en question et demande que tous les documents rédigés en anglais portent le nom exact de ces îles, à savoir: îles Falkland.

Comptes rendus de la Commission

71. M. DE MARCHENA (République Dominicaine) tient à protester contre le fait que le compte rendu de la 321ème séance de la Quatrième Commission consacre douze lignes seulement à la déclaration faite par la délégation de la République Dominicaine, alors que le texte complet de cette déclaration, qui a été remis aux rédacteurs de séance, était de cinquante-cinq lignes en espagnol. Il demande que son intervention soit introduite dans ledit compte rendu sans mutilation.

72. La façon dont cette déclaration a été résumée est d'autant plus regrettable qu'il s'agissait d'une question très importante: la demande d'audience du président du Puerto Rican Independence Party. La délégation de la République Dominicaine a déclaré en effet à cette occasion que son pays a toujours entretenu les meilleurs rapports avec le peuple porto-ricain. M. de Marchena se demande pourquoi on a jugé bon d'omettre ce passage et pourquoi sa déclaration a été réduite dans des proportions beaucoup plus grandes que les déclarations faites par d'autres délégations.

73. Il signale en plus qu'à son avis la méthode des comptes rendus est défectueuse. En effet, déclare-t-il, les interventions des délégations de langue espagnole sont traduites en anglais ou en français et ensuite retraduites en espagnol, d'où résultent des erreurs et des contresens fréquents dans le résumé des interventions faites en langue espagnole. Il a à se plaindre, en plus, du fait que les corrections aux comptes rendus ne sont acceptées par le Secrétariat qu'en anglais ou en français et non en espagnol.

74. La délégation de la République Dominicaine demande que sa réclamation figure au procès-verbal et, s'il n'en était pas tenu compte, elle se verrait obligée de demander au Président de convoquer devant la Quatrième Commission les fonctionnaires responsables.

75. Le PRESIDENT est certain que le Secrétariat fera le nécessaire pour donner satisfaction à la délégation de la République Dominicaine.

La séance est levée à 18 h. 15.



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Président: M. Santiago PEREZ PEREZ (Venezuela).

Facteurs dont il convient de tenir compte pour décider si un territoire est, ou n'est pas, un territoire dont les populations ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes: rapport du Comité *ad hoc* pour l'étude des facteurs (territoires non autonomes) [A/2428, A/C.4/L.272] (suite)

[Point 33 *]

1. Le **PRESIDENT** annonce que la délégation brésilienne a présenté, au sujet de la question des facteurs, un projet de résolution qui est distribué sous la cote A/C.4/L.272.

2. **M. FERREIRA DE SOUZA** (Brésil) rappelle qu'à la septième session la délégation brésilienne a exposé devant la Commission (277^e séance) la position qu'elle avait adoptée vis-à-vis de la question des facteurs.

3. Après avoir étudié attentivement le rapport du Comité *ad hoc* pour l'étude des facteurs (territoires non autonomes) [A/2428] et lu la volumineuse documentation présentée à la Quatrième Commission, la délégation brésilienne avait pensé qu'il serait superflu d'intervenir dans le débat relatif à ce point de l'ordre du jour. Elle avait pensé qu'après trois ans de discussions les membres de la Quatrième Commission étaient parvenus à un accord sur les prémisses, sur les points essentiels et sur les considérations préliminaires, ce qui devait éviter de longues digressions sur la valeur de la liste présentée par le Comité *ad hoc*, sur son intérêt et sur les limites de son application. Malheureusement, la délégation du Brésil a dû constater qu'il n'en était rien. Quelques-uns des orateurs qui ont pris la parole au cours des précédentes séances en sont presque arrivés à remettre toute la question en cause.

4. A la réflexion, cependant, la délégation brésilienne estime plus que jamais qu'il est inutile de reprendre au fond l'examen de la question des facteurs et de s'égarer dans les définitions. Les critères déjà arrêtés correspondent d'une façon satisfaisante au désir que l'Assemblée générale a exprimé lorsqu'elle a souligné l'utilité d'établir une liste de facteurs qui pût lui servir de guide pour décider de mettre fin aux obligations énoncées au Chapitre XI. Le rapport du Comité *ad hoc*

démontre que l'étude de ces facteurs en est arrivée au point où aucun perfectionnement appréciable ne pourrait être apporté au travail déjà accompli. Il est certes toujours possible d'apporter des améliorations à une œuvre de ce genre, mais toute modification de rédaction ou de système ne pourrait être qu'une question de préférences personnelles, risquant par conséquent de provoquer de nouvelles divergences au lieu d'augmenter les possibilités de conciliation. C'est donc avec un certain découragement que la délégation brésilienne a entendu proposer la création d'un troisième comité chargé d'élaborer une troisième édition de la même liste, au sujet de laquelle des débats stériles pourraient se poursuivre à l'infini.

5. Pour échapper à cet engrenage, il conviendrait donc, semble-t-il, de renoncer à attribuer à cette liste une importance plus grande que celle qu'elle doit avoir en réalité. Il convient notamment de reconnaître que les réalités politiques, essentiellement variables, ne se soumettront jamais à des mesures rigides. Elles se déroberont toujours à l'application stricte de principes établis à priori. Dès lors, la liste actuelle ne saurait être jugée bonne ou mauvaise que dans la mesure où elle remplit son objet: fournir des points de repère et servir d'instrument de travail.

6. Les grands critères qui peuvent servir à juger de la plénitude de l'autonomie sont connus de tous. Les obligations énoncées à l'Article 73 de la Charte ne peuvent cesser qu'au moment où le peuple d'un territoire aura, en toute liberté politique, décidé lui-même de son avenir. Cette décision librement prise doit nécessairement amener le peuple considéré à l'un des deux statuts suivants: indépendance complète et admission dans l'Organisation des Nations Unies, ou association avec un Etat souverain. Si les conditions de cette association laissent à l'ancien territoire dépendant l'exercice des attributs de la souveraineté politique interne, le problème cessera d'exister. Ce n'est pas à la Quatrième Commission de juger si le choix de cette association a été prudent. Toute ce qu'elle peut faire, c'est examiner si l'autonomie administrative, économique et sociale peut découler de l'autonomie politique interne. Tant qu'un peuple n'aura pas un pouvoir souverain et absolu dans le domaine interne, il sera vain de prétendre que les dispositions de l'alinéa b de l'Article 73 de la Charte, qui est la clé de voûte du Chapitre XI tout entier, ont été appliquées. Tels sont les vrais critères de l'autonomie en ce qui concerne la population d'un territoire. Les éléments d'appréciation que fournit la liste de facteurs sont de nature subsidiaire et ne doivent en aucun cas faire perdre de vue les considérations fondamentales.

7. La délégation brésilienne était donc disposée à appuyer tout projet de résolution qui envisagerait la liste de facteurs comme elle le fait elle-même et qui permettrait de mettre cette liste à l'épreuve.

8. Si les membres de la Quatrième Commission s'attachaient à analyser objectivement les cas concrets, les

* Numéro affecté à la question dans l'ordre du jour de l'Assemblée générale.

divergences portant sur des questions de principe se réduiraient sensiblement et il en résulterait une atmosphère de sérénité propice à des solutions qui, dans l'esprit de la Charte, correspondraient aux aspirations des peuples dépendants, sans porter atteinte aux intérêts des Puissances administrantes dans ce qu'ils pourraient avoir de juste et de légitime.

9. C'est dans cet esprit que la délégation brésilienne présente officiellement le projet de résolution qui porte la cote A/C.4/L.272. Elle a rédigé ce projet dans l'intention de concilier les vues que plusieurs délégations ont exposées aux dernières séances et qui, sur quelques points très importants, sont à peu près identiques aux vues de la délégation brésilienne, surtout en ce qui concerne la façon d'appliquer les facteurs. Sans rien enlever à la valeur qu'auront ces éléments d'appréciation lorsqu'il s'agira de décider de la portée des changements constitutionnels signalés par les Membres administrants conformément à la résolution 222 (III), le projet vise à préciser dans quel esprit il convient d'appliquer les critères politico-juridiques qui viennent d'être établis, en insistant sur leur relativité et sur l'importance qu'il faut attribuer, selon le principe énoncé dans la résolution 648 (VII), aux circonstances qui sont propres à chaque cas d'espèce.

10. Certes, la résolution 648 (VII) fait, en énumérant les considérations fondamentales qui doivent entrer en ligne de compte dans l'analyse de toute situation où l'on peut prétendre trouver la réalisation de l'autonomie complète, une allusion un peu trop discrète au droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes. En outre, la liste de facteurs n'a pas exactement ni suffisamment souligné l'importance que cette donnée devrait avoir. C'est pourquoi la délégation brésilienne a jugé bon de classer au premier rang des considérations indispensables pour étayer toute démonstration dans cet ordre d'idées le respect du droit qu'ont les populations intéressées de choisir leur statut politique.

11. Le représentant du Brésil est convaincu que de nombreuses délégations partageront sa manière de voir et admettront la solution que propose le texte brésilien. Ce texte reprend les paragraphes 3 et 4 de la résolution 648 (VII), car il paraît indispensable de réaffirmer les principes qui sont énoncés dans cette résolution, notamment celui de l'indivisibilité de l'autonomie, qui est repris au paragraphe 6 du document A/C.4/L.272. Cette notion qui, dans le droit des gens et dans le droit public interne, ne souffre aucune contestation, a reçu à la Quatrième Commission certaines interprétations restrictives que la délégation brésilienne ne saurait admettre. En effet, la pleine responsabilité politique est l'essence même du concept d'autonomie tel que l'envisage l'Article 73 de la Charte. Certes, cette idée aurait pu être exprimée d'une façon moins vague que dans la résolution 648 (VII), mais un nouveau texte qui, en dernière analyse, reviendrait à dire la même chose, aurait fort bien pu soulever d'autres discussions sur le sens des mots, sans aucun résultat pratique.

12. La délégation brésilienne laisse l'initiative de la révision de la liste de facteurs au Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes qui, conformément aux résolutions 334 (IV) et 448 (V), est compétent pour examiner en première instance la documentation demandée par la résolution 222 (III). Bien entendu, toute décision définitive doit être prise par l'Assemblée générale, car une délégation de pouvoirs habilitant le Comité des renseignements à trancher ces questions en dernier ressort serait contraire au principe

de l'échelonnement des compétences, qu'il faut maintenir. En revanche, on ne saurait trop insister sur l'importance des attributions du Comité des renseignements en ce qui concerne l'examen préliminaire de tout cas de cessation de communication des renseignements prévus par l'Article 73, e. En présentant son projet de résolution, la délégation brésilienne est animée du désir sincère d'offrir à ce comité un document de travail concret.

13. La délégation brésilienne accueillera avec bienveillance tout amendement destiné à apporter plus de force, plus de précision ou plus de clarté à son texte. Cependant, une résolution de cette nature ne gagnerait rien à être alourdie par des détails ou des considérations accessoires.

14. M. RIFAI (Syrie), après avoir rappelé les débats précédents relatifs à la question, insiste sur la nécessité de dresser une liste des facteurs qui doivent servir de guide pour déterminer si les obligations énoncées à l'Article 73, e, de la Charte existent encore. Il est bien entendu, toutefois, que ces principes directeurs ne doivent pas constituer des critères immuables. A ce propos, la délégation syrienne approuve le paragraphe 9 du document A/2428. Toutefois, quelle que soit la variété des circonstances propres aux divers territoires, un facteur demeure constant: la volonté des peuples librement exprimée.

15. En ce qui concerne la liste de facteurs proposée, la délégation syrienne présente deux observations d'ordre général. Premièrement, on constate dans la liste, d'ailleurs satisfaisante dans son ensemble, des faiblesses et des lacunes auxquelles on pourrait remédier sans en renvoyer le texte à un comité *ad hoc*. A ce propos, la délégation syrienne partage l'avis des délégations du Guatemala et de la Yougoslavie; elle est prête à soutenir tout amendement qui tendrait à améliorer cette liste. Deuxièmement, dans un monde en pleine évolution, aucune définition ne saurait avoir une valeur permanente. Il faut donc reviser cette liste au fur et à mesure que les circonstances l'exigeront. On peut la transmettre au Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes pour qu'il s'en inspire et signale les imperfections qu'il aura relevées en l'appliquant.

16. Le problème qui se pose ne semble pas résider dans la valeur de la liste elle-même, car tout le monde admet qu'elle doit être considérée uniquement comme un guide; ce problème a un caractère plus fondamental: c'est celui de la division qui existe à la Quatrième Commission quant à l'interprétation des devoirs qui incombent aux Etats Membres en vertu du Chapitre XI. Deux opinions essentielles s'affrontent: les Membres administrants soutiennent qu'il leur appartient exclusivement, en vertu du Chapitre XI, de dire si un territoire est autonome ou non. Les Puissances non administrantes, au contraire, soutiennent qu'aux termes du Chapitre XI, l'Assemblée générale est nettement compétente pour se prononcer à ce sujet. La Syrie partage cette dernière opinion. Il n'appartient pas exclusivement aux Membres administrants de décider si un territoire a atteint ou non l'autonomie complète. S'il en était autrement, l'établissement de la liste de facteurs en question serait une pure perte de temps et d'énergie. La délégation syrienne ne veut pas entraîner la Commission dans une discussion juridique, mais elle croit devoir répéter que l'Assemblée générale ne peut pas se dérober à sa responsabilité collective envers les territoires non autonomes.

17. Le représentant de la Belgique a déclaré (322ème séance) qu'il ne serait pas logique d'appliquer la liste de facteurs à la cessation de la communication des renseignements visés par l'Article 73, e, de la Charte sans l'appliquer également au commencement de la communication de ces renseignements. Le représentant de la Syrie ne peut pas croire que le représentant de la Belgique ait voulu ainsi parler de renseignements relatifs à des Etats souverains, Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Si le souci de logique de M. Ryckmans allait jusqu'à vouloir appliquer les dispositions du Chapitre XI à des Etats souverains, on ne pourrait que se demander comment une interprétation aussi extravagante peut naître dans un esprit.

18. Dans la période d'événements graves que traverse le monde, il est tragique de constater que de nombreux pays prétendent encore prolonger la discussion sur le désir de liberté des peuples, comme si le provisoire pouvait durer indéfiniment. Il faut prier Dieu de donner aux hommes le courage de supporter ce qui ne peut pas être changé et de changer ce qui peut l'être, et de leur donner la sagesse de faire la distinction.

19. M. BENITES VINUEZA (Equateur) déclare que le problème qui consiste à déterminer les facteurs en question est l'un des plus ardues qui se soient posés à l'Assemblée générale, car de sa solution dépend la réalisation des espoirs de millions d'êtres humains qui vivent sous la dépendance de gouvernements étrangers, bien que des Puissances administrantes aient cherché à les conduire à l'indépendance. Le colonialisme est un anachronisme et la survivance de la conception coloniale ne peut être que provisoire.

20. La délégation de l'Equateur se réserve le droit de présenter des observations au sujet du projet de résolution dont la Commission est saisie. Pour l'instant, elle tient à commenter le rapport du Comité *ad hoc*.

21. Le représentant de l'Equateur tient d'abord à féliciter le Comité du travail qu'il a accompli. La question des facteurs comprend deux éléments distincts: d'une part, l'élaboration des facteurs et, d'autre part, la détermination de critères pour l'application de ces facteurs. En ce qui concerne le deuxième élément, chaque cas d'espèce doit être examiné et tranché individuellement, et il est bien entendu que la liste de facteurs ne peut qu'orienter une décision.

22. Dans son rapport, le Comité *ad hoc* a conclu qu'il n'était pas possible de trouver une définition satisfaisante de la notion d'autonomie complète. Cette conclusion est logique, car il s'agit d'une tâche extrêmement difficile qui consiste d'abord à analyser les caractéristiques de l'autonomie, puis à en faire une synthèse. Le Comité *ad hoc* a accompli la première partie de cette tâche, mais la liste qu'il propose n'est pas définitive puisqu'elle n'est pas complète. Le principe de la libre disposition des peuples et le principe de l'autonomie sont deux notions étroitement liées qu'il est impossible de séparer. La capacité des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes est subordonnée à la liberté complète. Toute pression fausserait le principe du droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes. Il faut donc apporter des améliorations à la liste de facteurs.

23. Quant au problème brûlant de l'application des critères, la délégation de l'Equateur n'a nullement l'intention de se dérober à son examen. Examinant la question de savoir qui, des Membres administrants ou de l'Assemblée générale, est compétent pour déterminer si un territoire a ou n'a pas atteint l'autonomie complète, M. Benites Vinueza souligne qu'en signant

la Charte, les Etats Membres ont contracté, au titre du Chapitre XI comme au titre des autres chapitres, une série d'obligations qui forment un tout indivisible. Du point de vue juridique, il ne peut y avoir aucun doute sur la nature des obligations qui découlent du Chapitre XI. Selon les Membres administrants, le Chapitre XI ne contiendrait pas des obligations juridiques mais constituerait un simple témoignage de bonne volonté, une déclaration d'ordre moral, comme il ressortirait du titre même de ce chapitre: "Déclaration relative aux territoires non autonomes". Le représentant de la France a fait observer (322ème séance) que les critères appliqués par certaines délégations pour résoudre la question de compétence étaient non juridiques mais politiques, et il a demandé quelles étaient les considérations juridiques qu'on entendait faire valoir pour interpréter le Chapitre XI comme imposant des obligations aux Membres administrants. La réponse est très claire: en premier lieu, le titre du Chapitre XI ne modifie en rien le caractère juridique de son contenu. La déclaration dont il s'agit n'est pas unilatérale; elle figure dans la Charte, instrument juridique que plusieurs Etats ont signé et qui emporte, à ce titre, des engagements multilatéraux. La nature de ces engagements découle du texte même de l'Article 73. Il y est question des Etats Membres qui ont ou qui assument la responsabilité d'administrer des territoires non autonomes. La notion de responsabilité exclut la possibilité d'une action unilatérale des Membres administrants. En signant la Charte, ces Puissances ont accepté de rendre compte à l'Organisation des Nations Unies de leur gestion des territoires non autonomes; elles ont reconnu le principe de la primauté des intérêts des habitants de ces territoires. Ce n'est nullement porter atteinte à leur souveraineté que de les inviter à remplir leurs engagements, qui ne prendront fin que lorsque l'Organisation des Nations Unies et le Membre administrant intéressé auront décidé, d'un commun accord, que les dispositions du Chapitre XI ont cessé d'être applicables à tel territoire non autonome. L'Assemblée générale est donc compétente en la matière. D'autre part, on n'est pas fondé à reprocher à certaines délégations d'invoquer à la fois des critères juridiques et des critères politiques, puisque la mise en œuvre des engagements énoncés dans la Charte s'effectue à la fois sur le plan politique et sur le plan juridique.

24. M. LYNKOV (République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie) estime que si tous les Etats appliquaient strictement la Charte, dans sa lettre comme dans son esprit, et si les Puissances administrantes respectaient les dispositions de l'Article 73 dans leur gestion des territoires non autonomes, le nombre de ces territoires diminuerait de jour en jour. La délégation de la RSS de Biélorussie serait la première à s'en féliciter, car cette évolution serait non pas le résultat d'une décision arbitraire, unilatérale, ne correspondant à aucun changement de fait dans la situation des territoires non autonomes, mais le témoignage du progrès naturel des peuples vers l'autonomie et l'indépendance. Les débats de la Commission deviendraient sans objet, et il n'aurait pas été nécessaire d'établir la liste de facteurs que celle-ci examine actuellement.

25. Telle n'est pas la situation; il importe donc d'élaborer une liste de facteurs dont l'application mettra les Membres administrants dans l'impossibilité de cesser arbitrairement de communiquer les renseignements visés à l'Article 73. La liste établie par le Comité *ad hoc* pour l'étude des facteurs constitue un progrès dans la bonne voie; cependant, cette liste est loin d'être com-

plète et il convient d'y apporter certaines améliorations. De plus, certaines des conclusions du Comité *ad hoc* sont inacceptables: en particulier, il ne devrait pas être impossible de trouver une définition satisfaisante de la notion d'autonomie complète, et l'absence de cette définition est un grave inconvénient. Le Comité *ad hoc* ne s'est donc pas parfaitement acquitté du mandat que l'Assemblée générale lui avait donné.

26. La délégation de la RSS de Biélorussie est en mesure d'accepter, en principe, les facteurs énumérés à la première partie de la liste; par contre, elle est opposée à l'adoption de ceux qui figurent à la deuxième et à la troisième partie; ces deux parties donnent aux Membres administrants la possibilité d'interpréter et d'appliquer les facteurs d'une façon qui ne garantirait nullement ni le droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes ni leur accès à l'indépendance.

27. En ce qui concerne la question de compétence, la délégation de la RSS de Biélorussie tient à rappeler que les problèmes relatifs aux territoires non autonomes sont des problèmes internationaux; les Membres administrants ne peuvent donc décider unilatéralement qu'un territoire a accédé à l'autonomie complète, ni cesser, de leur propre chef, de communiquer des renseignements concernant ce territoire. A ce propos, la RSS de Biélorussie a précisé sa position dans une lettre datée du 29 avril 1952 qu'elle a adressée au Secrétaire général (A/AC.58/1/Add.2); cette position est analogue à celle qu'a adoptée l'URSS: de l'avis de la délégation de la RSS de Biélorussie, les Membres administrants ne peuvent cesser de communiquer des renseignements tant que le Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes n'aura pas, après avoir étudié l'évolution de la situation dans le territoire intéressé, recommandé à l'Assemblée générale que l'Article 73 cesse de s'appliquer audit territoire et tant que ce territoire ne sera pas devenu un Etat souverain où la population autochtone exercera pleinement le pouvoir exécutif, législatif et judiciaire. C'est en vain que les Membres administrants s'efforcent de donner au Chapitre XI une interprétation restrictive, en alléguant que l'Organisation n'est pas compétente pour se prononcer sur le progrès politique d'un territoire puisque les renseignements visés à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 concernent uniquement les conditions économiques, sociales, et de l'instruction. En effet, en vertu de l'alinéa a les Membres administrants sont tenus d'assurer le progrès politique des populations autochtones.

28. De même que la délégation polonaise, la délégation de la RSS de Biélorussie souhaite que le problème des facteurs passe du plan théorique où il est demeuré jusqu'à présent au plan pratique des décisions concrètes. Elle juge donc inacceptable le point de vue du représentant de la Belgique tel qu'il est exposé au paragraphe 40, c, du document A/2428. Elle est persuadée qu'il est utile de poursuivre les travaux entrepris et d'apporter des précisions et des améliorations à la liste approuvée par le Comité et dont le Comité lui-même a reconnu qu'elle n'était nullement parfaite.

29. En terminant, M. Lynkov exprime l'espoir que la liste que la Commission mettra au point permettra d'aider les populations des territoires non autonomes à accéder à l'indépendance.

30. M. ARAOZ (Bolivie) dit que l'étude des comptes rendus des séances que les divers organes de l'Assemblée générale ont consacrées à la question des facteurs, ainsi que l'examen des rapports qu'ils ont élaborés et des décisions qu'ils ont adoptées permettent de mesurer

les progrès accomplis. Il semble que le régime international mis au point au bénéfice des territoires non autonomes puisse recevoir une application pratique. La destinée de plus de 200 millions d'hommes est liée au sort même de l'Organisation. Les obligations de la Charte ne peuvent être annulées par la décision unilatérale que certains Etats ont prise en s'inspirant uniquement de leurs propres intérêts. L'Assemblée générale est compétente en la matière et peut guider les peuples dépendants vers l'objectif fixé par la Charte.

31. La liste de facteurs établie par le Comité *ad hoc* n'est pas définitive. En l'approuvant, la Commission ne fera qu'affirmer à nouveau la nécessité d'utiliser, dans la pratique, les éléments d'appréciation qu'elle contient pour se prononcer sur chaque cas dans de meilleures conditions. Cette liste représente un guide, et chaque cas doit être tranché à la lumière des circonstances qui lui sont propres et, notamment, des circonstances historiques. La délégation bolivienne appuiera toute proposition tendant à maintenir la surveillance de l'Organisation des Nations Unies jusqu'au moment où les objectifs fixés au Chapitre XI auront été atteints et où des peuples soumis depuis des siècles à l'oppression coloniale deviendront complètement autonomes.

32. La définition de la notion d'autonomie complète représente la première étape à accomplir. Si chacune des nations qui sont représentées à l'Organisation peut conserver son unité nationale, c'est parce qu'elle jouit non seulement de l'indépendance économique et sociale, mais encore de l'indépendance politique. Il est faux de prétendre qu'il suffit d'appliquer des critères d'ordre économique et social pour déterminer si un territoire est complètement autonome. L'indépendance politique constitue une condition préalable à l'indépendance économique et sociale. Les peuples des territoires non autonomes doivent déterminer eux-mêmes leur destinée, avec l'aide des Puissances administrantes et de l'Organisation des Nations Unies. La liste élaborée par le Comité *ad hoc* contient des critères relatifs à la situation politique, dont semble se dégager une définition de la notion d'autonomie complète. Il apparaît qu'à cet égard, on est parvenu à un accord.

33. Parmi les critères que l'Assemblée doit appliquer, il en est un auquel la délégation bolivienne attache une importance fondamentale: le respect du principe du droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes, droit conçu comme la réalisation des aspirations d'une large majorité et non pas comme la prérogative de petites minorités représentant des intérêts étrangers. C'est pourquoi le critère relatif au suffrage universel lui semble revêtir un intérêt tout particulier, car le suffrage universel permet à toute la population, sans discrimination aucune, d'exprimer librement sa volonté. A ce sujet, M. Araz souligne qu'il ne convient pas de restreindre le suffrage universel en introduisant la notion de "possibilité de s'instruire" dont il est question à l'alinéa c du point C du paragraphe 15 du rapport, qui risque de permettre à des minorités de gêner l'évolution souhaitée par l'ensemble de la population.

34. La délégation bolivienne est disposée à accepter la liste de facteurs élaborée par le Comité *ad hoc*. Cependant, elle ne considère pas que la tâche de la Commission sera terminée pour autant. Ce problème est, en effet, étroitement lié à celui de la cessation de la communication de renseignements. C'est à l'Assemblée générale qu'il appartient de se prononcer; aussi M. Araz appuiera-t-il la proposition faite par le représentant du Mexique à la 322ème séance, car les néces-

sités de la défense nationale ne sauraient conduire à l'adoption de mesures contraires au principe de la souveraineté.

35. En ce qui concerne le titre de la deuxième partie de la liste, il faudrait supprimer le mot "permanente", qui qualifie l'association du territoire avec la métropole. En effet, la population doit demeurer libre d'exprimer son opinion par des voies démocratiques quant à la forme de gouvernement qu'elle désire sans faire l'objet d'aucune pression; ainsi l'exige le respect du droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes.

36. Enfin, M. Araoz appuie la suggestion du représentant du Guatemala, qui est reproduite au paragraphe 28 du rapport du Comité *ad hoc*.

37. En terminant son examen de la liste de facteurs, M. Araoz souligne que l'Organisation des Nations Unies doit continuer de se montrer vigilante et qu'elle doit élaborer des principes propres à favoriser l'accès des peuples non autonomes à l'autonomie complète. C'est une tâche à laquelle la Bolivie est d'autant plus prête à contribuer que, dans le même esprit, elle s'est engagée avec les autres pays de l'Amérique latine à lutter aussi longtemps qu'il le faudra pour permettre aux populations des régions d'Amérique latine encore occupées par des Puissances étrangères à la zone culturelle latino-américaine d'accéder à l'indépendance.

38. M. Araoz ne veut pas achever son intervention sans revenir sur la théorie que le représentant de la Belgique, dont les arguments d'ailleurs ne peuvent qu'ajouter à la complexité du problème dont la Commission s'occupe actuellement, a défendue avec une intelligence que la délégation bolivienne est la première à admirer; mais ces arguments n'ont aucun fondement juridique; bien mieux, on relève au paragraphe 40 du document A/2428, qui expose la thèse de la délégation belge, une contradiction flagrante entre les termes de l'alinéa *b* et ceux de l'alinéa *c*. La délégation bolivienne ne saurait admettre le principe de l'application des dispositions du Chapitre XI aux territoires métropolitains, car ce principe est absolument incompatible tant avec ses propres traditions nationales qu'avec l'esprit de la Charte, qui impose à chacun des États Membres l'obligation de respecter les grandes conceptions de la non-ingérence dans les affaires intérieures d'un État, du droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes et de la liberté. En aucun cas, un État souverain ne doit accepter que son territoire métropolitain fasse l'objet des dispositions du Chapitre XI de la Charte; c'est ainsi que la Bolivie, qui mène toujours la lutte en vue d'accéder à l'indépendance dans le domaine économique, ne se laissera jamais considérer comme une colonie ou comme un territoire non autonome.

39. Dans un esprit de coopération, la délégation bolivienne est disposée à accueillir favorablement tout projet de résolution ou tout amendement qui répondra aux considérations que M. Araoz vient de formuler.

40. M. FERNANDEZ (Uruguay) fait observer que le problème que la Commission s'efforce de résoudre se caractérise par son importance d'une part et par sa complexité d'autre part; en effet, le sort de 200 millions d'êtres humains est en jeu et l'Organisation des Nations Unies a consacré des années de travail à examiner ce problème sans parvenir à le résoudre d'une manière qui donne satisfaction à tous.

41. La résolution 66 (I) de l'Assemblée générale énumère soixante-quatorze territoires pour lesquels les Membres administrants se sont engagés à fournir des renseignements. Par la suite, ce nombre a diminué sans

que ces Membres aient jugé bon d'indiquer pourquoi les territoires en question avaient cessé de tomber sous le coup des dispositions du Chapitre XI. Bien entendu, il est souhaitable que le nombre des territoires non autonomes aille toujours en diminuant, dans la mesure où la cessation de la communication de renseignements signifie réellement que ces territoires ont accédé à l'indépendance ou à l'autonomie et qu'ils occupent désormais leur place légitime dans le concert des nations; mais il est évident que l'Organisation des Nations Unies doit veiller à ce qu'un territoire non autonome ne soit pas indûment privé du bénéfice de la protection internationale. Il ne faut voir dans ce souci aucune preuve de méfiance à l'égard des Membres administrants, mais plutôt une manifestation du zèle que l'Assemblée générale apporte à la mise en œuvre des principes énoncés dans la Charte. C'est en vue d'aider l'Assemblée générale et les Membres administrants à s'acquitter d'une manière aussi satisfaisante que possible des fonctions qui leur incombent qu'il est utile de dresser une liste de facteurs propres à servir de guide pour discerner si un territoire a accédé à l'autonomie.

42. L'établissement d'une liste de facteurs de ce genre pose deux problèmes distincts: l'élaboration de la liste proprement dite, et le choix de l'autorité qui doit décider si un territoire est autonome. Les Membres administrants prétendent jouir dans ce domaine d'une compétence exclusive et être les seuls à décider s'il convient de poursuivre ou d'arrêter la communication de renseignements relatifs à ce territoire. La délégation de l'Uruguay a toujours estimé, comme M. Mattos l'indiquait déjà à la Quatrième Commission, lors de la sixième session (216ème séance), que l'Organisation des Nations Unies, et plus particulièrement l'Assemblée générale, doit examiner la situation qui règne dans un territoire déterminé en vue de décider si ce territoire a accédé à l'autonomie; il est inadmissible que la Puissance qui administre ce territoire puisse prendre à cet égard une décision unilatérale. Lorsqu'elles ont souscrit aux obligations qui figurent au Chapitre XI, les Puissances administrantes ont par là même reconnu la compétence de la collectivité internationale; d'autre part, l'Organisation des Nations Unies a assumé la mission d'aider les peuples des territoires non autonomes à parvenir à la liberté par des voies démocratiques et pacifiques.

43. L'Organisation des Nations Unies a donc le droit et le devoir d'étudier avec la plus grande attention les motifs d'ordre constitutionnel sur lesquels une Puissance qui administre un territoire non autonome s'appuie pour cesser de communiquer des renseignements au sujet de ce territoire. Le Chapitre XI perdrait toute raison d'être si une Puissance administrante pouvait se dégager, par une décision unilatérale, de l'obligation qu'elle a assumée au titre de ce chapitre.

44. Le représentant de l'Uruguay tient à affirmer une fois de plus que la thèse de l'universalité du Chapitre XI n'a aucune valeur juridique, car l'Article 74 de la Charte établit une distinction très nette entre territoires non autonomes et territoires métropolitains. Il est donc évident que les auteurs de la Charte n'ont jamais eu en vue que les territoires non métropolitains lorsqu'ils ont rédigé l'Article 73. Cette thèse est inacceptable en ce qui concerne tant la détermination des sujets des obligations énoncées à l'Article 73 que les facteurs qui permettent de préciser l'objet de ces obligations.

45. Abordant alors la liste de facteurs qui figure dans le document A/2428, la délégation de l'Uruguay tient

à féliciter le Comité *ad hoc* du soin et de l'intelligence avec lesquels il s'est acquitté de sa tâche. Etant donné que la situation varie considérablement d'un territoire à l'autre, il est impossible d'établir des critères qui s'appliquent d'une manière rigide et absolue à tous les territoires non autonomes; la liste de facteurs ne doit donc fournir que des indications permettant d'examiner chaque cas particulier à la lumière des circonstances qui lui sont propres, ainsi que le Comité *ad hoc* le déclare aux paragraphes 9 et 13 de son rapport. La liste de facteurs proprement dite ne soulève aucune objection fondamentale de la part de la délégation de l'Uruguay, qui demeure néanmoins disposée à appuyer toute proposition visant à améliorer cette liste.

46. M. Fernández réserve le droit de sa délégation d'intervenir sur ce sujet au cours des débats.

47. M. CALLE Y CALLE (Pérou) accueille favorablement le projet de résolution déposé par la délégation du Brésil (A/C.4/L.272) dont le dispositif, particulièrement aux paragraphes 3, 4 et 6, énonce des principes éminemment acceptables. Il convient d'étudier ce projet de résolution en tenant compte de diverses considérations.

48. En premier lieu, l'Article 73 de la Charte et les obligations qui en découlent ne sauraient être affectés par l'adoption de la présente liste de facteurs. En deuxième lieu, le Comité *ad hoc* a recherché s'il était possible de donner une définition de la notion d'autonomie complète, et non une définition de l'autonomie proprement dite. En troisième lieu, si chacun des facteurs énumérés dans la liste représente un aspect de l'autonomie complète, on ne peut pas considérer que l'ensemble des facteurs énumérés dans cette liste constitue une définition définitive de la pleine autonomie. En quatrième lieu, le fait que la liste comprend trois parties ne signifie nullement qu'il existe trois formes, ou davantage, d'autonomie; en réalité, l'autonomie est indivisible. En cinquième lieu, la liste devrait avoir pour titre: "Facteurs permettant de conclure qu'une population a accédé à l'autonomie complète", car l'indépendance, l'association permanente et la libre association ne peuvent exister que si un territoire est parvenu à l'autonomie complète; si, au contraire, on pense que l'autonomie complète ne vient qu'avec l'indépendance, il faut parler d'autres "degrés" d'indépendance et non de "formes". En sixième lieu, la limitation volontaire de la souveraineté, comme l'ont exprimé certaines délégations, est un attribut de l'autonomie complète, et certaines formes d'association peuvent se produire au moment même où le territoire a accédé à l'autonomie.

49. En résumé, la liste actuelle ne présente aucune amélioration importante par rapport à la liste précédente contenue dans la résolution 648 (VII). Etant donné, d'autre part, que le Comité n'est pas parvenu à établir une définition de la notion d'autonomie complète, la délégation péruvienne ne peut pas approuver la présente liste à titre définitif mais uniquement à titre provisoire, en tant que guide et ensemble de principes directeurs.

50. La délégation péruvienne se réserve le droit d'intervenir à nouveau à une étape ultérieure des débats.

51. M. L. S. BOKHARI (Pakistan) estime que les débats ont montré qu'il était inutile, au stade actuel, de poursuivre l'étude de la question des facteurs et qu'il suffirait de modifier cette liste si l'examen d'un cas particulier l'exigeait. Le projet de résolution déposé par la délégation brésilienne ne paraît pas devoir soulever de controverse et la délégation du Pakistan entend l'appuyer. Il ressort des débats qui se sont déroulés tant à la présente session qu'aux sessions précédentes qu'une profonde divergence de vues quant à l'interprétation de la Charte sépare les Membres administrants des autres Etats Membres de l'Organisation. Il est temps de régler un conflit de cette nature et, à cette fin, la délégation du Pakistan invite les Membres administrants à s'engager à poursuivre la communication de renseignements si l'Organisation des Nations Unies, après avoir examiné la documentation pertinente, conclut qu'un territoire déterminé n'a pas encore accédé à l'autonomie complète. M. Bokhari fait appel à la bonne volonté des Membres administrants et tient à leur affirmer que l'Organisation des Nations Unies se rend compte de l'impossibilité d'appliquer des critères rigides à chaque cas particulier. Les rapports entre individus aussi bien que les rapports entre collectivités se modifient perpétuellement, particulièrement dans le domaine politique. Les Membres administrants peuvent être certains que l'Organisation des Nations Unies examinera chaque cas avec la plus grande impartialité. Si toutefois ces Membres ne sont pas en mesure, pour des raisons qui échappent à la délégation du Pakistan, de donner suite à sa proposition et de faire confiance à l'Organisation des Nations Unies, il faudra renvoyer les parties adverses à la plus haute instance qui existe actuellement, savoir la Cour internationale de Justice.

52. Le PRESIDENT annonce qu'il a l'intention de clore la liste des orateurs à la prochaine séance.

La séance est levée à 12 h. 30.

Nations Unies
**ASSEMBLEE
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HUITIEME SESSION
Documents officiels



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QUATRIEME COMMISSION, 326^e

SEANCE

Mardi 6 octobre 1953,
à 10 h. 55

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Facteurs dont il convient de tenir compte pour décider si un territoire est, ou n'est pas, un territoire dont les populations ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes: rapport du Comité *ad hoc* pour l'étude des facteurs (territoires non autonomes) [suite]..... 63

Président: M. Santiago PEREZ PEREZ (Venezuela).

Facteurs dont il convient de tenir compte pour décider si un territoire est, ou n'est pas, un territoire dont les populations ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes: rapport du Comité *ad hoc* pour l'étude des facteurs (territoires non autonomes) [A/2428, A/C.4/L.272, A/C.4/L.273 et Corr.1] (suite)

[Point 33 *]

1. Le **PRESIDENT** invite la Commission à poursuivre l'examen du rapport du Comité *ad hoc* pour l'étude des facteurs (territoires non autonomes) (A/2428). Les délégations de l'Arabie saoudite, de la Bolivie, de l'Egypte, du Guatemala, de l'Indonésie, de l'Irak, du Mexique, de la Syrie, du Venezuela, du Yémen et de la Yougoslavie proposent d'apporter au projet de résolution de la délégation du Brésil (A/C.4/L.272) des amendements dont le texte constitue le document A/C.4/L.273. Les délégations peuvent, si elles le désirent, proposer de nouveaux amendements jusqu'à la fin de la prochaine séance.

2. Ato Katama ABEBE (Ethiopie) estime que tous les Etats Membres qui ont signé le document international que constitue la Charte ont par là même souscrit l'obligation de coopérer en vue de donner aux populations des territoires non autonomes la liberté et l'indépendance politique que leur promet le Chapitre XI. Par conséquent, les Membres administrants ne sont pas habilités à prendre des décisions unilatérales dans ce domaine. Les aspirations des peuples à l'autonomie complète sont encore loin d'être entièrement satisfaites; l'établissement de la présente liste de facteurs est une étape dans la voie qui doit mener à la pleine autonomie tous les peuples de l'univers.

3. La délégation éthiopienne regrette que le Comité *ad hoc* n'ait pu trouver une définition satisfaisante de la notion d'autonomie complète aux fins du Chapitre XI de la Charte; mais elle reconnaît que l'absence de cette définition ne présente pas d'inconvénient grave puisque, pour chaque cas particulier, la notion se dégagera de l'étude des éléments de la situation.

4. En ce qui concerne le droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes, le point E du paragraphe 15 du rapport du Comité *ad hoc* revêt une importance toute particu-

lière, car l'assurance que les vues de la population intéressée seront respectées peut seule garantir le plein exercice de ce droit.

5. Certains Membres administrants ont affirmé qu'ils avaient accordé l'autonomie à certains territoires qui relevaient de leur autorité et qu'ils n'avaient donc plus à transmettre les renseignements prévus par l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte. Il est nécessaire, en pareil cas, de disposer de critères bien établis qui permettent de déterminer si un territoire a véritablement accédé à l'autonomie complète. Il est indispensable aussi que l'Organisation des Nations Unies ait non seulement le droit mais le devoir d'appliquer ces critères à chaque cas particulier et de parvenir ensuite à une décision.

6. La délégation éthiopienne tient, d'autre part, à réfuter la thèse selon laquelle les dispositions du Chapitre XI pourraient s'appliquer au territoire métropolitain d'Etats souverains.

7. En conclusion, la délégation éthiopienne considère que la présente liste de facteurs constitue un ensemble satisfaisant de principes directeurs. Il suffira de mettre ces principes en œuvre pour découvrir si des modifications s'imposent. Rien ne s'oppose donc à ce que la Commission adopte cette liste sans plus tarder.

8. La délégation éthiopienne appuiera le projet de résolution déposé par la délégation du Brésil (A/C.4/L.272) ou tout autre projet de résolution analogue.

9. M. RIVAS (Venezuela) déplore que deux groupes adverses et apparemment irréconciliables, du moins lorsqu'il s'agit de chercher à définir la notion d'autonomie complète et de déterminer s'il appartient à l'Assemblée générale de décider qu'un territoire a accédé à l'autonomie, se livrent à la Commission à une controverse qui affaiblit l'unité sans laquelle il eût été impossible, à la Conférence de San-Francisco, d'élaborer le Chapitre XI. Renonçant à l'attitude intelligente et généreuse qu'elles avaient adoptée lors de la mise au point de la Charte, les Puissances administrantes s'efforcent de faire admettre une interprétation étroite des dispositions du Chapitre XI que rien, dans la lettre ou dans l'esprit de ce chapitre, ne vient justifier. On est donc fondé à penser que ce sont des motifs étrangers à la Charte qui inspirent les Puissances administrantes et les amènent à remettre en avant des arguments que l'on croyait à tout jamais périmés: l'autonomie ne suffirait pas à assurer la prospérité des populations d'un territoire; l'indépendance pourrait être un fléau pour les pays qui ne sont pas encore en état d'en jouir. Oubliant la terrible menace qui, au cours de la deuxième guerre mondiale, a pesé sur leur propre indépendance, ces Puissances semblent vouloir porter atteinte à l'indépendance de certains Etats souverains qu'elles n'hésitent pas à mettre sur le même plan que des colonies ou des protectorats. Cette survivance du colonialisme va directement à l'encontre des dispositions du paragraphe 4 de l'Article 2 de la Charte. D'autre part, lorsqu'ils invoquent le paragraphe 7 de l'Article 2 de la Charte pour dénier à la collectivité internationale toute compé-

* Numéro affecté à la question dans l'ordre du jour de l'Assemblée générale.

tence en ce qui concerne le sort d'un territoire non autonome, les Membres administrants méconnaissent le fait qu'il a été entendu, au moment où le Chapitre XI a été adopté, que les questions relatives aux territoires non autonomes ne relevaient pas des dispositions énoncées dans cet alinéa.

10. Rien ne saurait mieux démontrer l'inexactitude de l'affirmation selon laquelle l'autonomie dans le domaine économique et social ainsi que dans le domaine de l'enseignement constitue la complète autonomie aux fins du Chapitre XI que les conclusions auxquelles sont parvenus, tant en 1951 qu'en 1952 et 1953, les divers comités qui ont étudié la question. Tous ces comités composés à égalité de Membres administrants et de Membres non administrants — ce qui donne à leur opinion une impartialité fort précieuse — ont proclamé qu'un territoire qui jouissait de l'autonomie dans tous les domaines de la vie publique à l'exclusion du domaine politique ne pouvait appartenir à aucune des trois catégories entre lesquelles se répartissent les territoires ayant accédé à l'autonomie complète. Bien plus, en 1953, le Comité *ad hoc* pour l'étude des facteurs a déclaré, en réponse à une question du Gouvernement des Pays-Bas, qu'on ne saurait prévoir de quatrième catégorie de territoires entièrement autonomes pour des territoires privés de l'autonomie politique mais possédant l'autonomie économique, sociale et culturelle. La raison en est claire: tant qu'un territoire ne satisfait pas aux conditions énoncées aux paragraphes a, b, c, d et e de l'Article 73, il ne saurait être considéré comme entièrement autonome et le Membre administrant dont il relève demeure tenu de s'acquitter des obligations qui figurent au Chapitre XI. Ces obligations ne sont, comme le voudraient certains Membres, ni unilatérales, ni uniquement d'ordre moral. Il est anachronique, au XX^e siècle, de concevoir qu'une convention puisse être conclue avec une entité abstraite; pour être objectif et valable, le droit international doit être appliqué et exercé par un organisme concret, en l'occurrence l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Il s'ensuit que l'Assemblée générale des Nations Unies est habilitée à déterminer, dans chaque cas particulier, si un territoire tombe toujours sous le coup des dispositions du Chapitre XI ou si, au contraire, il a atteint l'autonomie complète. Le fait que les Membres administrants aient été chargés d'établir la liste des territoires qui figurent dans la résolution 66 (I) de l'Assemblée générale prouverait, aux dires de certaines délégations, que l'Assemblée a implicitement reconnu la compétence exclusive des Membres administrants. Or, cette liste n'a eu qu'un caractère provisoire jusqu'au moment où l'Assemblée générale l'a confirmée par sa résolution 66 (I) et elle ne visait qu'à faciliter la tâche de l'Assemblée. Il est significatif que cette liste ne comprenne que les territoires sur lesquels les Etats les plus forts ou les plus ingénieux se sont attribués arbitrairement une compétence exclusive sans leur accorder les mêmes droits qu'à la métropole.

11. C'est à ces pays défavorisés que s'appliquent les dispositions du Chapitre XI dont on ne saurait étendre l'application à d'autres territoires sans mettre en danger la sécurité et la souveraineté des petits pays. C'est pour parer à ce danger que la IX^e Conférence internationale américaine a adopté, en 1948, à Bogota, la résolution XXXIII dans laquelle elle déclare que l'œuvre d'émancipation américaine ne sera pas achevée tant que demeurera sur le continent américain un vestige du régime colonial européen. Il est certain que

dans d'autres régions du globe, où existent encore des colonies et des protectorats, les petites Puissances partagent la même manière de voir, sinon les mêmes craintes. Il est indéniable que ces Puissances pourraient collaborer d'une manière beaucoup plus féconde avec l'Organisation des Nations Unies si les grandes Puissances, particulièrement les Puissances européennes, abordaient ce problème politique dans l'esprit de bonne foi et de coopération constructive qui les ont inspirées à San-Francisco.

12. Depuis la première guerre mondiale, certaines Puissances ont subjugué des peuples sans défense ou ont créé des Etats d'une indépendance toute fictive. Mais le monde reconnaît aujourd'hui bien mieux qu'à l'époque de la Société des Nations que le soin de favoriser l'évolution des populations de territoires autres que des Etats souverains incombe à la collectivité des nations civilisées réunies à l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Comme le maréchal Smuts l'a proclamé à San-Francisco, le droit de regard qui appartient à la collectivité internationale doit s'exercer jusque dans les colonies et les protectorats des pays vainqueurs des Puissances de l'Axe.

13. Le Chapitre XI de la Charte marque une étape importante dans la voie qui doit mener tous les peuples à la liberté, car, désormais, il est inconcevable que des pays soient transformés en colonies.

14. Il est temps de mettre fin à l'étude des facteurs. En effet, la présente liste est pratiquement identique à celle qui a été élaborée en 1952 [résolution 648 (VII), annexe]. Toute prolongation du débat offre aux Membres administrants la possibilité de menacer dans leurs interventions l'indépendance des petits pays qui luttent encore pour se libérer des derniers vestiges du colonialisme. Le document A/C.4/L.273 et Corr.1 ne s'inspire que des principes qui sont énoncés dans la Charte; ces amendements ne sauraient donc manquer de recueillir l'approbation des Etats Membres qui ne veulent pas sortir du cadre de la convention internationale qu'ils ont signée.

15. En conclusion, M. Rivas attire l'attention de la Commission sur le danger qu'il peut y avoir à retarder la solution de certains problèmes, notamment le développement politique des populations des territoires non autonomes et des Territoires sous tutelle, car ces problèmes risqueraient alors de prendre un caractère aigu et de déclencher des crises fort graves.

16. M. JUSTINIANO (Chili) dit que la délégation chilienne félicite le Comité *ad hoc* et approuve sans réserve son rapport, en demeurant disposée à accueillir toute proposition tendant à permettre une meilleure mise en œuvre de la Charte. La Charte (plus particulièrement le Chapitre XI) définit nettement, quoi qu'en disent certaines délégations, les obligations des Membres administrants et il ne fait pas le moindre doute que ces obligations, loin d'être uniquement morales, sont d'ordre juridique. De même, le Chapitre XI de la Charte établit sans la moindre contestation possible que les Membres administrants n'ont pas compétence exclusive pour décider si un territoire est parvenu ou non à l'autonomie.

17. La délégation chilienne regrette que certains Membres administrants s'efforcent, par une interprétation injustifiée du Chapitre XI, d'en étendre les dispositions aux pays qui étaient autrefois des colonies. M. Justiniano vise tout particulièrement la thèse, défendue par le représentant de la Belgique, qui est exposée au paragraphe 40 du document A/2428. A la fin de la première

guerre mondiale, les possessions de l'Allemagne et de la Turquie ont perdu leur statut de colonies et ont été confiées aux Puissances victorieuses en vue de mettre fin au partage de l'Afrique et de certaines régions de l'Asie; ces anciennes colonies ont fait l'objet d'un mandat du type A, B ou C, selon le degré de civilisation atteint par leurs populations. On ne saurait valablement se fonder sur le degré plus ou moins élevé de civilisation qui existe dans un État souverain ou dans une partie du territoire de cet État pour prétendre qu'il tombe sous le coup des dispositions du Chapitre XI de la Charte. C'est pourquoi la délégation chilienne repousse toute tentative visant à établir une comparaison entre les populations des territoires non autonomes et les populations autochtones d'Amérique latine, quel que soit le degré de civilisation de ces dernières. D'ailleurs, au Chili, le problème des populations autochtones ne se pose pas.

18. Lord HUDSON (Royaume-Uni) déclare qu'il convient, de l'avis de sa délégation, d'adopter le présent rapport du Comité *ad hoc* et de ne pas confier à un autre organe spécialement désigné à cette fin le soin de poursuivre l'étude de la liste de facteurs. Dans la mesure où le projet de résolution de la délégation brésilienne formule les mêmes conclusions, la délégation du Royaume-Uni pourrait l'appuyer; malheureusement, le projet renferme un certain nombre d'éléments que le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni ne saurait accepter.

19. On peut, par exemple, se demander ce qu'il faut entendre exactement au paragraphe 6 du dispositif par les mots "il est essentiel que la population s'administre complètement elle-même", puisque le Comité *ad hoc* n'est pas parvenu à définir d'une manière satisfaisante la notion de la complète autonomie. Ce paragraphe risque, dans la pratique, de donner lieu à certaines interprétations que le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni pourrait ne pas admettre. Lorsqu'une Puissance administrante et la population d'un territoire non autonome ont décidé, d'un commun accord et par des voies parfaitement légales, que le gouvernement de ce territoire s'acquittera désormais en pleine indépendance de certaines fonctions administratives, ou lorsqu'elles ont reconnu que le territoire a accédé à l'autonomie ou à l'indépendance, ces décisions doivent être considérées comme définitives et entraînent, comme conséquence logique, la cessation de la communication de renseignements au titre de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73, car les dispositions de cet article ne régissent plus les rapports du territoire et du gouvernement métropolitain. En outre, dans le cas d'un territoire qui accède par étapes successives à l'indépendance, il peut arriver un moment où les renseignements qui doivent être communiqués en vertu de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 concernent des domaines qui ne relèvent plus de la compétence de la Puissance administrante. Il est d'ailleurs invraisemblable que, dans ces conditions, la Puissance administrante prétende que le territoire en question échappe de ce fait aux dispositions du reste de l'Article 73. Telle est la principale objection que la délégation du Royaume-Uni formule à l'encontre de la proposition du Brésil.

20. Lord Hudson ajoute qu'en dépit de tout l'art avec lequel le paragraphe 3 est rédigé, la délégation du Royaume-Uni n'est pas en mesure d'accepter le principe de la compétence égale du Membre administrant et de l'Assemblée générale en ce qui concerne le soin de déterminer si un territoire est visé par les dispositions du Chapitre XI de la Charte. Il est évident que le soin de prendre en ce domaine la décision initiale

appartient au Membre administrant; l'Assemblée générale ferait preuve de sagesse en entérinant cette décision après avoir reçu tous éclaircissements nécessaires. Il est exact que les Membres administrants et l'Assemblée générale ont un objectif identique au regard du Chapitre XI, mais il est à craindre que le projet de résolution brésilien ne donne l'impression, en dépit des termes du paragraphe 5, que l'Assemblée ne cherche à entraver par quelque veto l'évolution qui doit mener les territoires non autonomes vers l'autonomie.

21. La délégation du Royaume-Uni regrette également que les mots "la population intéressée a exercé son droit à disposer d'elle-même" figurent au paragraphe 4. Cette expression a un sens trop vague; il faudrait la supprimer.

22. En outre il est superflu de charger à titre permanent le Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes du soin d'étudier la documentation pertinente en tenant compte de la liste de facteurs, comme il est recommandé au paragraphe 7.

23. C'est en s'inspirant de ces diverses considérations que la délégation du Royaume-Uni se prononcera lorsque les différents paragraphes du projet de résolution soumis par la délégation brésilienne, ainsi que le projet dans son ensemble, seront mis aux voix.

24. M. KAISR (Tchécoslovaquie) déclare que la cessation arbitraire de la communication de renseignements sur la situation de quelques territoires non autonomes et la violation fréquente des principes de la Charte — notamment de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 — par les Membres administrants ont eu pour conséquence d'obliger l'Assemblée générale à chercher un moyen d'empêcher ces Membres de prendre des décisions unilatérales dans ce domaine. Ce moyen devait prendre la forme de la liste de facteurs.

25. La délégation tchécoslovaque a toujours pensé que, même si elle était établie de la meilleure façon possible, cette liste n'aurait qu'une valeur plus ou moins théorique. Elle ne permettrait d'obtenir des résultats pratiques que dans l'application concrète des facteurs, dans chaque cas particulier, compte tenu de l'objectif à atteindre, à savoir la réalisation du droit incontestable des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes. La liste de facteurs, comme l'indique clairement la résolution 648 (VII), ne doit pas avoir pour conséquence d'empêcher les territoires non autonomes d'atteindre l'autonomie complète. Bien au contraire, elle doit servir de guide qui permette de favoriser le progrès vers l'autonomie et l'indépendance et d'empêcher les Puissances administrantes de changer d'une façon arbitraire et unilatérale le statut des territoires non autonomes. C'est pour cette raison que la délégation tchécoslovaque voit dans l'élaboration des facteurs une idée relativement utile.

26. La délégation tchécoslovaque a examiné soigneusement la liste de facteurs que le Comité *ad hoc* a établie conformément à la résolution 648 (VII). Elle regrette d'avoir à constater que cette liste, dite nouvelle, ne diffère guère de la liste de 1952, et croit devoir en rechercher les raisons. Parmi les dix membres du Comité *ad hoc* se trouvaient cinq Puissances administrantes qui, comme le document A/2428 le prouve, ont déployé des efforts considérables pour affaiblir le plus possible le sens et la portée des facteurs. Ainsi, la composition même du Comité *ad hoc* a été l'un des principaux obstacles qui ont empêché le Comité d'accomplir un travail plus efficace et d'obtenir des résultats plus satisfaisants.

27. La délégation de la Tchécoslovaquie ne considère pas la liste de facteurs comme une règle qui puisse

s'appliquer automatiquement. Elle la considère comme une sorte de guide et elle a pu constater, au cours de la longue discussion à laquelle cette question a donné lieu à la Quatrième Commission, que cette opinion était aussi celle de la majorité des délégations, à la seule exception des Membres administrants.

28. Comme plusieurs autres délégations, la délégation tchécoslovaque considère que l'Article 73 de la Charte forme un tout et, comme tel, constitue une norme obligatoire pour tous les Etats Membres sans exception. C'est pourquoi les Membres administrants n'ont pas le droit de considérer l'alinéa e de cet article comme une norme purement et formellement déclaratoire, alors qu'il s'agit d'une norme juridiquement positive et par conséquent obligatoire pour les Membres administrants.

29. Il s'ensuit logiquement que la décision de déclarer qu'un territoire visé au Chapitre XI de la Charte a atteint l'autonomie complète n'appartient pas exclusivement aux Membres administrants. C'est également — c'est même avant tout — à la fois le droit et l'obligation de tous les autres Etats Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Or, pour permettre à l'Assemblée générale de prendre des décisions de ce genre, qu'elle doit prendre exclusivement, la liste de facteurs peut être d'une certaine utilité.

30. Passant à l'examen détaillé de la liste des facteurs qui figure dans le document A/2428, M. Kaisr se voit obligé de présenter quelques objections.

31. Dans le titre de la deuxième partie figurent les mots "association permanente" du territoire avec la métropole. Or, la résolution 648 (VII) déclare nettement que la liste de facteurs ne doit constituer en aucune manière un obstacle à l'accès des territoires à l'autonomie. Le mot "permanente" employé dans le titre n'est ni logique ni approprié, car dans certains cas son interprétation pourrait faire obstacle à la réalisation de l'indépendance de tel ou tel territoire. Même en supposant le cas improbable où la population d'un territoire non autonome renoncerait librement, sans intervention ni pression, à sa pleine indépendance pour pouvoir s'associer au pays métropolitain, il est inconcevable que la population en question puisse accepter que cette association ait un caractère permanent, car elle renoncerait ainsi à l'indépendance d'une manière définitive.

32. La délégation tchécoslovaque ne peut accepter sans réserve le facteur A. 1 de la deuxième partie de la liste de facteurs. En effet, la rédaction de ce facteur n'est pas non plus celle qui convient, car le fait que la population d'un territoire demande l'autonomie et l'indépendance est en lui-même une preuve suffisante de la maturité politique de cette population et tout autre critère que l'on pourrait invoquer dans l'avenir en interprétant le facteur A. 1, en dehors du désir d'indépendance et d'autonomie complète librement exprimé, pourrait facilement faire obstacle à la réalisation de l'autonomie et de l'indépendance du territoire intéressé.

33. Dans les deuxième et troisième parties de la liste de facteurs figurent des critères qui admettent l'ingérence d'un pays dans les affaires intérieures d'un autre pays. Des critères de ce genre sont en contradiction avec le droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes et avec la notion d'autonomie complète, notion pour laquelle le Comité *ad hoc*, comme il le déclare lui-même au paragraphe 11 du document A/2428, n'a pas pu trouver une définition satisfaisante.

34. Le représentant de la Tchécoslovaquie se demande s'il n'est pas possible d'améliorer les facteurs présentés par le Comité *ad hoc*, en les faisant étudier plus à fond

par un organe qui pourrait offrir une plus grande garantie d'impartialité. Par leurs déclarations, les diverses délégations qui ont pris part au débat ont répondu d'avance que la chose était possible. Dans ces conditions, la délégation tchécoslovaque appuiera toute proposition tendant à améliorer, rectifier et préciser les facteurs, avant de les adopter définitivement.

35. Résumant son exposé, le représentant de la Tchécoslovaquie déclare que sa délégation est disposée à accepter la première partie de la liste de facteurs proposée dans le document A/2428. En ce qui concerne les deuxième et troisième parties de cette liste, elle ne peut, pour les raisons qu'elle vient d'exposer, les accepter. En conséquence, la délégation tchécoslovaque demande que les trois parties de cette liste soient mises aux voix séparément.

36. En ce qui concerne le projet de résolution présenté par la délégation du Brésil, la délégation tchécoslovaque demande également qu'il soit mis aux voix paragraphe par paragraphe. Elle est en effet disposée à voter pour les paragraphes 1, 4, 5, 6 et 8 du dispositif, mais elle se verra obligée de voter contre les paragraphes 2, 3 et 7 parce que les deuxième et troisième parties de la liste de facteurs ne lui paraissent pas atteindre le but visé. Elle accepte les trois premiers considérants, mais elle est opposée au quatrième considérant; en effet, elle considère que la liste de facteurs présentée ne répond pas d'une manière satisfaisante aux intentions que l'Assemblée générale a exprimées dans sa résolution 648 (VII), notamment aux paragraphes 6 et 7 de cette résolution.

37. En conséquence, la délégation tchécoslovaque demande que le projet de résolution présenté par le Brésil (A/C.4/272) soit mis aux voix paragraphe par paragraphe.

38. M. ITANI (Liban) estime qu'il n'est pas surprenant que tous les orateurs qui ont pris la parole aient souligné l'importance particulière de la question des facteurs, car cette question est étroitement liée à celle de la liberté des peuples en général. Le Liban, qui a toujours défendu le droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes et élevé la voix en faveur de la liberté de tous les pays du monde, ne peut pas ne pas adopter une position conforme à son passé et à ses traditions.

39. M. Itani tient à rappeler que l'étude des facteurs a été décidée par l'Assemblée générale parce que certains Membres administrants ont cessé de communiquer des renseignements au sujet de treize territoires non autonomes. Ces Membres ont ainsi pris, à l'égard de ces territoires, une décision unilatérale, alors que la responsabilité qu'ils y assumaient avait un caractère international et ne pouvait légalement cesser qu'en vertu d'une décision de l'Assemblée générale.

40. L'objet du Chapitre XI de la Charte est avant tout d'établir les relations particulières qui doivent exister entre l'Organisation des Nations Unies et les territoires non autonomes. A moins qu'on ne veuille s'écarter de la lettre et de l'esprit de l'Article 73 de la Charte, les Membres administrants sont loin d'être seuls compétents quand il s'agit de décider si un territoire non autonome est parvenu à l'autonomie complète.

41. En ce qui concerne la liste de facteurs proposée par le Comité *ad hoc*, la délégation libanaise voudrait présenter quelques observations d'ordre général, tout en réservant la position de son gouvernement vis-à-vis de tout amendement ou de toute proposition dont la Commission pourrait être saisie.

42. Premièrement, l'opinion des habitants des territoires non autonomes devrait être le facteur décisif. C'est pourquoi la délégation libanaise formule des réserves formelles au sujet d'expressions telles que "association", "assimilation", "incorporation" ou "annexion", surtout lorsqu'il existe des différences de race, de langue, de religion, de culture, etc.

43. Deuxièmement, il est de la plus haute importance d'indiquer la procédure à suivre pour l'application de la liste de facteurs; en effet, si les Membres administrants ne se déclaraient pas disposés dès maintenant à respecter les décisions prises par l'Assemblée, conformément à cette liste, tout le travail du Comité *ad hoc* serait pure perte de temps et le prestige de l'Organisation des Nations Unies en serait gravement atteint.

44. Troisièmement, il est très difficile, sinon impossible, de trouver une définition complète et définitive de la notion d'autonomie complète. C'est pourquoi la liste de facteurs est une simple indication, un guide, qu'il appartient à l'Assemblée de compléter quand de nouvelles circonstances l'exigeront.

45. Quatrièmement, tout en reconnaissant la nécessité d'apporter à la liste des éléments complémentaires, la délégation du Liban tient à remercier le Comité *ad hoc* des efforts qu'il a déployés et qui ont abouti à l'établissement de ce texte.

46. Cinquièmement, la délégation du Liban fait appel aux Puissances intéressées pour que, conformément à leurs traditions libérales, elles ne manquent pas aux obligations qui leur incombent depuis le jour où elles ont adhéré à la Charte des Nations Unies et pour qu'elles s'efforcent d'affermir la collaboration internationale, la fraternité des peuples et le prestige de l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Ces Puissances permettront ainsi de sortir de l'impasse actuelle et d'atteindre l'objectif de l'Article 73 de la Charte.

47. Le représentant du Liban ne veut pas s'engager dans un examen détaillé des facteurs proposés puisque aussi bien cette liste a besoin d'être améliorée; mais il estime que l'essentiel est de faire preuve de bonne foi, de manifester le désir sincère de trancher cette question conformément au droit international et au droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes, en mettant de côté toutes sortes d'intérêts économiques ou politiques qui seraient de nature à empêcher l'application intégrale, sincère et ferme de l'Article 73 de la Charte.

48. M. NAUDE (Union Sud-Africaine) indique que sa délégation ne se proposait pas d'intervenir dans le débat actuel; mais, à la suite de la discussion qui a eu lieu, elle estime qu'elle doit au moins féliciter le Comité *ad hoc* du travail qu'il a accompli et cela d'autant plus qu'il a dû s'occuper de notions qui ne se prêtent pas à une définition.

49. La délégation sud-africaine avait espéré, après les vues exprimées à l'origine, qu'il ne serait pas nécessaire de proposer à l'Assemblée générale de prendre une décision formelle au sujet de la liste de facteurs. Malheureusement, la question de la compétence s'est introduite dans le débat et la délégation de l'Union Sud-Africaine a senti que cette question était devenue l'élément principal de la discussion. Les amendements qui sont proposés au projet de résolution du Brésil la confirment dans cette opinion.

50. Dans les circonstances actuelles, la délégation de l'Union Sud-Africaine estime que ce n'est pas cette tendance à soulever la question de compétence qui pourra conduire la Quatrième Commission au succès,

c'est-à-dire à l'élaboration de textes acceptables pour tous.

51. Bien souvent déjà, la délégation de l'Union Sud-Africaine a été obligée de signaler le danger de présenter des amendements par interprétation. Elle a le regret de constater que la Quatrième Commission se trouve actuellement devant un cas de ce genre. C'est une situation grave.

52. La position de l'Union Sud-Africaine est la suivante: il appartient exclusivement aux Membres administrants de décider si les territoires qu'ils administrent sont parvenus à l'autonomie dans les domaines énumérés à l'Article 73, e. L'Union Sud-Africaine comprend l'idéal très élevé des délégations qui veulent une liste précise de facteurs; mais il convient de remarquer que l'Organisation des Nations Unies n'est pas un parlement mondial. Cependant, la loi qui régit l'Organisation, c'est-à-dire la Charte, semble à la délégation de l'Union Sud-Africaine aussi claire que possible.

53. Il importe donc que la Quatrième Commission réfléchisse mûrement avant de prendre une décision sur la suite à donner à la liste de facteurs qui lui est soumise.

54. M. WORM-MULLER (Norvège) déclare que le Gouvernement norvégien considère l'acheminement des territoires non autonomes vers l'autonomie comme une question d'une importance primordiale; l'opinion publique norvégienne appuie chaleureusement l'émancipation des peuples de ces territoires. Il appartient donc à l'Assemblée des Nations Unies de prendre toutes mesures appropriées pour hâter cette évolution.

55. La question doit être considérée d'un point de vue objectif. Une première décision a été prise à San-Francisco lors de l'élaboration du Chapitre XI. Aux termes de ce chapitre, les Puissances administrantes ont accepté une mission sacrée. L'obligation de fournir des renseignements, conformément à l'Article 73, e, les incite à améliorer la situation des territoires qu'elles administrent. Toute Puissance administrante se fait un point d'honneur de prouver qu'elle a pris des mesures constructives à cette fin.

56. Il est de l'intérêt des territoires non autonomes qu'il existe un sentiment de confiance réciproque entre les Membres administrants et les organes des Nations Unies qui s'occupent particulièrement de ces questions. S'il y a méfiance, les territoires non autonomes n'en tireront guère de profit.

57. Il paraît évident que des divergences de vues très nettes existent à la Quatrième Commission et que les Membres administrants ne sont pas disposés à voter pour le projet de résolution présenté par la délégation du Brésil. Le représentant de la Norvège rappelle notamment la déclaration que le représentant du Royaume-Uni a faite à la présente séance.

58. Puisqu'il n'a pas été possible de trouver une formule de compromis généralement acceptable, peut-être vaut-il mieux, dans l'intérêt d'une collaboration fructueuse à la Quatrième Commission et dans l'intérêt des territoires non autonomes, abandonner les questions de principe qui prêtent à controverse et s'orienter vers des décisions appropriées concernant le rapport du Comité *ad hoc* dont la Commission est saisie.

59. En conséquence, la délégation norvégienne n'est pas en mesure de voter pour le projet de résolution de la délégation du Brésil.

60. M. RYCKMANS (Belgique) tient à dissiper le malentendu qui semble s'être manifesté à la séance pré-

cédente, notamment entre le représentant de la Bolivie et lui.

61. Le représentant de la Bolivie a relevé ce qu'il croit être une contradiction dans les réserves faites au Comité *ad hoc* pour l'étude des facteurs par le représentant de la Belgique. D'après lui, le représentant de la Belgique aurait reconnu à l'alinéa *a* du paragraphe 40 du document A/2428 que le Chapitre XI de la Charte ne s'appliquait qu'aux colonies et protectorats tout en déclarant, à l'alinéa *e* du même paragraphe, que le Chapitre XI s'applique à de nombreuses populations de territoires souverains.

62. En réalité, le représentant de la Belgique n'a jamais dit que le Chapitre XI ne s'appliquait qu'aux populations des colonies et protectorats. Au contraire, ses réserves avaient précisément pour objet de faire remarquer que les expressions "territoires dont les populations ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes", d'une part, et "colonies et protectorats", d'autre part, ne sont pas synonymes. La seule définition que donne la Charte des populations auxquelles s'étend la protection du Chapitre XI se trouve dans l'Article 73. Les mots "colonie" et "protectorat" ne se trouvent pas dans cet article, qui dit simplement: "territoires dont les populations ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes", sans établir d'autre distinction. Cet article est susceptible d'une interprétation large et d'une interprétation étroite. L'interprétation large étend la protection de la Charte aux populations de tous les territoires dont les habitants ne s'administrent pas entièrement eux-mêmes, que ces territoires soient compris dans les frontières continentales d'un Etat ou qu'ils soient situés outre-mer. C'est cette interprétation large que la Belgique adopte et propose. L'autre interprétation est restrictive. Elle limite l'application du Chapitre XI aux territoires d'outre-mer de certaines Puissances dites coloniales. Elle prive de la protection internationale toutes les autres populations arriérées.

63. Qu'il y ait ailleurs que dans les colonies, protectorats et Territoires sous tutelle des populations qui ne se gouvernent pas elles-mêmes, nul ne le contestera. Les mémoires déposés par la délégation belge (A/AC.58/1, A/AC.67/2) en ont dressé une liste impressionnante. Il est indubitable, par exemple, que des populations vivant dans un état de sauvagerie totale, sans contacts avec les populations civilisées, ne sont pas des populations jouissant de la plénitude de l'autonomie, au sens que la Charte donne à cette expression.

64. Le représentant de l'Uruguay a dit, à la séance précédente, que les auteurs de la Charte n'avaient jamais eu l'intention de faire passer sous l'empire du Chapitre XI les populations qui ne s'administrent pas complètement elles-mêmes, mais vivent dans les limites d'Etats souverains.

65. La question ne se pose pas ainsi. Les populations autochtones de tous les territoires sans distinction étaient visées par les dispositions protectrices du Pacte de la Société des Nations. Tous les Membres de la Société avaient pris l'engagement solennel d'assurer à toutes les populations autochtones vivant sur tous leurs territoires, métropolitains ou coloniaux, continentaux ou d'outre-mer, un traitement équitable. L'interprétation large de l'Article 73 maintient cette universalité de la protection due aux populations autochtones. L'interprétation restrictive la retire à de nombreuses populations. La question est donc de savoir si les partisans de l'interprétation restrictive ont entendu exclure de la protection de la Charte des populations qui jouis-

saient depuis vingt-cinq ans de la protection garantie par l'Article 23 du Pacte de la Société des Nations, et si ceux d'entre eux qui avaient signé le Pacte ont entendu répudier leurs engagements solennels et refuser d'accepter les mêmes obligations en vertu de la Charte des Nations Unies. Dans l'affirmative, la délégation belge demande qu'ils l'avouent. Et elle demandera qu'ils expliquent la raison de ce retour en arrière. Les populations autochtones des territoires métropolitains étaient-elles moins dignes d'intérêt en 1945 qu'en 1919? L'Organisation des Nations Unies a-t-elle voulu leur retirer la sollicitude que leur avait vouée la Société des Nations? A ces deux questions, la thèse belge répond par la négative. L'interprétation restrictive de l'Article 73 donnant aux mots "territoires dont les populations ne s'administrent pas encore entièrement elles-mêmes" le sens de "populations des seuls territoires coloniaux" répond par l'affirmative. La délégation belge demande à chacun des Etats Membres de choisir.

66. Le représentant de la Syrie a demandé avec ironie à la séance précédente si la délégation belge visait les territoires dépendants abusivement présentés comme autonomes. La délégation belge répond sans ironie qu'elle vise tous les territoires, dépendants ou non, dont les populations ne s'administrent pas entièrement elles-mêmes et au sujet desquelles le Secrétaire général des Nations Unies ne reçoit pas de renseignements.

67. Le représentant de la Bolivie a dit à la même séance qu'il ne pourrait pas admettre que son pays soit jamais considéré comme une colonie. Le représentant de la Belgique répond que si, à la lumière des travaux du Comité *ad hoc* pour l'étude des facteurs, un Etat reconnaît que le Chapitre XI de la Charte s'applique à certaines des populations dont il a la responsabilité et prend la décision, sans aucune pression de la part de l'Assemblée, de fournir les renseignements prévus à l'Article 73, e, tout le monde rendra hommage à la générosité dont il fait preuve par son interprétation libérale de la Charte. Nul ne songera pour autant à contester sa pleine souveraineté ou à le considérer comme une colonie.

68. En ce qui concerne les textes dont la Commission est saisie, le représentant de la Belgique est d'avis que la Quatrième Commission prenne note du travail méritoire accompli par le Comité des facteurs.

69. La délégation belge s'abstiendra de voter sur le paragraphe du projet de résolution qui approuve en bloc tous les facteurs proposés par le Comité. Elle sera obligée de voter contre tous les articles du projet de résolution et contre tous les amendements qui, expressément ou implicitement, affirment la compétence de l'Assemblée, soutiennent la théorie, contraire à la réalité des faits, de l'indivisibilité de l'autonomie, ou établissent une distinction, non justifiée par la Charte, entre le devoir de continuer à fournir des renseignements et le devoir de commencer à les fournir si on ne l'a pas fait jusqu'ici.

70. M. LAWRENCE (Libéria) déclare que la délégation libérienne a écouté avec beaucoup d'intérêt toutes les déclarations faites par les divers représentants qui ont pris part au débat actuel et dont une grande partie ont exposé des vues qu'elle partage.

71. Tout d'abord, il convient de féliciter le Comité *ad hoc*, dont les efforts ont abouti aux résultats exposés dans le document A/2428. La délégation du Libéria est d'accord avec les délégations qui considèrent que la liste de facteurs proposée ne peut que servir de guide

et que chaque cas d'espèce doit être examiné compte tenu des circonstances qui lui sont propres.

72. Toutefois, il est une question qui a particulièrement animé la discussion, c'est celle de la procédure à adopter pour appliquer ces facteurs à un territoire. Les Membres administrants ont prétendu qu'eux seuls étaient compétents pour les appliquer. Cependant, un Membre administrant ne peut pas, juridiquement, annuler ou modifier de façon unilatérale le statut d'un territoire sans en aviser l'Assemblée générale. En effet, en vertu de la Charte, l'Assemblée générale seule est compétente pour dire si la population d'un territoire a atteint une complète autonomie.

73. Mais une nouvelle difficulté surgit. Qu'entend-on par autonomie complète? Deux opinions ont été exprimées à la Commission. Celle des Membres administrants et celle des pays qui n'administrent pas de territoires. Les premiers estiment que des populations peuvent avoir atteint l'autonomie complète tout en restant fermement liées à la Puissance administrante, les autres estiment que le bien-être des populations de ces territoires doit être la loi suprême, que leur désir doit pouvoir être librement exprimé à propos de toute modification envisagée quant à la forme de leur gouvernement.

74. Tout en comprenant parfaitement les idéaux élevés qui, de tout temps, ont inspiré les Puissances administrantes quand il s'agissait du bien-être des populations de ces territoires, la délégation du Libéria estime que les désirs et aspirations de ces populations doivent être déterminés par les bons offices de l'Assemblée générale.

75. Une autre question de procédure préoccupe la délégation du Libéria: il s'agit du moment auquel les facteurs pourront être appliqués. Il semble ressortir du débat que ces facteurs devraient, de l'avis de certaines délégations, être appliqués après qu'un Membre administrant aurait signalé une modification dans le statut du territoire et cesserait ensuite de communiquer des renseignements, plaçant ainsi l'Organisation des Nations Unies devant un fait accompli.

76. La délégation du Libéria se demande comment les idéaux de paix, de bien-être et de liberté, en vertu desquels les gouvernements des divers Etats Membres ont envoyé des représentants à l'Assemblée générale, pourront être réalisés tant que des millions d'êtres humains dans le monde subiront l'oppression, la misère et la souffrance. Il s'agit d'un problème que l'on ne peut pas résoudre en l'éluant. Il faut au contraire regarder la situation en face et chercher une solution avec conscience et résolution.

77. L'Assemblée générale ne doit pas être placée devant un fait accompli par les Membres administrants; au contraire, chaque fois qu'un Membre administrant estime que la population d'un territoire donné a réellement atteint l'autonomie complète, il doit en informer l'Assemblée générale, afin que celle-ci puisse prendre les mesures nécessaires de vérification et se prononcer.

78. M. ARAOZ (Bolivie) déclare que le représentant de la Belgique a de nouveau fait appel à des sophismes pour tenter de déformer les propos de certaines délégations et prétendre qu'en parlant de colonies et protectorats, on entendait revenir au système colonial. Tel est peut-être le but que visent les Puissances administrantes; ce n'est certainement pas celui que la Commission s'est fixé.

79. Si M. Araoz a donné un aperçu de l'évolution de la situation en Bolivie, c'est qu'il a jugé utile de mon-

trer comment un pays qui lutte encore pour obtenir l'indépendance complète dans certains domaines a pu réaliser son unité nationale; il a voulu ainsi permettre aux débats de se cristalliser sur certains points précis. Il n'existe en Bolivie aucun groupe qui fasse l'objet de discrimination. Les programmes entrepris dans le domaine économique et dans le domaine de l'enseignement, ainsi que la réforme agraire, sont destinés à toute la population; leurs résultats apporteront des bienfaits pour tous sans aucune distinction. Si le représentant de la Belgique visitait la Bolivie, il pourrait se convaincre de la véracité de ce que M. Araoz avance: il y verrait un peuple uni, qui travaille à resserrer plus étroitement encore les liens entre les divers groupes qui le composent, et il y retrouverait le témoignage de ces hautes valeurs culturelles qui sont l'héritage séculaire laissé par les diverses races qui ont peuplé la Bolivie.

80. La délégation bolivienne participe aux débats de la Commission dans un esprit constructif, animé du seul souci d'aider les peuples dépendants à conquérir leur autonomie. Elle sera toujours prête à défendre les principes fondamentaux qui doivent régir le progrès de l'humanité. Si la délégation bolivienne a élevé certaines objections contre les réserves du représentant de la Belgique, ce n'est nullement parce qu'elle a été blessée de se voir comparer à une colonie. Au contraire, le peuple bolivien, ce peuple jadis méprisé et opprimé, est fier de s'être libéré de cette oppression et d'être actuellement dirigé par un gouvernement qui le représente effectivement. Il ne rougit pas, non plus, de la situation semi-féodale qui est encore la sienne, car il tire orgueil des efforts entrepris pour la surmonter. L'exemple de la Bolivie est donc à citer dans un débat portant sur les territoires non autonomes dont les populations ont, elles aussi, le droit de régler leur propre destinée conformément aux vœux d'une large majorité et non pas d'une minorité oligarchique représentant des intérêts étrangers.

81. En conclusion, M. Araoz maintient son point de vue quant à la contradiction qu'il a relevée dans les réserves de la Belgique; il souligne que ces réserves n'ont d'autre objet que de détourner la Commission de ce qui doit être sa tâche essentielle: assurer le progrès des peuples dépendants, dans la voie de l'autonomie complète.

82. M. TRIANTAPHYLAKOS (Grèce) rend hommage au Comité *ad hoc* et se déclare prêt à accepter la liste de facteurs qu'il a élaborée, avec cependant deux réserves. En premier lieu, il doit être bien entendu que cette liste ne peut constituer qu'un guide permettant d'examiner chaque cas dans de meilleures conditions, à la lumière des circonstances qui lui sont propres. D'autre part, comme le représentant du Guatemala l'a indiqué ainsi que d'autres délégations, il convient de supprimer le mot "permanente" qui figure dans le titre de la deuxième partie de la liste de facteurs, et qui qualifie l'association du territoire non autonome et de la métropole. C'est à la lumière des considérations qu'elle vient d'exposer, et en tenant compte de la nécessité primordiale de maintenir la coopération entre toutes les parties pour assurer l'application du Chapitre XI, que la délégation grecque se prononcera sur le projet de résolution du Brésil et les amendements dont il a fait l'objet.

83. Mme BOLTON (Etats-Unis d'Amérique) rend hommage aux efforts que le représentant du Brésil a déployés pour mettre au point un projet de résolution qui puisse être généralement accepté. Cependant, la délégation des Etats-Unis ne peut accepter le principe sur lequel se fonde le paragraphe 3 du dispositif de

ce texte. Aucun Etat Membre, qu'il assure ou non l'administration d'un territoire non autonome, ne saurait abandonner son droit de déterminer le statut constitutionnel du territoire qui se trouve sous sa souveraineté. C'est donc aux seuls Membres administrants intéressés qu'il appartient de prendre la décision de cesser de communiquer les renseignements visés à l'Article 73, e.

84. Il ne s'ensuit nullement que le rôle de l'Assemblée ne puisse être d'aucune utilité. Au contraire, l'Assemblée a déjà accompli une œuvre féconde à cet égard. En vertu de l'Article 10 de la Charte, l'Assemblée a le droit d'étudier le concept de territoires non autonomes et celui de territoires dont la population ne s'administre pas encore complètement elle-même et de s'efforcer d'en établir une définition. L'Assemblée générale a également le droit de recommander aux Etats Membres d'étudier la définition qu'elle pourrait adopter et même d'exprimer en termes généraux son avis sur les principes dont les Membres administrants pourraient ou ont pu s'inspirer pour décider de cesser de communiquer les renseignements relatifs aux territoires qu'ils administrent. Cependant, les résolutions de l'Assemblée ne doivent pas impliquer que la décision des Membres administrants doit être sanctionnée par l'approbation ou la désapprobation de l'Assemblée générale.

85. La délégation des Etats-Unis se verra donc obligée de voter contre le projet de résolution du Brésil, comme contre toute proposition qui contiendrait les mêmes implications.

86. M. PIGNON (France) ne pense pas qu'il soit nécessaire de réitérer la position du Gouvernement français, qui a été déjà assez clairement indiquée. Il tient cependant à étudier les théories juridiques présentées au cours des débats; la délégation française les a écoutées avec intérêt, mais elle n'a pas été convaincue et ne pouvait pas l'être, car ces théories s'appuient sur une interprétation erronée d'un traité, c'est-à-dire de la Charte. Pour interpréter un traité, il faut déterminer, en se rapportant aux travaux préliminaires et notamment aux procès-verbaux des discussions, la volonté de ses auteurs, c'est-à-dire, en l'occurrence, la volonté des cosignataires de la Charte — tout comme, pour interpréter une loi, on se rapporte en premier lieu au procès-verbal des débats parlementaires. Or, il est bien certain que les auteurs de la Charte n'ont ni prévu ni voulu les développements et les additions que l'on essaie maintenant d'introduire par voie de résolutions.

87. Il est facile de s'en convaincre en étudiant l'histoire du problème de la cessation de la communication des renseignements. A sa troisième session, l'Assemblée générale se sentait si peu sûre de son terrain et de ses droits que, dans sa résolution 222 (III), elle s'est bornée à déclarer que l'Organisation doit nécessairement être informée de toute modification intervenue dans la constitution et le statut de l'un quelconque de ces territoires en vertu de laquelle le gouvernement responsable estime inutile la communication des renseignements visés par l'Article 73, e, de la Charte. Les souvenirs de San-Francisco étaient encore trop proches pour qu'on osât mettre en cause la compétence exclusive du Membre administrant. Avec la résolution 334 (IV), l'Assemblée générale a franchi une nouvelle étape, puisqu'elle a estimé qu'elle avait compétence pour exprimer un avis sur les principes qui ont guidé ou qui peuvent guider des Etats intéressés dans l'énumération des territoires en question. L'Assemblée tendait donc déjà à restreindre la liberté d'appréciation

des gouvernements responsables, mais elle n'affirmait sa compétence qu'à l'égard des principes; le pouvoir des décisions dans chaque cas d'espèce demeurait impartie au Membre administrant. A la cinquième session, par sa résolution 448 (V), l'Assemblée est délibérément sortie du domaine de la théorie en invitant le Comité spécial pour l'examen des renseignements transmis en vertu de l'Article 73, e, de la Charte à étudier les renseignements qui pourraient être à l'avenir communiqués au Secrétaire général en application de la résolution 222 (III) et à faire rapport à leur sujet à l'Assemblée générale. Avec cette résolution, les frontières qui avaient été jadis respectées ont été franchies et l'Assemblée s'est arrogé le droit non plus de donner des avis d'ordre général, mais bien d'examiner et de discuter chaque cas d'espèce. A la sixième session, l'Assemblée s'est trop préoccupée de la liste de facteurs pour s'aventurer dans le domaine périlleux de la compétence. Cependant, elle a réaffirmé, dans sa résolution 568 (VI), les règles posées par la résolution 448 (V). Le pas décisif a été franchi à la septième session, où l'Assemblée a affirmé sa compétence comme allant de soi et sans chercher à la fonder en droit ou en fait.

88. Cet historique des conquêtes successives de la majorité démontre clairement que cette construction juridique a été fondée sur des bases qui ne sont pas celles de la Charte strictement interprétée. En effet, à sa troisième session, l'Assemblée n'aurait pas hésité, si elle avait cru possible de le faire conformément à la Charte, à affirmer hautement sa compétence face au cas d'espèce qui préoccupait alors la Quatrième Commission. Déjà, dans un enthousiasme qui fait oublier le point de départ, on envisage de nouveaux progrès. Certaines délégations ont proposé de ne retenir que la première partie de la liste de facteurs; d'autres ont déclaré que la notion d'autonomie complète, prévue par la Charte, ne pouvait avoir d'autre signification que celle d'indépendance. Il ne faut pas oublier pour autant que cette construction juridique, dont la majorité semble estimer qu'elle n'est plus qu'à parfaire dans les détails, demeurera sans fondement et sans force exécutoire tant qu'elle n'aura pas revêtu la forme d'un nouveau traité ou d'une addition à la Charte dans les conditions prévues à l'Article 109.

89. La délégation française a écouté avec un vif intérêt la thèse de la responsabilité des Membres administrants développée par le représentant de l'Equateur. Cette responsabilité, les Membres administrants ne la nient pas; ils l'acceptent sans réticence. Cependant, cette responsabilité reste d'ordre moral et elle n'entraîne pas de conséquences juridiques, parce qu'on a expressément et volontairement exclu de la Charte tout organisme de contrôle, toute juridiction spécialisée dont l'existence donnerait un sens juridique à cette responsabilité. Certains peuvent regretter ce qu'ils considèrent comme une lacune, mais ils doivent également comprendre qu'il n'est pas en leur pouvoir d'essayer de la combler par la voie inappropriée et inefficace des recommandations.

90. Il est donc clair que la délégation française ne pourra donner son adhésion au projet de résolution soumis par le représentant du Brésil, bien qu'elle tienne à rendre hommage aux efforts sincères que celui-ci a déployés en vue de trouver une issue à l'impasse où la Commission se trouve actuellement engagée. En effet, au paragraphe 3 du dispositif, le projet de résolution réaffirme la compétence de l'Assemblée générale. La même objection est valable en ce qui concerne le paragraphe 4, car il est clair que c'est à l'Assemblée géné-

rale que reviendrait le soin de décider si la preuve que les populations ont exercé leur droit à disposer d'elles-mêmes a bien été fournie. Le paragraphe 6 introduit à nouveau les difficultés d'interprétation auxquelles on avait cherché à remédier en établissant une liste de critères. La notion d'autonomie complète n'a toujours pas été définie, et si certains ont pris parti sans hésitation, leur opinion n'équivaut pas à une décision. Enfin, les paragraphes 7 et 8 confèrent au Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes une compétence que la délégation française estime inacceptable et contraire au compromis qui lui a permis de continuer à participer aux travaux de cet organisme. Pour les mêmes raisons, la délégation française s'opposera aux amendements présentés conjointement par onze délégations (A/C.4/L.273). Le fait même que ces amendements aient été présentés illustre la thèse que M. Pignon a défendue et justifie pleinement, si besoin était, la position du Gouvernement français. Tout ce que le texte initial du Brésil contenait de conciliant a été en effet systématiquement éliminé dans ces amendements. Au moins, il ne subsiste plus de doute ou d'équivoque.

91. Etant donné l'importance du problème, la délégation française ne peut se contenter d'émettre un vote négatif. Conformément aux instructions formelles qu'elle a reçues de son gouvernement, elle est obligée de renouveler expressément les réserves qu'elle avait présentées au sujet de la résolution 647 (VII) et qui sont rappelées au compte rendu de la 279ème séance de la Quatrième Commission (A/C.4/SR.279, par. 1 à 3). Le Gouvernement français n'avait pas accepté que la résolution 647 (VII) pût le lier en quoi que ce fût : il n'acceptera pas davantage que le projet de résolution du Brésil puisse l'engager si, comme il est probable, ce texte est adopté. La délégation française est d'autant plus à l'aise pour faire cette déclaration qu'elle avait pris la précaution, à San-Francisco, d'exprimer une réserve de compétence que l'on trouvera dans le rapport du Comité 4 de la Commission II et dans l'annexe D à ce rapport, en date du 20 juin 1945¹. Personne ne saurait donc aujourd'hui se dire surpris ou choqué d'une attitude qui reste constamment claire, franche et cohérente. Toutefois, c'est à regret que la délégation française se voit acculée à cette position négative et défensive. Ce n'est certainement pas ainsi qu'elle avait envisagé la collaboration à l'Organisation ; il est encore possible à la Commission de se ressaisir et de retrouver les voies d'un travail fécond. Il y a quelques jours, M. Maurice Schumann a déclaré à la 445ème séance plénière de l'Assemblée générale que le Gouvernement français acceptait complètement et sans arrière-pensée les fins du Chapitre XI de la Charte. A la Commission même, le représentant du Royaume-Uni a insisté sur l'identité de buts, identité qui devrait unir les membres de la Commission. Il suffirait d'essayer d'appliquer la Charte sans chercher pour le moment à la compléter ou à la modifier. Le Gouvernement français a donné de multiples preuves de sa bonne volonté ; il est prêt à de nouveaux efforts, mais il ne saurait se contenter d'exhortations à la conciliation qui ne comprennent aucune preuve tangible de compréhension et qui supposent toujours que les Puissances administrantes ont à se faire pardonner un péché originel.

92. En terminant, M. Pignon expose les raisons qui motivent la position du Gouvernement français. Ces

raisons sont évidentes : la délégation française ne saurait admettre que l'Assemblée générale discute de l'évolution constitutionnelle des territoires administrés par la France précisément parce qu'il s'agit de questions constitutionnelles, qui relèvent de la politique intérieure et qui sont du ressort exclusif du pouvoir législatif. La Constitution française limite strictement les pouvoirs de l'exécutif. En matière de politique internationale, le gouvernement peut négocier et s'engager sous réserve de l'approbation ultérieure du Parlement. En ce qui concerne le statut des territoires, c'est le Parlement qui a l'initiative de la décision et il n'est pas possible au gouvernement ou à la délégation française d'aliéner en quelque mesure que ce soit la souveraineté du Parlement. Il est du reste facile de prévoir quelles seraient les conséquences du processus qui a été actuellement déclenché et les exigences toujours plus grandes qui seraient présentées pour soumettre les Puissances administrantes à un contrôle toujours accru de l'Organisation. Il suffit de réfléchir pour concevoir les dangers qui résulteraient, sur le plan interne, de l'ingérence d'une organisation internationale qui finirait par se mêler arbitrairement, avec des intentions pures ou non, de la politique intérieure. De même, dans l'époque troublée où le monde vit actuellement, cette intrusion engendrerait une situation d'infériorité constante sur le plan international, par la possibilité de chantages et de manœuvres qui ne serviraient ni la cause de la paix ni celle de la coopération entre nations. Ce que la délégation française demande une fois de plus, c'est que certains membres de la Commission veuillent bien consentir l'effort de se mettre de temps à autre à la place du Gouvernement français pour juger avec objectivité de la situation. Quelle que soit la décision que la Commission adoptera en ce qui concerne le projet de résolution du Brésil, les débats qui ont eu lieu auront eu le grand mérite de permettre à la Commission de toucher au fond du problème. La Commission en est arrivée au point précis où les conceptions idéologiques se heurtent aux faits. Elle devra décider si elle doit continuer à prendre des décisions sur le plan de la théorie ou si, consciente de l'inanité de cette entreprise, elle doit se tourner résolument vers les tâches qui sont les siennes.

93. M. LOPEZ (Philippines) déclare que les Philippines, qui sont devenues un Etat indépendant après la deuxième guerre mondiale, après avoir connu quatre siècles d'oppression, portent un profond intérêt à la question des facteurs et à celle, plus vaste, des territoires non autonomes.

94. A la Conférence de San-Francisco, la délégation des Philippines avait indiqué que le mot "indépendance" devrait remplacer ou, tout au moins, compléter le mot "autonomie", dans toutes les dispositions de la Charte où ce dernier mot figurait ; elle craignait, en effet, que si la notion d'indépendance était remplacée par celle, plus vague, d'autonomie, des malentendus ne puissent s'élever. L'expérience a prouvé que ces craintes étaient fondées. A San-Francisco, la délégation des Philippines n'avait pas insisté sur sa suggestion, parce que les Puissances administrantes lui avaient donné l'assurance qu'autonomie était synonyme d'indépendance et que c'était bien dans ce sens que la notion d'autonomie serait interprétée dans la pratique. Or, il s'est trouvé que l'imprécision du terme d'autonomie a été à l'origine de bien des malentendus, qu'elle a entraîné de longues études et de longs débats. Il était illogique de parler seulement d'autonomie au Chapitre XI, alors qu'au Chapitre XII on employait également le mot indépendance. Quoi qu'il en soit, il importe actuellement de

¹ Voir *Conférence des Nations Unies pour l'organisation internationale*, II/4/44, 1, a.

préciser la notion d'autonomie. Les travaux du Comité *ad hoc* ont, à cet égard, une très grande valeur.

95. M. López rend hommage au Comité et croit, comme le représentant du Venezuela, qu'il est temps de mettre un terme aux études et de passer à l'application des facteurs que le Comité *ad hoc* a élaborés. Cette tâche n'est possible que s'il existe entre les Puissances administrantes et les Puissances non administrantes une sincère coopération. M. López a la conviction que les membres de la Commission peuvent résolument écarter les sujets de controverse et reconnaître d'un commun accord qu'il est indispensable de hâter le progrès des populations des territoires non autonomes, pour assurer le maintien de la paix, mission qui intéresse tous les Etats, qu'ils administrent ou non des territoires non autonomes. Les Puissances administrantes doivent comprendre qu'en se retranchant derrière les dispositions du paragraphe 7 de l'Article 2 pour défendre leur compétence exclusive, elles donnent l'impression de vouloir conserver à tout prix ce qu'elles considèrent comme leur propriété. Si elles reconnaissent que le problème colonial ne se pose plus dans les mêmes termes depuis que la Charte a fait de l'avenir des territoires non autonomes un problème international, il sera possible de passer au stade des réalisations concrètes.

96. Pour pouvoir rechercher un terrain d'entente, il faut tout d'abord poser en principe que les Membres administrants ne peuvent décider unilatéralement si un territoire est devenu autonome et que cette décision doit être prise, d'un commun accord, après consultation, par

ces Membres et l'Assemblée générale. La liste de facteurs ne peut avoir que la valeur d'un ensemble d'indications générales, dont l'application est fonction des réalités politiques variables de chaque territoire.

97. D'autre part, M. López estime que le problème de la cessation de la communication de renseignements comporte un double aspect : dans certains cas, les territoires non autonomes peuvent estimer qu'en continuant de communiquer des renseignements à leur sujet, la Puissance administrante fait douter de leur autonomie réelle, ce qui peut froisser les susceptibilités nationales des populations intéressées. Dans d'autres cas, les Puissances administrantes peuvent chercher à dissimuler par ce moyen la situation réelle du territoire dont elles prétendent qu'il est devenu autonome.

98. La délégation des Philippines croit que le projet de résolution du Brésil constitue le cadre dans lequel l'accord pourra intervenir. Elle espère qu'il sera étudié dans un esprit de bonne volonté et que les difficultés de principe posées par le paragraphe 3 pourront ainsi être résolues.

99. En terminant, M. López souligne que les décisions de la Commission ne pourront être fécondes que si l'on aboutit à un accord fondé sur les réalités politiques.

100. Le PRESIDENT annonce la clôture de la liste des orateurs qui demandent à intervenir dans la discussion générale et invite les délégations qui veulent expliquer leur vote à se faire inscrire.

La séance est levée à 13 h. 20.



Mardi 6 octobre 1953
à 15 h. 25

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Facteurs dont il convient de tenir compte pour décider si un territoire est, ou n'est pas, un territoire dont les populations ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes: rapport du Comité *ad hoc* pour l'étude des facteurs (territoires non autonomes) [suite]..... 73

Président: M. Santiago PEREZ PEREZ (Venezuela).

Facteurs dont il convient de tenir compte pour décider si un territoire est, ou n'est pas, un territoire dont les populations ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes: rapport du Comité *ad hoc* pour l'étude des facteurs (territoires non autonomes) [A/2428, A/C.4/L.272, A/C.4/L.273 et Corr.1, A/C.4/L.274] (suite)

[Point 33 *]

1. M. MENDOZA (Guatemala) tient à répondre aux questions que le représentant de la Belgique a posées à la 326^{ème} séance. Il rappelle qu'au moment où l'argument de la Belgique avait été présenté, à la septième session de l'Assemblée générale, il avait été reconnu que le Guatemala n'assumait aucune responsabilité en vertu du Chapitre XI de la Charte. M. Mendoza estime qu'il convient néanmoins de répondre à une thèse adroite, qui tend à détourner la Commission de son objectif véritable.

2. En fait, l'argument de la Belgique a été discuté à San-Francisco. La question avait surgi au cours de l'examen de la classification des territoires dépendants et il avait été précisé clairement que "les populations qui ne sont pas encore en état de se diriger elles-mêmes, dans les conditions difficiles du monde moderne" mentionnées dans une première version de l'Article 73 de la Charte n'étaient pas les populations vivant à l'intérieur des frontières métropolitaines d'un Etat quelconque. M. Mendoza donne lecture d'extraits du document de travail établi par le Secrétariat sur la définition de la notion de complète autonomie (A/AC.67/L.1), où sont cités les passages des documents officiels des réunions de San-Francisco, au cours desquelles la déclaration relative aux territoires non autonomes a fait l'objet d'un examen, d'où il ressort que cette question a été soulevée et réglée. Le sous-comité de rédaction qui a rédigé cette partie de la Charte a certainement tenu compte de ces débats lors de l'établissement de la version définitive de l'Article 73. L'affirmation du représentant de la Belgique, selon laquelle le membre de phrase "territoires dont les populations ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes" peut s'appliquer aux territoires qui font partie de la métropole, se trouve donc réfutée

si l'on se reporte aux intentions exprimées par les auteurs de la Charte.

3. Sir Douglas COPLAND (Australie) déclare que le projet de résolution du Brésil (A/C.4/L.272) tend à rapprocher les deux points de vue divergents qui se sont manifestés à la Commission; à ce titre, il mérite de retenir l'attention de la Commission. Il convient de ne pas oublier que les Membres administrants ont pris l'initiative de se consacrer au progrès des populations des territoires non autonomes et ont pris, librement aussi, l'engagement de communiquer à l'Assemblée générale des renseignements relatifs aux conditions économiques, sociales et de l'instruction dans ces territoires. L'Australie a elle-même connu la transition de la dépendance à l'autonomie complète; elle est donc en mesure de comprendre que le problème est extrêmement complexe et qu'il n'est pas possible de formuler de règles absolues. Le représentant de l'Australie demande à la Commission d'examiner le projet de résolution du Brésil en tenant compte des difficultés qui ont surgi à propos de la définition de l'autonomie complète; il propose que la Commission renonce à trouver une définition juridique. La délégation australienne considérera cette résolution non pas comme une interprétation juridique définitive de l'autonomie, mais plutôt comme une formule dans le cadre de laquelle elle pourra s'acquitter de ses responsabilités envers le territoire non autonome dont elle est responsable.

4. L'objection la plus importante contre la liste de facteurs contenue dans le rapport du Comité *ad hoc* (A/2428) réside en ce que l'indépendance y est considérée comme critère de l'autonomie complète. La délégation australienne estime que l'indépendance est sans rapport avec la question de l'autonomie. L'indépendance est un attribut externe alors que l'autonomie est un attribut interne, dont la réalisation est normalement suivie de l'indépendance extérieure. Toutefois, un territoire peut être autonome sans être indépendant, tout comme il peut être indépendant sans être autonome. Le rapport reconnaît aussi que le Comité *ad hoc* n'a pas été en mesure de définir l'autonomie complète. En conséquence, la Commission devra veiller, lors de l'examen du projet de résolution du Brésil, à ne pas donner l'impression de l'unanimité sur une question qui, en réalité, provoque un désaccord fondamental. Enfin, le rapport fait ressortir clairement que la liste de facteurs ne peut servir qu'à titre indicatif, mais qu'elle ne doit pas être considérée comme une série de règles absolues.

5. Les paragraphes 1 et 2 du dispositif du projet de résolution du Brésil prennent acte des conclusions du rapport du Comité *ad hoc* et approuvent la liste de facteurs contenue dans le rapport. La délégation australienne peut difficilement accepter le paragraphe 2, parce qu'elle estime qu'il est inutile d'approuver la liste si, dans le paragraphe premier, on se borne à prendre acte des conclusions du rapport.

6. Le paragraphe 6 du dispositif du projet de résolution semble être fondé sur l'hypothèse que la réalisation

* Numéro affecté à la question dans l'ordre du jour de l'Assemblée générale.

de l'autonomie est un acte complet. La délégation australienne estime qu'en fait l'autonomie s'atteint par étapes et sous des formes diverses. Etant donné que le Comité *ad hoc* n'a pas été en mesure de définir l'"autonomie complète", la délégation australienne ne peut approuver le paragraphe 6. Les Etats Membres qui se sont déclarés responsables de certains territoires non autonomes se sont engagés à communiquer des renseignements sur les conditions économiques, sociales et de l'instruction dans ces territoires. Le Comité des renseignements a tout pouvoir pour juger si les renseignements communiqués sont suffisants et pertinents. Toutefois, si le Comité des renseignements devait déclarer qu'un Membre administrant doit continuer à communiquer ces renseignements, malgré l'accord qu'il a conclu avec un territoire non autonome au sujet de toutes les questions sur lesquelles des renseignements doivent être communiqués, cela équivaldrait à demander audit Membre de supprimer l'autonomie convenue. Un territoire qui exerce un contrôle absolu sur les questions économiques, sociales et de l'instruction à l'intérieur de ses frontières est en mesure d'affirmer que le Membre administrant n'a pas le droit de continuer à rendre compte de ces questions à l'Assemblée générale. Si l'Assemblée générale exige que l'on continue à lui adresser des rapports de ce genre, elle n'encouragera pas l'autonomie dans les territoires non autonomes, ni n'aidera les Membres administrants à s'acquitter de leurs obligations.

7. Les paragraphes 7 et 8 du dispositif sont trop précis; la question des facteurs a été examinée à maintes reprises et si, compte tenu de l'expérience, la liste est jugée insuffisante, il est possible de conclure un arrangement au terme duquel elle sera révisée au bout de cinq ans ou de toute autre période dont on pourra convenir.

8. Malheureusement, le projet de résolution du Brésil a fait l'objet de toute une série d'amendements importants, présentés conjointement par un certain nombre de délégations (A/C.4/L.273 et Corr.1). Telle qu'elle serait amendée, cette résolution correspondrait à un point de vue diamétralement opposé à celui que les Membres administrants sont accusés de défendre. Le représentant de l'Australie invite la Commission à s'efforcer de parvenir à un compromis raisonnable sur cette question, de crainte que l'Assemblée générale n'adopte une résolution à laquelle il serait impossible de donner effet.

9. M. FRAZAO (Brésil) tient à répéter que la délégation brésilienne soutient, comme elle l'a toujours fait par le passé, que la décision concernant la cessation de la communication de renseignements sur un territoire non autonome appartient en dernier ressort à l'Assemblée générale.

10. De l'avis de la délégation brésilienne, il ne faut pas voir dans la Charte un accord multilatéral emportant certaines obligations juridiques. Elle était bien un contrat au moment où on l'a signée, mais elle a cessé de l'être. La Charte est un acte constitutif, qui détermine la compétence de l'Organisation des Nations Unies vis-à-vis des territoires non autonomes. L'Organisation des Nations Unies a assumé certaines des attributions des parties contractantes. Ses objectifs sont plus que la somme des objectifs des parties contractantes. Cette conception de l'institution est familière pour les pays où l'on a adopté les principes du Code Napoléon. C'est sur ce concept que le représentant du Brésil fonde sa déclaration relative à la juridiction institutionnelle des Nations Unies sur les territoires non autonomes.

11. M. Frazão estime que les amendements contenus dans le document A/C.4/L.273 et Corr.1 ne sont pas des amendements à proprement parler. Il est néanmoins disposé à accepter l'amendement premier.

12. Il ne saurait par contre approuver l'amendement 2, qui tend à supprimer le quatrième considérant du projet de résolution brésilien; à son avis, en effet, le droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes ne peut pas être considéré comme un facteur ou interprété de façon différente selon les cas. Il faut redonner au droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes son rang de postulat.

13. M. Frazão ne saurait davantage accepter l'amendement 5, qui ne fait que rétablir l'ancienne confusion entre principes généraux et circonstances propres à chaque cas.

14. Il n'a aucune objection à opposer à l'amendement 3 et pense même qu'il améliore le texte brésilien.

15. En ce qui concerne l'amendement 4, la délégation brésilienne approuve les termes du paragraphe 2 du dispositif de la résolution 648 (VII) de l'Assemblée générale, à savoir que chaque cas d'espèce doit être examiné et tranché en tenant compte des circonstances qui lui sont propres. Quant à la question de compétence, il ne peut faire de doute que le paragraphe 3 du projet de résolution brésilien signifie que l'Assemblée générale est compétente pour décider si un territoire est ou n'est plus visé par les dispositions du Chapitre XI de la Charte. La conclusion est indubitable, mais on a jugé préférable, étant donné les conflits d'opinions que cette question soulève à la Commission, de ne pas le dire catégoriquement de manière à éviter toute friction. Dans sa résolution 222 (III), l'Assemblée générale a déclaré que l'Organisation des Nations Unies doit nécessairement être informée de toute modification intervenue dans le statut de l'un quelconque des territoires non autonomes, afin qu'il soit possible de décider s'il y a lieu de poursuivre ou d'interrompre la communication de renseignements concernant ce territoire. De toute évidence, c'est là une obligation pour le Membre administrant et c'est à l'Assemblée générale qu'il appartient de décider. Il faut que les membres de la Quatrième Commission abordent la question à la lumière des principes généraux en cause, au lieu de chercher à marquer des points au cours du débat. La délégation brésilienne ne voit donc en principe aucun inconvénient — bien que cet amendement lui paraisse inutile — à ce que l'on remplace les mots "afin que l'on puisse décider" par les mots "afin que l'Assemblée générale puisse décider", au paragraphe 3 du projet de résolution brésilien. La rédaction qu'elle a proposée dit la même chose sans heurter les Membres administrants.

16. En ce qui concerne l'amendement 6 qui vise à ajouter deux nouveaux paragraphes, les paragraphes 5 et 6, M. Frazão estime que le texte brésilien dit la même chose, de façon plus heureuse et en termes plus généraux. Les aspirations des populations doivent être connues, non seulement dans le cas où il y a association, mais dans tous les cas, y compris l'intégration dans le territoire métropolitain. Le paragraphe 4 du dispositif du projet de résolution brésilien recommande déjà d'accorder une importance primordiale aux éléments qui prouveraient que la population intéressée a exercé son droit à disposer d'elle-même. En insistant sur le principe du droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes dans certains cas particuliers, les auteurs de l'amendement affaiblissent plutôt la portée générale de ce principe, qui doit être une considération primordiale dans tous les cas. Le nouveau paragraphe 6 proposé dans l'amendement a

tendance à grouper un trop grand nombre d'idées dans un seul paragraphe. Il est un peu illogique d'approuver la liste des facteurs tout en laissant entendre que les trois formes d'autonomie n'ont pas la même valeur. La délégation brésilienne reconnaît que le but de l'évolution politique dans les territoires non autonomes doit être l'indépendance complète et la qualité de Membre de l'Organisation des Nations Unies; mais il n'en reste pas moins que le Chapitre XI de la Charte contient la notion d'autonomie sur le plan intérieur, forme de souveraineté politique interne qui n'est pas encore l'indépendance. Un Etat pourrait se sentir en droit, en s'appuyant sur le Chapitre XI, de ne plus communiquer de renseignements lorsqu'une population a librement choisi un système d'intégration ou d'association qui la laisse libre d'orienter sa politique intérieure tout en laissant à un autre Etat les attributs de la souveraineté sur le plan des relations internationales. Le paragraphe 6 proposé remet donc en question un point que le Comité *ad hoc* a déjà réglé.

17. La délégation brésilienne est disposée à accepter les amendements 7 et 8 qui améliorent le texte brésilien.

18. M. FRAZÃO ne comprend pas le sens de l'amendement 9, qui tend à modifier comme suit le paragraphe 7 du projet de résolution brésilien: "Charge le Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes d'étudier toute documentation qui...". Il est disposé à accepter cet amendement si ce dernier vise simplement à abrégier le texte, mais non pas s'il vise à écarter les dispositions du paragraphe 2 de la résolution 448 (V). La délégation brésilienne estime que, lorsqu'il s'agit de favoriser le progrès des territoires non autonomes, le Comité des renseignements a un rôle important à jouer, rôle que l'on ne doit pas chercher à amoindrir.

19. M. FRAZÃO est d'avis que le texte du dernier paragraphe proposé dans l'amendement 10 semble mettre en doute par avance la valeur de la liste de facteurs; il préfère donc le texte initial, à savoir le paragraphe 8 du projet de résolution brésilien.

20. Le représentant du Brésil espère qu'après avoir entendu ses explications, les Membres administrants accepteront le texte brésilien. Il espère également qu'ils voudront bien faire preuve de bonne volonté, consentir quelques concessions et, par là même, inaugurer une ère nouvelle dans les relations entre les Membres administrants et les Membres non administrants.

21. M. KOUTCHKAROV (Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques) déclare que si la délégation de l'URSS souscrit d'une manière générale à la première partie de la liste de facteurs approuvée par le Comité *ad hoc*, elle ne peut accepter les deuxième et troisième parties de la liste, qui ne lui donnent aucunement satisfaction. En effet, ces parties n'envisagent pas que les territoires non autonomes deviennent finalement des Etats indépendants et souverains; en outre, elles permettent que leur souveraineté soit limitée et que d'autres interviennent dans leurs affaires intérieures. C'est pourquoi M. Koutchkarov ne peut approuver le quatrième considérant du projet de résolution du Brésil. Il votera contre l'adoption de toutes les parties du projet de résolution qui impliqueraient que la Commission approuve la liste de facteurs dans son ensemble, mais pour l'adoption des paragraphes 1, 4, 5, 6 et 8. Il demande qu'il soit procédé au vote paragraphe par paragraphe.

22. M. SPITS (Pays-Bas) n'élève, d'une manière générale, aucune objection contre le dispositif du projet

de résolution, dans la mesure où ce texte charge le Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes de tenir compte de la liste de facteurs dans l'étude de cas concrets. Lorsqu'un Membre administrant cesse de communiquer des renseignements il est normal, ne fût-ce d'ailleurs que par courtoisie, qu'il informe l'Assemblée générale des motifs de sa décision. Il est logique aussi que le Comité des renseignements examine ces motifs. Mais l'Assemblée générale n'en a pas pour autant qualité pour approuver ou désapprouver le Membre administrant qui cesse de communiquer des renseignements. Plusieurs représentants ont fondé la compétence de l'Assemblée sur les termes du Chapitre XI de la Charte, assimilé par eux à un accord international. M. Spits est disposé dans une certaine mesure à admettre le bien-fondé de cette affirmation pourvu que l'on reconnaisse que le Chapitre XI a été introduit comme un énoncé de principes. L'imprécision du Chapitre XI est un fait bien connu. Aussi la Commission aurait-elle intérêt à s'en remettre à la pratique pour dissiper ses doutes. En 1946, les Membres administrants ont indiqué les territoires au sujet desquels ils étaient disposés à communiquer des renseignements et, par sa résolution 66 (I), l'Assemblée générale a pris note — sans l'approuver — de la liste de ces territoires. Dans ces conditions, on voit mal pourquoi la décision de cesser de communiquer des renseignements devrait être soumise à l'approbation de l'Assemblée. C'est là l'objection principale que la délégation néerlandaise élève contre le projet de résolution. De plus, le paragraphe 6 est rédigé en termes vagues et équivoques. C'est pourquoi, tout en appréciant les excellentes intentions de la délégation du Brésil, la délégation des Pays-Bas devra voter contre le projet de résolution et, en vertu des mêmes principes, contre les amendements des onze Puissances.

23. M. SCOTT (Nouvelle-Zélande) demande si les mesures proposées à l'Assemblée générale tiennent compte des réalités. La délégation néo-zélandaise a eu maintes fois l'occasion de définir son attitude et il n'a pas jugé nécessaire d'intervenir dans la discussion générale. M. Scott espérait que la Commission serait disposée à adopter simplement la liste de facteurs et à reconnaître la difficulté que présente la définition d'expressions telles que "territoires non autonomes" et "l'autonomie complète". L'absence de définitions valables de ces expressions sera toujours une cause de mésentente entre les Membres administrants et les autres Etats Membres, et il serait plus sage de ne pas aller aussi loin que le propose le projet de résolution et plus spécialement aussi loin que le proposent les amendements envisagés. Il est certainement contraire aux intérêts des populations non autonomes de perpétuer le désaccord qui oppose les Membres administrants aux autres Etats Membres. C'est pourquoi la délégation néo-zélandaise n'a pas répondu à la demande par laquelle le Secrétaire général invitait le Gouvernement de la Nouvelle-Zélande à présenter des observations au sujet de la liste de facteurs.

24. Au sujet de la question principale, qui est celle de la compétence de l'Assemblée générale, la position de la délégation néo-zélandaise est très nette. Chaque Etat Membre est seul compétent pour décider si les territoires placés sous sa souveraineté ou sa juridiction tombent sous le coup du Chapitre XI de la Charte, et, pareillement, pour décider du moment auquel ces territoires ont atteint dans leur développement le stade auquel les obligations que lui impose l'Article 73 cessent de s'appliquer. C'est pourquoi M. Scott votera contre

l'adoption de tout paragraphe qui impliquerait que la responsabilité d'une telle décision pourrait être partagée entre les Membres administrants et l'Assemblée générale.

25. Mme SKOTTSBERG-AHMAN (Suède) annonce que la délégation suédoise est disposée à approuver la liste de facteurs dans sa teneur actuelle et à appuyer le projet de résolution du Brésil dans la mesure où il recommande que cette liste serve de guide. La délégation suédoise a toujours soutenu que la liste ne devrait servir qu'à titre indicatif et que l'on devrait tenir compte des circonstances propres à chaque cas concret. C'est l'idée qui est énoncée au paragraphe 3. Mais le paragraphe 6, par une sorte d'inconséquence, semble vouloir poser une règle rigoureuse, qui ne permettrait pas de tenir compte des circonstances particulières à chaque cas. De plus, l'impossibilité de définir l'expression "l'autonomie complète" aux fins de l'application du Chapitre XI de la Charte est un fait reconnu; c'est pourquoi il est douteux qu'on puisse valablement faire de l'acquisition de ce statut qui échappe à toute définition la condition préalable de l'autonomie économique, sociale ou culturelle d'un territoire. Pour toutes ces raisons, la délégation suédoise votera contre le paragraphe 6, et, si celui-ci est maintenu, elle s'abstiendra de voter sur le projet de résolution dans son ensemble.

26. Les amendements des onze Puissances soulignent la compétence de l'Assemblée générale sans presque faire état de celle des Membres administrants. C'est sur ce point surtout que les vues des membres de la Commission diffèrent et il ne serait pas raisonnable d'élargir et de perpétuer le fossé qui sépare les Membres administrants des Etats Membres qui n'administrent pas de territoires non autonomes. Il n'y aurait aucun intérêt à adopter des définitions rigoureuses que les Membres administrants, dont la coopération est pourtant indispensable, n'accepteraient certainement pas. C'est pourquoi la délégation suédoise votera contre les amendements. S'ils sont acceptés, elle sera tenue de voter contre le projet de résolution dans son ensemble.

27. M. PATTERSON (Canada) déclare que sa délégation reconnaît pleinement la valeur des travaux du Comité *ad hoc* et n'a aucune objection de principe à formuler contre l'étude d'une liste de facteurs ni contre la liste elle-même, car une telle liste pourrait faciliter l'examen de certaines des questions dont s'occupent la Commission et le Conseil de tutelle et qui pourrait être de quelque utilité pour les Puissances administrantes. Dans ces conditions, la délégation canadienne peut accepter les paragraphes 1 et 2 du projet de résolution brésilien.

28. Pour les raisons que le représentant canadien a exposées devant la Quatrième Commission (273^{ème} séance) lors de la septième session, M. Patterson se voit contraint de s'élever contre le principe énoncé dans le paragraphe 6 et contre ceux qui sont sous-entendus dans les paragraphes 3 et 7. Les représentants d'un pays tel que le Canada peuvent difficilement accepter le principe énoncé dans le paragraphe 6. En effet, le Canada est un pays qui, à un certain stade de son évolution constitutionnelle, jouissait d'une autonomie complète dans les domaines économique, social et de l'enseignement, sans cependant s'administrer complètement lui-même. En ce qui concerne la rédaction des paragraphes 3 et 7, la délégation canadienne ne saurait admettre que l'Organisation des Nations Unies soit seule habilitée à décider si un territoire est encore ou n'est plus non autonome ou que tous les Membres admi-

nistrants doivent continuer à transmettre des renseignements jusqu'au moment où les objectifs du Chapitre XI de la Charte ont été atteints. Les territoires non autonomes doivent normalement progresser par étapes dans la voie de l'autonomie et, à un moment donné, ils parviendront à un stade où les Membres administrants n'exerceront plus un contrôle effectif et réel sur les domaines à propos desquels ils doivent fournir des renseignements. En toute logique, ils ne seraient plus tenus alors de fournir des renseignements, ce qui n'impliquerait pas pour autant qu'ils cesseraient de devoir, conformément au Chapitre XI, favoriser l'accès à l'autonomie complète du territoire en cause.

29. La délégation canadienne est reconnaissante à la délégation brésilienne de l'effort qu'elle a fait pour parvenir à un compromis et est heureuse que le projet de résolution n'envisage pas une étude permanente des facteurs par un Comité spécial. La délégation canadienne doute vivement que l'on puisse parvenir à une solution plus satisfaisante en poursuivant les études. Néanmoins, les objections que M. Patterson a formulées intéressent des problèmes tellement fondamentaux que sa délégation ne saurait appuyer le projet de résolution de la délégation du Brésil tel qu'il est rédigé actuellement. Sous réserve de ces observations, elle est prête à approuver la liste de facteurs qui figure dans le rapport du Comité *ad hoc*, à condition qu'on l'utilise uniquement comme guide et qu'elle ne soit pas considérée comme une formule rigide que l'Assemblée générale appliquerait d'une manière automatique à tous les territoires non autonomes. La délégation canadienne s'opposera aux amendements des onze Puissances et à tout autre amendement à la proposition de la délégation brésilienne qui pourraient aller à l'encontre des principes fondamentaux qui l'ont inspirée.

30. M. NAJAR (Israël) pense que le mandat de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, tel qu'il se trouve défini tout au long de la Charte, ainsi que les attributions dont l'Assemblée générale est investie en vertu de l'Article 10 sont suffisamment étendus pour que la Commission n'ait pas à discuter de la compétence et des pouvoirs de l'Assemblée. Il semble qu'on ait généralement tendance à confondre la compétence et les pouvoirs de l'Assemblée. Il est évident que l'Assemblée reçoit les renseignements prévus par l'Article 73 ainsi que des documents relatifs à la cessation de la transmission de renseignements, afin de pouvoir exprimer un avis. Ce n'est donc pas sa compétence en ce qui concerne le vote de recommandations qui est en cause, mais ses pouvoirs et ses droits touchant la possibilité de traduire ces recommandations dans les faits.

31. Au cours de la discussion générale, M. Najar a fait savoir que la délégation israélienne préférerait examiner séparément chaque cas de cessation de transmission de renseignements, compte tenu des circonstances particulières. D'une manière générale, si l'Assemblée désire conserver son prestige et continuer à travailler de manière efficace il faut que les recommandations qu'elle formule tiennent compte des réalités. En adoptant des résolutions sur le plan théorique, l'Assemblée risquerait d'entrer en conflit avec la réalité.

32. Dans le cas dont il s'agit, les Membres administrants pensent qu'il appartient à eux seuls de décider s'ils doivent continuer ou non à transmettre des renseignements. Si l'Assemblée devait affirmer dans une résolution solennelle et de principe que les pouvoirs dont il est question lui appartiennent exclusivement, elle pourrait fort bien découvrir que l'évolution consti-

tutionnelle des territoires non autonomes ne se fait pas conformément aux résolutions qu'elle adopte. Ce serait là chose fort regrettable. L'Assemblée générale devrait hésiter à s'aventurer dans des conflits déclarés de ce genre et les Membres administrants et non administrants feraient bien d'observer la vieille maxime diplomatique "Toujours négocier".

33. La délégation israélienne aurait préféré que l'on se bornât à adopter une liste de facteurs, différant toute décision sur les questions de principe théoriques soulevées dans le projet de résolution de la délégation du Brésil jusqu'au moment où la Commission aura appliqué le critère des facteurs aux deux cas concrets de cessation de renseignements qu'elle examinera prochainement. Bien qu'elle doute de l'opportunité d'affirmer en principe la compétence de l'Assemblée générale, plutôt qu'à l'occasion de chaque cas particulier, la délégation israélienne appréciera le projet de résolution sur ce point, tout en réservant sa position en ce qui concerne la définition des termes. Une telle définition équivaldrait à interpréter la Charte, ce qui ne devrait pas être fait dans une résolution, d'autant plus que plusieurs délégations ont déclaré à l'Organisation des Nations Unies qu'il serait sage de demander sur les questions controversées l'avis de la Cour internationale de Justice.

34. M. MENDEZ (Philippines) déclare que la discussion a fait nettement apparaître que l'Assemblée générale doit nécessairement intervenir dans la décision relative à la cessation de la transmission de renseignements. Il est évident que si l'Article 73, e, prévoit la transmission de renseignements, c'est pour aider l'Assemblée générale à déterminer si la situation dans les territoires non autonomes peut être jugée comme satisfaisante, compte tenu des dispositions de la Charte. Il en résulte implicitement que l'Assemblée générale a le droit de décider à quel moment il n'est plus nécessaire de continuer à communiquer des renseignements. On ne trouve rien dans le Chapitre XI qui permette de prouver que les Membres administrants peuvent agir de façon unilatérale. Quoi qu'il en soit, des échanges de vues et des accords valent toujours mieux que des décisions unilatérales et l'on pourrait améliorer le paragraphe 3 du projet de résolution brésilien en ajoutant les mots "dans les consultations auxquelles elles procéderont" après les mots "à l'Assemblée générale de prendre pour guide" et en ajoutant, après les mots "que l'on puisse décider", les mots "d'un commun accord".

35. M. LANNUNG (Danemark) indique qu'il n'a pas l'intention d'étudier quant au fond les amendements proposés, mais il aimerait que leurs auteurs lui fournissent quelques éclaircissements.

36. L'amendement 3 semble impliquer que la liste des facteurs est acceptée telle qu'elle est, ou avec des amendements d'importance secondaire; en fait, cette liste a déjà été acceptée par trois des auteurs des amendements, le Guatemala, l'Irak et le Venezuela, qui étaient membres du Comité *ad hoc* pour l'étude des facteurs. Cependant, le nouveau paragraphe 6 que l'on propose d'ajouter semble être, sinon en complète contradiction avec l'amendement 3, tout au moins illogique. L'orateur propose de donner à ce paragraphe la rédaction suivante: "Considère que c'est avant tout en accédant à l'indépendance, ou encore en s'associant à un Etat ou à un groupe d'Etats, à condition que cette association soit effectuée librement et sur un pied d'égalité absolue, que les territoires visés au Chapitre XI de la Charte peuvent atteindre l'autonomie complète."

37. M. DJERDJA (Yougoslavie) déclare que les amendements proposés à la liste des facteurs (A/C.4/L.274), que sa délégation propose avec d'autres, contiennent les propositions constructives qui ont été faites par différentes délégations au cours du débat consacré au rapport du Comité *ad hoc*. Ces amendements sont inspirés par la conviction que si l'essentiel du travail de rédaction de la liste des facteurs a été fait, il importe néanmoins de mettre cette liste au point pour tenir compte des hautes responsabilités de l'Assemblée générale et de l'esprit de notre époque.

38. L'élaboration d'une liste des facteurs n'est pas une œuvre abstraite ou théorique. Le but essentiel d'une telle liste, qui doit être conçue sous une forme aussi utile et aussi pratique que possible, est d'aider l'Organisation des Nations Unies à protéger les territoires non autonomes. Comme M. Djerdja l'a dit déjà, les populations de ces territoires ont placé de grands espoirs dans l'Organisation des Nations Unies qui ne doit pas les décevoir ou créer une situation qui contraindrait les populations intéressées à suivre une autre voie et à rechercher des solutions différentes, ce qui pourrait avoir des conséquences graves pour la paix mondiale.

39. Il est possible que certaines délégations jugent que les amendements proposés sont inacceptables et ne peuvent être conciliés avec leur manière de voir et leur interprétation de la Charte. Néanmoins, la délégation yougoslave estime qu'il est de son devoir, aujourd'hui plus que jamais, de défendre la cause des populations des territoires non autonomes, à la fois pour des raisons de principe et pour des raisons pratiques, aussi longtemps que ce problème demeurera à l'ordre du jour. La délégation yougoslave serait très heureuse si ce problème disparaissait de l'ordre du jour du fait que ces populations auraient acquis un statut égal à celui des peuples libres du monde, mais puisqu'elles n'y sont pas encore parvenues la seule solution possible est de lutter dans le cadre de la Charte, et en tenant compte des exigences de notre temps, pour améliorer la situation des populations des territoires non autonomes et pour hâter leur évolution vers un avenir meilleur.

40. La délégation yougoslave est convaincue que les amendements proposés rendraient la liste des facteurs plus claire et plus précise. Un seul amendement a été proposé pour la première partie de la liste et cet amendement rend plus claire l'idée qu'il s'agit d'exprimer sans en modifier la substance. La proposition tendant à changer la place des facteurs A. 1 et A. 2 dans la deuxième partie de la liste est due au fait que de nombreuses délégations ont souligné que l'opinion des populations des territoires non autonomes devait constituer le facteur fondamental. Ce principe justifie l'introduction d'un nouveau facteur A. 2, liberté de choix, car il est bien évident que les populations doivent pour exprimer leurs opinions en toute liberté avoir le choix entre plusieurs possibilités, y compris l'indépendance.

41. C'est de ce même facteur que découle la nécessité d'introduire le facteur A. 3 et dans une certaine mesure d'en modifier le libellé, étant donné les conditions dans lesquelles les décisions modifiant le statut des territoires non autonomes sont fréquemment prises.

42. Les mêmes observations s'appliquent également aux amendements proposés à la troisième partie de la liste des facteurs, qui serait ainsi rendue un peu plus précise et plus complète. L'opinion librement exprimée des populations suppose l'association sur un pied

d'égalité et il s'ensuit qu'il ne saurait y avoir d'association sur la base de la constitution de la métropole.

43. M. KHOMAN (Thaïlande) estime que la liste des facteurs pourrait utilement servir de guide à l'Assemblée générale et aux Membres administrants lorsqu'il s'agit de déterminer le statut d'un territoire et s'il y a lieu de continuer à communiquer des renseignements sur ce territoire. C'est de toute évidence le Membre administrant intéressé, chargé de conduire les affaires d'un territoire conformément aux principes énoncés par la Charte, qui doit décider s'il y a lieu de continuer à transmettre des renseignements. Cependant, lorsqu'une décision a été prise, elle peut être modifiée par l'Organisation des Nations Unies conformément au principe énoncé à l'Article 73; dans le cas contraire, l'Organisation des Nations Unies renoncerait à exercer l'une des attributions essentielles que lui confère la Charte. La Thaïlande est prête à donner son appui au principe selon lequel l'autonomie complète ne saurait être soumise à certaines conditions, mais, s'il est exact que l'autonomie a plusieurs aspects, elle doit porter sur les domaines politique, économique et social.

44. M. Khoman déclare qu'il votera pour le projet de résolution proposé par le Brésil. Il n'est pas en mesure d'accepter certains des amendements proposés et en particulier ceux qui figurent au paragraphe 6. Si le vote sur ces amendements a lieu par division, il s'abstiendra sur certains d'entre eux.

45. M. ESPINOSA Y PRIETO (Mexique), répondant à la critique que le représentant du Danemark a formulée contre le nouveau projet de paragraphe 6, précise que les mots "en accédant à l'indépendance" sont précédés dans le document A/C.4/L.273 et Corr.1 des mots "avant tout", rédaction qui ne figurait pas dans le premier projet d'amendements auquel s'est référé le représentant du Danemark.

46. M. DE MARCHENA (République Dominicaine) propose qu'étant donné la difficulté et l'importance de cette question, la discussion soit renvoyée au jeudi 8 octobre.

47. M. DE HOLTE CASTELLO (Colombie) appuie cette proposition.

48. M. L. S. BOKHARI (Pakistan) se réfère aux observations formulées par le représentant de la France à la séance précédente et explique qu'en employant l'expression "liste noire", lors de son intervention à la 323ème séance, il n'avait aucunement l'intention d'être désobligeant. Il reconnaît que les Puissances administrantes accomplissent dans les territoires non autonomes une tâche honorable et difficile. Il avait simplement voulu dire que si le nom d'un territoire demeurerait indéfiniment sur la liste des territoires non autonomes, on pourrait arriver à concevoir certains doutes.

La séance est levée à 17 h. 25.

Nations Unies
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51 **QUATRIEME COMMISSION, 328^e**

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à 10 h. 50**

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Facteurs dont il convient de tenir compte pour décider si un territoire est, ou n'est pas, un territoire dont les populations ne s'administrent pas complètement elles-mêmes: rapport du Comité *ad hoc* pour l'étude des facteurs (territoires non autonomes) [suite]..... 79

Président: M. Santiago PEREZ PEREZ (Venezuela).

Facteurs dont il convient de tenir compte pour décider si un territoire est, ou n'est pas, un territoire dont les populations ne s'administrent pas complètement elles-mêmes: rapport du Comité *ad hoc* pour l'étude des facteurs (territoires non autonomes) [A/2428, A/C.4/L.272, A/C.4/L.273 et Corr.1, A/C.4/L.274, A/C.4/L.275] (suite)

[Point 33 *]

1. Le **PRESIDENT** appelle l'attention des membres de la Commission sur un amendement des Philippines (A/C.4/L.275) au projet de résolution du Brésil (A/C.4/L.272). Il précise que cet amendement avait été présenté verbalement à la séance précédente, c'est-à-dire avant l'expiration des délais fixés par la Commission.

2. Le **Président** donne la parole au représentant de l'Iran, qui avait réservé son droit d'intervenir dans la discussion générale.

3. **M. GHASSEMZADEH** (Iran) souligne que la question des facteurs touche de très près des dizaines de millions d'hommes, qui, malgré les différences qui existent entre eux quant à la race, la langue, la religion, les mœurs, la culture ou la situation géographique du territoire qu'ils habitent, n'en constituent pas moins une partie inaliénable de la communauté humaine. S'inspirant des principes que l'on a pu énoncer à la suite de la deuxième guerre mondiale, les Etats Membres qui ont participé à la Conférence de San-Francisco ont consacré le Chapitre XI de la Charte aux territoires non autonomes et les deux chapitres suivants au régime international de tutelle. En ce qui concerne les territoires non autonomes, les Membres administrants ont reconnu, en vertu de l'Article 73, le principe de la primauté des intérêts des habitants de ces territoires; ils ont accepté comme une mission sacrée de favoriser leur prospérité. A cette fin, ils ont pris vis-à-vis de la communauté internationale les engagements énumérés aux alinéas a et b de l'Article 73. Pour que l'Organisation des Nations Unies puisse contrôler l'exécution de ces dispositions il a été prévu que les Membres administrants communiqueraient régulière-

ment au Secrétaire général les renseignements visés à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73.

4. Pour déterminer le sens véritable de l'Article 73 et connaître les vues et les intentions des Membres administrants à ce sujet, il suffit de se reporter aux déclarations prononcées à San-Francisco par le représentant des Pays-Bas et le représentant du Royaume-Uni. On peut en retrouver le texte dans le document A/AC.67/L.1 (par. 46, 48 et 49). Le représentant des Pays-Bas avait déclaré que lorsque le développement des institutions économiques, sociales et politiques d'un territoire dépendant atteignait un certain stade, on parvenait inévitablement au but. L'instauration d'un gouvernement autonome pouvait prendre la forme d'une association permanente sur un pied d'égalité au sein d'une même communauté ou celle de la création d'une nation indépendante, selon ce que décidaient les habitants du territoire intéressé. Le représentant du Royaume-Uni avait comparé les empires coloniaux normalement constitués à une échelle, dont les peuples non autonomes gravissaient les divers degrés au fur et à mesure qu'ils atteignaient une plus grande autonomie. Il avait cité l'exemple de l'Empire britannique et du Commonwealth, où l'on trouvait des peuples primitifs qui ne pouvaient participer que dans une mesure très limitée à la gestion de leurs affaires, puis des territoires dont les peuples prenaient une part de plus en plus grande à l'administration de leur pays et dont certains jouissaient d'un degré élevé d'autonomie locale, et enfin, les grands dominions indépendants. Il avait ajouté que cette conception progressive, dynamique, était celle qui s'imposait, que les territoires dépendants ne pouvaient courir les risques que comporte une indépendance pour laquelle ils étaient mal préparés et qu'il fallait les entraîner progressivement à assurer la direction de leurs propres affaires afin qu'ils soient prêts à recevoir l'indépendance à laquelle ils accéderaient un jour.

5. La délégation iranienne estime elle aussi que des populations très arriérées ne peuvent prétendre à l'indépendance, ni même à l'autonomie complète, ces deux états devant être précédés d'une évolution politique, économique et sociale des populations intéressées. A cet égard, aucune divergence de vues ne peut exister entre Puissances administrantes et Puissances non administrantes. Cependant, les Puissances administrantes doivent reconnaître qu'en vertu du Chapitre XI de la Charte, elles se sont formellement engagées à préparer les peuples dépendants, si arriérés soient-ils, à l'autonomie complète et même à l'indépendance. Un peuple ne peut rester indéfiniment soumis à l'exploitation économique et à la domination politique d'un autre peuple. Le Chapitre XI ne peut aucunement être considéré comme une déclaration unilatérale des Puissances administrantes. Il contient des engagements vis-à-vis de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, il constitue une partie inaliénable de la Charte et, comme tous les autres chapitres, il a été signé par tous les Etats Membres et

* Numéro affecté à la question dans l'ordre du jour de l'Assemblée générale.

ratifié par leurs organes législatifs. En outre, conformément au principe — consacré par la Charte — du droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes, tous les peuples dépendants qui ont atteint un degré suffisant de développement pourront se déclarer indépendants.

6. En ce qui concerne la définition de la notion d'autonomie complète, la délégation iranienne croit qu'il n'est pas possible de trouver une définition précise et complète qui soit applicable à tous les cas particuliers. Elle croit également que la liste des facteurs ne peut avoir que la valeur d'un ensemble d'indications générales et que chaque cas particulier devra être tranché à la lumière des circonstances qui lui sont propres.

7. Enfin, en ce qui concerne la question de compétence, le représentant de l'Iran déclare qu'on n'est pas fondé à invoquer le paragraphe 7 de l'Article 2 de la Charte pour défendre la thèse de la compétence exclusive des Puissances administrantes; en effet, cette disposition ne s'applique qu'aux domaines dont il n'est pas question dans la Charte.

8. La délégation iranienne appuiera tout projet de résolution et tout amendement qui ne seront pas contraires aux vues que M. Ghassemzadeh vient d'exposer.

9. M. ESPINOSA Y PRIETO (Mexique) déclare que les auteurs de l'amendement commun (A/C.4/L.273 et Corr.1) envisageaient tout d'abord de présenter un projet de résolution. Toutefois, comme la délégation du Brésil a été la première à déposer un texte sur le même sujet, le projet commun a pris, par la force des choses, la forme d'une série d'amendements. Les délégations en question ont également présenté une série d'amendements (A/C.4/L.274) à la liste de facteurs établie par le Comité *ad hoc* (A/2428, section VI). M. Espinosa y Prieto voudrait donner en premier lieu quelques explications sur cette dernière proposition, étant donné que le texte en a été distribué plus récemment que celui des amendements au projet de résolution du Brésil.

10. Les auteurs des amendements à la liste de facteurs ne pensent pas, contrairement à ce que préconise le représentant du Brésil, que la Commission puisse adopter la liste de facteurs sous sa forme actuelle. Cependant, quoi que les vives divergences de vues qui se sont manifestées lors du débat puissent permettre de penser, ces amendements n'apportent à la liste aucune modification profonde. Il s'agit, à quelques exceptions près, d'amendements de rédaction. C'est ainsi, par exemple, que les amendements communs visent à remplacer le texte qui figure au facteur A.4 du texte initial de la première partie par la formule suivante: "*Défense nationale*. Droit souverain d'assurer sa défense nationale." Cette formule convient mieux que la formule initiale pour indiquer qu'un Etat a accédé à l'indépendance, sans porter nullement atteinte au droit d'un Etat souverain de conclure des accords régionaux pour assurer sa défense. D'autres modifications de forme ont pour objet de faire passer dans la deuxième partie des facteurs qui sont énumérés dans la troisième, et inversement. C'est le cas, notamment, des facteurs relatifs aux considérations d'ordre géographique — actuellement inscrits dans la troisième partie, et du facteur relatif à la compétence en matière économique, sociale et culturelle — qui figure actuellement dans la deuxième partie. D'autre part, les amendements communs visent à changer l'ordre de certains facteurs selon leur degré d'importance et à modifier le titre de la deuxième et de la troisième parties: dans le texte initial, la deuxième et la troisième parties

concernent toutes les deux une association à laquelle participe le territoire et il serait parfois difficile de déterminer si c'est la deuxième ou la troisième partie qui s'applique à un territoire donné. L'amendement commun dissipe toute confusion sur ce point.

11. Les amendements de fond sont au nombre de trois: ils concernent respectivement la liberté pour la population de choisir entre plusieurs possibilités, y compris l'indépendance, en vertu du droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes; la limitation volontaire de souveraineté, disposition où il est précisé que la population d'un territoire qui s'est associé à la métropole conserve à tout moment la liberté de modifier ce statut en exprimant sa volonté par des voies démocratiques (une disposition analogue serait introduite dans la troisième partie); le droit de modifier le statut du territoire compte tenu de la question de savoir s'il fait ou non l'objet d'une revendication ou d'une contestation de la part d'un autre Etat.

12. Ces amendements ne constituent nullement une critique de l'excellent travail accompli par le Comité *ad hoc*; mais, étant donné l'importance de la liste de facteurs que la Commission est appelée à adopter, les auteurs des amendements communs ont estimé qu'ils ne pouvaient l'appuyer en toute conscience sans y apporter les modifications qu'ils jugeaient nécessaires.

13. M. Espinosa y Prieto en vient alors aux amendements des onze délégations (A/C.4/L.273 et Corr.1) au projet de résolution du Brésil (A/C.4/L.272). Il tient tout d'abord à remercier le représentant de la France d'avoir reconnu que ces amendements avaient le mérite d'apporter de la clarté dans les travaux de la Commission. Si ces amendements ont recueilli un si large appui, c'est qu'ils sont purs de toute intransigeance et de toute hostilité. C'est ainsi qu'en ce qui concerne la question de compétence, le texte des amendements se borne à déclarer que l'Assemblée est compétente pour examiner les principes qui doivent guider l'Organisation et les Etats Membres en la matière et faire des recommandations à leur sujet, ce qui équivaut simplement à rappeler les pouvoirs indiscutables de l'Assemblée. M. Espinosa y Prieto pense que la question de savoir si l'Assemblée peut prendre une décision pourra être résolue, et que le malentendu qui s'est élevé à cet égard pourra être dissipé étant donné le désir de coopération et d'harmonie qui anime les membres de la Commission. De l'avis de très nombreuses délégations, il ne fait aucun doute qu'après avoir accepté certaines obligations vis-à-vis de l'Assemblée générale, les Puissances administrantes ne peuvent s'y soustraire par une action unilatérale. D'aucuns ont prétendu que les Puissances administrantes étaient seules compétentes, que le rôle de l'Assemblée se bornait à prendre acte de la déclaration par laquelle la Puissance administrante intéressée lui fait savoir qu'un territoire non autonome a cessé de relever du Chapitre XI, et que l'Assemblée ne pouvait ni étudier l'affaire, ni exprimer une opinion. Pour la délégation mexicaine, cet état de choses serait inconcevable et porterait atteinte au prestige de l'Organisation. Néanmoins, les amendements ne visent pas à conférer à l'Assemblée un pouvoir que la Charte ne lui aurait pas attribué. En vertu de ces amendements, l'Assemblée pourrait examiner chaque cas et se prononcer par une résolution; au cas où elle aboutirait à une conclusion contraire à celle de la Puissance administrante intéressée, l'Assemblée pourrait recommander à celle-ci de continuer à communiquer des renseignements. Si la Puissance administrante se refuse à suivre cette recommandation, perspective que

la délégation mexicaine envisagerait avec le plus profond regret, rien ne peut l'y contraindre.

14. L'amendement 5 mentionne le droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes; c'est à dessein que ce principe essentiel, qui doit régler le destin de l'humanité, a été réaffirmé. Au paragraphe 6 proposé dans l'amendement 6, les auteurs ont souligné que c'est avant tout en accédant à l'indépendance que les territoires non autonomes peuvent atteindre à l'autonomie complète; cependant, le texte n'exclut pas la possibilité d'une association du territoire avec un ou plusieurs Etats dans les conditions énumérées aux deuxième et troisième parties de la liste de facteurs. La délégation mexicaine apprécie comme ils le méritent les avantages d'un système analogue à celui du Commonwealth; cependant, elle préfère l'indépendance, expression d'un autre principe consacré dans la Charte et auquel les peuples de l'Amérique latine sont très profondément attachés. Des pays comme les Etats-Unis, la France, le Royaume-Uni, la Belgique, les Pays-Bas, dont les populations sont si profondément attachées à la notion d'indépendance et dont l'exemple a guidé les hommes luttant pour leur indépendance, porteraient atteinte à leur prestige s'ils semblaient refuser à d'autres territoires cette indépendance dont ils jouissent actuellement.

15. En terminant, M. Espinosa y Prieto tient à assurer les Membres administrants que les auteurs de l'amendement commun sont animés de la plus grande objectivité; ils ne sous-estiment pas l'œuvre accomplie par ces Membres, ni l'ampleur des problèmes qui se posent à eux tant en ce qui concerne les territoires non autonomes qu'en ce qui concerne l'opinion publique métropolitaine, qui accueille parfois avec une certaine défiance l'accès des peuples dépendants à l'autonomie.

16. Lord HUDSON (Royaume-Uni) ne peut cacher la surprise qu'il éprouve devant la tournure que les débats ont prise au cours des dernières séances. Nouveau venu à la Commission, le représentant du Royaume-Uni pensait participer à une discussion féconde dont les résultats auraient contribué, conformément à l'idéal humanitaire si élevé de la Charte des Nations Unies, à favoriser la prospérité des territoires dont les populations ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes, et à encourager dans leur tâche — souvent ingrate — les administrateurs qui s'efforcent d'améliorer la situation de ces territoires.

17. La question de l'établissement d'une liste de facteurs a déjà fait l'objet de longues recherches. Le dernier Comité *ad hoc* pour l'étude des facteurs a déposé un rapport (A/2428) que ses membres ont adopté à l'unanimité; au début de la discussion générale, la Commission paraissait généralement disposée à adopter la présente liste comme étant la plus satisfaisante qu'il fût possible d'élaborer actuellement. Il est donc fort surprenant de constater qu'un certain nombre de délégations — dont trois délégations qui faisaient partie du Comité *ad hoc* — ont proposé d'apporter à cette liste d'importants amendements (A/C.4/L.274). Si la Commission accepte de remettre ainsi en cause la liste établie par le Comité *ad hoc*, il est à craindre que les divergences de vues ne s'accroissent encore, car certains Etats Membres croient voir dans quelques-unes des thèses défendues devant la Commission une tentative d'inférence dans leurs affaires intérieures. Ces dissensions ne peuvent que porter atteinte à l'harmonie sans laquelle la Commission ne saurait faire œuvre utile. Si, d'autre part, la Commission — qui compte soixante membres — entreprend de reviser la liste de facteurs à

laquelle un organe de huit membres s'est consacré si longtemps, les débats seront interminables. Pour parer à ce double danger, le représentant du Royaume-Uni invite instamment la Commission à se satisfaire de la liste de facteurs qui figure dans le rapport du Comité *ad hoc* et à ne pas mettre en péril par de longues et stériles délibérations le respect que des millions d'êtres humains ont à l'égard de l'Organisation des Nations Unies.

18. Lord Hudson rend hommage à l'esprit de conciliation dont le représentant du Brésil et les orateurs qui ont appuyé le projet de résolution de la délégation brésilienne n'ont cessé de faire preuve. Il ne faut pas que les divergences de vues qui séparent les membres de la Commission empêchent cet organe de se consacrer à la mise en œuvre constructive des principes du Chapitre XI de la Charte. On peut d'ailleurs espérer que l'avenir apportera une solution aux problèmes qui paraissent actuellement si ardues.

19. Le représentant du Royaume-Uni invite donc le Président à mettre aux voix immédiatement le projet de résolution déposé par la délégation du Brésil et prie les membres de la Commission d'adopter le paragraphe 2 du dispositif de ce projet, ce qui implique le rejet de l'amendement 3 du document A/C.4/L.273 et Corr.1. De la sorte, la Commission adopterait la liste de facteurs telle qu'elle figure dans le rapport du Comité *ad hoc*.

20. M. LOPEZ (Philippines) estime que le moment est venu de mettre fin à l'étude de la question des facteurs et d'aborder le problème de leur mise en œuvre; en d'autres termes, il convient de quitter maintenant le plan théorique et juridique pour en venir au plan pratique et politique. Alors que les principes juridiques, par exemple ceux qui sont énoncés dans la liste de facteurs, doivent être formulés avec la plus grande précision et même avec un certain dogmatisme, l'application de ces mêmes principes exige une grande souplesse et la volonté de n'avancer que progressivement ou même de s'arrêter, s'il le faut, pour faire le point de la situation. Il suffirait à la Commission d'adopter le projet de résolution de la délégation du Brésil pour effectuer cette transition, dont la nécessité paraît de plus en plus impérieuse. Cette décision aurait pour effet de consolider les résultats déjà obtenus par l'Organisation des Nations Unies et d'ouvrir la voie à de nouveaux progrès dans ce domaine.

21. M. López rappelle que l'Organisation des Nations Unies a déjà accompli une œuvre considérable en l'espace de huit ans et qu'elle exerce une influence toujours grandissante sur la destinée des territoires non autonomes. Le Chapitre XI de la Charte est comparable en importance à la Magna Carta, à la Déclaration d'indépendance et à la Déclaration des droits de l'homme et du citoyen. Mais, contrairement à ces trois documents, il n'a pas été arraché par la force à un pouvoir despotique, il a été accordé librement et généreusement par les Puissances métropolitaines sous l'irrésistible impulsion de l'idéal pour lequel elles avaient combattu au cours de la deuxième guerre mondiale. Le Chapitre XI représente une grande victoire des forces morales et donne la mesure véritable de l'évolution de la philosophie politique au cours des derniers siècles. Si l'on envisage ce chapitre à la lumière de ces considérations, on verra qu'il n'y a aucune raison de désespérer de l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Le Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes, les divers comités spéciaux chargés de l'étude des facteurs,

la Commission elle-même ont offert à l'opinion publique mondiale la possibilité de se faire entendre. Le processus qui conduit de l'élaboration des textes juridiques à leur mise en œuvre, avec toute la souplesse et le dynamisme indispensables, est lent; mais rien ne saurait l'arrêter.

22. C'est dans cet esprit que la délégation philippine a proposé d'apporter au projet de résolution du Brésil l'amendement qui figure dans le document A/C.4/L.275. L'heure n'est peut-être pas venue de trancher la question de compétence et de déterminer s'il appartient à la Puissance administrante seule ou à l'Assemblée générale de décider qu'un territoire a accédé ou non à l'autonomie. Il est plus sage d'adopter la présente liste de facteurs; les parties pourraient alors engager des consultations en s'inspirant de cette liste; dans ces échanges de vues, la raison et le bon sens l'emportent infailliblement sur le dogmatisme et l'intransigeance. C'est l'unique moyen pour la Commission de réconcilier les points de vues opposés et de contribuer ainsi à la détente de la tension internationale qui s'annonce tant au Conseil de sécurité qu'à la Première Commission et à la Commission politique spéciale.

23. Sir Douglas COPLAND (Australie) constate avec satisfaction que les délégations ont adopté à la présente séance une attitude plus conciliante. Il partage l'avis du représentant du Royaume-Uni et du représentant des Philippines: l'examen du document A/C.4/L.274 aurait pour effet de prolonger indûment les débats — alors que d'autres tâches urgentes attendent la Commission — et d'accentuer plus que jamais les divergences d'opinions qui séparent les divers Etats Membres. La liste de facteurs élaborée avec tant de patience et de soin par le Comité *ad hoc* n'est ni complète, ni définitive et ce n'est qu'après l'avoir appliquée pendant un certain temps qu'on pourra y apporter les modifications qui se révéleraient nécessaires. Il n'est ni possible, ni opportun de prendre actuellement une décision définitive. Sans préjuger l'attitude que la délégation australienne adoptera au moment où la liste de facteurs sera mise aux voix, sir Douglas fait observer que les auteurs du document A/C.4/L.274 devraient accepter la liste présentée par le Comité *ad hoc* s'ils souhaitent que la Commission adopte cette année une liste de facteurs; en effet, l'examen des amendements proposés amènerait inévitablement la Commission à renvoyer la question au Comité *ad hoc* et à perdre ainsi une nouvelle année. Le représentant de l'Australie espère fermement qu'il sera possible d'éviter la discussion et la mise aux voix du document A/C.4/L.274, ce qui permettra à la Commission de se prononcer sur la liste de facteurs dans son ensemble et sous la forme que lui a donnée le Comité *ad hoc*.

24. M. RIVAS (Venezuela) regrette que le représentant du Brésil ait vu dans les amendements à son projet de résolution un projet de résolution distinct. En effet, les amendements proposés visent simplement à développer les prémisses et les conclusions bien fondées du projet de résolution brésilien. Du reste, la délégation du Brésil a fait connaître qu'elle était disposée à accepter certains de ces amendements, montrant ainsi qu'elle ne prétendait pas qu'il fût impossible de développer son texte.

25. Le représentant du Venezuela attire l'attention des membres de la Commission sur les amendements 4 et 5 du document A/C.4/L.273 et Corr.1 et fait observer qu'ils visent simplement à modifier la répartition des éléments des paragraphes 3 et 4 du dispositif du projet

de résolution brésilien. Le principe selon lequel "chaque cas d'espèce doit être examiné et tranché compte tenu des circonstances qui lui sont propres et du droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes" n'a jamais causé la moindre divergence d'opinion entre Puissances administrantes et Puissances non administrantes. C'est un principe qui a déjà été admis, et le réaffirmer dans un paragraphe distinct, comme on l'a toujours fait, c'est conserver intacte une base d'entente.

26. L'élément nouveau — ou qui peut paraître nouveau — figurait déjà implicitement dans le projet de résolution du Brésil, comme le représentant du Brésil l'a lui-même déclaré à la séance précédente: la décision en la matière appartient à l'Assemblée générale. D'ailleurs, que ce principe soit exprimé ou non, les délégations des Puissances administrantes observeraient la même attitude d'opposition puisque, selon leur thèse, seule la Puissance administrante intéressée est compétente.

27. Pour faire mieux comprendre le paragraphe 5 proposé dans l'amendement 6, le représentant du Venezuela explique d'abord le but du nouveau paragraphe 6. Celui-ci encore tend à compléter la proposition brésilienne, et non à la contredire quant au fond. Il se borne en effet à considérer que c'est avant tout en accédant à l'indépendance que les territoires visés au Chapitre XI de la Charte peuvent accéder à l'autonomie complète. Toutefois, ces considérations appellent aussitôt la conclusion formulée à maintes reprises par le Comité des facteurs à savoir qu'il est admis qu'un territoire peut aussi devenir autonome en s'associant à un Etat ou à un groupe d'Etats, à condition que cette association soit effectuée librement et sur un pied d'égalité absolue. Une fois inscrite dans le dispositif d'une résolution, cette conclusion, admise tant par les Puissances administrantes que par les Puissances non administrantes, cesse d'être une simple directive pour devenir un principe de l'Assemblée générale.

28. La raison pour laquelle l'accès à l'indépendance doit être considéré comme le moyen essentiel pour les territoires en question de parvenir à l'autonomie complète est si évidente qu'elle n'a pas, elle non plus, fait l'objet de discussions, ni à la Quatrième Commission, ni au Comité *ad hoc*. C'est en réalité la forme d'autonomie la moins douteuse, et qui se prête le moins aux interprétations erronées ou au maintien d'un état de dépendance dissimulé. C'est pourquoi les facteurs relatifs à l'indépendance sont les moins nombreux. C'est aussi pourquoi le facteur du progrès politique et celui de l'opinion des populations ne figurent pas parmi eux. Il serait inconcevable en effet que l'indépendance puisse être imposée par la force à un territoire, ou que la population d'un territoire non autonome qui se prononce pour l'indépendance n'ait pas atteint une maturité suffisante pour faire cette démarche. Le seul fait de se prononcer dans ce sens est un signe de progrès politique suffisant. Du reste, ce n'est pas cette question-là qui divise les Membres administrants et les Membres non administrants. Ce qui suscite la méfiance des premières, c'est la crainte que la majorité des Etats Membres des Nations Unies ne jugent l'indépendance comme le moyen exclusif d'atteindre à l'autonomie complète. L'adjonction du nouveau paragraphe 6, proposé par les délégations de onze Etats qui n'administrent pas de territoires, vise donc à détruire cette cause de malentendus.

29. La notion de l'indépendance comme moyen essentiel d'atteindre à l'autonomie complète a pour

corollaire la condition posée à la validité de toute forme d'association entre un territoire non autonome et la métropole ou toute autre pays, "la volonté de la population intéressée, librement exprimée au moment où cette association est décidée", formulée au nouveau paragraphe 5 proposé dans l'amendement 6. Il peut arriver en effet que non seulement la Puissance administrante, mais encore un autre Etat, annexe un territoire non autonome par la force et prétende que, de cette façon, le territoire a atteint à l'autonomie complète. La condition posée ne vise donc pas seulement le gouvernement métropolitain, mais tout Etat, Membre ou non membre de l'Organisation des Nations Unies. D'ailleurs, aucune Puissance administrante n'a, depuis la Conférence de San-Francisco, cherché à fonder le changement de statut d'un territoire sur des circonstances étrangères à la volonté de la population intéressée. De même, quelle que soit la force avec laquelle elles préconisent l'exclusivité de la compétence de la Puissance administrante, les délégations des Puissances métropolitaines n'ont jamais prétendu ignorer cette condition inévitable de la validité de tout changement de statut.

30. En ce qui concerne l'amendement 9, la délégation du Venezuela n'a aucune observation à présenter. Toutefois, si les autres auteurs des amendements A/C.4/L.273 consentaient à retirer cet amendement, elle en serait très heureuse. En effet, le Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes tient ses attributions des résolutions 334 (IV) et 448 (V).

31. En revanche, l'amendement 10 propose une rédaction qui convient mieux au caractère du Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes. Ce comité est, en quelque sorte, un organe chargé d'étudier des questions de procédure, et non de prendre des décisions. Son rôle se borne à organiser le travail et à proposer des solutions à l'Assemblée générale. Le texte de l'amendement charge le Comité de proposer des modifications propres à améliorer la liste de facteurs, c'est-à-dire des modifications qui la rendent plus claire et de plus en plus facile à appliquer.

32. Le représentant du Venezuela en arrive enfin aux amendements 3 et 4, qui ont le plus inquiété la délégation du Brésil et quelques autres délégations. Cette inquiétude aurait été atténuée dans une grande mesure si les amendements (A/C.4/L.273 et Corr.1) au projet de résolution du Brésil et les amendements (A/C.4/L.274) à la liste de facteurs avaient été distribués simultanément. En raison des amendements qu'il est proposé d'apporter à la liste de facteurs, il a paru inapproprié, et même illogique, de laisser subsister le paragraphe 2 du projet brésilien.

33. Le représentant du Venezuela passe à l'examen des amendements à la liste de facteurs. La rédaction de ces amendements est le résultat de négociations et de compromis entre les différentes délégations qui en sont les auteurs. Il importait, en effet, en raison de la chaleur des débats auxquels ce problème a donné lieu, de dissiper la méfiance qui en avait résulté. Si chaque délégation avait proposé individuellement les amendements que lui suggérerait l'étude de la liste des facteurs, aucune résolution définitive n'aurait pu être adoptée au sujet des facteurs et il aurait été impossible de mettre un terme à cette discussion byzantine qui a séparé en deux camps les délégations de pays amis et solidaires dans la politique mondiale. La délégation du Venezuela a toujours été opposée aux propositions extrêmes. En outre, elle est persuadée que la plupart des diver-

gences de vues proviennent de la forme sous laquelle les opinions sont présentées et non pas du fond même de ces opinions; par conséquent, elle s'est toujours efforcée de concilier et d'harmoniser les vues divergentes. Elle a le plaisir de déclarer qu'elle a rencontré le même désir d'entente chez les délégations qui présentent avec elle le projet d'amendements en question.

34. De nouveaux facteurs ne sont pas nécessairement de nouvelles conditions inévitables, mais de nouvelles directives, de nouveaux éléments d'appréciation que l'on pourra utiliser ou ne pas utiliser, selon les circonstances propres à chaque cas et conformément au principe affirmé l'année passée dans la résolution 648 (VII) et confirmé dans le paragraphe 5 du projet brésilien, à savoir, qu'ils "ne doivent nullement être interprétés comme faisant obstacle à l'autonomie complète des territoires non autonomes".

35. Au sujet de l'amendement au facteur A.4, "Défense nationale", de la première partie de la liste de facteurs, le représentant du Venezuela estime que nul ne contestera l'opportunité de cette proposition, due à l'initiative de la délégation mexicaine.

36. En ce qui concerne la deuxième partie, l'amendement 1 vise simplement à rétablir le titre de cette partie qui avait été adopté à la sixième session par la Sous-Commission 9 de la Quatrième Commission¹ et qui, alors, donnait entière satisfaction aux représentants des Puissances administrantes, notamment au représentant de l'Australie qui, à juste titre, demandait que l'on tienne compte du statut des dominions ou membres du Commonwealth britannique. Il est certain que ce ce Commonwealth est une association d'Etats indépendants qui limitent leur souveraineté dans une certaine mesure, limitation qu'ils exercent collectivement. Cependant, le terme "association" n'est pas seulement de nature à introduire un doute; il peut aussi faire confondre cette forme distincte d'autonomie avec l'union ou l'association que prévoit la troisième partie de la liste.

37. Les amendements 2 et 3 relatifs à la deuxième partie se passent de commentaires, puisqu'il s'agit d'un simple déplacement de l'ordre des facteurs.

38. Quant à l'amendement 4, on pourrait prétendre qu'il s'agit d'un nouvel élément. Cependant, il serait difficile que ces autres formes distinctes d'autonomie méritent leur nom si les Etats intéressés n'ont pas, au moment de s'associer, la faculté et la possibilité de choisir l'indépendance, comme ce fut le cas pour la Birmanie par exemple, aussitôt après la deuxième guerre mondiale.

39. L'amendement 5 ne tend qu'à supprimer la première partie, c'est-à-dire la partie négative, du facteur A.3 et à laisser subsister la partie positive. En effet, la mesure dans laquelle un territoire a limité sa souveraineté librement et de sa propre initiative n'est pas un facteur positif. Ce dont il faut tenir compte pour conclure qu'une population a accédé à une autre forme distincte d'autonomie, c'est la façon dont s'exercent les attributs de souveraineté qui sont ainsi restreints. Le représentant du Venezuela rappelle que cet élément positif a été introduit cette année par le Comité *ad hoc* sur la proposition de sa délégation (A/2428, par. 34).

40. M. Rivas signale que, par suite des modifications successives qu'ont subies les propositions des diverses délégations auteurs des amendements, et dans le désir de présenter ceux-ci le plus tôt possible on a rédigé

¹ Voir A/C.4/L.180 et Corr.1.

à l'amendement 8, sous le titre "Changement de statut politique", une phrase qui aurait pu terminer l'amendement 5.

41. De toute façon, en raison du caractère même de cette accession à l'autonomie complète, les Etats ainsi associés, parce qu'ils sont indépendants, peuvent se séparer et constituer des unités distinctes. Autrement, on ne saurait appeler ce système "autres formes distinctes d'autonomie".

42. Quant aux additions que proposent les amendements 6 et 7, elles visent à fonder la nécessité de donner aux territoires la possibilité de se séparer de l'association pour des raisons géographiques, culturelles ou ethniques. Le membre de phrase à l'amendement 6 "et mesure dans laquelle les intérêts des Etats limitrophes peuvent être affectés, compte tenu du principe général de bon voisinage mentionné à l'Article 74 de la Charte", s'inspire de la Charte.

43. Le représentant du Venezuela signale une erreur d'impression à l'amendement 9; il faut lire comme suit: "Le facteur B.2 actuel devient le facteur B.1."

44. Passant ensuite à la troisième partie, le représentant du Venezuela fait remarquer qu'il serait inconcevable qu'un territoire non autonome atteigne à l'autonomie complète en s'associant avec la métropole ou un autre pays, ou en en devenant partie intégrante, si l'incorporation ou l'association n'a pas lieu sur un pied d'égalité absolue avec les autres parties de l'Etat en question, à moins que l'inégalité ne laisse au territoire la possibilité de modifier sa décision dans l'avenir.

45. Cette considération appelle l'addition des mots "ou sous tout autre forme" et motive l'amendement 5 qui envisage l'existence d'Etats ayant des pouvoirs constitutionnels pour l'octroi de cet avantage. A ce propos, la délégation du Venezuela tient à déclarer qu'en souscrivant à l'adjonction de ce nouveau facteur, elle ne prétend nullement que les Etats métropolitains ou tous autres Etats modifient leur constitution pour donner effet audit facteur. Si telle était son attitude, elle enfreindrait les dispositions du paragraphe 7 de l'Article 2 de la Charte. Il ne faut pas non plus voir dans le fait que la délégation du Venezuela appuie cet amendement l'intention de créer des obstacles aux territoires non autonomes qui, en exprimant librement leur volonté, choisissent comme moyen d'atteindre à l'autonomie complète l'association ou l'intégration, sur un pied d'entière égalité, aux autres parties constitutives de l'Etat auquel ils s'incorporent ou avec lequel ils s'associent.

46. L'amendement 6 n'est pas dû à l'initiative de la délégation vénézuélienne. Elle a néanmoins accepté de le patronner en vertu des obligations que le Venezuela a contractées en approuvant la résolution XXXIII de la IX^{ème} Conférence internationale américaine.

47. Quant à l'amendement 9, il est assez rationnel. En effet, si, en vertu de la constitution d'un pays métropolitain à l'élaboration de laquelle les représentants de territoires non autonomes n'auraient pas participé, ces territoires étaient déclarés incorporés à la métropole, il serait possible, semble-t-il, que cette incorporation puisse s'effectuer même sans le consentement des habitants des territoires non autonomes, ce qui serait contraire au Chapitre XI ainsi qu'à l'esprit général de la liste de facteurs et au principe qui sera consacré par la résolution de l'Assemblée générale si les amendements proposés sont adoptés.

48. Le représentant du Venezuela tient à souligner qu'en s'associant aux autres délégations qui ont rédigé les amendements qu'il vient de commenter, la délégation vénézuélienne n'a pas eu l'intention, contrairement à ce qui a été dit, de corriger la liste de facteurs et de reprendre le travail du Comité *ad hoc*. Toutefois, on ne saurait considérer que cette liste, à l'élaboration de laquelle la délégation du Venezuela a participé en tant que membre du Comité *ad hoc*, ne peut faire l'objet d'amendements qui visent à la préciser sans la modifier en substance.

49. Il est permis d'espérer que, de cette façon, l'Assemblée générale adoptera à la présente session une résolution définitive sur cette question et qu'ainsi prendra fin une discussion reprise périodiquement et génératrice de divisions entre pays amis.

50. M. CALLE Y CALLE (Pérou) indique que la liste de facteurs répond à un désir de l'Assemblée générale de disposer, pour elle-même et pour les Puissances administrantes, d'une règle qui permette d'appliquer les dispositions du Chapitre XI de la Charte. Grâce à ces critères, l'Assemblée générale pourra apprécier le bien-fondé de toute communication annonçant la cessation de la communication de renseignements et, par conséquent, se prononcer sur les motifs de cette cessation. L'Assemblée générale aura alors le choix entre les trois décisions suivantes: soit prendre acte de la cessation, soit apprécier le fondement juridique de cette cessation en appliquant les critères de la liste de facteurs et en tenant compte des circonstances particulières à chaque cas, soit désapprouver la décision de cesser de communiquer les renseignements. Dans ce dernier cas, on peut supposer que la Puissance administrante continuera à communiquer lesdits renseignements.

51. En approuvant les facteurs, la Quatrième Commission ne prend pas de décision au sujet de la question de compétence. Elle n'entend pas non plus transformer ces critères en normes destinées à régir l'application du Chapitre XI de la Charte. Par conséquent, il ne convient pas d'attribuer à la résolution qui sera adoptée la rigidité d'un texte législatif. Si la liste de facteurs n'a pour but que de servir de guide — et c'est ainsi que la délégation du Pérou l'entend — il suffirait de dire dans la résolution que l'Assemblée générale approuve la liste de facteurs présentée dans le rapport du Comité *ad hoc* et que cette liste est destinée, pour l'instant, à servir de guide en vue de l'application du Chapitre XI de la Charte.

52. La délégation du Pérou reconnaît que le projet de résolution brésilien s'inspire d'une intention conciliatrice et du désir de faciliter aussi bien la tâche de l'Assemblée générale que celle des Puissances administrantes. Ce texte représente en outre un progrès évident par rapport à la résolution 648 (VII) et ne contient que des formules prudentes, dont on pourra apprécier les effets pratiques dans l'avenir; cette dernière observation s'applique aussi au projet d'amendement des Philippines.

53. La délégation du Pérou votera pour le projet de résolution du Brésil. Elle ne peut appuyer ni les amendements à ce projet ni les amendements à la liste de facteurs.

54. M. PETERSON (Canada) rappelle que la délégation canadienne a déjà fait connaître sa position vis-à-vis du projet de résolution du Brésil et des amendements proposés à ce projet de résolution. Elle voudrait

maintenant faire connaître sa position vis-à-vis des amendements à la liste de facteurs (A/C.4/L.274).

55. On a déjà souligné que la liste que le Comité *ad hoc* présente dans son rapport représente une synthèse d'opinions exprimées au cours de trois années d'étude continue pendant lesquelles la liste a même été soumise aux gouvernements de tous les Etats Membres pour qu'ils présentent leurs observations. Dans ces conditions, la délégation canadienne estime, comme plusieurs autres délégations, qu'il serait vain de vouloir que cette Commission de soixante membres rouvre une discussion sur la liste de facteurs actuelle. Il semble bien peu probable qu'une discussion de ce genre puisse avoir la moindre utilité.

56. Le représentant du Venezuela a dit que les amendements qui figurent dans le document A/C.4/L.274 semblaient avoir suscité des craintes injustifiées et qu'ils étaient en fait simples et clairs. Cela peut être vrai pour certains d'entre eux. Toutefois, dans les délais très courts dont elle a disposé pour examiner ces amendements, la délégation canadienne a constaté qu'un certain nombre des modifications proposées donnaient lieu à des difficultés d'interprétation et posaient des questions de principe que de brèves explications ne suffisaient pas à éclaircir.

57. Comme elle l'a déclaré à la séance précédente, la délégation canadienne est prête à voter pour la liste de facteurs telle que le Comité *ad hoc* l'a présentée. Elle espère que cette liste sera mise aux voix dans son ensemble. Si, toutefois, la Commission était invitée à se prononcer sur les amendements contenus dans le document A/C.4/L.274, la délégation canadienne se verrait obligée, en raison de l'impossibilité où elle se trouve de l'examiner comme il convient à l'heure actuelle, de voter contre tous les amendements proposés.

58. M. FERREIRA DE SOUZA (Brésil) tient à faire connaître la position de sa délégation vis-à-vis des amendements présentés sous la cote A/C.4/L.273 et Corr.1. La délégation brésilienne accepte l'amendement 1, qui, à son avis, représente une importante contri-

bution à la proposition brésilienne. Elle n'accepte pas l'amendement 2. Elle n'accepte pas non plus l'amendement 3, qui suppose une modification de la liste de facteurs proposée par le Comité *ad hoc*. Elle accepte la première partie de l'amendement 4, car elle croit que ses auteurs ont voulu souligner, par cette transposition, la responsabilité primordiale de l'Assemblée générale. Quant à la deuxième partie de cet amendement, la délégation brésilienne votera d'abord pour son propre texte, car elle considère qu'il est assez clair pour trancher la question de compétence. Elle ne croit pas qu'il soit utile de répéter les raisons qu'elle a fournies à ce sujet à la séance précédente. Elle n'accepte pas les amendements 5, 6, 9 et 10. Elle accepte l'amendement 7, ainsi que l'amendement 8.

59. En ce qui concerne l'amendement proposé par la délégation des Philippines (A/C.4/L.275), la délégation brésilienne en comprend parfaitement l'intention, à laquelle elle rend hommage; mais elle ne croit pas que ces amendements s'accordent avec sa propre doctrine, sur laquelle elle fonde la compétence de l'Assemblée.

60. Le PRESIDENT donne lecture du document de séance no 1², dans lequel il expose la procédure de vote qu'il propose au sujet de la question des facteurs.

61. M. RYCKMANS (Belgique) fait remarquer qu'il ne doit pas être nécessaire de voter sur l'amendement 1 proposé dans le document A/C.4/L.273 et Corr.1, puisque la délégation du Brésil a accepté cet amendement. Ce vote ne serait nécessaire que si une délégation demandait un vote séparé.

62. M. SCOTT (Nouvelle-Zélande) demande pourquoi les mots "et les Etats Membres" figurent après les mots "l'Organisation des Nations Unies" dans l'amendement 1 du document A/C.4/L.273 et Corr.1.

63. Le PRESIDENT déclare que réponse sera donnée à la prochaine séance aux deux observations qui viennent d'être faites.

La séance est levée à 13 heures.

² Distribué aux membres de la Commission seulement.

Nations Unies
**ASSEMBLEE
GENERALE**

HUITIEME SESSION
Documents officiels



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Facteurs dont il convient de tenir compte pour décider si un territoire est, ou n'est pas, un territoire dont les populations ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes: rapport du Comité *ad hoc* pour l'étude des facteurs (territoires non autonomes) [A/2428, A/C.4/L.272, A/C.4/L.273 et Corr.1, A/C.4/L.274, A/C.4/L.275] (suite)

[Point 33 *]

1. Le **PRESIDENT** attire l'attention des membres de la Commission sur le document de séance No 1¹, qui contient ses propres propositions au sujet de la procédure à suivre pour le vote.
2. **M. MENDOZA** (Guatemala) propose que la Commission, avant d'examiner le projet de résolution du Brésil (A/C.4/L.272) et les amendements apportés à ce projet de résolution (A/C.4/L.273 et Corr.1, A/C.4/L.275), étudie les amendements proposés à la liste de facteurs du Comité *ad hoc* (A/C.4/L.274) et vote à leur sujet.
3. **M. BOZOVIC** (Yougoslavie) appuie cette proposition. Logiquement, la Commission devrait tout d'abord statuer sur la liste de facteurs, puis examiner le projet de résolution du Brésil, qui propose l'adoption de cette liste, et les amendements proposés à ce projet de résolution. On doit considérer la liste du Comité *ad hoc* comme la proposition primitive et, conformément à l'article 129 du règlement intérieur, les amendements à cette liste doivent donc être mis aux voix en premier lieu.
4. **M. KAISR** (Tchécoslovaquie) rappelle que sa délégation avait proposé (326^e séance) que l'on vote sur chacune des sections de la liste de facteurs; il appuie, au nom de sa délégation, la proposition du représentant du Guatemala.
5. **Lord HUDSON** (Royaume-Uni) suggère que la proposition du Président soit mise aux voix immédiatement.
6. **M. RYCKMANS** (Belgique) soutient que la liste de facteurs établie par le Comité *ad hoc* ne constitue pas une proposition au sens de l'article 129 mais que, par contre, les paragraphes 1 et 2 du dispositif du projet

* Numéro affecté à la question dans l'ordre du jour de l'Assemblée générale.

¹ Distribué aux membres de la Commission seulement.

de résolution du Brésil constituent une proposition. La Commission devrait donc voter tout d'abord sur les amendements à ce projet de résolution.

7. **M. FERREIRA DE SOUZA** (Brésil) estime que la Commission devrait tout d'abord statuer sur la question essentielle: veut-elle ou non adopter la liste de facteurs dans sa forme actuelle? Si elle rejette cette liste, elle pourra alors voter sur les amendements.

8. **M. RYCKMANS** (Belgique) appuie cette proposition.

9. **M. ARAOZ** (Bolivie) appuie la proposition du Guatemala.

10. **M. DE HOLTE CASTELLO** (Colombie) suggère que le Président mette tout d'abord aux voix la proposition du Guatemala, puis, si celle-ci est rejetée, sa propre proposition.

Par 26 voix contre 22, avec 4 abstentions, la proposition du Guatemala est adoptée.

11. **M. RYCKMANS** (Belgique) propose que l'amendement 3 des onze Puissances (A/C.4/L.273) soit mis aux voix immédiatement.

12. Le **PRESIDENT** invite la Commission à examiner les amendements à la liste de facteurs (A/C.4/L.274).

13. **Mme BOLTON** (Etats-Unis d'Amérique) dit qu'elle n'abordera pas le fond de la question parce que, pour des raisons de procédure, la délégation des Etats-Unis doute très sérieusement du caractère pratique de la mesure que l'on demande à la Commission de prendre. La liste de facteurs contenue dans le rapport du Comité *ad hoc* (A/2428) est le résultat des délibérations de plusieurs comités spéciaux qui ont consacré un grand nombre de séances à une étude très approfondie des vues des gouvernements sur la question des facteurs. Les gouvernements des Etats Membres sont saisis du rapport du Comité *ad hoc* depuis des semaines. Le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis considère que le Comité *ad hoc* a poussé l'étude des facteurs aussi loin qu'il est possible de le faire pour le moment. Et voilà que l'on saisit la Quatrième Commission de plusieurs amendements qu'elle devrait examiner en quelques jours. Au mieux, l'examen auquel la Commission pourrait procéder serait hâtif et incomplet. D'ailleurs, même cet examen hâtif provoquerait une longue discussion et prendrait plus de temps que la Commission ne peut lui en accorder.

14. La délégation des Etats-Unis estime par conséquent que la Commission ne devrait pas essayer d'amender la liste du Comité *ad hoc*, mais l'approuver telle quelle.

15. **M. PIGNON** (France) partage entièrement les vues de la représentante des Etats-Unis. Toutefois, étant donné que la majorité des membres de la Commission est, de toute évidence, décidée à voter sur les amendements, il désire expliquer la position de sa délégation.

16. La position de la délégation française sur cette question a toujours été parfaitement claire. Tout en faisant les réserves les plus sérieuses en ce qui concerne la compétence de l'Assemblée générale pour appliquer la liste de facteurs établie par le Comité *ad hoc*, elle persiste à considérer que l'étude de cette liste est légitime et utile, étant entendu que cette liste devrait constituer non pas un code rigide et inflexible, mais plutôt un guide dont les Etats s'inspireraient lorsqu'ils auraient à s'occuper de cas précis. En dépit de ses imperfections évidentes, la liste du document A/2428 pourrait en effet servir de guide.

17. Toutefois, les amendements proposés à la liste de facteurs, sans aucun doute dans l'intention louable d'améliorer l'œuvre du Comité *ad hoc*, l'invalident complètement et détruisent une structure qui, bien qu'inégale, avait néanmoins un certain équilibre. Les amendements aggravent les défauts de la liste à un tel point qu'ils la rendent inacceptable.

18. Ces défauts proviennent principalement du fait que, pour un nombre croissant de délégations, les considérations politiques l'emportent sur l'objectivité qui est si indispensable lorsqu'on traite ces questions. Il est contraire à la méthode scientifique d'ériger une théorie générale sur la base de cas particuliers; c'est pourtant ce qui a été fait dans la deuxième partie de la liste lorsqu'on a introduit des notions aussi controversées que celles qui sont contenues dans les amendements 6, 7 et 8 de la deuxième et de la troisième partie des amendements des onze Puissances. Pour préserver le prestige des Nations Unies, la Quatrième Commission doit veiller jalousement à la qualité de ses travaux. Par exemple, le nouveau facteur A. 4 de la deuxième partie de la liste introduit un principe d'intervention contraire à l'esprit et à la lettre de la Charte, et qui compromettrait précisément les relations de bon voisinage qu'il voudrait encourager. On a essayé d'établir un lien factice entre cette idée et l'Article 74 de la Charte.

19. Cependant, aux yeux de la délégation française, le défaut le plus grave des amendements est qu'ils créent de la confusion entre les trois parties de la liste de facteurs. Les facteurs permettant de conclure à l'indépendance, à l'autonomie avec association et à l'autonomie avec intégration sont totalement confondus et le représentant de la France doute, dans ces conditions, de l'utilité que pourrait présenter une telle liste dans le domaine des travaux de la Commission, à savoir le Chapitre XI de la Charte. Il est à peine nécessaire de répéter que l'autonomie peut exister — et existe en fait — sans indépendance. M. Pignon se contentera de souligner que les auteurs des amendements ont voulu créer l'impression que les deuxième et troisième parties de la liste de facteurs sont inutiles dans la pratique. Ce faisant, ils ont délibérément méconnu le mandat de la Quatrième Commission et l'objet même de ses travaux, à savoir le progrès de certains territoires vers l'autonomie.

20. Pour ces raisons, la délégation française votera contre l'ensemble des amendements.

21. Lord HUDSON (Royaume-Uni) regrette que les efforts qu'il a déployés à la séance précédente pour éviter un débat stérile et pour parvenir à une entente aient échoué.

22. Sa délégation n'a pas caché que le contenu de la liste de facteurs était, en ce qui la concerne, relativement sans importance. Le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni n'a point besoin de listes de facteurs et le fait que d'au-

tres gouvernements en tiennent compte ne saurait affecter le statut des territoires dont il est responsable. Du même coup, l'application de la liste de facteurs se trouve ainsi limitée à un tiers tout au plus des territoires qui font actuellement l'objet de rapports.

23. Cependant, en tant que Membre de l'Organisation des Nations Unies et du Comité *ad hoc*, le Royaume-Uni a ses responsabilités. N'ayant aucun intérêt politique en cette affaire, le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni a simplement cherché à aider le Comité à élaborer une liste de facteurs qui réponde à une conception de la vérité fondée sur la cohérence et soit conforme aux réalités politiques du monde moderne. Neuf autres délégations ont collaboré à l'élaboration de cette liste, qui n'a été approuvée qu'après huit mois de travaux et deux semaines de débats, au cours desquels les vues de tous les gouvernements qui avaient émis le désir de soumettre des observations écrites furent prises en considération. Au moment où la Quatrième Commission va voter sur le projet de résolution, toute une série d'amendements sont présentés par onze délégations, dont trois faisaient partie du Comité *ad hoc*; mieux encore, un des membres de ces délégations a été le Président du Comité.

24. Aux yeux des membres de la délégation britannique, ces amendements constituent un exemple flagrant d'incohérence intellectuelle. La plupart de ces amendements reflètent un désir de faire prévaloir certaines maximes politiques dont bon nombre sont inacceptables pour la délégation du Royaume-Uni. On reconnaît dans plusieurs de ces amendements les préoccupations politiques de telle ou telle délégation. C'est là un fait dont il faut tenir compte au moment de passer au vote.

25. En ce qui concerne l'amendement à la première partie de la liste, lord Hudson fait remarquer que si un Etat existe, il dispose manifestement du droit d'assurer sa défense nationale. Ce dont on peut douter, c'est de l'aptitude de cet Etat à assurer sa propre défense et ce facteur peut évidemment entrer en ligne de compte dans le choix de son orientation politique.

26. Les amendements 6 et 7 à la deuxième partie de la liste tendent à ajouter deux facteurs empruntés à la troisième partie de la liste, auxquels la délégation britannique n'a jamais pu souscrire. Le paragraphe 6 n'est rien d'autre que la réaffirmation de ce qu'on a appelé "le mirage de l'eau salée" (*salt water fallacy*), qui fait trouver moralement admirable l'impérialisme continental et moralement haïssable la possession de territoires outre-mer. L'expérience du Royaume-Uni est que l'océan constitue un lien plutôt qu'une barrière. Quant au paragraphe 7, il constitue pratiquement une approbation du principe de la discrimination raciale et est indigne de la Quatrième Commission.

27. En ce qui concerne l'amendement 8, la délégation britannique ne peut souscrire au point de vue selon lequel le développement politique des territoires non autonomes serait entravé par l'existence d'un différend entre Etats revendiquant la souveraineté sur eux. Comme l'a très justement dit le représentant de l'Australie, il y a une énorme différence entre le statut international et la responsabilité dans les affaires intérieures. La tâche de tout Etat Membre responsable de l'administration d'un Territoire sous tutelle est de favoriser, dans toute la mesure du possible, la réalisation des objectifs visés au Chapitre XI de la Charte, et, notamment, de développer au maximum sa capacité à s'administrer lui-même. Tous les membres de la Commission reconnaîtront sans aucun doute que, si un territoire non autonome passait de l'administration d'un Etat Membre à

celle d'un autre, la nouvelle Puissance administrante hériterait de l'ancienne toutes les obligations du Chapitre XI. Le représentant du Guatemala a parlé de la souveraineté indépendante comme du but évident à atteindre par les territoires non autonomes, alors que cet objectif n'est pas mentionné dans le Chapitre XI. Il serait étrange qu'une Puissance administrante ne puisse poursuivre les objectifs visés au Chapitre XI en raison de l'existence d'une revendication de la part d'un autre Etat, qui serait tenu lui aussi de respecter les principes de ce chapitre. Car, comment interpréter l'existence d'une telle revendication si ce n'est comme le désir de cet Etat de s'annexer le territoire en question au mépris des objectifs du Chapitre XI.

28. Si les amendements sont adoptés, leur seul effet sera d'empêcher les territoires non autonomes de parvenir à l'indépendance.

29. M. RYCKMANS (Belgique) regrette que sa délégation soit obligée de voter contre presque tous les projets d'amendements à la liste de facteurs contenue dans le rapport du Comité *ad hoc* (A/C.4/L.274). Il n'est d'accord que sur la première moitié du nouveau facteur A. 4, proposé pour la seconde partie, qui semble reconnaître l'erreur que l'on avait commise en supposant qu'un océan constituerait un obstacle plus grand qu'une frontière terrestre. M. Rickmans ne peut cependant accepter la seconde moitié du nouveau facteur.

30. Le représentant de l'Iran a déclaré à la séance précédente que, s'il y avait certes des populations arriérées qui n'étaient pas en mesure de revendiquer leur indépendance, il ne fallait cependant pas que ces populations continuent indéfiniment à être exploitées par les nations plus évoluées. Le Gouvernement de la Belgique n'est pas d'accord sur ce point; il a toujours estimé que les populations arriérées ne devaient jamais être exploitées. La tâche des Puissances administrantes est d'administrer les territoires non autonomes au nom des populations de ces territoires, jusqu'à ce que celles-ci soient en mesure de s'administrer elles-mêmes; il va de soi que les intérêts de ces populations sont primordiaux. Par conséquent, si la délégation de la Belgique se voit forcée de voter contre les projets d'amendements à la liste de facteurs, c'est en raison uniquement de certaines considérations de principe; cela ne signifie nullement que la Belgique ne reconnaît pas ses obligations en vertu du Chapitre XI de la Charte, ni qu'elle a l'intention de ne plus s'en acquitter en toute conscience.

31. M. M. S. ESFANDIARY (Iran) déclare que le représentant de la Belgique, dans son intervention, a fait allusion à plusieurs reprises à l'exposé du représentant de l'Iran. Tout en lui sachant gré de ses paroles, M. Esfandiary tient à réserver la position de la délégation iranienne sur ces observations.

32. M. PACHACHI (Irak) déclare que, bien que l'Irak ait été membre du Comité *ad hoc* pour l'étude des facteurs, la délégation de ce pays avait laissé entendre alors qu'elle ne considérerait pas la liste de facteurs, telle qu'elle avait été approuvée, comme définitive et parfaite. Les amendements présentés conjointement par onze délégations (A/C.4/L.274) tendent à améliorer la liste originale, à la rendre plus cohérente et à mieux protéger les populations des territoires non autonomes. M. Pachachi déplore l'opposition inflexible des délégations du Royaume-Uni et de la Belgique.

33. M. CALLE Y CALLE (Pérou) déclare que sa délégation n'est pas opposée aux principes dont s'inspirent les amendements communs, mais elle a l'intention cependant de voter contre tous les amendements, parce

qu'il n'est guère possible de poursuivre plus avant l'examen de la liste de facteurs proposée par le Comité *ad hoc*. La Quatrième Commission devrait se contenter de prendre acte des résultats des délibérations du Comité *ad hoc* et ne pas essayer de poursuivre les travaux de ce comité aux dépens des autres questions inscrites à son propre ordre du jour.

34. M. MENDEZ (Philippines) rappelle que le représentant de la Belgique avait dit que la Quatrième Commission gagnerait beaucoup de temps en mettant aux voix l'amendement 3 des amendements communs (A/C.4/L.273) au projet de résolution du Brésil (A/C.4/L.272), ce qui rendrait inutile l'examen point par point des projets d'amendements à la liste de facteurs. La Commission aurait certes été bien inspirée en mettant aux voix la proposition de la Belgique.

35. M. MENDOZA (Guatemala) rappelle, à propos de certaines observations de la délégation du Royaume-Uni, qu'à la 322ème séance, la délégation du Guatemala a clairement indiqué sa position à l'égard des territoires dépendants qui font l'objet d'une réclamation ou d'une contestation de la part d'un autre Etat. Le Gouvernement du Guatemala accueillera avec satisfaction la réalisation de l'indépendance complète de ces territoires non autonomes, mais il désire s'assurer que le statut politique des territoires illégalement occupés qui font l'objet d'une contestation n'est pas modifié par une forme quelconque d'association avant que cette contestation ne soit réglée.

36. Au sujet des projets d'amendements à la liste de facteurs, M. Mendoza fait observer que l'on complique trop la question. L'objet de la liste de facteurs n'est pas d'aider l'Assemblée générale à décider si le statut accordé à un territoire non autonome convient à ce territoire ou s'il est conforme aux désirs du territoire, mais simplement de permettre à l'Assemblée d'analyser la situation et de constater si la Puissance administrante est effectivement libérée de son obligation de transmettre aux Nations Unies des renseignements sur le territoire en question. Si le nombre des territoires non autonomes au sujet desquels des renseignements sont transmis restait constant, aucune liste ne serait nécessaire, mais si ce nombre continue à diminuer, il est essentiel que l'Assemblée générale dispose d'un critère. Le représentant du Guatemala n'est pas de l'avis de ceux qui pensent que l'Assemblée générale ne dispose pas du temps nécessaire pour améliorer la liste de facteurs proposée par le Comité *ad hoc*; en fait, les divers organes qui ont préparé la liste de facteurs ont exécuté ce travail en très peu de temps.

37. Le PRESIDENT invite la Commission à se prononcer sur les amendements (A/C.4/L.274) à la liste de facteurs contenue dans le rapport du Comité *ad hoc* (A/2428, section VI).

38. Le PRESIDENT met aux voix l'amendement à la première partie de la liste.

Par 31 voix contre 9, avec 10 abstentions, l'amendement est adopté.

39. Le PRESIDENT met aux voix la première partie de la liste (A/2428, section VI), sous sa forme amendée.

Par 34 voix contre 7, avec 10 abstentions, la première partie est adoptée sous sa forme amendée.

40. Le PRESIDENT met aux voix les amendements (A/C.4/L.274) à la deuxième partie de la liste.

Par 27 voix contre 15, avec 9 abstentions, l'amendement 1 est adopté.

41. Le PRESIDENT met aux voix l'amendement 2. L'adoption de cet amendement entraînera automatiquement l'adoption de l'amendement 3.

Par 21 voix contre 12, avec 16 abstentions, l'amendement 2 est adopté.

42. Le PRESIDENT met aux voix l'amendement 4.

Par 27 voix contre 15, avec 8 abstentions, l'amendement 4 est adopté.

43. M. RYCKMANS (Belgique) demande que la première partie du texte de l'amendement 5, jusqu'aux mots "ainsi constituée", soit mise aux voix séparément. Il a l'intention de voter contre les deux parties de cet amendement; toutefois, de nombreuses délégations pourraient être en faveur de la première partie de ce texte, mais non pas en faveur du droit universel de sécession qu'énonce la deuxième partie.

44. Le PRESIDENT met aux voix la première partie de l'amendement 5.

Par 30 voix contre 8, avec 12 abstentions, la première partie de l'amendement 5 est adoptée.

45. M. RYCKMANS (Belgique) demande le vote par appel nominal sur la deuxième partie de l'amendement 5.

Il est procédé au vote par appel nominal.

L'appel commence par le Liban, dont le nom est tiré au sort par le Président.

Votent pour: Liban, Libéria, Mexique, Pakistan, Philippines, Arabie saoudite, Syrie, Thaïlande, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yémen, Yougoslavie, Afghanistan, Argentine, Bolivie, Chili, Costa-Rica, Cuba, Egypte, Salvador, Guatemala, Haïti, Indonésie, Iran, Irak.

Votent contre: Luxembourg, Pays-Bas, Nouvelle-Zélande, Norvège, Pérou, Pologne, Suède, République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine, Union Sud-Africaine, Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques, Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord, Australie, Belgique, République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie, Canada, Colombie, Tchécoslovaquie, France.

S'abstiennent: Etats-Unis d'Amérique, Brésil, Birmanie, Chine, Danemark, République Dominicaine, Ethiopie, Grèce, Inde, Israël.

Par 25 voix contre 18, avec 10 abstentions, la deuxième partie de l'amendement 5 est adoptée.

46. Le PRESIDENT met aux voix l'ensemble de l'amendement 5.

Par 25 voix contre 18, avec 9 abstentions, l'amendement 5 est adopté.

47. M. CALLE Y CALLE (Pérou) explique qu'il a voté contre la deuxième partie de l'amendement 5 et s'est abstenu lors du vote sur l'ensemble de l'amendement parce qu'il ne peut souscrire au droit de sécession dans tous les cas.

48. M. RYCKMANS (Belgique) ayant demandé un vote distinct sur les deux parties de l'amendement 6, qui n'ont rien en commun, le PRESIDENT met aux voix successivement les première et deuxième parties de cet amendement.

Par 26 voix contre 14, avec 11 abstentions, la première partie de l'amendement 6 est adoptée.

Par 23 voix contre 18, avec 10 abstentions, la deuxième partie de l'amendement 6 est adoptée.

49. Le PRESIDENT met aux voix l'ensemble de l'amendement 6.

Par 24 voix contre 19, avec 10 abstentions, l'amendement 6 est adopté.

50. Le PRESIDENT met aux voix l'amendement 7.

Par 26 voix contre 17, avec 8 abstentions, l'amendement 7 est adopté.

51. Le PRESIDENT déclare que le texte du facteur B. 1 n'a fait l'objet d'aucune proposition d'amendement et que, si aucune objection n'est formulée, il le considérera comme adopté.

Il en est ainsi décidé.

52. Le PRESIDENT met aux voix l'amendement 8, dont l'adoption entraînera automatiquement l'adoption de l'amendement 9.

Par 23 voix contre 18, avec 12 abstentions, l'amendement 8 est adopté.

53. Le PRESIDENT met aux voix l'ensemble de la deuxième partie de la liste de facteurs (A/2428, section VI), sous sa forme amendée.

Par 24 voix contre 18, avec 11 abstentions, la deuxième partie de la liste de facteurs est adoptée sous sa forme amendée.

54. Le PRESIDENT met aux voix les amendements (A/C.4/L.274) à la troisième partie de la liste.

Par 25 voix contre 15, avec 13 abstentions, l'amendement 1 est adopté.

Par 26 voix contre 14, avec 13 abstentions, l'amendement 2 est adopté.

55. Le PRESIDENT met aux voix l'amendement 3, dont l'adoption entraînera automatiquement l'adoption de l'amendement 4.

Par 23 voix contre 9, avec 18 abstentions, l'amendement 3 est adopté.

56. M. RYCKMANS (Belgique) demande le vote par appel nominal sur le paragraphe 5.

Il est procédé au vote par appel nominal.

L'appel commence par la France, dont le nom est tiré au sort par le Président.

Votent pour: Guatemala, Haïti, Inde, Indonésie, Iran, Irak, Liban, Libéria, Mexique, Pakistan, Philippines, Arabie saoudite, Syrie, Thaïlande, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yougoslavie, Afghanistan, Argentine, Bolivie, Chili, Costa-Rica, Cuba, Egypte, Salvador.

Votent contre: France, Grèce, Luxembourg, Pays-Bas, Nouvelle-Zélande, Pologne, Suède, République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine, Union Sud-Africaine, Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques, Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord, Australie, Belgique, République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie, Canada, Tchécoslovaquie, Danemark.

S'abstiennent: Israël, Norvège, Pérou, Etats-Unis d'Amérique, Brésil, Birmanie, Chine, Colombie, République Dominicaine, Ethiopie.

Par 25 voix contre 17, avec 10 abstentions, le paragraphe 5 est adopté.

57. M. DE MARCHENA (République Dominicaine) appelle l'attention du Secrétariat sur certaines modifications qu'il conviendrait d'apporter au texte espagnol de l'amendement 6.

58. Le PRESIDENT met aux voix l'amendement 6.

Par 22 voix contre 18, avec 11 abstentions, l'amendement 6 est adopté.

59. Le PRESIDENT met aux voix le texte du facteur A. 3 de la troisième partie de la liste (A/2428, section VI), tel qu'il a été amendé par l'adoption de l'amendement 6.

Par 23 voix contre 18, avec 8 abstentions, le texte du facteur A. 3 est adopté sous sa forme amendée.

60. Le PRESIDENT déclare que le texte du facteur A. 4 n'a fait l'objet d'aucun amendement et que, si aucune objection n'est formulée, il le considérera comme adopté.

Il en est ainsi décidé.

61. Le PRESIDENT met aux voix l'amendement 7 (A/C.4/L.274).

Par 28 voix contre 13, avec 10 abstentions, l'amendement 7 est adopté.

62. Le PRESIDENT met aux voix le texte du facteur A. 5 de la troisième partie de la liste (A/2428, section VI), tel qu'il a été amendé par l'adoption de l'amendement 7.

Par 23 voix contre 18, avec 9 abstentions, le texte du facteur A. 5 amendé est adopté.

63. Le PRESIDENT déclare que le facteur B. 1 n'a fait l'objet d'aucun amendement et qu'en l'absence d'objections il le considérera comme adopté.

Il en est ainsi décidé.

64. Le PRESIDENT met aux voix l'amendement 8 (A/C.4/L.274).

Par 25 voix contre 16, avec 9 abstentions, l'amendement 8 est adopté.

65. Le PRESIDENT met aux voix l'amendement 9.

Par 25 voix contre 17, avec 8 abstentions, l'amendement 9 est adopté.

66. Le PRESIDENT met aux voix l'ensemble de la troisième partie de la liste de facteurs (A/2428, section VI), sous sa forme amendée.

Par 23 voix contre 16, avec 11 abstentions, la troisième partie de la liste de facteurs est adoptée sous sa forme amendée.

67. Le PRESIDENT met aux voix l'ensemble de la liste de facteurs, sous sa forme amendée.

Par 25 voix contre 18, avec 8 abstentions, la liste de facteurs est adoptée sous sa forme amendée.

68. Mme BOLTON (Etats-Unis d'Amérique) s'est abstenue de voter sur les amendements à la liste de facteurs parce qu'elle estime que leur examen par la Commission a été hâtif et incomplet. Elle réserve la position de sa délégation quant au fond même des amendements et regrette que le Président n'ait pas suivi la procédure suggérée par les représentants de la Belgique, des Philippines et des Etats-Unis.

69. M. S. S. LIU (Chine) déclare que son abstention ne doit pas être considérée comme une prise de position quant au fond même des amendements. La liste de facteurs proposée par le Comité *ad hoc* semblait un guide satisfaisant et sa délégation n'a pas vu l'utilité de l'amender pour le moment. En outre, cette liste, qui représente tant d'efforts, aurait pu recueillir plus de suffrages à l'Assemblée générale elle-même. Aucune liste de facteurs ne saurait être complète ou définitive.

70. M. DE HOLTE CASTELLO (Colombie) déclare que son abstention ne constitue ni une prise de position quant au fond même des amendements ni un jugement de valeur. Sa délégation appuie le projet de

résolution brésilien (A/C.4/L.272) et votera en sa faveur.

71. M. NAJAR (Israël) déclare qu'il ne faut pas voir dans son abstention lors du vote sur les différents amendements un jugement sur les principes et les définitions qu'ils contiennent. Mais il y a une grande différence entre adopter des propositions en deux jours et adopter une liste qui a fait l'objet d'un examen prolongé et minutieux. Il est regrettable que la Commission ait préféré adopter la liste amendée à une majorité relativement faible, alors qu'elle avait la possibilité d'arriver à un accord beaucoup plus général sur la liste présentée par le Comité *ad hoc*. M. Najar craint qu'une liste adoptée en de pareilles circonstances ne donne pas les résultats escomptés.

72. M. RYCKMANS (Belgique) explique qu'il se serait abstenu de voter sur la liste primitive, qui représente plusieurs années de travail, mais qu'il s'est vu dans l'obligation de voter contre les amendements que la Commission vient d'adopter dans la confusion.

73. M. DONS MOELLER (Danemark) aurait été disposé à voter en faveur de la liste de facteurs présentée par le Comité *ad hoc*. La présentation d'amendements au stade présent de la discussion a causé quelque surprise à sa délégation, et le temps a manqué pour les étudier. Il a voté en faveur de quelques-uns d'entre eux mais la plupart ne semblent pas apporter la moindre amélioration au texte primitif. Par exemple, le nouveau facteur A. 2 de la troisième partie, qui traite des vœux éventuels des populations d'un territoire non autonome, n'est même pas à proprement parler un facteur, car il a trait à des événements subséquents. De plus, ou bien il signifie que l'intégration à la métropole n'est pas complète, ou bien il constitue une intervention dans les affaires intérieures d'un autre Etat, ce qui est contraire à la Charte. M. Dons Moeller s'est donc vu dans l'obligation de voter contre l'adoption de ce nouveau facteur et contre certains autres amendements.

74. M. PIGNON (France) constate avec regret que la majorité qui a approuvé la liste amendée n'a même pas cherché à répondre aux critiques qui avaient été formulées contre les amendements.

75. M. DE MARCHENA (République Dominicaine) tient à bien préciser une fois encore que sa délégation a toujours désiré que l'on élabore une liste de facteurs et était disposée à approuver la liste du Comité *ad hoc*. Elle a vu avec surprise certaines délégations présenter de nouveaux amendements et n'a pu voter en leur faveur, car elle aurait préféré voir la Commission adopter la liste primitive.

76. M. FERREIRA DE SOUZA (Brésil) explique que sa délégation, en s'abstenant de prendre part au vote sur les différents amendements, a été animée du même esprit de conciliation qui l'avait poussée à présenter son projet de résolution. De plus, l'examen des amendements a été trop hâtif et il réserve la position de sa délégation à leur égard lors du vote à l'Assemblée générale.

77. M. NAUDE (Union Sud-Africaine) tient à bien préciser que son vote ne constitue pas une prise de position quant au fond même des amendements.

La séance est levée à 18 h. 5.

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QUATRIEME COMMISSION, 330^e
SEANCE

Vendredi 9 octobre 1953,
à 15 h. 15

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Facteurs dont il convient de tenir compte pour décider si un territoire est, ou n'est pas, un territoire dont les populations ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes: rapport du Comité *ad hoc* pour l'étude des facteurs (territoires non autonomes) [suite]..... 93

Président: M. Santiago PEREZ PEREZ (Venezuela).

Facteurs dont il convient de tenir compte pour décider si un territoire est, ou n'est pas, un territoire dont les populations ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes: rapport du Comité *ad hoc* pour l'étude des facteurs (territoires non autonomes) [A/2428, A/C.4/L.272, A/C.4/L.273 et Corr.1, A/C.4/L.274, A/C.4/L.275, A/C.4/L.276, A/C.4/L.277] (suite)

[Point 33*]

1. M. L. S. BOKHARI (Pakistan) dit qu'avant la présentation par onze délégations du projet d'amendement A/C.4/L.274 à la liste de facteurs (A/2428, sect. VI), sa délégation avait l'intention de voter pour le projet de résolution brésilien (A/C.4/L.272), car elle était en faveur de la liste de facteurs présentée par le Comité *ad hoc* et elle estimait qu'il était inutile que la Commission poursuive cette discussion. M. Bokhari avait espéré que le projet de résolution brésilien recevrait un appui général et que son adoption contribuerait à réduire le désaccord entre Puissances administrantes et Puissances non administrantes. A la séance précédente, la délégation du Pakistan a voté contre la proposition du représentant du Guatemala, qui tendait à ce que les amendements à la liste de facteurs fussent examinés avant le projet de résolution brésilien et les amendements qui s'y rapportent. Par la suite, cependant, comme elle n'était pas opposée aux amendements à la liste de facteurs quant au fond, elle a voté en leur faveur, mais, en raison de la très faible majorité à laquelle la plupart des amendements ont été adoptés, elle n'est pas très satisfaite du résultat.

2. M. FRAZAO (Brésil) indique qu'à la suite de la procédure de vote adoptée à la séance précédente la Commission a pris certaines décisions qui ont amené la délégation brésilienne à reconsidérer sa position en ce qui concerne son projet de résolution (A/C.4/L.272). Ce projet de résolution était fondé sur la conviction que l'Assemblée générale devait adopter certains principes fondamentaux en matière de responsabilité internationale et qu'il incombait aux Membres administrants certaines responsabilités fondamentales. La délégation du Brésil avait espéré que la Commission

adopterait ce projet de résolution à une forte majorité. Sa disposition essentielle est l'adoption de la liste de facteurs proposée par le Comité *ad hoc*, mais le paragraphe 8 du dispositif laisse au Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes la possibilité de reviser cette liste ultérieurement. La liste proposée par le Comité *ad hoc* est le résultat de près de trois années de travail, et la délégation brésilienne avait préconisé son adoption parce qu'elle était convaincue qu'on faciliterait ainsi la collaboration internationale en vue d'atteindre les objectifs du Chapitre XI de la Charte. Le représentant du Brésil regrette profondément les décisions que la Commission a prises à la séance précédente. Sa délégation a tout d'abord songé à retirer son projet, puisque le paragraphe 2 est incompatible avec les décisions adoptées; mais, pour ne pas compliquer le travail de la Commission, elle a finalement décidé de maintenir son projet de résolution, y compris le paragraphe 2. Elle demande à la Commission d'adopter ce paragraphe tel qu'il est, ce qui aura pour effet d'annuler les décisions de la séance précédente.

3. La délégation du Brésil tient à déclarer officiellement que tel est le motif pour lequel elle maintient son projet de résolution; elle se réserve le droit d'appuyer toute formule de compromis qui pourrait être proposée à l'Assemblée générale.

4. Mme BOLTON (Etats-Unis d'Amérique) dit que la délégation des Etats-Unis comprend parfaitement l'initiative de la délégation du Brésil. Le projet de résolution du Brésil ne donne pas entièrement satisfaction à la délégation des Etats-Unis; mais, pour faire preuve d'esprit de conciliation, celle-ci votera pour onze des douze paragraphes dans leur forme actuelle. Si le troisième paragraphe du dispositif était modifié, la délégation des Etats-Unis pourrait l'appuyer aussi et voter pour la résolution dans son ensemble. Mme Bolton espère que d'autres délégations voteront dans le même esprit.

5. L'Assemblée générale a déjà fait œuvre utile en précisant les facteurs complexes et divers qui doivent permettre de vérifier si un territoire a atteint à l'autonomie complète. La délégation des Etats-Unis ne peut accepter le principe du paragraphe 3 du projet brésilien, mais sa position à son égard n'est pas négative. En vertu de l'Article 10 de la Charte, l'Assemblée est compétente pour examiner et essayer de définir les expressions "territoires non autonomes" et "territoires dont les populations ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes". Elle a qualité pour recommander aux Membres administrants en général d'examiner toute définition qu'elle aura adoptée et elle peut même donner son avis, en termes généraux, sur les principes dont s'inspirent ou pourraient s'inspirer lesdits Membres pour décider au sujet de quel territoire ils communiqueront des renseignements. De plus, la délégation des Etats-Unis ne voit pas d'inconvénient à ce que l'Assemblée générale examine les données fournies

* Numéro affecté à la question dans l'ordre du jour de l'Assemblée générale.

par les Membres administrants à l'appui de leur décision de cesser de communiquer des renseignements au sujet de territoires qui seraient devenus autonomes. Mais la Constitution des Etats-Unis donne au Congrès des Etats-Unis le pouvoir souverain et exclusif de décider des modifications à apporter au statut constitutionnel des territoires des Etats-Unis. Les Etats-Unis seuls peuvent décider à quel moment l'un de leurs territoires aura atteint à l'autonomie complète, au sens de l'Article 73 de la Charte. Mme Bolton a donc été extrêmement surprise de constater que certaines délégations appuient des recommandations qui ne sauraient avoir un effet juridique obligatoire pour le Congrès des Etats-Unis et seront mal comprises par la population des Etats-Unis. Dans la pratique, ces recommandations n'auront, dans l'ensemble, aucune valeur et, pour cela même, seront nuisibles. La représentante des Etats-Unis demande instamment aux délégations intéressées de ne pas insister pour que la Commission adopte ces recommandations.

6. Dans l'espoir que son appel sera entendu, Mme Bolton voudrait proposer une modification au paragraphe 3 du dispositif du projet de résolution brésilien. Elle demande au Président de mettre aux voix séparément l'expression "aux Puissances administrantes qui sont Membres de l'Organisation et à l'Assemblée générale" qui figure au paragraphe 3 du projet de résolution brésilien, ainsi que la dernière partie de ce paragraphe, qui commence par les mots "afin que l'on puisse décider ...".

7. La délégation des Etats-Unis est prête à accepter plusieurs des amendements du document A/C.4/L.273 et Corr.1 au projet de résolution brésilien, mais elle votera contre les amendements 2 et 3 parce qu'elle appuie la liste de facteurs du rapport du Comité *ad hoc* (A/2428). Si ces paragraphes sont rejetés, la Commission aura la possibilité, en votant sans les modifier les paragraphes correspondants du projet brésilien, de revenir sur la décision hâtive et regrettable qu'elle a prise à la séance précédente et d'approuver la liste de facteurs proposée par le Comité *ad hoc*. Afin de répondre aux vœux des onze auteurs des amendements à la liste de facteurs, la Commission pourrait envisager la possibilité d'adresser les comptes rendus de ses débats sur la question des facteurs au Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes, en le priant d'examiner les suggestions de Membres de l'Assemblée, s'il décide d'étudier de nouvelles revisions de la liste de facteurs¹.

8. M. FRAZAO (Brésil) accepte l'amendement de la délégation des Etats-Unis, car il le considère comme une solution raisonnable à la difficulté actuelle. Il espère que les auteurs des amendements contenus dans le document A/C.4/L.274 seront en mesure de voter cet amendement et, par conséquent, le paragraphe 2 du projet de résolution brésilien. La délégation du Brésil étudiera bien volontiers, au Comité des renseignements, les amendements à la liste de facteurs et acceptera sans doute un grand nombre de ces amendements. Mais il est certain qu'à la séance précédente, la Commission a adopté ces amendements sans les avoir examinés comme il convient.

9. M. MENDOZA (Guatemala), appuyé par M. BOZOVIC (Yougoslavie) et M. ESPINOSA Y

PRIETO (Mexique), fait observer que voter le paragraphe 2 du projet de résolution du Brésil équivaldrait à revenir sur les décisions que la Commission a prises à sa séance précédente. En vertu de l'article 122 du règlement intérieur, la Commission ne peut le faire que si elle en décide ainsi à la majorité des deux tiers.

10. M. ARAOZ (Bolivie) fait observer que si la Commission adopte le paragraphe 2 du projet de résolution du Brésil ou le paragraphe 3 des amendements (A/C.4/L.273), le résultat sera le même. La Commission n'est saisie que d'une seule liste de facteurs, à savoir la liste amendée; en effet, du fait même qu'elle a été amendée, la liste initiale proposée par le Comité *ad hoc* a cessé d'exister. Si la Commission désire revenir sur sa décision d'amender la liste de facteurs, il convient d'appliquer strictement les articles pertinents du règlement intérieur.

11. M. RYCKMANS (Belgique) et M. FRAZAO (Brésil) ne peuvent accepter l'argument selon lequel la liste du Comité *ad hoc* aurait cessé d'exister. De toute façon, à sa précédente séance, la Commission n'a examiné aucune partie du projet de résolution du Brésil, pas plus que les amendements dont ce texte faisait l'objet. La Commission a simplement voté sur les amendements à la liste de facteurs. Elle doit maintenant passer au vote sur le projet de résolution et les amendements dont il fait l'objet.

12. Le PRÉSIDENT décide qu'en votant sur le projet de résolution du Brésil et sur les amendements dont il fait l'objet, la Commission ne revient pas sur les décisions qu'elle a prises antérieurement et que par conséquent l'article 122 ne s'applique pas en l'occurrence.

13. Aucun amendement n'a été déposé en ce qui concerne les deux premiers considérants du projet de résolution du Brésil (A/C.4/L.272) et, s'il n'y a pas d'objections, le Président considérera que ces considérants sont adoptés.

Il en est ainsi décidé.

14. Le PRÉSIDENT annonce que l'amendement 1 (A/C.4/L.273), visant à insérer au préambule un nouveau considérant qui deviendrait le troisième, a été accepté par le représentant du Brésil.

15. M. PIGNON (France) demande que ce paragraphe soit néanmoins mis aux voix.

16. M. WINIEWICZ (Pologne) demande le vote par appel nominal.

Il est procédé au vote par appel nominal.

Le vote commence par l'Irak dont le nom est tiré au sort par le Président.

Votent pour: Irak, Israël, Liban, Libéria, Mexique, Pakistan, Philippines, Pologne, Arabie saoudite, Syrie, Thaïlande, République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine, Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yougoslavie, Afghanistan, Argentine, Bolivie, Brésil, Birmanie, République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie, Chili, Chine, Colombie, Cuba, Tchécoslovaquie, République Dominicaine, Egypte, Ethiopie, Grèce, Guatemala, Haïti, Honduras, Inde, Indonésie, Iran.

Votent contre: Luxembourg, Pays-Bas, Nouvelle-Zélande, Union Sud-Africaine, Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord, Etats-Unis d'Amérique, Australie, Belgique, Canada, Danemark, France.

S'abstiennent: Norvège, Suède.

¹ La délégation des Etats-Unis a présenté ultérieurement au cours de la séance un amendement à cet effet, qui a été distribué sous la cote A/C.4/L.276.

Par 37 voix contre 11, avec 2 abstentions, cet amendement est adopté.

17. Le PRESIDENT annonce qu'aucun amendement n'a été déposé en ce qui concerne le considérant du projet de résolution du Brésil qui était à l'origine le troisième et qui est maintenant devenu le quatrième; s'il n'y a pas d'objections, le Président considérera que ce considérant est adopté.

Il en est ainsi décidé.

18. Le PRESIDENT fait observer que le vote sur le paragraphe 2 du projet de résolution décidera automatiquement du sort de ce qui constituait antérieurement le quatrième considérant du projet de résolution et, par conséquent, du sort de l'amendement 2 (A/C.4/L.273 et Corr.1).

19. Aucun amendement n'a été déposé en ce qui concerne le paragraphe 1 du dispositif du projet de résolution du Brésil et, s'il n'y a pas d'objections, le Président considérera que ce paragraphe est adopté.

Il en est ainsi décidé.

20. M. FRAZAO (Brésil) fait observer que l'addition du nouveau paragraphe proposé par les Etats-Unis peut influencer le vote qu'un certain nombre de délégations émettront en ce qui concerne tant le paragraphe 2 du projet de résolution du Brésil que les amendements à ce paragraphe. M. Frazao propose donc de suspendre la séance jusqu'à ce que le texte de l'amendement des Etats-Unis ait été distribué.

21. Le PRESIDENT met aux voix la motion de suspension.

Par 17 voix contre 12, avec 14 abstentions, cette motion est rejetée.

22. M. DORSINVILLE (Haïti) demande qu'il soit procédé à un vote distinct sur la première partie de l'amendement 3 (A/C.4/L.273 et Corr.1) jusqu'aux mots "jointe en annexe".

23. Le PRESIDENT met aux voix la première partie de l'amendement 3.

Par 24 voix contre 20, avec 3 abstentions, la première partie est rejetée.

24. Le PRESIDENT constate que la deuxième partie de ce paragraphe n'aurait en elle-même aucun sens; il est donc impossible de la mettre aux voix.

25. Mme MENON (Inde) propose de supprimer les mots "contenue dans ce rapport", qui figurent au paragraphe 2 du dispositif du projet de résolution du Brésil, et de les remplacer par les mots "adoptée par la Quatrième Commission".

26. M. MENDOZA (Guatemala) appuie cette proposition à la fois quant au fond et pour des raisons de procédure. Etant donné que la Commission a déjà approuvé la liste de facteurs sous sa forme amendée, il est inutile de procéder à un vote sur une disposition qui a pour objet d'approuver la liste élaborée par le Comité *ad hoc*.

27. M. MATHIESON (Royaume-Uni) soutient que, malgré le vote intervenu à la précédente séance, il existe encore deux listes de facteurs: celle qu'a proposée le Comité *ad hoc* et celle qu'a approuvée la Quatrième Commission. Il n'y a aucune raison pour que la Commission ne vote pas sur un projet de résolution approuvant la première de ces listes si tel est le désir de la délégation brésilienne.

28. M. FRAZAO (Brésil), intervenant sur une question de procédure, estime qu'on ne peut présenter un

nouvel amendement au moment où la Commission a déjà commencé à voter sur les amendements des onze Puissances.

29. M. RYCKMANS (Belgique) ne pense pas que l'amendement de la délégation de l'Inde puisse être mis aux voix, car cela reviendrait en fait à présenter à nouveau l'amendement que la Commission vient de rejeter.

30. M. PIGNON (France) déclare que l'amendement de la délégation de l'Inde porte sur une question de fond; on ne peut interrompre le vote sur les amendements des onze Puissances pour se prononcer sur le texte de l'Inde.

31. Mme MENON (Inde) souligne qu'en rejetant le paragraphe 3 des amendements des onze Puissances, la Commission a, en fait, rejeté la liste de facteurs modifiée qu'elle avait adoptée au cours de la précédente séance. D'autre part, en adoptant la liste de facteurs modifiée, la Commission a automatiquement rejeté la liste originale. En réalité, il n'existe donc plus de liste sur laquelle la Commission puisse se prononcer.

32. M. RYCKMANS (Belgique) demande à la Commission de se prononcer sur le projet de résolution de la délégation du Brésil.

33. Le PRESIDENT propose de mettre aux voix l'amendement déposé par la délégation de l'Inde.

34. M. DE MARCHENA (République Dominicaine) fait observer qu'aux termes de l'article 127 du règlement intérieur, l'amendement de la délégation de l'Inde n'est pas recevable. En outre, cet amendement remet en cause une question sur laquelle la Commission a déjà pris une décision.

35. Le PRESIDENT invite la Commission à décider si elle désire que l'amendement de la délégation de l'Inde soit mis aux voix.

Par 25 voix contre 19, avec 4 abstentions, la Commission décide de mettre aux voix l'amendement de la délégation de l'Inde.

36. M. DE MARCHENA (République Dominicaine) présente une motion d'ordre; en exécution des dispositions de l'article 119 du règlement intérieur, l'amendement de la délégation de l'Inde doit être distribué par écrit et les membres de la Commission doivent avoir le temps de l'étudier.

37. Le PRESIDENT déclare que la séance sera suspendue pendant un quart d'heure pour permettre la distribution du texte écrit de l'amendement de la délégation de l'Inde.

La séance est suspendue à 17 h. 15; elle est reprise à 17 h. 45.

38. M. CALLE Y CALLE (Pérou) déclare que si l'article 119 du règlement intérieur permet au Président d'autoriser la discussion d'amendements qui n'ont pas été distribués par écrit, ce même article ne lui permet pas de mettre ces amendements aux voix avant qu'ils n'aient été distribués. En outre, l'article 127 prévoit qu'aucun représentant ne peut interrompre le scrutin sauf s'il s'agit d'une motion d'ordre ayant trait à la manière dont s'effectue le scrutin en question. L'amendement de la délégation de l'Inde (A/C.4/L.277) ne constitue pas une motion d'ordre et a été déposé au cours du scrutin.

39. M. DE MARCHENA (République Dominicaine) reconnaît que l'amendement de la délégation de l'Inde ne porte pas uniquement sur une question de forme, mais, en admettant même qu'il en soit ainsi,

ce serait créer un très sérieux précédent que de le déclarer recevable car il a été déposé au cours d'un scrutin. En raison des conséquences importantes qui pourraient en résulter, la Commission devrait avoir le temps d'étudier l'amendement de la délégation de l'Inde. M. de Marchena propose donc de lever la séance.

Il y a 19 voix pour, 19 voix contre et 11 abstentions. La proposition n'est pas adoptée.

40. Mme MENON (Inde) déclare que l'amendement déposé par la délégation de l'Inde n'est pas un amendement de fond mais tend uniquement à apporter une modification de forme rendue nécessaire par le fait que la Commission a adopté, au cours de la séance précédente, une liste de facteurs modifiée.

41. M. FRAZAO (Brésil) fait observer, aux fins tant du présent compte rendu que du rapport de la Commission, que sur la proposition du Président, la Commission a rejeté la première partie de l'amendement 3 des amendements des onze Puissances (A/C.4/L.273 et Corr.1) et doit se prononcer sur l'amendement de la délégation de l'Inde après avoir rejeté l'amendement des onze Puissances.

42. Le PRÉSIDENT met aux voix l'amendement (A/C.4/L.277) que la délégation de l'Inde propose d'apporter au paragraphe 2 du dispositif du projet de résolution présenté par la délégation du Brésil (A/C.4/L.272).

43. M. MENDOZA (Guatemala) demande le vote par appel nominal.

Il est procédé au vote par appel nominal.

L'appel commence par la Suède, dont le nom est tiré au sort par le Président.

Votent pour: Syrie, République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine, Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yémen, Yougoslavie, Afghanistan, Argentine, Bolivie, Birmanie, République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie, Chili, Cuba, Tchécoslovaquie, Egypte, Ethiopie, Guatemala, Haïti, Honduras, Inde, Indonésie, Iran, Irak, Liban, Libéria, Mexique, Pakistan, Pologne, Arabie saoudite.

Votent contre: Suède, Union Sud-Africaine, Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord, Etats-Unis d'Amérique, Australie, Belgique, Brésil, Canada, Colombie, Danemark, République Dominicaine, France, Israël, Luxembourg, Pays-Bas, Nouvelle-Zélande, Norvège, Pérou.

S'abstiennent: Thaïlande, Chine, Grèce, Philippines.

Par 30 voix contre 18, avec 4 abstentions, l'amendement est adopté.

44. Le PRÉSIDENT met aux voix le paragraphe 2 du dispositif du projet de résolution du Brésil (A/C.4/L.272) sous sa forme amendée. Il fait observer que cet amendement entraîne la suppression du quatrième considérant.

45. M. MENDOZA (Guatemala) demande le vote par appel nominal.

Il est procédé au vote par appel nominal.

L'appel commence par les Philippines, dont le nom est tiré au sort par le Président.

Votent pour: Arabie saoudite, Syrie, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yémen, Yougoslavie, Afghanistan, Argentine, Bolivie, Birmanie, Chili, Cuba, Egypte, Ethiopie, Guatemala, Haïti, Honduras, Inde, Indonésie, Iran, Irak, Liban, Libéria, Mexique, Pakistan.

Votent contre: Pologne, Suède, République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine, Union Sud-Africaine, Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques, Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord, Etats-Unis d'Amérique, Australie, Belgique, Brésil, République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie, Canada, Colombie, Tchécoslovaquie, Danemark, République Dominicaine, France, Israël, Luxembourg, Pays-Bas, Nouvelle-Zélande, Norvège, Pérou.

S'abstiennent: Philippines, Thaïlande, Chine, Grèce.

Par 25 voix contre 23, avec 4 abstentions, le paragraphe 2 modifié est adopté.

46. Mme BOLTON (Etats-Unis d'Amérique) retire la proposition de la délégation des Etats-Unis visant à voter par division le paragraphe 3 du dispositif du projet de résolution du Brésil.

47. Le PRÉSIDENT dit que s'il n'y a pas d'objections il déclarera adoptée la première partie du paragraphe 3 du dispositif du projet de résolution du Brésil (A/C.4/L.272) jusqu'aux mots "la liste de facteurs jointe en annexe".

Il en est ainsi décidé.

48. M. WINIEWICZ (Pologne) fait observer que si ce paragraphe avait fait l'objet d'un vote, la délégation polonaise se serait prononcée contre la première partie.

49. Le PRÉSIDENT met aux voix l'amendement des Philippines (A/C.4/L.275, alinéa a) tendant à ajouter les mots "dans les consultations auxquelles elles procéderont" après les mots "pour guider" au paragraphe 3 du dispositif du projet de résolution brésilien.

Par 26 voix contre 15, avec 9 abstentions, l'amendement est rejeté.

50. Le PRÉSIDENT met aux voix la deuxième partie de l'amendement 4 des onze Puissances (A/C.4/L.273 et Corr.1) tendant à supprimer, dans le paragraphe 3 du projet de résolution brésilien, les mots "et d'appliquer ces facteurs en tenant compte de toutes circonstances propres à chaque cas particulier".

Par 26 voix contre 18, avec 6 abstentions, l'amendement est adopté.

51. Le PRÉSIDENT met aux voix l'amendement des Philippines (A/C.4/L.275, alinéa b) tendant à ajouter les mots "d'un commun accord" après les mots "que l'on puisse décider".

Par 19 voix contre 13, avec 4 abstentions, l'amendement est rejeté.

52. Le PRÉSIDENT met aux voix la troisième partie de l'amendement 4 (A/C.4/L.273 et Corr.1) tendant à remplacer les mots "afin que l'on puisse décider" par les mots "afin que l'Assemblée générale puisse décider", au paragraphe 3 du projet de résolution brésilien.

Par 30 voix contre 15, avec 5 abstentions, l'amendement est adopté.

53. Le PRÉSIDENT met aux voix l'ensemble du paragraphe 3 du dispositif du projet de résolution brésilien (A/C.4/L.272), tel qu'il a été amendé.

Par 25 voix contre 23, avec 3 abstentions, l'ensemble du paragraphe 3, ainsi amendé, est adopté.

54. Le PRÉSIDENT met aux voix l'amendement 5 (A/C.4/L.273 et Corr.1) proposant un nouveau texte pour le paragraphe 4 du projet de résolution brésilien.

Par 35 voix contre 11, avec 4 abstentions, l'amendement est adopté.

55. Le PRESIDENT met aux voix le nouveau paragraphe 5 proposé dans l'amendement 6 (A/C.4/L.273 et Corr.1).

Par 29 voix contre 19, avec 4 abstentions, le nouveau paragraphe 5 est adopté.

56. Le PRESIDENT met aux voix la première partie du nouveau paragraphe 6 proposé dans l'amendement 6 (A/C.4/L.273 et Corr.1), jusqu'aux mots "l'autonomie complète", ainsi que le représentant de la Pologne l'a demandé.

57. M. WINIEWICZ (Pologne) demande le vote par appel nominal.

Il est procédé au vote par appel nominal.

L'appel commence par le Pakistan, dont le nom est tiré au sort par le Président.

Votent pour: Pérou, Philippines, Pologne, Arabie saoudite, Syrie, République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine, Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yémen, Yougoslavie, Afghanistan, Argentine, Bolivie, Brésil, Birmanie, République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie, Chili, Colombie, Cuba, Tchécoslovaquie, République Dominicaine, Egypte, Grèce, Guatemala, Haïti, Honduras, Inde, Indonésie, Iran, Irak, Israël, Liban, Libéria, Mexique.

Votent contre: Suède, Union Sud-Africaine, Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord, Etats-Unis d'Amérique, Australie, Belgique, Canada, Danemark, France, Luxembourg, Pays-Bas, Nouvelle-Zélande, Norvège.

S'abstiennent: Pakistan, Thaïlande, Chine, Ethiopie.

Par 35 voix contre 13, avec 4 abstentions, la première partie du nouveau paragraphe 6 est adoptée.

58. Le PRESIDENT met aux voix le reste du nouveau paragraphe 6.

Par 28 voix contre 7, avec 15 abstentions, le reste du nouveau paragraphe 6 est adopté.

59. Le PRESIDENT met aux voix l'ensemble du paragraphe 6.

Par 28 voix contre 18, avec 3 abstentions, l'ensemble du paragraphe 6 est adopté.

60. Le PRESIDENT déclare qu'en l'absence d'opposition aux amendements 7 et 8 (A/C.4/L.273 et Corr.1), qui ont été acceptés par le Brésil, les paragraphes 5 et 6 du projet de résolution brésilien ainsi amendés, qui deviennent maintenant les paragraphes 7 et 8, seront considérés comme adoptés.

Il en est ainsi décidé.

61. Le PRESIDENT met aux voix la première partie de l'amendement 9 (A/C.4/L.273 et Corr.1) tendant à donner le numéro 9 au paragraphe 7 du dispositif du projet de résolution brésilien et à supprimer les mots "en outre" dudit paragraphe.

Par 23 voix contre 2, avec 21 abstentions, l'amendement est adopté.

62. Le PRESIDENT met aux voix la fin de l'amendement 9 visant à supprimer, au même paragraphe du projet de résolution brésilien, le membre de phrase commençant par les mots "lorsqu'il s'acquittera" et finissant par les mots "le 2 décembre 1950".

Par 23 voix contre 3, avec 13 abstentions, l'amendement est adopté.

63. Le PRESIDENT met aux voix le nouveau paragraphe 9 du projet de résolution brésilien, sous sa forme amendée.

Par 28 voix contre 21, avec 2 abstentions, le paragraphe 9, sous sa forme amendée, est adopté.

64. Le PRESIDENT met aux voix l'amendement 10 (A/C.4/L.273 et Corr.1), qui propose un nouveau texte pour le dernier paragraphe, anciennement paragraphe 8, du projet de résolution brésilien.

Par 33 voix contre 13, avec 4 abstentions, l'amendement est adopté.

65. M. RYCKMANS (Belgique) indique que, s'il a voté contre l'amendement, ce n'est pas parce qu'il estime impossible d'améliorer la liste.

66. Le PRESIDENT annonce que l'amendement des Etats-Unis (A/C.4/L.276) a été retiré.

67. Il met aux voix l'ensemble du projet de résolution brésilien, sous sa forme amendée, avec la liste de facteurs telle qu'elle a été modifiée.

68. M. ESPINOSA Y PRIETO (Mexique) demande le vote par appel nominal.

Il est procédé au vote par appel nominal.

L'appel commence par la République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine, dont le nom est tiré au sort par le Président.

Votent pour: Uruguay, Venezuela, Yémen, Yougoslavie, Afghanistan, Argentine, Bolivie, Birmanie, Chili, Cuba, Egypte, Ethiopie, Grèce, Guatemala, Haïti, Honduras, Inde, Indonésie, Iran, Irak, Liban, Libéria, Mexique, Pakistan, Philippines, Arabie saoudite, Syrie.

Votent contre: République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine, Union Sud-Africaine, Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques, Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord, Etats-Unis d'Amérique, Australie, Belgique, Brésil, République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie, Canada, Colombie, Tchécoslovaquie, Danemark, République Dominicaine, France, Israël, Luxembourg, Pays-Bas, Nouvelle-Zélande, Norvège, Pérou, Pologne, Suède.

S'abstiennent: Chine, Thaïlande.

Par 27 voix contre 23, avec 2 abstentions, le projet de résolution brésilien, sous sa forme amendée, est adopté.

69. M. WINIEWICZ (Pologne) déclare que l'attitude de sa délégation au sujet de la liste de facteurs s'explique par son adhésion au principe du droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes. La délégation polonaise a pu accepter et voter la première partie de la liste, mais a considéré qu'elle ne pouvait accepter la deuxième et la troisième partie, car elles ne prévoient pas l'accession des territoires non autonomes au statut d'Etat souverain. La deuxième et la troisième partie risquent de ce fait de prêter à une interprétation qui serve à perpétuer le régime colonial sous une forme différente, au lieu de faciliter l'accession des peuples non autonomes à l'indépendance.

70. La délégation polonaise s'est vue dans l'obligation de voter contre le projet de résolution brésilien, même sous sa forme amendée, parce que sa disposition essentielle avait pour objet d'approuver une liste de facteurs qui n'est pas satisfaisante. Les amendements à la liste de facteurs et au projet de résolution n'ont pas amélioré le texte original, ni dissipé les graves appréhensions de la délégation polonaise.

71. M. Winiewicz tient à souligner encore une fois une autre considération fondamentale déjà formulée par la délégation polonaise au cours de la discussion précédente que la Quatrième Commission avait consacrée à la question. L'obligation qu'ont assumée les Puissances coloniales de transmettre des renseignements est une obligation qui les lie et elles ne peuvent être relevées de cette responsabilité internationale que par une décision

internationale de l'Assemblée générale. Pour qu'une Puissance administrante puisse être dégagée de son obligation de fournir des renseignements conformément à l'Article 73, e, de la Charte, il faut que l'Assemblée générale étudie toutes les données concernant les changements intervenus dans le statut du territoire et se prononce en tenant compte de toutes les circonstances

pertinentes. Telles sont les considérations qui guideront la délégation polonaise chaque fois que l'Assemblée générale sera appelée à décider si un territoire est ou n'est pas un territoire dont les populations s'administrent complètement elles-mêmes.

La séance est levée à 18 h. 45.

Nations Unies
**ASSEMBLEE
GENERALE**

HUITIEME SESSION
Documents officiels



54
QUATRIEME COMMISSION, 331^e

SEANCE

Lundi 12 octobre 1953,
à 10 h. 45

New-York

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Facteurs dont il convient de tenir compte pour décider si un territoire est, ou n'est pas, un territoire dont les populations ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes: rapport du Comité *ad hoc* pour l'étude des facteurs (territoires non autonomes) [A/2428] (suite)

[Point 33 *]

1. Lord HUDSON (Royaume-Uni) précise que sa délégation a voté à la 330^{ème} séance contre le projet de résolution du Brésil (A/C.4/L.272) pour les raisons que le représentant du Royaume-Uni a exposées dans la première intervention qu'il a faite au cours des débats sur ce point de l'ordre du jour (326^{ème} séance). De plus, la délégation du Royaume-Uni réserve expressément sa position au cas où un Membre quelconque de l'Assemblée générale invoquerait cette résolution pour appuyer une revendication ultérieure.

2. Mme MENON (Inde) dit que la délégation de l'Inde était prête à accepter tel quel le rapport du Comité *ad hoc* (A/2428); cependant, elle n'a pas vu d'objection à ce que les principes énoncés dans la liste des facteurs contenue dans la section VI du rapport et dans le projet de résolution du Brésil soient précisés et mis au point. La délégation de l'Inde a donc voté les amendements des onze Puissances à la liste des facteurs (A/C.4/L.274) et au projet de résolution (A/C.4/L.273 et Corr.1). Certaines délégations se sont opposées à ce que la Commission étudie à nouveau la liste des facteurs parce que cette liste avait déjà été étudiée par le Comité *ad hoc*; elles se sont également prononcées contre les amendements en alléguant que la Quatrième Commission n'avait pas eu le temps de les étudier. Il est évident qu'un Comité *ad hoc*, qui ne comprend qu'un petit nombre de délégations, ne peut représenter les vues de l'ensemble des soixante pays qui siègent à la Quatrième Commission; par contre, certains des amendements proposés avaient déjà été examinés à San-Francisco et les idées qu'ils contiennent sont connues depuis longtemps. Il a été entendu que la liste des facteurs constituera simplement un guide, qu'on y trouvera des indications générales plutôt qu'une énumération complète et que chaque cas soumis aux Nations Unies

sera examiné séparément, en fonction de circonstances qui lui sont propres. On a donc à la fois limité et étendu la portée et le champ d'application de la liste des facteurs. La liste représente un effort sincère en vue de faire cadrer les faits avec la théorie, au lieu de plier la théorie aux faits, et sa valeur est purement formelle.

3. La délégation de l'Inde attache une grande importance à deux éléments du problème: en premier lieu, pour que la Commission puisse poursuivre ses travaux, il est essentiel de parvenir à une certaine compréhension entre les Membres administrants et les Membres non administrants; en second lieu, les décisions adoptées par la Commission doivent accélérer le rythme du progrès envisagé au Chapitre XI de la Charte. Ces résultats ne peuvent être acquis que par un effort de coopération. Il est vrai qu'aucune disposition de la Charte n'oblige les Membres administrants à adopter telle ou telle autre ligne de conduite; cependant, dans les limites qui lui sont propres, la Quatrième Commission s'efforce de mettre en œuvre les décisions de l'Assemblée générale. Lorsqu'on a pris conscience de ces limites, il semble inutile de débattre les thèses respectivement défendues par les Membres administrants et par l'Organisation des Nations Unies. En réaffirmant à tout propos que les décisions qu'ils prendront quant au statut des territoires non autonomes qu'ils administrent seront unilatérales, qu'en acceptant le Chapitre XI ils ont fait toutes les concessions qu'ils étaient disposés à consentir et que ce serait violer la Charte que leur demander autre chose, les Membres administrants ne favorisent nullement cette compréhension et ils enlèvent tout sens au Chapitre XI. La délégation de l'Inde estime que lorsqu'un Etat Membre accepte la Charte, il ne peut accepter certaines dispositions comme obligatoires, et d'autres comme non obligatoires. Elle pense, comme d'autres délégations, que les dispositions du Chapitre XI ne sont pas et ne sauraient être considérées comme des déclarations unilatérales faites par certains Etats Membres; elles constituent un traité auquel tous les Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies sont parties contractantes. L'obligation de transmettre des renseignements n'est donc pas limitée de façon permanente à quelques Membres administrants, car il n'est pas exclu que d'autres Etats Membres puissent assumer des obligations de cette nature. Il incombe à tous les Etats Membres de remplir les fins énoncées au Chapitre XI, et c'est là l'une des raisons pour lesquelles les Membres non administrants s'intéressent si vivement au bien-être des populations des territoires non autonomes.

4. La délégation de l'Inde ne sous-estime pas la valeur des définitions, mais elle attache plus d'importance aux faits. L'association de plusieurs pays ne peut être volontaire que dans la mesure où les pays intéressés sont placés sur un pied d'entière égalité. L'association et la coopération sur le plan international ne sont donc valables et possibles que lorsqu'un territoire a été libéré de toute pression politique extérieure. La méthode qu'il convient de suivre, dans tous les cas de cette nature,

* Numéro affecté à la question dans l'ordre du jour de l'Assemblée générale.

consiste donc à assurer tout d'abord l'indépendance et à passer ensuite à l'association, comme ce fut le cas de l'Inde elle-même. La Charte dispose que les Etats Membres ont accepté les diverses obligations qui leur incombent en vertu de l'Article 73 comme une mission sacrée; on comprend donc difficilement pourquoi les Membres administrants pourraient craindre les mots "indépendance" et "droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes". Les arguments qu'ils invoquent ne tiennent aucun compte de la façon dont la pensée politique a récemment évolué. Les événements ont montré qu'il n'est plus possible de résister au désir de liberté des masses populaires en s'appuyant sur des théories ou des interprétations juridiques. Les Puissances administrantes devraient devancer les événements au lieu d'être à leur remorque. En Europe, des Etats souverains abandonnent actuellement leurs droits en matière de défense nationale, droit où l'on a reconnu l'un des attributs caractéristiques de la souveraineté; pendant ce temps, dans le monde entier, les peuples dépendants revendiquent le droit à l'indépendance. Tels sont les faits qui ont servi de toile de fond à l'examen de la liste des facteurs à la Quatrième Commission.

5. Il est étrange et regrettable que certains Etats Membres, qui remplissent fidèlement les obligations du Chapitre XI, aient manifesté leur indifférence vis-à-vis de la liste des facteurs et réaffirmé la thèse, souvent exprimée par eux, selon laquelle ni l'Assemblée générale ni aucune Puissance ne pourront influencer les décisions qu'ils prendront quant au statut des territoires non autonomes qu'ils administrent. La délégation de l'Inde se préoccupe du sort des peuples des territoires non autonomes et, comme elle l'a toujours fait, elle appuiera pleinement toute mesure qui hâtera ou contribuera à hâter l'évolution de ces territoires vers l'indépendance.

6. La délégation de l'Inde ne partage pas les vues des délégations qui ont souligné la difficulté d'une définition satisfaisante de la notion de complète autonomie. Le problème qui se pose n'est pas celui de l'absence d'une définition, mais de l'absence d'accord sur cette définition. Pour la délégation de l'Inde, il n'existe aucune différence entre l'autonomie complète et l'indépendance. Il peut exister divers degrés d'autonomie, mais une autonomie complète doit être synonyme d'indépendance.

7. C'est parce que la délégation de l'Inde est convaincue de ces principes qu'elle a accepté les amendements des onze Puissances ainsi que les principes énoncés dans le projet de résolution du Brésil.

8. M. RYCKMANS (Belgique) déclare que la délégation de la Belgique a voté en s'inspirant de certains principes immuables qui sont d'une application universelle et en tout point conformes au droit.

9. La représentante des Etats-Unis a clairement fait comprendre que c'est au Congrès des Etats-Unis qu'appartient le pouvoir souverain de prendre des décisions concernant le statut des territoires des Etats-Unis. De même, c'est au Parlement belge, et à lui seul, qu'il appartient de décider du sort des territoires belges, qui forment partie intégrante de l'Etat belge. Lorsque la Belgique a décidé que l'Article 73, e, de la Charte s'appliquait au Congo belge, elle a décidé, sans pour cela consulter l'Assemblée générale, de communiquer les renseignements prévus à cet article; l'Assemblée générale n'a fait que prendre acte de cette décision et n'a nullement été appelée à l'approuver. Lorsque la Belgique estimera que le Congo belge ne relève plus de l'Article 73, e, elle décidera de même, sans davantage consulter l'Assemblée générale ni lui demander son approbation,

de cesser de communiquer des renseignements à son sujet. Tel est le droit, et ni un vote de la Quatrième Commission, ni une recommandation de l'Assemblée générale ne peuvent y changer quelque chose, car ils sont impuissants à investir l'Assemblée générale de pouvoirs que la Charte ne lui a pas conférés et ils sont impuissants à priver les Etats signataires d'une souveraineté qu'ils n'ont pas abdiquée. C'est pourquoi la résolution qui a été adoptée à la séance précédente restera lettre morte.

10. La thèse de la Belgique, suivant laquelle toute population non autonome a le droit d'être traitée équitablement et d'être protégée contre les abus, et suivant laquelle tout Etat qui possède des territoires habités par des populations qui ne s'administrent pas elles-mêmes est tenu, aux termes de l'Article 73, e, de la Charte, de fournir certains renseignements au Secrétaire général, n'a jamais été réfutée. Le représentant du Guatemala a tenté de lui opposer les vues exprimées à la Conférence de San-Francisco par les représentants de la Grèce et du Royaume-Uni, mais des opinions individuelles n'ont aucun poids au regard de la déclaration claire qui figure dans la Charte. Aucune attaque sérieuse n'a pu être lancée contre l'argument irréfutable qui est exposé aux paragraphes 59 et suivants du mémoire belge du 30 avril 1953 (A/AC.67/2).

11. Si la Charte était appliquée dans sa lettre et dans son esprit, il n'y aurait rien d'alarmant dans la thèse de la Belgique. Tous les hommes ont droit à un traitement équitable et à la protection contre les abus, simplement parce qu'ils sont des êtres humains, même si ce droit n'était pas formulé dans la Charte. Toutes les nations civilisées ont reconnu ce droit en acceptant l'Article 23 du Pacte de la Société des Nations. Et même les Etats qui prétendent aujourd'hui avoir refusé de le reconnaître dans la Charte n'oseraient pas prétendre qu'ils ont cessé de le reconnaître au for de leur conscience et qu'ils ont l'intention de dépouiller leurs populations autochtones d'une garantie internationale qu'ils leur avaient reconnue auparavant. Tous les Etats civilisés qui administrent des populations autochtones ont créé des services pour leur protection et tous publient des rapports. La Charte n'exige pas de ces Etats, et nul ne leur demande, de tenir l'Assemblée générale au courant de leurs problèmes politiques. Tout ce qu'il leur est demandé et tout ce que la Charte leur impose est d'extraire de ces rapports certains renseignements statistiques et autres, de nature technique, relatifs aux questions économiques, sociales et culturelles, et de les communiquer officiellement au Secrétaire général.

12. Il est difficile de comprendre que certains Etats souverains ne puissent accepter cette thèse. Si certains Etats la repoussent, c'est parce qu'ils désirent imposer aux quelques Puissances qui reconnaissent leurs obligations et qui s'en acquittent une interprétation tellement abusive de la Charte qu'ils ne peuvent plus l'accepter quand il s'agit de l'appliquer à eux-mêmes. Cependant, la logique a des lois qui ne se laissent pas violer. Ce qui est vrai à la Commission l'est également ailleurs. Si les décisions qui ont été prises aux deux séances précédentes sont destinées à manquer leur but, elles auront cependant certaines répercussions qui pourraient bien être très différentes de celles qu'on avait voulues. Les théories inattendues dont s'inspirent ces décisions — identité des concepts de l'autonomie et de l'indépendance, droit de sécession présenté comme inhérent au droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes, compétence exclusive de l'Assemblée pour décider du

moment auquel un territoire cesse de tomber sous l'application de l'Article 73, e, de la Charte — feront sans doute sourire dans les écoles de droit; et peut-être leurs auteurs ne les auraient-ils pas soutenues ailleurs qu'à la Quatrième Commission. Mais, le fait est qu'elles ont été soutenues, et à ceux qui les ont soutenues devant cette commission on est en droit de les opposer ailleurs. Si les facteurs qui ont été adoptés comme critères sont valables, ils le sont dans tous les pays, et pas seulement dans les territoires coloniaux. S'ils permettent de décider quand un Etat peut cesser de fournir des renseignements, ils permettent au même titre de décider quand un Etat doit commencer d'en fournir. Si l'Assemblée est compétente, elle l'est à l'égard de tous les Etats et pas seulement à l'égard des Puissances coloniales.

13. Des membres de la Commission ont affirmé dans un vote par appel nominal que le droit des peuples coloniaux à disposer d'eux-mêmes comporte le droit de sécession. Il est douteux que certains gouvernements aient applaudi aux votes émis à la Quatrième Commission par leurs représentants. Il est douteux que ces gouvernements confirment ce vote quand ils en auront pesé les conséquences et quand il s'agira pour chacun d'eux de prendre leurs responsabilités devant l'Assemblée générale. Il y a, ailleurs que dans les territoires coloniaux, des peuples soumis à un Etat qu'ils n'ont pas choisi et dont ils voudraient bien se séparer. Lorsque ces peuples demanderont que l'on applique les principes sous-entendus dans les votes émis en faveur de la liste des facteurs et du projet de résolution amendé, on leur répondra, bien entendu, que ces principes ne s'appliquent qu'aux peuples des territoires "supérieurs" et non aux peuples qui vivent à l'intérieur des frontières continentales d'un Etat souverain. Il est à craindre qu'ils ne saisissent pas la petite nuance. Il y a dans de nombreux Etats des groupes nationaux qui demandent une certaine autonomie. La résolution qui vient d'être adoptée leur apprendra qu'il n'y a pas d'autonomie vraie en dehors de l'indépendance totale. Peut-être ne se contenteront-ils plus désormais de réclamer l'autonomie. M. Ryckmans rappelle aux membres de la Commission le proverbe "Qui sème le vent récolte la tempête". Ceux qui ont adopté le projet de résolution amendé sont en train de semer le vent et, lorsque soufflera la tempête, il sera trop tard pour eux de dire qu'ils ne l'avaient pas voulu.

14. M. FRAZAO (Brésil) tient, pour éviter les malentendus, à exposer les raisons qui l'ont amené à voter contre les amendements au projet de résolution de sa délégation.

15. Il a souligné, au cours des débats, qu'aucune divergence fondamentale n'existe entre la délégation du Brésil et les auteurs des amendements en ce qui concerne tant le principe que le but des modifications proposées. On peut en voir la preuve dans le fait que la délégation du Brésil a accepté d'ajouter au préambule un nouveau paragraphe relatif à la compétence de l'Assemblée générale en ce qui concerne le respect des obligations qui découlent des dispositions du Chapitre XI de la Charte (A/C.4/L.273 et Corr.1, amendement 1).

16. Mais pour ce qui est des autres amendements, la délégation du Brésil a tenu à marquer qu'elle préférerait la manière dont elle-même avait défini la compétence de l'Assemblée générale en ce qui concerne la cessation de la communication de renseignements et le principe de relativité qui doit présider à l'application de la liste. En outre, M. Frazao ne considère pas que la suppression du paragraphe 4 du dispositif améliore le projet de

résolution. Il aurait préféré que la Commission conservât le texte original, qui précise que le droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes est l'élément primordial auquel tous les autres éléments doivent être subordonnés. De plus, le représentant du Brésil estime que le libellé des paragraphes 5 et 6 du texte modifié n'est pas très satisfaisant. Le paragraphe 5 reprend l'idée déjà exprimée au paragraphe 4 du texte de la délégation du Brésil. Le paragraphe 6 émet un jugement sur la valeur de deux formes d'autonomie; le texte de ce paragraphe implique une certaine réserve à l'encontre de l'association sous toutes ses formes: on pourrait en déduire que la Commission condamne l'association et préfère que les populations des territoires non autonomes ne choisissent pas cette forme d'autonomie. Cesser de communiquer des renseignements fondés parce que le territoire intéressé a accédé à une complète égalité avec l'Etat métropolitain n'est possible que dans trois cas: l'union, la fédération du type classique et le Commonwealth sous sa forme actuelle, car les Dominions, à un moment donné de leur évolution, ne possédaient pas l'égalité absolue avec le Royaume-Uni. Le texte que la Commission vient d'adopter renferme donc une contradiction. Aux termes du paragraphe 6, un territoire peut devenir autonome en s'associant à un autre Etat, à condition que cette association soit effectuée sur un pied d'égalité absolue. Or, cette disposition exclut l'incorporation ou l'intégration à une fédération, puisque la personnalité juridique des Etats qui ont signé un pacte fédéral est subordonnée à celle de l'union. On ne peut donc pas dire que l'intégration au sein d'une union déjà existante s'effectuerait sur un pied d'égalité absolue. Le paragraphe 6 n'envisage pas davantage la possibilité d'un autre type d'intégration, à savoir l'intégration à un Etat unitaire. Toutefois, le représentant du Brésil ne s'étendra pas sur ce sujet.

17. M. Frazao pense avoir suffisamment exposé les inquiétudes que la délégation du Brésil éprouve à l'encontre du texte modifié; il tient en outre à déclarer qu'il désapprouve la hâte avec laquelle la Commission a apporté des modifications de fond à la liste des facteurs. En présentant son projet de résolution, la délégation du Brésil avait voulu mettre à profit le compromis auquel étaient parvenus les membres du Comité *ad hoc*. Il aurait été souhaitable que les Membres administrants acceptent de bon gré une liste des facteurs. Certes, ils n'avaient pas accueilli très favorablement la liste établie par le Comité *ad hoc*, mais ils ne pouvaient cependant pas la rejeter, car ils avaient contribué à l'élaborer. Une résolution qui aurait recueilli l'approbation des Membres administrants aurait été d'un grand poids. En dépit de l'opposition de certaines délégations, le texte brésilien aurait rallié une forte majorité en faveur de la liste des facteurs. La Commission a gâché une occasion propice.

18. Rien, dans l'expérience acquise au cours des années précédentes, n'autorisait la Commission à penser qu'elle serait en mesure d'améliorer, en l'espace de quelques jours, le résultat de trois années de travail. La Commission s'est départie de la prudence avec laquelle elle avait entrepris l'étude et la classification des facteurs. En 1952, certains membres de la Commission ont réservé la position de leur délégation sur cette question, car leur gouvernement n'avait pas eu le temps d'examiner la liste. A la 330ème séance, la Commission a pris des décisions d'une importance considérable. La délégation du Brésil a estimé que la liste des facteurs avait été suffisamment étudiée et qu'il vaudrait mieux, pour l'instant, en rester là pour ne pas risquer de provoquer de

sérieuses dissensions. Le Comité *ad hoc* et les deux tiers des orateurs qui ont participé à la discussion générale ont été du même avis. Puis on a assisté à un brusque revirement et un grand nombre d'orateurs se sont ralliés à l'opinion contraire. La délégation du Brésil n'a pas estimé pouvoir les imiter et n'a pas eu le temps de demander des instructions à son gouvernement au sujet des amendements, qui exigeaient une étude approfondie. La délégation du Brésil s'est donc abstenue de prendre part aux débats et n'a même pas indiqué qu'à son avis l'amendement de la délégation de l'Inde (A/C.4/L.277) touchait le fond de la question. La dernière possibilité de conciliation a disparu au moment où la Commission a refusé d'examiner l'amendement de la délégation des Etats-Unis (A/C.4/L.276).

19. Le représentant du Brésil en vient alors à la déclaration du représentant de la Belgique. Il s'étonne qu'une thèse semblable puisse être défendue à l'heure actuelle. M. Frazao ne s'attardera pas, pour l'instant, sur les conclusions du représentant de la Belgique, soit du point de vue juridique, soit du point de vue de la Charte, mais il reviendra sur la question lorsque la Commission étudiera le rapport du Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes (A/2465).

20. M. CHTOKALO (République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine) rappelle que le 2 octobre, à la 324^{ème} séance, la délégation de la RSS d'Ukraine a déclaré que la première partie de la liste des facteurs, bien qu'exigeant certaines précisions, lui paraissait acceptable, mais que les facteurs énumérés dans la seconde et la troisième partie de la liste n'étaient pas de nature à répondre aux fins de la Commission. En effet, ces facteurs ne se rapportent pas à l'accession à l'autonomie et à l'indépendance, mais seulement à l'association avec la métropole ou avec d'autres pays. Ils ne peuvent donc que faire le jeu des Puissances coloniales qui désirent décider du sort des territoires non autonomes sans contrôle extérieur. La délégation de la RSS d'Ukraine a donc voté pour la première partie de la liste et contre la seconde et la troisième partie. Elle a également voté contre les paragraphes correspondants du projet de résolution de la délégation du Brésil ainsi que contre l'ensemble de ce projet de résolution et contre les paragraphes correspondants des divers amendements.

21. M. FERNANDEZ (Uruguay) déclare qu'il a voté tous les amendements du texte des onze Puissances (A/C.4/L.273 et Corr.1), car à son avis ces amendements donnent une forme claire et précise au projet de résolution relatif à la liste des facteurs et l'inscrivent dans le cadre juridique de la Charte.

22. M. L. S. BOKHARI (Pakistan) déclare qu'il avait appuyé le projet de résolution de la délégation du Brésil, car ce dernier s'efforçait de concilier les divers points de vue et aurait dû paraître acceptable aux Membres administrants. Toutefois, les débats ayant montré que ces derniers n'en approuvaient pas le dispositif, le représentant du Pakistan a voté la majorité des amendements des onze Puissances, d'autant que ces amendements ne soulevaient aucune objection de principe sérieuse. M. Bokhari pense néanmoins que le projet de résolution qui a été finalement adopté par la Commission ne sera pas accepté sans lutte à l'Assemblée générale.

23. En dépit du vote qu'elle a émis, la délégation du Pakistan espère toujours que la Commission parviendra à ne pas s'engager dans une impasse et à trouver un terrain d'entente entre les Membres administrants et les

Membres non administrants. M. Bokhari invite instamment les deux groupes à reconsidérer leur position; il est convaincu que des décisions prises dans un esprit de bonne volonté et de coopération se révéleront plus efficaces que des décisions imposées aux Membres administrants malgré leur opposition résolue.

24. M. KAISR (Tchécoslovaquie) déclare que le Chapitre XI de la Charte fait clairement un devoir à tous les Etats Membres d'accepter comme une mission sacrée l'obligation de favoriser dans toute la mesure du possible la prospérité et les aspirations politiques des populations non autonomes. Seuls sont acceptables les facteurs qui traduisent fidèlement un respect absolu pour la volonté librement exprimée des populations et leur désir d'accéder pleinement à une véritable indépendance.

25. La délégation tchécoslovaque a voté en faveur de la première partie de la liste des facteurs et des amendements qui s'y rapportent (A/C.4/L.274); elle estime en effet qu'on aidera ainsi les territoires non autonomes dans leur lutte pour l'autonomie et l'indépendance. Par contre, les deuxième et troisième parties de la liste n'ajoutent rien aux principes proclamés dans la première partie; bien au contraire, elles les affaiblissent; M. Kaisr a donc voté contre ces parties de la liste et contre la plupart des amendements qui s'y rapportent. Les mouvements de libération nationale se caractérisent toujours par le désir sincère d'accéder à une complète indépendance, jamais par celui de s'associer d'une façon ou d'une autre à la métropole. Il est donc absurde que les deuxième et troisième parties de la liste des facteurs viennent juridiquement sanctionner cette association. Même avec les amendements des onze Puissances, elles autorisent encore un pays étranger à intervenir dans les affaires intérieures d'autres territoires; c'est là placer un instrument dangereux entre les mains des Membres administrants et les aider à perpétuer le régime d'oppression coloniale dans les territoires non autonomes.

26. La délégation tchécoslovaque a accepté huit paragraphes du projet de résolution brésilien et les amendements s'y rapportant, mais elle a voté contre les parties du projet de résolution et les amendements qui traduisaient une approbation de la liste des facteurs; elle a également voté contre l'ensemble du projet de résolution amendé.

27. M. ESPINOSA Y PRIETO (Mexique) annonce que les onze délégations qui ont présenté les amendements à la liste des facteurs et au projet de résolution brésilien ont soumis un mémoire explicatif qui sera distribué comme document de séance.

28. Mme BOLTON (Etats-Unis d'Amérique) déclare que sa délégation partage les regrets exprimés notamment par les représentants du Brésil et du Pakistan, et déplore les décisions hâtives et inconsidérées que la Commission a prises à ses deux précédentes séances. Ces décisions ne seront d'aucune aide pour les populations des territoires non autonomes et compromettront la coopération et l'harmonie qui ont, par le passé, permis à la Commission de travailler efficacement au bien-être de ces populations. Le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis n'épargne aucun effort pour s'acquitter des obligations que lui impose la Charte à l'égard des territoires non autonomes qui sont sous son administration.

29. M. LYNKOV (République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie) déclare que sa délégation a toujours soutenu que la première partie de la liste des facteurs était acceptable, mais que la deuxième et la troisième

ne l'étaient pas, puisqu'elles ne protègent pas les intérêts des populations des territoires non autonomes et ne leur garantissent ni l'indépendance ni la souveraineté. Il a voté contre le quatrième considérant et les paragraphes 2, 3 et 7 du projet de résolution brésilien, contre les amendements s'y rapportant et contre l'ensemble du projet de résolution; un vote en faveur de ces textes aurait en effet signifié qu'il approuvait la liste des facteurs. Il a également voté, et pour les mêmes raisons, contre la liste des facteurs et les amendements qui s'y rapportent.

Renseignement relatifs aux territoires non autonomes transmis en vertu de l'Article 73, e, de la Charte (suite)

[Point 32*]

DISCUSSION GÉNÉRALE (suite)

30. Mme MENON (Inde), parlant en sa qualité de rapporteur du Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes, présente le rapport du Comité (A/2465). L'harmonie et l'esprit de coopération ont présidé aux travaux du Comité et les deux parties du rapport ont été adoptées à l'unanimité.

31. Deux projets de résolution sont soumis à l'examen de l'Assemblée générale; l'un concerne la situation de l'enseignement et l'autre la participation de représentants des territoires non autonomes aux travaux du Comité des renseignements. Ces deux projets de résolution figurent à l'annexe II de la première partie du rapport. Le Comité a adopté une troisième résolution, relative à la cessation de la transmission de renseignements concernant Porto-Rico, qui figure dans le corps du rapport (A/2465, première partie, par. 67). Cette dernière résolution a été adoptée sans opposition, avec 3 abstentions. Elle n'est soumise à l'Assemblée générale qu'à titre d'information.

* Numéro affecté à la question dans l'ordre du jour de l'Assemblée générale.

32. Le Comité s'est efforcé d'étudier ces problèmes en toute objectivité et le nouvel esprit de conciliation qui a animé ses membres apparaît tout particulièrement dans le projet de résolution concernant la participation de représentants autochtones aux travaux du Comité. Il reste malgré tout beaucoup à faire encore avant que l'on atteigne les objectifs du Chapitre XI et Mme Menon demande la coopération constructive des membres de la Quatrième Commission.

33. M. LOOMES (Australie), parlant en sa qualité de Président du Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes, signale l'intérêt que présente le rapport du Comité. Le Comité a procédé à une étude détaillée de la situation de l'enseignement en se fondant sur les résumés et les analyses préparés par le Secrétariat d'après les renseignements transmis par les Membres administrants¹. Le Comité était également saisi d'un certain nombre d'excellents rapports que le Secrétariat des Nations Unies, l'Organisation des Nations Unies pour l'éducation, la science et la culture, l'Organisation des Nations Unies pour l'alimentation et l'agriculture, l'Organisation internationale du Travail et l'Organisation mondiale de la santé avaient rédigés à son intention. Il a en outre profité de l'expérience des spécialistes de l'enseignement qui faisaient partie des délégations de certains Membres administrants. Tous les débats se sont déroulés dans une atmosphère de cordialité et de coopération; la question de la participation de représentants autochtones aux travaux du Comité a bien fait apparaître certaines divergences de vues, mais il a finalement été possible de les concilier dans une très large mesure: le projet de résolution en question a été adopté par 12 voix contre une, avec 2 abstentions. Le projet de résolution concernant la situation de l'enseignement a été adopté à l'unanimité.

La séance est levée à 11 h. 55.

¹ Voir A/2407, A/2408, A/2409, A/2410 et Add.1, A/2411 et Add.1, A/2413 et Add.1 à 6, A/2414 et Add.1 et 2.

1514 (XV). Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux

L'Assemblée générale,

Consciente de ce que les peuples du monde se sont, dans la Charte des Nations Unies, déclarés résolus à proclamer à nouveau leur foi dans les droits fondamentaux de l'homme, dans la dignité et la valeur de la personne humaine, dans l'égalité de droits des hommes et des femmes, ainsi que des nations, grandes et petites, et à favoriser le progrès social et instaurer de meilleures conditions de vie dans une liberté plus grande,

Consciente de la nécessité de créer des conditions de stabilité et de bien-être et des relations pacifiques et amicales fondées sur le respect des principes de l'égalité de droits et de la libre détermination de tous les peuples, et d'assurer le respect universel et effectif des droits de l'homme et des libertés fondamentales pour tous sans distinction de race, de sexe, de langue ou de religion,

Reconnaissant le désir passionné de liberté de tous les peuples dépendants et le rôle décisif de ces peuples dans leur accession à l'indépendance,

Consciente des conflits croissants qu'entraîne le fait de refuser la liberté à ces peuples ou d'y faire obstacle, qui constituent une grave menace à la paix mondiale,

Considérant le rôle important de l'Organisation des Nations Unies comme moyen d'aider le mouvement vers l'indépendance dans les territoires sous tutelle et les territoires non autonomes,

Reconnaissant que les peuples du monde souhaitent ardemment la fin du colonialisme dans toutes ses manifestations,

Convaincue que le maintien du colonialisme empêche le développement de la coopération économique internationale, entrave le développement social, culturel et économique des peuples dépendants et va à l'encontre de l'idéal de paix universelle des Nations Unies,

Affirmant que les peuples peuvent, pour leurs propres fins, disposer librement de leurs richesses et ressources naturelles sans préjudice des obligations qui découlent de la coopération économique internationale, fondée sur le principe de l'avantage mutuel, et du droit international,

Persuadée que le processus de libération est irrésistible et irréversible et que, pour éviter de graves crises, il faut mettre fin au colonialisme et à toutes les pratiques de ségrégation et de discrimination dont il s'accompagne,

Se félicitant de ce qu'un grand nombre de territoires dépendants ont accédé à la liberté et à l'indépendance au cours de ces dernières années, et reconnaissant les tendances toujours plus fortes vers la liberté qui se manifestent dans les territoires qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance,

³⁶ Documents officiels de l'Assemblée générale, quinzième session, Supplément No 2 (A/4494).

Convaincue que tous les peuples ont un droit inaliénable à la pleine liberté, à l'exercice de leur souveraineté et à l'intégrité de leur territoire national,

Proclame solennellement la nécessité de mettre rapidement et inconditionnellement fin au colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations;

Et, à cette fin,

Déclare ce qui suit :

1. La sujétion des peuples à une subjugation, à une domination et à une exploitation étrangères constitue un déni des droits fondamentaux de l'homme, est contraire à la Charte des Nations Unies et compromet la cause de la paix et de la coopération mondiales.

2. Tous les peuples ont le droit de libre détermination; en vertu de ce droit, ils déterminent librement leur statut politique et poursuivent librement leur développement économique, social et culturel.

3. Le manque de préparation dans les domaines politique, économique ou social ou dans celui de l'enseignement ne doit jamais être pris comme prétexte pour retarder l'indépendance.

4. Il sera mis fin à toute action armée et à toutes mesures de répression, de quelque sorte qu'elles soient, dirigées contre les peuples dépendants, pour permettre à ces peuples d'exercer pacifiquement et librement leur droit à l'indépendance complète, et l'intégrité de leur territoire national sera respectée.

5. Des mesures immédiates seront prises, dans les territoires sous tutelle, les territoires non autonomes et tous autres territoires qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance, pour transférer tous pouvoirs aux

peuples de ces territoires, sans aucune condition ni réserve, conformément à leur volonté et à leurs vœux librement exprimés, sans aucune distinction de race, de croyance ou de couleur, afin de leur permettre de jouir d'une indépendance et d'une liberté complètes.

6. Toute tentative visant à détruire partiellement ou totalement l'unité nationale et l'intégrité territoriale d'un pays est incompatible avec les buts et les principes de la Charte des Nations Unies.

7. Tous les Etats doivent observer fidèlement et strictement les dispositions de la Charte des Nations Unies, de la Déclaration universelle des droits de l'homme et de la présente Déclaration sur la base de l'égalité, de la non-ingérence dans les affaires intérieures des Etats et du respect des droits souverains et de l'intégrité territoriale de tous les peuples.

*947ème séance plénière,
14 décembre 1960.*

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Note



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Point 87 de l'ordre du jour:

Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux
pays et aux peuples coloniaux. 1037

Président: M. Frederick H. BOLAND (Irlande).

POINT 87 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance
aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux

1. M. ZORINE (Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques) [traduit du russe]: Nous, les représentants de presque 100 Etats du monde, nous sommes réunis ici pour examiner une question d'une importance vitale pour le monde entier, celle de la suppression définitive et totale du système colonial, de la libération de tous les pays et peuples coloniaux et pour prendre une décision historique à ce sujet.

2. Nos descendants, en étudiant le développement de la société humaine, auront toutes les raisons d'appeler le milieu du XX^{ème} siècle, après la grande révolution socialiste d'Octobre, une époque marquante pour l'édification d'un monde nouveau, d'un monde de liberté et d'indépendance des peuples.

3. L'écroulement du colonialisme — le phénomène le plus honteux dans tout le cours de l'humanité — est devenu le signe de notre temps. Du vivant de notre génération, des coups mortels ont été infligés au système colonial. Après la seconde guerre mondiale, l'Inde, l'Indonésie, la Birmanie, Ceylan, le Cambodge, la République arabe unie, l'Irak, le Maroc, la Tunisie, le Ghana, la Guinée et de nombreux autres pays se sont affranchis de la domination des colonialistes. Au cours de la seule année 1960, 17 nouveaux pays ont brisé leurs chaînes coloniales et ont acquis l'indépendance. Un milliard 500 millions d'êtres, qui, tout récemment encore, vivaient sous l'esclavage colonial, sont aujourd'hui libérés et engagés sur la voie de la renaissance nationale.

4. La lutte libératrice a entièrement changé le visage de l'Asie d'aujourd'hui. Des changements historiques immenses, qui font vraiment époque, se sont opérés et s'opèrent encore sur le continent africain. Des mouvements profonds de libération nationale sont en cours dans les pays d'Amérique latine, dont les peuples se dressent, toujours plus résolus, pour lutter contre l'impérialisme. Tout proche est l'écroulement total de tout le système colonial de l'impérialisme, prévu par les meilleurs esprits de l'humanité, et prédit par le grand Vladimir Ilyitch Lénine.

5. Mais le colonialisme n'est pas encore mort. Tous les Etats et tous les peuples — il s'en faut — ne sont pas libérés du joug et de l'asservissement coloniaux.

6. D'autre part, ceux qui sont devenus indépendants sont loin d'en avoir terminé avec la domination coloniale et avec les tentatives des colonialistes qui essaient de reprendre leurs positions perdues, comme le démontrent de façon concrète les derniers événements du Congo qui ont fait l'objet d'un vif débat à l'Assemblée générale.

7. De nombreux pays, en Asie, en Afrique, en Amérique latine et en Océanie, souffrent sous le joug des envahisseurs étrangers. Il serait erroné de croire que la lutte contre les colonialistes est terminée. Il suffit de jeter un coup d'œil sur la carte du monde pour y constater — telles des envies sur la peau — des marques du passé, des vestiges des empires coloniaux écroulés, dans lesquels les colonialistes réussissent encore à maintenir dans l'esclavage des dizaines de millions d'êtres humains. Des guerres coloniales y font toujours leurs sanglantes moissons. Des centaines, des milliers de patriotes qui luttent pour la liberté de leur peuple y sont détenus dans des prisons ou des camps de concentration. C'est là justement, dans les colonies, qu'on enregistre, du fait des rapines exercées par les colonialistes, la durée de la journée de travail la plus longue, en même temps que le niveau de vie le plus bas, le pourcentage d'analphabétisme le plus haut, la durée de vie la plus courte, la mortalité la plus élevée parmi les populations. On y pratique, sous ses pires aspects, une abjecte discrimination qui est une insulte et une humiliation pour la dignité humaine.

8. L'Organisation des Nations Unies et ses Etats Membres peuvent-ils accepter cet état de choses? Qui, sinon nous-mêmes, devrait militer pour la suppression totale et immédiate du colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et toutes ses manifestations, et par là même mener à bien la tâche qui nous incombe d'affirmer la foi dans les droits de l'homme, dans la dignité et la valeur de la personnalité humaine, dans l'égalité des droits des nations grandes et petites?

9. Expriment la volonté de millions de citoyens soviétiques, Nikita Serguéievitch Khrouchtchev, président du Conseil des ministres de l'URSS et chef de la délégation de l'Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques, a proposé, le 23 septembre 1960, à l'examen de la quinzième session de l'Assemblée générale de l'Organisation des Nations Unies [869^{ème} séance] la Déclaration que voici sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux [A/4502 et Corr.1].

[L'orateur donne lecture du texte du document A/4502 et Corr.1.]

10. L'importance extraordinaire du problème de la libération des pays et des peuples qui demeurent

^{1/} Voir Documents officiels de l'Assemblée générale, quinzième session, Annexes, point 87 de l'ordre du jour.

encore sous la domination coloniale doit apparaître à tous de façon évidente. Le temps est venu d'en finir avec le colonialisme et d'affranchir l'humanité de ce honteux vestige du passé.

11. C'est cela qu'ont souligné à la présente session de l'Assemblée générale dans leurs interventions le Premier Ministre de l'Inde, M. Nehru [880ème séance], le Président de la République arabe unie, M. Nasser [873ème séance], le Président de la République d'Indonésie, M. Sukarno [880ème séance], le Président du Ghana, M. Nkrumah [869ème séance], le Premier Ministre de Cuba, M. Castro [872ème séance], le Président de la République de Guinée, M. Sekou Touré [903ème séance], le chef de la délégation de l'Arabie Saoudite, M. Shukairy [879ème séance], et de nombreux autres délégués.

12. Prenant la parole dans cette enceinte, le 12 octobre dernier [902ème séance], le Président du Conseil des ministres de l'Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques, M. Khrouchtchev, a souligné que l'Assemblée générale doit, en pleine conscience de ses responsabilités, se rendre compte du fait que, si on ne prend pas des mesures de toute urgence, le colonialisme est capable de causer encore beaucoup de souffrances, de faire beaucoup de victimes, de sacrifier encore de nombreux millions de vies humaines, de provoquer des conflits armés et des guerres, en menaçant la paix et la sécurité, non seulement dans des régions isolées du globe, mais dans le monde entier.

13. La délégation soviétique voit comme un signe encourageant la décision unanime de l'Assemblée générale [903ème séance] de discuter la déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux en séance plénière, c'est-à-dire en assemblée suprême de l'Organisation des Nations Unies. On peut considérer cet acte comme un nouveau coup infligé au colonialisme, comme une nouvelle victoire des forces pacifiques dans la grande lutte pour la paix et la liberté des peuples.

14. La délégation de l'Union soviétique exprime sa certitude que la quinzième session de l'Assemblée générale sera un jalon historique sur le chemin de la suppression totale et définitive du colonialisme; quant à l'année 1960, elle sera, à juste titre, appelée non seulement "l'année de l'Afrique", mais aussi celle de la libération du joug du colonialisme de tous les peuples où qu'ils habitent: en Afrique, en Asie ou en Amérique latine, en un mot sur le globe tout entier.

15. La déclaration proposée par le Gouvernement soviétique est un document-programme de lutte pour la libération de tous les peuples coloniaux. Les tâches fondamentales y sont formulées, la grande ligne principale de solution de ce problème historique y est tracée. Nous sommes persuadés que les peuples de tous les continents, que toutes les délégations présentes à cette session, qui sont intéressées à la solution la plus rapide et radicale de cette tâche historique qu'est la suppression du honteux système colonial, appuieront cette déclaration et ses principes humains et progressistes, comme étant un appel noble et énergique à l'affranchissement total de l'humanité d'un passé honteux, à la pleine liberté et à l'indépendance de tous les peuples coloniaux.

16. M. ORMSBY-GORE (Royaume-Uni) [traduit de l'anglais]: Mon premier devoir sera de féliciter M. Zorine de nous avoir donné lecture, avec un soin

méticuleux, du document A/4502, présenté par M. Khrouchtchev le 23 septembre 1960. J'ai suivi ce texte, que j'avais lu il y a deux mois, et j'ai constaté que sa diction était claire et impeccable, mais je dois admettre que je n'y ai rien découvert aujourd'hui de plus utile ou de plus constructif qu'il y a deux mois, lorsque j'en avais pris connaissance pour la première fois.

17. Lorsque la délégation de l'URSS a demandé l'inscription à notre ordre du jour de la question que nous examinons en ce moment, sous l'énoncé de "Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux", j'avais espéré que les débats que nous y consacrerions nous donneraient l'occasion d'examiner en détail les moyens par lesquels nous pourrions aider les populations qui, pour reprendre les termes de la Charte, "ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes" à réaliser leurs aspirations. C'est là en effet un aspect des affaires internationales dont le Royaume-Uni se préoccupe tout particulièrement et depuis longtemps déjà. Nous connaissons la force puissante que représente de nos jours le nationalisme dans le monde. Nous avons constaté que l'accession à l'indépendance a donné aux dizaines de millions de personnes que nous étions chargés d'administrer le stimulant nécessaire pour qu'elles mettent leur pays en valeur avec une énergie et une vigueur nouvelles. Nous avons vu comment, en prenant ici leur place au sein de l'ONU, elles ont acquis la possibilité de servir la communauté universelle en même temps que la cause de la paix et de la sécurité internationales. L'exemple des nouvelles nations d'Asie ou d'Afrique, grandes et petites, nous a puissamment encouragés dans les efforts qui nous unissent aux populations des territoires qui ne sont pas encore autonomes. Cet exemple nous a incités à intensifier la politique que nous poursuivons pour aider ces populations à édifier des nations vigoureuses et fortes, inaccessibles aux querelles tribales, idéologiques ou raciales, et jouissant de la force que seules la liberté et la prospérité peuvent conférer.

18. J'ai été choqué — et je suis sûr que de nombreux autres représentants l'auront été comme moi — par la manière dont la délégation soviétique et ceux qui l'appuient ont cherché à exploiter, à leurs propres fins, les aspirations à l'indépendance si profondément et sincèrement ressenties par tant de millions d'êtres humains alors que ces aspirations rencontrent l'appui et l'approbation d'une grande partie de l'humanité. Ni dans le document dont M. Zorine nous a donné lecture ce matin et dans lequel la délégation de l'Union soviétique a demandé l'inscription de ce point à notre ordre du jour, ni dans le discours par lequel le représentant de l'URSS a ouvert le présent débat, nous n'avons pu relever le moindre indice qui eût permis de reconnaître la réalité dont ce document et ce discours ont fait la caricature. L'un et l'autre semblent avoir pour unique objet d'engendrer la haine plutôt que l'amitié, la violence plutôt que la paix et le chaos plutôt que l'ordre.

19. Le représentant de l'URSS ne semble voir dans ce débat qu'une nouvelle occasion de vilipender mon pays et d'autres puissances administrantes et de porter la guerre froide en Afrique dans l'espoir qu'elle s'y envenimera et servira ses intérêts. Je crois devoir lui signaler que, si je décidais de m'engager dans la même voie, je pourrais recourir

à des arguments bien plus pertinents que les siens. Depuis 1939, environ 500 millions de personnes, autrefois sous domination britannique, ont obtenu leur liberté et leur indépendance, et leurs représentants siègent parmi nous. Pendant la même période, six pays représentant une population de 22 millions d'habitants ont été incorporés de force, en totalité ou en partie, à l'Union soviétique; parmi ceux-ci figurent les trois colonies les plus récemment établies dans le monde: celles de Lituanie, d'Estonie et de Lettonie. En outre l'Union soviétique exerce une domination économique, politique et militaire sur des millions d'autres personnes, hommes et femmes, qui vivent dans les pays voisins. Les mouvements de libération nationale des pays soumis à l'autorité soviétique se sont efforcés un nombre incalculable de fois d'obtenir l'indépendance. Toutes ces tentatives ont été réprimées. En Asie centrale, nous avons eu des exemples d'une politique coloniale qui, ainsi que M. Khrouchtchev lui-même nous l'a déjà dit avec force détails au cours de la présente session [869ème séance], a connu sur le plan matériel un succès remarquable. Toutefois, il ne nous a pas parlé des déportations massives de populations, ni des impitoyables répressions de nationalismes dont cette politique s'est accompagnée. Je ne mettrai pas à l'épreuve la sensibilité des membres de cette assemblée en donnant intégralement lecture de ce lugubre répertoire; un exemple ou deux suffiront. La prétendue République autonome allemande de la Volga a été abolie d'un trait de plume et les Allemands qui l'habitaient ont été transférés dans diverses localités de l'Est. Ce groupe ethnique nombreux s'est ainsi trouvé dispersé et liquidé en tant que communauté. En outre les populations entières des Républiques socialistes soviétiques "autonomes" des Tatars de Crimée, des Kalmouks et des Tcherkesses qui, avec quelques autres communautés moins importantes, représentaient près d'un million d'habitants ...

20. Le **PRESIDENT** (traduit de l'anglais): Je donne la parole au représentant de l'Union soviétique pour une motion d'ordre. Puis-je demander à l'orateur qui se trouve à la tribune de se placer de côté pendant les explications du représentant de l'Union soviétique?

21. M. **ZORINE** (Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques) [traduit du russe]: Au cours de l'intervention que je viens de faire, je n'ai pas dit un mot du Royaume-Uni et je n'ai jamais fait mention de ce pays.

22. Son représentant, cependant, vient de chercher à discuter des questions intérieures de l'Union soviétique. Il s'agit là d'une violation du principe généralement admis qui régit le travail de cette assemblée, et je demande, au Président, de mettre la délégation de l'Union soviétique et d'autres délégations à l'abri des tentatives d'ingérence dans les affaires intérieures de l'Union soviétique.

23. Que le représentant du Royaume-Uni n'ait pas dit un mot des "bienfaits" que la Grande-Bretagne répand sur les territoires coloniaux qui sont, suivant son expression, "sous administration britannique", cela va tout à fait de soi. C'est que, certainement, il ne peut rien dire de positif à ce sujet. Néanmoins, ses tentatives d'ingérence dans les affaires intérieures de l'Union soviétique sont inadmissibles, nous protestons contre de tels agissements et nous considérons comme tout à fait illégaux toutes les

tentatives d'avoir recours à de telles méthodes dans les discussions.

24. M. **Ormsby-Gore** a dit qu'il voulait éviter la guerre froide, mais il est le premier à s'engager sur cette voie du haut de cette tribune. S'il continue sur ce ton, il recevra, de l'Union soviétique et d'autres pays intéressés à la discussion de la liquidation du système colonial qui existe encore dans les territoires qui dépendent des puissances coloniales, la réponse qui s'impose. Mais nous ne permettrons pas que l'on intervienne dans les affaires des pays et des peuples qui vivent librement dans le cadre de l'Union soviétique et des autres pays socialistes.

25. Le **PRESIDENT** (traduit de l'anglais): La motion d'ordre présentée par le représentant de l'URSS me place dans une situation assez délicate. Comme le savent toutes les délégations ici présentes, des accusations semblables à celle contre laquelle vient de s'élever le représentant de l'Union soviétique sont malheureusement devenues monnaie courante dans les débats au sein de l'Assemblée. Elles ne sont pas le fait d'une seule délégation ou d'un seul groupe de délégations, mais bien d'un grand nombre de délégations, des tendances les plus diverses.

26. L'objet, comme bien souvent le fond de ces diverses accusations, restent les mêmes. Je ne suis pas en mesure d'établir des distinctions entre elles. Il me serait impossible, sans porter des jugements arbitraires et difficilement justifiables, d'en déclarer certaines recevables et d'autres irrecevables. Les déclarer toutes irrecevables pourrait à juste titre paraître une restriction inadmissible du droit à la liberté de parole. Dans ces conditions, c'est aux délégations elles-mêmes qu'il appartient de prouver leur sens de leurs responsabilités. Des accusations du genre de celles dont la délégation soviétique vient de se plaindre ajoutent rarement à la force d'un argument et contribuent sensiblement à avilir le ton des débats de l'Assemblée. J'en appelle donc au jugement et au bon sens des membres des délégations, et je leur demande de s'abstenir de porter gratuitement des accusations de cette nature et, par là, de contribuer à maintenir le ton du débat à un niveau correspondant à l'importance de la question examinée.

27. Puis-je demander au représentant du Royaume-Uni de bien vouloir poursuivre?

28. M. **ORMSBY-GORE** (Royaume-Uni) [traduit de l'anglais]: Il va sans dire que je m'incline devant la décision du Président.

29. J'avais estimé que certaines accusations avaient été portées contre nous. On nous avait traités de voleurs, on nous avait dit que nous nous livrions à d'incessants carnages, que sais-je encore. Pourtant je ne pensais pas que les paroles que j'avais prononcées en parlant de l'Union soviétique eussent pu rendre M. Zorine hypersensible. Je sais fort bien que l'Union soviétique n'aime pas que l'on évoque ici certains aspects de sa politique intérieure, et je sais aussi que le Gouvernement soviétique ne facilite pas la publication par la presse libre du monde des éléments de cette politique. Soit. Admettons-le.

30. Il est exact, hélas! qu'au sein de l'ONU nous ne pouvons guère venir en aide aux peuples soumis à la domination soviétique. Dans le reste du monde, les peuples si passionnément préoccupés par leur désir d'indépendance ne serviraient guère leur propre

cause en jouant le jeu soviétique et en ripostant à l'aide des mêmes arguments, car ils exposeraient les affaires d'Afrique et d'Asie à un déluge d'accusations et de contre-accusations sous lequel elles risqueraient d'être noyées. Tout ce que je souhaite, c'est que les rouages mis en place par l'ONU pour régler les questions intéressant les territoires sous tutelle et les territoires non autonomes, ainsi que la structure édiflée au cours des années pour rendre une coopération possible, ne soient pas détruits par les attaques vaines et inconsidérées de la délégation soviétique et de celles qui l'appuient. C'est pourquoi je ne perdrai pas plus de temps à examiner le projet de déclaration sur ce sujet présenté par le Gouvernement de l'Union soviétique.

31. En ce qui concerne la question du colonialisme, mon gouvernement écoutera avec la plus grande attention les voix venues d'Asie et d'Afrique; nous ne voyons cependant pas pourquoi les débats attentifs que nous consacrons à cette importante question seraient avilis par les calomnies et les contre-vérités qui sont les armes courantes du plus grand oppresseur que connaisse notre époque.

32. C'est pour moi une source de satisfaction de constater que les Etats africains et asiatiques Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies ne semblent pas eux-mêmes considérer comme très sérieuse la contribution que la délégation soviétique apporte à nos débats, et qu'ils ont l'intention de présenter un projet de déclaration qu'ils ont préparé eux-mêmes. Qu'il me soit permis de préciser tout de suite que la délégation du Royaume-Uni partage sans réserve les sentiments de ces délégations et souscrit à leur objectif principal, celui-ci étant, je ne l'ignore pas, de permettre aux populations qui ne jouissent pas encore de l'autonomie et de l'indépendance d'y accéder dans les plus brefs délais. S'il est arrivé que des divergences de vues nous séparent à cet égard, ces divergences portaient sur le choix des méthodes, quelquefois sur le choix du moment, mais jamais sur les intentions. Il s'agissait donc de divergences de vues dont on peut discuter entre Etats Membres, sur un pied d'égalité et en toute bonne foi, comme peuvent en discuter ceux qui se sont fixé les mêmes buts.

33. Examinons objectivement la nature du problème. On entend souvent dire, à l'Organisation des Nations Unies et ailleurs, que le colonialisme se meurt ou qu'il disparaît. C'est en effet exact dans les régions du monde où nous-mêmes, ou ceux qui partagent nos idées, exercent une responsabilité. Le colonialisme y disparaît comme mourait le Phénix, à l'apogée de sa gloire, et pour donner naissance à des nations nouvelles. A vrai dire, le colonialisme, dans la mesure où il implique l'assujettissement permanent d'un peuple à un autre, était déjà considéré comme un lien politique désuet par tous ceux qui, comme le Royaume-Uni, avaient souscrit sans réserve aux dispositions du Chapitre XI de la Charte des Nations Unies et ont, depuis lors, honoré leur engagement dans la pratique.

34. Il me serait difficile de choisir de meilleurs termes que ceux de l'Article 73 de la Charte pour définir le concept britannique des relations coloniales modernes qui, par définition, sont en cours d'évolution constante et qui, en raison de leur nature même, doivent rapidement faire place à quelque chose de nouveau. Je me permettrai de citer quelques

passages de cet article. Le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni, en sa qualité de Membre fondateur de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, reconnaît "le principe de la primauté des intérêts des habitants" des territoires non autonomes. Il accepte "comme une mission sacrée l'obligation de favoriser dans toute la mesure du possible leur prospérité". A ce propos, j'ai relevé que le représentant de l'Inde, M. Krishna Menon, a fait observer l'autre jour, en séance de commission, que nous n'avions jamais cherché à angliciser les autres populations. En outre, le Gouvernement britannique accepte "de développer leur capacité de s'administrer elles-mêmes, de tenir compte des aspirations politiques des populations et de les aider dans le développement progressif de leurs libres institutions politiques, dans la mesure appropriée aux conditions particulières de chaque territoire et de ses populations et à leurs degrés variables de développement".

35. Nous avons honoré ces obligations et chacun sait dans le monde comment nous l'avons fait. Il est juste, je crois, de reconnaître, compte tenu de ce que le monde pouvait espérer en 1946, que nous avons développé avec une célérité remarquable la capacité des peuples non autonomes à s'administrer eux-mêmes. Le Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes vient d'examiner les progrès accomplis dans ces territoires au cours des 10 premières années. Il a remarqué avec raison que:

"La force des aspirations des peuples à l'autonomie ou à l'indépendance a trop souvent dépassé le rythme plus lent de leur progrès économique et social ..." [A/4371, 2ème partie, par. 24.]

36. Cela est exact. Le développement économique et social, bien que régulier, n'a jamais été aussi spectaculaire que le progrès politique. Il ne faudrait pas en conclure que le progrès politique doit être ralenti. Loin de là. Nul ne saurait nier que le progrès politique est influencé par le succès des programmes économiques et sociaux, mais il est impossible de retarder l'accession d'un pays à l'indépendance jusqu'au moment où toutes les questions économiques et sociales seront réglées. Inversement, il est évident que l'accession à l'indépendance n'apporte pas automatiquement la solution de toutes ces questions. D'ailleurs l'inscription de certaines autres questions à notre ordre du jour prouve la nécessité de continuer à élargir les activités de l'Organisation des Nations Unies dans les Etats qui viennent d'accéder à l'indépendance, afin d'aider ceux-ci à s'attaquer aux problèmes qui subsistent et à les résoudre.

37. Etudions pendant quelques instants les faits et les chiffres qui témoignent de ce progrès politique. Nous nous occupons ici d'êtres humains et non pas seulement de territoires; les chiffres que je vais citer sont donc des chiffres touchant les populations. Les quelque 450 millions de personnes qui habitaient l'Inde, le Pakistan, Ceylan, la Birmanie ont tous accédé à l'indépendance après la guerre. Abstraction faite de ces populations, l'ensemble de la population des territoires sous tutelle et des territoires non autonomes du monde entier était d'environ 225 millions de personnes en 1946. Dix ans plus tard, cette population était tombée à 125 millions environ, y compris un accroissement naturel de population de 25 millions de personnes environ, qui s'était produit pendant cette période dans les territoires en question. Depuis 1956, la cadence s'est encore accrue, et

environ 75 millions de personnes de plus ont accédé à l'indépendance, toutes en Afrique. C'est dire, pour parler des populations qui habitent en dehors de l'empire soviétique, que 650 millions de personnes ont accédé à une indépendance complète au cours des 15 dernières années. Les seules personnes habitant à l'intérieur de l'empire soviétique qui aient obtenu leur liberté sont les quelques millions de réfugiés qui se sont enfuis. Sur le nombre de personnes qui restent dans les territoires dépendants, environ 40 millions vivent dans les territoires sous tutelle ou dans les territoires non autonomes dont le Royaume-Uni a la charge. En ce qui nous concerne, ce sont ces personnes qui font l'objet du présent débat.

38. Toutefois, dans ces territoires aussi, les progrès accomplis vers l'indépendance sont extrêmement rapides. Plus de 2 millions de ces êtres humains habitent le Sierra Leone où, s'il faut en croire ce que le représentant de l'Union soviétique a dit au début de la session, "la lutte pour la libération se poursuit". La "lutte" en question ne peut être considérée que comme le fruit de l'imagination du représentant de l'Union soviétique, surchauffée peut-être par la lecture de manuels marxistes périmés et par la force incantatoire de slogans léninistes usés jusqu'à la trame. En fait, la population du Sierra Leone sait parfaitement bien qu'elle sera indépendante dans cinq mois. Le Ministre du Sierra Leone qui s'occupe déjà des questions concernant les affaires étrangères était à New York il y a quelques semaines pour étudier les problèmes que pose à un petit pays sa représentation auprès de l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Un grand nombre de délégations l'ont vu. De même, 3 millions de personnes se trouvent dans la Fédération des Antilles qui, elle aussi, accédera incontestablement à l'indépendance dans un proche avenir. Il faut citer aussi les 9 millions d'habitants du Tanganyika, le plus vaste territoire dont le Royaume-Uni soit encore responsable et où, si l'on en croit le représentant soviétique, régnerait un "carnage perpétuel". Il n'en est rien. Au contraire, ce territoire offre l'exemple édifiant de l'harmonie qui règne entre ses diverses communautés, qui l'a déjà conduit au seuil de l'indépendance et qui lui prépare un avenir paisible et passionnant. A la suite d'une requête présentée par M. Julius Nyerere, premier ministre du Tanganyika, le Royaume-Uni se propose de soumettre, à une date ultérieure mais au cours de la présente session de l'Assemblée générale, un projet de résolution dont l'objet serait de mettre fin à l'Accord de tutelle relatif au Tanganyika lorsque ce pays accédera à l'indépendance, celle-ci prenant effet à une date à convenir entre le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni et les chefs élus du Tanganyika. Nul ne saurait douter que cette date soit proche; du moins, nul n'en doute au Tanganyika ou dans le Royaume-Uni. C'est ainsi que, progressant à sa cadence propre et selon des méthodes de son choix — méthodes qui témoignent de son esprit de coopération et de son habileté à gouverner — le peuple du Tanganyika trace la voie aux autres peuples de l'Afrique orientale.

39. Quels sont, dans ces conditions, les problèmes qui continuent à se poser? Qu'est-ce qui différencie si profondément les autres territoires — ceux que je n'ai pas mentionnés — et qu'est-ce qui les empêche d'accéder immédiatement à l'indépendance? Il existe, à mon sens, deux catégories de problèmes qui diffèrent selon les circonstances propres au territoire

considéré. La première caractérise les territoires de dimensions restreintes, et souvent isolés. Il n'existe pas moins de 29 territoires non autonomes, placés sous l'administration du Royaume-Uni et dont la population est inférieure, dans chaque cas, à 1 million de personnes. Dans 14 de ces territoires, la population n'atteint pas 100.000 âmes. Les habitants de ces petits territoires doivent mûrement réfléchir à leur avenir. Il existe, dans chaque cas, des facteurs différents qui peuvent faire hésiter ces populations à se prononcer en faveur d'une indépendance séparée. Ces territoires peuvent en effet se trouver isolés géographiquement et dotés d'une économie à peine suffisante pour subvenir aux besoins toujours plus importants de leur population. Il se peut fort bien que ces populations n'aient aucun désir de sacrifier le progrès économique et social auquel elles ont droit pour assumer la responsabilité d'entretenir l'appareil coûteux d'un Etat indépendant moderne.

40. Ou encore, dans certains cas, la population de ces territoires se sent menacée — à tort ou à raison — par un voisin puissant. Elle craint que son indépendance ne soit de courte durée et que, laissée sans protection, elle ne risque de perdre la liberté politique dont elle jouit.

41. Les populations de ces petits territoires méritent que nous examinons leur cas, au même titre que les populations qui habitent les grands Etats du monde. Chacune d'entre elles se heurte à des problèmes politiques particuliers et le Royaume-Uni se considère comme tenu par l'obligation solennelle, qui découle des dispositions de l'Article 73, b, de la Charte, de définir avec les populations intéressées la forme d'indépendance répondant le mieux à leurs aspirations.

42. L'autre jour, la Quatrième Commission a adopté, par 62 voix contre 3^{2/}, un projet de résolution [A/C.4/L.648 et Add.1] approuvant 12 principes qui doivent guider les Etats Membres pour déterminer s'ils sont tenus de communiquer au Secrétaire général, conformément aux dispositions de l'Article 73, g, de la Charte, des renseignements relatifs à certains territoires particuliers. Les principes VI, VII, VIII et IX traitent des circonstances dans lesquelles un territoire peut être considéré comme s'administrant complètement lui-même. Je vais donner lecture du principe VI:

"On peut dire qu'un territoire non autonome a atteint la pleine autonomie:

"a) Quand il est devenu Etat indépendant et souverain;

"b) Quand il s'est librement associé à un Etat indépendant; ou

"c) Quand il s'est intégré à un Etat indépendant."

43. Les principes VII, VIII et IX définissent ensuite avec la précision nécessaire les circonstances dans lesquelles la libre association ou l'intégration peuvent être considérées comme la pleine autonomie.

44. Une importante disposition de ces principes est que le choix libre et volontaire d'un statut de cette nature par les populations intéressées doit résulter — et je cite les termes du projet de résolution — "de méthodes démocratiques et largement diffusées".

^{2/} Voir Documents officiels de l'Assemblée générale, quinzième session, Quatrième Commission, 1045ème séance.

Or, si ces méthodes exigent moins de temps qu'elles n'en exigeaient autrefois, elles continuent cependant à en exiger beaucoup.

45. Le Royaume-Uni fait tout ce qui est en son pouvoir pour accélérer le plus possible le processus d'accession à l'autonomie, mais il est certain que nous trahirions l'esprit même du Chapitre XI de la Charte en disant, par exemple, que la population des îles Seychelles ou des îles Gilbert doit se prononcer immédiatement sur la forme que devra prendre, selon elles, l'indépendance qu'elles obtiendront en définitive. Pour citer d'autres exemples, on pourrait faire les mêmes remarques au sujet des populations du Bassoutoland ou de Hong-kong.

46. Ce qui précède s'appliquait aux petits territoires. Etudions maintenant la nature des difficultés qui se présentent dans les grands territoires qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'autonomie. Ceux-ci sont peut-être plus importants dans l'esprit de la plupart des Etats Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Ils sont habités par des populations plus nombreuses et ils se trouvent en Afrique.

47. Il me faut maintenant revenir sur le thème que j'ai exposé antérieurement. Chacun des actes du Royaume-Uni à l'égard de ces territoires a pour objet la formation de nations nouvelles, de nations qui seront unies et libres, et qui donneront aux populations éprises de paix, d'indépendance, de prospérité et de liberté individuelle la possibilité de satisfaire ces aspirations. Il est d'une importance capitale pour la paix et la prospérité futures de l'Afrique que les pays de ce continent préservent leur intégrité et que leur accession à l'indépendance ne soit pas suivie de la guerre civile et de l'effondrement économique.

48. Au cours des dernières années pendant lesquelles nous incombe encore la responsabilité directe de ces territoires, nous formulons notre politique de telle manière que les différentes tribus et communautés qui les habitent puissent apprendre à se faire confiance les unes aux autres. Unissant constamment nos efforts à ceux de la population, nous essayons d'obtenir, avant que la date d'accession à l'indépendance ne soit fixée, que les nouveaux Etats soient assurés de la loyauté et des efforts de toutes les tribus et de toutes les communautés, sans distinction aucune.

49. Nous estimons que ce résultat a déjà été obtenu au Tanganyika. Dans les territoires voisins de cette région d'Afrique, certaines craintes subsistent encore. Or le processus à suivre est délicat. Il existe en effet dans tous ces pays des groupes parfois africains, parfois européens, parfois asiatiques qui craignent d'être lésés lorsque l'indépendance sera proclamée. Il s'agit de dissiper cette crainte, comme il a fallu dissiper des craintes analogues dans les pays qui ont déjà obtenu leur indépendance.

50. Nul ne conteste, pour ces territoires, le droit de la population à l'indépendance; il ne s'agit pas de savoir si la population sera indépendante ou non. La question est tranchée: elle le sera. Il s'agit seulement de savoir à quelle date, et sur ce point nous devons répondre qu'elle le sera lorsqu'on pourra avoir la certitude que les nouvelles nations seront prospères, que leur indépendance sera effective, qu'elle aura véritablement un sens et ne sera pas sapée par des luttes intestines ou des pressions s'exerçant de l'extérieur. Les populations de ces

pays veulent l'indépendance sous une forme qui leur convienne, et non pas dans un cadre idéologique imposé de l'étranger. Elles veulent éviter la violence et le désordre, car ces éléments s'accompagnent de pressions et d'ingérences étrangères.

51. Nous sommes tenus de veiller à ce que leurs aspirations véritables soient satisfaites, et de les aider à tenir en échec ceux qui veulent leur nuire. Je suis convaincu que nous aurons dans cette tâche l'appui de la vaste majorité des Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Je voudrais seulement que nous puissions avoir l'appui de tous.

52. Etant donné certains propos qui ont été tenus ici au cours de la présente session, je tiens à préciser une fois de plus que la politique suivie par le Royaume-Uni dans les régions de l'Afrique dont il a la responsabilité, comme d'ailleurs dans le reste du monde, n'est pas une politique raciale. Je me permettrai de répéter ici les paroles qu'a prononcées de cette tribune, le 17 septembre 1959 à la quatorzième session, M. Selwyn Lloyd, représentant du Royaume-Uni:

"Dans les territoires où vivent côte à côte plusieurs races ou tribus, notre tâche consiste à veiller à ce que l'ensemble de la population jouisse de la sécurité et de la liberté, et à ce que chaque individu ait la possibilité de contribuer au progrès et au bien-être de son pays. Nous rejetons toute idée de supériorité naturelle d'une race sur une autre. Notre politique fait donc abstraction des différences raciales; elle ouvre la perspective d'un avenir où Africains, Européens, Asiatiques, habitants des îles du Pacifique et tous autres dont nous nous occupons, rempliront pleinement leur rôle de citoyens dans les pays où ils vivent, les sentiments raciaux faisant place à l'allégeance envers une nouvelle nation." [798ème séance, par. 30.]

53. En résumé, nous avons la conviction que les populations des territoires dépendants doivent progresser vers l'autonomie et l'indépendance aussi rapidement qu'il est humainement possible. Nous avons la conviction que ces nouvelles nations doivent être fortes et prospères, et en paix avec elles-mêmes aussi bien qu'avec leurs voisins. Ces convictions sont les nôtres parce que nous les croyons manifestement bien fondées et parce que nous savons que les populations de ces pays désirent ardemment tout cela. Une autre raison est qu'elles correspondent à nos propres intérêts et à vrai dire aux intérêts de chacun des pays représentés au sein de cette assemblée. En effet, si ces nations nouvelles sont fortes et pacifiques, elles contribueront beaucoup à assurer dans le monde la paix qui est indivisible. Si elles sont prospères et poursuivent leur progrès avec dynamisme, elles contribueront beaucoup à élever les niveaux de vie, à développer les ressources du monde et à améliorer le progrès et le bien-être de l'ensemble de l'humanité. Telles sont les convictions sincères et profondes du peuple britannique. Depuis de nombreuses années, elles ont guidé nos actes à l'égard des populations des territoires d'outre-mer. C'est sur ces convictions que continueront à s'appuyer les efforts que nous déploierons en commun, jusqu'à ce que nous ayons atteint les buts que nous nous sommes fixés dans notre politique et que les peuples de ces pays aient réalisé leurs aspirations nationales.

54. M. CARDOSO (Congo) [Léopoldville]: Il m'est pénible, en tant que représentant du Congo, de prendre

la parole après une "prise de bec" entre deux puissantes délégations. Il ne nous suffit pas d'entrer à l'Organisation des Nations Unies par la porte de secours; il fallait de plus passer par le baptême du feu.

55. Quoi qu'il en soit, nous tenons à remercier le Président, ainsi que tous ceux qui nous ont permis de nous faire entendre ici.

56. Le 22 novembre 1960, l'Assemblée générale [924ème séance] a décidé que désormais les représentants de la République du Congo (Léopoldville) auraient ici non seulement droit de cité, mais aussi droit à la parole. Admise à l'unanimité à l'Organisation des Nations Unies dès le 20 septembre 1960 [864ème séance], la République du Congo ne pouvait être privée plus longtemps du droit de se faire entendre.

57. Si toutes les nations Membres de l'Organisation ont usé et même abusé du droit de parler du Congo, au point que quelques-unes ont parlé en son nom, il doit être admis que ce droit revient au premier chef aux Congolais eux-mêmes. Personne d'autre ne peut mieux parler du Congo que les Congolais eux-mêmes qui sont les premiers à souffrir de la crise gouvernementale qui n'a que trop duré.

58. La décision intervenue le 22 novembre vient d'entériner sur le plan international l'autorité incontestée de l'institution suprême de notre pays, l'institution du chef de l'Etat. Le peuple congolais est en effet résolument déterminé à défendre toutes les institutions qu'il a librement choisies. Notre chef de l'Etat, le président Kasa-Vubu, rappelé à Léopoldville par des tâches qui ne souffrent aucun délai, m'a prié d'exprimer à l'Assemblée générale ses regrets de n'avoir pu lui-même traduire la satisfaction qu'il éprouve à la suite de la décision du 22 novembre et il m'a chargé de lire à l'Assemblée le message suivant:

"La République du Congo apprécie à sa juste valeur l'aide que l'Organisation des Nations Unies a décidé de lui apporter dans cette période exceptionnellement difficile de son évolution. Elle n'ignore pas l'importance des sacrifices humains et financiers que plusieurs Etats Membres se sont imposés pour contribuer à une solution heureuse des problèmes critiques.

"En formant le vœu que cette aide se poursuive, je m'engage en ma qualité de chef de l'Etat congolais à faire tout ce qui sera en mon pouvoir afin d'utiliser au mieux cette aide dans l'intérêt du maintien de la paix et du progrès au Congo. Plus que quiconque, le Congo a besoin d'unité et d'entente nationales. Il sera fait appel le temps venu à toutes les bonnes volontés qui peuvent concourir à cette fin."

59. Tel est le message du Président de notre République. Comprenez donc que le peuple congolais, dans sa détermination de se libérer de tout impérialisme, sous quelque forme que ce soit, n'est à la solde de personne. Il est aussi vain qu'injurieux de vouloir faire croire que toute révolution qui n'épouse pas

une certaine idéologie soit nécessairement condamnée par l'histoire.

60. La dialectique dont certains n'ont jamais approuvé la légitimité intellectuelle ne semble donc tolérer aucune surprise. Le Congo, hélas! est un pays à surprises. Les impérialistes de tous bords s'y affrontent pour échouer tous lamentablement. Le peuple congolais a définitivement vaincu le colonialisme. Les colonialistes de l'Ouest comme ceux de l'Est, trop longtemps habitués à considérer l'Afrique comme une terre d'élection de colonisation, semblent aujourd'hui s'acharner à la décoloniser. La nouvelle vague veut aujourd'hui qu'ils entendent décoloniser à tout prix comme pour se soulager d'une mauvaise conscience. Mais l'Afrique reste vigilante et elle refuse d'être dupe des colporteurs de bonnes intentions.

61. Ce sont ces mêmes colporteurs de bonnes intentions qui, hier, ont dévasté nos pays par l'odieuse traite des noirs et par le colonialisme. Ce sont les mêmes aujourd'hui qui nous promettent monts et merveilles. Tout se passe comme si on avait affaire non seulement à un sous-développement économique et social, mais aussi à un sous-développement intellectuel congénital.

62. L'Afrique, toutefois, se tient sur ses gardes pour sauvegarder sa liberté et sa personnalité culturelle. Tous les moyens pacifiques seront mis en œuvre pour promouvoir l'unité de l'Afrique et la seule magie des mots et des slogans ne prévaudra pas contre elle. Demain, l'Afrique une et indivisible décolonisera les peuples encore soumis à l'arbitraire; elle ne peut en effet être l'unique continent de décolonisation. Demain, l'Afrique donnera au monde un visage plus humain afin que ne soit pas trompé le véritable espoir des hommes: vivre en paix.

63. Le PRESIDENT (traduit de l'anglais): Je donne la parole au représentant de la Chine qui désire exercer son droit de réponse.

64. M. LIU (Chine) [traduit de l'anglais]: Au cours de son intervention, marquée par les extravagantes déformations de la vérité qu'il a généreusement prodiguées, le représentant de l'Union soviétique a mentionné l'île de Taïwan "victime", a-t-il dit, "d'une agression de la part des Etats-Unis". Je n'ai pas voulu à ce moment-là interrompre le cours normal des débats de l'Assemblée en frappant sur la table ou en présentant une motion d'ordre, mais j'ai demandé la parole maintenant pour exercer mon droit de réponse et déclarer que le personnel militaire des Etats-Unis stationné à Taïwan se trouve dans l'île sur l'invitation de mon gouvernement, et dans le cadre du programme de défense de mon gouvernement contre l'agression communiste dans cette région. Je n'ai pas besoin d'ajouter que tous les efforts du représentant de l'Union soviétique ne changeront rien au fait que le Gouvernement de la République de Chine, actuellement à Taïwan, est un gouvernement indépendant et souverain et qu'il est absolument faux de prétendre que les Etats-Unis ont commis une agression contre la Chine.

La séance est levée à 12 h 50.

ASSEMBLÉE GÉNÉRALE
OCT 19 1961
UN/SA COLLECT

SÉANCE PLÉNIÈRE

Lundi 28 novembre 1960,
à 15 heures

QUINZIÈME SESSION

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Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux
pays et aux peuples coloniaux (suite) 1045

Président: M. Frederick H. BOLAND (Irlande).

POINT 87 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance
aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux (suite)

1. Le **PRESIDENT** (traduit de l'anglais): L'Assemblée générale va poursuivre l'examen de la question intitulée "Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux".

2. Avant d'inviter l'orateur suivant inscrit sur ma liste à présenter son intervention, je donne la parole au représentant du Portugal qui désire exercer son droit de réponse.

3. **M. GARIN** (Portugal) [traduit de l'anglais]: Je remercie le Président de m'accorder le droit de réponse. Ma délégation regrette profondément que le représentant de l'Union soviétique ait cru bon de troubler ces débats — qui, en fait, ne devraient avoir pour objet que l'examen de principes généraux et d'idéaux élevés — en venant à cette tribune faire des remarques et des déclarations qui ne contribuent assurément pas à l'harmonie et à l'entente. En effet, le représentant de l'Union soviétique a porté des accusations que ma délégation se voit obligée de repousser catégoriquement. Il n'est pas surprenant que ce soit la délégation de l'Union soviétique qui ait tenu de tels propos détracteurs: comme chacun sait, la délégation de l'Union soviétique donne toujours sa pleine mesure lorsqu'elle se livre à une propagande de basse classe et lorsqu'elle porte contre d'autres des accusations qui se justifieraient mieux si c'était contre elle qu'elles étaient portées.

4. Ma délégation proteste vivement contre les déclarations faites par le représentant de l'Union soviétique au sujet du Portugal et les rejette catégoriquement. Elles sont entièrement dénuées de fondement et, si le représentant de l'Union soviétique prétendait en donner la preuve, il devrait une fois de plus recourir à de nouvelles inventions.

5. Le représentant de l'Union soviétique a accusé mon pays de se livrer à d'incessantes représailles dans les territoires portugais d'outre-mer et d'y faire régner le travail forcé, l'esclavage virtuel, la tyrannie coloniale et d'autres méthodes de ce genre. Ce sont là d'outrageantes calomnies et ma délégation, au nom de la nation portugaise et de son gouvernement, nie avec véhémence la teneur de ces accusations et les repousse intégralement.

6. Lorsque le représentant de l'Union soviétique se grise de grands mots et de propos inconsidérés — en particulier lorsqu'il sent que l'Assemblée tolérera ses exagérations verbales à l'égard de mon pays et de mon gouvernement — il est probable que rien ne l'arrêtera tant qu'il sentira que cette tribune lui confère une certaine immunité.

7. Nous sommes fiers du labeur et des travaux incessants que nous avons accomplis pendant près de quatre siècles dans nos territoires d'outre-mer. Ce travail a consisté à maintenir l'ordre, à organiser la vie en collectivité, à favoriser le développement économique, à assurer le fonctionnement d'un système d'éducation comportant tous les cycles d'enseignement, à investir des capitaux et à relever les niveaux de vie. Toutefois, il est au moins une chose certaine, c'est que le progrès et le développement que nous avons apportés, et que nous apportons encore, à nos provinces d'outre-mer ne sont pas le fruit de méthodes qui répugnent à la conscience humaine, ni de violations des droits de l'homme. Nos progrès, nous ne les devons pas et nous ne les devrons pas à l'asservissement des peuples et des territoires, ni à l'esclavage physique et moral, ni à la répression politique totale, ni aux déportations massives de populations, ni aux migrations forcées, ni à la suppression totale de liberté — politique ou intellectuelle — ni aux menaces constantes contre les autres nations et autres peuples, ni à l'exploitation des faibles, ou autres procédés analogues.

8. J'espère que le représentant de l'Union soviétique comprendra pourquoi je me suis élevé contre les observations inconsidérées qu'il a faites au sujet du Portugal. Toutefois, s'il insiste et continue à faire des remarques totalement dénuées de fondement, qui ne sont que pures inventions au sujet du prétendu colonialisme portugais, je me verrai contraint de revenir à cette tribune en temps opportun pour lui rappeler, en entrant dans tous les détails, un certain genre de colonialisme qu'il connaît bien, j'en suis persuadé.

9. **M. NONG KIMNY** (Cambodge): J'ai l'honneur de présenter formellement devant l'Assemblée générale le projet de déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux [A/L.323], au nom des auteurs suivants: Afghanistan, Arabie Saoudite, Birmanie, Cambodge, Ceylan, Ethiopie, Ghana, Guinée, Inde, Indonésie, Irak, Iran, Jordanie, Liban, Libéria, Libye, Maroc, Népal, Nigéria, Pakistan, Soudan, Tchad, Togo, Tunisie et Turquie.

10. Depuis la distribution du texte de ce projet, trois autres délégations se sont jointes à ces auteurs. Ce sont celles de Chypre, du Mali et de la République arabe unie [A/L.323/Add.1].

11. En présentant ce projet de déclaration, nous tenons à informer l'Assemblée générale que nous avons apporté le plus grand soin à sa rédaction et à

sa mise au point. Nous nous sommes efforcés, en particulier, au cours de nos travaux, de trouver des formules et des solutions qui puissent — du moins nous l'espérons — recueillir l'agrément du plus grand nombre possible de délégations, sinon de l'unanimité de l'Assemblée générale. Les auteurs de ce document lancent donc un appel à toutes les délégations pour qu'elles examinent ce projet avec un esprit ouvert et dans le but de mettre un terme à une situation désormais périmée dans l'histoire de l'humanité: celle de la domination d'un pays par un autre pays, celle de l'exploitation d'un peuple par un autre peuple.

12. Depuis la Conférence historique de Bandoung en 1955, d'énormes progrès ont été accomplis dans la mise en application des principes énoncés au cours de cette première réunion des pays africano-asiatiques. Nous voudrions que le présent projet de déclaration constitue un pas de plus en avant dans le processus irrésistible de l'émancipation des peuples. Nous espérons que tous les pays intéressés, plus particulièrement ceux qui ont la responsabilité de préparer l'avenir des peuples encore dépendants, jugeront possible de se joindre à cette déclaration, et c'est afin de permettre une évolution pacifique et un avenir radieux de liberté pour tous ces peuples qui n'ont pas encore atteint l'indépendance que nous avons adopté, dans notre projet de déclaration, un langage strictement conforme à celui de la Charte des Nations Unies et de la Déclaration universelle des droits de l'homme.

13. Mon intervention ayant uniquement pour but de présenter formellement notre projet de déclaration, j'ai l'honneur de vous informer que les coauteurs de cette dernière se réservent le droit d'intervenir de nouveau pour présenter leurs vues. Je voudrais également annoncer que nous pensons que d'autres délégations, qui attendent actuellement les instructions de leurs gouvernements, se joindront à nous plus tard, comme coauteurs de ce projet.

14. M. VAKIL (Iran): Le débat qui s'est ouvert ce matin revêt, sans nul doute, une importance historique et exceptionnelle. Le colonialisme est en proie aux affres de l'agonie face au mouvement irrésistible et irréversible des peuples vers leur émancipation totale et nous voilà, nous, peuples des Nations Unies, appelés à exprimer face à l'histoire ce moment de la conscience universelle.

15. C'est un moment qui se place entre un passé marqué par l'inégalité et un avenir édifiant où tous les peuples du monde semblent décidés à rétablir la fraternité humaine enfin reconquise et à participer à la réalisation de leur bonheur commun, sur un pied d'égalité et sur la base de la libre solidarité des hommes.

16. En tant que représentant de l'un des plus anciens Etats libres et indépendants du monde, mais vivant dans un continent longtemps ravagé par le fléau du colonialisme, je ressens profondément le grand honneur de vous exposer la position de mon pays sur le problème qui nous préoccupe.

17. A l'heure où la lutte victorieuse des peuples colonisés a amené la désintégration du régime colonial, et au moment où plus de 45 pays ont accédé à leur indépendance depuis la création de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, plus de 100 millions de nos frères et sœurs subissent encore les sévices d'un régime qui a infligé aux peuples dépendants d'indicibles souffrances.

18. Il me semble, avant d'aborder son analyse, qu'il est peut-être utile de tenter de définir le colonialisme. A notre sens, le colonialisme peut être défini comme un régime politique et économique imposé et maintenu par les puissances étrangères sur le territoire national d'autres peuples, régime qui a été caractérisé dans ces territoires par un ordre établi arbitrairement de l'extérieur, sans le consentement des peuples administrés et visant primordiallement à servir les intérêts des puissances administrantes.

19. Ainsi qu'il ressort de cette définition, l'un des traits caractéristiques du colonialisme a donc été l'application de la force avec ou sans justification, de la force à l'état brut ou de la force savamment camouflée dans les plus belles traditions paternalistes. On peut dire, sans risque de partialité, que, débarrassé de ses appareils, le colonialisme, qui s'est installé par la force, s'est ensuite développé, s'est raffiné, s'est même humanisé en quelque sorte, grâce à la force et je dois ajouter grâce à une force qui tendait essentiellement à arrêter le développement des peuples colonisés chaque fois que ce développement n'était pas, d'une façon ou d'une autre, indispensable au développement des intérêts coloniaux. Il s'agissait donc essentiellement d'une force qui s'opposait au développement de ces peuples, agissait dans un sens antagoniste à celui de leur développement et, en un mot, partait de considérations souvent étrangères au sort des populations soumises.

20. Soit dit en passant, cela ne signifie pas qu'un colon était par nature un abject exploiteur. Non, pas nécessairement. Il était semblable à tant d'autres catégories humaines; c'était un homme qui pouvait être individuellement aussi gentil que tout autre, aussi serviable et aussi bon que le noir exploité; mais son mal provenait de la nature même de sa condition, de la nature même du système colonial qui cherchait à exploiter les pays conquis dans les meilleures conditions de rendement, de rentabilité et de rassurante tranquillité.

21. C'est pour arriver à cette fin que le système colonial se trouvait, de par sa nature, dans le camp opposé aux peuples colonisés, qu'il considérait inconsciemment, mais à juste titre, tout progrès véritable et toute prise de conscience des peuples colonisés comme un danger réel pour sa propre existence, qu'il ne permettait un développement quelconque de ces peuples que dans la mesure où ce développement était indispensable à sa propre existence et ce dans les conditions de paix et de stabilité, ou pour mieux dire de stagnation sociale, les plus appropriées au statut colonial.

22. Le colonialisme, qui s'était d'abord ainsi implanté par la force, n'a pas mis longtemps pour s'ériger en un système particulièrement complexe de domination directe ou indirecte, politique et économique, de tous les peuples moins développés. Ainsi, selon la nature des intérêts en cause et des avantages qu'elle pouvait en retirer, la puissance coloniale a eu recours soit au contrôle direct des territoires soumis, soit à leur contrôle indirect en appuyant systématiquement des classes dirigeantes maintenues au pouvoir pour défendre les intérêts coloniaux contre les populations autochtones.

23. Quel que fût le système de contrôle de ces territoires par la métropole, le colonialisme réussit, en conséquence, à y établir et à y maintenir un appareil puissant dont l'objectif était de retirer le maximum

de profits possible, sans égard aux intérêts des habitants autochtones. Aussi, c'est le phénomène colonial qui, par le soutien qu'il a accordé, dans les territoires soumis, aux forces de réaction sociale et aux classes ethiérarchies tribales autrement appelées à disparaître, y a faussé le jeu dynamique des forces de développement et y a figé l'évolution politique et sociale à son stade primitif. C'est bien pour cette raison que le colonialisme doit être tenu pour responsable du retard considérable du développement des pays dépendants par rapport au progrès général dans le monde, et du fossé tragique qui sépare ces pays dépendants des pays industrialisés.

24. Pour maintenir et accroître ses profits, pour protéger l'entreprise coloniale contre tous risques et périls, pour perpétuer son règne, le colonialisme se trouvait obligé de maintenir un ordre essentiellement fondé sur la stagnation sociale et le maintien du statu quo et caractérisé par la paralysie des forces du progrès. A ces fins, le régime colonial s'est servi, entre autres, de la discrimination raciale, de l'asservissement par l'humiliation, la peur et l'ignorance, de l'exploitation sous des étiquettes paternalistes et d'autres pratiques tendant à priver l'homme colonisé de son identité et de sa dignité humaine. Il n'a donc permis, comme je l'ai indiqué plus haut, un progrès quelconque des peuples soumis que dans la mesure où cela se révélait indispensable à sa propre existence.

25. Il est un fait certain cependant, c'est que, pour arriver à ses propres fins et pour pouvoir mieux exploiter les richesses des territoires conquis, pour pouvoir les exploiter dans les meilleures conditions de rendement, de rentabilité et de sécurité relative, le colonialisme a été amené à y introduire des éléments appartenant à des sociétés plus avancées.

26. Là, comme on le voit, le colonialisme ne pouvait guère échapper à cette loi générale de la contradiction inhérente à tout processus vivant. Là se trouve aussi un point qui est particulièrement important à mettre en lumière pour arriver à comprendre la nature complexe et quelquefois trompeuse du problème colonial. Car il serait inexact de pousser la haine, par ailleurs bien compréhensible, du colonialisme au point de vouloir tout simplement nier ou rejeter les phénomènes positifs certains que le caractère précisément exploiteur de ce régime a produits et entraînés. Il n'est nullement vrai que le colonialisme n'a absolument rien fait dans les colonies. Il nous semble, quant à nous, impossible de nier certains apports évidents du colonialisme, et notamment certains éléments d'importance capitale pour le développement ultérieur des colonies. Cependant, il s'agit de préciser aussitôt la nature de ces apports et les expliquer dans leur contexte historique, pour éviter toute confusion de nature à déformer la réalité. Une analyse objective des faits montrera alors clairement que les prétendus bienfaits du régime colonial, loin de représenter les traits essentiels du colonialisme, en constituent simplement les conséquences secondaires inévitables et représentent les phénomènes nés des contradictions mêmes du système colonial.

27. Il est important que l'analyse en soit poussée plus loin. La source de la contradiction résidait dans le développement même de la société moderne et les exigences d'un système d'exploitation rentable des pays colonisés qui devraient entraîner entre autres une plus grande participation des populations à

l'entreprise coloniale. Le régime avait notamment besoin d'une main-d'œuvre non seulement à bon marché, mais aussi qualifiée et bien organisée. Il avait besoin de la mise sur pied de ce qu'on a appelé l'infrastructure économique nécessaire au développement des transports, du commerce et de l'économie en général. Il ne pouvait se passer de routes, de constructions, d'écoles, ni même d'hôpitaux, autant d'installations qui font aujourd'hui partie de toute entreprise commerciale à grande échelle, bien gérée et en pleine expansion. Comme je l'ai indiqué plus haut, tout en étant réels, ces aspects indéniables de la présence coloniale, loin d'être des manifestations d'une quelconque mission sacrée des puissances coloniales, doivent être expliqués comme les conséquences inévitables d'un régime essentiellement fondé sur le profit et les intérêts coloniaux en cause. C'étaient aussi précisément ces conséquences qui allaient amener la désintégration progressive du système.

28. Les contradictions inhérentes au régime colonial se sont, en effet, accentuées à mesure que ce dernier a élargi ses capacités d'action. Le développement des moyens de communication, la création de centres urbains, l'introduction du nouveau système d'échanges et de la main-d'œuvre organisée, ainsi que la paupérisation progressive des autochtones, entre autres, furent à même de briser les cadres artificiellement maintenus par les colons et finalement amener la prise de conscience des peuples coloniaux contre le règne colonialiste dans son ensemble.

29. Les transformations révolutionnaires qui suivirent la dernière guerre mondiale et changèrent le destin d'environ 1 milliard et demi d'hommes appartenant aux peuples asiatiques donnèrent au mouvement d'indépendance des peuples africains un sens nouveau. En un sens, elles servirent à coaguler ce que j'ai tout à l'heure qualifié de conséquences secondaires du socialisme. Ceux qu'on avait pensé entraîner et préparer pour mieux servir les maîtres d'hier prirent conscience de leur force humaine et nationale et refusèrent de servir d'instrument à leur propre destitution.

30. Ainsi, la prise de conscience africaine, qui constitue l'élément le plus important de l'histoire du continent noir au cours des 15 dernières années, a permis d'opposer au colonialisme en Afrique une force dont la puissance, l'ampleur et l'extraordinaire rapidité de développement surprisent non seulement les colonisateurs, mais quelquefois ceux-là mêmes qui l'avaient mise en action, c'est-à-dire les promoteurs du mouvement d'émancipation africaine.

31. La période qui suivit la prise de conscience africaine, après la seconde guerre mondiale, est marquée par un certain désarroi dans le camp colonial. Allait-on encore renforcer davantage la force brutale et continuer à employer de vieilles méthodes coloniales en accentuant les procédés d'oppression et de répression? Était-il préférable d'adapter ceux-ci aux conditions plus démocratiques de l'époque? Ou bien le temps était-il enfin venu de procéder à une révision déchirante des pratiques traditionnelles en se mettant tout simplement au pas des insurgés?

32. Les chancelleries coloniales ne s'étaient jamais trouvées devant un déploiement si extraordinairement rapide de forces dont elles n'arrivaient même pas à reconnaître la nature. Et pendant que l'on alternait

des solutions, que chacun essayait d'employer la méthode qui lui semblait la plus efficace pour faire face à la situation, les peuples, eux, continuaient la lutte à un rythme qui faisait boule de neige et menaçait de se transformer en un mouvement général dépassant les objectifs que les peuples colonisés eux-mêmes s'étaient fixés d'avance.

33. Il n'est pas difficile d'imaginer que les conditions politiques nées de la guerre froide n'étaient pas de nature à faciliter la tâche de ceux qui devaient faire face à la montée de plus en plus menaçante de la marée anticoloniale. Ceux qui avaient une vision plus claire de l'histoire et aussi plus de clairvoyance pratique se décidèrent alors à s'adapter aux conditions nouvelles et à réaliser le seul équilibre possible nécessaire au maintien des positions devenues précaires. Il semble bien que c'est un souci analogue qui a donné son nom au fameux "new wind", ou vent nouveau, en Afrique que les Africains ont accueilli avec satisfaction, tout en comprenant sa nature, vent enfin qui traduit bien la réalité des forces en présence, car il doit son existence, bien entendu et tout d'abord, au courage et à la lutte des peuples africains pour leur indépendance, mais aussi à l'intelligence pratique et à la lucidité des puissances coloniales intéressées.

34. C'est dans le cadre de ce "new wind" que le Royaume-Uni est en train de liquider son ancien empire colonial avec un succès incontestable et avec la participation souvent très effective des peuples intéressés. A cet égard, l'Angleterre a démontré, encore une fois, son génie politique qui est de s'adapter aux conditions mouvantes des temps.

35. C'est ce vent nouveau qui a amené la France, avec gloire et succès, à rétablir, dans la plupart de ses anciennes possessions africaines, les grands principes nés de la Révolution française et de ses droits de l'homme et du citoyen.

36. L'admission au sein des Nations Unies de 10 Etats nouveaux, tous membres de la Communauté française, fait honneur au courageux effort de décolonisation entrepris par la Cinquième République. Et il est à souhaiter que ce vent nouveau soit assez puissant non seulement pour souffler sur les anciens territoires français déjà libérés, mais aussi pour s'étendre à tout autre territoire où cet effort sincère se voit encore neutralisé par des intérêts difficiles à justifier.

37. Ce vent est donc là établi comme un phénomène nouveau dans les annales du colonialisme. Il exprime ce moment de la conscience coloniale où, réalisant la portée même du mouvement d'émancipation et le nouvel équilibre, le seul équilibre possible des forces en présence, elle se voit forcée de procéder à une revision déchirante de son attitude générale envers le problème même de l'existence coloniale.

38. Le colonialisme, qui avait plus ou moins solidement établi ses assises sur la force brutale, alors l'élément le plus sûr et le plus pratique de la suprématie, passe à une stratégie nouvelle. Au lieu de s'opposer à la marée, il va maintenant la suivre. Au lieu de l'arrêter par une force qui n'est plus effective, il va tenter de s'en servir dans un nouveau courant, où il cherchera à s'associer aux rebelles d'hier, essayant de maintenir cette fois, autant que possible, la seule position qui lui reste désormais, c'est-à-dire sa suprématie économique et technique.

39. Il est de la plus haute importance théorique et pratique, pour les peuples sous-développés, d'étudier les aspects complexes de ce vent nouveau, qui a commencé à souffler sur l'Afrique et qui a ouvert le dernier chapitre du colonialisme. C'est un vent qui ne doit pas tromper les peuples africains, pour une certaine fraîcheur qu'il leur apporte et le nouveau sens de dignité et de liberté qu'il leur amène. Mais c'est un vent qui ne doit pas non plus être négligé et simplement combattu, sous prétexte qu'il a sa source dans les hauteurs blanches de l'Ouest. Comme tout phénomène historique, comme le colonialisme lui-même, il est fait de forces contraires. Il nous incombe, à nous, peuples des pays en développement, d'en tirer le meilleur parti sans tomber dans les pièges ni de la crédulité impardonnable, ni d'une certaine orthodoxie anachronique et dogmatique.

40. Les peuples coloniaux feront face, j'en suis sûr, à cette situation nouvelle, avec tout ce qu'elle peut comporter d'espoirs et de dangers, de possibilités de coopération ou de pièges et de dilemmes posés à leur conscience. Cependant, il est bien clair que cela exige de tous les peuples le plus grand degré de vigilance et de clairvoyance. Car le vent nouveau dans ce qu'il a de positif et de prometteur n'est, après tout, qu'une manifestation intelligente et une évaluation réaliste du nouvel équilibre que l'histoire a imposé aux puissances coloniales. Il est à saluer et à encourager là où, effectivement et véritablement, il exprime une certaine vision réaliste et claire de l'histoire, là où il part de ces prémisses aujourd'hui évidentes et bien établies qu'une entreprise politique quelle qu'elle soit ne saurait durer dans les conditions de tyrannie et de subjugation des peuples.

41. Il en serait cependant bien autrement si d'autres puissances, plus obstinées et moins imaginatives, voulaient le concevoir comme une simple manœuvre tactique ou comme l'expression machiavélique d'une soupape de sûreté à enlever lorsque la pression devient explosive. Les événements de l'année dernière ont en effet dégagé deux tendances assez significatives dans l'évolution du problème colonial à son stade actuel. D'un côté, ils nous ont familiarisés avec la politique plus intelligente et à longue échéance du nouveau vent, mais, d'un autre côté aussi, ils nous ont prouvé à nouveau que, dans leur lutte désespérée pour l'existence, les intérêts coloniaux ont plus d'un tour dans leur sac et que le néo-colonialisme est un enfant bien plus astucieux, et par là autrement plus dangereux, que les parents qui lui donnèrent naissance.

42. En fait, le colonialisme sous sa forme spécifique et traditionnelle peut, d'ores et déjà, être considéré comme une catégorie historique révolue. Même si, dans certains territoires, il continue de sévir et de provoquer des crises marquées par le sang et les larmes des populations autochtones, même s'il est encore présent dans un nombre considérable de territoires dont la population totale s'élève à 100 millions d'habitants, le régime colonial dans son ensemble n'est déjà plus qu'un organisme agonisant, ayant la mort à son chevet, dont les crises hystériques de violence démontrent encore davantage la fin proche et inévitable. Ce n'est donc plus le vieux colonialisme asthmatique et mourant, mais le néo-colonialisme jeune et virulent qui menace aujourd'hui l'indépendance véritable des peuples. C'est le néo-colonialisme, avec son réseau complexe de moyens politiques, économiques, idéologiques et autres, qui cherche à défendre les mêmes intérêts coloniaux

sur le cadavre du vieux colonialisme. Leur nature et leur mission restent les mêmes et, dans l'ensemble, seule la tactique semble avoir changé pour s'adapter aux exigences politiques, économiques et psychologiques du monde actuel. Les apparences ne doivent tromper personne et c'est pour cette raison précisément que, déjà en 1955, tous les peuples africains et asiatiques ont cru bon, à Bandoung, de le dénoncer en proclamant solennellement que "le colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et ses manifestations constitue un mal auquel il doit être mis rapidement fin".

43. En effet, il est certain que les intérêts qui ont motivé l'apparition du fléau colonial dans le monde et lui ont permis de se maintenir continueront d'exister encore bien longtemps après la liquidation nominale du colonialisme. Aussi il est naturel de s'attendre à ce que ces intérêts se refusent à se plier au verdict des peuples libérés et mettent tout en œuvre pour se réintroduire et recréer le colonialisme sous des formes nouvelles, plus appropriées aux conditions du monde moderne. Dans ces circonstances, il est impératif que la lutte des peuples contre le phénomène colonial continue à s'étendre à toutes les formes données au colonialisme économique ou politique, qui menaceraient de façon directe ou indirecte leur souveraineté nationale et le jeu des institutions démocratiques qui en émanent.

44. Les problèmes et les circonstances auxquels je me suis permis de faire allusion montrent clairement que la question générale du colonialisme est loin d'être simple. Elle a des aspects théoriques qu'il conviendrait plus particulièrement d'analyser pour mettre les peuples du monde en mesure de mieux suivre son développement dans l'avenir et se préparer à faire face aux dangers qui en émanent. Mais une telle analyse dépasserait de loin le cadre de ce débat. Aussi, avec votre permission, je tâcherai d'exposer aussi brièvement que possible des considérations d'ordre général et les problèmes les plus concrets qui se posent aujourd'hui sur le plan pratique, en essayant en même temps de poser certains principes qu'il nous semble nécessaire de porter à l'attention des Etats Membres intéressés.

45. Premièrement, qu'il me soit permis de répéter la joie de mon pays de constater que 17 anciens territoires coloniaux sont venus cette année grossir nos rangs en qualité de Membres souverains et indépendants de plein droit. Cela représente non seulement une victoire éclatante pour les peuples intéressés, mais aussi pour la communauté internationale dans son ensemble et, bien entendu, pour l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Il est bien entendu que la contribution de nouveaux Etats renforce non seulement la position et le prestige des Nations Unies, mais constitue aussi un facteur important pour la consolidation de la paix et de la sécurité collectives.

46. Deuxièmement, tout en reconnaissant les mérites et la nature progressive des efforts récemment déployés par certaines puissances administrantes pour conduire un grand nombre de territoires sous leur administration vers l'indépendance, ma délégation souhaite que la politique de décolonisation ainsi amorcée soit adoptée et poursuivie par toutes les puissances administrantes des territoires d'outre-mer, et s'étende à tous les territoires coloniaux où les populations autochtones sont encore privées du droit fondamental de disposer d'elles-mêmes. En vertu de ce droit reconnu des peuples, ceux-ci

peuvent déterminer librement leur statut politique et assurer librement leur développement économique, social et culturel. L'article premier, paragraphe 2, des projets de pactes internationaux relatifs aux droits de l'homme, déjà adoptés par la Troisième Commission de l'Assemblée générale, reconnaît en outre:

"Pour atteindre leurs fins, les peuples peuvent disposer librement de leurs richesses et de leurs ressources naturelles, sans préjudice des obligations qui découlent de la coopération économique internationale fondée sur le principe de l'intérêt mutuel et du droit international. En aucun cas un peuple ne pourra être privé de ses propres moyens de subsistance^{1/}."

47. Troisièmement, les Nations Unies peuvent se féliciter de leur contribution au mouvement d'émancipation des peuples des territoires sous tutelle et des territoires non autonomes et de l'appui qu'elles ont apporté au principe de l'autodétermination. Le régime international de tutelle et l'interprétation dynamique de l'esprit du Chapitre XI de la Charte ont servi d'instruments efficaces pour aider les peuples à réaliser leur émancipation progressive et les préparer graduellement à l'indépendance. Il est cependant regrettable de constater que dans ce domaine la résistance de certaines puissances administrantes aux efforts constructifs des Nations Unies, et leur politique systématique consistant à opposer à l'esprit libéral de la Charte une certaine interprétation étroite et dépassée de sa lettre, n'ont pas manqué de réduire considérablement, voire de paralyser, les possibilités d'action de la communauté internationale.

48. Quatrièmement, l'évolution du monde, plus particulièrement au cours des 15 dernières années, prouve indubitablement que, dans les circonstances actuelles, les exigences d'une coopération internationale durable, basée sur le respect des droits fondamentaux de l'homme, non seulement coïncident avec la préservation des intérêts économiques et politiques légitimes des grandes puissances, mais en constituent la condition sine qua non. L'obstination incompréhensible de quelques puissances à maintenir certaines pratiques coloniales qui dans le passé avaient réussi à réaliser les fins coloniales ne peut aujourd'hui que ruiner les dernières chances de coopération entre les peuples en développement et les puissances plus privilégiées.

49. Il est plus particulièrement de la plus haute importance que les pays inspirés par les idéaux de la liberté et de la démocratie se rendent à l'évidence des réalités nouvelles et ne précipitent pas, par indifférence ou par manque de vision, des situations qui ne profiteraient qu'aux ennemis de tous les peuples. La logique effrénée du développement des peuples coloniaux se poursuit à un rythme tel qu'il n'est plus aujourd'hui permis de s'en tenir à une conception étroite de ses intérêts immédiats. Aujourd'hui, plus que jamais, un dialogue sincère et franc s'impose entre les puissances coloniales et les peuples coloniaux, et de ce dialogue dépend l'avenir du monde entier. S'il prend place et se développe dans l'amitié, tout porte à croire qu'une ère de

^{1/} Documents officiels de l'Assemblée générale, dixième session, Annexes, point 28 de l'ordre du jour (1ère partie), document A/3077, par. 77.

coopération fructueuse peut s'ouvrir à l'avantage commun, non dans la défaite de tous, mais dans la victoire des uns et des autres.

50. Les soupçons bien compréhensibles de part et d'autre, les malentendus, les acrimonies pourraient ainsi graduellement disparaître dans une atmosphère caractérisée par l'effort commun des peuples libres et indépendants, aux fins de créer une nouvelle communauté de nations, libres de liens injustes, libres de préjugés raciaux ou autres, libres de la tyrannie des choses et des hommes.

51. Une coopération de ce genre est, à notre sens, la seule d'ailleurs qui puisse aider les anciens peuples coloniaux à suivre harmonieusement la voie de leur développement et leur permettre de résoudre les problèmes surtout d'ordre économique qui se posent le long de cette voie ardue. Elle est aussi la seule qui permette de poser les fondations d'une paix solide et durable dans les régions en question comme dans le monde entier. Si, par malheur, elle ne se réalise pas à temps et si le dialogue ne se poursuit pas dans la confiance mutuelle et dans l'égalité, il serait alors à craindre que le tourbillon des événements n'engloutisse tous les hommes de bonne volonté pour ouvrir la voie à la tyrannie, alors seule capable de mettre fin au chaos que l'on aura ainsi précipité.

52. Il faudrait donc que tous les peuples et tous les Etats libres et indépendants, et plus particulièrement les puissances administrantes, se rendent compte de cette situation complexe, aussi grosse de dangers que de possibilités de coopération. A cette fin, ils doivent donc fonder et développer leurs relations avec les anciens peuples coloniaux sur ce principe fondamental et sacré selon lequel tous les peuples sans exception ont le droit inaliénable à l'indépendance complète, à l'exercice de leur souveraineté et à l'intégrité de leur territoire national, et, en conséquence, sont décidés à prendre en main leurs destinées en toute liberté, sans pression quelconque de l'étranger. Ils doivent considérer une fois pour toutes que le mouvement général des peuples vers leur émancipation totale est un phénomène irréversible et irrésistible, et que toute tentative directe ou indirecte de résistance à ce mouvement non seulement est immorale et contraire au droit des gens, mais d'avance vouée à l'échec le plus certain. Ils doivent faire confiance à tous les peuples et s'abstenir de toute intervention d'ordre politique, économique ou autre dans leurs affaires intérieures. Les peuples libres et les puissances qui avaient et continuent d'avoir la responsabilité d'administrer des territoires coloniaux se doivent enfin de contribuer, dans toute la mesure possible, à assurer les meilleures chances de succès à ce mouvement historique dont dépendent en grande partie l'avenir et le bonheur de toute l'humanité.

53. Cinquièmement, la situation actuelle impose donc aux anciennes puissances coloniales des responsabilités nouvelles. Ces nouvelles responsabilités, en premier lieu, doivent les conduire à mettre tout en œuvre pour combler le fossé qui les sépare actuellement des peuples coloniaux et, à cette fin, rechercher les solutions qui s'imposent dans une sincère coopération avec les peuples intéressés.

54. Ces responsabilités doivent ensuite les conduire non pas à maintenir le front commun du colonialisme traditionnel, mais à créer un nouveau front commun

des peuples libres contre tous ceux qui, dans le monde, voudraient maintenir et créer des positions de force et des suprématies injustifiées. Les peuples libérés sont encore trop marqués par le joug de la tyrannie pour vouloir en rechercher de nouveaux ou se laisser tromper par d'autres. Leurs alliés les plus naturels sont donc ceux qui, sincèrement et véritablement, cherchent à faire de la liberté un idéal universel. Les peuples coloniaux, plus particulièrement, lutteront comme par le passé contre toute forme de domination, de subjugation et d'exploitation pour défendre leur dignité nationale et leur liberté si chèrement acquise. Il est donc de la plus haute importance, pour toutes les puissances éprises des mêmes idéaux de liberté, de dignité humaine et de justice sociale, de comprendre ce fait et surtout de ne pas compromettre, par manque de vision ou de patience, ou par suite de réactions hâtives et défensives dictées par l'émotion ou la peur, les chances d'un front uni de liberté et de démocratie avec les anciens peuples coloniaux.

55. Il serait grand dommage que le souci étroit de préserver certains avantages politiques, économiques ou autres de caractère immédiat, et le maintien de certaines méthodes d'action, incompatibles avec la liberté d'action de ces peuples et avec leurs intérêts fondamentaux, entraînent une aggravation des malentendus, élargissent le fossé existant et, par surcroît, arrivent à forcer, par défaut ou par provocation, les nouveaux peuples libérés à rechercher leurs alliés ailleurs que dans le camp des hommes et des peuples épris des mêmes idéaux.

56. Sixièmement, les puissances coloniales doivent reconnaître que l'une des premières et des plus importantes manifestations de l'indépendance des peuples se trouve dans l'exercice même de la souveraineté, qui est uniquement l'attribut des peuples qui vivent sur leur territoire national. La souveraineté leur appartient de fait et de droit, et nul ne peut l'exercer en leur nom sans leur libre consentement. Les puissances qui, dans les territoires soumis à leur administration, l'ont exercée au nom des populations intéressées conformément aux principes de la Charte des Nations Unies doivent donc prendre des mesures immédiates aux fins de son transfert aux représentants dûment qualifiés de ces populations.

57. Septièmement, afin de réaliser l'indépendance inconditionnelle des territoires non autonomes et sous tutelle ainsi que de tout autre territoire colonial n'ayant pas encore accédé à l'indépendance, ces puissances administrantes doivent prendre des mesures urgentes et immédiates afin de transférer tous pouvoirs aux peuples de ces territoires, conformément à leur volonté et à leurs aspirations librement exprimées, sans considération de race, de croyance ou de couleur, afin qu'ils soient en mesure de jouir de l'indépendance complète et de la liberté d'édifier, sans conditions ni réserves, leurs Etats nationaux.

58. Huitièmement, le niveau insuffisant des progrès politiques, économiques, sociaux et de l'instruction a, par le passé, toujours été invoqué par les puissances administrantes pour différer l'indépendance aux pays coloniaux. Un examen plus objectif de ce problème révèle le caractère dangereux de ce prétexte et la mauvaise foi qui a souvent caractérisé cet argument. Il s'agit là, en fait, d'un cercle vicieux que les intérêts coloniaux dans l'ensemble ont cherché

à maintenir. Ainsi, d'un côté, ils ont retardé la préparation nécessaire dans les domaines divers de leur vie nationale et, de l'autre, ils ont avancé que, l'indépendance exigeant un degré minimum de préparation, elle ne pouvait leur être accordée sans cette préparation nécessaire. Dans ces conditions, il n'est pas étonnant de constater, d'une part, que, dans la plupart des colonies, rien de substantiel n'a été fait pour préparer les cadres nécessaires et, de l'autre, que l'accession à l'indépendance a toujours posé des problèmes sérieux en ce qui concerne le manque des cadres nécessaires et appropriés.

59. Aujourd'hui, malgré les difficultés qui naissent toujours du degré insuffisant de développement et du manque de cadres dans les territoires coloniaux — et dont l'entière responsabilité incombe aux puissances coloniales — les peuples intéressés ne s'en effraient pas outre mesure. C'est que, en plus des avantages certains que leur offre l'indépendance, ils ont confiance dans la solidarité des peuples et dans des organisations telles que les Nations Unies pour les aider à combler leurs lacunes.

60. De plus, même si le retard économique, social et politique doit nécessairement imposer à certains pays peu développés un degré relatif de dépendance, il n'y a aucune raison de croire que cette dépendance doive leur être imposée par l'ancienne puissance administrante. La communauté internationale et les Nations Unies, entre autres, peuvent bien facilement leur apporter l'aide et l'assistance nécessaires sans leur imposer des obligations incompatibles avec leur indépendance.

61. Les peuples savent qu'ils ne sont plus seuls dans un monde indifférent. En outre, ils ont maintenant confiance en eux-mêmes et ceux qui en ont eu l'occasion n'ont pas tardé à démontrer que cette confiance est justifiée. Plus particulièrement, la prise en main de ses propres destinées donne toujours à un peuple libéré de l'esclavage la force nécessaire pour surmonter tous les obstacles, y compris ceux nés de l'héritage colonial et du degré insuffisant de préparation politique, économique et autre.

62. Neuvièmement, dans les territoires coloniaux où la paix se trouve être troublée par suite d'un conflit armé ou par suite des mesures de répression dirigées contre le peuple, les puissances responsables doivent prendre des mesures immédiates afin de rétablir les conditions de paix nécessaires à l'exercice, par le peuple, de son droit sacré et inaliénable à l'indépendance complète et à l'intégrité du territoire national. Il est en même temps nécessaire que toute action armée ou répressive de tout genre soit prohibée et bannie dans l'avenir.

63. Dans ce domaine, il est nécessaire de rappeler que la liberté et la paix sont indivisibles; un peuple qui en opprime un autre viole non seulement les droits souverains de ce peuple, mais la liberté, la conscience et la dignité de l'humanité entière; par là, il commet aussi une violence contre la paix et la sécurité collectives, dont il doit assumer l'entière responsabilité. La communauté internationale et les Nations Unies ont alors le droit et le devoir de mettre tout en œuvre pour aider les peuples ainsi soumis à l'oppression et à la violence à reconquérir leur droit sacré à l'autodétermination.

64. Dixièmement, il est certain que le transfert des pouvoirs se trouvera nécessairement soumis aux

conditions propres de chaque territoire. Cependant, il nous semble qu'aux fins de réaliser l'indépendance véritable et complète de ces territoires, dans les conditions les plus compatibles avec les exigences d'un système démocratique du pouvoir national, l'intérêt des populations exige que leur accession à l'indépendance soit précédée, partout où les conditions nationales les rendent possibles et pratiques, par une consultation populaire et des élections générales au suffrage universel et au scrutin secret, de préférence sous le contrôle et la surveillance des Nations Unies. Une telle procédure permet de poser les fondements des Etats, accédant ainsi à l'indépendance, sur des assises solides et démocratiques, et constitue une garantie sérieuse contre le retour du colonialisme sous des formes nouvelles.

65. Onzièmement, il est alors de l'intérêt des peuples dépendants que la date et les modalités d'indépendance de leurs pays puissent être fixées à la suite de négociations, sur un pied d'égalité, entre les autorités administrantes et les représentants dûment qualifiés de ces peuples.

66. Les puissances administrantes doivent s'abstenir de soumettre l'indépendance à des conditions ou réserves limitant l'exercice de la souveraineté populaire. Des traités inégaux et restrictifs, de caractère économique, politique, financier ou militaire, signés avant l'indépendance et limitant d'une façon ou d'une autre l'exercice de la souveraineté nationale, constituent pour l'avenir des sources de malentendus et de friction, incompatibles avec le maintien d'une atmosphère de confiance mutuelle et le maintien de relations amicales et pacifiques.

67. Douzièmement, pour les peuples accédant à l'indépendance, la liberté étant essentiellement un processus de libération progressive et graduelle des jougs anciens, en particulier de la tyrannie du besoin et de la peur, aucun facteur étranger ne doit pouvoir entraver ce processus qui doit être réalisé, en premier lieu, par les peuples intéressés eux-mêmes. Toutefois, la nature indivisible de la liberté et de la paix et la cause de la solidarité humaine exigent que la communauté internationale ne ménage aucun effort pour les aider à accélérer ce processus de libération, si les peuples intéressés lui en font la demande.

68. Treizièmement, étant donné qu'un Etat nouvellement indépendant doit aussitôt faire face aux problèmes graves de toute nature, en premier lieu, à ceux qui découlent de l'héritage colonial, il est particulièrement nécessaire que les Nations Unies lui portent toute assistance économique, technique, sociale, culturelle ou autre dont il aurait besoin pour franchir les premières étapes de son indépendance. Il est dans l'intérêt des peuples nouvellement indépendants que les grandes puissances, soucieuses de leur porter aide et assistance, le fassent aussi, autant que possible, par l'intermédiaire des Nations Unies et de leurs institutions spécialisées, afin qu'aucune obligation susceptible de limiter la liberté d'action de ces peuples par une puissance quelconque ne puisse entraver leur marche indépendante vers leur propre destinée.

69. Quatorzièmement, afin de permettre aux peuples nouvellement émancipés de mobiliser la totalité de leurs ressources humaines et économiques pour leurs plans de reconstruction et de développement national, tous les Etats Membres, et, en particulier, les grandes puissances, doivent agir de façon que ces

peuples ne soient jamais entraînés, par des considérations de défense, à allouer des fonds indispensables à leur développement national aux dépenses de caractère militaire. Les grandes puissances ont plus particulièrement le devoir de se retenir de toute action qui conduirait, directement ou indirectement, à alourdir le fardeau militaire de ces pays ayant accédé à l'indépendance.

70. Quinzièmement, il est bien entendu que tout acte d'agression contre un Etat indépendant constitue un crime contre l'humanité. Ce crime prend un caractère encore plus grave lorsqu'il est dirigé contre un pays qui vient d'accéder à l'indépendance ou qui traverse les étapes initiales et difficiles de son développement.

71. Les Etats Membres, et à plus forte raison les anciennes puissances administrantes, doivent, de plus, se retenir de toute atteinte visant à la dislocation partielle ou totale de l'unité nationale et de l'intégrité territoriale d'un pays. Ainsi, il serait souhaitable que, dans la déclaration sur la fin du colonialisme, tous les Etats Membres réitérent solennellement leur engagement, proclamé par la Charte des Nations Unies, de ne jamais violer la souveraineté nationale et l'intégrité territoriale d'un autre Etat, sous quelque forme que ce soit.

72. Seizièmement, les peuples du monde doivent enfin être vigilants pour empêcher que le colonialisme, mettant à profit les faiblesses et les difficultés intérieures des petits Etats indépendants, ne puisse se réintroduire ou s'infiltrer sous des formes nouvelles. Toute intervention, de la part d'un Etat plus puissant, dans les affaires intérieures d'un autre, toute pression d'ordre économique, politique ou idéologique qui viserait à fausser le jeu normal des institutions intérieures d'un pays, venant de l'extérieur, constituent ainsi les éléments d'un néo-colonialisme incompatible avec l'indépendance et la souveraineté des peuples, et avec les buts et les principes de la Charte des Nations Unies.

73. Tels étaient les quelques principes que ma délégation a pensé opportun de rappeler, au moment où s'engage le débat sur le problème général de l'accession des pays coloniaux et de leurs peuples à l'indépendance. Ce sont là des principes que nous avons toujours été fiers de défendre et de soutenir, tout au long de notre participation aux travaux des Nations Unies. Mon pays, qui n'a jamais souffert du colonialisme dans sa conception directe, s'honore pourtant d'avoir toujours, et sans exception, plaidé la cause des pays frères mais infortunés d'Asie et d'Afrique, et d'avoir apporté son soutien moral à la cause de tous les peuples coloniaux luttant pour leur droit à l'indépendance. Tout récemment encore, S. M. le Chahincha s'est fait l'interprète des sentiments unanimes du peuple iranien lorsqu'à la séance inaugurale du Sénat il a félicité les peuples africains ayant accédé à l'indépendance. Il s'est exprimé en ces termes:

"Nous sommes heureux qu'un nombre considérable de pays coloniaux aient accédé à la liberté et à l'indépendance et participent déjà aux travaux des Nations Unies, et que d'autres les suivront dans l'avenir. Du fond du cœur, nous les félicitons à l'occasion de leur liberté et de leur indépendance et nous leur souhaitons tout le bonheur et toute la prospérité possibles dans la voie de leurs progrès véritables, conformément aux principes de la démocratie et à l'esprit de la Charte des Nations Unies."

74. Ma délégation est particulièrement fière d'avoir activement participé à la préparation du projet de déclaration qui vous est soumis [A/L.323 et Add.1], au nom d'une grande majorité de puissances africano-asiatiques, et qu'il s'honore d'avoir contresigné. Ce projet de déclaration, qui proclame solennellement la nécessité de mettre une fin rapide et inconditionnelle au colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et ses manifestations, contient en outre la plupart des principes qu'il nous paraît nécessaire de faire adopter par l'Assemblée générale dans son ensemble.

75. Ceux qui ont participé à la rédaction de ce projet peuvent, plus particulièrement, témoigner de l'esprit constructif qui a animé ses promoteurs. Il est notamment clair que beaucoup des signataires de ce projet de déclaration, qui ont particulièrement souffert des sévices du colonialisme, auraient préféré un texte plus expressif, comportant entre autres des clauses condamnatoires à l'encontre du colonialisme dans ses aspects les plus critiquables. Cependant, afin de rallier tous les courants d'opinions de l'Assemblée autour d'un texte acceptable par les Nations Unies dans leur unanimité, ils ont accepté, dans un esprit de conciliation, certaines formulations de caractère beaucoup plus modéré. Nous espérons que le même esprit de coopération constructive animera tous les membres de cette assemblée et nous avons également l'espoir qu'ils pourront se rallier unanimement autour d'un texte historique de si grande importance qui est appelé à exprimer un moment solennel de la conscience universelle concernant le problème du colonialisme à notre époque.

76. C'est avec empressement que ma délégation a l'honneur de recommander à l'attention des membres de l'Assemblée le projet de déclaration [A/L.323 et Add.1] et plus particulièrement de faire appel aux puissances administrantes afin qu'elles lui accordent leur soutien sans réserve.

77. En conclusion, ma délégation voudrait remercier la délégation de l'Union soviétique qui a pris l'initiative de porter ce problème à l'ordre du jour de la quinzième session de l'Assemblée générale. Toutefois, pour des raisons qui relèvent d'abord des idées positives contenues dans notre projet de résolution, comme pour des raisons relatives à la nécessité de rallier la plus grande majorité possible autour des principes devant régir notre attitude anticoloniale, comme enfin pour des raisons dues à la nécessité de limiter toute action de l'Assemblée sur ce point aux aspects ayant essentiellement trait au seul problème du colonialisme, ma délégation ne serait pas en mesure d'appuyer la déclaration soviétique. Par contre, elle souhaite de tout cœur que la délégation soviétique, comprenant les raisons qui ont poussé la majorité des puissances africano-asiatiques à présenter leur propre projet de résolution, veuille bien retirer son projet, ouvrant ainsi la voie à l'adoption unanime, par cette assemblée, du projet de résolution [A/L.323 et Add.1] présenté par ces puissances africano-asiatiques. Une telle unanimité, on ne le répétera jamais assez, donnera au projet actuel la place historique qu'il mérite d'occuper dans les annales de l'anticolonialisme.

78. M. NOSEK (Tchécoslovaquie) [traduit de l'anglais]: L'Assemblée générale est maintenant parvenue à l'un des points les plus importants de son ordre du jour, c'est-à-dire à la déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux.

C'est une question d'une portée internationale exceptionnelle dont la solution immédiate est d'importance vitale pour les populations opprimées et exploitées des pays coloniaux et dépendants, et aussi pour les peuples qui, dans le monde entier, tiennent particulièrement à la liberté.

79. A l'heure actuelle, le colonialisme tient encore en esclavage, exploite sans merci et opprime des dizaines de millions d'êtres humains en Afrique, en Asie, en Amérique latine et dans le Pacifique. L'humanité se couvrirait de honte si, à une époque où elle a appris à désintégrer l'atome, à dominer les forces de la nature et où elle se prépare à conquérir les espaces extra-atmosphériques, elle ne parvenait pas à secouer le joug d'un colonialisme impudent et à obliger les colonialistes à accorder, sans délai, la liberté et l'indépendance aux millions d'êtres humains qui mènent une existence misérable dans les pays coloniaux.

80. Le processus de liquidation complète du colonialisme est une nécessité historique de notre époque. Le mouvement de libération nationale des pays coloniaux et dépendants apporte chaque année une modification de la carte politique du monde. Si, avant la seconde guerre mondiale, de vastes territoires d'Afrique, d'Asie et d'autres régions du monde figuraient sur la carte sous les quelques couleurs qui représentaient les systèmes coloniaux de plusieurs puissances coloniales, il suffit de jeter un coup d'œil à cette carte aujourd'hui pour apprécier les profonds changements qui sont survenus dans le monde. De territoires qui étaient précédemment des colonies, sont nés des dizaines d'Etats souverains qui ont acquis leur liberté et leur indépendance après une longue et pénible lutte. Les colonialistes ont opposé divers obstacles aux luttes menées par les nations coloniales pour leur libération nationale. Ils ont eu quelquefois recours à des moyens aussi peu scrupuleux que les bombes au napalm et les grenades, quelquefois à la tactique qui consiste à dresser les nations coloniales les unes contre les autres. Récemment, nous avons souvent entendu invoquer le prétexte que telle ou telle nation n'est pas assez développée, assez mûre pour assumer les responsabilités qui découleraient de sa liberté et de son indépendance et pour s'organiser en Etat. Point n'est besoin aux colonialistes de s'inquiéter indûment et de masquer leur répugnance à mettre une fin au honteux système colonial, en se préoccupant de savoir si les nations coloniales seront capables de diriger leur pays. L'exemple offert par de nombreux pays qui ont récemment accédé à l'indépendance montre qu'une fois libérées de l'esclavage colonial ces populations savent bien comment diriger leur pays et édifier leur économie.

81. Un autre argument invoqué par certains pays colonialistes consiste à dire que leurs territoires coloniaux ne sont pas à proprement parler des colonies, mais, disent-ils, des provinces d'outre-mer, c'est-à-dire qu'elles font partie de la métropole. Cet argument est aussi peu logique et aussi peu véridique que celui qui consisterait à dire que certains pays métropolitains ne font pas partie de l'Europe, mais du continent africain ou de la péninsule de l'Inde.

82. Le déclin du colonialisme dû au mouvement de libération nationale des peuples coloniaux est inévitable et ne saurait être enrayé par aucune force, intrigue ou formule juridique quelles qu'elles soient.

C'est une évolution historique qui doit immanquablement être couronnée par la victoire de l'idée de liberté et d'indépendance.

83. Toutefois, il s'agit maintenant de savoir si le déclin complet du colonialisme sera le fruit de luttes sanglantes au cours desquelles périront encore des centaines de milliers d'êtres humains, ou si l'on trouvera des moyens d'accélérer et de faciliter la chute inévitable du colonialisme.

84. L'Organisation des Nations Unies doit elle aussi aider à trouver ces moyens. Elle doit s'efforcer d'obtenir qu'il n'y ait plus dans le monde entier une seule nation sous le joug d'autres nations, et que les peuples des territoires coloniaux et des territoires sous tutelle accèdent à l'indépendance complète.

85. Il y a longtemps que les peuples du monde entier ont prononcé leur verdict sur le colonialisme, et ce verdict irrévocable doit maintenant bénéficier de l'appui total de l'autorité des Nations Unies. Il s'agit là, de toute façon, d'une dette que l'Organisation des Nations Unies a contractée depuis 15 ans en énonçant dans la Charte des buts et principes. Maintenir une seule nation ou même une tribu sous le joug du colonialisme reviendrait à tourner en dérision les idéaux élevés de l'Organisation des Nations Unies.

86. Une comparaison même superficielle entre le développement des pays métropolitains et celui de leurs colonies suffit à mettre en évidence la monstruosité que cache l'essence même du colonialisme. Dans les pays métropolitains, nous trouvons des exemples de richesse et de prospérité qui sont le résultat d'un vol perpétré sans scrupule depuis de longues années sur les millions d'habitants des colonies ainsi que du pillage des ressources naturelles de pays étrangers. En revanche, dans les pays opprimés, l'administration colonialiste est telle que les populations de ces pays vivent dans des conditions d'extrême pauvreté, d'analphabétisme et de maladie, qu'elles sont condamnées à la plus courte espérance de vie qui puisse être et que plus de la moitié de ces populations meurent en bas âge.

87. Lorsque les nations qui luttent contre les colonialistes pour acquérir leur indépendance parviennent à leurs fins, elles retrouvent leur pays dans une situation qui témoigne de façon surprenante des soins et de la mission civilisatrice de leurs anciens maîtres coloniaux. Des exemples tels que l'inexistence de toute usine ou de toute entreprise qui puisse répondre aux besoins de la population ne sont pas rares. Le cas du Congo, qui a accédé à l'indépendance alors qu'il n'y avait encore dans le pays aucun médecin ou avocat, ingénieur ou officier congolais, n'est pas un cas isolé. Les statistiques dont dispose l'Organisation des Nations Unies et les renseignements qui filtrent des pays coloniaux donnent un tableau choquant des résultats d'un siècle de régime colonial. De nombreux renseignements sur ce sujet ont été fournis par les autorités les plus compétentes en la matière, à savoir les représentants des pays africains, au cours de la discussion générale, à la présente session de l'Assemblée générale.

88. Il ne peut d'ailleurs en être autrement, car toutes les activités des colonialistes dans leurs colonies n'ont toujours eu qu'un seul objectif, celui d'assurer un maximum de profits aux monopoles métropolitains. C'est pourquoi les pays coloniaux ont servi d'annexes

aux pays impérialistes comme sources de matières premières et comme débouchés pour les produits métropolitains; la main-d'œuvre à bon marché dans les colonies, l'approvisionnement en matières premières ainsi que les exportations de ces colonies vers les pays métropolitains, le tout à un prix de revient pratiquement nul, ont permis aux colonialistes d'amasser d'immenses profits résultant de la vente de ces matières premières et de ces denrées alimentaires sur les marchés mondiaux. C'est pourquoi les colonialistes ont délibérément retardé le développement d'industries locales dans les colonies et, pour peu qu'ils aient créé des industries, il ne s'agissait que d'industries de transformation des matières premières et de petites industries.

89. Les colonialistes appelaient toujours l'attention sur les chemins de fer, les routes, les ports et les moyens de communication qu'ils ont construits dans les colonies. Toutefois, ce n'est pas dans l'intérêt des populations locales qu'ils les ont construits, mais bien dans leur propre intérêt, afin de faciliter et d'intensifier l'exploitation des peuples coloniaux et des richesses naturelles de leurs pays. Comment pourrait-il en être autrement? En effet cette situation découle logiquement de l'essence même et du caractère d'oppression et de piraterie que revêt le colonialisme. Or le colonialisme n'est pas encore mort en dépit du fait qu'il ait été enterré par le Premier Ministre du Royaume-Uni dans l'exposé que celui-ci a fait au cours de la présente session de l'Assemblée.

90. Le président Sukarno a parfaitement décrit l'état actuel du colonialisme lorsqu'il a déclaré à la présente session de l'Assemblée générale:

"On dit parfois que l'impérialisme et le colonialisme sont morts. Non, l'impérialisme n'est pas encore mort. Il est en train de mourir, sans doute ... Cependant — et notez bien ce que je dis — l'impérialisme mourant est dangereux, aussi dangereux que le tigre blessé dans la jungle tropicale." [880ème séance, par. 63.]

91. L'Organisation des Nations Unies, qui a prévu dans sa charte le respect des principes de l'égalité de droits, du droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes, ainsi que le respect des droits de l'homme, ne peut continuer à rester indifférente lorsque les colonialistes piétinent impitoyablement ces droits et maintiennent les nations coloniales sous le joug en recourant aux méthodes les plus brutales. Nous ne pouvons passer sur l'oppression des peuples coloniaux et sur le pillage sans scrupule des richesses de leurs pays. Nous ne pouvons fermer les yeux sur les guerres coloniales et les effusions de sang en Algérie, au Kenya, en Rhodésie, en Oman, dans les colonies portugaises et ailleurs, lorsque nous savons pertinemment que les puissances coloniales ont recours à tous les moyens qu'autorise la force brutale pour empêcher les populations des pays coloniaux d'affirmer leur droit inaliénable à disposer d'elles-mêmes. L'Organisation des Nations Unies doit faire l'impossible pour remédier le plus tôt possible à cette situation honteuse. Il s'agit là d'un impératif catégorique de notre époque. En conséquence, l'Assemblée générale doit adopter la déclaration relative à la liquidation immédiate du colonialisme et à l'octroi de l'indépendance à tous les territoires coloniaux et territoires sous tutelle.

92. En Tchécoslovaquie, l'opinion publique s'est félicitée du fait qu'à la deuxième Conférence des

Etats indépendants d'Afrique, qui s'est tenue à Addis-Abéba en juin 1960, les nations africaines avaient elles-mêmes affirmé dans la résolution qu'elles ont adoptée, au sujet de l'élimination du régime colonial en Afrique, qu'elles étaient résolues à liquider le colonialisme sur ce continent. De plus en plus, les peuples des pays africains assument résolument la responsabilité de leurs propres affaires, c'est là un fait significatif et l'une des principales conditions préalables pour que l'on puisse au plus tôt mettre un terme au régime colonial et qu'il soit complètement et définitivement supprimé. Le fait que les jeunes Etats africains soient résolus à poursuivre la lutte pour la libération totale de l'Afrique, ce que nous ont appris des représentants africains aussi éminents que M. Nkrumah, président du Ghana, et M. Sekou Touré, président de la Guinée, ainsi que d'autres, dans les déclarations qu'ils ont faites au cours de la présente Assemblée générale, autorise la délégation de Tchécoslovaquie à penser que les populations des autres territoires d'Afrique prendront aussi fermement en main leur destinée.

93. Les événements récents ont aussi montré que la prolongation du régime colonial donne lieu à des crises internationales répétées qui menacent de mener l'humanité à la catastrophe que serait une guerre mondiale. En faisant disparaître immédiatement le colonialisme et tous ses vestiges, on supprimerait une des causes de tension permanente et de conflit dans le monde et on atténuerait sensiblement les dangers de guerre. N'est-il pas notoire que la désintégration du régime colonial s'est toujours accompagnée de provocations, d'interventions armées et trop souvent de guerres coloniales? Il suffit de rappeler les guerres coloniales d'Indonésie, du Viet-Nam, du Laos, du Cambodge, l'agression impérialiste contre l'Egypte, l'intervention armée des colonialistes du Congo et d'autres. L'Organisation des Nations Unies doit appliquer tous ses efforts à détruire la cause commune de ces crises qui sévissent en Afrique, en Asie et en Amérique latine, je veux dire le régime colonial.

94. L'Organisation des Nations Unies doit s'efforcer d'obtenir que les nations coloniales puissent s'engager, en toute liberté et en toute indépendance, sur la voie du développement. Le raffermissement de la paix dans le monde, qui est la tâche fondamentale incombant à l'Organisation des Nations Unies, est donc très étroitement lié à la liquidation du colonialisme.

95. La délégation tchécoslovaque partage entièrement l'opinion émise par M. Nkrumah, président du Ghana, qui a déclaré au cours de la discussion générale à la présente Assemblée:

"Tant qu'un seul pouce de la terre d'Afrique restera sous la domination étrangère, le monde ne connaîtra pas de paix. Aussi l'Organisation des Nations Unies doit-elle ... [adjurer] toutes les nations qui ont des colonies en Afrique d'accorder l'indépendance totale aux territoires qui relèvent encore d'elles. A mon avis, avoir des colonies et être Membre de l'Organisation des Nations Unies sont aujourd'hui incompatibles." [869ème séance, par. 5.]

96. Nul ne saurait mettre en question l'importance capitale qu'a pu avoir pour le maintien de la paix dans le monde l'apparition, après la seconde guerre mondiale, de nouveaux Etats indépendants. La grande

majorité de ces pays nouveaux s'attachent résolument à suivre une politique de neutralité positive et de paix et refusent de prendre part aux groupements agressifs des impérialistes. En conséquence, nul ne saurait douter que la libération immédiate des autres populations coloniales ne contribue favorablement aux destinées et au développement futur de la société. Si les puissances coloniales cherchent sincèrement à raffermir la paix, comme elles ne cessent de le proclamer, et si elles reconnaissent loyalement leurs engagements envers l'Organisation des Nations Unies, elles doivent adopter les propositions contenues dans la déclaration présentée par le représentant de l'Union soviétique [A/4502 et Corr. 1], c'est-à-dire qu'elles doivent d'abord accorder immédiatement l'indépendance complète et la liberté à tous les pays et territoires coloniaux, sous tutelle, non autonomes et autres qui ne s'administrent pas eux-mêmes, renoncer ensuite à tous les bastions du colonialisme conservés en territoire étranger, sous forme de zones louées à bail ou de propriétés diverses, et qu'enfin tous les pays doivent respecter strictement la souveraineté et l'inviolabilité territoriale des pays qui ont récemment accédé ou qui accèderont à l'indépendance après l'adoption de cette déclaration.

97. En adoptant cette déclaration, on ouvrirait aux nations coloniales des perspectives réalistes sur la matière d'accéder à la liberté par des moyens pacifiques et la paix du monde s'en trouverait ainsi considérablement renforcée. Toutefois, il ne suffit pas, nous semble-t-il, d'éliminer simplement le colonialisme sous sa forme ancienne. Les populations des pays qui se sont libérées ou qui se libéreront du joug colonial doivent être extrêmement vigilantes et se tenir sur leurs gardes en face des diverses formes de néo-colonialisme que les puissances impérialistes essaient de leur imposer. Je pense en particulier aux tentatives faites pour entraîner les pays africano-asiatiques dans l'alliance agressive des impérialistes, et obliger ces pays à mettre leur territoire à la disposition des impérialistes en tant que bases militaires et à accepter diverses sortes d'aide ou d'accords économiques inéquitables.

98. A ce propos, nous ne saurions omettre de signaler les activités toujours croissantes des milieux dirigeants de la République fédérale d'Allemagne qui, en recourant à la pénétration économique dans les pays d'Asie et d'Afrique, essaient sournoisement de regagner la position perdue de l'Allemagne impériale, pays qui fut l'une des puissances coloniales les plus brutales.

99. La liquidation immédiate du colonialisme aurait également une importance exceptionnelle pour le développement de la coopération économique internationale et pour le développement économique des pays actuellement sous régime colonial. Les colonialistes ont éprouvé pillé les richesses des pays coloniaux, ils se sont opposés à leur industrialisation et ont paralysé l'ensemble de leur économie en les obligeant, en matière de production agricole, à faire de la monoculture. En libérant les pays coloniaux du joug colonial, on crée les conditions préalables indispensables au développement normal de leur économie, on augmente le volume du commerce mondial et tous les peuples en bénéficient. De même, la liquidation immédiate du colonialisme aurait d'importantes répercussions, qu'il s'agisse de relever les niveaux de vie, d'améliorer l'instruction des populations

intéressées ou de faire disparaître des fléaux tels que l'analphabétisme et la maladie.

100. La liquidation immédiate du honteux régime d'esclavage colonial servirait les intérêts de toutes les nations. Pour s'en convaincre il n'est que de se reporter à la période si riche d'expérience qui a suivi la seconde guerre mondiale, période pendant laquelle une trentaine de pays, représentant une population totale de 1 milliard 500 millions de personnes, se sont libérés du joug colonial. Forte de cette expérience, la délégation tchécoslovaque estime qu'il est du devoir de l'Organisation des Nations Unies d'en appeler à tous les peuples du monde pour qu'ils ne restent pas indifférents aux souffrances des nations coloniales. L'Organisation des Nations Unies doit enjoindre aux puissances qui possèdent des empires coloniaux d'entamer, sans délai et sur un pied d'égalité, des négociations avec les représentants des pays coloniaux en vue d'instaurer la liberté et l'indépendance dans tous les pays et territoires coloniaux, sous tutelle et non autonomes. Si les puissances coloniales essaient de retarder la libération des colonies et refusent de reconnaître aux populations qui les habitent leurs droits inaliénables à la liberté et à l'indépendance, les nations pacifiques devront alors accorder toute leur aide matérielle à ces populations dans leur lutte contre les oppresseurs.

101. La vive sympathie que ressent le peuple tchécoslovaque à l'égard de mouvements de nationalisme et de libération a des racines profondes. Elle a sa source dans l'expérience amère des douloureuses années d'occupation hitlérienne, alors que des envahisseurs étrangers opprimaient sans scrupule notre peuple et pillaient notre pays. Nous partons donc du principe que chaque nation a le droit absolu de disposer d'elle-même à son gré et de mener une existence indépendante. La République socialiste tchécoslovaque entretient avec tous les Etats d'Asie et d'Afrique qui se sont libérés du joug colonial des relations étroites, fondées sur le principe d'égalité et d'intérêt mutuel. Dans le domaine de la coopération économique en particulier, la Tchécoslovaquie contribue, dans la limite de ses possibilités et de ses capacités, à aider ces pays nouveaux à rattraper leur retard économique actuel et à raffermir leur indépendance politique et économique. S'inspirant des principes inébranlables qui sont à la base de la politique étrangère de son pays, la délégation de la République socialiste tchécoslovaque appuie sans réserve le projet relatif à la liquidation immédiate des régimes coloniaux et à l'octroi d'une indépendance et d'une liberté complètes aux nations coloniales. Le Président de la République socialiste tchécoslovaque, M. Novotný, a exprimé la volonté de toute la population tchécoslovaque lorsqu'il a déclaré au cours de la discussion générale, à la présente session de l'Assemblée générale:

"Nous sommes convaincus qu'il faut abolir à jamais tout le système colonialiste et donner à toutes les nations la possibilité de conquérir leur liberté. Voilà pourquoi nous appuyons sans réserve le point 87 de l'ordre du jour intitulé Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, proposé par la délégation de l'Union soviétique à la présente session de l'Assemblée générale." [871ème séance, par. 56.]

102. La délégation de la République socialiste tchécoslovaque appuie sans réserve le projet de déclaration

sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et peuples coloniaux présenté par la délégation de l'Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques [A/4502 et Corr.1]. Si l'Assemblée générale adopte cette déclaration, l'Organisation des Nations Unies aura sensiblement contribué à améliorer les relations internationales, à raffermir la paix mondiale et à instaurer une coopération internationale amicale.

103. Cet après-midi, nous avons été saisis du projet de résolution des 28 puissances [A/L.323 et Add.1], qui a été présenté par le représentant du Cambodge. Je me réserve le droit de reprendre la parole sur ce texte à un stade ultérieur de nos délibérations.

104. Avant de conclure, je crois de mon devoir de répondre à la déclaration faite ce matin par le représentant du Royaume-Uni [925ème séance] qui a essayé de profiter du débat sur la liquidation immédiate du colonialisme pour attaquer calomnieusement les Etats socialistes. Ces attaques ont pour but de distraire l'attention de l'Assemblée et de l'opinion publique de la solution recherchée au problème urgent de liquidation immédiate du colonialisme et de libération des nations qui jusqu'à présent se trouvent sous le joug colonial. Le représentant du Royaume-Uni a donc tenté de distraire l'attention de l'Assemblée de la question qui nous occupe en ce moment et de substituer au débat sérieux et réaliste sur la liquidation du colonialisme des attaques offensives contre les Etats socialistes, dans un esprit de guerre froide.

105. Ces attaques ne nous surprennent pas. Certains représentants — comme le représentant du Royaume-Uni ce matin — ont pris ce parti par haine des pays socialistes, pays dont les peuples ont autrefois décidé librement et irrévocablement d'établir le socialisme dans leur pays. Aucun pouvoir au monde ne saurait enrayer l'avance des pays socialistes, et les pays impérialistes devraient s'en convaincre.

106. Les centaines de millions de dollars officiellement affectés chaque année au financement des activités subversives contre les pays socialistes, l'envoi d'agents et de saboteurs, l'organisation de campagnes incendiaires, les tentatives d'ingérence et autres provocations se sont révélées peu efficaces. Chacun sait que la vraie liberté, l'indépendance et la souveraineté des Etats ne sauraient être évaluées ni d'après la sonorité des tournures de style et des déclarations entendues à l'Organisation des Nations Unies, ni d'après la grossièreté et l'impertinence des attaques formulées contre les Etats socialistes, mais plutôt, par exemple, d'après des critères tels que l'assurance d'une égalité de droits pour tous, sans distinction de race, de sexe ou de confession, ou encore le développement économique, culturel et social et l'amélioration des niveaux de vie d'une population.

107. Au cours de nos débats sur cette question, notre tâche principale consiste à adopter une déclaration sans équivoque sur la liquidation immédiate du colonialisme, à renier le colonialisme comme faisant la honte et le déshonneur de l'humanité au XXème siècle. Nos débats doivent nous amener à adopter un texte faisant instamment appel aux puissances colonialistes pour qu'elles reconnaissent sans délai les droits fondamentaux des populations qui ont vécu jusqu'ici dans les conditions serviles et sans dignité du régime colonial. Ni les puissances coloniales impérialistes qui, sous divers prétextes, dirigent et exploitent les populations des colonies, ni

les pays qui les soutiennent ne pourront empêcher par leurs attaques calomnieuses contre les pays socialistes que cette question urgente ne soit réglée. Ce que l'opinion publique démocratique mondiale attend de ces puissances, comme elle est en droit de le faire, c'est une déclaration sans équivoque, précisant qu'elles sont disposées à accorder immédiatement la liberté et l'indépendance aux populations opprimées des colonies, conformément aux nobles principes et aux fins de la Charte des Nations Unies, et non pas des attaques agressives contre les pays socialistes, dans un esprit de guerre froide.

M. Nesbitt (Canada), vice-président, prend la présidence.

108. M. PERERA (Ceylan) [traduit de l'anglais]: La délégation de Ceylan a le privilège d'être au nombre des auteurs du projet de résolution [A/L.323 et Add.1] dont l'Assemblée a été saisie. Tout en étant donc l'un des auteurs de ce projet de résolution, la délégation de Ceylan se permet d'émettre l'opinion que la question dont nous traitons actuellement marque un tournant dans l'évolution de la société internationale et de la communauté des nations.

109. A la vérité, je ne saurais mieux commenter cette question que ne l'a fait M. Khrouchtchev, président du Conseil des ministres de l'Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques, dans le document A/4502, le 23 septembre 1960. J'aimerais rappeler quelques passages de ce document dans lequel le Président du Conseil des ministres de l'Union soviétique déclarait:

"Notre époque est celle de la rénovation rapide de la société, celle de l'établissement de modes de vie plus progressifs et plus justes, celle où la puissance de l'homme sur les forces de la nature prend un essor sans précédent. Le temps est venu de libérer entièrement et définitivement les peuples qui souffrent dans la servitude coloniale." [A/4502.]

110. A la vérité, on ne saurait trop souvent répéter la maxime selon laquelle "les peuples qui en oppriment d'autres ne peuvent être libres". Le président Khrouchtchev, dans ce même document, a cité cette maxime, ainsi que le Président de la Guinée, M. Sekou Touré, lorsqu'il a pris la parole devant cette assemblée à la quatorzième session [837ème séance]. C'est donc en s'inspirant de cette considération que la délégation de Ceylan entend faire son intervention.

111. L'émancipation des populations asservies a toujours été pour le peuple de Ceylan une cause particulièrement chère. Qu'il me soit permis de rappeler que Ceylan a joué un rôle appréciable dans certaines des grandes conférences internationales au cours desquelles la question de la fin du colonialisme a été examinée — et je me permets d'insister sur le fait que le Gouvernement de Ceylan préfère l'expression "fin du colonialisme" à celle d'"octroi de l'indépendance". Je veux parler, en particulier, de la Conférence des peuples asiatiques qui s'est tenue à New Delhi en 1947 et de la Conférence de Bandoung de 1955. Depuis cette dernière conférence, le Gouvernement de Ceylan a non seulement approuvé les déclarations des Etats indépendants d'Afrique aux Conférences d'Accra, de Conakry et d'Addis-Abéba, mais encore il s'est inspiré de ces principes pour orienter sa politique. En fait, l'un des principes essentiels de la politique du Gouvernement populaire

qui a accédé au pouvoir en avril 1956 sous la direction du Premier Ministre, M. Bandaranaike, a été la fin du colonialisme. Le gouvernement actuel dirigé par Mme Bandaranaike a intensifié cette politique et je puis affirmer sans exagération que notre peuple considère la fin du colonialisme comme son premier article de foi et son ultime credo politique.

112. Je n'ai pas l'intention d'étudier les arcanes de la diplomatie des puissances colonialistes, soit dans le passé, soit dans le présent, mais je suis obligé de constater que le projet de résolution dont l'Assemblée est maintenant saisie tire sa raison d'être de l'existence du colonialisme dans ses divers aspects. Il est donc absolument indispensable que nous prenions immédiatement des mesures pour mettre fin au colonialisme. Qu'il me soit permis de rappeler aux représentants des pays autrefois asservis qu'on ne saurait être trop reconnaissant envers le Président du Conseil des ministres de l'Union soviétique, M. Khrouchtchev, des efforts inlassables et résolus qu'il a déployés pour faire inscrire cette question à l'ordre du jour de la quinzième session de l'Assemblée, mais aussi envers le Gouvernement de l'Union soviétique pour l'activité incessante dont il a fait preuve depuis la révolution bolchevique de 1917 afin d'atteindre ces buts.

113. Nous n'acceptons pas la thèse selon laquelle l'indépendance est accordée aux nations asservies. Je rappellerai ici les termes employés par M. Krishna Menon lorsqu'il a pris la parole à maintes reprises devant cette assemblée au cours de la discussion générale. Il disait, en effet, qu'il serait plus correct de parler de "la fin du régime étranger ou de la domination étrangère". Dans certains cas assurément, on parle bien de "transfert de pouvoirs"; quoi qu'il en soit, nous estimons que les populations asservies ou soumises à une domination politique ou économique ont gagné leur indépendance soit par la lutte politique qu'elles ont menée, soit par le jeu combiné de leur lutte politique et des pressions qu'ont pu exercer, sur le plan international, des organismes internationaux tels que l'Organisation des Nations Unies, ou peut-être encore grâce aux efforts résolus et à la ferme attitude adoptée par les puissances anticolonialistes pour aider ceux qui étaient autrefois dépendants à acquérir leur indépendance. Nous avons depuis longtemps appris à mépriser l'ignorance, ou, comme diraient certains, l'hypocrisie de ceux qui parlent d'accorder la liberté et, ici encore, je rappellerai qu'un poète a parlé du "don qui ne peut jamais être donné par toutes les puissances réunies de la terre et des cieux".

114. Nous avons devant nous certains documents et, au nom de la délégation de Ceylan, je voudrais essayer de les analyser objectivement, ainsi que le projet de résolution que viennent de présenter 28 puissances asiatiques et africaines.

115. Je dois avouer que j'ai été plutôt déconcerté ce matin par l'intervention du Ministre d'Etat du Royaume-Uni, M. Ormsby-Gore [925ème séance], lorsqu'il a cru voir dans le document A/4502 une tentative pour raviver la guerre froide. J'ai vainement cherché dans ce document un indice permettant de penser qu'on tentait de raviver cette guerre froide. C'est au contraire ce document que nous avons pris pour base de nos discussions et c'est pourquoi la délégation de Ceylan voudrait le soumettre à l'attention des représentants et peut-être en souligner

certains passages. En effet, nous sommes réunis ici pour discuter de la fin du colonialisme et non de la poursuite ou de la cessation de la guerre froide. En fait, la délégation de Ceylan, ou, pour mieux dire, le Gouvernement de Ceylan, ne participe pas à cette guerre, si tant est qu'une telle guerre existe. Peut-être sommes-nous assez naïfs pour ne pas croire à l'existence d'une telle guerre. Mais ce qui nous préoccupe pour l'instant, c'est la fin du colonialisme. J'entrerai donc au cœur du sujet tel qu'il ressort du document A/4502, car c'est la raison pour laquelle nous avons nous-mêmes présenté un projet de résolution. Je cite une phrase de ce document: "La liquidation du colonialisme serait l'une des principales mesures à prendre pour amener une détente internationale." [A/4502]. C'est là un aspect de la question.

116. Un autre aspect peut-être plus important à nos yeux est le suivant, et je cite encore le même document:

"En même temps que tout l'ignoble système colonial, cette autre variante du colonialisme qu'est le régime de tutelle est aujourd'hui dépassée. Survivance directe du système des mandats de la Société des Nations, le régime de tutelle actuel devait, d'après la Charte des Nations Unies, favoriser l'évolution des territoires sous tutelle vers la capacité à s'administrer eux-mêmes et l'indépendance. Or 15 ans sont passés depuis l'adoption de la Charte et l'indépendance n'a été octroyée qu'à quatre territoires sous tutelle sur 11.

"...

"Le régime de tutelle ne s'est justifié nulle part; il faut donc l'enterrer en même temps que tout l'anachronique système colonial." [A/4502.]

117. Comme je viens de le dire, l'essence du document réside dans ces paragraphes. Il faut également mentionner certaines exigences proclamées à la fin du document et c'est peut-être à propos de ces exigences que les 28 Etats africains-asiatiques, dont nous sommes, qui ont présenté un projet de résolution, peuvent paraître en contradiction avec ce texte. Sur ce point, j'espère qu'à la fin de nos discussions nous serons parvenus à trouver une solution.

118. Si l'on examine les propositions contenues dans le document A/4502, ainsi que le projet de résolution que nous avons présenté [A/L.323 et Add.1], on s'aperçoit que les deux documents ont en quelque sorte une trame commune. Il se peut que dans certains cas nous soyons d'accord et que, dans d'autres, nous ne le soyons pas, mais il est une chose certaine, c'est que cette question a été adoptée par acclamation lorsqu'il s'est agi de savoir, lors de la répartition des points de l'ordre du jour, si ce serait l'Assemblée en séance plénière ou la Première Commission qui en serait saisie. Lorsque l'Assemblée générale a été saisie de la question [903ème séance] traitée dans le document A/4502, intitulé "Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et peuples coloniaux", elle l'a adoptée sans discussion et, qui plus est, il n'a pas été question de guerre froide à ce sujet. C'est pourquoi il est déconcertant de constater que cette question ait pu être soulevée.

119. Par ailleurs la délégation de Ceylan souhaiterait que l'on considère cette question comme intéressant l'ensemble de la communauté mondiale. Il est certain qu'il existe encore des territoires sous

tutelle, des territoires non autonomes et peut-être des colonies à divers stades de développement politique et économique, et c'est pourquoi j'ai déclaré qu'il ne m'appartenait pas pour l'instant de traiter de cette question sinon d'une façon très générale; je ne tiens pas à m'immiscer dans les secrets d'une étude comparée des mérites des diverses politiques coloniales. Qu'il me soit permis toutefois de rappeler ce que le Secrétaire général, alors M. Trygve Lie, déclarait presque dès la fondation de cette organisation. Le document que je vais citer^{2/}, en date du 26 mars 1947, est nécessaire à mon argumentation:

"... Le régime international de tutelle n'est pas une simple continuation du système des mandats de la Société des Nations. C'est au contraire un système nouveau de contrôle international. Son champ d'action est plus vaste, ses pouvoirs plus étendus et ses possibilités plus grandes que celles du régime du mandat."

120. Compte tenu de cette déclaration, nous devons examiner la question en comparant la teneur du document A/4592, présenté par l'Union soviétique. C'est pourquoi j'estime que, si nous examinons la fin du colonialisme, nous devons étudier également l'utilité pratique du régime de tutelle. Nous savons tous que, si le régime des mandats, qui avait été proposé à la fin de la première guerre mondiale, n'avait pas présenté d'avantages précis pour les populations placées sous lesdits mandats — et il ne faut pas oublier qu'il y avait différentes catégories de mandats, dites "A", "B" et "C" — il avait du moins influencé l'opinion publique, mais devons-nous nous contenter de ce résultat? La seconde guerre mondiale a peut-être créé et libéré des forces encore insoupçonnées après la première guerre mondiale. C'est ainsi que le régime de tutelle fonctionne maintenant depuis près de 15 ans.

121. Par ailleurs, dès la sixième session de l'Assemblée générale, dans un memorandum présenté à l'Assemblée, le Secrétaire général de cette époque avait exprimé certains doutes quant au succès du régime de tutelle, ainsi que sur les fins auxquelles il répondait et sur la manière dont les autorités administrantes s'efforçaient, dans la pratique, de parvenir à ces fins. Je me réfère également au document en date du 12 janvier 1952 portant la cote A/C.4/SR.245 et à un résumé dudit document où sont exprimés divers points de vue; il y est dit clairement que, si le régime de tutelle ne fonctionnait pas convenablement, c'est qu'il y avait des raisons — je n'en citerai que quelques-unes — la première étant que certaines autorités administrantes ne remplissaient pas leurs obligations. Dans certains cas, elles avaient scutenu que ces obligations étaient absolument inacceptables. Qui plus est, des puissances non administrantes avaient signalé à maintes reprises que lesdites puissances administrantes non seulement ne s'acquittaient pas de leurs obligations, mais, dans certains cas, allaient même jusqu'à manquer à leurs engagements. En d'autres termes, le Conseil de tutelle prit des mesures pour appeler l'attention des autorités administrantes sur leurs négligences et leurs omissions et l'on s'efforça sincèrement de faire fonctionner convenablement ce système. Cependant, nous n'avons pas constaté que les autorités administrantes aient répondu à l'appel fait aux senti-

ments nobles qu'aurait dû leur inspirer la dignité de leur mission.

122. Il se peut que j'ai tendance à généraliser, mais, par ailleurs, les faits sont là. C'est pour cette raison que la question dont nous sommes actuellement saisis mérite que nous l'étudions de près, car nous ne devons pas nous contenter de faire observer qu'un système existe déjà, il nous appartient de trouver les moyens de mettre fin au colonialisme et à la domination et à l'autorité coloniales. A l'heure actuelle, j'estime — et je parle au nom de la délégation de Ceylan — qu'il n'est pas prouvé de façon positive que le régime de tutelle soit, comme on l'a si souvent répété, le moyen le plus sûr et le plus rapide pour faire parvenir les populations à s'administrer elles-mêmes et à obtenir leur indépendance. J'insiste sur ce point, car, si le régime de tutelle actuel offrait réellement une telle garantie, je ne serais pas ici en train de vous demander d'accorder votre appui au projet de résolution présenté par les pays africano-asiatiques.

123. A ce propos, je voudrais rappeler certains principes essentiels qui nous ont poussés à agir en ce sens. Le représentant de l'Iran a tenté, à sa manière, de définir le colonialisme. Il s'agit là d'une autre conception, politique peut-être autant que juridique, et qui peut se définir de bien des façons, mais fondamentalement nous sommes d'avis que colonialisme est synonyme d'exploitation économique, de domination politique, et d'arrogance raciale et je dirais même que, dans la mesure où il permet à la puissance ayant sous sa domination des populations asservies ou dépendantes de parvenir à ses fins, c'est un système où la prostitution morale des populations indigènes est provoquée par la frustration intellectuelle dont elles sont victimes.

124. J'ai essayé ici de vous donner une définition. Je ne prétends pas que cette définition soit valable indéfiniment, mais c'est ainsi que nous apparaît le problème en Asie et c'est un fait que le colonialisme existe sous ces divers aspects. Il porte différents noms et, en fait, j'irai même jusqu'à dire que les Chapitres XI, XII et XIII de la Charte ont été rendus nécessaires à cause de l'existence du colonialisme. Or celui-ci existe toujours, quoique, peut-être, sous des formes différentes. Ses manifestations, ou peut-être, devrais-je dire, ses objectifs, sont multiples et c'est pourquoi nous, les représentants des pays africano-asiatiques présents à cette assemblée — qui comptons parmi nous certains Etats devenus tout récemment indépendants — nous n'avons pas oublié et nous estimons de notre devoir de contribuer à mettre fin au colonialisme.

125. Autrefois, le colonialisme se présentait sous divers masques; toute la doctrine de l'extra-territorialité, la doctrine des capitulations, tout cela n'était que des aspects divers du colonialisme, de même que la répartition du monde en fonction du colonialisme. Même les juristes internationaux parlaient de colonialisme et non d'une communauté mondiale ou internationale. Il s'agit peut-être là d'un sujet rebattu, mais j'espère qu'on me permettra de m'y référer. C'est en effet au XIX^{ème} siècle qu'un très éminent juriste international, M. Lorimer, professeur de droit international à Edimbourg avait divisé le monde en trois sortes d'humanité: l'humanité civilisée, représentée par l'Europe, l'humanité barbare, représentée par quelques puissances telles que la

^{2/} Procès-verbaux officiels du Conseil de tutelle, première année, première session, 1^{ère} séance (p. 4).

Turquie et l'Irak — parce que cela se passait après le traité de 1856 — et l'humanité sauvage qui comprenait le reste de l'Afrique et de l'Asie. Bien du chemin a été parcouru depuis cette époque, mais néanmoins, si je puis m'exprimer ainsi, la *damna hereditas* du régime colonial a donné naissance aux problèmes auxquels le monde a dû faire face en 1945 et c'est pourquoi il a fallu inclure dans la Charte les Chapitres XI, XII et XIII afin de mettre sur pied un système permettant de mettre fin au colonialisme. Nous ne discuterons pas aujourd'hui des mérites des Chapitres XI, XII et XIII, mais, les ayant trouvés insuffisants, nous cherchons maintenant à trouver un moyen de sortir de cette impasse.

126. Il n'entre pas dans mes intentions, pour le moment, de soulever la question des modifications que l'on pourrait apporter à la Charte — loin de moi ce dessein — mais ce que je veux souligner, c'est que le régime de tutelle s'est trouvé en défaut. Je veux bien admettre que, peut-être, certaines autorités administrantes respectent strictement les dispositions de l'Article 73, mais d'autres ne le font pas, nous le savons; il suffit de questionner n'importe quel membre de la Quatrième Commission pour s'en convaincre. Certains donc ne respectent pas ces dispositions; ensuite il y a ceux qui soutiennent que l'Article 84 de la Charte confère à l'autorité administrante un certain statut de neutralité vis-à-vis de l'Assemblée générale elle-même. Quoi qu'il en soit, le document A/4502 appelle aujourd'hui notre attention sur la grave lacune que renferme la Charte elle-même, et ainsi nous sortons du domaine de l'interprétation strictement juridique de la Charte pour en venir aux réalités concrètes du monde. C'est pourquoi les mouvements qui se sont manifestés en Asie et en Afrique, les conférences auxquelles j'ai fait allusion, marquent un tournant non seulement dans l'histoire de l'Asie et de l'Afrique, mais encore dans l'histoire du monde. La plupart d'entre nous appartiennent à des Etats qui ne sont pas réellement des puissances militaires; nous devons nous en remettre à l'opinion publique qu'il s'agit de mobiliser, et au bien-fondé de notre cause. On pourrait prétendre qu'en gardant le silence sur une question, en nous abstenant de faire les déclarations qu'il nous appartient de faire, nous contribuons au progrès de l'histoire. Mais, dans le cas présent, je dirai que, si l'Assemblée gardait le silence sur une telle question, il se pourrait que, dans les années à venir, elle en arrive à être considérée peut-être comme un outil inconscient de l'histoire, lorsque l'histoire aura pris l'avantage sur cette assemblée. Dès lors, pourquoi ne pas adopter au contraire l'autre point de vue, pourquoi ne pas se faire l'outil conscient de l'évolution historique et agir en vue de mettre fin au colonialisme?

127. Je voudrais aussi souligner le fait qu'en parlant des manifestations du colonialisme, nous entendons — et c'est ce qu'essaie de préciser le projet de résolution — les diverses méthodes, procédures et fictions juridiques auxquelles les puissances coloniales ont recours pour masquer la nudité de leur grossier colonialisme. C'est ainsi qu'il est question par exemple de transfert de pouvoirs; j'y ai déjà fait allusion précédemment. Or, pour que ce transfert de pouvoirs puisse s'effectuer, il faut parfois attendre que l'on ait découvert dans la colonie le parti politique correct ou le groupe d'hommes qualifiés auquel le pouvoir pourra être transféré. On nous dit parfois qu'il faut attendre que les populations aient reçu une éducation

politique et sociale qui leur permette de devenir les égaux des peuples de l'autorité administrante et que c'est la raison pour laquelle le transfert de pouvoirs est retardé. Nous avons entendu aussi plus d'une fois ici cette fiction monstrueuse selon laquelle les territoires d'outre-mer sont présentés comme des provinces de la métropole, comme des régions de la mère patrie et qu'il ne s'agit donc pas de colonies ou de pays asservis. Cette question a déjà été longuement discutée en d'autres circonstances et, comme je ne traite ici que de principes généraux, je ne veux pas insister sur ce point, mais nous savons que c'est en vertu de telles fictions que se poursuivent certaines luttes des plus brutales concernant les peuples asservis, dans des pays où l'on a maintenu pendant plusieurs années des conditions d'inégalité grossière afin de justifier cette fiction juridique selon laquelle ces pays appartiennent à la métropole.

128. Dans le cas présent, je prétends donc que, sous le prétexte de ces fictions juridiques, nous avons méconnu les dispositions de la Charte. Somme toute, point n'est besoin d'être doué d'une grande intelligence ou d'une grande sagesse pour comprendre les dispositions des Articles 73, 76 et même du paragraphe 2 de l'Article premier de la Charte ou de l'Article 55, il s'agit de questions et de propositions très simples qui ont été acceptées par la communauté mondiale; et cependant, en ce qui concerne la mise en œuvre des dispositions de ces articles, nous nous apercevons que les autorités intéressées ne se sont pas acquittées de leurs obligations et c'est pourquoi, je le répète, nous avons rédigé un projet de résolution et l'Union soviétique a présenté un projet de déclaration.

129. Je n'ai fait que traiter de façon très générale de la question essentielle des Chapitres XI, XII et XIII. Il y a maintenant un autre aspect du problème qui ne doit pas nous échapper, je veux parler des traités inéquitables qui sont toujours une forme ou une manifestation du colonialisme et que certains ont qualifiés de néo-colonialisme. Il est arrivé que l'autorité administrante ou la puissance dominatrice, tout en abdiquant sa souveraineté ou en transférant ses pouvoirs, ait maintenu son emprise économique. Nous pouvons appeler cela du néo-colonialisme, le terme importe peu.

130. Il y a longtemps, cela se passait après le Congrès de Berlin au XIXème siècle, des théoriciens du socialisme ont fait observer — et à propos de la question qui nous occupe, on ne saurait l'oublier, point n'est besoin pour autant de souscrire à la doctrine communiste ou socialiste en tant que telle — qu'un jour viendrait où le conflit entre les puissances coloniales atteindrait un tel paroxysme qu'elles s'associeraient peut-être pour conserver en commun une emprise coloniale sur certains pays et territoires.

131. Je tiens à m'en tenir strictement à mon sujet; c'est pourquoi je ne mentionnerai aucune puissance en particulier. Que l'on appelle cela du néo-colonialisme, ou, comme l'a fait un autre auteur, de l'ultra-impérialisme, le fait est là.

132. A ce propos, je tiens à déclarer — et ce non pas parce que je veux reprendre l'argumentation exposée ce matin par le représentant du Royaume-Uni pour la réfuter — je tiens donc à déclarer qu'il ne s'agit pas de répéter des "manuels marxistes périmés" ou de se laisser griser "par la force incantatoire de slogans

léninistes". Il s'agit de respecter la tradition radicale — et j'emploie ce terme au sens large — qui dans un pays a toujours guidé ses destinées et finalement contribué à lui faire atteindre ses ultimes objectifs. Sans me lancer dans des études comparées, je peux simplement mentionner la tradition radicale britannique qui, à certaines époques de son histoire, a suscité une politique coloniale éclairée. Et cette tradition se maintient, et c'est à cause de cette tradition radicale qu'un homme comme Lénine lui-même, a dans son fameux livre, L'impérialisme, stade suprême du capitalisme, reconnu ce que l'on devait à J. Hobson, l'économiste anglais qui, à la fin du XIX^{ème} siècle, écrivait son livre, Imperialism, qui est devenu un classique. Il ne s'agit pas de la "force incantatoire de slogans léninistes", il s'agit de mener la lutte jusqu'à un certain point. Il ne s'agit pas d'un dogme comme la Charte, par exemple. D'ailleurs la Charte sera-t-elle indéfiniment valable? Les organismes et les rouages qui ont été créés en 1945, aux termes de la Charte, seront-ils indéfiniment adéquats?

133. Les institutions, comme les êtres humains, vieillissent. C'est donc à nous qui tenons à ces institutions de trouver les moyens de les améliorer. C'est en ce sens que je soutiens qu'il ne faut pas oublier — il ne s'agit pas, je le répète, de la "force incantatoire de slogans léninistes", mais bien de la tradition radicale énergique qui s'est manifestée, ou de la tradition libérale manifestée par ceux qui ont lutté pour la liberté — que, même dans le cas des pays de l'Amérique latine, s'il avait fallu attendre que tous soient si raffinés, ou si cultivés, ou développés sur le plan politique et social qu'ils puissent égaler les puissances coloniales, il faudrait peut-être attendre encore jusqu'au jour du jugement dernier. A la longue, nous finirons tous par passer de vie à trépas et c'est pourquoi il est nécessaire que, à un certain stade de l'évolution des affaires humaines, on fasse le point de la situation.

134. C'est en ce sens que je soutiens que, en décidant, par acclamation, d'inscrire cette question à l'ordre du jour de l'Assemblée, nous avons assumé une responsabilité, celle de formuler soit sous forme de résolution, soit sous toute autre forme — sous forme de déclaration, si vous le préférez — une proclamation qui constituerait non seulement un motif d'espérer pour les populations encore sous le régime colonial, mais encore un instrument que les puissances coloniales devraient mettre en œuvre en tant que tel.

135. J'aimerais que le projet de résolution que nous avons déposé soit considéré comme la suite logique des diverses grandes déclarations qui sont devenues par la suite des principes de droit international. Il ne s'agit pas ici d'une question de concept juridique pur, ni de créer un principe de droit; au contraire il s'agit d'essayer de trouver dans l'évolution de la société humaine une place convenable pour ce cas particulier.

136. J'ajouterai donc cet argument à l'appui de ma thèse, bien que, sans doute, certains Etats n'aient pas participé à l'établissement des grands principes de droit qui aujourd'hui régissent nos pratiques et qui ont peut-être enrichi l'histoire — je veux parler, par exemple, de la Déclaration de Paris qui, en 1856, a marqué un tournant dans les lois de la guerre sur terre, de la Déclaration de Saint-Petersbourg qui,

en 1868, apporta un nouveau progrès pour l'humanisation de la guerre, des Conventions de La Haye de 1899 et de 1907. On pourrait sans doute considérer notre projet de résolution sous ce même angle, car non seulement je tiens à défendre ce texte, mais encore je lui trouve certains mérites qui sont peut-être absents de la déclaration soviétique; quoi qu'il en soit, je crois et je soutiens que ces deux textes se complètent; il n'y a pas de divergences fondamentales dans nos objectifs essentiels et, qui plus est, nous pouvons constater que nous sommes en parfait accord sur le fond de la question, encore que nous nous exprimions peut-être différemment sur ce point.

137. Je ne voudrais pas me répéter; cependant, m'adressant à une assemblée internationale comme celle-ci, je tiens à souligner que, si les grandes déclarations d'autrefois, du XIX^{ème} siècle en particulier, qui ont peut-être trouvé leur apogée dans les plus importantes déclarations de notre temps — c'est-à-dire la Charte, les jugements et principes de Nuremberg — ont été adoptées par cette assemblée et sont passées dans le droit international, c'est pour parvenir à certaines fins que ladite assemblée a pris cette décision. Et c'est dans cet esprit que je demanderai aux représentants ici présents d'adopter la déclaration qui figure dans notre projet de résolution [A/L.323 et Add.1].

138. Qu'il me soit encore permis d'ajouter qu'en tant qu'organisme international, nous n'avons peut-être pas, à proprement parler, un caractère législatif. Le projet de résolution dont cette assemblée est saisie sanctionne et reflète l'opinion publique mondiale et l'on pourrait même dire que le jugement moral des nations est peut-être aussi exprimé dans cette déclaration.

139. A ce propos, permettez-moi de rappeler — car, j'en suis certain, les orateurs qui parleront après moi, demain, entreront dans les détails du projet de résolution — quelle fut l'histoire d'un des aspects les plus importants du colonialisme d'autrefois. J'emploie à dessein le terme de colonialisme, parce qu'il s'agissait réellement d'une forme de colonialisme, ce qui peut nous échapper aujourd'hui. D'un point de vue historique, je rappelle qu'au Congrès de Vienne en 1815, c'est le représentant britannique Castlereagh lui-même qui a proposé d'inclure dans l'Acte final du Congrès de Vienne une clause concernant la suppression de la traite des esclaves, ce qui fut fait, mais l'esclavage ne prit pas fin pour autant.

140. C'est là le point qui m'intéresse dans la discussion sur le projet de résolution: ce que renfermait l'Acte final de 1815. De même, je l'ai déjà dit, le système des mandats que nous avions en 1919 a été une manifestation de la conscience européenne et, en 1945, le régime de tutelle a été prévu par la Charte, mais, si je dois parler de l'histoire ultérieure de la traite des esclaves — et la question est pertinente car la traite des esclaves n'a pas été abolie immédiatement après 1815, parce que certains pays n'avaient pas prévu cela dans leur législation nationale — nous constatons que ce n'est qu'en 1885, dans l'Acte de Berlin, que cette clause fut adoptée officiellement par toutes les nations signataires. A cette époque le nombre des nations s'était accru par rapport à l'époque du Congrès de Vienne.

141. Il y eut un nouveau pas de fait en 1890. En effet, l'Acte de Bruxelles traitait aussi de la suppression de la traite des esclaves. Malheureusement pour le monde, les deux derniers Actes ne s'appliquaient qu'au bassin du Congo où sévissait la traite des esclaves. Donc le monde a dû attendre plusieurs années pour voir la mise en œuvre de ces actes. Ce n'est qu'à une date aussi récente que 1919, après la première guerre mondiale, lors de la négociation des traités de paix, que, par le Traité de Saint-Germain de cette même année, le monde civilisé a reconnu que la traite des esclaves se pratiquait encore dans certaines régions et qu'il appartenait aux autorités intéressées d'y mettre un terme. C'est ainsi que furent adoptées les Conventions sur l'esclavage de 1926 et de 1956, les dispositions complémentaires étant laissées au soin de l'Organisation internationale du Travail, institution spécialisée reliée à l'Organisation des Nations Unies.

142. Vous constatez donc que ces négociations ont eu une longue histoire, et ce n'est là qu'un exemple entre autres. Il s'agit en effet d'une longue histoire et malheureusement, dans le cadre de la politique mondiale d'aujourd'hui, le monde — et en particulier les peuples asservis — ne consent pas à attendre si longtemps la mise en œuvre de ce genre de résolution ou de ce genre de déclaration. Il est donc essentiel qu'en cette assemblée où sont réunis et travaillent sur un pied d'égalité à la fois les autorités administrantes — c'est-à-dire les puissances qui sont chargées de la tutelle de certains territoires, avec les obligations que cela comporte à l'égard des populations assujetties — et aussi les Etats qui ne possèdent pas de colonies ou de territoires non autonomes, ou plus simplement les autorités administrantes et les puissances non administrantes, il est essentiel, dis-je, que des deux côtés on reconnaisse la validité des principes qui sont à la base de la déclaration contenue dans notre projet de résolution.

143. Voilà pourquoi je soutiens que la déclaration et le projet de résolution marquent une étape dans l'évolution de la conscience internationale de l'humanité. En fait, j'irai plus loin et je dirai que le succès de la résolution ne dépend pas de son adoption pure et simple, car nous savons que l'on ne saurait faire la guerre à propos d'une question telle que la fin du colonialisme. La lutte continue parce que la liberté est une valeur à laquelle sont attachés les peuples qui luttent pour elle. On nous dira sans doute qu'il existe peut-être en Afrique des populations qui n'as-

pirent pas encore à la liberté dans ce sens, qui sont satisfaites d'être sous le joug de leurs maîtres coloniaux. Point n'est besoin de trouver des raisonnements très brillants pour réfuter ces dires, mais ce sont ces arguments qui sont toujours invoqués. Quant à nous, qui avons peut-être eu ici l'occasion d'observer le fonctionnement réel du régime de tutelle, nous qui en avons vu les effets, nous comprenons que, sans une telle déclaration, il n'est pas possible de faire de nouveaux progrès, car d'année en année nous découvrons les défaillances des autorités administrantes, nous découvrons le jeu de la politique mondiale qui intervient dans cette question. Nous constatons aussi que parfois, lorsque nul argument ne peut justifier le refus de l'indépendance, on prétend que l'autorité administrante doit protéger les populations assujetties, les populations en dépendance, d'une doctrine pernicieuse comme le communisme. C'était, je crois, au XVIIIème siècle que Samuel Johnson, personnalité bien connue des milieux littéraires britanniques, déclarait que "le patriotisme était le dernier refuge des vauriens". Je n'irai pas jusqu'à dire que ceux qui soutiennent maintenant que nous devons tenir ces populations des territoires asservis à l'abri du communisme donneraient raison à Johnson. Je ne dirai pas cela ici; il n'en est pas moins vrai que très souvent cet argument a été avancé. C'est peut-être sur la base de ces considérations qu'après la première guerre mondiale certains Etats, comme chacun sait, ont été créés pour maintenir le bolchevisme hors d'Europe; cette manœuvre n'a pas réussi.

144. Ainsi nous qui, en Asie, avons peut-être connu des jours meilleurs et des jours pires, nous qui avons peut-être encore un long chemin à parcourir quant à l'évolution de notre société, nous pouvons, je le soutiens, avoir une vue plus exacte de l'évolution de la société humaine et c'est pour cette raison que la délégation de Ceylan, tout en donnant son plein appui à la résolution, tient également à faire savoir qu'elle est prête — et je crois pouvoir parler au nom de tous les auteurs du projet de résolution — à accepter toute proposition qui contribuerait à améliorer ce texte afin de mettre définitivement un terme au colonialisme, et, dans l'intérêt de tous, le plus tôt sera le mieux. Je soutiens que le jour où une telle déclaration sera adoptée marquera une date mémorable pour la conscience de l'humanité civilisée.

La séance est levée à 17 h 45.

ASSEMBLÉE
GÉNÉRALE

UN/SA COLLECTION



SÉANCE PLÉNIÈRE

Mardi 29 novembre 1960,
à 10 h 30

QUINZIÈME SESSION

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Point 87 de l'ordre du jour:

Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux
pays et aux peuples coloniaux (suite) 1063

Président: M. Frederick H. BOLAND (Irlande).

POINT 87 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance
aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux (suite)

1. M. AMADEO (Argentine) [traduit de l'espagnol]: Les questions coloniales ont occupé la plus grande partie des séances de la présente session de l'Assemblée générale et il est vraisemblable qu'elles occuperont encore une bonne partie du temps qui s'écoulera d'ici la fin de la session. Cette primauté que l'on donne aux questions coloniales dans les débats de l'ONU n'est pas due au hasard; elle n'est pas davantage le simple résultat de manœuvres arbitraires; c'est, en fait, le reflet de la réalité que nous vivons.

2. On pourrait dire de notre organisation qu'elle est, entre autres choses, une grande caisse de résonance où se répercutent avec force les questions importantes qui préoccupent le monde. Dès lors, on ne pouvait pas manquer de traiter devant cette assemblée le problème du colonialisme ou, si l'on préfère, de la fin du colonialisme, qui fait l'objet d'une de nos plus profondes préoccupations et se trouve à l'origine des plus âpres controverses en ce milieu du XX^{ème} siècle.

3. La question revêt une actualité et une intensité d'autant plus grandes qu'elle est étroitement liée à la tension internationale qui règne entre les grandes puissances, c'est-à-dire à ce que l'on est convenu d'appeler la guerre froide. Il existe en effet une corrélation étroite entre le processus de liquidation des systèmes coloniaux et l'équilibre des forces qui opposent les nations les plus puissantes du monde. C'est pourquoi le problème devient plus ardu et se transforme en une alternative entre la guerre et la paix.

4. Aujourd'hui, c'est sous une nouvelle forme que nous est posée la question du colonialisme; elle nous est présentée sous l'aspect d'une initiative tendant à accorder l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples encore soumis à la domination coloniale. Le problème, on le voit, n'est pas simple et il ne nous est pas possible de l'aborder sans procéder à une étude générale, fût-elle succincte, de la portée et de la signification du colonialisme. Je m'empresse de dire que je m'efforcerai de limiter mon exposé à ce qui est strictement indispensable pour définir notre position.

5. Une observation préliminaire s'impose. Nous voulons parler de cette répétition constante et monotone de phrases toutes faites et de slogans préfabriqués, quand on traite de problèmes coloniaux. Certes, le recours aux lieux communs et aux artifices de propagande est un mal du monde contemporain, car le slogan présente un avantage: il dispense de réfléchir. Comme beaucoup de nos contemporains semblent éprouver une véritable horreur pour cette activité laborieuse et difficile qu'est la pensée, le slogan leur apporte une aide précieuse qui les libère de cette obligation. Pourtant, le colonialisme est un de ces sujets riches en substance que l'on ne devrait aborder qu'avec l'intention bien arrêtée d'en saisir le sens profond. En présence de faits historiques d'une portée transcendante, il est en effet regrettable que nous, qui avons été désignés pour en être les témoins éphémères, nous nous employions, au lieu de les étudier avec l'intérêt passionné que suscite le spectacle de l'histoire en marche, nous nous employions, dis-je, à interposer entre ces faits et notre esprit le voile du sectarisme ou l'épais manteau de notre pauvreté intellectuelle.

6. Ce reproche ne s'adresse d'ailleurs pas spécialement à ceux qui viennent de sortir du système colonial, ni à ceux qui s'efforcent de l'éliminer. On peut accorder les circonstances atténuantes à celui qui, dans la lutte et dans la souffrance, fait preuve d'une certaine partialité, car on ne peut méconnaître les griefs légitimes que nourrissent certains pays colonisés à l'encontre de leurs anciens maîtres. Il serait aussi difficile, pour ces jeunes pays, de procéder à une froide analyse de l'expérience vécue que, pour un prisonnier, d'étudier avec objectivité les mérites de tel ou tel régime pénitentiaire.

7. En revanche, ceux dont le passé ne peut pas influencer le jugement ont le devoir de considérer les faits dans un esprit de justice et avec le désir de trouver la vérité. C'est la contribution essentielle que nous pouvons fournir pour que cette transition entre le système colonial et l'indépendance s'opère sans violences excessives et, surtout, qu'elle ne provoque pas d'autres explosions encore plus graves.

8. Il s'est créé une sorte de terrorisme psychologique qui interdit de renoncer aux mots d'ordre habituels en cette matière sans risquer d'être accusé de complicité dans "l'exploitation esclavagiste des puissances coloniales", suivant les termes de la phraséologie en vogue de nos jours.

9. Nous déclarons, de façon catégorique, que l'existence d'un tel climat ne nous impressionne pas: nous définirons notre position sans craindre la façon dont elle pourra être interprétée ou jugée. Mon pays est issu d'un processus d'émancipation qui, loin de les rompre, a renforcé les liens affectifs l'unissant à sa terre d'origine; sa situation est telle qu'il peut aisément exprimer ses vues sur cette question.

10. Nous n'avons pas de colonies, point n'est besoin de le dire. Si, par ailleurs, la domination étrangère qui s'exerce sur une partie insulaire de notre territoire national nous oblige à formuler avec fermeté nos revendications, nous n'en avons pas moins maintenu dans les autres domaines des relations cordiales avec cette même puissance. Nous n'avons donc ~~pas~~ d'idée préconçue et, si notre sympathie penche dans un certain sens, nul ne peut douter — nous en avons fourni ici même un témoignage concluant — que cette sympathie va aux peuples qui naissent à la vie indépendante.

11. Le processus de la colonisation est le résultat de la force d'expansion considérable qui s'est libérée en Europe à la fin du Moyen Age. Il est certain que cette "petite péninsule adossée à l'Asie", comme certains l'ont appelée, renfermait dans ses étroites frontières un ensemble de populations dotées des qualités d'intelligence, d'esprit d'invention et d'entreprise les plus extraordinaires que le monde ait jamais connues. Les descendants de "l'audacieuse race de Japhet", selon l'expression d'un poète latin, se sentirent rapidement trop à l'étroit dans le territoire qui leur avait été dévolu; ils se lancèrent donc, en direction des quatre points cardinaux, à la recherche d'horizons nouveaux, où pût totalement s'exprimer leur génie créateur. Et c'est ainsi que débuta la grande aventure de la colonisation, dont nous voyons à l'heure actuelle se dérouler les dernières étapes.

12. Nous n'allons pas, même dans ses grandes lignes, rappeler les différents stades de ce grand processus historique, aux facettes multiples, complexes, variées. En tout état de cause, il serait selon nous prématuré de porter sur le système colonial un jugement définitif. Nous ne pensons pas, par ailleurs, qu'il soit possible d'exprimer en une seule formule toute simple ce que Balzac aurait appelé "les splendeurs et les misères" du système colonial. Les cas diffèrent suivant les époques, suivant le pays colonisateur et le pays colonisé. Adopter une formule unique et porter un jugement lapidaire, ce serait, selon nous, dénaturer l'extrême complexité du phénomène colonial.

13. Que ce système ait donné lieu à des abus intolérables, il n'est guère nécessaire à mon sens de le rappeler, car nous ne cessons de l'entendre dire dans cette assemblée. Si l'on a peut-être exagéré en attribuant certains maux au système colonial, il n'en reste pas moins que beaucoup de ces maux ont vraiment existé. En effet, lorsque les Européens, par esprit de lucre, ont abandonné le vieil état chrétien qui avait guidé leurs premiers pas sur les terres inconnues, le sens profond de l'entreprise colonisatrice en a été lui-même transformé.

14. Ce serait donner un peu trop dans le mélodrame que d'évoquer ici l'image désormais classique de ces aventuriers rapaces que le cinéma et les romans ont popularisés. Tel est le visage haïssable et malheureusement trop vrai du système colonial; nous ne saurions condamner avec trop de sévérité cet aspect du colonialisme.

15. Nous avons entendu, par ailleurs, certains délégués des pays nouveaux dire à cette tribune qu'ils n'ont trouvé auprès des puissances coloniales qu'humiliations, tyrannie et rapines. Sans mettre en doute la justesse de leurs plaintes, nous ne manquons cependant pas d'observer que ces réflexions sont

faites dans un anglais ou dans un français à la fois harmonieux et si châtié que nous le leur envions.

16. Or, quand un peuple a reçu d'un autre un trésor aussi précieux que la langue, il ne peut prétendre qu'il ne doive rien à cet autre peuple. Il lui doit, pour le moins, une forme de culture si importante qu'elle influe autant sur la pensée elle-même que sur son expression dans cette langue. Mais ce n'est pas là le seul résultat positif d'un système qui a existé jusqu'à notre époque. Il y en a également d'autres; ainsi, la lutte victorieuse contre les maladies, l'œuvre des missionnaires en matière d'enseignement, l'effort constructif des techniciens. Certes, dans cette amélioration du niveau de vie, les colonisateurs se sont réservé la part du lion. Il serait cependant faux de prétendre qu'à la fin de la domination coloniale, tous les peuples colonisés sans exception se trouvent plus pauvres — moralement ou matériellement — qu'avant l'arrivée des colonisateurs.

17. L'étude du bilan du colonialisme pourrait nous mener beaucoup plus loin que nous n'en avons l'intention. Ce qui importe, c'est de noter ceci: quel que soit le jugement que l'on porte maintenant, ou que les historiens futurs porteront plus tard sur ce système, le régime colonial ne s'adapte pas aux structures politiques du monde actuel. C'est un système qui a définitivement pris fin. A une époque où l'égalité — beaucoup plus encore que la liberté — représente, aux yeux des masses, le bien suprême, la survivance de formes de domination de certains peuples sur d'autres peuples est devenue quelque chose d'anachronique. Peu importe maintenant que l'on ait pu, dans le passé, expliquer ou justifier ces systèmes; ce qui compte, c'est que notre époque ne peut en admettre le maintien.

18. Nous pensons que la plupart des représentants ici présents sont d'accord sur ce point. Dans l'éloquent discours qu'il a prononcé hier [925ème séance], le représentant du Royaume-Uni a brossé un tableau impressionnant de la part que son pays a prise dans l'émancipation des peuples. Une telle ligne de conduite est devenue la tendance générale et nous ne pourrions pas passer sous silence le rôle éminent joué par la France, l'une des deux principales puissances coloniales, dans ce mouvement d'émancipation. Il ne s'agit pas, par conséquent, de savoir si le colonialisme doit ou non prendre fin, mais seulement, en en fixant les délais, d'arrêter les moyens, les procédés suivant lesquels s'effectuera la liquidation de ce régime.

19. Avant de nous prononcer sur la proposition concrète qui est à l'origine du présent débat, il nous paraît nécessaire d'examiner rapidement quelques-uns des principaux problèmes qui découlent de la liquidation du colonialisme. A notre avis, il ne suffit pas en effet de prononcer un fiat! et de déclarer que le "colonialisme a pris fin" avec la même toute-puissante autorité qu'a montrée le Créateur suprême en séparant la lumière des ténèbres, le premier jour de la création. Il s'agit avant tout, pour l'Organisation internationale à laquelle nous appartenons, de connaître et de tenter de résoudre les principaux problèmes que cette liquidation fait surgir.

20. Le problème le plus important qu'elle soulève est celui du déséquilibre qui existe entre la volonté d'indépendance des pays précédemment colonisés et les moyens économiques et techniques dont ils disposent pour assurer eux-mêmes leur développement.

A cet égard, nous entendons nous exprimer avec netteté. Nous ne pensons pas qu'un peuple qui ne possède pas de ressources économiques lui permettant de vivre en autarcie doit pour autant se voir refuser en principe le droit à l'indépendance. Il s'agit là d'un bien de l'esprit que l'on ne peut pas par conséquent ravalier au rang des valeurs économiques. Ce serait porter atteinte à la dignité de la nature humaine que de dire d'un peuple qu'il ne peut accéder à l'indépendance parce qu'il ne dispose pas des ressources matérielles répondant à ses besoins, ou encore des techniciens indispensables à la création d'industries, ou enfin des fonctionnaires capables d'organiser une administration efficace.

21. Ceci dit, il n'est pas exclu que des pays nouveaux, manquant de moyens économiques ou techniques, puissent se trouver aux prises avec des difficultés qui — dans le monde d'aujourd'hui — prennent automatiquement le caractère de graves problèmes internationaux. En effet, cette incapacité à répondre entièrement à ses propres besoins, ce déséquilibre entre le désir d'indépendance, à la fois sincère et légitime, et l'insuffisance des ressources font surgir le problème de l'ingérence étrangère. Or, avec l'ingérence étrangère se posent en même temps la question du retour, sous une forme camouflée, du colonialisme et celle de la lutte des grands blocs mondiaux pour l'hégémonie dans les pays émancipés.

22. On s'explique ainsi pourquoi on a si souvent parlé, ces derniers temps, de "néo-colonialisme". En soi, l'expression nous semble tendancieuse. Mais que l'expression ainsi employée soit discutable ne signifie pas pour autant que ce qu'elle prétend définir ne correspond pas à la réalité. Le problème existe, en effet, que pose l'accession à l'indépendance de certains pays — je dis bien de certains — qui manquent des moyens matériels leur permettant de faire face à toutes les obligations que comporte ce nouvel état.

23. Le problème n'est pas nouveau, et diverses solutions ont été trouvées. Dans certains cas, les pays nouvellement indépendants ont conservé des liens économiques étroits avec leurs anciennes métropoles, qui leur fournissent des biens d'équipement, leur envoient des techniciens et leur apportent leur aide financière. C'est précisément cette forme de collaboration que l'on stigmatise, en la qualifiant de néo-colonialisme. Pour notre part, nous ne saurions souscrire à cette critique, car cette collaboration et cette aide qu'apporte l'ancienne puissance dominatrice à son ex-colonie nouvellement émancipée non seulement ne nous semblent pas mauvaises en soi, mais nous paraissent au contraire découler de la nature même des choses. Qui donc connaît mieux le pays, qui possède une meilleure expérience des besoins de ce même pays, qui peut lui fournir les techniciens les plus qualifiés, sinon la nation qui a entretenu avec lui les rapports les plus étroits? On nous dit que ceci revient à prolonger — sous une nouvelle forme — l'existence du colonialisme. Mais ceux qui font de telles remarques disposent-ils de la recette magique qui permettrait à un pays, dont les structures sont en voie de création, de posséder — sans aucune aide de l'extérieur — les caractéristiques d'une nation arrivée à maturité?

24. Il y a évidemment une seconde solution, à savoir l'appui de quelques-unes des grandes puissances qui se disputent l'hégémonie du monde. Il est possible

— et juridiquement cela ne leur serait pas interdit — que les pays neufs se transforment en "clients", dans l'acception romaine du terme, d'une de ces grandes puissances et reçoivent son aide pour, en échange, entrer définitivement dans son orbite, dans sa zone d'influence. Mais, dans ce cas, nous nous posons la question: où se trouve l'avantage? Quelle différence y a-t-il entre le maintien avec un pays de liens que la coexistence avait, malgré tout, rendus étroits et l'établissement de liens nouveaux avec un autre pays dont le désir d'expansion transformerait automatiquement cette nouvelle nation en un simple pion sur l'échiquier de la lutte pour l'hégémonie mondiale?

25. Il existe cependant une troisième solution, et c'est vers celle-là qu'il convient, à notre avis, d'orienter nos efforts: à savoir l'assistance collective aux pays nouveaux, par l'intermédiaire de l'Organisation internationale.

26. Si les anciennes puissances coloniales, si les grandes nations mondiales souhaitent réellement à ces nouveaux Etats une prospérité qui ne les réduise pas à l'état de vassaux et ne les rejette pas non plus dans le camp de la guerre froide, alors cette collaboration sous les auspices des organisations internationales doit représenter la solution idéale. Nous n'ignorons pas qu'un tel objectif ne peut être atteint aisément et nous avons pu constater, dans le cas du Congo, les difficultés que sa réalisation présente. Il faudrait au moins convenir que c'est dans le sens d'une coopération internationale et non dans celui d'aides individuelles obtenues par le jeu de surenchères qu'une solution doit être recherchée. En attendant, avant que ne se crée le climat propice, nous nous refusons à condamner la collaboration amicale, dans tous les domaines, entre les anciennes métropoles et des pays nouveaux; nous nous refusons d'autant plus à la condamner qu'on propose, pour la remplacer, l'embrigadement idéologique et politique de ces pays nouveaux par ceux qui se disputent l'hégémonie du monde.

27. En faisant cette réflexion à propos des principales puissances mondiales, nous devons à la vérité de dire que, si les Etats-Unis sont intervenus de façon énergique pour que l'aide internationale aux colonies émancipées soit assurée en premier lieu par le canal de l'ONU, l'Union soviétique, en revanche, n'a pas jusqu'à maintenant œuvré dans ce sens. Nous ne perdons cependant pas l'espoir de voir ce grand pays modifier son attitude et apporter aussi sa participation effective à l'action internationale pour mettre le développement technique de ces nouveaux Etats en harmonie avec leur indépendance politique, tout en les maintenant à l'écart des luttes d'influence qui sévissent dans le monde.

28. Nous ne voudrions pas conclure cet exposé sur l'aide qu'il convient d'accorder aux pays nouveaux sans apporter deux précisions essentielles.

29. En premier lieu, s'il nous est permis de croire qu'une forme d'assistance est meilleure qu'une autre, si nous pensons que l'assistance à l'échelle internationale est la plus profitable à l'intéressé et la voie la plus sûre pour préserver la paix, nous sommes en revanche convaincus qu'il appartient au pays bénéficiaire lui-même de juger en dernier appel de la valeur de ces critères. Restreindre la liberté de son choix reviendrait à remettre en cause l'indépendance qu'il a acquise et à porter atteinte à la

souveraineté pleine et entière qu'implique cette indépendance.

30. En second lieu, si nous accueillons avec satisfaction l'idée d'une collaboration amicale entre les ex-colonies et leurs anciennes métropoles, nous n'entendons pas que cette collaboration se réalise autrement que dans l'égalité effective et le respect mutuel.

31. Ce serait, selon nous, une plaisanterie à laquelle aucun Etat sérieux ne pourrait se prêter que d'octroyer une indépendance purement nominale, alors que le pays nouveau continuerait de vivre dans un état de dépendance occulte. Nous n'avons cependant aucune raison de supposer que des plans machiavéliques de ce genre soient actuellement en voie d'exécution et croyons entièrement à la sincérité des puissances métropolitaines quand elles déclarent s'être engagées dans cette voie pour accélérer le processus d'émancipation de ces pays.

32. On nous a dit, on nous a proposé d'en finir immédiatement avec le régime colonial. A nous de dire à présent ce que nous pensons de cette proposition. Nous croyons avoir défini clairement, et sans laisser planer aucun doute, notre position en ce qui concerne la liquidation du colonialisme.

33. Il ne s'agit donc pas, en l'occurrence, d'opter pour ou contre le système colonial, mais bien d'une question de prudence, comme se serait exprimé Aristote. Voilà pourquoi tout projet qui pourrait être établi dans ce sens devrait avant tout tenir compte des données de la réalité.

34. Ceci dit, que nous enseigne la réalité? Elle nous apprend que le processus de "décolonisation" (si l'on veut bien me permettre ce néologisme) avance à grands pas et que, sans qu'il soit nécessaire de l'accélérer par des procédés artificiels, il sera à peu près terminé dans un très bref délai. Nous comptons pour cela sur les assurances que nous ont données les principales puissances coloniales et sur le fait qu'au cours de cette année 17 pays nouveaux qui étaient sous leur dépendance ont été admis au sein de l'ONU. Cela prouve, à notre avis, de façon patente, qu'il ne s'agit pas là de vaines promesses.

35. Bien entendu, mon gouvernement ne s'opposera pas — d'ailleurs, le pourrait-il? — à l'expression d'un vœu qui traduise notre commun désir d'assister au plus tôt à la disparition définitive du système colonial. Mais nous ne pensons pas que la fixation immédiate d'un délai limite puisse véritablement accélérer le processus. Les situations ne sont pas toutes identiques: chacune d'entre elles a son rythme particulier. Ce qui importe, c'est de favoriser, dans une atmosphère de concorde et de compréhension mutuelle, la suppression progressive et rapide des anciens liens coloniaux. Si l'on veut rompre ces liens dans la haine, on ne fera que retarder le mouvement de libération et les pays émancipés seront dans l'obligation de choisir entre le chaos et une nouvelle forme d'asservissement, plus grave encore que l'ancienne.

36. En déclarant terminée l'étape coloniale, nous ne saurions considérer que le processus d'émancipation a été entièrement mené à bonne fin s'il subsistait dans les rapports entre certains pays des modalités de domination qui n'entrent pas dans la définition traditionnelle du terme colonialisme, mais qui n'en revêtent pas moins des formes particulièrement

odieuses et oppressives. C'est pourquoi nous ne pouvons laisser passer cette occasion de déclarer avec force que, si le colonialisme doit disparaître, à plus forte raison doit-on mettre fin aux formes d'oppression politique et idéologique qui maintiennent sous leur coupe, en Europe et en Asie, des millions d'êtres humains. A eux aussi, nous devons manifester notre esprit de solidarité et de vigilance.

37. A ce stade du débat, un groupe important de pays africano-asiatiques a déposé un projet de résolution qui fait l'objet du document A/L.323 et Add.1. Après en avoir attentivement examiné les termes, ma délégation estime que, dans ses grandes lignes, ce texte corrobore le point de vue que nous venons d'exposer et, par conséquent, elle est en principe disposée à lui réserver un accueil favorable. Il est évident cependant qu'elle se réserve le droit de donner plus tard son opinion sur toute révision ou tout amendement qui pourrait être proposé.

38. Dans des heures comme celles que vivent les continents africain et asiatique, il est normal que règne une ambiance d'optimisme et d'euphorie. Ces heures nous rappellent les débuts de la Révolution française où, dans un moment de fervent enthousiasme, nobles et membres du clergé renoncèrent d'un commun accord à leurs privilèges séculaires. Il importe cependant de prévoir les embûches que réserve l'avenir, car la voie que doivent emprunter les pays nouveaux, nous ne le savons que trop en Amérique latine, est une voie difficile et sinueuse.

39. Nous sommes cependant convaincus que les difficultés qui jalonnent cette route seront vaincues d'autant plus aisément que les pays nouveaux sauront allier leurs propres aspirations et celles du continent où ils vivent à un esprit de générosité universelle. Pour cela, il faut oublier les rancœurs accumulées au cours du passé, il faut que l'acquisition de l'indépendance marque véritablement le début d'une ère nouvelle, tournée tout entière vers l'avenir.

40. L'Argentine salue avec optimisme et espoir ces nations et leur adresse un message de fraternelle solidarité.

41. M. QUAISON-SACKEY (Ghana) [traduit de l'anglais]: Voici que se lève le jour du salut pour des millions d'êtres humains, habitants de territoires colonisés et d'autres territoires qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance. Pour la première fois, notre organisation mondiale va se prononcer sur le sort de ces populations. L'Assemblée générale aborde en fait aujourd'hui l'un des problèmes majeurs de la politique internationale contemporaine: celui de la suppression totale du colonialisme dans le monde. Des temps les plus reculés jusqu'à nos jours, le problème de l'impérialisme a troublé la conscience de l'humanité sans que celle-ci puisse y apporter de solution satisfaisante, ni qu'elle parvienne à justifier moralement la domination d'une nation ou d'une race sur une autre. Quels que soient ses efforts, l'esprit humain ne pourra jamais justifier l'impérialisme qui est indéfendable du point de vue moral; et il est contraire à l'idée même de justice qu'un groupe d'êtres humains revendique un droit naturel à imposer sa domination, et toutes les conséquences qui en découlent, à d'autres êtres humains.

42. Nous nous sommes réunis en cette occasion historique pour trouver une solution juste et durable à ce problème et pour abolir toutes les inégalités que

crée l'impérialisme. Nous ne sommes pas ici pour nous livrer à des considérations philosophiques oiseuses, car il s'agit d'un problème d'une actualité brûlante et qui met en danger la paix et la stabilité de notre monde. Ma délégation estime que le problème de l'élimination totale du colonialisme est indissolublement lié à celui de l'établissement et du maintien de la paix et de l'amitié entre tous les peuples, quelles que soient leurs races et leurs civilisations. En fin de compte, la paix et la stabilité ne régneront dans le monde que lorsque tous les peuples seront libres et jouiront de l'égalité des droits ainsi que des libertés fondamentales, sans distinction de race, de sexe, de langue ou de religion. Telle est la noble tâche que nous avons décidé d'entreprendre au cours de cette session plénière historique de l'Assemblée générale. Ma délégation espère vivement qu'aucune des délégations présentes ne tentera de faire intervenir dans nos délibérations des préoccupations ou des facteurs étrangers à cet objectif.

43. La question sur laquelle nous nous penchons, à savoir les ardentes aspirations des millions d'êtres humains qui vivent sur des territoires n'ayant pas encore reçu leur indépendance, est beaucoup trop grave pour être abordée avec un esprit partisan et sans la pleine conscience de nos responsabilités. Il nous faut donc envisager d'une façon constructive les problèmes pratiques que pose la libération des populations qui, selon les termes de l'Article 73 de la Charte des Nations Unies, ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes. Les puissances coloniales ont, me semble-t-il, accepté comme une mission sacrée les engagements solennels contenus dans la Charte selon lesquels elles travailleront sans relâche à la prospérité de ces peuples, encourageront l'établissement de gouvernements autonomes, prendront en due considération les aspirations politiques de ces peuples et les aideront dans le développement progressif de leurs libres institutions politiques.

44. A l'exception du Portugal et de l'Espagne, toutes les puissances coloniales ont coopéré avec l'ONU par leur adhésion totale à la doctrine de responsabilité internationale exprimée dans les Chapitres XI à XIII de la Charte consacrés aux populations des territoires sous tutelle et non autonomes. Le Ghana a toujours soutenu qu'aucune partie de l'Afrique ne peut être considérée comme un prolongement de l'Europe. L'orgueil continental ne suffit pas à nous faire admettre la validité des prétentions portugaises et espagnoles. Maintenant que le rapport du Comité spécial des Six [A/4526] a été approuvé par la Quatrième Commission, ma délégation se réjouit de la bonne volonté avec laquelle le Gouvernement espagnol a cédé du terrain, et nous espérons que l'Espagne et le Portugal cesseront de s'accrocher à la fiction juridique selon laquelle leurs possessions constituent des "provinces d'outre-mer". Nous souhaitons que ces deux Etats fournissent à l'ONU des renseignements complets sur ces territoires et prennent des mesures immédiates pour transférer aux peuples de l'Angola, du Mozambique, d'Ifni et du Sahara occidental tous les pouvoirs qui leur permettront de jouir de leur souveraineté et de leur indépendance et de sauvegarder leur intégrité territoriale. Le Ghana adresse un pressant appel au Portugal et à l'Espagne afin que ces nations suivent l'exemple de la France et du Royaume-Uni dont les yeux se sont dessillés, et qu'elles expriment clairement leur

intention de permettre aussi à leurs territoires d'Afrique et d'ailleurs d'accéder à une pleine indépendance.

45. Ma délégation est heureuse de constater que nous avons atteint un moment de l'histoire où nous pouvons parler de la suppression totale du colonialisme. C'est vraiment là un aboutissement magnifique de l'évolution de la pensée et de l'éthique internationales à laquelle ont généreusement et courageusement contribué les hommes de bonne volonté du monde entier. L'anticolonialisme n'est l'apanage ni d'un groupe, ni d'une race, ni d'une philosophie, ni d'un gouvernement; son histoire est longue, et, pour simplifier, nous la ferons partir des premières révolutions coloniales de notre temps qui aient été couronnées de succès. Je veux parler des révolutions américaines qui ont renversé les dominations coloniales britannique et espagnole dans l'hémisphère occidental et instauré le droit des peuples de ce continent à vivre et à se développer en hommes libres et dotés d'institutions politiques de leur choix. On connaît dans le monde entier les noms de George Washington, Simón Bolívar et José Martí qui ont mené au succès les grandes révolutions contre la domination colonialiste du Royaume-Uni et de l'Espagne en Amérique, et dont les hauts faits ont inspiré les chefs de tous les mouvements de libération nationale à travers le monde.

46. En fait, c'est un Anglais, John Hobson, qui, en 1902, en publiant un livre intitulé *Imperialism*, dans lequel il analysait systématiquement les relations entre les peuples dépendants et leurs colonisateurs, c'est-à-dire essentiellement les grandes nations industrielles européennes, a enrichi le sens du mot dont il avait fait le titre de son ouvrage. D'autres penseurs européens, tels que Lénine, à partir d'hypothèses socialistes, ont poussé plus loin l'analyse de Hobson et l'ont appliquée à la présente évolution du monde colonial. Ces pensées et ces écrits ont certainement influencé toute la génération des chefs qui, plus tard, ont pris la tête de la révolte anticolonialiste en Asie et en Afrique. C'est, toutefois, dans le monde colonial lui-même que les peuples, avides de se libérer de la domination étrangère, ont préparé leurs propres révolutions anticolonialistes et ont tiré parti de la riche expérience qu'ils ont acquise en faisant retentir le monde des manifestes et des résolutions qui sont devenus partie intégrante de l'histoire contemporaine.

47. En Afrique, où de nombreux territoires sont encore soumis à la domination étrangère, il n'a manqué ni de discours ni d'actions concrètes pour faire comprendre aux colonisateurs que l'Afrique entend se libérer totalement des chaînes de l'impérialisme et du colonialisme. "Cherchez d'abord le royaume politique", a tonné Kwame Nkrumah du Ghana, "et tout le reste vous sera donné par surcroît." Et, à tous ceux qui prétendent que l'Afrique doit se soumettre à la domination et à l'exploitation étrangères et recevoir la culture occidentale parce qu'elle est un continent noir, voici ce que répondent ces vers du poète ghanéen Dei-Anang extraits de son œuvre *Africa Speaks*:

*Dans les pages du passé,
Dans les jours sans foi d'antan,
Quand la vue était bornée et le savoir limité,
Les hommes m'appelaient "Noire Afrique".*

Noire Afrique?

Moi qui ai dressé les royales pyramides

Et tenu le sort

Dés Césars conquérants

Dans mon étreinte tentatrice?

Noire Afrique?

Moi qui ai bercé le douteux enfant

De la civilisation

Sur les rives incertaines

Du Nil nourricier,

Et fait aux nations grouillantes

De l'Ouest

Un présent digne de la Grèce!

L'éclat aveuglant du fer et de l'acier

Condamne d'autres valeurs à l'obscurité.

Aussi, lorsque j'ai dédaigné mes arcs

Et mes flèches antiques

Et n'ai point fait grand cas du fer et de l'acier,

M'a-t-on appelée "Noire" de par le monde.

*Mais plus précieux infiniment que le froid du fer
[et de l'acier]*

Est l'art paisible

De penser ensemble

Et de vivre ensemble.

Noire Afrique?

Sous les racines nouvelles

De mes palmiers royaux au doux murmure

Je cache un trésor inestimable.

Noire Afrique?

L'aube se lève:

Voyez! une lueur riche et chaude brille à l'Est

Et le jour paraîtra bientôt pour moi.

48. Toute l'Afrique se réveille, et ce que le premier ministre Macmillan a décrit, au cours de sa récente visite en Afrique, comme un "vent nouveau de changement" est en réalité un ouragan furieux qui balaie tout sur son passage. L'influence des penseurs politiques tels que Rousseau, Jefferson, Marx, Thomas Paine, Machiavel est indéniable; et, à travers tout le continent, les Africains réclament la liberté, l'égalité et la justice: en Algérie, ils luttent héroïquement pour leur indépendance contre les forces françaises; en Afrique centrale, ils refusent qu'on leur impose des institutions politiques qu'ils n'aiment pas; en Afrique du Sud, en Angola, au Mozambique ou en Afrique orientale, ils luttent contre la ségrégation raciale et refusent à une minorité d'Européens le droit de rançonner une majorité d'Africains.

49. Je me dois de mentionner le grand rassemblement des peuples d'Asie et d'Afrique à Bandoung en 1955, où l'ensemble de nos dirigeants ont affirmé solennellement leur opposition irréductible à l'impérialisme et au colonialisme sous toutes ses formes. Dans le communiqué final de cette grande conférence, les peuples d'Asie et d'Afrique ont été d'accord:

"1) Pour déclarer que le colonialisme, dans toutes ses manifestations, est un mal auquel il doit être mis fin rapidement;

"2) Pour déclarer que la question des peuples soumis à l'assujettissement de l'étranger, à sa domination et à son exploitation constitue une négation des droits fondamentaux de l'homme, est contraire à la Charte des Nations Unies et empêche de favoriser la paix et la coopération mondiales".

50. Ces sentiments ont par la suite trouvé un écho dans les résolutions adoptées aux conférences des Etats africains indépendants qui se sont tenues à Accra, à Monrovia, et plus récemment à Addis-Abéba. Rappelons que la première Conférence des Etats indépendants d'Afrique qui s'est tenue à Accra, du 15 au 22 avril 1958, a marqué un tournant de l'histoire du continent africain. Pour la première fois, les dirigeants des Etats indépendants d'Afrique se sont réunis pour mettre en commun leurs vues concernant les problèmes auxquels l'Afrique doit faire face. En 1885, les puissances européennes se sont rencontrées à Berlin pour régler le sort de l'Afrique, c'est-à-dire se la partager et y créer des frontières artificielles, et c'est pour annuler cette décision que les dirigeants des Etats africains indépendants se sont rassemblés à Accra en avril 1958. Qu'il me soit permis de citer des extraits de la résolution prise à la Conférence d'Addis-Abéba concernant la liquidation de la domination coloniale en Afrique, car c'est là un document d'une importance primordiale:

"Rappelant la déclaration de Bandoung ainsi que les résolutions d'Accra et de Monrovia qui proclament que le colonialisme dans toutes ses manifestations constitue un mal auquel il doit être mis fin rapidement,

"Réaffirmant que la soumission des peuples à la subjugation et à l'exploitation étrangères constitue un déni des droits fondamentaux de l'homme qui est contraire à la Charte des Nations Unies et à la Déclaration universelle des droits de l'homme, et entrave l'établissement de la paix et de la coopération mondiales,

"Considérant que l'Afrique est le seul continent où une proportion importante des habitants vit encore sous la domination coloniale avec toutes les privations et les indignités qu'elle comporte,

"Considérant en outre que l'actuel réveil du peuple africain et les mouvements pour l'indépendance ne peuvent plus être contenus sous peine de compromettre gravement les relations entre les différentes nations,

"Convaincu que la restitution des droits naturels et de la dignité humaine aux Africains, dans les régions d'Afrique encore soumises à la domination étrangère, de même que la jouissance pacifique d'une liberté chèrement payée par les Etats africains indépendants ne peuvent s'accomplir que par la suppression totale de la domination coloniale sur tout notre continent,

"...

"Prie instamment les puissances coloniales de fixer des dates conformes à la volonté des peuples pour l'accession immédiate à l'indépendance de tous les pays non encore indépendants et de communiquer ces dates aux peuples intéressés;

"Décide que les Etats africains indépendants continueront d'exercer une action concertée pour arriver par tous les moyens pacifiques possibles à éliminer totalement la domination coloniale du continent africain."

51. Il faut dire que la création de l'ONU s'est produite à une période où l'Asie et l'Afrique subissaient une transformation politique profonde et révolutionnaire. Il y a 15 ans à San Francisco s'est éveillé le sentiment qu'il fallait faire quelque chose pour les

vastes étendues de l'Asie et de l'Afrique qui subissaient encore le joug colonialiste. Ma délégation n'a pas encore réussi à comprendre ce qui a poussé les Nations Unies à cette époque à établir une distinction entre les anciennes colonies de l'Allemagne vaincue et les colonies des Alliés victorieux. Les principes de la mission sacrée et de la responsabilité internationale auraient dû s'appliquer aussi totalement et avec autant de force à tous les territoires non autonomes; au lieu de cela, on a inscrit dans la Charte une déclaration relative aux territoires non autonomes et une autre relative au régime de tutelle. En conséquence, les territoires sous tutelle ont progressé, dans l'ensemble, plus rapidement dans la voie de l'indépendance que les territoires non autonomes. Un autre résultat déplorable est que le sort du Sud-Ouest africain demeure en suspens. Toutefois, après la seconde guerre mondiale, il est devenu évident que, sur de vastes régions de l'Asie et de l'Afrique, la suprématie militaire et économique de l'Europe occidentale ne pourrait être rétablie.

52. Ces pays d'Europe qui se sont mépris sur l'état d'esprit de notre époque et qui ont cru qu'ils pourraient revenir et rouvrir boutique comme si de rien n'était ont appris à leurs dépens que les temps ont réellement changé. De grandes nations, autrefois écrasées, sont revenues à la vie. L'Asie a proclamé triomphalement son émancipation de la domination et de la suprématie de la race blanche. Presque toutes ces nations ressuscitées ont adhéré à l'ONU et sont venues enrichir notre organisation de leur antique sagesse et de leurs cultures. Ce mouvement, né en Asie, est devenu maintenant une révolte générale contre le colonialisme partout où il existe, une révolte contre l'étouffement politique, l'exploitation économique et l'inégalité raciale. Ainsi que je l'ai déjà dit, il se produit un grand réveil dans cette Afrique où se rencontre aujourd'hui la plus importante concentration de peuples dépendants et non autonomes. Résumant les effets de ces révolutions en Asie et en Afrique, le Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes, que j'ai l'honneur de présider, a noté ce qui suit en avril 1960:

"Le nombre des territoires non autonomes est passé de 74 à 55 et celui de leurs habitants d'environ 215 millions à environ 113 millions, chiffre qui comprend un accroissement naturel de population de quelque 22 millions d'habitants au cours de la période. En particulier, l'effectif des populations d'Asie et du Pacifique considérées comme habitant des territoires non autonomes était tombé de plus de 113 millions à moins de 14 millions. A la fin de la période, c'est le continent africain qui avait encore les derniers grands groupes de population — 96 millions d'habitants au total — dont le statut politique définitif restait à établir." [A/4371, 2ème partie, par. 10.]

53. Depuis cette date, la Nigéria et les anciens territoires français ont accédé à l'indépendance, mais le nombre des Africains encore soumis à la domination coloniale se chiffre par millions; et c'est du sort de ces millions d'êtres que nous sommes appelés à décider. Un des changements les plus importants et les plus bénéfiques survenus à ce jour dans la société internationale contemporaine est le passage des peuples coloniaux de l'état d'objets passifs à celui de forces dynamiques — forces dynamiques tendues vers la paix, l'équilibre et l'égalité raciale dans un monde déchiré par de cruels conflits

idéologiques. Ces peuples ont entrepris de construire un monde d'où sera banni à tout jamais le fléau de la guerre. Et maintenant, ils ont pris la tête de ceux qui veulent concrétiser les idéaux de notre charte pour l'amélioration de toute l'humanité.

54. Tous les peuples soucieux de progrès doivent donc se consacrer à la suppression du colonialisme et de l'impérialisme, car il ne fait pas de doute que le maintien de ces méthodes iniques de domination et d'exploitation menace gravement la paix et la stabilité internationales. Les problèmes urgents qui se posent en Afrique à l'heure actuelle sont des problèmes coloniaux. Il faut de toute urgence accorder leur indépendance aux peuples de l'Angola, du Kénya, de l'Ouganda, de la Rhodésie du Nord et du Sud, du Nyassaland, du Ruanda-Urundi, du Sud-Ouest africain, aux 11.500.000 Africains de l'Afrique du Sud, à Malte, à l'Algérie, au Mozambique, pour ne citer que quelques-uns des territoires qui ne sont pas encore représentés au sein de notre organisation mondiale.

55. Mais le problème le plus dramatique est celui de l'Algérie. La lutte héroïque du peuple algérien pour sa libération entre dans sa septième année. Je voudrais citer, à propos de ce drame atroce, un éditorial du New York Times en date du mercredi 2 novembre 1960, paru sous le titre "Une nouvelle guerre de Sept Ans":

"La guerre d'Algérie, qui a débuté le 1er novembre 1954 par des coups de main rebelles, entre maintenant dans sa septième année au milieu de tensions internationales croissantes, tandis que la discorde augmente en France et que le bloc communiste accentue ses pressions dans le conflit, cherchant à faire de ce malheureux territoire un enjeu dans la guerre froide.

"Ce conflit, que la France considère comme une guerre civile dans laquelle elle n'admet aucune intervention extérieure, a déjà coûté 150.000 vies humaines — essentiellement parmi les rebelles — auxquelles s'ajoutent 14.000 civils — surtout des musulmans — tués par les terroristes. Il maintient le gros de l'armée française bloqué en Algérie, au détriment du front principal de l'Occident en Europe centrale. Il grève le budget de la France de 1 milliard de dollars par an et réveille la double hantise des "volontaires" communistes en Algérie et d'un nouveau coup militaire en France.

"Le drame particulier que suscite la poursuite de ce conflit, c'est que les deux camps sont d'accord sur la seule façon d'y mettre fin: l'autodétermination offerte par le président de Gaulle et acceptée par les rebelles. Mais l'accord cesse lorsqu'il s'agit de l'application pratique de cette solution..."

56. Je cite le New York Times parce que c'est un journal qu'on ne peut soupçonner d'antipathie à l'égard de la France. Mais le New York Times perçoit lui-même la tragique futilité de poursuivre une guerre qui, de l'avis de ma délégation, ne peut se terminer que par la victoire du peuple algérien et son accession à l'indépendance. Notre organisation mondiale doit déclarer illégale, sans aucune équivoque, toute intervention armée contre les peuples coloniaux qui demandent leur souveraineté et leur indépendance.

57. La solution du problème colonial est devenue l'un des problèmes les plus urgents de notre temps

et c'est d'elle que dépendent la paix, la stabilité et le progrès harmonieux de notre monde. Il faut que les aspirations profondes des peuples encore soumis à la domination coloniale sur les territoires non autonomes soient pleinement satisfaites si nous voulons éviter les guerres et les conflits raciaux. Il ne faut plus que ces peuples voient retarder leur accession à la liberté et à l'indépendance sous prétexte que leur évolution économique, sociale ou culturelle est insuffisante. Leur besoin primordial est la liberté à partir de laquelle ils entreprendront les tâches difficiles qu'imposent la reconstruction et le développement sur le plan international.

58. Nous assistons dans les territoires non autonomes à ce qu'un grand homme américain a appelé la révolution des "espoirs en marche". Le premier objectif de cette révolution est d'assurer l'autonomie et l'indépendance aux peuples que le colonialisme opprime encore. Sans liberté ni indépendance, ces peuples ne pourront apporter de solution réaliste et rapide à leurs problèmes économiques et sociaux. Nous en avons fait l'expérience au Ghana où la liberté et l'indépendance de notre pays ont libéré notre énergie créatrice et suscité un enthousiasme et une bonne volonté immenses pour l'élaboration d'une vie matérielle et spirituelle meilleure. Nous avons eu la noble tâche, en tant que pays insuffisamment développé, de bander toutes nos énergies afin de vaincre la pauvreté et la sous-alimentation et de créer des services sociaux, médicaux et culturels convenables, faisant ainsi du Ghana un pays digne de ses héros. Et nous sommes certains que les autres pays renaissants suivent la même voie.

59. Il ne faut pas perdre de vue les facteurs économiques et sociaux sous-jacents à toutes les révolutions anticolonialistes de notre époque. Le colonialisme a créé un monde qui était et demeure encore partagé entre des peuples industriels avancés et des peuples coloniaux sous-développés. Cette différence de fonction correspondant en général à une différence de statut politique a constitué pendant longtemps le fondement de l'économie mondiale; l'inégalité politique allait de pair avec l'inégalité économique et l'inégalité raciale. Le partage du monde en peuples avancés et peuples prétendus sous-développés a conduit à une industrialisation intensive des régions métropolitaines à l'exclusion des territoires dits dépendants. Ces territoires coloniaux n'ont-ils donc pas des ressources fabuleuses susceptibles d'en faire des territoires économiquement avancés? C'est sir Winston Churchill qui a noté dans son livre *My African Journey* que l'imagination ne pouvait qu'être à la fois tourmentée et stimulée en voyant tant d'énergie gâchée, tant de positions clefs inoccupées, et que personne ne prenait en main les leviers qui contrôlent les forces naturelles de l'Afrique.

60. Mais la politique des puissances coloniales n'a jamais visé à amener les territoires qu'elles contrôlent à un haut degré de développement économique, car, pour elles, les colonies doivent rester un réservoir de matières premières et de minerais. C'est pourquoi je ne connais en Afrique aucune colonie qui, le jour de son accession à l'indépendance, puisse être décrite comme étant économiquement avancée. Et c'est ce triste héritage du colonialisme que la révolution anticoloniale veut détruire tout en travaillant à instaurer un système économique mondial qui permettra à tous les peuples de jouir d'un niveau de vie

élevé tant sur le plan matériel que sur le plan culturel. Une des tâches urgentes de notre époque, et qui le deviendra plus encore après l'abolition du colonialisme, consiste à établir des relations économiques saines entre les pays d'Asie et d'Afrique et les grands pays industriels d'Europe et d'Amérique. Les investissements de capitaux, l'assistance technique, la planification des économies nationales, et celle du commerce international afin de protéger les économies de ces régions contre d'excessives variations des prix: voilà les éléments indispensables pour permettre aux Nations Unies d'aider la révolution anticolonialiste à s'accomplir avec succès dans la paix.

61. Ces immenses travaux de développement ne peuvent s'effectuer heureusement que dans un monde où règnent la liberté, l'indépendance et la dignité nationale et par l'intermédiaire de gouvernements librement choisis par ces peuples sans distinction de race, de croyance ou de couleur. La domination étrangère, si bienveillante et paternaliste soit-elle, entrave le libre développement des peuples, sape leurs énergies créatrices et leur ôte toute dignité nationale et tout respect d'eux-mêmes. La domination étrangère ne peut jamais remplacer l'indépendance. Notre tâche est donc de libérer ces peuples et d'obtenir des puissances coloniales qu'elles prennent des mesures immédiates pour leur rendre l'indépendance et la souveraineté qu'ils tiennent de Dieu.

62. Ma délégation est convaincue que de plus grandes possibilités de coopération internationale fructueuse pour le développement économique et social s'offriront lorsque tous les pays qui n'ont pas encore leur autonomie deviendront libres et qu'ils enverront leurs représentants à l'ONU. Nous considérons l'indépendance de ces peuples comme une étape indispensable à la construction d'un monde où toutes les nations, quelles que soient leur idéologie, leur race, leur couleur, leur croyance, pourront contribuer à instaurer les conditions économiques et sociales seules capables de garantir à notre monde la paix et la stabilité.

63. J'admets que notre tâche ne fait que commencer. Nous devons tout d'abord libérer ces peuples afin qu'ils puissent se joindre aux Nations Unies. Il nous faudra ensuite mettre sur pied un mécanisme approprié de coopération internationale leur permettant d'atteindre un niveau de développement économique, social et culturel convenable. Je propose donc, comme suite logique à la déclaration que l'Assemblée générale s'appête à adopter, que nous étudions sérieusement l'élaboration d'un mécanisme international destiné à fournir une aide financière et technique à ces peuples durant les premières étapes de leur reconstruction et de leur développement.

64. J'espère que cette assemblée générale prendra, avant de s'ajourner, les premières mesures nécessaires à la création d'un fonds de développement des Nations Unies destiné à venir en aide à tous les pays en voie de développement. Si chacun des pays riches du monde versait 1 pour 100 de son revenu national à ce fonds, cela permettrait d'éviter une compétition entre l'Est et l'Ouest pour s'assurer des alliés.

65. Pour conclure, qu'il me soit permis de dire que le projet de déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux contenu dans le document A/L.323 et Add.1, qui a été soumis à cette assemblée, a été élaboré par 45 délégations asiatiques

et africaines dont les pays ont tous subi l'oppression du colonialisme.

66. Cette déclaration s'explique d'elle-même. Toutefois, ma délégation tient à souligner, premièrement, que le Ghana s'oppose sans compromis possible au colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et que le Ghana n'a d'excuse à présenter à personne pour cette attitude.

67. Deuxièmement, que nous préférons une indépendance dangereuse à une servitude paisible, et par conséquent nous avons la ferme conviction que l'insuffisance de préparation politique, économique, sociale ou culturelle ne saurait servir de prétexte pour différer l'octroi de la souveraineté et de l'indépendance aux peuples coloniaux.

68. Troisièmement, le Ghana estime que l'accession à l'indépendance ne doit être soumise à aucune condition. C'est pourquoi le Ghana s'élève contre la politique des puissances coloniales qui, avant l'octroi de l'indépendance, persuadent les dirigeants nationalistes de signer des traités leur permettant d'établir des bases militaires sur leurs territoires, et de leur accorder des avantages économiques. Nous mettons les dirigeants politiques en garde contre cette nouvelle forme de colonialisme encore plus pernicieuse sur le plan matériel et moral que la forme traditionnelle que nous connaissons tous.

69. Quatrièmement, le Ghana demande à toutes les puissances coloniales de renoncer à employer les armes et tous autres moyens de répression contre ceux qui luttent pour la liberté.

70. Cinquièmement, le Ghana a la ferme conviction que les puissances coloniales devraient prendre des mesures immédiates pour transférer tous les pouvoirs, y compris l'exercice de la souveraineté, à tous les peuples non autonomes, conformément à leurs aspirations légitimes à la liberté et à l'indépendance. Si ces mesures sont prises dès maintenant, le Ghana estime qu'en 1962 l'Afrique entière sera libre, y compris la Rhodésie du Sud, le Sud-Ouest africain, l'Angola et le Mozambique.

71. Enfin, le Ghana réaffirme sa foi en l'ONU et sa conviction que celle-ci doit se constituer la gardienne de l'intégrité territoriale, de l'unité et de l'indépendance des peuples.

72. Je voudrais exprimer l'espoir que forme ma délégation de voir adopté à l'unanimité par l'Assemblée générale le projet de déclaration présenté par les Etats africano-asiatiques. Ce document ne devrait soulever aucune animosité partisane. Il s'agit en fait des espoirs et des aspirations des millions d'êtres humains qui vivent sur les territoires non autonomes ou sous tutelle et qui se tournent vers l'ONU afin qu'elle les soutienne dans la marche longue et pénible vers l'indépendance et la liberté. En vérité, nous manquerions à tous nos devoirs si nous oublions ces peuples et laissons ce débat dégénérer en un nouvel et stérile épisode de la guerre froide. Ni l'histoire, ni les millions d'êtres silencieux qui peuplent les régions sous-développées et qui écoutent attentivement nos débats, ne nous pardonneront si nous laissons de vaines arguties idéologiques compromettre le résultat de nos efforts. Nous devons entrer courageusement en lice pour défendre le droit de ces peuples à la liberté et à l'indépendance. Que nous venions de territoires autrefois colonisés ou que nous appartenions aux nations qui en ce moment même

dominent et administrent des peuples étrangers, nous devons tous voter pour la fin immédiate du colonialisme et la restitution des droits de l'homme et des libertés fondamentales à tous les peuples sans distinction de race, de couleur ou de religion.

73. M. SHUKAIRY (Arabie Saoudite) [traduit de l'anglais]: Pour la première fois dans l'histoire de l'ONU, le problème du colonialisme se place au premier plan des débats de cette organisation qui lui a réservé le plus large accueil. Certes, au cours des années précédentes, les questions coloniales ont été examinées à des titres divers, soit par l'Assemblée générale, soit par ses commissions; mais jamais le colonialisme dans son ensemble n'avait été exposé au grand jour et n'avait fait l'objet d'une discussion approfondie destinée à mettre sur pied un programme d'action collective digne de la haute autorité de l'ONU.

74. Je désire que l'expression de cet espoir ferme et sincère serve de préface à mon intervention, car le problème du colonialisme occupe le premier rang dans l'histoire des relations humaines et domine de toute sa hauteur le champ des relations internationales. Il englobe la détention politique, l'oppression économique, l'asservissement social et la subjugation culturelle qui affectent non seulement les peuples coloniaux, mais l'humanité entière. Pour en mesurer les effets maléfiques, il suffit de savoir que le colonialisme menace aujourd'hui l'avenir de 100 millions d'êtres humains. Considéré rapidement, ce tableau peut paraître de peu d'importance, ne pas exciter notre imagination et ne nous inciter à aucune réflexion profonde. Mais, si nous nous y arrêtons plus longuement, il révèle à nos yeux ses ombres et ses lumières et nous en apprécions les dimensions. Nous sommes saisis alors par la tragique réalité de la vie de ces millions d'êtres: leur nourriture — mais ils sont affamés; leurs vêtements — mais ils sont nus; leur habitat — mais ils n'ont pas de toit; leur éducation — mais ils n'en reçoivent aucune; leur santé — mais ils sont faibles et malades; leur progrès économique et social — mais ils sont les déshérités de la terre.

75. Voilà qui doit fixer notre attention sur la gravité de ce problème, car le colonialisme ne peut être considéré d'un esprit et d'un cœur tranquilles. Nous devons apporter à sa discussion une intelligence en éveil, un cœur généreux et infatigable. Hormis le désarmement, aucun problème international n'est plus important que le colonialisme. En fait, le colonialisme, la guerre et le désarmement sont les trois mousquetaires sans scrupule qui conduisent l'humanité au cataclysme et à l'anéantissement. J'ai placé le colonialisme en premier, car la guerre est une institution du colonialisme et les armements en sont les instruments. Les armes ne sont pas les jouets et les passe-temps de l'homme; elles sont les sinistres faucheurs de l'humanité et le colonialisme en est la moisson. La guerre n'est pas non plus une fin en soi. Jamais dans l'histoire, les peuples n'ont fait la guerre pour elle-même: ils se sont battus pour exploiter les vaincus et usurper leurs biens. En d'autres termes, ils ont fait la guerre pour usurper la richesse d'un territoire et exploiter les biens de sa population, pour réaliser des profits élevés grâce à une main-d'œuvre à bon marché et des matières premières obtenues à vil prix. Ils se sont battus pour conquérir de nouveaux domaines d'exploitation et pour étendre ou défendre ceux qu'ils

avaient déjà conquis. Même la première guerre mondiale de 1914, que l'on considérerait comme une guerre d'idées et d'idéaux, a été principalement motivée par le colonialisme. Selon M. Moon, un Américain dont le nom fait autorité en matière de relations internationales, "la catastrophe de 1914 n'a pas été déclenchée par les caprices personnels de Guillaume Hohenzollern... L'alignement même des puissances européennes a été déterminé par l'impérialisme et non par la race, la démocratie ou l'affinité de culture... L'impérialisme est le fondement et la raison d'être de la politique mondiale..."

76. Je n'ai nul besoin d'accumuler les preuves à l'appui de cette assertion. Il suffit de rappeler que le colonialisme s'est trouvé à l'arrière-plan de beaucoup de traités et d'alliances, de beaucoup d'ententes et de conférences. Il engendre le paradoxe qui transforme les amis en ennemis et fait des ennemis des amis. En un mot, le colonialisme est à lui seul le moteur principal de la mauvaise histoire. Et quelle pire histoire peut-il y avoir que celle qui contraint notre génération à entendre les deux tiers de l'humanité gémir sous le joug du colonialisme?

77. Il est de notoriété publique qu'au seuil de la seconde guerre mondiale 10 nations impérialistes réunissaient des colonies et des protectorats représentant sept fois la superficie de l'Europe. On estime que, sur les 2 milliards d'habitants de notre planète, 1 milliard et demi vivaient sous le régime colonialiste avec son cortège de maladies, d'ignorance et de pauvreté — les pires ennemis de l'humanité. On estime également que chaque habitant de la Grande-Bretagne, homme, femme ou enfant, avait 10 sujets coloniaux, noirs, bruns et jaunes, et qu'à chaque arpent de sol français correspondaient 20 arpents de territoire colonisé par la France. A cette époque, les colonies étaient beaucoup plus grandes que la prétendue mère patrie: c'est ainsi que les colonies italiennes représentaient six fois la grandeur de l'Italie, les colonies portugaises étaient 23 fois plus grandes que le Portugal et les colonies belges, 81 fois plus grandes que la Belgique. Contrairement à toutes les lois de la création, l'enfant était infiniment plus grand que ses parents, et même que tous les parents réunis.

78. Ce tableau a changé. Les dimensions du colonialisme ont diminué dans la mesure où les forces de la liberté augmentaient, et celle-ci a remporté de nombreuses victoires. La lutte des peuples pour la liberté, leurs aspirations à l'indépendance, leurs mouvements en faveur de l'amélioration économique et du progrès social, en un mot leur lutte pour accomplir leur condition humaine a renversé le cours erroné de l'histoire. Les empires sont tombés en poussière et le colonialisme a reculé de défaite en défaite devant les triomphes de la liberté.

79. Et maintenant nous avons devant nous le résultat, le glorieux résultat de ces efforts. De nombreuses nations ici présentes ont accédé à l'indépendance; je devrais même dire qu'elles l'ont conquise. Elles sont entrées à l'ONU: elles en ont, en vérité, forcé les portes, et maintenant elles occupent les sièges qui leur reviennent, supérieures en nombre à leurs anciens maîtres. Beaucoup de leurs représentants, parmi ceux-là mêmes qui sont montés à la tribune de cette assemblée, sortent des prisons, des camps de concentration et des cachots et peuvent maintenant parler d'égal à égal avec leurs geôliers.

80. L'autre jour, lorsque l'Assemblée générale a discuté la question du Congo, j'ai de mes yeux vu dans le passage au milieu de cette salle M. Ormsby-Gore, secrétaire d'Etat aux affaires étrangères du Royaume-Uni, parler à genoux aux délégations du Ghana et de la Nigéria, les suppliant de ne pas maintenir leur proposition. Heureusement ou malheureusement, les photographes de l'ONU ont manqué cette occasion historique, cette pose historique.

81. C'est ainsi que le cours des événements a été renversé, passant du recul au progrès, de l'histoire monstrueuse à l'histoire glorieuse et d'un abîme de dégradation aux sommets de la dignité humaine.

82. Mais la bataille n'est pas encore gagnée; notre tâche n'est pas terminée et nous devons la parachever dès maintenant, au cours de la présente session de cette assemblée. A cette heure historique où nous discutons du colonialisme, n'oublions pas que de nombreux pays subissent encore l'emprise colonialiste. Quel que soit le nom qu'on leur donne — colonies, territoires sous tutelle, pays non autonomes — la vérité exige que l'on proclame avec une véhémence colère que 100 millions d'êtres humains gémissent encore sous le joug étranger. Et rappelons-nous que ces 100 millions d'âmes suivent nos délibérations avec un espoir grandissant; elles attendent que vos voix défendent leur liberté, que vos résolutions et vos votes viennent proclamer et soutenir leur indépendance. C'est leur droit et c'est notre devoir. Les peuples dominés ont le droit de rejeter cette domination, même par la force des armes, et les Nations Unies ont le devoir d'y mettre fin. En toute équité, je dois reconnaître que les Nations Unies ont trop tardé à s'acquitter de cette dette et qu'il est grand temps que nous remplissions nos obligations sans plus de délai ni d'hésitation.

83. En effet, par la Charte des Nations Unies, par la Déclaration universelle des droits de l'homme et par d'innombrables résolutions de l'ONU, nous nous sommes engagés à respecter le principe du droit de tous les peuples, grands ou petits, à disposer d'eux-mêmes. Et pourtant le colonialisme règne encore dans bien des parties du monde.

84. Même dans nos écrits, dans les écrits de l'ONU, le monde est divisé en peuples dépendants et indépendants, consacrant ainsi la discrimination la plus abominable qui puisse être faite dans la race humaine. La dépendance, considérée comme le statut d'un peuple, doit disparaître à jamais; c'est alors que les nations deviendront vraiment unies. Nous n'avons aucun droit à nous parer du nom de "Nations Unies" tant que 100 millions d'êtres humains n'appartiennent pas encore à cette organisation en tant que peuples indépendants et souverains. Ils ne doivent plus être au sein de notre assemblée comme des sujets de discussions et de débats, mais comme des Etats souverains et des Membres pleinement indépendants.

85. Si le colonialisme constitue l'obstacle, alors qu'il soit détruit à jamais, c'est là notre tâche. Tous les peuples doivent devenir libres. Les hommes sont nés libres et l'on ne devrait jamais laisser un homme réduire son frère en esclavage. Non seulement c'est le bon droit et la justice, mais c'est la volonté même du Créateur qui a fait tous les hommes frères en Dieu leur Père.

86. Il ne s'agit pas là d'un sermon prêché à une congrégation religieuse, pas plus que notre organi-

sation n'est une maison de prière. Nous rappelons simplement nos obligations et nous réaffirmons nos buts. C'est en fait un résumé de la Charte à laquelle nous avons tous solennellement souscrit. Et si le désarmement, comme l'a si bien dit le premier ministre Khrouchtchev, est le problème entre tous les problèmes, alors je déclare que le colonialisme est le mal entre tous les maux et que nous devons l'extirper jusqu'à la racine. Telle est la tâche en cours que nous devons parachever.

87. Mais cette voix ne s'élève pas seulement du milieu des nations nouvellement indépendantes. C'est la voix même de l'humanité depuis que l'homme a commencé à opprimer l'homme. Même lorsque le colonialisme était à son apogée, il s'est trouvé des voix héroïques pour le condamner. Au temps où l'empire britannique s'étendait du levant au couchant, il s'est trouvé de nombreux Anglais, et non des moindres, pour condamner l'impérialisme britannique. Jeremy Bentham, le père du radicalisme anglo-saxon, dans une lettre publiée en 1830 sous le titre "Emancipez vos colonies", a souligné que les colonies entraînent de considérables dépenses militaires et navales, le danger d'une guerre étrangère et la corruption politique de la métropole. Il n'aurait pas parlé différemment en 1960 devant cette assemblée.

88. C'est dans le même esprit que James Mill a dénoncé les méfaits du colonialisme dans l'article qu'il écrivait en 1818 pour le supplément de l'*Encyclopaedia Britannica*. Mais le coup le plus meurtrier a été frappé par Richard Cobden, "l'apôtre du libre-échange". Il appelait le gouvernement britannique de cette époque "une conspiration destinée à asservir et à mystifier le peuple".

89. Quelque poli et courtois que l'on désire rester, on ne peut ignorer que le colonialisme n'est, d'un bout à l'autre, qu'une vaste entreprise destinée à exploiter les peuples faibles et à s'approprier leur patrimoine. Je n'emploie pas le mot de "vol", car il est nécessairement sous-entendu lorsqu'on parle de colonialisme.

90. Bien entendu, le colonialisme n'est pas resté sans se défendre; mais il s'est fait à la fois juge et partie et a déclaré sa propre innocence. Cette tentative n'a fait qu'accentuer sa culpabilité, la plus odieuse qui soit.

91. Le colonialisme, prétendait-on, a une mission civilisatrice, une mission sacrée envers la race noire. Conformément à ce préambule dénué de fondement, l'homme blanc a un droit à exercer, un devoir à remplir et un fardeau à porter. Ce fardeau de l'homme blanc constitue toute la philosophie du colonialisme telle qu'elle a été exposée par ses auteurs. C'est Rudyard Kipling, le chantre de l'impérialisme, qui a écrit que ces peuples tristes, nouvellement asservis, moitié démons, moitié enfants, constituaient le fardeau que doit assumer l'homme blanc.

92. En vérité, je considère le colonialisme comme le mal en soi; il n'est pas le fardeau de l'homme blanc, mais son butin, et, s'il a pesé sur l'homme blanc, c'est de tout le poids des richesses prises au noir, au brun ou au jaune. Voilà le fardeau qui écrase l'homme blanc.

93. Il est pourtant légitime de demander à l'homme blanc, et je le fais maintenant: "Qui t'a confié le soin de porter cette charge? Qui t'a investi d'un droit à

exercer? Et qui t'a imposé l'obligation dont tu prétends t'acquitter?" Du milieu de ces millions d'hommes blancs, qu'il s'en lève un seul pour fournir une réponse — une réponse valable.

94. Il est indéniable que les architectes du colonialisme ont tenté de répondre à ces questions. Dans ce domaine, les Français se sont montrés les avocats les plus habiles de cette cause perdue. En 1886, Alfred Rambaud, professeur à la Sorbonne, a consacré tout un livre à la justification du colonialisme, sous ce titre glorieux: la *France coloniale*. Ce seul titre suffit à ternir la cause du colonialisme. En 1870, un économiste français, Leroy-Beaulieu, écrit que chaque jour qui passait contribuait à le convaincre de plus en plus de l'importance de la colonisation en général, et plus particulièrement pour la France. C'est donc avant tout la France qui est en jeu. Récemment, en 1924, Victor Beauregard, dans son livre *l'Empire colonial de la France*, déclarait que l'étude de l'histoire permet d'affirmer avec une certitude absolue que la France, plus que toute autre nation, a le génie de la colonisation. Génie trompeur et trompeuse certitude, car, peu après cette allusion au génie de la France, l'auteur poursuivait: "L'avenir de la France est dans ses colonies." C'était donc la France, et non les colonies, qui était en jeu.

95. En vérité, le colonialisme n'a rien d'une mission sacrée, bien au contraire. Ce qu'il y a derrière le colonialisme, c'est l'accaparement des marchés, les consommateurs lésés et les matières premières usurpées. Derrière le colonialisme, on trouve la domination du capital, la dépossession foncière et le travail forcé — tout ceci dans l'intérêt des colonisateurs et au nom de la civilisation.

96. Dès le commencement, le colonialisme n'a été qu'une campagne entreprise pour s'emparer des marchés, du commerce et de l'industrie dans un but bien précis d'exploitation. Rappelez-vous donc les noms de ces grandes entreprises: Compagnie des Indes orientales, Compagnie des Indes occidentales, Compagnie du Levant et Compagnie africaine. Et rappelez-vous aussi que toutes possédaient leurs armées de mercenaires qui plus tard ont construit ces vastes empires. Nombreux sont les bâtisseurs d'empires qui ont reconnu d'eux-mêmes que l'argument du "fardeau de l'homme blanc" était de peu de poids. Le colonialisme est destiné avant toute chose à servir les intérêts de la prétendue mère patrie. Et quelle preuve d'amour est-ce là que d'affamer l'enfant pour nourrir la mère? L'octroi de l'indépendance aux territoires coloniaux est une mesure de libération économique, car la destination première du colonialisme était la domination économique. Le bilan du colonialisme est plus qu'éloquent, et par-dessus tout celui du colonialisme français.

97. En 1884, le Président du Conseil, Jules Ferry, s'exprimait à peu près dans ces termes: "Les races supérieures..." et ici la France parle en termes de supériorité raciale "...ont des droits sur les races inférieures... si la France renonçait à l'impérialisme, elle tomberait du premier rang qu'elle occupe au troisième ou quatrième rang." Ainsi donc, pour la France, le colonialisme n'est pas destiné à encourager l'ascension des territoires colonisés, mais à l'empêcher, elle, de descendre au quatrième rang.

98. En 1890, à nouveau, le Président du Conseil français révélait que "la politique coloniale est fille

de la politique industrielle". Si les mots du Président du Conseil français ont un sens, ils peuvent seulement signifier que pour la France une colonie n'est qu'un marché sur lequel on vend au plus haut prix des articles fabriqués, à partir de matières premières achetées au plus bas prix possible, par une main-d'œuvre payée le moins cher possible. Rien ne trahit mieux les mobiles du colonialisme français que cette déclaration du Président du Conseil lui-même.

99. Dans le même esprit, en 1881, Gambetta justifiait comme suit devant la Chambre des députés la conquête de la Tunisie qui est maintenant un Etat souverain et indépendant représenté à l'ONU: "La Tunisie est indispensable à notre prospérité matérielle." C'était donc la prospérité de la France et non celle de la Tunisie qui était en jeu.

100. Plus tard, en 1895, M. Chautemps, ministre des colonies, se décrivait lui-même comme "en réalité un second ministre du commerce", ce qui est intéressant et peu commun pour un ministre des colonies. Voilà ce colonialisme dont nous parlons comme d'une mission sacrée, tandis que le ministre des colonies se donne le titre de "second ministre du commerce", et mériterait en fait celui de "premier ministre du commerce".

101. En 1882, l'économiste français Leroy-Beaulieu a montré le colonialisme dans toute son abomination. En termes clairs, il déclarait que "la colonisation est pour la France une question de vie ou de mort", mais peu importe la vie ou la mort des peuples coloniaux. Ce qui compte, c'est la vie ou la mort de la France. Les peuples coloniaux doivent vivre et mourir comme ils peuvent; ils sont abandonnés à leur destin.

102. Le colonialisme n'est pas seulement dénoncé par ses ennemis, mais il est battu en brèche par ses auteurs mêmes, ses philosophes, ses artisans, ses théoriciens et ses idéologues. Les architectes du colonialisme, les bâtisseurs d'empires, idéalistes ou non, ont tous disparu, en ne laissant derrière eux qu'une longue histoire de brutalités qui anéantissent les fallacieux prétextes humanitaires qui ont été invoqués pour justifier le colonialisme. C'est au milieu du XIX^{ème} siècle, quand le colonialisme était à son apogée, qu'il est apparu le plus clairement comme une institution abominable destinée à organiser l'exploitation et l'usurpation à l'échelle internationale. Je dis à l'échelle internationale, car les paroles de Cecil Rhodes, le plus illustre des impérialistes britanniques, résonnent encore à nos oreilles. Parlant du monde du XIX^{ème} siècle, Cecil Rhodes disait que "le monde est presque entièrement morcelé et ce qu'il en reste est en voie d'être divisé, conquis et colonisé ... et, s'il y a un Dieu" — tel est son défi, le défi des impérialistes britanniques — "s'il y a un Dieu, il aimerait voir peindre le plus possible de la carte de l'Afrique du rouge britannique ...". Trouvant le monde trop petit pour satisfaire la gloutonnerie du colonialisme britannique, Cecil Rhodes disait encore: "J'annexerais les planètes si je le pouvais. J'y pense souvent et cela m'attriste de les voir si brillantes et si lointaines."

103. Ces mots qui décrivent le partage, la conquête et le morcellement du monde, ainsi que le désir d'étendre le plus possible sur la carte d'Afrique la tache rouge des possessions britanniques, expriment de façon éclatante la conception classique du colo-

nialisme. Mais cet appétit, cet appétit glouton que notre planète ne suffit pas à assouvir, nous montre bien que le colonialisme britannique du XIX^{ème} siècle visait l'univers entier. Aujourd'hui, le Royaume-Uni préconise l'utilisation pacifique de l'espace cosmique, il n'élabore aucun plan de colonisation de l'espace, simplement peut-être parce qu'il se place loin à l'arrière dans la course aux planètes.

104. L'octroi de l'indépendance aux peuples coloniaux comporte un autre aspect humain: en plus de la libération économique, l'indépendance apporte la libération spirituelle. Elle redonne à l'homme sa dignité et sa personnalité. Le colonialisme est fondé sur la supériorité raciale; la suprématie des blancs est la source d'où découle toute la philosophie du colonialisme. Le colonialisme a deux évangiles: l'un que l'on prêche et qui est centré sur le fardeau de l'homme blanc, l'autre que l'on applique et qui n'exprime que l'avidité illimitée des blancs. Mais le premier de ces évangiles est destiné à propager la plus honteuse des idéologies: la suprématie de la race blanche.

105. Parlant du colonialisme britannique, Cecil Rhodes déclarait que nous — la race blanche — "sommes la première race du monde et que plus nous occuperons de place dans ce monde, mieux cela sera pour l'humanité". Ce qui témoigne à la fois d'un paradoxe et d'un complexe. Il est paradoxal qu'une race supérieure s'abaisse à voler une race inférieure; quant au complexe, il crève les yeux: c'est le complexe de supériorité.

106. Mais la triste réalité prouve que c'est l'avidité de l'homme et non son haut degré d'évolution qui constitue le moteur du colonialisme. Le véritable évangile du colonialisme n'est pas "vivre et laisser vivre", mais "vivre et empêcher les autres de vivre".

107. Et il ne s'agit pas là d'histoire ancienne, mais d'histoire contemporaine. Pour inventorier le monde actuel, on a employé ici même, à l'ONU, l'expression "ceux qui possèdent et ceux qui ne possèdent rien". Cette terminologie se trouve en bonne place dans nos documents. Le fait que, sur 2 milliards d'êtres humains, 1 milliard et demi soient incroyablement pauvres explique pourquoi "ceux qui possèdent" constituent la minorité contre la majorité de "ceux qui ne possèdent rien". La minorité est plus riche et vit mieux; la majorité est pauvre et vit misérablement. Et pourtant ce sont "ceux qui ne possèdent rien" qui sont les mieux pourvus en terres, en ressources minières et en matières premières. Alors pourquoi cette pauvreté inouïe? A cause du colonialisme. Le colonialisme du XIX^{ème} siècle a engendré la misère du XX^{ème} siècle; il est la raison pour laquelle le monde est partagé entre "ceux qui possèdent" et "ceux qui ne possèdent rien".

108. Dans les estimations et les statistiques de l'ONU, nous trouvons souvent des chiffres renversants concernant l'économie nationale des différents Etats Membres. On mentionne souvent avec fierté que certains Etats ont atteint un niveau de vie élevé tandis que celui d'autres Etats demeure bas. Le Royaume-Uni, la France et la Belgique, par exemple, ont un niveau de vie élevé, tandis que les pays d'Asie, d'Afrique et d'Amérique latine ont un niveau de vie fort bas. Ceci n'est pas un honneur pour les riches, ni un sujet de honte pour les pauvres. Ce n'est pas un génie particulier qui a enrichi les pays occidentaux, ni une déficience naturelle qui a maintenu les

autres dans la pauvreté. Seul le colonialisme explique cette disparité. Au cours de siècles de colonisation, les peuples d'Asie, d'Afrique et d'Amérique latine ont été dépouillés de leur or, de leurs diamants, de leur coton, de leur soie, de leur ivoire, de leurs épices, de leurs essences, de leur caoutchouc, de leur pétrole; leur faune a été décimée, leurs musées vidés de leurs trésors fabuleux; jusqu'aux dépouilles de leurs rois et de leurs reines leur ont été volées.

109. Voilà toute l'histoire de "ceux qui possèdent" et de "ceux qui ne possèdent rien", telle que l'a écrite le colonialisme. L'état de pauvreté et de sous-développement d'un grand nombre de parties du monde est l'héritage direct du colonialisme. Les peuples dominés — ceux qui ont accédé à l'indépendance et ceux qui attendent encore — ont une dette colossale à recouvrer, et ce qui leur est accordé actuellement, sous forme d'assistance économique, de dons, d'assistance technique ou autre, ne représente qu'une petite partie du total énorme de cette dette. Et ce n'est pas une dette morale, mais une dette dûment reconnue et avouée, absolument conforme à la définition du Droit. Permettez-moi de vous en donner un exemple. Parlant de la politique coloniale britannique, Joseph Chamberlain a dit: "l'empire, c'est le commerce", résumant en deux mots ce que deux volumes ne suffiraient pas à expliquer.

110. Cet empire du commerce a été également décrit par un impérialiste britannique célèbre, Henry Stanley, qui, dans un discours prononcé en 1884 devant la Chambre de commerce de Manchester, a dit ceci:

"Il y a 40 millions de personnes derrière les portes du Congo, et les filatures de coton de Manchester attendent le moment de les vêtir. Les fonderies de Birmingham débordent de métal incandescent dont elles feront des outils à leur usage et des colifichets pour orner leur peau sombre."

Voilà qui est clair et se passe de commentaire. Nous voyons ainsi comment le colonialisme a élevé le niveau de vie de Manchester et Birmingham tout en abandonnant l'Afrique à sa misère.

111. La disparité actuelle entre "ceux qui possèdent" et "ceux qui ne possèdent rien" pourrait être supprimée et, plus précisément, sa suppression pourrait être accélérée si l'on octroyait leur indépendance à tous les pays non autonomes. Si la liberté et la paix vont de pair, n'en va-t-il pas de même de la prospérité économique? La liberté économique des pays dépendants exige que l'on s'engage maintenant dans une aventure chevaleresque, ne serait-ce que comme expression du repentir des puissances coloniales responsables de leur esclavage, et dont les entreprises furent dénuées de tout esprit de chevalerie. Il fut un temps où ce colonialisme commercial se pratiquait si ouvertement qu'il n'était pas besoin d'en faire la preuve. Un impérialiste de génie comme Disraëli déclarait dans son fameux discours du Crystal Palace que l'impérialisme constituait l'objectif principal de sa politique. Il a contribué pour une grande part à faire du colonialisme ce qu'il est aujourd'hui. Il avait de nombreux liens avec les Rothschild et beaucoup d'autres financiers et, quand on mit en vente les actions de l'entreprise du canal de Suez, Disraëli, sans attendre que le Parlement lui accorde les fonds, accepta l'offre qui lui était faite, ajoutant ainsi un nouveau chapitre à l'histoire

de l'impérialisme au Moyen-Orient. Mais, pour faire face à cette offre, Disraëli dut emprunter 4 millions de livres sterling aux Rothschild; et, si nous en croyons le professeur Moon dont l'opinion fait autorité en matière de relations internationales, cette transaction a rapporté 100.000 livres sterling aux Rothschild.

112. Ce n'est là qu'un exemple destiné à montrer comment ces peuples ont été dépouillés, quels profits fabuleux ont été réalisés à leurs dépens, et comment le colonialisme a pu conduire à cette disparité économique dont souffrent actuellement tant de nations.

113. Je profite de l'occasion pour souligner que c'est ce même Rothschild qui, le 2 novembre 1917, reçut une lettre du Secrétaire d'Etat britannique aux affaires étrangères, lui promettant la création d'un Foyer national juif en Palestine. Ce même M. Rothschild qui avait gagné 100.000 livres en une seule transaction!

114. J'attire l'attention de l'Assemblée sur cette affaire car, lorsque nous examinons le problème du colonialisme, nous ne devons pas oublier que la création d'un Foyer national juif en Palestine a fait partie, dès le début, d'une politique impérialiste qui s'est également manifestée en Afrique, en Asie et en Amérique latine. En créant un Foyer juif en Palestine, la politique britannique, approuvée et financée par les Etats-Unis, a promu l'une des formes les plus odieuses de l'impérialisme. Le colonialisme s'est retiré de la plus grande partie du monde, laissant la terre à ses habitants et les habitants à leur terre. Mais en Palestine il a provoqué l'infiltration de 1 million de Juifs et l'expulsion de 1 million d'Arabes qui vivent maintenant dans des camps de réfugiés, victimes d'une des formes les plus honteuses de l'impérialisme et du colonialisme. Le jour viendra pourtant bientôt où ces réfugiés regagneront leur sol natal débarrassé de l'occupation sioniste; ils entreront alors à l'ONU en tant qu'Etat libre et indépendant de Palestine, Etat qui rassemblera tous ses citoyens légitimes, qu'ils soient musulmans, chrétiens ou juifs.

115. Dans les autres régions, il ne manque pas de raisons d'espérer. Après avoir atteint son apogée au XIXème siècle, le colonialisme a commencé son déclin. Au cours des 15 dernières années, environ 1 milliard et demi d'êtres humains ont brisé leurs chaînes. Cette immense bataille a rendu la liberté à plus de la moitié du genre humain. Les chiffres sont encore plus éloquentes que les mots: pensez à ces chiffres et à leur signification! Au moment de sa création, l'ONU ne représentait que la moitié du monde dont l'autre moitié subissait encore le joug colonialiste. Il ne reste plus aujourd'hui que 100 millions d'êtres humains encore en esclavage. Le taux de l'émancipation au cours de ces 15 dernières années a été de 100 millions de personnes par an. Il est donc impératif que l'ONU proclame maintenant, devant la présente assemblée, la libération de nos 100 millions d'amis, de nos 100 millions de frères captifs. Car ils sont nos frères et nous n'admettons aucune discrimination ni de race, ni de couleur, ni de religion. Que ceux qui se disent les ennemis de toute discrimination le prouvent en appuyant le projet de résolution soumis à l'Assemblée par les peuples africains-asiatiques [A/L.323 et Add.1]. Nos frères sont dispersés de par le monde, mais ils sont réunis dans leur combat pour la liberté.

116. Les peuples de la Palestine, du Kénya, de l'Oman, d'Aden, des extrémités de la péninsule Arabique, du Nyassaland, de l'Angola, du Mozambique, de la Rhodésie, du Ruanda-Urundi, du Sud-Ouest africain, du Tanganyika, de l'Ouganda, de l'Irian occidental, de Malte et des autres parties du monde doivent être libérés. L'Algérie constitue un problème particulièrement brûlant au moment où la guerre d'Algérie entre dans sa septième année. Le peuple algérien a les mêmes droits que nous à la liberté, à la dignité et à l'indépendance. Tous les humains sont nés libres, et, comme le disait notre grand Calife: "De quel droit faites-vous des esclaves d'hommes que leurs mères ont engendrés libres?"

117. Les peuples coloniaux ont un droit imprescriptible à la liberté et nous nous devons de le reconnaître et de le déclarer. J'insiste sur le mot reconnaître, car l'expression "octroi de l'indépendance" employée dans le mémorandum de l'Union soviétique [A/4501] ne me paraît pas heureuse. La liberté pour ces 100 millions d'hommes est un droit, non une grâce que nous pouvons leur accorder.

118. Quoi qu'il en soit, on a souvent dit que ces pays étaient sous tutelle et que leur progrès économique et social nécessite le maintien de cette tutelle pour quelque temps encore. Voilà un argument périmé indigne de l'esprit de cette époque, et si faible qu'il ne vaut pas qu'on s'y arrête.

119. Ces peuples sont en tutelle depuis des décennies; combien de temps faut-il encore poursuivre cette épreuve d'une cruelle amertume, cette douloureuse expérience faite sur les humains et non sur les animaux ou la matière insensible? Puisque le régime de tutelle n'a pas réussi jusqu'à présent à élever ces peuples de la servitude à l'indépendance, n'est-ce pas la preuve de son échec et l'ONU ne doit-elle pas mettre fin à ce régime? Parlons aussi de la situation au Congo. Quelques voix — vestiges de l'impérialisme — s'élèvent pour souligner que la situation au Congo illustre clairement le danger qu'il y a à concéder trop tôt leur indépendance à ces peuples. C'est la dernière mode en matière de logique, due aux promoteurs habituels de la mode politique, et je la trouve détestable. C'est une logique sans réelle logique, et un argument qui s'effondre de lui-même lorsqu'on sait qu'il a été lancé par les ennemis de la liberté.

120. La situation au Congo constitue au contraire un argument en faveur de la liberté et non contre elle. La crise congolaise n'est pas le résultat d'une indépendance octroyée trop vite et trop tôt; c'est le résultat d'une attaque foudroyante contre la naissance de l'indépendance. Si l'on avait laissé le Congo livré à lui-même, la crise aurait été totalement évitée, les forces des Nations Unies n'auraient pas eu à se rassembler, le Congo ne serait pas devenu un point de l'ordre du jour de l'ONU et les impérialistes n'auraient pas trouvé ce mauvais argument en faveur de leur cause.

121. Tous ces arguments sont creux et tombent les uns après les autres. Il faut libérer les peuples coloniaux et qu'ils aillent leur chemin. Ils prendront soin d'eux-mêmes et leur sort sera placé en bonnes mains — leurs propres mains. Ils assureront leur progrès économique, social et culturel. Rien n'est plus utile, plus fécond et plus respectable que de ne dépendre que de soi. Ce sont leurs propres mains, leurs esprits, leurs âmes et leurs cœurs qui œuvreront à cette

reconstruction. Le résultat en sera non plus le croupissement du régime de tutelle, mais l'évolution révolutionnaire de l'indépendance.

122. Prenons comme exemple le Ghana. Le potentiel hydraulique de ce pays est resté inemployé pendant toutes les années du régime colonial. Depuis l'indépendance, le projet de la Volta, qui va faire du Ghana un pays industriel, est en voie d'exécution. De même la Guinée et ses projets grandioses. Sous la domination coloniale, tout cela dormait, perdu dans les archives.

123. Prenons la République arabe unie — le projet du barrage d'Assouan était abandonné sous la poussière des archives depuis des dizaines d'années. Depuis l'indépendance et sous l'impulsion du président Nasser, ce projet est devenu l'un des rouages les plus puissants du mécanisme de développement.

124. Prenons la Chine, pendant si longtemps démembrée, opprimée et humiliée: la voilà devenue depuis son indépendance un géant de la production, et même un géant impatient. Impatient de rattraper son retard — et je ne fais pas intervenir ici les prolongements politiques de la situation en Chine.

125. Prenons enfin l'Inde et le Pakistan qui, avant l'indépendance, étaient en complète stagnation. Depuis leur libération, ces deux pays fourmillent de projets.

126. Je ne donnerai pas d'autres exemples, car le milliard et demi d'êtres humains libérés au cours des 15 dernières années constitue la plus magistrale illustration de la plus grandiose expérience humaine.

127. Il est un dernier point que nous devons considérer: la fin du colonialisme devrait entraîner la suppression du Conseil de tutelle. En fait, la tutelle des Nations Unies est une institution analogue au système des mandats de la Société des Nations. Il est navrant de constater que le Conseil de tutelle demeure encore l'un des principaux organes des Nations Unies alors qu'il illustre la domination exercée sur les peuples et qu'il perpétue le statut de dépendance de ces peuples.

128. Tout aussi navrant est le terme de "capacité à s'administrer eux-mêmes" que la Charte a assigné comme objectif aux territoires sous tutelle. Lorsque la question du régime de tutelle a été discutée à San Francisco en 1945, le Ministre des affaires étrangères de l'Union soviétique, M. Molotov, a recommandé que le but final de la tutelle soit l'indépendance. A ce moment-là, seule la délégation des Philippines a appuyé M. Molotov et j'exprime aux Philippines mon admiration pour leur attitude. Malheureusement, l'opposition conduite par M. Stettinius, représentant les Etats-Unis, a insisté pour que l'on adopte l'expression de "capacité à s'administrer eux-mêmes". Nous espérons que, lors de la présente session, nos collègues des Etats-Unis seront disposés à appuyer l'idée de la suppression du Conseil de tutelle et de son vocabulaire périmé. Demandons l'indépendance pure et simple en termes francs et directs. Le terme d'indépendance ne cache rien dont il faille avoir honte.

129. Mais tout ceci est du passé. Il nous appartient maintenant d'écrire une nouvelle page d'histoire qui soit digne de notre temps. Proclamons l'indépendance de tous les peuples où qu'ils soient et quelles que soient leur race et leur couleur. Liquidons le colonialisme quelles que soient ses formes et sa prove-

nance. Repoussons toutes les formes de l'impérialisme et libérons tous les peuples où qu'ils soient.

130. Les 98 Nations représentées au sein de cette organisation — et je ne me trompe pas sur ce chiffre — ont chacune leur journée nationale de l'indépendance. Faisons d'aujourd'hui la journée mondiale

de l'indépendance, au cours de laquelle nous commémorerons avec joie et fierté une glorieuse conquête: la liberté pour tous, la souveraineté pour tous, l'indépendance pour tous, et, surtout, les Nations Unies pour tous.

La séance est levée à 13 h 15.

ASSEMBLÉE GÉNÉRALE

QUINZIÈME SESSION

Documents officiels



928^e
SÉANCE PLÉNIÈRE

Mercredi 30 novembre 1960,
à 10 h 30

NEW YORK

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Président: M. Frederick H. BOLAND (Irlande).

POINT 87 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux (suite)

1. Le PRÉSIDENT (traduit de l'anglais): Avant d'appeler à la tribune le premier orateur de cette séance, je donne la parole au représentant du Portugal qui a demandé à exercer son droit de réponse.

2. M. GARIN (Portugal) [traduit de l'anglais]: C'est contre mon gré que je dois demander à exercer mon droit de réponse, mais quelques-uns des orateurs que nous avons entendus à cette tribune ont une fois encore tenté de s'immiscer dans les affaires intérieures de mon pays malgré les dispositions très précises de la Charte des Nations Unies en cette matière.

3. Le représentant du Ghana a gratuitement qualifié de fiction juridique la structure constitutionnelle de mon pays. Je suis persuadé que nous sommes tous d'accord pour considérer comme très grave une déclaration selon laquelle la structure constitutionnelle d'un pays est qualifiée de fiction; or c'est précisément ce que le représentant du Ghana vient de faire à l'égard de mon pays.

4. J'ai maintes fois expliqué à cette tribune que la nation portugaise, à la suite d'un processus historique vieux de plusieurs siècles, est un Etat unitaire dont toutes les composantes jouissent d'un statut identique aux yeux de la loi. Le représentant du Ghana a parfaitement le droit de ne pas aimer notre constitution. Mais autre chose est de ne pas aimer la constitution d'une nation, autre chose de l'attaquer devant cette assemblée. Il y a là non seulement violation des principes de la Charte, mais une tentative pour créer un dangereux précédent qui permettrait que la structure et les affaires intérieures des Etats Membres — y compris le Ghana — fassent l'objet de libres discussions à cette tribune.

5. Je n'ai jamais pris la parole ici pour discuter la structure politique interne du Ghana ni d'aucun autre pays et n'ai nulle intention de le faire; ma délégation ne peut donc accepter sans protestation qu'une exception soit faite à l'égard du Portugal. Le représentant du Ghana a poussé son immixtion dans les affaires intérieures de mon pays jusqu'à demander que des mesures immédiates soient prises pour octroyer tous les pouvoirs de la souveraineté aux provinces portugaises d'outre-mer de l'Angola et du Mozambique.

6. Je ne peux qu'estimer qu'il est regrettable au plus haut point qu'un représentant d'un Etat Membre se permette de demander, du haut de cette tribune, le démembrement d'un autre Etat. Je préfère toutefois penser que le représentant du Ghana n'avait pas bien pesé ses mots lorsqu'il a exprimé l'espoir de voir démembrer la nation portugaise et que la souveraineté sur ses composantes lui soit retirée.

7. Mais, encore une fois, il s'agit là d'une question grave; il est déplacé de s'exprimer avec légèreté devant cette assemblée où se joue l'existence des pays et des peuples. Je m'élève donc énergiquement contre des libertés de langage qui trahissent la lettre et l'esprit de la Charte et ne peuvent qu'envenimer le présent débat.

8. Je ne crois pas utile d'ajouter que cette réponse s'adresse également à une autre délégation qui a souscrit hier à ces invraisemblables propositions. J'espère qu'il sera encore possible d'éviter que la sérénité de ces débats ne soit troublée.

9. M. ALEMAYEHOU (Ethiopie) [traduit de l'anglais]: Lorsque l'Organisation des Nations Unies a été créée à San Francisco en 1945, un milliard d'êtres humains environ vivaient sous le régime colonial. Une ou deux années plus tard, alors que l'Inde et le Pakistan accédaient à l'indépendance, bientôt suivis par la Birmanie, Ceylan, l'Indonésie et d'autres pays d'Asie, le colonialisme restait intact en Afrique et en Océanie.

10. En 1955, lors de la Conférence africano-asiatique de Bandoung, les Etats réunis à cette conférence historique ont fait le bilan de la situation coloniale. Ils ont posé un certain nombre de principes fondamentaux qui sont devenus les pierres angulaires de la politique des pays indépendants d'Afrique et d'Asie à l'égard des pays et des peuples coloniaux. Les pays dépendants d'Asie, d'Afrique et d'Océanie se sont eux-mêmes inspirés de ces principes pour lutter pour la liberté. Entre-temps, la lutte des Etats africano-asiatiques pour la liberté et l'indépendance des peuples coloniaux se poursuit au sein de la Quatrième Commission de l'Assemblée générale. Cette lutte tend à rendre plus libérale la déclaration de caractère assez conservateur contenue au Chapitre XI de la Charte des Nations Unies; les pays africano-asiatiques, aidés par les pays d'Amérique latine et d'autres encore, ont réussi à faire de ce document, en dépit de son caractère conservateur, un instrument vivant destiné à faire avancer les peuples coloniaux dans la voie de la liberté et de l'indépendance.

11. L'ONU ne peut revendiquer le mérite d'avoir donné l'indépendance aux peuples coloniaux, mais son influence ne peut être niée, pas plus que l'effet des forces libérales sur ces peuples.

12. A un stade ultérieur de la lutte pour l'émancipation, la libération du Soudan, du Maroc et de la Tunisie marque un nouveau progrès vers la suppression du colonialisme sur le continent africain.

Le point culminant de cette évolution a été atteint lors de l'accession à l'indépendance du Ghana sur la côte occidentale de l'Afrique, suivi de près par la Guinée, puis, cette année, par de nombreux Etats africains et par Chypre qui, tous, sont venus occuper la place qui leur est due dans la communauté des nations.

13. N'oublions pas que les Etats africains aussi, suivant l'exemple de Bandoung, ont énoncé un certain nombre de principes concrets plus particulièrement destinés à leur propre continent, au cours de la Conférence des Etats indépendants d'Afrique, tenue à Accra (Ghana), du 15 au 22 avril 1958. A cette conférence historique, ils ont adopté 13 résolutions portant toutes sur le colonialisme et la consolidation de l'indépendance des Etats africains. Si l'on examine ces résolutions, on constate que les huit Etats africains ne se sont pas contentés d'énoncer des principes généraux, mais ont demandé de façon claire et précise la suppression du colonialisme, de l'"apartheid" et de la discrimination raciale. Ils ont demandé l'application du suffrage universel afin que les institutions gouvernementales de tous les territoires coloniaux d'Afrique soient établies conformément à la volonté du peuple, et non plus dictées par de prétendues mères patries à l'autre bout du monde.

14. Au cours de cette même conférence, les pays africains, conscients de la situation particulière de l'Algérie, ont fait appel à la France pour que:

a) Elle reconnaisse le droit du peuple algérien à l'indépendance et à la libre détermination;

b) Elle mette fin aux hostilités et retire ses troupes d'Algérie;

c) Elle entame immédiatement des négociations de paix avec le Front de libération nationale afin d'aboutir à un règlement équitable du conflit ^{1/}.

Nous voyons tout de suite que le premier objectif a été atteint, mais que les deux autres sont désormais périmés, en raison des circonstances, ou bien qu'ils ont été reconnus comme indispensables par ceux-là mêmes qui, au moment de la Conférence d'Accra, ont été amenés à blâmer l'attitude des pays africains. Il n'en demeure pas moins que presque toutes les parties intéressées reconnaissent aujourd'hui le droit des peuples d'Afrique à demander l'indépendance et la libre détermination pour l'Algérie, et qu'il ne reste plus qu'à trouver les modalités d'application de ces principes qui assureront au peuple algérien le libre choix de son avenir.

15. L'année suivante, les Etats africains indépendants se sont réunis de nouveau, en conférence extraordinaire, à Monrovia^{2/}, pour examiner avant toute chose le problème algérien, mais aussi d'autres questions non moins urgentes, telles que les essais nucléaires au Sahara, et l'intensification des massacres en masse et des mesures de répression dont sont victimes les populations africaines du fait de la discrimination raciale. Cette conférence a adopté des résolutions qui mettent en application un certain nombre de principes concernant chacun de ces problèmes. Et ces principes ont été acceptés par la

quasi-unanimité des Membres de l'ONU. Il ne reste donc plus qu'à les concrétiser sur place dans des conditions qui réunissent l'approbation de toutes les parties intéressées. Ainsi, lorsque cette question entrera dans l'histoire, le processus aura laissé intacte l'amitié entre les peuples.

16. Les Etats indépendants d'Afrique — maintenant au nombre de 16 — se sont réunis cette année à Addis-Abéba^{3/}. Ils ont discuté et adopté un certain nombre de résolutions portant sur: a) un règlement pacifique par la négociation du conflit algérien; b) la question du Sud-Ouest africain; c) la cessation des essais nucléaires et thermonucléaires au Sahara; d) la suppression de la domination coloniale en Afrique; e) le problème de la création d'une Fédération centre-africaine; f) la politique d'"apartheid" et de discrimination raciale en Afrique; et d'autres encore. L'une de ces résolutions demande la suppression du colonialisme sous toutes ses formes, proclame l'égalité de toutes les races dans les questions civiles et religieuses, et réclame l'application du principe selon lequel chacun disposerait d'une voix, afin que, dans toutes les colonies, le pouvoir soit transféré aux représentants du peuple.

17. En conséquence, le présent projet de résolution [A/L.323 et Add.1 et 2], à l'élaboration duquel ma délégation s'honore d'avoir participé, constitue la confirmation des idéaux et des principes que les pays africano-asiatiques ont proclamés et soutenus sans relâche depuis 1955, à Bandoung, à Accra, à Monrovia et à Addis-Abéba. Un examen de ce projet de résolution permet de voir immédiatement que tous les alinéas du préambule expriment des principes qui, à un moment ou à un autre, d'une façon ou d'une autre, ont été énoncés au cours de ces conférences historiques. Nous estimons donc que, si l'ONU adopte ces principes, chacun des Etats Membres sera responsable de leur application.

18. Le moment me paraît venu de rendre hommage à l'Union soviétique et de la féliciter d'avoir pris l'initiative de proposer à la quinzième session de l'Assemblée générale [A/4501] le point que nous examinons, à savoir une Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux [A/4502 et Corr.1]. Cette déclaration sur l'abolition du colonialisme, si elle était adoptée par l'Assemblée générale — et j'espère qu'elle le sera à l'unanimité — constituera un grand moment de l'histoire et un tournant décisif de l'histoire des relations entre les peuples. Ce sera la réalisation des nobles principes de la Charte des Nations Unies. Cette résolution, si elle est adoptée et mise en application, ouvrira une ère nouvelle aux peuples de la terre qui pourront travailler ensemble comme les membres d'une même grande famille à la réalisation de fins communes: la paix et le bonheur universels. Il ne peut y avoir de paix durable dans une aussi grande famille si tous ses membres ne jouissent pas du même bonheur. Tant qu'il n'y a pas le même bonheur, la même satisfaction pour tous, il ne peut y avoir qu'une trêve armée, non la paix.

19. Ainsi donc, afin que s'établisse une paix durable entre les peuples et que s'instaure une coopération amicale entre les nations, le colonialisme sous toutes ses formes doit disparaître, et les puissances colo-

^{1/} Conférence of Independent African States, Declaration and Resolutions, 22 avril 1958, Accra (Ghana), Government Printer, 1958, résolution III.

^{2/} Conférence des Etats indépendants d'Afrique, tenue à Monrovia (Libéria), du 4 au 8 août 1959.

^{3/} Deuxième Conférence des Etats indépendants d'Afrique, tenue à Addis-Abéba (Ethiopie), du 14 au 24 juin 1960.

niales doivent reconnaître aux peuples placés sous leur domination le même droit de choisir librement leur destin que celui qu'elles reconnaissent à leurs propres populations.

20. C'est donc pour que règne une paix durable au lieu de conflits perpétuels, une coopération fraternelle pour le bien commun au lieu de l'inimitié entre les nations, que nous demandons à tous les Etats représentés ici de donner leur plein appui à la déclaration actuellement en discussion afin qu'elle soit adoptée par acclamation.

21. Les peuples soumis au régime colonial, ainsi que les champions de leur cause en Afrique, en Asie et ailleurs, ont encouru les critiques d'observateurs neutres — et, j'en suis sûr, honnêtes — pour leur impatience et leur hâte à exiger l'abolition immédiate et inconditionnelle du colonialisme. Si l'on en croit ces observateurs, l'abolition prématurée du colonialisme a conduit à des conflits entre les dirigeants politiques indigènes, et ils citent le cas du Congo à l'appui de leurs dires. Ces observateurs prétendent également que, quels que soient les sentiments des peuples colonisés à l'égard de leurs colonisateurs, ceux-ci ont indéniablement contribué au développement économique, social, culturel et politique des peuples placés sous leur domination et qu'ils ont eux-mêmes dans ces territoires des intérêts économiques ou autres qu'il est impossible de négliger. Selon ces observateurs, pour toutes les raisons exposées précédemment, et pour faciliter le transfert du pouvoir aux dirigeants politiques indigènes, il faudrait donc plus de temps que n'en demandent les peuples coloniaux; il faudrait également que ceux-ci fassent preuve de plus de patience.

22. Mais nous avons dit à ces observateurs, et nous le leur répétons, que l'abolition du colonialisme s'est trop fait attendre et ne viendra jamais trop tôt. Nous comprenons combien ces observations et ces critiques loyales peuvent paraître justes et raisonnables. Nous savons ce que des observateurs neutres, qui vivent dans la liberté, peuvent éprouver à l'égard du colonialisme en général, car nous avons nous-mêmes connu l'oppression, puis la liberté. Mais ils ne peuvent pas comprendre nos sentiments à l'égard du colonialisme, car ils ont toujours vécu dans la liberté. Il est facile pour les observateurs neutres de formuler des critiques, car ils n'ont jamais subi la plus abjecte et la plus dégradante des humiliations, ils n'ont jamais été des étrangers dans leur propre pays, ils n'ont jamais combattu et donné leur vie pour des causes qui n'étaient pas les leurs et ne faisaient qu'apporter une gloire nouvelle à leurs déjà glorieux oppresseurs, et ils n'ont jamais peiné pour accroître encore la richesse déjà fabuleuse de leurs maîtres et pour augmenter la force des mains qui les broient. Il faut avoir vécu sous l'emprise colonialiste et être passé soi-même par ces épreuves pour comprendre la pleine signification du colonialisme.

23. On ne peut nier que les puissances coloniales aient contribué plus ou moins au développement économique, social et culturel de leurs colonies; mais ce que nos critiques ont complètement passé sous silence, c'est que la contribution économique, militaire ou autre apportée par les colonies à la métropole a toujours été infiniment plus considérable que celle qu'a apportée la métropole aux colonies.

24. Quant aux difficultés économiques et politiques et aux conflits qui ont suivi l'abolition du régime

colonial dans certains pays, qu'il nous soit permis de dire à ces critiques que ces difficultés ont toujours été provoquées par des manœuvres étrangères destinées à discréditer et à entraver la marche irrévversible des peuples opprimés du monde entier, et en particulier de l'Asie et de l'Afrique, vers l'émancipation, et à rétablir, sous une forme ou sous une autre, l'ancien système d'exploitation. Et, même s'il est exact que des difficultés et des conflits entre les dirigeants politiques surviennent dans certains pays après la suppression du colonialisme, ce n'est pas une raison pour refuser l'indépendance à ceux qui la demandent. Que les chefs politiques se disputent le pouvoir n'a rien d'extraordinaire, cela se produit partout dans le monde, seuls les procédés changent. Les uns emploient l'argent, les autres leurs poings, d'autres encore des canons, des tanks et des avions. Personne ne devrait donc s'étonner que cela se produise aussi dans les territoires coloniaux, et il n'y a là purement et simplement qu'un prétexte pour maintenir la domination coloniale dans ces territoires.

25. Les peuples libérés, laissés à eux-mêmes sans intervention des intrigants étrangers, régleront rapidement leurs différends, comme l'ont fait tous les autres peuples dans des circonstances analogues. Qu'on les laisse donc tranquilles, se battre s'ils en ont envie et régler eux-mêmes leurs affaires.

26. A première vue, je ne vois pas pourquoi des colonies qui ont contribué pour une part énorme à la prospérité économique des régions métropolitaines ne seraient pas capables de se constituer en Etats économiquement viables. Et je ne vois pas non plus de raison pour que les peuples des colonies, après avoir combattu longuement et durement pour leur libération, ne parviennent pas à jouir pacifiquement d'une liberté chèrement acquise, à condition qu'ils ne soient pas victimes de manœuvres subversives fomentées par l'étranger.

27. Mais si, malgré tout, la question se pose pour eux de choisir entre la liberté avec son cortège de difficultés économiques et de conflits internes et le maintien de la domination coloniale avec ses corollaires inévitables, la subjugation, l'exploitation, la dégradation et l'humiliation, je peux répondre immédiatement et sans équivoque que tous les peuples colonisés préfèrent la pauvreté et les luttes ultérieures dans la liberté à la prospérité et la paix dans l'esclavage.

28. Il fut un temps où l'esprit d'entreprise, l'héroïsme, la puissance, la grandeur et la prospérité d'un pays se mesuraient à l'étendue et au nombre de ses colonies. Il fut un temps où posséder des colonies apportait fierté et gloire à ceux qui les possédaient. Mais tout ceci appartient au passé; aujourd'hui, les nations ne se glorifient plus de posséder des colonies, mais au contraire de les émaniciper; et celles qui conservent l'espoir de garder leurs colonies tentent de les dissimuler sous des appellations nouvelles. On parle de "territoires d'outre-mer", de "provinces d'outre-mer". Les termes de "puissance coloniale" et de "colonies", dont les pays colonisateurs tirèrent tant de gloire et d'orgueil, leur font honte maintenant; et je crois pouvoir affirmer que le temps n'est pas éloigné où la possession de colonies deviendra non seulement une honte, mais un crime, ainsi que cela s'est produit pour l'esclavage.

29. Tout ce mal que se donnent les puissances coloniales pour cacher leur colonies sous des noms différents et pour trouver des prétextes afin de retarder le jour de l'émancipation des peuples dépendants, voilà qui prouve bien que le colonialisme doit disparaître, et ces nations le savent bien.

30. En fait, le représentant du Royaume-Uni, dont la clairvoyance politique dans ce domaine est unanimement reconnue, a dit l'autre jour du haut de cette tribune [925^{ème} séance] que les divergences d'opinions entre son gouvernement et les promoteurs d'une libération immédiate de toutes les colonies portent sur les méthodes permettant d'atteindre cet objectif, non sur l'objectif lui-même.

31. Et s'il n'y a pas de divergence d'opinions quant au but visé — la libération finale de tous les peuples encore soumis à la domination coloniale au nom de leur droit à disposer d'eux-mêmes — il ne peut et ne doit y avoir aucune divergence de vues quant aux méthodes employées pour parvenir à cette fin. C'est en tout cas ce que pense ma délégation.

32. Nous reconnaissons que l'objectif à atteindre est l'émancipation des peuples coloniaux. Y a-t-il donc une meilleure méthode que celle qui consiste à demander à ces peuples d'exprimer librement la façon dont ils envisagent leur avenir? Nous n'en voyons pas, quant à nous, de meilleure.

33. Une déclaration qui abolirait le colonialisme et donnerait aux peuples coloniaux la liberté de décider de leur sort n'empêcherait aucun d'entre eux de nouer des liens librement consentis avec leur ancienne métropole, s'ils estiment qu'une telle association leur est favorable.

34. Pour ce qui est de considérer certains territoires d'Afrique et d'Asie comme des provinces d'outre-mer des pays métropolitains d'Europe, je dis franchement à nos amis et collègues qui représentent ici ces pays que leurs arguments ne peuvent en aucun cas nous convaincre. Comment ces territoires lointains peuvent-ils faire partie de la mère patrie? Il n'y a entre eux aucune identité géographique, économique, historique, raciale, ethnique ou culturelle; et il n'y a pas non plus entre ces "provinces" et la métropole d'accord librement et volontairement consenti. Il n'y a qu'une loi promulguée unilatéralement par les pays métropolitains. Quant aux conséquences d'une telle loi promulguée unilatéralement sans l'accord de l'une des deux parties, elles sont faciles à imaginer. Prenons un pays A, quelque part en Afrique, qui promulgue une loi par laquelle un pays B, en Europe ou en Amérique, devient une province du pays A. Quel effet aurait une telle loi? Aucun, ni en droit, ni en fait, car le pays A ne dispose pas de la puissance militaire nécessaire pour faire appliquer cette loi et que le pays B n'a pas accepté de devenir une province de A.

35. Dans le cas des pays coloniaux d'Afrique et d'Asie et des pays métropolitains d'Europe, les prétentions de ces derniers à considérer les premiers comme des provinces ne peut avoir d'effet légal puisque le consentement d'une des deux parties fait défaut, mais elles ont eu, en fait, un effet simplement parce que les pays métropolitains avaient une supériorité militaire sur les pays qu'ils annexaient. Tout est donc une question de force, de domination par la force; c'est encore une fois du colonialisme.

36. Voilà pourquoi je disais, il y a un moment, que les arguments de certains représentants des pays métropolitains n'étaient pas convaincants. Aussi demandons-nous à ces représentants et à tous les autres membres de l'Assemblée de donner leur plein appui au projet de résolution contenant la déclaration dont je viens de parler [A/L.323 et Add.1 et 2] et qui, nous en sommes convaincus, sert les intérêts de tous, y compris ceux des puissances coloniales.

37. M. WINIEWICZ (Pologne) [traduit de l'anglais]: Jamais aucune des précédentes sessions de l'Assemblée générale n'a vu présenter avec autant de force et de conviction le problème des peuples coloniaux et de l'abolition définitive du colonialisme que nous examinons à la présente session. L'admission au sein de l'ONU de 17 nouveaux Etats, qui tous ont connu au cours de leur histoire l'oppression et l'exploitation colonialiste, témoigne abondamment de la portée internationale de ce problème. Il est devenu l'un des problèmes clefs de notre discussion générale et n'a cessé de revenir dans tous les débats auxquels ont donné lieu les différents points de l'ordre du jour des principales commissions de cette session. Et maintenant, grâce à l'initiative de l'Union soviétique, ce même problème est discuté sous tous ses aspects devant cette assemblée générale, afin que nous parvenions à la seule décision équitable.

38. Il est maintenant mûr pour une solution définitive. Le nouvel équilibre des forces dans le monde a créé une situation dans laquelle les lois de l'impérialisme ont cessé de jouer un rôle décisif. Le succès des mouvements de libération nationale en Asie et en Afrique a fortifié le front anticolonialiste et leur exemple éveille les aspirations des peuples encore dépendants.

39. Les progrès sans précédent de la science et de la technologie, le triomphe de l'esprit humain sur les forces de la nature, ainsi que les vastes possibilités offertes au développement pacifique de l'humanité ne nous permettent plus de tolérer que ces peuples soient opprimés et maintenus dans la misère et l'ignorance, alors qu'ils ont, tout comme nous, droit à l'indépendance et à un avenir meilleur.

40. En fait, partout où le colonialisme exerçait son emprise, nous avons assisté à l'extermination des peuples opprimés, à la destruction de leur culture, tandis que leur étaient imposés des institutions et des modes de vie étrangers. Nous avons assisté à l'exploitation impitoyable de la main-d'œuvre et des ressources naturelles, nous avons vu ces peuples soumis à la discrimination raciale et privés des fruits de la civilisation. Ces traits caractéristiques ne se retrouvent pas dans certaines des formes les plus récentes de l'administration coloniale, élaborées ces dernières années sous la pression sans cesse croissante des forces progressistes dans le monde entier. Ces formes nouvelles, obtenues grâce à la résistance opiniâtre des peuples coloniaux, et grâce aux discussions et aux résolutions anticolonialistes de l'ONU, n'ont pourtant pas transformé l'essence même du colonialisme.

41. La puissance politique et économique et le niveau de vie élevé des métropoles se sont édifiés par la sueur, le sang et les larmes des peuples d'Afrique, d'Asie et d'Amérique latine. Quels profits les peuples indigènes ont-ils retirés de la découverte de l'or et des diamants en Afrique, de la création des plantations de caoutchouc et de l'exploitation des ressources

minières en Asie, de la culture de la canne à sucre et des fruits tropicaux en Amérique latine, ou de la découverte de l'uranium au Congo? Le sort de ces peuples s'est joué sur les bourses des valeurs et des marchandises de Londres, Paris, Bruxelles et New York, et leur existence a été organisée par les ministères des colonies des métropoles.

42. Dans quelle mesure les grands progrès de la science et de la civilisation ont-ils été mis à la portée des peuples coloniaux? Ce que l'administration coloniale a fait pour les peuples dépendants — en admettant qu'elle ait fait quelque chose — n'a pas été fait pour accomplir une mission de civilisation, contrairement à ce que M. Ormsby-Gore a eu la malencontreuse idée de vouloir nous faire croire, d'accord en cela avec tous les défenseurs du colonialisme. Ce qui a été fait l'a été par égoïsme intéressé ou sous la pression d'événements politiques.

43. Je me permets d'ajouter que le représentant du Royaume-Uni a cherché à détourner notre attention du problème colonial par des insinuations sur la situation en Europe orientale. L'action de son pays dans cette partie du monde supporterait pourtant assez mal un examen objectif; il n'y a rien là dont il puisse être fier. Mais je préfère ne pas en dire plus et m'en tenir au sujet de notre discussion.

44. Je le répète donc: ce que l'on a fait dans les colonies n'a jamais servi que des intérêts égoïstes. On a construit des routes, des chemins de fer et des réseaux de communication parce que les colonisateurs en avaient besoin. La formation professionnelle a été réduite au minimum nécessaire à l'exploitation du territoire et les droits politiques distribués parcimonieusement lorsque la pression des masses s'est accentuée et que l'équilibre des forces dans le monde a changé.

45. Qu'en est-il résulté? Le revenu national par habitant de la France et de la Belgique s'élève à 900 dollars environ, mais il ne dépasse pas 50 à 70 dollars dans certains territoires africains qui étaient naguère les colonies de ces Etats. Au Royaume-Uni, le revenu national par habitant est d'environ 1.100 dollars, tandis qu'au Kenya, si riche de ressources naturelles, il ne dépasse pas 100 dollars, et ce chiffre comprend les revenus élevés des colons blancs. Nous savons de source officielle de l'ONU, et d'après les faits mentionnés dans le rapport du Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes, que le revenu par habitant de la population africaine du Kenya est 33 fois moindre que celui de la population non africaine. En Rhodésie et au Nyassaland il est 43 fois moindre.

46. En Rhodésie du Sud, 200.000 colons européens ont pris 51 pour 100 des meilleures terres, tandis que 3 millions d'Africains ont été confinés sur les terres pauvres et n'occupent que 42 pour 100 de la superficie totale. Le reste du territoire est entre les mains de l'administration coloniale et géré au mieux des intérêts des colons blancs. Le travail forcé sévit dans les colonies portugaises d'Afrique. La population dans sa presque totalité est soumise au statut humiliant créé par l'administration coloniale, et qualifiée de "non civilisée". Faut-il continuer à vous rappeler des faits que nous connaissons depuis plusieurs années par les documents et les travaux de la Quatrième Commission?

47. L'analphabétisme est largement répandu dans les territoires coloniaux; il touche parfois jusqu'à

90 pour 100 de la population adulte. Comment en serait-il autrement lorsque, pendant de longues années, les puissances métropolitaines ont appliqué le principe que la limitation de l'instruction empêche l'éveil de la conscience nationale et des aspirations à l'émancipation politique. Dans de nombreux pays, l'administration a entravé volontairement et avec préméditation l'éducation de l'élite indigène et la formation de cadres d'ouvriers indigènes qualifiés. C'est un fait particulièrement flagrant au Congo, et les difficultés politiques et administratives que traverse la nouvelle République résultent directement de cette politique.

48. Mais aujourd'hui, cependant, cet état de choses doit cesser. Les justes aspirations nationales des peuples coloniaux ne doivent pas être leurrées par l'octroi de quelques bribes de droits politiques. De plus, quelle valeur peut avoir une constitution comme celle de Malte ou de la Guyane anglaise que l'administration coloniale peut suspendre quand bon lui semble, contre la volonté du peuple et au moment où celui-ci désire user des droits qui lui ont été concédés? Ce n'est pas par pure coïncidence que, au moment où les constitutions de Malte et de la Guyane anglaise ont été suspendues, la législation de la Rhodésie du Sud, sur laquelle s'appuie tout l'édifice de l'administration coloniale de ce territoire et qui est conforme à la politique de discrimination raciale en vigueur dans l'Union sud-africaine, ait été maintenue. Sur les 3 millions d'Africains de la Rhodésie du Sud, 2.000 seulement possèdent le droit de vote.

49. Les administrateurs coloniaux peuvent nourrir l'espoir de gagner du temps en appliquant une politique de répression, mais il est bien évident qu'ils ne peuvent empêcher l'ultime défaite du colonialisme. La Commission consultative du Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni elle-même a dû le reconnaître au cours d'une enquête poursuivie récemment sur la situation en Rhodésie et au Nyassaland. Nous lisons ce qui suit dans le rapport de lord Monckton: "Dire que les événements vont vite en Afrique est un truisme. Ils avancent comme une avalanche et il n'apparaît que trop probable que ceux qui se contentent de s'accrocher à leurs anciennes positions seront balayés." Et ils ne seront pas seulement balayés en Afrique. Le colonialisme ne peut être ni réformé, ni amélioré; on ne peut en effet réformer un système dont l'essence même est la domination par la force et la subordination des intérêts des peuples colonisés aux nécessités économiques et politiques des puissances colonisatrices. On ne peut améliorer un système édifié sur le principe de l'infériorité raciale et culturelle de certaines nations par rapport à d'autres, ce qui constitue un défi aux principes fondamentaux de l'humanisme. On ne peut refuser aux autres ce que l'on exige pour soi-même. L'abolition du colonialisme est conforme au droit objectif qui régit l'évolution de la société; la justice et l'équité l'exigent.

50. Les peuples coloniaux ont droit à une existence indépendante. Ils réclament aujourd'hui le droit de décider de leur avenir et il faut leur donner satisfaction sans plus tarder, comme l'a si justement montré la déclaration soviétique. Ceci concerne tous les territoires coloniaux quel que soit leur statut formel et juridique; cela concerne les territoires non autonomes et les territoires sous tutelle tels qu'ils sont désignés par la Charte des Nations Unies. Cela concerne aussi les protectorats et les régions cédées

à bail à des pays étrangers. La majorité des territoires coloniaux se trouve toujours en Afrique, mais n'oublions pas que non seulement l'Asie, mais aussi l'Amérique latine et la région du Pacifique ne sont pas libérées du colonialisme. L'avenir de 100 millions d'êtres humains est en jeu et il ne peut y avoir aucun compromis.

51. L'expérience historique montre que le colonialisme ne disparaît pas de son plein gré. Il y a même des moments où sa résistance opiniâtre engendre des conflits aigus qui augmentent en les prolongeant les souffrances des peuples dépendants. L'histoire de l'accession à l'indépendance de nombreuses anciennes colonies telles que l'Inde, l'Indonésie, le Maroc, Chypre et bien d'autres, qui font partie aujourd'hui de notre organisation, illustre de façon frappante le bien-fondé de cette affirmation. Par la faute de cette même politique coloniale, le Viet-Nam reste divisé et n'est pas encore entré à l'ONU. Depuis sept ans le peuple algérien mène une lutte héroïque pour accéder à la liberté et à l'indépendance; et au Congo nous assistons à des tentatives de restauration de la domination coloniale sous des formes différentes, évidemment, sous une nouvelle apparence, bien que l'indépendance ait été octroyée à ce territoire.

52. C'est pourquoi les dirigeants des anciennes colonies déjà libérées ou de celles qui demandent leur indépendance ont été ou sont encore des prisonniers politiques que l'administration coloniale a privés de leur liberté afin de les empêcher d'exercer leur influence sur leurs peuples. Je citerai les noms du pandit Nehru, du Dr Banda, de Jomo Kenyatta, du Dr. Jagan — pour n'en citer que quelques-uns. Beaucoup, tel Um Nyobé, du Cameroun, ont péri dans la lutte pour la liberté. Comme l'a dit si justement le représentant du Mali dans son discours du 28 septembre 1960: "L'émancipation d'une colonie a toujours résulté d'une pression..." [876ème séance, par. 188.]

53. Il faut donc que la décision de l'ONU concernant l'abolition du colonialisme soit énergique, sans équivoque, et appuyée de toute l'autorité de notre organisation; et qu'aucun des arguments présentés par les défenseurs du colonialisme ne puisse nous écarter de cette voie. Il ne faut notamment pas que nous nous laissions abuser par l'opinion selon laquelle les peuples coloniaux auraient besoin d'être préparés à recevoir leur liberté et que l'indépendance politique ne pourrait leur être accordée qu'après une longue évolution économique et sociale, sous une surveillance étrangère.

54. Il serait difficile de prétendre que la rapacité des colonisateurs, l'exploitation de la main-d'œuvre locale qu'ils ont maintenue dans un état d'arriération et d'ignorance, l'étouffement de toute étincelle de vie politique n'ont pas entraîné un sous-développement des pays dépendants qui se trouvent de ce fait en retard sur le plan économique et technique et dépourvus de main-d'œuvre qualifiée. Mais tout cela, précisément, milite en faveur de l'abolition immédiate du colonialisme.

55. Les colonisateurs ne peuvent pas être de très bons guides pour les peuples en marche vers l'indépendance, car ils ont tout intérêt à préserver le plus longtemps possible le statut de dépendance. Je dirai, paraphrasant les mots de George Washington: "C'est folie de la part d'un territoire colonial que d'attendre

un geste désintéressé de ses colonisateurs." D'autre part, l'expérience prouve que tous les Etats qui ont acquis nouvellement l'indépendance grâce aux efforts créateurs de leurs peuples, ont commencé à se développer dans tous les domaines beaucoup plus vite que lorsqu'ils subissaient le régime colonial.

56. L'absurdité de la théorie réactionnaire qui consiste à mettre d'un côté les nations qui peuvent se gouverner elles-mêmes et de l'autre celles qui ne le peuvent pas n'a plus à être démontrée. La déclaration historique de l'Union soviétique sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et peuples coloniaux a pleinement raison de dire:

"La vie montre que la libération est immédiatement suivie de la renaissance, de l'essor et de l'épanouissement de cultures nationales originales, de l'extension de l'instruction publique, d'une meilleure protection de la santé, de la formation de cadres nationaux qualifiés ..." [A/4502.]

57. L'abolition de l'exploitation coloniale permet une meilleure utilisation des ressources nationales des territoires jusqu'alors dépendants, elle accroît leurs besoins en denrées étrangères, augmente leurs exportations, étend leur capacité industrielle et favorise ainsi le développement économique mondial.

58. Si les représentants de la Guinée m'autorisent, je voudrais citer l'exemple de leur pays. Deux ans après son accession à l'indépendance, la Guinée, en dépit des prédictions pessimistes et des manœuvres des anciens colonisateurs, se développe favorablement. Son plan économique de trois ans prévoit des investissements annuels 25 fois plus importants que les investissements annuels moyens des 10 dernières années de régime colonial. Le nombre des étudiants et des écoliers a doublé et le nombre des bourses distribuées a triplé.

59. Je demande également l'autorisation au représentant du Ghana de dire que son gouvernement vient de présenter un second plan quinquennal de développement national qui prévoit un développement considérable de l'industrie et une diversification de l'économie. Selon les données officielles du Fonds monétaire international, l'accroissement du revenu national brut au Ghana entre 1954 et 1957, alors que le pays était une colonie britannique, a été de 2.500.000 livres. Le chiffre correspondant pour l'année qui a suivi l'accession à l'indépendance est déjà de 14.400.000 livres.

60. La Nigéria prépare le développement de son énorme potentiel hydro-électrique et la pleine utilisation de ses richesses nationales en minerai de fer et en pétrole. L'indépendance a déclenché dans l'Ouest africain une poussée irrésistible vers le progrès et il en sera de même pour l'Est africain et tous les pays délivrés de la servitude coloniale.

61. Le Président de la Guinée, M. Sekou Touré, a eu parfaitement raison de déclarer du haut de cette tribune le 10 octobre 1960:

"...l'indépendance nationale suppose non seulement la libération politique, mais aussi et surtout une totale libération économique. Aucun progrès social n'est possible sans ces deux impératifs." [896ème séance, par. 16.]

62. Il faut aider les pays libérés du joug du colonialisme à s'associer dans des conditions d'égalité totale et sans discrimination aux échanges internationaux de

biens et de services. Il faut que ces pays aient la liberté absolue de disposer de leurs ressources naturelles et d'établir leurs relations économiques avec les autres pays sur la base d'avantages réciproques. Nous devons les aider à diversifier leur structure économique. Nous devons les empêcher de retomber dans une nouvelle forme de servitude. N'oublions pas comment et pourquoi, il y a trois ans, les puissances coloniales s'opposaient à la création d'une commission économique pour l'Afrique qui pourrait jouer un rôle considérable dans la protection des intérêts économiques de ce continent.

63. A l'heure actuelle, nous voyons à nouveau, et plus clairement encore, les efforts de certains milieux, particulièrement aux Etats-Unis, pour renforcer leur influence en Afrique dans les pays nouvellement libérés. C'est ainsi que cette indépendance, si chèrement acquise, pourrait être rapidement reperdue au profit d'une nouvelle forme de dépendance: le néo-colonialisme. La délégation polonaise reviendra sur cette question lors de la discussion d'autres points de l'ordre du jour de cette session.

64. Seule l'abolition totale et immédiate du colonialisme pourra donner leur plein effet aux objectifs de la Charte des Nations Unies, car celle-ci pose comme l'un des buts fondamentaux de notre organisation le "respect du principe de l'égalité des droits des peuples et de leur droit à disposer d'eux-mêmes". L'Article 73 de la Charte reconnaît en même temps le fait indiscutable qu'il y avait en 1945 des populations "qui ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes". Les mots "pas encore" indiquent bien le caractère provisoire de cette situation. Il en est de même pour l'Article 76 qui fixe les objectifs du régime de tutelle.

65. Quelle que soit l'interprétation que l'on donne aux Chapitres XI et XII de la Charte, il est clair que les institutions et les procédures qu'ils mettent en place ne sont que transitoires. La question n'est pas de savoir si l'indépendance sera accordée aux peuples habitant les territoires cités dans ces chapitres, mais "quand" elle leur sera accordée.

66. Les principes et les buts des Nations Unies ont un caractère fondamental sur lequel repose toute notre organisation et son existence même dépend de leur mise en œuvre. D'autres dispositions de la Charte demandent à être interprétées avant leur exécution; le cas échéant, certains processus doivent s'accomplir, puis il faut y mettre fin. Il en est ainsi des dispositions des Chapitres XI et XII, destinées à n'être appliquées que pour un temps limité. Les maintenir ou même les prolonger artificiellement constituerait une contradiction avec le paragraphe 2 de l'Article premier de la Charte et équivaldrait à refuser à certaines nations du globe la participation aux objectifs des Nations Unies. Jamais ce sens n'a pu être donné à la Charte dans son ensemble, ni dans aucune de ses dispositions.

67. Par conséquent, les dispositions des Chapitres XI et XII ne peuvent être maintenues indéfiniment, ni même très longtemps. La Charte a laissé aux événements, à la vie même, le soin de décider quand les territoires non autonomes ou sous tutelle pourraient accéder à la libre disposition d'eux-mêmes et à l'indépendance. Et la vie a répondu au cours des années qui ont suivi 1945, l'année 1960 apparaissant comme celle de la réponse définitive. C'est pourquoi il est absolument conforme à la Charte, dans son

esprit et dans sa lettre, que les territoires non autonomes et les territoires sous tutelle disparaissent et que tous les peuples accèdent à l'indépendance.

68. Je voudrais rappeler ici les paroles du président de l'Indonésie, M. Sukarno, qui a dit le 30 septembre 1960:

"L'équilibre du monde s'est modifié depuis ce jour de juin il y a 15 ans où la Charte a été signée dans la ville américaine de San Francisco, à un moment où l'humanité commençait à sortir des horreurs de la guerre. Le sort de l'humanité ne peut plus être décidé par quelques nations grandes et puissantes." [880ème séance, par. 54.]

Le président Sukarno a dit encore:

"L'Organisation des Nations Unies n'est plus ce qu'elle était lorsque la Charte a été signée il y a 15 ans. Le monde a changé. Ceux qui, dans leur sagesse, ont œuvré pour nous donner la Charte de notre organisation n'auraient pu prévoir à l'époque ce que celle-ci est devenue aujourd'hui. Bien peu parmi eux, dans leur sagesse et leur clairvoyance, se sont rendu compte que la fin de l'impérialisme était proche..." [Ibid., par. 183.]

69. La Charte des Nations Unies exprimait des idéaux pour lesquels les peuples se sont battus contre le fascisme et le nazisme pendant la seconde guerre mondiale. Les fils de l'Asie et de l'Afrique versaient aussi leur sang; la lutte était commune, communs aussi devaient être les fruits de la victoire. La Charte a renforcé la conviction des peuples que l'idéal de liberté pour lequel ils ont versé leur sang sur les champs de bataille de la seconde guerre mondiale, unis dans la même lutte contre le fascisme et le nazisme, est incompatible avec le colonialisme, avec la subjugation des nations et la discrimination raciale. En fait, dans beaucoup de territoires coloniaux, le retour des combattants de la seconde guerre mondiale a marqué le début de la lutte pour l'indépendance. Je ne citerai que deux de ces pays, le Ghana et la Nigéria.

70. Toutes les tentatives destinées à maintenir le système colonial ou à défendre la position privilégiée des puissances coloniales sont contraires à l'esprit de la Charte. Elles ne peuvent que rendre plus difficile le développement de la coopération internationale et constituent un obstacle au progrès social, culturel et économique de tous les pays. Combien de conflits dangereux pour le maintien de la paix sont nés de l'opposition insensée des puissances coloniales au cours irréversible de l'histoire!

71. La guerre d'Algérie est devenue un problème international et quels dangers la situation au Congo ne recèle-t-elle pas? Si les gouvernements de l'Union sud-africaine et du Portugal poursuivent leur politique actuelle, de nouvelles perturbations dans les relations internationales sont à craindre. La politique des puissances occidentales et de l'OTAN qui établissent des bases militaires et des zones d'expérimentation pour leurs armes nucléaires malgré l'opposition catégorique des pays de ces régions qui ont été libérés de l'oppression coloniale est également devenue un problème international. De même qu'en cherchant à imposer à ces pays de nouvelles formes de dépendance, le néo-colonialisme fait grand tort à la cause de la paix mondiale.

72. Tandis que l'abolition du colonialisme libère toutes les forces vives des nouvelles nations. Les

pays libérés du joug colonialiste ont déjà apporté une précieuse contribution à l'édification et à la consolidation de la coexistence pacifique des nations.

73. La Conférence de Bandoung, dans laquelle la République populaire de Chine a tenu une place si importante, a été la manifestation éclatante du rôle que ces nouvelles forces ont à jouer dans la construction d'un monde pacifique. Après Bandoung, il y a eu Tunis, Tanger, Conakry, Addis-Abéba et Accra; le représentant de l'Ethiopie qui m'a précédé à cette tribune a déjà parlé de ces réunions historiques. Toutes ont été animées par le souci non seulement du bien commun de tous les pays d'Afrique et d'Asie, mais aussi de l'évolution pacifique des relations internationales à travers le monde. L'abolition du colonialisme peut engendrer une meilleure compréhension entre les peuples coloniaux et les territoires métropolitains, ce qui est souhaitable pour les deux parties, et aussi pour la communauté mondiale des nations.

74. Si l'ONU veut pleinement remplir son rôle, il faut qu'elle réagisse rapidement aux changements qui surviennent en ce moment dans les relations internationales. Si elle veut avoir une influence sur le cours des événements actuels et refléter les vœux et les aspirations des peuples, l'ONU doit décider sans plus tarder l'abolition immédiate du colonialisme.

75. L'ONU, dans sa décision, doit insister auprès des puissances coloniales pour que celles-ci entament des négociations avec les représentants des peuples dépendants afin de conclure les accords qui en feront des peuples libres et indépendants; et il faut que ces puissances prennent toutes les mesures nécessaires au transfert de leurs pouvoirs aux peuples des territoires coloniaux sans condition ni réserve. C'est la tâche de l'ONU d'assurer l'exécution de ces dispositions. Elle se trouve devant une décision historique. Sous ce rapport, la responsabilité des délégations assemblées ici est non moins historique. Il faut maintenant que nous assumions cette responsabilité.

76. M. DJERDJA (Yougoslavie) [traduit de l'anglais]: Je tiens à préciser, en montant à cette tribune, qu'il n'est pas dans mes intentions d'étudier quand et pourquoi le phénomène colonialiste a fait son apparition. Mon propos n'est pas non plus d'examiner comment, quand et pourquoi certains peuples de notre globe ont imposé leur domination à d'autres et les ont contraints à mener une vie privée de liberté, souvent proche de l'esclavage d'antan. Une littérature abondante a été consacrée à cette question et toute lumière a été faite sur cet aspect du colonialisme au cours des 14 précédentes sessions de cette assemblée. J'ajouterai seulement qu'il se trouve aujourd'hui de moins en moins de gens pour oser défendre ouvertement le colonialisme et pour oser affirmer que les relations coloniales peuvent se justifier dans le monde d'aujourd'hui. L'histoire du colonialisme et sa substance même ont été si bien mises en lumière et ont reçu une condamnation si unanime que, quoi que nous en pensions et quoi que nous essayions de faire dans la pratique, personne ne trouve plus le courage nécessaire pour s'identifier au colonialisme et prendre ouvertement son parti. Ce fait parle de lui-même.

77. Le présent débat a été provoqué par la déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et

aux peuples coloniaux présentée au cours de cette session par la délégation de l'URSS [A/4502 et Corr.1] Nous estimons donc que c'est le problème précis et complexe de l'ensemble des relations coloniales telles qu'elles existent actuellement qui devrait faire l'objet de notre discussion. Et, plus précisément encore, le problème des mesures concrètes que notre organisation et nous-mêmes devrions élaborer pour mettre fin à ces relations et faire disparaître de la société contemporaine les vestiges d'un système périmé.

78. Il ressort de tout ceci que le problème qui nous occupe se présente à nous dans une perspective assez nouvelle. En fait, jusqu'à présent nous avons abordé le colonialisme sous l'angle de ses aspects individuels en discutant les situations et les conflits des différentes colonies. Différentes circonstances, parmi lesquelles il faut compter l'évolution du colonialisme lui-même au cours de la dernière décennie, nous ont amenés à discuter aujourd'hui du colonialisme dans son ensemble et à chercher les moyens les plus directs de l'abolir complètement. Au cours des 15 dernières années, plusieurs dizaines de colonies sont venues occuper la place qui leur est due dans le monde et elles vivent et agissent maintenant parmi nous en tant qu'Etats libres et indépendants. Elles constituent la preuve vivante de la désuétude d'un système fondé sur le droit du plus fort. Dans notre société actuelle, les vestiges de ce système apparaissent comme des excroissances cancéreuses, suspectes et malsaines sur un corps sain. Quand même il n'y aurait pas d'autre raison de rechercher des moyens radicaux d'en finir avec les relations coloniales, le seul fait qu'elles puissent être comparées à des tumeurs dont la croissance menace d'empoisonner et de détruire un corps humain devrait suffire. La guerre de cinq ans menée contre le peuple algérien, la longue tragédie du Congo, pour ne citer qu'elles, confirment de façon sanglante que le colonialisme est une plaie suppurante qui menace la vie de notre communauté sociale et internationale.

79. Il paraît vraiment absurde qu'en 1960, au moment où nous partons à la conquête de l'univers et où l'humanité aborde une ère de progrès qu'on n'aurait pu imaginer il y a seulement quelques années, nous ayons à entamer de longs débats pour renoncer à garder un pied dans le XVII^e ou le XVIII^e siècle et nous débarrasser une fois pour toutes des préjugés et de l'héritage négatif du passé qui menacent de nous faire dangereusement rétrograder et de nous égarer plus dangereusement encore.

80. Aveuglés par ce héritage négatif et des avantages matériels plus suspects encore, les protagonistes du régime colonial ne parviennent pas à comprendre que leur situation et celle qu'a engendrée leur politique à courte vue ne sont plus défendables. Ils essaient obstinément de préserver les vestiges du passé. Pour sauver des privilèges égoïstes, ils se dressent contre les événements sans hésiter à employer la force pour en interrompre ou en dévier le cours, et provoquant inévitablement des crises et des conflits qui ne cessent de menacer la paix du monde. L'évolution anticoloniale, qui a changé l'aspect de continents entiers depuis la seconde guerre mondiale et de ce fait même l'aspect du reste du monde, est passée inaperçue aux yeux des défenseurs du colonialisme. Il semble qu'ils aient conclu de cette évolution et des autres améliorations analogues qui se sont produites au cours des 20 dernières années

qu'ils devaient persévérer dans leur résistance et poursuivre leurs efforts pour interrompre ce processus de transformation par n'importe quel moyen.

81. Citons une fois de plus, comme illustration et comme preuve de nos assertions, l'exemple de l'Algérie et celui du Congo — non pas qu'ils soient les seuls, mais parce que leur drame sanglant, provoqué par la politique colonialiste, se déroule devant nos yeux. Nous nous devons de souligner une tendance qui s'est manifestée simultanément dans plusieurs capitales coloniales ces derniers temps, surtout sur le continent africain, tendance qui voudrait mettre au service de la politique colonialiste le mécanisme politique et militaire d'une coalition. Les périls actuels s'en trouveraient accrus dans des proportions alarmantes, ainsi que nos inquiétudes quant à la paix en Afrique et à l'avenir de ce continent qui risquerait de se trouver dangereusement entraîné dans la guerre froide.

82. Etant donné ces circonstances, nous avons d'abord discuté les problèmes coloniaux à la Quatrième Commission, et aussi ailleurs chaque fois qu'ils surgissaient. Il est donc normal que nous abordions ces problèmes en séance plénière avec la conviction qu'il est grand temps de prendre des dispositions pour abolir définitivement ce qui reste des relations coloniales. Il y a déjà longtemps que ces relations sont mûres pour la liquidation et tant qu'elles continuent d'exister leur influence pernicieuse menace le progrès et la paix du monde.

83. Au temps de la création de l'ONU, alors que la Charte était en voie d'élaboration, tout le monde avait paru tacitement ou explicitement s'accorder à considérer que les jours du colonialisme étaient comptés et que son abolition constituait l'une des principales tâches de l'ONU en même temps que le devoir essentiel des puissances coloniales à l'égard des peuples qu'elles ont soumis. Puisque tel semble être le cas, le texte de la Charte relatif au problème colonial n'est peut-être pas toujours précis, mais il est cependant assez clair et sans équivoque pour que nous puissions en saisir l'essence et sentir l'esprit qui l'anime.

84. C'est conformément à cet accord tacite ou explicite que d'importantes dispositions, contenues principalement dans les Chapitres XI et XII de la Charte, ont été consacrées aux colonies, parmi lesquelles nous plaçons aussi bien les territoires non autonomes que les territoires sous tutelle. Ces dispositions ont été élaborées et placées dans la Charte en collaboration avec les puissances coloniales, et il est bon de s'en souvenir lorsqu'on cherche à les interpréter et à définir les droits et les obligations de l'une ou l'autre partie. Il se peut que cette coopération des puissances coloniales ait été en partie due à l'enthousiasme général provoqué dans le monde par la victoire de la liberté sur le fascisme. S'il en est ainsi, la valeur des dispositions de la Charte à l'égard des colonies ne se trouve nullement diminuée, mais au contraire rehaussée, car alors un principe moral vient s'ajouter aux obligations juridiques formelles.

85. Pour nous, les Chapitres XI et XII de la Charte signifient en substance que les puissances coloniales ont le devoir de favoriser le progrès des pays qu'elles administrent, et d'amener ces peuples à l'indépendance par une gestion appropriée et sous le contrôle de l'ONU. Aucune limite de temps n'a été fixée, et

les autres éléments individuels ont été mal définis, mais le sens et l'objectif final restent évidents. Sinon, pourquoi les chapitres de la Charte relatifs aux colonies auraient-ils été introduits dans un document que le monde entier considère, depuis qu'il existe, comme une charte de paix et de liberté universelles? Il est inimaginable que certains d'entre nous puissent prétendre que ces chapitres aient été rédigés et soient devenus l'un des éléments majeurs de la Charte de notre organisation, à seule fin de maintenir et de légaliser, d'une part, les droits et les privilèges des peuples les plus forts et les plus avancés, et, d'autre part, l'esclavage et la misère des nations plus faibles et moins développées.

86. Que dit le Chapitre XI de la Charte relatif aux territoires non autonomes sur les devoirs des puissances coloniales, et de l'administration coloniale à l'égard de ces territoires? En préambule, le Chapitre XI stipule que les puissances coloniales ont assumé comme une "mission sacrée" les obligations contenues dans les alinéas a et b de l'Article 73 qui sont ainsi libellés:

"a) D'assurer, en respectant la culture des populations en question, leur progrès politique, économique et social, ainsi que le développement de leur instruction, de les traiter avec équité et de les protéger contre les abus;

"b) De développer leur capacité de s'administrer elles-mêmes, de tenir compte des aspirations politiques des populations et de les aider dans le développement progressif de leurs libres institutions politiques, dans la mesure appropriée aux conditions particulières de chaque territoire et de ses populations et à leurs degrés variables de développement."

87. Comme nous l'avons déjà dit, ce texte n'est peut-être pas suffisamment précis, et, si ces chapitres avaient été rédigés aujourd'hui, l'énoncé et la forme en auraient probablement été meilleurs. Mais il ne nous semble pas qu'il faille faire un grand effort pour saisir le sens profond de ces textes qui déclarent que tous les peuples coloniaux, sans distinction, ont été momentanément et illégalement privés de leurs droits fondamentaux et qu'ils ont droit au progrès et à l'indépendance nationale à laquelle l'administration coloniale doit les amener sous le contrôle de l'ONU.

88. Voyons maintenant ce que dit le Chapitre XII, Article 76, alinéa b, à propos des territoires sous tutelle:

"b) Favoriser le progrès politique, économique et social des populations des territoires sous tutelle ainsi que le développement de leur instruction; favoriser également leur évolution progressive vers la capacité à s'administrer eux-mêmes ou l'indépendance, compte tenu des conditions particulières à chaque territoire et à ses populations, des aspirations librement exprimées des populations intéressées et des dispositions qui pourront être prévues dans chaque accord de tutelle."

Tant par la forme que par l'expression, cette disposition nous paraît plus claire que les autres, mais les différences de mots ne peuvent dissimuler l'identité essentielle des buts, des missions et des obligations qu'ils recouvrent. Dans les deux cas, les puissances coloniales ont pour tâche de favoriser le progrès des colonies, de respecter leurs individualités, de protéger leurs populations contre l'arbitraire

et l'injustice, enfin d'élaborer de libres institutions démocratiques fondées sur les aspirations de ces peuples à l'autonomie, à la liberté et à l'indépendance.

89. S'il s'agissait d'un document bureaucratique, on pourrait peut-être tirer certaines conclusions inspirées par le manque de précision et certains mots pris isolément. Mais, comme nous nous trouvons devant un document historique de la plus haute importance et d'une portée morale, politique et juridique considérable, nous devons l'envisager à la lumière des relations historiques et de leur évolution, et en pénétrer l'essence même et la signification profonde. En l'abordant de cette façon, nous ne pouvons en tirer d'autres conclusions que celles que nous n'avons cessé d'énoncer et de défendre — et cela bien avant la présente session de l'Assemblée générale — et que nous demandons à l'ONU d'adopter et de rendre effectives. L'interprétation et les conclusions différentes que les puissances coloniales ont tendance à adopter feraient de la Charte un document destiné à sanctionner et à perpétuer la subjugation de certains peuples par d'autres, ce qui constitue à nos yeux non seulement une absurdité juridique, mais encore une thèse moralement et politiquement insoutenable.

90. Quinze ans après la rédaction de la Charte de notre organisation, notre façon de comprendre et d'interpréter les Chapitres XI et XII relatifs aux colonies s'est trouvée confirmée, de façon indirecte, il est vrai, mais sérieuse, dans un important document de l'ONU auquel nous attachons d'autant plus de valeur qu'il a été élaboré en collaboration avec les représentants des puissances coloniales. Je veux parler du rapport du Comité spécial des Six chargé de la question de la communication de renseignements prévue à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte, rapport présenté cette année sous la cote A/4526 et qui a été discuté et accepté par la Quatrième Commission. Le Comité spécial des Six a été constitué à la suite de la résolution 1467 (XIV) de l'Assemblée générale en date du 12 décembre 1959, avec pour mission de formuler ce que l'on a appelé les principes relatifs à certains aspects du colonialisme. Le Comité a mis au point un rapport dont le paragraphe 18 est rédigé comme suit:

"La Charte est un document vivant et l'application du Chapitre XI doit être considérée à la lumière de la réalité politique et de l'évolution actuelle des esprits. Avec l'Article 73 de la Charte, les Membres des Nations Unies ont affirmé la primauté des intérêts des habitants des territoires non autonomes et reconnu que le développement progressif de leur capacité à s'administrer eux-mêmes doit tenir compte des conditions particulières de chaque territoire et des aspirations de ses populations. Ce développement doit s'harmoniser avec le mouvement vers la liberté et l'égalité qui se manifeste partout dans le monde." [A/4526, par. 18.]

91. Comment pouvons-nous interpréter ce texte autrement que comme la reconnaissance par les puissances coloniales, conformément à une interprétation exacte de la Charte, de l'obligation où elles se trouvent d'aider les colonies à réaliser leurs vœux et leurs aspirations et à obtenir leur droit fondamental à la liberté dont elles ont été privées pour la seule raison qu'elles étaient trop faibles pour s'opposer à l'oppression.

92. Si tel est le cas, et si les paroles et les écrits ont le moindre sens, nous pouvons affirmer qu'il ne peut plus guère y avoir de divergences de vue sur ce que la Charte déclare concernant le sort des colonies et l'avenir de leurs habitants, pas plus que sur les devoirs des puissances coloniales résultant des dispositions de la Charte.

93. Toutefois, une question se pose: pourquoi au cours des précédentes sessions, avons-nous été sans cesse appelés à résoudre des litiges, à mettre fin à des crises et à éteindre les incendies qui s'allumaient tantôt dans une colonie, tantôt dans une autre, comme cela se passe encore maintenant dans plus d'une région du globe? Pourquoi faut-il qu'à la session actuelle encore nous réaffirmions les objectifs de la Charte et les devoirs des puissances coloniales et que nous tentions d'abolir définitivement dans le domaine colonial des relations dont le maintien provoque tant d'incertitude et de malaise à travers le monde?

94. Nous pensons que la réponse à toutes ces questions se trouve dans les méthodes employées par les puissances coloniales pour l'administration et l'exploitation de leurs colonies.

95. Dans la pratique, la règle presque générale veut qu'il ne soit tenu compte ni des dispositions de la Charte, ni des obligations qui en découlent. Dans la plupart des colonies, les puissances coloniales et les colons se conduisent en propriétaires. Le sort de ces territoires repose entre leurs mains et ils ne veulent rendre de comptes à personne, pas plus à la communauté internationale qu'aux populations de ces pays. Même les puissances coloniales qui ont accepté de communiquer certains renseignements à l'ONU ne donnent aucune information politique et se refusent à tout contrôle et à toute initiative que l'ONU pourrait juger nécessaires.

96. Le Portugal et l'Espagne, par exemple, n'ont encore laissé aucun contact s'établir entre l'ONU et les territoires qu'ils administrent et n'ont donné à notre organisation aucune possibilité de savoir ce qui s'y passe. Pour ajouter à l'ironie du procédé, ils justifient leur attitude par des subterfuges juridiques en prétendant que ces territoires sont des provinces de la métropole et que toute action de l'ONU constituerait une intervention dans les affaires intérieures de ces deux Etats Membres.

97. Toutefois, on en sait suffisamment sur la situation qui règne dans les colonies, et, si l'on en juge par les événements en cours en Angola, au Mozambique, en Guinée portugaise et ailleurs, et dont les échos nous sont parvenus malgré les tentatives faites pour les tenir secrets, cette situation est inquiétante. La population est officiellement divisée en plusieurs classes, celle à laquelle appartient la population indigène étant évidemment la plus basse. Les indigènes, dont le nombre s'élève à 10 millions pour l'Angola et le Mozambique réunis, appartiennent à la catégorie des personnes "non civilisées" qui sont placées hors des lois du pays parce qu'elles sont jugées indignes d'en bénéficier. Seuls les colons et quelques personnes de race mélangée peuvent acquérir ces privilèges qui en font les égaux des Portugais devant la loi. C'est ainsi que, dans des territoires comptant plus de 10 millions d'habitants, seules 200.000 à 300.000 personnes jouissent des droits fondamentaux que leur concèdent les lois du pays, et, qui plus est, la majorité d'entre elles se compose de colons étrangers.

98. La Belgique n'a pas fait mieux dans ses propres colonies et elle continue. L'écrivain John Gunther, dans son livre célèbre *Inside Africa*, a donné, il y a quelque temps, une description effarante de ce qui se passe dans l'ancien Congo belge et ces faits ont été confirmés par d'autres sources. D'autre part, les renseignements qui ont été rendus publics en juin de cette année concernant la politique suivie depuis 85 ans dans le domaine de l'éducation et de la formation du personnel indigène pour un pays des dizaines de fois plus grand que la Belgique montrent que les résultats obtenus ont été inférieurs de beaucoup à ceux enregistrés dans le même domaine, pendant un laps de temps beaucoup plus court, par une seule petite commune belge. Le rôle joué par cette politique dans les tragiques événements du Congo n'apparaît que trop clairement. Aussi n'est-ce pas sans inquiétude que nous envisageons l'avenir du Ruanda-Urundi si l'ONU ne prend pas à temps les mesures nécessaires, car la Belgique y applique les mêmes méthodes.

99. Au cours de la présente session de l'Assemblée il y a quelques semaines seulement, nous avons entendu la pétition présentée par le Sud-Ouestafricain que le Gouvernement de l'Union sud-africaine, au mépris de ses obligations et de la Charte, est en train d'essayer d'annexer. Cette pétition a révélé devant la Quatrième Commission que, dans ce pays qui est depuis 40 ans sous la domination de l'Union sud-africaine, les indigènes ayant reçu une instruction supérieure sont moins nombreux que les doigts de la main. Et le révérend Markus Kooper, appartenant au même pays, a déclaré à cette occasion que "dans les hôpitaux de Gobabis et de Kootsmanshoop, dont la création devait répondre aux critiques de l'ONU, les Africains sont parfois plus mal traités que des chiens"⁴.

100. Tout le monde connaît le drame qu'a vécu le Kenya au cours de ces dernières années et la lutte menée par ce peuple a déjà sa place dans l'histoire moderne. La paix et le calme qui règnent sur ce pays ressemblent étrangement, pour nous les observateurs éloignés, au silence des tombes que de longues persécutions ont éparpillées sur cette terre.

101. Nous pourrions poursuivre indéfiniment cette énumération, car toutes les colonies ont connu ou connaissent encore les épreuves qu'ont traversées l'Indochine et le Kenya et que traversent maintenant l'Algérie, l'Oman et bien d'autres.

102. La Quatrième Commission a cette année à son ordre du jour un document d'une importance exceptionnelle: le rapport du Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes [A/4371] sur les progrès réalisés dans ces territoires au cours des 10 dernières années. Je n'en extrairai que quelques données économiques et quelques renseignements sur les problèmes raciaux.

103. Le paragraphe 95 du rapport, dans la section portant sur les conditions économiques, dit en substance ceci:

"Plus que tout autre secteur de l'activité économique des territoires, l'extraction minière était financée au moyen de capitaux provenant de l'extérieur et gérés par des groupes financiers non

autochtones. L'effet direct des industries extractives sur l'amélioration du niveau de vie des populations n'a pas été appréciable, car le nombre des salariés employés par ces industries était généralement assez faible. Le plus souvent, la population autochtone ne tirait d'avantages directs de l'activité de ce secteur que par les emplois d'ouvriers non qualifiés qu'il lui offrait..." [A/4371, 2ème partie, par. 95.]

Ce qui signifie simplement que les colonialistes et les étrangers se sont approprié les principales richesses des territoires non autonomes.

104. Les données suivantes ont été ajoutées, entre autres, au paragraphe 53 du même rapport:

"Au Congo belge, par exemple, alors que le revenu individuel des Africains était en 1957 de 42,20 dollars, celui de non-Africains s'élevait à 2.973 dollars; dans la Fédération de Rhodésie et Nyassaland, les chiffres correspondants étaient de 39,20 et 1.711 dollars et, au Kenya, de 33,55 et 1.100 dollars." [A/4371, 2ème partie, par. 53.]

Tout commentaire nous paraît superflu, les faits parlent d'eux-mêmes.

105. Dans la plupart des colonies, ou, plus exactement, dans toutes les colonies africaines, les rapports entre les races sont troublés et tendus à l'extrême parce que, dans tous ces pays, la discrimination raciale réelle et juridiquement reconnue s'exerce au détriment des populations autochtones. Le monde entier sait cela, et je me contenterai de citer ce qu'en dit le rapport que j'ai déjà mentionné, à la section C, VI, paragraphe 177:

"La discrimination pour des raisons de race ou de couleur existait encore dans certains territoires non autonomes. Elle se manifestait sous sa forme la plus prononcée dans les territoires africains où se trouvent des groupes d'immigrants constitués en collectivités. Dans tous ces territoires les autochtones représentent la grande majorité de la population tandis que les Européens ne sont souvent qu'une très petite minorité jouissant néanmoins de privilèges économiques, sociaux et politiques spéciaux qui sont refusés aux autochtones. Non seulement le traitement dont font l'objet les autochtones est plus ou moins discriminatoire pour ce qui est des droits de l'homme et des libertés fondamentales, mais encore leur rôle dans le domaine de l'économie et de l'instruction est très limité, ainsi que dans celui de l'exercice des droits politiques." [A/4371, 2ème partie, par. 177.]

106. Je ne prendrai que l'exemple de la Rhodésie du Sud comme illustration concrète du rapport que je viens de citer. Les colons blancs ont partagé le territoire en zone noire et zone blanche, en se réservant comme toujours les meilleures terres. Ce qui signifie pratiquement que 3 millions d'Africains ont reçu 39 millions d'acres, tandis que moins de 250.000 blancs se sont attribué 48 millions d'acres de la meilleure terre du pays. En Rhodésie du Sud aucun Africain ne peut posséder de terre dans la zone blanche, il ne peut pas louer de bureau dans une zone urbaine ni se livrer au commerce dans une ville. Les affaires des Africains doivent se traiter dans les agglomérations réservées aux Africains.

107. Lorsque nous récapitulons ces faits que nous pourrions énumérer à l'infini, nous parvenons tou-

⁴/ Documents officiels de l'Assemblée générale, quinzième session, Quatrième Commission, 1050ème séance.

jours à la même conclusion qu'une politique contraire à l'esprit et à la lettre de la Charte a été et est encore menée dans les colonies. Au lieu du progrès qui constitue l'un des objectifs majeurs de la Charte, on n'a constaté dans la plupart des colonies qu'une évolution minime quand ce n'était pas un recul, accompagnée d'une exploitation éhontée. Ceci n'est, en fait, qu'une des conséquences du colonialisme; sinon, nous ne serions pas chaque année à cette assemblée mis en présence des problèmes de plus en plus nombreux qu'il engendre dans les différentes parties du monde. Le colonialisme fait régner l'arbitraire et la brutalité au lieu de protéger les peuples contre les abus et l'illégalité. Et surtout il fait régner la discrimination raciale qui conduit à cette monstrueuse absurdité par laquelle, au XX^{ème} siècle et dans leur propre pays, des peuples doivent combattre pour se faire une place au moins égale à celle des dominateurs étrangers et des colons.

108. Si nous considérons le problème colonial sous cet angle, nous arrivons à la conclusion que la politique coloniale, en foulant aux pieds les dispositions de la Charte, viole également les critères fondamentaux du monde civilisé. Même en admettant qu'il puisse y avoir plusieurs significations aux dispositions de la Charte relatives aux colonies, et qu'on puisse les interpréter différemment, nous aurions cependant le droit de prétendre que la politique menée dans les colonies et les actions qui y sont poursuivies sont sans aucun rapport avec ces dispositions.

109. Il faut que je cite, à ce propos, l'exemple de Malte, car il reproduit fidèlement le tableau que je viens de tracer. Ce territoire a joui d'une certaine autonomie entre 1947 et 1958, date à laquelle sa constitution a été abrogée. D'après cette constitution, les affaires étrangères et la défense étaient entre les mains du Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni. Dans la nouvelle constitution que l'on prépare en ce moment, le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni s'adjuge en plus les affaires intérieures et la police qui relevaient jusqu'à présent du Gouvernement maltais. Ce qui revient à dire qu'au lieu d'une évolution vers l'autonomie, la nouvelle constitution marquera un pas en arrière par rapport à l'ancienne. De plus, elle est rédigée de telle façon que la puissance coloniale puisse l'abroger quand bon lui semble, ce qui prouve qu'il ne saurait être question d'autonomie véritable.

110. Demander qu'il soit mis fin à l'existence du colonialisme et que l'ONU prenne des mesures énergiques à cet effet constitue la seule politique réaliste que cette organisation puisse adopter et le devoir primordial de toute la communauté internationale. Accepter que la situation actuelle se prolonge équivaldrait à faire courir les risques les plus graves aux intérêts de cette communauté en les abandonnant aux caprices d'une politique égoïste et à courte vue.

111. Le colonialisme est incompatible avec la marche de la société moderne vers le progrès et avec les intérêts de la communauté internationale actuelle. C'est pourquoi il n'a pu échapper à son destin et se désagréger rapidement depuis la seconde guerre mondiale. Il a presque disparu de l'Asie et du Moyen-Orient et ne cesse de reculer en Afrique. Les nombreuses colonies d'antan sont remplacées aujourd'hui par des Etats indépendants qui occupent des positions clefs dans l'évolution du monde vers la paix, l'indépendance et le progrès.

112. Néanmoins, bien qu'il n'apparaisse plus aujourd'hui que sous forme de vestiges, le colonialisme pose encore de nombreux et graves problèmes. Il est normal qu'à ce stade final du colonialisme les peuples dépendants réclament de plus en plus énergiquement la reconnaissance de leurs droits et la satisfaction de leurs aspirations. Mais la politique coloniale déclenche des crises, des conflits et même des guerres en essayant d'étouffer par la force et la répression ces justes exigences. Et c'est justement parce que les problèmes coloniaux sont souvent utilisés pour les besoins stratégiques de la guerre froide qu'il faut de toute urgence y apporter une solution qui s'intègre dans l'ensemble de nos efforts pour relâcher les tensions et maintenir la paix entre les peuples.

113. Il semble, en fait, que libérer les territoires coloniaux soit une des conditions *sine qua non* attachées à la réussite de cette entreprise. La paix est menacée de bien des manières, mais il nous semble que la principale source de danger réside dans la politique coloniale en raison des conflits qu'elle déchaine, tantôt sur un point du globe, tantôt sur un autre, et qui ne peuvent s'apaiser que par l'abolition du colonialisme et la satisfaction des justes aspirations des peuples dépendants.

114. Nous avons toujours considéré le colonialisme comme indéfendable et n'avons cessé de demander sa suppression pour des motifs juridiques, historiques, politiques et moraux. Mais, aujourd'hui, il se dresse comme une menace directe contre les intérêts les plus élevés de l'humanité et c'est au nom de ces intérêts que le monde doit faire disparaître sans hésiter une telle anomalie. La délégation yougoslave a toujours considéré qu'en formulant ce vœu elle servait l'intérêt général en même temps que les intérêts de son pays, et qu'elle sert même les intérêts bien compris des puissances coloniales auxquelles la poursuite opiniâtre d'une politique colonialiste fait courir les plus graves dangers.

115. Quel objectif les puissances coloniales cherchent-elles à atteindre en s'accrochant à une politique périmée et indéfendable? L'entretien de forces armées ruineuses et d'un énorme appareil d'oppression les épuise matériellement et moralement tout en ne servant à rien: c'est pour elles une charge écrasante et leur défaite n'en reste pas moins inévitable.

116. Notre organisation a largement contribué à accélérer le processus d'abolition du colonialisme et elle s'est efforcée, dans les limites de ses possibilités, d'aider les peuples colonisés à réaliser leurs légitimes aspirations. Grâce aux efforts de l'ONU, ce processus s'est généralement accompli assez vite et sans trop de difficultés, et beaucoup de problèmes complexes ont trouvé une solution plus facile et plus rapide grâce à son intervention. C'est pourquoi nous croyons que notre organisation a le pouvoir d'abolir le colonialisme et qu'elle en a le devoir envers l'histoire: son rôle à cet égard est essentiel et vital.

117. Au cours de la présente intervention, comme en d'autres occasions où des problèmes du même ordre avaient été abordés, nous avons adopté une position dont dépendent pour beaucoup le progrès du monde et la paix internationale. En tant que gardienne de la paix et instrument de coopération pacifique entre les nations, l'ONU nous paraît avoir la responsabilité particulière d'assurer l'avenir de la paix et du monde en général en prenant les décisions

qui s'imposent. Le principe de l'abolition du colonialisme et sa mise en œuvre s'accordent avec les responsabilités de l'ONU et celles de la communauté internationale, ainsi qu'avec les droits des peuples coloniaux. Par conséquent, nous estimons qu'il est indispensable aujourd'hui d'appliquer ce principe.

118. Conformément à ces considérations, ma délégation acceptera et appuiera toutes les résolutions et les décisions pouvant conduire à l'abolition immédiate du colonialisme, à la reconnaissance inconditionnelle du droit des peuples coloniaux à l'indépendance, elle appuiera toute décision visant à faire disparaître

rapidement des territoires d'Asie, d'Amérique latine et surtout d'Afrique les derniers vestiges d'un système qui est une plaie ouverte au flanc de la communauté internationale contemporaine et compromet gravement la paix du monde.

119. Pour conclure, je désire réserver à ma délégation le droit de prendre à nouveau la parole, le moment venu, dans la discussion de projets de résolution ou de déclarations.

La séance est levée à 12 h 45.

OCT 23 1961

ASSEMBLÉE
GÉNÉRALE

UN/SA COLLE



SÉANCE PLÉNIÈRE

Mercredi 30 novembre 1960,
à 15 heures

QUINZIÈME SESSION

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Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux
pays et aux peuples coloniaux (*suite*) 1093

Président: M. Frederick H. BOLAND (Irlande).

POINT 87 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance
aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux (*suite*)

1. M. FEKINI (Libye): Les débats actuels de l'Assemblée générale, tendant à l'adoption d'une Déclaration des Nations Unies concernant l'indépendance des pays et des peuples encore soumis à la domination étrangère et proclamant l'abolition immédiate et définitive du colonialisme, constitue une étape significative dans l'histoire de l'humanité. En prenant l'initiative d'une telle déclaration, l'Organisation des Nations Unies adopte, en fait, une importante mesure en vue de s'acquitter de l'un des engagements solennels auxquels ont souscrit les Etats Membres en assignant à l'Organisation internationale des buts précis, parmi lesquels celui de "développer entre les nations des relations amicales fondées sur le respect du principe de l'égalité de droits des peuples et de leur droit à disposer d'eux-mêmes, et prendre toutes autres mesures propres à consolider la paix du monde".

2. Or il est à présent universellement reconnu que les pratiques du colonialisme, qui consistent purement et simplement en la domination de certains pays par d'autres pays et en l'assujettissement de certains peuples par d'autres peuples, constituent une violation flagrante du principe consacré par la Charte de "l'égalité de droits des peuples et de leur droit à disposer d'eux-mêmes"; de même que les pratiques du colonialisme, en maintenant un certain nombre de pays et leurs habitants sous la domination et l'exploitation d'autres pays, se trouvent être à l'origine des causes les plus évidentes des malaises, des manifestations de violence et des désordres qui agitent plusieurs parties du monde, faisant ainsi peser de graves menaces sur la paix et la sécurité internationales.

3. Le fait colonial, dans son acception historique, a trouvé son plein essor dans les ambitions d'expansion des puissances de l'Europe occidentale au cours — et particulièrement à la fin — du XIX^e siècle, ambitions d'expansion qui se sont réalisées aux dépens d'un grand nombre de pays d'Asie et d'Afrique. Née de préoccupations mercantiles au cours des siècles précédents, l'expansion coloniale a été essentiellement inspirée par des considérations de caractère économique et stratégique au cours des étapes historiques qui ont été caractérisées par l'industrialisation

de l'Europe et qui ont été dominées par le besoin d'assurer l'acheminement des matières premières des colonies vers les métropoles, l'occupation des points stratégiques pour la surveillance des routes maritimes et terrestres et l'écoulement des produits manufacturés dans les marchés coloniaux.

4. Plus récemment, la colonisation a servi aussi de prétexte à la mainmise sur un certain nombre de pays, en Asie, en Afrique ou en Océanie, pour l'établissement de colonies de peuplement destinées à résoudre les problèmes de surpeuplement de certains pays européens.

5. L'épopée coloniale, comme se plaisent à l'appeler certains historiens de l'Europe occidentale, a eu, à côté de l'histoire chargée de ses expéditions militaires et de ses guerres d'occupation, ses missionnaires, ses philosophes et ses théoriciens, voire ses poètes et ses chansons épiques, ainsi que les fausses théories des races supérieures engagées dans de prétendues missions civilisatrices auprès de peuplades considérées comme arriérées ou inférieures.

6. Mais, malgré la variété des enseignes auxquelles ont recouru les puissances coloniales pour faire admettre à leurs opinions politiques mal averties ou à leurs parlements réticents les vastes dépenses nécessaires à leurs conquêtes, l'histoire de l'expansion coloniale a clairement révélé la réalité des mobiles matérialistes, dominés par l'amour du gain, souvent cyniques et égoïstes, qui ont inspiré ses auteurs.

7. Quoi qu'il en fût, le colonialisme a, le plus souvent, eu recours à la force des armes pour imposer la domination de pays sur d'autres pays et de peuples sur d'autres peuples. Cette domination, imposée par la force, a toujours souligné, aux yeux des peuples colonisés, le caractère illégal et immoral de la mainmise des puissances étrangères sur leurs richesses naturelles et de la subjugation à laquelle ils ont été assujettis. Les peuples colonisés ont opposé à la domination étrangère une résistance matérielle qui, parfois, s'est prolongée pendant des dizaines et des dizaines d'années, et leur soumission, loin d'être résignée, n'a souvent été que momentanée et cette résistance a saisi toutes les occasions pour se manifester dans les formes les plus variées.

8. Face à l'exploitation, aux injustices et aux provocations, les peuples colonisés ont opposé l'insoumission, les manifestations et parfois même les soulèvements, les rébellions et les révoltes. Le refus d'accepter la domination étrangère et la conscience qu'ont les peuples colonisés de leur droit à réaliser leurs aspirations nationales ont amené la naissance de mouvements nationalistes qui ont su donner à la révolte des sentiments populaires leurs moyens d'expression, la discipline de leur organisation et leurs moyens dynamiques d'action. Comme les hommes ont été épris de leurs droits individuels et de leurs libertés essentielles face à l'arbitraire de

leurs princes ou de leurs Etats, les peuples colonisés ont été inspirés par le désir de jouir de leur dignité et le besoin de recouvrer leur liberté dans le cadre d'un contexte national formé au fur et à mesure des souffrances et des sacrifices et guidé par l'idéal de l'indépendance nationale et de l'intégrité territoriale. L'histoire contemporaine de l'Asie et de l'Afrique est dominée par cette lutte des peuples assujettis par les puissances coloniales et opprimés par la mainmise des forces de l'exploitation sur leurs richesses naturelles. Les idéaux et les réactions étant les mêmes malgré la diversité ethnique et l'éloignement géographique, les peuples colonisés et dominés par l'étranger ont trouvé, dans leurs élans successifs, des encouragements dans les succès de ceux qui les ont précédés dans la lutte. Il s'est établi ainsi, de par le monde, un vaste mouvement de solidarité, d'abord spontané, ensuite raisonné et enfin convenu et organisé, entre tous les peuples soumis à la domination étrangère, mouvement qui devait, à la suite de la seconde guerre mondiale, constituer l'un des éléments les plus importants de l'histoire de la deuxième moitié du XX^{ème} siècle. Ce vaste mouvement de libération, tendant à réaliser les aspirations de tous les peuples soumis à la domination étrangère, à assurer le triomphe de la dignité des peuples opprimés et à accélérer leur libération du joug colonialiste, a trouvé ses moyens d'expression et le fondement de ses principes dans la constitution de la Ligue des Etats arabes à l'issue de la seconde guerre mondiale, dans la réunion de la Conférence des Etats africano-asiatiques, tenue à Bandoung en 1955 qui a élaboré, en quelque sorte, la charte de l'anticolonialisme et dans les conférences panafricaines qui se sont succédé depuis la réunion d'Accra de 1958, jusqu'à la plus récente conférence tenue par les Etats indépendants d'Afrique à Addis-Abéba au cours du mois de juin 1960.

9. Dans cette évolution historique du mouvement tendant à l'abolition du colonialisme et de l'exploitation des peuples par d'autres peuples, il est certain que les principes de la Charte de l'Atlantique et les buts, idéaux et principes de la Charte des Nations Unies ont joué un rôle déterminant auquel s'est joint l'apport efficace de tout un mouvement d'opinion favorable à la libération des peuples colonisés, mouvement qui n'a pas manqué de se manifester et de s'imposer grâce à son humanisme, à sa clairvoyance et à son élévation de pensée et de sentiment, même dans les pays qui sont malheureusement encore dominés par les forces de la réaction colonialiste. L'aptitude qu'ont montrée les pays jadis soumis à la domination étrangère à gérer leurs propres affaires et le sens des responsabilités dont ils ont fait preuve en s'acquittant de leurs obligations comme membres souverains de la famille des nations ont démontré, de la façon la plus claire, l'inanité des arguments, entre autres celui du manque de préparation, dont les puissances colonisatrices tendent à se prévaloir pour maintenir leur hégémonie et leur domination. Le sens exemplaire du sacrifice, qu'ont illustré, par leur lutte armée contre les forces de l'oppression coloniale, les peuples qui se sont résolus aux moyens ultimes pour faire prévaloir leurs aspirations nationales, a fait réfléchir les puissances coloniales qui n'ont vu d'autre solution, pour sauver leurs intérêts, que l'accélération du processus d'émancipation des peuples soumis à leur domination et qui risquaient de recourir aux mêmes méthodes pour atteindre leurs objectifs.

10. C'est ainsi qu'une procédure d'autoliquidation du colonialisme — de décolonisation comme on l'appelle aujourd'hui — a permis aux Nations Unies d'accueillir dans leur sein, au cours de ces dernières années et plus particulièrement récemment encore, un grand nombre de nations africaines enfin libérées de la domination coloniale étrangère.

11. Mais, hélas! il reste encore beaucoup à faire. Dans plusieurs points du monde en général, et en particulier en Afrique et dans le Moyen-Orient, des dizaines de millions d'êtres opprimés, mais épris de liberté et de dignité et pleinement conscients de leurs droits naturels et légitimes à la libre détermination et à l'indépendance, luttent courageusement contre les forces aveugles de l'exploitation et de l'oppression coloniales. C'est ainsi qu'en Algérie, en Palestine, dans le sud de la péninsule Arabique et dans diverses parties du continent africain, les peuples autochtones se révoltent contre l'occupation étrangère de leur territoire national et luttent contre les abus, les injustices, les privations, l'oppression et l'arbitraire. Dans toutes ces parties du monde, les peuples intéressés paient de leur sang, de leur douleur et de leurs larmes un lourd tribut en vue du triomphe de la cause de leur liberté, de leur dignité et de la sauvegarde de l'intégrité de leur patrimoine national et, si ces peuples consentent volontiers des sacrifices considérables, c'est précisément parce qu'ils ne désespèrent pas de la victoire de leur juste lutte dans un monde où les forces de l'équité, de la justice et de la morale trouvent leur expression la plus éloquente dans les principes, les buts et les idéaux de la Charte des Nations Unies.

12. Il est fort significatif, en effet, que les auteurs de la Charte aient voulu établir les fondements de l'ordre nouveau, l'ordre des Nations Unies, sur la résolution solennelle des peuples des Nations Unies à proclamer à nouveau leur foi "dans les droits fondamentaux de l'homme, dans la dignité et la valeur de la personne humaine, dans l'égalité de droits des hommes et des femmes, ainsi que des nations, grandes et petites" et "à favoriser le progrès social et instaurer de meilleures conditions de vie dans une liberté plus grande".

13. C'est précisément ce souci primordial de la dignité et de la valeur de la personne humaine qui a été à l'origine de la proclamation solennelle de la Déclaration universelle des droits de l'homme qui constitue certainement une marque historique dans la lutte pour le triomphe des droits individuels et des libertés essentielles.

14. Mais non moins important est le souci des Nations Unies de réaliser cette liberté dans le cadre de l'égalité des nations, grandes et petites. Les Chapitres XI, XII et XIII de la Charte sont consacrés aux obligations envers les territoires non encore autonomes et les territoires placés sous un régime international de tutelle. Durant les 15 dernières années, les Nations Unies ont consacré leurs efforts les plus diligents à faire prévaloir les dispositions de la Charte relatives à ces deux catégories de territoires et qui consistent essentiellement à assurer le progrès politique, économique et social des populations et à développer leur capacité à s'administrer elles-mêmes, à tenir compte de leurs aspirations politiques, à les aider dans le développement progressif de leurs institutions politiques et à favoriser

leur évolution progressive vers la capacité à s'administrer elles-mêmes ou vers l'indépendance.

15. Au cours de ces 15 dernières années, les peuples dépendants, c'est-à-dire les peuples soumis à la domination étrangère, ont saisi toutes les occasions pour exprimer leur désir le plus ardent et le plus sincère de jouir de leur liberté, de leur dignité et de la maîtrise de leurs destinées. Ceux d'entre eux qui ont vu se réaliser leurs aspirations nationales se sont fait un devoir de faire entendre sur la scène internationale la voix des peuples encore opprimés et se sont faits les interprètes de leurs aspirations légitimes à la dignité humaine et à l'indépendance nationale.

16. Certains des peuples dépendants se sont résolus, comme nous l'avons précédemment indiqué, devant les injustices, les incompréhensions et les provocations, à utiliser les moyens ultimes pour faire prévaloir leurs droits. Il en est résulté des situations tragiques et des guerres meurtrières qui menacent sérieusement la paix et la sécurité internationales. La guerre, longue et douloureuse, qui se déroule depuis plus de six ans en Algérie entre les forces du nationalisme et les armées de l'oppression colonialiste, offre à cet égard un exemple combien douloureux et combien alarmant!

17. La raison principale de ces manifestations de violence, de ces heurts et de ces remous, de l'instabilité et du malaise qui, à l'heure présente et au cours des années qui ont suivi la seconde guerre mondiale, ne cessent de faire leur apparition sur la scène des pays d'Asie et d'Afrique soumis à la domination étrangère, la raison principale, dis-je, a été précisément l'échec des puissances coloniales dans leur prétendue mission civilisatrice et dans la vocation humaine dont elles se sont prévaluées pour soumettre à leur joug les populations locales. Le déni de la dignité humaine, l'ignorance des revendications des masses autochtones et la négation des libertés fondamentales ont été malheureusement rendus encore plus intolérables par les pratiques de la discrimination et de la ségrégation raciales dont ont souffert la plupart des peuples qui ont eu le mauvais sort de tomber sous la coupe de la domination coloniale étrangère.

18. L'instruction des masses autochtones, l'amélioration de leur situation sanitaire, l'élévation de leur niveau de vie et leur préparation à la tâche d'assumer la responsabilité de diriger leurs propres affaires n'ont pas reçu, de la part des autorités administrantes, toute l'attention souhaitée et désirable.

19. Ceux des peuples qui ont pu réaliser leurs aspirations nationales ont immédiatement compris l'énorme responsabilité face à laquelle se sont aussitôt trouvés leurs dirigeants, car presque tout était à faire. Certes, des travaux de grande envergure ont été réalisés dans les pays dominés par les puissances étrangères; des ponts, des ports, des routes ont été construits et d'autres réalisations semblables ont été accomplies; mais il est évident que ces réalisations étaient destinées à la bonne conduite des entreprises coloniales, afin d'assurer une meilleure rentabilité économique, au bénéfice quasi unique de leurs propres auteurs. Mais il est encourageant, pour toutes les parties en cause, de constater que le passé colonial, quelque chargé qu'il soit, n'a donné lieu presque nulle part à des amertumes et à des soubre-

sauts qui auraient été compréhensibles, et n'a pas suscité chez les populations libérées des mouvements de rancœur, de vengeance ou de xénophobie. Au contraire, dans la plupart des pays jadis soumis à la domination européenne, dont le nôtre, les communautés étrangères continuent de vivre dans l'hospitalité, la tranquillité et un bien-être et une prospérité économiques de plus en plus grands. Le souci qu'affectent certaines puissances coloniales de maintenir leur hégémonie en vue d'assurer la sécurité et la tranquillité des minorités européennes n'a pas de raison valable et ne sert, en vérité, qu'à fournir un prétexte pour faire durer les privilèges colonialistes; il ne sert qu'à nourrir les désirs de domination et à perpétuer les appétits de grandeur et de profit.

20. Quelle que soit l'habileté du colonialisme à maintenir sa présence par une domination indirecte, économique, technique ou sous quelque autre forme que ce soit, cette habileté ne servira à rien devant l'éveil des peuples et leur prise de conscience dans tous les domaines.

21. Les Nations Unies, en continuant de s'acquitter de leurs obligations solennelles, en s'efforçant de créer les conditions d'une paix durable et d'un bien-être universel dans le respect du principe des droits égaux des peuples et de leur droit à disposer d'eux-mêmes, se doivent de se prononcer pour la fin de l'exploitation des peuples par les peuples en proclamant solennellement la nécessité urgente de mettre une fin rapide et inconditionnelle au colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations.

22. Au moment où l'on reconnaît le désir profond qui anime tous les peuples dépendants de réaliser leurs aspirations à la liberté et à l'indépendance, les Nations Unies ont le devoir de dénoncer le caractère immoral, illicite et contraire aux principes de la Charte de toute soumission des peuples à la sujétion, à la domination et à l'exploitation étrangère. Tous les peuples ont en effet le droit de disposer d'eux-mêmes, de déterminer librement leur statut politique et d'assurer leur développement économique, social et culturel.

23. Convaincues que le maintien du colonialisme s'oppose à leur idéal de paix universelle, les Nations Unies ont le devoir de déclarer que toute action armée ou toute mesure de répression dirigée contre les peuples dépendants doit cesser afin que ces peuples puissent exercer dans la paix et la liberté leur droit à l'indépendance complète et à l'intégrité de leur territoire national.

24. Conformément aux impératifs de la morale internationale, telle qu'elle trouve son expression dans la grande majorité de la communauté internationale, il est particulièrement urgent que les Nations Unies se prononcent solennellement pour que des mesures immédiates soient prises, dans tous les pays dépendants, sous quelque forme de sujétion qu'ils se trouvent et quelles que soient les fictions auxquelles on a recouru pour les y maintenir, afin que tous les pouvoirs soient transférés aux peuples de ces pays, conformément à leur volonté et à leurs vœux librement exprimés, de préférence avec les garanties internationales requises.

25. Compte tenu de toutes ces considérations, un certain nombre de délégations, dont la nôtre, ont présenté à l'attention de l'Assemblée générale un

projet de déclaration [A/L.323 et Add.1 et 2], destiné à exprimer la volonté de tous les peuples de la terre de voir mettre définitivement fin au colonialisme et de consacrer le droit des peuples encore dépendants à jouir de leur liberté, de leur indépendance nationale et de leur intégrité territoriale, dans les délais les plus brefs.

26. Ce projet, conçu dans les termes les plus nobles et les plus modérés, est un effort aussi sincère que réaliste pour faire définitivement triompher les principes des Nations Unies et leur idéal d'égalité entre les peuples et de dignité des êtres humains. Ce projet est un témoignage de bonne foi et de bonne volonté fort éloigné de toute manifestation d'aigreur ou de démagogie. En l'adoptant, l'Assemblée générale, nous en sommes convaincus, prendra une position à la mesure des temps et à la hauteur de la noblesse de sa mission dans le monde.

27. La portée morale d'une telle déclaration, en fortifiant les espoirs des peuples opprimés et qui luttent courageusement pour le triomphe de leurs aspirations légitimes, permettra à l'ONU de réaliser les conditions d'un monde dominé par la liberté, le droit et la consécration des valeurs humaines.

28. Je voudrais dire à l'Union soviétique, au nom de la délégation libyenne, combien nous lui savons gré d'avoir pris l'initiative de demander l'inclusion de cette importante question à l'ordre du jour de la présente session de l'Assemblée générale [A/4501] et d'avoir insisté sur l'opportunité d'en discuter solennellement, directement en séance plénière. Je m'empresse de rassurer la délégation soviétique en lui déclarant que nous avons étudié le projet de déclaration [A/4502 et Corr.1] qu'elle a soumis, avec la plus grande attention. Je voudrais souligner que nous avons constaté une unité de vues et d'objectifs parfaite entre leur projet de résolution et le nôtre. C'est uniquement pour assurer à cette question un examen objectif et dénué de toute considération étrangère à son but véritable que nous avons pris l'initiative de nous associer à un certain nombre de délégations d'Asie et d'Afrique pour présenter le projet de déclaration contenu dans le document A/L.323 et Add.1 et 2 en le recommandant à l'attention de l'Assemblée générale dans l'espoir de le voir examiné dans son vrai contexte et approuvé pour ses propres mérites.

29. J'aimerais également faire une anticipation en exprimant notre appréciation aux Etats-Unis d'Amérique pour avoir annoncé de leur côté un programme des Nations Unies pour l'indépendance et le développement de l'Afrique. Nous examinerons cette proposition avec le même intérêt lorsque viendra le temps de l'étudier en Première Commission. Qu'il me soit permis de remarquer que l'intérêt que portent les deux plus grandes puissances du monde actuel à l'indépendance des peuples est très significatif à bien des égards.

30. Je conclus en exprimant l'espoir le plus sincère de notre délégation de voir s'ouvrir une ère nouvelle dans l'histoire de l'humanité où les peuples, finalement affranchis de la domination des puissances, mettront leur énergie au service de la paix immortelle, de la coopération fructueuse dans un monde meilleur où régnera l'ordre humain des Nations Unies.

M. Nesbitt (Canada), vice-président, prend la présidence.

31. M. TARABANOV (Bulgarie): A l'heure actuelle, après l'introduction du projet de déclaration sur l'abolition du système colonial et l'octroi de l'indépendance aux peuples coloniaux, tous, même les défenseurs les plus farouches du régime colonial, s'accordent à reconnaître que le colonialisme a vécu. Parfois, cependant, ces derniers ont recours à des formules vraiment pittoresques pour exprimer une opinion qui ne suit pas le courant général des idées qui prédominent maintenant dans la conscience de l'humanité tout entière sur l'abolition du colonialisme. Ils s'évertuent, en effet, à trouver des expressions comme celle qui qualifie le colonialisme de "notion démodée des rapports politiques", pour se soustraire bien sûr à la nécessité de prendre une position claire et nette sur une question aussi vitale que celle de l'abolition du colonialisme à notre époque ou bien pour préparer le terrain et des positions spéciales qui leur permettraient d'entreprendre une défense en règle du système colonial sous des formes nouvelles.

32. Or, la déclaration sur l'abolition du colonialisme, proposée par l'Union soviétique, est un document d'une portée telle et marque un tel tournant dans l'histoire de cette question qu'il est difficile même pour ceux qu'intéresse l'exploitation coloniale, ainsi qu'à leurs amis et alliés, de défendre la continuation du régime colonial. Le colonialisme a causé trop de souffrances inouïes et incalculables à l'humanité tout entière et tout spécialement aux peuples coloniaux pour que l'on puisse maintenant, ouvertement et facilement, prendre sa défense. Pendant des siècles, en effet, les peuples coloniaux ont été soumis à un régime horrible d'exploitation et de privation des droits humains les plus élémentaires. Nous ne voudrions pas insister sur certains faits de l'histoire du colonialisme qui, pour le moment, n'auront pas une influence directe sur le développement de la question et sur les décisions à prendre en ce qui concerne l'abolition du système colonial, tels que l'extermination de peuples entiers pour faire place aux colons blancs. Ce sont des faits historiques qui peuvent cependant donner une idée de la férocité avec laquelle la colonisation a été réalisée.

33. Mais ce qui est plus important, c'est de constater qu'à l'heure actuelle, 15 ans après la création de notre organisation et l'institution du régime défini dans les Chapitres XI, XII et XIII de la Charte des Nations Unies, en ce qui concerne les colonies, la situation des peuples qui souffrent encore sous le joug colonial ne s'est guère améliorée par rapport à celle qui prédominait dans le passé.

34. En effet, par suite du fait que l'économie des pays coloniaux est la plus arriérée du monde, que l'agriculture se trouve encore dans ces pays à une étape comparable à celle du Moyen Age en Europe, que les terres fertiles ont été aménagées par les colons blancs, tandis que la population indigène est empilée dans des terres pauvres et arides, que l'industrie est très arriérée et que les entreprises industrielles se trouvent dans leur quasi-totalité entre les mains des colonisateurs qui exploitent aussi toutes les richesses naturelles des colonies, les peuples coloniaux continuent à vivre dans une misère effroyable et la mortalité dans les colonies reste si élevée que même les chiffres ne suffisent plus à

exprimer l'état de détresse dans lequel sont plongées ces populations. Bref, la sueur et le sang des peuples coloniaux se trouvant encore sous le joug colonialiste, l'exploitation impitoyable de la main-d'œuvre et des richesses naturelles des colonies continuent encore à apporter des profits fabuleux à ceux qui, par l'entremise de leurs représentants, cherchent à nous convaincre de leur mission sacrée et civilisatrice et de leurs efforts sincères pour conduire les peuples coloniaux à l'indépendance.

35. Les résultats de cette mission civilisatrice ne sont que trop évidents et trop bien connus. Nous ne voudrions pas nous arrêter sur le niveau de vie de la population des colonies. Des chiffres ont été présentés ici par d'autres délégations, et cela en abondance. Il suffit peut-être de signaler que, dans la plupart des colonies, le revenu par tête d'habitant indigène est souvent de quelques dizaines de fois inférieur au revenu par tête d'habitant des colons blancs.

36. La liste des prétendues beautés du système colonial ne finit certainement pas là. Il y a plus. La population indigène est soumise à un régime monstrueux et à une discrimination raciale même dans son pays natal, dans le Sud-Ouest africain, en Angola, au Mozambique, en Rhodésie du Sud et ailleurs. En effet, la population indigène n'est pas traitée comme si elle était composée d'êtres humains. Elle est traitée comme si elle était du bétail. Les colonisateurs ignorent non seulement les intérêts, mais encore la vie même, l'existence de cette population.

37. Il est compréhensible, dans ces conditions, que des appels aient été lancés ici par certains représentants tendant à ce qu'on ne ressuscite pas, dans la discussion actuelle, l'histoire horrible du colonialisme, qu'on ne ressuscite surtout pas certains cas spéciaux du colonialisme, particulièrement abjects. Certains orateurs sont même allés jusqu'à prétendre que ce serait introduire le langage de la guerre froide que de s'arrêter sur des cas portant sur les aspects les plus laids du colonialisme.

38. Certes, nous, les représentants des pays socialistes, nous voudrions arriver à une solution du problème de l'octroi de l'indépendance aux peuples coloniaux et ne pas nous occuper de toute l'histoire des crimes du colonialisme et de certains cas particuliers. C'est d'ailleurs la même position, la même attitude que nous avons eues et que nous avons sur toutes les questions, pour autant que l'on ne recourt pas à des méthodes spéciales, afin de différer et même d'empêcher les solutions qui s'imposent et cela nous l'avons démontré à plusieurs reprises. Certes, nous ne voudrions pas introduire de l'acrimonie dans les débats sur les questions en discussion, en Assemblée générale ou dans les commissions. Cependant, nous ne pouvons pas nous résigner à de simples déclarations, à des vœux pieux pour une solution juste et adéquate des questions qui sont posées devant l'Assemblée générale, si et lorsque des tentatives sont faites par les représentants de certains pays dans le dessein de détourner l'attention pour éviter de prendre les décisions qui s'imposent. Il faut constater avec regret que, dans la discussion actuelle, des tentatives ont été faites par les représentants de certaines puissances coloniales, non seulement dans le dessein de présenter le colonialisme le plus abject sous un jour favorable, mais aussi pour le repré-

senter comme un bienfait pour les peuples coloniaux soumis pendant des dizaines d'années et même pendant des siècles au joug colonial. Le représentant du Royaume-Uni, par exemple, a essayé de faire sortir la question de l'octroi de l'indépendance aux peuples coloniaux du cadre d'une question coloniale et de la transporter sur un terrain qui lui aurait donné, pensait-il, la possibilité de chercher à frustrer les peuples coloniaux, luttant pour leur libération, et qui attendent avec impatience une décision de notre assemblée, d'une solution favorable de cette question. Il a fait des efforts pour transplanter la discussion sur un autre terrain, sur le terrain de la guerre froide sur lequel, si nous le suivions, nous aurions des arguments vraiment efficaces et beaucoup plus nombreux encore et non des arguments comme les siens qui ont fait long feu.

39. Certains représentants des puissances coloniales sont venus ici, aussi bien au cours du débat actuel que dans d'autres discussions qui ont eu lieu aux Nations Unies, défendre d'une manière dissimulée le système colonial. Le colonialisme, sous sa forme classique, nous ont-ils dit, est mort ou du moins il est moribond. Les puissances coloniales elles-mêmes ont octroyé l'indépendance aux peuples coloniaux. Pourquoi, alors, faut-il discuter, nous demande-t-on, en si grand détail, la question du colonialisme? Pourquoi envisager des mesures aussi urgentes contre un système qui s'en va de lui-même et de son propre gré?

40. Il serait difficile de trouver une affirmation aussi éloignée de la vérité que celle-là. A l'heure actuelle, plus de 100 millions d'hommes se trouvent encore sous le joug colonial. Pas un jour ne se passe sans que la presse et la radio ne nous informent des répressions les plus cruelles contre les peuples coloniaux. Non seulement le colonialisme et les colonialistes ne veulent pas lâcher leur proie, mais, sentant que la fin de leur règne approche de plus en plus, ils deviennent parfois beaucoup plus agressifs et beaucoup plus féroces. Là où les puissances coloniales ne sont plus en état de résister à la pression des masses populaires, elles font des concessions politiques, s'efforçant toutefois de préserver leurs positions économiques, stratégiques ou autres. Si ces dernières sont en danger, ils ont recours à tout moyen à leur disposition, y compris la force armée, pour essayer de les préserver. Là où ils ne sont pas en état de le faire tout seuls, ils reçoivent l'aide d'autres puissances coloniales et impérialistes, leurs alliés.

41. Cette politique agressive du colonialisme crée des dangers énormes pour l'humanité tout entière, car le colonialisme et ses méthodes pour imposer la politique coloniale ont toujours été liés et ont toujours mené à la guerre. Dans la situation actuelle, où il existe des armes de destruction massive, telles que les armes nucléaires, l'humanité ne peut plus se permettre de garder, pour une période indéfinie, des foyers aussi chargés de conflits et de possibilités de guerre.

42. Dans la défense en règle, entreprise par le représentant du Royaume-Uni, de la politique coloniale, et dans la recherche de justifications contre la nécessité d'accorder immédiatement l'indépendance aux colonies, il a apporté des arguments qui, à l'heure actuelle, sont empreints d'une logique étrange et tout à fait déplacée. Il a essayé, en effet, de nous

démontrer que certains petits peuples et petits territoires ne devraient pas bénéficier d'une indépendance immédiate. Cependant, il serait vain de fouiller la Charte des Nations Unies pour trouver un texte qui établirait une discrimination entre les petits peuples et les grands peuples. Qui plus est, nous avons déjà parmi nous plusieurs pays dont les populations, comme vous le savez, ne dépassent pas 1 million d'habitants. Nous pensons qu'on ne saurait nier la liberté à ces peuples coloniaux qui souffrent toujours sous le joug colonial à cause des raisons artificielles qui ont été avancées par le représentant de la Grande-Bretagne. Il a été également affirmé que ces petites colonies avaient et auraient besoin d'une assistance financière et d'une protection spéciale pour survivre. Permettez-nous de douter de soucis aussi soi-disant généreux de la part de colonialistes à l'égard de ceux qu'ils ont jusqu'à maintenant opprimés.

43. En ce qui concerne l'assistance financière, le bilan a toujours été en faveur de la puissance colonialiste, comme on le sait. Quant à la protection dont ces petits pays auraient besoin, pourquoi ne pas leur donner la liberté de choisir, de dire leur opinion?

44. Il a été fait mention d'une autre catégorie de pays où vivent côte à côte plusieurs races et tribus et dans lesquels "des groupes ... parfois africains, parfois européens, parfois asiatiques ... craignent d'être lésés le jour où sera proclamée l'indépendance", nous a-t-on affirmé.

45. De quels groupes s'agit-il? S'il est question des colons blancs qui ont profité de la colonisation et de l'exploitation des populations indigènes, il sera certainement difficile de convaincre les peuples coloniaux et l'opinion publique mondiale qu'il faut continuer le régime colonial dans ces pays pour préserver les privilèges monstrueux de ces minorités.

46. En ce qui concerne les autres communautés, il est notoire que la politique colonialiste a toujours cherché à créer des conflits entre elles, afin de pouvoir les subjuguer et les tenir en esclavage plus facilement. Tous ces problèmes artificiels disparaîtront d'eux-mêmes dès qu'un régime de démocratie et d'indépendance sera instauré dans les pays dont il est question, si les colonisateurs ne cherchent pas à intervenir de nouveau dans les affaires intérieures des pays qui seront libérés.

47. Tous ces arguments et ceux qui ont été avancés sur les bienfaits de la politique colonialiste sont présentés ici, comme nous l'avons déjà souligné, dans le but de chercher à détourner l'attention de la question principale qui est maintenant en discussion ici — l'octroi de l'indépendance immédiate aux peuples coloniaux — afin de chercher à différer une décision et de poursuivre la domination coloniale jusqu'au moment où il sera possible aux puissances coloniales de trouver d'autres formes et d'autres moyens pour régner sur leurs anciennes colonies. C'est cela qui nous oblige à revenir sur certains arguments et sur certaines affirmations qui ont été à plusieurs reprises employés ici par les représentants des puissances coloniales.

48. Nous avons entendu en effet à plusieurs reprises souligner ici que, depuis 1939, 500 millions d'hommes et de femmes qui se trouvaient anciennement sous la domination britannique avaient accédé à la liberté et à l'indépendance et que leurs représentants siégeaient

ici. Cela, c'est un fait incontestable. Mais ce qui est étrange, dans ce cas, c'est que le représentant du Royaume-Uni ne se soit pas gêné pour revendiquer, pour son gouvernement et pour les colonialistes anglais en général, l'honneur d'avoir promu ce développement historique. On a voulu nous convaincre que la politique coloniale britannique était une politique éclairée et que le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni aurait grandement contribué à la libération des anciennes colonies.

49. Le représentant du Royaume-Uni compte probablement sur une courte mémoire des peuples coloniaux, ou espère que la joie de l'indépendance leur a fait oublier l'affreuse réalité du passé, l'horreur du joug colonial et les luttes longues et héroïques qu'ils ont menées pour parvenir à la libération et à l'indépendance. Le fait qu'il n'en est pas ainsi et qu'il n'en sera pas ainsi aussi longtemps qu'existera la domination coloniale sur notre planète a été largement démontré dans les discussions qui ont eu lieu ici depuis le commencement du débat sur la liquidation du colonialisme. Si je touche à ce sujet, ce n'est pas pour démontrer une chose qui est évidente, mais pour rafraîchir un peu la mémoire de certains délégués et leur faire comprendre que des affirmations à la légère n'ont pas cours devant l'opinion publique mondiale.

50. Les représentants du Royaume-Uni ont plusieurs fois répété que c'était grâce à la politique promue par les colonialistes anglais que des centaines de millions d'êtres humains avaient obtenu la liberté et l'indépendance. La réalité, cependant, est tout autre. Si nous voulons en effet connaître quelle a été la politique du Royaume-Uni durant toute la période pendant laquelle un grand nombre de colonies britanniques ont accédé à l'indépendance, il faut nous fier, non pas aux déclarations des hommes politiques du Royaume-Uni, faites après que ce développement historique eut été consommé — telles que les déclarations du Premier Ministre actuel du Royaume-Uni ou du représentant de ce pays à l'ONU, M. Ormsby-Gore, que je ne veux pas citer ici, car elles sont bien connues — mais aux déclarations et aux actions des hommes politiques et des dirigeants britanniques au moment même où ces décisions ont été prises et où ces événements se sont déroulés.

51. C'est pourquoi nous voudrions nous référer aux déclarations des hommes politiques les plus éminents du Royaume-Uni au moment même où l'une des plus grandes colonies britanniques, l'Inde, devait accéder à l'indépendance.

52. Ouvrant le débat le 5 mars 1947 sur la décision du gouvernement travailliste de transférer le pouvoir en Inde dans 14 mois, sir Stafford Cripps déclarait entre autres que le gouvernement était en face de deux possibilités:

"... En premier lieu, il pouvait essayer de renforcer le contrôle britannique en Inde en augmentant le personnel des services du secrétariat d'Etat et en renforçant considérablement les troupes britanniques, afin d'être en état de maintenir notre responsabilité administrative" ... (Remarquez que c'est du même terme inoffensif que se sert aujourd'hui M. Ormsby-Gore pour décrire le joug colonial britannique.) "aussi longtemps que nécessaire, en attendant un accord entre les communautés hindoues. Une telle politique aurait eu pour résultat une décision bien déterminée de rester en

Inde pendant au moins 15 ou 20 ans ... La seconde solution était d'admettre que la première solution n'était pas possible ... Une chose était évidemment impossible, c'était de décider d'y maintenir notre responsabilité pour une période indéfinie, lorsque nous n'avions pas la force pour le faire."

53. Donc, d'après les déclarations de sir Stafford Cripps, le Royaume-Uni s'est vu obligé de reconnaître l'indépendance à l'Inde parce qu'il ne possédait pas la force nécessaire pour pouvoir s'y maintenir.

54. Prenant la parole au nom de l'opposition, sir Winston Churchill a déclaré:

"Nous nous dissocions de la politique indienne du gouvernement et rejetons toute responsabilité pour les conséquences qui vont assombrir et couvrir de sang les prochaines années."

55. Voilà ce que disait sir Winston Churchill en 1947, tandis que M. Ormsby-Gore cherche à nous représenter la politique britannique de cette époque comme une politique visant à amener la libération des peuples coloniaux.

56. Plus loin, sir Winston Churchill soulignait que, si le Royaume-Uni ne possédait pas "la force militaire et la volonté nécessaires pour régler ses affaires en Inde d'une manière judicieuse ..." — et cette manière judicieuse, d'après lui, consistait en la continuation du joug colonial en Inde et en l'instauration d'un gouvernement qui devait suivre les injonctions de la politique britannique — il ne devrait pas au moins finir "par un sabotage prématuré et précipité", en augmentant ainsi "les maux" et les malheurs, comme M. Churchill appelle l'accession à l'indépendance de l'Inde et des autres colonies britanniques qui se libérèrent par la suite, amenant ainsi l'écroulement de l'Empire britannique.

57. Le fait est, par conséquent, que l'Inde a obtenu son indépendance, non pas parce que les colonisateurs la lui ont accordée de bon gré, mais parce que les colonisateurs ne possédaient pas la force militaire nécessaire pour maintenir, dans ce pays, leur joug colonial.

58. Mais l'Inde était un grand pays. Dans d'autres colonies, il a été possible aux colonialistes anglais de disposer de forces suffisantes pour différer l'indépendance de ces pays pendant des années et des années et pour y maintenir l'ordre colonial par des répressions et des massacres. L'exemple du Kenya, pour n'en citer qu'un, est encore frais dans la mémoire de tous.

59. S'efforçant de trouver une argumentation pour différer la libération de certains pays et leur accession à l'indépendance immédiate, le représentant du Royaume-Uni a essayé de nous convaincre que cela a été fait uniquement par souci de donner "aux populations de ces pays l'indépendance dans la forme qui leur convient le mieux, et non point selon certains dogmes idéologiques qui leur seraient imposés de l'extérieur" [925ème séance, par. 50].

60. Il est vraiment très surprenant d'entendre une telle considération dans la bouche du représentant du Royaume-Uni, tout au moins si on a eu la possibilité de suivre le développement des luttes des peuples coloniaux pour leur indépendance.

61. En effet, on se souvient qu'il y a à peine sept ans aujourd'hui, le parti populaire progressiste de la

Guyane britannique avait remporté une victoire éclatante aux élections et avait, par cela même, choisi la forme de gouvernement "qui lui convenait le mieux". Malheureusement, cette forme de gouvernement ne convenait pas aux colonialistes britanniques. Le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni envoya ses croiseurs, suspendit la Constitution et annula les élections. Parlant à la Chambre des communes, le 22 octobre 1953, le Secrétaire d'Etat aux colonies de l'époque, M. Oliver Lyttelton, tint le propos suivant: "Le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté n'est pas prêt à tolérer l'établissement d'Etats communistes dans le Commonwealth britannique." Comme vous le voyez, il y a là un langage bien différent de celui de M. Ormsby-Gore. M. Lyttelton provoquait le commentaire suivant de la part de M. Bevan, orateur travailliste, qui, se prononçant sur cette question, a défini la position du Gouvernement britannique sur le droit des peuples d'avoir le gouvernement qui leur plaît, comme suit: "Vous êtes libres d'avoir n'importe quel gouvernement qui vous plaise, pourvu que ce soit le type de gouvernement qui nous plaise à nous autres." Certainement, il s'agissait d'un gouvernement qui plaisait au Gouvernement britannique.

62. L'exemple de la Guyane britannique est intéressant et instructif sur la manière dont les colonialistes conçoivent qu'ils peuvent arranger leurs affaires dans leurs anciennes colonies. Pour eux, l'établissement d'un régime indépendant et populaire serait un "mauvais" exemple, qui aurait pu avoir un effet et une influence fâcheux sur les populations des territoires adjacents.

63. Le New York Herald Tribune a été particulièrement franc sous ce rapport, lorsque, le 9 octobre 1953, il mentionnait que l'affaire de la Guyane britannique était d'une importance vitale pour les Etats-Unis, non pas en raison des événements internes dans cette colonie, mais en raison de sa situation stratégique, étant donné que le Venezuela (qui se trouve tout près) est le synonyme de deux produits très importants pour l'économie des Etats-Unis: le pétrole et le minerai de fer.

64. Voilà donc pourquoi il a été mis fin, au moyen d'un grand déploiement de forces, au régime populaire à la tête duquel se trouvait M. Jagan, en Guyane.

65. Toute l'histoire des méfaits du colonialisme est là pour nous convaincre qu'il est impossible de croire à la bonne foi et à la bonne volonté des colonialistes. C'est une raison de plus qui fait que la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux [A/4502 et Corr.1], proposée par l'Union soviétique, revêt à l'heure actuelle une importance capitale.

66. Les efforts pour différer l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux sont accomplis par les colonialistes afin de chercher des moyens nouveaux et des formes nouvelles pour préserver leur domination économique et politique sur ces pays. Mais les préoccupations des milieux colonialistes dirigées contre les peuples opprimés de leurs colonies doivent nous inciter encore davantage à prendre une décision qui permettra à ces peuples d'accéder à l'indépendance immédiatement, de décider eux-mêmes de l'organisation qu'ils entendent adopter en ce qui concerne leur système de gouvernement. Le moment est venu de dire aux peuples coloniaux

que, fidèles aux principes de la Charte, les Nations Unies leur accordent tout leur appui dans leur juste lutte contre le système le plus monstrueux que l'humanité ait connu: le joug colonial.

M. Boland (Irlande) reprend la présidence.

67. M. ALVAREZ RESTREPO (Colombie) [traduit de l'espagnol]: Il y a quelques semaines, le Président du Conseil des ministres de l'Union soviétique a, de cette même tribune, qualifié la Colombie de pays colonialiste, simplement parce que ma délégation estimait que le point que nous traitons en ce moment eût été mieux examiné dans une atmosphère de plus grande tranquillité et de plus grand calme, devant la Première Commission, qu'en séance plénière de l'Assemblée générale. Cette salle, en effet, de par ses dimensions mêmes, nous incite à discuter avec vivacité et à nous exprimer avec véhémence dans un débat qui devrait se limiter à une étude sereine des faits. Toutes les paroles qui y ont été prononcées sont plutôt des paroles de propagande, destinées au monde extérieur, alors qu'il s'agit au contraire de faire appel à l'entendement des représentants des différentes nations et d'éclairer leur jugement.

68. Il nous serait impossible d'intervenir dans ce débat sans déclarer au préalable que notre pays est attaché avec ferveur à l'idée de la libre détermination, qu'à aucun moment de son histoire il ne s'est allié à des mouvements tendant à supprimer ou à limiter cette liberté dans d'autres pays. Bien au contraire: lorsque la Colombie, il y a 150 ans, a commencé sa vie de nation autonome, à une époque où elle n'avait pas encore assuré définitivement sa propre indépendance, elle n'a pas hésité à envoyer ses armées dans les pays voisins — au Venezuela, en Equateur, en Bolivie, au Pérou — pour les aider dans les combats qu'ils soutenaient alors pour leur émancipation et leur libération du pouvoir métropolitain.

69. Ce fut là une magnifique épopée au cours de laquelle les forces armées de cinq pays participèrent à la lutte qui avait trouvé en Simon Bolívar leur inspirateur et leur chef, le grand capitaine dont les entreprises légendaires remplissent l'histoire de l'Amérique. Le sang des Colombiens a coulé sur le continent sud-américain, de Caracas à La Paz, dans un effort gigantesque qui dépassait les possibilités de la Colombie d'alors. Nous n'étions animés que d'un seul désir, celui de coopérer avec les anciennes colonies espagnoles pour qu'elles puissent obtenir leur autonomie complète en tant que nations indépendantes. Nous avons donc des références exceptionnelles en tant que pays anticolonialiste et cela nous donne le droit d'intervenir dans ce débat, en toute connaissance de cause. Nous signalons en passant que, s'il est vrai que nos armées ont contribué à la libération de cinq autres nations, il n'en est pas moins exact que, une fois la victoire acquise, ces mêmes armées furent dissoutes et ces rudes compagnons regagnèrent calmement leurs foyers, ou bien encore se fixèrent dans le pays qu'ils avaient contribué à libérer, y construisirent leur maison, y vécurent en paix comme de simples citoyens, se consacrant au travail et à la mise en valeur des terres désormais libérées.

70. Quelle différence d'attitude, si on la compare à celle d'autres qui, au milieu du XX^{ème} siècle, envoient leurs armées non pas pour aider d'autres

nations à se libérer, mais pour collaborer avec d'autres gouvernements qui étouffent dans le sang la volonté souveraine des populations.

71. Cette question du colonialisme est aussi vieille que le monde. Rome, la Grèce, Carthage étaient en leur temps des colonies, comme le furent jadis la France, le Royaume-Uni, l'Espagne, l'Allemagne. L'histoire universelle est le récit des peuples qui, au cours des âges, subirent des transformations pour atteindre un jour la plénitude de leur personnalité politique.

72. Avec l'écoulement du temps, de nouvelles formes de vie viennent se substituer à d'autres qui s'expliquaient alors et avaient leur raison d'être. Les institutions juridiques elles-mêmes ne cessent de se modifier au fil des ans. Le dogme de la souveraineté nationale, si cher aux auteurs du droit international du XIX^{ème} siècle, a fait place à une nouvelle forme d'association superétatique, supranationale, qui est le fondement de l'Organisation des Nations Unies.

73. Nous fûmes une colonie, nous aussi, et, au début de notre indépendance, nos populations manifestèrent ouvertement leur esprit de révolte et usèrent de ce même ton amer de doléance que nous font entendre, à l'heure actuelle et avec juste raison, les Etats qui viennent de conquérir à leur tour leur indépendance et qui, de ce fait, ont pu devenir Membres de notre organisation après avoir vécu, pendant des générations, sous la férule d'une puissance étrangère. Nous avons été une colonie, mais cela ne nous a pas empêchés, une fois indépendants, de conserver pour l'Espagne toute notre profonde sympathie. Ce pays a gouverné le nôtre pendant la période de notre formation; nous avons reçu de lui une langue, une religion, une structure juridique et un vaste héritage culturel, quatre éléments qui ont été les piliers sur lesquels nous avons construit notre société actuelle.

74. Ce n'est pas l'ensemble de l'œuvre du colonialisme qui est pernicieux et nocif, comme se sont efforcés de le faire croire certains représentants mus par un souci politique plutôt que par le désir de comprendre les leçons de l'histoire. Dans le processus de formation des nouvelles nationalités, il y a, de la part de ceux qui ont gouverné et dominé ces pays au cours des ans, un apport culturel qui demeure infiniment précieux pour leur vie future; nous avons pu, à ce propos, entendre les déclarations sages et raisonnables prononcées à cette même tribune par les Ministres des affaires étrangères du Cameroun et de la Nigéria, dont nous avons pu admirer la remarquable formation culturelle.

75. Parlant du colonialisme, il serait peut-être opportun, à ce stade de mon discours, d'apporter quelque clarté sur ce que certains orateurs, traitant du problème colonial, ont tenté d'insinuer en des termes vagues, mais qui n'en sont pas moins fallacieux, à savoir, que l'Amérique latine ferait partie des zones contrôlées par le système colonialiste.

76. Certes, sur notre continent, quelques secteurs se trouvent encore placés sous la domination de pays européens et nous souhaitons tous que ces territoires jouissent bientôt d'une indépendance complète; mais il n'en est pas moins vrai que les pays d'Amérique latine représentés ici ne sont les colonies de personne. Chacun de ces pays possède ses limites géographiques et politiques bien définies. En Amérique latine des pays souverains se sont constitués, ayant

chacun sa propre originalité, ayant chacun une culture, une histoire et des traits qui nous interdisent de les confondre. Si quelque chose pouvait nous distinguer, en tant que membres d'une seule et même famille, ce serait le soin jaloux avec lequel nous agissons habituellement pour éviter tout ce qui pourrait nuire à notre autonomie, à notre souveraineté. Qu'il s'agisse du plus petit ou du plus grand des pays d'Amérique latine, du Brésil ou du Costa Rica, chacun des 20 Etats possède sa propre personnalité, ses caractéristiques particulières, une fierté impérissable de son autonomie, même dans les circonstances les plus difficiles de sa vie de nation. En cela, nous sommes un peu les héritiers de la péninsule Ibérique, de l'Espagne et du Portugal, pays où le culte de sa propre personnalité se confond avec les notions d'honneur et de respect qui possèdent une telle valeur dans notre langue. Nous ne sommes les sujets de personne. Politiquement, nous évoluons dans le camp de la démocratie occidentale, cette démocratie qui a réuni les nations libres du monde pour former une seule et même phalange et lutter contre les régimes totalitaires. Nous choisissons nos représentants et nos gouvernants au moyen de consultations populaires, dans lesquelles chaque citoyen a l'occasion d'exprimer l'opinion que lui dicte sa conscience. Nous sommes maîtres de notre destin et nous adaptons ce destin aux nécessités nationales. Que certaines délégations, ici à l'ONU, cessent leurs tentatives d'insinuer que nous serions des colonies, alors que les nations de l'Amérique latine sont des nations autonomes et souveraines qui, il y a déjà longtemps, ont acquis leur indépendance grâce au sacrifice de leurs héros.

77. On semble confondre, de façon à la fois malveillante et délibérée, les expressions "sous-développement" et "colonialisme"; en fait, ces deux notions n'ont rien de commun. Il est vrai, pour ce qui nous concerne, que nous sommes des pays insuffisamment développés, c'est-à-dire des pays possédant un taux de natalité élevé, mais où le revenu par tête d'habitant est faible et le pourcentage d'analphabètes élevé. Nous connaissons, c'est également vrai, des difficultés très sérieuses en matière sanitaire et au point de vue de l'enseignement. Notre commerce extérieur est, presque partout, tributaire de l'exportation de matières premières. Ce sont là, d'après les spécialistes, les caractéristiques mêmes de pays insuffisamment développés. Mais le retard économique ne saurait être confondu avec la perte de la dignité nationale ou de l'autonomie en matière politique et sociale. Pour reprendre une image bien connue, nous pourrions dire, comme le faisaient en Espagne les grands nobles qui avaient perdu leur fortune: "Nous sommes des gentilshommes pauvres, mais nous sommes des gentilshommes."

78. Ce débat sur le colonialisme, comme l'ont dit certains de ses promoteurs, a pour but d'assurer à tous les peuples une existence indépendante et de faire disparaître un phénomène honteux de notre époque contemporaine. En ce qui nous concerne, cette déclaration, dans son sens littéral, ne présente pas de difficultés. Nos traditions juridiques nous incitent au contraire à être les alliés naturels de tous ceux qui parlent de liberté, mais de liberté pleine et entière partout, sous toutes les latitudes et sous tous les régimes. Nous ne croyons pas que le colonialisme seul puisse être critiqué en tant que système de contrainte, de domination, de contrôle et de servitude. La grande question qu'il nous reste à débattre

ici est celle de la liberté dans toutes ses manifestations: la liberté de penser, la liberté de prier, d'enseigner, d'écrire, de parler, de diffuser, de critiquer, de protester chaque fois que cela est nécessaire pour sauvegarder la dignité de l'homme.

79. Le président Sekou Touré, au nom de la République de Guinée, déclarait lors de son intervention du 13 octobre 1960:

"Nous savons qu'il y a des problèmes à propos desquels chacun peut se permettre, avec son tempérament particulier, d'élever le ton comme il le veut; mais il y a aussi d'autres problèmes qui ne peuvent être considérés comme des problèmes personnels, encore moins comme des problèmes liés à l'existence de tel système ou de tel bloc, mais exclusivement comme constituant la base d'une vie de dignité pour tout être humain, quel que puisse être par ailleurs le régime politique et économique qu'il puisse choisir ou quelles que soient sa religion, sa couleur ou sa nationalité." [903ème séance, par. 4.]

Et le président Sekou Touré ajoutait:

"Nous pouvons affirmer sans nous tromper que le problème de la liberté est le premier problème du monde et qu'on ne peut trouver aucun peuple, aucun individu conscient qui puisse considérer que la liberté est divisible ou qui puisse imaginer qu'elle est l'attribut d'un peuple, d'une race ou d'une religion." [903ème séance, par. 5.]

80. En écoutant les divers orateurs qui se sont succédé à la tribune pour nous présenter le colonialisme comme un système qui enlève la liberté à des milliers, des millions d'humains, il nous semblait entendre que c'est là le problème, et le seul, qui se pose pour la liberté dans le monde. Tous les verbes qui expriment l'asservissement d'un peuple à un autre ont été utilisés pour nous décrire les horreurs réelles du colonialisme: il subjugué, il enchaîne, il opprime, il contrôle, il humilie, il foule aux pieds la dignité de bien des nations qui devraient être libres. Dans un impressionnant défilé, on nous dresse le tableau de l'esclavage et de la servitude, mais on n'a voulu montré sur ce tableau qu'un aspect de la situation, comme si le problème de la liberté humaine n'était lié qu'au seul colonialisme.

81. Ce qui est vrai, c'est que ce colonialisme politique, pour le plus grand bien de l'humanité, se dirige à grands pas vers sa fin, une fin définitive, et ce grâce à la politique intelligente et prévoyante des anciennes puissances coloniales, ou encore par la force même des choses. Ce qui est vrai, c'est qu'une autre forme de colonialisme a surgi qui cherche à remplacer la première. Mais il ne s'agit plus ici du colonialisme qui exerce un contrôle sur le sol, les récoltes, les rivières et les montagnes, la vie sociale et le régime politique, l'hygiène et l'enseignement, c'est-à-dire sur toutes les activités extérieures des individus, mais bien d'un colonialisme qui surveille les consciences, abolit toutes les libertés et brise brutalement la vie spirituelle de l'homme.

82. Il reste, c'est certain, de lamentables vestiges du colonialisme et des millions d'hommes attendent encore d'en être libérés. Il existe encore de par le monde des restes de ce système qui contrôlait tant de peuples, tant de régions du monde, récemment encore; nous avons entendu ici le représentant du

Royaume-Uni [925ème séance] nous expliquer de façon précise comment son pays se préparait à accorder l'autonomie complète aux territoires qui ne sont pas encore indépendants.

83. Mais ce que nous n'avons pas entendu, c'est la voix de ceux qui tiennent sous leur joug, non plus des pays en voie de développement, mais des nations qui sont les héritières d'une vieille culture et les dépositaires des plus nobles traditions, et qui sont obligées de vivre sous un régime de terreur et réduites au silence. Aussi pourrait-on dire que d'un côté le colonialisme qui contrôlait les biens matériels et les richesses est en train de disparaître progressivement de vastes régions du globe, alors qu'ailleurs, dans d'autres régions de ce même monde, se dresse, dur et implacable, ce que l'on pourrait appeler le colonialisme des âmes, un colonialisme qui non seulement contrôle dans ses mains de fer l'activité économique des pays qu'il domine, mais qui pousse encore beaucoup plus loin son action, en s'opposant à la libre expression des idées et en brisant d'un seul coup le code des libertés proclamées dans la Déclaration universelle des droits de l'homme que les Nations Unies ont approuvée.

84. C'est pourquoi le président Sekou Touré avait raison de dire que le problème de la liberté était le problème capital qui se posait au monde. C'est ce problème essentiel pour le monde que nous tentons de résoudre en approuvant le projet de résolution qui nous est présenté ici [A/L.323 et Add.1 et 2]. Mais ce problème ne saurait être divisé arbitrairement sans porter atteinte à la vérité historique. Comme nous l'a dit en effet le président Sekou Touré: "Le problème de la liberté ne peut être considéré que comme le fondement d'une vie de dignité pour tous les hommes."

85. Telle est la position de ma délégation, la position d'un pays qui, tout au long de son histoire, a connu cette richesse incomparable qu'est la liberté. Mon pays sera toujours aux côtés de ceux qui s'efforceront de préserver et de défendre ce don inestimable pour l'homme et pour l'humanité.

86. Plusieurs orateurs ont, le plus souvent, tenté de faire la lumière, toute la lumière; de pointer un doigt accusateur dans une seule direction, c'est-à-dire contre le colonialisme. Ils analysent ce phénomène comme un mal monstrueux, ce qu'il a réellement été, puisqu'il a signifié la perte du libre choix pour des pays qui avaient le droit de vivre sous un régime qui leur fût propre, qui avaient le droit de vivre des produits de leurs propres richesses. Nous pensons cependant que c'est là adopter une attitude unilatérale et faire preuve de parti pris. Le problème de la liberté est un et indivisible et il est arbitraire de se plaindre d'une oppression qui n'existerait que sous un seul régime et uniquement dans certains endroits du globe, alors que la liberté de l'homme a complètement disparu dans d'autres parties du monde. Un orateur nous a même dit hier: "Nous ne voulons pas que l'on parle de tout ce qui est étranger au débat", comme si l'on voulait ainsi nous inviter à nous taire en présence de faits qui ont une importance pour le moins égale à celle du colonialisme, puisqu'ils traitent de phénomènes identiques du point de vue social et du point de vue humain. Ce qui est dit dans le premier considérant du projet de résolution des puissances africano-asiatiques, à savoir: "proclamer à nouveau leur foi dans les droits fondamentaux de l'homme,

dans la dignité et la valeur de la personne humaine, dans l'égalité de droits des hommes et des femmes, ainsi que des nations, grandes et petites," et "favoriser le progrès social et instaurer de meilleures conditions de vie dans une liberté plus grande", c'est exactement ce à quoi sont résolus tous les pays rassemblés à l'ONU.

87. Ce sont là les principes tutélaires de notre organisation; ce sont eux qui donnent à l'Organisation toute sa valeur aux yeux des nouveaux pays libres; ils sont le fruit de l'expérience que l'humanité a accumulée au cours des siècles. Nous sommes prêts à appuyer le projet de résolution que nous présentent 30 puissances, avec de courtes modifications qui nous paraissent essentielles, car nous sommes convaincus que tout pas accompli vers l'octroi de la liberté à de nouveaux pays est un pas que l'on fait pour le bien-être de l'humanité tout entière. C'est par conséquent avec joie que nous assistons à l'indépendance que viennent de connaître de nombreux pays, qui pourront ainsi consacrer toutes leurs ressources, toutes leurs richesses intellectuelles et morales à l'amélioration des niveaux de vie de leurs populations et à l'accroissement de leurs propres richesses. Ces pays voient heureusement s'ouvrir largement devant eux le chemin de la coopération internationale et de l'assistance si précieuse des Nations Unies.

88. Lorsque, grâce à leurs efforts, les pays de l'Amérique latine se sont libérés, ils se sont trouvés devant des problèmes très graves. Ils ont dû lutter seuls, isolés, sans aucune ressource économique, sans préparation technique, sans personne pour leur offrir une aide généreuse dans les premiers jours de leur autonomie. Nous pourrions dire que, libres, ils sont entrés dans la vie internationale comme des enfants qui titubent à leurs premiers pas. C'est ainsi que nous avons tous poursuivi notre chemin pendant un siècle, sans savoir exactement si nous avions pris la bonne direction pour atteindre des objectifs plus élevés sur le plan économique. Nous faisons l'expérience de régimes politiques qui ne parvenaient pas à s'implanter: en effet, les hommes rudes qui avaient lutté pendant 20 ans se soumettaient difficilement aux rigueurs de la loi. Cette tentative d'organisation s'est poursuivie pendant de longues années de troubles et d'hésitations, et a exigé la dépense d'immenses sommes d'énergie.

89. Les pays qui, aujourd'hui, arrivent à leur majorité ont la chance, eux, de trouver dans le monde une atmosphère de coopération illimitée, qu'animent et dirigent les Nations Unies. Le problème du sous-développement et les formules proposées pour le combattre constituent l'essentiel des travaux des économistes contemporains.

90. Des centaines d'ouvrages ont été écrits depuis 10 ans, et consacrés à l'étude approfondie des questions ayant trait à l'organisation économique des États, à l'utilisation de leurs richesses naturelles, à leur organisation intérieure, à leur commerce extérieur, à l'hygiène et à l'enseignement.

91. Nous, pays de l'Amérique latine, avons dû souffrir pendant un siècle d'une succession d'hésitations et de doutes, d'expériences ratées, d'erreurs très graves. Nous seuls pouvons donc savoir combien, pour ces pays qui ont atteint maintenant leur majorité, leur tâche est facilitée pour entreprendre leur marche vers le progrès. Leur liberté, bien

dirigée, peut nous servir à tous. Leurs progrès matériels seront des éléments essentiels à l'équilibre du monde. Leurs activités intellectuelles peuvent contribuer largement à l'analyse des problèmes futurs. Que le sort fasse que chacun de ces pays sache défendre son autonomie et conserver avec fierté sa propre personnalité, sans tomber dans le piège que lui tendent ceux qui, tout en faisant miroiter une amitié idyllique, préparent en fait les chaînes qui, plus tard, leur interdiront de disposer librement d'eux-mêmes.

92. Nous voterons pour le projet de résolution sur le colonialisme en adoptant non pas un esprit de reproche — ce que font certains ici — mais, bien au contraire, dans la noble intention de faire un pas de plus sur le chemin menant à la liberté de l'homme. En effet, ce sera véritablement un beau jour que celui où les hommes de tous les pays de la terre, sous toutes les latitudes, les hommes de l'Est, de l'Ouest, du Nord, du Sud et du Centre pourront vivre réellement et effectivement sous la protection des libertés essentielles qui ont été inscrites dans la Charte des Nations Unies.

93. M. SLIM (Tunisie): Certains historiens ont pris l'habitude de donner un qualificatif aux siècles et époques de la vie de l'humanité. C'est ainsi que le XVème siècle a été celui des grandes découvertes, le XVIIIème et le XIXème, ainsi que le début du XXème, ceux de la grande aventure coloniale, qui a abouti à l'asservissement de la majeure partie des peuples d'Afrique et d'Asie. L'année 1960 a été qualifiée d'année de l'Afrique. Elle l'est effectivement puisque nous avons eu la grande satisfaction de recevoir dans cette enceinte 16 nouveaux Etats africains.

94. Puisque c'est une tradition que de marquer les époques par les grands événements, ce sera la gloire de la seconde moitié du XXème siècle que d'être appelée l'époque de la libération des peuples. Car, qu'on le veuille ou non, par la force ou par la persuasion, avec le consentement des pays colonisateurs ou contre leur gré, il n'y aura plus, sous peu, de peuples asservis. L'ère de la domination coloniale, de l'asservissement de l'homme par l'homme, du code de l'indigénat et autres lois sur le travail forcé dans les colonies, est bien révolue. Partout dans le monde, le colonialisme, malgré ses puissants moyens, recule devant la marche irrésistible des hommes vers la liberté et l'indépendance. Ce n'est, certes, ni l'entêtement de la France à continuer, depuis six ans, une guerre stupide et sans espoir en Algérie, ni celui du Portugal dans sa négation de l'évidence et son attachement à des fictions absurdes, ni, à plus forte raison, celui de l'Afrique du Sud à se confiner, malgré la réprobation universelle, dans un racisme inhumain érigé en dogme de politique étatique, qui arrêteront le cours irréversible de l'histoire.

95. Les convulsions que de tels entêtements provoquent inévitablement retarderont peut-être, ici ou là, l'accession des peuples à leur liberté, mais au prix de quels sacrifices inutiles et de quels dommages pour l'amitié, l'entente et la coopération nécessaire entre les peuples!

96. L'indépendance des pays colonisés se fera avec l'accord des pays colonisateurs ou contre leur gré, mais elle se fera quand même, car aucune force au monde n'est en mesure d'arrêter la marche irrésistible de l'histoire.

97. Depuis sa création, l'Organisation des Nations Unies s'est préoccupée de la situation des territoires et des peuples dépendants, ainsi que de ceux qui étaient placés sous la tutelle internationale. Par les importants débats qu'elle a eus à leur sujet, notamment au cours des travaux de la Quatrième Commission et de ceux du Conseil de tutelle, par les nombreuses recommandations qu'elle a prises, notre organisation a, certes, contribué considérablement à la libération par des voies pacifiques de peuples colonisés.

98. Néanmoins, une telle contribution n'était pas suffisante. D'un côté, l'impatience des peuples colonisés se fait de plus en plus pressante; de l'autre, la réticence des pays colonisateurs, la mauvaise volonté dont ils font preuve créent des difficultés qui ralentissent la reprise par les peuples qu'ils dominent de leur souveraineté et de leur indépendance.

99. Ce déphasage entre les deux mouvements a engendré, à maintes reprises, des heurts, des conflits sanglants mettant en danger l'amitié entre les peuples autant que la paix et la sécurité internationales. Il est donc éminemment important que notre organisation essaie d'établir des principes de base qui, en clarifiant dans ce domaine ceux de la Charte ou de la Déclaration universelle des droits de l'homme, définissent la voie à prendre et la dégagent de tout obstacle.

100. Pour le renforcement de l'autorité et de l'efficacité de notre institution, autant que dans l'intérêt de l'amitié, de la concorde et de la paix, l'indépendance des peuples dominés gagne à se faire dans le cadre des Nations Unies et avec leur assistance.

101. Il appartenait donc à cette quinzième session de l'Assemblée générale d'ouvrir un large débat à ce sujet et de le voir clore par une résolution qui marquera une date dans l'histoire de l'ONU.

102. De l'avis de la délégation tunisienne, ce que nous avons à préparer en conclusion de nos présents débats, ce n'est pas seulement une proclamation fixant les principes du droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes, principes qui sont déjà inscrits dans la Charte. Il s'agit surtout de réaffirmer ces principes et de les renforcer à la lumière des difficultés soulevées par les pays colonisateurs pour retarder la libération des peuples dont ils ont la charge.

103. Il revient, certes, à notre session de donner une impulsion vigoureuse et une direction générale et nette aux moyens qu'il importe de mettre en œuvre pour que les peuples qui sont encore sous la domination coloniale puissent atteindre leur but qui est aussi celui de notre institution, c'est-à-dire l'indépendance pour tous.

104. Il s'agit pour nous, essentiellement, d'éviter ce qui s'est passé hier au Viet-Nam, ce qui se passe aujourd'hui en Algérie et, enfin, ce qui est arrivé dernièrement au Congo.

105. Je m'explique. Devant la poussée irrésistible de ces pays pour leur indépendance, les réactions de deux puissances que l'on peut citer comme exemple du colonialisme le plus récalcitrant — la France et la Belgique — ont été, soit l'entêtement à maintenir la domination par les armes, soit l'acceptation de l'indépendance, mais suivie bientôt de manœuvres

absurdes pour diviser la nation libérée et tenter par le biais un retour vers la domination.

106. Ainsi, au Viet-Nam, après sept années d'une guerre atroce, qui a fait des dizaines de milliers de victimes, la France a dû se rendre à l'évidence et quitter le pays, laissant derrière elle non seulement des ruines, mais aussi un peuple divisé en deux Etats, un aliment de plus à la guerre froide.

107. Malheureusement, la leçon du Viet-Nam n'a pas servi aux colonialistes français. Ces derniers, qui n'ont rien appris ni rien oublié, commettent encore en Algérie, depuis six ans, les mêmes erreurs qui ont été si néfastes au Viet-Nam, tant pour la France que pour son ancienne colonie et l'humanité entière.

108. Au Congo, la Belgique a montré au monde qu'elle faisait preuve de libéralisme en acceptant de proclamer l'indépendance de ce pays. Mais, en provoquant la sécession au Katanga et au Kasai et en se livrant à des manœuvres tendant à maintenir sa domination sous une autre forme, elle a plongé le Congo dans le drame que nous connaissons et qui constitue aujourd'hui l'une de nos plus sérieuses préoccupations.

109. Dans les deux cas, le résultat a été un triste et lourd bilan de ruines, de malheurs ou de deuils. Dans les deux cas, il ne pouvait y avoir aucun espoir pour les colonialistes de garder leurs privilèges. Au contraire, le fossé devait, par la force des choses, s'élargir malheureusement chaque jour davantage, et les chances pour une compréhension, un rapprochement et une coopération s'amenuiser de jour en jour.

110. Le résultat aurait-il été le même si les pays colonisateurs avaient accepté l'inévitable par une adhésion spontanée — et, sinon spontanée, du moins raisonnée — aux mouvements de la libération? Sérieusement, je ne le pense pas. Le Viet-Nam, qui, en 1947, avait adhéré à l'Union française, serait peut-être aujourd'hui un Etat unifié, indépendant et souverain, lié à la France par des liens d'amitié et de fructueuse coopération. L'Algérie aussi le serait, si on l'avait voulu et si on avait voulu éviter la continuation de la guerre.

111. Quant au Congo, il n'aurait pas été le théâtre de ce malheureux exode des Belges ni de la terrible crise qu'il traverse aujourd'hui.

112. Nous estimons qu'il est temps maintenant que les Nations Unies prennent leurs responsabilités et qu'elles mettent résolument fin à la tragédie des peuples colonisés. Le pays que j'ai l'honneur de représenter a été l'un des premiers, parmi ceux qu'un destin injuste a placés sous la domination d'un autre, à engager la lutte pour l'honneur, la dignité et la liberté. Pendant trois quarts de siècle — et, notamment, au cours des 30 dernières années — il a mené une lutte implacable contre l'occupant. La Tunisie l'a fait à une époque où l'on pouvait qualifier sa lutte de combat du pot de terre contre le pot de fer, c'est-à-dire au temps où la conscience mondiale n'était pas aussi sensible qu'en ce moment à l'héroïque combat des peuples pour la dignité, la liberté et l'indépendance. Usant de la persuasion, de la force ou de l'appel aux valeurs humaines et à la solidarité des hommes, mon pays a persévéré dans la voie de l'honneur jusqu'à la victoire. Sous la conduite du président Bourguiba, il a toujours préconisé la négociation pour la solution des problèmes de colonisation,

sans toutefois refuser l'épreuve de force quand il s'y est trouvé malheureusement acculé par la mauvaise volonté des colonisateurs.

113. Et le jour où, après s'être engagé par désespoir de cause dans une lutte armée longue et douloureuse, qui a nécessité de la patience, de la persévérance, de lourds sacrifices et, certainement, du courage, il a accédé à l'indépendance, il s'est fixé comme idéal et comme devoir sacré de mettre tous ses moyens au service des peuples en lutte pour leur liberté. C'est ainsi que le 1er juin 1955, alors que la Tunisie avait à peine accédé à l'autonomie interne, alors que tout pouvait être remis en cause, puisque la France détenait encore en Tunisie des positions militaires et des moyens puissants d'action, mon pays n'a pas hésité, à cette heure-là, à se ranger aux côtés de l'Algérie en lutte pour la liberté. J'aurais à m'étendre amplement sur ce problème lorsque la question d'Algérie viendra bientôt en discussion devant la Première Commission. Je me contente seulement ici de simples allusions nécessaires, à mon avis, au débat actuel.

114. Au moment où il quittait le sol français pour son retour triomphal dans sa patrie, le 1er juin 1956, le président Bourguiba disait qu'il souhaitait de tout cœur voir l'expérience tunisienne s'élargir pour que cesse la guerre en Algérie, comme elle avait cessé en Tunisie, par un règlement qui laisse à la coopération des chances de se maintenir et de meilleures bases de continuité.

115. Quelques mois après, la Tunisie a accédé, en effet, à son indépendance, et, depuis, elle a consacré tous ses efforts, toutes ses possibilités à hâter la fin de la guerre. Au cours des six dernières années, le président Bourguiba n'a ménagé aucun effort pour tenter de concilier les deux parties et de les amener à la négociation. Malheureusement, nos efforts n'ont pas rencontré le succès qu'ils méritent.

116. Cependant, malgré le grand souci que lui donne la poursuite de la guerre d'Algérie qui, parfois, déborde sur ses frontières, la Tunisie ne s'est jamais désintéressée du sort des autres pays colonisés, notamment de ceux de notre propre continent, l'Afrique.

117. Dans toutes les conférences africaines, celles d'Accra, de Monrovia, d'Addis-Abéba et, dernièrement, de Léopoldville, la Tunisie a uni sa voix à celle des autres pays indépendants d'Afrique pour proclamer la déchéance du colonialisme et essayer de trouver les moyens les mieux appropriés pour alléger le fardeau de la croix que portent nos frères moins favorisés que nous.

118. Le 2 mars 1959, lors du congrès du Néo-Destour qui s'était tenu à Sousse, le président Bourguiba — il y a plus d'un an et demi — a lancé un appel vibrant aux pays colonisateurs, leur demandant de faire preuve de réalisme. Je me permets de citer un bref extrait de cet exposé. Le président Bourguiba disait:

"L'instabilité qui règne dans le monde est née de l'antagonisme entre deux blocs, l'occidental et l'oriental, et du désir de chacun d'eux d'attirer à soi le plus grand nombre des peuples d'Asie et d'Afrique.

"D'autre part, disait-il, nous constatons que la roue de l'histoire tourne inexorablement dans le sens de la libération des peuples et non de la colonisation. Chaque jour augmente le nombre des peuples émancipés. L'avenir est sans nul doute à la liberté des

peuples. Le colonialisme est bien condamné: la France peut s'obstiner encore un ou deux ans, elle n'empêchera pas l'indépendance de l'Algérie.

"De même, la Grande-Bretagne ne saurait empêcher celle du Kenya, du Nyassaland, de la Rhodésie et de la Somalie.

"C'est un calcul stérile que de vouloir retarder coûte que coûte ces échéances.

"La mauvaise grâce et les atermoiements ne sauraient arrêter la roue de l'histoire qui écrase ceux qui se mettent en travers de son chemin.

"Pourquoi les puissances occidentales, disait-il encore, n'envisagent-elles pas un retour à la sagesse?

"Au lieu de laisser se poursuivre cette grande bataille où la liberté se dresse contre la tyrannie d'une façon désordonnée, improvisée, au lieu de laisser aller les choses au hasard des circonstances et de s'en remettre à la seule inspiration des événements, que le bon sens reprenne le dessus, que l'on se rende à certaines vérités! Je crois qu'il est encore temps, poursuivait-il, pour les nations qui accordent un prix à la liberté et à la dignité, de redresser le courant.

"Ces nations peuvent se réunir autour d'une table, examiner et résoudre à tête reposée le problème de la décolonisation et tous les problèmes qui en découlent.

"Il s'agira de faire sortir l'humanité de l'ère coloniale pour l'engager dans celle de la coopération. C'est à froid que l'opération doit se réaliser. On pourra, continuait-il, fixer des étapes raisonnables, sauvegarder les chances d'une coopération fructueuse, d'une amitié durable. On doit pouvoir le faire. Il ne faut pas que des pays colonisés arrachent leur indépendance dans l'effusion de sang, au risque de sombrer peut-être dans l'anarchie que pourra exploiter le camp adverse pour déchaîner les rancunes, propager son idéologie et préparer sa domination."

Le président Bourguiba continuait, le 2 mars 1959:

"J'imagine aisément une grande conférence qui réunirait tous les pays qui ont encore des colonies ou des pays semi-coloniaux.

"Réunis d'abord entre eux, ces pays pourraient parvenir à un accord. Ils inviteraient ensuite les représentants des peuples intéressés autour d'une table ronde; ou bien encore ils constitueraient des comités chargés d'étudier séparément le cas de chaque pays et d'examiner ses possibilités et ses conditions particulières.

"On pourra s'inspirer utilement, disait-il, de l'expérience de la Grande-Bretagne occupée actuellement à préparer l'indépendance de la Nigéria prévue pour octobre 1960." (Je rappelle que ce discours date du 2 mars 1959.) "D'ici là, continuait le président Bourguiba, la constitution de ce pays sera mise sur pied. Les cadres politiques et techniques se seront révélés, les institutions de l'Etat seront prêtes à fonctionner.

"Ce que la Grande-Bretagne a fait pour le Ghana, la Nigéria, elle s'apprête à le faire pour la Somalie, et peut-être demain pour la Rhodésie, le Kenya, le Tanganyika.

"Agir de la sorte, c'est aller dans le sens de l'évolution naturelle; pourquoi d'autres pays — la France par exemple — n'opteraient-ils pas pour cette politique?

"Ils pourront établir le contact avec les mouvements nationalistes, organiser avec eux des élections libres qui révéleront les éléments les plus valables et les plus lucides avec lesquels se fera le dialogue.

"L'évolution des peuples colonisés échappera de la sorte aux aléas du terrorisme, de la violence et de l'anarchie.

"La négociation entre colonisateurs et colonisés, en même temps qu'elle définira les étapes et les méthodes de l'émancipation, devra s'étendre à l'examen d'un plan d'assistance et de relèvement économique. Il faut arracher les peuples au sous-développement qui est une forme de la servitude.

"Ce faisant, les pays occidentaux ne feraient qu'appliquer les principes dont ils se réclament, à savoir: aider les peuples à se libérer politiquement et économiquement. Acquis dans les conditions que je propose, une telle libération interviendrait dans le cadre d'un plan raisonnable qui restitue le pouvoir aux nationaux, prévoit l'organisation des élections et la mise en place des cadres nécessaires.

"On s'inquiétera ensuite de mettre au point des formules d'aide et des modalités d'investissement pour accélérer les programmes d'industrialisation.

"On aura ainsi ouvert aux peuples libérés la voie du progrès économique et technique."

119. Cet appel, lancé par le président Bourguiba, il y a plus d'un an et demi, prend une valeur de prophétie si l'on considère les troubles sérieux contre lesquels il mettait en garde et qui ont eu lieu depuis, tant au Congo qu'en Afrique du Sud, au Sud-Ouest africain et autres points importants du continent africain.

120. Cet appel à la raison et au réalisme n'a malheureusement pas été entendu. Il y a eu, certes, des pays qui ont été libérés depuis: la Nigéria, les Etats africains qui étaient sous la domination française, le Congo. Mais il n'y a pas eu, comme l'avait demandé le président Bourguiba, une solution du problème colonial dans son ensemble, solution qui aurait contribué, dans une large mesure, à favoriser un climat de détente sur le plan international.

121. Certes, 16 nouveaux Etats africains ont recouvré leur indépendance et ont été admis, cette année, dans l'enceinte de notre organisation. Mais l'Algérie connaît toujours la guerre; l'Angola et le Mozambique sont encore en dehors de tout programme de décolonisation. Cet état de choses ne doit plus être toléré. L'expérience de ces dernières années a prouvé combien il était dangereux, aussi bien pour le colonisateur et le colonisé que pour l'humanité entière, de laisser le colonialisme continuer son action néfaste. Nous savons que le colonialisme et, d'une façon générale, toute domination d'un peuple par un autre ont nettement conscience qu'ils vivent leurs derniers moments. Mais nous savons également que, traqué dans ses derniers retranchements, le colonialisme peut encore avoir des sursauts d'agonie bien dangereux pour la paix et la sécurité internationales. Ce fut le cas en Indonésie — pourquoi ne pas le rappeler? — quand la

Hollande, après avoir reconnu l'indépendance de ce pays, a tenté de le reconquérir à nouveau.

122. C'est aujourd'hui le cas de l'Algérie et du Congo, je ne crains pas de me répéter à ce sujet car on ne dira jamais assez combien est grave la responsabilité de la France et de la Belgique à ce sujet. Je cite ces deux cas à dessein, car ils constituent, pour les colonialistes, des arguments par lesquels ils tentent de justifier leur politique de domination.

123. En effet, c'est en vertu d'une législation française, issue de consultations électorales truquées, que l'Algérie est considérée comme territoire français. Et c'est au nom de la sauvegarde du patrimoine national que l'on fait actuellement la guerre au peuple algérien.

124. Pour le Portugal également, l'Angola et le Mozambique font partie intégrante du territoire métropolitain.

125. Cette conception ne peut être justifiée ni par l'histoire, ni par la géographie. Elle ne peut pas non plus reposer sur des fondements juridiques solides. Aussi était-il d'une importance capitale de mettre en évidence cette vérité, afin que des pays colonisateurs ne trouvent pas le moyen de se soustraire à leurs obligations en s'abritant derrière la théorie du territoire national.

126. J'en viens maintenant à l'exemple du Congo. Les désordres que ce pays a connus au lendemain de son indépendance sont présentés par les tenants du colonialisme comme un avertissement solennel du danger que pourrait présenter une "indépendance hâtive", disent-ils. Pour eux, la leçon à tirer de la situation au Congo est la suivante: une colonie qui est libérée avant d'atteindre un certain niveau de développement économique, une certaine maturité politique et avant de disposer de cadres, en un mot d'être préparée à ses nouvelles responsabilités, une telle colonie risque de tomber dans l'anarchie. Ceci peut être vrai surtout si l'ex-puissance dominante met tout en œuvre pour semer l'anarchie, comme ce fut le cas pour le Congo. Mais il y a une autre vérité qui trouve sa justification aussi au Congo, dans l'Angola aussi bien que dans le Mozambique: les puissances coloniales ne sont malheureusement pas capables de préparer ces pays à l'indépendance, pour la bonne raison qu'elles ne veulent pas de cette indépendance. Aussi, la seule leçon saine et impartiale que nous tirons de la situation est la suivante: il faut que les puissances colonisatrices s'engagent résolument à s'abstenir de toute action de nature à provoquer des désordres dans les pays libérés, à éviter toute tentative de créer des difficultés aux nouveaux gouvernements, à respecter honnêtement l'indépendance, la souveraineté, aussi bien que l'intégrité territoriale des nouveaux Etats. En d'autres termes, il faut éviter le retour de ce que la France a tenté de faire en Guinée et de ce que la Belgique a réussi malheureusement à réaliser au Congo. Dans ces deux cas, les puissances colonisatrices ont essayé de saboter une indépendance qui leur a été imposée par l'évolution historique naturelle.

127. Mais un engagement des puissances coloniales, aussi solennel soit-il, ne constitue pas à nos yeux une garantie suffisante. Il faut que les Nations Unies soient à même de le faire respecter, le cas échéant.

128. Il y a aussi une autre sorte d'abus à laquelle les puissances coloniales s'adonnent régulièrement. Elle

consiste à exiger du pays colonisé, sous la pression, et avant de lui accorder son indépendance, des avantages de caractère économique ou autres.

129. Une expérience indiscutable, vécue par la Tunisie et qui se prolonge encore, nous a montré qu'avant d'admettre l'indépendance des peuples colonisés par elles certaines puissances essayent de s'assurer le plus grand nombre possible d'avantages culturels, économiques ou même stratégiques, présentés à leurs partenaires, sous l'angle du principe de l'interdépendance des peuples, comme étant dans l'intérêt réciproque des deux parties.

130. A la veille de son indépendance, le peuple colonisé se trouve ainsi placé devant un dilemme bien difficile à trancher: ou bien refuser les concessions demandées, au risque de voir échapper l'occasion de recouvrer pacifiquement sa souveraineté; ou bien les accepter au risque de se trouver, après l'indépendance, lié dans sa liberté d'action et de détermination de ses intérêts propres, qui ne sont pas forcément et à priori les mêmes que ceux de son ancien colonisateur.

131. Devant un tel drame de conscience, bien pénible, le peuple colonisé opte en général pour le second terme de l'alternative, mais avec la ferme volonté de récupérer, une fois sa souveraineté reconnue et reprise bien en main, les concessions qui lui ont été arrachées sous la pression. Mais c'est alors qu'apparaissent de nouvelles difficultés et des crises quelquefois sérieuses dans les relations du nouvel Etat indépendant avec son ancien colonisateur. Ce dernier oppose le respect des engagements pris et marchande souvent ce qu'il estime être des concessions à faire par lui sur les concessions qu'il avait arrachées avant l'indépendance. D'où des tiraillements et des heurts qui obscurcissent des relations qui, sans cela, devraient devenir de plus en plus amicales et confiantes.

132. Je me suis contenté d'énoncer les conclusions pertinentes et indiscutables de l'expérience. Je pourrais citer des faits précis et faire état de documents irréfutables pour démontrer les conséquences désastreuses d'accords établis entre le pays colonisateur et le peuple colonisé, préalablement à l'indépendance de ce dernier.

133. De tels accords doivent être considérés comme originellement viciés. Les pays colonisateurs devraient s'abstenir d'en exiger l'établissement. Ils devraient, tout au moins, accepter de bonne grâce leur révision, après la reprise, par l'ancien pays colonisé, de ses nouvelles responsabilités de nation indépendante et souveraine. C'est là un principe essentiel qui permet à l'indépendance des peuples dominés d'être une indépendance réelle, saine et dégagée au départ de toute espèce d'hypothèque.

134. Il y a enfin un troisième point, qui a, aux yeux de ma délégation, une importance capitale. Il s'agit d'assurer à l'indépendance politique les meilleures chances d'efficacité dans l'intérêt du peuple libéré; je veux parler de l'aide aux pays nouvellement libérés. Economique ou technique, cette aide leur sera nécessaire. Aucun de ces Etats ne sera en mesure de s'en passer, s'il veut réaliser le développement économique et social de son territoire. Ce besoin urgent des nouveaux Etats constitue en général un terrain favorable pour la course entre les différentes tendances mondiales et notamment entre les deux blocs,

pour imposer leur influence sur les pays. Techniciens, matériel, et même fonds importants sont avancés de part et d'autre par des mains qui se disent désintéressées à des Etats qui ne savent plus s'il est plus avantageux de puiser à droite ou à gauche. Quelle que soit la direction qu'ils choisissent, le résultat est le même: ils sont plus ou moins alignés, souvent à leur corps défendant, sur l'un ou l'autre des deux blocs. D'objet d'une compétition qu'ils étaient, il deviennent ainsi, malgré eux, partisans dans une lutte où ils n'ont rien à gagner.

135. C'est pour cela que nous faisons appel aux grandes puissances de l'Est et de l'Ouest pour que, dans l'intérêt des jeunes Etats, dans celui de l'humanité aussi bien que de la paix, elles cessent d'en faire un objet de compétition. Nous leur demandons sérieusement et honnêtement de comprendre qu'en cherchant à entraîner les peuples dans leur sillage elles risquent de compromettre l'évolution normale et naturelle de ces jeunes nations.

136. Ayant leur propre idéologie, leurs propres problèmes, ces Etats ont un besoin urgent d'œuvrer, dans la paix et la liberté, pour la prospérité de leurs territoires, le relèvement du niveau de vie de leurs populations. Ils ne peuvent parvenir à ce but sans l'aide des peuples plus évolués qu'eux. Pour améliorer la situation de leurs peuples, les engager sur le terrain du progrès économique et social, de l'utilisation des sciences et des techniques modernes, ils sont obligés de s'adresser aux puissances qui ont atteint un degré d'industrialisation très poussé et qui ont réalisé des progrès techniques parfois révolutionnaires.

137. Pour que les peuples colonisés qui, actuellement, constituent l'un des éléments de la guerre froide, je dirais même l'une des causes d'une véritable guerre, cessent, une fois leur indépendance acquise, d'être un objet de discorde, il faut que l'aide économique et technique qui leur est nécessaire et que les deux blocs sont en mesure d'accorder ne constitue pas un moyen de les engager avec l'un ou avec l'autre des deux blocs. Aussi ma délégation estime-t-elle que cette aide gagnerait énormément à être dispensée par l'intermédiaire des Nations Unies. C'est de cette façon qu'elle peut perdre sa couleur, devenir réellement inconditionnelle, et constituer une manifestation désintéressée de coopération et de solidarité internationales.

138. Ma délégation a beaucoup apprécié l'initiative qu'a prise l'Union soviétique de faire figurer ce problème à l'ordre du jour de la présente session [A/4501]. Nous avons également été très sensibles à la chaleur apportée par la délégation soviétique pour que cette importante question soit discutée en Assemblée générale.

139. Cependant, si la décolonisation est un problème qui intéresse le monde entier, il n'en est pas moins vrai qu'il est de notre devoir sacré, nous, pays anciennement colonisés et qui avons eu à souffrir directement des méfaits du colonialisme, il est — dis-je — de notre devoir, nous pays non engagés, d'être à l'avant-garde de ce combat. Loin de nous l'ambition de prétendre détenir le monopole de la lutte pour la liberté des peuples ou la volonté de refuser le concours des grandes puissances. Au contraire, nous avons besoin de l'aide de tous, et nous ne jetons d'exclusive sur personne. Seulement, nous ne voulons en aucune façon imprimer à ce débat, je dirais

même à toute cette action de décolonisation, un caractère de lutte idéologique dans le cadre de celle qui oppose à l'heure actuelle l'Est à l'Ouest. Nous ne voulons pas que cette action soit l'objet de la stérile surenchère entre les deux blocs, ni qu'elle soit un moyen d'activer la guerre froide.

140. En termes clairs, nous voudrions qu'on parle moins de l'OTAN, de bases occidentales, des pays de l'Europe centrale et de leurs régimes intérieurs. Ni la première, ni la deuxième de ces questions ne figurent à l'ordre du jour de ce débat, ni n'intéressent, à notre avis, d'aucune façon, la question en elle-même. Au contraire, en donnant à ce débat un caractère idéologique partisan Est-Ouest, on risquerait de s'écarter du sujet, d'introduire la passion, et d'en faire un sujet de propagande.

141. Le problème qui nous intéresse est trop grave pour ne pas exiger de nous tous des efforts en vue d'élever ce débat au-dessus de toute idéologie partisane et de lui donner un caractère d'objectivité et de désintéressement. Je dis bien de tous, car je ne vois pas, dans cette assemblée, qui pourrait honnêtement s'opposer aux principes qui sont les fondements mêmes de notre charte. Il y a encore certes des colonialistes impénitents, mais leur nombre devient de plus en plus restreint, heureusement pour l'humanité.

142. Mais, à part ceux-là, qui, dans cette enceinte, n'est pas conscient du processus irréversible qui a mené et mènera tous les peuples vers leur indépendance? Qui, parmi nous, croira un instant et de bonne foi qu'il pourrait exister une force capable d'arrêter la marche irrésistible de l'homme vers sa liberté? Qui, parmi nous, doutera de l'impossibilité de détourner le cours naturel de l'histoire?

143. Il ne doit pas exister des hommes dignes de ce nom qui refusent à d'autres hommes, sous prétexte de la couleur de leur peau, de leur confession, ou simplement parce que leurs pays ne sont pas suffisamment développés, le droit à la dignité et à la liberté. L'esclavage a été aboli certes, mais le colonialisme n'est-il pas l'une des formes les plus pernicieuses de l'asservissement de l'homme par l'homme?

144. En notre siècle de progrès technique, d'épanouissement de la science, où l'homme a réussi à dompter les forces de la nature, améliorant sans cesse ses conditions de vie, il ne doit plus y avoir de place pour la servitude. Car, si, du temps de l'esclavage, l'homme était vendu et acheté selon une pratique qui ne trouvait pas de justification dans les valeurs humaines, le colonialisme, lui, prétend se réclamer de la civilisation, des principes humanitaires, et même — ironie du sort — de la démocratie. Ne voit-on pas encore de nos jours des Etats procéder à une exploitation systématique de peuples entiers, tout en proclamant, chiffres à l'appui, qu'ils ont prodigué l'enseignement, propagé l'hygiène, amélioré les conditions de vie? Ne voit-on pas des Etats maintenir sous leur domination des peuples faibles, sous prétexte qu'ils leur ont accordé les mêmes droits que leurs nationaux? Pourtant, les résultats sont loin d'être à la mesure de l'exploitation économique et des ressources humaines que les pays colonisateurs ont réalisées, au détriment de ces peuples colonisés.

145. J'ai cité dans mon intervention des exemples et des cas précis de pays colonisés et de puissances

coloniales. Si j'ai suivi cette voie, c'est pour donner à ce débat un caractère positif. Aux yeux de ma délégation, l'ère de la profession de foi, de l'affirmation des principes est dépassée. Déjà, après la première guerre mondiale, on avait énoncé de tels principes et fait naître de grandes espérances chez les peuples asservis. Ces principes sont pourtant demeurés lettre morte. A San Francisco également, on a affirmé solennellement que les Nations Unies sont résolues "à proclamer à nouveau leur foi dans les droits fondamentaux de l'homme, dans la dignité et la valeur de la personne humaine ...".

146. Le moment n'est plus aujourd'hui à affirmer ces principes, car ils ne sont plus discutés par personne. Notre rôle, c'est de ne pas décevoir l'humanité qui a cru en la Charte de San Francisco, et de ne pas la décevoir comme elle a été déçue après la première guerre mondiale.

147. Ce qu'exige de nous la situation actuelle, ce ne sont plus des paroles, mais une déclaration solennelle engageant tous les Membres de notre organisation à mettre à exécution ces mêmes principes et à respecter leurs engagements. Notre devoir est de réaliser ce qui est l'un des buts de notre institution, rendre à tous les hommes la liberté et la dignité.

148. C'est cette conscience d'un devoir sacré que nous assumons tous à l'égard de l'humanité entière qui a poussé ma délégation, conjointement avec d'autres de l'Afrique et de l'Asie, à soumettre un projet de résolution [A/L.323 et Add.1 et 2]. Ce projet précise les principes qui doivent servir de base à une action de décolonisation générale et rapide, dans la paix, l'amitié et la compréhension.

149. Nous aurions voulu, certes, que ce projet définisse encore mieux les moyens de négociation qui, seuls et à l'exclusion de toute coercition ou répression armée, doivent être utilisés par les pays colonisateurs. Nous aurions aimé que ce projet fixe une date limite aussi rapprochée que possible pour l'indépendance complète de tous les peuples qui, à quelque titre que ce soit, subissent encore la domination d'un autre. Nous nous sommes contentés de la proclamation des principes indiscutables qui ne nous paraissent pas pouvoir donner lieu à une controverse.

150. Ce projet peut engager notre organisation dans la voie du réalisme. Ce serait là l'une des plus belles tâches qui pourraient s'offrir à elle. Si nous parvenons à la mener à bien, nous aurions droit à la gratitude des générations futures, nous aurions contribué, dans une large mesure, à atteindre ce but qui est fixé par les premiers mots de notre charte:

"Nous, peuples des Nations Unies résolus à préserver les générations futures du fléau de la guerre qui deux fois en l'espace d'une vie humaine a infligé à l'humanité d'indicibles souffrances."

151. Non seulement nous aurions réduit les risques de la guerre, mais nous aurions donné au monde, en plus de la paix, la stabilité et la prospérité. Nous aurions enfin rendu à des centaines de millions d'hommes la notion de la dignité, de l'honneur, de la liberté, et partant celle du bonheur. Nous aurions enfin lavé le front de l'humanité de cette tâche sombre qu'est le colonialisme.

M. Tarabanov (Bulgarie), vice-président, prend la présidence.

152. M. ASHA (République arabe unie) [traduit de l'anglais]: En raison de l'importance du problème dont elle est saisie, l'Assemblée générale a sagement décidé d'en discuter en séance plénière plutôt qu'en commission. Pour ma délégation, la liquidation du colonialisme et l'octroi de l'indépendance à tous les pays et les peuples coloniaux constituent, après le désarmement, le problème le plus important qui se pose à l'Organisation. Il soulève en effet quelques-unes des questions essentielles qui sont en jeu dans le monde actuel et reflète toutes les scissions, tous les conflits et toutes les tensions que connaît notre époque.

153. Je voudrais donc, au nom de ma délégation, exprimer nos remerciements à M. Khrouchtchev pour l'initiative qu'il a prise de proposer l'inscription de ce point intitulé "Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux". La déclaration que l'Assemblée générale adoptera décidera non seulement du sort du colonialisme, mais également de notre propre sort et de l'avenir de notre organisation. L'Assemblée a approuvé par acclamation l'inscription de ce point à l'ordre du jour [903ème séance] et cela ne manque pas d'être significatif. Approuvons, par conséquent, une déclaration qui abolira le colonialisme et, par la même occasion, libérera l'humanité des fléaux qu'il a engendrés.

154. Ma délégation a l'honneur de figurer parmi les auteurs du projet de résolution contenu dans le document A/L.323 et Add.1 et 2. Aussi, je voudrais exposer les vues de ma délégation sur ce sujet.

155. Ma délégation aborde ce problème avec la conviction qu'il s'agit là d'un problème particulièrement urgent, car, comme nous avons eu l'occasion de le souligner devant l'Assemblée générale et au sein de ses principales commissions, le rythme toujours plus rapide des mouvements de libération qui ont balayé les deux grands continents d'Asie et d'Afrique, atteint désormais son point culminant grâce à l'octroi de l'indépendance à plus des deux tiers de l'humanité. Les événements de ces 15 dernières années, et en particulier de l'année 1960, sont des événements historiques sans pareils dans l'histoire de l'humanité. Ces événements ont abouti à la libération de nombreuses nations qui, après avoir souffert, à plusieurs reprises, de l'oppression du système colonial, ont enfin retrouvé, avec leur dignité, la jouissance des droits fondamentaux de l'homme, de ces mêmes droits que la Charte a proclamés il y a plus de 15 ans.

156. Mais l'atmosphère de ces 15 dernières années a été, de loin, plus dynamique que celle qui régnait à San Francisco en 1945, et encore bien plus que celle qui existait avant la seconde guerre mondiale; ce fut, en effet, une atmosphère féconde en idées, en idées révolutionnaires qui reflétaient le mécontentement des peuples à l'égard de la domination coloniale, de l'exploitation économique et de l'autorité traditionnelle; on voyait s'exprimer des idées sur la valeur réelle des droits de l'homme, sur la dignité et l'importance de la personne humaine, sur l'égalité des droits des hommes et des femmes et des nations grandes et petites; des idées sur la liberté politique, économique, sociale et culturelle; des idées sur des progrès toujours plus grands et sur l'amélioration des niveaux de vie dans le cadre d'une plus grande liberté.

157. Nous ne pouvons nous permettre de prétendre que ces idées pourraient sans danger être mises en réserve, cependant que le progrès dans le domaine économique, social et celui de l'enseignement continueraient d'avancer à un rythme aussi lent que par le passé. Nous ne pouvons nous permettre de prétendre que les pays colonisés, même dans les régions les moins développées, se contenteront — ou même qu'on leur imposera — pour arriver à l'indépendance, de suivre le même processus, lent, hésitant et plein de tâtonnements, que nos propres civilisations ont suivi au cours des siècles.

158. Dans une telle atmosphère, les peuples coloniaux ont manifesté leur désir d'obtenir la reconnaissance de leurs droits inaliénables à la liberté et à l'indépendance et les empires coloniaux ont commencé à s'effondrer les uns à la suite des autres. Pourtant, ces empires n'ont pas encore complètement disparu, comme nous l'espérons. Le moment est venu où le colonialisme doit recevoir le coup de grâce, afin qu'une fois pour toutes soient libérés les 100 millions ou plus d'êtres humains qui souffrent encore de l'oppression et de l'exploitation sous toutes ses formes.

159. Il est grand temps que les puissances coloniales oublient les splendeurs de leurs anciens empires coloniaux et admettent la pression des événements historiques dans les régions qu'ils dominent. Les peuples du monde épris de paix se doivent d'exercer toutes les pressions possibles pour enfoncer les derniers clous dans le cercueil du colonialisme, afin que puissent s'établir entre les peuples des relations pacifiques, stables et amicales, fondées sur le respect de l'égalité des droits.

160. Les puissances coloniales sont étrangement incapables de comprendre le désir fondamental de liberté et d'indépendance; telle est bien l'une des plus grandes ironies de notre époque. Nombre de ces nations furent cependant, à un moment ou à un autre de leur histoire, les victimes d'agressions suivies de longues occupations par des troupes étrangères. Ont-elles oublié les humiliations et les souffrances de ces années-là? Ont-elles oublié qu'un grand Américain a dit:

"... que tous les hommes sont égaux, qu'ils ont été dotés, par le Créateur, de certains droits inaliénables à la vie, à la liberté et à la poursuite du bonheur?"

Ces puissances coloniales ne parlent de liberté que pour remplir des prisons. Elles déclarent solennellement leur attachement aux principes de fraternité et d'égalité à seule fin de jeter des êtres innocents dans de nouveaux camps de concentration. Elles ne parlent de démocratie et de liberté de parole que pour donner des ordres à des pelotons d'exécution. Je demande alors aux puissances coloniales qui existent encore et à celles qui l'ont été dans le passé: combien de vies humaines ont été perdues pour avoir supprimé les nationalistes qui, dans vos colonies, dans vos territoires sous tutelle, dans vos territoires non autonomes, recherchaient la liberté? Quelles ont été vos propres pertes et quel est le bilan définitif? Quel a été le prix de la domination coloniale?

161. Le colonialisme aurait dû être liquidé il y a bien longtemps, mais hélas il est encore vivant. Le concept du droit des peuples et des nations à l'indépendance — c'est-à-dire du droit à l'autodéter-

mination — est le plus ancien aspect de la liberté humaine qui ait été reconnu par la communauté internationale. La première guerre mondiale, qui, dans une large mesure, doit son origine aux forces explosives du nationalisme, a cristallisé le concept de l'autodétermination. Le président Woodrow Wilson devint le champion de cet idéal avant même que les États-Unis n'entrent dans la première guerre mondiale. Il énonça le principe selon lequel:

"... les gouvernements tirent tous leurs justes pouvoirs du consentement des gouvernés et il n'existe nulle part un droit qui permette de faire passer les peuples d'une souveraineté à une autre, comme s'il s'agissait d'une propriété".

162. L'acceptation très large de ce principe a grandement contribué à créer dans le monde un mouvement favorable à la liquidation du colonialisme. Mais, ni le système du mandat, institué par la Société des Nations, ni le système de tutelle, œuvre des Nations Unies, n'ont été suffisamment efficace pour éliminer le régime colonial. Il avait pourtant été nettement décidé que les peuples et les territoires ne devraient pas être utilisés comme des pions, ou détenus par des nations victorieuses en tant que "butin de guerre".

163. Au cours de ces 15 dernières années, les problèmes coloniaux sont devenus les questions essentielles de notre ordre du jour au cours des sessions annuelles de l'Assemblée. On peut même dire qu'ils ont toujours dominé nos débats.

164. Les Chapitres XI, XII et XIII de la Charte montrent à quel point les fondateurs de l'ONU s'intéressaient, dès 1945, à San Francisco, au problème du colonialisme. Ils y ont consacré trois des 19 chapitres de la Charte parce qu'ils constataient très justement combien ce problème était lié à celui de la sécurité; ils reconnaissaient que tout progrès réalisé dans ce domaine constituait un élément essentiel pour l'établissement d'une paix durable. Ils étaient également conscients du fait que pendant les deux grandes guerres mondiales la plupart des peuples coloniaux avaient lutté aux côtés des pays qui les administraient et consenti de grands sacrifices, qui contribuèrent grandement à la victoire. Les peuples coloniaux ne disposaient cependant d'aucune voix dans les conseils internationaux et n'avaient guère à intervenir dans le règlement de leurs propres affaires.

165. Certes, plus de 800 millions d'hommes ont recouvré leur indépendance, mais il en reste encore plus de 100 millions qui luttent toujours pour recouvrer leur liberté. Dès 1947, feu John Foster Dulles, avec lequel nous n'étions pas d'accord sur plus d'un point, fit preuve d'assez d'audace et de courage pour demander à la Quatrième Commission la liquidation du système colonial. Parlant au nom des États-Unis, il a déclaré en ce qui concerne le colonialisme:

"Le système colonial devrait disparaître. C'est un système anachronique, et, s'il fut justifié à un moment quelconque dans le passé, il ne l'est certainement pas pour l'avenir. Il a porté des fruits empoisonnés, notamment en ce qu'il a fait que des hommes d'une race ont gouverné ceux d'une autre race, ce qui a été nuisible aux deux races. Je ne puis m'exprimer avec suffisamment d'énergie à propos de ma conviction profonde de la nécessité

de liquider ce système le plus promptement possible et d'une façon ordonnée^{1/}."

166. Treize ans se sont écoulés depuis cette déclaration. Cependant, ce fléau, le plus sinistre de tous, refuse de mourir de sa belle mort et c'est à nous, en conséquence, de procéder à sa suppression. Mais, pour ce faire, toutes les puissances coloniales doivent accepter la volonté de l'opinion publique mondiale et nous fournir les moyens nécessaires. Les puissances occidentales ont toutes prétendu qu'en restant sur le territoire des autres peuples ils envisageaient d'y introduire leur culture et leur langue, et, d'une façon générale, de mener à bien une "mission civilisatrice". Puis-je me permettre de leur dire qu'elles se trompent? Tout d'abord, les anciens peuples colonisés et ceux qui sont encore privés de l'indépendance ont leur propre culture, leur propre civilisation, leurs traditions, leur langue et leurs coutumes. Ils ne sont pas seulement fiers de leur héritage, ils veulent encore le préserver. Ils sont décidés à le sauvegarder et à le faire fructifier comme ils l'entendent! D'autre part, cette œuvre peut tout aussi bien être menée à bien, et peut-être mieux encore, si les colonialistes quittent ces territoires et les quittent immédiatement.

167. Ceux qui gouvernaient les colonies ont souvent déclaré publiquement que les peuples coloniaux les aimaient. Si tel était le cas, si les peuples soumis aimaient les colonisateurs et voulaient bénéficier de leur culture et de leur civilisation, très certainement — au moment de l'octroi de l'indépendance — rien n'empêcherait les anciens gouvernements de poursuivre ce qu'ils appellent leur œuvre civilisatrice. Leurs écoles resteraient ouvertes si elles fonctionnent dans le cadre des lois du pays; les colons et les commerçants pourraient poursuivre leurs activités, non plus comme exploiters, mais sur un pied d'égalité avec les autochtones, et, au lieu de rapports de gouvernant à gouverné, de nouveaux liens d'association s'établiraient dans l'égalité. Ceci serait vrai, en particulier, si, comme nous l'espérons, tous les territoires qui n'ont pu encore parvenir à l'indépendance finissent par l'obtenir et si les peuples peuvent choisir librement les pays dont ils voudraient recevoir l'aide pour construire leur société. Une expérience récente nous a montré que la présence d'une puissance européenne en tant que maître d'un pays africain ou asiatique constituait en vérité un obstacle au développement de la culture et de la civilisation de cette puissance européenne, car, au lieu d'éprouver à son égard des sentiments d'affection, les peuples assujettis adoptent une attitude de résistance, qui — par un phénomène naturel — dépasse le cadre purement politique pour s'étendre à celui de la culture et de l'esprit. Tout cela prouve que l'absence d'influence politique ou administrative, loin de porter atteinte ou de détruire l'influence culturelle et civilisatrice, peut au contraire la renforcer et en encourager l'expansion.

168. Les puissances coloniales se plaignent, et, à certains moments, se vantent, des lourdes obligations et responsabilités que représente la prétendue mise en valeur des richesses coloniales, ainsi que le prétendu bien-être qu'elles apportent aux populations. Nous avons souvent entendu dire que de telles responsabilités financières vidaient les caisses de la

métropole. Mais, si tel est le cas, pourquoi les acceptent-elles? Ne serait-il pas de l'intérêt des puissances coloniales de proclamer l'indépendance de leurs possessions respectives afin de se débarrasser de ces perpétuels soucis?

169. Il existe une autre raison pour laquelle il est de l'intérêt des puissances colonisatrices en particulier, et de l'Europe en général, de liquider le colonialisme: une atmosphère de confiance s'établirait alors entre ces pays; on en a eu l'expérience, après la première guerre mondiale, dans certains pays situés au nord de ma patrie.

170. Le règlement adopté par la Société des Nations à propos de territoires de l'Empire ottoman impliquait le partage des pays arabes du nord de la péninsule Arabique entre le Royaume-Uni et la France. Dans l'entre-deux-guerres, et jusqu'à la fin du mandat français sur la Syrie et le Liban, rien n'a autant contribué à la méfiance et à la rivalité entre la France et le Royaume-Uni que le fait qu'un pays administrait la Palestine et l'autre la Syrie et le Liban. Le Gouvernement français croyait que les Britanniques provoquaient la révolte contre son autorité dans les Etats du Levant, et le Gouvernement britannique pensait que les Français n'hésitaient pas à contribuer discrètement aux difficultés qu'il rencontrait en Palestine. Je ne veux certes pas me faire juge de la véracité de ces accusations réciproques. Personne toutefois ne peut douter de la réalité de ces accusations et de cette méfiance. La leçon que nous pouvons en tirer est la suivante: rien ne contribue autant à la rupture des relations entre les Etats européens que la possession de territoires contigus en dehors des régions métropolitaines. L'histoire récente nous enseigne que nombre de guerres qui ont opposé des puissances coloniales ont été gagnées par des armées qui venaient des colonies et des territoires dépendants. N'est-il pas vrai de dire que la suppression du colonialisme aura, entre autres avantages, celui d'interdire aux puissances coloniales d'utiliser de telles armées et qu'ainsi les risques de guerre diminueront et les chances de la paix s'accroîtront?

171. Jusqu'ici, je n'ai parlé que des seuls intérêts des puissances coloniales. Lorsque nous étudions ce problème sous l'aspect qui doit nous venir aussitôt à l'esprit — je veux parler de la libération de ces territoires conformément aux désirs et aux intérêts des populations — tout doute qui aurait pu subsister quant à la nécessité de l'indépendance immédiate disparaît complètement. L'indépendance immédiate, sans condition ni réserve, et conformément à la volonté et aux désirs librement exprimés, doit être proclamée sans délai et ce sans qu'il y ait lieu de distinguer entre les races, les croyances ou la couleur de la peau: telle est la décision irrévocable que nous devons prendre avec hardiesse, courage et décision. Si nous croyons sincèrement que les aspirations des habitants de ces pays qui luttent pour la liberté sont d'une importance capitale — et personne ne peut le nier — alors l'adoption d'une déclaration à cet effet devient pour nous une obligation.

172. Nous connaissons, par exemple, déjà l'argument qui consiste à dire que tel ou tel territoire n'est pas prêt pour l'indépendance. Quand l'Empire ottoman fut vaincu, lors de la première guerre mondiale, des territoires furent détachés de cet empire et soumis à des régimes différents; les moins prospères

^{1/} Cette déclaration a été faite à la 43ème séance de la Quatrième Commission dont les comptes rendus ne paraissent que sous forme analytique.

furent laissés indépendants, tandis que les plus évolués furent placés sous le système du mandat. L'état réel des territoires en question ne constitua pas ici le critère principal; le facteur décisif fut, en fait, les rivalités qui existaient entre les grandes puissances et leur incapacité à se mettre d'accord.

173. Si une puissance coloniale quelconque se permettait un jour de prétendre — et j'espère qu'aucune ne le fera — que certains territoires coloniaux ne sont pas prêts à assumer l'indépendance, nous devons dans ce cas écouter de telles affirmations avec la plus grande suspicion. Aucun argument valable ne peut être invoqué pour étayer pareille assertion et, si un prétexte de ce genre était avancé, nous sommes persuadés qu'aucun représentant ici n'y prêterait foi. On nous a dit autrefois que certains territoires coloniaux étaient trop pauvres pour assumer les grandes responsabilités que comporte l'acquisition de l'indépendance. Si l'existence d'un budget non équilibré devait constituer un argument pour refuser à un pays son indépendance, je crains bien que de nombreux sièges ne restent vides dans cette grande salle. Parmi les gouvernements représentés ici, nombreux sont ceux qui n'arrivent pas à équilibrer leur budget chaque année, qui reçoivent une assistance de l'extérieur, qui font des emprunts, ou qui tout simplement continuent à vivre avec un déficit perpétuel. Personne, à moins d'être malveillant, n'irait jusqu'à présumer que de tels pays ne méritent pas d'être indépendants. Par conséquent, il y a là un argument qui s'écroule; d'autant plus que, si les puissances coloniales partaient, ces nouveaux pays parviendraient — j'en suis convaincu — à se suffire à eux-mêmes; ils seraient à même, grâce à la collaboration des Etats amis et à la famille des Nations Unies, de recouvrer leur prospérité ancienne dès que les puissances coloniales cesseront d'exploiter leurs richesses et leurs ressources naturelles. Une assistance financière et technique peut très bien leur être accordée sans leur refuser l'indépendance.

174. D'autre part, certaines puissances coloniales s'accrochent encore à des prétentions désuètes et déclarent injustement qu'il s'agit dans certains cas de territoires faisant partie intégrante de la métropole.

175. Ceux qui connaissent les éléments sociaux et humains qui dépeignent et caractérisent ces territoires ne pourront certes pas nier que ces régions ont beaucoup plus de points communs avec les populations des Etats frères en Afrique qu'avec les prétendus territoires métropolitains. Les liens qui unissent ces populations et les peuples indépendants d'Afrique et d'Asie se sont forgés tout au long des siècles sous la forme d'une association libre et autour d'un héritage commun, tandis que le lien qui unit le peuple colonial à la puissance colonialiste est essentiellement fondé sur la force. Le cadre juridique qui lie ces territoires aux puissances colonialistes est l'une de ces anomalies de l'histoire qui ne tiennent et ne subsistent que par le déséquilibre des forces dans le monde.

176. Il y a ici un problème fondamental et c'est dans ce fait que réside la principale cause de la situation actuelle. En effet, que nous abordions le problème en nous plaçant au point de vue de la géographie, de l'histoire ou de la culture, il est impossible d'attribuer à ces territoires un caractère européen; et je soutiens qu'aucun texte juridique, même valable quant à la forme, ne peut ni méconnaître ni remplacer ces

données fondamentales sur la formation d'une société humaine; aucune loi n'est immuable; pour qu'une loi continue à vivre, elle doit toujours obéir au dynamisme des sociétés dont elle prétend réglementer l'évolution. Au cours des siècles de domination, les puissances colonisatrices n'ont pas réussi à faire naître dans la conscience des peuples opprimés un quelconque élément durable; les relations entre les nations continuent malheureusement de refléter le très large fossé humain qui les sépare et que, seule, la force arrive à franchir. Comment pourrions-nous autrement expliquer l'éveil violent du nationalisme dans ces territoires qui ne sont pas indépendants? Comment expliquer le désir si longtemps nourri de se libérer du joug colonial? Comment expliquer les troubles révolutionnaires et les représailles dans ces pays? Ce sont là des faits auxquels nous avons à faire face et à faire face maintenant. Aucune subtilité juridique ne peut suffire à expliquer cette situation; incontestablement, cet état de choses exige qu'en notre qualité d'Organisation internationale nous nous en préoccupions. Les puissances coloniales ne sont pas en droit de revendiquer une compétence nationale exclusive dans ce domaine. Cet aspect du problème a été traité au cours de ce débat et de débats précédents; il est inutile que je fasse perdre le temps de cette assemblée en rentrant davantage dans les détails.

177. Quelques-uns de mes collègues ont déjà percé à jour le mythe qui veut que certains de ces territoires fassent partie intégrante du pays métropolitain; il est donc inutile que les puissances métropolitaines et ceux qui soutiennent leurs thèses viennent prétendre que les questions concernant les prétendus territoires d'outre-mer relèvent essentiellement de la juridiction nationale des pays métropolitains; ces territoires ne subissent rien d'autre qu'un statut colonial et doivent être libérés sans délai.

178. Je voudrais encore mettre l'accent sur un autre point, à savoir la préservation de l'unité et de l'intégrité territoriale des pays coloniaux. Je mentionne la nécessité de l'unité et de l'intégrité territoriale, à cause de certaines expériences malheureuses de récente date et d'événements encore plus récents. Ma délégation attache une importance extrême à ces deux considérations. Nous estimons que la question de l'unité et de l'intégrité territoriale ne peut pas être dissociée de celle de l'indépendance.

179. A un certain moment, une puissance coloniale a divisé un petit territoire en cinq Etats indépendants. En Afrique du Nord, le Maroc s'est vu amputé d'une partie intégrante de son territoire, la Mauritanie. Le colonialisme menace également l'unité et l'intégrité territoriale de la République du Congo (Léopoldville). Dans cette énumération, je ne voudrais pas oublier Malte où malheureusement les aspirations de la population ne sont pas respectées comme elles devraient l'être par les autorités britanniques.

180. En Palestine, le régime du mandat eut pour résultat final de créer une division radicale et désastreuse de ce pays. Les colonialistes conspirèrent contre toute une nation; une nation fut déracinée tout entière de sa patrie et donnée à d'autres. A cet égard, qu'il me soit permis de citer les paroles du président Nasser dans son exposé du 27 septembre 1960:

"L'impérialisme suit sa propre logique. La logique de l'impérialisme, révélée dans le crime commis

contre le peuple de Palestine, a consisté à briser l'unité géographique du monde arabe, d'une part, et, d'autre part, à établir, au cœur même du monde arabe une base d'où l'impérialisme pourrait menacer les peuples arabes. Je ne crois pas qu'il en existe de preuve plus évidente que la conspiration qui a abouti à l'agression tripartite dirigée contre nous en 1956." [873ème séance, par. 131.]

Cette forme nouvelle de colonialisme, qui s'appelle le sionisme, doit également complètement disparaître.

181. Une autre tentative visant à détruire l'unité territoriale se déroule en ce moment en Algérie. Une guerre coloniale y est menée depuis plus de six ans. La puissance coloniale, la France, dans ce cas, a recours, avec l'assistance militaire de ses alliés, aux armes les plus inhumaines pour combattre le brave peuple algérien, et pour prolonger l'asservissement de 10 millions d'Arabes. Ces frères et sœurs d'Algérie, qui ont souffert plus qu'aucun autre peuple pour la cause de la liberté, continuent de lutter avec abnégation dans ce dessein. Comme le disait notre président:

"Il est vraiment déplorable que le Gouvernement français persiste à établir des camps de concentration et à recourir à toutes sortes de moyens de torture contre les hommes et femmes libres du peuple algérien, et qu'il commette des actes qui révoltent la conscience humaine dans le monde entier, et même en France." [Ibid., par. 144.]

182. Le vaillant peuple algérien a perdu des centaines de milliers de martyrs, ses villes et ses villages ont été détruits, plus de 2 millions de civils innocents vivent dans des camps de concentration, des centaines d'entre eux meurent tous les jours afin que la liberté lui soit rendue. Jusqu'ici, la France a refusé de mettre fin à cette guerre sanglante et menace maintenant l'intégrité territoriale et l'unité de l'Algérie. Allons-nous tolérer plus longtemps cette honteuse agression coloniale? La conscience humaine peut-elle longtemps encore souffrir que la personne humaine soit à ce point bafouée? Il est temps de proclamer solennellement la fin du colonialisme dans cette chère Algérie et la France devrait être la première à y apposer sa signature.

183. A cet égard, je citerai à nouveau les termes qu'employait le président Nasser, le 27 septembre 1960, lors de son intervention dans le débat général:

"Aujourd'hui, les Nations Unies doivent remplir leur devoir. Je ne pense pas que notre exigence soit outrée lorsque nous insistons pour que le peuple algérien reçoive le droit à l'autodétermination, sur la base d'un plébiscite tenu sous la surveillance et la protection des Nations Unies." [873ème séance, par. 147.]

184. Le colonialisme ne s'arrête pas en Palestine ni en Algérie. Il règne en Oman, en Arabie du Sud et dans les prétendus protectorats de nombreuses régions d'Afrique. Il existe également au Nyassaland, en Angola, au Mozambique, en Rhodésie, au Ruanda-Urundi, au Sud-Ouest africain, au Tanganyika, en Ouganda, en Irian occidentale, en Guinée portugaise et ailleurs. Il tente de revenir dans les lieux d'où il a été chassé. Il doit périr et nous devons veiller à ce que cette mort soit certaine et définitive.

185. Les forces puissantes d'Asie et d'Afrique se sont dressées. Les deux continents géants sont réveillés. La misère que leur a valu la domination coloniale n'a pas disparu de leur mémoire. Leurs sympathies profondes vont à leurs frères et sœurs qui vivent encore dans l'esclavage et dans la servitude. Ils sont impatients de voir disparaître les vestiges du colonialisme et ils veulent lui porter le coup mortel. Leurs voix s'élèvent du côté de la vérité; la vérité, c'est la liberté, et la liberté, c'est la voie qui conduit à la paix.

186. La lutte contre le colonialisme a atteint son point culminant à la Conférence africano-asiatique de Bandoung, tenue en avril 1955. Entre autres décisions historiques, la Conférence a déclaré que le colonialisme, sous toutes ses manifestations, est un fléau auquel il faut mettre fin rapidement. Elle affirmait "que la question des peuples soumis à l'assujettissement de l'étranger, à sa domination et à son exploitation constitue une négation des droits fondamentaux de l'homme, est contraire à la Charte des Nations Unies et empêche de favoriser la paix et la coopération mondiales". La Conférence a affirmé "son appui à la cause de la liberté et de l'indépendance de ces peuples" et adressé un appel "à toutes les puissances intéressées pour qu'elles accordent la liberté et l'indépendance à ces peuples".

187. Les Etats indépendants d'Afrique, réunis à Accra en 1958, ont appuyé également la déclaration adoptée à Bandoung. Les Etats africains étaient convaincus qu'"une date précise devrait être fixée pour l'accession à l'indépendance de chacun des territoires coloniaux, conformément à la volonté de la population de ces territoires et aux dispositions de la Charte des Nations Unies".

188. Réunie à Addis-Abéba en juin 1960, la deuxième Conférence des Etats indépendants d'Afrique a réaffirmé la déclaration de Bandoung ainsi que les résolutions d'Accra et de Monrovia, et déclaré:

"...

"Considérant en outre que l'éveil actuel des peuples de l'Afrique et des mouvements d'indépendance ne sauraient plus longtemps être contenus sans risquer de compromettre gravement les relations entre les différentes nations,

"...

"Persuadée que le rétablissement des droits naturels et de la dignité humaine en faveur des Africains, dans ces parties de l'Afrique actuellement soumises à la subjugation étrangère, ainsi que la jouissance pacifique de la liberté chèrement acquise par les populations des Etats indépendants d'Afrique ne sauraient être obtenus que grâce à l'élimination complète de la domination coloniale de notre continent,

"Demande instamment aux puissances coloniales qu'elles fixent les dates conformes à la volonté des populations pour l'octroi immédiat de l'indépendance à tous les pays qui ne sont pas indépendants..."

189. En conclusion, une liquidation complète, inconditionnelle et immédiate du colonialisme dans toutes ses manifestations doit être notre décision irrévocable. Sa nature injuste, ses horreurs, ses crimes ne seront jamais suffisamment dénoncés. Le colonialisme n'a jamais donné la liberté à ses victimes

comme un cadeau. L'histoire est remplie des luttes héroïques de ceux qui ont conquis la liberté en l'arrachant à leurs oppresseurs.

190. L'ère du colonialisme est terminée. Cette année, qualifiée à bon droit d'année africaine, 16 Etats frères sont entrés dans la grande famille des Nations Unies. Ce phénomène historique de décolonisation et d'accession à une vie nationale réelle est irrésistible.

191. En conséquence, nous devons apporter notre appui le plus total à la cause de la liberté et de l'indépendance pour tous les peuples colonisés. Que les parties intéressées commencent immédiatement les négociations en vue du transfert de la souveraineté totale et de l'autorité aux peuples qui y ont droit, et accueillons ces derniers au sein de cette organisa-

tion mondiale comme nous en avons accueilli d'autres au cours des 15 dernières années.

192. C'est en vue d'atteindre cet objectif que le projet de résolution dont mon pays s'honore d'être l'un des auteurs [A/L.323 et Add.1 et 2] a été soumis à l'Assemblée. Il n'existe aucune différence essentielle entre ce projet de résolution tel qu'il est rédigé et la déclaration présentée par l'Union soviétique [A/4502]. Les deux documents ont le même objectif, à savoir l'abolition immédiate du colonialisme.

193. Je réserve le droit de ma délégation d'intervenir à nouveau plus tard dans le débat sur le projet de résolution et j'espère que le Président voudra bien m'accorder la parole le moment venu.

La séance est levée à 18 h 30.

ASSEMBLÉE GÉNÉRALE

OCT 19 1961

GÉNÉRALE

QUINZIÈME SESSION

Documents officiels

UN/SA COLLECTION



SÉANCE PLÉNIÈRE

Jeudi 1er décembre 1960,
à 10 h 30

NEW YORK

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Président: M. Frederick H. BOLAND (Irlande).

POINT 87 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux (suite)

1. U THANT (Birmanie) [traduit de l'anglais]: Qu'il me soit permis, tout d'abord, de présenter à la délégation de l'Union soviétique les remerciements sincères de ma délégation pour avoir formulé une demande [A/4501] en vue de l'inscription à notre ordre du jour de la question que nous étudions maintenant.

2. Depuis la fin de la seconde guerre mondiale, le problème du colonialisme n'a cessé d'intéresser les maîtres à penser du monde entier et l'on peut dire que l'éveil de la conscience nationale chez les peuples subissant le joug colonial constitue l'un des faits les plus remarquables de la période d'après guerre. Immédiatement après le dernier conflit mondial, une modification profonde s'est produite, qui a affecté la carte politique du monde entier. Cette modification a principalement affecté les continents de l'Asie et de l'Afrique.

3. On se rappellera que les longues années de guerre ont été marquées par une brusque détérioration des relations entre ceux qui dominaient et ceux qui étaient dominés. La tension et les difficultés résultant des conséquences d'une guerre sans merci, l'agitation et le trouble marquèrent l'apogée d'une lutte longue et difficile que les peuples soumis à une domination étrangère avaient engagée pour obtenir leur liberté. Ces peuples, qui, jusque-là, n'étaient pas suffisamment mûrs pour être parfaitement conscients de ce qu'était l'indépendance qu'ils réclamaient, exigèrent alors les mêmes droits à la souveraineté nationale que ceux dont jouissaient depuis longtemps des Etats plus avancés.

4. Certes, il faut reconnaître que les nations européennes ont tiré un bénéfice immense de la découverte de vastes régions dotées de ressources naturelles importantes, où les investissements de capitaux étaient d'un bon rapport et où la main-d'œuvre était à bas prix. L'influence de la civilisation occidentale sur les populations arriérées, dont la plupart avaient connu pendant des siècles une civilisation qui leur était propre, s'est exercée selon une conception impérialiste. En général, les missionnaires et les explorateurs ont été les pionniers, mais les commerçants et les fonctionnaires coloniaux ont suivi dans leur sillage. Mais il faut également reconnaître que, sans cette

influence, les conditions de vie d'un grand nombre de races autochtones seraient sans doute restées relativement primitives. L'esprit d'entreprise commerciale des nations européennes a provoqué le stimulant nécessaire.

5. Chaque fois qu'on examine le problème du colonialisme, on est enclin à se demander si la méthode impérialiste était moralement justifiable, si l'influence de la civilisation occidentale a valu plus de bienfaits que de maux aux peuples asservis. A n'en pas douter, les pays coloniaux peuvent s'enorgueillir d'avoir réfréné ou éliminé quelques-uns des excès les plus néfastes de la vie primitive, à savoir torture des prisonniers, tyrannie de roitelets, etc.; les pays coloniaux ont construit des hôpitaux, amélioré l'état sanitaire, essayé de combattre aussi bien l'ignorance que la maladie.

6. Mais, en face de telles réformes et d'autres encore, tout aussi substantielles, il faut relever certains traits et tendances qui ont contrebalancé cette influence de progrès. On a tout d'abord constaté que les puissances colonisatrices, quand elles mettaient en valeur les ressources naturelles d'un territoire, ont essentiellement agi dans leur propre intérêt commercial. La majeure partie des richesses du sol était accaparée par les capitalistes coloniaux. La République du Congo (Léopoldville) en a fourni un exemple classique. Le niveau de vie indigène avait été élevé, mais les colonisateurs avaient un intérêt évident à maintenir les bénéfices à un niveau élevé et les salaires, en revanche, à un niveau très bas.

7. Au surplus, l'influence de la civilisation européenne a été limitée par le fait que la communauté européenne maintenait soigneusement une ségrégation qui l'isolait de la société indigène. Des clubs, des voitures de chemin de fer étaient réservés strictement aux Européens. Cette discrimination raciale organisée ne pouvait que susciter de l'amertume parmi les autochtones, surtout parmi les éléments instruits de la population. Par-dessus tout, l'éveil d'une conscience nationale au sein des populations indigènes s'est traduit par un désir irrésistible d'indépendance politique et a pris la forme d'une hostilité croissante vis-à-vis des colons blancs en qui elles voyaient des étrangers, des usurpateurs d'un pouvoir sur lequel ils n'avaient aucun droit moral, même s'ils ont apporté des améliorations sensibles sur le plan économique et social.

8. Une grande puissance coloniale européenne, à la fin de la seconde guerre mondiale, a vu la nécessité impérieuse de modifier cet état de choses: le Royaume-Uni, qui a su fixer une date précise pour mettre fin à sa domination en Inde, au Pakistan et en Birmanie. Un élément catalytique a été aussitôt introduit dans les relations entre Anglais et Asiatiques: la libération devint un objectif, un défi, une aspiration. L'hostilité et le ressentiment disparurent. Quoi qu'il en soit, pour ce qui est de mon pays, une amitié chaleureuse avec le Royaume-Uni a remplacé l'amertume accumulée pen-

dant un siècle. J'aimerais pouvoir en dire autant des autres puissances coloniales. Mais ce qui se produit actuellement dans le vaste continent africain montre clairement que des éloges similaires ne peuvent être décernés à ces autres maîtres. C'est pourquoi, de l'avis de ma délégation, l'inscription de ce point à l'ordre du jour, sur l'initiative de l'Union soviétique, est particulièrement opportune.

9. J'ai eu l'occasion de dire, à une session précédente de l'Assemblée générale, que, si l'on retarde trop longtemps le processus d'accession à l'indépendance, un sentiment de frustration et de désespoir s'empare des esprits et engendre malheureusement la rancœur et la haine. Si un pays doit lutter trop longtemps pour son indépendance, des forces extrêmes apparaissent à la surface et prédominent, qui ne sont certainement pas de nature à favoriser la cause de la démocratie — but que la plupart d'entre nous recherchent — ni celle de l'amitié entre les nations.

10. Conscients du désir passionné de liberté et de la détermination que manifestent tous les peuples dépendants de mettre fin au colonialisme sous toutes ses formes, convaincus, d'autre part, que tous les peuples ont un droit inaliénable à la liberté totale, les Premiers Ministres de cinq pays asiatiques — la Birmanie, Ceylan, l'Inde, l'Indonésie et le Pakistan — ont parrainé en commun, à la conférence de Bogor, la convocation d'une conférence africano-asiatique à laquelle ils ont convié 25 pays de ces deux continents. A l'exception de la Fédération de l'Afrique centrale, les 24 autres pays ont accepté cette invitation et la conférence s'est réunie à Bandoung, en Indonésie, du 18 au 24 avril 1955. Cette conférence historique a, avec l'accord unanime des pays participants, publié dans son communiqué final une Déclaration sur les mesures en faveur de la paix et de la coopération mondiales, et a défini les objectifs que les pays participants devaient s'efforcer de réaliser conjointement.

11. Il n'est pas nécessaire que je m'étende sur la signification historique de cette déclaration de Bandoung, ni sur ses répercussions sur le plan mondial. Je me bornerai à dire que l'opposition à toutes les formes de colonialisme et les efforts tendant à acquiescer et à sauvegarder l'indépendance nationale ont constitué les thèmes principaux des débats. Les 29 pays d'Asie et d'Afrique ont été unanimes à déclarer que le colonialisme sous tous ses aspects était un fléau auquel il fallait rapidement mettre un terme.

12. Depuis lors, de nombreux territoires dépendants ont reconquis l'indépendance qui leur revenait de droit; mais bien d'autres pays se trouvent encore sous la domination étrangère. Pour le salut de la paix et de la stabilité, il convient de prendre immédiatement des mesures pour que s'effectue le transfert des pouvoirs entre les mains des peuples vivant encore sous le joug colonial, conformément à leur volonté et à leur désir librement exprimés, et sans que cette opération soit assortie de conditions ou de réserves. En particulier, il faut absolument que cessent toutes les activités militaires ou mesures de représailles, de quelque nature qu'elles soient, prises à l'encontre des peuples dépendants.

13. Certes, nous ne voulons pas dire que les puissances coloniales doivent supprimer les forces de police normales destinées à accomplir leurs missions normales et légitimes qui consistent à lutter contre les criminels. Il faut distinguer très nettement entre les délits ordinaires et les actes de nature politique.

L'une des grandes erreurs des puissances coloniales a été — et continue d'être — leur inaptitude à établir la distinction entre les chefs nationalistes et les criminels. Il est, en effet, bien connu que la plupart des chefs des nouvelles nations ont passé une grande partie de leur vie dans les prisons des colonisateurs.

14. C'est pour toutes ces raisons que ma délégation et celles de 39 autres pays d'Asie et d'Afrique ont patronné le projet de résolution qui est contenu dans le document A/L.323 et Add.1 à 4. Je voudrais inviter l'Assemblée tout entière à approuver ce projet de résolution.

15. Avant de terminer, permettez-moi d'examiner brièvement l'un des phénomènes auxquels on assiste très souvent après qu'un pays a acquis son indépendance, phénomène qui ne manque pas d'étonner les observateurs: je veux parler de l'absence des attributs traditionnels de la démocratie dans la structure de plusieurs pays nouvellement indépendants. Il faut comprendre que la quasi-totalité des mouvements nationalistes sont dirigés par une classe de personnes qui, dans un certain sens, sont privilégiées, c'est-à-dire qu'elles ont pu recevoir une instruction avancée, ce dont peu d'élus peuvent, jusqu'à présent, bénéficier en Afrique. Ce petit nombre d'élus se trouve ainsi placé dans une situation avantageuse par rapport au reste de la population. Par suite de toute une série de circonstances, cette classe qui a reçu une instruction avancée lutte en avant-garde pour l'indépendance et c'est en faveur de cette classe que, dans la majeure partie des cas, s'effectue le transfert des pouvoirs. Ce serait une erreur de supposer que les institutions politiques et les formes démocratiques telles qu'elles existent dans la plupart des pays nouvellement indépendants doivent être obligatoirement du même type que les institutions britanniques ou américaines et qu'il faille nécessairement que deux partis principaux seulement puissent lutter l'un contre l'autre pour obtenir le suffrage des électeurs. Le concept selon lequel la démocratie exigerait la présence d'une opposition organisée face au gouvernement au pouvoir ne peut être partout valable. La démocratie exige qu'une telle opposition puisse s'exercer librement, mais cela ne signifie pas nécessairement que cette opposition doive exister. Dans un grand nombre de pays nouvellement indépendants — et je pense plus particulièrement à l'Afrique — il est fort peu probable qu'il existe, pendant un certain nombre d'années encore, un système fondé sur deux partis rivaux. En fait, les mouvements nationalistes vont s'affirmer dans toute leur puissance. Ils vont contrôler le gouvernement et organiser la mise en valeur du pays sur le plan économique et social, sans qu'ils aient pour autant à combattre une opposition venue de l'intérieur du pays. Toute menace extérieure ne ferait que raffermir leur position. Beaucoup de temps passera avant que n'apparaissent dans ces nouveaux pays les conditions pouvant permettre l'organisation d'une véritable opposition. Il est bon de se rappeler que le système démocratique, pour excellent qu'il soit, représente une forme de pouvoir dont le fonctionnement s'avère particulièrement délicat.

16. M. MILLA BERMUDEZ (Honduras) [traduit de l'espagnol]: La délégation du Honduras, qui a voté en faveur de l'inscription de la question du colonialisme à l'ordre du jour de la quinzième session de l'Assemblée générale [903ème séance], me délègue maintenant à cette tribune pour honorer un vote qui répond aux aspirations de ces hommes, de ces groupes humains, de ces populations qui ne peuvent exercer leurs droits

souverains parce qu'ils se trouvent sous l'emprise d'un régime politique et social qui agonise et qu'on appelle le colonialisme.

17. Après avoir étudié les faits en toute objectivité, nous devons dire tout d'abord que le pays qui était le moins autorisé moralement à proposer une telle question est bien l'Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques. Par ailleurs, nous devons rendre hommage à ces nations — qui, de leur plein gré ou sous la pression des événements — ont su montrer leur magnanimité en octroyant l'indépendance aux pays qu'ils dominaient. Nous devons rendre hommage, en particulier, à la France et au Royaume-Uni qui, depuis la seconde guerre mondiale, ont libéré les populations de plus de 30 pays — et appuyé leur demande d'admission à l'ONU — représentant une population totale de plus de 750 millions d'habitants et une superficie de plus de 10 millions de kilomètres carrés.

18. Animés par notre attachement à la cause de l'Amérique latine et par notre prise de position en faveur de situations dont on veut malheureusement remettre à plus tard le règlement, ou que l'on veut ignorer, nous entendons déclarer une fois pour toutes que, si le colonialisme agonise, cette agonie dure depuis déjà longtemps; que, par ailleurs, le colonialisme n'est pas un phénomène exclusivement africain-asiatique, puisqu'il y a encore des colonies en Amérique. Lutter contre le colonialisme, c'est défendre une cause, c'est surtout être fidèle au principe même de la liberté pour laquelle les pays de notre hémisphère ont commencé le combat il y a plus de 150 ans.

19. Délaissant les procédés dilatoires basés sur l'interprétation de traités ou d'articles et sur des subtilités qu'affectionnent tant d'adeptes du droit international et de la diplomatie, nous proclamons que, sur cette question, notre position est la suivante: nous exigeons qu'un délai soit fixé pour la suppression de toutes les colonies sur tout le globe, en particulier dans notre hémisphère occidental.

20. Ceci dit, la délégation de l'Union soviétique a proposé à l'Assemblée générale un projet de "Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux" [A/4501]. Nous allons procéder maintenant à l'analyse de ce qui a été déclaré au cours de la discussion générale à propos du colonialisme. Nous tenons à préciser qu'en citant des passages de certains discours, nous n'entendons pas verser dans la polémique, ni, encore moins, donner l'impression de vouloir critiquer injustement qui que ce soit. Nous voulons uniquement faire remarquer que, sur notre continent, l'on ne peut trouver des attitudes qui puissent être qualifiées d'anticolonialistes.

21. Au début de la quinzième session de l'Assemblée générale, le 22 septembre 1960, le maréchal Tito a déclaré:

"Ces manifestations de la guerre froide menacent à leur tour de s'étendre à des régions qui avaient été ou sont encore sous la domination coloniale..." [868ème séance, par. 113.]

22. Le jour suivant, le Président du Ghana disait:

"La marée montante du nationalisme africain balaie tout devant elle et met les puissances coloniales en demeure de fournir juste réparation des injustices et des crimes commis pendant des années sur le continent africain..." [869ème séance, par. 1.]

"Pendant des années et des années, l'Afrique a été le paillason du colonialisme et de l'impérialisme, la terre d'élection de l'exploitation et de la dégradation... Mais ces temps sont révolus, révolus à jamais..." [Ibid., par. 3.]

23. Le même jour, le Président du Conseil des ministres de l'Union soviétique, M. Khrouchtchev, a dit:

"Il faut en finir avec le colonialisme, qui apporte misère et souffrance aux peuples des pays asservis." [869ème séance, par. 173.]

Lorsque M. Khrouchtchev parlait ainsi, nous pensions aux peuples letton, lituanien, slovène, tchécoslovaque, bulgare, ukrainien, hongrois, etc., que le colonialisme soviéto-communiste a privés de leur liberté.

24. De son côté, le président Nasser, de la République arabe unie, a dit:

"Il y a quatre ans, le continent africain assistait à la fin d'une ère de colonialisme..." [873ème séance, par. 120.]

Le président Nasser s'est trompé: l'ère du colonialisme ne prendra fin que lorsque toute l'Amérique sera libre.

25. Le représentant du Sénégal, dont le pays vient d'être admis comme Etat Membre de l'ONU, a déclaré:

"A partir du moment où l'on admet que la décolonisation est le grand phénomène de notre siècle, que c'est un fait nécessaire et inéluctable, nous ne voyons pas pourquoi les parties en présence ne chercheraient pas les meilleures conditions possibles pour la réaliser." [876ème séance, par. 171.]

26. Son collègue du Mali a dit dans sa première intervention:

"S'il est vrai que la Guinée a ouvert, en septembre 1958, une brèche dans l'édifice colonial français, il n'est pas moins vrai que c'est le Mali qui s'est acharné durement et patiemment sur les fondations mêmes de cet édifice historiquement condamné à l'effondrement." [876ème séance, par. 187.]

27. Je demande alors: "Sera-ce l'année 1961 ou l'année 1962 qui verra la fin du colonialisme en Amérique?"

28. Le 29 septembre 1960, le représentant du Libéria a dit:

"Le colonialisme sous toutes ses formes meurt lentement et difficilement... L'Afrique est le dernier bastion de ce colonialisme." [878ème séance, par. 255.]

Mais je demande au représentant du Libéria: "Est-il vrai que cette mort ait lieu dans la souffrance? Est-ce que l'Afrique est vraiment le dernier bastion du colonialisme?"

29. Le Ministre des affaires étrangères de la Colombie, M. Turbay Ayala, après avoir fait allusion à la Conférence de San José de Costa Rica pour repousser toute idée d'intervention étrangère, a déclaré:

"L'Amérique latine n'a nul sujet de craindre les idées avancées ou la justice sociale... L'heure est venue de la grande évolution sociale..." [880ème séance, par. 242.]

M. Turbay Ayala a raison, mais il passe sous silence d'autres termes caractéristiques de cette époque et

de ces pensées qui pourraient se traduire ainsi: l'heure de l'émancipation des territoires coloniaux est arrivée.

30. Permettez-moi de montrer ici comment se présentent les faits. L'Amérique a défendu le droit des autres peuples à la liberté; le problème algérien la préoccupe, comme ce fut le cas à l'époque pour la Tunisie et pour le Maroc et pour d'autres pays arabes en Afrique. L'Amérique vient également en aide à l'Afrique noire, comme elle le fit pour l'Asie; certes, si tous les pays américains ne soutiennent pas les mouvements d'indépendance et de libération, beaucoup cependant le font et votent en leur faveur ou — tout au moins — les approuvent.

31. Je dis que maintenant l'heure est arrivée où il faut libérer les colonies qui subsistent encore sur notre continent. Je demande alors: "Allons-nous recevoir l'appui des pays africano-asiatiques?"

32. Tandis que le représentant du Mali — devant une commission de l'Assemblée — parle des prisons en Angola et s'attaque énergiquement à l'attitude récalcitrante du Portugal colonialiste, son collègue du Libéria déclare que de "la montée du nationalisme africain et le fait que les pays opprimés veulent être autonomes et diriger leurs propres affaires ne peuvent plus être considérés comme matière à finesse juridiques et à subtilités constitutionnelles"^{1/}. Ces deux délégations voient donc le problème sous l'angle purement africain et ne mentionnent ni n'établissent de rapport avec le problème qui existe en Amérique.

33. Les Pays-Bas — pour citer un exemple — ne parlent guère de l'indépendance des Antilles néerlandaises, ni de celle d'Aruba, de Curaçao, du Surinam ou Guyane néerlandaise. La population totale de ces territoires dépasse 300.000 habitants avec une superficie supérieure à 140.000 kilomètres carrés, soit 17 fois l'étendue de l'Equateur. Tous ces territoires sont géographiquement séparés de leurs métropoles; sur le plan ethnique comme sur le plan culturel, ils sont différents des pays qui les gouvernent ou les exploitent.

34. La France conserve les îles de la Martinique et de la Guadeloupe, ainsi que la Guyane française, dont la population totale dépasse 500.000 habitants et dont la superficie est supérieure à 94.000 kilomètres carrés, c'est-à-dire deux fois l'étendue du Chili.

35. Le Royaume-Uni est en train de nous retenir des territoires qui arriveront difficilement à devenir américains si l'on utilise le processus de formation qui a été employé pour créer une fédération d'îles, où la Trinité, Tobago et la Jamaïque jouent un rôle prépondérant. Néanmoins, il est indiscutable que la fédération s'achemine vers l'autonomie, vers la liberté. Il reste donc à sauver Belize, la Guyane britannique et les îles Malouines.

36. Notre position consiste par conséquent à s'efforcer d'étendre le problème colonial à notre continent, à lui donner un caractère d'urgence, à lui imprimer cette vigueur du nationalisme pur qui a été à l'origine de notre indépendance, à faire en sorte que le mouvement qui atteint les côtes d'Afrique se prolonge jusqu'aux Antilles, les Caraïbes et l'Atlantique sud, puisque, en fin de compte, c'est le même océan, sous des noms différents, qui nous unit et nous sépare.

37. Au cours du débat général, on nous a fait remarquer que nous avions oublié — impardonnable oubli de notre part, je le répète — les territoires coloniaux subsistant en Amérique, qui couvrent une superficie de 2.700.000 kilomètres carrés environ et comptent plus de 3 millions d'habitants. Il semble qu'un accord tacite soit intervenu pour ne même pas mentionner les colonies sur le territoire américain. Il semble que ces pays soient condamnés à demeurer pour toujours des colonies.

38. Ma délégation considère comme inacceptable le projet de déclaration présenté par l'Union soviétique [A/4502 et Corr.1] et votera contre lui. Pour ce qui est du projet de résolution africano-asiatique [A/L.323 et Add.1 à 4], nous nous réservons le droit de nous en occuper plus tard.

39. La délégation du Honduras croit que la meilleure façon d'arriver à une solution définitive sur ce point serait de créer une commission chargée de transmettre des rapports circonstanciés et de faire des recommandations pratiques quant à la façon de résoudre ce problème. C'est pourquoi je sou mets à l'examen de l'Assemblée le projet de résolution suivant^{2/}:

"L'Assemblée générale,

"Considérant que l'humanité ne peut rester indifférente devant le fait que certains peuples ne jouissent pas encore de l'autodétermination et de l'autonomie,

"Considérant qu'il faut accélérer le processus d'émancipation pour que ces peuples puissent progresser dans le plus bref délai vers la création de cadres politiques et sociaux qui leur permettent d'assumer les attributs du contrôle gouvernemental et d'exercer des droits et contracter des obligations comme sujets de droit public,

"1. Proclame l'élimination du colonialisme dans le monde;

"2. Décide de nommer une commission composée de cinq membres (un Africain, un Latino-Américain, un Asiatique et deux membres appartenant à des puissances administrantes), qui se rendra dans les possessions coloniales qui ne jouissent pas encore de l'indépendance et fera des recommandations à l'Assemblée générale à sa seizième session, sur la manière la plus appropriée, rapide et efficace d'assurer la disparition absolue du colonialisme dans le monde entier et l'accession de tous les peuples qui se trouvent encore dans la situation de colonies à la qualité d'Etats indépendants et souverains."

40. M. RIFA'I (Jordanie) [traduit de l'anglais]: En cette occasion mémorable et alors que l'Assemblée générale examine la question de l'octroi de l'indépendance à tous les peuples du monde, le cri de liberté jaillit de la conscience universelle et nous invite instamment, tous sans distinction, à soutenir le droit à la liberté et à l'indépendance de ceux qui sont opprimés et privés de tout. Cette voix de la liberté sort des tombes des martyrs qui ont sacrifié leur vie pour sauver leur terre natale. Elle s'élève des champs de bataille où les soldats défendent l'honneur de leur nation. Elle vient de l'exil auquel les patriotes ont été condamnés. Elle s'élève des misérables tentes sous lesquelles vivent les réfugiés chassés de leur patrie.

^{1/} Documents officiels de l'Assemblée générale, quinzième session, Quatrième Commission, 1034ème séance, par. 5.

^{2/} Distribué ultérieurement sous la cote A/L.324.

Elle vient des prisons où languissent les héros. Cette voix de la liberté résonne enfin en chaque homme, en chaque femme opprimés qui se voient refuser le droit à une vie convenable. La liberté et l'indépendance sont en effet les facteurs essentiels du progrès de l'homme et d'une vie heureuse et pacifique dans laquelle tous les peuples peuvent jouir d'une fraternité et d'une égalité totale.

41. Dans son vaste désert où nulle muraille ne limite ses mouvements et où l'horizon n'oppose aucune frontière à son imagination, le Bédouin a frappé loin et fort dans sa recherche de la vérité. Il a exploré la mer et découvert la terre. Il a observé les étoiles et étudié la nature. Puis il a trouvé son chemin, celui qui mène à l'éternité. La liberté lui a ouvert les portes de sa prison et a fait de lui un homme d'énergie et un homme d'action.

42. C'est tout au début de l'histoire des Arabes, il y a de cela 1.400 ans, que leur second calife a énoncé sa règle impérissable: "Comment des peuples peuvent-ils être réduits en esclavage alors qu'ils sont nés libres?" Cet esprit de libération enflamma brusquement tout le monde arabe au cours de ces dernières années. Des révolutions nationales ont éclaté de toutes parts, dans tous les territoires; des foules de martyrs sont tombés au champ d'honneur: grands leur vie durant, ils restent glorieux après la mort.

43. Les Arabes, comme de nombreuses autres nations, ont généreusement payé le prix de leur indépendance. Leurs plaines et leurs collines témoignent amplement de leur lutte désespérée pour l'indépendance et la liberté; en chaque endroit, on découvre, là le mausolée d'un martyr, ici la statue d'un héros. L'indépendance est pour nous le fruit, le salaire d'années d'efforts et de luttes. Nous avons été la chercher dans la tanière des lions, nous nous sommes avancés vers elle à l'ombre de nos seules lances. C'est pour nous, par conséquent, notre dieu le plus cher.

44. Aucune nation ne peut accomplir sa mission dans la vie, tant vis-à-vis d'elle-même qu'envers l'humanité, si elle n'est pas placée sur un pied d'égalité avec les autres nations, si elle ne peut pas bénéficier des mêmes possibilités d'épanouissement. Comment une nation pourrait-elle satisfaire ses aspirations et ses légitimes ambitions si on limite ses prérogatives, si l'on sape ses énergies? Sans indépendance, en effet, on ne peut pas parler de vie productive et prospère.

45. Au cours de ces dernières années, et plus particulièrement cette année-ci, un certain nombre d'Etats africains ont reconquis leur liberté et leur souveraineté totales. Ils sont maintenant parmi nous, ils assument leurs responsabilités internationales d'une façon impressionnante et remarquable; ils se trouvent à l'avant-garde pour défendre la cause de la liberté et de la paix. Beaucoup d'entre eux obtiennent d'excellents résultats sur le plan des réformes sociales et des progrès économiques. Ce sont là des faits qui devraient prouver aux Nations Unies que les pays de l'Afrique non encore indépendants doivent se joindre sans plus tarder au cortège que forment les pays africains frères devenus des Etats souverains. En Afrique, le long des rives sud de la péninsule Arabique et ailleurs en Asie, il y a encore un nombre considérable de colonies, de territoires sous tutelle, de protectorats et de prétendues provinces d'outre-mer. Tous ces pays ont les yeux tournés vers l'ONU et attendent qu'elle prononce leur verdict.

46. Aujourd'hui, nous examinons l'adoption d'une déclaration solennelle visant à abolir le colonialisme et à accorder l'indépendance à tous les peuples colonisés du monde, sans exception. La continuation du colonialisme ne se justifie aucunement. Il s'agit là d'une notion périmée; elle était l'expression d'une mentalité réactionnaire à une époque où les colonisateurs s'arrogeaient le statut de maîtres et où les colonisés restaient dans l'ignorance des événements et des valeurs de la vie. On n'ignore plus ces valeurs désormais. La dignité et la fierté des nations et des individus leur font repousser l'idée d'un maître et d'un esclave. Les peuples comprennent maintenant que, si le colonialisme a contribué dans certaines zones, après des générations de captivité, au progrès et à l'avantage de certains territoires ou nations, il a surtout amené la misère et des souffrances dans bien d'autres pays.

47. La tragédie de Palestine n'est-elle pas l'exemple le plus affreux du colonialisme? N'était-ce pas en violation flagrante des règles de la justice, du droit et de l'honnêteté qu'après 30 ans de domination étrangère, les Arabes de Palestine aient été abandonnés à un sort fatal et qu'on ait usurpé leur territoire? Le colonialisme en Palestine a non seulement chassé les habitants légitimes et rompu l'intégrité territoriale du pays, mais y a encore installé un Etat étranger qui, chaque fois qu'une agression est prévue, se fait le complice d'une agression impérialiste. C'est par la faute de ce même Etat que le colonialisme est réintroduit en Afrique, chaque fois que ce régime veut repaître sous une forme camouflée.

48. Le colonialisme aurait pu mettre un terme à son histoire et quitter de nombreux pays dans l'enthousiasme plutôt qu'au bruit des coups de feu. En Algérie, les vies de dizaines de milliers d'habitants auraient été épargnées, si la France avait su entendre la voix de la raison et de la sagesse. En vérité, l'appel à la fin du colonialisme et la Déclaration d'indépendance de toutes les nations n'est pas un cri de vengeance, mais plutôt un appel à l'harmonie et à l'amitié entre les nations éprises de paix. Des relations amicales entre nations ne peuvent être établies que sur une bonne volonté et une confiance mutuelle qui excluent la méfiance et la suspicion. Combien heureuse serait l'existence, si les nations vivaient comme des sœurs et les forts soutenaient les faibles, si les riches aidaient les pauvres, si les pays développés prêtaient leur assistance à ceux qui ne le sont pas, et si cette aide, dont ces derniers ont besoin, était accordée sans aucune condition, sans aucune restriction!

49. Le joug écrasant du colonialisme a fait naître une nouvelle forme de nationalisme, qui veut rompre toutes relations avec les anciennes puissances colonisatrices et refuse toute aide qui pourrait être interprétée comme le retour à l'état de choses passé. C'est bien là une réaction naturelle, quand on sait comment a été menée la politique coloniale dans ces territoires. Si donc nous voulons développer parmi les nations, les nouvelles et les anciennes, les grandes et les petites, un esprit de coopération et de confiance, nous devons commencer par convaincre les grandes puissances qu'il leur faut renoncer à leurs idées de domination, de supériorité et d'exploitation.

50. Pour quelques petits Etats qui sont défavorisés et sous-développés ou qui viennent d'accéder à l'indépendance, il se peut que le maintien et la sauvegarde de cette indépendance s'avèrent être une tâche aussi difficile que son acquisition. Soucieux de s'acquitter de

leurs responsabilités et de faire face aux besoins de leurs ressortissants, ces pays ressentent la nécessité de demander une aide extérieure. Ils pourraient la recevoir soit de vieux amis, soit de nouvelles connaissances, mais, dans les deux cas, il leur faut se livrer à des calculs précis pour éviter de retomber dans l'ancienne orbite colonialiste ou, au contraire, de se trouver entraînés dans le tourbillon de la guerre froide. Face à des situations de cette nature, l'ONU ferait œuvre utile en accordant son aide à ces pays pendant une période de transition qui se prolongerait jusqu'à ce qu'ils soient en mesure d'assurer eux-mêmes leur avenir. Notons que, si c'est la pauvreté qui mène parfois un pays à la condition de colonie, on a cependant constaté que, dans tous les cas, les pays qui tombent sous la coupe des colons, même s'ils étaient riches auparavant, se retrouvent pauvres.

51. Il ne suffit pas, dans le monde actuel, de se débarrasser du système colonialiste dans ses formes militaires ou administratives. Certes, l'organisation du contrôle international et la mise en application des théories démocratiques ont offert des garanties appropriées par rapport aux anciennes méthodes impérialistes d'agression et d'occupation militaire. Mais le colonialisme a su prendre un nouveau visage pour affaiblir certaines nations ou les asservir d'une autre façon. Je veux parler du colonialisme économique par lequel on utilise et on exploite les ressources naturelles d'un Etat d'une façon telle que l'écoulement de ses produits et de ses marchandises est totalement tributaire des mesures économiques qui seront prises par l'étranger. Avec l'abolition du système colonialiste c'est, par conséquent, la mentalité colonialiste qui doit aussi disparaître; autrement, sous des formes et par des moyens divers, il continuera de représenter, pour le monde, de graves dangers.

52. La délégation de la Jordanie, en s'associant à un grand nombre d'autres délégations désireuses de soutenir un projet de résolution qui déclarerait la fin du système colonialiste et octroierait l'indépendance à tous les peuples dépendants du monde, est persuadée que l'adoption de ce texte constituerait la pierre angulaire sur laquelle se bâtirait la paix universelle.

53. L'indépendance et la liberté pour tous supprimeront les sources de friction internationale et mettront un frein aux rivalités et à la concurrence des grandes puissances entre elles, dont souffrent les petites nations. L'indépendance est un élément constructif. Grâce à elle, des dizaines de millions d'êtres humains, qui vivent encore dans le marasme, pourront produire et agir, conformément à leurs possibilités.

54. Pour mon pays, le Royaume Hachémite de Jordanie, l'indépendance est le moyen le plus sûr d'atteindre les buts les plus nobles. Elle lui permet, en effet, d'espérer parvenir aux objectifs ci-après: premièrement, utiliser son potentiel et développer ses ressources naturelles pour le bien-être de ses habitants et l'amélioration du niveau de vie; deuxièmement, progresser dans les domaines suivants: technique, enseignement, agriculture, commerce, industrie, santé publique, bâtiment, communications et dans d'autres domaines encore; troisièmement, développer chez l'individu un sentiment d'indépendance et de respect de soi-même qui lui permettra de devenir un citoyen actif, libre et responsable; quatrièmement, construire une société organisée et éclairée, guidée par la raison; cinquièmement, développer notre force nationale et politique en raffermissant l'unité arabe et la solidarité

naionale; sixièmement, enfin, défendre la paix dans notre région et la bâtir sur les principes de droit et de justice, et, dans ce but, ne pas ménager ses efforts pour décourager l'agression contre notre pays, que celle-ci revête la forme d'une invasion armée, d'une occupation militaire ou même d'une simple domination étrangère.

55. Il est en vérité agréable de voir que cette tribune de l'Assemblée générale de l'ONU à sa quinzième session soit la plate-forme d'où seront déclarées l'indépendance et la liberté de tous les peuples du monde. Puissions-nous espérer que le vote qui va intervenir constituera une nouvelle étape importante vers la fraternité internationale!

56. M. HASAN (Pakistan) [traduit de l'anglais]: Le présent débat revêt une importance spéciale pour notre organisation. Il intervient en effet au cours d'une session qui a vu l'admission à l'ONU de 16 nouveaux Etats africains qui, hier encore, étaient des colonies.

57. Nous nous joignons à eux aujourd'hui pour proclamer la fin du colonialisme. Conquérir et être conquis, tel a été le sort de tous les pays et de presque tous les peuples du monde au cours de l'histoire. Le progrès humain a atteint un stade où l'on considère comme fondamentalement injuste un système qui, pour une grande partie de l'humanité, est à l'origine de tant de souffrances. Le souvenir en est encore amer.

58. En écoutant les discours passionnés qui devaient ouvrir les portes de la liberté aux peuples qui vivent encore sous la contrainte, je suis parfois resté insensible. J'ai, en effet, vécu plus longtemps peut-être que certains de ces défenseurs des droits de l'homme qui ont pris la parole ces jours derniers, et je me prenais à penser à ce que l'histoire nous enseigne, à savoir que la liberté n'a jamais été acquise avec des mots. Vous voudrez bien me permettre d'évoquer ici un souvenir personnel; j'ai vu tomber autour de moi des milliers de mes compatriotes, massacrés en quelques heures parce qu'ils manifestaient contre une loi injuste que des maîtres étrangers avaient prescrite. Je fais allusion aux événements historiques de 1919, connus sous le nom de massacre de Jallianwala Bagh à Amritsar, ma ville natale. J'ai vu ce massacre alors que j'étais un tout jeune garçon, mais ce souvenir est marqué pour toujours dans ma mémoire. Pourtant, la lutte a continué et, après un holocauste pire encore, la liberté a été conquise.

59. Le Pakistan a été le premier des peuples assujettis d'Asie et d'Afrique à conquérir sa liberté. Le processus d'émancipation continue et nous souhaitons ardemment et de toutes nos forces qu'il se poursuive jusqu'à la libération du dernier esclave. Cette liberté, tout en effaçant l'amertume, a exalté ces sacrifices qui désormais illuminent notre histoire.

60. Les sacrifices que nous avons consentis nous ont appris à honorer et à estimer notre propre liberté et celle des autres; notre passé à l'ONU, où nous siégeons depuis 13 ans, montre que nous avons été constamment aux côtés du faible et de l'opprimé et que nous avons toujours pris position et combattu en faveur de la liberté de toutes les nations. On peut vérifier nos votes; nous en sommes fiers. Notre ligne de conduite a toujours été la même: servir la juste cause de la liberté.

61. Pour nous, la liberté nous est apparue comme le couronnement d'une longue lutte implacable. Aussi respectons-nous notre indépendance aussi profondé-

ment que les souffrances qui l'ont précédée. La préserver, préserver chaque pouce de la terre bien-aimée qui est devenue notre patrie, c'est pour nous un devoir sacré; cet attachement nous apprend à respecter les sentiments de liberté et d'amour que les autres peuples du monde éprouvent pour leur propre patrie.

62. Ce débat sur le colonialisme, dont le mérite revient à une initiative de l'Union soviétique, est important en ce sens qu'il constitue la condamnation officielle du colonialisme, qu'il soit politique ou économique, paternaliste ou tyrannique; l'histoire l'enregistre avec tristesse, mais ne peut justifier un système qui n'est pas défendable. Les empires coloniaux ont été fondés par la force; au fur et à mesure que des régions nouvelles et de plus en plus vastes étaient ainsi asservies, il a cru pouvoir justifier son existence en disant combien il se préoccupait du bien-être des peuples assujettis. On se refusait à abolir ce système sous prétexte que les populations asservies n'étaient pas prêtes pour l'autonomie; dans leur propre intérêt, il leur fallait vivre sous la tutelle de peuples supérieurs. Le temps est désormais venu où l'on peut dire nettement la vérité: aucune nation n'a le droit d'en gouverner une autre, quel que soit le genre de vie que mène celle-ci. On reconnaît pleinement le droit qu'ont les peuples assujettis de décider de leur propre destin sans la protection ou l'intervention de quiconque. On ne saurait fonder sur d'autres bases les relations entre les peuples. L'expérience de ces 15 dernières années a clairement montré que les Etats avaient fait, dans tous les domaines, des progrès plus rapides à partir du moment où ils sont devenus indépendants. Leur prospérité s'est accrue, comme celle de leurs anciens maîtres.

63. L'ONU a accéléré le processus de l'accession à l'indépendance dans les territoires coloniaux. Le principe de l'égalité des droits et de l'autodétermination pour tous les peuples a été inclus dans la Charte en vue de la libération finale des territoires non autonomes. En vertu des dispositions contenues dans les Chapitres XI, XII et XIII de la Charte, l'ONU est finalement responsable de l'accession à l'autonomie de tous les peuples coloniaux. Chaque année, l'Organisation s'est penchée sur le problème des colonies, des territoires sous tutelle et sous mandat, de telle sorte qu'au cours de nos délibérations, les pays d'Asie et d'Afrique purent réclamer énergiquement l'indépendance de leurs territoires. Mais, bien que la liberté ait été accordée à plus de 40 pays au cours des 15 dernières années, le colonialisme n'a pas encore complètement disparu. On en trouve encore çà et là des vestiges, et, dans un certain cas, ces vestiges sont à l'origine de tragiques conflits. En tant que Membres de l'ONU, nous devons déployer tous nos efforts pour que le colonialisme capitule totalement et inconditionnellement. En agissant ainsi, nous ne ferons que mener à bien la tâche à laquelle nous sommes tenus, aux termes mêmes de la Charte.

64. L'ONU est fondée sur le principe de l'universalité, d'où elle tire sa plus grande force. Il est donc urgent de créer au plus tôt des conditions telles que tous les Etats épris de paix puissent participer à ses délibérations sur un pied d'égalité. L'admission, cette année, de 17 Etats a donné à l'Organisation une vitalité nouvelle, mais nous ne devons relâcher nos efforts que lorsque le colonialisme aura disparu des régions où il sévit encore.

65. Nous regrettons de devoir encore proclamer que tous les habitants de la planète possèdent un droit inaliénable à la liberté et à l'égalité; nous pensons cependant qu'une proclamation ferme et solennelle de tous les Membres de l'ONU accélérera l'accession à l'indépendance des territoires qui sont toujours soumis à un régime colonial. Ce sera une sorte de commandement moral qu'édicterait cette assemblée et nous sommes convaincus de l'appui sans réserve que tous les Etats Membres sauront lui apporter. Nous sommes pleinement conscients de l'importance qu'il y a à rédiger cette proclamation, de telle façon que son interprétation ne puisse laisser planer aucun doute quant à sa véritable signification.

66. La fin du colonialisme doit être notre but, cela est incontestable; mais à quoi servirait-il donc de récriminer en pure perte? Ce qui importe au plus haut point, c'est de se préoccuper de l'avenir des pays nouvellement indépendants; cet avenir doit être façonné conformément à leurs désirs. Si l'accession à l'indépendance doit se réaliser dans la paix, il n'y a pas lieu d'envenimer les choses en introduisant dans ce débat des controverses et des discussions inopportunes.

67. Nous avons lu avec beaucoup d'intérêt le projet de déclaration: il est fort bien rédigé. On peut être en désaccord sur certains termes, sur certaines formules ou sur certaines idées émises dans ce projet, mais on doit admirer la valeur littéraire de sa composition. Je suis certain que l'humanité sera reconnaissante à M. Khrouchtchev et à sa délégation pour la sollicitude dont ils font preuve à l'égard de l'émancipation de tous les hommes.

68. On nous a rappelé toutes les formes d'exploitation dont nous avons été les victimes, toutes les peines que nous avons supportées, toutes les afflictions dont chaque génération a hérité. C'est en quelque sorte comme si on rappelait à un homme qui a recouvré la santé après une longue maladie les dangers et les inquiétudes qui l'ont accompagnée. Un ami véritable doit au contraire l'aider à oublier ses tribulations et à remercier Dieu de lui avoir rendu la santé et l'espoir d'une longue vie.

69. Le projet de déclaration a pour but de maintenir présent à tous les esprits le souvenir des jours malheureux de la servitude; on a presque essayé de créer une sorte d'union des esclaves émancipés. Il appartient à cette assemblée et à l'ONU de décider si des pays nouvellement libérés ont vraiment intérêt à être de plus en plus conscients des abîmes que la race ou la couleur peuvent creuser entre individus, ou si, au contraire, il convient de s'attacher à mieux harmoniser leur rapports avec les pays plus développés dont ils ont tant besoin pour progresser sur le plan économique et social. A notre avis, nous sommes tous égaux, les grandes nations comme les petites, les hommes blancs comme les hommes de couleur. Notre valeur repose sur notre fierté, sur notre dignité, sur la conviction que nous avons de ne plus jamais connaître la servitude. L'insuffisance de richesses ne diminue pas la fierté et l'amour que l'on doit éprouver pour son pays. Dans un certain sens, si l'on veut agir de façon constructive, il faut créer entre tous les peuples la communauté d'intérêts la plus large. C'est essentiel si l'on veut ménager une transition sans heurt aux nouveaux pays qui quittent la dépendance pour entrer dans l'indépendance; il faut, pour cela, rester insensibles face à l'agitation et aux troubles qui

ont malheureusement gâché de nombreux transferts de pouvoir au cours de ces dernières années.

70. La délégation du Pakistan a le privilège d'être l'un des auteurs, avec 39 autres pays africano-asiatiques, du projet de résolution qui a été distribué en tant que document A/L.323 et Add.1 à 4. A la suite des éloquentes déclarations faites ici par d'autres représentants coauteurs du texte, et sur la base des observations que je viens de faire moi-même, ma délégation ose espérer que les termes de ce projet de résolution seront largement acceptés par cette assemblée. Bien que nous pensions que ces termes aient la valeur d'un axiome, il n'est peut-être pas superflu d'attirer l'attention des membres de l'Assemblée qui n'ont pas parrainé le projet de résolution sur trois de ses dispositions.

71. Ces trois dispositions figurent aux paragraphes 4, 5 et 6 du projet de déclaration. Alors que les autres paragraphes énoncent les principes, ces trois paragraphes expriment certains impératifs qui doivent inspirer la politique mondiale actuelle.

72. Le paragraphe 4 demande qu'il soit mis immédiatement fin à toute action armée et à toute mesure de répression dirigées contre les peuples dépendants. Le paragraphe 5 exige que des mesures immédiates soient prises pour le transfert de tous les pouvoirs aux peuples des territoires non autonomes ou des territoires sous tutelle.

73. De peur que nos collègues ne puissent être enclins à penser qu'en n'assortissant ces impératifs d'aucun éclaircissement, nous aurions ainsi négligé les exigences qu'imposent la stabilité et la sécurité internationales, nous signalons les dispositions du paragraphe 6, qui prévoit une garantie contre toute tentative visant à porter atteinte à l'unité nationale et à l'intégrité territoriale d'un pays.

74. En introduisant cette sorte de contrepoids dans la structure de l'ensemble de notre projet de résolution, nous avons, je pense, montré clairement que nous n'avions pas l'intention de tolérer l'abus ou la déformation des termes de notre projet de résolution pour permettre par la suite à certain pays d'agrandir son territoire au détriment d'un autre. En recommandant ce projet de résolution aux membres qui n'en sont pas les auteurs, nous sommes, par conséquent, en mesure de leur donner l'assurance — du fond du cœur et sans la moindre équivoque — que cette déclaration ne sera pas utilisée à des fins d'expansion ou d'intervention dans les affaires intérieures des autres pays et qu'elle ne servira pas non plus à engendrer de nouveaux conflits encore insoupçonnés.

75. Notre but est de mettre fin aux crises et aux conflits. Notre objectif n'est pas d'encourager de nouvelles situations qui pourraient mettre en danger la paix du monde.

76. Enfin, je propose, au moment où nous siégeons ici pour tenter de mettre fin au colonialisme, de demeurer tous vigilants face à toutes les formes nouvelles de ce malaise. L'une de ces formes, que nous ne connaissons tous que trop bien, aura bientôt disparu. D'autres formes pourraient se manifester en d'autres occasions. Les plus sinistres seraient celles qui, laissant de côté l'emploi de la force, croîtraient insidieusement, tenteraient de réduire à l'esclavage les cœurs et les esprits, les écarteraient de leur foi et de leurs traditions par des promesses qui ne sont jamais tenues.

77. M. BELAUNDE (Pérou) [traduit de l'espagnol]: En ces heures d'incertitude et d'angoisse que connaît l'humanité, c'est un vrai rayon de lumière que cette évolution irréversible en faveur de l'indépendance et de la liberté de tous les peuples. Cet éveil de la conscience patriotique chez des peuples soumis au régime colonial est bien là une compensation aux sacrifices et aux deuils nés au cours des dernières guerres mondiales. Il est tout autant réjouissant de voir que de grandes puissances, qui exerçaient leur influence sur de vastes territoires de l'Asie et de l'Afrique, ont su en prendre conscience.

78. Il ne nous appartient pas, à l'heure présente, de porter un jugement sur le phénomène qui a abouti à la constitution des empires, ni sur ses effets à l'égard de ce que les sociologues appellent la "transculture". Notre point de vue s'inspire du critère suprême de la dignité de la personne humaine, individuelle et collective, et, partant, du droit qu'ont tous les hommes de jouir de la liberté sous toutes ses formes, et notamment du droit de se grouper ou de s'associer en vue de former des entités collectives ou des nations. Il faut à ces collectivités, pour atteindre pleinement leur but, les organes juridiques dont disposent les Etats souverains.

79. Très justement, on a rappelé ici l'œuvre remarquable qu'a réalisée le Royaume-Uni en déclarant l'indépendance de tant de pays et, après que celle-ci a été affirmée, en établissant avec eux les liens d'amitié et de coopération, qui contribuent au renforcement de la paix du monde.

80. Il y a 10 ans, nous avons accueilli avec allégresse à l'ONU la grande République d'Indonésie, après qu'elle eut conclu des accords avec les Pays-Bas. Il est également juste de rappeler ici la politique récemment adoptée par la France, qui nous permet de compter désormais sur la présence des pays de la Communauté française; celle de Chypre, également, remarquablement située au carrefour de tant de civilisations, dont l'indépendance — acquise grâce à l'accord que l'ONU a suggéré — est le meilleur symbole de l'efficacité d'une coopération à l'échelon international. La Belgique, enfin, a décidé de donner au Congo (Léopoldville) son indépendance; ce pays, incorporé dans notre organisation, attend l'assistance qui lui permettra de consolider ses institutions.

81. Aux anciens liens de l'*imperium* doit aujourd'hui faire place une large et libre collaboration qui — comme le voulait le président Wilson — base l'amitié sur l'honneur et sur l'égalité.

82. Le mouvement libérateur dont nous sommes aujourd'hui les témoins n'est que l'épanouissement de la révolution qui s'est opérée sur nos continents à la fin du XVIII^{ème} siècle et au début du XIX^{ème} siècle. La liberté des peuples américains contenait le ferment et a servi d'exemple aux mouvements analogues qui ont eu pour théâtre les territoires d'Asie, d'Afrique et d'Océanie, où de vieilles civilisations avaient précédé et influencé la culture occidentale. Nos libérateurs avaient exprimé de manière inégalable cet idéal qui souhaitait voir notre révolution s'étendre dans le monde pour former, grâce au concours de tous les peuples libres, une "fédération régie par un code de lois de valeur universelle basé sur le principe de l'égalité absolue, sans différence de race ou de couleur". Je tire cet extrait d'un document admirable, une lettre personnelle de Bolívar, en date

du 20 février 1826 et découverte par le grand historien du Libérateur, don Vicente Lecuna.

83. En ce qui nous concerne, nous Ibéro-Américains, les principes que l'on vient d'énoncer, visant la libre détermination, correspondaient aux plus nobles traditions de l'esprit juridique de l'Espagne. Les pays d'Europe, et, en particulier, l'Espagne et le Portugal, ont adhéré à une philosophie selon laquelle l'Etat se fondait non sur le pouvoir, comme ce fut malheureusement le cas au cours du XIXème siècle, mais bien sur la justice. Les "behetrías" et les "cabildos" en Espagne, ainsi que les "cabildos" hispano-américains ou ibéro-américains, se considéraient comme les mandataires d'une souveraineté qui, étant donné la carence du monarque, leur revenait entièrement. La découverte de l'Amérique offre l'occasion à Francisco de Vitoria de proclamer — face à la terrible réalité que représentait l'empire de Charles Quint — l'obligation de respecter non seulement la propriété et la liberté individuelle, mais encore le gouvernement des populations aborigènes. Francisco Suárez, doctor admirabilis écouté et respecté de l'Europe entière, fonde la souveraineté sur le consentement des peuples gouvernés. Sa doctrine correspond par conséquent à celle qu'enseignent les sciences politiques d'aujourd'hui et dépasse tout ce que d'autres ont pu tenter à l'époque où parurent les œuvres de Suárez. Pendant la révolution américaine, notre enthousiasme à vouloir affirmer notre nationalisme fut enrichi par l'apport des valeurs spirituelles héritées de l'Espagne et du Portugal, apport qui donna à la révolution à la fois un sens moral élevé et une autorité indiscutable, sur le plan juridique.

84. Le projet de résolution présenté par les puissances africano-asiatiques [A/L.323 et Add.1 à 4] dont nous discutons en ce moment constitue le sommet de cette évolution historique. Le Pacte de la Société des Nations la laissait quelque peu présager, mais ce n'est que dans la Charte de San Francisco que ces principes ont été solennellement affirmés. Ce que l'on est convenu d'appeler l'esprit de San Francisco comportait deux éléments: paix dans la justice et proclamation de la liberté de tous les hommes et de tous les peuples. On a considéré, non pas comme un privilège, mais comme une responsabilité et une mission sacrée — celle de préparer de façon spéciale et inéluctable à l'indépendance — l'autorité qu'exerçaient certains pays sur des territoires qui, ni géographiquement, ni moralement, ne faisaient partie intégrante de la métropole. Les auteurs du projet de résolution ont bien fait de transcrire textuellement dans le préambule quelques passages de la Charte qui nous régit; ils ont encore mieux agi en se référant aux liens étroits qui unissent les libertés individuelles à la réalité de la souveraineté nationale. Les auteurs du projet ont fait nettement ressortir que la soumission et la domination d'un peuple par un autre, quelle qu'en soit la forme, quel qu'en soit le prétexte ou le motif, représentent aujourd'hui un péril pour la paix de l'humanité.

85. On pourrait dire que, d'une façon générale, le projet de résolution cadre avec l'esprit et la lettre de la Charte des Nations Unies. Il implique simplement, pour la réalisation de ses desseins, la nécessité d'évoluer à un rythme plus rapide que celui que nous envisagions il y a 15 ans à San Francisco, à l'époque des grandes espérances. Ce désir d'un rythme accéléré s'explique, car le rythme du progrès humain, lui aussi, s'est depuis lors accéléré et parce que, par un tra-

gique contraste, nous avons vu aussi s'accroître les causes de conflits, de frictions et de différends qui nous font craindre une guerre de destruction universelle.

86. La proclamation de la liberté de tous les peuples ne peut et ne doit pas prendre un caractère individualiste incohérent, isolationniste, mais bien au contraire avoir un sens profond: celui de la solidarité, de la cohésion et de la coopération. La liberté ne saurait être sauvegardée que dans la compréhension et l'amour; elle ne peut se limiter à la conception étroite et rigide d'un particularisme chauvin. On ne saurait non plus interpréter les liens régionaux qui dérivent de la géographie, de l'histoire et des racines profondes de la culture de façon à les opposer au mouvement actuel qui va dans le sens de l'œcuménisme. Les peuples libres, non seulement par leur action naturelle, mais pour garantir leur propre existence, doivent nécessairement agir dans des sphères de solidarité toujours plus larges. La liberté suppose le choix spontané de moyens de vie et de culture; mais, par ailleurs, l'association qu'une longue vie vécue côte à côte a souvent favorisée ne doit pas garder inutilement les traces des rancœurs et des ressentiments du passé. Spinoza disait que celui-là seul lutte librement qui lutte avec amour. La conquête qui aboutit à l'indépendance nationale n'est pas née de la haine, mais d'un idéal de création et de coopération. Les peuples qui ont acquis leur liberté ont besoin, à l'instar des individus, d'une atmosphère de respect, d'amitié et d'assistance désintéressée. Nous avons la conviction que l'avènement de la liberté, en Asie et en Afrique, revêtira les aspects nobles et généreux qu'a présentés la conquête de la liberté en Amérique. Cette liberté, nous l'avons conquise contre la volonté de tous, selon les termes mêmes de Bolívar, et cependant nous avons su oublier les obstacles et les combats; nous avons voulu que notre patrie fût un foyer susceptible d'accueillir tous les peuples de la terre. Nous avons constamment recherché l'amitié et la coopération de ceux qui furent nos ennemis de longue date, mais nos nobles adversaires, ou avec ceux qui avaient été parfois de timides alliés, ou encore les spectateurs indifférents de nos combats. Cette attitude a permis d'établir des relations étroites entre l'Amérique et le reste du monde. Nous avons ainsi souligné, avec fierté, le sens universel de notre révolution et sommes persuadés qu'un même sentiment anime les pays africains et asiatiques.

87. Il y a une raison de plus pour qu'il en soit ainsi. A l'époque de notre indépendance, il n'existait aucune institution d'ordre politique pouvant prétendre représenter l'humanité. Nous avons élevé, lentement, obstinément, à Panama d'abord, au Congrès de Lima ensuite, dans les conférences panaméricaines enfin, l'édifice de notre organisation, qui se trouve être l'organisation régionale la plus ancienne et la plus complète. Mais les nations d'Afrique et d'Asie sont nées à la vie indépendante à l'ombre maternelle et protectrice de l'ONU. Celle-ci, défenseur vigilant des principes de la Charte, a veillé à ce que toutes les dispositions concernant l'autonomie soient respectées. Leur indépendance une fois conquise, ces nouvelles nations ont été accueillies chaleureusement par l'Organisation. Délaissant pour un moment les débats politiques, les problèmes du réarmement, et faisant taire les plus tragiques pressentiments, l'ONU s'est surpassée dans le domaine économique et en matière d'assistance technique pour préparer les peuples à

l'indépendance et, celle-ci une fois acquise, à la leur préserver. L'idéal de paix de notre organisation consistait aussi à pouvoir améliorer les niveaux de vie des peuples, en affectant à ce programme les sommes que l'on économiserait en limitant les armements.

88. Je suis convaincu que les peuples qui ont récemment accédé à l'indépendance considèrent l'ONU comme l'institution qui doit sauvegarder leur liberté et garantir leur progrès.

89. La grande espérance pour la paix du monde — je le dis avec une profonde conviction — c'est de voir les pays Membres de l'ONU et les nouveaux Etats qui se joindront à nous demain, tous animés d'un même esprit, rester rigoureusement fidèles aux principes de notre charte. Souhaitons que, tous ensemble, sans d'autres liens, sans d'autres alliances, sans d'autres engagements que la forme de coopération qui découle juridiquement de la Charte, nous sachions, avec une

dignité et avec un courage inébranlable, nous défendre contre toute influence étrangère, contre toute manœuvre ou jeu politique qui, en nous enlevant notre personnalité, ne ferait de nous que les simples instruments de la guerre froide! Nous sommes certains que, tous ensemble, avec enthousiasme, grâce à une miraculeuse union des âmes, nous saurons faire respecter les principes de la Charte, veiller à ce qu'ils soient strictement observés. L'avenir de l'ONU, je vous le dis, peuples amis — et je m'adresse également à ceux qui viendront demain — dépend strictement de l'union étroite de tous, grands et petits pays, pour créer l'atmosphère qui rende impérative et inévitable la coopération de tous, des faibles et des forts, des grands et des petits, dans le maintien d'un idéal de justice et de paix.

La séance est levée à 12 h 30.

ASSEMBLÉE GÉNÉRALE

OCT 24 1961



SÉANCE PLÉNIÈRE

Jeudi 1er décembre 1960,
à 20 h 30

QUINZIÈME SESSION

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Point 87 de l'ordre du jour:

Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux
pays et aux peuples coloniaux (suite) 1125

Président: M. Frederick H. BOLAND (Irlande).

POINT 87 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance
aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux (suite)

En l'absence du Président, M. Hasan (Pakistan),
vice-président, prend la présidence.

1. Le PRÉSIDENT (traduit de l'anglais): Je donne la
parole au représentant des Pays-Bas qui désire exer-
cer son droit de réponse.

2. M. EINAAR (Pays-Bas) [traduit de l'anglais]: Ce
matin [930^{ème} séance] le représentant du Honduras a
mentionné un certain nombre de territoires qui se
trouvent dans la région de l'Amérique latine et qui
sont encore des possessions coloniales d'autres pays.
Au nombre de ces territoires qui conservent un statut
colonial il a cité "Aruba, Curaçao et le Surinam".

3. J'ai demandé la parole uniquement pour pouvoir
faire observer au représentant du Honduras qu'il n'a
pu mentionner ces territoires que par suite d'un
lapsus qui n'était certainement pas intentionnel.

4. En vertu de la charte du Royaume des Pays-Bas
promulguée en 1954, les trois parties du royaume,
c'est-à-dire les Pays-Bas, le Surinam et les Antilles
néerlandaises, ont instauré un nouveau statut constitu-
tionnel du Royaume des Pays-Bas, aux termes duquel
les trois pays constitueront dorénavant une libre asso-
ciation de partenaires placés sur un pied de parfaite
égalité, géreront leurs intérêts particuliers indépen-
damment et leurs intérêts communs sur la base de
l'égalité et se prêteront mutuellement assistance.

5. Depuis le 29 décembre 1954 — date à laquelle est
entrée en vigueur cette charte rédigée et approuvée
conjointement — toute forme de colonialisme n'est
plus au Surinam et aux Antilles néerlandaises qu'un
souvenir du passé.

6. L'Assemblée générale a reconnu cette situation en
adoptant la résolution 945 (X), du 15 décembre 1955,
aux termes de laquelle elle approuvait la cessation
de la transmission, par le Gouvernement des Pays-
Bas, des renseignements visés à l'Article 73, e, de
la Charte des Nations Unies, au sujet des Antilles
néerlandaises et du Surinam.

7. Je suis persuadé que le représentant du Honduras
acceptera cette mise au point et qu'il comprendra que
nous soyons fiers, au Surinam et aux Antilles, d'être

complètement autonomes et que nous ne puissions pas
accepter d'être considérés comme des colonies.

8. M. AW (Mali): La délégation de la République du
Mali, en intervenant dans le débat qui s'ouvre sur la
fin du colonialisme, pour la première fois dans les
annales de l'Organisation des Nations Unies à l'As-
semblée générale, n'entend pas seulement participer
à un procès tendant à la condamnation du système
connu sous le nom de colonialisme. Ma délégation,
comme les autres auteurs du projet de résolution
A/L.323 et Add.1 à 4 qui m'ont précédé à cette tri-
bune, espère plus et demande plus, car elle estime
que le procès du colonialisme n'est plus à faire. Nous
espérons qu'en adoptant à l'unanimité le projet de ré-
solution que nous lui soumettons, l'Assemblée géné-
rale exprimera, avant le monde entier, sa volonté
d'enterrer définitivement le colonialisme aux abois,
sur lequel des pharisiens mal inspirés voudraient
nous apitoyer en répétant, d'ailleurs, je dois le dire,
sans conviction, que la colonisation n'a pas fait que
du mal aux populations qui en ont été l'objet, car il y a
eu des écoles construites, des hôpitaux bâtis, des
routes tracées, etc.

9. Avant de répondre à ce genre d'hypocrisies, qu'il
nous soit permis de rendre ici un hommage au Prési-
dent du Conseil des ministres de l'Union soviétique,
qui a bien voulu demander au Président de l'Assem-
blée générale de soumettre à celle-ci l'examen de la
question dont nous discutons et qui est intitulée:
"Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays
et aux peuples coloniaux" [A/4501]. Cette proposition,
qui a soulevé un enthousiasme mérité, fait aujourd'hui
l'objet de nos délibérations, et ma délégation est
persuadée que l'Organisation des Nations Unies ne
manquera pas de saisir cette occasion qui lui est
offerte d'accomplir sa mission de justice, de liberté
et de paix dans un domaine particulièrement sensible,
car il s'agit ici du sort de dizaines de millions d'êtres
humains exploités au nom d'un humanisme dépassé
dont nul n'aimerait être le complice devant l'histoire.

10. Que des pays à vocation colonialiste acceptent
ou refusent de collaborer loyalement à la grande et
noble œuvre que nous sommes en voie d'accomplir,
cela, ils en sont seuls juges; mais, de grâce, que les
représentants de ces pays n'essaient pas de jouer ici
les loups revêtant la peau de l'agneau, en nous disant
leur innocence de tous les péchés dont on les accable,
en essayant de transporter nos justes récriminations
sur le terrain mouvant de la guerre froide. Qu'on ne
vienne pas nous dire qu'en fusillant des masses paci-
fiques et sans défense on contribue à leur bien-être,
qu'en torturant des patriotes on éduque les peuples,
qu'en soumettant des enfants, des femmes et des
vieillards au travail forcé on assure l'élévation du
niveau de vie. Que ceux qui cherchent à soulager
leur conscience en cachant leurs crimes ne nous disent
plus: "Avant notre arrivée dans ces territoires, il n'y
avait rien." Quelle erreur! Il n'y avait rien, mais,

avant l'arrivée des colonialistes, il y avait l'indépendance; l'indépendance, c'est-à-dire la liberté. Et qu'y a-t-il de plus précieux au monde pour un peuple que la liberté?

11. Quand le général de Gaulle a lancé par dépit à la figure des Guinéens, au mois d'août 1958: "Vous voulez l'indépendance? Eh bien, prenez-la avec les inconvénients que cela comporte", on se souvient de la réplique du président Sekou Touré: "Nous prenons l'indépendance avec ses avantages!"

12. Qui ignore désormais que le mythe du bon chrétien s'expatriant pour apporter la civilisation aux bouddhistes d'Asie ou aux païens d'Afrique et d'Océanie est devenu ridicule? Qui oserait nier que les lois générales de l'évolution humaine auraient conduit, grâce aux échanges libres et amicaux, les peuples colonisés au diapason des nations prospères et heureuses, si les colonialistes ne s'étaient pas appropriés leurs richesses, leur interdisant ainsi toute possibilité d'évolution harmonieuse? Aucune évocation d'écoles construites ou d'hôpitaux bâtis ne saurait dissimuler cette terrible réalité du crime de lèse-humanité perpétré par les porteurs de la sacro-sainte civilisation.

13. Car enfin il ne s'agit pas de déclarer que la colonisation a amené dans les pays exploités l'alphabétisation relative des enfants, ou bien des chemins de fer, ou bien des routes, mais de savoir si un fermier qui appelle le vétérinaire pour soigner sa vache malade le fait pour des raisons humanitaires ou simplement pour préserver une source de revenus.

14. La colonisation a été imposée par la perfidie ou par la force à des populations qui avaient leur civilisation et ne demandaient rien à personne. Ecoutez plutôt le Moro Naba de Ouagadougou, en Haute-Volta, qui faisait dire, en 1895, au capitaine Destenaves dépêché auprès de lui par le Gouvernement français pour conclure un traité — je citerai les propres termes de cet empereur africain:

"Depuis longtemps, j'ai fait consulter les grigris, qui ont répondu que si je voyais un blanc j'étais un homme mort. Je sais que les blancs veulent me faire mourir pour me prendre mon pays, et d'ailleurs tu prétends qu'ils vont m'aider à organiser mon pays. Mais je trouve mon pays très bien tel qu'il est. Je n'ai nullement besoin d'eux; je sais ce qu'il me faut et ce que je veux; j'ai mes marchands; aussi estime-toi heureux que je ne te fasse pas couper la tête. Va-t'en donc, et surtout ne reviens plus."

15. Voilà qui est précis. Mais alors pourquoi la colonisation? Nul ne saurait le dire avec une voix aussi autorisée que Georges Hardy, qui écrit, dans une Histoire sociale de la colonisation française:

"Pour les hommes d'Etat des XVII^{ème} et XVIII^{ème} siècles, en France comme ailleurs, la colonisation n'est qu'une "affaire", une entreprise toute mercantile, un élément du grand commerce maritime^{1/}."

Et Georges Hardy poursuit:

"Rien ne révèle mieux les tendances profondes de cette colonisation que le régime économique qui fut imposé aux colonies et qui porte le nom de système colonial ou, plus nettement encore, d'Exclusif."

"Chaque compagnie, en compensation de ses charges, bénéficiait de certains privilèges: droits régaliers sur les territoires occupés, exemptions, subventions, etc. Mais son principal avantage, c'était le monopole du trafic dans les régions qui formaient son domaine: les habitants étaient tenus de lui réserver la vente de leurs produits et l'achat des objets dont ils avaient besoin; tout autre commerce était exclu de cette chasse gardée."

"C'était bien entendu les étrangers que visait un tel système, mais il était en même temps destiné à prévenir la concurrence possible des colonies à la métropole. Dessiné dès la fondation des premières colonies, il prend avec Colbert, particulièrement inquiet de la pénurie monétaire, tournure de doctrine et, malgré quelques atténuations, se prolonge jusqu'à la Révolution. Les différentes réglementations qu'il inspire se résument en ces quelques formules: ... les produits coloniaux sont faits pour alimenter la consommation française; les produits français ont, seuls, accès sur le marché colonial. Des industries ne peuvent se créer dans les colonies qu'à la condition de ne point faire double emploi avec les industries françaises; les transports maritimes entre la France et ses colonies ne sont autorisés que sous pavillon français^{2/}."

16. Voilà, décrit par M. Georges Hardy que nul ne songerait à soupçonner d'idées subversives ou communistes, le système économique, abusivement appelé "pacte colonial", qui est le fondement et l'essence de la colonisation.

17. Mais la réalité est parfois hideuse, et les colonisateurs ont eu des spécialistes en matière de faux et de cynisme pour écrire à l'eau de rose les récits des grandes épopées coloniales qu'on nous présente volontiers comme un entreprise philanthropique, une œuvre désintéressée de pacification et de civilisation.

18. Aimé Césaire, dans son fameux Discours sur le colonialisme, avec le style de feu qui lui est propre, écrit:

"Colonisation et civilisation?"

"La malédiction la plus commune en cette matière est d'être la dupe de bonne foi d'une hypocrisie collective, habile à mal poser les problèmes pour mieux légitimer les odieuses solutions qu'on leur apporte."

"Cela revient à dire que l'essentiel est ici de voir clair, de penser clair, entendre dangereusement, de répondre clair à l'innocente question initiale: qu'est-ce en son principe que la colonisation? De convenir de ce qu'elle n'est point; ni évangélisation, ni entreprise philanthropique, ni volonté de reculer les frontières de l'ignorance, de la maladie, de la tyrannie, ni élargissement de Dieu, ni extension du droit; d'admettre une fois pour toutes, sans volonté de broncher aux conséquences, que le geste décisif est ici de l'aventurier et du pirate, de l'épicier en grand et de l'armateur, du chercheur d'or et du marchand, de l'appétit et de la force, avec, derrière, l'ombre portée, maléfique, d'une forme de civilisation qui, à un moment de son histoire, se constate obligée, de façon interne, d'étendre à l'échelle mondiale la concurrence de ses économies antagonistes."

^{1/} Georges Hardy, Histoire sociale de la colonisation française (Paris, éd. Larose, 1953), p. 13.

^{2/} Ibid., p. 14 et 15.

"Poursuivant mon analyse" — c'est toujours Aimé Césaire qui parle — "je trouve que l'hypocrisie est de date récente; car ni Cortez découvrant Mexico du haut du grand Téocalli, ni Pizarre devant Cuzco (encore moins Marco Polo devant Cambaluc), ne protestent d'être les fourriers d'un ordre supérieur; qu'ils tuent; qu'ils pillent; qu'ils ont des casques, des lances, des cupidités; que les baveurs sont venus plus tard; que le grand responsable dans ce domaine est le pédantisme chrétien, pour avoir posé les équations malhonnêtes: christianisme égale civilisation, paganisme égale sauvagerie, d'où ne pouvaient que s'ensuivre d'abominables conséquences colonialistes et racistes, dont les victimes devaient être les Indiens, les jaunes, les nègres^{3/}."

19. Permettez-moi cette remarquable citation dont l'intérêt, j'en suis sûr, n'échappe à personne. Aimé Césaire conclut en ces termes:

"Cela réglé, j'admets que mettre des civilisations différentes en contact les unes avec les autres est bien; que marier des mondes différents est excellent; qu'une civilisation, quel que soit son génie intime, à se replier sur elle-même, ne peut que s'étioiler; que l'échange est ici l'oxygène, et que la grande chance de l'Europe est d'avoir été un carrefour, et que d'avoir été le lieu géométrique de toutes les idées, le réceptacle de toutes les philosophies, le lieu d'accueil de tous les sentiments en a fait le meilleur redistributeur d'énergie.

"Mais alors je pose la question suivante: la colonisation a-t-elle vraiment mis en contact ou, si l'on préfère, de toutes les manières d'établir le contact, était-elle la meilleure?

"Je réponds non. Et je dis que, de la colonisation à la civilisation, la distance est infinie; que de toutes les expéditions coloniales accumulées, de tous les statuts coloniaux élaborés, de toutes les circulaires ministérielles expédiées, on ne saurait réussir à trouver une seule valeur humaine^{4/}."

20. L'exposé d'Aimé Césaire, clair et net, nous paraît une thèse très solide et nous amène naturellement à poser une autre question. La décolonisation est-elle, historiquement, possible? Il est certain que ce néologisme recouvre aussi une dangereuse mystification. Et la vertigineuse série d'indépendances qui illustrera l'année 1960 dans l'histoire de l'humanité nous prouve, s'il en était besoin, qu'il est impossible de parler d'évolution progressive quand nous voyons les événements se dérouler à une telle allure, car, en fait, il n'y a pas de peuples mineurs inaptes à se gouverner librement. Bien sûr, il y a de mauvais gouvernements, mais il faut reconnaître qu'on en trouve partout, à tous les échelons de grandeur.

21. De Bandoung à aujourd'hui, on a l'impression que plusieurs siècles se sont écoulés, tant sont profonds les bouleversements qui font craquer de toutes parts l'édifice du colonialisme jusqu'à ses fondements.

22. Quinze années se sont écoulées depuis San Francisco. Ceux qui appelaient, il y a cinq ans à peine, des pays d'Asie et d'Afrique leurs possessions ne rient plus aujourd'hui qu'un peuple ne peut être une possession. La similitude entre le colonisé et l'esclave

est devenue évidente. C'est, si je ne m'abuse, le président Franklin Roosevelt qui disait que les générations futures se demanderont un jour comment on a pu abolir l'esclavage et admettre, si longtemps après, le régime colonial dans les rapports d'Etat à Etat.

23. Qu'est-ce que c'était qu'un esclave? Un homme que l'on achetait au marché, ou un prisonnier que l'on ramenait d'une bataille gagnée. Un homme dont on dispose comme de son propre patrimoine.

24. Et le colonisé? Il y a lieu de remarquer tout d'abord qu'il ne s'en trouve pas, à l'échelle des individus; on ne trouve pas un homme ou un petit groupe d'hommes qu'on se propose de coloniser. On décide d'investir tout un pays et c'est tout un peuple qu'on assujettit. Comme l'esclave, le colonisé obéit aux volontés de son maître, le colonisateur, qui dispose de lui comme de son patrimoine propre.

25. Il n'y a plus de doute sur le caractère immoral de la domination coloniale dont il faut convenir qu'elle ne diffère en rien de l'esclavage. Par conséquent, nous sommes aujourd'hui unanimes ici à condamner le colonialisme, mais il ne semble pas que la même unanimité se retrouve lorsqu'il s'agit de passer aux actes. Qui est-ce qui rompt cette unanimité sur la liquidation immédiate du colonialisme? Bien sûr, ce sont les pays encore possesseurs de colonies. Ils sont tentés de soutenir la thèse de la promotion harmonieuse, par étapes, des pays coloniaux et, ce disant, ils se fondent sur leur expérience de métropoles prédestinées, particulièrement avisées du problème de l'évolution des colonies.

26. Ils sont tentés de nous dire: croyez-en notre expérience, c'est rendre un mauvais service à ces pays que de précipiter les choses; de là à ajouter: voyez l'exemple du Congo ex-belge, il n'y a qu'un pas que d'aucuns ont vite franchi. C'est aux tenants de ce genre de raisonnement que je voudrais dire qu'ils sont dépassés par les événements.

27. Les Nations Unies ne sont plus une assemblée où il y a, d'un côté, ceux qui peuvent faire état de leur longue expérience de colonisateurs avertis, et, de l'autre, des puissances qui n'ont pas de colonies et dont les intentions les plus louables à l'égard des peuples opprimés sont vite dénoncées comme des manœuvres démagogiques. Il y a aujourd'hui, aux Nations Unies, d'autres voix qui peuvent apporter les témoignages les plus irréfutables et les plus édifiants sur le colonialisme. Il y a aujourd'hui, aux Nations Unies, des représentants de peuples qui ont souffert du colonialisme dans leur chair et dans leur dignité. Chaque génération, a-t-on coutume de dire, a le sentiment d'être à un tournant de l'histoire. Les générations actuelles des pays dépendants et coloniaux vivent incontestablement un tournant de leur histoire, un tournant de l'histoire tout court. Les délégations qui parlent dans cette assemblée de leur expérience coloniale, ou vantent les bienfaits de la colonisation, ne peuvent malheureusement parler que de l'empire à papa; elles en parlent comme d'un héritage.

28. Si leurs pays ont été colonisés au cours de l'histoire, elles ne le savent que par les manuels d'histoire. Et c'est là la différence fondamentale entre ces délégations et nous, nous qui avons vécu le régime colonial. Nous ne l'avons pas entendu conter, nous ne l'avons pas appris à l'école, nous en avons constitué le champ d'application concret pendant des décennies. Nous sommes une génération qui, lorsqu'elle a atteint

^{3/} Aimé Césaire, *Discours sur le colonialisme*, Paris, Présence africaine, 1955, p. 8 à 10.

^{4/} *Ibid.*, p. 10 et 11.

sa majorité, n'avait pas le droit de vote dans son propre pays.

29. Qu'il nous soit permis de rappeler à certaines délégations que nous sommes désormais là, nous, peuples hier colonisés et dépendants, aujourd'hui peuples à part entière, nous sommes là prêts à apporter 1.000 témoignages qui interdisent la perpétuation du colonialisme sous quelque prétexte que ce soit.

30. Quand nous entendons des arguments aussi terre à terre que ceux qui consistent à ramener le bilan positif du colonialisme à la présence de quelques bons orateurs issus de pays récemment affranchis, nous ne sommes pas en peine; bien au contraire, nous y trouvons la preuve que les apologistes du colonialisme sont à bout d'arguments. Nous allons peut-être décevoir quelques-unes des délégations en concluant que la plupart des élites des pays nouvellement indépendants n'ont pas été formées dans des conditions normales par le colonisateur; la plupart de ces élites ont été soumises à des cycles d'étude particuliers qui ne devaient déboucher sur aucun horizon, qui enseignaient le culte et la supériorité de la métropole, tout en mettant l'accent sur notre incapacité congénitale. Bon nombre des élites aujourd'hui ont atteint l'adolescence à l'école sans avoir eu l'occasion d'apprendre qu'il existait de par le monde d'autres pays que leur métropole qui était toujours qualifiée de salvatrice et de magnanime.

31. Si ces élites se montrent aujourd'hui à la hauteur de leurs responsabilités, il ne faut pas y chercher un témoignage de la volonté du colonisateur de conduire les peuples dépendants vers leur majorité conformément à l'esprit de la Charte des Nations Unies. Il faut au contraire voir à travers ces succès, malheureusement fort peu nombreux à notre gré, la preuve qu'aucun système d'éducation, si draconien soit-il, ne peut annihiler les qualités d'un peuple décidé à se libérer.

32. L'expérience africaine que nous vivons montre en tout cas combien la roue de l'histoire peut tourner vite, au point de donner le vertige à des puissances coloniales ébahies, n'arrivant pas à comprendre qu'elles doivent irrémédiablement accepter de perdre leurs paradis qui constituent autant d'enfers pour des millions d'êtres humains trop longtemps ravalés au rang de bêtes de somme, et cela au nom d'une supériorité raciale imaginaire. Nous plaignons avec M. Jean Bruhat les rédacteurs de manuels de géographie à l'usage de la jeunesse:

"Ils s'essoufflent à faire et à refaire les cartes de l'Afrique de 1956: six Etats indépendants contre 26 en 1960. A peine "mises en place" (selon la formule consacrée), les institutions doivent être transformées."

33. Et les colonialistes, chaque fois, jettent du lest avec l'espoir de conserver le principal, car n'oublions pas que, fondamentalement, ils ne renoncent jamais de gaieté de cœur à l'exploitation des pays qu'ils dominent.

34. Nous savons que deux puissances ont crupouvoir se mettre à l'abri de l'irrésistible vent d'indépendance qui souffle sur le continent africain en inventant l'artifice juridique des provinces d'outre-mer pour tenter de couvrir d'un voile pudique le colonialisme forcé qu'elles pratiquent dans leurs colonies. Nous

enregistrons avec beaucoup de satisfaction la décision de la Quatrième Commission de l'Assemblée générale des Nations Unies^{5/} qui vient de démolir ce dernier rempart en votant à une majorité qui lui fait honneur un projet de résolution qui déclare que les prétendues provinces d'outre-mer sont bel et bien des colonies et doivent désormais être considérées comme telles.

35. Le processus de la libération est déclenché et il est irréversible. Comme l'a dit Abraham Lincoln, "on peut tromper tout le peuple une partie du temps ou une partie du peuple tout le temps, mais on ne peut pas tromper tout le peuple tout le temps"

36. Nous voudrions dire aux colonialistes de la quatorzième heure que le point critique de la libération des peuples sous domination a été franchi en 1960. La prise de conscience est désormais universelle et toutes les tentatives d'assimilation des originaires des colonies aux ressortissants des métropoles seront vaines. Car il est à signaler que la métropole n'est jamais sincère dans ce désir d'assimilation; l'assimilation lui pose toujours des problèmes insolubles; elle est en opposition directe avec les intérêts de la métropole, intérêts qui sont essentiellement fondés sur la frustration de celui qu'on prétend rétablir dans ses droits.

37. Ni le baume du faux-semblant de l'assimilationnisme, comme en Angola, ni la subversion organisée comme au Congo, ni la guerre à visage découvert, comme en Algérie, ne sauraient sauver le colonialisme dont la condamnation est sans appel. Nous répétons que le processus est historique et irréversible, et nous affirmons qu'il est indépendant de la volonté du colonisateur. Souvenons-nous-en.

38. Sir Winston Churchill déclarait au Guild Hall de Londres le 10 novembre 1942 au sujet des colonies:

"Ce que nous avons, nous le gardons. Je ne suis pas devenu le premier ministre du Roi afin de présider à la liquidation de l'Empire britannique."

39. Il faut se souvenir aussi de la fameuse conférence de Brazzaville dont le gaullisme voudrait faire une œuvre libérale de décolonisation, de cette conférence qui commençait ses recommandations en ces termes:

"Les fins de l'œuvre de civilisation accomplies par la France dans les colonies écartent toute idée d'autonomie, toute possibilité d'évolution hors du bloc français de l'Empire; la constitution éventuelle, même lointaine" — entendez bien: même lointaine — "de self-government dans les colonies est à écarter."

40. Il ne faut pas oublier non plus que le Premier Ministre français déclarait le 9 juin 1960 devant l'Assemblée nationale française:

"Nous voulons sauvegarder, en ce qui concerne notre pays, ses intérêts politiques, ses intérêts stratégiques, aussi son influence intellectuelle et ses possibilités économiques."

41. On ne saurait être plus précis. Les exploiters des pays coloniaux n'entendent donner d'une main aux peuples colonisés que ce qu'ils peuvent leur retirer de l'autre, car l'Afrique par exemple produit 98,4 pour 100 des diamants du globe, 66,4 pour 100 du cobalt, 45 pour 100 de l'or, 35 pour 100 des phosphates, 29 pour 100 du manganèse, près de 25 pour 100 du

^{5/} Voir Documents officiels de l'Assemblée générale, quinzième session, Quatrième Commission, 1048^e séance.

cuiivre, sans parler des réserves naturelles de plomb, de zinc, de bauxite, de fer et des minerais radioactifs. Par ailleurs, le continent africain est le premier producteur mondial de cacao, d'arachide et d'huile de palme.

42. Faut-il cependant déduire de ce qui précède que toute indépendance octroyée est nécessairement une fausse indépendance qu'il faut mépriser? Nous ne le pensons pas, parce que nous sommes convaincus que, chaque fois qu'un peuple colonisé accède à une parcelle de liberté, il le doit avant tout à une certaine prise de conscience de ses masses. Nous ne le pensons pas non plus parce que nous savons que, chaque fois qu'un peuple colonisé parvient à une forme d'auto-détermination, cette victoire lui ouvre fatalement la voie d'une victoire plus grande sur les forces étrangères de domination.

43. Le général de Gaulle l'a très bien compris qui s'accroche désespérément à l'"Algérie algérienne", tout en refusant de donner la parole au peuple algérien sous le contrôle des Nations Unies. Gageons que la France, dans son obstination à vouloir étouffer la volonté du peuple fier et courageux d'Algérie, se réveillera bientôt aux réalités éclatantes d'une Algérie radieuse qui aura brisé ses chaînes en déposant les armes aux pieds des Nations Unies pour entendre la voix de son peuple qui aura retrouvé la confiance.

44. En attendant, faisons en sorte que ceux qui ne se battent pas encore pour arracher leur liberté puissent être reconnaissants à l'Organisation des Nations Unies de leur avoir épargné une guerre inutile et injuste. N'est-ce pas là le rôle primordial d'une organisation universaliste, créée à l'issue de la victoire des peuples épris de paix et de liberté sur les forces du nazisme et du fascisme?

45. Ma délégation espère que l'Assemblée votera à l'unanimité tous les projets de résolution qui peuvent être présentés, tendant à concrétiser la liquidation complète du colonialisme. L'Assemblée doit le faire parce que non seulement une telle attitude est conforme à l'esprit de la Charte, mais surtout parce qu'elle apporte la contribution la plus efficace au maintien de la paix dans le monde. Tant que les Nations Unies reconnaîtront à certains peuples le droit de disposer d'autres peuples, les conflits demeureront en perspective, des conflits qui peuvent partir d'un coin d'Afrique, d'Asie ou d'Amérique à tout moment, pour devenir la source d'une conflagration à grande échelle, eu égard à la situation politique mondiale d'aujourd'hui.

46. L'Assemblée ne devrait pas différer sa décision sous prétexte qu'un Etat devrait d'abord atteindre un certain degré d'évolution pour disposer de lui-même. S'il est facile de parler du principe d'un niveau minimum d'évolution, nous ne voyons pas comment pourrait être défini ce niveau et sur quels critères seraient fixés des délais éventuels. Nous voyons ce que la Belgique a fait au Congo en 80 ans; nous voyons ce qui a été fait en d'autres endroits du monde en plusieurs siècles. Et, quand on nous parle de niveau, cela nous fait penser que le régime nazi d'Hitler avait estimé que les pays d'Europe ne méritaient pas qu'on les laissât se gouverner eux-mêmes. Bien sûr, tout est relatif.

47. Le droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes postule avant tout le respect de la dignité humaine qu'il faut placer au-dessus de toutes les autres con-

sidérations. C'est au nom de ce principe sacré que ma délégation est coauteur du projet de résolution A/L.323 et Add.1 à 4 et qu'elle est prête à appuyer toutes autres initiatives tendant à accélérer le mouvement de libération de tous les peuples sous domination, dans le sens de l'octroi inconditionnel de l'indépendance à tous les pays colonisés et dépendants.

48. M. DOSUMU-JOHNSON (Libéria) [traduit de l'anglais]: Dès le début de ma déclaration je tiens à exprimer la grande satisfaction que ma délégation éprouve devant la tendance que révèle l'attitude du monde entier à l'égard du concept politique avili entre tous, connu sous le nom de colonialisme, et aussi devant le fait que nous ayons décidé d'en discuter maintenant la suppression complète. En se montrant consciente de cette nécessité, l'ONU se donne la possibilité d'éliminer l'un des plus grands risques et l'un des plus grands dangers qui menacent la paix du monde et, par conséquent, d'abattre tous les obstacles qui se dressent entre les nations. Le fait de posséder des colonies et des matières premières ou d'en être privé a été l'une des principales causes de conflits internationaux entre les puissances occidentales et a incontestablement provoqué les deux guerres mondiales. La théorie des "possédants" et des "non-possédants" est le fruit de méditations sur le colonialisme et a toujours engendré la jalousie et la haine entre les Etats développés au point de vue industriel. La suppression du colonialisme contribuera donc à la paix et à la prospérité de l'humanité.

49. Mes contemporains membres des mouvements nationalistes africains reconnaîtront avec moi — quelles que puissent être par ailleurs nos divergences quant à l'interprétation des tendances actuelles — que la seconde guerre mondiale a marqué un tournant critique dans l'histoire du colonialisme moderne. Elle a mis fin à une attitude de complaisance à l'égard des aspirations politiques, économiques et culturelles du colonialisme. Elle a marqué le début de la liquidation active des empires coloniaux et les chefs nationalistes ont commencé depuis à être reconnus non plus comme des illuminés ou des radicaux ambitieux, mais comme des hommes sincèrement dévoués à la cause de leurs peuples et méritant le respect et la déférence du monde.

50. Il ne faudrait pas pourtant en tirer la conclusion fallacieuse que les modifications profondes qui se produisent actuellement en faveur des peuples asservis sont le résultat évident de nos efforts individuels ou même collectifs. Lorsque je regarde le chemin que nous avons parcouru depuis 1919, époque à laquelle nous avons organisé le Congrès national de l'Afrique occidentale britannique — dont le secrétariat se trouvait dans ce qui était alors la Côte-de-l'Or —, et le Congrès des peuples africains du monde — aux Etats-Unis où nous nous trouvons en ce moment — et lorsque je considère la rapidité des événements dans le monde colonial actuel, je suis enclin à penser, dans mon esprit assez candide, que cette évolution est due à quelque force surnaturelle que nous appelons Dieu et que certains appellent Allah. Il se peut que certains ne partagent pas ma façon de voir, mais c'est là ma conviction. Les agitateurs que nous étions n'étaient qu'un instrument dans la main de Dieu; et aucun artifice oratoire, si ingénieux soit-il, et si exaltés qu'en soient les auteurs, ne saura ébranler ma confiance absolue en Dieu, arbitre des destinées de l'homme. Si l'on n'y voit la main de Dieu, comment

peut-on expliquer que les grandes puissances coloniales abandonnent sans combattre ces greniers qu'étaient leurs territoires coloniaux? Je mets ma foi en Dieu — non que j'en fasse une conviction doctrinale intangible, mais plutôt une tendance à l'action, le cadre d'une foi formulée et une inspiration à agir. Ne craignez point, gardez courage; les grandes souffrances sont gravées dans le marbre et n'y sont pas gravées en vain.

51. Cela n'implique pas cependant un abandon paisible ou l'attente passive d'une transition inéluctable. Cela ne veut pas dire que nous devons relâcher nos efforts. Cela signifie que nous ne devons pas oublier le proverbe: "Aide-toi, le ciel t'aidera" et que Dieu, qui a permis l'indépendance du Ghana, de la Nigéria, du Congo (Léopoldville) — et qui va permettre bientôt l'indépendance du Sierra Leone et de toutes les anciennes colonies françaises actuellement membres de la Communauté française — permettra bientôt aussi, peut-être dans quelques années, que toute l'Afrique soit libre afin que même l'Afrique du Sud et l'Algérie, j'ose le dire, soient gouvernées par des Africains.

52. Mes amis me disent qu'avec l'âge je deviens conservateur. Rien n'est moins vrai. La simple vérité est que mes propos sont maintenant subordonnés aux circonstances et conditions du moment. Tandis que dans le passé je faisais de l'agitation avec combativité, avec mordant et avec émotion, je m'efforce maintenant de délibérer avec logique, avec patience et avec lucidité pour parvenir au même résultat. La vie est un équilibre dynamique.

53. Le principe du droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes fait partie intégrante de la Charte de l'Atlantique. Au moment de la création de l'ONU ce principe a été incorporé dans la Charte, dont il constitue l'Article 73 que je vais citer intégralement.

[L'orateur donne lecture de l'Article 73 de la Charte des Nations Unies.]

54. Cet article de la Charte constitue la base de la déclaration que les membres africano-asiatiques de l'Assemblée ont soumis à celle-ci pour qu'elle l'approuve sans réserve.

55. Le colonialisme a fait l'objet de descriptions nombreuses, d'analyses et de dogmes multiples. On trouve son origine dans cette attitude politique pathologique qui faisait dépendre la grandeur d'un pays et son prestige de la possession de territoires outremer. L'objet de notre déclaration est d'affirmer que la domination d'une nation par une autre équivaut à une parodie de justice, qu'elle est toujours une cause de conflit et qu'en notre époque de communications rapides et de nationalismes exacerbés, elle peut plus facilement que dans le passé provoquer une crise internationale. Toute tentative visant à excuser, à soutenir ou à appuyer le colonialisme est, à tout le moins, immorale.

56. Le colonialisme est essentiellement la domination d'une ou de plusieurs nations par une autre. Il peut revêtir diverses formes, telles que la conquête, l'achat pur et simple, l'extra-territorialité ou le condominium économique. Toutefois, quelle que soit la forme qu'il revête, il se manifeste toujours par l'arrivée, en provenance d'un pays étranger, d'un groupe de personnes qui imposent leur volonté et leur bon plaisir aux premiers occupants, sans aucun égard pour leurs intérêts élémentaires, les premiers occupants étant

invariablement réduits au rôle de bûcherons ou de porteurs d'eau et condamnés à jamais à fournir aux colonisateurs les éléments indispensables à une vie raffinée et cultivée, tandis que leur pauvreté et leur ignorance les empêche de prendre la moindre part à cette vie.

57. Les empires coloniaux ont été édifiés avec la sueur et la misère des autochtones. Les grands explorateurs du XV^{ème} et du XVI^{ème} siècle, avides d'aventure et de science, assoiffés de gloire pour leurs rois et de richesses pour eux-mêmes, toujours sous prétexte d'accomplir leur mission civilisatrice, ont ravagé et pillé les territoires coloniaux et exploité leurs populations qu'ils ont souvent laissées sans patrie et dans la débauche. Les colonisateurs, imbus de leur complexe de supériorité, n'ont plus laissé aux autochtones aucun droit qu'ils dussent respecter. Les atrocités et les spoliations qui ont marqué le colonialisme sont trop sordides pour être énumérées ici. Qu'il suffise de dire que ce fut une période sombre pour l'Asie et pour l'Afrique.

58. Avec l'apparition et l'expansion du capitalisme moderne, accompagnées du développement du commerce et des échanges, la pénétration dans les régions reculées s'est faite sous la protection des gouvernements. En Chine, les mandarins ont dû, bon gré mal gré, s'incliner sous la menace de navires de guerre étrangers. Les armées de l'Europe de l'Est se sont portées contre l'émir de Boukhara.

59. Invoquant de prétendus besoins nationaux et leurs intérêts stratégiques, les Britanniques et les Français sont intervenus en Amérique du Nord et en Inde; les Russes et les Japonais en Mandchourie et en Corée; la Grande-Bretagne, la France, l'Espagne, le Portugal, les Pays-Bas, la Belgique, l'Italie et l'Allemagne sont tous intervenus en Asie et en Afrique, s'appropriant chacun, au titre de leur butin colonial, des territoires qui auraient couvert plusieurs fois leur propre superficie. L'état d'esprit colonialiste est demeuré un instrument de politique nationale si puissant que le Troisième Reich envisageait de faire de la Pologne et de la Russie de vastes colonies qu'il aurait peuplées d'agriculteurs étrangers qui auraient été servis par une main-d'œuvre esclave, faite de la population ayant échappé aux exterminations.

60. Ce sont là autant de raisons puissantes qui devraient inciter l'Assemblée à prendre des mesures positives pour faire disparaître toute trace de colonialisme de la face du monde. Ma délégation s'est fixée pour but d'atteindre ce résultat.

61. Je me plais à noter ici, avec satisfaction, que le Gouvernement espagnol a accepté de reconsidérer sa position et de soumettre périodiquement à l'Organisation des Nations Unies des rapports sur ses colonies.

62. Bien que le colonialisme ait été un des principaux sujets de toutes les conférences africaines et asiatiques de ces dernières années — à Bandoung, Accra, Monrovia, Addis-Abéba et ailleurs — nous n'avons jamais demandé, au sein de l'ONU, qu'il soit mis fin à cette situation. Il convient donc que nous soyons reconnaissants à l'Union soviétique d'avoir demandé l'inscription de cette question à l'ordre du jour de l'Assemblée.

63. Si de nos jours les Britanniques et les Français étaient les seules puissances coloniales du monde, notre argumentation aurait été considérablement affai-

blie par les tendances récentes de leurs politiques coloniales. Bien que nous ne partagions pas entièrement leurs vues en ce qui concerne l'Algérie, le Kenya et la Fédération de Rhodésie, nous trouvons une raison d'être encouragés dans le désir de coopération dont ils témoignent en libérant leurs colonies. Ils se sont peut-être rendu compte qu'ils avaient plus à gagner en accordant la liberté à leurs colonies et en conservant leur amitié qu'en les contraignant à la guerre; ils ne peuvent que gagner en agissant ainsi au plus tôt en faveur des colonies qu'ils conservent encore.

64. Il reste cependant des irréductibles, comme l'Espagne et le Portugal, qui cherchent à faire de l'Afrique une partie de l'Europe. Les colonies du Portugal et de l'Espagne, bien que ces pays aient été des puissances coloniales depuis plus longtemps que tout autre pays d'Europe, offrent l'exemple le plus déplorable et le plus inhumain que l'on puisse trouver dans l'histoire coloniale des temps modernes.

65. Les Africains du Mozambique (5.780.000 personnes) et de l'Angola (4.145.000 personnes) vivent sous un régime de dictature qui est le plus cruel de son espèce. Je ne parle pas par oui-dire; j'y suis allé. Tous les beaux propos que nous entendons sur l'égalité des droits, sur l'absence de toute discrimination pour des raisons de race, ou sur le fait que les colonies font partie intégrante du Portugal, sont des propos mensongers et une insulte à la conscience de l'humanité parce qu'il s'agit là de privilèges réservés aux personnes civilisées et parce que, dans le système portugais, peu d'Africains ont qualité de civilisés. Les Africains de ces territoires vivent dans une pauvreté abjecte. Ils sont victimes de la pratique du travail forcé, car on les remet toujours à des employeurs lorsqu'ils ne peuvent pas payer l'impôt personnel. On ne leur permet même pas d'être chauffeurs de taxi, ce métier étant réservé aux Portugais. Ni au Mozambique, ni en Angola, les étrangers ne peuvent adresser la parole aux Africains si ce n'est en portugais. La politique officielle le veut ainsi. La situation à Bissau et à São Tomé est plus tragique encore. Il faut qu'au cours de la présente session l'Assemblée prenne des mesures positives pour améliorer le sort des Africains dans la colonie espagnole de Fernando Poo, dans les colonies portugaises et dans l'ancienne colonie britannique d'Afrique du Sud. L'Afrique du Sud était une colonie britannique et, au moment du transfert des pouvoirs, la Grande-Bretagne aurait dû protéger la population africaine. Elle partage donc la responsabilité du sort des Africains en Union sud-africaine.

66. L'Ouganda, le Kenya, la Fédération centrale de Rhodésie, le Sud-Ouest africain, le Betchoualand, le Bassoutoland et quelques autres territoires qui restent sur la liste des territoires coloniaux réclament leur indépendance à cor et à cri. Les habitants de ces territoires sont victimes de pratiques discriminatoires en raison de leur couleur, ainsi que d'autres traitements inhumains. Bien qu'on décèle certains indices encourageants, ces indices sont encore trop peu nombreux. Pour se hausser du niveau dégradant d'un Lazare se nourrissant des miettes que lui laissent des percepteurs étrangers à un niveau d'égalité avec les autres hommes et de dignité humaine qui leur revient de droit, les Africains ne peuvent choisir que l'indépendance politique complète.

67. Il est inutile de recourir aux statistiques pour prouver que le colonialisme est immoral. C'est un

système qui prive de toute virilité ceux qui en souffrent. Il prive les peuples de leur ressources et ne leur donne rien en échange.

68. Examinons à la lumière de la déclaration, dont ma délégation est heureuse d'être l'un des auteurs, ce système néfaste et étudions ses incidences politiques, économiques et culturelles tout en montrant, chaque fois que cela est possible, la fausseté des prétextes invoqués pour retarder l'octroi de l'indépendance.

69. Contrairement à la conviction exprimée souvent par des personnes qui n'ont reçu que l'éducation nécessaire pour s'élever au-dessus de la condition de rustre, les Africains, avant l'apparition des commerçants européens en Afrique, connaissaient un régime de vie familiale bien conçu et extrêmement développé, ils avaient un système de développement communautaire, un enseignement qui s'adressait aux filles et aux garçons, des activités artistiques et une organisation sanitaire.

70. Dès avant l'invasion européenne, c'est la famille qui était l'élément central de la vie sociale. Le mariage retenait l'attention du groupe tout entier. Tous les observateurs impartiaux, qu'ils soient missionnaires, anthropologues ou sociologues, témoigneront de la valeur culturelle primitive de la collectivité et du régime de gouvernement par les chefs. Etant donné que les Africains croient à la continuité de la famille et de la collectivité, ils mettent tout en œuvre pour inspirer à leurs enfants le respect de tout ce que représentent la famille et la collectivité. L'enseignement faisait appel à l'observation directe, à la participation et aux méthodes classiques. En dépit des multiples aspects qu'elle offrait, cette culture a été tournée en dérision et on n'a tenu aucun compte de l'ordre social existant, ou on l'a ridiculisé.

71. Dire que les Africains n'avaient aucun gouvernement et qu'il a fallu attendre l'arrivée des Européens pour qu'un régime politique soit introduit en Afrique, c'est énoncer une affirmation gratuite. Lorsque Dieu a partagé le monde, il en a donné une partie à Sem, une partie à Cham et une partie à Japhet. Cham a pris l'Afrique. Le gouvernement est apparu en Afrique avec Kousch, Pouth et Misraïm, fils de Cham, et a donné naissance par la suite aux empires de Sokoto, de Gando, de Kano et de Sonrhaf, ainsi qu'aux diverses dynasties égyptiennes. Lorsque la colonisation de l'Afrique a commencé au XVème siècle, à l'époque des intrépides navigateurs du prince Henri, les Africains établis sur les côtes de l'Atlantique étaient depuis 600 ans avant Jésus-Christ en rapports commerciaux constants avec les négociants de la Méditerranée et ils recueillaient les bénéfices d'une évolution culturelle dont les origines se situaient sur les rives du Nil, du Tigre et de l'Euphrate. Affirmer que ces navigateurs sont venus assurer notre protection, c'est vouloir berner le monde, car, lorsque des ennemis se présentaient effectivement, nous étions en général abandonnés à notre sort.

72. Dans bien des propos entendus de nos jours au sujet des maladies, curables ou incurables, on omet de mentionner que ces maladies n'ont commencé à affliger les Africains qu'au moment de l'invasion des forces étrangères qui ont ravagé et pillé les maisons des Africains tandis que ceux-ci étaient parfois vendus comme esclaves. Etre contraints à faire certaines choses contre leur volonté et à travailler pour des

maîtres au lieu de travailler pour eux-mêmes était plus que les Africains ne pouvaient supporter. L'attente de la mort, l'indolence et l'instabilité sont devenus un mode de vie. Les notions de liberté et de démocratie, bases de la liberté en Angleterre et devise de l'Europe, n'ont jamais été exportées vers les territoires coloniaux. Une curieuse forme de liberté a été instaurée dans les relations avec les Asiatiques et les Africains.

73. Le colonialisme, sous quelque forme qu'il se présente, est mauvais. Il a apporté en Asie et en Afrique d'innombrables maux et a été parfois encouragé par les puissances colonisatrices. Attirés par les richesses qu'ils pouvaient trouver pour remplir les coffres des princes-marchands d'Europe, des pirates et des aventuriers comme Drake, Frobisher et Hawkins ont incendié des villes et des villages d'Afrique et ont vendu leurs habitants comme esclaves. En bien des endroits, les Africains n'étaient que des bêtes de somme. C'est là ce qui a résulté pour l'Afrique de ce "fardeau de l'homme blanc" dont parle Kipling. Nous devrions remercier Dieu qu'il y ait des moustiques en Afrique occidentale.

74. En l'espace de 40 ans, les quelque 30 millions de kilomètres carrés que représente la superficie de l'Afrique, à l'exception du territoire couvert par les Etats souverains du Libéria et de l'Ethiopie, ont été répartis entre les grandes puissances et les conséquences de ce partage n'ont pas été heureuses pour les habitants. En dépit des principes humanitaires élevés proclamés aux tribunes européennes, les actes des premiers colonisateurs ne furent ni très nobles ni très humains. Si l'on lit leurs traités paraphés de simples croix en signe d'acceptation par des chefs locaux analphabètes, on ne peut qu'être convaincu que l'art de la duperie était pratiqué à des degrés divers pour inciter les Africains à signer des papiers qu'ils ne comprenaient pas. Si je ne comprends pas moi-même ces traités aujourd'hui, vous imaginerez sans peine que ces chefs les aient compris infiniment moins à l'époque.

75. Dans certains cas, les affaires politiques étaient livrées à des sociétés ou à des personnes privées, disposées à toutes les complaisances sur la question du traitement fait aux Africains, traitement qui ne correspondait guère aux protestations de ces sociétés ou personnes touchant leurs préoccupations quant à la vie et la liberté de ces Africains. Certaines des méthodes appliquées pour recruter la main-d'œuvre et pour la conserver ne différaient absolument pas des méthodes suivies par les meneurs d'esclaves, et toute résistance de la part des victimes de ces enrôlements forcés donnait lieu à des contre-mesures les plus brutales.

76. Si, en présence des changements multiples et soudains dont l'Afrique nous offre en ce moment le spectacle, nous tenons à faire adopter une déclaration sur le colonialisme, c'est parce que l'esprit de suite n'est pas la caractéristique des milieux colonialistes. La politique coloniale est en effet le résultat d'apports divers qui varient avec les modifications du climat intellectuel dans la métropole.

77. L'argument selon lequel les colonies ne sont pas encore prêtes pour l'indépendance est indéfendable. On a dit cela de toutes les colonies qui ont accédé à l'indépendance. Aucune tutelle politique, si longue qu'en soit la durée, ne peut donner à un peuple la

vigueur réelle que lui apportera l'indépendance. Allez en Afrique et voyez ce que les Africains ont fait pour eux-mêmes depuis l'indépendance. Les Africains administraient leurs propres affaires avant l'époque coloniale; je ne doute pas le moins du monde qu'ils puissent les administrer aujourd'hui, l'ONU leur servant de guide.

78. Je manquerais aux principes de la justice la plus élémentaire si je ne reconnaissais pas tout ce que je dois aux missions occidentales qui m'ont montré, comme à beaucoup d'autres, la voie des pratiques politiques modernes; je veux parler de ce que je dois à l'Occident en matière de science, médecine, travaux publics, protection sociale, administration et autres techniques modernes. Néanmoins ces techniques ne sauraient remplacer l'indépendance de mes frères qui sont systématiquement privés de leurs droits à la liberté d'expression et à la liberté de déplacement dans la dignité qui est le propre de l'homme.

79. Tout ce que les Africains — de l'Est, de l'Ouest, du Nord ou du Sud — demandent aux puissances coloniales et aux puissances administrantes ainsi qu'aux grandes nations démocratiques, c'est qu'elles accordent l'indépendance aux colonies afin que celles-ci puissent améliorer leurs conditions de logement et d'alimentation et, de façon générale, atteindre un niveau de vie plus élevé; créer une économie nationale plus vigoureuse et une société stable, avec tout ce qu'une telle société implique d'écoles, de collèges, de centres de protection sociale, d'hôpitaux, de police et d'armée disciplinées, ainsi que de liberté civile et politique.

80. Les peuples des territoires qui se trouvent sous la domination coloniale désirent une vie meilleure. Il n'est pas nécessaire que leurs enfants soient condamnés à venir au monde malades ou qu'ils soient eux-mêmes soumis, leur vie durant, aux effets débilissants et paralysants du colonialisme.

81. Il serait particulièrement malvenu de la part d'un Membre de l'ONU, quel qu'il soit, de revendiquer une partie de l'Afrique, quelle qu'elle soit, comme faisant partie du territoire métropolitain, de même qu'il était malvenu d'affirmer, comme l'a fait récemment un chef d'Etat européen, qu'en discutant de l'Afrique l'ONU s'ingérerait dans les affaires intérieures de son pays. C'est là un subterfuge démodé. Toute pratique inhumaine infligée à un peuple asservi, toute question coloniale, où qu'elle se pose dans le monde, relèvent de la compétence de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, et il en est ainsi convenu.

82. Il faut que l'année 1960 soit sans réserve, comme elle prétend l'être, l'"Année de l'Afrique" et il faut, pour cela, que cette déclaration soit adoptée et devienne pour les territoires encore soumis au régime colonial la charte qui les mettra à l'abri de l'exploitation et de la servitude et les fera bénéficier des droits fondamentaux de l'homme que l'Organisation des Nations Unies garantit à tous les peuples.

83. Qu'il soit prêt ou non, l'expérience nous l'a appris, un pays se développera plus vite sous un gouvernement de son choix.

84. Le PRESIDENT (traduit de l'anglais): Avant de donner la parole à l'orateur suivant, je tiens à attirer l'attention de l'Assemblée sur le document A/L.323/Add.5 dans lequel il est porté à notre connaissance

que le Gabon et les Philippines ont été ajoutés à la liste des auteurs du projet de résolution.

85. M. TOURA GABA (Tchad): La délégation du Tchad a écouté avec un intérêt bien compréhensible les orateurs qui l'ont précédée à cette tribune. En effet, de tous les débats auxquels elle a eu l'honneur de participer, ma délégation considère celui qui nous occupe aujourd'hui comme étant de loin le plus important parce qu'il conditionne à la fois le présent et l'avenir. Le colonialisme n'est pas étranger aux maux dont souffre notre infortunée planète.

86. A ce propos, ma délégation veut s'adresser particulièrement à celles dont les nations assument encore des responsabilités d'ordre politique et économique outre-mer.

87. Pour les raisons que l'on connaît, ce débat les intéresse au même titre, sinon plus que nous-mêmes, représentants des jeunes nations coauteurs du projet de déclaration sur la fin du colonialisme qui sera proposé, vers la fin de nos débats, à l'agrément de l'Assemblée.

88. Se réclamant de la civilisation chrétienne faite — on nous l'a appris — de charité, de justice, de l'amour du prochain, que sais-je encore? les représentants des nations incriminées ne manqueront pas d'être en proie à des contradictions et, comme tant d'autres de leurs coreligionnaires, en butte à un redoutable cas de conscience. Ils savent pertinemment les conséquences heureuses ou désastreuses, selon le cas, du vote qu'ils vont émettre à la fin de ce débat. Jamais vote n'a revêtu une telle importance pour toute une planète et la race blanche en particulier, immobilisée par son congénital instinct de conservation. Jamais, par la faute d'une poignée d'attardés qui s'obstinent à se cramponner aux derniers vestiges d'un passé révolu, la chrétienté, dont cette race est si fière, apparemment, n'a été aussi en danger dans les pays dépendants. Jamais, dans ces colonies, les autres religions n'ont connu autant de popularité.

89. Ma délégation veut espérer que les nations colonialistes feront, cette année, un geste de grandeur. Elles ne sauraient être inférieures à celles qui, volontairement, ont reconnu la nécessité de la décolonisation.

90. On ne craint pas de proclamer à tous vents qu'on est libre, qu'on est démocrate. Mais un démocrate libre peut-il opprimer d'autres hommes? On ne saurait dénier à d'autres peuples ce qu'on demande pour soi-même.

91. Les drapeaux et les hymnes des pays colonialistes eux-mêmes ne sont-ils pas la manifestation de leur grand amour de l'indépendance? Le besoin d'être libre et indépendant est inhérent à l'être humain. Il serait donc criminel, vain et contraire à la volonté de Dieu de refuser, sous quelque prétexte que ce soit, l'indépendance pleine et entière à une personne et encore plus à un peuple qui la réclament.

92. Ma délégation veut encore espérer que les nations colonialistes, qui, pour les raisons que l'on sait, ont répandu les idées progressistes de par le monde, ne sauront se déjuger; elles ne manqueront pas d'être logiques avec elles-mêmes. Ma délégation leur lance donc un appel pressant pour qu'elles veuillent bien joindre leurs efforts aux nôtres en vue de construire un monde nouveau d'où l'esclavage sera banni et où

régnent enfin la justice, l'égalité, la fraternité et la concorde.

93. Pour galvaniser son peuple dans sa lutte pour l'indépendance nationale, une des vieilles républiques qui siègent parmi nous a revigoré la religion de ses ancêtres. Tout en l'assortissant du rite chrétien, elle a peint Jésus-Christ et ses fidèles apôtres à son image, sauf naturellement Judas. Ses ressortissants se plaisent à raconter que, sans cette métamorphose, elle n'aurait jamais réussi à bouter l'envahisseur hors de son pays. Si nos colonialistes continuent de raisonner comme leurs ancêtres et, comme eux, se laissent dépasser par les événements, craignons que ce phénomène ne se renouvelle à une grande échelle dévastatrice. Il emporterait tout; rien de ce qui rappelle le colonialisme ne subsisterait.

94. Ensemble, faisons en sorte que cette calamité, que l'on désigne sous le vocable poétique de retour aux sources, n'ait pas lieu, pour le bien de l'humanité.

95. Cette sombre perspective, Monsieur le Président, donne une importance singulière à ce débat que vous dirigez, comme d'habitude, avec beaucoup de compétence et de distinction. Serait-ce trop vous demander que de vous prier de bien vouloir user de votre influence pour que ceux qu'écoutent les puissances colonialistes fassent un effort supplémentaire dans le sens de la décolonisation souhaitée ardemment par tous les peuples du monde? Notre assemblée, reflet de ces peuples assoiffés de justice et convaincus de la nécessité de la coexistence pacifique, ne saurait manquer de vous en savoir gré.

96. Le continent africain épouse à la fois la forme d'un point d'interrogation et celle d'un pistolet tourné, comme par hasard, vers l'Union sud-africaine. Il incombe aux puissances colonialistes de faire en sorte que ce continent ne soit pas transformé en un véritable pistolet, mais demeure un pacifique point d'interrogation. Pour atteindre ce but, les puissances en cause doivent désormais savoir répondre en leur temps aux questions qui leur sont posées. Il y va de l'intérêt de la paix et de l'amitié des peuples.

97. L'Afrique n'est ni rancunière, ni revancharde, ni raciste, ni xénophobe. Toutes les races y cohabitent, toutes les opinions s'y expriment librement, sauf, bien entendu, dans les territoires qui sont encore sous le joug du colonialisme. Elle sait aussi oublier. Vous en avez pour preuves ces jeunes nations où autochtones et colonisateurs cohabitent et collaborent dans l'amitié et la dignité.

98. Le projet de résolution contenu dans le document A/L.323 et Add.1 à 5 qui vous est soumis émane de la plupart, sinon de la totalité, des nations anciennement colonisées. Il est l'expression de ceux qui, mieux que tous autres, ont l'expérience du régime colonial et peuvent en apprécier à leur juste valeur les avantages et les inconvénients. La domination d'un peuple par un autre, contraire aux droits fondamentaux de l'homme et à la Charte des Nations Unies, est connue de tous les peuples. Le colonialisme est désormais condamné, son maintien serait une menace flagrante à la sécurité internationale et à la paix mondiale.

99. Tous les peuples ont droit à la libre détermination; aucun prétexte d'ordre politique, économique ou social ne saurait les en priver; nous adressons un appel pressant à toutes les grandes nations pour

qu'elles mettent fin à toute action armée ou à toute autre mesure de répression contre les peuples encore dépendants qui réclament pacifiquement leur indépendance. Tel est l'esprit de notre résolution.

100. Notre continent connaît ses origines, ses possibilités: il sait ce qu'il vaut pour le présent et pour l'avenir. Aussi, avec sa sœur l'Asie, quand il leur arrive de parler des autres continents, ont-ils parfois le sourire tendre d'une mère clémentine.

101. L'Afrique ne saurait, par conséquent, ignorer les autres continents et se passer d'eux. Plus qu'eux peut-être, elle a besoin de l'aide extérieure pour mettre en valeur ses fabuleuses richesses latentes. Elle ne peut, dans ce monde interdépendant, se singulariser

en se repliant sur elle-même. Comme jadis, elle veut être exportatrice et réceptrice de tout ce qui enrichit et honore notre patrimoine commun: la civilisation.

102. Le moment est venu où elle doit, dans son ensemble, occuper la place de choix qui lui revient dans le concert des nations souveraines. Ses intentions sont pures. On peut, comme par le passé, lui faire confiance.

103. Je conclurai en renouvelant mon appel aux puissances colonialistes pour qu'elles se joignent à nous, sans arrière-pensée, afin que la portée du vote historique que nous allons émettre ne soit pas diminuée par une note discordante.

La séance est levée à 22 h 20.



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Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux
pays et aux peuples coloniaux (suite) 1135

Président: M. Frederick H. BOLAND (Irlande).

POINT 87 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance
aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux (suite)

1. M. SHANAHAN (Nouvelle-Zélande) [traduit de l'anglais]: Depuis sa création, l'Organisation des Nations Unies a consacré une part importante de son activité à améliorer la situation des populations qui, dans le gouvernement de la société à laquelle ils appartenaient, ne pouvaient jouer pleinement leur rôle en tant que membres ayant atteint leur pleine maturité. Cette activité n'a pas exclusivement consisté à appliquer les dispositions de la Charte relatives aux territoires sous tutelle et aux territoires non autonomes; elle s'est également traduite par les mesures que l'ONU a prises pour atteindre les objectifs qu'elle s'était fixés, c'est-à-dire le respect des droits de l'homme et des libertés pour tous, sans distinction d'aucune sorte.

2. Les concepts de liberté et d'indépendance sont profondément enracinés dans la Charte, et, au cours de la présente session de l'Assemblée générale, nous avons été les témoins de leur plein épanouissement. Au moment où 17 pays qui ont récemment acquis leur indépendance viennent d'être admis au sein de l'Organisation, il est naturel que nous portions nos regards vers le chemin qui reste à parcourir pour que la tâche soit vraiment achevée. C'est pour cette raison que l'idée d'un projet de déclaration a trouvé au sein de cette assemblée un accueil aussi favorable.

3. Par son essence même, ce projet implique une foi dans la valeur et la dignité individuelles de tous les êtres humains, foi qui exclut toute distinction inspirée de considérations de race, de couleur, ou de nationalité et qui ne peut trouver sa pleine justification tant qu'un peuple exercera sur un autre son hégémonie, quelle qu'en soit la forme. Ma délégation peut souscrire sans réserve ni restriction et en toute sincérité à toute déclaration réaffirmant cette foi. Le peuple de la Nouvelle-Zélande désire aussi instamment que le peuple de tout autre pays l'instauration d'un monde fait de nations indépendantes, unissant leurs efforts dans l'intérêt commun d'une humanité libérée du fléau de la discrimination raciale et de toute autre forme de domination et d'oppression.

4. Qu'il me soit permis de préciser immédiatement que pour ma délégation le terme de "colonialisme" n'évoque pas nécessairement ces fléaux. Nous ne ser-

virions pas les idéaux de l'Organisation en décrivant d'une formule toute faite toutes les imperfections de l'ordre social des différents pays. Lorsque l'on reconnaît ouvertement l'existence du colonialisme en tant que phase transitoire dans le développement d'un territoire particulier, on ne doit pas donner à ce terme un sens péjoratif. Ceci s'applique en particulier aux territoires sous tutelle et aux territoires non autonomes dont les populations, ainsi qu'il est admis, relèvent des chapitres pertinents de la Charte des Nations Unies.

5. Il n'est pas sans intérêt de rappeler que les Etats qui ont assumé les plus lourdes responsabilités en matière d'administration de territoires sous tutelle et de territoires non autonomes étaient parmi les Membres fondateurs de cette organisation et qu'ils ont librement et spontanément assumé les obligations découlant de la Charte. La présence parmi nous de représentants d'un grand nombre d'Etats nouveaux que le Royaume-Uni, la France et d'autres pays ont conduits à l'indépendance prouve assez la valeur de l'œuvre que ces pays ont accomplie. Dans ce processus, l'influence et l'autorité morale de l'ONU ont joué un rôle exceptionnel que seule l'Organisation pouvait assumer, mais c'est seulement parce que les puissances administrantes s'étaient jointes à d'autres Etats indépendants pour élaborer et accepter les dispositions de la Charte elle-même que ce processus a été possible.

6. Toute déclaration que l'Assemblée adopterait doit s'inspirer de ces considérations fondamentales. En donnant un caractère officiel à l'expression de nos aspirations en faveur de tous les peuples qui ne jouissent pas d'une pleine liberté, nous ne devons pas — comme le voudraient l'Union soviétique et ceux qui l'appuient — méconnaître ou minimiser les efforts sincères et les progrès appréciables qui ont été faits. Notre sollicitude doit s'étendre aussi à tous les peuples dont l'état réel d'indépendance ou de subordination n'est pas ouvertement reconnu.

7. En particulier, l'Assemblée ne doit pas porter son attention uniquement sur le cas des territoires sous tutelle et des territoires non autonomes qui relèvent déjà de certains organes appropriés de l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Il faut que nous tenions compte aussi d'autres formes de colonialisme qui sont véritablement tragiques parce que nul n'a pris l'engagement d'y mettre fin, parce que nul ne cherche à réparer les préjudices effectivement portés, à notre époque même, au mépris des obligations de la Charte et en pleine connaissance des souffrances et des humiliations que ces formes de colonialisme ont provoquées.

8. Ma délégation s'est félicitée de l'initiative prise par les Etats d'Asie et d'Afrique qui ont présenté un projet de déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux [A/L.323 et Add.1 à 5]. Cette proposition doit être considérée comme la continuation de l'œuvre que l'on a entreprise en rédigeant la Charte, celle-ci traçant la voie qui doit conduire tous les peuples à l'indépendance. Nous

sommes tout à fait d'avis qu'il serait absolument contraire à la lettre et à l'esprit de la Charte de dresser des obstacles sur cette voie.

9. La Charte elle-même reconnaît cependant que tout peuple et tout territoire qui s'engage dans cette voie doit se fixer un rythme de progrès conforme à ses aptitudes. C'est pourquoi les dispositions détaillées relatives aux territoires sous tutelle et aux territoires non autonomes laissent une certaine latitude permettant de choisir la méthode la mieux adaptée à la situation de chaque territoire. Cette latitude était nécessaire uniquement parce que l'octroi immédiat de l'indépendance ou de l'autonomie aurait, dans la plupart des cas, été préjudiciable aux intérêts véritables du territoire en question. Un grand nombre des auteurs du projet de déclaration connaissent par expérience directe les dispositions des Chapitres XI et XII de la Charte et savent comment elles ont été appliquées dans la pratique. A notre connaissance, personne n'a laissé entendre que ces dispositions, lorsqu'elles sont pleinement reconnues et mises en œuvre par la puissance administrante intéressée, portent préjudice de quelque manière que ce soit à un territoire sous tutelle ou à un territoire non autonome, ou retardent indûment son accession à l'indépendance.

10. La Nouvelle-Zélande est, elle aussi, en mesure de juger par elle-même de l'efficacité du régime de tutelle. Il ne fait pas de doute que l'application de ce régime au Samoa-Occidental, par exemple, a sensiblement rapproché le jour, maintenant venu, où le peuple de ce territoire s'est senti capable d'accéder à l'indépendance et prêt à en assumer les responsabilités. Cela ne veut pas dire qu'en l'absence d'un accord de tutelle, la Nouvelle-Zélande aurait souhaité refuser d'accéder aux revendications d'indépendance ou aurait été en mesure de le faire, cela veut dire simplement que les normes fixées par l'Assemblée générale et le Conseil de tutelle et l'évaluation soigneuse des progrès accomplis ont encouragé le développement des institutions politiques, la mise en valeur des ressources économiques et techniques et la formation d'un corps de fonctionnaires, d'éducateurs et d'experts. L'existence de ces institutions fondamentales est la condition préalable d'une indépendance réelle et stable. Lorsque le Premier Ministre du Samoa-Occidental viendra ici la semaine prochaine demander à l'Assemblée d'entamer la procédure qui mettra fin à l'Accord de tutelle, je ne pense pas que nous l'entendions dire — comme on l'a déclaré à cette tribune au cours de cette session — que le régime de tutelle ne s'est justifié nulle part et qu'il doit disparaître.

11. Je répète que c'est sur la Charte que nous bâtissons et que les dispositions détaillées qu'elle contient ont déjà fait la preuve qu'elles pouvaient permettre à un grand nombre de territoires sous tutelle et de territoires non autonomes d'accéder à l'indépendance et ce bien plus rapidement que beaucoup ne l'auraient cru possible. Telle est la réalité que nous devons garder présente à l'esprit pour juger équitablement de la valeur et des fins d'une nouvelle déclaration. Un document de cette nature doit rester dans le domaine des généralités. Il ne saurait fournir une règle empirique apportant une solution automatique aux problèmes coloniaux qui restent à régler, car, pour chaque cas, il faut tenir compte des circonstances qui lui sont propres, ainsi que le reconnaît la Charte. Le critère est toujours qu'il faut déterminer ce qui convient le mieux aux intérêts des peuples, de tous les peuples, dont le destin est en jeu.

12. C'est en tenant compte de ce qui précède que ma délégation juge le projet de déclaration qui nous est soumis par les Etats d'Asie et d'Afrique. Ce que l'on s'est proposé en rédigeant ce texte, ce n'est pas d'élaborer un traité dont chaque disposition devrait être pesée minutieusement par tous les pays qui envisageraient d'y adhérer — à vrai dire, il nous semblerait presque impossible qu'un instrument semblable puisse marquer un progrès sur les dispositions de la Charte qui ont déjà fait leurs preuves — c'est de mettre au point une déclaration dont l'objet est plutôt de formuler et de traduire fidèlement des idéaux et des principes d'application universelle.

13. Une déclaration comme celle que nous proposons maintenant les 42 pays qui en sont conjointement les auteurs [A/L.323 et Add.1 à 5] serait dans la meilleure tradition de l'ONU si elle fixait une norme optimum de réalisation dans l'œuvre qui a pour objet de mettre fin le plus rapidement possible à toutes les formes de colonialisme. La Déclaration universelle des droits de l'homme offre l'exemple par excellence d'un énoncé de principes si communément reconnus et rencontrant un appui si général qu'il symbolise toute l'autorité morale de l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Pour inspirer le même respect universel, une déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux doit atteindre les mêmes normes de validité objective et s'inspirer du même souci d'aborder le problème de façon positive. Pour prendre sa place parmi les grands documents de l'ONU, cette déclaration doit aussi être d'une équité scrupuleuse et ne pas attribuer aux puissances administrantes des motifs et des intentions qui sont l'antithèse de leur politique établie et qui sont démentis par les résultats qu'elles ont déjà obtenus.

14. Nous ne doutons pas que les intentions des auteurs du projet dont nous sommes saisis soient conformes à ces fins. Il est certes louable d'essayer d'obtenir que tous les Etats acceptent sans réserve les obligations que leur impose la Charte et s'en acquittent, et de s'efforcer d'accélérer, dans la mesure compatible avec les exigences du bon sens et les possibilités d'ordre pratique, le processus aboutissant à l'indépendance de tous les peuples sous la forme qu'ils auront choisie eux-mêmes comme étant celle qui répond le mieux à leurs besoins.

15. Pourtant, en cette session de l'Assemblée générale qui s'est si profondément préoccupée des tragiques événements du Congo, nous devons nous rendre compte des difficultés et des éléments complexes qui entrent en jeu lorsque l'on prépare un territoire à l'indépendance. La Charte impose à la puissance administrante l'obligation de préparer à l'indépendance les peuples qui ne s'administrent pas eux-mêmes. Il faut donc éviter tout énoncé de principe qui risquerait d'affaiblir le caractère inéluctable de cette obligation ou de jeter un doute sur la nécessité de s'en acquitter.

16. Il se peut que, dans certains cas, le travail de préparation à l'indépendance eût dû être entrepris plus tôt ou mené plus rapidement, bien que, sous l'influence de la Charte, nos conceptions aient évolué au cours de ces dernières années marquées par de si grands changements. Il convient de veiller à ce que toutes les puissances administrantes soient conscientes de leurs responsabilités et prennent les mesures que celles-ci exigent. Toutefois, il ne serait de l'intérêt de personne, et en particulier des peuples des territoires intéressés,

d'abandonner purement et simplement l'œuvre qui reste à accomplir.

17. Nous avons tous été vivement frappés lorsque le chef d'une des grandes nations d'Afrique admises cette année à l'Organisation a rendu hommage à l'œuvre que l'ancienne puissance administrante avait accomplie en vue de préparer son pays à l'indépendance. Soyons assez francs pour reconnaître spontanément la nécessité de cette préparation et pour admettre que le plus souvent celle-ci se fait à un rythme toujours plus rapide, dans un esprit de parfaite intégrité et d'inégalable dévouement.

18. Pour toutes ces raisons, ma délégation espère que les auteurs du projet de déclaration seront disposés à envisager un remaniement de certains passages de leur texte. Dans certains cas, ce qui est implicite pourrait être explicité. Il est évident qu'un grand nombre des auteurs dudit projet avaient plus particulièrement à l'esprit les grands territoires d'Afrique qui ne sont pas encore indépendants. Toutefois il faut s'assurer que les droits des peuples soumis à d'autres formes de colonialisme se trouvent également sauvegardés et qu'on ne néglige pas les besoins d'un autre ordre de territoires plus petits, situés en d'autres régions que l'Afrique.

19. En ce qui concerne le paragraphe 5 du dispositif, rien ne saurait s'opposer à ce que l'on reconnaisse expressément le principe généralement admis selon lequel les populations de ces territoires plus petits peuvent fort bien, le moment venu, choisir une forme d'indépendance n'impliquant pas une existence distincte en tant qu'Etat souverain. Nous pensons aussi qu'il serait possible d'expliquer plus clairement dans ce paragraphe que les puissances administrantes ont le devoir d'entamer immédiatement la procédure permettant aux territoires dont elles ont la charge d'accéder à l'indépendance dans l'ordre et dans les plus brefs délais possible.

20. Nous estimons en outre que le septième considérant ne tient pas suffisamment compte des multiples manières dont les pays plus développés partagent leurs ressources avec les pays moins développés, que ceux-ci aient ou non accédé à l'indépendance. Etant donné ce que j'ai déjà dit, il est évident que, selon nous, la forme du neuvième considérant serait plus heureuse si celui-ci ne donnait à entendre que le colonialisme s'accompagne de pratiques de ségrégation et de discrimination.

21. L'ensemble du projet devrait, nous semble-t-il, mettre en lumière le fait que la plupart des puissances administrantes se sont déjà engagées sans réserve dans une politique permettant aux populations des territoires dont elles sont responsables de déterminer librement leur avenir. Dans ces conditions, il est faux de sous-entendre au paragraphe 4 du dispositif que toute action armée a nécessairement pour objet d'empêcher les peuples dépendants d'exercer effectivement cette liberté de choix. Il serait assurément souhaitable d'indiquer clairement qu'on ne saurait exclure les recours à la force qui sont légitimes dans tout Etat. Rappelons par exemple, comme l'a mentionné hier le représentant de la Birmanie [943ème séance], que, pour prévenir le crime, la police peut être contrainte de recourir à la force.

22. Enfin, le texte devrait affirmer sans ambiguïté que nous nous préoccupons non seulement du sort des populations des territoires sous tutelle et des terri-

toires non autonomes, mais aussi du sort de tous les peuples qui, à l'heure actuelle, ne jouissent pas d'une indépendance effective ou de toutes leurs libertés.

23. Si j'ai indiqué que ces précisions étaient souhaitables, c'est parce que la délégation de la Nouvelle-Zélande désire ardemment accorder tout son appui à une déclaration qui témoignerait non seulement de l'attitude intransigeante de l'ONU à l'encontre du maintien du colonialisme sous quelque forme que ce soit, mais aussi de son aptitude à reconnaître ce qui est bien comme elle condamne ce qui est mal, et à attaquer de front les problèmes d'ordre pratique qui se posent indéniablement et qu'il convient de résoudre pour que tous les territoires et tous les peuples puissent être vraiment libres et indépendants.

24. M. MENEMENCIOLU (Turquie) [traduit de l'anglais]: La délégation de la Turquie estime que le débat relatif à la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux est l'une des tâches les plus importantes auxquelles l'Assemblée se soit attaquée depuis ces dernières années. Nous estimons, en effet, comme de nombreux orateurs qui nous ont précédés, que le présent débat peut permettre d'éclaircir un certain nombre de problèmes importants et faciliter l'énoncé de certains principes fondamentaux d'une importance capitale pour les nations du monde entier.

25. Le sujet qui nous occupe met en jeu des aspirations aussi élevées que la liberté, le droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes, l'indépendance et l'intégrité territoriale. Ce sont là des idéaux qui sont chers au peuple de mon pays. Au cours de son histoire ancienne ou contemporaine, le peuple turc a même largement donné la preuve de l'importance qu'il attache à ces principes élevés. Quelquefois, dans des conditions défavorables, notre peuple s'est trouvé dans la nécessité de défendre ces principes seul et au prix de lourds sacrifices. En conséquence, comme de nombreuses autres délégations, nous avons conscience de la nécessité d'apporter à ces débats, dans un esprit objectif et constructif, toute l'attention qu'ils méritent. De toute évidence, ma délégation ne saurait participer à quelque tentative que ce soit, visant à faire dévier cette importante discussion vers des fins étrangères aux principes élevés mis en cause.

26. En abordant ce sujet, au cours de la présente session de l'Assemblée générale, un caractère particulier de l'assistance qui nous entoure s'impose à nos esprits: le fait que tant d'Etats ayant nouvellement accédé à l'indépendance siègent avec nous dans cette salle, sur une base d'égalité et qu'ils apportent une contribution précieuse à ces débats portant sur une question d'aussi grande importance. Il y a quelque temps, il aurait été difficile ne fût-ce que d'imaginer un progrès aussi rapide dans la voie de la liberté et de l'indépendance. Cette réalité est en soi une des preuves les plus caractéristiques du fait que le mouvement vers la liberté est irréversible et qu'il restera la tendance caractéristique de ce siècle.

27. En outre, les processus évolutifs qui ont abouti à un mouvement d'émancipation se manifestant dans de vastes régions du monde bénéficient de l'appui général de la majorité des peuples de tous les continents et c'est là une autre tendance dont il convient de se féliciter. Nous constatons donc aujourd'hui que l'accession à la liberté et à l'indépendance par des processus évolutifs et sans d'odieuses effusions de

sang devient progressivement la règle générale au lieu de rester l'exception. Toutefois, nous savons tous que bon nombre de situations tragiques se sont présentées au cours de ces dernières années et que certaines subsistent encore.

28. Mon pays même a, dans le passé, fait l'expérience amère de la guerre, des effusions de sang et de la dévastation. Nous savons donc ce qu'éprouve une jeune nation lorsqu'elle perd l'élite de sa jeunesse et voit ses ressources dévastées. Nous savons aussi que la liberté et l'indépendance sont des trésors à défendre plus que tout autre. Cependant, nous avons constaté au cours des dernières décennies que ces idéaux élevés ont été atteints et continuent de l'être dans certaines parties du monde à la suite de processus évolutifs. Nous estimons que, chaque fois qu'une transition pacifique peut ainsi se faire, il y a lieu de s'en réjouir tout particulièrement.

29. Ce double aspect du problème qui nous occupe aujourd'hui, et que je viens de souligner, prouve clairement que l'accord s'est fait dans de vastes régions du monde sur les fins et les idéaux suprêmes auxquels il faut aspirer lorsque l'on traite de cette question. C'est donc une occasion de profonde satisfaction pour ma délégation d'être l'un des auteurs du projet de déclaration en faveur des idéaux de liberté et d'indépendance, et, en toute conscience, nous pensons qu'une déclaration de ce genre ne saurait être interprétée aujourd'hui comme étant dirigée contre qui que ce soit, contre un pays quel qu'il soit, ou contre un groupe de pays quel qu'il soit. L'objet de cette déclaration est d'exprimer avec vigueur et d'inscrire dans l'histoire un ensemble d'idées fondamentales profondément enracinées chez tous les peuples du monde. Nous avons la certitude que ces idéaux continueront d'exercer une grande influence chaque fois que la cause de la liberté et de l'indépendance se trouvera compromise dans l'avenir.

30. Le projet de déclaration présenté conjointement par plus de 40 pays [A/L.323 et Add.1 à 5] vise à faire accéder à la liberté et à l'indépendance les territoires qui n'en jouissent pas encore. Tout en formulant les conditions dans lesquelles ces territoires pourront jouir des fruits de leur émancipation, nous devons inévitablement et en toute logique nous efforcer de leur assurer les conditions préalables indispensables à cette liberté et à cette indépendance chères à nos propres peuples.

31. C'est pourquoi le texte dont nous sommes saisis fait allusion à de hautes aspirations telles que la liberté, l'autodétermination, l'indépendance, l'intégrité territoriale et l'égalité raciale. Ce sont là des idéaux élevés qui devraient être chers à toutes les nations anciennes ou récentes.

32. En faisant figurer ces principes dans le projet de déclaration on rappellera à tous les pays qui ont récemment obtenu leur liberté et leur indépendance ainsi qu'à ceux qui les obtiendront bientôt qu'ils doivent constamment veiller à préserver cette liberté et cette indépendance, quels que soient les dangers qu'ils puissent rencontrer à l'avenir.

33. L'accession à l'indépendance n'est certainement pas un aboutissement, mais bien un commencement. C'est ce qu'a proclamé avec insistance le fondateur de la Turquie moderne, Kemal Ataturk. L'héritage qu'il a légué aux jeunes générations de notre pays et qui a eu, dans bien des régions du monde, une influence

profonde tend vers un double objectif. Il s'agit tout d'abord de sauvegarder à tout prix la liberté, l'indépendance et l'intégrité territoriale du pays, acquises au prix de si lourds sacrifices, et ensuite de concentrer tous les efforts en vue d'accélérer le développement dans les domaines économique, social, culturel et politique, non seulement pour faire prévaloir dans notre pays les conceptions les plus avancées de la civilisation moderne, mais aussi parce qu'en fin de compte un tel développement peut seul réellement garantir que les fruits de la liberté et de l'indépendance, si chers à mes compatriotes, resteront intacts.

34. Cet héritage de notre grand fondateur, Kemal Ataturk, ainsi que sa devise "Paix à la patrie et paix au monde" sont toujours les bases solides sur lesquelles reposent nos conceptions politiques en Turquie.

35. La République turque, qui a été instituée il y a une quarantaine d'années et qui depuis lors a constamment orienté sa politique dans le même sens, est particulièrement heureuse de collaborer avec tant de nouveaux Membres de l'ONU pour assurer à ces idéaux des assises solides dans de vastes régions du monde. Le fait qu'un si grand nombre d'autres pays accéderont bientôt à l'indépendance et qu'ils se joindront à nous ici pour apporter leur utile contribution à la cause de la paix et de la fraternité universelle, au sein de notre organisation, est pour nous une autre source de satisfaction.

36. Notre délégation étant parmi celles qui ont présenté le projet de déclaration, nous ne prétendons pas que ce texte offre en soi la formule d'une conception nouvelle des relations humaines. Nous avons essayé de réunir et de cristalliser les idéaux fondamentaux de notre époque dans leurs rapports avec le colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations. Ce faisant, nous avons rédigé un texte qui, dans son essence, met en relief une tendance de base dont les premières manifestations en France, aux Etats-Unis et en Angleterre, sous l'inspiration de certains philosophes politiques, se sont fait sentir il y a déjà près de deux siècles; et dont l'évolution par la suite a été telle qu'il s'agit maintenant d'une tendance universelle tout à fait caractéristique de la période actuelle.

37. Les auteurs de ce projet de déclaration ont eu à l'esprit un but constructif et pratique. Comme je l'ai déjà dit, nous ne considérons pas que ce texte soit dirigé contre qui que ce soit, il n'entre pas non plus dans nos intentions d'entraver les efforts actuellement déployés dans de nombreux territoires pour obtenir que la transition vers l'indépendance se fasse dans la paix et dans l'ordre et avec la coopération de tous les intéressés.

38. Ma délégation n'ignore pas que, dans certains cas, pour pouvoir harmoniser les intérêts des peuples qui doivent être les maîtres légitimes des Etats nouvellement constitués, il a fallu procéder à des consultations préliminaires afin de parvenir à une formule constitutionnelle acceptable de part et d'autre et offrant au pays une base sur laquelle il puisse organiser son existence dans la paix et la stabilité. Tel a été le cas pour certains Etats fédératifs et pour d'autres qui avaient connu précédemment des problèmes analogues. La présence parmi nous aujourd'hui de certains pays devenus Membres de l'ONU prouve qu'il est possible de trouver d'heureuses solutions à ces problèmes grâce aux efforts constructifs de tous

les intéressés. Ces heureux résultats obtenus sur le plan constitutionnel et sur le plan pratique par bon nombre de nations et de peuples représentés ici, ainsi que les efforts résolus qu'ils ont faits pour y parvenir, peuvent sans aucun doute servir d'exemples chaque fois que des problèmes semblables viennent à se poser. Une atmosphère d'union et d'harmonie a toujours été de la plus haute importance pour les Etats nouvellement constitués, car elle leur permet de concentrer tous leurs efforts sur le progrès économique, social, culturel et politique qui seul peut leur garantir les moyens de subsister en tant que nations vraiment libres et indépendantes.

39. Le projet de déclaration dont nous sommes saisis proclame la fin d'une époque et le début d'une ère nouvelle. Nul ne peut contester le bien-fondé de cette affirmation. Ce qui importe aujourd'hui, c'est que nous unissions tous nos efforts pour que cette époque prenne fin au plus tôt et sans restriction. Il n'est pas de meilleur moyen de servir la cause de la paix et de la compréhension internationales — et c'est là l'essence même de notre charte — que d'accélérer tous les efforts déployés pour assurer à tous les peuples dépendants la paix et l'indépendance auxquelles ils aspirent si ardemment.

40. Le projet de déclaration énonce en même temps certaines conditions préalables qui sont indispensables pour qu'un peuple puisse jouir pleinement et définitivement de la liberté et de l'indépendance. C'est pourquoi les principes contenus dans le projet de déclaration s'imposent également en tant qu'éléments qui serviront la cause de la paix, objectif commun de tous les peuples.

41. En conclusion, je tiens à réaffirmer que ma délégation considère ce débat comme étant de la plus haute importance. Il ne nous échappe pas que cette question met en jeu des problèmes capitaux à notre époque. En essayant d'apporter notre contribution tant à la discussion qu'à l'élaboration du projet de déclaration, nous avons eu pleinement conscience de la lourde responsabilité qui nous incombe, ainsi qu'à toutes les autres délégations participant aux travaux de cette assemblée. Par cette modeste contribution, nous avons servi les idéaux auxquels nous croyons fermement, tout en essayant d'atteindre ces objectifs dans l'harmonie plutôt que dans la discorde. Nous espérons que de ces débats naîtra cette harmonie et que les principes contenus dans le projet de déclaration seront proclamés dans le monde entier sous une forme qui ne laissera aucun doute quant à l'ampleur de leur portée.

42. M. MEZINCESCU (Roumanie): La délégation roumaine attribue une importance toute particulière au présent débat sur la liquidation du régime colonial, question inscrite à l'ordre du jour de la quinzième session de l'Assemblée générale à la demande du Gouvernement de l'Union soviétique [A/4501].

43. La réalisation des buts fondamentaux des Nations Unies n'est pas concevable sans la liquidation du régime colonial. Les guerres coloniales et les opérations militaires de répression contre les mouvements patriotiques de libération nationale, qui n'ont pratiquement pas connu de répit depuis la fin de la seconde guerre mondiale, constituent une négation des principes de la Charte et une menace permanente à la paix et à la sécurité internationales.

44. De quelles relations amicales entre les nations, "fondées sur le respect du principe de l'égalité de droits des peuples et de leur droit à disposer d'eux-mêmes" — pour reprendre les termes du paragraphe 2 de l'Article premier de la Charte — peut-on parler dans des conditions où le régime colonial prive encore de liberté et d'indépendance nationale plus de 100 millions d'hommes?

45. Comme le disait le chef de la délégation roumaine, M. Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, lors de la discussion générale:

"... la fidélité aux principes de la Charte des Nations Unies est devenue incompatible avec l'oppression coloniale dont se rendent coupables des Etats Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies. En conséquence, il est grand temps que l'Organisation des Nations Unies demande à tous les gouvernements de respecter strictement les dispositions de la Charte concernant l'égalité et le respect des droits souverains et de l'intégrité territoriale de tous les Etats sans exception, en repoussant toute forme de colonialisme, tout droit ou privilège exclusif dont bénéficient certains Etats au détriment d'autres Etats." [873ème séance, par. 44.]

46. Seule l'abolition définitive du régime colonial et de tous ses vestiges peut donner satisfaction aux aspirations légitimes à la liberté et à l'indépendance nationale des peuples colonisés, peut donner satisfaction à l'opinion publique progressiste du monde entier qui demande que cette honte de l'humanité soit écartée une fois pour toutes de notre planète.

47. La position à l'égard de l'abolition du régime colonial sous toutes ses formes et de l'octroi immédiat de l'indépendance aux peuples colonisés est une pierre de touche de la fidélité des Etats aux principes de la Charte des Nations Unies.

48. Tous ceux qui adhèrent sincèrement aux principes de la liberté et du droit des peuples à disposer à leur propre avantage des richesses de leur pays ne peuvent que souscrire à l'octroi immédiat de l'indépendance complète à tous les pays colonisés, à tous les territoires sous tutelle et autres territoires dépourvus d'auto-administration, aussi bien qu'à l'abolition des possessions et des régions cédées à bail sur le territoire d'autres Etats.

49. Répondre par un "oui" catégorique à la proposition concrète et pratique d'abolir immédiatement le régime colonial place les Etats du côté des forces de progrès et de paix. Répondre par la négative ou blâmer les place du côté des forces de réaction et d'agression.

50. Ce n'est pas de "terrorisme psychologique" qu'il s'agit. Ce sont les lois du développement historique de la société humaine qui créent des situations où l'équivoque n'est plus possible, si subtils que soient les maîtres de cette école de pensée.

51. La force du mouvement de libération et d'indépendance nationale, ainsi que l'irrésistible courant d'opinion en faveur de l'abolition du régime colonial placent les puissances coloniales et leurs représentants à ce débat dans une position peu enviable. Dans nulle autre question, la diplomatie occidentale n'est obligée d'essayer de mieux voiler l'écart entre ce qu'elle prêche et ce qu'elle pratique.

52. Repousser directement et catégoriquement, au nom de la "liberté occidentale" et du "monde libre", la liberté et l'indépendance de plus de 100 millions d'hommes qui subissent encore l'esclavage colonial est, il faut le reconnaître, une tâche des plus difficiles; pas plus facile d'ailleurs, pour les maîtres coloniaux, que la réponse catégoriquement affirmative à cette question: le tigre ne devient pas végétarien pour autant que la proie se fait rare et difficile.

53. C'est pourquoi nous avons assisté, depuis le début de cette discussion, aux efforts déployés par certaines délégations pour éviter de répondre par un oui ou un non catégorique à ces questions, de même qu'aux efforts déployés par d'autres délégations pour faire l'éloge de la "mission civilisatrice", de la "générosité" et de la "magnanimité" des oppresseurs coloniaux.

54. Les représentants les plus autorisés des peuples qui ont recouvré leur indépendance à la suite de l'écroulement des anciens empires coloniaux ont donné déjà des répliques caustiques, empreintes de dignité, aux apologistes de l'esclavage et de l'exploitation coloniale. Ce n'est pas l'expression d'une reconnaissance envers les anciens maîtres coloniaux qu'ils ont proclamée à cette tribune, mais bien le mépris, la condamnation de l'oppression et de l'exploitation coloniales.

55. Je n'aurai que quelques considérations à ajouter à ce qui a été déjà dit. Il ne faut pas se méprendre sur les mobiles du colonialisme, ni sur les raisons de son écroulement, non plus que sur les conditions nécessaires pour qu'il ne renaisse pas sous une forme nouvelle.

56. Pour ce qui est de la "générosité" et de la "mission civilisatrice" du colonialisme, je pense que l'Afrique — et, à cette session de l'ONU, n'est-ce pas l'année africaine? — est le continent qui permet, mieux que toute autre partie du monde, d'apprécier à leur juste valeur la "générosité" et la "mission civilisatrice" des colonisateurs. Sous quelque rapport que ce soit, quel que soit l'indice de comparaison, l'Afrique se situe à la dernière place dans le monde pour ce qui est du revenu national par tête d'habitant, du niveau de développement industriel, de l'éducation, de la santé publique ou de l'assistance médicale. Cet état arriéré tient-il au manque de ressources naturelles, aux conditions particulières du climat, à l'inaptitude de ces peuples à mettre en valeur les richesses naturelles de leurs pays? Certes non. L'Afrique possède la plupart des réserves d'or, de diamant, d'uranium, de chrome, de stibine et de phosphorite du monde capitaliste, 60 pour 100 du manganèse, 48 pour 100 du cuivre, 47 pour 100 de la bauxite, 40 pour 100 des ressources hydro-électriques, et j'en passe. Les récentes découvertes de pétrole et de gaz naturel au Sahara ouvrent de nouvelles perspectives de développement pour l'Afrique et prouvent que ses ressources naturelles sont loin d'être connues à fond. A tout cela s'ajoutent les cultures agricoles très riches et variées de l'Afrique qui, si elles ne fournissent pas au monde le pain quotidien, y adjoignent sans doute une certaine douceur de vivre, par des fruits, des plats et des liqueurs des plus exquis. Ce ne sont pas les conditions naturelles ou l'inaptitude de la population qui ont empêché la mise en valeur des richesses du sol et du sous-sol africains pour le bien-être des peuples d'Afrique. C'est l'accaparement de ces richesses et l'exploitation des peuples africains

par les monopoles étrangers qui sont cause de la pauvreté et des souffrances des peuples d'Afrique.

57. C'est avec la main-d'œuvre africaine, la meilleur marché du monde, et dans les conditions propres à l'Afrique que les monopoles occidentaux réalisent des bénéfices records, amortissant les investissements de capitaux en trois ou quatre ans seulement, voire plus vite. Les bénéfices actuels du groupe Rhodesian Selection Trust, contrôlé par la compagnie new-yorkaise American Metal, représentent le double des salaires des 39.000 mineurs qu'emploie ce groupe. C'est bien le groupe Anglo-American, présidé par Harry Oppenheimer, dont l'empire s'étend du lac Victoria au Cap, qui a réalisé, l'an dernier, des bénéfices représentant à eux seuls trois fois et demie le montant total du fonds jugé nécessaire par le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis pour le programme de développement économique de l'Afrique. Cela indique très clairement où il convient de chercher les moyens matériels de guérir l'Afrique des séquelles du colonialisme.

58. Pour ajouter un exemple de plus à ceux qui ont déjà été apportés par d'autres orateurs, je vais citer ces lignes publiées par la revue *Fortune*, dans son numéro de mai 1960. Parlant de la mine d'or Western Deep Levels, au Transvaal, l'auteur d'une apologie du milliardaire Harry Oppenheimer et du groupe Anglo-American écrivait:

"Pendant sept heures et demie chaque jour, depuis que le forage a commencé en 1945, les mineurs indigènes ont creusé les puits de la nouvelle mine dans cet enfer humide, au milieu du bruit assourdissant des forêts pneumatiques ..."

59. Vers 1964, ils arriveront aux couches profondes situées à 10.000 pieds de profondeur; alors, la Western Deep Levels du Transvaal sera la plus riche mine d'or du monde. On estime qu'elle produira pendant sa durée d'exploitation plus de 2.200 millions de dollars d'or aux prix actuels. Lorsque la mine entrera finalement en production, le groupe Anglo-American aura dépensé plus de 84 millions de dollars — remarquez l'écart! — aussi bien pour les travaux souterrains que pour les travaux de surface, c'est-à-dire pour les usines qui doivent transformer les minerais en lingots, pour la construction de casernes pour les ouvriers indigènes — notez bien ceci! — et d'habitations modernes pour les fonctionnaires blancs. Comme c'est gentil, magnanime et généreux! Il n'y a pas d'usuriers, si coriaces soient-ils, qui ne se laisseraient emporter par une "générosité" si rémunératrice.

60. Ainsi que d'autres orateurs qui ont pris la parole avant moi l'ont montré, il ne s'agit en réalité ni de générosité, ni de mission civilisatrice, mais tout simplement de pillage et d'exploitation poussée à l'extrême.

61. Si les puissances colonisatrices sont obligées aujourd'hui de chercher des méthodes et tactiques nouvelles pour assurer la continuité du flux des bénéfices en provenance des pays colonisés, cela est dû à la pression du puissant courant de libération et d'indépendance nationale des peuples colonisés. Les colonialistes sont obligés, par la force des choses, de reconnaître que là où ils s'accrochent obstinément à des formes extrêmes de l'oppression coloniale — comme c'est le cas en Algérie, au Kenya, en Rhodésie — ils risquent de tout perdre.

62. C'est ce qu'ont franchement reconnu les idéologues américains du néo-colonialisme Strauss-Hupé et Hazard qui ont écrit dans leur livre The Idea of Colonialism: "... Pour l'Occident, la juste ligne de conduite consiste non pas à céder ses positions et à faire ses bagages, mais à trouver des formes acceptables pour y demeurer^{1/}" — sous-entendu: dans les colonies.

63. Lorsque les puissances colonialistes invoquent le fait que tel ou tel territoire n'est pas encore préparé pour l'auto-administration, on peut affirmer, sans crainte d'être contredit, que c'est justement à la question de la "succession" qu'elles n'ont pas trouvé de solution. Ce prétexte pour retarder l'accès à la liberté et à l'indépendance des peuples colonisés a été invoqué maintes fois au cours du débat actuel. Mais ceux qui, en l'invoquant, voudraient pousser la solution du problème colonial dans un cercle vicieux ont évité d'indiquer qui a empêché et empêche encore les peuples colonisés de se préparer pour l'auto-administration.

64. Reconnaître qu'après des dizaines d'années — et parfois des siècles — de "mission civilisatrice" de la part des pays colonialistes, les peuples respectifs ne sont pas encore préparés à s'administrer eux-mêmes, c'est reconnaître non seulement la faillite de la "mission civilisatrice" coloniale, mais aussi la fausseté de toute prétention s'y rattachant.

65. C'est à juste titre que le dirigeant de la lutte de libération nationale du Nyassaland, le Dr Banda, remarquait que le fait de conditionner l'octroi de l'indépendance au degré de préparation des cadres indigènes équivaut "à demander aux joueurs de tennis de participer d'abord au tournoi de Wimbledon et d'apprendre ensuite à tenir la raquette en main".

66. C'est la lutte contre l'oppression et l'exploitation coloniale qui a été et qui est encore la dure école de préparation des cadres capables d'assurer l'auto-administration des peuples colonisés. Cette lutte se déroule partout où il subsiste encore des colonies. C'est de cette école que sont sortis des hommes politiques remarquables, qui non seulement se sont avérés des dirigeants avisés de leurs peuples, mais qui ont en outre acquis une haute autorité internationale, comme Nehru, Sukarno, Nkrumah, Sekou Touré, Ferhat Abbas et tant d'autres. C'est dans les prisons, dans les camps de concentration ou en exil qu'il faut rechercher les cadres capables d'assurer l'auto-administration des peuples colonisés. C'est dans les prisons colonialistes que se trouvent des dirigeants du mouvement de libération nationale de grande envergure, tels que Kenyatta au Kenya, Rukeba au Ruanda, Mohammed Ben Bella et d'autres dirigeants de la lutte de libération nationale du peuple algérien, et, selon les dernières nouvelles, Lumumba au Congo.

67. Sans méconnaître les difficultés passées ou présentes, il faut dire que c'est l'octroi immédiat de l'indépendance aux peuples colonisés qui est la voie la plus sûre et la plus rapide pour la maturation et pour la formation de cadres dans tous les domaines. L'exemple des Etats qui sont devenus réellement indépendants est des plus édifiants à cet égard.

68. Ma délégation voudrait attirer l'attention de l'Assemblée sur l'importance de l'abolition de toutes les formes de domination coloniale, y compris la

restitution à leurs maîtres légitimes des possessions et des régions à bail que les puissances coloniales détiennent sur le territoire d'autres Etats. A ce sujet, il faut observer, en premier lieu, que ce genre de possessions et de régions à bail sont utilisées, pour la plupart, à des fins militaires et représentent une forme particulièrement dangereuse du régime colonialiste qu'il est absolument nécessaire d'extirper.

69. L'existence des possessions et des régions à bail empêche non seulement les Etats d'exercer leur souveraineté sur l'ensemble du territoire national, mais s'associe toujours, en outre, avec l'intervention brutale dans les affaires intérieures des Etats sur le territoire desquels se trouvent ces possessions et régions à bail, de la part des puissances colonialistes qui en sont les bénéficiaires.

70. Etant donné, d'autre part, que ces possessions et régions à bail, qui se trouvent disséminées un peu partout en Asie, en Afrique, en Amérique latine et même en Europe, sont utilisées presque exclusivement pour héberger des bases militaires, navales et aériennes ou des rampes de lancement de fusées, on se rend bien compte du danger que représente pour la paix et la sécurité internationales cette forme de domination coloniale.

71. Les dirigeants les plus autorisés des peuples de l'Asie et de l'Afrique ont attiré l'attention sur le danger que représentent le maintien et l'organisation de nouvelles bases militaires étrangères en Afrique et en Asie. C'est à juste titre qu'ils tiraient la conclusion, au cours de la discussion générale, que, "tant qu'un seul mètre carré de terre africaine et asiatique se trouvera encore sous la domination étrangère, le monde ne connaîtra pas de paix". Cela est d'autant plus compréhensible que ce sont les alliances militaires des pays colonialistes qui disposent du réseau de bases militaires encerclant le globe, ce qui explique l'inquiétude de tant de peuples qui subissent encore l'esclavage colonial, de même que des peuples qui ont récemment recouvré leur indépendance. Ces peuples se rendent très bien compte que les bases militaires appartenant aux Etats-Unis et à leurs alliés sont non seulement dirigées contre les pays socialistes, mais sont aussi destinées à maintenir ou à imposer, sous une forme ou une autre, la domination coloniale.

72. Très souvent, les pays colonialistes plus petits, membres de l'OTAN, font des bases militaires américaines installées sur quelques territoires de leur empire colonial l'objet de transactions honteuses visant à obtenir l'aide et l'assistance des Etats-Unis et des autres puissances colonialistes de l'OTAN pour étouffer la lutte de libération des peuples opprimés. Tout le monde se rappelle, bien sûr, que les colonialistes belges ont conditionné leur participation future à l'OTAN par l'appui des Etats-Unis — et aussi des Nations Unies — ainsi que d'autres puissances coloniales pour la défense des intérêts coloniaux belges au Congo. Cet appui a été accordé à la satisfaction des milieux colonialistes belges.

73. C'est le New York Times du 25 octobre 1960 qui signalait, d'autre part, à ses lecteurs américains qu'un ancien ministre du Portugal, dans un article paru à Lisbonne, "a rappelé aux leaders américains que le Portugal avait mis à la disposition des Etats-Unis des bases dans les Açores et que les Etats-Unis

^{1/} Robert Strauss-Hupé et Harry W. Hazard, The Idea of Colonialism, New York, Frederick A. Praeger, Inc., 1958, p. 42 et 43.

devraient manifester leur compréhension et leur solidarité au sujet des territoires portugais d'Afrique".

74. Une fois la libération et l'indépendance politique acquises, les anciens peuples colonisés ont à faire face au problème de la lutte pour l'indépendance économique et la libre possession et mise en valeur de leurs richesses au bénéfice de leurs peuples.

75. La lutte pour l'indépendance économique, qui doit donner son vrai contenu à l'indépendance politique et la consolider, est un processus aussi légitime et inexorable que le mouvement de libération et d'indépendance nationale des peuples colonisés.

76. Si l'on tient compte du fait que presque toutes les fortunes du monde occidental sont, en bonne partie, le produit de l'exploitation des peuples colonisés, on comprend aussi bien l'irritation de certains représentants qui ont pris la parole au cours de ce débat que la tentative de dévier l'attention de l'Assemblée du problème qu'elle discute et des racines du mal qu'il faut extirper, tentative à laquelle se sont livrés les représentants des puissances coloniales, directement ou par personnes interposées. Ma délégation pense que les insinuations de certains représentants ne méritent d'autre réponse que l'expression de notre profond mépris.

77. L'Organisation des Nations Unies est appelée maintenant à se prononcer en faveur de la liquidation totale et définitive du régime colonial. Mais les peuples qui ont recouvré ou recouvreront — espérons-le — dans un proche avenir leur indépendance politique ont et auront encore à mener une lutte acharnée pour se débarrasser de l'infiltration des monopoles étrangers dans leur économie, ce qui représente non seulement un vestige de la domination coloniale, mais aussi un obstacle puissant à la liquidation du retard dans le développement économique et culturel que ces peuples ont hérité de l'esclavage colonial.

78. Les puissances colonialistes qui ont réussi, il y a 15 ans, à empêcher que les mots "colonie", "colonial", "colonialisme" ne figurent au Chapitre XI de la Charte n'ont pas eu la force d'empêcher que le destin historique du colonialisme ne s'accomplisse déjà pour la plupart. Elles ne sont plus à même d'empêcher que les derniers vestiges du colonialisme ne soient liquidés.

79. La suppression du colonialisme, sur laquelle doivent se prononcer les Nations Unies, représente l'échéance d'un processus historique révolu. Cette échéance ne peut plus être différée, quelle que soit la décision que prendra l'Assemblée générale. Cependant, elle pourrait être rapprochée et la liquidation du colonialisme menée jusqu'au bout si l'Assemblée générale condamne, sans équivoque et sans omissions, toutes les formes et toutes les manifestations de la domination coloniale.

80. M. TOURE Ismaël (Guinée): Jusqu'en 1950, la grande majorité des peuples du continent de prédilection du colonialisme, l'Afrique, vivaient sous la domination étrangère. Seuls trois Etats: la province égyptienne de la République arabe unie, le Libéria et l'Ethiopie jouissaient de leur indépendance nationale. Autrement dit, il y a 10 ans, la population libre du continent africain ne s'élevait qu'à 45 millions d'habitants répartis sur une superficie de 2.300.000 kilomètres carrés. Le mouvement de libération qui a pris naissance après la dernière guerre mondiale a eu pour résultat, au cours des huit années allant de 1950 à

1958, la libération d'une population de 37 millions d'habitants répartis sur 5.250.000 kilomètres carrés. Pour les statisticiens, cela représentait déjà un progrès important. En effet, cette première poussée de libération traduisait une augmentation de plus de 100 pour 100 en étendue géographique de territoires libérés et de plus de 80 pour 100 en ce qui concerne la population libérée. On sait que ce progrès a connu un bond gigantesque au cours de l'année 1960. En reprenant les chiffres, nous constatons, au total, 82 millions d'habitants pour 7.500.000 kilomètres carrés ayant passé du régime colonial à la souveraineté à la date du 31 décembre 1958. Or, dans la seule année 1960, 17 Etats d'Afrique ont recouvré ou vont recouvrer leur indépendance, totalisant plus de 85 millions d'habitants pour 12 millions de kilomètres carrés. Ces résultats montrent ainsi un accroissement supérieur à 100 pour 100 pour le nombre d'habitants et une augmentation de 150 pour 100 pour la superficie en une seule année.

81. L'année 1960, comme on le voit, mérite bien son nom d' "Année de l'Afrique". Le mouvement de libération enregistré a connu une progression géométrique. La logique même de cette progression nous amène à considérer l'année 1961 comme l'année finale de la période coloniale pour l'Afrique. En effet, sur ce continent, il n'y a plus à libérer que le dernier tiers, mais ce tiers représente tout de même plus de 60 millions d'habitants et 9.500.000 kilomètres carrés qui sont encore sous domination étrangère. Avec l'accession de ces 60 millions d'hommes et de femmes à l'indépendance nationale, on pourra considérer le phénomène colonial, sous son aspect politique, comme effectivement mort.

82. La fin du système colonial ne signifie pas la fin des conséquences de ce régime. La caractéristique essentielle du colonialisme que constitue le sous-développement ne saurait être éliminée instantanément. Cela prend du temps et beaucoup d'efforts. Et c'est justement pour activer la lutte contre les séquelles de la domination étrangère qu'il importe de mettre fin immédiatement à tout système de colonisation. Pendant de longues années encore, le continent africain, après s'être totalement libéré de la servitude, devra se consacrer au développement de ses structures économiques, sociales et culturelles. Après l'Asie, l'Afrique a aujourd'hui conscience de la nécessité absolue d'en finir avec le système colonial qui s'est soldé par une faillite totale dans tous les domaines. Personne, il est vrai, ne défend le régime colonial, mais certains veulent retarder sa fin sous prétexte de préparation des peuples coloniaux à l'indépendance. C'est là un argument peu sérieux, et qui ne tient compte ni du passé des peuples soumis au colonialisme, ni des problèmes réels qu'ils ont à résoudre pour construire leur avenir. On peut toujours répondre à ceux qui soutiennent la nécessité d'une soi-disant préparation à l'indépendance que cela même constituerait une raison supplémentaire condamnant définitivement la colonisation. En réalité, le colonialisme n'a jamais eu pour but une quelconque mission de civilisation ou une quelconque entreprise d'éducation des peuples à l'exercice de leur souveraineté. Ainsi donc, si, vers son déclin, le colonialisme essaie hâtivement d'apprendre aux peuples coloniaux à se gouverner eux-mêmes, il reconnaît ainsi son propre échec, car il ne faut pas oublier que la colonisation a toujours trouvé les peuples parfaitement capables de se gouverner eux-mêmes sur la base de

leurs institutions nationales, parfois hautement développées. Ces peuples qui n'ont jamais fait appel aux colonisateurs avaient atteint parfois un degré de civilisation infiniment plus élevé que celui du conquérant. Il est vrai que le colonialisme n'a jamais eu d'autre fondement que l'intérêt du colonisateur. Au XVème siècle, ce phénomène a eu pour point de départ la recherche des produits tels que les épices, les drogues aromatiques, les parfums, les sucres, le camphre, l'opium, la gomme, etc., que réclamait l'Europe et qu'il fallait à tout prix chercher sur les autres continents.

83. Peu à peu, la recherche de l'or s'est ajoutée à la spéculation sur les épices exotiques. Au XVIIème siècle apparaissent en Europe les marchands-banquiers, alliés des souverains contre la toute-puissante féodalité. C'est à partir de ce moment que s'ouvrira la période des entreprises coloniales. Il n'y a là aucune mission de civilisation, aucun génie ni aucun humanisme. Ainsi, il serait tout à fait ironique de décrire la période révolue selon le point de vue des soi-disant fondateurs d'empires et de masquer ainsi les exploiters de peuples, sinon de continents. C'est le célèbre Christophe Colomb qui écrivait le 14 octobre 1492:

"Il doit pousser ici bien des choses que je ne connais pas, mais je ne peux me laisser détourner de mon but: trouver de l'or par l'exploration des fles. Si j'en ai le temps, je fouillerai l'île entière jusqu'à ce que j'aie trouvé le roi et que je me sois rendu compte de l'extension de ses richesses en or."

Croyant avoir trouvé le Japon, il précise:

"Lorsque j'aurai vu les réserves d'or et d'épices qui s'y trouvent, je réfléchirai à ce qu'il convient de faire."

84. La recherche de l'or, très vite, a pris le pas sur celle des épices et autres curiosités exotiques. La colonisation a abouti à la création de grandes compagnies coloniales déchaînées dans une véritable course au trésor. Dans la revue Europe, de janvier 1956, Pierre Vilar, sous le titre "Le temps de Quichotte", écrit:

"Occuper des terres, asservir des hommes, rafler des trésors, cela ne prépare pas à investir, au sens capitaliste du mot. Une bourgeoisie naissante pourrait le faire. Et, de 1480 à 1550 environ, la bourgeoisie espagnole n'y a pas manqué. Seulement, par sa position sur le circuit de l'argent, elle a d'abord tâté du capitalisme des ports et des foires. On dépense, on importe, on prête à intérêt. On produit peu. Prix et salaires bondissent. Le parasitisme se développe et l'entreprise se meurt. C'est la misère pour le lendemain."

85. Cette menace a conduit au partage du monde entre les années 1870 et 1890 en vue d'une exploitation plus totale et plus rationnelle des peuples asservis et de leurs richesses. Chaque puissance coloniale a établi son empire et a créé sa zone d'influence. Nous n'insisterons pas sur les méthodes de colonisation bien connues, qu'elles soient pacifiques ou brutales, allant de la ruse à la répression la plus sanglante.

"L'objet de ces colonies, écrit Montesquieu dans l'Esprit des lois, est de faire le commerce à de meilleures conditions qu'on ne le fait avec les peuples voisins avec lesquels tous les avantages sont réci-

proques. On a établi que la métropole seule pouvait négocier dans la colonie; et cela avec grande raison parce que le but de l'établissement a été l'extension du commerce, non la fondation d'une ville ou d'un nouvel empire."

86. L'on sait que la grande Chine, foyer d'une civilisation plusieurs fois millénaire, n'a pas été épargnée par cette ruée vers les territoires vierges. Dans cette fièvre, le mot "fortune" l'a emporté sur le mot "civilisation" qui n'était qu'un prétexte et les grandes puissances, sans doute se sentant en mauvaise conscience, s'attribuaient ce qu'elles appellent des missions civilisatrices.

87. Le père de l'Empire français, Jules Ferry, devait déclarer le 30 novembre 1883 devant la Chambre des députés:

"De tous côtés, ainsi, on voit converger l'attraction des intérêts ou des convoitises vers ce qui est le rêve de tous et le désir de chacun, le colossal trésor du Pacifique, la Chine; la vieille et prodigieuse Chine, la Chine de tous les calculs et de tous les espoirs, avec son immense marché de 400 à 500 millions de consommateurs, son sous-sol gorgé de gisements de houille de plus de 700.000 kilomètres carrés de superficie, ses gîtes de minerais inépuisables, ses provinces géantes qui attendent leur outillage industriel, leurs chemins de fer, leurs fournitures métalliques. Et c'est à qui, parmi les concurrents européens, arrivera le premier dans la course vers cet Eldorado pour s'y tailler sa part, sa zone d'influence, son domaine privilégié ..."

L'auteur poursuit:

"... c'est l'Allemagne qui donne le branle. Elle s'est avisée un peu tardivement de devenir aussi une nation coloniale. Mais son avidité s'efforce de rattraper le temps perdu. En Chine, elle convoite un des plus beaux morceaux, le Chan-toung, peuplé de 30 millions d'habitants et saturé de richesses naturelles. Arguant de l'assassinat opportun de deux missionnaires allemands, elle envoie une escadre, s'empare du Chan-toung, donne le signal de la curée. La Russie accourt et se fait octroyer, avec le prolongement du transsibérien, le Liao-toung, qu'elle avait contraint le Japon à rétrocéder. L'Angleterre, pour sa part, réclame Wei-hai-wei, et la France, pour équilibrer ses sécurités, occupe, au voisinage de l'Indochine, Kouang-tchéou-wan."

88. Certains croient facilement que l'histoire des peuples qui ont été victimes du colonialisme a commencé avec la pénétration coloniale. C'est une erreur grave résultant, le plus souvent, des tentatives de l'enseignement colonial ayant pour but de masquer complètement le passé et l'histoire des peuples et de faire naître chez eux le complexe de dépendance. C'est ainsi que l'histoire officielle de l'Afrique transforme les conquérants étrangers en soi-disant apôtres de la civilisation.

89. Par contre, les plus grands héros africains qui se sont opposés à la domination étrangère et qui ont porté au plus haut point les sentiments de dignité et de liberté de nos peuples ont été dépeints dans les manuels coloniaux sous les traits dégradants de bandits vulgaires ou de roitelets ambitieux et sanguinaires.

90. En Afrique, cette déformation systématique a été favorisée par le manque de renseignements écrits

sur l'histoire de ce continent. La mauvaise foi a été si évidente qu'on a essayé de convaincre certains Africains que leurs ancêtres étaient des Gaulois aux yeux bleus et aux cheveux blonds. C'était la meilleure façon de donner un semblant de raison à la prétendue mission civilisatrice des puissances coloniales. Il fallait par tous les moyens montrer que l'Afrique, au moment de la conquête coloniale, était peuplée de tribus barbares incapables de s'administrer elles-mêmes. Or, dans l'histoire africaine authentique, plusieurs grands empires parfaitement structurés ont atteint, tel que l'Empire du Mali au XIV^{ème} siècle, un degré d'épanouissement que pouvait leur envier l'Europe à la même époque. Lorsque le géographe Ibn Batouta, chargé de mission par le sultan de Fès, en 1352, visita l'Empire du Mali, il eut l'impression d'un pays riche et heureux. En effet, l'Empire du Mali, sous le règne de Mansa Souleymane, s'étendait sur toute la partie du continent africain correspondant sensiblement à l'actuelle Afrique occidentale. Le règne de Mansa Souleymane n'a d'ailleurs pas été le plus prestigieux dans l'Empire du Mali. Cependant, d'après le compte rendu d'Ibn Batouta, Mansa Souleymane, qui régna sur le Mali de 1336 à 1359, s'est révélé comme un souverain très favorable à l'éducation et à la culture. Mansa Souleymane s'entourait de juristes et entretenait des relations diplomatiques très suivies avec les souverains du Nord. Comme son frère Mansa Moussa, surnommé le roi du pèlerinage, il effectua le voyage à La Mecque en 1351. A son retour, il construisit la fameuse case Camanbolon où il déposa les livres saints qu'il avait rapportés. De toute évidence, tout ce que nous savons de l'Empire du Mali nous montre une organisation étatique à la fois démocratique et solide et une civilisation qui n'a rien de commun avec l'image classique des manuels sur l'Afrique montrant une bande de nègres plus ou moins hideux dansant une sarabande gratuite autour d'un feu de bois.

91. Un autre écrivain arabe, dans la Description géographique de l'Espagne et de l'Afrique, affirme qu'au XI^{ème} siècle florissait déjà au Soudan une civilisation harmonieuse. Au moment où l'Empire de Ghana était à son apogée sévissait en Europe l'alchimie, science faite d'autant de naïveté que de superstitions.

92. Au XIV^{ème} siècle, l'Empire du Mali a atteint son apogée sous le fameux Kankan Moussa, qui régna de 1307 à 1332. Les auteurs arabes ne tarissent point d'éloges sur Kankan Moussa, empereur dévot qui institua l'école coranique obligatoire pour les enfants de la capitale. Son pèlerinage à La Mecque en 1324 a revêtu une importance et un faste inégalés. D'après Ibn Khaldoun, le cortège du souverain El Hadj Mansa Moussa a atteint 80.000 hommes. La tradition, dans les poésies chantées, a conservé la liste des principaux personnages de la suite du souverain. Voici quelques noms: Tounkou Magnouma, Tounkou Manian, les marabouts Kan Touré et Kan Cissé, Sirimanban, Dalamina Mamadou Kouyaté. Le Tarikh el-Fettach décrit la scène du bain de la femme de Mansa Moussa en plein désert. Ce pèlerinage présentait un autre aspect non moins important, car on peut situer aux environs de 1325 la naissance du style, dit soudanais, en architecture. Ce style, que l'on retrouve encore en Afrique, particulièrement dans l'actuelle République du Mali, est dû à un originaire de Grenade ramené par Kankan Moussa du nom d'Ibrahim es-Saheli.

93. Ibn Khaldoun relate:

"Le sultan mérinide Abou Hassein entretenait des relations amicales avec le sultan du Mali et les deux monarques s'envoyaient des présents par l'entremise de leurs grands officiers. Le sultan maghrébin fit même apprêter un choix des plus beaux produits de son royaume et confia à Ali Ibn Ghanem, émir des Makils, le soin de porter ce cadeau vraiment royal au sultan des noirs."

94. Enfin, pour donner une idée de la force de l'armée de Kankan Moussa, signalons, d'après Al Omari, que Mansa Moussa disposait de 100.000 fantassins et de 10.000 cavaliers. Sous l'influence de l'Islam, le Mali a vu s'épanouir de grands centres culturels tels que: Tombouctou, Djenné, Gao, Oualata et Niani. Plusieurs imams du Mali ont effectué leurs études dans les villes d'Afrique du Nord. Parmi les plus éminents on cite: le juriste de Tombouctou, Kateb Moussa, qui fit ses études à Fès. Des Maghrébins ne dédaignèrent point de venir s'instruire dans les universités sur les rives du Niger. A ce sujet, voici une anecdote du Tarikh es-Soudan:

"Abderhaman et-Temini, venu du Hedjaz avec Mansa Moussa, se rendit compte, à Tombouctou, qu'il avait affaire à d'éminents juristes; il retourna à Fès pour compléter sa culture et revint ensuite pour tenir tête aux savants de Tombouctou."

95. C'est également sous le règne de Kankan Moussa que les échanges commerciaux entre le Soudan et les pays méditerranéens semblent avoir atteint leur apogée. La paix qui régnait alors a favorisé ce commerce: l'or et le sel étaient les principaux éléments des échanges. Des recherches plus poussées ont permis de déterminer les institutions de ce grand empire africain du XIV^{ème} siècle. Une étiquette très minutieuse réglait la vie de la cour du Mali. Le monarque vivait retiré dans ses palais. Selon Ibn Batouta, le monarque tenait deux sortes d'audience, l'une sous la fameuse coupole construite par l'architecte Es-Saheli et l'autre à ciel ouvert sur une estrade, appelée "bembé", réservée à l'empereur. Au cours de la séance, sous la coupole, l'empereur reçoit les plaintes et les doléances, écoute les rapports des gouverneurs de province, ou "Farma", ainsi que des chefs militaires, ou "Fari". Pendant toute l'audience, le Lieutenant, ou "Kanfari", se tient près du souverain. Par contre, pendant les séances sur l'estrade, l'empereur est assis. Ibn Batouta note que l'estrade est recouverte de tissu de soie et garnie de coussins; au-dessus, s'ouvre un parasol qui ressemble à un dôme de soie, au sommet duquel se trouve un oiseau d'or grand comme un épervier. C'est sur cette estrade que l'empereur reçoit les ambassadeurs ou bien quelquefois assiste aux grands défilés folkloriques.

96. Le ministère se composait principalement de grands dignitaires, de juristes et autres fonctionnaires. Les principales charges, au nombre de cinq, étaient confiées le plus souvent aux proches parents de l'empereur. Le "Babili Farma" est ministre de l'agriculture, l' "Ouanei Farma" est ministre de la propriété; le "Sao Farma" contrôle les forêts; le "Khalissi Farma" assume les fonctions de ministre des finances. Enfin, le "Hari Farma" est ministre des eaux, responsable des pêcheries et de la navigation sur le Niger.

97. Ces quelques indications donnent une idée du prestigieux empire du Mali qui ne fut d'abord qu'un modeste royaume, vassal du Ghana puis du Sosso, qui

a commencé sa grandeur avec Sounjata Keita en 1230 et qui, finalement, s'étendait jusqu'à l'est du Niger. Il est clair que, déjà au Moyen Âge, l'Afrique noire avait atteint, plusieurs siècles avant la pénétration coloniale, un haut degré d'évolution et de culture.

98. Du XIV^{ème} siècle au XVI^{ème} siècle, après la décadence de l'Empire du Mali, l'Empire sonrhail de Gao devait connaître un éclat tout particulier. Grâce à Askia Mohamed qui régna de 1492 à 1527, l'Empire de Gao a atteint son apogée. Askia Mohamed est le créateur du système des municipalités; il effectua lui aussi un pèlerinage à La Mecque. Dans ce voyage important, 500 cavaliers et 1.000 fantassins lui servaient d'escorte; il emportait 300.000 pièces d'or, provenant du trésor de son prédécesseur, l'empereur Sonni Ali Ber. Il institua l'armée d'élite limitée à un petit nombre de soldats de métier bien équipés et bien entraînés. Grand capitaine lui-même, Askia Mohamed est considéré par l'histoire soudanaise comme un administrateur avisé et un grand organisateur et, à ce titre, il mérite d'occuper une place particulière parmi les souverains africains.

99. Les civilisations, qui se sont créées et développées principalement sur les rives du Nil, du Niger ou du Congo ont été brutalement placées devant le phénomène colonial qui ne doit son triomphe qu'à la force et à la perfidie. Plus près de nous, d'authentiques héros, tels que El Hadj Omar, Samory, Béhanzin et tant d'autres, n'ont jamais voulu admettre la sujétion et ont lutté jusqu'au bout contre toute forme de domination étrangère. Au capitaine Destenaves, envoyé auprès de lui pour conclure un traité, le Moro Naba de Ouagadougou a fait, en 1895, une déclaration célèbre que je cite:

"Je trouve mon pays très bien comme il est. Je n'ai nullement besoin d'eux" — il s'agit naturellement des conquérants. "Je sais ce qu'il me faut et ce que je veux. J'ai mes marchands; aussi estime-toi heureux que je ne te fasse pas couper la tête. Va-t'en et, surtout, ne reviens plus."

100. Aujourd'hui encore, toute l'Afrique réclame unanimement la fin immédiate du système colonial. Ma délégation partage la responsabilité du dépôt du projet de résolution A/L.323 et Add.1 à 5, patronné par 42 Etats d'Afrique et d'Asie; elle tient cependant à féliciter la délégation de l'Union soviétique à laquelle revient le mérite de l'heureuse initiative de ce débat en séance plénière. Si la déclaration que cette délégation propose [A/4502 et Corr.1] est mise aux voix, ma délégation lui apportera tout son appui.

101. Par contre, ma délégation ne sera pas en mesure de soutenir le projet de résolution, soumis à notre assemblée par le Honduras [A/L.324], pour la raison très simple que cette initiative n'apporte aucune réponse valable à la question fondamentale de la libération immédiate des peuples coloniaux.

102. Le droit et la morale, ainsi que le développement des relations humaines et fraternelles entre les peuples d'Afrique et les autres peuples exigent qu'il soit donné une réponse apportant effectivement, aux peuples coloniaux, la justice, la dignité et l'égalité auxquelles ils ont droit et qu'elle l'apporte sans faux-fuyant ni hésitation. Ce n'est pas l'isolement que nous demandons puisque, après tout, l'Afrique n'a jamais été isolée que pendant la phase de la colonisation.

Nous étions isolés d'un territoire à l'autre et, dans le même territoire, les catégories sociales étaient isolées et dressées les unes contre les autres.

103. Les empires des différents colonisateurs, même voisins ou interpénétrés, étaient isolés les uns des autres. D'une manière plus concrète, Conakry était plus près de Paris que de Freetown, de Monrovia ou de Tunis. Pour aller à Accra, en partant de Dakar, il fallait d'abord se rendre à Paris. Pour se rendre à Brazzaville, le plus court chemin, quel que soit le point de départ en Afrique occidentale, passe encore par Londres ou Paris. C'est un isolement absurde que ne supportent plus les peuples d'Afrique. Nous voulons que des rapports sains et utiles s'établissent entre les différents Etats d'Afrique et leurs populations, entre le continent africain et tous les autres continents. Pour cela, il faut briser le vieux carcan du colonialisme. C'est la seule manière d'engager positivement l'avenir en mettant fin à cette absurdité que condamne l'histoire.

104. L'Afrique tend une main fraternelle, mais exige que les dernières chaînes de la domination soient coupées. Il n'est nullement question de haine, malgré tout le mal que nous avons souffert hier. Il n'est question que de tourner une page révolue et de faire face à l'avenir. En réclamant la fin du système colonial, nous sommes certains de donner la liberté non seulement au peuple africain et aux peuples coloniaux, mais aux peuples des métropoles au nom desquels s'exercent la domination et l'exploitation des colonies. L'injustice, la brutalité, le pillage dans les colonies ont toujours porté gravement atteinte à la liberté et, plus sûrement, à la moralité dans les métropoles elles-mêmes.

105. Le 28 septembre 1958, mon pays a connu un passage inattendu et pourrait-on dire instantané du stade de colonie au stade de pays souverain, sans aucune préparation. L'indépendance n'a été, en Guinée, un mot d'ordre de lutte politique que quelques semaines seulement avant l'historique référendum du général de Gaulle. Naturellement, les responsables de la jeune République de Guinée ont eu à faire face à d'importants problèmes. Il convient de souligner aussi le caractère absolument pacifique de notre accession à l'indépendance sans une goutte de sang, sans un coup de fusil et dans l'unité nationale la plus totale, malgré les provocations du colonisateur.

106. Ceux qui parlaient alors de perturbations et de troubles ont assisté, dans le plus grand calme, à la prise en main par les autorités guinéennes de l'ensemble des services dont le fonctionnement était, jusqu'alors, assuré par les cadres français: administration générale, personnel de commandement des régions, magistrature, cadres de l'armée, ingénieurs et techniciens, etc. Aucun de ces services n'a connu d'interruption, malgré la précipitation calculée avec laquelle le Gouvernement français a retiré ses cadres.

107. En proclamant donc l'indépendance de tous les territoires encore sous domination étrangère, nous sommes persuadés que ces derniers trouveront les cadres nationaux qui ont suffisamment le sentiment de leur utilité et de leurs responsabilités pour affronter les tâches immenses qui sont les nôtres en Afrique, pays sous-développés. Nous n'excluons pas l'assistance technique, à condition qu'elle s'inspire d'un es-

prit entièrement nouveau et différent de la mentalité coloniale.

108. Nous savons que l'accession à l'indépendance ne résoudra pas le problème du sous-développement, mais rien ne permet de maintenir un système devenu anachronique. L'indépendance est nécessaire et indispensable, mais ne constitue nullement une fin en soi. Une indépendance politique, tant qu'elle n'est pas complétée et garantie par l'indépendance économique, ne saurait être le but recherché.

109. Par contre, il serait tout à fait vain de vouloir assurer un développement économique quelconque dans le contexte de non-indépendance. Ni les conditions psychologiques, ni les moyens matériels ne permettent de promouvoir une politique économique valable avant l'exercice de la souveraineté pleine et entière par les anciens territoires coloniaux.

110. Les peuples colonisés sont non seulement incapables de se développer tant qu'ils demeurent sous la domination étrangère, mais ils ne sauraient participer efficacement à la lutte que mènent tous les peuples pour le maintien et le renforcement de la paix. Un peuple privé de liberté, qui ne s'exprime pas directement à travers ses institutions propres et libres, n'a pas les moyens d'apporter sa contribution à la lutte pour l'établissement d'un monde d'égalité et de paix.

111. Ainsi donc, la proclamation générale et immédiate de l'indépendance des peuples encore dépendants renforcera le camp des peuples et des nations épris de paix.

112. Pour l'Afrique, l'indépendance, tout en étant le problème le plus urgent à résoudre, cède déjà le pas à un autre problème beaucoup plus délicat: celui de la lutte contre le néo-colonialisme. Comment les Etats africains arriveront-ils à consolider leur indépendance, tout en renforçant leur unité?

113. Cette question devient aujourd'hui plus importante que l'indépendance politique elle-même. Il se peut que le colonialisme reconnaisse l'impossibilité de se maintenir sans changement de forme, tout en restant décidé à sauvegarder ses intérêts économiques et ses privilèges. L'attitude concrète des nouvelles nations, soucieuses du maintien de la cohésion nationale et sans grands moyens devant les multiples problèmes que pose l'évolution accélérée des populations dont elles sont responsables, déterminera soit une nouvelle forme de sujétion, soit un avenir à la fois prospère et stable.

114. Le danger de l'indépendance contrôlée est déjà une réalité, mais ce n'est pas en retardant la libération des territoires encore colonisés que l'on évitera ce nouveau fléau. Il est évident que l'unité d'action seule permettra aux nouveaux Etats d'éviter la tentation de monnayer une partie de leur souveraineté contre une aide matérielle de circonstance. Il est

difficile d'imaginer qu'un Etat grand ou petit, appartenant à la catégorie des pays sous-développés, puisse progresser et résoudre ses problèmes aux dépens des autres. Pour l'Afrique, qui a connu la traite des esclaves et la colonisation, l'indépendance fictive constituerait une véritable catastrophe, voire une malédiction historique.

115. En fin de compte, les maîtres d'hier seraient les seuls bénéficiaires de la division et des querelles de leurs anciennes colonies. Certes, l'aide et la coopération sont indispensables pour le progrès des pays sous-développés, mais le fossé qui les sépare des pays techniquement avancés ne pourra être comblé que dans la mesure où une coopération loyale s'établira, dans le cadre de l'indépendance nationale de tous, pour la transformation des structures économiques des pays arriérés et pour leur industrialisation.

116. La qualité de la contribution des nouveaux Etats, qui intéresse directement la question de la paix mondiale, dépendra du degré de liberté de leurs peuples et non de leurs gouvernements et de la possibilité qui sera donnée à ces peuples de mettre leurs énergies au service de l'intérêt général.

117. Il n'est plus possible d'envisager le sort d'une ancienne colonie en l'isolant du sort de ses voisins. Il serait également vain de chercher un équilibre mondial limité aux seules nations avancées et industrialisées. Désormais, l'humanité est condamnée à choisir sans partage la sauvegarde d'une paix indivisible et d'un bonheur universel. A ce titre, on peut affirmer que la question de la libération des peuples coloniaux rejoint directement la question cruciale du désarmement général et complet.

118. Enfin, permettez-moi de conclure cet exposé du point de vue de la délégation de la République de Guinée par les phrases suivantes du message du président Sekou Touré, en date du 30 novembre 1960:

"Le choix qui se pose aujourd'hui à la conscience universelle de votre assemblée, c'est le choix de la construction positive du monde contre la division du monde, c'est le choix de la solidarité unanime contre la domination et l'exploitation, c'est le choix de la libération de l'homme contre l'esclavage social ..."

119. Confiants dans l'issue de ces débats, nous pensons, comme le président Sekou Touré, qu'il revient à cette session de marquer historiquement le seuil d'une phase nouvelle et décisive de l'évolution universelle et de poser la première pierre pour l'édification d'un monde fondé sur la coopération loyale, la solidarité humaine, la justice et la paix du monde.

La séance est levée à 12 h 55.

ASSEMBLÉE GÉNÉRALE

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Président: M. Frederick H. BOLAND (Irlande).

POINT 87 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance
aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux (suite)

1. M. BUDO (Albanie): A l'initiative du Gouvernement de l'Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques, les Nations Unies se trouvent saisies d'un problème grave, d'une immense portée internationale: le problème de la liquidation totale et définitive de cette survivance honteuse de notre siècle qu'on dénomme le colonialisme. A une époque où la société humaine a fait des pas énormes dans la voie du progrès et du bien-être et où le génie de l'homme ne connaît pas de bornes dans l'utilisation des forces de la nature pour assurer à toute l'humanité une vie heureuse dans la prospérité et la dignité, l'existence sur notre planète de millions d'êtres humains souffrant encore sous le joug colonial, sous quelque forme que ce soit, non seulement est un anachronisme intolérable et indigne de notre société, mais constitue en même temps le plus grand crime contre l'humanité et la civilisation humaine, et affecte directement la question de la paix dans le monde. Il n'est que grand temps d'y mettre fin entièrement et une fois pour toutes.

2. L'accession à l'indépendance nationale et à la liberté des peuples encore asservis est inéluctable; c'est la marche naturelle de l'histoire humaine et il n'y a pas de force au monde capable d'arrêter cette montée grandiose du mouvement de libération nationale qui s'est développé, durant la dernière période, à un rythme accéléré sans précédent.

3. Mais l'on s'adresse maintenant aux Nations Unies pour demander, conformément aux buts et aux principes fondamentaux de la Charte, qu'elles apportent leur contribution importante en vue de la suppression sans délai de l'asservissement colonial insupportable aux peuples et cela avant que ces peuples, ne comptant que sur eux-mêmes, se libèrent de leurs propres forces. De la réponse que sauront donner les Nations Unies à cet impératif catégorique de notre siècle — qui n'est pas seulement l'exigence urgente des peuples asservis, mais correspond au vœu ardent de l'humanité entière — dépendra dans une large mesure l'avenir même de notre organisation.

4. N'est-ce pas, en effet, l'être humain qui est le but final de notre organisation? N'est-ce pas pour assurer aux peuples et aux nations, grandes et petites, la pleine jouissance de leurs droits fondamentaux, la libre

disposition, l'égalité de droits, la liberté, l'indépendance et le bien-être qu'a été créée l'Organisation des Nations Unies?

5. Le problème de la servitude coloniale des peuples n'est pas nouveau. Il existe depuis des siècles et remonte même aux premières guerres agressives menées par les plus forts pour asservir les plus faibles et les dépouiller de leurs richesses. C'est l'histoire même de toutes les guerres menées par les impérialistes pour subjuguier par la force, par le fer et par le feu les peuples des divers continents en vue de s'assurer le profit de leur exploitation et de celle de leurs richesses. Les guerres qui se sont déroulées tout au long du siècle dernier ont, en dernière analyse, les mêmes causes. Elles s'expliquent par l'avidité des puissances impérialistes à accaparer les marchés mondiaux, les sources de matières premières et les sphères d'investissement, et, à cet effet, à s'assurer des colonies et des zones d'influence et à procéder au partage et à la redistribution des richesses du monde. Les deux guerres mondiales de notre siècle ont eu pour origine la cupidité de ces mêmes puissances en vue d'un nouveau partage du monde et de ses richesses, en vue de l'hégémonie mondiale impérialiste, en vue de l'exploitation égoïste exclusive des richesses du globe terrestre. Les mêmes causes sont à l'origine des guerres et des conflits armés de la période actuelle, depuis la fin de la seconde guerre mondiale. La cause de ces guerres a été l'acharnement des impérialistes à empêcher la libération nationale des peuples ou le développement national des jeunes Etats dans la liberté et l'indépendance. Tel est le cas des guerres d'Indochine et d'Indonésie et de l'agression armée contre l'Egypte, ou encore de l'agression et des menaces de recours à la force armée des puissances impérialistes — et en premier lieu des Etats-Unis d'Amérique — dans les pays du Proche-Orient et du Moyen-Orient. Les guerres coloniales-impérialistes continuent encore à l'heure actuelle, causant partout des pertes innombrables en vies humaines et en biens matériels, comme c'est par exemple le cas en Algérie où le vaillant peuple algérien, par sa lutte héroïque de libération nationale, s'est attiré l'admiration et la sympathie de tous les peuples en faisant face depuis six ans déjà à la répression armée la plus atroce. C'est le cas aussi au Congo, où nous nous trouvons devant l'intervention armée des puissances occidentales membres de l'OTAN, et en particulier des Etats-Unis et de la Belgique. C'est le cas encore en Oman, où le vaillant peuple de ce pays, malgré la supériorité militaire de l'ennemi, lutte avec abnégation et sans relâche pour se libérer du joug impérialiste britannique. C'est le cas enfin à Cuba, où les impérialistes américains ne reculent devant aucun moyen — y compris les bombardements, les assassinats, les activités subversives et les démonstrations de force de la flotte de guerre américaine — en vue de saper le régime populaire et d'assurer, une fois encore, les intérêts des monopoles américains

dans ce pays. A cet égard, il convient de rappeler que la flotte de guerre américaine, qui, selon les besoins des plans agressifs du Pentagone, surgit une fois devant les ports méditerranéens du Proche-Orient, une autre fois dans les détroits de Taiwan ou encore dans la mer des Caraïbes, est devenue le symbole de la menace de force, de la provocation et de l'aggravation de la tension internationale.

6. Le problème de la libération des peuples asservis par le colonialisme touche ainsi à l'essence même de la question de la paix et de la guerre, à laquelle il est étroitement lié. La liquidation de cette pourriture honteuse de notre société qu'est le système colonial, dans toutes ses manifestations, et la suppression de l'exploitation des peuples par les monopoles étrangers représenteraient non seulement la reconnaissance la plus élémentaire des droits inaliénables des peuples coloniaux à la liquidation de leurs souffrances séculaires, mais créeraient en outre les conditions nécessaires pour le plein développement social, économique et culturel de ces peuples. Cela contribuerait sans nul doute au relâchement de la tension internationale et à la création de conditions favorables à la solution d'autres problèmes internationaux, et en premier lieu de celui du désarmement général et complet, dont le caractère urgent est hors de contestation.

7. Si nous tenons à faire ici allusion au désarmement, c'est parce que nous estimons indispensable d'avoir toujours présent à l'esprit le fait que, tant que les puissances impérialistes auront entre leurs mains les moyens d'opprimer les autres peuples, elles ne voudront pas renoncer à y recourir chaque fois qu'elles seront touchées dans leurs intérêts égoïstes, et, par tant, l'on ne pourra assurer l'établissement d'une paix durable dans le monde. Sans doute la suppression du système colonial constituera un apport très important dans la voie des efforts soutenus des peuples épris de paix et des pays pacifiques en vue d'instaurer entre les nations, grandes et petites, des relations de bon voisinage et de coopération sur la base de l'égalité souveraine des Etats, du respect du droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes, de la non-ingérence dans les affaires intérieures des autres, et dans l'intérêt mutuel des Etats de même que de la communauté internationale tout entière. C'est ce qui correspondrait aux buts et principes inscrits dans la Charte de notre organisation.

8. Les peuples colonisés ont de tout temps lutté pour leur libération nationale. Après la grande révolution d'Octobre de 1917, en Russie, une ère nouvelle commença dans l'histoire de l'humanité. Les principes humanitaires élevés de la révolution d'Octobre se répandirent dans le monde entier et trouvèrent un accueil particulièrement chaleureux chez les peuples souffrant sous la domination colonialo-impérialiste. Après la seconde guerre mondiale, un certain nombre de pays ont brisé les chaînes de l'oppression coloniale et nationale. La grande victoire remportée sur le fascisme dans la seconde guerre mondiale eut pour conséquence la rupture de la chaîne impérialiste en Europe centrale et orientale, où de nouveaux pays socialistes prirent naissance. La victoire historique de la révolution du grand peuple chinois donna naissance à la République populaire de Chine qui compte quelque 700 millions d'habitants. Ces pays constituent maintenant le système socialiste mondial, qui exerce son influence salutaire dans la marche des événements mondiaux et représente un facteur primordial pour la paix et la sécurité internationales.

9. Pendant la même période, grâce à la lutte des peuples opprimés, de nombreux pays d'Asie et d'Afrique ont rejeté le joug colonial et ont accédé à l'indépendance. Pendant la dernière phase, le mouvement de libération s'est développé à un rythme accéléré et cette année a vu naître en Afrique 16 nouveaux Etats indépendants, de sorte que c'est à juste titre que l'on a appelé 1960 "l'Année de l'Afrique". Les nouveaux pays, qui sont maintenant Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, prennent une part active à la vie internationale. Ils ont ainsi largement agrandi la zone de paix. Ainsi le système colonial se désagrège et s'écroule dans ses fondements; une ère nouvelle s'ouvre devant l'humanité; l'Afrique et l'Asie ont complètement changé de face et le mouvement de libération nationale et de consolidation de l'indépendance se développe en Amérique latine. La lutte des peuples qui subissent encore le joug colonial se développe chaque jour davantage en Afrique, en Asie et en Amérique latine. Ces peuples aussi parviendront, sans aucun doute, à l'indépendance. Mais, en attendant, ces peuples, comprenant environ 100 millions d'hommes, continuent à souffrir sous la domination colonialo-impérialiste. Les Nations Unies se doivent donc de prendre des mesures efficaces pour mettre fin entièrement et une fois pour toutes, conformément aux principes de la Charte, à cette plaie honteuse pour notre civilisation.

10. La libération des pays colonisés n'a jamais été l'œuvre des puissances coloniales, comme s'efforcent de nous le faire croire leurs meilleurs avocats. Cette libération a été le fruit de la lutte soutenue des peuples asservis et de l'appui que ceux-ci ont toujours trouvé chez les autres peuples et les Etats pacifiques. Les impérialistes ne renoncent jamais de leur propre gré aux bénéfices fabuleux de l'exploitation la plus féroce des autres peuples. Le monde est bien renseigné là-dessus. Point n'est besoin, pour se convaincre à cet égard, d'aller chercher bien loin. Il suffit de rappeler ici les récents événements du Congo qui montrent comment les impérialistes, à l'heure même où un pays a accédé à l'indépendance, conspirent pour reprendre ce qu'ils ont été obligés de céder.

11. Les peuples colonisés ont languì, pendant des siècles, sous l'exploitation la plus atroce des impérialistes. Des millions d'hommes en ont souffert; des millions sont tombés victimes de la répression ou dans la lutte qu'ils ont menée pour accéder à une vie libre et indépendante. Le moment est bien venu de mettre fin à ce régime d'obscurantisme, de terreur et d'exploitation.

12. Un coup d'œil rapide sur la situation régnant actuellement dans les pays soumis encore au régime colonial ne peut que nous convaincre de la tâche urgente qui incombe aux Nations Unies de mettre tout en œuvre en vue de liquider sans délai ce phénomène honteux de la société humaine sous toutes les formes où il se présente.

13. Un examen de la politique coloniale britannique en Afrique, au cours de ces dernières années, nous donne une idée de l'état d'esclavage où se trouvent les peuples soumis et montre que les impérialistes anglais n'ont pas hésité à recourir aux méthodes les plus cruelles toutes les fois que les intérêts de la puissante oligarchie financière étaient mis en danger par le mouvement de libération nationale des peuples dominés.

14. Prenons, par exemple, le cas de la Fédération de l'Afrique centrale. En Rhodésie du Nord, les colons blancs, qui ne sont que 70.000, détiennent plus de la moitié des meilleures terres, laissant à plus de 2.500.000 Africains l'autre moitié composée de terres peu fertiles. Une discrimination scandaleuse entre colons blancs et autochtones est aussi appliquée en ce qui concerne le revenu annuel. Les travailleurs africains sont employés aux travaux les plus durs et, parfois, ils reçoivent des salaires de 20 à 30 fois plus bas que ceux des blancs, comme c'est le cas des 40.000 mineurs de la Rhodésie du Sud. Les colonialistes tirent des profits fabuleux de l'exploitation systématique des grandes richesses de ces territoires et de la main-d'œuvre à très bon marché. La Rhodésie du Nord, voisine du Katanga, est très riche en cuivre et, en 1959, l'extraction du cuivre de ce territoire représentait 15 pour 100 de la production mondiale. Mais qui jouit de ces richesses? Ce sont seulement les colonialistes britanniques et leurs partenaires, tandis que les autochtones, malgré un travail exténuant, mènent une vie de misère. Pour satisfaire les besoins en main-d'œuvre africaine à bon marché, les lois les plus abominables ont été édictées; elles permettent aux colonialistes d'appliquer, sous une forme ou sous une autre, le régime de discrimination raciale, le travail forcé, l'agglomération des Africains dans des réserves où sévit un régime de misère et de terreur inouï et où les hommes meurent par centaines. Et les représentants des puissances coloniales viennent ici nous parler des bienfaits du système colonial! Les droits les plus élémentaires sont foulés aux pieds. Pour n'en citer qu'un exemple, il suffit de mentionner qu'en Rhodésie du Sud où, en 1938, 40 Africains étaient inscrits comme électeurs, 20 ans plus tard, en 1958, ce chiffre ne dépassait pas 550. Ces chiffres montrent comment les colonialistes se soucient de l'émancipation et de la civilisation des autochtones!

15. L'histoire de la domination en Afrique centrale, comme, d'ailleurs, dans toutes les colonies, n'est qu'une longue suite de ruses, d'hypocrisies, d'intrigues, de répressions et de terreurs exercées par les divers colonialistes.

16. Au Kenya, dans cette colonie sous domination britannique où le sang n'a cessé de couler, la lutte de libération nationale se développe à nouveau après l'écrasement féroce du mouvement national par les colonialistes anglais, quelques années auparavant. D'après la presse britannique elle-même, plus de 4.000 hommes de troupe ont été nouvellement envoyés au Kenya afin de réprimer tout sentiment de liberté et tout mouvement national. Au cours de ces derniers mois, 2.000 personnes ont été emprisonnées; 800 personnes sont dans les prisons depuis 15 ans et le chef du mouvement nationaliste, Jomo Kenyatta, après sept années d'emprisonnement, fut de nouveau poursuivi et déporté.

17. Le Portugal, l'une des plus anciennes puissances coloniales, ne reconnaît pas avoir des colonies, mais des provinces d'outre-mer. Ainsi l'Angola, le Mozambique et d'autres colonies portugaises en Afrique et en Asie, qui se trouvent à des milliers de kilomètres du Portugal, ne seraient, d'après les colonialistes portugais, que des prolongements géographiques du territoire métropolitain. C'est un fait incontestable que, dans les colonies portugaises, les colonialistes emploient les méthodes les plus cruelles pour étouffer

le sentiment national de la population autochtone qui, malgré la subjugation coloniale la plus brutale, pendant des siècles, ne cesse de résister à l'assimilation et à l'extermination.

18. Pour avoir une idée de la situation en Angola, on peut se reporter à la brochure publiée par le Comité américain sur l'Afrique intitulée: Angola: Repression and Revolt in Portuguese Africa. Citons, entre autres, ce passage:

"Tandis que, dans les décennies passées, il y avait moins d'indices de discrimination raciale en Angola par comparaison avec d'autres territoires voisins, ces dernières années on remarque une recrudescence de la discrimination raciale... Sur des écriteaux, aux portes des restaurants, on lit: "Droit d'entrée réservé". On a construit des villes... pour les blancs seulement. Dans les services publics, il est très difficile de trouver un Africain à un poste supérieur à celui d'interprète... Si la division de couleur est aussi évidente dans les grandes villes de la côte, c'est pis encore à l'intérieur du territoire."

19. Une preuve évidente du mécontentement populaire envers les autorités coloniales est fournie par les préparatifs militaires que les Portugais entreprennent en Angola pour étouffer la résistance. Dernièrement, 2.000 soldats portugais ont été envoyés pour renforcer les 20.000 qui s'y trouvaient déjà. Ces troupes sont équipées de chars d'assaut du type Panhard, de canons de campagne et de moyens de transport blindés. On construit avec empressement des casernes et des aérodromes pour des avions militaires, et des navires de guerre patrouillent les côtes et les fleuves du pays. Ainsi l'Angola se transforme en une base de l'OTAN qui doit servir les plans agressifs des puissances impérialistes visant à diviser l'Afrique et à écraser tout mouvement de libération nationale. De toute évidence, les milieux militaires du Portugal ont réussi à convaincre le président Eisenhower, lors de sa visite à Lisbonne au mois de mai 1960, de la nécessité de l'utilisation des armements fournis au Portugal par les Etats-Unis pour écraser les mouvements de libération nationale des peuples d'Afrique. D'ailleurs, ici, il n'y a rien de nouveau, puisque les armes américaines sont déjà utilisées depuis des années, sous le couvert des traités agressifs de l'OTAN et autres, pour écraser les mouvements de libération nationale dans divers pays d'Afrique, comme c'est le cas de l'Algérie et du Congo, ainsi que d'autres régions du monde.

20. On voit donc comment les puissances impérialistes et colonialistes défendent leur cause commune qui est celle de tenir les peuples coloniaux sous leur domination et d'exploiter sans merci leurs richesses et le travail forcé des populations autochtones. Les puissances impérialistes, en commençant par l'Angleterre qui s'efforce de paraître plus libérale, jusqu'à la plus réfractaire, à savoir l'Union sud-africaine qui foule aux pieds toutes les résolutions adoptées par l'Assemblée générale des Nations Unies, suivent les mêmes buts: elles ne veulent en aucune façon renoncer à leurs privilèges honteux et elles combinent toutes sortes de manœuvres, d'intrigues, et même de crimes pour prolonger la vie du système colonial moribond. Cela a été constaté aussi au sein de notre organisation, en particulier dans le cas du problème congolais où les puissances colonialistes ont fait cause commune pour défendre la domination coloniale. Le fait que nous assistons actuellement à un rapprochement des puis-

sances coloniales, au moment même où le colonialisme est en agonie, ne montre que leur faiblesse.

21. Voyons encore le cas du Sud-Ouest africain. Depuis 15 ans déjà, l'Assemblée s'occupe de cette question. Des dizaines de résolutions ont été adoptées, des commissions et des comités ont été créés, de nombreux pétitionnaires ont été entendus à la Quatrième Commission, qui ont fait rapport sur la situation intolérable où se traîne la population autochtone de ce pays. On sait bien que, dans ce malheureux pays, c'est l'"apartheid" et la discrimination raciale la plus monstrueuse qui font la loi. Les hommes sont traités comme des bêtes de somme, le travail forcé est chose commune. Le Gouvernement de l'Union sud-africaine a complètement méconnu les résolutions adoptées par l'Assemblée générale et la situation a empiré dans le Sud-Ouest africain d'année en année. Il convient de souligner que le Gouvernement de l'Union sud-africaine a été encouragé dans cette attitude par les autres puissances coloniales.

22. Par un pillage systématique et ininterrompu des territoires coloniaux en Afrique, en Asie et ailleurs, les monopoles des diverses métropoles ont accumulé des richesses fabuleuses, laissant les peuples soumis dans un état arriéré de misère et de sous-développement, qui fait un contraste saisissant avec les richesses et le développement des pays métropolitains.

23. On comprend bien que les impérialistes ne veulent pas lâcher leur emprise sur leurs possessions coloniales, usant à cet effet de tous les moyens possibles. Pour empêcher la libération des territoires sous leur domination, les puissances coloniales ont eu recours à tous les moyens possibles. A côté des guerres meurtrières dans lesquelles ils n'ont pas hésité à employer les armes les plus barbares, y compris les bombes au napalm, et où ont péri des millions de personnes, les impérialistes ont eu recours aux obstacles et aux manœuvres les plus variés. L'un des arguments que n'ont cessé de répéter les colonialistes, toutes les fois qu'il s'est agi de la question de la libération des colonies, est la prétention selon laquelle les peuples colonisés ou dépendants ne posséderaient pas encore la maturité nécessaire pour accéder à l'indépendance et s'administrer eux-mêmes, ce qui a comme origine la conception raciste des impérialistes selon laquelle les peuples n'appartenant pas à la race blanche sont inférieurs.

24. Les impérialistes et leurs avocats, pour justifier la politique de domination coloniale et la prolongation de cette domination, ne cessent de nous parler de leur fameuse "mission civilisatrice"; ils ont même le courage de prétendre de façon cynique que les neuf dixièmes des Africains sont illettrés et que l'absence de culture chez ces peuples montre que ceux-ci ne sont pas préparés à accéder à l'indépendance et à prendre en main la conduite de leur destinée — comme si les responsables de cette situation n'étaient pas les impérialistes eux-mêmes. Mais le monde est bien conscient que, tant que durera le régime colonial dans un pays, les portes de l'enseignement et de la culture seront fermées aux peuples soumis, et que, sans la liberté et l'indépendance, ceux-ci n'auront pas la possibilité de s'engager dans la voie du développement national, du progrès et de la prospérité. Les théories réactionnaires prétendant que les Africains n'ont pas de tradition culturelle sont démenties par l'histoire. L'histoire nous apprend en effet qu'il fut un temps où l'Afrique était plus avancée que l'Asie et l'Europe.

L'Afrique a eu sa propre culture. C'est ce dont témoignent l'histoire ancienne de l'Egypte et celle des Etats Napata, Meroë et Aksum, dont les Ethiopiens sont les descendants. Une explication remarquable de toutes ces prétentions éhontées des représentants de l'impérialisme a été donnée par le poète malgache Rabemananjara qui dit entre autres: "Le nègre est devenu sauvage le jour où le blanc a découvert combien de bénéfice l'on peut retirer de cela."

25. Les nombreux pays de l'Afrique, de l'Asie et d'autres parties du monde qui ont acquis l'indépendance et prennent une part active dans la vie internationale montrent comment les peuples devenus libres et indépendants savent diriger et gouverner leur pays et devenir en même temps un facteur très important de paix et de stabilité dans le monde. Des pays comme l'Inde, la République arabe unie, la Guinée et d'autres pays prennent une part active et positive dans la solution des problèmes internationaux. Nous ne saurions assez exprimer la joie que nous ressentons lorsque nous voyons ici, aux Nations Unies, les jeunes Etats d'Afrique être à l'avant-garde dans la lutte pour la libération des droits légitimes des peuples asservis, pour l'abolition totale et définitive de leur asservissement.

26. Hantés par le fait qu'ils sont en train de tout perdre de leur système colonial, les colonialistes font aussi appel à la mystification et, en se donnant l'étiquette de bienfaiteurs et d'altruistes, ils essaient de donner l'impression qu'actuellement le colonialisme n'est plus le colonialisme, qu'il n'existe plus comme tel. En même temps, ils s'efforcent, comme on l'a bien fait remarquer, de jeter un voile mortuaire sur le système discrédité du colonialisme, ils se servent de nouvelles méthodes et de nouvelles formes pour s'assurer l'emprise économique sur les anciennes colonies ou sur les pays faiblement développés. Les impérialistes américains et ouest-allemands sont particulièrement actifs à cet égard et même au détriment des puissances coloniales classiques qui paraissent s'adapter difficilement aux nouvelles conditions créées.

27. Sous le couvert de l'aide économique aux pays sous-développés et de l'association entre les pays industriels et les pays sous-développés les maîtres des monopoles veulent assurer l'hégémonie économique dans ces pays. L'un de leurs objectifs est de retarder l'édification d'une industrie nationale dans les pays sous-développés pour pouvoir ainsi écouler leurs produits industriels dans les marchés de ces pays et y acheter les matières premières à des prix imposés.

28. En vue de s'assurer l'emprise économique dans les pays récemment devenus indépendants ou dans d'autres pays sous-développés, on s'efforce d'encadrer ces pays dans des organismes comme le Marché commun, l'OECE, visant à coordonner la politique économique de certaines puissances occidentales envers les pays sous-développés qui, selon leurs plans, doivent être transformés en pays économiquement et politiquement dépendants. C'est là le nouveau phénomène du colonialisme collectif, qui se manifeste dans la lutte commune des puissances colonialo-impérialistes de l'OTAN contre le mouvement de libération nationale des peuples d'Afrique, d'Asie et d'Amérique latine. Les traités militaires de l'OTAN et de l'OTASE contribuent à la réalisation des objectifs colonialistes des puissances impérialistes et servent à ces puissances pour prendre pied dans les

autres pays, en particulier en construisant des bases militaires dans des buts aventureux de conquête et d'hégémonie mondiale, mettant ainsi en danger la paix et la sécurité des peuples, en premier lieu de ceux dans les pays desquels ces bases se trouvent installées.

29. Il convient de souligner que les impérialistes européens dans leurs efforts en vue de sauvegarder leurs possessions coloniales jouissent de l'appui et de l'aide des Etats-Unis d'Amérique. Les milieux dirigeants des Etats-Unis s'emploient de leur mieux pour jouer double jeu. En même temps qu'ils tâchent de se présenter en amis de l'Afrique, ils organisent l'agression collective au Congo et fournissent en crédits et en équipement militaire le Gouvernement français pour continuer la guerre d'Algérie. Par ailleurs, les monopoles américains caressent l'espoir d'accaparer l'héritage africain que les colonialistes de l'Europe occidentale se voient obligés de relâcher, comme il en est d'ailleurs de même en ce qui concerne les autres colonies possédées précédemment par les Européens. Parallèlement à l'installation de bases militaires, aériennes et navales, le Gouvernement américain établit dans les pays d'Afrique, au moyen de prétendus conseillers et missionnaires, un large réseau d'espionnage servant, entre autres, à mettre en œuvre le travail de sabotage.

30. Mais l'Afrique a complètement changé. Elle n'est plus aujourd'hui ce qu'elle a été avant la seconde guerre mondiale. Les peuples d'Afrique ont bien conscience de leurs droits et de leurs intérêts et savent à quoi s'en tenir, ils savent distinguer leurs amis de leurs ennemis, quel que soit le masque dont se servent les Etats-Unis d'Amérique.

31. Les peuples d'Afrique, d'Asie et d'Amérique latine se rendent bien compte des méthodes par lesquelles les impérialistes entendent réaliser leur politique coloniale et du danger réel que représente une telle politique. C'est pour cette raison qu'ils intensifient résolument leur lutte contre le joug colonial-impérialiste indépendamment de la forme sous laquelle il se présente.

32. Le peuple albanais sait par sa propre expérience séculaire ce que c'est que la domination étrangère. Il s'est toujours senti solidaire et a toujours appuyé la lutte des peuples pour leur indépendance.

33. C'est dans l'esprit des sentiments de sympathie profonde que nourrit le peuple albanais à l'égard des peuples soumis au joug colonial, de son appui chaleureux à la lutte héroïque que mènent ces peuples pour leur libération nationale, que la délégation de la République populaire d'Albanie appuie fermement la déclaration de l'Union soviétique sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux [A/4502 et Corr.1].

34. L'élimination du colonialisme de la société humaine, sous toutes ses formes, non seulement constitue la reconnaissance du droit inaliénable des peuples de vivre dans la liberté et l'égalité souveraines, mais la condition sine qua non pour permettre à ces peuples de s'engager dans la voie du développement politique, économique, culturel et social.

35. L'accession de tous les peuples coloniaux à la vie libre et indépendante est un processus historique inévitable et irréversible. Le monde se transforme devant nos yeux avec une rapidité incroyable. Le colonialisme, ce système honteux, touche à sa fin et il n'a de place

que dans la poubelle des pourritures de l'histoire. Naturellement, le facteur déterminant de cette transformation, c'est la lutte même des peuples coloniaux et dépendants, qui jouissent de la sympathie et du soutien de toute l'humanité progressiste.

36. Mais il est du plus haut devoir des Nations Unies, conformément à la Charte, de mettre tout en œuvre pour contribuer à ce que cette libération inévitable se réalise au plus tôt et sans délai. L'Assemblée générale doit exiger l'accession immédiate et définitive à l'indépendance et à la liberté totales de tous les pays sous domination coloniale, de tous les territoires sous tutelle et de tous les territoires qui ne se gouvernent pas encore eux-mêmes.

37. Les Nations Unies se doivent d'exiger, et même de faire en sorte, que les puissances impérialistes s'abstiennent de toute forme d'ingérence et respectent strictement la souveraineté et l'indépendance des Etats devenus récemment indépendants, ou de ceux qui le deviendront après l'adoption par cette assemblée générale de la Déclaration qui fait l'objet de notre débat.

38. Les Nations Unies ne peuvent se permettre de rester indifférentes devant le spectacle des misères et des souffrances que supportent actuellement les peuples coloniaux et dépendants.

39. Nul ne saurait douter que l'élimination radicale et définitive du colonialisme aurait en même temps une importance considérable pour la coopération économique internationale sur la base de l'égalité et des avantages mutuels. Cela contribuerait à la création de conditions nécessaires à l'établissement de relations internationales normales de compréhension et de bon voisinage; ce serait là une contribution directe effective à la détente et à la consolidation de la paix et de la sécurité internationales.

40. Ainsi donc l'adoption par l'Assemblée générale de la déclaration soumise par l'Union soviétique sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux constituerait un apport considérable aux efforts des pays pacifiques en vue de l'amélioration des relations internationales et de la consolidation de la paix générale.

41. M. DIOP (Sénégal): Nous assistons avec ce débat aux assauts ultimes de la conscience universelle contre les combats d'arrière-garde et les derniers soubresauts des pays qui veulent maintenir, contre vent et marée, leurs possessions coloniales.

42. L'histoire coloniale est une vieille histoire, vieille comme le monde. C'est l'éternelle histoire de l'exploitation de l'homme par l'homme par les voies et moyens de la force brutale. Homo homini lupus disaient déjà les Anciens.

43. Cette exploitation de l'homme par l'homme a été entreprise dans nos pays africains par les Européens, d'abord par l'institution de la traite des nègres, il y a de cela quelques siècles. On a arraché de leurs pays des millions et des millions d'hommes. On les a transplantés en Amérique et ailleurs, avec un cortège de misères et de souffrances effroyables. Sur 10 millions d'hommes transplantés, il en survivait à peine 1 million.

44. Mais, de même que l'injustice humaine est constante, de même le progrès de la conscience humaine est constant. Quelques siècles plus tard, des voix se sont élevées, des voix qui étaient de hauts sommets de la conscience humaine. Pour ne citer que quelques

exemples, ce fut d'abord la voix des grands penseurs de la Révolution française de 1789; et, ici même, aux Etats-Unis, ce fut la voix d'un homme comme Abraham Lincoln au moment de la guerre de Sécession. Ces voix retentirent pour condamner l'esclavage, demander son abolition; mais il fallut plus d'un siècle, vers 1848, pour que la chose commençât à être effective. Même après cette période, après que la plupart des nations européennes eurent souscrit au principe de l'abolition de l'esclavage, il y avait encore des réfractaires, des attardés, des sclérosés, qui continuaient en pirates à perpétuer l'institution. Il a fallu que les nations européennes les plus sincères entreprissent la police des mers pour imposer par la force l'abolition de l'esclavage aux autres Etats européens et parfois même à leurs propres ressortissants.

45. Enfin, l'esclavage fut définitivement aboli. Mais, à peine l'esclavage aboli, l'exploitation de l'homme par l'homme renaquit de ses cendres sous la forme du colonialisme. On ne transplantait plus; on allait sur place dominer et exploiter à domicile.

46. Ce colonialisme, qui a fleuri lui aussi pendant plus de deux siècles et demi, a été, d'année en année, battu en brèche par le progrès constant de la conscience humaine et aussi par l'éveil progressif des peuples colonisés qui, peu à peu, prenaient conscience de leur dignité et de leur sentiment national. Ces peuples colonisés ont, peu à peu, fui leur aliénation intellectuelle, culturelle et artistique sous une livrée coloniale quelconque et sont remontés aux sources de leur génie propre, original et originel, pour y puiser les forces qui leur permettraient de retrouver leur authenticité en même temps que leur souveraineté et leur indépendance. C'est ce mouvement d'humanisme et de renaissance que d'aucuns ont appelé la négritude.

47. Il est d'ailleurs peut-être bon de dire ici que ce mouvement de renaissance, d'humanisme et de libération sur tous les plans n'a jamais comporté un aspect raciste, n'a jamais postulé le rejet de toute autre culture, de toute autre civilisation, des bienfaits de toute autre culture ou de toute autre civilisation, qu'elle soit gréco-latine, américaine ou chinoise.

48. Enfin, d'année en année, le progrès humain a battu en brèche cette deuxième phase de l'exploitation de l'homme par l'homme, ce néo-esclavagisme qu'est le colonialisme; et notamment, depuis la fin de la dernière guerre mondiale, des progrès considérables ont été réalisés. En Afrique, tout particulièrement, nous avons assisté, en moins de 15 ans, à la libération et à l'indépendance nationale des trois quarts des peuples dépendants qui étaient colonisés.

49. Cependant — je l'ai souligné tout à l'heure — malgré l'abolition de l'esclavage par des déclarations de principes et par des lois votées par les pays européens, il y a eu des réfractaires et des sclérosés qui avaient continué à faire prospérer l'institution. Ce qui s'est passé pour l'esclavage se passe aujourd'hui pour le colonialisme.

50. Pour le colonialisme aussi, il y a des attardés, des cristallisés, des sclérosés qui veulent se maintenir contre vent et marée, et aussi contre le cours de l'histoire. Ils seront balayés, assurément, par le torrent irréversible du cours de l'histoire; ils seront balayés comme des fétus de paille.

51. Mais cette position d'expectative fataliste ne suffit pas pour les Nations Unies. Ici, à cet autre haut

sommet de la conscience universelle, il nous faut prendre une position active; il nous faut monter une nouvelle croisade et, cette fois, non point pour faire la police des mers, mais pour faire la police des continents, et pour agir en sorte que, partout, cessent le colonialisme et l'exploitation de l'homme par l'homme.

52. C'est pour cela que la délégation du Sénégal a apposé sa signature sur un projet de résolution [A/L.323 et Add.1 à 5] demandant que, partout, en Afrique et ailleurs, le colonialisme cesse et que, partout, en Afrique et ailleurs, les nations dépendantes deviennent enfin des nations libres, souveraines et indépendantes.

M. Zorine (Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques), vice-président, prend la présidence.

53. M. PLIMSOLL (Australie) [traduit de l'anglais]: Les très nombreux discours que nous avons entendus jusqu'à présent, et le nombre encore plus grand de ceux que nous allons entendre, prouvent combien la communauté internationale que forme cette organisation, et plus spécialement les peuples que nous représentons, ont à cœur de remplir les obligations énoncées dans la Charte à l'égard des territoires sous tutelle et des pays non autonomes. Le Pacte de la Société des Nations avait formulé officiellement, dans un document international, un principe nouveau: désormais, les puissances étaient comptables, vis-à-vis de la communauté des nations, de l'administration des populations indigènes placées sous leur autorité. Cette doctrine et ce mouvement furent encore stimulés quand fut rédigée, à San Francisco, la Charte des Nations Unies. Il y a, dans la Charte, des chapitres très importants, matériaux de ce vaste ensemble qui est devenu par la suite l'Organisation des Nations Unies. L'Australie et la Nouvelle-Zélande ont joué un grand rôle dans l'élaboration de ces chapitres et dans l'application de leur substance. Ces deux pays étaient à l'avant-garde des nations qui voulaient qu'une responsabilité plus large et plus complète que celle qui avait existé avant la guerre soit nettement reconnue et acceptée.

54. Lorsque la Charte fut entrée en vigueur, l'Australie fit passer les mandats qu'elle détenait de la Société des Nations sous le régime de la tutelle internationale. En outre, bien que la Charte ne stipulât pas l'obligation de fournir des renseignements d'ordre politique sur les territoires non autonomes, le Gouvernement australien a spontanément soumis à l'ONU, dès le début, des informations de ce caractère. Nous avons constamment collaboré avec l'ONU, fourni au Conseil de tutelle et à la Quatrième Commission tous éclaircissements sur la politique que nous avons suivie dans ces territoires; au cours des 15 dernières années, nous nous sommes efforcés de remplir fidèlement les obligations que nous impose la Charte. Aussi est-ce de nouveau sans la moindre appréhension que nous nous présentons devant cette organisation. A chaque fois, nous venons ici pour rendre compte de ce que nous avons entrepris volontairement, je dirais même avec joie.

55. Comme toutes les institutions, le colonialisme, qui est une institution humaine, peut revêtir différentes formes suivant la partie du monde où l'on se trouve, suivant les êtres humains qui y vivent; il peut être, et il est parfois odieux. Mais je prétends que dans ses meilleures formes il a été et continue d'être une phase de transition nécessaire; les torts que l'on peut lui

imputer — et certains d'entre eux ont été dénoncés ici — ne sont bien souvent que des exemples de l'absence de fraternité humaine, dont nous avons tant d'autres preuves dans de si nombreuses institutions humaines, internationales et autres.

56. J'ai eu le sentiment, en entendant traiter certains des problèmes qui ont été évoqués ici et à la Quatrième Commission, qu'il s'agissait là de problèmes communs, auxquels nous avons tous à faire face dans nos pays, et qui sont inséparables de notre effort commun pour améliorer le sort de l'humanité en relevant les niveaux de vie dans le monde, pour promouvoir les droits de l'homme et assurer partout leur respect. Ce sont, pour la plupart, des problèmes de fraternité humaine.

57. Il y a, me semble-t-il, une remarque essentielle à faire ici: c'est que nous ne pouvons placer toutes les colonies exactement sur le même plan. Elles diffèrent non seulement par leurs caractéristiques physiques, par leurs populations, par les particularités de la nation administrante, mais encore par leur passé, et à bien d'autres égards aussi. Certains des pays qui sont devenus des colonies étaient les héritiers d'une vieille civilisation, d'une antique culture; parfois même ils faisaient partie de vastes ensembles politiques. Certains de ces pays ne formaient pas réellement des nations; ils se rattachaient néanmoins à d'importants groupes sociaux, parfois à des organisations tribales composées de milliers, voire de dizaines de milliers d'individus. Dans d'autres cas encore, les colonies étaient composées de groupes peu nombreux, désorganisés, parfois disséminés, isolés, sans aucun lien entre eux. C'est pourquoi, à mon sens, nous ne pouvons aborder la question du colonialisme avec fruit que si nous admettons qu'il y a colonies et colonies, de même qu'il y a différentes sortes de puissances administrantes, de problèmes à résoudre et de méthodes employées à cet effet.

58. Il n'est pas vrai non plus que le colonialisme ait toujours consisté à retirer l'indépendance à des peuples qui, sans cela, jouiraient aujourd'hui d'un niveau de vie comparable à celui que connaît l'Europe occidentale. Cela peut être vrai de certaines régions du monde; mais, de toute évidence, tel n'est pas le cas pour d'autres. Dans certains endroits, avant l'arrivée des puissances administrantes, il n'existait pas d'entités nationales, les tribus étaient en guerre les unes contre les autres, les droits de l'homme étaient méconnus, l'esclavage régnait, parce que l'esclavage n'est pas une pratique que les Européens soient les seuls à avoir exercée sur d'autres peuples. C'est une institution vieille comme le monde; il nous faut le combattre partout où il existe, quel que soit le peuple qui le pratique.

59. Au cours du présent débat, nous avons entendu à maintes reprises de belles phrases sur le fouet du maître, sur les crimes dont les colonisateurs se seraient rendus coupables. En entendant ces propos, j'ai pensé que, si tout cela a pu être vrai à certains moments de l'histoire et dans certaines parties du monde, il n'en est certainement pas ainsi des territoires administrés par l'Australie; or, c'est au nom de l'Australie, et de l'Australie seule, que je parle. Il pourrait être utile, et même avantageux pour nos débats, que je donne ici quelques détails sur la situation en Nouvelle-Guinée orientale, pays dont l'Australie a la charge.

60. La Nouvelle-Guinée orientale est longtemps restée isolée du reste du monde. Pendant des siècles, et sans doute des millénaires, sa population n'a eu aucune relation avec l'extérieur. Ce pays se trouvait, par conséquent, dans une situation différente de celle, disons, des populations africaines qui, à plusieurs époques de leur histoire et pendant longtemps, ont maintenu des contacts fructueux avec les civilisations que connaissaient d'autres régions de l'Afrique, de l'Asie et d'autres parties du monde. La Nouvelle-Guinée se composait de multiples collectivités, totalement isolées tant au point de vue culturel qu'à tout autre point de vue. Bien que l'on ait enregistré un accroissement constant de la population depuis plusieurs années, celle-ci n'atteint pas encore le chiffre de 2 millions. Les habitants parlent entre eux 510 langues, et des milliers de dialectes: ceux qui parlent l'une de ces 510 langues ne comprennent aucun de ceux qui en parlent une autre; il existe donc d'importants groupes de population qui sont incapables de communiquer les uns avec les autres pour tous les besoins de la vie courante, des populations ignorant tout de ce que peut être une nation, de ce que peuvent être les dimensions de l'île où ils habitent, ne soupçonnant même pas qu'il pût exister une communauté d'intérêts, un lien quelconque, entre eux et les autres peuples de l'île. Ils ont mené une vie primitive et — dans l'ensemble — leur existence s'est résumée à trouver de la nourriture et à la consommer aussitôt. C'est à peine si l'idée leur était connue de faire des provisions alimentaires. La sorcellerie et la magie noire régnaient partout; dans bien des cas, ils pratiquaient le cannibalisme.

61. Nous ne nous trouvons pas ici en présence d'une population qui, jusqu'à une époque récente, formait une véritable nation dotée d'un système politique et social très évolué. Certes, je ne suis pas de ceux qui confondent civilisation et mode de vie occidental: je sais cependant qu'à l'intérieur de nombreux Etats Membres de cette organisation, de petits groupes humains vivent une existence réellement primitive, que leurs traditions sont restreintes et qu'ils ne disposent jusqu'ici que de possibilités de progrès limitées. Je demande alors aux représentants de ces pays d'imaginer ce que peut être une île où chaque habitant ne dépasserait pas ce niveau de civilisation. On voit combien la tâche est immense. Il s'agit de transporter — en un laps de temps très court — des hommes vivant à l'âge de la pierre jusqu'à l'époque actuelle, avec sa civilisation complexe: c'est là un problème qui ne se pose à aucun des pays représentés ici, qui ne s'est posé à aucun d'eux dans un passé récent. C'est presque une situation unique par le nombre d'individus vivant dans des conditions telles qu'ils ont un long chemin à parcourir avant de pouvoir se joindre à nous. Cette opinion ne se fonde pas sur un sentiment de supériorité raciale; la population de la Nouvelle-Guinée pourra un jour se joindre au concert des autres nations. La condition relativement arriérée dans laquelle elle se trouve résulte de son isolement prolongé du reste de l'humanité, et d'un ensemble de causes historiques.

62. L'Australie a eu la tâche immense — et acceptée de grand cœur — d'intégrer ces peuples au vingtième siècle, de les transformer en des voisins pacifiques de l'Australie et des autres pays de la région du Pacifique occidental, d'en faire nos futurs partenaires dans un monde en paix.

63. Nous n'avons pas été attirés par l'appât du gain, car — pour ce qui est de l'Australie — la tâche qui consiste à administrer la Nouvelle-Guinée et à faire progresser les populations autochtones a constitué un lourd fardeau économique et financier, qui pèsera longtemps encore. C'est pourquoi on peut dire que la conception classique de l'exploitation économique des colonies n'est pas applicable à la Nouvelle-Guinée.

64. La Nouvelle-Guinée est proche de nous et sa population est notre voisine. Nous vivons avec elle, côte à côte. Nous entendons être ses amis. Nous voulons trouver en elle des partenaires dans notre effort pour vivre en paix. Nous comptons faire de ce peuple une nation. Pour cela, nous avons accepté les obligations énoncées par la Charte et nous sommes même allés bien au-delà.

65. Permettez-moi maintenant de dire quelques mots des problèmes qui se sont posés à l'Australie dans ce pays. Peut-être répondrai-je ainsi à la question qui vous vient probablement à l'esprit, à savoir pourquoi avons-nous besoin de tant de temps pour atteindre notre objectif?

66. L'Australie est, depuis 40 ans, chargée de l'administration du Territoire sous tutelle de la Nouvelle-Guinée. Quarante ans, c'est, en quelque sorte, la durée de vie d'un être humain. Auparavant, la Nouvelle-Guinée était une colonie allemande. Au sud du Territoire sous tutelle, il existe un territoire non autonome où l'Australie s'est installée depuis plus longtemps. Je parlerai cependant des deux parties de l'île à la fois, car notre politique est la même dans les deux cas: nous voulons amener les peuples de ces deux territoires jusqu'à l'autonomie.

67. La Nouvelle-Guinée est située sous les tropiques. Le terrain y est accidenté; on se trouve en présence d'une jungle souvent impénétrable. On pourrait valablement comparer cette région à celle de l'Amazonie, zone très vaste et très difficile d'accès; c'est bien là une des raisons pour lesquelles il nous a fallu si longtemps pour ouvrir le pays; aujourd'hui encore, il existe des zones qui ne sont pas administrées. La tâche a été longue et ardue. Nous devons nous rappeler que tous les moyens dont nous disposons aujourd'hui n'existaient pas il y a 40 ans, ni même il y a 20 ans. Je pense en particulier à l'avion et au bulldozer. Un homme à pied met souvent des jours et des jours pour y parcourir seulement quelques kilomètres. Grâce à l'avion, nous avons été en mesure de surmonter le problème que posaient les distances et une jungle impénétrable, et l'Australie a joué un grand rôle dans le monde en assurant ce travail de pionnier qui consiste à relier des régions entre elles, en faisant appel à l'aviation. Entre 1925 et 1940, nous avons créé de toutes pièces une ville, Bulolo, dans les montagnes de Nouvelle-Guinée, desservie exclusivement par la voie aérienne. Pour l'époque, c'était un véritable exploit, dont un certain nombre d'autres pays ont su tirer des enseignements. Cet exploit a été rendu possible seulement parce que nous avons su utiliser l'avion pour le transport de marchandises lourdes, de machines, etc. Aujourd'hui encore, il y a en Nouvelle-Guinée des postes, des comptoirs où tout ou presque tout doit parvenir par la voie aérienne; c'est là une opération très coûteuse et parfois délicate. En effet, outre cette jungle, on y rencontre de hautes montagnes et de nombreuses vallées très encaissées. Bien des gens qui se sont rendus en Nouvelle-Guinée, y compris certains de nos collègues de l'ONU, des membres de

missions de visite, ont éprouvé quelques craintes devant les conditions dans lesquelles il leur a fallu se rendre, par la voie des airs, d'une localité à une autre à travers des brouillards parfois épais, conditions qui sont tout à fait normales pour ceux qui doivent vivre et travailler en Nouvelle-Guinée.

68. Et puis, alors que nous étions en plein travail, nous nous sommes trouvés en guerre, une guerre qui a dévasté l'île. La Nouvelle-Guinée fut en effet pendant cinq ans le théâtre de violents combats; un grand nombre de bâtiments, des routes, des quais, des bassins portuaires furent détruits par des bombardements. Pendant ce temps, la jungle avait tout envahi.

69. Je me souviens notamment d'un déplacement qui m'avait conduit à Finschhafen, sur la côte septentrionale de la Nouvelle-Guinée, où se trouvait un grand bâtiment ayant à peu près la même superficie que la salle à manger des délégués, et dont le sol de béton avait une vingtaine de centimètres d'épaisseur. Pourtant, en six mois, cette énorme dalle avait été complètement détruite par la jungle: les arbres s'étaient forcé un passage à travers le béton et l'avaient brisé en deux. Ainsi, lorsque les combats qui durèrent cinq ans prirent fin, il ne restait pas grand-chose en Nouvelle-Guinée et, du point de vue matériel, il nous fallut repartir littéralement de zéro. Il va sans dire qu'en dehors même de toute idée de conflit, l'exubérance de cette végétation tropicale nous impose chaque année des charges considérables, notamment pour assurer l'entretien des routes et des bâtiments.

70. Il nous a fallu ensuite venir à bout de la maladie. Le paludisme sévissait sur toute la côte de la Nouvelle-Guinée; dans cette zone, l'état sanitaire de la population indigène et des Australiens venus s'y installer était très mauvais. Nous avons peu à peu surmonté ces obstacles, mais il nous a fallu beaucoup de temps, car nos connaissances dans ce domaine, ainsi que les remèdes dont nous disposons aujourd'hui, étaient à peu près inconnus il y a encore peu de temps. Ici encore, des hommes comme sir Hamilton Fairley ont fait un travail de pionnier. Notre œuvre en Nouvelle-Guinée, dans la lutte contre le paludisme, a servi d'enseignement: nos méthodes ont été en effet utilisées dans certaines parties de l'Asie du Sud-Est, notamment en Birmanie, ainsi que sur le continent africain. Aujourd'hui, les pays en voie de développement peuvent utiliser des produits nouveaux, tels que l'atabrine et la paludrine. Nous en savons désormais davantage sur l'importance que revêt l'assèchement des terrains et sur la façon de réaliser une telle opération chaque fois que cela est possible. Nous avons appris aussi à utiliser les poissons pour détruire les larves de moustiques et faire ainsi échec à leur développement. Toutes ces méthodes ont été progressivement mises au point au cours des années: elles sont aujourd'hui appliquées dans le monde entier. Mais, jusqu'à ce qu'elles soient connues, on se heurta à de sérieux obstacles pour mettre en valeur de nombreuses parties du monde, et ce fut certainement le cas de la Nouvelle-Guinée.

71. Des recherches scientifiques ont donc été nécessaires et, en Australie même, l'histoire de notre économie n'est souvent autre chose que le récit de nos efforts pour acclimater des animaux ou des végétaux importés d'Europe. Les moutons eux-mêmes, qui sont aujourd'hui l'essentiel de nos exportations, nous ont posé de graves problèmes d'adaptation. Il en fut de même pour le blé.

72. Des difficultés analogues se sont présentées en Nouvelle-Guinée. Je me suis rendu il y a quelques années sur les hauts plateaux de l'île où l'administration australienne s'est livrée à des expériences d'acclimatation sur des bovidés, des ovidés, des porcins: ces animaux n'existaient pas dans ces parties de la Nouvelle-Guinée il y a seulement cinq ans. Le bétail ne s'y est pas encore acclimaté et son élevage n'est pas encore rentable. Nous espérons cependant que l'application progressive des résultats de la recherche et de l'expérimentation permettra de rendre productives des zones actuellement stériles. Mais c'est un effort de longue, de très longue haleine. Même la multiplication du bétail se fait lentement. Il nous faut du temps pour tout mener à bien.

73. Je donne toutes ces précisions parce que je sais — et je l'ai entendu dire ici — que les progrès de certains territoires non autonomes ou sous tutelle ont paru très lents. Mais bien souvent — et c'est certainement le cas pour la Nouvelle-Guinée — l'une des raisons principales réside dans la difficulté qu'offre le relief. Il y a là des obstacles matériels que n'importe quel gouvernement n'aurait pu surmonter que lentement et avec peine.

74. Indépendamment des efforts matériels que nous avons déployés et que j'ai rappelés — hôpitaux, ponts, routes, etc. — nous nous sommes employés à nous acquitter avec diligence de nos obligations qui consistent à préparer la population à se gouverner elle-même. Mais nous avons dû procéder graduellement, car nous sommes partis de rien. Nous avons donc constitué au sein de la population autochtone une sorte de noyau qui aura lui-même pour mission d'en former d'autres: c'est ce qu'on appelle un travail en cascade. Nous formons des moniteurs qui ensuite en forment d'autres. Au lieu de réaliser la mise en valeur politique et économique de ce pays suivant un processus rigide et uniforme, nous veillons au contraire à assurer une cadence toujours plus rapide.

75. Dans le domaine politique, les autochtones sont de plus en plus nombreux à entrer dans la fonction publique et à participer au gouvernement central. Cette année, des réformes ont été apportées au conseil législatif, si bien que le nombre des membres autochtones est maintenant plus élevé. Les gouvernements régionaux et locaux ont pris régulièrement plus d'importance. Cette progression n'a pas été uniforme dans l'ensemble du pays. En effet, nous ne voulons pas retarder le développement d'une province parce qu'une autre n'est pas encore mûre pour une certaine forme d'autonomie; dans les villes et dans les villages, cependant, et peu à peu dans des circonscriptions plus étendues, les habitants autochtones jouent un rôle de plus en plus grand dans la gestion de leurs affaires.

76. L'enseignement se développe rapidement. La scolarisation touche maintenant 200.000 personnes en Nouvelle-Guinée. Or, la population totale, enfants et adultes compris, est — je le rappelle — inférieure à 2 millions. La formation technique s'élargit régulièrement, elle aussi, et non seulement dans les diverses activités industrielles, mais aussi dans l'agriculture. J'ai visité moi-même une grande fabrique de contreplaqué, à Bulolo, en 1956 et à nouveau en 1957. J'ai pu ainsi constater que le nombre des autochtones employés aux divers travaux de l'usine augmentait régulièrement. Il s'agissait de travaux très délicats exécutés à l'aide de machines automatiques et faisant

appel à des techniques variées, appliquées partout dans le monde.

77. Les services sanitaires ont été développés. Je ne parle pas seulement des hôpitaux et autres établissements qui emploient du personnel européen; nous formons aussi des autochtones qui seront appelés à diriger eux-mêmes ces services sanitaires. Nous les préparons à nous relayer.

78. L'ordre règne maintenant dans la quasi-totalité du territoire. Il existe encore certaines zones, comme je l'ai dit, qui ne sont pas administrées; mais elles sont l'exception. Partout ailleurs, l'ordre règne et la population tout entière peut faire appel aux tribunaux pour se protéger contre l'arbitraire des individus ou du gouvernement. Le principe de la légalité s'applique à tout le territoire et à tous ses habitants.

79. Graduellement, nous réformons ou modifions les tabous imposés par les coutumes tribales et des pratiques religieuses. Le problème est complexe et de nombreux représentants siégeant ici en ont fait eux-mêmes l'expérience, et ont une opinion personnelle sur la question de savoir dans quelle mesure l'Administration est en droit d'intervenir dans des coutumes héritées du passé. Nous nous sommes efforcés, autant que possible, de nous adapter et d'adapter nos lois aux vœux et aux désirs librement exprimés des autochtones. Mais, comme vous le savez, les coutumes locales font parfois obstacle à l'utilisation la plus économique du sol, pour ne prendre qu'un seul exemple. En ce qui concerne la propriété foncière, le Gouvernement australien n'en a pas moins appliqué une politique selon laquelle l'Administration peut acheter des terres aux indigènes, et encore moyennant des garanties. C'est ainsi que 97 pour 100 des terres sont entre les mains des autochtones, et que moins de 1 pour 100 seulement est utilisé ou occupé par des populations d'autres groupes. Nous avons estimé que notre mission nous faisait un devoir de veiller à ce que la terre de la Nouvelle-Guinée continue d'appartenir à ses habitants.

80. Comme je l'ai déjà dit, l'Australie a accepté les obligations qui sont énoncées dans la Charte. Ces obligations, nous les avons contractées envers l'ONU et la communauté des nations, et aussi envers les populations autochtones elles-mêmes. La Charte est précise sur ce point. Il y a là une obligation qui découle d'un traité.

81. Nous sommes saisis d'un projet de déclaration [A/L.323 et Add.1 à 5] présenté par de nombreux Etats du groupe africain-asiatique. Cette déclaration est différente de la Charte. La Charte est un traité; elle est rédigée avec rigueur. Quant à la déclaration, elle diffère aussi de la Déclaration universelle des droits de l'homme, qui avait été élaborée soigneusement en commission et en comité et qui, même alors, n'avait ni force obligatoire, ni force exécutoire. Or, dans une déclaration générale, il est difficile d'être précis; le texte en est conçu pour s'appliquer à diverses catégories de territoires, à des structures administratives très diverses. Le document qui nous est soumis ne peut aller plus loin que la Charte, ni outrepasser les pouvoirs de l'Assemblée; il exprime plutôt en termes généraux des aspirations admises par tous.

82. Certains auraient voulu lui en faire dire davantage, et d'autres moins. Certains auraient souhaité un texte plus précis, d'autres auraient préféré des for-

mules différentes. Il n'est sans doute personne ici qui n'eût aimé voir modifier le projet de déclaration qui nous est soumis, ou qui n'eût préféré une autre rédaction. C'est ainsi qu'à mon avis il n'est pas vrai de dire, dans le préambule, que, dans tous les cas, "le maintien du colonialisme entrave le développement social, culturel et économique des peuples dépendants". Ce que j'ai dit de la Nouvelle-Guinée aura démontré, je l'espère, que, là au moins, le colonialisme aide les populations autochtones à réaliser des progrès et que, sans l'Autorité administrante australienne, la population n'aurait aucun espoir de progresser rapidement et d'accéder un jour à l'autonomie.

83. Quant au paragraphe 3 du dispositif, relatif aux prétextes qui seraient fournis pour retarder l'indépendance, il risque d'être mal interprété. Il existe, en effet, des régions où le retrait immédiat de l'autorité administrante engendrerait le chaos. J'estime cependant que les situations énoncées dans ce paragraphe ne peuvent servir de mauvais prétextes ou de raisons mal fondées, pour empêcher un pays d'acquiescer son indépendance. Sur ce point, nous sommes, je le crois, tous d'accord.

84. Les représentants de la Birmanie et de la Nouvelle-Zélande ont déjà parlé du paragraphe 4 du dispositif, qui concerne l'action armée, et ils ont indiqué que, selon leur propre interprétation, ce paragraphe n'a pas pour but d'empêcher le recours à la police pour le maintien normal de l'ordre public.

85. Le projet contient également un paragraphe aux termes duquel des mesures immédiates devraient être prises pour transférer tous pouvoirs aux peuples de ces territoires conformément à leur volonté et à leurs vœux librement exprimés. En ce qui concerne la Nouvelle-Guinée, l'Australie prend et n'a cessé de prendre des dispositions visant à transférer ces pouvoirs aux habitants autochtones aussi rapidement que possible. J'estime par conséquent que, pour notre part, nous mettons en application ce paragraphe de la déclaration.

86. Le présent débat a été utile en ce qu'il a mis en lumière les tendances et les sentiments qui règnent non seulement parmi nous, mais encore parmi ceux que nous représentons ici. Les discours les plus efficaces, si je puis ainsi porter un jugement, ont été ceux dont les auteurs ont fait preuve de modération et ont réparti équitablement le bien et le mal. Aucun d'entre nous ne voudrait dire qu'il n'y a ni rien de bon, ni rien de mauvais dans le colonialisme. Nous sommes cependant tous d'accord pour reconnaître qu'il importe d'y mettre fin le plus rapidement possible en accordant l'autonomie à tous les peuples du globe.

87. Je me suis efforcé aujourd'hui de préciser l'attitude de l'Australie en tant que puissance administrante. J'ai essayé de renseigner exactement l'Assemblée générale, et de lui montrer nos difficultés et la façon dont nous entendons les résoudre, et par ailleurs d'expliquer nos objectifs et la politique que nous envisageons de suivre pour les atteindre. Devant cette même assemblée, le Premier Ministre australien déclarait le 5 octobre 1960: "... nous considérons de notre devoir de permettre dès que possible à la population du Papua et de la Nouvelle-Guinée d'exprimer sa libre et entière détermination". [888ème séance, par. 46.]

88. M. MIYAZAKI (Japon) [traduit de l'anglais]: La question de l'abolition du colonialisme n'est pas nouvelle. Nous avons vu exprimée dans le Pacte de la

Société des Nations la notion de mandat, qui préfigurait cette idée de la responsabilité des puissances administrantes à l'égard de la communauté des nations. Dans la Charte des Nations Unies, cette idée est exprimée de façon encore plus claire et plus précise. Les dispositions concernant les territoires non autonomes et les territoires sous tutelle, que l'on trouve aux Chapitres XI, XII et XIII, envisagent l'autonomie ou l'indépendance future de ces territoires.

89. En fait, depuis la création de l'ONU, plus de 30 anciens territoires non autonomes et territoires sous tutelle ont accédé à l'indépendance conformément à la lettre et à l'esprit de la Charte. C'est là, pour l'ONU, un magnifique bilan, et l'admission parmi nous, à la présente session, de 17 nations nouvellement indépendantes accuse encore ce mouvement vers l'indépendance, en rend le besoin plus urgent.

90. Ma délégation partage l'opinion selon laquelle la question du colonialisme pose l'un des problèmes les plus importants de l'heure. Il faut, sans attendre, placer l'ensemble de cette question dans une perspective raisonnable. L'agitation qui règne dans plus d'une partie des territoires encore dépendants d'Afrique, ainsi que la situation au Congo, exigent de nous une attention de tous les instants.

91. Nous sommes saisis de trois projets de déclaration sur la fin du colonialisme. Tous sont rédigés de façon à pouvoir s'appliquer dans le monde entier. Ma délégation attache une grande importance à la portée que l'on entend donner à ces textes. Elle est convaincue qu'une déclaration de cette nature devrait être d'application universelle, c'est-à-dire qu'elle devrait pouvoir s'appliquer à toutes les parties du monde sans exception.

92. Ma délégation voudrait toutefois souligner que, si une telle déclaration doit être universelle quant à sa portée, son application pratique doit être souple. Il ne peut y avoir d'universalité dans l'application là où il n'y a aucune souplesse. En particulier, quand il s'agit de déterminer la date de l'indépendance, il n'est ni pratique, ni même possible, d'adopter une solution qui soit valable pour toutes les situations.

93. Nous devons comprendre, en effet, que de grandes différences séparent la situation qui existe en Afrique et celle qui existe dans l'océan Pacifique. En Afrique, les territoires qui attendent leur indépendance sont invariablement des régions d'une vaste superficie, à la population nombreuse. Dans le cas du Pacifique, on se trouve en présence de milliers de petites îles faiblement peuplées pour la plupart. Certaines d'entre elles sont trop petites pour constituer une entité géographique ou politique, alors que, très souvent, la cohésion entre les îles et la tendance à l'unité nationale restent encore à réaliser. Le caractère particulier de cette région du Pacifique a déjà été exposé avec vigueur et éloquence, devant la Quatrième Commission, par le représentant des Philippines. Ma délégation, qui représente également une nation insulaire de cette partie du monde, partage pleinement son opinion et le félicite d'avoir dit sans détour ce qui préoccupe à juste titre son gouvernement.

94. Il serait donc déraisonnable, peut-être, de s'attendre que cette déclaration puisse être mise en œuvre de manière à la fois automatique et uniforme dans tous les territoires du monde. Il ne faut jamais

permettre au chaos et au vide de s'installer, ce qui pourrait ouvrir les portes à toutes les éventualités dans une partie du monde qui, jusqu'à présent, a pu être préservée de l'agitation et qui est demeurée fidèle à son nom. Cette prudence qui inspire ma délégation ne signifie nullement que le sort de ces populations des fles du Pacifique la laisse indifférente. Au contraire, nous espérons qu'elles auront, par la suite, la possibilité d'opter librement pour le statut qui aura leurs préférences de façon à pouvoir donner libre cours à leur génie propre et récolter entièrement les fruits de leurs efforts.

95. Ma délégation voudrait saisir cette occasion pour s'arrêter sur certaines considérations d'un intérêt particulier pour les nations qui ont récemment fait leur entrée sur la scène internationale.

96. Depuis le XVIème siècle, le flot du colonialisme a battu les rivages de mon pays, et celui-ci n'a dû qu'à sa farouche résolution de maintenir son indépendance, dans des circonstances difficiles. Mettant fin à un insolement qui a duré trois siècles, mon pays s'est heurté aux dures réalités de la vie internationale. A cette époque, il n'y avait ni Société des Nations ni Organisation des Nations Unies sur qui s'appuyer, et c'est par conséquent toute seule que, ma patrie a dû entrer en contact avec le reste du monde et lui tenir tête.

97. La modernisation de la structure politique et des établissements d'enseignement, la création d'industries utilisant les machines et l'électricité, tout cela a dû se faire avec nos seuls moyens. La route sur laquelle mon pays a péniblement cheminé était dure, mais notre volonté et notre résolution nous ont permis d'occuper, dans le concert des nations, une position qui est demeurée à peu près insensible aux influences extérieures.

98. Le souvenir de notre histoire nous inspire une sympathie profonde pour les pays colonisés. Non seulement nous comprenons leur désir d'indépendance, mais aussi nous leur souhaitons de réussir dans la tâche qui les attend une fois l'indépendance acquise; c'est là une voie qu'ils graviront avec beaucoup de peine et qui les obligera à faire appel à toutes les ressources de leur volonté. Aujourd'hui, avec l'appui de l'ONU, tous les Etats Membres sont disposés à leur venir en aide dans toute la mesure du nécessaire et du raisonnable; les choses sont ainsi considérablement facilitées. Sur ce point la communauté des nations a accompli un réel progrès. Néanmoins, malgré cette aide et cette assistance qui leur sont offertes, c'est tout d'abord sur elle-même que chaque nation nouvelle doit compter pour poursuivre ses progrès à un rythme régulier.

99. Comme je le disais il y a un instant, on constate aujourd'hui, parmi les peuples non indépendants, un sentiment d'impatience que nous comprenons fort bien. Il va sans dire que nous ne devons pas flâner en cours de route et retarder le moment où tous les peuples obtiendront l'indépendance ou l'autonomie. Mais on observe d'autre part que la haine et la méfiance persistent à l'égard des puissances colonisatrices, dans certains pays qui ont subi l'humiliation et la sujétion du régime colonial. Nous le percevons d'après le ton et le vocabulaire employés dans certains discours prononcés à cette assemblée. C'est là un sentiment compréhensible, que nous apprécions fort bien pour notre part.

100. Mais les souvenirs du passé, s'ils doivent nous faire ressasser notre rancœur, ne faciliteront guère notre progression vers la liberté et l'indépendance: il est préférable d'avoir le regard tourné vers l'avenir. Nous nous sommes accordés pour dire que le colonialisme est un phénomène désuet. La ruée vers les colonies, qui fut la règle des siècles passés, n'existe plus et ne doit plus exister. Les temps et les conceptions ont changé, et désormais, grâce à l'ONU et à la Charte, les règles du jeu dans la communauté des nations se sont définitivement modifiées. Exhortons les puissances administrantes à le reconnaître. Si des accusations doivent être formulées, elles doivent s'adresser uniquement à ceux qui se refusent à admettre que les temps ont changé; il convient, en revanche, d'en exempter les nations qui, promptes à le reconnaître, agissent en conséquence.

101. Une réaction en chaîne d'accusations, d'impatience, de haine et de violence est déplorable, c'est le moins qu'on puisse dire. La transition d'un statut de dépendance à celui de l'indépendance ne peut que gagner à être harmonieuse et pacifique, nul ne peut en disconvenir. Ma délégation prie donc instamment les puissances administrantes de respecter entièrement les aspirations des peuples dépendants. On ne saurait en effet retarder indûment le processus qui conduit à l'indépendance ou à l'autonomie. Ma délégation invite d'autre part les peuples dépendants à faire montre de patience et à choisir la voie d'une transition pacifique, fondée sur la bonne volonté et la coopération.

102. En conclusion, ma délégation exprime l'espoir sincère que l'adoption par l'Assemblée générale d'une déclaration sur la fin du colonialisme fera cesser la haine et les rivalités et ouvrira dans l'histoire du monde une nouvelle ère d'harmonie et de coopération universelle.

103. M. COMAY (Israël) [traduit de l'anglais]: Ce qu'il y a de plus remarquable dans ce débat historique, c'est qu'il n'aurait pu avoir lieu il y a une génération. Cinq siècles se sont écoulés depuis que les nations vigoureuses et intelligentes vivant sur les côtes de l'Europe occidentale se sont lancées à la découverte et à la conquête de continents nouveaux. Elles devinrent maîtresses du monde alors connu, depuis les vastes plaines, quasi désertes, de l'Amérique du Nord jusqu'aux centres des civilisations anciennes de l'Asie. Il y a 180 ans, la marée commença à refluer quand, à Concord, fut tiré un coup de feu dont l'écho rétentit dans le monde entier. A la révolution américaine devait succéder la libération de l'Amérique latine; l'Empire britannique, de son côté, évolua vers le statut de dominion.

104. Cette époque fut marquée par l'émancipation, volontaire ou non, de communautés de souche européenne qui ne voulaient plus vivre sous l'autorité des pays lointains dont elles étaient venues. Beaucoup plus récemment, ce processus d'émancipation s'est étendu aux peuples autochtones de race non blanche de l'Asie et de l'Afrique. Ce n'est que depuis la fin de la seconde guerre mondiale et la signature de la Charte de San Francisco, il y a 15 ans, que l'indépendance nationale a pris, sur ces deux continents, la forme d'un raz de marée irrésistible, qui a radicalement transformé la configuration politique du globe, à telle enseigne que les atlas scolaires de notre enfance, où les différents empires étaient marqués chacun d'une couleur particulière, sont désormais devenus des pièces de musée.

105. Dans les quelques années qui suivirent la fin de la guerre, l'Afrique marquait le pas par rapport à l'Asie; le continent africain reste, actuellement, la seule région importante du monde où l'on assiste encore au phénomène de la "décolonisation". C'est pourquoi nous avons tous ressenti une joie sincère à la vue des changements spectaculaires qui se sont produits depuis un an ou deux et qui se sont traduits par l'admission à l'ONU, à cette session de l'Assemblée, d'un si grand nombre de nouveaux Etats africains. Trop longtemps, l'Afrique a été le continent oublié, qui végétait pauvre et arriéré, alors que d'autres s'enrichissaient à ses dépens en accaparant toutes ses ressources, et que le monde extérieur ne prenait que trop souvent l'aspect effrayant du trafiquant d'esclaves qui s'enfonçait dans l'intérieur du pays pour y pratiquer un commerce encore florissant aujourd'hui dans certains parties du Moyen-Orient.

106. Ce n'est que de nos jours que les idéaux philosophiques de liberté et d'égalité ont été enfin mis en pratique dans les rapports internationaux. Mais les hommes ne seront véritablement des frères, dans la pleine acception du terme, que lorsque la place de chacun dans la société, la condition de chaque peuple dans la communauté internationale ne dépendront plus de la couleur de la peau ou des traits du visage.

107. Ma délégation partage les vues du représentant de l'Argentine, qui a notamment déclaré, dans son éloquent discours:

"L'étude du bilan du colonialisme pourrait nous mener beaucoup plus loin que nous n'en avons l'intention. Ce qui importe, c'est de noter ceci: quel que soit le jugement que l'on porte maintenant, ou que les historiens futurs porteront plus tard sur ce système, le régime colonial ne s'adapte pas aux structures politiques du monde actuel. C'est un système qui a définitivement pris fin." [927ème séance, par. 17.]

Quel que soit le bilan actuel, il ne fait aucun doute que, dans ses débuts, le colonialisme s'est traduit par l'oppression et l'exploitation. Mais, d'autre part, il ne fait aucun doute que la politique contemporaine et la position des deux principales puissances coloniales, à savoir le Royaume-Uni et la France, sont fondés sur le louable désir d'accorder l'autonomie à leurs colonies. A titre de preuve ces deux pays peuvent à bon droit montrer les nombreuses places qu'occupent maintenant à l'ONU leurs anciens sujets, en qualité d'Etats souverains et égaux. C'est là un fait que l'on se doit de reconnaître, quelles que soient les rancunes qu'ont fait naître les premières formes du colonialisme.

108. Si de nouveaux Etats désirent librement, dans des conditions d'égalité et de respect mutuel, maintenir des liens d'association avec l'ancienne puissance métropolitaine, parce qu'ils considèrent que ces liens leur sont avantageux, il n'y a aucune raison de vouloir qualifier de "néo-colonialisme" ce genre de relations. C'est aux nouveaux Etats eux-mêmes, exerçant en cela leurs prérogatives souveraines, qu'il appartient d'en décider. Il n'y a aucun mérite particulier à obtenir l'indépendance — et c'est là un point important à signaler — dans la lutte et dans le chaos, si le transfert de pouvoirs peut s'opérer d'une manière ordonnée et par les deux parties, comme ce fut souvent le cas et comme ce sera le cas, nous l'espérons, pour tous les territoires encore non autonomes.

109. Le principe de l'indépendance nationale énoncé dans le projet de résolution A/L.323 et Add.1 à 5 touche directement les sentiments les plus profonds du peuple d'Israël et font appel à ses plus vénérables souvenirs. Il y a des milliers d'années, nous luttons pour notre indépendance contre les grands empires coloniaux de l'ancien monde. A de nombreuses reprises, leurs armées en marche ont foulé aux pieds notre liberté. A de nombreuses reprises aussi, Israël brandit l'étendard de la révolte, car, en fin de compte, un peuple ne peut jamais être soumis tant que l'amour de la liberté reste vivant dans son cœur.

110. Le calendrier hébreu perpétue le souvenir de ces luttes. Chaque année, à l'occasion de la Pâque, les Juifs évoquent l'époque où, il y a plus de 3.000 ans, Moïse conduisait les enfants d'Israël hors des frontières de l'Egypte où ils étaient retenus en servitude, pour leur permettre de vivre l'existence d'hommes libres en terre promise. Chaque année, le neuvième jour du mois d'av, les Juifs respectueux de la Loi jeûnent et portent le deuil en commémoration de la perte de leur indépendance nationale dont Nabuchodonosor, roi de Babylone, fut l'auteur en 586 av. J.-C., puis les légions romaines de Titus, en l'an 70 de notre ère. Channukah, la fête des lumières, rappelle la révolte de Judas Macchabée et de ses frères contre la domination et contre les persécutions religieuses et culturelles de l'empire syro-hellène. A l'occasion de Lag B'Omer, le dix-huitième jour du mois d'iyar, nous évoquons la révolte juive héroïque et réprimée dans le sang que menèrent Bar-Kochba et le rabbin Akiva contre la puissance impériale de Rome, au cours du deuxième siècle de notre ère.

111. Tels ont été les événements qui constituent l'arrière-plan historique de la nouvelle indépendance acquise par Israël en 1948, après une lutte amère et douloureuse contre ce qui était devenu, en fait, un régime colonial. Cette lutte entraîna des déportations, des pertes de vies humaines et la détention de nos chefs ainsi que de milliers de nos compatriotes. Je ne désire cependant pas m'étendre sur ce point, car, même pendant le conflit, nous avons toujours gardé notre foi en l'honnêteté foncière du peuple britannique et nous avons toujours apprécié à leur juste valeur les contributions qu'il a apportées à la civilisation, et nous sommes heureux d'entretenir aujourd'hui des relations excellentes et amicales avec le Royaume-Uni. En évoquant ici notre passé ancien et notre passé récent, je n'avais pour but que d'expliquer pourquoi nous rejetons énergiquement le concept de races supérieures ou inférieures, et la croyance selon laquelle un pays, une nation ou un peuple aurait le droit d'en gouverner un autre.

112. Qui peut avoir plus de raisons que nous de "proclamer à nouveau sa foi ... dans la dignité et la valeur de la personne humaine" et de haïr et repousser "toutes les pratiques de ségrégation et de discrimination"? Tout au long des siècles, notre peuple en a été la victime classique; il a survécu à bien des événements sombres et sanglants, qui ont trouvé leur apogée quand les nazis ont entrepris d'apporter au problème juif une solution qu'ils appelaient définitive: le génocide, c'est-à-dire l'extermination d'un peuple tout entier.

113. Nous ne pouvons oublier les souffrances passées et nous ne saurions conseiller à d'autres de le faire. Ce que nous nous sommes imposé de faire, et ce que nous suggérons aux autres pays nouvellement

indépendants, c'est de ne pas s'appesantir sur le passé et d'employer au contraire toutes énergies à construire l'avenir.

114. Nous tous qui avons récemment acquis notre indépendance avons découvert à notre tour que la proclamation de cette indépendance n'est pas une fin en soi, mais seulement un début. Au lendemain des festivités, les dirigeants de nos pays ont dû faire face à l'intérieur à des situations difficiles et à des dangers menaçants à l'extérieur; chacun de nous, dans l'accomplissement de cette tâche, a connu des échecs et des déceptions. Ceci n'est pas seulement vrai des pays devenus depuis peu indépendants. Nous avons en effet entendu, au cours de ces débats, les déclarations aussi mesurées que réfléchies de représentants des pays de l'Amérique latine qui se sont libérés de la tutelle coloniale il y a plus d'un siècle et qui, aujourd'hui encore, continuent de lutter pour donner plus de bien-être à leurs ressortissants.

115. Prenant la parole le 10 octobre 1960, lors de la discussion générale, le Ministre des affaires étrangères d'Israël a dit ce qui suit:

"Nous, les pays neufs, nous sommes devenus indépendants à une époque où l'homme accomplit ses plus grands exploits. Certaines parties du monde ont atteint des niveaux de vie et de développement extraordinaires. Il ne faut pas que l'on nous dise d'avancer lentement, il ne faut pas que l'on nous dise que le progrès des pays développés a pris des générations et des siècles. Nous ne pouvons pas attendre. Nous devons nous développer rapidement ...

"... Nous ne serons jamais véritablement libérés aussi longtemps que nos enfants devront être nourris par autrui. Notre liberté ne sera complète que quand nous aurons appris à tirer de notre sol la nourriture dont nous avons besoin. Le cri qui monte aujourd'hui des continents d'Afrique et d'Asie est celui-ci: partagez avec nous non seulement votre nourriture, mais aussi vos connaissances sur les moyens de la produire. L'inégalité aujourd'hui, ce n'est pas seulement le fossé qui sépare le monde sur le plan matériel, mais, ce qui est plus effrayant, le fossé entre ceux qui cherchent littéralement à atteindre la lune et ceux qui ne savent pas comment atteindre leur propre sol pour en tirer ce dont ils ont quotidiennement besoin.

"Satisfaire la faim de l'esprit n'est pas moins urgent que satisfaire la faim du corps. Il s'agit de savoir comment le monde peut s'organiser afin de rattraper le retard de générations et partager ces connaissances avec ceux qui en ont besoin." [897ème séance, par. 128, 129 et 130.]

116. Ainsi qu'en témoignent les points de vue exprimés ici par les délégations des nations nouvelles, leurs hommes d'Etat sont pleinement conscients du fossé qui existe entre la souveraineté politique de leurs pays et les conditions réelles de vie de leurs peuples. Je voudrais mentionner, notamment, l'importance, soulignée par le représentant du Ghana, des facteurs économiques et sociaux dans les grandes révolutions anticolonialistes de notre époque, de l'énergie créatrice libérée par l'indépendance et du besoin de relations économiques saines entre les pays insuffisamment développés d'Asie et d'Afrique et les grands pays industriels d'Europe et d'Amérique. Ma délégation partage entièrement ce point de vue.

117. L'indépendance nationale est essentielle, mais elle n'est pas suffisante. Aucune nation ne peut s'isoler du reste du monde. Nous habitons tous le même monde, un monde dans lequel les peuples doivent apprendre à coexister s'ils ne veulent pas périr ensemble. Dans son introduction à l'Israel Government Year Book, publié il y a quelques semaines, le Premier Ministre de notre pays, M. David Ben Gourion, écrit:

"Des nations de toute importance, longtemps soumises à une domination étrangère, certaines dotées de cultures anciennes, d'autres incultes depuis des siècles, secouent leur joug et saisissent leur indépendance. Le jour ne peut être éloigné où tous les peuples, quelles que soient leur couleur, leur race ou leur culture, seront membres de la famille humaine, égaux en droits, souverains et libres.

"Cependant, toutes les nations, quelles que soient leur force ou leurs dimensions, dépendent de plus en plus les unes des autres. Il n'est guère d'Etat, si grand, si riche et si puissant soit-il, qui puisse se passer de la coopération et de l'appui des autres."

Au-delà de l'indépendance de chaque peuple, il y a l'interdépendance de tous les peuples.

118. Nous avons étudié avec soin le texte du projet de résolution contenu dans le document A/L.323 et Add.1 à 5. Nous voterons en sa faveur et nous en appuierons les aspirations. Pour nous, celles-ci sont déjà annoncées dans les visions sublimes et universelles d'Isaïe, de Jérémie et des autres anciens prophètes hébreux qui ont prêché l'égalité de tous les hommes et de toutes les nations, et dans les paroles du prophète Amos:

"N'êtes-vous pas pour moi comme les enfants des Ethiopiens, ô enfants d'Israël? dit l'Eternel."

119. M. HERRARTE (Guatemala) [traduit de l'espagnol]: La délégation du Guatemala, suivant en cela une ligne de conduite dont elle ne s'est jamais départie aussi bien ici qu'en dehors de notre organisation, désire une nouvelle fois marquer sa position en faveur de la liberté des peuples et de la suppression de ce phénomène historique connu sous le nom de colonialisme qui, depuis quelque temps déjà, est nettement en décadence.

120. Nous ne sommes pas venus ici pour porter des accusations, de quelque nature que ce soit. En tant que nation qui a accédé à l'indépendance après avoir vécu longtemps sous le régime colonial, le Guatemala a appris à aimer la liberté. Nous tenons jalousement à notre indépendance et sommes fermement convaincus que tous les peuples peuvent fixer eux-mêmes leur destin et se gouverner eux-mêmes. C'est bien là le meilleur moyen de développer leur patrimoine culturel, d'assurer le bien-être de leurs habitants et de parvenir à exploiter leurs ressources naturelles à leur propre bénéfice.

121. Nous commettrions une injustice en désignant comme puissances colonialistes les seules puissances occidentales qui possèdent ou ont récemment possédé des colonies. A notre avis, le colonialisme est né le jour où l'homme a commencé d'exploiter l'homme, le jour où les premières tribus ont soumis les tribus voisines, le jour où se sont formés les premiers grands empires de l'antiquité qui asservirent des populations plus ou moins éloignées, encore que toujours à leur portée, étant donné les moyens de communication dont on disposait à l'époque. Le colonialisme inspirait les

desseins d'Alexandre le Grand et de ses armées de conquête qui parcoururent tout le Moyen-Orient; il existait à Rome, qui vainquit tant de peuples différents habitant tout au long des côtes du mare nostrum, et fit de leurs pays autant de provinces de son vaste empire. De grands pays comme la Chine ou la Sainte Russie se sont eux aussi édifiés au moyen d'entreprises colonialistes, la Russie notamment, qui conquiert jusqu'à la Sibérie et l'extrémité orientale du continent asiatique, exerça sa domination sur les peuples voisins, et étendit ses frontières à mesure qu'elle affermissait ses conquêtes, tant il est vrai que le colonialisme et l'impérialisme sont deux termes qui tendent souvent à se confondre et à avoir la même signification.

122. C'est le progrès de la navigation et les conquêtes de la technique qui poussèrent vers de lointains continents les peuples qui détenaient ces connaissances. La découverte de l'Amérique ouvrit de nouveaux horizons au colonialisme. A mesure que les communications interocéaniques devenaient possibles, les Européens, maîtres des techniques, se répandirent en Amérique, puis en Asie, et enfin en Afrique et en d'autres régions.

123. Ce n'est pas ici qu'il faut décrire le lent processus qui a abouti au colonialisme moderne. Cependant, au fur et à mesure que les connaissances techniques se répandaient dans le monde et que de nouveaux peuples entraient dans l'histoire, le mouvement commença à suivre — paradoxalement — une courbe descendante, si bien que depuis quelques années nous assistons à sa liquidation presque totale.

124. Maintenant, plus de 100 ans après nous être rendus indépendants de la mère patrie, nous en sommes arrivés à comprendre que tout n'était pas mauvais dans la colonie, que nous avons reçu de l'Espagne d'immenses richesses spirituelles qui constituent notre héritage culturel et raffermissent nos âmes en face des vicissitudes de la vie. Aujourd'hui, de nouveaux pays s'éveillent à l'indépendance et devront se convaincre que l'hostilité et la rancœur doivent faire place à la compréhension et à une saine coopération qui n'implique en aucune façon ni l'asservissement ni une forme quelconque d'exploitation déguisée. Le chemin à suivre est rude et plein de difficultés.

125. La liquidation du colonialisme, qui s'était timidement amorcée après la première guerre mondiale lorsque la Société des Nations institua le système des mandats pour l'administration des colonies des puissances vaincues, s'accéléra sensiblement quand fut promulguée la Charte des Nations Unies, qui prévoyait d'une part le droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes et d'autre part fixait le régime de tutelle applicable aux anciens territoires sous mandat, aux territoires pris aux Etats ex-ennemis de la seconde guerre mondiale et aux territoires volontairement placés sous régime de tutelle par les Etats responsables de leur administration. Les dispositions régissant ce système de tutelle énoncent clairement la nécessité de favoriser le progrès politique, économique et culturel des populations qui y sont soumises, afin que progressivement elles puissent arriver à se gouverner elles-mêmes, compte tenu des conditions particulières à chaque territoire et des aspirations librement exprimées par les populations intéressées. La Charte contient également un chapitre spécial relatif aux territoires non autonomes. Certes, les dispositions de la Charte applicables à ces territoires étaient plus

restreintes; on ne pouvait s'attendre qu'il en fût autrement, étant donné les importants intérêts politiques et économiques que possédaient les puissances colonisatrices. Cependant, c'était déjà le commencement de la fin. En acceptant la mission sacrée d'administrer ces territoires, ces puissances s'engagèrent à transmettre des renseignements à leur sujet; elles déclarèrent formellement que les intérêts des habitants autochtones l'emportaient sur tous les autres, et qu'enfin il leur appartenait d'aider les populations de ces territoires à se gouverner elles-mêmes et d'encourager leurs aspirations politiques.

126. Ces dispositions pleines de sagesse ont indiscutablement conduit à des résultats encourageants. Certes, on aurait pu, en cette occasion, régler d'un trait de plume le sort de tous les territoires non autonomes, mais les conditions politiques ne s'y prêtaient pas vraiment, outre que ce n'est pas d'un seul coup que l'on arrive à prendre des décisions de cette importance; les pays colonisateurs marquent en effet une grande répugnance à renoncer à leurs privilèges. Voilà pourquoi les luttes pour l'indépendance ont toujours un caractère dramatique, le dénouement n'intervenant le plus souvent qu'après des combats cruels.

127. Il nous faut donc nous réjouir que le processus de liquidation se soit déroulé dans l'ensemble de façon pacifique au cours de ces dernières années, et ceci grâce à l'esprit qui régnait à la Conférence de San Francisco, et qu'il touche maintenant à son terme.

128. Mon pays a tiré une grande satisfaction et un légitime orgueil d'avoir été membre du Conseil de tutelle et du Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes. Il croit avoir accompli, en cette occasion, un grand devoir d'humanité par le labeur et la vigilance dont il a fait preuve en faveur du développement des peuples soumis à ces régimes et en faveur de leur indépendance. Nous avons poursuivi cette œuvre au sein de la présente assemblée.

129. C'est ainsi que ma délégation a vu avec la plus profonde satisfaction admettre au sein de l'Organisation de nombreux nouveaux Etats qui étaient d'anciennes colonies ou d'anciens territoires sous tutelle. Le signe le plus sûr de ce processus de décolonisation est l'augmentation du nombre des Etats Membres: de 51 qu'ils étaient il y a 15 ans, au début de l'existence de l'ONU, ils sont aujourd'hui une centaine; autrement dit ils sont deux fois plus nombreux. Si nous prenions une carte du monde datant de la fin de la dernière guerre, où les anciennes possessions coloniales étaient teintées de diverses couleurs, et si nous la comparions à une carte qui tiendrait compte des derniers changements, nous verrions combien les perspectives sont encourageantes et combien nous sommes déjà en droit de parler de vestiges du colonialisme.

130. C'est pourquoi ma délégation estime que la liquidation du colonialisme, qui peut être très prochainement un fait accompli, ne devrait pas être utilisée comme un moyen démagogique au service de la guerre froide. Le problème doit au contraire être traité avec le sérieux et le bon sens qu'exige l'époque actuelle. Il faut avant tout éviter que les pays qui sont à la veille d'accéder à l'indépendance ne deviennent l'enjeu même de cette guerre froide, et ne soient transformés en pions sur l'échiquier de ce jeu dangereux, n'ayant d'indépendance que par l'étiquette, mais demeurant assujettis à une domination qui serait pire que celle de l'ancien régime colonial.

131. Nous ne devons pas passer sous silence l'effort louable des pays devenus récemment indépendants en faveur de l'abolition totale du colonialisme. C'est cette même semence qui germa en Amérique au moment où commença la lutte pour l'indépendance, et qui par la suite se propagea sur tout le continent. C'est ce même effort que déployèrent les peuples latino-américains dans les premières années de l'ONU en faveur de l'indépendance des peuples asiatiques et africains, et qu'ils reprennent maintenant pour en finir une fois pour toutes avec le colonialisme.

132. L'esprit qui régnait à notre fameux congrès américain de 1826, réuni sur l'initiative du libérateur Simón Bolívar, est aussi celui qui s'est manifesté au cours des réunions de Bandoung, d'Accra et d'Addis-Abéba, réunions qui sont si chères au cœur des pays asiatiques et africains.

133. Nous avons entendu ces peuples revendiquer la liquidation du colonialisme sur leur continent; mais, dans cette même Amérique libre, il reste aussi des vestiges de colonialisme, qui sont l'héritage d'autres époques et qu'il nous faut liquider. Dans les Antilles, dans les Guyanes, dans la partie du territoire du Guatemala indûment occupée par la Grande-Bretagne, à savoir notre territoire de Belize, le colonialisme paraît encore solidement installé. A ce propos, nous avons été encouragés par la déclaration du représentant du Royaume-Uni qui, dans ce débat [925ème séance], a déclaré que son pays partageait entièrement les sentiments et les objectifs des peuples africano-asiatiques visant l'octroi de l'indépendance aux peuples qui n'en jouissent pas encore. Ces sentiments sont aussi les nôtres; souhaitons donc que le Royaume-Uni, faisant honneur à sa parole, se décide à mettre un terme au différend séculaire qui le sépare du Guatemala à propos de notre territoire de Belize, et respecte ainsi l'intégrité territoriale d'un pays qui, en raison de sa faiblesse et de ses maigres ressources, n'a d'autre arme que la justesse de sa cause.

134. Je ne voudrais pas importuner l'Assemblée en m'étendant longuement sur un aspect particulier du colonialisme; aussi m'abstiendrai-je de traiter le fond du sujet. Je veux cependant déclarer que, conformément à l'article premier (numérotage provisoire) de notre constitution, Belize fait partie de notre territoire national et qu'il est pour nous d'un intérêt vital de la ramener dans le territoire national.

135. Si le colonialisme ne peut se justifier en aucun point du globe, il est incompréhensible qu'il subsiste encore des vestiges de ce système odieux en Amérique, qui fut précisément le premier continent à conquérir son indépendance et qui a donné au monde la plus remarquable leçon d'autodétermination et de liberté. Après environ 150 ans d'indépendance, nous avons appris à aimer la liberté. En dépit de nos erreurs politiques, nous conservons jalousement l'héritage de nos libérateurs et nous avons contribué, par notre enthousiasme et par nos efforts, à la libération de beaucoup d'autres pays. Espérons donc que les revendications américaines seront entendues. Ce souffle de liberté, devenu aujourd'hui un vent puissant et universel, doit à nouveau atteindre l'Amérique, d'où il est parti, pour y balayer une fois pour toutes les vestiges du colonialisme. Nous ne doutons pas que les peuples d'Asie et d'Afrique ne répondent avec le même esprit de générosité dont nous avons nous-mêmes fait preuve en faveur de l'indépendance de ces pays lointains.

136. Mon pays est fermement convaincu que, pour donner leur plein effet aux dispositions de l'Article premier de la Charte des Nations Unies, qui a pour but essentiel de maintenir la paix et la sécurité internationales, il est nécessaire et opportun d'abolir le colonialisme. L'asservissement d'un peuple par un autre a toujours pour conséquence logique d'entretenir l'irritation entre l'opresseur et l'opprimé. Cette irritation se traduit par des luttes et des frictions, et parfois par des guerres cruelles et prolongées, laissant des séquelles de haine qu'il est très difficile d'effacer. Il ne pourra davantage y avoir de véritable coopération internationale fondée sur l'asservissement d'un peuple par un autre ou sur la violation de l'intégrité territoriale d'un pays. C'est pour ces raisons fondamentales que le colonialisme est anachronique; si on veut en effet respecter les buts et principes de la Charte, ces formes de domination ne sont en aucune façon admissibles. Le prétexte bien connu du retard des peuples colonisés est dépourvu de justification. Nous avons vu en effet comment des peuples que l'on considérait comme arriérés renaissent, se joignent au concert des nations et s'adaptent aux techniques modernes. La lutte contre la domination économique et politique et contre toute forme de discrimination raciale est un signe des temps. Rien ne pourra arrêter la marche des pays insuffisamment développés vers le progrès économique, politique et social.

137. Il n'est pas moins évident que le colonialisme est totalement incompatible avec une saine conception juridique et philosophique des droits de l'homme. Comment peut-on concilier ces prétextes fragiles sur lesquels se fonde le colonialisme avec les belles déclarations sur les droits de l'homme, qui ont été proclamées devant cette assemblée il y a 12 ans? Quelles philosophies, quelles conceptions juridiques peuvent s'opposer à un précepte qui n'est rien d'autre que la reconnaissance d'une vérité immanente, à savoir: les hommes naissent libres et égaux en droit et en dignité? La Déclaration universelle des droits de l'homme proclame que personne ne devra être soumis à l'esclavage, que personne ne pourra être mis en servitude. Or, sur quoi se fonde le colonialisme, si ce n'est sur l'esclavage et la servitude? C'est pourquoi, en condamnant toutes les formes de colonialisme, ma délégation condamne également toutes ses formes camouflées, qui sont des formes d'assujettissement collectif imposé à des pays qui ont été indépendants et qu'on ne peut même pas accuser d'avoir été mal préparés à la vie libre, à des pays où le respect de la dignité et de la liberté de la personne individuelle et de ses grandes valeurs spirituelles a cessé d'exister. C'est pourquoi nous avons été surpris de voir l'Union soviétique proposer l'inscription à l'ordre du jour de la question de l'abolition du colonialisme, alors qu'elle s'oppose obstinément aux aspirations des peuples opprimés par le néo-colonialisme moscovite.

138. Ainsi, c'est avec le sentiment d'accomplir un devoir et sans intention démagogique ni récriminations stériles que nous voulons contribuer à cet effort en faveur de la liberté. Ma délégation se réjouit de penser que, dans un proche avenir, nombre de nouveaux pays pourront siéger au sein de l'Organisation après avoir acquis leur indépendance pleine et entière, réalisant ainsi l'idéal universaliste qui anime l'Organisation et qui permettra à l'humanité de trouver son unité dans la liberté. Aujourd'hui en effet, grâce aux découvertes prodigieuses de la technique, l'homme doit faire un choix entre sa propre destruction et la découverte de

mondes nouveaux; que ce soit là un signe montrant que l'homme saura choisir la voie de la raison et de la justice.

139. Nous avons pris connaissance avec satisfaction du projet de résolution A/L.323 et Add.1 à 5 parrainé par de nombreux pays, d'Afrique et d'Asie en particulier, et qui réunit un grand nombre des postulats qui conduiront à l'abolition du colonialisme. Il nous est donc agréable de déclarer que nous considérons ce projet de résolution comme constructif et, dans l'ensemble, conforme à notre point de vue. De même, nous avons favorablement accueilli le projet de résolution présenté hier par la délégation du Honduras [A/L.324], qui proclame l'abolition du colonialisme et prévoit la création d'une commission chargée de visiter les territoires non encore indépendants et de faire des recommandations lors de la prochaine Assemblée générale sur la façon la plus rapide et la plus efficace de mettre fin au colonialisme. Nous étudierons avec la plus grande attention ces projets de résolution et nous réservons le droit d'intervenir à nouveau lorsqu'ils viendront en discussion.

M. Boland (Irlande), reprend la présidence.

140. M. BENITES VINUEZA (Equateur) [traduit de l'espagnol]: Les représentants de 99 Etats se trouvant réunis ici, on pourrait dire que notre assemblée est bien celle de l'humanité, et c'est d'ailleurs ainsi qu'on l'a appelée. Nous sommes les représentants des populations des Nations Unies, comme le proclame la Charte, c'est-à-dire des peuples du monde entier. Pourtant, nous constatons ici une absence qui équivaut à une présence, une présence accusatrice. Je veux parler de l'absence de ceux qui subissent le joug colonial, des peuples de la terre qui sont asservis.

141. Cette absence constitue une accusation très grave pour notre conscience d'hommes libres, car elle nous place devant un dilemme inéluctable: ou bien ces peuples ne sont pas présents ici parce qu'on ne leur a pas donné la liberté qu'ils méritent; ou bien ils ne le sont pas parce qu'il existe dans le monde des territoires où le développement culturel ne permet pas encore à leurs populations de se gouverner elles-mêmes. D'une façon ou de l'autre, leur absence signifie que nous acceptons cette injustice évidente.

142. Bien que j'aie entendu le représentant d'une grande puissance déclarer qu'il écouterait avec respect et avec attention tout ce que diraient — sur le problème colonial — les pays d'Asie et d'Afrique, je pense que — sur ce point — les pays d'Amérique latine ont eux aussi leur mot à dire. Le représentant auquel je fais allusion sait assurément combien la Grande-Bretagne a apporté de secours en hommes et en argent aux pays de l'Amérique latine, il y a plus d'un siècle, pour leur émancipation politique; il saura également reconnaître qu'il existe encore en Amérique des territoires dépendants et que plus d'un Etat formule des revendications territoriales. Je ne pense pas, cependant, qu'il faille invoquer des titres particuliers pour mettre le système colonial en accusation.

143. La nation que je représente a vécu pendant trois siècles sous une domination étrangère qui, bien que spécifiquement féodale, est communément appelée coloniale. Pour s'émanciper, mon pays dut soutenir une lutte sanglante qui dura 20 ans. Cette lutte représenta d'immenses sacrifices, notamment d'ordre économique, qui par la suite pesèrent lourdement sur son développement. Nous ne voulons pas que les peuples

qui s'efforcent d'obtenir leur liberté soient obligés de faire couler le sang, d'accepter des sacrifices, de compromettre, à longue échéance, leur avenir. Nous ne leur souhaitons pas de connaître à leur tour notre douloureuse expérience. Et c'est là un motif valable pour parler de cette tribune.

144. Je sens, en le faisant, peser sur moi une lourde responsabilité. En effet, le sujet que nous traitons, c'est celui de la douleur de l'homme; c'est quelque chose de simple et profond à la fois qu'expriment ces deux mots, il n'existe rien de plus sacré. C'est pourquoi ma délégation ne peut accepter que l'on fasse de cette question un thème de propagande ou un déplorable instrument de guerre froide. Nous n'admettons pas que l'on essaie de le transformer en un exercice de dialectique colonialiste; mais nous n'admettons pas davantage qu'il serve de tréteau aux camelots de la démocratie qui vendent, aux quatre coins du monde, des recettes de bonheur collectif.

145. Je dois, en premier lieu, exprimer, au nom du Gouvernement de l'Equateur, la profonde sympathie que nous éprouvons à l'égard des peuples opprimés par le régime colonial. Le colonialisme est, d'une façon générale, une forme de racisme; c'en est une, historiquement, et l'Etat que je représente, qui est fondé sur une société multiraciale, a connu le statut colonial. La société équatorienne autochtone, qui a subi le colonialisme des Incas pendant deux générations et qui a fini par secouer ce joug écrasant, était une société multiraciale. L'Espagne, qui nous domina trois siècles durant, était également multiraciale: elle était tout à la fois celtique, ibérique, grecque, phénicienne, romaine, gothique, hébraïque et enfin glorieusement arabe. Les Africains que la rapacité des hommes blancs entassa dans les bateaux des négriers étaient, eux aussi, les représentants de races multiples. Nous savons donc — depuis un passé qui remonte à la période préhispanique — ce que signifie la domination coloniale, et, après un siècle de régime républicain, nous savons de quel poids elle pèse sur notre passé.

146. J'ai hésité cependant à qualifier de colonisation la domination qu'a exercée l'Espagne pendant trois siècles en Amérique et, par conséquent, sur mon pays. Le phénomène de l'expansion espagnole outre-mer est en effet un phénomène original et unique au monde. Il ne ressembla pas à ce que firent les Phéniciens en établissant sur les ports de la Méditerranée une multitude de colonies à caractère commercial, ni aux villes-Etats bâties par la Grèce, centres d'une admirable culture cependant fondée sur un système de production esclavagiste. On ne peut pas davantage le comparer à la domination romaine, chef-d'œuvre d'une organisation juridique visant à l'exploitation par l'impôt. L'Espagne, quant à elle, a ardemment désiré créer une Amérique à son image. Elle a recherché l'âme de l'autochtone — objet même de son œuvre colonisatrice — pour la sauver et la faire entrer, conformément à sa conception chrétienne, dans le royaume de Dieu. La tendresse que l'Espagne a montrée à l'égard de ce nouvel être, appelé ingénuement et par erreur indien, fit que des juristes comme Suárez et Vitoria — avant Grotius — fondèrent le droit international sur le respect de la dignité de la personne humaine et sur la négation du droit de conquête. Ce fut cet élan qui fit créer par les juristes espagnols le code le plus humain qui ait jamais été établi par un peuple colonisateur: je veux parler des Leyes de Indias (Lois des Indes). L'Espagne n'a pas dressé de barrières entre les races, mais bien au contraire s'est

unie à celles-ci pour produire notre société hétérogène actuelle. Qu'il y ait eu des injustices, c'est un fait certain; que des atrocités aient été commises, on ne peut le nier; mais, s'il y eut une domination inexorable, ce fut sans la responsabilité et contre la volonté de la métropole, qui ne cessa de considérer les pays d'Amérique comme des provinces d'outre-mer.

147. Le colonialisme, tel que nous le voyons dans le monde moderne, est fondé sur des principes opposés à ceux dont l'Espagne s'est toujours réclamée. Il se fonde, en premier lieu, sur l'hypothèse de l'inégalité humaine qui est à la base de l'exploitation de la terre. On retrouve dans sa doctrine, ou tout au moins dans ses fondements historiques, un racisme latent. Les hommes, à l'époque des premières découvertes, croyaient qu'en arrivant à l'Equateur leur peau deviendrait noire, comme celle des habitants de l'Afrique. Cette crainte de se transformer en noirs se transmet dans le subconscient des descendants de ces chasseurs d'esclaves qui — de toute évidence — ne furent jamais des Espagnols. Je ne voudrais tirer aucune conclusion désagréable, ni citer d'exemples concrets; mais tel est certainement l'état d'esprit des racistes d'aujourd'hui qui, dans les villes, dans les quartiers des villes, dans les services publics, dressent des barrières entre les blancs et les noirs.

148. Le racisme et le colonialisme sont inséparablement unis dès l'origine. A son origine, il y a la recherche des pays tropicaux producteurs d'épices. Pour trouver ces épices, les Portugais se lancèrent dans le mare tenebrum, doublèrent le cap de Bonne-Espérance, découvrirent Madagascar et atteignirent les Indes, alors que d'autres navigateurs, s'écartant de cette route, atteignirent les côtes du Brésil, appelées côtes du bois. Pour trouver les Indes, pays producteur d'épices, les navigateurs espagnols prirent la direction encore mystérieuse de l'Atlantique ouest; les pilotes espagnols Vicente Yáñez et Martín Alonso Pinzón, engagés par Christophe Colomb, découvrirent l'Amérique. La découverte des pays tropicaux créa, à son tour, des besoins nouveaux et fut à l'origine du commerce le plus inhumain: le trafic d'hommes. Le noir devint une marchandise; on alla le chasser sur les côtes d'Afrique, comme s'il se fût agi de bêtes sauvages. La doctrine esclavagiste fit son apparition pour justifier cette chasse atroce et l'esclavage devint ainsi le frère jumeau du colonialisme, qui n'est rien d'autre que la forme collective de l'esclavage. Telle est la genèse du colonialisme classique.

149. Les besoins de l'économie donnèrent une impulsion nouvelle à son développement et le peuplement des mondes lointains poussa à la capitalisation des entreprises industrielles. Les capitaux privés, qui s'étaient groupés pour servir aux grandes découvertes, ne suffirent plus. Alors apparut ce qui allait être l'outil par excellence du capitalisme moderne: la société par actions à responsabilité limitée. Il est intéressant de noter que la première de ces sociétés fut une entreprise coloniale, la Compagnie hollandaise des Indes. Le système colonial transforma l'économie des sociétés, éleva le mercantilisme au rang d'une doctrine d'Etat, et, à son tour, le mercantilisme développa le colonialisme. La lutte pour les marchés provoqua d'inévitables tensions internationales. Lorsqu'il ne fut plus possible de négocier les colonies comme des marchandises, on déclencha des guerres de conquête, ou on assista à de violentes luttes diplomatiques. Nous savons tous quelle a été l'histoire de

l'Europe du XVIIème au XIXème siècle, et il est inutile d'en parler à nouveau.

150. C'est ainsi que le colonialisme revêtit ce que l'on appelle son aspect classique, celui que nous voulons liquider. Depuis lors, le colonialisme a pris son plein essor et est devenu un mode d'exploitation des pays sous-développés, capables de produire, grâce à une main-d'œuvre presque réduite à l'esclavage, des matières premières à bon marché, et capables aussi d'absorber les excédents industriels à des prix élevés. Cette forme de colonialisme fut la cause de luttes et de guerres. En effet, les Etats qui arrivèrent trop tard dans un monde partagé exigèrent leur part. C'est ainsi que presque toutes les guerres que cette période de l'histoire a connues — y compris la première guerre mondiale — ont eu pour origine la lutte pour les marchés coloniaux ou semi-coloniaux. Il n'est pas étonnant que, lors de la première tentative d'organisation mondiale née après la Grande Guerre, le système colonialiste ait été maintenu.

151. Je vous prie d'excuser cette digression historique. Je puis cependant vous assurer qu'il ne s'agissait pas là d'un exercice théorique. Au début de cette discussion, nous avons entendu distinguer — et avec raison — le colonialisme classique et le néo-colonialisme. Il était nécessaire en effet de jeter un coup d'œil rétrospectif sur ce colonialisme classique pour en expliquer la force et la persistance. J'en arrive maintenant à ce qui constitue la raison d'être de sa prochaine liquidation.

152. Ma délégation tient à demeurer parfaitement objective et à retrouver le fil d'Ariane qui pourra nous diriger dans le labyrinthe des opinions. C'est pourquoi je commencerai par examiner ce que stipule la Charte des Nations Unies sur ce point. Il convient de noter que la Charte, à la différence du Pacte de la Société des Nations, a complètement supprimé toute reconnaissance du régime colonial. Il était logique qu'il en fût ainsi, car la Charte énonce dans son préambule un ensemble de principes touchant l'égalité des hommes et les droits des peuples qui est incompatible avec la servitude coloniale. Mais, s'inclinant devant des réalités inéluctables, la Charte a créé un régime de tutelle des anciennes colonies qui est défini dans les Chapitres XI et XII.

153. Qu'il me soit permis de signaler qu'il n'existe pas de différences, quant au fond, entre ces deux chapitres. En réalité, les territoires non autonomes et les territoires sous tutelle sont les uns et les autres placés sous un régime juridique semblable; des dispositions analogues réglementent les rapports entre les territoires dépendants et la puissance administrante. Les différences qui apparaissent entre les deux chapitres ne correspondent qu'à des nécessités pratiques.

154. En effet, dans un cas comme dans l'autre, c'est l'Organisation qui confère le pouvoir d'administrer: L'Article 73 de la Charte stipule qu'en ce qui concerne les territoires non autonomes, l'acceptation de l'administration par la puissance administrante est une "mission sacrée", et les puissances intéressées sont tenues de se conformer aux modalités que prévoit la Charte.

55. L'article 75 de la Charte stipule nettement que: "L'Organisation des Nations Unies établira, sous son autorité, un régime international de tutelle pour l'administration et la surveillance des territoires qui

pourront être placés sous ce régime ..." Dans un cas comme dans l'autre, la Charte prévoit que c'est l'Organisation qui exerce les fonctions de mandant, et la puissance administrante qui accepte celles de mandataire, créant ainsi un lien qui doit être soumis à ce rapport juridique.

156. Le rapport de mandant à mandataire que stipule la Charte entre l'Organisation et la puissance administrante crée un ensemble de liens juridiques. De même que, en matière civile, l'administrateur n'a pas l'exercice du droit de propriété sur les biens qu'il administre, de même — en droit international public — la Puissance administrante n'a pas l'exercice de la souveraineté sur les territoires placés sous son mandat. Elle ne possède sur eux ni droit de propriété, ni droit de souveraineté. La souveraineté implique la possession d'un ensemble de droits qui est incompatible avec le simple exercice des pouvoirs d'administration. La souveraineté, dans ce cas, est suspendue jusqu'à la réalisation d'une condition, qui est l'existence d'un gouvernement autonome. La souveraineté appartient au peuple dont le territoire est sous administration, même s'il n'en a pas l'exercice, tout comme les biens du pupille appartiennent à ce dernier, bien qu'il ne puisse exercer sur eux la plénitude de ses droits. La situation juridique des pays dépendants est celle d'Etats incomplets qui, des trois éléments constitutifs de l'Etat moderne, n'en détiennent que deux, à savoir la population et le territoire, et à qui il manque encore le troisième, c'est-à-dire l'indépendance politique.

157. Il est évident que la réalisation de cette condition ne doit pas être laissée à l'arbitraire de la puissance administrante; bien au contraire, c'est une obligation impérative que celle de conduire les peuples vers leur indépendance politique, cette obligation incombe à l'Etat administrateur, et l'Organisation — en tant que mandant — a la faculté d'exiger quelle soit remplie, sans qu'il soit possible d'invoquer l'exception prévue au paragraphe 7 de l'Article 2, puisque les puissances administrantes, en acceptant les mandats réglementés par la Charte, traité multilatéral, se sont volontairement placées sous la juridiction internationale.

158. Il y a sept ans, en 1953, j'ai eu l'honneur d'exposer cette interprétation des Chapitres XI et XII de la Charte devant la Quatrième Commission, au nom de la délégation de l'Equateur^{1/}. Nous avons — et nous avons encore maintenant — le ferme espoir de voir se résoudre les problèmes du colonialisme par des moyens juridiques et en interprétant correctement les principes énoncés dans la Charte. Nombre de pays aujourd'hui souverains, dont les représentants honorent cette assemblée, étaient alors pétitionnaires. Nous avons écouté certains de ces représentants et leur seule présence parmi nous démontre clairement le déclin du colonialisme.

159. Nous devons reconnaître que la présence dans cette salle des représentants de territoires qui, à cette époque, étaient des territoires dépendants et qui, aujourd'hui, sont des Etats souverains est due — dans une large mesure — à leur courage, à leur constance, à leur esprit combatif et lucide, à leur amour de la liberté, à la ténacité dont ils ont fait preuve pour revendiquer leur indépendance. Une fois de plus, nous leur rendons hommage. Mais nous ne pouvons cependant pas

ignorer que cette émancipation est due à l'influence des principes de la Charte, d'une part, et, d'autre part, à la compréhension de nombreuses puissances administrantes qui ont mené à bien leur tâche et les ont conduits à l'autonomie. La sagesse des représentants de ces anciennes colonies qui sont aujourd'hui des Etats indépendants démontre éloquemment que leurs anciens administrateurs se sont montrés soucieux de leur assurer, conformément aux dispositions de la Charte, un développement culturel bien équilibré.

160. Ma délégation trouve dans ces faits de nouveaux motifs d'avoir foi en la solution juridique des problèmes coloniaux au sein de notre organisation. Cette dernière est le mandant, et il entre dans les attributions du mandant de mettre fin à un mandat si la condition n'est pas observée ou si sa réalisation est retardée. De même, nous croyons que chaque cas doit être examiné en tenant compte des circonstances qui lui sont particulières, apprécié en tenant compte des antécédents, et après en avoir mesuré toutes les conséquences. L'émancipation en masse, pas plus que la condamnation en masse, ne semble être une bonne méthode.

161. Jusqu'à maintenant, je n'ai parlé que de ce que l'on appelle le colonialisme classique; nous ne pouvons cependant pas ne pas signaler que le colonialisme, à l'instar du Protée du mythe grec, est un phénomène multiforme, susceptible de mimétisme. Il existe des formes de néo-colonialisme, cela est certain, et il convient de les tuer dans l'œuf.

162. Je n'insisterai pas sur une nouvelle forme de colonialisme politique et économique, dans laquelle on laisse aux peuples asservis un semblant d'autonomie, jalousement surveillé par des forces armées promptes à étouffer dans le sang toute tentative de rébellion. Je ne parlerai pas davantage des pays qui vivent sous des régimes à parti unique et exclusif. Je ne mentionnerai pas non plus ces nouveaux "mitimées", vieux mot de la langue quechua qui désignait les populations transportées en masse pour le travail aux colonies sous le régime d'impérialisme totalitaire des Incas. On procédait alors à des lavages de cerveaux, pour justifier en quelque sorte ce que disait Salomon dans l'Ecclésiaste, à savoir qu'il n'y a rien de nouveau sous le soleil.

163. Ma délégation estime que, pour combattre ce néo-colonialisme de gauche et de droite, la Charte offre des moyens que l'Organisation doit développer et perfectionner. Ces moyens et ces méthodes ont trait au renforcement du principe de l'autodétermination des peuples. Tout ce qui tendrait à en assurer et en garantir l'exercice, tout ce qui contribuerait à sa mise en vigueur, contrariera le développement de ce néo-colonialisme. Mais ce principe doit être largement exercé, sans discrimination, sans accepter d'arguments fondés sur des sophismes et des exclusives, qu'ils soient le fait du colonialisme classique ou du néo-colonialisme, qu'ils viennent de gauche ou de droite.

164. Il y a enfin une forme de colonialisme insidieux contre lequel il faut être prévenu. Je veux parler de ce que l'on appelle le semi-colonialisme économique, qui s'est efforcé de maintenir dans un pays donné un état de sous-développement de manière à conserver des points de ravitaillement en matières premières à bas prix et des débouchés pour leur produits finis qui se vendent cher. Il convient donc, sur ce point,

^{1/} Voir Documents officiels de l'Assemblée générale, huitième session, Quatrième Commission, 325ème et 344ème séances.

d'accroître la coopération internationale dans le cadre de l'aide économique.

165. J'en viens maintenant, sans m'y attarder, au projet de résolution distribué sous la cote A/L.323 et Add.1 à 5. L'esprit généreux qui l'anime, la sagacité avec laquelle on a su présenter le problème, les nobles sentiments d'humanité qui l'inspirent méritent que nous lui rendions hommage; ce texte, en effet, entend être une déclaration des droits des peuples coloniaux qui complète la Déclaration universelle des droits de l'homme.

166. S'il me faut juger ce document en conformité de la thèse que ma délégation vient d'exposer, j'y relèverai certaines discordances. Je ne m'étendrai pas sur les différences de caractère purement doctrinal — comme celle qui se trouve énoncée au cinquième alinéa du préambule, et qui traite du rôle de l'ONU en tant que moyen d'encourager les mouvements en faveur de l'indépendance des territoires non autonomes et des territoires sous tutelle. Il semblerait que ce paragraphe attribue à l'Organisation un rôle officiel de médiateur dans les affaires coloniales, en faisant l'intermédiaire entre les territoires dépendants et les puissances administrantes. Ma délégation a déjà soutenu que le rapport juridique qui existe entre l'Organisation et la puissance administrante est celui de mandant à mandataire.

167. Dans le dispositif du projet, qui revêt la forme d'une déclaration de principes, ma délégation éprouve certaines appréhensions à l'égard du paragraphe 3. Ces doutes sont à la fois d'ordre juridique et d'ordre pratique. Ma délégation estime en effet que la condition indispensable à l'obtention de l'indépendance politique consiste à amener les peuples dépendants à un développement culturel, social et économique dont le niveau devra être apprécié pour chaque cas particulier en tenant compte des circonstances. Le paragraphe 3 du dispositif semble viser une émancipation en masse, même là où les conditions de développement nécessaires à l'octroi de l'indépendance politique n'auraient pas été remplies. Les difficultés pratiques que connaîtrait un nouveau pays indépendant où ne régnerait pas le climat social, économique et culturel souhaitable seraient, en vérité, très graves.

168. Ma délégation éprouve également des doutes quant à l'utilité du paragraphe 4 du dispositif, non pas à cause des principes qui y sont exprimés, mais parce qu'il semble constituer une redite.

169. Malgré ces observations, ma délégation se plaît à féliciter les auteurs du projet, mais se réserve le droit d'exprimer plus tard à son sujet une appréciation définitive et un jugement décisif. Elle tient cependant à marquer son adhésion inconditionnelle à deux principes fondamentaux contenus dans la déclaration: le droit à l'autodétermination, en tant que fondement de l'indépendance des Etats, et la condamnation de toute tentative visant à saper, totalement ou partiellement, l'unité nationale ou l'intégrité territoriale d'un pays.

170. La libre détermination est la prémisse indispensable à toute considération de la personne humaine, individuelle ou collective, en tant qu'objet de la morale et de la science politique. Elle constitue, par là même, le fondement de l'existence de la démocratie. Le déterminisme, qui est la négation philosophique de la libre détermination, conduit les individus à l'automatisme et les peuples à l'esclavage. Tout ce qui, par

conséquent, pourra contribuer à renforcer le principe du libre choix et en garantir l'exercice recevra l'appui chaleureux de ma délégation.

171. De même, nous condamnons toute tentative visant à porter atteinte à l'intégrité territoriale d'un pays, comme étant contraire aux principes de la Charte, aux fondements du droit et à la notion de coexistence pacifique. Faire des guerres de conquête, imposer par la force des traités qui démembreront le patrimoine territorial d'un Etat, occuper militairement des pays pour résoudre des différends juridiques pouvant surgir entre les peuples, tel est l'héritage malheureusement toujours présent de la mentalité colonialiste la plus arriérée.

172. Je rappellerai avec une certaine fierté qu'au cours de l'évolution juridique du continent américain, ce principe de la libre détermination se trouve consacré dans des documents internationaux comme fondement de la coexistence pacifique des Etats au sein de la communauté internationale. La doctrine de droit international *uti possidetis juris* est née en même temps que notre indépendance; notre libérateur, Simón Bolívar, voulut en effet en faire la base de l'existence des Etats. Les nationalités se sont constituées territorialement en se fondant sur ce principe, qui a constamment été respecté tout au long de notre évolution juridique. Le droit international américain, au cours de toute son histoire, a condamné le démembrement des territoires d'un Etat, à la suite d'audacieuses aventures militaires ou de guerres victorieuses. Nous ne pouvons permettre que résonne, dans un monde civilisé, le *vae victis* des anciens barbares.

173. C'est pourquoi nous appuyons avec enthousiasme la consécration de ce principe dans le projet de résolution.

174. Je dois parler du projet présenté par le Honduras [A/L.324], qui a déployé un remarquable effort en vue de trouver une solution à ce problème du colonialisme. La commission proposée se livrerait à des études détaillées et consciencieuses sur le terrain, et par là créerait les conditions d'un jugement objectif sur la situation, même si elle ne pouvait y porter remède par ses propres moyens. Ma délégation ne peut cependant donner son appui à ce projet de résolution, car il présente l'inconvénient technique de se référer à propos des colonies à un concept qui, juridiquement, n'est pas contenu dans la Charte. Il conviendrait donc de préciser si l'on fait uniquement allusion aux territoires non autonomes et aux territoires sous tutelle, ou si l'on veut également y inclure ces territoires d'outre-mer que certains Etats considèrent comme faisant partie du territoire métropolitain. Nous considérons, par conséquent, que les termes employés sont un peu vagues.

175. En matière de liquidation du colonialisme, je pense que, si nous sommes sur la bonne voie, nous n'avons pas atteint notre but. L'objectif est encore loin, le chemin hérissé de difficultés. Pour arriver à ce but, on peut avoir recours à cette étude qui nous est proposée; mais il y aurait une autre possibilité: celle d'étudier la façon dont l'ONU pourrait exiger la réalisation des mesures tendant à développer l'autonomie lorsque les puissances administrantes n'exécutent pas leurs obligations. Faute de quoi nous nous trouverions dans un cercle vicieux: on ne pourrait donner l'indépendance à certains pays parce que l'on considérerait

qu'ils ne remplissent pas les conditions nécessaires pour pouvoir s'administrer eux-mêmes, et on ne pourrait pas davantage exiger des puissances administrantes qu'elles réalisent ces conditions, par un effort constructif. Ce serait alors la fin de tout espoir et la consécration définitive d'une injustice.

176. Je vous prie à nouveau de m'excuser si j'ai parlé plus longuement que de coutume, mais il s'agissait d'une cause sacrée: celle des peuples opprimés. Nous ne leur souhaitons pas d'endurer les souffrances que nous avons connues pour obtenir notre indépendance. Nous voulons pour eux une indépendance qui soit fondée sur le principe de la libre détermination, une liberté qui soit accordée sans subterfuge et sans limitations. Nous nous sentons responsables de leurs espérances et nous ne pouvons accepter que le désespoir les conduise, par une réaction logique, du Charybde de l'Etat colonial au Scylla de l'Etat totalitaire. L'indépendance des peuples actuellement dépendants, fondée sur le principe de l'autodétermination, devra les mener, en toute liberté de décision, et sans qu'ils subissent de pressions ou soient l'objet de flatteries de toute sorte, à des formes originales de gouvernement. Telle est, selon ma délégation, la grande responsabilité qui incombe aux peuples des Nations Unies.

177. M. SUMULONG (Philippines) [traduit de l'anglais]: Comme le savent toutes les délégations, le point de l'ordre du jour intitulé "Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux" a été proposé, à l'origine, par le Gouvernement de l'Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques [A/4501] et approuvé à l'unanimité par l'Assemblée générale, aux fins d'insertion à l'ordre du jour de la présente session. Le 23 septembre 1960, le président Khrouchtchev a officiellement soumis le projet de déclaration figurant dans le document A/4502. Pendant le débat sur la recommandation de l'Assemblée générale visant à inscrire ce point à l'ordre du jour et à le renvoyer à la Première Commission, la délégation des Philippines a été parmi les premières à appuyer un amendement présenté par la délégation de l'Union soviétique [A/L.312/Rev.1] et tendant à mettre l'examen de la question au programme des séances plénières de l'Assemblée générale. Nous reconnaissons donc, avec le Gouvernement soviétique, que l'importance exceptionnelle de la question justifiait pleinement son examen en séance plénière. Nous avons précisé qu'à notre sens cette question avait une portée et une signification beaucoup plus vastes qu'il ne ressortait des termes du mémorandum explicatif et du projet de déclaration soumis par la délégation soviétique. C'est pourquoi nous nous sommes opposés à ce que l'Assemblée générale, en examinant cette question, fût liée par les termes tendancieux et restrictifs du projet de déclaration soviétique. Nous avons soutenu qu'une telle déclaration devait pouvoir s'appliquer à tous les pays et à tous les peuples restant soumis à une domination étrangère, quel que soit l'endroit où elle existe, qu'il s'agisse de victimes d'une domination impérialiste nouvelle ou ancienne, et aussi à toutes les formes, à toutes les manifestations possibles d'asservissement.

178. C'est dans ces conditions que la délégation des Philippines a participé, avec d'autres pays d'Asie et d'Afrique, à l'élaboration du projet de déclaration qui figure dans le document A/L.323 et Add.1 à 5. Conformément aux instructions reçues de son gouvernement, la délégation des Philippines s'est jointe aux auteurs de ce projet de déclaration, dont le nombre

s'est rapidement élevé, pour atteindre sauf erreur 42 pays.

179. L'intérêt profond que mon pays attache à cette question s'explique aisément. Notre expérience de la domination coloniale, qui s'est poursuivie sans interruption pendant près de quatre siècles, est certainement l'une des plus longues de l'histoire. Nous avons bu jusqu'à la lie la coupe amère de la domination étrangère. Mais nous nous souvenons également avec soulagement et gratitude que la République des Philippines a été le premier Etat indépendant à naître au cours de notre ère révolutionnaire, celle de l'ONU, qui sera marquée à jamais dans les annales de la civilisation humaine par l'accession à la liberté et à l'indépendance d'une quarantaine de pays en l'espace de 15 ans seulement.

180. Dans le discours qu'il a prononcé devant l'Assemblée générale, le 29 novembre 1960 [927ème séance], M. Shukairy, représentant de l'Arabie Saoudite, a bien voulu rappeler que les Philippines étaient le seul pays d'Asie à avoir lutté, à San Francisco, pour que l'indépendance soit mentionnée dans la Charte des Nations Unies en tant qu'objectif juste et légitime des peuples des territoires qui ne s'administrent pas eux-mêmes. A cette époque, les puissances coloniales n'avaient concédé que le principe selon lequel, dans ces territoires, "elles développeraient l'autonomie de ces populations" et "tiendraient dûment compte de leurs aspirations politiques". Ces pays ont essayé de nous convaincre que le concept général de l'autonomie englobait l'objectif de l'indépendance. De cette confusion sémantique est née l'une des anomalies ou, dirions-nous, des curiosités politiques de la Charte, car, alors que l'Article 76 indique clairement que l'autonomie ou l'indépendance constituent l'objectif recherché pour les populations de ces territoires, l'Article 73 oblige simplement les puissances administrantes à développer la capacité des populations des territoires qui ne sont pas autonomes à s'administrer elles-mêmes.

181. La délégation des Philippines pensait à la Conférence de San Francisco, et elle le pense encore aujourd'hui, que l'indépendance devait être l'objectif commun à tous les peuples des territoires dépendants, qu'il s'agît de territoires sous tutelle ou de territoires non autonomes. A San Francisco, l'assurance nous fut donnée qu'il en était bien ainsi, dans l'esprit sinon dans la lettre de la Charte. Nous avons succombé sous le nombre, à San Francisco, et nous avons perdu la bataille menée en faveur de ce mot unique, de ce mot capital. Mais l'indépendance n'était pas simplement un mot que l'on pouvait faire disparaître par un tour de passe-passe ou par des incantations. C'était un mot tellement imprégné de vie, si cher et si proche au cœur et à l'esprit de tant de millions d'hommes encore asservis, un mot si étroitement lié à la texture du présent et de l'avenir, aux objectifs et aux principes des Nations Unies, qu'il ne pouvait demeurer longtemps méconnu ou oublié.

182. La marche en avant de l'histoire ne pouvait être arrêtée par un artifice verbal, si ingénieux soit-il. C'est ainsi qu'aujourd'hui nous sommes sur le point d'adopter une "Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux", comme la suite et l'éclaircissement nécessaires de la Déclaration qui figure au Chapitre XI de la Charte et qui intéresse les territoires non autonomes.

183. Certains pourront se demander si cette nouvelle déclaration, en précisant le concept de l'indépendance,

ne constitue pas une révision de la Déclaration figurant actuellement dans la Charte. C'est là une préoccupation légitime, et il serait utile d'examiner cet aspect du problème. A cet égard, nous voudrions rappeler les assurances qui nous ont été données à San Francisco, selon lesquelles les termes d'autonomie et d'indépendance étaient pratiquement synonymes. C'est là une interprétation que le dictionnaire et les manuels de science politique tendent à confirmer.

184. En outre, l'Article 73, b, de la Charte fait obligation aux puissances coloniales de "tenir compte des aspirations politiques des populations", obligation que la plupart des puissances coloniales ont respectée pendant les 15 années qui nous séparent de la fin de la seconde guerre mondiale, en donnant satisfaction à l'aspiration politique suprême de toute population, c'est-à-dire l'indépendance, volontairement et avec empressement dans certains cas, à regret et sous l'empire de la nécessité dans d'autres.

185. Puisque près de 40 pays ont accédé à l'indépendance depuis la promulgation de la Charte, ce sont donc les puissances coloniales elles-mêmes qui ont délibérément interprété dans le sens le plus large l'Article 73 de la Charte. Ce sont elles qui ont osé porter la lettre de cette disposition de la Charte jusqu'à sa conclusion logique; la nouvelle déclaration que nous proposons ne fait que confirmer la sagesse dont ces puissances ont fait preuve, face à une nécessité historique inéluctable.

186. La délégation des Philippines s'en tient strictement aux termes de la déclaration proposée par 42 Etats d'Asie et d'Afrique [A/L.323 et Add.1 à 5]. Si on objectait que cette déclaration est infiniment plus énergique, dans sa lettre et dans son esprit, que la déclaration correspondante qui figure dans la Charte, nous répondrons que cette différence est due au nouveau visage de l'ONU et à l'ambiance radicalement différente dans laquelle elle fonctionne aujourd'hui. A San Francisco, les grandes puissances qui avaient gagné la guerre ont influencé et déterminé la forme et la nature de la Charte; on comprend leur désir de préserver, aussi longtemps que possible, ce qu'elles possédaient alors, et leur répugnance à consentir des sacrifices volontaires et des actes de renonciation. L'influence déterminante qu'elles ont exercée sur la Conférence de San Francisco se reflète donc dans la rédaction timide, mais non dépourvue de générosité, de l'Article 73.

187. Mais 15 ans se sont écoulés depuis lors, et depuis que la Charte a été rédigée le nombre des Membres de l'ONU a doublé à la suite de l'admission d'Etats nouvellement sortis de la domination coloniale. Lorsque ces nouveaux Etats parlent, comme ils le font aujourd'hui dans la déclaration qui nous est proposée, le monde doit être disposé à entendre une voix qui évoque avec énergie les injustices et les torts subis, et qui vibre de sympathie pour les peuples attendant encore leur libération.

188. Certaines appréhensions se sont exprimées au sujet du paragraphe 5 du projet de déclaration, qui se lit comme suit:

"5. Des mesures immédiates seront prises, dans les territoires sous tutelle, les territoires non autonomes et tous autres territoires qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance, pour transférer tous pouvoirs aux peuples de ces territoires, sans aucune condition ni réserve, conformément à leur volonté et

à leurs vœux librement exprimés, sans aucune distinction de race, de croyance ou de couleur, afin de leur permettre de jouir d'une indépendance et d'une liberté complètes."

189. A première vue, cette disposition pourrait paraître en contradiction avec la notion de progressivité qui est implicite dans l'Article 73 de la Charte et qui transparait dans les mots: "développement progressif de leurs libres institutions politiques, dans la mesure appropriée aux conditions particulières de chaque territoire et de ses populations et à leurs degrés variables de développement". Toutefois, il est clair que l'objet du paragraphe 5 de cette déclaration n'est pas le transfert immédiat de tous les pouvoirs aux populations de ces territoires, mais bien plutôt la prise de mesures immédiates aboutissant à un tel transfert de pouvoirs. Ce à quoi l'on entend porter remède, c'est à une politique délibérée de temporisation et d'entraves, qui ne se résout pas à lancer un peuple dépendant sur la voie menant à l'indépendance. Nous avons vu les résultats si tragiques de cette politique dans l'ancien Congo belge.

190. L'appui que nous donnons à ce paragraphe découle de l'expérience que nous avons vécue nous-mêmes en tant que territoire jadis dépendant des Etats-Unis. Lorsque les Etats-Unis eurent achevé la conquête de mon pays, au début de ce siècle, les dirigeants de mon peuple commencèrent une campagne de pétitions en faveur d'une liberté immédiate, complète et absolue, et ils demandèrent aux Etats-Unis des garanties répétées à cet égard. Le peuple et le gouvernement des Etats-Unis nous donnèrent les garanties que nous demandions et, bien que notre indépendance n'ait pas été reconnue aussitôt que nous présentâmes nos pétitions pour l'obtenir, il est encourageant de se rappeler qu'en raison des garanties ainsi obtenues il ne fit jamais de doute, dès le début, que des mesures seraient prises immédiatement pour nous rapprocher de l'indépendance.

191. En fait, à la date exacte qui nous avait été promise par les Etats-Unis, le 4 juillet 1946, l'indépendance des Philippines fut octroyée et reconnue, sans qu'il fût besoin de verser une seule goutte de sang.

192. Si l'ONU avait existé alors, mon pays aurait sûrement bénéficié de la pression morale exercée par l'Organisation et la période de préparation eût été beaucoup plus courte. Ce que le paragraphe 5 et, en fait, la déclaration signifient, c'est qu'il ne sera plus toléré de retard volontaire à l'octroi de l'indépendance, étant donné le rythme très accéléré de l'évolution du monde, les aspirations des peuples vers leur émancipation politique et économique, et le cours irréversible de l'histoire.

193. L'essentiel du projet de déclaration des 42 puissances [A/L.323 et Add.1 à 5] se trouve cependant dans les mots suivants:

"L'Assemblée générale,

"...

"Proclame solennellement la nécessité de mettre rapidement et inconditionnellement fin au colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations;

"Et, à cette fin,

"Déclare ce qui suit:

"1. La sujétion des peuples à une subjugation, à une domination et à une exploitation étrangère

constitue un déni des droits fondamentaux de l'homme, est contraire à la Charte des Nations Unies et compromet la cause de la paix et de la coopération mondiale."

194. Par ces affirmations directes, nous marquons clairement notre volonté de voir cette déclaration s'appliquer à tous les peuples subjugués, dans toutes les parties du monde, qu'ils soient devant ou derrière le rideau de fer ou de bambou, qu'ils soient dominés et exploités ouvertement ou secrètement par les méthodes de l'impérialisme classique ou par celles du néo-impérialisme.

195. Nous n'allons pas nous apitoyer sur le sort de l'ancien impérialisme colonial agonisant; en vérité, nous pouvons dire: plus tôt il mourra, mieux cela vaudra pour l'humanité. Mais nous n'entendons pas non plus souhaiter la bienvenue au nouvel impérialisme colonial qui se dresse pour prendre sa place. Nous estimons utile de prévenir les peuples contre ce nouveau colonialisme qui cherche à s'imposer par la force à des peuples faibles, ou par surprise à des pays sans méfiance. Une vigilance constante est notre seule arme contre la réapparition de l'ancien colonialisme agonisant, aussi bien que contre le nouveau colonialisme.

196. En adoptant le projet de déclaration africano-asiatique, nous prouverons que nous sommes capables de déceler les faux-semblants et l'hypocrisie. Nous proclamerons l'intégrité de notre jugement, que ni la pitié ni la flatterie n'influencent. Nous signifierons aux néo-impérialistes et aux crypto-impérialistes que nous ne sommes pas disposés à accepter leurs leçons sur la façon de gagner notre liberté et notre indépendance. S'ils persistaient dans leur tentative, nous serions obligés de leur dire: Ce que vous faites maintenant pour détruire la liberté des êtres humains et l'indépendance des peuples cause un tel vacarme que nous ne pouvons plus vous entendre.

197. M. PALAMARTCHOUK (République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine) [traduit du russe]: L'Assemblée générale examine une déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. Les immenses voûtes de cette salle ont semblé s'élargir encore quand a retenti cet appel passionné et bouleversant en faveur d'une suppression définitive du régime colonialiste, sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations. C'est pour la première fois depuis la fondation de notre organisation que les Nations Unies déclarent de façon si résolue leurs convictions, leurs intentions et leurs revendications concernant l'aide à apporter aux peuples encore opprimés des colonies, pour qu'ils obtiennent la liberté et l'indépendance. Les paroles sages et vibrantes de la déclaration proposée par l'Union soviétique [A/4502 et Corr.1], qui postule que "les peuples qui en oppriment d'autres ne peuvent être des peuples libres", devraient figurer en lettres d'or sur le granit du portail de l'Organisation des Nations Unies.

198. A cette tribune nous avons entendu, depuis plusieurs jours déjà, faire des exposés, tantôt irrités, tantôt fiers et pleins d'assurance, sur la rupture des chaînes colonialistes en Asie, sur le réveil grandiose de l'Afrique; nous avons appris que, maintenant, les phares de l'indépendance s'allument déjà sous le ciel bleu de l'Afrique; nous avons entendu parler de cet opprobre de notre siècle que sont les vestiges du système colonial subsistant encore sur le sol antique de l'Afrique et de l'Asie, sur les îles de l'Océanie

ou sur les rivages de la mer des Caraïbes, où le colonialisme sévit encore. Des hommes — 100 millions d'êtres humains — et leur sol natal portent encore le joug de la servitude colonialiste!

199. Le ton mesuré des représentants de l'Afrique et de l'Asie recèle une force puissante, celle de la lutte, dont la devise a toujours été: indépendance et liberté! Mais les perfides et rusés commis de l'impérialisme et les colonialistes eux-mêmes, pour cacher leur jeu de propos délibéré, entonnent toujours le même refrain à propos de la déclaration soviétique et de ses objectifs: "Prenez garde, disent-ils, cette déclaration soviétique est un appel à la rébellion."

200. C'est à croire que les incendies de la révolte populaire ne se sont jamais reflétés sur l'Asie. C'est à croire que cette lutte n'est pas l'expression naturelle d'une protestation contre l'oppression nationale et sociale, mais un certain article d'exportation, qui a pris la forme d'une "dangereuse" déclaration.

201. A quoi bon ces feintes? Quand on accable de chaînes des hommes ou des peuples, on allume dans leurs cœurs le feu sacré de la lutte — de la lutte et non de la résignation. C'est la lutte et non plus la soumission au mal affreux qu'est le colonialisme. C'est cette lutte qui fait justement s'écarter les frontières de l'indépendance et de la liberté, en Asie, en Afrique et dans d'autres parties du monde.

202. Le devoir de tous les peuples libres, le devoir de l'ONU tout entière est d'aider les peuples opprimés à arracher les fils barbelés du colonialisme là où il en subsiste encore pour dresser une frontière entre le marasme et le progrès, entre l'esclavage et la liberté, entre les ténèbres et la lumière. Les Bastilles des vieux régimes ont été renversées chaque fois que le fardeau du passé est devenu insupportable, lorsque les vieilles détroques n'ont plus été à la taille d'une société humaine puissante et en progrès.

203. La grande révolution socialiste d'Octobre dans notre pays a été l'aboutissement d'une lutte séculaire de l'humanité pour la liberté et le progrès. Le sursaut révolutionnaire d'indignation des dizaines et dizaines de millions de sujets de l'ancien empire russe a été préparé par tout le cours du processus historique. L'ère nouvelle, l'ère de libération du travailleur de toutes les formes d'oppression — coloniale, nationale ou sociale — est apparue au monde comme un témoignage du fait que l'humanité était mûre pour accomplir les actes historiques les plus vastes.

204. L'acte constitutionnel le plus important adopté par la jeune République soviétique — "Déclaration des droits du travailleur exploité" — a proclamé la suppression de toute exploitation de l'homme par l'homme, tout en condamnant la politique pratiquée par de soi-disant nations élues, politique tendant à l'asservissement de centaines de millions de travailleurs en Asie, aux colonies et dans les petits pays en général. Cette déclaration a souligné avec force la nécessité qu'il y avait, dans les conditions politiques nouvelles, de résoudre d'une façon radicale la question coloniale en faveur des nations asservies. Le grand Lénine, fondateur de l'Etat soviétique, a exprimé, immédiatement après la victoire de la révolution socialiste d'Octobre, sa certitude que l'heure approche où

"les peuples de l'Orient se soulèveront et deviendront des participants indépendants, des créateurs d'une vie nouvelle, car ces centaines de millions d'hommes

appartiennent encore à des nations dépendantes, qui ne jouissent pas de la plénitude de leurs droits et qui n'existent, aux yeux de la culture et de la civilisation capitalistes, qu'en tant que matériel de fumure^{2/n}.

205. Ces paroles prophétiques et pleines de clarté de Lénine sont aujourd'hui on ne peut plus remarquables. Elles peuvent servir de clef et permettre la compréhension des raisons qui font que les impérialistes pillent les colonies et s'efforcent de sauvegarder les régimes coloniaux, et de la peur dont souffrent, à l'Assemblée, les représentants des puissances coloniales. Vous vous souvenez avec quelle hâte, contraire au caractère anglais, si flegmatique, M. Ormsby-Gore s'est efforcé de chasser loin de lui — comme si c'était un fantôme — les impératifs de la déclaration proposée par l'Union soviétique. Il s'est même tellement hâté qu'il a manifesté sa sympathie — je ne sais si elle était chaude ou froide — envers les interventions des représentants d'Asie et d'Afrique, alors qu'à cet instant-là il n'avait pas encore pu les entendre, puisque ces représentants n'avaient pas encore pris la parole. Je ne le lui reproche pas; je me borne à constater un fait.

206. Le représentant du Royaume-Uni, dans le style habituel aux Occidentaux, s'est laissé entraîner sur la voie glissante qui conduit à une opposition entre les idées et les buts des Africano-Asiatiques et le contenu de la déclaration soviétique, cela en cherchant à démontrer que les vues des pays d'Asie et d'Afrique désireux de supprimer entièrement et totalement le colonialisme s'opposent aux vues des pays socialistes soviétiques. C'est là une tactique favorite, mais à vrai dire quelque peu trop rigide, dont on a beaucoup usé au cours de la présente session. Bon! laissons le représentant du Royaume-Uni éprouver de la satisfaction, lorsqu'il lui semble que les Membres africano-asiatiques de l'Organisation des Nations Unies "ne considèrent point l'apport soviétique à nos délibérations comme étant particulièrement sérieux". Que Dieu lui accorde chaque jour une illusion sur ce point! Toutefois, la délégation ukrainienne est intimement persuadée que l'intervention du représentant du Royaume-Uni rappelle plutôt un fétu de paille emporté par le torrent des accusations portées contre ce qui subsiste encore du système colonial dont on exige les funérailles au plus vite. Tel est le sens de la discussion qui se déroule actuellement à l'Assemblée à la suite de la déclaration historique soumise par le Gouvernement de l'Union soviétique en vue de l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux [A/4502 et Corr.1].

207. Revenons, toutefois, à l'essentiel. Les peuples de l'Asie et de l'Afrique se sont éveillés et œuvrent pratiquement dans l'intérêt du destin de l'humanité tout entière. C'est devenu maintenant une vérité incontestable. Tandis que le colonialisme contemporain, qui s'est élevé au comble du parasitisme, est pour les peuples une source de malheurs et de souffrances. Il pille les populations et les saigne à blanc, tout en leur barrant le chemin vers le progrès. Durant leur domination, les puissances coloniales ont tiré des richesses incalculables des pays qui leur étaient soumis. Par exemple, pendant la période allant de 1955 à 1958, la Belgique a vu sa balance commerciale avec le Congo accuser un actif de 373 millions de

livres sterling. Sur cette somme, et pour la même période, 82 millions de livres sterling seulement sont revenues au Congo, ce qui veut dire que les bénéfices nets drainés de la colonie ont atteint en quatre ans la somme énorme de 291 millions de livres sterling.

208. Selon les calculs les plus modestes, les monopoles américains ont fait, rien qu'en Afrique, au cours des années 1946-1959, plus de 1 milliard et demi de dollars, c'est-à-dire une somme qui aurait permis de construire pour les Africains plus de 150 centrales électriques d'une puissance de 100.000 kW chacune.

209. Au cours de nombreux lustres — ou, plutôt, pendant toute l'histoire du colonialisme — l'économie des pays colonisés a connu un retard effrayant; les colonialistes font tout ce qu'ils peuvent pour maintenir au maximum ce retard. Dans toutes les colonies africaines et autres pays dépendants, il s'est constitué dans l'économie deux secteurs distincts tant sur le plan national que sur celui des relations sociales et économiques: d'une part, une économie capitaliste européenne hautement organisée et où règne le capital étranger et, d'autre part, la petite économie artisanale et misérable de la population autochtone. Les monopoles étrangers condamnent l'économie des pays exploités par eux à un développement informel et unilatéral; ils utilisent les colonies comme source de matières premières à bon marché et de main-d'œuvre qu'ils exploitent impitoyablement en créant un courant commercial où le taux d'échange est déséquilibré.

210. Mais le pillage des colonies — on l'a déjà dit à cette tribune — est un phénomène qui ne se traduit pas uniquement sur le plan du capital de production. En s'opposant à ce que les colonies et les pays sous-développés puissent avoir un accès sur le marché international, les colonialistes tendent à mettre la main sur la totalité du commerce extérieur et sur une grande partie du commerce intérieur de ces pays, levant ainsi un tribut considérable. On peut citer l'exemple du pétrole du Koweït: en 1951, le prix de revient d'une tonne était de 73 cents, tandis que le prix de vente sur le marché mondial était de 17 à 18 dollars des Etats-Unis par tonne. Autrement dit, chaque tonne rapportait aux monopoles un bénéfice de l'ordre de 2.000 pour 100.

211. Les colonialistes récoltent donc une moisson d'amples profits, tandis que les peuples coloniaux s'appauvrissent et restent de plus en plus au-dessous du niveau de vie des pays hautement développés.

212. Je voudrais attirer l'attention sur un document intéressant: le rapport du Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes. Ce rapport [A/4371], rédigé conformément à la résolution 1461 (XIV) de l'Assemblée générale de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, s'est fixé pour but de présenter des observations et des conclusions quant aux progrès réalisés au sein de la population des territoires dits non autonomes au cours des 15 dernières années. Objectivement, le sens du rapport de la Commission est que les territoires dits non autonomes se trouvent, en fait, dans la situation de colonies, avec toutes les conséquences qui en découlent. Le Comité est arrivé à la conclusion que même à l'heure actuelle dans les territoires non autonomes "la structure de base de l'économie est restée, en général, peu développée, car l'économie a continué à reposer surtout sur l'agriculture de subsistance et la production de quelques

^{2/} V. I. Lénine, *Œuvres complètes* (éd. en langue russe), vol. 30, p. 138 et 139.

produits primaires pour l'exportation" [A/4371, 2ème partie, par. 45]. L'économie de ces territoires est condamnée à végéter, car "la production de biens d'équipement en est encore à ses débuts" (*ibid.*, par. 46). Vous trouverez dans ce rapport des faits frappants; ainsi, il y est dit que "le revenu individuel de la population autochtone dans les territoires d'Afrique pour lesquels on disposait de tels renseignements était, en 1956 ou 1957, parmi les plus bas du monde" (*ibid.*, par. 53) et que les revenus de la population autochtone étaient de plusieurs dizaines de fois différents de ceux des colons; bien entendu, cette différence n'étant pas en faveur des Africains autochtones. Le rapport reconnaît encore nombre d'autres faits, non moins éloquentes: désagrégation de la vie de famille chez les autochtones, augmentation de la délinquance juvénile, chômage total ou partiel, développement de maladies effrayantes, analphabétisme souvent total, illégalité, enfin discrimination raciale.

213. Peut-on continuer à tolérer cet état de choses? Non, cela n'est pas possible, si l'on a à cœur les intérêts de la paix, de l'humanité et du progrès.

214. Chaque année, l'Organisation des Nations Unies reçoit des milliers de pétitions en provenance des territoires se trouvant soi-disant sous tutelle; de telles pétitions restent pour ces populations l'unique moyen d'appeler à l'aide l'opinion publique universelle. Vingt mille de ces pétitions sont enfouies dans la poussière des archives de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, alors qu'elles devraient être publiées à des millions d'exemplaires.

215. Dans l'une de ces pétitions il est dit:

"Dans le Sud-Ouest africain existe une organisation connue sous le nom d'Association indigène du travail du Sud-Ouest africain... Cette association est habilitée à vendre (je souligne le mot "vendre") des Africains des réserves extra-territoriales."

216. Maintenant, je cite un extrait d'une autre pétition:

"Au moment même où l'Assemblée générale de l'Organisation des Nations Unies examine en détail les questions coloniales et délibère sur la gestion coloniale dans les territoires non autonomes d'outre-mer, nous, les représentants de la Guyane britannique, colonie de la Couronne britannique, désirons attirer l'attention des honorables délégués sur notre pénible situation... Nous, peuple déshérité de la Guyane britannique, nous profitons de la possibilité que nous offre la présente pétition pour soumettre notre cas à cette assemblée mondiale. Nous voulons l'indépendance politique. Nous voulons conduire nos affaires nationales — tant politiques que sociales et économiques — conformément aux désirs et aux aspirations de notre population vers une Guyane meilleure. Nous ne présentons pas aux honorables délégués un acte d'accusation, car il n'est pas dans nos intentions d'accuser l'impérialisme britannique des crimes commis par lui. Nous essayons seulement de montrer nos plaies nationales, celles que la botte du colonialiste a faites sur notre corps. Notre appel est un terrible cri d'agonie et ce que nous réclamons c'est que l'honorable Assemblée demande à la Grande-Bretagne d'être assez magnanime pour soulever sa botte, car là où cette botte est posée se trouvent plus d'un demi-million de faibles gorges guyanaises écrasées."

217. Il existe encore d'autres documents, ce sont les documents de la Conférence des Etats indépendants

d'Afrique qui a eu lieu à Accra. Cette conférence a entendu des "communications déchirantes des délégués qui ont pris part à la conférence, au sujet des atrocités commises sur le continent africain par les colonialistes et les impérialistes". Suivant ces délégués, "les Africains — par suite de l'activité des impérialistes — sont privés des droits essentiels de l'homme: liberté de parole, liberté de réunion, liberté de déplacement, possibilité de vivre dans l'abondance". Partout où subsistent des vestiges du système colonial règne une pauvreté effrayante, les peuples opprimés sont privés de leurs droits et soumis à la violence des ignares; les hommes y meurent comme de l'herbe brûlée. Seuls ceux qui ont des cœurs de pierre ne veulent pas entendre parler de tout cela et continuent de défendre le colonialisme.

218. Dans le document qui a été distribué à l'Assemblée sous la cote A/AC.73/3, on trouve un certain nombre de déclarations qui, à notre avis, devraient également être reproduites à un grand nombre d'exemplaires, pour que le monde entier puisse voir l'affreux visage des champions du système colonialiste. Dans l'un de ces documents on tente de "prouver que "l'"apartheid" représente pour les noirs un système parfaitement logique et qu'ils utilisent parmi eux" [A/AC.73/3, pétition No 10]. Un autre document, non moins infâme, affirme carrément que "lorsque les indigènes se gouverneront eux-mêmes, nous sommes convaincus que cela signifiera pour l'histoire de l'Afrique un recul d'un ou deux siècles" (*ibid.*, pétition No 20).

219. On commet donc des crimes pour que l'histoire ne recule pas! La conscience de l'humanité est bouleversée par ces crimes — qu'il s'agisse de l'Algérie, du Sud-Ouest africain ou de la République du Congo. C'est cette dernière qui — d'après le caractère des événements qui s'y déroulent — a été choisie par les colonialistes comme terrain d'essai où pourrait grandir l'arbre du néo-colonialisme, non moins pernicieux que ne le fut le colonialisme ancien. Ce terrain d'essai est labouré, avec des armes, par des renégats du type Mobutu. L'exemple de la République du Congo montre à tout le monde que le fascisme colonial et le néo-colonialisme sont des frères jumeaux qui tentent d'étouffer tout ce qui est vivant, indépendant, national dans les pays coloniaux.

220. Jadis, sur le sol américain libéré des colonialistes anglais, on planta un "Arbre de la liberté" et Thomas Jefferson dit que, pour que cet arbre pût pousser, il fallait l'arroser du sang des tyrans. C'est encore d'Amérique que nous arrivaient les paroles enflammées de Walt Whitman, qui affirmait qu'"un monde dans lequel existent des maîtres et des serfs est devenu caduc", et qui croyait passionnément qu'"une race nouvelle d'hommes puissants, à l'allure décidée" fera disparaître de notre planète jusqu'aux traces d'oppression de l'homme par l'homme.

221. Mais, aujourd'hui, des voix différentes nous arrivent d'Amérique. On fait savoir que le Congrès des Etats-Unis d'Amérique entend dépenser au cours de l'exercice financier 1960-1961, plusieurs millions de dollars pour la propagande en Afrique. Dans un certain nombre de pays africains, plusieurs milliers de missionnaires américains ont déjà pris leurs quartiers; une kyrielle de messagers d'innombrables "sociétés de bienfaisance" patronnées par Ford et Rockefeller les suivent de près. Le sénateur Cross a, ouvertement et sans pudeur aucune, déclaré du haut de

la tribune du Congrès qu'il était nécessaire d'élaborer un programme de propagande destinée au continent africain "pour ouvrir l'accès à ces vastes espaces nouveaux où se trouvent et se cachent des dollars". Quant au Secrétaire d'Etat adjoint aux affaires africaines, il s'est exprimé encore plus clairement: "Bientôt, a-t-il dit, les Etats-Unis seront à même de compenser les échecs relatifs de notre politique en Asie et au Moyen-Orient; l'Afrique nous fournit le moyen de prendre une revanche." Il s'agit donc d'efforts des Etats-Unis qui tendent à établir leur domination politique, économique et militaire en Afrique. L'ancien colonialisme, à jamais compromis, serait ainsi remplacé par l'implantation d'un néo-colonialisme, poudré à l'impérialisme.

222. L'expression "prendre une revanche" dépeint on ne peut mieux la politique et, au-delà de cette politique, le comportement pratique des Etats-Unis au sein et en dehors de l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Bien entendu, la vie a enseigné aux colonialistes — bien que tous n'aient peut-être pas profité de cette leçon — à atteindre leurs buts par des moyens de plus en plus subtils. Ils ne disent plus de nos jours que le colonialisme est un bien et qu'on ne peut oser réclamer son élimination de la vie des peuples. Mais, dans leur nouveau vocabulaire, le mot "indépendance" comme le mot "autonomie" ne s'emploient que pour désigner des intentions et encore des intentions pour un avenir éloigné. L'un des précédents orateurs a indiqué d'ailleurs clairement qu'entre les puissances colonialistes et les pays de l'Asie et de l'Afrique il n'y a pas de divergences quant aux intentions; il n'y a que des divergences concernant les méthodes et, quelquefois, concernant la date de l'octroi de l'indépendance et de la liberté.

223. Oui, mais, si l'on a composé et récité depuis longtemps déjà des odes en l'honneur de bonnes intentions encore dans les limbes, la suppression réelle du régime colonialiste est retardée sous divers prétextes ridicules et, je dirai même, démagogiques. Là est l'essentiel de nos divergences de principe: d'un côté il y a les pays colonialistes avec leurs intentions tout à fait à l'opposé des pays qui exigent une suppression immédiate du régime colonial. La déclaration des pays africano-asiatiques [A/L.323 et Add.1 à 5], de même que celle de l'Union soviétique, proclame solennellement la nécessité de mettre fin, immédiatement et sans aucune réserve, à toutes les formes du colonialisme, sous toutes leurs manifestations. Alors à quoi bon ce projet de résolution du Honduras [A/L.324]? Ce projet était nécessaire à ceux qui poussent le Honduras et dont l'identité est facile à deviner. Son but est d'empêcher, si possible, l'adoption de la déclaration et de prolonger ainsi l'existence du régime colonial. Notre délégation — je le dis avec tout le respect que je dois aux pays de l'Amérique latine — serait bouleversée d'apprendre que la résolution du Honduras puisse refléter l'opinion de tous ces pays.

224. Ce projet de résolution répète, en fait, les calomnies démagogiques qui insinuent que les colonies ne sont pas mûres pour l'indépendance, qu'il leur manque les institutions politiques et sociales indispensables pour pouvoir prendre les leviers de commande.

225. Bien sûr, ce projet de résolution proclame également que le colonialisme doit être supprimé dans le monde, mais on n'y voit rien qui puisse indiquer quand on extirpera cet opprobre du XXème siècle. Il n'est

pas difficile de comprendre que là encore il ne s'agit que d'intentions et, pour camoufler cela, on propose de créer une commission. Or, de quoi s'occupera-t-elle? Elle devra se rendre dans les possessions coloniales et présenter des recommandations à l'Assemblée générale lors de sa seizième session. Des recommandations sur quoi? Sur les moyens les plus adéquats, les plus rapides et les plus efficaces de rendre possible la disparition absolue du colonialisme. Tout cela n'est qu'un fatras de mots, vides de sens. Tel est l'usage qui s'est établi à l'ONU: lorsqu'on veut faire sombrer une mesure saine et progressiste que l'Organisation des Nations Unies s'apprête à adopter, on élabore, pour faire contrepoids, une résolution semblable à celle du Honduras. Peut-être que, pour certaines délégations, un tel projet constituerait même une sorte d'échappatoire ou de coin d'ombre permettant de se dissimuler. En tout cas l'Ukraine, elle, tient à déclarer clairement que la résolution proposée par le Honduras est inacceptable, en gros comme en détail. Nous ne saurions apporter un appui à un projet de résolution qui aurait pour but non pas de liquider le colonialisme, mais uniquement d'établir si les colonies sont préparées à l'indépendance.

226. Les peuples qui luttent pour leur libération et pour l'affermissement d'une indépendance réelle disposent d'une grande force, qui leur permet de s'opposer victorieusement aux perfides machinations des colonialistes et des néo-colonialistes. Cette force — c'est l'union et la solidarité. C'est à Bandoung que les Etats asiatiques et africains ont formulé les principes de base de la solidarité africano-asiatique, solidarité qui repose sur une haine commune du colonialisme, quelle que soit sa forme, sur une haine commune du racisme et, enfin, sur une aspiration commune à conserver et à consolider la paix sur la terre. D'autres conférences analogues de pays en lutte ont eu lieu depuis à Accra, à Tunis, à Conakry. Et voici que par le monde retentit comme un écho puissant la voix de l'Amérique latine incarnée dans les appels ardents de la Déclaration de La Havane.

227. Ces jours-ci, près de 100 Etats représentés à l'ONU examinent et discutent avec émotion et chaleur la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, proposée par l'Union soviétique, pays de la paix, pays d'une fraternité véritable et de l'amitié des peuples, pays qui a (suivant l'expression de l'un des principaux chefs de l'Asie contemporaine) posé les fondements de la civilisation nouvelle où la paix peut se développer. La libération des pays et des peuples de la domination coloniale aboutira à l'assainissement des relations internationales et à la consolidation de la paix. Il n'est plus possible d'arrêter la lutte des peuples colonisés pour leur libération. "C'est un important processus historique qui s'effectue avec une force croissante et irréversible", indiquait, dans une de ses interventions au cours de la présente session de l'Assemblée générale, M. N. S. Khrouchtchev. Nous le disons et nous répétons: il faut accorder la liberté et l'indépendance totales aux peuples coloniaux et aux territoires sous tutelle ou non autonomes et cela non pas à l'avenir, mais aujourd'hui même et sans délai.

228. Le peuple libre de l'Ukraine indépendante ainsi que son gouvernement restent aux côtés de tous les peuples libres et accordent leur appui total et inconditionnel aux nobles idéaux et buts de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux.

229. M. CHAMPASSAK (Laos): Si ma délégation croit devoir prendre part à la discussion du problème sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux peuples coloniaux, c'est parce qu'elle estime que le problème du colonialisme revêt une importance exceptionnelle. Certains des orateurs qui m'ont précédé ont stigmatisé la persistance du fléau colonialiste. D'autres ont souligné la disparition progressive du colonialisme et aussi la naissance d'une nouvelle forme de ce fléau destiné à perpétuer la domination d'un pays par un autre et l'exploitation de l'homme par l'homme. Ils ont tous amplement démontré le danger que représentent pour la paix et la sécurité internationales toutes les formes du colonialisme.

230. Après la seconde guerre mondiale, les vagues du nationalisme ont soufflé sur le continent asiatique, bousculant les positions coloniales traditionnellement les plus solides. Près de 1 milliard d'hommes ont recouvré leur dignité et leur liberté outragées. La Charte de San Francisco, proclamée dans l'euphorie de la fin de la seconde guerre mondiale, a incontestablement, par ses mobiles moraux, accéléré le processus de décolonisation. La politique des pays traditionnellement anticolonialistes, les progrès techniques rapides, les échanges de plus en plus grands des courants d'idées ont rendu intenable les positions des puissances colonialistes. C'est sous l'influence combinée de ces divers facteurs que la liquidation des empires s'est accélérée.

231. La Conférence de Bandoung de 1955, qui marque une étape historique dans les relations des peuples des continents africain et asiatique, a provoqué un essor nouveau dans le mouvement de la libération de l'Afrique.

232. Après l'Asie, le continent africain, avec ses richesses et son potentiel humain, s'éveille à la vie internationale et tous les orateurs ont souligné ici, avec justesse, que l'année 1960 est l'année de l'Afrique. Celle-ci, par son dynamisme, a déjà apporté à nos travaux une contribution importante.

233. A part quelques flots où les colonialistes établissent leur domination et font encore la loi, on peut dire que l'ère du colonialisme est close. Si ces quelques flots subsistent encore, le mouvement d'émancipation, qui a des racines profondes, ne tardera pas à les balayer. Car, dans l'ère de l'interdépendance et de l'indivisibilité de la paix, le colonialisme moribond a du mal à survivre.

234. Appartenant à un pays bouddhiste, le peuple lao a toujours manifesté une répugnance à toutes les formes de domination, qu'elles soient idéologiques ou matérialistes. Nous estimons que l'humiliation est pire que la misère, car l'homme peut s'accoutumer à la faim, mais ne s'habitue jamais à l'humiliation. Instruits dans des principes de tolérance et d'humanisme, nous nous refusons cependant à regarder ce problème seulement dans son aspect négatif.

235. Nous soutenons énergiquement les efforts des peuples qui luttent pour leur indépendance et leur liberté. L'autodétermination, à notre avis, est la seule voie susceptible non seulement de changer la conscience politique des peuples opprimés, mais aussi de rétablir la concorde. Nous considérons que le mouvement d'émancipation est irrésistible et irréversible, mais nous sommes contre ceux qui entretiennent le ferment de haine, ceux qui utilisent des slogans explosifs pour des motifs sociaux ou raciaux, ou tout

simplement pour détourner les difficultés politiques, car nous estimons que ce sont là des formes d'avilissement de la pensée humaine incompatibles avec les principes moraux.

236. Gardons-nous cependant de nous laisser entraîner à des manifestations d'hystérie raciale par haine du colonialisme. Il ne suffit pas de condamner le colonialisme par un feu d'artifice verbal, il faut lui ôter surtout les raisons de survie pour empêcher son retour. Le racisme et la xénophobie sont, à notre avis, les deux sources principales où les tenants du colonialisme jouent pour s'efforcer de ressusciter leur grandeur passée et leur supériorité. Bannir ces sentiments, c'est condamner les puissances coloniales à un isolement progressif, c'est liquider les germes du colonialisme. Il ne faut pas que l'indépendance nouvellement acquise se transforme en dépendance aveugle, car il n'y a pas "d'alternative à la liberté". Nous estimons que la lutte contre le colonialisme doit être menée de pair avec le combat pour le bien-être social et pour le progrès économique, car combattre le colonialisme sur un seul front en négligeant le problème de la faim et de l'ignorance serait une négation pire qu'un crime.

237. L'anticolonialisme ne doit pas nous masquer les visées politiques de tel ou tel bloc idéologique qui cherche à capturer les Etats nouveau-nés, désarmés et faibles, soit pour les placer directement dans leur orbite, soit pour en faire une clientèle commode. En tombant dans les pièges du nouvel impérialisme, on risque d'être ravalé au rang d'un simple rouage participant au fonctionnement du mouvement d'une horloge. Dans ce cas, l'indépendance pour laquelle on lutte ne serait qu'une indépendance de seconde classe.

238. De l'avis de ma délégation, il serait vain de se livrer à des controverses si l'on n'a pas la même notion de la liberté et de la dignité humaine. Si le langage de la liberté et de l'égalité des peuples n'a pas le même sens, la même signification partout, et n'est seulement qu'un article d'exportation à l'usage des masses pauvres et ignorantes, pour servir la cause que chacun défend, alors la passion dont nous faisons preuve ici pour combattre ce vieux fléau qu'est le colonialisme n'a pas de sens.

239. Ainsi, le chemin de la paix et de la concorde sur lequel nous nous engageons restera toujours plein d'obstacles tant qu'il existera des nations qui, tout en parlant constamment de paix, de liberté et d'émancipation, ne rêvent en fait qu'à étendre leur orgueilleuse puissance au-delà de leurs frontières, soit par les armées, soit par la subversion dont l'action sournoise est pire que les maux colonialistes. Ces nations, trop sûres de leur philosophie, persuadées de détenir la clef de l'avenir et convaincues de leur vocation missionnaire, emploient tous les moyens, fussent-ils les plus brutaux, pour imposer leur domination. Il faut que ces puissances, qui tentent de rééditer l'aventure coloniale, sachent que la dissolution des empires coloniaux a pris désormais de telles proportions que seul le libéralisme le plus conciliant et le plus imaginatif pourrait remplacer leurs obligations passées par des liens volontairement acceptés. Il faut opérer les ajustements nécessaires par l'évaluation sans passion des relations contemporaines de puissances, par la redéfinition de l'intérêt, dégagée des conceptions vulgaires de la grandeur nationale, pour rétablir la confiance, l'amitié et la paix.

240. Ma délégation est une de celles qui ont parrainé le projet de déclaration des 42 puissances [A/L.323 et Add.1 à 5] soumis à l'examen de cette assemblée. Elle pense que le cadre et les idées contenues dans ce projet reflètent fidèlement les principes sacrés de

la Charte des Nations Unies et espère qu'il sera adopté par la plus large majorité.

La séance est levée à 19 h 25.



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*Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux
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POINT 87 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance
aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux (suite)

1. M. TSATSOS (Grèce): L'ère coloniale est une étape récente de l'histoire universelle, dont les derniers vestiges sont en voie de disparaître rapidement de ce monde. Il s'agit là d'un phénomène dont personne ne doute aujourd'hui. De ce fait surgissent certains problèmes. Mais avant de les aborder, et pour écarter bien des malentendus — d'ailleurs absolument superflus dans cette atmosphère déjà surchargée de suspicions où nous vivons —, il serait peut-être utile de définir le concept historique de la colonie et du colonialisme.

2. Le concept moderne de la colonie est bien différent de celui des anciens. Une colonie, c'est la domination, par la force, qu'exerce un peuple organisé disposant de son propre territoire — disons donc un Etat — sur un peuple habitant un autre territoire, et ceci quelle que soit la forme juridique de cette domination et de l'organisation qu'elle implique. Le colonialisme, c'est l'ensemble des faits qui se rapportent à la création et au maintien des colonies des temps modernes. Cette définition des colonies et du colonialisme est peut-être plus restreinte que d'autres ne le veulent accepter, mais elle présente l'avantage de ne pas donner lieu à de graves controverses. Il faut ajouter que le colonialisme n'est pas la seule forme que revête la domination d'un peuple sur un autre. Aussi, qui ne condamne pas toutes les formes de cette domination manque, selon toute évidence, de conséquence logique et morale.

3. Au moment de la disparition du colonialisme, nous connaissons déjà — chose rare — le verdict moral de l'histoire en ce qui le concerne. Pour autant qu'il a entravé l'évolution des peuples au lieu de la faciliter, ce fut l'une des pires formes de la domination de l'homme sur l'homme. Dans ce sens, il fut la prolongation de l'esclavagisme. Par contre, dans la mesure où il a permis aux peuples colonisés d'accéder à un niveau culturel et social supérieur, le colonialisme fut un facteur positif de l'évolution mondiale. Quoi qu'il en soit, il est maintenant destiné à disparaître et, sur cette constatation, l'opinion mondiale est unanime; je ne pense pas qu'il existe une seule nation, dans notre grande famille mondiale, qui veuille ou qui puisse soutenir qu'il existe ou qu'il pourrait exister encore une raison d'être du colonialisme.

4. La disparition d'une ère historique pose toujours un problème identique: que faut-il oublier? de quoi doit-on se souvenir? Les souvenirs du colonialisme, pour une très grande part, comportent pour tous les peuples, mais surtout pour les peuples colonisés, une profonde amertume dont personne ne conteste le bien-fondé. Cette amertume trouble l'image de l'unanimité dans la condamnation que la conscience du monde entier prononce à l'égard du colonialisme. Savoir oublier le mal qu'on a subi est parfois une nécessité. Cette nécessité est d'autant plus impérative dans le cadre de l'activité politique. C'est d'autant plus vrai de nos jours, du moins pour ceux qui, sans complexes psychologiques obscurcissant leurs vues et déviant leur action, désirent vraiment le renforcement de la cohésion nécessaire au maintien de la communauté internationale et de la paix dans le monde.

5. Nul ne doute et ne saurait douter que le principe de la liberté des hommes et des peuples ne peut pas être considéré comme effectivement réalisé par son application dans une seule partie du monde. Ce n'est que par sa consécration mondiale, ce n'est qu'en couvrant de sa pourpre royale le monde tout entier, que la liberté des hommes et des peuples se réalisera. Nul ne le conteste et nul ne pourrait oser le contester. C'est à travers cette dernière constatation qu'on entrevoit l'une des plus belles victoires en perspective de l'humanité. Cette victoire sera d'autant plus grande qu'elle se complètera et étendra son apothéose finale sous le seul poids moral de l'idée de liberté.

6. On se rappellera qu'aux Amériques, celle du Nord aussi bien que celle du Sud, le colonialisme s'est plié devant la bravoure et le courage des patriotes et la force des armes. Plus tard, en Asie, il a dû battre en retraite, surtout grâce à la superbe résistance morale dont les peuples asiatiques ont su faire preuve. En Afrique, enfin, l'accès à l'indépendance de tant de peuples, dont nous nous réjouissons de voir parmi nous aujourd'hui les dignes représentants, fut d'une part, bien entendu, le fruit de la détermination de ces peuples de conquérir leur place parmi les peuples libres, mais fut, d'autre part, le fruit du mûrissement en Europe de cette vaste conscience libérale et pacifique se trouvant à la base de changements politiques qui déterminent la fin de l'ère coloniale. Il serait à la fois injuste et dangereux de vouloir oublier cette réalité qui, admettons-le, constitue de plus la seule, la vraie garantie de la victoire finale et définitive de la liberté dans un monde sans guerre.

7. La disparition du colonialisme en Afrique et partout ailleurs où il continue à s'accrocher encore n'est plus qu'une question de temps. Personne n'en doute, mais il serait naïf de croire que cette disparition puisse être instantanée. Défaire le mal tout en prenant soin de conserver ce qu'il y a de bien, défaire ce qui fut accumulé au cours de plusieurs dizaines d'années est une opération de très grande envergure qui, pour réussir, doit être réalisée sans lenteurs, mais aussi

avec prudence et avec un sens profond des responsabilités qu'elle comporte. Chaque cas présente des particularités qui lui sont propres. La Charte elle-même prévoit plusieurs voies d'évolution. L'essentiel est de garantir que, dans chaque cas, la volonté librement exprimée des peuples sera le facteur déterminant; c'est là le dénominateur commun dans cette vaste opération contre les vestiges du colonialisme. Ceux qui prétendent qu'une opération éclair est possible, en l'occurrence, sur une échelle mondiale se proposent un but impossible. Nous voulons espérer que l'évolution de nos débats prouvera qu'en définitive on ne veut pas compromettre ce qui est possible en demandant l'impossible.

8. Mais, si la disparition de ce qui reste du colonialisme ne peut être instantanée, elle peut — et, puisqu'elle peut, elle doit — être rapide. De plus, il faut reconnaître que, pour autant que le processus de cette disparition ne suit pas le rythme accéléré que l'on aurait souhaité, le blâme doit en être porté surtout par certaines puissances coloniales qui ont appliqué une politique en contradiction avec le courant de l'histoire et aussi avec les intérêts réels de ces mêmes puissances dans le cadre de la perspective de leur propre avenir. Il s'ensuit que toute puissance coloniale a le devoir impératif d'accélérer la libération des peuples qui vivent encore sous sa domination, et ce conformément à un plan, un plan détaillé prévoyant des étapes. Et, comme je l'ai souligné tout à l'heure, les puissances coloniales n'ont pas seulement le devoir impératif d'agir ainsi; elles ont aussi tout intérêt à le faire, car ce n'est qu'en agissant de la sorte qu'elles donneront une preuve péremptoire de leur bonne foi, une preuve qu'elles agissent de telle sorte, non pas par la force des choses, mais parce que leur propre conscience leur indique la nécessité morale de mettre fin au colonialisme aussi rapidement que possible.

9. Si les puissances coloniales, pour parvenir à ce but, ont besoin qu'on leur fasse confiance, accordons-leur cette confiance. Et ce n'est pas un geste que je propose. Ma pensée a ses raisons. Si la victoire africaine avait été gagnée uniquement sur le sol africain, si cette victoire n'était pas devenue un élément constitutif de la conscience européenne elle-même, la confiance que je propose pourrait, avec raison, être refusée. Mais la victoire africaine a été gagnée, comme j'ai cru devoir le dire, non seulement en Afrique, mais aussi en Europe. J'estime que cette dernière constatation est d'une importance capitale. Elle nous permet d'entrevoir la vraie perspective du problème dans sa projection future, la seule, par ailleurs, qui puisse préoccuper d'une façon constructive notre pensée au moment où nous nous penchons sur la question de la liquidation du colonialisme. Le fait que celui-ci a été combattu sur son propre terrain, que l'opinion publique des puissances coloniales se lève presque unanime contre la prolongation injustifiée de ce régime que les données historiques ont condamné, nous garantit non seulement sa disparition, mais sa disparition rapide et définitive. Aucun gouvernement, aucune puissance sur terre ne pourra s'opposer à cette force morale qui jaillit du fond de la conscience des peuples, libérale de par sa nature.

10. La maturité politique et la formation historique et sociologique dont ont fait preuve les représentants des nouveaux Etats africains constituent une preuve de l'évolution de l'élite des peuples africains. Elles démontrent la possibilité d'une évolution générale de

ces peuples. Mais il nous faut constater qu'il existe une différence de niveau dans le développement politique déjà acquis et le développement économique d'un certain nombre des anciennes colonies. De ce fait, un problème très difficile à résoudre est posé. Ce qu'il faut dire — et dire avec emphase — c'est qu'il est exclu de retarder l'indépendance politique pour attendre que l'évolution économique atteigne un degré correspondant. Il s'ensuit une obligation morale des peuples dont le développement économique dépasse la moyenne, obligation qui, pour être d'ordre moral, n'en est pas moins urgente. C'est l'obligation d'aider, sans aucune ingérence politique et sans aucun bénéfice direct, le monde africain à développer son économie. A considérer les choses de loin, agir ainsi c'est accomplir une double fonction, c'est agir avec justice et, en même temps, dans son propre intérêt; car ce n'est qu'en ajoutant, sur un pied d'égalité, le monde africain comme facteur actif à l'économie mondiale qu'on pourra aller vers un équilibre plus stable et un niveau plus élevé de cette économie.

11. Tout en étant Athénien, et fier de l'être, j'honore Sparte et son laconisme. J'ai tâché d'être bref; je n'ajouterai que quelques mots. Je sais qu'il fut un temps, d'ailleurs assez proche, où le mot "jamais" était le seul qu'on eût opposé, peut-être même assaisonné d'un certain dédain, aux idéalistes qui auraient entrepris la campagne anticolonialiste et qui auraient soutenu tout ce qu'à présent nous considérons tous comme une simple évidence. Mais quand on est facteur actif de l'histoire du monde, il faut savoir que c'est une grave erreur que d'employer le mot "jamais".

12. La Grèce antique a créé l'idée de la liberté et l'idéal de la démocratie. Nous en sommes fiers. Mais nous sommes bien plus fiers de l'exemple que, depuis sa renaissance, au commencement du siècle passé, jusqu'à nos jours, la Grèce moderne a donné au monde par ses sacrifices et son attachement à l'idée de la liberté et de la dignité humaines. La nation grecque salue la fin du colonialisme comme une conquête humaine d'importance universelle, à la réalisation de laquelle elle a contribué par toutes les forces dont elle dispose.

13. M. PETER (Hongrie) [traduit de l'anglais]: En guise d'introduction, je citerai un vieux proverbe africain: "Lorsque les hommes se rejoignent par l'esprit, ce qui était éloigné n'est plus loin de venir." Ce proverbe appartient à une antique tradition des peuples de l'Afrique orientale. Il est toujours vivant dans la langue swahili et nous apporte un enseignement dans le présent débat.

14. Je tiens en le citant à rendre un hommage au moins symbolique à la tradition ancestrale de pensée toujours vivante chez les peuples qui sortent peu à peu des ténèbres de l'ère coloniale. Si longs et si destructeurs qu'aient été les siècles d'esclavage dans de nombreux territoires coloniaux, d'antiques traditions survivent partout sous forme de légendes, de chants, de proverbes, de paroles écrites ou gravées, de coutumes et de monuments populaires, invariablement imprégnés de valeurs culturelles. Ces peuples n'ont pas oublié leur propre histoire. Celle-ci se transmet oralement de génération en génération. Nous voyons déjà, et nous verrons toujours davantage, revivre la vie nationale, renaître les anciennes valeurs culturelles à l'aube de l'indépendance et s'éveiller la conscience de tous les peuples; ce mouvement

aidera à façonner efficacement la vie économique et politique dans l'ère nouvelle qui commence pour eux. Leur renaissance viendra enrichir le patrimoine de toutes les nations.

15. Le proverbe que je viens de citer contient une vérité essentielle, qui touche directement à l'effondrement actuel du système colonial. On aurait difficilement pu imaginer, il y a quelques années, cette rapide évolution vers la liberté et l'indépendance des peuples des anciens territoires coloniaux. Parmi les nombreux éléments qui ont facilité cette heureuse évolution, l'un des plus frappants est l'effort commun de ceux qui luttent depuis des générations contre le système colonial. L'esprit des populations et celui de leurs chefs nationaux se sont peu à peu identifiés, et c'est ainsi que ce qui était éloigné s'est peu à peu réalisé.

16. Nos présents débats vont nous permettre de parvenir à une union encore plus étroite de tous les esprits et de toutes les forces, pour abattre les derniers vestiges du système colonial sous ses diverses formes. Les peuples d'Afrique et d'Asie sont devenus si forts, si étroitement unis dans leur lutte pour l'indépendance, qu'ils seraient assez puissants pour liquider par la force les restes de l'époque coloniale. Le fait même que la question soit examinée à la session actuelle de l'Assemblée générale démontre qu'il est réellement possible de trouver une solution pacifique aux problèmes qui subsistent. Plus les esprits désireux de mettre véritablement fin au régime colonial se rapprocheront, meilleures seront les perspectives d'une solution immédiate et pacifique de tous les problèmes coloniaux en jeu. Nous pouvons dire à ce propos que, lorsque les hommes ici réunis penseront de même, ce qui est encore éloigné ne sera plus loin de venir.

17. Si nous pouvions tous interpréter le système colonial comme le font les peuples qui y furent soumis pendant des générations, il nous serait plus aisé de parvenir à une unité de vues. Car, outre toutes ses significations accessoires, la notion de colonialisme a deux acceptions essentielles. Celles-ci s'affrontent dans les présents débats dès que le ton tourne à la controverse. Le mot n'a pas le même sens pour les puissances coloniales et leurs successeurs que pour les peuples soumis au régime colonial. Pour les premiers, le colonialisme n'a rien de malhonnête. Naguère, en Europe, l'un des principaux critères de l'autorité internationale et mondiale de certains Etats était la possession de colonies aussi nombreuses que possible. J'ai pu voir dans mon enfance, à la fin de l'Empire austro-hongrois, qu'outre l'assujettissement d'un grand nombre de nationalités, l'un des objectifs principaux était de chercher à obtenir ou à conquérir des territoires aussi riches que possible en Asie ou en Afrique, pour les administrer en tant que colonies. L'attaque de l'Empire éthiopien par l'Italie mussolinienne en 1935 a été l'une des dernières manifestations de cet appétit colonial. Malheureusement, ces temps ne sont pas entièrement révolus. Il existe encore des gouvernements qui n'estiment pas malhonnête d'avoir un ministère des colonies ou des affaires coloniales, et de former des fonctionnaires qui se sentent honorés d'être nommés à des fonctions d'administration coloniale.

18. L'autre aspect du colonialisme est totalement, essentiellement différent; en fait, il est entièrement à l'opposé. Aux yeux des peuples qui ont subi le régime colonial, le colonialisme est le mal le plus

haïssable qui soit sur terre. Il ne serait pas superflu de répéter les déclarations faites par des délégations de pays d'Asie et d'Afrique au sujet des drames de l'ère coloniale, car il est utile, pour préparer un avenir meilleur, de ne pas oublier le passé et ses survivances. Je m'abstiendrai cependant de le faire. Je me bornerai à résumer les impressions générales que j'ai retirées de leurs déclarations.

19. Si les souffrances humaines pouvaient être mesurées et comparées, on pourrait affirmer que les siècles d'esclavage colonial ont apporté aux sociétés humaines plus encore de souffrances, de pertes, de destructions et d'appauvrissement que toutes les guerres qui ont eu lieu dans l'histoire de l'humanité; ajoutons que la plupart des guerres ont été dirigées contre des peuples soumis au régime colonial, et à leur détriment. Mais, même si les souffrances humaines échappent à toute comparaison, le rapprochement a son intérêt et il indique la signification du colonialisme pour ceux qui en connaissent à fond la véritable histoire.

20. Toute résolution adoptée en conclusion des présents débats ne peut avoir de valeur et d'efficacité réelles pour les peuples soumis au régime colonial que si elle est fondée sur l'interprétation exacte du mot "colonialisme" qui a cours chez ceux dont le destin a été, ou est encore, de se trouver sous la domination coloniale. La déclaration présentée par le Gouvernement de l'Union soviétique [A/4502] et le projet de résolution dû à un certain nombre d'Etats [A/L.323 et Add.1 à 5] sont fondés sur cette interprétation. Il y aurait lieu de rapprocher le second de la première pour ce qui est des conditions de mise en œuvre. Plus nombreuses seront les délégations qui comprennent le sens véritable que les peuples coloniaux attachent au mot "colonialisme", plus il sera facile d'exprimer les résultats des présents débats sous une forme qui apporte une aide concrète à la lutte contre la domination coloniale.

21. Avant d'essayer d'énoncer les principales caractéristiques d'une résolution possédant des chances normales de se révéler efficace, je voudrais, avec la permission du Président, dire quelques mots des principes fondamentaux dont s'inspire ma délégation lorsqu'elle s'associe aux efforts conjugués tendant à tirer le meilleur parti de ces échanges de vues. Aux yeux de ceux pour qui tout ce débat a été engagé, il n'existe qu'une seule justification: ce ne peut être que la conscience de la solidarité humaine. Toutes les délégations qui, lors des débats en cours, ont exigé l'immédiate liquidation de tout ce qui reste du passé colonial ont fait preuve d'une profonde solidarité humaine. Le plus sûr garant de l'utilité de nos travaux est la solidarité sans réserve avec les peuples au bénéfice desquels la question a été inscrite à l'ordre du jour. Toute tentative pour éluder ou retarder une résolution efficace ou faire dévier le débat montrerait que le sentiment sincère de solidarité humaine a cessé de jouer son rôle véritable et que d'autres intérêts ont pris sa place — des intérêts étrangers à la cause de l'élimination du régime colonial sous toutes ses formes. Le Secrétaire général a bien voulu fournir un exemple excellent à cet égard en distribuant un prétendu rapport établi par un représentant spécial extrêmement distingué; je ne m'attarderai pas sur ce point. Pour prendre une position efficace sur les problèmes qui se posent aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, en se fondant sur la solidarité humaine, l'Assemblée générale devra établir un document réel-

lement efficace et significatif; elle devra se garder de toute tendance à y peindre le colonialisme sous des couleurs agréables; elle devra y condamner sans équivoque et sans réserve l'ère du colonialisme et y préciser que l'ONU ne tolère plus de régime colonial.

22. Il n'y a aucune raison, juste ou injuste, d'embellir l'image, ce qui ne servirait même pas les intérêts des puissances colonialistes. Il est inutile de vouloir faire un tableau flatteur. Les peuples qui connaissent à fond le colonialisme ne se laisseront pas duper par une image déformée. Il se peut que certaines personnes d'origine coloniale, qui ont perdu tout contact étroit avec leur peuple, s'y laissent prendre, mais il est impossible de tromper les peuples eux-mêmes. Au contraire, en essayant d'embellir, on n'arrive qu'à aggraver la situation à tous les points de vue, dans les territoires coloniaux aussi bien qu'au sein de notre organisation. Un exemple me permettra d'illustrer cela.

23. Dans un rapport sur la situation en Afrique rédigé il y a peu de temps par un écrivain noir américain, à la suite d'un voyage qu'il y a fait l'été dernier, l'auteur rapporte une surprenante conversation qu'il a eue avec un colon de race blanche au Kenya, personnalité politique assez importante qui a participé à la conférence de Lancaster House. S'adressant à cet écrivain noir américain, le colon a dit:

"J'estime que le Kenya devrait être indépendant. Il faudra bien que les Africains gouvernent un jour le pays. Mais je pense que le Gouvernement britannique doit, au préalable, nous donner 10 millions de livres pour mettre en œuvre un programme complet d'éducation destiné à ces Africains. Cela prendra de 10 à 20 ans. C'est la seule façon de procéder. Je l'ai dit à la tribune du Parlement et je l'ai dit au Ministre des colonies. Mais je m'aperçois maintenant que ce projet n'aboutira pas. Aussi ai-je demandé à M. Mboya et à ses amis africains de nous donner, à nous Européens, les assurances ci-après: la promesse que la terre et les biens ne seront pas confisqués lorsque les Africains seront au pouvoir et la promesse que nous serons libres d'envoyer nos enfants dans les écoles de notre choix. J'ai demandé au Gouvernement britannique de bloquer certains fonds appartenant au Kenya afin que les Africains respectent leurs engagements une fois l'accord conclu."

A mon avis, il serait assez instructif de citer d'autres parties de cette conversation, mais je ne me propose pas de le faire, car elles sont d'une nature encore plus explosive.

24. Pour bien comprendre les aspects dangereux, voir dramatiques, d'une attitude aussi tristement humoristique, il nous faut nous souvenir que la conversation dont il est question a eu lieu à Nairobi (Kenya) au moment précis où éclatait la crise à Léopoldville. L'attitude de certaines personnalités dans les territoires coloniaux reflète dans une grande mesure celle des puissances coloniales et de leurs alliés qui font des déclarations officielles ou semi-officielles en vue de corriger le tableau de la situation coloniale dans le passé et le présent. Toutes ces tentatives pour retoucher le tableau ne feront que créer des occasions de nouvelles tragédies. La marche de l'histoire frappe impitoyablement ceux qui essaient de faire dévier les forces véritables de l'évolution.

^{1/} Louis E. Lomax, *The Reluctant African*, New York, Harper and Brothers, édit., 1960, p. 71.

25. Voici un autre exemple, qui se rapporte à une expérience qui nous est commune à tous.

26. Au cours des deux ou trois dernières semaines, nous avons constaté que, pour certaines questions donnant lieu à controverse, telles que celles qui sont liées à la situation au Congo, les puissances occidentales ont réussi, avec l'aide de leurs alliés militaires et malgré l'opposition de la majorité des délégations d'Asie et d'Afrique, à obtenir la majorité. On respirait les senteurs de la victoire, et quelles senteurs! Mais ceux qui aiment à peindre un tableau flatteur de la situation ne voient pas que de tels actes, qui vont à l'encontre de la volonté commune de la majorité des Etats asiatiques et africains, ne feront qu'aider à élargir le fossé entre les pays africano-asiatiques et les puissances occidentales et à rendre plus aiguës les contradictions. Si, nous plaçant du point de vue des pays socialistes, nous examinons ces événements sous l'angle de la guerre froide, nous sentirions satisfaits de constater que les puissances occidentales minent leurs propres relations avec les pays d'Asie et d'Afrique. Mais nous ne sommes pas animés par un esprit de guerre froide. Nous ne nous réjouissons pas lorsque nous constatons le mécontentement que suscite chez de nombreuses délégations d'Asie et d'Afrique la politique de puissances animées par l'esprit de la guerre froide. Telle n'est pas notre attitude. Nous sommes tellement attachés à la coexistence pacifique que nous voudrions que les anciennes colonies entretiennent avec leurs anciens maîtres des relations amicales fondées sur l'égalité et le respect réciproque. Nous souhaitons la coexistence pacifique de Cuba et des Etats-Unis, des deux Etats du Congo avec la France et la Belgique, et ainsi de suite. C'est ainsi que les illusions nées d'une peinture flattée du colonialisme compromettent les intérêts des puissances occidentales elles-mêmes. Bref, dans l'intérêt de la paix, de la sécurité et de la coexistence pacifique des anciennes colonies et des anciennes puissances coloniales, le document élaboré, pour être positif, utile et efficace, devrait condamner les systèmes coloniaux et viser à éliminer tout ce qui en subsiste.

27. La seconde caractéristique essentielle d'un document positif, utile et efficace résulte logiquement de la condamnation du régime colonial: un tel document doit souligner combien il est urgent de liquider immédiatement tous les systèmes coloniaux existants. Tout retard ne ferait qu'aggraver la situation. A cet égard, M. Janos Kádár, premier secrétaire du parti des travailleurs socialistes de Hongrie, a prononcé ici même, en sa qualité de Président de ma délégation, les paroles suivantes au cours du débat général:

"Les bases du système colonial ont été tellement ébranlées que toute tentative en vue d'entraver le progrès de la libération, loin de l'arrêter, ne fera que l'accélérer." [883ème séance, par. 30.]

Oui, l'accélérer; toute tentative pour arrêter ou faire dévier le processus engendrera des actes de violence chez les peuples soumis au régime colonial. Dans la situation actuelle du monde, il existe des conditions permettant de résoudre immédiatement et pacifiquement ces problèmes. Ce n'est pas par simple coïncidence que notre organisation mondiale traite presque simultanément de questions ayant trait au désarmement général et total, et de l'élimination du régime colonial sous toutes ses formes. Les deux questions sont interdépendantes et la possibilité de les régler

résulte de la situation internationale actuelle où le nouvel équilibre des forces est favorable tant au désarmement qu'à la liquidation du système colonial. Les imposantes forces politiques, morales et matérielles de l'Union soviétique et de l'ensemble des pays socialistes ne promettent rien de bon aux puissances coloniales dans le déroulement des relations internationales actuelles si ces puissances s'obstinent à faire échec aux mouvements d'indépendance des peuples colonisés. Les forces de ces peuples, jointes à celles des nations récemment libérées d'Asie et d'Afrique, sont si considérables qu'elles suffiraient à faire aboutir les revendications par la violence; et c'est ainsi que cela se passera certainement si la solution se fait attendre. Il est déjà presque trop tard, comme nous le montrent les événements récents au Congo. Les peuples des anciennes colonies et des colonies existantes ainsi que leurs chefs souhaiteraient éviter le recours à la violence et agir de manière pacifique. Si, à la présente session de l'Assemblée générale, nous savons entendre le message de notre temps, nous aurons aidé ces peuples à témoigner de leur bonne volonté. En conclusion: dans l'intérêt d'une solution pacifique, un document positif, utile et efficace devra souligner l'urgence de trouver une solution aux problèmes des territoires coloniaux.

28. De nombreux orateurs ont déjà dit combien il importait que l'Organisation s'attache à l'étude de la proposition soviétique sur le problème du colonialisme dans son ensemble. En signalant à l'attention de l'Assemblée générale le problème des peuples colonisés, le Gouvernement de l'Union soviétique a rendu service non seulement à ceux-ci, mais aussi à l'Organisation et même aux puissances coloniales — oui, même à elles. L'Organisation s'est vu offrir une excellente occasion de proclamer le message attendu qui ouvrira une ère nouvelle à toute l'humanité, et les puissances coloniales se sont vu offrir une aide sincère en vue de liquider décemment, honnêtement et dans la paix, l'héritage malhonnête du passé.

29. Rendre l'indépendance à tous les pays coloniaux ne peut avoir que des conséquences bienfaisantes, non seulement pour ces pays, mais pour chacun de nous, et ce pour deux raisons. Cette évolution contribuera à faire disparaître les tensions et à faire régner une situation plus favorable à une détente internationale dont tous les pays, grands ou petits, bénéficieront sans exception. En même temps, la famille des nations s'enrichira de la participation à l'œuvre commune de nations ayant récemment acquis leur indépendance. Les peuples et leurs représentants, fortifiés par leur lutte pour l'indépendance, pour la paix et pour des conditions de vie humaines, apportent généralement aux organisations internationales des qualités de puissance et de bonne volonté qui faciliteront la solution juste de problèmes aussi controversés que la paix, la sécurité et le progrès social. Permettez-moi d'exprimer le vœu que les présents débats puissent se révéler utiles à cette fin.

30. Le PRESIDENT [traduit de l'anglais]: Avant de donner la parole à l'orateur suivant, je voudrais dire que, d'après les renseignements dont je dispose, je crois qu'il serait possible d'épuiser la liste des orateurs inscrits pour aujourd'hui et ainsi de ne pas siéger cet après-midi, si les délégués sont prêts à prolonger la séance jusqu'après 14 heures, au plus tard jusqu'à 14 h 30. Avec votre assentiment, je vous propose de faire ainsi.

Il en est ainsi décidé.

31. M. GARIN (Portugal) [traduit de l'anglais]: Ma délégation suit avec la plus grande attention la discussion de l'importante question examinée en ce moment, notamment parce que l'interprétation que lui donnent de nombreuses délégations exige quelques éclaircissements; telle est la raison de mon intervention. De nombreux orateurs qui sont montés à la tribune au cours de ces débats ont tenté, directement ou indirectement, d'impliquer le Portugal dans le problème de l'élimination du colonialisme dans le monde. Cependant, plus j'entends parler du colonialisme en tant que système économique et politique, de ses caractères fondamentaux et des différents aspects qu'il présente, plus je vois clairement que la pratique du colonialisme est tout à fait étrangère à la nation portugaise. Quels que soient les erreurs, les malentendus, les allusions et les insinuations que des orateurs de bonne ou de mauvaise foi ont énoncés en ce qui concerne la structure morale, politique et juridique de mon pays, il n'en est pas moins vrai que le colonialisme n'est pratiqué sous aucune de ses formes au sein de la nation portugaise.

32. Depuis des siècles, le Portugal est une nation unitaire, ce qu'a toujours reconnu la communauté des nations. C'est, comme beaucoup d'autres, un pays à races multiples; nos territoires et notre population sont répartis sur plusieurs continents, comme le sont aussi ceux d'autres nations. Mais nous ne formons qu'une unité, entièrement indépendante et massive — qu'il s'agisse de notre structure politique, juridique et sociale — et qu'un seul pays animé d'une même et vigoureux sentiment national. Nulle part dans mon pays il n'existe de peuples asservis à une domination étrangère, car tous nos peuples, où qu'ils habitent, forment le corps et l'âme de la nation. Quant aux initiatives économiques, aucune section de la nation ne détient de droits ou d'avantages spéciaux s'appliquant à d'autres parties ou à l'ensemble de la nation: tous les ressortissants portugais, de quelque race, origine ou religion qu'ils soient, jouissent, où qu'ils se trouvent, des mêmes privilèges économiques et vivent dans des conditions de stricte égalité.

33. Du point de vue juridique, il n'y a pas de différence entre les Portugais des différentes parties de la nation: ils possèdent tous la nationalité portugaise et peuvent se prévaloir des droits et possibilités qui lui sont attachés. Quelles que soient leur origine, leur race ou leur religion, les Portugais, de par la loi, ont toujours bénéficié des mêmes droits et possibilités et ont eu accès aux emplois les plus élevés, qu'ils soient publics ou privés; il en est de même de leurs droits dans le cadre de la vie publique ou sociale. Une nation qui a eu pour Président de la Cour suprême de justice, à Lisbonne, un ressortissant portugais de race non européenne, né dans une province d'outre-mer — caractéristique qu'il partageait avec des membres du Cabinet et de nombreux autres hauts fonctionnaires d'Etat —, n'est certes pas un pays qui applique des doctrines colonialistes. La tradition est ancienne et enracinée; elle n'a pas été improvisée en une nuit pour faire plaisir à certains membres de cette assemblée. Nous n'avons jamais failli à cette tradition d'égalité. Tous les ressortissants sont assurés des mêmes droits fondamentaux et nous nous enorgueillons à juste titre d'être depuis cinq siècles les pionniers de l'antiracisme aux quatre coins du monde. A cet égard, nous n'avons certes à recevoir de leçons ou de conseils de personne, si édifiants

soient ces conseils et ces leçons. Nous récusons, en particulier, ceux qui semblent n'avoir découvert que tout dernièrement que le racisme offense Dieu.

34. Les provinces portugaises d'outre-mer, tant politiquement que juridiquement, font et ont toujours fait partie intégrante de la nation, jouissent en cette qualité de l'autonomie administrative et financière et dépensent en totalité leurs propres revenus. Depuis 1821, date à laquelle se réunit notre premier parlement au lendemain des guerres napoléoniennes, ces provinces participent activement, par l'entremise de leurs représentants à notre assemblée nationale élus au suffrage direct, à la formation et au fonctionnement des organes centraux de la souveraineté dans des conditions de stricte égalité. Cette situation, qui est l'aboutissement d'une longue évolution historique, est particulièrement remarquable, car elle ne correspond pas aux idées préconçues de l'étranger, pour qui les mobiles économiques tout-puissants et les sentiments d'orgueil racial sont des éléments inséparables des relations entre peuples de différents continents. L'observateur impartial parcourant les territoires portugais ne peut manquer de constater cette identité absolue des populations portugaises, dont la race et la religion peuvent être différentes, mais qui ont le même idéal national. Le climat moral noté par l'observateur impartial correspond à la réalité profonde, à savoir qu'il n'existe qu'une seule nation dans l'esprit de la population, dans ses institutions et dans son mode de vie. Il faut reconnaître que la nation portugaise est un exemple unique, que l'on ne peut apprécier avec des normes étrangères — pour ne rien dire du fait que de telles normes seraient appliquées non pas dans l'intérêt de notre peuple, mais aux fins égoïstes et hypocrites de certains peuples étrangers. Mais, ici non plus, nos particularités n'ont pas été conçues en une nuit pour les besoins de la cause; elles ont leurs racines dans notre caractère national, elles ont été forgées par les événements de l'histoire et consolidées par des siècles de communion et de fraternité entre nos populations.

35. C'est bien en effet une évolution radicalement différente, une orientation absolument distincte de celle qui s'est produite dans les cas où l'exploitation du sol et du sous-sol par des entreprises commerciales n'exigeait pas l'installation permanente d'Européens. Dans ces cas, les pays chargés de l'administration des territoires intéressés ont toujours exprimé leur intention de diriger les populations locales vers l'indépendance. Lorsque la nation portugaise s'est créée et s'est étendue à d'autres continents, le plus souvent dans des terres inoccupées et inutilisées, certains facteurs très nets sont apparus. Elle a proposé la notion de patrie à des peuples qui ne l'avaient pas encore imaginée; elle leur a aussi offert un langage commun, une paix assurée et une collectivité économique et sociale organisée de manière à s'intégrer à leur propre façon de vivre.

36. Le Président du Conseil des ministres du Portugal, dans un discours qu'il a récemment prononcé devant l'Assemblée nationale à Lisbonne, a déclaré ceci:

"La notion de supériorité raciale nous est étrangère, mais la notion de fraternité humaine est bien de chez nous. Il en est de même de la notion d'égalité devant la loi, fondée sur le principe du mérite égal et qu'acceptent toutes les sociétés éprises de progrès.

"Dans tous ces territoires, le mélange des populations devait faciliter le processus de formation d'une société multiraciale. Toutefois, l'élément le plus important, l'élément véritablement essentiel, a été la volonté d'établir des contacts familiers avec la population locale, de donner à tous les mêmes possibilités de progrès économique et social, le souci de faire progresser la culture et de faire régner, même loin de la mère patrie, un code moral plus exigeant dans la vie publique et dans la vie privée. De tels moyens ont nécessairement produit leurs effets avec lenteur, mais, si ces méthodes ont édifié une collectivité dotée d'une certaine cohésion, nous pouvons affirmer que nous avons réussi dans notre tâche: nous sommes parvenus à assurer l'indépendance et l'égalité des peuples qui ont formé, avec leurs territoires, une entité nationale.

"Nous inspirant du même idéal, nous avons travaillé pendant plus de trois siècles au Brésil, et ce que l'on constate dans ce pays est véritablement extraordinaire. Le Brésil ouvre ses portes à presque tous les peuples du monde, et ces peuples se fondent dans la diversité de sa population. Il les absorbe, les assimile et cependant ne perd rien de son originalité. Il n'est pas de pays, formé d'un grand nombre de races différentes, qui puisse se comparer au Brésil quant à l'absence totale de préjugés raciaux en matière de législation, d'organisation politique et de comportement social. Le Brésil est la plus importante expérience de société multiraciale des temps modernes, et en même temps un exemple magnifique des résultats que peut produire la transposition de la civilisation occidentale dans les régions tropicales et sur le continent américain. Pacifique, stable, dynamique et épris de progrès, le Brésil, même lorsqu'il améliore ses propres créations, n'a pas à renier ses origines ou sa mère-patrie.

"Une société multiraciale est donc une possibilité, qu'elle soit du type luso-américain comme au Brésil, luso-asiatique comme à Goa, ou luso-africain comme en Angola ou en Mozambique.

"Il n'y a rien, il n'y a jamais rien eu qui permette d'accepter une opinion contraire. Il y a tout simplement ceci, qu'une telle société ne peut connaître aucune manifestation de racisme, qu'il soit blanc, noir ou jaune, et qu'elle exige une longue évolution et des siècles de labeur continu dans le cadre des principes sur lesquels se fonde la communauté portugaise."

37. Dans le discours qu'il a prononcé devant l'Assemblée nationale portugaise, le Président du Conseil des ministres, M. Oliveira Salazar, déclara encore ceci:

"Sans doute pourra-t-on découvrir dans notre travail de nombreux défauts, et nous sommes les premiers à déplorer que nos ressources limitées ne nous aient pas permis d'aller plus avant. Il nous reste beaucoup à faire, tout d'abord en ce qui concerne les communications, le développement des moyens d'éducation, l'organisation sanitaire. Mais même dans ces domaines, comme dans de nombreux autres, lorsqu'on nous compare aux autres pays, nous n'avons pas lieu de rougir. Nos villes, nos villages, nos chemins de fer, nos ports, les projets hydro-électriques, la préparation des terres irriguées et sa distribution à la population quelle que soit sa couleur, l'exploitation des richesses du sous-sol,

l'installation de nos services publics, tout cela compte, certes. Mais il importe encore bien plus d'avoir créé un climat de sécurité, de paix et de relations fraternelles entre les éléments très divers de la population, qui représente dans l'Afrique d'aujourd'hui quelque chose d'exceptionnel; en effet, tous ceux qui disposent des fonds nécessaires peuvent réaliser des progrès matériels, mais ils ne peuvent créer la même œuvre que nous."

38. Ces éléments dont je viens de parler, qui ont fait l'unité de la nation dans la pluralité de ses territoires, exigent aussi une unité d'orientation politique réalisable avec l'aide de tous ses éléments, mais ce principe est sans influence sur certains problèmes d'organisation administrative, ou sur la détermination d'un degré plus ou moins élevé de décentralisation et d'autonomie. A ce sujet, le Président du Conseil des ministres du Portugal a déclaré, il y a quelques jours, ce qui suit:

"Depuis quelques dizaines d'années, le développement économique des provinces d'outre-mer, notamment de Goa, de l'Angola et du Mozambique, a été très poussé et, parallèlement aux progrès de l'économie et de l'éducation, on a vu apparaître un nombre toujours plus grand d'individus capables d'administrer les territoires. Il y a là un phénomène naturel, la tendance à l'élargissement des attributions à mesure que les besoins croissent et que les moyens disponibles augmentent. Par ailleurs, la vaste superficie des territoires et même les distances qui les séparent, ainsi que le caractère particulier de certaines difficultés qui se posent à eux, rendront inévitable la remise à des organismes locaux de secteurs d'administration plus étendus. Il pourra en résulter un gain de temps et même, en théorie du moins, une appréciation plus juste des conditions locales; mais les compétences d'une élite nombreuse demeurent indispensables si l'on veut enrichir les services de l'Etat. A mon avis, la seule atteinte concevable à l'esprit d'unité serait d'imaginer une sorte d'exclusivité ou de privilège en vertu desquels un Portugais serait privé du droit de travailler ou de servir suivant ses capacités dans une partie quelconque de notre territoire. N'avons-nous pas à Lisbonne des gens de Goa ou du Mozambique, en Guinée des Européens et des gens du Cap-Vert, au Mozambique des habitants de l'Angola ou de Guinée, et à Timor des gens du Mozambique? Il doit continuer à en être ainsi.

"Le gouvernement ne rejette l'idée d'aucune modification de la structure administrative. Il ne s'opposera qu'à celles qui pourraient compromettre l'unité de la nation et l'intérêt général."

39. Il est assurément déplorable que l'Organisation des Nations Unies, créée pour défendre la paix et l'harmonie entre les nations, ait été utilisée par certaines délégations comme un théâtre où lancer des attaques calomnieuses et de fausses accusations contre un pays qui, plus qu'aucun autre peut-être dans l'histoire du monde, a eu l'intuition de construire dans la foi, la fraternité raciale et la tolérance religieuse une entité politique et humaine qui, dans notre monde agité, vit et travaille en paix dans quatre continents sans que sa population manifeste le moindre malaise. Nous ne permettrons à aucun étranger de venir troubler cet état de paix. Certains de ceux qui se sont eux-mêmes institués les défenseurs de l'anticolonialisme soutiennent que les colonies ne peuvent être

intégrées en un organisme politique unitaire par un simple trait de plume ou par une fiction juridique — ce sont là, je crois, les expressions utilisées par certaines délégations — et que le Portugal s'était borné à apposer une étiquette sur ses territoires d'outre-mer, expédient commode pour faire face à la vague anticolonialiste. Ceux qui ont fait de bonne foi une telle déclaration — et je tiens à souligner que ce ne fut pas le cas de toutes les délégations — témoignent d'une méconnaissance totale de l'idéal et des méthodes selon lesquels la nation portugaise s'est formée, selon lesquels aussi ses textes constitutionnels sont nés au cours de l'histoire.

40. Certains de nos détracteurs tentent de convaincre l'Assemblée que nous avons converti en toute hâte des "colonies" en "provinces". Cet argument a déjà été réfuté. Mais, si c'est d'une désignation technique qu'il s'agit, je répondrai sans peine à nos accusateurs de bonne foi, mais mal informés: il n'est absolument pas vrai que le Portugal n'ait donné que récemment à ses territoires hors d'Europe le qualificatif de "provinces". Celui qui prendrait la peine de jeter un coup d'œil sur l'histoire constitutionnelle du Portugal avant de nous attaquer en s'appuyant sur des faits inexacts découvrirait aisément ce qui suit.

41. Le concept politique et administratif de la "province" est une tradition du "common law" portugais ainsi que de son droit coutumier. Le grand historien portugais João de Barros, au XVIème siècle, ainsi que les autres chroniqueurs de l'époque, lorsqu'ils parlent des territoires au-delà des mers, les nomment "provinces". Dans les documents publics du siècle suivant, le XVIIème siècle, on utilise la même désignation. Des lois promulguées en 1663 donnent valeur officielle à l'expression "provinces d'outre-mer". Le terme a depuis été adopté dans les lois constitutionnelles du Portugal. J'aimerais souligner, au bénéfice de mes auditeurs, que les Cortès (Parlement) portugais de 1820, qui ont fourni la base de la première Constitution écrite, ont adopté l'expression "provinces d'outre-mer" comme étant la plus exacte et la plus conforme aux principes de l'unité nationale. Il est évident que les législateurs portugais de 1820 — il y a de cela 140 ans — ne pensaient pas à l'Organisation des Nations Unies ni à aucun autre organisme international lorsqu'ils parlaient en ces termes de nos provinces d'outre-mer.

42. Dans son article 132, la première Constitution, celle de 1821, disait: "L'administration des provinces restera en l'état pour le moment tant qu'elle ne sera pas modifiée par la loi." Le titre X de la Constitution de 1832 porte: "Provinces d'outre-mer". La même expression est adoptée dans le titre X de la Constitution du 2 mai 1842 ainsi que dans l'amendement à la Constitution de 1852 et encore dans la législation de 1867 sur les provinces d'outre-mer. La république n'a pas modifié la tradition. Le titre V de la Constitution de 1911 portait: "Administration des provinces d'outre-mer". La Constitution de 1933, actuellement en vigueur, parle dans son article 135 des "provinces d'outre-mer". En outre, depuis 1612, les provinces d'outre-mer sont considérées comme faisant partie intégrante de la nation portugaise. Le droit public portugais a toujours suivi cette ligne traditionnelle, qui se retrouve de même dans les actes administratifs. L'article 135 de la Constitution actuelle dit: "Les provinces d'outre-mer, en leur qualité de partie intégrante de l'Etat portugais, sont unies entre elles et au Portugal métropolitain." Ce qui est évident aussi,

c'est que l'attitude des Portugais depuis le début de leur communion avec les peuples d'outre-mer a été en avance sur leur époque; quant à ce qu'on appelle "le vent de changements" il y a longtemps qu'il a soufflé sur nous. A ceux qui prétendent ne pas comprendre le point de vue portugais, nous devons répondre que nous ne pouvons sacrifier à leur vœux ou à leurs sentiments les intérêts sacrés des populations portugaises rangées dans la communauté nationale.

43. La nation portugaise unitaire est une réalisation historique unique qui a toujours été internationalement reconnue. C'est précisément cet Etat, organisé politiquement et socialement en un Etat unitaire, avec ses provinces d'outre-mer intégrées dans la nation, qui a été accepté à l'unanimité en qualité de Membre de l'ONU. La personnalité d'un Etat est inaliénable et indivisible. Cette personnalité est formée des valeurs spirituelles communes aux populations, ainsi que des valeurs matérielles, c'est-à-dire les territoires qui constituent la personnalité physique de l'Etat. Ainsi, l'indivisibilité de l'Etat signifie l'unité de ses valeurs spirituelles aussi bien que les composantes physiques de l'ensemble. C'est donc l'intégrité et l'unité de l'Etat portugais, au même titre que celles de tout autre Etat admis au sein de l'Organisation, que les Membres de l'ONU se sont engagés à respecter et à protéger. Telle a été la position qu'a toujours prise cette organisation et qui a été réaffirmée tout récemment dans des résolutions du Conseil de sécurité et de cette assemblée. Il est certain qu'aucun Etat unitaire ou fédéral Membre de notre organisation ne tolérerait une démarche visant à le désintégrer. Aucune délégation, si obsédée qu'elle soit par la propagande, n'est fondée en droit ou en éthique à aller aussi loin, et nous protestons solennellement contre ceux qui présentent ici des propositions aussi inadmissibles.

44. Certaines délégations ont lancé ici contre mon pays des attaques calomnieuses, prenant prétexte d'un prétendu colonialisme. Mais leurs véritables intentions nous sont parfaitement claires. Elles veulent semer la discorde où règne la paix, encourager la subversion où existe une parfaite harmonie et faire surgir artificiellement des difficultés nouvelles de manière à rendre encore plus difficile la solution des problèmes complexes qui se posent déjà au monde et dont les pays auxquels je pense sont principalement responsables. Je ne m'adresserai pas à ces délégations malveillantes dont les interventions ne sont visiblement que partisans. Je les ai écoutées avec le mépris qu'elles méritent, ma délégation sachant parfaitement que de tels détracteurs ne s'intéressent pas à la vérité. Je suis convaincu également qu'une ou deux autres délégations, animées comme d'habitude de sentiments hostiles à l'égard du Portugal, ne prendront pas la peine de m'écouter. Mais je regrette tout spécialement les observations formulées par ceux qui se sont laissés emporter par des sentiments inspirés de concepts politiques qui n'ont rien de commun avec le cas du Portugal et ne peuvent être invoqués en l'espèce. Je pense en particulier aux allégations d'une ou deux délégations d'Etats africains.

45. J'aimerais tout d'abord m'adresser à ces délégations africaines et leur exprimer notre vœu et notre intention très sincères de maintenir les relations les plus cordiales avec tous les Etats africains, conformément aux principes de la coexistence pacifique et du bon voisinage qui sont de tradition dans notre politique.

Mon gouvernement est fermement convaincu que les modifications profondes qui se sont produites dans les territoires voisins de mon pays en Afrique — provenant de l'heureuse accession à l'indépendance de ces nouveaux Etats — ne devraient gêner en aucune manière les rapports de confiance et d'amitié réciproques qui existaient auparavant entre nos peuples respectifs; de tels rapports ne pourront qu'influencer les contacts et les échanges commerciaux et culturels nécessaires entre voisins. Dans nos relations avec les nouveaux Etats africains, nous serons toujours guidés par l'application scrupuleuse des principes de la Charte des Nations Unies.

46. De même que les nouveaux Etats africains, nous sommes fortement attachés au retour d'une situation normale sur tout le continent africain; nous aspirons à l'harmonie et aux efforts positifs qui permettront à tous de résoudre les problèmes existants dans une atmosphère de paix et de bonne volonté et d'aménager un avenir de travail et de prospérité profitable à tous. L'intérêt avec lequel mon pays suit la solution des problèmes africains n'est assurément pas moindre que celui des parties les plus directement en cause. Les accusations portées par tel ou tel des Etats africains contre mon pays sont dénuées de tout fondement. Préférant penser que ces délégations se refuseraient à agir de mauvaise foi ou par simple caprice, je suis convaincu que leurs accusations s'expliquent par les informations déformées ou mensongères auxquelles elles ont pu avoir accès.

47. Mon gouvernement a toujours respecté scrupuleusement ses obligations internationales. Nous avons entretenu des relations ininterrompues avec d'autres pays et d'autres gouvernements depuis des siècles et, en ce qui concerne le respect de la loi et des règles de conduite internationale, notre réputation est sans tache. Il n'est pas question pour nous de modifier notre attitude d'Etat responsable et souverain, Membre de l'ONU, uniquement parce que les délégations qui nous attaquent semblent oublier les principes de la maturité parlementaire. Dans le domaine des accusations gratuites, nous pourrions être aussi éloquents que le représentant du Libéria, par exemple. Bien entendu, sous le couvert de l'immunité de l'Assemblée, il est extrêmement aisé de proférer des accusations qu'il n'est pas besoin de prouver. Mais nous ne nous engagerons pas sur la voie de la facilité, car nous ne voulons pas déchoir à nos propres yeux, et nous continuons à croire que l'esprit qui anime l'ONU mérite plus d'égards.

48. Il faut reconnaître qu'au cours des dernières semaines les accusations non fondées ou malveillantes lancées contre le Portugal au sein de l'Organisation, et en particulier lors de débats récents à la Quatrième Commission, ont déjà eu dans mon pays des répercussions marquées, qui n'étaient certainement pas celles que souhaitaient nos détracteurs. Toute personne parcourant ces derniers temps le Portugal, dans ses provinces d'Europe ou d'outre-mer, ou lisant les journaux portugais, aura compris qu'une immense vague d'indignation soulève le pays. Il y a eu des manifestations massives, aussi fortes et intenses dans les provinces d'outre-mer que dans celles d'Europe, contre les tentatives de dénigrement et les attaques verbales dirigées par différentes délégations contre le Portugal. Ces manifestations significatives qui se sont produites quotidiennement, tant dans les grandes que dans les petites villes de la métropole, en Angola, en Mozambique et dans d'autres provinces portugaises

d'outre-mer, sont la marque naturelle d'un vif ressentiment devant l'insulte. La presse portugaise d'Europe et d'outre-mer a reproduit pour ce qu'il vaut le texte intégral des accusations portées au sein de l'Organisation. Il en est résulté une réaction immédiate d'indignation et de colère dans la population, dans la nation tout entière, contre ces attaques et contre les pays qui en sont les auteurs, et le patriotisme et la fraternité profondément enracinés qui unissent tous les Portugais, quelles que soient leur origine, leur race, leur couleur ou leur croyance, y ont trouvé l'occasion de se réaffirmer. D'un bout à l'autre du Portugal, des fles du Cap-Vert dans l'Atlantique aux rives éloignées de Timor, dans chaque parcelle du territoire national où des Portugais de toutes races vivent et travaillent dans la paix, s'est élevée une protestation simultanée contre ces accusations calomnieuses, qui ont été repoussées sans nuances, et l'unité et la détermination de la nation portugaise tout entière ne se sont jamais plus fortement exprimées.

49. M. KISSELEV (République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie) [traduit du russe]: Nous sommes en train d'examiner un document historique: la "Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux" [A/4502], soumis à notre examen par la délégation soviétique. Il y est dit que la suppression immédiate du régime colonial et la transformation des colonies actuelles en Etats indépendants créeront les conditions nécessaires pour que se substituent, aux rapports de domination et de sujétion, des rapports basés sur l'égalité des droits, l'amitié et le respect mutuel.

50. Toutefois, ceci ne peut être réalisé tant que le régime colonial existe et, avec lui, la discrimination à l'encontre de pays et de peuples entiers. Les représentants de l'Union soviétique, du Ghana, de la Guinée, de la République arabe unie, de l'Arabie Saoudite, de Ceylan et d'autres pays, qui ont pris la parole avant moi, ont fort justement souligné qu'une suppression immédiate du colonialisme serait une grande victoire des forces de paix, de progrès, de liberté et d'indépendance dans la lutte contre les forces de réaction.

51. Prenant la parole lors de la discussion générale à la présente session de l'Assemblée générale, le 23 septembre dernier, le chef du Gouvernement soviétique, M. Khrouchtchev, a dit notamment que:

"... rien ne peut arrêter la lutte des peuples pour leur libération, car c'est là un grand processus historique et irréversible qui se manifeste avec une force toujours croissante. On peut prolonger d'un an ou deux la domination qu'un Etat exerce sur un autre, mais, de même que la féodalité a jadis été remplacée par la bourgeoisie, de même que le socialisme remplace aujourd'hui le capitalisme, ainsi la servitude coloniale cède le pas à liberté. Telles sont les lois de l'évolution humaine et seuls les aventuriers peuvent croire que des monceaux de cadavres et des millions de victimes empêcheront l'avènement d'un avenir radieux." [869ème séance, par. 172.]

52. Ces brèves paroles décrivent l'évolution historique régulière de notre temps. Il faut le dire: aucune tentative des colonialistes pour maintenir leur domination aux colonies ne saurait être couronnée de succès. Il est donc naturel de penser que la suppression du colonialisme serait une contribution importante au maintien de la paix et de la sécurité dans le monde

entier; elle serait même l'une des mesures essentielles en vue de la détente internationale. Le devoir de l'Organisation des Nations Unies consiste à en finir immédiatement avec ce mal.

53. Nous vivons des temps remarquables. Sous nos yeux s'opère impétueusement la libération des pays et des peuples du joug colonial. Nombre de délégués présents dans cette salle, après avoir levé l'étendard de la liberté et de l'indépendance dans leur pays, participent activement à la lutte pour la libération de centaines de millions d'autres hommes du joug de l'esclavage colonial. Permettez-moi, au nom du peuple de la Biélorussie, de vous féliciter de cette glorieuse victoire. Au cours des 15 années d'après guerre sont nés et ont évolué avec succès 40 nouveaux Etats comptant au-delà d'un milliard et demi d'hommes, soit plus de la moitié de la population du globe.

54. L'Asie, dont les peuples ont obtenu de grands succès dans leur lutte pour la libération nationale, est devenue particulièrement méconnaissable. Au cours de la période d'après guerre, 16 nouveaux Etats y sont apparus, parmi lesquels d'aussi grands Etats que l'Inde, l'Indonésie et la Birmanie, pays qui appliquent une politique neutraliste indépendante et consolident avec succès leur indépendance et leur souveraineté.

55. De grands événements se déroulent de nos jours sur le continent africain. La lutte héroïque des peuples d'Afrique pour leur liberté et leur indépendance a été remarquablement fructueuse. Alors qu'au début de l'existence de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, l'Afrique était représentée par quatre Etats seulement, à l'heure actuelle nous en comptons 30, avec une population de 100 millions d'âmes. Rien qu'au cours de la présente session de l'Assemblée générale, nous avons eu la possibilité d'admettre comme Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies 16 nouveaux Etats africains [résolutions 1476 (XV) à 1488 (XV) et 1490 (XV) à 1492 (XV)], réalisant les prévisions du grand Lénine, qui a dit: "Demain, l'histoire du monde enregistrera le réveil définitif des peuples opprimés par l'impérialisme et le début de leur lutte résolue, longue et pénible, pour leur libération."

56. L'histoire a condamné à mort le colonialisme; ses jours sont comptés. Le processus actuel de liquidation du système séculaire du colonialisme est une démonstration lumineuse de la justesse des prévisions de Lénine. La liquidation totale et immédiate du système colonial est inscrite à l'ordre du jour par le cours des événements, car toutes les conditions nécessaires pour la faillite du colonialisme — cette page sombre du grand calendrier de l'histoire — sont maintenant réalisées.

57. Il serait toutefois prématuré de conclure qu'on en a fini avec le système colonial de l'impérialisme. Les puissances coloniales occidentales conservent encore le pouvoir sur de vastes territoires, d'une grande importance pour la vie économique et la stratégie militaire.

58. A l'heure actuelle, plus de 100 millions d'hommes en Asie et en Afrique subissent encore directement l'oppression coloniale. En Asie, plus de 50 millions d'habitants souffrent sous le joug colonial. En Afrique, plus de 60 millions d'autochtones sont encore opprimés par les colonialistes. La liquidation du régime colonial n'est donc pas encore achevée. L'impérialisme et le colonialisme continuent à exister et, en essayant de remonter le cours de l'histoire, ils font tout leur

possible pour maintenir leur domination sans reculer devant quelque procédé ou quelque méthode que ce soit. Ainsi que l'a dit le Président de l'Indonésie, M. Sukarno, "l'impérialisme n'est pas encore mort... l'impérialisme mourant est dangereux, aussi dangereux que le tigre blessé dans la jungle tropicale" [880ème séance, par. 63]. L'effondrement du système colonial s'accompagne non seulement d'un phénomène positif de formation de nouveaux Etats indépendants — dont nous avons chaudement et de tout cœur salué ici même l'admission à l'Organisation des Nations Unies — mais également de tentatives opiniâtres des colonialistes pour conserver leur domination coloniale sous des formes nouvelles. Ces tentatives sont la cause d'une situation très tendue en Asie et en Afrique et rendent possibles de nouveaux conflits armés qui peuvent avoir de graves conséquences.

59. Mais l'élan des peuples d'Asie et d'Afrique vers une indépendance immédiate est impétueux et irrésistible.

"Les derniers bastions du système colonial périmé s'écroulent totalement, et c'est là l'un des faits particulièrement importants de notre époque. Si l'on jette un coup d'œil sur la carte de l'Asie et de l'Afrique, on constate que des centaines de millions d'êtres humains se sont affranchis du joug séculaire de l'étranger et de l'exploitation par autrui^{2/}."

C'est ce qu'a dit M. Khrouchtchev en automne de l'année dernière du haut de la tribune de l'Assemblée générale.

60. Les grands événements qui se déroulent actuellement confirment la justesse des paroles de M. Khrouchtchev. Les temps du brigandage colonial sont disparus à jamais. Mais, pour que le terme même de "colonialisme" devienne une notion purement historique, l'Organisation des Nations Unies — conformément à l'esprit même de sa Charte — doit aider les peuples et les nations qui languissent encore sous le joug du colonialisme à acquérir leur indépendance le plus rapidement possible. Il est important, toutefois, que la libération ne se fasse pas dans le fracas des armes et parmi les gémissements des hommes, car trop de sang a déjà été versé, trop de vies humaines ont été sacrifiées pour libérer, dans le passé, un grand nombre de peuples du joug du colonialisme. Nous devons arriver à créer une situation telle que disparaissent une fois pour toutes les conditions qui permettent aux colonialistes de maintenir illégalement leur domination dans des pays étrangers, sous prétexte que les peuples colonisés manquent de maturité politique et ne sont pas préparés à l'indépendance politique. Nous considérons que n'importe quel peuple est capable de se gouverner lui-même: il ne s'agit que de lui en offrir la possibilité en liquidant l'oppression et la domination coloniales.

61. Les représentants du Royaume-Uni, du Portugal et d'autres pays se sont longuement étendus ici sur la "mission civilisatrice" qu'ils auraient accomplie, parait-il, et qu'ils continueraient à accomplir dans leurs colonies et dans les pays sous leur dépendance. Ils ont fait état d'un développement industriel et agricole dans leurs colonies, des progrès réalisés dans les domaines de la santé publique, de l'enseignement et des transports, cela pour essayer de nous convaincre qu'ils auraient apporté une "grande" contribution à

l'épanouissement et à la culture des peuples intéressés. Voyons, néanmoins, ce que les colonisateurs européens et américains ont en réalité apporté à ces peuples. Qu'il me soit permis de citer certains faits qui illustrent les résultats de la domination colonialiste.

62. J'ai lu, dernièrement, un livre très intéressant écrit par le Directeur général du Fonds spécial des Nations Unies, l'Américain Paul Hoffman. Ce livre, paru cette année à Washington^{3/}, est consacré aux problèmes de l'aide économique aux pays sous-développés d'Asie, d'Afrique et d'Amérique latine. D'après les données réunies par l'auteur, le nombre de ces pays est supérieur à 100 et 1.250 millions d'hommes y habitent. Ainsi que l'indique Paul Hoffman, le revenu annuel moyen par habitant s'élève actuellement à 100 dollars, alors qu'aux Etats-Unis et dans la plupart des pays de l'Europe occidentale il est de 1.000 à 2.000 dollars, soit de 10 à 20 fois supérieur. Ces chiffres donnent la preuve d'une exploitation impitoyable et du pillage de la population autochtone.

63. Dans le rapport du Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes^{4/}, publié au mois d'avril de cette année pour la quinzième session de l'Assemblée générale, il est dit que le revenu individuel de la population autochtone, pour 1957, dans les territoires africains pour lesquels on disposait de tels renseignements, était parmi les plus bas du monde. Il était dans la Nigéria de 67 dollars, dans l'Ouganda de 43,34 dollars, dans l'ancien Congo belge de 42,20 dollars, au Kenya de 33,55 dollars. Cela signifie que le revenu par habitant est, au Royaume-Uni, plusieurs dizaines de fois supérieur à celui de la Nigéria, de l'Ouganda et du Kenya. Ces chiffres sont éloquentes et il est difficile de les contester.

64. Nous constatons que l'essence même du colonialisme est un horrible mélange d'exploitation inouïe, de discrimination sous toutes ses formes et d'absence des libertés les plus élémentaires pour l'homme. Le sang et la sueur de la population autochtone permettent aux colonialistes d'acquérir des richesses énormes, tandis qu'ils ne laissent aux populations exploitées que de pitoyables miettes. Le drainage des richesses, l'obtention de bénéfices fabuleux, la faim, la misère et l'absence de droits pour les autochtones — voilà ce qu'apportent avec eux les colonialistes.

65. Permettez-moi de citer des chiffres qui caractérisent le frappant contraste entre les revenus de la population autochtone et ceux des colons européens. Dans le rapport cité plus haut, il est dit qu'en 1957, au Congo ex-belge, le revenu individuel par habitant autochtone était de 42,2 dollars, tandis qu'un Européen recevait en moyenne 2.973 dollars, c'est-à-dire 80 fois plus; dans la Fédération de Rhodésie et Nyassaland 43 fois plus; au Kenya 30 fois plus. Et voilà les fruits de la "civilisation" occidentale en Afrique!

66. Prenant la parole devant l'Assemblée générale, les représentants des puissances coloniales ne soufflent mot des bénéfices qu'ils réalisent à la suite des "bienfaits" qu'ils apportent. Ils passent délibérément sous silence des faits aussi effrayants qu'un analphabétisme quasi total, un taux de mortalité très élevé, une durée de vie qui est, aux colonies, la plus faible au

^{2/} Documents officiels de l'Assemblée générale, quatorzième session, Séances plénières, 799ème séance, par. 35.

^{3/} Paul Hoffman, *A hundred countries and one-and-a-quarter million people*, Washington, Albert D. and Mary Lasker Foundation, édit., 1960.

^{4/} Documents officiels de l'Assemblée générale, quinzième session, Supplément No 15 (A/4371).

monde. Alors que la durée moyenne de vie au Royaume-Uni est de 60 ans, dans la Nigéria, qui vient seulement de se libérer de la domination colonialiste, elle est sensiblement inférieure à 30 ans. Dans ce pays, il y a actuellement 60 fois moins de médecins par habitant qu'au Royaume-Uni et il n'y a qu'un dentiste pour 2 millions d'habitants. Le salaire des travailleurs noirs, dans cette ancienne colonie britannique, est de 12 fois inférieur au salaire moyen d'un travailleur anglais. Aux Etats-Unis d'Amérique, il y a en moyenne 1,1 médecin pour 1.000 habitants, en Afrique 0,11, c'est-à-dire qu'il n'y a là que 36 médecins pour 1 million d'habitants. Les analphabètes représentent en Afrique 70 à 90 pour 100 de la population. En Algérie, il y a 90 pour 100 d'analphabètes parmi la population musulmane, tandis qu'en 1830, lorsque la France conquiert l'Algérie, il y avait plus d'analphabètes en France qu'en Algérie. Voilà les "réalisations" des "civilisateurs" français dans ce pays. La faim et les maladies, une exploitation impitoyable, les travaux forcés, la répression et une politique de génocide aux colonies — tout cela a abouti à la disparition de populations entières. En un demi-siècle de domination belge, la population du Congo a diminué presque de moitié, tandis que la population de Madagascar, au cours des 60 années de la domination française, a diminué de plus de la moitié. J'ai extrait ces renseignements du livre du journaliste américain John Gunther, intitulé *L'Autre Afrique*^{5/}, livre paru à New York en 1955. Gunther, porte-parole et théoricien du néo-colonialisme américain, a été obligé de reconnaître — photographies à l'appui — que ce qu'il y avait de plus terrible, c'était la pratique des mutilations qui consistait à couper une main ou un pied à un noir coupable d'avoir mal travaillé dans la plantation ou dans la mine. Cette invention européenne ne diffère guère des atrocités commises par les nazis lors de la seconde guerre mondiale.

67. Les efforts des puissances coloniales tendant à conserver leurs positions ébranlées en Afrique s'expliquent par le fait que le continent africain dispose de ressources naturelles extrêmement riches et représente de ce fait, pour les pays capitalistes, une source importante de matières premières et un marché pour l'écoulement de leurs produits. D'après les données américaines, la part de l'Afrique dans la production mondiale représente 98 pour 100 pour les diamants, 81 pour 100 pour le cobalt, 59 pour 100 pour l'or, 42 pour 100 pour l'antimoine, 36 pour 100 pour le manganèse, 40 pour 100 pour la chromite, 27 pour 100 pour le cuivre. L'Afrique fournit plus des quatre cinquièmes des minerais d'uranium pour le monde capitaliste. Au Sahara, on a trouvé des gisements de pétrole qui se chiffrent par milliards de tonnes. En Afrique sont concentrées plus de 40 pour 100 de toutes les ressources hydro-énergétiques du monde. Dans un grand nombre de territoires africains, il y a de richissimes gisements de bauxite, de manganèse, de fer, de nickel, de zinc, de plomb, de phosphates, etc. C'est à cause de cela que, du point de vue économique, l'Afrique a une grande importance tant pour les Etats-Unis d'Amérique que pour l'Europe occidentale: cette région est l'une des sources principales de certaines matières premières qui manquent ailleurs.

68. Mais les intérêts des colonialistes diffèrent des intérêts des autochtones africains. Les représentants des milieux des monopoles considèrent l'Afrique

comme une source de main-d'œuvre à bon marché que l'on peut exploiter sans merci. Les prétendus plans d'industrialisation des territoires africains visent en réalité le développement des branches d'industrie qui sont avantageuses pour les colonialistes et, avant tout, l'industrie minière. Mais, dans ces plans des puissances coloniales, il n'est pas question de créer une grande industrie, gage d'une indépendance véritable pour les nouveaux Etats.

69. L'Afrique est en même temps un élément composant des préparatifs militaires et stratégiques en vue de l'utilisation du territoire africain comme base puissante et comme repli pour le bloc nord-atlantique. Dans son livre intitulé *L'Eurafrrique*, notre dernière chance, l'écrivain français Pierre Nord écrivait:

"Stratégiquement, personne ne s'attaquerait à l'espace géomilitaire eurafricain, refuge humain plus vaste que la Sibérie, refuge industriel plus sûr que l'Oural, et où l'on peut fabriquer dans quelques années des bombes atomiques sur les gisements du minerai^{6/}..."

70. Ainsi, de l'avis de l'auteur, l'association de l'Europe et de l'Afrique doit servir à créer un bloc puissant d'Etats, bloc dressé contre les mouvements de libération nationale des peuples africains et destiné à résoudre les difficultés intérieures des pays métropolitains au détriment des intérêts des habitants autochtones des territoires africains. Les colons blancs, placés dans des situations privilégiées, doivent — d'après les plans des colonialistes — jouer le rôle de défenseurs du colonialisme. L'auteur fait l'apologie du "colonialisme collectif" qui permettrait, grâce aux efforts communs des pays fortement industrialisés de l'Europe occidentale et de l'Amérique, de garder l'Afrique comme champ d'opérations coloniales.

71. Voilà les paroles et les actes des colonisateurs contemporains. Aussi l'appel du Premier Ministre du Royaume-Uni, M. Macmillan, lancé du haut de cette tribune lors de la séance plénière de l'Assemblée générale en date du 29 septembre dernier, apparaît-il injustifié. D'après cet appel, il aurait fallu se "libérer ... des mots d'ordre vieillis et usés", parmi lesquels il compte les mots "colonialisme" et "impérialisme" [877ème séance, par. 98].

72. Non, M. Macmillan, ce ne sont pas des mots d'ordre vieillis et usés, mais de véritables cris de guerre de notre époque: il faut en finir immédiatement avec les restes de ce honteux héritage qu'est le colonialisme. Le feu sacré de la lutte pour la liberté brûle dans le cœur de tous les peuples des colonies et des autres territoires dépendants. C'est dans ce feu que fondront les chaînes de l'esclavage et que se forgera une indépendance véritable. Tout le monde connaît la lutte héroïque du peuple du Kenya pour sa liberté et son indépendance. Son soulèvement, commencé en 1952, fut féroce réprimé par les colonialistes à l'issue d'une guerre coloniale de quatre ans qui a coûté au peuple du Kenya 10.000 tués et 150.000 incarcérés. Mais la lutte continue au Kenya. Ce pays compte 6 millions d'Africains et 63.000 colons britanniques, mais ce sont ces derniers qui possèdent les terres les plus fertiles, car la population autochtone de ces régions avait été chassée et ses terres avaient été distribuées à 12.000 fermiers britanniques. Chacun de ces fermiers a pu ainsi obtenir en moyenne

^{5/} J. Gunther, *Inside Africa*. New York, Harper and Brothers.

^{6/} Paris, Arthème Fayard, 1955, p. 11.

2,5 kilomètres carrés de terres, tandis que les autochtones ont été parqués dans des réserves où la densité de population atteint 400 personnes au kilomètre carré. Il n'est donc point étonnant que le revenu annuel moyen d'un autochtone du Kenya soit 30 fois inférieur à celui d'un Anglais. Demandez donc à n'importe quel autochtone du Kenya si le slogan de la suppression immédiate du colonialisme est tombé en désuétude! Je pense qu'il répondra que ce slogan, loin d'être périmé, est au contraire très vivace et d'une actualité brûlante.

73. M. Macmillan, en exaltant son action dans les colonies anglaises, a déclaré du haut de cette tribune:

"... notre but demeure clair et constant: créer des sociétés — ou aider les peuples de ces pays à se constituer en sociétés — dont tous les membres, quelles que soient leur race, leur tribu, leurs croyances religieuses, puissent vivre et travailler de concert. Telle est la mission que nous nous sommes assignée et pour laquelle nous continuerons notre œuvre." [Ibid., par. 106.]

74. C'est ce que répétait, en d'autres termes, le représentant du Royaume-Uni, M. Ormsby-Gore, qui prit la parole ici le 28 novembre [925^{ème} séance]. MM. Macmillan et Ormsby-Gore ont essayé de faire figure à nos yeux de "bons pères de famille", les peuples colonisés étant des enfants qui doivent être éduqués, instruits et préparés à entrer dans le monde, à aller à l'école. Ce n'est donc pas par hasard qu'ils n'ont rien dit des atrocités, de la répression, de la détresse, du besoin, de l'arbitraire, de l'exploitation brutale et d'autres actes commis par les colonisateurs britanniques dans leurs colonies. MM. Macmillan et Ormsby-Gore n'ont pas dit un mot du fracas des canons sur la terre antique d'Oman — dont les représentants se trouvent parmi nous — au Nyassaland et en Rhodésie. Chacun voit clairement aujourd'hui que l'indépendance acquise par les peuples des anciennes colonies anglaises, loin d'être le fruit d'une noble politique du Royaume-Uni, est en fait le résultat d'une lutte sanglante menée par les peuples de ces pays. Affirmer que leur indépendance est le résultat du souci que les colonisateurs prenaient du "progrès" de ces pays, c'est falsifier l'histoire. La libération des peuples coloniaux de leur joug et l'effondrement du système colonial sont des processus historiques qu'aucune répression, aucun canon, aucune mitrailleuse ne saurait arrêter. Les colonialistes tentent de freiner ce processus historique normal, et même de l'inverser. Mais ils n'y réussiront pas.

75. Vous savez que la déclaration qui vous est proposée [A/4502] exige l'octroi immédiat à tous les peuples asservis d'une indépendance et d'une liberté totales. Ce n'est que dans les conditions d'une indépendance réelle qu'il devient possible de résoudre tous les problèmes politiques, économiques, sociaux et culturels; cela est prouvé d'une façon convaincante par le développement harmonieux des jeunes Etats africains, en particulier de la République de Guinée, de la République du Ghana et d'autres Etats. Nous sommes témoins du fait que les milieux des monopoles des puissances occidentales et des Etats-Unis d'Amérique tentent de compenser au détriment de l'Afrique les échecs subis par eux en Asie. Dès la fin de la seconde guerre mondiale, ces monopoles se sont orientés vers l'accroissement de leur expansion en Afrique. Actuellement, les groupes Rockefeller, Morgan et Mellon ont d'énormes investissements sur ce continent.

76. Les investissements privés directs des sociétés américaines en Afrique atteignaient, à la fin de 1958, 789 millions de dollars, soit le triple des sommes investies en 1950. Vers la fin de 1959, en Afrique, près de 200 sociétés américaines étaient "intéressées" surtout à l'extraction de matières premières industrielles, en particulier stratégiques. La richesse des ressources naturelles de l'Afrique, jointe au niveau extrêmement bas du salaire des travailleurs africains, ouvre aux monopoles des Etats-Unis d'Amérique des perspectives d'enrichissement et de profit qui sont extraordinaires même dans les conditions caractéristiques des pays coloniaux. A ce sujet, des données très intéressantes sont contenues dans un rapport présenté par le Programme de recherches africaines de Northwestern University à la Commission des affaires étrangères du Sénat des Etats-Unis. De ce rapport, publié à Washington en 1959, il ressort que, tandis que le rendement moyen de la totalité des investissements américains à l'extérieur du pays est de 26 pour 100, en Afrique, ces investissements rapportent 30 pour 100. On le voit, les monopoles des Etats-Unis, de même que ceux des puissances de l'Europe occidentale, participent directement à l'exploitation des peuples de l'Afrique et au drainage des richesses de ce pays. Ainsi, d'après des données américaines, les Etats-Unis importent annuellement du Congo, par exemple, 60 pour 100 de la totalité du cobalt extrait, 64 pour 100 du manganèse, 79 pour 100 du tantale, 87 pour 100 de la production diamantifère, tandis que près de 100 pour 100 des minerais d'uranium et du lithium sont enlevés par les Etats-Unis. De plus, une partie des ressources naturelles du Congo est dirigée vers l'industrie de guerre de l'Allemagne occidentale, contrôlée par les Etats-Unis d'Amérique. Chacun peut se rendre compte que l'implantation du capital américain en Afrique constitue un néo-colonialisme non déguisé, amenant une forme nouvelle d'asservissement des peuples africains. Les industriels de l'Allemagne occidentale, qui ont récemment fait une tournée dans les pays d'Afrique, ne sont pas en retard sur les représentants des monopoles américains. Ainsi, dans le consortium international "Cons-Afrique", à côté des banques belges, anglaises et françaises, apparaît une banque allemande, la Deutsche Bank. Les monopoles allemands ont d'ailleurs une influence prépondérante au sein de ce consortium. Ce dernier s'intéresse particulièrement aux gisements de minerai de fer, de manganèse, d'aluminium et d'autres minerais que l'on trouve tant au Congo que dans d'autres territoires africains. Si l'on tient compte du fait que les ressources minérales les plus importantes sont actuellement exploitées surtout au Katanga, on comprendra que tous les discours tendant à faire reconnaître le Katanga comme un Etat indépendant ne sont que des manœuvres des colonialistes belges et américains, qui cherchent à conserver la source des bénéfices énormes qu'ils retirent de l'exploitation des ressources naturelles du Katanga. Le peuple de Biélorussie, comme tous les peuples soviétiques et toute l'humanité progressiste, est persuadé que le jour est proche où les ressources naturelles de la République du Congo permettront à son peuple d'être en première ligne dans la lutte pour le progrès de l'Afrique et de l'humanité tout entière.

77. La lutte pour la liberté et l'indépendance nationales continue et même s'accroît en Oman, dans l'Ouganda, au Tanganyika, à Zanzibar, dans les colonies portugaises — Angola, Mozambique et Guinée

portugaise — dans le Territoire sous tutelle belge du Ruanda-Urundi, dans le Sud-Ouest africain, à Porto Rico — colonie américaine — et ailleurs encore.

78. Les colonialistes s'efforcent de maintenir à tout prix leur domination sur les pays qu'ils ont réduits en esclavage et ils ont recours pour cela aux méthodes les plus variées. Ainsi que l'indique à juste titre la déclaration soviétique [A/4502], "ils forcent les peuples des colonies à entretenir entemps de paix des forces armées et une administration étrangères, c'est-à-dire à payer le coût des chafnes dont ils sont chargés". Ils pratiquent largement la vieille maxime *divide ut imperes* en excitant les tribus les unes contre les autres, ainsi qu'on le constate actuellement au Congo. Ils recourent également à des méthodes plus subtiles et vont jusqu'à faire des concessions en accordant, par exemple, un droit de vote plus étendu aux Africains, tout en subornant les chefs africains qui tireront pour eux les marrons du feu. Parlant du haut de cette tribune des méthodes nouvelles auxquelles on a recours pour conserver la domination coloniale, le Président de la République arabe unie, M. Nasser, a dit à juste titre: "L'agression de Suez a marqué la fin de l'impérialisme déclaré et l'a précipité dans sa tombe. Aujourd'hui, les événements du Congo nous montrent un impérialisme camouflé, qui n'hésite pas à se servir des Nations Unies elles-mêmes pour parvenir à ses fins cachées." [873ème séance, par. 120.] Nous sommes entièrement d'accord sur ce point avec le Président de la République arabe unie.

79. A l'heure actuelle, les colonisateurs vont même jusqu'à accorder à leurs colonies l'indépendance politique, tout en se réservant les positions clefs dans les domaines de l'économie, de la finance, de l'administration, ainsi que dans l'armée, et en plaçant souvent au pouvoir des fantoches, traîtres à leur peuple. Il n'y a pas de différence de principe entre toutes ces méthodes, car leur sens reste toujours le même: conserver ou, pour le moins, faire durer la domination coloniale et le pillage des peuples colonisés.

80. L'opinion publique mondiale est bouleversée par le communiqué relatant la capture, par la force, du Premier Ministre de la République du Congo, Patrice Lumumba, par les bandes armées de Mobutu. Un acte arbitraire de violence grossière à l'égard du chef légitime du Gouvernement de la République du Congo a été commis bien qu'au Congo se trouvent des forces armées de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, qui y ont été envoyées par le Conseil de sécurité à la demande du premier ministre Lumumba. L'Organisation des Nations Unies est appelée pour mettre en œuvre les décisions du Conseil de sécurité; or, en fait, on applique une politique de conciliation à l'égard du régime dictatorial illégal de Mobutu, créature des colonialistes belges, américains et français.

81. La délégation de la République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie élève, du haut de cette tribune, une protestation catégorique contre l'acte de pur arbitraire que constitue l'arrestation illégale du premier ministre Lumumba; elle exige que ce dernier soit immédiatement libéré. Nous estimons que des conditions propres au rétablissement de l'activité du Parlement de la République doivent être créées au Congo.

82. Le PRESIDENT (traduit de l'anglais): Je regrette d'interrompre l'orateur. J'espère toutefois qu'il ne

profitera pas de son intervention dans ce débat de caractère essentiellement général sur la question du colonialisme pour discuter de la situation actuelle au Congo, puisque l'Assemblée générale a décidé d'ajourner la discussion sur cette question. Tout exposé détaillé d'opinions sur la situation au Congo sortirait du cadre du présent débat. Je demande donc à l'orateur de bien vouloir poursuivre son intervention en tenant compte de ce que je viens de dire.

83. M. KISSELEV (République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie) [traduit du russe]: J'ai déjà dit ce que je voulais dire. Je continue.

84. La suppression du système colonial comporte également la liquidation de l'une des formes de ce système, à savoir la tutelle. Lorsque le régime de tutelle fut créé conformément à la Charte de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, il fut entendu que les puissances chargées d'une tutelle seraient tenues de favoriser l'évolution progressive des territoires placés sous tutelle vers la capacité à s'administrer eux-mêmes ou l'indépendance. Or, depuis que la Charte a été adoptée, il s'est écoulé 15 ans et quatre seulement des 11 territoires placés alors sous tutelle ont accédé à l'indépendance. Pour les autres territoires sous tutelle, aucune date précise n'a été fixée en ce qui concerne l'octroi de leur indépendance; par ailleurs, les plus importants sont le Tanganyika, le Ruanda-Urundi et la Nouvelle-Guinée; un vaste territoire africain, le Sud-Ouest africain, a été annexé par les racistes de l'Union sud-africaine. Les puissances coloniales qui ont été chargées d'une "tutelle" continuent, au mépris de la Charte, à exercer, de fait, une domination coloniale en exploitant d'une façon éhontée la population locale. Elles pillent les richesses naturelles du pays au profit de leurs monopoles, s'opposent au développement économique et politique de ces territoires, recourent à des mesures sauvages de représailles contre ceux qui réclament l'indépendance et, en particulier, contre ceux qui adressent des pétitions à l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Notre organisation reçoit des milliers de pétitions en provenance des territoires sous tutelle. Ces pétitions, examinées par la Quatrième Commission, sont le fait de millions d'êtres humains vivant dans ces territoires: elles sont souvent écrites avec du sang et sont un acte d'accusation contre la politique des autorités chargées de l'administration de ces territoires. Quant aux faits cités dans ces pétitions, ils provoquent la colère et l'indignation de l'opinion publique mondiale.

85. Ainsi qu'il est dit, à juste titre, dans la déclaration soviétique: "Le régime de tutelle ne s'est justifié nulle part; il faut donc l'enterrer en même temps que tout l'anachronique système colonial." [A/4502.]

86. L'orateur qui m'a précédé à cette tribune, M. Garin, représentant du Portugal, a affirmé — en dépit des faits et de la vérité — que son pays ne connaît pas de colonialisme. Je pense que ce sont là des contes calculés pour induire en erreur les personnes naïves et tromper ainsi l'opinion publique mondiale. Qui donc ignore que dans les colonies portugaises d'Afrique — l'Angola, le Mozambique et la Guinée portugaise, dont la superficie représente plus de la moitié de celle qu'occupe l'Europe occidentale, et qui comptent 11 millions d'habitants — il n'y a aucun établissement d'enseignement supérieur et les enseignements secondaires et primaires font presque entièrement défaut? La politique d'oppression et de

discrimination raciale des colonialistes portugais est camouflée par une prétendue politique "d'assimilation". Ils affirment que, petit à petit, les Africains reçoivent des droits civiques et même la citoyenneté portugaise.

87. Mais pour cela il faut connaître la langue portugaise, avoir une bonne instruction et posséder des biens importants. Aussi, depuis cinq siècles, les colonisateurs ont-ils assimilé moins de 0,3 pour 100 de la population alors que le restant, c'est-à-dire 99,7 pour 100 de la population autochtone, n'a aucun droit et est exploité par les colons portugais, qui ont le droit de les chasser de leurs terres si celles-ci conviennent aux colonisateurs. Si la population ne se montre pas d'accord et proteste, les autorités portugaises ont recours à des mesures de représailles extrêmement cruelles. Les choses sont allées si loin que le Gouvernement portugais a été obligé, en 1959, d'envoyer en Guinée portugaise des avions et des navires de guerre pour user de répressions contre la population locale. C'est là une chose que ni M. Garin ni l'opinion publique mondiale ne peuvent ignorer.

88. Permettez-moi de m'arrêter un moment sur ce qui se passe dans le Territoire du Ruanda-Urundi placé sous tutelle de l'ONU et administré par la Belgique, territoire peuplé de 5 millions de personnes parmi lesquelles 6.000 Européens seulement. A l'égard de ce territoire sous tutelle, l'Assemblée générale a adopté des recommandations [résolutions 1413 (XIV) et 1419 (XIV)] en vertu desquelles la Belgique était obligée de fixer les délais dans lesquels ce territoire serait préparé à son indépendance politique. Mais le Gouvernement belge n'a pas donné effet à ces recommandations.

89. Ce territoire est le théâtre de mesures monstrueuses de discrimination raciale de toute sorte, tant dans le domaine politique que dans les domaines juridique et social. On y inflige, encore à notre époque, des châtiments corporels, sur décision des tribunaux. D'après les renseignements fournis par l'UNESCO, il y a au Ruanda-Urundi 600.000 enfants dont 400.000 ne vont pas à l'école. La domination belge, qui dure depuis plus de 40 ans, a abouti à un appauvrissement général de la population locale. Les masses populaires, poussées au désespoir par l'exploitation belge, se sont soulevées en novembre 1959. Cette rébellion a été réprimée par des troupes de parachutistes. A la suite de représailles sanglantes, des centaines d'autochtones ont été tués et des dizaines de villages incendiés. Ces faits furent relatés dans la presse américaine. On pourrait citer d'autres faits, mais ceux-là suffisent pour prouver que la nature du colonialisme n'a pas changé. En Afrique vivent plus de 200 millions d'êtres humains, dont 5 millions seulement d'Européens, c'est-à-dire 2 pour 100.

90. La flambée de liberté s'étend sur le continent africain et, très vite, cette flambée consumera les vestiges du colonialisme. Les colonialistes luttent avec acharnement et, par leurs manœuvres, ils tentent de réprimer, par le fer et par le feu, la pression des mouvements de libération nationale. Mais la lutte des peuples pour leur liberté et leur indépendance se développe de plus en plus largement et de plus en plus profondément. Il n'y a plus à l'heure actuelle en Afrique un seul coin de terre où les colonisateurs ne sentent le sol brûler sous leurs pieds. Les répressions exercées par les colonisateurs ne peuvent arrêter la

marche de l'histoire et nous sommes persuadés que, très rapidement, toute l'Afrique sera libre.

91. L'expérience de la solution donnée à la question nationale en Union soviétique et dans les autres pays socialistes montre que seuls l'octroi d'une égalité de droits totale à l'ensemble de la population et la possibilité de développer librement leur économie garantissent une coopération étroite entre toutes les populations.

92. L'Organisation des Nations Unies aurait pu contribuer efficacement à la liquidation du colonialisme et du racisme. L'Organisation doit apporter sa contribution à la liquidation du système colonialiste, conformément aux dispositions de la Charte qui affirment le droit des nations à leur autonomie. La meilleure forme que pourrait revêtir cette contribution serait l'adoption de la "Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux", soumis à notre examen par l'Union soviétique. Cette déclaration prévoit que tous les Etats Membres de l'ONU proclament solennellement les exigences suivantes:

"1. — Accorder sans délai à tous les pays coloniaux, territoires sous tutelle et autres territoires non autonomes, l'indépendance complète et la liberté d'édifier leurs propres Etats nationaux conformément à la volonté et aux aspirations librement exprimées de leurs peuples. Le régime colonial et l'administration coloniale sous toutes ses formes doivent être entièrement supprimés afin de permettre aux peuples de ces territoires de décider eux-mêmes de leur sort et de leur régime politique.

"2. — Eliminer également tous les points d'appui du colonialisme sous la forme de possessions et de zones cédées à bail en territoire étranger.

"3. — Les gouvernements de tous les pays sont invités à observer rigoureusement et constamment, dans les relations entre Etats, les dispositions de la Charte des Nations Unies et de la présente Déclaration concernant l'égalité et le respect des droits souverains et de l'intégrité territoriale de tous les Etats sans exception, et à n'admettre aucune manifestation du colonialisme, aucun droit ou privilège exclusif de certains Etats au détriment d'autres." [A/4502.]

Il est prévu également que les puissances qui ont des possessions coloniales doivent entamer des pourparlers, sur un pied d'égalité, avec les représentants de ces possessions pour s'entendre sur l'établissement de la liberté et de l'indépendance de ces pays, en fixant des dates précises et rapprochées, afin d'exclure toute possibilité de pression ou d'agression de la part des puissances coloniales.

93. De l'avis de la délégation de la Biélorussie, la déclaration proposée par l'Union soviétique représente le programme de ce que l'Organisation des Nations Unies peut et doit, dans les conditions actuelles, faire pour liquider le régime colonial. Les principes généraux dont doivent s'inspirer tous les pays Membres de l'ONU dans la solution de ce problème sont contenus dans cette déclaration. Bien entendu, nous ne nous attendons pas à ce que les puissances coloniales occidentales appuient le projet de déclaration soviétique. Elles auront recours à n'importe quels "arguments" pour essayer de déformer le sens et les motifs de la déclaration soviétique.

94. Je voudrais m'attarder un instant sur ces "arguments". On prétend notamment — et c'est là un "argument" déjà usé — qu'il ne s'agit là simplement que de "propagande soviétique". Nous sommes habitués au fait que, chaque fois que l'Union soviétique présente une proposition ayant pour but de diminuer la tension internationale, les Etats-Unis d'Amérique et leurs alliés au sein de blocs militaires affirment qu'il s'agit de "propagande". J'ai, au cours de nombreuses années consécutives, entendu ici de telles accusations. Mais qui empêche les puissances occidentales de mener une "propagande" analogue? Il semblerait qu'elles ne disposent d'aucun argument à opposer aux propositions soviétiques et il ne saurait en être autrement, car c'est du côté soviétique que se trouve la vérité et la vérité ne saurait être qu'une. En affirmant que la proposition soviétique n'est que "propagande", les puissances occidentales se démasquent par là même. Elles n'ont rien à opposer à cette déclaration, car, en réalité, elles se refusent à liquider le système colonial; elles sont en faveur de la continuation du pillage colonial et aucune acrobatie verbale, ici, ne leur facilitera les choses.

95. On dit également que la déclaration soviétique a un caractère trop général, que la question de la liquidation du colonialisme est "très complexe", qu'il faut tenir compte des "services" rendus par les puissances coloniales à leurs colonies, des liens qui se sont établis entre ces dernières et les métropoles, etc. C'est ce qu'a dit notamment M. Ormsby-Gore lorsqu'il a pris la parole au moment de l'examen de la procédure à appliquer à la proposition soviétique, c'est-à-dire aux séances plénières des 12 octobre [902ème séance] et 28 novembre [925ème séance]. En ce qui concerne les services rendus par les colons à leurs colonies, j'en ai déjà parlé surabondamment et ne me répéterai pas.

96. On dit aussi que l'adoption de la déclaration soviétique aurait pour résultat une modification de la Charte des Nations Unies, spécialement en ce qui concerne le régime de tutelle. C'est ce qu'a dit notamment le représentant de la Nouvelle-Zélande, M. Shanahan, qui a pris la parole en séance plénière le 12 octobre [902ème séance] et le 2 décembre [932ème séance], en affirmant que c'était là un "argument" contre l'adoption de la déclaration. Mais est-ce là un argument? Nous avons tous adopté la Charte des Nations Unies, nous l'avons signée et nous sommes en droit de modifier cette Charte en fonction des modifications radicales intervenues dans la situation internationale. Il n'y a rien d'éternel dans le monde. Les gouvernements changent, ainsi que l'ordre social et même la vie du monde en général. A plus forte raison peut-on modifier la Charte des Nations Unies.

97. De nombreux hommes d'Etat occidentaux, y compris ceux des Etats-Unis d'Amérique, ont affirmé ici que la déclaration est un "appel à la rébellion" dans les colonies. Le représentant du Royaume-Uni, M. Ormsby-Gore, prenant la parole le 28 novembre, n'a reculé ni devant une grossière déformation des faits, ni devant une calomnie visant l'Union soviétique, lorsqu'il a affirmé:

"Le seul but de l'Union soviétique semble être d'engendrer la haine plutôt que l'amitié, la violence plutôt que la paix et le chaos plutôt que l'ordre."
[925ème séance, par. 18.]

98. De telles assertions démasquent leurs auteurs. C'est donc qu'ils craignent le mouvement des colonies vers leur indépendance, qu'ils s'opposent à son octroi rapide et s'efforcent de faire durer la domination coloniale. C'est précisément leur politique et leur pratique aux colonies qui provoquent les rébellions. Ces "mutineries", ces "actes de violence" et ce "chaos", comme ils disent, se sont produits bien longtemps avant le dépôt de la déclaration soviétique. Cela s'est produit, se produit actuellement et continuera de se produire si les peuples opprimés des colonies ne se voient pas accorder l'indépendance et si les colonisateurs ne décampent pas des territoires colonisés pour regagner leurs pénates.

99. Le sens historique de la "Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux" est incontestable, car elle traite une question venue à maturité depuis longtemps, à savoir la liquidation du régime colonial sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations. Cette déclaration a trouvé dans le monde entier un vaste écho au sein des peuples épris de liberté, au sein des pays qui ont été ou qui sont encore sous la domination colonialiste.

100. Si l'Organisation des Nations Unies ne veut pas rester à l'écart du grand processus historique de liquidation du régime colonial, elle doit adopter les propositions qui tendent à cette liquidation, comme l'a dit le chef du Gouvernement soviétique, M. Khrouchtchev, dans son discours du 12 octobre:

"Les peuples des pays colonisés n'auront d'autre solution que de prendre les armes. Si on leur refuse le droit d'exister de manière indépendante, de choisir le système politique et social qui leur plaît, d'organiser leur vie sur leur propre sol comme ils l'entendent, ils conquerront ce droit par les armes."
[902ème séance, par. 13.]

101. Le devoir de tous les peuples qui ont pris position en faveur de la liquidation du régime colonialiste est d'aider par tous les moyens en leur pouvoir ceux qui luttent contre le joug colonialiste et contre l'impérialisme colonial; il faut apporter à ces peuples une aide morale, matérielle et de toute sorte, afin de leur permettre de mener à bonne fin la lutte juste et sacrée qu'ils mènent pour leur indépendance.

102. De son côté, la délégation de la République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie — ainsi que toutes les autres républiques de la grande Union soviétique — fidèle à la politique de paix et de soutien de ceux qui luttent en faveur de l'indépendance nationale dont le principe fut proclamé par le fondateur de l'Etat soviétique, V. I. Lénine, la RSS de Biélorussie, disons-nous, est restée, reste et restera aux côtés des peuples qui luttent pour la libération du joug colonial, pour la liberté et l'indépendance nationales. Nous tendons la main à ces peuples pour leur fournir aide et assistance. Rien ne saurait prévenir l'effondrement du régime colonialiste.

103. La délégation de la RSS de Biélorussie appuie chaleureusement la "Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux", soumise par le Gouvernement de l'Union soviétique à l'examen de la présente session de l'Assemblée générale. Nous lançons un appel à tous les Etats Membres de l'Organisation pour qu'ils appuient cette déclaration. Nous nous adressons aux représentants des pays d'Asie et d'Afrique qui se sont libérés récemment du joug

colonial, ainsi qu'aux pays de l'Amérique latine, en les adjurant de voter en faveur de la déclaration.

104. Je terminerai en citant le poème d'un poète africain originaire de la Côte-d'Ivoire, Bernard Dadié, qui parle justement du grand processus qui s'accomplit actuellement en Afrique:

*La vieille Afrique, dans le chaos du siècle se
[réveille.
Hommes, ne soyez pas faibles. Aux croisées des
[chemins, sous les baobabs,
Dans les prisons, dans les baraquements des con-
[fins ouvriers,
Je crie à chacun, à tous les pauvres gens de ma
[patrie:
Tu es le roi des usines, tu es le roi des champs,
Tu es le peuple et donc le maître 7/.*

105. M. KAKA (Niger): Qu'il me soit permis, au moment où je dois prendre la parole, d'adresser — bien que tardivement — toutes mes félicitations au Président.

106. Comme l'a souligné avec une remarquable lucidité le représentant de l'Argentine, "la primauté des questions coloniales dans les débats des Nations Unies n'est pas due au hasard, ni uniquement à des initiatives capricieuses ou arbitraires. C'est le reflet de la réalité actuelle" [927ème séance, par.1]. La réalité a fait de cette quinzième session de l'Organisation des Nations Unies la session de l'Afrique et celle de tous les problèmes nés du fait du sous-développement et des incidences qui lui sont inhérentes.

107. Ma voix — qui est celle d'un pays sorti, il y a à peine quelques mois, de l'ombre de la colonisation — ne sera pas timide. Je désire tout de suite affirmer solennellement que mon pays, qui a lutté durant des années pour que se brise le carcan du colonialisme, est fier d'ajouter son nom à la longue liste des nations qui proposent à cette assemblée l'adoption du projet de résolution [A/L.323 et Add.1 à 5] sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples colonisés. J'ai dit que ma voix ne sera pas timide. Elle ne sera pas haineuse non plus. Je ne voudrai la rendre passionnée que lorsqu'il s'agira du droit à la liberté, du droit à la dignité, droits fermement reconnus par la Charte, qu'il faut de toute urgence accorder aux peuples vivant sous la domination étrangère.

108. L'histoire nous a appris le processus par lequel certaines nations, à certaines époques, ne pouvant plus être contenues dans l'étroitesse de leurs frontières, guidées tantôt par l'aventure tantôt par l'intérêt, ont été amenées à se persuader de l'utilité d'imposer aux autres peuples leur science, leur culture, leur civilisation. Seules maîtresses du monde à cette époque, elles surent user du droit du plus fort. Un besoin de survie, par-delà les mers, sous forme d'influences de toutes sortes, un besoin de débouchés pour développer leurs économies et, par là, leurs techniques, et aussi la recherche de ressources susceptibles d'améliorer le niveau de vie de leurs nationaux, sont les seules pièces de justification contenues dans ce lourd dossier. Je n'abuserai pas de mon droit d'ex-colonisé pour les accabler. La colonisation est un fait de l'histoire, chaque peuple représenté ici a connu des périodes de grandeur et d'humiliation. Certains ont été chassés de leurs terres, d'autres ont connu la domination odieuse du bourreau assoiffé de sang et de

grandeur, d'autres encore ont été non seulement dominés, mais "digérés". Nul n'a été épargné par ces bouleversements plus ou moins tragiques qui jalonnent l'histoire des hommes depuis des temps immémoriaux.

109. Au moment où la colonisation prenait pied, le droit international était circonscrit aux seules nations solides du vieux continent. Certaine réunion, à la fin du siècle dernier, dont l'objet était de s'approprier l'Afrique en la morcelant, constitue une manifestation patente de l'esprit et de la conception de ce droit. Ce droit est fondé sur l'injuste "droit du plus fort" que tout le monde condamne ici, depuis son essence jusqu'à ses moindres manifestations. Mais le cercle réduit du monde, à cette époque, pouvait se créer des droits à la mesure de ses intérêts. Aujourd'hui que la planète a retrouvé ses dimensions, aujourd'hui que les distances sont réduites, au point que l'opinion de chaque homme d'un point du monde à l'autre pèse sur la balance des relations humaines, il n'est plus possible de justifier la colonisation.

110. Les nations administrantes qui ont ajusté, ou qui sont en train d'ajuster, leurs conceptions à la vie moderne ne méritent pas, à mes yeux, l'accusation systématique et passionnelle dont elles sont l'objet. Il leur reste certainement beaucoup à faire et le mieux qu'elles puissent faire est de hâter la libération de tous les peuples encore maintenus sous leur domination. Il n'est pas de mon propos de justifier la domination sous quelque forme qu'elle se présente. Nous nous trouvons devant un fait de l'histoire: mon intention est de le replacer dans son contexte afin de le juger avec une tranquille objectivité. Je sais que, si l'on prenait tous les cas modernes de colonisation, invariablement leur bilan serait sombre. La domination, directe ou indirecte, l'impérialisme, sous toutes ses couleurs, sont odieux par essence. Je n'ai pas besoin de recenser les faits qui les condamnent; les chantres de l'anticolonialisme sont nombreux dans cette assemblée et, depuis l'ouverture de ces débats, la plupart des délégations des Etats anciennement colonisés ont eu à peindre, avec une froide maîtrise, les méfaits du colonialisme. J'aimerais cependant insister sur un seul point.

111. On rencontre dans certaines méthodes coloniales cet esprit cynique qui consiste à inoculer à l'être dépendant le virus du complexe: complexe de la race, complexe d'infériorité, complexe d'imperfectibilité, maintien dans une sous-alimentation culturelle calculée, transformation de la personne en défroque humaine, incapacité d'initiative, incapacité de réaction saine et logique, bref, amoindrissement moral de l'homme en qui toute dignité a été éteinte. Certaines nations administrantes se sont laissées aller à ce génocide moral afin d'assurer la pérennité de leur domination. Enfermées dans leur tour d'ivoire, elles s'imaginent qu'aucun regard indiscret ne peut entrevoir l'art consommé avec lequel elles s'ingénient à façonner des esprits serviles. Contre ces nations qui continuent en cachette à piller par esprit de folie les valeurs humaines, l'humanité entière saura se dresser pour leur dire non.

112. Nous voulons, oui, nous exigeons la libération des peuples et celle des individus. Les attardés, qui croient échapper aux réalités de la seconde moitié du XXème siècle par des faux-fuyants, porteront de lourdes responsabilités devant l'histoire. Ce mépris de la dignité humaine porte des germes lourds de conflits. Plus le temps passe, plus ce mépris insensé

paraîtra intolérable. Les principes de la Charte des Nations Unies sur le droit à la liberté sont clairs et ne souffrent aucune interprétation tendancieuse. Il est inadmissible que des nations, au demeurant courageuses, respectables, et dont l'histoire n'a pas manqué de grandeur humaine, perpétuent plus longtemps la malhonnêteté qui consiste à pratiquer une autre politique que celle qu'exprime la Charte des Nations Unies, acceptée solennellement devant le monde. Cette attitude est indécente. Le droit du plus fort n'est plus de saison, il ne peut plus servir de fondement à aucune action moderne dans les relations entre les peuples.

113. En arrivant au terme de mon intervention, j'adresse, au nom de ma délégation, un pressant appel aux grandes puissances qui se partagent l'influence dans le monde. La fin du colonialisme que tout le monde appelle de tous ses vœux est certainement un des problèmes les plus importants et les plus humains que notre génération ait été amenée à traiter. Par égard pour les souffrances des hommes privés de leurs droits élémentaires et maintenus dans l'asservissement, par égard pour le dénuement de ceux qui viennent de faire surface et dont les premiers pas sont encore chancelants, nous vous demandons de nous préserver, au moins pendant quelque temps, de vos querelles de guerre froide. La décolonisation ne peut être un cheval de bataille pour justifier les avantages quelconques d'un système social. Les jeunes peuples libérés auront besoin de se retrouver et, selon les données appropriées, ils construiront patiemment leur pays.

114. Nous savons qu'il existe des nostalgiques de la décolonisation qui se croient assez malins et assez forts pour reprendre de la main gauche ce qu'ils ont donné de la main droite. Nous savons également qu'il y a ceux qui piétinent d'impatience pour remplacer les administrants d'hier. Ces luttes d'influence entre frères amis et frères ennemis manquent de réalisme. Nous ne sommes plus mineurs à partir du moment où nous pouvons disposer de notre liberté. Il n'existe pas de peuples mineurs dans l'exercice de la liberté. Nous condamnons fermement le colonialisme sous toutes ses formes.

115. Est-il besoin de dire que les peuples qui aspirent à la liberté, à l'indépendance, attendent beaucoup de notre assemblée? Peut-on, je vous le demande au nom de la dignité humaine, répondre non à cette aspiration naturelle et légitime?

116. Je reste persuadé que toutes les nations éprises de paix, de justice et de liberté se joindront à nous pour que le projet de résolution soit adopté à l'unanimité.

117. M. DE FREITAS-VALLE (Brésil) [traduit de l'anglais]: Avant d'entrer dans le vif du sujet, il me semble indispensable de suivre une ancienne pratique et de définir l'objet de la discussion, qui est la notion de colonialisme. On rencontre immédiatement une première difficulté, puisque les notions acceptées tirent leur origine de philosophies politiques différentes.

118. On trouve d'une part ce que l'on pourrait appeler la définition expansionniste du colonialisme, celle de Hobson par exemple:

"Au mieux, le colonialisme est un déversement naturel de la nationalité; il se juge au pouvoir des colons de transplanter la civilisation qu'ils repré-

sentent dans le milieu naturel et social nouveau où ils se trouvent ^{8/}."

On pourrait d'autre part rappeler l'ancienne définition pangermaniste du colonialisme, ressuscité il y a quelque temps seulement par le fascisme nazi. Nous avons ici la théorie du "Lebensraum": le pouvoir des peuples qui se considèrent supérieurs d'occuper les espaces qui leur sont nécessaires pour atteindre leurs objectifs politiques. Nous pourrions aussi évoquer l'interprétation du colonialisme donnée par Lénine, à savoir qu'il est la conséquence inévitable du développement du capitalisme et de l'impérialisme. Il y a également ceux qui considèrent le colonialisme comme le "fardeau de l'homme blanc": la mission humanitaire, qui incombe à certaines puissances, d'apporter aux peuples peu avancés progrès, connaissances techniques, éducation et bien-être matériel. Dans la plupart des cas, cette définition a servi d'écran à l'impérialisme pur. On ne saurait passer sous silence la forme la plus récente (et particulièrement agressive) du colonialisme: le colonialisme idéologique qui correspond, nous le savons tous, à la domination d'un peuple par un autre, lequel impose au peuple dominé une idéologie étrangère.

119. Ce que nous étudions dans le présent débat sous le nom de colonialisme — pour nous en tenir rigoureusement au cadre de notre ordre du jour — concerne le statut politique et juridique des territoires qui, suivant l'expression de la Charte, "ne s'administrent pas encore complètement" eux-mêmes [Art. 73].

120. Le cycle historique des formes classiques du colonialisme — nées de la révolution industrielle, du capitalisme, de l'esprit d'aventure, du bescin d'expansion et aussi de l'avidité, souvent sans scrupules — est déjà refermé. A ce point de vue, je ne crois pas qu'il y ait exagération à affirmer que ce sont les auteurs de la Charte des Nations Unies qui ont donné le coup de grâce au colonialisme. La Déclaration relative aux territoires non autonomes — qui ne figurait pas dans les propositions de Dumbarton Oaks mais qui a très sagement été incluse dans le texte même de la Charte [Chap. XI] — traite de la situation juridique de l'héritage colonialiste et fixe les conditions de son élimination progressive. Du fait, notamment, des principes de la Charte, de ses mécanismes pratiques et politiques et de la force morale de ses décisions, l'Organisation des Nations Unies devient peu à peu le véritable instrument de la grande révolution de notre époque: l'affranchissement des peuples coloniaux, non seulement de l'esclavage politique mais aussi de l'esclavage économique. Ce n'est pas le moment de dresser le bilan des réalisations de l'ONU dans ce domaine. Mais le spectateur même le moins attentif sait que l'ONU a contribué sensiblement à multiplier ces drapeaux colorés qui honorent notre organisation.

121. Afin d'examiner la question coloniale à la lumière de la Charte, on devrait s'efforcer de l'aborder sans parti pris et dans la perspective des réalités politiques de l'époque. On devrait se souvenir que nous vivons dans un monde divisé en deux blocs politiques opposés et paralysé par la crainte d'une guerre thermonucléaire. En conséquence, la question coloniale tend malheureusement à être examinée en tant

^{8/} J. A. Hobson, *Imperialism*, Londres, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., édit., 1948, p. 7.

qu'élément d'une lutte idéologique et d'une politique de puissance. C'est là une grave et dangereuse erreur. Elargir les zones de tension politique, multiplier les points de friction, renforcer les barrières dressées par des malentendus, cela revient non seulement à porter préjudice aux intérêts immédiats et futurs des peuples coloniaux, mais aussi à affaiblir les chances de voir régler pacifiquement les problèmes qui séparent les blocs rivaux. En outre, on ferait ainsi de l'Organisation des Nations Unies non pas l'instrument de cette révolution de l'espoir pour laquelle nous combattons, nous les soldats de la paix, mais l'instrument d'une révolution de la colère.

122. Si l'on doit distinguer la question coloniale de celle de la guerre froide, on ne peut toutefois la séparer des problèmes politiques fondamentaux de notre temps. La question coloniale accélère, par exemple, le mouvement nationaliste qui submerge l'Asie et l'Afrique. Ce mouvement est synchronisé avec l'offensive idéologique du communisme à travers le monde. Nombreux sont ceux qui redoutent que cette simultanéité puisse vicier l'indépendance de peuples nouvellement libres. D'autres craignent que les anciennes puissances coloniales n'essaient d'accorder aux pays récemment parvenus à l'indépendance une indépendance simplement nominale, continuant de les tenir sous une domination politique déguisée par la mainmise qu'ils exercent sur leur économie.

123. D'autre part, la révolution scientifique de notre époque donne au mouvement nationaliste dans les pays coloniaux une importance nouvelle. Ces pays prennent conscience de leur misère au moment même où les pays hautement industrialisés tirent le plus grand parti possible des ressources de la technique moderne. Au lieu d'être à la disposition de l'humanité entière, la technologie nouvelle creuse davantage le fossé déjà si large qui sépare les nantis des misérables. A titre d'exemple, je voudrais rappeler qu'aujourd'hui l'exploitation de l'énergie nucléaire ne profite qu'à un très petit nombre de pays, mais que ses dangers menacent l'humanité entière. Les Etats qui viennent d'accéder à l'indépendance s'associent à la communauté internationale, qui redoute que la guerre froide ne retarde la solution de leurs problèmes essentiels. Par désespoir, et dans l'illusion d'accélérer leur développement économique et social et de calmer le malaise de leur population, beaucoup d'Etats pourraient bien chercher des solutions politiques qui compromettraient leur indépendance récemment acquise.

124. Je sais qu'il est extrêmement difficile de raisonner dans l'abstrait lorsque des problèmes aussi graves pèsent sur le cœur de millions d'hommes, et aussi sur le mien. Mais je suis convaincu qu'à l'ONU nous avons l'obligation de tenir la question coloniale à l'écart des combats et des incidents de la guerre froide.

125. Dans son chapitre XI, la Charte nous montre la voie sage et prudente que nous devons suivre. Je pense en principe à l'Article 73. Il nous appartient d'appliquer ses dispositions avec fermeté et surtout avec sincérité. Pour ce faire, il faut que les puissances coloniales se rendent à l'évidence: la légitimité d'une situation juridique ne peut pas empêcher une explosion nationaliste issue moins de la distance matérielle qui sépare les puissances métropolitaines et les colonies que de différences sociologiques et culturelles et d'aspirations irrésistibles. Elles doivent aussi se convaincre de l'inutilité de tout effort tendant à rem-

placer le colonialisme classique par une domination indirecte. Il faut que les anciennes puissances coloniales et les peuples qui ont obtenu d'elles leur indépendance s'associent dans la lutte nouvelle pour le progrès social et économique de ces derniers. Il faut que les deux blocs rivaux s'abstiennent de considérer les Etats parvenant à l'indépendance comme un "no man's land" sur lequel ils pourraient exercer leur influence en vue de faire pencher en leur faveur l'équilibre de la puissance. Enfin, les peuples qui sont encore soumis à un régime colonial doivent se convaincre que l'indépendance n'est pas seulement un mot magique suivi d'un drapeau, d'un hymne national et d'une représentation diplomatique, mais qu'elle représente, sur les plans politique, économique et culturel, la maîtrise de la richesse et du patrimoine d'un pays, l'utilisation de ces ressources au bénéfice de la population tout entière et la pratique de la liberté au moyen d'institutions politiques fondées sur un régime représentatif qui exprime la pleine liberté d'opinion.

126. La tâche qui s'impose à l'ONU, à nous-mêmes, c'est de préparer à l'indépendance, le plus rapidement possible, les peuples encore soumis à des régimes coloniaux. Nous faillirions à notre tâche en retardant leur complète émancipation. Et nous nous en acquitterions mal si, au nom d'une indépendance qui serait fictive, nous allions oublier les dispositions de la Charte en exposant sans discrimination et sans précautions convenables ces peuples aux risques et aux dangers de deux colonialismes nouveaux: le colonialisme des idéologies totalitaires qui supprime la liberté des peuples, et la forme de colonialisme qui consiste, pour les anciennes puissances coloniales, à vouloir maintenir sous des formes nouvelles leur domination économique et politique.

127. Les hommes d'Etat qui ont rédigé la Charte des Nations Unies suivaient une politique clairvoyante et faisaient preuve de fermeté lorsqu'ils ont indiqué la voie à suivre. Compte tenu des principes de la Charte et guidée par les observations que je viens de formuler, la délégation brésilienne réserve un accueil favorable au projet de résolution [A/L.323 et Add.1 à 5] et l'examinera en tenant compte des propositions et observations formulées au cours des présents débats.

128. Le PRESIDENT (traduit de l'anglais): Je donne la parole au représentant du Mexique pour exercer son droit de réponse.

129. M. CUEVAS CANCINO (Mexique) [traduit de l'espagnol]: Dans son brillant discours d'hier [933ème séance], le représentant du Guatemala a parlé de l'avenir du territoire de Belize. C'est pour cette raison que je viens occuper, pendant quelques instants, la tribune de l'Assemblée.

130. Mon pays possède sur Belize des droits et des positions établis depuis longtemps, que je me dois de rappeler ici. Depuis que le peuple du Mexique a obtenu son indépendance, son gouvernement n'a cessé de lutter pour l'élimination complète du système colonial. Nous le considérons en effet comme un élément archaïque qui n'a plus aucune raison de subsister dans le monde d'aujourd'hui. Nous suivons ainsi notre voie, cette voie américaine qui mène à la liberté et à la justice pour tous. C'est là un idéal auquel se rattache le principe de non-intervention. Notre pays estime que chaque peuple doit se développer librement, suivant

les normes qu'il s'est lui-même fixées, conformément à sa tradition historique. Il estime également que chaque pays doit s'édifier conformément à l'idéal qu'il a conçu lui-même et indépendamment de celui que d'autres nations peuvent lui proposer.

131. Les importantes mesures que notre organisation a prises en vue de mettre définitivement fin au colonialisme atteignent aujourd'hui leur apogée. Nous voyons ainsi s'épanouir un désir dont l'histoire américaine fournit de multiples précédents. C'est de cet ardent espoir qu'il a été question aux diverses conférences interaméricaines qui se sont tenues et, à ce propos, je pourrais rappeler plus particulièrement la résolution 96, adoptée à la dixième Conférence interaméricaine tenue à Caracas en mars 1954. Les nations américaines y ont réaffirmé leur conviction que le droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes ne peut souffrir aucune atteinte; elles y ont déclaré leur volonté d'éliminer, dans les pays d'Amérique, le colonialisme qui est maintenu contre le gré des peuples, et de mettre fin à l'occupation de certains territoires.

132. La résolution 97, adoptée par cette même conférence interaméricaine, souligne la nécessité, pour les pays extra-continentaux possédant des colonies sur le continent américain, de prendre enfin les mesures prévues par la Charte en vue de permettre aux peuples d'Amérique qui ne l'ont pas encore fait d'exercer pleinement leur droit à l'autodétermination.

133. C'est sur ces deux documents que se fonde essentiellement la position du Gouvernement mexicain en ce qui concerne Belize. Le premier principe repose sur le passé du territoire, considéré à la fois du point de vue de l'histoire et du droit. Les origines de la domination exercée par la Grande-Bretagne sur cette partie du continent américain sont assez humbles: un permis concédé par l'autorité espagnole pour l'exploitation du bois de teinture, permis qui se transforma, au fil des ans, en un droit évidemment illusoire. Il ne fut tenu aucun compte des demandes répétées que formula le Gouvernement mexicain en faveur de la reconnaissance de sa souveraineté au cours du XIX^{ème} siècle. La grande puissance coloniale attendit des moments difficiles pour imposer au Mexique, au mépris de ses droits, un traité rigoureux que mon peuple a néanmoins scrupuleusement respecté. Mais cela ne lui interdit pas de répéter sans cesse que, si le statut de Belize venait à être modifié, le Mexique possède des droits juridiquement fondés qu'il pourra alors faire valoir.

134. L'autre ligne de conduite essentielle adoptée par mon pays en la matière se fonde sur l'Article 73 de la Charte. Comme l'a dit très justement hier le représentant du Guatemala, les intérêts des habitants des territoires non autonomes doivent l'emporter. Dans le cas de Belize, mon gouvernement estime que l'accès à l'autonomie et la venue à la maturité politique des habitants de ce territoire représentent une mission que la communauté internationale ne peut éviter de remplir.

135. Je résume donc la position du Mexique en ce qui concerne Belize. Mon gouvernement a déclaré, et répète ici, que, si le statut actuel de Belize venait à être modifié, le Mexique, usant des procédés pacifiques et amicaux qui ont toujours caractérisé son attitude dans ses relations internationales, ferait valoir des droits qui découlent d'antécédents historiques et de situations juridiques bien connus. De même, mon gouvernement reconnaît que les intérêts des habitants du territoire de Belize sont primordiaux et estime en conséquence que, dans l'évolution qui achemine le territoire de Belize vers l'autonomie, on ne peut méconnaître les aspirations politiques librement et officiellement exprimées par sa population.

136. C'est pourquoi, comme l'a déclaré devant cette assemblée, le 6 octobre 1958^{2/}, le Ministre des affaires étrangères du Mexique, mon gouvernement ne manquera pas de favoriser le moment venu toute solution relative à l'avenir de Belize qui assure la liberté et l'indépendance de la population de ce territoire.

137. Le **PRESIDENT** (traduit de l'anglais): Je donne la parole au représentant de la Belgique, qui souhaite exercer son droit de réponse.

138. **M. PARISIS (Belgique)**: Parmi les erreurs flagrantes énoncées à cette tribune à l'égard de la Belgique, je n'en relèverai qu'une aujourd'hui.

139. On s'est complu à écrire et à dire que, pendant un demi-siècle de domination coloniale belge, la population du Congo avait diminué de plus de moitié en raison des expéditions punitives, de la famine et des maladies. Il est absurde de vouloir comparer les chiffres de population actuels avec des estimations couvrant une époque où le territoire était inconnu et impénétrable en beaucoup d'endroits. Il a fallu le parcourir en tous sens, pendant des dizaines d'années, avant de pouvoir faire un recensement. Le caractère flagrant d'une telle erreur d'appréciation apparaît lorsqu'on analyse la baisse du taux moyen de mortalité, la hausse du taux moyen de natalité et lorsque l'on constate, comme résultat, qu'en une vingtaine d'années, de 1935 à 1957 par exemple, le taux de la population a quadruplé. A la veille de l'indépendance, la population du Congo était composée pour moitié de jeunes de moins de 15 ans, signe extraordinaire de dynamisme — surtout lorsqu'on se souvient qu'au siècle dernier, hélas! sur deux enfants naissant au Congo, un mourait en bas âge.

140. L'erreur que je viens de relever n'est qu'un exemple de la mauvaise foi exprimée dans certaines interventions, mais cela n'empêche pas la Belgique d'être fière de l'œuvre accomplie en collaboration avec les Congolais.

La séance est levée à 14 h 15.

^{2/} Documents officiels de l'Assemblée générale, treizième session, Séances plénières, 771ème séance.

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POINT 87 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance
aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux (suite)

16. Le PRESIDENT (traduit de l'anglais): Avant d'en venir à la liste des orateurs inscrits aujourd'hui sur la question, je donne la parole au représentant du Guatemala qui souhaite exercer son droit de réponse.

17. M. HERRARTE (Guatemala) [traduit de l'espagnol]: La délégation du Guatemala, au cours de son intervention dans la discussion générale sur la question de la "Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux", a cité incidemment le cas du territoire guatémalien de Belize, que le Royaume-Uni occupe indûment; elle n'a pas cru devoir s'y attarder longuement, étant donné le caractère général de la question en cours de discussion. Le représentant du Mexique a jugé bon cependant, lors de la 934^{ème} séance, tenue le 3 décembre 1960, de faire allusion à la situation de Belize en se référant à mes déclarations et en plaçant le problème sur un terrain qui risque de prêter à équivoque et de donner lieu à de fausses interprétations.

18. Ma délégation est néanmoins reconnaissante au représentant du Mexique de lui offrir l'occasion d'examiner la question de Belize d'une façon plus détaillée. Une fois de plus, et comme elle l'a constamment soutenu, ma délégation déclare que, si le statut du territoire de Belize venait à être modifié à la suite des réclamations présentées par le Guatemala, les récentes prétentions mexicaines faisant état de réserves éventuelles ne pourront en aucun cas et sous aucun motif être considérées comme l'expression d'une action solidaire et conjointe avec mon pays qui, depuis plus de 100 ans, a constamment revendiqué l'exercice de droits exclusifs sur ce territoire.

19. Qu'on veuille bien me permettre de présenter quelques réflexions sur cette affaire de Belize, cas d'usurpation pure et simple exercé par une grande puissance à l'encontre d'un pays faible qui ne disposait pas de ressources suffisantes pour faire respecter ses droits. Certes, comme l'a dit le représentant du Mexique, l'occupation du territoire trouve ses origines dans les permis concédés à la Grande-Bretagne par l'Espagne pour l'exploitation de bois, dans le traité de 1773 qui visait l'abattage forestier entre le rio Hondo et le rio Belize, et dans celui de 1776 qui étendait ces accords à la région située entre le rio Hondo et le rio Sibún. Aux termes de ces deux traités, l'Espagne se réservait expressément la souveraineté de ce territoire, dont elle concédait l'usufruit à titre gracieux, et par ailleurs imposait aux Anglais des restrictions bien précises, mais leur permettait de bâtir des fortifications. Ces concessions furent accordées à l'intérieur du territoire relevant de la Capitainerie générale de Guatemala, plus précisément dans la province de Petén, le rio Hondo séparant la Capitainerie générale de Guatemala de celle de Yucatan.

20. Lors de la déclaration d'indépendance de la Capitainerie générale de Guatemala, le 15 septembre 1821, la République fédérale d'Amérique centrale hérita de tous les droits de souveraineté dont l'Espagne jouissait sur l'ensemble des territoires qui la constituaient. L'usufruit que la Grande-Bretagne exerçait à titre précaire sur la zone de Belize prit fin à cette date conformément au droit des gens, étant donné

que les Etats nouveaux accèdent à l'indépendance libres de tout engagement pris par la nation antérieurement souveraine.

21. La vie indépendante de la République fédérale d'Amérique centrale a connu toutes sortes de tribulations, elle a souffert de divisions, que cette grande puissance a encouragées pour pouvoir s'assurer la maîtrise des grandes voies maritimes. La République fédérale d'Amérique centrale n'a pas pu être reconnue par le Royaume-Uni, qui exigeait pour prix de la reconnaissance de ce pays la cession du territoire de Belize. En s'étendant jusqu'à la Mosquitia et aux îles de la Baie, cette grande puissance touchait au Honduras et au Nicaragua.

22. Après la dissolution de la République fédérale d'Amérique centrale, le territoire se divisa en cinq républiques indépendantes, à savoir le Guatemala, le Salvador, le Honduras, le Nicaragua et le Costa Rica, dont les juridictions s'étendent sur ce qui, antérieurement, appartenait à l'Espagne. Le Guatemala revendiqua alors le territoire de Belize, en vertu de la règle *uti possidetis*.

23. Le traité Clayton-Bulwer de 1850, aux termes duquel l'Angleterre et les Etats-Unis s'engageaient à n'occuper aucune partie de l'Amérique centrale, mit fin à la menace qui pesait sur l'existence de ces Etats.

24. Par suite de raisons qu'il n'est pas utile d'exposer ici, et sous la pression des circonstances, le Gouvernement du Guatemala s'est trouvé dans l'obligation de signer avec la Grande-Bretagne la Convention de 1859, véritable traité de cession territoriale qui porta les limites du territoire de 6.000 à plus de 22.000 kilomètres carrés. En contrepartie de cette cession, ce traité contenait une clause que l'Angleterre n'a jamais respectée; c'est pourquoi le Guatemala a déclaré caducs les termes de l'accord intervenu, sans que la Grande-Bretagne ait restitué le territoire indûment détenu.

25. En 1893, le Gouvernement du Mexique signa avec le Gouvernement britannique un traité définissant les limites entre le territoire de Belize et la province du Yucatan et reconnaissant comme frontière le rio Hondo qui, nous l'avons déjà dit, séparait la Capitainerie du Yucatan de la Capitainerie générale de Guatemala à l'époque de la domination espagnole. Le Ministre des affaires étrangères du Mexique reconnut, en cette circonstance, que la convention de 1859 conclue entre la Grande-Bretagne et le Guatemala avait été un traité de cession territoriale et que, pour le Mexique, le problème se limitait à une simple question de frontière qui n'impliquait pour ce pays aucun sacrifice territorial.

26. Je voudrais rappeler à ce propos au représentant du Mexique ce que d'illustres hommes d'Etat mexicains ont déclaré au sujet du problème guatémalien de Belize. En 1939, le Ministre des affaires étrangères du Mexique, M. Eduardo Hay, dans une note très cordiale adressée au Ministère des affaires étrangères du Guatemala, a reconnu les droits de notre pays sur Belize "conformément" — je cite — "aux antécédents historiques, géographiques et juridiques de la question". Le Président du Mexique lui-même, le général Lázaro Cárdenas, a dit ceci dans un discours prononcé en 1940:

"Puisque le Mexique se sent soutenu par ces preuves de solidarité, il est de son devoir d'y répondre soit en formulant des propositions de paix

ou de neutralité, soit en appuyant les revendications territoriales des nations sœurs qui, comme le Guatemala dans l'affaire de Belize, demandent avec juste raison que soient réglés des conflits anciens et réparées des usurpations territoriales opérées par la force et en violation des règles du droit international."

27. C'est ce même esprit de solidarité qu'on su montrer en plusieurs circonstances les républiques d'Amérique centrale, plus particulièrement dans la Déclaration des principes de coexistence des Etats d'Amérique centrale (Déclaration de Guatemala Antigua) où il est dit ce qui suit:

"La première Réunion des ministres des affaires étrangères des pays d'Amérique centrale, au nom des Etats qu'ils représentent, déclare: ... septièmement, qu'elle rejette la survivance du colonialisme en Amérique, qu'elle affirme expressément que le territoire de Belize fait partie intégrante du territoire du Guatemala et par conséquent de l'Amérique centrale, que les actions entreprises pour le revendiquer intéressent tous les Etats signataires de cette déclaration."

28. Il serait trop long de rappeler ici ce qu'est et a été cette lutte constante, héroïque, digne du peuple guatémalien, pour faire triompher sa juste cause; nous avons pu entendre les juristes et les personnalités politiques les plus éminents de l'Amérique nous prodiguer leurs encouragements et appuyer nos revendications. C'est pourquoi nous regrettons profondément de constater qu'au cours des dernières années la délégation du Mexique a fait valoir, au sein de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, des prétentions qu'elle n'avait jamais exprimées auparavant, des prétentions qui, de surcroît, sont présentées sous la forme d'une "éventualité" et qui situent le problème de Belize sur un plan très éloigné de la réalité historique. Je voudrais également rappeler au représentant du Mexique ce que son pays représente pour nous; nous sommes fiers des liens historiques et culturels qui nous unissent à lui, car il est en quelque sorte le frère aîné des petits pays d'Amérique centrale. Nous admirons sa noblesse, son sens profond de la solidarité continentale, les sacrifices dont témoigne son histoire; nos deux pays ont toujours entretenu les rapports les plus cordiaux. C'est pourquoi nous sommes en droit d'attendre de ce grand pays ce que l'un de ses plus grands hommes, Benito Juárez, a éloquentement formulé en disant "le respect du droit d'autrui, c'est la paix".

29. M. OBEID (Soudan) [traduit de l'anglais]: Je voudrais que mes premières paroles dans cette brève intervention soient un hommage rendu à l'Union soviétique, pour la féliciter d'avoir pris, sous la conduite de M. Khrouchtchev, l'initiative très opportune de faire inscrire la question à l'ordre du jour de la session et d'avoir insisté avec succès pour qu'elle soit débattue en séance plénière.

30. La suite des débats a montré avec beaucoup de force combien sont profondes les convictions qui inspirent les peuples du monde épris de liberté dans cette lutte acharnée pour éliminer le phénomène sinistre que l'humanité n'a que trop longtemps supporté, et qui a considérablement envenimé les relations entre les hommes.

31. Tout ce qui devait être dit l'a déjà été par les éminents orateurs qui m'ont précédé à cette tribune,

et je ne prolongerai pas ces débats en revenant sur les mêmes questions. Je ne me propose pas de refaire en détail l'histoire du colonialisme, mais je tâcherai de traiter d'un sujet moins triste: celui de la lutte contre le colonialisme, qui a conduit à la liberté et à l'indépendance.

32. Au cours des années, les puissances coloniales ont exposé deux conceptions pour justifier leur domination sur d'autres peuples. Elles nous disent tout d'abord qu'en assujettissant les peuples coloniaux elles ont à accomplir une mission de civilisation. Ensuite, elles déclarent que cette mission leur a été confiée parce qu'elles sont supérieures. Cette seconde conception a grisé certaines puissances coloniales au point d'aboutir à une politique aussi sinistre et diabolique que le colonialisme lui-même et que nous nommons aujourd'hui le "racisme". Il n'est pas besoin d'être grand clerc pour apercevoir la fragilité, l'absurdité même, de telles théories. Le mot "civilisation" est l'un de ces grands mots que l'on n'est pas encore arrivé à définir. Les théories de supériorité raciale n'ont amené leurs propagateurs qu'à des désastres inévitables et généralisés, et l'histoire parfois se répète. On peut, sans être naïf, affirmer que ces théories servent à masquer l'exploitation des peuples et à justifier la jouissance des produits matériels de leur sol et de leur travail. Mais la nature même de l'homme lui interdit d'accepter ou de tolérer la domination étrangère et l'injustice, l'humiliation et l'abaissement qui l'accompagnent obligatoirement. Il était donc tout naturel que les peuples se soulèvent pour résister et lutter, en vue de recouvrer un droit qui leur appartenait de naissance. Dans les premiers temps du colonialisme, ces mouvements de résistance étaient assez rares. Les risques étaient grands, les conditions défavorables, le coût incalculable et de nombreuses vies étaient perdues ou sacrifiées; les prisons étaient pleines de prétendus "agitateurs", en fait des hommes épris de liberté. Mais la volonté de Dieu et la résolution dont ses créatures ont fait preuve pour recouvrer ce qui leur avait été attribué l'ont emporté sur l'injustice et l'inégalité.

33. Des rivalités entre puissances coloniales ont aidé ce mouvement de libération. Souvent, et notamment au cours des deux dernières guerres, ces puissances ont essayé de se concilier les peuples coloniaux et leur ont fait des promesses merveilleuses qui devaient bien vite être oubliées une fois passée l'heure d'infortune. Mais les peuples coloniaux, eux, n'ont pas oublié; ils ont redoublé leurs efforts, intensifié leur combat de sorte qu'en définitive les puissances coloniales ont été obligées de leur concéder ce qui leur appartenait: leur indépendance.

34. Le meilleur exemple de promesses non tenues est la célèbre révolte arabe. Lors de la déclaration de la première guerre mondiale et lorsque la Turquie se fut jointe à l'Allemagne, les Alliés poussèrent à la révolte les Arabes, à l'époque sous domination turque. Ils leur promirent une indépendance totale après la victoire. Les Arabes soulevés combattirent courageusement aux côtés des Alliés et, en deux ou trois ans, les Turcs étaient chassés d'Arabie, de Syrie, de Palestine et du Liban. A la consternation des Arabes, on découvrit bientôt que les Alliés avaient conclu un traité secret, l'arrangement Sykes-Picot, par lequel ils se partageaient le monde arabe. De plus, dans la déclaration Balfour, la Grande-Bretagne

promettait la création d'un foyer national pour les Juifs de Palestine en opposition au vœu nettement exprimé de l'immense majorité des Palestiniens. On connaît bien les tragiques conséquences de cette malheureuse décision puisqu'elles nous préoccupent ici à l'ONU depuis 13 ans.

35. Mais les Arabes n'ont pas succombé. Ils ont poursuivi leur lutte acharnée même après que les Alliés eurent remporté la victoire et imposé leur autorité au monde arabe. Ici encore, les vœux du peuple et la résolution indomptable d'en assurer le succès ont prévalu, et la plupart des pays arabes du Moyen-Orient sont parvenus à l'indépendance totale. Il est regrettable qu'un pays arabe de cette région combatte encore pour son indépendance, mais nous espérons qu'avant longtemps la Palestine se joindra aux nations libres du monde malgré les tentatives faites pour maintenir ses habitants en résidence forcée dans des camps du désert.

36. Les sacrifices et l'endurance des peuples coloniaux pendant leur lutte n'ont pas été vains; après la seconde guerre mondiale, de nombreux pays d'Afrique et d'Asie, menés par les grands peuples de la péninsule indienne, la Birmanie, Ceylan et l'Indonésie, ont acquis leur indépendance.

37. C'est ainsi que nous sommes arrivés à l'ère nouvelle et pleine de promesses du soulèvement collectif contre le colonialisme. Les chefs des pays indépendants d'Asie et d'Afrique ont pris conscience de l'identité du sort des pays coloniaux de ces deux continents, et ont compris que les efforts communs seraient plus efficaces que les mesures individuelles. Ce fut la raison d'être de la Conférence des pays d'Afrique et d'Asie réunie à Bandoung, en 1955, qui marque une date historique, véritable jalon le long de la voie où, inlassablement et conscient de son but, l'homme avance vers la liberté et l'indépendance. Les principes élevés adoptés à la Conférence serviront à tout jamais d'inspiration et resteront un symbole de liberté. Puis vint la première Conférence des Etats indépendants d'Afrique, tenue à Accra en 1958. L'Afrique entière écoutait et retenait son souffle. D'énergiques résolutions relatives notamment à la liberté et à l'avenir des territoires non autonomes d'Afrique en sont issues. La résolution II commence comme suit:

"La Conférence des Etats indépendants d'Afrique,

"Reconnaissant que l'existence du colonialisme sous quelque forme que ce soit est une menace à la sécurité et à l'indépendance des Etats africains et à la paix du monde,

"Considérant que les problèmes et l'avenir des territoires dépendants d'Afrique ne relèvent pas uniquement des puissances coloniales mais sont la responsabilité de tous les Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies et, en particulier, de celle des Etats indépendants d'Afrique,

"Condamnant catégoriquement tous les systèmes coloniaux encore vivants dans notre continent, et qui imposent aux peuples d'Afrique un régime et une répression arbitraires;

"Convaincue qu'il y a lieu de fixer une date précise pour l'obtention par chaque territoire colonial de son indépendance, conformément à la volonté des peuples de ces territoires et aux dispositions de la Charte des Nations Unies;

"1. Invite les puissances administrantes à respecter la Charte des Nations Unies à cet égard, à prendre rapidement des mesures pour en exécuter les dispositions et à répondre aux aspirations politiques des peuples, à savoir la libre détermination et l'indépendance, conformément aux vœux des peuples;

"2. Invite les puissances administrantes à s'abstenir de toute répression et de tout régime arbitraire dans ces territoires et à respecter tous les droits de l'homme prévus dans la Charte des Nations Unies et dans la Déclaration universelle des droits de l'homme;

"3. Invite les puissances administrantes à mettre immédiatement fin à toute discrimination quelle qu'elle soit dans ces territoires;

"4. Recommande à tous les gouvernements participants de donner toute l'assistance possible aux peuples dépendants dans leur lutte pour parvenir à la libre détermination et à l'indépendance;

"5. Recommande aux Etats indépendants d'Afrique réunis ici d'offrir des moyens en vue de la formation et de l'éducation des peuples des territoires dépendants;

"6. Décide de célébrer tous les ans le 15 avril le jour de la liberté de l'Afrique."

En citant intégralement la résolution, je me propose de la faire consigner dans les comptes rendus de l'ONU.

38. C'est dans ces conditions que le mouvement actuel de libération en Afrique a pris de l'ampleur et a déterminé la modification radicale du continent. Au cours de l'année 1960, 16 pays d'Afrique ont obtenu leur indépendance et d'autres sont en voie de l'acquiescer. C'est la volonté et l'attitude communes de toute l'Afrique, en matière de liberté et d'indépendance, qui ont amené la modification et détruit le colonialisme et le racisme sur le sol de l'Afrique. L'Afrique, continent si longtemps violé par le fléau du colonialisme et ses séquelles, a brisé ses chaînes. Elle ne se laissera plus enchaîner.

39. Nous, peuples africains, qui avons tant souffert et qui sommes aujourd'hui parvenus à l'indépendance, grâce à nos propres efforts et à l'aide des peuples épris de liberté, sommes conscients de la différence entre notre passé de détresse, notre présent lumineux et notre avenir plus lumineux encore. Il a été prouvé sans conteste que, dans tous les domaines, les progrès sont plus rapides une fois l'indépendance obtenue.

40. Comme l'indique le rapport du Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes [A/4371, 1ère partie, par. 23], les représentants de l'Inde et de l'Irak ont déclaré devant le Comité que, bien que les Etats Membres administrants aient soutenu par le passé que l'autonomie devait être l'aboutissement d'un long processus de développement économique et social, l'expérience avait montré que les territoires progressaient plus rapidement après être devenus autonomes ou indépendants. Le représentant de l'Inde a souligné en outre qu'il convenait de considérer non seulement les progrès réalisés, mais ce qui devait et pouvait encore être fait. D'autre part, les progrès ne devaient pas être jugés seulement d'après des statistiques et des pourcentages, mais aussi d'après la mesure dans laquelle les be-

soins et aspirations des populations se trouvaient satisfaits. Il n'était plus possible d'accepter que l'on fasse dépendre l'émancipation politique des populations des territoires non autonomes d'un certain degré de développement atteint dans d'autres domaines.

41. Notre expérience nous confirme dans cette opinion. Il a été établi avec certitude que le colonialisme est stérile et ne peut contribuer au progrès. Les Etats indépendants d'Afrique ont suivi les épisodes de la lutte pour libérer le reste du continent. Trois conférences — à Accra, Monrovia et Addis-Abéba — ont intensifié la poussée contre le colonialisme. Mais, malgré cette avance dans la voie de la liberté, nous voyons aujourd'hui certaines puissances coloniales se cacher la tête dans le sable. Le Portugal applique dans ses colonies africaines du Mozambique, de l'Angola, de la Guinée et autres la politique d'oppression la plus avilissante. Celle-ci peut se comparer à la politique raciste sud-africaine, également appliquée dans le territoire du Sud-Ouest africain. Nous aimerions que ces deux pays se mettent au rythme de l'époque et agissent conformément aux obligations du temps dans lequel ils vivent, aussi bien que nous. Ces peuples ne seront ni abandonnés ni oubliés. Ils recevront l'assistance de toute l'Afrique et des pays épris de liberté, jusqu'à ce qu'ils aient gagné leur indépendance. Nous invitons les puissances chargées de l'administration de la Rhodésie, du Nyassaland, du Kenya, de l'Ouganda, de Malte, du Sahara occidental, de la Somalie sous l'autorité de la France, de l'Irian occidental à répondre à la volonté, aux vœux et aux aspirations des peuples de ces territoires.

42. Quant à l'Algérie, le plus grand drame de notre époque, on en a beaucoup parlé, mais on n'a pas fait grand-chose pour mettre fin à une guerre sanglante, aujourd'hui dans sa septième année. Chaque jour qui passe rend la guerre de plus en plus acharnée. Les pertes, tant françaises qu'algériennes, augmentent d'heure en heure. Plus du quart de la population est en prison ou internée dans des camps où elle est soumise aux traitements les plus cruels et les plus humiliants. Ce dernier aspect de la guerre meurtrière a été brutalement révélé par un rapport du Comité international de la Croix-Rouge et a fait l'objet d'une énergique protestation adressée au Secrétaire général au mois de février de la présente année par 20 Etats Membres d'Afrique et d'Asie.

43. Cette tragique situation résulte de ce que le Gouvernement français ne s'en est pas tenu à la reconnaissance par le général de Gaulle du droit des Algériens à l'autodétermination. Le comportement des membres du Gouvernement provisoire de la République algérienne [GPRA], depuis la déclaration faite par le général de Gaulle le 16 septembre 1959, a été constamment caractérisé par le souci de leurs responsabilités, leur maturité politique, leurs qualités d'hommes d'Etat et leurs intentions pacifiques.

44. Dans sa déclaration du 28 septembre 1959, répondant à celle du général de Gaulle, le GPRA a admis la position française, à savoir que le droit à l'autodétermination devrait être le fondement d'une solution du problème algérien. Il a aussi admis, avec le gouvernement français, qu'on ne saurait recourir au suffrage universel pour déterminer l'avenir de l'Algérie tant que la paix ne serait pas revenue. Il n'a demandé que la possibilité de discuter avec la France les conditions

politiques et militaires du cessez-le-feu, ainsi que les conditions et garanties de l'application du principe de l'autodétermination. Ces exigences étaient naturelles. Mais, d'après ce que l'on a appris au cours de l'année qui a suivi la déclaration du président de Gaulle, la France semble vouloir à tout prix que toutes les discussions relatives au cessez-le-feu ou aux conditions et modalités de rencontre entre les représentants de la France et du GPRA soient unilatéralement décidées par la France. Ce qui s'est passé du 25 au 29 juin de cette année à Melun nous en fournit des preuves nombreuses. Les conditions imposées par la France lors de ces entretiens, ces conditions et modalités d'une rencontre entre les délégations française et algérienne, ont été qualifiées par un ancien Président du Conseil français, M. Mendès-France, que je cite ici, de "conditions si humiliantes qu'elles constituaient en fait une exigence de capitulation".

45. Mais le vaillant peuple algérien, qui a combattu si longtemps et si courageusement pour une cause honorable, ne capitulera pas devant le poids des armes françaises, car il a le droit pour lui et le droit finira par triompher.

46. Nous sommes convaincus que l'Algérie sera indépendante et que ses représentants seront bientôt parmi nous. Nous sommes heureux qu'aujourd'hui l'ONU ait décidé d'accorder son appui moral à la lutte contre le colonialisme et pour l'indépendance des peuples asservis. Elle a sensiblement contribué au mouvement pour le progrès et l'indépendance des territoires sous tutelle et non autonomes. Elle agit conformément à la volonté des peuples du monde exprimée dans la Charte des Nations Unies en vue de:

"... proclamer à nouveau notre foi dans les droits fondamentaux de l'homme, dans la dignité et la valeur de la personne humaine, dans l'égalité de droits des hommes et des femmes, ainsi que des nations, grandes et petites,

"... favoriser le progrès social et instaurer de meilleures conditions de vie dans une liberté plus grande".

47. A nos yeux, le projet de résolution, dont ma délégation s'honore d'être l'un des auteurs [A/L.323 et Add.1 à 5], marque l'apogée de la lutte et la dénonciation formelle du colonialisme sous tous ses aspects. Nous sommes convaincus que la survivance du colonialisme empêche le développement de la coopération internationale, ainsi que le développement social, culturel et économique des peuples dépendants, et qu'elle s'oppose à l'idéal de paix universelle qui est celui des Nations Unies. Nous sommes persuadés que le désir d'indépendance des peuples est un phénomène naturel et rationnel, que le processus de libération est irrésistible et irréversible et que, pour éviter des crises graves, il est urgent de mettre fin au colonialisme et à toutes les pratiques de ségrégation et de discrimination qui l'accompagnent. Les Nations Unies s'enrichissent et se fortifient à chaque apparition d'un nouvel Etat indépendant, et nous devons veiller à ce que tous les peuples du monde soient des Membres libres et loyaux de l'Organisation des Nations Unies.

48. La politique de mon gouvernement à l'égard du mouvement de liberté en Afrique est bien définie et clairement exprimée. Elle ne laisse aucune place à

l'incertitude. Nous apporterons notre appui moral et matériel aux peuples d'Afrique en lutte pour la liberté, l'indépendance et l'égalité. Dans un communiqué récent, le Président de la République arabe unie et le Président de la République du Soudan ont condamné les politiques destinées à asservir les peuples et à miner la dignité humaine pour des raisons de couleur, de race ou de croyance. Ils ont également affirmé qu'ils continueraient à appuyer la cause de la libération nationale des pays africains qui ont encore à obtenir leur indépendance. Ils ont blâmé toutes les tentatives criminelles faites pour désorganiser cette lutte et donné leur appui à tous les efforts visant à extirper le colonialisme et le racisme du sol de l'Afrique.

49. Nous ne nous taisons pas devant l'injustice, et nous ne manquerons pas de critiquer tout ce qui est manifestement mauvais. Nous exprimerons toujours nos opinions en toute franchise et sans crainte, et nous aiderons toujours, dans la mesure de nos moyens, les combattants de la liberté dans le monde entier tant que la liberté et la justice n'y seront pas assurées à tous les peuples.

50. Pour conclure, nous espérons que le projet de résolution sera adopté à l'unanimité et mis en œuvre dès son adoption. C'est avec espoir que nous demandons aux puissances administrantes de faire preuve de bonne volonté et de coopération dans cette tâche. Nous attendons d'elles qu'elles s'efforcent d'oublier les théories grâce auxquelles elles ont cherché à justifier le colonialisme. De notre côté, nous nous attacherons, nous aussi, à oublier et, ce que nous ne pouvons oublier, nous tâcherons de le pardonner.

51. M. SHAHA (Nepal) [traduit de l'anglais]: Ma délégation se félicite de l'initiative, prise par la délégation de l'URSS, de faire inscrire à l'ordre du jour la discussion de la "Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux". Nous pensons que le moment est venu pour l'ONU de se prononcer nettement et sans équivoque sur la nécessité et l'urgence de mettre fin sans condition au colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations.

52. Au milieu du XXème siècle, la pensée évoluée et la conscience éclairée de l'homme ont nettement dépassé les concepts même les plus hardis et les plus modernes du colonialisme, quelle que soit la justification que se donnent les puissances coloniales pour fonder leur politique et les mesures qu'elles prennent dans ce domaine. Il est vrai que certains pays se sont mieux acquittés que d'autres de leurs tâches coloniales, mais ce mérite relatif ne leur donne pas le droit de vouloir justifier la poursuite de leur politique coloniale dans les conditions nouvelles du monde d'aujourd'hui.

53. Nous aurions sans doute quelques réserves à faire au sujet de la forme de la déclaration soviétique sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et peuples coloniaux [A/4502 et Corr.1], mais il est indéniable qu'elle met clairement en lumière l'idée qu'il importe de mettre fin au colonialisme. Chaque Etat Membre devrait comprendre l'importance et la gravité de la question qui fait l'objet des débats actuels, et devrait consacrer tous ses efforts et son attention à permettre aux peuples encore soumis à la domination coloniale de réaliser leurs aspirations de liberté et d'indépendance dans un avenir immédiat.

54. Ce que nous redoutons, c'est que ce problème, comme d'autres, puisse être utilisé par certains comme un moyen de propagande dans la guerre froide. Mais, pour nous, en Asie et en Afrique, qui avons subi la domination coloniale dans le passé, et qui voyons encore aujourd'hui l'image véritable du colonialisme, avec ses conséquences néfastes pour les peuples soumis à son joug, la question ne saurait être traitée à la légère et il ne faut pas que, dans ces débats, elle soit considérée comme un élément de la guerre froide. Pour nous, il y a là un élément capital de l'évolution d'un monde nouveau fondé sur la liberté, la justice et l'égalité pour tous, sans distinction de couleur ou de région d'origine. A notre avis, c'est un ordre mondial de cette sorte qui est prévu dans la Charte des Nations Unies elle-même.

55. Nous avons été encouragés et heureux d'entendre ce qu'a déjà dit M. David Ormsby-Gore, ministre d'Etat aux affaires étrangères du Royaume-Uni, au cours de son intervention sur la question:

"Qu'il me soit permis de déclarer dès maintenant que la délégation du Royaume-Uni souscrit totalement à ce que je sais être ... l'objectif principal de ces délégations" — il s'agissait des délégations asiatiques et africaines — "la réalisation aussi rapide que possible d'une autonomie et d'une indépendance complètes pour les peuples qui n'en jouissent pas encore." [925ème séance plénière, par. 32.]

Le Ministre d'Etat aux affaires étrangères du Royaume-Uni a rappelé, et, selon moi, à juste titre, les obligations que les puissances coloniales ont assumées au titre de l'Article 73 de la Charte des Nations Unies. Mais la question est de savoir combien de puissances coloniales, à ce jour, ont respecté leurs obligations dans leur politique coloniale.

56. Cependant, à un autre point de vue, la vitesse à laquelle le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni lui-même a pu faire progresser la cause de l'autonomie dans différentes colonies — territoires sous tutelle et non autonomes relevant de son administration — pouvait, pour citer les paroles de M. David Ormsby-Gore, "être remarquable compte tenu des espérances du monde en 1946" [ibid., par. 35], mais la vraie question est de savoir si la rapidité des progrès de l'autonomie dans ces territoires répond aux exigences croissantes de l'opinion publique mondiale en 1960.

57. Ainsi que nous l'avons déjà dit, si l'ONU veut éviter de se laisser distancer par les événements mondiaux, et marcher de pair avec la conscience des peuples, le moment est venu pour elle de faire connaître clairement et sans ambiguïté sa position sur ce problème. Nous savons que les buts et principes indiqués dans la Charte des Nations Unies et les chapitres traitant de la coopération économique et sociale internationale et du régime international de tutelle visent l'élimination future du colonialisme. Mais cette orientation ne semble pas, à elle seule, répondre à l'attente de plus en plus impatiente des peuples encore soumis à une domination coloniale. Telle est la raison principale qui nous a conduits, avec tant d'autres délégations d'Asie et d'Afrique, à présenter le projet de résolution.

58. Pour des raisons très compréhensibles, ma délégation ne souhaite pas maintenant approfondir les origines du colonialisme, ni analyser ses causes et ses mobiles. A notre avis, le colonialisme, en tant que force agissant dans la politique internationale,

doit être étudié en tenant compte de ses répercussions sur les relations internationales. Jugé de ce point de vue, il s'est révélé être un mal absolu qui a non seulement vicié les relations entre les peuples coloniaux, mais a aussi causé des guerres entre les puissances coloniales elles-mêmes.

59. L'histoire de la ruée pour l'Afrique, au siècle dernier et encore au début de celui-ci, en est un exemple. La fin de la seconde guerre mondiale a donné un nouvel essor au mouvement de liberté en Asie et en Afrique et, par suite du réveil général qui s'est produit alors, un bon nombre de pays d'Asie et d'Afrique ont conquis leur indépendance et ont pris la place qui leur revenait de droit dans le concert des nations.

60. S'il est une question pour laquelle les nations d'Asie et d'Afrique ont pu présenter au monde un front uni, c'est bien celle du colonialisme. La Conférence des pays d'Afrique et d'Asie tenue à Bandoung en avril 1955 a répondu à la question de savoir quelle était la position prise à ce sujet par les peuples d'Asie.

61. Nous sommes intimement convaincus que le colonialisme n'est plus soutenable, qu'il est effectivement moribond, et qu'il faut déployer ici même, aujourd'hui, un dernier effort pour achever de le détruire. L'initiative de l'URSS nous a donné l'occasion d'affirmer une fois de plus notre foi dans les principes élevés de la Charte pour ce qui touche au colonialisme, et de déclarer que nous lui sommes opposés définitivement et sans ambiguïté. De l'avis de ma délégation, une déclaration solennelle précisant que le colonialisme doit disparaître contribuerait sensiblement à donner espoir et confiance aux peuples du monde, et notamment à ceux de l'Asie et de l'Afrique, qui ont été et continuent d'être les principales victimes du colonialisme.

62. Comme je l'ai déjà dit, ma délégation sait parfaitement que les différentes puissances coloniales ne se sont pas toutes acquittées de leur tâche de la même manière et qu'elles tentent d'expliquer, à l'aide d'arguments variés, la réussite ou l'échec du système colonial. Des théoriciens exagérément optimistes du colonialisme ont même tendu à le considérer comme un bienfait sans mélange. Pour eux, le colonialisme n'est que le prolongement de la grande tradition libérale européenne des XVIIIème et XIXème siècles, une étape de la civilisation même. En soutenant cette conception du colonialisme, un grand nombre de puissances coloniales ont été conduites à invoquer des arguments dénués de sérieux dans un effort pour justifier la possession de leurs territoires d'outre-mer. C'est ainsi, par exemple, que l'on entend parfois soutenir qu'une puissance coloniale forte a instauré l'unité là où régnait auparavant le chaos. En outre, il est fourni des statistiques en vue de prouver que les progrès sociaux et économiques dans les colonies ont été continus.

63. Tout en reconnaissant que le bilan du colonialisme est loin d'être uniforme, selon ce que fut la conduite des diverses puissances coloniales, ma délégation estime que le colonialisme est mauvais en tant que système de relations entre nations. Il est vrai que le libéralisme européen a des résultats excellents à son actif, mais le colonialisme est loin d'être l'un d'eux. Devant la misère et l'état retardataire si généralement rencontrés dans les colonies et an-

ciennes colonies d'Asie et d'Afrique, devant les troubles fréquents qui se sont produits dans de nombreux territoires avant et après leur accession à l'indépendance, et enfin, devant la "balkanisation" de continents tout entiers, telle que celle à laquelle nous assistons actuellement en Afrique, il paraît excessif de prétendre avoir réalisé dans les colonies l'unité, l'ordre et le progrès.

64. Nous reconnaissons que des résultats considérables ont été obtenus depuis la dernière guerre en matière d'émancipation des peuples coloniaux. Le nombre des peuples libres est beaucoup plus élevé que ceux qui restent à libérer. Mais, depuis que tant de peuples sont devenus libres, le maintien d'un statut de dépendance pour le petit nombre qui reste à libérer est devenu de moins en moins acceptable et de plus en plus choquant. Si nous en jugeons par l'intense amertume qu'engendre la persistance du colonialisme, non seulement dans l'esprit des peuples dépendants, mais aussi dans celui des peuples récemment libérés, nous sommes convaincus que le maintien du colonialisme, même dans les territoires de faible superficie, n'est pas souhaitable. L'ampleur et la profondeur des rancunes semblent à elles seules l'emporter sur toutes les considérations, pratiques ou autres, que l'on pourrait invoquer pour le maintien du statu quo dans un territoire donné.

65. Dans ces conditions, il eût été particulièrement opportun que les puissances coloniales elles-mêmes prennent l'initiative de persuader l'ONU de faire une déclaration sans équivoque contre le colonialisme. Tel qu'on le concevait au XIX^{ème} siècle et tel qu'on le comprend à ce jour, celui-ci est assurément moribond et les puissances coloniales le savent. Nous espérons donc que tous les Etats Membres de notre organisation se trouveront en mesure d'appuyer le projet de résolution des 42 pays présenté à l'Assemblée générale au nom du groupe asiatique et africain. De l'avis des auteurs du projet, la question du colonialisme est extrêmement grave, et ils ont pris soin, en rédigeant le texte, de la rendre acceptable pour tous.

66. Je voudrais expliquer le projet de résolution auquel nous nous sommes associés, conjointement avec 41 autres puissances. Je ne parlerai pas en détail du préambule de ce projet, car il ne contient rien qui ne figure déjà dans la Charte des Nations Unies et qui n'ait de ce fait été accepté par les Membres de cette organisation. Si des propositions visant à améliorer la rédaction de ces paragraphes étaient formulées, les auteurs les prendraient volontiers en considération, mais je n'ai guère besoin d'ajouter que la méthode suivie pour rédiger et préparer les résolutions à l'Organisation des Nations Unies n'est pas toujours favorable à l'élaboration du meilleur texte.

67. Le premier alinéa du préambule traite de la résolution proclamée par les peuples du monde dans les termes mêmes où on la trouve exprimée dans le préambule de la Charte des Nations Unies. Le deuxième alinéa est visiblement fondé sur l'Article 55 du Chapitre IX de la Charte, qui traite de la coopération économique et sociale internationale, et les autres alinéas ne font qu'énoncer des faits ou des principes de coopération et de conduite internationales qui ont été acceptés par tous. Nous ne pensons pas qu'aucune délégation siégeant ici puisse élever d'objection sérieuse à l'encontre du préambule.

68. Le communiqué final de la Conférence des pays d'Afrique et d'Asie tenue à Bandoung montre que la

Conférence était notamment convenue de ce qui suit: en premier lieu, déclarer que le colonialisme, avec toutes ses manifestations, est un mal auquel il doit être mis fin rapidement; en second lieu, affirmer que l'assujettissement des peuples à une domination et à une exploitation étrangères constitue un déni des droits fondamentaux de l'homme, est contraire à la Charte des Nations Unies, et compromet la cause de la paix et de la coopération dans le monde; en troisième lieu, formuler son appui à la cause de la liberté et de l'indépendance pour tous ces peuples; enfin, inviter les puissances intéressées à accorder la liberté et l'indépendance à ces peuples.

69. Le dispositif du projet de résolution des 42 puissances commence ainsi:

"Proclame solennellement la nécessité de mettre rapidement et inconditionnellement fin au colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations;

"Et, à cette fin,

"Déclare ce qui suit:

"1. La sujétion des peuples à une subjugation, à une domination et à une exploitation étrangères constitue un déni des droits fondamentaux de l'homme, est contraire à la Charte des Nations Unies et compromet la cause de la paix et de la coopération mondiales."

Comme on le voit, ces paragraphes sont fondés sur le texte du communiqué final de la Conférence des pays d'Afrique et d'Asie de Bandoung. On remarquera également que la deuxième Conférence des Etats indépendants d'Afrique qui s'est réunie à Addis-Abéba du 14 au 26 juin 1960 a exprimé les mêmes sentiments et les mêmes aspirations dans ses résolutions sur l'élimination du régime colonial en Afrique.

70. Le deuxième principe énoncé dans le dispositif du projet de résolution concerne le droit de libre détermination et est fondé sur l'article premier du projet de pacte relatif aux droits de l'homme, traitant du droit de libre détermination, et que la plupart des membres de cette assemblée ont accepté.

71. Le troisième principe se passe de commentaires. Il expose simplement que le manque de préparation dans les domaines politique, économique ou social ou dans celui de l'enseignement ne doit pas être pris comme prétexte pour retarder l'indépendance.

72. Le quatrième principe signifie que les peuples des pays encore soumis à la domination coloniale ne doivent pas être l'objet de mesures militaires ou de répression qui les empêcheraient d'exercer librement leur droit à l'indépendance ni subir de pression d'aucune sorte de la part d'autorités administrantes. Il dit en outre que l'intégrité territoriale sera respectée. Les dispositions contenues dans le quatrième principe reposent sur l'expérience pratique acquise par les pays au cours de leur lutte pour la liberté contre les puissances coloniales. Ce principe présente donc pour les peuples encore sous le joug colonial une signification et une importance considérables.

73. A notre avis, le cinquième principe est le plus important; il est le passage essentiel de tout le texte; seule sa mise en œuvre peut rendre la résolution efficace. On a soutenu que ce paragraphe manquait d'un fondement sérieux, car il ne tient pas compte des circonstances particulières qui règnent dans chaque

territoire administré comme colonie ou sous tutelle, et que son adoption peut créer des difficultés inutiles dans l'exercice de ses tâches pour la puissance administrante. Toutefois, les auteurs l'ont proposé uniquement dans l'espoir et la conviction que son adoption incitera plus vivement encore les puissances coloniales à établir et à proclamer des dates limites acceptables pour octroyer dès que possible l'indépendance aux pays sous régime colonial, compte tenu aussi bien des nouvelles espérances et des revendications des peuples que des conditions particulières existant dans chaque territoire dépendant, sous tutelle ou colonial.

74. Le sixième principe est une mise en garde, inspirée par l'expérience vécue dans les territoires coloniaux, contre toute tentative des puissances coloniales pour détruire totalement ou en partie l'unité nationale et l'intégrité territoriale du pays colonisé, et déclare que ces tentatives seraient incompatibles avec la Charte des Nations Unies.

75. L'alinéa 7 se borne à répéter et à réaffirmer que tous les Etats doivent observer les dispositions de la déclaration, ainsi que celles de la Charte des Nations Unies et de la Déclaration universelle des droits de l'homme en respectant notamment l'égalité, en observant la non-ingérence dans les affaires intérieures des Etats, et en respectant les droits souverains et l'intégrité territoriale de tous les peuples. Les principes sur lesquels les auteurs du projet de résolution invitent les puissances à se fonder pour respecter les positions de la Charte et de la Déclaration universelle des droits de l'homme indiquées plus haut sont, de toute évidence, ceux qui sont solennellement énoncés dans la Charte des Nations Unies elle-même et généralement acceptés par tous les Etats Membres de cette organisation.

76. Nous espérons que ce projet de résolution sera unanimement adopté par les membres de cette assemblée.

77. M. PAZHAWAK (Afghanistan) [traduit de l'anglais]: Les peuples du monde et les Nations Unies attachent une grande importance à la nécessité de mettre immédiatement fin au système de domination sur les peuples et les nations, ainsi qu'en fait foi l'intérêt que suscite l'examen de la question aujourd'hui soulevée devant l'Assemblée générale. Je ne crois pas utile de rappeler avec quelle fermeté mon pays a suivi sa politique traditionnelle et donné son complet appui à l'élimination radicale du système de domination sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations. Notre attitude en la matière a été non seulement nette, mais énergique.

78. Dans mon intervention du 12 octobre 1960 devant l'Assemblée générale [902ème séance], j'ai souligné qu'une déclaration sur l'abolition du colonialisme aurait dû être la première tâche des Nations Unies lors de la création de l'Organisation, et j'ai regretté qu'elle ait été retardée. J'ai demandé à être entendu dès maintenant sur la question pour expliquer pourquoi nous avons participé activement à la rédaction d'une des déclarations dont nous avons été, en définitive, l'un des auteurs, et pour rappeler ce que cette déclaration signifie pour nous.

79. Nous avons écouté avec la plus grande attention toutes les interventions. Nous nous sommes sentis associés à tous les arguments puissants avancés en

faveur de l'abolition urgente du système de domination et de colonialisme par les orateurs qui nous ont précédés. Cependant, de notre côté, nous sommes fiers de déclarer que nous n'avons pas à nous plaindre des puissances coloniales si, de leur côté, les puissances coloniales qui ont tenté de nous attaquer n'ont pas à se plaindre de nous. Elles nous ont attaqués, nous avons défendu nos droits, voilà tout. C'est un fait qui appartient à l'histoire et nous ne voulons pas qu'il se répète. C'est pourquoi je n'ai pas l'intention de reparler de l'histoire dramatique des politiques de domination ni de leurs conséquences malheureuses, estimant que nous sommes ici, non pas pour nous pencher sur les fautes du passé, mais pour éviter qu'elles ne se perpétuent et pour empêcher toute possibilité de retour. L'histoire, ici, ne doit pas recommencer.

80. Je ne me propose pas non plus de tenter une définition du colonialisme, ou de faire l'historique de la domination des peuples et des nations, en particulier lorsque je prends la parole devant une assemblée où la majorité des membres ont été les témoins visuels de souffrances émanant des formes diverses de la domination. Sans vouloir, par conséquent, reprendre ce qui a déjà été dit, je me bornerai à formuler quelques observations générales, nos opinions précises figurant dans le projet de résolution à l'étude, dont nous sommes l'un des auteurs.

81. En premier lieu, le système que nous voudrions voir immédiatement aboli est la domination de tout peuple par un peuple étranger, sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations. En second lieu, l'indépendance ne devrait pas seulement s'appliquer aux territoires habituellement qualifiés de colonies, mais à tous les peuples dépendants. En troisième lieu, l'abolition de la domination par l'octroi de l'indépendance devrait être totale; elle ne peut l'être que si elle a pour objectif d'arrêter à jamais toute tentative de renaissance d'une influence étrangère sur les peuples et les nations lorsqu'ils auront acquis leur indépendance. En quatrième lieu, l'indépendance ne devrait pas signifier uniquement l'indépendance politique, mais être aussi une indépendance économique et culturelle, libérée de toute influence directe ou indirecte ou de toutes pressions, quelles qu'elles soient, exercées sur les peuples et les nations sous quelque forme et quelque prétexte que ce soit. En cinquième lieu, l'application des dispositions de la déclaration devrait être universelle et s'étendre à tous les peuples et territoires, non seulement pour la réalisation, mais aussi pour la protection de leur pleine et absolue indépendance, qui ne devrait résulter que de la libre volonté et de la résolution des peuples eux-mêmes, et être soustraite à toute autre influence.

82. Le projet de résolution reprend tous ces principes dans le sens véritable et dans l'esprit de ses dispositions. Aucune autre interprétation ne serait considérée comme conforme à la signification que nous donnons à cette déclaration. En particulier, tout ce qui pourrait faire naître la moindre incertitude au sujet de ces principes eux-mêmes et de leur acceptation incontestable par tous les peuples du monde serait pour nous inadmissible.

83. Deux paragraphes ont été insérés dans ce projet de résolution en raison de l'intérêt particulier que ma délégation porte à leur contenu. Il s'agit du paragraphe 2, ainsi conçu:

"Tous les peuples ont le droit de libre détermination; en vertu de ce droit, ils déterminent librement leur statut politique et poursuivent librement leur développement économique, social et culturel"

et du huitième alinéa du préambule, qui affirme:

"que les peuples peuvent, pour leurs propres fins, disposer librement de leurs richesses et ressources naturelles sans préjudice des obligations qui découleraient de la coopération économique internationale, fondée sur le principe de l'avantage mutuel et du droit international".

84. Je ne mentionne tout cela que pour souligner l'importance de ces dispositions, parmi d'autres dispositions de la déclaration tendant à l'abolition de la dépendance et du colonialisme, que nous avons toutes approuvées avec une entière conviction.

85. Nous espérons fermement que les Nations Unies ne failliront pas à leur devoir et adopteront les mesures les plus efficaces lorsqu'elles auront terminé l'étude du problème dont elles sont saisies. Ma délégation donnera son appui à toutes autres mesures utiles qui renforceraient la position de l'ONU en faveur du droit naturel et incontestable des peuples et des nations, et qui amèneraient la suppression de toutes les formes de domination de l'homme par l'homme.

86. Avant de conclure, je tiens à dire combien nous nous félicitons de l'un des changements positifs qui différencient notre temps du passé. Le monde est partagé entre deux principaux systèmes idéologiques, et c'est pour nous une source de satisfaction de constater que, dans chacun d'eux, les puissances qui pourraient le plus aisément dominer ne sont pas des puissances coloniales. Je fais évidemment allusion à l'Union soviétique et aux Etats-Unis. Les lourdes responsabilités de ces grandes puissances dans la mise en oeuvre de la déclaration ne peuvent ni ne doivent être passées sous silence.

87. Nous attachons une importance particulière au fait que c'est à l'Union soviétique que revient l'initiative d'une déclaration relative à l'abolition de la domination et du colonialisme, dont l'application pratique incombera à l'ONU. Je souhaite rendre au gouvernement et au peuple de l'URSS un hommage chaleureux pour son action dans ce domaine. Nous espérons que toutes les autres puissances, y compris les puissances coloniales, suivront la même politique pour faire aboutir et protéger le droit de toutes les nations et de tous les peuples à la liberté et le droit de l'homme à la dignité.

88. Le vote sur la déclaration relative à l'abolition du colonialisme et de la domination sera un moment historique mettant à l'épreuve la position réelle et les intentions sincères de tous les pays, grands ou petits. Ce vote, s'il était négatif, ne laisserait aucune place à une explication rationnelle qui puisse satisfaire l'esprit de l'homme.

89. Nous exprimons donc le ferme espoir qu'aucune nation appartenant à cette organisation ne faillira à son rôle dans cette grande épreuve historique.

90. M. AIKEN (Irlande) [traduit de l'anglais]: En lisant l'exposé introduisant le projet de "Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux" [A/4502 et Corr.1], ma délégation a craint

d'être sur le point d'assister, une fois de plus, à un violent assaut de propagande. Nous avons craint que la plus grande partie des débats ne soit consacrée non pas à l'étude des moyens permettant aux peuples actuellement dépendants d'acquérir le plus sûrement leur indépendance, mais à l'anéantissement de leurs aspirations légitimes et de leurs intérêts vitaux, dans une tentative pour les utiliser comme "chair à canon" de la guerre froide.

91. Nous sommes donc très heureux de saluer les efforts positifs des rédacteurs du projet de résolution [A/L.323] et de tous ceux qui ont pris part aux présents débats dans la seule intention d'obtenir des résultats utiles; au lieu de semer haine et confusion, ils se sont efforcés d'encourager l'amitié, la coopération et la liberté. Nous nous félicitons également d'avoir entendu affirmer avec énergie et à maintes reprises les droits inaliénables des peuples à jouir pleinement de l'indépendance sur leur territoire national. Bien des peuples sont aujourd'hui privés de ce droit. Certains d'entre eux ne sont jamais parvenus à former un Etat indépendant. D'autres — et leur sort n'est pas moins tragique — ont connu l'indépendance et l'ont perdue.

92. En sa qualité de représentant d'une nation qui a lutté pendant des siècles pour faire respecter le droit des hommes et des nations à vivre libres — droit aujourd'hui inscrit dans notre charte — la délégation irlandaise, comme beaucoup d'autres, a une préoccupation, et une seule, dans le présent débat: faire en sorte que l'Assemblée vote une résolution qui servira au mieux les intérêts lointains de toutes les nations, et donnera un nouvel essor à la mise en oeuvre rapide et méthodique des principes de notre charte. C'est ainsi que nous pourrions aider à construire les fondations d'une paix véritable et d'un vaste effort commun pour lutter contre la pauvreté, l'analphabétisme et la maladie dans le monde.

93. Je crois que la plupart d'entre nous souhaitent assurer à notre résolution une portée aussi large que la Déclaration universelle des droits de l'homme. Il est essentiel qu'elle ne soit pas limitative et qu'elle ne s'applique pas uniquement à certains cas ou à certaines parties du monde; nous estimons indispensable que les droits qui y sont proclamés au bénéfice des peuples ne jouissant pas aujourd'hui d'une pleine indépendance s'étendent à tous les peuples de toutes les parties du monde, à l'est comme à l'ouest, au nord comme au sud; que le droit à une complète indépendance nationale soit reconnu comme appartenant légitimement à tous les peuples, que les oppresseurs et les opprimés appartiennent ou non à la même race, qu'ils aient ou non la même croyance et soient ou non de la même couleur; que les peuples opprimés aient été soumis ou non à la domination d'une puissance étrangère pendant plusieurs siècles, comme mon propre pays, ou n'y aient été assujettis qu'au cours du siècle dernier, comme de nombreux pays d'Afrique, ou encore dans les années récentes, comme le Tibet. En outre, au cas où un petit pays, où qu'il soit situé, passerait dans l'avenir sous la domination d'un autre, nous tenons à ce que notre résolution affirme son droit à reconquérir la liberté.

94. Le projet de résolution présenté par l'Afghanistan et 41 autres pays pose nettement ce principe essentiel d'universalité en rappelant que la Charte des Nations Unies réaffirme notre "foi dans les droits fondamentaux de l'homme" et "dans l'égalité de droits des

hommes et des femmes ainsi que des nations grandes et petites".

95. Le projet de résolution souligne la nécessité d'observer "le respect des principes de l'égalité de droits et de la libre détermination de tous les peuples, et d'assurer le respect universel et effectif des droits de l'homme et des libertés fondamentales pour tous sans distinction de race, de sexe, de langue ou de religion".

96. Il reconnaît en outre "le désir passionné de liberté de tous les peuples dépendants" et le fait que "les peuples du monde souhaitent ardemment la fin du colonialisme dans toutes ses manifestations".

97. Il exprime notre conviction que "le maintien du colonialisme empêche le développement de la coopération ... internationale ... et va à l'encontre de l'idéal de paix universelle des Nations Unies".

98. Il affirme le droit des peuples à disposer librement de leurs richesses nationales, conformément au principe de l'avantage mutuel et du droit international.

99. Il rappelle le principe "que tous les peuples ont un droit inaliénable à la pleine liberté, à l'exercice de leur souveraineté et à l'intégrité de leur territoire national".

100. Il proclame solennellement "la nécessité de mettre rapidement et inconditionnellement fin au colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations".

101. Le projet de résolution soutient fermement le principe de l'universalité lorsqu'il déclare que "la sujétion des peuples à une subjugation, à une domination et à une exploitation étrangère constitue un déni des droits fondamentaux de l'homme, est contraire à la Charte des Nations Unies et compromet la cause de la paix et de la coopération mondiales".

102. Le même principe d'universalité est nettement formulé dans l'assertion selon laquelle "tous les peuples ont le droit de libre détermination".

103. Il a également inspiré les déclarations ci-après:

"Le manque de préparation dans les domaines politique, économique ou social ou dans celui de l'enseignement ne doit jamais être pris comme prétexte pour retarder l'indépendance."

"Il sera mis fin à toute action armée et à toutes mesures de répression de quelque sorte qu'elles soient, dirigées contre les peuples dépendants, pour permettre à ces peuples d'exercer pacifiquement et librement leur droit à l'indépendance complète, et l'intégrité de leur territoire national sera respectée."

"Toute tentative visant à détruire partiellement ou totalement l'unité nationale et l'intégrité territoriale d'un pays est incompatible avec les buts et principes de la Charte des Nations Unies."

"Tous les Etats doivent observer fidèlement et strictement les dispositions de la Charte des Nations Unies, de la Déclaration universelle des droits de l'homme et de la présente Déclaration sur la base de l'égalité, de la non-ingérence dans les affaires intérieures des Etats et du respect des droits souverains et de l'intégrité territoriale de tous les peuples."

104. On notera, j'en suis certain, que toutes les citations que j'ai extraites des différents paragraphes du projet de résolution sont rédigées en termes clairs et dépourvus d'ambiguïté, et se prêtent à une application universelle. Ces paragraphes énoncent des principes précis, qui ne sont assortis d'aucune limitation de temps ou de lieu, de race, de croyance ou de couleur; les droits s'appliquent universellement à tous les peuples, de même que les devoirs.

105. Dans le projet de résolution, ainsi que le montrent les citations que j'en ai faites, il est question des "droits fondamentaux de l'homme", de "l'égalité de droits ... des nations", des droits de libre détermination de "tous les peuples", de la liberté de "tous" les peuples dépendants, de la fin du colonialisme "dans toutes ses manifestations", du droit des peuples à disposer de leurs richesses nationales, et de la fin de "toutes les pratiques" de ségrégation, du droit inaliénable de "tous les peuples" à la pleine liberté, à l'indépendance et à l'unité territoriale, de la fin du colonialisme "sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations", du principe que l'indépendance ne doit "jamais" être retardée sous le prétexte de manque de préparation, du devoir de "tous les Etats" d'observer la Charte des Nations Unies et de respecter les droits souverains et l'intégrité territoriale de "tous les peuples", de la vérité selon laquelle les droits de l'homme et les libertés fondamentales appartiennent à "tous les peuples" sans distinction de race, de sexe, de langue ou de religion.

106. Tous les droits ainsi réaffirmés que je viens de rappeler me semblent être d'application générale et universelle. Cependant, le début du paragraphe 5 paraît être de portée plus restreinte. Il a trait aux territoires qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance, sans mentionner expressément les peuples qui ont joui de l'indépendance et l'ont perdue.

107. Pour des raisons de clarté et pour introduire l'uniformité nécessaire entre ce paragraphe et les autres parties du projet de résolution, ma délégation préférerait donc que le début du paragraphe 5 soit rédigé comme suit:

"Des mesures immédiates seront prises, dans les territoires sous tutelle et les territoires non autonomes, et dans tous les cas où les droits souverains proclamés dans la présente Déclaration sont déniés à un peuple, pour transférer tous pouvoirs aux peuples intéressés sans aucune condition ni réserve ..."

108. Nous savons cependant que, dans les quelques jours dont nous disposons encore pour ces débats, il pourra se révéler difficile de modifier la rédaction d'un projet déjà approuvé par 42 Etats Membres au bout de plusieurs semaines de discussion. Par conséquent, au cas où les auteurs ne seraient pas en mesure de modifier le texte dans le sens que j'ai indiqué, nous sommes disposés à accepter le projet dans son ensemble comme signifiant que, dans toutes les parties du monde, tous les peuples actuellement assujettis ou qui, dans l'avenir, pourraient être assujettis partiellement ou totalement à une puissance étrangère ont droit à la pleine indépendance internationale pour tous leurs territoires, et que des mesures immédiates seront prises pour leur appliquer, rapidement et méthodiquement, les droits fondamentaux proclamés pour tous les peuples dans la présente déclaration.

109. M'adressant à cette assemblée qui comprend tant de représentants des nations nouvelles et des puissances qui autrefois les avaient sous leur domination, je tiens à dire combien nous sommes frappés par l'extension qu'a prise la liberté à notre époque, et qui est due aux efforts des peuples autrefois assujettis, et souvent aussi à l'administration sage et bien comprise des puissances coloniales. L'ONU peut à juste titre s'enorgueillir de l'aide qu'elle a apportée, au cours des 15 dernières années, à l'accession pacifique et méthodique de nombreux États à l'indépendance. Le résultat a été remarquable.

110. Quel Irlandais, il y a 40 ans, aurait pensé qu'il vivrait assez longtemps pour entendre un jour un homme d'État britannique prononcer, au sujet des territoires restant sous l'administration du Royaume-Uni, les paroles de M. Ormsby-Gore, représentant de ce pays, entendues ici même il y a quelques jours: "Dans ces territoires, la question du droit des peuples à l'indépendance ne se pose pas; la question ne se pose pas de savoir si les peuples seront ou non indépendants. Ils le seront certainement" [925ème séance, par. 50]. Qui d'entre nous, il y a 40 ans, aurait pensé qu'il vivrait assez longtemps pour voir 100 nations participer dans des conditions d'égalité à une organisation internationale reposant sur un texte fondamental tel que la Charte des Nations Unies? Je suis heureux de rendre hommage au rôle joué non seulement par les hommes et les femmes si courageux des pays assujettis qui ont combattu pendant des siècles pour la liberté, mais aussi par les hommes d'État éclairés et les citoyens à l'esprit libéral des puissances coloniales.

111. Le projet de résolution que nous étudions fait ressortir que, si de grands progrès ont été accomplis vers l'extension de la liberté, il reste encore beaucoup à faire.

112. En Irlande, nous n'avons pas encore recouvré l'unité historique de notre territoire national. Nous prenons donc note avec une satisfaction particulière du principe énoncé au paragraphe 6 du projet:

"Toute tentative visant à détruire partiellement ou totalement l'unité nationale et l'intégrité territoriale d'un pays est incompatible avec les buts et les principes de la Charte des Nations Unies."

113. La bonne volonté toujours plus manifeste et la compréhension toujours plus grande nous laissent le ferme espoir de recouvrer assez rapidement, dans la paix et dans l'ordre, l'unité de notre territoire, conformément à l'intérêt de la nation irlandaise tout entière et du Royaume-Uni.

114. Il existe encore, dans de nombreuses régions du monde, des millions d'hommes qui ne jouissent pas des droits affirmés dans le projet de résolution. Nous sommes convaincus que la grande œuvre de libération se poursuivra jusqu'à la libération de tous les peuples du monde, et jusqu'au moment où les ressources et les techniques dont l'humanité dispose seront pleinement mises en valeur, grâce à une coopération pacifique et généreuse qui apportera à toutes les régions du monde la paix, la prospérité et l'espoir du bonheur.

115. Dato' KAMIL (Fédération de Malaisie) [traduit de l'anglais]: La délégation de la Fédération de Malaisie s'honore et s'enorgueillit grandement de se trouver associée à plus de 40 autres délégations

de pays d'Asie et d'Afrique pour élaborer un projet de déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux [A/L.323 et Add.1 à 5].

116. Si la déclaration semble être avant tout une initiative des pays d'Afrique et d'Asie, en raison de l'origine de ses auteurs, il ne s'ensuit nullement que l'abolition du colonialisme sous toutes ses formes soit exclusivement une préoccupation de ces pays. La répugnance et l'horreur qu'inspirent l'institution et la pratique de la sujétion de l'homme par l'homme et de la domination des nations par d'autres nations sont universellement partagées par les hommes qui pensent, car la soif de liberté et la volonté de la défendre sont des sentiments communs à toute l'humanité.

117. Je crois pouvoir dire que les buts élevés énoncés dans la déclaration, faisant écho aux grands principes de la Charte des Nations Unies et les réaffirmant, auront la valeur d'une magnifique inspiration pour tous les peuples, non seulement en Asie et en Afrique, où subsistent encore des vestiges de colonialisme sous une forme ou une autre, mais aussi dans d'autres parties du monde, où des millions de personnes se voient empêchées par la force de jouir pleinement de la liberté et de l'indépendance de leur pays. La liberté est universelle, et toute déclaration en faveur de celle-ci doit nécessairement être considérée comme universelle dans son application et dans sa portée.

118. Les circonstances historiques expliquent aisément pourquoi les pays d'Asie et d'Afrique manifestent un intérêt si particulier et si pressant à l'égard de l'élimination rapide du colonialisme. Depuis de nombreux siècles, l'histoire a été déterminée par le fait que des peuples plus faibles ont été assujettis et dominés par des nations plus fortes. Dans cette suite d'événements, les victimes ont invariablement été les peuples d'Asie et d'Afrique. Depuis des siècles, l'Asie et l'Afrique ont peiné et végété sous un joug étranger d'une espèce ou d'une autre. Bien qu'un nationalisme ardent et un profond désir de liberté aient agité le cœur et l'âme des hommes, ce n'est qu'au cours de ce siècle que cette force a pris de l'impulsion et a pu se donner libre cours. Ainsi, on a pu voir, au cours de ces dernières décennies et notamment depuis la fin de la seconde guerre mondiale, un grand nombre de pays accéder à l'indépendance et à la souveraineté totales, d'abord en Asie, puis en Afrique; ces pays représentaient plus de 500 millions d'hommes. Dans la seule année 1960, 18 États, presque tous situés dans le vaste continent africain, sont devenus indépendants.

119. L'admission à l'Organisation des Nations Unies, en qualité de Membres, d'un si grand nombre de nouveaux États pendant la présente session de l'Assemblée générale nous a rappelé, sous une forme particulièrement émouvante, que l'histoire suit un cours irréversible vers la liberté et l'émancipation des peuples si longtemps soumis à la domination étrangère. Ce phénomène se poursuit, prenant toujours plus de vitesse et de puissance avec le temps. La tragédie de notre époque est qu'il subsiste des cas où les autorités au pouvoir se montrent incapables de prendre pleinement conscience de cette force historique, et préfèrent au contraire réprimer les aspirations des peuples qu'ils dominent.

120. Dans ces conditions, ma délégation est heureuse de prendre acte des assurances fournies par cer-

taines puissances coloniales qui s'engagent à préparer les peuples et territoires coloniaux sous leur dépendance à l'exercice de la pleine souveraineté dans des délais normaux. Ce n'est que lorsque les puissances intéressées apprécient exactement les aspirations à l'indépendance des peuples qu'elles dominent, et lorsqu'elles prennent, en conséquence, les mesures nécessaires pour favoriser la réalisation rapide de ces aspirations, qu'elles peuvent éliminer les risques de haine et de violence et que l'indépendance peut se réaliser dans un climat d'amitié et d'harmonie. Tout refus de la part des autorités administrantes de reconnaître la tendance irrésistible à l'émancipation des peuples assujettis ou de lui laisser le champ libre ferait inévitablement éclater des troubles qui, en définitive, pourraient engendrer à leur tour des conséquences lointaines, nuisibles aux relations entre nations et à la paix et à l'harmonie internationales.

121. Au contraire, une solution raisonnable et concrète de ce problème apportée par les autorités administrantes, comme on a pu le constater dans de nombreux cas, ne peut amener qu'un transfert cordial et harmonieux des pouvoirs et, loin de rompre brutalement les liens entre le maître et l'administré dans une atmosphère de haine et de vengeance, offrir une perspective nouvelle de relations mutuelles et de coopération favorable entre associés égaux appartenant à la communauté des nations souveraines du monde.

122. Heureusement, mon pays est l'un de ceux qui ont accédé à la pleine souveraineté dans une atmosphère paisible et amicale et suivant des voies constitutionnelles. Aujourd'hui, nous entretenons avec le Royaume-Uni, en notre qualité de nation indépendante, des relations extrêmement chaleureuses et amicales. Cependant, le chemin que nous avons suivi pour parvenir à la libération nationale a été rude. Nous avons rencontré nombre de difficultés et surmonté bien des obstacles. Mais tout le temps qu'a duré cette évolution, nos dirigeants, nos peuples, et l'Autorité administrante ont tous fait preuve de tant de sagesse et de compréhension que nous avons obtenu notre indépendance plus tôt qu'il n'était prévu, et sans traces de haine ou de ressentiment. Le transfert des pouvoirs, qui s'est fait harmonieusement, et a marqué la fin du régime colonial, a également permis à notre œuvre de mise en valeur et de consolidation nationale de débiter sous d'heureux auspices et a rendu possible l'établissement de relations nouvelles avec le Royaume-Uni, en qualité d'associés égaux dans le Commonwealth des nations.

123. C'est pourquoi ma délégation comprend la joie et la satisfaction des nombreuses nations nouvelles qui ont reconquis leur indépendance dans des conditions analogues. Nous savons cependant que toutes n'ont pas été aussi favorisées. Bien des nations sœurs n'ont conquis leur liberté qu'au prix de sacrifices considérables en vies et en ressources matérielles, au point que leur mise en valeur nationale a été rendue extrêmement malaisée par la nécessité de tout redresser et de tout reconstruire. Ma délégation s'inquiète vivement de voir qu'une guerre inutile et insensée se livre aujourd'hui dans certaines parties du monde contre des peuples assujettis qui combattent pour leur droit juste et légitime de libre détermination.

124. En sa qualité de nation qui vient d'être libérée du régime colonial, quelque bienfaisant que ce régime

ait pu être, la Fédération de Malaisie s'est consacrée et se consacre encore à la juste cause des peuples et des nations, à quelque partie du monde qu'ils appartiennent, qui revendiquent leur droit de libre détermination et veulent se libérer du joug étranger, sous toutes ses formes, dans toutes ses manifestations et sous tous ses aspects. Ce dévouement à la cause de la liberté est devenu l'une des pierres angulaires sur lesquelles repose la politique étrangère de mon gouvernement.

125. C'est pourquoi ma délégation s'honore et s'enorgueillit de se joindre aux autres délégations de pays d'Asie et d'Afrique, dont la plupart ont été comme mon pays, des colonies, pour proposer l'adoption du projet de déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. Il serait exagérément optimiste de dire que la déclaration va donner un nouveau départ à l'histoire. Son but est plutôt d'aider et d'accélérer la marche de l'histoire, déclenchée par le désir irrésistible des peuples assujettis de s'émanciper de leurs liens et d'obtenir leur liberté.

126. Lorsque cette déclaration aura été adoptée par les membres de notre assemblée, et je suis certain qu'elle le sera, à l'unanimité je l'espère, elle deviendra un document important et vivant, et une source d'inspiration, comme l'est la Charte des Nations Unies. Ses objectifs sont nobles et élevés, et ils ne manqueront pas de toucher le cœur et l'âme de tous les peuples épris de liberté. Pour ma délégation, sa portée est universelle: elle postule la liberté pour tous les peuples vivant encore sous une domination coloniale, pour tous ceux qui, d'une manière ou d'une autre, se voient refuser, par la force, la pleine jouissance de leur souveraineté et de leur indépendance. Ainsi, le paragraphe 2 de cette déclaration proclame:

"Tous les peuples ont le droit de libre détermination; en vertu de ce droit, ils déterminent librement leur statut politique et poursuivent librement leur développement économique, social et culturel."

127. En insistant sur la nécessité d'éliminer totalement la domination étrangère, la déclaration tient compte aussi du danger auquel les nations nouvelles pourraient se trouver exposées dans leurs premières années d'existence. C'est ainsi que, pour garantir la sécurité d'une indépendance nouvellement acquise, le paragraphe 7 de la déclaration souligne:

"Tous les Etats doivent observer fidèlement et strictement les dispositions de la Charte des Nations Unies, de la Déclaration universelle des droits de l'homme et de la présente Déclaration sur la base de l'égalité, de la non-ingérence dans les affaires intérieures des Etats et du respect des droits souverains et de l'intégrité territoriale de tous les peuples."

128. Se fondant sur l'expérience de notre propre pays, ma délégation est pleinement consciente du danger de voir apparaître de nouvelles formes de domination survenant sous des apparences difficiles à déceler, telles que la domination économique et, la plus dangereuse de toutes, la domination idéologique. Si elle n'était pas contenue, celle-ci pourrait entraîner l'échec total de l'indépendance politique et économique et ramener une sujétion étrangère. Avant même d'avoir accédé à l'indépendance — de même qu'au cours de nos années d'existence comme nation souveraine — notre population a toujours combattu pour

soustraire la nation à tout assujettissement à toute idéologie étrangère. Nous sommes décidés à rester vigilants pour nous protéger contre cette forme nouvelle et plus dangereuse de servitude.

129. De l'avis de ma délégation, la déclaration présentée par les pays d'Asie et d'Afrique aborde le problème du colonialisme de façon réaliste. Elle ne cherche pas à condamner les puissances coloniales, car une condamnation, si justifiée qu'elle soit dans certains cas, ne saurait servir les intérêts des peuples coloniaux. Elle insiste avec raison, cependant, sur les maux et les dangers inhérents au régime et à la pratique du colonialisme. Elle met en lumière l'anachronisme du colonialisme dans le monde d'aujourd'hui, où l'idéal d'égalité et de liberté est devenu un moteur puissant de l'évolution historique. Elle montre que le maintien d'une domination coloniale est non seulement contraire à la Charte des Nations Unies, mais compromet la cause de la paix et de la coopération mondiales.

130. Ainsi, la déclaration prévoit la fin du colonialisme dans toutes ses formes et ses manifestations, réclame que des mesures immédiates soient prises dans les territoires sous tutelle, les territoires non autonomes et tous autres territoires qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance en vue de transférer tous les pouvoirs aux peuples intéressés. De l'avis de ma délégation, les auteurs de la déclaration n'envisagent pas, dans cette demande, un transfert immédiat de tous les pouvoirs. Ce qui y est visé, ce sont des mesures immédiates en vue de préparer les populations, comme il se doit, au transfert définitif des pouvoirs. Trop souvent les puissances coloniales ont retardé l'accession à l'indépendance en arguant de la préparation prétendument insuffisante des populations, alors qu'elles ne faisaient rien pour les y préparer; encore faudrait-il démontrer que le territoire intéressé n'est pas encore réellement prêt. Ainsi le prétexte d'un manque de préparation politique, économique ou sociale ou en matière d'enseignement a trop souvent été invoqué pour retarder l'indépendance. C'est là une attitude déplorable de la part des puissances coloniales; est contraire aux obligations prévues dans la Charte, qui stipule que les autorités administrantes ont pour tâche et pour devoir de préparer les peuples assujettis à assumer dans les plus brefs délais les responsabilités de l'indépendance.

131. Ma délégation estime essentiel que toutes les autorités chargées de l'administration des territoires sous tutelle, des territoires non autonomes et de tous autres territoires coloniaux observent fidèlement les obligations prévues dans la Charte, afin d'éviter qu'en manquant à leurs devoirs elle ne retardent indéfiniment et de façon déplorable la réalisation des aspirations des peuples assujettis. En outre, les conséquences de ces manquements devraient être étudiées avec attention et en toute conscience, car leur importance a été démontrée à l'évidence lors de la crise congolaise.

132. Pour conclure, j'aimerais rappeler que le problème dont l'Assemblée est saisie est grave et difficile et qu'il intéresse la vie, le sort et les aspirations de millions de nos frères encore soumis à une forme ou à une autre de domination étrangère. Ces peuples ne peuvent se faire entendre ici; leur voix ne peut jamais retentir hors de leur propre foyer. Ils comptent sur nous pour soutenir leur cause, avec le très vif espoir que ce débat important et historique ouvrira

la voie à l'abolition prochaine des injustices et des humiliations dont ils sont depuis trop longtemps les victimes. Dans l'intérêt de ces peuples encore assujettis ainsi que de l'harmonie et de la coopération internationale futures, ma délégation exprime le vœu sincère que les présents débats, après avoir préparé la liquidation du colonialisme, ne laisseront pas dans leur sillage des traces de ressentiment et d'amertume qui pourraient assombrir la paix et la coopération internationales. La disparition du colonialisme devrait être une date heureuse dans l'histoire de l'humanité, et nous devons tous nous y consacrer.

M. Illueca (Panama), vice-président, prend la présidence.

133. M. TSIANG (Chine) [traduit de l'anglais]: Au cours des 15 dernières années, l'ONU a fréquemment examiné des questions coloniales particulières se posant dans différentes parties du monde. L'Assemblée générale, le Conseil de sécurité, et, naturellement, le Conseil de tutelle ont inscrit des questions coloniales à leur ordre du jour. Jusqu'à présent, toutes les questions de ce genre étudiées par l'ONU ont été des cas d'espèce, s'appliquant à un pays ou à une région donnés. Aujourd'hui, pour la première fois, l'ONU examine le colonialisme en général.

134. Si ma délégation n'a pas encore pris la parole dans le présent débat, c'est qu'elle n'est pas sûre qu'une discussion de cette sorte ait une utilité pratique. Si le but du présent débat est de nous aider à obtenir une approbation générale des principes relatifs au colonialisme, il ne nous semble pas particulièrement nécessaire, étant donné que cette approbation est acquise depuis 15 ans déjà. Les principes relatifs au colonialisme ont tous été solennellement inscrits dans la Charte des Nations Unies, que nous sommes juridiquement et moralement tenus de respecter. Si, au contraire, les échanges de vues actuels ont pour objet de favoriser l'application de ces principes aux questions coloniales encore pendantes, il serait préférable, à mon sens, que les débats traitent de points particuliers et non d'aspects généraux. Il n'existe pas deux problèmes coloniaux semblables, chaque région, chaque pays colonial a son histoire, chacun a des caractéristiques actuelles qui lui sont propres. Ce qui convient à une région ne convient pas nécessairement à une autre. Seule l'étude systématique de chaque question considérée en elle-même nous permettra de progresser. J'espère que les présents débats démontreront leur utilité en hâtant partout la fin du colonialisme. Toutefois, je suis certain qu'ils ne remplaceront pas, qu'ils ne pourront pas remplacer, une étude systématique des questions coloniales concrètes.

135. Parmi les pays d'Asie et d'Afrique, mon pays a été l'un des premiers à faire profession de nationalisme moderne et à lutter pour s'émanciper du colonialisme ou de l'impérialisme européen. Sun Yat-sen, père de la République chinoise, mieux, père du nationalisme chinois moderne, a commencé vers la fin du XIX^{ème} siècle à guider le peuple chinois dans sa double tâche: débarrasser la Chine de l'exploitation européenne et édifier en Chine un Etat moderne, prêt et apte à exercer ses droits de pleine souveraineté nationale et à apporter le bien-être au peuple chinois. Au cours de sa lutte, Sun Yat-sen découvrit que de nombreux peuples d'Asie et d'Afrique vivaient dans des conditions aussi déplorables qu'en Chine, même pires encore. Dans son testament, Sun Yat-sen sou-

lignait que la Chine nouvelle, la Chine nationaliste, ne manquerait jamais d'offrir sa sympathie et son appui aux peuples opprimés du monde et leur fournirait, dans leur lutte pour la liberté, toute l'assistance que le peuple chinois est capable de réunir.

136. Ma délégation et mon gouvernement sont toujours restés fidèles aux préceptes de Sun Yat-sen. Lorsque je suis venu ici représenter mon pays pour la première fois, l'un des plus graves problèmes posés à l'ONU à l'époque était la lutte menée pour son indépendance par le peuple indonésien. Au cours des longs débats que le Conseil de sécurité consacra à cette question, ma délégation fut l'une des premières à appuyer chaleureusement la cause de la liberté de l'Indonésie. Depuis lors, ma délégation a toujours suivi la même ligne de conduite.

137. On admet généralement que le problème du colonialisme intéresse certains peuples européens, d'une part, et certains peuples africano-asiatiques, de l'autre. On admet généralement aussi qu'il a trait aux relations entre les nations industrialisées et les nations insuffisamment développées du monde. Ma délégation estime que ces deux hypothèses sont le plus souvent exactes, mais aussi qu'elles simplifient exagérément le problème du colonialisme. Il existe à ces hypothèses des exceptions et des variantes qu'il convient d'examiner afin de dégager toute la vérité. Je voudrais par conséquent dire quelques mots des exceptions et des variantes à la règle générale.

138. Il n'est pas vrai que le problème du colonialisme ne se pose que lorsque des nations plus développées essaient d'en dominer de moins développées. On trouve dans l'histoire de nombreux exemples de peuples moins évolués qui ont essayé d'exercer une domination sur des peuples plus avancés. Je citerai, à titre d'illustration, un cas qui a l'avantage de ne pas prêter à controverse aujourd'hui, celui de l'Empire mongol aux XIIIème et XIVème siècles. Menés par Gengis khan, les Mongols étaient avant tout des nomades. Leur économie était très primitive et se bornait à peu près à l'élevage des moutons. Leur organisation politique reposait principalement sur la tribu. Cependant les Mongols ont conquis la Chine et l'ont tenue asservie pendant près d'un siècle. Ils ont conquis aussi et asservi de larges régions de l'Asie occidentale et de l'Europe orientale qui étaient, pour la plupart, comme la Chine, beaucoup plus avancées que la Mongolie ne l'était aux XIIIème et XIVème siècles.

139. Les Mongols, commandés par Gengis khan, ne cherchaient ni débouchés pour leur commerce d'exportation, car ils n'avaient presque rien à exporter, ni territoires étrangers où investir des capitaux, car ils n'avaient de capitaux à investir ni dans leur propre pays ni encore moins à l'étranger. Ils ne recherchaient pas de matières premières, car ils n'auraient su que faire du charbon, du fer, du caoutchouc, du pétrole, de la noix de coco ou de l'étain. Ce qu'ils voulaient, c'était exercer leur puissance et lever un tribut. Et néanmoins, ce peuple relativement sous-développé, poussé par le désir primitif du pouvoir et du pillage, a construit un des empires les plus étendus qu'ait jamais connus l'humanité.

140. L'exemple de l'Empire mongol démontre de manière concluante que le colonialisme ou l'impérialisme n'est pas le monopole d'un système économique, politique ou social donné. En effet, si nous

étudions attentivement l'histoire, nous constatons que dans toutes les parties du monde, à tous les moments de l'évolution, de l'âge de pierre à l'industrie mécanique et au capitalisme, en passant par le nomadisme, l'agriculture et le commerce, les peuples ont toujours tenté de coloniser et de bâtir des empires. Le problème du colonialisme est aussi ancien et aussi complexe que l'histoire de l'homme elle-même.

141. Il n'est pas vrai non plus que les peuples européens aient seuls pratiqué le colonialisme et l'impérialisme, et qu'ils ne les aient pratiqués qu'à l'encontre de peuples non européens. Mon exemple de l'Empire mongol montre un peuple asiatique pratiquant le colonialisme et l'impérialisme contre d'autres peuples asiatiques et aussi contre l'Europe. Au Moyen Age, l'Empire arabe s'étendait au Portugal et à l'Espagne et a même menacé pendant un certain temps de coloniser la France. Au début des temps modernes, l'Empire ottoman comprenait des parties de l'Asie, de l'Afrique et de l'Europe du Sud-Est. L'Europe elle-même a fait du colonialisme et de l'impérialisme contre des peuples européens et non européens. Il n'est besoin que de citer le cas de l'Empire de Napoléon; on pourrait aussi parler de l'Empire austro-hongrois.

142. A propos de l'Empire austro-hongrois, je voudrais rappeler aux membres de l'Assemblée la Conférence de la paix tenue à Paris au milieu du XIXème siècle, à l'issue de la guerre de Crimée. Parmi les mouvements nationalistes de l'époque il y avait un mouvement italien. Sous l'impulsion de Cavour et d'autres hommes d'Etat et prophètes italiens, le peuple italien s'efforçait d'obtenir l'émancipation de la Lombardie-Vénétie sous domination austro-hongroise, ainsi que l'unité de l'Italie. A la Conférence de Paris, la France montra de la sympathie au nationalisme italien et souhaita donner à Cavour la possibilité de plaider la cause de la liberté et de l'unité de l'Italie et d'exposer la question de Lombardie-Vénétie. La délégation austro-hongroise à la Conférence de Paris protesta en déclarant que la question de Lombardie-Vénétie était un problème intérieur autrichien, que les droits autrichiens sur la Lombardie-Vénétie avaient été confirmés dans un traité et ratifiés par la tradition, et qu'il y aurait donc ingérence injustifiée de la part des membres de la Conférence de Paris s'ils intervenaient au sujet de problèmes intéressant l'Italie septentrionale.

143. Comme on le sait, le comte Walewski, président de la Conférence, passa outre aux objections de la délégation austro-hongroise et le comte Cavour eut la possibilité de prendre la parole au nom de la liberté et de l'unité italiennes. Je rappelle l'épisode parce que, bien qu'il se soit produit il y a 100 ans, il comporte encore un enseignement valable, et aussi parce qu'il démontre fort bien que les nations européennes ont pratiqué le colonialisme et l'impérialisme à l'encontre d'autres peuples européens.

144. Le colonialisme varie avec le temps. Il est aussi divers que la société humaine elle-même. Il serait chimérique et vain de borner notre étude à un type donné de colonialisme et de négliger les dangers et les menaces des autres types.

145. Dans l'histoire moderne, c'est-à-dire au cours des quatre ou cinq derniers siècles, le colonialisme s'est caractérisé avant tout par l'expansion européenne vers d'autres continents. Il a été constitué

notamment par les luttes des Etats d'Europe économiquement et politiquement mieux organisés contre les peuples politiquement et économiquement moins développés d'Asie, d'Afrique et d'Amérique. Au long de ces siècles, le monde entier a été, au moins jusqu'à un certain point, européanisé. S'il y a dans l'histoire moderne un fait qui domine toute cette période, on peut dire que c'est l'européanisation du monde. Ce fut à la fois un mal et un bien. Je ne m'attarderai pas à analyser, à dégager ou à départager les responsabilités. Le mal fait par l'Europe à l'Asie et à l'Afrique n'a pas toujours été intentionnel. Il en est de même du bien: une partie en a été fortuite et accidentelle; en revanche l'autre en a été intentionnelle et voulue. Le phénomène de l'européanisation ou de la colonisation dans son ensemble est en réalité très humain, c'est un mélange de bien et de mal.

146. Lorsque l'Europe a entrepris son vaste mouvement d'expansion hors de ses propres limites, ce mouvement s'est partagé en deux courants. Les nations de l'Europe occidentale se sont tournées vers les pays d'outre-mer d'Amérique, d'Asie et d'Afrique. La Russie, c'est-à-dire la Russie des tsars, s'est étendue sans franchir les océans. Les Russes ont traversé l'Oural pour conquérir et coloniser la Sibérie et l'Asie centrale. En outre, la Russie a pris la Crimée, le Caucase et certaines parties de l'Europe orientale. C'est par suite d'un accident géographique que la plupart des pays d'Asie et d'Afrique n'ont été atteints que par l'expansion maritime de l'Europe occidentale et n'ont pas été touchés par l'expansion terrestre de la Russie des tsars. La conséquence de cette circonstance géographique est que, dans la plupart des pays d'Asie et d'Afrique, mais non la totalité, les esprits ont reçu l'empreinte indélébile du colonialisme de l'Europe occidentale, et n'ont pratiquement pas eu conscience du colonialisme terrestre de la Russie. C'est la raison pour laquelle l'opinion qui prévaut à l'heure actuelle dans de nombreux pays africains-asiatiques au sujet du colonialisme européen est inexacte, déformée et, dans une certaine mesure, insuffisamment objective.

147. Les deux courants d'expansion européenne, c'est-à-dire l'expansion de l'Europe occidentale par mer et l'expansion de la Russie par terre, ne se sont heurtés qu'à une opposition relativement faible de la part des peuples d'Asie, d'Afrique et d'Amérique. Ont participé à l'une et à l'autre un mélange d'aventuriers, de hors-la-loi, de patriotes, de zéloteurs religieux et d'hommes qui cherchaient la fortune. En ce qui concerne la Russie, le premier expansionniste fut Yermak, qui prit la tête d'une bande de 840 hommes et leur fit traverser les monts Oural en 1579. En 60 ans environ, des aventuriers russes se succédèrent et parvinrent à atteindre la côte du Pacifique dans la région d'Okhotsk. Dans cet espace de 60 ans, la Sibérie tout entière, d'une superficie totale de plus de 6 millions de kilomètres carrés, soit plus de deux fois la superficie de la Russie d'Europe, est devenue une partie de l'Empire des tsars.

148. Dans cette longue marche vers le Pacifique à travers la Sibérie, la première opposition organisée rencontrée par les Russes fut celle du khanat de Kuchum, sur le cours supérieur de l'Ob. Le khanat était l'un des vestiges de l'Empire mongol. En 1583, Yermak prit Sibir, capitale du khanat, d'où le nom

de Sibérie. Lorsque les Russes atteignirent l'Extrême-Orient, ils se heurtèrent à la résistance de la Chine. Là, dans la région arrosée par les affluents supérieurs du fleuve Amour, la Chine et la Russie se livrèrent des combats indécis, que nul résultat militaire ne vint couronner. L'impasse militaire aboutit au traité de Nertchinsk, signé le 27 août 1689. Aux termes de ce traité, la vallée du fleuve Amour et de ses affluents était reconnue à la Chine.

149. Au XIX^{ème} siècle, les Russes renouvelèrent leur agression le long du fleuve Amour. Combinant une action militaire et diplomatique, la Russie des tsars prit à la Chine la rive nord du fleuve Amour et la rive est de l'Oussouri. Aujourd'hui ces deux régions constituent la province de l'Amour et la province maritime de l'Extrême-Orient russe. Jusqu'en 1860, la ville de Vladivostok était une colonie chinoise nommée "Haï-chen-wei"; les Russes ont changé ce nom en "Vladivostok", ce qui signifie "dominatrice de l'Orient". Ces régions de l'Amour et de l'Oussouri que la Russie tsariste a prises à la Chine en 1860 et que la Russie soviétique détient toujours ont une superficie totale de plus de 600.000 kilomètres carrés.

150. Je ne parlerai pas de l'histoire de l'expansion russe en Asie centrale. Ce que l'on nomme aujourd'hui Républiques du Kazakhstan, de l'Ouzbékistan, du Kirghizistan, du Turkménistan et du Tadjikistan étaient des pays indépendants avant d'être annexés par la Russie tsariste. Je ne rappellerai pas non plus l'histoire de l'expansion russe en Europe même. D'autres personnes ici présentes la connaissent mieux que moi.

151. Dans le long discours qu'il prononça devant l'Assemblée générale, le 23 septembre, et par lequel s'ouvrit le présent débat sur le colonialisme, M. Khrouchtchev, président du Conseil des ministres de l'Union soviétique, fit quelques déclarations très importantes et très intéressantes sur le colonialisme de la Russie tsariste:

"Le Gouvernement tsariste a appliqué dans les marches de Russie une politique essentiellement coloniale qui ne différait guère de ce que l'on peut voir à l'heure actuelle dans les pays coloniaux. Ouzbeks, Kazakhs, Tadjiks et autres nationalités non russes étaient dédaigneusement catalogués comme "étrangers". Ils n'étaient pas considérés comme des hommes et étaient impitoyablement exploités. On fomentait parmi ces peuples la discorde, la haine et les guerres intestines, et l'Empire tsariste ne se maintenait que par la force des baïonnettes et par l'oppression." [869^{ème} séance plénière, par. 207.]

152. Invoquant l'autorité de M. Khrouchtchev, nous pouvons conclure que la Russie, au moins jusqu'à la révolution de 1917, avait un empire colonial ne différant guère des autres empires coloniaux du monde. Ce qu'il a appelé "marches" qui n'étaient maintenues "que par la force des baïonnettes et par l'oppression" comprenait la Finlande, l'Estonie, la Lettonie, la Lituanie, la Pologne, la Bessarabie, l'Ukraine, le Caucase, l'Asie centrale, la Sibérie orientale et certaines parties de la Mandchourie. Ces territoires avaient une superficie de 15 millions de kilomètres carrés, soit environ 70 pour 100 de la superficie totale de l'Empire russe. Tel est le patrimoine laissé par la Russie tsariste à l'Union soviétique. La ques-

tion qui importe est la suivante: qu'a fait l'Union soviétique de ce legs des tsars?

153. Au moment de la révolution de 1917, toutes les anciennes possessions coloniales de la Russie se sont soulevées et ont proclamé leur indépendance. Certaines réussirent, d'autres échouèrent. La Finlande, sous le commandement du maréchal Mannerheim, gagna la guerre d'indépendance qui se termina par le traité du 14 octobre 1920; il en fut de même de la Pologne, sous le commandement du maréchal Pilsudski, qui vit son indépendance confirmée par un traité signé le 18 mars 1921; de l'Estonie, de la Lettonie et de la Lituanie, qui signèrent des traités les 22 février, 11 août et 12 juillet 1920 respectivement. Mais ce ne fut pas ainsi que les choses se passèrent dans les autres régions coloniales. L'indépendance de l'Ukraine fut supprimée en août 1920, celle de la Géorgie en février 1921, celle de l'Asie centrale à l'issue d'une longue campagne qui eut lieu de 1922 à 1924. Au cours des années récentes, l'Union soviétique a repris l'Estonie, la Lettonie et la Lituanie et a de plus étendu la domination soviétique à d'autres pays européens. Aujourd'hui, l'Empire soviétique est plus vaste que celui des tsars. L'exemple de la Hongrie nous a montré le traitement qu'appliquerait l'Union soviétique à l'un de ses peuples assujettis s'il devait lutter pour sa liberté.

154. Le Président du Conseil des ministres de l'Union soviétique a peint un tableau coloré de la mise en valeur des républiques de l'Asie centrale au sein de l'Union soviétique, d'une part, et un tableau très noir des colonies des nations d'Europe occidentale, de l'autre. Certaines délégations siégeant dans cet amphithéâtre pourront scruter avec plus de compétence que moi son compte rendu des conditions dans les colonies des pays occidentaux. Pour le moment, je voudrais signaler à l'attention des représentants à l'Assemblée la situation en Asie centrale. M. Khrouchtchev a reconnu que:

"La situation dans les marches de l'empire tsariste ne se distinguait pour ainsi dire pas de celles des colonies car les populations y étaient cruellement exploitées par l'autocratie, par le capitalisme." [Ibid., par. 192.]

Il poursuivait en déclarant que le tableau s'était considérablement modifié depuis la révolution d'Octobre 1917:

"Aujourd'hui, le Kazakhstan, l'Ouzbékistan, le Kirghizistan, le Turkménistan et le Tadjikistan toutes ces républiques sœurs d'Asie centrale, de colonies arriérées qu'elles étaient dans la Russie tsariste sont devenues des républiques d'avant-garde, des républiques socialistes industrialisées." [Ibid., par. 193.]

155. Il est vrai, en effet, que le développement industriel de l'Asie centrale soviétique a été intense, mais un développement industriel analogue s'est produit dans de nombreuses colonies des pays occidentaux. Le fait n'en demeure pas moins que dans l'immense Empire soviétique l'industrialisation a été très inégale. Prenons l'exemple de l'industrie textile. D'après M. Baransky, membre de l'Académie des sciences de l'Union soviétique, dans son livre sur la géographie économique de l'Union soviétique, 80 pour 100 de l'industrie textile de l'URSS sont situés dans les trois régions purement russes de Moscou, Yaroslavl et Ivanovo, et 20 pour 100 seule-

ment dans les régions productrices de coton de l'Asie centrale.

156. Les ressources naturelles de l'Union soviétique sont inégalement réparties. Les républiques non russes du Turkestan, du Caucase et de l'Ukraine et certaines régions historiquement non russes de Sibérie sont les provinces les plus riches de l'Empire soviétique. Près de 100 pour 100 des ressources en pétrole se trouvent dans les républiques musulmanes. Les principaux gisements de fer, de charbon, de manganèse, de métaux non ferreux, la betterave sucrière, le coton, les céréales, l'élevage des bovins sont également situés, pour la plus grande partie, dans des territoires non russes, alors que les régions ethniquement russes sont en général pauvres en ressources naturelles. Malgré cela, le développement industriel a été beaucoup plus intense en Russie proprement dite, et beaucoup plus lent dans les territoires non russes. Selon des statistiques officielles, la Russie proprement dite fabrique 75 pour 100 de tous les produits mécaniques et métalliques de l'Union, 92 pour 100 des automobiles, 87 pour 100 de tous les produits finis du coton et 82 pour 100 des produits de la laine.

157. Outre la situation privilégiée de la Russie proprement dite dans l'immense Empire soviétique, les Russes ont émigré dans de nombreuses républiques dites "sœurs". D'après la grande encyclopédie soviétique, la population du Kazakhstan, la plus grande des républiques non russes, était composée en 1933 de 57 pour 100 d'autochtones et 19,7 pour 100 de Russes avec un certain pourcentage de groupes secondaires. Le recensement soviétique de 1959 donne les chiffres suivants: Kazakhs, 30 pour 100 seulement, Russes, 42,7 pour 100, Ukrainiens, 9,2 pour 100, le reste étant formé de groupes ethniques secondaires.

158. M. Khrouchtchev s'est également montré éloquent au sujet du développement culturel des républiques non russes de l'Union soviétique. Il a dit:

"On sait par exemple qu'avant la révolution les populations du Kazakhstan et des républiques d'Asie centrale étaient pratiquement analphabètes. Personne ou presque n'y avait fait des études secondaires ou supérieures. Le régime soviétique a permis à toutes ces populations d'accéder largement à l'éducation et à la culture." [Ibid., par. 199.]

Nous manquons malheureusement de renseignements sur la situation culturelle de l'Asie centrale dans le passé, ou du moins j'en manque personnellement. Néanmoins, il semble que l'épithète de "pratiquement analphabètes" appliquée par M. Khrouchtchev à ces peuples soit caricaturale. Selon le géographe russe Khanykov qui a exploré la région de Boukhara vers 1840, et qui était, incidemment, très antimusulman, les écoles étaient réparties sur tout le territoire de l'émirat de Boukhara, dans les villes aussi bien que dans les villages. Les villes comptaient une école primaire dans chaque rue ou presque, et, d'après une estimation, un quart environ de la population de l'émirat savait lire et écrire. Pour la première moitié du XIXème siècle, ce pourcentage était élevé, même pour les pays occidentaux.

159. Mais, sans parler de la situation culturelle en Asie centrale avant l'arrivée des Russes, nous savons de source sûre que le développement culturel de l'Union soviétique est inégal lui aussi. Ainsi l'Ouzbé-

kistan: la population de cette république est 14 fois et demie moins nombreuse que celle de la Russie proprement dite, mais le nombre d'étudiants est 18 fois moindre, le nombre de livres et de périodiques publiés par an, 44 fois moindre et le nombre des exemplaires de journaux publiés par an, 40 fois moindre.

160. Au Kazakhstan, la population du pays est 12 fois plus faible que celle de la Russie proprement dite, mais le nombre de ses étudiants est 24 fois et demie inférieur, les livres et périodiques publiés par an, 66 fois moins nombreux et il y paraît 35 fois moins d'exemplaires de journaux.

161. Nous pourrions aussi citer l'Ukraine. D'après des statistiques soviétiques officielles, la population de la République ukrainienne est 2,8 fois plus faible que celle de la République russe, mais le nombre des étudiants de l'enseignement supérieur est 3,6 fois inférieur, le nombre de livres et de périodiques publiés par an, 10 fois plus faible et le nombre des exemplaires de journaux publiés par an, 7 fois inférieur. Il fut un temps où le rayonnement culturel de l'Ukraine dépassait celui de la Russie. Il est donc impossible de soutenir que la situation actuelle de la culture en Ukraine soit due à l'état arriéré où se serait trouvé le pays auparavant.

162. M. Khrouchtchev nous a fait une magnifique description de la liberté nationale en Union soviétique lorsqu'il a déclaré:

"Conformément à la Constitution, chacune des 15 républiques fédérées a le droit de faire partie de l'Union ou d'en sortir si elle le désire. L'existence des 19 républiques autonomes, des 9 régions autonomes et des 10 arrondissements nationaux permet de conserver les particularités nationales, la culture et les caractères originaux de chaque peuple, de chaque nationalité." [Ibid., par. 209.]

163. Il est exact qu'aux termes de l'article 17 de la Constitution, toute république soviétique a le droit de se retirer de l'Union. Mais M. Khrouchtchev a oublié de nous indiquer deux autres articles de la même Constitution, à savoir les articles 21 et 133. D'après l'article 21, "il est créé, pour tous les citoyens de l'URSS, un seul droit de citoyenneté de l'Union". L'article 133 se lit comme suit: "Tout citoyen de l'URSS a le devoir sacré de défendre le pays. La trahison envers la patrie — violation du serment d'allégeance, désertion devant l'ennemi, atteinte au pouvoir militaire de l'Etat, espionnage — est très sévèrement punie par la loi, car elle constitue le plus odieux des crimes." En fait, toute personne qui tenterait de se prévaloir de l'article 17 de la Constitution commettrait automatiquement un crime grave aux termes des articles 21 et 133.

164. Il ne faut pas oublier que, si, nominalement, l'Union soviétique possède une structure politique fédérale, c'est le parti communiste russe qui centralise le pouvoir politique réel. Les partis communistes des républiques de l'Union sont traités comme des comités locaux du parti communiste russe.

165. Dès lors, on peut se demander pourquoi les Soviets, qui refusent à leurs propres peuples en captivité le droit de se séparer de l'Union et de se constituer en Etats indépendants, propagent des mots d'ordre de libération des peuples coloniaux en Asie et en

Afrique. Lénine a répondu à cette question comme suit:

"En notre qualité de communistes, nous devons soutenir et nous soutiendrons les mouvements bourgeois d'émancipation dans les pays coloniaux lorsque ces mouvements auront un caractère véritablement révolutionnaire, et lorsque les représentants de ces mouvements ne nous empêcheront pas d'instruire et d'organiser les paysans et les masses exploitées dans l'esprit révolutionnaire."

J'ai extrait cette citation des œuvres de Lénine, 4ème édition, volume XXXI, page 217.

166. Plus tard, Staline a également répondu à la question:

"Mais ce mot d'ordre [de libre détermination des nations], dans le moment actuel, alors que le mouvement de libération se déclenche dans les colonies, est pour nous un mot d'ordre révolutionnaire. Pour autant que les Etats soviétiques se groupent en une fédération sur la base d'une adhésion librement consentie, le droit de se séparer reste inutilisé de par la volonté même des peuples qui composent [la Fédération socialiste soviétique]. Mais, pour autant qu'il s'agit de colonies étranglées par l'Angleterre, la France, l'Amérique, le Japon, pour autant qu'il s'agit de pays assujettis comme l'Arabie, la Mésopotamie, la Turquie, l'Hindoustan, c'est-à-dire de pays qui sont des colonies ou des semi-colonies, le mot d'ordre du droit des peuples à se séparer est révolutionnaire; y renoncer, c'est faire le jeu des impérialistes."

J'extrait cette citation des œuvres de Staline, tome 5, page 43.

167. Pour parler clairement, l'idée de Staline était la suivante: l'Union soviétique appuie les mouvements de libération dans les colonies des pays occidentaux, car une telle aide permet à l'Union soviétique d'étendre sa puissance et favorise ses intérêts dans le monde entier. A l'intérieur des frontières de l'Union soviétique, les Soviets sont évidemment opposés à tout mouvement de libération et à toute forme de fédération de nations libres. Tel est le nœud de la question. Ne nous méprenons pas sur l'initiative soviétique prise à la présente session de l'Assemblée générale.

168. Il y a longtemps, Lénine a déclaré:

"Le marxisme ne saurait aller de pair avec le nationalisme, même si celui-ci est juste, sans reproche et civilisé. La poussée du marxisme dépasse tous les nationalismes en vue de faire aboutir un concept international de fusion de toutes les nations en un tout plus élevé. La culture nationale est en général la culture des propriétaires fonciers, du clergé et de la bourgeoisie."

Cette citation est extraite des œuvres de Lénine, volume XX, page 8.

169. Nous nous élevons contre le colonialisme quels qu'en soient le type, la forme ou l'origine. Une colonie est une colonie, qu'elle soit due à l'expansion par mer ou à l'expansion par terre. Nous n'avons rien à dire en faveur du colonialisme. Nous souhaitons qu'il y soit mis fin le plus tôt possible et, pour cette raison, ma délégation appuiera le projet de résolution des 42 puissances [A/L.323 et Add.1 à 5]. Les Chinois prêteront assistance aux peuples qui luttent contre le colonialisme, en Asie, en Afrique, en Europe et

en Amérique, en quelque lieu que le combat se déroule.

170. Le monde, en son évolution, se trouve placé devant une contradiction colossale: d'une part, les colonies des pays de l'Europe occidentale se transforment en pays indépendants qui sont très nombreux à être représentés ici aujourd'hui; d'autre part, l'Empire soviétique ne cesse de s'étendre. Je ne crois pas me tromper ou manquer de modération en disant que les nations de l'Europe occidentale

s'efforcent, quoique avec lenteur, un peu trop de lenteur sans doute, de respecter les principes de la Charte et les aspirations fondamentales de l'humanité. L'Empire soviétique poursuit son avance à l'encontre de l'idéal de la Charte des Nations Unies et du désir fondamental de liberté des peuples dans le monde entier. Tel est le vrai problème du colonialisme qui se pose aujourd'hui à l'ONU.

La séance est levée à 18 heures.



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Président: M. Frederick H. BOLAND (Irlande).

POINT 87 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance
aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux (suite)

1. M. THORS (Islande) [traduit de l'anglais]: Depuis huit jours nous examinons ici, en séance plénière, une déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux [A/4502]. Il s'agit là d'une grande cause, d'une tâche énorme, et, si bien des choses ont été dites par un grand nombre de délégations, beaucoup d'autres délégations doivent encore exposer leurs vues. La délégation islandaise tient à manifester le grand intérêt qu'elle porte à cette question en exprimant quelques opinions à son propos.

2. Depuis le début de l'histoire de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, depuis qu'elle a été créée à San Francisco en 1945, la question du colonialisme, sous toutes ses formes, a constamment été l'une de ses principales préoccupations. C'est pourquoi le Conseil de tutelle devait devenir l'un des principaux organes de l'Organisation et c'est pourquoi aussi l'une des six commissions permanentes prévues à l'origine, la Quatrième Commission, devait consacrer son temps et ses réflexions aux questions de tutelle et à celles qui se rapportent aux territoires non autonomes.

3. A la fin du Moyen Age, le colonialisme commença à apposer son empreinte sur les différents continents et devint bientôt un élément important dans l'évolution historique de l'humanité. Il a eu quelques aspects favorables, mais plus souvent il a exercé des influences destructrices sur les peuples colonisés, qu'il a soumis à l'exploitation et maintenus dans la stagnation, et qu'il a même souvent conduits à la misère. Le colonialisme est le fruit de l'esprit d'exploration et d'expansion qui animait les explorateurs européens courageux et aventureux lorsqu'ils conduisirent leurs navires vers les points les plus éloignés du globe et découvrirent de nouveaux continents. Ces terres nouvelles sont devenues les colonies des puissances qui dominaient alors l'Europe, et le régime colonial a connu son apogée aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles.

4. De nos jours, la situation est tout à fait différente et nous voici occupés à mettre un terme à la domination coloniale avec le sentiment que notre entreprise est pleinement justifiée par la réalité. Cette évolution a été marquée par des luttes farouches, tant

à l'intérieur qu'à l'extérieur de toutes les régions colonisées. Elle a causé des effusions de sang dans bien des continents et a imposé des sacrifices et des souffrances considérables aux peuples asservis du monde entier.

5. Le peuple islandais a toujours pris fait et cause pour les peuples asservis et a toujours fidèlement servi l'idéal selon lequel tous les peuples devraient pouvoir devenir maîtres de leur destin et de leur avenir en exerçant le droit de disposer d'eux-mêmes. C'est pourquoi, toujours et dans tous les cas — par exemple, pour les questions de Chypre et d'Algérie — nous avons ici, au sein de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, voté en faveur du droit des petits pays à disposer d'eux-mêmes, quelle que soit la grande puissance qui jugeait bon de faire obstacle à cette évolution vers la liberté et l'indépendance. Le peuple d'Islande ne pouvait pas agir autrement puisqu'il a connu lui-même une période de domination étrangère et peut donc apprécier les bienfaits et les avantages dont jouit un peuple qui est maître chez lui et en mesure d'utiliser, à son profit, les ressources naturelles de sa terre et de l'océan pour apporter à sa population les bienfaits du progrès et accroître son bien-être.

6. Certes l'Islande a été indépendante pendant trois siècles, du IX^e au XIII^e siècle, mais ce n'est qu'en 1918 que nous avons reconquis notre pleine souveraineté et depuis lors, c'est-à-dire depuis un peu plus de 40 ans, nous avons acquis une expérience nouvelle de la souveraineté, bien que la renaissance de notre république ne date que de 1944. Notre histoire est différente de celle d'un grand nombre de pays puisque c'est par voie de négociation que nous nous sommes séparés de notre ancien associé politique, le Danemark, avec lequel nous n'avons pas cessé d'entretenir des liens d'amitié qui sont devenus encore plus étroits et plus intimes lorsque notre séparation a été consommée.

7. On peut dire que le colonialisme est en régression et perd régulièrement du terrain depuis deux siècles. Le coup le plus dur qui lui ait jamais été porté est peut-être la révolution américaine qui se fit sous l'égide de la Déclaration d'indépendance de 1776 où l'on peut notamment lire ce qui suit:

"En conséquence, nous, les représentants des Etats-Unis d'Amérique, assemblés en Congrès général, prenant à témoin le Juge suprême de l'Univers de la droiture de nos intentions, publions et déclarons solennellement, au nom et par l'autorité du bon peuple de ces colonies, que ces colonies unies sont et ont le droit d'être des Etats libres et indépendants."

Environ deux ans plus tard, après une lutte vigoureuse et victorieuse poursuivie pour le maintien de l'indépendance dans des conditions particulièrement dures, George Washington écrivait à un ami ces paroles empreintes de courage et de sagesse:

"Rien, si ce n'est l'indépendance, ne me paraît acceptable. Une paix stipulant toute autre condition équivaudrait, si je puis me permettre cette expression, à une paix de guerre."

8. La révolution en Amérique du Nord et les paroles et les actes d'hommes tels que George Washington ont inspiré les chefs des pays d'Amérique latine tels que Simón Bolívar ou José Martí, et d'autres hommes de même envergure, qui se sont mis à la tête du vaste mouvement révolutionnaire anticolonialiste dressé contre les chefs colonialistes britanniques et espagnols dans les Amériques. La vie et les actes de ces hommes et de leurs amis ou compagnons ont été une source d'inspiration pour les générations ultérieures et pour leurs chefs, qui, depuis lors et jusqu'à nos jours, ont repris le flambeau afin d'éclairer les nations sur la voie de la liberté et de l'indépendance. Les peuples du monde ont toujours été dominés ou dirigés, selon le cas, par des despotes qui prennent plus qu'ils ne donnent ou par de vrais chefs qui donnent plus qu'ils ne prennent. Il est apparu clairement, au cours des relations entre les puissances coloniales et les pays colonisés, que charité bien ordonnée commence par soi-même. Les intérêts de la métropole l'emportaient et, le plus souvent, les chefs colonialistes exploitaient les ressources de régions lointaines du monde et s'enrichissaient, tandis que la population des colonies était maintenue à l'arrière-plan, dans la pauvreté, l'analphabétisme, et même dans la misère.

9. L'expérience acquise au cours des deux conflits les plus horribles qu'ait connus l'histoire de l'humanité, la première et la seconde guerre mondiale, a ouvert les yeux de tous sur les relations entre les nations et sur le fait que les peuples de toutes les régions du monde qui étaient contraints, ou pouvaient être contraints, de supporter de lourds fardeaux et de consentir des sacrifices pour le reste de l'humanité pouvaient, eux aussi, prétendre jouir des mêmes droits et être les maîtres de leur destin.

10. Telle a été la tendance de l'époque et tel était le point auquel avait abouti l'évolution de la pensée humaine, ainsi que le désir d'entendre proclamer des droits de l'homme de valeur universelle, lorsque la Charte des Nations Unies fut élaborée à San Francisco en 1945. Ces idées hardies se retrouvent d'ailleurs en divers endroits de la Charte.

11. L'Article premier affirme, en son paragraphe 2, que l'un des buts principaux des Nations Unies est le suivant:

"Développer entre les nations des relations amicales fondées sur le respect du principe de l'égalité de droits des peuples et de leur droit à disposer d'eux-mêmes, et prendre toutes autres mesures propres à consolider la paix du monde."

Au paragraphe suivant du même article, nous avons tous affirmé notre adhésion à l'idéal élevé qui nous impose de développer et d'encourager

"le respect des droits de l'homme et des libertés fondamentales pour tous sans distinction de race, de sexe, de langue ou de religion".

Des encouragements semblables sont répétés à l'Article 55. N'oublions pas que trois chapitres entiers de la Charte sont consacrés à ce que nous appelons les questions coloniales: les Chapitres XI, XII et XIII. Il est bon de se souvenir de certains des prin-

cipes de la Déclaration qui figure à l'Article 73, et aux termes de laquelle:

"Les Membres des Nations Unies qui ont ou qui assument la responsabilité d'administrer des territoires dont les populations ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes, reconnaissent le principe de la primauté des intérêts des habitants de ces territoires. Ils acceptent comme une mission sacrée l'obligation de favoriser dans toute la mesure du possible leur prospérité, dans le cadre du système de paix et de sécurité internationales établi par la présente Charte ..."

L'Article 76 prévoit en outre que l'une des fins essentielles du régime de tutelle est de

"Favoriser le progrès politique, économique et social des populations des territoires sous tutelle ainsi que le développement de leur instruction; favoriser également leur évolution progressive vers la capacité à s'administrer eux-mêmes ou l'indépendance, compte tenu des conditions particulières à chaque territoire et à ses populations, des aspirations librement exprimées des populations intéressées ..."

12. J'ai jugé à propos de citer ces diverses déclarations formelles de la Charte pour que nous n'oublions pas qu'il s'agit là d'engagements fermes auxquels chaque Membre de l'ONU sans exception a souscrit lorsqu'il a signé la Charte. On pourrait donc se demander s'il est nécessaire ou indispensable de renouveler notre adhésion à ces principes élevés. La délégation islandaise estime que ce débat approfondi, auquel participe le monde entier, doit se conclure par l'adoption d'une résolution. N'oublions pas non plus que ces idéaux de liberté et d'indépendance ont été proclamés à la Conférence africano-asiatique de Bandoung en 1955, bien qu'ils aient alors été exprimés sous la forme suivante: "Le colonialisme est dans ses manifestations un mal auquel il convient de mettre promptement un terme." Les mêmes sentiments ont été affirmés de nouveau dans des résolutions adoptées à diverses conférences réunissant des Etats africains.

13. Examinons maintenant pendant quelques instants ce qui s'est passé dans le monde depuis qu'ont été énoncés en 1945 les immenses engagements contenus dans la Charte. Tous ceux qui ont foi dans les principes de liberté et d'indépendance doivent éprouver un sentiment d'orgueil et de satisfaction à la pensée que, depuis 1945, plus de 45 Etats ont accédé à l'indépendance, notamment des pays comme l'Inde, le Pakistan, Ceylan et la Birmanie qui comptent au total plus de 450 millions d'habitants. En outre, plus de 175 millions de personnes qui vivaient dans des colonies, des territoires sous tutelle ou des territoires non autonomes ont maintenant obtenu leur pleine liberté. Tels sont les progrès considérables réalisés depuis 15 ans. Au cours de la présente session de l'Assemblée générale, nous avons vu apparaître 17 nations nouvelles qui sont devenues Membres à part entière et indépendants de notre organisation, ce qui est pour nous tous un motif de vive satisfaction en même temps qu'une raison d'espérer en l'avenir. N'oublions pas en citant ces chiffres qu'il ne s'agit pas de statistiques, mais bien d'êtres humains, chacun doué d'une âme et d'un esprit, auxquels vient d'être fait le don de la liberté et dont la vie s'annonce plus rayonnante que jamais.

14. Cependant il existe encore, dans divers continents, une centaine de millions d'individus qui continuent à vivre sous la domination d'une puissance étrangère lointaine. C'est de la situation actuelle de ces peuples, ainsi que de leur sort et de leur avenir, que nous nous préoccupons directement en ce moment, tandis que nous examinons le point de l'ordre du jour qui porte ce titre imposant: "Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux". L'inscription de cette question à l'ordre du jour a été proposée par le Président du Conseil des ministres de l'Union soviétique, M. Khrouchtchev, lorsqu'il s'est présenté devant cette assemblée [859ème séance], et il faut se féliciter que cette initiative ait été prise dans l'état actuel des choses. Toutefois, la délégation islandaise regrette de ne pouvoir considérer comme pertinentes en l'occurrence — ou comme utiles à la cause de la libération de tous les peuples opprimés — toutes les affirmations et toutes les assertions que l'on relève dans la déclaration présentée par l'Union soviétique; en outre, ce texte contient maintes allégations auxquelles nous ne saurions souscrire. En conséquence, nous ne serions pas en mesure de voter pour l'ensemble de cette déclaration si l'Union soviétique voulait la faire mettre aux voix au sein de l'Assemblée.

15. Je tiens à dire notre reconnaissance aux 45 pays du groupe africano-asiatique qui ont collaboré à la rédaction d'une autre déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux [A/L.323 et Add.1 à 5], dont les coauteurs sont déjà au nombre de 42. C'est avec optimisme, et animée d'un sentiment de vive satisfaction, que la délégation islandaise votera pour chacun des éléments contenus dans la déclaration africano-asiatique, et aussi pour l'ensemble du projet de résolution.

16. Qu'il me soit permis d'exprimer quelques considérations touchant ledit projet de résolution.

17. Dans le sixième paragraphe du préambule, on lit que l'Assemblée reconnaît "que les peuples du monde souhaitent ardemment la fin du colonialisme dans toutes ses manifestations". Nous sommes convaincus que ces termes énoncent bien la situation telle qu'elle se présente. La même remarque s'applique aussi à l'affirmation, figurant dans le neuvième paragraphe, selon laquelle l'Assemblée générale est "persuadée que le processus de libération est irrésistible et irréversible et que, pour éviter de graves crises, il faut mettre fin au colonialisme et à toutes les pratiques de ségrégation et de discrimination dont il s'accompagne".

18. Nous sommes heureux de noter cette répudiation de la ségrégation et de la discrimination fondées sur des motifs de race, et une déclaration de cette nature est parfaitement conforme à tout ce que la délégation islandaise a affirmé et soutenu de ses votes pendant toutes les sessions de l'Assemblée générale. Les pratiques de ségrégation et de discrimination doivent être répudiées, non seulement dans les pays colonisés, mais partout dans le monde, dans tous les pays, anciens ou nouveaux. En outre, la déclaration "proclame solennellement la nécessité de mettre rapidement et inconditionnellement fin au colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations". Nous pensons qu'il est opportun et avisé de se servir ici du mot "rapidement", et non du mot "immédiatement", car la réalité nous montre que la liquidation complète du colonialisme dans les diverses parties du monde

ne pourra se faire que progressivement, par étapes, et le plus rapidement possible, étant donné la situation réelle qui y règne et le niveau de développement des populations. C'est pourquoi nous estimons nécessaire, à cet égard, d'insister sur l'importance du rôle de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, qui peut puissamment aider les mouvements d'indépendance surgissant dans les territoires sous tutelle et dans les territoires non autonomes, comme le dit le cinquième paragraphe du préambule.

19. Il est évident que les populations encore soumises au régime colonial auront besoin d'une assistance technique qui devrait de préférence leur être fournie par le truchement de l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Cette assistance prendra notamment une forme financière et il va de soi que, dans une large mesure, cette assistance financière devra être fournie, comme c'est toujours le cas, par les pays les plus grands et les plus riches; je dois reconnaître, en toute humilité, qu'un petit pays comme l'Islande ne pourra apporter qu'un faible concours à cet égard. Si chaque pays acceptait spontanément de renoncer à une partie de ses dépenses d'ordre militaire et de consacrer chaque année, ne fût-ce que 1 pour 100, ou un peu plus de 1 pour 100, de l'économie ainsi réalisée à accroître la prospérité et les ressources industrielles des pays insuffisamment développés du monde, ou à aider les peuples coloniaux dans les efforts qu'ils déploient pour accéder à l'indépendance financière et économique, il est incontestable que l'ensemble de l'humanité en tirerait un avantage considérable.

20. Il n'est pas moins évident qu'il faudrait de toute urgence accroître largement l'assistance technique fournie dans tous les domaines, qu'il s'agisse de l'industrie, du réseau des communications ou encore de la formation d'un personnel suffisant de ressortissants de ces pays, qui leur permette d'acquérir toute la compétence qu'exige l'administration rationnelle et autonome de leurs propres affaires. Le paragraphe 3 du projet de déclaration est ainsi conçu:

"Le manque de préparation dans les domaines politique, économique ou social ou dans celui de l'enseignement ne doit jamais être pris comme prétexte pour retarder l'indépendance."

Nous reconnaissons que des prétextes de ce genre ne devraient jamais être invoqués, mais il est évident aussi qu'un pays ne peut devenir indépendant soudainement, sans aucune préparation; cela doit se faire progressivement, étape par étape, lorsque la nécessité exige qu'il en soit ainsi. A cet égard, nous pouvons aussi nous rallier aux dispositions du paragraphe 5, ainsi conçu:

"Des mesures immédiates seront prises, dans les territoires sous tutelle, les territoires non autonomes et tous autres territoires qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance, pour transférer tous pouvoirs aux peuples de ces territoires, sans aucune condition ni réserve, conformément à leur volonté et à leurs vœux librement exprimés, sans aucune distinction de race, de croyance ou de couleur, afin de leur permettre de jouir d'une indépendance et d'une liberté complètes."

21. La délégation de l'Islande tient à souligner l'importance des mots "mesures immédiates" qui montrent que l'indépendance ne peut pas être donnée avec la rapidité de l'éclair traversant le ciel, mais qu'elle

doit être l'aboutissement d'un processus d'évolution et d'un développement progressif. Selon nous, ces mots signifient que l'évolution doit commencer immédiatement et que les premières mesures doivent être prises sans retard. La route qui conduit à l'indépendance peut être rapidement parcourue par certains, mais elle peut aussi être plus longue pour d'autres peuples. Il est toutefois d'une extrême importance de donner immédiatement à tous les peuples du monde l'assurance qu'ils recevront l'indépendance et la liberté afin qu'ils puissent, en pleine confiance et avec certitude, progresser dans la voie de la liberté totale.

22. La délégation islandaise accueille avec satisfaction cette déclaration de liberté; elle est reconnaissante aux pays africains-asiatiques d'avoir pris la tête de ce mouvement sincère et idéaliste et d'avoir fait rayonner aux yeux de tous les peuples opprimés et mécontents une vie heureuse et un avenir meilleur. Nous espérons que cette déclaration de liberté recevra l'appui effectif et chaleureux de tous les pays du monde et que tous les pays la mettront en pratique, en particulier ceux qui exercent encore leur domination sur d'autres peuples, où que ce soit dans le monde. Nous estimons que cette déclaration de liberté n'intéresse pas seulement les populations qui, à l'heure actuelle, sont gouvernées par d'autres pays, mais que toutes les nations d'aujourd'hui et de demain doivent pouvoir jouir de leur pleine liberté sans que s'exerce l'influence inadmissible et indésirable d'une autre nation quelle qu'elle soit.

23. Puisse le flambeau de la liberté briller dans tous les pays et dans toutes les régions de notre globe. Pourtant, n'oublions pas que ni les idéaux élevés, ni les grands mots, ni les grandes promesses ne sont utiles s'ils ne sont suivis d'actes francs et sincères. N'oublions pas non plus que, si aucune nation n'a le droit d'en gouverner une autre, en revanche chaque nation a le devoir primordial de se gouverner elle-même et d'orienter fermement et judicieusement son évolution vers une forme d'indépendance qui lui soit propre, tout en guidant sa population dans la voie du progrès, de l'éducation et de la prospérité.

24. Chaque nation, en particulier les plus petites, doit avoir effectivement conscience du fait que l'indépendance n'est pas définitivement acquise le jour où elle est officiellement proclamée et où les festivités destinées à la célébrer prennent fin. Au contraire, c'est alors que commence la lutte pour l'indépendance véritable. C'est à ce moment que la nation établit sa voilure et gouverne pour son propre compte sur l'océan immense des affaires du monde. Il faut qu'elle ait alors le commandement de son propre navire et qu'elle affronte les lames puissantes de la lutte et des intrigues internationales, et c'est seulement grâce aux efforts habiles et coordonnés de l'équipage tout entier qu'elle pourra atteindre la destination qu'elle s'est fixée. Si l'équipage n'est pas uni, le navire de l'Etat pourra sombrer. Il faudra nécessairement faire preuve de vigilance, de prudence et de persévérance.

25. Lorsqu'elle votera pour la déclaration d'indépendance pour tous les peuples, la délégation islandaise le fera sans colère et sans reproche à l'égard de quelque nation que ce soit, mais elle souhaitera bonne chance à tous les pays, qu'ils soient grands ou petits.

26. M. WIRJOPRANOTO (Indonésie) [traduit de l'anglais]: C'est la première fois que l'Organisation des Nations Unies examine la question du colonialisme dans son ensemble. Pour parler en termes concrets, c'est la première fois que l'ONU est invitée à proclamer "la nécessité de mettre rapidement et inconditionnellement fin au colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations" [A/L.323 et Add.1 à 5, dernier paragraphe du préambule]. Si elle avait pris cette mesure il y a 10 ans, la décision aurait certainement été saluée comme un acte historique et audacieux de diplomatie internationale. Si elle l'avait fait en 1955, après la grande conférence des nations africaines et asiatiques qui s'est tenue à Bandoung, ou même en 1958 après la première conférence des Etats indépendants d'Afrique, réunie à Accra, ce geste aurait encore été reconnu comme un acte éclairé et généreux. Pourtant, il a fallu attendre 1960 pour que cette question urgente fasse l'objet d'un débat complet et public.

27. Certains pourront donc penser que nos discussions sont quelque peu tardives. Au lieu de s'être mise à l'avant-garde de la marche vers la liberté, l'ONU semble à l'arrière-garde et à la traîne d'événements qui évoluent rapidement. Pourtant, bien que nous approchions de la tombée du jour, nous pensons qu'il n'est pas encore trop tard pour agir. La tombe du colonialisme est creusée. Il faut que l'ONU se prépare maintenant à enterrer celui-ci définitivement.

28. Dans la vie des nations, les négociations pour la liberté font suite à la lutte active et souvent violente menée pour la libération nationale. Quelquefois, comme ce fut le cas pour mon pays, les négociations peuvent être interrompues par une reprise du conflit armé provoquée par la résistance têtue et réactionnaire que l'esprit colonialiste oppose encore aux forces d'évolution. Cependant, malgré quelques échecs épisodiques, la victoire des peuples dépendants reste imminente.

29. C'est cette phase que nous avons maintenant atteinte au sein de l'Organisation des Nations Unies. La première grande bataille est gagnée. On ne conteste plus guère que le colonialisme doive disparaître de la face du monde. Nous participons aujourd'hui à un débat de caractère international qui a pour objet la liquidation complète du colonialisme et l'acceptation de la tendance nouvelle et des forces nouvelles du nationalisme dans le monde.

30. Considéré dans cette perspective, notre combat n'a pas été vain. Non seulement nos voix sont entendues, non seulement notre lutte a confirmé la disparition inexorable du colonialisme, mais elle a fait naître l'espoir que le colonialisme va promptement disparaître grâce à nos efforts concertés et conformément aux dispositions de la Charte des Nations Unies. Faisons en sorte que cet espoir ne soit pas éphémère.

31. Aux termes du préambule de la Charte, nous, peuples des Nations Unies, sommes résolus "à proclamer à nouveau notre foi dans les droits fondamentaux de l'homme, dans la dignité et la valeur de la personne humaine, dans l'égalité de droits des hommes et des femmes, ainsi que des nations, grandes et petites" et "à favoriser le progrès social et instaurer de meilleures conditions de vie dans une liberté plus grande". Nous demandons maintenant

à l'Assemblée d'affirmer la conviction "que tous les peuples ont un droit inaliénable à la pleine liberté, à l'exercice de leur souveraineté et à l'intégrité de leur territoire national" [A/L.323 et Add.1 à 5, onzième paragraphe du préambule]. Nous demandons à l'Assemblée de proclamer solennellement la nécessité de mettre fin au colonialisme, rapidement et sans conditions. Car le colonialisme existe encore dans le monde. Quelques puissances coloniales demeurent prisonnières du passé. Elles ont même des amis qui leur apportent leur sympathie dans l'affliction qui les frappe. Nous pourrions peut-être éprouver quelque pitié à leur égard si toute notre pitié, toute notre tristesse, toutes nos pensées ne se tournaient vers les populations qu'elles condamnent, par leur aveuglement, à mener une vie d'asservissement vide de sens. Ce sont les souffrances de ces populations qui nous accablent. C'est leur peine qui emplit nos cœurs et nos esprits d'angoisse et d'anxiété.

32. D'ailleurs, l'anxiété que nous éprouvons devrait être partagée par tous ceux qui sont ici rassemblés. Je suis certain que quiconque a vécu l'histoire troublée de ces 10 dernières années ne peut demeurer indifférent à la persistance de l'une des formes les plus virulentes du colonialisme, qui vise à faire d'un peuple ou d'une nation la propriété privée d'une autre. Cette attitude d'esprit périmée est actuellement la cause de la guerre d'Algérie, des troubles au Congo, des mouvements qui se produisent en Afrique du Sud, au Sud-Ouest africain, au Mozambique, en Angola et dans d'autres régions de l'Afrique, de l'Asie et même de l'Amérique. Elle est la cause du mécontentement qui couve dangereusement en Irian occidental. Partout où elle continue à se manifester, elle engendre le désespoir, et il est inévitable qu'elle donne lieu à des conflits armés. Je ne veux pas jeter ici de l'huile sur le feu, j'énonce simplement un fait; je formule un avertissement précis. Instruits par notre expérience tragique, nous en appelons aux puissances coloniales et à ceux qui partagent leurs vues pour qu'ils ouvrent les yeux et lisent l'avertissement écrit sur le mur. Nous en appelons à eux pour qu'ils suivent l'exemple de ceux qui marchent vers la lumière.

33. En parcourant des yeux cette assemblée, on ne peut qu'être frappé par l'image qu'elle nous donne d'un monde en pleine évolution. Cette évolution trouve ici, pourrait-on dire, son incarnation physique. Certes, nous sommes reconnaissants à certaines puissances coloniales du réalisme sain dont elles font preuve devant ce mouvement en faveur de la liberté des peuples. Cependant, nous n'oublions pas pour autant les lourds sacrifices consentis par les peuples dépendants pour conquérir leur indépendance. Si le sang, la sueur et les larmes ont permis aux démocraties de vaincre le totalitarisme, s'ils ont rendu possible la création de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, on peut dire aussi que le sang, la sueur et les larmes des peuples dépendants ont permis à leur tour aux démocraties de triompher sur le colonialisme, ont rendu possible l'Organisation des Nations Unies sous sa forme nouvelle, et aussi ce monde nouveau qui est le nôtre. Le désir ardent de liberté qui anime ces peuples leur a permis de réaliser de grandes choses. Songez qu'il y a 30 ans environ le chef nationaliste indonésien Sukarno a été emprisonné pour avoir simplement prophétisé la fin du colonialisme et la liberté de l'Indonésie. Aujourd'hui l'Indonésie est libre, de même que d'autres nations africano-

asiatiques, et le président Sukarno a pu proclamer devant cette assemblée [880ème séance], sans crainte d'être contredit, que le colonialisme agonise.

34. S'agit-il donc seulement de savoir quand toutes les colonies seront libérées, plutôt que de savoir si elles doivent l'être? S'agit-il simplement de patience ou d'impatience? Non. Ce n'est là qu'un aspect d'une question fondamentale bien plus vaste. En fait, la question fondamentale à l'heure actuelle est posée par les divergences d'opinions persistantes sur la nature du colonialisme, sur son caractère véritable. Ces divergences d'opinions continuent d'être une cause de discorde, voire de conflit. Là est actuellement le véritable danger.

35. Les nations de l'Asie et de l'Afrique nouvelle rejettent le colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations, parce que le colonialisme est un mal. A l'opposé, on trouve ceux qui, tout en reconnaissant que le colonialisme est un mal, cherchent à le justifier au nom d'un idéal quelconque. Pourtant ceux qui choisissent cette attitude ne devraient pas oublier que, si les innocentes victimes de l'emprisonnement peuvent, pour prendre leur mal en patience, trouver quelques rares raisons de consolation dans leur état de prisonniers, le geôlier doit bien se garder de prêcher que la prison est un bien et non un mal. Il est dangereux et faux de penser qu'un mal peut se justifier si la victime trouve des raisons de s'en consoler. Néanmoins, les puissances coloniales et celles qui les appuient essaient de justifier par des considérations d'ordre humanitaire, économique, social et culturel l'exploitation de l'homme par l'homme et les mesures de discrimination fondées sur des raisons de race, de couleur ou de religion. Que prétend-on, et quelle est la vérité? Qu'il me soit permis de rappeler brièvement le passé.

36. On prétend que le colonialisme a apporté aux colonies le progrès et la prospérité. De vastes terres incultes auraient été transformées en plantations; les richesses du sous-sol auraient été exploitées; les moyens de transport auraient été organisés de telle manière qu'un courant continu de produits de base particulièrement recherchés, notamment les minéraux et les pétroles, se trouvaient mis à la disposition du monde. Peu à peu, convaincues d'avoir transformé des pays pauvres et stériles en territoires fertiles et productifs, les puissances colonisatrices ont découvert un argument d'ordre économique pour justifier la domination qu'elles exerçaient sur des populations étrangères. Elles accordaient une telle force à ce genre de raisonnement que la voix de leur conscience s'est tue. En outre, lorsque enfin une certaine instruction a été donnée aux nations colonisées, des affirmations plus hardies se sont fait jour. Ces affirmations ont donné naissance à la théorie bien connue du "fardeau de l'homme blanc" d'après laquelle une noble mission de caractère humanitaire, culturel et économique était en cours d'accomplissement. En fait, cependant, lorsque les colonisateurs sont arrivés sur nos rives, nous n'étions ni pauvres, ni privés de civilisation. En réalité, c'est même la richesse de nos terres qui pendant des siècles avait retenu leur attention. A cette époque, notre économie était développée. Elle était diversifiée. En Indonésie, par exemple, nous fabriquions un grand nombre de produits maintenant dénommés produits de petite industrie, nous construisions des

bateaux et nous produisions aussi du poivre, des clous de girofle et d'autres épices qui exerçaient un attrait particulier sur les Portugais et les Hollandais. Nous étions disposés à échanger nos produits contre ceux de l'Occident. Nos produits étaient de bonne qualité, très convoités par ceux qui venaient vers nous — malheureusement, si convoités que ceux-ci n'ont pas pu se contenter de les obtenir par voie d'échanges commerciaux mutuellement profitables. Nos Etats — je dis bien nos Etats, car à l'époque nous étions des nations organisées en Etats — se sont effondrés, victimes de la puissance militaire de l'Ouest.

37. C'est alors qu'a commencé pour nous une longue et déchirante période de ténèbres qui a pris fin maintenant dans certaines régions du monde, mais non dans toutes. Une grande partie de notre capacité de production a été sottement détruite par les colonisateurs pour maintenir des prix élevés sur le marché mondial. L'Indonésie a connu les fameux raids auxquels se sont livrés les Hollandais, qui ont détruit les plantations d'épices de notre population pour maintenir des prix élevés sur le marché mondial. A une époque plus récente, des restrictions à la production ont été imposées sur les plantations de caoutchouc de la population, et non sur les grands domaines étrangers. Il est certain que l'intérêt de nos pays n'était pas le facteur dominant dans l'organisation de notre capacité de production. Du fait que nous n'étions plus les maîtres de notre propre destin, notre économie jadis diversifiée a peu à peu cessé de l'être. Notre pays est devenu exclusivement agricole et notre flotte, qui ne transportait plus nos propres produits, a cessé d'exister en tant que flotte. Les plantations qui ont été créées ont été cultivées par la population locale, travaillant sous un régime de contrat imposé, et ont produit les récoltes qu'exigeaient les marchés de nos maîtres.

38. Il serait intéressant de se demander ici ce que la situation économique de nos pays aurait pu être si nous n'avions pas été colonisés, si nous avions pu suivre le cours normal de notre existence nationale, si nous avions pu organiser notre production après avoir pris contact avec les marchés nouveaux de l'Occident. On peut se demander, par exemple, quelle influence aurait exercé sur nous la technologie toujours plus achevée de l'Occident si nous y avions eu accès par des contacts pacifiques. En fait, nous n'y avons jamais eu accès. Je ne puis évidemment démontrer avec une rigueur mathématique que, sous un régime de liberté, nos pays n'auraient pas manqué de développer leur économie, puisque ce régime de liberté ne nous a pas été accordé. A l'heure actuelle, nous avons cependant l'exemple du Japon, de la Chine, de l'Inde et d'autres pays d'Asie, y compris mon propre pays, des pays d'Amérique latine, du Moyen-Orient et de l'Afrique qui sont tous en voie de développer leur économie en dehors du régime colonial. Je suis certain que nous y réussirons.

39. Affirmer que le colonialisme a apporté à nos pays une richesse qui n'aurait pas pu être créée sans le régime colonial, c'est donc interpréter faussement les faits. Bien sûr, nous avons hérité de nos anciens maîtres, mais en la payant très cher, une certaine capacité de production. Mais, si on vole une maison et si on la meuble ensuite, on ne peut pas prétendre que le propriétaire avait une maison misérable qu'il ne pouvait pas meubler lui-même. Le propriétaire

a dû payer de sa liberté l'ameublement de sa maison. En outre, même en laissant de côté la question de savoir si nous aurions pu créer notre propre richesse, comme nous l'avons fait dans le passé — question qui pique la curiosité — on peut se demander quelle part est revenue à nos populations lorsque sont apparues sur leur territoire les mines et les plantations exploitées grâce à leur labeur.

40. Je n'importunerai pas l'Assemblée en citant une masse de chiffres. Qu'il me soit cependant permis de mentionner ce qui suit. En 1936 environ 97,5 pour 100 de la population totale de mon pays était composée d'Indonésiens; on estimait à environ 20 pour 100 leur part du revenu national. Les étrangers d'origine asiatique représentaient environ 2 pour 100 de la population totale; leur part du revenu national total représentait aussi 20 pour 100 de ce revenu. Quant aux étrangers d'origine non asiatique, ils représentaient seulement 0,5 pour 100 de la population totale, mais leur part du revenu correspondait aux 60 pour 100 qui restaient; 0,5 pour 100 de la population totale, 60 pour 100 du revenu national total. Ce sont là des chiffres calculés par les Hollandais, et qui illustrent la prospérité de mon pays — ou qui montrent plutôt comment la population de mon pays était privée de sa prospérité — sous le régime colonial. La paradoxe de l'Indonésie était le suivant: un pays riche — c'était, comme l'a dit un Hollandais, "une guirlande d'émeraude autour de l'équateur" — mais une population désespérément pauvre. Comme l'a dit un autre Hollandais, l'Indonésie était une nation de coolies, et un coolie parmi les nations.

41. En face de ces faits et de ces chiffres, la théorie du "fardeau de l'homme blanc" et la mission de civilisation et de développement que l'homme blanc s'est assignée lui-même rendent un son assez creux. Je n'ai parlé que de la stagnation économique, sans aborder la question de la stagnation sociale et culturelle, sans mentionner la destruction de la dignité de la personne humaine dont s'accompagne le régime colonialiste. En fait, si le colonialisme est si débonnaire et si bienveillant, pourquoi les Américains, du Nord et du Sud, se seraient-ils révoltés? Pourquoi de nos jours le même phénomène se serait-il produit en Asie, en Afrique et au Moyen-Orient? Parce que le colonialisme est mauvais, parce qu'il se fonde sur la convoitise, parce qu'il implique la domination de l'homme par l'homme. Aucune légende dorée de mission à accomplir, de tâche à réaliser ou de responsabilité à assumer ne peut imposer silence à l'homme qui brûle du désir d'être libre, d'être son propre maître, de prendre la responsabilité de son propre destin. Néanmoins, non seulement les puissances coloniales et ceux qui les appuient s'accrochent désespérément à leur théorie du "fardeau de l'homme blanc", mais, ce qui est pire, ils essaient maintenant de substituer aux raisonnements par lesquels ils justifiaient le colonialisme des raisonnements leur permettant de justifier le maintien, direct ou indirect, de l'autorité coloniale dans les territoires qu'ils tenaient autrefois en dépendance. Sur les justifications du passé, ils essaient de construire un nouvel édifice de l'autorité coloniale. Convaincus — et peut-être, hélas! de bonne foi — qu'ils ont plus d'expérience que les autres, ils espèrent maintenir leur emprise économique, stratégique, sociale et culturelle, tout en reconnaissant l'indépendance politique. Je parle ici sans exagération et d'après notre propre expérience récente.

42. Lorsque les Hollandais ont quitté l'Indonésie, nous nous sommes retrouvés chargés d'une dette énorme, y compris les dettes contractées par les Hollandais lors de leurs deux premières agressions armées contre nous. Nous devons faire face à ces charges financières injustes avec un trésor vide. Nous ne disposons plus que d'une poignée d'administrateurs et de techniciens qualifiés. Plus de 95 pour 100 de nos exportations, de nos importations, de nos établissements bancaires, de nos transports maritimes et de nos industries restaient aux mains des Hollandais. Les Hollandais gardaient leur emprise économique, tandis que nous devons continuer à mener une vie de galériens dans notre propre pays. Nous avons la liberté politique, mais non la liberté économique, c'est-à-dire qu'en fait nous n'avons pas de liberté du tout. Nous étions donc résolus à faire disparaître cette injustice et nous l'avons fait disparaître. En dépit des plus terribles menaces d'effondrement économique imminent, nous avons repris en main les moyens de production et les établissements financiers et nous avons survécu. Aujourd'hui, à la place des Hollandais et des autres étrangers, ce sont les Indonésiens qui jouent le rôle le plus important dans la vie économique de notre pays. Il est certain que nous nous heurtons à des difficultés économiques, il n'est pas douteux que nous commettons des erreurs. Mais ce sont nos difficultés et nos erreurs à nous; nous sommes maintenant maîtres chez nous, et c'est ce qui importe.

43. Les Hollandais ont bien essayé aussi de conserver la mainmise politique et militaire sur l'Indonésie. Nous avons triomphé du plan, d'inspiration hollandaise, tendant à fragmenter notre unité et à transformer notre Etat en de multiples Etats qui, par leur faiblesse, auraient alors permis aux Hollandais de diviser pour régner et ainsi de nous dominer. Nous sommes venus à bout des troubles militaires fomentés par l'aventurier hollandais Westerling. Nous avons neutralisé les mouvements séparatistes inspirés ou encouragés par des groupes coloniaux hollandais, tels que la prétendue République des Moluques. Nous avons neutralisé les encouragements au séparatisme qu'ils prodiguaient récemment à Java, à Sumatra, à Célèbes et à d'autres îles de l'Indonésie. Nous avons éliminé tous ces actes de subversion politique, économique et militaire, fomentés et encouragés par certains intérêts hollandais qui cherchaient encore à se maintenir dans notre territoire et à profiter d'une situation troublée et agitée.

44. Cependant, un acte de subversion demeure, une question reste à régler — la question de l'Irian occidental. Il n'entre pas dans mes intentions d'exposer ici en détail ce différend qui découle uniquement et directement de l'attitude des Pays-Bas. Ceux-ci refusent en effet de respecter les engagements explicitement pris, de remplir la promesse solennelle qu'ils avaient faite, savoir: que le transfert complet, inconditionnel et irrévocable de la souveraineté aux autorités indépendantes de la République d'Indonésie devait s'appliquer à l'ensemble du territoire des anciennes Indes néerlandaises. Toutefois, alors que j'examine les prétextes invoqués par les puissances occidentales pour maintenir le colonialisme, je voudrais montrer comment ces puissances déforment ce droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes. En Irian occidental, les Hollandais corrompent ce droit en l'invoquant pour justifier une amputation du territoire auquel doit s'étendre la souveraineté de l'Indo-

nésie. Là encore, on utilise le prétexte du "fardeau de l'homme blanc" pour masquer le maintien de la domination coloniale, l'annexion unilatéralement admise d'une partie d'une nation souveraine.

45. Les Hollandais soutiennent qu'ils doivent former et préparer la population de l'Irian occidental afin qu'elle puisse exercer son droit à disposer d'elle-même. Les Hollandais, qui même après 350 ans de domination coloniale et, qui plus est, même après avoir signé la Charte des Nations Unies ont cherché par la subversion et par un conflit armé à priver la population indonésienne de son droit à disposer d'elle-même, en viennent maintenant à invoquer si soudainement, si religieusement et si exclusivement ce noble droit que leur attitude devient ridicule et certainement suspecte. Désirent-ils vraiment préparer les Indonésiens de l'Irian occidental à l'autodétermination — j'insiste sur ce mot? Non, ce qu'ils cherchent aujourd'hui comme hier, ce n'est pas à donner à cette population la possibilité de disposer d'elle-même, mais bien à lui faire prendre en la matière une décision préparée, dictée par la Hollande. Sinon, pourquoi interdiraient-ils l'emploi de la langue indonésienne en Irian occidental? Pourquoi interdiraient-ils aux populations de l'Irian occidental d'écouter les émissions radiophoniques de la République d'Indonésie? Pourquoi détruiraient-ils toutes les organisations qui préconisent le rattachement de l'Irian occidental à l'Indonésie? Pourquoi emprisonneraient-ils tout habitant de l'Irian occidental qui manifeste la moindre sympathie à l'égard de la République d'Indonésie? Pourquoi vouloir ainsi soumettre à un lavage de cerveau les populations de l'Irian occidental dont les chefs et les organisations politiques ont combattu, comme les chefs et les organisations politiques du reste de l'Indonésie, pour la liberté de tout notre pays? N'oubliez pas que les populations de l'Irian occidental ont exercé, il y a longtemps, leur droit à l'autodétermination. Elles l'ont fait de la même manière, avec la même ferveur, en même temps que toutes les autres populations d'Indonésie. En outre, le massacre de nos compatriotes — dans la vallée de Baliem en Irian occidental — fait-il partie du programme hollandais d'autodétermination? Cet incident s'est produit récemment sous le prétexte périmé de pacification.

46. Toutes ces questions sont des questions concrètes auxquelles les Hollandais n'ont jamais daigné répondre parce qu'ils ne peuvent pas répondre. En fait, au lieu de réponses sur lesquelles il ne faut pas compter, nous voulons des solutions à ces problèmes et à ces différends coloniaux.

47. Ne vous y trompez pas: nous sommes maintenant parvenus à un nouveau tournant. Le colonialisme agonise et, à sa place, le nationalisme de l'Asie et de l'Afrique, des populations qui dans le monde entier se trouvaient en dépendance, déferle et vient occuper le centre de la scène. Cela laisse-t-il présager la paix, ou de nouvelles frictions? Les forces positives qui sont en jeu dans le réveil et la renaissance de certaines nations du monde trouveront-elles audience, ou bien un nouveau colonialisme, cherchant à justifier le passé, renaîtra-t-il des cendres de l'ancien pour croiser le fer avec le nationalisme jailli du sol de l'Asie, de l'Afrique et de l'Amérique latine? Tel est le choix qui nous est proposé aujourd'hui, telle est l'épreuve à laquelle nous devons faire face.

48. Renoncez au colonialisme dans toutes ses manifestations et vous mettrez un terme aux conflits toujours prêts à renaître. Renoncez à votre attitude coloniale et vous pourrez alors considérer notre nationalisme comme une force positive au service de la paix. Comprenez que notre nationalisme n'a aucun caractère chauvin ni agressif. Né dans le creuset de la domination étrangère, il cherche de nouveaux horizons, non pas que nous voulions conquérir et piller des terres étrangères, mais seulement développer nos propres ressources matérielles, redécouvrir les ressources créatrices qui sont les nôtres, offrir à nos populations de plus grandes possibilités. Notre nationalisme est essentiellement une affirmation de notre droit à vivre comme nous l'entendons, à modeler nos institutions politiques, économiques, sociales et culturelles conformément à nos besoins et selon les circonstances. Ce droit, nous le savons, s'accompagne de responsabilités.

49. Nous en sommes encore à la phase passionnante qui consiste à redécouvrir et à parfaire notre personnalité nationale. Ne cherchez donc pas à nous ranger sous une étiquette plutôt que sous une autre, à nous qualifier de champions de la droite ou de la gauche, de rejetons du capitalisme ou du communisme. Vous ne nous comprendrez que si vous nous considérez comme des pionniers à la recherche de notre propre mode de vie. Au cours de cette recherche, nous commettrons inévitablement des erreurs. Nous ne nous vantons pas d'être parfaits. Mais le droit de commettre des erreurs, de les corriger soi-même, n'est-il pas un des attributs essentiels de la liberté? Reportez-vous aux lourdes erreurs commises, ne serait-ce que pendant ce siècle, par les nations anciennes et bien établies, et demandez-vous ensuite si ce n'est pas faire preuve d'arrogance que de vouloir adopter une attitude paternaliste. Dieu nous préserve de commettre nous-mêmes de telles erreurs! A la recherche de notre personnalité particulière, nous nous imprégnons profondément des connaissances et des idées que le monde met à notre disposition, mais nous entendons aussi apporter notre contribution. Nous croyons pouvoir apporter quelques idées nouvelles au fonds mondial des connaissances.

50. Enfin, nous avons besoin d'une certaine aide — et nous la demandons — afin de retrouver notre condition de nation, car nous nous sommes lancés dans une guerre sans merci contre la pauvreté et la maladie. Nous faisons la guerre aux causes mêmes de la guerre. Nous luttons contre le temps pour répondre non pas aux aspirations, mais aux exigences croissantes de notre peuple. Tout en demandant une aide dans cette lutte qui intéresse l'humanité tout entière, nous insistons toutefois sur le fait que cette aide doit être accordée sur un pied d'égalité, dans un esprit d'intérêt commun et de respect mutuel. En fait, nous ne sommes pas les seuls à recevoir. Nous savons que nous avons aussi quelque chose à donner dans la recherche de la paix et de la stabilité internationales. Que l'on ait aussi besoin de nous a été largement prouvé, par exemple, dans le fonctionnement de l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Nous n'avons jamais manqué à nos obligations sur ce point.

51. Il faut en vérité qu'il existe des liens de coopération entre les nations. Le mode de vie indonésien se fonde sur le principe de l'entraide plutôt que sur

celui de la survivance du plus apte. Cette manière de voir est également conforme à l'esprit et aux objectifs reconnus de l'Organisation des Nations Unies: réaliser la coopération internationale en résolvant les problèmes internationaux d'ordre économique, social, intellectuel ou humanitaire. Telle est la base même, la raison d'être du projet de déclaration des 42 puissances [A/L.323 et Add.1 à 5] concernant l'indépendance des pays et peuples coloniaux, dont mon pays est un des auteurs. Plusieurs représentants des pays coauteurs de ce projet de déclaration l'ont déjà présenté à l'Assemblée et dûment commenté. Je me bornerai donc à souligner ce que nous considérons comme les éléments essentiels de ce texte.

52. Les bases fondamentales de ce projet de résolution sont les trois principes essentiels qui ont inspiré les déclarations de Bandoung, d'Accra et d'Addis-Abéba. Ces principes sont les suivants: réaffirmation par l'ONU de sa foi dans l'égalité de droits des nations, grandes ou petites; réaffirmation par l'ONU d'un des buts qu'elle s'est fixés et qui consiste à développer entre les nations des relations amicales fondées sur le respect du principe de l'égalité de droits des peuples et de leur droit à disposer d'eux-mêmes; enfin, réaffirmation de ce droit de l'homme qui a été adopté et consacré dans les projets de pactes relatifs aux droits de l'homme, et selon lequel tous les peuples ont le droit de disposer d'eux-mêmes.

53. Au cœur du projet de déclaration des 42 puissances, il y a naturellement la proclamation solennelle aux termes de laquelle il sera mis fin rapidement et inconditionnellement au colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations. Précisons donc ce que nous entendons par colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations. Ce point ne doit prêter à aucune confusion. Nous ne décrivons pas ici des situations qui existent dans le monde et qui reflètent le conflit idéologique actuel, sous ses aspects politiques ou militaires. Nous n'avons pas non plus rédigé une déclaration à l'intention de l'une ou l'autre des parties pour lui permettre d'atteindre plus facilement les objectifs idéologiques particuliers qu'elle s'est fixés. Ce projet de déclaration n'a pas trait aux Etats dits satellites, ni aux bases militaires, mais exclusivement aux populations et aux territoires qui sont encore en situation de dépendance et dont le sort préoccupait déjà ceux qui ont rédigé la Charte des Nations Unies. Pour éviter tout malentendu possible sur ce point, nous avons défini clairement, au paragraphe 5 de notre projet de déclaration, ces peuples et territoires dépendants par l'expression "les territoires sous tutelle, les territoires non autonomes et tous autres territoires qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance". Pour exprimer de façon pertinente l'engagement solennel de mettre fin au colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations, nous déclarons que des mesures immédiates seront prises pour transférer tous pouvoirs aux peuples de ces territoires. Si l'on veut que des engagements solennels soient pris sur d'autres questions, nous demandons instamment qu'ils le soient de cette même manière exclusive.

54. Il est un autre point sur lequel je voudrais donner quelques éclaircissements afin d'éviter tout malentendu à l'avenir. Notre déclaration relative à l'indépendance des pays et des peuples coloniaux est en même temps l'affirmation du fait que les rapports

entre les puissances coloniales et les populations placées sous leur dépendance sont une question qui intéresse l'Organisation des Nations Unies et appelle de sa part certaines mesures. En conséquence, les dispositions du paragraphe 7 relatives à la non-ingérence dans les affaires intérieures d'un autre Etat ne peuvent être interprétées que dans le sens de la non-ingérence dans les affaires intérieures d'un Etat souverain et, en particulier, la non-ingérence des puissances coloniales dans les affaires intérieures des territoires qu'ils avaient autrefois sous leur dépendance. En fait, toute notre déclaration vise à obtenir, par l'intermédiaire de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, une action concertée pour l'indépendance des peuples et territoires encore dépendants, sans condition ni réserve d'aucune sorte, sans qu'il soit porté atteinte au droit qu'ils ont d'organiser librement leurs institutions politiques, économiques, sociales et culturelles.

55. En outre, il nous paraît tout spécialement important que cette déclaration vise à prévenir toute tentative pour provoquer un démembrement total ou partiel de l'unité nationale et de l'intégrité territoriale d'un pays. Aux paragraphes 4, 6 et 7, il est déclaré expressément que l'intégrité du territoire national des peuples qui ont accédé à l'indépendance sera respectée. Ainsi, par ce texte, on rejette toutes les activités coloniales d'où naissent des différends tels que celui de l'Irian occidental, qui oppose l'Indonésie aux Pays-Bas. Ce texte rejette donc catégoriquement la politique coloniale des Pays-Bas qui invoque abusivement, comme je l'ai déjà souligné, le droit sacré des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes afin de maintenir le colonialisme en Irian occidental, c'est-à-dire dans une région qui est partie intégrante de notre territoire national.

56. En nous rangeant au nombre des 42 puissances qui sont les auteurs de ce projet de déclaration, nous exprimons le ferme espoir que ce texte contribuera de façon essentielle et décisive à faire de notre organisation un instrument de paix viable, capable de faire face aux besoins particulièrement urgents de notre temps, et prêt à le faire.

57. M. AKAKPO (Togo): L'Organisation des Nations Unies, au cours de la présente session, va, au nom de 99 Etats, ouvrir une nouvelle page de l'histoire de l'humanité. Elle aborde aujourd'hui l'examen de la question très importante de l'abolition du colonialisme, intitulée "Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux". Cette nouvelle page de l'histoire va, j'en ai la conviction, s'ouvrir sur un monde nouveau où tous les peuples, quels qu'ils soient et quel que soit le lieu où ils se trouvent sur cette planète, doivent être libres et égaux. Le colonialisme n'est plus admis de nos jours, car il a toujours été — et il l'est encore plus, au milieu de ce XXème siècle — un phénomène honteux, hideux, à repousser. Ce n'est pas un exploit dont les colonialistes doivent s'enorgueillir. Tous les orateurs qui m'ont précédé à cette tribune ont flétri le colonialisme et souligné tout le mal qu'il a fait au monde en général et aux peuples coloniaux en particulier.

58. Comment les choses ont-elles commencé? Avant que ne s'ouvre en Afrique la période coloniale, les peuples de l'Afrique vivaient heureux. Ils avaient des fruits plein leurs bois, leurs champs étaient pleins de cultures, ils avaient du gibier plein leurs forêts. Tout cela était à eux. Le soleil les inondait

de ses rayons, leur donnant la santé et les tonifiant; ils chantaient, dansaient et riaient, le cœur dilaté. La nuit, le ciel d'Afrique se remplissait de leurs rires, du bruit de leurs tam-tams et de leurs chansons. Ils avaient dans chaque village leur chef, leur cour et rendaient la justice selon leurs lois. Ils avaient leur civilisation à eux, civilisation qui, comme toute civilisation, suivait son cours normal, obéissant elle aussi à l'inexorable loi de l'évolution.

59. Les colonialistes qui s'introduisaient en Afrique auprès de ces hommes savaient le caractère honteux de leurs desseins, et leur œuvre de colonisation débutait presque toujours par un mensonge. Ils venaient, disaient-ils presque toujours, apporter à ces hommes le salut, l'amitié, la protection de leurs grands chefs blancs qui se trouvaient loin, très loin, au-delà des mers, et ils demandaient à rester chez eux pour faire du commerce avec eux. L'Africain, hospitalier et généreux de nature, acceptait souvent sans difficulté et accueillait ses visiteurs, ne se doutant point que ceux-ci n'avaient apporté dans leurs malles que les fers avec lesquels ils allaient l'enchaîner au nom du colonialisme.

60. Le colonialisme ainsi installé en Afrique depuis près de 500 ans a modifié la physionomie de l'Afrique, le cours des choses, le caractère des hommes, en arrêtant la civilisation propre à ce continent. Depuis presque 500 ans, le régime colonial règne en Afrique et consiste en l'exploitation à outrance de l'homme par l'homme, entraînant la perte complète de la liberté, de la dignité, des droits et de la personnalité du colonisé. Dans les territoires sous domination étrangère, malgré le travail sans cesse accru, la misère va sans cesse grandissant parmi les populations colonisées. Et que de choses peut-être la civilisation des peuples tenus sous le joug colonial depuis des siècles aurait-elle réalisées si elle n'avait pas été arrêtée dans son évolution! Mais je ne voudrais pas m'étendre sur ce qu'est le colonialisme; j'ai dit que d'autres orateurs l'ont déjà dépeint sous tous ses aspects.

61. Dès la fin de la seconde guerre mondiale, le réveil contre le colonialisme s'est produit partout, principalement dans les territoires où ce phénomène de domination existe. Toutes les consciences honnêtes se sont révoltées contre la domination des peuples et savent que la paix et la sécurité du monde dans lequel nous vivons sont fonction de la suppression complète de toute injustice et du rétablissement de la liberté et des droits des peuples, grands ou petits.

62. Les Etats qui s'étaient réunis à San Francisco, désirant bâtir un monde nouveau sur des bases solides de liberté et d'égalité des droits des peuples quels qu'ils soient, s'étaient inquiétés de l'exploitation à laquelle étaient soumis les peuples colonisés et qui était à leurs yeux un crime honteux. Ils préconisèrent la suppression de cette injustice. La Charte des Nations Unies, née de leur conférence, avait la première en date, dès la fin de la seconde guerre mondiale, fait une obligation aux puissances coloniales de libérer les pays colonisés. L'Article 73 qui concerne les territoires non autonomes stipule:

"Les Membres des Nations Unies qui ont ou qui assument la responsabilité d'administrer des territoires dont les populations ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes reconnaissent le principe de la primauté des intérêts des habitants de ces territoires. Ils acceptent comme une mission

sacrée l'obligation de favoriser dans toute la mesure du possible leur prospérité, dans le cadre du système de paix et de sécurité internationales établi par la présente Charte et, à cette fin:

" ...

"b. De développer leur capacité de s'administrer elles-mêmes ..."

Pour les territoires sous tutelle, l'Article 76 dit:

"b. Favoriser le progrès politique, économique et social des populations des territoires sous tutelle ainsi que le développement de leur instruction; favoriser également leur évolution progressive vers la capacité à s'administrer eux-mêmes ou l'indépendance ..."

Ce sont là des engagements que nous avons contractés en acceptant d'être Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies.

63. L'un des buts essentiels de la Conférence de Bandoung, à laquelle se trouvaient réunis en 1955 les Etats asiatiques et africains représentant les aspirations des pays colonisés, a été la condamnation du colonialisme. Le communiqué célèbre, devenu historique, sorti de cette conférence, soulignait l'accord des membres:

"a) Pour déclarer que le colonialisme, dans toutes ses manifestations, est un fléau qui doit cesser rapidement;

"b) Pour affirmer que la sujétion des peuples à une subjugation, à une domination ou à une exploitation étrangère, constitue un déni des droits fondamentaux de l'homme, est contraire à la Charte des Nations Unies et empêche la promotion de la paix et de la coopération dans le monde".

Ils ont exprimé à Bandoung les aspirations de millions et de millions d'hommes, principalement de ceux qui sont encore dominés et qui désirent en terminer le plus rapidement possible avec le régime colonial avilissant. Le mouvement anticolonialiste soulevant une masse d'hommes toujours croissante, il y a eu récemment à Accra, à Monrovia et à Addis-Abéba d'autres conférences sur le colonialisme qui continue à salir notre siècle, le colonialisme qui doit absolument être aboli.

64. Le réveil des Africains et des Asiatiques et leur aspiration à la liberté ne peuvent plus être arrêtés sans créer des troubles graves pouvant menacer la paix et la sécurité du monde. Toutes les consciences expriment la nécessité de terminer rapidement le colonialisme et de restaurer la liberté et la dignité aux Africains, aux Asiatiques, à tous ceux que le régime d'exploitation a privés de la jouissance de leurs droits naturels. Les peuples colonisés ne veulent plus porter la chafne de l'esclavage. Ils ne veulent plus du travail forcé pour des maîtres. Ils ne veulent plus voir leurs continents soumis au pillage. Ils ne veulent plus être victimes de la discrimination de race. Ils ne veulent plus des emprisonnements arbitraires, des camps de concentration, des souffrances inutiles. Ils ne veulent plus de la famine et de l'ignorance. Ils veulent leur indépendance, leur liberté, leurs droits, leur dignité d'hommes. La force de leurs aspirations est si prodigieuse que toutes les mesures de répression viendront se briser contre elle.

65. L'octroi de l'indépendance, pour le plus grand bien de l'humanité, est une question urgente. Il ne s'agit pas ici de condamner purement et simplement le colonialisme, d'adopter le principe de l'octroi de l'indépendance. Il est de la plus haute importance de fixer aussi dès maintenant un calendrier de dates auxquelles l'indépendance sera donnée aux territoires colonisés; sans cela, les pays encore dans les fers auront à lutter encore très longtemps contre la puissance coloniale. Pour ne donner qu'un exemple, le Togo, mon pays, était, vous le savez, un territoire sous tutelle dont la date d'indépendance n'avait pas été fixée; le peuple togolais a dû lutter pendant 12 ans pour arracher cette indépendance tandis que dans le cas de la Somalie italienne, également ancien territoire sous tutelle, mais dont la date de libération avait été fixée, le peuple somali a attendu tranquillement que vienne son indépendance. Cette nécessité n'a pas échappé à la Conférence d'Addis-Abéba. Permettez-moi de citer à ce sujet un paragraphe du dispositif de la résolution adoptée à cette conférence:

"Prie instamment les puissances coloniales de fixer des dates conformes à la volonté des peuples pour l'obtention immédiate de l'indépendance par tous les pays non indépendants et de communiquer ces dates aux populations intéressées."

66. Le mouvement de libération du joug colonial, qui a débuté dès la fin de la seconde guerre mondiale, a à son actif des victoires sensationnelles. La libération, d'abord, de l'Inde, du Ghana, de la Tunisie, du Maroc, de l'Indonésie, du Cambodge, de Ceylan, de la Guinée, de la Birmanie, etc.; ensuite, en cette année 1960, celle du Cameroun, du Togo, du Congo (Léopoldville), de la Somalie, du Dahomey, du Niger, de la Haute-Volta, de la Côte-d'Ivoire, du Congo (Brazzaville), du Gabon, du Tchad, de la République centrafricaine, de Chypre, de la Nigéria, du Sénégal, du Mali, de Madagascar, ont rendu à la liberté des millions et des millions d'hommes.

67. Mais le colonialisme, malgré ces coups mortels, n'est pas totalement abattu. Chancelant, il essaie à certains endroits de résister encore. C'est ainsi qu'en Afrique du Nord le sang coule depuis plus de six ans; en Afrique centrale, les populations sont soumises à des repréailles inhumaines; en Afrique du Sud, à la discrimination raciale. En d'autres endroits, le colonialisme cherche à se camoufler, à changer de nom. Forcé de lâcher sa proie, il essaie des subterfuges. C'est ainsi que certaines puissances, comme l'a souligné la délégation togolaise à la Quatrième Commission^{1/}, déclarent que les territoires non autonomes qui sont sous leur domination, bien qu'ethniquement, culturellement, économiquement et politiquement différents de leur métropole, en font cependant partie intégrante par le seul fait que le Parlement métropolitain a voté une loi en ce sens, remplaçant tout simplement le mot "colonie" par le mot "province", sans tenir compte de la volonté et des aspirations profondes des populations. D'autres puissances ont créé toute une série d'appellations pour leurs empires, pour calmer les agitations des peuples asservis, pour masquer les réalités que contient l'administration de leurs colonies.

^{1/} Documents officiels de l'Assemblée générale, quinzième session, Quatrième Commission, 1015ème séance.

68. Il faut en finir réellement une bonne fois pour toutes, pour l'amour de la paix, d'une paix durable. Il faut accorder l'indépendance réelle à tous les peuples. Nombreux sont encore les peuples qui réclament leur liberté. L'Afrique et l'Asie en sont les principaux réservoirs. Pour le seul continent africain, il faut liquider le colonialisme en Algérie, en Ouganda, au Kenya, en Rhodésie du Nord, en Rhodésie du Sud, au Nyassaland, dans le Sud-Ouest africain, au Ruanda-Urundi, en Angola, au Mozambique, en Guinée portugaise, en Guinée espagnole, etc. — pour n'en citer que quelques-uns.

69. C'est pour tous ces peuples souffrant dans toutes les parties du monde que nous allons à l'unanimité, dans cette salle de l'Assemblée générale, liquider le régime colonial. Déjà la délégation de l'Espagne a déclaré à la Quatrième Commission^{2/} que son pays est anticolonialiste et a toujours condamné et condamne toujours comme un phénomène anachronique

^{2/} Ibid., 1046ème séance.

le colonialisme et l'exploitation de tous les peuples. J'ai l'espoir de trouver, au moment du vote sur le projet de résolution [A/L.323 et Add.1 à 5] dont mon pays est coauteur, l'Espagne à côté des pays anticolonialistes pour abattre le colonialisme.

70. Nous, représentants de 99 nations, nous trouvons, à un moment historique, en face d'un problème humanitaire des plus touchants, sur lequel nous allons prendre une décision qui sera de la plus haute importance pour l'évolution des peuples du monde entier, présents et à venir, pour la sécurité et la paix sur notre planète. Le vote que nous allons émettre sera connu de la postérité qui nous remerciera d'avoir débarrassé le monde d'un fléau. Quant à nous, la conscience tranquille, nous aurons la satisfaction d'avoir contribué au triomphe de la justice, au relèvement de la dignité de l'homme, au rétablissement de l'égalité de droits entre tous les hommes, au maintien de la paix et de la grandeur de nos pays respectifs.

La séance est levée à 22 h 40.

Mardi 6 décembre 1960,
à 15 heures

NEW YORK



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Point 87 de l'ordre du jour:

Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux
pays et aux peuples coloniaux (suite) 1227

Président: M. Frederick H. BOLAND (Irlande).

POINT 87 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance
aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux (suite)

1. Le **PRESIDENT** (traduit de l'anglais): Avant d'appeler le premier orateur inscrit pour la séance de cet après-midi, je donne la parole au représentant du Honduras pour lui permettre d'exercer son droit de réponse.

2. **M. MILLA BERMUDEZ** (Honduras) [traduit de l'espagnol]: Je voudrais mettre à profit l'occasion qui m'est offerte d'exercer mon droit de réponse pour fournir des précisions qui m'ont été demandées sur certains aspects du projet de résolution du Honduras [A/L.324].

3. En premier lieu, je tiens à souligner que la proposition du Honduras ne saurait en aucune manière se substituer au projet de résolution africano-asiatique. Elle en est, au contraire, un complément que nous considérons comme nécessaire pour assurer l'application des dispositions du projet de résolution africano-asiatique [A/L.323 et Add.1 à 5]; d'ailleurs, ma délégation votera pour ce projet de résolution. Dans ces conditions, la proposition du Honduras a pour unique objet de contribuer à la mise en œuvre et à l'application du projet africano-asiatique. En d'autres termes, nous nous proposons d'établir un lien légitime entre ces questions. Je tiens aussi à établir de façon parfaitement claire que la position du Honduras à cet égard est, comme toujours, au-dessus de tout soupçon et que nous ne nous prêterons jamais à des manœuvres, de quelque côté qu'elles viennent.

4. En second lieu, on m'a fait observer que dans la composition de la commission, telle qu'elle est envisagée, la participation d'un pays de l'Europe de l'Est n'est pas prévue. Je ne suis pas de cet avis. La proposition mentionne que deux représentants de puissances administrantes pourront faire partie de la commission. Dans ces conditions, il est inexact de dire que la proposition du Honduras est inacceptable parce qu'elle exclut la participation d'une région, car personne ne s'oppose à ce que l'Union soviétique fasse partie de la commission en tant que puissance administrante.

5. En troisième lieu, on m'a demandé de définir ce que j'entendais par "colonies" ou de quelles colonies je voulais parler. C'est là une question très délicate,

car il existe des différends et controverses dont l'Assemblée est saisie en ce moment et qui n'ont pu être réglés au cours des années précédentes — sur l'Algérie, par exemple. Nous savons tous quelles sont les colonies qui existent encore dans le monde. Pourtant si, en raison des artifices de la dialectique ou des interprétations de la jurisprudence internationale, ou encore de la lutte qui oppose deux mondes et de la guerre froide, on n'a pas encore pu parvenir à un accord sur ces questions, la délégation du Honduras serait malvenue d'offrir la panacée, la solution définitive ou la définition idéale des territoires qui sont des colonies. On n'a pas non plus réussi à définir ici de façon concrète ce qu'est l'agression. Cependant, si l'on insiste beaucoup sur ce point, nous proposerions la définition suivante: on entend par colonies toutes les communautés ou populations qui ne se gouvernent pas elles-mêmes ou qui ne sont pas en mesure d'élire leurs dirigeants par des moyens démocratiques.

6. En quatrième lieu, on nous a dit que la commission proposée par le Honduras ne résoudrait rien et ne ferait que retarder le règlement de la question. Ce n'est pas notre avis. La commission peut accomplir du bon travail; elle peut tracer la carte et l'itinéraire des pays qui aspirent encore à l'indépendance. En outre, l'argument selon lequel les missions de visite ne seraient pas admises à pénétrer dans certains territoires n'est pas suffisant pour qu'on rejette le projet, car ce n'est pas là un fait nouveau dans l'Organisation. Il y a déjà quatre ans qu'a été créé le Comité spécial pour la question de Hongrie et sir Leslie Munro, ancien président de l'Assemblée, vient de nous présenter un nouveau rapport [A/4606] sans pourtant s'être jamais rendu en Hongrie.

7. En résumé, je répète que le projet présenté par le Honduras complète le projet africano-asiatique et lui donne les moyens de mener à terme le processus d'émancipation.

8. **M. WADSWORTH** (Etats-Unis d'Amérique) [traduit de l'anglais]: Depuis sa création, l'Organisation des Nations Unies s'est beaucoup occupée des progrès des peuples non autonomes dans la voie de l'autonomie et de l'indépendance. Près de 800 millions de personnes ont bénéficié de ce progrès qui est devenu le plus puissant courant de libération politique que l'histoire ait connu.

9. Cette année, marquée par l'admission au sein de notre assemblée de 17 nations nouvellement créées, le mouvement d'indépendance a atteint son ampleur maximum. Il est bon, par conséquent, qu'en présence d'un si grand nombre de nations ayant accédé à l'indépendance récemment, l'Assemblée examine au cours de cette session l'avenir de ce mouvement colossal. Le mouvement lui-même est naturel, juste et irrésistible. Il est déterminé par des forces historiques irréversibles plus que par ce que nous pouvons dire ici. Pourtant, il semble raisonnable

d'espérer que nos délibérations pourront contribuer à l'accélérer et à le rendre en même temps plus ordonné, plus pacifique et plus équitable dans l'intérêt des dizaines de millions de personnes dont l'avenir est lié à ce mouvement.

10. Aucun peuple n'appuie avec plus de vigueur et plus de fierté que le peuple des Etats-Unis les notions de liberté et d'indépendance nationale. Toutes les délégations présentes ici connaissent les antécédents historiques qui ont incité les créateurs de mon pays à préparer et à appliquer la célèbre Déclaration d'indépendance que nous commémorons le 4 juillet de chaque année. Après 150 ans de régime colonial, lorsque le développement économique et social des premières colonies eut atteint un degré tel qu'elles pouvaient subvenir à leurs propres besoins et que les mesures de répression eurent pris un caractère qui les rendaient intolérables, nos chefs proclamèrent cette déclaration immortelle. Par cette déclaration, ils donnaient naissance à une nation nouvelle, fondée sur certaines vérités qu'ils tenaient pour évidentes par elles-mêmes, à savoir que "tous les hommes sont créés égaux; ils sont doués par le Créateur de certains droits inaliénables; parmi ces droits se trouvent la vie, la liberté et la recherche du bonheur. Les gouvernements sont établis par les hommes pour garantir ces droits, et leur juste pouvoir émane du consentement des gouvernés".

11. Ceux qui ont créé notre pays ont déclaré, et nous continuons à considérer cette affirmation comme valable, que ces vérités n'étaient pas l'apanage d'une race ou d'une nation particulière, mais celui de tous les hommes. Les faits ont montré qu'il en est effectivement ainsi, car l'influence de cette déclaration s'est manifestée dans le monde entier et s'y manifeste encore de nos jours.

12. Le peuple américain a donc toujours éprouvé le sentiment que la liberté et l'indépendance figurent parmi les droits fondamentaux naturels de tous les peuples et de toutes les nations. L'opinion publique dans mon pays n'a manifesté aucun désir de domination des autres nations et ne s'est guère passionnée pour les aventures coloniales, qu'il s'agisse de notre pays ou de pays étrangers. Lorsqu'une ancienne colonie devient une nation nouvelle, nous nous rappelons instinctivement nos origines et notre réaction est celle d'une joie sincère.

13. Dans ce débat, consacré à un sujet qu'un si grand nombre de nations connaissent bien mieux que nous, il serait vain que les Etats-Unis sermonnent l'une ou l'autre. Nous ne chercherons pas non plus à exacerber les passions par des accusations sordides. L'avenir nous intéresse plus que le passé. Nous sommes convaincus que le progrès rapide du mouvement d'indépendance est essentiel au maintien de la paix, et nous nous efforcerons, dans notre déclaration, de présenter certains des principes généraux qui doivent régir ce progrès.

14. Dès sa fondation même, l'Organisation des Nations Unies a considéré les gouvernements coloniaux, qui existaient alors de longue date et dont l'autorité s'étendait sur une grande partie du globe, non comme une source de bénéfice pour la puissance gouvernante mais bien plutôt comme une "mission sacrée" et comme un moyen d'assurer le progrès des peuples non autonomes. Ceci est énoncé sans ambiguïté dans l'Article 73 de la Charte qui figure au Chapitre XI,

intitulé "Déclaration relative aux territoires non autonomes". Cet article ne laisse aucun doute sur le fait que les puissances administrantes ont assumé une responsabilité à l'égard de la communauté des nations; que les intérêts des populations autochtones viennent au premier rang et que parmi ces intérêts figure notamment l'évolution vers l'autonomie et la mise en place d'institutions libres ainsi que la réalisation de leurs "aspirations politiques", ce qui, dans la plupart des cas, signifie l'indépendance. Le même article affirme aussi sans ambiguïté que le rythme de ce progrès ainsi que les méthodes à employer doivent tenir compte des "conditions particulières de chaque territoire et de ses populations" et de "leurs degrés variables de développement".

15. Depuis 15 ans que l'Organisation des Nations Unies existe, l'Article 73 a été appliqué plus rapidement et sur une plus grande échelle que toute autre disposition de la Charte. Depuis 1946, environ 34 pays, représentant plus de 775 millions d'habitants, ont accédé à l'indépendance. Presque tous sont Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies et ont des représentants dans cette salle. Pour l'Afrique seule, on ne compte pas moins de 21 Etats qui ont connu cette transition et les deux tiers de l'Afrique sont maintenant libres et indépendants. En outre, comme le représentant du Royaume-Uni nous l'a rappelé dans la déclaration qu'il a faite au début de ce débat [925^{ème} séance], d'autres Etats encore accèderont à l'indépendance dans les années qui viennent.

16. Ce succès a donné une impulsion puissante à la campagne en faveur de l'indépendance et de la pleine autonomie dans d'autres pays qui, à l'heure actuelle, sont encore des pays non autonomes et qui ont conscience d'appartenir au même grand courant de l'histoire. Il est naturel et normal qu'il en soit ainsi. La présence même, parmi nous, d'un nombre sensiblement plus grand de nations nouvelles, toutes libres d'exprimer leurs opinions comme elles l'entendent, donne à cette question un caractère d'urgence nouveau.

17. Il est juste aussi que, dans le cadre des dispositions de la Charte dont je viens de parler, nous nous efforcions de formuler l'opinion de l'ensemble des membres de l'Assemblée générale dans une déclaration nouvelle, conforme à la situation qui existe en 1960. Nul d'entre nous n'est mieux qualifié pour cette tâche que les nations d'Afrique et d'Asie qui connaissent cette question par expérience directe et qui sont les auteurs du projet de résolution [A/L.323 et Add.1 à 5] dont l'Assemblée est saisie. Les Etats-Unis souhaitent être en mesure de donner leur appui à cette déclaration. Nous espérons que toute question de libellé qui se pose encore pourra être réglée. Nous applaudissons à l'initiative de ces nations ainsi qu'à l'esprit qui les anime.

18. Au cours de mon exposé, au lieu d'analyser en détail le projet de résolution, je m'efforcerai de définir dans ses grandes lignes le point de vue des Etats-Unis.

19. Qu'il me soit permis d'expliquer d'abord ce que nous entendons par "colonialisme". Il n'est pas nécessaire de donner de ce terme une définition officielle. Toutefois, l'histoire nous a appris certaines des caractéristiques du colonialisme. C'est le fait pour un peuple de se voir imposer une puissance étrangère, en général de vive force et sans le consentement officiel et librement accordé des populations gouvernées. C'est

la perpétuation de cette puissance. C'est le fait de dénier le droit à l'autodétermination, soit en supprimant la liberté d'expression, soit en refusant les possibilités de développement de l'instruction et de progrès économique et social. Il est évident que tous les régimes coloniaux n'ont pas été identiques. Certains ont été bienveillants et ont dépensé des sommes considérables à l'intention de la population autochtone; d'autres ont été caractérisés par leur brutalité et leurs méthodes répressives. Certains ont compris que le progrès des populations autochtones vers l'autonomie complète et l'autodétermination était juste et inévitable et ils ont modelé leur politique en conséquence; d'autres ne l'ont pas fait. Toutefois, si importantes que soient ces différences, il n'en demeure pas moins que le colonialisme, quelque forme qu'il revête, n'est pas souhaitable. Ni le paternalisme le plus bienveillant dont puisse faire preuve la puissance dominatrice, ni l'acceptation la plus reconnaissante des avantages de ce paternalisme par les chefs autochtones ne peuvent répondre aux critères de la Charte ou satisfaire à l'esprit de notre époque. En réalité, le seul régime colonial qui puisse satisfaire à ces critères est celui qui s'emploie avec énergie à remettre le plein exercice du pouvoir à la population autochtone et qui, donc, cherche à consacrer le plus rapidement possible sa propre disparition. Ce critère a été satisfait à maintes reprises. Les vastes régions qui, du temps des générations passées, constituaient les possessions d'outre-mer des nations occidentales, ont été transformées grâce aux efforts conjugués des puissances administrantes et des populations administrées, et, de nos jours, l'achèvement de cette ère du colonialisme traditionnel est devenu chose certaine. En dépit de certaines frictions inévitables et de quelques exemples tragiques de recours à la violence, cette transformation historique s'est faite dans une large mesure par des moyens pacifiques; c'est aux hommes d'Etat et aux chefs de l'une et l'autre partie qu'il faut être reconnaissants de cette heureuse issue.

20. Les Etats-Unis espèrent avec ferveur que la disparition complète de l'ère colonialiste se fera dans des conditions encore plus pacifiques et plus harmonieuses. Il est manifestement de l'intérêt futur de tous qu'il en soit ainsi. Nous ne pouvons nous empêcher de faire observer que certains orateurs qui ont joué dans ce débat un rôle de premier plan, qui affirment être tous libres et indépendants et n'avoir aucune colonie, ont dépassé de loin tous les autres orateurs par la violence de leurs propos. Ils donnent l'impression qu'ils préféreraient, pour des raisons qu'eux seuls connaissent, voir les régimes coloniaux dont ils parlent disparaître dans la violence en suscitant de part et d'autre le maximum de haine et de rancœur.

21. Nous pourrions maintenant décrire à ce stade — si, ce faisant, nous pouvions alléger la souffrance de certains peuples — un nouveau régime colonial qui ne s'étend pas sur les océans, mais qui, autant que tout autre régime colonial antérieur, constitue une parfaite violation des droits de l'homme. Ce régime colonial a été imposé par la force à de nombreux peuples appartenant à des races différentes et qui souvent, pendant des siècles, avaient constitué des Etats libres et indépendants et avaient été membres de la Société des Nations. Certains d'entre eux ont perdu leur indépendance même officiellement, tous l'ont perdu en fait. Ce régime tout entier est protégé par la censure, par un contrôle impitoyable de la pensée et par un emploi abusif, poussé à l'extrême, de termes tels que "démocratie" et "autonome".

Pourtant, la tragique réalité de son existence est attestée par les millions de personnes qui l'ont fui et par les dizaines de milliers qui ont donné leur vie en cherchant vainement à se libérer de son emprise.

22. Tel est le colonialisme nouveau. Au cours des années mêmes pendant lesquelles le colonialisme ancien était transformé par le mouvement d'indépendance, ce colonialisme nouveau s'étendait à d'autres nations. A l'heure actuelle, il constitue le plus vaste empire colonial du monde et, pourtant, il cherche à s'étendre encore sous de faux prétextes de "libération". Heureusement, sa propagation a été tenue en échec par la faculté de plus en plus développée des peuples libres de distinguer la réalité à travers les apparences. Nous sommes convaincus que ce nouveau régime colonial s'éteindra lui aussi; nous espérons qu'il disparaîtra dans la paix et nous prions pour qu'il en soit ainsi. Son heure n'est peut-être pas encore venue, mais elle viendra. Entre-temps, lorsque nous entendons les adeptes de ce nouveau colonialisme lancer leurs foudres contre le régime colonialiste ancien, nous sommes tentés de leur rappeler que "les actes parlent plus haut que les discours".

23. Les ardents zélateurs de cette forme nouvelle et mortelle du colonialisme nous ont révélé, dimanche dernier, les caractères véritables de leur nature cynique et hypocrite qu'ils dissimulent sous une fausse croisade en faveur d'un mouvement de libération et sous des flots de paroles et de slogans dans lesquels il proclament la fin de l'oppression coloniale et l'indépendance pour tous les peuples du monde. Je sais qu'il n'est pas nécessaire de vous rappeler que c'est l'Union soviétique qui, dimanche matin au Conseil de sécurité^{1/}, a opposé son veto à l'adoption d'un projet de résolution proposant l'admission au sein de l'Organisation de la République islamique de Mauritanie devenue récemment libre et indépendante. Ce veto, qui n'était en fait qu'une tentative flagrante de chantage auprès du Conseil de sécurité afin qu'il accepte un marchandage, a effectivement empêché la Mauritanie de devenir Membre de plein droit et d'exercer ses droits au sein de la communauté des nations. Je vous demande de bien vouloir méditer les conséquences de cette décision prise dimanche matin par l'Union soviétique. Réfléchissez plus particulièrement à ce veto opposé à l'admission d'un Etat souverain à l'Organisation des Nations Unies, alors que le représentant de l'Union soviétique prend ensuite la parole avec une éloquence creuse pour se faire le champion de l'indépendance et de l'égalité des droits pour tous les peuples.

24. Je me suis permis de faire cette petite digression pour décrire le "nouveau régime colonial" afin que nous n'ayons garde d'oublier les nombreux millions d'êtres humains qui souffrent sous le joug de ce "nouveau colonialisme" et dont le sort ne sera pas examiné pour l'instant — selon la décision prise, à tort ou à raison, par la plupart des membres de l'Assemblée générale. En même temps, il convient, je crois, de rappeler — et nous ne saurions trop le souligner — que le projet de résolution dont nous sommes saisis dénonce à juste titre le colonialisme "dans toutes ses manifestations", comme l'avait déjà fait la déclaration historique qui a suivi la Conférence de Bandoung. Mais j'en reviens maintenant à l'ancien

^{1/} Documents officiels du Conseil de sécurité, quinzième année, 911ème séance.

régime colonial. De l'avis de la délégation des Etats-Unis, certains points sont clairs.

25. Premièrement, la fin de l'ère coloniale est déjà bien avancée et sa disparition complète est certaine. Le sentiment de nationalisme est l'une des forces les plus puissantes et les plus irrésistibles des temps modernes. Il ne doit pas être étouffé ou supprimé — en fait, il ne saurait l'être. L'histoire moderne offre de nombreux exemples de nations qui ont fait l'objet de partages ou d'anéantissement complet et qui sont réapparues comme membres de la communauté des nations. Les représentants de certaines d'entre elles siègent aujourd'hui parmi nous, d'autres seront peut-être des nôtres demain. De toute façon, ceux qui, en vertu des dispositions du Chapitre XI de la Charte des Nations Unies, sont chargés d'administrer des territoires non autonomes doivent comprendre que leur tutelle ne peut tout au plus qu'être temporaire. En s'efforçant de la prolonger par des retards inutiles et en négligeant de se préparer avec toute la célérité possible à cette situation, on ne fera que contrecarrer ce qui est inévitable et faire naître une amertume qui subsistera bien longtemps après l'accession à l'indépendance.

26. En deuxième lieu, il ne suffit pas de liquider purement et simplement ce qui est périmé, il faut aussi prévoir judicieusement ce qu'on doit y substituer, et sur ce point les vœux des populations autochtones doivent avant tout être pris en considération. L'expérience montre que le choix du peuple se porte en général — mais ce n'est assurément pas toujours le cas — sur l'indépendance en tant qu'Etat distinct. C'est ainsi que, contrairement à l'impression laissée par la déclaration dont M. Zorine nous a donné lecture ici [925^{ème} séance], il y a quelques semaines, la population du Commonwealth de Porto Rico ne souhaite pas être indépendante à l'heure actuelle. Elle s'administre complètement elle-même et a librement choisi de s'associer aux Etats-Unis en tant qu'Etat libre associé autonome. Cette décision a été motivée par de puissantes raisons économiques, financières et autres. Le 8 novembre dernier, par voie d'élections librement organisées, elle a réélu au poste de gouverneur, à une majorité nette de 58 pour 100 des suffrages, M. Muñoz Marín qui est un fervent partisan de cette association et qui en est, en fait, l'un des principaux promoteurs. Il est peut-être tout aussi intéressant de signaler que 32 pour 100 des autres électeurs se sont prononcés pour la solution qui aurait fait de leur pays un Etat faisant intégralement partie des Etats-Unis; en d'autres termes, cela signifie que plus de 90 pour 100 des électeurs de Porto Rico sont partisans d'un statut d'Etat libre associé ou de liens permanents plus étroits avec les Etats-Unis. Il existe d'autres exemples de pays qui, au sortir de la domination coloniale, ont librement choisi de s'unir à un Etat voisin en une souveraineté unique. Des solutions de ce genre peuvent également paraître préférables à d'autres populations, en particulier à celles qui habitent de petites îles extrêmement dispersées. L'indépendance n'est donc que la solution la plus évidente entre bien d'autres possibles. L'essentiel est que ce soient les populations qui choisissent.

27. Le troisième point dont je veux parler concerne ce principe du choix laissé aux populations. L'épreuve déterminante pour l'autorité chargée de l'administration de tout territoire qui n'a pas encore accédé à l'indépendance consiste à consulter librement la popu-

lation, par voie d'élections librement organisées ou par tout autre moyen également valable d'autodétermination. Cela implique bien autre chose qu'une cérémonie au cours de laquelle les populations sont autorisées à ratifier une décision unique, déterminée à l'avance. C'est en effet un choix réel entre diverses solutions possibles. Telle est l'essence du principe du droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes, qui est l'un des buts des Nations Unies. Il est oiseux de prétendre que les populations peuvent prendre une mauvaise décision, ou une décision qui peut se révéler néfaste pour elles. Un jour ou l'autre, et le plus tôt sera le mieux, l'autorité chargée de l'administration devra se fier à la sagesse des populations et leur laisser le choix de leur destinée. Cela s'est fait avec succès si souvent qu'on ne saurait nier la validité de ce procédé dans la pratique. Il faut donc recourir plus largement aux consultations électorales libres afin que partout les populations soient libres de choisir leur propre destinée.

28. J'en viens maintenant à la question du choix du moment favorable. Dans quels délais les populations encore non autonomes accèderont-elles à l'indépendance ou se verront-elles offrir la possibilité de décider de leur avenir? Les Etats-Unis pensent qu'il faut prendre immédiatement des mesures pour assurer l'autonomie ou l'indépendance. Dans bien des cas, le processus a atteint déjà un stade très avancé. Lorsque ce n'est pas le cas, il n'y a pas de temps à perdre. Il est incontestable qu'aucune autorité administrante ne devrait continuer à imposer un statut ou des relations coloniales un jour de plus qu'il n'est nécessaire pour permettre à chaque territoire de se diriger lui-même dans les conditions si difficiles que traverse le monde moderne. En outre, l'élaboration d'un programme d'accession à l'indépendance ne devrait pas être arbitraire, mais représenter le résultat de consultations constantes avec les populations autochtones et avec ses chefs. La Charte établit clairement, dans la Déclaration relative aux territoires non autonomes, que le développement progressif des libres institutions politiques doit s'effectuer dans la mesure appropriée "aux conditions particulières de chaque territoire et de ses populations et à leurs degrés variables de développement" [Art. 73, alin. b]. En souscrivant aux dispositions de la Charte, tous les Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies ont accepté ce principe dont l'expérience a pleinement démontré le bien-fondé. Pour que l'indépendance soit réelle et non pas de pure forme, elle doit s'accompagner d'un certain développement et d'une certaine stabilité dans les domaines économique, social et politique. Même dans une seule et même région, il peut exister d'importantes différences à cet égard. C'est ainsi que le Territoire sous tutelle du Samoa-Occidental, qui décidera bientôt de son avenir par voie de plébiscite, a une population très évoluée lorsqu'on la compare à celle du Territoire sous tutelle de la Nouvelle-Guinée dont de vastes régions sont encore inexplorées et restent inconnues du monde extérieur. Ainsi donc, traiter ces deux territoires comme s'ils se trouvaient à des stades comparables de développement n'offrirait à aucun des deux ce que la Charte leur garantit, à savoir un traitement équitable et une protection contre les abus.

29. Nous pouvons résumer comme suit nos vues sur la question du moment à choisir pour l'accession à l'indépendance. Le bon sens, et les termes mêmes de la Charte, imposent inéluctablement une accession à

l'indépendance — ou à tout autre statut définitif que la population peut choisir — obtenue par étapes progressives. Quelquefois, la route à parcourir est courte; dans d'autres cas, elle est encore longue et il est vain d'essayer de parcourir d'un seul bond une route encore longue. Faire passer une population du jour au lendemain de la domination coloniale à une indépendance de pure forme qu'elle n'est pas prête à défendre serait lui rendre un mauvais service. Il ne fait aucun doute que le résultat de cette transformation serait un effondrement dans le chaos et la violence qui permettrait peut-être à d'autres puissances plus fortes de placer ces populations sous un joug nouveau. Ce serait tomber de Charybde en Scylla.

30. Pourtant, aucune de ces raisons d'être prudent ne peut servir d'excuse pour retarder le travail urgent qui est à faire. Les autorités administrantes doivent consulter les populations pour établir des programmes d'évolution. Et chacune des mesures qui sont à prendre doivent l'être immédiatement. Les autorités administrantes et les populations doivent, les unes et les autres, se rendre compte qu'elles ont l'obligation urgente de hâter la venue du jour de la libération complète. Cette obligation nous est imposée par l'histoire et s'y dérober serait provoquer un conflit tragique et inutile.

31. Nous parlons ici d'un des grands mouvements de libération de l'histoire et de la création de nouvelles nations souveraines. Il est bon de rappeler quelle dette ce mouvement a déjà contractée envers les Nations Unies, dette qui ne fera que croître avec le temps. Non seulement l'Organisation des Nations Unies, dans le cadre de sa Charte, a porté un intérêt profond et positif au processus de libération lui-même, mais elle offre aussi — et, à la longue, cela pourrait se révéler un service plus grand encore — un lieu de réunion pour la communauté des nations. C'est en effet ici que les multiples nations indépendantes du monde, dans leur extrême variété et en dépit des nombreuses divergences qui les séparent, peuvent trouver le cadre robuste et solide qui leur permettra de coexister dans la paix.

32. L'intérêt inestimable que les Nations Unies présentent pour les nations nouvelles a été reconnu par le président Eisenhower lorsqu'il a proposé un programme des Nations Unies pour l'Afrique dans le discours qu'il a prononcé devant l'Assemblée générale le 22 septembre [868ème séance]. Dans le cadre de ce programme, on envisageait entre autres d'accroître l'importance du Programme élargi d'assistance technique et du Fonds spécial des Nations Unies; d'intensifier et de rendre permanent le programme des Nations Unies visant à mettre à la disposition des pays encore peu avancés dans leur développement un personnel d'exécution et de direction; d'obtenir de la Banque internationale pour la reconstruction et le développement et du Fonds monétaire international qu'ils accordent à l'Afrique une attention particulière, et de mettre au point un nouveau programme d'enseignement relatif aux Nations Unies, afin que les peuples d'Afrique puissent acquérir plus rapidement les outils intellectuels qui leur permettront de sauvegarder et de développer leur liberté.

33. Nous développerons davantage ces propositions lorsque l'Assemblée examinera le point de l'ordre du jour proposé par la délégation des Etats-Unis, intitulé "Afrique: programme des Nations Unies pour l'indépendance et le développement" [point 88]. Nous serons

particulièrement heureux de connaître le point de vue des Etats africains en ce qui concerne ce programme. Déjà c'est avec un intérêt tout particulier que nous avons entendu, au cours de la présente discussion, un certain nombre d'orateurs de pays africains exprimer le désir que l'aide destinée à l'Afrique soit fournie dans toute la mesure du possible par l'intermédiaire des Nations Unies. Nous approuvons sans réserve ce point de vue.

34. En prenant des mesures de ce genre, nous nous engagerons dans la voie qui correspond le mieux aux exigences du gouvernement des Etats, c'est-à-dire dans la voie qui raffermirait l'indépendance des nations et en même temps renforce les institutions internationales qui nous unissent les uns aux autres dans la paix. C'est seulement à partir de cette unité dans la diversité que peut s'organiser une communauté universelle pacifique. Et c'est seulement au sein d'une communauté semblable que la liberté peut s'établir et se maintenir solidement dans l'intérêt de tous les peuples du monde. Dans le discours qu'il a adressé à l'Assemblée générale, il y a quelque temps, le Président des Etats-Unis a décrit cet idéal en ces termes:

"Cette conception de l'unité dans la liberté, qui nous vient de la diversité de nombreuses races et de nombreuses cultures, nous aimerions la voir devenir une réalité pour toute l'humanité. Nous voudrions la voir appliquée à l'intérieur de chaque nation aussi bien qu'entre les nations. Nous croyons que le droit qu'a tout être humain de participer par son vote au gouvernement de son pays est aussi précieux que le droit de chaque nation représentée ici à voter en cette Assemblée selon ses propres convictions. J'aimerais voir un plébiscite universel dans lequel tous les hommes du monde auraient la possibilité de répondre librement et dans le secret à la question suivante: "Voulez-vous jouir de ce droit?" A l'opposé de l'idée de deux mondes hostiles, dressés l'un contre l'autre dans un conflit perpétuel, nous envisageons une unique communauté mondiale, qui n'existe pas encore, mais vers la réalisation de laquelle nous tendons sans trêve par nos plans, nos efforts et nos idées.

"Nous voyons ainsi comme notre but, non pas un super-Etat au-dessus des nations, mais une communauté mondiale les englobant toutes, fondée sur le droit et la justice et donnant pleine valeur à ce que chaque peuple peut réaliser et aux objectifs que tous les peuples visent ensemble." [868ème séance, par. 84 et 85].

35. Pénétrés de ces idéaux, nous nous réjouissons de voir l'ère colonialiste reculer dans l'histoire et une multitude de nations nouvelles prendre place dans la communauté libre. Que cette communauté se développe sans faiblir dans toute sa plénitude, qu'elle surmonte toutes les divisions fanatiques et toutes les vaines ambitions jusqu'au moment où elle s'étendra — comme elle ne peut manquer de le faire — à tous les membres de la famille de l'homme.

36. M. AMMOUN (Liban): Les Nations Unies écrivent, en ces jours mémorables, une grande page d'histoire, non point de l'histoire — que nous apprenions il n'y a pas longtemps — d'une nation, de ses rois, de ses guerres, mais de l'histoire universelle telle qu'elle doit être désormais enseignée: l'histoire de l'humanité, de son progrès, de ses réalisations. L'histoire de l'humanité est celle d'une libération continue: libé-

ration de la domination de l'homme par l'homme — qu'il s'agisse des individus, ou des collectivités et des peuples — c'est-à-dire de l'esclavage et du colonialisme.

37. Mais avant d'arriver à l'étape actuelle, que de maux infligés, que de sang et de larmes! Et aussi que de chutes et de reculs, et de durs recommencements! A chaque tournant de cette route douloureuse, un sommet lumineux émerge comme un mont Sinaï. Jadis, la grande invention phénicienne de l'alphabet, puis, plus près de nous, le papier importé de Chine en Europe par les Arabes; l'imprimerie, œuvre de Gutenberg; enfin, le journal, sont autant d'étapes de l'extension de la connaissance et de la libération de la pensée et, partant, de la libération de l'homme. L'éclosion de la démocratie en Grande-Bretagne et sa propagation dans le monde devaient être une des principales conséquences de cette libération, libération que consacrent aujourd'hui les principes démocratiques de la Charte des Nations Unies.

38. Aujourd'hui, l'asservissement de l'individu par l'esclavage touche à sa fin. Il n'a cependant pas complètement disparu. Des vestiges en subsistent dans la discrimination raciale, le servage, le travail forcé.

39. Jusqu'au début de l'ère chrétienne, ce n'était qu'une lutte sporadique contre ce mal endémique et des soulèvements vite réprimés. Un Spartacus était aux yeux de ses contemporains un révolté digne de châtiement, un révolté dressé contre ce qui fut une véritable institution, un détracteur de l'un des fondements de la civilisation de ce temps.

40. Avec l'avènement du christianisme, la légitimité de l'esclavage fut mise en doute. Aboli en Europe, il se maintint dans la Russie tsariste sous la forme atténuée du servage, en dépit de tentatives renouvelées de libération, à savoir les deux grandes révolutions aux Etats-Unis et en France et les déclarations des droits de l'homme qu'elles ont enfantées dans la douleur. Il fallut cependant un Abraham Lincoln et une guerre civile pour que l'esclavage fut déraciné d'Amérique, et l'Acte général de la Conférence anti-esclavagiste réunie à Bruxelles en 1890^{2/} pour qu'il fût également condamné en Asie et en Afrique. Les puissances qui avaient officiellement protégé la traite dans l'océan Atlantique se firent un devoir de la combattre dans les mers orientales. C'était une réparation due aux peuples qu'elles avaient opprimés. L'action des marines de guerre européennes contre les esclavagistes africains ne fut pas sans effet pour s'opposer enfin à cet atroce commerce auquel mit définitivement un terme la Convention relative à l'esclavage adoptée par la Société des Nations et signée à Genève le 25 septembre 1926^{3/}.

41. Mais, comme il a été rappelé, les vestiges de l'esclavage subsistent avec la discrimination raciale. Celle-ci sévit dans deux pays au moins: l'Union sud-africaine et Israël.

42. Il est temps, grand temps, que cessent ces pratiques inhumaines. Si la lutte contre la discrimination raciale aux Etats-Unis se poursuit avec succès quoique

à pas lents, et bien plus dans les textes législatifs et les décisions des tribunaux que dans les mœurs et les réactions populaires, elle s'est révélée peu efficace jusqu'ici en Afrique du Sud, malgré l'intervention répétée des Nations Unies. La politique de l'"apartheid", plus d'une fois condamnée par cette organisation, demeure comme une plaie ouverte dans le flanc de l'humanité. Jusqu'à quand les Nations Unies admettront-elles cette offense à leurs principes les plus nobles et les plus élevés? Le projet de résolution qui nous est soumis [A/L.323 et Add.1 à 5] et sur lequel nous sommes appelés à voter condamne une fois pour toutes cette politique qui viole à la fois la loi morale et les enseignements de la religion, de toutes les religions. Le Gouvernement de l'Union sud-africaine refusera-t-il son vote à ce projet de résolution? L'occasion lui est donnée de reconsidérer cette politique aussi néfaste pour la collectivité qu'il défend que pour celle qui en est la pitoyable victime.

43. Quant à Israël, on a dénoncé plus d'une fois sa politique — politique d'Etat — dont la discrimination raciale est un des fondements essentiels. La constitution même d'Israël, Etat théocratique, est basée sur cette considération que seul le Juif est un véritable citoyen, le non-Juif n'étant qu'un sujet de seconde zone. La discrimination raciale est la conséquence de l'existence d'un Etat raciste. Elle y apparaît comme une institution même de l'Etat. Que ce soit sous la forme de la ségrégation imposée aux Arabes sous prétexte de sécurité nationale, ou d'inégalité devant l'Etat et les pouvoirs publics, elle constitue une des lois fondamentales de l'Etat. La réprobation qu'a encourue l'Union sud-africaine est encore plus méritée par Israël. Jusqu'à quand fermera-t-on les yeux sur cette anomalie, sur cette monstruosité: la politique raciste de cet Etat anachronique et celle du sionisme qui l'alimente?

44. L'esclavage sous toutes ses formes (comme le disait déjà la Société des Nations), sous ses visages les plus divers et avec ses vestiges hideux, doit céder définitivement devant l'égalité réelle entre les hommes de toutes races et de toutes couleurs et le respect, en la personne de chacun, de la dignité de l'homme.

45. Mais avant même de voter pour le projet de résolution qui condamne la discrimination raciale, nous voulons nous persuader que ce texte ne restera pas lettre morte comme tant d'autres résolutions des Nations Unies. Le peuple qui viole par ses agissements les principes de la Charte ainsi que les dispositions de la Déclaration universelle des droits de l'homme, qu'il s'agisse d'Israël ou de tout autre pays, doit désormais encourir, non seulement la sanction morale qu'est la réprobation des Nations Unies, mais les sanctions légales attachées à la violation des règles de vie des peuples et des hommes. Le monde, qui a vu l'avènement de tant de peuples à l'indépendance, verra dans un avenir que nous voulons proche l'avènement de la loi et de la justice universelles s'imposant à tous.

46. Un dernier mot avant de passer de la discrimination raciale, qui affecte l'individu, au colonialisme qui subjugue les peuples. Nous voulons espérer, pour le bien commun, que la discrimination raciale ne resuscitera pas dans le comportement des peuples nouvellement émancipés, ou qui le seront bientôt, envers leurs anciens maîtres. Nous conjurons ces peuples qui ont souffert de s'élever au-dessus de la rancune et de la vengeance. Il y va de leur propre intérêt, que peut

^{2/} Acte général de la Conférence anti-esclavagiste réunie à Bruxelles du 18 novembre 1889 au 2 juillet 1890 pour amener la suppression de la traite des esclaves, signé à Bruxelles le 2 juillet 1890, *British and Foreign State Papers, 1889-1890*, vol. LXXXII (Londres, H. M. Stationery Office).

^{3/} Voir Publications de la Société des Nations, VI.B. Esclavage, 1926. VI.B.7. (document C.586.M.223.1926.VI).

seule réaliser une coopération d'égal à égal, dans une atmosphère de confiance mutuelle, entre tous les peuples et tous les hommes.

47. L'émancipation des peuples, dit le projet de résolution qui nous est soumis, est un mouvement irréversible de l'humanité. La morale internationale, quoi qu'on ait dit, triomphe. Ce sera une des plus grandes réalisations de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, sinon la plus grande, que d'avoir participé à cette rénovation du monde en aidant tous les peuples encore subjugués dans la lutte pour l'indépendance. Ce que la Société des Nations a fait pour libérer l'individu de l'esclavage, les Nations Unies sont en voie de le réaliser dans le dessein de dégager tous les peuples des liens de la servitude.

48. Nous ne voulons pas dénier aux puissances coloniales, du moins à certaines d'entre elles, le mérite d'avoir compris ce mouvement, de s'être élevées au niveau de cette morale, cédant à la pression des peuples épris de liberté. Le Royaume-Uni, la France et l'Italie ont déjà, pendant les deux dernières décennies, tranché les liens de sujétion imposés à plus de 30 nations comptant plus d'un milliard d'âmes. Cette Organisation et ces puissances sont aujourd'hui instamment sollicitées d'étendre à tous les peuples de la terre — en quelque continent qu'ils se trouvent, qu'ils soient noirs ou blancs — les bienfaits de la liberté et de la dignité. Qu'elles mettent fin sans tarder à l'effusion de sang dans les pays où la lutte se poursuit. Que les territoires enlevés à des nations souveraines leur soient restitués. Car il reste des lambeaux de leurs corps, en Asie et en Afrique, aux mains des puissances ou des forces occupantes.

49. Mention spéciale doit être faite d'une terre, saine entre toutes, qu'un colonialisme rapace, le sionisme, a usurpé et occupe, déflant les lois humaines et, j'ajoute, les lois divines, puisqu'il s'agit des Lieux saints et de la Ville sainte. Alors que le monde entier reconnaît que l'ère des conquêtes et du colonialisme est révolue, et que des dizaines de nations lèvent la tête et s'avancent vers la liberté et la lumière, le sionisme colonialiste s'attache éperdument aux prétendus droits de la conquête pour déposséder un peuple de sa patrie ancestrale et la coloniser. La Palestine, ou pays de Chanaan, n'était pas un Sahara, un désert inhabité. C'était, aux termes de la Bible, une terre où coulaient le lait et le miel. Les grappes de raisins étonnaient les nomades israéliens. Conquête au temps d'un Josué; conquête 3.000 ans après avec des procédés non moins cruels, sous les yeux de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, en dépit et en violation de ses principes et de ses résolutions les plus solennelles. Si Israël, au mépris de la logique et de l'honnêteté, couvre ce colonialisme nouveau du voile des principes de liberté, les Nations Unies doivent être conséquentes avec elles-mêmes et déceler l'imposture, en démasquant et en pourchassant le colonialisme partout où il cherche à se maintenir ou à se réinstaller. En occupant une partie de la Palestine arabe, le sionisme a violé à la fois la souveraineté d'un peuple rejeté hors de ses foyers et l'intégrité de son territoire national. En prétendant revendiquer un droit, il viole impunément la simple bonne foi.

50. Les puissances coloniales ont sans aucun doute étendu leur culture aux pays colonisés dans une mesure plus ou moins large. Cette expansion culturelle a parfois été accompagnée de violence. Culture plus ou moins imposée plutôt qu'acceptée. Peut-être que,

sans cette culture et sans ces violences, les pays colonisés ne se seraient pas si vite éveillés à l'indépendance et à la liberté. Il en a été ainsi aux différentes époques de l'histoire. Dans l'Antiquité, comme au Moyen Age, comme dans les temps modernes, les courants de culture traversant le monde — tantôt d'Orient en Occident, et tantôt d'Occident en Orient — n'ont pas toujours été des courants pacifiques. Bien loin de là. Mais il n'en est plus de même de nos jours. Le livre peut se passer de l'épée ou du fusil. Le développement économique ne doit plus, non plus, être une exploitation, comme il l'a souvent été dans les temps passés, à toutes les époques et sous tous les cieux: exploitation des ressources naturelles aussi bien que des hommes.

51. Notre époque est celle de la coopération entre des peuples et des hommes libres et égaux. Bien plus, c'est celle de la solidarité humaine, de l'association et de l'entraide. Cette entraide s'impose d'autant plus que la justice — justice économique et sociale — n'a pas toujours présidé, dans le passé, aux relations entre les nations. Le développement économique et technique des uns a eu lieu parfois au détriment des autres.

52. Le projet d'aide aux pays africains ayant accédé à l'indépendance, présenté par les Etats-Unis [868ème séance], vient à son heure. Il procède de cet esprit nouveau. Il sera le bienvenu comme le sera aussi toute assistance que les pays de l'Europe occidentale se proposent d'accorder aux Etats qu'ils administrent. Il en sera de même de la détermination de l'Union soviétique, exprimée à la Deuxième Commission^{4/}, d'augmenter sa contribution au programme d'assistance aux Etats nouvellement indépendants.

53. Cette aide a déjà fait l'objet de deux projets de résolution importants de la Deuxième Commission: le projet concernant l'assistance aux nouveaux pays indépendants [A/4649, projet de résolution I] et le projet relatif à l'action concertée en vue du développement économique de tous les peuples [A/4648, projet de résolution I]. Ces deux projets de résolution soulignent le devoir des Nations Unies de favoriser le progrès économique et social de tous les peuples insuffisamment développés. Elles complètent le projet de résolution qui vous est soumis. Elles constituent la charte économique d'un monde nouveau où tous les peuples doivent collaborer.

54. Si cette assistance est conditionnée par le respect de l'indépendance et de la souveraineté des jeunes Etats, comme l'exige le projet de résolution relatif à l'action concertée en vue du développement économique, si les Etats qui en bénéficient sont laissés en dehors des conflits et des compétitions des grandes puissances, afin qu'ils achèvent leur développement dans la paix et la tranquillité, une contribution efficace aura été apportée au progrès humain et à l'harmonie universelle du monde. N'y voyons pas une vision ou une spéculation de l'esprit. Ce sera la réalité de notre temps et des années à venir, imposée par la succession des événements et le cours de l'histoire. Les Nations Unies y mettront le sceau en adoptant le projet de résolution présenté par 42 Etats [A/L.323 et Add.1 à 5]. Cette résolution sera la charte nouvelle de la liberté des peuples et de la dignité de l'homme.

^{4/} Documents officiels de l'Assemblée générale, quinzième session, Deuxième Commission, 698ème séance.

M. Nesbitt (Canada), vice-président, prend la présidence.

55. M. VELASQUEZ (Uruguay) [traduit de l'espagnol]: En participant à ce débat, la délégation de l'Uruguay est parfaitement consciente de l'importance de la question dont l'Assemblée est saisie.

56. Il existe encore en Asie, en Afrique, et même dans notre Amérique, bien des millions d'êtres humains pour lesquels les paroles que nous prononçons ici ont une signification toute spéciale. Il existe bien des millions d'êtres humains qui, à l'heure actuelle, tournent leurs regards vers les Nations Unies et qui attendent de nous une parole d'encouragement dans leur lutte, une parole qui leur permette de mieux supporter leurs épreuves incessantes, une parole d'espérance dans leurs moments de désespoir.

57. Ces circonstances confèrent à ce débat un caractère particulier de gravité et nous font un devoir d'aborder la question avec l'intention sincère de ne nous préoccuper que des objectifs que nous avons en vue. Nous ne voulons pas que ce débat serve d'arme dans une guerre froide et encore moins d'instrument de propagande en faveur d'une idéologie qui s'est révélée comme n'étant elle-même qu'une version moderne du colonialisme, d'un colonialisme implacable, strict et inhumain. C'est pourquoi ma délégation se plaît à reconnaître la mesure et la pondération qui ont caractérisé les interventions d'un grand nombre de représentants de pays qui, ces derniers temps, ont combattu si ardemment le régime colonial. Les peuples d'Asie et d'Afrique, plus directement touchés que nous par ce qui se dit et se fait au sein de cette assemblée, ont su faire preuve d'une sagesse admirable. Nous accueillons ce fait comme un présage de bon augure pour l'avenir des Nations Unies.

58. L'Uruguay, comme ses peuples frères de l'Amérique espagnole et de l'Amérique latine, peut à un titre tout à fait spécial intervenir dans ce débat. En effet, nous avons, comme nos frères, acquis notre indépendance au prix de lourds sacrifices. En Amérique du Sud, la guerre d'indépendance a duré 14 ans et même après la bataille d'Ayacucho qui scella définitivement la destinée de l'Amérique, nous avons dû poursuivre le combat pendant encore cinq années. Il faut dire qu'à cette époque l'Organisation des Nations Unies n'existait pas; il n'était question ni de Chapitre XI de la Charte, ni de régime de tutelle. La seule chose qui existait, c'était la volonté indomptable de parvenir à l'indépendance. Pour nous, l'indépendance n'a pas été un don; elle n'a pas été non plus la conséquence d'un acte de justice accompli par un tiers. L'indépendance a été l'exercice d'un droit, mais ce résultat n'a pu être atteint que dans le sacrifice et dans la douleur.

59. Il est vrai que les circonstances de cette époque n'avaient rien de commun avec celles qui devaient régner par la suite dans les pays exploités par le colonialisme caractéristique du XIX^e siècle. Ce serait faire preuve d'injustice et simplifier la réalité historique jusqu'à la déformer que de ne pas établir de distinction entre ce colonialisme contre lequel nous nous sommes insurgés et celui des temps récents, en particulier sous les aspects inhumains qui l'ont caractérisé, du moins jusqu'à la fin de la première guerre mondiale.

60. En ce qui nous concerne — et d'autres représentants de l'Amérique latine l'ont déjà souligné —, nous devons reconnaître que l'entreprise coloniale espa-

gnole a eu lieu à une époque où l'on reconnaissait encore que certaines valeurs et certaines normes primaient la volonté capricieuse des hommes, à une époque où, avec toute la retenue qu'impliquait la tradition chrétienne, on se refusait à dissocier l'action politique de l'action morale et où l'homme conservait la responsabilité pleine et entière de chacun de ses actes.

61. Il se peut que l'Espagne ait commis bien des erreurs dans son empire d'Amérique. En effet, sa conception même de l'entreprise coloniale, considérée comme un effort gigantesque pour élever les pays conquis au niveau de ce qu'elle considérait comme une forme supérieure de morale et de vie, était peut-être erronée. Tout était peut-être erroné; néanmoins, en dépit de l'ardeur et de la passion que nous avons apporté à notre lutte pour l'indépendance, ces erreurs ne nous ont pas aveuglés au point de nous empêcher de comprendre la noblesse, la transcendance que comportait cette idée. En dépit de tous ses défauts et de toutes ses cruautés — cruautés qui paraissent aujourd'hui bien innocentes en comparaison des méthodes d'extermination collective qui ont été appliquées à notre siècle —, cette entreprise coloniale était imprégnée de l'esprit de civilisation. Ce furent les moralistes, les juristes et les théologiens espagnols qui proclamèrent à la face du monde que la justice était la source de tout droit et que, au-dessus de la volonté absolue du monarque, prédominaient la raison et la règle morale. Ce furent eux qui rédigèrent les pages admirables de ce code des Indes qui devait, durant trois siècles, régir la vie des communautés américaines.

62. C'est l'œuvre accomplie par l'Espagne en Amérique que vous avez aujourd'hui ici devant vous; nous sommes nous-mêmes la personnification de cette œuvre, nous-mêmes qui depuis un siècle et demi entretenons des relations avec la mère patrie sur un pied d'égalité, sans méfiance, sans suspicion, ni crainte. Même si notre présence n'était pas un témoignage suffisant de la pérennité de l'œuvre civilisatrice généreuse de l'Espagne, il resterait encore sur la terre d'Amérique et dans les veines de ses populations des témoignages abondants de cette œuvre civilisatrice à laquelle on pourrait à juste titre appliquer les vers suivants tirés d'un émouvant sonnet de Quevedo: "Ils abandonneront leur corps, mais jamais leurs soins; ils deviendront cendre, mais cette cendre aura un sens. Ils redeviendront poussière, mais une tendre poussière."

63. J'ai dit qu'il serait injuste de simplifier à l'excès la réalité historique en englobant sous une seule rubrique les divers aspects du colonialisme ou en leur appliquant une seule et même mesure. Pour être justes, nous devons maintenant reconnaître que c'est ce même Occident qui, en cette ère moderne, a de son propre choix tragiquement quitté la bonne voie. C'est en effet la pensée occidentale qui a mis en doute l'existence de ces valeurs supérieures et objectives de justice et de moralité qui pouvaient donner — et qui ont donné — un sens à l'entreprise colonisatrice espagnole. Ce scepticisme, dont l'origine historique est ancienne, portait en soi une force explosive redoutable. S'il n'existait pas d'autre droit que celui que le monarque imposait à la communauté; si c'était la volonté et non la raison qui était à la base de toute norme juridique; si, dans l'activité créatrice, cette volonté n'était pas inspirée par l'entendement de la nature objective des

choses; si la force n'était pas mesurée et réglée par un droit supérieur — par ce droit qui, pour reprendre une expression admirable d'Antigone, l'héroïne de Sophocle, "n'est pas d'aujourd'hui ni d'hier, mais demeure éternellement et nul ne sait quand il est apparu" —, dès lors peut-il nous paraître étrange aujourd'hui que le crime soit récompensé et le délit glorifié? Si le bien et la justice ne sont pas en soi, par leur nature même, bons et justes mais s'ils en est ainsi parce qu'un gouvernement omniscient et omnipotent a voulu qu'il en soit ainsi, dès lors au nom de quelle logique incompréhensible notre conscience a-t-elle le droit de se révolter devant le spectacle quotidien de l'injustice et du désordre? Je ne sais s'il y eut alors beaucoup ou peu de personnes pour dénoncer le danger que cachait cette philosophie. Tout ce que je sais, c'est que nous avons aujourd'hui sous les yeux les fruits de cette philosophie: la fosse de Katyn, les chambres à gaz de Dachau, le nuage embrasé en forme de champignon au-dessus de Hiroshima, les millions d'êtres humains qui vivent encore dans la crainte, l'angoisse et l'esclavage.

64. C'est dans l'esprit de cette philosophie sceptique, et par là-même matérialiste, que fut engendré le colonialisme; celui-ci est né sous le signe de l'esprit de lucre; il est le fils légitime du capitalisme, lequel est responsable de la triste réalité des empires coloniaux, de l'exploitation des peuples, du mythe stupide de la supériorité raciale. C'est ce colonialisme calculateur, froid et insensible que nous allons condamner en cette assemblée, au nom de l'égalité essentielle des hommes et des peuples, au nom de la paternité commune du genre humain qui fait de celui-ci une seule communauté et une seule famille.

65. Il est évident que, pour être parfaitement justes — et, je le répète, nous avons entendu au cours de ce débat bien des discours empreints de bon sens et d'esprit de justice —, nous devons nous montrer extrêmement prudents lorsqu'il s'agit de juger ou de condamner telle ou telle situation coloniale concrète. Il n'est pas toujours facile de discerner exactement la responsabilité des puissances coloniales, il n'est pas non plus possible d'affirmer à priori que leurs gouvernements doivent, dans tous les cas, porter la responsabilité des actes de leurs ressortissants. Bien souvent, de nobles efforts entrepris pour orienter la politique sociale d'une façon plus rationnelle se heurtent à l'indifférence, aux préjugés et à l'égoïsme. En revanche — nous avons aussi le devoir de le dire —, tous les maux ne sont pas uniquement dus à l'oppression étrangère. Le colonialisme, pris au sens d'exploitation humaine, étant un état d'esprit, il existe aussi, à côté du colonialisme étranger, un colonialisme national. L'exploitation de nos peuples par certains ressortissants qui sont nos frères de race, par certains groupes qui sont insensibles aux exigences du bien commun, équivaut sur le plan moral à un recul aussi net que le colonialisme même; et — soit dit en passant — cette situation de privilège et d'injustice a toujours été l'alliée la plus efficace qu'aient pu trouver les intérêts étrangers pour asservir les peuples faibles et les petits pays.

66. Si donc l'indépendance et l'autonomie sont le premier objectif à atteindre dans ce processus de libération et de liquidation du colonialisme, elles ne constituent pas cependant une fin ultime en soi. Cette fin ultime, c'est l'indépendance prise au sens le plus large du terme, l'indépendance qui fait réellement de nous les maîtres de nos destinées,

l'indépendance dans toutes les activités de la communauté politique à laquelle nous appartenons. Je suis prêt à reconnaître que l'indépendance politique est parfois la condition sine qua non pour conquérir toute autre indépendance, mais elle n'est pas suffisante à elle seule. Les peuples de l'Amérique latine le savent bien. Ils savent en effet — et l'expérience qu'ils ont acquise en la matière pourra peut-être avoir une certaine utilité dans ce débat — que l'indépendance politique et l'établissement de l'autonomie supposent une adaptation intelligente des formules juridiques aux réalités sociologiques qui caractérisent chaque pays. Parlant au nom d'un pays qui, comme les autres pays d'Amérique latine, a dû, par le passé, se débattre dans un conflit permanent entre des constitutions idéales et des constitutions réelles, entre des constitutions écrites et des constitutions inspirées de considérations sociologiques — conflit dont l'Uruguay est heureusement venu à bout depuis plus de 50 ans —, nous pouvons apprécier toute l'importance de cette question. Il est en effet indispensable que les formules selon lesquelles se développent les institutions libres s'adaptent non pas comme des costumes de confection mais comme des costumes sur mesure, aux réalités toujours complexes qu'il s'agira pour ces institutions de dominer. Chaque pays doit donc faire lui-même son expérience pour trouver les formules qui lui seront propres. Cependant, l'objectif doit rester le même, à savoir que ces institutions, à condition de respecter certains principes élémentaires tels que la souveraineté du peuple ou le respect des droits fondamentaux de l'homme qui sont toujours valables quelle que soit la situation considérée, devront s'adapter à la structure réelle de chaque pays. Autrement, l'indépendance conduit au chaos et du chaos on retourne au colonialisme ou à des formes bâtarde de gouvernement politique qui sont toujours, comme le montre l'expérience, utilisées par des intérêts totalement étrangers aux intérêts légitimes du pays.

67. Mais, en outre, il serait naïf de croire que l'indépendance politique peut se maintenir si les liens du colonialisme économique ne sont pas rompus. Je ne veux pas dire — telle n'est pas mon intention — que ces liens peuvent être rompus dès le lendemain du jour de l'émancipation. Nous savons trop bien que l'enchevêtrement complexe des intérêts qui, en un certain sens, emprisonnent le monde ne peut se rompre aussi facilement. Il se peut qu'une rupture brusque ne soit pas non plus ce que recommande la prudence politique, étant donné que nous faisons partie du monde; que nous le voulions ou non, nous devons donc tenir compte des réalités qui nous entourent. Ce qui importe, c'est que la lutte se poursuive inébranlablement et avec un patriotisme irréprochable. Il faut mettre fin au paradoxe de l'indépendance politique et de la dépendance économique. Alors que la fin du colonialisme est déjà un fait, nous devrions peut-être avoir pour préoccupation essentielle non pas tant d'adopter une déclaration qui, en fin de compte, ne fait que vérifier ce fait, mais plutôt de proclamer que le colonialisme ne sera pas véritablement liquidé tant que les peuples ne seront pas vraiment en mesure de disposer, en toute liberté et à leur convenance, des richesses et des ressources naturelles de leur pays à leur propre profit, tant que nous devrons nous résigner à n'être que de simples fournisseurs de matières premières destinées aux puissances industrielles, tant que nous ne bénéficierons pas d'un minimum d'autarcie qui,

compte tenu de l'interdépendance naturelle des nations, est le signe le plus certain d'une indépendance authentique et totale.

68. En faisant preuve de compréhension devant ces vérités et en se montrant généreux, ceux qui, jusqu'à hier, étaient les maîtres de la destinée et de la richesse de vastes régions du monde — à des titres dont nous ne voulons plus parler maintenant — non seulement adopteront une attitude dictée par la morale, mais feront encore le seul geste dont dépende peut-être en dernier ressort le sort du monde libre. Chaque fois que ce monde libre entre en contradiction avec lui-même, chaque fois que l'Occident trahit les grands principes, les principes impérissables qui ont cimenté la grandeur de sa culture, il perd une bataille et chaque bataille perdue par l'Occident est une bataille perdue par l'homme car les valeurs de l'Occident — la liberté que nous a léguée la Grèce, le sens du droit et de l'ordre que nous a inculqué le génie romain et la grâce par laquelle le christianisme a transformé le sens temporel de notre vie — sont d'une façon ou d'une autre les valeurs de l'homme aujourd'hui menacées par l'athéisme et le totalitarisme. Si l'Occident comprend cela, il n'aura rien à craindre, quels que puissent être les triomphes apparents de l'adversaire. S'il ne comprend pas, c'est cette incompréhension, et non la guerre nucléaire, qui sera le véritable suicide de l'humanité.

69. M. MARTINO (Italie): Le problème de l'indépendance des territoires non autonomes et des peuples coloniaux a déjà fait, autrefois, l'objet d'un débat vif et plein de contrastes. Cela est tout à fait logique et ce n'est pas sans raison que cette organisation compte parmi ses buts principaux, depuis sa constitution, celui d'inciter et d'aider les Etats Membres à conduire les territoires qu'ils administrent et qui n'ont pas encore conquis leur indépendance à la réalisation progressive de la suprême aspiration des hommes.

70. La liberté des peuples est au centre des préoccupations du genre humain. Nous vivons dans une époque caractérisée par des transformations continues dans les rapports entre les peuples. Ces transformations sont en partie l'effet du progrès extraordinaire de la technique, mais ce n'est pas seulement la technique qui unit les pensées et les intérêts des hommes et qui, aujourd'hui, ne permet à aucun homme de vivre séparé des autres. La technique est une création de l'esprit humain et les inventions de celui-ci sont le fruit des idéaux. La technique ne saurait donc manquer d'obéir à des exigences morales et spirituelles.

71. Quels que soient les mobiles qui ont poussé un membre de cette assemblée à solliciter cette discussion, nous pensons qu'ils constituent une initiative utile. C'est là un témoignage de plus de l'importance que ce problème a prise et de l'urgence que présente la recherche d'une solution. Le présent, qui a ses racines dans le passé, est dominé par une force puissante et unificatrice. Nous nous acheminons vers l'unité.

72. L'Italie est convaincue que, grâce à ses expériences récentes, à sa conscience des problèmes actuels et à l'approbation générale de l'action déployée dans les territoires qu'elle administrait auparavant, elle est à même de parler d'une façon objective et apaisante et de formuler une évaluation équitable des véritables aspects du problème, dénuée de toute tentative d'exaltation démagogique ou d'exploitation idéo-

logique ou politique. Je ne crois pas me tromper en disant que la nation italienne a participé, à sa grande satisfaction, au processus d'évolution des pays dont les responsabilités de gouvernement et d'administration lui incombent. On en a un témoignage dans les relations d'amitié confiante et de collaboration qui se sont établies avec les Etats qui étaient auparavant sous la tutelle de l'Italie ou qui faisaient partie de ses colonies.

73. Nous sommes d'ailleurs convaincus que rien mieux qu'une collaboration technique et économique sincère ne peut conduire à des résultats utiles dans l'intérêt de tous les pays. Quelques-uns critiquent âprement cette collaboration entre les pays qui viennent de conquérir leur indépendance et leurs anciens administrateurs. Ils parlent de néo-colonialisme, qu'ils condamnent comme étant une séquelle ou un succédané de l'exploitation coloniale passée. Permettez-moi de dire que, même si quelquefois les raisons de cette condamnation peuvent être comprises et appréciées, ils nous faut résister à la tentation d'en généraliser la portée. Une telle généralisation serait absolument injustifiée et, en outre, dangereuse. Elle pourrait servir de prétexte à ceux qui, dans la réalité, ne déplorent aucunement que la collaboration puisse constituer un obstacle au développement pacifique de l'indépendance des pays ex-coloniaux, mais qui déplorent et craignent la barrière que cette collaboration peut constituer à l'asservissement de ces peuples, à leur domination idéologique; à ceux qui soufflent sur le feu du ressentiment et de l'orgueil, afin que l'action de renouvellement prenne la forme d'un mouvement antioccidental et s'attaque à certains modes de vie plutôt qu'à certains peuples de l'Occident.

74. On peut ainsi mesurer toute la délicatesse et toute l'importance de notre discussion d'aujourd'hui. La délégation italienne est fermement convaincue que tout effort doit être fait pour que cette discussion aboutisse à des décisions utiles et constructives. Evidemment, elle ne saurait avoir qu'un seul objectif, la cessation de toute forme de domination d'un peuple sur un autre, sur tous les continents; aucune autre fin, aucun autre objectif ne serait justifié. Mais pour atteindre cet objectif par les moyens les plus propres, il est nécessaire d'évaluer avec sérénité ce qui a été fait par le passé dans la même direction. Il est nécessaire de regarder vers l'avenir en partant d'une évaluation correcte et sensée du passé.

75. Selon nous, plusieurs facteurs ont contribué à déterminer et à accélérer le processus de l'émancipation des peuples coloniaux, mais il est certain, comme l'a dit le représentant du Liban, que ce processus a été aidé et favorisé par la politique des pays qui ont su comprendre la réalité historique de l'heure aussi bien que le véritable sens et les responsabilités de leur mission. Au sein même de cette Assemblée, la voix de plusieurs représentants de territoires naguère encore non autonomes s'est élevée pour reconnaître cette réalité et exprimer de façon ouverte leur satisfaction de l'œuvre accomplie par les administrateurs, avec lesquels, dans plusieurs cas, les pays nouveaux entretiennent des rapports d'étroite collaboration. Je viens de faire allusion, il y a quelques instants, à la préoccupation que peut susciter cette collaboration. Mais tout en reconnaissant la légitimité, dans des cas déterminés, d'une telle préoccupation, nous ne pouvons ne pas voir dans la tendance à combattre cette collaboration le plus grave danger pour le développement des peuples ex-coloniaux. Ces peuples sont agités

par une profonde anxiété de renouvellement. Cette anxiété même, bien loin d'être une cause de séparation et de contraste fatal, devrait être généralement à la source d'une entente plus intime et d'une collaboration plus féconde et plus durable; et pour que cette entente ait lieu, il est indispensable de se libérer rapidement, aussi bien d'un côté que de l'autre, de toutes les scories du ressentiment et du regret.

76. Quand on parle de colonisation, il serait nécessaire d'en souligner, outre les aspects exécutifs, les valeurs spirituelles et les mobiles qu'en dernier lieu elle a réussi à mettre en mouvement. C'est justement ce qu'a fait, il y a quelques instants, le représentant de l'Uruguay. Un écrivain indien, K. M. Panikkar, auteur d'un livre qui est considéré comme l'acte d'accusation le plus implacable contre l'Occident colonisateur — *Asia and Western Dominance* — a mis en lumière au cours d'une conférence, en des termes qui s'adaptent peut-être à tous les peuples ex-coloniaux, la dette de l'Inde envers l'Occident:

"La réforme sociale dans la société hindoue, l'élévation des intouchables, la purification profondément significative de l'hindouisme, toutes ces choses plus grandes et plus durables que l'indépendance même de l'Inde, sont le reflet de notre héritage occidental. L'organisation de l'Etat démocratique, son caractère laïque, la structure de ses institutions et les principes politiques qui le constituent sont essentiellement européens dans leur inspiration."

77. Comme dans toute histoire humaine, le bien est inséparable du mal et il a toujours besoin de lutter contre celui-ci. Il est souhaitable que les pays qui ont conquis leur indépendance trouvent en eux-mêmes la force de résister aussi bien aux sujétions d'un passé encore récent, et qui n'est pas tout à fait libéré des germes de la méfiance et du ressentiment, qu'aux instigations renouvelées et brillantes de ceux qui ont intérêt à les isoler afin de les avoir plus aisément à leur merci. Mais il est aussi souhaitable que les peuples de l'Occident comprennent que leur mission ne s'arrête pas là où commence l'indépendance des pays coloniaux. L'assistance aux pays insuffisamment développés, qui doit être octroyée par les pays plus développés, n'offre pas à elle seule une solution sur le plan moral et politique. Il est nécessaire que les peuples de l'Occident soient présents dans le labour fécond des nouveaux pays autonomes, non seulement dans la mesure de leur force mais avec la ferme résolution d'en comprendre la portée et d'enseconder la réalisation graduelle en vue d'un progrès commun.

78. Dans l'analyse de notre problème, il n'est pas possible de négliger la participation de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, grâce à ses organes, à ce processus d'émancipation, surtout au moment de l'accession à l'indépendance. Le Conseil de tutelle a certainement accompli un travail méritoire à tous les points de vue. De même, le travail du Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes a facilité la compréhension de beaucoup de situations, spécialement dans les secteurs économique, social et culturel et en ce qui concerne le rythme de l'évolution vers l'indépendance politique. Qu'il nous soit aussi permis d'observer à cet égard que si l'on prend en considération les divers domaines de collaboration internationale prévus par la Charte des Nations Unies, on doit constater que, durant les quinze années de vie de notre Organisation, ces différents secteurs n'ont pas

tous enregistré les mêmes résultats ni les mêmes progrès. Mais justement, dans le domaine qui concerne les territoires non autonomes et le régime de tutelle, on a pu enregistrer des progrès remarquables, peut-être même supérieurs à ceux auxquels on s'attendait au début. Je ne m'arrêterai pas à répéter ici l'énumération des résultats certes extraordinaires que nous a faite le premier jour de notre débat le représentant du Royaume-Uni [925ème séance]. Il s'agit là d'ailleurs de chiffres et de faits bien connus de tous les Membres des Nations Unies. Le nombre des territoires non autonomes et le chiffre de leurs populations ne représentent aujourd'hui qu'une fraction très réduite de ce qu'ils étaient en 1945. Les progrès réalisés dans les territoires sous tutelle ont été aussi rapides et décisifs. Il paraît hors de doute, après ce que je viens de dire, qu'un long et important chemin a été parcouru durant ces dernières quinze années par les territoires non autonomes. Et c'est aux Nations Unies qu'il faut attribuer le mérite de cette évolution, et surtout le fait qu'elle a pu s'effectuer d'une façon graduelle et ordonnée. Les principes énoncés aux Chapitres XI, XII et XIII de la Charte ont prouvé, à la lumière de l'expérience, qu'ils étaient inspirés de critères de grande sagesse et d'équilibre. Ce sont eux qui ont guidé nos actions, et il nous semble que c'est d'eux que nous devons encore nous inspirer pour les décisions à prendre dans ce débat.

79. D'autre part, nous jugeons que notre tâche la plus importante est de regarder au-delà de la question pure et simple de l'indépendance. La conquête de l'indépendance politique des nouveaux pays doit être, plus qu'un but, une étape, encore qu'elle soit évidemment importante. L'indépendance ne doit pas être une cause de désordre et de chaos. Elle ne doit pas représenter un isolement politique et économique. Elle ne doit pas donner lieu à des déséquilibres soudains et, surtout, elle ne doit pas être la cause occasionnelle de frictions ou de controverses. J'ai dit que l'émancipation des peuples encore soumis à la domination ou à la tutelle d'un autre pays est le but principal que nous devons nous proposer. Mais l'action des Nations Unies ne doit pas s'épuiser dans cette seule tâche, si difficile et si grandiose qu'elle soit. L'Organisation des Nations Unies a pour mission essentielle de défendre la paix et d'éliminer la guerre comme moyen de solution des conflits entre les peuples. A cette fin, il est essentiel d'en combattre les causes qui sont la misère, l'esclavage et l'ignorance. Il est essentiel de créer les conditions de vie qui, de par leur nature, sont pacifiques et facteurs de paix. Il est donc indispensable de créer des conditions plus propices à l'entente et à la collaboration, dans la structure sociale même des différents peuples, de réaffirmer la foi dans les droits fondamentaux de l'homme, dans la dignité et dans la valeur de la personne humaine, de promouvoir le progrès social et un niveau de vie plus élevé, dans le cadre d'une plus grande liberté.

80. Les conditions des peuples sont différentes et, par conséquent, la capacité qu'a chacun d'eux de participer à l'effort commun nécessaire pour instaurer la paix en tant que facteur de civilisation sera différente. Mais tous ont le devoir d'y participer dans les limites de leurs propres capacités. Voilà pourquoi la nouvelle notion de solidarité collective qui est reflétée dans la Charte et qui remplace l'antagonisme passé — lorsque les pays plus développés avaient pris la direction des pays moins développés — représente un des éléments essentiels de l'activité de notre Organisation et l'un

des instruments les plus valides pour le maintien de la paix dans le monde.

81. Il n'est pas nécessaire de rappeler les principes énoncés dans les Chapitres XI et XII de la Charte. Il me paraît pourtant utile de souligner que ces principes assignent deux tâches essentielles aux Nations Unies.

82. La première consiste à favoriser et promouvoir de la façon la meilleure l'évolution ultérieure des territoires non autonomes ou sous tutelle qui n'ont pas encore atteint le dernier stade de leur évolution politique. Cela ne signifie pas, toutefois, que ce but doit être représenté nécessairement par la création de nouvelles unités nationales. Certains territoires, du fait de leur étendue limitée ou de la faible densité de leurs populations, n'ont pas les ressources nécessaires pour se transformer en Etats indépendants. Cela est vrai. Mais, dans ce cas particulier, il faut prévoir du moins des formes spéciales de gouvernement autonome, en association avec le pays métropolitain ou avec d'autres pays limitrophes. Ces formes de gouvernement sont conformes à la Charte des Nations Unies qui les prévoient comme un aboutissement naturel du processus d'évolution des territoires non autonomes.

83. La seconde tâche qui, aujourd'hui, incombe aux Nations Unies est de choisir les moyens les meilleurs pour venir en aide aux pays dont l'indépendance est récente, car l'indépendance politique n'est, comme je viens de le dire, qu'une étape du complexe processus actuel d'évolution. Des formes de collaboration économique en faveur de ces pays seront de plus en plus nécessaires, conjointement avec des formes de collaboration politique qui pourront être souvent utiles sur le plan régional. Une confiante collaboration entre les pays très développés et industrialisés et ceux qui sont peu développés pourra présenter le moyen le plus propre à favoriser une évolution dans le domaine politique. Cette collaboration peut être effectuée sur les bases de l'assistance technique, d'intérêts commerciaux et de la coopération économique. Non seulement les rapports économiques, mais aussi les rapports culturels pourront contribuer considérablement à une ultérieure évolution vers des formes plus achevées d'autonomie politique.

84. Nous avons entendu parler, dans cette salle, d'asservissement culturel des peuples coloniaux. Je voudrais me permettre de rappeler que la culture est une fin et non pas un moyen. Les institutions politiques appartiennent — comme le dit le poète T. S. Eliot — aux choses qui se construisent, mais la culture appartient aux choses qui grandissent. Il n'est pas possible de la construire, comme il n'est pas possible de construire un arbre. Il ne peut donc pas exister de véritable asservissement culturel. Seuls les peuples privés de leur liberté peuvent considérer comme culture ce que l'on a coutume d'appeler un enseignement unilatéral. La vie de l'esprit est une synthèse perpétuelle qui accueille et élabore des motifs divers et le régime de la liberté est nécessaire à cette synthèse. S'il n'existe pas, c'est alors qu'on peut parler d'asservissement; mais on ne peut pas parler de culture.

85. Les facteurs qui ont favorisé le processus d'évolution qui s'est déjà vérifié dans un grand nombre de pays (comme je l'ai mentionné au début de mon intervention), et qui sont les mêmes qui fatalement déter-

mineront les évolutions futures, n'ont pas joué de façon égale dans toutes les zones géographiques. Dans certaines zones, ces phénomènes de développement dont nous nous enorgueillons et qui ont abouti à la formation de nouveaux Etats aujourd'hui Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, ne se sont pas vérifiés. Dans certains cas même, nous avons assisté à des phénomènes contraires, c'est-à-dire à l'asservissement, à la domination étrangère de peuples autrefois libres. Il est certain qu'un phénomène d'expansion historique qui a eu lieu surtout durant les XVIIIème et XIXème siècles, et qui est connu sous le nom de colonialisme, n'a pas été limité aux seuls pays de l'Europe occidentale. D'autres pays aussi y ont participé, parmi lesquels la Russie des Tsars qui étendit son pouvoir au-delà de l'Oural jusqu'aux frontières de la Chine, au cœur même de territoires et de populations profondément différents. Aujourd'hui encore, nous pouvons enregistrer des phénomènes d'expansion — avec toutes leurs douloureuses conséquences d'oppression et de répression — au centre de l'Asie, au mépris des libertés traditionnelles du peuple tibétain. D'autres Etats de l'Europe orientale et septentrionale aussi, qui hier encore étaient libres, ont perdu aujourd'hui cette liberté.

86. Nous ne pouvons pas rester indifférents au sort de ces peuples. Toute déclaration que nous approuverons, toute résolution que nous adopterons, ne peut donc concerner tel ou tel autre continent, mais doit être considérée comme ayant la même valeur partout où vivent des peuples encore assujettis à des formes d'oppression extérieure, même si elles sont masquées ou si elles prennent la forme de limitation de leur indépendance.

87. La délégation italienne exprime le vœu que de ce débat puisse naître un accord qui soit le résultat de considérations éclairées et objectives, et non pas d'acrimonieuses tentatives pour troubler l'atmosphère des relations internationales. Il est impossible de considérer sans méfiance les propositions de l'Union soviétique, car il est clair qu'elles visent à susciter la haine et le ressentiment des pays ex-coloniaux envers les anciens dominateurs, à exciter leurs passions afin de mobiliser leurs énergies à son avantage. L'initiative soviétique obéit d'une façon trop évidente à ses fins de propagande pour pouvoir obtenir la faveur de cette assemblée. Elle n'est qu'une gauche tentative pour rendre plus virulents les germes de la méfiance afin de séparer de l'Occident les peuples qui, depuis peu, sont nés à l'indépendance et les assujettir à sa propre domination idéologique et politique.

88. Ma délégation voit au contraire avec faveur l'initiative d'un groupe de pays africano-asiatiques qui a proposé à notre méditation un projet de résolution [A/L.323 et Add.1 à 5] sérieux et constructif. Nous apprécions sincèrement les intentions qui l'ont inspiré, même si nous éprouvons quelque hésitation quant à la manière dont sont formulés certains points de la déclaration. La délégation italienne souhaiterait vivement que dans le texte final, quel qu'il soit, que l'Assemblée adoptera, il soit fait mention de la réalité du chemin parcouru jusqu'à présent et de notre reconnaissance à l'égard des organes des Nations Unies qui ont travaillé efficacement, avec des résultats qui nous remplissent d'une légitime satisfaction.

89. Ce qui importe le plus, si nous voulons regarder vers l'avenir, c'est que l'évolution des territoires encore non autonomes puisse s'accélérer, mais que

cela s'accomplisse dans l'ordre, la paix et la collaboration internationale. C'est de cet objectif que nos délibérations devraient s'inspirer.

90. M. ROA (Cuba) [traduit de l'espagnol]: On peut affirmer non sans raison que cette année est l'année de l'Afrique. Au cours de cette période, en effet, 16 pays africains ont accédé à l'indépendance et partagent déjà les obligations et les devoirs qui incombent aux Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Ce devrait être également l'année de la proclamation de l'indépendance de tous les pays et peuples coloniaux. La majorité de ces pays et peuples qui sont encore sous le joug du colonialisme se trouvent en Afrique. Cependant il y a, en Asie et en Océanie, des pays et des peuples qui ont encore un statut colonial. Diverses puissances européennes conservent en Amérique latine des établissements coloniaux. Les Etats-Unis détiennent en Amérique latine des possessions, des dépendances et des territoires qui leur sont soumis, ainsi qu'un canal qui relie les deux océans; leur politique économique à l'égard des nations latino-américaines est, de par sa nature, sa structure et ses objectifs, typiquement colonialiste. Si l'on proclamait l'abolition des relations de vassalité sur tous les continents où cet état subsiste encore sous une forme ou une autre, l'année de l'Afrique pourrait se transformer radicalement en une "année de la libération de l'humanité". Il ne s'agit pas là d'une fantaisie. Cette proclamation est un acte volontaire qui dépend exclusivement des représentants des pays Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies.

91. Le colonialisme est la survivance la plus odieuse d'un régime d'expansion mercantile et du déplacement géographique du pouvoir politique, stimulé essentiellement par l'attrait du lucrum infinitum. Ce régime et ses vestiges sont déjà essentiellement en contradiction avec les besoins de développement et de progrès qui caractérisent la société contemporaine. Son déclin est visible, sa disparition inexorable. Cependant, bien que mortellement blessé, le monstre du colonialisme possède suffisamment de moyens et d'expédients pour prolonger son agonie et ses derniers sursauts. Il a aussi la possibilité de renoncer dans la paix à une domination humiliante et profitable qu'il lui faudra de toute façon abandonner finalement, selon le jeu inéluctable des lois de l'histoire. Cette possibilité, l'Assemblée générale la lui a déjà offerte lorsqu'elle a approuvé par acclamation [903ème séance] l'inscription à l'ordre du jour de ses séances plénières de la question intitulée "Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux", proposée par la délégation de l'Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques. Devant cette possibilité, il ne peut être question de recourir à des moyens termes ou à des demi-mesures. Le moment est venu de donner des définitions et non d'user de circonlocutions. Le moment est venu de couronner le processus d'émancipation des peuples et non de le retarder. Cuba se dissocie radicalement de ceux qui, coiffant démagogiquement le bonnet phrygien, ont voulu allumer un cierge brillant au dieu du colonialisme et une chandelle vacillante au diable de l'anticolonialisme. Comme il n'est pas possible de servir à la fois Dieu et le diable, ce qu'ils servent objectivement, c'est le colonialisme et ce qu'ils sapent subjectivement, c'est l'anticolonialisme. A force de vouloir être subtils, ils en deviennent stupides. Que les promoteurs et les bénéficiaires du système colonial appellent au subterfuge, à la légende ou à la dissimulation, cela s'explique.

Ce qui ne s'explique pas, en revanche, c'est que ceux qui ont subi autrefois les effets les plus funestes de ce système, et qui en souffrent encore aujourd'hui, agissent de même.

92. Ce que réclame Cuba dans ce débat historique, c'est l'abolition inconditionnelle et immédiate du colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations. Quelle autre attitude pourrait adopter Cuba sans se trahir soi-même, sans trahir la tradition léguée par Bolívar, sans trahir les peuples qui luttent héroïquement pour conquérir le droit de disposer d'eux-mêmes, l'indépendance, la souveraineté et la dignité? Quelle autre attitude pourrait adopter un peuple qui a souffert dans sa chair et dans son esprit, tant du régime colonial espagnol que de la domination impérialiste des Etats-Unis qui lui a fait suite?

93. Il convient de remarquer qu'il y a trois ans, Cuba n'aurait pas pu parler avec la netteté et la fermeté dont elle fait preuve aujourd'hui. Il y a trois ans, la voix authentique de Cuba était absente de cette tribune des nations. Les discours dociles, obscurs et obséquieux de ses représentants officiels décrivaient avec de pompeux éclats de voix la situation d'asservissement international que masquaient l'indépendance et la souveraineté fictives de l'Etat cubain. Officiellement, par sa structure politique et juridique, Cuba était une république et possédait les attributs officiels de l'indépendance et de la souveraineté: drapeau, armes, hymne, couleur distincte sur la carte et siège dans les organisations internationales. Mais au sein de ces organisations, sa voix n'était qu'un reflet, un simple écho des intérêts politiques, économiques, militaires et diplomatiques d'une puissance étrangère; sa voix sonnait faux, ce n'était pas Cuba qui parlait, c'était l'impérialisme. Lorsque des colonies sont officiellement reconnues comme telles, elles n'ont pas voix au chapitre; si elles sont camouflées, leur voix n'est pas authentique. Et parce que Cuba a cessé à tout jamais d'être une colonie et que ce pays exerce effectivement son droit à disposer de lui-même et jouit de la souveraineté, la voix de ses représentants officiels est devenue la voix claire, authentique et profonde de son peuple et de son gouvernement, intimement confondus, pour la première fois de son histoire, en une communauté dynamique de pensée et d'action. Depuis la quatorzième session de l'Assemblée générale, qui a coïncidé avec l'année glorieuse de sa libération, Cuba, devenu un nouveau pays, a prouvé clairement et résolument l'indépendance de sa politique internationale. Cuba, précisons-le dès maintenant, approuve entièrement le texte intégral du projet de déclaration présenté par l'Union soviétique [A/4502].

94. Au point où en est parvenu le débat, il est inutile de revenir sur l'histoire du colonialisme et de rappeler les déprédations, les perfidies, les outrages et les profits qui l'ont accompagné. D'autres se sont déjà chargés de rafraîchir la mémoire de ceux qui jugent bon d'affecter une candeur de séraphin, en faisant l'exposé dramatique des outrages commis et en fournissant des chiffres à l'appui; ce sont les représentants des peuples qui portent encore dans leur chair la trace de l'exploitation coloniale évoquant encore le sang, la souffrance et la colère. Mais ce que l'on ne saurait trop souligner, c'est la vraie nature, les mobiles réels et les fins toutes particulières du régime colonial. Cuba a vécu "dans les entrailles du

monstre", et se sent moralement obligée d'en faire le tableau.

95. Le colonialisme est le fils légitime des vastes et profondes transformations qu'a subies la structure économique de la société européenne au cours des XV^{ème}, XVI^{ème} et XVII^{ème} siècles et des répercussions qu'elles ont pu avoir sur la vie politique, juridique, sociale, religieuse et culturelle. La Renaissance et son humanisme — qui était une invocation à l'uomo singolare dans une société intérieurement divisée — est la fleur privilégiée qui a marqué l'avènement tourmenté du capitalisme moderne en même temps que la première ébauche de sociétés idéales, dont l'Utopie de Thomas Morus était la source; elle apparaît comme une condamnation anticipée des misères, des inégalités, des destructions, des abus, des conflits, des guerres et des révolutions. Cette société nouvelle qui sort victorieusement des cendres encore chaudes de la féodalité s'organise sous l'autorité toujours plus marquée des marchands, des usuriers, des banquiers, des chefs d'entreprises et des armateurs. Elle a pour enseigne la hiérarchie des classes, pour instrument la culture gréco-latine, pour oracle la nature, pour technique le levier d'Archimède, pour caprice la chimère de l'or, pour cri de ralliement la liberté, pour fétiche le commerce et pour critère de vérité la valeur qu'elle attache au quantitatif.

96. Cette constellation nouvelle et dynamique d'intérêts économiques, de relations sociales, de formes politiques et d'échelles de valeurs morales, qui apportait avec elle de si profonds bouleversements, avait besoin pour s'affirmer et s'imposer de la liberté du travail, du commerce et de l'expansion; il lui fallait aussi, pour maintenir son rythme de développement et satisfaire sa soif d'hégémonie, le concours illimité de la science et de la technique. La curiosité réfrénée depuis 10 siècles par la scolastique se déchaîne dans tous les domaines, élargissant les horizons de la connaissance scientifique. La montre conquiert le temps, le télescope l'espace, la méthode expérimentale la nature, la boussole la mer, la machine la production, la philosophie rationaliste la conscience humaine. La convoitise et la soif d'expansion stimulées par cette aventure extraordinaire de la pensée et galvanisées par le miroitement tentant des métaux précieux se traduisirent bientôt par l'apparition de fabriques, d'entreprises commerciales et d'agences d'exploitation sur cette terra incognita incorporée aux grandes puissances maritimes de l'époque — notamment l'Espagne, l'Angleterre, la Hollande, le Portugal et la France — tandis que, parallèlement à ce processus, le revenu de la terre devenait une source de richesses en espèces.

97. Le pouvoir politique et la puissance économique de la classe mercantile en plein essor étaient essentiellement alimentés par les gras profits tirés du pillage colonial, de l'esclavage pratiqué à grande échelle et du drainage systématique des ressources du sol et du sous-sol des territoires découverts, conquis et soumis. "Nous nous sommes enrichis, a dit Werner Sombart, parce que des races et des peuples entiers sont morts pour nous; pour nous, des continents entiers ont été dépeuplés." Telle est, décrite en peu de mots, l'essence réelle du colonialisme qui a eu — et qui a encore — ses théoriciens et ses apologistes, passés maîtres dans l'art d'harmoniser avec subtilité les "valeurs de l'esprit" et les nécessités les plus lucratives. La langue et la religion, l'éducation

et la culture furent les instruments employés dans le processus de déformation de la conscience des peuples assujettis, les moyens psychologiques réduisant à néant les manifestations de l'esprit de séparatisme; de même, la construction de routes et d'hôpitaux, de voies ferrées et d'usines avait — et a toujours — pour but d'augmenter la productivité du travail forcé et la valeur des bénéfices réalisés. Voilà à quoi s'est réduit — et se réduit encore — très exactement la "mission civilisatrice" des puissances coloniales et administrantes. Elles instruisent et endoctrinent en vue de l'esclavage et non de la liberté; elles exploitent les ressources et les richesses des autres pour elles-mêmes et non pour les peuples qui les ont amassées à force de travail, d'efforts et de privations.

98. A cet égard, Cuba colonie espagnole et Cuba colonie nord-américaine possède une expérience longue et amèrement acquise. Cependant, elle a toujours su discerner la racine sociale du mal et le substratum historique de l'oppression, établir une distinction entre ces maux et le peuple au nom duquel ils étaient commis; c'est pour cette raison qu'en se révoltant contre la domination coloniale de l'Espagne, elle a précisé clairement que c'était contre cette domination qu'elle faisait la guerre et non contre le peuple espagnol, de même qu'elle a montré tout aussi clairement que sa lutte pour l'émancipation par rapport à la domination coloniale des États-Unis était dirigée contre les promoteurs, les profiteurs et les agents de cette domination et non contre le peuple des États-Unis, bien que la richesse, la puissance et le niveau de vie de celui-ci soient en grande partie le fruit de l'exploitation coloniale et impérialiste. En dernier ressort, les peuples sont absous des responsabilités assumées par leurs gouvernements grâce à la justice immanente de l'histoire. C'est pourquoi il reste une marge suffisante pour que puisse s'établir ultérieurement une coopération fructueuse, fondée sur le respect mutuel, les avantages réciproques et l'égalité absolue, entre les anciens colonisés et les anciens colonisateurs. Un jour viendra où les uns et les autres — voyant leurs intérêts, leurs besoins, leurs valeurs et leurs aspirations confondus en un monde où le libre développement de chacun sera la condition du libre développement des autres — jugeront le colonialisme, l'impérialisme et la guerre thermonucléaire comme les formes les plus odieuses et les plus primitives de la préhistoire de la coexistence humaine.

99. Une mise au point s'impose. Ces peuples assujettis et spoliés au nom de la civilisation étaient aussi civilisés, au sens sociologique du mot et, sur bien des points importants, ils l'étaient beaucoup plus que leurs prétendus tuteurs. Certains pays comme la Chine et l'Inde étaient des centres de haute culture ancienne. Alors que les ancêtres des Anglais grimpaient encore aux arbres — comme le rapporte Jules César dans ses Commentaires sur la guerre des Gaules —, les Chinois vivaient déjà dans des villes, ils étaient politiquement organisés en un empire, ils avaient découvert la poudre et imprimaient les écrits de leurs philosophes, de leurs poètes et de leurs hommes d'Etat. C'est à cette Chine qui a imposé au monde certains principes et qui aujourd'hui réapparaît avec des forces nouvelles, après avoir dû conquérir de haute lutte son droit à disposer d'elle-même, son indépendance et son unité, que l'on refuse cependant, sous la pression des puissances coloniales qui en d'autres temps ont pillé ses

richesses, la représentation légitime qui lui revient au sein de cette assemblée.

100. Dans l'Inde, la religion et la culture avaient atteint des niveaux très élevés bien des siècles avant que Socrate ne prêchât sa doctrine empreinte d'une sagesse pénétrante sur les places publiques d'Athènes et que Jésus et ses disciples n'aient établi le christianisme au milieu des persécutions et dans la pauvreté. Ceylan, l'Indonésie et la Birmanie, comme tant d'autres pays asiatiques, occupent une place importante dans l'histoire de la culture. L'Egypte millénaire, berceau d'une civilisation complexe et parvenue à la maturité, a contribué de façon décisive par son influence sur la culture minoenne à l'avènement de ce prodige impérissable de l'esprit humain que fut le miracle grec. Les Arabes, créateurs d'une civilisation originale et dépositaires du savoir gréco-latin, ont vivifié et enrichi par l'abondante contribution qu'ils lui ont apportée les courants monotones et exsangues de la pensée occidentale. L'empreinte qu'ils ont laissée sur la culture espagnole et leur influence sur l'esprit de la Renaissance rayonnent encore aujourd'hui avec un éclat resplendissant. L'Afrique noire garde enfouies dans le sol de ses forêts les traces de cultures anciennes et développées, mystérieusement perdues ou évaporées; elle peut s'enorgueillir d'un brillant folklore, d'un riche patrimoine de formes esthétiques, de la contribution précieuse qu'elle a apportée à la culture universelle et, surtout, de son ardente passion pour la liberté qui est la forme la plus élevée de la culture dans un mode de vie caractérisé par l'esclavage. Cuba, bien que géographiquement située dans l'hémisphère occidental et pays de langue espagnole, est fière de la sève africaine qui a su donner de la force et de la couleur à son folklore, à son art, à sa culture, à sa religion et à son développement national.

101. Les jalons qui, sur le plan international, ont marqué la "mission civilisatrice" du colonialisme et de l'impérialisme, étape suprême d'un même processus d'exploitation économique et de domination politique, portent des noms tristement célèbres: provinces d'outre-mer, Sainte-Alliance, doctrine de Monroe, prédestination manifeste, amendement Platt, zones d'influence, traités de réciprocité, politique de la porte ouverte, diplomatie du dollar, dettes de guerre, protectorats, systèmes de contingentement, privilèges douaniers, mandats, investissements privés, Etats libres associés, dumping, base navale de Guantánamo, tutelle, Organisation du Traité de l'Atlantique nord, Organisation du Traité de l'Asie du Sud-Est, et Central Intelligence Agency. Ces diverses étapes ont donné lieu à des frictions, à des violences, à des pillages et à des guerres entre Etats impérialistes. Ce sont là actuellement les principaux obstacles au développement indépendant des peuples émancipés, qui constituent l'avant-garde du néo-colonialisme et les pires ennemis de la paix et de la sécurité internationales. Je n'en veux pour preuve que la politique de vexation, d'intrigues, de coercition, de menaces, de subversion et d'agression déchaînée à laquelle se livrent le Département d'Etat, le Pentagone et les monopoles des Etats-Unis, avec le vain espoir de soumettre par la force et d'asservir par la faim le peuple cubain. Et si cette preuve n'était pas suffisante, nous n'aurions qu'à tourner nos regards vers le Congo libéré des Belges pendant un moment, qui est aujourd'hui une proie convoitée que se disputent, en dépit d'une alliance temporaire, ses anciens colonisateurs

et le néo-colonialisme dont le principal promoteur est l'impérialisme américain.

102. Le complot ourdi contre l'autodétermination, l'indépendance et la souveraineté du Congo — complot auquel cette organisation n'est malheureusement pas tout à fait étrangère — est un indice évident de l'obstination du colonialisme à maintenir, par d'autres moyens, l'exploitation économique et la domination politique des territoires et des peuples auxquels ils accordent une liberté apparente. Le colonialisme se meurt, mais, comme Protée, il peut revêtir de nouvelles formes, reconquérir sournoisement ou ouvertement ses anciens privilèges et recommencer ses exactions. Sous nos propres yeux, les néo-colonialistes et les impérialistes ont détruit l'organisation constitutionnelle du Congo, déposé Lumumba, confié à Mobutu des pouvoirs autocratiques, reconnu la sécession de Tshombé et accordé leur appui total à Kasa-Vubu, après que celui-ci se fut prêté à leurs sombres desseins. Le néo-colonialisme et l'impérialisme ont de nouveau pris pied au Congo. A l'heure actuelle, ce pays fait l'objet d'une intervention. Le droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes, l'indépendance, la souveraineté, l'unité, la sécurité et la paix de l'Afrique sont en danger, et il en va de même de la paix et de la sécurité internationales. L'arrestation de Lumumba, les railleries et les outrages dont il a fait l'objet de la part de la garde prétorienne de Mobutu et son exécution probable sur l'ordre du néo-colonialisme et de l'impérialisme, constituent une violation flagrante du droit des peuples et sont le présage de jours tragiques. La vie de Lumumba, premier ministre légitime du Congo et chef indomptable du peuple congolais, tient à un fil et c'est aux Nations Unies qu'incombe la responsabilité de son salut. Le Gouvernement révolutionnaire de Cuba m'a expressément chargé d'insister pour que des mesures rapides, énergiques et efficaces soient prises avant qu'il ne soit trop tard.

103. Certains représentants ont déploré le peu d'attention accordé, au cours de ce débat, aux vestiges du colonialisme et aux formes qu'il revêt en Amérique latine; mais j'ai constaté avec surprise que, dans leur réquisitoire, la plupart d'entre eux se sont bornés à réclamer l'abolition du colonialisme européen et ont omis de parler des dépendances coloniales des Etats-Unis et de sa politique colonialiste dans notre hémisphère. Ils ont également oublié de mentionner le canal de Panama, la base navale de Guantánamo et les fies du Cygne. Je voudrais donner à cette question toute l'attention qu'elle mérite.

M. Boland (Irlande) reprend la présidence.

104. Le PRESIDENT (traduit de l'anglais): Je regrette d'interrompre le Ministre des affaires étrangères de Cuba, mais une motion d'ordre a été soulevée par le représentant du Honduras à qui je donne la parole.

105. M. MILLA BERMUDEZ (Honduras) [traduit de l'espagnol]: Je proteste parce que l'on a voulu dire que les fies du Cygne sont une colonie des Etats-Unis. En réalité, ces fies font partie du territoire du Honduras. Elles sont illégalement et arbitrairement occupées par les Etats-Unis, mais jamais nous ne tolérerons que l'on dise qu'elles sont une colonie des Etats-Unis.

106. Le PRESIDENT (traduit de l'anglais): Je prie les membres de l'Assemblée de ne demander la parole sur une motion d'ordre que dans les cas où il s'agit vraiment d'une motion de ce genre. Pour tous les

autres points, ils peuvent faire usage de leur droit de réponse, mais ils ne peuvent déposer une motion d'ordre que s'il s'agit réellement d'une telle motion.

107. Je demande au Ministre des affaires étrangères de Cuba de reprendre la parole.

108. M. ROA (Cuba) [traduit de l'espagnol]: Je tiens à préciser au représentant du Honduras que je partage entièrement son point de vue, étant donné que nous comprenons bien que les îles du Cygne appartiennent au Honduras; mais elle sont en effet occupées arbitrairement par les Etats-Unis qui les considèrent comme une colonie leur appartenant, ce qui est tout différent.

109. Définir les Etats-Unis comme une puissance impérialiste serait une véritable tautologie étant donné que, dans ce cas, l'objet de cette définition en est la définition même. L'histoire des Etats-Unis est, en grande partie, l'histoire de l'expansion territoriale de ce pays aux dépens de l'Espagne et de l'Amérique latine et celle de son exploitation des ressources naturelles des peuples qui se trouvent entre le rio Grande et la Patagonie. Cette ambitieuse entreprise d'expansion et d'hégémonie fut conçue à l'aube même de l'indépendance des treize colonies. Ce furent Jefferson, Madison et John Quincy Adams qui, les premiers, la préconisèrent. C'est à Adams que l'on doit la théorie du fruit mûr en vertu de laquelle, selon la loi de la gravitation universelle appliquée au domaine politique, Cuba devait tomber irrévocablement dans le sein de l'Union; de même c'est d'Adams, qui imita la politique de l'Anglais Canning tout en la dépouillant de ses raffinements subtils, que découle la doctrine de Monroe, laquelle, dans la pratique, peut se résumer par cette formule: "Que le reste du monde se tienne à l'écart de l'Amérique, mais liberté d'action pour les Etats-Unis." Cette doctrine unilatérale, officiellement dirigée contre toutes reconquêtes hypothétiques de la Sainte-Alliance, mais visant en fait à empêcher Cuba de se libérer de l'Espagne si elle n'était pas annexée ou acquise par les Etats-Unis, a transformé toute l'Amérique latine, sans son consentement et au préjudice de son unité, de son développement et de son émancipation, en une zone d'influence nord-américaine; les armes politiques de cette prédestination manifeste ont été la diplomatie du dollar, l'isolement de cet hémisphère et l'intimidation sur le plan international. Sous le couvert de cette doctrine colonialiste et de ses corollaires impérialistes, le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis, avec l'étroite coopération des dictateurs des oligarchies de l'Amérique latine, a facilité à ses commerçants, à ses banquiers et à ses sociétés l'exploitation économique de nos pays sous-développés, désarmés et désunis.

110. Parmi ces corollaires, il faut signaler, en ce qui concerne Cuba, l'amendement Platt, le traité déterminant les relations entre les Etats-Unis et Cuba, le bail obligatoire de la base navale de Guantánamo, les traités de réciprocité, la loi sur le sucre, les monopoles des services publics et les concessions minières et, en ce qui touche l'Amérique latine, l'occupation de Porto Rico, la domination de la zone du canal de Panama, l'exploitation de ses ressources naturelles, le contrôle des marchés, les prêts léonins et les investissements de caractère colonial.

111. Au sujet de Cuba, le premier ministre Fidel Castro a déjà fait ici une analyse pénétrante et détaillée des effets dévastateurs de la domination poli-

tique et de l'exploitation économique nord-américaines jusqu'au triomphe de la révolution. Il n'y a rien à y ajouter: je voudrais, toutefois, donner encore quelques précisions sur la base navale de Guantánamo. Il est certain que le territoire où se trouve enclavé cette base a été loué à bail aux Etats-Unis pour la somme invraisemblable de 2.000 dollars par an, en vertu des dispositions de l'article VIII de l'amendement Platt, du traité sur les relations, et des conventions signées en 1903. Mais il est non moins certain qu'aucun contrat civil ou traité international n'est valable s'il n'implique entre les parties une égalité absolue et s'il ne découle de leur volonté librement exprimée. L'amendement Platt a été approuvé par le Congrès des Etats-Unis et imposé à la Convention constituante de Cuba sur un territoire occupé militairement. Le bail découlant de l'article VIII dudit amendement est donc, en droit international, entaché de nullité. La location de cette base navale, impudemment imposée par la contrainte, porte atteinte à l'intégrité territoriale de l'Etat cubain et constitue une menace pour la sécurité de l'île ainsi mise à la merci des conflits et des entreprises belliqueuses des Etats-Unis. En outre, c'est aujourd'hui un foyer actif de conspiration, de provocation et de subversion contre le gouvernement et le peuple de Cuba.

112. On ne doit pas s'étonner que le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis considère comme sa chose un territoire qu'il a usurpé par des voies détournées et qui ne lui appartient donc pas. Les pays impérialistes ont tendance à croire que les territoires où ils ont mis le pied leur appartiennent. Ils croient de même pouvoir disposer de l'espace aérien de ces territoires comme s'il s'agissait d'une propriété privée, au risque d'exposer leurs habitants aux dangers et aux destructions pouvant résulter de l'éclatement, au-dessus d'un territoire étranger, de leurs fusées erratiques, comme cela vient de se produire dans la partie orientale de Cuba. On ne doit pas s'étonner non plus que le président Eisenhower, se discréditant définitivement devant l'opinion publique mondiale, ait attribué sur les fonds secrets dont dispose le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis pour lutter contre la démocratie, l'anticolonialisme et le socialisme, un crédit de un million de dollars pour subventionner les activités subversives des criminels de guerre et des contre-révolutionnaires cubains, au mépris total de la Charte des Nations Unies et des principes de droit international régissant le continent américain.

113. Le Gouvernement révolutionnaire de Cuba répète solennellement devant l'Assemblée générale des Nations Unies qu'il n'a jamais eu l'intention et qu'il ne se propose pas de revendiquer par la force la partie de son territoire national occupée par la base navale de Guantánamo; mais il répète aussi solennellement qu'il a l'intention de réclamer le retour de ce territoire lorsqu'il le jugera opportun, conformément aux principes du droit international. Pour l'instant, et en vertu de ce même droit, nous considérons que les termes de la déclaration proposée par l'Union soviétique [A/4502] et du projet de résolution présenté par plusieurs pays africains-asiatiques [A/L.323 et Add.1 à 5] s'appliquent à cette revendication.

114. Pendant quatre siècles, Porto Rico a été soumise au joug espagnol; depuis plus de 50 ans, elle est placée sous la domination des Etats-Unis. De toutes les îles de l'archipel des Antilles, la plus petite, Porto Rico — territoire stable, doté d'une tradition culturelle, d'une histoire et d'une personnalité qui lui sont propres, et

consciente de constituer une entité nationale — n'a jamais jusqu'ici pu prendre sa place parmi les nations indépendantes d'Amérique. Doué des attributs d'une nation, le peuple que José Martí a aidé à s'émanciper comme le nôtre est le seul peuple américain de souche espagnole qui, malgré sa volonté inflexible d'indépendance, n'ait jamais été libre. Voilà le drame qui le déchire. Ce drame est le même dans toutes les nations d'Amérique et en particulier dans celles qui constituent la région des Antilles. La chute brutale de José Martí et l'intervention des Etats-Unis dans la guerre hispano-cubaine, au moment où déjà les libérateurs de mon pays apparaissaient aux portes de la capitale de la colonie et où l'armée espagnole était pratiquement en déroute, ont disjoint les destins de Cuba et de Porto Rico. Le 25 juillet 1898, les éléments avancés de l'armée d'occupation ont débarqué à Guánica. "Le peuple des Etats-Unis — a déclaré solennellement le général Nelson A. Miles, commandant en chef des forces expéditionnaires — vient à Porto Rico au nom de l'humanité et de la justice, portant l'étendard de la liberté et inspiré par de nobles intentions." La résolution commune des deux chambres du Congrès des Etats-Unis affirmait: "Le peuple de Cuba est, et doit être de droit, libre et indépendant." Malgré cette déclaration solennelle et l'engagement non moins solennel contenu dans la résolution commune, Cuba a continué à faire l'objet d'une intervention provisoire et s'est vu imposer l'amendement Platt tandis que Porto Rico passait, à titre de butin de guerre, sous l'autorité du Gouvernement des Etats-Unis et était soumise à un régime rigoureux qui en faisait un avant-poste militaire et une zone contestée.

115. Le masque de la "mission civilisatrice" prétendait donc recouvrir les objectifs véritables de ce nouvel impérialisme nord-américain. Les Porto-Riciens, comme à d'autres moments les Indiens, les Chinois, les Egyptiens, les Arabes, les Soudanais, les Nigériens, les Ghanéens, les Birmans, les Ceylanais, les Indonésiens, les Guinéens et les Congolais, n'étaient pas encore prêts à se gouverner eux-mêmes et à exercer leur souveraineté. Ils avaient besoin d'une éducation paternaliste prolongée et il leur fallait oublier leur passé, renier leur culture, abâtardir leur langue et accepter avec joie, comme un bienfait pour l'avenir, la tutelle puritaine de leurs généreux rédempteurs. Beveridge l'avait déjà annoncé lorsqu'il proclamait que la guerre des Etats-Unis contre l'Espagne était "le grand dessein de Dieu se manifestant dans les instincts de la race anglo-saxonne et qui, dans sa phase actuelle, permet de satisfaire des intérêts personnels, mais dont l'objectif lointain est la christianisation de l'humanité". Il ne pouvait en être autrement puisqu'il s'agissait d'un peuple "de race inférieure", de culture différente, offrant une main-d'œuvre bon marché et pouvant produire du sucre en abondance et à bas prix. Sans doute "la prédestination évidente" de Porto Rico était-elle de devenir une colonie de plantations et un marché noir de l'impérialisme. Il sautait aux yeux que le peuple porto-ricien n'avait fait que changer de maître et son nouveau maître était plus odieux encore parce qu'il apportait l'esclavage au nom de la liberté. Et, comme il était logique, on ne devait pas tarder à passer de l'ignorance à l'incertitude, de l'incertitude à la confusion, de la confusion au scepticisme, du scepticisme au désespoir, du désespoir à la rébellion et de la rébellion à l'organisation d'un mouvement d'indépendance déjà consacré par le sang des héros et des martyrs.

116. Depuis 72 ans qu'est en vigueur l'obligation contractée aux termes de l'article IX du Traité de paix entre l'Espagne et les Etats-Unis d'Amérique, signé à Paris le 10 décembre 1898, selon lequel le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis s'engageait à régler le problème de la souveraineté de Porto Rico, ce pays, Etat libre associé sur le papier, est toujours demeuré un territoire non autonome échappant à la juridiction des Nations Unies, grâce à un stratagème habile. En 1953, le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis a adressé une note [A/AC.35/L.121] au Secrétaire général pour lui faire connaître que, désormais, il ne transmettrait plus de renseignements sur le territoire non autonome de Porto Rico, ce territoire ayant cessé d'être considéré comme tel en vertu des dispositions de la Constitution de l'Etat libre associé de Porto Rico, approuvée par le Congrès des Etats-Unis. Après avoir examiné la question, la Quatrième Commission décida, par 22 voix contre 18, avec 19 abstentions, de la soumettre à l'Assemblée générale^{5/}. Lorsque ce point de l'ordre du jour fut examiné par l'Assemblée, le représentant des Etats-Unis présenta une déclaration officielle^{6/} garantissant que le pouvoir exécutif de son pays recommanderait immédiatement au Congrès l'octroi de l'indépendance à Porto Rico si l'Assemblée législative de ce pays adoptait à un moment quelconque une résolution en faveur de l'indépendance. L'Assemblée générale, favorablement impressionnée par cette déclaration, accepta [résolution 748 (VIII)] de délier les Etats-Unis de l'obligation de transmettre des renseignements annuels conformément aux dispositions de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte. Cet engagement a été violé par l'Assemblée législative de Porto Rico, de connivence avec le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis, et la plus petite des grandes Antilles reste encore aujourd'hui, contre la volonté souveraine de sa population, un territoire dépendant.

117. Comme c'est le cas pour tous les peuples coloniaux, le peuple porto-ricien ne peut pas faire entendre sa voix devant les instances internationales. Ceux qui parlent pour lui ne le représentent pas et ne peuvent pas le représenter. La délégation de Cuba, renouvelant le pacte de José Martí, se fait le porte-parole de ce pays. Epousant les vues de Porto Rico, elle demande à l'Assemblée générale, au nom de ce pays, de lui accorder sans réserve le droit de disposer de lui-même, l'indépendance et la souveraineté, proclamant ainsi le droit auquel peut prétendre ce pays en tant que nation constituée.

118. En cette époque décisive de l'histoire de l'ONU, Cuba réaffirme catégoriquement sa position anticolonialiste. Ma délégation votera sans réserve pour la déclaration mémorable proposée par l'Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques et examinera avec un soin particulier le projet de résolution présenté par plusieurs pays africano-asiatiques; elle se réserve également le droit d'exprimer, le moment venu, tout le bien qu'elle pense de ce texte.

119. Se faisant l'interprète des peuples et des pays qui n'ont pu encore conquérir leur liberté, mais qui veulent l'obtenir — et, en particulier, des intrépides guerriers algériens, courageux et invincibles, frères par le courage et l'idéal des partisans cubains de la sierra Maestra — la délégation de Cuba propose que

^{5/} Ibid., huitième session, Quatrième Commission, 355ème séance.

^{6/} Ibid., Séances plénières, 459ème séance.

nous ne mettions pas fin à ce débat avant d'avoir brisé les derniers maillons des chaînes du colonialisme.

120. M. JAWAD (Irak) [traduit de l'anglais]: Nous vivons certes des heures historiques et lourdes de conséquences. Enfin, l'Assemblée générale a l'occasion d'examiner l'un des problèmes les plus importants de notre époque — celui de la libération de la domination coloniale — et de donner clairement et sans équivoque son opinion sur cette question. Le présent débat sur le colonialisme est donc l'un des plus importants débats historiques et de grande portée qui se soient déroulés devant l'Assemblée générale ou devant tout autre organisme international. C'est pourquoi nous sommes particulièrement reconnaissants à l'Union soviétique d'avoir pris l'initiative de soumettre cet urgent et important problème à l'attention des Nations Unies à un moment où l'avenir de la civilisation est en danger et où le colonialisme tient encore sous le joug des millions d'êtres humains dans le monde entier. Le projet de déclaration présenté par l'Union soviétique [A/4502] nous permet d'apprécier exactement l'opinion mondiale à l'égard du colonialisme et son adoption donnerait au monde le point de départ d'une action positive dans ce domaine.

121. La lutte contre le colonialisme est devenue l'un des facteurs décisifs dans l'orientation de l'ère actuelle. Après des siècles de domination étrangère, les peuples d'Asie, d'Afrique et d'Amérique latine ont atteint un stade très avancé dans leur lutte héroïque contre l'oppression et l'exploitation de l'étranger. Poussés par un ardent désir de vivre librement, ils ont suivi l'exemple de tant d'autres qui, en Amérique et en Europe même, ont pu, au cours des deux derniers siècles, secouer le joug de la domination étrangère. Les mouvements de libération nationale se sont étendus à l'ensemble de l'Asie, de l'Afrique et du Moyen-Orient et la lutte contre l'impérialisme sous ses différentes formes est devenue un élément capital du développement de ces pays, ainsi que de l'établissement de leur statut national et international.

122. La lutte pour la liberté est aussi vieille que la civilisation elle-même et, en fait, elle a toujours été à l'origine du progrès et du développement de la société humaine. Dès que celle-ci a commencé à s'organiser, l'homme a essayé de s'assurer plus de liberté et plus de justice afin de se libérer du despotisme de ses congénères et de se rendre maître des forces sociales et naturelles.

123. L'homme a connu bien des formes de despotisme, mais l'une des pires et des plus honteuses dont il ait fait l'expérience a été le régime colonial sous sa forme moderne, avec ce qu'il implique d'asservissement à l'étranger, d'oppression, d'exploitation des ressources humaines et matérielles au bénéfice d'autrui, d'atteinte au droit des peuples de mener une existence libre et décente.

124. Lorsque l'Europe a étendu sa domination à de vastes régions de l'Asie et de l'Afrique, un fléau supplémentaire est venu s'ajouter aux nombreux maux du colonialisme: celui de la discrimination raciale, qui subsiste encore, dans une large mesure, à l'encontre de certaines populations d'Afrique. Point n'est besoin de rappeler en détail les maux du régime colonial, les misères et les épreuves indescriptibles qui en ont résulté pour les populations qui étaient tombées sous une telle domination. Il n'est pas nécessaire non plus d'expliquer comment le régime colonial a limité les

possibilités de développement des peuples colonisés. Tous ces maux sont bien connus, encore qu'ils soient trop nombreux pour qu'on puisse les énumérer. Toutefois, il me faut citer certains exemples de ce que le monde arabe a dû supporter.

125. Je ne crois pas exagérer en affirmant que peu de nations ont autant souffert que le monde arabe de la domination coloniale. La première expérience que nous ayons faite de l'impérialisme européen aux temps modernes a été la conquête de l'Algérie par la France en 1830. Celle-ci fut suivie de l'occupation française de la Tunisie en 1881, de l'occupation de l'Egypte par les Anglais en 1882 et du Soudan en 1898; de la conquête de la Libye par les Italiens en 1911 et de l'occupation du Maroc par les Français en 1912. Puis vint le tour de la Syrie, du Liban, de la Palestine, de la Jordanie et de l'Irak qui tombèrent sous la domination française ou britannique pendant et après la première guerre mondiale. Ajoutons à cela l'extension progressive de l'influence et de la domination britanniques dans de vastes régions de l'Arabie du Sud et du Sud-Est et nous aurons un tableau complet du système colonial dans le monde arabe. A quelques exceptions près, presque tous les territoires arabes furent donc occupés par des envahisseurs étrangers pendant le XIX^{ème} siècle et la première partie du XX^{ème} siècle. Cette situation a imposé à nos populations le devoir de lutter sans merci pour retrouver la liberté et l'indépendance. Il fallut à l'Egypte plus de 70 ans pour se libérer de l'occupation britannique; peu de temps après, d'ailleurs, ce pays se trouvait de nouveau soumis à l'invasion et à la guerre, certaines puissances coloniales s'efforçant d'imposer à nouveau leur domination. La lutte de la Libye contre ses envahisseurs italiens dura plus de trente ans et fut marquée par des rébellions répétées et de sévères répressions. Ce n'est que récemment que le Maroc et la Tunisie ont pu recouvrer leur liberté et leur indépendance, au prix de lourds sacrifices et d'épreuves sans nombre.

126. Dans notre région du Moyen-Orient, la domination européenne s'est longtemps perpétuée sous le masque du régime des mandats, imposé à des peuples contre leur gré par les puissances coloniales après la conquête de leur pays pendant la première guerre mondiale. Les peuples de l'Irak, de la Syrie, du Liban, de la Palestine et de la Jordanie n'ont jamais accepté ce régime des mandats et ils ont mené une lutte sans merci contre cette nouvelle forme de colonialisme. En Irak, le mandat qui a officiellement pris fin en 1932 a été remplacé par un nouveau système de relations qui conservait à l'ancienne puissance mandataire une grande influence dans les affaires du pays. Il fallut encore 26 ans et notre grande révolution de juillet 1958 pour que le peuple de l'Irak puisse finalement débarrasser le pays des derniers vestiges de domination et d'influence étrangères.

127. L'expérience que nous avons faite du mandat — aussi amère qu'elle ait pu être — ne peut se comparer à la tragédie qu'a vécue le peuple de Palestine. Celui-ci a été victime du colonialisme sous sa forme la plus exécrable, forme à laquelle on ne peut trouver rien de comparable dans les annales de l'histoire moderne. Le mandat avait pour objectif avoué d'aider les populations libérées de la domination des puissances vaincues après la première guerre mondiale à subsister par elles-mêmes. Au début, le principe de base du système des mandats était que les intérêts et le bien-être des populations elles-mêmes représentaient une

mission sacrée pour la communauté mondiale. Comment cette mission sacrée fut-elle remplie dans le cas du peuple de Palestine? Les Arabes, qui formaient plus de 90 pour 100 de la population du pays au début du Mandat en 1920, virent leurs intérêts subordonnés à ceux de la puissance mandataire et, sous la protection de celle-ci, à ceux des envahisseurs et immigrants sionistes. Dans aucun autre territoire sous mandat, dans aucune colonie on n'a aussi peu tenu compte des intérêts de toute une nation, nulle part ceux-ci n'ont été aussi systématiquement méconnus. Nulle part les aspirations légitimes de toute une population n'ont été aussi impitoyablement étouffées et ses droits fondamentaux aussi ouvertement violés. La mission sacrée s'est transformée en un cauchemar de perfidie, d'oppression et de fourberie. Lorsque la Grande-Bretagne renonça enfin à son mandat et abandonna sa mission sacrée, elle laissa derrière elle en Palestine les ruines d'une nation jadis fière, devenue une nation de réfugiés dans le dénuement, vivant de la charité de la communauté mondiale.

128. Si nous passons en revue le monde arabe d'aujourd'hui, nous voyons qu'en dehors de la Palestine, il existe encore des régions où l'impérialisme continue à lutter avec obstination pour endiguer les courants de libération nationale. Dans ces six dernières années, la France a mené contre le peuple algérien une guerre de meurtres et de dévastation afin de le maintenir dans l'esclavage et la servitude et de l'empêcher de se joindre à la communauté des nations libres et indépendantes. Ainsi la France essaie de refuser à d'autres nations les droits et les libertés dont jouit tout Français. Nous sommes persuadés que ces efforts de la France seront vains, car l'amère et l'héroïque lutte du peuple algérien finira par triompher. De même, sur le territoire d'Oman et en Arabie méridionale, la lutte contre l'autorité et la domination étrangères se poursuit sans répit. Alors que l'Assemblée générale réunie ici se prononce énergiquement contre le régime colonial et en faveur du droit des peuples à vivre dans la liberté, les forces armées de Grande-Bretagne se livrent à des opérations d'extermination dans l'Oman, en Arabie du Sud et dans la colonie d'Aden.

129. On a pu constater, d'après ce que je viens de dire, que le peuple arabe a connu le colonialisme dans ses manifestations et sous ses formes les plus exécrables. Il a fait directement l'expérience de son oppression, de sa perfidie; il en a souffert physiquement, matériellement et spirituellement comme peu d'autres peuples. C'est une des raisons pour lesquelles nous éprouvons une sympathie et une compréhension si profondes pour les autres nations qui luttent pour la liberté et l'indépendance et c'est pourquoi nous continuerons à donner notre appui aux aspirations des populations des colonies qui subsistent en Afrique et ailleurs.

130. Notre expérience du colonialisme est grande. Nous avons été témoins de l'exploitation économique et du pillage de nos ressources naturelles par les colonialistes. Nous avons connu l'amertume que fait naître la suppression des libertés par la force, nous avons pu observer par quelles méthodes une nation peut être maintenue à un niveau inférieur de développement culturel et politique. Il n'est peut-être pas nécessaire d'insister particulièrement sur ces faits, cependant il est une chose qu'il faut absolument rappeler ici, c'est l'utilisation des peuples coloniaux dans

le processus d'anéantissement du mouvement de libération d'autres peuples placés sous la domination coloniale. La triste histoire des soldats indiens qui sont tombés dans les vallées de la Mésopotamie pendant la première guerre mondiale, des Marocains qui sont morts sur les champs de bataille d'Europe, ou celle de millions d'autres sujets coloniaux qui ont été menés au combat non pas sous leur propre drapeau, ni pour défendre leur propre cause, mais pour protéger les intérêts des colonialistes, resteront à jamais dans les annales tragiques de l'histoire. Cette pratique éhontée qui consistait à utiliser les peuples coloniaux comme de la chair à canon doit nous rappeler quelle valeur les colonialistes accordent à la vie des populations placées sous leur domination.

131. Etant donné la tragique expérience que nous avons faite du colonialisme et la conviction que nous avons du droit de toutes les nations de vivre librement et dans la paix, nous avons adopté une attitude très ferme sur toutes les questions d'ordre colonial, au sein des Nations Unies. A la Quatrième Commission, où ces questions ont été examinées, l'Irak n'a pas ménagé ses efforts pour servir la cause de la liberté en Afrique et ailleurs. Nous nous sommes efforcés, avec succès d'ailleurs, d'insuffler quelque vie dans la Déclaration relative aux territoires non autonomes qui figure au Chapitre XI de la Charte. Par nos efforts collectifs, nous avons pu faire jouer à l'Organisation des Nations Unies un rôle important et bienfaisant en ce qui concerne les progrès accomplis par certains territoires non autonomes dans la voie de la liberté et de l'indépendance; et nous avons ainsi contribué à donner une application pratique à l'un des plus importants principes de la Charte.

132. Quant au projet de déclaration [A/L.323 et Add.1 à 5] que ma délégation a l'honneur de présenter en commun avec de nombreux Etats africains et asiatiques, nous le soumettons à l'Assemblée avec l'espoir que ce texte deviendra une déclaration universelle semblable à la Déclaration universelle des droits de l'homme, œuvre qui a fait date dans l'histoire des Nations Unies. Ce texte est une charte de la liberté à l'intention des peuples qui vivent encore dans la dépendance et l'oppression et, parmi les pays qui présentent ce texte, nombreux sont ceux qui se sont récemment libérés du colonialisme.

133. Dans ce projet, nous rappelons certains des principes essentiels de la Charte et nous soulignons les dangers que représente le colonialisme et les conflits qui peuvent en résulter entre nations par suite du refus d'accorder la liberté aux peuples encore non autonomes. La déclaration proclame certains faits et principes qui sont évidents en soi, à savoir que le colonialisme s'oppose au développement de la coopération économique internationale et entrave le développement social, culturel et économique des peuples non autonomes; que l'asservissement et l'exploitation par l'étranger sont la négation des droits fondamentaux de l'homme et sont contraires aux principes de la Charte des Nations Unies. La déclaration repousse catégoriquement les arguments constamment invoqués par les colonialistes pour justifier le maintien de leur domination sur certains pays non autonomes; l'un de ces arguments est que les peuples des colonies ne sont pas encore prêts à s'administrer eux-mêmes, qu'ils n'ont pas encore atteint la maturité politique nécessaire et que, dans les domaines économique et social et dans celui de l'enseignement, ils ne sont pas suffi-

samment développés pour être parfaitement indépendants. Il est évident que ce genre d'argument est fallacieux et il a été discrédité même par certaines puissances coloniales qui admettent aujourd'hui que l'indépendance politique et l'émancipation ne sauraient être retardées sous le prétexte d'une préparation insuffisante dans les domaines politique, économique et social. Le monde en est venu à reconnaître aussi que la liberté et l'indépendance sont de puissants stimulants pour accélérer le rythme du progrès dans tous les domaines de l'activité humaine. Il serait inutile de rappeler les exemples de tant de pays — y compris celui que je représente — qui ont été en mesure de progresser à un rythme bien plus accéléré après s'être entièrement libérés de la domination étrangère.

134. L'un des articles les plus importants de ce projet de déclaration est celui qui traite de la nécessité de mettre fin à toute action armée et à toutes mesures de répression dirigées contre les peuples dépendants qui luttent pour obtenir que leurs aspirations légitimes à la liberté et à la dignité soient satisfaites. Les exemples d'intervention armée et d'agression de ce genre sont trop bien connus pour que je me permette d'insister, mais il ne faut pas que les nations soient obligées de payer le lourd tribut d'un partage de leur patrie pour pouvoir accéder à l'indépendance. Nous avons vu récemment de nombreux exemples de ce genre de solution et il y a là un danger contre lequel les Nations Unies doivent se prémunir. Il est donc indispensable que la déclaration comporte un paragraphe condamnant la destruction partielle ou totale de l'unité nationale et de l'intégrité territoriale des pays.

135. Le paragraphe 5 du projet de déclaration a une importance toute particulière. Il prévoit que des mesures immédiates seront prises, dans tous les territoires qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance, pour transférer tous pouvoirs aux peuples de ces territoires, sans aucune condition ni réserve, conformément à leur volonté et à leurs vœux librement exprimés. Il s'agit là d'un appel à toutes les puissances qui administrent à l'heure actuelle des territoires non autonomes afin qu'elles prennent immédiatement des mesures permettant aux peuples de ces territoires d'accéder sans délai à l'indépendance.

136. En adoptant cette déclaration à l'unanimité, l'Assemblée générale s'acquitterait d'une des plus hautes missions prévues dans la Charte et provoquerait un changement radical de la tendance dangereuse que prennent actuellement les rapports de puissance entre Etats. La liquidation définitive du régime colonial annoncerait l'avènement d'une nouvelle ère de l'histoire de la société humaine, une ère dans laquelle les relations entre nations se fonderaient sur des principes de droit et d'équité rendant impossible le recours à la violence et à la force. La tension internationale serait diminuée et une meilleure compréhension régnerait entre les pays évolués et les pays sous-développés.

137. Le devoir peut-être le plus important de l'Organisation des Nations Unies est de favoriser l'avènement de cette nouvelle communauté des nations en aidant les pays qui étaient, et qui sont encore, sous la domination coloniale à s'émanciper pour satisfaire aux

exigences de l'ère actuelle de l'histoire. Comme l'a dit M. Khrouchtchev:

"Notre époque est celle de la rénovation rapide de la société, celle de l'établissement de modes de vie plus progressifs et plus justes, celle où la puissance de l'homme sur les forces de la nature prend un essor sans précédent. Le temps est venu de libérer entièrement et définitivement les peuples qui souffrent dans la servitude coloniale." [A/4502.]

Les Nations Unies ne sauraient rester indifférentes à la manière dont certaines puissances coloniales foulent aux pieds les droits des peuples qu'elles maintiennent sous leur joug par les méthodes les plus brutales. Elles ne sauraient fermer les yeux sur la manière dont ces puissances coloniales pillent les richesses des autres nations, les maintenant ainsi dans une extrême pauvreté et dans un état arriéré. La liquidation immédiate du colonialisme sera sans aucun doute dans l'intérêt de toutes les nations. L'expérience récente n'a montré que trop clairement à quel point les nations émancipées peuvent contribuer au progrès et à la prospérité dans le monde. La libération des pays coloniaux a, dans bien des domaines, profondément modifié la situation en favorisant le développement économique, politique et culturel normal de ces pays, et elle a permis de relever le niveau de vie dans tous les pays.

138. Seuls des peuples libres peuvent s'unir pour instaurer dans le monde le nouvel ordre envisagé par la Charte des Nations Unies, et le régime colonial, qui refuse d'accorder la liberté, est donc contraire aux principes de cette Charte ainsi qu'à l'esprit rénovateur de l'époque moderne.

139. Le PRESIDENT (traduit de l'anglais): Je donne la parole au représentant du Panama qui désire exercer son droit de réponse.

140. M. ILLUECA (Panama) [traduit de l'espagnol]: Le Ministre des affaires étrangères de Cuba a, tout à l'heure, fait allusion à la zone du canal de Panama en des termes que ma délégation se doit de relever.

141. La zone du canal de Panama, qui est une petite bande de terre d'environ 16 kilomètres de large et d'à peine 80 kilomètres de long, fait partie intégrante du territoire de la République de Panama, laquelle exerce son autorité sur ce territoire en toute souveraineté. Ce droit dont jouit le Panama a été reconnu par le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis et par le Président des Etats-Unis et le drapeau panaméen flotte sur la zone du canal.

142. Je regrette profondément que le Ministre des affaires étrangères de Cuba ait cru bon de faire une telle allusion devant le représentant de la République de Panama. Si, comme l'a déclaré ici le Ministre des affaires étrangères de Cuba, son pays est libre et ne se trouve sous la tutelle ni des Etats-Unis, ni de l'Union soviétique, il en est de même de la République de Panama qui est aussi un pays libre, digne et souverain, représenté à l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Son peuple ne veut pas non plus se trouver sous la tutelle d'aucune autre puissance quelle qu'elle soit, grande ou petite, ni par conséquent sous la tutelle de Cuba ou de tout autre pays.

143. Je me permettrai de prier le Ministre des affaires étrangères de Cuba de bien vouloir, la prochaine

fois qu'il prendra la parole devant cette assemblée sur une question quelconque de caractère international, respecter les droits légitimes des autres représentants qui font partie de cette auguste assemblée.

144. Ma délégation se réserve le droit de prendre à nouveau la parole sur cette question si les circonstances l'exigent.

La séance est levée à 18 h 15.

ASSEMBLÉE
GÉNÉRALE

OCT 24 1961

SÉANCE PLÉNIÈRE

Mardi 6 décembre 1960,
à 20 h 30

QUINZIÈME SESSION

UN, SA COLLECTION

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Président: M. Frederick H. BOLAND (Irlande).

POINT 87 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance
aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux (suite)

M. Illueca (Panama), vice-président, prend la présidence.

1. Le PRESIDENT (traduit de l'espagnol): Je donne la parole au représentant des Etats-Unis pour lui permettre d'exercer son droit de réponse.

2. M. PAYNE (Etats-Unis d'Amérique) [traduit de l'anglais]: Nous ne sommes pas surpris que le représentant de Cuba ait jugé à propos de parler dans sa déclaration de l'Etat libre associé de Porto Rico et je ne puis vraiment pas dire que nous soyons déçus; en effet, les observations formulées par le représentant de Cuba nous offrent la possibilité de parler d'un sujet qui est pour les Etats-Unis un motif de grande fierté. Je dois dire pourtant qu'en mentionnant Porto Rico le représentant de Cuba — sans se proposer peut-être d'apporter plus d'ordre à nos débats — a sans doute fourni une contribution positive à nos discussions parce que des faits — je répète: des faits — seront mis en lumière.

3. Depuis qu'on a parlé de Porto Rico pour la dernière fois au cours de la discussion générale — c'était en septembre — une consultation électorale s'est déroulée dans le pays et les résultats de cette consultation, que M. Wadsworth a mentionnés dans sa déclaration de cet après-midi [937^eme séance], sont plus éloquents que je ne pourrais l'être moi-même. Quiconque a ces résultats présents à l'esprit pourra se demander à quelle fin cette question a été soulevée au cours du présent débat. Je suis certain que plus d'une personne ici présente doit trouver piquant qu'un Etat libre associé où existe un régime véritablement démocratique soit pris à partie par le Ministre des affaires étrangères d'un pays où la population n'a pas eu la possibilité d'exprimer ses désirs par des méthodes démocratiques.

4. Aux termes de la résolution 748 (VIII) du 27 novembre 1953, l'Assemblée générale a reconnu que le peuple de Porto Rico avait exprimé sa volonté librement et démocratiquement, qu'il avait effectivement exercé son droit de disposer de lui-même et qu'il était clair que Porto Rico était devenu une entité politique autonome. Le paragraphe 9 du dispositif de cette résolution était rédigé en ces termes:

"Exprime la conviction que, conformément à l'esprit de la présente résolution, aux idéaux exprimés dans la Charte des Nations Unies, aux traditions du peuple des Etats-Unis d'Amérique et au progrès politique accompli par le peuple de Porto Rico, il sera dûment tenu compte de la volonté du peuple porto-ricien et de celle du peuple des Etats-Unis d'Amérique dans la conduite de leurs relations conformément au statut juridique actuel, et aussi dans le cas où l'une ou l'autre des parties à l'association consentie d'un commun accord désirerait apporter une modification aux termes de cette association."

5. La population de Porto Rico et la population des Etats-Unis ont répondu à tous égards aux espoirs exprimés par l'ONU, et tous les Américains y trouvent une raison de fierté.

6. Si l'une quelconque des personnes assemblées ici avait quelque doute au sujet du statut actuel de Porto Rico, je lui proposerais de lire le texte intégral du message de M. Luis Muñoz Marín, gouverneur de l'Etat libre associé de Porto Rico, qui a été distribué en tant que document des Nations Unies. Je voudrais donner lecture d'une partie de ce message [A/4519]:

"Le peuple de Porto Rico est fermement partisan d'une société démocratique, fondée sur le respect des droits des minorités, la protection et l'affirmation des libertés individuelles et l'exercice effectif du droit de vote lors d'élections entourées de toutes les garanties de liberté. Il ne peut y avoir de véritable autodétermination que si toutes ces conditions sont remplies.

"Porto Rico, pour sa part, a effectivement et réellement rempli ces conditions, et c'est en toute liberté qu'elle a accepté les relations qu'elle entretient actuellement avec les Etats-Unis. Le peuple de Porto Rico est un peuple qui s'administre lui-même, qui s'est librement associé aux Etats-Unis d'Amérique sur la base du consentement et du respect mutuels. C'est le peuple de Porto Rico lui-même qui détermine, au mieux de ses intérêts, la politique qu'il entend suivre pour assurer son développement économique et culturel.

"Dans une résolution qu'elle a adoptée en novembre 1953, l'Assemblée générale des Nations Unies a solennellement reconnu que le peuple de Porto Rico avait effectivement exercé son droit de disposer de lui-même en créant l'Etat libre associé, entité politique autonome dont l'association avec les Etats-Unis d'Amérique résulte d'un commun accord. J'ajouterai, en ce qui concerne le principe de l'autodétermination, que cette année même l'Assemblée législative de l'Etat libre associé a approuvé une loi autorisant l'organisation d'un nouveau vote sur le statut de Porto Rico dès que 10 pour 100 des électeurs le demanderont."

7. Telles sont les paroles du Gouverneur de Porto Rico. Et que dit le parti de l'opposition? Aujourd'hui même M. Wadsworth a reçu le télégramme suivant:

"En ma qualité de candidat au poste de Gouverneur, représentant le Statehood Republican Party of Puerto Rico (parti républicain de Porto Rico pour l'accession de Porto Rico au rang d'Etat de l'Union), parti qui a réuni plus de 250.000 voix, soit 32,4 pour 100 des suffrages exprimés lors de la consultation électorale de novembre dernier, ce qui, ajouté aux 58 pour 100 des suffrages obtenus par le parti au pouvoir — qui préconisait aussi l'union permanente de Porto Rico et des Etats-Unis — représente plus de 90 pour 100 du corps électoral, je considère comme inadmissible la démarche d'un petit groupe de chefs du parti de l'indépendance — celui-ci n'ayant réuni que 24.000 suffrages, soit moins de 3 pour 100 des suffrages du corps électoral — qui ont porté la question devant les Nations Unies et ont inexactement présenté la situation existant à Porto Rico, qui est une collectivité de citoyens américains de par sa propre volonté. Il s'agit là d'une tentative blâmable pour entraver le processus d'autodétermination auquel la communauté des citoyens de Porto Rico a eu librement recours.

"(Signé) Luis A. Ferre"

8. Si l'un des représentants qui siègent au sein de cette assemblée avait encore des doutes quant aux désirs de la population de Porto Rico après avoir entendu ces communications, je lui recommanderais de se rendre sur place pour juger lui-même. Il y sera accueilli avec la cordialité traditionnelle et la courtoisie innée de la population de Porto Rico — composée tout entière de citoyens américains — et il découvrira à Porto Rico une des îles les plus enchantées du globe et un séjour de détente qui serait particulièrement bien choisi lorsque sera terminée cette session assez pénible de l'Assemblée générale.

9. M. PARISIS (Belgique): La Belgique a spontanément mis un terme au régime colonial. L'indépendance qui a été proclamée le 3 juin 1960 à Léopoldville n'était pas le résultat de luttes séculaires ou la fin d'un régime d'oppression. Le transfert des pouvoirs était complet, sans réserve; il n'a jamais été question d'y revenir. Les Belges n'ont pas d'autres colonies.

10. La Belgique exerce actuellement encore la tutelle sur le Ruanda-Urundi. Elle l'exerce en vertu d'un accord de tutelle qui fait suite à un mandat de la Société des Nations. La Belgique, s'exprimant par son gouvernement, a déclaré le 9 septembre 1960 que, selon son vœu, ce régime de tutelle doit prendre fin au cours du premier semestre de 1962. Le représentant de la Belgique à la Quatrième Commission l'a confirmé le 25 novembre dernier ^{1/}.

11. Un peu plus de discernement, un peu plus de souci de la vérité, et nous verrons plus clair dans les problèmes qui s'offrent à nous. Et il me suffira de rappeler les sages paroles du président Fulbert Youlou qui a dit, le 18 novembre:

"Nous savons ce que le colonialisme a pu nous apporter parfois d'humiliations ou d'injustices,

comme toute œuvre humaine, mais nous ne voulons pas renier ce qu'il a pu avoir aussi d'enrichissant, dans le domaine matériel et dans celui de l'esprit." [917ème séance, par. 8.]

12. En regard, je dois constater que le projet de déclaration soviétique [A/4502] contient des erreurs de première grandeur. J'ai déjà fait justice de la calomnie selon laquelle la population du Congo aurait été décimée en 50^{ans}. J'ai montré qu'au contraire, au cours des 20 dernières années, le taux d'expansion de la population congolaise avait quadruplé. On a osé écrire, dans ce même document, qu'au moment de la proclamation de l'indépendance de la République du Congo "seuls quelques habitants savaient lire et écrire". Mais ne sait-on pas qu'en juillet 1960 le réseau de l'enseignement — tant normal que technique, moyen et primaire — était complet, groupant près de 2 millions d'enfants, soit un sixième de la population totale du Congo? Ce chiffre correspondait à 57 pour 100 de la population d'âge scolaire. Cinquante-sept pour cent! Il faut le comparer à celui de pays africains depuis longtemps indépendants où la fréquentation varie entre 5 et 25 pour 100 de la population d'âge scolaire. M. Khrouchtchev fait le silence sur l'existence des deux universités congolaises créées l'une en 1954 à Léopoldville, l'autre en 1956 à Elisabethville, où l'on ne connaît aucune discrimination raciale.

13. Peut-être ignore-t-il qu'après de l'Université Lovanium, à 20 kilomètres de Léopoldville, fonctionne le seul réacteur nucléaire qu'il y ait en Afrique.

14. Dans le même document encore, M. Khrouchtchev affirme: "Les principaux instruments agricoles [en Afrique] sont, comme il y a des milliers d'années, la houe ... et des bâtons pointus, et des façons culturales primitives y conduisent à l'épuisement et à l'érosion des sols." Il s'est malheureusement trompé de fiche. La description qu'il nous donne se rapporte à un passé qui remonte à 52 ans, lorsque l'Etat belge a entrepris son œuvre sur la terre africaine. Depuis lors, les Belges ont édifié une infrastructure économique et sociale se traduisant par des investissements de 3 milliards de dollars au cours des 10 dernières années. Le résultat en fut un investissement de 148 dollars par an et par habitant, alors qu'en d'autres pays africains et asiatiques indépendants cet investissement ne dépasse pas 30 dollars par an.

15. Est-il besoin aussi de rappeler le rapport du Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes, qui parle, lui, du plan décennal de développement d'un coût de 48 milliards de francs ^{2/}, soit environ 1 milliard de dollars, plan entièrement réalisé par les Belges au Congo? Si nous étudions les pays d'Afrique en voie d'industrialisation, nous lisons dans le même rapport: "En 1956, le Congo belge, avec 152.758 salariés, soit 4,86 pour 100 de la population active, venait en tête des territoires d'Afrique ^{3/}..."

16. La Belgique vient d'assurer l'accession de la République du Congo à l'indépendance. Contrairement à ce qui a été affirmé, cette accession a été préparée. Des élections eurent lieu et furent suivies de la mise en place d'institutions locales en 1957 et en 1959. Un groupe de travail parlementaire a parcouru tout

^{1/} Documents officiels de l'Assemblée générale, quinzième session, Quatrième Commission, 1065ème séance.

^{2/} Ibid., Supplément No 15 (A/4371), 2ème partie, par. 55.

^{3/} Ibid., par. 78.

le Congo en 1958. Deux "tables rondes" portant, l'une sur les questions politiques, l'autre sur les problèmes économiques et financiers, se tinrent à Bruxelles en janvier et en mai 1960. Les leaders congolais s'y rencontrèrent avec des représentants de la Belgique pour élaborer les conditions dans lesquelles s'opérerait l'accession à l'indépendance. Enfin, des élections générales vinrent, en 1960, parfaire l'œuvre commune. Ce furent autant d'étapes pour la mise en place des institutions de la République du Congo.

17. Parallèlement, les Belges prévoyaient au profit du nouvel Etat, en même temps qu'une large assistance, le concours de leurs techniciens: 10.000 enseignants, magistrats et fonctionnaires, tous placés sous l'autorité exclusive du Gouvernement congolais.

18. On a déclaré à cette tribune que la Belgique avait fait preuve de libéralisme en acceptant de proclamer l'indépendance du Congo. Mais on a ajouté qu'elle avait saboté cette indépendance. Accusation aussi absurde qu'injuste et dénuée de fondement. La politique de la Belgique est essentiellement fondée sur le principe du respect de la souveraineté et de l'indépendance de la République du Congo, ainsi que sur la non-ingérence dans ses affaires intérieures. Les Belges estiment qu'il y a là un domaine qui relève exclusivement de l'appréciation des Congolais.

19. Si nous relisons l'histoire, nous constatons qu'un grand nombre de pays ici représentés ont été tour à tour, dans leur histoire, colonisés et colonisateurs. Pour sa part, la Belgique a connu bien des dominations avant d'être au cours de ce siècle, en l'espace de 25 ans, envahie à deux reprises — de 1914 à 1918 et de 1940 à 1945. Les abus du colonialisme, on les rencontre partout, hélas! tout au long du passé et dans toutes les régions du monde. Nous ne pouvons que les condamner partout, où qu'ils se situent, sans exclure l'URSS. Sans doute le représentant de l'Union soviétique a-t-il, à la 925ème séance de l'Assemblée, invoqué l'argument selon lequel il s'agit là de questions intérieures. Mais les questions coloniales sont, en principe, d'ordre intérieur puisqu'elles concernent des territoires relevant de la souveraineté d'un Etat. Cela n'empêche pas l'Union soviétique de mener une attaque de fond contre les pays ayant ou ayant eu des colonies. En me plaçant sur le même terrain que le représentant de l'Union soviétique, je ne fais qu'agir dans l'exercice du droit de réponse. On ne saurait avoir deux poids et deux mesures...

20. Le PRESIDENT (traduit de l'espagnol): Je prie le représentant de la Belgique de quitter la tribune pour permettre au représentant de l'Union soviétique de présenter une motion d'ordre.

21. M. ROCHTCHINE (Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques) [traduit du russe]: Nous sommes en train d'examiner ici la question du colonialisme, inscrite à l'ordre du jour de l'Assemblée générale. Par conséquent, les allusions que le représentant de la Belgique fait ici à l'Union soviétique et à d'autres pays, n'ayant aucun rapport avec la question examinée, n'en ont pas davantage avec le problème que nous étudions. C'est pourquoi je prierais le Président de rappeler à l'ordre le représentant de la Belgique, puisque c'est précisément la question du colonialisme que nous étudions.

22. Le représentant de la Belgique a parlé du "travail considérable accompli au Congo". Nous sommes justement témoins de ce qui se passe à

l'heure actuelle au Congo et c'est précisément la faute de la Belgique si l'Assemblée générale est amenée à examiner la situation créée maintenant dans la République du Congo. Je répète que la question abordée ici par le représentant de la Belgique n'a pas de rapport immédiat et direct avec la question coloniale que nous étudions. Aussi prierais-je le Président de rappeler à l'ordre le représentant de la Belgique et de l'inviter à s'en tenir rigoureusement au cadre des questions que nous étudions en ce moment.

23. Le PRESIDENT (traduit de l'espagnol): Je tiens à interpréter aussi largement que possible le règlement intérieur de l'Assemblée, en vertu duquel tous les représentants peuvent exprimer le point de vue de leurs gouvernements respectifs. Néanmoins, je me permets de rappeler à tous les représentants — comme M. Boland, président en titre, l'a fait à différentes reprises — que l'Assemblée générale a décidé d'ajourner l'examen de la question du Congo. Dans ces conditions, j'invite les représentants, lorsqu'ils prendront la parole, à se limiter exclusivement au point de l'ordre du jour actuellement à l'étude.

24. Dans ces conditions, je prie le représentant de la Belgique de poursuivre son intervention.

25. M. PARISIS (Belgique): Mon pays, au cours de ces débats, a fait l'objet d'un grand nombre d'attaques. Nous n'avons jamais interrompu, nous avons invoqué le droit de réponse lorsqu'il le fallait, et nous pensions que nous pouvions compter sur la protection du Président.

26. Je reprends mon discours au point où je l'avais laissé. Je regrette que M. Rochtchine ait jugé nécessaire de m'interrompre, car la citation que j'allais précisément faire est celle d'un rapport, en date du 12 janvier 1957, de M. Gorkine, secrétaire du Présidium du Soviet suprême — et je suppose que le représentant de l'Union soviétique ne récusera pas cette autorité. Voici cette citation:

"Le XXème Congrès du parti communiste a noté des faits qui sont en violation flagrante avec les principes fondamentaux de la politique léniniste des nationalités de l'Etat soviétique. Ces violations se manifestèrent dans l'éviction injustifiée de peuples entiers et dans l'institution de restrictions à leur égard dans leur nouveau lieu de résidence. C'est ainsi qu'à la fin de 1943 et au début de 1944, les Balkars, les Tchetchènes, les Kalmouks et les Karatchaïs furent renvoyés du Caucase du Nord vers des régions du Kazakhstan et de l'Asie centrale..."

27. Le PRESIDENT (traduit de l'espagnol): Je prie le représentant de la Belgique de bien vouloir céder la parole au représentant de l'Union soviétique qui désire présenter une motion d'ordre.

28. M. ROCHTCHINE (Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques) [traduit du russe]: Je voudrais attirer l'attention du Président sur le fait qu'il ne s'en tient pas, en l'occurrence, à une objectivité suffisante dans la conduite de cette séance plénière.

29. Le fait est que c'est la question coloniale que nous discutons. Cela est clairement stipulé dans notre ordre du jour et cela ressort du cadre même du débat. Le représentant de la Belgique, pour détourner l'attention de l'Assemblée de l'examen de la question posée, s'efforce d'amener cette assemblée à examiner des questions qui n'ont aucun rapport

avec l'ordre du jour. S'il avait attiré plutôt l'attention de l'Assemblée générale sur l'examen des questions coloniales et, en particulier, sur la situation née de l'état auquel l'Administration belge avait réduit le Congo, l'examen de cette question serait conforme à l'ordre du jour. Peut-être même cela serait-il une contribution à l'examen que nous faisons de la question posée. En effet, la situation dans les colonies — et en particulier (je dirais même surtout) dans les colonies belges — soulève vivement l'attention de l'opinion publique du monde entier et de tous les autres pays. La question du colonialisme a provoqué sur tous les continents un intérêt extrêmement grand et très profond. Les débats qui se sont déroulés ici montrent que toutes les délégations entendent intervenir dans cette question brûlante, vitale, qui est la plus importante actuellement.

30. Le représentant de la Belgique, pour affaiblir l'impression considérable que l'examen de cette question exerce sur l'opinion publique de tous les pays, s'efforce maintenant de détourner l'attention par des allusions diverses à des événements qui se sont produits dans différents pays, par suite de circonstances historiques déterminées résultant de la guerre, d'une guerre extrêmement dure qu'ont eu à supporter les peuples du monde entier et, en particulier, les peuples de l'Union soviétique. Cela étant, il veut détourner l'attention des problèmes que l'Assemblée générale examine actuellement et sur lesquels se trouve fixée l'attention du monde entier, et attirer l'attention sur des questions qui n'ont aucun rapport avec le point de notre ordre du jour.

31. Je voudrais prier le Président, tenant compte précisément de cette circonstance, de rappeler à l'ordre le représentant de la Belgique afin qu'il ne nous fasse pas perdre notre temps, étant donné que la question est d'une très grande importance. Nous pourrions, nous aussi, examiner beaucoup d'autres points en rapport avec les circonstances actuelles. Nous pourrions, s'il le fallait absolument, commencer dès maintenant un examen détaillé et circonstancié des activités de l'Administration belge au Congo. Mais cela fait l'objet d'une question particulière que nous discuterons demain à la séance du Conseil de sécurité convoquée pour le matin et, dans deux jours, l'Assemblée, en séance plénière, examinera la question de la situation au Congo et les actions manifestement illégales de l'Administration belge, du Gouvernement belge et des milieux dirigeants belges au Congo. Encore une fois, j'attire l'attention du Président sur la nécessité de rappeler à l'ordre le représentant de la Belgique.

32. Le PRÉSIDENT (traduit de l'espagnol): Je donne la parole au représentant de Ceylan qui a demandé à présenter une motion d'ordre.

33. M. PERERA (Ceylan) [traduit de l'anglais]: J'ai demandé la parole pour appuyer la motion d'ordre du représentant de l'Union soviétique. En tant que co-auteur du projet de résolution...

34. Le PRÉSIDENT (traduit de l'espagnol): Je me vois contraint de rappeler au représentant de Ceylan que la motion d'ordre soulevée par le représentant de l'Union soviétique doit être réglée par le Président lui-même. Les motions d'ordre ne font pas l'objet d'un débat. Dans ces conditions, je prie le représentant de Ceylan de me laisser me prononcer sur la motion d'ordre présentée par le représentant de l'Union soviétique; si, par la suite, le représentant

de Ceylan juge nécessaire de présenter une autre motion d'ordre, je lui donnerai volontiers la parole. Pour le moment, toutefois, je ne puis le laisser poursuivre étant donné que c'est à la présidence qu'il appartient de se prononcer sur la motion d'ordre présentée par le représentant de l'Union soviétique.

35. M. PERERA (Ceylan) [traduit de l'anglais]: J'accepte la décision du Président, mais je voulais lui éviter de devoir prendre deux décisions. Il s'agit en effet de la même question. Peut-être pourrais-je préciser ma position comme suit: en ma qualité de co-auteur du projet de résolution [A/L.323 et Add. 1 à 6] sur la liquidation du colonialisme, j'estime que le représentant du Gouvernement de la Belgique a formulé des allégations qui sont hors de propos et irrecevables.

36. Le PRÉSIDENT (traduit de l'espagnol): Je voudrais revenir à la motion d'ordre présentée par le représentant de l'Union soviétique.

37. Je tiens à réitérer mon intention de permettre aux représentants qui ont la parole de présenter le point de vue de leur gouvernement. A cet égard, je leur demanderai instamment de faire preuve de discrétion, mais je ne peux pas retirer la parole à un représentant qui expose un point de vue. Je tiens à faire observer, en ma qualité de Président, que le représentant de la Belgique était en train de citer un texte et qu'en temps opportun le représentant de l'Union soviétique aurait eu la possibilité de faire usage du droit de réponse. Mais, je le répète, je ne puis retirer la parole au représentant de la Belgique, car celui-ci, en l'occurrence, ne fait qu'user de ce même droit qui est également garanti à chacun des membres de cette assemblée. Je prie donc le représentant de la Belgique de poursuivre son intervention.

38. M. PARISIS (Belgique): J'en ai terminé avec la citation du rapport de M. Gorkine, secrétaire du Présidium du Soviet suprême, et je n'ai rien à ajouter à cette citation, aucun commentaire à y apporter et je m'étonne de la susceptibilité de M. Rochtchine, qui n'a aucune commune mesure avec notre propre patience.

39. M. Rochtchine dit que le colonialisme a suscité l'intérêt le plus profond sur tous les continents. Enchaînant sur cette phrase, je dirai, au sujet du projet de résolution collectif, que la délégation belge ne peut que se déclarer favorable au principe fondamental dont procède cette proposition. Il s'agit, en effet, d'un principe dont la Belgique a récemment fait pleine application pour les raisons que je viens de formuler dans le cas du Congo et dont elle poursuit activement la mise en œuvre dans le cas du Ruanda-Urundi. Toutefois, ma délégation doit souligner que le projet de résolution comporte nombre d'inexactitudes, entre autres juridiques.

40. Nous réprouvons, comme les délégations qui se sont exprimées ici, les abus du colonialisme et autres sujétions. Nous croyons que la collaboration indispensable entre les peuples doit se développer dans un climat d'estime et de respect mutuels. Et, quoi que disent nos détracteurs, l'Assemblée générale peut être certaine que c'est cette honnête conviction qui nous a conduits à appeler nos frères congolais à l'indépendance.

41. M. LHEYET-GABOKA (Congo [Brazzaville]): En prenant la parole au sein de cette assemblée, je n'ai nullement la prétention d'apporter un remède, un

appui, un apaisement au malaise éyqué au cours des multiples discours qui ont été prononcés ici au sujet du régime colonial. Bien au contraire. Les nombreux orateurs qui m'ont tour à tour précédé à cette tribune ont déjà tout diagnostiqué et ils ont, les uns comme les autres, mis le doigt sur l'incurable plaie du colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et sous toutes ses aspirations. Ces orateurs ont dépouillé la vérité, une vérité chaude comme la chaleur, insipide, amère et difficile à digérer pour ceux qui sont passionnément attachés à la conquête des faibles et à leur soumission, aux colonies et à leurs richesses inépuisables, aux peuples dupes, éternels enfants voués à la servitude.

42. Les orateurs qui m'ont précédé à cette tribune ont donc mis le doigt sur la plaie purulente du colonialisme. Puisqu'il nous faut l'incinérer, ce colonialisme, puisqu'il nous faut l'acculer et le placer face à son image, puisqu'il nous faut débrider l'abcès dans l'arène de cette assemblée, puisque l'occasion nous est donnée de nous exprimer librement et franchement, on ne m'en voudra pas de déraciner à mon tour une touffe d'herbe sur la voie qui mène à la liberté, cette liberté qui est non pas une faveur que des peuples longtemps assujettis sollicitent de leurs prétendus maîtres, mais un droit inaltérable, un droit légitime, étant entendu que tous les hommes naissent libres et égaux, nonobstant la pigmentation de leur peau, leur niveau de civilisation, la grandeur ou la petitesse de leur nation, la position géographique de leur pays.

43. Aucune race ici-bas, qu'elle soit blanche, jaune ou noire, ne peut prétendre avoir un droit d'afresse vis-à-vis d'autres races afin de leur imposer sa volonté. Il n'y a que des gens accommodants, qui se targuent trop souvent de la limpidité de leur civilisation et qui, pour cela, se font passer pour les plus intelligents du monde, alors que l'intelligence n'a pas de baromètre. Naître dans un pays froid n'est pas une qualité qui vous donne droit à tout et naître dans un pays chaud n'est pas un atavisme qui vous prive de tout, même de la liberté.

44. Ne conviendrez-vous pas avec moi qu'un oiseau enfermé dans une cage s'en échappe pour reprendre librement son vol dans le ciel? Ne conviendrez-vous pas avec moi qu'un chien longtemps resté dans une niche aboie à gorge déployée pour réclamer sa liberté? Si des animaux, quelque instinctifs qu'ils soient, apprécient et comprennent la nécessité d'être libres et de disposer de leur existence comme ils l'entendent, comment des hommes ne connaîtraient-ils pas cette impérieuse nécessité, eux qui pensent?

45. Jeune, dépourvu d'expérience et d'initiative, tout enfant vit aux crochets de ses parents. Devenu grand, il quitte la demeure paternelle, s'élance dans le monde et va fonder son foyer loin de ceux qui l'ont élevé parce qu'il se sent libre de sa personne et de sa personnalité. Alors, est-ce au colonisé toujours colonisable que le colonisateur doit mesurer la liberté? Est-ce au pays des aveugles où les borgnes sont rois que rien ne commence et que rien ne finit? Est-ce en Afrique, en Asie, en Océanie, pour ne citer que ces trois parties du globe, que le colonialisme doit survivre éternellement? Est-ce vraiment en Afrique, en Asie, en Océanie qu'il faut continuer de nourrir et d'engraisser l'esclavagisme, l'impérialisme, le dogmatisme et tous leurs virus? Est-ce pour éviter la guerre froide, désarmer les nations

et pacifier le monde entier qu'il faut soutenir le colonialisme? Je ne le pense pas. Tout, ici-bas, commence et finit et il n'y a que des naïfs pour espérer vivre plus longtemps que leur destin. Il n'y a que des aveugles pour ne pas voir où se lève et où se couche le soleil.

46. Naguère, on nous empoisonnait du venin sucré de la colonisation, la colonisation avec ses merveilles d'"Alice au pays des merveilles", ses seins dépourvus de lait, ses mandibules tranchantes qui coupent, lentement, mais plus sûrement qu'un bistouri. Naguère, nous regardions faire nos maîtres sans leur dire mot. Nos maîtres ont profité de notre mutisme pour se sucrer de nos richesses naturelles. Ils en ont profité pour piller nos villages et, en récompense — belle récompense! — ils nous ont appris à nager comme l'écrevisse et ils nous ont donné des outils, bon ou mauvais, sans nous montrer comment il fallait s'en servir.

47. Mais nous ne sommes plus au stade de la servitude, nous ne sommes plus de crédules enfants auxquels on fait éternellement croire à l'existence du père Noël; car ce temps-là est révolu et le colonialisme est partout dépassé. L'Afrique, l'Asie et l'Océanie ne sont plus le "sésame, ouvre-toi" des hommes qui, par leur propre malhonnêteté, leurs manières discourtoises et humiliantes, ont préparé des esprits aigris, des révolutionnaires pacifiques qui ne réclament que la libération de leur pays et de leur peuple du joug de l'occupation coloniale.

48. Hier, on nous a parlé en long et en large et avec emphase d'une nourrice qui s'appelait la colonisation. Aujourd'hui, cette nourrice est travestie sous le nom de "décolonisation". Il est beau, ce travestissement, ce néologisme qui est la suite de plusieurs événements fâcheux et regrettables. Qu'entendait-on hier par "coloniser"? Qu'entend-on aujourd'hui par "décoloniser"? Cette question-là trouvera sa réponse toute faite dans le cerveau de nos colonisateurs d'hier et de nos décolonisateurs d'aujourd'hui.

49. Je ne voudrais point m'attarder là-dessus, mais il convient de rappeler brièvement à nos rois soleils que coloniser, dans leur intention, cela voulait dire "diviser pour régner", cela voulait dire morceler les terres conquises et se les partager comme du gibier afin d'en tirer largement profit au détriment d'autres hommes qui, pourtant, leur sont égaux par la couleur de leur sang et par l'invisibilité de leur âme. Coloniser, cela voulait dire s'enraciner dans des pays qui ne leur appartenaient pas afin d'accaparer leurs richesses, d'opprimer leurs peuples jusqu'à les réduire à leur plus simple expression, à l'inexistence totale.

50. Bref, aujourd'hui enfin, on songe à décoloniser; et décoloniser, à mon humble avis de nègre — donc d'assujetti d'hier — c'est reconnaître ses erreurs passées, c'est faire son mea-culpa après avoir pillé et régné en maître, après avoir paralysé et immobilisé l'évolution des bêtes de somme. Décoloniser, c'est débarrasser l'Afrique, l'Asie et l'Océanie de la lourde et massive carapace du colonialisme. Décoloniser, c'est restituer la liberté aux peuples nés libres que l'on a, par pure présomption, longtemps condamnés à l'ignorance et à l'asservissement. Voilà enfin qui est grandeur et candeur!

51. Au moment où l'Organisation des Nations Unies aborde la question du colonialisme, nous devons nous dire qu'il existe, à travers le monde, des peuples colonisés, des peuples subjugués, dont les regards sont tournés vers nous. Ces peuples, africains ou européens, attendent de l'Organisation des Nations Unies une action positive qui les délivrera pour toujours du joug du colonialisme, système qui est une honte pour le XX^{ème} siècle, ce siècle où les armes nucléaires semblent une découverte surhumaine. J'entends dire que notre siècle est celui où l'homme a atteint la perfection. J'entends dire aussi que le moment est venu où les colonisateurs doivent comprendre le bien-fondé de nos cris, car la liberté des anciennes colonies ne doit pas être la cause d'effusions de sang et de deuils, en ce siècle où l'homme a conquis la science et rivalise d'invention avec le Créateur.

52. Convaincus que la décolonisation ouvrira largement les portes de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, la délégation de la République du Congo saisit cette occasion pour renouveler sa reconnaissance à la France et à son président, le général de Gaulle, qui a vite compris que maintenir en ce siècle les peuples dans un système périmé était contraire au principe qui veut que tout peuple doit disposer de lui-même.

53. La délégation de mon pays tient également à féliciter tous les Etats africano-asiatiques qui ont œuvré en 1955 à Bandoung et ont dénoncé tous les colonialismes. En conséquence, le peuple congolais exprime sa gratitude à ceux qui ont contribué et contribuent à la condamnation du régime colonialiste. Le peuple congolais est fier de pouvoir s'associer aujourd'hui librement aux combattants pour la liberté de tous les peuples. Il n'y a pas longtemps encore, mon pays était une colonie française. D'éminents orateurs ont stigmatisé à cette tribune, avec une vigoureuse éloquence, tout ce qu'est le colonialisme. L'Africain que je suis, le Congolais que je suis, a trop connu les affres d'un colonisé pour ne pas s'associer à tous ceux qui, épris de liberté, mènent une âpre lutte pour mettre un terme, et de façon définitive, au régime colonialiste.

54. Les événements politiques qui, depuis peu, se sont accélérés à une cadence heureuse, permettant à de nombreux Etats africains d'accéder à l'indépendance, ont donné lieu, pendant l'année 1960, à des actes d'autant plus mémorables que cette année sera l'année de la renaissance de l'histoire d'Afrique. Il convient, en la circonstance, de reconnaître qu'un grand pas a déjà été fait vers la liberté des pays et des peuples colonisés; mais il convient encore plus de souligner que, dans l'avenir, la décolonisation devra se faire sans masque et sans hypocrisie. Car nous avons également la ségrégation raciale à combattre sérieusement et à inhumer pour toujours.

55. Il y a un pays, le Cabinda, qui ne connaît pas la liberté. En effet, bien qu'on dise que le soleil luit pour tout le monde, le peuple du Cabinda végète encore sous le régime du colonialisme. Ses occupants étrangers, pour éblouir le monde, veulent qu'on le considère comme une portion de province portugaise, alors qu'en réalité une marge notable existe entre les colonisateurs et les colonisés de ce pays. Je ne veux pas entrer dans les détails, mais j'attire simplement l'attention de l'Organisation des Nations Unies sur une situation qui, certes, va nous coûter encore

du sang et des deuils en Afrique. De 1946 à 1958, d'après une disposition de la Constitution française de 1946, nous, Congolais, étions citoyens français. Mais cela n'a pas empêché la France de nous donner l'indépendance. Ce qu'a fait la France, d'autres nations peuvent le réaliser, surtout que ces nations se réclament du christianisme.

56. Mais, si l'on trouve en Afrique des peuples qui subissent encore le joug du colonialisme, il ne faudrait pas oublier qu'il existe dans d'autres parties du monde des pays qui ne connaissent pas non plus la liberté. Même en Europe, qui se targue de sa fière civilisation, on recense des peuples qui certainement, à l'heure où nous parlons, envient le sort des Etats africains admis à l'indépendance. Nous ne devons pas oublier ces pays dont les cris sont étouffés et ne peuvent, par conséquent, nous parvenir. Qu'attendent donc leurs colonisateurs pour les décoloniser?

57. Je ne voudrais pas être le défenseur avisé de la France au sein de cette assemblée. Je sais que cette nation, comme toutes les autres nations civilisatrices, a certes commis de graves erreurs dans les pays qui étaient sous son occupation coloniale. Mais laissez-moi souligner en passant sa grandeur, du fait qu'elle a su en temps opportun libérer ses colonies d'Afrique après les avoir initiées à une maturité politique indéniabla, après leur avoir fait gravir les étapes de l'indigénat, de la loi-cadre d'où est née l'autonomie interne et enfin de l'indépendance.

58. La noblesse de cœur de la France est loin d'être égalée par d'autres nations civilisatrices qui s'accrochent jalousement à leurs colonies. La France n'a pas attendu une poussée extérieure pour reconnaître à ses anciennes colonies le droit à la liberté qui leur était dû par elle. La France — je le vois par l'opinion publique, mais sans vouloir l'affirmer ni placer la charrue avant les bœufs — n'attendra plus longtemps pour décoloniser l'Algérie; j'ai personnellement confiance en sa bonne foi et en sa grandeur, quoi qu'on en dise. La France n'attendra pas le moment le plus catastrophique, comme le Portugal qui s'entête à gouverner avec une baguette magique le Cabinda qu'il maintient sous le joug de ses préjugés. La France n'a pas attendu l'heure fatale comme la Belgique qui, par son obstination et sa grande envie de vouloir dominer jusqu'à l'éternité, a porté des monstres sur ses épaules et a fait du Congo (Léopoldville) un vaste champ de rixes, de massacres, de guerre fratricide et de violences insensées.

59. La liberté n'est pas une vile marchandise qui se vend sur tous les marchés du monde, au prix du sang devenu monnaie courante à notre époque. Elle représente un droit inné; nul, ici-bas, ne peut prétendre être son maître pour la retirer ou la donner à son gré. A bas le colonialisme! a bas le dogmatisme, a bas les impérialistes et les capitalistes qui pillèrent l'Afrique, ma terre natale, devenue la risée des autres nations!

60. J'en ai terminé, mais je dois déclarer, en concluant, que la délégation du Congo (Brazzaville) votera sans réserve pour le projet de résolution qui nous est soumis [A/L.323 et Add.1 à 6] et souhaite vivement que la décolonisation s'accélère pour permettre à tous les peuples de vivre libres et indépendants.

M. Liu (Chine), vice-président, prend la présidence.

61. M. N'GOUA (Gabon): Ma délégation, qui représente un Etat indépendant, ancien territoire colonial, ne saurait rester muette sur l'importante question du colonialisme qui est actuellement l'objet de nos débats. Je serai bref, d'une part pour éviter la répétition à laquelle se livrent certains orateurs et, d'autre part, parce que je ne veux pas abuser de la confiance de l'Assemblée. Mais je ne veux pas laisser passer l'occasion qui m'est offerte de faire connaître le point de vue de mon pays.

62. Dans son dernier rapport, le Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes a constaté que:

"...les Etats Membres administrants, comme tous les autres Etats Membres, sont d'accord pour reconnaître que les populations des territoires non autonomes sont toutes en droit d'accéder, sur un pied d'absolue égalité et sans distinction de race, de couleur ou de religion, à une indépendance complète, ou, si elles le préfèrent, à une forme d'autonomie complète librement choisie et que c'est à elles-mêmes qu'il appartiendra de déterminer leur futur statut^{4/}."

63. Voici clairement défini le principe de base sur lequel, je veux l'espérer, tout le monde ici est d'accord. En donnant son approbation à ce principe, le représentant du Gabon n'a pas cependant l'impression d'enfoncer une porte ouverte, car il a pu constater au cours des discussions qui se sont déroulées en commission que des divergences de vues existaient sur différents points, notamment en ce qui concerne la forme qu'il convient de donner à cette évolution. Divergences parfois secondaires qui, en tenant compte des passions partisans, ont souvent obscurci le débat et fait perdre de vue l'essentiel, comme l'arbre peut, regardé sous un certain angle, cacher la forêt.

64. C'est pourquoi le Gabon tient à apporter sa contribution à l'apaisement des esprits en rappelant quelques vérités premières, vérités qui, cependant, ne sont pas inutiles à redire après tant de déclarations inspirées peut-être par des considérations politiques très élevées dans leurs principes, mais déformées bien souvent par ce que je pourrais appeler une certaine démagogie. Comme l'a si bien dit en commission, après tant d'autres, le représentant de l'Argentine, l'une des principales conditions à remplir pour que les territoires non autonomes évoluent d'une façon pacifique vers l'indépendance est l'existence de véritables cadres administratifs et techniques capables d'assurer le fonctionnement des services complexes que réclame la structure moderne de l'Etat. Il ne suffit pas à nos yeux, en effet, de réclamer à cor et à cri la libération immédiate de milliers d'êtres qui sont encore dépendants d'une façon ou d'une autre, il faut encore assurer les conditions de cette libération. On peut vouloir — et c'est un souci très louable — rapprocher plus ou moins la date de l'indépendance ou de l'autonomie, mais ce qui importe avant tout c'est de préparer les cadres de remplacement sans lesquels il n'existe pas d'indépendance valable et durable. Le régime colonial est dépassé et condamné, c'est un fait. Mais le problème qui se pose est de préparer les populations à assumer leurs nouvelles responsabilités. Ce n'est pas par la subversion, la haine et le déchaînement des passions politiques que cette tâche pourra s'accomplir.

65. J'ai cité, dans ma courte intervention en commission, l'exemple du Congo ex-belge. On peut discuter à perte de vue sur les causes du chaos actuel qui sévit dans ce malheureux pays. En tant qu'Africain, je souffre fraternellement en prenant chaque jour connaissance des nouveaux malheurs qui accablent cette jeune nation. Selon les options politiques de chacun, on peut insister plus ou moins sur les causes qui sont à la base de cette regrettable situation et rejeter sur l'influence de tel ou tel Etat, de telle ou telle idéologie politique, la responsabilité du désastre. Il n'en reste pas moins vrai — et je pense ne pas être le seul Africain à raisonner ainsi — que la cause principale de cet échec réside dans l'impréparation, disons mieux, dans l'improvisation de cette indépendance. Mon propos n'est pas ici d'insister sur les fautes qui ont pu être commises par la puissance responsable. Des observateurs impartiaux reconnaissent que des efforts louables avaient été accomplis par la Belgique. Mais il faut admettre, sans vouloir accabler celle-ci, que volontairement ou non la puissance coloniale n'avait pas suffisamment préparé le Congo à l'indépendance. La preuve de cette réalité a été malheureusement administrée par les douloureux événements que nous avons vécus. Mais il y a plus. Reportons-nous en effet au deuxième rapport d'activité de M. Dayal, représentant spécial du Secrétaire général au Congo. On y lit ce qui suit:

"Il existe des indices évidents d'un retour continu de Belges au Congo au cours des dernières semaines et, dans le cadre de ce retour, d'une participation croissante de Belges aux activités politiques et administratives, en qualité de consultants, de conseillers ou de fonctionnaires de l'exécutif." [A/4557, par. 39.]

M. Dayal poursuit en indiquant qu'une agence de recrutement existerait à Bruxelles, dont le but semble être d'aider à rétablir une administration civile de nationalité belge, principalement à l'échelon où sont prises les décisions importantes. L'exemple est donc ici frappant. On a voulu mettre les bouchées doubles et franchir au galop les étapes, monter trop vite l'échelle. Les échelons ont cassé et l'on se retrouve au même point, sinon beaucoup plus bas.

66. Ce sont ces graves inconvénients d'une indépendance accordée sans transition que les gouvernements de certaines puissances coloniales ont essayé d'éviter. Ainsi, la plupart des Etats africains récemment admis ont accédé à l'indépendance sans heurt et sans à-coup et, si tout n'est pas encore parfait chez nous, les conditions d'un progrès durable sont entre nos mains. Nos nouveaux Etats sont solides et notre accession à l'indépendance, pour graduelle qu'elle ait été, n'en est pas moins sérieuse et sans appel. Qu'il suffise de rappeler, par exemple, les étapes par lesquelles notre Gabon est passé. Du régime colonial, qui s'est appelé l'Empire français, aux constructions de l'Union française, puis à la loi-cadre plus libérale — transformant ce qui était une colonie en un territoire jouissant déjà d'une large autonomie, avec son parlement et son gouvernement — pour aboutir enfin à la proclamation de la République gabonaise, intervenue récemment, et à la consécration suprême que fut l'entrée de notre pays dans cette organisation.

67. On a pu ainsi parler d'une décolonisation parfaitement réussie. Je ne pense pas qu'on puisse sérieusement le contester sur les plans juridique et politique: notre liberté et notre indépendance sont

^{4/} Ibid., par. 25.

réelles. Par contre, on a pu dire avec raison que, sur le plan économique, l'inégalité subsiste. Nous en sommes conscients. Nous savons qu'il nous faudra, dans un proche avenir, nous acheminer vers des structures économiques plus satisfaisantes, comportant un secteur industriel suffisant. Nous savons qu'il est souhaitable que nous nous éloignons des économies de monoproduction, particulièrement vulnérables, et que nous obtenions des termes de l'échange plus équitables afin de ne pas être lésés dans le commerce international. Nous savons tout cela.

68. Mais nous savons aussi que nos pays sont insuffisamment développés et que nos besoins en capital technique sont grands. Nous avons également, en attendant la formation des cadres nationaux, un grand besoin de l'assistance technique internationale, qu'elle soit bilatérale ou multilatérale, dans le cadre de l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Or, nous avons eu le sentiment, en écoutant certains représentants, que ces nécessités étaient parfois perdues de vue et que l'octroi d'aide à des pays sous-développés comme le nôtre était parfois considéré comme une manifestation de néo-colonialisme parce qu'il consacre l'inégalité entre le pays assistant et le pays assisté. Je tiens donc à dire, au nom de mon pays, que l'on ne saurait qualifier de néo-colonialisme une aide économique ou une assistance technique quelle qu'elle soit, si elle est accordée sans souci de domination, c'est-à-dire sur des bases équitables, dans le respect de notre liberté et de notre indépendance.

69. Mon pays a tenu à s'associer au dépôt du projet de résolution sur la décolonisation [A/L.323 et Add.1 à 6] et cette initiative est toute naturelle. Fier de son indépendance et pénétré des principes de liberté, il ne peut que souhaiter que tous les peuples, sans exception, bénéficient de ces biens suprêmes que sont la liberté et l'indépendance, non seulement en Afrique, mais sur tous les continents.

70. Mais il me paraissait aussi de mon devoir — et je pense que l'Assemblée partagera ce sentiment — de rappeler combien il est nécessaire que cette indépendance ne soit pas exposée aux fléaux qu'engendre l'improvisation. Nous nous méfions certes de ces adversaires de la liberté qui ont tendance à considérer qu'il est toujours trop tôt pour provoquer les évolutions nécessaires. Non, le mouvement d'émancipation est irréversible. Mais nous ne voudrions pas que nos frères d'Afrique ou d'ailleurs qui vivent encore sous une tutelle étrangère soient livrés sans préparation et sans moyens aux tâches redoutables qui s'imposent aux jeunes Etats. Cette sorte de politique du pire reviendrait, en fait, à les faire passer de la domination étrangère à la tyrannie de l'anarchie où périssent tout à la fois les libertés et les promesses de bien-être. Il faut donc accélérer le processus de libération mais, parallèlement, hâter la mise en place des cadres et des moyens sans lesquels la liberté accordée ne serait que nominale et sombrerait dans le chaos. Car nous savons bien que la confusion ainsi créée frustrerait les peuples à peine émancipés des biens qu'ils sont en droit d'attendre, tout en laissant le champ libre aux influences les moins avouables.

71. M. ILLUECA (Panama) [traduit de l'espagnol]: La délégation du Panama a voté, tant au Bureau de l'Assemblée qu'en séance plénière, pour l'inscription à l'ordre du jour de l'Assemblée du point 87 relatif à l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples

coloniaux. Cette attitude correspond à une position politique à laquelle la République de Panama s'est invariablement tenue depuis la création de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, afin de donner tout son sens au principe du droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes, au respect de l'intégrité et de l'indépendance des pays, à l'exercice des droits et des libertés fondamentales de l'homme, en un mot afin d'obtenir, par des moyens pacifiques, l'élimination du colonialisme. A cet égard, qu'il me suffise de rappeler que le Panama a été le pays qui a eu l'honneur de présenter à la Conférence de San Francisco le premier projet de déclaration universelle des droits de l'homme que l'Organisation ait examiné.

72. L'un des faits saillants de l'histoire de l'Amérique latine est la lutte menée pour défendre un idéal fondamental, au nom duquel combattait le libérateur Simón Bolívar, savoir la garantie de l'indépendance politique et de l'intégrité territoriale des Etats américains, ce qui a eu pour conséquence la condamnation du prétendu droit de conquête. Il convient de signaler que, dans le Traité d'union, ligue et confédération perpétuelle qui avait été élaboré au Congrès de Panama réuni par Bolívar en 1826, la question de la garantie de l'intégrité territoriale et de l'indépendance politique des Etats américains s'était déjà posée. C'est là qu'ont été jetées les bases du système régional américain actuel, et c'est là qu'on peut trouver les antécédents de notre organisation mondiale.

73. La pensée des hommes d'élite de notre région se retrouve dans les conférences panaméricaines qui ont commencé à se réunir à la fin du siècle dernier. Je me permettrai de citer quelques exemples. Dans la résolution adoptée le 18 avril 1890 par la première conférence, tenue à Washington, il était indiqué que le principe de la conquête était définitivement éliminé du droit public américain et, en outre, que toute cession de territoire serait considérée comme nulle si elle s'était effectuée sous la menace de la guerre ou sous la pression des forces armées.

74. La septième conférence internationale américaine, qui s'est tenue à Montevideo en 1933, a consacré, dans l'article 11 de la Convention sur les droits et les devoirs des Etats, une doctrine fondamentale du droit public américain. Cet article contenait les dispositions suivantes:

"Les Etats contractants consacrent de façon définitive, comme norme de leur conduite, l'obligation précise de ne pas reconnaître les acquisitions de territoires ou d'avantages spéciaux obtenus par la force, qu'elle consiste en l'emploi des armes, en représentations diplomatiques comminatoires ou en tout autre moyen de coaction effective. Le territoire des Etats est inviolable et il ne peut pas faire l'objet d'occupations militaires, ni d'autres mesures de force imposées par un autre Etat, ni directement ni indirectement, ni pour un motif quelconque, ni même de manière temporaire."

75. A notre avis, la pensée de Bolívar se trouve correctement formulée dans la résolution 96 de la dixième conférence interaméricaine (Caracas, 1er-28 mars 1954), qui réaffirme le droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes et exprime la volonté des Etats américains de mettre définitivement un terme au colonialisme ainsi qu'à l'occupation de territoires par des puissances étrangères.

76. Conscient de ce passé historique, mon pays vient aujourd'hui, à cette tribune, réaffirmer sa foi dans la démocratie et exprimer, par mon intermédiaire, son intention de favoriser, dans la mesure de ses possibilités et avec les moyens offerts par l'Organisation des Nations Unies, la réalisation des intentions définies dans la Charte, afin que les pays et les peuples qui se trouvent encore sous la domination coloniale obtiennent leur indépendance. Nous croyons sincèrement que ces nouvelles entités politiques exerceraient une influence bienfaisante, car elles contribueraient à créer l'atmosphère de paix, d'harmonie, de cordialité et de confiance dont le monde d'aujourd'hui a besoin pour évoluer vers une paix vraiment créatrice qui mette la science au service du progrès, de la sécurité et du bien-être de l'être humain dans le monde entier.

77. En nous engageant dans cette voie, nous pourrions envisager un avenir plus prometteur d'où seraient exclues les menaces de guerre et de luttes intestines et où, en revanche, s'affirmerait l'indépendance des Etats, grands ou petits, qui, en se réclamant du principe de l'égalité souveraine, sont tout disposés à prendre part à une œuvre de coopération internationale saine et bien dirigée en vue de résoudre les graves et angoissants problèmes d'ordre économique et social qui affectent de vastes groupes de populations en diverses régions du monde.

78. En dépit des incidents et des polémiques auxquels il peut donner lieu, le présent débat aura un aspect constructif. Nul ne doute en effet que le colonialisme, en tant que régime de domination politique et économique, a perdu toute sa vigueur. Les plus grands historiens contemporains vont même jusqu'à affirmer que, dans un avenir assez rapproché, le nationalisme — c'est-à-dire la phase suivante — qui paraît solidement installé aujourd'hui, cédera à son tour le pas à un nouveau système de gouvernement mondial d'où disparaîtront toutes frontières et toutes lignes de démarcation politique.

79. Je n'ai pas l'intention de me lancer ici dans des digressions de caractère historique ou philosophique. Je me bornerai donc à faire quelques observations sur la question qui nous occupe. Le colonialisme, en tant que régime dont l'influence s'est fait sentir sur l'histoire de nombreux peuples, ne peut pas faire l'objet de généralisations. Par souci de justice, il convient d'examiner chaque cas séparément. Certaines puissances métropolitaines ont su appliquer une politique avisée qui, avec le temps, a permis de parvenir à des associations volontaires et d'établir des relations harmonieuses entre les anciennes colonies et la métropole. On ne peut méconnaître la contribution que ces puissances ont apportée à la cause de la communauté internationale. En revanche, d'autres puissances ont pratiqué au cours de l'histoire un colonialisme condamnable à tous égards, ont fait de ce régime un instrument de régression, de cruauté et d'exploitation et n'ont pas laissé un agréable souvenir dans la vie des populations intéressées. Néanmoins, la culture et la religion ont joué un rôle important dans le rétablissement de relations harmonieuses entre les peuples indépendants et leurs anciens oppresseurs.

80. Il est juste de reconnaître que l'Organisation des Nations Unies a accompli une œuvre d'une exceptionnelle importance en favorisant le progrès politique, économique, social et culturel des habitants des

territoires assujettis et en les acheminant progressivement vers l'indépendance. Dans cette tâche, le régime de tutelle des Nations Unies, quelles qu'aient été ses limitations, a joué un rôle dont on ne saurait exagérer l'importance, et les résultats obtenus en font foi. Parmi les Etats indépendants qui sont aujourd'hui si honorablement et si dignement représentés à cette assemblée, nombreux sont ceux qui ont accédé à l'indépendance grâce au régime de tutelle des Nations Unies.

81. C'est pourquoi nous sommes extrêmement surpris de trouver dans le projet de déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et peuples coloniaux [A/4502], présenté à l'Assemblée générale par le Président du Conseil des ministres de l'Union soviétique, M. Khrouchtchev, la phrase suivante:

"Le régime de tutelle ne s'est justifié nulle part; il faut donc l'enterrer en même temps que tout l'anachronique système colonial."

82. Ma délégation ne croit pas qu'à l'égard du régime de tutelle, une affirmation si violente soit justifiée ni par les faits, ni par le raisonnement. Depuis 15 ans, l'Union soviétique est membre permanent du Conseil de tutelle. Elle connaît donc l'œuvre accomplie et menée à bonne fin par ce conseil; non seulement elle a participé à ses travaux, mais elle y a voté en chaque occasion, et y a travaillé en coopération avec les Etats-Unis, le Royaume-Uni, la France, la Chine et d'autres Etats Membres.

83. Le régime de tutelle ne peut être enterré d'une seule phrase, si sonore soit-elle. Enterrer signifie donner une sépulture à quelque chose qui est sans vie, ou encore anéantir quelque chose qui est en vie. Si ce que l'Union soviétique propose par ce projet de déclaration, c'est d'annuler, de liquider le régime international de tutelle pour le faire disparaître de la structure de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, elle devrait juridiquement avoir recours au Chapitre XVIII de la Charte, qui traite des amendements à la Charte. Mais nous nous trouverions alors devant une contradiction. En effet, jusqu'ici, il a été impossible de reviser la composition du Conseil de sécurité et du Conseil économique et social en raison de l'opposition faite par l'une des grandes puissances dont le vote contraire équivaut à un veto à l'encontre de toute intention de ce genre.

84. Le jour n'est pas loin où tous les pays et tous les peuples non autonomes auront accédé à l'indépendance. Alors, mais alors seulement, les Chapitres XI, XII et XIII de la Charte cesseront d'être pertinents, le Conseil de tutelle n'aura plus de raison d'être et il disparaîtra en vertu des dispositions de cette même charte, puisqu'il n'y aura plus alors d'autorités chargées de l'administration de territoires sous tutelle, ni d'accords de tutelle. Néanmoins, tant que tous les peuples ne seront pas parvenus à cet idéal d'autonomie et d'indépendance, il faudra au contraire renforcer le système mis en œuvre par l'ONU afin d'atteindre les objectifs supérieurs de la Charte.

85. L'expérience acquise par le Conseil de tutelle montre qu'il faut plutôt renforcer qu'affaiblir le système des Nations Unies appliqué aux territoires non autonomes et le régime international de tutelle, dont traitent les Chapitres XI et XII de la Charte, afin de faciliter — comme le dit le projet de résolution présenté par les Etats africano-asiatiques

[A/L.323 et Add.1 à 6] — dans les territoires sous tutelle, les territoires non autonomes et tous autres territoires qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance, le transfert de tous les pouvoirs aux peuples de ces territoires pour leur permettre de jouir d'une indépendance et d'une liberté complètes.

86. Il est certain que le Chapitre XI de la Charte a fait l'objet d'ardentes controverses depuis qu'il a été adopté à San Francisco. La déclaration relative aux territoires non autonomes qui figure dans la Charte signifie que les puissances coloniales ont accepté des obligations générales très larges leur faisant un devoir de favoriser, dans toute la mesure possible, le bien-être des populations des territoires non autonomes qu'elles sont chargées d'administrer, ainsi que d'assurer le progrès de leurs libres institutions politiques. Toutefois, le texte des dispositions de la Charte tel qu'il a été rédigé est entaché d'une imperfection, non seulement parce qu'on a négligé d'établir d'une manière précise les moyens permettant de rendre effectives les obligations des puissances administrantes, mais encore parce qu'on n'a pas non plus défini les fonctions de l'Organisation des Nations Unies en ce qui concerne l'exécution des engagements contractés par les Etats Membres.

87. Il aurait peut-être été plus constructif de tenir compte, sur ce point, des recommandations de certains experts comme les professeurs Grenville Clark et Louis B. Sohn qui, dans la seconde édition de leur livre intitulé *World Peace Through World Law*, publié cette année même, en 1960, par Harvard University Press, recommandent de remanier l'Article 73, afin de préciser les obligations assumées par les Etats Membres à l'égard des territoires non autonomes qu'ils sont chargés d'administrer, et de reviser complètement l'Article 87, afin d'élargir la responsabilité et l'autorité de l'Assemblée générale et du Conseil de tutelle à l'égard des nombreux territoires non autonomes qui n'entrent pas dans la catégorie des territoires sous tutelle.

88. Je voudrais maintenant me référer au projet de résolution que le représentant du Honduras a soumis à notre examen [A/L.324]. Il se peut que le projet du Honduras, qui a été présenté à cette assemblée par un pays souverain animé de bonnes intentions, ait été inspiré par le souci de renforcer l'influence que peut exercer l'Organisation des Nations Unies dans le processus d'émancipation des territoires sous tutelle et non autonomes. Sans méconnaître les bonnes intentions qui animent notre collègue du Honduras, ma délégation se réserve le droit de formuler quelques observations au sujet de ce projet au cours d'une prochaine intervention, si les circonstances le justifient.

89. Le paragraphe 5 du projet de déclaration présenté par les pays africano-asiatiques [A/L.323 et Add.1 à 6] est ainsi conçu:

"5. Des mesures immédiates seront prises, dans les territoires sous tutelle, les territoires non autonomes et tous autres territoires qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance, pour transférer tous pouvoirs aux peuples de ces territoires, sans aucune condition ni réserve, conformément à leur volonté et à leurs vœux librement exprimés, sans aucune distinction de race, de croyance, ou de couleur, afin de leur permettre de jouir d'une indépendance et d'une liberté complètes."

90. Ma délégation se demande quelles seraient ces mesures immédiates dont le projet de résolution des pays africano-asiatiques prévoit l'adoption. Le document ne le dit pas. Il est indiqué clairement que le transfert de tous les pouvoirs aux peuples de ces territoires doit se faire conformément à leur volonté et à leurs vœux librement exprimés. Quels instruments juridiques seront appliqués dans le processus de cette consultation populaire? Cette question relèverait-elle exclusivement de la juridiction intérieure de la puissance administrante, ou au contraire appartiendrait-il à l'ONU d'exercer une surveillance internationale sur le processus de consultation? Ce sont là des problèmes qui devront être examinés et qui ne peuvent naturellement pas être réglés instantanément, par une simple formule magique. L'objectivité et l'esprit d'analyse s'imposent pour appliquer des mesures pratiques qui permettent réellement à l'ONU de favoriser le mouvement en faveur de l'indépendance des territoires sous tutelle et des territoires non autonomes.

91. La complexité de la question dont nous sommes saisis n'échappe pas à ma délégation qui, d'autre part, comprend bien qu'une déclaration de cette nature ne saurait embrasser tous les détails pratiques des aspirations qu'elle consacre. Nous devons reconnaître que cette déclaration, à elle seule, ne sera pas suffisante et que, dans le cadre de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, nous devons continuer à travailler pour la liberté des peuples assujettis, en suivant des méthodes pacifiques pour le plus grand bien de toute la communauté internationale.

92. Ma délégation ne peut appuyer le projet de déclaration soviétique [A/4502] dans la forme où il a été présenté à notre assemblée, car il renferme des éléments qui ne sauraient nous rapprocher de solutions harmonieuses et pacifiques. Nous ne voulons pas qu'une question d'une importance aussi exceptionnelle soit imprégnée de l'esprit de polémique et d'hostilité si pernicieux qui caractérise la guerre froide.

93. J'ai déjà déclaré précédemment que les petites puissances doivent constituer une véritable force de médiation et d'entente entre les grands blocs antagonistes. Dans cet esprit, nous considérons avec la plus grande sympathie le projet de résolution commun présenté à l'Assemblée par les délégations des pays africano-asiatiques.

M. Illueca (Panama), vice-président, reprend la présidence.

94. M. NIMNANHEMINDA (Thaïlande) [traduit de l'anglais]: J'ai constaté avec grand plaisir que l'Assemblée générale avait accepté à l'unanimité [903ème séance] la proposition du représentant de l'Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques visant à examiner en séance plénière la question irritante et lourde de conséquences du colonialisme, plutôt que de la renvoyer à la Première Commission. Sur ce point, je suis heureux de constater que, pour une fois, ma délégation est en parfait accord avec celle de l'Union soviétique. La question a maintenant assez mûri pour être portée devant l'Assemblée, qui devra l'examiner avec la plus grande attention.

95. Ma délégation tient à déclarer officiellement qu'elle appuie sans réserve le projet de résolution [A/L.323 et Add.1 à 6] présenté par l'Afghanistan,

la Birmanie et d'autres Etats Membres, et qu'elle votera pour ce texte et tout ce qu'il représente.

96. Nous sommes l'une des rares nations d'Asie qui, on ne sait trop comment, ont réussi à échapper à l'emprise du colonialisme ou de l'impérialisme, aussi bien de l'Est que de l'Ouest, pendant les 700 dernières années de son existence de nation distincte et lorsque les Thaïs se furent finalement installés sur leur territoire actuel. Je suis certain que notre expérience passée, c'est-à-dire la façon dont nous avons appris à esquiver le mal ou à temporiser avec lui lorsqu'il devenait inévitable — et tout le monde, je crois, s'accorde à reconnaître que le colonialisme est un mal — peut présenter un intérêt pour certains d'entre nous ici aujourd'hui, qui ont, ou qui auront, peut-être à s'occuper de cet aspect néfaste du colonialisme.

97. Comme vous le savez, mon pays s'appelle en français Thaïlande. Dans notre langue, nous l'appelons "Pratate Thai" ou "Muong Thai", ce qui signifie "pays des hommes libres". Comme ce nom l'indique, l'idée de liberté et d'indépendance est toujours présente à l'esprit de notre population, et c'est toujours avec sympathie que nous considérons la masse de nos frères qui sont encore privés de leur droit naturel, le droit d'être libres et maîtres de leur propre destinée. Le fait que nous avons toujours été libres nous prépare d'autant mieux à comprendre les désirs et les aspirations de nos frères moins fortunés. Dans nos contacts avec de nombreux peuples étrangers, nous sommes souvent interrogés sur la date à laquelle nous fêtons notre indépendance et nous sommes toujours embarrassés pour répondre à cette question. Nous n'avons pas chez nous de fête de l'indépendance; pour nous, chaque jour est la fête de l'indépendance.

98. Vous penserez peut-être que je me laisse entraîner par mes sentiments; permettez-moi donc maintenant de définir clairement ma position. Les efforts que nous avons déployés dans le passé pour défendre notre indépendance et écarter ou éviter la domination étrangère ou le colonialisme nous ont contraints à subir des épreuves, des privations, des restrictions quasiment infinies, et à faire preuve de renoncement et de sacrifice personnel jusqu'à la limite de nos forces. Nous avons dû souvent faire preuve d'une patience inépuisable et faire taire notre fierté devant des provocations graves et irritantes.

99. J'estime cependant que, s'il n'est pas au-dessus des forces humaines d'accéder à la liberté et à l'indépendance, il est certainement plus difficile, après s'être complètement libéré de l'esclavage que constitue le colonialisme, de maintenir cette indépendance intacte et de la préserver pour les générations à venir. La circonspection, la prudence et un bon jugement sur soi-même sont constamment de mise, si on veut éviter de tomber dans d'autres maux beaucoup plus grands.

100. Permettez-moi de citer un exemple de la manière selon laquelle nous sommes parvenus à nous soustraire à l'expansionnisme et au mouvement impérialiste de notre puissant voisin du nord — qui n'est pas moins puissant aujourd'hui — puis à temporiser avec lui.

101. Vers le milieu du XIII^{ème} siècle de l'ère chrétienne, le grand empereur mongol qui régnait sur la Chine, Koubilaï khan, ordonna à son armée invincible

d'attaquer les jeunes principautés thaïes de Nan Tchao, région maintenant connue sous le nom de province chinoise du Yun-nan. Au lieu de se soumettre servilement au joug chinois et d'accepter un colonialisme que nous abhorrons, les Thaïs de diverses branches préférèrent émigrer vers d'autres régions où ils pourraient respirer l'air de la liberté, aussi loin que possible de tout contact avec les Chinois. Certains allèrent se fixer dans ce qui est aujourd'hui l'Assam, en Inde; un groupe important s'installa dans les Etats chans de Birmanie et prit le nom de "grands Thaïs"; d'autres émigrèrent vers ce qui est aujourd'hui le Viet-Nam, tandis que le groupe le plus important parvenait jusqu'à des régions plus méridionales, dans ce qui est aujourd'hui la Thaïlande et le Laos.

102. Malgré toutes ces migrations massives, la soif de territoires du grand Koubilaï khan n'était pas encore assouvie. Il envoya plus tard des messagers dans ces colonies ou territoires pour exiger qu'ils paient tribut et reconnaissent sa suzeraineté. Des messagers analogues furent également envoyés à Sukhothai, alors capitale de la Thaïlande. Or, il est un proverbe thaï qui dit: "N'essaye pas de casser le manche de la cognée sur tes genoux", ce qui signifie évidemment qu'il ne faut pas tenter l'impossible en risquant par là même de se nuire. Le roi Ram Kamhaeng de Thaïlande mit donc alors en pratique pour la première fois ce que l'on appelle la diplomatie personnelle; il se rendit en personne à Pékin pour faire plus ample connaissance avec Koubilaïkhan et lui rendre l'hommage que devaient lui valoir son rang et son âge. Par ce geste gracieux, il gagna la faveur de l'empereur, qui, pour la première fois dans l'histoire, mit en œuvre un programme d'assistance technique lorsqu'il plaça à la disposition du roi Ram Kamhaeng un groupe d'experts en poterie qui l'accompagnèrent à son retour, enseignèrent à nos populations l'art du vernissage de la poterie et installèrent à Sangkaloke et à Sukhothai des fours où devait être fabriquée la poterie dite de Sangkaloke. Par la suite, cette fabrication prit une telle extension qu'on la retrouva sur des marchés aussi éloignés que Bornéo et la Perse.

103. Moins de deux siècles et demi après nous être installés dans le pays, nous avons commencé à attirer l'attention du monde extérieur: ce furent d'abord les premiers aventuriers portugais, des envoyés et des prêtres catholiques de cette nationalité. Ils furent toujours accueillis avec la cordialité et la tolérance conformes aux enseignements du bouddhisme. Des terres leur furent données où ils purent construire leurs camps et leurs églises, et un grand nombre d'entre eux entrèrent au service du roi en tant que canonnières.

104. L'arrivée des Hollandais, un peu plus tard, vint affaiblir l'emprise des Portugais et modérer leur arrogance. Après s'être solidement établis, les Hollandais commencèrent à faire pression sur nous. Par un traité signé en 1664, nous accordâmes aux Hollandais des monopoles pour divers produits de base et pour le transport maritime de nos produits vers d'autres pays. De leur côté, ils se chargèrent d'introduire en Thaïlande cette pratique si odieuse et dont on a fait par la suite un tel abus, l'exterritorialité.

105. Jugeant la présence des Hollandais et les pressions qu'ils exerçaient quasiment intolérables, les

Thaïs cherchèrent alors du secours auprès des Français en établissant des relations diplomatiques avec Louis XIV qui, à plusieurs reprises, échangea des ambassadeurs avec notre roi Phra Narai. Toutefois, nous devions bientôt découvrir que les intentions des Français ne différaient guère de celles des Hollandais, à cette exception près que les troupes françaises stationnées dans notre pays y étaient beaucoup plus nombreuses. Ce n'est qu'en recourant opportunément à une version thaïe des fameuses Vêpres siciliennes que nous pûmes déjouer la première tentative faite pour établir un empire colonial français dans notre pays. A partir de ce moment et jusqu'à la chute d'Ayouthia en 1767, nos relations avec les pays occidentaux se limitèrent essentiellement à quelques échanges commerciaux avec des négociants de l'Occident agissant à titre privé.

106. En 1833, moins de 60 ans après que les Américains eurent rejeté le joug colonial et manifesté leur présence dans les échanges commerciaux de l'Asie, et 20 ans avant que le commodore Perry eût ouvert par la force le Japon au monde extérieur qui, à l'exception des Hollandais, en était jusque-là exclu, les Thaïs établirent des relations diplomatiques avec les Etats-Unis d'Amérique. A partir de 1855, des traités d'amitié et de commerce furent conclus avec le Royaume-Uni, la France et d'autres puissances occidentales.

107. Encore que nous ayons ouvert notre pays de notre plein gré avant d'avoir eu à subir aucune épreuve de force, nous ne sommes cependant pas sortis de l'épreuve coloniale indemnes et sans souillures. Afin d'éviter une extermination totale, nous avons dû conclure sous la contrainte d'innombrables traités arbitraires, injustes et inéquitables, sans clause d'expiration, perpétuant ainsi cette pratique odieuse de l'exterritorialité ainsi que les restrictions imposées à notre autonomie fiscale, qui nous interdisaient de percevoir sur les exportations et les importations un droit de plus de 3 pour 100 ad valorem. En outre, nos frontières subirent aussi, périodiquement, le contrecoup des rapacités voisines sous la forme dénommée par euphémisme "rectifications de frontières".

108. Pour le peuple thaï, l'exterritorialité était à la fois humiliante et injuste. Les restrictions fiscales ne nous permettaient pas de nous lancer dans les diverses réformes qui auraient été nécessaires, faute de revenus indispensables. Avant que la Thaïlande ne s'associe aux puissances coloniales, la superficie du pays dépassait 900.000 kilomètres carrés. Après 1907, cette superficie était réduite à un peu plus de 500.000 kilomètres carrés.

109. Pendant tout le XIX^{ème} siècle et encore longtemps après, la politique thaïe avait pour principe qu'il vaut mieux perdre une certaine partie du territoire que de perdre la totalité du pays: faute de grives, on mange des merles. Je crois qu'une histoire russe bien connue peut illustrer de façon pittoresque

ce que fut notre politique de cette époque. Un certain gentilhomme russe avait entrepris un voyage d'affaires et se déplaçait dans une voiture tirée par quatre chevaux. Sur le chemin du retour, il fut poursuivi par une meute de loups affamés. Le gentilhomme pressait son attelage; cependant la meute se rapprochait. Pour se tirer d'embarras, il détacha l'un des chevaux afin de détourner, temporairement du moins, l'attention des loups. Le cheval fut vite dévoré et la meute hurlante reprit sa poursuite. Le gentilhomme détacha un autre cheval, puis le troisième, ce qui lui permit d'arriver en lieu sûr avec son dernier cheval. Point n'est besoin de tirer la morale de cette histoire, ni de vous importuner en vous révélant l'identité de ces méchants loups.

110. Nous pouvons maintenant respirer plus ou moins librement depuis que cet impudent pillage de terres, que ce colonialisme éhonté et sans fard est du domaine du passé. En Thaïlande, nous estimons que nous avons réussi de justesse à nous tirer de la gueule des tigres et des ours. Nous sommes fiers de la sagesse de nos ancêtres qui ont su choisir la meilleure part afin de préserver jusqu'à ce jour notre indépendance. En bouddhistes fidèles, nous restons attachés aux enseignements de notre maître, selon lequel "la haine ne cesse pas avec la haine, elle ne cesse qu'avec l'absence de haine, c'est une loi ancienne". Ainsi parlait Bouddha. Nous avons du monde une conception réaliste. Nous refusons de vivre dans le passé ou de nous tourner continuellement vers le passé. "A chose faite, point de remède", mais évitons à l'avenir de commettre des erreurs auxquelles nous aurions à remédier. Nous nous sommes fixé comme règle, et nous avons pris pour objectif d'instaurer pour notre population un régime où elle ne connaîtra ni la peur, ni la faim, ni la maladie, ni l'ignorance.

111. Le colonialisme d'autrefois est maintenant chose morte et, au sein de cette assemblée, nous sommes en train de clouer son cercueil. Pourtant, bien que le colonialisme avide de conquêtes territoriales ne soit plus de ce siècle, de ses cendres renaît un colonialisme nouveau comme dans l'histoire du phénix d'autrefois. Celui-ci est infiniment plus dangereux parce qu'il s'insinue avec cynisme; comme le royaume des cieux, il n'apparaît guère à nos regards. Il se présente comme une libération; il prêche un nouvel évangile de salut et annonce une ère nouvelle. Il veut se parer de la douceur de l'agneau, mais, pour ma délégation, il est infiniment plus dangereux que le colonialisme ancien en raison de son attrait idéologique trompeur. En entrant par une porte, il chasse la liberté par une autre. Je crois que le cas du Tibet moderne offre un exemple concret de ce que j'ai à l'esprit.

112. En conclusion, puis-je me permettre de poser une question: que gagnera un pays à conquérir son indépendance complète s'il perd son âme?

La séance est levée à 22 h 55.

Mercredi 7 décembre 1960,
à 15 heures

NEW YORK



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Point 87 de l'ordre du jour:

Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux
pays et aux peuples coloniaux (suite) 1261

Président: M. Frederick H. BOLAND (Irlande).

POINT 87 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance
aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux (suite)

1. M. ZORINE (Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques) [traduit du russe]. La discussion qui s'est déroulée en séance plénière de l'Assemblée générale sur la question de l'abolition totale et immédiate du système colonialiste montre à quel point il était opportun de saisir l'Assemblée de ce problème et combien il est indispensable que l'Organisation des Nations Unies prenne des mesures immédiates afin d'assurer la liberté et l'indépendance de tous les pays et de tous les peuples qui vivent encore sous la domination coloniale. Lorsque le chef du Gouvernement soviétique, M. N. S. Khrouchtchev, a présenté à l'examen de la quinzième session de l'Assemblée générale [869^e séance] la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, pour la première fois dans l'histoire de son existence l'Organisation des Nations Unies a été amenée à examiner dans toute son ampleur à la tribune suprême de l'Organisation — l'Assemblée générale en séance plénière — la question de la suppression des régimes coloniaux et de la libération immédiate des peuples coloniaux.

2. Il faut bien dire que les puissances coloniales n'ont pas accepté ce débat de leur plein gré; ils y ont été contraints par la pression vigoureuse des forces anticolonialistes. Tout le monde sait parfaitement qu'au cours de la période précédente de l'activité de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, les puissances coloniales ont toujours élevé des objections contre toute discussion de questions se rapportant à l'évolution politique des territoires non autonomes. Des Etats comme l'Espagne et le Portugal, se retranchant derrière diverses fictions d'ordre juridique, feignent, en général, de ne pas avoir de colonies et affirment qu'en somme il n'existe pas de colonialisme espagnol et portugais. La décision prise par l'Assemblée générale d'examiner la question de la liquidation du système colonial est en elle-même une victoire considérable des pays et des forces qui luttent contre la domination coloniale.

3. La délégation soviétique exprime sa reconnaissance aux représentants qui ont relevé, d'une part, l'initiative prise par le Gouvernement soviétique —

et par M. N. S. Khrouchtchev personnellement — pour poser devant l'Assemblée générale la question de la liquidation du colonialisme, et, d'autre part, la lutte énergique que, dès 1917, l'Union soviétique a menée de façon suivie pour la libération de tous les peuples des pays coloniaux et des pays dépendants. Le cours même des événements exige que ce problème, venu à maturité, fasse l'objet d'un large débat et d'une solution équitable.

4. Certains représentants des puissances coloniales — parmi lesquels le représentant du Royaume-Uni — ont tenté d'affirmer qu'en réclamant l'adoption par l'Assemblée générale de la déclaration sur l'octroi immédiat de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, l'Union soviétique se laisserait guider par on ne sait quels "motifs étrangers à la question" et tenterait d'en utiliser l'examen pour des fins qui lui sont particulières et pour attiser la "guerre froide". Pourtant, tous les représentants peuvent témoigner du fait que ce sont justement les représentants du Royaume-Uni, des Etats-Unis, de la Belgique et d'autres pays colonialistes qui ont tenté d'imposer à l'Assemblée générale une polémique dans l'esprit de la "guerre froide" et de la détourner d'un examen sérieux et pratique du problème capital qu'est celui de l'abolition immédiate et totale du système colonial.

5. Il est certain que les objectifs de la délégation soviétique sont absolument opposés à ceux des puissances coloniales. Le Gouvernement de l'Union soviétique, en soumettant à l'examen de l'Assemblée générale le projet de déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, n'a qu'un seul objectif: en finir immédiatement et résolument avec le colonialisme en octroyant la liberté et l'indépendance à toutes les colonies. C'est justement pour cela que la délégation soviétique s'intéresse à voir examiner cette question sérieusement et prendre des mesures efficaces pour arriver à la résoudre. Quant aux délégations des Etats-Unis, du Royaume-Uni, de la Belgique, du Portugal et à celles des autres pays coloniaux, elles s'efforcent de faire maintenir le régime colonial. Elles cherchent donc à noyer le problème du colonialisme dans une polémique remplie du pire esprit de la "guerre froide". Ce qui aurait fait le mieux l'affaire des colonisateurs, c'eût été d'arriver à empêcher l'Assemblée générale d'examiner cette question de façon concrète et de la résoudre en quelque manière que ce soit. Aussi se sont-ils efforcés de chauffer à blanc l'atmosphère de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, en introduisant dans nos discussions des éléments de "guerre froide"...

[L'orateur est interrompu par des cris provenant de la galerie du public.]

6. Voilà précisément un témoignage de la façon dont les Etats-Unis organisent une discussion sérieuse

du problème colonial. C'est la meilleure preuve que l'Organisation des Nations Unies ne peut travailler sereinement sur le territoire des Etats-Unis puisqu'on organise, au moment des discussions, des incidents de caractère nettement provocateur.

7. Les débats sur la question coloniale montrent que ces manœuvres des colonisateurs ont abouti à un échec. Ils n'ont pas réussi à détourner l'attention de l'Assemblée générale du fond même du problème du colonialisme et à l'aiguiller sur des questions qui n'ont rien de commun avec le problème du colonialisme. A une majorité écrasante, les participants à la présente session, traduisant les nécessités imposées par l'évolution objective de l'histoire et considérant l'existence du système colonial comme une honte pour l'humanité, ont soutenu la proposition qui vise à liquider au plus tôt le colonialisme.

8. Au cours de la discussion, les représentants des pays socialistes et ceux d'un grand nombre d'Etats africains et asiatiques sont intervenus pour présenter une critique aussi fondée que convaincante des régimes coloniaux. Citant des faits et des exemples concrets, ils ont montré que le régime colonial non seulement freine l'évolution économique, sociale et culturelle des peuples coloniaux, mais encore accable, écrase et broie des millions d'individus, les prive de leur dignité humaine, les humilie et inflige aux peuples coloniaux des souffrances innombrables.

9. La pression des forces anticolonialistes est si forte à la présente session de l'Assemblée générale que les colonisateurs eux-mêmes n'osent pas intervenir franchement pour défendre les régimes coloniaux. Ils tentent de le faire sous forme camouflée en recourant à toutes sortes de manœuvres et de truquages, destinés à justifier le maintien de leur domination coloniale et font leurs efforts pour continuer le plus longtemps possible à retenir les pays coloniaux en état de dépendance. L'un des prétendus arguments que les colonialistes ou leurs sympathisants avancent en faveur du colonialisme consiste à prétendre que le colonialisme a apporté la civilisation moderne aux peuples qui lui sont assujettis et a enrichi leur culture, ce qui indique — comme nous l'a dit ici un orateur — une expansion du "génie créateur" de l'homme. Il va sans dire que ces exercices de rhétorique ont pour but de déformer la réalité historique ainsi que les motifs de la mainmise sur des colonies et de l'asservissement de peuples entiers par des puissances étrangères. Les amateurs de ce genre d'arguments s'efforcent de blanchir par tous les moyens l'histoire du colonialisme et de présenter l'affaire de telle sorte que l'on puisse croire à la pureté de conscience des colonisateurs qui n'auraient apporté aux colonies et aux ex-colonies que des bienfaits sans jamais y amener le malheur.

10. Pourtant, les colonisateurs savent fort bien que la mainmise sur d'énormes territoires en Asie, en Afrique et en Amérique latine, ainsi que l'asservissement des populations autochtones, ont été réalisés dans un but de lucre et de pillage des ressources naturelles et humaines de ces pays. L'histoire des conquêtes coloniales dans les différentes parties du monde — et, en particulier, en Afrique — montre combien d'injustices et de crimes ont été perpétrés par les colonisateurs à l'encontre des populations autochtones de ces continents. Cela a été bien dit dès la première moitié du XIX^{ème} siècle dans le

livre de William Howitt sur la colonisation et le christianisme. Je citerai une phrase de ce livre:

"La barbarie et les cruautés éhontées dont les races prétendues chrétiennes se rendirent coupables dans toutes les parties du monde, à l'égard de tous les peuples qu'ils réussissaient à subjuguier, dépassent toutes les horreurs perpétrées à n'importe quelle époque historique et par n'importe quelle autre race, sans en exclure les plus sauvages, les plus ignorantes, les plus impitoyables et les plus éhontées!."

Voilà ce qu'on écrivait déjà au XIX^{ème} siècle.

11. Les défenseurs du colonialisme ont l'habitude de nier l'existence d'une quelconque civilisation africaine antérieure à l'arrivée des Européens. Même en ce qui concerne des civilisations telles que l'éthiopienne et l'égyptienne, on affirme souvent qu'elles furent fondées par des représentants de la race blanche. Toutes ces théories n'ont qu'un seul but — justifier le colonialisme, convaincre les Africains qu'ils ne possédèrent jamais une culture développée, qu'ils n'ont rien donné à l'humanité qui ait la moindre valeur et que seule la colonisation leur a apporté la culture et la civilisation. Une telle négation du passé culturel des peuples africains sert d'arme idéologique non seulement pour pouvoir souligner les "mérites" inexistantes des colonisateurs dans la propagation de la civilisation sur le continent africain, mais aussi pour que les peuples d'Afrique renoncent à toute aspiration nationale et supportent docilement le joug du colonialisme, que ce soit sous forme ancienne, classique, ou sous des formes nouvelles, des formes camouflées.

12. Ces théories, entièrement mensongères, n'ont toutefois rien de commun avec la vérité historique. Ces derniers temps, il est paru nombre d'études historiques objectives, faites par des savants de différents pays, lesquelles prouvent que, longtemps avant l'apparition du premier blanc sur le continent africain, les peuples de l'Afrique vivaient d'une vie indépendante, créaient leurs propres Etats, développaient leur culture originale, faisaient du commerce. C'est à ce genre d'études qu'appartient indubitablement le livre, paru à Londres en 1960, de Basil Davidson: Old Africa Rediscovered (Redécouverte de l'Afrique ancienne). Utilisant les données archéologiques les plus récentes, l'auteur présente une histoire détaillée de certaines régions encore peu étudiées de l'Afrique; il décrit, par exemple, la civilisation de Kousch et des villes célèbres de Napata et Meroë, d'où, huit siècles avant notre ère, sortirent de nouveaux instruments de travail et de nouvelles méthodes pour traiter les métaux. L'auteur parle aussi des anciens Etats du Soudan occidental: le Mali, le Ghana et le Sonrhaf qui, à l'époque de leur épanouissement, ne le cédaient en rien à maints Etats européens du Moyen Age. L'or de ces pays contribua largement au développement de l'économie européenne avant le début des grandes découvertes géographiques. L'auteur décrit d'une façon détaillée les antiques cités-Etats du littoral oriental de l'Afrique: Kilvou, Gédi, Mogadiscio et quelques autres qui, d'après le témoignage des Portugais, ne le cédaient en rien aux villes les plus florissantes de l'Europe. L'auteur d'une autre étude, Cheikh Anta Diop, montre

dans son livre Nations nègres et culture 2/que, même au XVème siècle, l'organisation politique et sociale des Etats africains était souvent égale ou même supérieure à celle d'Etats européens.

13. Les malheurs des peuples du continent africain commencèrent lors de l'arrivée des marchands d'esclaves européens. En 1441, Lisbonne, capitale du Portugal, vit arriver le premier navire ayant à bord des Africains capturés pour être vendus comme esclaves. Depuis lors et durant près de quatre siècles, on emmena hors d'Afrique des millions d'esclaves, tandis que des masses énormes d'hommes trouvaient la mort tant dans des guerres tribales causées par la traite des esclaves qu'à la suite de raids armés de marchands d'esclaves. Ce fut une calamité incommensurable: le continent africain se dépeupla. L'économie et la culture tombèrent dans un état de dégradation complète. Le Dr Du Bois, historien connu — dont un trisaïeul fut capturé par les trafiquants d'esclaves sur les côtes guinéennes d'Afrique et emmené en Amérique —, écrit ce qui suit:

"Il ne serait pas exagéré de dire que le trafic d'esclaves coûta à l'Afrique noire 100 millions d'âmes et, malgré cela, on trouve aujourd'hui encore des hommes qui cherchent les raisons de la stagnation de la culture sur ce continent!"

14. Le XIXème siècle — époque du partage territorial de l'Afrique par les puissances coloniales européennes — fut l'ère des guerres coloniales et de la mainmise par les armes sur les terres africaines. Autant que cela leur était possible, les Africains opposèrent une résistance opiniâtre aux usurpateurs européens, résistance à laquelle les colonisateurs répondirent par l'envoi en Afrique d'armées entières, pourvues de moyens techniques et d'équipement de premier ordre pour l'époque. Durant plusieurs dizaines d'années, la terre africaine fut abondamment arrosée du sang de ses populations. Des centaines de milliers d'Africains périrent dans une lutte inégale, en défendant leur liberté.

15. Cette résistance héroïque des peuples d'Afrique aux envahisseurs étrangers fournit la preuve de la fausseté des déclarations des colonisateurs lorsqu'ils parlent de leur pénétration pacifique en Afrique. C'est le cas de la lutte des Matabélés et des Machonas, qui peuplaient le territoire situé entre les rives du Zambèze et du Limpopo, contre la conquête de leur territoire par la compagnie anglaise de Cecil Rhodes. De 1880 à 1890, les colonisateurs anglais déployèrent une grande activité pour mettre la main sur des terres de l'Afrique méridionale, riches en diamants, en or et en autres minerais; ce territoire fut d'ailleurs appelé par la suite Rhodésie, du nom de son conquérant. A cette époque-là, le territoire en question était le champ d'opérations de l'un des plus puissants groupements capitalistes anglais, représenté par Rhodes qui, en 1888, imposa à Lobengoula, roi des Matabélés, un accord à très vastes objectifs. En échange d'une petite rente, les Anglais reçurent le droit exclusif d'exploiter les minerais qui se trouvaient sur les territoires dépendant des Matabélés. Cet accord était une véritable tromperie à l'égard des Africains, car le roi et sa suite, étant analphabètes, ne soupçonnaient pas le sens véritable du document sous lequel le roi apposa de sa propre main une croix en guise de signature. Néanmoins, l'accord de 1888 servit au Gouvernement britannique de point de

départ pour annexer purement et simplement les territoires des Matabélés et des Machonas. Lors des batailles qui s'ensuivirent, les mitrailleuses Maxim qu'utilisaient les Britanniques transformèrent en massacres les combats des colonisateurs contre les Africains. Rhodes lui-même fixait le chiffre des pertes des Matabélés à 3.000 hommes. Les Matabélés, vaincus, furent contraints de capituler et leurs territoires se transformèrent en une colonie qui reçut le nom de Rhodésie du Sud.

16. Dans cette nouvelle possession, les autochtones furent soumis à une cruelle exploitation. Leurs meilleures terres furent expropriées. Par décision de la commission agraire (comprenant des représentants du Gouvernement britannique et de la compagnie Rhodes), les Africains furent relégués dans des réserves. Pour donner une idée de ce qu'étaient ces réserves, il suffit de savoir qu'une partie s'en trouvait dans la région où la maladie du sommeil est la plus répandue et l'autre partie dans les zones de sécheresse.

17. Voilà donc quelques points d'histoire. Il y a plus de 60 ans que dure l'oppression coloniale de ce pays désigné du nom de l'homme qui l'a noyé dans le sang. La marche des événements, au cours de cette période, montre que les héritiers de Cecil Rhodes continuent sa ténébreuse activité. Quelle est donc la situation en Rhodésie du Sud, 60 ans plus tard? Comment le Royaume-Uni a-t-il contribué au développement de ce pays dans "l'intérêt" de la population africaine autochtone? Nul ne peut mieux connaître la situation que les autochtones eux-mêmes; aussi me permettrai-je de citer quelques fragments d'une brochure éditée à Londres en 1960 par le parti démocratique national de la Rhodésie du Sud. Dans cette brochure, nous lisons:

"Le moyen inventé pour priver les Africains de la possibilité de participer au vote a permis d'obtenir, à partir de 1923, une représentation exclusivement blanche au Parlement de la Rhodésie du Sud.

"Le résultat est que, depuis 1923, on édicte des lois despotiques et discriminatoires, dirigées contre les Africains. C'est ainsi qu'il y a actuellement 70.000 électeurs blancs et moins de 2.000 électeurs africains.

"Depuis 1949, 82.500 familles africaines ont été expulsées des terres dont elles sont originaires et 21.500 ont été exilées du bassin du Zambèze dans des régions spéciales. On s'attend que, vers 1962, tous les Africains qui vivent sur les terres dont ils sont originaires ou dans des endroits où vivent des Européens soient transférés dans les mêmes régions.

"D'après la loi qui régit les rapports entre le propriétaire et le travailleur africain, ce dernier dépend de l'Européen et est entièrement à sa merci. La loi ne l'autorise pas à quitter son travail s'il considère que son patron ne le traite pas bien ou qu'il le fait suer sang et eau sans rémunération convenable. Si le travailleur se met en grève, il est passible des poursuites pénales comme un criminel.

"Le totalitarisme, l'oppression et l'intimidation ont remplacé la liberté et la démocratie que l'on suppose être les attributs traditionnels du peuple britannique.

"La barrière de couleur reste telle qu'elle était avant 1953. On trouve partout des pancartes: "Réservé aux autochtones" ou "Réservé aux Européens". Jusqu'à présent, les Africains ne sont admis ni dans les cinémas, ni dans les hôtels, ni dans certains magasins. L'Africain reste victime de la discrimination tout comme il l'était il y a 10 ans."

Tout cela, ce sont des citations du même livre; il ne s'agit pas là de propagande soviétique, ainsi que se plaisent à le dire les colonisateurs; c'est le témoignage d'un parti politique de la Rhodésie du Sud.

18. Le cours même des événements confirme la justesse des paroles de Karl Marx, lorsqu'il disait que la profonde hypocrisie et la barbarie caractéristiques de la civilisation bourgeoise se montrent à nu lorsque cette civilisation est observée non dans les pays métropolitains, où elle revêt des formes respectables, mais dans les colonies, où elle apparaît sans aucun voile. A la lumière des faits qui se rapportent tant à l'histoire passée qu'à l'époque présente, on perçoit tout particulièrement l'hypocrisie et la tartuferie de ceux qui s'efforcent de blanchir le colonialisme et de le représenter comme l'entreprise la plus généreuse de chrétiens civilisés, entreprise vouée maintenant, on ne sait pourquoi, à la mort, et cela alors qu'elle est au comble de sa gloire, selon l'opinion de certains représentants.

19. S'efforçant de nous présenter la politique du Royaume-Uni sous un jour favorable, M. Ormsby-Gore a tenté de nous expliquer la situation de façon à faire ressortir que, du moins dans le siècle écoulé, le Royaume-Uni ne cherchait qu'à donner l'indépendance à ses colonies ou tout au moins, sans épargner aucun effort, à les préparer à l'indépendance. Mais la vérité historique, c'est que les colonisateurs n'ont jamais accordé et n'accordent jamais de plein gré l'indépendance aux peuples des colonies. Est-ce que les peuples de l'Inde, de la Birmanie, du Pakistan, du Ghana et d'autres Etats qui ont accédé à l'indépendance n'ont pas eu à conquérir cette indépendance dans une lutte opiniâtre avec les colonisateurs? Est-ce que les chefs des mouvements de libération nationale de ces pays n'ont pas passé de longues années dans les prisons anglaises et n'ont jamais subi de représailles? Les colonisateurs français n'ont-ils pas réprimé de la façon la plus féroce, la plus impitoyable, la lutte pour la libération des peuples de Madagascar et du Cameroun, de même qu'ils tentent de noyer dans le sang la lutte que mène, avec un courage à toute épreuve, le peuple algérien pour son indépendance et pour sa liberté?

20. Les colonisateurs ne se voient dans l'obligation de concéder l'indépendance aux colonies que lorsque le mouvement national pour la libération prend un élan tel que les puissances coloniales ne peuvent plus le maîtriser. C'est donc la lutte des peuples opprimés pour leur liberté et leur indépendance nationale et aussi le soutien de cette juste lutte par toutes les forces du progrès qui représentent les éléments les plus importants dans la libération des colonies.

21. Lorsqu'on entend des interventions comme celle de M. Ormsby-Gore, on ne peut que s'étonner. Toute l'histoire de la puissance coloniale britannique en Afrique, en Asie et dans toutes les régions du monde est remplie d'exemples de guerres coloniales, d'actes effroyables de justice sommaire dirigés contre la

population autochtone. M. Ormsby-Gore aurait-il oublié qu'au cours de ces dernières années, l'armée et la police britanniques ont exterminé des milliers d'Africains, jeté des dizaines de milliers d'individus dans les prisons et dans les camps de concentration, au Kenya, au Nyassaland, en Rhodésie du Nord et du Sud et ailleurs? On sait que de 1952 à 1955 ont eu lieu au Kenya des répressions effroyables, au cours desquelles nombre d'habitants africains furent battus et fusillés. Utilisant comme prétexte le mythe (inventé par les colons britanniques) de l'activité terroriste de la société secrète des Mau-Mau, les colonisateurs britanniques ont voulu détruire le mouvement national pour la libération du Kenya et en terminer une fois pour toutes avec les forces patriotiques de ce pays. A la suite d'expéditions punitives, de rafles générales et d'une véritable chasse à l'homme, en 1955, plus de 11.000 Africains autochtones ont été tués et 62.000 — dont 14.000 femmes et 2.000 enfants — enfermés dans des camps de concentration. De nombreux habitants, des tribus entières, ont été expulsés et parqués dans des réserves stériles de régions éloignées. Les partis politiques africains au Kenya et, plus tard, au Nyassaland et en Rhodésie du Sud et du Nord, déclarés organisations "subversives", ont été interdits.

22. Les colonisateurs tiennent pour subversive toute lutte pour la liberté et l'indépendance, mais en même temps, ils déclarent hypocritement qu'ils favorisent — prétendent-ils — la libération des colonies. Il faut réellement avoir perdu tout sens moral pour parler ainsi au sein de l'Assemblée générale, en présence d'un grand nombre de personnes qui furent les victimes ou les spectateurs directs des crimes des colonisateurs, qui ont connu l'oppression, les répressions, les prisons et les camps de concentration installés dans leur propre pays.

23. L'arbitraire des colonialistes britanniques ne se limite point au territoire du continent africain. D'autres parties du monde conservent encore des restes de l'Empire colonial britannique, jadis si étendu, où les mouvements pour l'indépendance sont encore étouffés brutalement par la force. Il en est ainsi de la Guyane britannique, en Amérique du Sud. Le président du People's Progressive Party de la Guyane britannique, Cheddi Jagan, dans sa pétition à l'Assemblée générale de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, en date du 11 novembre 1960, cite un grand nombre de faits concernant l'oppression de la population locale par les colonisateurs britanniques. Ce document a été distribué à l'ONU. Tout en réfutant les affirmations des colonisateurs sur leur "noble mission civilisatrice", Jagan écrit:

"Les Guyanais sont excédés d'entendre dire que les métropoles ne conservent les colonies que dans l'intérêt même de leurs sujets coloniaux et que leur politique tend à amener toutes les colonies, pas à pas, à l'indépendance. Pots-de-vin, corruption, intrigues, duperie et la constante menace d'employer la force sont des phénomènes habituels. Les Guyanais peuvent-ils croire que ce sont là des moyens pour amener la liberté, la démocratie et créer une nouvelle nation?"

Le parti populaire progressiste de la Guyane britannique, présidé par M. Jagan, a milité inlassablement — dès sa création en 1950 — en faveur de l'octroi de l'indépendance politique. Lors des élections à l'Assemblée, en 1953, ce parti obtint 18 sièges sur 24.

Mais quelques mois plus tard, le parti était dissous par un coup de force. Et, dit la pétition, au lieu d'urnes électorales, arrivèrent des vaisseaux de guerre britanniques et des soldats qui menaçaient le peuple de justice sommaire. Pendant quatre ans, de 1953 à 1957, le peuple guyanais languit sous l'autorité policière d'un régime totalitaire. Lors des élections de 1957, le Gouvernement britannique et l'autorité britannique s'ingénierent à découper les circonscriptions électorales de façon à infliger une défaite au parti qui défendait les intérêts du peuple guyanais. Malgré tout, le parti populaire progressiste a été vainqueur, obtenant 9 sièges sur 14. Mais le chef du parti, M. Jagan, déclare plus loin dans sa pétition que, bien que son parti soit à la tête du gouvernement actuel de la Guyane britannique, il a les mains liées par les chaînes des colonialistes. Pour terminer, la pétition lance un appel à l'Assemblée générale de l'ONU, les priant d'aider le peuple de la Guyane britannique afin qu'il puisse se libérer du joug de la domination étrangère, car la liberté et l'indépendance politique, tout comme la paix, sont indivisibles.

24. Les colonisateurs ont recours également à d'autres méthodes, dont le but est, d'ailleurs, toujours le même: maintenir leur domination aux colonies en ne permettant point que le pouvoir réel soit remis à la population autochtone. Cette politique se pratique sous le couvert de slogans mensongers tels que garantir "l'harmonie raciale", ou garantir "la paix et l'ordre public" aux colonies. Ces slogans ont été évoqués ici avec une certaine prolixité par le représentant du Royaume-Uni. Voyons ce que signifie, en réalité, cette prétendue politique de "l'harmonie raciale".

25. Dans le cas de l'Afrique orientale, dont a parlé ici M. Ormsby-Gore, la politique du Gouvernement britannique dans cette région a clairement pour but la création d'Etats ou d'unions du type Union sud-africaine, c'est-à-dire d'Etats prétendument indépendants dans lesquels toute l'autorité et toutes les fonctions de contrôle appartiendraient aux colons européens, qui ne représentent qu'une minorité insignifiante de la population. En effet, au lieu de donner satisfaction aux réclamations légitimes des peuples de la Rhodésie du Nord, de la Rhodésie du Sud et du Nyassaland, les colonisateurs britanniques ont créé — contrairement à la volonté de ces peuples — la Fédération centre-africaine, étendant ainsi la domination d'un groupe de colons blancs de la Rhodésie du Sud sur le Nyassaland et la Rhodésie du Nord. En agissant ainsi, ils tentent de réaliser leur plan qui consisterait à créer en Afrique centrale un autre Etat raciste du type Union sud-africaine. Ce sont des buts analogues que vise la création de ce que l'on appelle l'Union administrative, qui réunit dans son cadre le Territoire sous tutelle du Tanganyika aux colonies du Kenya et de l'Ouganda. Le Gouvernement britannique s'efforce de toute façon d'écraser et de réprimer le mouvement national de libération au Kenya et en Ouganda, de consolider la position des colons blancs au Kenya, pour ensuite rattacher à ce dernier pays le Tanganyika et l'Ouganda, les plaçant ainsi dans une position subordonnée par rapport au Kenya dans le cadre de l'union de ces trois pays. Dans ses territoires de l'Afrique orientale, le Royaume-Uni a mis en œuvre des mesures qui remettent la totalité du pouvoir politique et du contrôle entre les mains de la minorité européenne. De sorte qu'en Afrique, où

97 pour 100 des habitants sont Africains et 3 pour 100 seulement ne le sont pas, les colonisateurs s'efforcent d'assurer une "harmonie raciale" grâce à quoi les 3 pour 100 d'Européens et autres étrangers domineraient les 97 pour 100 d'Africains autochtones dans le cadre d'Etats dits indépendants.

26. Les colons européens prennent en main non seulement le contrôle de la vie politique des colonies, mais également celui de la vie économique. Avec l'aide des autorités coloniales, on pratique en grand l'aliénation des terres qui appartiennent à la population autochtone en faveur des colons européens et des compagnies étrangères. Tout le monde connaît la triste histoire des "White Highlands" (plateau des blancs), au Kenya, où les terres arables les meilleures et les plus fertiles furent dévolues aux Européens qui en ont la propriété et le monopole exclusifs. En Rhodésie du Sud, centre de la fédération coloniale dénommée Fédération centre-africaine, l'affaire est allée si loin que les Européens, qui ne forment que 9 pour 100 de la population totale de la Rhodésie du Sud, possèdent maintenant plus de la moitié des terres du pays, tandis que les Africains, qui représentent 90 pour 100 de la population totale, sont obligés de s'entasser sur 22 pour 100 du territoire. On ne peut non plus passer sous silence que les Européens ne cultivent eux-mêmes que 2,5 pour 100 des terres dont ils se sont emparés. Voilà qui vous fournit un exemple concret de la façon dont les colonisateurs "prennent soin" des intérêts de la population autochtone et développent l'économie des colonies dans l'intérêt de cette population. Au Tanganyika, l'aliénation des terres qui appartenaient à la population autochtone s'est poursuivie pendant de longues années et a fini par atteindre des proportions telles qu'à l'heure actuelle plus d'un million d'hectares ont été enlevés à la population autochtone et remis aux Européens. Il faut encore tenir compte que, d'après le rapport de la Commission de la Couronne britannique, les terres expropriées convenant le mieux aux cultures diversifiées sont situées dans les régions où les précipitations sont les plus abondantes et qui jouissent du climat le plus favorable.

27. Et ici, en séance plénière, le représentant du Royaume-Uni a parlé de "l'harmonie raciale" et de la "coopération" entre Européens et Africains au Tanganyika. Ce n'est pas pour rien que l'on dit maintenant en Afrique: "Lorsque les blancs sont arrivés chez nous, ils avaient en main une Bible, et nous, nous avions la terre. Maintenant, la terre est entre les mains des blancs, et nous, nous avons la Bible." Le représentant du Royaume-Uni a fait, dans sa déclaration, une mention particulière concernant le Tanganyika où règne de façon exemplaire l'"harmonie raciale". Qu'est-ce donc qui réjouit tant le représentant du Royaume-Uni, et qu'il exalte ainsi comme représentant la fameuse "harmonie raciale"? Les colonisateurs britanniques ont inventé ce slogan pour garder la suprématie de la minorité européenne sur les Africains et retarder d'autant la nécessité de concéder l'indépendance au Tanganyika. Au début, les autorités britanniques essayèrent d'établir au Tanganyika le principe de ce que l'on appelle "la représentation paritaire" des trois principaux groupes raciaux: Africains, Asiatiques et Européens. Cela signifiait que, bien qu'il y ait au Tanganyika 9 millions d'Africains et 20.000 Européens seulement, leur représentation, au sein des organes législatifs ou administratifs devait reposer sur le principe "pari-

taire". Les efforts des autorités britanniques pour imposer aux Africains du Tanganyika le système dit de représentation "paritaire" ont été un fiasco. Toutefois, le Royaume-Uni n'a pas abandonné son plan. Sous couleur de réforme, on a établi dans ce territoire sous tutelle un système selon lequel les Africains ont au Conseil législatif un représentant pour 180.000 hommes et les Européens un représentant pour 2.000 hommes. La voilà, l'égalité de droits! C'est cela l'"harmonie raciale" et la "représentation raciale équitable", que prônent avec tant de chaleur les représentants du Royaume-Uni!

28. L'Autorité administrante fait tout son possible pour retarder la proclamation de l'indépendance du Tanganyika. Ce qui est caractéristique, c'est que récemment encore, au cours de la vingt-troisième session du Conseil de tutelle, tenue en 1959, les représentants de l'Autorité administrante n'ont même pas voulu entendre parler d'accorder l'indépendance au Tanganyika dans un proche avenir. Ils déclaraient que le Tanganyika deviendrait indépendant aussitôt que possible, mais qu'un long chemin restait encore à faire avant qu'il puisse atteindre à l'autonomie. L'Autorité administrante a, jusqu'à ce jour, refusé l'octroi immédiat de l'indépendance au Tanganyika, ce qu'exigeaient les principaux partis politiques de ce territoire sous tutelle: Tanganyika African National Union et Tanganyika African National Congress. Dans son mémoire, présenté à la mission de visite de l'Organisation des Nations Unies qui s'est rendue dans le territoire sous tutelle en 1960, l'Union nationale africaine du Tanganyika (TANU) écrit ce qui suit:

"Les événements qui se déroulent en Afrique, dans d'autres territoires sous tutelle et dans le monde entier, ainsi que dans le Territoire, sont tels que le Tanganyika doit accéder à l'indépendance immédiatement ... Nous sommes convaincus que le développement économique et social ne peut être accéléré et réalisé pour l'essentiel que s'il y a indépendance politique^{3/}."

En dépit de la netteté des revendications concrètes des principaux partis politiques du Tanganyika concernant l'octroi immédiat de l'indépendance à ce territoire, le Royaume-Uni essaie, comme par le passé, de retarder encore ce qui doit quand même se produire inévitablement; il essaie de prolonger le plus longtemps possible sa domination sur le Tanganyika. Dans son intervention à la présente session de l'Assemblée générale, le représentant du Royaume-Uni a passé sous silence cette question primordiale, fondamentale pour ce territoire sous tutelle. Au lieu de fixer une date précise pour la proclamation de l'indépendance du Tanganyika, il s'est borné à faire une vague déclaration, disant que le Royaume-Uni se propose de présenter, au cours de la présente session de l'Assemblée générale, une proposition relative à la cessation des accords de tutelle sur le Tanganyika, après la proclamation de l'indépendance de ce territoire sous tutelle. Personne ne doute que les accords de tutelle perdront leur effet après la proclamation de l'indépendance du territoire en question. Mais la question se pose justement de savoir quand l'indépendance sera proclamée au Tanganyika. Nous sommes convaincus que le peuple du Tanganyika obtiendra son indépendance dans un avenir très proche,

malgré toutes les barrières élevées sur son chemin par l'Autorité administrante.

29. Le colonialisme laisse un très lourd héritage, tant au Tanganyika que dans les autres colonies et territoires sous tutelle. Une absence presque totale d'industries de transformation, une agriculture de subsistance très arriérée, une situation peu satisfaisante des transports, des finances désorganisées avec un budget constamment déficitaire, une organisation insuffisante des services de santé et de l'instruction publique, un niveau de vie très bas dans la population autochtone — voilà ce que l'Autorité administrante laisse en héritage au peuple du Tanganyika après quarante années de domination. Si, à titre d'exemple, nous prenons l'un des territoires de l'Afrique occidentale sous administration britannique, nous verrions, là aussi, le triste bilan de cette longue oppression coloniale.

30. Ainsi, dans le Territoire sous tutelle du Cameroun sous administration britannique, d'après les données officielles, figurant dans le rapport de la puissance administrante pour 1958 (p. 298), 90 pour 100 de la population est illettrée dans la partie sud du territoire et 96 pour 100 dans la partie nord. D'après les données fournies par l'UNESCO, on comptait en Afrique en 1957 environ 100 millions d'analphabètes, ce qui représente de 80 à 85 pour 100 de la population adulte. L'enseignement primaire ne touchait que 4,7 pour 100 de la population africaine, voire 1,7 pour 100 dans des colonies comme l'Angola. Ces chiffres constituent un véritable acte d'accusation contre le colonialisme qui, sous le couvert de la tutelle, a pendant des lustres et des lustres condamné la population à l'ignorance et à l'obscurantisme.

31. Tout cela veut dire que les colonisateurs n'ont jamais eu pour but le développement des colonies dans l'intérêt de la population autochtone et, en particulier, le développement de l'instruction publique. De propos délibéré, ils ont maintenu et s'efforcent encore de maintenir les peuples coloniaux dans l'ignorance, les privant de la possibilité de s'instruire et de créer des cadres nationaux — tout cela afin de pouvoir tenir ces peuples en esclavage sous prétexte d'une insuffisance de cadres, faute de personnes instruites ayant reçu une formation adéquate. Telle a été la position prise par le représentant de la Belgique qui tentait ici de justifier la domination coloniale belge au Congo; or, les résultats de cette domination se font sentir actuellement d'une façon aiguë au cours des événements qui se produisent dans ce pays.

32. Si, dans les colonies importantes du point de vue superficie et nombre d'habitants — colonies qui possèdent un fort mouvement de libération nationale —, les colonisateurs anglais essaient de différer l'octroi de l'indépendance politique et de garantir, dans ces pays, une position prépondérante aux minorités européennes, dans les territoires de moindre importance ils adoptent une ligne de conduite différente: ils y maintiennent des bases ou points d'appui du colonialisme ou bien ils cherchent à les "réunir", à les fondre avec la métropole. Telle est la ligne de conduite commune à tous les colonisateurs — qu'il s'agisse des Etats-Unis d'Amérique, du Royaume-Uni, de la France, de l'Espagne, du Portugal, des Pays-Bas. Chacun de ces pays s'efforce de conserver ses propres points d'appui, tels que le canal de Panama, Gibraltar, Singapour, Goa, Macao, l'Irian occidental,

^{3/} Documents officiels du Conseil de tutelle, vingt-sixième session, Supplément No 2 (T/1532 et Add.1), annexe II.

Belize, les îles Falkland, les Açores, les Canaries, Fernando Poo, le Río Muni, Ifni et tant d'autres, qu'ils considèrent comme bases stratégiques et points d'appui pour réprimer les mouvements de libération nationale des peuples coloniaux ou pour exercer une pression sur les Etats indépendants voisins.

33. Voilà pourquoi le second point du projet de déclaration soviétique [A/4502] — qui traite de la liquidation des bases d'appui et des points stratégiques — est d'une grande importance pour la solution de tout le problème de la liquidation du colonialisme.

34. Le représentant du Royaume-Uni, M. Ormsby-Gore, dans sa déclaration en date du 28 novembre [925ème séance], a pris, en fait, position contre l'existence — en tant qu'Etats indépendants — des petits territoires qui se trouvent être à l'heure actuelle sous la domination coloniale. A cette occasion, il mentionna qu'il s'agissait de territoires dont la population est inférieure à un million d'habitants. Il est d'avis que les populations de ces territoires ne devraient pas sacrifier le "progrès économique et social" pour "prendre la responsabilité de maintenir l'appareil, si coûteux, d'un Etat moderne indépendant". Voyez donc quelle sollicitude envers les petits territoires! A ce propos, on pourrait poser une question au représentant du Royaume-Uni et, par la même occasion, au représentant des Etats-Unis d'Amérique qui soutient un point de vue analogue: quelle est leur attitude envers l'existence, en tant qu'Etats indépendants, des pays comme le Luxembourg, avec ses 300.000 habitants, ou l'Islande, avec ses 164.000 habitants? Peut-être MM. Ormsby-Gore et Wadsworth ont-ils deux poids et deux mesures: les uns pour les pays occidentaux et les autres pour les pays africains et asiatiques qui se trouvent être actuellement sous le joug colonial?

35. Notre position à nous est différente. Nous considérons que tous les peuples coloniaux doivent être libérés.

36. Il nous semble que le représentant du Royaume-Uni a invoqué à bon droit les douze principes qui ont été approuvés par la Quatrième Commission [voir A/C.4/L.648 et Add.1] et, plus particulièrement, les dispositions de ces principes qui traitent de l'union ou de la fusion des colonies avec des Etats indépendants. Apparemment, la fusion ou l'union des colonies avec leur métropole ferait mieux l'affaire des colonisateurs. Après avoir proclamé que le but recherché, celui de l'indépendance ou de l'autonomie de ces colonies, était ainsi atteint, ils auraient voulu, de cette façon, et garder leurs positions dans ces territoires, et faire formellement semblant d'observer certains principes. Toutefois, il convient de noter, à ce propos, un fait qui n'est pas sans importance. Lors de la discussion des principes auxquels s'est référé le représentant du Royaume-Uni, plusieurs délégations africano-asiatiques au sein de la Quatrième Commission ont souligné la nécessité de garantir à la population des colonies la pleine et entière liberté d'exprimer sa volonté d'une façon démocratique, sans se heurter à des entraves ou à des menaces. Les délégations du Togo et de la Tunisie ont proposé devant la Quatrième Commission [1043ème séance] que l'Organisation des Nations Unies — afin de garantir une libre expression de la volonté des populations — soit entre autres habilitée à organiser, lorsqu'elle le jugera utile, une surveillance quant à l'exercice effectif du droit à la libre détermination

par la population des colonies. L'Union soviétique, d'autres pays socialistes et la majeure partie des pays africano-asiatiques ont soutenu cette proposition. Quant aux représentants des Etats-Unis d'Amérique, du Royaume-Uni, de la France et d'autres pays coloniaux, qui interviennent hypocritement ici en partisans de la libre détermination des peuples, ils sont intervenus et ont voté contre cette proposition au sein de la Quatrième Commission.

37. Dans sa déclaration, le représentant du Royaume-Uni a fait une place importante à des ratiocinations sur la nécessité de se préoccuper tout particulièrement des petits territoires. Voyons donc comment les colonisateurs se préoccupent, en réalité, des petits territoires et de leurs peuples. Prenons comme exemple le plus petit parmi les territoires sous tutelle: l'île de Nauru qui ne compte que quelques milliers d'habitants. On sait que la tutelle sur cette petite île est exercée par trois Etats: le Royaume-Uni, l'Australie et la Nouvelle-Zélande. On pourrait se demander pourquoi il a fallu de si grandes puissances pour administrer une si petite île. La réponse est très simple: la presque totalité de l'île de Nauru est constituée par des gisements de phosphates; aussi, dès 1919, les Gouvernements du Royaume-Uni, de l'Australie et de la Nouvelle-Zélande ont-ils conclu un accord sur l'exploitation de ces gisements. Cet accord peut, à juste titre, être appelé un accord colonial sur le partage et le pillage des richesses naturelles de Nauru. On y prévoit la part de chaque Etat participant: le Royaume-Uni reçoit 42 pour 100, l'Australie 42 pour 100 et la Nouvelle-Zélande 16 pour 100, ainsi qu'il est de règle pour le plus faible des trois participants — cela figure à l'article 14 de l'accord du 2 juillet 1919. Ainsi, même après avoir formellement inclus l'île de Nauru dans l'organisation internationale de tutelle, le Royaume-Uni, l'Australie et la Nouvelle-Zélande continuent à piller comme devant les ressources naturelles de cette île, la transformant graduellement en un désert stérile. Il a été calculé que les réserves existantes de phosphates suffiront encore pour 30 ou 40 ans, après quoi la population de Nauru devra quitter sa terre qui ne pourra plus nourrir ses habitants. C'est pourquoi l'Autorité administrante déclare — en paroles — qu'elle prépare la population de Nauru à atteindre le but prévu lors de la création même du régime de tutelle, c'est-à-dire l'autonomie ou l'indépendance, mais en même temps, par sa conduite même, elle prépare pratiquement l'expulsion pure et simple des habitants de Nauru, afin qu'ils ne puissent gêner la suite du pillage des richesses naturelles. Le document que l'Autorité administrante a remis au Conseil de tutelle déclare nettement que l'unique possibilité qu'ont réellement les Nauruans consiste à accepter d'être transférés en qualité d'immigrants dans un autre pays quelconque de la région de l'Océan Pacifique. Et c'est cette déclaration que les autorités administrantes essaient de présenter non seulement comme étant le désir librement exprimé par les habitants de ce territoire sous tutelle, mais encore comme une manifestation du souci que ces autorités se font du bien-être d'un petit peuple sous leur tutelle.

38. Voilà le résultat du colonialisme ancien ou "classique" si vous voulez. Mais, actuellement, cette forme du colonialisme n'est ni la seule, ni même la principale forme existante. Maintenant, l'Etat colonial le plus puissant, ce n'est plus ni le Royaume-Uni ou la France affaiblie, ni le caduc Portugal, ni l'Espagne

arriérée, mais la plus grande puissance impérialiste du monde: les Etats-Unis d'Amérique.

39. Le représentant des Etats-Unis d'Amérique qui, on ne sait pourquoi, a préféré prendre la parole à la fin du présent débat, a essayé de raviver les éléments de guerre froide que le représentant du Royaume-Uni avait vainement tenté d'introduire dans nos débats. Toutefois, les déclarations des orateurs suivants ont démontré que les efforts de M. Wadsworth étaient aussi vains que ceux de M. Ormsby-Gore. Ces représentants des deux types existants de l'oppression des peuples: le colonialisme "classique" et le néo-colonialisme, ont reçu de la part de plusieurs orateurs la réponse qu'ils méritaient. Même les représentants de pays comme le Honduras ou le Panama ont dû reconnaître publiquement qu'un certain nombre de territoires dont les Etats-Unis se sont emparés (cela sonnerait mieux de dire: qu'ils ont pris à bail) font effectivement partie de ces pays. L'intervention du représentant de Cuba a fait entièrement justice des affirmations hypocrites des représentants des Etats-Unis tendant à faire accroire qu'ils ont octroyé la "liberté" à Porto Rico et qu'ils ne portent pas atteinte à la liberté et à l'indépendance d'autres pays et, en particulier, des pays de l'Amérique latine.

40. A entendre M. Wadsworth, le représentant des Etats-Unis, un brave type naïf pouvait avoir l'impression que les amis les meilleurs et les plus désintéressés des peuples coloniaux sont les Etats-Unis, principale puissance impérialiste et colonialiste du monde. Ce bon naïf aurait pu croire que les Etats-Unis font tout ce qu'ils peuvent pour que les peuples coloniaux accèdent à la liberté et qu'ils ressentent une joie intense chaque fois qu'un nouvel Etat indépendant voit le jour. En réalité, l'intervention de M. Wadsworth était un mélange d'hypocrisie et d'affirmations directes en faveur du maintien du régime colonial pour une période indéfinie sous le couvert de considérations sur la nécessité de prévenir "le chaos" et "les violences" et de préparer les colonies à pouvoir "voler de leurs propres ailes". Il est caractéristique que le représentant des Etats-Unis n'ait pas dit un mot sur l'époque où ils accorderont l'indépendance à leurs propres colonies: aux îles sous tutelle du Pacifique, à Guam, aux îles Vierges, aux Samoa, à Porto Rico. Pourquoi les Etats-Unis s'accrochent-ils opiniâtement à leur colonie des Samoa et veulent-ils tenir ces îles dans un état d'asservissement colonial, alors que la Nouvelle-Zélande a consenti à mettre fin, en 1961, à sa tutelle sur le Samoa-Occidental? Pourquoi les Etats-Unis refusent-ils obstinément d'octroyer l'indépendance à Porto Rico, se contentant d'affirmer, aussi cyniquement que mensongèrement, que le peuple de Porto Rico ne veut pas d'indépendance à l'heure actuelle?

41. Le représentant des Etats-Unis a longuement discouru hier sur l'importance d'une manifestation libre et démocratique de la volonté des peuples encore dépendants. On se demande donc pourquoi le représentant des Etats-Unis, à la Quatrième Commission de la présente session de l'Assemblée générale, a voté contre la proposition des Etats africains tendant à garantir, grâce à une surveillance organisée par l'ONU, cette libre manifestation de la volonté des peuples coloniaux et à empêcher les menées auxquelles se plaisent les colonisateurs. Ce fait à lui seul montre déjà le caractère affecté du "souci" que

les Etats-Unis auraient de l'avenir des peuples coloniaux et dévoile leur politique colonialiste réelle.

42. Le colonialisme des Etats-Unis ressemble, à bien des égards, à celui des vieilles puissances européennes, mais il présente des aspects encore plus dangereux et de plus mauvais augure. L'histoire du colonialisme des Etats-Unis est également chargée de guerres et d'expéditions armées, dont le but consistait en une mainmise sur les terres d'autrui, en l'oppression d'autres peuples, en des actes de répression à l'encontre de la population autochtone "indocile". La guerre hispano-américaine de 1898 fut la première guerre impérialiste dont l'objet fût un nouveau partage d'un monde qu'on s'était déjà partagé. A l'issue de cette guerre, les Etats-Unis s'emparèrent des Philippines et de Porto Rico et firent de Cuba leur subordonné. Ils continuent d'ailleurs à conserver certains de ces territoires comme colonies directes. Pourtant, les habitants de ces colonies américaines, tout comme les autres peuples coloniaux, réclament légitimement leur liberté et leur indépendance, considérant qu'il est temps de faire cesser également le colonialisme américain.

43. A titre d'exemple, on peut citer la déclaration faite par deux habitants des îles Marshall: M. Bolkain, président de la municipalité de l'atoll de Kwajalein, et M. Amata Kabua, ancien président du Congrès des îles Marshall. Ces pétitionnaires qui prirent la parole lors de la vingt-sixième session du Conseil de tutelle déclarèrent ce qui suit (je cite d'après leur déclaration):

"Nos plaintes sont simples. Pendant la période d'administration américaine, notre niveau de vie a baissé. Depuis plus de 16 ans, nous sommes privés de nos terres et aucun paiement de nous a été offert en compensation pendant 13 ans. Notre île natale a été transformée en un polygone atomique; nos habitants souffrent de maladies causées par des radiations, des brûlures et d'autres lésions sérieuses ... Nos coutumes ancestrales s'écroulent et nous éprouvons de vives craintes quant à l'avenir de la population des îles Marshall ...

"Il y a de cela de nombreuses années, nous nous défendions sans l'aide d'aucune autre nation. Puis, les Espagnols sont venus nous défendre, et nous sommes devenus une colonie. Ensuite les Allemands sont venus nous défendre et nous sommes restés une colonie. Maintenant, ce sont les Etats-Unis qui nous défendent et nous sommes toujours un peuple colonial. Nous estimons que nous pouvons mieux nous défendre tout seuls et à meilleur compte. Nous sommes disposés à faire la connaissance de la démocratie. Nous pensons qu'elle est un bon moyen. Mais nous ne croyons pas que les moyens qu'on nous applique soient de bons exemples de ce qu'est la démocratie.

"... Peut-être vaudrait-il mieux qu'on nous rende notre antique liberté. Les peuples de l'Afrique et de l'Asie obtiennent leur liberté. Nous considérons que nous pouvons nous gouverner tout aussi bien que ces pays nouveaux^{4/}."

Voilà ce que déclareraient ces pétitionnaires. C'est la voix de la population autochtone des colonies améri-

^{4/} Cette déclaration a été faite à la 1061ème séance du Conseil de tutelle, dont les comptes rendus officiels ne paraissent que sous forme analytique.

caines et, malgré toutes leurs tentatives, les Etats-Unis ne réussiront évidemment pas à l'étouffer.

44. Toutefois, lorsque l'on parle du colonialisme américain, il ne faut pas oublier que ce type de colonialisme ne prend pas seulement la forme d'une prise de possession sans ambage sur les territoires d'autrui, mais aussi une forme camouflée — et, par conséquent, plus dangereuse — de subordination et de contrôle exercés sur des territoires et des pays qui comptent, officiellement, parmi les pays indépendants. La pénétration économique des monopoles américains dans les pays de l'Amérique latine, de l'Asie et de l'Afrique aboutit à la création d'un empire colonial des Etats-Unis d'Amérique extérieurement "invisible".

45. Les particularités du colonialisme américain ainsi créé ont été éloquemment décrites jadis par M. Nehru dans une lettre qu'il écrivait à sa fille le 3 janvier 1933; bien entendu, à cette époque, M. Nehru n'était pas encore premier ministre. M. Nehru écrivait donc à sa fille ce qui suit:

"Ne crois pas que l'empire des Etats-Unis soit limité aux îles Philippines. C'est la seule colonie qu'ils aient, en apparence, mais, tenant compte de l'expérience et des difficultés des autres puissances impérialistes, les Etats-Unis ont perfectionné les méthodes anciennes. Ils ne prennent pas la peine d'annexer certains pays, comme la Grande-Bretagne a annexé l'Inde. Ce qui les intéresse, c'est le profit seul; c'est pourquoi ils essaient de placer sous leur contrôle les richesses de tel ou tel pays. Cela fait, il est facile de soumettre à son contrôle toute la population de ce pays et, à proprement parler, le pays tout entier. Ainsi, sans grands soucis et sans conflits avec les nationalistes locaux, les Etats-Unis contrôlent tout le pays et prennent une part de ses richesses. Cette méthode astucieuse s'appelle "impérialisme économique". Rien n'en paraît sur les cartes géographiques. Le pays semble libre, à en juger d'après un manuel de géographie ou un atlas. Mais, en regardant plus au fond des choses, on constate qu'en réalité, il est dans les serres d'une autre puissance ou, plus précisément, qu'il est la proie des grands banquiers et des hommes d'affaires de cette puissance. C'est cet empire invisible que détiennent les Etats-Unis d'Amérique^{5/}."

46. Les événements ultérieurs n'ont fait que démontrer la justesse de ces lignes. Au cours de la période qui a suivi la seconde guerre mondiale, le colonialisme des Etats-Unis s'est caractérisé par la tendance à une entière domination dans le domaine de l'économie des pays coloniaux et des pays sous-développés. Il tend également à évincer de leurs positions ses concurrents — sous prétexte de lutte contre le "communisme mondial" —, à organiser la mainmise sur leurs anciennes possessions coloniales et à réprimer tout mouvement de libération nationale dans les pays d'Asie, d'Amérique latine et d'Afrique. Au cours de ces dernières années, les Etats-Unis ont fait des tentatives particulièrement actives pour pénétrer en Afrique. Bien que, jusqu'à présent, les positions clefs de l'économie africaine soient encore tenues par le Royaume-Uni et la France, ces pays sont de plus en plus refoulés par le colonialisme américain. On peut s'en rendre compte en considérant

déjà que la somme totale des investissements américains en Afrique, investissements tant privés que publics, s'élevait en 1959 à plus de 2 milliards de dollars, c'est-à-dire qu'ils ont augmenté de 20 fois par rapport à l'avant-guerre. Pendant cette même période, les investissements américains privés ont augmenté de quelque 1.100 pour 100, ce qui veut dire qu'ils ont dépassé de plus de deux fois l'augmentation générale des investissements américains privés à l'étranger. Ainsi, les tentacules des monopoles américains sont déjà plaqués sur un grand nombre de pays africains.

47. Les Etats-Unis ne sont pas le moins du monde intéressés à l'octroi d'une indépendance entière et effective aux peuples coloniaux car, en ce cas, les monopoles américains se verraient privés des privilèges dont ils jouissent dans ces colonies et perdraient des sources d'enrichissement. Les Etats-Unis ne peuvent prendre rang avec ceux qui luttent pour la libération des colonies et pour la suppression du colonialisme, puisqu'ils prennent une part directe et active au pillage de ces colonies. L'impérialisme américain est devenu le système international d'exploitation le plus énorme et le principal rempart du colonialisme moderne.

48. Les impérialistes — Etats-Unis en tête — font des efforts désespérés pour conserver par des formes et des méthodes nouvelles l'exploitation des peuples des anciennes colonies. Les monopoles tentent de conserver les leviers de contrôle économique et d'influence politique dans les pays d'Asie, d'Afrique et d'Amérique latine. Ces efforts ont pour but de maintenir les positions acquises dans l'économie des pays qui viennent de se libérer, de s'emparer de positions nouvelles sous prétexte d'"assistance" économique, d'entraîner les pays libérés dans des blocs militaires et d'y implanter des régimes militaires dictatoriaux; enfin, de créer des bases militaires. Les impérialistes s'efforcent d'affaiblir les pays qui viennent de se libérer, de saper leur souveraineté nationale, de dénaturer le sens même du principe de la libre détermination des nations, d'imposer — sous le couvert d'une prétendue "interdépendance" — des formes nouvelles de domination coloniale, de placer au pouvoir dans ces pays des fantoches à leur solde, de corrompre une partie de la bourgeoisie nationale; d'utiliser l'arme empoisonnée de la discorde tribale pour affaiblir les forces des jeunes Etats encore non affermis. C'est dans ce but que l'on utilise activement les blocs militaires et ententes militaires bilatérales d'agression.

49. L'OTAN est le plus important des blocs créés par les colonisateurs. Un de ses objectifs principaux consiste à instaurer un colonialisme collectif, à organiser aux colonies la répression collective des mouvements de libération nationale. La preuve directe en est qu'au sein de l'OTAN se trouvent des puissances colonialistes telles que le Royaume-Uni, la France, la Belgique, les Pays-Bas, le Portugal. Ceci indique que, lorsqu'ils se sont heurtés à l'élément exceptionnel du mouvement de libération nationale, les colonialistes, se sentant impuissants à y faire face en ordre dispersé, se sont efforcés de trouver dans l'union la force nécessaire. Les Etats-Unis ont à plusieurs reprises constitué un front unique avec les anciennes puissances coloniales dans leur lutte contre le mouvement de libération nationale; ils se sont immiscés de façon brutale dans les affaires intérieures de maints

^{5/} Jawaharlal Nehru, *Glimpses of World History*, Allahabad, 1935, p. 748 et 749.

pays, en s'efforçant de convertir lesdits pays en un tremplin d'agression contre d'autres pays.

50. Pour illustrer de façon concrète que ce sont bien les Etats-Unis qui jouent maintenant le rôle de rempart du système colonial, il suffit d'examiner ce que l'on nomme "la doctrine Eisenhower", qui a un caractère nettement impérialiste et se base sur une "politique de force". Si le rôle de gendarme dans le Proche-Orient était autrefois tenu par les impérialistes anglais et français, maintenant ce sont les Etats-Unis qui tentent d'assumer ce rôle. L'intervention anglo-américaine de 1958 au Liban et en Jordanie a bien fait voir au monde entier ce que représente en réalité la "doctrine Eisenhower".

51. L'attitude des Etats-Unis d'Amérique crée de sérieuses difficultés à l'Indonésie dans sa lutte pour l'Irian occidental. Les Etats-Unis préfèrent que l'Irian occidental reste aux mains des Pays-Bas qui, avec le temps, pourront être éliminés de cette région, comme ce fut le cas de la France au Viet-Nam du Sud.

52. Les Etats-Unis ont déclaré que l'Amérique latine, en vertu de la "doctrine de Monroe" devait être une réserve à eux et rester dans leur sphère d'influence. Toutefois, l'époque de la domination tranquille et placide des Etats-Unis en Amérique latine est révolue et appartient dorénavant au passé. Une ère nouvelle est là, ère où la conscience nationale des pays du continent américain s'éveille, où les peuples se libèrent du pillage américain.

53. Etant la puissance colonialiste la plus importante, les Etats-Unis apportent une aide active à leurs partenaires caducs et séniles pour maintenir leur domination sur les peuples qui luttent pour leur liberté et leur indépendance. Les Etats-Unis avaient aidé les colonialistes français dans leur guerre répugnante contre le peuple du Viet-Nam. Maintenant, ils livrent des armes et apportent une aide financière et économique à la clique militaire française pour réprimer la lutte du peuple d'Algérie pour sa liberté. Il faut le dire carrément: la guerre coloniale d'Algérie aurait été rendue impossible et le peuple algérien aurait obtenu sa liberté et son indépendance si les impérialistes et les colonialistes américains n'avaient soutenu les colonialistes français par tous les moyens en leur pouvoir. Et l'agression collective des Etats membres de l'OTAN au Congo ne se fait-elle pas avec l'aide et le concours directs des Etats-Unis? Bien entendu, nous n'allons pas analyser de façon détaillée la situation congolaise. Elle fera l'objet d'un examen particulier. Nous croyons néanmoins indispensable d'indiquer ici la thèse qui reste liée à tout le problème colonial.

54. Les événements survenus au Congo montrent que le bloc de l'Atlantique Nord — à la tête duquel se trouvent les Etats-Unis d'Amérique — s'est dressé ouvertement contre le peuple congolais rassemblé autour du gouvernement de Patrice Lumumba et du Parlement congolais. Le but de cette agression est de détruire l'indépendance, obtenue par le peuple du Congo à l'issue d'une lutte opiniâtre. On assiste au Congo à un nouveau partage d'influence entre les puissances coloniales: les Etats-Unis, la Belgique, le Royaume-Uni et la France. Ce nouveau partage — comme les remaniements d'influence qui eurent lieu auparavant — se réalise en tenant compte de la modification du rapport des forces en présence et aussi des changements survenus dans les appétits des colonia-

listes pour des richesses appartenant à d'autres peuples ...

55. Le **PRESIDENT** (traduit de l'anglais): J'espère que l'orateur s'en tiendra à la déclaration qu'il vient de faire lui-même sur son intention de s'abstenir de parler en détail de la situation au Congo. Comme il le sait, cette question est en cours de discussion ailleurs; en outre, elle figure à l'ordre du jour de l'Assemblée qui a décidé d'en ajourner le débat. J'espère donc que le représentant de l'URSS ne cherchera pas à entrer dans le détail de la question. D'autres orateurs qui avaient essayé de le faire ont été priés de s'en abstenir. Je demande au représentant de l'Union soviétique d'agir de même.

56. **M. ZORINE** (Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques) [traduit du russe]: Je n'avais pas l'intention — et je l'avais dit dès le début — d'entrer dans l'examen détaillé du problème congolais en tant que tel. J'avais l'intention d'en dire quelques mots en liaison avec le problème du colonialisme et uniquement en liaison avec lui. Je l'ai d'ailleurs fait en grande partie. Car c'est également en se servant de l'exemple du Congo que les forces unies des colonialistes tentent de donner une "leçon" aux peuples de l'Afrique en confirmant une théorie, qu'ils ont inventée aux-mêmes, selon laquelle les jeunes Etats africains ne peuvent vivre et se développer sans ceux-là mêmes qui, pendant de nombreux lustres et même des siècles, ont réprimé toutes les tentatives des peuples africains pour obtenir leur liberté et leur indépendance. Nous sommes néanmoins persuadés que les peuples de l'Afrique, de l'Asie et du monde entier tireront d'autres leçons du pénible exemple du Congo.

57. Il est à peine besoin de prouver qu'un pays aussi arriéré et aussi faible que le Portugal n'aurait jamais été capable de soutenir sa domination sur 11 millions d'Africains sans l'aide des Etats-Unis et de ses autres partenaires du bloc de l'OTAN. C'est seulement parce qu'il se sent épaulé par les autres puissances coloniales que le Portugal a osé lancer un défi à tous les peuples et pays africains et refusé d'octroyer l'indépendance à l'Angola, au Mozambique et à ses autres colonies. Nous sommes entièrement d'accord avec le Président du Ghana, **M. Nkrumah**, qui, dans son intervention à la séance du 23 septembre dernier, déclara devant l'Assemblée générale:

"En ce qui concerne le Portugal, je suis d'avis qu'une responsabilité particulière incombe aux membres de l'OTAN qui sont également Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies ..." [869^e séance, par. 47.]

58. En fait, comment les Etats-Unis n'aideraient-ils point leurs amis portugais alors que dans les colonies portugaises des sociétés et compagnies américaines telles que la Standard Oil Company, la Chase National Bank, la National City Bank of New York, la Gulf Oil Corporation of America brassent les affaires en maîtres et contrôlent la plupart des sociétés portugaises, qu'il s'agisse d'extraction de diamants, de pétrole, de la production du caoutchouc, etc. Il existe donc une sorte de caution solidaire des colonialistes, qui reflète leurs affinités morales. Comme dit la sagesse populaire: les loups ne se mangent pas entre eux. Bien entendu, les Etats-Unis ne peuvent pas intervenir à l'ONU et déclarer au monde entier qu'ils soutiennent le Portugal et qu'ils n'ont aucune divergence de vues avec ce pays, comme ils l'ont fait lors des conversations bilatérales entre les Etats-Unis et

le Portugal. A la présente session, les représentants des Etats-Unis d'Amérique préfèrent garder le silence à ce sujet. Il faut néanmoins noter que la question des colonies portugaises et espagnoles a été examinée d'une façon assez détaillée au cours de la présente session par la Quatrième Commission et cette discussion a montré que le Portugal est presque entièrement isolé.

59. Un grand nombre de délégations d'Etats africains, asiatiques, socialistes et autres ont soumis à une violente critique le cruel régime colonial que le Portugal a établi dans ses colonies. Elles ont cité de nombreux faits et apporté de multiples preuves que le représentant du Portugal a été incapable de réfuter. Lorsqu'il prit la parole ici en séance plénière [934ème séance], le représentant du Portugal ne trouva rien de mieux que de nier en bloc tous les faits et tous les arguments présentés par les autres délégations. Or, n'est-ce point un fait que, dans les colonies portugaises, il existe un régime brutal de discrimination raciale et de travail forcé? Ni à la Quatrième Commission, ni en séance plénière de l'Assemblée générale, le représentant du Portugal n'a tenté de nier que les habitants des colonies portugaises sont divisés en "civilisés" (assimilés) et en "non-civilisés". Et cela se passe au XXème siècle! Théoriquement, les Africains des colonies portugaises peuvent se hausser jusqu'au statut d'"assimilés", mais pour cela ils doivent prouver qu'ils connaissent la langue portugaise, qu'ils sont catholiques, qu'ils possèdent un certain capital, qu'ils sont prêts à renoncer aux usages locaux ainsi qu'à leur culture et à leurs traditions, et qu'ils sont disposés, dorénavant, à vivre à la manière des Européens. En fait, après 500 ans d'occupation portugaise, 3 pour 1.000 seulement des Africains ont pu devenir des "assimilés", tandis que les autres continuent à être traités d'indigènes et ne possèdent aucun droit politique ou civil. Ils ne sont représentés dans aucun des organes administratifs ni dans les organes législatifs de la métropole; ils ne bénéficient d'aucune protection légale. Ils peuvent être arbitrairement chassés de leurs terres ancestrales; les pouvoirs publics peuvent, pour n'importe quel délit et sans jugement, leur faire subir la peine du fouet ou les envoyer aux travaux forcés. Dans les colonies portugaises, seule est interdite la transformation pure et simple d'un autochtone en serf. Toutes les autres formes d'esclavage, loin d'être interdites, sont, en fait, consacrées par l'usage.

60. C'est ainsi que, sous le couvert d'un système de contrat, on assiste au Mozambique, par exemple, à un commerce systématique d'Africains. Aux termes de la Convention du Mozambique de 1928, constamment reconduite depuis, chaque année 100.000 nègres du Mozambique sont expédiés en Union sud-africaine, et environ le même nombre en Rhodésie et au Nyassaland. De plus, il existe un organisme gouvernemental spécial qui s'occupe de recruter la main-d'œuvre pour les mines d'or et de charbon du Transvaal. La plupart de ces travailleurs sous contrat, lorsqu'ils ne meurent pas en route de faim, de maladie ou d'épidémie, périssent à leur lieu de travail, ainsi qu'en témoignent des observateurs bourgeois eux-mêmes.

61. On peut citer le témoignage du quotidien anglais *The Guardian* qui, dans son numéro du 8 avril 1960, écrivait qu'au cours des 20 dernières années, l'utilisation, dans les colonies portugaises, de la main-

d'œuvre forcée augmente sans cesse et qu'à présent cette main-d'œuvre est devenue prépondérante, tant au Mozambique qu'en Angola. Et voici ce qu'indique le mémorandum présenté par l'Union du peuple d'Angola aux représentants à la quinzième session de l'Assemblée générale:

"La caractéristique essentielle du colonialisme portugais est qu'il représente la pire forme du fascisme, marquée du sceau du racisme le plus inhumain. La politique raciale est mise en pratique... avec une rare férocité, tant dans le domaine culturel, que dans le domaine économique ou des relations sociales." Il est encore dit plus loin dans ce document:

"Dès le début de 1959 on pratique ici une politique d'intimidation sanglante: les assassinats en série en Guinée portugaise, l'arrivée de renforts militaires en Angola, suivie d'arrestations, de tortures et de déportations de patriotes locaux; enfin, la distribution d'armes aux colons qui forment maintenant une milice qui a l'autorisation de supprimer tous les suspects. Nos compatriotes subissent toutes sortes de punitions et sont soumis à des tortures inimaginables. On peut citer l'exemple du patriote Alfred Bengé, devenu muet et frappé de paralysie, ainsi que celui de Ramos Lundila qui perdit la raison à la suite de tortures par courant électrique et se trouve actuellement dans un hôpital psychiatrique. Les patriotes José Manuel Martins, Domingo João et Manuel Francisco ont été exécutés à Ramal de Bengo."

62. Le représentant du Portugal peut-il réfuter ces témoignages au sujet des cas de répressions et de tortures ainsi que sur les pénibles conditions de vie de la population autochtone? N'est-ce pas un fait qu'au Mozambique à peu près la moitié des enfants nouveau-nés meurent au bout de quelques jours? N'est-ce pas un fait que 99 pour 100 de la population autochtone de l'Angola, du Mozambique et des autres possessions portugaises sont encore analphabètes après cinq siècles d'administration "éclairée" et de propagation de la "civilisation"?

63. Le représentant du Portugal préfère passer tout cela sous silence et affirmer gratuitement que certains délégués font de la "propagande" et s'en prennent, sans fondement, à son pays. Il va même jusqu'à affirmer que les délégations qui cherchent à obtenir la suppression du système colonialiste dans les colonies portugaises s'ingéreraient dans les affaires intérieures portugaises, car ce pays ne possède pas de colonies, mais seulement des provinces d'outre-mer. L'inconsistance de pareilles affirmations est parfaitement évidente. Car le simple fait que, le 11 juin 1951, un amendement à la Constitution portugaise a proclamé que les colonies constituaient dorénavant des provinces portugaises d'outre-mer, n'a en rien modifié le statut de ces territoires et le régime colonial y a conservé toute sa force. Tous ces artifices et subterfuges juridiques ne trompent naturellement personne et la revendication de tous les peuples épris de liberté concernant l'abolition définitive de l'infâme phénomène du colonialisme, s'applique entièrement et totalement aux colonies portugaises. Et si les colonialistes portugais n'entendent pas la voix de la raison et ne comprennent pas que l'effondrement du système colonial est historiquement inéluctable, ils finiront par être balayés du sol africain et asiatique par le flot puissant du mouvement de libération nationale.

64. Nous ne citons pas tous ces faits afin de critiquer tout simplement les puissances coloniales; ce n'est point de la critique pour le plaisir de critiquer. L'Union soviétique — aux côtés d'autres puissances éprises de paix et de liberté — s'élève sans relâche contre le système colonial, car c'est là un phénomène infâme, c'est la privation des droits et des libertés les plus élémentaires pour des peuples entiers, c'est une insulte à la dignité humaine, c'est l'humiliation, c'est la souffrance pour des millions d'êtres humains vivant aux colonies.

65. L'effondrement total du système d'esclavage colonial sous la poussée du mouvement de libération nationale est imminent; il s'agit là d'un processus irrésistible et irréversible. La brusque accentuation de la lutte des peuples coloniaux pour leur liberté a été le résultat de la grande révolution socialiste d'Octobre qui a réveillé l'Orient et entraîné les peuples coloniaux dans le torrent commun d'un mouvement révolutionnaire mondial de libération. On voit se vérifier la prévision du grand Lénine qui disait:

"Après la période qui sera marquée par l'éveil de l'Orient, la révolution contemporaine verra arriver la période de participation de tous les peuples d'Orient aux décisions concernant le sort du monde entier. Ces peuples, cessant d'être des objectifs d'enrichissement, s'éveillent à une activité pratique dans laquelle chaque peuple aura à participer à la solution des problèmes relatifs au sort de l'humanité tout entière."

La victoire de l'Union soviétique dans la seconde guerre mondiale, l'instauration d'un régime de démocratie populaire dans plusieurs pays d'Europe et d'Asie, le triomphe de la révolution socialiste en Chine et la création d'un système socialiste mondial ont accéléré dans une grande mesure le développement de ce processus.

66. La lutte héroïque des peuples coloniaux et le soutien qu'elle reçoit de la part des pays socialistes et d'autres pays épris de liberté — voilà les facteurs essentiels de l'effondrement du système colonial. Faute d'un système socialiste mondial, les efforts réunis des impérialistes auraient écrasé le mouvement de libération nationale dans les colonies et dans les pays dépendants. Or, à l'heure actuelle, le rapport des forces en présence dans l'arène internationale est tel que les colonialistes ne sont plus capables, même par la force des armes, de conjurer la désagrégation du système colonial. La particularité de la situation actuelle réside dans le fait que, sous la forte pression des peuples et compte tenu de l'existence d'un camp puissant de la paix et du socialisme, dans bien des cas les impérialistes se sont vus contraints d'évacuer "pacifiquement" leurs colonies, tout en essayant de les entortiller avec divers contrats léonins. C'est en pensant aux représentants des puissances coloniales que le chef du Gouvernement soviétique, M. N. S. Khrouchtchev, prenant la parole à la présente session de l'Assemblée générale, a dit:

"Bien entendu, on ne saurait espérer que nos propositions sur l'abolition du régime colonial, qui répondent aux intérêts vitaux de l'humanité, soient favorablement accueillies par ceux qui se cramponnent encore à l'ordre colonial. J'entends d'avance les critiques des défenseurs du régime colonial; mais à ceux qui se sont accoutumés à prospérer aux dépens des peuples coloniaux asservis, nous

disons: réfléchissez, observez ce qui se passe autour de vous; si ce n'est aujourd'hui, ce sera demain, ce sera très bientôt que les systèmes coloniaux s'effondreront définitivement et, si vous ne vous retirez pas à temps, on vous chassera quand même. Ni les conspirations ni même la force des armes n'arriveront à insuffler vie au régime colonial condamné." [869ème séance, par. 221.]

67. L'Union soviétique s'est faite, par principe, le champion logique de l'abolition immédiate de l'infâme système colonial. C'est ouvertement que nous critiquons les puissances coloniales et nous n'avons peur ni de leurs calomnies ni de leurs insinuations, car nous défendons une cause juste: la liberté et l'indépendance des peuples coloniaux. Notre présente déclaration est une réponse non seulement aux représentants des puissances coloniales qui sont intervenus ici au cours de la discussion, mais également aux représentants de la France, de l'Espagne et des Pays-Bas qui ont préféré se taire. Nous considérons cela comme un stratagème des colonisateurs, qui font la guerre en Algérie et qui continuent à occuper militairement de nombreux territoires en Afrique et en Asie. Aux représentants des puissances coloniales, nous déclarons sans ambages: tâchez de comprendre la nécessité historique et l'inéluctabilité de l'abolition du système colonial; décampez sans demander votre reste, sinon les peuples des colonies vous jetteront dehors. On vous propose maintenant à l'ONU de choisir la voie de l'octroi pacifique de l'indépendance aux peuples coloniaux. Mais si les colonisateurs ne veulent pas prendre cette voie et obligent les peuples opprimés à prendre les armes pour chasser les oppresseurs malvenus, alors le devoir de tous les pays épris de paix sera d'aider par tous les moyens la juste cause de la libération nationale des peuples coloniaux.

68. L'examen de la question coloniale à la quinzième session de l'Assemblée générale constitue une rude épreuve pour l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Le colonialisme sera en tout cas supprimé — avec ou sans l'aide de l'ONU — car l'écroulement du système colonial rentre dans le cadre objectif de la marche de l'histoire que personne ne peut arrêter. Mais, en ce qui concerne l'ONU, voici comment se pose la question: ou bien cette Organisation accélère le progrès, ou bien, en restant indifférente au destin de millions d'êtres humains opprimés et en se laissant brider par les colonisateurs, elle restera à l'écart du progrès; il se peut même qu'elle devienne, ce qui serait pis encore, un obstacle à une abolition très rapide du colonialisme.

69. Un large examen du projet de déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux montre que l'opinion publique mondiale est en faveur d'une abolition immédiate et totale du colonialisme; les puissances coloniales ne peuvent ignorer cette opinion. Le débat a montré que la plupart des délégations sont intervenues dans le sens d'une lutte réelle contre le colonialisme. La délégation soviétique a écouté avec intérêt et une grande attention les représentants de Ceylan, de l'Arabie Saoudite, du Ghana, de la Guinée, du Mali, de la République arabe unie, de l'Inde, de l'Indonésie, du Maroc, de l'Irak et d'autres pays de l'Afrique et de l'Asie; elle note avec satisfaction cette communauté de buts et d'aspirations dans la cause de la lutte contre le colonialisme.

70. On ne peut, toutefois, omettre de noter le fait que certaines délégations, sous prétexte d'anticolonialisme, sont en réalité intervenues pour défendre les intérêts des colonialistes, en essayant de retarder la fin inévitable du système colonial. Certains parmi ces délégués ont montré que leur façon d'interpréter ce projet de déclaration ainsi que leurs buts et leurs aspirations, n'ont rien de commun avec la majorité des coauteurs du projet. C'est ainsi que le représentant des Philippines [933ème séance] (qui a même fini à la dernière minute par s'associer aux coauteurs du projet de résolution africano-asiatique) [A/L.323 et Add.1 à 6] avait interprété d'une façon tout à fait erronée le paragraphe 5 de ce projet en affirmant qu'on n'y prévoyait nullement le transfert immédiat de la plénitude des pouvoirs aux peuples coloniaux. Apparemment, et par complaisance envers les colonisateurs, le représentant des Philippines se proposait de saper la signification même du projet africano-asiatique et d'en édulcorer le contenu. En somme, le représentant de l'Argentine, M. Amadeo [927ème séance], a pris la même attitude puisqu'il s'est, en fait, opposé à la libération immédiate des colonies. En invitant l'Assemblée à ne point pousser artificiellement (selon sa propre expression) le processus de décolonisation qui, d'après lui, avance à pas de géant, il s'est opposé à ce que l'on fixe une date limite pour l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples colonisés. Il est évident que de telles interventions ne font qu'encourager les puissances coloniales dans leur refus d'octroyer la liberté et l'indépendance aux colonies. Le représentant du Honduras est allé encore plus loin. Il a présenté un projet de résolution [A/L.324/Rev.1] qui, en fait, est celui des colonisateurs. On ne peut voir dans le projet du Honduras qu'une diversion pour contrecarrer les aspirations de l'énorme majorité des membres de l'ONU qui veulent mettre fin au colonialisme. Bien entendu, la délégation soviétique votera contre la proposition du Honduras qui, se targuant de lutter contre le système colonial, préconise en somme d'en proroger l'existence. Nous sommes persuadés que l'Assemblée générale ne permettra pas qu'on l'amène à s'écarter de la solution de problèmes historiques majeurs quels que puissent être les manœuvres et les trucs employés par les représentants des puissances colonialistes et leurs acolytes.

71. Les débats en séance plénière ont également démontré qu'un certain nombre de délégations, ne voulant pas, ou ne pouvant pas, pour différentes raisons, poser la question de l'abolition du colonialisme d'une façon ferme et résolue, essaient d'aboutir à un "compromis" avec les puissances coloniales. Visiblement, ces délégations ne se rendent pas compte que, dans une question de principe aussi vitale pour des millions d'êtres humains que l'abolition du colonialisme, tenter un compromis avec les colonialistes ne peut que nuire à la lutte avec ces derniers et faire le jeu des oppresseurs étrangers. Toute concession faite aux colonialistes ne pourra que prolonger les souffrances des peuples coloniaux. N'en avons-nous pas la preuve dans la vaine recherche (pendant 14 ans) d'un compromis avec le Gouvernement de l'Union sud-africaine dans la question du Sud-Ouest africain? Les concessions faites aux colonisateurs sud-africains n'ont eu pour résultat que le maintien de l'esclavage colonial dans le Sud-Ouest africain et une annexion de facto de ce territoire. La tragédie que vit actuellement le peuple congolais elle aussi est un témoignage des conséquences funestes de conces-

sions faites aux colonialistes et de la recherche de compromis avec eux.

72. C'est pour cette raison que la délégation de l'Union soviétique intervient en faveur d'un examen conséquent et décisif du problème de l'abolition du colonialisme et d'une solution radicale de ce problème dans le cadre de l'ONU. Il s'agirait pour l'Assemblée générale, au cours de la présente session, de se prononcer nettement en faveur d'une abolition immédiate et définitive du colonialisme, sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations. La délégation soviétique estime que le projet de déclaration soumis à la présente session par l'URSS [A/4502] est celui qui tient compte le plus complètement des revendications des peuples coloniaux, puisqu'il prévoit leur libération immédiate et totale de la domination étrangère. C'est la vie elle-même qui l'exige. Cette décision aura une signification historique et pratique énorme. Elle avancera l'heure de la libération de tous les peuples du joug étranger et permettra d'en terminer une fois pour toutes avec le phénomène infâme du colonialisme. Nous sommes persuadés que tous les pays sincèrement intéressés à ce que la liberté et l'indépendance soient octroyées à toutes les colonies et à tous les territoires dépendants ou placés sous tutelle, soutiendront le projet de déclaration présenté par l'Union soviétique.

73. Conformément à l'article 93 du règlement intérieur de l'Assemblée générale, le projet de déclaration soviétique doit être mis aux voix en premier lieu, puisqu'il a été présenté le premier. La délégation soviétique demande formellement que l'on s'en tienne à cet ordre de vote, ainsi que le prévoit le règlement intérieur.

74. En ce qui concerne le projet de résolution présenté par les Etats africains et asiatiques [A/L.323 et Add.1 à 6], la délégation de l'Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques apprécie avec faveur le désir de la majorité écrasante des délégations africaines et asiatiques de voir l'Assemblée générale prendre à sa quinzième session des mesures qui aideraient à remplir la noble mission que constitue la libération totale des peuples de toutes les colonies et de tous les pays dépendants. Nous nous souvenons que, dès 1955, les représentants de 29 Etats asiatiques et africains proclamèrent à Bandoung que le colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et sous toutes ses manifestations est un mal auquel il faut mettre fin immédiatement. Nous nous souvenons également qu'en 1960, à Addis-Abéba, les représentants de 10 Etats indépendants d'Afrique et de certains territoires africains n'ayant pas encore accédé à l'indépendance ont adressé un appel pressant aux puissances coloniales pour qu'elles fixent, conformément aux vœux des peuples, des dates pour l'octroi immédiat de l'indépendance à tous les pays dépendants et en informent les peuples intéressés.

75. La délégation soviétique se réserve le droit d'intervenir plus tard et d'exposer sa position concernant des points précis du projet de résolution présenté par les Etats africains et asiatiques.

M. Hasan (Pakistan), vice-président, prend la présidence.

76. M. SOSA RODRIGUEZ (Venezuela) [traduit de l'espagnol]: La discussion, au sein de cette assemblée, du point 87 intitulé "Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux" marque,

sans aucun doute, une étape d'une importance décisive dans l'histoire de l'humanité. Le simple fait qu'a été inscrite à l'ordre du jour de cette Assemblée, sans restriction ni obstacle, une question devant aboutir à une déclaration solennelle aux termes de laquelle le colonialisme doit définitivement être considéré comme appartenant au passé, ce simple fait révèle l'immense progrès qui est en train de s'accomplir au cours de la seconde moitié du XX^{ème} siècle pour amener tous les hommes à prendre conscience de la dignité de la personne humaine.

77. L'histoire du colonialisme est presque aussi vieille que l'histoire du monde. C'est l'histoire du plus fort s'efforçant de dominer le plus faible. C'est l'histoire des faibles exploités par les forts. Cette exploitation a pu essayer de se dissimuler sous des noms et des prétextes divers, mais elle a toujours été une exploitation. A l'origine de tout système colonial, de tout temps et sous toutes les latitudes, se trouve toujours un acte de force: l'imposition, par la force, d'un régime contraire aux aspirations humaines les plus légitimes et les plus naturelles. Il ne faut donc pas s'étonner que, de tout temps et sous toutes les latitudes, ce régime ait toujours provoqué de violentes réactions. L'histoire abonde en exemples de guerres dites coloniales, faites pour conquérir, puis pour maintenir des conquêtes antérieures.

78. A la base de tout système colonial — et je ne crains pas de généraliser trop hardiment en le disant —, on retrouve toujours deux mobiles: la croyance en la supériorité raciale, culturelle ou intellectuelle de certains peuples par rapport à d'autres, et le désir manifesté par certains peuples d'exploiter les richesses naturelles appartenant à d'autres. Il est arrivé aussi qu'un mobile soit fourni par le désir d'expansion territoriale où l'on voyait une solution aux problèmes démographiques des pays surpeuplés.

79. Etant donné la complexité des relations humaines, d'autres mobiles ont également apparu, et ils ont représenté le seul côté positif des régimes coloniaux. Sous l'influence du pays colonisateur, de nombreux peuples ont atteint un niveau culturel plus élevé et ont accompli des progrès matériels plus considérables; cela ne constitue cependant pas une justification qui suffise à laver tous les régimes colonialistes du péché originel. A l'exception des missionnaires qui, répudiant tout mobile intéressé, s'en vont dans des contrées étrangères pour prêcher leur foi et gagner des âmes à Dieu, je doute que l'on puisse dire d'aucune entreprise coloniale qu'elle ait été désintéressée.

80. Cependant, ce facteur spirituel, qui apparaît dans l'œuvre colonisatrice de l'Espagne aux XVI^{ème} et XVII^{ème} siècles, a suffi à doter son entreprise de caractéristiques qui lui sont propres et que nous ne retrouvons pas dans les procédés qu'ont employés les colonisateurs du XX^{ème} siècle. Alors que l'Amérique se trouvait sous le régime colonial espagnol, aux XVI^{ème}, XVII^{ème} et XVIII^{ème} siècles, l'Espagne et ses colonies d'Amérique s'identifièrent graduellement. Les fils des conquérants devinrent les fils de l'Amérique, et les terres américaines furent un prolongement de l'Espagne. C'est pourquoi nous, peuples d'Amérique qui, lorsque nous avons pris conscience de notre propre individualité, avons lutté durant de longues années contre l'Espagne jusqu'à ce que nous obtenions notre indépendance, conservons cependant pour elle ce même amour que les enfants portent à leur mère — nous appelons l'Espagne notre mère

patrie — car dans nos veines coule du sang espagnol, et c'est aussi d'Espagne que nous viennent notre langue et notre religion.

81. En Amérique latine, nous ne connaissons pas la discrimination raciale, et le concept de race ou de peuple supérieur nous est totalement étranger. Aussi, en dépit des avantages dont ont pu, en certains cas, bénéficier les pays colonisés, les méthodes de colonisation employées en Asie et surtout en Afrique ont toujours répugné à notre conscience et heurté notre sensibilité.

82. Dans l'histoire de l'émancipation de l'Amérique, le Venezuela joua un rôle prépondérant, et c'est au génie et à la ténacité de Simón Bolívar que six nations de notre continent doivent leur indépendance. Il faut voir là l'explication du profond sentiment anticolonialiste qui règne dans mon pays, et aussi de la vive sympathie que nous inspirent les peuples qui luttent encore pour leur indépendance.

83. La Charte des Nations Unies a indiscutablement représenté un grand pas en avant vers la solution du problème colonial et a fait naître l'espoir chez les peuples encore soumis à ce régime. Il est évident que nombre des principes énoncés dans notre Charte sont incompatibles avec l'existence d'un régime colonial, et les dispositions des Chapitres XI et XII ne peuvent être considérés, dans l'esprit de la Charte, que comme l'ultime recherche d'un compromis entre les intérêts des puissances coloniales et l'irrésistible courant qu'ont fait naître les principes sacrés de la libre détermination des peuples et de l'égalité absolue entre les hommes.

84. Le système établi par la Charte a porté des fruits magnifiques, et l'application de ses principes directeurs, ancrés toujours plus profondément dans la conscience des peuples, nous a donné la satisfaction, dès 1945, d'assister à la naissance d'un grand nombre de nouveaux Etats indépendants qui sont aujourd'hui devenus Membres de notre Organisation. Cependant, il reste encore des millions d'êtres humains qui vivent sous le régime colonial et c'est dans leur intérêt qu'il faut accélérer le processus. La déclaration sur l'indépendance de ces pays et de ces peuples, que nous discutons en cette année 1960, doit mener à l'accomplissement de ce devoir et à la satisfaction de cette juste aspiration. Cette déclaration devra constituer l'instrument qui permettra d'adopter des mesures visant à éliminer définitivement le colonialisme. Dans ce processus, les Nations Unies devront jouer un rôle primordial en accordant aux jeunes nations indépendantes l'aide technique dont elles ont besoin et en les protégeant contre toute tentative faite par l'ancienne puissance coloniale ou toute autre puissance pour y installer sa prépondérance économique.

85. L'indépendance politique à elle seule n'est pas une indépendance réelle; elle doit s'accompagner de l'indépendance économique. C'est pourquoi le principe du droit des peuples à disposer de leurs richesses naturelles est tout aussi important que leur droit à la libre détermination — il vaudrait même mieux dire qu'il en est partie intégrante. Ces richesses naturelles doivent être exploitées au bénéfice du pays qui les possède sans porter tort, évidemment, aux obligations qui découlent de la coopération économique entre nations et du droit international.

86. Il en est, en effet, des nations comme des individus. Pour que l'homme puisse pleinement développer ses facultés et être réellement libre, il ne lui suffit pas d'être en possession de tous ses droits civiques et politiques; il lui faut, de plus, bénéficier d'une certaine aisance économique qui lui permette de rendre effective cette liberté. Dans le domaine du droit interne, nous avons pu suivre les étapes de ce processus de libération, qui se poursuit depuis la Révolution française. Celle-ci consacra l'égalité juridique et abolit les privilèges de caste; il devait ensuite appartenir au siècle précédent et surtout au siècle actuel de consacrer la naissance du droit social, qui tend précisément à protéger les travailleurs et les classes économiquement faibles. Cette évolution du droit interne, qui a exercé ses effets sur l'individu, se poursuit actuellement en droit international, et ce sont les nations qui en sont l'objet. L'existence de l'Organisation des Nations Unies a, sans aucun doute, été un élément décisif de cette évolution. La déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, que cette assemblée va adopter, marquera une étape extrêmement importante de ce processus.

87. La déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux concerne spécifiquement les pays que la Charte définit comme territoires non autonomes ou territoires sous tutelle; mais, en réalité, il convient de lui donner un sens bien plus large, car elle confirme, une fois de plus, le principe de la libre détermination des peuples, qui comporte le droit de tout peuple à se donner la forme de gouvernement qu'il désire, à jouir librement du patrimoine spirituel et matériel qui lui appartient en propre, à vivre librement selon ses traditions les plus chères, à n'être assujéti, sous quelque forme que ce soit, à aucune autre nation ou à aucun autre peuple plus puissant.

88. Cette considération nous invite à réfléchir sur une caractéristique indispensable à une déclaration sur l'abolition du colonialisme: je veux parler de son universalité. Une telle déclaration se fonde, en effet, sur des principes universels qui ne peuvent être limités ni dans le temps ni dans l'espace. Sur ces principes reposent la dignité même de l'homme et le droit indiscutable des peuples à vivre librement; ceux-ci doivent être libres de s'organiser en nations indépendantes; libres de choisir le système politique qui convient le mieux à leurs traditions et à leur idéal; tout peuple a droit à la liberté de l'enseignement, à la liberté du culte; en un mot, à la liberté de vivre comme il le désire, sous réserve de reconnaître les mêmes droits à tous les autres peuples et de respecter ces droits. La déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux doit, par conséquent, viser tous les peuples et tous les pays qui, sur tous les continents, vivent encore sous le régime colonial ou ne jouissent pas de leur indépendance; de même, cette déclaration ne doit pas porter seulement sur le passé et le présent, mais aussi sur l'avenir, afin d'empêcher que des peuples indépendants ne retombent sous la domination colonialiste.

89. C'est en lui donnant ainsi son sens le plus large que ma délégation interprète toute déclaration sur l'anticolonialisme, et c'est selon ce critère qu'elle se prononcera sur les projets soumis à l'examen de l'Assemblée. En votant en faveur d'une déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, la délégation du Venezuela ne fera que demeurer fidèle à la position qu'elle n'a jamais cessé d'adopter et qu'elle a confirmée ses votes et ses déclarations au sein de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, et elle se prononcera une fois de plus pour l'indépendance des peuples et l'application, sur tous les continents, des buts et des principes définis par la Charte des Nations Unies.

La séance est levée à 17 h 30.

ASSEMBLÉE GÉNÉRALE

QUINZIÈME SESSION

Documents officiels



944^e
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à 10 h 30

NEW YORK

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Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux
pays et aux peuples coloniaux (suite) 1309

Président: M. Frederick H. BOLAND (Irlande).

En l'absence du Président, M. Hasan (Pakistan),
vice-président, prend la présidence.

POINT 87 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

Dépendance sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux (suite)

1. Le PRÉSIDENT (traduit de l'anglais): Je donne la parole au représentant du Portugal, premier orateur inscrit sur la liste de ce matin, afin qu'il use de son droit de réponse.

2. M. GARIN (Portugal) [traduit de l'anglais]: Lors de la 939^{ème} séance, le représentant de l'Union soviétique, s'exprimant dans des termes les plus offensants, dont je ne puis deviner la bassesse qu'à travers l'interprétation anglaise, s'est servi de cette tribune pour insulter sans aucune retenue le Portugal et le peuple portugais. Fidèle à la tactique bien connue de son gouvernement, qui consiste à tout falsifier et à tout déformer, le représentant de l'Union soviétique s'est lancé l'autre jour dans une attaque effrénée et malveillante contre de nombreux pays, dont le mien. Il a proféré contre nous des accusations que rien n'avait provoquées, des accusations injustifiées, sans fondement, gratuites et parfaitement malveillantes. Les insultes proférées par la délégation soviétique à l'égard d'un membre de l'Organisation et d'un peuple qui se respecte nous oblige à répondre.

3. Le représentant de l'Union soviétique a introduit ses fausses allégations en prétendant que dans les provinces portugaises d'outre-mer "... des sociétés et compagnies américaines telles que la Standard Oil Company, la Chase National Bank, la National City Bank of New York et la Gulf Oil Corporation of America ... contrôlent la plupart des sociétés portugaises, qu'il s'agisse d'extraction de diamants, de pétrole, de la production du caoutchouc, etc." [939^{ème} séance, par. 58]. Or, aucune de ces allégations n'est vraie. Ni la National City Bank, ni la Standard Oil Company, ni la Chase National Bank n'ont la haute main sur quoi que ce soit en territoire portugais; elles n'y ont même pas de succursales. Toute personne de bonne foi qui connaît l'économie portugaise sait fort bien qu'aucune entreprise ou société portugaise ne relève d'une autorité américaine ou étrangère, et que les intérêts que les Américains peuvent y détenir sont insignifiants. En outre, en vertu de la législation portugaise, l'administration de toute société ou entreprise, même de celles qui comptent une

participation de capitaux étrangers, demeure toujours aux mains de Portugais. Aux termes de la législation actuellement en vigueur au Portugal, les intérêts étrangers ne peuvent représenter plus de 40 pour 100 de l'ensemble du capital social. Il y a donc contrevérité flagrante et déformation patente des faits.

4. Le représentant de l'Union soviétique a également soulevé devant l'Assemblée la question de savoir s'il existe ou non dans le territoire portugais "... un régime brutal de discrimination raciale et de travail forcé ..." [ibid., par. 59]. Ma réponse est négative. Il ne s'agit là que d'une autre contrevérité que nous rejetons fermement et entièrement. Je n'ai pas l'intention d'accabler l'Assemblée de détails et je me bornerai à déclarer qu'il y a liberté absolue du travail et libre choix absolu de l'emploi. De plus, mon gouvernement a ratifié la Convention de 1930 concernant le travail forcé ou obligatoire^{1/}, ainsi que la Convention de 1957 concernant l'abolition du travail forcé^{2/}, de l'Organisation internationale du Travail. D'autre part, la Constitution portugaise et la législation du travail interdisent explicitement le travail forcé, ou toute autre forme de travail obligatoire, que nous considérons comme un crime. Quiconque le désire peut consulter nos lois.

5. Quant aux allégations concernant la discrimination raciale, je doute qu'aucune imagination, si fertile qu'elle soit, pourrait jamais concevoir une accusation plus injuste et moins fondée, ni une accusation qui, si elle émanait d'une source plus sérieuse, aurait pu nous blesser plus profondément. Permettez-moi de me référer à un auteur qui fait autorité, l'historien bien connu, Arnold Toynbee, qui a écrit dans un article récent publié dans le supplément illustré du New York Times du 7 août 1960:

"Il existe de vastes groupes humains dans lesquels les préjugés raciaux sont inconnus: je pense particulièrement aux musulmans et aux peuples de langue espagnole et de langue portugaise."

Dans le même article, ce même historien écrit encore:

"De toute manière, et quelle que soit l'origine historique de ce fait, il est incontestable que les Espagnols et les peuples de langues espagnole et portugaise sont exempts de ce sentiment de race."

6. Je pourrais citer encore de nombreux auteurs bien connus pour leur impartialité et leur sérieux, mais je doute fort que ce soient là des qualités dont le représentant de l'Union soviétique se préoccupe beaucoup.

7. La délégation soviétique a lancé une autre accusation:

^{1/} Conférence internationale du Travail, Conventions et Recommandations, 1919-1949 (Genève, Bureau international du Travail, 1949), Convention No 29.

^{2/} Bureau international du Travail, Bulletin officiel, vol. XL (1957), No 1, Convention No 105.

"Ni à la Quatrième Commission, ni en séance plénière de l'Assemblée générale le représentant du Portugal n'a tenté de nier que les habitants des colonies portugaises sont divisés en "civilisés", (assimilés) et "non civilisés". [939ème séance, par. 59.]

La délégation portugaise a fait plus que de simplement tenter de nier ce fait: elle l'a réfuté, et, qui plus est, elle a montré dans le détail que de telles accusations ne pouvaient être étayées ni sur la loi ni sur la pratique portugaises. Il est indéniable que la loi portugaise ignore toute distinction entre "civilisés" et "non civilisés" et si d'aucuns, telle la délégation soviétique, ont forgé cette élucubration pour les besoins de leur propagande ou de leurs intérêts politiques, nous n'en sommes pas responsables et nous rejetons tout blâme de ce genre.

8. Quant aux personnes qui désireraient obtenir des indications plus détaillées à ce sujet, je les prie de se reporter aux débats de la Quatrième Commission qui, lors de l'examen de cette question, a entièrement élucidé ce point.

9. Ensuite, la délégation soviétique a déclaré que, dans un territoire portugais, est pratiquée "une politique d'intimidation sanglante" et d' "assassinats en série" [ibid., par. 61]. Tels sont les termes exacts employés. C'est une accusation des plus insultantes et s'il ne s'agissait pas de la délégation soviétique qui a l'habitude de prendre à la légère ce genre de questions, ma délégation n'aurait pu imaginer qu'il y eût un membre de cette assemblée, conscient de ses responsabilités, capable de faire des déclarations aussi fantaisistes sans pouvoir se fonder sur quoi que ce soit, ni avancer la moindre preuve.

10. Je proteste vigoureusement contre les accusations insultantes de la délégation soviétique. Du reste, il me faut encore signaler un autre mensonge. Le représentant de l'Union soviétique a dit que les habitants de nos territoires d'outre-mer "ne sont représentés dans aucun des organes administratifs ni dans les organes législatifs de la métropole" [ibid., par. 59]. Ceci n'est pas vrai. Ils sont représentés au sein de ces organes. Le représentant de l'Union soviétique a dit que les habitants "peuvent être arbitrairement expulsés de leurs terres ancestrales" [ibid.]. Ceci n'est pas vrai. Ils ne peuvent être expulsés.

11. Dois-je poursuivre? Je ne désire pas abuser de la patience de l'Assemblée. Je crois que l'on pourrait crier au miracle si le gouvernement soviétique, qui n'a cessé de fouler la liberté aux pieds en recourant à la brutalité et à la violence et qui en matière d'oppression ne le cède à personne, s'intéressait sincèrement à ce qu'il appelle la liberté des peuples colonisés. En réalité, nous assistons aux mêmes manœuvres auxquelles la délégation soviétique a accoutumé cette assemblée. La délégation soviétique est prête à utiliser tout — sauf la vérité — et chacun, pour semer la haine et le chaos dans le monde et préparer ainsi le terrain pour la conquête et l'exploitation communiste, en s'immisçant en Afrique et d'autres régions du monde afin de réaliser "la prévision du grand Lénine" à laquelle s'est référé le représentant de l'Union soviétique à la même séance [ibid., par. 65].

12. L'asservissement de peuples et de territoires, l'esclavage physique et moral renforcé par la répression politique, la déportation en masse de populations, l'immigration forcée, l'absence totale de li-

berté politique et intellectuelle, les menaces constantes contre d'autres nations et d'autres peuples, l'exploitation du faible, dont le représentant soviétique a parlé longuement dans son discours diffamatoire, sont les caractéristiques bien connues du nouveau type de colonialisme que le monde affronte aujourd'hui: le colonialisme soviétique. L'insolence du représentant de l'Union soviétique, qui est allé jusqu'à accuser la nation portugaise d'activités meurtrières, est à la fois comique et tragique: qui donc nous accuse? Le représentant de l'Empire soviétique, ni plus ni moins.

13. Le PRESIDENT (traduit de l'anglais): Je donne la parole au représentant de l'Argentine qui désire exercer son droit de réponse.

14. M. AMADEO (Argentine) [traduit de l'espagnol]: Dans son intervention du 7 décembre dernier [939ème séance], le représentant de l'Union soviétique a fait allusion à la position que la délégation argentine a adoptée dans ce débat.

15. Le représentant de l'Union soviétique a manifestement déformé le point de vue argentin lorsqu'il a affirmé que, dans la mesure où ma déclaration indiquait, selon lui, que nous sommes opposés à l'accélération forcée du processus de décolonisation, elle encourageait les puissances coloniales à maintenir leur domination sur leurs territoires coloniaux.

16. La position de la délégation argentine sur la liquidation du système colonial a été si clairement exposée, qu'il est inutile d'y revenir. J'ai dit dans ma déclaration:

"Ce qui importe, c'est d'enregistrer le fait que, quel que soit le jugement actuellement formulé ou qui sera formulé un jour par les historiens de l'avenir, le régime colonial n'est plus conforme aux structures politiques de notre temps ... Peu important aujourd'hui les explications ou les justifications qui ont pu s'accorder autrefois à ces systèmes. Ce qui importe, c'est que notre temps n'admet plus leur survie." [927ème séance, par. 17.]

17. Ce point de vue est suffisamment net pour que nous puissions nous dispenser de le préciser. Si nous croyons que le transfert du pouvoir aux nouveaux Etats doit s'effectuer, autant que possible, dans des conditions pacifiques, d'accord avec les anciennes puissances métropolitaines et dans les délais qu'impose l'intérêt même des pays émancipés, cela ne signifie en aucune manière que nous allions changer la déclaration de principe affirmant notre opposition à l'existence du régime colonial.

18. C'est ainsi que le vote favorable que nous avons émis sur le projet de résolution des pays d'Afrique et d'Asie [A/L.323 et Add.1 à 6] procède précisément de la conviction que les mesures immédiates dont il est question au paragraphe 5 de la déclaration appellent la création sans délai des conditions nécessaires à l'indépendance. En revanche, nous ne croyons pas que de telles conditions impliquent l'obligation de transformer le régime juridique en vigueur.

19. Nous estimons que les pays les plus directement intéressés à cette question ont adopté une attitude beaucoup plus réaliste, et, sans doute, plus propre à servir les intérêts des peuples non autonomes, que ne l'ont fait ceux qui ont utilisé le thème colonial à des fins de propagande.

20. En ce qui concerne notre position, nous ne permettrons à personne de l'interpréter d'une manière

contraire à l'esprit et à la lettre de nos propres paroles. Nous admettons que l'on critique nos opinions, mais nous rejetons toute interprétation qui, pour des motifs avoués ou non, chercherait à les modifier.

21. Le **PRESIDENT** (traduit de l'anglais): Je donne la parole au représentant de l'Espagne pour l'exercice de son droit de réponse.

22. **M. DE LEQUERICA** (Espagne) [traduit de l'espagnol]: La semaine dernière, au cours de la 939ème séance du mercredi 7 décembre, le représentant de l'Union soviétique a prononcé un discours que les membres de la délégation espagnole et moi-même avons suivi dans son interprétation espagnole. Nous n'avons pas entendu la moindre allusion aux îles Canaries. De même, on ne trouve dans le texte espagnol du discours soviétique tel qu'il apparaît dans le compte rendu provisoire aucune mention de cette province espagnole. Mais en nous reportant aux textes anglais et français, nous avons trouvé la liste que le représentant de l'Union soviétique a donnée des divers territoires — dont certains territoires espagnols que l'on a coutume de citer en pareil cas — qui pourraient servir de base au colonialisme dans des régions séparées de la métropole, et, dans cette liste nous avons relevé les îles Canaries.

23. Je ne voudrais pas insulter les membres de cette assemblée en leur rappelant que les Canaries constituent une très ancienne province espagnole, plus ancienne encore, dans le cadre de l'unité nationale, que certaines des provinces de la Péninsule. C'est aux Canaries que Christophe Colomb fit escale lorsqu'il partit à la découverte de l'Amérique, et les Canaries furent le véritable foyer de rayonnement de l'œuvre créatrice de l'Espagne dans le Nouveau Monde. En Amérique, à l'époque où le continent était rattaché à la Couronne d'Espagne, on distinguait couramment les "Espagnols péninsulaires" et les "Espagnols canariens". Beaucoup d'Américains du Centre et du Sud, qui sont de notre langue et de notre race, sont originaires des Canaries. C'est aux Canaries qu'est né Galdós, le plus grand écrivain espagnol du XIXème siècle. L'assertion du porte-parole de la délégation soviétique est donc une monstruosité historique, indigne de la culture des membres de cette délégation. Elle montre que l'orateur en sait moins long que n'importe quel écolier qui a quelques rudiments de la géographie de l'Europe.

24. Un ministre du Gouvernement espagnol, **M. Carrero Blanco**, a bien défini le caractère historico-géographique de l'Espagne lorsqu'il a dit que la nation espagnole est géographiquement une péninsule unie par un fil ténu au continent européen avec, dans l'Atlantique et dans la Méditerranée, des îles et des territoires qui sont terre espagnole. La Péninsule, poursuit le ministre, ressemble beaucoup à une île. C'est la mer seule qui fait l'unité de notre nation. Et **M. Carrero Blanco** de conclure: nous sommes un immense archipel.

25. Mais, surtout, par ses assertions le représentant de l'Union soviétique a porté atteinte à la souveraineté et à l'intégrité de l'Espagne, qui sont garanties par la Charte des Nations Unies. Nous élevons la protestation la plus énergique contre une telle attaque et déplorons profondément que ces débats aient pu y donner lieu.

26. Lorsque le représentant du Royaume-Uni fit allusion [925ème séance] aux déportations en masse

de populations entières de l'Union soviétique et à la suppression de la nationalité qui a accompagné ces déportations — en précisant que ces faits s'étaient produits pour les Tartares de Crimée, les Kalmouks et autres collectivités moins importantes — le représentant de l'Union soviétique a protesté énergiquement et il est monté à la tribune, suffoquant d'indignation, pour dire qu'il y avait là une infraction aux principes généralement admis dans les travaux de notre Assemblée et demander au Président de protéger la délégation soviétique et les autres délégations contre cette immixtion dans les affaires intérieures d'un pays. J'accepte que sa protestation constitue un précédent, et dans ces conditions, j'adopte maintenant la même attitude et je demande, conformément à l'esprit et la lettre de la Charte, que l'Assemblée relève l'attaque inqualifiable de la délégation de l'Union soviétique, qui manifestement ne respecte ni le droit, ni le texte pourtant si clairs que nous connaissons tous! Le représentant de l'Union soviétique use de deux poids et deux mesures. Si l'on fait état ici de l'impérialisme et du colonialisme manifestement appliqué par l'Union soviétique, elle proteste immédiatement; mais, d'un autre côté, elle n'hésite pas — comme le prouve toute l'histoire du régime soviétique — à s'immiscer dans les affaires intérieures des autres pays et à s'en prendre à l'intégrité territoriale de mon pays, comme elle l'a fait mercredi dernier.

27. Comme les problèmes coloniaux nous touchent à peine directement, nous pouvons en parler avec impartialité et désintéressement. Je tiens à saisir cette occasion — je ne pensais d'ailleurs pas intervenir dans ce débat — pour relever la probité avec laquelle les représentants des pays africains et asiatiques, en dépit de l'intérêt primordial qu'ils portent à ce problème, ont pris part à la discussion. A la différence de l'Union soviétique, ces délégations ont maintenu le débat au niveau intellectuel et politique qui convenait et se sont abstenues des acrobaties caractéristiques de ceux qui ne cherchent pas, ici à servir le progrès de l'humanité, mais à trouver des prétextes pour créer des difficultés.

28. Puisque je suis venu à cette tribune, je ne peux m'empêcher de prendre acte du fait que les représentants des peuples de l'Amérique du Centre et du Sud ont rendu un hommage émouvant — dont nous leur sommes reconnaissants — à l'œuvre passée de l'Espagne; ils ont fait preuve, eux aussi, d'une élévation d'esprit et d'un sens critique remarquables. Ces peuples ont maintenu leurs liens avec la vieille péninsule européenne et avec ses provinces insulaires, y compris les Canaries et les Baléares.

29. Avant de conclure, je prie le ciel de ne pas me laisser suivre le mauvais exemple soviétique, ce qui ne pourrait qu'interrompre nos débats, d'un intérêt essentiel, je l'ai déjà dit, pour le progrès social du monde entier. Dieu me garde aussi de céder à la tentation de vous lire un article du New York Times du 24 septembre 1960, qui nous donnerait matière à discussion à propos du colonialisme soviétique pendant beaucoup d'autres séances. Cet article énumère tous les pays que la Russie soviétique a "colonisés" par la force. Je n'entends pas mentionner de nations qui ont ici le statut de nations indépendantes, car sur ce point nos scrupules nous imposent le silence. C'est ainsi que, lorsque la question du Tibet a été discutée à cette Assemblée, nous nous sommes abs-

tendus de voter, parce que nous n'étions pas certains que ce pays échappât en fait à la souveraineté chinoise. Telle est la position que nous avons alors adoptée pour respecter la Charte, bien qu'il fût évident qu'une agression ait été commise. Pour revenir à cet article du *New York Times*, j'y relève les noms, parmi les pays colonisés par l'Union soviétique, de la Lituanie, de la Lettonie, de l'Estonie, de l'Arménie, de la Géorgie, de l'Azerbaïdjan, de l'Ouzbékistan, du Turkménistan, du Kirghizistan, du Tadjikistan, du Kazakhstan, de la Tartarie et des territoires des Yakoutes et des Bouriates. Combien d'heures pourrions-nous passer à examiner le cas de chacun de ces pays, et à présenter des projets visant à adoucir le sort de tous ces peuples? Mais, je le répète, il ne nous viendrait jamais à l'esprit de le faire.

30. Sans aller si loin et sans nous engager si avant dans les complexités de la géographie humaine, nous pourrions citer le cas de la Hongrie en nous référant au rapport de sir Leslie Munro^{3/}. En jetant un coup d'œil à la carte, nous pourrions aussi citer l'Allemagne orientale. Mais nous préférons ne pas troubler cette session de l'Assemblée avec ces allusions superflues qui ne font guère honneur à ceux qui y ont recours; agir de la sorte ne serait guère plus sérieux que de présenter une pétition pour libérer par exemple Odessa ou Léninegrad du colonialisme soviétique.

31. M. RAKOTOMALALA (Madagascar): Les orateurs qui m'ont précédé à cette tribune ont défini en termes d'une très haute élévation de pensée, l'objet et les buts du débat qui est présentement engagé devant l'Assemblée générale des Nations Unies et que le monde entier suit avec attention. Les peuples qui aspirent à leur libération se tournent avec espoir vers nous et attendent que, de nos travaux, sortent des solutions rapides et positives.

32. Je vais maintenant entrer brièvement dans le vif du sujet.

33. Avec le XVIII^{ème} siècle et la Révolution française ont disparu les régimes despotiques et se sont affirmés les droits de l'homme.

34. L'esclavage s'est éteint avec le XIX^{ème} siècle.

35. Le XX^{ème} siècle doit être le triomphe de l'égalité entre tous les peuples. La folie des hommes durant la première moitié de ce siècle les a amenés à s'entretuer au cours de deux terribles guerres. Avec la deuxième moitié du siècle, les peuples, enfin à l'âge de raison, ne chercheront plus, du moins nous l'espérons, à s'asservir les uns les autres.

36. Un immense espoir a rempli le cœur de tous ceux qui aspiraient à l'indépendance lorsque, il y a 15 ans, la Charte des Nations Unies rédigée à San Francisco a proclamé solennellement que les puissances qui avaient sous leur domination des peuples non autonomes avaient la charge de les conduire à s'administrer eux-mêmes et à gérer démocratiquement leurs propres affaires. Un chapitre nouveau, dès lors, a été ouvert dans le livre de la vie des nations, et nous avons le privilège d'écrire maintenant les dernières pages qui prépareront la clôture de ce chapitre.

37. Le projet de résolution [A/L.323 et Add.1 à 6] dont Madagascar est cosignataire a pour objet de rappeler avec fermeté aux puissances qui administrent encore des territoires non autonomes qu'il est maintenant

temps que les stipulations de la Charte soient appliquées partout dans le monde et que les Nations Unies poursuivent avec fermeté une ligne de conduite qui est inscrite dans la Charte et qui doit aboutir à l'éradication du colonialisme.

38. Ma patrie a recouvré sa souveraineté internationale après une interruption de 64 ans. Résolue à sauvegarder cette indépendance dont elle mesure tout le prix, elle est entrée dans la grande famille des Nations Unies avec la ferme volonté d'apporter une contribution sans réserve au maintien de la paix et de l'intégrité territoriale des Etats, mais aussi et surtout à la poursuite du haut idéal de fraternité et d'égalité qui est le fondement même de l'Organisation des Nations Unies.

39. Ma délégation espère fermement que le projet de résolution qu'elle vous présente avec tous les autres Etats d'Afrique et d'Asie sera voté à l'unanimité, ou, tout au moins, à une majorité si large qu'il devra être considéré comme la manifestation de la volonté des peuples du monde de ne plus accepter de nouveaux, inutiles et interminables délais. Elle est persuadée que les puissances qui administrent encore des territoires non autonomes se plieront loyalement à cette volonté et prendront sans retard des mesures en vue de permettre aux populations intéressées d'exprimer librement leur sentiment. Elle estime que le devoir de ces puissances est, dans tous les cas, de préparer tous les peuples à s'administrer démocratiquement. Il faut que, d'ores et déjà, des étapes soient aménagées afin que les modifications de statut s'effectuent en ordre, que les organes indispensables d'une administration moderne soient mis le plus tôt possible en place et que les élites nationales s'habituent immédiatement à l'exercice du pouvoir.

40. Ce processus pacifique que, pour sa part, Madagascar a eu le bonheur de connaître lorsque, dès 1957, la France lui a octroyé l'autonomie interne et, en 1960, l'indépendance, pourra seul éviter les luttes et les désordres qui engendrent des souffrances pour les populations et laissent dans les cœurs des germes de haine et de xénophobie.

41. C'est donc un très large appel à la conscience des puissances administrantes que ma délégation voudrait faire afin qu'elles se plient non pas uniquement à la lettre mais aussi à l'esprit de notre projet de résolution.

42. Elle forme aussi le vœu que les peuples qui seront appelés à choisir leur destin prennent conscience des devoirs que leur imposera leur accession à la liberté. Qu'ils suscitent et fortifient leur sentiment national, leur patriotisme, mais qu'ils s'attachent aussi à éviter que leur accession à la souveraineté internationale ne s'accompagne de désordres, car cette accession à la souveraineté doit être non un facteur de haine, mais une importante contribution à l'amitié et à la concorde entre les hommes et les nations.

43. C'est dans cette perspective que la délégation malgache, après avoir apporté son soutien au projet de résolution des 43 nations, repoussera tout amendement qui en modifierait le sens et la portée, et le votera avec ferveur, consciente d'aider ainsi la poursuite de l'idéal de justice et de paix dans le monde.

44. M. WACHUKU (Nigéria) [traduit de l'anglais]: Je remercie le Président de m'accorder la possibi-

^{3/} Documents officiels de l'Assemblée générale, quatorzième session, Annexes, point 74 de l'ordre du jour, document A/4304.

lité de dire quelques mots sur la question qui est actuellement soumise à l'examen de l'Assemblée, à savoir la déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples colonisés.

45. En premier lieu, je voudrais exprimer la reconnaissance de ma délégation à l'égard de la délégation de l'Union soviétique, qui a pris l'initiative de faire inscrire cette question à l'ordre du jour des séances plénières de l'Assemblée générale. Je désire également remercier les délégations du Royaume-Uni, des Etats-Unis et de tous les pays non africains que les circonstances n'engagent pas aussi complètement que nous sur le sujet, et qui se sont néanmoins prononcés en faveur de l'abolition du régime funeste sous lequel l'Afrique, en particulier, se trouve encore réduite en esclavage.

46. Je suis de ceux que la question touche de plus près. La plus vaste région colonisée du monde est actuellement l'Afrique. C'est pourquoi un débat sur le colonialisme intéresse les Etats africains plus que tous les autres. D'autres pays pourraient s'abstenir d'y participer, voire quitter la séance. Ils peuvent dire: "Ceci, après tout, ne nous concerne pas." Et ils seraient en droit de le faire. Mais aucun Etat africain ne peut adopter cette attitude. Pour ma délégation et pour la Nigéria, il importe au plus haut point que les territoires africains soient entièrement libérés de la domination et de l'impérialisme étrangers. C'est là en effet l'un des fondements et l'un des principes essentiels de notre politique future. Et celui qui n'appuie pas notre cause à ce sujet doit être considéré comme notre ennemi.

47. Comme je l'ai dit précédemment, outre le colonialisme, il se pose un autre problème: l'humiliation que les peuples d'origine africaine subissent partout dans le monde. Il s'agit en d'autres termes de la discrimination raciale pratiquée contre les gens d'origine africaine.

48. La Nigéria estime que le moment est venu où cette question ne peut plus être considérée comme relevant de la compétence interne de tel ou tel Etat, mais comme étroitement liée à notre politique étrangère. Ceux qui ne sont pas disposés à faire disparaître l'humiliation qui a été infligée aux personnes d'origine africaine et à notre race en général ne peuvent se prétendre nos amis.

49. Colonialisme et impérialisme vont de pair et, pour la Nigéria, l'indépendance n'est pas une fin en soi, mais un moyen d'atteindre une fin. La Nigéria est prête à servir de cobaye et de bouc émissaire pour la libération totale du continent africain. Il y a aujourd'hui encore des millions et des millions d'Africains qui subissent la domination étrangère. Aussi, lorsque vous verrez que la Nigéria est l'un des auteurs du projet de résolution présenté par les pays d'Afrique et d'Asie, [A/L.323 et Add.1 à 6] vous pourrez comprendre aisément pour quels motifs nous appuyons sincèrement ce texte.

50. C'est à la Conférence de Berlin, en 1884-1885, que les puissances européennes ont morcelé l'Afrique. Aucun Africain n'était présent. Ceux qui y participèrent prirent un couteau à découper pour se partager le continent entier. Et chacun prit son quartier comme s'il s'était agi d'une dinde de Noël.

51. Mais aujourd'hui l'Afrique retrouve sa vraie place, et il est juste que la Nigéria, qui est le pays

indépendant le plus vaste et le plus peuplé d'Afrique, et l'un des mieux pourvus par la nature, précise bien sa position en la matière, dès les premiers moments de son indépendance. La position de la Nigéria ne doit laisser place à aucun doute.

52. Je saisis à nouveau l'occasion qui m'est offerte de m'adresser une fois encore à certaines puissances coloniales qui croient encore en d'étranges idéologies, et en particulier au Portugal. Je voudrais demander au Portugal de cesser de se leurrer en affirmant que l'Angola, le Mozambique et d'autres territoires africains font partie du territoire métropolitain du Portugal. La Nigéria n'acceptera jamais cette thèse fallacieuse. Le Portugal s'est toujours comporté comme s'il ignorait les transformations que le monde subit à l'heure actuelle. Nous ne nourrissons point de haine à l'égard du Portugal, mais nous aimons plus encore nos frères Africains. Je saisis donc cette occasion pour avertir le Portugal que, bien que la Nigéria n'ait point de haine contre lui, elle ne pourra jamais partager ses vues et admettre que les Africains d'Angola soient maintenus en esclavage et que l'on ne fasse rien pour leur permettre de vivre d'une vie plus riche.

53. Le Portugal devrait tirer une leçon des événements du Congo. C'est parce que Léopold II a considéré le Congo comme sa propriété personnelle, et que les Belges, lorsqu'ils prirent en charge le pays, l'ont considéré comme une ferme et se sont bornés à ne former que des ouvriers agricoles pour enrichir la Belgique, que celle-ci, au moment où le nationalisme l'a emporté, n'a pu résoudre le problème qui se posait. Et où en sommes-nous maintenant au Congo? Le chaos y règne.

54. Si nous avons abordé ce sujet aujourd'hui, c'est parce que nous désirons éviter que l'anarchie et le chaos s'instaurent ailleurs en Afrique. Que ceux qui ont des oreilles nous écoutent. Mais que ceux qui n'en ont point ou qui veulent faire les sourds ne s'étonnent pas si l'histoire se répète.

55. Depuis que nous sommes venus à cette assemblée, nous avons lu toutes sortes de choses. Nous avons même reçu une lettre circulaire émanant d'une étrange organisation de ce grand pays, et c'est d'ailleurs ce genre d'événements qui nous incite à agir sans la moindre hésitation lorsque nous exigeons la liquidation totale de toutes les colonies. Je crois qu'il serait bon de vous donner lecture de ce document afin que tous vous en connaissiez le contenu. Je n'ignore pas que cette lettre émane de certains individus qui ne comptent guère, mais le fait qu'une société démocratique, régie par le droit, puisse tolérer l'existence d'éléments et d'organisations de ce type, qui veulent la destruction et l'humiliation d'hommes différents d'eux parce qu'ils les considèrent comme des indigènes, ne fait que nous inciter à agir. De tels incidents n'engendrent pas la haine dans nos cœurs; au contraire, ils ne nous incitent que plus vivement à exiger que chaque mètre carré du territoire de l'Afrique, chaque mètre carré du territoire de l'Asie, et chaque mètre carré de n'importe quel territoire colonial, soit libéré de la domination étrangère.

56. Ce faisant, nous contribuerons à l'établissement de la paix et de la tranquillité dans le monde. Il ne peut y avoir de paix dans le monde aussi longtemps que tous les territoires coloniaux n'aient pas été

libérés du joug du colonialisme. Cessons de nous leurrer: la paix ne régnera pas tant qu'un Etat, quel qu'il soit, croira possible d'asservir un autre Etat et d'exploiter ses ressources dans son propre intérêt et non pas dans l'intérêt du peuple de ce pays; en espérant édifier sa propre économie aux dépens de l'économie et du bien-être d'autrui. Que nul ne s'y trompe, ces hommes veulent leur part des biens de ce monde, ils désirent développer leur culture, leurs traditions et leurs institutions, leurs qualités spirituelles, intellectuelles et morales. Il suffit qu'une seule nation asservisse, réprime, détruise et domine une autre nation pour qu'elle sème le germe d'une catastrophe mondiale.

57. Ce qu'il y a de plus imprévisible au monde, c'est le comportement de l'homme lui-même. On peut prévoir quel temps il fera les prochains jours, mais on ne peut jamais dire exactement ce qu'un homme va faire tant qu'il a sa liberté d'action. En d'autres termes, la chose la plus incertaine du monde, c'est l'homme; et aussi longtemps qu'il n'aura en lui l'étincelle divine et un élément divin, il sera capable de faire le bien ou le mal.

58. Il vient un moment où un peuple trop longtemps opprimé ne se préoccupe plus de ce que peut lui coûter sa rébellion et où il est prêt à mourir pour la cause qui lui tient à cœur. C'est à l'Afrique du Sud que je pense en disant cela. Le colonialisme à l'heure actuelle n'est plus le seul fait de l'Europe. L'Union sud-africaine est l'un de ces Etats impérialistes où une minorité de 3 millions d'hommes a décidé d'asservir, d'humilier et de détruire virtuellement l'âme de 11 millions d'autres hommes.

59. Je déclare maintenant, comme je l'ai dit tout à l'heure à l'intention du Portugal, et j'adresse le même avertissement à l'Espagne et à d'autres pays d'Europe qui ont des visées en Afrique, que la minorité en Afrique du Sud qui avait la possibilité de faire le bien a choisi de continuer à faire le mal. La délégation de la Nigéria saisit l'occasion de prévenir les éléments minoritaires que la Nigéria ne tolérera pas indéfiniment la situation actuelle. Cependant, nous avons l'esprit assez large pour comprendre les forces de l'histoire. Nous ne désirons pas traiter les éléments de la minorité comme des étrangers en Afrique du Sud que l'on doit rejeter vers la mer, anéantir ou exproprier.

60. Je désire répéter devant cette auguste assemblée ce que j'ai déjà dit précédemment: tout ce que nous demandons aujourd'hui aux dirigeants d'Afrique du Sud, c'est de respecter aujourd'hui la primauté du droit. Il ne doit y avoir qu'un seul droit pour tous les habitants d'Afrique du Sud. Ceux qui détiennent le pouvoir dans ce pays doivent comprendre que s'ils veulent encore survivre dans un proche avenir, il leur faudra reconnaître la primauté du droit et utiliser le pouvoir et les ressources dont ils disposent pour permettre à la majorité de se rétablir dans ses droits. Ils n'ont d'autre issue s'ils veulent regagner la confiance qu'ils ont perdue au cours de longues années d'oppression et de répression. Ce n'est pas la Nigéria qui interviendra, même s'ils ne veulent pas le comprendre, mais le moment viendra, tôt ou tard, où la majorité se révoltera, et nous avons déjà entendu parler d'un certain nombre d'incidents qui se sont produits en Afrique du Sud. Le moment viendra où la majorité se révoltera, et si ceux qui détiennent le pouvoir devaient manquer de jugement au point de permettre

qu'un tel incident se produise, je ne puis dire ni imaginer quant à moi ce qu'en seraient les conséquences. Pour être modéré, je dirai simplement qu'elles seront désastreuses.

61. C'est pour éviter ces sacrifices inutiles que la délégation de la Nigéria saisit l'occasion qui lui est offerte ici de demander aux dirigeants de la minorité sud-africaine d'extirper le colonialisme et l'impérialisme qui règnent dans ce territoire depuis si longtemps, et de faire cesser l'humiliation qui a été le lot du peuple africain.

62. Rien ne sert de nous dire qu'il s'agit là d'une affaire interne. Nous n'admettrons jamais qu'il s'agit d'une affaire interne de l'Union sud-africaine. Aussi longtemps que les hommes d'origine africaine seront en butte à la discrimination raciale sur le territoire africain ou dans n'importe quelle région du monde, la Nigéria n'admettra jamais qu'il s'agit là d'une question relevant de la compétence interne d'un pays quel qu'il soit. Plus tôt on le comprendra, mieux cela vaudra. C'est l'un des principes fondamentaux de notre politique à l'égard de tous les pays. Plus tôt les Nations Unies arriveront à mettre fin au colonialisme, à l'impérialisme et à toutes leurs séquelles, qui sont si pénibles, choquantes et intolérables dans une société civilisée, et plus elles contribueront à l'établissement de la paix dans le monde et à la compréhension entre les hommes.

63. J'ai dit que j'allais donner lecture d'un document. Il s'agit d'une lettre circulaire qui a été envoyée aux nouveaux Etats Membres d'Afrique et d'Asie. Cette lettre a été envoyée à mon bureau et je crois que son texte devrait figurer au compte rendu. Elle est intitulée: "L'Amérique blanche ne veut pas de Nations Unies abâtardies."

"L'East River dégage des miasmes putrides sous lesquels New York étouffe. C'est cette odeur de suint que dégagent les noirs d'Afrique et les jaunes d'Asie qui ont envahi l'ONU. Il y a de quoi faire vomir tous les protestants blancs d'Amérique.

"Ces êtres inférieurs sont descendus tout droit des cocotiers et sortis de la vase de leurs marécages pour faire la loi aux blancs. Vont-ils réussir leur sale coup?

"Les Français dégénérés, les nations latines dominées par le pape de Rome et les slaves enjuivés ont déjà cédé, mais nous, nous disons: l'Amérique est blanche et nous ferons en sorte qu'elle reste blanche. Peu importe que le reste du monde s'abâtardisse, nous garderons notre Amérique pure.

"Le Ku-Klux-Klan veille contre le péril noir et le péril jaune qui déferlent sur nous à travers les océans.

"Les races inférieures font la loi à la présente session de l'Assemblée générale des Nations Unies. Ces noirs et leurs frères bruns et jaunes se sont réunis pour jeter bas l'Amérique protestante blanche.

"Quelle insulte pour les fondateurs de notre République que Nkrumah le noir, Nehru le brun, Nasser le beige, Sukarno le jaune et Tito, athée, traître à Dieu et à la race blanche, voulant forcer le président Eisenhower à rencontrer "au sommet" l'antéchrist Khrouchtchev. Ces singes auraient dû être enduits de goudron et roulés dans les plumes.

"Le Seigneur, dans sa sagesse infinie, a créé la race blanche pour qu'elle dicte sa loi au règne animal et aux races inférieures. Notre Sauveur Jésus-Christ nous a enseigné à aimer et à chérir même les esclaves, mais il n'a pas prêché la domination de l'esclave sur le maître.

"Le Ku-Klux-Klan entend que les délégués noirs et jaunes restent à proximité des bâtiments de l'ONU et des maisons closes de Harlem et qu'ils s'abstiennent de souiller les hôtels et les restaurants de notre ville blanche. Notre police ne relâchera pas sa vigilance contre les dérèglements d'Africains, tels que le délégué du Cameroun et autres sales nègres, et, si tout cela ne vous plaît pas, filez. L'Amérique ne veut pas d'une Organisation des Nations Unies noire et jaune. Les croix de feu brûleront."

64. Je n'ai pas lu ce document pour semer la discorde, mais pour indiquer à l'Assemblée quelle est la raison supérieure qui nous pousse à lutter avec détermination pour que le colonialisme sous toutes ses formes disparaisse de la surface de notre planète.

65. Je sais que l'organisation en question n'est composée que de quelques individus qui ne représentent rien et qui ne sauraient être considérés comme exprimant les sentiments du peuple de ce grand pays. Je sais qu'elle se compose de quelques individus dont le jugement est si perverti qu'ils ne peuvent discerner le cours de l'histoire, et qui peut-être n'ont pas lu l'histoire et n'ont pas eu la possibilité d'en dégager les enseignements. Ils oublient que même la richesse du pays dont ils sont fiers d'être les citoyens loyaux est le fruit de la sueur, du sang et des larmes de ces noirs eux-mêmes. Sans eux, l'économie, la grandeur et même la création de leur grand pays n'aurait pas été possible et le pays ne pourrait être ce qu'il est aujourd'hui. C'est ce que l'histoire nous enseigne. Je suis prêt à reconnaître que cette attitude tient surtout à l'ignorance, car l'Europe a déterminé le cours de l'histoire pendant de nombreux siècles alors que les pays d'Asie et d'Afrique n'ont commencé à jouer un rôle qu'à une époque toute récente, au cours du XXème siècle. Ces êtres à l'intelligence déformée en sont venus à croire qu'ils étaient seuls au monde.

66. Cependant, l'ONU est un miroir qui refléchit les diverses parties du monde. Elle s'efforce de créer un certain équilibre et c'est à cause de la résistance que ces individus opposent aux vérités élémentaires, dont témoigne la présence ici de diverses nations et de diverses races travaillant dans l'harmonie pour le bien commun de l'humanité, que les éléments réactionnaires craignent la vérité et sont prêts à mourir dans l'ignorance. J'ai donné lecture de ce document afin de permettre aux représentants du grand pays qui nous accueille de mesurer combien de telles organisations peuvent nuire à ses relations avec d'autres nations. Ils pourront ainsi s'adresser à leur nation pour lui demander d'extirper cette tumeur qui ronge leur vie politique. Ce n'est pas l'amertume qui m'a fait vous lire cette lettre. Je prends très calmement ce genre de chose, car j'en ai lu de pires, dues à des savants, à des professeurs qui ont prostitué leurs connaissances pour servir les intérêts des impérialistes. Nous avons lu et analysé tous ces écrits, mais ils ne nous ont pas fait dévier de la voie que nous nous étions tracée.

67. C'est lorsque des incidents de ce genre se produisent, c'est en présence de ces théories et de ces

concepts fallacieux, que nous comprenons que ce ne sont ni la haine ni l'amertume qui prouveraient de façon concluante que ces théories sont erronées, mais que seul un effort en vue d'éliminer les causes mêmes de tels préjugés peut y parvenir. Un des moyens d'y arriver consisterait en la liquidation totale de toutes les formes de colonialisme qui subsistent dans toutes les régions encore sous domination étrangère. Je suis certain que, lorsque on y sera parvenu, l'homme se laissera aller à sa bonté naturelle, l'humanité apparaîtra sous son jour le meilleur, et le monde entier bénéficiera de la diversité de chacune de ses régions qui enrichiront le patrimoine culturel commun. Les hommes se respecteront mutuellement et chaque peuple saura apprécier les autres et reconnaître l'effort des autres civilisations et la contribution apportée par d'autres peuples dans d'autres domaines. Le monde connaîtra l'équilibre, la paix et l'harmonie entre les Etats et entre les hommes.

68. La délégation de la Nigéria envisage l'avenir avec confiance. On a dit que le monde avait les yeux fixés sur nous et s'attendait à nous voir jouer un rôle important en Afrique et dans le monde. Nous avons l'intention de jouer ce rôle — s'il nous est dévolu, — avec honnêteté, sincérité, courage et en prenant la vérité pour guide. Lorsqu'il se produit une situation de ce genre, il faut la regarder en face et avec courage. C'est dans cet esprit que j'ai donné lecture de ce document afin que ceux qui ont des oreilles pour entendre puissent entendre, que ceux qui sont capables de penser pensent, réfléchissent et trouvent une solution au problème avant qu'il soit trop tard.

69. Les autres races exigent le droit de vivre sur leur territoire, d'utiliser, organiser et exploiter les richesses qui s'y trouvent, d'édifier leurs institutions, de perpétuer leur race, leur culture et leurs traditions, et de participer aux travaux d'une Assemblée comme celle-ci pour améliorer le sort du monde. Elles ne pourront pas le faire si une nation, quelle qu'elle soit, exprimant des doctrines fallacieuses et des moyens douteux, continue à prétendre qu'elle tient de Dieu, le droit d'en dominer une autre. Nous savons que c'est faux. Nous savons que telle a été la cause de la grandeur et de la décadence des empires tout au long de l'histoire. On dit que l'histoire se répète. Non, elle ne se répète pas nécessairement. Aussi longtemps que l'homme se refuse à tirer profit des leçons de l'histoire, l'histoire se répète, justement parce que l'homme se refuse à cet effort. C'est parce que l'homme est inférieur à sa tâche que l'histoire se répète, et l'expérience lui coûte cher.

70. Les signataires du projet de résolution présenté par les pays d'Afrique et d'Asie croient et espèrent qu'étant donné le cours des débats, l'Assemblée adoptera le projet à l'unanimité et sans laisser place à aucune équivoque, afin de rendre l'espoir aux pays qui ont été assujettis, ces pays qui ont été privés de tout ce qu'ils possédaient, ces pays qui ont été maintenus en esclavage, qui ont été foulés aux pieds et qui n'ont pu exercer le droit à la vie, à la liberté et à la poursuite du bonheur qu'ils tenaient de Dieu lui-même. J'espère sincèrement que les grandes puissances qui font profession de démocratie et d'un idéal élevé et qui désirent que la paix règne dans le monde comprendront qu'en supprimant le colonialisme et en s'opposant à l'impérialisme, sous toutes leurs formes, nous atteindrons l'un des objectifs dont dépend la paix mondiale.

71. Le colonialisme et l'impérialisme entraînent dans leur sillage la guerre et la destruction. Il est impossible de maintenir l'impérialisme par des moyens pacifiques. C'est toujours par la force brutale qu'on le maintient. Or, la force brutale, ce n'est pas autre chose que la guerre. Puisqu'il en est ainsi, je saisis cette occasion pour demander aux grands et aux petits pays, aux pays peu puissants et aux pays qui viennent d'accéder à l'indépendance, de s'unir pour voter en faveur de ce projet de résolution. Ainsi l'Assemblée pourra se rappeler cette session avec le sentiment réconfortant d'avoir accompli quelque chose.

72. Le **PRESIDENT** (traduit de l'anglais): Je donne la parole au représentant des Etats-Unis qui désire faire une brève déclaration relative à la lettre qu'a lue le représentant de la Nigéria.

73. **M. MORSE** (Etats-Unis d'Amérique) [traduit de l'anglais]: Au nom de ma délégation et de mon gouvernement, j'ai demandé qu'il me soit permis de répondre très brièvement au représentant de la Nigéria, **S. E. M. Jaja Wachuku**. Je tiens à ce qu'il sache que c'est la grande sympathie personnelle et le profond respect que je lui porte qui m'incitent à prendre la parole.

74. Le représentant de la Nigéria nous a donné lecture d'une lettre fort regrettable qui a été envoyée à certaines délégations. Je suis très heureux qu'il l'ait fait, car ainsi nous pouvons jouer cartes sur table, pour ainsi dire, et pouvons y répondre.

75. Je tiens à dire que nous en pensons exactement la même chose que lui. Nous estimons qu'il s'agit d'un document choquant. Il s'agit à nos yeux d'une insulte non seulement pour les représentants des pays d'Afrique et d'Asie et pour les autres pays qui y sont attaqués, mais également pour le peuple américain. Je voudrais donner l'assurance au représentant de la Nigéria que cette lettre ne reflète pas l'opinion du peuple américain, mais exprime apparemment les préjugés, le fanatisme et l'étroitesse d'esprit d'un groupe infime de notre population, si toutefois elle a bien été écrite par une minorité américaine.

76. La délégation des Etats-Unis à l'ONU est dirigée par un grand Américain qui croit en la dignité de l'homme, en l'égalité des hommes, et qui a toujours fait preuve de ses grandes qualités dans ses fonctions de chef de délégation. Le jour où cette lettre choquante et stupide a été adressée à certains délégués, **M. Wadsworth** a publié, le 28 novembre, une déclaration dont je vais vous donner lecture. Je crois que nous devons à ce grand Américain, chef de notre délégation, de lire sa réponse à la lettre pour qu'elle figure au procès-verbal étant donné que le représentant de la Nigéria a rendu cette lettre publique, et j'ajouterai qu'il a eu tout à fait raison de le faire. **M. Wadsworth** a déclaré, le 28 novembre:

"J'ai appris qu'un certain nombre de délégués ont reçu par courrier, aujourd'hui, une lettre injurieuse, dont les auteurs se réclament du Ku-Klux-Klan, et qui contient une violente attaque raciste. Il se peut que l'auteur de cette lettre soit un déséquilibré. Toutes les sociétés ont leurs déséquilibrés et les Etats-Unis ont des lois qui protègent tous les membres de la société contre les méfaits et les menaces de ces esprits malades.

"Je ne sais si cette lettre est le fait d'un déséquilibré ou d'autres éléments qui cherchent à mettre

les Etats-Unis dans l'embarras. Il n'est pas encore possible de le dire. Mais je voudrais demander à tous ceux qui ont reçu cette lettre choquante de bien vouloir me remettre l'enveloppe, la lettre et me donner toute autre information pertinente. J'ai déjà demandé au Bureau fédéral des recherches d'entreprendre une enquête immédiate, et il nous faut absolument réunir le plus grand nombre d'éléments de preuves possible, pour pouvoir remonter à la source, afin que les autorités des Etats-Unis puissent prendre les mesures qui s'imposent."

Je pense que cette réponse de **M. Wadsworth** est suffisamment éloquente.

77. Je voudrais cependant ajouter que le libellé de la lettre est assez curieux. Par exemple, je relève dans le texte anglais l'expression: "tan and feather". Or, si cette lettre avait été écrite par un groupe de fanatiques, tels que le Ku-Klux-Klan, on aurait écrit "tar and feather" — expression qui signifie quelque chose pour le Ku-Klux-Klan, plutôt que "tan and feather", qui ne signifie rien. Cette faute de langue semble bien appuyer notre thèse, à savoir que la lettre émane d'un individu à l'esprit nettement dérangé.

78. Puis-je ajouter, en ma qualité de sénateur des Etats-Unis, qui suis depuis de nombreuses années à l'avant-garde du combat mené pour faire disparaître de mon pays toute discrimination de race, de couleur ou de croyance, que la lettre citée par le représentant de la Nigéria n'exprime pas le point de vue du peuple américain. J'en donne l'assurance à l'Assemblée.

79. Je voudrais également vous dire quelques mots au nom de l'un des membres éminents de notre délégation, l'une des femmes noires les plus remarquables d'Amérique, **Mme George**. Sa présence témoigne devant cette assemblée que notre peuple et notre gouvernement croient à l'élimination de toute discrimination fondée sur la race, la couleur ou la croyance. Et je sais que je me fais l'interprète de **Mme George** elle-même lorsque je vous affirme également que cette lettre n'exprime pas non plus les opinions des dirigeants de la population noire de notre pays.

80. Il est très difficile de s'excuser au nom de personnes que l'on ne connaît pas. Mais si cette lettre a réellement été écrite par un déséquilibré américain, il n'est que juste et indiqué que je saisisse, au nom de ma délégation et de mon gouvernement, cette occasion d'exprimer à l'Assemblée générale le regret qu'il ait pu se trouver quelqu'un dans notre pays pour juger bon de diffuser de telles sottises.

81. Je ne regrette pas, je le répète, que le représentant de la Nigéria ait donné lecture de cette lettre. Il est bon que le texte en figure dans le compte rendu de nos débats. Je veux lui donner l'assurance, cependant, que la délégation et le gouvernement des Etats-Unis feront toujours tout ce qui est en leur pouvoir pour que le séjour de chaque délégation dans notre pays soit agréable. Nous sommes à leur disposition et nous voulons qu'ils sachent que cette lettre n'exprime en aucune façon le sentiment d'un citoyen des Etats-Unis conscient de ses responsabilités.

82. **M. Krishna MENON** (Inde) [traduit de l'anglais]: Nous approchons du terme d'un important débat qui a pris plusieurs jours de travail à l'Assemblée, à laquelle quelque 70 orateurs ont participé et qui nous a valu plus de 50 heures de discours. Il est facile de dire que les mots ne sont pas réellement efficaces,

mais le fait même que l'Assemblée ait consacré une telle partie de son temps si précieux à l'examen de cette question, et qu'un grand nombre de nations y ait participé, aussi bien celles qui siègent ici depuis longtemps que celles qui viennent d'adhérer à l'Organisation et pour lesquelles la question que nous examinons a des répercussions plus récentes que pour d'autres, parle de lui-même. On ne doit cependant pas oublier que quelques-unes des nations les plus puissantes d'aujourd'hui, représentées ici, ont également connu la domination coloniale. Il est tout à leur honneur, et aussi dans l'intérêt du monde entier, qu'elles s'en souviennent encore, qu'elles n'aient pas oublié leurs propres efforts pour s'en dégager, et qu'elles reconnaissent les conséquences que le colonialisme a eues sur l'histoire du monde.

83. Or, si la question est examinée en ce moment précis, c'est grâce à l'initiative de l'Union soviétique, qui a proposé son inscription à l'ordre du jour. Mais ce n'est pas une question nouvelle pour les Nations Unies, puisqu'elle figure dans la Charte elle-même. Je ne vous donnerai pas lecture de dispositions que vous connaissez tous. Non seulement cette question figure dans la Charte, mais tout un chapitre de la Charte traite du problème des territoires non autonomes, d'une façon toutefois qui ne répond pas aussi bien à la réalité du monde de 1960 qu'à celle du monde de 1945.

84. Ceci nous rappellera que même la Charte, si bien faite qu'elle soit, n'est pas intangible comme la loi proverbiale des Mèdes et des Perses, mais qu'elle doit être vivifiée, qu'elle doit être rendue plus utile en correspondant mieux à l'évolution de la situation mondiale.

85. Le colonialisme, comme on appelle l'expansion de pays qui débordent de leurs frontières pour conquérir ou occuper des terres généralement très éloignées, et comme on appelle aussi le gouvernement à distance — c'était l'expression en usage au XIX^{ème} siècle — n'est pas un phénomène nouveau, du moins en ce qui nous concerne. Je ne désire pas en retracer tout l'historique; il remonte peut-être aux époques éloignées de l'ère préchrétienne, lorsque Alexandre le Grand entreprit ses expéditions qui le menèrent jusqu'aux frontières de notre pays, où il fut victorieux, mais d'où il repartit sans avoir pour cela fondé un empire. Ensuite, nous avons eu toute la période du développement de l'Europe où les nations européennes, aux prises avec leurs propres troubles intérieurs, se coalisaient ou s'asservissaient l'une l'autre. Ainsi, une très longue période s'écoula pendant laquelle les pays coloniaux actuels d'Asie et d'Afrique ne retinrent pas leur attention, si ce n'est du point de vue des liens créés par le commerce entre les pays qui s'y livraient.

86. Nous en arrivons à la période contemporaine, la plus importante. Je le dis parce que je ne voudrais pas qu'on croie qu'avec la civilisation industrielle, une idée nouvelle a soudain germé dans l'esprit de l'homme, car on risquerait de penser qu'on n'aura plus jamais à se protéger contre des maux de ce genre. Ainsi, en des temps plus récents, une expansion s'est produite. Cette expansion a résulté, en partie de l'exploration, en partie de tentatives pour acquérir des richesses, en partie aussi de la recherche de terres nouvelles où se fixer; il y a eu d'autres causes encore: la vocation du marchand, de l'explorateur, du créateur d'entreprises, du mis-

sionnaire; l'attitude des dirigeants politiques de certains pays, la puissance croissante des armées; le rôle toujours plus grand que l'ingénieur — surtout depuis la révolution industrielle — et aussi, parfois, les efforts de l'expansionniste nationaliste, patriote, qui voyait dans la conquête d'autres territoires la gloire de son propre pays. Tout cela est représenté par ce que je me garderai d'appeler le nouvel éveil du nationalisme.

87. Je voudrais dire quelques mots de ce concept du nationalisme, car s'il est la cause et l'âme de la domination impérialiste, il est aussi le ressort de la résistance à la domination. Somme toute, le colonialisme tel que nous le concevons consiste à vouloir étendre le pouvoir du territoire national à d'autres régions. L'Europe, en particulier, qui dans le courant du XVI^{ème} siècle, ou peut-être un peu plus tôt, a vu de petits Etats tribaux se transformer en nations, a constaté que cette unification lui permettait de s'unifier plus encore. Maintenant comme alors, ce souci d'unité a souvent été empreint d'idéalisme: il s'accompagnait d'idées panchrétiennes, de la diffusion de certaines doctrines universelles, d'évangélisme, ou d'un autre idéal. En fait, dans l'expansion de toutes ces régions, on constate que les autorités tiraient leur pouvoir de chartes ou d'autres instruments qui donnaient aux explorateurs des droits souverains de vie et de mort sur les peuples non chrétiens. C'est le cas, en ce qui concerne l'Inde, des dispositions de la Charte de la Compagnie des Indes orientales, par laquelle la reine Elisabeth donnait à ces marchands, qui n'étaient que des sujets de son royaume, des droits souverains de vie et de mort sur les peuples non chrétiens. C'est ainsi que son empire commença. Mais c'est une grande erreur de croire qu'un motif ou un autre peut expliquer cette situation.

88. Et ainsi nous constatons que des moments de l'histoire se succédèrent où les explorateurs à la recherche de richesses voyageaient partout, parfois sans rien trouver, parfois comme dans le cas de Christophe Colomb, en abordant sans s'y attendre dans une terre très riche, et ainsi de suite. Si l'on saute la période des premières explorations, dite phénicienne, on en arrive aux découvertes à la suite desquelles l'Amérique reçut son nom d'un explorateur italien, à ce qu'on dit, puis à la période d'expansion vers les quatre grands territoires — l'Asie, l'Afrique, les Antilles et le continent américain — qui devait aboutir à la situation d'aujourd'hui ou plutôt à la situation d'hier, devrais-je dire, où la population peu nombreuse de chacun de ces pays métropolitains dominait le peuple très nombreux d'autres régions. Mais heureusement, c'est un phénomène qui, à un ou deux pays, ou groupe de pays, près, est en voie de disparition. J'espère qu'on me comprendra bien si je dis que l'une des résistances les plus fortes, l'un des obstacles les plus grands au progrès, consiste précisément à ne pas reconnaître l'existence du progrès, car si l'on ne reconnaît pas l'existence du progrès, on risque de réagir de la même façon que précédemment et d'utiliser les mêmes mesures, alors que la situation a changé. On risque de voir notre orientation et toutes nos politiques mal interprétées, mal comprises et mal appliquées. De même, si on ne reconnaît pas l'existence du progrès, il est très probable que ceux qui ont été forcés de s'engager dans la voie du progrès soit pour céder à l'agitation des peuples coloniaux, soit sous la pression des éléments libéraux de leur propre pays

seront encouragés à revenir en arrière et à dire à leurs concitoyens: "Nous vous l'avions bien dit." Nous sommes donc forcés de reconnaître que certains progrès ont été accomplis.

89. Aux temps modernes, depuis la chute de Constantinople, les peuples de l'Europe qui ne savaient comment conserver la viande, durent avoir recours aux épices et c'est à peu près à cette époque qu'ils apprirent l'art culinaire. A l'époque où Constantinople sortit de l'orbite chrétienne, les grandes routes maritimes s'ouvrirent et tous les peuples européens, à commencer par les Portugais et les Espagnols, suivis des Hollandais et des Français, enfin des Anglais, vinrent dans ces régions. Ils se rendirent partout, en Amérique, en Asie et plus tard, beaucoup plus tard, dans certaines régions de l'Afrique. Il s'agissait donc au début de personnes qui désiraient connaître ces pays, des grands marins de l'époque, d'hommes qui désiraient explorer pour le plaisir d'explorer. Mais ces explorateurs nous rappellent parfois les compétitions sportives modernes, où l'homme qui veut s'imposer dans un sport et aller à l'étranger pour participer à des tournois se fait aider par un fabricant qui produit tel ou tel article dont on se sert pour pratiquer ce sport. De même, les explorateurs ont été soutenus par ceux qui pouvaient tirer avantage de ces explorations. C'est ainsi que les intérêts économiques ont été liés à cet esprit d'aventure. Mais ici encore il ne faut pas perdre de vue que ce qui poussait surtout ces explorateurs: c'était le nationalisme. L'éveil du nationalisme dans les nations européennes, l'honneur du drapeau, la rivalité avec d'autres nations, la crainte que d'autres nations s'établissent dans d'autres régions à leur propre détriment — toutes ces forces ont poussé les peuples à aller constamment de l'avant.

90. Tout d'abord, nous avons l'époque — et lorsqu'on parle d'époque, il faut tracer des lignes de démarcation claires et nettes — des empires de peuplement, qui ont été constitués soit en application d'une politique d'émigration délibérée, soit encore, et ici je ne citerai pas de noms, parce que certains grands empires utilisaient ces contrées lointaines pour y déporter des personnes dont les idées libérales n'étaient pas de mise dans la métropole. Ainsi, les colonies pénitenciaires, comme on les appelait à l'époque, se composaient de mécréants et d'éléments que l'on appellerait actuellement antisociaux. Mais ils étaient probablement les pionniers des révolutions, ceux qui se révoltaient contre l'ordre établi dans la métropole, si bien qu'ils furent expulsés à l'étranger dans les colonies de peuplement. Dans ces pays, la population autochtone — et nous tirerons le rideau sur son histoire — a presque complètement disparu et ne se compose plus que de groupes isolés. Ces colonies de peuplement sont désormais des nations de plein droit, qui ont contribué de diverses façons au progrès et à la régression de ce régime colonial.

91. Pendant la troisième époque, qui commence avec le XIX^{ème} siècle, sous l'effet de la deuxième révolution industrielle, du progrès technologique et surtout du développement des échanges commerciaux, certains pays commencent à rechercher à la fois des débouchés et des matières premières. Les machines produisent des marchandises en grandes quantités. Pendant quelque temps les industries purent utiliser une main-d'œuvre honteusement exploitée dans la métropole même, mais bientôt cette source se tarit car les

ouvriers qui venaient de la campagne dans des pays tels que le Royaume-Uni, par exemple, subirent l'attraction de la ville. Ils furent attirés par l'industrie qui leur offrait la possibilité de vivre mieux, et ils commencèrent à faire pression sur les propriétaires des machines pour être mieux payés.

92. Il y avait outre-mer une mine de main-d'œuvre à bon marché, que l'on pouvait recruter sans trop de difficulté. La plupart de ces territoires ne vivaient pas en régime démocratique. Evidemment, il y a toujours l'opinion publique, mais les chefs locaux conclurent des accords isolés qui étaient à l'avantage des nations colonisatrices.

93. Nous avons donc une période pendant laquelle une main-d'œuvre exploitée produit des matières premières, alors qu'il existe de vastes débouchés constitués par des populations mal payées dont le pouvoir d'achat est faible mais le nombre élevé. On peut donc dire qu'il s'agit d'empires mercantiles. C'était autrefois leur caractéristique commune, et il est très improbable que la plupart des expéditions coloniales auraient eu lieu si elles n'avaient ouvert des perspectives et des chances de profits.

94. Puis se produisit la rupture avec l'impérialisme, qui elle aussi eut ses pionniers depuis les temps les plus reculés. La première rupture date de la révolte de certaines de ces colonies. Dans d'autres cas, les colonies — j'ai déjà dit qu'il s'agissait de colonies de peuplement — entreprirent de s'organiser en collectivités, et arrachèrent des concessions d'autant plus facilement que d'autres avaient déjà fait sécession. Je ne rappellerai pas les controverses que leur attitude souleva dans la mère patrie. Un des exemples les plus frappants est la rupture des 13 colonies américaines, qui se produisit dans des conditions que nous connaissons bien et qui, si je ne me trompe, eut des répercussions sur la vie choisie par les Etats-Unis pour leur expansion ultérieure. En effet, tout au long de l'histoire, on constate que l'unification du territoire des Etats-Unis tel que nous le connaissons à l'heure actuelle, a été réalisée non par la conquête, mais par des méthodes qui seraient peut-être décriées aujourd'hui, mais passaient pour très libérales à l'époque: l'achat de la Floride, de l'Alaska, de la Louisiane ou de Rhode Island diffère beaucoup, en effet, de l'expansion coloniale de certains autres empires.

95. A l'époque moderne, l'exemple le plus typique de renonciation au colonialisme fut donné peu après la Révolution russe de 1917, lorsque les Russes renoncèrent d'eux-mêmes aux possessions impériales. Je n'entrerai pas dans le détail, je n'entends pas donner ici un cours d'histoire moderne mais présenter seulement l'aperçu historique d'une situation. D'autres événements s'étaient cependant produits dans l'interval. A une époque plus moderne, la domination des peuples colonisateurs a été la domination d'une race par une autre race, d'où, à côté du mobile économique, l'importance prise par l'élément racial et le développement d'une doctrine raciale qui est appliquée maintenant en Union sud-africaine et dans d'autres pays: "Certains peuples sont nés pour gouverner, d'autres pour être asservis, et l'on ne peut préparer les peuples appartenant à certaines races à se gouverner eux-mêmes." Mais les pays métropolitains aussi bien que les pays ainsi asservis se révoltèrent contre ces doctrines. Ainsi, la doctrine raciale souleva de l'opposition, et en même temps servit la cause de l'escla-

vage. Mais l'abolition de l'esclavage d'une part, et le progrès des doctrines libérales dans le pays métropolitain d'autre part, changèrent cet état de choses.

96. Cependant, l'exemple le plus frappant de notre manière de penser fut le coup porté à la doctrine de la suprématie raciale par la victoire des Japonais sur les Russes en 1905, bien qu'il ne semble pas aujourd'hui avoir un rapport direct avec la question. A cette époque, les questions économiques, idéologiques et autres n'avaient pas l'importance qu'elles revêtent à l'heure actuelle. Toute l'Asie y vit cependant la défaite d'un empire européen par un peuple d'Asiatiques de petite taille. Je n'entends pas rechercher qui avait raison dans ce conflit, ni examiner les droits des belligérants sur Port Arthur, mais seulement considérer les aspects psychologiques du problème.

97. Pendant toute cette période, qui fut celle de notre enfance, l'idée — sans doute mal formulée — qu'il n'y avait plus de supériorité raciale gagna du terrain. Puis, la première guerre mondiale donna le signal d'une nouvelle expansion. Je ne suggère pas qu'il faille susciter ou livrer des guerres afin de libérer les colonies. Mais le fait est qu'au moment de la première guerre mondiale, la plus grande partie du monde — je ne puis préciser son étendue, mais je dirai la plus grande partie du monde — se trouvait sous domination coloniale ou sous un régime analogue. Une colonie reste une colonie, non selon la définition mais selon la description que j'en ai donnée plus haut, quelque soit le nom qu'on lui donne. Dans le système britannique, que je connais mieux, il y a divers types de colonies: colonies de la Couronne, qui étaient biens privés de la Couronne; dépendances (l'Inde était une dépendance et non pas une colonie); protectorats; Etats protégés. Il y a aussi le cas de Malte que l'on appelait encore, il y a une trentaine d'années, un "cuirassé britannique". Il y a encore d'autres régions, mais, du point de vue politique, social et économique, tous ces pays font effectivement partie de l'empire colonial.

98. De toutes les nations coloniales de l'époque moderne, le Royaume-Uni, la France, les Pays-Bas, le Portugal et l'Espagne, il est intéressant de noter que ce sont les plus puissantes qui ont jeté du lest les premières, et cela en raison de circonstances très diverses; et, en l'occurrence, le rôle des organisations internationales, en particulier du Bureau international du Travail, qui a survécu à la Société des Nations, et même à la seconde guerre mondiale, n'est pas négligeable. Il était difficile aux pays soucieux de respecter les conventions internationales de maintenir dans les territoires non autonomes des normes de travail différentes de celles de la métropole, et il leur était impossible de le faire officiellement.

99. Ensuite, il y eut l'expansion des mouvements d'émancipation et d'élévation des classes ouvrières, qui lui aussi freina le colonialisme. Dans certains de ces cas, mais non pas dans tous, on a constaté que les empires coloniaux cessaient d'être rentables. Je ne prétends pas que certains individus ou certains pays n'aient pas tiré des avantages considérables du pouvoir politique. Mais on oublie souvent que les forces militaires entretenues par ces grandes puissances, jointes aux obligations financières qu'il leur fallait assumer pour leur empire, ajoutent au coût de la domination impériale. Ainsi, lorsqu'on nous dit en

toute vérité, que tel ou tel pays a dépensé telles et telles sommes dans un territoire et que sa balance commerciale est favorable ou défavorable, on ne nous présente qu'un aspect de la situation. Mais en tout cas, il ne fait guère de doute que telle a été l'une des considérations qui ont été retenues en l'espèce.

100. Ensuite, lorsque les grandes puissances commencèrent à se partager le monde — un de ces phénomènes dont nous devons éviter le retour à l'avenir — une autre catégorie d'empires fit son apparition sous le nom de "sphères d'influence", et l'expression moderne "remplir un vide" vient de ces "sphères d'influence". Ainsi, lorsque la France, l'Allemagne et la Grande-Bretagne revendiquaient des sphères d'influence dans différentes régions, les territoires en question, quoique souverains, ne jouissaient pas réellement de leur indépendance.

101. Or, des phénomènes semblables se répètent de nos jours. Comme je l'ai dit, il existe des "vides", en ce sens que, dans certains pays, les ambassadeurs ne sont pas des vice-rois, mais agissent comme s'ils l'étaient. Il y a aussi les tentatives de pénétration psychologique ou de conquêtes de l'esprit — ou du corps, selon le cas. Ces phénomènes réapparaissent sous différentes formes.

102. Pourquoi donc aborder ce sujet? Parce que, si nous examinons les chiffres, nous constatons qu'un vaste processus de liquidation est en cours — je vous donnerai les chiffres dans un moment — et que ces grands, ces énormes empires ont beaucoup rétréci. Quant à l'indépendance des anciennes colonies, il s'agit de voir si elle est bien réelle, et dans l'affirmative, si elle a des chances de durer. A cet égard, il faut dire que, tandis que nos débats se prolongent ici jour après jour — 70 orateurs y ont déjà participé —, une atmosphère d'irréalité enveloppe toute cette affaire, si on considère ce qui s'est passé en Algérie il y a à peine deux jours, et alors que des pays comme la France et le Portugal prétendent aujourd'hui encore que les peuples de ces régions possèdent la nationalité de la métropole. Comme je l'ai dit et redit à cette assemblée, les Anglais ne nous ont pas insultés en nous appelant des Anglais; les Portugais et les Français font de même.

103. En ce qui concerne la guerre qui fait rage en Algérie depuis sept ou huit ans déjà, on peut la considérer comme une révolte musulmane, une révolte arabe, ou la révolte de qui que ce soit; c'est en fait une guerre d'indépendance coloniale, du même type que celle qui a eu lieu dans le pays où nous sommes, ou en Chine. Ceci ne s'est pas produit dans notre pays parce que nous avons obtenu notre indépendance par d'autres méthodes, quoique l'on puisse également considérer que ce fut une autre forme de combat. Il s'agit ici de la résistance du peuple contre la force armée, contre la puissance armée des grands empires.

104. Ceci nous conduit à examiner plusieurs autres problèmes relatifs à la politique mondiale. Je ne désire pas passer le peu de temps dont je dispose à établir le bilan des empires en livres et en pence, ou en dollars et en cents, ni à vous parler du coût de ceci ou de cela. Je crois que nous devons être réalistes. Nous devons comprendre que les empires ne peuvent prospérer que d'une seule manière, c'est-à-dire en suivant les méthodes impérialistes. Qui veut la fin veut les moyens. Il nous faut donc en tenir compte dans notre effort et voir comment le monde moderne

va contribuer à la persistance ou à la liquidation de l'impérialisme.

105. D'une part, après la première guerre mondiale, qui eut pour conséquence la désintégration de l'Empire ottoman, la plus grande partie de l'Asie occidentale commença à accéder à l'indépendance, quelque soit l'évolution démocratique interne qui aurait pu la précéder. En d'autres temps, l'Empire ottoman vaincu eût vu ses territoires annexés; mais à la suite de la révolution en Russie tsariste, l'une des puissances alliées de la guerre cessa de compter parmi les impérialistes. Lorsque les Etats-Unis s'associèrent aux puissances alliées, et acquirent par là le droit de parler haut et fort lors de l'élaboration des traités de paix, leur Président reprit une fois de plus la conception du colonialisme, mais la baptisa du nom de "dépôt sacré" — et je ne parle pas de tutelle en ce moment. Cependant, cette conception n'était celle d'aucun autre peuple du monde. Il en résulta, un peu plus tard une nouvelle théorie de la souveraineté, c'est-à-dire une souveraineté qui est imposée aux peuples mais qui ne leur est pas conférée. L'empire ne fait que les opprimer; c'est un fait latent et légal. Puis l'empire disparaît et le peuple acquiert sa propre souveraineté. Telle devrait en fait être la théorie moderne de la souveraineté, qui ne devrait plus dépendre de la volonté d'un souverain, à notre époque en tout cas.

106. Nous étions donc d'abord en présence de cette conception selon laquelle il n'y aurait pas d'annexion de territoire, et quoique les pourparlers de Versailles et de Genève n'aient pas eu les résultats qu'ils auraient dû avoir, l'impérialisme devint une chose du passé. Nous abordons ainsi une troisième époque, au cours de laquelle on tenta — du moins théoriquement — d'élargir ou de transformer les empires en ce que nous pourrions appeler des "communautés".

107. Ceci constitue l'aspect positif de cette époque. Mais la médaille a son revers. En effet, il y a l'Algérie, il y a l'Afrique du Sud, où la situation a un caractère différent — je ne fais pas allusion à l'Union elle-même — et où la Puissance administrante s'est emparée du Territoire sous tutelle et le considère comme une partie de l'empire; il y a la situation dans les territoires portugais, où l'on impose aujourd'hui encore des travaux forcés frisant l'esclavage; il y a, en outre, la tentative faite par la France pour subjuguier par la force des armes un peuple qui est aussi capable, et a autant le droit, d'accéder à la liberté que tous ceux qui siègent ici, et quia, de plus, prouvé au monde que ses sacrifices, ses capacités, en dépit de ses limitations, peuvent être aussi grands que ses aspirations à l'indépendance.

108. Mais, en l'occurrence, nous ne devons pas oublier — et c'est ici peut-être que les peuples en cause devraient faire leur examen de conscience — que les grandes alliances militaires du monde aident ces empires. Il se trouve que ces grandes puissances coloniales comme la France et le Portugal dépendent de ces alliances. Prenons pour exemple le Portugal. Le Portugal est membre de l'Organisation du Traité de l'Atlantique nord et cette organisation, l'OTAN, déclare explicitement que ces alliances s'étendent non seulement aux territoires métropolitains mais à tout le territoire souverain. Or, il est extrêmement difficile pour un pays comme les Etats-Unis, qui n'a d'autres colonies que quelques territoires dans la zone du Pacifique appartenant à cette catégorie, de

dire qu'ils vont conclure une alliance dont ces territoires seront exclus. Quant à savoir s'il y aura ou non une telle alliance, c'est une question que je ne désire pas aborder. Mais en fait il y a alliance avec un empire. C'est comme si un homme libre contractait avec un propriétaire d'esclaves un accord amical qui porte aussi bien sur ce qu'il possède lui-même en tant qu'homme libre, que sur les possessions du marchand d'esclaves.

109. Ainsi, ces grandes alliances militaires, dans le Nord, en Europe ou ailleurs, deviennent un élément d'un accord avec des colonialistes de la pire espèce. Ceci n'est pas mauvais en théorie seulement — et l'on pourrait dès maintenant faire quelques réserves à ce sujet. Nous croyons que les ressources que la France et le Portugal métropolitains consacrent à l'oppression de leurs colonies, les forces morales qu'il leur faut pour s'y maintenir, l'ampleur de l'opposition à laquelle le peuple qui se révolte doit faire face, tout cela doit subir l'influence de ce facteur. Le Portugal a déjà proclamé que sa présence à l'OTAN le rapprochait de son plus ancien allié, le Royaume-Uni. L'un des plus anciens traités actuellement en vigueur est celui qui existe entre le Royaume-Uni et le Portugal.

110. Quoique le Royaume-Uni ait beaucoup fait pour l'indépendance de certaines de ses possessions — parfois tardivement, parfois sous l'empire de la nécessité, parfois dans d'autres circonstances, comme ce fut le cas pour notre propre pays, ou, dans le cas des Etats-Unis, à la suite d'une révolte suivie d'un accord —, il lui reste de vastes territoires. Or ceux-ci aussi doivent devenir des pays libres.

111. Il nous faut ici examiner certaines questions. D'abord qu'advierait-il de petites régions de 50.000, 100.000, 200.000 habitants, qui sont aussi conscientes du problème national que n'importe quel grand pays? Il ne serait ni conforme à la Charte ni propre à assouvir leur désir de liberté de dire à leurs habitants que leur territoire est tout petit, et qu'ils ne peuvent donc pas accéder à l'indépendance. C'est là l'un des problèmes que doivent examiner les Nations Unies et les pays métropolitains. Je dirai que toute tentative pour tenir sous silence leur désir d'indépendance nationale, ou pour leur dire qu'ils seront libres dans la maison de leurs maîtres, n'apportera pas de solution durable au problème. L'Assemblée n'aura pas oublié l'exemple récent de Chypre. Chypre, soit dit en passant, a amené la Grèce dans le camp anticolonialiste et j'espère qu'elle y restera. En effet, nous avons vu alors un des pays de l'OTAN se déclarer, en fin de compte, partisan de l'indépendance des territoires coloniaux, alors qu'au début, afin de détourner l'attention de l'agitation qui régnait dans la colonie, déclarait qu'il s'agissait d'un problème de sécurité et de défense, ou de l'enjeu d'un marché entre divers Etats.

112. Mon gouvernement estima alors qu'il s'agissait purement et simplement d'une question coloniale. Chypre, en vertu du droit et des circonstances, de certains facteurs économiques, politiques et sociologiques, n'était rien d'autre qu'une colonie, et, par conséquent, devait être traitée comme un pays colonial ayant droit à la pleine indépendance. Bien qu'il lui eût fallu mener une dure bataille à l'ONU — à laquelle tous les intéressés n'ont pas toujours participé — Chypre obtint en fin de compte son indépendance, encore que celle-ci soit viciée par les circonstances. Ce que je

veux faire remarquer, c'est qu'en essayant d'élever des arguments contre les peuples qui désirent leur liberté, on fait souvent état de circonstances étrangères à la question, qui peuvent être de quelque utilité pendant quelque temps. Mais en fin de compte le peuple réclame ce à quoi il a droit. Tout ce qui reste, ce sont du mauvais vouloir, de nouvelles difficultés, de nouvelles complications qui, si les peuples assujettis n'y veillent pas, risquent de mener à ce que l'on peut appeler un impérialisme mixte.

113. Je pense pouvoir dire à juste titre qu'un mandat ou une tutelle représentent sans aucun doute l'idée de la mission sacrée, et soustraient en fait aux pays métropolitains leurs territoires coloniaux. Mais si les Nations Unies ne veillent pas au respect des principes de la Charte et de l'esprit qui les a inspirés, nous assisterons sans aucun doute à la domination combinée d'un peuple sans défense par des peuples plus puissants. C'est toujours là ce que craignent les peuples colonisés.

114. Je voudrais ajouter ensuite, avant d'en venir à des questions précises, qu'aux environs de 1939 les territoires coloniaux des grandes puissances étaient les suivants: le Royaume-Uni, à lui seul, possédait environ 33 millions de kilomètres carrés; la France avait un énorme empire d'environ 10 millions de kilomètres carrés, égal à 80 fois celui de la Belgique; les Pays-Bas avaient leurs propres colonies. Tout ceci a maintenant disparu, mais il y a encore de par le monde environ 75 millions d'hommes qui vivent sous le joug colonial. Sur ces 75 millions d'hommes, 20 millions environ sont sous l'hégémonie britannique et se dirigent déjà vers l'autonomie et l'indépendance. Par conséquent, il reste en fait quelque 50 millions d'hommes à libérer et, si nous songeons que, sur ces 50 millions, 14.871.195 appartiennent à l'empire du Portugal, nous arrivons à la constatation que le Portugal est la plus grande puissance impériale du monde. Ce n'est pas répondre que de dire que ces gens ne sont pas colonisés, mais qu'ils sont des citoyens portugais. Cet argument a déjà été réfuté. Ainsi, la plus grande partie de ces 50 millions d'hommes sont les 14 ou 15 millions de l'empire portugais et les 11 ou 12 millions de l'Algérie. En conséquence, la France et le Portugal se partagent des possessions coloniales qui, pour n'être plus dispersées aux quatre coins du monde, sont cependant encore les plus vastes.

115. Etant donné la place que ces territoires occupent en Afrique, certains problèmes nouveaux se posent. Si le colonialisme n'est pas entièrement aboli sur le continent africain, celui-ci risque de devenir la scène d'ambitions rivales, réelles ou soupçonnées, qui menaceront gravement le sort et le progrès des peuples africains. Par conséquent, il est indispensable que le colonialisme s'efface complètement de ces territoires et, comme c'est le cas lorsqu'il s'agit de paix ou de guerre, il n'y a pas de demi-mesure: ou bien vous avez un empire, ou bien vous n'en avez pas. C'est pourquoi nous ne pensons pas qu'il soit possible de procéder par étapes au point où en est l'évolution du monde.

116. Il n'est pas au monde un seul pays qui ne soit capable de se gouverner lui-même. Nous n'avons pas oublié qu'au moment même où ils allaient partir, ceux qui nous dominaient nous disaient encore: "Qui commandera vos armées? Qui commandera votre aviation et votre flotte? Qui vous administrera? Qui dirigera vos finances? etc." En fait, aucun d'entre nous n'a éprouvé de sérieuses difficultés en la matière, et ces

difficultés n'ont pas été plus sérieuses que dans n'importe quel autre pays; ce sont là des problèmes que connaissent aussi tous les pays libres. Mais on nous dit qu'il y a en Asie des pays tels que le Pakistan, l'Inde et Ceylan, dont la civilisation est ancienne et qui, par conséquent, ont vécu pendant de longues périodes sous leurs propres lois. Or nous prétendons que la civilisation n'est le monopole d'aucune partie du monde. Tout ce que nous voulons dire, en faisant cette distinction, c'est que ceux d'entre nous qui la font ne comprennent probablement pas les civilisations des autres peuples; nous devons donc renoncer à ces distinctions aussi, et prendre nettement position en disant que le monde doit être réellement libre. Il ne doit y avoir aucun territoire soumis à l'autorité de l'étranger; le territoire d'aucun pays ne doit pouvoir être utilisé par quiconque à des fins qui ne servent nullement l'intérêt ou le bien de ses populations. C'est pourquoi nous devons manifester une opposition particulière contre l'ère actuelle des grandes alliances militaires, où les idées surannées de points stratégiques, artères vitales des empires, etc, sont remplacées par la nécessité de tenir des zones stratégiques à des fins qui ne sont pas strictement conformes aux intérêts du pays.

117. En conclusion du présent débat, et quelle que puisse être la vraie nature des faits avancés, le monde que nous représentons ici a les yeux fixés sur ce problème. Il faut également admettre que les ressources mondiales retiennent davantage l'attention du monde et, s'il s'agit du progrès de toutes les nations, plus nous amenons de peuples à la liberté dynamique, plus il y aura d'hommes qui lutteront pour édifier le monde.

118. Prenons le cas de l'Afrique. Les plus vastes ressources non recensées du monde se trouvent en Afrique. Je n'entends point par là inviter les autres peuples à aller les exploiter. Dans une région d'environ 11 millions de milles carrés, qui comprend une population d'environ 222 millions d'hommes, on trouve 98 pour 100 de tous les diamants du monde, 94 pour 100 de toute la colombe, 84 pour 100 du cuivre, 55 pour 100 de l'or, 45 pour 100 du radium, 33 pour 100 du manganèse, etc. Tous ces produits ne servent pas nécessairement à la fabrication des armements; ils peuvent aussi amener le monde à un plus haut degré de civilisation. Par conséquent, même si on se préoccupe de mettre en valeur les ressources du monde, et cela sans les effusions de sang et sans la violence — caractéristiques de toute guerre coloniale — on aurait avantage à respecter sur ce point aussi l'esprit de la Charte des Nations Unies. Les dispositions de la Charte sont ici plus ou moins explicites, mais il nous faut les traduire dans les faits en nous consacrant à la libération totale de ces territoires.

119. Il n'est pas question ici de fixer des objectifs et des dates. Le seul délai que nous admettions, c'est celui qui est nécessaire au transfert des pouvoirs et, si je puis m'exprimer ainsi, ceux qui ont à accomplir cette tâche ne doivent pas présenter leur don dans une main gantée de fer. Par exemple, dans le cas du Congo, on a ostensiblement accordé la liberté, puis on est revenu par la fenêtre parce qu'on n'avait pas préparé ce pays à sa liberté. Je pense que le Congo belge, sous l'ancien régime, représentait le type le plus navrant du colonialisme des temps modernes. Après 70 ou 80 ans de régime colonial, rien ne reste de l'appareil politique, administratif ou autre et, qui plus est, la puissance coloniale revient après s'être

retirée. C'est là une des choses auxquelles nous devons nous opposer.

120. D'autre part, il ne faut pas octroyer l'indépendance à un territoire sous tutelle sur la simple affirmation par l'autorité coloniale qu'il est prêt pour l'indépendance et sans que nous en ayons des preuves; les Nations Unies doivent s'assurer que le transfert de pouvoirs se fera de façon à rendre impossible tout retour de la puissance coloniale. Nous allons bientôt discuter à la Quatrième Commission du problème du Ruanda-Urundi, et mon gouvernement y porte un vif intérêt. J'ai fait savoir au Conseil de sécurité, il y a deux jours, qu'à notre connaissance des troupes étaient concentrées en deux points du Ruanda dans le dessein d'entrer en opérations contre le Congo. Mais, surtout, on nous a dit que le Ruanda-Urundi est mûr pour l'indépendance et qu'en conséquence des élections vont s'y dérouler sous peu. Je ne veux pas en discuter ici dans le détail, car la Quatrième Commission va en être saisie, mais, tout en ne le cédant à personne dans le désir de limiter la période de transition, nous voulons éviter que l'indépendance soit une indépendance fictive, c'est-à-dire que les choses ne changent que pour rester les mêmes ou empirer. Une telle situation ne doit pas pouvoir se produire.

121. En troisième lieu, je voudrais dire que nous qui sommes d'anciens colonisés, nous devons tenir compte de l'expérience des empires d'autrefois et nous intéresser au sort des pays qui ne sont pas encore libérés; et, pour cette raison, l'Assemblée, et tout spécialement les nations qui ont des points de vue différents des nôtres sur les questions coloniales, devraient nous comprendre quand nous nous émouvons, quand ils voient que nous nous intéressons à des événements qui ne se passent pas sur notre propre territoire. La place de toute nation libérée — je ne veux pas parler des autres — doit être aux côtés des peuples colonisés qui luttent pour l'indépendance. Si le Gouvernement de l'Inde se fait une règle absolue de ne pas participer à des opérations extérieures militaires ou autres, s'il n'entend susciter de troubles dans aucun pays, parce qu'il ne croit pas que les révolutions soient des articles d'exportation, ses sympathies et sa solidarité n'en vont pas moins vers ceux qui luttent pour l'indépendance. Un pays qui a obtenu sa propre indépendance se doit de mener une campagne générale pour la liberté humaine, pour la liberté des peuples colonisés, faute de quoi il n'est pas allé au bout de sa tâche.

122. Là encore, il faut que les pays comme les nôtres, qui se sont libérés du joug des empires, comprennent que notre fonction dans la politique mondiale est de lutter non pas pour la régression mais pour le progrès. En d'autres termes, si nous sommes indépendants, nous ne devons pas nous servir de cette indépendance, ou laisser d'autres s'en servir, en faveur de l'agression ou pour imposer une tutelle à d'autres peuples. Il serait infiniment triste que certains pays libérés se rangent aux côtés de ceux qui s'opposent à l'indépendance ou à la libération des autres peuples. En pareil cas, l'indépendance ne serait pas véritable, même si elle avait toutes les apparences extérieures, tous les attributs trompeurs qui s'attachent à ce mot. La réalité de l'indépendance doit venir des peuples eux-mêmes. Et cette réalité doit être non seulement politique, mais aussi économique.

123. Nous ne contestons pas, en fait nous pensons, qu'il serait bon que les territoires libérés s'unissent entre eux ou avec leurs anciens maîtres dans le res-

pect de la liberté réciproque. Mais il ne saurait être question d'utiliser simplement un autre nom pour qualifier un empire — que vous l'appeliez "commonwealth" ou "coopération" — car cela ne résoudrait pas le problème. Donc, ceux d'entre nous qui sont déjà libérés doivent faire un bon usage de leur liberté. Nous ne devons pas rester des sujets sous un autre vocable.

124. Pour faire avancer la cause de l'indépendance, nous devons traduire en termes économiques le progrès de nos peuples, en les nourrissant mieux, en les logeant, en améliorant l'hygiène et l'enseignement, en leur permettant de jouir pleinement de leur liberté.

125. Nous ne cessons de dire dans mon pays qu'à la date du 15 août 1947 nous n'avons pas acquis l'indépendance, nous nous sommes contentés de renverser le principal obstacle à l'indépendance, c'est-à-dire la domination étrangère. C'est plus tard que nous avons accédé à l'indépendance, quand notre peuple a pu se nourrir, se loger, se soigner, vivre dans la dignité et exercer effectivement ses droits. Voilà ce qu'est l'indépendance.

126. Aucun pays ne devrait, en aucun cas, se prêter à une sorte d'alliance ou consentir à un alignement qui risquerait de provoquer la guerre ou la domination de ce pays. Loin de moi la pensée que les pays souverains qui viennent d'accéder à l'indépendance sont incapables d'élaborer leur propre politique. Nous sommes en droit d'espérer, cependant, que les pays qui ont subi les conséquences des guerres les plus désastreuses de l'histoire — car les grandes guerres ont été des guerres impérialistes — sous quelque forme que ce soit, mettront leur puissance, leur idéal et leur autorité morale au service de la paix.

127. Voilà pourquoi, malgré les grands conflits mondiaux, les pays ou les territoires colonisés tendent de plus en plus à demander qu'on les laisse en paix, même si d'un point de vue formel ils appartiennent à une alliance; les Etats-Unis en sont un exemple frappant et se sont, pendant 150 ans, tenus à l'écart des querelles étrangères, de toute association, de toute alliance, et ont voulu réaliser en paix leur développement économique.

128. Il faut que les nations puissantes qui ont d'autres intérêts — et non pas nécessairement des intérêts égoïstes — mais qui voient les choses sous un autre angle, laissent ces pays se consacrer à leur développement comme ils l'entendent. Les peuples libérés doivent servir la cause de la paix du monde par leur enthousiasme et par la preuve qu'ils donnent que l'effort et la coopération des hommes peuvent conduire au progrès.

129. On ne doit pas oublier que, ces dernières années, indépendamment des alliances, indépendamment des dispositions de la Charte, la situation qui régnait dans les territoires libérés et qui retentissait sur l'économie d'autres pays a conduit à l'emploi de méthodes de coopération. Il n'y a plus aujourd'hui dans le monde aucun pays qui ait refusé ou refuse de recevoir ou de donner une assistance à d'autres pays sous quelque forme que ce soit. C'est ainsi que s'établit une forme de coopération mondiale. Encore faut-il que cette coopération ne s'accompagne d'aucune restriction; il ne faut pas donner d'une main et reprendre de l'autre. Voilà pourquoi un jeune pays comme le mien s'oppose fermement à tous les accords concernant des droits politiques, territoriaux ou autres, qui seraient conclus

entre les puissances coloniales et leurs territoires coloniaux avant que l'indépendance ne soit établie. En d'autres termes, si ces pays qui sont sous tutelle avant d'être libérés concèdent des bases ou signent des accords commerciaux ou militaires au prix de la liberté, ils ne jouiront pas d'une véritable liberté.

130. Qui plus est, la liberté ainsi acquise par ces territoires est grevée d'hypothèques trop lourdes. Je pense que les grandes nations du monde devraient accepter le risque et admettre qu'une fois leur liberté acquise, ces peuples agiront avec bon sens et s'engageront dans la voie du progrès; en conséquence, elles ne devraient pas sacrifier un idéal à long terme à des avantages immédiats.

131. Il est un fait caractéristique: c'est qu'il y a 40 ou 50 ans, 1.200 millions, ou même 1.600 millions de personnes se trouvaient sous la domination étrangère — et si nous excluons la Chine qui n'était pas une colonie au sens littéral du terme, mais qui l'était sur le plan économique et social, il restait près d'un milliard de personnes vivant sous le joug colonial. Il n'en reste plus que 75 millions, mais ils sont disséminés sur toute la surface du globe. Il y a là un cancer politique. Aussi longtemps qu'il restera un endroit au monde à n'avoir pas été libéré, aussi longtemps que des hommes lutteront pour la liberté, les tentatives que l'on fera pour travestir la domination coloniale, les démonstrations de force, les alliances militaires, seront vouées à l'échec.

132. Nous avons accompli quelque progrès en la matière au cours de la présente session de l'Assemblée. Ces progrès sont dus non seulement au fait que nous avons discuté ces questions ici, mais aussi au fait que l'ONU a demandé au Portugal de lui fournir des renseignements. Le Portugal est le dernier bastion du colonialisme; ce bastion n'est pas complètement démantelé, mais il est investi. L'Espagne a accepté les dispositions de la Charte, mais le Portugal n'en a pas voulu et se trouve isolé. Si ce dernier bastion vient à tomber, nous aurons accompli un nouveau pas en avant.

133. Mais nous ne devons pas oublier que notre véritable objectif est d'abolir dans le monde toute domination d'un peuple sur un autre peuple, surtout si elle se fonde sur la discrimination raciale ou des préjugés analogues. Après tout, les intérêts économiques d'un peuple l'emportent pour lui sur les intérêts économiques d'un autre peuple.

134. L'Assemblée a été saisie de plusieurs projets en la matière. Le premier, contenu dans le document A/4502, a été présenté par l'Union soviétique. Nous

l'avons lu et nous n'avons pas d'objections à présenter. En d'autres termes, nous sommes favorables à la libération des pays colonisés, qui doit se faire conformément aux vœux librement exprimés de la population. Nous sommes contre l'exterritorialité sous quelque forme que ce soit; et nous sommes en faveur de l'application des principes de la Charte.

135. Le second projet de résolution, contenu dans le document A/L.323 et Add.1 à 6, a été présenté par ma délégation conjointement avec d'autres. Il aurait sans doute pu être plus court; peut-être y a-t-il un certain nombre de répétitions dans le texte. Mais, dans son ensemble, il exprime cependant ce que j'ai essayé d'exposer à l'Assemblée. Il n'est pas question de récrimination, il n'est pas question de reporter la responsabilité sur qui que ce soit, sinon sur les Nations Unies dans leur ensemble.

136. Je voudrais terminer en disant que l'accession d'un aussi grand nombre de pays à la liberté doit être inscrite au crédit de l'ONU. Bien que nous ne puissions pas toujours l'exprimer — et ceci n'est pas valable pour tous les pays — nous devons exprimer notre reconnaissance aux pays qui, quel que soit leur passé, ont accompli des progrès ces temps derniers. Nous devons reconnaître, en effet, que la situation s'améliore, mais trop lentement à notre avis. Le fait que des progrès s'accomplissent ne doit pas nous arrêter dans nos efforts. Il faut que d'ici un ou deux ans aient disparu tous les territoires dépendants et colonisés. Tous ces pays — qu'ils soient petits, comme l'île de Malte, ou vastes, comme l'Algérie — devraient accéder au statut d'Etat de plein droit et devenir Membres de l'Organisation, à moins qu'ils n'en décident eux-mêmes autrement. Nous serions les derniers à dire qu'un Etat qui accède à l'indépendance doit refuser de s'allier aux pays frères. En fait, tel est notre espoir et tel est le but du présent débat.

137. J'espère que les projets concernant la suppression du colonialisme seront adoptés à l'unanimité. Vous vous souviendrez que, lorsque l'Assemblée a décidé d'examiner cette question, ma délégation a dit qu'il importait peu que l'on en discute ici ou ailleurs; en décidant à l'unanimité de l'examiner en séance plénière, l'Assemblée s'est rendue aux arguments avancés: cela témoigne de notre souci de conciliation et du désir de tous les membres de l'Assemblée de voir disparaître les territoires coloniaux afin que le monde devienne réellement libre, pour qu'y règnent la paix et la coopération.

La séance est levée à 13 h 15.

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Président: M. Frederick H. BOLAND (Irlande).

POINT 87 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance
aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux (*suite*)

1. Le **PRESIDENT** (traduit de l'anglais): Je donne la parole au représentant de l'Union sud-africaine qui a demandé à exercer son droit de réponse.

2. **M. FOURIE** (Union sud-africaine) [traduit de l'anglais]: Nous avons suivi avec la plus grande attention un débat qui a duré plusieurs jours et nous avons été déçus de constater que la plupart de ceux qui sont intervenus dans le débat n'ont fait mention que d'un seul genre de colonialisme. Nous espérons que les orateurs accorderaient plus d'attention à l'asservissement par voie de conquête d'autres peuples, appartenant à d'autres continents.

3. Il vaut la peine de remarquer que certains de ceux qui ont critiqué si fortement l'ancien type de colonialisme, et qui, disons-le en passant, ont, en violation du règlement intérieur, fait allusion à mon pays, omettent de regarder ce qui se dissimule chez eux, où l'exemple frappant d'un nouveau genre de colonialisme leur aurait sauté aux yeux. De plus, certains des orateurs qui ont manifesté un intérêt si vif pour les affaires de mon pays n'ont eu que des éloges pour l'attitude d'une puissance impérialiste contemporaine. Tout ce que je puis en déduire, c'est qu'ils ne se préoccupent aucunement de ceux qui vivent sous le joug du nouveau type de colonialisme ou d'impérialisme.

4. Ma délégation peut souscrire à de nombreux passages du projet de résolution des 43 puissances [A/L.323 et Add.1 à 6], car certains d'entre eux sont tirés mot à mot de la Charte. Il en est d'autres que nous ne pouvons malheureusement accepter. Aussi ma délégation ne pourra-t-elle pas appuyer ce projet de résolution dans son ensemble. Je crois devoir ajouter que ce projet de résolution doit, à notre sens, être considéré comme un tout. Il doit être adopté ou rejeté dans son ensemble. La même observation s'applique aux deux autres projets présentés à l'Assemblée [A/4502, A/L.324/Rev.2]. Par conséquent, ma délégation n'a pas l'intention de voter sur les paragraphes s'ils sont mis aux voix séparément. Elle estime qu'elle ne peut séparer l'une quelconque de ces parties de l'ensemble du texte.

5. Etant donné que j'étais à la tribune, j'ai pensé pouvoir en profiter pour expliquer le vote de ma délégation.

6. Le **hadji FARAH ALI OMAR** (Somalie) [traduit de l'anglais]: Je voudrais tout d'abord déclarer que ma délégation est heureuse d'accorder son plein appui au projet de résolution A/L.323 et Add.1 à 6 dont elle est l'un des auteurs, de même qu'elle appuiera toute autre projet de résolution demandant que le colonialisme disparaisse de la surface du globe. Sur ce point, ma délégation parle au nom d'un peuple qui, comme tant d'autres représentés ici, peut, en toute connaissance de cause, parler des effets du colonialisme. Nous autres Somalis pouvons malheureusement tirer de notre propre expérience un témoignage sur les souffrances dont s'accompagne toujours la domination coloniale. Jusqu'à une date très récente, aucune mesure n'a été prise dans notre pays pour favoriser le progrès en ces matières essentielles que sont l'enseignement, la santé publique, les transports, les communications, l'agriculture et le commerce; tel est l'héritage classique du colonialisme, qui a légué à tant de nos compatriotes la pauvreté et la misère. Nous savons aussi que c'est à la décision arbitraire du colonialisme que nous devons cette regrettable division du peuple somali en cinq territoires séparés, division artificielle qui n'a fait qu'aggraver les problèmes sociaux et économiques auxquels notre peuple doit maintenant faire face.

7. Ma délégation serait donc la première non seulement à demander la fin du colonialisme sous tous ses aspects, mais aussi à appuyer quiconque propose de le supprimer. Pour cette raison, l'Union soviétique mérite nos félicitations et notre gratitude pour avoir pris l'initiative de faire inscrire cette question à l'ordre du jour de l'Assemblée.

8. Ainsi que l'a déclaré **Arnold Toynbee**, nous sommes arrivés à un moment de l'histoire où tout permet d'assurer "une ère de bien-être pour tous"; mais cela n'est absolument vrai que parce que nous vivons aussi à une époque où tous les hommes peuvent être libres. Le progrès technique, intellectuel et politique qui s'est poursuivi au cours des siècles a permis à l'humanité de se libérer de la servitude économique aussi bien que politique. Dans son aspect économique, la servitude était autrefois imposée à l'homme, non seulement par l'inhumanité de ses semblables, mais aussi parce qu'il n'était pas encore question de ces progrès techniques qui depuis lors ont fait naître une économie d'abondance, libérant l'homme du labeur incessant qui a été si longtemps son inévitable destin.

9. Je n'ai pas besoin d'insister sur le fait, bien connu de tous, qu'en maîtrisant les forces de la nature en cette ère atomique, les hommes ont aussi acquis le pouvoir de s'annihiler les uns les autres. Cette force de destruction incalculable dont nous disposons ne nous a pas permis de faire le choix que nous pourrions souhaiter dans le contexte de la politique mondiale. L'histoire et l'ère atomique dictent nos réponses

à de nombreuses questions, y compris celle du colonialisme. Nous ne pouvons laisser s'aggraver ou se prolonger le trouble et les conflits dans une partie quelconque du monde d'aujourd'hui. Cet état de choses ne peut manifestement avoir pour résultat que d'intensifier les rivalités qui divisent aujourd'hui les grandes puissances, et de faire surgir des exigences et des attitudes rivales vis-à-vis d'autres nations qui pourront être tentées de chercher dans ces régions troublées une occasion de faire prévaloir leurs propres vues, sinon leurs propres intérêts. Il est indispensable d'apporter un règlement rapide et ordonné aux revendications des peuples coloniaux, si nous voulons éviter une répétition des événements tragiques qui se déroulent aujourd'hui au Congo et qui, jusqu'à ce jour, n'ont pu être résolus malgré les efforts de toutes les nations réunies ici. Et cependant, ce qui se passe au Congo pourrait bien n'être qu'une catastrophe mineure en comparaison de ce qui pourrait survenir dans d'autres régions du monde.

10. L'Afrique du Sud invoque toujours l'argument de la souveraineté nationale pour empêcher tout examen d'une situation qui ne cesse de s'aggraver dans ce pays et qui met en jeu le sort de millions d'individus opprimés. Il serait déjà assez tragique que ceux qui prétendent former la "race des seigneurs" soient seuls les folles victimes de leur propre politique, ou que l'on ne compte parmi ces victimes que les millions d'innocents qui vivent encore sous leur domination immédiate; mais il ressort à l'évidence que l'explosion qui a lieu en Union sud-africaine, si nous ne sommes pas en mesure de l'étouffer, peut ébranler non seulement ce pays, mais le monde entier. L'Occident, dans son ensemble, porte la responsabilité morale des pratiques inhumaines suivies par cet Etat, spirituellement le plus arriéré de tous, par ceux qui ont décidé de se tenir "à l'écart" des tendances de tout le reste de l'humanité!

11. Il n'est pas inutile, croyons-nous, de répéter que le colonialisme est et continue d'être une période de ténèbres dans l'histoire humaine. A nos yeux, il importe beaucoup plus de constater que les conditions historiques qui ont rendu possible cette période d'exploitation ont disparu depuis longtemps, et que la survivance du colonialisme est un anachronisme que nous ne pouvons plus tolérer.

12. Quoi qu'il en soit j'ai mentionné le cas de l'Afrique du Sud et je parlerai brièvement de la situation en Afrique portugaise, afin que nous puissions tous constater qu'il ne s'agit pas d'une question purement théorique. Je me bornerai à citer ici un observateur autorisé et modéré, Anthony Sampson, qui s'exprime ainsi dans son ouvrage Common Sense About Africa:

"La première grande enquête a été menée en 1905 par le journaliste britannique H. W. Nevinson, qui avait été chargé par le Harper's Magazine de s'informer sur les accusations d'esclavage. Son ouvrage A Modern Slavery et les rapports d'autres enquêteurs venus ultérieurement ont montré que le travail forcé était assez répandu et s'exerçait dans des conditions ne différant guère de celles de l'esclavage. Cinquante ans plus tard, le Harper's chargea un autre journaliste britannique, Basil Davidson, de procéder à une même enquête. Son ouvrage The African Awakening, joint aux rapports de la Société anti-esclavagiste et du Bureau international du Travail, montre que les abus dont souffrent les "travailleurs

sous contrat" ("contratados") sont encore très répandus. Près de la moitié de la main-d'œuvre de l'Angola, selon Davidson, est encore constituée par les "contratados", par opposition aux "voluntarios" (379.000 contre 420.000). Les "contratados" sont fournis par le chef de poste local, qui les choisit parmi ceux qui n'ont pas acquitté l'impôt, ou en exerçant une pression sur le chef local. On dit qu'en de nombreux cas les fonctionnaires portugais ont touché des pots-de-vin considérables pour fournir des travailleurs sous contrat. Les travailleurs des plantations de cacao de l'île Saint-Thomas sont encore, comme du temps de Nevinson, recrutés dans une large mesure parmi des Africains déportés astreints au travail forcé^{1/}."

Ces citations suffisent à montrer que les Africains, dans les possessions portugaises d'Afrique, vivent encore dans des conditions indignes de l'humanité.

13. Ma délégation ne peut s'empêcher de faire brièvement mention d'une des manifestations les plus tragiques du fléau colonial. Nous voulons parler de la déplorable situation en Algérie, où la guerre contre le peuple algérien est entrée dans sa septième année. Tout a été mis en œuvre pour présenter le cas de l'Algérie comme différant de toute autre manifestation de colonialisme, pour considérer l'Algérie et son peuple comme une partie intégrante de la France métropolitaine, pour ménager un démembrement de l'Algérie, qui à nos yeux est une et indivisible, pour dénier à son peuple le droit de disposer librement de son sort; tous ces efforts sont voués à l'échec, et ne peuvent que prolonger une tragédie qui n'a déjà que trop duré.

14. Nous autres Africains ne pouvons admettre cette idée qu'un pays africain — que ce soit l'Algérie ou cette partie trop souvent oubliée de la Somalie, connue, dans la terminologie coloniale, sous le nom de Côte française des Somalis — puisse devenir partie de la France.

15. Le problème de l'Algérie ne diffère pas essentiellement de celui de toute autre colonie; il ne peut être réglé avec succès que par la liquidation inconditionnelle du colonialisme. Nous formulons ces brèves remarques parce qu'à nos yeux le problème de l'Algérie résume tout le problème colonial. Il va de soi que nous en parlerons plus longuement, le moment venu, devant les organes compétents de l'Organisation.

16. Certains représentants nous ont dit que le colonialisme, aujourd'hui, était en train de mourir de sa belle mort. Comme preuve, on fait état de l'admission à l'Organisation des Nations Unies, cette année, de 17 nations nouvelles. Ceux qui parlent ainsi négligent plusieurs faits. Le processus d'émancipation dans le passé n'a nullement été automatique. Il n'a été réalisé qu'au prix de sacrifices et de luttes héroïques consentis par des millions d'hommes, dans les empires coloniaux. Au surplus, les pays qui demeurent sous le joug colonial représentent un grave problème de survivance qui ne pourra disparaître qu'au prix d'efforts encore plus énergiques que précédemment. Pour faire aboutir ces efforts, il faudra que se réalise la coopération des nations qui ont accepté les principes de la démocratie et de l'ONU elle-même, laquelle repré-

^{1/} Anthony Sampson, Common Sense About Africa, New York, The Macmillan Company, édit., 1960, p. 136 et 137.

sente la volonté collective et l'opinion publique de tous les peuples du monde.

17. On oppose parfois aux mesures de l'Organisation des Nations Unies l'argument de la compétence intérieure. On nous dit qu'elle n'a aucun droit d'intervenir dans les pays coloniaux, même en exerçant une pression morale. Ma délégation estime qu'on ne peut attendre de l'ONU, gardienne et symbole des espoirs de toutes les nations, qu'elle renonce à user de son prestige et de son autorité morale pour franchir avec le minimum de dangers et le maximum d'avantages l'étape finale de la liquidation du colonialisme. Si notre analyse est bien fondée, la survivance de l'humanité dépend de l'élimination de toutes les zones éventuelles de friction et de toutes les menaces à la paix; aussi n'avons-nous pas d'autre choix que d'invoquer l'autorité pleine et entière de l'Organisation internationale pour réclamer que le colonialisme soit promptement liquidé et qu'une aide soit apportée aux nouvelles nations indépendantes dans leurs efforts en vue d'instituer des gouvernements efficaces.

18. Le projet de résolution des pays d'Afrique et d'Asie [A/L.323 et Add.1 à 6] parle de la nécessité de sauvegarder l'unité nationale et l'intégrité territoriale. Nous lisons au paragraphe 6 du projet de déclaration:

"Toute tentative visant à détruire partiellement ou totalement l'unité nationale et l'intégrité territoriale d'un pays est incompatible avec les buts et les principes de la Charte des Nations Unies."

19. Dans le même esprit, le paragraphe 7 est ainsi rédigé:

"Tous les Etats doivent observer fidèlement et strictement les dispositions de la Charte des Nations Unies, de la Déclaration universelle des droits de l'homme et de la présente Déclaration sur la base de l'égalité, de la non-ingérence dans les affaires intérieures des Etats et du respect des droits souverains et de l'intégrité territoriale de tous les peuples."

20. Si ma délégation appuie entièrement le contenu de ces deux paragraphes, elle voudrait répéter que des expressions telles que "intégrité territoriale" et "non-ingérence dans les affaires intérieures des Etats" ne doivent pas être utilisées pour masquer le maintien de la domination d'une puissance sur les peuples non autonomes et dénier à ces peuples le droit de disposer d'eux-mêmes. Lorsque nous parlons de peuples non autonomes, nous voulons parler de ceux qui vivent sous la domination non seulement de puissances métropolitaines d'outre-mer, mais aussi de puissances coloniales d'un même continent. A ce propos, j'espère que le représentant de l'Irlande me permettra de citer quelques mots de son excellente intervention du 5 décembre dernier.

21. Parlant du projet de résolution proposé par les pays d'Afrique et d'Asie, le représentant de l'Irlande a dit notamment:

"... Il importe que les droits proclamés dans cette résolution s'appliquent à tous les peuples de toutes les parties du monde sans se préoccuper du lieu; il importe que le droit à l'indépendance nationale et son plein exercice soient reconnus en faveur de tous les peuples, que les oppresseurs et les opprimés soient de la même race, de la même croyance ou de la même couleur, ou qu'ils soient de race, de

croyance ou de couleur différente." [935ème séance, par. 93.]

22. A mon avis, ces paroles vont au cœur même de la question dont l'Assemblée est maintenant saisie. Afin de bien préciser la valeur que prennent ces mots dans le projet de résolution, le représentant de l'Irlande a indiqué que sa délégation préférerait que le début du paragraphe 5 soit ainsi rédigé:

"Des mesures immédiates seront prises, dans les territoires sous tutelle, les territoires non autonomes et dans tous les cas où les droits souverains proclamés dans cette déclaration sont refusés à un peuple quelconque, pour transférer tous pouvoirs aux peuples de ces territoires, sans aucune condition ni réserve..." [Ibid., par. 107.]

Ma délégation sera très heureuse d'appuyer cette proposition.

23. L'Assemblée, j'en suis sûr, voudra unanimement souligner qu'il faut tenir compte de tous les éléments qui constituent une nation et un territoire national lorsqu'on parle de l'intégrité territoriale et de l'unité nationale. Les frontières vagues ou les délimitations arbitraires doivent être rectifiées selon le critère dominant et généralement accepté de l'unification des groupes ethniques qui constituent également des entités économiques indivisibles. Ceci est particulièrement vrai lorsque des frontières artificielles divisent des groupes de population homogènes et engendrent des malaises économiques et sociaux. Nous devons nous laisser guider par le principe essentiel exprimé dans la Charte des Nations Unies, à savoir que les intérêts des habitants des régions intéressées constituent le critère le plus important. Nous ne pouvons pas admettre que des lignes frontières arbitraires l'emportent sur le bien-être et l'exercice des droits historiques des peuples ou entrent en conflit avec les nécessités évidentes de la contiguïté géographique des régions en cause et les vœux des habitants. Le mépris de ces principes pourrait mener à des formes déguisées de colonialisme, tout comme un loup, sous la peau d'un mouton, peut parfois se glisser dans le bercail.

24. A notre avis, le pire héritage du colonialisme en Afrique est le nombre illimité de problèmes territoriaux que causent les divisions artificielles d'entités nationales homogènes.

25. Le colonialisme a pris soin de nous laisser face à face avec ces différends territoriaux, en sorte que les Africains restent divisés entre eux pendant longtemps et que les puissances coloniales de jadis puissent exploiter cette division à leur profit. Il nous appartient à nous, Africains, de mesurer l'importance de cette situation et de rechercher une solution amiable à nos différends, afin que cette doctrine machiavélique de diviser pour régner ne réapparaisse plus sous une forme différente et plus subtile encore que par le passé.

26. Pour conclure, si une très grande majorité des nations représentées à la présente session générale voté en faveur d'une déclaration fortement exprimée, la présente session entrera peut-être dans l'histoire sous le nom d'"Assemblée de la liberté" et notre déclaration, avec le nom de "Déclaration de la liberté", prendra rang parmi les grandes chartes de l'humanité: la Grande Charte, la Déclaration de l'indépendance, la

Déclaration des droits de l'homme et la Charte des Nations Unies.

27. En agissant de la sorte, il est vrai que nous ne ferons que reconnaître la marche de l'histoire au lieu de créer l'histoire, car la marche vers l'indépendance est déjà inscrite si nettement à l'ordre du jour de l'humanité que rien ne saurait l'arrêter; mais, dans un sens tout au moins, nous aurons fait de l'histoire.

28. M. BOUCETTA (Maroc): Les orateurs qui m'ont précédé à cette tribune ont, avec un talent que je ne saurais égaler, exposé l'origine, l'histoire et les conséquences de ce triste fléau qui s'appelle le colonialisme. Certains, parmi les plus brillants, ont cherché à lui donner une définition et à dévoiler au monde tout ce qu'il cache de misère, de souffrances, d'intrigues et aussi de discrimination raciale et de ségrégation pour aboutir enfin, par des moyens honteux et inhumains, à l'exploitation de l'homme par l'homme, alors que les hommes sont nés libres, alors que les hommes et les peuples sont égaux et doivent se traiter comme tels.

29. Je n'ajouterai rien à ce qui a été dit — et bien dit — pour définir ce phénomène qu'est le colonialisme et qui restera encore, malheureusement, longtemps gravé dans les cœurs et dans les âmes de ceux qui l'ont subi. D'une manière pratique et pour le connaître sans dictionnaires et sans encyclopédies, demandez à un homme, à une femme, à un vieillard, à un enfant, à une famille, à un peuple, à une nation qui ont été colonisés de vous dire, eux qui l'ont subi ou qui le subissent encore, ce qu'est le colonialisme. Peut-être ne vous répondront-ils rien; mais combien leur silence sera significatif et éloquent! Combien de générations, depuis des siècles, en ont souffert et en souffrent encore depuis les comptoirs jusqu'à l'occupation brutale, par la force des armes, qui a duré tout le siècle dernier et tout le début de notre siècle!

30. Les temps ont changé et nous voyons, aujourd'hui, ce même phénomène apparaître, sous des formes nouvelles, avec une idéologie nouvelle et une doctrine nouvelle. C'est pourquoi l'œuvre que nous poursuivons aujourd'hui et pour laquelle nos aînés ont sacrifié leur vie et leur bonheur est une œuvre noble et grande. Elle doit aussi être complète et définitive; elle doit démasquer le colonialisme dans ses formes anciennes et dans ses formes nouvelles.

31. L'effritement et la liquidation des empires coloniaux est certainement l'un des faits les plus marquants de l'histoire contemporaine. Après de longues souffrances et une lutte héroïque, des millions d'êtres humains sont parvenus à secouer le joug de l'oppression et un nombre considérable de nations ont retrouvé leur liberté et leur dignité. Cependant, quelque anachroniques que puissent paraître dans le monde de 1960 les expéditions, les complots et les coups de force qui jalonnent l'édification des vastes zones de domination d'un passé encore récent, l'ère du colonialisme est loin d'être entièrement révolue. Non seulement il survit sous ses formes classiques les plus brutales, non seulement il continue de mener d'absurdes guerres coloniales, mais encore — et c'est également là un fait caractéristique de notre époque — nous le voyons épouser de nouvelles formes de domination qui ne sont pas moins virulentes.

32. Ce problème doit retenir toute notre attention et toute notre vigilance. C'est pour cela que le Maroc, pays qui a connu l'occupation étrangère et son amère

expérience, pays attaché à la liberté et à la dignité des individus et des nations, se félicite de voir l'Assemblée générale se pencher sur l'importante question de l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples colonisés. Il est tout naturel que l'Organisation des Nations Unies se saisisse de ce problème, à nos yeux, essentiel. Des dispositions précises de la Charte montrent assez l'importance attachée au développement des pays encore dépendants et à leur promotion économique et sociale, en vue de leur capacité de s'administrer eux-mêmes, en vue de leur libération. Bien plus, les principes fondamentaux de l'Organisation, les buts qui constituent sa raison d'être, l'amènent à traiter dans les meilleurs délais des graves problèmes que posent le phénomène colonial et ses séquelles; car, avec le phénomène colonial, tous les principes qui sont à la base de cette haute instance et qui doivent régir toute société internationale digne de ce nom se trouvent violés, qu'il s'agisse du respect des droits de l'homme et de sa dignité, qu'il s'agisse de l'égalité des individus et des nations ou du droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes.

33. Nous ne comprenons pas, pour notre part, qu'on songe encore à rappeler ici certains thèmes périmés, à vanter les mérites d'un colonialisme "éclairé", à le parer de hautes vertus, à lui accorder une quelconque mission humanitaire ou civilisatrice. L'histoire de la conquête des empires coloniaux, loin d'aboutir à un fait, nous met en face d'autres réalités. Elle n'est qu'une succession tumultueuse de guerres et d'expéditions livrées par des puissances grisées par leur potentiel économique et militaire, en quête de positions stratégiques et avides de lucre ou de prestige. Les luttes d'influence qui ont opposé ces puissances, leurs collusions et leurs intrigues en vue de se partager des continents entiers, ne sont pas reluisantes et ne constituent certainement pas une page de gloire dans l'histoire de l'humanité.

34. Il ne saurait d'ailleurs en être autrement, car le colonialisme a ses lois et ses dogmes. Il a sa dialectique et sa logique propres, et tout d'abord il bat en brèche le principe de l'égalité des individus et méconnaît leurs droits les plus élémentaires. Il signifie avant tout: domination, asservissement et exploitation de l'individu. Or, toute occupation entraine, de prime abord, le heurt de deux tempéraments, de deux personnalités, la discrimination entre le colonisateur et le colonisé. L'infériorité de celui-ci par rapport à celui-là devient un principe sacro-saint du colonialisme.

35. Il est à remarquer que les pays occupants, s'ils se sont souvent plu à considérer les territoires occupés comme faisant partie intégrante de leurs propres territoires, et si certains même, pensant faire preuve de générosité, ont accordé leur nationalité aux populations conquises, n'ont jamais été jusqu'à tirer les conséquences de leur fiction et à accorder l'égalité complète des droits.

36. L'histoire récente de l'Algérie est très instructive à cet égard et nous montre les mille et une péripéties par lesquelles est passée la condition juridique de l'Algérien, au gré du colonisateur, et toutes les catégories dans lesquelles elle a été tour à tour enfermée pour les besoins de la cause.

37. Par son essence même, le colonialisme exclut toute égalité des droits qui risque de se retourner

contre lui et d'ébranler sa férule. Il reste avant tout orienté vers l'exploitation des richesses, alors même qu'il se pare de vertus civilisatrices et d'un certain idéal humain, et il considère volontiers l'autochtone comme un simple moyen, un moyen de production à bon marché. Cette logique impitoyable a conduit et conduit encore le colonialisme à adopter les formes les plus extrêmes de l'inégalité des droits et à ériger en système la ségrégation raciale.

38. L'opinion mondiale ressent toujours cruellement les procédés d'un autre âge encore en vigueur dans certaines régions du monde, en Afrique notamment, et qui constituent un déni des valeurs fondamentales de la civilisation et une grave atteinte à la dignité humaine.

39. Les voix des pays d'Afrique et d'Asie les plus directement touchés par la discrimination raciale se sont souvent fait entendre pour la condamner et la flétrir. Ces honteux procédés, qui dénotent une grave déchéance humaine, ont été tour à tour dénoncés avec force à la Conférence des pays d'Afrique et d'Asie tenue à Bandoung, en 1955, aux conférences des Etats indépendants d'Afrique tenues à Accra, Monrovia et, tout récemment encore, à la Conférence d'Addis-Abéba.

40. Ces voix africaines et asiatiques ont rencontré un écho profond dans l'opinion mondiale. Le problème de la ségrégation raciale reste l'un des plus graves et des plus pénibles que notre organisation se doit de résoudre. Mettant souvent en avant des intentions humanitaires, les colonialistes foulent aux pieds les droits les plus élémentaires de l'individu. De même n'hésitent-ils pas, sous prétexte que les habitants des régions occupées sont incapables d'exploiter leurs richesses, et sous prétexte de les aider à développer leur économie, à procéder à une exploitation systématique de ces richesses.

41. L'individu n'est même pas autorisé à faire la preuve de ses capacités. Il voit son énergie étouffée et asservie. L'indépendance de nombreux pays d'Afrique et d'Asie nous permet de constater combien la libération et l'épanouissement de ces énergies bâillonnées sont salutaires pour le progrès et le bien-être des populations et que c'est l'occupation qui les maintient à un niveau reculé de l'économie, du commerce et de l'agriculture.

42. Longtemps considérés comme une réserve de matières premières et de main-d'œuvre abondante et à bon marché, les pays d'Afrique et d'Asie ont pris conscience d'eux-mêmes et ont compris que l'indépendance, en libérant leur énergie, leur ouvre la porte à l'épanouissement économique et au progrès social et culturel. Plusieurs exemples ont été cités à ce sujet. J'ajouterai volontiers celui de mon pays, le Maroc où, en quatre années d'indépendance, nous avons scolarisé plus d'un million d'enfants, c'est-à-dire plus de 10 fois le nombre de ceux qui ont été scolarisés en 44 années d'occupation. Notre économie, qui était une économie complémentaire et assujettie, tend de plus en plus à devenir une économie nationale pour le progrès et le bien-être du peuple. La sécurité sociale est assurée à tous et les mesures d'ordre social adoptées depuis notre indépendance sont de loin, et de très loin, supérieures à celles qui existaient auparavant. Elles ont aboli à jamais les discriminations et les différenciations de tous ordres et nous

poursuivons le combat contre le chômage et pour le bonheur, la prospérité et le bien-être de notre peuple.

43. Ainsi s'évanouit le mythe de cette incapacité congénitale à laquelle les colonialistes se complaisent à condamner les peuples qu'ils oppriment. Mais l'un des aspects les plus inquiétants du colonialisme, à un moment surtout où tous les efforts sont orientés vers le maintien de la paix, est la menace permanente qu'il constitue pour la sécurité et la stabilité dans le monde.

44. La raison en est tout d'abord que l'installation coloniale s'accompagne souvent de démembrements de territoires et suscite des divisions, quand elle n'exploite pas les différends qui, à un moment donné de l'histoire, peuvent exister entre certains peuples.

45. Les démembrements de territoires qui ont résulté du partage de continents entiers en zones d'influence, les intrigues et les menées auxquelles le colonialisme a dû se livrer pour arriver à ses fins n'ont jamais manqué d'exaspérer les peuples qui en étaient victimes. Ces démembrements et ces démantèlements de territoires sont en contradiction formelle avec les principes mêmes de notre charte et portent atteinte — une atteinte grave — à l'unité et à l'intégrité territoriales des Etats.

46. C'est ainsi — nous avons eu l'occasion de le dire et de le répéter — que notre pays a été démembré, déchiré, mutilé, divisé parce que des puissances coloniales ont voulu, au début de ce siècle, se le partager sans tenir aucun compte ni de la volonté de ses populations, ni des données historiques naturelles ou géographiques. C'est ainsi que le Maroc, uni et formant une seule et même entité, s'est vu amputé de ce que l'on vous présente aujourd'hui comme un Etat indépendant de Mauritanie, de territoires dont les populations souffrent encore l'occupation coloniale: Ifni, Seguiet-el-Hamra, Rio de Oro, Tindouf, Tidikelt, Ceuta et Melilla. Chacun de ces territoires se trouve sous une occupation dont le nom varie: territoire d'outre-mer, établissement d'outre-mer, préside ou place de souveraineté; mais la forme est partout et toujours la même, elle n'a d'autre nom que l'occupation coloniale.

47. Notre œuvre aujourd'hui, ici même, constitue l'assaut contre ces manœuvres de division et de désunion. Elle constitue aussi la meilleure résistance aux visées colonialistes fondées sur le principe: "Diviser pour régner" et "Désunir pour se maintenir".

48. Nous refusons la "balkanisation", la "katanguisation" et la "mauritanisation". Nous ne pouvons ici qu'enregistrer avec regret et avec amertume que ce sont les mêmes puissances coloniales qui, à la fin du siècle dernier et au début de ce siècle, ont procédé au partage et à la division de l'Afrique en zones d'influence, qui, aujourd'hui, s'opposent à la réunification et au regroupement. C'est ainsi qu'en cherchant à faire admettre la Mauritanie à l'Organisation des Nations Unies, la France et ses alliés voulaient faire du partage et de la division du Maroc un fait accompli, cautionné et entériné par l'Organisation des Nations Unies. L'Union soviétique, en s'opposant à son admission, et les 56 délégations qui, par leur vote positif ou leur abstention en Première Commission^{2/}, ont manifesté leur intention n'ont fait que

^{2/} Voir Documents officiels de l'Assemblée générale, quinzième session, Première Commission, 1118ème séance, par. 51.

respecter le principe de la Charte qui exige le respect de l'intégrité territoriale des Etats Membres.

49. Nous regrettons profondément que certains représentants de grandes puissances aient passé outre non seulement au respect de ce principe, mais aussi à leurs propres engagements, comme puissances signataires d'actes internationaux tels que l'Acte général de la Conférence internationale d'Algésiras, de 1906.

50. Ils continuent à s'enfermer dans leur erreur et, au sein même de cette assemblée, reprochent à ceux qui ont vu juste d'avoir agi en conséquence. Nous voulons alors apporter toute la clarté possible à cette question et nous disons: l'Union soviétique, par son veto, s'est opposée, au nom de la Charte des Nations Unies, à la reconnaissance de la violation du territoire d'un Etat Membre de l'Organisation des Nations Unies par un autre Etat Membre. Le Gouvernement soviétique a voulu ainsi respecter ses engagements particuliers à l'égard du Maroc dont il a reconnu l'indépendance en 1956. Que n'était-ce là la position de toutes les délégations et de tous les membres du Conseil de sécurité! Nous ne pouvons que le regretter, mais nous devons dénoncer l'action coloniale qui divise notre pays, qui déchire notre peuple et mutilé notre Etat. En tout état de cause, notre combat continue pour arriver à la libération totale et pour la sauvegarde de notre intégrité territoriale. Ce combat est fondé sur le droit et la justice. Il est aussi la continuation d'un complot depuis longtemps engagé contre le colonialisme, car la résistance à l'oppression s'est inscrite dans l'histoire des peuples et en constitue une donnée essentielle. Il n'y a pas d'exemple de domination coloniale qui, à la longue, n'ait dû capituler devant cette résistance. Certes, cela implique bien des misères, bien des souffrances; mais la lutte d'un peuple pour sa liberté trempe ses énergies et forge sa gloire. Ce qui est plus grave, c'est que les foyers d'intrigues et de troubles, d'où le colonialisme lance ses assauts pour la conquête de places fortes, constituent une sérieuse menace pour la paix et la stabilité dans certaines régions très sensibles.

51. La situation qui règne en Oman, en Irian occidental, ne peut nous laisser indifférents, car la sécurité et la paix sont, dans les circonstances que nous connaissons aujourd'hui, indivisibles. La notion de conflit local tend à disparaître; l'extension et la généralisation sont toujours à craindre. Un des exemples les plus frappants des menaces que le colonialisme fait peser sur la paix du monde est l'inquiétante situation qui règne en Palestine. Dans ce pays, la cruauté et l'arbitraire ont atteint leur comble. Une nation tout entière a été déplacée, frustrée de son sol et de ses richesses et se trouve condamnée, depuis 14 ans, à vivre dans l'exil. Cette situation en Palestine, qui soulève l'indignation et la révolte de toutes les consciences, doit retenir notre attention vigilante car elle est des plus explosives. Elle a déjà causé une guerre locale en 1948; elle a failli déclencher une conflagration généralisée en 1956; et elle constitue une cause permanente de troubles et d'instabilité dans une région des plus névralgiques. D'une façon générale, la conquête de bastions stratégiques, qui demeure le souci majeur du colonialisme, est toujours génératrice de troubles et entraîne de graves menaces pour la paix et la sécurité mondiales. On connaît l'enchaînement des faits et le processus qu'elle entraîne inmanquablement, consti-

tution de bases militaires, course aux armements, organisation de blocs agressifs.

52. La présence militaire, autrefois motivée essentiellement par la volonté de consolider la domination politique et de préserver de puissants intérêts économiques, devient ainsi une fin en soi, dictée par des considérations d'ordre stratégique et s'insère dans une politique de blocs et d'alliances. Nous dénonçons avec force les menaces qui, de ce fait, pèsent en particulier sur l'Afrique où certaines puissances, tournant le dos à la politique de désarmement que les nations éprises de paix se proposent de poursuivre, restent animées par des visées agressives et, sous prétexte de défense commune, installent des bases et procèdent à des expériences nucléaires, en dépit de la réprobation générale, en dépit de la volonté des peuples d'Afrique.

53. Nous dénonçons avec plus de force encore la coalition d'intérêts puissants, les ligues de blocs agressifs contre les peuples qui luttent pour recouvrer leur indépendance et nous touchons là à l'aspect le plus révoltant de la domination colonialiste. Ce n'est pas sans heurts, ni sans tumulte, que se sont édifiés les territoires d'outre-mer. Ce n'est pas dans la paix et la sérénité que se sont échafaudés les empires où le soleil ne se couche jamais. La conquête colonialiste reste jalonnée d'expéditions meurtrières dans ses diverses phases, et surtout dans celle de son déclin. La libération des peuples colonisés a été presque toujours marquée par des guerres sans merci, car ni le déploiement d'un formidable potentiel militaire, ni la coalition d'intérêts si puissants soient-ils ne sauraient empêcher les peuples opprimés de poursuivre jusqu'à son terme leur lutte légitime pour la reconnaissance de leurs droits sacrés et imprescriptibles.

54. Il ne faut pas remonter très loin dans le passé pour rencontrer des exemples classiques du conflit colonialiste. Certaines puissances se sont installées dans la guerre depuis de longues années. L'Indochine était, hier encore, le théâtre d'opérations d'envergure qui ont eu un profond retentissement sur la sécurité et la stabilité dans le monde. La guerre d'Algérie, qui se poursuit implacablement depuis plus de six ans, avec son cortège de malheurs et de souffrances, reste aujourd'hui le vestige d'un passé que nous voulons voir à jamais révolu. Elle reste la manifestation du colonialisme dans sa forme la plus brutale. L'endurance et la ténacité du peuple algérien suscitent notre admiration et notre sympathie. Les étapes de sa lutte héroïque sont trop connues pour qu'il soit nécessaire de les détailler ou de les rappeler ici.

55. Notre organisation s'est déjà penchée, à plusieurs reprises, sur ce drame qui affecte dangereusement la paix internationale, et doit de nouveau cette année marquer sa volonté de le résoudre, par l'accession à l'indépendance de nombreux Etats africains. Nous tenons simplement à mettre l'accent, une fois de plus, sur les graves risques d'extension et d'internationalisation du conflit, surtout du fait de l'assistance que certaines nations persistent à prêter à l'agresseur colonialiste. En butte à une volonté de domination, qui méconnaît l'évolution de l'histoire et la poussée irrésistible des nationalismes, le peuple algérien bénéficie de l'appui et de la solidarité d'un milliard et demi d'êtres humains qui vivaient dans l'esclavage colonialiste dans un passé récent et qui sont parvenus, après de longues décades de souffrances, à reconquérir leur liberté et leur dignité.

56. L'Asie et l'Afrique présentent aujourd'hui un nouveau visage et nous sommes persuadés que les derniers bastions derrière lesquels le colonialisme s'est retranché ne tarderont pas à s'effondrer à leur tour. La grande famille des nations récemment parvenues à l'indépendance ne cessera ainsi de s'élargir, pour le plus grand bien de tous, car elle est appelée à jouer un rôle déterminant dans le maintien de la paix, l'amélioration des relations internationales et le développement du progrès, de la prospérité et du bien-être des peuples. Mais, en même temps qu'elles accomplissent cette tâche noble, mais combien difficile, elles doivent consolider leur indépendance chèrement acquise, promouvoir leur économie sur des bases saines et rester plus que jamais vigilantes. Car les puissances coloniales ont recours à d'autres moyens pour perpétuer leur domination et leur influence.

57. C'est pourquoi nous tenons à remercier la délégation soviétique d'avoir demandé l'inscription de cette question à l'ordre du jour et d'avoir insisté pour qu'elle soit traitée avec toute la solennité désirable au sein de notre organisation. Nous appuierons sa résolution, de même que ma délégation appuiera toute résolution et toute déclaration solennelle qui proclament la fin immédiate du colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et le respect des droits souverains et de l'intégrité territoriale de tous les Etats sans exception. Il est entendu que, pour mon pays, ces résolutions ou ces déclarations visent l'ensemble des territoires coloniaux, quel que soit le subterfuge ou l'artifice qui veut en faire des territoires ou des départements d'outre-mer, des présides ou des places de souveraineté, des colonies ou des protectorats, des territoires sous mandat ou sous tutelle. Nous avons vu que, si l'appellation diffère, le système et les méthodes restent les mêmes et le but unique: exploiter l'homme, exploiter les richesses naturelles pour soi et en dehors de toute autre considération.

58. Nous le disons tout haut et clairement: nous ne voulons pas d'indépendance au rabais; nous n'accepterons jamais la dépendance ou la servilité et, en conséquence, nous dénoncerons toujours et partout le "fantocheisme", la balkanisation, la domination politique, économique, militaire et culturelle. Nous sommes pour l'indépendance réelle et vraie qui permet l'épanouissement de l'individu et assure aux peuples le progrès et le bien-être. Tel est le sens de notre combat pour l'avenir. Il ne souffre ni courtisanerie, ni tergiversation, ni hésitation d'aucune sorte. C'est pourquoi l'indépendance qui doit être reconnue aux peuples coloniaux doit être une indépendance qui sauvegarde leur intégrité territoriale et ne les assujettit à aucune nouvelle forme de domination. Mon pays est attaché autant que tout autre à voir le colonialisme agonisant mort et définitivement liquidé. Mais il veut que cette indépendance corresponde à quelque chose de réel, tant du point de vue territorial que du point de vue de la population.

59. Nous connaissons le prétexte selon lequel les pays coloniaux ne sont pas encore à même de diriger leurs propres affaires. C'est un prétexte fallacieux et sans fondement. Nous le rejetons catégoriquement. Nous considérons qu'il faut d'abord libérer les peuples de la domination coloniale. C'est là un préalable indispensable à leur évolution rapide. Tant qu'ils restent dépendants, les peuples ne peuvent organiser leur pays, politiquement, économiquement et socialement d'une façon efficace et dans leur propre intérêt.

60. De ce qui précède, nous pourrions peut-être tirer quelques conclusions.

61. En premier lieu, l'éradication du colonialisme à l'échelle universelle est le désir de tout honnête homme partout dans le monde. La liquidation et l'enterrement de ce fléau parasitaire étaient depuis longtemps attendus. Le colonialisme est partout condamné; aujourd'hui, les puissances coloniales elles-mêmes en ont honte. Elles se couvrent le visage quand on en parle, mais avec un voile qui n'est pas différent du colonialisme classique et qu'on nomme de nos jours le néo-colonialisme.

62. En second lieu, la conscience humaine réprouve le colonialisme comme une atteinte portée à la notion de liberté en faveur de l'esprit de domination basé sur un phénomène de parasitisme où l'homme se conduit comme un loup pour l'homme. La conscience morale se révolte; cette révolte conduit fatalement à l'instabilité qui, à son tour, entrave la marche du progrès.

63. En troisième lieu, la conscience morale présentait la constitution des empires comme une mission civilisatrice. Cette conscience morale présente l'impérialisme néo-colonialiste d'aujourd'hui comme un système de défense de la liberté. Pendant que cet impérialisme lutte contre la liberté en Algérie, pendant qu'il provoque des mouvements de sécession au Katanga et en Mauritanie, après avoir constitué des gouvernements fantoches et nullement représentatifs, la volonté de puissance, l'esprit de lucre, de domination et d'exploitation se couvrent le visage du voile mensonger de la liberté et se retranchent derrière un système militaire imposé à un grand nombre de pays faibles.

64. Avant 1960, la lutte pour la liberté était dirigée contre l'administration coloniale directe. Ce colonialisme classique cherchait dans les pays placés sous sa domination le monopole de matières premières, la main-d'œuvre à bon marché et le travail forcé, l'accaparement des marchés, le contrôle de points stratégiques, la surveillance de la concurrence étrangère et enfin ce que l'on appelait la chair à canon qu'on trouve encore sur les champs de bataille en Algérie. Ce colonialisme classique se caractérise par la domination de tous les secteurs de la vie, domination administrative, politique, militaire, économique, culturelle, sociale et diplomatique.

65. Après 1960, la lutte pour la liberté entre dans une phase qui ne diffère qu'en apparence de la première. Après l'émancipation et la libération de l'administration directe, les peuples bientôt se rendront compte que l'indépendance politique les conduit à une période d'assainissement caractérisée par la lutte contre la balkanisation et le partage des nations, contre le retour de la féodalité capitaliste, contre la mainmise économique de l'étranger et contre la domination militaire; bref, le néo-colonialisme place les pays participant à la Conférence de Bandoung devant un avenir de lutte contre le maintien des peuples jeunes dans un état de dépendance. Dans les perspectives de cet avenir sombre le néo-colonialisme s'efforce, pour se maintenir, de créer et d'aggraver les divisions entre les pays d'Afrique et d'Asie ainsi qu'ailleurs; il déploie et continuera à déployer tous les moyens pour briser le bloc de Bandoung. Il tâche de séparer l'Asie de l'Afrique. En Afrique, il cherche à séparer l'Afrique du Nord de l'Afrique du Centre et de l'Afrique du Sud. Le néo-colonialisme lutte contre

l'indépendance arrachée et authentique, celle des luttes et des souffrances. Il redouble d'efforts pour ne voir en Afrique et ailleurs que des indépendances perverties ou même imposées, comme dans le sud du Maroc, en Mauritanie.

66. Au sein des Nations Unies, le colonialisme classique utilisait un certain nombre de mensonges comme la pacification, la mission civilisatrice, le respect des traditions, l'apprentissage de la démocratie, la défense de la religion, les interlocuteurs valables et l'influence étrangère, etc.

67. Aujourd'hui, pour maintenir sa domination économique et militaire, le néo-colonialisme se proclame comme étant le système de l'évolution ordonnée, le protecteur de la liberté. Il morcelle l'unité territoriale des nations et vient la présenter comme un nouvel apport de la liberté et de l'indépendance. Entre la notion d'évolution et la notion de révolution la ligne de démarcation est de plus en plus imperceptible.

68. Nous vivons dans un âge de révolution scientifique et technique. Parallèlement, notre époque est aussi l'âge des révolutions politiques et sociales. C'est pourquoi l'éradication inconditionnelle du colonialisme est un impératif catégorique.

69. Le courant de l'histoire s'oriente dans le sens de la liberté et de l'unité. La liberté est une notion concrète. Elle est économique, politique, sociale et spirituelle. L'unité est une notion concrète d'égalité, de regroupement et d'universalité des droits et des devoirs.

70. Quand ces deux notions sont respectées, le processus d'évolution suit une ligne simple d'émancipation et de reconstruction. Quand le néo-colonialisme intervient par les intrigues et les provocations, comme au Congo ou en Mauritanie, ce processus devient compliqué. Il passe du colonialisme classique à la balkanisation, à l'exploitation économique, aux révolutions populaires et ensuite au regroupement naturel et enfin à la reconstruction nationale dans tous les domaines.

71. C'est pourquoi la notion d'indépendance est toute relative si elle n'est pas placée dans le cadre de l'intégrité territoriale et du gouvernement représentatif.

72. L'initiative de l'Union soviétique marquera une date dans l'histoire. Grâce à l'anéantissement du colonialisme et du néo-colonialisme, le rapprochement entre les hommes sera de plus en plus possible et réalisable. Comme l'impérialisme et l'esprit de domination étaient la cause majeure des guerres mondiales, le problème du désarmement lui-même se trouvera facilité par la liquidation des derniers vestiges des vieux empires. La paix est une: elle est solidaire de la justice. L'extirpation d'un mal dont souffre l'humanité fera sentir ses effets salutaires dans toutes les directions de l'activité humaine.

M. Fekini (Libye), vice-président, prend la présidence.

73. M. ROSSIDES (Chypre) [traduit de l'anglais]: La question que nous discutons en ce moment à l'Assemblée, à savoir l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, est d'une importance particulière, par son contenu moral aussi bien que par sa portée entière. Il s'agit, en fait, du problème de la liberté dans le monde.

74. Le culte que le peuple de Chypre voue à l'idéal de la liberté et de l'indépendance des peuples a été amplement démontré par la lutte longue et difficile qu'il a menée pour sa libération. Notre peuple a longtemps souffert de la domination étrangère et a fait l'expérience des plus déplorables manifestations du colonialisme et de sa politique consistant à "diviser pour régner". Il doit encore en subir les effets. Aussi a-t-il une sympathie particulière pour tous les peuples asservis qui aspirent à la liberté et luttent pour l'obtenir. De tout notre cœur, nous embrassons leur cause, car elle est notre cause, la cause de tous les peuples spirituellement libres.

75. Nous sommes donc heureux de présenter pour notre part le projet de résolution des pays d'Afrique et d'Asie [A/L.323 et Add.1 à 6] et nous associer à ses énergiques déclarations. Nous le faisons, non seulement parce qu'il contient un message de liberté, mais encore parce qu'il renferme en lui le sens même de la paix.

76. Liberté et paix sont des concepts inséparables et des réalités indivisibles. Ceux qui cherchent la paix et refusent la liberté veulent concilier des inconciliables et détruisent d'une main ce qu'ils construisent de l'autre.

77. Le désarmement et la paix ne peuvent être obtenus que là où règne l'ordre mondial, et l'ordre mondial ne peut régner aussi longtemps que certaines nations s'efforcent d'en dominer d'autres. La domination est liée à la force et la force est l'ennemie de la paix.

78. Nous ne faisons pas de théorie, et c'est par expérience que nous parlons. Après une longue lutte pour la liberté dans le domaine politique, pendant des dizaines et des dizaines d'années, le peuple chypriote s'est tourné avec foi vers l'Organisation des Nations Unies, dans l'espoir que celle-ci apporterait une solution juste et pacifique. Lorsque les résultats négatifs eurent amené désillusions et déceptions, la violence et la résistance armée ont suivi, pendant quatre années de combat, d'exploits héroïques et d'abnégation, qui ont coûté fort cher en vies humaines et en souffrances.

79. Par ce rappel du passé, je ne cherche pas à critiquer. Je ne veux que mentionner notre expérience et la dure leçon que nous avons apprise, à savoir qu'il ne peut y avoir de paix durable là où la liberté est déniée et aussi que l'apathie et l'inaction de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, lorsque la liberté des peuples est en jeu, ne favorisent pas la cause de la paix. Lorsque cette simple vérité sera bien comprise, beaucoup de graves problèmes d'aujourd'hui trouveront leur solution naturelle. Si nous voulons vraiment aller vers la paix mondiale, nous devons faire régner la liberté dans le monde et, pour ce faire, éliminer la sujétion et la domination sous quelque forme qu'elles se présentent.

80. Le colonialisme est encore une survivance de cette domination, et il doit donc, en premier lieu, être rapidement aboli. Sa disparition entraînera la libération de tous les peuples asservis, où que ce soit et quels que soient les moyens par lesquels on leur a refusé la liberté.

81. La résolution qui, comme nous l'espérons, sera adoptée à l'issue de ce débat est d'une portée immense. Elle exprimera la condamnation collective et décisive du colonialisme par l'humanité et affirmera le droit de tous les peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes.

Dans son sens le plus large cette résolution marquera la fin prochaine d'une ère prolongée de l'histoire humaine, d'une ère caractérisée par les concepts de force et de domination. Elle nous ouvre l'espoir d'un monde nouveau fondé sur l'égalité et la fraternité de tous les hommes.

82. La conséquence directe et immédiate de cette résolution sera cependant la liquidation du colonialisme en tant que système mondial qui sanctionne encore ouvertement la domination d'un peuple par un autre.

83. Historiquement, le colonialisme, qui a commencé par l'installation de colons désireux de se livrer au commerce, n'a pas tardé à prendre la forme de l'asservissement et de la domination exercés sur des pays primitifs et insuffisamment développés d'Asie et d'Afrique, pour se transformer ensuite en un système politique et une institution juridique. Reconnu en droit international, commenté et classé en droit constitutionnel, le colonialisme en vint à se faire accepter comme un état de choses normal. La géographie du monde a été dessinée en fonction du colonialisme et la vie nationale et internationale, pendant plus de deux siècles, a été axée sur le colonialisme. En d'autres termes, la domination par la force et, comme corollaire, la privation du droit fondamental de l'homme à la liberté, à l'égalité et à la justice ont été — et, si triste que ce soit, sont encore — au nom du colonialisme, considérés comme la règle. Cependant, l'asservissement et l'exploitation de l'homme par l'homme, d'une nation par une autre nation, si longtemps tolérés et même admis dans la pratique, scandalisent aujourd'hui la conscience morale de l'humanité.

84. Au cours de l'histoire, l'humanité est passée par bien des situations et conditions différentes; mais, en dernière analyse, leur destin a été fixé par l'attitude de l'homme à leur égard. Elles se sont maintenues chaque fois que les principes de morale et de liberté ont prévalu; mais elles n'ont pas tardé à disparaître partout où elles heurtaient le respect du droit et de la justice inhérent dans le cœur de l'homme. L'humanité, lorsqu'elle n'a plus d'espoir en ces conditions et situations, les rejette. Même l'esclavage, depuis longtemps hors la loi, fut, pendant des siècles, admis en tant que pratique légale.

85. Ainsi, l'évolution humaine se poursuit, dans le cadre du progrès industriel et des découvertes techniques. Lente au début, elle s'est accélérée à notre époque au point de révolutionner toutes les idées préconçues qui ne reposaient pas sur une base morale.

86. Aujourd'hui le temps est venu où le colonialisme ou toute autre forme de domination imposée à un peuple par un autre sont universellement condamnés et abandonnés.

87. Nous lisons ce qui suit, aux paragraphes 1 et 2 de la déclaration du projet de résolution des pays d'Afrique et d'Asie:

"La sujétion des peuples à une subjugation, à une domination et à une exploitation étrangères constitue un déni des droits fondamentaux de l'homme, est contraire à la Charte des Nations Unies et compromet la cause de la paix et de la coopération mondiales.

"Tous les peuples ont le droit de libre détermination; en vertu de ce droit, ils déterminent leur statut

politique et poursuivent librement leur développement économique, social et culturel."

Voilà ce que revendique l'humanité aujourd'hui; voilà quels sont les préceptes de la morale, que nous ne pouvons méconnaître. La domination imposée par la force est déjà une chose du passé. Tous les peuples ont le droit de vivre dans la liberté et de développer librement leur propre culture, leurs propres systèmes politiques ou économiques. Le principe de l'autodétermination a été appelé à juste titre la clef de voûte des Nations Unies et le maître mot de la Charte. Dans le monde entier, les peuples recherchent la liberté et l'autodétermination, non seulement parce qu'elles favorisent le développement de la dignité et l'affirmation de la personnalité humaines, mais aussi parce qu'elles sont un élément de paix et une condition nécessaire pour un progrès concret et pour la coopération internationale. En effet, plus l'autodétermination est répandue, plus vastes sont les bases de la paix sur lesquelles repose le monde. Les relations entre les peuples assujettis et les peuples qui les dominent doivent céder la place à des relations entre peuples libres, fondées sur l'égalité et la confiance. De cette façon, la coopération et la paix pourront remplacer l'antagonisme et la guerre.

88. Plus vite le comprendront les principaux intéressés, plus ils en bénéficieront, et mieux la paix du monde sera assurée. Si les hommes au pouvoir font preuve d'imagination, il ne peuvent choisir d'autre politique que celle-là. Qu'ils suivent l'évolution présente, et s'adaptent à l'esprit du siècle! Même du point de vue opportuniste, il serait de l'intérêt des puissances coloniales de choisir le bon droit maintenant, pendant qu'il en est temps encore, et avant que la suite rapide des événements les oblige à accepter l'inévitable. Sinon, elles perdraient presque tout le mérite de cette coopération.

89. Il y a 42 ans, Woodrow Wilson donnait au monde un avertissement prophétique. Dans son message au Congrès des Etats-Unis en date du 11 février 1918, il disait: "L'autodétermination n'est pas un vain mot. C'est un principe d'action impératif que désormais les hommes d'Etat ne méconnaîtront qu'à leurs dépens." La sagesse de cette déclaration devient chaque jour plus évidente.

90. J'ai été heureux de constater, en écoutant la déclaration du représentant du Royaume-Uni, M. Ormsby-Gore, à propos des petites colonies britanniques, que le gouvernement de son pays était prêt, comme il l'a dit, "conformément aux termes de l'Article 73, b, de la Charte, à rechercher avec les peuples intéressés la forme d'indépendance qui répond le mieux à leurs aspirations" [925ème séance, par. 41].

91. Ainsi, même dans le cas de toutes les petites colonies, le Royaume-Uni leur promet l'indépendance. Nous espérons sincèrement que cette promesse s'appliquera également au courageux peuple de Malte, dont les progrès vers l'autonomie semblent avoir subi un recul marqué dans la nouvelle constitution qui lui est offerte, et qui est sensiblement moins libérale que l'ancienne. C'est cette raison qui nous fait mentionner cette colonie en particulier.

92. Le paragraphe 6 de la déclaration du projet de résolution est également très important. Il est rédigé comme suit:

"Toute tentative visant à détruire partiellement ou totalement l'unité nationale et l'intégrité territoriale d'un pays est incompatible avec les buts et principes de la Charte des Nations Unies."

93. Cela est essentiel pour contrebalancer les conséquences de la politique qui consiste à "diviser pour régner", qui est souvent le triste héritage du colonialisme et qui en prolonge les funestes effets jusque dans l'avenir.

94. L'abolition du colonialisme marquera une date historique dans le progrès moral de l'humanité. Il ne fait aucun doute qu'elle aura des répercussions immenses sur toutes les formes de domination et d'oppression.

95. Nous ne pouvons cependant espérer que le colonialisme va disparaître du jour au lendemain. Il se maintiendra nécessairement pendant un certain temps, mais pour disparaître petit à petit tout comme une affaire — pour risquer une comparaison fort approximative — continue d'exister pendant qu'elle est en liquidation. La résolution que nous examinons constituera, en un certain sens, l'ordonnance de mise sous séquestre émise par un jugement collectif des nations sur le colonialisme. L'Organisation des Nations Unies pourrait fort bien être le syndic de cette liquidation.

96. La Charte des Nations Unies, dans ses chapitres XI, XII et XIII, tout en reconnaissant l'existence du colonialisme, contient des dispositions relatives au progrès des peuples et des territoires coloniaux vers l'indépendance. Cependant, les progrès de ces 15 dernières années n'ont pas suivi le rythme toujours plus rapide de l'évolution internationale, qui semble avoir pris de vitesse les principaux intéressés. L'une des manifestations de cette évolution rapide est l'écroulement presque subit du colonialisme dont nous avons la preuve dans le présent débat. L'instinct de l'homme avide de liberté, devenu un mobile et une nécessité impérieuse, représente une force irrésistible. C'est cette force qui inspire nos débats et la résolution qui en résultera.

97. L'inscription à l'ordre du jour de l'Assemblée générale d'une question telle que celle-ci aurait paru vaine et chimérique il y a seulement quelques années. Telle était l'emprise de la vieille notion de colonialisme. Il n'était pas rare, alors, que les questions d'indépendance et d'autodétermination portées devant l'Organisation des Nations Unies soient rejetées, ou enterrées au moyen de résolutions dénuées de force, au lieu de conduire à l'adoption de résolutions constructives. Le prestige de l'Organisation des Nations Unies et la cause de la paix en ont souffert. En effet on ne sert pas la paix en faisant le silence sur des situations anormales qui découlent de la violation des principes même sur lesquels repose l'Organisation des Nations Unies. On ne fait ainsi que rendre la situation plus anormale encore, et nous constatons aujourd'hui les effets de cette politique.

98. Le respect des principes ne cesse de grandir au sein de l'Organisation des Nations Unies. L'admission de nombreux Etats d'Asie et d'Afrique, qui longtemps ont lutté seuls pour la justice et la liberté de leur cause, apporte à l'Organisation des Nations Unies un dévouement grandissant aux principes de la Charte et particulièrement évident lorsqu'il s'agit de questions qui mettent en jeu la liberté et la dignité humaine.

99. Chacun sait que le colonialisme tel que nous le connaissons est un produit de la civilisation occidentale. Mais, en toute loyauté, il faut dire aussi que c'est cette civilisation qui a prononcé la condamnation morale la plus ferme du colonialisme et de l'exploitation, et qui a la première énoncé le principe de l'autodétermination. Tous les mouvements de libération se sont inspirés, d'une façon ou d'une autre, de la civilisation occidentale et se sont épanouis grâce à ses leçons. Certains adversaires déterminés du colonialisme, britannique ou autre, se rencontrent aujourd'hui dans le Royaume-Uni, et nous éprouvons de la reconnaissance à l'égard de ces esprits libéraux d'Angleterre et aussi d'autres nations, car ils ont été à nos côtés pendant les heures difficiles de notre lutte pour la liberté.

100. De même, on a voulu garantir une complète indépendance aux nouveaux Etats. Je citerai M. Walter Lippman: "Le colonialisme ne prend pas toujours fin avec l'octroi de l'indépendance politique." Bien qu'un territoire soit indépendant, il peut encore souffrir des séquelles du colonialisme, qui entravent sa complète indépendance.

101. Du point de vue économique, je voudrais rappeler ce qu'a dit le représentant de l'Iran: nous devons aider les nouveaux pays à reconstruire et à développer leur économie, et garantir leur liberté, afin "... que ces peuples ne soient jamais entraînés, par des considérations de défense, à allouer des fonds indispensables à leur développement national aux dépenses de caractère militaire" [926ème séance, par. 69].

102. Des problèmes économiques difficiles se posent aux nouveaux pays. Il faut y faire face. L'Organisation des Nations Unies a une obligation très nette à cet égard. Elle doit être prête à fournir à ces pays toute l'assistance nécessaire en matière économique et autre. Répondre à leurs besoins est pour l'ONU une nécessité et un devoir.

103. Nous appuyons donc la proposition des Etats-Unis en faveur d'un programme des Nations Unies pour l'indépendance et le développement des pays d'Afrique et nous espérons que ce programme sera étendu à Chypre.

104. Nous voudrions également que l'Organisation des Nations Unies participe plus activement à l'octroi d'assistance aux pays qui viennent d'accéder à l'indépendance, et à ceux qui sont sur le point d'y accéder. Un comité des Nations Unies devrait être créé pour fournir une aide en cas de divergence, en offrant ses bons offices, en agissant comme médiateur et en s'efforçant de rapprocher les intéressés, aidant ainsi les peuples non autonomes à accéder rapidement et sans heurts à l'indépendance.

105. Bien que le projet de résolution des pays d'Afrique et d'Asie porte, avant tout, sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, rien ne restreint en fait sa portée. Celle-ci est très générale pour ce qui est de la liberté et de l'autodétermination. Il s'adresse à tous les peuples, où qu'ils soient, quelles que soient les circonstances de la domination qui s'exerce sur eux et quels que soient les moyens par lesquels on les prive de leur droit inaliénable à l'autodétermination et à la liberté.

106. Cette résolution constitue, en quelque sorte, la suite et la contrepartie de la Déclaration adoptée à la Conférence des pays d'Afrique et d'Asie, tenue à

Bandoung en 1955, dont l'importance ne pourra jamais être surestimée. Elle a fourni une expression dynamique de l'éveil du monde d'Afrique et d'Asie, unanime dans sa déclaration sur les principes moraux et politiques fondamentaux. Cette déclaration est également générale lorsqu'elle condamne l'impérialisme et le colonialisme dans toutes leurs manifestations et réaffirme le droit à l'autodétermination. Depuis cette conférence, toute une série d'événements ont eu lieu qui ne sauraient être dissociés de l'esprit de Bandoung. Ces événements ont créé un climat international plus sain, qui a conduit à la Conférence "au sommet" de Genève^{3/}. Mais des événements contraires survenus dans les relations internationales ont interrompu ce mouvement positif vers plus de compréhension et une plus étroite coopération. Nous voulons croire et espérer que, grâce à la résolution que nous allons maintenant adopter, le fil conducteur sera repris, et que nous pourrons faire un nouveau pas dans la bonne direction vers la liberté et la paix fondée sur la liberté.

107. Pour conclure, ma délégation voudrait déclarer que le projet de résolution, en se réclamant dans toutes ses parties de la Charte des Nations Unies et de la Déclaration universelle des droits de l'homme, se présente sur des bases solides, et de plus insufflé une vie nouvelle à l'esprit de la Charte. Il redonne à ses dispositions sur l'autodétermination un peu de la force et de l'objet qu'elles avaient peut-être perdus pendant des années parce qu'on n'avait pas efficacement traité les questions concernant la liberté.

108. En outre, ce projet de résolution donne à la Déclaration universelle des droits de l'homme un accent nouveau de réalisme, et la rend plus valable. Ceci est important, car, juridiquement parlant, cette déclaration n'a pas force obligatoire, et l'on ne saurait espérer avant longtemps pouvoir élaborer et adopter les projets de pactes internationaux relatifs aux droits de l'homme, du moins à la cadence où vont les choses.

109. Cette résolution, apportera si elle est adoptée, une contribution juridique et politique des plus importantes à l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Elle pourrait devenir un document historique ne le cédant en importance qu'à la Charte et à la Déclaration universelle des droits de l'homme. Nous espérons que l'Assemblée pourra l'adopter à l'unanimité, comme elle le mérite.

110. M. ZORINE (Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques) [traduit du russe]: Monsieur le Président, Messieurs les délégués, la délégation soviétique a déjà eu l'occasion d'exposer en détail sa position sur tous les aspects du problème de l'abolition immédiate du colonialisme; ce faisant, elle a expliqué et motivé ses propositions. L'Union soviétique intervient en faveur d'une solution radicale et immédiate du problème du colonialisme dans son ensemble, à savoir: elle invite tous les États réellement intéressés à la libération la plus rapide des peuples coloniaux à adopter, à la quinzième session de l'Assemblée générale, une déclaration sur l'octroi immédiat de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. Un projet dans ce sens a été déposé par le Gouvernement soviétique dans le document A/4502.

111. Dans ses interventions précédentes, la délégation de l'URSS a fait valoir le fait que l'écrasante

majorité des délégations africaines et asiatiques ont fait connaître leur sincère désir d'en terminer sans délai avec le système colonial et de prendre, au cours de la présente session de l'Assemblée générale, des mesures qui contribueraient à la réalisation de cette noble tâche. Nous désirons maintenant faire connaître notre position à l'égard du projet de résolution-déclaration présenté par 43 États d'Afrique et d'Asie [A/L.323 et Add.1 à 6]. La délégation soviétique apprécie favorablement dans l'ensemble ce projet de résolution, tout en l'estimant insuffisant et incomplet. Ce projet de résolution-déclaration comporte nombre de dispositions de principe qui ont déjà été formulées dans le projet soviétique de déclaration déposé, on le sait, tout au début de la quinzième session. Il est possible d'affirmer qu'entre le projet soviétique de déclaration et le projet de résolution qui fut déposé par les pays d'Afrique et d'Asie, il existe un terrain commun et une unité de vues sur toute une série de questions fondamentales. C'est là un fait réjouissant, qui témoigne d'une communauté de buts et de direction essentielle dans la lutte pour l'abolition du colonialisme, lutte menée depuis longtemps par l'Union soviétique, par tous les pays socialistes, ainsi que par les pays et les peuples d'Afrique et d'Asie.

112. On ne saurait toutefois, passer sous silence les insuffisances dont souffre, à notre avis, le projet de résolution déposé par les pays d'Afrique et d'Asie.

113. Tout d'abord, on pourrait souligner le manque de précision dans le libellé de certains points, ce qui en permet une interprétation différente, même entre auteurs de ce projet de résolution. Il suffira d'indiquer que le représentant des Philippines a affirmé que le paragraphe 5 du projet de déclaration ne prévoit pas, à son avis, le transfert immédiat de tous les pouvoirs aux peuples des colonies, mais qu'il propose seulement de prendre immédiatement toutes initiatives utiles pouvant mener, en fin de compte, à ce transfert des pouvoirs. Une interprétation à peu près semblable du même paragraphe a été donnée également par le délégué de la Malaisie, qui a déclaré que "la déclaration ne prévoit pas le transfert immédiat de tous les pouvoirs" [935ème séance, par. 130]. Nous sommes enclins à considérer qu'une telle interprétation ne répond pas aux aspirations de la très grande majorité des auteurs du projet de résolution des pays d'Afrique et d'Asie. Nous ne doutons point de la sincérité des aspirations et des motifs de la très grande majorité des délégations d'Afrique et d'Asie et nous estimons que ces délégations ne sont pas d'accord sur cette interprétation et qu'elles estiment indispensable de libérer sans délai les peuples des colonies. C'est précisément ainsi que la délégation de l'Union soviétique interprète, elle aussi, le paragraphe 5 du projet de résolution.

114. Certaines autres dispositions, étant donné leur libellé, peuvent également donner lieu à des interprétations contraires au sens fondamental du projet de résolution, tel que le comprend la plus grande partie des pays d'Afrique et d'Asie, ainsi que l'ont montré leurs interventions en séance plénière. Laissant de côté l'opportunité d'améliorer la rédaction de certaines dispositions, ce qui pourrait, contrairement aux intentions de la délégation soviétique, compliquer l'examen du projet de résolution, la délégation de l'Union soviétique voudrait attirer l'attention sur deux éléments essentiels qui, à son avis, n'ont nullement été pris en considération par les auteurs du projet de résolution.

^{3/} Conférence des chefs de gouvernement des quatre puissances, tenue à Genève du 18 au 23 juillet 1955.

115. D'abord, le projet de résolution fait état de la nécessité d'une liquidation rapide du colonialisme. Il déclare que des mesures immédiates seront prises, dans les territoires sous tutelle, les territoires non autonomes et tous autres territoires qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance pour transférer tous pouvoirs aux peuples de ces territoires. Cependant, aucune date limite précise n'est fixée pour l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays coloniaux. D'autre part, le projet de résolution ne contient aucune invitation précise à l'adresse des puissances qui sont responsables de la libération des colonies et des territoires sous tutelle. Il n'indique absolument pas ce que devront accomplir ces puissances ni dans quels délais.

116. Ensuite, une autre disposition importante fait défaut, à savoir que l'Assemblée générale, à sa plus prochaine session, devra examiner la question de la mise en application de cette déclaration, ce qui est absolument indispensable pour assurer l'exécution des revendications essentielles qu'elle contient.

117. Cela étant, la délégation soviétique a estimé indispensable de soumettre à l'examen de l'Assemblée générale des amendements au projet de résolution des pays d'Afrique et d'Asie. Ces amendements, sans modifier en rien le texte existant du projet de résolution, y introduisent des dispositions additionnelles qui confèrent un caractère efficace aux principes généraux qui sont exposés dans la déclaration et qui contribueront à la mise en application rapide de ces principes.

118. L'essentiel de ces amendements de caractère additionnel réside en ceci.

119. Premièrement, nous estimons indispensable de fixer une date limite à laquelle tous les pays et peuples coloniaux devront être libérés. La demande d'une libération immédiate des colonies a été soutenue par un grand nombre d'Etats. Chacun sait qu'aux conférences des Etats africains et asiatiques, des décisions relatives à la libération la plus rapide possible des peuples des colonies ont été adoptées à maintes reprises. C'est ainsi que, dès 1955, les pays d'Afrique et d'Asie représentés à la Conférence de Bandoung ont adopté une déclaration selon laquelle, je cite, "le colonialisme, dans toutes ses manifestations, est un mal auquel il doit être mis fin rapidement".

120. Cette revendication de la Conférence de Bandoung est reflétée dans le projet de résolution qui est soumis aujourd'hui à notre examen. Cependant, il y a lieu de tenir compte du fait que cette demande, adoptée en 1955, c'est-à-dire il y a cinq ans, a besoin aujourd'hui d'être développée. Si l'on tient compte du rythme très rapide de l'évolution du mouvement de libération nationale, il ne suffit plus de répéter des revendications énoncées il y a déjà cinq ans.

121. C'est précisément pour cette raison qu'en juin 1960, la deuxième Conférence des Etats indépendants d'Afrique, qui s'est tenue à Addis-Abéba, a adopté une résolution adressant aux puissances coloniales une invitation pressante à fixer, conformément aux aspirations des peuples, des dates pour la réalisation immédiate de l'indépendance pour tous les pays dépendants et à en informer tous les peuples intéressés. La délégation soviétique appuie pleinement cette demande, exprimée par les représentants des pays indépendants d'Afrique.

122. Ainsi, au cours des cinq dernières années, la revendication tendant à liquider le plus rapidement possible le système colonial s'est transformée tout naturellement en une revendication tendant à la liquidation immédiate du système colonial, à une libération immédiate de tous les peuples qui vivent encore sous le joug colonial. Conformément à la résolution adoptée à Addis-Abéba, le représentant du Togo, lorsqu'il a pris part ici à la discussion générale de cette question, a parlé de la nécessité de liquider le colonialisme comme d'un problème qui ne peut être remis à plus tard. Dans son intervention, il a souligné (je cite):

"Il ne s'agit pas ici de condamner purement et simplement le colonialisme, d'adopter le principe de l'octroi de l'indépendance. Il est de la plus haute importance de fixer dès maintenant un calendrier de dates auxquelles l'indépendance sera donnée aux territoires colonisés. Sans cela, les pays encore dans les fers auront à lutter encore très longtemps contre la puissance coloniale." [936ème séance, par. 65.]

123. Nous appuyons cette proposition de la délégation du Togo sur la fixation de délais pour l'octroi de l'indépendance et nous proposons de fixer comme date limite la fin de 1961. A cet effet, nous proposons de faire figurer dans le projet de résolution des Etats d'Afrique et d'Asie une disposition tendant à ce que tous les pays et tous les peuples coloniaux accèdent à l'indépendance à la fin de 1961 au plus tard. A notre sens, il est impossible de tolérer plus longtemps ce reste honteux du système colonialiste périmé.

124. En même temps, pour la mise en application des mesures pratiques indispensables pour le transfert des pouvoirs aux peuples des colonies, la délégation de l'Union soviétique propose que l'Assemblée générale adresse un appel aux puissances coloniales, les invitant à entamer des négociations avec les représentants de la population autochtone des pays coloniaux. Afin que ces représentants traduisent véritablement les aspirations et la volonté des peuples coloniaux, la délégation de l'Union soviétique estime qu'il est indispensable de procéder, dans toutes les colonies, à des élections au suffrage universel. Afin d'assurer la libre manifestation de la volonté des peuples coloniaux et pour empêcher un truquage et un camouflage éventuels du résultat des élections, nous estimons qu'il serait souhaitable que l'ONU surveille les élections si elle le juge nécessaire.

125. A ce propos, il convient de rappeler qu'au cours de la récente discussion au sein de la Quatrième Commission, la majorité a adopté une proposition du Togo et de la Tunisie tendant à ce que l'Organisation des Nations Unies, lorsqu'elle l'estimera indispensable, assume la surveillance de l'emploi des procédés démocratiques dans l'expression de la volonté des peuples coloniaux [voir A/4651, par. 5 à 8]. On sait quelle est l'importance que de nombreux pays d'Asie et d'Afrique, comme bien d'autres pays, attachent, par exemple, à un référendum en Algérie sous la surveillance de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, afin d'assurer la liberté d'expression de la volonté populaire.

126. Deuxièmement, nous considérons que la déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux se distingue d'une déclaration habituelle, telle, la Déclaration universelle des droits de l'homme. En effet, la déclaration concernant l'indé-

pendance des colonies ne constitue pas un programme prévue pour une très longue période, mais bien un programme de mesures immédiates pour la mise en œuvre des principes élevés qu'elle proclame. C'est pourquoi, en ce qui concerne la déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux colonies, le facteur temps joue un rôle prépondérant. L'Organisation des Nations Unies ne saurait se borner simplement à proclamer tels et tels principes, sans prendre les mesures nécessaires pour les appliquer et mettre en œuvre la déclaration adoptée. Aussi considérons-nous comme indispensable de prévoir, dans le projet de résolution des pays d'Afrique et d'Asie, une disposition tendant à ce que l'Assemblée générale, lors de sa seizième session de 1961, examine la question de la mise en œuvre de ladite déclaration.

127. Compte tenu des considérations qui précèdent, la délégation soviétique a déjà fait connaître et soumis officiellement à l'examen de l'Assemblée générale les modifications ci-après au projet de résolution [A/L.323 et Add.1 à 6] présenté par 43 pays d'Afrique et d'Asie. Je prie d'ajouter après le paragraphe 7 de cette résolution les paragraphes suivants:

"8. Invite les puissances intéressées à assurer, dans tous les territoires dépendants, la transmission du pouvoir absolu et souverain au peuple, conformément aux principes énoncés ci-dessus et à entamer à cette fin des négociations avec les représentants des peuples coloniaux, élus au suffrage universel, au besoin sous la surveillance de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, de manière que tous les pays et peuples coloniaux accèdent à l'indépendance à la fin de 1961 au plus tard et occupent leur place légitime dans la communauté des nations,

"9. Décide d'examiner, à sa seizième session ordinaire, la question de l'application de la présente résolution 4/."

128. En ce qui concerne les amendements au projet de résolution des pays d'Afrique et d'Asie, proposés par le Guatemala [A/L.325], la délégation soviétique ne peut les appuyer pour autant qu'il y est prévu une limitation du droit essentiel de tous les peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes, ce qui est, par conséquent, en contradiction avec le paragraphe 2 de la déclaration contenue dans le projet de résolution des pays d'Afrique et d'Asie qui stipule, à juste titre, que "tous les peuples ont le droit de libre détermination". Si certains Etats ont des revendications territoriales ou des réserves à formuler au sujet d'un territoire déterminé, chaque cas d'espèce devra, selon nous, être réglé à part, d'une façon concrète. Il ne faut pas que les revendications et les réserves individuelles puissent être érigées en principes généraux qui limiteraient le droit inaliénable de chaque peuple à disposer de lui-même.

129. Pour ces raisons, la délégation de l'Union soviétique votera contre les amendements soumis par la délégation du Guatemala.

M. Sosa Rodríguez (Venezuela), vice-président, prend la présidence.

130. Le **PRESIDENT** (traduit de l'espagnol): Je donne la parole au représentant de la France, dans l'exercice de son droit de réponse.

131. **M. BERARD (France)**: Je n'avais pas l'intention d'intervenir dans ce débat. Mais la France ayant été

mise en cause par divers orateurs, je me permet d'user de mon droit de réponse envers les uns et envers les autres.

132. Aux uns d'abord je dirai que la délégation française s'est félicitée de l'inscription d'une telle question à notre ordre du jour. Je leur rappellerai qu'il n'est pas d'exemple, en effet, dans les annales de notre organisation, de ce qui s'est produit au cours même de cette session, à savoir l'admission aux Nations Unies de 17 Etats, anciennement territoires coloniaux. Or, 13 de ces 17 Etats étaient naguère sous administration française. En matière de décolonisation et pour ce qui concerne la France, les faits parlent donc d'eux-mêmes. Ces Etats ont été admis à l'unanimité; c'est-à-dire que les plus sourcilleux de nos censeurs ont, en l'occurrence, joint leur voix à celle de la France; et il n'a pas tenu à nous qu'un quatorzième Etat africain ne devînt, cette semaine, le centième Membre de notre organisation.

133. Cette évolution n'a pas été improvisée. Nous ne la regrettons pas. Nous n'avons cessé, au contraire, de l'encourager. Plusieurs orateurs ont bien voulu le reconnaître et reconnaître les mérites de cette action. Je les remercie de ce témoignage qui révèle chez eux autant d'honnêteté que de caractère.

134. Je définirai la position française, en cette matière, en rappelant les paroles prononcées par le général de Gaulle, le 5 septembre 1960:

"[Sur] l'ensemble du mouvement de décolonisation qui existe d'un bout à l'autre du monde, je n'ai jamais cessé depuis le jour même où la guerre mondiale m'a amené à parler, à agir au nom de la France, je n'ai jamais cessé de suivre la même direction, considérant que l'émancipation des peuples — car c'est de cela qu'il s'agit — est conforme tout à la fois au génie de notre pays ... et au mouvement irrésistible qui s'est déclenché dans le monde à l'occasion de la guerre mondiale et de ce qui s'en est suivi.

"J'ai engagé dans cette voie-là, dans la voie de l'émancipation des peuples, la politique de la France. Naguère et depuis deux ans elle est orientée dans le même sens."

135. Nous nous sommes également réjouis que, dans ce débat, on ait beaucoup invoqué la liberté. Rien de ce qui touche la liberté ne nous est indifférent. Qu'on nous comprenne bien: la liberté dont je parle, ce n'est pas celle, pour une minorité, d'imposer sa loi ni, pour une majorité, de réduire au silence toute voix discordante. C'est la liberté du groupe et aussi celle de l'individu. C'est la libération de la faim, de la peur et de l'ignorance. C'est la liberté de s'exprimer, d'agir, de construire sans contrainte, sans angoisse et sans autre entrave que le respect de la liberté d'autrui. Tout cela, nous le voulons pour nous-mêmes, nous le voulons pour les autres; et je tiens, à ce sujet, à rendre hommage aux orateurs qui ont apporté, dans ce débat, des idées constructives.

136. D'autres ont prétendu critiquer mon pays et ont pris une attitude différente. On ne peut qu'être surpris et choqué qu'une puissance ici représentée ait essayé de jouer les premiers rôles alors qu'on a, jusqu'ici, attendu en vain de sa part la moindre ébauche d'un processus de décolonisation. Tant d'audace aurait pu impressionner les moins avertis d'entre nous. Après le veto qui est intervenu de 4 décembre au Conseil de

^{4/} Distribué ultérieurement sous la cote A/L.3280.

sécurité, le masque est jeté; et nous serons plus nombreux, j'en suis sûr, à faire désormais la différence entre les bonnes paroles, les vertueuses indignations, les conseils, les admonestations de toutes sortes et les actes. Ainsi s'écroule assez lamentablement un décor factice.

137. Quand on nous parle d'indépendance, nous avons également à l'esprit autre chose que le comportement de ceux qui, pour notre déception et notre lassitude, ne font que répéter depuis tant d'années ce que leur a dicté le cerveau qui les dirige. Le jour où se manifestera dans leurs discours le moindre signe d'originalité, le souffle — si faible soit-il — d'une authentique liberté, ce jour-là sera un grand jour pour l'histoire de notre organisation.

138. Je veux maintenant répondre aux orateurs qui, évoquant le problème colonial en Amérique latine, ont fait allusion aux départements français des Antilles. Il s'agit d'une regrettable confusion qui procède d'une méconnaissance manifeste des données juridiques aussi bien que de la réalité politique. Mon pays n'administre plus de colonies en Amérique latine. Les départements qui s'y trouvent sont des départements français et leur seule particularité est d'être séparés du reste de la République par la mer, au même titre que la Corse. Ces terres sont françaises depuis plus de trois siècles et comptent parmi les plus anciennes provinces françaises. Est-il vraiment nécessaire de rappeler la présence des Antilles à l'Assemblée constituante de 1789? Peut-on ignorer que depuis la deuxième République et l'introduction du suffrage universel, c'est-à-dire depuis 1848, ces pays ont envoyé députés et sénateurs au Parlement? Les départements de la Guadeloupe, de la Martinique, de la Guyane sont des parties constructives de la République française au même titre que n'importe quel autre département. Les citoyens qui s'y trouvent ont un statut et des droits de citoyenneté égaux, sans distinction ni discrimination. Ils ont des possibilités égales de représentation et participent à tous les degrés à la vie politique et administrative de la nation. Les fils les plus éminents des Antilles ont donné et continuent de donner à la République française des penseurs, des hommes d'action, des hommes d'Etat qui sont la fierté commune de tous mes compatriotes.

139. Enfin, je voudrais m'adresser aux auteurs du projet de résolution contenu dans le document A/L.323 et Add.1 à 6 puisque certains d'entre eux, aussi, ont cru devoir mettre en cause mon pays dans leurs commentaires.

140. On a prononcé beaucoup de paroles au cours de ce débat. Il y en avait de bonnes et de moins bonnes et ceci se reflète dans le projet de résolution qui nous est soumis. Je ne méconnais pas la bonne foi d'un grand nombre des auteurs de ce projet de résolution et je salue ici les efforts qui ont été faits pour conférer à ce document une certaine noblesse, pour en faire autre chose qu'un instrument de la guerre froide.

141. Nous applaudissons en particulier à plusieurs dispositions du préambule. Nous pensons, nous aussi, que tous les peuples ont droit de libre détermination, que l'unité nationale et l'intégrité territoriale des Etats doivent être respectées. Mais, en certains de ces passages, ce document ne fait que reprendre des engagements qui figurent dans la Charte. Ces obligations, nous les reconnaissons et nous les respectons.

Nous nous demandons toutefois si ces répétitions ajoutent quoi que ce soit à ce qui fait le code de la morale internationale.

142. Mais surtout le projet qui nous est présenté n'est malheureusement pas dépouillé de considérations étrangères aux objectifs recherchés. Il reflète — inconsciemment peut-être — ces antagonismes auxquels je faisais allusion plus haut. A cet égard, la déclaration qui nous est soumise ne contribuera pas à favoriser l'esprit de compréhension internationale qui doit nous animer tous. Elle comporte aussi des contradictions. Par exemple, le paragraphe 7 du projet de déclaration rappelle avec quelque solennité le principe de la non-ingérence dans les affaires intérieures des Etats, mais, en toute honnêteté, peut-on prétendre que le projet ne contient pas toute une série d'injonctions qui sont autant d'ingérences dans les affaires intérieures des Etats?

143. Je n'ignore pas que l'élaboration d'un texte de ce genre n'est pas sans présenter de graves difficultés à ses auteurs et je suis le premier à rendre hommage à la conscience de ceux qui en ont assumé la responsabilité. Ma délégation, néanmoins, n'estime pas, pour les raisons que j'ai indiquées, être en mesure d'apporter son appui au projet de résolution tel qu'il a été déposé devant l'Assemblée.

144. Le PRESIDENT (traduit de l'espagnol): Je donne la parole au représentant de l'Espagne, qui désire exercer son droit de réponse.

145. M. DE LEQUERICA (Espagne) [traduit de l'espagnol]: Ce débat sur le colonialisme est plein d'intérêt et, selon moi, profondément utile aux intérêts généraux de l'humanité, mais il présente, sans aucun doute, des surprises extraordinaires pour ceux qui l'écoutent avec attention et émotion. Par exemple — et je remercie le Président qui m'a accordé le droit d'intervenir pour exercer mon droit de réponse — j'écoutais cet après-midi le représentant du Maroc, dont j'ai eu l'occasion d'apprécier, en d'autres occasions, la vive intelligence et dont les doctrines m'intéressent toujours, d'autant plus qu'il représente un pays ami, quand, tout à coup, dans une liste de pays prétendument coloniaux, dont quelques-uns sont espagnols, liste que je ne discuterai pas pour le moment, bien que j'ai de fortes raisons pour le faire, je trouve le nom non pas de deux provinces espagnoles, comme je l'ai dit ce matin à une autre occasion [944ème séance], mais de deux villes espagnoles qui appartiennent à deux provinces différentes.

146. Je constate que l'on a cité Ceuta, ville qui compte 67.000 habitants de religion chrétienne et 13.000 habitants de religion musulmane, tous Espagnols, appartenant à la province de Cadix; on a cité aussi Melilla, ville de la province de Malaga, dont les 85.000 habitants, tous Espagnols de religion chrétienne, cohabitent avec 7.000 habitants de religion musulmane.

147. Je me rappelle, aux derniers temps de l'ancien Parlement espagnol de type électoral, avoir été assis à côté du député d'Algésiras, qui était aussi le député de Melilla; et maintenant, tout à coup, par une inversion incroyable des valeurs, je m'aperçois qu'il ne s'agit plus de deux provinces, mais de deux villes appartenant à deux provinces espagnoles différentes, habitées exclusivement depuis cinq ou six siècles par des Espagnols de religions différentes, mais dont la majorité écrasante est chrétienne, ce qui ne change

pas leur caractère, que l'on considère, dans je ne sais quelle intention confuse, comme des terrains à explorer, à transformer et à soumettre à d'autres souverainetés.

148. Pour cette raison, invoquant, comme j'ai déjà dû le faire ce matin pour un autre motif, la théorie déjà établie ici avec une grande précision, en vérité, par la délégation soviétique selon laquelle on ne peut admettre, sans la protestation qui s'impose, que l'on porte atteinte à l'unité ou à la souveraineté des pays faisant partie de l'ONU qui sont protégés par la Charte, je me permet de protester respectueusement mais énergiquement contre cette apparition singulière de Ceuta et de Melilla dans l'intervention du représentant du Maroc.

149. Permettez-moi d'ajouter, bien que cela soit peu de chose — mais ce peu de chose est essentiel, et de toute façon j'avais ces quelques précisions sous la main — que Ceuta, sous le nom d'Abila, était déjà connue lorsque furent découvertes les fameuses colonnes d'Hercule; que les Grecs l'appelèrent Heptadelphe, en raison de ses sept collines; que les Romains l'appelèrent Septem Fratres — les sept frères — d'où sont dérivés les noms de Septa, puis de Ceuta; que la ville fit partie des possessions de Carthage et que, lorsque cette république fut rasée par Rome, Ceuta devint la capitale de la Mauritanie Tingitane, province romaine, et qu'au temps de l'empereur Othon elle releva de la Convention juridique de Cadix.

150. Dans ses environs débarquèrent les 80.000 Vandales qui, sous le commandement de Genséric, envahirent l'Afrique du Nord. Plus tard, de 531 à 548, elle fut conquise par le roi d'Espagne visigoth Théodisèle. Elle fut aussi conquise par l'empereur de Byzance Justinien, mais il ne semble pas qu'elle demeura très longtemps en son pouvoir. Elle était au pouvoir des Visigoths, c'est-à-dire du royaume d'Espagne, quand elle fut occupée par Muza avant qu'il envahisse l'Espagne, en l'an 710.

151. Après d'innombrables incidents historiques, les cinq frères d'Edouard Ier, roi de Portugal, débarquent à Ceuta en 1437 et cherchent à s'emparer de Tanger. Philippe II d'Espagne, héritier des possessions du royaume portugais, reçut entre autres Ceuta, ces possessions étant incorporées à l'Espagne à partir du XVIème siècle. En 1640, lorsque le Portugal se sépara de l'Espagne, les nobles de Ceuta se proclamèrent pour le roi d'Espagne Philippe IV. Aux termes du traité qui fut signé le 13 février 1663, les places et possessions situées en Afrique furent remises au Portugal, à l'exception de Ceuta, que l'Espagne se réserva. Cette possession fut confirmée dans l'article 2 du traité de 1678. Depuis lors, Ceuta a toujours appartenu à l'Espagne.

152. En outre, je lis dans un texte qui n'est pas espagnol, dans l'*Enciclopedia Italiana* (vol. IX, p. 903), que Ceuta, étant en relations continues avec l'Europe, est devenue une ville espagnole où la population musulmane est peu nombreuse, et présente de nombreux caractères communs avec les ports de la péninsule Ibérique qui lui font face.

153. Mais autrefois les sultans, maintenant les rois du Maroc, ont-ils réclamé Ceuta à un moment quelconque? Non; au contraire, aux termes de nombreux traités antérieurs au protectorat, alors que, selon les déclarations mêmes de la délégation marocaine, les sultans étaient libres, il a été question des territoires

entourant Ceuta, mais il n'a jamais été question de Ceuta même.

154. Je ne voudrais pas vous accabler de dates, mais, dans l'article III du Traité de paix et amitié entre l'Espagne et le Maroc, signé à Tétouan le 26 avril 1860, il est indiqué qu'afin de mettre en vigueur ce qui est stipulé dans un article antérieur, S. M. le roi du Maroc cède à S. M. la reine d'Espagne, en pleine souveraineté, le territoire allant de la mer, en suivant les hauteurs de la sierra Bullones, jusqu'au ravin d'Anghera. Je ne veux pas lire ce texte en détail, mais j'indiquerai qu'il n'est nullement question de Ceuta dans ces dispositions, puisque la ville était de tout temps espagnole.

155. Voyons maintenant le cas de Melilla. Melilla, selon les renseignements que j'ai sous les yeux, "appartenait à une ancienne colonie fondée par les Phéniciens et que Ptolémée appela Ryssadiron. Elle tomba au pouvoir des Visigoths, puis fut, au Vème siècle, siège épiscopal. Elle passa ensuite aux mains des Maures, qui l'appelèrent Mlila, nom très commun en Afrique du Nord. Ses habitants se livraient à l'exploitation des mines, ainsi qu'ils le font encore aujourd'hui. Entre-temps, en 1496, don Juan Clarós de Guzmán, duc de Medina Sidonia, finança une expédition dirigée par don Pedro de Estupión, qui s'empara de cette place appartenant alors au roi de Tlemcen. Jusqu'en 1556, les ducs de Medina Sidonia la possédèrent, avec le titre de capitaine général. Elle fut attaquée à diverses reprises, sous la domination espagnole. Puis une convention fut signée en 1856, qui en étendit les limites. Et, comme dans le cas de Ceuta, tous les traités conclus avec les sultans du Maroc reconnaissent que Melilla était espagnole; par exemple, la Convention entre l'Espagne et le Maroc signée à Tétouan le 24 août 1859 parle "de céder à Sa majesté Catholique la possession et pleine souveraineté du territoire rapproché de la place espagnole de Melilla jusqu'aux points les plus propres à la défense et tranquillité de ce préside".

156. Un autre article revient sur cette même idée, mais jamais il n'est question d'une autorité marocaine sur Melilla. Dans ces conditions, pourquoi introduire dans ce débat sérieux, et qui offre à chacun de graves préoccupations et de solides motifs de nous livrer à un examen de conscience, des assertions aussi arbitraires et éloignées de toute vérité historique? Faut-il croire que, recourant à cette sorte de fantaisie que les historiens français du XVIIème siècle ont appelée *ad usum Delphini*, formule destinée aux princes héritiers désireux de voir leurs Etats s'étendre au-delà des limites réelles, et qui par la suite perdit son caractère dynastique pour traduire le désir de tous les puissants, nous voulions ici transformer arbitrairement la géographie, alors que celle-ci veut que ces deux villes africaines fassent partie intégrante de l'Espagne? Ou encore, ainsi que l'a relevé avec éloquence le représentant de la France, s'agit-il de tracer ici des lignes géographiques faisant fi de l'histoire humaine, de la coexistence qui a existé pendant des siècles et de l'existence des valeurs spirituelles permanentes?

157. Je ne dissimulerai pas à l'Assemblée — au contraire je m'en fais gloire — que l'Espagne est une puissance eurafricaine, et qu'elle l'est depuis bien des siècles. Elle a eu des possessions, je dirais même des établissements en Afrique qui étaient antérieurs aux propres établissements dont peuvent se prévaloir

les rois musulmans, ainsi que je l'ai démontré. Je ne crois pas utile de vous apprendre que le nord de l'Afrique n'a pas été, comme le prétend une histoire préfabriquée, une entité solide à toutes les époques. Ceci est ressorti bien clairement du débat sur la Mauritanie. Je reconnais que nous autres, Espagnols, avons été une colonie. Ce n'était pas une colonie du Maroc — bien que la chose se soit partiellement produite — mais de la Mauritanie, à proprement parler. Il s'agissait, si je me souviens des dates données pendant cette discussion, de l'époque allant de 1094 à 1149. Les Maures de la Mauritanie, les Almoravides, probablement une de ces tribus, occupèrent une grande partie de l'Espagne, construisirent le château d'Alfajérfa et dominèrent la presque totalité de l'Espagne musulmane. L'Espagne a été une colonie africano-asiatique et pourquoi ne pas le dire? C'est à cela que nous devons l'Alhambra de Grenade et Cordoue, témoignages extrêmement importants d'une culture qui est venue s'ajouter à la nôtre. Peut-être, ainsi que nos frères de l'Amérique latine l'ont parfois relevé, notre communication avec la philosophie la plus avancée de l'Europe à cette époque doit-elle aussi quelque chose à ces antécédents culturels et spirituels.

158. Seuls des esprits confus pour lesquels l'histoire doit être arbitrairement simplifiée peuvent prétendre tracer aujourd'hui tel ou tel périmètre qui marquerait les limites d'une autorité exclusive. Nous récusons leurs prétentions au nom de l'histoire et au nom des vertus spirituelles de nos peuples. Et nous regrettons qu'un pays respectueux du droit comme le Maroc, avec lequel nous maintenons des relations cordiales, laisse les discussions de frontières qui sont en cours pour se lancer dans cette voie en se souciant fort peu des exigences de la Charte des Nations Unies, et encore moins des impératifs de la justice et du droit, allant jusqu'à mettre en question deux vieilles villes espagnoles qui s'honorent grandement d'appartenir à notre pays. Quand viendra-t-on, alors, réclamer Guadalajara, qui a un nom musulman, ou s'établir sur les rives du Guadalquivir, qui est aussi un nom musulman, ou en d'autres lieux encore? Allons-nous convertir l'histoire du monde en une véritable histoire de fous? Allons-nous transformer les historiens et les politiciens pour en faire de ces généalogistes sans conscience qui, pour de l'argent, trouvaient à de riches clients une parenté flatteuse, par exemple avec Napoléon Bonaparte ou avec les empereurs de Constantinople? Bien des membres de cette assemblée, qui appartiennent à des civilisations différentes, n'ont sans doute jamais entendu parler d'une chose pareille, mais tel n'est pas notre cas, à nous qui représentons de vieux pays. En vérité, il faut une limite à ce genre de débat.

159. Ma délégation regrette encore plus vivement que la question actuelle ait été soulevée par un pays comme le Maroc, qui nous avait donné tant de preuves d'amitié. Nous avons un passé commun et nous avons traversé ensemble bien des épreuves. Pour notre part, celles-ci n'ont fait qu'augmenter notre admiration pour l'héroïsme que les Marocains ont manifesté sur les champs de bataille. Le Maroc n'oubliait pas à quel point l'Espagne a facilité son rétablissement en qualité de puissance libre. On l'a entendu dire plus d'une fois par certains de ses représentants. Mais je n'en veux pour preuve que ces paroles du prince héritier Moulay Hassan, lors de sa visite à Tétouan, le 17 juin 1956:

"Le Maroc — a dit le prince — avec tous ses hommes et toutes ses femmes, ses vieillards et ses enfants, n'oubliera jamais l'œuvre accomplie par l'Espagne et les services si importants que ce pays a rendus à S. M. le sultan du Maroc dans les moments difficiles où la justice était foulée aux pieds et où la persécution se déchaînait.

"En reconnaissant cette œuvre, je ne fais rien de plus que porter témoignage à la noblesse et à la fidélité du peuple espagnol, et jeter les bases de l'attachement sincère et des sentiments d'amitié profonde qui ont toujours uni le Maroc et l'Espagne, pour le plus grand bien des deux pays."

Et pour terminer, le prince concluait: "Vive l'Espagne! Vive le Maroc!"

160. Je pourrais citer d'autres textes dans le même sens et j'ai moi-même entendu de dignes représentants de ce pays ami s'exprimer dans ces mêmes termes à propos de l'Espagne. De là ma stupeur et la protestation que je formule devant cette attitude si étrangère à l'usage habituellement suivi dans nos débats. Est-ce là une manifestation de la maladie "probolchevique" qui a pu frapper temporairement nos amis et, sous tant d'aspects, nos frères du Maroc? Cela se peut, et je ne me sens pas assez de force pour la critiquer. La tentation est facile et beaucoup de pays honnêtes y cèdent, mais ils risquent de s'en repentir plus tard. Ceci reste un des traits particuliers de ce mal appelé colonialisme. Je n'avais pas l'intention d'intervenir dans le cadre de ce débat sur le colonialisme; si je l'ai fait, c'est précisément parce que nous avons des intérêts extrêmement limités en Afrique. Nous sommes, en ce qui concerne l'aspect colonial, un infime pays. Nous pourrions dire, parodiant un vers français célèbre: "Au banquet de l'Afrique, infortuné convive".

161. Nous n'avons eu qu'une très minime et très lointaine participation à la grande entreprise coloniale du XIX^{ème} siècle, si discutée et si discutable. Mais cela ne nous empêche pas d'envisager ce problème avec émotion et désintéressement; cela ne nous empêche pas d'écouter les interventions soviétiques — telles que celle que nous venons d'entendre — qui dénotent sans aucun doute une réelle et profonde angoisse en ce qui concerne la liberté et les souffrances des peuples — et qui sait si cela n'est pas un commencement de réflexion, pour ne pas dire de repentir! Devant un spectacle aussi inconcevable, nous ne nous désintéressons pas du problème fondamental que l'on appelle le colonialisme.

162. On ne peut nier qu'il y ait eu fréquemment des sévices, des persécutions, des injustices au cours de nos relations. Nos frères de l'Amérique centrale et de l'Amérique du Sud ont exposé ici avec les réserves et les commentaires profondément intelligents inspirés par l'histoire, et bien faits pour soulever notre émotion, le problème colonial, ses difficultés et, en même temps, les réalisations splendides de l'Espagne. En Afrique, nous n'avons pas de passé colonial, nous sommes intervenus très rarement. Mais cela n'altère pas notre conviction profonde, et c'est ce désintéressement qui nous amène non seulement à divulguer ce que nous avons fait, mais à réfléchir et à voter sur les problèmes africains avec un profond respect pour ces pays, avec le désir de voir à tout moment leurs aspirations légitimes réalisées de plein droit.

163. Je me suis permis de citer, pendant la discussion générale [886ème séance], les textes de grands juristes espagnols du XVIème siècle qui, à l'heure de la découverte de l'Amérique, reconnurent les droits des peuples primitifs de ce continent et se refusèrent à accorder des droits de tutelle et d'asservissement qui n'étaient pas fondés sur le droit. M. Belaúnde, lui aussi, a fait allusion à ces textes au cours des débats. C'est donc dans le même esprit que nous avons suivi cette discussion. C'est dans cet esprit que nous voterons avec les réserves nécessaires sur les phrases qui ne sont peut-être pas tout à fait conformes à l'esprit de la Charte des Nations Unies; mais cette décision n'a rien à voir avec une atteinte à la souveraineté de l'Espagne, semblable à celle que nous avons le sentiment profond de dénoncer en ce moment.

164. Le PRESIDENT (traduit de l'espagnol): Je donne la parole au représentant du Danemark pour une explication de vote.

165. M. CHRISTIANSEN (Danemark) [traduit de l'anglais]: Le peuple du Danemark a accueilli avec ferveur le mouvement de libération du colonialisme et l'accession à l'indépendance de nouveaux pays, faits qui sont caractéristiques de notre époque. C'est un bienfait sans réserve pour l'humanité que, dans les années qui ont suivi la seconde guerre mondiale, la tendance à la libération des peuples non autonomes se soit fortement accélérée.

166. Je voudrais dès maintenant complimenter en particulier le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni qui, dans les années qui ont suivi immédiatement la guerre, a donné le signal de ce nouveau progrès en accordant l'indépendance à l'Inde et à d'autres pays faisant partie de l'Empire britannique.

167. Nous avons été témoins, ces dernières années, de progrès rapides et importants à cet égard, tout spécialement en Afrique. Tous les amis du progrès et de la liberté accueillent la libération de l'Afrique comme une autre victoire de l'idéal élevé selon lequel tous les peuples ont le droit de jouir d'une indépendance et d'une liberté complètes. Nous avons essayé au Danemark de nous conformer à cet idéal que nous chérissons profondément.

168. A cet égard, j'aimerais souligner la façon dont les relations entre l'Islande et le Danemark ont été réglées, en plein accord entre les deux pays, tout d'abord en 1918 puis en 1944. Je n'ai qu'à me référer aux déclarations très cordiales faites ici, au cours de ce débat, par le représentant de l'Islande. Il existe entre le peuple de l'Islande et le peuple du Danemark une amitié très étroite, et les liens entre nos deux pays ne cessent de se resserrer.

169. Je voudrais en outre mentionner la réorganisation de nos liens avec le Groenland, qui a eu lieu en 1953 avec l'approbation de l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Le 22 novembre 1954, l'Assemblée générale des Nations Unies a adopté une résolution reconnaissant que la population du Groenland avait exprimé librement sa volonté et avait été mise sur un pied d'égalité avec les autres parties du royaume de Danemark [résolution 849 (IX)]. Puis-je ajouter que cette réorganisation s'est révélée heureuse, satisfaisante à la fois pour la population du Groenland et pour la population du Danemark dans son ensemble? Cela ne veut pas dire que tous les problèmes aient été résolus. Mais des progrès ont été accomplis et continuent de s'accomplir. La dernière mesure impor-

tante dans ce domaine mérite d'être mentionnée: lorsque le Gouvernement danois a été remanié après les élections générales de novembre dernier, un membre du Parlement élu par la population du Groenland a été appelé à faire partie du Cabinet.

170. Cela étant, on comprendra facilement que le Danemark appuie de tout cœur l'adoption par l'Organisation des Nations Unies d'une déclaration soulignant la nécessité de mettre fin rapidement au colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations.

171. Nous appuyons le projet de résolution présenté par un grand nombre de pays d'Asie et d'Afrique [A/L.323 et Add.1 à 6]. A notre avis, ce texte traite de la question beaucoup mieux que le projet de résolution du Honduras [A/L.324/Rev.2] et que celui de l'Union soviétique [A/4502].

172. Le projet de résolution des pays d'Asie et d'Afrique a certes sa valeur; mais nous aurions toutefois préféré une rédaction différente pour certains passages. Je prends par exemple le passage suivant:

"Convaincue que le maintien du colonialisme empêche le développement de la coopération économique internationale, entrave le développement social, culturel et économique des peuples dépendants et va à l'encontre de l'idéal de paix universelle des Nations Unies".

173. On ne saurait dire que cela constitue une analyse vraiment exacte du colonialisme. Il y a eu assurément des cas où le colonialisme n'a pas empêché le développement dont il est question. Mais, malheureusement, il y a eu d'autres cas où ce développement a été entravé par le colonialisme. Nous constatons que ce passage du projet de résolution n'est pas tout à fait exact, car il généralise trop.

174. Il y a d'autres points sur lesquels je voudrais attirer votre attention, notamment le paragraphe 3 où nous lisons ce qui suit:

"3. Le manque de préparation dans les domaines politique, économique ou social ou dans celui de l'enseignement ne doit jamais être pris comme prétexte pour retarder l'indépendance."

Cette rédaction n'est pas tout à fait claire, bien qu'il ne puisse y avoir de doute, semble-t-il, quant au sens réel de ce texte. Mais ne serait-il pas correct de l'interpréter comme suit: les puissances coloniales ne devront pas pouvoir empêcher l'accession à l'indépendance en insistant sur le manque de préparation dans les domaines politique, économique ou social ou dans celui de l'enseignement, manque de préparation dont elles seraient probablement elles-mêmes responsables?

175. Ceci concerne sans doute un problème qu'on ne saurait négliger; ce serait manquer du sens des réalités que de maintenir que le passage immédiat à l'indépendance sera toujours plus avantageux pour la population qu'une transition graduelle, quel que soit le degré de développement atteint par la population. C'est un problème extrêmement important et auquel il est très difficile de trouver une solution juste et équitable.

176. Si nous regardons ce qui s'est passé en Afrique, au cours de ces dernières années, nous constaterons que nombreux sont ceux qui diront, en ce qui concerne un certain territoire, que l'accession à l'indépendance

s'est produite à un moment où elle n'avait pas été préparée comme elle aurait dû l'être. Beaucoup d'autres cependant pourront soutenir que, dans certains cas, des délais apportés à l'établissement de l'indépendance ont provoqué des difficultés majeures. Il y a lieu aussi de tenir compte du fait que les dirigeants d'un territoire — voire d'un groupe ethnique — pourront penser que les pays non autonomes n'ont pas encore atteint une maturité suffisante. Cependant, il est indiqué de façon explicite dans le projet de déclaration que cet argument ne doit pas être utilisé comme un prétexte, ce qui, à notre avis, signifie qu'il peut y avoir des cas où le manque de préparation peut justifier la remise à plus tard de l'indépendance, jusqu'à ce que les conditions se soient améliorées.

177. Pour conclure, puis-je dire qu'il ne serait que juste de présumer que les peuples qui veulent accéder à la liberté ont hâte d'y parvenir et qu'il ne devrait pas être possible de les en empêcher sous des prétextes plus ou moins artificiels? Voici la façon dont je poserais le problème: mieux vaut obtenir la liberté et l'indépendance trop tôt que trop tard. Mais en insistant très énergiquement sur cette volonté nous ne devons pas négliger le problème qui se pose à nous. Il y a lieu de tenir compte d'un aspect particulier. Si tous ceux qui préconisent la libération des peuples autrefois non autonomes invoquent les idéaux et les principes démocratiques pour atteindre cet objectif, il serait regrettable que certains groupes, dans les pays nouvellement indépendants, en viennent à exploiter le manque de préparation des populations, afin d'introduire non pas un régime démocratique, mais une dictature qui, en fait, retarderait et empêcherait le progrès économique, politique et social nécessaire à ces pays.

178. Les commentaires que je viens de faire sur le paragraphe 3 s'appliquent également au paragraphe 5, ainsi libellé:

"5. Des mesures immédiates seront prises, dans les territoires sous tutelle, les territoires non autonomes et tous autres territoires qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance, pour transférer tous pouvoirs aux peuples de ces territoires, sans aucune condition ni réserve, conformément à leur volonté et à leurs vœux librement exprimés, sans aucune distinction de race, de croyance ou de couleur, afin de leur permettre de jouir d'une indépendance et d'une liberté complètes."

D'après les déclarations faites par les auteurs de la résolution, il semble donc admis que le sens des mots "des mesures immédiates seront prises" est que nous poursuivrons notre marche vers l'objectif envisagé sans nous laisser arrêter par des obstacles inutiles, ce qui est conforme aux vues que je viens d'exprimer.

179. Les critiques que nous avons élevées à l'encontre de certains passages du projet de résolution ne nous empêcheront cependant pas de voter en faveur du texte dont nous sommes saisis, surtout parce qu'il contient l'expression de principes fort importants. A ce sujet, je pense par exemple au passage suivant:

"Convaincue que tous les peuples ont un droit inaliénable à la pleine liberté, à l'exercice de leur souveraineté et à l'intégrité de leur territoire national".

Peut-être pourrait-on trouver un libellé plus satisfaisant. Nous l'interprétons cependant comme une promesse faite à toutes les nations.

180. Dans des résolutions antérieures on avait mentionné les continents par leur nom, mais on avait omis de citer l'Europe, dont les peuples ont, bien entendu, le même droit à la liberté et à l'indépendance que les autres. Je considère que la rédaction est bonne dans la mesure où elle indique que tous les peuples ont droit à la liberté complète, et qu'il n'y a pas de limites à leur liberté et à leur souveraineté dans certaines parties du monde.

181. Nous savons qu'il existe des formes diverses, et nombreuses d'oppression exercée sur des peuples ou des groupes ethniques. Je sais qu'au cours de notre discussion sur cette question, de nombreux représentants, dans cette salle, ont été combattus par des représentants de diverses parties du monde qui sont venus se plaindre de l'absence de liberté dont souffrait leur pays. Le présent projet de résolution devrait encourager les forces démocratiques qui s'exercent en faveur de la libération des peuples opprimés, et cela par des moyens pacifiques. Nombre de nations qui sont maintenant opprimées peuvent aujourd'hui penser que l'horizon est sombre. Cependant, elles n'abandonneront pas tout espoir. Ce projet de résolution, sans aucun doute, justifiera et renforcera leur foi en l'avenir. Nous devons nous féliciter de l'existence de l'Organisation des Nations Unies. A mon avis, le rôle le plus important qu'ait joué l'Organisation a consisté à aider pacifiquement tant de peuples à atteindre la liberté et l'indépendance. Nous espérons que face à notre organisation toutes les nations, sans distinction de race, de couleur et de situation géographique, pourront accéder par des moyens pacifiques à l'indépendance et à la liberté auxquelles tous les peuples ont un droit absolu.

182. C'est dans cet esprit que le Danemark votera en faveur du projet de résolution présenté par les pays d'Afrique et d'Asie.

183. Le PRESIDENT (traduit de l'espagnol): Je donne maintenant la parole au représentant de l'Autriche qui désire expliquer son vote.

184. M. MATSCH (Autriche) [traduit de l'anglais]: Je suis très reconnaissant au Président de m'avoir donné la parole afin d'expliquer brièvement la position de ma délégation.

185. Nous avons assisté à un débat des plus intéressants, institué à l'initiative de la délégation soviétique à qui vont tous nos remerciements. Ma délégation votera en faveur du projet de résolution déposé par 43 délégations d'Asie et d'Afrique [A/L.323 et Add.1 à 6]. Ces délégations plaident leur propre cause; c'est une cause juste, que nous sommes heureux de pouvoir appuyer.

186. Mon pays n'a jamais été ce que l'on qualifie aujourd'hui de puissance coloniale. L'ancien Empire d'Autriche ne possédait pas non plus de colonies, c'est là un fait bien connu. Nous n'avons donc aucune connaissance directe de la situation existant dans les colonies et nous n'avons donc pas pris part aux débats. Mais le peuple autrichien, au nom duquel j'ai l'honneur de parler aujourd'hui, a toujours éprouvé de la sympathie pour les nations qui ne possédaient pas une liberté complète. Nous nous sommes donc réjouis de voir accéder à l'indépendance après la seconde guerre mondiale de nombreuses nations, grandes et petites, et nous avons toujours été heureux d'établir avec ces nations des rapports cordiaux et permanents. Nous connaissons d'expérience la valeur

de la liberté, car nous en avons été privés pendant 17 longues années et je crois que l'on n'apprécie jamais tant une chose que lorsqu'on l'a perdue.

187. Qui plus est, nous croyons que la liberté, comme la paix, est indivisible. Nous pensons que, tant qu'il y aura des peuples et des pays qui n'auront pas obtenu leur liberté, nous craindrons pour la nôtre. Permettez-moi d'ajouter en passant que, dans mon pays, on estime que ce principe élevé ne s'applique pas seulement aux nations et aux peuples, mais qu'il s'applique aussi à l'individu. Aussi longtemps que la liberté de l'individu et la primauté du droit n'auront pas été solidement établies dans tous les pays, la liberté de l'homme, de la femme, de l'enfant, où que ce soit, sera en danger.

188. C'est la raison pour laquelle nous voterons en faveur du projet de résolution sous sa forme actuelle. Pour être tout à fait francs, nous devons cependant reconnaître que nous éprouvons certaines appréhensions quant à l'opportunité de quelques expressions employées dans la déclaration, à certaines revendications et à certaines procédures envisagées. Etant donné les idéaux élevés de liberté et d'égalité pour tous

les hommes qui constituent le fondement de la déclaration, nous avons cependant estimé que ces considérations ne devaient pas nous empêcher d'appuyer pleinement le projet.

189. Je voudrais saisir cette occasion pour présenter une autre observation. En votant en faveur de cette déclaration, nous ne voulons pas simplement rendre un hommage du bout des lèvres à la cause de la liberté des peuples encore asservis au joug colonial; nous voulons leur affirmer que nous appuierons de toutes nos forces toutes les mesures destinées à affermir leur indépendance politique et économique, car nous croyons sincèrement que l'une ne peut aller sans l'autre. Les autorités autrichiennes étudient maintenant à fond les divers moyens d'établir une coopération économique active avec les nouveaux Etats indépendants. Nous comprenons l'urgence qu'il y a pour eux à établir des programmes économiques et nous estimons qu'ils ont raison de réclamer une haute priorité. Nous sommes convaincus qu'à leur tour ces pays contribueront activement à notre objectif commun, à savoir le maintien de la paix.

La séance est levée à 18 h 30.



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Président: M. Frederick H. BOLAND (Irlande).

POINT 87 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance
aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux (suite)

1. Le **PRESIDENT** (traduit de l'anglais): Je donne la parole au représentant d'Israël, qui désire exercer son droit de réponse.

2. **M. COMAY** (Israël) [traduit de l'anglais]: Au début de ce débat, plusieurs orateurs arabes ont tenté de faire état des divergences qui, malheureusement, séparent encore Israël et les Etats arabes. Dans la déclaration qu'elle a faite devant l'Assemblée le 2 décembre [933^{ème} séance], ma délégation s'est délibérément abstenue de riposter à ces attaques, et elle n'y a même fait aucune allusion. Nous avons estimé que l'objet des présents débats constituait un si grave sujet de préoccupation pour le monde entier, et en particulier pour les nouveaux Etats et pour les peuples encore asservis, que nous devions ne tenir aucun compte des tentatives faites pour exploiter la question à des fins de propagande. Malheureusement, notre modération n'a pas trouvé de contrepartie. Je voudrais revenir en particulier sur la déclaration faite le 6 décembre [937^{ème} séance] par le représentant du Liban qui, en tentant de jeter le discrédit sur un autre Etat Membre de l'ONU, s'est livré à l'une des attaques les plus offensantes que l'on ait jamais entendues à cette tribune. Ma délégation se voit obligée d'exercer brièvement son droit de réponse. Nous le ferons à propos des trois points qui ont été soulevés, même si nous estimons qu'aucun d'entre eux ne relève véritablement de la question actuellement soumise à l'Assemblée.

3. Tout d'abord, nous dénonçons comme dénuée de tout fondement moral, et comme un non-sens historique, sa tentative pour ramener le sionisme à une entreprise colonialiste. Le sionisme est l'un des mouvements nationaux les plus nobles, les plus émouvants, les plus constructifs de l'histoire de l'humanité. Il est rattaché par des liens uniques et indissolubles à un passé vieux de plus de 4.000 ans qui rattache le peuple juif à la Palestine. Aucun Juif ne pourrait se sentir étranger en Israël, car il n'y a pas un mètre carré de ce pays qui ne soit sanctifié par les reliques de ses ancêtres des temps bibliques. C'est là que le génie moral et spirituel de notre peuple a donné naissance au judaïsme, qui a été également la source de la religion chrétienne. C'est là que notre peuple a connu

l'indépendance nationale, qu'il l'a perdue, regagnée, puis reperdue dans sa lutte perpétuelle contre les grands empires coloniaux de l'époque. Le lien vital qui unit le peuple juif à la terre d'Israël est l'essence même de son histoire longue et souvent tragique.

4. A l'époque moderne, dispersé par les forces jumelles du nationalisme et de la persécution, notre peuple a rêvé de reconstruire son ancienne patrie, et c'est pour réaliser son idéal qu'il a organisé le mouvement sioniste, en tentant de lui gagner la compréhension des autres nations, en faisant œuvre de pionnier sur ce qui n'était plus qu'un coin arriéré de l'empire ottoman. Cette idée fut tout d'abord appuyée par le Royaume-Uni — et nous lui en sommes très reconnaissants — et la notion d'un Foyer national juif fut expressément inscrite dans les termes du Mandat de la Société des Nations sur la Palestine. Mais, en définitive, Israël a dû conquérir son indépendance au prix d'une lutte difficile contre la domination britannique, puis il a dû combattre à nouveau pour résister à l'invasion des armées arabes. Nous sommes prêts, aujourd'hui, comme nous l'avons toujours été, à vivre en paix avec nos voisins. Mais nous ne permettons pas que la nature du mouvement sioniste soit déformée pour servir des visées démagogiques.

5. On brandit cette étiquette de "colonialisme" dans le dessein d'influencer d'autres nouveaux Etats d'Asie et d'Afrique qui ont des rapports avec Israël. Dans la déclaration qu'elle a faite le 17 octobre, au cours de la discussion générale, Mme Meir, ministre des affaires étrangères d'Israël, a répondu sur ce point dans les termes suivants:

"Nous savons que cette accusation est absurde. Les Arabes le savent aussi et, ce qui est plus important, les Africains le savent. Les dirigeants des pays d'Afrique ne vont pas se laisser épouvanter par des slogans stupides. On peut être sûr qu'ils jugeront leurs relations avec les autres pays d'après l'attitude adoptée par ces pays vis-à-vis d'eux, et non d'après des discours de propagande prononcés à New York" [907^{ème} séance, par. 87.]

6. Ce n'est pas Israël, mais ce sont certains autres Etats se prétendant les frères des peuples d'Afrique, qui, en réalité, s'immiscent dans leurs affaires et se font le cheval de Troie d'impérialismes nouveaux en Afrique. Quant à savoir quels sont ces Etats, les populations d'Afrique en jugeront elles-mêmes, d'après l'expérience que leur continent est en train de faire.

7. En second lieu, le représentant du Liban a versé des larmes de crocodile sur le traitement réservé aux citoyens arabes en Israël — ils sont au nombre de 250.000 — tant musulmans que chrétiens. Ici encore, je voudrais me reporter à la déclaration que Mme Meir, ministre des affaires étrangères d'Israël, a faite le 17 octobre, au cours de laquelle elle a souligné une fois de plus que les Arabes d'Israël jouissent exactement des mêmes droits politiques que les Juifs d'Israël;

que leur situation économique, sociale et culturelle s'est améliorée rapidement depuis la création de l'Etat d'Israël et que "aucun Etat arabe ne peut prétendre avoir fait accéder la masse de sa population à un niveau de vie qui soutienne la comparaison avec celui des Arabes d'Israël" [Ibid., par. 83.] Notre pays est ouvert au monde entier. Chacun est libre de s'y rendre et de vérifier ces faits de ses propres yeux. Des dizaines de milliers de visiteurs l'ont constaté; leurs impressions ont été enregistrées: elles réfutent les calomnies qui ont été répétées ici.

8. En troisième lieu, et pour terminer, le représentant du Liban a eu l'impudence d'insinuer qu'Israël était l'un des deux pays où subsistent des vestiges de l'esclavage. Cette accusation est trop sotte pour être prise au sérieux. La Constitution et le mode de vie d'Israël garantissent l'égalité et la liberté à tous les citoyens, sans distinction de race, de sexe ou de religion. Mais, si je représentais un pays arabe, j'hésiterais beaucoup à soulever la question de l'esclavage dans le cadre d'un débat sur le colonialisme. Le représentant du Liban pense-t-il que les peuples d'Afrique ont oublié les activités sinistres auxquelles les marchands d'esclaves arabes se sont livrés sur leur continent? Croit-ils qu'ils ignorent l'existence, au Moyen-Orient, de pays arabes où l'on achète et l'on vend encore des hommes, des femmes, des enfants africains, et en particulier des jeunes filles, comme s'ils étaient du bétail? S'il ignore lui-même ces faits, je lui conseille de lire les nombreux rapports qui ont été publiés ces dernières années sur la question, notamment ceux de la Société antiesclavagiste.

9. C'est à contrecœur que ma délégation est intervenue à nouveau dans ce débat; elle n'a nullement le désir d'engager une controverse sur ces questions. Mais il ne faut pas que l'on puisse croire que le représentant de n'importe quel Etat arabe peut impunément utiliser la tribune de l'ONU pour salir l'Etat d'Israël.

10. Le PRESIDENT (traduit de l'anglais): Un certain nombre de délégations ont demandé la parole pour expliquer leur vote avant que nous ne procédions au scrutin. Je me propose de leur donner la parole dans l'ordre où elles se sont inscrites. Je donnerai la parole en premier lieu au représentant de la Suède.

11. Mme ROSSEL (Suède) [traduit de l'anglais]: La délégation suédoise votera en faveur du projet de déclaration présenté par les pays d'Afrique et d'Asie qui figure dans les documents A/L.323 et Add.1 à 6. Nous estimons en effet que ce texte est parfaitement conforme à l'esprit des dispositions de la Charte qui ont trait à l'autodétermination, à l'autonomie et à l'indépendance nationale. Le gouvernement et le peuple suédois ont suivi avec un intérêt soutenu et avec la plus vive sympathie le processus historique grâce auquel la grande majorité des peuples autrefois non autonomes jouissent désormais de cet immense bienfait qu'est la liberté nationale. Si elle contribue à maintenir le désir de liberté vivace dans l'esprit des hommes du monde entier, la déclaration aura servi un but utile.

12. Bien qu'elle ait adopté cette attitude, ma délégation n'est pas absolument satisfaite des termes de certains passages du projet de résolution. En fait, plusieurs de ses paragraphes nous semblent laisser place à plusieurs interprétations, alors que d'autres, à notre avis, sont trop catégoriques ou trop rigides.

Permettez-moi de citer quelques exemples qui illustreront ma pensée.

13. Le dernier alinéa du préambule du projet de résolution dispose que "tous les peuples ont un droit inaliénable à la pleine liberté, à l'exercice de leur souveraineté et à l'intégrité de leur territoire national". Dans la pratique, l'application de ce principe inattaquable pourrait prêter à controverse. Nous nous rappelons tous comment, au cours du récent débat que la Première Commission a consacré au problème de la Mauritanie, des divergences d'opinions se sont manifestées, même parmi les pays qui appuient le projet de déclaration actuel, sur la façon dont ce principe devait être mis en œuvre dans le cas particulier.

14. Le même principe est énoncé au paragraphe 2 du projet de déclaration, qui stipule que "tous les peuples ont le droit de libre détermination". Il est permis de se demander, par exemple, si en pratique les provinces de la République du Congo (Léopoldville) pourraient invoquer ce principe pour revendiquer le droit de se séparer d'autres parties de la République. Ou faudrait-il appliquer en l'occurrence un autre paragraphe du projet de déclaration, à savoir le paragraphe 6, qui condamne "toute tentative visant à détruire partiellement ou totalement l'unité nationale et l'intégrité territoriale d'un pays"?

15. Le texte du projet nous amène à formuler une autre observation. Dans certaines parties du monde, il y a des territoires non-autonomes qui sont trop petits et trop isolés pour pouvoir exister en tant qu'Etats indépendants. De même, il semble à ma délégation que nous ne devons pas oublier les graves difficultés auxquelles la population d'un territoire qui passerait trop rapidement du régime colonial à l'indépendance risquerait de se trouver exposée. Une période de transition peut être nécessaire.

16. Les observations que je viens de présenter ne nous empêchent pas d'appuyer le projet de déclaration. Nous estimons qu'il énonce des objectifs généraux et ne constitue pas un acte législatif qui imposerait aux Etats Membres des obligations juridiques immédiates et qui serait destiné à être appliqué à la lettre. L'Assemblée générale n'est pas habilitée à adopter des actes législatifs qui lient les Etats Membres. Du point de vue juridique, le projet de déclaration est donc, semble-t-il, de la même nature que la Déclaration universelle des droits de l'homme.

17. En comparant les deux déclarations, il convient peut-être de souligner que, si les buts de la première, qui sont d'assurer le respect des droits de l'homme dans le monde entier, sont encore bien loin d'être atteints, les objectifs de la déclaration que nous avons sous les yeux — qui sont de garantir le droit des peuples à l'indépendance nationale — ont déjà été largement atteints en ce qui concerne les anciens empires coloniaux. Sans vouloir diminuer l'importance de cette nouvelle déclaration, on ne peut manquer de conclure qu'elle n'aura un rôle ni aussi constructif ni aussi instructif que la Déclaration universelle des droits de l'homme qui, depuis son adoption en 1948, a incontestablement servi de modèle à de nombreux pays qui s'en sont utilement inspirés pour élaborer leur législation, en même temps qu'elle n'a cessé de leur rappeler certains nobles principes que l'on se pique plus souvent de violer que de respecter.

18. Compte tenu des observations que je viens de présenter, la délégation suédoise est disposée, je l'ai déjà dit, à voter en faveur de l'ensemble du projet de résolution présenté par les pays d'Asie et d'Afrique, tel qu'il se présente sous sa forme actuelle, et elle votera contre d'autres projets de résolution et amendements qui seraient éventuellement présentés.

19. M. AUGUSTE (Haïti): Le problème du colonialisme est le grand procès qui tient à cette session l'affiche internationale, avec une avalanche de littérature et une cascade de mots qui font souvent penser à la fièvre avec laquelle ont été discutées les non moins importantes questions du désarmement et du sous-développement. En principe, le colonialisme tel que nous l'avons connu dans le passé, essayant de se justifier par des théories fausses, erronées, sophistiques, pour légitimer la domination d'une puissance sur une autre et élever à la hauteur d'un dogme les privilèges et les prérogatives que s'étaient attribués certaines races réputées supérieures, a irrémédiablement et incontestablement vécu.

20. Il ne peut pas davantage continuer à s'instituer en système économique ou politique-économique, c'est-à-dire en espèce de zone réservée à la métropole et lui assurant un marché à l'abri de toute concurrence, de toute compétition pour la pleine expansion de son commerce extérieur. Les hommes et le temps se sont chargés de liquider cette forme de l'exploitation de l'homme par l'homme, accompagnée par moments d'épisodes qui ne font pas honneur à ceux qui ont posé le problème absurde de l'inégalité des races.

21. Mais je m'en voudrais, quand on parle de cet épineux problème, de ne pas inclure les Nations Unies, ce grand carrefour qui se prête depuis 15 ans à d'heureuses rencontres entre les peuples, à cette espèce de brassage de l'humanité et qui a peut-être accéléré la roue de l'histoire dans l'autre sens.

22. Mais les idées en général, bonnes ou mauvaises, ont la vie dure. Ceux qui, au souvenir de leurs lectures, se rappellent les pages à caractère scientifique que leur ont consacrées de grands maîtres connaissent le long processus de leur développement, autant que leur autorité et leur puissance, quand elles se perdent dans notre subconscient. On pourrait comparer les idées à un arbre aux racines multiples et vivaces. Se contenter d'abattre le tronc sans le déraciner ne fait quelquefois que retarder son épanouissement.

23. Tous ceux qui, dans un passé lointain ou récent, ont pâti du colonialisme le savent. Il convient donc que l'on prenne des mesures pour prévenir son retour, non plus sous la forme impossible du passé, mais sous la forme empressée, éminemment dangereuse, oui dangereuse au possible, ajouterai-je, parce que plein de malice, d'astuce, de roueries, tel qu'il se présente dans le monde d'aujourd'hui, à la manière du loup devenu berger.

24. J'avoue que ce sont les réflexions que ce fils authentique de la République d'Haïti n'a pu s'empêcher de se faire en écoutant les charges de certains ministères publics d'occasion, démasquant dans ses cachettes le néo-colonialisme qui ferait dire à Alfred de Musset s'il était parmi nous — oui, Musset, le délicieux poète de ces Nuits immortelles que nous avons tous chantées jadis: "Mais tout cela vous ressemble comme un frère."

25. La lutte contre ce colonialisme d'un nouveau genre, d'une nouvelle forme ou structure, doit être notre constant souci et nous devons la mener quelque soit l'endroit où il s'installe.

26. Je confesse que je le redoute autant que son frère aîné qui a fait tant de mal à mes ancêtres et aux hommes de ma race. Mais plus pernicieux et plein d'astuce, parce que loup et berger à la fois, il gagne de nos jours les naïfs en leur offrant, non plus des présents d'or comme au temps jadis, mais quelque chose de plus subtil; et c'est la magie et la séduction des promesses de la nouvelle organisation du monde de demain, assurant le bien-être et la dignité à tous les hommes, pour que cessent les inégalités économiques dont ils ont été trop longtemps victimes.

27. Détruire le colonialisme pour voir s'y substituer un autre — convenons qu'il s'appelle néo-colonialisme — serait à désespérer des leçons de l'histoire, de l'expérience, de l'intelligence humaine, et même du besoin de liberté et d'indépendance de tous ceux qui en ont été si longtemps privés, tellement cela ressemble à un "ôte-toi de là que je m'y mette".

28. Ma délégation félicite tous ceux qui ont fait montre d'une si claire vision du danger que représente le néo-colonialisme sous toutes ses formes. Fidèle à l'anticolonialisme du grand Dessalines, qui fonda la nation haïtienne, fidèle aussi à la ligne politique du Père de la République dans mon pays, l'illustre Alexandre Petion qui, épris dès 1811 des mêmes grands sentiments et du haut idéal qui nous animent tous aujourd'hui, aida Bolívar dans sa lutte de libération contre la domination espagnole, ma délégation, héritière du testament politique de ces deux géants de l'histoire de mon pays, votera en faveur de tout projet de résolution qui condamne le colonialisme, réclame indépendance et liberté pour les uns en même temps qu'il vise aux moyens de protéger les autres, en prévenant l'instauration de par le monde de tout néo-colonialisme quel qu'il soit.

29. M. PAZHAK (Afghanistan) [traduit de l'anglais]: J'ai demandé la parole pour expliquer mon vote sur les divers projets de résolution déposés devant l'Assemblée. Mon intervention d'aujourd'hui reflétera la déclaration que j'ai déjà faite au cours de la discussion générale [935ème séance], et dans laquelle j'ai exposé les vues de ma délégation sur les principes que nous respectons et qui inspirent notre attitude à l'égard de toute décision que l'Assemblée sera appelée à prendre sur ce point. Nous sommes parmi les auteurs de l'un des projets de résolution [A/L.323 et Add.1 à 6], et nous avons expliqué pourquoi nous le présentons. Mes explications porteront donc sur les autres projets de résolution, auxquels nous n'avons pris aucune part.

30. Pour ce qui est du projet de résolution présenté par le Honduras [A/L.324/Rev.2], nous espérons que, consciente de la nature de ce projet, cette délégation n'insistera pas pour qu'il soit mis aux voix et le retirera. Si ce projet était mis aux voix, ma délégation se verrait dans l'obligation de voter contre lui. La raison pour laquelle nous sommes hostiles à ce projet est tout d'abord que sa présentation est absolument déplacée au point où en est actuellement l'Assemblée dans l'examen de la question de l'abolition aussi rapide que possible — qui devrait même, à notre avis, être immédiate — du colonialisme et de l'impérialisme sous toutes leurs formes. Nous ne pensons pas qu'il soit d'aucune utilité et nous ne croyons pas que l'As-

semblée doit l'adopter. En conséquence, nous voterons contre ce projet de résolution.

31. En ce qui concerne les amendements [A/L.325] que la délégation du Guatemala propose d'apporter au projet de résolution qui figure dans les documents A/L.323 et Add.1 à 6, nous n'avons pas d'objection de principe à formuler, mais nous estimons que ces amendements font déjà l'objet du paragraphe 6 du projet de déclaration des pays d'Afrique et d'Asie. Nous croyons donc que ces amendements sont superflus, et nous nous abstiendrons lors du vote à leur sujet.

32. L'Union soviétique a soumis deux amendements [A/L.328] au projet de résolution que nous avons présenté conjointement avec d'autres pays. Ces amendements sont utiles et constructifs; aussi ma délégation votera-t-elle en leur faveur. Les propositions qui y figurent sont très simples, mais elles soulignent certains points qui s'imposent particulièrement à notre attention, et c'est la raison pour laquelle nous voterons en leur faveur. Le premier point, c'est qu'en substance le texte reconnaît le droit des représentants autorisés des peuples et des nations à engager des négociations sur la base de l'autodétermination, et c'est là un principe dont nous ne nous sommes jamais départis dans les affaires intéressant les peuples non autonomes. Ensuite, ces amendements fixent un délai, et en cela ils sont conformes au vœu que nous avons exprimé au cours de la discussion générale: que le colonialisme et l'impérialisme soient abolis immédiatement, sous toutes leurs formes et dans toutes leurs manifestations. Enfin, ils insistent sur la nécessité de mettre en œuvre la résolution sur l'abolition du colonialisme; or, tel est le but véritable, et le seul valable, que nous avons toujours eu présent à l'esprit en examinant l'abolition du système colonial.

33. J'en viens maintenant au projet de déclaration déposé par l'Union soviétique [A/4502], que nous avons étudié très soigneusement. Nous aurions préféré que fût mise aux voix la partie essentielle du document, plutôt que la déclaration dans son ensemble. Si la déclaration tout entière est mise aux voix, je voudrais demander au Président de diviser le texte en deux parties qui seront mises aux voix séparément. Nous proposons un vote séparé sur la partie qui commence par ces mots: "... les Etats Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies proclament solennellement les exigences suivantes" et se poursuit par les paragraphes 1, 2 et 3. Le reste du document devrait faire l'objet d'un vote distinct.

34. Lors du vote par division, ma délégation votera sans réserve aucune en faveur de la partie essentielle que je viens de mentionner. Lorsque le reste du document sera mis aux voix, ma délégation l'appuiera, car nous n'avons pas d'objection à formuler à l'égard des principes qui y sont contenus; nous devons cependant expliquer notre vote et préciser qu'en approuvant le reste du document, nous entendons simplement approuver les principes qui y sont énoncés, et encore seulement les principes de nature à contribuer à l'abolition immédiate de l'impérialisme ou du colonialisme.

35. En second lieu, nous tenons à déclarer que, lorsque nous donnons notre appui à cette partie du document, nous savons que la liste des territoires qui y sont expressément mentionnés ne comprend pas tous les territoires ou les peuples qui se trouvent sous une domination étrangère, et qu'elle ne doit pas être

considérée comme complète. Nous entendons par là qu'il ne faudrait en aucun cas limiter l'application de cette déclaration aux territoires et aux peuples qui y ont été mentionnés à titre d'exemple, et que ses dispositions doivent s'appliquer à tous les territoires et à tous les peuples sous domination étrangère, dans quelque partie du monde qu'ils se trouvent, même s'ils ne sont pas mentionnés dans ce texte.

36. Ces deux réserves étant faites, nous tenons à préciser une fois de plus qu'en approuvant ce document nous nous prononçons exclusivement sur les principes qu'il énonce.

37. M. RIFA'I (Jordanie) [traduit de l'anglais]: Je désire expliquer la position de ma délégation à l'égard du projet de déclaration soviétique [A/4502], et des amendements au projet de résolution que nous avons présenté conjointement avec d'autres délégations d'Afrique et d'Asie.

38. Ce projet de résolution des 43 puissances [A/L.323 et Add.1 à 6] est le fruit d'une étude approfondie et de larges consultations. Il a été rédigé de façon à répondre aux aspirations de tous les peuples vers la liberté et l'indépendance, et à rallier le maximum de suffrages à l'Assemblée générale. Nous ne prétendons certes pas qu'il exprime toutes les opinions et tous les vœux correspondant aux désirs des peuples. Ma délégation estime que les amendements soviétiques [A/L.328] et les amendements du Guatemala [A/L.325] reprennent certaines de ces opinions. En acceptant ou en rejetant ces amendements, ma délégation, qui est l'un des auteurs du projet de résolution, désire éviter toute procédure qui risquerait de faire perdre certains appuis à cette résolution. Mais une question de principe se pose en l'occurrence. En ce qui concerne l'amendement soviétique et celui du Guatemala, ma délégation estime devoir faire passer les principes contenus dans chacun d'eux avant les aspects techniques dont j'ai parlé.

39. Les amendements soviétiques énoncent un principe que ma délégation appuie sans réserve; par conséquent, nous voterons en leur faveur. Les amendements du Guatemala établissent le principe du droit des nations à recouvrer leur intégrité territoriale. Ils disposent en outre que:

"Le principe de la libre détermination des peuples ne pourra affecter en aucun cas le droit d'aucun Etat à l'intégrité territoriale et aux revendications territoriales."

Nous connaissons de nombreux cas où l'on a porté atteinte à l'intégrité territoriale d'une nation. L'usurpation d'une partie du territoire arabe de Palestine du fait de l'agression conjointe du sionisme et du colonialisme pose un problème international qui n'a pas encore été résolu. Nous défendons le droit de tous les peuples à recouvrer leur intégrité territoriale et nous voterons donc en faveur des amendements du Guatemala.

40. Nous avons été informés que le projet de déclaration soviétique [A/4502] serait mis aux voix dans son ensemble. Nous sommes disposés à en appuyer la majeure partie, mais nous ne pouvons entériner chacun de ses paragraphes. Dans l'un d'eux il est question de mon pays et dans un autre de la Chine; or, on sait que mon pays reconnaît la Chine nationaliste. Par conséquent, si le projet de déclaration est mis aux voix dans son ensemble, ma délégation ne pourra pas l'appuyer.

41. M. SUCAIR (Arabie Saoudite) [traduit de l'anglais]: Ma délégation votera en faveur du projet de déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux contenus dans le document A/4502. En effet, nous estimons que cette déclaration est conforme aux principes de la Charte des Nations Unies et aux principes des droits de l'homme. Si donc nous votons en faveur de ce projet de déclaration, c'est parce que nous appuyons les principes fondamentaux qu'il consacre. Il ne s'ensuit pas, cependant, que nous souscrivions entièrement à certaines des conclusions ou à des expressions qu'il contient. Il convient de mentionner notamment à ce sujet la question du statut de la Chine nationaliste.

42. M. RAHNEMA (Iran): Ma délégation a déjà eu l'occasion d'exposer en détail sa position, sans équivoque, sur tous les aspects du problème de la liquidation inconditionnelle du régime colonial. Par conséquent, mon explication de vote portera uniquement sur les amendements soviétiques [A/L.328], les amendements du Guatemala [A/L.325] et le projet de résolution présenté par le Honduras [A/L.324/Rev.2]. Ce faisant, je m'efforcerai surtout de répondre à certaines objections que la délégation soviétique a présentées hier [945ème séance] à l'endroit du projet de résolution présenté par les 42 puissances [A/L.323 et Add.1 à 6].

43. La délégation soviétique a considéré que ce projet de résolution manquait de clarté sur certains points et risquait d'être ambigu quant aux interprétations qui pouvaient y être données. Ma délégation, qui a participé assez activement aux travaux de rédaction de ce projet de résolution, estime que tel n'est pas le cas.

44. En effet, j'ai l'impression que les principes que nous avons voulu défendre sont assez clairement exposés. Je concède volontiers à M. Zorine que ces points peuvent prêter à des interprétations différentes. Mais, en toute honnêteté, quel est le texte qui, dans le contexte de ce que nous faisons au sein de cette assemblée, ne pourrait pas prêter à des interprétations différentes? Les interprétations que nous donnons d'un texte doivent toujours être dégagées par la majorité des Membres de cette assemblée et, surtout, par les auteurs du texte soumis. Or, l'interprétation de ce projet de résolution a déjà été amplement effectuée, surtout par les auteurs, qui se sont expliqués à ce sujet et qui, presque tous, l'ont fait assez clairement.

45. En effet, la presque totalité des membres du groupe de pays d'Afrique et d'Asie a interprété ce document comme devant proclamer solennellement la nécessité de mettre fin, rapidement et inconditionnellement, au colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations, la nécessité de ne jamais différer l'indépendance, entre autres sous prétexte du manque de préparation dans les domaines politique, économique, social et autres, et enfin la nécessité que des mesures immédiates soient prises afin de transférer le pouvoir aux peuples des territoires sous tutelle, des territoires non autonomes et de tous autres territoires qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance, sans aucune condition ni réserve, conformément à leur volonté et à leurs vœux librement exprimés, sans aucune distinction de race, de croyance ni de couleur, afin de leur permettre de jouir d'une indépendance et d'une liberté complètes.

46. Nous avons essayé, dans le texte qui vous est soumis, d'exposer aussi clairement que possible les

principes que nous voulions défendre. Mais je dois dire, à l'intention du représentant de l'Union soviétique, que nous n'avons pas voulu, pour des raisons aisément concevables et qui dérivent des conditions particulières à chaque Etat, préciser la nature de l'application de ces principes. Par exemple, la délégation soviétique relève qu'il aurait fallu indiquer une date précise — une date limite — pour l'accession des pays à l'indépendance. En préparant ce texte, nous avons pensé que nous ne devrions pas fixer une date d'une façon arbitraire, mais qu'il fallait simplement mentionner la nécessité de mettre fin rapidement et inconditionnellement au colonialisme. Nous avons estimé que, dans certains cas, il y aurait intérêt à ce que même le transfert du pouvoir ne soit pas effectué immédiatement; car il importait, au préalable, de s'assurer que ce transfert se fît aux représentants véritables des populations, conformément à leur volonté et à leurs vœux librement exprimés. Il fallait aussi laisser une certaine latitude; en effet, certains pays demandent un transfert techniquement immédiat; d'autres demandent une période assez courte pour le transfert du pouvoir. Nous avons donc pensé que, dans une déclaration générale de ce genre, il était préférable de se borner à poser le principe; or, ce principe est clair: c'est le principe de l'indépendance inconditionnelle et rapide, quitte à laisser ensuite l'application de ce principe s'effectuer selon chaque cas particulier par les soins des différentes commissions. Par conséquent, si nous n'avons pas, dans notre projet de résolution, marqué de date, fixé un calendrier précis, cela ne signifie en aucune façon que nous étions opposés à la fixation de ce calendrier et de dates dans certains cas particuliers, ou que nous ayons eu l'intention de différer l'indépendance en quoi que ce soit; cela signifie simplement que nous avons estimé que la fixation d'une date rigide, de la même date pour tous les pays, revêtait un caractère artificiel, ne correspondait pas aux conditions différentes et individuelles de chaque cas particulier.

47. Du reste, il y avait à cet égard des divergences de vues entre nous. Il y avait une délégation, par exemple, qui pensait que cette date devait être immédiate, à savoir 1960 ou 1961; d'autres délégations considéraient qu'il devait s'agir de dates très proches. Comme je viens de l'indiquer, nous avons donc laissé aux diverses commissions qui traitaient les problèmes afférents à chaque cas particulier le soin de déterminer ces dates.

48. Une autre objection de la délégation soviétique portait sur le problème du suffrage universel et des élections. Sur ce point encore, nous avions pensé qu'il fallait éviter de poser un principe rigide, un principe qui, bien qu'incontestable en général, était de nature à soulever certains problèmes particuliers dans le contexte du caractère spécial du développement de chaque Etat luttant pour son indépendance. Certaines délégations pensaient même que, dans quelques cas, l'organisation d'élections au suffrage universel pourrait éventuellement servir de prétexte à différer l'indépendance: d'où la nécessité de poser le principe du transfert de pouvoirs comme nous l'avons indiqué, conformément à la volonté et aux vœux librement exprimés des peuples. Bien entendu, cette volonté peut et doit dans la plupart des cas — je souligne dans la plupart des cas — s'exprimer grâce à l'organisation d'un plébiscite ou d'élections au suffrage universel tenus en bonne et due forme et, de préférence et partout où cela est possible, garantis par la présence et

la surveillance des Nations Unies. Néanmoins, ceci doit, comme je l'ai indiqué tout à l'heure, être fixé pour chaque Etat selon les conditions spéciales du développement de cet Etat.

49. C'est ainsi que, par exemple, nous avons à l'heure actuelle deux projets de résolution sur le Ruanda-Urundi [A/C.4/L.664] et sur le Samoa-Occidental [A/C.4/L.663] dans lesquels on propose d'appliquer ces principes en tenant compte des conditions locales et des conditions particulières à ces territoires. Les commissions intéressées s'en occuperont et feront en sorte que les principes généraux soient appliqués avec le maximum de flexibilité et en tenant compte de la situation particulière à chacun de ces territoires.

50. En ma qualité de membre du groupe qui a rédigé le projet de résolution des 43 puissances, je tiens à donner au représentant de l'Union soviétique l'assurance que nous avons longuement pesé le pour et le contre de chaque phrase, de chaque membre de phrase, de chaque mot. Nous l'avons fait parce que nous n'avons jamais oublié que nous devions élaborer un texte qui se rapproche autant que possible des aspirations générales des peuples des pays d'Afrique et d'Asie — aspirations qu'à notre grande joie le représentant de l'Union soviétique a assuré partager — ainsi que des conditions parfois complexes de la liquidation du régime colonial.

51. Je dois avouer que ce texte n'est pas parfait. Mais, dans un travail collectif de ce genre, lorsqu'il s'agit de tenir compte de la complexité des problèmes et des divergences de vues quant à leur solution, il est humainement très difficile d'arriver à un texte de portée générale qui exprimerait mieux les aspirations collectives des peuples des pays d'Afrique et d'Asie.

52. Quant au projet de résolution présenté par le Honduras [A/L.324/Rev.2] et les amendements du Guatemala [A/L.325] au projet de résolution des 43 puissances, je voudrais faire à leur égard une brève déclaration.

53. Le projet de résolution soumis par le Honduras, bien que se proposant des buts louables, nous semble à l'heure actuelle assez éloigné des objectifs immédiats que les puissances anticoloniales recherchent dans les circonstances actuelles; ce texte ne nous paraît pas répondre aux exigences présentes.

54. Quant aux amendements déposés par le Guatemala, j'avoue que nous sommes d'accord sur les intentions qui l'ont motivés. Cependant, je dois ajouter aussitôt que, dans la mesure où ces intentions se rapportent à l'objet de la présente déclaration, elles sont exposées et exprimées avec une clarté suffisante au paragraphe 6 de notre projet de déclaration qui est ainsi conçu:

"Toute tentative visant à détruire partiellement ou totalement l'unité nationale et l'intégrité territoriale d'un pays est incompatible avec les buts et principes de la Charte des Nations Unies."

55. En conclusion, je voudrais ajouter encore une fois que ce texte a été le résultat de longues discussions et d'échanges de vues qui ont mis très longtemps à se matérialiser. Il représente un travail important et son

équilibre particulièrement délicat a été obtenu grâce à cette volonté définie et arrêtée des puissances d'Afrique et d'Asie d'exprimer les aspirations de leurs peuples en un texte historique qui refléterait — cela est très important — le front uni de ces peuples et de tous les pays contre le colonialisme.

56. Dans ces circonstances, nous considérons que l'adoption ou même l'insertion des amendements présentés pourrait détruire cet équilibre difficile et particulièrement délicat que nous nous sommes efforcés de maintenir, et menacerait même de rompre l'unité des peuples des pays d'Afrique et d'Asie sur ce sujet.

57. Ma délégation serait particulièrement heureuse si les auteurs de ces projets de résolution et de ces amendements, tenant compte des explications que nous avons fournies, n'insistaient pas pour qu'ils soient mis aux voix. Cependant, si tel n'était pas le cas, ma délégation, pour les raisons énoncées plus haut et principalement dans un esprit de solidarité avec les pays d'Afrique et d'Asie, ne serait pas en mesure d'appuyer ces amendements.

58. Je voudrais ajouter un dernier mot concernant le texte du paragraphe 9 présenté par la délégation soviétique dans le document A/L.328, tendant à décider d'examiner la question de l'application de cette résolution à la seizième session ordinaire de l'Assemblée.

59. Il est clair que ma délégation, non plus, je pense, qu'aucun des auteurs de ce projet de résolution, n'a pas d'objections de principe à soulever à l'encontre de ce paragraphe, mais, si nous n'avons pas jugé bon de l'incorporer, c'est parce qu'il nous semblait relever d'une question de procédure qui, à nos yeux, ne trouvait pas sa place dans une déclaration historique qui serait presque un texte classique devant être étudié dans les écoles et dans des organisations diverses, dans lequel une phrase présentant un caractère technique, comme celle qui est proposée, ne trouverait véritablement pas sa place.

60. A mon avis, cette proposition pourrait être formulée plus tard par une délégation, éventuellement dans un autre projet de résolution, mais nous pensons réellement qu'elle n'a pas sa place dans une déclaration aussi importante et présentant un caractère aussi solennel que celle dont nous discutons en ce moment.

61. Mais, étant donné que, sur ce point de procédure, nous n'avons à formuler aucune objection de principe, d'autant plus qu'il ne modifierait en rien l'équilibre du texte quant au fond, nous laissons son adoption ou son rejet, dans la forme présente, à la sagesse collective de l'Assemblée, en nous abstenant de voter sur ce point.

62. Le PRESIDENT (traduit de l'anglais): La liste des orateurs est maintenant épuisée; en conséquence, l'Assemblée peut procéder au vote. Cependant, étant donné que le vote sur les divers projets soumis à l'Assemblée prendra passablement de temps et que nous sommes à quelques minutes de l'heure à laquelle nous levons habituellement la séance, je propose à l'Assemblée de lever la séance maintenant et de remettre le vote au début de la prochaine réunion.

La séance est levée à 12 h 55.

ASSEMBLÉE
GÉNÉRALE

OCT 30 1961

QUINZIÈME SESSION

UN/SA COLLECTION



SÉANCE PLÉNIÈRE

Mercredi 14 décembre 1960,
à 15 heures

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NEW YORK

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Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux
pays et aux peuples coloniaux (*fin*) 1351

Président: M. Frederick H. BOLAND (Irlande).

POINT 87 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance
aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux (*fin*)

1. Le **PRESIDENT** (traduit de l'anglais): L'Assemblée va maintenant voter sur les diverses propositions dont elle est saisie à propos du point 87 de l'ordre du jour.

2. Je vais d'abord mettre aux voix le projet de déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, présenté par l'Union soviétique (A/4502).

3. Je mettrai ensuite aux voix les amendements du Guatemala [A/L.325] au projet de résolution présenté par 43 puissances d'Afrique et d'Asie [A/L.323 et Add.1 à 6].

4. Puis viendront les amendements au projet de résolution des 43 puissances présentés par l'Union soviétique et contenus dans le document A/L.328.

5. Sera ensuite mis aux voix le projet de résolution proposé par les 43 puissances d'Asie et d'Afrique (A/L.323 et Add.1 à 6).

6. Il ne reste plus que le projet de résolution présenté par le Honduras dans le document A/L.324/Rev.2. A ce propos, je viens d'être avisé par le chef de la délégation du Honduras qu'il ne désirait pas que ce projet soit mis aux voix.

7. Je donne la parole au représentant de l'Indonésie pour une motion d'ordre.

8. M. PALAR (Indonésie) [traduit de l'anglais]: Ma délégation n'entendait pas expliquer son vote avant le scrutin, mais elle estime qu'une explication du paragraphe 6 du projet de résolution soumis par les 43 puissances pourra peut-être convaincre le représentant du Guatemala de retirer ses amendements à ce projet de résolution. En fait, ma délégation prie le représentant du Guatemala de bien vouloir retirer ses amendements pour les raisons suivantes. Avec votre permission, je vais donner lecture de ce paragraphe 6:

"Toute tentative visant à détruire partiellement ou totalement l'unité nationale et l'intégrité territoriale d'un pays est incompatible avec les buts et les principes de la Charte des Nations Unies."

9. Lors de la rédaction de ce document, ma délégation a été l'un des auteurs du paragraphe 6, et, en insérant ce texte dans le projet de résolution, nous pensions au maintien du colonialisme néerlandais en Irian occidental (Nouvelle-Guinée néerlandaise), qui à notre avis constitue une atteinte à l'unité nationale et à l'intégrité territoriale de notre pays.

10. Ainsi que nous l'avons souvent expliqué ici, les Hollandais usent, et, en fait, abusent, du droit à l'autodétermination pour justifier la poursuite de leurs activités colonialistes en Irian occidental. Il ne nous semble pas nécessaire d'expliquer cela à nouveau, puisque nous l'avons déjà fait dans notre déclaration au cours de la discussion générale à ce sujet [936^{ème} séance]. Pour cette raison, nous pensons que l'idée contenue dans les amendements du Guatemala est déjà complètement exprimée au paragraphe 6 de notre projet de résolution, et c'est la raison pour laquelle nous estimons que la situation des territoires et des peuples auxquels songeait la délégation du Guatemala a déjà été prise en considération dans notre paragraphe 6.

11. Comme je suis à la tribune pour tenter de persuader le représentant du Guatemala de retirer ses amendements au projet de résolution, j'aimerais profiter de l'occasion qui m'est offerte pour expliquer notre vote sur le projet de résolution et sur l'amendement...

12. Le **PRESIDENT** (traduit de l'anglais): J'hésite vraiment beaucoup à interrompre le représentant de l'Indonésie. Je lui ai donné la parole pour une motion d'ordre et, comme je l'ai annoncé à la fin de la séance de ce matin, la liste des orateurs, y compris ceux qui désiraient expliquer leur vote, a été définitivement close ce matin. Je suis très désireux de donner toutes facilités au représentant de l'Indonésie mais je crains de ne plus pouvoir le faire, étant donné la méthode de travail que l'Assemblée a adoptée.

13. M. PALAR (Indonésie) [traduit de l'anglais]: Je vous prie de m'excuser. J'espère que mes efforts de persuasion à l'égard du représentant du Guatemala pourront être considérés comme une motion d'ordre.

14. Le **PRESIDENT** (traduit de l'anglais): Je donne la parole au représentant du Guatemala pour une motion d'ordre.

15. M. HERRARTE (Guatemala) [traduit de l'espagnol]: J'ai écouté la déclaration du représentant de l'Indonésie, qui demande à ma délégation de retirer ses amendements [A/L.325] au projet de résolution des 43 puissances [A/L.323 et Add.1 à 6].

16. En fait, nous avons entendu ce matin plusieurs auteurs du projet de résolution donner leur interprétation du paragraphe 6. Nous acceptons volontiers leur interprétation et, encore que nous eussions espéré que le principe de l'intégrité territoriale fût exprimé plus clairement, comme il l'est par exemple

dans le texte soumis par ma délégation, je n'ai pas d'objection à accepter la demande du représentant de l'Indonésie. Je prierai en conséquence le Président de ne pas mettre aux voix les amendements du Guatemala.

17. Le **PRESIDENT** (traduit de l'anglais): Je donne la parole au représentant du Ghana pour une motion d'ordre.

18. **M. QUAISON-SACKEY** (Ghana) [traduit de l'anglais]: Je regrette de prendre le temps de l'Assemblée générale et de soulever une motion d'ordre. Si je le fais, c'est dans l'espoir que les délégations qui ont présenté des amendements à notre projet de résolution les retireront; c'est également parce que je voudrais demander à l'Union soviétique de retirer, elle aussi, ses amendements [A/L.328], notamment son paragraphe 8 tel qu'il est proposé.

19. En effet, si je compare ce paragraphe au paragraphe 5 de notre projet de déclaration [A/L.323 et Add.1 à 6], je constate qu'ils ne s'accordent pas très bien. Dans notre paragraphe 5, nous parlons

"des mesures immédiates [qui] seront prises, dans les territoires sous tutelle, les territoires non autonomes et tous autres territoires qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance, pour transférer tous pouvoirs..."

20. Dans le paragraphe 8 proposé par l'Union soviétique (A/L.328), il est dit que les puissances colonisatrices doivent "entamer des négociations". Nous retrouvons la même idée. L'un des projets parle de "transférer tous pouvoirs" et l'autre parle "d'entamer des négociations". Le seul point nouveau dans le paragraphe soviétique est la date fixée pour cette liquidation du colonialisme. Tous ceux d'entre nous qui ont participé à la rédaction du projet présenté par les pays d'Afrique et d'Asie connaissent bien les diverses opinions qui s'étaient fait jour avant que le paragraphe 5 y ait été incorporé. En conséquence, et étant donné que nous allons être appelés à voter sur le projet de déclaration de l'Union soviétique sans aucun amendement, nous estimons que tous les amendements à notre projet de résolution devraient être retirés.

21. C'est dans cet esprit que je voudrais demander au représentant de l'Union soviétique de bien vouloir retirer son amendement.

22. **M. ZORINE** (Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques) [traduit du russe]: La délégation soviétique a déjà exposé les motifs pour lesquels elle a estimé indispensable de présenter les amendements dont l'honorable délégué du Ghana vient de parler. Dans notre déclaration, nous avons souligné que nous étions poussés par le désir de faciliter l'adoption, au cours de la présente session, d'une résolution qui réglerait, du moins quant au fond, le problème de la liquidation du colonialisme. C'est pour faciliter la solution positive du problème que nous n'avons soumis aucun amendement aux paragraphes mêmes du projet de résolution déposé par 43 pays d'Afrique et d'Asie.

23. En ce qui concerne les paragraphes supplémentaires que nous proposons et, en particulier, celui qui porte le No 8 et dont le représentant du Ghana vient de parler, nous estimons ce dernier absolument indispensable. En effet, à l'heure actuelle, le point essentiel consiste à savoir comment mettre en pratique la décision prise de liquider le colonialisme et

de libérer les peuples coloniaux et dépendants. L'additif que nous proposons fournit une directive pour la décision et fixe un délai limite pour une solution positive de ce problème.

24. Nous savons, certes, que les points de vue sur cette question sont divergents, même au sein du groupe de pays d'Afrique et d'Asie. Nous pensons, néanmoins, que l'absence de ce point de vue commun ne doit pas empêcher les pays qui estiment que la liquidation du colonialisme est un problème à la fois actuel et urgent de voter en faveur de la proposition contenue dans l'amendement que nous avons soumis. En fin de compte l'honorable représentant du Ghana, en exposant son point de vue, qui reflétait celui de son gouvernement, a bien indiqué qu'à l'avis de ce dernier la fin du processus de liquidation du système colonial devrait se situer vers le début de 1962.

25. Par conséquent, entre notre proposition et le point de vue que défend le Gouvernement du Ghana, il n'y a, au fond, pas de divergence sérieuse. Certes, d'autres points de vue existent; mais nous estimons que le vote permettra de dégager nettement la position des pays qui sont intéressés à une très prompt liquidation du système colonial. C'est pourquoi nous ne pourrions, à notre grand regret, accéder à la demande du représentant du Ghana et nous insisterons sur la mise aux voix de nos deux amendements.

26. Le **PRESIDENT** (traduit de l'anglais): L'Assemblée va maintenant procéder au vote. Nous sommes saisis de trois textes que je mettrai aux voix dans l'ordre suivant: en premier lieu, le projet de déclaration proposé par l'Union soviétique et contenu dans le document A/4502; en second lieu les amendements proposés par l'Union soviétique [A/L.328] au projet de résolution des 43 puissances [A/L.323 et Add.1 à 6];

27. En ce qui concerne notre premier scrutin, qui portera sur le projet de déclaration présenté par l'Union soviétique, il a été demandé ce matin [946ème séance] que ce projet fasse l'objet d'un vote par division. L'Assemblée voterait d'abord sur la partie de la déclaration qui commence par les mots: "... les Etats Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies proclament solennellement les exigences suivantes", et se poursuit par les paragraphes 1, 2 et 3. Nous voterons ensuite sur le reste du projet de déclaration. Enfin, l'Assemblée votera sur l'ensemble du projet de déclaration.

28. Je mets maintenant aux voix la partie du projet de déclaration de l'Union soviétique [A/4502] commençant par les mots "... les Etats Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies proclament solennellement les exigences suivantes" et se poursuivant par les paragraphes 1, 2 et 3.

29. Le vote par appel nominal a été demandé.

Il est procédé au vote par appel nominal.

L'appel commence par le Mexique, dont le nom est tiré au sort par le Président.

Votent pour: Maroc, Népal, Pologne, Roumanie, Arabie Saoudite, Soudan, Togo, République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine, Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques, République arabe unie, Yémen, Yougoslavie, Afghanistan, Albanie, Bulgarie, République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie, Ceylan,

Tchad, Cuba, Tchécoslovaquie, Ethiopie, Ghana, Guinée, Hongrie, Inde, Indonésie, Irak, Jordanie, Liban, Libéria, Libye, Mali.

Votent contre: Pays-Bas, Nouvelle-Zélande, Nicaragua, Niger, Norvège, Panama, Philippines, Portugal, Espagne, Suède, Thaïlande, Turquie, Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord, Etats-Unis d'Amérique, Uruguay, Argentine, Australie, Belgique, Brésil, Canada, Chili, Chine, Colombie, Costa Rica, Danemark, Salvador, France, Grèce, Honduras, Islande, Irlande, Israël, Italie, Japon, Luxembourg.

S'abstiennent: Mexique, Nigéria, Pakistan, Paraguay, Pérou, Sénégal, Somalie, Tunisie, Haute-Volta, Venezuela, Autriche, Bolivie, Birmanie, Cambodge, Cameroun, République centrafricaine, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Léopoldville), Chypre, République Dominicaine, Equateur, Fédération de Malaisie, Finlande, Gabon, Guatemala, Haïti, Iran, Côte-d'Ivoire, Laos, Madagascar.

Par 35 voix contre 32, avec 30 abstentions, cette partie de la déclaration est rejetée.

30. Le **PRESIDENT** (traduit de l'anglais): Je vais maintenant mettre aux voix le reste du projet de déclaration soviétique. A mon avis, la demande de vote par appel nominal s'applique à la totalité de la déclaration; je vais donc procéder au vote par appel nominal également pour le reste de la déclaration soviétique.

Il est procédé au vote par appel nominal.

L'appel commence par l'Albanie, dont le nom est tiré au sort par le Président.

Votent pour: Albanie, Bulgarie, République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie, Ceylan, Cuba, Tchécoslovaquie, Ethiopie, Ghana, Guinée, Hongrie, Irak, Côte-d'Ivoire, Libéria, Madagascar, Mali, Maroc, Niger, Pologne, Roumanie, Arabie Saoudite, République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine, Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques, République arabe unie, Yémen, Afghanistan.

Votent contre: Argentine, Australie, Belgique, Bolivie, Brésil, Canada, Chili, Chine, Colombie, Costa Rica, Danemark, Equateur, Salvador, Fédération de Malaisie, France, Grèce, Guatemala, Honduras, Islande, Iran, Irlande, Israël, Italie, Japon, Luxembourg, Pays-Bas, Nouvelle-Zélande, Nicaragua, Norvège, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Pérou, Philippines, Portugal, Espagne, Suède, Thaïlande, Turquie, Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord, Etats-Unis d'Amérique, Uruguay, Venezuela.

S'abstiennent: Autriche, Birmanie, Cambodge, Cameroun, République centrafricaine, Tchad, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Léopoldville), Chypre, République Dominicaine, Finlande, Gabon, Haïti, Inde, Indonésie, Jordanie, Laos, Liban, Libye, Mexique, Népal, Nigéria, Sénégal, Somalie, Soudan, Togo, Tunisie, Haute-Volta, Yougoslavie.

Par 43 voix contre 25, avec 29 abstentions, le reste de la déclaration est rejeté.

31. Le **PRESIDENT** (traduit de l'anglais): Aucune des parties du projet de déclaration n'ayant été approuvée par l'Assemblée, il est sans doute inutile que nous procédions à un vote sur l'ensemble.

32. Je vais maintenant inviter l'Assemblée à se prononcer sur les amendements proposés par la délégation soviétique (A/L.328) au projet de résolution des 43 puissances. Un vote par appel nominal a été demandé pour chacun des paragraphes du document A/L.328. Je vais donc mettre aux voix immédiatement le premier de ces deux paragraphes, à savoir le paragraphe 8.

Il est procédé au vote par appel nominal.

L'appel commence par l'Indonésie, dont le nom est tiré au sort par le Président.

Votent pour: Irak, Jordanie, Liban, Libéria, Libye, Mali, Mexique, Maroc, Pologne, Roumanie, Arabie Saoudite, Somalie, Soudan, Togo, Tunisie, République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine, Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques, République arabe unie, Yémen, Yougoslavie, Afghanistan, Albanie, Bulgarie, République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie, Cuba, Tchécoslovaquie, Ethiopie, Guinée, Hongrie.

Votent contre: Iran, Irlande, Israël, Italie, Côte-d'Ivoire, Japon, Laos, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Pays-Bas, Nouvelle-Zélande, Nicaragua, Niger, Norvège, Pakistan, Panama, Pérou, Philippines, Portugal, Espagne, Suède, Thaïlande, Turquie, Union sud-africaine, Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord, Etats-Unis d'Amérique, Argentine, Australie, Autriche, Belgique, Bolivie, Brésil, Canada, Chili, Chine, Colombie, Congo (Brazzaville), Costa Rica, Danemark, Salvador, Fédération de Malaisie, France, Gabon, Grèce, Guatemala, Honduras, Islande.

S'abstiennent: Indonésie, Népal, Nigéria, Paraguay, Sénégal, Haute-Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Birmanie, Cambodge, Cameroun, République centrafricaine, Ceylan, Tchad, Congo (Léopoldville), Chypre, République Dominicaine, Equateur, Finlande, Ghana, Haïti, Inde.

Par 47 voix contre 29, avec 22 abstentions, le paragraphe est rejeté.

33. Le **PRESIDENT** (traduit de l'anglais): L'Assemblée est maintenant appelée à se prononcer sur le paragraphe 9, c'est-à-dire sur le second amendement proposé par l'Union soviétique dans ce même document A/L.328.

Il est procédé au vote par appel nominal.

L'appel commence par Haïti, dont le nom est tiré au sort par le Président.

Votent pour: Hongrie, Inde, Irak, Jordanie, Liban, Libéria, Libye, Mali, Mexique, Maroc, Népal, Nigéria, Pologne, Roumanie, Arabie Saoudite, Somalie, Soudan, Togo, Tunisie, République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine, Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques, République arabe unie, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yémen, Yougoslavie, Afghanistan, Albanie, Bulgarie, Birmanie, République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie, Cameroun, Ceylan, Tchad, Congo (Léopoldville), Cuba, Chypre, Tchécoslovaquie, Ethiopie, Ghana, Guinée.

Votent contre: Honduras, Islande, Irlande, Italie, Côte-d'Ivoire, Japon, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Pays-Bas, Nouvelle-Zélande, Nicaragua, Niger, Norvège, Pakistan, Portugal, Espagne, Suède, Thaïlande, Turquie, Union sud-africaine, Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord, Etats-Unis

d'Amérique, Australie, Belgique, Bolivie, Brésil, Canada, Chine, Colombie, Costa Rica, Danemark, Fédération de Malaisie, Finlande, France, Grèce.

S'abstiennent: Haïti, Indonésie, Iran, Israël, Laos, Panama, Paraguay, Pérou, Philippines, Sénégal, Haute-Volta, Argentine, Autriche, Cambodge, République centrafricaine, Chili, Congo (Brazzaville), République Dominicaine, Equateur, Salvador, Gabon, Guatemala.

Il y a 41 voix pour, 35 voix contre et 22 abstentions.

N'ayant pas obtenu la majorité requise des deux tiers, le paragraphe n'est pas adopté.

34. Le **PRESIDENT** (traduit de l'anglais): L'Assemblée va maintenant se prononcer sur le projet de résolution des 43 puissances [A/L.323 et Add.1 à 6].

Il est procédé au vote par appel nominal.

L'appel commence par Haïti, dont le nom est tiré au sort par le Président.

Votent pour: Haïti, Honduras, Hongrie, Islande, Inde, Indonésie, Iran, Irak, Irlande, Israël, Italie, Côte-d'Ivoire, Japon, Jordanie, Laos, Liban, Libéria, Libye, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Mali, Mexique, Maroc, Népal, Pays-Bas, Nouvelle-Zélande, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigéria, Norvège, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Pérou, Philippines, Pologne, Roumanie, Arabie Saoudite, Sénégal, Somalie, Soudan, Suède, Thaïlande, Togo, Tunisie, Turquie, République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine, Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques, République arabe unie, Haute-Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yémen, Yougoslavie, Afghanistan, Albanie, Argentine, Autriche, Bolivie, Brésil, Bulgarie, Birmanie, République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie, Cambodge, Cameroun, Canada, République centrafricaine, Ceylan, Tchad, Chili, Chine, Colombie, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Léopoldville), Costa Rica, Cuba, Chypre, Tchécoslovaquie, Danemark, Equateur, Salvador, Ethiopie, Fédération de Malaisie, Finlande, Gabon, Ghana, Grèce, Guatemala, Guinée.

Votent contre: néant.

S'abstiennent: Portugal, Espagne, Union sud-africaine, Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord, Etats-Unis d'Amérique, Australie, Belgique, République Dominicaine, France.

Par 89 voix contre zéro, avec 9 abstentions, le projet de résolution est adopté^{1/}.

35. Le **PRESIDENT** (traduit de l'anglais): Un certain nombre de représentants ont exprimé le désir d'expliquer leur vote. Je donne la parole au premier orateur inscrit, le représentant du Canada.

36. M. NESBITT (Canada) [traduit de l'anglais]: Je désire expliquer le vote de ma délégation sur le projet de résolution des 43 puissances sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux peuples coloniaux.

37. La délégation canadienne a favorablement accueilli l'initiative des auteurs de ce projet de résolution, en faveur duquel elle a été très heureuse de voter. Elle y voit l'occasion de féliciter l'Organisation des Nations Unies elle-même d'une réalisation qui

doit avoir, pour les Nations Unies et tous les peuples, la valeur d'un encouragement bien mérité. C'est un événement digne d'être noté que 43 pays, n'ayant pas tous connu le colonialisme, se soient entendus pour soumettre une résolution de cette portée, concernant un sujet qui n'est nullement à l'abri des controverses.

38. Une résolution de cette longueur et de cette importance comprend inévitablement des passages qu'à première vue on eût préféré voir présenter sous une forme différente. Aussi sommes-nous reconnaissants à ceux de ses auteurs qui ont pris la peine d'en expliquer ou d'en interpréter divers passages. Nous nous réjouissons, par exemple, d'avoir entendu certains d'entre eux nous dire qu'il n'entraînait nullement dans leur intention de condamner tous les Etats qui ont possédé des colonies ou en possèdent encore. Le Canada démentirait tout un passé de colonisation s'il ne disait pas que l'association entre deux pays, même si elle n'a pas été fondée sur l'égalité dès le début, ne peut souvent que comporter des avantages pour l'un et l'autre pays. Une douzaine d'orateurs en ont porté témoignage au cours des présents débats.

39. Toutefois, lorsque cette harmonie disparaît, les avantages disparaissent également et l'ensemble du système colonial ancien est voué à disparaître, comme nous le voyons disparaître sous nos yeux.

40. Quoi qu'il en soit, l'histoire aussi a ses droits et ses prérogatives, dont aucune puissance ne peut la déposséder. Que l'on veuille interrompre son cours par une intervention trop imprudente ou précipitée, et elle prendra sa revanche. Nous n'avons pas besoin de chercher bien loin pour en voir des exemples.

41. Nous notons donc avec soin ce que dit la résolution. Elle dit: toutes les colonies doivent être libérées. Elle ne dit pas — et plusieurs de ses auteurs y ont bien insisté: toutes les colonies et tous les territoires doivent être libérés sans attendre, indépendamment des circonstances et de leur état d'évolution, indépendamment aussi de leurs préférences. La résolution ne cherche à forcer aucun peuple, contre son vœux et ses intérêts, à accepter une forme déterminée de gouvernement, ou de relations avec d'autres pays. Elle ne cherche pas non plus à priver un territoire de son droit à demeurer lié à un autre pays, si tel est son désir. Agir de la sorte serait contraire aux principes dont la Quatrième Commission a déjà recommandé l'adoption par l'Assemblée, après avoir examiné le rapport du Comité spécial des Six chargé de la question de la communication de renseignements en vertu de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte [A/4526].

42. En votant en faveur de ce projet de résolution, la délégation canadienne a été heureuse de se joindre aux auteurs de ce texte, aux nombreuses délégations qui lui ont donné leur appui, ainsi qu'à celles des puissances administrantes qui ont montré qu'elles adhéraient à ces principes.

43. Je voudrais maintenant expliquer brièvement pourquoi la délégation canadienne a voté contre le projet de déclaration présenté par la délégation soviétique dans le document A/4502. Les auteurs du projet de résolution des pays d'Afrique et d'Asie [A/L.323 et Add.1 à 6] avaient bien précisé dans leurs déclarations à l'Assemblée qu'ils entendaient que la question de l'indépendance des colonies et territoires sous tutelle restât complètement à l'abri des rivalités des grandes puissances et demeurât soustraite à leurs

^{1/} La délégation du Dahomey, absente au moment du vote, a ultérieurement informé le Président qu'elle aurait voté pour le projet de résolution (voir par. 99 ci-dessous).

visées politiques. Nous avions espéré que la délégation soviétique tiendrait compte du désir louable et évident des auteurs du projet, et s'abstiendrait d'exiger un vote sur sa déclaration conçue en termes incendiaires. A tout le moins avions-nous espéré que la délégation soviétique ne saisisait pas cette occasion pour se livrer à une opération de propagande.

44. Contrairement à cette attente raisonnable, la délégation soviétique, dans chacune de ses interventions, a attaqué les puissances administrantes de façon outrancière, parfois avec violence, presque toujours avec injustice. Nous croyons donc opportun de rappeler certaines paroles prononcées ici même, au début de la séance, par le Premier Ministre du Canada. M. Diefenbaker invitait le Président du Conseil des ministres de l'URSS, qui se pose en libérateur des peuples coloniaux, "... à donner aux nations qui sont sous sa domination le droit à des élections libres et la possibilité de choisir, de manière véritablement libre, la forme de gouvernement qu'elles désirent" [871ème séance, par. 197]. En agissant ainsi, M. Khrouchtchev ferait vraiment la preuve de son désir de voir "définitivement éliminé le régime colonial, sous toutes ses formes et manifestations". Telles sont quelques-unes des raisons qui ont incité ma délégation à voter contre le projet de déclaration soviétique.

M. Hasan (Pakistan), vice-président, prend la présidence.

45. M. ORMSBY-GORE (Royaume-Uni) [traduit de l'anglais]: Ma délégation a suivi avec la plus grande attention le long débat qui s'est déroulé sur une question qui est pour nous d'importance essentielle. Une part considérable des obligations que nous avons à l'égard de la communauté internationale concerne les territoires d'outre-mer qui restent sous notre administration. Ces obligations relèvent de deux sections de la Charte des Nations Unies; elles sont de nature diverse, mais se proposent le même objectif. Il s'agit du Chapitre XI, relatif aux territoires non autonomes, et des Chapitres XII et XIII, relatifs aux territoires sous tutelle.

46. Le débat a prouvé que la manière dont nous nous acquittions de ces obligations rencontre à l'ONU une compréhension, voire une approbation, très générale. La mesure dans laquelle les peuples de ces territoires, avec notre aide, peuvent réussir à faire naître des nations nouvelles, non divisées, fortes et réellement indépendantes, nous paraît d'une importance essentielle tant pour le bonheur futur de ces peuples que pour le progrès et le bien-être de l'humanité entière. C'est dans cet esprit que nous avons abordé le débat.

47. Un grand nombre des auteurs du projet de résolution des 43 puissances qui vient d'être adopté par l'Assemblée ont bien précisé, dans leurs déclarations, que leurs objectifs fondamentaux étaient les mêmes que les nôtres. En fait, ce sont ceux qui figurent dans la Charte des Nations Unies. Pour cette raison, nous aurions voulu pouvoir voter en faveur de la déclaration, et notamment parce que, comme l'ont dit certains de ses auteurs, celle-ci doit recevoir une application universelle et doit viser toutes les formes — ce sont les termes mêmes de la résolution — de "subjugation, de domination et d'exploitation étrangères" dont ceux qui les pratiquent essaient d'éviter les critiques de l'opinion publique mondiale.

48. Mais, devant une question d'une aussi grande importance, nous avons cru nécessaire d'examiner de très près le libellé de la résolution. Or, nous avons dû conclure, non sans regret, qu'à certains égards sa rédaction ne nous permettait pas de l'appuyer. Pour une question qui nous intéresse si vivement, nous aurions été disposés à entamer des discussions avec les auteurs au sujet de cette rédaction. Nous croyons que, si cela avait été possible, nous aurions pu faire certaines suggestions, inspirées de notre propre expérience, qui n'auraient aucunement nui à l'objectif fondamental de la déclaration, et nous auraient permis de l'accepter.

49. La majorité des peuples auxquels s'appliquent les Chapitres XI, XII et XIII de la Charte vivent sur des territoires sous administration du Royaume-Uni. Nous sommes donc particulièrement intéressés à veiller que notre position sur les questions dont traite la déclaration ne soit pas mal comprise. C'est ainsi qu'à notre sens le paragraphe 1 de la déclaration n'est absolument pas applicable aux habitants des territoires que nous administrons puisqu'il s'agit d'une domination et d'une exploitation étrangères contraires à la Charte des Nations Unies, alors que l'administration britannique des territoires non autonomes respecte strictement les dispositions pertinentes de la Charte. J'aurais voulu que les auteurs eussent rendu plus explicite cette idée dans le paragraphe 1. Tel qu'il est, le texte peut se prêter, semble-t-il, à une fausse interprétation.

50. La déclaration contient également d'autres paragraphes qui ne peuvent en aucune façon s'appliquer à des territoires dont le Royaume-Uni est responsable. Il en est ainsi, par exemple, du septième paragraphe du préambule qui est ainsi conçu: "Convaincue que le maintien du colonialisme empêche le développement de la coopération économique internationale, entrave le développement social, culturel et économique des peuples dépendants ..." La politique du Royaume-Uni à l'égard des territoires relevant de son administration respecte strictement l'Article 73 de la Charte. En vertu de cet article, nous sommes tenus d'assurer le progrès politique, économique et social, ainsi que l'éducation des peuples non autonomes, et de favoriser la coopération avec les organismes internationaux afin d'atteindre ces objectifs dans la pratique. Nous le faisons, et la manière dont nous le faisons est bien connue. Divers organes des Nations Unies ont pu le constater à maintes reprises.

51. Toutes les délégations ici présentes savent, par exemple, quelle est la participation des territoires relevant de l'administration britannique aux travaux d'organes tels que la Commission économique pour l'Afrique. Le développement d'organes de coopération internationale aussi importants n'a pas été gêné par le fait que ces territoires ne sont pas encore pleinement indépendants. De même, le progrès social, culturel et économique se réalise régulièrement dans les territoires qui nous sont confiés, par l'effort conjugué de leurs populations et de la Puissance administrante.

52. Ma délégation regrette la critique implicite contenue dans ce paragraphe — et aussi dans d'autres — concernant la politique que nous poursuivons conformément à nos obligations découlant de la Charte. De même, nous pensons que la déclaration aurait pu, à divers endroits, insister davantage sur les responsabilités positives de ceux qui administrent encore des

territoires non autonomes. Nous reconnaissons, par exemple, que l'insuffisance de préparation dans les divers domaines, mentionnée au paragraphe 3, ne devrait pas servir de prétexte — et lorsque je dis prétexte, j'entends ce que l'un des auteurs a dit, c'est-à-dire "l'absence délibérée de préparation" — pour retarder l'indépendance. Mais nous partageons aussi l'avis des auteurs de la résolution qui ont demandé que des mesures constructives soient prises en matière politique, économique, sociale et culturelle en vue de préparer l'indépendance et afin que celle-ci, lorsqu'elle sera acquise, ait un sens concret. Nous pensons que la déclaration aurait pu être améliorée si l'on y avait fait figurer ces points de vue positifs.

53. D'autre part, ma délégation estime que le paragraphe 2 de la déclaration n'est pas à sa place dans ce contexte. Le Royaume-Uni accepte naturellement sans réserve le principe de libre détermination énoncé par la Charte elle-même et nous croyons avoir fait, au cours des 15 dernières années, pour l'application de ce principe, autant que toute autre délégation présente à cette assemblée. Toutefois, l'Assemblée n'aura pas oublié les difficultés qui ont surgi à propos de la discussion du projet des pactes internationaux relatifs aux droits de l'homme et lorsqu'il s'est agi de trouver une définition universellement acceptable du droit de libre détermination. Ces difficultés n'ont pas encore été complètement résolues par l'Assemblée, et nous croyons qu'il aurait été préférable de ne pas tenter de le faire maintenant, dans un contexte assez différent.

54. Certains des auteurs de la déclaration ont dit, en parlant du paragraphe 5, qu'il s'agissait là d'un paragraphe clef; ils ont souligné qu'en vertu de ce paragraphe, des mesures immédiates doivent être prises en tant que préparatifs nécessaires en vue de transférer définitivement les pouvoirs aux habitants des territoires, et qu'il ne devrait y avoir, à cet égard, aucun retard volontairement imposé. La délégation du Royaume-Uni partage entièrement ce sentiment. Nous aurions cependant souhaité que ce paragraphe, lui aussi, fût rédigé avec plus de clarté. La méthode employée et la cadence à laquelle seront franchies les étapes qui mènent à l'indépendance sont des questions dont les peuples doivent décider eux-mêmes, en accord avec la puissance administrante. Les conditions particulières à chaque territoire sont différentes et aucun modèle ne peut être imposé de l'extérieur pour s'appliquer à tous. A cet égard, l'intervention du représentant de l'Australie, dans laquelle il a exposé les problèmes que connaît la Nouvelle-Guinée [933ème séance], mérite d'être étudiée de très près, notamment par ceux qui, comme le représentant de l'Union soviétique, ont profité du débat pour ressasser des slogans politiques usés, révélant par là même une ignorance stupéfiante de la question.

55. Pour toutes les raisons que je viens d'indiquer, ma délégation s'est abstenue lors du vote sur ce projet de résolution. Nous considérons néanmoins comme un grand succès que 43 délégations aient pu se mettre d'accord sur une question aussi controversée. Nous tenons à rendre hommage aux délégations qui, nous le savons, n'ont ménagé ni leur temps ni leur peine pour élaborer un texte capable de recueillir un aussi large appui. Nous tenons notamment à les féliciter d'avoir pu présenter un texte qui, en dépit des imperfections que nous y constatons encore, a réussi à dégager la question de

l'octroi de l'indépendance à tous les peuples et pays coloniaux du langage tendancieux et stérile employé dans le projet de déclaration de l'Union soviétique qui a été repoussé par l'Assemblée. Je ne pense pas que l'Assemblée s'attende que je me livre à des commentaires sur l'extraordinaire collection de contrevérités que contiennent les discours prononcés par le représentant de l'Union soviétique en diverses occasions, et en particulier le 7 décembre. Quiconque connaît la situation politique en Afrique orientale, par exemple, sait combien est mensongère la description qu'il en a faite. Les aspirations des peuples d'Afrique ne sont pas du tout celles qui nous ont été dépeintes par M. Zorine, qui n'a d'ailleurs aucune qualité pour être le porte-parole de ces peuples. Une fois de plus, les amendements soumis par sa délégation ont prouvé combien il était mal placé pour parler au nom de ces populations et combien il lui reste encore à apprendre des véritables problèmes en cause.

56. Nous sommes fiers du travail que nous accomplissons en coopération avec les habitants des territoires que nous administrons. Nous les aidons de toutes nos forces et par tous les moyens dont nous disposons à créer des nations nouvelles, prospères et libres. Nous nous tournons vers l'avenir et non vers le passé, vers cet avenir où des nations nouvelles et fortes prendront leur place dans la communauté mondiale, sans avoir à redouter ni les luttes intérieures ni les pressions extérieures.

57. Au cours du présent débat, l'un des auteurs du projet de résolution a cité un paragraphe du rapport du Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes qui s'achève par la phrase suivante:

"Le Comité est convaincu que la certitude qu'elles pourront décider elles-mêmes de leur sort encouragera les populations des territoires non autonomes à redoubler d'efforts pour se préparer un avenir de plus grande prospérité par une période de transition aussi paisible et fructueuse que possible."
[A/4371, 2ème partie, par. 25.]

58. Nous partageons cette confiance et nous sommes reconnaissants à tous les membres de l'Assemblée qui éprouvent également ce sentiment et qui ont fait preuve de compréhension à l'égard de la politique que poursuit le Royaume-Uni en vue d'atteindre le plus rapidement possible cet avenir prospère.

59. M. SCHURMANN (Pays-Bas) [traduit de l'anglais]: Ma délégation a voté en faveur du projet de résolution présenté par 43 pays d'Afrique et d'Asie [A/L.323 et Add.1 à 6]. Nous l'avons fait parce que nous approuvons entièrement les principes contenus dans ce projet. Ce sont eux qui nous guident dans l'administration du seul territoire non autonome dont nous ayons la charge.

60. Notre accord avec les principes énoncés dans le projet de résolution ne signifie pas que nous acceptons sans réserve sa rédaction; encore que nous soyons convaincus que l'indépendance favorisera l'évolution de la coopération économique internationale et le développement social, économique et culturel, nous ne croyons pas que le seul fait de la dépendance constitue nécessairement une entrave au progrès. En tant que Puissance administrante, nous essayons de tout mettre en œuvre pour favoriser ces diverses formes de développement en Nouvelle-Guinée née-

landaise, car tel est, à nos yeux, la tâche qui nous incombe en fait aux termes de l'alinéa de l'Article 73 de la Charte.

61. Je pourrais citer d'autres exemples de passages dont la rédaction laisse un peu à désirer, mais le fait que nous ayons voté en faveur du projet de résolution dans son ensemble montre qu'ils n'avaient pas pour nous une importance décisive; je n'y reviendrai donc pas.

62. Toutefois, ce que nous ne pouvons accepter, c'est la déduction tirée par un des orateurs, au cours de la discussion, du paragraphe 6 de la déclaration. Dans ce paragraphe, nous voyons réaffirmer les termes de l'Article 2, paragraphe 4, de la Charte des Nations Unies. A ce titre, nous lui donnons naturellement notre entier appui et notre pleine approbation, mais nous ne pouvons concevoir par quel curieux raisonnement le représentant de l'Indonésie aurait pu déduire des termes du paragraphe 6 de la déclaration que le droit à la libre détermination devrait être accordé à tous les peuples du monde, à la seule exception des populations qui vivent dans la partie occidentale de l'île, c'est-à-dire en Nouvelle-Guinée néerlandaise. Une telle affirmation est contraire à la Charte et n'est assurément fondée sur aucun passage de la résolution.

63. M. HERRARTE (Guatemala) [traduit de l'espagnol]: En appuyant le projet de résolution présenté par les puissances d'Afrique et d'Asie [A/L.323 et Add.1 à 6], ma délégation avait soumis des amendements [A/L.325] tendant à ce que le principe de la libre détermination n'affecte en aucun cas le droit à l'intégrité et aux revendications territoriales d'un Etat quelconque. Cette réserve nous était apparue indispensable, parce qu'il y a beaucoup de territoires en litige ou réclamés par d'autres Etats comme partie intégrante de leur territoire national, et qui sont indûment possédés par des puissances coloniales; la solution à ces conflits ne peut être trouvée dans le principe de la libre détermination, parce que l'on attenterait alors à un principe aussi important que celui de l'intégrité territoriale d'un pays.

64. Il est vrai que le paragraphe 6 de la résolution contient une déclaration très nette ainsi conçue: "Toute tentative visant à détruire partiellement ou totalement l'unité nationale et l'intégrité territoriale d'un pays est incompatible avec les buts et les principes de la Charte des Nations Unies." Cependant, ma délégation avait jugé opportun de préciser davantage son point de vue au moyen des amendements que nous avons présentés. Mais, étant donné les déclarations formulées par plusieurs des auteurs interprétant les termes du paragraphe 6, et compte tenu également de la demande formulée par le représentant de l'Indonésie, ma délégation ne s'est pas opposée au retrait de ses amendements, étant entendu que les droits qu'elle se propose de défendre sont dûment protégés par le paragraphe 6 de la résolution.

65. Nous sommes très satisfaits que le projet de résolution des pays d'Afrique et d'Asie ait été approuvé à une majorité aussi écrasante. En tout état de cause, ma délégation tient cependant à déclarer que l'approbation de cette résolution n'affecte en rien les droits légitimes que le Guatemala a toujours revendiqués à l'encontre du Royaume-Uni concernant le territoire de Belize. L'occupation de ce territoire n'est rien de plus qu'une séquelle de la vieille

piraterie britannique sur les côtes de l'Amérique centrale et représente simplement le triomphe de la force sur le droit.

66. A cette occasion, je tiens à rappeler que le Guatemala, à la Conférence de San Francisco, a formulé d'expresses réserves à l'égard de ses droits lorsque nous avons discuté de la question du régime international de tutelle^{2/} ou les rapports soumis par les puissances chargées de l'administration des territoires non autonomes. Ces réserves, nous les avons réaffirmées devant l'Assemblée générale, au Conseil de tutelle et dans les diverses commissions des Nations Unies chaque fois que cela est devenu nécessaire.

67. La République du Guatemala a observé la même attitude à l'occasion des diverses conférences panaméricaines qui ont traité de l'abolition du colonialisme, idée à laquelle nous avons apporté notre appui le plus chaleureux et le plus enthousiaste. A la Conférence de Chapultepec tenue en 1945, au cours de laquelle les Etats américains ont approuvé les principes de la Charte de l'Atlantique^{3/}, mon pays a formulé des réserves expresses^{4/} aux termes desquelles le principe de la libre détermination ne saurait en rien affecter le droit territorial du Guatemala à l'égard de Belize, territoire qui fait l'objet d'un différend.

68. En conséquence, ma délégation affirme que le projet de résolution que nous venons d'adopter ne saurait en rien affecter les territoires faisant l'objet de litiges ou de revendications.

69. M. PERERA (Ceylan) [traduit de l'anglais]: Dans sa déclaration du 28 novembre dernier [926ème séance], la délégation de Ceylan a exposé sa position à l'égard des documents A/L.323 et A/4502. Aujourd'hui, la délégation de Ceylan a voté pour les deux parties du projet de déclaration soviétique relatives à l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et peuples colonisés. Nous acceptons sans réserve chacun des mots contenus dans la déclaration de l'Union soviétique et figurant au document A/4502. La délégation de Ceylan s'est abstenue dans le vote sur le premier des amendements présentés par la délégation de l'Union soviétique dans le document A/L.328 au projet de résolution des 43 pays d'Asie et d'Afrique, et ce pour les raisons suivantes.

70. Tout d'abord, au paragraphe 5 du projet de résolution des pays d'Afrique et d'Asie, nous avons, dans une certaine mesure, traité des questions évoquées dans le premier paragraphe proposé dans les amendements soviétiques. En second lieu, nous nous sommes abstenus parce que nous avons constaté que le premier paragraphe ne s'appliquait peut-être pas à toutes les questions qui pourraient se présenter à l'avenir. Je songe en particulier — ce qui est parfaitement conforme à l'intervention faite le 28 novembre par le représentant de Ceylan — au fait que nous devons non seulement nous garantir contre les puissances coloniales qui existent toujours dans le monde, mais encore sauvegarder la position des pays colonisés au cas où les puissances coloniales chercheraient à maintenir et à perpétuer le colonialisme.

^{2/} Conférence des Nations Unies sur l'Organisation internationale, 11/4/24.

^{3/} Voir Acte final de la Conférence interaméricaine sur les problèmes de la guerre et de la paix, Mexico, 21 février-8 mars 1945 (Union panaméricaine, Washington [D. C.], 1945), résolution XII, p. 64.

^{4/} Ibid., Déclaration du Guatemala, p. 124.

Selon le représentant de Ceylan, bien que le principe contenu au premier paragraphe de l'amendement soviétique puisse être bon, cet amendement en lui-même n'allait pas assez loin.

71. En un mot, le Gouvernement de Ceylan a adopté, quant au fond du premier amendement soviétique, une position plus révolutionnaire que les auteurs de cet amendement. En expliquant son vote, la délégation de Ceylan affirme que ce texte pourrait constituer une entrave à certains droits communs à tous les peuples colonisés.

72. Je ne veux pas évoquer maintenant de questions qui sont encore débattues par la Première Commission de l'Assemblée, mais je dirai que toute tentative faite par un groupe de puissances coloniales, ou par une seule de ces puissances, en vue de perpétuer le colonialisme signifierait également qu'à l'avenir le fait de la conquête donnerait aux peuples colonisés le droit à la rébellion. A cet égard, le Gouvernement de Ceylan va plus loin que le premier paragraphe proposé dans le document A/L.328.

73. C'est la raison pour laquelle la délégation de Ceylan s'est abstenue sur ce paragraphe. Permettez-moi néanmoins d'ajouter que nous sommes entièrement d'accord avec l'Union soviétique sur les principes qui y sont exprimés et que nous nous féliciterions si les peuples colonisés, par l'intermédiaire de leurs représentants élus, pouvaient négocier avec leurs maîtres coloniaux ou avec les puissances coloniales. Mais nous défendons aussi le principe: "Pacificquement si possible, par la force si c'est nécessaire". En un mot, nous affirmons que le droit de conquête donne aux peuples le droit de rébellion et non point simplement celui de négocier.

74. Pour ces diverses raisons, nous nous sommes abstenus sur le premier paragraphe des amendements soviétiques, mais nous avons voté en faveur du deuxième paragraphe, qui tend à inscrire cette question à l'ordre du jour de la seizième session. En bref, nous l'avons fait parce que nous pensons qu'une telle attitude est conforme aux principes contenus dans le document A/4502. Qu'il me soit permis de répéter ici que la délégation de Ceylan accepte chaque mot du projet de déclaration soviétique parce qu'il faut "clouer au pilori" les puissances coloniales — si je puis m'exprimer ainsi.

75. C'est pourquoi nous avons voté comme nous l'avons fait et, tandis que j'explique mon vote, je saisis cette occasion pour dire que le Gouvernement de Ceylan, par l'intermédiaire de sa délégation, exprime à l'Union soviétique sa gratitude pour avoir pris l'initiative de faire inscrire cette question à l'ordre du jour de la quinzième session.

76. M. ZORINE (Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques) [traduit du russe]: Plus de deux mois se sont écoulés depuis le jour où le chef du Gouvernement soviétique, M. Khrouchtchev, a soumis à l'examen de l'Assemblée générale une déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, et a invité tous les Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies à adopter une décision quant à l'abolition immédiate du colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations [869^{ème} séance].

77. Une telle proposition constituait un moyen puissant de mobiliser toutes les forces de l'anticolonialisme. Une large discussion s'est instaurée autour

de cette proposition; plus de 70 délégations y ont pris part. Il est extrêmement significatif, qu'à l'exception d'un groupe très insignifiant de puissances coloniales et de leurs acolytes, une écrasante majorité de représentants soit intervenue pour condamner le colonialisme et exiger sa liquidation complète et immédiate. Le débat au sein de l'Organisation des Nations Unies de la question de la libération de tous les peuples et pays coloniaux montre qu'à l'heure actuelle, dans le monde, se sont formées et groupées des forces considérables qui s'opposent au honteux régime colonial. A l'heure actuelle, l'équilibre des facteurs politiques, économiques et militaires est tel que les puissances coloniales ne peuvent plus conserver sous leur domination leurs possessions coloniales et ne sont plus en mesure d'empêcher la banqueroute du système colonial. Il s'est créé une situation qui permettrait la liquidation du régime colonial par des moyens pacifiques, si tous les Etats et toutes les forces qui sont en faveur de la liberté et de l'indépendance des peuples colonisés s'unissent et agissent en bonne harmonie contre les efforts des puissances coloniales, visant à maintenir leur domination sur des territoires et des peuples étrangers.

78. C'est en tenant compte de ce rapport réel des forces que l'Union soviétique a pris cette initiative à l'Organisation des Nations Unies et a sollicité tous les Etats de se prononcer pour la solution pacifique de la question et pour l'adoption, dans le cadre de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, de mesures susceptibles de favoriser la liquidation complète du régime colonial. La déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, que l'Assemblée vient d'adopter, est une grande victoire du front uni des forces de l'anticolonialisme représentées à l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Il est intéressant de noter que seules huit puissances coloniales — le Portugal, l'Espagne, la Belgique, l'Union sud-africaine, l'Australie, le Royaume-Uni, la France et les Etats-Unis — n'ont pas approuvé cette déclaration, encore que ces pays n'aient pas osé, en face du puissant front anticolonialiste, s'opposer ouvertement à sa validation. Le monde entier voit maintenant qui, en réalité, est en faveur de la liquidation du honteux régime colonial et qui s'y oppose.

79. La délégation soviétique déclare sa satisfaction de voir que l'écrasante majorité des Etats Membres de l'ONU a appuyé les dispositions de principe essentielles contenues dans le projet soviétique de déclaration, et qui se sont trouvées également reflétées dans le texte de la déclaration que l'Assemblée générale vient d'adopter. Nous sommes heureux aussi du fait que 32 délégations aient appuyé par un vote positif tous les paragraphes du dispositif du projet de déclaration soviétique, tandis que 29 délégations ont voté en faveur de la proposition soviétique sur l'octroi de l'indépendance à tous les pays et à tous les peuples coloniaux, au plus tard en 1961.

80. Le fait que 41 délégations aient jugé nécessaire de poser à la seizième session de l'Assemblée générale la question de la mise en œuvre de la résolution qui vient d'être adoptée montre que le problème se posera inévitablement à la seizième session. Tout le déroulement de la discussion sur cette question confirme que la façon dont l'Union soviétique a posé le problème de la liquidation du colonialisme à l'Assemblée générale se justifiait parfaitement. Le projet de déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance

aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, déposé par l'Union soviétique, a joué un rôle direct et positif dans la prise de position et dans la préparation de conditions permettant d'adopter la solennelle déclaration de l'Organisation des Nations Unies sur la liquidation du colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations. Ce projet soviétique est un document d'importance historique et un programme d'action pour les peuples des pays coloniaux; il sera le symbole de l'appui que toutes les forces pacifiques donnent au mouvement de libération nationale des colonies et appellera tous les peuples à mettre fin sans délai au colonialisme, à effacer de la face du monde le monstrueux phénomène qui déshonore le XXème siècle.

81. M. NINCIC (Yougoslavie) [traduit de l'anglais]: Je désire expliquer brièvement les votes exprimés par ma délégation sur les projets de résolution dont l'Assemblée générale était saisie.

82. Ma délégation a voté pour la partie du document A/4502 qui nous a semblé contenir la déclaration proprement dite. Nous nous sommes abstenus de voter sur le reste du document, qui à notre avis était purement explicatif, et parce qu'un vote affirmatif aurait pu créer un précédent. C'est pourquoi nous n'avons pas cru possible d'accepter chaque mot du texte ainsi rédigé, même si nous n'avons rien trouvé à redire à son contexte général. Si le document avait été mis aux voix dans son ensemble, notre vote aurait naturellement été affirmatif.

83. Ma délégation a également voté en faveur du projet de résolution des 43 puissances, qui, à notre avis, répondait aux exigences fondamentales de la situation, et dont l'adoption à une majorité écrasante constatée il y a quelques instants constitue à notre avis un événement aussi heureux qu'important.

84. Nous avons également voté pour les amendements soviétiques à ce projet de résolution, qui à notre avis l'auraient considérablement renforcée.

85. M. JHA (Inde) [traduit de l'anglais]: La déclaration qui vient d'être adoptée est un jalon de première importance dans l'histoire des réalisations de l'ONU. Je crois que, dans l'avenir, les historiens y verront une des plus nobles résolutions que l'Organisation ait adoptées et peut-être aussi le résultat le plus prometteur de la présente session de l'Assemblée. Elle sera une source d'inspiration pour chacun, et pour les peuples qui sont encore sous la domination coloniale, en leur donnant espoir et confiance non seulement en eux-mêmes, mais encore dans l'ONU. Nous sommes également convaincus qu'elle contribuera à accélérer de façon considérable le processus de libération des peuples non autonomes.

86. Je prends la parole pour quelques instants en vue d'expliquer le vote de ma délégation sur le projet de déclaration contenu dans le document A/4502, ainsi que sur les amendements présentés par l'Union soviétique dans le document A/L.328.

87. Ma délégation a voté en faveur des trois paragraphes portant les numéros 1, 2, 3 du projet de déclaration contenu dans le document A/4502. Ces paragraphes ne contenaient rien qui fût contraire aux opinions ou aux positions du Gouvernement de l'Inde. En fait, nous y avons trouvé tout ce que mon pays défend depuis la naissance de l'ONU, ainsi que les opinions exprimées par les dirigeants responsables

du Gouvernement indien. Nous avons donc appuyé de tout cœur ces trois paragraphes.

88. En ce qui concerne le reste de ce document, nous tenons à dire que nous sommes entièrement d'accord sur une très grande partie du texte qu'il contient. On y trouve en effet des idées d'une grande noblesse et d'une parfaite élévation. Je n'en citerai que ces quelques lignes:

"Nous habitons tous la même planète. C'est sur elle que nous sommes nés, que nous travaillons, que nous élevons nos enfants et que nous leur transmettons ce que nous avons réalisé dans la vie... Tous les hommes naissent citoyens égaux en dignité."

Voilà une noble déclaration et nul — à tout le moins dans ma délégation — n'hésitera un instant à l'accepter et à voter pour elle.

89. Ainsi que je l'ai dit, nous sommes entièrement d'accord sur la plus grande partie de ce projet de déclaration. Mais voter pour un projet de déclaration de cette nature — que constitue un événement historique dans les annales de l'ONU — signifierait que l'on souscrit à chacun de ses mots, et il nous a paru un peu difficile de le faire parce que certains passages, certaines pensées ou certaines façons de les exprimer ne correspondaient pas entièrement à la position et à l'attitude traditionnelles du Gouvernement de l'Inde. Aussi nous a-t-il été impossible de voter en faveur de cette partie du texte et c'est la raison pour laquelle nous nous sommes abstenus.

90. Quant aux amendements contenus dans le document A/L.328, nous nous sommes abstenus lors du vote sur le premier amendement, qui aurait constitué le nouveau paragraphe 8 du projet de résolution présenté par les 43 puissances. Au nom de ma délégation, je tiens à préciser que nous sommes en faveur de la libération immédiate et de l'émancipation de tous les peuples non autonomes. Nul ne serait plus heureux que nous de voir s'achever le régime colonialiste sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations à la fin de 1961 au plus tard, afin que le monde devienne, à cette date, entièrement libre. Toutefois, au cours des discussions très longues et très approfondies qui ont précédé les votes et qui ont été menées avec un sens aigu des responsabilités et de l'importance du document à voter, il nous a paru nécessaire de suivre une voie un peu différente. Nous avons estimé en effet que la résolution devrait garder la forme d'une déclaration de principes qui constituerait une source d'inspiration éternelle susceptible d'être utilisée et citée en tout temps. Aussi, à notre sens, toute limitation de ces principes, par l'adjonction d'une date au paragraphe proposé, ne pourrait-elle qu'infirmier le principe fondamental qui a inspiré la résolution.

91. D'autre part, nous avons estimé qu'à certains égards le paragraphe 8 proposé — qui représente un progrès en ce sens qu'il fixait une date limite, la fin de 1961, à la réalisation de l'indépendance — constituait une certaine restriction au paragraphe clef, c'est-à-dire au paragraphe 5 du projet de déclaration présenté par les 43 puissances, lequel déclare sans ambiguïté:

"Des mesures immédiates seront prises, dans les territoires sous tutelle, les territoires non autonomes et tous autres territoires qui n'ont pas

encore accédé à l'indépendance, pour transférer tous pouvoirs aux peuples de ces territoires, sans aucune condition ni réserve..."

Il nous a semblé en effet que l'idée de négociations qui apparaît dans le paragraphe 8 proposé constituait, en quelque sorte, une limitation, puisque qui dit négociations dit conditions ou réserves possibles. Or, la pensée qui a inspiré le paragraphe 5 — du point de vue de ma délégation tout au moins — et qu'il n'y a rien à faire, qu'aucun prétexte n'est plus permis pour retarder l'accès à l'indépendance des peuples non autonomes. Il ne reste donc plus qu'à prendre des mesures immédiates, conformément aux principes démocratiques, cela va de soi. A cet égard, aucun retard n'est plus permis, et aucune négociation ne peut servir de prétexte pour éviter que de telles mesures ne soient prises. Celles-ci pourraient même signifier l'indépendance immédiate, autrement dit une indépendance qui pourrait même avoir lieu avant la fin de 1961. C'est pourquoi, tout en appréciant à sa juste valeur l'esprit qui animait le paragraphe 8 proposé, nous avons pensé qu'il était de notre devoir, en qualité d'auteur du projet de résolution des 43 puissances et compte tenu de l'idée qui inspirait le paragraphe 5 de ce texte, de nous abstenir au sujet du paragraphe 8 proposé dans le document A/L.328.

92. Nous n'avons éprouvé aucune hésitation à voter en faveur du deuxième amendement soviétique, car nous estimons que tout ce problème ne peut rester en suspens. Quant à la question de l'application de cette résolution, elle doit être examinée, sous une forme ou une autre, par l'Assemblée générale pendant la seizième session.

93. Le PRESIDENT (traduit de l'anglais): Le représentant de l'Indonésie a demandé à exercer son droit de réponse.

94. M. PALAR (Indonésie) [traduit de l'anglais]: Ce n'est pas seulement pour user du droit de réponse que j'ai pris la parole. Ma délégation désire également expliquer son vote sur les amendements soumis par l'Union soviétique dans le document A/L.328.

95. Ma délégation a participé de façon très active à l'élaboration du projet de résolution des 43 puissances. Nous avons estimé que cette résolution constituait un heureux compromis entre des opinions fort éloignées les unes des autres. Il nous a fallu à peu près quatre semaines pour l'élaborer. On comprendra donc que ses auteurs aient éprouvé quelque difficulté à accepter des amendements. En fait, nous étions fort enclins à faire nôtres les amendements présentés par l'Union soviétique, mais, comme je l'ai déjà expliqué, nous avons estimé qu'il ne serait pas très utile d'accepter des amendements à notre résolution quels qu'ils soient. C'est aussi la raison pour laquelle nous avons essayé de convaincre le représentant du Guatemala de retirer ses propres amendements.

96. Je voudrais user maintenant de mon droit de réponse à l'égard du représentant des Pays-Bas.

97. Celui-ci s'est efforcé d'interpréter à sa façon le paragraphe 6 de notre déclaration. En fait, la délégation néerlandaise a essayé de nous prouver qu'elle savait mieux que les 43 auteurs du projet de résolution ce qu'ils souhaitaient en déposant cette résolution. Nous avons quelque expérience de

l'habilité avec laquelle les Néerlandais interprètent les résolutions et les accords. J'aimerais attirer l'attention de l'Assemblée sur ce qui s'est passé entre les Pays-Bas et l'Indonésie il y a environ 15 ans, lorsque nous avons conclu un accord avec eux. Il s'agissait de l'Accord de Linggadati, dont une disposition stipulait que, si les parties n'étaient pas d'accord sur son interprétation, les divergences d'opinions devraient faire l'objet d'un arbitrage. A l'époque, j'étais membre du Parlement néerlandais et j'ai constaté avec stupeur que le Parlement et le Gouvernement hollandais réussissaient à se convaincre que la disposition relative à l'arbitrage ne signifiait nullement que l'on doit avoir recours à l'arbitrage. En fait, ils sont parvenus à se convaincre que, bien que l'Accord de Linggadati contînt une disposition sur l'arbitrage, ils n'étaient pas tenus d'accepter cette procédure.

98. C'est là une interprétation à laquelle les Pays-Bas nous ont habitués. Nous comprenons qu'ils se soient efforcés de tirer le meilleur parti possible de l'inexpérience de l'Indonésie, mais nous sommes surpris de voir, aujourd'hui, le représentant des Pays-Bas monter à cette tribune pour prétendre nous donner une interprétation du projet de résolution qu'ont présenté en commun 43 membres de cette assemblée. Il semble que le représentant des Pays-Bas sache mieux que nous-mêmes ce que nous voulons. Comment faut-il qualifier ce genre d'attitude? Disons simplement que c'est une attitude hollandaise.

99. Le PRESIDENT (traduit de l'anglais): Avant de donner la parole au prochain orateur, je dois vous informer que le représentant du Dahomey m'a fait savoir qu'il ne lui avait pas été possible de prendre part au vote, mais désire qu'il soit mentionné au procès-verbal que, s'il avait été présent, il aurait voté pour le projet de résolution des 43 puissances [A/L.323 et Add.1 à 6].

100. Je donne maintenant la parole au représentant du Portugal.

101. M. GARIN (Portugal) [traduit de l'anglais]: Je voudrais expliquer brièvement le vote de la délégation portugaise. Nous avons suivi avec beaucoup d'attention le débat sur le colonialisme qui s'est déroulé au sein de l'Assemblée générale. Nous approuvons bien des opinions qui se sont exprimées en cette occasion. Ainsi que l'ont souligné nombre d'orateurs, l'aspect le plus déplorable du colonialisme est le complexe de supériorité raciale, de subjugation des peuples à des fins politiques ou idéologiques et d'exploitation économique. A l'exception de quelques rares délégations, nous sommes certains que personne, dans cette assemblée, ne défendrait cet aspect du colonialisme, et ma délégation moins encore que les autres. Nous nous associons donc à tous ceux qui désirent voir disparaître cette sorte de néo-colonialisme impitoyable qui s'exerce à l'intérieur d'un grand Etat ainsi qu'aux dépens de certaines nations qui ont perdu leur indépendance au cours de ces dernières années, ou qui ne jouissent que d'une indépendance toute symbolique.

102. Pour ce qui est des territoires sous tutelle et des autres territoires au sujet desquels des obligations internationales ont été souscrites, il est assurément souhaitable que les principes de la Charte des Nations Unies soient appliqués, compte tenu des circonstances propres à chaque cas et éga-

lement des nécessités du moment, afin que les mesures prises ne puissent, en aucune manière, nuire aux intérêts bien compris de chacun.

103. Ma délégation a étudié avec soin le projet de résolution et les amendements déposés. Un débat prolongé et détaillé a eu lieu ici, mais nous estimons cependant que ces textes n'ont pas été suffisamment discutés et débattus, étant donné l'importance toute particulière de la question. C'est ainsi que le projet de résolution que vient d'approuver l'Assemblée ne nous paraît tenir compte ni de la complexité de tous les problèmes traités dans ce cadre, ni de leurs répercussions éventuelles. Bien des conséquences et bien des réalités pratiques n'ont été ni prises en considération, ni placées dans la perspective qui leur convient, et il n'a pas été tenu compte de certains aspects politiques, économiques ou autres qui peuvent surgir ultérieurement.

104. De même, nous avons entendu ici les dirigeants de quatre ou cinq pays nous parler d'un nouveau type de colonialisme, qui est le système politique et économique le plus détestable que le monde ait jamais connu et qui a entraîné la subjugation et l'oppression de nombreux pays qui ont été ainsi livrés à la tyrannie. Ma délégation aurait pensé que ce type de colonialisme aurait dû, lui aussi, être condamné dans le projet de résolution adopté par l'Assemblée, car un effort dans ce sens aurait servi l'intérêt de l'humanité entière. Toutefois, l'Assemblée en a jugé autrement et le texte qu'elle a adopté a ainsi perdu le sens et la portée universels qu'il aurait pu avoir.

105. Au cours du débat, enfin, des attaques dénuées de tout fondement et de toute justification ont été lancées contre mon pays, certaines délégations se donnant le plus grand mal pour lui reprocher des principes et des conceptions qui n'ont rien à voir avec ce débat et qui n'y avaient pas leur place. Nous rejetons catégoriquement ces accusations; mais le fait qu'elles aient été proférées a éveillé dans notre esprit des doutes qui n'ont pas été dissipés par la suite du débat.

106. Pour toutes ces raisons, et compte tenu de la déclaration que j'ai eu l'occasion de faire au cours des débats [934ème séance], ma délégation a jugé nécessaire de s'abstenir lors du vote.

107. M. SHAWARBI (Yémen) [traduit de l'anglais]: Le Gouvernement du Yémen est convaincu qu'il est nécessaire de prendre toutes les mesures propres à octroyer la pleine indépendance à tous les peuples du monde. Notre délégation a donc voté en faveur du projet de résolution contenu dans le document A/L.323 et Add.1 à 6 qui prévoit que des mesures immédiates soient prises pour transférer tous les pouvoirs aux peuples de tous les territoires non autonomes et pour garantir l'intégrité territoriale et les droits de tous les pays.

108. M. OWONO (Cameroun): La délégation de la République camerounaise n'a pas besoin d'expliquer le vote favorable qu'elle a apporté au projet de résolution présenté par les délégations d'Afrique et d'Asie [A/L.323 et Add.1 à 6] puisqu'elle a parrainé cette résolution. La quasi-unanimité du vote est suffisante et souligne éloquentement l'importance de ce fait historique qui illustre la nécessité absolue d'une communauté de vues sur la recherche des solutions aux problèmes africains. S'il était encore besoin de le souligner ici, ce vote démontrerait que les besoins

de l'Afrique et des pays africains ainsi que de tous les pays intéressés ne peuvent être bien analysés, recensés et étudiés que par les Africains et les intéressés eux-mêmes et que, malgré toute leur bonne volonté, tous les non-Africains ne peuvent avoir sur les problèmes qui nous concernent que des vues différentes des nôtres et ne peuvent qu'adopter des méthodes non applicables à notre continent et à notre population.

109. L'ovation qui a salué le vote se passe de commentaires.

110. Je voudrais ajouter quelques mots afin d'expliquer le vote de ma délégation sur le projet de déclaration soviétique [A/4502] et les amendements soviétiques [A/L.328] au projet de résolution des puissances d'Afrique et d'Asie. Nous n'avons pas voulu demander que l'on procède de la façon qui me semblait le mieux permettre d'exprimer son opinion sur l'objet de ce projet de déclaration. Nous avons estimé en effet que les travaux de cette assemblée tiraient à leur fin, qu'il restait encore des décisions à prendre sur des problèmes importants, que les débats relatifs à cette déclaration avaient assez duré et qu'il ne fallait plus traîner sur des questions de procédure. S'il n'en avait pas été ainsi, nous aurions demandé que l'on considère séparément chacun des trois paragraphes numérotés de la déclaration soviétique. Ma délégation aurait eu de bonnes raisons de souhaiter la séparation du vote sur ces points particuliers.

111. Le premier des paragraphes numérotés est le suivant:

"1. Accorder sans délai à tous les pays coloniaux, territoires sous tutelle et autres territoires non autonomes, l'indépendance complète et la liberté d'édifier leurs propres Etats nationaux conformément à la volonté et aux aspirations librement exprimées de leur peuple. Le régime colonial et l'administration coloniale sous toutes ses formes doivent être entièrement supprimés afin de permettre aux peuples de ces territoires de décider eux-mêmes de leur sort et de leur régime politique."

Cette partie de la déclaration soviétique est conforme aux vues de la délégation camerounaise; c'est pourquoi nous aurions souhaité qu'un vote soit demandé à l'Assemblée sur ce point précis. Ma délégation aurait approuvé ce paragraphe, sauf en ce qui concerne les mots du début "sans délai" que nous aurions demandé de supprimer. Je m'expliquerai plus loin à ce sujet, à propos de l'amendement soviétique.

112. Le deuxième paragraphe numéroté se lit comme suit:

"2. Eliminer également tous les points d'appui du colonialisme sous la forme de possessions et de zones cédées à bail en territoire étranger."

Si un vote séparé avait été pris sur ce paragraphe, ma délégation se serait abstenue en raison des termes: "cédées à bail en territoire étranger". Ainsi que je l'ai déjà expliqué, ma délégation estime que ni les Nations Unies ni personne au monde ne peuvent apprécier un bail ou un contrat fait dans un pays étranger. Nous nous serions donc abstenus si un vote avait été pris sur ce point précis.

113. Ma délégation aurait voté en faveur du troisième paragraphe numéroté de la déclaration soviétique. Malheureusement, elle n'a pas été soumise à un vote séparé; c'est pourquoi, il ne nous a pas été possible d'exprimer les vues de notre gouvernement sur ce point.

114. Nous nous sommes abstenus au cours du vote sur le projet de déclaration soviétique, car nous estimions que le projet de résolution des pays d'Afrique et d'Asie résumait, d'une façon générale, le point de vue soviétique et que, d'autre part, il n'était pas possible à un pays qui avait parrainé une résolution présentée par toutes les puissances intéressées de se dissocier des vues qu'il avait déjà exprimées.

115. En ce qui concerne les amendements de l'Union soviétique (A/L.328), ma délégation aurait demandé également que l'on supprime la deuxième partie du paragraphe 8, qui se lirait comme suit:

"Invite les puissances intéressées à assurer, dans tous les territoires dépendants, la transmission du pouvoir absolu et souverain au peuple, conformément aux principes énoncés ci-dessus, et à entamer à cette fin des négociations avec les représentants des peuples coloniaux."

Je me serais arrêté là et j'aurais demandé de soumettre au vote cette première partie du paragraphe 8. Ma délégation se serait prononcée en faveur de ce paragraphe, car, ainsi que je l'ai déjà dit à propos du paragraphe 1 du projet de déclaration soviétique [A/4502], elle estime que les mots "sans délai" et le mot "négociations" ne peuvent aller ensemble.

116. De même que nous avons été obligés de nous abstenir dans le vote sur le projet de déclaration soviétique à cause des mots "sans délai" du paragraphe 1, nous avons été forcés de le faire dans le vote sur l'ensemble du paragraphe 8 des amendements soviétiques à cause de la deuxième partie du texte de ce paragraphe. En effet, nous n'avons pas réussi à demander qu'un vote séparé soit pris sur la première partie de ce paragraphe où il est demandé que soient entamées des négociations. Le Gouvernement camerounais est favorable aux négociations; il a applaudi à l'admission de 17 nouveaux Etats Membres africains et asiatiques au sein de cette organisation lors de cette session de l'Assemblée et l'accession à l'indépendance de ces Etats a été consécutive à des négociations. Ma délégation aurait voté en faveur des négociations parce que celles-ci auraient conduit inévitablement à l'indépendance et à la souveraineté des peuples africains.

117. Je voudrais maintenant expliquer pourquoi nous avons voté en faveur du paragraphe 9 des amendements soviétiques:

"Décide d'examiner à sa seizième session ordinaire la question de l'application de la présente résolution."

La délégation camerounaise a estimé que, quelle que soit la décision de l'Assemblée, cette question devra être examinée à l'avenir par notre organisation. Elle a appuyé cet amendement parce qu'elle a estimé que, même si un texte comme celui-ci n'avait pas été adopté dans notre projet, de toute façon cette question serait réinscrite à l'ordre du jour de la seizième session de l'Assemblée et qu'il était tout indiqué que notre projet de résolution contienne des dis-

positions permettant de porter des appréciations sur le texte que nous avons adopté presque à l'unanimité.

118. Telles sont les raisons qui ont conduit ma délégation à s'abstenir dans le vote sur le projet de déclaration et sur les amendements soviétiques, en déterminant simplement notre vote sur un point qui a été mis aux voix séparément.

119. Pour conclure, je dirai que le Gouvernement camerounais et moi-même sommes profondément convaincus que le résultat du vote sur le projet de résolution des pays d'Afrique et d'Asie démontre d'une façon absolument irréfutable que tout ce qui pourra être fait en Afrique sera voué à l'échec si les Africains ne sont pas consultés et si la possibilité ne leur est pas offerte d'exprimer leurs vœux et d'indiquer de quelle manière ils entendent qu'ils soient réalisés.

120. M. ROSSIDES (Chypre) [traduit de l'anglais]: Nous estimons que le projet de résolution auquel nous nous sommes associés traitait de façon tout à fait satisfaisante le problème de la domination étrangère et du colonialisme, dont la population de Chypre a eu une longue expérience. Nous nous sommes donc abstenus de voter sur toute autre déclaration ou sur tout amendement à notre projet de résolution, sauf en ce qui concernait sa mise en œuvre.

121. Jusqu'ici, la présente session s'était surtout signalée par son inefficacité. En effet, aucun accord n'était intervenu sur aucune des questions examinées. Aucun résultat fructueux n'avait donc été obtenu. Cette inefficacité avait même donné lieu à des plaisanteries: ne parlait-on pas de la "Commission inactive" et de la "Commission spéciale inactive"? Mais le projet de résolution qui vient d'être adopté pour ainsi dire à l'unanimité compense largement d'autres carences. Il rachète la session et la place très haut dans les annales de l'ONU. Par cette résolution, des idéaux et des notions qui ont toujours vécu dans l'esprit et dans le cœur de l'homme, et au nom desquels on a livré des guerres, prennent une forme concrète et vont se réaliser pacifiquement. Il y a là un fait historique de première importance. Cette résolution a un retentissement immense. L'histoire inscrira cette session, par son importance, immédiatement après la première session fondant l'Organisation des Nations Unies, car le document qui vient d'être adopté peut être placé aussitôt après la Charte des Nations Unies et la Déclaration universelle des droits de l'homme, qui lui servent de base et auxquelles il insuffle une vie nouvelle et bien nécessaire.

122. Cette résolution met fin à un long chapitre de l'histoire; celui de la domination par la force, la subjugation et l'exploitation. Une nouvelle étape commence, fondée sur l'égalité et la fraternité des hommes. Nous pouvons donc, avec modestie, être fiers de la résolution qui vient d'être adoptée à la quasi-unanimité.

123. M. AMMOUN (Liban): L'explication qui m'appelle à la tribune est relative au vote de ma délégation sur le projet de déclaration de l'Union soviétique. Nous avons voté les trois paragraphes numérotés dudit projet parce qu'ils condamnent le colonialisme en tous lieux et dans toutes ses manifestations. Nous y voyons, au premier chef, la condamnation d'une manifestation nouvelle et surnoise du colonialisme: le sionisme colonialiste.

124. Comment un certain délégué d'Israël ose-t-il le nier quand on voit une patrie enlevée à ses habitants par une violence brutale et occupée par des gens ramassés un peu partout et venant de tous les coins du monde? Tandis que ces étrangers occupent le pays qu'ils ont envahi, tout un peuple reste sans foyer et sans patrie. Le colonialisme en Asie...

125. Le **PRESIDENT** (traduit de l'anglais): Le représentant d'Israël a la parole pour une motion d'ordre.

126. M. **COMAY** (Israël) [traduit de l'anglais]: Je voudrais demander au Président s'il est permis, au titre de l'article 90 du règlement intérieur — explication de vote — à une délégation expliquant son vote sur un projet de résolution de se livrer à des attaques renouvelées contre un autre Etat Membre. Je rappelle que cette attaque a déjà eu lieu et que, dans l'exercice de son droit de réponse, ma délégation y a brièvement répliqué, à la fin du débat sur ce point de l'ordre du jour et avant le moment du vote ou des explications de vote.

127. Il me semble donc que, conformément au règlement, et en vue de mettre un terme aux débats, il serait utile que le Président déclare irrecevable toute nouvelle attaque du genre de celle à laquelle j'ai déjà eu l'occasion de répondre aujourd'hui.

128. Le **PRESIDENT** (traduit de l'anglais): Je prie le représentant du Liban de bien vouloir se limiter à expliquer son vote.

129. M. **AMMOUN** (Liban): L'explication de vote que je donne concerne un texte auquel ma délégation n'a pas collaboré. Le Liban a présenté à l'Assemblée, avec d'autres pays de toutes les parties du monde, un projet de résolution qui a été adopté [A/L.323 et Add.1 à 6]. Mais mon explication porte sur un autre texte qui a été soumis par une autre délégation et qui se rattache à des points au sujet desquels je dois donner des explications étant donné que j'ai voté ce texte nouveau. Avec la permission du Président, je continue donc l'explication de ce vote de ma délégation en faveur du projet de déclaration soviétique [A/4502].

130. Je disais que le colonialisme en Asie et en Afrique entre bien, tout de même, dans le domaine du colonialisme. Ce colonialisme en Asie et en Afrique occupe ou a occupé des régions sans en déposséder les habitants, sans faire main basse sur tout ce qui leur appartenait. Ces habitants redeviennent aujourd'hui indépendants et maîtres de leur pays. Tel n'a pas été le cas dans un autre pays colonisé et c'est toujours le sujet qui m'occupe. Il s'agit de la Palestine, ce pays qui non seulement a été occupé, mais dépouillé, non pas uniquement de ses biens, mais même de ses habitants. Et le délégué que vous avez entendu a été assez effronté pour nier qu'il s'agit de colonialisme, alors que nous sommes en présence d'un colonialisme double, pour ainsi dire, puisqu'il enlève au pays et sa souveraineté et son territoire. Non seulement le délégué a nié les faits, mais il a démenti, sans s'en douter, un certain personnage que tout Juif respecte, qui a été le fondateur même du sionisme, il y a 100 ans, et qui, comme on le sait, suppliait la Grande-Bretagne de l'aider à constituer en Palestine un foyer national juif afin que ce pays — la Palestine — devienne, comme il disait, une tête de pont du colonialisme européen en Asie.

131. Malheureusement, si le colonialisme a disparu ou disparaît de l'Asie, la tête de pont est restée, et c'est là précisément ce qu'il faut expurger de la vie.

132. Deuxièmement, la condamnation du colonialisme par le texte soviétique, en faveur duquel ma délégation a voté, condamne la manifestation de ce mal endémique qu'est la discrimination raciale. Les dénégations effrontées du représentant d'Israël ou même des délégués qui l'ont précédé peuvent-elles cacher une réalité qui saute aux yeux? En effet, Israël est un Etat juif. Par conséquent, par une logique implacable, tout non-Juif est un ressortissant d'une autre qualité. N'est-il pas juif l'Etat dans lequel la question de savoir si les Juifs de l'Exode étaient 6.000, ou 60.000, ou 600.000 est l'objet d'un débat parlementaire et où le chef du gouvernement, M. Ben Gourion, qui a osé s'exprimer différemment de certains autres partis politiques en interprétant la Bible, se trouve en butte à une interpellation et même, dirai-je, peut-être à une question de confiance? Est-ce là un Parlement ou un temple juif? Il est parfaitement juste, en effet, de nous poser cette question.

133. L'Etat israélien juif étant ce qu'il est, tout non-Juif est, en effet, traité en citoyen de seconde zone, un gentil disaient autrefois les Juifs. Nous sommes à nouveau au temps de la gentilité. C'est cette manifestation nouvelle du colonialisme que condamne le texte soviétique que nous avons voulu voter.

134. Troisièmement, enfin, les délégués israéliens ont protesté avec véhémence quand on a expliqué comment l'invasion et la colonisation de la Palestine avaient eu lieu. Ils ont protesté, notamment, contre l'accusation d'avoir appliqué aux populations des Lieux saints des procédés dignes d'Hitler. Ce ne sont pas les Arabes qui ont comparé les procédés israéliens à ceux d'Hitler, il y a 10 ans. Cela s'est passé en 1948, au Conseil de sécurité, et celui qui parlait ainsi n'était pas un délégué arabe. Celui qui a été soulevé par les honteux procédés juifs et qui a dit que les Juifs, en Palestine, avaient été...

135. M. **COMAY** (Israël) [traduit de l'anglais] (parlant de sa place): Motion d'ordre.

136. M. **AMMOUN** (Liban): J'ai terminé, Monsieur le Président.

137. Le **PRESIDENT** (traduit de l'anglais): Puisque le représentant du Liban a terminé, je donne la parole au représentant d'Israël pour une motion d'ordre.

138. M. **COMAY** (Israël) [traduit de l'anglais]: Ce que je peux faire de plus indulgent à l'égard de la déclaration qui vient d'être faite, c'est de la répudier entièrement et de rappeler les paroles que j'ai prononcées ce matin [946ème séance] en réponse à la déclaration faite antérieurement par la même délégation.

139. Ma délégation a pleinement appuyé le projet de résolution proposé par un groupe de pays d'Afrique et d'Asie. Nous nous félicitons de constater que ce projet de résolution a été adopté à une majorité écrasante. Ce résultat exprime bien le changement spectaculaire qui se produit à notre époque dans le monde. Nous croyons qu'il est de l'intérêt bien compris des peuples assujettis eux-mêmes que l'accession à l'indépendance et, autant que possible, le transfert de pouvoirs se fassent de manière concertée et dans l'ordre, et non pas dans des conditions de chaos et de conflit.

140. C'est pour cette raison que nous avons voté contre les propositions qui insistaient catégoriquement pour que tous les territoires non autonomes deviennent indépendants immédiatement, voire avant la fin de 1961. La rédaction plus souple, plus réaliste, du projet de résolution A/L.323 et Add.1 à 6 nous a semblé meilleure, notamment parce que ce texte constitue le terrain d'entente auquel sont parvenus les auteurs eux-mêmes dans leurs discussions.

141. Nous avons voté, d'autre part, contre une déclaration qui mêlait l'octroi de la liberté aux peuples colonisés aux controverses de la guerre froide. Tel n'est pas l'intérêt de ces peuples, et ce n'est pas ce qu'ils veulent.

142. M. WADSWORTH (Etats-Unis d'Amérique) [traduit de l'anglais]: Je voudrais expliquer l'attitude des Etats-Unis à l'égard du projet de résolution des 43 puissances, qui vient d'être adopté sans opposition, et exposer la raison pour laquelle nous nous sommes abstenus lors du vote. Les Etats-Unis, ainsi que je l'ai dit dans mon intervention précédente au cours de ce même débat [937ème séance], appuient chaleureusement l'intérêt et le sésir que manifestent les Nations Unies en vue d'assurer une liberté plus grande aux peuples du monde entier. L'appui que nous donnons à la liberté a sa source dans les convictions profondes du peuple américain. C'est pourquoi nous avons accueilli avec faveur la résolution présentée par 43 délégations qui nous semblaient avoir pour objectif la réalisation des libertés humaines au sens le plus large.

143. La motion de liberté humaine, ainsi que le précise bien la résolution, ne s'applique pas seulement aux peuples qui s'acheminent vers l'autonomie ou l'indépendance sous l'administration d'une autre puissance, mais également à ceux qui désirent vivre dans le cadre des institutions libres qu'ils ont choisies et qui voient ce désir brutalement réprimé. La liberté est vraiment indivisible.

144. La résolution présente des difficultés dans sa rédaction et dans sa conception, et j'en parlerai avec plus de précision dans un moment. Ces difficultés nous ont empêchés d'appuyer le texte, qui nous a paru démentir certaines dispositions évidentes de la Charte des Nations Unies. Nous regrettons profondément que ces questions de terminologie n'aient pu être mises au point, car les Etats-Unis, je l'ai déjà dit, approuvent l'appui que l'Organisation des Nations Unies, conformément à la Charte, accorde à la recherche par tous les peuples d'institutions politiques et de formules gouvernementales répondant à leur droit de vivre dans la dignité et la liberté.

145. Ce qui est clair, toutefois, c'est que cette résolution s'applique au même titre à toutes les régions du monde qui ne sont pas libres, qu'elles soient situées dans l'hémisphère occidental, en Afrique, en Asie ou en Europe. Elle évoque la liberté par contraste avec la subjugation, la domination et l'exploitation étrangères. Le texte proclame que tous les peuples ont le droit de disposer d'eux-mêmes, et il condamne le colonialisme dans toutes ses manifestations. Les Membres de l'ONU ne seraient pas fidèles à leur mandat et à leurs responsabilités selon la Charte s'ils n'examinaient pas le sort de certains peuples auxquels s'appliquent, de toute évidence, les dispositions de la Charte et celles de la nouvelle résolution. Je parle de façon précise des peuples qui

vivent sous la domination coloniale soviétique et dont j'ai brièvement évoqué le sort dans ma précédente intervention.

146. Nous avons rencontré des difficultés, je l'ai dit, dans la rédaction et dans la conception de cette résolution. C'est ainsi qu'on comprend mal pourquoi une résolution portant sur un sujet aussi vaste doit garder un silence absolu sur le rôle important qu'ont joué les autorités administrantes — y compris mon propre gouvernement — dans l'évolution des peuples dépendants vers l'autonomie ou l'indépendance.

147. La résolution insiste également avec force sur l'indépendance complète comme seul but acceptable, méconnaissant ainsi les dispositions de la Charte qui prévoient l'autonomie de certaines régions dans un cadre politique plus large. Cette constatation résulte du titre de la résolution et de nombreux de ses paragraphes. C'est ainsi que l'avant-dernier paragraphe du préambule, par exemple, fait état du droit inaliénable de tous les peuples à une complète liberté, c'est-à-dire, semble-t-il, à une indépendance complète dans tous les cas.

148. Pour notre part, nous devons nous demander s'il est sage de souscrire à des principes qui, dans certains cas, donneraient lieu à une fragmentation politique inutile et iraient à l'encontre des réalités économiques et politiques dans de nombreuses régions du monde. Une autonomie démocratique complète, dans le cadre d'un système politique plus large et stable, constitue parfois un objectif immédiat plus intéressant qu'une pleine indépendance politique.

149. Après avoir examiné avec soin les principaux aspects de cette résolution, nous sommes parvenus à la conclusion que les paragraphes 3, 4 et 5 risquent de donner lieu à de graves erreurs d'interprétation, capables de provoquer des malentendus profonds quant à l'attitude des gouvernements ici représentés sur la nécessité de préparer dans l'ordre et efficacement l'autonomie ou l'indépendance, conformément aux dispositions de la Charte. Encore que nous soyons certains que telle n'était pas l'intention des auteurs, le libellé du paragraphe 3 permet de supposer que la préparation à l'indépendance n'a aucune importance. Or, préparer de façon appropriée un pays à l'autonomie ou à l'indépendance est une affaire de prudence élémentaire et constitue une responsabilité qui doit être acceptée par ceux qui ont la charge des peuples non autonomes. Il est essentiel que les peuples naissants soient raisonnablement en mesure d'assumer les responsabilités auxquelles ils devront faire face. D'autre part, nous n'accepterons jamais que de fausses allégations portant sur la préparation politique, économique, sociale ou culturelle soient utilisées pour retarder le progrès politique.

150. Le paragraphe 4, rédigé sans nuances, semble même exclure toutes les mesures légitimes qui viseraient à maintenir l'ordre public, ce qui est incompatible, on le conçoit, avec les obligations qu'ont les puissances administrantes envers les peuples dont elles ont la charge.

151. Quant au paragraphe 5, on y trouve une déclaration extrêmement vigoureuse selon laquelle seules une indépendance et une liberté complètes constituent un objectif politique acceptable pour les peuples non autonomes. Ce paragraphe prévoit aussi des mesures immédiates pour le transfert de tous les pouvoirs aux

peuples des territoires sous tutelle et des territoires non autonomes, sans conditions ni réserves.

152. L'œuvre accomplie par les Etats-Unis dans l'émancipation des peuples placés sous leur administration est connue de tous, et nous en sommes fiers. Nous avons déjà beaucoup agi, nous agissons encore et nous continuerons d'agir, conformément à nos responsabilités internationales découlant de la Charte et aux responsabilités que nous avons assumées envers les peuples placés sous notre administration. Comme beaucoup d'Etats Membres de l'ONU, nous considérons que les dispositions des Chapitres XI et XII de la Charte, qui traitent expressément des territoires non autonomes et des territoires sous tutelle, concernent également les territoires dont nous avons la responsabilité. Le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis continuera donc de faire progresser ces territoires et leurs populations vers l'autonomie ou l'indépendance, conformément aux dispositions de la Charte et aux obligations que nous avons assumées en vertu de l'Accord de tutelle pour le Territoire sous tutelle que nous administrons.

153. Je voudrais vous rappeler une déclaration empreinte d'une haute sagesse, faite à cette tribune, par le représentant de l'Inde. Exposant la position de sa délégation à propos d'une autre question, il a déclaré: "Nous ne pensons pas que nous pourrions donner à ce texte notre appui sans réserve, si nous ne pouvions en approuver chacun des termes." C'est la raison principale pour laquelle les Etats-Unis ont cru devoir s'abstenir dans ce scrutin. Je suis sûr néanmoins que le respect dont les Etats-Unis témoignent à l'égard des principes de liberté humaine et des progrès politiques sera jugé à leurs actes passés, présents et futurs, en faveur de la cause de la liberté. Je suis sûr que la valeur de notre adhésion à ces principes sera appréciée d'après nos actes eux-mêmes et non d'après l'image déformée que d'autres en présentent ou en présenteront.

154. Le projet de résolution soumis par la délégation soviétique, avec l'insistance que l'on sait, ne pouvait rien ajouter d'utile au texte des 43 pays, que nous savions devoir être adopté sans opposition. Nous regrettons que le représentant de l'URSS ait persisté à demander sa mise aux voix, de même que l'amendement soviétique au projet de résolution des 43 puissances. Etant donné l'impérialisme et le colonialisme dont l'URSS a donné des exemples notoires au cours de son histoire relativement brève, et notamment depuis la seconde guerre mondiale, ç'eût été une duperie que d'adopter la proposition soviétique sur cette question. En conséquence, nous avons voté contre elle.

155. M. BENABOUD (Maroc): Toutes les déclarations et résolutions relatives à l'éradication du colonialisme sous toutes ses formes suivent le courant normal de l'histoire et répondent toutes, sans exception, au vœu de l'humanité entière pour l'avènement et la consolidation du règne de la liberté concrète et réelle. C'est pourquoi nous avons voté en faveur du projet de déclaration proposé par l'Union soviétique [A/4502], surtout eu égard aux trois paragraphes numérotés. Bien entendu, l'essentiel des dispositions contenues dans cette déclaration se retrouvent à peu près dans le projet de résolution des pays d'Afrique et d'Asie

[A/L.323 et Add.1 à 6]. Nous sommes heureux de l'adopter sans opposition aucune de ce dernier document.

156. Nous avons voté en faveur du projet de déclaration proposé par l'Union soviétique pour que notre action contribue à la disparition définitive de l'esclavage, ouvert ou camouflé, de l'homme par son semblable. Cependant, s'il ne convient pas, à cette heure tardive, de faire une longue énumération des raisons de notre vote, ils nous paraît important de dire une seule de ces raisons.

157. Les trois paragraphes numérotés de la déclaration de l'Union soviétique mentionnent l'indépendance réelle et non fictive, complète et sans ambages, l'élimination des points d'appui du colonialisme, qui troublent aujourd'hui la sérénité de l'atmosphère internationale, le respect de l'intégrité territoriale.

158. Les mêmes principes sont mentionnés dans le projet de résolution des pays d'Afrique et d'Asie. En particulier, le paragraphe 6 explique très bien ce que notre délégation entend par intégrité territoriale. Lorsque nous avons discuté ce document et accepté d'en être un des auteurs, nous avons présenté à la mémoire une longue liste d'exemples de partage et de démembrement de l'unité des territoires nationaux. Je me limiterai à mentionner trois de ces exemples.

159. Il y a, premièrement, la tentative, que nous espérons infructueuse et vaine, de démembrement du Congo, en particulier au Katanga.

160. Deuxièmement, je mentionnerai le triste démembrement de la Palestine et son occupation, que nous espérons temporaire et courte, par ce nouveau phénomène de colonialisme étranger appelé le sionisme international.

161. Troisièmement, il y a les efforts, suivant la méthode douce et silencieuse des vipères, du colonialisme français en vue du partage du Maroc et du démembrement de son unité territoriale nationale, par la création d'un Etat artificiel dans la région du Sud marocain, appelée Mauritanie par le colonialisme. La population de cette région ne connaît même pas ce vocable de Mauritanie. Dites à un Bédouin de la région, dite Mauritanie, que vous êtes en Mauritanie: il ne comprendra pas votre langage. Dans cette région, on a créé de toutes pièces une minuscule capitale qui, jusqu'à maintenant, n'avait pas encore un seul hôtel. Une école nouvellement créée a même été transformée en local d'habitation.

162. La déclaration soviétique pour laquelle nous avons voté suit donc une voie semblable à celle suivie par la déclaration des pays d'Afrique et d'Asie demandant l'élimination radicale et totale du colonialisme, soit européen, soit sioniste, et de la balkanisation telle qu'elle se pratique en Afrique, au Moyen-Orient et ailleurs.

163. Le PRESIDENT (traduit de l'anglais): La liste des délégués désireux de prendre la parole pour expliquer leur vote est épuisée, et la discussion sur la "Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux" est close. L'Assemblée peut se féliciter de cette réussite.

La séance est levée à 18 h 15.

Conformément aux principes élevés proclamés dans la Charte, l'Organisation des Nations Unies doit se prononcer pour l'élimination immédiate et complète du régime colonial sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations.

Cette action deviendra l'un des grands fondements du développement de relations véritablement amicales entre tous les Etats et tous les peuples et, partant, l'une des grandes contributions à l'accomplissement de la noble tâche qui consiste à assurer une paix solide et durable dans le monde.

Fermement attaché au principe que l'Organisation des Nations Unies est un centre où s'harmonisent les efforts des nations vers les fins communes énoncées dans la Charte, le Gouvernement soviétique saisit l'Assemblée générale d'un projet de déclaration où sont proclamées solennellement les demandes suivantes :

1. Accorder sans délai à tous les pays coloniaux, territoires sous tutelle et autres territoires non autonomes, l'indépendance complète et la liberté d'édifier leurs propres Etats nationaux conformément à la volonté et aux

aspirations librement exprimées de leurs peuples. Le régime colonial et l'administration coloniale sous toutes ses formes doivent être entièrement supprimés afin de permettre aux peuples de ces territoires de décider eux-mêmes de leur sort et de leur régime politique.

2. Eliminer également tous les points d'appui du colonialisme, à savoir les domaines et les zones cédées à bail en territoire étranger.

3. Les gouvernements de tous les pays sont invités à observer rigoureusement, dans les relations entre Etats, les dispositions de la Charte des Nations Unies et de la présente Déclaration concernant l'égalité et le respect des droits souverains et de l'intégrité territoriale de tous les Etats sans exception, et à n'admettre aucune manifestation du colonialisme, aucun droit ou privilège exclusif de certains Etats au détriment d'autres Etats.

Le texte du projet de déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux est joint au présent mémoire explicatif¹.

¹ Voir ci-dessous document A/4502.

DOCUMENT A/4502 *

Projet de déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, présenté par le Président du Conseil des ministres de l'Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques à la 869^e séance plénière de l'Assemblée générale

[Texte original en russe]
[23 septembre 1960]

Les Etats qui composent l'Organisation des Nations Unies ont fondé leur Charte sur les idéaux élevés et humains de l'égalité des droits des nations et des peuples et de leur droit à disposer d'eux-mêmes.

Née au moment où s'achevait dans la victoire la seconde guerre mondiale, l'Organisation des Nations Unies concrétisait l'espoir qu'avec la barbarie et les crimes du fascisme et du militarisme disparaîtraient l'inégalité et l'asservissement de certaines nations et certains peuples par d'autres. Mais les espoirs des peuples ne se sont pas tous réalisés. Jusqu'à présent, le problème actuel si vital qu'est la libération complète de l'humanité du honteux régime colonial, hérité du passé, n'a pas été résolu.

Notre époque est celle de la rénovation rapide de la société, celle de l'établissement de modes de vie plus progressifs et plus justes, celle où la puissance de l'homme sur les forces de la nature prend un essor sans précédent. Le temps est venu de libérer entièrement et définitivement les peuples qui souffrent dans la servitude coloniale. C'est pourquoi les Etats Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies proclament solennellement leurs convictions, leurs intentions et leurs exigences en ce qui concerne l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux.

Les peuples qui en oppriment d'autres ne peuvent être libres. Tout peuple libre doit aider ceux qui sont encore opprimés à conquérir leur liberté et leur indépendance.

La grande renaissance des peuples asservis

La libération rapide et l'émancipation des pays et des peuples sont un phénomène significatif de notre temps. La génération actuelle a encore vu les deux tiers de la population mondiale vivre sous le régime colonial. A la fin de la première guerre mondiale, les chaînes de l'oppression coloniale et nationale sont tombées dans un certain nombre de pays. L'étendard de l'indépendance

nationale, flottant haut sur le monde, est devenu aujourd'hui celui de centaines et de centaines de millions d'individus sur tous les continents du globe. Le temps est venu de la libération et de la renaissance des nations, des peuples et des tribus qui récemment encore étaient opprimés et écrasés. Des dizaines de nouveaux Etats ont rejoint la famille des pays indépendants. Les concepts démocratiques de l'égalité des droits des nations et de leur autodétermination deviennent des réalités.

Le mythe de l'incapacité des peuples coloniaux à gouverner, à créer, à construire s'est évanoui.

Aujourd'hui personne ne peut dire que les peuples d'Asie, d'Afrique et d'Amérique latine sont incapables de se gouverner. Des forces titanesques se sont réveillées pour construire une nouvelle vie indépendante avec un courage nouveau. Aujourd'hui le règlement des problèmes internationaux ne peut non plus se concevoir sans la participation de la République populaire de Chine, sans la participation des peuples libérés de l'Inde, de l'Indonésie, de la Birmanie, de Ceylan, de la République arabe unie, de l'Irak, du Ghana, de la Guinée et d'autres Etats petits et grands.

Personne ne peut plus dire aujourd'hui que la libération des nations et des peuples qui subissent le joug du colonialisme élargira la zone des conflits et des heurts entre nations. Au contraire, la libération nationale a élargi la zone de paix tandis que l'oppression coloniale et la politique colonialiste ont mené et mèneront à la guerre.

Personne ne peut plus affirmer aujourd'hui que la libération des nations conduirait à un recul de l'économie, du commerce, de l'artisanat ou de l'agriculture. Au contraire, l'expérience montre que c'est précisément la libération politique des peuples coloniaux et la création de nouveaux Etats indépendants qui ouvrent la voie à un essor véritable de l'économie nationale.

Personne n'ose affirmer aujourd'hui que la libération des peuples coloniaux opprimés aboutirait à un déclin de la culture. La vie montre que la libération est immédia-

* Incorporant le document A/4502/Corr.1.

tement suivie de la renaissance, de l'essor et de l'épanouissement de cultures nationales originales, de l'extension de l'instruction publique, d'une meilleure protection de la santé, de la formation de cadres nationaux qualifiés et de meilleures possibilités d'enrichissement pour la culture mondiale.

La libération des nations précédemment opprimées profite non seulement aux peuples de l'Est, mais aussi à ceux de l'Ouest. La cause de la liberté des peuples, de leurs relations sur un pied d'égalité et du maintien de la paix dans le monde s'en trouve consolidée.

Mais la liquidation du régime colonial n'est pas encore achevée.

Les Etats Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies ne peuvent accepter passivement que sur les terres anciennes d'Afrique et d'Asie, dans les îles d'Océanie, dans la région des Caraïbes, et ailleurs, plus de 100 millions d'hommes continuent à souffrir sous le joug colonial. Les peuples de ces pays ont droit à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance nationale; or ils sont toujours sans droits, enchaînés. Dans ces pays, règnent, comme par le passé, la violence et l'illégalité, la loi majeure y étant celle du profit réalisé par les étrangers, dont les intérêts priment tout, alors que les droits imprescriptibles de l'homme et du peuple ne comptent pour rien. Le pays aux mains d'administrateurs étrangers qui méprisent et rançonnent la population locale, les tribus persécutées, les coutumes nationales tournées en dérision, l'absence d'égalité pour les autochtones, qui se voient privés de certains droits, le mépris honteux de leurs intérêts vitaux, les atteintes à leur fierté nationale et à leur dignité d'êtres humains provoquent chez tout honnête homme une profonde indignation.

Dans ces pays, on entend siffler le fouet du garde-chiourne, et les têtes tombent sous la hache du bourreau.

Les peuples coloniaux ne veulent pas vivre dans l'esclavage et la dépendance; ils luttent pour leurs droits et leur indépendance, pour tout ce dont jouissent les autres peuples. Cependant, sur leur chemin se dressent les intérêts égoïstes des milieux impérialistes de l'Ouest, qui s'opposent aux justes aspirations des peuples. Les guerres coloniales, les expéditions punitives, le pillage auquel les monopoles se livrent ouvertement, les tribunaux militaires et les procès secrets, les réserves, les barrières de couleur, les prisons et les camps de concentration, telles sont quelques-unes des méthodes grâce auxquelles les colonialistes, officiels ou non, essaient d'étouffer tout ce qu'il y a de vivant, d'indépendant et de national dans les pays coloniaux.

La Conférence des Etats indépendants d'Afrique, réunie à Accra, a justement flétri tout cela, qu'elle a qualifié de fascisme colonial.

Ceux qui défendent l'ancien régime colonial espèrent encore en des mesures féroces de répression dans les colonies. Certes, ces mesures retardent la libération, mais la vie ne suit-elle pas son cours? La cruelle répression exercée pendant des dizaines d'années a-t-elle arrêté la libération de l'Indonésie; les massacres de dizaines et de centaines de milliers de personnes en Indochine y ont-ils sauvé la domination coloniale? Les crimes commis aujourd'hui contre les peuples d'Afrique peuvent-ils arrêter le processus irrésistible de libération des peuples africains?

Aucune force d'oppression et de despotisme ne peut maintenir un régime colonial qui a vécu. Quant aux victimes tombées sur le chemin de la liberté, on ne peut dire qu'elles soient mortes; non, elles vivent dans la mémoire des peuples, elles vivront éternellement en tant que héros de la lutte pour la libération nationale.

Le colonialisme est à l'agonie. Mais il peut, dans sa dernière heure, provoquer de nombreuses souffrances et

faire maintes victimes, causer la perte de nombreuses vies humaines dans les colonies et dans les métropoles, détruire maintes richesses créées par le travail de plusieurs générations.

L'Organisation des Nations Unies s'adresse à tous les peuples de la terre et à tous les gouvernements leur demandant de ne pas rester passifs devant les souffrances des peuples coloniaux. Peut-on demeurer sourd aux gémissements du peuple du Kenya, où depuis huit ans se poursuit l'anéantissement de la population locale par les autorités coloniales, où cette population est enfermée dans des réserves, des prisons, des camps de concentration? Peut-on demeurer sourd aux souffrances du peuple d'Oman, victime d'une guerre d'invasion? Qui peut rester de sang-froid devant la répression incessante qui s'exerce sur les populations du Nyassaland, de l'Angola, du Mozambique, de la Rhodésie, du Ruanda-Urundi, du Sud-Ouest africain, du Tanganyika, de l'Ouganda, de l'Irian occidental?

Il est inadmissible qu'à notre époque, en un siècle de progrès et de très grandes découvertes dues à l'esprit scientifique, où le pouvoir de l'homme sur les forces de la nature s'est énormément développé, la France mène une guerre coloniale en Algérie, utilisant l'aviation, l'artillerie, les blindés, les bombes au napalm et autres moyens de destruction massive contre les Algériens, qui depuis près de six ans luttent avec un courage à toute épreuve pour la liberté et l'indépendance de leur patrie. Des centaines de milliers d'Algériens ont été exterminés de nombreuses villes et de nombreux villages ont été incendiés et détruits, un cinquième de la population du pays a été jeté dans des camps de concentration. De nombreux fils de la France meurent aussi pour une cause injuste.

Une telle situation peut-elle être tolérée plus longtemps? Non, elle ne peut l'être si l'on attache quelque prix à la noble cause de la paix et aux intérêts de l'humanité et du progrès.

Au nom de quoi mènent-ils des guerres meurtrières contre les peuples ceux qui ne veulent pas abandonner le régime colonial? Au nom de quoi réprime-t-on les aspirations des peuples asservis épris de liberté? On entend dire parfois que cela serait dans l'intérêt de la « civilisation » des pays peu développés, afin de les préparer à l'autonomie.

Mais c'est là un mensonge que l'on couvre des apparences de la vérité.

Quelle civilisation ont apporté cinq siècles de domination coloniale tyrannique aux pays africains de l'Angola, du Mozambique et de la Guinée portugaise, dont la superficie est égale à plus de la moitié de celle de l'Europe occidentale et qui comptent 11 millions d'habitants? Ils leur ont apporté la misère et l'arbitraire, l'expropriation de terres arrosées par la sueur de nombreuses générations, l'expulsion des cultivateurs vers des régions stériles et arides.

L'arbitraire, la famine, l'ignorance et la maladie y sévissent, l'esclavage et le travail forcé y demeurent une réalité. Il n'y a pas un seul établissement d'enseignement supérieur et l'enseignement secondaire est presque inexistant.

Pourquoi le Portugal peut-il, de nos jours, maintenir ce régime d'arbitraire dans les colonies? Comment justifier cet état de choses?

Pendant un demi-siècle de domination coloniale belge, la population du Congo a diminué de plus de moitié en raison des expéditions punitives, de la famine et des maladies. Au moment de la proclamation de l'indépendance de la République du Congo, seuls quelques habitants savaient lire et écrire.

La situation n'est nullement meilleure dans d'autres colonies d'Afrique.

Certes, dans telle ou telle région de ces colonies, on a construit des routes, des aérodromes, des ports, des installations minières, quelques écoles. Mais tout cela sert à exploiter la population autochtone et à mettre les ressources naturelles des colonies au pillage.

Affirmer que le régime colonial est indispensable pour éviter les conflits et les guerres fratricides entre tribus et entre peuples, c'est mentir sciemment. Les événements du Congo montrent que le colonialisme vit par la discorde et les différends artificiellement suscités entre les tribus et les peuples. Il s'efforce d'affaiblir leur lutte commune pour la libération. La devise des puissances coloniales demeure « diviser pour régner ».

Que trouve-t-on sur l'étendard des pays d'Asie et d'Afrique qui luttent pour leur liberté nationale et leur indépendance ? On y trouve les principes de paix et d'unité de Bandoung et d'Accra.

Indifférents à la voix de la justice, les colonialistes s'efforcent de préserver des frontières arbitraires qui coupent en deux les peuples et les tribus et séparent des régions économiques d'Afrique qui aspirent à se réunir, ils s'efforcent de détruire l'unité et l'intégrité territoriale de nombreux pays.

L'indépendance des pays et des peuples coloniaux est un impératif de notre époque

L'Organisation des Nations Unies s'adresse aux peuples et aux gouvernements où que se trouvent leurs pays — à l'est ou à l'ouest, au nord ou au sud — pour poser une question que la vie elle-même soulève aujourd'hui : le régime colonial, en état de décomposition, répond-il aux idéaux des peuples et aux possibilités de notre temps ?

Il n'est que de comparer le développement au cours du siècle dernier des pays indépendants d'Europe ou d'Amérique du Nord et celui des pays coloniaux d'Afrique, pour voir clairement que la voie du colonialisme est celle de la régression, celle de la mort lente, de la destruction et de la dégradation des pays asservis par la force.

A l'époque où, dans les pays économiquement développés, l'industrie, les transports, l'agriculture, la science et la culture ont atteint un niveau élevé, où sont apparus les navires propulsés par l'énergie atomique, où des corps célestes artificiels ont été lancés dans l'espace extra-atmosphérique, l'Afrique, pays aux richesses fabuleuses, reste en arrière et devient un continent de la faim ; les principaux instruments agricoles y sont, comme il y a des milliers d'années, la houe, l'araire et des bâtons pointus, et des façons culturales primitives y conduisent à l'épuisement et à l'érosion des sols.

Un véritable abîme sépare aujourd'hui les Etats indépendants à l'industrie hautement développée et les pays coloniaux, et pourtant l'Asie et l'Afrique ont été le berceau de grandes civilisations qui ont enrichi la culture et la civilisation des autres peuples.

En réalité, l'objectif principal du régime colonial est de procurer d'énormes profits aux grands monopoles étrangers qui se sont emparés des positions économiques clefs dans les colonies, et d'extraire par tous les moyens des richesses et des valeurs matérielles. C'est pourquoi toute l'économie des colonies est une économie d'exploitation. Subordonnée avant tout aux intérêts étroits et aux besoins des marchés de divers pays plus développés industriellement, elle progresse lentement, de façon anormale et unilatérale.

Ce n'est qu'après la libération du Ghana que l'on a admis que son avenir ne dépendait pas de la seule production du cacao, mais de la création d'une industrie moderne, utilisant largement ses immenses ressources hydro-électriques et ses très riches dépôts de bauxite, et que c'était là surtout que résidait sa valeur du point de vue de l'économie mondiale.

Sous le régime colonial les énormes ressources hydro-électriques de la République du Congo n'avaient pas pu trouver non plus leur utilisation, alors que leur potentiel est presque égal à la production actuelle d'électricité de tous les pays d'Europe occidentale pris ensemble. L'utilisation de ces seules ressources permettrait non seulement d'entreprendre l'exploitation complète des colossales ressources minérales et d'élever le niveau de l'agriculture dans la République du Congo, mais aussi de transformer notablement toute la physionomie économique des pays d'Afrique centrale, et d'améliorer sensiblement le bien-être de leur population.

Il est scientifiquement prouvé que tous les pays du continent africain, ainsi que des autres continents, possèdent des richesses énormes et variées qui sont encore pour une large part inexploitées. Elles pourraient être mises au service des peuples de ces pays, et par là au service de l'humanité entière. Mais le régime colonial maintient sciemment et artificiellement les colonies dans un état économique arriéré et s'oppose à leur industrialisation et à l'utilisation rationnelle de leurs ressources. Il en résulte un incroyable gaspillage de fonds publics, d'immenses pertes de main-d'œuvre, un régime économique colonial fondé sur une monoculture parasitique dont l'objet est de satisfaire l'avidité de la métropole.

Le niveau actuel du développement industriel et technique, les derniers progrès de la science, de l'agriculture et de la culture permettent de mettre toutes ces immenses richesses au service des peuples en un temps relativement bref. Cependant, pour les utiliser, il faut avant tout accorder aux peuples le droit à une existence indépendante, supprimer le régime colonial et fournir une aide économique qui permette la mise en valeur de ces richesses. Cela permettra d'augmenter le bien-être de la population locale, d'élargir la capacité du marché intérieur, de mettre fin à l'analphabetisme actuel, au manque de cadres nationaux et au règne de la monoculture dans l'économie des colonies. Le régime colonial est incompatible avec la solution de tels problèmes, ainsi qu'avec les remarquables réalisations techniques qui font partie intégrante de la civilisation contemporaine.

Les bénéfices tirés de l'exploitation des colonies ne profitent nullement aux peuples, mais bien plutôt aux gros monopoles étrangers, aux milliardaires. Les peuples de l'Orient comme de l'Occident sont obligés de payer un tribut élevé au colonialisme. Le pétrole et le café, le caoutchouc et le coton, le cuivre et les bananes, diverses matières premières et denrées alimentaires de provenance coloniale se vendent des dizaines de fois plus cher qu'elles ne se paient sur place. Les monopoles volent les gens deux fois : en Orient quand ils achètent, et en Occident lorsqu'ils revendent les marchandises et produits coloniaux.

Qui plus est, ils forcent les peuples des colonies à entretenir en temps de paix des forces armées et une administration étrangère, c'est-à-dire à payer le coût des chaînes dont ils sont chargés. En même temps, les monopoles font payer aux contribuables de la métropole des impôts élevés pour financer leurs expéditions punitives et leurs guerres coloniales, obligeant ainsi les peuples métropolitains à supporter eux aussi le coût des fers par lesquels les colonialistes des monopoles enchaînent les autres peuples. En fait, ils enterrent dans des champs de dévastation la liberté de leurs propres peuples aussi bien que l'indépendance des autres nations. Cela constitue déjà un terrible verdict de culpabilité contre le système colonial.

Cependant, si les Etats Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, et bien sûr au premier chef ceux d'entre eux qui ont jadis imposé le joug colonial à de nombreux peuples, manifestaient la moindre compréhension à l'égard des besoins urgents de ces peuples, ils trouveraient le moyen de les satisfaire. Un de ces principaux

moysens est de résoudre le problème du désarmement et de réduire les dépenses militaires des Etats.

On sait que les Etats qui font partie du bloc militaire et colonial de l'Atlantique nord consacrent à eux seuls 62 milliards de dollars par an à la course aux armements. Si l'on affectait au développement et au progrès des pays d'Afrique, par exemple, ne fût-ce que la moitié de cette somme, employée chaque année à des fins improductives et dangereuses pour la paix, on pourrait réaliser de grandioses travaux de génie civil, et notamment les plans relatifs à l'Inga, au Konkouré, au Zambèze et à la Volta qui prévoient la construction de grosses centrales électriques et de réseaux d'irrigation, ainsi que d'entreprises industrielles, et une transformation de l'agriculture. Les peuples d'Afrique, libérés, pourraient créer partout des écoles, des universités, des hôpitaux, des routes et prendre d'autres mesures en vue de moderniser aussi l'agriculture et d'en accroître le rendement.

En même temps, si les colonies africaines et autres étaient libérées des chaînes du colonialisme, cela faciliterait l'exploitation de leurs ressources naturelles, augmenterait dans ces pays la demande de matériel européen et américain ainsi que d'autres produits industriels, accroîtrait les expéditions de matières premières et de produits destinés à l'industrie européenne et américaine, élèverait le niveau de l'emploi et le taux d'utilisation de la capacité de production, assurerait un niveau de vie plus élevé dans les pays industriels.

Toute personne honnête et tout gouvernement réellement partisans de droits égaux pour les peuples et de la réalisation des nobles buts et principes proclamés dans la Charte des Nations Unies ne peuvent manquer de voir que le colonialisme est dans le monde contemporain un phénomène honteux et anachronique. La suppression complète et définitive du colonialisme serait le prélude non seulement au progrès social, mais encore à un très vif essor technique dans l'industrie et l'agriculture, de même que la cessation de la traite des esclaves a donné une vigoureuse impulsion aux forces productives de la société.

La liquidation du colonialisme serait l'une des principales mesures à prendre pour amener une détente internationale. C'est le désir de faire obstacle à la libération et au développement national des jeunes Etats d'Asie, d'Afrique ou d'Amérique latine qui est à l'origine des conflits armés et des guerres qui se sont succédés, depuis 1945, en Indonésie, en Indochine et en Algérie, de l'agression contre l'Egypte, de l'intervention étrangère au Liban et en Jordanie, des complots dirigés contre la Syrie, l'Irak et d'autres pays. Tout au long du siècle dernier, d'ailleurs, la majorité des guerres et des conflits armés ont été liés d'une façon ou d'une autre au colonialisme et à la lutte des grandes puissances pour le partage ou la redistribution des colonies.

Plus d'une fois, les peuples ont senti peser sur eux le redoutable danger de voir les guerres coloniales se transformer en une nouvelle guerre mondiale. Aujourd'hui encore, l'intervention dont la République du Congo est la victime a aggravé la situation internationale, menacé la paix en Afrique — en Afrique et ailleurs. Peut-on oublier qu'à l'âge des armes nucléaires et des fusées un foyer allumé sur un continent peut en un instant embraser le monde entier ?

Bon nombre des principaux centres de tension internationale d'aujourd'hui — au Proche-Orient ou en Extrême-Orient, en Afrique et en Amérique latine — sont aussi dans une large mesure le fruit de la politique coloniale. Les colonies et autres « territoires non autonomes » servent à des puissances étrangères de bases militaires ou de polygones d'essais atomiques. Une telle situation peut-elle vraiment inciter les populations à la sérénité, les libérer de la peur de la guerre, les délivrer de la misère,

de la faim et de la maladie, que connaissent encore les peuples des pays qui sont toujours colonies ou territoires sous tutelle ?

Outre les colonies et territoire sous tutelle de grande étendue, plusieurs puissances gardent encore des points d'appui en diverses régions du monde, comme l'Irian occidental, Okinawa, Goa, Porto Rico, etc., pour ne pas parler de Taïwan, victime d'une agression de la part des Etats-Unis, qui ont occupé ce territoire de la République populaire de Chine. Pourquoi les puissances industrielles, hautement développées, ont-elles besoin de pareilles bases et « possessions » en territoire étranger ? N'est-ce pas là un vestige évident de l'époque révolue de la domination coloniale ? Que diraient les Européens et les Américains, si tel ou tel pays d'Asie ou d'Afrique réclamait des bases en Europe occidentale ou en Amérique du Nord ?

Il ne peut y avoir deux opinions sur ce point : ces bases servent à menacer l'indépendance nationale et la sécurité des peuples des régions avoisinantes. De même que les factoreries commerciales servaient, à l'aube du colonialisme, de base de départ pour l'instauration du régime d'oppression coloniale en Afrique, en Asie et en Amérique, de même, aujourd'hui, au moment où le colonialisme se désagrège, les impérialistes cherchent à utiliser les bases et les colonies qui leur restent pour faire brutalement pression sur les Etats indépendants d'Asie, d'Afrique et d'Amérique latine.

Il faut enterrer l'ignoble régime colonial

Les Etats Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies auteurs de la présente Déclaration, estiment que tout gouvernement qui est, non en paroles mais en actes, partisan de la paix et du progrès se doit de respecter les droits légitimes de tous les peuples sans exception qui réclament l'égalité, la justice et l'indépendance. Ou bien ces revendications seront reconnues par tous les Etats, ou bien les peuples opprimés, avec l'appui de leurs nombreux amis dans le monde entier, prendront eux-mêmes en main leur destinée et gagneront la liberté et l'indépendance, en balayant tous les obstacles artificiels que les colonialistes mettent sur leur chemin. Le premier devoir de tous les peuples est d'aider ces populations dans leur lutte sacrée pour l'indépendance et contre l'oppression colonialiste.

En même temps que tout l'ignoble système colonial, cette autre variante du colonialisme qu'est le régime de tutelle est aujourd'hui dépassée. Survivance directe du système des mandats de la Société des Nations, le régime de tutelle actuel devait, d'après la Charte des Nations Unies, favoriser l'évolution des territoires sous tutelle vers la capacité à s'administrer eux-mêmes et l'indépendance. Or 15 ans sont passés depuis l'adoption de la Charte et l'indépendance n'a été octroyée qu'à quatre territoires sous tutelle sur 11.

Jusqu'ici, aucun délai précis n'a été établi pour l'octroi de l'indépendance aux territoires sous tutelle, et notamment aux plus vastes d'entre eux : le Tanganyika, le Ruanda-Urundi et la Nouvelle-Guinée.

Au mépris des principes de l'Organisation des Nations Unies les puissances qui exercent la « tutelle » maintiennent en fait un régime colonial ; ils exploitent sans pitié la population, pillent les ressources naturelles, recourent à la répression contre ceux qui adressent des pétitions à l'ONU, et entravent le développement économique et politique des territoires en question.

Le régime de tutelle ne s'est justifié nulle part ; il faut donc l'enterrer en même temps que tout l'anachronique système colonial.

Le régime d'oppression coloniale a laissé à l'homme un lourd héritage de problèmes nombreux et complexes. Les événements tragiques au Congo, et dans plusieurs

autres régions du monde où les peuples mènent une juste lutte pour défendre leurs droits, montrent qu'il faut trouver une solution raisonnable au problème des rapports entre la population autochtone et les colons venus d'autres continents.

La discrimination raciale dans toutes ses manifestations détestables, la division des peuples et des nations en privilégiés et « inférieurs », tout cela, c'est du racisme, c'est la justification du génocide criminel, c'est la porte ouverte à de nouveaux forfaits qui viendraient s'ajouter aux anciens, de nouveaux crimes qui feraient suite aux précédents, c'est la porte ouverte à l'encouragement de la haine mutuelle, à d'interminables conflits sanglants entre les pays et les peuples.

La couleur de la peau peut différer, mais chez tous les peuples le sang n'a qu'une seule teinte. Aucun peuple ne peut prétendre à en dominer d'autres.

Les liens et les relations qui se sont créés entre les peuples à l'époque du colonialisme doivent faire place à des rapports nouveaux fondés sur le principe de l'égalité des droits, de l'amitié et du respect mutuel, quels que soient le régime politique et social des Etats, la conception du monde des individus, leurs opinions politiques ou la couleur de leur peau. Les peuples des colonies doivent obtenir une indépendance véritable, et non une indépendance fictive qui les maintiendrait sous quelque nouvelle forme de régime colonial. Ils ne se contentent plus de réclamer une plus grande liberté au sein du régime colonial; ils veulent la suppression pure et simple de ce régime, la liberté d'aller de l'avant, ainsi que le droit de disposer d'eux-mêmes, d'exploiter leurs ressources, de jouir des fruits de leur labeur. Toute forme d'asservissement, toute forme de « tutelle » ou de « charité » à l'égard des peuples offense gravement leur dignité.

La vie exige aujourd'hui que l'on choisisse : stagnation ou progrès, esclavage ou liberté, division ou unité des peuples, guerre ou paix.

L'Organisation des Nations Unies estime qu'il est de son devoir d'adresser un appel pressant aux puissances qui possèdent des territoires coloniaux pour qu'elles entrent en pourparlers, sur un pied d'égalité, avec les représentants des peuples qu'elles administrent et s'entendent avec eux sur l'établissement de la liberté et de l'indépendance de ces pays.

Il faut fixer des dates précises et rapprochées pour ces pourparlers, et exclure toute possibilité de pression et d'agression de la part des puissances coloniales. Si ces puissances restent sourdes à cet appel, si elles tardent à libérer leurs colonies, si elles écrasent les mouvements de libération des peuples coloniaux, alors, les peuples pacifiques devront tout mettre en œuvre pour fournir une aide morale et matérielle aux peuples qui combattent pour leur indépendance.

Les Etats Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies partent du principe que chaque pays et chaque peuple a un droit total et imprescriptible à une existence indépendante. Ils sont persuadés que la suppression du régime colonial n'aura pas pour effet d'éloigner les uns des autres les pays d'Afrique et d'Europe. Au contraire, elle entraînera une collaboration encore plus étroite entre eux. Mais cette unification, cette coopération entre les peuples ne peut être qu'un don libre et réciproque.

Plus les grands principes de la collaboration internationale — égalité des droits, souveraineté et intégrité territoriale, non-ingérence dans les affaires intérieures d'autres pays, avantage mutuel, coexistence pacifique et collaboration économique — seront appliqués systématiquement et franchement, plus la compréhension mutuelle et l'unité de vues seront solidement établies entre Etats libres et égaux.

C'est là le seul moyen qui s'offre aux pays de l'est et de l'ouest, du nord et du sud, pour aller de l'avant

vers le progrès, vers l'entente véritable des nations dans la paix en utilisant les magnifiques réalisations de la science et de la culture d'aujourd'hui. C'est là le seul moyen de mettre à exécution les nobles dispositions que la Charte des Nations Unies a consacrées au droit des nations et des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes.

Mus par le désir ardent de voir s'établir au plus tôt la bonne volonté réciproque et l'entente entre les Etats et les peuples, de même qu'entre les populations autochtones des territoires actuellement non autonomes et les personnes qui se sont fixées sur le même sol et souhaitent y vivre sur un pied d'égalité avec tous les autres citoyens du pays, les Etats Membres de l'ONU, signataires de la présente déclaration, adressent un appel à tous les peuples sans distinction de langue, de couleur, de religion ou de conviction politique.

Que tous les peuples de la terre entendent nos paroles

Nous habitons tous la même planète. C'est sur elle que nous sommes nés, que nous travaillons, que nous élevons nos enfants et que nous leur transmettons ce que nous avons réalisé dans la vie. Et, bien qu'il existe sur la terre des Etats différents, tous les hommes naissent citoyens égaux en dignité.

Tout le cours de l'évolution historique pose aujourd'hui la question de la suppression totale et définitive du régime colonial sous toutes ses formes et manifestations, et cela non pas dans un avenir indéterminé, mais immédiatement et sans réserve.

TEXTE DU PROJET DE DÉCLARATION

En conséquence, les Etats Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies proclament solennellement les exigences suivantes :

1. Accorder sans délai à tous les pays coloniaux, territoires sous tutelle et autres territoires non autonomes l'indépendance complète et la liberté d'édifier leurs propres Etats nationaux conformément à la volonté et aux aspirations librement exprimées de leur peuple. Le régime colonial et l'administration coloniale sous toutes ses formes doivent être entièrement supprimés afin de permettre aux peuples de ces territoires de décider eux-mêmes de leur sort et de leur régime politique.

2. Eliminer également tous les points d'appui du colonialisme sous la forme de possessions et de zones cédées à bail en territoire étranger.

3. Les gouvernements de tous les pays sont invités à observer rigoureusement et constamment, dans les relations entre Etats, les dispositions de la Charte des Nations Unies et de la présente Déclaration concernant l'égalité et le respect des droits souverains et de l'intégrité territoriale de tous les Etats sans exception, et à n'admettre aucune manifestation du colonialisme, aucun droit ou privilège exclusif de certains Etats au détriment d'autres Etats.

Les Etats Membres de l'ONU, selon les nobles principes de la Charte de leur organisation, ne sauraient manquer de considérer la suppression du régime colonial comme une étape essentielle dans la vie internationale. Cette action sera déjà par elle-même l'une des principales bases du développement des relations amicales entre tous les Etats et tous les peuples, et contribuera donc ainsi à la grande tâche qui est d'établir une paix solide et durable dans le monde.

Le devoir sacré de tout Etat et de tout gouvernement est de contribuer à mettre en application intégralement et aussitôt que possible la présente Déclaration.



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Point 87 de l'ordre du jour

DECLARATION SUR L'OCTROI DE L'INDEPENDANCE AUX PAYS ET AUX PEUPLES COLONIAUX

Afghanistan, Arabie Saoudite, Birmanie, Cambodge, Ceylan, Ethiopie,
Ghana, Guinée, Inde, Indonésie, Irak, Iran, Jordanie, Liban, Libéria, Libye,
Maroc, Népal, Nigéria, Pakistan, Soudan, Tchad, Togo, Tunisie et Turquie :
projet de résolution

L'Assemblée générale,

Consciente de ce que les peuples du monde se sont, dans la Charte des Nations Unies, déclarés résolus à proclamer à nouveau leur "foi dans les droits fondamentaux de l'homme, dans la dignité et la valeur de la personne humaine, dans l'égalité de droits des hommes et des femmes, ainsi que des nations, grandes et petites" et "à favoriser le progrès social et instaurer de meilleures conditions de vie dans une liberté plus grande",

Consciente de la nécessité de créer des conditions de stabilité et de bien-être et des relations pacifiques et amicales fondées sur le respect des principes de l'égalité de droits et de la libre détermination de tous les peuples, et d'assurer le respect universel et effectif des droits de l'homme et des libertés fondamentales pour tous sans distinction de race, de sexe, de langue ou de religion,

Reconnaissant le désir passionné de liberté de tous les peuples dépendants et le rôle décisif de ces peuples dans leur accession à l'indépendance,

Consciente des conflits croissants qu'entraîne le fait de refuser la liberté à ces peuples ou d'y faire obstacle, qui constitue une grave menace à la paix mondiale,

Considérant le rôle important de l'Organisation des Nations Unies comme moyen d'aider le mouvement vers l'indépendance dans les Territoires sous tutelle et les territoires non autonomes,

Reconnaissant que les peuples du monde souhaitent ardemment la fin du colonialisme dans toutes ses manifestations,

/...

Convaincue que le maintien du colonialisme empêche le développement de la coopération économique internationale, entrave le développement social, culturel et économique des peuples dépendants et va à l'encontre de l'idéal de paix universelle des Nations Unies,

Affirmant que les peuples peuvent, pour leurs propres fins, disposer librement de leurs richesses et ressources naturelles, sans préjudice des obligations qui découleraient de la coopération économique internationale, fondée sur le principe de l'avantage mutuel, et du droit international,

Persuadée que le processus de libération est irrésistible et irréversible et que pour éviter de graves crises, il faut mettre fin au colonialisme et à toutes les pratiques de ségrégation et de discrimination dont il s'accompagne,

Se félicitant de ce qu'un grand nombre de territoires dépendants ont accédé à la liberté et à l'indépendance au cours des dernières années, et reconnaissant les tendances toujours plus fortes vers la liberté qui se manifestent dans les territoires qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance,

Convaincue que tous les peuples ont un droit inaliénable à la pleine liberté, à l'exercice de leur souveraineté et à l'intégrité de leur territoire national,

Proclame solennellement la nécessité de mettre rapidement et inconditionnellement fin au colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations; et à cette fin

Déclare ce qui suit :

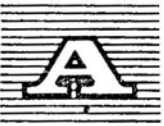
1. La sujétion des peuples à une subjugation, à une domination et à une exploitation étrangères constitue un déni des droits fondamentaux de l'homme, est contraire à la Charte des Nations Unies et compromet la cause de la paix et de la coopération mondiales.
2. Tous les peuples ont le droit de libre détermination; en vertu de ce droit, ils déterminent librement leur statut politique et poursuivent librement leur développement économique, social et culturel.
3. Le manque de préparation dans les domaines politique, économique ou social ou dans celui de l'enseignement ne doit jamais être pris comme prétexte pour retarder l'indépendance.

4. Il sera mis fin à toute action armée et à toutes mesures de répression de quelque sorte qu'elles soient, dirigées contre les peuples dépendants, pour permettre à ces peuples d'exercer pacifiquement et librement leur droit à l'indépendance complète, et l'intégrité de leur territoire national sera respectée.

5. Des mesures immédiates seront prises, dans les Territoires sous tutelle, les territoires non autonomes et tous autres territoires qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance, pour transférer tous pouvoirs aux peuples de ces territoires, sans aucune condition ni réserve, conformément à leur volonté et à leurs vœux librement exprimés, sans aucune distinction de race, de croyance ou de couleur, afin de leur permettre de jouir d'une indépendance et d'une liberté complètes.

6. Toute tentative visant à détruire partiellement ou totalement l'unité nationale et l'intégrité territoriale d'un pays est incompatible avec les Buts et Principes de la Charte des Nations Unies.

7. Tous les Etats doivent observer fidèlement et strictement les dispositions de la Charte des Nations Unies, de la Déclaration universelle des droits de l'homme et de la présente Déclaration sur la base de l'égalité, de la non-ingérence dans les affaires intérieures des Etats et du respect des droits souverains et de l'intégrité territoriale de tous les peuples.



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projet de résolution

Ajouter Chypre, Le Mali et la République arabe unie aux auteurs du
projet de résolution.



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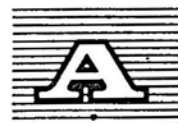
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Togo, Tunisie et Turquie : projet de résolution

Ajouter le Laos et le Sénégal aux auteurs du projet de résolution.



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Additif

Ajouter le Congo (Brazzaville), le Congo (Léopoldville), la Côte d'Ivoire, le Dahomey, la Haute-Volta et le Niger aux auteurs du projet de résolution.

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Jordanie, Laos, Liban, Libéria, Libye, Mali, Maroc, Népal, Niger,
Nigéria, Pakistan, République arabe unie, Sénégal, Soudan, Tchad,
Togo, Tunisie et Turquie : projet de résolution

Additif

Ajouter le Cameroun, la Fédération de Malaisie, Madagascar et la République
centrafricaine aux auteurs du projet de résolution.

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Afghanistan, Arabie Saoudite, Birmanie, Cambodge, Cameroun, Ceylan,
Chypre, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Léopoldville), Côte d'Ivoire,
Dahomey, Ethiopie, Fédération de Malaisie, Ghana, Guinée,
Haute-Volta, Inde, Indonésie, Irak, Iran, Jordanie, Laos, Liban,
Libéria, Libye, Madagascar, Mali, Maroc, Népal, Niger, Nigéria,
Pakistan, République arabe unie, République centrafricaine, Sénégal,
Soudan, Tchad, Togo, Tunisie et Turquie : projet de résolution

Ajouter le Gabon et les Philippines aux auteurs du projet de résolution.



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Ajouter la Somalie aux auteurs du projet de résolution.



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Quinzième session
Point 87 de l'ordre du jour

UN/SA COLLECTION

DECLARATION SUR L'OCTROI DE L'INTERDEPENDANCE AUX PAYS ET AUX
PEUPLES COLONIAUX

Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques : amendement au projet
de résolution A/L.323 et Add.1 à 6

Après le paragraphe 7 du dispositif, ajouter les paragraphes suivants :

"8. Invite les puissances intéressées à assurer, dans tous les territoires dépendants, la transmission du pouvoir absolu et souverain au peuple, conformément aux principes énoncés ci-dessus, et à entamer à cette fin des négociations avec les représentants des peuples coloniaux, élus au suffrage universel, au besoin sous la surveillance de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, de manière que tous les pays et peuples coloniaux accèdent à l'indépendance à la fin de 1961 au plus tard et occupent leur place légitime dans la communauté des nations;

"9. Décide d'examiner à sa seizième session ordinaire la question de l'application de la présente résolution."

Tenant compte de la liste de facteurs jointe en annexe à la résolution 742 (VIII) de l'Assemblée générale, en date du 27 novembre 1953,

Ayant examiné le rapport du Comité spécial des Six chargé de la question de la communication de renseignements en vertu de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte¹² qui avait pour mission, aux termes de la résolution 1467 (XIV) de l'Assemblée générale en date du 12 décembre 1959, d'étudier les principes qui doivent guider les Etats Membres pour déterminer si l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements, prévue à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte, leur est applicable ou non et de faire rapport à l'Assemblée, lors de sa quinzième session, sur les résultats de son étude,

1. *Exprime sa satisfaction* des travaux du Comité spécial des Six chargé de la question de la communication de renseignements en vertu de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte;

2. *Approuve* les principes énoncés dans la subdivision B de la section V du rapport présenté par le Comité, sous leur forme amendée, tels qu'ils figurent dans l'annexe à la présente résolution;

3. *Décide* qu'il y a lieu d'appliquer ces principes, compte tenu dans chaque cas des faits et des circonstances, pour déterminer si l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements, prévue à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte, est applicable ou non.

948ème séance plénière,
15 décembre 1960.

ANNEXE

PRINCIPES QUI DOIVENT GUIDER LES ETATS MEMBRES POUR DÉTERMINER SI L'OBLIGATION DE COMMUNIQUER DES RENSEIGNEMENT, PRÉVUE À L'ALINÉA e DE L'ARTICLE 73 DE LA CHARTE DES NATIONS UNIES, LEUR EST APPLICABLE OU NON

Principe premier

Les auteurs de la Charte des Nations Unies entendaient que le Chapitre XI soit applicable aux territoires qui étaient alors connus comme étant du type colonial. Il y a obligation de communiquer des renseignements, aux termes de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte, à l'égard de ces territoires dont les populations ne s'administrent pas complètement elles-mêmes.

Principe II

Tels que le Chapitre XI de la Charte les conçoit, les territoires non autonomes sont dans un état dynamique d'évolution et de progrès vers la pleine capacité à s'administrer eux-mêmes. Dès qu'un territoire et ses populations ont atteint cette pleine autonomie, l'obligation cesse. Tant qu'ils ne l'ont pas atteinte, l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements, prévue à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73, subsiste.

Principe III

L'obligation de communiquer des renseignements au titre de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte constitue une obligation internationale qui doit être exécutée en tenant dûment compte des exigences du droit international.

Principe IV

Il y a obligation, à première vue, de communiquer des renseignements à l'égard d'un territoire géographiquement séparé et ethniquement ou culturellement distinct du pays qui l'administre.

Principe V

Une fois établi qu'il s'agit à première vue d'un territoire géographiquement et ethniquement ou culturellement distinct,

1541 (XV). Principes qui doivent guider les Etats Membres pour déterminer si l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements, prévue à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte, leur est applicable ou non

L'Assemblée générale,

Considérant les objectifs énoncés au Chapitre XI de la Charte des Nations Unies,

¹² *Ibid.*, point 38 de l'ordre du jour, document A/4526.

d'autres éléments peuvent entrer en ligne de compte. Ces éléments supplémentaires peuvent être notamment de nature administrative, politique, juridique, économique ou historique. S'ils affectent les relations entre le territoire métropolitain et le territoire considéré de telle façon qu'ils placent arbitrairement ce dernier dans une position ou un état de subordination, ils confirment la présomption qu'il y a obligation de communiquer des renseignements au titre de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte.

Principe VI

On peut dire qu'un territoire non autonome a atteint la pleine autonomie :

- a) Quand il est devenu Etat indépendant et souverain;
 - b) Quand il s'est librement associé à un Etat indépendant;
- ou
- c) Quand il s'est intégré à un Etat indépendant.

Principe VII

a) La libre association doit résulter d'un choix libre et volontaire des populations du territoire en question, exprimé selon des méthodes démocratiques et largement diffusées. Elle doit respecter l'individualité et les caractéristiques culturelles du territoire et de ses populations, et conserver aux populations du territoire qui s'associe à un Etat indépendant la liberté de modifier le statut de ce territoire en exprimant leur volonté par des moyens démocratiques et selon des méthodes constitutionnelles.

b) Le territoire associé doit avoir le droit de déterminer sa constitution intérieure, sans ingérence extérieure, conformément aux méthodes constitutionnelles régulières et aux vœux librement exprimés de ses populations. Cela n'exclut pas les consultations que pourraient appeler ou exiger les clauses de la libre association.

Principe VIII

L'intégration à un Etat indépendant doit se faire sur la base de l'égalité complète entre le peuple du territoire antérieurement non autonome et celui de l'Etat indépendant auquel il s'intègre. Les deux peuples doivent avoir, sans distinction ni discrimination, un statut et des droits de citoyenneté égaux ainsi que des garanties égales pour ce qui est des libertés et droits fondamentaux; ils doivent tous deux avoir des droits égaux et des possibilités égales de représentation et de participation effective, à tous les échelons, dans les organes exécutifs, législatifs et judiciaires de l'Etat.

Principe IX

L'intégration devra s'être faite dans les conditions suivantes :

a) Le territoire intégré devra avoir atteint un stade avancé d'autonomie, avec des institutions politiques libres, de telle sorte que ses populations aient la capacité de choisir en pleine connaissance de cause, selon des méthodes démocratiques et largement diffusées;

b) L'intégration doit résulter du désir librement exprimé des populations du territoire, pleinement conscientes du changement de leur statut, la consultation se faisant selon des méthodes démocratiques et largement diffusées, impartialement appliquées et fondées sur le suffrage universel des adultes. L'Organisation des Nations Unies pourra, quand elle le jugera nécessaire, contrôler l'application de ces méthodes.

Principe X

La communication de renseignements sur les territoires non autonomes, au titre de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte, est sujette aux limitations que peuvent exiger des considérations constitutionnelles et de sécurité. Cela signifie que la portée des renseignements peut être limitée dans certaines circonstances, mais la limitation prévue à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 ne peut pas libérer un Etat Membre des obligations que lui impose le Chapitre XI. La "limitation" ne peut porter que sur le volume des renseignements à transmettre dans les domaines économique et social et dans celui de l'enseignement.

Principe XI

Les seules considérations constitutionnelles auxquelles l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte se réfère sont celles qui résultent des relations constitutionnelles entre le territoire et l'Etat Membre administrant. Elles concernent une situation dans laquelle la constitution du territoire lui donne l'autonomie dans les questions économiques et sociales et en matière d'enseignement, au moyen d'institutions librement élues. Cependant, la responsabilité de communiquer des renseignements prévue à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 subsiste, à moins que ces relations constitutionnelles n'empêchent le gouvernement ou le parlement de l'Etat Membre administrant de recevoir des statistiques ou autres renseignements de nature technique concernant la situation du territoire dans les domaines économique et social et dans celui de l'enseignement.

Principe XII

Les exigences de la sécurité n'ont pas été invoquées dans le passé. Ce n'est que dans des circonstances tout à fait exceptionnelles que des renseignements d'ordre économique ou social ou concernant l'enseignement peuvent mettre en cause la sécurité. Dans d'autres circonstances, par conséquent, il n'y a aucun besoin de limiter la communication des renseignements pour des raisons de sécurité.



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Président: M. Frederick H. BOLAND (Irlande).

RAPPORT DE LA QUATRIEME COMMISSION (A/4650)

POINT 38 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

Etude des principes qui doivent guider les Etats Membres pour déterminer si l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements, prévue à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte des Nations Unies, leur est applicable ou non: rapport du Comité spécial créé par la résolution 1467 (XIV) de l'Assemblée générale

RAPPORT DE LA QUATRIEME COMMISSION (A/4651)

46. M. BOEG (Danemark) [Rapporteur de la Quatrième Commission] (traduit de l'anglais): En me présentant devant l'Assemblée générale en qualité de Rapporteur de la Quatrième Commission, je sais que l'Assemblée ne dispose que de peu de temps. C'est pourquoi je serai très bref et m'abstiendrai de faire des commentaires détaillés sur les rapports de la Commission. Pour la même raison, et avec l'approbation du Président, j'adopterai la procédure suivie par le Rapporteur de la Deuxième Commission et mes commentaires porteront en même temps sur les deux rapports de la Quatrième Commission.

47. Le premier des deux rapports présentés aujourd'hui à l'Assemblée par la Quatrième Commission [A/4650] a trait aux points 37, 39, 40 et 41 de l'ordre du jour, c'est-à-dire aux renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes et à diverses questions connexes. Ce rapport est un document de procédure où sont exposés dans leurs grandes lignes les débats auxquels ces divers points ont donné lieu à la Quatrième Commission. Celle-ci a présenté un rapport commun sur ces points parce qu'elle a décidé de les examiner en même temps, ces quatre points étant étroitement liés les uns aux autres.

48. A la suite de ses délibérations, la Commission présente à l'Assemblée générale sept projets de résolution. A propos de ces projets de résolution, il me faut mentionner un point qui n'apparaît pas immédiatement à la lecture du rapport et qui mérite cependant d'être cité. C'est le fait que, lors du vote de la Quatrième Commission sur chacun des sept projets de résolution pris dans leur ensemble, on n'a pas enregistré un seul vote négatif.

49. Il est un autre point sur lequel je voudrais attirer spécialement l'attention de l'Assemblée générale. Il s'agit du paragraphe 60 dans le document A/4650. Normalement, l'examen d'une question est terminé par l'Assemblée une fois qu'un rapport a été présenté par une Commission et que des résolutions ont été adoptées. Cependant, comme les membres de l'Assemblée le verront, la Quatrième Commission a décidé qu'en raison du lien qui existe entre ce sujet et la résolution sur le colonialisme que l'Assemblée a adoptée hier [résolution 1514 (XV)], ces questions devaient rester inscrites à l'ordre du jour, afin qu'elle puisse les examiner plus avant si elle le désire lors de la reprise de la Quinzième session.

50. Enfin, à propos de ce document [A/4650], je voudrais soulever une petite question technique. Une erreur s'est glissée au paragraphe 3 de ce rapport

dans la phrase commençant par les mots "Le représentant du Mexique...". Je voudrais donner maintenant lecture du texte tel qu'il convient de le lire: "Le représentant du Mexique a réaffirmé la position de son gouvernement concernant tout changement du statut du Honduras britannique (Belize)."

51. Je passe maintenant à l'autre rapport dont nous sommes saisis, le document A/4651, qui porte sur le point 38 de l'ordre du jour et traite des principes qui doivent guider les Etats Membres pour déterminer si l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements, prévue à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte des Nations Unies, leur est applicable ou non. A la suite des débats que la Quatrième Commission a consacrés à cette question, deux projets de résolution ont été présentés à l'Assemblée

52. Le projet de résolution I traite des principes qui doivent guider les Etats en la matière, et vous trouverez en annexe la liste des 12 principes énoncés à ce sujet. Sauf en ce qui concerne une modification apportée à l'alinéa b du principe IX, il faut noter que ces 12 principes sont exactement les mêmes que les 12 principes qui avaient été proposés à la Quatrième Commission par le Comité spécial des Six, créé l'an dernier par l'Assemblée en vertu de la résolution 1467 (XIV).

53. Le projet de résolution II a trait à l'application concrète de ces principes.

54. Après ces brèves remarques, j'ai l'honneur de soumettre à l'examen et à l'approbation de l'Assemblée générale ces deux rapports ainsi que les projets de résolution qui y sont joints.

55. Le PRESIDENT (traduit de l'anglais): Je donne maintenant la parole au représentant de l'Indonésie qui désire expliquer son vote avant le scrutin.

56. M. PADMADISASTRA (Indonésie) [traduit de l'anglais]: Avant que l'Assemblée passe au vote sur les projets de résolutions contenus dans les documents A/4650 et A/4651, ayant trait aux territoires non autonomes qui tombent sous le coup de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte, permettez-moi, en exécution de mes instructions, de vous exposer la position de mon gouvernement en ce qui concerne la partie du territoire de mon pays sur laquelle le Gouvernement des Pays-Bas a soumis des renseignements, en arguant faussement qu'il exerçait la souveraineté sur ce territoire.

57. Par égard pour le progrès de nos délibérations, je m'abstiendrai d'entamer ici un examen complet de cette question. Vous vous souviendrez des débats approfondis qui ont eu lieu sur cette question lors des sessions précédentes de l'Assemblée générale, et vous êtes parfaitement informés du différend non résolu qui oppose depuis longtemps deux Membres de cette organisation. De plus — vous vous souviendrez des déclarations faites devant cette Assemblée par le président Sukarno [880ème séance], par notre Ministre des affaires étrangères [888ème séance] et par M. Luns, ministre des affaires étrangères des Pays-Bas [886ème séance] —, les relations entre nos deux pays se sont dernièrement aggravées, à la suite de l'envoi de renforts dans ce territoire par les Pays-Bas.

58. Je m'en tiendrai aux points suivants qui ont un rapport avec nos documents.

59. Le premier point est la question de la transmission de renseignements sur l'Irian occidental par le Gouvernement des Pays-Bas, sous prétexte que ce territoire tombe sous le coup de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte.

60. L'alinéa e de l'Article 73, en tant qu'alinéa de l'Article 73 de la Charte, a trait aux territoires non autonomes. L'Irian occidental n'est pas un territoire autonome. C'était une résidence, c'est-à-dire une partie d'une province de l'ancienne colonie des Indes néerlandaises que les Pays-Bas ont rebaptisée Indonésie par une loi du 3 septembre 1948 portant modification de la Constitution; par conséquent, l'Irian occidental n'est rien d'autre qu'une résidence de l'Indonésie. Le Gouvernement néerlandais a reconnu l'Indonésie en tant qu'Etat indépendant, le 28 décembre 1949, après quatre années de guerre, et, le 28 septembre 1950 [289ème séance], la République indépendante d'Indonésie était admise à l'unanimité comme soixantième Membre de l'ONU.

61. L'Irian occidental, en tant que résidence de l'Indonésie, n'est donc pas autre chose qu'une partie d'une des provinces d'un Etat Membre de l'ONU et n'est en aucune façon un territoire non autonome. Si les habitants de ce territoire continuent à ne pas jouir des mêmes droits et des mêmes privilèges que ceux des autres provinces de l'Indonésie, c'est uniquement parce que les Pays-Bas y entretiennent une occupation militaire.

62. Au nom du gouvernement et du peuple de l'Indonésie, je désire protester vivement ici contre la présence des forces d'occupation néerlandaises dans l'Irian occidental, et aussi contre la désignation de territoire non autonome donnée à cette partie de l'Indonésie.

63. Le second point est au sujet de l'affirmation du Gouvernement néerlandais selon laquelle il exerce la souveraineté sur l'Irian occidental.

64. Ainsi que je l'ai déjà montré, il n'existe aucun argument juridique ou autre qui permette de donner à l'Irian occidental la désignation de territoire non autonome, et le Gouvernement néerlandais est encore moins fondé à se déclarer responsable de ce territoire en vertu de l'Article 73 de la Charte. En sa qualité de Membre de l'ONU le Gouvernement des Pays-Bas a, en application de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte, soumis au Secrétaire général, au cours des années 1947, 1948 et 1949, des renseignements sur le territoire non autonome des Indes néerlandaises. Ainsi que je l'ai dit précédemment, le Gouvernement des Pays-Bas en 1948 a remplacé, dans tous les règlements et lois, le nom d'Indes néerlandaises par celui d'Indonésie. A la suite de la reconnaissance de l'Indonésie comme république indépendante par le Gouvernement des Pays-Bas, le 28 décembre 1948, et de son admission à l'ONU le 28 septembre 1950, les Pays-Bas ont cessé d'avoir une obligation quelconque découlant de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte à l'égard de tout le territoire de l'Indonésie. Le Gouvernement des Pays-Bas le sait fort bien, et il a, de ce fait, cessé de transmettre des renseignements sur l'Indonésie. Il n'y a donc aucune raison pour que les Pays-Bas recommencent à soumettre des rapports sur une partie de leur ancienne colonie qu'ils ont reconnue, sans réserve, en tant que république indépendante, en

1949, et dont ils ont appuyé la candidature à l'Organisation des Nations Unies en septembre 1950.

65. Ne pourrait-on interpréter le geste du Gouvernement des Pays-Bas soumettant des renseignements sur l'Irian occidental comme le signe que les Pays-Bas ont conquis un nouveau territoire dans cette partie du monde? En outre, en soumettant des renseignements sur l'Irian occidental, le Gouvernement néerlandais ne donne-t-il pas à penser que les Nations Unies acceptent cette conquête?

66. Ma délégation tient à déclarer que l'occupation continue, par les Pays-Bas, d'une partie du territoire indonésien est également une violation flagrante d'accords antérieurs selon lesquels le statut politique de l'Irian occidental devait être déterminé par des négociations entre les représentants des Gouvernements de l'Indonésie et des Pays-Bas.

67. La décision du Gouvernement des Pays-Bas de continuer à occuper l'Irian occidental après le 27 décembre 1950 a été une solution unilatérale d'un différend, et ne peut être considérée par l'Indonésie que comme un acte illégal des Pays-Bas. Mon gouvernement, comme l'Assemblée le sait bien, a demandé à l'Assemblée générale de rechercher une solution pacifique à cette situation, par la voie de négociations, conformément, non seulement aux dispositions d'accords précédents conclus entre les deux parties, mais aussi aux principes et objectifs de la Charte des Nations Unies auxquels les Pays-Bas et l'Indonésie ont adhéré en tant que Membres. Comme aucune solution pacifique n'a pu être trouvée à cause du refus des Pays-Bas de négocier, mon gouvernement ne peut, aujourd'hui, que protester de la façon la plus énergique contre cette action illégale et unilatérale des Pays-Bas, qui continuent à occuper une partie du territoire indonésien.

68. Ma troisième observation porte sur le fait que les Pays-Bas désignent le territoire de la Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale sous le nom de Nouvelle-Guinée néerlandaise. C'est seulement le 10 septembre 1956 que les Pays-Bas ont consacré ce nouveau nom dans les modifications de la Constitution. Le gouvernement et le peuple de l'Indonésie ont constaté que même les documents des Nations Unies relatifs à la Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale portent ce titre de Nouvelle-Guinée néerlandaise. En raison des observations que je viens de présenter, cette désignation est, bien entendu, absolument inacceptable et ne peut provoquer que des sentiments d'amertume, de mécontentement et d'inquiétude parmi la population indonésienne aussi bien que dans les nations amies de l'Indonésie.

69. Ma délégation ne peut naturellement parler qu'au nom de l'Indonésie et elle proteste contre cette désignation unilatérale du territoire. Nous espérons que les documents des Nations Unies, pour le moins, n'emploieront pas cette désignation, qui porte à croire qu'un parti pris existe en la matière.

70. La désignation objective et neutre du territoire de l'Irian occidental employée depuis 1949 — c'est-à-dire la première fois que l'ONU a établi des documents en la matière — était résidence de la Nouvelle-Guinée (Irian). Tel est le titre qui a été accepté par les deux parties intéressées et qui n'implique aucun jugement préconçu. Les Membres de l'Organisation connaissent le problème du statut politique de ce

territoire, qui oppose les Gouvernements des Pays-Bas et de l'Indonésie et qui jusqu'ici n'a pas encore reçu de solution. Faute de solution, ma délégation estime qu'il n'y a pas lieu de modifier la désignation qui avait été acceptée, d'autant moins que le changement s'est heurté à une forte opposition et à la protestation de l'une des parties intéressées. Une modification unilatérale adoptée en 1956, au milieu même du conflit, sans le consentement de l'autre partie intéressée, va à l'encontre de la tradition d'objectivité des Nations Unies en matière politique et nuit au prestige de l'Organisation.

71. Enfin, je voudrais réaffirmer la position de mon gouvernement à l'égard d'un argument présenté par le Gouvernement des Pays-Bas, à propos de la fourniture de renseignements sur l'Irian occidental. Les Pays-Bas ont prétendu que, si l'Irian occidental était administrativement réuni au reste de l'Indonésie, l'ONU ne recevrait plus de renseignements sur ce territoire conformément à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte. Indépendamment du fait qu'il s'agit, non pas d'un territoire non autonome, mais d'une partie d'un Etat indépendant Membre de l'ONU, l'argument du Gouvernement des Pays-Bas est évidemment sans valeur.

72. L'Irian occidental, lorsqu'il sera administrativement réuni à la libre Indonésie, sera ouvert au monde et accessible à tous les autres moyens d'information, y compris ceux des Nations Unies, comme le sont toutes les autres provinces ou parties de l'Indonésie. Telle n'est pas la situation sous le régime actuel d'occupation militaire de l'Irian occidental par les Pays-Bas. C'est à cause de la politique d'isolement des puissances coloniales que la Charte prévoit la transmission de renseignements sur les territoires non autonomes. Ces renseignements ne trouvent leur raison d'être que comme moyen de contrôler, dans une certaine mesure, la politique de certaines puissances coloniales. Ce n'est certainement pas une fin en soi, car aucun territoire ne serait jamais indépendant, si l'on pouvait prétendre que son accès à l'indépendance mettrait fin à la communication des renseignements à l'ONU conformément à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte. La faiblesse de cet argument, le travestissement qu'il constitue des principes et des objectifs mêmes de la Charte, caractérisent bien cette conception, ainsi que l'a souligné hier [947ème séance] le représentant de l'Indonésie à propos de la déclaration sur le colonialisme, et il est inutile que j'y insiste davantage.

73. Le fait que les Pays-Bas aient soulevé cet argument confirme qu'ils ont l'intention de prolonger indéfiniment leur présence en Irian occidental et de maintenir la population de ce territoire sous leur joug colonial. En revanche, lorsqu'il fera partie de la République indonésienne, la population de l'Irian occidental pourra travailler dans la liberté et mettre son pays en valeur en pleine collaboration avec les peuples des autres provinces indonésiennes.

74. En votant pour les projets de résolutions contenus dans les documents A/4650 et A/4651, ma délégation désire répéter que le territoire de l'Irian occidental n'est pas un territoire non autonome, mais qu'il fait partie de l'Indonésie. Les résolutions contenues dans ces documents, y compris les 12 principes mentionnés dans le document A/4651, sont toutes également inapplicables au territoire de l'Irian occidental.

75. Le **PRESIDENT** (traduit de l'anglais): Je donne la parole au représentant des Pays-Bas pour l'exercice de son droit de réponse.

76. **M. SCHURMANN** (Pays-Bas) [traduit de l'anglais]: Je suis certain qu'il doit devenir très ennuyeux, pour les membres de l'Assemblée générale, d'entendre la délégation indonésienne exprimer son opinion sur la Nouvelle-Guinée néerlandaise à tout propos et hors de propos. Pour ma part, je considère que c'est aujourd'hui hors de propos et, par conséquent, je ne répondrai pas aux observations du représentant de l'Indonésie.

77. Qu'il me suffise de dire que mon gouvernement soumet des rapports sur la Nouvelle-Guinée néerlandaise depuis maintenant 10 ans et que ces rapports ont toujours été reçus avec reconnaissance par l'Assemblée générale; ils ont été discutés à la Quatrième Commission et en séance plénière. Mon gouvernement a l'intention de continuer d'agir ainsi et de soumettre ces rapports jusqu'au moment où la population de la Nouvelle-Guinée néerlandaise aura décidé elle-même de son avenir.

78. Le **PRESIDENT** (traduit de l'anglais): Je voudrais rappeler aux membres de l'Assemblée générale que, lors de l'examen des rapports des commissions, les interventions sont limitées aux explications de vote, à moins que l'on ne recoure à la procédure prévue à l'article 68 du règlement intérieur. Dans une explication de vote, on ne peut aborder le fonds des questions traitées dans les rapports des diverses commissions, à moins qu'une motion en ce sens n'ait été présentée en application de l'article 68 du règlement intérieur. Les explications de vote doivent demeurer des explications de vote.

79. Si aucune autre délégation ne désire expliquer son vote avant le scrutin, je mettrai aux voix les sept projets de résolution dont l'adoption est recommandée par la Quatrième Commission dans le document (A/4650).

Par 81 voix contre zéro, avec 11 abstentions, le projet de résolution I est adopté.

Par 69 voix contre zéro, avec 20 abstentions, le projet de résolution II est adopté.

80. Le **PRESIDENT** (traduit de l'anglais): Le projet de résolution III a trait à la discrimination raciale dans les territoires non autonomes. Il a été demandé un vote par appel nominal.

Il est procédé au vote par appel nominal.

L'appel commence par l'Indonésie, dont le nom est tiré au sort par le Président.

Votent pour: Indonésie, Iran, Irak, Irlande, Israël, Italie, Côte-d'Ivoire, Japon, Laos, Liban, Libéria, Libye, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Mali, Mexique, Maroc, Népal, Pays-Bas, Nouvelle-Zélande, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigéria, Norvège, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Pérou, Philippines, Pologne, Portugal, Roumanie, Sénégal, Somalie, Espagne, Soudan, Suède, Thaïlande, Togo, Tunisie, Turquie, République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine, Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques, République arabe unie, États-Unis d'Amérique, Haute-Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yémen, Yougoslavie, Afghanistan, Albanie, Argentine, Autriche, Belgique, Bolivie, Brésil, Bulgarie, Birmanie, République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie, Cambodge, Canada, République centrafricaine,

Ceylan, Tchad, Chili, Chine, Colombie, Congo (Léopoldville), Costa Rica, Cuba, Chypre, Tchécoslovaquie, Danemark, République Dominicaine, Équateur, Salvador, Fédération de Malaisie, Finlande, France, Ghana, Grèce, Guatemala, Guinée, Haïti, Honduras, Hongrie, Inde.

Votent contre: néant.

S'abstiennent: Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord, Australie.

Par 88 voix contre zéro, avec 2 abstentions, le projet de résolution III est adopté.

Par 75 voix contre zéro, avec 11 abstentions, le projet de résolution IV est adopté.

Par 76 voix contre zéro, avec 11 abstentions, le projet de résolution V est adopté.

Par 79 voix contre zéro, avec 10 abstentions, le projet de résolution VI est adopté.

81. Le **PRESIDENT** (traduit de l'anglais): Le projet de résolution VII, qui traite des moyens d'étude et de formation offerts par des États Membres aux habitants des territoires non autonomes, a été adopté à l'unanimité par la Quatrième Commission. S'il n'y a pas d'objection, je considérerai qu'il est également approuvé par l'Assemblée générale.

Le projet de résolution VII est adopté.

82. Le **PRESIDENT** (traduit de l'anglais): Je donne maintenant la parole au représentant du Royaume-Uni, qui a exprimé le désir d'expliquer son vote après le scrutin.

83. **Sir Andrew COHEN** (Royaume-Uni) [traduit de l'anglais]: Je voudrais expliquer le vote de ma délégation sur la troisième des résolutions qui vient d'être adoptée — le projet de résolution III qui traite de la discrimination raciale dans les territoires non autonomes.

84. Ma délégation regrette vivement que la Quatrième Commission n'ait pas soumis à l'Assemblée générale sur cette question un projet de résolution que nous ayons pu appuyer de tout cœur. Le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni appuie entièrement l'esprit de cette résolution, et la plupart des idées qui y sont exprimées sont de celles auxquelles nous souscrivons sans aucune réserve. Cependant, ma délégation s'est trouvée contrainte de s'abstenir à cause du respect profond que nous avons pour l'esprit et la lettre des résolutions adoptées par l'ONU. Nous n'avons pas l'habitude de voter en faveur de résolutions que nous ne sommes pas convaincus de pouvoir mettre en œuvre complètement, tant dans l'esprit que dans la lettre.

85. Dans deux passages, cette résolution demande des mesures immédiates qui, si la résolution était appliquée à la lettre, ne produiraient pas nécessairement, à notre avis, l'effet souhaité. En particulier, le paragraphe 2 du dispositif ne contient aucune disposition prévoyant le maintien en vigueur de lois qui instituent une certaine différenciation, et qui sont encore nécessaires dans certains territoires pour protéger les intérêts des peuples indigènes. Le paragraphe 3 du dispositif demande non seulement la suppression de toute distinction entre les races en ce qui concerne le droit de vote, mais également l'octroi immédiat du suffrage universel. Ceci dépasse la simple question de la suppression de la discrimination raciale.

86. Dans certains des territoires que nous administrons, nous avons introduit un droit de vote qualitatif, qui s'élargit progressivement, et donne largement aux populations de ces territoires le moyen de s'exprimer; ce mode de suffrage ne tient pas compte de la race et n'est nullement discriminatoire. Nous croyons que c'est là la meilleure manière de procéder dans ces territoires et nous ne pouvons pas, dans ces conditions, voter en faveur de la résolution.

87. Enfin, je dois répéter, une fois de plus, que nous sommes absolument opposés à la discrimination raciale et que nous nous efforçons de la supprimer le plus rapidement possible par tous les moyens à notre disposition. Bien que nous eussions préféré voir cette résolution présentée dans une forme qui nous aurait permis de voter en sa faveur, nous continuerons à ne rien négliger, dans les territoires que nous administrons, pour supprimer la discrimination raciale et atteindre ainsi l'objectif principal de cette résolution.

88. Le **PRESIDENT** (traduit de l'anglais): Le rapport de la Quatrième Commission sur le point 38 de l'ordre du jour [A/4651] a déjà été présenté à l'Assemblée générale par le Rapporteur. Aucun représentant n'a demandé à expliquer son vote avant la mise aux voix des deux projets de résolution de ce rapport, et je propose donc de passer au vote sur le projet de résolution I.

Il est procédé au vote par appel nominal.

Le vote commence par le Chili dont le nom est tiré au sort par le Président.

Votent pour: Chili, Colombie, Congo (Léopoldville), Costa Rica, Cuba, Chypre, Danemark, Equateur, Salvador, Ethiopie, Fédération de Malaisie, Finlande, Ghana, Grèce, Guatemala, Guinée, Haïti, Honduras, Inde, Indonésie, Iran, Irak, Irlande, Israël, Côte-d'Ivoire, Japon, Laos, Liban, Libéria, Libye, Madagascar, Mali, Mexique, Maroc, Népal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigéria, Norvège, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Pérou, Philippines, Sénégal, Somalie, Soudan, Suède, Thaïlande, Togo, Tunisie, Turquie, République arabe unie, Haute-Volta, Venezuela, Yémen, Yougoslavie, Afghanistan, Argentine, Autriche, Bolivie, Brésil, Birmanie, Cambodge, Cameroun, Canada, République centrafricaine, Ceylan, Tchad.

Votent contre: Portugal, Union sud-africaine.

S'abstiennent: Chine, Tchécoslovaquie, République Dominicaine, France, Hongrie, Italie, Luxembourg, Pays-Bas, Nouvelle-Zélande, Pologne, Roumanie, Espagne, République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine, Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques, Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord, Etats-Unis d'Amérique, Albanie, Australie, Belgique, Bulgarie, République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie.

Par 69 voix contre 2, avec 21 abstentions, le projet de résolution I est adopté.

89. Le **PRESIDENT** (traduit de l'anglais): J'ai reçu une demande de vote par division sur le projet de résolution II. Il ne sera pas inutile, je crois, que les représentants qui ont présenté cette demande, viennent en expliquer les raisons.

90. M. IMAM (Pakistan) [traduit de l'anglais]: J'ai demandé un vote séparé sur le paragraphe 1 du dispositif du projet de résolution II, figurant dans le document A/4651, car ce paragraphe comporte une

énumération de territoires auxquels devra s'appliquer le texte du projet. Nous ne pouvons approuver la liste entière de ces territoires et c'est pourquoi nous avons demandé un vote sur la liste des territoires de "a) Archipel du Cap-Vert" à "f) Mozambique" et un second vote sur les autres territoires de la liste, de "g) Goa et dépendances (ou "Etat de l'Inde")" à "j) Timor et dépendances".

91. Le **PRESIDENT** (traduit de l'anglais): Le représentant du Pakistan a demandé deux votes séparés sur la liste des territoires figurant au paragraphe 1 du dispositif du projet de résolution II [A/4651], l'un portant sur les alinéas de a à f de cette liste, l'autre sur les alinéas g à i. Je prie donc l'Assemblée de se prononcer d'abord sur les alinéas a à f inclus du paragraphe 1 du dispositif du projet de résolution II.

Par 57 voix contre 4, avec 22 abstentions, les alinéas a à f sont adoptés.

92. Le **PRESIDENT** (traduit de l'anglais): Je demande maintenant à l'Assemblée de procéder au second vote qui a été demandé, et qui traite des territoires énumérés de g à i dans le paragraphe 1 du dispositif.

Par 55 voix contre 5, avec 28 abstentions, les alinéas g à i sont adoptés.

93. Le **PRESIDENT** (traduit de l'anglais): Je prie maintenant l'Assemblée de se prononcer sur le projet de résolution II dans son ensemble.

Il est procédé au vote par appel nominal.

L'appel commence par le Chili, dont le nom est tiré au sort par le Président.

Votent pour: Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Léopoldville), Cuba, Chypre, Tchécoslovaquie, Danemark, Equateur, Salvador, Ethiopie, Fédération de Malaisie, Finlande, Ghana, Grèce, Guatemala, Guinée, Haïti, Honduras, Hongrie, Inde, Indonésie, Iran, Irak, Irlande, Israël, Côte-d'Ivoire, Laos, Liban, Libéria, Libye, Madagascar, Mali, Mexique, Maroc, Népal, Niger, Nigéria, Norvège, Paraguay, Pérou, Philippines, Pologne, Roumanie, Somalie, Soudan, Suède, Thaïlande, Togo, Tunisie, Turquie, République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine, Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques, République arabe unie, Haute-Volta, Venezuela, Yémen, Yougoslavie, Afghanistan, Albanie, Argentine, Bolivie, Bulgarie, Birmanie, République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie, Cambodge, Cameroun, République centrafricaine, Ceylan, Tchad.

Votent contre: France, Portugal, Espagne, Union sud-africaine, Belgique, Brésil.

S'abstiennent: Chili, Chine, Colombie, République Dominicaine, Italie, Japon, Luxembourg, Pays-Bas, Nouvelle-Zélande, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Panama, Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord, Etats-Unis d'Amérique, Australie, Autriche, Canada.

Par 68 voix contre 6, avec 17 abstentions, le projet de résolution II est adopté.

94. Le **PRESIDENT** (traduit de l'anglais): Deux ou trois membres de l'Assemblée ont exprimé le désir d'expliquer leur vote après le scrutin. Je donne d'abord la parole au représentant de l'Espagne.

95. M. DE LEQUERICA (Espagne) [traduit de l'espagnol]: La délégation espagnole désire déclarer pour les procès-verbaux de l'Assemblée générale qu'elle s'est abstenue en ce qui concerne le projet de résolution I présenté par la Quatrième Commission dans le document A/4651 parce que, si les principes qui y sont énoncés contiennent des éléments très utiles, le projet nous paraît confus, imprécis, et se prête à des interprétations erronées.

96. Nous avons voté contre le projet de résolution II contenu dans le même rapport parce qu'à notre avis il n'est pas juste que, si l'on ne se conforme pas aux formalités élémentaires de publicité et de distribution du projet de résolution que vient d'adopter l'Assemblée générale (projet de résolution I dans le document A/4651), on puisse en tirer des conséquences contre tel ou tel pays.

97. Ma délégation voudrait cependant faire remarquer que, si ce texte avait fait l'objet d'un vote par division, nous aurions pu réaffirmer les arguments que nous avons déjà exposés devant la Quatrième Commission et, de ce fait, nous aurions voté pour le quatrième alinéa du préambule et pour le paragraphe 4 du dispositif.

98. M. GARIN (Portugal) [traduit de l'anglais]: Je voudrais expliquer brièvement le vote de ma délégation sur le projet de résolution II, contenu dans le document A/4651 et que l'Assemblée vient d'adopter.

99. Ma délégation estime que cette résolution oblige à interpréter le Chapitre XI de la Charte et plus particulièrement l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 avec une hardiesse excessive. Nous sommes fermement convaincus que, contrairement aux Chapitres IX et X d'une part, et au Chapitre XII d'autre part, le Chapitre XI n'impose pas, et ne peut être considéré comme imposant aux Etats Membres une obligation que ceux-ci ne sont pas disposés à assumer, ou que leurs propres lois constitutionnelles, qu'ils ont seuls la possibilité et le pouvoir d'interpréter et d'appliquer, n'autorisent pas à assumer.

100. Le texte de la résolution qui vient d'être adopté est le résultat d'une interprétation différente qui va à l'encontre des dispositions de la Charte, et qui constitue par conséquent, à notre avis, une violation très nette de la loi fondamentale de l'Organisation.

101. D'autre part, la résolution donne à l'Assemblée générale une compétence que celle-ci ne possède pas. En fait, jamais l'Assemblée n'a prétendu jusqu'ici avoir compétence pour déterminer le statut juridique et politique d'un territoire. Elle n'a jamais prétendu non plus avoir compétence pour imposer aux Etats Membres la communication de renseignements au sujet de territoires qui, ne possédant pas un statut soumis à une juridiction internationale, relèvent uniquement de la législation des Etats Membres et dont le statut politique dépend de ces seuls Etats Membres. L'Assemblée générale n'a pas le droit de mettre en doute les réponses des Etats Membres en ce qui concerne le statut des territoires dépendant de leur propre souveraineté nationale, et de telles réponses, faites en conformité avec les lois nationales et constitutionnelles, doivent être acceptées par l'Assemblée, que la Charte n'autorise pas à contester. La résolution en dispose autrement et par là même elle dépasse la compétence de l'Assemblée générale.

Or celle-ci n'a jamais agi de la sorte depuis la création de l'Organisation.

102. Si l'Assemblée prend maintenant une attitude différente, et ne le fait qu'envers un pays en particulier, on est en droit d'affirmer qu'elle s'engage dans une voie qui équivaut à une discrimination très nette à l'encontre de ce pays. Ce fait a été établi tout à fait clairement au cours des discussions de la Quatrième Commission sur le point 38 de l'ordre du jour, au moment où celle-ci a examiné le rapport du Comité spécial des Six chargé de la question de la communication de renseignements prévue à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte [A/4526], sur les principes qui doivent guider les Etats Membres pour déterminer leurs obligations en vertu de cet article, ainsi que le projet de résolution dont je parle actuellement. En réalité, bien que de nombreuses délégations aient estimé que le rapport devrait recevoir une application très générale, il est de fait que ce document, qui constitue un guide pour les Etats Membres et non pour l'Assemblée en tant que telle, n'a été utilisé que pour mettre en doute et contester les réponses de deux Etats Membres, et notamment celles du Portugal. Il n'est jamais venu à l'idée des délégations que, s'il nous fallait évaluer à leur juste valeur les principes contenus dans le rapport, tous les Etats Membres auraient dû avoir la possibilité d'étudier celui-ci dans sa forme définitive, ce que la Quatrième Commission a simplement refusé de faire.

103. Nous sommes donc forcés de conclure à l'intention d'exercer une discrimination envers certains pays, ce qui constitue une violation du principe de l'égalité des Etats Membres énoncé dans la Charte.

104. Ma délégation croit devoir souligner que cette opinion n'est pas seulement celle du Portugal. En ce qui concerne l'interprétation correcte de l'Article 73, et du point de vue de son application, en ce qui concerne les obligations volontaires que les Etats peuvent assumer en vertu de ce texte, ainsi qu'au sujet de la compétence de l'Assemblée générale, de nombreuses autres délégations, tant à cette session qu'aux sessions antérieures, ont déjà exprimé une opinion analogue à celle que je viens d'énoncer. Je ne veux pas prolonger ce débat en citant des textes, mais j'attire l'attention des membres sur les déclarations faites par certaines délégations pendant la 1049^{ème} séance de la Quatrième Commission lors d'explications de vote au sujet de la résolution, à savoir notamment les déclarations faites par les délégations des Etats-Unis d'Amérique, du Royaume-Uni, de la France, de la Belgique et d'autres pays; toutes ces interventions affirmaient que la résolution que vous venez d'approuver est incompatible avec une interprétation correcte de l'Article 73 et que l'Assemblée générale n'est pas compétente en la matière.

105. Cette opinion a été également exprimée par d'autres délégations, notamment à la quatorzième session, mais leur attitude s'est modifiée à cette session pour des raisons dont elles sont seules juges et qui, malheureusement nous sont encore inconnues.

106. Enfin, ma délégation se voit dans l'obligation de mentionner un autre point. Quelle que soit l'interprétation que tel ou tel d'entre nous puisse donner de l'Article 73 de la Charte, quelles que soient les opinions que l'on peut avoir sur la compétence de l'Assemblée en la matière, il a été clairement indiqué, tant à la Quatrième Commission qu'au sien de l'As-

semblée, que l'Article 73 ne s'applique pas au Portugal et qu'en conséquence aucune obligation ne peut être imposée à mon pays quant à la mise en œuvre de cette disposition. Tout effort dans l'autre sens constituerait une violation flagrante de l'Article 2, paragraphe 7, de la Charte.

107. Je ne ferai pas d'observations détaillées sur le texte de la résolution. Ma délégation estime que les raisons que je viens d'exposer sont suffisantes pour expliquer la position que nous avons adoptée; ce sont précisément les raisons qui nous ont incités à voter contre le projet de résolution.

108. Cependant, étant donné la décision qui vient d'être prise par l'Assemblée, je dois — comme je l'ai déjà fait devant la Quatrième Commission [1048ème séance] — exprimer les réserves les plus catégoriques de mon gouvernement quant à sa position à l'égard de cette résolution.

109. M. ORMSBY-GORE (Royaume-Uni) [traduit de l'anglais]: Je voudrais expliquer le vote de ma délégation concernant le projet de résolution II qui vient d'être adopté. De l'avis de ma délégation, il n'appartient pas à l'Assemblée d'exprimer une opinion sur la question de savoir s'il existe ou non, dans un cas déterminé, une obligation de transmettre des renseignements par l'application de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73.

110. Lors de sa quatorzième session, l'Assemblée générale a adopté une résolution [1467 (XIV)] exprimant l'opinion qu'il serait souhaitable qu'elle énumérât les principes qui doivent guider les Etats Membres — je dis bien les Etats Membres — pour déterminer si l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements, prévue à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte, leur est applicable ou non. Pour cette raison, nous n'avons pas cru devoir voter pour ou contre cette résolution, car l'une ou l'autre attitude aurait pu être interprétée comme l'expression d'une opinion sur le fond de la question dont traite la résolution. Nous nous sommes donc abstenus.

111. Je voudrais cependant présenter deux observations relatives à cette résolution. On déclare, dans la dernière partie du troisième paragraphe du préambule, que le refus aux peuples dépendants du droit de disposer d'eux-mêmes constitue une menace pour la paix internationale. Aux yeux de ma délégation, cette rédaction manque un peu de mesure. De toute façon, nous n'en saisissons pas le sens exact. Les mots "menace... à la paix internationale" sont des termes qui, dans le sein de l'Organisation, devraient, nous semble-t-il, être utilisés avec beaucoup de prudence et seulement dans des circonstances où ils ont un sens très précis. Nous nous demandons si l'utilisation de ces mots était justifiée ou nécessaire dans ce projet de résolution, et nous regrettons qu'ils y aient été repris.

112. La seconde observation que je voudrais faire est la suivante. Cette résolution met à part le Portugal, parmi tous les Etats Membres de l'ONU. Le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni entretient depuis longtemps des liens d'amitié avec le Portugal, et ces liens sont aussi forts aujourd'hui qu'ils l'ont été dans le passé. Nos relations établies par traités remontent au XIVème siècle, et, au cours de ces 600 ans, nos pays ont entretenu les liens les plus étroits et ont toujours été en paix l'un avec l'autre. Une résolution qui vise tout particulièrement le

Portugal nous paraît donc déplorable. En outre, cette résolution traite d'une question qui, à notre avis, relève de la seule compétence du Gouvernement du Portugal plutôt que de l'Assemblée générale. Pour cette raison, nous n'avons pu l'appuyer.

sous son administration qui sont énumérés plus loin, au paragraphe 1, et n'a pas exprimé l'intention de le faire, et comme les renseignements que l'on peut avoir par ailleurs sur la situation de ces territoires sont un sujet d'inquiétude,

1. *Considère*, à la lumière des dispositions du Chapitre XI de la Charte, de la résolution 742 (VIII) de l'Assemblée générale, et des principes posés par le Comité spécial des Six et approuvés par l'Assemblée générale dans sa résolution, que les territoires suivants, administrés par le Portugal, sont des territoires non autonomes au sens du Chapitre XI de la Charte :

Territoires administrés par le Portugal

- a) Archipel du Cap-Vert ;
- b) Guinée, dite Guinée portugaise ;
- c) Ile Saint-Thomas et ile du Prince et leurs dépendances ;
- d) Saint-Jean-Baptiste de Ouidah ;
- e) Cabinda ;
- f) Angola ;
- g) Mozambique ;
- h) Goa et dépendances, ou « Etat de l'Inde » ;

- i) Macao et dépendances ;
- j) Timor et dépendances.

2. *Déclare* que le Gouvernement portugais a l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements sur ces territoires au titre du Chapitre XI de la Charte, et qu'il devrait s'en acquitter sans autre délai ;

3. *Prie* le Gouvernement portugais de communiquer au Secrétaire général de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, conformément aux dispositions du Chapitre XI de la Charte, des renseignements sur la situation qui règne dans les territoires placés sous son administration et énumérés au paragraphe 1 ci-dessus ;

4. *Prie* le Secrétaire général de prendre les mesures nécessaires à la suite de la déclaration du Gouvernement espagnol selon laquelle il est prêt à se conformer aux dispositions du Chapitre XI de la Charte ;

5. *Invite* le Gouvernement espagnol et le Gouvernement portugais à participer aux travaux du Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes, conformément au paragraphe 2 de la résolution 1332 (XIII), que l'Assemblée générale a adoptée le 12 décembre 1958.

DOCUMENT A/4651

Rapport de la Quatrième Commission

[Texte original en anglais]
[14 décembre 1960]

1. A sa 881^e séance plénière, le 1^{er} octobre 1960, l'Assemblée générale avait renvoyé à la Quatrième Commission le point suivant de son ordre du jour :

« 38. Etude des principes qui doivent guider les Etats Membres pour déterminer si l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements, prévue à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte des Nations Unies, leur est applicable ou non : rapport du Comité spécial créé par la résolution 1467 (XIV) de l'Assemblée générale. »

2. La Commission a examiné cette question de sa 1031^e à sa 1049^e séance, c'est-à-dire du 1^{er} au 14 novembre 1960.

3. La Commission était saisie du rapport (A/4526) du « Comité spécial des Six chargé de la question de la communication de renseignements prévue à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte », comité que l'Assemblée générale avait créé par sa résolution 1467 (XIV), le 12 décembre 1959. Dans ce rapport, le Comité avait énoncé les considérations générales et les 12 principes qui, de l'avis unanime des membres du Comité spécial des Six, doivent guider les Etats Membres pour déterminer si l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements, prévue à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte, leur est applicable ou non.

4. A la suite de la discussion générale, la Commission a examiné, à sa 1042^e séance, un projet de résolution déposé conjointement par l'Irak, l'Irlande, la Nigéria et le Venezuela (A/C.4/L.648). La Bolivie s'est jointe par la suite aux auteurs de ce texte (A/C.4/L.648/Add.1). Aux termes de ce projet, l'Assemblée générale devait : exprimer sa satisfaction des travaux du Comité spécial des Six ; approuver les principes posés dans le rapport du Comité spécial et annexés au projet de résolution ; décider qu'il y a lieu d'appliquer ces principes, compte tenu dans chaque cas des faits et des circonstances pour déterminer si l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements, prévue à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte, est applicable ou non.

5. De sa 1042^e à sa 1045^e séance, la Commission a examiné ce projet de résolution. A la 1043^e séance, le Togo et la Tunisie ont proposé, dans un amendement publié sous la cote A/C.4/L.650, de remplacer la dernière phrase de l'alinéa b du principe IX : « Il est admis que dans certains cas le contrôle de ces procédures par l'ONU peut être souhaitable » par : « Le contrôle de ces procédures par l'ONU est nécessaire ». Plusieurs membres ont rappelé que le Comité spécial, qui se composait d'un nombre égal de Membres administrants et de Membres non administrants, soucieux de réaliser l'unanimité dans ses travaux, s'était prononcé pour un texte qu'il considérait comme une solution de compromis ; ils ont donc prié les représentants du Togo et de la Tunisie de retirer leur amendement, pour que les principes puissent recueillir le plus grand nombre de voix possible. Répondant à ces appels, le représentant de la Tunisie a, lors de la 1044^e séance, proposé oralement, au nom de sa délégation et au nom de la délégation togolaise, de rédiger ainsi son amendement : « Les Nations Unies pourront, lorsqu'elles le jugeront nécessaire, contrôler ces procédures. »

6. A la 1045^e séance, le représentant de la Guinée a oralement proposé de reprendre l'amendement primitivement déposé par le Togo et la Tunisie, mais en remplaçant le mot « nécessaire » par « indispensable ». Au cours de la même séance, le représentant de la Guinée a retiré son amendement, à la demande des auteurs du premier amendement.

7. A la même séance, le représentant de l'Iran a proposé oralement d'ajouter, après le mot « approuve », au paragraphe 2, l'expression « les considérations générales de la partie A et ».

8. A la 1045^e séance, la Commission a voté sur le projet de résolution A/C.4/L.648 et Add.1, y compris le texte qui y était joint en annexe, et sur l'amendement A/C.4/L.650 présenté par le Togo et la Tunisie et modifié oralement à la 1044^e séance. Le représentant d'Haïti ayant formulé des réserves relativement au principe d'intégra-

tion d'un territoire dépendant dans un Etat indépendant comme une méthode satisfaisante d'accession à l'indépendance, conforme aux buts de la Charte, a demandé que fussent mis aux voix séparément l'alinéa c du principe VI ainsi que les principes VIII et IX. La Commission a décidé de voter d'abord séparément sur les divers paragraphes de l'annexe. Au cours du vote, le représentant de l'Iran a retiré son amendement. Après l'adoption de l'amendement à l'alinéa b du principe IX et l'adoption de l'ensemble de l'annexe, le représentant du Royaume-Uni a proposé de donner la rédaction suivante au paragraphe 2 du projet : « Approuve les principes énoncés dans la subdivision B de la section V du rapport du Comité spécial des Six tels qu'ils figurent, sous une forme modifiée, dans l'annexe de la présente résolution ». La Commission a adopté cette proposition.

L'amendement déposé par le Togo et la Tunisie (A/C.4/L.650) et modifié oralement a été adopté, au vote par appel nominal, par 38 voix contre 24, avec 26 abstentions. Les voix se sont réparties ainsi :

Ont voté pour : Afghanistan, Albanie, Arabie Saoudite, Bulgarie, Cameroun, Congo (Brazzaville), Côte-d'Ivoire, Equateur, Ethiopie, Hongrie, Indonésie, Jordanie, Liban, Libéria, Libye, Mali, Maroc, Niger, Pakistan, Panama, Philippines, Pologne, République arabe unie, République centrafricaine, République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie, République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine, Roumanie, Sénégal, Somalie, Soudan, Tchad, Tchécoslovaquie, Thaïlande, Togo, Tunisie, Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques, Uruguay, Yougoslavie ;

Ont voté contre : Argentine, Australie, Autriche, Belgique, Canada, Chine, Danemark, Espagne, Etats-Unis d'Amérique, Finlande, France, Grèce, Irlande, Italie, Japon, Mexique, Norvège, Nouvelle-Zélande, Pays-Bas, Portugal, République Dominicaine, Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord, Suède, Union sud-africaine ;

Se sont abstenus : Birmanie, Bolivie, Brésil, Cambodge, Ceylan, Chili, Chypre, Colombie, Costa Rica, Cuba, Fédération de Malaisie, Ghana, Guatemala, Guinée, Haïti, Inde, Irak, Iran, Israël, Népal, Nigéria, Paraguay, Pérou, Salvador, Turquie, Venezuela.

L'alinéa c du principe VI donné à l'annexe au projet de résolution a été adopté par 63 voix contre zéro, avec 19 abstentions.

L'ensemble du principe VI a été adopté par 67 voix contre zéro, avec 22 abstentions.

Le principe VIII a été adopté par 69 voix contre zéro, avec 18 abstentions.

L'alinéa a du principe IX a été adopté par 68 voix contre zéro, avec 19 abstentions.

L'alinéa b du principe IX, amendé, a été adopté par 57 voix contre 5, avec 24 abstentions.

L'ensemble du principe IX, amendé, a été adopté par 50 voix contre 3, avec 32 abstentions.

L'ensemble des principes donné en annexe au projet de résolution et amendé a été adopté, au vote par appel nominal, par 66 voix contre 3, avec 19 abstentions. Les voix se sont réparties ainsi :

Ont voté pour : Afghanistan, Arabie Saoudite, Argentine, Autriche, Birmanie, Bolivie, Brésil, Cambodge, Cameroun, Canada, Ceylan, Chili, Chypre, Colombie, Congo (Brazzaville), Costa Rica, Côte-d'Ivoire, Cuba, Danemark, Equateur, Ethiopie, Fédération de Malaisie, Finlande, Ghana, Grèce, Guatemala, Guinée, Haïti, Inde, Indonésie, Irak, Iran, Irlande, Israël, Japon, Jordanie, Liban, Libéria, Libye, Mali, Maroc, Mexique, Népal, Niger, Nigéria, Norvège, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Pérou, Philippines, République arabe unie, République centrafricaine, Salvador, Sénégal, Somalie, Soudan, Suède, Tchad, Thaï-

lande, Togo, Tunisie, Turquie, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yougoslavie ;

Ont voté contre : Espagne, Portugal, Union sud-africaine ;

Se sont abstenus : Albanie, Australie, Belgique, Bulgarie, Chine, Etats-Unis d'Amérique, France, Hongrie, Italie, Nouvelle-Zélande, Pays-Bas, Pologne, République Dominicaine, République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie, République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine, Roumanie, Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord, Tchécoslovaquie, Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques.

L'ensemble du projet de résolution (A/C.4/L.648 et Add.1) et son annexe, tels qu'ils ont été amendés, ont été adoptés au vote par appel nominal, par 62 voix contre 3, avec 19 abstentions. Les voix se sont réparties ainsi :

Ont voté pour : Afghanistan, Arabie Saoudite, Argentine, Autriche, Birmanie, Bolivie, Brésil, Cambodge, Cameroun, Canada, Ceylan, Chili, Chypre, Colombie, Costa Rica, Côte-d'Ivoire, Cuba, Danemark, Equateur, Ethiopie, Fédération de Malaisie, Finlande, Ghana, Grèce, Guatemala, Guinée, Haïti, Inde, Indonésie, Irak, Iran, Irlande, Israël, Japon, Jordanie, Liban, Libéria, Libye, Maroc, Mexique, Népal, Nigéria, Norvège, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Pérou, Philippines, République arabe unie, République centrafricaine, Salvador, Somalie, Soudan, Suède, Tchad, Thaïlande, Togo, Tunisie, Turquie, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yougoslavie ;

Ont voté contre : Espagne, Portugal, Union sud-africaine ;

Se sont abstenus : Albanie, Australie, Belgique, Bulgarie, Chine, Etats-Unis d'Amérique, France, Hongrie, Italie, Nouvelle-Zélande, Pays-Bas, Pologne, République Dominicaine, République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie, République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine, Roumanie, Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord, Tchécoslovaquie, Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques.

9. Le texte approuvé par la Commission figure au paragraphe 19 ci-après, sous le titre de projet de résolution I.

10. A la 1040^e séance, l'Afghanistan, la Birmanie, Ceylan, le Ghana, la Guinée, l'Inde, le Népal et la Nigéria ont conjointement déposé un projet de résolution (A/C.4/L.649) relatif à la communication des renseignements au titre de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte. Aux termes de ce projet, l'Assemblée générale était notamment chargée de prendre les mesures suivantes : énumérer les territoires administrés par l'Espagne et le Portugal qu'elle considère comme étant des territoires non autonomes au sens des dispositions du Chapitre XI de la Charte, de la résolution 742 (VIII) du 27 novembre 1953 de l'Assemblée générale et des principes énumérés par le Comité spécial des Six ; prier le Gouvernement espagnol et le Gouvernement portugais de communiquer des renseignements sur la situation de ces territoires, au titre de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte ; presser le Gouvernement espagnol et le Gouvernement portugais d'assurer aux populations autochtones de ces territoires la pleine liberté d'exercer une activité politique démocratique qui hâterait leur accession à l'indépendance.

11. La Commission a examiné ce projet de résolution de sa 1046^e à sa 1049^e séance. A la 1046^e séance, les auteurs ont présenté un texte remanié (A/C.4/L.649/Rev.1 et Rev.1/Corr.1) qui tenait compte de la déclaration que le représentant de l'Espagne avait faite à la 1038^e séance sur la communication de renseignements au titre de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73⁴. Le texte remanié omettait d'autre

⁴ Voir A/C.4/453. Le représentant de l'Espagne a encore précisé cette déclaration à la 1048^e séance ; voir paragraphe 15 du présent rapport.

part le paragraphe 1 du dispositif du projet de résolution (A/C.4/L.649). L'Irak, le Libéria, la Libye et le Sénégal se sont joints aux auteurs du projet (A/C.4/L.649/Rev.1/Add.1).

12. A la même séance, la République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine a déposé les amendements suivants (A/C.4/L.651) :

« 1) Au quatrième alinéa du préambule, supprimer les mots « avec satisfaction » et ajouter, à la fin de l'alinéa, les mots « au sujet des territoires non autonomes suivants : Ifni, Sahara occidental, Fernando Poo, « Rio Muni, îles Canaries » ;

« 2) Insérer le texte suivant, qui sera le paragraphe 1 du dispositif :

« 1. Presse le Gouvernement espagnol et le Gouvernement portugais d'accorder aux populations autochtones des territoires non autonomes placés sous leur administration la pleine liberté d'exercer une activité politique démocratique qui assurerait leur accession à l'indépendance » ;

« 3. Au paragraphe 2 du dispositif, ajouter, après les mots « au titre du Chapitre XI de la Charte », les mots « jusqu'au moment où la pleine indépendance leur aura été accordée » ;

« 4. Supprimer le paragraphe 4 du dispositif. »

13. A la 1048^e séance, le représentant de la Guinée a proposé oralement d'apporter une modification de forme à la liste des territoires considérés comme des territoires non autonomes sous administration portugaise : au lieu de faire l'objet d'une rubrique séparée, le Cabinda figurerait avec l'Angola — « Angola (y compris l'enclave de Cabinda) ». La Commission a accepté cette modification.

14. Le représentant de la République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine n'a pas insisté pour que son deuxième amendement soit mis aux voix, le représentant de la Guinée ayant déclaré au cours de la discussion qu'un projet de résolution serait ultérieurement présenté, touchant le fond de cet amendement.

15. A la même séance, précisant encore la position de son gouvernement, le représentant de l'Espagne a déclaré que le Gouvernement espagnol avait décidé de communiquer au Secrétaire général les renseignements relatifs aux territoires visés au Chapitre XI de la Charte. A la suite de cette déclaration, le représentant de la Bulgarie a proposé oralement d'ajouter l'expression « à la 1048^e séance de » au quatrième alinéa du préambule, qui traite de la déclaration faite par le représentant de l'Espagne.

16. A la 1048^e séance, la Commission a voté sur le projet de résolution (A/C.4/L.649/Rev.1 et Rev.1/Corr.1 et Rev.1/Add.1) et sur certains des amendements à ce texte déposés par la République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine (A/C.4/L.651). Le projet de résolution relatif aux principes⁵ ayant déjà été adopté, la Commission a décidé, sur la proposition du Président, de supprimer, au paragraphe 1 du dispositif, l'expression « posés par le Comité spécial des Six et ».

La suppression de l'expression « avec satisfaction » au quatrième alinéa du préambule, proposée dans le premier amendement de l'Ukraine (A/C.4/L.651, par. 1), a été rejetée par 50 voix contre 11, avec 11 abstentions.

L'amendement verbal du représentant de la Bulgarie, qui tendait à ajouter au quatrième alinéa du préambule l'expression « à la 1048^e séance de », a été adopté par 57 voix contre zéro, avec 17 abstentions.

La modification proposée dans le premier amendement de l'Ukraine (A/C.4/L.651, par. 1), tendant à ajouter l'expression « au sujet des territoires non autonomes sui-

vants » à la fin du quatrième alinéa du préambule, a été rejetée par 42 voix contre 15, avec 16 abstentions. En conséquence, la Commission n'a pas voté sur la partie restante du premier amendement de l'Ukraine.

L'ensemble du quatrième alinéa du préambule, tel qu'il a été amendé, a été adopté, au vote par appel nominal, par 54 voix contre 8, avec 13 abstentions. Les voix se sont réparties ainsi :

Ont voté pour : Afghanistan, Arabie Saoudite, Argentine, Australie, Autriche, Belgique, Birmanie, Bolivie, Cambodge, Canada, Chili, Chine, Chypre, Colombie, Cuba, Danemark, Equateur, Espagne, Etats-Unis d'Amérique, Ethiopie, Fédération de Malaisie, Finlande, Ghana, Grèce, Guatemala, Guinée, Haïti, Inde, Indonésie, Irak, Iran, Irlande, Israël, Japon, Liban, Libéria, Libye, Mexique, Nigéria, Norvège, Nouvelle-Zélande, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Pays-Bas, Pérou, Philippines, République arabe unie, Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord, Somalie, Suède, Thaïlande, Turquie, Venezuela ;

Ont voté contre : Albanie, Bulgarie, Pologne, Portugal, République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie, République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine, Tchécoslovaquie, Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques ;

Se sont abstenus : Brésil, France, Hongrie, Italie, Mali, Maroc, République Dominicaine, Roumanie, Tchad, Togo, Tunisie, Union sud-africaine, Yougoslavie.

Le troisième alinéa du préambule a été adopté par 64 voix contre zéro, avec 11 abstentions.

Dans le paragraphe 1 du dispositif, la première partie de la liste des territoires administrés par le Portugal, depuis « Archipel du Cap-Vert » jusqu'à « Mozambique », modifiée par amendement oral du représentant de la Guinée, a été adoptée par 45 voix contre 6, avec 22 abstentions.

La dernière partie de la liste des territoires administrés par le Portugal a été adoptée par 44 voix contre 6, avec 24 abstentions.

L'ensemble du paragraphe 1 du dispositif, remanié et amendé oralement, a été adopté, au vote par appel nominal, par 50 voix contre 6, avec 19 abstentions. Les voix se sont réparties ainsi :

Ont voté pour : Afghanistan, Albanie, Arabie Saoudite, Argentine, Birmanie, Bolivie, Bulgarie, Cambodge, Chypre, Cuba, Danemark, Equateur, Ethiopie, Fédération de Malaisie, Finlande, Ghana, Grèce, Guinée, Haïti, Hongrie, Inde, Indonésie, Irak, Iran, Irlande, Israël, Liban, Libéria, Libye, Mali, Maroc, Nigéria, Norvège, Pérou, Philippines, Pologne, République arabe unie, République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie, République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine, Roumanie, Somalie, Suède, Tchad, Tchécoslovaquie, Togo, Tunisie, Turquie, Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques, Venezuela, Yougoslavie ;

Ont voté contre : Belgique, Brésil, Espagne, France, Portugal, Union sud-africaine ;

Se sont abstenus : Australie, Autriche, Canada, Chili, Chine, Colombie, Etats-Unis d'Amérique, Guatemala, Italie, Japon, Mexique, Nouvelle-Zélande, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Pays-Bas, République Dominicaine, Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord, Thaïlande.

Le troisième amendement de l'Ukraine (A/C.4/L.651, par. 3), tendant à ajouter les mots « jusqu'au moment où la pleine indépendance leur aura été accordée » au paragraphe 2 du dispositif, a été rejeté par 28 voix contre 21, avec 21 abstentions.

Le quatrième amendement de l'Ukraine (A/C.4/L.651, par. 4), tendant à supprimer le paragraphe 4 du dispositif, a été rejeté, au vote par appel nominal, par 51 voix contre 9, avec 14 abstentions. Les voix se sont réparties ainsi :

⁵ Voir par. 19, projet de résolution I.

Ont voté pour : Albanie, Bulgarie, Hongrie, Pologne, République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie, République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine, Roumanie, Tchécoslovaquie, Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques ;

Ont voté contre : Afghanistan, Arabie Saoudite, Argentine, Australie, Autriche, Belgique, Birmanie, Bolivie, Canada, Chili, Chine, Chypre, Colombie, Cuba, Danemark, Espagne, Etats-Unis d'Amérique, Ethiopie, Fédération de Malaisie, Finlande, Ghana, Grèce, Guatemala, Haïti, Inde, Irak, Iran, Irlande, Israël, Italie, Japon, Liban, Libéria, Libye, Mexique, Nigéria, Norvège, Nouvelle-Zélande, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Pays-Bas, Pérou, Philippines, République Dominicaine, Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord, Suède, Thaïlande, Tunisie, Turquie, Venezuela ;

Se sont abstenus : Brésil, Cambodge, Equateur, France, Guinée, Indonésie, Mali, Maroc, République arabe unie, Somalie, Tchad, Togo, Union sud-africaine, Yougoslavie.

Le paragraphe 4 du dispositif du projet de résolution a été adopté par 52 voix contre 10, avec 9 abstentions.

Le paragraphe 5 du dispositif du projet de résolution a été adopté par 51 voix contre 3, avec 19 abstentions.

L'ensemble du projet de résolution (A/C.4/L.649/Rev.1, Rev.1/Corr.1 et Rev.1/Add.1), oralement remanié et amendé, a été adopté, au vote par appel nominal, par 45 voix contre 6, avec 24 abstentions. Les voix se sont réparties ainsi :

Ont voté pour : Afghanistan, Arabie Saoudite, Argentine, Birmanie, Bolivie, Cambodge, Chypre, Cuba, Danemark, Equateur, Ethiopie, Fédération de Malaisie, Finlande, Ghana, Grèce, Guatemala, Guinée, Haïti, Inde, Indonésie, Irak, Iran, Irlande, Israël, Liban, Libéria, Libye, Mali, Maroc, Mexique, Nigéria, Norvège, Paraguay, Pérou, Philippines, République arabe unie, Somalie, Suède, Tchad, Thaïlande, Togo, Tunisie, Turquie, Venezuela, Yougoslavie ;

Ont voté contre : Belgique, Brésil, Espagne, France, Portugal, Union sud-africaine ;

Se sont abstenus : Albanie, Australie, Autriche, Bulgarie, Canada, Chili, Chine, Colombie, Etats-Unis d'Amérique, Hongrie, Italie, Japon, Nouvelle-Zélande, Pakistan, Panama, Pays-Bas, Pologne, République Dominicaine, République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie, République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine, Roumanie, Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord, Tchécoslovaquie, Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques.

17. Le représentant du Portugal a réservé la position de son gouvernement.

18. Le texte adopté par la Commission figure au paragraphe 19 du présent rapport sous le titre de projet de résolution II.

Recommandations de la Quatrième Commission

19. En conséquence, la Quatrième Commission recommande à l'Assemblée générale d'adopter les projets de résolution suivants :

Projet de résolution I

PRINCIPES QUI DOIVENT GUIDER LES ETATS MEMBRES POUR DÉTERMINER SI L'OBLIGATION DE COMMUNIQUER DES RENSEIGNEMENTS, PRÉVUE A L'ALINÉA e DE L'ARTICLE 73 DE LA CHARTE, LEUR EST APPLICABLE OU NON

[Texte adopté sans changement par l'Assemblée générale. Voir ci-après « Décisions prises par l'Assemblée générale ».]

Projet de résolution II

COMMUNICATION DE RENSEIGNEMENTS AU TITRE DE L'ALINÉA e DE L'ARTICLE 73 DE LA CHARTE

[Texte adopté sans changement par l'Assemblée générale. Voir ci-après « Décisions prises par l'Assemblée générale ».]

DÉCISIONS PRISES PAR L'ASSEMBLÉE GÉNÉRALE

A sa 948^e séance plénière, le 15 décembre 1960, l'Assemblée générale a adopté les projets de résolution I et II présentés par la Quatrième Commission (A/4651, par. 19). Pour le texte définitif, voir ci-dessous résolutions 1541 (XV) et 1542 (XV) respectivement.

Résolutions adoptées par l'Assemblée générale

1541 (XV). PRINCIPES QUI DOIVENT GUIDER LES ETATS MEMBRES POUR DÉTERMINER SI L'OBLIGATION DE COMMUNIQUER DES RENSEIGNEMENTS, PRÉVUE A L'ALINÉA e DE L'ARTICLE 73 DE LA CHARTE, LEUR EST APPLICABLE OU NON

L'Assemblée générale,

Considérant les objectifs énoncés au Chapitre XI de la Charte des Nations Unies,

Tenant compte de la liste de facteurs jointe en annexe à la résolution 742 (VIII) de l'Assemblée générale, en date du 27 novembre 1953,

Ayant examiné le rapport du Comité spécial des Six chargé de la question de la communication de renseigne-

ments en vertu de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte (A/4526) qui avait pour mission, aux termes de la résolution 1467 (XIV) de l'Assemblée générale en date du 12 décembre 1959, d'étudier les principes qui doivent guider les Etats Membres pour déterminer si l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements, prévue à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte, leur est applicable ou non, et de faire rapport à l'Assemblée, lors de sa quinzième session, sur les résultats de son étude,

1. *Exprime sa satisfaction* des travaux du Comité spécial des Six chargé de la question de la communication de renseignements en vertu de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte ;

2. *Approuve* les principes énoncés dans la subdivision B de la section V du rapport présenté par le Comité, sous leur forme amendée, tels qu'ils figurent dans l'annexe à la présente résolution ;

3. *Décide* qu'il y a lieu d'appliquer ces principes, compte tenu dans chaque cas des faits et des circonstances, pour déterminer si l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements, prévue à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte, est applicable ou non.

948^e séance plénière,
15 décembre 1960.

ANNEXE

PRINCIPES QUI DOIVENT GUIDER LES ETATS MEMBRES POUR DÉTERMINER SI L'OBLIGATION DE COMMUNIQUER DES RENSEIGNEMENTS, PRÉVUE A L'ALINÉA e DE L'ARTICLE 73 DE LA CHARTE DES NATIONS UNIES, LEUR EST APPLICABLE OU NON

Principe premier

Les auteurs de la Charte des Nations Unies entendaient que le Chapitre XI soit applicable aux territoires qui étaient alors connus comme étant du type colonial. Il y a obligation de communiquer des renseignements, aux termes de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte, à l'égard de ces territoires dont les populations ne s'administrent pas complètement elles-mêmes.

Principe II

Tels que le Chapitre XI de la Charte les conçoit, les territoires non autonomes sont dans un état dynamique d'évolution et de progrès vers la pleine capacité à s'administrer eux-mêmes. Dès qu'un territoire et ses populations ont atteint cette pleine autonomie, l'obligation cesse. Tant qu'ils ne l'ont pas atteinte, l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements, prévue à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73, subsiste.

Principe III

L'obligation de communiquer des renseignements au titre de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte constitue une obligation internationale qui doit être exécutée en tenant dûment compte des exigences du droit international.

Principe IV

Il y a obligation, à première vue, de communiquer des renseignements à l'égard d'un territoire géographiquement séparé et ethniquement ou culturellement distinct du pays qui l'administre.

Principe V

Une fois établi qu'il s'agit à première vue d'un territoire géographiquement et ethniquement ou culturellement distinct, d'autres éléments peuvent entrer en ligne de compte. Ces éléments supplémentaires peuvent être notamment de nature administrative, politique, juridique, économique ou historique. S'ils affectent les relations entre le territoire métropolitain et le territoire considéré de telle façon qu'ils placent arbitrairement ce dernier dans une position ou un état de subordination, ils confirment la présomption qu'il y a obligation de communiquer des renseignements au titre de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte.

Principe VI

On peut dire qu'un territoire non autonome a atteint la pleine autonomie :

- a) Quand il est devenu Etat indépendant et souverain ;
- b) Quand il s'est librement associé à un Etat indépendant ;
- ou
- c) Quand il s'est intégré à un Etat indépendant.

Principe VII

a) La libre association doit résulter d'un choix libre et volontaire des populations du territoire en question, exprimé selon des méthodes démocratiques et largement diffusées. Elle doit respecter l'individualité et les caractéristiques culturelles du territoire et de ses populations, et conserver aux populations du territoire qui s'associe à un Etat indépendant la liberté de modifier le statut de ce territoire en exprimant leur volonté par des moyens démocratiques et selon des méthodes constitutionnelles.

b) Le territoire associé doit avoir le droit de déterminer sa constitution intérieure, sans ingérence extérieure, conformément aux méthodes constitutionnelles régulières et aux vœux librement exprimés de ses populations. Cela n'exclut pas les consultations que pourraient appeler ou exiger les clauses de la libre association.

Principe VIII

L'intégration à un Etat indépendant doit se faire sur la base de l'égalité complète entre le peuple du territoire antérieurement non autonome et celui de l'Etat indépendant auquel il s'intègre. Les deux peuples doivent avoir, sans distinction ni discrimination, un statut et des droits de citoyenneté égaux ainsi que des garanties égales pour ce qui est des libertés et droits fondamentaux ; ils doivent tous deux avoir des droits égaux et des possibilités égales de représentation et de participation effective, à tous les échelons, dans les organes exécutifs, législatifs et judiciaires de l'Etat.

Principe IX

L'intégration devra s'être faite dans les conditions suivantes :

a) Le territoire intégré devra avoir atteint un stade avancé d'autonomie, avec des institutions politiques libres, de telle sorte que ses populations aient la capacité de choisir en pleine connaissance de cause, selon des méthodes démocratiques et largement diffusées ;

b) L'intégration doit résulter du désir librement exprimé des populations du territoire, pleinement conscientes du changement de leur statut, la consultation se faisant selon des méthodes démocratiquement et largement diffusées, impartialement appliquées et fondées sur le suffrage universel des adultes. L'Organisation des Nations Unies pourra, quand elle le jugera nécessaire, contrôler l'application de ces méthodes.

Principe X

La communication de renseignements sur les territoires non autonomes, au titre de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte, est sujette aux limitations que peuvent exiger des considérations constitutionnelles et de sécurité. Cela signifie que la portée des renseignements peut être limitée dans certaines circonstances, mais la limitation prévue à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 ne peut pas libérer un Etat Membre des obligations que lui impose le Chapitre XI. La « limitation » ne peut porter que sur le volume des renseignements à transmettre dans les domaines économique, social et de l'enseignement.

Principe XI

Les seules considérations constitutionnelles auxquelles l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte se réfère sont celles qui résultent des relations constitutionnelles entre le territoire et l'Etat Membre administrant. Elles concernent une situation dans laquelle la constitution du territoire lui donne l'autonomie dans les questions économiques, sociales et de l'enseignement, au moyen d'institutions librement élues. Cependant, la responsabilité de communiquer des renseignements prévue à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 subsiste, à moins que ces relations constitutionnelles n'empêchent le gouvernement ou le parlement de l'Etat Membre administrant de recevoir des statistiques ou autres renseignements de nature technique concernant la situation du territoire dans les domaines économique, social et de l'enseignement.

Principe XII

Les exigences de la sécurité n'ont pas été invoquées dans le passé. Ce n'est que dans des circonstances tout à fait exceptionnelles que des renseignements d'ordre économique, social ou concernant l'enseignement peuvent mettre en cause la sécurité. Dans d'autres circonstances, par conséquent, il n'y a aucun besoin de limiter la communication des renseignements pour des raisons de sécurité.

1542 (XV). COMMUNICATION DE RENSEIGNEMENTS AU TITRE DE L'ALINÉA e DE L'ARTICLE 73 DE LA CHARTE

L'Assemblée générale,

Rappelant que, par sa résolution 742 (VIII) du 27 novembre 1953, elle a approuvé la liste des facteurs qui doivent servir de guide pour déterminer si un territoire est ou n'est plus visé par les dispositions du Chapitre XI de la Charte,

Rappelant également que des divergences de vues se sont produites entre des Etats Membres au sujet du statut de certains territoires administrés par l'Espagne et par

le Portugal et dénommés par ces deux Etats « provinces d'outre-mer » de l'Etat métropolitain, et que, pour mettre fin à ces divergences, l'Assemblée générale a, par sa résolution 1467 (XIV) du 12 décembre 1959, confiée au Comité spécial des Six chargé de la question de la communication de renseignements en vertu de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte le soin d'étudier les principes qui doivent guider les Etats Membres pour déterminer si l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements, prévue à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73, leur est applicable ou non,

Reconnaissant que le désir d'indépendance est une aspiration légitime des peuples soumis à la domination coloniale, et que leur refuser le droit de libre détermination constitue une menace au bien-être de l'humanité et à la paix internationale,

Rappelant avec satisfaction qu'à la 1048^e séance de la Quatrième Commission le représentant de l'Espagne a déclaré que le Gouvernement espagnol accepte de communiquer des renseignements au Secrétaire général, conformément aux dispositions du Chapitre XI de la Charte,

Consciente des responsabilités que lui assigne l'Article 14 de la Charte,

Considérant que le Gouvernement portugais n'a pas communiqué de renseignements au sujet de ceux des territoires placés sous son administration qui sont énumérés au paragraphe 1 ci-dessous et n'a pas exprimé l'intention de le faire, et considérant que les renseignements que l'on peut avoir par ailleurs sur la situation de ces territoires sont un sujet d'inquiétude,

1. Considère, à la lumière des dispositions du Chapitre XI de la Charte, de la résolution 742 (VIII) de l'Assemblée générale, et des principes approuvés par l'Assemblée dans sa résolution 1541 (XV) du 15 décembre 1960, que les territoires suivants, administrés par le Portugal, sont

des territoires non autonomes au sens du Chapitre XI de la Charte :

- a) Archipel du Cap-Vert ;
- b) Guinée, ou « Guinée portugaise » ;
- c) Ile Saint-Thomas et ile du Prince et leurs dépendances ;
- d) Saint-Jean-Baptiste de Ouidah ;
- e) Angola, y compris l'enclave de Cabinda ;
- f) Mozambique ;
- g) Goa et dépendances, ou « Etat de l'Inde » ;
- h) Macao et dépendances ;
- i) Timor et dépendances ;

2. Déclare que le Gouvernement portugais a l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements sur ces territoires au titre du Chapitre XI de la Charte, et qu'il devrait s'en acquitter sans autre délai ;

3. Prie le Gouvernement portugais de communiquer au Secrétaire général, conformément aux dispositions du Chapitre XI de la Charte, des renseignements sur la situation qui règne dans les territoires placés sous son administration et énumérés au paragraphe 1 ci-dessus ;

4. Prie le Secrétaire général de prendre les mesures qu'appelle la déclaration du Gouvernement espagnol, selon laquelle il est prêt à se conformer aux dispositions du Chapitre XI de la Charte ;

5. Invite le Gouvernement espagnol et le Gouvernement portugais à participer aux travaux du Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes, conformément au paragraphe 2 de la résolution 1332 (XIII) de l'Assemblée générale, en date du 12 décembre 1958.

948^e séance plénière,
15 décembre 1960.

RÉPERTOIRE DES DOCUMENTS

NOTE. — Le présent répertoire comprend tous les documents mentionnés au cours de l'examen du point 38 de l'ordre du jour qui ne sont pas reproduits dans le fascicule.

Cotes des documents	Titres	Observations et références
A/2428	Rapport du Comité <i>ad hoc</i> pour l'étude des facteurs (territoires non autonomes)	Documents officiels de l'Assemblée générale, huitième session, Annexes, point 33 de l'ordre du jour.
A/4343	Rapport de la Quatrième Commission	<i>Ibid.</i> , quatorzième session, Annexes, point 36 de l'ordre du jour.
A/4502 et Corr.1	Déclaration du Président du Conseil des ministres de l'Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et peuples coloniaux	<i>Ibid.</i> , quinzième session, Annexes, point 87 de l'ordre du jour.
A/AC.100/1 et Add.1	Réponses des gouvernements indiquant leurs vues sur les principes qui doivent guider les Etats Membres pour déterminer si l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements, prévue à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte des Nations Unies, leur est applicable ou non	Miméographié.
A/AC.100/2 et Add.1 et 2	Application du Chapitre XI et obligation incombant aux Etats Membres de communiquer des renseignements au titre de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte des Nations Unies : aperçu des discussions rédigé par le Secrétariat	<i>Idem.</i>
A/AC.100/L.1	Comité spécial des Six chargé de la question de la communication de renseignements prévue à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte : projet de rapport	<i>Idem.</i>

<i>Cotes des documents</i>	<i>Titres</i>	<i>Observations et références</i>
A/AC.100/SR.1 à 14	Comptes rendus analytiques de la première à la quatorzième séance du Comité spécial des Six chargé de la question de la communication de renseignements prévue à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte	Miméographié.
A/C.4/331 et Add.1	Note du Secrétaire général	<i>Documents officiels de l'Assemblée générale, onzième session, Annexes, point 34 de l'ordre du jour.</i>
A/C.4/375	Questions générales relatives à la communication et à l'examen des renseignements: note du Secrétaire général	<i>Ibid., treizième session, Annexes, point 36 de l'ordre du jour.</i>
A/C.4/385	Questions générales relatives à la communication et à l'examen des renseignements: note du Secrétaire général	<i>Ibid.</i>
A/C.4/450	Déclaration faite par le représentant de l'Inde à la 1031 ^e séance de la Quatrième Commission	Miméographié; pour le texte résumé de ce document, voir <i>Documents officiels de l'Assemblée générale, quinzième session, Quatrième Commission, 1031^e séance, par. 1 à 6.</i>
A/C.4/451	Déclaration faite par le représentant du Mexique à la 1031 ^e séance de la Quatrième Commission	<i>Idem, par. 8 à 25.</i>
A/C.4/452	Déclaration faite par le représentant du Royaume-Uni à la 1035 ^e séance de la Quatrième Commission	<i>Idem, 1035^e séance, par. 19 et 20.</i>
A/C.4/453	Déclarations faites par le représentant de l'Espagne aux 1038 ^e , 1046 ^e et 1047 ^e séances de la Quatrième Commission	<i>Idem, 1038^e séance, par. 20 à 28; 1046^e séance, par. 1; 1047^e séance, par. 1 à 3.</i>
A/C.4/L.643 et Add.1 et 2	Discrimination raciale dans les territoires non autonomes. — Afghanistan, Bolivie, Ethiopie, Ghana, Guinée, Inde, Irak, Libéria, Maroc, Népal, Nigéria, Panama, République arabe unie, Sénégal, Somalie, Soudan et Togo: projet de résolution	Pour le texte de ce document, voir <i>Documents officiels de l'Assemblée générale, quinzième session, Supplément n° 16, vol. I, résolution 1536 (XV).</i>
A/C.4/L.650	Togo et Tunisie: amendement au document A/C.4/L.648 et Add.1	Voir A/4651, par. 5.
A/C.4/L.651	République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine: amendements au document A/C.4/L.649/Rev.1, Rev.1/Corr.1 et Rev.1/Add.1	<i>Ibid., par. 12.</i>
A/C.4/L.656	Projet de rapport de la Quatrième Commission	Pour le texte de ce document tel qu'il a été amendé par la Quatrième Commission à sa 1087 ^e séance, voir <i>Documents officiels de l'Assemblée générale, quinzième session, Annexes, points 37, 39, 40 et 41 de l'ordre du jour, document A/4650.</i>
A/C.4/L.657	Projet de rapport de la Quatrième Commission	Pour le texte de ce document tel qu'il a été amendé par la Quatrième Commission à sa 1087 ^e séance, voir A/4651.

Nations Unies
**ASSEMBLÉE
 GÉNÉRALE**

QUINZIÈME SESSION

Documents officiels



QUATRIÈME COMMISSION, 1031^e
SÉANCE

Mardi 1er novembre 1960,
 à 10 h 55

NEW YORK

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Point 38 de l'ordre du jour:

Etude des principes qui doivent guider les Etats Membres pour déterminer si l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements prévue à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte des Nations Unies leur est applicable ou non: rapport du Comité spécial créé par la résolution 1467 (XIV) de l'Assemblée générale
Discussion générale 195

Président: M. Adnan M. PACHACHI (Irak).

POINT 38 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

Etude des principes qui doivent guider les Etats Membres pour déterminer si l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements prévue à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte des Nations Unies leur est applicable ou non: rapport du Comité spécial créé par la résolution 1467 (XIV) de l'Assemblée générale (A/4526)

DISCUSSION GENERALE

1. M. JHA (Inde), présentant le rapport du Comité spécial des Six sur la question de la communication des renseignements en vertu de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte (A/4526), exprime l'espoir que ce rapport aidera la Quatrième Commission à formuler et énumérer les principes universels sur lesquels les Etats Membres doivent se guider pour s'acquitter des obligations qui résultent du Chapitre XI de la Charte. Les conclusions du rapport ont été formulées en observant aussi rigoureusement que possible les termes du mandat du Comité spécial. La partie essentielle du rapport est la subdivision B de la section V, où sont énumérés 12 principes qui peuvent permettre à l'Assemblée générale de juger dans quelles conditions il y a obligation de communiquer des renseignements relatifs à un territoire non autonome en vertu de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte.

2. Tous les membres du Comité spécial, qui se composait en nombre égal de Membres administrants et de Membres non administrants, ont fait des efforts sincères pour se mettre d'accord, ont manifesté de la compréhension mutuelle et fait preuve d'esprit de conciliation quand cela était possible sans sacrifier des principes essentiels. Ils se sont efforcés de parvenir à des conclusions unanimes, convaincus que l'Assemblée générale ne pourrait pas tirer grand parti de conclusions sur lesquelles ils auraient eu des opinions divergentes.

3. Il n'était pas possible de mieux représenter l'harmonie qui a régné au sein du Comité spécial que sous

la forme qui a été donnée aux principes. Les Membres non administrants comme les Membres administrants auraient assurément voulu affirmer leur point de vue sur certains aspects particuliers des principes, mais ils ont compris que cela aurait rendu tout accord impossible et qu'il en serait résulté deux séries de principes contradictoires. Ils ont donc fait tous leurs efforts pour parvenir à des conclusions unanimes. Les réserves que certains ont exprimées figurent aux paragraphes 13, 14 et 15 du rapport. Pour tous les points qui ne sont pas traités explicitement dans le rapport et ont été soulevés pendant les discussions du Comité spécial, les membres de la Commission pourront se reporter aux comptes rendus analytiques des séances du Comité (A/AC.100/SR.1 à 14).

4. Le Comité spécial a décidé de se borner à énumérer des principes universels sans citer expressément tel ou tel territoire non autonome, bien qu'on ait parfois mentionné tel ou tel territoire au cours des débats afin de donner des exemples sur certains points. Toutes les discussions ont tenu compte de la situation actuelle et des problèmes relatifs aux territoires non autonomes qui ont fait l'objet des travaux de la Quatrième Commission et de l'Assemblée générale ces dernières années. Les travaux du Comité ne se sont pas seulement inspirés de l'idéal, désormais incontesté, d'un monde où aucun peuple ne serait dominé par un autre, mais ont tenu compte aussi de certains aspects pratiques comme la différence de dimensions des territoires non autonomes, leur situation géographique, etc., de même que de l'évolution et des événements enregistrés ces dernières années et des études diverses faites dans le passé sur ce sujet.

5. Le Comité spécial a pris pleinement en considération les vues communiquées par les Etats Membres en application de la résolution 1467 (XIV) de l'Assemblée générale, vues qui figurent dans le document A/AC.100/1 et Add.1 et qui ont été communiquées à la Quatrième Commission en même temps que le rapport. Le Comité a pris également en considération les facteurs dont il convient de tenir compte pour décider si un territoire a atteint une complète autonomie et dont la liste est donnée dans la résolution 742 (VIII) de l'Assemblée générale. La documentation préparée par le Secrétariat, et notamment les rapports contenus dans les documents A/AC.100/2 et Add.1 et 2, a aussi considérablement aidé le Comité.

6. En soumettant son rapport, le Comité spécial pense avoir formulé des principes à la lumière desquels l'Assemblée générale pourra déterminer dans chaque cas particulier si l'obligation prévue à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte existe ou non. Si, comme l'espère le Comité, la Quatrième Commission et l'Assemblée générale adoptent aussi à l'unanimité une série de principes, il sera possible de les appliquer effectivement dans chaque cas particulier. L'adoption des 12 principes proposés ferait

disparaître toute incertitude quant à l'existence de l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements prévue à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte et quant aux circonstances dans lesquelles cette obligation s'applique et elle fournirait des éléments juridiques et constitutionnels pouvant servir de base à une action éventuelle de l'Assemblée dans ce domaine.

7. M. ALWAN (Irak) propose que la déclaration du représentant de l'Inde soit distribuée sous forme de document.

Il en est ainsi décidé^{1/}.

8. M. CUEVAS CANCINO (Mexique) déclare que l'interprétation du Chapitre XI de la Charte, qui impose certaines obligations aux puissances administrant des territoires autres que le leur, a donné lieu au sein de l'Assemblée générale à de longues et vives controverses. On a fait de nombreux efforts pour éclaircir la signification et la portée de ce chapitre, et la Quatrième Commission a fait encore plus d'efforts pour déterminer où commencent et où finissent lesdites obligations. Les derniers efforts ont bénéficié des directives nettement énoncées par la résolution 1467 (XIV) de l'Assemblée générale, qui a créé le Comité spécial.

9. C'est avec enthousiasme que la délégation du Mexique a pris part aux travaux du Comité spécial, le Gouvernement mexicain ayant toujours considéré qu'il incombait à l'ONU de se préoccuper de l'avenir des territoires non autonomes. Etant donné que les propositions de Dumbarton Oaks passaient cette question sous silence, que le Gouvernement mexicain estimait qu'il fallait poursuivre l'œuvre entreprise par la Société des Nations, et que les populations des territoires non autonomes demandent l'autodétermination, le Mexique a toujours soutenu qu'il incombait à la collectivité internationale de surveiller l'évolution des populations qui ne sont pas encore libres d'administrer leurs propres affaires et il a affirmé qu'il appartenait à la communauté internationale de décider elle-même quels territoires devaient être placés sous sa protection.

10. On aurait tort d'aborder la question dont est saisie la Commission comme s'il s'agissait de l'adoption de quelque chose d'entièrement nouveau. Ce que la Commission cherche à faire, c'est d'exprimer les doutes et les hésitations dont s'est accompagné le mouvement de colonisation. La civilisation occidentale a toujours présenté au monde un double visage: son esprit agressif a donné naissance au colonialisme envahissant dont ont souffert tant de nations; son esprit constructif a toujours tâché de s'opposer à ce mouvement et à sa préoccupation malsaine pour des fins purement matérielles. Aujourd'hui, au moment où le système colonial commence à s'effondrer, ce système est condamné par ceux qui veulent que l'intérêt du monde prime l'intérêt particulier d'une puissance quelconque.

11. Dès l'origine, il s'est trouvé de grands penseurs européens pour s'élever contre le système colonial et pour penser qu'il fallait mettre un frein à l'usage de la force contre les nations étrangères faibles. Ce sont ces idées qui ont conduit l'Europe à mettre fin à l'esclavage. De même que le colonialisme et ses abus étaient venus d'Europe, c'est l'Europe qui a fourni l'antidote du colonialisme: l'idée d'une collec-

tivité internationale, celle des droits de l'homme, celle de la prééminence de l'intérêt général sur l'intérêt particulier d'un seul Etat, quel qu'il soit.

12. L'ONU ne fait donc que marcher sur une voie frayée il y a des siècles. L'ONU a été fondée sur des principes conçus en Europe même afin d'éliminer les maux inhérents à sa grande vague d'expansion. Elle poursuit donc une tâche que le colonialisme lui-même a commencée et sa réussite constituera l'heureux aboutissement d'un processus qui a concrétisé les aspirations spirituelles les plus nobles de l'humanité.

13. La tâche du Comité spécial a été d'étudier les problèmes coloniaux tels qu'ils se sont présentés depuis la fondation de l'ONU. Cette idée trouve son expression dans le premier des principes adoptés par le Comité.

14. Les idées qui l'ont emporté à la Conférence de San Francisco ont changé au cours de 15 ans d'évolution coloniale. On a dit que le Comité spécial ne devrait pas interpréter la Charte, et pourtant le représentant du Mexique se demande si ce n'est pas là précisément ce que font l'Assemblée et tous les autres organes des Nations Unies chaque fois qu'ils agissent. L'ONU aurait tort de renoncer, par peur d'outrepasser ses pouvoirs, à l'un des objectifs essentiels visés par la Charte, à savoir la suppression du système colonial dans l'ensemble du monde.

15. On observe une évolution dans tous les domaines de par le monde, mais dans le domaine du colonialisme plus qu'en toute autre chose. Ce à quoi on osait à peine aspirer en 1945 est maintenant un fait qui s'accomplit. La raison en est que d'autres idées également fécondes se sont concrétisées, par exemple l'idée de la mission sacrée. On pouvait voir dans cette idée le désir des puissances administrantes de former les territoires non autonomes à leur propre image. Mais on ne peut la concevoir ainsi à l'époque actuelle, qui admet la coexistence de diverses civilisations dont l'évolution parallèle donnera un jour naissance à une civilisation universelle. On ne saurait donc voir dans la mission sacrée le désir d'imposer à autrui les valeurs occidentales; elle comporte au contraire, implicitement, un engagement de sauvegarder la culture propre aux peuples non autonomes. La délégation mexicaine juge essentiel de préserver la culture de chacun de ces peuples, culture qui constitue le point de départ nécessaire de leur progrès et sans laquelle ils auraient grand-peine à s'affirmer dans un monde en évolution. Les principes fondamentaux de justice et d'organisation politique de ces peuples ont d'ailleurs tout autant d'importance. L'Assemblée générale ferait bien de ne pas oublier combien il est nécessaire que chacun de ces peuples accède à l'autodétermination selon ses propres critères.

16. L'une des idées les plus destructrices parmi celles qui caractérisent le colonialisme est celle d'imposer de l'extérieur un régime juridique au pays colonisé. Le droit est le produit de la société et l'appliquer sans discernement à des populations ayant des antécédents psychologiques et politiques différents peut être extrêmement néfaste. Les problèmes qui se posent aux peuples non autonomes sont très différents de ceux des puissances administrantes. L'ONU doit donner à ces peuples l'assurance que leur accession à l'indépendance se fera dans le cadre de leurs propres conceptions juridiques.

^{1/} Voir A/C.4/450.

17. Le Comité spécial des Six a fait ressortir à plusieurs reprises l'importance de l'individualité culturelle des peuples non autonomes. Selon la Charte, toutes les civilisations ont leur valeur propre et aucune n'est suprême; les nouveaux Etats ont donc pu constater que le monde était prêt à accueillir leur contribution au fonds commun du droit et de la politique.

18. Depuis des siècles, il s'est trouvé dans les pays métropolitains, et en particulier en Espagne, des hommes d'Etat qui ont condamné le colonialisme en tant que système de gouvernement. Les arguments qu'ils ont fait valoir ont trouvé leur écho dans la Charte, dont l'objectif est de mettre un terme à ce système si désuet et si néfaste. La Charte vise à réaliser ces desseins en s'inspirant de deux principes essentiels: le premier est de veiller à ce que les revendications légitimes des peuples colonisés soient satisfaites sans que cela donne lieu à de lourdes pertes de vies humaines; le second est d'aider ces peuples à accéder à l'indépendance d'une manière qui assure leur bonheur. Plus heureux que les pays d'Amérique latine à l'époque de leur lutte pour l'indépendance, les nouveaux Etats peuvent compter trouver un climat favorable à leur émancipation.

19. Il existe un lien étroit entre les considérations qui ont conduit à la résolution 742 (VIII) de l'Assemblée générale et les principes qui sont maintenant proposés à l'examen de la Commission. Lorsqu'elle aura approuvé ces principes, l'Assemblée générale aura posé des règles pour résoudre deux problèmes: celui des cas dans lesquels il y a lieu de communiquer à l'ONU des renseignements sur un territoire et celui des cas dans lesquels le Membre administrant est fondé à cesser de communiquer de tels renseignements — en d'autres termes, dans quelles conditions un territoire tombe sous le coup de la surveillance internationale et dans quelles conditions cette surveillance cesse d'être nécessaire. Comme l'ont montré les débats du Comité spécial, la première question est extrêmement importante, et il ressort clairement du principe IV qu'il y a à priori une obligation de communiquer des renseignements à l'égard d'un territoire qui est séparé géographiquement et distinct du point de vue ethnique et culturel du pays qui l'administre. En ce qui concerne le principe V, le représentant du Mexique se permet d'insister sur le passage visant le cas où un territoire est placé arbitrairement dans une position ou un statut diminué.

20. Les principes VI, VII, VIII et IX traitent de cas où l'on peut affirmer sans hésitation que la surveillance internationale n'a plus de raison d'être. L'idée maîtresse est celle dont s'est inspirée la résolution 742 (VII) de l'Assemblée générale; la seule différence concerne le moment précis de l'histoire où la transformation est chose accomplie.

21. La délégation mexicaine considère comme éminemment constructives les conclusions auxquelles est parvenu le Comité spécial des Six. Il est naturel de supposer que les auteurs de la Charte aient envisagé la possibilité de changements quant au volume et à la portée des renseignements à fournir, mais ils n'ont certainement pas envisagé de réduire ces renseignements à néant. Ce que la Charte vise à accomplir, c'est que les peuples des territoires non autonomes reçoivent toute l'assistance possible en vue de leur accession à l'indépendance; tout ce qui peut

empêcher la réalisation de cet objectif est contraire à l'esprit de la Charte. Comme le fait ressortir le paragraphe 17 du rapport, la Charte représente un point culminant de l'évolution progressive de l'opinion publique internationale et la mise en œuvre de ses recommandations constitue un facteur important de la préservation de la paix et de la sécurité internationales.

22. La question primordiale est de savoir si les dispositions du Chapitre XI de la Charte constituent une véritable obligation pour les Membres administrants. Le Gouvernement mexicain n'en a jamais douté. Sa conviction se fonde sur de nombreuses raisons: l'identité de vues quant à la nature du problème colonial dont se sont inspirés tant le Pacte de la Société des Nations que la Charte des Nations Unies; le fait qu'à San Francisco on se soit préoccupé tout autant des territoires non autonomes que des territoires sous tutelle; le fait qu'il est purement fortuit qu'on ait donné au Chapitre XI le titre de "Déclaration"; l'affirmation implicite dans les termes mêmes de ce chapitre de l'existence de l'obligation; enfin l'opinion du professeur Hans Kelsen, qui a exprimé l'avis que les dispositions du préambule, et davantage encore celles dudit Chapitre, comportaient une obligation. L'absence de toute affirmation bien tranchée sur ce problème dans le rapport du Comité spécial tient à ce que ses membres avaient à ce sujet des positions arrêtées par avance; des progrès substantiels ont néanmoins été accomplis en cette matière, grâce à l'esprit de compréhension dont ont fait preuve les membres du Comité.

23. Le principe III, qui reconnaît le caractère international des obligations résultant *ipso facto* de la possession de colonies, est d'une importance fondamentale. L'administration des colonies cesse, par là, d'être un simple instrument de politique nationale, et le droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes cesse d'être subordonné uniquement à la politique des puissances administrantes. Le droit international a pour objectif de veiller à ce que la justice règne entre les nations et à ce que chaque nation reçoive ce qui lui est dû, en dépit de toutes les pressions éventuelles. Le principe III établit en conséquence que l'application des dispositions de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 constitue une obligation internationale. Si l'on accepte cette obligation internationale de communiquer des renseignements, on se doit d'accepter aussi la surveillance de l'Assemblée générale, sans quoi il devient impossible d'appliquer les règles internationales.

24. La délégation mexicaine admet également l'existence d'une obligation morale et M. Cuevas Cancino désire à ce sujet souligner l'importance extrême qu'attache sa délégation à l'Article 74 de la Charte des Nations Unies. Le principe du bon voisinage, accepté comme un principe juridique par les Etats d'Amérique, a trouvé son expression à la fois dans le préambule de la Charte et dans son article 74; il s'agit là d'une forme moderne de la vieille idée de fraternité humaine. Ce principe signifie qu'on ne saurait fonder les relations internationales sur des intérêts nationaux égoïstes. Toute nation désireuse de se conduire en bonne voisine se voit obligée de prendre en considération le bien-être collectif et de veiller à concilier ses propres intérêts avec ceux du monde où elle vit. Les devoirs d'ordre social qui s'imposent à la propriété privée sont aujourd'hui admis par beaucoup et on pourrait en dire autant des responsabilités qui vont de pair avec la souveraineté nationale.

Les conséquences à tirer de l'Article 74 sont parfaitement claires: aucun pays n'est libre de gouverner ses colonies en ne tenant aucun compte de l'opinion de la communauté internationale. Le principe de bon voisinage dépasse de beaucoup des considérations de simple proximité géographique; il se fonde sur des obligations morales qui transcendent la géographie. Il signifie que les puissances administrantes se doivent, non seulement de guider leurs colonies vers l'indépendance, mais aussi de tenir compte de l'évolution qui s'opère dans les régions où sont situés ces territoires. Ces aspects de la question sont bien résumés au paragraphe 19 du rapport du Comité spécial (A/4526) et la délégation mexicaine est convaincue que l'observation de ce principe peut être très féconde.

25. Les principes formulés par le Comité spécial des Six ne rencontreront probablement pas l'approbation de ceux qui ont adopté des positions extrémistes. Ils ont cependant le grand mérite de définir clairement les conditions dans lesquelles s'appliquent les obligations imposées par l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte. La délégation mexicaine considère ces principes comme entièrement satisfaisants et en recommande l'adoption à la Quatrième Commission.

26. M. DJERDJA (Yougoslavie) rend hommage au Comité spécial pour son rapport et pour les efforts qu'il a déployés. La délégation yougoslave approuve pratiquement toutes les observations et conclusions du Comité. Elle partage en particulier l'opinion exprimée au paragraphe 18 du rapport, selon laquelle "la Charte est un document vivant et l'application du Chapitre XI doit être considérée à la lumière de la réalité politique et de l'évolution actuelle des esprits". Selon M. Djerdja, le fait que cette idée a été élaborée par un comité aux travaux duquel ont pris part des représentants des puissances administrantes lui confère une importance pratique et une valeur spéciale.

27. L'obligation de communiquer des renseignements en vertu de l'Article 73 de la Charte et les autres obligations énoncées au Chapitre XI sont de nature juridique, au même titre que toutes les autres obligations qui découlent de la Charte. Aucun Etat Membre ne peut donc s'en défaire par une action unilatérale ou une interprétation arbitraire. L'obligation de communiquer des renseignements s'applique à tous les territoires dont les populations ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes et elle demeure en vigueur depuis le moment où la puissance administrante a été admise à l'ONU jusqu'à l'accession du territoire non autonome à une autonomie complète. Seule cette accession à une autonomie complète peut libérer les Membres administrants de l'obligation en question. Une autonomie limitée s'exerçant dans certains domaines, mentionnés à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73, ne peut permettre de cesser de communiquer des renseignements aux termes de cet article.

28. L'Assemblée générale a compétence pour déterminer si un territoire s'administre complètement lui-même ou s'il tombe sous le coup des dispositions du Chapitre XI. Cette compétence de l'Assemblée générale ressort clairement des dispositions de la Charte et l'Assemblée l'a confirmée dans de nombreuses résolutions.

29. La question de la définition de certains principes à suivre n'a plus en fait la même importance pratique que naguère et elle est devenue, dans une certaine mesure, d'un intérêt théorique. La situation a, en

effet, beaucoup changé depuis l'adoption de la Charte et même depuis la quatorzième session de l'Assemblée générale où le Comité spécial des Six a été créé. La question de la liquidation des relations coloniales désuètes et de l'octroi de la liberté et de l'indépendance à tous les peuples dépendants revêt maintenant, en revanche, la plus haute importance internationale, comme le prouve le fait qu'à la présente session l'attention se concentre sur les problèmes coloniaux. L'ONU ne peut permettre que ses décisions et ses actes soient dépassés par les événements en matière de problèmes coloniaux ou dans les autres domaines; ses décisions doivent être à l'unisson des temps présents et donner une forme concrète aux tendances et aspirations contemporaines. Les peuples asservis de l'Angola, du Mozambique, de la Guinée dite portugaise et d'autres territoires, qui sont privés de la dignité humaine et des droits nationaux fondamentaux, attendent de l'Assemblée générale beaucoup plus que la simple confirmation de certains principes.

30. La délégation yougoslave, comme beaucoup d'autres, n'a jamais douté que les territoires sous administration portugaise et espagnole ont toujours été des colonies dans la pleine acception du terme et le demeureront jusqu'au jour où ils auront obtenu leur indépendance totale. Les dispositions du Chapitre XI de la Charte leur sont manifestement applicables. Le fait que le Portugal ait remplacé le mot "colonies" par les mots "provinces d'outre-mer" pour qualifier ses territoires ne change rien à leur statut colonial.

31. Pendant la discussion générale sur les territoires non autonomes, la délégation yougoslave, de même que d'autres délégations, et notamment des délégations de pays d'Afrique, a donné certains détails sur la situation qui règne dans les territoires sous contrôle espagnol et portugais. Il est vain que les puissances administrantes essaient de nier ces faits.

32. La délégation yougoslave estime que la Quatrième Commission devrait moins s'attacher à définir des principes qu'à prendre les mesures qui s'imposent pour permettre à tous les territoires encore non autonomes d'accéder très prochainement à l'indépendance complète et pour éliminer rapidement les relations coloniales d'une manière générale.

33. La question des colonies espagnoles et portugaises fait partie du problème colonial et toute décision que l'Assemblée générale prendra au sujet de ce problème à la présente session doit s'appliquer à tous les territoires dépendants sans exception. M. Djerdja pense en particulier au projet de résolution concernant la participation des territoires non autonomes aux travaux de l'ONU et des institutions spécialisées que la Commission a adopté à sa 1022ème séance. La délégation yougoslave s'attend à ce qu'en vertu de cette résolution des représentants qualifiés des populations autochtones des possessions portugaises et espagnoles participent aux travaux des organes des Nations Unies, jusqu'à ce que ces territoires aient obtenu leur pleine indépendance.

34. La délégation yougoslave est prête à appuyer toute mesure visant à assurer l'émancipation rapide et complète de tous les territoires non autonomes.

35. M. SIDI BABA (Maroc) n'a pas beaucoup à ajouter à ce qui a été dit par les représentants de l'Inde et du Mexique. En raison de la composition paritaire du Comité spécial des Six, il est naturel que le rapport du Comité représente un compromis et ait été rédigé

en termes sensiblement moins catégoriques que ne l'auraient désiré les délégations des Membres non administrants. Le Comité spécial a laissé à la Quatrième Commission le soin d'énumérer les territoires auxquels doit s'appliquer l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements et de déterminer quelles sont les puissances coloniales intéressées. De l'avis de la délégation du Maroc, l'énumération devrait comprendre tous les territoires dépendants sans exception et toutes les puissances coloniales devraient se conformer aux principes énoncés dans le rapport du Comité et tenir compte de l'évolution récente des événements. L'Assemblée générale a décidé d'examiner en séance plénière le projet de déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et peuples coloniaux (A/4502 et Corr.1). Il s'est ainsi produit une évolution considérable depuis le moment où le rapport du Comité spécial a été rédigé.

36. M. Sidi Baba propose de distribuer comme document de la Commission la déclaration que vient de faire le représentant du Mexique.

37. Sir Andrew COHEN (Royaume-Uni) dit qu'il ne fera pas de longue déclaration pour le moment, mais qu'il tient à formuler une ou deux observations d'ordre général.

38. La délégation du Royaume-Uni a accepté de participer aux travaux du Comité spécial des Six parce qu'elle estimait qu'il avait une tâche utile à accomplir. Tous ceux qui ont pris part aux travaux de la Quatrième Commission ces dernières années ont constaté que, malgré les relations étroites et amicales qui existent entre les membres, il y a eu des divergences de vues sur le sujet dont traite le rapport du Comité spécial. Ces divergences de vues étaient inévitables, car elles découlaient de conceptions nationales différentes, mais sir Andrew Cohen estime qu'elles ont été plus larges qu'elles n'auraient dû l'être. La délégation du Royaume-Uni avait toujours considéré que, si l'on pouvait étudier de près les principes qui doivent guider les Etats Membres à ce sujet et si chaque délégation pouvait mieux comprendre le point de vue des autres délégations, les divergences pourraient s'atténuer dans une large mesure. Avant que le Comité des Six ait commencé ses travaux, sir Andrew Cohen pensait, cependant, que les chances de voir le Comité rédiger un rapport sur lequel l'accord se serait fait étaient assez problématiques. La Quatrième Commission ne peut que se féliciter de constater que le Comité est parvenu à rédiger un tel rapport grâce à la bonne foi, à l'esprit de compréhension et de conciliation, à la patience et à la diligence dont ses membres ont fait preuve.

39. La délégation du Royaume-Uni s'est vue obligée de formuler des réserves au sujet de certaines parties du rapport, mais n'a pas élevé d'objections contre d'autres parties, bien qu'elle n'ait pas été entièrement

satisfaite du texte. Comme l'a fait observer le représentant du Maroc, il a été parfois difficile d'aboutir à un accord complet et les deux parties ont dû faire de grands efforts pour y parvenir. Le fait que le Comité soit parvenu à un accord prouve que, lorsqu'il s'agit de questions importantes qui concernent les intérêts et l'avenir de millions de personnes, il est possible à un organe comme le Comité spécial des Six ou tout autre organe des Nations Unies de parvenir, par la négociation et des efforts de conciliation, à des formules qui soient très généralement, sinon tout à fait unanimement acceptées. C'est là un fait encourageant et sir Andrew Cohen espère que, s'agissant d'autres questions importantes qui ont un rapport avec le même sujet, il sera possible de parvenir au même résultat. La délégation du Royaume-Uni est heureuse que le Comité spécial ait pu se mettre d'accord sur les principes qui, selon les termes de la résolution 1467 (XIV) de l'Assemblée générale, "doivent guider les Etats Membres pour déterminer si l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements prévue à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte leur est applicable ou non". La délégation du Royaume-Uni estime que l'Assemblée générale devrait recommander ces principes à l'attention des Etats Membres. Ils auraient toute l'autorité d'un texte sur lequel un comité aussi largement représentatif est parvenu à un accord.

40. Sir Andrew Cohen appuie la proposition du représentant du Maroc visant à distribuer comme document officiel la déclaration du représentant du Mexique.

41. Le PRESIDENT déclare que, s'il n'y a pas d'objections, le texte de la déclaration du représentant du Mexique sera distribué comme document de la Commission.

Il en est ainsi décidé 2/.

42. Mlle BROOKS (Libéria) déclare que, pour le moment, elle ne fera pas de déclaration sur la question dont la Commission est saisie. Cependant, elle tient à rendre hommage à M. Espinosa y Prieto, de la délégation mexicaine, sur l'initiative de qui le projet de résolution visant à créer le Comité spécial a été présenté à la Quatrième Commission, à la quatorzième session. Elle le remercie, au nom des Etats d'Afrique représentés à la Commission, d'avoir défendu si courageusement les intérêts des peuples dépendants.

43. M. CUEVAS CANCINO (Mexique) dit qu'il informera M. Espinosa y Prieto des observations faites par la représentante du Libéria.

La séance est levée à 12 h 20.

2/ Voir A/C.4/451.

ASSEMBLÉE GÉNÉRALE

QUINZIÈME SESSION

Documents officiels

QUATRIÈME COMMISSION, 1032^e SÉANCE


 Mercredi 2 novembre 1960,
à 10 h 50

NEW YORK

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POINT 38 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

Etude des principes qui doivent guider les Etats Membres pour déterminer si l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements, prévue à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte des Nations Unies, leur est applicable ou non: rapport du Comité spécial créé par la résolution 1467 (XIV) de l'Assemblée générale (A/4526) [suite]

DISCUSSION GENERALE (suite)

1. M. DINGEMANS (Pays-Bas) dit que sa délégation, en qualité de membre du Comité spécial des Six chargé de la question de la communication des renseignements prévue à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte, se félicite de ce que l'accord se soit fait sur le texte d'un rapport (A/4526) et tient à rendre hommage à l'esprit d'harmonie et de bonne volonté qui a régné au sein du Comité. Le résultat final montre naturellement que des concessions ont été faites, mais il demeure néanmoins un excellent exemple de ce que peuvent accomplir des Etats Membres œuvrant en commun avec bonne foi et persévérance. Le texte, et notamment celui des principes énoncés dans la subdivision B de la section V, est rédigé logiquement et clairement, et la délégation néerlandaise ne doute pas que les principes n'aident utilement la Quatrième Commission à déterminer l'existence de l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements prévue à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte.

2. La délégation des Pays-Bas loue le rapport et espère qu'il sera approuvé à l'unanimité.

3. M. BRAIMAH (Ghana) félicite le Comité spécial, et notamment son président, du travail remarquable qui a été accompli. La délégation du Ghana est heureuse de noter l'existence d'un large terrain d'entente sur la manière d'aborder le problème et sur les principes fondamentaux qui sont en jeu, ce qui a permis au Comité de parvenir à des conclusions unanimes.

4. De l'avis de la délégation du Ghana, la tâche primordiale du Comité spécial était de déterminer

s'il convenait de considérer les possessions non européennes de l'Espagne et du Portugal comme des provinces de ces pays ou comme des territoires non autonomes, et si, par suite, il convenait de considérer les deux pays européens en question comme des Membres administrants à qui s'applique l'obligation de communiquer les renseignements prévue par l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte.

5. Appelant l'attention sur le principe IV, M. Braimah rappelle qu'une loi du 11 juin 1951 a modifié le statut des possessions d'outre-mer du Portugal qui sont séparées géographiquement du Portugal et dont les populations sont distinctes au point de vue ethnique et au point de vue culturel de la population portugaise et, de colonies, en a fait des "provinces d'outre-mer". Ce changement de statut n'a pas été le résultat d'un choix libre et volontaire du peuple des territoires en question, qui se serait exprimé par des méthodes éclairées et démocratiques; la loi en question n'a ni donné à ces peuples le droit de décider de leur constitution intérieure ni tenu compte de leurs désirs et de leurs aspirations.

6. La délégation du Ghana a toujours pensé que le Portugal, comme les autres puissances coloniales d'Europe occidentale, était purement et simplement engagé en Afrique et en Asie dans une entreprise colonialiste et impérialiste du type traditionnel. L'expansion colonialiste portugaise dans ces régions ne diffère aucunement, dans ses résultats, des agissements de toute autre puissance coloniale: elle aussi aboutit à établir la domination d'un pays sur des populations étrangères. La délégation du Ghana ne saurait donc accepter qu'on permette au Portugal d'éluder, par une action unilatérale, l'obligation de rendre des comptes à l'opinion publique internationale que prévoit expressément l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte. Il s'agit au fond de savoir quelle opinion les Portugais eux-mêmes se font de leur empire. Or des porte-parole autorisés du Portugal conviennent sans réserve que ce pays, dans ses prétendues provinces d'outre-mer, se livre à une entreprise impérialiste de type aussi traditionnel que périmé. Dans une introduction qu'il a rédigée pour une publication officielle du Ministère portugais des provinces d'outre-mer intitulée Enquête sur l'anticolonialisme, parue en 1957, l'ancien Ministre portugais des provinces d'outre-mer s'est exprimé en ces termes (p. 11):

"On s'accorde à reconnaître qu'une grande partie de l'Europe occidentale est liée à l'Afrique par son histoire, son économie, sa population, sa vie même. Toute action de nature à provoquer une séparation aurait des répercussions directes sur l'indépendance économique de l'Europe et même, dans certains cas, sur l'indépendance politique de quelques pays.

"Les nations dites européennes, une fois privées de l'élément africain qui les complète, glisseraient

inévitablement vers la ruine. L'Europe perdrait en conséquence la valeur qu'elle a pour l'alliance occidentale.

"...

"On ne saurait contester leurs droits souverains (c'est-à-dire ceux des puissances d'Europe occidentale) ni mettre en doute les bienfaits que les populations qui habitent ces territoires, quelle que soit leur origine ethnique, retirent d'un gouvernement et d'une administration fondés sur la structure organique de vieilles métropoles qui ont l'expérience, les moyens et la force de caractère voulus pour entreprendre la mission de progrès et de civilisation qu'elles poursuivent aujourd'hui dans l'assurance et l'enthousiasme. Essayer d'en interrompre le cours pour accorder l'indépendance à des groupes de populations non qualifiés, qui n'ont rien sur quoi fonder leurs demandes de privilèges et, pis encore, n'auraient jamais formulé ce genre de revendications si l'on ne les y avait incités et encouragés de l'extérieur — essayer d'agir ainsi serait rendre un mauvais service à l'Afrique et à tous ses habitants. Il est on ne peut plus clair que toutes ces populations ont tout à gagner à laisser se poursuivre leur mouvement ascendant grâce à l'assistance et aux conseils à la fois protecteurs et paternels de la vieille métropole."

7. Les principes qui s'expriment dans ce passage sont ceux du colonialisme et de l'impérialisme le plus nets et démontrent combien est dérisoire l'affirmation du Portugal selon laquelle l'Angola et le Mozambique sont des provinces exactement au même titre que le Minho et le Beira.

8. Dans le même volume, un autre auteur s'étend longuement sur ces mêmes doctrines désuètes et dangereuses. Il souhaite la création d'une organisation des puissances coloniales pour sauvegarder leurs intérêts en Afrique, "malgré les déviations, les faiblesses, l'imprudence, les erreurs et — tranchons le mot — la lâcheté de certains" (ouvr. cité, p. 253), faisant par là probablement allusion à certains des alliés du Portugal qui se sont vus forcés de libérer certaines de leurs possessions coloniales. D'après cet auteur, l'organisation en question devrait être cimentée par un accord entre les Etats européens possédant des territoires en Afrique et les Etats indépendants de longue date ou nouvellement créés de ce continent (ouvr. cité, p. 261). Les auteurs cités se rendent compte tous deux que les possessions portugaises d'Afrique sont tenues par la force et que les jours de la domination impérialiste sont comptés sur ce continent en pleine évolution. Plutôt que les formules procédurières mises en avant par le Gouvernement du Portugal, ce sont les postulats et le vocabulaire même de ces auteurs que la Quatrième Commission se doit de peser mûrement afin de décider si le Portugal est sujet à l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements sur ses possessions conformément à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte.

9. Un écrivain français, Christine Garnier, expose, dans son livre intitulé *Vacances avec Salazar*^{1/}, que le Premier Ministre, à qui l'on demandait quel régime avait adopté le Portugal pour gouverner ses territoires d'outre-mer, parlait de cette politique comme d'une politique d'intégration, ajoutant qu'il ne fallait voir dans le retour à l'ancien nom de "pro-

vinces d'outre-mer" aucun changement d'attitude de la part du Portugal, contrairement à ce qui s'était passé dans d'autres pays dont les colonies étaient devenues des "Etats d'outre-mer". Le Premier Ministre du Portugal est donc le premier à admettre que ce changement d'appellation ne correspond à aucune modification de l'attitude traditionnelle du Portugal envers ses colonies, et que le vieux régime de domination et d'exploitation se poursuit comme par le passé. C'est d'ailleurs cette persistance de l'attitude traditionnelle qui explique que des contradictions se soient manifestées en pratique lors de l'application aux territoires d'outre-mer du concept d'intégration. La loi régissant le statut des habitants de ces territoires établit une distinction entre les citoyens portugais et les Portugais "indigènes". Lord Hailey a écrit à ce sujet que les "citoyens" portugais comprennent naturellement les "civilizados" qui sont parvenus à la citoyenneté pleine et entière; les Portugais "indigènes" comprennent tous les habitants du territoire non encore parvenus à ce statut, les Portugais considérant les Portugais "indigènes" comme des mineurs destinés à ne devenir des citoyens portugais complets qu'après avoir atteint une maturité culturelle qui leur donne droit à ce titre^{2/}.

10. Il va sans dire que la délégation du Ghana s'oppose catégoriquement à l'attitude raciste qui a poussé le Portugal à adopter une méthode aussi inhumaine de classification d'êtres humains. Pour citer encore une fois lord Hailey, au regard du droit civil les affaires des Portugais "indigènes" sont régies par la coutume et par le droit coutumier, tandis que, du point de vue administratif, ils sont soumis au contrôle des autorités indigènes, elles-mêmes subordonnées à l'autorité des fonctionnaires du gouvernement. Les problèmes du travail sont soumis à un régime spécial défini par le code du travail. En matière de propriété foncière, leurs droits de possession et d'occupation sont régis par le droit coutumier et non point par le droit jurisprudentiel. L'"indigène" en tant que tel n'est pas représenté directement auprès des organismes législatifs du gouvernement; tant qu'il n'est pas parvenu à la citoyenneté pleine et entière, il est obligé de porter un livret d'identification et de le montrer sur demande, et il n'a pas le droit de se déplacer d'une localité à une autre sans une autorisation qui doit être inscrite dans son livret^{3/}.

11. Tout ce qui précède démontre bien qu'il n'y a pas d'égalité devant la loi entre les Portugais et les habitants de leurs possessions d'outre-mer. La classification en question contrevient au principe VIII du Comité spécial des Six. La délégation du Ghana soutient que les distinctions bien tranchées qui existent rendent dérisoires le concept portugais d'intégration et les prétendus droits d'égale citoyenneté qu'il confère aux Européens et aux Africains. Non seulement les populations autochtones se voient refuser le droit de prendre part à l'activité politique des territoires, mais une différence réelle sépare les deux catégories d'habitants quant à leur statut légal et administratif. Cette classification est fondée sur le mépris des droits et du respect humain de ces populations et n'a pour dessein que de détruire leur identité culturelle.

12. De ce que vient de dire le représentant du Ghana, il ressort clairement que la participation des

^{2/} Lord Hailey, *An African Survey*, révisé en 1956 (Oxford University Press, 1957), p. 562.

^{3/} Ibid.

^{1/} Paris, B. Grasset, 1952.

habitants autochtones des possessions portugaises à la conduite de leurs propres affaires est strictement limitée ou même inexistante. Rien n'indique que de vastes secteurs de la population soient activement associés à l'élaboration ou à la mise en œuvre de programmes qui affectent pourtant leur progrès économique, social, éducatif et politique. Bien au contraire, comme l'a fait remarquer lord Hailey, il existe dans toutes ces possessions une centralisation très poussée du gouvernement et de l'administration dont l'effet est de donner à ces possessions un statut qui les assujettit au Portugal, puisqu'elle aboutit à l'intégration de l'économie des territoires à un système économique portugais. Le Portugal ne saurait donc éluder l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements prévue par l'alinéa e de l'Article 73.

13. Ce qu'a dit le représentant du Ghana des territoires portugais vaut tout autant pour les territoires espagnols d'Afrique. Lord Hailey n'a guère décelé de différences entre la pratique administrative et coloniale de ces deux pays.

14. Le grand mouvement de liberté et d'indépendance qui entraine aujourd'hui l'Afrique ne peut pas être enrayé par des formules légales et juridiques. Un simple décret du Gouvernement portugais ou espagnol ne suffit pas à transformer des habitants autochtones de l'Afrique ou de l'Asie en Portugais ou en Espagnols. Il faudra que ces deux gouvernements se résignent à accepter les réalités du XXème siècle et à tenir pleinement compte des aspirations de ces peuples à la liberté et à l'indépendance. La délégation du Ghana ressent beaucoup d'inquiétude de ce que le Portugal semble résolu à résister activement au grand mouvement de libération de l'Afrique. Les prétendues provinces d'outre-mer ne peuvent pas rester indéfiniment à l'écart du grand "vent de changement" qui balaie l'Afrique. Les événements qui se sont récemment déroulés au Nyassaland et au Congo ont influencé ceux qui luttent pour leur liberté au Mozambique et dans l'Angola, et ce qui vient de se passer en Afrique française a eu son retentissement sur la Guinée dite portugaise. L'exode vers le Ghana d'un nombre croissant de réfugiés politiques de l'Angola indique que le mouvement nationaliste s'intensifie sur ce territoire. Les autorités portugaises, en continuant de réprimer ces mouvements nationalistes, ne peuvent que provoquer des explosions comme celles qui se sont déjà produites ailleurs, peut-être même des conflits qui mettraient directement en péril la sécurité et la paix internationales. Les pays indépendants d'Afrique sont résolus à empêcher qu'on invoque des artifices constitutionnels et procéduriers pour justifier des agissements qui sapent la liberté et l'indépendance des Africains vivant dans les provinces portugaises d'Afrique. A la deuxième Conférence des Etats africains indépendants, qui s'est récemment tenue à Addis-Abéba, ces Etats ont décidé de continuer d'agir d'un commun accord pour accomplir par tous les moyens possibles l'élimination complète de la domination coloniale en Afrique.

15. La délégation du Ghana accueille favorablement le rapport du Comité spécial; il appartient désormais à la Quatrième Commission d'en mettre les principes en œuvre. La première mesure urgente qui s'impose est que la Commission demande au Portugal et à l'Espagne de communiquer sans retard des renseignements conformément à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte, de libérer les chefs nationalistes incar-

cérés, de cesser de réprimer les mouvements de libération nationale dans les territoires sous leur autorité et de fixer définitivement la date de l'émancipation et de l'indépendance de ces territoires.

16. M. KENNEDY (Irlande), après avoir remercié le Comité spécial des Six du travail qu'il a effectué, dit que la délégation de l'Irlande approuve dans l'ensemble les principes fondamentaux précis que ce comité a élaborés. Son rapport aurait pu difficilement être publié à un moment plus opportun puisqu'il traite en effet d'un chapitre essentiel de la Charte se rapportant aux buts et aux espoirs de millions de personnes disséminées sur d'immenses régions géographiques. L'ancien système colonial s'effondre dans le monde entier et, de l'avis de la délégation de l'Irlande, l'importance considérable de l'action du Comité spécial repose sur le fait qu'il a exprimé le courant profond de liberté et d'égalité sociale qui se manifeste et qu'il a fait de la Charte un instrument vivant, dynamique, dont l'esprit doit s'adapter aux changements rapides du monde contemporain.

17. Il est encourageant pour la délégation de l'Irlande que les idées générales qui ont été celles du Comité spécial lorsqu'il a rédigé les 12 principes soient très proches des vues exprimées par le Gouvernement irlandais dans son mémoire (A/AC.100/1/Add.1, par. 3 à 7). Cette constatation s'applique notamment au principe IV, centre de toute la question, dont la délégation de l'Irlande prend note avec satisfaction et qui représente une façon raisonnable et réaliste d'envisager le problème.

18. La délégation de l'Irlande espère que les 12 principes figureront dans une résolution dont tous les Membres administrants s'inspireront pour déterminer les responsabilités qui leur incombent en vertu de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 et elle est persuadée que chaque Etat Membre tiendra pleinement compte des principes pour établir les obligations qu'il doit remplir à l'égard de l'ONU. Cela représente le seul espoir réel d'un développement régulier et rapide permettant d'atteindre les buts fixés par la Charte en coopération avec le Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes et les autres organes des Nations Unies. A la présente session, la Quatrième Commission dont l'importance est si grande pour les petits pays est saisie d'une question profondément significative à laquelle se rattache directement la tâche confiée au Comité spécial. Il s'agit de savoir si l'évolution entreprise récemment doit se poursuivre au cours de ces prochaines années, dans des conditions de paix et de sécurité et dans le cadre de l'ONU, ou s'il faut abandonner les dispositions mêmes de la Charte et mettre fin à l'existence des organes des Nations Unies et aux importants travaux de la Quatrième Commission. Le Comité spécial a montré la voie qu'il fallait suivre pour réaliser à l'avenir une évolution pacifique et la délégation de l'Irlande espère que tous les membres souscriront aux principes établis par ce comité et qu'ils les appliqueront.

19. M. ZULOAGA (Venezuela) dit qu'avant de formuler un projet de résolution tendant à entériner les 12 principes que le Comité spécial des Six a approuvés à l'unanimité, la Quatrième Commission devrait réfléchir sur un trait remarquable mis à jour lors de sa récente approbation unanime de trois projets de résolution d'importance capitale. Vouloir un vote à l'unanimité est louable, mais cela ne devrait pas per-

mettre de dissimuler les intentions subtiles visant à saper les résolutions, à les rendre inefficaces et impossibles à appliquer. Si l'on examine les choses de plus près on s'apercevra que les puissances coloniales ont utilisé avec habileté les tactiques de l'abstention: simple abstention qui passe inaperçue ou abstention avec une explication de vote dans laquelle les réserves émises sont quelquefois plus catégoriques qu'un vote franchement négatif ne l'aurait été. Une des puissances suit la méthode, à tout prendre plus franche, d'être absente. L'une des puissances qui s'abstiennent systématiquement au cours des votes ne reconnaît même pas l'existence du Comité des renseignements, tandis que deux autres réussissent, en utilisant certaines expressions et en se livrant à des tours de passe-passe juridiques, à s'exclure de la catégorie des Membres administrants. Toutes les délégations représentées au sein de la Commission peuvent voter comme bon leur semble, mais les autres délégations ont le droit d'analyser les votes et de tirer leurs propres conclusions pour savoir si les résolutions seront ou ne seront pas dûment mises en œuvre. La Quatrième Commission devrait donc s'efforcer de rédiger ses projets de résolution en termes précis et ne devrait pas être tentée de rechercher une unanimité qui ne signifie rien.

20. La délégation du Venezuela estime que, pour remédier à ces manœuvres parlementaires, il faudrait modifier le mandat du Comité des renseignements afin de tenir compte des trois projets de résolution très importants que la Commission a approuvés à l'unanimité.

21. En ce qui concerne le rapport du Comité spécial des Six (A/4526), la délégation du Venezuela estime que l'affirmation énoncée au paragraphe 18 — "la Charte est un document vivant et l'application du Chapitre XI doit être considérée à la lumière de la réalité politique et de l'évolution actuelle des esprits" — est d'une importance telle qu'elle devrait figurer au préambule de toutes les résolutions approuvées par la Commission au cours de cette session. A cet égard, il n'est que juste de faire remarquer que certaines délégations qui, l'année dernière, s'étaient opposées avec énergie et habileté à tous les projets de résolution proposant la création d'un comité chargé d'examiner les principes qui doivent guider les Etats Membres pour déterminer si l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements leur est applicable ou non ont collaboré avec bonne volonté aux travaux du Comité spécial. Il y a donc des raisons d'être optimiste quant à "l'évolution actuelle des esprits".

22. En ce qui concerne le troisième principe, M. Zuloaga fait observer qu'en signant la Charte et en contractant, de ce fait, certaines obligations internationales, chaque Etat Membre a abandonné une partie de sa souveraineté et a acquis certains droits et l'avantage de la protection de l'Organisation internationale, ce qui est d'une importance particulière pour les petits pays.

23. M. Zuloaga présentera ultérieurement des observations relatives à la réserve faite par le Royaume-Uni au sujet du principe IX. La réserve que ce pays

a apposée au principe X et qui est consignée au paragraphe 15 du rapport constitue un exemple du genre de réserves dont M. Zuloaga a déjà parlé et elle enlève toute valeur à l'approbation du principe.

24. M. Zuloaga félicite les six délégations de leur excellent travail qui, M. Zuloaga en est persuadé, permettra à la Quatrième Commission de mettre fin au refus de certains Etats de communiquer des renseignements, fait qui a discrédité l'ONU aux yeux du monde et en particulier auprès des Etats nouvellement indépendants et auprès des territoires qui dépendent encore d'Etats métropolitains.

25. M. LOIZOU (Chypre) rappelle que son pays, qui a récemment, par de grands sacrifices, gagné son indépendance, honore et soutient tous ceux qui, dans toutes les parties du monde, continuent à lutter pour leur libération. Il estime que les travaux de la Quatrième Commission, bien que leur envergure soit limitée par des considérations d'ordre juridique, présentent la plus grande importance en ce qui concerne l'accession rapide et pacifique à l'indépendance de tous les peuples qui ne jouissent pas encore de leur droit inaliénable à l'autonomie.

26. La délégation de Chypre prend acte avec satisfaction des 12 principes qui définissent et réglementent l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements en vertu de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte, obligation qui ne peut prendre fin que lorsqu'un territoire s'administre complètement lui-même. Un Membre administrant, quel qu'il soit, ne peut trouver de prétexte pour justifier son refus d'honorer cette obligation juridique. Les principes VI, VII, VIII et IX définissent de façon claire l'expression "pleine autonomie" et réfutent entièrement les arguments de ces puissances qui essaient de donner à ces mots une interprétation arbitraire et qui négligent, de façon persistante, l'importance de la volonté librement exprimée des peuples dépendants dans la détermination de leur avenir sur le plan politique et constitutionnel. La délégation de Chypre voit dans cette définition une expression du principe de libre choix, les mots "choix libre et volontaire ... exprimé par des méthodes démocratiques et éclairées" ne pouvant avoir d'autre sens.

27. Compte tenu de ces considérations, la délégation de Chypre prend note avec satisfaction du rapport et approuve ses principales conclusions et observations. M. Loizou espère que le rapport sera accepté par tous les Etats Membres, notamment par ceux qui jusqu'ici ont donné à la Charte une interprétation destinée à servir leurs propres intérêts et dont le but était de prolonger leur domination sur d'autres populations.

28. Chypre considère qu'en dehors de la libération immédiate et entière de toutes les populations, il ne peut y avoir qu'une forme d'apaisement provisoire dans des circonstances qui exigent une action énergique et rapide. Il est inconcevable qu'un peuple soit actuellement privé de liberté. M. Loizou espère sincèrement que, les aspirations de tous les peuples dépendants étant satisfaites, les travaux de la Quatrième Commission seront bientôt achevés.

La séance est levée à 11 h 55.

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DISCUSSION GENERALE (suite)

1. M. MORSE (Etats-Unis d'Amérique) rappelle que la délégation des Etats-Unis a voté pour la résolution 1467 (XIV) de l'Assemblée générale. Elle a également participé aux travaux du Comité spécial des Six chargé de la question de la communication des renseignements prévue à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte, créé en vertu de cette résolution, ainsi qu'à la rédaction du rapport de ce comité (A/4526).

2. Le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis a déjà appliqué dans les territoires qu'il administre les principes que pose le Comité des Six; il a communiqué régulièrement des renseignements détaillés; dans le cas de Porto Rico, de l'Alaska et d'Hawaï, il n'a cessé de le faire que quand la population de ces pays a déterminé elle-même son nouveau statut.

3. M. Morse espère que le rapport du Comité spécial des Six recevra un accueil favorable à l'Assemblée générale, non seulement parce que les principes qu'il énonce sont logiques, rationnels et pratiques, mais aussi parce qu'ils ont fait l'unanimité des membres du Comité, que l'on peut considérer comme représentant l'ensemble de l'Assemblée. Il déclare que la délégation des Etats-Unis approuve le rapport du Comité spécial des Six.

4. M. Morse se réserve le droit de reprendre la parole quand la Commission examinera des projets de résolution relatifs à ce rapport.

5. U TIN MAUNG (Birmanie) rappelle que, depuis bien des années, l'Assemblée générale a étudié la

question de l'envoi de renseignements au titre de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte; depuis bien des années, l'attitude du Portugal, qui se refuse obstinément à envoyer des renseignements sur les territoires qu'il administre, préoccupe vivement l'ONU. Les autres Membres administrants communiquent des renseignements plus ou moins complets sur leurs territoires non autonomes; le Portugal ne s'acquitte pas de l'obligation que lui fait l'alinéa e de l'Article 73, sous le fallacieux prétexte que ses possessions africaines font partie intégrante du territoire portugais. De l'avis de la délégation birmane, ces territoires sont bel et bien des colonies; on les a appelés à juste titre "la zone du silence". En refusant d'envoyer des renseignements, le Portugal cherche à se dérober à l'obligation, que lui fait l'Article 73 de la Charte, d'assurer dans toute la mesure possible la prospérité des habitants autochtones.

6. Avant de passer à l'étude des principes définis par le Comité spécial, U Tin Maung souligne qu'il ne suffira évidemment pas d'énoncer solennellement ces principes pour aider les populations colonisées à acquérir l'indépendance ou l'autonomie. Il faudra des mesures beaucoup plus radicales et la délégation birmane approuvera tout projet de résolution qui visera à contraindre les puissances colonialistes à modifier leur attitude à l'égard des territoires non autonomes.

7. Certains Membres administrants mettent en avant plusieurs arguments pour expliquer leur refus d'envoyer des renseignements. Ils soutiennent par exemple qu'un territoire peut tomber sous le coup des dispositions générales du Chapitre XI sans que l'obligation d'envoyer des renseignements soit pour autant applicable. L'Assemblée générale n'a jamais accepté cette façon de voir. La délégation birmane est pour sa part fermement persuadée que l'on ne peut pas isoler les dispositions de l'alinéa e du reste de l'Article 73 ni de la déclaration politique que constitue le Chapitre XI. Si l'on acceptait cet argument fallacieux, l'envoi des renseignements visés à l'alinéa e serait l'objectif ultime, alors qu'il n'est qu'un des moyens de réaliser les fins énoncées dans la Charte.

8. Les Membres administrants prétendent aussi qu'il leur est difficile de communiquer des renseignements sur des territoires dont, selon eux, le développement constitutionnel est fort avancé. Ces territoires, disent-ils, dirigent leurs propres affaires tant intérieures qu'extérieures, et c'est à leur gouvernement qu'il conviendrait de demander les renseignements visés à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73. Mais cet argument est inadmissible pour deux raisons. D'une part ces gouvernements soi-disant autonomes ou responsables ne représentent pas des Etats souverains, ils ne siègent ni à l'Assemblée générale de l'ONU ni dans les autres organes de la communauté internationale. D'autre part, l'Article 73 est un con-

trat passé entre les Membres administrants et le reste des Nations Unies. C'est donc aux Membres administrants qu'il incombe de communiquer des renseignements, et non aux gouvernements prétendus autonomes de territoires dont l'ONU n'a pas encore reconnu qu'ils s'administrent pleinement eux-mêmes.

9. Il est indispensable que les Membres administrants envoient des renseignements pour que l'Assemblée générale puisse vérifier non seulement s'ils s'acquittent de leurs devoirs envers la population des territoires non autonomes, mais aussi pour qu'elle puisse mesurer de combien ces territoires se sont rapprochés de l'autonomie ou de l'indépendance complète. C'est uniquement en prenant connaissance des renseignements communiqués par les Membres administrants que l'Assemblée pourra vérifier s'ils se conforment aux obligations que leur font les alinéas a, b, c et d de l'Article 73. Il est donc regrettable que, malgré les encouragements donnés par l'Assemblée générale, bien peu de Membres administrants aient accepté d'envoyer volontairement des renseignements d'ordre politique sur les territoires qu'ils administrent. De même, on ne peut que déplorer que certains Membres administrants acceptent de communiquer des renseignements par déférence pour l'Assemblée générale, mais s'irritent de la surveillance discrète exercée par l'ONU en vertu de la Charte.

10. Les obligations assumées par les Etats Membres au titre du Chapitre XI ne se limitent pas à l'Article 73. Aux termes de l'Article 74, les Etats Membres s'engagent à respecter le principe du bon voisinage, non seulement pour leurs zones métropolitaines, mais aussi pour les territoires dont ils assument la responsabilité. A l'heure où les forces de libération nationale déferlent sur le continent africain et dans le monde entier, les Membres administrants ne peuvent plus rester muets et s'isoler dans une attitude négative, sous peine de compromettre la paix et la sécurité universelles.

11. U Tin Maung examine ensuite les principes énoncés par le Comité. Il regrette vivement que, bien que le Comité ait adopté ses conclusions à l'unanimité, certains membres aient fait des réserves à l'égard de plusieurs principes. Ce genre de réserves revient à dire en même temps oui et non. Celle qu'a faite le représentant du Royaume-Uni à l'égard du principe IX (A/4526, par. 13) est particulièrement grave. En effet, l'intégration est une mesure si importante que la population d'un territoire doit avoir la faculté de faire son choix en pleine connaissance de cause; elle ne l'aura que si elle peut exprimer librement ses aspirations par des procédés démocratiques, grâce à des élections impartiales sur la base du suffrage universel des adultes. Refuser aux habitants adultes des territoires le droit de décider de leur avenir par un vote au suffrage universel, c'est faire insulte à leur intelligence. Toujours à propos du principe IX, la délégation birmane reconnaît, comme la majorité du Comité spécial, que le contrôle de l'ONU peut être souhaitable dans certains cas, mais n'est pas indispensable.

12. En ce qui concerne le principe I, U Tin Maung tient seulement à souligner que l'Assemblée générale est compétente pour décider s'il faut ou non communiquer des renseignements sur un territoire donné. Elle l'est également pour juger si un territoire a

atteint la pleine capacité de s'administrer lui-même dont il est fait mention au principe II.

13. En vertu du principe IV, le Portugal ne peut plus se dispenser de communiquer des renseignements sur les territoires qu'il administre, puisque ces territoires sont séparés géographiquement de la métropole et en sont ethniquement et culturellement distincts.

14. Pour conclure, U Tin Maung déclare que les peuples des territoires non autonomes réclament l'indépendance avec une véhémence de plus en plus grande. L'Afrique a proclamé récemment son désir de se libérer des derniers vestiges du colonialisme. Fidèle aux nobles principes dont s'inspire la Charte, l'ONU a le devoir de repousser les manœuvres des colonialistes et de favoriser la libération de tous les territoires non autonomes.

15. Mlle SAFFOURI (Jordanie) approuve sans réserve les principes énumérés dans le rapport du Comité spécial des Six.

16. La délégation jordanienne considère, comme les membres du Comité, que la Charte est un document vivant et que tous les Membres administrants doivent s'acquitter des obligations que leur fait le Chapitre XI. Ces obligations ne se limitent d'ailleurs pas à l'Article 73, et les Etats Membres administrants doivent également tenir compte des dispositions de l'Article 74.

17. Sans indépendance politique, il ne peut pas y avoir d'indépendance économique, sociale ou culturelle. Tant qu'un territoire n'a pas atteint l'indépendance politique, les obligations contractées par la puissance administrante demeurent donc valables. La délégation jordanienne estime que la thèse selon laquelle l'Espagne et le Portugal ne seraient pas obligés de communiquer des renseignements en vertu de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 n'est pas soutenable. L'intégration ou l'association de territoires comme le Mozambique et l'Angola n'ont pas été libres et le statut des territoires n'est pas identique à celui des pays métropolitains, ni juridiquement, ni en pratique. La politique coloniale du Portugal va donc nettement à l'encontre des principes IV, VII et VIII.

18. L'ONU a le devoir impérieux d'insister auprès du Gouvernement portugais et de ceux d'autres Etats Membres pour qu'ils communiquent des renseignements sur les territoires qu'ils administrent. Il convient à ce sujet de rappeler que l'Assemblée générale est seule compétente pour déterminer si un territoire est ou non autonome. La tâche de l'Organisation est de s'efforcer par tous les moyens d'aider les territoires non autonomes comme les territoires sous tutelle à atteindre l'indépendance le plus rapidement possible, en appliquant à cette fin les buts et principes que la Charte des Nations Unies énonce à leur sujet.

19. Enfin Mlle Saffouri tient à souligner que la délégation jordanienne considère les principes énoncés dans le rapport du Comité spécial non pas comme une fin, mais comme un moyen. Elle ne les approuve que dans la mesure où ils peuvent accélérer la marche des territoires vers l'indépendance. Parce que la Jordanie approuve ces principes, il ne faudrait pas croire qu'elle soit prête à accepter que l'on retarde l'accession des territoires non autonomes à l'indépendance. Cette indépendance est au contraire le but auquel doit tendre la Quatrième Commission.

20. M. NOGUEIRA (Portugal) se réserve le droit de répondre ultérieurement aux représentants qui l'ont précédé.

21. M. NEKLESSA (République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine), déclare que la question examinée actuellement ne constitue pas un différend purement théorique. Il est dû au fait que deux puissances coloniales, l'Espagne et le Portugal, refusent de s'acquitter des obligations que leur fait le Chapitre XI de la Charte. Ces deux puissances prétendent, pour se justifier, que le Chapitre XI ne fait aucune obligation aux Etats Membres, car il se borne simplement à exprimer des vœux, et surtout qu'il n'existe pas de colonies espagnoles ou portugaises. La délégation ukrainienne, comme la majorité des membres de la Commission, ne peut accepter ni cette interprétation de la Charte ni cette fiction. Elle a souvent déclaré que les buts et principes proclamés dans la Charte doivent guider tous les Etats Membres qui administrent des territoires coloniaux; la Charte confère à ces Etats des obligations internationales, dont celles de veiller au bien-être des populations autochtones, de développer leur capacité de s'administrer elles-mêmes, et de communiquer à l'ONU des renseignements sur la situation dans les colonies.

22. Le rapport du Comité spécial des Six, comme il ressort de l'examen des principes I, II, III et X, confirme le caractère international des obligations qui découlent du Chapitre XI; il indique aussi (principes I et IV) comment savoir quels sont les territoires auxquels s'appliquent les dispositions du Chapitre XI. Comme l'a fait remarquer le représentant du Maroc, le Comité n'a mentionné expressément aucun territoire; il est clair que, composé pour moitié de Membres administrants, il n'a pas voulu porter ombrage à l'Espagne et au Portugal. En fait, les territoires administrés par l'Espagne et le Portugal sont des colonies, et la Commission a perdu quatre années à démontrer l'évidence.

23. Profitant de la lenteur avec laquelle l'ONU a procédé en l'occurrence, le Gouvernement espagnol, qui avait décidé tout d'abord de donner des renseignements sur ses colonies, a par la suite changé d'attitude et a fait déclarer par ses organes législatifs qu'il s'agit désormais de "provinces d'outre-mer". Il importe peu, en vérité, que l'appellation change, si les méthodes coloniales et le régime colonial eux-mêmes ne disparaissent pas.

24. Quant aux dépendances du Portugal, dont la superficie égale celle de l'Europe et qui ont 11 millions d'habitants, elles comptent parmi les plus vieilles colonies du monde; sans doute les colonisateurs portugais n'ont-ils jamais cessé de proclamer leur "mission civilisatrice". Cette mission à l'époque où vivaient les ancêtres des colonisateurs portugais actuels s'appelait la traite des esclaves. Pendant deux siècles, 30.000 esclaves africains étaient envoyés chaque année en Amérique de l'Angola seulement. En 1939, le premier ministre Salazar lui-même déclarait que la politique portugaise, qu'il qualifiait d'audacieuse, avait pour but de défendre plus efficacement les "races inférieures"; dans un des numéros de *Foreign Affairs* de 1956, le premier ministre Salazar a exprimé l'opinion que, dans l'ensemble, l'Afrique devrait, pendant une période indéterminée, vivre sous la domination des peuples civilisés.

25. Mais quel a donc été l'apport de cette "mission civilisatrice" dans les colonies portugaises? Nul

n'ignore plus le triste régime qui est celui de l'Angola et du Mozambique: absence de droits politiques, restrictions à la liberté de déplacement, manque de médecins (1 pour 80.000 habitants en Angola et 149 au Mozambique pour 6 millions d'habitants), analphabétisme presque total (99 pour 100 en Angola), travail forcé (le Portugal a longtemps refusé de signer la Convention de l'OIT concernant l'abolition du travail forcé), contrats inhumains (dislocation des familles), châtiments corporels, etc. Il n'y a eu que 30.000 Angolais qui aient pu remplir les conditions exigées par la loi de 1917 pour leur assimilation. A ce rythme, il faudra plus de 70.000 ans avant que tous les habitants du territoire soient assimilés. Par la politique dite d'assimilation, le Portugal dissimule sa politique d'oppression de 11 millions d'Africains. En outre, l'assimilation signifie en pratique l'application de la théorie raciale de la suprématie de l'homme blanc et de sa civilisation; elle signifie l'anéantissement de la culture africaine puisque pour s'assimiler et pour acquérir le droit de citoyenneté, les Africains doivent renoncer à leur propre culture, lire et écrire en portugais et adopter le mode de vie portugais. Dès lors, l'égalité qui devrait exister théoriquement depuis 1951 entre la métropole et ses "provinces d'outre-mer" n'est qu'un leurre. Les gouverneurs et gouverneurs généraux ont de très larges pouvoirs discrétionnaires et ne tiennent en fait aucun compte de l'avis des conseils législatifs qui sont composés pour moitié de membres élus et de membres nommés et dont ne font partie que quelques "assimilés". Le Gouvernement portugais lui-même reconnaît que le régime qu'il impose aux provinces d'outre-mer est une "dictature bienveillante".

26. En réponse au renforcement de l'oppression des colonisateurs portugais et de leurs alliés — les monopoles étrangers — les peuples de l'Angola et du Mozambique commencent ces derniers temps à exiger de plus en plus activement qu'on leur accorde immédiatement l'indépendance nationale; le Gouvernement portugais, pour freiner le mouvement, fait régner la terreur en arrêtant, en torturant et en déportant dans des camps de concentration les dirigeants des mouvements nationalistes; il envoie des renforts, dotés d'un armement puissant, et entreprend de construire des aérodrômes. La presse coloniale portugaise publie des articles au sujet de "l'immense puissance de feu dont on dispose dans les colonies pour anéantir les agents du communisme international". Les pays de l'Organisation du Traité de l'Atlantique nord apportent leur appui à l'Espagne et au Portugal pour des raisons bien compréhensibles: d'après le *New York Times* du 25 octobre, un ancien ministre des affaires étrangères du Portugal a demandé aux Etats-Unis de rester solidaires du Portugal à l'ONU, en leur rappelant fort à propos que son pays leur avait cédé des bases militaires aux Açores. Actuellement, les milieux militaires portugais cherchent à faire modifier la loi américaine d'aide militaire de façon à pouvoir utiliser en Afrique les armements américains. D'après un article paru dans la presse des Etats-Unis au moment de la visite du Président des Etats-Unis au Portugal, celui-ci a déclaré que les Etats-Unis et le Portugal ont coopéré sans la moindre divergence de vues.

27. Le PRESIDENT, intervenant sur une motion d'ordre de M. NOGUEIRA (Portugal), prie le repré-

sentant de la République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine de s'en tenir au point en discussion.

28. M. NEKLESSA (République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine), poursuivant son exposé, dit que les capitaux portugais, prédominants jusqu'à ces derniers temps, tendent à s'effacer devant les capitaux américains, britanniques et belges investis dans les principaux secteurs de l'agriculture et dans l'industrie extractive; c'est ainsi qu'une compagnie pétrolière au Mozambique a obtenu du Gouvernement portugais une énorme concession et des permis de prospection.

29. Le Gouverneur général de l'Angola a déclaré qu'il ne pouvait être question de donner l'autonomie ou l'indépendance au territoire, et que les autorités portugaises veilleraient à maintenir la situation actuelle. Mais les populations autochtones voient bien que cette situation ne peut pas durer. Il est certain que, si, de leur côté, le Gouvernement espagnol et le Gouvernement portugais comprenaient, devant les événements qui se déroulent sur le continent africain, que l'abolition complète des colonies est inévitable, et s'ils prenaient des mesures en conséquence, ils éviteraient de grands malheurs. S'ils ne le font pas, les peuples des colonies secoueront eux-mêmes le joug colonial, arracheront les chaînes de l'esclavage comme l'ont déjà fait leurs frères dans les colonies voisines. La liquidation du colonialisme va être débattue en séance plénière par l'Assemblée générale: il importe que l'ONU se prononce pour l'indépendance immédiate de toutes les colonies, y compris celles du Portugal et de l'Espagne. Le problème n'est pas seulement théorique, et ne doit pas donner uniquement lieu à des joutes oratoires sur des arguments juridiques: il lui faut une conclusion pratique et immédiate, qui ne peut être que l'indépendance immédiate des colonies portugaises et espagnoles ainsi que des autres colonies, comme le propose le projet de déclaration (A/4502 et Corr.1) que la délégation de l'Union soviétique a présenté à la quinzième session de l'Assemblée générale.

30. M. DIALLO (Mali) adresse les félicitations de sa délégation aux membres du Comité spécial des Six, qui ont su dégager, dans un rapport clair, concis et rigoureux, les principes directeurs qui doivent permettre aux Etats Membres de déterminer si l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements prévue à l'alinéa c de l'Article 73 de la Charte leur est applicable ou non. L'Espagne et le Portugal, qui refusent de communiquer des renseignements sur les territoires qu'ils administrent, doivent enfin comprendre que leur machiavélisme chauvin est une arme de désespoir qui ne peut résister plus longtemps. L'ONU a seulement demandé des renseignements pour se rendre compte des progrès réalisés dans les territoires non autonomes; en refusant de donner ces renseignements, l'Espagne et le Portugal montrent qu'ils ne sont pas d'accord avec leur conscience. Leur refus accroît encore et aggrave la responsabilité de l'ONU à l'égard des populations opprimées qui luttent pour la liberté et mettent leur confiance et leurs espoirs dans les buts et principes proclamés par la Charte.

31. Le Gouvernement portugais prétend ne pas avoir de colonies. Or, en 1957, il y avait en Angola 750.000 habitants soumis au travail forcé; en 1959, trois patriotes angolais ont été exécutés parce qu'ils demandaient simplement le respect des droits fondamentaux de l'homme. Le terme même de "colonies"

a figuré dans la Constitution portugaise jusqu'au 11 juin 1951, date où il a été remplacé par celui de "provinces d'outre-mer". Le représentant du Ghana a fait état à la séance précédente des conditions politiques et sociales dans lesquelles se trouvent les Africains des colonies portugaises: les populations noires sont classées en "non civilisées" et "civilisées", ces dernières étant les plus proches des maîtres portugais. Aucun autochtone n'est éligible; s'il a le droit de voter, il ne peut en user que pour élire un citoyen portugais; les autorités emprisonnent, torturent, exilent ou tuent sans pitié les autochtones qui ont réussi à acquérir une certaine instruction. L'ONU a donc une lourde dette morale et humanitaire à l'égard des mouvements de libération qui sont nés depuis deux ans dans les territoires portugais et qui subissent l'assaut des troupes portugaises; mais il faut savoir que toutes les armées du monde réunies ne pourront jamais maintenir un peuple dans l'esclavage.

32. La délégation malienne souscrit entièrement aux principes et aux conclusions du rapport du Comité spécial; elle espère que le projet de résolution que la Commission va adopter condamnera les puissances qui refusent de fournir des renseignements sur des êtres humains dont le sort ne peut laisser indifférent le reste du monde. Le Portugal est bien conscient de ce risque, puisqu'une dépêche de presse signale que, depuis quelque temps, l'Administration de l'Angola soumet les prisonniers politiques à une forte pression pour les obliger à protester contre toute résolution qu'adopterait l'Assemblée générale. Le Portugal déclare qu'il ne quittera jamais l'Afrique, prétendant que son départ ouvrirait la porte à l'exploitation des noirs par les noirs. M. Diallo est convaincu pour sa part que le Portugal quittera l'Afrique, parce qu'il n'est pas possible qu'un être humain, qu'il soit noir ou blanc, exploite indéfiniment un autre être humain.

33. M. KIANG (Chine) note que l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements pose deux problèmes que l'Assemblée générale s'est efforcée de résoudre depuis 1951. Le premier est de savoir ce qui constitue un territoire non autonome; le second, de savoir quand on peut dire qu'un tel territoire est devenu autonome ou indépendant. Abordant la question sous l'angle des facteurs qui permettraient de décider si un territoire est devenu pleinement autonome, l'Assemblée générale a admis, d'une façon générale, qu'une liste de facteurs, quelle qu'elle soit, ne peut être qu'une sorte de guide, et que chaque cas est un cas d'espèce. Mais qui décidera qu'il n'est plus besoin d'envoyer des renseignements? Sur ce point, l'accord ne s'est pas fait: la plupart des Membres administrants soutenaient qu'ils étaient seuls compétents, tandis que la grande majorité des Membres non administrants estimait qu'il appartient à l'Assemblée générale, seule ou avec le Membre administrant intéressé de juger si un territoire donné a cessé ou non de tomber sous le coup du Chapitre XI de la Charte. Malgré ces divergences, tous les pays admettent que le Chapitre XI comprend à la fois une déclaration de principe — qui fait à tous les Etats Membres le devoir de reconnaître la primauté des intérêts des habitants — et l'exposé des obligations des Etats Membres qui administrent des territoires non autonomes. C'est pour veiller au respect de ces obligations que les Membres administrants sont priés de communiquer des renseignements statistiques, sous réserve des exigences de la sécurité et de considérations d'ordre constitutionnel.

34. La délégation chinoise a toujours estimé qu'il appartient à l'Assemblée générale de déterminer collectivement l'interprétation à donner aux mots "territoires non autonomes" et "territoires dont les populations ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes". Elle fait donc siens les principes que pose le rapport du Comité spécial et qui devront guider l'Assemblée générale au moment de déterminer si l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements est applicable ou non. Il serait dogmatique de prétendre qu'une définition de ces principes n'était pas nécessaire. Elle l'est dans la mesure où elle permettra de modifier certaines positions, apparemment irréductibles, adoptées depuis 1952 et 1953.

35. M. GUARDADO (Salvador) se joint aux représentants qui ont déjà félicité le Comité spécial des Six du rapport concis dont l'Assemblée devra s'inspirer pour faire appliquer les principes fondamentaux de la Charte. Les travaux de ce comité sont malheureusement venus trop tard pour empêcher certains faits regrettables qui vont à l'encontre des idées qui étaient celles de la Conférence de San Francisco. La délégation salvadorienne déplore cependant que le débat ne se soit pas limité à l'étude juridique des principes définis par le Comité spécial, mais ait porté sur l'application de ces principes à des cas particuliers, comme celui de l'Espagne ou du Portugal.

36. Puisque aucune délégation n'a critiqué le rapport du Comité spécial, M. Guardado propose de clore le débat, en application de l'article 118 du règlement intérieur.

37. M. KANAKARATNE (Ceylan) est très surpris de cette étrange proposition, qui intervient si tôt dans le débat. La Commission n'est saisie que depuis la 1031ème séance du rapport du Comité spécial des Six, auquel elle n'a même pas consacré trois séances complètes. Avant d'exposer son opinion, la délégation ceylanaise désire étudier attentivement non seulement le rapport, mais également les interventions auxquelles il a donné lieu jusqu'à présent. Ce serait attenter gravement à la liberté de discussion que de vouloir empêcher les délégations de prendre la parole sur une question aussi importante. Le représentant du Salvador estime que la Commission devrait s'en tenir à l'aspect juridique du problème. Tout en reconnaissant que la Commission doit s'intéresser aux principes posés par le Comité spécial des Six, M. Kanakaratne fait observer qu'il ne s'agit pas d'une discussion théorique, mais d'un grave problème qui retient l'attention de l'ONU depuis plusieurs années. Ces principes, il va falloir les appliquer. Sans se prononcer à l'avance sur le tableau que certains représentants ont fait de la situation de tel ou tel territoire, M. Kanakaratne indique que sa délégation se propose d'expliquer comment, quant et où, à son avis, il faudra appliquer ces principes. Il convient qu'elle ait l'occasion de se prononcer à ce sujet. C'est pourquoi le représentant de Ceylan s'élève vivement contre la motion de clôture.

38. M. Krishna MENON (Inde) souligne que la Commission n'est saisie du rapport du Comité spécial des Six que depuis la veille. Il lui faudra certainement, pour l'examiner, autant de temps que le Comité en a mis pour le composer. Si le débat était clos immé-

diatement, la Commission ne pourrait adopter aucun projet de résolution, puisque les délégations n'ont pas encore eu la possibilité de se consulter. Ce serait d'autant plus regrettable que ce point de l'ordre du jour préoccupe depuis longtemps les Nations Unies. La Commission devrait l'étudier depuis ses origines, c'est-à-dire depuis la rédaction de la Charte, qui a manifestement pour but d'imposer aux Membres administrants des territoires non autonomes des obligations semblables à celles qui incombent aux autorités chargées d'administrer les territoires sous tutelle. Puisque ces membres étaient chargés d'une mission sacrée, ils devaient rendre compte de leurs actes devant la communauté internationale. La Commission ne doit pas se borner à la discussion théorique des principes en cause, mais voir comment et dans quel cas il convient de les appliquer pour que nul ne contrevienne à la Charte. Le représentant de l'Inde espère donc que la Commission pourra poursuivre normalement ses travaux.

39. M. GUARDADO (Salvador) déclare qu'il désirait seulement attirer l'attention de la Commission sur la nécessité de faire porter les débats sur les principes énoncés dans le rapport parce qu'il craignait que la discussion prématurée de l'application de ces principes à tel ou tel pays ne compromette le résultat des efforts déployés à l'ONU depuis de nombreuses années. Pensant avoir atteint son but, le représentant du Salvador retire sa motion.

40. M. SALAMANCA (Bolivie) souligne la complexité du problème juridique et politique dont la Commission est saisie. En effet, comment définir en quoi consiste une nation? Certains pays naissent débiles et s'affaiblissent peu à peu, d'autres comptent longtemps des minorités ou des régions mal intégrées à la communauté nationale. La nation est une création continue; peut-être n'est-ce en définitive que la volonté d'un groupe de se constituer en nation. La Commission doit certes veiller à ce que la volonté de tels groupes ne soit pas méconnue, mais elle ne doit pas adopter un projet de résolution dont le seul effet serait de créer un climat de tension.

41. Les principes énoncés dans le rapport du Comité spécial des Six soulèvent des problèmes très délicats, et l'on peut se demander par exemple combien il existe d'Etats indépendants où les populations s'administrent complètement elles-mêmes. Il ne s'agit pas de vouloir rendre indépendants tous les territoires, même s'ils ne comptent qu'un nombre infime d'habitants, mais de faire en sorte que partout les droits de l'homme soient respectés. En discutant un rapport d'une portée aussi vaste, les représentants peuvent manifestement citer tous les exemples et mentionner tous les territoires qu'ils désirent, mais ils ne devraient pas oublier qu'une déclaration générale ne doit pas servir d'arme contre un ou deux pays. La valeur de ce genre de texte réside dans son acceptation unanime. Ce n'est qu'après avoir adopté les principes du Comité spécial et avoir recherché comment les appliquer que la Commission pourra décider si tel ou tel pays a tort ou raison de refuser de communiquer des renseignements. Pour le moment, toute condamnation est prématurée.

La séance est levée à 17 h 30.

ASSEMBLÉE GÉNÉRALE

QUINZIÈME SESSION

Documents officiels

QUATRIÈME COMMISSION, 1034^e SÉANCE

Jeudi 3 novembre 1960,
à 11 heures

NEW YORK

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Etude des principes qui doivent guider les Etats Membres pour déterminer si l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements, prévue à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte des Nations Unies, leur est applicable ou non: rapport du Comité spécial créé par la résolution 1467 (XIV) de l'Assemblée générale (suite)

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Président: M. Adnan M. PACHACHI (Irak).

POINT 38 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

Etude des principes qui doivent guider les Etats Membres pour déterminer si l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements, prévue à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte des Nations Unies, leur est applicable ou non: rapport du Comité spécial créé par la résolution 1467 (XIV) de l'Assemblée générale (A/4526) [suite]

DISCUSSION GENERALE (suite)

1. Mlle BROOKS (Libéria) dit que, depuis plusieurs années, la délégation du Libéria s'est efforcée, ainsi que d'autres délégations, d'appeler l'attention de l'Assemblée générale sur la nécessité de créer un comité qui énoncerait avec impartialité et objectivité les principes sur la base desquels on pourrait demander aux Membres qui administrent des territoires d'outre-mer de rendre compte de l'administration de ces territoires aux organes des Nations Unies conformément aux dispositions du Chapitre XI de la Charte. Toutes les tentatives entreprises dans ce sens ont toujours été vaines jusqu'au moment où l'Assemblée générale, à sa quatorzième session, a décidé qu'une étude de cet ordre était souhaitable et nécessaire. En conséquence, à la suite de l'adoption de la résolution 1467 (XIV) de l'Assemblée générale, on a nommé un Comité dont la composition garantissait l'impartialité et dont le rapport (A/4526) représente les points de vue tant des Membres administrants que des Membres non administrants.

2. Plusieurs fois dans le passé, il a été demandé au Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes, à la Quatrième Commission et à l'Assemblée générale, s'il y avait des Etats Membres responsables de l'administration qui ne transmettaient pas les renseignements qu'ils auraient dû communiquer en vertu de l'Article 73, e, de la Charte. La question n'a jamais reçu de réponse qui fasse autorité; certaines délégations ont donné une réponse affirmative alors que d'autres ont affirmé que l'Assemblée ne disposait pas d'instrument sur lequel elle

puisse fonder une décision catégorique. Certains ont estimé que les facteurs définis dans la résolution 742 (VIII) de l'Assemblée générale étaient inapplicables, puisqu'ils étaient censés se rapporter à la cessation de la communication des renseignements plutôt qu'à l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements en vertu de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73. En outre, il a été soutenu que l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 contenait une clause limitative relative à la sécurité et à des considérations d'ordre constitutionnel et également qu'en vertu de l'Article 2, paragraphe 7, l'administration des territoires relevait de la compétence nationale des Etats et non de celle de l'Organisation des Nations Unies.

3. Les principes énoncés dans la subdivision B de la section V du rapport du Comité spécial des Six chargé de la question de la communication de renseignements prévue à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte réfuteront de façon définitive ces arguments. Si la Quatrième Commission ou quelqu'un de ses membres estime qu'il est nécessaire qu'un instrument juridique définisse les responsabilités des Etats Membres en ce qui concerne l'administration des territoires dépendants, le rapport du Comité spécial des Six constitue un instrument juridique de cette nature. Bien que la délégation du Libéria n'approuve pas les controverses juridiques au sujet de questions qui ne sont pas nécessairement, par leur nature, d'ordre juridique, elle est heureuse de pouvoir disposer d'un instrument bien documenté appuyant ses vues relatives à une question qui comporte des conséquences et des dangers politiques.

4. Rien dans les principes énoncés par le Comité spécial ne peut porter la délégation du Libéria à avoir le moindre doute quant au fait que le Portugal est un Membre administrant dans le plein sens de l'expression et que les territoires administrés par le Gouvernement portugais sont des territoires au sujet desquels des renseignements devraient être communiqués sans délai en vertu de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte. Même si la position de la délégation du Libéria n'avait pas été renforcée et corroborée par l'existence de documents juridiques, elle n'aurait pas hésité à adresser au Gouvernement du Portugal un appel sincère pour qu'il remplisse ses obligations. La situation politique dans le monde et plus spécialement en Afrique est telle que la question de la responsabilité internationale en ce qui concerne l'administration des territoires portugais est devenue une question nettement urgente. Mlle Brooks estime que ce serait rendre un mauvais service non seulement à l'ONU, à l'Afrique et au monde entier, mais également au Portugal lui-même que de ne pas insister pour que ce pays tienne compte du danger que comporte la situation actuelle et abandonne son attitude intransigeante pour le bien de la paix mondiale.

5. La montée du nationalisme africain et le fait que les pays opprimés veulent être autonomes et diriger

leurs propres affaires ne peuvent plus être considérés comme matière à finesses juridiques et à subtilités constitutionnelles. Il existe de nombreux documents provenant de l'Angola, du Mozambique et de la Guinée dépendante au sujet de la situation des autochtones dans ces territoires; ces renseignements indiquent que les populations sont résolues à obtenir leur liberté par tous les moyens dont elles disposent. Mlle Brooks ne s'attardera pas sur les conditions régnant dans les territoires relevant de l'administration portugaise, car celles-ci sont bien connues et les faits se trouvent dans de nombreux livres, brochures et journaux. Le représentant du Portugal a, dans le passé, nié la situation réelle avec énergie, mais il n'a fourni aucune documentation pour appuyer ses démentis.

6. Dans la réponse qu'il a faite au Secrétaire général (A/AC.100/1, par. 137 à 156) en application de la résolution 1467 (XIV) de l'Assemblée générale, le Gouvernement portugais a donné une savante interprétation du mot "déclaration" qui figure dans le titre du Chapitre XI de la Charte; il a soutenu que la compétence de l'Etat intéressé s'opposait à celle de l'Assemblée générale et a établi une distinction subtile entre le statut politique des territoires et celui des populations. Le temps où l'on pouvait se livrer à ce genre de faux-fuyants juridiques est révolu. Si le Gouvernement portugais veut un document juridique, il y en a un, qui est le rapport du Comité spécial des Six. Quelle que soit la minutie avec laquelle on examine les principes énoncés par le Comité spécial, on est obligé d'en conclure que des renseignements doivent être communiqués au sujet des territoires sous administration portugaise. La réalité de la situation est plus forte que de subtils arguments juridiques. Le fait que le Chapitre XI de la Charte s'applique aux territoires portugais est confirmé par les 12 principes, quel que soit le statut de ces territoires dans le cadre de la Constitution du Portugal. Les territoires sont séparés géographiquement et distincts au point de vue ethnique et au point de vue culturel du pays qui les administre, selon les termes du principe IV. Ils ne sont pas librement associés à un Etat indépendant au sens du principe VII et ils ne sont pas intégrés à un Etat indépendant au sens des principes VIII et IX.

7. La question des réserves d'ordre constitutionnel a été soulevée deux fois par le représentant du Portugal, mais, si l'on en croit la réponse portugaise à la note du Secrétaire général, ces arguments sembleraient avoir été abandonnés par le Gouvernement portugais et Mlle Brooks ne s'y attardera donc pas. La question de la non-ingérence de l'ONU dans les affaires intérieures du Portugal est traitée beaucoup plus complètement dans cette réponse. La délégation du Libéria a cependant déjà démontré la nécessité d'une reddition de comptes sur le plan international. L'expérience de l'ancien Congo belge a contribué à augmenter les craintes justifiées du Libéria à cet égard et le Gouvernement du Portugal ferait bien de tenir compte de cette amère leçon.

8. La délégation du Libéria estime que l'Assemblée générale ne peut faire autrement que de demander au Gouvernement portugais de remplir les obligations qu'il a contractées en entrant à l'Organisation des Nations Unies. En outre, l'Assemblée générale devrait recommander au Gouvernement du Portugal d'aller de l'avant avec le courant de l'histoire et de faire en

sorte que les territoires relevant de son administration et les populations qu'il gouverne en Afrique et en Asie soient libérés de l'administration portugaise et se joignent à la communauté des nations libres. Une telle recommandation serait conforme à la réalité de la situation telle qu'elle se présente actuellement et telle qu'elle évoluera dans l'avenir immédiat, qui sera peut-être plus proche que ce que l'on peut prévoir. Les prévisions établies il y a cinq ans, ou même plus récemment, en ce qui concerne la date de l'accession à l'indépendance des populations dépendantes ont révélé une étonnante imprévoyance de la part de certains gouvernements. De grands changements se sont produits si l'on considère l'esprit qui régnait il y a quelques années à la Quatrième Commission et au Comité des renseignements lorsque certains Membres administrants s'étaient prononcés pour le principe de non-ingérence de l'ONU dans les affaires intérieures des Etats. La délégation du Libéria est heureuse d'enregistrer cette évolution et elle apprécie la sagesse des Membres administrants qui ont, en fait et en pratique, accepté la responsabilité internationale de l'administration des territoires dépendants et ont adapté leur politique aux faits. Il faut espérer que le Gouvernement portugais modifiera de la même façon son attitude, mais plus rapidement.

9. En ce qui concerne l'application des principes énoncés par le Comité spécial des Six aux territoires administrés par l'Espagne, Mlle Brooks pense que les membres de la Quatrième Commission estimeront comme elle que, si la thèse du Gouvernement espagnol au sujet de la communication des renseignements relatifs aux territoires qu'il administre est quelque peu différente de celle du Portugal, le résultat final est le même. A la 670ème séance de la Quatrième Commission, durant la douzième session de l'Assemblée générale, le représentant de l'Espagne a déclaré que la réponse de son pays à la communication adressée aux nouveaux Etats Membres par le Secrétaire général au sujet des obligations prévues par l'Article 73 de la Charte serait reçue en temps voulu et qu'elle serait tout à fait conforme à l'esprit de la Charte. Par la suite, le Gouvernement espagnol, par l'intermédiaire de sa mission permanente, a confirmé cette déclaration^{1/} et a annoncé que la réponse de l'Espagne était en cours d'examen, qu'elle serait sous peu communiquée au Secrétaire général et qu'elle serait conforme à l'esprit de la Charte. En novembre 1958, cependant, le Gouvernement espagnol, par l'intermédiaire de sa mission permanente, a informé le Secrétaire général^{2/} que l'Espagne ne possédait pas de territoires non autonomes, puisque les territoires sur lesquels elle exerçait sa souveraineté en Afrique étaient classés parmi les provinces de l'Espagne et que par conséquent le Gouvernement espagnol ne se considérait pas comme visé par l'Article 73.

10. La délégation du Libéria n'acceptera jamais le principe suivant lequel un Etat Membre peut, par un acte législatif, priver les populations dépendantes qu'il administre de leurs droits tels qu'ils sont garantis par la Charte; une action de ce genre est en fait diamétralement opposée aux principes VI, VII, VIII et IX du Comité spécial des Six. L'Assemblée générale a donc le devoir de demander à l'Espagne

^{1/} Voir A/C.4/375.

^{2/} Voir A/C.4/385.

de remplir les obligations qu'elle a contractées en vertu de la Charte en ce qui concerne les territoires qu'elle administre.

11. La délégation du Libéria se félicite du fait que beaucoup de territoires non autonomes au sujet desquels la France a autrefois communiqué des renseignements ont été admis à l'ONU en tant qu'Etats indépendants. La délégation du Libéria est cependant inquiète en ce qui concerne le territoire que l'on appelle couramment la Somalie française. Elle considère que la France devrait informer l'ONU de la situation exacte qui règne dans ce territoire et de son statut. Si, à la seizième session de l'Assemblée générale, la Somalie française n'est pas devenue un Etat indépendant, la délégation du Libéria estimerait que la France devrait être contrainte de communiquer des renseignements au sujet de ce territoire et de fixer de façon précise la date de son accession à l'indépendance.

12. Au nom des millions de populations dépendantes dans le monde entier, dont la plupart se trouvent sur le continent africain, Mlle Brooks lance un appel au Portugal, à l'Espagne et à toutes les puissances coloniales pour qu'elles s'efforcent tout spécialement d'appliquer les dispositions de la Charte en accélérant l'exécution de leurs plans afin que dans un avenir très proche tous les peuples dépendants soient libérés et prennent la place qui leur revient de droit parmi les nations libres du monde.

13. M. DIALLO (Mali), en réponse aux remarques du représentant de la Bolivie à la 1033ème séance, dit que la délégation malienne considère de son devoir, dans l'intérêt de la justice et de la paix, de dénoncer les agissements abominables de certaines puissances, ce non pas par malveillance, mais afin d'épargner à l'ONU d'être accusée de complicité dans les crimes commis par le Portugal et l'Espagne au mépris des principes de moralité proclamés par l'ONU.

14. M. Najmuddine RIFAI (République arabe unie) dit que la Commission ferait bien de s'attacher à l'examen des principes énoncés par le Comité spécial des Six; une fois ces principes adoptés, la Commission pourra s'occuper de leur application.

15. Dès les premiers temps de l'ONU, l'interprétation du Chapitre XI de la Charte a donné lieu à controverse. Avec le temps, la position juridique de certains Membres administrants a heureusement évolué, et l'écart a diminué entre les deux attitudes opposées. Le Comité spécial a fait du bon travail; la délégation de la République arabe unie s'associe sans réserve tant à ses conclusions qu'aux principes énoncés dans le rapport, qui confirment pleinement les opinions qu'elle-même a constamment défendues, et elle espère qu'on ne défendra plus la thèse insoutenable selon laquelle la communication de renseignements est une action purement volontaire dont l'Etat Membre administrant intéressé seul peut décider. Les principes présentent en outre l'avantage de fournir à l'Assemblée générale des critères lui permettant de déterminer si un territoire donné est ou non autonome. Les Membres administrants ne pourront donc plus soutenir qu'il leur appartient de décider cette question, argument qui se révèle aujourd'hui comme n'ayant aucun fondement en droit. On ne saurait non plus avancer que la responsabilité n'est pas collective et que l'Assemblée générale n'est pas compétente pour décider s'il y a ou non obligation

de communiquer des renseignements sur un territoire donné.

16. A la lumière des événements, la discussion sur l'interprétation juridique du Chapitre XI prend un aspect de plus en plus irréal. M. Rifaï se demande ce que diraient les populations de l'Angola, du Mozambique et de nombreux autres territoires si elles apprenaient que l'ONU se livre sur cette question à une discussion théorique. Maintenant que beaucoup de territoires anciennement dépendants sont devenus des Etats souverains, il est décourageant de constater qu'il se trouve encore des puissances coloniales pour soutenir, soit sur la base de traités qui ont invariablement été non pas négociés mais imposés par la force, soit sur la base de certaines dispositions constitutionnelles au sujet desquelles les peuples coloniaux n'ont jamais été consultés, que certains territoires ne relèvent pas des dispositions du Chapitre XI de la Charte. Cette attitude représente un danger pour la paix et ne peut que se retourner contre ceux mêmes qui la soutiennent.

17. Les événements qui se déroulent dans la partie centrale de l'Afrique du Nord fournissent l'exemple d'un processus qui se répétera inévitablement dans d'autres territoires coloniaux si l'on permet à des considérations d'un légalisme fictif de s'opposer à la marée montante de la liberté. Le représentant de la République arabe unie fait appel aux représentants de l'Espagne et du Portugal et aux autres Membres administrants, espérant qu'ils sauront comprendre les leçons de l'histoire et n'essaieront pas de prolonger la vie d'un régime agonisant; car ce n'est pas en multipliant les arguties ni en faussant le sens de la Charte qu'on pourra changer la réalité. Les peuples de l'Angola, du Mozambique et d'autres territoires dont on prétend qu'ils sont pleinement autonomes et font partie intégrante de la métropole semblent bien avoir des opinions qui ne concordent guère avec celles que soutiennent le Portugal et l'Espagne. Ceci tient à ce qu'ils n'ont ni le même passé ni les mêmes particularités ethniques et culturelles, faits que tous les arguments juridiques du monde seront impuissants à changer. Il est du devoir de la Commission d'agir sans retard, sous peine de se voir dépassée par les événements.

18. Mlle SHELTON (Cuba) dit qu'étant donné les nombreux débats qui se sont déroulés à la Quatrième Commission et les différentes opinions qui s'y sont fait jour sur l'interprétation du Chapitre XI de la Charte, le rapport aussi clair que précis du Comité spécial des Six est particulièrement bienvenu.

19. La délégation cubaine, qui a voté pour la résolution 1467 (XIV) de l'Assemblée générale créant le Comité spécial, s'associe à la déclaration figurant au paragraphe 17 du rapport selon laquelle l'indépendance est une des aspirations légitimes de chaque nation, dont la réalisation constitue un important facteur pour la préservation de la paix et de la sécurité internationales. Le vent de changements cité par certains représentants à la Commission, apporte avec lui l'écho des appels à l'indépendance. Il n'en faut pour preuve que la présence à la Commission de plusieurs représentants d'Etats récemment libérés du colonialisme; la délégation cubaine accueille avec grande joie leur libération, car Cuba a toujours plaidé la cause de l'égalité des droits pour tous les peuples et de leur droit à être représentés au sein de la collectivité internationale. Elle s'associe à la déclai-

ration, contenue dans le paragraphe 18 du rapport du Comité spécial, selon laquelle la Charte est un document vivant et l'application du Chapitre XI doit être considérée à la lumière de l'évolution actuelle des esprits.

20. Le Comité spécial a fourni, dans les 12 principes formulés par lui, une interprétation claire et précise du Chapitre XI et notamment de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73. Mlle Shelton s'abstiendra de commenter ces principes, car il n'y aurait guère à ajouter à ce qu'en ont déjà dit les orateurs précédents et notamment les représentants de l'Inde et du Mexique dans les remarquables déclarations qu'ils ont faites à ce sujet.

21. Mlle Shelton se joint à la représentante du Libéria pour rendre hommage à M. Espinosa y Prieto, du Mexique, dont l'esprit de conciliation, la lucidité intellectuelle et les vastes connaissances ont beaucoup contribué au succès des travaux de la Quatrième Commission, notamment en ce qui touche la question dont elle est actuellement saisie.

22. M. THAPA (Népal) exprime la satisfaction qu'il éprouve à constater, en examinant le rapport du Comité spécial, l'existence d'un large terrain d'entente entre les différents groupes d'Etats Membres, et ce même à propos de questions apparemment controversées. Le rapport reflète l'esprit de compréhension et de compromis dont ont fait preuve les Membres administrants tout comme les Membres non administrants. Bien que certains passages se ressentent des tiraillements et des tensions inhérents à tout compromis, il s'agit là d'un excellent rapport, plein de sens pratique, et qui représente un bon point de départ pour les travaux de la Quatrième Commission.

23. La valeur de l'Article 73 de la Charte vient de ce qu'il contribue à la cause de la paix internationale. La montée du nationalisme parmi les colonies donne à penser que l'ONU ne peut fonder la paix qu'en se déclarant fermement en faveur de l'autonomie. Maintenir une large portion de la population mondiale dans un état de dépendance dont elle aspire à se libérer constituerait une menace à la paix internationale. C'est dans ce contexte qu'il convient d'interpréter l'alinéa e de l'Article 73. Lorsqu'on l'interprète ainsi, il apparaît bien qu'il n'y a pas de limites à l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements au sujet d'un territoire non autonome, quel qu'il soit.

24. En outre, le Chapitre XI reflète l'attitude que la conscience de l'humanité, mûrie par les amères expériences de la seconde guerre mondiale, a adoptée à l'égard des peuples des territoires non autonomes. La conscience de la collectivité internationale, telle qu'elle s'exprime dans la Charte des Nations Unies, refuse de considérer un statut de subordination, quel qu'il soit, comme une solution permanente. L'ONU est donc chargée d'une mission sacrée et se doit de travailler toujours davantage à promouvoir l'autonomie dans tous les territoires non autonomes par le progrès politique, économique, social et culturel de leurs populations. Cette mission, elle ne saurait l'accomplir sans disposer de renseignements détaillés et dignes de foi sur l'état de choses existant dans les territoires.

25. Cependant, certains Etats Membres ne sont pas disposés à accepter de cet article une interprétation aussi libérale que pourrait le souhaiter la délégation

du Népal. Aucun renseignement n'a par exemple été fourni sur Goa, sur l'Angola, sur le Mozambique et sur d'autres territoires. Dans certains cas, on a cité, pour justifier ce refus de communiquer des renseignements, des difficultés politiques et constitutionnelles. De l'avis de la délégation du Népal, là où ces difficultés existent, c'est la situation constitutionnelle qu'il convient d'ajuster conformément à l'esprit de la Charte, plutôt que de fausser l'esprit de la Charte pour l'adapter à une situation constitutionnelle qui ne s'accorde plus avec lui.

26. La délégation du Népal aurait préféré qu'il ne fût pas nécessaire de formuler de principes et que des renseignements eussent été communiqués sur tous les territoires non autonomes. Mais, en l'absence de ces renseignements, le mieux était encore que la Commission clarifie la situation en formulant ces principes.

27. Le premier principe affirme que le Chapitre XI est applicable à tous les territoires qui étaient de type colonial lors de la rédaction de la Charte. Il y a obligation absolue de communiquer des renseignements sur chacun de ces territoires jusqu'à ce qu'ils aient accédé à l'autonomie soit par voie d'association ou d'intégration, soit en devenant des Etats souverains et indépendants. Toute limitation éventuelle à cette obligation ne saurait avoir trait qu'à la nature des renseignements à communiquer et non point à l'obligation elle-même.

28. La délégation du Népal espère que les principes seront adoptés et que les Etats Membres qui ont refusé jusqu'à présent de communiquer des renseignements reconsidéreront leur attitude.

M. Ortiz de Rozas (Argentine), vice-président, prend la présidence.

29. M. KOUTCHAVA (Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques) fait remarquer que ce serait un vain exercice pour le Comité que de se lancer dans une discussion théorique sur le rapport du Comité spécial des Six, produit de l'inertie dont a fait preuve dans le passé la Quatrième Commission. Il est bien connu que l'Espagne et le Portugal, en violation de la Charte, ont refusé de fournir des renseignements sur leurs colonies et qu'avec l'appui d'autres puissances coloniales, ces deux pays ont à plusieurs reprises réussi à empêcher l'adoption d'une décision spécifiant qu'ils étaient liés par les obligations énoncées au Chapitre XI de la Charte. Finalement, et dans une large mesure sur l'initiative du représentant du Royaume-Uni, l'Assemblée générale a adopté la résolution 1467 (XIV) portant création du Comité spécial.

30. Pour la délégation soviétique, comme pour bien d'autres, il a toujours été parfaitement clair que toute recherche de caractère juridique est hors de propos, du moment que l'Angola, le Mozambique, la Guinée dite portugaise, les îles du Cap-Vert et les îles Saint-Thomas et du Prince sont des colonies portugaises et qu'Ifni, le prétendu Sahara espagnol, et les îles Canaries sont des colonies espagnoles, acquises toutes à la suite de conquêtes militaires ayant abouti à l'asservissement de leurs populations. Il n'est pas un écolier qui ignore ces faits; cependant, les représentants des puissances coloniales, quoique parvenus à l'âge adulte, essaient de prétendre que ces territoires sont partie intégrante des métropoles en question. Cette attitude ne trompe personne et c'est en pure perte que l'Espagne et le Portugal essaient d'absorber ces territoires en les appelant des provinces de

la métropole. A une époque où le mouvement de libération nationale des peuples colonisés est parvenu à une étape décisive, la seule solution réaliste est la liquidation complète du colonialisme, et l'Assemblée générale examinera bientôt une déclaration faite dans ce sens. Le Portugal et l'Espagne sont-ils des exceptions? L'Assemblée générale doit-elle accepter tacitement la continuation du colonialisme dans leurs territoires? Il est évident que les affirmations de l'Espagne et du Portugal sont fallacieuses et la délégation soviétique regrette que l'ONU ait mis plusieurs années à le découvrir. A l'heure actuelle, l'objectif fondamental n'est pas de s'assurer si les territoires espagnols ou portugais sont des colonies, mais de mettre immédiatement fin à toute domination coloniale à la fois dans les territoires non autonomes et dans les territoires sous tutelle; cela est également vrai pour les colonies espagnoles et portugaises.

31. La Commission ne devrait pas perdre de temps à débattre des principes généraux, mais elle devrait essayer plutôt d'aller avec les événements. Elle devrait immédiatement prendre note du fait que, depuis 1955, année où l'Espagne et le Portugal sont devenus Etats Membres, ils étaient soumis, aux termes de l'Article 73 de la Charte, à l'obligation inconditionnelle de communiquer des renseignements sur leurs colonies. En second lieu, l'Assemblée générale devrait s'occuper de la question vitale de l'octroi de l'indépendance à tous les territoires non autonomes, y compris ceux de l'Espagne et du Portugal, où des millions d'autochtones sont privés de tout droit et sont victimes d'une oppression cruelle.

32. Les Espagnols et les Portugais ont souvent parlé de leur "mission civilisatrice", comme s'ils apportaient culture et civilisation à des races "inférieures", mais, si l'on considère leurs actes plutôt que leurs paroles, apparaît alors un tableau totalement différent. Où sont les renseignements qui montrent que des industries ont été créées en Angola ou au Mozambique, que des progrès économiques rapides ont été faits, ou que le niveau de vie ou le degré d'instruction ont été élevés? Au contraire, malgré une stricte censure de presse, des rapports indiquent que la population africaine a été privée de ses droits, que des organisations patriotiques ont été persécutées et que les autochtones vivent comme des esclaves.

33. En vertu d'un amendement à la Constitution portugaise du 11 juin 1951, les colonies portugaises sont devenues "provinces d'outre-mer" du Portugal, mais la situation est restée exactement la même. Les colonies pas plus que leurs habitants ne se sont vu accorder l'égalité des droits avec la métropole; à la vérité, la population autochtone est soumise à une cruelle discrimination raciale. Les autochtones sont répartis en groupes "assimilés" et groupes "non assimilés" et, d'après la loi, un Africain ne peut parvenir au statut d'assimilé que s'il connaît le portugais, se convertit au catholicisme, possède une certaine fortune et est disposé à abandonner les coutumes, la culture et les traditions locales et à vivre comme un Européen. Un Africain qui remplit ces conditions reçoit le droit à la citoyenneté portugaise ainsi qu'un passeport portugais, il peut voter et ses enfants peuvent recevoir une certaine instruction. Ainsi, la politique d'"assimilation" est un moyen commode pour les colonialistes portugais d'opprimer 11 millions d'Africains. Après cinq siècles d'occupation portugaise, 0,3 pour 100 seulement des Afri-

cains ont été assimilés; les autres n'ont aucun droit politique ou civil, et ne sont pas représentés aux organes administratifs ou législatifs de la métropole. Ils sont tenus d'avoir sur eux, à toute heure, leur carte d'identité, ils ne peuvent se déplacer sans autorisation spéciale et ne jouissent d'aucune protection légale. Ils peuvent être chassés de leurs terres et requis d'office pour des travaux qui leur sont imposés et sont en fait des travaux d'esclaves. Chaque année des autochtones du sexe masculin sont tenus de servir une période de six mois de travail obligatoire. Dans les colonies portugaises, n'est prohibé que l'esclavage manifeste: toutes les autres formes d'asservissement non seulement ne sont pas interdites, mais sont même légales. Au Mozambique, un commerce organisé d'autochtones se poursuit sous le couvert d'un travail sous contrat. Aux termes de la Convention du Mozambique de 1928, 100.000 Africains originaires de ce pays sont envoyés dans l'Union sud-africaine chaque année et environ 100.000 sont dirigés vers la Rhodésie et le Nyassaland. Il existe un organe gouvernemental spécial chargé de recruter de la main-d'œuvre pour les mines du Transvaal. La majorité des ouvriers recrutés meurent, soit pendant le voyage, de maladie, de sous-alimentation ou d'épidémie, soit en travaillant dans les mines. Dans son numéro du 8 avril 1960, le Manchester Guardian écrivait que depuis plus de 20 ans les travaux imposés ont tenu une place de plus en plus importante au Mozambique et en Angola.

34. Cette cruelle exploitation coloniale a réduit les populations autochtones des territoires espagnols et portugais à la famine et à la misère. En fait, le régime colonial ne leur a apporté que souffrances. Pourquoi, au Mozambique, environ un enfant nouveau-né sur deux meurt-il dans sa première année? Pourquoi 99 pour 100 des populations autochtones de l'Angola, du Mozambique et d'autres colonies portugaises sont-ils encore illettrés après cinq siècles d'administration "éclairée" et de "civilisation"? Assurément, il est inutile de prouver davantage que le régime colonial constitue un obstacle majeur aux progrès des populations des colonies portugaises, espagnoles et autres. Il faut éliminer immédiatement cet obstacle et créer les conditions indispensables au développement économique, social et de l'éducation de ces peuples. Les puissances coloniales ont souvent parlé du "fardeau de l'homme blanc"; l'heure est venue de les libérer de ce fardeau, mais surtout il est temps de libérer les peuples coloniaux de la tutelle blanche.

35. La délégation soviétique demande à la Quatrième Commission de décider officiellement que les colonies portugaises et espagnoles sont des territoires non autonomes, que le Portugal et l'Espagne doivent satisfaire entièrement aux obligations définies dans la Charte, et que les résolutions présentes et futures de l'Assemblée générale concernant la réalisation des objectifs et des principes de la Charte à propos des territoires non autonomes ainsi que la liquidation immédiate et complète du régime colonial dans ces territoires doivent être appliquées aux territoires espagnols et portugais.

36. La Quatrième Commission a déjà perdu beaucoup de temps à étudier des questions de procédure et de forme; il est temps qu'elle prenne sans retard une décision tendant à libérer les peuples coloniaux de l'odieux régime colonialiste.

La séance est levée à 12 h 35.

ASSEMBLÉE GÉNÉRALE

QUINZIÈME SESSION

Documents officiels

QUATRIÈME COMMISSION, 1035^e
SÉANCE

 Jeudi 3 novembre 1960,
 à 15 h 25

NEW YORK

SOMMAIRE

Point 38 de l'ordre du jour:

Etude des principes qui doivent guider les Etats Membres pour déterminer si l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements, prévue à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte des Nations Unies, leur est applicable ou non: rapport du Comité spécial créé par la résolution 1467 (XIV) de l'Assemblée générale (suite)

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Président: M. Adnan M. PACHACHI (Irak).

En l'absence du Président, M. Ortiz de Rozas (Argentine), vice-président, prend la présidence.

POINT 38 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

Etude des principes qui doivent guider les Etats Membres pour déterminer si l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements, prévue à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte des Nations Unies, leur est applicable ou non: rapport du Comité spécial créé par la résolution 1467 (XIV) de l'Assemblée générale (A/4526) [suite]

DISCUSSION GENERALE (suite)

1. M. HUSAIN (Pakistan) déclare qu'il se bornera pour le moment à parler des principes énoncés, dans la subdivision B de la section V de son rapport (A/4526), par le Comité spécial des Six chargé de la question de la communication de renseignements prévue à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte; il aura plus tard l'occasion de parler de l'application de ces principes à des territoires donnés.

2. Pour obtenir que les territoires non autonomes s'administrent finalement eux-mêmes, but que les Nations Unies se sont courageusement proposé au Chapitre XI de la Charte, l'Organisation ne disposait que d'un moyen: demander aux Membres administrants de la tenir informée de l'évolution économique, sociale et scolaire des territoires. L'expérience a montré que c'était une arme puissante, qui lui a permis de suivre de près la situation et de la surveiller. Les progrès économiques, sociaux et scolaires ayant stimulé l'évolution politique, beaucoup de territoires sont devenus indépendants grâce à la vigilance des petites nations et aussi à la bonne volonté de plusieurs puissances administrantes.

3. Quelques Membres ont refusé ces renseignements. Ils ont pu soutenir que certains territoires n'étaient pas visés par le Chapitre XI ou que d'autres étaient désormais autonomes, parce que la Charte omet de préciser à quoi l'on reconnaît qu'un pays est un

territoire non autonome. L'Assemblée générale a déjà décidé que l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements ne cesse que lorsque le territoire en question s'administre complètement lui-même et elle a spécifié qu'il appartient à elle seule de déterminer, d'après certains critères définis dans sa résolution 742 (VIII), si un territoire donné a atteint ce stade. Reprenant les idées essentielles de la résolution 742 (VIII) de l'Assemblée générale, mais en les précisant et en les mettant dans un ordre logique, le Comité spécial des Six vient maintenant de définir les principes qui doivent permettre à un pays de décider s'il doit ou non communiquer des renseignements.

4. Tout en se réservant le droit d'y proposer des modifications, la délégation pakistanaise approuve l'ensemble des recommandations du Comité spécial. Comme lui, elle estime que la Charte est un document vivant et qu'il faut considérer l'application du Chapitre XI à la lumière de la réalité politique et de l'évolution actuelle des esprits. Elle pense en outre que les principes doivent s'appliquer à chaque cas individuel à la lumière des faits et des circonstances particulières. Quand il y a séparation géographique et distinction ethnique, on peut certainement présumer a priori que l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements existe. Il appartient alors au Membre administrant de prouver que cette présomption n'est pas nécessairement vraie et que des éléments constitutionnels et juridiques font que l'obligation n'existe pas, malgré cette séparation géographique et cette distinction ethnique. A en juger par leur façon d'interpréter le Chapitre XI, et en particulier l'alinéa e de l'Article 73, il semblerait que certains pays nient que la liberté est le suprême droit naturel de l'homme et non le produit d'un système politique donné, et que chaque nation a le droit d'être elle-même libre pour garantir la liberté et les droits de ses citoyens. C'est pourtant grâce à cette idée que beaucoup d'Etats africains ont pu arriver à l'indépendance et qu'ils peuvent maintenant travailler à faire que leur continent se développe, à l'abri de la guerre froide, pour et par les Africains, et à la lumière africaine. La plupart des populations d'Afrique voudront faire de même en dépit des raisonnements d'un impérialisme révolu.

5. M. ROHAL-ILKIV (Tchécoslovaquie) dit que sa délégation garde présente à l'esprit, dans l'examen de tous les points de l'ordre du jour de la Commission, la déclaration d'indépendance proposée par l'Union soviétique (A/4502 et Corr.1). Elle a la conviction qu'il faut liquider le colonialisme totalement et sans délai, et qu'il sera effectivement liquidé; mais cela ne signifie pas que la Commission doive s'en tenir là et se contenter d'attendre la fin du colonialisme. Au contraire, il faut agir partout à la fois, et le problème en discussion est lui aussi un élément de la lutte contre le colonialisme.

6. La délégation tchécoslovaque a toujours lutté pour une interprétation correcte de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73. Depuis la création même de l'Organisation, certaines puissances administrantes se sont montrées en effet réticentes sur les territoires qu'elles administrent, se dérochant ainsi à l'obligation que leur fait l'alinéa e et ont même cessé de communiquer ces renseignements. Les Membres non administrants ont lutté contre cette politique, avec un certain succès, comme en témoignent les résolutions 222 (II), 334 (IV), 742 (VIII) et 747 (VIII) de l'Assemblée générale. Cette dernière résolution donne à l'Assemblée le droit de décider à quel moment il y a lieu de cesser d'envoyer des renseignements sur un territoire non autonome, et ce droit se trouve confirmé dans la résolution 748 (VIII), qui affirme la compétence de l'Assemblée pour décider si un territoire non autonome a atteint ou non l'autonomie complète visée au Chapitre XI de la Charte.

7. Le Portugal et l'Espagne refusent de donner des renseignements sur les territoires qu'ils administrent en prétendant qu'ils n'ont plus de "colonies" et que ces territoires sont désormais des "provinces d'outre-mer". Il serait certainement intéressant de demander à un autochtone de l'Angola si la vie a changé dans sa "province" depuis qu'elle n'est plus colonie: la réponse ne fait aucun doute puisque le monde entier sait que le régime portugais est le plus cruel des régimes coloniaux. D'après l'article que le *Times* de Londres a publié les 21 et 22 juin 1960, sous le titre "Portuguese way in Africa", la fiction juridique du changement d'appellation n'empêche pas que l'Angola est toujours une colonie; la densité de la population y est très faible malgré des conditions favorables, et les autochtones y sont soumis au travail forcé; pour le correspondant du *Times*, en appliquant dans l'Angola une politique d'assimilation on risquerait de créer une "Algérie portugaise".

8. Parce que certains Membres administrants refusaient de s'acquitter des obligations que leur impose le Chapitre XI de la Charte, l'Assemblée générale a créé, par la résolution 1467 (XIV), un comité spécial chargé d'élaborer certains principes qui doivent guider ces membres pour déterminer si l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements leur est applicable ou non. Certaines conclusions du Comité spécial des Six pourront servir effectivement la cause de l'émancipation des peuples coloniaux: il est exact que la Charte est un document vivant et qu'il faut considérer l'application du Chapitre XI à la lumière de la réalité politique et de l'évolution actuelle des esprits, que les obligations assumées par les Etats Membres ne se limitent pas à l'Article 73, et que le Chapitre XI concrétise le concept des territoires non autonomes dans un état d'évolution dynamique et de progrès. Mais il aurait fallu formuler ces conclusions et ces principes en des termes plus rigoureux, et les accompagner de mesures d'application pratiques. La délégation tchécoslovaque ne s'attendait pas à ce que le Comité spécial des Six arrive à des résultats révolutionnaires, étant donné que la moitié de ses membres représentaient des puissances coloniales. Toutefois, l'Assemblée générale ne compte que quelques puissances coloniales et ce fait devrait exercer une influence sur les décisions adoptées.

9. Il importe avant tout d'en finir avec la thèse des puissances coloniales, suivant laquelle le Chapitre XI n'est qu'une déclaration d'intention qui n'implique

aucune obligation; bien au contraire, il s'agit, comme pour la Charte dont il fait partie, d'un instrument international qui impose des obligations et accorde des droits à certains Etats. De l'avis de la délégation tchécoslovaque, tous les Etats Membres sans exception sont juridiquement tenus de donner des renseignements sur les territoires qu'ils administrent; dans la pratique, il appartient à l'Assemblée générale, et à elle seule, de juger si un territoire a atteint l'autonomie complète. D'un autre côté, l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements au titre du Chapitre XI signifie, non seulement que le Membre administrant n'a pas le droit de cesser de sa propre autorité de communiquer ces renseignements, mais aussi qu'il est tenu de communiquer ces renseignements dès que l'Assemblée générale l'exige. La résolution 747 (VIII) ne laisse aucun doute quant à la compétence de l'Assemblée à cet égard.

10. En décidant s'il y a lieu de continuer ou de cesser d'envoyer des renseignements sur un territoire non autonome donné, l'Assemblée devra se demander si le territoire en question a ou non atteint l'autonomie. De l'avis de la délégation tchécoslovaque, le critère essentiel ne peut être que l'accession à l'indépendance politique réelle, fondée sur la volonté librement exprimée des populations du territoire, et non pas l'accession à une indépendance fictive, ou affirmée dans une déclaration unilatérale de la puissance administrante.

11. De même, en ce qui concerne le volume des renseignements à communiquer, M. Rohál-Ilkiv est d'avis que l'Article 73 de la Charte doit être interprété comme un tout: si l'alinéa e de cet article ne mentionne que les renseignements "relatifs aux conditions économiques, sociales et de l'instruction dans les territoires", les alinéas a et b du même article parlent du "progrès politique" des territoires et du "développement progressif de leurs libres institutions politiques". De plus, il y a un rapport étroit entre les progrès réalisés dans chacun de ces domaines et ces progrès sont plus rapides quand le territoire a accédé à sa pleine indépendance. Il faut donc exiger des Membres administrants qu'ils communiquent des renseignements d'ordre politique, car il n'y a pas d'autre moyen de savoir exactement comment le principe de l'autonomie des populations est appliqué dans ces territoires et dans quelle mesure ils se rapprochent des buts prévus dans la Charte, c'est-à-dire de l'indépendance. Il est urgent d'agir, et l'ONU doit, pour commencer, faire admettre à l'Espagne et au Portugal que les territoires qu'ils administrent sont des territoires non autonomes et les obliger à communiquer immédiatement des renseignements à leur sujet. Mais ceci n'est que le premier pas. Il est nécessaire qu'une indépendance complète soit accordée sans délai à ces territoires.

12. Le moment est venu de se prononcer résolument à l'appui des peuples colonisés. La récente admission de nouveaux Etats comme Membres de l'ONU milite en faveur de cette décision. Depuis la deuxième session de l'ONU, l'Assemblée générale et la Commission discutent de l'interprétation à donner à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73; les peuples colonisés, eux, n'attendent pas le résultat de leurs délibérations et l'Assemblée n'a pas le droit d'entraver la marche de l'histoire. La définition exacte des principes qui doivent gouverner l'interprétation de l'Article 73 n'est qu'un maillon de la chaîne des mesures qui aideront à cette

évolution. La délégation tchécoslovaque est persuadée qu'en adoptant une résolution qui fasse respecter aux Membres administrants les obligations qui découlent de la Charte, l'Assemblée aura fait un grand pas en avant vers l'objectif final, la liquidation immédiate et complète du colonialisme.

13. M. KANAKARATNE (Ceylan) veut surtout étudier les principes posés par le Comité spécial des Six; c'est quand elle aura fait connaître son avis sur ces principes que la Commission en viendra à préciser quels Membres administrants doivent se considérer comme liés par eux et au sujet de quels territoires ces membres doivent communiquer des renseignements. En adoptant la résolution 1467 (XIV), l'Assemblée générale s'est déclarée compétente pour déterminer la portée du Chapitre XI de la Charte et en particulier de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73; sur ce point, la délégation ceylanaise ne partage nullement les réserves de certaines délégations. Dès la 16ème séance de la Quatrième Commission, au cours de la seconde partie de la première session de l'Assemblée, M. John Foster Dulles, représentant les Etats-Unis d'Amérique, a déclaré que son pays, ayant un haut souci des responsabilités qui lui incombent conformément au Chapitre XI, avait fait parvenir au Secrétaire général des renseignements sur tous les territoires non autonomes placés sous son autorité. De son côté, le représentant de la Norvège a déclaré que le Chapitre XI pourrait devenir une Grande Charte de la liberté, susceptible de donner une espérance nouvelle à des millions d'hommes qui n'étaient pas représentés parmi les Nations Unies. C'est bien dans cet esprit qu'il faut comprendre le Chapitre XI, et l'appliquer à tous les peuples auxquels il est applicable.

14. Certains pays qui ont transformé des colonies en "provinces d'outre-mer" par un simple changement d'appellation et un amendement à leurs lois organiques invoquent cette fiction constitutionnelle pour refuser de communiquer des renseignements. Il convient cependant de noter qu'en 1946 tous les pays qui administraient alors des territoires non autonomes ont décidé d'envoyer des renseignements, et l'Assemblée générale a pris acte de ce fait dans sa résolution 66 (I), adoptée la même année. Le Portugal et l'Espagne peuvent-ils affirmer, en 1960, que, s'ils avaient été Membres de l'ONU en 1946, au lieu de le devenir par un simple accident de l'histoire en 1955, ils auraient eu alors la témérité de refuser ce que l'Australie, la Belgique, le Danemark, les Etats-Unis, la France, la Nouvelle-Zélande, les Pays-Bas et le Royaume-Uni acceptaient? Les obligations assumées par les Membres fondateurs de l'Organisation ne lient-elles pas les pays qui y accèdent par la suite?

15. Peut-être est-ce aussi par un accident de l'histoire que Ceylan n'est pas demeurée colonie portugaise et a donc pu devenir Membre de l'ONU. Si les Pays-Bas, puis le Royaume-Uni, se s'étaient pas emparés successivement de l'île, Ceylan aurait-elle été considérée, de même que l'Angola ou le Mozambique aujourd'hui, comme une "province d'outre-mer" du Portugal, à laquelle les dispositions du Chapitre XI de la Charte ne seraient pas applicables? Tous les membres de la Commission, y compris les représentants de l'Espagne et du Portugal, reconnaîtront que cela serait absurde. On peut se demander en quoi la situation actuelle de l'Angola ou du Mozam-

bique diffère de ce qu'aurait été dans cette hypothèse celle de Ceylan.

16. La délégation ceylanaise approuve totalement les principes définis par le Comité spécial des Six dans son rapport objectif. Elle note cependant que le représentant du Royaume-Uni a fait des réserves dans le paragraphe 15. Elle estime pour sa part que la limitation constitutionnelle dont il s'agit dans le principe X ne peut porter que sur l'étendue des renseignements, et qu'elle ne libère jamais un Etat Membre des obligations qui lui fait le Chapitre XI. Accepter la réserve du Royaume-Uni serait repartir à zéro, puisque c'est précisément parce que des Etats refusaient de communiquer des renseignements en prétextant des considérations constitutionnelles que l'Assemblée a créé le Comité spécial.

17. Le représentant de Ceylan souligne enfin que la Quatrième Commission ne doit pas se restreindre à une simple discussion abstraite des aspects juridiques de la question. L'interprétation de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 n'est pas un exercice de sémantique, mais le moyen de parvenir aux nobles buts exprimés en 1946 avec tant d'éloquence par le représentant de la Norvège. L'adoption des principes proposés par le Comité spécial ne marquera pas la fin, mais le début, des travaux de la Commission, qui n'est pas une assemblée de juristes, mais un organe politique chargé d'agir dans le cadre des réalités politiques actuelles. Si elle ne veille pas à faire appliquer ces principes en pratique, tous ses efforts auront été vains. La délégation ceylanaise tient à ce que ces principes ne restent pas lettre morte, parce qu'elle se soucie d'obtenir l'ajustement pacifique d'une situation dont le maintien lui semble de nature à nuire au bien général ou à compromettre les relations amicales entre nations. Il s'agit ici d'un devoir imposé à l'Assemblée générale par l'Article 14 de la Charte. Si la délégation de Ceylan ne réclamait pas cet ajustement pacifique de la situation des territoires fictivement incorporés à des métropoles, elle trahirait les engagements qu'elle a pris envers elle-même, son gouvernement et son peuple.

18. M. NOGUEIRA (Portugal), usant de son droit de réponse, se déclare heureux que l'histoire de Ceylan ait voulu que cette ancienne colonie portugaise soit aujourd'hui Membre de l'ONU. Si l'ONU avait existé à l'époque où les Pays-Bas ont chassé les Portugais de Ceylan, le Portugal aurait peut-être fait appel à l'intervention de l'ONU, et Ceylan devrait à cette intervention de ne pas siéger aux côtés des autres membres de la Commission.

19. Sir Andrew COHEN (Royaume-Uni) tient à rassurer les délégations qu'a inquiétées la réserve faite par le Royaume-Uni au sujet de l'application du principe X, et qui sont allées jusqu'à qualifier de "double-talk" les propos de la délégation du Royaume-Uni.

20. Le paragraphe 15 du rapport du Comité spécial n'est pas une réserve, mais une précision. En effet, les principes X et XI, qui doivent être considérés comme se complétant l'un l'autre pour éviter les erreurs d'interprétation, ne concernent que les territoires non autonomes pour lesquels des considérations constitutionnelles peuvent limiter la portée des renseignements communiqués. Les considérations d'ordre constitutionnel dont il est question à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 ne peuvent résulter, pour reprendre les termes du principe XI, que des relations consti-

tutionnelles entre le territoire et l'Etat Membre administrant. Le principe XI précise en outre que la responsabilité de communiquer des renseignements subsiste à moins que le gouvernement ou le parlement de l'Etat Membre administrant ne soit empêché de recevoir, au sujet du territoire en question, les renseignements prévus à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73. Ces principes visent une situation qui pourrait exceptionnellement se présenter dans les relations constitutionnelles entre le Royaume-Uni et un territoire placé sous son administration. La limitation des renseignements ne peut s'appliquer que lorsque le territoire jouit de l'autonomie dans le domaine social, le domaine de l'économie et celui de l'enseignement.

21. M. ZULOAGA (Venezuela), usant de son droit de réponse, s'excuse d'avoir employé l'expression "double-talk" qui a porté ombrage à sir Andrew Cohen. Il serait en effet plus juste de dire, comme l'a fait le représentant de la Birmanie, qu'en faisant sa réserve à propos du principe X, le représentant du Royaume-Uni au Comité spécial des Six a dit à la fois oui et non. L'explication que vient de donner sir Andrew Cohen ne convainc pas M. Zuloaga. Si l'on accepte qu'il y ait des circonstances où certaines considérations constitutionnelles rendent nulle l'étendue des renseignements communicables, on accepte en fait qu'un Etat Membre puisse ne communiquer aucun renseignement, ce qui contredit le principe X, en vertu duquel certaines circonstances peuvent limiter la portée des renseignements, mais la limitation prévue à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 ne peut pas libérer un Etat Membre des obligations que lui impose le Chapitre XI. Tous les principes énoncés par le Comité spécial se trouvent annulés par cette dangereuse réserve.

22. M. Zuloaga tient d'autre part à appeler l'attention des membres de la Commission sur l'importance des deux premières phrases du principe XI. Cette première partie aurait pu s'appliquer à Malte ou la Nigéria par exemple, avant leur indépendance, car leur constitution leur donnait l'autonomie économique, sociale et scolaire au moyen d'institutions librement élues; mais elle ne saurait en aucun cas s'appliquer aux colonies des deux pays — Espagne et Portugal — qui ne communiquent pas de renseignements. La réserve faite par le Royaume-Uni, à qui la dernière phrase du principe XI aurait cependant dû donner entière satisfaction, peut servir à l'Espagne et au Portugal de prétexte pour ne pas donner de renseignements sur leurs territoires.

23. M. SINGH (Inde), intervenant pour une question d'ordre, demande que le compte rendu *in extenso* de la déclaration de sir Andrew Cohen soit distribué à la Commission aussitôt que possible.

24. Sir Andrew COHEN (Royaume-Uni), usant de son droit de réponse, remercie le représentant du Venezuela de son aimable intervention. Le représentant du Venezuela n'a peut-être pas tort de considérer que le principe XI à lui seul aurait suffisamment tenu compte de la position du Royaume-Uni.

25. M. ZULOAGA (Venezuela) demande que le compte rendu *in extenso* qui sera distribué à la Commission comprenne également la deuxième déclaration du représentant du Royaume-Uni.

26. Le PRESIDENT dit que, s'il n'y a pas d'opposition, le compte rendu des deux interventions du

représentant du Royaume-Uni sera distribué sous forme de document.

Il en est ainsi décidé ^{1/}.

27. M. BAMALLI (Nigéria) remercie les membres du Comité spécial des Six d'un travail qui, s'il avait été fait plus tôt, aurait pu empêcher qu'à l'heure actuelle certains Etats Membres ne violent délibérément la lettre et l'esprit de la Charte et ne se débarrassent aux obligations qu'ils ont acceptées au moment de leur entrée à l'Organisation.

28. Néanmoins, M. Bamalli craint que les principes X et XI énoncés dans le rapport du Comité ne fournissent une échappatoire aux Etats Membres qui refusent de donner des renseignements sur les territoires qu'ils administrent.

29. Il est difficile de concevoir une situation où des considérations d'ordre constitutionnel pourraient limiter la portée des renseignements communiqués sur un territoire donné. Les deux dernières phrases du principe X précisent cette situation; mais, de l'avis de la délégation nigérienne, quand un territoire jouit de l'autonomie économique, sociale et scolaire, tout en continuant à tomber sous le coup du Chapitre XI de la Charte, on peut dire simplement que la puissance administrante lui a délégué certains de ses pouvoirs; la responsabilité ultime n'en continue pas moins à incomber à l'Autorité administrante, et l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements reste valable. On ne voit pas très bien quelles difficultés une puissance administrante pourrait éprouver à se procurer des renseignements auprès du gouvernement d'un territoire semblable. Pourquoi la constitution d'un territoire non autonome disposerait-elle qu'il ne communiquera pas de renseignements au Membre administrant? Une disposition de ce genre impliquerait que ce gouvernement est absolument autonome. Pour éviter que le principe XI n'offre une échappatoire aux Membres administrants qui voudraient éviter de donner des renseignements, M. Bamalli propose de compléter les principes X et XI par la clause que la communication de renseignements ne pourrait être sujette aux limitations imposées par des considérations constitutionnelles que lorsque la constitution du territoire non autonome en question donne le droit de vote à tous ses habitants.

30. De l'avis de la délégation nigérienne, l'Assemblée générale est compétente pour décider si un territoire est visé ou non au Chapitre XI de la Charte. Cela implique qu'un Etat Membre qui serait tenté de déclarer qu'il n'administre pas de territoire non autonome devra se plier à l'opinion de l'Assemblée générale. On a prétendu que cette interprétation donnerait à l'Assemblée générale le droit de discuter la constitution d'un Etat Membre, qu'elle va donc à l'encontre du principe de la souveraineté nationale. Mais la Charte reconnaît déjà, précisément au Chapitre XI, qu'aux yeux de l'opinion mondiale l'administration des territoires non autonomes n'est plus du domaine de la souveraineté nationale.

31. M. Bamalli en vient à l'application pratique des principes énoncés par le Comité spécial des Six. Le Portugal persiste à refuser de donner des renseignements sur l'Angola et le Mozambique sous prétexte que ces colonies sont devenues partie intégrante du Portugal. Le principe VIII affirme que l'intégration

^{1/} Voir A/C.4/452.

à un Etat indépendant doit se faire sur la base de l'égalité complète entre le peuple du territoire antérieurement non autonome et celui de l'Etat indépendant auquel il est intégré. Or, outre que le Mozambique et l'Angola sont géographiquement et ethniquement distincts du Portugal, le peuple de ces territoires ne jouit pas de l'égalité avec le peuple portugais. Moins de 0,1 pour 100 des habitants de ces territoires sont citoyens portugais. Les autres, la loi les appelle "indígenas". On ne peut pas appliquer aux "indígenas" les lois applicables aux citoyens portugais. L'économie du Mozambique et de l'Angola repose sur le travail forcé; 99 pour 100 de la population autochtone sont illettrés; la population africaine ne participe pas à l'administration de ces territoires, et ne bénéficie même pas des garanties les plus élémentaires contre les atteintes aux personnes ou aux biens. Sans permission aucun "indígena" ne peut se déplacer ni exercer une profession; le gouvernement peut lui ordonner ou lui interdire de vendre son bétail et peut le forcer à s'adonner à certaines

cultures. La brutalité des autorités à l'égard des autochtones révolte les consciences. Cependant le représentant du Portugal a eu le cynisme de voter en faveur du projet de résolution relatif à la discrimination raciale dans les territoires non autonomes (A/C.4/L.643 et Add.1 et 2) adopté à la 1028ème séance de la Commission.

32. Pour se résumer, M. Bamalli soutient que les prétendues "provinces d'outre-mer", le Mozambique et l'Angola, ne font pas partie intégrante du Portugal: elles n'ont pas d'institutions politiques libres; les populations autochtones n'y jouissent pas des mêmes droits que les citoyens portugais; elles ne participent pas effectivement à l'administration; leur prétendue intégration n'est pas le résultat de leur volonté librement exprimée. Ce sont en fait deux territoires non autonomes, qui tombent sous le coup du Chapitre XI de la Charte.

La séance est levée à 17 h 10.

ASSEMBLÉE GÉNÉRALE

QUINZIÈME SESSION

Documents officiels

QUATRIÈME COMMISSION, 1036^e
SÉANCE

 Vendredi 4 novembre 1960,
 à 11 heures

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Président: M. Adnan M. PACHACHI (Irak).

POINT 38 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

Etude des principes qui doivent guider les Etats Membres pour déterminer si l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements, prévue à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte des Nations Unies, leur est applicable ou non: rapport du Comité spécial créé par la résolution 1467 (XIV) de l'Assemblée générale (A/4526) [suite]

DISCUSSION GENERALE (suite)

1. M. ALWAN (Irak) rappelle que l'initiative pour la création d'un comité spécial chargé d'étudier les principes qui doivent guider les Etats Membres pour déterminer si l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements, prévue à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte des Nations Unies, leur est applicable ou non a été prise par sa délégation en 1955, après l'admission de plusieurs nouveaux Membres. Le Secrétaire général a adressé à ces nouveaux membres, notamment le Portugal et l'Espagne, des lettres appelant leur attention sur l'obligation que leur faisait le Chapitre XI et les invitant à lui faire connaître s'ils avaient sous leur administration des territoires dont les populations ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes. Ces deux gouvernements ont répondu négativement. La délégation irakienne a par suite estimé que l'Assemblée générale devait créer un comité chargé d'établir les critères permettant de déterminer les territoires auxquels s'applique le Chapitre XI. Ce n'est toutefois qu'à sa quatorzième session que l'Assemblée a créé ce comité.

2. Les Membres administrants, qui ont joué un rôle dominant dans la rédaction du Chapitre XI et dans l'introduction de l'idée d'une mission sacrée, se sont formellement opposés à la création d'un comité spécial. Ils ont été appuyés par d'autres Membres, pour des motifs d'opportunité. L'une des raisons avancées a été que toute proposition de ce genre met en doute

la bonne foi des Membres. Cependant, au sens de la délégation irakienne, l'Espagne et le Portugal, par leurs réponses négatives, mettent en doute la bonne foi du Secrétaire général et de l'opinion publique mondiale. On a également soutenu qu'un examen des réponses des nouveaux Membres serait discriminatoire, puisque l'Assemblée n'a pas examiné les réponses reçues en 1946. Si, cependant, le Portugal était devenu Membre de l'ONU en 1945, l'Angola, le Mozambique et la Guinée portugaise auraient été immédiatement considérés comme des territoires non autonomes auxquels s'applique le Chapitre XI. Une autre raison présentée se rapporte au principe de non-intervention dans des affaires qui relèvent essentiellement de la compétence nationale d'un Etat. On doit toutefois toujours se souvenir que la Charte est un traité multilatéral et que l'Assemblée générale est habilitée à demander aux Etats Membres de remplir les obligations qu'elle leur impose.

3. Un changement remarquable est intervenu à la quatorzième session, alors que de grands événements se produisaient en Afrique. L'opposition s'est beaucoup affaiblie et neuf Membres seulement ont voté contre l'adoption par la Quatrième Commission du projet de résolution qui est devenu la résolution 1467 (XIV) de l'Assemblée générale: succès remarquable et résultat de quatre années d'efforts incessants par les groupes anticoloniaux.

4. A ce propos, M. Alwan rend hommage à M. Espinosa y Prieto, représentant du Mexique, qui a joué un grand rôle en la matière. La résolution doit être mise à son actif comme elle est à l'honneur de la politique libérale adoptée par le Mexique pour les questions coloniales.

5. M. Alwan est certain que, guidés par les principes établis dans la subdivision B de la section V du rapport du Comité spécial chargé de la question de la communication de renseignements prévue à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte (A/4526), les Etats Membres cesseront d'exprimer des opinions divergentes sur l'exécution de l'obligation créée par l'alinéa e de l'Article 73. Il est encourageant de voir que les puissances administrantes et non administrantes représentées au Comité spécial sont parvenues à un accord unanime et que le Comité a interprété la Charte comme un instrument de progrès social et de liberté.

6. M. Alwan se propose d'examiner l'applicabilité des principes aux prétendues provinces portugaises, non à la lumière des déclarations de nationalistes africains de ces colonies, que le représentant du Portugal pourrait juger partiales, mais d'après le rapport du professeur Marvin Harris intitulé Portugal's African "Wards"^{1/}, étude effectuée sous les auspices de l'American Committee on Africa, qui

^{1/} Publié dans le magazine Africa Today, vol. V, No 6, novembre-décembre 1958.

porte sur les questions de travail et d'enseignement au Mozambique.

7. Le principe premier concerne l'applicabilité du Chapitre XI aux territoires qui, au moment de la rédaction de la Charte, étaient alors connus comme étant de type colonial. Tel était le cas des territoires portugais, même au jugement du représentant de l'Union sud-africaine qui, en mai 1945, à la Conférence des Nations Unies sur l'Organisation internationale, déclarait que le Portugal avait de riches territoires coloniaux. De plus, avant 1951, le Portugal lui-même qualifiait de colonies ses prétendues provinces. Lors de la révision de la Constitution en 1951, le mot "colonies" a été remplacé par les mots "provinces d'outre-mer".

8. Aux termes du principe II, le Chapitre XI de la Charte concrétise le concept des territoires non autonomes dans un état d'évolution dynamique vers la pleine capacité à s'administrer eux-mêmes. Toutefois, il ressort nettement de la déclaration du professeur Harris, selon laquelle bien des gens ont risqué leur sûreté personnelle pour lui faire part des conditions dans lesquelles ils étaient forcés de vivre, que, loin de préparer les habitants du Mozambique à une complète administration par eux-mêmes, le Portugal les maintenait sous un régime de terreur.

9. Le principe III fait de la communication des renseignements une obligation internationale et le Portugal ne peut l'éluder tant qu'il est Membre de l'ONU.

10. Le principe IV déclare que l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements existe à l'égard d'un territoire qui est séparé géographiquement et distinct au point de vue ethnique et (ou) au point de vue culturel du pays qui l'administre. M. Alwan s'en remet aux membres de la Commission de décider si ce principe s'applique aux prétendues provinces portugaises.

11. Le principe V ajoute que, si des éléments supplémentaires d'une nature administrative, politique, juridique, économique et historique affectent les relations entre le territoire métropolitain et le territoire considéré de telle façon qu'ils placent arbitrairement ce dernier dans une position diminuée, il y a obligation de communiquer des renseignements.

12. Avant de traiter de la subordination administrative de la population autochtone du Mozambique, M. Alwan pense utile de dire un mot du régime administratif des "provinces d'outre-mer". L'organe central de l'administration est le Ministère des provinces d'outre-mer, à Lisbonne. Aux termes de la loi fondamentale s'appliquant aux provinces d'outre-mer du Portugal, le Ministre a notamment pouvoir de nommer et de révoquer les fonctionnaires des provinces d'outre-mer, au Ministère comme dans les provinces; d'approuver, de modifier ou de rejeter les propositions sur les questions de sa compétence qui lui sont présentées par les gouvernements des provinces d'outre-mer. Dans chacune de ces provinces, un gouverneur détient l'autorité suprême, tandis que les provinces du Portugal métropolitain n'ont ni gouverneur, ni assemblée législative. De plus, la population autochtone des provinces d'outre-mer est soumise à un régime juridique et administratif appelé "indigenato". Selon le professeur Harris, ce régime se fonde sur la théorie selon laquelle la masse des Africains n'est pas prête, du point de vue culturel,

linguistique, moral et intellectuel, à recevoir la citoyenneté portugaise. La présence du Portugal en Afrique est officiellement décrite comme une mission de civilisation destinée à transformer en citoyens portugais la masse des autochtones: méthode appelée officiellement assimilation, qui leur impose de parler correctement la langue et d'adopter les us et coutumes qui sont condition préalable à l'application du droit portugais. Depuis la première loi d'assimilation en 1917, 5.000 Africains du Mozambique seulement, soit moins de 0,1 pour 100 de la population africaine, ont reçu la citoyenneté.

13. L'"indigenato" donne à l'administration pouvoir de contrôler toutes les actions des masses africaines. Il autorise notamment les autorités portugaises à infliger des châtiments corporels aux inadaptés et aux contrevenants: il suffit d'une simple décision administrative. L'"indigenato" permet encore au Gouvernement portugais de contrôler les déplacements des autochtones au moyen d'un livret, que tous les Africains sont tenus de porter à tout moment et sans lequel ils ne peuvent voyager d'un district à l'autre, et du couvre-feu, dont l'inobservation est frappée de peines laissées à la discrétion de l'administrateur. Un troisième trait du régime, c'est la déportation: tout Africain considéré comme indésirable peut, à la discrétion des autorités, être déporté dans l'île Saint-Thomas, terreur des Africains. Un réfugié politique du Mozambique a récemment déclaré à la délégation irakienne que la plupart des indésirables, sinon tous, étaient jetés à la mer avant l'arrivée à Saint-Thomas.

14. Il est évident qu'outre leur subordination administrative au Portugal métropolitain, les territoires lui sont aussi subordonnés politiquement. Un des aspects de la question, c'est la discrimination raciale. Contrairement à la déclaration faite par le représentant du Portugal à la 1028^{ème} séance selon laquelle son pays rejette la discrimination raciale, le statut du 20 mai 1954 concernant les indigènes portugais des provinces de Guinée, d'Angola et du Mozambique porte que sont considérés comme indigènes les noirs qui n'ont pas l'éducation et le comportement individuel et social que demande pour son application intégrale le droit public et privé s'appliquant aux citoyens portugais. Le professeur Harris écrit que ce statut spécial a pour effet de refuser aux noirs, mais non aux blancs, les garanties les plus élémentaires pour leur personne et pour leurs biens. Il ajoute qu'il est étrange qu'un pays dans lequel existe une tradition d'antiracisme et qui l'a largement prouvé dans d'autres régions du monde se consacre, au Mozambique, à l'une des tentatives les plus systématiques et les plus complètes qui aient été faites pour opposer des barrières discriminatoires au bien-être et au progrès social de la grande masse de la population noire.

15. Un simple examen de la loi organique portugaise prouve que la subordination juridique existe aussi. Aux termes de cette loi, le Ministre des provinces d'outre-mer a le pouvoir d'annuler les mesures législatives des gouvernements des provinces d'outre-mer ou les décisions du gouverneur; le régime d'"indigenato" rend impossible la maturité civique à l'extérieur de l'Etat portugais; et l'on ne peut intenter d'actions civiles, commerciales ou criminelles contre le gouverneur ou l'administrateur d'une province que par-devant les tribunaux de Lisbonne.

16. L'existence d'une subordination économique est prouvée par le fait que la Constitution portugaise, la loi organique et le régime de l'agriculture et du travail dans les provinces d'outre-mer imposent aux autochtones des injustices économiques flagrantes. Pour n'en citer que quelques-unes, la Constitution interdit aux provinces d'outre-mer de négocier des emprunts dans les pays étrangers et stipule qu'il incombe à la métropole de déterminer un équilibre approprié entre les besoins de développement et le bien-être des populations des provinces d'outre-mer, d'une part, et les droits et avantages légitimes de la nation portugaise, d'autre part. La loi organique prévoit que les banques d'émission doivent maintenir leurs réserves, leur siège et leur administration centrale dans le Portugal métropolitain, et que le Ministre des provinces d'outre-mer doit autoriser la création, la réouverture et le changement de matériel, ou l'implantation des entreprises industrielles, et approuver les concessions de terrains publics, de voies ferrées jugées d'intérêt public et de travaux publics importants. Le Ministre dirige et contrôle aussi les budgets des provinces d'outre-mer et autorise les transferts budgétaires. Selon M. Marcello Gaetano, ancien ministre portugais des colonies, le Portugal n'a pas accepté sans réserve le principe de la primauté des intérêts des autochtones.

17. Quant aux conditions de travail dans les provinces d'outre-mer, le Code du travail de 1899 prescrit que tous les indigènes des provinces portugaises doivent chercher du travail et, s'ils ne se conforment pas à cette obligation, que les pouvoirs publics peuvent les y forcer. Aux termes de ce code, les hommes et les femmes africains sont obligés de travailler partout où on a besoin d'eux. Selon le professeur Harris, les travailleurs forcés reçoivent dans chaque région un salaire minimum légal allant de 5 dollars à moins de 2 dollars par mois. Les conditions hygiéniques dans lesquelles ils travaillent seraient telles que, pendant les premières années des opérations minières, le taux de mortalité des Africains était aussi élevé que celui des combattants de la seconde guerre mondiale. Dans d'autres parties des colonies portugaises, l'exploitation des Africains se fait en obligeant les paysans à pratiquer certaines cultures. Le professeur Harris dit que l'objet de cette politique est d'attacher le paysan à la terre et de le forcer à planter du coton, qu'il doit vendre à des compagnies concessionnaires — sociétés privées portugaises — à des prix fixés par le gouvernement bien au-dessous du cours international.

18. Etant donné la déclaration du représentant du Portugal à la 892ème séance de l'Assemblée générale, selon laquelle le Portugal a pu ratifier les deux Conventions de l'OIT concernant l'abolition du travail forcé sans modifier ses lois intérieures, M. Alwan voudrait que le représentant de l'Organisation internationale du Travail lui fasse savoir si l'OIT connaissait l'existence de régimes de travail forcé dans les territoires portugais et quelles mesures elle a prises pour y mettre fin.

19. L'alinéa a du principe VII stipule que la libre association doit résulter d'un choix libre et volontaire des peuples du territoire en question, exprimé par des méthodes démocratiques et éclairées. L'examen des systèmes juridique et judiciaire révèle que les autochtones des provinces n'ont aucune faculté d'exprimer leur opinion, parce qu'ils ne sont pas citoyens

portugais. A ce sujet, il est bon de noter qu'aux termes de la Constitution, les fonctions législatives des gouvernements des provinces d'outre-mer sont exercées sous la surveillance des organes en qui réside la souveraineté, c'est-à-dire le chef de l'Etat, l'Assemblée nationale, le gouvernement et les cours de justice — qui sont tous à Lisbonne. Aux termes de l'article 151 de la Constitution, les mesures législatives des gouvernements des provinces d'outre-mer ne peuvent révoquer, suspendre ou contredire les dispositions de la Constitution ou de toute autre mesure approuvée par les organes législatifs de la métropole. En vertu de la loi organique, modifiée par la loi No 2076, si le gouverneur, qui a présidé les sessions des conseils législatifs, n'est pas d'accord avec le conseil, il soumet la question à la décision du Ministre des provinces d'outre-mer. Conformément à la loi organique, la majorité des conseils législatifs des provinces africaines se composent de membres élus tous les quatre ans parmi les citoyens portugais seulement.

20. De tout cela, il résulte clairement que la population africaine n'a aucune place dans le cadre juridique et constitutionnel. On ne saurait douter que la souveraineté portugaise a été imposée aux peuples des territoires africains et que la Constitution a été élaborée sans même qu'ils le sachent.

21. Le principe VIII détermine les critères de l'intégration d'un territoire non autonome à un Etat indépendant. L'application de ces critères aux peuples et territoires de l'Angola, du Mozambique et de la Guinée portugaise mène à certaines conclusions. Premièrement, tous les habitants des provinces d'outre-mer ne sont pas citoyens portugais; la très grande majorité sont des autochtones ou "non civilisés"; dans le Mozambique, environ 1 pour 100 seulement de la population est portugais, dans l'Angola, environ 3 pour 100. Deuxièmement, aux termes de la Constitution et de la loi organique, l'Etat peut obliger les "indigènes" à travailler à des travaux publics présentant un intérêt général pour la communauté, en exécution de sentences judiciaires d'un caractère pénal ou pour régler des dettes fiscales. Troisièmement, le statut de mai 1954 réglemente l'acquisition de droits individuels de propriété foncière par les autochtones, et ces droits ne peuvent en aucun cas être perpétuels et libres. Quatrièmement, certaines cultures marchandes sont obligatoires dans les provinces d'outre-mer, afin de fournir des denrées à la métropole.

22. Selon le livre de James Duffy intitulé *Portuguese Africa*^{2/}, bien que le statut garantisse les terres indigènes, les limites réelles des terres africaines ne sont pas claires; dans le nord-est de l'Angola, les plantations européennes de café ont absorbé certaines terres africaines et dans le Mozambique des Africains ont été déplacés au profit de plantations de sucre. Le même ouvrage mentionne le statut et les droits inégaux des Européens et des autochtones et le fait que tout "indigène" mâle doit posséder une carte d'identité et un livret portant l'état de ses contributions et ses empreintes digitales.

23. Il est manifeste que le régime portugais de colonialisme a dépassé toute autre forme de colonialisme européen. Il ne se contente pas de rechercher

^{2/} Publié par Harvard University Press, Cambridge (Mass.), 1959.

les avantages économiques et politiques, mais s'efforce de détruire le concept même de nationalisme africain. Le régime d'assimilation enseigne à l'Africain à se juger portugais et non africain.

24. Après la traite des esclaves, la conquête armée et la guerre coloniale, le Portugal a placé ces territoires africains sous la férule du colonialisme. La conquête, néanmoins, ne confère aucun droit. La Charte ne reconnaît pas aux Membres de l'ONU le droit de garder leurs possessions. Dans les colonies portugaises, un régime sans précédent d'humiliation et de servitude a été pratiqué avec l'approbation implicite du monde dit libre. Si le Portugal doit être considéré comme une partie du monde libre, il faut chercher une autre définition de la liberté. La délégation irakienne est convaincue que l'humanité est une et indivisible et le Gouvernement irakien considère avec la plus grande appréhension la terreur qui règne dans l'Angola, le Mozambique et la Guinée. Il espère ardemment que d'autres pays partagent cette appréhension, en particulier ceux qui se proclament partisans de la liberté.

25. M. BOUZIRI (Tunisie) rappelle que la question examinée a déjà fait l'objet de longs débats à la Quatrième Commission, mais que, par suite de la politique d'obstruction adoptée par les puissances coloniales, le Portugal en particulier, il a été impossible de formuler clairement des principes à incorporer dans un document que l'Assemblée générale aurait pu approuver. Mais, aujourd'hui, la lutte menée par les peuples opprimés porte ses fruits et le colonialisme en est partout à son déclin. Les puissances administrantes elles-mêmes ont donné leur accord aux principes qui figurent dans le rapport du Comité spécial des Six. La délégation tunisienne se félicite de cette entente.

26. Pour la délégation tunisienne, comme pour toutes celles qui ont déjà exposé leurs vues, le rapport du Comité spécial est clair, concis et riche de substance. Il a sans doute donné lieu à quelques différences d'opinion et quelques réserves, mais elles n'en diminuent pas pour autant la valeur. Sans entrer dans une analyse détaillée du rapport, M. Bouziri désire appeler l'attention des membres de la Commission sur certains passages qui lui semblent particulièrement importants.

27. Il est tout particulièrement reconnaissant au Comité spécial d'avoir souligné la vérité importante formulée dans la dernière phrase du paragraphe 17. Il espère que les puissances coloniales en apprécieront la portée et mesureront la lourde responsabilité qui leur incombera si elles continuent de s'opposer au désir d'indépendance des nations placées sous leur joug.

28. La délégation tunisienne souscrit avec enthousiasme à l'idée exprimée au paragraphe 18, à savoir que la Charte est un document vivant et que l'application du Chapitre XI doit être considérée à la lumière de la réalité politique et de l'évolution actuelle des esprits. La vérité de cette déclaration est confirmée par le mouvement qui s'est manifesté dans le monde entier en faveur de la liberté et de l'égalité. En essayant de l'arrêter ou de le freiner, on s'exposera non seulement à créer des troubles et des soulèvements dans une grande partie du monde, mais aussi à porter un coup sérieux aux principes de la Charte.

29. La délégation tunisienne a minutieusement étudié les principes énoncés dans le rapport. En fait, ils ne sont pas nouveaux, et leur réitération aurait pu présenter un intérêt purement théorique, n'eût été le fait que les puissances administrantes les ont cette fois-ci acceptés et que le destin de millions d'êtres humains dépend de leur mise en œuvre. Tous les principes sont fondés sur le bon sens, mais aussi sur la compréhension et l'interprétation précise de la Charte des Nations Unies et du droit international.

30. S'il reste encore quelque doute au sujet de l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements en vertu de l'Article 73, les principes I et III suffiront à les dissiper; on ne prétendra plus, il faut l'espérer, que la communication de renseignements dépend de la seule bonne volonté des Membres administrants intéressés. Les principes suivants énoncent les critères qui permettent de définir les territoires non autonomes pour lesquels cette obligation existe.

31. Les principes devraient permettre de mettre un terme à toutes les fictions légales inventées par les puissances coloniales et que les territoires anciennement dépendants ne connaissent que trop bien. Ces inventions ne trompent personne et la pression des événements et de la réalité fera un sort au biais par lequel l'Espagne et le Portugal ont transformé leurs territoires en provinces d'outre-mer. Si l'on considère la politique de discrimination raciale pratiquée dans ces territoires, la séparation géographique, et les différences politiques, ethniques et culturelles, il est absolument évident que ces prétendues provinces sont en réalité des territoires non autonomes aux termes de l'Article 73 de la Charte.

32. La Tunisie aurait été heureuse de voir l'Espagne et le Portugal adopter une attitude plus raisonnable et plus conforme à leurs obligations de Membres de l'ONU. Cela n'a malheureusement pas été le cas. Il faut espérer que le rapport du Comité spécial et les principes qui y sont énoncés les amèneront à concevoir plus raisonnablement leurs rapports avec les territoires qui dépendent d'eux et à leur accorder l'indépendance, moyen pacifique de résoudre leurs problèmes coloniaux. Ces deux pays ne doivent pas oublier que l'ONU, qui a la compétence voulue pour trancher la question, ne tolérera plus que l'on néglige les décisions de l'Assemblée générale. Ils doivent reconnaître qu'en persistant dans leur entêtement, leur politique agressive aura de graves conséquences dont ils supporteront entièrement la responsabilité. Ils doivent reconnaître que tous les pays d'Afrique soutiennent les territoires colonisés dans leur lutte contre le colonialisme et qu'ils n'abandonneront la lutte que lorsque tous ces territoires, particulièrement ceux qu'occupent le Portugal et l'Espagne, auront acquis l'indépendance. Ils doivent enfin reconnaître que toutes les luttes des colonialistes contre les peuples opprimés se sont traduites par un échec; celles qu'ils mènent en ce moment sont perdues d'avance et entraînent non seulement des sacrifices énormes pour les peuples opprimés, mais aussi d'immenses pertes humaines, matérielles et spirituelles pour les pays colonisateurs.

33. La délégation tunisienne formulera dans quelques jours sa position sur l'issue inévitable du colonialisme. Elle espère en attendant que la Quatrième Commission adoptera les principes énoncés dans le rapport du Comité spécial des Six et s'emploiera à trouver le

moyen de mettre un terme au défi lancé à l'Organisation par certains de ses membres.

34. M. NOGUEIRA (Portugal) dit qu'avant d'exposer les vues de sa délégation concernant le rapport du Comité spécial des Six, il estime qu'il est de son devoir de rappeler la position prise par son gouvernement au sujet des mesures qui ont amené à la création de ce comité. A cet égard, M. Nogueira appelle l'attention sur le passage pertinent de la réponse adressée par le Gouvernement du Portugal au Secrétaire général (A/AC.100/1, par. 137), conformément à la résolution 1467 (XIV) de l'Assemblée générale, qui précise l'opinion de la délégation du Portugal en ce qui concerne la résolution et toutes les mesures qui en découlent. La délégation du Portugal garde cependant toujours un esprit objectif et elle a étudié le rapport sans idées préconçues. Elle a également examiné avec toute l'attention et le respect voulus les réponses qu'ont envoyées d'autres gouvernements. M. Nogueira fait remarquer en passant que 26 gouvernements seulement ont pris la peine de répondre à l'invitation du Secrétaire général — ce qui semblerait indiquer que le sujet n'a pas éveillé l'intérêt de la plupart des gouvernements des Etats Membres. Enfin la délégation du Portugal a pris en considération le recueil d'avis juridiques et autres documents établis par le Secrétariat (A/AC.100/2/Add.2), le compte rendu des débats (A/AC.100/2) et les divers projets de rapport qui ont précédé la version définitive du rapport.

35. M. Nogueira pense que les membres du Comité spécial estimeront comme lui que la question qu'il leur est présentée porte une fois de plus sur l'interprétation de l'Article 73 de la Charte. En raison précisément du fait que l'Article 73 a été interprété de plusieurs façons contradictoires, le Comité spécial a essayé d'établir un ensemble de principes visant à mettre en œuvre cette disposition de la Charte sans l'interpréter. La délégation du Portugal considère cependant qu'aucune disposition de la Charte ou de tout autre document juridique ne peut être convenablement mise en œuvre si l'on n'a pas au préalable défini son sens et son champ d'application et qu'il ne saurait y avoir accord sur la mise en œuvre s'il n'y a pas accord sur le fond. La question de l'interprétation revêt donc une fois de plus une importance primordiale.

36. Beaucoup d'interprétations ont été proposées en ce qui concerne l'Article 73. Toutes les délégations ont le droit d'avoir leur avis; la délégation du Portugal demande que l'on respecte ses vues comme elle respecte régulièrement celles des autres. Quoi qu'il en soit, il n'en reste pas moins vrai que l'Article 73 est une disposition écrite de la Charte et que toute interprétation, pour être valable, doit être fondée sur celle-ci. Beaucoup de délégations sont tentées de voir dans l'Article 73 tout ce qu'elles souhaiteraient y trouver. La phrase suivante extraite du premier projet de rapport du Comité spécial des Six indique clairement l'attitude de quelques-unes des délégations: "Le Comité a envisagé le problème d'un point de vue pratique tenant compte des réalités politiques de la situation mondiale^{3/}." Un point de vue pratique ou la conception d'une situation politique donnée suppose cependant un jugement personnel et toutes les interprétations sincères sont également valables et dignes

de respect. Néanmoins, elles ne fournissent pas une base juridique ou légale à une obligation quelle qu'elle soit. La délégation du Portugal estime donc qu'il n'y a pas là un point de départ satisfaisant pour l'interprétation de l'Article 73 de la Charte. La seule méthode consiste à se reporter à la lettre et à l'esprit de l'Article 73 et à essayer de préciser son sens sans laisser vagabonder l'imagination.

37. Quelles que soient les vues soutenues par certaines délégations, le Chapitre XI est intitulé "Déclaration relative aux territoires non autonomes". Certains pourront suggérer que le mot "Déclaration" ne doit pas être pris dans son sens littéral, mais dans le sens d'une obligation. Il est possible qu'une interprétation de ce genre soit valable, mais sa validité doit être mise à l'épreuve et à cette fin le Chapitre XI doit être replacé dans le contexte approprié. Après cela, il devient immédiatement évident que le mot "Déclaration" n'a en fait pas d'autre sens que celui de déclaration — action laissée entièrement à l'initiative et au jugement des Etats Membres. La question est donc de savoir dans quel contexte l'Article 73 et le Chapitre XI doivent être considérés et, de toute évidence, ils doivent être lus dans le contexte de la Charte. La Charte indique tout d'abord clairement qu'elle établit trois systèmes différents en vue de favoriser la prospérité des peuples et de réaliser la coopération internationale dans le domaine social, le domaine économique et dans le domaine de l'instruction. Le premier système est défini par les Chapitres IX et X de la Charte intitulés "Coopération économique et sociale internationale"; le second est indiqué au Chapitre XI intitulé "Déclaration relative aux territoires non autonomes"; le troisième fait l'objet du Chapitre XII intitulé "Régime international de tutelle". Ces systèmes sont nettement délimités et les auteurs de la Charte ont souligné les différences qu'ils présentent en prévoyant pour chacun d'eux différentes modalités d'application. Le premier et le troisième système sont appelés systèmes "internationaux"; en d'autres termes, les auteurs de la Charte, en les qualifiant ainsi, ont voulu que la communauté internationale ait son mot à dire dans leur mise en application par l'intermédiaire des organes appropriés de l'ONU. En ce qui concerne le second système cependant, le mot "international" n'est pas utilisé, ce qui indique que le problème est considéré comme étant d'ordre national plutôt qu'international. En outre, la Charte souligne les différences existant entre les divers systèmes en prévoyant un organe chargé de "la coopération économique et sociale internationale", qui est le Conseil économique et social, et un organe chargé de s'occuper du "régime international de tutelle", qui est le Conseil de tutelle, mais elle n'institue aucun organe devant veiller à la mise en œuvre du Chapitre XI. Il n'y a donc aucun doute que, dans la Charte, le Chapitre XI ne comporte ni le même champ d'application ni les mêmes obligations que les Chapitres IX et X, d'une part, et le Chapitre XII, d'autre part.

38. Cette conclusion est confirmée par l'historique des dispositions de la Charte en la matière. Le préambule et l'Article 23 du Pacte de la Société des Nations ont reconnu l'un et l'autre la nécessité d'une action coopérative dans le domaine économique, le domaine social et le domaine humanitaire. Après la seconde guerre mondiale, les auteurs de la Charte ont jugé que, de toute évidence, l'action entreprise

^{3/} Voir A/AC.100/L.1, par. 12.

par la Société des Nations à cet effet devrait être poursuivie et même intensifiée. Par conséquent, dans le préambule et aux Chapitres IX et X de la Charte, on a à nouveau exprimé l'idée que la paix et la sécurité internationales, d'une part, et la prospérité économique et sociale, de l'autre, étaient toujours liées. Pour développer la coopération internationale dans ce domaine, des organes appropriés ont été prévus dans le cadre de l'ONU. Le but et le sens du Chapitre XII, bien que très différents par nature, ont une origine dans une certaine mesure analogue: le système des mandats n'avait pas permis l'établissement des conditions indispensables qui auraient permis à tous les territoires sous mandat d'accéder à l'indépendance et il a donc été nécessaire d'établir pour ces territoires un nouveau type d'administration, sous surveillance internationale, et l'on a ainsi créé le régime international de tutelle. Là encore, il était nécessaire qu'il y ait un organe approprié et le Conseil de tutelle a été institué.

39. Cette thèse peut être également prouvée par une analyse des autres parties de la Charte; chaque fois que la Charte prévoit une action internationale de l'ONU ou une action qui doit être entreprise par des Etats Membres sous contrôle de l'ONU, elle prévoit la création d'organes compétents à cet effet. Lorsque la Charte n'a pas prévu un appareil et des organes, cette lacune provient clairement du fait que les auteurs de la Charte ont estimé que le sujet avait un caractère national plutôt qu'international. Cela est précisément le cas en ce qui concerne le Chapitre XI.

40. Une étude attentive de la Charte confirme ces conclusions. L'Article 13, par exemple, indique que l'Assemblée générale "provoque des études et fait des recommandations" et cet article renvoie expressément aux Chapitres IX et X. Il n'est pas fait mention du Chapitre XI. L'Article 16 traite des fonctions de l'Assemblée générale et indique expressément les Chapitres XII et XIII; là encore, le Chapitre XI n'est pas mentionné. Le Chapitre IX fournit de nouvelles preuves: l'Article 55 mentionne l'ONU; l'Article 56 parle de collaboration avec l'Organisation; en vertu de l'Article 58, celle-ci a le droit d'émettre des recommandations; les Articles 59 et 60 confient à l'Organisation certaines fonctions et responsabilités. Le Chapitre XI ne contient rien d'analogue. En ce qui concerne les Chapitres XII et XIII, l'Article 75 confère des pouvoirs déterminés à l'ONU, l'Article 83 comme les Articles 85 et 87 mentionnent les fonctions dévolues à l'ONU. On peut seulement en conclure que la Charte confère à l'Assemblée générale certaines fonctions et responsabilités en ce qui concerne la mise en œuvre du système international de coopération économique et du régime international de tutelle, mais qu'elle n'en prévoit aucune se rapportant à la "Déclaration relative aux territoires non autonomes". Au contraire, si la Charte mentionne toujours l'ONU lorsqu'il s'agit de questions dont traitent les Chapitres IX et XII, au Chapitre XI il est question surtout des "Membres des Nations Unies"; il leur a donc ainsi conféré, et à eux seulement, les responsabilités et pouvoirs qui dans les deux autres systèmes appartenaient à l'Assemblée générale. Il n'existe même pas, comme aux Chapitres IX et XII, de clause invitant les Membres de l'ONU à coopérer avec l'Organisation en vue de mettre en application les Articles 73 et 74.

41. Il est donc incontestable que les trois systèmes diffèrent complètement quant à leur nature et à leur champ d'application. Des opinions analogues, bien que se situant dans un autre contexte, ont été exprimées à plusieurs reprises au sein de la Quatrième Commission. Déjà en 1947, au cours de la deuxième session de l'Assemblée générale, le représentant des Etats-Unis a dit qu'une distinction nette et fondamentale avait été faite à San Francisco entre le Chapitre XI, d'une part, et les Chapitres XII et XIII, d'autre part. Il a déclaré que, pour beaucoup de territoires non autonomes, la souveraineté ou le pouvoir de juridiction appartenait aux Etats administrants et que rien dans la Charte n'altérerait cette réalité fondamentale. Il a dit, d'autre part, que l'ONU était chargée de la surveillance des territoires sous tutelle. La délégation des Etats-Unis avait estimé extrêmement important que l'on maintienne la distinction nette établie par la Charte entre les territoires et les populations relevant de la souveraineté ou de la juridiction d'un Etat indépendant et les autres. Il avait conclu en disant que les Chapitres XII et XIII modifiaient matériellement le statut des territoires non autonomes auxquels ils s'appliquaient, mais qu'il n'en était pas de même du Chapitre XI et qu'il ne fallait pas s'efforcer d'effacer cette distinction.

42. Pour toutes ces raisons solidement fondées, il est très surprenant que certaines délégations aient déclaré qu'à leur avis les dispositions du régime international de tutelle devraient s'appliquer également au système prévu dans la déclaration relative aux territoires non autonomes. Il est assez curieux que ces mêmes délégations rejettent les conséquences logiques de leur opinion et refusent d'accepter, en ce qui concerne le Chapitre XI, la disposition exigeant qu'il y ait majorité des deux tiers pour les décisions se rapportant aux questions de tutelle et également les dispositions de l'alinéa c de l'Article 77 prévoyant que des territoires pourraient être placés volontairement sous régime de tutelle.

43. Les Articles 73 et 74 sont entièrement adressés aux Etats Membres et eux seuls sont fondés à faire des déclarations en vertu desquelles ils pourraient accepter certaines obligations. Il n'est nulle part suggéré qu'une déclaration, se présentant sous forme de résolution ou autrement, puisse être établie par l'ONU elle-même. De plus, le texte parle des Membres qui ont ou qui assument des responsabilités déterminées. Bien que l'ONU puisse avoir connaissance des responsabilités existantes reconnues par un Etat Membre elle n'a aucun moyen d'apprendre quelles nouvelles responsabilités assume un Etat Membre si ce n'est grâce à une nouvelle déclaration émanant de cet Etat qui a toute liberté de faire connaître des responsabilités nouvelles de cet ordre lorsqu'il le juge bon. En outre, l'Article 73 mentionne les "territoires", mot qui, dans le droit international, n'a pas de signification juridique précise et dont le sens peut beaucoup varier dans un texte constitutionnel. Ce terme n'est nulle part défini dans la Charte et donc, de toute évidence, l'Assemblée générale n'a le pouvoir de préciser son sens qu'en ce qui concerne expressément l'Article 77; en fait, il n'appartient qu'aux Etats Membres de définir le statut d'un territoire, quel qu'il soit, exception faite de ceux qui sont énumérés à l'Article 77.

44. De l'avis de la délégation du Portugal, les travaux de la Commission s'adressent plutôt aux habitants

d'un territoire qu'à la définition du statut d'un territoire. La Charte pose à l'Article 73 le principe de la primauté des intérêts des habitants; cela veut simplement dire que la Charte ne met pas en cause la définition du statut politique du territoire donné par le gouvernement Membre et qu'elle se préoccupe donc uniquement de la situation des habitants.

45. L'alinéa e de l'Article 73 se réfère à deux points importants: la question de la communication des renseignements et la question des réserves découlant des exigences de la sécurité et de considérations d'ordre constitutionnel. La délégation portugaise a étudié la question avec beaucoup d'attention et a tenu compte des opinions qui ont été exprimées tant au sein de la Commission qu'ailleurs, et cette étude n'a fait que la confirmer dans l'opinion qu'elle avait déjà. Il ne fait aucun doute que, ni dans sa lettre ni dans son esprit, l'Article 73 ne contient la moindre obligation précise, si ce n'est celle de faire une déclaration dont les termes et la portée sont entièrement laissés à la discrétion des Etats Membres. Il suit de là que les seules obligations incombant aux Etats Membres sont celles qui découlent de cette déclaration; s'il n'en était pas ainsi, les préceptes énumérés aux Articles 73 et 74 et intéressant exclusivement les Etats Membres ne seraient pas compréhensibles. De fait, en acceptant la pratique établie par le Secrétariat de l'ONU, l'Assemblée générale a toujours sanctionné cette interprétation, et elle n'aurait en vérité pu faire autrement; les gouvernements ont toujours été libres de répondre au Secrétaire général conformément à leur propre interprétation des obligations que leur impose leur propre système juridique et constitutionnel, dont ils sont les seuls juges.

46. Si les réserves d'ordre constitutionnel auxquelles l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 fait allusion résultaient des constitutions des territoires non autonomes eux-mêmes, ainsi que l'ont prétendu certaines délégations, les exigences de la sécurité mentionnées au même alinéa découleraient également de ces constitutions et la responsabilité en incomberait aux territoires non autonomes et non aux Etats Membres intéressés. Ce n'est certainement pas là l'intention de la Charte, puisque les Articles 73 et 74 s'adressent aux seuls Etats Membres, aucune autre entité n'étant reconnue par la Charte. Si, par leurs libres déclarations, les Etats Membres ont assumé certaines obligations en vertu de l'Article 73, il leur appartient et il n'appartient qu'à eux seuls de déterminer, conformément à leurs propres constitutions, les limitations qui peuvent exister. L'interprétation de la constitution d'un Etat Membre relève exclusivement de sa compétence propre et ne saurait faire l'objet d'une discussion par un organe international quelconque; toute autre façon de procéder créerait un précédent dangereux. Les réserves d'ordre constitutionnel s'appliquent de deux manières: elles peuvent limiter la nature ou la quantité des renseignements fournis, lorsqu'un gouvernement est autorisé à communiquer des renseignements, ou elles peuvent interdire à un Etat Membre de fournir des renseignements sur les territoires et les populations dont le statut politique ne peut être défini que par lui.

47. En résumé, la seule obligation découlant des Articles 73 et 74 est que les Etats Membres doivent faire une déclaration définissant l'obligation qu'ils peuvent avoir contractée. La portée de cette déclaration est laissée à la discrétion de chaque Etat, et

des considérations d'ordre constitutionnel peuvent limiter ou empêcher la communication de renseignements. En fait, nombre d'autres délégations partagent ce point de vue, comme aussi du reste de nombreux experts du droit international. En revanche, certaines délégations estiment que la discussion des dispositions de la Charte est inutile et théorique. Le représentant de l'Iran, par exemple, a soutenu qu'après 15 ans, de nombreuses notions juridiques de la Charte sont devenues désuètes et ne correspondent plus à la réalité. Mais il n'est pas possible d'interpréter la Charte au gré d'idées ou de théories particulières: la Charte constitue la loi fondamentale de l'ONU. Il ne faut pas en conclure que la délégation portugaise n'estime pas, elle aussi, que certaines dispositions de la Charte ne répondent plus aux besoins actuels, mais on trouve aux Articles 108 et 109 les méthodes prévues pour apporter des modifications à la Charte. La délégation portugaise admet que la Charte est un document vivant qu'il importe de maintenir en vie; le meilleur moyen d'y arriver est de le respecter et non de le détruire en en déformant les intentions.

48. La délégation portugaise n'est pas seule à avoir cette opinion. Dans un avis consultatif consigné à la page 56 de son Annuaire 1947-1948, la Cour internationale de Justice a déclaré que la question de l'interprétation d'une disposition de la Charte est de caractère strictement juridique. Dans sa résolution 171 (II) l'Assemblée générale a elle aussi considéré qu'il était de la plus haute importance que l'interprétation de la Charte repose sur des principes consacrés de droit international. A la 113ème séance plénière, tenue au cours de la deuxième session de l'Assemblée générale, le représentant de l'Union soviétique, M. Vychinsky, a déclaré que les principes contenus dans la Charte sont apparemment considérés comme une pierre d'achoppement par certaines délégations qui, sous le couvert de divers amendements et résolutions, cherchent à en infléchir l'esprit dans le sens qui leur paraît opportun.

49. M. Lachs, représentant de la Pologne à la Sixième Commission, a dit que le succès ou l'échec de l'ONU dépend de la façon dont elle s'adapte aux besoins de l'heure et que, pour réussir, elle doit refléter les changements qui se produisent dans le domaine du droit; l'ONU ne peut s'en tenir à une conception du monde tel qu'il était hier ou tel que certains voudraient qu'il fût, mais elle doit garder un contact étroit avec la réalité vivante.

50. La façon dont la délégation portugaise interprète la Charte a nécessairement influé sur son examen du rapport du Comité spécial des Six. Le principe premier se réfère aux territoires considérés, au moment de la rédaction de la Charte, comme étant de "type colonial". Ceci n'implique pas seulement que le terme "colonie" a été préalablement défini, mais donne également au rapport une portée beaucoup plus large. De l'avis de la délégation portugaise, il y a là un progrès. En outre, le principe premier semble considérer comme un fait acquis que l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte comporte en fait une obligation de communiquer des renseignements — opinion que rejette la délégation portugaise — alors qu'aux termes de la résolution 1467 (XIV) de l'Assemblée générale, le Comité spécial avait précisément reçu pour tâche de déterminer si cette obligation existe ou non.

51. Quant au principe II, la délégation portugaise renonce à comprendre ce que peut signifier, en

termes juridiques, un "état dynamique d'évolution". Il faut supposer que le mot "dynamique" a été utilisé par opposition au mot "statique", mais, quelle que soit la signification de ces mots dans le jargon scientifique, ils sont entièrement dépourvus de sens dans le langage juridique. Peut-être ce membre de phrase veut-il indiquer que le concept d'un territoire non autonome constitue une réalité en évolution constante vers un certain objectif. Si telle en est l'intention, il confond deux notions entièrement distinctes: le concept théorique de territoire non autonome, d'une part, et la réalité physique à laquelle s'applique ce concept, de l'autre. L'un est immuable, alors que l'autre peut subir une transformation progressive pour aboutir à un concept différent, celui d'un territoire autonome. Toutefois, un territoire non autonome, avant de devenir autonome, et si proche soit-il de ce statut, n'en demeure pas moins non autonome. Supposons par exemple qu'un territoire non autonome doive remplir 50 conditions avant de devenir autonome et qu'il en ait rempli 49, il sera toujours un territoire non autonome. En conséquence, les mots "évolution dynamique" manquent totalement de sens et de pertinence.

52. Comme le principe premier, le principe III arrive à une conclusion en partant d'une hypothèse qui n'est pas discutée, alors que c'est la conclusion même qui fait l'objet de la controverse.

53. En ce qui concerne les principes IV et V, il n'est pas clairement indiqué s'il faut considérer séparément ou ensemble des caractéristiques géographiques, ethniques et culturelles distinctes. S'il faut les prendre séparément, cela signifierait qu'il pourrait y avoir un territoire non autonome voisin ou même situé à l'intérieur d'un Etat métropolitain, pour autant qu'existent des différences ethniques ou culturelles; si ces différences ethniques ou culturelles n'existent pas, un territoire pourrait être pleinement autonome même s'il est géographiquement séparé. Cela pourrait signifier aussi qu'un territoire est non autonome lorsque, malgré la proximité géographique et l'identité ethnique, il présente des caractéristiques culturelles différentes. La délégation portugaise estime que la philosophie sur laquelle repose cette hypothèse offre un contraste frappant avec les plus nobles idéaux de l'humanité. Elle postule en effet que tous les groupes ethniques, si petits soient-ils, devraient constituer des entités distinctes et autonomes dotées d'un pouvoir politique distinct et autonome, et que ces groupes devraient nécessairement être en conflit avec d'autres groupes. C'est nier le fait que les grandes nations progressives du monde doivent à une combinaison de nombreuses races et cultures d'avoir pu apporter leur contribution éclatante à la civilisation, alors qu'une société ne comptant qu'une race, qu'une culture ou qu'une langue peut paraître heureuse, mais est assurément stagnante.

54. La délégation portugaise ne rejette pas en principe les éléments d'une nature administrative, politique, juridique, économique et historique mentionnés dans le principe V; elle croit comprendre que, selon ce principe, si ces éléments n'affectent pas de manière arbitraire les relations entre le territoire métropolitain et un territoire donné et si ces relations ne placent pas ce territoire dans une position diminuée, ce dernier peut être considéré comme pleinement autonome.

55. Dans le principe VI, le Comité spécial semble considérer comme un fait admis que l'accession d'un Etat à la souveraineté et à l'indépendance est une évidence qui s'impose à tous. Or, ce n'est pas le cas; en droit international, la souveraineté est une question très controversée et il faut admettre que, dans la communauté internationale, il existe plusieurs degrés de souveraineté. Il est des Etats, comme Andorre ou Saint-Marin, qui, tout en étant indépendants, ne sont pas pleinement souverains. D'autre part, ces Etats n'entrent pas dans la catégorie mentionnée ensuite dans le rapport, celle de la libre association avec un Etat indépendant, car ils sont eux-mêmes indépendants. Ne seraient-ils donc pas autonomes? De plus, il y a des Etats qui ne sont pas reconnus par d'autres Etats; or, la reconnaissance est inévitablement liée à la souveraineté, car, en droit international, l'entrée d'un Etat dans l'existence légale est marquée par la reconnaissance. D'autre part, il y a des Etats qui ne sont pas reconnus par d'autres Etats, mais qui sont Membres de l'ONU, et des Etats qui, comme la Suisse, ont été reconnus par tous, mais qui ne sont pas membres de l'ONU. La phrase "Etat indépendant souverain" est donc malencontreuse et ambiguë puisque l'accession d'un pays à la souveraineté et à l'indépendance n'est pas un fait dont l'évidence s'impose immédiatement et qui puisse constituer un critère universellement admis.

56. Dans le principe VII, le Comité spécial des Six se contente de décrire une fédération ou une confédération d'Etats. M. Nogueira pense que la Commission est d'accord sur ces deux possibilités; toutefois, une importante omission a été commise: le principe n'envisage pas la sécession d'un Etat ou d'un territoire associé ou confédéré. De plus, le principe VII emploie l'expression "méthodes démocratiques". Ces mots sont difficiles à définir; il existe plus d'un type de démocratie; il existe même des dictatures impitoyables qui s'intitulent non seulement démocratiques, mais populaires. De l'avis de sa délégation, le respect des lois nationales fournit la seule base d'une définition acceptable d'une méthode démocratique qui permettrait aux vœux des populations de s'exprimer.

57. La délégation du Portugal n'a aucune observation à présenter au sujet du principe VIII et est généralement d'accord avec cette partie du rapport; mais, si le principe VIII doit être considéré en même temps que le principe IX, les observations déjà formulées s'appliquent de nouveau. La délégation portugaise s'oppose notamment à ce que le contrôle par l'ONU soit considéré souhaitable dans certains cas. Nulle part la Charte n'envisage un tel contrôle lorsqu'il s'agit des territoires non autonomes, et la délégation portugaise n'est prête à souscrire à aucune violation de la Charte ni à appuyer aucune tentative en vue de faire dire à la Charte ce qu'elle n'a pas voulu dire.

58. La délégation portugaise n'est pas d'accord avec les principes X, XI et XII. M. Nogueira ne répètera pas ce qu'il a déjà dit à propos de la communication des renseignements. Il note toutefois que le Comité spécial a admis que le volume des renseignements pouvait être soumis à des limitations. L'aboutissement logique d'un tel principe, c'est que les limitations imposées par des considérations d'ordre constitutionnel peuvent réduire à rien le volume des renseignements; M. Nogueira se demande pourquoi le Comité spécial n'a pas osé le reconnaître. D'autre

part, si les opinions de ce comité viennent à être acceptées, la voie est ouverte à l'examen et à la critique des constitutions nationales par les divers organes des Nations Unies; en effet, l'ONU ne peut examiner la question des relations constitutionnelles d'un territoire avec un Membre administrant sans examiner également les constitutions des Etats Membres, ce qui, de l'avis de la délégation portugaise, est inadmissible.

59. Il semblerait que les points soulevés par les Articles 73 et 74 ainsi que par le rapport du Comité spécial ne soient que des points de détail; en réalité, la Commission se trouve en présence d'un problème beaucoup plus général et qui présente la plus haute importance pour tous les Etats Membres. La question dont il s'agit est des plus graves et l'activité future de l'ONU est en jeu. La Charte ne donne pas de définition d'un territoire autonome et il s'agit maintenant de décider s'il convient d'accepter une définition juridique ou d'élaborer une définition politique. La Charte fournit deux principes directeurs: celui de la responsabilité des Etats Membres touchant l'administration de tout territoire donné et celui du degré d'autonomie obtenu par ces territoires; en d'autres termes, il existe, d'une part, la constitution nationale d'un Etat Membre et, de l'autre, la situation politique d'un territoire et de ses habitants. Ces deux facteurs sont de nature entièrement différente et ne peuvent être combinés; une définition précise n'est possible que s'il n'y a pas divergence entre les deux critères de base. En somme, la Commission doit soit accepter, soit rejeter le droit national. Une fois que la communauté internationale a reconnu un Etat, elle n'a plus la possibilité de changer d'avis; le droit national — telle est la ferme conviction de la délégation portugaise — n'est pas sujet à discussion. Certaines délégations, lorsqu'elles définissent un territoire non autonome, ignorent complètement le concept du droit national et, selon toute apparence, se laissent exclusivement guider par des considérations politiques: pour ces délégations, les arguments juridiques et l'existence du droit national ne sont que des obstacles au progrès et au développement des sociétés et des populations. C'est là s'engager dans une voie dangereuse, car, si ces pays ne tiennent pas compte des lois nationales des autres pays, un temps viendra où leurs propres lois risquent d'être écartées. Cette attitude mise au service de buts politiques exige que l'on s'abrite derrière une majorité constituée au hasard et animée par des motifs qui, s'ils coïncident parfois, risquent un jour de s'opposer; les Etats intéressés seraient alors en minorité et leur propre système juridique aurait cessé d'être respecté. Il s'agit de savoir si la majorité de l'Assemblée générale a le pouvoir d'imposer ses décisions à un pays

dans des questions relevant de la législation interne de ce pays. La délégation portugaise répond fermement par la négative; l'ONU n'est ni un parlement mondial ni un gouvernement mondial.

60. M. Nogueira souhaite appeler l'attention de la Commission sur une très grave omission qui s'est produite dans le rapport du Comité spécial. Comme on le sait, les questions intéressant les territoires non autonomes ont été examinées en même temps que les questions du colonialisme et de l'impérialisme. Pendant des années, la Quatrième Commission s'est intéressée à un type spécial et limité de colonialisme et d'impérialisme; en fait, la question est plus vaste et devrait englober l'impérialisme d'une nature politique et idéologique. Au cours de ces dernières décennies est apparue une forme de colonialisme nouvelle et plus dangereuse et le rapport a omis d'en tenir compte.

61. En conclusion, M. Nogueira tient à dire que son pays a fait l'objet d'attaques constantes et d'accusations calomnieuses de la part de certains membres de la Commission; M. Nogueira se réserve le droit de répondre et de prendre de nouveau la parole si cela est nécessaire.

62. M. KOUTCHAVA (Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques) fait remarquer que le représentant du Portugal, en essayant de convaincre la Commission que la Charte n'obligeait pas son pays à communiquer des renseignements sur les colonies portugaises, s'est efforcé de citer M. Vychinsky à l'appui de sa cause. Dans le passage mentionné par le représentant du Portugal, M. Vychinsky n'a pas parlé en faveur du colonialisme; il avait demandé que l'on observe strictement les termes de la Charte. C'est là précisément ce que la délégation de l'URSS demande au Portugal.

Expression de sympathie à l'occasion des catastrophes survenues au Pakistan

63. Le PRESIDENT exprime au représentant du Pakistan sa sympathie profonde ainsi que celle de la Commission à l'occasion des deux catastrophes qui sont survenues au Pakistan au cours de ces dernières semaines et des lourdes pertes en vies humaines causées par les cyclones. Le Président demande au représentant du Pakistan de bien vouloir assurer son gouvernement et le peuple pakistanais des sentiments de sympathie de la Commission.

64. M. HUSAIN (Pakistan) remercie le Président des sentiments qu'il vient d'exprimer et dont il fera part à son gouvernement.

La séance est levée à 13 h 20.

ASSEMBLÉE GÉNÉRALE

QUINZIÈME SESSION

Documents officiels

QUATRIÈME COMMISSION, 1037^e
SÉANCE

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Président: M. Adnan M. PACHACHI (Irak).

En l'absence du Président, M. Ortiz de Rozas (Argentine), vice-président, prend la présidence.

POINT 38 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

Etude des principes qui doivent guider les Etats Membres pour déterminer si l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements, prévue à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte des Nations Unies, leur est applicable ou non: rapport du Comité spécial créé par la résolution 1467 (XIV) de l'Assemblée générale (A/4526) [suite]

DISCUSSION GÉNÉRALE (suite)

1. M. LOOMES (Australie) associe la délégation australienne aux félicitations adressées aux membres du Comité spécial des Six chargé de la question de la communication de renseignements prévue à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte pour la bonne volonté constructive dont ils ont fait preuve dans l'examen d'une question très complexe. Car, si l'on s'accorde généralement sur les objectifs du Chapitre XI de la Charte et sur la primauté des intérêts des habitants, les avis diffèrent sur les moyens à employer.

2. La délégation australienne approuve dans l'ensemble les 12 principes énoncés par le Comité spécial dans la subdivision B de la section V de son rapport (A/4526). Elle n'a de réserve à faire que sur le principe IX: elle se demande s'il est bien nécessaire d'insister sur le suffrage universel. L'application des principes, en revanche, pose des problèmes qu'il faudra examiner plus tard et au sujet desquels la délégation australienne se réserve le droit d'intervenir. Le Gouvernement australien a toujours communiqué les renseignements demandés à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73; elle a même donné spontanément des renseignements d'ordre politique et constitutionnel sur le Papua.

3. M. Loomes note avec satisfaction que le principe VI, en reconnaissant pour un territoire non autonome divers moyens d'atteindre la pleine autonomie, tient compte de l'évolution du monde moderne, qui fait que certains petits Etats peuvent — on les comprend — se prononcer en faveur de l'association avec un Etat plus important, étant bien entendu que cette association, comme il est déclaré au principe VII, doit résulter du "choix libre et volontaire des populations du territoire en question". Les dispositions du principe IX qui concernent l'intégration d'un territoire à un autre Etat indépendant sont importantes elles aussi. Mais les principes posés par le Comité spécial sont aussi l'expression de considérations plus générales, à savoir, notamment, que le développement progressif de la capacité des habitants des territoires non autonomes à s'administrer eux-mêmes doit tenir compte des conditions particulières à chaque territoire et des aspirations de ses populations. C'est en se fondant sur ces principes et ces considérations qu'il faut veiller à ce que les territoires passent sans heurt de l'état de dépendance à l'autonomie ou à l'indépendance.

4. M. KOUDRYAVTSEV (République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie) estime que le point en discussion n'est pas le thème d'un exercice théorique, mais un problème pratique dont l'importance immédiate est très grande. Cette importance ne tient pas tant aux principes eux-mêmes, qui ne sont pas une révélation, qu'à la violation par deux Etats Membres, l'Espagne et le Portugal, des dispositions du Chapitre XI de la Charte. Ces deux pays qualifient de "provinces d'outre-mer" des territoires qui ne sont pas autre chose que des colonies. On pourrait s'étonner que l'ONU tolère cette infraction à la Charte, mais l'Espagne et le Portugal ont le soutien d'autres pays colonisateurs membres de l'Organisation du Traité de l'Atlantique nord, notamment des Etats-Unis, du Royaume-Uni et de la Belgique. Aucun argument juridique, en tout cas, ne fera croire à la Commission que les territoires administrés par l'Espagne ou le Portugal ne sont pas des colonies, totalement dominées par la métropole.

5. Les colonies portugaises se caractérisent par leur retard économique. Les faits le prouvent: dans une conférence faite à Lisbonne en 1956 sur le Portugal en Afrique, un conférencier portugais a déclaré qu'il est permis, dans une certaine mesure, de s'inquiéter du retard industriel et économique du Mozambique; un article du *Times* de Londres du 22 juin 1960 constate que l'on a très peu industrialisé l'Angola pour ne pas faire concurrence à la métropole. Ainsi, depuis 500 ans, les colonialistes portugais maintiennent leurs colonies sous le joug pour en tirer les plus grands bénéfices; ils ont, sous le prétexte d'apporter en Afrique la civilisation européenne, sucé le sang des Africains. On sait le résultat de cette "mission civilisatrice" du Portugal: les esclaves, recrutés par des armées de mercenaires et trans-

portés en Amérique, ont grossi les revenus de la bourgeoisie portugaise de la métropole. Cette politique, suivie aussi par les colonisateurs espagnols, anglais, français et autres, a transformé l'Afrique en réserve de chasse à l'homme et coûté la liberté et la vie à près de 100 millions d'Africains. L'humanité n'oubliera jamais les malheurs des peuples coloniaux. Toujours d'après le même article du *Times*, la traite et le travail forcé ont réduit l'Angola à une telle misère que la densité de la population est aujourd'hui la plus faible de tous les pays de l'Afrique noire. Le besoin d'une prétendue assimilation a conduit les autorités portugaises à instituer le système du contrat de travail selon lequel tout Africain âgé de plus de 18 ans est forcé de travailler au moins six mois par an.

6. Dans le domaine de l'enseignement, d'après les statistiques officielles citées par le *Times*, quatre Angolais seulement, sur 4.200.000, ont eu la possibilité de poursuivre leurs études au-delà de l'enseignement secondaire, et les rares écoles, d'ailleurs gérées par des missions, sont réservées aux enfants européens.

7. Or, à l'époque actuelle où le monde entier est las du colonialisme, où des Etats africains de plus en plus nombreux accèdent à l'indépendance, où la vie elle-même impose la nécessité de liquider totalement et immédiatement le système colonial, les colonisateurs portugais s'occupent d'étendre leurs possessions en délimitant les frontières. Ils continuent aussi à pratiquer à l'égard de la population africaine une politique de discrimination raciale fondée sur la théorie de la supériorité de la morale européenne. Cette politique de racisme est sanctionnée par l'article 3 du statut du 20 mai 1954, qui stipule que tout compromis avec les us et coutumes indigènes est limité par les exigences morales et humanitaires et par la primauté des intérêts du Portugal. C'est une atteinte à la dignité des Africains, et les paroles prononcées à la dernière séance par le représentant du Portugal paraissent bien ridicules à côté des souffrances des populations africaines. Sans doute le Portugal jouit-il du soutien des Etats-Unis et a-t-il sa place bien définie dans les blocs militaires occidentaux. Aujourd'hui, pourtant, les événements montrent que les peuples africains sont décidés à tout sacrifier pour gagner la liberté. Ils s'éveillent, prennent conscience de leur force, brisent les chaînes de l'esclavage et chassent les envahisseurs. Aujourd'hui, l'Afrique nouvelle prend naissance dans une lutte terrible, d'une immense portée historique. Les peuples "arriérés" se dressent contre ceux qui se prétendent civilisateurs; les uns luttent pour la liberté et la dignité de l'homme; les autres s'efforcent de leur barrer la route de la liberté. Mais aucun canon ne peut résister à la volonté des peuples.

8. L'ONU doit apporter immédiatement sa contribution à la grande cause de la libération des peuples coloniaux. Elle doit reconnaître que les possessions espagnoles et portugaises sont des colonies, soumises comme telles aux dispositions du Chapitre XI de la Charte. Elle doit adopter le projet de déclaration d'indépendance (A/4502 et Corr.1) dont la mise en œuvre marquera la fin de la domination coloniale et apportera la liberté à tous les peuples opprimés.

9. M. EILAN (Israël) estime que le rapport du Comité spécial est si important qu'il faudra certainement en tenir compte chaque fois qu'il sera question

du statut colonial. Mais il présente aussi une importance historique immédiate, car il montre la responsabilité de la Commission dans ce domaine.

10. En votant en faveur de la résolution 1467 (XIV) de l'Assemblée générale, établissant le Comité spécial, la délégation israélienne avait deux motifs principaux. Elle se rendait compte de l'intérêt pratique des principes quand il s'agirait de déterminer si un territoire est parvenu à l'indépendance. Elle avait, d'autre part, le désir que tout soit fait pour accélérer le processus d'émancipation nationale, notamment en Afrique. Le Ministre des affaires étrangères d'Israël a fait valoir, au cours de la discussion générale à l'Assemblée (897ème séance plénière), que rien n'est aussi avilissant que la dépendance nationale et l'inégalité et rien n'est aussi enthousiasmant que l'indépendance nationale et l'égalité; aucune nation n'a reçu pour mission d'en dominer d'autres; aucune n'a été vouée à être dominée.

11. Le rapport du Comité spécial cherche à interpréter certaines dispositions du Chapitre XI de la Charte à la lumière de l'évolution actuelle. Il faut, s'il est adopté, qu'il fasse autorité en ce qui concerne les obligations des Etats Membres à l'égard des territoires dont ils sont responsables. Heureux de l'unanimité du Comité spécial, M. Eilan souligne que le rapport lie à juste titre la réalisation des aspirations légitimes des peuples dépendants et le maintien de la paix et de la sécurité internationales; la coexistence en Afrique de territoires non autonomes et d'Etats libres et indépendants pourrait en effet provoquer une tension internationale.

12. D'autre part, le Comité spécial s'en est strictement tenu à son mandat. Malgré la diversité des territoires de "type colonial", il affirme dans le principe premier que tout Membre administrant a l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements et, dans le principe III, qu'il doit s'acquitter de cette obligation en tenant dûment compte de la loi internationale. Les principes IV et V définissent les territoires auxquels s'applique cette obligation. En supposant qu'un territoire peut atteindre la pleine autonomie soit par la libre association à un Etat indépendant, soit par l'intégration à un Etat indépendant, le Comité s'est laissé guider, de toute évidence, par certains cas précis, que la Commission connaît, et aussi par un problème qui se pose à elle à la présente session et qui concerne l'application pratique des principes.

13. Les représentants du Ghana, du Libéria et du Venezuela, entre autres, ont attiré l'attention de la Commission sur le cas particulier des possessions portugaises d'Afrique. Bien qu'il n'en soit pas fait mention dans le rapport, il n'est pas douteux qu'il s'agit d'éprouver les arguments du Gouvernement portugais, qui affirme que ces possessions ne sont pas des colonies, mais font partie intégrante du territoire métropolitain. Ces arguments se fondent sur l'amendement constitutionnel du 11 juin 1951, qui a transformé les territoires d'outre-mer en provinces d'outre-mer. Mais il faut tenir compte de la réalité politique actuelle: si l'on doit appliquer au Mozambique et à l'Angola les principes énoncés dans le rapport, on est obligé de conclure que le principe IV fait à priori obligation au Portugal de communiquer des renseignements sur ces deux territoires; de même, on est obligé de constater que l'intégration survenue en 1951 n'a pas satisfait aux conditions énoncées au principe IX et que la popu-

lation des deux territoires n'a pas, comme le stipule le principe VIII, "un statut et des droits de citoyenneté égaux ainsi que des garanties égales". L'Angola et le Mozambique peuvent donc être considérés comme des territoires "de type colonial" aux termes du principe premier.

14. Il s'agit de savoir si le Portugal a ou non l'obligation — juridique ou morale — de communiquer des renseignements sur le progrès social, économique et scolaire de ces territoires. La situation actuelle est dangereuse, car, comme l'a noté le Comité spécial, les obligations assumées par les Etats Membres au titre du Chapitre XI ne se limitent pas à l'Article 73, et le principe du bon voisinage, mentionné à l'Article 74, renforce l'obligation de donner des renseignements. La délégation israélienne exprime donc l'espoir sincère que le Portugal consentira à s'acquiescer entièrement de ses obligations et de ses responsabilités comme l'ont fait, de leur propre chef, d'autres puissances occidentales aussi anciennes et aussi fameuses.

15. M. SALL (Sénégal) déclare que les obligations faites par la Charte aux Membres administrants résultent de la volonté inébranlable de la communauté internationale de conduire à l'autonomie ou à l'indépendance les peuples colonisés. Depuis 1946, plus de 100 millions d'habitants, dans près de 30 territoires non autonomes, ont atteint les objectifs du Chapitre XI; la volonté de décolonisation des 50 Membres fondateurs est donc devenue celle de près de 99 Etats. La Commission peut désormais interpréter plus facilement l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 dans le sens des intérêts des habitants des territoires non autonomes, puisque beaucoup de ses membres ont fait l'expérience de la colonisation et savent que l'indépendance n'est plus une faveur de la puissance administrante, mais une obligation internationale née de la révolution politique des territoires. L'ONU a le devoir impérieux de bannir le système de domination politique, d'exploitation économique et d'humiliation de la personne humaine que représente le régime colonial. C'est pourquoi la délégation sénégalaise est en faveur des principes clairs et logiques énoncés dans le rapport du Comité spécial des Six, car ils pourront permettre de donner à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 une interprétation conforme à l'esprit et à la lettre de la Charte et aux enseignements de l'évolution politique des territoires non autonomes.

16. Le principe IV suffirait à prouver que les possessions du Portugal et de l'Espagne, particulièrement celles d'Afrique, sont des territoires non autonomes et qu'en ne donnant pas de renseignements sur ces territoires, ces deux Etats violent la Charte. La délégation sénégalaise demande solennellement à ces deux puissances d'abandonner leur attitude négative et d'aider les populations placées sous leur domination à progresser sur la voie de l'autonomie et de l'indépendance, dans l'ordre et la paix. Persuadées qu'elles possèdent une civilisation et une culture aussi valables que celles dont se réclament l'Espagne et le Portugal, ces populations obtiendront en effet inéluctablement l'indépendance qu'elles désirent, car le Portugal et l'Espagne ne pourront pas résister à la force extraordinaire du nationalisme africain. M. Sall peut confirmer la rigoureuse exactitude des renseignements fournis par le représentant de l'Irak à la séance précédente, car des réfugiés arrivent chaque jour au Sénégal de la Guinée portugaise et des îles du Cap-

Vert. Radio-Dakar a d'ailleurs organisé à leur intention des émissions spéciales en portugais. L'humiliant régime de servitude que subissent les habitants des possessions portugaises et espagnoles est une raison de plus de veiller à l'application de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 à ces territoires. La fiction avancée par le Portugal ne trompe personne. Comment un habitant de la Guinée portugaise pourrait-il s'identifier à un Portugais, dont le séparent la race, la langue, la culture, la religion et la philosophie? Toute la domination portugaise est fondée sur le principe de la supériorité du Portugais sur l'autochtone. En réalité, la métropole gouverne les prétendues provinces d'outre-mer sans tenir compte de la volonté de leurs habitants, qu'elle considère injustement comme Portugais, puisqu'elle ne les a jamais consultés sur l'opportunité d'intégrer leurs territoires au sien. Les explications du représentant du Portugal n'ont pas convaincu la délégation sénégalaise. Elle votera pour les principes du Comité spécial des Six et pour leur application aux possessions de l'Espagne et du Portugal.

17. M. DE SOUZA-BRAGA (Brésil) déclare que, lors des sessions antérieures de l'Assemblée, la délégation brésilienne n'a examiné que l'aspect juridique de l'interprétation à donner au Chapitre XI et en particulier à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73. C'est qu'en raison de son histoire, et notamment parce que c'est l'arbitrage qui a défini ses frontières, la nation brésilienne croit à la loi et se méfie profondément des exégèses. Elle s'est donc toujours fait un devoir d'aborder avec prudence tous les problèmes juridiques internationaux au cours de la phase de la recherche des sources, celle qu'un célèbre juriste a appelée "une construction de droit". Quand la Commission aura approuvé le rapport dont elle est saisie, la délégation brésilienne se fera également un devoir de respecter cette décision. Il s'agira alors d'une "constatation de droit" et de la défense du texte juridique.

18. Certains trouvent peut-être la délégation brésilienne trop fidèle à ses amis. Mais les Africains sont aussi de ses amis — le Brésil n'est-il pas le pays d'Amérique le plus proche de l'Afrique? — et d'autre part le parti pris ne naît pas ordinairement de l'amitié, mais de la haine. Celui qui déplore un désaccord entre deux amis est souvent celui qui écoute la voix de la sagesse et ne songe qu'à apporter son aide.

19. La délégation brésilienne approuve les principes énoncés dans le rapport du Comité spécial des Six et appuiera ce rapport. Elle espère que l'interprétation qui suivra sera irréprochable. C'est à l'ONU qu'il appartiendra de prononcer sans passion le jugement moral définitif. La délégation brésilienne juge techniquement prématuré de donner son avis sur les diverses thèses avancées au sujet de l'application des principes. Elle souhaite seulement que les projets de résolution dont la Commission sera saisie — et sur lesquels le Brésil réserve sa position — servent réellement à améliorer le sort des territoires non autonomes, et que la décision soit juste et humaine.

20. M. ABIKUSNO (Indonésie) a déjà souligné, à la quatorzième session, qu'en raison des différentes interprétations données à l'Article 73 et des récents événements d'Afrique, il était devenu urgent de rechercher les critères qui permettraient de décider si un territoire est ou non un territoire non autonome. Les 12 principes énoncés par le Comité spécial des

Six sont donc très utiles. Ils semblent confirmer la nature réelle des liens qui existent entre les puissances administrantes et leurs dépendances. Puisqu'ils sont issus de l'accord entre trois puissances coloniales et trois puissances non administrantes, ils devraient constituer un pas en avant vers la solution du conflit qui a opposé ces deux groupes d'Etats Membres. En effet, les puissances administrantes ne semblent plus mettre en doute leur obligation de rendre compte à l'ONU de la politique qu'elles suivent dans les territoires non autonomes. Certaines réserves regrettables permettent cependant de se demander si l'on a réellement réussi à convaincre les puissances administrantes que leur position passée était insoutenable. Seule l'application des principes permettra de juger des progrès réels.

21. Le principe premier montre que la pensée coloniale a considérablement évolué. Il fait en effet ressortir le caractère multilatéral du Chapitre XI, surtout quand on relie ce principe au principe III. Il montre que c'est l'ONU qui doit décider si des territoires de type colonial existent encore et s'il y a lieu de donner des renseignements sur la situation de ces territoires. La délégation indonésienne a d'ailleurs toujours interprété de la sorte le Chapitre XI.

22. Malgré cela, la Commission risque de se retrouver devant les mêmes difficultés qu'auparavant. Le principe X admet en effet que l'autorité de l'ONU est limitée par des considérations constitutionnelles et des considérations de sécurité que les puissances coloniales définiront unilatéralement. Ce principe est donc en contradiction avec le principe III. Alors que le principe III déclare que l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements doit être conforme à la loi internationale, selon le principe X les éléments mêmes de cette loi, tels que l'évolution politique et constitutionnelle, qui ont des répercussions sur la future conduite des territoires dépendants envers l'étranger demeureront de la seule compétence des puissances coloniales. La Quatrième Commission a reconnu au contraire dans de nombreuses résolutions que les progrès accomplis sur les divers plans sont liés. En outre, l'évolution même des territoires non autonomes devenus aujourd'hui indépendants montre combien il est souhaitable que l'ONU soit tenue au courant de l'évolution politique et constitutionnelle des territoires. C'est à elle qu'il devrait incomber de décider dans quel cas il faudra tenir compte des considérations constitutionnelles et des considérations de sécurité. Sinon, à un stade donné de l'évolution des territoires, l'ONU risquerait de se trouver privée de tout renseignement. La délégation indonésienne espère que les principes définis par le Comité spécial des Six contribueront à l'accession pacifique des territoires non autonomes à l'indépendance. Elle a tenu néanmoins à souligner les difficultés auxquelles leur application risque de donner lieu, d'autant plus que ce sont des considérations d'ordre constitutionnel que le Portugal et l'Espagne ont avancées pour maintenir leur attitude intransigeante.

23. M. KABBANI (Arabie Saoudite) rappelle que la Commission a pendant des années consacré de longs débats, où certains opposaient des arguties juridiques aux réalités géographiques et historiques, à l'obligation prévue à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73, avant que l'Assemblée générale décide de créer, par la résolution 1467 (XIV), le Comité spécial des Six. M. Kabbani félicite ce comité du travail accompli et approuve

sans réserve les 12 principes énoncés dans son rapport (A/4526).

24. Les principes I, IV, VII, VIII et IX, ces deux derniers principes étant du reste complémentaires et n'en constituant qu'un seul pour la délégation saoudienne, sont en contradiction avec la thèse de certaines puissances administrantes. Mais il ne suffit pas d'appeler des territoires "provinces d'outre-mer" pour se soustraire à l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements. A cet égard, M. Kabbani s'associe aux observations du représentant de Ceylan (1035^e séance) et de celui du Venezuela (1032^e séance).

25. Les 12 principes énoncés ne se suffisant toutefois pas à eux-mêmes, ils ne prendront toute leur signification que si la Commission veille à les faire appliquer de façon concrète, en définissant clairement et en énumérant les territoires non autonomes sur lesquels les Membres administrants seront tenus de communiquer des renseignements. La délégation saoudienne serait disposée à figurer parmi les auteurs d'un projet de résolution dont tel serait le but.

26. M. MAGHERU (Roumanie) fait observer que le Comité spécial des Six, en définissant ce qu'il faut entendre par "pleine autonomie", établit les critères d'application du Chapitre XI et rend ainsi un précieux service à l'Assemblée générale, mais il ne fait que préciser certaines résolutions déjà adoptées sur cette question de principe. Ce travail était indispensable puisque, depuis 1955, malgré les efforts de la majorité des délégations représentées à la Quatrième Commission, l'Espagne et le Portugal refusent de s'acquitter des obligations qui découlent du Chapitre XI. Les normes établies par le Comité spécial des Six confirment que des territoires comme l'Angola, le Mozambique, la Guinée portugaise et le Sahara espagnol ne s'administrent pas encore eux-mêmes et ne satisfont pas aux conditions énoncées aux principes VI et suivants du rapport du Comité spécial; l'Espagne et le Portugal administrent donc des territoires coloniaux; ils sont donc tenus de se soumettre aux dispositions du Chapitre XI.

27. Que ces deux Etats persistent à nier ces obligations devient d'autant plus grave que le mouvement de libération nationale des pays coloniaux, tout particulièrement des pays d'Afrique, prend une force sans précédent, et qu'à l'ordre du jour de l'Assemblée générale figure l'étude du projet de déclaration d'indépendance. Or les mesures prises dans les colonies portugaises, par exemple, ne vont pas dans le sens de l'indépendance, mais visent à réprimer les aspirations à l'indépendance; on a pu faire état, devant la Chambre des représentants des Etats-Unis, de faits alarmants: déportation et exécution des chefs du mouvement de libération nationale, encouragements officiels à la colonisation en Angola et au Mozambique, exploitation des travailleurs autochtones, châtiments corporels, et discrimination raciale légalement admise. La délégation roumaine est persuadée que la population des territoires portugais et espagnols a droit à l'indépendance au même titre que tout autre peuple soumis à l'administration coloniale, et toute décision que l'Assemblée générale prendra pour proclamer l'indépendance des peuples coloniaux sera applicable à ces territoires.

28. M. ZIKRIA (Afghanistan) déclare que la Charte est un ensemble de règles sagement coordonnées, qui doivent faciliter l'évolution de la communauté inter-

nationale, dans la paix et la sécurité, vers un monde prospère et libre. C'est donc un document vivant, dont tous les chapitres se tiennent et ne sauraient être divisés arbitrairement en entités totalement distinctes. Défendant cette conception réaliste et dynamique, la délégation afghane a toujours souhaité que le Chapitre XI soit interprété conformément au bien-être de tous les peuples soumis à la domination des puissances administrantes, et non dans l'intérêt particulier de celles-ci. Elle a aussi soutenu que l'Assemblée générale elle-même est compétente pour décider des principes qui doivent guider les Etats Membres pour déterminer si l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements prévus à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 leur est applicable ou non. Elle a également voté en faveur de la résolution 1467 (XIV) de l'Assemblée générale portant création du Comité spécial des Six.

29. Le rapport que présente ce comité spécial est d'une clarté et d'une précision dignes d'éloges. Les principes qui y sont énoncés énumèrent en effet tous les éléments qui permettent de conclure que tous les territoires connus comme étant de type colonial sont bien des territoires non autonomes au sens de la Charte. Ces principes marquent une étape décisive dans l'histoire de l'évolution des droits des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes et permettront de réfuter tous les arguments prétendument juridiques que certaines puissances coloniales désireuses de sauvegarder leurs intérêts particuliers n'ont pas hésité à alléguer contre l'opinion de la grande majorité des Etats Membres.

30. Cependant, la délégation afghane n'approuve pas intégralement tous les principes dans leur forme actuelle. Elle fait notamment des réserves sur l'alinéa b du principe IX, où la possibilité que l'ONU contrôle la procédure d'intégration d'un territoire non autonome à un Etat indépendant n'est considérée que comme une éventualité souhaitable dans certains cas. Elle ne saurait admettre en effet que les peuples auxquels s'appliquent les dispositions du Chapitre XI ne reçoivent pas le même traitement que les peuples sous tutelle et a toujours demandé un contrôle efficace de l'ONU dans les territoires non autonomes. Elle rejette catégoriquement l'idée de l'association sans contrôle d'un territoire colonial à un Etat indépendant ou de son intégration à cet Etat, car l'association et l'intégration se sont souvent faites contre la volonté des habitants, c'est-à-dire contrairement aux principes de l'autodétermination et aux dispositions du Chapitre XI.

31. La délégation afghane fait également des réserves à l'égard du principe II, qui ne mentionne comme objectif que la pleine autonomie des territoires et non leur indépendance, malgré la définition de la pleine autonomie énoncée au principe VI. La délégation afghane demande instamment que le terme "indépendance" figure dans toutes les parties de tous les documents qui traitent du sort des populations des territoires non autonomes.

32. Son approbation générale des principes formulés par le Comité spécial ne signifie pas qu'elle veuille prolonger l'existence du régime colonial. Les jours de ce régime sont comptés. Rien n'empêchera les peuples encore soumis de devenir indépendants. Les Membres administrants devraient exécuter consciencieusement les obligations que leur impose la Charte

à l'égard des populations dépendantes, avant d'avoir à s'incliner devant un destin inéluctable.

33. M. DARMAN (Somalie) déclare que, si elle n'a pas participé au débat qui a présidé à la création du Comité spécial des Six, la Somalie, Etat africain, ne peut que prendre intérêt aux principes énoncés dans le rapport de ce comité, étant donné que le sort de tant d'Africains dépend de l'issue du débat de la Quatrième Commission. On a laissé entendre aux nouveaux Etats Membres que le point en discussion est délicat et qu'ils doivent l'aborder avec prudence, voire s'abstenir de participer aux débats. Et pourtant, c'est précisément parce qu'elle est un Etat africain indépendant depuis peu que la Somalie a le devoir de bien montrer ce que l'indépendance signifie pour elle, et il n'est pas de meilleur moyen d'y parvenir que d'appuyer un ensemble de principes ou de résolutions dont le but est de hâter l'évolution de tous les Africains et des peuples encore dépendants vers la pleine autonomie. Abdiquer cette responsabilité reviendrait pour la Somalie à perdre son droit à l'indépendance.

34. La délégation somalie appuie sans réserve les principes énoncés par le Comité spécial, parce qu'ils sont équitables et justes, et respectent à la fois l'esprit et la lettre du Chapitre XI de la Charte. En outre, ils reconnaissent la responsabilité collective des Etats Membres en ce qui concerne l'autodétermination des peuples dépendants. C'est en vertu de cette responsabilité collective que l'Assemblée générale a, par sa résolution 289 (IV), placé la Somalie italienne sous un régime de tutelle qui devait durer 10 ans, avec un tel succès que la Somalie est devenue indépendante cinq mois avant la date prévue.

35. Le représentant de la Somalie s'associe notamment aux observations des représentants du Ghana (1032ème séance), du Mexique (1031ème séance), de la Nigéria et de Ceylan (1035ème séance). Certains orateurs ont indiqué que le Mozambique, l'Angola et les Canaries étaient des territoires auxquels devraient s'appliquer les 12 principes énoncés par le Comité spécial; la délégation somalie pense à d'autres territoires aussi, et se réserve le droit de demander une plus large application des principes. Elle estime que l'Assemblée générale est compétente pour fixer les principes qui doivent permettre aux Membres administrants de déterminer à propos de quels territoires il y a obligation de communiquer des renseignements. La délégation somalie votera donc pour l'approbation du rapport du Comité spécial des Six.

36. M. AZNAR (Espagne), prenant la parole sur une question d'ordre, fait observer au représentant de la Somalie qu'aucun orateur n'a prétendu faire figurer les Canaries parmi les territoires auxquels seraient applicables les dispositions de l'Article 73.

37. M. NOGUEIRA (Portugal) demande si, conformément à la pratique établie, le Secrétariat a déjà écrit aux nouveaux Etats Membres pour leur demander s'ils administrent des territoires auxquels s'appliqueraient les dispositions du Chapitre XI de la Charte, et si, dans l'affirmative, les nouveaux Etats Membres ont déjà fait parvenir leur réponse.

38. M. KUNST (Secrétaire de la Commission) déclare que le Secrétariat n'a pas encore eu le temps d'envoyer cette demande aux nouveaux Etats Membres.

39. M. DIALLO (Mali), représentant d'un nouvel Etat Membre, estime peu courtois de la part du représen-

tant du Portugal de laisser entendre que les 16 Etats qui viennent d'entrer à l'Organisation pourraient avoir des colonies. Ces Etats, en majorité africains, peuvent en effet s'enorgueillir de n'avoir jamais fait preuve de racisme.

40. M. NOGUEIRA (Portugal) a fait simplement usage de son droit le plus strict, dit-il, en demandant au Secrétariat s'il a suivi une pratique établie.

41. M. BOUZIRI (Tunisie) fait observer que le représentant du Portugal n'a sans doute pas voulu manquer de courtoisie, mais a posé sa question de manière tendancieuse, de sorte que les Etats africains ont pu à juste titre se sentir blessés, et c'est en ce sens que le représentant de la Tunisie s'élève avec le représentant du Mali contre ce qui peut jeter la suspicion sur les nouveaux Etats africains. La question posée par le représentant du Portugal est conforme à la politique colonialiste de son gouvernement.

Déclarations des représentants du Mali et du Libéria

42. M. DIALLO (Mali) demande au Président de la Commission de se faire l'interprète du Mali pour exprimer ses condoléances à la famille de M. Félix-Roland Moumié qui vient de mourir empoisonné à Genève.

43. Mlle BROOKS (Libéria) s'associe à cet hommage rendu à la mémoire de M. Moumié, et tient aussi à rendre hommage à la mémoire de M. John Kale, qui a également beaucoup lutté pour la libération de l'Afrique.

44. La représentante du Libéria annonce que le Gouvernement éthiopien et le Gouvernement libérien ont intenté devant la Cour internationale de Justice une action contre l'Union sud-africaine.

45. Le PRESIDENT prend acte des déclarations des représentants du Mali et du Libéria.

La séance est levée à 17 h 35.

ASSEMBLÉE GÉNÉRALE

QUINZIÈME SESSION

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Président: M. Adnan M. PACHACHI (Irak).

POINT 38 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

Etude des principes qui doivent guider les Etats Membres pour déterminer si l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements, prévue à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte des Nations Unies, leur est applicable ou non: rapport du Comité spécial créé par la résolution 1467 (XIV) de l'Assemblée générale (A/4526) [suite]

DISCUSSION GENERALE (suite)

1. M. BLUSZTAJN (Pologne) se demande pourquoi le représentant du Portugal a jugé nécessaire de faire un si long exposé juridique devant la Commission à la 1036^{ème} séance, puisque, à ses yeux, la question en discussion n'intéressait pas directement son pays. Serait-ce que le Portugal a non seulement une mission civilisatrice en Afrique, mais aussi une mission éducatrice à l'ONU? Penserait-il être le seul véritable défenseur du droit international et de la Charte? Cette défense serait plus convaincante si elle était plus désintéressée. Les arguments présentés ne sont pas nouveaux. Ils ont déjà été rejetés par la plupart des Membres de l'ONU et par la majorité des théoriciens du droit international et des commentateurs de la Charte. Ils sont en outre en contradiction évidente avec toute la pratique suivie par l'Assemblée générale.

2. Le représentant du Portugal a cité à l'appui de sa thèse diverses opinions juridiques, dont celle de M. Vychinsky. Or ces opinions tendent toutes, au contraire, à prouver que l'ONU ne peut exister que si ses membres se conforment aux dispositions de la Charte et à prouver que cette dernière, loin d'avoir été conçue comme un moyen de prolonger l'ordre colonial, vise notamment à la libération de tous les peuples colonisés, par l'exercice du droit à l'autodétermination. Elles tendent également à prouver que l'Organisation a pour tâche d'appliquer les règles du droit international dans l'intérêt de la paix et du progrès. Ni l'Organisation ni le droit international ne sont des fins en soi, mais résultent de l'évolution

sociale et historique du monde, et doivent permettre d'apporter des solutions convenables aux problèmes internationaux.

3. Le titre abstrait de la question inscrite à l'ordre du jour ne doit pas faire illusion. Il ne s'agit pas de s'attacher à des discussions théoriques ni d'augmenter une documentation déjà volumineuse, mais il s'agit de résoudre les problèmes pratiques que pose le refus de deux Etats de se conformer aux obligations de la Charte et de communiquer des renseignements sur des territoires d'outre-mer qui présentent toutes les caractéristiques de colonies. C'est sans enthousiasme que la délégation polonaise avait voté pour la résolution 1467 (XIV) de l'Assemblée générale qui créait le Comité spécial des Six chargé de la question de la communication de renseignements prévue à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte, car elle était convaincue que le problème aurait dû être résolu depuis longtemps et que les conclusions du Comité ne feraient que confirmer ses propres opinions. Est-il besoin, en effet, de prouver que la Charte est un traité international multilatéral dont tous les chapitres sont une source de droits et d'obligations pour tous les Etats Membres de l'Organisation, quelle que soit la date de leur admission? Faut-il encore prouver que toutes les dispositions de la Charte ont un caractère obligatoire quel que soit le titre du chapitre dont elles relèvent? Est-il encore possible de nier que les problèmes coloniaux préoccupent la communauté internationale et ont donc cessé d'être de la compétence exclusive des puissances administrantes? Aucun artifice d'interprétation ne peut faire oublier que les principes de la mission sacrée des puissances administrantes et de la primauté des intérêts des habitants des territoires seront lettre morte si l'on juge la politique de ces puissances d'après l'idée qu'elles se font du bonheur des peuples colonisés et non d'après les véritables aspirations de ces peuples. Des réformes constitutionnelles unilatérales ne suffisent pas à modifier le caractère d'une politique dont les fondements restent les mêmes puisque toutes les informations dont on dispose confirment la situation tragique des habitants des territoires espagnols et portugais. Ce n'est pas par de tels procédés que les Gouvernements de l'Espagne et du Portugal feront de ces habitants des Espagnols et des Portugais. De toute manière, même si cette politique pouvait réussir, ce qui est fort douteux, elle serait condamnable, car nul n'a le droit de s'arroger le pouvoir d'imposer à un autre peuple sa religion, sa culture et son mode de vie. La politique d'assimilation est une escroquerie: elle ne vise jamais à l'égalité entre colonisateur et colonisé, mais au maintien de la domination de l'un sur l'autre.

4. La délégation polonaise ne juge pas nécessaire d'examiner en détail les principes énoncés dans la subdivision B de la section V du rapport du Comité spécial des Six (A/4526), car il ne s'agit plus désor-

mais de rechercher si tel ou tel pays doit ou non communiquer des renseignements sur ses colonies, mais de se prononcer solennellement en faveur de la suppression du colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et de la libération immédiate de tous les peuples colonisés, y compris ceux qui l'ont été par l'Espagne et le Portugal.

M. Ortiz de Rozas (Argentine), vice-président, prend la présidence.

5. M. CABA (Guinée) note qu'à partir des facteurs approuvés par l'Assemblée générale dans sa résolution 742 (VIII), le Comité spécial des Six a établi 12 principes qui arrêtent définitivement l'interprétation juridique qu'il faut donner à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte et qui s'appliquent à certains pays d'Afrique encore soumis à la domination portugaise, espagnole ou britannique.

6. Ceux qui continuent à défendre l'idée de l'intégration ou de l'assimilation de prétendues provinces d'outre-mer se heurteront au critère de la séparation géographique, qui figure au principe IV énoncé par le Comité spécial. Dans ces territoires, tous les pouvoirs, législatif, exécutif et judiciaire, sont détenus par la métropole. Devant l'essor d'un nationalisme africain irrésistible, certaines puissances ont voulu attribuer à leurs colonies le statut fictif de provinces d'outre-mer en leur octroyant unilatéralement des constitutions qui ne peuvent cependant engager les populations intéressées. Un référendum qui serait organisé sur la question de l'association, de l'assimilation ou de l'intégration, en Angola, au Mozambique, en Guinée portugaise, aux îles du Cap-Vert, au Rio de Oro, en Guinée espagnole, prouverait que, géographiquement, politiquement, économiquement, ces populations n'ont rien de commun avec le Portugal ou l'Espagne. A ce propos, M. Caba renvoie les membres de la Commission au principe VII du Comité spécial des Six.

7. La situation économique et sociale dans les territoires sous domination portugaise, espagnole et britannique est caractérisée par un sous-développement particulièrement accentué. Au fur et à mesure que s'accroît le progrès technique et industriel des métropoles, le déséquilibre économique s'aggrave dans leurs colonies. Sur ce point, M. Caba précise qu'en Angola, par exemple, les quatre cinquièmes des plantations de café appartiennent aux colons et que l'administration coloniale fixe à des niveaux très bas les prix des produits de l'agriculture indigène, supprime le commerce d'échange, n'apporte aucune assistance technique effective, expulse systématiquement les Africains des terres les plus fertiles, confisque les outils agricoles sous prétexte que les cultivateurs ne s'acquittent pas de l'impôt. La sous-alimentation est grave. Dans la plupart des territoires, on compte moins d'un médecin par 100.000 habitants. D'après les renseignements communiqués par l'OMS, par exemple, la mortalité infantile parmi les Angolais dépasse 40 pour 100. Dans l'île Saint-Thomas, le taux de mortalité est le plus élevé du monde. Les populations sont délibérément maintenues dans l'ignorance. On leur impose des langues étrangères de façon à entraver le développement des langues nationales, l'épanouissement des arts autochtones, la formation d'une conscience nationale. Le Gouvernement portugais donne aussi l'exemple le plus frappant d'une discrimination raciale érigée en loi constitutionnelle en distinguant en Angola cinq catégories d'habitants:

les Portugais nés au Portugal, les Portugais nés en Angola ou ailleurs en Afrique, les mulâtres, les noirs assimilés qui constituent une infime minorité, et les autres noirs, c'est-à-dire l'immense majorité. Ces conditions d'existence ainsi définies, M. Caba demande au représentant du Portugal combien d'Angolais siègent sur un pied d'égalité avec les Portugais au Parlement métropolitain, alors que dans les colonies portugaises seuls les citoyens portugais ont le droit de vote.

8. M. Caba signale en outre que, devant les revendications nationalistes des mouvements clandestins, le Gouvernement portugais a mobilisé tout un appareil militaire et répressif dans ses colonies et, à titre d'action préventive, multiplie les patrouilles, renforce l'installation de forces aériennes, fortifie les postes frontaliers importants et doit porter prochainement l'effectif des troupes portugaises en Angola à 60.000 hommes.

9. Les Africains continuent à lutter pour leur indépendance et les autorités portugaises prennent des mesures de répression souvent sanglantes, comme elles l'ont fait en février 1953 où des milliers d'Africains ont été massacrés, ou bien en août 1959 où une trentaine de personnes ont été tuées en Guinée dite portugaise. Des mouvements politiques se sont cependant constitués, dont le plus connu est le Mouvement populaire de libération de l'Angola, auquel appartiennent la plupart des 57 inculpés du procès de Luanda. Dans tous les pays sous domination portugaise, les patriotes réclament avec de plus en plus de force la reconnaissance immédiate du droit des peuples à l'indépendance nationale, l'amnistie totale et inconditionnelle ainsi que la libération immédiate de tous les prisonniers politiques, l'établissement des libertés publiques et de garanties de leur exercice, le retrait immédiat des forces armées portugaises et la liquidation des bases militaires existant sur les territoires, et enfin la convocation, d'ici à la fin de 1960, d'une conférence de la "table ronde" où seraient représentés tous les partis politiques des différents pays et le Gouvernement portugais, en vue de la recherche d'une solution pacifique du problème colonial dans les prétendues provinces d'outre-mer, et cela dans l'intérêt de toutes les parties en présence, et surtout dans l'intérêt du Gouvernement portugais.

10. Pour la délégation guinéenne, il ne fait donc aucun doute que les territoires administrés par le Portugal, l'Espagne et le Royaume-Uni subissent une domination étrangère et que le principe V énoncé par le Comité spécial des Six s'applique à ces territoires. M. Caba constate que, malgré les faits, le Gouvernement espagnol, le Gouvernement français et le Gouvernement portugais ont, comme il sied à des puissances coloniales, exprimé des vues identiques sur l'obligation de communiquer les renseignements prévus à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte et se déclarent seuls compétents pour tout ce qui touche à des territoires qui sont sous leur entière souveraineté. Ces trois puissances admettent que la Charte a pour souci principal le bien-être et le progrès des peuples, mais elles estiment que le statut juridique et politique d'un territoire n'entre en ligne de compte que dans la mesure où la situation de sa population est en cause. Ainsi, des faits patents comme le travail forcé, le trafic officiel de plus de 400.000 Africains envoyés chaque année dans les mines de Rhodésie et d'Afrique du Sud, le massacre de plus de 1.000 noirs

dans l'île Saint-Thomas en février 1953, le douloureux drame algérien, le taux effrayant de la mortalité infantile dans les îles du Cap-Vert ne mettraient donc pas en cause la situation des populations intéressées.

11. M. MAX (France), prenant la parole sur une question d'ordre, rappelle que la Commission ne discute pas de la question de l'Algérie.

12. M. ALWAN (Irak) fait observer que le représentant de la Guinée a mentionné l'Algérie au cours d'observations d'ordre général sur le colonialisme, ce qui ne lui semble pas devoir donner lieu à un rappel à l'ordre.

13. Le PRESIDENT rappelle que les orateurs doivent limiter leurs observations à la question inscrite à l'ordre du jour, mais que le représentant de la Guinée n'a en effet pas invoqué l'Algérie à propos du fond de la discussion.

14. M. MAX (France), prenant la parole sur une question d'ordre, réitère son observation.

15. M. CABA (Guinée), poursuivant sa déclaration, constate que les puissances coloniales invoquent souvent les clauses restrictives qui figurent à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte, en oubliant que ces clauses ne peuvent porter que sur le volume des renseignements sur les questions sociales, économiques et de l'enseignement qui doivent être communiquées et que l'obligation de communiquer ces renseignements subsiste. De même subsiste l'obligation qui incombe aux Membres administrants d'aider les populations dans leur évolution progressive vers l'autonomie.

16. Le représentant de la Guinée estime que la Quatrième Commission et l'Assemblée générale doivent adopter sans équivoque les principes énoncés par le Comité spécial des Six, qui permettront d'établir que: premièrement, le Rio de Oro, le territoire d'Ifni, la Guinée espagnole, l'île de Fernando Poo et le Rio Muni sont des territoires non autonomes sous domination espagnole; deuxièmement, la Guinée dite portugaise, l'Angola, le Mozambique, l'archipel du Cap-Vert, l'enclave de Cabinda, les îles Saint-Thomas et du Prince, Saint-Jean-Baptiste de Ouidah, Goa et dépendances, Macao et dépendances, Timor et dépendances sont des territoires non autonomes sous domination portugaise; troisièmement, la Rhodésie du Sud, le Betchouanaland, le Bassoutoland, le Souaziland et l'île de Zanzibar sont des territoires non autonomes sous domination du Royaume-Uni. Le Portugal, l'Espagne, le Royaume-Uni, qui seraient donc tenus de communiquer des renseignements sur ces territoires, soutiennent que l'Assemblée générale n'est pas compétente pour exiger des Etats Membres qu'ils commencent à communiquer des renseignements; l'Assemblée générale a pourtant déclaré au dernier alinéa du préambule des résolutions 748 (VIII) et 849 (IX) qu'elle était compétente "pour décider si un territoire non autonome a atteint ou non l'autonomie complète visée au Chapitre XI de la Charte". L'Assemblée générale est donc de ce fait également compétente pour décider du moment où des Membres administrants devraient commencer à communiquer les renseignements en question. M. Caba rappelle également que l'Assemblée générale avait décidé de ne pas exiger la majorité des deux tiers pour les votes sur des questions portant sur les renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes et peut donc prendre une décision à la majorité simple des Etats Membres pour

inviter le Portugal, l'Espagne et le Royaume-Uni à s'acquitter des obligations qui découlent de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte.

17. Le représentant de la Guinée souligne que cette décision est d'autant plus urgente que les peuples des pays colonisés sont plus que jamais résolus à briser le joug colonial et que seules doivent compter désormais la volonté des peuples intéressés et leurs aspirations légitimes à l'indépendance nationale. Le Portugal, l'Espagne, le Royaume-Uni et la France ne pourront de toute manière pas faire échec aux mouvements de libération nationale et, en ce sens, l'examen du rapport du Comité spécial des Six est déjà dépassé par les événements, puisque l'Assemblée générale est saisie d'un projet de déclaration réclamant l'indépendance des peuples des territoires coloniaux (A/4502 et Corr.1). Les puissances coloniales auraient grand intérêt à abandonner leurs positions coloniales en Afrique avant qu'il ne soit trop tard.

M. Pachachi (Irak) reprend la présidence.

18. M. NOGUEIRA (Portugal) se réserve le droit de répondre au représentant de la Guinée lorsqu'il aura pu étudier le texte de sa déclaration, mais il lui demande de préciser le numéro et la date de la loi portugaise qui, d'après lui, aurait créé en Angola cinq catégories d'habitants.

19. M. CABA (Guinée) assure au représentant du Portugal qu'il a étayé sa déclaration sur des archives, des documents officiels, des statistiques, qu'il tient à sa disposition. Il ajoute que l'institution de cinq catégories d'habitants en Angola n'est qu'une mesure discriminatoire parmi beaucoup d'autres.

20. M. AZNAR (Espagne) considère que le présent débat aurait dû lui offrir une occasion de prouver la ferme résolution de la délégation espagnole de prendre part aux travaux de l'ONU et de collaborer à la tâche commune prévue dans la Charte. Deux raisons ont dû le contraindre à changer de plan et à ne pas prononcer les paroles qu'il aurait voulu prononcer. D'une part, le représentant du Portugal a analysé en détail à la 1036ème séance, dans un discours remarquable, la portée et la signification de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte, et il serait difficile de rivaliser avec son argumentation; il est regrettable cependant que les passions politiques qui dominent la discussion empêchent la Commission de se livrer à une étude approfondie du problème juridique exposé par le représentant du Portugal. D'autre part, l'attitude intransigeante de ceux qui se refusent à examiner le fond du problème pour n'en voir que les aspects superficiels peut entraîner de graves conséquences pour la coexistence, au sein de l'ONU, de délégations d'opinions divergentes et porter la guerre froide dans le cadre de la Commission elle-même. Derrière le paravent des citations, des chiffres et des statistiques, on se trouve en présence de ce qui n'est pas autre chose qu'une campagne politique acharnée et furieuse, là où l'on ne devrait trouver qu'équilibre et sérénité.

21. La Commission est saisie du rapport du Comité spécial des Six dont l'étude est, semble-t-il, inscrite à son ordre du jour. Dans une section capitale de ce rapport sont énoncés les principes qui doivent guider les Etats Membres pour déterminer si l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements, prévue à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte, leur est appli-

cable ou non. La délégation espagnole, après avoir étudié avec soin le rapport et les principes, pensait en toute bonne foi que les membres de la Commission, faisant abstraction de leur position politique, examineraient ce code de conduite, cette brève charte fondamentale des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes. Or, jusqu'au stade actuel de la discussion, la Commission s'est divisée en trois groupes: d'un côté, les délégations qui estiment utile d'examiner les principes sans discuter encore de leurs applications pratiques; d'un autre côté, les délégations qui se sont bornées à ne vouloir examiner que l'application pratique des principes; enfin, les délégations qui maintiennent qu'il est vain d'engager un débat dont le résultat est connu d'avance. Pour ces dernières délégations, tout argument nouveau, toute déclaration nouvelle des représentants de l'Espagne ou du Portugal sont rejetés à l'avance sous prétexte que la Commission n'a pas à perdre son temps en arguties juridiques.

22. Mais, hormis quelques délégations, la Commission s'est-elle posé sérieusement la question de savoir si les principes énoncés par le Comité spécial sont conformes à la raison, s'ils répondent aux réalités historiques et juridiques du problème, s'ils correspondent aux principes fondamentaux du droit international? A-t-elle élucidé suffisamment la question de savoir si ces principes servent vraiment les principes inscrits dans la Charte? Absolument pas. Sans doute le représentant du Salvador, en proposant la clôture du débat à la 1033ème séance, a-t-il voulu seulement attirer l'attention de la Commission sur la nécessité de faire porter la discussion sur les principes énoncés; sans doute le représentant de la Bolivie a-t-il soulevé à la même séance des problèmes d'interprétation de droit constitutionnel; sans doute, dans sa déclaration à la 1035ème séance, le représentant de la Tchécoslovaquie a-t-il abordé la question de la façon souhaitée par la délégation espagnole et n'a-t-il cité d'exemples précis qu'en se préoccupant du fond du problème. Certes, en présentant le rapport du Comité spécial (1031ème séance), les représentants du Mexique et de l'Inde ont fait preuve, comme à l'accoutumée, d'un esprit élevé. Il n'en reste pas moins que le rapport du Comité spécial et la série des 12 principes ont été loués en termes très généraux, comme par courtoisie.

23. La délégation espagnole, pour sa part, tient à féliciter le Comité spécial dont divers membres ont dû renoncer à certaines idées et abandonner certaines convictions personnelles profondes; mais ce sacrifice a amené le Comité à s'abriter derrière toute une série d'expressions très vagues réparties dans un cadre imprécis et sujettes aux interprétations les plus diverses. Lorsque le représentant de la Bolivie a fait état des polémiques sur le concept de "nation", mentionné au paragraphe 17 du rapport, on lui a répliqué que c'était là un thème de divertissement rhétorique; de même, quand le Comité spécial déclare au paragraphe 18 de son rapport que "la Charte est un document vivant et l'application du Chapitre XI doit être considérée à la lumière de la réalité politique et de l'évolution actuelle des esprits", on peut se demander à qui s'adresse cette découverte et s'il faut en conclure que la Commission peut modifier la Charte justement pour la rendre conforme à la "réalité politique". Quand on sait à quel point la constitution d'un pays est protégée contre toute violation, comment des modifications éventuelles sont

prévues par une procédure soigneusement réglée, on ne peut que se demander ce qu'il adviendrait si un groupe majoritaire pouvait, sans obstacle, l'interpréter dans un sens favorable à ses intérêts. Qui, d'autre part, va définir "l'évolution actuelle des esprits"? En vérité, quand le Comité spécial estime, au paragraphe 20 de son rapport, que les principes doivent s'appliquer "à la lumière des faits et des circonstances particulières à chaque cas individuel", il ouvre la porte à toutes les interprétations possibles. Son rapport n'est donc, de toute évidence, que l'expression d'un idéal très élevé, mais très difficile à réaliser.

24. La Charte est catégorique. Si l'on admet que son texte est mal adapté à la pensée de ses auteurs, il faut alors l'amender et une procédure est prévue à cette fin; cette révision de la Charte est peut-être souhaitable, mais il ne peut être question d'en modifier l'esprit. Or le Comité spécial a jugé, au principe IV, qu'à priori, il y a une obligation de communiquer des renseignements à l'égard d'un territoire qui est séparé géographiquement et distinct au point de vue ethnique et au point de vue culturel du pays qui l'administre. Sur quoi repose donc ce critère de la séparation géographique? Pourquoi a-t-il été introduit dans ce principe? Quelle largeur doit avoir cette séparation: s'agit-il d'un canal ou d'un océan? On voit à quels dangers peut conduire une interprétation trop abusive de ce principe. Cependant, le Comité spécial a encore jugé bon d'ajouter aux distinctions géographiques, ethniques et culturelles d'autres éléments de nature "administrative, politique, juridique, économique et historique" (principe V). Qui donc va définir les divers éléments énoncés dans ces deux principes: la Commission, le Comité spécial, un tribunal, un organe suprême? Il y aurait tout lieu de craindre, si l'on devait prendre ces divers critères en considération, pour l'indépendance, la liberté et la souveraineté des Etats.

25. Une majorité d'Etats Membres pourra bien approuver les principes énoncés par le Comité spécial, pourtant, la Commission n'aura pas examiné le fond du problème, sans doute parce qu'une fois l'élément politique écarté, il ne subsiste du document que l'effort fait par les rédacteurs pour définir sur le papier une situation très délicate.

26. Peut-être convient-il de remercier de leur franchise les délégations qui estiment que la Commission perd son temps; si l'on ne désirait pas en effet ouvrir un long débat juridique sur les principes contenus dans le rapport, pourquoi avoir même posé la question de ces principes et avoir laissé la discussion se transformer très rapidement en une série d'attaques concrètes contre deux pays? La Commission n'a pas suivi les règles d'une véritable discussion sur des principes universels, applicables à tous les Etats Membres. En tenant l'Espagne pour un monstre nourri de la chair et du sang des peuples africains, et ses adversaires pour un groupe d'archanges défendant la liberté du monde, on en est arrivé, par une discrimination inqualifiable, à accuser et à condamner un pays en vertu d'une loi encore inexistante. Quand l'échelle des valeurs est renversée de cette manière, il n'y a plus qu'à espérer que les forces morales et spirituelles rétablissent la justice bafouée et réparent le mal.

27. En fait, de nombreuses délégations ont oublié la position de la délégation espagnole quant à l'inter-

prétation du Chapitre XI de la Charte, ou n'ont pas encore eu le temps d'en prendre connaissance. M. Aznar s'estime donc obligé de répéter ce qu'il a dit à la session précédente, à savoir que l'Espagne ne sait pas ce qu'est un territoire non autonome et n'entend pas qu'on lui impose d'envoyer des renseignements sur des territoires prétendus tels qu'elle administrerait, mais qu'étant donné sa volonté de collaborer avec l'ONU elle est prête à communiquer, le moment venu, des renseignements sur ses provinces d'outre-mer, à la sélection desquels M. Aznar lui-même a collaboré. Certains ont jugé cette attitude discutable; du moins peut-on difficilement prétendre que le Gouvernement espagnol ne répond que par des refus. L'Espagne a toujours condamné et condamne toujours comme un phénomène anachronique le colonialisme et l'exploitation de tous les peuples. Il n'existe, dans les territoires sous sa juridiction, aucun problème qui ne puisse être résolu par des négociations bilatérales avec les pays qui estiment avoir droit à une réclamation. Le Gouvernement espagnol fonde son attitude sur l'honneur et la justice, et ne demande que la réciprocité.

28. M. Aznar se réserve le droit d'intervenir ultérieurement sur la question de l'application des principes contenus dans le rapport du Comité spécial.

29. M. GASSOU (Togo) note avec satisfaction que l'Espagne se considère comme un pays anticolonialiste et il espère qu'elle saura traduire, le moment venu, ses déclarations en actes.

30. La question à l'ordre du jour peut sembler juridique. Elle est en fait essentiellement politique. S'il est si important de mettre en lumière les idées qui sont à la base de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 et de replacer cet article dans son contexte historique, c'est en effet que certains Etats Membres ont systématiquement refusé de fournir le moindre renseignement sur les territoires qu'ils dominent, en alléguant que ces territoires, malgré leur éloignement et leurs différences économiques, ethniques et culturelles, font partie intégrante de la métropole du simple fait que le parlement métropolitain en a décidé ainsi sans consulter les populations autochtones. En invoquant ces fictions juridiques et constitutionnelles, le Portugal et l'Espagne ne font d'ailleurs que reprendre les arguments déjà invoqués par d'autres Etats colonialistes; les diverses appellations que ces derniers ont successivement données à leurs empires n'ont cependant pas empêché ces empires de s'écrouler. Le simple changement de noms décidé en 1951 par le Portugal n'a trompé personne, pas même les Portugais; il devait uniquement permettre au Portugal de contester, après son admission à l'ONU, le droit qu'a l'Organisation d'être informée des conditions dans lesquelles il administre ses colonies. La raison en est claire. Il n'aurait sans doute pas eu le courage de reconnaître ouvertement que les habitants des terri-

toires sont soumis aux travaux forcés, à l'esclavage et à la discrimination raciale.

31. Le sens véritable de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte est déterminé par le préambule de cet article, où les mots "pas encore" montrent la nécessité pour ces populations de s'administrer un jour complètement elles-mêmes, et par les alinéas a et b qui font obligation aux Membres administrants d'assurer le progrès économique et social des populations en respectant leur culture, et de développer leur capacité de s'administrer elles-mêmes et d'élaborer progressivement leurs libres institutions politiques. L'obligation de l'alinéa e ne cesse que lorsque les territoires s'administrent complètement eux-mêmes, c'est-à-dire lorsque le peuple, librement consulté, a désigné un parlement et un gouvernement ou s'est prononcé en faveur du rattachement à un autre pays indépendant.

32. Dans son excellent rapport, le Comité spécial des Six a codifié clairement et logiquement les principes qui doivent guider les Etats Membres dans l'interprétation de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73. La délégation togolaise pense comme lui que la Charte est un document vivant et que l'application du Chapitre XI doit être considérée à la lumière de la réalité politique et de l'évolution actuelle des esprits. Depuis la rédaction de la Charte, la composition de l'ONU et la carte politique du monde ont en effet beaucoup changé et les concessions faites en 1945 aux puissances coloniales ne seraient sans doute plus possibles. Le principe V est l'un des plus importants et sera très utile lorsqu'il s'agira de décider si les territoires portugais sont des colonies ou non. Les réserves exprimées par le Royaume-Uni au sujet du principe X (A/4526, par. 15) ne sont pas encourageantes si elles signifient que les renseignements à fournir peuvent être réduits à zéro, même si le territoire considéré est toujours de type colonial. Elles ne sont acceptables que si les exigences de l'alinéa a du principe VI sont respectées, c'est-à-dire si le territoire devient indépendant; sinon, il faut tenir compte aussi des conditions stipulées dans les principes VII, VIII et IX. Les "relations constitutionnelles" évoquées dans le principe XI ne doivent être prises en considération que si elles résultent de la libre expression de la volonté des populations, au moyen du suffrage universel des adultes, dans un scrutin contrôlé par l'ONU. Ce contrôle devrait d'ailleurs être de règle, afin de garantir l'impartialité de la consultation et d'éviter ce qu'il est convenu d'appeler des "élections à l'algérienne".

33. La délégation togolaise souscrit donc pleinement aux 12 principes du Comité spécial des Six, mais se réserve le droit d'intervenir à nouveau lorsqu'il s'agira d'appliquer ces principes au cas des territoires portugais et espagnols.

La séance est levée à 13 heures.

Nations Unies
**ASSEMBLÉE
 GÉNÉRALE**

QUINZIÈME SESSION

Documents officiels



**QUATRIÈME COMMISSION, 1039^e
 SÉANCE**

Lundi 7 novembre 1960,
 à 15 h 20

NEW YORK

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Etude des principes qui doivent guider les Etats Membres pour déterminer si l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements, prévue à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte des Nations Unies, leur est applicable ou non: rapport du Comité spécial créé par la résolution 1467 (XIV) de l'Assemblée générale (suite)

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Président: M. Adnan M. PACHACHI (Irak).

En l'absence du Président, M. Ortiz de Rozas (Argentine), vice-président, prend la présidence.

POINT 38 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

Etude des principes qui doivent guider les Etats Membres pour déterminer si l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements, prévue à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte des Nations Unies, leur est applicable ou non: rapport du Comité spécial créé par la résolution 1467 (XIV) de l'Assemblée générale (A/4526) [suite]

DISCUSSION GENERALE (suite)

1. Mlle BROOKS (Libéria) rappelle qu'à la 1036^{ème} séance, le représentant du Portugal a cité des passages de la déclaration faite devant la Commission par le représentant des Etats-Unis au cours de la deuxième session de l'Assemblée générale. Elle tient à signaler que plusieurs de ces passages ont été cités en les isolant de leur contexte. D'après le représentant du Portugal, le représentant des Etats-Unis aurait dit que la souveraineté sur les territoires dépendants appartenait à la Puissance administrante. De l'avis de Mlle Brooks, que vient étayer l'opinion d'éminentes autorités en matière de droit international, il n'en est pas ainsi.

2. Le représentant du Portugal a cité des dispositions de la Charte qui lui semblaient pouvoir appuyer sa thèse; il n'a pu cependant la prouver ni convaincre la délégation libérienne que les principes énoncés dans la subdivision B de la section V de son rapport (A/4526) par le Comité spécial des Six chargé de la question de la communication de renseignements prévus à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte ne s'appliquent pas aux territoires administrés par le Portugal.

3. Se reportant à la déclaration faite par le représentant de l'Espagne à la séance précédente, Mlle Brooks, bien qu'elle n'approuve pas l'interprétation que ce représentant a donnée du Chapitre XI de la Charte ou, à certains égards, des principes, est

heureuse de l'avoir entendu assurer que son gouvernement avait l'intention de communiquer des renseignements sur les territoires qu'il administre.

4. M. NOGUEIRA (Portugal) dit que, tout en appréciant l'esprit dans lequel la représentante du Libéria a fait son observation, il se voit tenu de protester contre l'assertion selon laquelle il aurait cité des passages en les isolant de leur contexte. Le passage en question était extrait d'un ouvrage de M. Hans Kelsen^{1/}, juriste des plus sérieux et qui est une grande autorité en matière de droit international.

5. M. FARAHMAND (Iran) déclare que sa délégation a été heureuse d'apprendre que le Comité spécial des Six était parvenu à un large accord sur les principes de base. Le rapport du Comité est un document d'une grande importance, puisqu'il s'efforce de concrétiser l'esprit de l'Article 73 de la Charte.

6. Le rapport, et en particulier le principe IV, montre que les dispositions du Chapitre XI de la Charte, et notamment celle qui établit le principe de la primauté des intérêts des habitants des territoires, sont incompatibles avec l'interprétation étroite que certaines puissances administrantes donnent du Chapitre XI afin de justifier une position inconciliable avec les buts et principes de la Charte. C'est du principe de la primauté des intérêts des habitants des territoires non autonomes, établi sans équivoque au premier paragraphe de l'Article 73, que découle tout le reste de l'Article, y compris l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements, qui est formulée à l'alinéa e. Avant d'être admis à l'ONU, les Etats Membres acceptent les obligations imposées par la Charte et l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 stipule clairement que les Etats Membres administrant des territoires non autonomes ont l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements sur ces territoires. La seule question qui se pose est donc de savoir si un territoire est autonome ou non. Il faut pour cela tenir compte de certains éléments tels que les considérations d'ordre géographique, d'où résulte la notion de "territoires métropolitains" visée à l'Article 74 de la Charte, et d'autres considérations, telles les différences de race, de langue et de patrimoine culturel. Il existe aussi les facteurs énumérés dans la résolution 742 (VIII) de l'Assemblée générale, mais ils ne doivent être considérés que comme servant de guide et la décision doit être prise dans chaque cas en fonction des circonstances qui lui sont propres.

7. L'obligation de communiquer des renseignements est une obligation d'ordre international et, étant donné le mouvement d'indépendance qui s'est dessiné dans tous les territoires non autonomes, de même que la conjoncture internationale, refuser de s'acquitter de cette obligation équivaut à rejeter la coopération

^{1/} Hans Kelsen, *The Law of the United Nations* (New York, Frederick A. Praeger Inc., 1950), p. 552 et 553, renvoi en bas de page.

internationale et à renier les principes et l'esprit de la Charte. Cette obligation continue à s'imposer jusqu'au moment où tous les territoires ont acquis une autonomie complète et un Membre administrant est tenu de s'y conformer jusqu'à ce que l'Assemblée générale ait examiné tous les renseignements ayant trait à un changement de statut du territoire. C'est l'application de ce principe qui donne leur sens réel aux dispositions de l'Article 73.

8. La délégation iranienne souscrit entièrement aux principes énoncés par le Comité spécial des Six et elle espère que ces principes seront effectivement appliqués à toutes les colonies une fois qu'ils auront été adoptés par l'Assemblée générale.

9. M. KUKAN (Libye) déclare que, pour son gouvernement, comme pour le Comité spécial des Six, la Charte constitue un document vivant. Le Gouvernement libyen s'acquiesce de ses obligations internationales conformément aux principes qui y sont énoncés. Malheureusement, le Portugal et l'Espagne, qui ont pourtant donné leur adhésion à la Charte, ne se sont jamais pleinement acquittés des obligations qu'elle leur impose. Ils essaient de convaincre la Commission que l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 ne leur impose aucune obligation. La délégation libyenne estime que seule l'Assemblée générale est compétente pour décider s'il y a ou non obligation de communiquer des renseignements sur un territoire et elle ne peut accepter aucune autre interprétation. La Libye a longtemps souffert du colonialisme et sa délégation est bien placée pour savoir ce que les habitants des territoires non autonomes doivent endurer et pour mesurer ce que représente leur lutte pour l'indépendance. Les Etats Membres ont le devoir de soutenir ces populations, qui ne peuvent se faire entendre, et de mettre fin à leurs humiliations. L'ONU doit prendre des mesures immédiates pour aider les populations de l'Angola, du Mozambique et de la Guinée portugaise à acquérir l'autonomie et l'indépendance conformément aux fins de la Charte.

10. La délégation libyenne souscrit aux vues exprimées à la 1031^{ème} séance par les représentants du Mexique et de la Yougoslavie, à la 1032^{ème} séance par les représentants du Ghana et du Venezuela et à la 1036^{ème} séance par le représentant de l'Irak; elle s'associe aux hommages qui ont été rendus au Comité spécial des Six. Elle appuie vigoureusement les principes énoncés par le Comité et estime qu'ils mettront fin aux divergences d'opinion sur la question de savoir si un territoire est autonome ou non. La délégation libyenne prie instamment les membres administrants de ne pas les négliger.

11. M. EL AMIN (Soudan) déclare que l'Article 73 de la Charte impose des obligations précises aux Etats Membres responsables de l'administration de territoires non autonomes. La plupart de ces Etats s'en sont acquittés. La Charte ne peut être interprétée unilatéralement par un Etat Membre et son interprétation est une tâche que l'Assemblée générale est seule compétente pour entreprendre. La délégation soudanaise ne peut donc accepter l'argumentation avancée par le représentant du Portugal. Quant à la déclaration du représentant de l'Espagne, si intéressante qu'elle soit, elle n'offre aucun élément positif ou constructif et, bien que ce représentant ait condamné le colonialisme, il n'en reste pas moins qu'il existe en Afrique des territoires sous la domination coloniale de l'Espagne. Il est regrettable que ni

l'Espagne ni le Portugal ne se soient conformés à l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements sur leurs territoires non autonomes. Le Portugal fait valoir à ce sujet — ce qui est une aberration politique — que les territoires qu'il administre font partie intégrante de la métropole. Ce n'est pourtant que depuis 1951 qu'il a adopté cette position, après avoir, pendant 500 ans, considéré ces territoires comme des colonies.

12. Le rapport du Comité spécial des Six revêt la plus grande importance. La délégation soudanaise approuve les principes qui y sont énoncés par ce comité et voit en eux une interprétation exacte de la Charte. L'une des raisons principales de la création du Comité spécial était d'établir si les colonies de l'Espagne et du Portugal devaient être considérées comme des provinces de la métropole ou comme des territoires non autonomes. Si le principe IV leur est appliqué, il est évident que ce sont des territoires distincts géographiquement, aux points de vue ethnique et culturel, et il s'ensuit que les deux puissances intéressées ont l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements à leur sujet, conformément à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73.

13. La politique suivie par le Portugal dans ses territoires enfreint à la fois le Chapitre XI de la Charte et les principes énoncés dans le rapport, notamment les principes V, VI, VII, VIII et IX. La politique d'intégration appliquée par le Portugal est préjudiciable au progrès de ces territoires. Celle dite d'assimilation n'est pas conforme aux intérêts des autochtones et elle est poursuivie en violation de l'alinéa a de l'Article 73. Elle n'a, d'ailleurs, pas permis de faire beaucoup d'"assimilados": au Mozambique, par exemple, on n'en compte que 4.349 sur une population totale d'environ 5.650.000 personnes, les autres habitants étant considérés par les autorités portugaises comme "non civilisés", et la situation, dans les autres territoires portugais, n'est pas meilleure. Il est évident que cette politique ne sert que de paravent à une politique impitoyable d'exploitation, le but étant de maintenir les populations sous le joug dans leur propre pays et de les priver d'instruction de même que de fierté nationale. Plusieurs auteurs que cite M. El Amin ont signalé que, dans ces territoires, les adultes africains du sexe masculin sont astreints au travail forcé sur les routes. Si les hommes se soustraient à ce travail, on a alors recours aux femmes et aux enfants pour faire réparer les routes. Cette main-d'œuvre forcée doit se nourrir elle-même et souvent même fournir ses outils.

14. Dans un communiqué commun qu'ils ont récemment publié, l'Empereur d'Ethiopie et le Président de la République soudanaise ont réaffirmé leur volonté de défendre la cause de l'émancipation de tous les Africains et de l'abolition du colonialisme en Afrique. La délégation soudanaise et les autres délégations africaines sont affligées par le sort fait aux Africains dans les territoires dépendants. Cependant, l'endurance humaine a ses limites et les mouvements nationalistes des pays voisins ne seront pas sans échos dans ces territoires. La délégation soudanaise estime que la politique suivie dans ces territoires est un danger pour la paix. C'est une aberration politique analogue qui a été à l'origine de la situation actuelle en Algérie.

15. La délégation soudanaise espère que les principes seront adoptés à l'unanimité.

M. Pachachi (Irak) prend la présidence.

16. M. MAX (France) proteste contre l'allusion que le représentant du Soudan, vers la fin de son intervention, a faite à une question qui n'est pas à l'ordre du jour.

17. M. WESTERMAN (Panama) constate que le Comité spécial, qui s'est acquitté de sa tâche avec beaucoup de conscience, a abouti à un accord. Son rapport constitue un pas en avant notable pour la réalisation des buts énoncés à l'Article 73 de la Charte, en particulier à l'alinéa b.

18. La délégation panamienne estime que les principes formulés par le Comité spécial des Six, qui sont à la fois empreints de modération et précis, doivent être adoptés par la Quatrième Commission et par l'Assemblée générale. C'est là une affaire urgente, étant donné l'ombre que projette encore sur l'humanité un colonialisme anachronique qui n'a plus de raison d'être dans le monde actuel. Au sujet du principe III, qui est de la plus haute importance, la délégation panamienne partage entièrement les vues exprimées par le représentant du Mexique à la 1031ème séance, à savoir: que l'application des dispositions de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 constitue une obligation internationale, que le système inter-américain a affirmé que la guerre n'est plus un instrument de politique nationale, que, de la même façon, l'administration des colonies n'est plus un instrument de la politique d'un Etat Membre, quel qu'il soit, et que le droit des peuples à l'autodétermination cesse d'être uniquement régi par la politique de la puissance administrante.

19. Le représentant du Maroc au Comité spécial des Six a déclaré que son gouvernement posait comme principe que la consultation des populations devait être contrôlée par l'ONU. Telle est également l'opinion de la délégation panamienne, qui attache une grande importance aux consultations populaires. Le principe IX reconnaît simplement, à ce sujet, qu'un contrôle de l'ONU peut être souhaitable, mais M. Westerman sait que celibellé est dû au fait que, dans certains cas, le contrôle de l'ONU ne peut avoir lieu qu'avec le consentement de l'Etat qui administre le territoire.

20. La délégation panamienne considère que le contrôle international devrait s'exercer à la fois dans les cas b et c du principe VI. Il faudrait donc envisager le contrôle international non seulement dans le cas d'une intégration, comme il est prévu au principe IX, mais également pour l'application du principe VII, c'est-à-dire dans le cas d'une libre association avec un Etat indépendant. Lorsque surgit une situation qui menace les bonnes relations entre des peuples, le bon sens conseille d'organiser une consultation de la population sous le contrôle de l'ONU. Cela est encore plus nécessaire lorsque les hostilités ont provoqué des souffrances et des pertes de vies humaines non seulement parmi les forces armées, mais aussi parmi les populations civiles, lorsque les droits fondamentaux de l'homme doivent être protégés et la paix et la sécurité internationales sauvegardées. Si une consultation populaire du genre de celle qui a été proposée par le président de Gaulle avait lieu en Algérie, elle aurait un effet plus grand sur l'opinion internationale si elle se déroulait sous le contrôle de l'ONU.

21. De l'avis de la délégation panamienne, les principes IV et V répondent à la situation qui résulte de la

création de prétendues "provinces d'outre-mer". Manifestement, un pays qui n'est pas parvenu à un degré avancé d'autonomie, qui n'a pas d'institutions politiques libres et dont les habitants ne sont pas à même de prendre des décisions avisées, ne peut être incorporé de cette façon à un autre Etat.

22. Les principes formulés par le Comité spécial des Six et que la délégation panamienne espère voir approuver par la Quatrième Commission serviront de guide aux Etats Membres pour déterminer s'ils sont soumis à l'obligation de communiquer les renseignements demandés à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte. On arriverait ainsi à une solution honorable pour des cas comme ceux de l'Angola, du Mozambique et de la Guinée portugaise — qui, d'après les principes énoncés par le Comité, sont certainement parmi les territoires visés par les dispositions du Chapitre XI de la Charte. La délégation panamienne espère que ces territoires et tous autres territoires dans une situation analogue bénéficieront de la décision que prendra l'Assemblée générale. Elle est persuadée que les puissances intéressées coopéreront avec l'Assemblée générale et communiqueront des renseignements au sujet de tous les territoires visés par le Chapitre XI de la Charte.

23. Le grand mérite des principes énoncés par le Comité est qu'ils prévoient une procédure pacifique grâce à laquelle les populations qui ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes auront la possibilité de progresser et, au moment voulu, d'exercer leur droit à disposer d'elles-mêmes. Ces principes renforcent en même temps l'idée que les relations entre les puissances administrantes et leurs territoires dépendants doivent être fondées sur le principe général du bon voisinage.

24. En terminant, M. Westerman s'associe à l'hommage rendu, à la 1031ème séance, au nom des Etats africains, par la représentante du Libéria, à l'œuvre que l'ancien représentant du Mexique, M. Espinosa y Prieto, a accomplie en faveur des peuples dépendants.

25. M. MAKKAWI (Liban) déclare qu'étant donné le caractère très complet des déclarations faites par les orateurs qui l'ont précédé, il se bornera à exposer la position de son gouvernement sur l'importante question dont la Commission est saisie et sur le rapport du Comité spécial des Six. Il est encourageant de constater que les deux groupes de délégations — les représentants des puissances administrantes et ceux des puissances non administrantes — sont parvenus à s'entendre sur les 12 principes formulés. La délégation libanaise approuve tous les termes de ces principes, qui, s'ils sont adoptés, constitueront les prémisses de tout jugement visant à déterminer si un territoire donné tombe sous le coup des dispositions de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte.

26. Les réponses (A/AC.100/1 et Add.1) que certains pays ont adressées au Secrétaire général comme suite à la résolution 1467 (XIV) de l'Assemblée générale font ressortir un certain nombre de facteurs fondamentaux. C'est ainsi que la réponse de l'Iran met l'accent sur les considérations géographiques qui sont à l'origine de la notion de "territoires métropolitains" visée à l'Article 74 de la Charte, et sur la différence de race, de langue, de religion ou de patrimoine culturel. Le Maroc estime que le Chapitre XI de la Charte s'applique à tout territoire dont la population présente des différences évidentes sur les plans

ethnique, géographique, historique, culturel et social par rapport à la population de la puissance coloniale, et à tout territoire dont les rapports avec la puissance administrante placent les autochtones dans une position diminuée. Ces prémisses sont clairement énoncées dans les principes IV et V.

27. Toute étude approfondie de la situation des prétendues provinces d'outre-mer montre de façon concluante que les principes IV et V s'appliquent à ces territoires. On pourra demander sur quoi on se fonde pour les considérer comme des provinces d'outre-mer, si ce statut résulte d'un choix libre et volontaire et si des procédures démocratiques et largement diffusées y ont été appliquées. C'est pourquoi la délégation libanaise attache une grande importance aux principes VII, VIII et XI du rapport.

28. L'aspiration à l'indépendance nationale et le désir de la liberté sont plus grands que jamais partout dans le monde, notamment en Afrique. Il est grand temps que les puissances coloniales, et en particulier l'Espagne et le Portugal, changent d'attitude et se conforment aux exigences du monde actuel. Le Liban, qui a toujours eu de la sympathie pour les peuples qui luttent pour être libres, votera en faveur de toute résolution approuvant les principes contenus dans le rapport du Comité spécial des Six.

29. M. LAMANI (Albanie) déclare que, bien que le Chapitre XI de la Charte définisse clairement les obligations assumées par les puissances administrantes au moment de leur admission à l'ONU, l'Assemblée générale — tant d'années après la signature de la Charte — marque encore le pas, à cause de l'attitude négative adoptée par les puissances coloniales, bien que des millions d'êtres humains, dans les colonies, réclament avec impatience une indépendance complète et immédiate. Alors que le Comité spécial des Six déclare, au paragraphe 18 de son rapport, que la Charte est un document vivant et que l'application du Chapitre XI doit être considérée à la lumière de la réalité politique et de l'évolution actuelle des esprits, les puissances coloniales ne veulent pas tenir compte de la situation politique et des changements qui se produisent dans le monde moderne. Le Portugal et l'Espagne vont jusqu'à ne fournir aucun renseignement sur leurs colonies, sous prétexte qu'elles n'ont pas de colonies, mais des "provinces d'outre-mer", et qu'il n'existe donc pour elle aucune obligation de communiquer des renseignements.

30. La Quatrième Commission et l'Assemblée générale doivent faire preuve de fermeté et prendre les mesures nécessaires pour la libération des peuples coloniaux, dont l'indépendance totale ne peut plus être retardée. Les populations des territoires dépendants attendent que l'ONU leur apporte une aide efficace.

31. Tandis que les peuples colonisés luttent pour secouer leur joug, les représentants des puissances coloniales cherchent à défendre les "principes" du colonialisme, si le mot "principe" peut être employé en ce cas. Le représentant du Royaume-Uni, qui a obstinément soutenu, comme il est consigné au paragraphe 15 du rapport, qu' "il pouvait y avoir des circonstances dans lesquelles ... certaines considérations ... réduisaient à néant le volume des informations pouvant être transmises", s'est élevé contre la conclusion du représentant du Venezuela, selon laquelle cette réserve constituait une espèce de "double-talk". Il importe de souligner que le passage en ques-

tion montre clairement les efforts déployés par le représentant du Royaume-Uni au Comité spécial des Six et à la Quatrième Commission en vue, tout d'abord, de limiter le volume des renseignements communiqués — à l'aide du principe X — et ensuite de réduire ces renseignements à néant par la réserve en question. Il est regrettable qu'en dépit des efforts qu'ont faits les représentants de l'Inde, du Maroc et du Mexique au Comité spécial pour servir la cause des peuples coloniaux, les représentants des puissances coloniales aient réussi à imposer, pour certains paragraphes, un libellé qui prête à une interprétation favorisant la prolongation du régime d'exploitation coloniale.

32. Les colonialistes ont essayé de cacher la situation qui règne dans leurs colonies. Le représentant du Portugal a essayé de nier des faits patents et irréfutables. La Commission ne pourra jamais oublier, à ce sujet, les exposés des représentants de l'Irak, du Ghana, de la Guinée et d'autres pays, qui ont décrit les méthodes inhumaines auxquelles ont recourus les colonialistes portugais. Dans un ouvrage intitulé *Angola: Repression and Revolt in Portuguese Africa*, l'American Committee on Africa a exposé comment la ségrégation raciale, le travail forcé, les châtiments corporels et la torture sont pratiqués dans ce territoire; il a indiqué comment des patrouilles militaires s'efforcent d'empêcher les habitants de se soustraire aux obligations du travail contractuel et quel tri soigneux était fait des étudiants africains avant qu'il leur soit permis de quitter l'Angola pour faire des études supérieures au Portugal.

33. En 1956, 1957 et 1958, l'Assemblée a essayé de résoudre la question des colonies portugaises et espagnoles d'une manière diplomatique, mais, à la suite de subtiles manœuvres des puissances colonialistes et impérialistes, même des projets de résolution qui n'envisageaient que la création d'un comité chargé d'étudier la question n'ont pas été adoptés. C'est seulement à la quatorzième session que le problème a été examiné plus franchement et que le Comité spécial des Six a été constitué.

34. L'humanité ne peut plus tolérer un état de choses où les hommes sont divisés en maîtres et en esclaves. Il incombe à l'ONU d'aider les peuples coloniaux dans leur lutte pour l'émancipation. La délégation albanaise s'associe sans réserve aux nombreuses délégations qui ont déclaré que les colonies portugaises et espagnoles devront être considérées comme des territoires non autonomes tant qu'elles n'auront pas accédé à une indépendance totale. L'ONU devrait inviter le Portugal et l'Espagne à s'acquitter des obligations que leur impose la Charte.

35. Bien que la délégation albanaise ne puisse entièrement approuver le rapport du Comité spécial des Six, elle tient à souligner une fois de plus qu'elle appuiera toutes mesures visant à favoriser la libération des peuples coloniaux.

36. M. CARPIO (Philippines) déclare que son pays, qui n'a jamais eu de colonies, pas plus qu'il n'a eu de territoires dépendants à administrer, peut aborder la question dont la Commission est saisie avec l'objectivité qui seule permet une solution de sagesse. Pour ce qui est des 12 principes énoncés par le Comité spécial des Six, il s'agit pour la Quatrième Commission de déterminer s'ils sont avisés et s'ils sont conformes à la lettre et à l'esprit de la Charte. Malheureusement, trois tendances sont appa-

rues: certains orateurs tiennent que la Commission traite là d'une question purement politique qu'il convient de trancher selon le climat politique et l'esprit de l'époque sans se soucier de savoir si la décision suit la lettre de la Charte; d'autres abordent le problème d'une façon purement juridique, négligeant complètement l'atmosphère de notre époque; le troisième groupe voit dans la question un mélange de considérations d'ordre à la fois politique et juridique.

37. La délégation philippine, qui a toujours adopté à l'ONU une attitude indépendante, pense que, pour aborder la question dont la Commission est saisie, il faut se rappeler l'atmosphère qui régnait à San Francisco en 1945. A cette époque, le souci dominant était d'assurer aux générations à venir une protection contre le fléau de la guerre. Il a fallu pour cela éliminer toutes les causes de mésentente. Cette fin, à son tour, a nécessité la création d'un appareil international qui faciliterait l'amélioration des conditions de vie et l'épanouissement de la liberté pour les peuples de la terre.

38. Le représentant des Philippines ne peut se ranger à l'avis des délégations qui prétendent que, le Chapitre XI de la Charte étant intitulé "Déclaration relative aux territoires non autonomes", les Etats Membres peuvent interpréter unilatéralement les dispositions de l'Article 73. Le titre d'un texte juridique peut évidemment aider à interpréter le texte, mais l'interprétation doit se fonder sur les termes mêmes du texte. L'Article 73 énonce que des Etats Membres qui administrent des territoires dépendants acceptent une obligation comme une mission sacrée. Il est bien clair que cette obligation les engage au même titre que toute autre partie de la Charte. C'est pourquoi la délégation philippine a toujours interprété très libéralement l'Article 73, allant à cet égard plus loin que la plupart des délégations. L'obligation de communiquer des renseignements sur les progrès politiques est impliquée dans la tâche exprimée aux alinéas a et b de l'Article 73.

39. Il est peut-être regrettable que la Charte ne définisse pas la nature d'un territoire non autonome, mais en fait le sens de cette expression est clair. Il peut y avoir des cas où, bien qu'une population ne s'administre pas encore complètement elle-même, aucune obligation n'a été créée dans le chef de la puissance administrante intéressée. La grande majorité des Membres administrants a spontanément communiqué des renseignements sur les territoires placés sous leur administration et ce faisant ils ont assumé la responsabilité qui leur était dévolue aux termes de l'Article 73; toutefois, il s'agit de savoir s'il est possible de démontrer que ceux qui n'ont pas communiqué les renseignements ont, en acceptant la Charte, assumé cette responsabilité. C'est pourquoi, après deux ou trois ans d'échecs, l'Assemblée générale a créé le Comité spécial des Six au cours de sa quatorzième session. Il s'agit, et c'est là le problème que doit examiner la Quatrième Commission, de déterminer quels sont les facteurs dont il convient de tenir compte et si oui ou non il existe une obligation de communiquer des renseignements. Le problème diffère de celui qui a été étudié par le Comité *ad hoc* pour l'étude des facteurs (territoires non autonomes), qui traitait surtout des conditions qui doivent régir la cessation de la communication des renseignements. La question examinée actuellement est celle de savoir si — et quand — la communication des renseignements doit commencer. Cependant, au lieu d'examiner les

principes proposés par le Comité spécial des Six d'une façon impartiale et rationnelle, et de gagner ainsi la coopération et la bonne volonté de chaque Membre de l'ONU, les délégations ont abordé le problème de trois façons différentes, que M. Carpio a déjà exposées.

40. L'ONU doit notamment constituer un ensemble harmonieux propre à résoudre les problèmes internationaux. Le représentant des Philippines ne peut s'empêcher de se demander dans quelle voie s'engage l'Organisation, lorsqu'il entend exposer des opinions extrêmes, fondées sur l'hypothèse que l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements est applicable, condamnant ceux qui ne tiendraient pas compte de cette obligation et accusant certains Etats Membres de commettre des crimes dans leur administration des territoires dépendants. De l'avis de sa délégation, la Commission devrait tout d'abord considérer les principes, et ensuite, si elle les approuve, s'efforcer d'assurer leur application. Il serait bon de raisonner avec les Membres administrants et d'essayer de les persuader d'agir comme il convient. C'est aller trop loin que de faire des déclarations dogmatiques d'où il ressort que chaque peuple est fondé à accéder sans retard à l'indépendance. La délégation philippine comprend parfaitement et partage le désir des nations africaines que tous les peuples dépendants acquièrent la liberté dans un avenir rapproché, mais la Charte prévoit que les relations entre Etats Membres doivent être régies par le droit international et se fonder sur la compréhension, l'amitié et le bon voisinage. Ce n'est pas agir en conformité avec la Charte que d'accuser de crime les autres Membres de l'ONU.

41. Passant aux principes, le représentant des Philippines fait observer que la première phrase du principe I pose certaines questions: en premier lieu, quels étaient les territoires réputés de type colonial à l'époque de la rédaction de la Charte et, en second lieu, pourquoi l'obligation de transmettre des renseignements prévue à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 doit-elle être limitée à ces territoires? Cette thèse semble s'accorder difficilement avec la déclaration du paragraphe 18 selon laquelle la Charte est un document vivant et les obligations portées au Chapitre XI doivent être considérées compte tenu de la mentalité de l'époque et de ses changements. Il peut exister des territoires qui, depuis 1945, sont devenus des territoires de type colonial; c'est là une question qu'il appartient à la Commission d'étudier. De l'avis du représentant des Philippines, les principes doivent être d'une application universelle.

42. Le Comité spécial a rédigé son rapport en conformité avec les termes de l'Article 73. Affirmer, comme le font certaines délégations, que l'indépendance est le seul but de tous les peuples dépendants et qu'il faut les libérer sans retard n'est pas conforme à la lettre ou à l'esprit de cet article.

43. Il semble qu'il n'y ait pas d'importantes divergences d'opinions à propos du libellé du principe III; les mots "obligation internationale" sont en accord avec le texte de l'Article 73.

44. La délégation philippine fait de sérieuses réserves à propos du principe IV. Les Philippines, par exemple, comprennent plus d'un millier d'îles habitées par un certain nombre de groupes ethniques et M. Carpio ne doute pas qu'il existe d'autres Etats Membres constitués de la même façon. De même,

il y a des pays où différents groupes ethniques se sont fondus grâce aux mariages mixtes. De plus, la nature exacte de la séparation géographique mentionnée au principe IV n'est pas claire.

45. La délégation philippine accueille avec satisfaction les 12 principes présentés par le Comité spécial des Six et estime que leur adoption constituera un progrès pratique dans la bonne voie. Toutefois, elle tient à se dissocier de certaines des déclarations qui ont été faites blâmant des Etats Membres pour ne pas s'être soumis à des obligations dont il n'a pas été prouvé qu'elles leur étaient applicables.

46. M. GRINBERG (Bulgarie) fait observer qu'il existe deux manières de procéder pour évaluer l'œuvre du Comité spécial des Six. Si le rapport est examiné en fonction des années précédentes, il pourrait être une source de satisfaction profonde, car une bonne partie de sa teneur, si elle est prise au pied de la lettre, indiquerait une évolution appréciable de l'opinion de quelques-unes des puissances coloniales. A ce propos, M. Grinberg appelle l'attention sur la dernière phrase du paragraphe 17 et la première phrase du paragraphe 18.

47. De l'avis de sa délégation, cependant, le rapport doit être jugé entièrement à la lumière des conditions actuelles. La tendance générale peut se résumer en deux mots: indépendance immédiate. Cette idée prime tout le reste; son existence jette le doute sur les tentatives que font les puissances coloniales pour démontrer que leurs vues ont évolué.

48. Bien des délégations se souviendront des obstacles soulevés par les puissances coloniales ces dernières années pour empêcher toute action de l'Assemblée générale visant à appliquer les dispositions du Chapitre XI de la Charte aux colonies du Portugal et de l'Espagne. Les auteurs des projets de résolution ont fait tout leur possible pour rédiger ceux-ci dans les termes les plus anodins. Tant dans les projets de résolution que dans la plupart des discours, on s'est soigneusement abstenu de mentionner le Portugal et l'Espagne. Néanmoins, les puissances coloniales se sont opposées à l'adoption de toute mesure, si bénigne qu'elle fût. A la quatorzième session de l'Assemblée générale, cependant, un brusque changement s'est opéré. Les puissances coloniales se sont probablement rendu compte que la marée montante de l'anticolonialisme dans le monde et la demande instante d'indépendance pour toutes les colonies nécessitaient l'adoption de positions moins précaires, et que l'augmentation imminente du nombre des pays anticolonialistes à l'ONU exigerait de meilleures tactiques. Ainsi, les 12 principes ont été élaborés et présentés à la Quatrième Commission, qui doit maintenant décider des mesures à prendre. Les puissances coloniales demanderont sans doute à la Commission d'approuver les principes sans prendre aucune mesure précise à l'égard des colonies du Portugal et de l'Espagne. Par ce moyen, les puissances coloniales auraient la possibilité de soutenir qu'elles ont contribué de façon positive à la solution du problème des colonies portugaises et espagnoles, alors qu'en fait cela ne représentera presque rien.

49. Les 12 principes énoncés par le Comité spécial découlent du Chapitre XI de la Charte et ne font que réaffirmer les positions qu'ont maintenues les pays anticolonialistes depuis la création de l'ONU. Jusqu'à présent, le Portugal et l'Espagne n'ont tenu aucun compte du Chapitre XI et il semble peu probable que

les pays colonialistes seront plus généreux au sujet des 12 principes. En fait, le Portugal ayant voté pour le projet de résolution qui recommande la suppression immédiate de la discrimination raciale (A/C.4/L.643 et Add.1 et 2) adopté à la 1028^{ème} séance de la Commission, il ne serait pas surprenant que la délégation portugaise vote pour l'adoption des principes et prétende, par la suite, qu'ils ne s'appliquent pas au Portugal. Dans le long discours qu'il a prononcé à la 1036^{ème} séance, le représentant du Portugal, tout en ne s'engageant pas à l'égard de l'ensemble des principes, a indiqué clairement que son gouvernement n'entendait pas exécuter ses obligations découlant du Chapitre XI. Il a analysé de nombreux articles et chapitres de la Charte, pour essayer d'insuffler une vie nouvelle à la thèse colonialiste moribonde selon laquelle il n'appartient qu'aux puissances coloniales de décider si elles doivent appliquer ou non les dispositions du Chapitre XI. Cependant, il a omis de mentionner l'Article 10, qui constitue la disposition clef de la Charte et justifie entièrement la compétence de l'Assemblée générale pour ce qui est des territoires non autonomes. Dans son livre intitulé *The Law of the United Nations*, M. Hans Kelsen, qui fait autorité en la matière, a écrit (p. 551): "Etant donné qu'aux termes de l'Article 10, l'Assemblée générale peut discuter toutes les questions rentrant dans le cadre de la Charte et formuler des recommandations aux Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies ou au Conseil de sécurité, et que l'administration des territoires auxquels s'applique le Chapitre XI rentre certainement dans le cadre de la Charte, l'Assemblée peut discuter les questions mentionnées aux Articles 73 et 74 et formuler des recommandations à leur sujet." Dans un autre passage du même livre, M. Kelsen a écrit (p. 556): "Si l'Assemblée générale peut formuler des recommandations sur les questions régies par le Chapitre XI, et donc appliquer les dispositions de ce chapitre, elle peut — sous forme de recommandation — préciser de quels territoires il s'agit."

50. M. Grinberg n'insistera pas sur cette question, car, à l'exception du Portugal et de l'Espagne, aucune puissance coloniale ne semble souligner maintenant la prétendue incompétence de l'Assemblée générale.

51. Le représentant du Portugal a exposé longuement un certain nombre d'arguments juridiques et autres, mais il n'a essayé de réfuter aucun des faits que de nombreuses délégations ont présentés et qui prouvent, sans l'ombre d'un doute, que les prétendues provinces d'outre-mer du Portugal ne sont que des territoires coloniaux. La Commission ne doit pas se laisser entraîner dans une discussion futile, mais doit convenir du fait incontestable que le Portugal possède des territoires séparés géographiquement de la métropole et peuplés de plus de 12 millions d'habitants qui sont distincts, au point de vue ethnique et culturel, des Portugais et qui ont été placés arbitrairement dans une position diminuée. Dans sa déclaration, le représentant du Portugal a parlé de démocratie, mais la situation qui règne dans les colonies portugaises n'a pas de rapport avec la démocratie, car, comme le prouvent les faits, elle est voisine de l'esclavage.

52. Presque tout ce qu'a dit M. Grinberg s'applique également à l'Espagne, dont le représentant, à la séance précédente, s'est associé pleinement aux vues exprimées par le représentant du Portugal.

53. De l'avis de la délégation bulgare, l'ONU a atteint le stade où elle doit envisager la suppression immédiate du colonialisme. Cela doit manifestement influencer la façon dont les différents problèmes coloniaux seront résolus. Si la Quatrième Commission veut remplir ses obligations, elle doit approuver un projet de résolution qui préciserait sans équivoque qu'au moment de l'admission du Portugal et de l'Espagne à l'ONU, les dispositions du Chapitre XI de la Charte sont devenues applicables à tous leurs territoires coloniaux, à savoir: Madère, les Açores, Saint-Thomas et l'île du Prince, Saint-Jean-Baptiste

de Ouidah, le Cabinda, l'Angola, le Mozambique, Macao, Goa, Timor et d'autres dépendances sous administration portugaise; Ifni, le Sahara espagnol, Fernando Póo, le Rio Muni et les îles Canaries, sous administration espagnole. Naturellement, toute résolution que l'Assemblée générale pourrait adopter par la suite sur la libération immédiate de toutes les colonies s'appliquerait aussi aux colonies du Portugal et de l'Espagne.

La séance est levée à 17 h 25.

ASSEMBLÉE GÉNÉRALE

QUINZIÈME SESSION

Documents officiels

QUATRIÈME COMMISSION, 1040^e
SÉANCE

 Mardi 8 novembre 1960,
 à 10 h 55

NEW YORK

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Président: M. Adnan M. PACHACHI (Irak).

POINT 38 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

Etude des principes qui doivent guider les Etats Membres pour déterminer si l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements, prévue à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte des Nations Unies, leur est applicable ou non: rapport du Comité spécial créé par la résolution 1467 (XIV) de l'Assemblée générale (A/4526, A/C.4/L.648 et Add.1, A/C.4/L.649) [suite]

DISCUSSION GÉNÉRALE (suite)

1. M. DORSINVILLE (Haïti) n'intervient pas au sujet du rapport du Comité spécial des Six (A/4526), chargé de la question de la communication de renseignements prévue à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte, que la délégation haïtienne approuve dans son ensemble, sauf quelques observations qu'appellerait le principe dit "de l'intégration", mais pour user de son droit de réponse. Le représentant du Portugal, à propos de la définition du mot "territoire", a repris à la 1036^{ème} séance, en en respectant la lettre mais en en contredisant l'esprit, certains termes d'une déclaration que le représentant d'Haïti avait faite devant la Quatrième Commission le 31 janvier 1957 au cours de la onzième session (618^{ème} séance), au moment où la Commission examinait le document A/C.4/331 et Add.1.

2. M. Dorsinville, reprenant le texte de sa première déclaration, précise que le mot "territoire" n'a sans doute pas un sens juridique très précis en droit international et qu'il peut se rencontrer avec des sens très différents dans un texte constitutionnel. Par exemple, le Gouvernement australien a considéré le territoire du Papua comme un territoire non autonome, auquel s'appliquent les dispositions du Chapitre XI de la Charte, mais nul n'a jamais contesté que le territoire septentrional de l'Australie, qui fait partie du continent australien, échappe à ces mêmes dispositions. Il semble bien qu'à la Conférence de San Francisco on ait été unanime à exclure les territoires métropolitains du champ d'application du Chapitre XI, qui ne pourrait s'appliquer qu'aux régions non métropolitaines, nom-

mées colonies, possessions, protectorats, dont les populations n'ont pas encore atteint la pleine autonomie. C'est la thèse que le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni soutenait encore à la huitième session à propos de l'examen de la question des facteurs par la Commission.

3. Quant à savoir — point délicat — si l'on peut invoquer la "souveraineté" à propos des territoires non autonomes, le représentant d'Haïti fait simplement observer qu'il n'est nullement fait mention de souveraineté au Chapitre XI de la Charte. Les obligations qu'il énonce incombent aux Etats Membres qui ont ... "la responsabilité d'administrer" ces territoires. Même quand il s'est agi de territoires intégrés à la métropole, la communication de renseignements au titre de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 n'a posé aucun problème pour la Nouvelle-Zélande, par exemple, à propos des îles Cook ou des îles Tokelau.

4. On a dit que la liste des territoires énumérés dans la résolution 66 (I) de l'Assemblée générale n'entérinait que la décision de quelques Etats Membres, que cette décision ne pouvait pas engager d'autres Etats Membres, et qu'à San Francisco il avait été décidé de ne pas discuter de tel ou tel territoire en particulier. M. Dorsinville rappelle cependant qu'à San Francisco, la délégation australienne, avait émis l'idée que l'on n'a malheureusement pas retenue, que l'Assemblée générale pourrait désigner les territoires sur lesquels les Membres administrants auraient à adresser des rapports annuels à l'ONU, et que l'Assemblée générale pourrait aussi, avant de désigner ces territoires, réunir en une ou plusieurs conférences les Etats qui administrent des territoires dont les populations ne peuvent pas encore faire seules aux difficultés du monde moderne et prendre en considération les recommandations qui en résulteraient. De telles mesures auraient permis de régler une fois pour toutes la question dont s'occupe encore la Commission. Il reste cependant que la décision prise à San Francisco n'était pas définitive, et que l'Assemblée générale s'est prononcée à diverses reprises sur l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements sur les territoires non autonomes, notamment dans ses résolutions 66 (I), 334 (IV) et 648 (VII).

5. De son côté, le professeur Hans Kelsen, spécialiste de la Charte, a conclu, à propos du Chapitre XI, que les obligations de ce chapitre lient les Etats qui n'avaient pas participé à la conférence de San Francisco et qui sont, depuis, devenus Membres de l'ONU; que la violation répétée des obligations du Chapitre XI peut provoquer l'application de sanctions; que, par sa résolution 66 (I), l'Assemblée générale a laissé aux Etats Membres le soin de déterminer quels territoires entrent dans la catégorie visée au Chapitre XI; que l'Assemblée générale peut cependant désigner ces territoires par voie de recommandation; et que cette recommandation n'aura pas force obligatoire^{1/}.

^{1/} Voir Hans Kelsen, *The Law of the United Nations* (New York, Frederick A. Praeger Inc., 1950), p. 553, 556 et 557.

6. Il est indubitable, comme il découle de cette dernière conclusion, que les recommandations de l'Assemblée générale peuvent souvent ne pas être respectées; il n'en demeure pas moins qu'en devenant Membre de l'ONU, un Etat s'engage à respecter aussi bien l'esprit que la lettre de la Charte de sorte qu'un simple examen de la situation concrète de certains territoires peut, en dehors de toute argumentation juridique, amener à juste titre à se demander s'il ne conviendrait pas d'appliquer dans tel ou tel cas particulier les dispositions des Articles 73 et 74. Pour le représentant d'Haïti, il ne fait pas de doute que, dans les territoires sous administration portugaise, il n'y a pas égalité de droits entre administrés et administrants.

7. M. Krishna MENON (Inde) s'intéresse vivement aux débats sur les principes qui doivent régir l'application de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte, car il s'agit d'une question fondamentale qui touche au sens même à donner à la Charte. Après avoir admis en 1955 l'Espagne et le Portugal, l'Assemblée générale a essayé sans succès, à ses dixième, onzième et douzième sessions, de préciser le sens du Chapitre XI. C'est pourquoi elle a décidé à sa quatorzième session de créer, par sa résolution 1467 (XIV), le Comité spécial des Six, composé de Membres administrants et de Membres non administrants. Ce comité a énoncé, dans la subdivision B de la section V de son rapport, d'excellents principes que la Quatrième Commission ne manquera sans doute pas d'adopter.

8. Sous des formes différentes, l'Espagne et le Portugal soutiennent qu'aucun des territoires qu'ils administrent ne tombe sous le coup des dispositions du Chapitre XI, et qu'ils ne sont donc pas dans l'obligation de communiquer les renseignements prévus à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73. L'Espagne a cependant adopté une attitude plus conciliante, en ce sens que, tout en faisant des réserves juridiques, elle a communiqué des renseignements au Secrétaire général, à titre d'information. Le représentant de l'Inde s'en félicite, et espère pouvoir constater des progrès supplémentaires quand l'Assemblée générale aura fait clairement connaître son opinion.

9. Le Portugal estime au contraire n'avoir aucune obligation, comme si ses droits et ses devoirs étaient différents de ceux des autres Etats signataires de la Charte. Il est clair cependant qu'il serait de son intérêt de communiquer des renseignements; car, en faisant le silence sur ses territoires, il n'empêche nullement le monde, et la délégation indienne en particulier, d'avoir une idée du sort fait aux populations locales. En réalité, le problème n'est pas tant celui de l'envoi de renseignements que celui de l'application de la Charte. Les multiples propositions faites pendant et après la seconde guerre mondiale, certaines même par des puissances administrantes comme le Royaume-Uni et l'Australie, tendaient à reconnaître que les peuples dépendants étaient sous une sorte de "tutelle" morale, et qu'il fallait donc les préparer à l'indépendance. C'est sur cette idée que repose la Charte, en dépit des distinctions juridiques de forme qu'il y a entre territoires non autonomes et territoires sous tutelle. Le Portugal prétend être le seul à interpréter la Charte comme il convient — prétention singulière — et décline toute obligation. Cependant, l'ONU est un ensemble d'Etats qui ont tous accepté les dispositions de la Charte. La Charte est une; refuser une de ses dispositions équivaut à les refuser toutes. Ce n'est pas

un simple manifeste, mais un texte multilatéral qui oblige chacun de ses signataires. A la différence des conventions ou traités, elle ne donne pas aux Membres de l'ONU la faculté de faire des réserves sur certaines de ses parties ou de dénoncer l'ensemble. Chaque Membre de l'ONU est lié par la Charte, à moins que, par une décision regrettable, il ne décide de ne plus faire partie de l'Organisation. Puisque le Portugal a demandé à être admis, il doit se considérer comme lié.

10. Les dispositions des Articles 73 et 74 s'appliquent à tous les Etats Membres, sans exception. Le Portugal prétend se dégager des obligations que lui font ces articles en jouant sur le sens du mot territoire. Il faut cependant noter que ce mot signifie uniquement étendue de terre ou région du monde; puisqu'il ne prend pas la majuscule, il n'a pas besoin de recevoir une définition ou interprétation spéciale. Le Portugal ne peut donc pas prétendre que ses colonies ne sont pas des "territoires", puisque ce mot n'a pas un sens particulier. Le seul moyen de savoir si les régions sont visées par les Articles 73 et 74 est de rechercher si leurs populations ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes. C'est bien le cas des possessions portugaises.

11. En acceptant la mission sacrée précisée à l'Article 73, les Etats signataires de la Charte reconnaissent qu'ils doivent rendre des comptes à l'Organisation. Si ces articles ne donnent pas à l'ONU, comme ceux qui ont trait au régime international de tutelle, le droit d'exercer une surveillance, ils font à l'Assemblée l'obligation de réclamer des informations aux Membres administrants, pour veiller à ce qu'elles s'acquittent de leur mission. Aucun Membre administrant n'avait fait la moindre difficulté avant le Portugal. Lui seul en fait une question d'interprétation. Or ce stade est dépassé depuis longtemps. De 1945 à 1955 les Etats Membres ont indiqué comment il fallait comprendre la Charte. Quand il est devenu Membre de l'ONU, le Portugal s'est trouvé lié non seulement par la Charte, mais aussi par l'interprétation que l'Assemblée lui avait donnée en 10 ans de pratique.

12. Le Portugal ne peut pas non plus se réfugier derrière l'argument de la suprématie de sa constitution nationale. Cette suprématie n'existe que dans une certaine mesure. Tous les Etats signataires de la Charte ont en effet renoncé au droit d'acquérir des territoires par la force. Le droit interne ne saurait avoir le pas sur le droit international. C'est ce qu'ont d'ailleurs affirmé les commentateurs de la Charte. Sur les 22 juristes cités dans le document A/AC.100/2/Add.2, mis à la disposition du Comité spécial des Six, quatre seulement font quelques réserves à cet égard, l'un d'entre eux étant d'ailleurs Portugais. M. Louis Delbez déclare en revanche, dans son Manuel de droit international public^{2/} (p. 139):

"Ce sont tous les Membres de l'ONU qui acceptent de limiter leur compétence immédiatement à l'égard de tous les territoires en leur possession, qu'on n'appelle plus maintenant colonies, mais "territoires dépendants".

"La nature juridique du territoire colonial en sort transformée. Certes, il fait toujours partie du territoire national, mais il se détache du territoire métropolitain, en ce sens qu'il n'est plus soumis au même régime juridique. Le territoire métropolitain

^{2/} Paris, Librairie générale de droit et de jurisprudence, 1951.

continue à relever uniquement du droit interne, alors que le territoire colonial devient largement tributaire du droit international."

13. D'autre part, même si l'on admettait avec le Portugal que le Chapitre XI de la Charte n'est qu'une simple déclaration unilatérale, il faudrait ajouter que c'est aussi la déclaration unilatérale du Portugal, Membre de l'ONU. Mais le Chapitre XI n'est pas une déclaration unilatérale. L'emploi du mot "déclaration", en tête du chapitre, ne doit pas tromper. Si certains chapitres avaient force obligatoire tandis que d'autres ne seraient que de simples exposés d'opinions, ce serait l'anarchie. Il ne s'agit ni d'un préambule, ni d'une note explicative, ni d'une annexe. C'est une déclaration qui oblige autant qu'un concordat ou que la Déclaration de Paris de 1856. Penser autrement reviendrait à dire qu'une convention n'oblige pas autant qu'un traité, parce qu'elle porte un nom différent.

14. En réalité, le seul titre du Portugal est le droit de conquête. C'est d'abord pour rechercher les épices, puis pour répandre le christianisme, que les explorateurs portugais sont partis à la découverte du monde. Le seul motif que le Portugal invoque pour conserver ses possessions est qu'elles sont anciennes. Aucune conquête de ce genre ne serait plus acceptée aujourd'hui. Quoi qu'il en soit, il est le seul pays à vouloir faire des Portugais des habitants de ces colonies. Jamais le Royaume-Uni n'a prétendu que les Indiens étaient Anglais. La délégation indienne considère que la conquête ne rend pas souveraine la puissance conquérante. La souveraineté réside uniquement dans le peuple du territoire conquis, et elle lui revient quand le régime colonial prend fin.

15. Les possessions portugaises ne sont pas des territoires de peuplement comme l'Australie, mais des territoires conquis, où les lois promulguées sans leur consentement font aux populations un traitement différent de celui qui est fait à la population de la métropole. Les Portugais eux-mêmes considèrent ces territoires comme des colonies. Dans un article de la revue *Foreign Affairs*^{3/}, le premier ministre Salazar a écrit en 1956: "On peut dire que l'Afrique vit, et doit continuer à vivre pendant une période indéterminée sous l'autorité et la direction d'un Etat civilisé." La domination d'un Etat par un autre, n'est-ce pas le colonialisme? En affirmant la nécessité du colonialisme, le président Salazar ne répudie-t-il pas l'objectif même de la Charte? Il ajoute: "L'administration publique et la direction de la main-d'œuvre sont inévitablement aux mains d'une petite minorité d'Européens. Ceux-ci ne peuvent pas abandonner leur tâche ou la passer aux éléments autochtones aveuglément et tout d'un coup." Dans le même article, le Premier Ministre écrit: "Quand il est conscient de sa mission, le pays colonisateur assure la paix, est responsable du maintien de l'ordre, organise la vie, favorise le développement économique, ... on peut se demander s'il serait possible d'atteindre aussi rapidement le même objectif d'une autre manière." Ce qui revient à dire que le colonialisme est non seulement nécessaire, mais souhaitable.

16. Les informations publiées sur la situation de ces territoires — informations peut-être exagérées, mais il appartient au Portugal de le démontrer — ne sont

guère encourageantes. Selon les renseignements donnés par M. Peter Ritner dans son livre *The Death of Africa*^{4/}, tous les habitants des territoires portugais d'Afrique, à l'exception des Européens et des quelque 10.000 "assimilés", sont soumis au travail forcé que les autorités ont institué à la fin du XIXème siècle pour faire croire à l'euphémisation des territoires. Le Portugal a signé en particulier avec l'Union sud-africaine des accords qui "facilitent" le recrutement de la main-d'œuvre africaine dans le Mozambique. Selon M. Marvin Harris, il est devenu immoral et illégal pour un Africain de ne pas travailler. Quand il ne peut pas prouver qu'il travaille, on l'emmène au poste de police; il doit alors ou bien trouver un employeur européen, ou bien accepter d'être embauché par un agent sud-africain, ou bien être recruté par le gouvernement pour faire partie d'un des groupes de conscrits qui exécutent les travaux de construction.

17. Au Mozambique, une compagnie créée par les mines a reçu des autorités portugaises le monopole de l'embauche de la main-d'œuvre autochtone; depuis sa création, la rémunération offerte est tombée à un niveau inférieur à celui de 1896. La suppression rigoureuse de toute agitation ouvrière n'y a pas peu contribué. Il n'existe en effet aucune convention collective ni aucune loi qui protège la main-d'œuvre autochtone. Si l'on en croit l'auteur d'un article publié à Lisbonne dans *O Seculo*, le 4 août 1956: "On a plus d'une fois démontré que le blanc ne peut pas s'acquitter de lourdes tâches en Afrique, car elles demandent un effort humain fatigant et épuisant ... On ne peut le charger que de diriger et de conseiller, administrativement ou techniquement. Les autres tâches sont naturellement réservées aux noirs qui sont les seuls capables de les exécuter." N'est-ce pas dire que l'esclavage est conçu pour le bien de l'esclave qui n'est pas bon à autre chose?

18. Sans vouloir s'étendre sur des pratiques discriminatoires qui sont bien connues, et qui ne sont d'ailleurs pas les pires qui soient au monde, le représentant de l'Inde tient à souligner combien la situation scolaire est déplorable. Il n'y avait dans les écoles angolaises, en 1954, que 58.000 enfants sur quatre millions d'habitants. Le pourcentage des illettrés africains était en 1950 de 99 pour 100, contre 23 pour les blancs. La plupart des écoles réservées aux Portugais leurs quelques places disponibles. En 1956, les écoles primaires publiques comprenaient 2.531 enfants de blancs nés en Europe, 3.382 enfants de blancs nés en Afrique, 3.210 enfants de mulâtres et seulement 737 enfants d'Africains. La proportion était un peu meilleure dans les écoles privées; mais, d'une manière générale, il semble que 5 pour 100 seulement des enfants d'âge scolaire puissent fréquenter l'école. Selon lord Hailey, les territoires portugais sont les seules grandes régions d'Afrique que n'ait pas touchées l'accélération de l'évolution économique et sociale qui a été ailleurs un des résultats les plus importants de la participation à la seconde guerre mondiale.

19. Enfin, les populations ne jouissent d'aucune liberté civique. A Goa en particulier, les réunions publiques sont interdites, et il faut une autorisation même pour des réunions de prière. En 1955, les troupes portugaises ont tiré sur les habitants qui prenaient part à des manifestations de résistance passive. Il y a eu beaucoup de tués. D'autres ont été

^{3/} Oliveira Salazar, "Goa and the Indian Union: The Portuguese view", *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 34, No 3 (avril 1956).

^{4/} New York, Macmillan, 1960.

condamnés à des peines de prison qui allaient jusqu'à 28 ans; d'autres ont été déportés en Afrique et au Portugal. De 1954 à 1959, plusieurs centaines de Goans ont été arrêtés, torturés et détenus pour avoir participé au mouvement de libération. Certains sont encore en prison, d'autres portent les marques des blessures ou mutilations causées par les Portugais. Malgré cela, l'Inde n'a pas placé de troupes à la frontière de Goa. Il ne faudrait cependant pas croire que son silence soit approubatif. C'est parce qu'elle est consciente de ses responsabilités internationales que l'Inde ne veut avoir aucune difficulté avec le Portugal ou la communauté internationale. Elle se réserve cependant le droit de réclamer la libération de Goa, qui fait autant partie intégrante du territoire indien que les anciens comptoirs français.

20. Il ne faut pas se détourner des réalités du monde. Il est devenu impossible de parler des colonies d'un point de vue purement légal. La Charte prescrit en effet le respect des droits de l'homme et le maintien de la paix et de la sécurité internationales. Elle fait tout au moins au Gouvernement portugais l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements sur la situation économique, sociale et scolaire des territoires qu'il administre, et l'Assemblée générale a le droit d'appliquer à ce sujet les dispositions de l'Article 10 de la Charte. C'est parce qu'elle en est convaincue que la délégation indienne a déposé, avec d'autres délégations, le projet de résolution qui a reçu la cote A/C.4/L.649. Elle espère que ce projet recevra l'appui unanime de la Commission, et en particulier celui du Portugal et de l'Espagne.

21. M. NOGUEIRA (Portugal) rejette catégoriquement ce que le représentant de l'Inde vient d'alléguer au sujet de la situation des territoires portugais; quant aux arguments juridiques, il se réserve le droit d'y revenir quand il aura étudié le texte de cette déclaration.

22. Rappelant que M. Krishna Menon lui-même a déclaré, le 21 novembre 1957, au Conseil de sécurité^{5/} que ce n'est pas parce qu'une majorité d'Etats partagent une opinion que cette opinion est nécessairement juste — d'où on pourrait déduire, a posteriori, que l'opinion de la minorité n'est pas nécessairement fausse — M. Nogueira ne comprend pas cependant que le représentant de l'Inde trouve maintenant singulier de ne pas voir l'avis de la délégation portugaise partagé par d'autres délégations ou même par la grande majorité des Membres de l'Assemblée.

23. M. ROHAL-ILKIV (Tchécoslovaquie) tient à dissiper tout malentendu au sujet d'une déclaration que le représentant de l'Espagne a faite à la 1038^{ème} séance, déclaration pour le moins inattendue, étant donné que l'Espagne et la Tchécoslovaquie ont à l'égard du colonialisme des positions diamétralement opposées. Si le représentant de l'Espagne considère que les idées de la délégation espagnole et celles de la délégation tchécoslovaque coïncident, c'est sans doute qu'il a mal compris la position de la délégation tchécoslovaque. Cette position est très claire: il est essentiel de liquider immédiatement le régime colonial; dans le cas particulier des colonies espagnoles et portugaises, l'Assemblée doit réclamer les renseignements prévus à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73, et faire admettre à l'Espagne et au Portugal que les territoires qu'ils

administrent ne sont pas de prétendues provinces d'outre-mer, mais bel et bien des colonies.

24. M. KRIGA (Tchad), après avoir adressé les félicitations de sa délégation au Président de la Commission à l'occasion de son élection et aux membres du Comité spécial pour leur rapport, constate que les 12 principes énoncés dans la subdivision B de la section V de ce rapport traduisent avec précision et sans équivoque la volonté des Membres de l'ONU telle qu'elle s'exprime dans la Charte et plus particulièrement dans l'Article 73. Les principes définissent exactement les territoires non autonomes, et la délégation tchadienne est prête à adopter tout projet de résolution qui les approuverait pleinement.

25. Alors que l'on pourrait attendre des débats de la présente session l'abolition totale et prochaine du système colonial, l'Espagne et le Portugal maintiennent encore, en Afrique notamment, des colonies qu'ils appellent cyniquement "provinces" et où sévit le colonialisme le plus inhumain. En Angola, par exemple, il n'y a dans les écoles primaires que 47.000 enfants, sur une population totale de 4.500.000 habitants; 700.000 habitants sont soumis au travail forcé, et la population vit sous la menace de l'internement dans les camps de concentration, des tortures et même de la mort; les habitants sont classés en civilisés, assimilés et non-civilisés. Dans l'ensemble des possessions portugaises, il n'y a que 35.000 habitants, sur 11 millions, qui aient le droit de vote et le système administratif est différent de celui de la métropole. On comprend ainsi que le Gouvernement espagnol et le Gouvernement portugais trouvent difficile de communiquer des renseignements sur leurs prétendues provinces d'outre-mer.

26. Depuis 1946, 100 millions d'hommes, dans près de 30 territoires non autonomes, ont accédé à l'indépendance; mais 150 millions, pour la plupart en Afrique, attendent toujours leur liberté et se tournent vers l'ONU. Or, si les puissances colonialistes n'avaient pas toujours fait obstacle aux décisions de l'Organisation internationale, celle-ci disposerait actuellement de moyens assez puissants pour imposer au besoin sa volonté aux quelques pays qui demeurent imbus de colonialisme. Les peuples non autonomes veulent l'autonomie et la liberté: l'ONU a le devoir impérieux de les arracher à la domination politique, économique, sociale et culturelle du régime colonial. Aucun amendement constitutionnel n'est une excuse pour continuer à exploiter les territoires coloniaux; au contraire, la domination d'un peuple par un autre dont le séparent la race, la langue, la culture, la religion et la philosophie est une affaire internationale qui intéresse tous les Membres de l'ONU. Or, jusqu'à présent l'adoption de motions imprécises a permis le maintien du colonialisme.

27. A ceux qui déclarent, dans une revue portugaise, qu'ils ne quitteront jamais l'Afrique, sinon par la force, et qu'ils ne consentiront pas à l'exploitation des noirs par des noirs, M. Kriga répond qu'il n'y a pas de parcelles de métropole en Afrique et que l'Afrique est africaine; il demande aux puissances coloniales et à tous ceux qui ont des visées sur l'Afrique d'écouter la voix de plus en plus forte des peuples africains, tous solidaires, qui réclament leur liberté; car rien ne pourra endiguer la vague de nationalisme qui déferle sur le continent africain. La délégation tchadienne estime par conséquent que la Commission doit adopter

^{5/} Voir Documents officiels du Conseil de sécurité, douzième année, 805^{ème} séance, par. 58.

les 12 principes posés par le Comité; leur application sincère permettrait à l'ONU de suivre l'évolution politique, économique et sociale des territoires non autonomes conformément au mandat que lui donne la

Charte, dont le souci est de voir tous les hommes égaux, heureux et solidaires.

La séance est levée à 13 heures.

ASSEMBLÉE GÉNÉRALE

QUINZIÈME SESSION

Documents officiels



QUATRIÈME COMMISSION, 1041^e
SÉANCE

Mardi 8 novembre 1960,
à 16 h 40

NEW YORK

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Etude des principes qui doivent guider les Etats Membres pour déterminer si l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements, prévue à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte des Nations Unies, leur est applicable ou non: rapport du Comité spécial créé par la résolution 1467 (XIV) de l'Assemblée générale (suite)

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Président: M. Adnan M. PACHACHI (Irak).

POINT 38 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

Etude des principes qui doivent guider les Etats Membres pour déterminer si l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements, prévue à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte des Nations Unies, leur est applicable ou non: rapport du Comité spécial créé par la résolution 1467 (XIV) de l'Assemblée générale (A/4526, A/C.4/L.648 et Add.1, A/C.4/L.649) [suite]

DISCUSSION GENERALE (suite)

1. M. NOGUEIRA (Portugal) déclare que, bien qu'il se pose de nombreuses questions extrêmement importantes et urgentes dont dépend la vie même de l'humanité, c'est celle du colonialisme qui a constamment été au premier plan des discussions en séance plénière, et dans toutes les commissions, à la quinzième session de l'Assemblée générale. Cela est particulièrement vrai des débats de la Quatrième Commission, et cependant il n'existe pas de définition de ce qui constitue le "colonialisme" ou une "colonie". Or, il importe que la Commission sache ce contre quoi elle se bat et il est également important qu'elle propose une solution positive pour remplacer le colonialisme et l'impérialisme, faute de quoi son attitude serait purement négative et destructive.

2. Plusieurs représentants ont défini les "colonies" comme des territoires géographiquement séparés de la métropole et habités par une population de race et de culture différentes se trouvant à un stade inférieur de développement social et économique. Cette définition est indéfendable. La question de l'éloignement dans l'espace n'est pas pertinente, car un certain nombre d'Etats indépendants forment des archipels ou constituent des ensembles groupant des régions géographiquement distinctes. L'insuffisance du critère de l'éloignement dans l'espace a été reconnue par le représentant de l'Irlande à la Commission et par le Mexique dans sa réponse au Secrétaire général (A/AC.100/1, par. 72 à 117). Se référant aux principes énoncés dans la subdivision B de la section V du rapport (A/4526) du Comité spécial des Six chargé de la

question de la communication de renseignement prévue à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte, le représentant du Portugal constate que le Comité spécial a lui-même fait ressortir, dans le principe IV, que la séparation géographique constitue simplement une considération à priori.

3. La délégation portugaise repousse également le critère des différences raciales et culturelles, car elle est opposée à toute discrimination fondée sur la race ou la couleur. En réalité, selon le principe IV, les distinctions de race et de culture sont considérées uniquement comme un facteur à priori. Il y a une contradiction inhérente à l'argument lui-même, étant donné que la Quatrième Commission est — à juste titre — unanime dans son opposition à toute ségrégation ou discrimination raciale et dans ses efforts pour favoriser la coopération et la solidarité internationales. Affirmer que les distinctions raciales ou culturelles doivent nécessairement impliquer des différences d'ordre politique, c'est aller à l'encontre de ces desseins. De l'avis de la délégation portugaise, Américains, Africains, Européens ou Asiatiques sont avant et par-dessus tout des êtres humains qui doivent bénéficier de possibilités et de droits égaux. Se ranger à toute autre thèse, ce serait appauvrir l'humanité socialement et culturellement en empêchant la fusion des races et des cultures, qui est la seule source de progrès. On ne saurait nier qu'il existe beaucoup de pays indépendants habités par un certain nombre de races ayant une culture et des antécédents divers; en fait, on peut dire que tous les pays sont multiraciaux, car il n'existe pas de race pure et la tendance universelle est à la constitution de sociétés multiraciales. La délégation portugaise se range donc aux conclusions du rapport selon lesquelles les critères raciaux et culturels sont sans valeur lorsqu'il s'agit de définir une "colonie".

4. Enfin, on a soutenu qu'un territoire dont l'économie est peu développée par rapport à celle de tout autre territoire du même pays constitue une colonie. Mais le rapport du Comité spécial des Six n'évoque cette question que brièvement, dans le principe V, et avec cette réserve importante que cet élément économique doit affecter les relations entre territoires de telle façon qu'il place arbitrairement l'un des territoires dans une position diminuée par rapport à l'autre. La délégation portugaise se range à cet avis, car, s'il y a quoi que ce soit d'arbitraire dans ces relations, il y a exploitation économique, ce qui est un des éléments du colonialisme. Toutefois, s'il n'y a rien d'arbitraire, la question de la situation économique n'est pas pertinente; cela est encore établi par le fait que dans tous les pays indépendants, qu'ils soient géographiquement unis ou séparés, le développement économique n'atteint pas partout le même niveau. La conclusion est donc que la situation économique d'un territoire n'indique pas, par elle-même, si ce territoire est ou non une colonie.

5. Le représentant du Portugal ne désire pas s'étendre sur cette question; mais, à la lumière de toutes les considérations évoquées à la Quatrième Commission et à d'autres commissions, il est possible d'aboutir à certaines conclusions. Il y a "colonie" quand un peuple en domine un autre, quand le principe de l'égalité des droits et des possibilités n'est pas reconnu, quand il y a exploitation économique et financière, quand des territoires sont occupés pour des raisons militaires ou pour renforcer la puissance nationale, quand une religion, une croyance ou une culture particulière sont imposées à autrui et quand des doctrines politiques et idéologiques sont imposées à un peuple pour accroître la puissance et le prestige d'un pays ou d'un groupe de pays.

6. Tous ces aspects ont été évoqués par diverses délégations à propos du rapport du Comité spécial des Six; aussi aurait-on pu s'attendre que ce rapport soit examiné à la lumière de ces considérations, afin de permettre à la Quatrième Commission de passer à l'application générale des principes énoncés par le Comité spécial. La délégation portugaise a été surprise, et, à vrai dire, consternée, de la façon dont la Commission a procédé. Le rapport est utilisé non pas en vue d'une enquête générale et objective, mais simplement comme un instrument contre deux pays: l'Espagne et le Portugal. Apparemment, nombre de délégations ne se sont pas avisées que d'autres pourraient vouloir contester certaines des réponses adressées au Secrétaire général, en dehors de celles de l'Espagne et du Portugal. La délégation portugaise ne pense pas que les réponses des Etats Membres devraient faire l'objet d'une discussion; mais elle éprouve des doutes quant aux réponses de certains pays tels que, par exemple, l'Union soviétique ou l'Union indienne. A l'heure actuelle, toutefois, elle se bornera à définir la position du Portugal au sujet du rapport et à répondre à certains des arguments avancés par des délégations qui ont voulu appliquer le rapport au Portugal.

7. La nation portugaise est dispersée dans divers continents, mais on a montré que la géographie seule n'implique pas l'idée de colonialisme. De nombreux pays ont des territoires sur plus d'un continent, et l'indépendance des diverses parties constituantes n'a pas été mise en doute. La seule différence est que la nation portugaise existe sous sa forme actuelle depuis cinq siècles. M. James Duffy a écrit dans son livre intitulé *Portuguese Africa*^{1/}: "Sur la rive méridionale de l'un des grands fleuves du monde, la Couronne portugaise a tenté d'appliquer au XVI^e siècle, à une population primitive, un modeste programme de coopération et de mise en valeur, qui, si on considère la politique de nombreuses puissances européennes aux XIX^e et XX^e siècles, demeure, par certains de ses idéaux, un modèle de compréhension et de modération diplomatiques." Certes, il y a eu des guerres à divers moments, ce qui est regrettable, mais cela n'a rien à voir avec la question examinée. Le principe V du rapport du Comité spécial des Six fait état de l'élément historique comme étant l'un des éléments supplémentaires pouvant être pris en considération.

8. Une autre accusation qui a été formulée est que les diverses provinces du Portugal sont habitées par des races diverses. Il en est effectivement ainsi, mais cela est vrai également de nombreux pays; en fait,

pratiquement, tous les pays sont habités par une multiplicité de races. La délégation portugaise ne peut rien voir de répréhensible à cet état de choses, et refuse de tenir compte de toute considération fondée sur la race ou la couleur. Une fois encore, le principe IV fait la part de cette situation.

9. On a dit que les provinces portugaises d'outre-mer ne se trouvaient pas au même niveau économique que le territoire européen. Cela est en partie vrai et en partie faux, étant donné qu'il y a certains territoires d'outre-mer où le développement économique est plus rapide qu'en Europe. Mais cela aussi est dépourvu de sens lorsqu'on parle de colonialisme ou d'autonomie, et le développement économique est mentionné dans le principe V comme un élément supplémentaire. Dans de nombreux pays, même les plus développés, il y a des régions qui sont moins évoluées; et, si l'on admet, comme il se doit, que la géographie, la race et la culture ne sont pas des éléments pertinents lorsqu'on parle de colonialisme, l'élément économique n'est certainement pas décisif.

10. De nombreuses délégations ont souligné que les territoires d'outre-mer s'étaient appelés colonies jusqu'en 1951 et que ce nom n'avait été abandonné pour celui de "provinces" qu'à partir de cette date, laissant entendre ainsi que ce changement était dû à des raisons d'opportunité. Aucune des délégations en question, néanmoins, n'a fait mention du fait que le mot "provinces" avait été employé pendant des siècles; dans la législation générale et dans le droit coutumier portugais, le terme "province" a été appliqué pour la première fois aux territoires d'outre-mer vers 1576; depuis lors, il a été utilisé à maintes reprises dans diverses lois et ordonnances, dans les constitutions de 1820, de 1842 et de 1911, ainsi que dans celle de 1933, qui est encore en vigueur. Si le terme "colonie" a été utilisé pendant une courte période, c'est parce qu'en 1935, lorsque des réformes administratives ont été introduites, les auteurs de ces réformes ont estimé que l'expression "colonie" avait une acception plus élevée, en rapport avec celle du droit romain. Toutefois, l'opinion publique, en particulier outre-mer, a peu à peu réagi et, lorsque la Constitution a été modifiée en 1951, le Parlement portugais est revenu à la désignation ancienne. Ainsi, cet argument que l'on oppose au Portugal ne prouve rien.

11. Les accusations se fondent encore sur le fait que, puisque le siège du gouvernement et du Parlement national est en territoire européen, les territoires d'outre-mer sont gouvernés de l'extérieur. M. Nogueira s'étonne que l'on ait avancé un tel argument. Il est exact, bien entendu, que le chef de l'Etat, l'Assemblée nationale et le gouvernement ont leur siège à Lisbonne, de même que la Cour suprême de justice, le Tribunal administratif supérieur et le Conseil d'Etat. Comme M. Nogueira l'a souligné maintes fois devant la Quatrième Commission, le Portugal n'est ni une fédération ni une confédération; c'est un Etat unitaire et la souveraineté, par conséquent, n'est pas divisée et ne s'exerce pas par degrés. Dans ces conditions, et comme les mêmes organes de la souveraineté sont compétents dans la totalité du territoire national, il y a une unité politique; la nation est une, et, là où est la nation, il y a aussi, nécessairement, l'Etat. Pour cette raison, précisément, la Constitution portugaise n'introduit aucune discrimination entre les divers territoires; il est impossible d'ap-

^{1/} Cambridge (Massachusetts), Harvard University Press, 1959.

pliquer un statut politique à un territoire sur le plan international et un statut politique différent à un autre territoire. Il en résulte que l'Article 73 ne s'applique pas au Portugal, lequel ne peut être tenu de communiquer des renseignements au Secrétaire général. L'attitude du Portugal à cet égard est extrêmement ferme.

12. Un certain nombre de délégations ont soulevé la question de la prétendue division de la population portugaise dans les territoires d'outre-mer en éléments "civilisés" et "non civilisés". En fait, les deux catégories d'habitants, "civilisés" et "non civilisés", n'existent pas en droit portugais; le mot portugais a été traduit de façon erronée par divers auteurs étrangers et a reçu une large publicité. Dans un autre ordre d'idées, le représentant de la Guinée, à la 1038ème séance, a déclaré, ce qui ne repose sur aucun fondement, qu'il existe une loi portugaise établissant cinq catégories de population en Angola — affirmation qui a été recueillie dans une brochure diffusée par l'American Committee on Africa. Il n'existe pas, il faut le répéter, de division de la population en "civilisés" et "non civilisés". Mais il y a un deuxième fait que l'on a voulu négliger pour plus de commodité; dans cinq des huit provinces portugaises d'outre-mer, toute la population jouit de la plénitude des droits dans tous les domaines, y compris le droit de vote et d'être élu. Etant donné que ces cinq territoires sont habités par des races nombreuses, le représentant du Portugal n'arrive pas à comprendre comment certaines délégations osent affirmer que le système est fondé sur des considérations raciales. En ce qui concerne les trois autres territoires, il y a encore, au Portugal, comme dans tous les pays, certaines fractions de la population qui n'ont pas atteint un stade avancé dans leur progrès. La délégation portugaise ne nie pas que cette situation existe, mais elle ne pense pas que le Portugal puisse être blâmé pour cela, d'autant plus que tous les efforts possibles sont déployés pour y remédier. Au cours du débat, les représentants du Mali et de l'Inde ont reconnu que certaines des populations de ces territoires étaient bien en possession de tous leurs droits, y compris les droits politiques. M. Nogueira se rend parfaitement compte que, si l'on prouvait — et on peut le faire — que la population jouit de tous les droits politiques et des autres droits dans les cinq territoires qu'il a mentionnés, que le processus de l'intégration y a depuis longtemps été mené à bon terme, que les habitants votent et sont élus, qu'ils jouissent d'une pleine représentation et se trouvent dans des conditions d'égalité absolue, la Commission ne serait toujours pas disposée à accepter ces faits parce que ce sont des faits qui ne conviendraient pas à certaines délégations.

13. A cet égard, le représentant du Portugal rappelle que certains représentants ont cité des chiffres relatifs à 1950. Dix ans se sont écoulés, de nombreux événements sont intervenus et les chiffres en question ne sont plus valables.

14. Au cours des débats, M. Nogueira s'est demandé, par moments, si sa réponse, en réalité, s'adresserait aux délégations ou à une brochure, rédigée par le professeur Marvin Harris et intitulée *Portugal's African "Wards"*^{2/}, qui est la source principale à

laquelle les délégations ont puisé leurs conclusions. A la 1036ème séance, le représentant de l'Irak a franchement déclaré qu'il citait cette brochure, mais un grand nombre d'autres délégations l'ont citée sans mentionner ce fait. L'auteur lui-même a reconnu dans la brochure que son ouvrage n'avait pas été écrit avec le souci de l'impartialité et du sang-froid. En d'autres termes, l'ouvrage considéré est tendancieux et partial, et il s'inspire d'idées préconçues. En tant que personne privée, M. Harris a le droit d'écrire ce qu'il veut; mais des délégations parlant au nom de leurs gouvernements n'ont pas le droit d'étayer sur cette seule brochure des accusations sans fondement contre une autre délégation et un autre pays. Il existe un grand nombre de livres sur ce sujet, écrits par des auteurs qui sont également des savants et des hommes intègres, mais tous ces ouvrages ont été laissés de côté. On a fait d'autres citations qui étaient pour le moins approximatives. Le représentant du Ghana, par exemple, en citant à la 1032ème séance un article écrit par M. Sarmento Rodrigues, ancien ministre portugais des provinces d'outre-mer, comme introduction à un ouvrage intitulé *Enquête sur l'anti-colonialisme* publié en 1957 par le Ministère des provinces d'outre-mer, a lu des passages empruntés à différents paragraphes comme s'ils formaient un seul texte continu. De même, il a cité des passages choisis du même ouvrage empruntés à un écrivain portugais, le professeur da Silva Cunha, de manière à donner l'impression que l'auteur préconisait une vaste conspiration internationale contre l'Afrique, alors qu'en fait celui-ci a suggéré que l'on établisse une sorte de coopération régionale afin de protéger les intérêts de l'Afrique. On s'est aussi beaucoup servi d'un article écrit par le Premier Ministre du Portugal pour la revue *Foreign Affairs*^{3/}. Cet article a été mentionné maintes fois devant la Commission; M. Nogueira ne s'attachera pas longuement à cette question, mais il tient simplement à déclarer, une fois de plus, que le Premier Ministre avait deux objectifs en écrivant cet article: il voulait essayer de définir l'essentiel du colonialisme, et montrer que le colonialisme n'était pas pratiqué par le Gouvernement portugais.

15. Puisqu'il est question d'erreurs de citation, M. Nogueira voudrait rappeler une déclaration du représentant de la République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie relative à un échange de télégrammes entre l'ancien chef de l'Etat portugais et le chef d'un autre Etat dont ce représentant a conclu que des modifications de frontières avaient été effectuées "autour" du lac Nyassa et que de larges portions de territoire et des populations avaient été échangées. La vérité, c'est que la frontière, non pas autour du lac mais sur le lac Nyassa lui-même — qui est une vaste étendue d'eau de 200 à 250 milles de long et de près de 50 milles de large — n'avait jamais été délimitée et que divers problèmes s'étaient posés en ce qui concerne la juridiction, les pêches, etc. C'est pourquoi il avait été nécessaire de partager ces eaux par une ligne idéale. Lorsque ce travail fut achevé, et l'accord signé, l'échange de télégrammes dont il a été fait mention a eu lieu, comme il est d'usage dans des cas de ce genre. Ni territoires ni populations n'ont été transférés. M. Nogueira est surpris que le représentant de la RSS de Biélorussie ait formulé cette accusation sans fondement et il se demande si ce représen-

^{2/} Voir *Africa Today*, vol. 5, No 6 (New York, American Committee on Africa, 1958). Publié également sous le titre *Africa Today*, Pamphlet No. 2.

^{3/} Oliveira Salazar: "Goa and the Indian Union: The Portuguese view", *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 34, No 3 (avril 1956).

tant a oublié les remaniements de frontières considérables et les transferts de population très étendus qui ont été exécutés de force après la seconde guerre mondiale, sans contrôle de l'ONU, au profit exclusif d'un puissant pays.

16. Le représentant de l'Irak a soutenu que le Ministre des provinces portugaises d'outre-mer avait des prérogatives spéciales, qu'il existait des différences d'organisation administrative et financière entre les provinces européennes et les provinces d'outre-mer, ces dernières étant les seules à avoir des gouverneurs, et que les provinces d'outre-mer ne faisaient pas vraiment partie intégrante de la nation. En fait, le Ministre des provinces d'outre-mer n'a dans le gouvernement ni position ni pouvoirs spéciaux d'aucune sorte; comme tout autre ministre, il relève du Premier Ministre. Les provinces européennes ont aussi des gouverneurs à leur tête. Quant aux différences d'organisation administrative et financière, elles sont définies par la Constitution. On en trouve du même genre dans toutes les constitutions et elles n'impliquent pas une division ou fragmentation de la souveraineté. Les différences d'organisation financière consistent en ce que les deniers d'une province ne peuvent être dépensés ou transférés ailleurs. Il est donc impossible d'employer les recettes d'un territoire au profit d'un autre — en d'autres termes, de pratiquer ce qu'on appelle, à la Quatrième Commission, l'exploitation économique.

17. Le représentant de l'Irak a cité des passages de la Constitution du Portugal. Il a cependant omis de mentionner certains articles qui stipulent que la souveraineté appartient à la nation, constituée par tous les citoyens portugais, qu'on entend par citoyen portugais toute personne née en territoire portugais au sens de l'article premier de la Constitution, et que l'Etat portugais est un Etat unitaire. De plus, l'article 72 de la Constitution précise que toute la nation participe à la vie politique de l'Etat.

18. Comme plusieurs délégations ont exprimé l'avis que le rapport du Comité spécial des Six vise exclusivement l'Espagne et le Portugal, la délégation portugaise tient à déclarer, premièrement, que les principes énoncés dans le rapport ne s'appliquent pas à son pays et, deuxièmement, qu'elle rejette le rapport dans son ensemble. Une contradiction fondamentale a marqué les travaux du Comité: alors que la Quatrième Commission est opposée au colonialisme où qu'il se trouve, le rapport du Comité spécial ne peut faire l'objet que d'une application discriminatoire, car, les territoires espagnols et portugais mis à part, on ne voit pas à quels autres territoires il pourrait s'appliquer. S'applique-t-il aussi à des pays autrefois indépendants et qui étaient reconnus comme tels par la communauté internationale, mais qui ont été intégrés par la suite sans que l'ONU ait eu droit de regard sur l'opération? D'autres contradictions sont aussi à relever: certaines délégations qui avaient déclaré ne pas pouvoir voter pour certains projets de résolution, à cause de la déclaration anticolonialiste qui doit être discutée en séance plénière, ont fait savoir qu'elles voteraient pour tout projet de résolution dirigé contre l'Espagne et le Portugal. De même, il a été dit que le rapport constituait un guide universel et que chaque cas de territoire serait examiné, mais personne ne semble avoir eu l'idée de parler d'autres pays que l'Espagne et le Portugal. Parce que les territoires portugais d'outre-mer avaient été appelés colonies

pendant quelques années, sans que leur structure soit différente, on en a conclu que c'étaient des territoires coloniaux. D'une part, on accuse le Portugal de ne pas respecter l'individualité de ses territoires d'outre-mer et les caractéristiques culturelles de leur population et, d'autre part, on lui reproche de n'avoir pas achevé l'intégration dans certaines provinces. On a dit que le colonialisme existait dans le monde entier et qu'il fallait l'abolir partout, mais personne n'a laissé entendre jusqu'à présent que le rapport devrait également s'appliquer à ce que de nombreuses délégations ont décrit, en séance plénière, comme la pire espèce de colonialisme.

19. M. Nogueira réserve le droit de sa délégation de faire toutes autres observations ou mises au point qui pourraient être nécessaires. Il tient à souligner pour terminer que certaines délégations n'ont pas hésité à diffamier son pays de la manière la plus grave. De toute évidence, les décisions de la Commission sont prises avant que tout débat ait eu lieu; on profère des menaces et les accusateurs sont aussi les juges. Bien que la Commission semble vouloir procéder de façon que toutes les voix de ceux qui ne sont pas de son avis soient étouffées, puis définitivement réduites au silence, la délégation portugaise ne permettra pas que sa voix soit étouffée ou réduite au silence.

20. M. MORSE (Etats-Unis d'Amérique) déclare que la décision que prendra sa délégation sur le projet de résolution A/C.4/L.649 dépendra beaucoup du libellé qui lui sera finalement donné.

21. A son avis, la Commission fait, à tort, tout un monde de l'interprétation juridique des Articles 73 et 74 de la Charte. Puisque ces articles figuraient dans la Charte lorsque l'Espagne et le Portugal ont été admis à l'Organisation, il s'ensuit que ces deux Etats ont par là même assumé les obligations correspondant à la portée juridique des termes employés dans ces articles, et que ces obligations les lient dans la mesure où ces articles ne contiennent pas de clauses limitatives. Dans ces deux articles, le mot "territoires" n'est pas employé dans un sens restreint. Quel que soit le terme employé par un pays pour qualifier ses territoires d'outre-mer, ces territoires peuvent devenir une cause de tension internationale. Or, une des raisons d'être de l'ONU est précisément de permettre de discuter ouvertement des causes des tensions internationales. C'est pourquoi il faut faire un effort pour résoudre à l'amiable le problème des territoires d'outre-mer de l'Espagne et du Portugal.

22. Les auteurs de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte avaient manifestement en vue deux catégories différentes de territoires en parlant des "territoires ... autres que ceux auxquels s'appliquent les Chapitres XII et XIII", et faisaient une distinction entre les territoires sous tutelle et les territoires d'un Etat situés au-delà de ses frontières. Etant donné ce libellé et vu que l'Espagne et le Portugal n'ont exprimé aucune réserve au moment où ils ont été admis à l'Organisation, leur argumentation juridique n'est pas très convaincante lorsqu'ils prétendent que c'est à eux seuls de décider à quels territoires s'applique l'alinéa e de l'Article 73. M. Morse ne conteste pas le droit d'un Etat d'émettre une telle prétention, mais l'ONU a le devoir, en l'occurrence, de porter un jugement sur sa décision. Il est difficile de croire que le Comité spécial des Six ait pu penser qu'un territoire d'outre-mer quel qu'il soit, où un pays exerce sa domination sur la population autochtone,

puisse être exclu du champ d'application de son rapport. On ne peut prétendre que le rapport est dirigé exclusivement contre l'Espagne et le Portugal; il se trouve simplement que ces deux pays ne sont pas disposés à communiquer spontanément des renseignements.

23. La délégation des Etats-Unis aimerait que l'on apporte quelques modifications au libellé du projet de résolution A/C.4/L.649 pour lui donner un ton plus conciliant. On a déjà fait des progrès dans ce sens, le libellé employé étant loin d'être dictatorial, et il convient en fait de complimenter les auteurs pour les termes modérés et prudents qu'ils ont employés et leur désir évident de rédiger la proposition de façon à obtenir un appui aussi général que possible. Peut-être aussi pourrait-on reconsidérer la liste des territoires. Quelles que soient les modifications effectuées, il faut faire comprendre aux populations assujetties que l'ONU entendra leur voix. La Commission doit mettre au point le moyen qui permettra à tous les gouvernements de trouver à l'ONU les renseignements visés dans le rapport du Comité spécial des Six. La difficulté est de savoir si les Etats Membres seront disposés à appliquer les principes énoncés dans le rapport du Comité spécial à certaines régions du monde.

24. M. WEEKS (Libéria) déclare que sa délégation a eu recours à la procédure diplomatique et à la persuasion pour essayer de convaincre le Portugal de communiquer des renseignements en vertu de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte. Le représentant du Portugal essaye d'étayer la position de son gouvernement par des arguties juridiques. De l'avis de la délégation libérienne, les territoires portugais d'Afrique et d'ailleurs sont en fait des colonies dans la pleine acception du terme. Des changements ont été apportés à la Constitution portugaise à seule fin de tourner la Charte.

25. La notion de séparation géographique, évoquée au principe IV du rapport du Comité spécial, s'explique d'elle-même, bien que le représentant du Portugal la mette en doute. Des territoires situés en Afrique ne peuvent être décrits comme une partie de l'Etat portugais.

26. La Quatrième Commission a raison de concentrer son attention sur l'impérialisme et le colonialisme, malgré l'existence d'autres problèmes importants dans le monde, car c'est la seule commission qui se préoccupe d'êtres humains, sans lesquels il n'y aurait aucune collectivité au monde. On n'a donné aucune définition du mot "impérialisme", car il en existe différents types — social, politique, religieux ou commercial — qui détruisent tous les groupes ethniques et sociaux dans les territoires où ils se pratiquent.

27. Le représentant du Portugal a fait allusion à l'exploitation économique comme critère permettant de décider si un territoire est une colonie ou non. La preuve de l'existence d'une telle exploitation est fournie dans une étude intitulée *Portugal's African "Wards"* qui mentionne notamment les travaux d'une commission envoyée à Lourenço Marques en 1893. On a dit à cette commission que rien ne pouvait être accompli sans un nouveau code du travail, car le travail des indigènes était nécessaire à l'économie de l'Europe et au progrès de l'Afrique, et que les noirs constituaient une race qui n'avait jamais atteint même un

rudiment de civilisation par son propre effort spontané.

28. M. NOGUEIRA (Portugal) demande le nom de l'auteur de cette étude.

29. M. WEEKS (Libéria) répond que le professeur Marvin Harris en est l'auteur.

30. Cette étude contient aussi des données concernant un autre critère du statut colonial, critère admis par le représentant du Portugal, à savoir l'imposition d'une croyance ou d'une idéologie étrangères. En mai 1954, on a adopté, pour les habitants du Mozambique, de l'Angola et de la Guinée portugaise, un statut fixant les conditions d'instruction exigées des individus de race noire ou de leurs descendants, nés et résidant habituellement dans ces provinces. Le processus d'assimilation que sanctionne ce statut constitue une conversion de force à des principes étrangers aux coutumes des autochtones, puisqu'ils sont ainsi requis d'adopter les habitudes et les coutumes relevant du droit commun portugais. Le fait que cette législation ne s'applique pas aux Européens illettrés de ces territoires prouve que tel est vraiment son objectif.

31. M. Weeks sait, pour l'avoir observé, que les territoires africains du Portugal comptent différentes classes de citoyens qui habitent des zones séparées. Le représentant du Portugal ne peut le nier.

32. La souveraineté est une notion absolue. Elle appartient, dans un territoire, à sa population et le droit de cette population de posséder les richesses naturelles de son territoire ne fait, non plus, l'objet d'aucun doute.

33. M. NIKOI (Ghana) déclare ne pas trouver très convaincants les arguments du représentant du Portugal. Si la délégation ghanéenne a cité, au cours de la 1032ème séance, les chiffres de population indiqués dans l'édition révisée de 1956 du livre *An African Survey*^{4/} de lord Hailey et que ces chiffres ne sont pas à jour, c'est parce que le Portugal a refusé de fournir des chiffres plus récents.

34. Une accusation plus grave, bien qu'indirecte, du représentant du Portugal a concerné des citations d'un livre intitulé *Enquête sur l'anticolonialisme*, publié en 1957 par le Ministère des provinces d'outre-mer du Gouvernement portugais. Le titre de cet ouvrage officiel est, à vrai dire, assez curieux et, si l'on en ignorait le contenu, on serait tenté de croire que le Portugal est devenu anticolonialiste. En fait, le Gouvernement portugais cherchait à convaincre ses alliés, notamment les Etats-Unis, des dangers inhérents à la révolution anticolonialiste qui déferle sur l'Afrique. Il est vrai qu'en faisant des citations de ce livre, la délégation ghanéenne a laissé de côté certains passages, mais, comme la Commission s'en rendra compte, ces omissions n'ont pas déformé la pensée de l'auteur. Après avoir exposé très clairement, au paragraphe 3 de l'introduction, le but de cet ouvrage, l'auteur, au paragraphe 5, qualifie l'Union sud-africaine de pays indépendant le plus important du continent, étroitement lié à l'Europe; dans le même passage, il dit que le Libéria a des liens étroits avec les Etats-Unis, que l'attitude des pays d'Afrique du Nord n'est pas très nette et que celle du Ghana ne semble guère favorable au maintien de la présence des Européens en Afrique.

^{4/} Oxford University Press, 1957.

35. En citant ce livre, M. Nikoi voulait indiquer un état d'esprit et une manière d'aborder le problème. A son avis, les territoires africains du Portugal constituent des possessions de caractère intégralement impérialiste et colonialiste. Il aurait pu être utile pour la Commission que le représentant du Portugal commente les vues exprimées dans ce livre et dise si elles constituent toujours la politique officielle du Portugal. L'auteur d'une des études du livre, le professeur da Silva Cunha, soutient que, face au mouvement d'indépendance qui soulève l'Afrique, les puissances coloniales devraient collaborer, non seulement afin d'harmoniser leur politique à ce sujet, mais aussi pour mettre au point leur politique intérieure, en ce qui concerne notamment l'attitude et les méthodes d'action adoptées à l'égard des autochtones. Une organisation régionale, qui serait le complément de l'Organisation du Traité de l'Atlantique nord, pourrait servir de base pour une défense commune en Afrique et aiderait à neutraliser l'anticolonialisme qui existe toujours aux Etats-Unis. A la page 263, le professeur da Silva Cunha suggère que le Portugal, qui est membre de l'OTAN et qui, en même temps, est lié à l'Espagne par des traités bilatéraux, prenne l'initiative de la création de cette organisation régionale; la collaboration de l'Espagne, qui jouit d'un grand prestige dans le monde arabe, pourrait contrebalancer les forces de désintégration qui opèrent en Afrique du Nord.

36. Comme on le voit, la délégation ghanéenne ne peut être accusée d'avoir déformé la pensée du professeur da Silva Cunha, qui a préconisé la création d'une organisation régionale afin d'endiguer la marée du nationalisme en Afrique. La délégation portugaise est libre de le nier, mais ce sont les faits et les déclarations des porte-parole officiels du Gouvernement portugais qui ont forcé la délégation ghanéenne à conclure qu'en refusant de coopérer avec l'ONU concernant la communication de renseignements et en réclamant la création d'une organisation régionale d'où seraient exclus les nouveaux Etats indépendants d'Afrique, le Portugal n'a laissé d'autre choix aux pays directement intéressés au bien-être des habitants de l'Afrique que d'envisager les mesures qu'ils doivent prendre dans l'intérêt de tous les Etats africains.

37. M. Nikoi se réserve le droit de revenir sur cette question lorsqu'il aura eu le temps d'étudier plus en détail la déclaration du représentant du Portugal.

38. M. CARPIO (Philippines) propose l'ajournement de la séance conformément à l'article 119 du règlement intérieur.

Par 42 voix contre une, avec 18 abstentions, la proposition est adoptée.

La séance est levée à 18 h 30.

ASSEMBLÉE GÉNÉRALE

QUINZIÈME SESSION

Documents officiels



92
QUATRIÈME COMMISSION, 1042^e
SÉANCE

Mercredi 9 novembre 1960,
à 11 heures

NEW YORK

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En l'absence du Président, M. Ortiz de Rozas (Argentine), vice-président, prend la présidence.

POINT 38 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

Etude des principes qui doivent guider les Etats Membres pour déterminer si l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements, prévue à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte des Nations Unies, leur est applicable ou non: rapport du Comité spécial créé par la résolution 1467 (XIV) de l'Assemblée générale (A/4526, A/C.4/L.648 et Add.1, A/C.4/L.649) [suite]

DISCUSSION GENERALE (fin)

1. M. NEKIESSA (République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine) veut, pour répondre à une déclaration faite par le représentant du Portugal, dire pourquoi la délégation ukrainienne avait rappelé que le Portugal tient certains territoires d'Afrique et d'Asie sous sa domination depuis plus de cinq siècles. C'est que la prétendue mission civilisatrice de cet Etat n'a donné que des résultats insignifiants et qu'il n'a rien fait pour améliorer les conditions d'existence des autochtones. En critiquant la déclaration de l'Ukraine, le représentant du Portugal n'a pas pu réfuter les faits certains qu'elle avait avancés: un médecin pour 80.000 habitants et 99 pour 100 d'illettrés en Angola, un seul autochtone sorti de l'Université au Mozambique, sur une population de 6 millions d'habitants, la pratique du travail forcé et des châtiments corporels dans l'ensemble des territoires portugais, etc.

2. M. NOGUEIRA (Portugal) intervient pour une question d'ordre. Il regrette que le représentant de l'Ukraine répète des arguments que la délégation portugaise n'a pas discutés. Elle a simplement répondu, en usant de son droit le plus strict, aux accusations calomnieuses dont le Portugal avait été l'objet; si certaines délégations persistent à "répondre" à sa défense, il lui faudra alors user d'un "droit de réplique".

3. M. ALWAN (Irak), intervenant pour une question d'ordre, estime que le représentant de l'Ukraine a le droit de répondre à toute allégation du représentant du Portugal.

4. Le PRESIDENT précise qu'il convient, pour le bon ordre des travaux de la Commission, de se limiter à répondre aux arguments avancés par l'une ou l'autre partie, et il prie les membres de la Commission qui désirent user de leur droit de réponse de se borner à préciser la position de leur délégation sur un point particulier.

5. M. NEKIESSA (République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine) constate que le représentant du Portugal vient de dire qu'il n'a pas discuté les données de l'Ukraine. Lui-même ne conteste pas à la délégation portugaise le droit de répondre. Mais il eut été plus simple, au lieu de jeter le doute sur les sources ou les auteurs des renseignements cités par la délégation ukrainienne, de réfuter ces renseignements s'ils ne sont pas exacts. La manœuvre qui consiste à jeter un doute sur la source des renseignements donnés n'est pas le fait du hasard: elle vise à détourner l'attention de la Commission du problème principal; mais la Commission ne se laissera pas distraire. M. Nekiessa est convaincu en effet qu'au moment où les empires coloniaux s'écroulent dans le monde entier le Portugal ne peut pas être le seul pays à maintenir sa position, et que toutes les colonies qu'il occupe accèderont finalement à l'indépendance.

6. M. ALWAN (Irak) pense, comme le représentant des Etats-Unis, que certains territoires sont une cause de tension internationale. Le représentant du Portugal s'est plaint des accusations et des attaques de diverses délégations contre son pays; si la délégation irakienne a critiqué le Portugal, ce n'est pas par hostilité, mais pour indiquer ce que le Gouvernement irakien pense des prétendues provinces d'outremer du Portugal, en employant comme critères les principes énoncés dans la subdivision B de la section V du rapport (A/4526) du Comité spécial des Six chargé de la question de la communication de renseignements prévue à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte. Il pense qu'il faut accorder tout le soutien possible aux peuples africains qui ont perdu leur liberté à la suite de conquêtes étrangères, et, conformément aux buts et principes de la Charte, assurer à ces peuples la liberté politique qui les mènera plus rapidement à l'indépendance. Le représentant du Portugal peut critiquer cette politique, mais le Gouvernement irakien, pour sa part, est résolu à ne jamais s'en écarter.

7. M. Nogueira s'est efforcé de démentir que les habitants africains des territoires portugais soient classés en "civilisés" et "non civilisés". Or, on peut lire à l'article 2 du statut du 20 mai 1954 s'appliquant aux autochtones portugais des provinces de Guinée, d'Angola et du Mozambique que les personnes de race noire ou leurs descendants qui sont nés ou résident habituellement dans lesdites provinces et qui ne

possèdent pas encore l'instruction et les habitudes sociales et individuelles requises pour l'application intégrale du droit public et privé applicable aux citoyens portugais sont considérés comme étant "indigènes".

8. Au cours du débat général à l'Assemblée plénière, le représentant du Portugal a affirmé que la politique de son pays s'inspirait des idéaux de la chrétienté, des sentiments de fraternité, du concept de l'égalité des droits, de la supériorité des valeurs morales et de la dignité de l'homme. Les autorités portugaises puisent-elles leurs inspirations à ces sources pour pratiquer la torture, restreindre la liberté de déplacement, organiser le travail forcé, élever des barrières discriminatoires contre la population noire de leurs colonies, et jeter à la mer des multitudes d'êtres humains pour la simple raison qu'elles les jugent indésirables? En vérité, ni le Portugal, ni aucune autre puissance coloniale n'a besoin d'expliquer son action "civilisatrice" en Afrique: les atrocités commises, notamment par les colonisateurs portugais, parlent d'elles-mêmes.

9. La délégation irakienne n'est pas mue par la haine, ni par le désir de supplanter le Portugal en Afrique, mais par l'amour de la liberté et le respect de la personne humaine. Bien plus, elle ne condamne pas le Portugal, mais désire seulement l'aider à suivre une voie juste et humaine, digne d'un pays européen, pour consolider la paix et la sécurité internationales et éviter une nouvelle Algérie. Car il faut sans tarder résoudre les problèmes des peuples dépendants dans le cadre de l'ONU. Le représentant du Portugal a critiqué l'attitude de la délégation irakienne; cette attitude n'a pourtant rien de comparable à celle de la délégation portugaise, qui n'a cessé de refuser, de défier et de rejeter avec mépris toute action de l'Assemblée générale et de manifester son intention de ne tenir aucun compte de ses résolutions, en violation flagrante de la Charte des Nations Unies. Le représentant du Portugal a essayé de réfuter des faits irréfutables, mais il n'a jamais nié les tortures arbitraires infligées aux Africains, la législation du travail forcé, les restrictions apportées à la liberté des populations autochtones et la discrimination scolaire. Ces pratiques inhumaines, qui ont reçu force de loi, ont pour but de réduire au silence les populations autochtones et de perpétuer la domination portugaise. Il est temps que la Commission mette en œuvre les principes de la Charte, par simple solidarité humaine.

10. Mlle SAFFOURI (Jordanie) estime que le représentant du Portugal à la Quatrième Commission, ne pouvant pas être le porte-parole de la population autochtone des colonies portugaises, a certainement le droit, en qualité de représentant du seul territoire métropolitain, de soutenir comme il l'entend, et avec l'énergie du désespoir, que le Portugal et ses provinces d'outre-mer ne constituent qu'une seule et même nation et que le Portugal n'a donc pas à communiquer de renseignements sur ses territoires. Mais l'opinion du monde entier lui répondra que cette thèse est sans valeur. Un référendum prouverait que ces colonies n'ont rien de commun avec le Portugal.

11. Les territoires sous administration portugaise remplissent les conditions énoncées au principe IV du rapport du Comité spécial des Six, et sont donc bien des colonies; en refusant de communiquer les renseignements prévus à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte, le Portugal enfreint donc purement et simple-

ment les principes que les Nations Unies sont unanimement tenues de respecter. Quoi que dise le représentant du Portugal, la délégation jordanienne estime que le maintien du régime colonial ne peut que mettre la paix en danger. Devant le fait irréfutable que le Portugal ne cherche, en critiquant les conclusions auxquelles ont abouti de nombreuses délégations, qu'à justifier à tout prix un régime voué à l'échec, l'ONU doit convaincre le Portugal de ne plus s'opposer à la marche de l'histoire, et de faire face, comme toutes les puissances administrantes, à l'obligation qui lui incombe de communiquer les renseignements prévus au Chapitre XI de la Charte.

12. M. KOUDRYAVTSEV (République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie) constate que le représentant du Portugal s'est efforcé de nier ou de contester les données les plus convaincantes que l'on ait citées au cours de la discussion, données qui témoignent de la situation terrible dans laquelle se trouvent les autochtones des colonies portugaises, exploités sans merci et soumis à la discrimination raciale et à la haine. Mais on ne peut nier l'indéniable; c'est pourquoi le représentant du Portugal, tout en démentant purement et simplement les faits indiqués par certaines délégations, a admis ceux que citaient d'autres, mais pour leur enlever toute valeur. Cette manœuvre, nouveau "baiser de Judas", est vouée à l'échec. C'est ainsi que le représentant du Portugal a tenté d'"expliquer" certains faits cités par la délégation biélorussienne, comme pour en minimiser l'importance. Il a expliqué une rectification de frontière dans la région du lac Nyassa par le désir que les Portugais avaient de bénéficier des ressources de la pêche dans ce lac, et il a dit que la délégation biélorussienne se trompait en croyant qu'il s'agissait d'une expansion territoriale. Mais les faits parlent d'eux-mêmes: on ne peut pas nier le télégramme adressé au premier ministre Salazar par le Président de la République portugaise pendant le survol des régions nouvellement acquises. Certes, cette expansion territoriale est limitée, mais elle existe, et au moment même où les peuples coloniaux d'Afrique brisent les chaînes des colonisateurs.

13. M. CABA (Guinée) regrette que le représentant du Portugal n'ait pas pu, et pour cause, indiquer combien d'Angolais siègent, au même titre que les députés portugais, au Parlement de Lisbonne. Mais cela ne veut pas dire que les prétendues provinces portugaises soient toujours isolées: des voix de plus en plus autorisées suivent de très près l'évolution politique des masses de l'Angola, du Mozambique, de la Guinée et d'ailleurs; elles étudient avec attention les documents de la police portugaise et de l'Assemblée nationale de Lisbonne. S'il est bien vrai, comme l'a déclaré son gouverneur, que l'Angola fait partie du territoire national portugais, qu'il est régi par la même constitution et par les mêmes lois que la métropole, le représentant du Portugal peut, au lieu de lancer un défi à l'ONU, donner des preuves irréfutables de l'égalité absolue de la population des territoires africains avec celle de la métropole. Mais, même dans la métropole, la politique du Gouvernement portugais est condamnée: M. Miguel Bastos, député portugais, déclarant à l'Assemblée nationale, le 6 avril 1951, que le Portugal n'a pas de colonies et qu'il forme avec l'outre-mer une seule et même nation, invite le gouvernement à avoir une politique réaliste et demande au nom de quels principes il reste attaché à une appellation devenue trompeuse.

14. Aucun changement d'appellation ne peut suffire à cacher la réalité. En 1958, l'écrivain américain John Gunther a dénoncé le régime du travail forcé, qui n'est qu'une nouvelle forme d'esclavage et rabaisse l'homme au rang de bétail; à l'iniquité du système s'ajoute d'ailleurs la vénalité des fonctionnaires chargés d'embaucher les travailleurs. Chaque année, les autorités portugaises envoient, en contrepartie d'un milliard de francs or, 100.000 travailleurs volontaires dans les mines d'or du Transvaal et 40.000 en Rhodésie; mais depuis quand ces travailleurs sont-ils "volontaires"?

15. Le représentant du Portugal a demandé qu'on lui cite les documents qui classent la population en cinq catégories. Ces documents existent, et sont connus de ceux qui s'inquiètent de l'avenir des territoires portugais d'Afrique. Dans un reportage publié dans le *Soir* de Bruxelles du 29 août 1957 et dans le *Figaro* du 22 septembre 1957, P. et R. Gosset expliquent que, dans les territoires portugais, les "assimilados" ont rang de citoyens, c'est-à-dire qu'ils ont droit à l'instruction, paient l'impôt, peuvent envoyer leurs enfants dans les mêmes écoles que les enfants blancs et sortir dans la rue après 21 heures; mais il n'y a que 5.000 "assimilados" en Angola, soit un sur 1.000, après cinq siècles de domination portugaise. L'article 2 du statut du 20 mai 1954 — cité par le représentant de l'Irak — les nombreuses lois spéciales et le code du travail indigène sanctionnent, ne serait-ce que par leur titre, la notion de discrimination raciale. D'après les rapports annuels des autorités portugaises d'Afrique, il y a au Mozambique 87.605 blancs, jaunes, Indiens ou métis, qui sont tous "civilisés", et 5.651.306 noirs, dont 4.349 seulement sont "civilisés". D'après les statistiques de l'enseignement pour les années scolaires 1956-1957 et 1957-1958, il y avait 13.642 élèves blancs, 5.148 mulâtres et 6.835 noirs seulement dans les écoles primaires de l'Angola: 178 noirs seulement fréquentaient les établissements d'enseignement secondaire, tant publics que privés, du territoire. Le représentant du Portugal prétend encore que son pays poursuit une politique pacifique; or le Gouverneur de l'Angola a déclaré, le 26 avril 1959, que la paix n'est actuellement possible que si les Etats ont des armées qui leur permettent de lutter contre les menées des agitateurs communistes — ce qui signifierait que tous les chefs nationalistes sont des agitateurs communistes — que, pour se défendre, le Portugal doit avoir une armature militaire solide, et que ses troupes doivent être moralement fortes pour résister aux diverses propagandes, ce qui implique que le Gouverneur reconnaît la puissance d'expansion des forces de progrès qui luttent pour l'indépendance.

16. Ces faits et ces chiffres démontrent que les arguments portugais sont inventés de toutes pièces et ne trompent personne. Il est inutile d'en citer d'autres au moment où la Commission est prête à adopter les 12 principes énoncés par le Comité spécial des Six et à les faire appliquer, aux termes du projet de résolution A/C.4/L.649, dans les territoires non autonomes du Portugal. M. Caba est certain que ce projet sera adopté à l'unanimité, mais également certain que le Portugal ne voudra pas le mettre en application. La délégation guinéenne prend note de ce défi, mais elle tient à assurer le Gouvernement portugais qu'il est de son intérêt de desserrer les chaînes et de libérer ses colonies, qui accèderont à l'indépendance tôt ou tard, malgré même l'armée portugaise. M. Caba demande à la délégation portugaise et aux délégations des puis-

sances colonialistes d'entendre son appel: il faut que les responsables de la politique portugaise cessent de s'obstiner et participent à la liquidation du colonialisme, fait majeur de la deuxième moitié du XXème siècle.

M. Pachachi (Irak) prend la présidence.

17. M. NOGUEIRA (Portugal) souligne que ce sont des délégations qui ont pris l'initiative des accusations qui se servent du droit de réponse. Ce droit revient à juste titre à la délégation portugaise, qui a fait l'objet d'attaques féroces et calomnieuses. Les délégations accusatrices ont actuellement recours au droit de contre-réponse pour répéter les mêmes attaques. La délégation portugaise se réserve donc le droit de revenir sur ces déclarations autant de fois qu'il le faudra pour les réfuter toutes. D'autre part, la délégation portugaise ne croit pas avoir abusé de la parole, surtout si l'on considère le grand nombre et la longueur des interventions faites par les délégations accusatrices. Certains prétendent que les discours de M. Nogueira n'ont trompé ni convaincu personne. On peut alors se demander pourquoi tant de représentants ont tenu à y répondre. La vérité est peut-être que ses paroles ont si bien persuadé les délégations de bonne foi que de nouvelles attaques ont paru nécessaires.

18. A la séance précédente, le représentant du Ghana a jugé bon de relever des remarques que M. Nogueira aurait faites après une intervention antérieure du Ghana. M. Nogueira ne voit pas pourquoi le représentant du Ghana a jugé nécessaire de répondre. M. Nogueira n'avait nullement contesté les citations de l'ouvrage de lord Hailey, car elles étaient exactes. Ce qu'il avait contesté, c'était l'exactitude des citations de l'article de M. Sarmiento Rodrigues: en effet, ces citations avaient été présentées comme si elles constituaient un texte unique d'un seul tenant, ce qui n'était pas le cas. Ce point n'a pas été réfuté par le représentant du Ghana. De même, les citations du professeur da Silva Cunha avaient été présentées comme si elles constituaient un seul texte, alors que les deux citations en question étaient à plusieurs pages de distance. M. Nogueira ne conteste pas le droit du représentant du Ghana d'interpréter ces citations comme il le juge bon, mais la délégation portugaise a également le droit de faire observer de quelle manière ces citations ont été présentées.

19. Le représentant de la RSS d'Ukraine a admis que le Portugal est présent outre-mer depuis cinq siècles. M. Nogueira a constaté ce fait sans en tirer aucune conclusion, de sorte que le représentant de la RSS d'Ukraine n'avait aucune raison de répéter ses dénigrements et ses accusations erronées tirées d'une brochure que l'on a prouvé être un écrit partial et passionné. On a accusé la délégation portugaise de recourir à des manœuvres et à des ruses et d'obscurcir le débat. La délégation portugaise rejette cette allégation et tient à demander si les délégations accusatrices — qui semblent sacrées — ne recourent pas à toutes sortes de ruses et de manœuvres. La délégation portugaise n'a certainement pas l'habitude de se permettre des affirmations de pure propagande.

20. Le représentant de l'Irak a répété que la population était divisée en "civilisés" et "non civilisés" comme si la délégation portugaise n'avait rien dit sur ce point. M. Nogueira est donc obligé de réaffirmer que la loi portugaise ne fait aucune distinction de ce genre; la répétition d'une telle allégation n'est rien

d'autre que de la propagande. Quant à l'accusation ridicule selon laquelle les autorités portugaises auraient jeté à la mer des multitudes d'êtres humains, M. Nogueira traite par le mépris des affirmations aussi absurdes. Il tient, d'autre part, à souligner qu'il n'a jamais dit que la politique de son pays s'inspire des idéaux de la chrétienté, des sentiments de fraternité ou de la supériorité des valeurs morales. Il ne nie pas ces idéaux. Mais il n'en a jamais parlé. Pourquoi dire alors le contraire? Il n'a jamais déclaré non plus, ni même donné à entendre, que son pays ne tiendrait aucun compte des résolutions de l'Assemblée générale. C'est là une accusation que nul ne devrait porter à la légère.

21. D'autres représentants se sont étonnés de l'émotion avec laquelle M. Nogueira avait parlé. Pouvait-il en être autrement lorsque le Portugal se voyait attaqué si féroce? La remarque de la représentante de la Jordanie, selon laquelle il luttait avec l'énergie du désespoir, était déplacée. Il n'a peut-être pas présenté ses arguments aussi bien qu'il le désirait, mais il n'éprouvait aucun sentiment de désespoir. Il s'étonne aussi d'entendre parler de l'opinion publique dans une commission: il pensait que seuls siégeaient à la Commission des représentants de gouvernements, qui n'exprimaient que l'avis officiel de leur gouvernement. Il s'étonne en outre que la représentante de la Jordanie ait répété qu'elle ne changerait pas d'opinion "quoique puisse dire le représentant du Portugal". M. Nogueira n'a-t-il pas alors le droit de penser et de dire que la délégation jordanienne avait arrêté son opinion avant même d'avoir entendu la délégation portugaise?

22. Quant au représentant de la RSS de Biélorussie, qui n'a d'ailleurs pas qualité, semble-t-il, pour parler au nom des délégations que la délégation portugaise aurait selon lui attaquées, s'il juge que les méthodes et la procédure suivies par la délégation portugaise sont inutiles, pourquoi est-il revenu sur les explications fournies par elle au sujet de la fixation de la frontière sur le lac Nyassa? Il a d'ailleurs reconnu que la délimitation concernait le lac même et n'a donc entraîné ni modification de la frontière terrestre, ni déplacement de population. Il est naturel que des parties qui utilisent une masse d'eau non délimitée juridiquement ou techniquement conviennent d'éviter les conflits locaux en décidant de la ligne où s'arrêtent les droits de l'une et ceux de l'autre. De toute manière, et en admettant l'optique du représentant de la RSS d'Ukraine, cette prétendue expansion colonialiste ne se serait faite qu'aux dépens d'une autre puissance coloniale.

23. M. Nogueira constate d'autre part que le représentant de la Guinée n'a pas encore précisé le titre et le numéro de la loi qui distinguerait dans la population cinq catégories de personnes; il semble d'ailleurs ne s'agir plus d'une loi, mais d'un document. Sans doute faudrait-il croire sur parole toutes les affirmations de ce représentant et admettre en particulier la présence en Angola d'une armée de 60.000 hommes, chiffre qui dépasse celui de l'ensemble des forces militaires de la nation portugaise. Il est également assez étrange de prouver l'existence de pratiques discriminatoires en disant que les jaunes, les Indiens et les métis ont tous les droits ou que les écoles accueillent des élèves blancs et des élèves noirs. Le représentant de la Guinée, et donc le Gouvernement guinéen, affirment ne rien ignorer de ce qui se passe dans l'administration, la police ou le Parle-

ment portugais; le Gouvernement portugais ne manquera pas de tirer les conséquences de cette affirmation. Pour ce qui est du travail forcé, le représentant du Portugal en nie énergiquement l'existence dans aucun des territoires portugais, et se réserve le droit de répondre plus tard sur ce point de façon plus détaillée. Il remarque pour l'instant qu'un gouvernement qui a déclaré à la Conférence internationale du travail, qui s'est tenue à Genève en 1959, que, dans la jeune République de Guinée, le travail libre est obligatoire pour les citoyens, n'a pas l'autorité morale qu'il faudrait pour porter d'aussi graves accusations contre le Gouvernement portugais.

24. M. CABA (Guinée) n'est nullement convaincu par les arguments du représentant du Portugal. Ignorant la loi ouvrière de la Guinée, M. Nogueira n'a pas compris le sens du mot "obligatoire" dans la phrase qu'il a citée après l'avoir détachée de son contexte. Le Gouvernement guinéen s'honore en effet d'être l'un de ceux qui s'efforcent de bâtir une nation africaine sur des bases démocratiques et selon les vœux de sa population. Le représentant du Portugal, qui parle d'égalité absolue mais dont le paternalisme ne trompe personne, serait plus persuasif s'il répondait par des chiffres aux deux questions précises que M. Caba lui a posées sur le nombre des autochtones de l'Angola et du Mozambique qui siègent au Parlement de Lisbonne ou qui font partie de la délégation portugaise à l'ONU.

25. M. KANAKARATNE (Ceylan) aimerait également connaître la réponse à ces deux questions.

26. Le PRESIDENT fait observer que chaque représentant est libre de répondre ou de ne pas répondre aux questions qui lui sont posées.

27. M. NOGUEIRA (Portugal) ajoute que sa délégation est libre non seulement de répondre ou non, mais aussi de choisir pour répondre le moment qu'elle jugera le meilleur.

28. Le PRESIDENT prononce la clôture de la discussion générale sur le point 38 de l'ordre du jour.

EXAMEN DES PROJETS DE RESOLUTION (A/C.4/L.648 ET ADD.1, A/C.4/L.649)

Projet de résolution A/C.4/L.648 et Add.1

29. M. ALWAN (Irak) présente le projet de résolution publié sous la cote A/C.4/L.648 et Add.1, lequel, en facilitant l'application du Chapitre XI de la Charte, permettrait de mettre un terme à une controverse qui dure depuis des années.

30. Le Comité spécial des Six où étaient représentés trois Membres administrants et trois Membres non administrants, ne pouvait, de par sa composition même, faire preuve que d'une parfaite objectivité; il a énoncé avec clarté les 12 principes auxquels il avait abouti; l'Assemblée générale peut donc exprimer sans réserve sa satisfaction des travaux du Comité spécial. Les deux derniers paragraphes du dispositif du projet de résolution ne prêtant à aucune controverse, M. Alwan espère que ce projet fera l'unanimité.

31. M. ZULOAGA (Venezuela) estime que le projet de résolution que la Commission examine ne concerne à peu près que le Portugal, puisque la délégation espagnole a laissé entendre à la 1038ème séance qu'elle serait, dans certaines conditions, disposée à communiquer les renseignements prévus. Le représentant du Portugal est donc parfaitement fondé à faire

des déclarations aussi détaillées qu'il voudra pour réfuter les conclusions du Comité spécial des Six et celles des délégations qui les ont approuvées. Quand le représentant du Portugal reproche au représentant du Ghana, comme il l'a fait à la 1041ème séance, de fausser le sens d'une citation en retranchant 14 lignes du texte, M. Zuloaga ne pense pas que l'argument intéresse vraiment le fond de la question. Mais le représentant du Portugal, qui a longuement critiqué à la 1036ème séance l'interprétation que le Comité spécial des Six donne du Chapitre XI de la Charte, répond lui-même au Comité spécial en faisant l'exégèse de la Charte tout entière, exégèse qui ne peut, sans que le représentant du Portugal l'ait cherché de propos délibéré, que rendre plus confuse encore l'interprétation du texte. M. Zuloaga sait que, dans le cas d'une convention ordinaire dont l'analyse soulève des difficultés, on peut souvent faire appel à ses auteurs eux-mêmes. Mais la Charte a pour auteurs des Etats et non des particuliers, ce qui rend ce recours impossible, d'autant que le sens que certains Etats donnent aux dispositions de la Charte a pu changer depuis la Conférence de San Francisco. C'est ainsi que la délégation australienne et la délégation philippine, par exemple, donnent actuellement du Chapitre XI une interprétation légèrement différente, moins libérale peut-être, que celle qu'elles en donnaient à San Francisco. Devant cette évolution constante, l'Assemblée générale a bien fait de décider, à sa quatorzième session, de charger un comité d'éclaircir une fois pour toutes le sens de ces dispositions. M. Zuloaga rappelle à ce propos que la délégation du Royaume-Uni s'était longtemps opposée à la création d'un comité de cet ordre, avant d'adopter à cet égard l'attitude inverse.

32. Pour la délégation vénézuélienne, les conclusions du rapport du Comité spécial sont toutes constructives, sauf les réserves du Royaume-Uni. Sur ce point, le représentant du Venezuela reprend à son compte l'argumentation présentée par le représentant de la Nigéria à la 1035ème séance, selon laquelle il est difficile de concevoir une situation où des considérations d'ordre constitutionnel pourraient limiter la portée des renseignements communiqués par un territoire donné. On ne voit en effet pas très bien quelles difficultés une puissance administrante pourrait éprouver à se procurer des renseignements auprès du gouvernement d'un territoire. Le représentant du Venezuela espère donc que la délégation du Royaume-Uni ne maintiendra pas ses réserves.

33. M. Zuloaga estime donc que la Commission n'a plus à se perdre en discussions juridiques — ces discussions qui n'empêchent jamais une situation de s'aggraver — mais que les principes du Comité spécial des Six doivent permettre à l'ONU d'amener sans conflit à la pleine autonomie les territoires non autonomes.

34. M. KENNEDY (Irlande) pense que la Commission devrait pouvoir sans difficulté adopter à l'unanimité un projet de résolution qui, souligne-t-il, ne vise directement aucun de ses membres, et ne fait aucune allusion à la politique que suivent les divers Etats Membres. Il s'agit simplement d'approuver les 12 principes énoncés avec clarté et concision dans le document A/4526, et déjà approuvés par les six membres du Comité spécial. Il ne s'agit pas encore d'aborder le problème de l'application de ces principes; à cet égard, les auteurs du projet de résolution

A/C.4/L.648 et Add.1 s'en remettent d'ailleurs, comme l'indique le paragraphe 3 du dispositif, à la décision des Etats Membres, "compte tenu, dans chaque cas, des faits et des circonstances".

35. Les principes énoncés sont d'autant plus importants que les six membres du Comité spécial ont dû se heurter à maintes difficultés avant de s'entendre à l'unanimité sur cette question épineuse, et M. Kennedy exprime ses remerciements à chacune des délégations intéressées, qu'il aurait du reste souhaité voir se joindre aux auteurs du projet de résolution.

36. M. Kennedy regrette qu'au cours de la discussion générale, la Commission ne se soit pas attardée davantage aux principes proprement dits, ce qui aurait mieux fait ressortir comme ils montrent bien combien a évolué la façon d'envisager les dispositions de la Charte. M. Kennedy estime que le principe IV est sans doute le plus important, puisqu'il détermine où il existe à priori l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements; ce principe a pour compléments les principes VII, VIII et IX.

37. La délégation irlandaise a tenu à figurer parmi les auteurs du projet de résolution, d'autant plus que ces principes correspondent dans leurs grandes lignes aux thèses que le Gouvernement irlandais avait soutenues dans sa réponse au Secrétaire général (A/AC.100/1/Add.1, par. 3 à 7).

38. La délégation irlandaise attend beaucoup du rôle que l'Organisation doit jouer à l'égard des peuples dépendants, pour lesquels elle a encore beaucoup à faire; en adoptant ces 12 principes, la Quatrième Commission pourra aider considérablement à la réalisation des fins du Chapitre XI.

39. M. RAHNEMA (Iran) estime que les "considérations générales" dont le Comité spécial des Six fait état aux paragraphes 16 à 20 de son rapport sont tout aussi importantes que les principes qu'il énonce ensuite; il ressort de cette partie du rapport que l'indépendance est une des aspirations légitimes de chaque nation et que la Charte est un document vivant; or c'est ce que la délégation iranienne a toujours soutenu. Il conviendrait donc peut-être de dire, au paragraphe 2 du dispositif du projet de résolution A/C.4/L.648 et Add.1: "Approuve les considérations générales de la subdivision A et les principes énoncés dans la subdivision B de la section V du rapport du Comité spécial des Six".

40. Quant aux principes eux-mêmes, les principes IV et V sont particulièrement importants, puisqu'ils suffisent à dissiper tous les doutes sur la nécessité de recevoir de tous les pays administrants des renseignements sur les territoires ainsi définis. Du fait que ces principes, une fois adoptés, ne seront plus ceux du Comité spécial des Six, mais ceux de l'Assemblée générale tout entière, il s'impose d'étudier avec un soin particulier les paragraphes du rapport du Comité spécial où sont mentionnées des réserves. La délégation iranienne juge spécialement pertinentes les réserves faites au paragraphe 14 par le représentant du Maroc. Il faut naturellement éviter que la "libre association" ou "l'intégration" puissent jamais servir de prétexte à l'annexion d'un Etat par un autre. Il convient également, dans le cas de l'intégration, d'être sûr qu'il y aura, entre les deux populations, "l'égalité complète" dont il est question au principe VIII. Le Comité spécial a justement prévu un certain nombre de garanties qui ont l'entière approbation de la délé-

gation iranienne, mais M. Rahnema croit qu'il faudrait donner plus de poids à l'éventualité du contrôle de l'ONU et remplacer peut-être la dernière phrase de l'énoncé du principe IX par la phrase suivante: "Il est souhaitable que, dans certains cas, ces procédures se déroulent sous le contrôle de l'ONU." On garantirait alors le libre choix de populations parfaitement au courant de leur statut. M. Rahnema ajoute que le rôle de l'ONU revêt la même importance dans le cas d'une "libre association" et qu'il faudrait peut-être dire, à

la première phrase du principe VII: "La libre association doit résulter d'un choix libre et volontaire des populations du territoire en question, exprimé par des méthodes démocratiques et éclairées, et, là où il le faudrait, sous le contrôle de l'ONU."

41. Il ne s'agit pas d'amendements officiels, mais M. Rahnema aimerait entendre l'avis de la Commission sur les idées qu'il vient d'émettre.

La séance est levée à 13 h 10.

ASSEMBLÉE GÉNÉRALE

QUINZIÈME SESSION

Documents officiels


 Mercredi 9 novembre 1960,
 à 15 h 30

NEW YORK

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POINT 38 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

Etude des principes qui doivent guider les Etats Membres pour déterminer si l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements, prévue à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte des Nations Unies, leur est applicable ou non: rapport du Comité spécial créé par la résolution 1467 (XIV) de l'Assemblée générale (A/4526, A/C.4/L.648 et Add.1, A/C.4/L.649) [suite]

EXAMEN DES PROJETS DE RESOLUTION
 (A/C.4/L.648 ET ADD.1, A/C.4/L.649) [suite]

Projet de résolution A/C.4/L.648 et Add.1 (suite)

1. M. SALAMANCA (Bolivie) rappelle que, lors de la discussion générale, il a déjà exposé les raisons pour lesquelles sa délégation approuve le rapport du Comité spécial des Six (A/4526) chargé de la question de la communication de renseignements prévue à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte. Les principes figurant dans la subdivision B de la section V de ce rapport sont pleinement conformes à l'Article 73 de la Charte, qui est applicable à la fois aux Etats qui se considèrent comme responsables de l'administration de territoires non autonomes et à ceux qui ne se considèrent pas comme tels.

2. Le représentant du Portugal a fait valoir que certains des critères mentionnés dans les principes, et notamment celui de la séparation géographique et des différences ethniques ou culturelles, ne peuvent pas avoir de validité universelle. Mais il n'a pas parlé des éléments de caractère économique ou historique dont il est question au principe V. Au début de l'expansion coloniale, les puissances coloniales ont été animées par des motifs économiques et non pas philanthropiques. Que la conquête portugaise remonte à environ 500 ans ne change rien à ce fait.

3. Le simple fait que le Portugal outoute autre puissance qualifie ses territoires de provinces ne les soustrait pas à la compétence de l'ONU et il ne s'ensuit pas non plus que l'ONU peut être considérée comme intervenant dans les affaires relevant de la

compétence nationale. Tout ce que désire la Quatrième Commission, c'est qu'on lui fournisse des renseignements. La Charte n'envisage pas de coercition. C'est le fait que le Portugal ne soit pas disposé à communiquer des renseignements qui met ce pays dans une situation embarrassante.

4. Le Comité spécial des Six, qui était composé de Membres administrants et de Membres non administrants, a mené à bien une tâche difficile en élaborant le texte des 12 principes et toute modification qui leur serait apportée détruirait l'équilibre réalisé. La délégation de la Bolivie n'est donc pas favorable à des propositions de modification de ces principes; elle pense que tout amendement ne ferait que rendre leur adoption plus difficile. A son avis, la Commission doit, tout d'abord, établir la règle qui doit la guider, puis s'occuper des cas auxquels cette règle s'applique. Il est très important que les principes rencontrent une approbation unanime et il est nécessaire également que la Commission puisse compter sur la bonne volonté des Membres administrants.

5. L'amendement présenté par le Togo et la Tunisie (A/C.4/L.650) au sujet du projet de résolution A/C.4/L.648 et Add.1 procède de bonnes intentions, mais le représentant de la Bolivie serait heureux de savoir si, d'après le Secrétariat, la procédure préconisée par cet amendement peut être pratiquement mise en œuvre et si elle serait coûteuse. Il serait également utile de connaître l'avis du Comité spécial des Six sur cette proposition.

6. Le PRESIDENT déclare que l'amendement en question est de caractère général. La question des dépenses serait étudiée au moment où l'Assemblée générale examinerait chaque cas.

7. U TIN MAUNG (Birmanie) déclare qu'à l'heure actuelle l'Assemblée générale ne peut se permettre d'être indécise sur la question de savoir si l'Organisation a le pouvoir de déterminer quels sont les territoires visés par l'Article 73.

8. Sa délégation appuie le projet de résolution, qui reflète nettement l'opinion générale de la Commission. Il est vrai que le représentant du Royaume-Uni a formulé, au sujet des principes IX, X et XI, des réserves qui ont eu malheureusement pour effet d'affaiblir les principes. Mais, comme ce représentant a annoncé qu'il acceptait les principes, la délégation de la Birmanie présume que celle du Royaume-Uni ne sera pas la dernière à désirer que ces principes soient immédiatement suivis en ce qui concerne certains territoires, afin de déterminer si l'obligation prévue à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte leur est applicable ou non.

9. Le projet de résolution est clair et simple; son but essentiel est que l'Assemblée générale donne une approbation officielle aux principes énoncés par le Comité spécial qui seraient appliqués ensuite compte tenu dans

chaque cas des circonstances. La mention, au deuxième alinéa du préambule, de la liste de facteurs jointe en annexe à la résolution 742 (VIII) de l'Assemblée générale a une importance particulière. Les 12 principes serviront de guide et devraient permettre à l'ONU d'aider les territoires non autonomes à atteindre les objectifs énoncés au Chapitre XI de la Charte, la seule garantie contre les manquements étant une vigilance incessante. Tous les Etats Membres conscients de leurs obligations doivent prendre leur part de la responsabilité collective qu'ont les Nations Unies dans le maintien de la paix et de la sécurité et relever franchement le défi qui vient de certains Membres.

10. L'amendement du Togo et de la Tunisie n'améliorerait pas le projet de résolution; la délégation de la Birmanie ne peut donc lui accorder son appui et elle votera pour le projet de résolution tel qu'il est rédigé.

11. M. DIALLO (Mali) déclare qu'il comprend fort bien que certaines délégations craignent que la Commission ne soit saisie d'une série d'amendements qui déformeraient les 12 principes énoncés. Mais l'amendement présenté par le Togo et la Tunisie est d'un grand intérêt parce que son seul but est de renforcer une disposition que le Comité spécial des Six a lui-même prévue. Il est en fait hautement souhaitable qu'il y ait un contrôle de l'ONU pour une question aussi importante que l'intégration d'un pays à un autre. Le cas des territoires dits provinces d'outre-mer est un cas d'intégration arbitraire que la délégation du Mali considère comme illégal. Si l'ONU contrôle un processus d'intégration afin de s'assurer qu'il repose sur le suffrage universel des adultes, elle saura à quoi s'en tenir s'il y a par la suite des protestations. C'est là un point très important et la délégation du Mali appuiera l'amendement présenté par le Togo et la Tunisie.

12. Bien que, dans sa déclaration à la 1033^{ème} séance, M. Diallo ait rendu hommage au Comité spécial pour la clarté et la précision de son rapport, il ne peut appuyer sans réserve le projet de résolution examiné et il estime devoir expliquer cette apparente contradiction.

13. La plupart des délégations, y compris la délégation du Portugal, ont déclaré que le rapport du Comité spécial était, pour le moins, acceptable. La seule question qui se pose est, par conséquent, celle de l'application des principes figurant dans le rapport. La délégation du Mali est en faveur de l'adoption d'une résolution unique dont le dispositif, après avoir approuvé les 12 principes, indiquerait des solutions concrètes et utiles. Mais cette méthode n'est pas du goût de certains amis des colonialistes portugais et espagnols, qui n'ont pas hésité à user de pressions pour que deux projets de résolution distincts soient présentés, ce qui leur permettrait d'appuyer un texte vague et sans valeur pratique et de ne pas avoir à trahir le Portugal et l'Espagne en votant pour un projet de résolution condamnant ces Etats en termes clairs et vigoureux.

14. La délégation du Mali s'abstiendra sur le projet de résolution A/C.4/L.648 et Add.1, afin de montrer qu'elle ne veut pas être associée à de belles déclarations de principes dont le seul mérite est d'être inoffensives et qu'elle a vu clair dans les manœuvres des puissances qui soutiennent les ennemis des peuples d'Afrique. L'Afrique reconnaîtra ses amis et ses ennemis. Les nationalistes des colonies portugaises sont pleinement conscients de la futilité de résolutions

unanimes qui n'apportent aucun soulagement concret aux habitants de ces colonies.

15. Lorsqu'il a dit à la Commission que son pays ne fournirait pas les renseignements requis, le représentant du Portugal se sentait assuré de pouvoir compter sur la sollicitude amicale des puissances qui manœuvrent sans cesse pour protéger l'Espagne et le Portugal, discréditant ainsi toute l'Organisation des Nations Unies. La délégation du Mali se réserve de dénoncer ces puissances le moment venu.

16. M. CARPIO (Philippines) indique qu'il votera pour le projet de résolution qui a été rédigé très soigneusement et dont le texte est sobre et dépourvu du caractère passionné qui a caractérisé certaines des déclarations faites à la Commission. La délégation philippine approuve les principes reproduits à l'annexe du projet de résolution parce qu'elle estime qu'ils constituent un pas dans la bonne voie et aideront à résoudre un problème très controversé qui se pose depuis longtemps.

17. Cependant, certaines observations s'imposent. Les mots "qui étaient alors connus comme étant de type colonial", au principe I, réduisent la portée de la première phrase du principe II et ôtent de la souplesse à la qualification de "document vivant" appliquée à la Charte au paragraphe 18 du rapport du Comité spécial. La délégation philippine votera pour le principe I, mais étant bien entendu que les territoires de type colonial comprennent, non seulement ceux qui existaient au moment où la Charte a été rédigée, mais aussi tous ceux qui ont pu, depuis lors, entrer dans cette catégorie parce que leurs populations ne s'administrent pas complètement elles-mêmes.

18. Pour ce qui est du principe IV, la délégation philippine l'approuvera étant bien entendu que ses dispositions ne s'appliquent pas à un pays — tel que les Philippines — qui consiste en un archipel habité par des populations d'origine ethnique différente mais qui jouissent de droits égaux.

19. La Commission devrait prêter attention à certaines contradictions qui existent dans le libellé des principes. Par exemple, alors que le principe IV contient les mots "au point de vue ethnique et (ou) au point de vue culturel", le principe V dit "ethniques et culturelles", et non "et (ou)". Deuxièmement, alors que les principes VI et VII parlent d'une "libre association", l'adjectif "libre" n'a pas été employé pour qualifier le mot "intégration" à l'alinéa c du principe VI. Troisièmement, alors qu'aux principes VII et IX, le texte anglais utilise indifféremment les termes "peoples" et "people", pour désigner les habitants d'un seul et même territoire, le pluriel "peoples", qui est celui qui convient, est employé au principe VIII. Il faut, dans tous ces cas, que la Commission sache si ces contradictions sont volontaires et, s'il en est ainsi, quelle en est la raison.

20. M. BOUZIRI (Tunisie) tient à présenter quelques observations au sujet de l'amendement, présenté par les délégations tunisienne et togolaise, qui vise à modifier la dernière phrase de l'alinéa b du principe IX. Pendant la discussion générale, la délégation tunisienne a déclaré approuver le rapport du Comité spécial des Six, dont la phrase en question fait partie. Cependant, le rapport est rédigé en termes généraux et les délégations tunisienne et togolaise estiment qu'un texte plus positif est souhaitable. Manifestement, lorsqu'un territoire prend une mesure aussi impor-

tante que son intégration à un Etat indépendant, toutes les garanties doivent exister pour assurer que les intérêts des habitants de ce territoire sont protégés. L'objet de l'amendement proposé est d'assurer que les procédures définies à l'alinéa b du principe IX se dérouleront d'une façon vraiment libre. Ce ne sont pas les auteurs de l'amendement qui ont introduit la notion d'un contrôle par l'ONU; ils ne font qu'énoncer en termes plus précis l'idée qu'exprime déjà l'alinéa b du principe IX.

21. Les délégations qui sont les auteurs de l'amendement n'ont pas été convaincues par aucune des critiques qui en ont été faites jusqu'à présent, car ces critiques n'ont pas touché au fond de la question. Elles seront heureuses d'entendre les observations que d'autres délégations pourraient formuler.

22. M. GASSOU (Togo) fait observer que, bien que l'unanimité soit évidemment souhaitable, il est préférable d'y renoncer si elle ne peut être obtenue que par l'adoption de textes prêtant à diverses interprétations. Lorsqu'on analyse la portée pratique des principes établis par le Comité spécial des Six, on se rend compte qu'il ne sera pas facile de déterminer quels territoires devront être considérés comme non autonomes. Le principe VI énonce les diverses façons dont un territoire non autonome peut atteindre la pleine autonomie. C'est: a) par sa constitution en un Etat indépendant souverain — ce qui se passe de commentaires; b) par sa libre association avec un autre Etat indépendant — ce qui n'a pas besoin non plus d'être commenté, car cela implique que le territoire a déjà accédé à l'indépendance; enfin, c) par son intégration avec un autre Etat indépendant — ce qui peut entraîner un conflit entre la puissance administrante, qui dispose de la force, et la population sans défense du territoire. C'est pourquoi le principe IX, qui vise à sauvegarder les intérêts de la population, introduit l'idée d'un contrôle par l'ONU. Cependant, la façon dont cette idée est exprimée prête à de sérieuses critiques. Il est très bien de dire que le contrôle de l'ONU "peut être souhaitable", mais la question se pose de savoir qui décidera s'il est souhaitable ou non. Si la puissance administrante intéressée n'estime pas que ce contrôle est souhaitable, l'ONU ne pourra l'imposer ou empêcher l'intégration. De plus, l'ONU serait placée dans une situation difficile si la puissance administrante informait l'Assemblée générale qu'elle ne communiquerait plus d'autres renseignements sur un territoire donné, parce que les objectifs de la Charte auraient été atteints et l'intégration effectuée. Si la population de ce territoire avait été intégrée contre sa volonté à un Etat indépendant, elle ne manquerait pas de protester; elle pourrait même faire davantage, ce qui risquerait de créer une situation très grave.

23. Pour toutes ces raisons, M. Gassou espère que les auteurs du projet de résolution acceptent l'amendement et qu'il sera adopté à l'unanimité.

24. M. WEEKS (Libéria) fait observer que toutes les délégations, à l'exception de celles du Portugal et de l'Espagne, ont approuvé les principes élaborés par le Comité spécial des Six, bien qu'il y ait eu quelques réserves au sujet de leur libellé.

25. Ces principes proclament le droit des populations à s'administrer elles-mêmes et réaffirment l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements prévue à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte. Le principe IV

indique les caractéristiques d'un territoire à l'égard duquel il y a obligation de communiquer des renseignements.

26. La plus grande difficulté a été soulevée par la question de l'intégration. Certains gouvernements, qui refusent d'observer les dispositions de l'Article 73, soutiennent que leurs territoires d'outre-mer font partie intégrante de la métropole. La Quatrième Commission ne peut, manifestement, souscrire à ce point de vue. La façon dont un territoire peut être intégré à un Etat indépendant est exposée au principe IX. En outre, le principe VIII stipule que l'intégration doit se faire sur la base de l'égalité complète.

27. La dernière phrase de l'alinéa b du principe IX a soulevé certaines difficultés, parce qu'elle peut donner lieu à diverses interprétations. La délégation libérienne appuiera donc l'amendement proposé par les délégations du Togo et de la Tunisie, qui exprime en fait la même idée en termes différents.

28. M. ZIKRIA (Afghanistan) rappelle qu'il a déjà exprimé la satisfaction qu'éprouve sa délégation au sujet de l'œuvre qu'a accomplie le Comité spécial des Six, mais qu'il a déclaré aussi ne pas pouvoir appuyer sans réserve les principes dans leur forme originale. La délégation afghane se conformera à la position qui a été toujours la sienne au sujet du contrôle par l'ONU des territoires sous domination étrangère. Elle appuiera donc l'amendement proposé par les délégations togolaise et tunisienne, qu'elle estime plus conforme que le texte original aux vues de la majorité des membres de la Commission. M. Zikria espère que les auteurs du projet de résolution pourront accepter cet amendement.

29. M. SHARIF (Indonésie) indique que sa délégation approuve les principes généraux du rapport du Comité spécial des Six, avec quelques réserves qui résultent du fait que, bien que ce comité soit apparemment parvenu à un accord sur le caractère multilatéral plutôt qu'unilatéral du Chapitre XI, certaines puissances coloniales restent attachées à une interprétation unilatérale des principes qui concernent les exigences de la sécurité et les considérations d'ordre constitutionnel. Tant qu'elles maintiendront cette position, on ne pourra enregistrer de progrès réel, malgré l'énoncé des 12 principes par le Comité spécial des Six.

30. Il s'ensuit du caractère multilatéral du Chapitre XI que l'Assemblée générale est pleinement compétente pour décider s'il y a ou non obligation de communiquer des renseignements ou si, dans certaines circonstances, une puissance coloniale est fondée à se retrancher derrière des considérations d'ordre constitutionnel ou les exigences de la sécurité.

31. La délégation indonésienne constate avec plaisir que le Comité spécial est parvenu à l'unanimité. Elle approuve le paragraphe 1 du dispositif du projet de résolution. Pour ce qui est du paragraphe 2 du dispositif, elle a plusieurs observations à faire. Premièrement, elle ne peut appuyer le principe VI et désirerait que ses alinéas b et c soient supprimés. Les procédures définies aux principes VII et IX ne sont pas une garantie suffisante que l'acte d'association ou la demande d'intégration à un autre pays seront véritablement fondés sur la volonté des représentants du peuple. Une élection ou un référendum qui se déroulent dans un territoire occupé et dépendant ne peuvent être soustraits à l'influence et à la domination

de la puissance administrante. Si l'on suit les procédures énoncées aux principes VII et IX, la délégation indonésienne craint que, dans quelques années, les puissances administrantes n'annoncent que tous les territoires non autonomes placés sous leur administration sont devenus associés ou se sont intégrés aux territoires métropolitains conformément au "choix volontaire des populations du territoire en question". La délégation indonésienne préférerait donc donner aux territoires non autonomes la possibilité de devenir tout d'abord indépendants et puis de décider, par des procédures démocratiques et largement diffusées, de devenir associés ou de s'intégrer à d'autres Etats indépendants.

32. Deuxièmement, la délégation indonésienne n'élèverait pas de grandes objections contre le principe VI si l'on pouvait ajouter à la première phrase de l'alinéa a du principe VII les mots "et, si possible, sous le contrôle des Nations Unies". Bien qu'il se rende compte que les élections relèvent de la compétence nationale, le représentant de l'Indonésie fait appel aux puissances administrantes pour qu'elles acceptent le contrôle de l'ONU dans une affaire d'une telle importance.

33. Troisièmement, la délégation indonésienne s'associe aux réserves exprimées par la délégation marocaine (A/4526, par. 14) à propos des mots "peut-être" à l'alinéa b du principe IX et estime que le texte devrait dire: "le contrôle de ces procédures par l'ONU est souhaitable". Elle préférerait ce texte à celui qui est proposé dans l'amendement présenté par les délégations du Togo et de la Tunisie.

34. Quatrièmement, si l'on pouvait supprimer les alinéas b et c du principe VI, on pourrait également supprimer les principes VII, VIII et IX.

35. M. CABA (Guinée) indique que sa délégation votera pour le projet de résolution A/C.4/L.648 et Add.1, qui fournit les moyens d'atteindre les objectifs essentiels du Chapitre XI de la Charte. Malgré la force juridique des 12 principes énoncés, la Quatrième Commission n'en devrait pas moins mettre les choses bien au point, de façon à éviter à l'avenir tout risque de malentendu.

36. L'amendement togolais et tunisien rend plus précise la dernière phrase de l'alinéa b du principe IX. Il ne fait nul doute que les puissances administrantes seront disposées à organiser des plébiscites sur la question de l'intégration, mais elles veilleraient à ce que les résultats soient conformes à leurs plans en installant, dans les territoires en question, des gouvernements fantoches qui accepteraient l'intégration sans se soucier des vœux de la population. Ainsi seraient absorbées, petit à petit, toutes les possessions coloniales. C'est pourquoi la délégation guinéenne appuie l'amendement proposé par le Togo et par la Tunisie. Elle considère même cet amendement comme trop modéré et préférerait remplacer le mot "nécessaire" par "indispensable".

37. M. CUEVAS CANCINO (Mexique) fait observer que la Quatrième Commission, au cours de nombreux débats, s'est efforcée d'établir une série de principes qui lui permettraient de régler le difficile problème des Etats Membres qui refusent de communiquer des renseignements sur leurs territoires d'outre-mer. Tel ou tel des principes énoncés dans le rapport peut prêter à des critiques. A la vérité, la délégation mexicaine n'est pas, pour sa part, entièrement satisfaite

du rapport. Le représentant du Mexique attire, à ce sujet, l'attention de la Commission sur la réponse de son gouvernement à la communication du Secrétaire général (A/AC.100/1, par. 72 à 117). Si sa délégation, ainsi que les autres Membres non administrants du Comité spécial des Six, a cependant accepté les principes énoncés dans le rapport, c'est parce qu'elle estime que, pour la lutte menée par la Quatrième Commission au sujet des obligations incombant aux Membres administrants, il est indispensable de disposer d'une solide base juridique. M. Cuevas Cancino espère donc que le rapport du Comité spécial, qui mérite le plus large appui, sera approuvé à l'unanimité.

38. M. Cuevas Cancino demande aux délégations du Togo et de la Tunisie de retirer leur amendement. Il est convaincu que tous les problèmes qui les préoccupent peuvent être résolus conformément au principe IX tel qu'il est rédigé. Une fois les principes adoptés, il sera possible de les appliquer aux cas qui se présenteront. Leur adoption est donc dans l'intérêt des peuples soumis à une domination étrangère.

39. M. SRDANOV (Yougoslavie) déclare que les principes proposés par le Comité spécial des Six sont en général acceptables pour sa délégation, vu qu'ils découlent de la Charte. Ils ont été élaborés en raison de débats sur les colonies portugaises et espagnoles, mais ils sont valables pour toutes les colonies et leur application devrait — et doit en fait — s'étendre à tous les territoires coloniaux du monde. De plus, ils devraient être appliqués dans l'esprit de la déclaration, figurant au paragraphe 18 du rapport du Comité spécial, selon laquelle la Charte est un document vivant et les obligations assumées au titre du Chapitre XI doivent être considérées à la lumière de l'évolution actuelle des esprits.

40. La délégation yougoslave votera pour le projet de résolution, de même que pour l'amendement proposé par le Togo et la Tunisie, qui améliorerait grandement, à son avis, le libellé du principe XI.

41. M. BOUZIRI (Tunisie) précise, en réponse au représentant du Mexique, que sa délégation et celle du Togo n'ont fait que proposer un libellé plus explicite pour exprimer une idée déjà contenue dans le texte original. Les deux délégations accepteraient de retirer leur amendement si la majorité de la Commission s'y déclarait opposée, mais ils n'ont jusqu'à présent entendu aucun argument qui les incite à le faire.

42. Mme SKOTTSBERG-AHMAN (Suède) déclare qu'étant donné sa composition, il est évident que le Comité spécial des Six n'a pu rédiger un rapport unanime que parce que des concessions ont été faites de part et d'autre. De nombreuses délégations à la Quatrième Commission auraient certainement préféré un texte différent, mais toute modification apportée au compromis délicat qui a été réalisé risque de le détruire et de réduire à néant toute l'œuvre du Comité spécial. La délégation suédoise appuie les principes. Le fait qu'ils ont été acceptés à la fois par les Membres administrants et par les Membres non administrants constitue un important pas en avant. Mme Skottsberg-Ahman demande donc instamment aux membres de la Commission de laisser inchangé le texte des principes.

43. M. LAMANI (Albanie) rappelle que sa délégation a déjà déclaré qu'elle ne peut appuyer le rapport du Comité spécial des Six dans son ensemble. L'amendement proposé par la Tunisie et le Togo vise à réduire

un danger qui pourrait surgir au moment de l'application du principe IX et les observations faites par le représentant de la Tunisie ont été très pertinentes. Les puissances colonialistes, qui ont une grande expérience en la matière, pourraient exploiter à leur avantage la situation créée par l'imprécision du texte actuel. Va-t-on leur laisser le soin de décider dans quelles circonstances un contrôle de l'ONU est souhaitable? La position adoptée par certaines puissances colonialistes incite la délégation albanaise à penser qu'elles ne sont pas prêtes à faire un geste pour aider les peuples coloniaux à obtenir leur liberté. L'amendement constitue une amélioration du texte original et c'est pourquoi la délégation albanaise votera en sa faveur.

M. Ortiz de Rozas (Argentine), vice-président, prend la présidence.

44. M. NOGUEIRA (Portugal) fait observer que sa délégation était toute prête à participer à une discussion sérieuse et objective des principes, sans préjudice de sa position à l'égard de l'interprétation de la Charte. Cependant, il se trouve que ces principes ne sont utilisés en fait que comme un moyen d'attaquer les délégations de deux Etats Membres. Dans ces conditions, et étant donné que la Commission n'entend pas assurer aux principes une application générale, sa délégation ne peut les appuyer. Au lieu de s'occuper de la question dont il était chargé aux termes de son mandat, le Comité spécial des Six a rédigé les principes en posant comme prémisse que l'obligation en question existait déjà. Pour ces raisons, et aussi parce que le texte du projet de résolution ne tient pas compte des faits, la délégation portugaise se verra obligée de voter contre ce projet.

45. M. KENNEDY (Irlande) déclare que, bien que sa délégation comprenne les motifs qui ont inspiré les auteurs de l'amendement A/C.4/L.650, elle pense qu'il serait peu judicieux de l'incorporer au texte du projet de résolution. Il est, certes, des cas où il serait souhaitable que l'ONU contrôle les procédures dont il est question au principe IX, mais il ne semble pas qu'il convienne de stipuler que tel devrait toujours être le cas. La question se pose différemment pour les territoires sous tutelle, mais, s'agissant des territoires non autonomes, une certaine souplesse est souhaitable. Il est concevable, par exemple, que les puissances administrantes ajournent la consultation si elles se savent obligées de faire appel au lourd système de contrôle de l'ONU et elles trouveraient ainsi une excuse aux attermolements. Il est de la plus haute importance d'obtenir l'appui le plus large possible, y compris celui des puissances administrantes, lorsque la Commission prend une mesure historique comme l'adoption des principes. Pour cette raison, M. Kennedy fait appel aux auteurs de l'amendement pour qu'ils n'insistent pas sur sa mise aux voix.

46. M. DORSINVILLE (Haïti) dit que sa délégation est disposée à voter en faveur du projet de résolution, mais qu'il désire réserver formellement sa position relativement aux principes VIII et IX qui traitent de l'intégration d'un territoire non autonome dans un Etat indépendant.

47. En ce qui concerne cette question d'intégration, il suffit pour le moment de rappeler l'attitude très ferme de la délégation d'Haïti lors des débats qui ont porté sur deux territoires sous tutelle: l'ancien territoire du Togo sous administration du Royaume-Uni et

le territoire du Cameroun sous administration du Royaume-Uni.

48. M. DORSINVILLE ne pense pas que l'amendement proposé par les délégations du Togo et de la Tunisie change quoi que ce soit au fond de la question. A la lumière de ce qui a été dit par les membres du Comité spécial des Six et par les auteurs du projet de résolution, il semble bien que la dernière phrase de l'alinéa b du principe IX, dans sa rédaction actuelle, est la meilleure possible compte tenu des circonstances.

49. La délégation d'Haïti s'abstiendra sur l'amendement s'il est mis aux voix. Elle sait mieux que personne quelles garanties peut apporter la présence de l'ONU en un cas donné, mais elle croit qu'il est préférable de prendre la décision nécessaire dans chaque cas d'espèce.

50. Sir Andrew COHEN (Royaume-Uni) note que les membres du Comité spécial des Six ont montré qu'il est possible de réaliser un accord grâce à la discussion et au compromis. Il est très juste de dire, comme le fait le paragraphe 18 du rapport, que la Charte est un document vivant. Elle n'est pas uniquement un document juridique; elle a un lien intime avec la vie de l'humanité et ses aspirations. Sir Andrew Cohen reconnaît qu'il faut envisager la Charte dans le cadre de l'évolution actuelle des esprits, bien qu'il ne s'en suive pas pour cela qu'il soit nécessaire de modifier la Charte elle-même.

51. L'allusion qui est faite, au principe II, à un état d'évolution dynamique et de progrès est importante et s'inspire directement de l'Article 73 de la Charte. C'est dans cette esprit que le Chapitre XI considère les territoires non autonomes et c'est ainsi que le Royaume-Uni interprète ses obligations.

52. Sir Andrew Cohen déclare qu'il aurait été très désireux de pouvoir voter en faveur du projet de résolution, mais l'amendement que l'on propose d'y apporter crée de grandes difficultés pour sa délégation. A son avis, le libellé de la dernière phrase du principe IX est clair et précis. Dire que le contrôle par l'ONU est nécessaire dans tous les cas d'intégration, comme le souhaitent les auteurs de l'amendement, signifierait qu'un référendum organisé sous le contrôle de l'ONU aurait dû avoir lieu à Hawaï et en Alaska avant que ces territoires soient intégrés aux Etats-Unis. La chose n'est pas mauvaise en soi, mais le fait est qu'il n'était aucunement nécessaire que l'ONU surveille le plébiscite qui a amené l'intégration. Il n'est pas souhaitable d'énoncer en termes absolus la procédure à suivre.

53. Sir Andrew Cohen proteste contre l'assertion de certaines délégations, dont celle de la Guinée, selon laquelle des élections organisées par une puissance administrante ne sauraient être satisfaisantes. S'agissant du Royaume-Uni, plusieurs membres de la Commission peuvent témoigner du contraire, comme pourraient le faire la plupart des populations dont le Royaume-Uni avait la responsabilité.

54. Sir Andrew Cohen ne pense pas que le Gouvernement, le Parlement ou l'opinion britannique pourraient accepter ce qui est proposé dans l'amendement. Si l'amendement était adopté, sa délégation ne pourrait, à son grand regret, voter pour le projet de résolution qu'elle souhaiterait voir adopter à une large majorité afin d'en augmenter l'autorité.

55. Les Etats Membres de l'ONU doivent croire à la bonne foi des autres Membres. Pour son application, une résolution dépend des mesures que prendront des Membres et douter de leur bonne foi n'est certainement pas le meilleur moyen d'y parvenir. Sir Andrew Cohen fait donc appel aux membres de la Commission pour qu'ils laissent le projet de résolution inchangé; la Commission obtiendra ainsi des résultats plus rapides que si elle adoptait un texte inacceptable pour de nombreuses délégations et attendait ensuite de ces délégations qu'elles s'y conforment.

M. Pachachi (Irak) reprend la présidence.

56. M. KOUTCHAVA (Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques) rappelle que sa délégation a déjà exposé à la 1034^{ème} séance son attitude à l'égard du rapport du Comité spécial des Six. La discussion a montré que le texte des principes est trop général, est inadéquat et prête à des interprétations arbitraires. L'attitude de l'Espagne, du Portugal et des autres puissances coloniales, qui ont déformé les principes en cherchant à justifier leur politique indéfendable, montre qu'il en est bien ainsi. On ne pouvait, certes, guère attendre qu'un comité composé comme l'était le Comité spécial des Six puisse arriver à d'autres résultats. Si les Membres non administrants qui faisaient partie de ce comité n'ont pas pu faire plus qu'ils n'ont fait, c'est notamment parce que le Comité s'est fixé pour tâche, dès le début, d'énoncer des principes qui auraient recueilli l'unanimité. Mais un compromis était impossible entre les deux conceptions diamétralement opposées, à savoir l'opposition au colonialisme et sa défense. Les réserves exprimées par le représentant du Royaume-Uni réduisent les principes à néant et montrent que leur interprétation par le Royaume-Uni est complètement différente de celle des puissances non coloniales.

57. Pour ces raisons, la délégation de l'URSS ne peut appuyer le projet de résolution et elle s'abstiendra lorsqu'il sera mis aux voix. Elle votera cependant pour l'amendement présenté par le Togo et la Tunisie, qu'elle juge parfaitement justifié et même indispensable, les objections élevées contre cet amendement n'ayant pas réussi à la convaincre du contraire.

58. M. RAHNEMA (Iran) se déclare satisfait de constater que ses observations précédentes, notamment celles qui portaient sur le rôle de l'ONU dans l'accession à l'indépendance des territoires non autonomes et dans les procédures relatives à leur intégration ou à leur association, ont été généralement approuvées par les membres de la Commission. Même les délégations qui ont critiqué ses suggestions n'en ont contesté le fond, mais ont simplement fait valoir d'autres arguments, en particulier le fait que le Chapitre XI de la Charte impose certaines limitations. Etant donné que, comme le dit le paragraphe 18 du rapport du Comité spécial des Six, la Charte est un

document vivant, M. Rahnema espère que les limitations en question seront à leur tour réduites.

59. On a avancé au cours de la discussion un autre argument, qui est de plus de poids: c'est la nécessité de réaliser l'unanimité sur les principes et de conserver à leur texte son équilibre et l'esprit dans lequel il a été rédigé. Ce texte présente une telle importance qu'il serait peut-être judicieux de sacrifier certaines préoccupations et de le laisser tel qu'il est afin, notamment, de réaliser l'unanimité ou la plus large majorité possible. Si l'on y parvenait, les parties dont dépend l'application de la résolution prendraient des mesures à cet effet.

60. M. Rahnema regrette que certaines puissances coloniales aient tendance à interpréter toute demande de plus grand contrôle ou de plus grande intervention de la part de l'ONU comme des critiques de la bonne foi des puissances administrantes. Sa délégation est convaincue de la bonne foi de ces puissances, mais cela ne l'empêche pas de désirer des garanties plus nombreuses et un contrôle accru.

61. La délégation iranienne est favorable à l'idée qui inspire l'amendement présenté par le Togo et la Tunisie, mais elle pense que le libellé a peut-être une portée qui dépasse les intentions des auteurs. Demander que l'ONU exerce son contrôle dans chaque cas est peut-être aller trop loin. L'existence d'une telle disposition aurait peut-être, par exemple, empêché Hawaï de devenir un Etat des Etats-Unis d'Amérique. Pour ces raisons, la délégation iranienne serait heureuse que le Togo et la Tunisie retirent leur amendement. La question pourrait être, à vrai dire, étudiée d'une façon plus approfondie.

62. La délégation iranienne n'insistera pas pour l'adoption des amendements qu'elle avait suggéré d'apporter au projet de résolution à la séance précédente, bien qu'elle pense qu'ils en précisent le texte.

63. Dans son intervention à la 1036^{ème} séance de la Commission, le représentant du Portugal a prétendu que l'Iran avait dit qu'après 15 ans, de nombreuses notions juridiques de la Charte sont devenues désuètes et ne correspondent plus à la réalité. M. Rahnema n'a jamais exprimé une telle opinion: ce qu'il a dit, c'est que la Commission s'est souvent trouvée réduite à l'impuissance et à l'inaction par les efforts qu'ont faits certaines puissances administrantes pour opposer la lettre de la Charte, telle que leurs distingués juristes voulaient la révéler, à l'esprit de la Charte. M. Rahnema n'avait fait, en somme, que paraphraser ce que le Comité spécial des Six a déclaré au paragraphe 18 de son rapport et avait insisté sur le fait que la Charte doit être interprétée d'une façon dynamique.

La séance est levée à 18 h 35.

ASSEMBLÉE GÉNÉRALE

QUINZIÈME SESSION

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à 10 h 55

NEW YORK

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POINT 38 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

Etude des principes qui doivent guider les Etats Membres pour déterminer si l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements, prévue à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte des Nations Unies, leur est applicable ou non: rapport du Comité spécial créé par la résolution 1467 (XIV) de l'Assemblée générale (A/4526, A/C.4/L.648 et Add.1, A/C.4/L.649) [suite]

EXAMEN DES PROJETS DE RESOLUTION
(A/C.4/L.648 ET ADD.1, A/C.4/L.649) [suite]

Projet de résolution A/C.4/L.648 et Add.1 (suite)

1. M. HONG HOEUNG DOEUNG (Cambodge), qui prend la parole pour la première fois à la Commission, est heureux de travailler sous la direction d'un Bureau particulièrement compétent.

2. Le représentant du Cambodge rend hommage aux nombreuses délégations qui ont manifesté leur volonté de parvenir à une conclusion unanime sur la question du colonialisme. La délégation cambodgienne est profondément satisfaite du rapport (A/4526) du Comité spécial des Six chargé de la question de la communication de renseignements prévue à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte, et estime que les principes énoncés dans la subdivision B de la section V interprètent de façon adéquate l'alinéa e de l'Article 73. Ces 12 principes sont rigoureusement complémentaires et ne sauraient être appliqués indépendamment.

3. Les conditions de l'accession à la pleine autonomie ont un caractère d'obligation: le principe VI ne doit être compris et appliqué que dans les conditions prévues aux principes VII, VIII et IX. Une modification du statut de territoires non autonomes n'est possible qu'à la suite d'une consultation libre, effectuée sous le contrôle de l'ONU, si l'Assemblée générale en décide ainsi.

4. Quant à l'amendement A/C.4/L.650 que le Togo et la Tunisie proposent d'apporter au projet de résolution

A/C.4/L.648 et Add.1, le représentant du Cambodge, étant donné les diverses observations faites à la Commission par certaines délégations quant à l'opportunité politique, et à la nécessité de ménager une certaine souplesse dans de pareilles décisions, se range à l'avis de la délégation irlandaise: il se peut en effet que certains Etats veuillent retarder délibérément une consultation populaire si elle doit se faire sous le contrôle de l'ONU. Il serait également souhaitable de préserver la solution de compromis qui a déjà coûté beaucoup d'efforts au Comité spécial des Six, de façon que le projet de résolution puisse être adopté à la plus large majorité possible. Sans donner à sa proposition le caractère d'un amendement officiel, le représentant du Cambodge pense qu'il suffirait peut-être, pour préserver ce compromis, de remplacer, dans la dernière phrase de l'énoncé du principe IX, le mot "souhaitable" par le mot "nécessaire". Si le Togo et la Tunisie maintiennent leur amendement, la délégation cambodgienne s'abstiendra; mais elle votera pour le projet de résolution s'il garde son libellé actuel. Elle est consciente de l'insuffisance de précision quant à la clause du contrôle de l'ONU, mais elle estime, avec la délégation birmane, qu'il appartient à tous les Etats Membres de faire preuve de vigilance pour assurer l'application des résolutions, et, le cas échéant, pour obtenir de certaines délégations qu'elles changent d'attitude.

5. M. BOUZIRI (Tunisie) répond à certaines des observations auxquelles a donné lieu l'amendement déposé par le Togo et la Tunisie. Personne ne conteste qu'en certains cas le contrôle de l'ONU ne soit rigoureusement nécessaire et qu'il ne faille donc le dire; mais on reproche à la nouvelle formule proposée de l'alinéa b du principe IX d'être trop rigide et de laisser entendre que ce contrôle serait absolument automatique; le représentant du Royaume-Uni a déclaré à la séance précédente que les garanties prévues au principe IX ayant bien existé dans le cas d'Hawaï et de l'Alaska, par exemple, il aurait été inutile alors — et il serait inutile dans un cas analogue — d'imposer ce contrôle. Le représentant de la Tunisie l'admet volontiers, et précise que les seuls cas qui le préoccupent sont ceux où la consultation n'est pas réellement démocratique.

6. Le représentant de l'Irlande craint que, devant la nécessité d'un contrôle, certaines puissances administrantes ne diffèrent les consultations populaires. M. Bouziri pense que du débat même de la Quatrième Commission se dégage l'idée que l'indépendance de tous les peuples est inéluctable, et qu'on peut la retarder, mais non pas l'empêcher. Cet argument ne résiste donc pas à l'analyse.

7. On a surtout reproché à la nouvelle formule proposée de remettre en cause le compromis précieux que le Comité spécial des Six avait éprouvé beaucoup de difficulté à trouver. La Tunisie sait par expérience combien il importe de sauvegarder certaines solutions

de compromis; elle a su en accepter tant qu'elles ne touchaient pas au principe même de l'indépendance. Seulement il s'agit ici d'un compromis intervenu sans doute entre Membres administrants et Membres non administrants, mais qui intéresse un tiers, le territoire non autonome, lequel n'a pas eu voix au chapitre; il faut donc prendre garde au tort immense que la Commission pourrait causer aux territoires non autonomes si elle admettait que l'ONU n'a pas droit de regard sur des élections truquées qui consacrerait définitivement une "intégration" que la population du territoire non autonome intéressé n'aurait pas vraiment voulue. Si, comme le souhaite le représentant de l'Iran, la Commission sacrifie la phrase en question au souci de faire adopter à l'unanimité le projet de résolution, M. Bouziri pense qu'elle sacrifierait en fait toute la portée de la résolution, car cette seule phrase pourrait entraîner la négation même de tout le rapport du Comité spécial des Six.

8. Toutefois, pour donner au contrôle de l'ONU la souplesse qui semble indispensable à plusieurs délégations, tout en permettant de garantir cette liberté de choix qui demeure fondamentale pour les représentants du Togo et de la Tunisie, ces deux délégations se sont entendues pour remplacer la formule de l'amendement publié sous la cote A/C.4/L.650 par la phrase suivante: "L'Organisation des Nations Unies pourra, lorsqu'elle le jugera nécessaire, contrôler ces procédures." M. Bouziri pense que, sous ce nouveau libellé, l'amendement atténue suffisamment le caractère obligatoire du contrôle de l'ONU, puisque l'Assemblée générale aura à décider à la majorité de ses membres si elle juge nécessaire d'intervenir dans tel ou tel cas particulier. M. Bouziri pense être allé au bout des concessions possibles.

9. M. LANZA (Uruguay) estime que les principes énoncés par le Comité spécial des Six permettraient de progresser considérablement vers la solution du problème du colonialisme. Pour l'application de ces principes, M. Lanza pense que l'Assemblée pourra, par des résolutions précises, fixer des normes claires, que chaque pays pourra incorporer dans sa propre constitution. Il importe peu qu'il subsiste quelques faiblesses ou que certaines dispositions paraissent excessives à quelques délégations, car ces problèmes pourront être résolus à propos de cas particuliers. La délégation uruguayenne votera pour le projet de résolution, ainsi que pour l'amendement du Togo et de la Tunisie, sous sa nouvelle forme. Elle l'aurait d'ailleurs voté sous sa forme primitive, qui aurait, en rendant obligatoire l'intervention de l'ONU, rehaussé le prestige de l'Organisation.

10. M. KANAKARATNE (Ceylan) déclare que sa délégation approuve pleinement l'esprit qui a guidé le Comité spécial dans ses travaux et souscrit pleinement au projet de résolution et à chacun des principes qui lui sont joints en annexe. Cependant, il aurait hésité à voter pour l'amendement original déposé par le Togo et la Tunisie qui lui paraît trop catégorique et trop rigide. D'un autre côté, il comprend les raisons qui ont amené les représentants de la Tunisie et du Togo à changer leur amendement primitif et il apprécie l'esprit dont ils ont fait preuve en modifiant ainsi leur position. Toutefois, il ne lui apparaît pas qu'il y ait une différence entre cette façon de poser le principe essentiel — celui de la compétence de l'Assemblée générale — et la façon dont ce principe est déjà posé dans la dernière phrase

du principe IX énoncé par le Comité spécial des Six, d'autant que cette compétence est très précisément exprimée au paragraphe 3 du projet de résolution.

11. La délégation ceylanaise, qui a toujours reconnu la compétence de l'ONU en vertu de l'Article 14 de la Charte, ne conçoit pas que cette compétence n'existerait plus si elle n'était pas expressément indiquée dans les principes. Dans le cas présent, il ne fait pas de doute que l'Assemblée générale, et elle seule, peut décider si les circonstances exigent que l'ONU contrôle le processus d'intégration d'un territoire non autonome à un Etat indépendant. Aussi, tout en voyant bien pourquoi les délégations togolaise et tunisienne éprouvaient des difficultés à accepter le texte original du principe IX, et tout en louant les efforts qu'elles ont faits pour le modifier de façon à aplanir ces difficultés, la délégation ceylanaise ne voit pas la nécessité d'introduire cet amendement. La délégation ceylanaise ne peut accepter cet amendement non pas parce qu'elle désire obtenir l'unanimité à tout prix, mais uniquement parce qu'elle est convaincue que la dernière phrase de l'alinéa b du principe IX est assez claire pour qu'il ne soit pas besoin de la modifier: c'est l'ONU seule qui est à même de décider dans quel cas il y a lieu de contrôler la procédure d'intégration. L'amendement en question est donc inutile; M. Kanakarathne exprime l'espoir que ses auteurs le retireront.

12. Sir Andrew COHEN (Royaume-Uni) n'est pas insensible aux efforts que les représentants de la Tunisie et du Togo ont déployés pour faire droit à certaines de ses observations de la séance précédente, et il les en remercie. Mais, en essayant d'améliorer le texte, ils l'ont en fait aggravé. M. Kanakarathne a souligné fort justement que le nouvel amendement soulevait la question de la compétence de l'Organisation, question qu'il ne faut pas soulever explicitement si l'on ne veut pas se heurter à des difficultés. Le principe IX a été rédigé avec le plus grand soin, et il résulte d'un compromis réalisé au sein du Comité spécial en ce qui concerne la position du représentant du Maroc (A/4526, par. 14). La phrase sur laquelle les membres du Comité spécial sont parvenus à se mettre d'accord n'exclut pas la compétence de l'ONU, mais elle ne dit pas non plus que l'ONU doive automatiquement décider de contrôler la procédure d'intégration. Les membres de la Commission connaissent bien le sentiment de toutes les délégations sur la compétence de l'ONU; comme l'a dit le représentant de Ceylan, il n'était pas nécessaire d'indiquer expressément au principe IX que cette compétence existe.

13. La délégation du Royaume-Uni ne veut pas s'opposer à la conception de la délégation tunisienne; elle voudrait seulement que la Commission approuve intégralement le rapport du Comité spécial des Six et les principes qu'il pose. Si l'amendement de la Tunisie et du Togo était mis aux voix, sir Andrew Cohen serait contraint de voter contre; si cet amendement était adopté, il serait contraint de s'abstenir sur l'ensemble du projet de résolution.

14. M. BOUZIRI (Tunisie) interprète la dernière phrase du principe IX autrement que la délégation ceylanaise, et il en conçoit des inquiétudes que la délégation ceylanaise ne paraît pas avoir eues. D'autres pourtant ont partagé ces inquiétudes; c'est le cas notamment du représentant du Togo et de celui de l'Iran, qui a souligné que la phrase en question ne donne pas à l'intervention éventuelle de l'ONU le

caractère d'une obligation ou d'une certitude. Le représentant de Ceylan ne doute pas que l'ONU ne puisse intervenir si elle le juge nécessaire. Mais alors, s'il ne voit pas de différence entre le texte primitif du principe et l'amendement de la Tunisie et du Togo, il peut sans difficulté adopter cet amendement, qui a le mérite d'apaiser les craintes de certaines délégations. Le texte primitif, en exprimant un souhait dont la réalisation ne dépend peut-être pas de la volonté de l'ONU, jette le trouble dans les esprits; en fait, certains pourraient contester le principe de la compétence de l'Organisation internationale, qui paraît évident à la délégation ceylanaise, et c'est pour éviter cela que les délégations tunisienne et togolaise ont recherché une formule plus satisfaisante.

15. Le représentant du Royaume-Uni a fait valoir que l'amendement soulevait une question de principe qui pourrait être de nature à créer des difficultés. Mais c'est justement par souci de clarté et pour empêcher qu'on ne puisse éventuellement contester l'intégration d'un territoire non autonome à un autre Etat que les délégations tunisienne et togolaise ont jugé nécessaire de donner au principe IX une expression plus précise. Pour enlever toute rigidité à l'amendement primitif, elles ont déposé un nouvel amendement et fait une concession; mais elles ne peuvent pas aller plus loin et accepter de retirer cet amendement; car, quand il s'agit du sort de millions d'hommes, il n'est pas permis de laisser planer un doute sur l'application d'un principe.

16. Contrairement à ce que pense sir Andrew Cohen, la Tunisie ne met pas en doute la bonne foi des autres Membres de l'ONU et elle leur fait confiance sur la plupart des questions. Mais, en ce qui concerne le problème colonial, à une époque où il existe encore des colonies et où l'on fait encore des guerres coloniales, des cas peuvent se présenter où la bonne foi de certains Etats Membres pourrait être mise à rude épreuve; il n'est pas permis, dans une question aussi grave, de présumer la bonne foi de tous. La Tunisie doit se montrer prudente quand il s'agit, non de son sort, mais du sort de tous les peuples encore colonisés.

17. M. KENNEDY (Irlande) est reconnaissant aux représentants du Togo et de la Tunisie pour la manière dont ils ont tenu compte de ses observations de la séance précédente. La présente discussion est extrêmement constructive, mais elle place les auteurs du projet de résolution dans une situation difficile, car ils sont eux aussi responsables des principes joints en annexe au projet et dont ils ont hérité. Ces principes constituent un instrument délicat, soigneusement façonné à la suite d'un compromis difficile. Si, en modifiant ces principes, on perd le bénéfice du compromis, on émousse l'instrument. Or, l'ONU n'a pas seulement à adopter les principes: il lui faut encore les mettre en œuvre dans certains cas particuliers, comme il ressort du paragraphe 3 du projet de résolution. Si la Commission détruit l'équilibre si difficilement réalisé, elle compromettra l'application des principes. Sans doute, certaines délégations souhaiteraient ce résultat; mais il est de l'intérêt de la Commission de rechercher l'unité des Membres administrants et des Membres non administrants.

18. M. DIALLO (Mali) se félicite que la Tunisie et le Togo aient, par esprit de conciliation et pour tenir compte des observations pertinentes de plusieurs délégations, modifié leur amendement. Il n'est pas question de faire des concessions au détriment des grands

principes; mais il serait bon que, dans la mesure où l'on veut un texte utile, qui engage le plus grand nombre possible d'Etats, les concessions ne soient pas toujours à sens unique. Il ne s'agit pas de discuter sur le fond des principes — il rallie l'unanimité — mais sur la forme à leur donner. Il est évident que, dans le cas extrême d'Hawaï et de l'Alaska, par exemple, il n'était pas nécessaire de contrôler le désir d'intégration des populations; mais comment croire que le peuple angolais ait décidé, par référendum, son intégration au Portugal, si l'ONU n'a pas pu contrôler la régularité de ce référendum? On voit donc le danger de maintenir, sans la modifier, la dernière phrase du principe IX, qui n'oblige pas l'Organisation internationale à intervenir dans tous les cas. La différence entre ce texte et le texte proposé par le Togo et la Tunisie est essentielle, puisque, comme l'a fait remarquer le représentant du Royaume-Uni, elle porte sur la question de la compétence de l'ONU: il ne faut pas que, faute d'une formule précise, un Membre administrant reste seul juge de l'intégration d'un territoire non autonome; il ne faut pas qu'on puisse venir dire à l'Organisation que 99 pour 100 de la population d'un territoire non autonome se sont prononcés, dans un référendum, pour l'intégration à la métropole, comme cela s'est produit effectivement en 1958.

19. La délégation malienne ne doute pas de la bonne foi des auteurs du rapport du Comité spécial, mais elle craint que cette bonne foi ne puisse être surprise un jour. Elle ne peut pas se faire complice d'une équivoque; elle demande à tous les membres de la Commission de comprendre que le cas de conscience qui se pose aux Etats d'Afrique ne leur permet pas d'accepter, par souci d'unanimité, un texte que l'on pourrait retourner ensuite contre les peuples africains.

20. M. RAHNEMA (Iran) félicite le représentant de la Tunisie de s'être efforcé de trouver une formule de compromis tout en continuant à défendre ardemment les principes qu'il juge importants. M. Rahnema a déjà dit à la séance précédente pourquoi il soutient l'idée qui est à la base de l'amendement. Il importe en effet que l'intégration se fasse dans des conditions d'égalité absolue entre toutes les parties, ce que garantirait un contrôle de l'ONU. L'Organisation doit veiller à ce que l'intégration réponde aux intérêts de la population du territoire considéré.

21. Comme le représentant de Ceylan, M. Rahnema estime qu'il ne doit jamais être question de sacrifier des principes. Cependant, il peut être préférable parfois de faire certaines concessions tactiques, tout en maintenant les concepts généraux qu'il importe de préserver. Aussi le représentant de l'Iran demande-t-il s'il ne serait pas possible de remplacer la dernière phrase, trop vague, du principe IX par la formule suivante: "Il est souhaitable, dans certains cas, que ces procédures soient contrôlées par l'Organisation des Nations Unies." Un tel libellé répondrait aux préoccupations de la Tunisie et du Togo sans compromettre l'équilibre du texte, de sorte que l'ensemble des principes ne risquerait pas d'être rejeté ou de ne pas être appliqué efficacement. Comme l'a fait observer le représentant de Ceylan, il ne fait aucun doute qu'en vertu de l'Article 14 de la Charte, l'ONU est seule compétente pour décider des cas où son contrôle est souhaitable. La délégation du Royaume-Uni ne partage peut-être pas sur ce point la conviction de la délégation iranienne, mais la formule que propose M. Rahnema permettrait de leur donner satisfaction

à toutes deux. Sans sacrifier les grands principes en cause ni les objectifs que vise le représentant de la Tunisie, elle permettrait peut-être d'obtenir pour l'ensemble du projet de résolution l'appui massif de la Commission. M. Rahnama serait prêt à déposer officiellement un amendement si le Togo et la Tunisie acceptaient de retirer de leur.

22. M. EDMONDS (Nouvelle-Zélande) votera pour le projet de résolution sous sa forme actuelle; ayant l'assentiment des Membres administrants et des Membres non administrants qui faisaient partie du Comité spécial des Six, ce texte permettra de faire de grands progrès. M. Edmonds remercie le représentant de la Tunisie et celui du Togo d'avoir accepté de modifier leur premier amendement de manière à en atténuer la rigidité. Il ne peut cependant pas accepter leur deuxième proposition, dont l'adoption risquerait de provoquer certaines abstentions regrettables. Si les principes ne peuvent pas être acceptés dans leur ensemble par ceux des Membres administrants dont la bonne foi et l'esprit de progrès sont généralement reconnus, il y aura moins de chances de voir appliquer ces principes par tous les pays. L'important est de ne pas oublier la nécessité d'user de saines méthodes de tactique et de diplomatie et de faire en sorte que la pression s'exerce là où elle s'impose. Les principes formulés par le Comité spécial des Six n'entraînent pour personne un sacrifice de convictions; toutefois, ils porteront peut-être un préjudice plus grand à la position des puissances administrantes qu'à celle des puissances non administrantes. L'essentiel maintenant est que toute résolution adoptée soit aussi efficace que possible; son succès dépendra du caractère autant que de l'ampleur de l'appui qu'elle recevra. M. Edmonds espère que la Commission ne touchera pas aux principes du Comité spécial des Six.

23. M. SALAMANCA (Bolivie) pense que le débat a assez duré pour permettre aux délégations de se faire une opinion sur l'amendement déposé par la Tunisie et le Togo. Puisque le projet de résolution (A/C.4/L.649) intéresse davantage les délégations que le projet actuellement examiné, dont le caractère est très général, M. Salamanca, conformément à l'article 118 du règlement intérieur, demande la clôture du débat.

24. M. CABA (Guinée) s'oppose à la motion, car il juge préférable que la Commission étudie à fond ce problème fondamental. La délégation guinéenne, qui lutte depuis plusieurs années pour démontrer que les colonies qui sont sous la domination du Portugal, de l'Espagne et d'autres puissances ne sont pas de simples prolongements de la métropole, déplore que le débat soit clos au moment même où la Commission aborde le problème de l'intégration des territoires.

25. M. BOUZIRI (Tunisie) souligne que le débat a montré la gravité du choix que la Commission devra faire. La délégation tunisienne, comme sans doute la délégation togolaise, aimerait pouvoir répondre aux objections de certains représentants. D'autres représentants ont certainement encore d'utiles observations à présenter. Il serait regrettable que la Commission ne puisse étudier jusqu'au bout et jusqu'au fond cette importante question.

Par 31 voix contre 5, avec 42 abstentions, la motion de clôture est rejetée.

26. M. SKALLI (Maroc) rappelle que sa délégation est sans doute à l'origine du débat, puisqu'elle a soutenu au Comité spécial des Six que le contrôle de l'ONU est indispensable. La phrase qu'elle proposait, à savoir que l'organisation et le contrôle par les Nations Unies des élections tendant à l'intégration sont nécessaires, allait beaucoup plus loin que les formules proposées à l'heure actuelle. Cependant, devant les nombreuses objections auxquelles elle s'est heurtée, la délégation marocaine s'est finalement ralliée à la formule du principe IX. Elle tient cependant à faire des réserves au sujet de ce principe, pour que la Quatrième Commission voie bien, avant de l'adopter, qu'il pose un problème extrêmement grave.

27. L'intégration est en effet un mariage indissoluble, une procédure irréversible. Si une puissance coloniale procédait dans l'avenir à l'intégration d'un territoire après avoir organisé à sa manière des élections ou un référendum afin d'en obtenir des résultats favorables à ses désirs, l'ONU n'aurait aucun recours. Un nombre croissant de pays n'ignorent plus d'ailleurs que nombre d'élections de ce genre n'ont jamais été véritablement authentiques. Avant de se prononcer, la Quatrième Commission doit avoir conscience de ses responsabilités pour n'avoir pas à se reprocher plus tard d'avoir accepté que des populations aient été soumises pour l'éternité au joug d'une puissance coloniale.

28. M. BLUSZTAJN (Pologne) n'est pas intervenu plus tôt parce que le moment n'est plus de poser des principes au sujet de l'envoi de renseignements sur les territoires non autonomes, mais que l'heure est venue de passer à l'action et de donner l'indépendance à ces territoires. Il n'est pas non plus absolument satisfait des principes mêmes, et notamment des principes VIII et IX, relatifs à l'intégration de territoires non autonomes, car l'intégration recommandée ou déjà effectuée par certaines puissances coloniales va à l'encontre des idées qui sont à la base de la Charte. M. Blusztajn partage donc les préoccupations des représentants du Togo et de la Tunisie qui souhaitent préciser la dernière phrase, trop vague, du principe IX en spécifiant que l'intégration doit ou peut se faire sous le contrôle des Nations Unies. En effet, le débat qui vient d'avoir lieu a fait apparaître des divergences d'interprétation qui sont fondamentales. Ainsi, pour le représentant de Ceylan, la seconde proposition tunisienne et togolaise a le même sens que la dernière phrase du principe IX, alors qu'elle la contredit aux yeux du représentant du Royaume-Uni. Certaines délégations jugent que l'Assemblée générale doit décider dans quels cas le contrôle de l'ONU est souhaitable, tandis que d'autres ne croient pas qu'il appartienne à l'Assemblée générale d'en décider. La Commission ne devrait pas être appelée à se prononcer sur un texte que, de toute évidence, les diverses délégations interpréteront de manières totalement différentes. Le représentant de la Pologne pense, comme le représentant de la Tunisie, qu'il est impossible de faire des concessions au nom d'un tiers, c'est-à-dire, en l'occurrence, au nom de la population des territoires non autonomes, qui a droit à la protection de l'ONU.

La séance est levée à 13 heures.

ASSEMBLÉE GÉNÉRALE

QUINZIÈME SESSION

Documents officiels

QUATRIÈME COMMISSION, 1045^e

SÉANCE

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à 15 h 20

NEW YORK

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En l'absence du Président, M. Ortiz de Rozas (Argentine), vice-président, prend la présidence.

POINT 38 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

Etude des principes qui doivent guider les Etats Membres pour déterminer si l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements, prévue à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte des Nations Unies, leur est applicable ou non: rapport du Comité spécial créé par la résolution 1467 (XIV) de l'Assemblée générale (A/4526, A/C.4/L.648 et Add.1, A/C.4/L.649) [suite]

EXAMEN DES PROJETS DE RESOLUTION
(A/C.4/L.648 ET ADD.1, A/C.4/L.649) [suite]

Projet de résolution A/C.4/L.648 et Add.1 (suite)

1. M. GASSOU (Togo) déclare que les arguments avancés contre l'amendement présenté à l'origine par le Togo et la Tunisie sous la cote A/C.4/L.650 et amendé verbalement par ses auteurs à la séance précédente n'ont pas convaincu sa délégation. On a dit, par exemple, que cet amendement impliquait un manque de confiance dans la bonne foi de certains Etats Membres. Tel n'est pas le cas; la délégation togolaise estime simplement qu'elle serait plus tranquille si un contrôle était assuré. Jusqu'à présent, le régime colonial était censé avoir pour objectif l'autonomie ou l'indépendance, mais le Comité spécial des Six chargé de la question de la communication de renseignements prévue à l'alinéa b de l'Article 73 de la Charte a traité assez longuement d'une autre possibilité: l'intégration. Il y a lieu de craindre que les procédures menant à choisir cette éventualité ne soient pas appliquées dans la liberté et l'impartialité complètes. Le principe IX qui figure à l'annexe du projet de résolution est ambigu sur ce point; il ne précise pas qui déterminera chaque fois si l'on est en présence d'un des "certains cas". Si l'on entend que l'ONU le fasse, il vaut mieux le dire.

2. La délégation togolaise a écouté attentivement les suggestions qui ont été formulées et en a tenu compte, mais la recherche d'un compromis ne devrait pas

mener à l'abandon des principes, surtout lorsqu'il s'agit de tierces parties qui ne sont pas présentes à la Commission. La délégation togolaise ne veut pas qu'il soit dit qu'elle a souscrit à une proposition qui livrerait des populations aux puissances expansionnistes.

3. M. CABA (Guinée) fait observer que, malgré l'opposition des puissances colonialistes, la Commission a réussi à établir que les prétendues provinces d'outre-mer de l'Espagne et du Portugal sont en fait des territoires non autonomes, et qu'elle tient à hâter l'accession de ces territoires à l'indépendance complète. A cette fin, la Commission est censée adopter les principes énoncés par le Comité spécial des Six dans la subdivision B de la section V de son rapport (A/4526). Seul le principe IX est controversé car, sous sa forme actuelle, il peut permettre à un Membre administrant, au moyen d'une parodie d'élections, de maintenir sa domination et d'informer ensuite l'ONU que l'intégration a eu lieu par des méthodes démocratiques. Les puissances colonialistes se rendent compte maintenant que l'on n'empêchera pas de vive force les peuples assujettis d'obtenir leur indépendance, et elles sont donc à la recherche d'autres méthodes, par lesquelles elles recevraient l'aide de personnes qui sont prêtes à sacrifier les intérêts de la population à leur propre ambition. La délégation guinéenne ne peut absolument pas avoir confiance dans les puissances colonialistes.

4. La délégation guinéenne a appuyé le texte primitif de l'amendement, bien qu'elle l'ait trouvé assez faible, mais elle ne peut appuyer le texte révisé. Il est indispensable que le contrôle par l'ONU soit rendu obligatoire, ce qui empêcherait les puissances colonialistes de se servir de l'Organisation dans leur intérêt égoïste. La Guinée n'aime pas les compromis; quand le sort de peuples qui souffrent est en jeu, quand tant d'Africains sont en prison ou dans des camps de concentration, ce n'est pas le moment de parler de compromis. Ceux qui se rangent à l'opinion des puissances colonialistes sur le principe IX devront en répondre devant les peuples africains.

5. Par conséquent, la délégation guinéenne propose de représenter l'amendement primitif du Togo et de la Tunisie, mais d'y remplacer "nécessaire" par "indispensable".

6. M. HUSAIN (Pakistan), estime qu'il n'y a pas de raison de ne pas apporter les modifications nécessaires au texte du rapport du Comité spécial des Six. Le texte du principe IX présente une lacune qui peut provoquer des controverses sans fin. La Commission sait par expérience comment certains Etats Membres, lorsqu'ils en ont eu la latitude, ont défié le contrôle de l'ONU. Bien que la délégation pakistanaise n'ait pu appuyer l'amendement sous sa forme primitive, étant donné que des règles rigides risquent de paralyser l'action, elle estime que l'amendement révisé

éclaircit la situation et elle y souscrit sans réserve. Aux termes de l'amendement, l'ONU pourra, lorsqu'elle le jugera nécessaire, contrôler les procédures. La délégation pakistanaise a confiance dans les Etats Membres qui administrent des territoires non autonomes, mais il n'y a pas de raison de ne pas avoir aussi confiance dans l'ONU.

7. M. BOUZIRI (Tunisie) explique que l'amendement primitif a été déposé parce que ses auteurs craignaient que l'intégration n'ait lieu sans une véritable liberté de choix: une fois l'intégration accomplie, il ne serait plus possible d'en discuter à l'ONU. Par conséquent, la délégation tunisienne a estimé que des sauvegardes étaient nécessaires pour l'application du principe IX.

8. En présentant l'amendement sous sa forme révisée, les auteurs, loin d'abandonner ce principe fondamental, l'ont renforcé et ont permis à d'autres d'appuyer ses objectifs. Ils s'en remettent à l'ONU pour qu'elle intervienne lorsqu'elle le juge nécessaire. Ils conviennent qu'il peut y avoir des cas où pareille intervention ne serait pas nécessaire. L'objet de l'amendement est de protéger les populations des territoires non autonomes. L'amendement a été modifié pour réaliser l'unité, et M. Bouziri fait appel à la Commission pour qu'elle appuie ce texte révisé.

9. La délégation tunisienne est fermement opposée à l'amendement de la Guinée, qui est encore plus rigide que le texte primitif, et elle demande instamment à la délégation guinéenne de le retirer.

10. M. CAMARA Maurice (Guinée) répond que, bien qu'il ait écouté attentivement la déclaration du représentant de la Tunisie, il n'a entendu aucune critique quant au fond de l'amendement de la délégation guinéenne. Si ce texte peut paraître catégorique, c'est que la Guinée n'a pas confiance dans les puissances administrantes. Elle estime que toutes les délégations qui ont à cœur le bien-être des peuples africains devraient s'élever contre le caractère illégitime du régime colonial. L'amendement guinéen cherche à éliminer une échappatoire qui permettrait aux colonialistes d'imposer l'intégration. La délégation guinéenne, qui ne recherche pas l'unité à tout prix ou par principe, et qui croit que certaines amitiés sont en fait embarrassantes, ne retirera pas son amendement.

11. Mlle BROOKS (Libéria) regrette que des divergences d'opinions aient surgi entre des délégations qui, manifestement, poursuivent les mêmes objectifs, car le but des deux amendements dont la Commission est saisie est de remédier à une faiblesse du texte primitif du principe IX. Les auteurs des amendements pourraient tomber d'accord s'il y avait une brève suspension de séance.

12. M. ADAM (Somalie) appuie la proposition tendant à suspendre la séance.

La séance est suspendue à 16 h 30; elle est reprise à 16 h 50.

13. M. CAMARA Maurice (Guinée) annonce que sa délégation retire son amendement en faveur de l'amendement révisé du Togo et de la Tunisie. M. Camara tient cependant à avertir les puissances administrantes que, si elles veulent se réclamer du principe IX pour imposer l'intégration à des autochtones contre leur gré, elles trouveront tous les pays d'Afrique et d'Asie unis et prêts à s'opposer à cette manœuvre.

14. M. DORSINVILLE (Haïti) indique que sa délégation, qui maintient ses réserves sur les principes VIII et IX, s'abstiendra lors du vote sur ces principes et sur la version révisée de l'amendement du Togo et de la Tunisie. Il demande un vote par division sur l'alinéa c du principe VI et sur les principes VIII et IX.

15. M. KIANG (Chine) explique qu'au cours de la discussion générale sa délégation s'est prononcée en faveur des principes énoncés dans le rapport du Comité spécial des Six. Malgré certaines opinions exprimées à la Quatrième Commission, le Comité spécial a été créé par l'Assemblée générale pour élaborer des principes d'application universelle et non particulière. Ce comité a réussi à établir une série de principes positifs qui, si la Commission les accepte, auront pour effet de changer heureusement les attitudes intransigeantes que bien des Etats Membres ont adoptées en 1952 et 1953. Les conclusions du Comité spécial des Six consacrent le fait que la déclaration relative aux territoires non autonomes qui figure au Chapitre XI de la Charte intéresse l'ONU à juste titre.

16. Si la Quatrième Commission a des réserves à faire sur tout ou partie d'un principe quelconque, elle peut faire l'une des trois choses suivantes: refuser d'approuver le rapport du Comité spécial des Six; élargir le mandat du Comité pour lui permettre d'étudier à nouveau les principes en tenant compte des observations formulées à la Quatrième Commission; réviser les principes et les adopter comme si elle les avait établis elle-même. Ce que la Quatrième Commission ne peut pas faire, c'est réviser les principes énoncés dans le rapport du Comité spécial des Six et ensuite les adopter comme s'ils étaient le fait de ce comité.

17. La délégation chinoise appuie les 12 principes élaborés par le Comité spécial des Six; tout amendement ou suppression la placerait dans une situation difficile, car elle ne pourrait exécuter son engagement d'appuyer les 12 principes.

18. M. KENNEDY (Irlande) convient que, si l'un quelconque des principes était modifié, l'ensemble ne pourrait plus être considéré comme l'œuvre du Comité spécial des Six.

19. M. CALOGERAS (Grèce) est heureux de constater que les 12 principes ont obtenu des éloges presque unanimes, car ils répondent sans aucun doute, et de la manière la plus constructive, aux buts de la Charte, apporteront un nouvel espoir à des millions de gens et rehausseront le prestige de l'ONU. Rien ne doit empêcher l'approbation unanime d'une résolution où les principes figureraient sous leur forme primitive. Les résolutions de l'Assemblée générale n'ayant pas force obligatoire, la délégation grecque attache une grande importance au principe d'unanimité, car une résolution adoptée à l'unanimité a plus de poids moral.

20. M. BOUZIRI (Tunisie) espère que, l'unanimité ayant manifestement fait défaut sur le texte primitif, l'adoption de l'amendement révisé provoquera cette unanimité, pour le bien des populations intéressées.

21. M. CUEVAS CANCINO (Mexique) exprime des doutes sur la possibilité d'apporter des amendements aux principes. Ceux-ci ont été convenus au Comité spécial des Six, qui, étant un organisme paritaire, avec une représentation égale des Membres administrants et non administrants, ne reflète pas la composition de l'Assemblée générale. Ayant ainsi délégué

ses pouvoirs, l'Assemblée devrait soit approuver le rapport du Comité dans son ensemble, soit le rejeter tout entier. Avant d'examiner tout amendement ou suggestion, la Quatrième Commission devrait voter sur l'ensemble des principes et, si elle les juge insuffisants, les renvoyer au Comité spécial pour plus ample examen.

22. M. SALAMANCA (Bolivie) estime que la proposition du représentant du Mexique est parfaitement légitime et se fonde sur des précédents.

23. Mlle BROOKS (Libéria) et M. GEBRE-EGZY (Ethiopie) sont d'avis que la Commission a le droit de modifier les principes conformément aux vœux de la majorité.

24. M. IMAM (Pakistan) souligne, en réponse à l'argument du représentant du Mexique, que la Commission n'étudie pas pour le moment le rapport du Comité spécial des Six, mais un projet de résolution auquel sont joints en annexe les principes proposés par ce comité. Puisque ces principes font partie du projet de résolution, la Commission peut les modifier par un amendement qui, aux termes du règlement intérieur, devrait être mis aux voix en premier lieu. Au besoin, on pourrait modifier à cette fin le paragraphe 2 du dispositif du projet de résolution de manière qu'il n'y soit plus fait mention du rapport du Comité spécial des Six.

25. Mlle BROOKS (Libéria) demande un vote séparé sur l'alinéa b du principe IX.

M. Pachachi (Irak) prend la présidence.

26. M. GRINBERG (Bulgarie) ne peut accéder à la proposition mexicaine. Selon les termes du paragraphe 1 du rapport du Comité spécial, qui déclare que "l'Assemblée générale a considéré qu'il serait souhaitable qu'elle énumère les principes qui doivent guider les Etats Membres ... et a décidé de créer un comité spécial de six membres chargé d'étudier ces principes", il est clair qu'il appartient à l'Assemblée générale d'énumérer les principes. Si l'Assemblée était obligée d'accepter ou de rejeter les principes tels quels, la résolution 1467 (XIV) de l'Assemblée générale l'aurait précisé. Le représentant du Mexique a fondé son argument sur la composition paritaire du Comité spécial des Six, mais d'autres organes ont une composition semblable, par exemple le Conseil de tutelle et le Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes. La conclusion logique de l'argument du représentant du Mexique serait que les propositions formulées par l'un ou l'autre de ces organes doivent être acceptées ou rejetées sans modification. La Quatrième Commission dispose elle-même de son règlement et peut décider d'approuver les principes tels quels ou de les modifier.

27. M. CUEVAS CANCINO (Mexique) retire sa proposition.

28. Le PRESIDENT met aux voix l'amendement révisé du Togo et de la Tunisie tendant à remplacer la dernière phrase de l'alinéa b du principe IX par les mots "Les Nations Unies pourront, lorsqu'elles le jugeront nécessaire, contrôler ces procédures".

A la demande du représentant de la Tunisie, il est procédé au vote par appel nominal.

L'appel commence par l'Ethiopie, dont le nom est tiré au sort par le Président.

Votent pour: Ethiopie, Hongrie, Indonésie, Côte-d'Ivoire, Jordanie, Liban, Libéria, Libye, Maroc, Niger, Pakistan, Panama, Philippines, Pologne, Roumanie, Arabie Saoudite, Sénégal, Somalie, Soudan, Thaïlande, Togo, Tunisie, République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine, Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques, République arabe unie, Uruguay, Yougoslavie, Afghanistan, Albanie, Bulgarie, République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie, Cameroun, République centrafricaine, Tchad, Congo (Brazzaville), Tchécoslovaquie, Equateur.

Votent contre: Finlande, France, Grèce, Irlande, Italie, Japon, Mexique, Pays-Bas, Nouvelle-Zélande, Norvège, Portugal, Espagne, Suède, Union sud-africaine, Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord, Etats-Unis d'Amérique, Argentine, Australie, Autriche, Belgique, Canada, Chine, Danemark, République Dominicaine.

S'abstiennent: Fédération de Malaisie, Ghana, Guatemala, Guinée, Haïti, Inde, Iran, Irak, Israël, Népal, Nigéria, Paraguay, Pérou, Turquie, Venezuela, Bolivie, Brésil, Birmanie, Cambodge, Ceylan, Chili, Colombie, Costa Rica, Cuba, Chypre, Salvador.

Par 38 voix contre 24, avec 26 abstentions, l'amendement est adopté.

29. Le PRESIDENT met aux voix l'alinéa c du principe VI.

Par 63 voix contre zéro, avec 19 abstentions, l'alinéa c du principe VI est adopté.

Par 67 voix contre zéro, avec 22 abstentions, l'ensemble du principe VI est adopté.

Par 69 voix contre zéro, avec 18 abstentions, le principe VIII est adopté.

Par 68 voix contre zéro, avec 19 abstentions, l'alinéa a du principe IX est adopté.

Par 57 voix contre 5, avec 24 abstentions, l'alinéa b du principe IX, tel qu'il a été amendé, est adopté.

Par 50 voix contre 3, avec 32 abstentions, l'ensemble du principe IX, tel qu'il a été amendé, est adopté.

30. Le PRESIDENT met aux voix l'annexe du projet de résolution A/C.4/L.648 et Add.1 tel qu'il a été amendé.

A la demande du représentant du Libéria, il est procédé au vote par appel nominal.

L'appel commence par Madagascar, dont le nom est tiré au sort par le Président.

Votent pour: Mali, Mexique, Maroc, Népal, Niger, Nigéria, Norvège, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Pérou, Philippines, Arabie Saoudite, Sénégal, Somalie, Soudan, Suède, Thaïlande, Togo, Tunisie, Turquie, République arabe unie, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yougoslavie, Afghanistan, Argentine, Autriche, Bolivie, Brésil, Birmanie, Cambodge, Cameroun, Canada, République centrafricaine, Ceylan, Tchad, Chili, Colombie, Congo (Brazzaville), Costa Rica, Cuba, Chypre, Danemark, Equateur, Salvador, Ethiopie, Fédération de Malaisie, Finlande, Ghana, Grèce, Guatemala, Guinée, Haïti, Inde, Indonésie, Iran, Irak, Irlande, Israël, Côte-d'Ivoire, Japon, Jordanie, Liban, Libéria, Libye.

Votent contre: Portugal, Espagne, Union sud-africaine.

S'abstiennent: Pays-Bas, Nouvelle-Zélande, Pologne, Roumanie, République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine, Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques, Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord, Etats-Unis d'Amérique, Albanie, Australie, Belgique, Bulgarie, République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie, Chine, Tchécoslovaquie, République Dominicaine, France, Hongrie, Italie.

Par 66 voix contre 3, avec 19 abstentions, l'ensemble de l'annexe du projet de résolution A/C.4/L.648 et Add.1, telle qu'elle a été amendée, est adopté.

31. M. RAHNEMA (Iran) invite la Commission à examiner la proposition qu'il a faite à la 1042ème séance, tendant à ajouter les mots "les considérations générales exposées dans la partie A et" après le mot "Approuve" au paragraphe 2 du dispositif du projet de résolution A/C.4/L.648 et Add.1.

32. Sir Andrew COHEN (Royaume-Uni) suggère que le paragraphe 2 du dispositif du projet de résolution soit ainsi modifié: "Approuve les principes énoncés dans la subdivision B de la section V du rapport présenté par le Comité spécial des Six tels qu'ils figurent, sous leur forme amendée, dans l'annexe à la présente résolution".

33. M. KOUTCHAVA (Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques) déclare que, si l'amendement iranien est mis aux voix, sa délégation demandera un vote séparé sur la dernière phrase du paragraphe 17 du rapport du Comité spécial: "On reconnaît aujourd'hui d'une façon générale que l'indépendance est une des aspirations légitimes de chaque nation dont la réalisation constitue un important facteur pour la préservation de la paix et de la sécurité internationales." Sa délégation votera pour cette phrase et s'abstiendra lors du vote sur l'ensemble du rapport.

34. M. CARPIO (Philippines) s'élève contre cette proposition en vertu de l'article 130 du règlement intérieur.

35. Le PRESIDENT fait remarquer qu'aux termes de l'article 130 l'autorisation de prendre la parole est accordée à deux orateurs pour et deux orateurs contre.

36. M. BLUSZTAJN (Pologne) appuie la motion. Il estime que l'adoption pure et simple des considérations générales renforcerait la résolution; puisque les opinions diffèrent, les membres de la Commission ont le droit de les exprimer par leur vote.

37. M. KOUdryAVTSEV (République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie) appuie la motion. Sa délégation

votera pour la dernière phrase du paragraphe 17 et s'abstiendra sur le reste du rapport.

38. M. KANAKARATNE (Ceylan) adresse un appel au représentant de l'Iran pour qu'il retire son amendement au paragraphe 2 du dispositif, dont l'adoption pourrait donner lieu à des votes séparés sur le rapport du Comité spécial des Six.

39. M. RAHNEMA (Iran) retire son amendement.

40. Le PRESIDENT met aux voix le projet de résolution A/C.4/L.649 et Add.1, le paragraphe 2 du dispositif étant ainsi modifié: "Approuve les principes énoncés dans la subdivision B de la section V du rapport présenté par le Comité spécial des Six tels qu'ils figurent, sous leur forme amendée, dans l'annexe à la présente résolution".

A la demande du représentant du Libéria, il est procédé au vote par appel nominal.

L'appel commence par le Luxembourg, dont le nom est tiré au sort par le Président.

Votent pour: Mexique, Maroc, Népal, Nigéria, Norvège, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Pérou, Philippines, Arabie Saoudite, Somalie, Soudan, Suède, Thaïlande, Togo, Tunisie, Turquie, République arabe unie, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yougoslavie, Afghanistan, Argentine, Autriche, Bolivie, Brésil, Birmanie, Cambodge, Cameroun, Canada, République centrafricaine, Ceylan, Tchad, Chili, Colombie, Costa Rica, Cuba, Chypre, Danemark, Equateur, Salvador, Ethiopie, Fédération de Malaisie, Finlande, Ghana, Grèce, Guatemala, Guinée, Haïti, Inde, Indonésie, Iran, Irak, Irlande, Israël, Côte-d'Ivoire, Japon, Jordanie, Liban, Libéria, Libye.

Votent contre: Portugal, Espagne, Union sud-africaine.

S'abstiennent: Pays-Bas, Nouvelle-Zélande, Pologne, Roumanie, République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine, Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques, Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord, Etats-Unis d'Amérique, Albanie, Australie, Belgique, Bulgarie, République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie, Chine, Tchécoslovaquie, République Dominicaine, France, Hongrie, Italie.

Par 62 voix contre 3, avec 19 abstentions, le projet de résolution est adopté.

La séance est levée à 18 h 40.

ASSEMBLÉE GÉNÉRALE

QUINZIÈME SESSION

Documents officiels



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NEW YORK

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En l'absence du Président, M. Ortiz de Rozas (Argentine), vice-président, prend la présidence.

POINT 38 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

Etude des principes qui doivent guider les Etats Membres pour déterminer si l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements, prévue à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte des Nations Unies, leur est applicable ou non: rapport du Comité spécial créé par la résolution 1467 (XIV) de l'Assemblée générale (A/4526, A/C.4/L.648 et Add.1, A/C.4/L.649/Rev.1 et Rev.1/Corr.1) [suite]

EXAMEN DES PROJETS DE RESOLUTION (A/C.4/L.648 ET ADD.1, A/C.4/L.649/REV.1 ET REV.1/CORR.1 [suite])

Projet de résolution A/C.4/L.648 et Add.1 (fin)

1. M. AZNAR (Espagne) explique pourquoi il a voté contre le projet de résolution adopté à la séance précédente. La délégation espagnole a sévèrement critiqué, à plusieurs reprises, les principes posés dans la subdivision B de la section V du rapport du Comité spécial des Six chargé de la question de la communication de renseignements prévue à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte, parce qu'ils lui paraissent confus et susceptibles d'interprétations diverses. Plusieurs cas pourraient se présenter en effet dans lesquels la Commission aurait peine à décider, en prenant ces principes pour critères, si un territoire est autonome ou non. Que la délégation espagnole ait voté contre le projet de résolution ne change d'ailleurs rien à sa décision de communiquer spontanément des renseignements sur les territoires espagnols d'Afrique; cela ne change rien non plus à la position du Gouvernement espagnol, qui continue à condamner le colonialisme et l'exploitation de l'homme par l'homme; cela enfin n'empêche pas que certains des principes joints en annexe au projet ne soient excellents, par exemple le principe VIII, qui, mis aux voix séparément, a reçu l'appui de la délégation espagnole. La Commission doit donc bien voir que la

position de la délégation espagnole est beaucoup moins éloignée de celle de la majorité qu'il ne peut paraître. Son vote à la séance précédente n'empêche pas que le Gouvernement espagnol soit bien décidé à continuer à collaborer avec l'ONU conformément aux principes inscrits dans la Charte.

2. M. ANSTENSEN (Canada) a voté à la séance précédente contre l'amendement remanié du Togo et de la Tunisie et s'est abstenu lors du vote sur l'alinéa h du principe IX et sur l'ensemble de ce principe. Il a cependant voté pour tous les autres principes mis aux voix séparément et pour l'ensemble du projet de résolution. Le Canada, coauteur du projet qui est devenu depuis la résolution 1467 (XIV) de l'Assemblée générale, était partisan de la création du Comité spécial des Six; il pensait que ce comité poserait des principes qui guideraient les Etats Membres pour déterminer si l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements leur est applicable ou non. C'est bien ce que le Comité spécial a fait; mais tout le débat qui vient de se dérouler pourrait laisser croire que la Quatrième Commission est l'organe législatif d'un gouvernement mondial, et qu'elle est en train d'élaborer les lois ou même le code pénal de ce gouvernement. Il faut bien reconnaître que l'on n'en est pas encore là, même en considérant, comme l'a exprimé le Comité spécial (A/4526, par. 18), que la Charte est un "document vivant" qui doit permettre l'avènement d'un monde meilleur. Les Nations Unies ne sont encore que des Etats, librement associés sur un pied d'égalité absolue, qui s'engagent à s'acquitter des obligations que leur impose la Charte.

3. Le rapport du Comité spécial des Six (A/4526) était un remarquable compromis entre ceux qui auraient préféré des principes plus généraux et ceux qui auraient voulu des principes plus catégoriques; tous s'étaient finalement ralliés à ce texte unique parce qu'il était meilleur que deux séries de principes présentées côte à côte. La délégation canadienne, tout en éprouvant quelques doutes sur certains principes, a toujours été en faveur du projet de résolution qui reprenait les conclusions du Comité spécial; ce compromis n'impliquait en effet l'abandon d'aucun grand principe, mais était au contraire une preuve de sagesse et de courage moral. D'ailleurs, la stricte adhésion à des principes sacrés — bien qu'on en fasse volontiers l'éloge — se réduit trop souvent à une obstination à courte vue. Tout en appréciant la courtoisie dont le Togo et la Tunisie ont fait preuve en remaniant leur amendement original (A/C.4/L.650), la délégation canadienne a voté contre cet amendement remanié, car elle craignait que les principes ne puissent plus ensuite recevoir le large appui qu'il leur faut. Ce n'est pas en adoptant des textes que la Quatrième Commission peut obtenir de bons résultats, mais en témoignant de sa confiance envers la bonne foi des Etats Membres, qui auront alors à cœur d'appliquer ses résolutions. M. Anstensen regrette que, par son action, la Quatrième Commission ait em-

pêché le Royaume-Uni, qui a fait maintes fois la preuve de sa bonne foi et d'une bonne volonté, de voter pour un texte qu'il avait dit accueillir avec sympathie.

4. M. DINGEMANS (Pays-Bas) précise que sa délégation, qui a fait tous ses efforts au Comité spécial des Six pour essayer de réaliser la synthèse des vues des représentants des puissances administrantes et des puissances non administrantes, aurait voté pour le texte primitif du projet de résolution. Les principes énoncés par le Comité spécial étaient en effet le résultat de longues discussions et de nombreux compromis. Mais l'amendement du Togo et de la Tunisie a porté atteinte au délicat équilibre qui avait été réalisé en introduisant une idée prêtant à controverse dans un texte qui avait eu l'approbation de tous les membres du Comité spécial. La délégation néerlandaise acceptait le texte primitif du principe IX, car il n'impliquait pas pour les Membres administrants l'obligation d'accepter ou de demander chaque fois le contrôle de l'ONU. Bien que ce contrôle puisse souvent être hautement souhaitable, l'amendement implique, de l'avis de sa délégation, que l'ONU peut dans toutes les circonstances décider s'il est nécessaire. Comme cela n'est pas conforme aux vues de sa délégation sur la question, il a voté contre cet amendement et s'est abstenu sur l'ensemble du projet de résolution.

5. M. VANDERBORGHT (Belgique) dit qu'en s'abstenant sur le projet de résolution, la Belgique ne prétendait pas émettre un jugement sur la manière dont le Comité spécial des Six s'est acquitté de sa tâche ou sur la valeur des principes que ce comité a énoncés. Elle a voulu simplement signifier qu'elle pense toujours, comme lorsqu'elle était responsable de l'administration d'un territoire non autonome — sur lequel elle fournissait d'ailleurs des renseignements — que les critères d'appréciation ne sont pas de la compétence de l'Assemblée générale, car nulle disposition de la Charte n'autorise l'Assemblée à intervenir dans un domaine qui relève de la compétence exclusive d'Etats souverains. La Belgique avait cependant été heureuse de pouvoir s'associer aux félicitations qui ont été adressées au Comité spécial des Six, notamment pour l'esprit de conciliation dont ses membres ont fait preuve, ce qui est toujours un spectacle réconfortant, même lorsqu'on ne peut marquer son accord sur le principe mis en œuvre.

6. M. ACLY (Etats-Unis d'Amérique) était en faveur du rapport du Comité spécial des Six et aurait appuyé le projet de résolution sous sa forme primitive. Si sa délégation s'est cependant abstenue, à son grand regret, c'est uniquement par suite de l'adoption de l'amendement du Togo et de la Tunisie. Mais le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis n'a pas changé d'avis: il continue à approuver le rapport, tant pour sa tendance générale que pour les principes qu'il pose, y compris l'alinéa b du principe IX, qui stipule qu'il peut être souhaitable, dans certains cas, que l'ONU contrôle la procédure d'intégration.

7. M. SINGH (Inde) s'est abstenu sur l'amendement du Togo et de la Tunisie, non faute de sympathiser avec ses auteurs, mais parce qu'il éprouvait des doutes graves sur ses modalités d'application et sur les problèmes de compétence qu'il soulevait.

*Projet de résolution A/C.4/L.649/Rev.1
et Rev.1/Corr.1*

8. M. SINGH (Inde) annonce que les auteurs du projet de résolution A/C.4/L.649, auxquels se sont mainte-

nant joints l'Irak, la Libye et le Sénégal, présentent une version remaniée de leur texte (A/C.4/L.649/Rev.1, et Rev.1/Corr.1), car, au cours de conversations, le représentant de l'Espagne leur a confirmé l'intention de son gouvernement de respecter les obligations que la Charte lui impose à l'égard des territoires qu'il administre et de communiquer des renseignements sur la situation de ces territoires, y compris leur situation politique. Ce représentant a d'ailleurs fait plusieurs déclarations en ce sens devant la Quatrième Commission et est prêt, leur a-t-il dit, à approuver les termes du projet de résolution. Il n'est donc plus besoin d'énumérer les territoires non autonomes administrés en Afrique par l'Espagne, ce qui risquerait d'ailleurs de soulever des difficultés dans la mesure où certains de ces territoires sont contestés. Le paragraphe 5 du dispositif du nouveau texte indique que les renseignements communiqués par l'Espagne recevront le même traitement que ceux qu'envoient les autres Membres administrants. Les auteurs du projet de résolution constatent avec satisfaction l'attitude conciliante de l'Espagne et déplorent que le Portugal ne semble malheureusement pas avoir changé d'attitude. Le représentant de l'Inde demande à la Commission d'adopter ce projet de résolution, qui permettra de sauvegarder les intérêts de la population des territoires sous administration portugaise.

9. M. NOGUEIRA (Portugal) tient à répondre brièvement et objectivement à certaines allégations. Les délégations qui ont accusé la délégation portugaise et son gouvernement l'ont fait en des termes que l'on n'avait jamais encore entendus à la Quatrième Commission. Elles n'ont pas hésité à parler de cruauté, d'hypocrisie, de machiavélisme, de cynisme, de lâcheté ou d'arrogance. L'une d'entre elles a déclaré que les amis du Portugal seraient les ennemis de son pays; une autre a évoqué la possibilité d'exclure le Portugal de l'Organisation. Tout cela donne à réfléchir sur la nature et la tenue des débats. La délégation portugaise ne se laissera pas ému par la démagogie verbale ou la violence du mensonge.

10. Sans preuve aucune — car il leur aurait fallu forger des preuves s'ils avaient été obligés de les fournir — certains ont affirmé que le Gouvernement portugais pratique le travail forcé. M. Nogueira rejette catégoriquement cette calomnie de basse propagande. Est-il besoin de rappeler qu'après avoir adopté, il y a longtemps, des lois qui garantissent la liberté du travail et le libre choix de l'employeur, le Portugal a ratifié la première Convention concernant le travail forcé ou obligatoire, élaborée en 1930 par l'OIT, et la Convention concernant l'abolition du travail forcé, adoptée en 1957? La première session de la commission consultative africaine de l'OIT, qui s'est tenue à Saint-Paul de Luanda en 1959, sur l'invitation du Gouvernement portugais, a d'ailleurs permis à de nombreux spécialistes et délégués des gouvernements et des organisations syndicales de se rendre compte sur place de la situation locale et de faire ensuite des déclarations bien différentes de celles qu'a entendues la Quatrième Commission.

11. On a également parlé d'esclavage. C'est là une affirmation dont la gratuité dépasse les limites du concevable. Faut-il préciser que le Gouvernement portugais respecte les valeurs morales et a ratifié la Convention supplémentaire relative à l'abolition de l'esclavage et des institutions et pratiques analogues à l'esclavage, élaborée à Genève en 1956?

12. D'autres encore ont dit que l'oppression et la terreur règnent dans les provinces portugaises d'outre-mer et que le secret de la paix sociale dans ces territoires vient de la présence de milliers de soldats. Peut-être certains ont-ils en effet peine à concevoir que l'on puisse faire régner la paix sans user de la force brutale. C'est peut-être que, déçus du peu de résultats de leur propagande mensongère, ils prétendent, puisqu'ils ne peuvent pas alléguer des troubles et qu'il leur faut critiquer coûte que coûte, que la paix vient de l'oppression. Quiconque veut bien considérer les faits reconnaîtra que le Portugal n'entretient pas d'armée, car il n'a pas l'intention d'attaquer qui que ce soit et ne s'attend pas non plus à être attaqué. Les quelques troupes postées à la frontière d'un pays où se déroulaient de regrettables événements étaient uniquement destinées à faire respecter la stricte neutralité du Portugal. Tels sont les faits. La Commission jugera de l'état d'esprit de ceux qui n'hésitent pas à déclarer que le représentant du Portugal a peut-être raison, mais qui considèrent comme vrai tout ce qui sert leur thèse.

13. Par respect pour la Commission et par courtoisie envers les représentants qui lui ont posé des questions — auxquelles il ne pouvait pas répondre immédiatement faute de données suffisantes — M. Nogueira précise, bien qu'il n'y soit nullement obligé, qu'à l'Assemblée nationale portugaise siègent trois représentants de l'Angola, trois représentants du Mozambique, deux représentants de l'Etat de l'Inde et un représentant de chacune des autres provinces. Le nombre des représentants des districts électoraux d'outre-mer s'élèvera à 23 quand les 10 représentants supplémentaires attribués à ces districts par décision d'août 1959 auront été élus en octobre 1961. Bien que les membres de la délégation portugaise à l'ONU ne représentent pas telle ou telle partie du territoire, mais toute la nation portugaise, M. Nogueira peut indiquer qu'au cours des cinq dernières années, cette délégation a compris deux représentants nés à Goa, deux représentants nés en Angola et quatre représentants nés respectivement en Guinée portugaise, dans les îles du Cap-Vert, au Mozambique et à Macao.

14. M. Nogueira estime qu'il n'est que juste que le représentant de la Guinée réponde à son tour à deux questions précises. Il aimerait en effet savoir quels sont le nom, la date et le texte de la loi portugaise qui distinguerait cinq catégories de personnes dans la population et sur quoi le représentant de la Guinée se fonde pour affirmer que le Gouvernement portugais a ou a l'intention d'avoir 60.000 soldats en Angola.

15. M. ZIKRIA (Afghanistan) précise une fois de plus qu'en soutenant la cause des peuples dépendants, et en tenant à figurer parmi les auteurs du projet de résolution remanié, la délégation afghane ne veut nullement manifester du parti pris contre un Etat ou plusieurs. En adoptant les principes énoncés par le Comité spécial des Six, la Commission vient enfin de sortir de l'impasse où elle se trouvait depuis longtemps. Il est logique qu'elle cherche désormais à faire appliquer à des cas particuliers des dispositions qui répondent aux vœux de la quasi-totalité de la Commission. Pour la délégation afghane, l'expression: "peuples soumis à la domination coloniale", au troisième alinéa du préambule du projet de résolution remanié désigne tous les peuples encore soumis contre leur volonté à une domination étrangère. Ce projet de résolution permettrait donc l'exercice effectif du droit d'auto-

détermination. M. Zikria espère donc que la Commission adoptera ce projet à une forte majorité.

16. M. BLUSZTAJN (Pologne), prenant la parole sur une question d'ordre, demande au représentant de l'Inde de bien vouloir préciser quelle déclaration du représentant de l'Espagne autorise les auteurs à écrire sans hésitation au quatrième alinéa du préambule du projet de résolution remanié: "Le Gouvernement espagnol accepte de communiquer des renseignements au Secrétaire général conformément aux dispositions du Chapitre XI de la Charte".

17. M. NEKLESSA (République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine) présente, sous la cote A/C.4/L.651, quatre amendements au projet de résolution remanié. La Commission, qui ne procède plus à un débat théorique, doit maintenant prendre des mesures concrètes à l'endroit de deux Membres de l'ONU qui, depuis cinq ans, refusent de se soumettre aux obligations que leur impose le Chapitre XI de la Charte sous prétexte, d'une part, que les dispositions de ce chapitre XI ne sont pas obligatoires et, d'autre part, qu'ils n'administrent pas des colonies, mais des provinces d'outre-mer. Les débats de la Quatrième Commission ayant fait clairement ressortir que ces provinces d'outre-mer sont en fait des territoires non autonomes, et les représentants du Portugal et de l'Espagne n'ayant pas pu réfuter les faits que de nombreuses délégations ont cités à l'appui de cette thèse, il était naturel d'attendre de l'Assemblée générale qu'elle prenne, à sa présente session, des mesures pratiques pour mettre un terme aux manœuvres du Portugal et de l'Espagne. Or le texte primitif du projet de résolution (A/C.4/L.649) avait déjà un caractère assez modéré, tout en comprenant un certain nombre de dispositions justifiées. Le projet de résolution révisé est édulcoré. Il diffère complètement du texte primitif. On a supprimé notamment le paragraphe 1 du dispositif original qui soulignait la nécessité d'assurer aux populations autochtones des colonies de l'Espagne et du Portugal la pleine liberté d'exercer une activité politique démocratique. En d'autres termes, on a supprimé du texte primitif ce qui intéresse au premier chef la population autochtone. La délégation ukrainienne ne comprend pas pourquoi ce paragraphe n'apparaît plus dans la nouvelle version du projet de résolution; il demande à la Commission de le rétablir dans ses grandes lignes; le paragraphe 1 du dispositif se lirait ainsi:

"1. Presse le Gouvernement espagnol et le Gouvernement portugais d'accorder aux populations autochtones des territoires non autonomes placés sous leur administration la pleine liberté d'exercer une activité politique démocratique qui assurerait leur accession à l'indépendance".

18. Les représentants du Ghana, de la Guinée, de l'Inde et d'autres pays ont mentionné dans leurs interventions au cours de la discussion générale les mesures de répression prises par le Gouvernement espagnol et le Gouvernement portugais contre les dirigeants du mouvement de libération nationale. Selon le représentant du Ghana, il faut inviter le Portugal et l'Espagne à libérer les dirigeants du mouvement de libération nationale qui se trouvent en prison ou dans des camps de concentration. La délégation ukrainienne pense que l'adoption du paragraphe qu'elle propose influencera le Portugal et l'Espagne et les contraindra notamment à libérer les leaders démocratiques qui sont en prison ou dans des camps de concentration.

19. La délégation ukrainienne s'élève ensuite contre l'emploi de l'expression "avec satisfaction" au quatrième alinéa du préambule du projet de résolution révisé; elle estime qu'il faut blâmer l'Espagne d'avoir refusé pendant cinq ans d'assumer ses obligations, et non la féliciter. Si la délégation espagnole a fait à plusieurs reprises savoir qu'elle était disposée à communiquer des renseignements sur ses territoires non autonomes, elle n'en a encore jamais rien fait. Les déclarations que le représentant de l'Espagne a faites à la présente session de l'Assemblée générale sont contradictoires et n'autorisent nullement la Commission à exprimer à cet égard sa satisfaction.

20. La délégation ukrainienne propose, afin d'éviter tout malentendu, d'énumérer au paragraphe 1 de son amendement A/C.4/L.651 les territoires non autonomes sur lesquels l'Espagne est tenue de communiquer des renseignements: Ifni, Sahara occidental, Fernando Poo, Rio Muni et îles Canaries. Cette liste figurait dans le texte primitif du projet de résolution. L'amendement de la délégation ukrainienne comprend en outre les îles Canaries, qui ne figuraient pas dans la liste primitive. Ces îles ont en effet le même statut que les autres territoires non autonomes administrés par l'Espagne. De l'avis de la délégation ukrainienne, l'énumération des territoires non autonomes sur lesquels l'Espagne doit communiquer des renseignements serait indispensable même si le Gouvernement espagnol se déclarait prêt à communiquer ces renseignements, mais elle l'est encore plus étant donné les déclarations contradictoires du représentant de l'Espagne et son refus de nommer les territoires administrés par l'Espagne.

21. La délégation ukrainienne propose aussi de supprimer le paragraphe 4 du dispositif du projet de résolution révisé, tendant à ce que l'Assemblée générale prie le Secrétaire général de prendre les mesures nécessaires à la suite de la déclaration du Gouvernement espagnol selon laquelle il est prêt à se conformer aux dispositions du Chapitre XI de la Charte. La délégation ukrainienne estime que dès 1955, c'est-à-dire à l'époque où le Portugal et l'Espagne sont devenus Membres de l'ONU, le Secrétaire général aurait dû prendre des mesures pour que ces Etats appliquent la Charte. On ne sait pas quelles mesures il s'agit de prendre à présent. Si la Commission énumère les territoires sur lesquels l'Espagne est tenue de communiquer des renseignements, le Secrétaire général devra recevoir ces renseignements conformément à la procédure établie.

22. Au paragraphe 2 du dispositif du projet de résolution examiné, la délégation ukrainienne propose d'ajouter après les mots "au titre du Chapitre XI de la Charte" les mots "jusqu'au moment où la pleine indépendance leur aura été accordée", afin d'indiquer clairement le but vers lequel tendent les territoires en question. A son avis, cet amendement ne doit pas rencontrer d'objections, car il répond à l'esprit de la Charte et à celui du projet de Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays coloniaux, présenté par la délégation soviétique pour examen en séance plénière de l'Assemblée générale à la quinzième session (A/4502 et Corr.1).

23. M. CABA (Guinée) juge qu'au début de la séance, le représentant du Portugal, loin de convaincre la Commission, n'a fait que préciser davantage la politique discriminatoire appliquée par le Portugal. Se réservant le droit de répondre plus tard à cette dé-

claration, M. Caba indique toutefois que le représentant du Portugal n'a pas vraiment répondu aux deux questions qu'il lui avait posées; il compte pour sa part fournir, lui, des réponses précises aux deux questions du représentant du Portugal.

24. M. RAHNEMA (Iran) estime que le projet de résolution examiné est la conséquence logique du projet de résolution adopté par la Commission à la séance précédente. La délégation iranienne approuve les changements apportés au texte primitif du projet de résolution A/C.4/L.649, et surtout la suppression du paragraphe 1, qui préjugait de l'issue même de la résolution. La Commission doit attendre que le Portugal réponde à sa demande de renseignements avant de lui demander autre chose.

25. Le représentant de l'Iran fera ultérieurement des observations sur les amendements déposés par la République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine.

26. M. WEEKS (Libéria), usant de son droit de réponse, déclare qu'il a participé à la conférence citée par le représentant du Portugal, et que les renseignements qu'il y a recoltés de première main contredisent ceux que vient de donner le représentant du Portugal. M. Nogueira n'a pas non plus vraiment dit à la Commission si les députés dont il parlait représentent véritablement la population des territoires non autonomes ou les intérêts de ces populations.

27. Passant au texte en discussion, le représentant du Libéria déclare qu'il aurait voté sans objection le projet de résolution sous sa forme primitive. Mais les changements apportés par les auteurs dans le texte révisé prêtent à confusion. Comme l'indiquent les amendements présentés par la République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine, il n'y a pas lieu de traiter différemment le Portugal et l'Espagne; et, si l'on énumère les territoires sous administration portugaise, il faut aussi énumérer les territoires sous administration espagnole. Sur ce point, la délégation libérienne appuiera les amendements ukrainiens, qui permettront de savoir si vraiment l'Espagne est décidée à communiquer des renseignements sur ses territoires. La Commission pourrait toutefois retenir l'alinéa où elle se déclare satisfaite d'apprendre que le Gouvernement espagnol a accepté de communiquer des renseignements, si cette déclaration est bien exacte.

28. M. SINGH (Inde) indique, pour répondre à la question du représentant de la Pologne, qu'il n'a plus aucun doute sur les intentions du Gouvernement espagnol à la suite des déclarations que le représentant de l'Espagne a faites au cours de la séance même, ainsi qu'à la 1038^{ème} séance. Sur cette dernière déclaration, M. Singh tient à citer textuellement le représentant de l'Espagne:

"Néanmoins, ai-je dit l'an dernier — et je l'ai dit en me référant à ce que j'avais déjà dit deux ans plus tôt — nous répétons et nous le maintiendrons toujours que, désireux de collaborer avec tous les Etats Membres de l'ONU, nous sommes obligés de tenir compte constamment, non seulement de l'Article 11, mais encore de l'esprit de la Charte en général, dans son intégralité et dans sa réalité. Et, puisque l'on nous fait l'honneur de s'intéresser à la vie de nos provinces ibériques et de nos provinces d'outre-mer, nous ne refuserons pas de fournir des renseignements; au contraire, puisque nous n'avons rien à cacher, nous nous efforcerons d'envoyer au Secrétaire général des renseignements complets,

pour son information. Et, si certains représentants éprouvent encore une curiosité plus vive, je me ferai moi-même un plaisir, à titre personnel, de les satisfaire."

29. Pour la délégation indienne, le Gouvernement espagnol a catégoriquement pris position.

30. M. BRAIMAH (Ghana) a tenu à figurer parmi les auteurs du projet de résolution révisé, par lequel la Commission s'attaque à l'essentiel de sa tâche. Il faut souhaiter que la délégation portugaise consente à apporter sa coopération à cette tâche, en acceptant, comme l'Espagne, d'assumer l'obligation prévue à l'Article 73 et que consacrent les 12 principes que la Commission a adoptés à sa séance précédente. Il faut que le Portugal comprenne que l'objectif ultime des dispositions de l'Article 73 de la Charte est de permettre aux peuples dépendants d'accéder le plus rapidement possible à l'indépendance. C'est du reste bien ce que le Comité spécial des Six a reconnu dans son rapport (A/4526).

31. Le représentant du Ghana se réserve le droit de faire plus tard des observations sur les amendements de la République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine.

32. M. BLUSZTAJN (Pologne) remercie le représentant de l'Inde des précisions qu'il vient d'apporter. Mais ses doutes ne sont pas encore dissipés, car il ne semble pas que, dans la déclaration qu'il vient de faire, le représentant de l'Espagne soit allé au-delà de ce qu'il avait dit le 7 novembre à la 1038ème séance; il a en effet déclaré que de nombreuses délégations ont oublié la position de la délégation espagnole quant à l'interprétation du Chapitre XI de la Charte, ou n'ont pas encore eu le temps d'en prendre connaissance. Or, cette interprétation ressort clairement de la réponse envoyée par le Gouvernement espagnol au Secrétaire général conformément à la résolution 1467 (XIV) de l'Assemblée générale, à savoir que l'Espagne ne possède pas de territoires qui pourraient créer pour elle l'obligation énoncée à l'Article 73 (A/AC.100/1, par. 10). M. Aznar l'a répété à la 1038ème séance, en ajoutant toutefois qu'étant donné sa volonté de collaborer avec l'ONU, son pays est prêt à communiquer, le moment venu, des renseignements sur ses provinces d'outre-mer. Rien dans les déclarations du représentant de l'Espagne ne permet donc de dire, comme l'ont fait les auteurs du texte remanié du projet de résolution, que le Gouvernement espagnol accepte de communiquer des renseignements au Secrétaire général conformément aux dispositions du Chapitre XI de la Charte. Ce qui intéresse la Commission, ce n'est pas tant de recevoir des renseignements sur les territoires espagnols (on pourrait tout aussi bien se les procurer en librairie) que de voir l'Espagne s'acquitter des obligations qu'elle a contractées du fait de son admission à l'ONU, au titre du Chapitre XI de la Charte. M. Blusztajn redemande donc au représentant de l'Inde s'il estime que la déclaration du représentant de l'Espagne correspond bien au texte du projet de résolution.

33. M. ORTIZ DE ROZAS (Argentine) estime que le projet de résolution dont la Commission est saisie est l'aboutissement du long processus qui a amené la Commission à adopter finalement une série de principes qui doivent guider les Etats Membres pour déterminer si l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements prévue à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte leur est applicable ou non. La délégation

argentine, qui a toujours interprété le Chapitre XI de la Charte comme obligeant les Membres administrants à communiquer des renseignements sur les territoires qu'ils administrent, a voté pour ces principes et pour le projet de résolution auquel ils sont joints en annexe. Franchissant une nouvelle étape, l'Assemblée générale demande maintenant à la délégation d'un Etat Membre de communiquer des renseignements sur les territoires qu'il administre.

34. Le Gouvernement espagnol a décidé d'agir conformément aux dispositions du Chapitre XI de la Charte, et M. Ortiz de Rozas s'en félicite. La déclaration catégorique du représentant de l'Espagne ne laisse plus l'ombre d'un doute à ce sujet, d'autant qu'il a même mis au point les renseignements de toute nature — renseignements politiques compris — que son gouvernement va communiquer. L'Argentine a toujours cru à la parole de l'Espagne, à qui l'unissent tant de liens. Elle se félicite que le texte remanié rende justice à une nouvelle attitude du Gouvernement espagnol et considère qu'il correspond fidèlement à ce que le représentant de l'Espagne a affirmé à maintes reprises. A cet égard, la délégation argentine attache la plus grande importance à ce que M. Aznar a dit des négociations bilatérales que son gouvernement est disposé à entamer au sujet de ses possessions d'Afrique du Nord, et elle est certaine que ces négociations porteront bientôt des fruits.

35. Les auteurs du nouveau projet ont bien fait de supprimer le paragraphe 1 du dispositif de l'ancien texte (A/C.4/L.649). On ne pouvait pas en effet, avant d'avoir reçu les renseignements demandés, présumer que le Gouvernement espagnol et le Gouvernement portugais n'assurent pas aux populations autochtones des territoires placés sous leur administration la pleine liberté d'exercer une activité politique démocratique qui hâterait leur accession à l'indépendance. Ce serait en quelque sorte condamner le prévenu avant d'avoir les preuves de sa culpabilité. Le représentant de l'Ukraine a jugé bon de rétablir ce paragraphe par un amendement: cette proposition n'est pas logique, car pourquoi parler dès maintenant de l'indépendance d'un territoire, alors que l'Assemblée générale doit d'abord — il l'a affirmé à maintes reprises — examiner le projet de déclaration d'indépendance? Dans ces conditions, la délégation argentine votera contre l'amendement ukrainien et pour le projet remanié, si l'amendement est rejeté.

36. M. SKALLI (Maroc) rappelle que le rapport du Comité spécial et les principes qu'il pose sont une œuvre de compromis, qui ne peut donc pas refléter les convictions profondes des membres non administrants du Comité, mais qui n'en constitue pas moins une contribution appréciable, car elle doit guider les Etats Membres pour déterminer si l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements leur est applicable ou non. Il s'agit maintenant de donner à ces principes un contenu concret et une portée pratique, c'est-à-dire de les appliquer à l'Espagne et au Portugal, qui, seules de toutes les puissances coloniales, ont répondu qu'ils ne géraient pas de territoires non autonomes. Mais peut-on soutenir que des territoires entiers, différents de la métropole à tous les points de vue, sont des "provinces d'outre-mer"? Cet artifice, dont la généralisation entraînerait le chaos dans les relations internationales, ne trompe personne. Et, en admettant même qu'il y ait eu un changement dans les relations entre les territoires et la métropole,

ce changement n'aurait pas pu s'opérer au moment de l'admission de l'Espagne et du Portugal à l'ONU, car les dispositions de la Charte doivent avoir le pas sur toutes les législations nationales. Le représentant du Portugal a attaqué, à la 1041^{ème} séance, ce qu'il appelle le caractère tendancieux des principes, mais son accusation n'a convaincu personne, tant il est vrai qu'une argutie juridique ne peut être opposée à la réalité des faits: la Commission n'est pas une cour de justice, mais un organe politique qui se préoccupe de situations réelles. Le Portugal est libre de s'attacher au sens littéral des mots inscrits dans la Charte; mais, pour les autres membres de la Commission, "la Charte est un document vivant" et qui s'applique à des êtres vivants et notamment, aux yeux de la délégation marocaine, à ceux qui vivent à Ifni, dans le Sahara occidental, à Ceuta et à Melilla. Le représentant de l'Espagne a comparé les pays anticolonialistes à un groupe d'archanges, défenseurs de la liberté du monde, qui tiennent l'Espagne pour un monstre nourri de la chair et du sang des peuples africains.

37. M. AZNAR (Espagne), intervenant pour une question d'ordre, se défend d'avoir jamais prononcé cette phrase.

38. M. SKALLI (Maroc) a lui-même noté cette phrase au moment où elle était prononcée, et elle figure d'ailleurs dans le compte rendu de la 1038^{ème} séance. Quoi qu'il en soit, la Commission se trouve saisie du cas de deux Etats qui ont eu un passé colonial et qui, maintenant à cet égard une attitude intransigeante, demeurent isolés. Le représentant du Portugal prétend que la question de l'envoi de renseignements n'a pas éveillé un grand intérêt chez les Etats Membres, puisque 26 gouvernements seulement ont jugé utile d'envoyer une réponse au Secrétaire général en application de la résolution 1467 (XIV) de l'Assemblée générale. C'est vrai et faux tout à la fois. C'est vrai parce que de nombreux pays considèrent que la question est secondaire et qu'elle a perdu de son actualité au moment où le seul problème réel est celui de la liquidation pure et simple du colonialisme; c'est vrai aussi parce que les renseignements transmis par les Membres administrants ne peuvent jamais être tout à fait sincères ni objectifs et que, grâce à l'émancipation de l'Afrique, des voix plus authentiques peuvent se faire entendre et éclairer l'ONU sur la véritable situation économique, sociale ou politique réelle des territoires non autonomes. Mais, d'un autre côté, ce qu'affirme le représentant du Portugal est faux, car toutes les délégations ont désapprouvé en termes non équivoques l'attitude de l'Espagne et du Portugal; le silence même des pays qui se sont tus pour n'avoir pas à condamner un pays ami est tout aussi significatif. On peut donc dire que pas un membre de la Commission n'approuve l'attitude de l'Espagne et du Portugal, et que la condamnation de l'opinion

mondiale marque davantage encore l'isolement de ces deux pays.

39. Il fut un temps où le colonialisme jouissait de l'impunité et où il était considéré comme chose normale. Mais actuellement, les peuples opprimés ont retrouvé leur voix, égale à celle de leurs anciens maîtres, et le fait colonial est devenu internationalement immoral. C'est pourquoi la délégation marocaine approuve le projet de résolution remanié. Mais elle y fait cette réserve expresse que son gouvernement considère comme parties intégrantes du territoire marocain Ceuta et Melilla, ainsi que le territoire d'Ifni et celui du Sahara occidental. Si le projet remanié ne mentionne pas ces villes et ces territoires, cela n'implique pas que la Commission les reconnaisse comme des provinces espagnoles. Il reste entendu que ce sont des colonies. La délégation marocaine regrette de devoir faire ce procès à l'Espagne, qui a aligné son attitude sur celle du Portugal, mais constate néanmoins avec satisfaction que son représentant a déclaré que le Gouvernement espagnol est disposé à fournir les renseignements prévus à l'Article 73 de la Charte. Certes, l'Espagne ne possède pas, dans ses territoires d'Afrique, des intérêts considérables, mais elle aurait tout avantage à libérer Ifni, le Sahara occidental, Ceuta et Melilla qui sont marocains et à permettre enfin leur réunion au Royaume du Maroc; le droit, la justice et l'honneur rendent souhaitables des négociations bilatérales, que l'on peut espérer fructueuses, sur les territoires litigieux.

40. Le représentant de l'Espagne a déclaré ici-même que certains pays ont un droit vis-à-vis de l'Espagne, et il a ajouté que les droits de l'Espagne s'arrêtent là où commencent les droits des autres. M. Skalli pense que c'est à son pays que le représentant de l'Espagne fait allusion et voudrait, s'il se trompe, que celui-ci le lui dise.

41. Si son interprétation est juste, si l'Espagne résout ainsi le problème de ses possessions d'outre-mer, le Portugal restera désespérément solitaire. S'il ne change pas de politique, il risque de se trouver distancé par la caravane de l'humanité, en marche vers une liberté et des progrès toujours plus grands. Le projet en discussion est sa dernière chance; il ne doit pas la laisser passer.

42. M. AZNAR (Espagne) précise que la phrase citée par le représentant du Maroc et reprise dans le compte rendu d'une séance précédente n'est pas une affirmation catégorique, mais une manière dialectique de présenter un argument à des fins polémiques.

43. M. SKALLI (Maroc) concède qu'il s'agit là d'un point de détail, mais que le représentant de l'Espagne est pleinement responsable de ses paroles et de leur sens.

La séance est levée à 13 h 15.

ASSEMBLÉE GÉNÉRALE

QUINZIÈME SESSION

Documents officiels


QUATRIÈME COMMISSION, 1047^e
SÉANCE

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 à 15 h 30

NEW YORK

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POINT 38 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

Etude des principes qui doivent guider les Etats Membres pour déterminer si l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements, prévue à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte des Nations Unies, leur est applicable ou non: rapport du Comité spécial créé par la résolution 1467 (XIV) de l'Assemblée générale (A/4526, A/C.4/L.649/Rev.1 et Rev.1/Corr.1) [suite]

 EXAMEN DES PROJETS DE RESOLUTION
 (A/C.4/L.649/REV.1 ET REV.1/CORR.1) [suite]

1. M. AZNAR (Espagne) remercie les représentants de l'Argentine et de l'Inde des observations qu'ils ont faites à la séance précédente au sujet de l'attitude adoptée par l'Espagne à propos de la communication de renseignements sur ses territoires d'outre-mer; il partage entièrement leur point de vue.

2. La délégation espagnole votera en faveur des paragraphes du projet de résolution A/C.4/L.649/Rev.1 et Rev.1/Corr.1 qui se rapportent à l'Espagne. Toutefois, M. Aznar tient à souligner que le libellé du quatrième paragraphe du préambule n'est pas conforme à la déclaration qu'il a faite à la 1046^{ème} séance et par laquelle il a informé la Commission que le Gouvernement espagnol avait décidé de communiquer spontanément des renseignements au Secrétaire général conformément au Chapitre XI de la Charte. D'autre part, M. Aznar ne voit pas l'utilité du paragraphe 4 du dispositif. Cependant, le paragraphe 5 du dispositif est acceptable pour la délégation espagnole.

3. M. Aznar souligne que, pour le moment, il ne fait évidemment qu'exprimer son opinion personnelle sur le projet de résolution; cependant, il est convaincu que le Gouvernement espagnol l'étudiera avec la plus grande attention.

4. M. BOUZIRI (Tunisie) exprime l'espoir que la délégation espagnole transmettra à la Commission une liste des territoires au sujet desquels le Gouver-

nement espagnol a décidé de communiquer des renseignements conformément à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte.

5. M. NOGUEIRA (Portugal) rappelle qu'à la séance précédente le représentant du Maroc a affirmé que les déclarations de la délégation du Portugal n'avaient pas convaincu les membres de la Commission. A son avis, la délégation du Maroc n'est pas habilitée à parler au nom de l'ensemble de la Commission. Le représentant du Maroc a également fait observer que la Quatrième Commission n'était pas un tribunal. La délégation du Portugal partage entièrement cet avis, mais M. Nogueira tient à souligner que toute l'intervention du représentant du Maroc avait le caractère d'un jugement moral.

6. M. Nogueira se réserve de répondre ultérieurement à la déclaration du représentant du Maroc selon laquelle, au cours de leurs débats, les membres du Comité spécial des Six chargé de la question de la communication de renseignements prévue à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte n'ont eu à l'esprit que le Portugal et l'Espagne.

7. M. CARPIO (Philippines) désirerait que les auteurs du projet de résolution donnent des précisions sur certains points.

8. Tout d'abord, en ce qui concerne le troisième alinéa du préambule, où il est question d'une menace à la paix internationale, M. Carpio se demande si les auteurs du projet ont voulu parler des effets que pourrait avoir la situation actuelle sur la paix et la sécurité internationales — question qui est essentiellement du ressort du Conseil de sécurité — et si, en ce cas, ils ont tenu compte des dispositions de l'Article 18 de la Charte, en vertu duquel les décisions sur des questions relatives à la paix et à la sécurité internationales doivent être prises à la majorité des deux tiers.

9. Deuxièmement, M. Carpio se demande si la Commission a suffisamment examiné tous les faits et circonstances de la cause pour pouvoir conclure que les principes annexés au projet de résolution qu'elle a adopté à sa 1045^{ème} séance sont applicables.

10. La délégation des Philippines se propose de voter pour le projet de résolution amendé, mais voudrait être certaine que la Commission se conforme aux dispositions du projet de résolution remanié qu'elle a adopté à sa 1045^{ème} séance et ne prenne pas de décision avant d'avoir examiné tous les aspects de la question.

11. M. ROHAL-ILKIV (Tchécoslovaquie) ne comprend pas pourquoi les auteurs du projet de résolution remanié ont résolu de modifier et d'affaiblir leur texte original (A/C.4/L.649). Ils n'ont pu y être amenés par le cours du débat, puisque la discussion a montré que les délégations portugaise et espagnole se trouvaient presque complètement isolées sur la question dont il

s'agit. De l'avis de la délégation tchécoslovaque, il faut faire savoir sans équivoque aux colonialistes espagnols et portugais, comme à tous les autres colonialistes, que l'ONU souhaite et même exige qu'ils libèrent toutes leurs colonies. Dans ses diverses déclarations, le représentant du Portugal n'a présenté aucun fait concret pour réfuter les arguments des autres délégations. Il a certes donné quelques chiffres sur le nombre de députés originaires de l'Angola et du Mozambique qui siègent au Parlement, à Lisbonne. Mais il ne suffit pas de savoir que ces personnes sont nées dans les colonies portugaises; si elles descendent de colonialistes portugais, elles ne peuvent représenter les intérêts véritables de la population autochtone.

12. La Commission a le devoir de faire en sorte que les colonialistes soient obligés non seulement de communiquer des renseignements sur leurs colonies, mais aussi de leur accorder une indépendance immédiate et complète.

13. La délégation tchécoslovaque approuve sans réserve les amendements proposés par la République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine (A/C.4/L.651), dont l'adoption ferait que le projet de résolution refléterait avec plus d'exactitude les vues de l'ensemble de la Commission.

14. M. LOIZOU (Chypre) déclare qu'au début de la discussion générale sur les 12 principes énoncés par le Comité spécial des Six, la délégation de Chypre s'est volontairement abstenue de critiquer nommément certains Etats Membres administrants, pour ne pas les juger sur leurs actes passés et leur laisser la possibilité d'expliquer quelle serait leur attitude future. L'optimisme de la délégation chypriote a été justifié dans le cas de l'Espagne et M. Loizou félicite le Gouvernement espagnol d'avoir modifié son attitude.

15. En revanche, M. Loizou a été déçu par la position prise par la délégation du Portugal. Il est regrettable que le Gouvernement portugais n'ait pas compris l'esprit de l'époque actuelle et les changements fondamentaux qui se sont produits dans le monde. La politique qu'il suit est à courte vue et aura des effets opposés à ceux qu'il souhaite.

16. La délégation de Chypre votera en faveur du projet de résolution, qui est la conséquence naturelle de l'adoption des 12 principes. La mention expresse du Portugal et de ses territoires dépendants montre que l'ONU est sur la voie qui mènera à l'application effective de ces principes. Le projet de résolution aborde sans détour des problèmes aussi fondamentaux que ceux des progrès et de l'émancipation des peuples dépendants. Cette attitude a été rendue possible par le déplacement de la majorité des voix qui a marqué la quinzième session.

17. La délégation de Chypre n'a pas encore eu le temps d'étudier les amendements proposés par la délégation de la République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine et M. Loizou se réserve le droit de reprendre la parole, s'il y a lieu, après que les auteurs du projet de résolution révisé auront fait connaître leurs vues sur ces amendements.

18. M. SIDI BABA (Maroc), en réponse au représentant du Portugal, affirme que la délégation marocaine n'a jamais prétendu parler au nom de l'ensemble de la Commission. Mais elle est en droit d'exprimer ce qui lui paraît être l'avis général de la Commission. En affirmant que la grande majorité des membres de la Commission n'était pas favorable à la position

portugaise, la délégation marocaine n'a fait que tirer la conclusion logique de ce qui avait été dit au cours du débat.

19. En ce qui concerne l'idée que la Quatrième Commission n'est pas un tribunal, M. Sidi Baba souligne que le problème dont il s'agit est essentiellement d'ordre politique et que la Quatrième Commission est compétente pour examiner les problèmes politiques relevant du domaine du colonialisme.

20. M. DIALLO (Mali) déclare que la délégation malienne était en faveur du texte original du projet de résolution (A/C.4/L.649), mais éprouve moins d'enthousiasme pour le texte révisé. Elle approuvera donc les amendements proposés par la délégation de la République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine. Elle attache une importance toute particulière au paragraphe 1 du dispositif envisagé dans le deuxième amendement (A/C.4/L.651, par. 2).

21. Comme le représentant de la Tunisie, M. Diallo estime qu'il serait bon que la délégation espagnole fournisse à la Commission une liste des territoires sur lesquels le Gouvernement espagnol se propose de communiquer des renseignements, afin d'éviter toute équivoque ou tout malentendu à ce sujet.

22. M. KOUTCHAVA (Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques) regrette que le texte original du projet de résolution, où l'on trouvait des recommandations positives qui auraient contribué à une accession rapide des colonies portugaises et espagnoles à l'indépendance, et auraient aidé à mettre fin à l'oppression policière dans ces territoires, ait été affaibli sur l'insistance des puissances colonialistes. La délégation de l'Union soviétique ne peut approuver le projet de résolution dans sa forme révisée et édulcorée.

23. L'omission du paragraphe 1 du dispositif du texte original dans le projet de résolution révisé est regrettable. La délégation de l'Union soviétique estime que son interprétation de cette importante disposition, qu'elle approuvait, était la même que celle des auteurs du projet. Elle pensait que le texte original du paragraphe 1 du dispositif, qui condamnait le régime raciste de violence et d'arbitraire imposé par l'administration coloniale dans les colonies portugaises et espagnoles, exercerait une pression sur le Portugal et l'Espagne et les contraindrait à libérer les autochtones emprisonnés pour leurs activités démocratiques et à atténuer les restrictions policières. Dans leurs déclarations au cours de la discussion générale, les représentants du Ghana, de la Guinée et de l'Inde ont exposé ce qu'est l'état de choses qui règne dans les colonies portugaises et espagnoles. Après le débat qui s'est déroulé à la Commission et au cours duquel aucun représentant des puissances colonialistes n'a osé défendre le Portugal et l'Espagne, il était naturel que la Commission soit saisie d'un projet de résolution condamnant le Portugal et l'Espagne pour leur refus de mettre fin dans leurs colonies à un odieux régime colonial. Depuis cinq ans, le Portugal et l'Espagne se refusent obstinément à remplir leurs obligations, ce qui mérite d'être condamné de la façon la plus catégorique par la Commission. Au lieu d'une condamnation, M. Koutchava est donc surpris de trouver dans le projet de résolution examiné, qu'il juge tout à fait insuffisant, une expression de "satisfaction". Il pense qu'en supprimant du projet de résolution la liste des territoires administrés par l'Espagne, on

accorde peut-être trop de confiance aux colonialistes. La délégation de l'Union soviétique estime que, pour éviter toute chicanerie possible, le paragraphe du projet de résolution qui prend acte du fait que l'Espagne a accepté de communiquer des renseignements conformément au Chapitre XI de la Charte devrait contenir une liste des territoires auxquels ces renseignements se rapportent. Tel est précisément l'objet du premier amendement ukrainien (A/C.4/L.651, par. 1), que la délégation de l'URSS approuve sans réserve.

24. Ce n'est qu'en adoptant les amendements ukrainiens que la Commission rendra le projet de résolution satisfaisant et efficace. Si ces amendements sont adoptés, la délégation de l'Union soviétique votera en faveur du projet de résolution remanié; dans le cas contraire, il lui sera évidemment impossible de le faire.

25. La délégation de l'URSS désire également qu'il soit pris acte des réserves qu'elle a faites à l'égard de la liste des territoires administrés par le Portugal qui se trouve au paragraphe 1 du dispositif du projet de résolution remanié. A son avis, Goa, Macao, Timor et leurs dépendances sont des parties du territoire de l'Inde, de la République populaire de Chine et de l'Indonésie et devraient être restitués à leurs possesseurs légitimes. Macao et les îles qui en dépendent, où la population chinoise prédomine, furent loués par la Chine au Portugal, qui désirait y créer un comptoir, en 1557. La souveraineté de la Chine y a été reconnue jusqu'en 1849, date à laquelle le Portugal a refusé de payer son dû et a transformé illégalement ce territoire en une colonie. Cet emploi de la force armée ne prive pas la République populaire de Chine de ses droits et de sa souveraineté sur le territoire. La délégation de l'Union soviétique regrette que les auteurs du projet de résolution aient accepté, probablement sous la pression des puissances colonialistes, d'y apporter des modifications qui en réduisent l'efficacité. Dans les circonstances actuelles, à une époque où le mouvement anticolonialiste est beaucoup plus puissant que jamais, le trop grand souci de transiger avec les colonialistes qu'ont manifesté certaines délégations desservent les intérêts des populations qui sont encore sous le joug colonial. On ne peut transiger sur le principe de l'abolition du système colonial. Il n'est pas certain que l'envoi par le Portugal et l'Espagne de renseignements sur leurs territoires non autonomes fera progresser la libération des populations de ces territoires. En outre, comme le représentant du Portugal a nié, sans fournir aucune preuve, tous les faits concernant les colonies portugaises cités au cours du débat, tout renseignement que le Portugal pourrait éventuellement communiquer serait sujet à caution.

26. La délégation de l'URSS est convaincue qu'au lieu de chercher à assurer la communication de renseignements douteux, l'ONU devrait exiger la libération complète et immédiate des colonies portugaises et espagnoles. Au milieu du XXème siècle, la conscience humaine ne peut accepter que des peuples soient asservis par d'autres peuples. Le Portugal, l'Espagne et les autres puissances coloniales devraient se rendre compte que l'ère du colonialisme est révolue. Le moment est venu de leur dire qu'elles devraient comprendre les impératifs de l'histoire et se retirer pacifiquement de leurs colonies. On devrait leur dire que, si elles s'y refusent, les peuples des colonies balayeront tous les vestiges des anciens empires

coloniaux et que toutes les nations éprises de paix les aideront dans cette noble entreprise.

27. M. NOGUEIRA (Portugal) regrette que son pays ait à nouveau fait l'objet des mêmes accusations erronées. Il se réserve le droit de répondre à la déclaration du représentant de l'URSS.

28. M. KANAKARATNE (Ceylan) lance un appel aux membres de la Commission pour qu'ils s'abstiennent de toute polémique et ne fassent porter leurs interventions que sur le projet de résolution et les amendements proposés.

29. A la Quatrième Commission comme ailleurs, la délégation ceylanaise a condamné, avec autant de vigueur que n'importe quelle autre délégation, les méthodes et arguments auxquels certains Etats Membres recourent depuis quelques années pour justifier ce que rien ne pourra jamais justifier — le droit que s'attribuent certains peuples de dominer d'autres peuples. Pour l'instant, cependant, la Commission ne discute pas du colonialisme dans l'abstrait, mais d'un projet de résolution dont la délégation ceylanaise est l'un des auteurs. Le Comité spécial des Six, créé en vertu de la résolution 1467 (XIV) de l'Assemblée générale, a présenté un rapport (A/4526) qui, après des débats assez prolongés, a finalement été adopté à une majorité écrasante par la Quatrième Commission. Tout ce à quoi vise le présent projet de résolution, c'est d'appliquer les 12 principes énoncés par le Comité spécial des Six à ceux des Etats Membres qui, de l'avis des auteurs de ce projet, ne se sont pas acquittés des obligations que leur impose l'Article 73 de la Charte à l'égard des territoires non autonomes auxquels s'appliquent ces 12 principes. Il n'est donc pas à propos, pour le moment, de parler en détail des conditions régnant dans certains territoires non autonomes, si effroyables, si tragiques et si condamnables ces conditions soient-elles.

30. M. Kanakarathne tient à faire part au Gouvernement espagnol de la satisfaction qu'a éprouvée son gouvernement en apprenant que, comme la délégation espagnole l'a annoncé, il y a quelques jours, le Gouvernement espagnol avait décidé de communiquer des renseignements concernant ses territoires d'outre-mer.

31. La délégation ceylanaise regrette que la délégation ukrainienne propose (A/C.4/L.651, par. 1) de supprimer les mots "avec satisfaction" au quatrième alinéa du préambule du projet de résolution révisé et il espère que cette proposition sera retirée. Les mots en question, de l'avis de sa délégation, sont parfaitement justifiés et il faut espérer que le Portugal suivra l'exemple donné par l'Espagne. Lorsqu'un gouvernement répond à un appel, tel que celui qui lui a été adressé par presque toutes les délégations ayant participé aux débats, on peut y voir assurément une victoire pour l'ONU et un motif de satisfaction pour toute la Commission.

32. Les territoires énumérés au paragraphe 1 du dispositif sont des territoires auxquels s'appliquent le Chapitre XI de la Charte et les principes approuvés par la Commission à sa 1045ème séance, et tout ce que fait le projet de résolution, c'est de spécifier quel Etat se refuse encore à communiquer des renseignements sur ces territoires.

33. Les amendements ukrainiens visent également à rétablir ce qui constituait le paragraphe 1 du dispo-

sitif dans le projet de résolution primitif (A/C.4/L.649). M. Kanakarathne ne peut croire que le représentant de la RSS d'Ukraine cherche à insinuer que les auteurs du projet — dont les pays se sont tous trouvés, à un moment ou à un autre, sous une domination étrangère — ne désirent pas que les habitants autochtones des territoires non autonomes qui existent encore aient le droit de jouir d'une liberté pleine et entière. Un projet de résolution n'est pas présenté dans l'abstrait, mais a un objet précis. Dans le cas actuel, le projet de résolution se rapporte à l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements en vertu de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte et les auteurs sont parvenus à la conclusion qu'en conservant le paragraphe original, on déséquilibrerait la structure du texte proposé. Le préambule mentionne le Chapitre XI de la Charte où sont énumérés tous les droits qui doivent revenir aux habitants des territoires, et la Commission lutte depuis des années pour faire appliquer ce chapitre de la Charte et les obligations qu'il impose. Il est donc superflu de faire figurer dans le projet de résolution un paragraphe qui tendrait uniquement à rappeler au Portugal que certains territoires dont il est responsable entrent dans le cadre des principes adoptés par la Commission et des dispositions de la Charte, particulièrement celles du Chapitre XI. M. Kanakarathne espère par conséquent que le représentant de la RSS d'Ukraine se rendra compte que la modification proposée est inutile.

34. Les amendements ukrainiens proposent aussi de supprimer le paragraphe 4 du dispositif. Or, on sait que la procédure de communication des renseignements auxquels les Etats doivent se conformer est bien établie et tout ce que prévoit le paragraphe 4 du dispositif est que le Secrétaire général prenne les mesures habituelles, à la suite de la déclaration du Gouvernement espagnol, au sujet des renseignements que communiquera vraisemblablement l'Espagne. La délégation ceylanaise ne voit donc pas pourquoi on voudrait supprimer ce paragraphe.

35. Les seules sanctions efficaces dont l'ONU dispose en fait sont d'ordre moral et reflètent l'opinion publique mondiale. Une écrasante majorité des délégations a voté en faveur des principes et l'on peut encore espérer que le Portugal voudra bien reconsidérer sa position. Les territoires portugais d'Afrique se trouvent dans des régions où des peuples voisins ont déjà acquis leur indépendance, et il serait vain de croire que ce mouvement ne s'étendra pas.

36. M. Kanakarathne prie instamment tous les membres de la Commission de voter en faveur du projet de résolution révisé et de ne pas s'abstenir. On voit mal comment un Etat pourrait tout à la fois approuver les principes et hésiter à prendre les mesures nécessaires pour les faire appliquer.

M. Ortiz de Rozas (Argentine), vice-président, prend la présidence.

37. M. EMILIANI (Colombie) déclare que sa délégation votera contre les amendements que la délégation de la RSS d'Ukraine propose d'apporter au projet de résolution remanié. Tout d'abord, cette proposition tend à rétablir dans le texte révisé le premier paragraphe du dispositif qui figurait dans le texte original, mais le caractère discriminatoire de cette proposition la rend inacceptable. Après avoir demandé des renseignements — et reconnu par là qu'elle ignore la situation qui règne dans les territoires en question — l'ONU ne peut, sans se contredire, déclarer que les libertés

politiques n'y existent pas. Deuxièmement, en incorporant ce paragraphe, la Commission pécherait contre la correction juridique, car elle outrepasserait le cadre de la question examinée. La délégation colombienne reconnaît que chacun a le droit d'exercer ses droits politiques et démocratiques et que ces droits ne sont peut-être pas exercés partout, mais la clause en question n'est pas pertinente dans la question dont il s'agit et pourrait être insérée dans n'importe quelle résolution de la Quatrième Commission.

38. M. Emiliani ne comprend pas pourquoi, après avoir entendu le représentant de l'Espagne déclarer solennellement que son pays communiquerait des renseignements, la Commission exprimerait des doutes quant à la sincérité de cette déclaration. L'Espagne est un grand pays qu'on ne peut accuser d'avoir manqué à sa parole.

39. Dans la liste des territoires, énumérés dans ses amendements, au sujet desquels l'Espagne devrait communiquer des renseignements, la délégation ukrainienne a fait figurer les îles Canaries. Or, comme le sait tout écolier, loin d'avoir jamais été des colonies, les îles Canaries sont le dernier port espagnol où Christophe Colomb ait fait escale avant de se diriger vers l'Amérique. Des listes de territoires ainsi improvisées sont fort dangereuses. En approuvant à la 1045ème séance un projet de résolution sur les 12 principes, la Commission a voulu contribuer à améliorer la situation dans les territoires non autonomes. La résolution ne doit pas servir à semer la dissension dans les files des puissances continentales et à saper leur unité en faisant de la séparation géographique un prétexte pour des mouvements séditionnels destinés à provoquer de l'agitation.

40. Au nom du bon sens et par souci de l'efficacité des travaux de la Commission, M. Emiliani se permet de demander au représentant de la RSS d'Ukraine de retirer ses amendements.

41. Il espère que, suivant l'exemple de l'Espagne, le Portugal acceptera de communiquer les renseignements demandés par la Commission.

42. Mlle SAFFOURI (Jordanie) explique que son pays n'avait pu se joindre aux auteurs du projet de résolution primitif A/C.4/L.649, parce que ce texte, notamment, demandait la communication de renseignements sur l'Irak et le Sahara occidental, qui font partie intégrante du Maroc bien qu'ils se trouvent actuellement sous la domination coloniale de l'Espagne. Pour la même raison, la délégation jordanienne ne peut accepter le premier amendement ukrainien (A/C.4/L.651, par. 1). Elle estime, en outre, qu'à la suite de la déclaration du représentant de l'Espagne, la Commission devrait donner à ce pays la possibilité de prouver ses bonnes intentions. Les deuxième et troisième amendements (A/C.4/L.651, par. 2 et 3) sont superflus, puisque la question dont ils traitent sera l'objet de débats à l'Assemblée générale.

43. Le fait que la délégation jordanienne votera en faveur du projet de résolution remanié ne signifie pas que la Jordanie reconnaisse la souveraineté de l'Espagne sur l'Irak et le Sahara occidental.

44. Mlle Saffouri est heureuse d'avoir entendu le représentant de l'Espagne déclarer que son gouvernement était disposé à communiquer des renseignements au Secrétaire général et elle regrette de n'avoir pas entendu le représentant du Portugal faire de même.

45. M. RAHNEMA (Iran) se félicite du changement survenu dans l'attitude du Gouvernement espagnol, changement qu'il trouve très encourageant. Il espère que le Portugal suivra l'exemple donné par l'Espagne.

46. La délégation iranienne peut difficilement accepter les amendements proposés par la RSS d'Ukraine. En ce qui concerne le premier de ces amendements, elle ne voit pas pourquoi une expression de satisfaction au quatrième paragraphe du préambule porterait tort en quoi que ce soit à la cause anticolonialiste et il est tout naturel que la Commission exprime sa satisfaction de voir l'Espagne changer d'attitude après tant d'années. Le deuxième amendement ukrainien préjuge le problème et la préoccupation qui l'inspire est déjà exprimée dans le préambule du texte révisé du projet de résolution. Le troisième amendement, tendant à insérer les mots "jusqu'au moment où la pleine indépendance leur aura été accordée", est en contradiction avec le principe VI de l'annexe au projet de résolution adopté à la 1045ème séance, qui énumère plusieurs moyens d'atteindre la pleine autonomie.

47. Il y a tout lieu de faire confiance aux auteurs du projet de résolution, qui ont joué un grand rôle dans les efforts qui y ont conduit, et il est très injuste de les accuser d'avoir cédé à la pression de colonialistes. Le représentant de l'Union soviétique a insisté sur la nécessité de mettre fin au régime colonial, mais aucun désaccord ne le sépare, sur ce point, des représentants des Etats africano-asiatiques ou des auteurs du projet: le communiqué final de la Conférence des pays d'Afrique et d'Asie, tenue à Bandoung en 1955, a demandé qu'il soit mis fin au colonialisme et tous ces Etats ne cesseront de lutter à cette fin. C'est là, cependant, une autre question, qui doit être traitée en son temps; la Commission doit, en attendant, continuer de s'efforcer de favoriser le progrès à tous les échelons. Le projet de résolution traite d'un problème précis et c'est dans le contexte de ce problème qu'il faut le considérer.

48. M. Rahnema prie lui aussi le représentant de la RSS d'Ukraine de ne pas insister pour que ses amendements soient mis aux voix; dans le cas contraire, la délégation iranienne se verrait dans l'obligation de voter contre ces amendements. Elle appuie sans réserve le projet de résolution remanié.

49. M. NEJEDLY (Tchécoslovaquie) fait observer que la déclaration du représentant de l'Espagne a été imprécise et que la Commission ne peut donc faire reposer sa décision sur cette déclaration. Il demande au représentant de l'Espagne d'énumérer nommément les territoires au sujet desquels le Gouvernement espagnol communiquera des renseignements et de dire à quel moment ces renseignements commenceront à être communiqués.

50. M. GRINBERG (Bulgarie) estime que la Commission se trouve dans une situation embarrassante: pour certains de ses membres, la déclaration faite par le représentant de l'Espagne est sans équivoque, pour d'autres elle ne l'est pas. D'autre part, il ne ressort pas clairement de cette déclaration que, si l'Espagne vote en faveur des paragraphes du projet

de résolution auxquels le représentant de l'Espagne s'est référé, la Commission peut avoir la certitude que le Gouvernement espagnol acceptera les obligations qui lui incombent en vertu de la Charte. Il est donc indispensable que la Commission dispose du texte in extenso de cette déclaration. M. Grinberg propose donc que le texte de la déclaration du représentant de l'Espagne soit distribué sous forme de document.

Il en est ainsi décidé^{1/}.

51. M. ZULOAGA (Venezuela) rappelle que le représentant de l'Espagne s'est référé, au début de la séance, à la déclaration faite par le représentant de l'Argentine au cours de la 1046ème séance. Il sera donc plus facile pour la Commission de prendre une décision si la déclaration du représentant de l'Argentine est également distribuée sous forme de document.

52. M. OBEREMKO (Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques) déclare qu'il est évident que la Commission a besoin du texte exact de la déclaration qu'a faite le représentant de l'Espagne sur une question aussi importante. A la 1038ème séance, le représentant de l'Espagne a dit que l'Espagne ne savait pas ce qu'était un territoire non autonome, mais qu'elle était prête à communiquer en temps voulu des renseignements sur ses provinces d'outre-mer. M. Oberemko tient à insister sur ces mots "provinces d'outre-mer". Les deux déclarations de la délégation espagnole sont manifestement contradictoires et, avant de voter, il faut que la Commission connaisse la position exacte de l'Espagne et sache si ce pays communiquera, conformément à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte, des renseignements sur les territoires sous administration espagnole. Le représentant de l'Espagne devrait également donner une liste des territoires dont il s'agit.

53. M. AZNAR (Espagne) ne voit pas pourquoi certaines délégations peuvent concevoir des doutes. Dans son intervention au début de la séance, il a dit qu'il approuvait entièrement les observations faites par les représentants de l'Inde et de l'Argentine au sujet de l'Espagne et il a ajouté qu'il voterait en faveur des paragraphes du projet de résolution qui se rapportent à l'Espagne. Le Gouvernement espagnol avait décidé, par avance et de son propre gré, de communiquer des renseignements.

54. M. BOUZIRI (Tunisie) estime que la situation est encore loin d'être claire. Il serait plus simple que le représentant de l'Espagne déclare formellement que le Gouvernement espagnol accepte de respecter les obligations énoncées à l'Article 73 de la Charte.

55. Le PRESIDENT déclare que le représentant de l'Espagne sera peut-être disposé à faire une brève déclaration à la séance suivante, en s'abstenant de se référer aux déclarations d'autres orateurs.

La séance est levée à 18 h 30.

^{1/} Voir A/C.4/453.

ASSEMBLÉE GÉNÉRALE

QUINZIÈME SESSION

Documents officiels

QUATRIÈME COMMISSION, 1048^e
SÉANCE

 Vendredi 11 novembre 1960,
 à 21 h 55

NEW YORK

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POINT 38 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

Etude des principes qui doivent guider les Etats Membres pour déterminer si l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements, prévue à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte des Nations Unies, leur est applicable ou non: rapport du Comité spécial créé par la résolution 1467 (XIV) de l'Assemblée générale (A/4526, A/C.4/L.649/Rev.1, Rev.1/Corr.1 et Rev.1/Add.1) [suite]

EXAMEN DES PROJETS DE RESOLUTION (A/C.4/L.649/REV.1, REV.1/CORR.1 ET REV.1/ADD.1) [suite]

1. M. DE LEQUERICA (Espagne) désire une fois de plus préciser la position de sa délégation et demande aux représentants de bien vouloir prendre note de la déclaration suivante: le Gouvernement espagnol a décidé de communiquer au Secrétaire général des renseignements touchant les territoires dont il est question au Chapitre XI de la Charte. C'est là l'interprétation correcte donnée par le représentant de l'Inde de la déclaration faite antérieurement par la délégation espagnole. Celle-ci se déclare d'accord avec cette interprétation et le représentant de l'Espagne n'ajoute rien pour éviter toute confusion ou interprétation erronée.

2. M. MAGHERU (Roumanie) rappelle que sa délégation a déjà fait connaître sa position quant au rapport (A/4526) du Comité spécial des Six chargé de la question de la communication de renseignements prévue à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte. En ce qui concerne l'application pratique des principes énoncés dans la subdivision B de la section V du rapport, elle estime difficile de se borner à considérer le cas du Portugal, en remettant à plus tard l'examen de celui de l'Espagne. Il est malaisé de tirer toutes les conclusions qui s'imposent au sujet de la déclaration de ce dernier pays. Les débats des deux séances précédentes se sont terminés sur une note de confusion. C'est qu'en effet il y a eu plusieurs déclarations successives: le 7 novembre, à la 1038^{ème} séance, le représentant de l'Espagne a

déclaré en substance que son pays ne savait pas ce qu'était un territoire non autonome et n'entendait pas qu'on lui impose d'envoyer des renseignements sur des territoires de ce genre qu'il administrerait, mais qu'étant donné sa volonté de collaborer avec l'ONU, il était prêt à communiquer, le moment venu, des renseignements sur ses provinces d'outre-mer. D'autre part, l'Espagne a déclaré ultérieurement qu'elle serait prête à donner des renseignements sur ses territoires d'outre-mer, assimilés par elle à ses territoires métropolitains. C'est à cette dernière déclaration que se réfère le projet de résolution examiné (A/C.4/L.649/Rev.1 et Rev.1/Corr.1). La première confusion tient au fait que la déclaration de l'Espagne n'était pas identifiée, que l'on avait des doutes sur son contenu exact. Il est donc heureux que l'Ukraine ait proposé un premier amendement qui clarifie la situation (A/C.4/L.651, par. 1).

3. Par la suite, l'Espagne a fait deux déclarations qui se réfèrent à celles de l'Argentine, de l'Inde et de Ceylan. Mais il y a une question à laquelle la délégation espagnole n'a pas répondu, à savoir: quels sont les territoires au sujet desquels l'Espagne a l'intention de communiquer des renseignements? Au début de la séance en cours, son représentant a mentionné les territoires dont il est question au Chapitre XI de la Charte, en se référant d'autre part à la déclaration de l'Inde. Mais il reste à éclaircir deux points: premièrement, le Gouvernement espagnol n'a pas reconnu, jusqu'ici, qu'il possède des territoires tels que ceux qui sont visés dans le Chapitre XI et, deuxièmement, si jamais il reconnaît posséder de tels territoires, il faudrait savoir lesquels. A première vue, la dernière déclaration de la délégation espagnole est plus claire, mais elle laisse subsister en fait la même confusion quant au fond.

4. Le représentant de la Roumanie passe ensuite à l'examen des amendements proposés par la République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine (A/C.4/L.651). En ce qui concerne le premier de ces amendements, sa délégation estime qu'en effet il est difficile à la Commission d'exprimer sa "satisfaction" au sujet de l'attitude de l'Espagne, étant donné que ce pays ne ferait que s'acquitter de ses obligations normales en communiquant des renseignements conformément aux dispositions du Chapitre XI. Quant au paragraphe 4 du dispositif du projet de résolution, la délégation de la Roumanie le juge inutile dans le cas où les amendements de l'Ukraine seraient adoptés, car il serait alors superflu de remettre au Secrétaire général le soin de préciser la portée du quatrième alinéa du préambule. Enfin, pour ce qui est des deuxième et troisième amendements de l'Ukraine, la délégation roumaine rappelle qu'elle a souligné à plusieurs reprises l'importance du problème de l'indépendance des territoires non autonomes. Etant donné l'essor actuel du mouvement vers l'indépendance, il faut mentionner expressément le droit à l'indépendance et non pas se contenter d'exprimer un pieux espoir.

Les professions de foi des membres de la Commission doivent trouver un écho dans la résolution. Lorsqu'il s'agit de puissances coloniales, il est préférable de ne pas se fier aux sous-entendus, mais d'être aussi précis que possible. La référence directe à l'indépendance qui se trouvait dans le texte primitif du projet de résolution (A/C.4/L.649) a maintenant disparu et les amendements présentés par l'Ukraine permettaient de la rétablir.

5. En ce qui concerne un autre aspect du projet de résolution, le représentant de la Roumanie déclare que Timor, Goa et Macao font partie du territoire de pays souverains et doivent leur être restitués. Il formule notamment des réserves au sujet de Macao, étant donné que la République populaire de Chine n'a pas pu se faire entendre sur ce point.

6. M. ABIKUSNO (Indonésie) déclare que son pays s'est toujours préoccupé de l'application de l'Article 73 de la Charte étant donné les profondes répercussions de cet article et de l'ensemble du Chapitre XI en ce qui concerne le statut des territoires non autonomes. C'est pourquoi la délégation indonésienne a approuvé les principes du Comité spécial des Six. Elle estime que l'adoption de ces principes permettra d'éviter que certains faits indésirables ne se produisent dans les territoires non autonomes.

7. Mais il est regrettable que certaines puissances coloniales, notamment le Portugal et l'Espagne, poursuivent leur politique de discrimination raciale et de répression dans leurs colonies. Non seulement cela est contraire à l'opinion qui prédomine dans le monde sur le colonialisme mais aussi cela entrave les progrès matériels et spirituels des peuples sous dépendance. L'exemple de nombreux territoires non autonomes prouve que cette situation pourrait avoir de dangereuses répercussions pour le monde entier. La délégation indonésienne est en faveur du troisième alinéa du préambule du projet de résolution, parce qu'il y est dit expressément que le refus d'accorder le droit de libre détermination constitue une menace au bien-être de l'humanité et à la paix internationale. Il est évident que la situation qui est celle des territoires portugais et espagnols a pour origine les rapports de type colonial qui existent entre ces territoires et les puissances coloniales qui les gouvernent. Ce sont ces rapports qui font l'objet des travaux de la Commission depuis des années et qui ont abouti à l'élaboration des 12 principes. Le projet de résolution dont la Commission est saisie constitue, aux yeux de la délégation indonésienne, un moyen de mettre en œuvre ces principes, compte tenu de la situation qui règne dans les colonies portugaises et espagnoles et qui justifie une application rapide.

8. La déclaration de l'Espagne a été interprétée de façons très diverses. Quoi qu'il en soit, la Commission se doit d'exprimer à ce pays sa satisfaction de voir qu'il est prêt à se conformer aux recommandations du projet de résolution en ce qui concerne les territoires qu'il administre.

9. Si l'on considère cette attitude conciliante de l'Espagne, celle du Portugal est d'autant plus regrettable. Étant donné ses effets possibles, elle cause de graves inquiétudes à la communauté internationale. C'est pourquoi la délégation indonésienne appuie le projet de résolution qui vise manifestement à éviter l'asservissement et l'oppression.

10. La délégation de l'Indonésie réserve sa position quant au premier amendement de l'Ukraine, étant donné qu'il mentionne certaines régions qui font actuellement l'objet de différends entre divers pays et pour lesquelles des négociations sont en cours. Les deuxième et troisième amendements partent d'une bonne intention, mais leur portée semble dépasser quelque peu celle de l'application pratique, telle qu'elle est proposée dans le projet de résolution, de procédures devant permettre à tous les territoires non autonomes d'accéder à l'indépendance, procédures formulées dans le texte des principes adopté par la Commission. Au sujet du quatrième amendement de l'Ukraine, enfin, on peut se demander comment la procédure proposée dans le projet de résolution peut être appliquée sans passer par l'intermédiaire du Secrétaire général.

11. M. LAMANI (Albanie) déclare que, lorsque l'on étudie la question des peuples en lutte pour leur indépendance, on voit d'un côté les peuples asservis et de l'autre les puissances coloniales qui, par la répression et par des manœuvres, s'efforcent de prolonger la vie du régime colonial. La délégation albanaise a toujours adopté la même attitude vis-à-vis de la libération des peuples coloniaux. Avec l'Espagne et le Portugal, son attitude est encore plus ferme, étant donné que ces pays se sont refusés à reconnaître qu'ils ont des colonies et à reconnaître les obligations qui leur incombent aux termes de l'Article 73. Même leurs plus proches amis ne trouvent pas d'arguments pour les défendre.

12. La délégation albanaise a déjà dit qu'elle ne pouvait avoir confiance dans les renseignements communiqués par ces deux pays et s'appuyer sur ces renseignements pour savoir quelle est la situation réelle dans leurs colonies. Elle est encore plus méfiante après ce qui s'est passé récemment.

13. En ce qui concerne la dernière déclaration du représentant de l'Espagne, la délégation albanaise se réserve le droit d'en parler, si cela est nécessaire, après l'avoir étudiée. Mais la Commission a la possibilité de préparer une résolution qui lui donne plus de garanties que de simples paroles. À cet égard, il est regrettable que le texte original ait été tronqué. La délégation albanaise ignore les raisons de cette amputation, mais, si les puissances coloniales sont sincères, on ne voit pas en quoi le texte original pouvait les toucher.

14. Les amendements proposés par l'Ukraine donneraient au projet de résolution la force nécessaire pour qu'il puisse contribuer aux progrès des populations des colonies portugaises et espagnoles et hâter une indépendance qui, du reste, ne saurait tarder étant donné que le régime colonial vit actuellement ses derniers moments. La délégation albanaise appuie donc les amendements présentés par l'Ukraine et se prononcera en faveur de l'ensemble du projet de résolution si ces amendements y sont incorporés.

15. Au sujet de Macao et de ses dépendances, elle s'associe entièrement aux réserves formulées par le représentant de l'URSS au cours de la séance précédente.

16. M. NOGUEIRA (Portugal) précise qu'il parlera uniquement du projet de résolution en général.

17. Lorsque la réponse du Portugal à la lettre du Secrétaire général a été examinée pour la première

fois à la onzième session de l'Assemblée générale, la délégation portugaise a souligné que cet examen avait un caractère discriminatoire. En effet, plusieurs gouvernements n'ont même pas répondu à cette lettre. A l'heure actuelle, certaines délégations déclarent qu'il ne s'agit pas de discrimination, mais c'est un fait que le projet de résolution examiné mentionne expressément deux pays, et que les débats ont été consacrés jusqu'ici exclusivement aux réponses de l'Espagne et du Portugal. C'est précisément pour éviter toute discrimination que le Comité spécial des Six a été créé et chargé d'examiner toutes les réponses sans exception. Mais il est évident que les représentants qui ont proposé la constitution de ce comité avaient à l'esprit deux pays en particulier.

18. Lors de la douzième session, la représentante de l'Inde a déclaré, à la 692ème séance de la Commission, que le comité dont la création était proposée alors se consacrerait à l'étude des principes plutôt qu'à celle des décisions des Etats Membres et qu'il était clair que le projet de résolution proposant la constitution de ce comité n'était dirigé contre aucun membre en particulier. La représentante de l'Inde a également déclaré que la mention des îles Andaman et Nicobar faite par le représentant de la Belgique à la 691ème séance était entièrement en dehors du débat, qui portait sur un projet de résolution. Le projet de résolution, a-t-elle ajouté, n'était pas discriminatoire et, à un certain stade de ses travaux, le comité dont la création était envisagée examinerait les réponses de tous les Membres. A la 693ème séance, au cours de la même session, l'Inde a de nouveau déclaré que la réponse du Gouvernement indien serait soumise au même examen que celles des autres gouvernements. Autrement dit, les conclusions auxquelles le comité serait parvenu devaient servir de guide universel.

19. Le représentant du Portugal pense donc que l'on serait en droit de demander que la Commission suive la procédure prévue à ce moment-là, c'est-à-dire que l'on soumette à un examen toute réponse reçue. Il désire savoir, en particulier, si l'Inde maintient la position qu'elle avait adoptée à la douzième session. D'autre part, M. Nogueira rappelle les termes du paragraphe 3 du projet de résolution adopté par la Commission à la 1045ème séance, à savoir que les principes qui figurent dans l'annexe à cette résolution devraient être appliqués en tenant compte dans chaque cas des faits et des circonstances. Cela même implique que les réponses de tous les gouvernements, sans exception, devraient être examinées.

20. M. BLUSZTAJN (Pologne) examinera la question sous son double aspect: le problème posé par la déclaration du représentant de l'Espagne, d'une part, le problème des colonies portugaises, d'autre part.

21. La déclaration de l'Espagne laisse subsister de nombreux doutes. Tout d'abord, négligeant de répondre à la question précise posée par le représentant de la Tunisie à la séance précédente, elle n'énonce pas en termes précis les territoires auxquels s'appliquerait l'engagement de communiquer des renseignements. D'autre part, la nature de l'engagement pris n'est toujours pas clair. Le seul engagement acceptable serait que le Gouvernement de l'Espagne se considère engagé par la Déclaration relative aux territoires non autonomes, et qu'il se déclare prêt à s'acquitter de toutes les obligations énoncées à l'Article 73 de la Charte. Or, pour l'ins-

tant, la seule conclusion à laquelle on puisse parvenir — et encore, en lui laissant le bénéfice du doute — c'est que l'Espagne s'est engagée à transmettre volontairement certains renseignements conformément à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73. Rien ne permet de croire que le Gouvernement espagnol soit prêt à s'acquitter de toutes les obligations énoncées à l'Article 73.

22. D'autre part, le représentant de l'Espagne a précisé que, quand la résolution de l'Assemblée générale sera adoptée, l'Espagne lui donnera l'attention qu'elle mérite; mais elle réserve pour l'instant sa position sur les conséquences du texte qui sera approuvé.

23. Cette position de l'Espagne est certes logique, mais non satisfaisante. La délégation polonaise estime qu'il est indispensable de mentionner les territoires visés par le projet de résolution. Elle appuiera donc le premier amendement ukrainien (A/C.4/L.651, par. 1).

24. La délégation polonaise appuie également le quatrième amendement de l'Ukraine (A/C.4/L.651, par. 4), étant donné que le paragraphe 4 du dispositif du projet de résolution a une portée plus grande qu'un simple énoncé des modalités d'application de la décision de l'Assemblée générale. Pourquoi donner tant de latitude au Secrétaire général alors qu'il suffirait d'énumérer avec précision les obligations auxquelles le Gouvernement de l'Espagne devra se soumettre? Le paragraphe 4 du dispositif du projet de résolution est donc superflu.

25. Passant ensuite au problème des colonies portugaises, M. Blusztajn déclare que le projet de résolution va bien plus loin que la simple question de la transmission de renseignements au titre de l'Article 73 de la Charte, comme en témoignent les paragraphes 3 et 5 des considérants de ce projet de résolution. La délégation polonaise croit que ces deux paragraphes ajoutent à la portée de cette résolution. Pour les mêmes raisons un paragraphe sur le rétablissement des libertés politiques dans les territoires sous administration espagnole et portugaise a sa place dans une telle résolution. C'est pourquoi il faudrait que la Commission, conformément à la proposition ukrainienne, rétablisse dans le projet de résolution le paragraphe 1 du dispositif qui est énoncé dans le deuxième amendement de l'Ukraine (A/C.4/L.651, par. 2).

26. La délégation polonaise votera donc en faveur des amendements proposés par la délégation de l'Ukraine. Le vote sur l'énumération des territoires sous administration espagnole ne signifie pas une prise de position sur les problèmes soulevés par la délégation marocaine. La délégation polonaise s'associe d'autre part aux réserves formulées par l'Union soviétique au sujet de certains territoires sous administration portugaise, savoir: Goa, Macao et Timor.

27. M. JUNG (Inde), après avoir remarqué que les débats de la Commission n'ont pas échappé à l'atmosphère de soupçon qui entoure généralement les débats sur le colonialisme, déplore que certaines délégations aient cru bon d'insinuer que l'Inde se laisse influencer par les pays colonialistes. La délégation indienne s'estime offensée par cette accusation aussi injuste que dénuée de fondement. Il faut espérer que c'est par erreur que ces paroles malheureuses ont été lancées contre un pays qui a fait la pénible expérience du

colonialisme et l'a combattu. L'Inde n'a pas de leçons à recevoir sur l'anticolonialisme.

28. Passant aux amendements présentés par la délégation ukrainienne, M. Jung tient à assurer la Commission qu'il comprend parfaitement l'esprit dans lequel ils ont été formulés. L'Inde favorise sans réserve le processus d'indépendance et de libération des territoires non autonomes. Cependant, après mûre réflexion, il se trouve dans l'impossibilité de donner son accord à la majeure partie des amendements.

29. Le premier propose notamment de supprimer l'expression "avec satisfaction" au quatrième alinéa du préambule du projet de résolution amendé. Mais l'Espagne a fait connaître ses bonnes intentions: toutes limitées qu'elles soient, elles n'en constituent pas moins un progrès dont il convient de se féliciter. Le représentant de l'Espagne a déclaré qu'il voterait pour les paragraphes du projet qui concernent l'Espagne; étant donné que l'un de ces paragraphes mentionne les obligations prévues au Chapitre XI de la Charte, la délégation indienne s'estime satisfaite. Le projet ne mentionne plus les territoires espagnols en Afrique, certaines délégations s'étant élevées contre leur énumération en raison de différends concernant la souveraineté.

30. Quant au texte dont la réinsertion est proposée dans le deuxième amendement ukrainien, c'est pour rester dans les limites de l'alinéa *e* de l'Article 73 de la Charte que les auteurs du texte révisé l'ont supprimé de leur projet de résolution amendé. Si ce paragraphe faisait l'objet d'un texte séparé, l'Inde l'appuierait le cas échéant. Dans les circonstances présentes, cependant, elle estime qu'il n'a pas sa place dans le projet de résolution.

31. Le paragraphe 2 du dispositif du projet de résolution se suffisant à lui-même, il est superflu de lui ajouter le membre de phrase proposé dans le troisième amendement ukrainien.

32. La délégation indienne ne peut enfin approuver le quatrième amendement ukrainien qui viendrait tronquer le texte du projet de résolution. Les mesures à prendre sont bien définies dans des règles rigides qui ont donné toute satisfaction jusqu'à présent, et le projet de résolution ne peut être mis en œuvre que si l'on prie le Secrétaire général de prendre les mesures appropriées.

33. Passant à la déclaration du représentant de l'Espagne, M. Jung y voit que le Gouvernement espagnol respectera et appliquera les obligations qui lui incombent aux termes du Chapitre XI de la Charte. Même si la Constitution espagnole ne permet pas d'employer pour les territoires la même expression que celle qui figure dans la Charte, ce ne sont pas des questions de vocabulaire qui empêcheront l'Espagne de se conformer à ses obligations. Les auteurs ont donc exclu l'Espagne de l'application de certaines parties de la résolution.

34. D'autre part, l'Espagne a déclaré qu'elle voterait en faveur des parties de la résolution relatives à l'Espagne; puisque le Gouvernement espagnol accepte de communiquer des renseignements au Secrétaire général, la délégation indienne s'estime satisfaite, et juge qu'elle doit faire confiance à un pays qui manifeste ainsi ses bonnes intentions.

35. On ne peut en dire autant, par contre, de la déclaration de la délégation portugaise. L'Inde regrette que le Portugal s'en tienne à sa position première. Il y a peu d'espoir que l'appel de Ceylan soit entendu, car le Portugal vit à une autre époque, mais la force des circonstances et de l'évolution produira sûrement son effet.

36. M. CABA (Guinée) était prêt, après avoir appris de la bouche du représentant de l'Inde que le Gouvernement espagnol acceptait les obligations que lui impose le Chapitre XI, à prier la délégation ukrainienne de retirer ses amendements. Malheureusement, l'Espagne a adopté une attitude qui ne fait qu'engendrer la confusion. Elle n'a en effet pas précisé dans une déclaration claire qu'elle accepte effectivement ces obligations et qu'elle est prête à nommer les territoires auxquels s'applique le Chapitre XI. Cette attitude prouve à la Guinée qu'il est impossible de faire confiance aux puissances coloniales, dont les intérêts sont opposés à ceux des territoires qu'elles administrent.

37. La Guinée ne comprend pas pourquoi la délégation espagnole éprouve le besoin de se référer à la déclaration du représentant de l'Inde. Si l'Espagne voulait vraiment faire preuve de courage et de bonne volonté, elle citerait ses territoires.

38. Il est regrettable que l'Espagne ait recours à des manœuvres pour définir sa position sans s'engager. En citant l'intervention du représentant de l'Inde, le représentant de l'Espagne n'a d'ailleurs pas répété l'expression "territoires d'Afrique". En tout état de cause, on voit mal en quoi les déclarations du représentant de l'Inde pourraient engager le Gouvernement espagnol.

39. La Guinée appuie donc fortement le premier amendement ukrainien. Elle invite à se joindre à elle toutes les délégations qui désirent donner un effet juridique à la résolution.

40. Quant au deuxième amendement, M. Caba estime, avec la délégation indienne, qu'il vaudrait mieux en faire l'objet d'un texte séparé qui pourrait par la suite être adopté à l'unanimité par la Commission.

41. La délégation guinéenne ne voit aucun inconvénient à voter pour le troisième amendement ukrainien, qui vise en effet à accélérer le processus d'indépendance des colonies.

42. Le Portugal, quant à lui, se refuse à répondre à tout appel. Mais il devra finir par céder et il le fera alors dans des conditions moins favorables.

43. M. Caba tient encore à signaler une erreur qui s'est glissée, au paragraphe 1 du dispositif du projet de résolution, dans l'énumération des territoires administrés par le Portugal: Cabinda n'est, en effet, pas un territoire à proprement parler, mais une enclave qui a la même administration que l'Angola.

44. Le PRESIDENT remercie le représentant de la Guinée. La liste figurant au paragraphe 1 du dispositif du projet de résolution amendé sera donc modifiée comme suit: Angola, y compris l'enclave de Cabinda.

45. M. NEKLESSA (République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine) voudrait apporter quelques précisions sur les amendements présentés par sa délégation (A/C.4/L.651). Le nombre des délégations qui ont appuyé ces amendements en totalité ou en partie témoigne de

l'importance des questions qu'ils soulèvent. Pour ce qui est du premier amendement, le représentant de l'Ukraine ne voit pas de raison de ne pas inclure dans le projet de résolution une liste des territoires non autonomes administrés par l'Espagne. Certains représentants ont jugé que le fait que l'Espagne acceptait de communiquer des renseignements conformément aux dispositions du Chapitre XI de la Charte rendait une telle liste inutile. Cependant, dans sa résolution 66 (I), qui est l'un des textes de base de la Commission, l'Assemblée générale a justement pris soin de donner une liste des territoires sur lesquels les puissances coloniales acceptaient de communiquer des renseignements. A l'heure actuelle, on se trouve en présence d'un cas analogue. Si l'Espagne consent à communiquer des renseignements sur les territoires qu'elle administre, il est particulièrement indiqué de préciser, dans la résolution, de quels territoires il s'agit, d'autant plus que l'Espagne ne veut pas les désigner nommément. D'ailleurs, l'Espagne a fait, entre 1956 et 1959, maintes déclarations dans lesquelles elle promettait de fournir des renseignements, mais ces promesses sont restées lettre morte. Dans ces conditions, il est difficile de se déclarer satisfait des déclarations du représentant de l'Espagne et c'est la raison pour laquelle la délégation ukrainienne a proposé de supprimer les mots "avec satisfaction" au quatrième alinéa du préambule.

46. Certaines délégations ont exprimé des réserves au sujet de l'insertion dans le projet de résolution d'une liste des territoires non autonomes administrés par le Portugal et l'Espagne en faisant valoir que certains de ces territoires avaient été arrachés par les puissances coloniales à d'autres Etats auxquels ils doivent être restitués. La délégation ukrainienne comprend un tel point de vue et elle est d'accord avec les représentants qui ont formulé des réserves touchant la nécessité de restituer ces territoires à leur propriétaire légitime, mais elle estime que, puisque ces territoires sont en ce moment administrés par ces deux pays, on aurait tout de même intérêt à les énumérer. D'autre part, l'exactitude de l'énumération proposée par l'amendement ukrainien ayant été contestée, notamment par le représentant de la Colombie, il serait bon que l'Espagne fournisse des précisions pour éclairer ce point.

47. Il existe un lien étroit entre le paragraphe 4 du projet de résolution et le premier amendement ukrainien. En effet, si l'on inclut dans le projet de résolution la liste des territoires que contient le premier amendement, toute démarche ultérieure du Secrétaire général en vertu du paragraphe 4 du dispositif devient inutile. Le représentant de l'Ukraine regrette de ne pas partager à cet égard l'opinion du représentant de l'Inde qui a estimé qu'en supprimant le paragraphe 4 du dispositif du projet de résolution on amputerait gravement ce texte. De l'avis de la délégation ukrainienne, en maintenant ce paragraphe, qui peut donner lieu à diverses interprétations, on créerait des difficultés. Il convient également de noter que la résolution 66 (I) de l'Assemblée générale ne comprenait pas de paragraphe de ce genre.

48. Les représentants de l'Argentine et de la Colombie ont dit, à propos du deuxième amendement ukrainien, qu'il est difficile de se faire une idée sur ce qui se passe dans les territoires administrés par le Portugal et l'Espagne en raison de l'absence de renseignements. Pareille thèse semble insoutenable puisque

la Commission sait de source autorisée que les droits politiques et les libertés démocratiques sont constamment bafoués dans ces territoires. La recommandation contenue dans le deuxième amendement ukrainien paraît d'autant plus nécessaire à la lumière de cette situation.

49. Cependant, un certain nombre de délégations amies, telles que les délégations de la Guinée et de l'Inde, qui ont souscrit en principe à cet amendement, ont demandé à l'Ukraine de ne pas insister pour qu'il soit mis aux voix. La délégation de la RSS d'Ukraine n'insiste donc pas pour que son deuxième amendement (A/C.4/L.651, par. 2) soit mis aux voix. Elle prend note par ailleurs de l'assurance donnée par la Guinée selon laquelle cette question fera l'objet d'un projet de résolution distinct.

50. Répondant à une remarque de la délégation ceylanaise, la délégation ukrainienne signale que c'est précisément parce qu'elle souhaite l'indépendance des peuples coloniaux qu'elle a déposé ces amendements.

51. En ce qui concerne le troisième amendement de sa délégation, M. Neklessa pense que l'on aurait intérêt à indiquer nettement le but auquel aspirent les peuples des territoires non autonomes, à savoir l'indépendance. Une telle précision est conforme à l'esprit de la Charte de même qu'à la déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et peuples coloniaux que la délégation de l'URSS a présentée à l'Assemblée générale (A/4502 et Corr.1). C'est à cet objectif que tous les travaux de l'ONU dans le domaine des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes doivent être subordonnés.

52. Pour conclure, le représentant de l'Ukraine souligne que, s'il n'insiste pas pour que le deuxième amendement de l'Ukraine soit mis aux voix, il demande un vote sur ses autres amendements.

53. M. HOLLIST (Nigéria), coauteur du projet de résolution, rappelle brièvement sur quels documents se fonde la position actuelle du Portugal — la loi de 1930 sur les colonies, œuvre de M. Salazar, dont les opinions colonialistes sont bien connues et qui voulait conserver au Portugal sa place de grande puissance coloniale, et la Constitution de 1951, qui incorpore la loi sur les colonies et fait des "provinces d'outre-mer" des parties intégrantes de l'Etat portugais. On y cherche en vain le désir d'assurer le bien-être des populations, et tout ce qu'on peut y trouver, c'est un désir de puissance répondant à une mystique impérialiste.

54. M. Hollist pense que l'on pourrait, à cet égard, tracer un parallèle entre le Portugal et certain gouvernement d'Afrique du sud.

55. M. WILJOEN (Union sud-africaine), prenant la parole pour une motion d'ordre, proteste contre l'allusion déplacée dont son pays vient de faire l'objet.

56. M. CABA (Guinée) juge cette motion irrecevable. Le représentant de la Nigéria a parfaitement raison de stigmatiser l'Union sud-africaine tant que celle-ci n'aura pas mis fin au régime d'"apartheid".

57. M. HOLLIST (Nigéria) précise qu'il pensait simplement à certain gouvernement d'Afrique du Sud dont les rapports avec le Portugal dépassent nettement le cadre des relations économiques.

58. M. Hollist espère que les membres de la Commission qui, à la 1045ème séance, ont voté en faveur

du rapport du Comité spécial des Six voteront également pour le projet de résolution amendé que la Commission examine actuellement.

59. Passant à l'examen des amendements ukrainiens, M. Hollist demande à l'auteur de retirer son premier amendement: puisque l'Espagne s'est engagée, quoique en termes peu précis, il n'y a pas de raison de ne pas lui faire confiance. Le texte proposé dans le deuxième amendement, même présenté sous forme de projet de résolution séparé, ferait encore double emploi. Le texte que le troisième amendement propose d'ajouter ne semble pas très nécessaire, puisque le principe VI annexé au projet de résolution adopté à la 1045ème séance stipule que l'acquisition de l'indépendance souveraine n'est pas la seule circonstance qui justifie la cessation de la communication de renseignements. Enfin, la délégation nigérienne ne comprend pas pourquoi l'on voudrait supprimer le paragraphe 4 du dispositif du projet de résolution, qui ne fait que traduire la pratique habituelle de l'ONU.

60. Pour terminer, M. Hollist tient à récuser les insinuations selon lesquelles sa délégation aurait cédé à des pressions colonialistes. Les Africains connaissent leurs intérêts et ceux-là mêmes qui les accusent d'être infidèles à leurs idéaux nuisent plus à leur cause qu'ils ne la servent.

61. La délégation nigérienne prie la délégation ukrainienne de retirer tous ses amendements.

62. Mlle BROOKS (Libéria) demande que sa délégation figure parmi les auteurs du projet de résolution A/C.4/L.649/Rev.1 et Rev.1/Corr.1.

63. M. RASGOTRA (Inde) remercie la représentante du Libéria au nom des auteurs du projet.

64. M. GRINBERG (Bulgarie) propose d'apporter un amendement au quatrième alinéa du projet de résolution amendé. Etant donné que c'est à la séance en cours que l'Espagne a fait sa déclaration la plus nette, il conviendrait de préciser la portée de cet alinéa en ajoutant les mots "à sa 1048ème séance".

65. M. NOGUEIRA (Portugal) tient à préciser une dernière fois sa position. Premièrement, les représentants de l'Union soviétique, de la Roumanie, de la Pologne et de l'Albanie ont fait des déclarations à l'égard de certains territoires portugais contre lesquelles le Portugal protestait de manière catégorique, le Gouvernement portugais n'ayant pas de doutes sur sa souveraineté. D'autre part, rappelant que le représentant de la Nigéria a soulevé une nouvelle controverse, le représentant du Portugal répète qu'il a déjà déclaré que la désignation des territoires en cause remonte à l'année 1633. Il rappelle qu'il a posé la question de savoir s'il serait légitime d'exiger un examen de toutes les réponses. Aucun représentant n'a répondu à cette question, sauf celui de l'Inde, qui a déclaré qu'il ne pouvait modifier sa position. Cela signifie donc que l'Inde accepterait un examen de sa propre réponse. Mais, si le Portugal demandait cet examen, sa proposition ne serait pas acceptée, car il est incontestable que la Commission fait preuve de discrimination.

66. C'est là d'ailleurs une des raisons pour lesquelles la délégation portugaise se prononcera contre le projet de résolution remanié. L'autre raison est que le projet préjuge la compétence de l'Assemblée générale que la délégation portugaise ne reconnaît

pas pour ce qui est d'adopter des résolutions visant à obliger les Etats Membres à communiquer des renseignements. Or, les Etats Membres n'ont pas toujours adopté la même attitude sur ce point, et il est incontestable que de nombreuses délégations soutenaient l'opinion que l'Assemblée n'avait pas de compétence en la matière. Il semble que les Etats Membres aient changé d'avis et c'est leur droit, mais c'est aussi le droit de la délégation portugaise de s'en tenir à sa position. Ce qui devait servir de guide est maintenant considéré comme liant obligatoirement les Etats Membres. Par ailleurs, le projet de résolution signifie une atteinte à la souveraineté des Etats Membres. Dans ces conditions, le représentant du Portugal n'a rien à ajouter, sinon qu'il votera contre le projet de résolution.

67. M. BOUZIRI (Tunisie) voudrait savoir si le représentant de l'Espagne est disposé à fournir quelques précisions supplémentaires en réponse à la demande que la délégation tunisienne a faite à la séance précédente. De telles précisions permettraient à la délégation tunisienne de prendre position lors du vote.

68. M. AZNAR (Espagne) répond que, devant l'attitude courtoise de la délégation tunisienne, il est prêt à donner quelques précisions supplémentaires sur la position de sa délégation. L'Espagne estime qu'aucune disposition de la Charte ne l'oblige à communiquer une liste des territoires qu'elle administre. Elle maintient que certaines particularités de la liste proposée constituent une offense personnelle pour tout Espagnol, quelles que soient ses convictions. Enfin, cette liste mentionne des territoires qui font l'objet de controverses juridiques de la part de pays amis pour lesquelles la porte est ouverte à des négociations bilatérales.

69. Le PRESIDENT met aux voix la première partie du premier amendement ukrainien (A/C.4/L.651, par. 1) qui consiste à supprimer les mots "avec satisfaction" au quatrième alinéa du préambule du projet de résolution (A/C.4/L.649/Rev.1, Rev.1/Corr.1 et Rev.1/Add.1).

Par 50 voix contre 11, avec 11 abstentions, cette partie du premier amendement ukrainien est rejetée.

70. Le PRESIDENT met aux voix l'amendement proposé verbalement par le représentant de la Bulgarie et visant à insérer au quatrième alinéa du préambule du projet de résolution entre les mots "la" et "Quatrième Commission" les mots "1048ème séance de la".

Par 57 voix contre zéro, avec 17 abstentions, l'amendement de la Bulgarie est adopté.

71. M. BOUZIRI (Tunisie) fait observer que, compte tenu des remarques du représentant de l'Espagne, notamment celles qui visaient les îles Canaries, il serait difficile à la délégation tunisienne de voter pour l'ensemble de la liste des territoires qui figure dans le premier amendement ukrainien. Il demande donc que chacun de ces territoires soit mis aux voix séparément.

72. M. DORSINVILLE (Haïti) propose que seules les îles Canaries fassent l'objet d'un vote séparé.

73. M. BOUZIRI (Tunisie) accepte cette proposition.

74. M. RASGOTRA (Inde) propose que l'on vote séparément sur les mots "au sujet des territoires non autonomes suivants".

75. Le **PRESIDENT** met aux voix les mots "au sujet des territoires non autonomes suivants" qui figurent dans la deuxième partie du premier amendement de l'Ukraine (A/C.4/L.651, par. 1).

Par 42 voix contre 15, avec 16 abstentions, ces mots sont rejetés.

76. M. **BLUSZTAJN** (Pologne) estime que, dans ces conditions, il est inutile de voter sur le reste de cet amendement.

77. Le **PRESIDENT** propose de ne pas poursuivre plus avant le vote sur le reste du premier amendement ukrainien.

Il en est ainsi décidé.

78. Mlle **BROOKS** (Libéria) demande que le quatrième alinéa du préambule du projet de résolution, ainsi amendé, soit mis aux voix séparément.

A la demande du représentant de l'Ethiopie, il est procédé au vote par appel nominal sur le quatrième alinéa du préambule, ainsi amendé.

L'appel commence par la République Dominicaine, dont le nom est tiré au sort par le Président.

Votent pour: Equateur, Ethiopie, Fédération de Malaisie, Finlande, Ghana, Grèce, Guatemala, Guinée, Haïti, Inde, Indonésie, Iran, Irak, Irlande, Israël, Japon, Liban, Libéria, Libye, Mexique, Pays-Bas, Nouvelle-Zélande, Nigéria, Norvège, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Pérou, Philippines, Arabie Saoudite, Somalie, Espagne, Suède, Thaïlande, Turquie, République arabe unie, Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord, Etats-Unis d'Amérique, Venezuela, Afghanistan, Argentine, Australie, Autriche, Belgique, Bolivie, Birmanie, Cambodge, Canada, Chili, Chine, Colombie, Cuba, Chypre, Danemark.

Votent contre: Pologne, Portugal, République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine, Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques, Albanie, Bulgarie, République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie, Tchécoslovaquie.

S'abstiennent: République Dominicaine, France, Hongrie, Italie, Mali, Maroc, Roumanie, Togo, Tunisie, Union sud-africaine, Yougoslavie, Brésil, Tchad.

Par 54 voix contre 8, avec 13 abstentions, le quatrième alinéa du préambule, ainsi amendé, est adopté.

79. M. **GRINBERG** (Bulgarie) demande que le troisième alinéa du préambule du projet de résolution fasse l'objet d'un vote séparé.

Par 64 voix contre zéro, avec 11 abstentions, le troisième alinéa du préambule est adopté.

80. Le **PRESIDENT** propose de supprimer les mots "posés par le Comité spécial des Six et" au paragraphe 1 du dispositif du projet de résolution.

Il en est ainsi décidé.

81. M. **MIYAZAKI** (Japon) demande que le paragraphe 1 du dispositif du projet de résolution fasse l'objet d'un vote séparé.

82. M. **HUSAIN** (Pakistan) demande qu'au paragraphe 1 du dispositif du projet de résolution, la première partie de la liste de territoires sous administration portugaise, commençant par les mots "archipel du Cap-Vert" et finissant par le mot "Mozambique", ainsi qu'elle a été précédemment amendée au cours de la séance conformément à la proposition du

représentant de la Guinée, soit mise aux voix séparément.

Par 45 voix contre 6, avec 22 abstentions, cette partie de la liste est adoptée.

83. Le **PRESIDENT** met aux voix l'autre partie de la liste de territoires figurant au paragraphe 1 du dispositif, commençant par les mots "Goa et dépendances" et finissant par les mots "Timor et dépendances".

Par 44 voix contre 6, avec 24 abstentions, l'autre partie de la liste de territoires est adoptée.

A la demande du représentant de l'Inde, il est procédé au vote par appel nominal sur l'ensemble, ainsi amendé, du paragraphe 1 du dispositif du projet de résolution.

L'appel commence par le Guatemala dont le nom est tiré au sort par le Président.

Votent pour: Guinée, Haïti, Hongrie, Inde, Indonésie, Iran, Irak, Irlande, Israël, Liban, Libéria, Libye, Mali, Maroc, Nigéria, Norvège, Pérou, Philippines, Pologne, Roumanie, Arabie Saoudite, Somalie, Suède, Togo, Tunisie, Turquie, République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine, Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques, République arabe unie, Venezuela, Yougoslavie, Afghanistan, Albanie, Argentine, Bolivie, Bulgarie, Birmanie, République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie, Cambodge, Tchad, Cuba, Chypre, Tchécoslovaquie, Danemark, Equateur, Ethiopie, Fédération de Malaisie, Finlande, Ghana, Grèce.

Votent contre: Portugal, Espagne, Union sud-africaine, Belgique, Brésil, France.

S'abstiennent: Guatemala, Italie, Japon, Mexique, Pays-Bas, Nouvelle-Zélande, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Thaïlande, Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord, Etats-Unis d'Amérique, Australie, Autriche, Canada, Chili, Chine, Colombie, République Dominicaine.

Par 50 voix contre 6, avec 19 abstentions, l'ensemble du paragraphe 1 du dispositif, sous sa forme amendée, est adopté.

Par 28 voix contre 21, avec 21 abstentions, le troisième amendement de l'Ukraine (A/C.4/L.651, par. 3) est rejeté.

A la demande du représentant de l'Inde, il est procédé au vote par appel nominal sur le quatrième amendement de l'Ukraine (A/C.4/L.651, par. 4).

L'appel commence par l'Italie dont le nom est tiré au sort par le Président.

Votent pour: Pologne, Roumanie, République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine, Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques, Albanie, Bulgarie, République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie, Tchécoslovaquie, Hongrie.

Votent contre: Italie, Japon, Liban, Libéria, Libye, Mexique, Pays-Bas, Nouvelle-Zélande, Nigéria, Norvège, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Pérou, Philippines, Arabie Saoudite, Espagne, Suède, Thaïlande, Tunisie, Turquie, Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord, Etats-Unis d'Amérique, Venezuela, Afghanistan, Argentine, Australie, Autriche, Belgique, Bolivie, Birmanie, Canada, Chili, Chine, Colombie, Cuba, Chypre, Danemark, République Dominicaine, Ethiopie, Fédération de Malaisie, Finlande,

Ghana, Grèce, Guatemala, Haïti, Inde, Iran, Irak, Irlande, Israël.

S'abstiennent: Mali, Maroc, Somalie, Togo, Union sud-africaine, République arabe unie, Yougoslavie, Brésil, Cambodge, Tchad, Equateur, France, Guinée, Indonésie.

Ne participe pas au vote: Portugal.

Par 51 voix contre 9, avec 14 abstentions, le quatrième amendement de l'Ukraine est rejeté.

Par 52 voix contre 10, avec 9 abstentions, le paragraphe 4 du dispositif du projet de résolution est adopté.

Par 51 voix contre 3, avec 19 abstentions, le paragraphe 5 du dispositif du projet de résolution est adopté.

A la demande de la représentante du Libéria, il est procédé au vote par appel nominal sur l'ensemble du projet de résolution, tel qu'il a été amendé.

L'appel commence par le Cambodge dont le nom est tiré au sort par le Président.

Votent pour: Cambodge, Tchad, Cuba, Chypre, Danemark, Equateur, Ethiopie, Fédération de Malaisie, Finlande, Ghana, Grèce, Guatemala, Guinée, Haïti, Inde, Indonésie, Iran, Irak, Irlande, Israël, Liban, Libéria, Libye, Mali, Mexique, Maroc, Nigéria, Norvège, Paraguay, Pérou, Philippines, Arabie Saoudite,

Somalie, Suède, Thaïlande, Togo, Tunisie, Turquie, République arabe unie, Venezuela, Yougoslavie, Afghanistan, Argentine, Bolivie, Birmanie.

Votent contre: France, Portugal, Espagne, Union sud-africaine, Belgique, Brésil.

S'abstiennent: Canada, Chili, Chine, Colombie, Tchécoslovaquie, République Dominicaine, Hongrie, Italie, Japon, Pays-Bas, Nouvelle-Zélande, Pakistan, Panama, Pologne, Roumanie, République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine, Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques, Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord, Etats-Unis d'Amérique, Albanie, Australie, Autriche, Bulgarie, République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie.

Par 45 voix contre 6 avec 24 abstentions, l'ensemble du projet de résolution (A/C.4/L.649/Rev.1, Rev.1/Corr.1 et Rev.1/Add.1), tel qu'il a été amendé, est adopté.

84. M. AZNAR (Espagne) demande qu'il soit consigné au compte rendu que l'Espagne a voté en faveur du paragraphe 4 du dispositif du projet de résolution.

85. M. NOGUEIRA (Portugal) réserve la position de son gouvernement sur la décision adoptée par la Commission et demande que sa déclaration figure au compte rendu.

La séance est levée le samedi 12 novembre
à 0 h 30.

ASSEMBLÉE GÉNÉRALE

QUINZIÈME SESSION

Documents officiels



Lundi 14 novembre 1960,
à 11 heures

NEW YORK

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En l'absence du Président, M. Ortiz de Rozas (Argentine), vice-président, prend la présidence.

POINT 38 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

Etude des principes qui doivent guider les Etats Membres pour déterminer si l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements, prévue à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte des Nations Unies, leur est applicable ou non: rapport du Comité spécial créé par la résolution 1467 (XIV) de l'Assemblée générale (A/4526, A/C.4/L.649/Rev.1, Rev.1/Corr.1 et Rev.1/Add.1) [suite]

EXAMEN DES PROJETS DE RESOLUTION (A/C.4/L.649/REV.1, REV.1/CORR.1 ET REV.1/ADD.1) [fin]

1. Le **PRESIDENT** invite les délégations qui dési-reraient expliquer leur vote de la séance précédente au sujet du projet de résolution A/C.4/L.649/Rev.1, Rev.1/Corr.1 et Rev.1/Add.1 à prendre la parole.

2. Mlle **BROOKS** (Libéria), expliquant le vote de sa délégation, rappelle qu'au cours du débat sur les amendements de la RSS d'Ukraine (A/C.4/L.651), la délégation libérienne s'était déclarée en faveur de l'insertion de la liste des territoires sous administration espagnole dans le projet de résolution. Cependant, elle s'est abstenue lors du vote sur les mots: "au sujet des territoires non autonomes suivants", dans le premier amendement ukrainien (A/C.4/L.651, par. 1), tout en se rendant compte que le rejet de ces mots entraînerait la suppression de la liste des territoires; la raison de son abstention a été que le représentant de l'Espagne avait déclaré que son gouvernement communiquerait au Secrétaire général les renseignements prévus au Chapitre XI de la Charte et qu'elle a cru devoir compter sur la bonne foi d'un Etat Membre souverain, tout en continuant

à estimer que l'Espagne aurait dû énumérer les territoires au sujet desquels elle se propose de communiquer des renseignements. La délégation libérienne se réserve le droit de revenir sur cette question à la session suivante de l'Assemblée générale, au cas où l'Espagne n'aurait pas tenu sa promesse.

3. Si la délégation du Libéria a voté contre la partie de l'amendement de la RSS d'Ukraine qui demandait la suppression du paragraphe 4 du dispositif du projet de résolution, c'est parce qu'elle estime qu'à la suite de la déclaration du représentant de l'Espagne, le Secrétaire général doit prendre les mesures nécessaires afin que les renseignements en question parviennent à la Quatrième Commission lors de la seizième session.

4. M. **SOUZA-BRAGA** (Brésil) explique que la délégation brésilienne a voté contre le projet de résolution parce qu'elle estime que l'énumération de territoires figurant dans cette résolution va plus loin que les principes approuvés par la Commission et crée un précédent dangereux. La délégation du Brésil a voté en revanche pour le projet de résolution, adopté à la 1045ème séance, qui contenait ces principes en annexe et elle l'avait fait malgré l'adoption de l'amendement de la Tunisie et du Togo, parce qu'elle trouvait ces principes justes et équitables. M. Souza-Braga espère que la position prise par la délégation brésilienne ne sera mal interprétée ni par les jeunes nations d'Afrique ni par le Portugal, tous pays avec lesquels le Brésil a des liens étroits d'amitié.

5. M. **KOSCZIUSKO-MORIZET** (France) explique que la délégation française a voté contre le projet de résolution adopté à la séance précédente parce qu'elle a estimé que ses termes allaient à l'encontre des principes inscrits dans la Charte, que la France a toujours défendus. L'Article 73 de la Charte parle d'une acceptation et non d'une obligation. Il ressort des débats de la Conférence de San Francisco et des différences indéniables qui existent entre les dispositions du Chapitre XI et celles des Chapitres XII et XIII que la Charte n'a pas conféré à l'ONU un droit de surveillance sur les territoires non autonomes. Elle n'énumère pas les territoires auxquels l'Article 73 pourrait s'appliquer et n'autorise pas l'Assemblée générale à en dresser une liste. Elle n'invite pas davantage les Etats Membres administrants à fournir une liste de ces territoires. Telle que la Charte est conçue, l'Assemblée générale n'est pas habilitée à décider si un territoire est ou n'est pas un territoire autonome. C'est pourquoi elle s'était abstenue de dresser de telles listes et n'avait pris en considération que les renseignements communiqués spontanément par les Etats Membres administrants. La France est en droit de rappeler les termes de la Charte, car elle s'y est conformée. Le respect d'une règle commune pour tous, si imparfaite qu'elle puisse paraître, est la meilleure garantie que les objectifs de l'ONU pourront être atteints.

6. M. LOOMES (Australie) déclare que, si la délégation australienne s'est abstenue de voter sur le projet de résolution, tout en approuvant d'une manière générale les principes énoncés par le Comité spécial des Six chargé de la question de la communication de renseignements prévue à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte, c'est parce qu'elle a estimé que ce projet de résolution allait beaucoup plus loin que la résolution 1467 (XIV) de l'Assemblée générale, qui avait prévu que les principes en question devraient guider les Etats Membres pour déterminer si l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements prévue à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte leur est applicable ou non. La délégation australienne fait des réserves sur la compétence de l'Assemblée générale pour désigner nommément certains territoires, ainsi que l'a fait le projet de résolution. En outre, elle ne pense pas que l'on puisse raisonnablement attendre de l'ONU qu'elle décide de façon précise quels territoires portugais devraient figurer ou ne pas figurer dans la liste, car il existe toute une série de facteurs complexes qui risqueraient de rendre sa décision peu judicieuse ou même arbitraire.

7. Mme SKOTTSBERG-AHMAN (Suède) déclare que, bien que sa délégation ait voté pour le projet de résolution, elle a des réserves à faire sur un point particulier. Quoique le projet soit présenté comme étant à lire à la lumière du projet de résolution adopté à la 1045ème séance, dont le paragraphe 3 du dispositif prévoit que les principes devront être appliqués en tenant compte dans chaque cas des faits et des circonstances, on ne peut pas dire que la Commission ait vraiment examiné les faits et circonstances à propos de chacun des territoires énumérés au paragraphe 1 du dispositif du projet de résolution adopté à la séance précédente. Aussi la délégation suédoise s'est-elle abstenue lorsque la liste de ces territoires a été mise aux voix.

8. M. KENNEDY (Irlande) s'abstiendra d'indiquer pourquoi sa délégation a voté pour le projet de résolution, car beaucoup de ses motifs sont ceux-là mêmes qui ont été exposés par la délégation indienne à la 1048ème séance.

9. La délégation irlandaise a voté contre les amendements de la RSS d'Ukraine pour trois raisons principales. Tout d'abord, elle a été embarrassée par la mention de certains territoires qui font l'objet de pourparlers bilatéraux entre l'Espagne et un autre Etat Membre. Ensuite, elle s'est étonnée de voir les Iles Canaries figurer dans une liste de territoires non autonomes, car il est impossible de prétendre que les Iles Canaries sont distinctes de l'Espagne du point de vue ethnique ou culturel, et, comme elle a foi dans les principes annexés au projet de résolution adopté à la 1045ème séance, la délégation irlandaise désire les voir appliquer correctement. Enfin, la délégation irlandaise a confiance dans la promesse donnée solennellement par le Gouvernement espagnol et adopter l'amendement de la RSS d'Ukraine eût signifié que l'on rejetait l'engagement donné par ce gouvernement et que l'on niait sa bonne foi.

10. Sir Andrew COHEN (Royaume-Uni) déclare que sa délégation continue à estimer qu'il n'appartient pas à l'Assemblée générale de se prononcer sur la question de savoir si des renseignements doivent être communiqués dans un cas particulier quelconque. Par sa résolution 1467 (XIV), l'Assemblée générale a exprimé l'avis qu'il serait souhaitable qu'elle énumère les

principes qui doivent guider les Etats Membres pour déterminer si l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements prévue à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte des Nations Unies leur est applicable ou non. La délégation du Royaume-Uni s'est donc abstenue parce que, si elle avait voté ou pour ou contre le projet de résolution adopté à la séance précédente, son vote aurait pu être considéré comme une prise de position sur le fond du problème évoqué dans le projet de résolution.

11. De l'avis de la délégation du Royaume-Uni, les mots employés à la fin du troisième alinéa du préambule du projet de résolution sont outranciers et n'ont pas de sens clair. A l'ONU on ne devrait employer des mots comme "une menace à la paix internationale" qu'avec la plus grande prudence et lorsqu'ils ont une signification plus précise. La délégation du Royaume-Uni doute que l'emploi de ces mots soit justifié ou nécessaire dans la résolution et elle regrette qu'on les ait employés.

12. M. ACLY (Etats-Unis d'Amérique) explique que sa délégation s'est abstenue, lors du vote sur le projet de résolution, parce qu'elle ne pense pas que l'Assemblée générale soit habilitée à rappeler à un pays donné les obligations qui lui incombent en vertu de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte, ni qu'il appartienne à l'ONU de déterminer quels sont les territoires visés à l'Article 73. Il est manifeste que, par son esprit, la résolution 1467 (XIV) de l'Assemblée générale ne permet pas à l'Assemblée d'essayer de déterminer par elle-même si l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements est applicable ou non dans un cas donné. Sa décision à ce sujet doit être prise par les Etats Membres administrants, à la lumière de leurs dispositions constitutionnelles. C'est aux Etats Membres administrants qu'il appartiendra également de décider de l'application des principes figurant en annexe au projet de résolution adopté à la 1045ème séance et, si l'Assemblée générale invite un pays à fournir des renseignements sur des territoires dont le statut est contesté, on ne voit pas pourquoi elle n'inviterait pas d'autres pays à faire de même.

13. Ces considérations n'empêchent pas le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis d'interpréter l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte de la manière la plus large possible. C'est ainsi qu'il a fourni des renseignements sur des territoires qui étaient incorporés aux Etats-Unis et dont deux sont récemment devenus, de leur propre gré, des Etats de l'Union.

14. M. MIYAZAKI (Japon) déclare que sa délégation avait espéré que les 12 principes énoncés par le Comité spécial des Six seraient adoptés sans modification, tels qu'ils figuraient dans la subdivision B de la section V du rapport de ce comité (A/4526). L'alinéa b du principe IX ayant été modifié, elle s'est vue contrainte de s'abstenir lorsqu'il a été mis aux voix à la 1045ème séance. Cependant, en raison de la très grande portée de la question, elle a voté pour l'ensemble du projet de résolution adopté à cette séance. La délégation japonaise regrette que le représentant du Portugal ait catégoriquement rejeté tous les principes en déclarant qu'ils ne pouvaient s'appliquer aux territoires portugais et elle espère que le Portugal reviendra sur cette décision. Elle doute toutefois qu'il convienne de mettre ces principes en application immédiatement après leur approbation par la Commission et elle pense qu'il vaudrait mieux donner au Portugal un peu de temps pour réétudier la question et revoir sa position.

15. La délégation japonaise n'a pu accepter l'énumération des territoires figurant au paragraphe 1 du dispositif du projet de résolution adopté à la séance précédente; c'est pourquoi, après avoir demandé un vote séparé sur ce paragraphe, elle s'est abstenue. Etant donné l'importance que présente ce paragraphe dans le projet de résolution, elle s'est également abstenue sur l'ensemble du projet.

16. M. KIANG (Chine) rappelle que sa délégation a voté pour les troisième et quatrième alinéas du préambule du projet de résolution et s'est abstenue lors du vote sur l'ensemble du projet. Outre qu'elle faisait des réserves sur la mention de Macao dans la liste des territoires énumérés, elle a estimé que le projet de résolution aurait dû être rédigé en termes généraux de manière à ne pas empêcher que les 12 principes soient appliqués à d'autres territoires et populations non autonomes dont le caractère est dissimulé par des étiquettes énigmatiques qui sont des inventions d'un néo-colonialisme. La délégation chinoise a apprécié la bonne foi avec laquelle le représentant de l'Espagne a répondu aux vœux de la Commission et elle s'associe à l'appel lancé par le représentant de la Colombie à l'adresse du Portugal pour qu'il fasse de même.

M. Pachachi (Irak) prend la présidence.

17. U TIN MAUNG (Birmanie) regrette qu'au cours du débat certaines délégations aient mis en doute les motifs qui ont amené les auteurs du projet de résolution à modifier le texte primitif de leur projet (A/C.4/L.649). Tout amendement à un projet a pour but d'en améliorer le texte et le texte définitif du projet de résolution a été l'aboutissement d'un processus démocratique. Les amendements de la RSS d'Ukraine (A/C.4/L.651), cependant, créaient certaines difficultés que les auteurs ne pouvaient surmonter sans sacrifier la structure et le fond mêmes de leur texte. La Commission examinait un problème déterminé, qui était celui de la communication de renseignements prévue à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte et non pas la question plus générale de l'abolition du colonialisme, qui est cependant au premier plan des préoccupations des auteurs du projet. L'objet précis du projet de résolution était d'inviter les pays cités à communiquer des renseignements en vertu du Chapitre XI de la Charte.

18. Comme la délégation de la Birmanie l'avait espéré et même escompté, le Gouvernement espagnol a accepté de communiquer des renseignements au Secrétaire général conformément aux dispositions du Chapitre XI de la Charte. U Tin Maung espère que cet engagement sera exécuté.

19. La délégation birmane ne fait de discrimination contre personne, mais elle tient à ce que sa position soit bien connue sur une question comme celle du colonialisme, qui est un véritable anachronisme dans le monde moderne. Elle estime qu'en conséquence la façon dont elle a voté sur le projet de résolution résistera à l'épreuve de l'histoire. Elle a voté pour le projet de résolution, mais contre les amendements de la RSS d'Ukraine. Si elle a voté contre la suppression des mots "avec satisfaction" au quatrième alinéa du préambule du projet de résolution, c'est parce qu'elle considère que l'ONU se doit d'exprimer sa satisfaction quand le représentant d'un Etat Membre déclare que son gouvernement accepte de communiquer des renseignements conformément aux dispositions du Chapitre XI de la Charte. Si elle a voté pour les amendements au quatrième alinéa du préambule proposés

par la délégation bulgare, c'est parce qu'ils dissipaient des doutes qu'éprouvait sa délégation, de même que beaucoup d'autres.

20. La délégation birmane pourrait rappeler des déclarations antérieures faites par le représentant de l'Espagne au sujet de l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements sur les territoires espagnols d'outre-mer, mais elle est convaincue que l'Espagne est maintenant disposée à coopérer plus étroitement avec l'ONU. La déclaration faite par le représentant de l'Espagne à la 1048ème séance ne pourrait être désavouée sans que cela ait de graves répercussions sur les relations de l'Espagne avec le reste du monde.

21. M. VANDERBORGHT (Belgique) déclare que sa délégation a voté contre le projet de résolution pour des raisons qui ne sont pas d'ordre politique ou colonial, mais ont un caractère purement juridique. Aucune disposition de la Charte ne justifie une telle recommandation; vu ce qu'est l'Article 73, elle constitue un empiètement sur les prérogatives des Etats Membres. La délégation belge a, par le passé, exprimé ses vues sur les catégories de territoires au sujet desquels des renseignements devraient être communiqués en vertu de la Charte, mais son attitude a été régie par le respect des droits souverains des Etats. C'est à eux, et à eux seuls, qu'il appartient de décider s'il convient ou non de communiquer au Secrétaire général les renseignements statistiques et autres dont il est question à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73.

22. De l'avis de la délégation belge, il existe un certain nombre de territoires sur lesquels aucun renseignement n'a jamais été communiqué, mais qui devraient être considérés comme relevant du Chapitre XI. Cependant, si l'Assemblée générale avait décidé d'énumérer ces territoires, elle aurait outrepassé ses droits et porté atteinte aux engagements contractuels sur lesquels reposent les dispositions de la Charte.

23. Pour ces raisons, la délégation belge n'a pas pu voter pour le paragraphe 1 du dispositif ni pour le projet de résolution dans son ensemble. La position de la délégation belge peut se résumer en une formule simple: toute la Charte, mais rien que la Charte.

24. M. ANSTENSEN (Canada) rappelle que sa délégation a voté pour un certain nombre de paragraphes du projet de résolution sous sa forme révisée. Elle a été particulièrement heureuse de voter notamment pour le quatrième alinéa du préambule, qui prend note avec satisfaction des assurances données par le représentant de l'Espagne touchant la communication de renseignements sur les territoires espagnols d'outre-mer.

25. Le projet de résolution traite de la communication des renseignements en appliquant à un cas particulier les principes approuvés dans le projet de résolution adopté à la 1045ème séance. Ces principes ne font que présumer l'existence de certains territoires non autonomes qui relèvent donc du Chapitre XI de la Charte. En conséquence et étant donné qu'aucun renseignement détaillé n'a été communiqué sur les territoires énumérés dans le projet de résolution, il eût mieux valu, de l'avis de la délégation canadienne, qu'aucune liste n'en soit dressée. La liste comprend des territoires sur lesquels la Commission ne dispose pas des connaissances précises dont elle a besoin pour se prononcer. En outre, quelle que soit l'idée que l'on se

fasse de la politique suivie par un gouvernement donné, il n'en reste pas moins que le Gouvernement visé n'aura pas eu le temps de modifier son attitude et sa politique, même si l'adoption des principes par l'Assemblée lui en fait comprendre la nécessité. La résolution approuvant les principes n'aura donc pas pu produire tout l'effet qu'on pouvait en attendre.

26. La délégation canadienne a éprouvé des doutes sur le sens à donner au troisième alinéa du préambule. Elle espère qu'on n'a pas voulu dire que tous les peuples coloniaux sont des peuples subjugués, que les puissances coloniales leur refusent habituellement le droit de libre détermination, ou que l'indépendance et la libre détermination sont nécessairement une seule et même chose.

27. Pour toutes ces raisons, la délégation canadienne s'est abstenue lors du vote sur l'ensemble du projet de résolution. M. Anstensen regrette que le projet ait été rédigé en des termes tels qu'il a été impossible à sa délégation de l'accepter dans son ensemble.

28. M. VITELLI (Italie) rappelle que sa délégation s'est abstenue lors du vote sur le projet de résolution. Elle a éprouvé des doutes quant à l'opportunité de certaines parties de ce projet en constatant que la Commission se trouvait devant une façon toute nouvelle de procéder en une matière où la délégation italienne considérait qu'il existait des pratiques bien établies et communément admises.

29. Les résolutions de l'Assemblée générale, telles que, par exemple, les résolutions 66 (I), 146 (II), 218 (III) et 334 (IV), ont toutes souligné que les recommandations ne doivent s'adresser à aucun territoire en particulier et que l'énumération des territoires doit être faite d'accord avec les Membres administrants. Ces pratiques ont été appliquées depuis des années et ont été même confirmées l'année précédente par la résolution 1467 (XIV) de l'Assemblée générale qui exprimait l'avis "qu'il serait souhaitable que l'Assemblée générale énumère les principes qui doivent guider les Etats Membres pour déterminer si l'obligation de communiquer les renseignements prévue à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte des Nations Unies leur est applicable ou non". C'est pourquoi, tout en reconnaissant la contribution que les auteurs du projet de résolution auront apportée à une solution équitable du problème, la délégation italienne n'a pas été en mesure de voter pour ce texte.

30. M. LANZA (Uruguay) regrette qu'en raison de circonstances particulières, sa délégation n'ait pu assister à la 1048ème séance, au cours de laquelle le projet de résolution a été mis aux voix. Si elle avait été présente, elle aurait voté pour ce projet qui, à son avis, renforcera le prestige de l'ONU. Le vote de sa délégation aurait été conforme à la déclaration qu'elle avait faite au cours du débat, lorsqu'elle a exprimé l'espoir que le projet de résolution recevrait l'appui de toutes les délégations, y compris même celles des pays qui faisaient des réserves sur l'aspect juridique de la question, mais n'en respectent pas moins les principes de la Charte.

31. M. ORTIZ DE ROZAS (Argentine) rappelle que sa délégation a exposé à la 1046ème séance les raisons qu'elle avait pour voter en faveur du projet de résolution. Si elle a voté contre le premier amendement de la RSS d'Ukraine (A/C.4/L.651, par. 1), proposant d'ajouter, à la fin du quatrième alinéa du préambule, une liste des territoires administrés par l'Espagne,

c'est parce que cette liste comprenait un territoire sur lequel l'Espagne estime avoir des droits souverains et qui fait l'objet de négociations bilatérales et comprenait également les îles Canaries, sans aucune justification d'ordre historique, géographique, juridique, racial ou autre. De l'avis de la délégation argentine, il ne peut y avoir aucun doute sur la souveraineté de l'Espagne en ce qui concerne les îles Canaries.

32. M. Ortiz de Rozas rend hommage au représentant du Portugal pour la façon remarquable dont il a défendu la position de son gouvernement.

33. M. DORSINVILLE (Haïti) déclare qu'il a voté contre la première partie du premier amendement de la RSS d'Ukraine parce qu'à son avis il est tout naturel que la Commission exprime sa satisfaction de savoir que le Gouvernement espagnol a décidé de communiquer des renseignements sur ses territoires en application du Chapitre XI de la Charte.

34. Si la liste des territoires espagnols avait été mise aux voix, sa délégation aurait voté contre l'inclusion des îles Canaries, car elle ne considère pas que ces îles entrent dans la catégorie des territoires non autonomes.

35. En ce qui concerne l'amendement de l'Ukraine portant sur le paragraphe 2 du dispositif (A/C.4/L.651, par. 3), encore qu'en principe la délégation d'Haïti n'aurait pu qu'appuyer l'objectif d'indépendance, dans le contexte du projet de résolution, cependant, l'amendement pouvait être interprété comme méconnaissant le principe VI accepté par la Commission à la 1045ème séance. La délégation d'Haïti est d'autant plus à l'aise pour le dire qu'on connaît sa position invariable au sujet de l'accession à l'indépendance des territoires dépendants et qu'elle a fait enregistrer ses réserves formelles à l'égard de l'alinéa c dudit principe VI et des principes VIII et IX qui ont trait à l'intégration d'un territoire non autonome dans un Etat indépendant.

36. M. Dorsinville a voté contre la proposition de suppression du paragraphe 4 du dispositif parce que le Secrétaire général a un rôle important à jouer à propos de la communication des renseignements.

37. Il a voté pour l'ensemble du projet de résolution, mais avec des sentiments mitigés: il l'a fait avec satisfaction à cause de la nouvelle attitude adoptée par le Gouvernement espagnol, mais avec regret parce que le Portugal n'a pas été en mesure d'adopter une attitude analogue.

38. M. SKALLI (Maroc) saisit cette occasion pour répéter que le Maroc considère que les villes de Ceuta et Melilla et les territoires du Sahara occidental et d'Ifni sont parties intégrantes de son territoire.

POINT 43 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

Question du Sud-Ouest africain (A/4464)

QUESTION DE PROCEDURE SOULEVEE PAR LE REPRESENTANT DE L'UNION SUD-AFRICAINE

39. M. LOUW (Union sud-africaine) rappelle que, les années passées, la question du Sud-Ouest africain a fait l'objet de très larges débats et que tous ses aspects ont été traités. A la présente session la discussion aurait normalement suivi le même cours que les années précédentes, mais, depuis l'inscription de

la question à l'ordre du jour de la session, il s'est produit un événement qui a considérablement modifié la situation. Les Gouvernements de l'Éthiopie et du Libéria ont, en effet, présenté à la Cour internationale de Justice une requête tendant à la saisir d'un différend qui les opposerait au Gouvernement de l'Union sud-africaine^{1/}. C'est la raison pour laquelle M. Louw est revenu à New York.

40. Il ressort de la lecture de la requête adressée à la Cour que, si la Commission décidait d'examiner la question, elle examinerait, comme elle l'a fait par le passé, l'ensemble des problèmes maintenant posés dans la requête. En conséquence, M. Louw soulève la question préjudicielle suivante: puisque l'affaire est en instance au fond, elle ne peut être examinée par la Commission.

41. Conformément à la règle sub judice, un tribunal ne devrait pas être entravé en quoi que ce soit dans l'exercice de ses fonctions à propos d'une affaire en instance. Dans la plupart des systèmes juridiques, tout acte et tout commentaire — qu'il émane d'organismes publics, figure dans des journaux ou soit mentionné dans des discours publics — qui pourrait tendre à intimider, embarrasser, influencer ou entraver un tribunal dans l'administration de la justice est considéré comme un délit et est sévèrement puni.

42. Cette règle est strictement respectée en Union sud-africaine et elle est appliquée dans la plupart des autres pays civilisés. Par exemple, elle a été appliquée à propos de plusieurs affaires aux États-Unis d'Amérique, où elle a fait l'objet d'un arrêt de la Cour d'appel des États-Unis il y a deux ans seulement. Elle est appliquée également dans la pratique judiciaire britannique, dont s'inspirent dans une large mesure celles des États-Unis et du Commonwealth.

43. On prétendra peut-être que cette règle, qui est reconnue par les systèmes juridiques de différents pays, ne s'applique pas nécessairement en droit international. M. Louw attire donc l'attention sur l'alinéa c du paragraphe 1 de l'Article 38 du Statut de la Cour internationale de Justice, qui prévoit que la Cour, en réglant conformément au droit international les différends qui lui sont soumis, applique "les principes généraux de droit reconnus par les nations civilisées". Dans l'affaire de la Compagnie d'électricité de Sofia et de Bulgarie^{2/}, la Cour permanente de Justice internationale avait invoqué le principe universellement reconnu par les tribunaux internationaux selon lequel les parties à une affaire doivent s'abstenir de toute mesure qui puisse gêner l'exécution de la décision à prendre et doivent, d'une manière générale, empêcher toute mesure qui pourrait aggraver ou étendre le différend. M. Manley O. Hudson, juge à la Cour permanente de Justice internationale, a évoqué le même principe dans son livre intitulé The Permanent Court of International Justice, 1920-1942^{3/}, ouvrage qui fait autorité.

44. Un autre organe des Nations Unies a respecté cette règle. Au cours de la discussion de l'affaire de l'Anglo-Iranian Oil Company au Conseil de sécurité

en octobre 1951, sir Benegal Rau, devenu ensuite juge à la Cour internationale de Justice, a dit: "Il se pourrait donc qu'il ne soit ni sage ni correct de notre part de nous prononcer sur cette question, alors qu'une question qui est essentiellement la même est pendante devant la Cour internationale de Justice^{4/}." A la 565ème séance du Conseil de sécurité, tenue le 19 octobre 1951^{5/}, on a proposé d'ajourner la discussion jusqu'à ce que la Cour internationale de Justice se soit prononcée sur la question de la compétence. Sir Benegal Rau a alors fait observer que le point essentiel était de savoir si l'affaire était sub judice. La proposition d'ajournement a été adoptée par 8 voix contre une — celle de l'URSS. M. Louw pense que la Quatrième Commission devrait suivre cet important précédent.

45. Indépendamment de la question de savoir si l'affaire est sub judice, il est un autre aspect de la question, évoqué par une autorité en matière de droit international dans le British Yearbook of International Law (1958)^{6/}, et qui y est considéré comme étant à éviter: c'est "la dualité de juridiction". Dans l'affaire Ambatielos de 1952, le juge Spiropoulos à la Cour internationale de Justice a déclaré que le tribunal qui rend une sentence avant la Cour doit également se prononcer sur l'objection de compétence, parce qu'une décision sur la compétence d'un tribunal, quand un autre tribunal doit connaître de l'affaire au fond, risque de préjuger ou, en tout cas, de modifier la position de l'une ou l'autre partie. Dans son jugement sur l'objection préalable soulevée dans la même affaire, le juge Klaestad a également évoqué le caractère indésirable de la "double juridiction".

46. Un principe analogue fait partie de la doctrine dite de la "litispendance" et a été invoqué dans l'affaire des intérêts allemands en Haute-Silésie polonaise, dont a été saisie la Cour permanente de Justice internationale^{7/}. En vertu des décisions prises, un tribunal doit refuser de connaître d'une affaire en instance devant un autre tribunal du même Etat.

47. Ceux qui nient que la règle s'applique également à une affaire en instance devant la Cour internationale de Justice font valoir que, conformément à l'Article 10 de la Charte, l'Assemblée générale peut discuter toutes questions rentrant dans le cadre de la Charte. Mais cet argument est fallacieux et ceux qui l'invoquent oublient que l'Article 10 est subordonné à certaines autres dispositions, par exemple l'Article 12 de la Charte qui prévoit que, tant que le Conseil de sécurité remplit, à l'égard d'un différend, les fonctions qui lui sont attribuées par la Charte, l'Assemblée générale ne doit faire aucune recommandation sur ce différend à moins que le Conseil de sécurité ne le lui demande. Il est évident que, dans l'intention et l'esprit général de la Charte, le même principe doit s'appliquer à une affaire soumise à la Cour internationale de Justice, laquelle, comme l'indique l'Article 7 de la Charte, est un organe principal des Nations Unies.

48. Il ressort des autorités que M. Louw a citées et des arguments qu'il a avancés qu'en examinant en ce moment la question du Sud-Ouest africain, les

^{1/} C.I.J., Affaire du Sud-Ouest africain, requête introductive d'instance (1960, rôle général No 47).

^{2/} Compagnie d'électricité de Sofia et de Bulgarie, ordonnance du 5 décembre 1939: Cour permanente de Justice internationale, série A/B, fasc. No 79.

^{3/} New York, Macmillan Company, 1943.

^{4/} Voir Procès-verbaux officiels du Conseil de sécurité, sixième année, 561ème séance, par. 75.

^{5/} Voir *ibid.*, 565ème séance.

^{6/} London University Press, 1959, p. 39.

^{7/} Recueil des avis consultatifs, Cour permanente de Justice internationale, série B, No 6 (sept. 1923).

membres de la Commission exprimeraient des avis — ou même se prononceraient par un projet de résolution — sur une affaire qui est actuellement soumise à la Cour internationale de Justice, qu'ils transgresseraient la règle sub judice et que les débats de la Commission et les résolutions qui pourraient être adoptées pourraient être interprétés comme une tentative d'usurpation des fonctions de la Cour.

49. En engageant la discussion, la Commission créerait un précédent que certains gouvernements membres pourraient avoir à regretter lorsqu'ils se trouveraient dans des cas qui pourraient donner lieu à une action devant la Cour internationale de Justice. Au cours de la présente session, la Commission politique spéciale a examiné la situation au Tyrol, mais, si, après l'inscription de cette question à l'ordre du jour, et immédiatement avant son examen, l'une des parties avait décidé de porter l'affaire devant la Cour internationale de Justice, M. Louw est persuadé que l'autre partie se serait vigoureusement opposée à l'examen de cette question par la Commission politique spéciale et la Commission en aurait interrompu la discussion. Il y a d'autres situations analogues — celle des relations entre les Etats-Unis d'Amérique et Cuba, par exemple — qui pourraient faire l'objet de débats devant la Première Commission ou la Commission politique spéciale et donner ensuite lieu à une action devant la Cour internationale de Justice.

50. M. Louw croit devoir prévenir les représentants des Etats Membres qui voteraient pour la poursuite du débat qu'ils pourront être eux-mêmes les victimes d'un précédent qu'ils auraient contribué à créer. Ils ne pourront plus, en ce cas, élever d'objection si l'Assemblée générale ou l'une de ses commissions veulent poursuivre l'examen d'une question soumise à la Cour internationale de Justice et dans laquelle ils sont défendeurs. Ils devraient par conséquent étudier avec soin un problème si important avant d'engager leurs gouvernements pour l'avenir. A la connaissance de la délégation sud-africaine, c'est la première fois que la règle sub judice se trouve invoquée à l'Assemblée générale ou dans une de ses commissions, mais, lorsqu'elle a été invoquée au Conseil de sécurité à propos du différend anglo-iranien, le Conseil en a admis la validité.

51. La délégation de l'Union sud-africaine est persuadée qu'il ne convient pas que la Commission entreprenne l'examen de la question du Sud-Ouest africain tant que l'affaire est en instance devant la Cour internationale de Justice et se trouve ainsi sub judice. Telle est la raison pour laquelle M. Louw est intervenu pour une motion d'ordre.

52. Le PRESIDENT fait remarquer qu'aux termes de l'article 117 du règlement intérieur, deux représentants peuvent prendre la parole en faveur de la motion, et deux contre.

53. M. CAMARA Maurice (Guinée) déclare que l'argumentation du représentant de l'Union sud-africaine n'a nullement réussi à convaincre sa délégation et est irrecevable si l'on pense aux souffrances endurées par le peuple du Sud-Ouest africain. La Cour internationale de Justice a déjà fait certaines recomman-

dations que le Gouvernement de l'Union a négligées. Le représentant de l'Union sud-africaine a invoqué la Charte, mais il n'y a rien dans la Charte qui soit favorable à l'"apartheid" et la seule défense que le représentant de l'Union sud-africaine pourrait trouver dans la Charte consisterait à saisir le Conseil de sécurité.

54. La vraie signification de la déclaration du représentant de l'Union sud-africaine est que son pays craint la discussion. Au moment de la présente session, la vague anticolonialiste balaie tout devant elle. Les Etats africains ont saisi la Cour internationale de Justice de la question du Sud-Ouest africain, car ils tiennent à user de tous les moyens qui puissent obliger l'Union sud-africaine à respecter ses obligations. La délégation guinéenne s'oppose énergiquement à la motion du représentant de l'Union sud-africaine.

55. M. GEBRE-EGZY (Ethiopie) déclare que son pays, de concert avec le Libéria, a soumis une requête à la Cour internationale de Justice, aux termes de l'article 7 du Mandat, en se fondant sur l'étude effectuée par l'ONU sur les aspects juridiques de la question. Sa délégation a l'intention d'en parler à une prochaine séance de la Commission et elle s'oppose donc à l'ajournement du débat.

56. M. CARPIO (Philippines), intervenant sur une question d'ordre, déclare qu'on devrait donner aux membres de la Commission la possibilité d'examiner la question soulevée par le représentant de l'Union sud-africaine. Il propose donc l'ajournement de la séance conformément à l'article 120 du règlement intérieur.

57. Le PRESIDENT dit que, comme la Commission s'apprête à voter, il ne peut pas retenir la proposition du représentant des Philippines.

A la demande du représentant de la Libye, il est procédé au vote par appel nominal.

L'appel commence par la République centrafricaine, dont le nom est tiré au sort par le Président.

Vote pour: Union sud-africaine.

Votent contre: République centrafricaine, Ceylan, Chili, Colombie, Costa Rica, Cuba, Chypre, Tchecoslovaquie, Dahomey, Danemark, Equateur, Salvador, Ethiopie, Fédération de Malaisie, Finlande, Ghana, Grèce, Guatemala, Guinée, Haïti, Hongrie, Inde, Indonésie, Iran, Irak, Irlande, Côte-d'Ivoire, Japon, Jordanie, Liban, Libéria, Libye, Mali, Mexique, Maroc, Népal, Nigéria, Norvège, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Philippines, Pologne, Roumanie, Arabie Saoudite, Soudan, Suède, Thaïlande, Togo, Tunisie, Turquie, République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine, Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques, République arabe unie, Etats-Unis d'Amérique, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yougoslavie, Afghanistan, Albanie, Argentine, Autriche, Brésil, Bulgarie, Birmanie, République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie, Cambodge.

S'abstiennent: Chine, France, Italie, Pays-Bas, Nouvelle-Zélande, Portugal, Espagne, Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord, Australie, Belgique, Canada.

Par 67 voix contre une, avec 11 abstentions, la motion est rejetée.

58. M. SMITHERS (Royaume-Uni), expliquant son vote, déclare que, comme elle l'a indiqué pendant la discussion sur l'audition des pétitionnaires (1004ème

séance), sa délégation se rend pleinement compte de l'importance que la Commission attache à la discussion de la question dont elle est maintenant saisie.

59. La requête présentée à la Cour internationale de Justice par les Gouvernements éthiopien et libérien consiste à la saisir d'un différend auquel l'Union sud-africaine est partie. Comme les décisions de la Cour seront de la plus haute importance, non seulement pour les habitants du Sud-Ouest africain, mais pour toute l'Afrique et pour l'ONU, il est assurément souhaitable qu'elles aient le plus de poids possible. Il convient donc que la Commission ne fasse rien qui puisse porter le moindre tort à l'autorité dont jouit la Cour ou faire dire qu'elle a subi des influences malencontreuses ou des pressions d'ordre politique. L'affaire dont la Cour est saisie comprend toute une série de questions dont traite le rapport du Comité du Sud-Ouest africain (A/4464) et dont les pétitionnaires voudront sans doute parler. On s'expose donc au danger de voir deux organes distincts des Nations Unies se prononcer sur la même question au même moment, ce qui ne manquerait pas de diminuer l'autorité de la Cour et de déconsidérer les débats de l'ONU et de ses organes. La Commission ne devrait donc pas aller de l'avant sans avoir pesé soigneusement les conséquences qui résulteront de son débat et qui s'étendront bien au-delà de la question dont il s'agit.

60. A sa 565ème séance, à propos de l'affaire de l'Anglo-Iranian Oil Company et à un moment où la Cour internationale de Justice ne s'était pas encore prononcée sur la question de sa compétence, le Conseil de sécurité a décidé de surseoir à la discussion de la question. La Quatrième Commission vient de décider ne pas suivre ce précédent pour la question qui l'occupe.

61. Cependant, comme il importe de déterminer ce qui nuira ou ne nuira pas aux débats de la Cour, la Commission voudra peut-être, comme le prévoit l'alinéa d de la recommandation 1 de la première partie de l'annexe II du règlement intérieur de l'Assemblée générale, recourir à l'aide que la Sixième Commission pourrait lui apporter en l'occurrence. Selon M. Smithers, si la Commission entamait la discussion et entendait des témoins sur une question dont la Cour internationale de Justice est saisie, une partie en cause pourrait prétendre que les débats de la Cour ont été influencés par des actes de la Commission et qu'elle n'est donc pas tenue de respecter la décision de la Cour.

62. La règle *sub judice*, appliquée au Royaume-Uni et dans beaucoup de pays, est destinée à défendre les intérêts des parties devant les tribunaux et à sauvegarder la réputation d'impartialité de ces derniers. En vertu de la règle, le tribunal peut punir ou détenir quiconque publie des textes qui sont, ou paraissent, de nature à porter préjudice à un jugement équitable. Au Royaume-Uni, la Chambre des communes, bien qu'elle jouisse, pour ses débats, d'un statut privilégié et que les tribunaux n'aient, de ce fait, aucun pouvoir de restriction sur ses membres, s'est imposée volontairement une discipline à ce sujet: une affaire qui est en instance devant un tribunal ne peut pas y être discutée. Il est vrai, bien entendu, que la Cour internationale de Justice n'est pas la même chose que des tribunaux nationaux et l'on pourrait soutenir que, puisque la Cour internationale ne peut pas imposer l'application de la doctrine *sub judice* à un individu dans tel ou tel pays, cette règle ne s'applique pas.

Cependant, si l'on considère que la Cour internationale juge la conduite des Etats, comme les tribunaux nationaux jugent celle des individus, l'analogie est très nette. Il existe le même genre de rapport entre la Cour internationale de Justice et l'Assemblée générale qu'entre les tribunaux britanniques et le Parlement. La Cour, comme les tribunaux, fait partie d'une structure constitutionnelle; et ni la Cour ni les tribunaux ne peuvent empêcher les membres de l'Assemblée générale ou ceux de la Chambre des communes de prendre la parole, mais, dans les deux cas, l'impartialité de la Cour et les droits des plaideurs doivent être à l'abri des pressions extérieures. Dans les deux cas, la Chambre des communes ou l'Assemblée générale pourraient, si elles le voulaient, exercer une très forte pression sur l'instance judiciaire en exprimant leur opinion. De l'avis de M. Smithers, il est bon que l'Assemblée générale et ses commissions observent une réserve analogue à celle que s'imposent la Chambre des communes ou d'autres institutions analogues à l'égard des affaires qui sont en instance devant la Cour internationale de Justice.

63. La Commission se trouve devant une question de principe extrêmement importante et qui peut avoir de graves répercussions. Pour la grande majorité des Etats Membres, le respect de la règle de droit dans le monde est le meilleur garant de leur protection et de la sauvegarde de leurs droits; la règle de droit ne serait remplacée que par le règne de la force. La Cour internationale de Justice est le principal interprète du droit, et le seul moyen d'assurer le respect de ses décisions est que les Etats Membres de l'ONU et tous les organes de l'Organisation lui apportent un appui loyal. C'est pourquoi la délégation du Royaume-Uni estime qu'ils devront observer la plus grande réserve en participant aux débats et M. Smithers espère que d'autres délégations partageront son avis.

64. M. LOUW (Union sud-africaine) constate que la Commission a décidé — peu sagement, à son avis — d'entreprendre la discussion de la question à l'ordre du jour. Sa délégation ne peut participer à la discussion d'une affaire qui est en instance devant la Cour internationale de Justice, car, si elle le faisait, elle enfreindrait la règle *sub judice*. Par conséquent, la délégation de l'Union sud-africaine ne pourra pas participer au débat sur la question, de la manière dont elle avait exprimé l'intention de le faire avant que la Cour internationale de Justice ne soit saisie. Comme preuve de cette intention, M. Louw fait état de la présence à New York, depuis six semaines, d'un membre du Comité exécutif du Sud-Ouest africain et du Commissaire principal aux affaires bantoues, venus spécialement pour traiter de toutes les questions soulevées et répondre à toutes les accusations portées dans le rapport du Comité du Sud-Ouest africain (A/4464).

65. M. KIANG (Chine) déclare que sa délégation n'a pu faire autrement que de s'abstenir, car elle désirait disposer de plus de temps pour étudier la déclaration du représentant de l'Union sud-africaine, dont elle ne voyait pas clairement la portée. Même si la motion avait été adoptée, elle n'aurait pas pu, à son avis, s'appliquer à toutes les phases de la discussion; la Commission aurait dû, de toute façon, entendre les pétitionnaires.

66. Mlle BROOKS (Libéria) déclare que, si elle avait pu le faire avant le vote, elle se serait associée à la déclaration de l'Ethiopie. En tant que partie

au différend, sa délégation se serait normalement abstenue, mais, comme le représentant de l'Ethiopie a exprimé l'intention de parler de l'initiative prise

par l'Ethiopie et le Libéria, elle a cru devoir voter contre la motion.

La séance est levée à 13 heures.

Nations Unies
**ASSEMBLÉE
GÉNÉRALE**

Documents officiels



Point 38
de l'ordre du jour

ANNEXES
QUINZIÈME SESSION
NEW YORK, 1960-1961

Point 38 de l'ordre du jour. — Etude des principes qui doivent guider les Etats Membres pour déterminer si l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements, prévue à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte des Nations Unies, leur est applicable ou non : rapport du Comité spécial créé par la résolution 1467 (XIV) de l'Assemblée générale*.

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Rapport du Comité spécial des Six chargé de la question de la communication de renseignements prévue à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte

[Texte original en anglais et en français]
[3 octobre 1960]

I. — CONSTITUTION DU COMITÉ

1. Par la résolution 1467 (XIV), adoptée le 12 décembre 1959, l'Assemblée générale a considéré qu'il serait souhaitable qu'elle énumère les principes qui doivent guider les Etats Membres pour déterminer si l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements prévue à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte leur est applicable ou non et décidé de créer un Comité spécial de six membres chargé d'étudier ces principes.

* Pour les comptes rendus des séances relatives à ce point de l'ordre du jour, voir *Documents officiels de l'Assemblée générale, quinzième session, Quatrième Commission*, 1031^e à 1049^e, 1087^e et 1088^e séances : et *ibid.*, *Séances plénières*, 948^e séance.

2. Le Comité spécial désigné par l'Assemblée générale comprenait : les Etats-Unis d'Amérique, l'Inde, le Maroc, le Mexique, les Pays-Bas et le Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord. La liste des représentants participant à la réunion est donnée à l'annexe du présent rapport.

3. Le Comité s'est réuni au Siège de l'Organisation des Nations Unies à New York du 2 au 22 septembre 1960 et a tenu 14 séances.

II. — ELECTION DU PRÉSIDENT

4. Le Comité a élu président M. C. S. Jha (Inde) par acclamation.

III. — DOCUMENTATION ET ORGANISATION DU TRAVAIL

5. Par sa résolution 1467 (XIV), l'Assemblée générale a invité les Etats Membres à communiquer au Secrétaire général leurs vues sur la question soumise au Comité. Au 1^{er} septembre 1960, les réponses de 26 gouvernements avaient été reçues et transmises au Comité. Le Comité a pris pleinement en considération ces réponses et les vues exprimées dans 24 d'entre elles pour parvenir à ses conclusions¹. Les textes des réponses sont transmis à l'Assemblée générale dans le document A/AC.100/1 et Add.1.

6. En outre, conformément aux termes de la résolution de l'Assemblée, le Secrétaire général a préparé pour le Comité un historique des discussions sur la question ainsi qu'un résumé des vues exprimées par les Etats Membres à l'ONU et des opinions formulées dans les ouvrages juridiques (A/AC.100/2 et Add.1 et 2).

7. Le Comité disposait également comme documentation de base du rapport (A/2428) du Comité *ad hoc* pour l'étude des facteurs (territoires non autonomes) nommé par l'Assemblée générale aux termes de la résolution 648 (VII), de la liste de facteurs approuvée par l'Assemblée générale dans sa résolution 742 (VIII) et du *Répertoire de la pratique suivie par les organes des Nations Unies*.

8. Le Comité a commencé ses travaux par l'audition des observations préliminaires de ses membres sur la question dont il était saisi. Des déclarations ont été faites par tous les membres du Comité. Pour les représentants du Maroc, du Mexique, des Pays-Bas et du Royaume-Uni, ces déclarations complétaient les réponses écrites antérieurement communiquées au Secrétaire général par les gouvernements de ces pays. Le texte des observations préliminaires figure dans les comptes rendus analytiques des séances correspondantes (A/AC.100/SR.1 à 14).

9. Par la suite, le Comité a examiné les considérations générales et les principes concernant l'application du Chapitre XI de la Charte. Après cet échange de vues, le Comité a décidé de poursuivre ses travaux sur la base d'un projet de texte sur les principes devant être énumérés, projet établi à cet effet par la délégation de l'Inde. Après discussions et nouvel échange de vues, le Comité a établi une liste des principes qui doivent guider les Etats Membres pour déterminer si l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements prévue à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 leur est applicable ou non.

10. La liste des principes figure à la section V ci-après.

IV. — INTRODUCTION

11. Les observations préliminaires ont montré qu'il y avait un large accord sur la façon générale d'envisager le problème, ainsi que sur les principes fondamentaux en cause, accord qui permettait au Comité de parvenir à des conclusions unanimes. Le Comité a également pris en considération les facteurs annexés à la résolution 742 (VIII) de l'Assemblée générale.

12. Les conclusions auxquelles est parvenu le Comité sont reproduites dans les principes formulés dans le présent rapport. Les paragraphes suivants viennent néanmoins éclairer la position des membres sur certains points contenus dans ces principes.

13. Sur le principe IX, le représentant du Royaume-Uni a exprimé certaines réserves. En particulier, il a estimé que bien que son gouvernement approuvât pleinement le caractère désirable en principe du suffrage universel des adultes, il pouvait y avoir des circonstances

dans lesquelles la pleine autonomie se réalisait avant qu'on puisse mettre en pratique l'exécution de ce principe. En tout état de cause, il estimait que l'alinéa a du principe IX contenait une restriction superflue de l'alinéa b de ce principe. Il avait aussi éprouvé certaines difficultés à admettre la référence au caractère désirable du contrôle des Nations Unies dans ce contexte.

14. En ce qui concerne la question du contrôle international, le représentant du Maroc a dit que son gouvernement posait comme principe que la consultation des populations devait être contrôlée par l'ONU. Il a estimé que le contrôle de l'ONU n'était pas seulement souhaitable, mais parfois même nécessaire. Déclarer seulement que le contrôle international « peut être » souhaitable ne répond que partiellement aux préoccupations de son gouvernement.

15. Le représentant du Royaume-Uni a déclaré accepter le principe X, étant entendu qu'il pouvait y avoir des circonstances dans lesquelles les considérations constitutionnelles du genre mentionné réduisaient à néant le volume des informations pouvant être transmises.

V. — PRINCIPES QUI DOIVENT GUIDER LES ETATS MEMBRES POUR DÉTERMINER SI L'OBLIGATION DE COMMUNIQUER DES RENSEIGNEMENTS PRÉVUE A L'ALINÉA e DE L'ARTICLE 73 DE LA CHARTE LEUR EST APPLICABLE OU NON

A. — Considérations générales

16. Au cours des discussions du Comité, certaines considérations générales ont été présentées auxquelles il convient de se référer pour éclaircir la nature de la tâche du Comité.

17. Le Comité a noté que, depuis 1946, plus de 100 millions d'habitants dans près de 30 territoires non autonomes ont atteint les objectifs du Chapitre XI. De nombreux Etats, qui étaient antérieurement des territoires non autonomes, ont déjà été admis comme Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Le droit des peuples dépendants de choisir leur propre destin est plus largement accepté aujourd'hui qu'à tout autre moment depuis la signature de la Charte à San Francisco. La Charte a été un point culminant de l'évolution progressive dans l'opinion publique internationale, car elle exprime la préoccupation internationale touchant le bien-être et la liberté des peuples dépendants d'une manière beaucoup plus forte que tout autre instrument international similaire. On reconnaît aujourd'hui d'une façon générale que l'indépendance est une des aspirations légitimes de chaque nation dont la réalisation constitue un important facteur pour le maintien de la paix et de la sécurité internationales.

18. La Charte est un document vivant et l'application du Chapitre XI doit être considérée à la lumière de la réalité politique et de l'évolution actuelle des esprits. Avec l'Article 73 de la Charte, les Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies ont affirmé la primauté des intérêts des habitants des territoires non autonomes et reconnu que le développement progressif de leur capacité à s'administrer eux-mêmes doit tenir compte des conditions particulières de chaque territoire et des aspirations de ses populations. Ce développement doit s'harmoniser avec le mouvement vers la liberté et l'égalité qui se manifeste partout dans le monde.

19. Les obligations assumées par les Etats Membres au titre du Chapitre XI ne sont pas limitées à l'Article 73. Conformément à l'Article 74, les Etats Membres reconnaissent l'obligation de respecter le principe du bon voisinage non seulement pour leurs zones métropolitaines, mais aussi pour les territoires dont ils ont assumé la res-

¹ Voir également A/AC.100/1, par. 4.

pensabilité. Ce principe s'applique à la fois à l'égard des pays qui sont leurs voisins immédiats au sens géographique et à la communauté internationale dans son ensemble. Le principe du bon voisinage implique une obligation morale qui renforce l'obligation de transmettre des informations suivant l'Article 73, contribuant ainsi à l'évolution rapide des territoires non autonomes.

20. Le Comité a estimé que les principes suivants doivent s'appliquer à la lumière des faits et des circonstances particulières à chaque cas individuel en vue de déterminer s'il y a ou non obligation de communiquer des renseignements au titre de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte.

B. — Les principes

I

Pour les auteurs de la Charte des Nations Unies, le Chapitre XI devait être applicable aux territoires qui étaient alors connus comme étant de type colonial. Il y a obligation de communiquer des renseignements aux termes de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte à l'égard des territoires dont les populations ne s'administrent pas complètement elles-mêmes.

II

Le Chapitre XI concrétise le concept des territoires non autonomes dans un état d'évolution dynamique et de progrès vers la pleine capacité à s'administrer eux-mêmes. Aussitôt que le territoire et ses populations parviennent à cette pleine autonomie, l'obligation cesse. Jusqu'à sa réalisation, l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements prévue à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 subsiste.

III

L'obligation de communiquer des renseignements au titre de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte constitue une obligation internationale qui doit être exécutée en tenant dûment compte de la loi internationale.

IV

A priori, il y a une obligation de communiquer des renseignements à l'égard d'un territoire qui est séparé géographiquement et distinct au point de vue ethnique et (ou) au point de vue culturel du pays qui l'administre.

V

Une fois qu'il a été établi a priori que les distinctions géographiques, ethniques et culturelles existent, d'autres éléments peuvent entrer en considération. Ces éléments supplémentaires peuvent être notamment d'une nature administrative, politique, juridique, économique et historique. S'ils affectent les relations entre le territoire métropolitain et le territoire envisagé de telle façon qu'ils placent arbitrairement ce dernier dans une position ou un statut diminué, ils confirment la présomption qu'il y a obligation de communiquer des renseignements aux termes de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte.

VI

On peut dire d'un territoire non autonome qu'il atteint la pleine autonomie :

- a) Par sa constitution en un Etat indépendant souverain ;
- b) Par sa libre association avec un Etat indépendant ;
- c) Par son intégration avec un autre Etat indépendant.

VII

a) La libre association doit résulter d'un choix libre et volontaire des populations du territoire en question, ex-

primé par des méthodes démocratiques et éclairées. Celle-ci doit respecter l'individualité et les caractères culturels du territoire et de ses populations et maintenir pour les populations du territoire associé à l'Etat indépendant la liberté de modifier son statut par l'expression de leur volonté par des méthodes démocratiques et par des procédures constitutionnelles.

b) Le territoire associé doit avoir le droit de déterminer sa constitution interne sans intervention extérieure conformément aux procédures constitutionnelles régulières et aux vœux librement exprimés de ses populations. Ceci n'exclut pas les consultations utiles ou nécessaires aux termes de la libre association conclue.

VIII

L'intégration à un Etat indépendant doit se faire sur la base de l'égalité complète entre les peuples du territoire antérieurement non autonome et ceux de l'Etat indépendant auquel il est intégré. Les peuples des deux territoires doivent avoir un statut et des droits de citoyenneté égaux ainsi que des garanties égales pour ce qui est des droits et libertés fondamentaux sans distinction ni discrimination ; les deux doivent avoir des droits égaux et des possibilités égales de représentation et de participation effective à tous les échelons dans les organes exécutifs, législatifs et judiciaires de l'Etat.

IX

L'intégration doit satisfaire aux conditions suivantes :

a) Le territoire intégré devra avoir atteint un stade avancé d'autonomie avec des institutions politiques libres, de telle sorte que ses populations aient la capacité de faire un choix avisé par des procédés démocratiques en pleine connaissance de cause ;

b) L'intégration doit résulter d'un choix librement exprimé par les populations du territoire pleinement au courant de la modification de leur statut, la consultation se faisant par des procédures démocratiques et largement diffusées, d'une façon impartiale et sur la base du suffrage universel des adultes. Il est admis que dans certains cas le contrôle de ces procédures par l'ONU peut être souhaitable.

X

La communication de renseignements concernant les territoires non autonomes au titre de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 est sujette aux limitations que peuvent exiger des considérations constitutionnelles et de sécurité. Cela veut dire que la portée des renseignements peut être limitée dans certaines circonstances, mais la limitation prévue à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 ne peut libérer un Etat Membre des obligations que lui impose le Chapitre XI. La « limitation » ne peut porter que sur le volume des renseignements d'ordre social, économique et de l'enseignement qui doivent être transmis.

XI

Les seules considérations constitutionnelles auxquelles l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 se réfère sont celles qui résultent des relations constitutionnelles entre le territoire et l'Etat Membre administrant. Elles concernent une situation dans laquelle la constitution du territoire lui donne l'autonomie dans les matières économiques, sociales et de l'enseignement au moyen d'institutions librement élues. Cependant la responsabilité de communiquer des renseignements prévue à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 subsiste à moins que ces relations constitutionnelles empêchent le gouvernement ou le parlement de l'Etat administrant de recevoir des statistiques ou autres renseignements de nature technique concernant les conditions économiques, sociales et de l'enseignement dans le territoire.

XII

Les exigences de la sécurité n'ont pas été invoquées dans le passé. Ce n'est que dans des circonstances très exceptionnelles que des renseignements d'ordre écono-

mique, social et de l'enseignement peuvent mettre en cause la sécurité. Dans les autres circonstances, par conséquent, il n'y a aucun besoin de limiter la communication des renseignements pour des raisons de sécurité.

ANNEXE

LISTE DES REPRÉSENTANTS AU COMITÉ SPÉCIAL DES SIX CHARGÉ DE LA QUESTION DE LA COMMUNICATION DE RENSEIGNEMENTS PRÉVUE À L'ALINÉA e DE L'ARTICLE 73 DE LA CHARTE

Pays	Représentants	Suppléants, conseillers, experts
Etats-Unis d'Amérique	M. Francis L. Spalding	M. John George Bacon, M. John W. Simms.
Inde	M. C. S. Jha	M. M. A. Vellodi, M. M. Rasgotra.
Maroc	M. El Mehdi Ben Aboud	M. Mohamed Dey Ould Sidi Baba, M. Ali Skalli, M. Mohamed Warzazi.
Mexique	M. Francisco Cuevas Cancino	—
Pays-Bas	M. C. W. A. Schürmann	M. Jan Polderman, M. L. J. Goedhart.
Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord	M. G. K. Caston	M. D. F. Milton, M ^{lle} A. M. Warburton.

DOCUMENT A/C.4/L.648 ET ADD.1²

Adoption des principes énoncés dans le rapport du Comité spécial des Six chargé de la question de la communication de renseignements prévue à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte (A/4526)

Bolivie, Irak, Irlande, Nigéria et Venezuela : projet de résolution

[Texte original en anglais]
[7 novembre 1960]

L'Assemblée générale,

Considérant les objectifs énoncés au Chapitre XI de la Charte,

Tenant compte de la liste de facteurs jointe en annexe à sa résolution 742 (VIII) du 27 novembre 1953,

Ayant examiné le rapport (A/4526) du Comité spécial des Six chargé, aux termes de la résolution 1467 (XIV) de l'Assemblée générale, du 12 décembre 1959, d'étudier les principes qui doivent guider les Etats Membres pour déterminer si l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements, prévue à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte des Nations Unies, leur est applicable ou non et de faire rapport à l'Assemblée, lors de sa quinzième session, sur les résultats de son étude,

1. Exprime sa satisfaction des travaux du Comité spécial des Six ;

2. Approuve les principes énoncés dans la subdivision B de la section V du rapport du Comité spécial des Six ;

3. Décide que les principes qui figurent en annexe à la présente résolution devraient être appliqués, compte tenu dans chaque cas des faits et des circonstances, pour déterminer si l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements, prévue à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte, est applicable ou non.

ANNEXE

[Pour le texte des principes annexés à ce projet de résolution, voir A/4526, sect. V, subdivision B.]

² Le document A/C.4/L.648/Add.1, en date du 7 novembre 1960, avait pour objet d'ajouter la Bolivie à la liste des auteurs du projet de résolution.

DOCUMENT A/C.4/L.649

Communication de renseignements au titre de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte

Afghanistan, Birmanie, Ceylan, Ghana, Guinée, Inde, Népal et Nigéria : projet de résolution

[Texte original en anglais]
[8 novembre 1960]

L'Assemblée générale,

Rappelant que, par sa résolution 742 (VIII) du 27 novembre 1953, l'Assemblée générale a approuvé la liste des facteurs qui doivent servir de guide pour déterminer si un territoire est ou n'est plus visé par les dispositions du Chapitre XI de la Charte,

Rappelant également que des divergences de vues se sont produites entre des Etats Membres au sujet du statut de certains territoires administrés par l'Espagne et par le Portugal et dénommés par eux « provinces d'outre-mer » de l'Etat métropolitain, et que, pour mettre fin à ces divergences, l'Assemblée générale a chargé, par sa

1654 (XVI). La situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux

L'Assemblée générale,

Rappelant la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, contenue dans sa résolution 1514 (XV) du 14 décembre 1960,

Tenant compte des objectifs et des principes énoncés dans ladite déclaration,

Rappelant en particulier le paragraphe 5 de la Déclaration, aux termes duquel :

"Des mesures immédiates seront prises, dans les territoires sous tutelle, les territoires non autonomes et tous autres territoires qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance, pour transférer tous pouvoirs aux peuples de ces territoires, sans aucune condition ni réserve, conformément à leur volonté et à leurs vœux librement exprimés, sans aucune distinction de race, de croyance ou de couleur, afin de leur permettre de jouir d'une indépendance et d'une liberté complètes",

Constatant avec regret qu'à quelques exceptions près il n'a pas été donné suite aux dispositions contenues dans ledit paragraphe de la Déclaration,

Prenant note du fait que, contrairement aux dispositions du paragraphe 4 de la Déclaration, des actions armées et des mesures de répression continuent à être employées dans certaines régions, d'une façon de plus en plus impitoyable, contre des populations dépendantes, les privant de leur prérogative d'exercer pacifiquement et librement leur droit à l'indépendance complète,

Constatant avec inquiétude que, contrairement aux dispositions du paragraphe 6 de la Déclaration, des actes visant à détruire partiellement ou totalement l'unité nationale et l'intégrité territoriale sont encore perpétrés dans certains pays en voie de décolonisation,

Convaincue que tout nouveau retard dans l'application de la Déclaration est une source continue de conflits et de discorde sur le plan international, entrave sérieusement la coopération internationale et crée, dans de nombreuses régions du monde, une situation de plus

en plus dangereuse qui peut constituer une menace à la paix et à la sécurité internationales,

Soulignant que le manque de préparation dans les domaines politique, économique ou social ou dans celui de l'enseignement ne doit jamais être pris comme prétexte pour retarder l'indépendance,

1. *Réitère et réaffirme solennellement* les objectifs et les principes énoncés par la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, contenue dans sa résolution 1514 (XV) du 14 décembre 1960;

2. *Demande* aux Etats intéressés d'agir sans plus tarder afin d'assurer scrupuleusement l'application et la mise en œuvre de la Déclaration;

3. *Décide* de créer un Comité spécial de dix-sept membres qui seront désignés par le Président de l'Assemblée générale au cours de la présente session;

4. *Prie* le Comité spécial d'étudier l'application de la Déclaration, de formuler des suggestions et des recommandations quant aux progrès réalisés et à la mesure dans laquelle la Déclaration est mise en œuvre, et de faire rapport à l'Assemblée générale lors de sa dix-septième session;

5. *Charge* le Comité spécial d'accomplir sa tâche en se servant de tous les moyens dont il disposera dans le cadre des procédures et des modalités qu'il adoptera pour bien s'acquitter de ses fonctions;

6. *Autorise* le Comité spécial à se réunir en tout autre lieu que le Siège de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, lorsque cela pourrait être nécessaire pour lui permettre de s'acquitter efficacement de ses fonctions, en consultation avec les autorités compétentes;

7. *Invite* les autorités intéressées à assurer au Comité spécial leur coopération la plus complète dans l'accomplissement de ses tâches;

8. *Prie* le Conseil de tutelle, le Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes et les institutions spécialisées intéressées d'apporter leur aide au Comité spécial pour ses travaux, dans leurs domaines d'activité respectifs;

9. *Prie* le Secrétaire général de fournir au Comité spécial tous les services et le personnel qui lui seront nécessaires pour la mise en œuvre de la présente résolution.

1066^e séance plénière,
27 novembre 1961.

* * *

Le Président de l'Assemblée générale, agissant en vertu de la résolution ci-dessus, a nommé les membres du Comité spécial créé aux termes du paragraphe 3 de ladite résolution. A sa 1094^e séance plénière, le 23 janvier 1962, l'Assemblée a pris acte de cette nomination.

Le Comité spécial se compose des Etats Membres suivants: AUSTRALIE, CAMBODGE, ETATS-UNIS D'AMÉRIQUE, ETHIOPIE, INDE, ITALIE, MADAGASCAR, MALI, POLOGNE, ROYAUME-UNI DE GRANDE-BRETAGNE ET D'IRLANDE DU NORD, SYRIE, TANGANYIKA, TUNISIE, UNION DES RÉPUBLIQUES SOCIALISTES SOVIÉTIQUES, URUGUAY, VENEZUELA et YOUGOSLAVIE.

⁸ Rapport annuel du Conseil des gouverneurs à la Conférence générale, 1^{er} juillet 1960-30 juin 1961, Vienne, juillet 1961, et rapport supplémentaire (A/4883 et Add.1).

Nations Unies
**ASSEMBLÉE
GÉNÉRALE**

SEIZIÈME SESSION

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1047^e
SÉANCE PLÉNIÈRE

Lundi 6 novembre 1961,
à 15 heures

NEW YORK

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Président: M. Mongi SLIM (Tunisie).

Déclaration du Président

1. Le **PRESIDENT**: L'ordre du jour de la présente séance comporte cinq questions. J'ai l'intention de soumettre à l'Assemblée les trois premières qui ne semblent devoir donner lieu à aucune discussion importante et qui nous sont renvoyées respectivement par les Cinquième, Quatrième et Sixième Commissions. Il s'agit premièrement du point 68 de l'ordre du jour relatif à la bibliothèque de l'Organisation des Nations Unies; deuxièmement, des points 13, 50 et 51, concernant le rapport du Conseil de tutelle, la diffusion, dans les territoires sous tutelle, d'informations sur l'Organisation des Nations Unies et

le régime international de tutelle, et les moyens d'étude et de formation offerts par des Etats Membres aux habitants des territoires sous tutelle; troisièmement, il s'agit du point 77 de l'ordre du jour, relatif à l'augmentation du nombre des membres de la Commission du droit international. Ensuite, nous aborderons la discussion des points 73 et 72 de l'ordre du jour. Le premier a trait au maintien de la suspension des essais nucléaires et thermonucléaires et à l'obligation pour les Etats de s'abstenir de reprendre ces essais; le second a trait à la nécessité urgente d'un traité interdisant, sous contrôle international efficace, les essais d'armes nucléaires. Pour ces derniers points, la Première Commission nous a demandé un examen urgent en séance plénière. Enfin, nous aborderons le point 88 de l'ordre du jour, c'est-à-dire la question de la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. L'examen de cette question demandera sans doute un certain nombre de séances.

POINT 88 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

La situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux

85. Le **PRESIDENT**: Nous passons au dernier point inscrit à l'ordre du jour de notre séance d'aujourd'hui et intitulé "La situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux". Je rappelle aux membres de l'Assemblée que cette question doit être examinée directement en séance plénière; elle ne nous a été renvoyée par aucune commission.

86. Je rappelle également que l'Assemblée générale est saisie, jusqu'à maintenant, de deux projets de résolution: d'une part, un projet présenté par les Pays-Bas [A/L.354] et d'autre part, un projet présenté par l'Union soviétique [A/L.355].

87. Je donne la parole au représentant de la Nigéria pour une motion d'ordre.

88. **M. WACHUKU (Nigéria)** [traduit de l'anglais]: J'ai demandé la parole pour une motion d'ordre, à propos du point 22 de l'ordre du jour et des sujets inscrits à l'ordre du jour sous le titre "Assistance à l'Afrique: a) Programme des Nations Unies pour l'indépendance", dont il a été décidé qu'ils seraient discutés directement en séance plénière.

89. A la dernière session, ce point de l'ordre du jour avait été renvoyé à la Première Commission, sous le titre "Afrique: programme des Nations Unies pour l'indépendance et le développement". Je me souviens qu'en cette occasion on l'a fait passer du dixième rang au deuxième rang. A la suite de plusieurs demandes, la question a finalement été discutée pendant la reprise de la quinzième session. Elle a donné lieu à un projet de résolution^{4/}, mais l'Assemblée a décidé [995ème séance] de renvoyer l'examen de cette question à la seizième session. Or, au cours de la quinzième session, l'objet du point 88 de la présente session, auquel se rapportent les deux projets de résolution que le Président a mentionnés, figurait sous le point 87, qui a été discuté directement en séance plénière. Il a donné lieu, après discussion, à la résolution 1514 (XV) du 14 décembre 1960.

90. Ce que je veux dire à ce sujet, c'est qu'on a l'intention de discuter la question qui fait l'objet du point 88 avant le point particulier dont je viens de parler, qui est inscrit à l'ordre du jour de la présente session et qui est divisé en trois parties: le point 22, a, qui doit être discuté en séance plénière; le point 22, b, qui est renvoyé à la Deuxième Commission; le point 22, c, qui est renvoyé à la Troisième Commission. Le point 22, b, est intitulé: "Assistance à l'Afrique: Développement économique de l'Afrique" et le point 22, c: "Assistance à l'Afrique: Développement de l'éducation en Afrique". On a décidé depuis qu'il serait préférable de discuter ensemble les deux points b et c à la Deuxième Commission. L'Assemblée générale, après en avoir discuté [1042ème séance], a pris une décision en ce sens.

91. Ce que je veux souligner, c'est que la question qui a fait l'objet du point a est actuellement si importante et si urgente qu'un haut rang devrait lui être attribuée car, à la dernière session, alors qu'un projet de résolution avait été rédigé et était prêt à être

^{4/} Voir Documents officiels de l'Assemblée générale, quinzième session, Annexes, point 88 de l'ordre du jour, document A/4747.

discuté, pour certaines raisons il a été renvoyé à la présente session. J'ai l'impression qu'à moins qu'on n'accorde à cette question un rang de faveur, il n'y a aucun espoir qu'elle soit jamais discutée à la présente session. Si nous entreprenons maintenant la discussion du point 88, nous risquons de voir les séances plénières s'y consacrer exclusivement et ce point particulier qui est d'une urgence spéciale pour l'Afrique ne sera pas discuté du tout. Nous avons déjà présenté un projet de résolution [A/L.357] qui a été distribué et je demande à l'Assemblée que ce projet qui a trait au point 22, a, reçoive priorité et soit traité séparément. Je crains que si le point 88 est mis en discussion maintenant, cela ne soit au préjudice du débat sur le projet de résolution de la délégation de la Nigéria, qui traite spécialement de la question de l'abolition des colonies en Afrique.

92. Cela est de première importance pour nous et je demande à l'Assemblée de bien vouloir nous accorder la priorité, ainsi que le droit de discuter ce projet de résolution en tant que point séparé, tout à fait distinct de la question générale de l'abolition des colonies, ou de l'application de la résolution 1514 (XV).

93. Le PRESIDENT: Ainsi donc, l'Assemblée est saisie d'une motion d'ordre présentée par la délégation de la Nigéria, tendant à examiner en priorité le point 22, a, de l'ordre du jour intitulé "Assistance à l'Afrique: programme des Nations Unies pour l'indépendance". Je donne la parole au représentant de la Pologne pour une motion d'ordre.

94. M. WINIEWICZ (Pologne) [traduit de l'anglais]: Il semble que nous soyons tous d'accord sur la nécessité d'appliquer la résolution [1514 (XV)] adoptée l'an dernier à l'unanimité par l'Assemblée générale et l'application de cette résolution semble à notre délégation l'une des tâches les plus importantes que l'Assemblée ait à remplir. Certes, nous savons, comme le représentant de la Nigéria l'a rappelé il y a quelques instants, que l'ordre du jour de la présente session contient également une question importante ayant trait à l'assistance à l'Afrique. Le représentant de la Nigéria a fait ressortir que cette question était divisée en deux parties, l'une devant être discutée directement par l'Assemblée générale et l'autre étant renvoyée à la Deuxième Commission. Cette répartition n'a pas été faite sans de bonnes raisons. La question d'un programme pour l'indépendance a été séparée des autres aspects du problème de l'assistance à l'Afrique et est discutée directement en séance plénière, premièrement parce que c'est une question d'une importance spéciale, et deuxièmement parce qu'elle est étroitement liée à celle de l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux.

95. Les Etats africains ont fait la même distinction entre les différents aspects du problème, à la quinzième session, lors de la discussion de la question intitulée: "Afrique: programme des Nations Unies pour l'indépendance et le développement". Je signalerai que dans un projet de résolution présenté à la Première Commission^{5/} les auteurs ont invoqué la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance. En outre, dans le même document, les auteurs demandaient à tous les Etats qui ont la responsabilité de l'administration de territoires africains d'appliquer la Déclaration. En d'autres termes, les Etats africains eux-

mêmes ont décidé de reconnaître la Déclaration en tant que point de départ du programme d'indépendance et d'assistance à l'Afrique. Cela n'est que naturel si on considère la part importante et même historique qu'ils ont eux-mêmes prise à la préparation et à l'adoption de cette même déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance. La Pologne apprécie vivement cette contribution extrêmement importante et efficace des Etats africains. Elle n'apprécie pas moins leurs efforts constructifs en vue de résoudre de nombreux autres problèmes auxquels les Nations Unies doivent faire face.

96. Les Etats africains, nous en sommes convaincus, estiment comme nous que cette déclaration est d'une portée universelle et qu'elle n'est aucunement limitée à telle ou telle région du monde. En fait, la Déclaration dit que des mesures immédiates seront prises, dans les territoires sous tutelle, les territoires non autonomes et tous autres territoires qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance, pour transférer tous pouvoirs aux peuples de ces territoires.

97. Ce n'est un secret pour personne que certains vestiges du colonialisme continuent d'exister aussi en Amérique latine, en Asie et dans la région du Pacifique. Je prétends que les problèmes de la Guyane britannique, de Goa ou du Honduras britannique ne sont pas moins graves que ceux de la Rhodésie ou du Mozambique. Il est donc nécessaire d'élaborer des règles uniformes pour l'application de la Déclaration afin de déraciner le colonialisme où qu'il subsiste encore.

98. Nous pourrions peut-être rechercher sur cette base une solution des problèmes propres à l'Afrique et, sur ce point, je suis en complet désaccord avec le représentant de la Nigéria lorsqu'il dit que cela ne peut pas être fait cette année. C'est pourquoi nous estimons justifié d'examiner conjointement le point 88 intitulé: "La situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux" et le point 22, a, qui a trait à un programme des Nations Unies pour l'indépendance en Afrique. Notre intention n'est pas simplement de gagner du temps.

99. La préparation d'un programme pour l'indépendance en Afrique doit découler directement d'une décision sur l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. Il n'est peut-être pas inutile de rappeler que si la Quatrième Commission a décidé de renvoyer toute décision sur les problèmes fondamentaux concernant l'avenir des territoires sous tutelle et non autonomes, y compris les territoires d'Afrique, c'est parce qu'aucune résolution relative à l'application de la Déclaration n'a été adoptée. La Quatrième Commission, chargée de tous les problèmes concernant les territoires non autonomes, attend que nous réglions aussitôt que possible la question de l'application de la Déclaration anticolonialiste, car cela fournira une base pour régler toutes les questions que pose la liquidation du colonialisme ainsi que les questions dont s'occupe la Quatrième Commission. C'est pourquoi la délégation polonaise, bien qu'elle considère invariablement les problèmes de l'Afrique avec sympathie et compréhension, est d'avis qu'il faut donner la priorité au point 88, qui a trait à l'application de la Déclaration et qui est inscrit à l'ordre du jour de la séance plénière. Mais si l'Assemblée était d'un avis contraire, nous proposerions, et, si le moment est venu de le faire, je propose dès maintenant, que

^{5/} Ibid.

nous discussions le point 88 déjà inscrit à l'ordre du jour de la présente séance, en même temps que le point 22, a, dont le représentant de la Nigéria vient de parler.

100. M. WACHUKU (Nigéria) [traduit de l'anglais]: Comme l'Assemblée le sait, je n'ai jamais manqué d'exprimer ma reconnaissance aux grandes et aux petites puissances lorsqu'elles ont fait quelque chose dans l'intérêt du bien-être de l'Afrique et je reste reconnaissant aux grandes puissances qui ont pensé à deux points de l'ordre du jour. L'Union soviétique a demandé l'inscription à l'ordre du jour de la quinzième session de la question relative à la Déclaration concernant l'abolition des colonies, et les Etats-Unis ont demandé l'inscription de l'autre question relative à un programme des Nations Unies pour l'indépendance et le développement en Afrique; l'Assemblée a inscrit ces deux questions à son ordre du jour.

101. L'Assemblée est maintenant saisie, à propos du point 22, a, d'un projet de résolution [A/L.357] présenté par la Nigéria. On doit reconnaître que nous avons quelque connaissance des questions africaines. Nous sommes des spécialistes de tout ce qui concerne l'Afrique, car nous connaissons notre propre milieu, et j'ai déjà dit et répété ici que la Nigéria ne veut pas que l'Afrique soit entraînée dans la guerre froide.

102. Si la suggestion du représentant de la Pologne est acceptée et si le point 22, a, est jumelé avec le point 88, je puis vous assurer que nous allons être entraînés dans la guerre froide. Deux projets de résolution ont été présentés au titre du point 88: l'un [A/L.355] par la délégation de l'Union soviétique, l'autre [A/L.354] par la délégation des Pays-Bas. Des documents ont déjà été distribués au sujet du projet de résolution des Pays-Bas. Il existe une controverse entre les Pays-Bas et l'Indonésie. Si les deux projets de résolution sont examinés, une querelle interminable s'élèvera à leur sujet. Or, nous ne pouvons pas attendre.

103. Je demande donc à l'Assemblée, avec tout le respect que j'ai pour le représentant de la Pologne, de passer outre à la demande tendant à lier le point 22, a, et le point 88 dans la discussion. Je sais qu'il y a un lien entre ces deux questions, je ne le nie pas, mais nous ne pouvons accepter l'idée que tous les problèmes relatifs aux diverses régions coloniales seraient identiques: ils ne le sont pas; chaque région a ses propres problèmes, ses propres difficultés, ses propres épreuves et tribulations. En Afrique, le tableau n'est pas le même qu'ailleurs. Nous sommes tout disposés à collaborer avec les autres peuples dans leurs régions respectives.

104. Nous avons eu une déclaration de caractère général et nous sommes maintenant saisis d'une déclaration précise qui résulte nécessairement du point 22, a. Dans le projet de résolution présenté par la Nigéria, il est question d'une déclaration précise applicable à l'ensemble des territoires africains. Si on demande une autre déclaration au sujet d'un autre territoire se trouvant dans cette région du monde, la délégation de la Nigéria est toute disposée à l'appuyer. Nous ne voulons pas être entraînés dans une querelle verbale et, par conséquent, avec toute la force dont je dispose, je demande instamment à l'Assemblée, au nom de ma délégation, d'examiner à part le projet de résolution relatif à l'Afrique.

105. Il s'agit d'une des séries de questions qui résulteront probablement du principe généralement

accepté selon lequel les territoires coloniaux doivent maintenant conquérir leur indépendance. Je ne voudrais pas que le représentant de la Pologne passe outre à l'opinion mûrement réfléchie de la délégation de la Nigéria. Il s'agit d'un continent où nous sommes chez nous; nous connaissons très exactement la psychologie de notre propre région et nous pouvons parler objectivement au nom de l'Afrique, plus peut-être que quiconque. J'espère vivement que ce projet de résolution sera accepté en tant que base de discussion et nous comptons bien sur le ferme concours de tous les pays amis qui veulent réellement nous aider. Il s'agit d'un programme d'assistance à l'Afrique. C'est maintenant que ceux de nos amis qui veulent réellement donner assistance à l'Afrique doivent collaborer avec nous pour la réalisation de ce grand plan d'une déclaration spéciale réclamant l'octroi de la complète indépendance à l'Afrique dans un délai déterminé.

106. Nous avons déjà bien préparé le terrain en ce qui concerne ceux qui ont entre leurs mains le destin de territoires de l'Afrique et je suis absolument certain que si nous y apportons tous nos soins nous avons toutes chances de réussir en ce qui concerne ces puissances. Je ne veux pas qu'un accident quelconque risque maintenant de compromettre ce succès. Je ne veux pas que nous soyons entraînés dans une guerre verbale. Telles sont les raisons pour lesquelles je demande au représentant de la Pologne de bien vouloir retirer sa proposition tendant à jumeler le point 88 avec le point 22, a, et de prêter une oreille attentive à ma requête. J'espère sincèrement que les pays africains m'appuieront lorsque je soutiens que les problèmes africains doivent être considérés comme un point séparé de l'ordre du jour et que tous les pays amis — et nous savons que l'Afrique a des amis dans toutes les délégations — nous appuieront lorsque nous proposons que ce point de l'ordre du jour soit discuté séparément afin que l'Assemblée puisse voter, au cours de la présente session, une déclaration sur l'abolition des colonies en Afrique.

107. M. GEBRE-EGZY (Ethiopie) [traduit de l'anglais]: J'appuie la demande du représentant de la Nigéria. La question est vraiment très simple.

108. La question que nous voulons voir discutée en premier nous vient de la Première Commission. L'an dernier, cette question a été discutée à la Première Commission et elle a donné lieu à un projet de résolution. A la fin de la session, faute de temps, nous nous sommes inclinés devant la majorité des membres de la Première Commission qui étaient d'avis de ne pas adopter alors une résolution sur la question. Nous demandons maintenant que l'Assemblée agisse équitablement, discute la question qui nous intéresse et se prononce à son sujet. C'est la seule question qui se pose pour le moment.

109. Nous ne nous opposons pas à la discussion de la question relative à la liquidation du colonialisme; nous avons voté en faveur de cette question. Nous travaillons à un projet de résolution à propos duquel nous avons des consultations avec de nombreuses délégations et nous pensons que l'Assemblée pourra l'adopter. Il n'y a vraiment ni opposition ni conflit entre les deux questions, mais la nôtre ayant été présentée la première nous désirons qu'elle soit discutée la première et qu'une décision soit prise. A notre avis, il ne serait pas équitable que notre question ait été pesée ici, discutée à la Première Commission, ajournée à un an, puis reléguée par

l'Assemblée en fin de liste. Il s'agit simplement de discuter une question qui l'a déjà été l'an dernier et sur laquelle une décision définitive n'est pas intervenue. C'est pourquoi j'appuie la demande du représentant de la Nigéria et j'espère que toute l'Assemblée s'y ralliera maintenant.

110. M. WINIEWICZ (Pologne) [traduit de l'anglais]: Je ne puis dire combien je déplore d'être en désaccord avec les représentants de la Nigéria et de l'Ethiopie, et d'être engagé avec eux dans un débat de procédure.

111. Je désire simplement souligner qu'en proposant la discussion simultanée des deux questions, nous avons obéi à des considérations très importantes touchant la meilleure procédure à adopter pour notre débat. Je désire vivement que le représentant de la Nigéria sache que je ne puis accepter l'idée qu'une discussion sur l'application de la Déclaration anti-colonialiste adoptée l'an dernier constituerait une manœuvre de guerre froide. C'est une question qui engage l'avenir. Elle n'intéresse pas seulement le continent africain, mais aussi toutes les colonies qui existent encore en Asie ou en Amérique latine. Je ne puis accepter l'idée qu'il y aurait une manifestation de guerre froide, car je me rappelle que, parmi les auteurs de la Déclaration adoptée ici en décembre de l'an dernier, il y avait des Etats africains et des Etats asiatiques. Je ne pense pas que l'on puisse dire que les délégations de ces Etats proposaient un projet de résolution qui avait trait, si peu que ce fût, à la guerre froide.

112. Je ne puis retirer ma motion parce que je la considère comme raisonnable. Nous pouvons discuter les deux questions ensemble. Etant donné que je considère ma suggestion comme une sorte d'amendement à la proposition du représentant de la Nigéria, je demanderai au Président de bien vouloir la mettre aux voix en premier.

113. M. WACHUKU (Nigéria) [traduit de l'anglais]: Je remercie le Président de me donner la permission de répondre à cette dernière observation.

114. Quiconque a regardé la carte du monde et des régions où sont situées les diverses colonies, en particulier dans l'océan Pacifique, peut être certain que lorsque le point 88 viendra en discussion de nombreuses controverses seront soulevées. Quiconque a participé à la rédaction finale du dernier projet de résolution, comme je l'ai fait, sait que de nombreux éléments ont été supprimés du texte primitif pour parvenir à la version définitive. Quiconque est familier avec la procédure des débats de l'Assemblée sait aussi que les orateurs qui interviendront à propos du projet de résolution relatif au point 88 reprendront de nombreux éléments qui ont été éliminés du texte primitif pour aboutir au projet de résolution que nous allons maintenant discuter. A coup sûr, dès que certains aspects de la question seront évoqués, des réponses jailliront de tous les côtés intéressés. Ainsi, lorsque nous commencerons à échanger entre nous des répliques qui feront ressembler notre débat à une partie de ping-pong, le projet de résolution intéressant l'Afrique se trouvera relégué à l'arrière-plan et risquera de ne pas être examiné avant janvier peut-être, voire plus tard; peut-être même subira-t-il le même sort qu'à la quinzième session. C'est ce que je veux éviter.

115. Aucun point de l'ordre du jour, en lui-même ou du fait de son titre, n'évoque la guerre froide. C'est la manière dont il est traité qui lui donne cette

coloration. Toute question discutée par l'Assemblée peut l'être dans un esprit pacifique, si le débat demeure objectif et si on n'essaie pas d'en faire un sujet de guerre froide, mais toute question peut être transformée en une question de guerre froide. Pour ce qui est de la scène africaine, la situation est si claire qu'il ne peut y avoir aucune difficulté. Le représentant de la Pologne a parlé de territoires coloniaux en Amérique latine. Je n'en ai pas moi-même soufflé mot, car je ne vois pas le rapport qu'il pourrait y avoir entre l'Amérique latine et le projet de résolution que la Nigéria a présenté au titre du point 22, a, de l'ordre du jour.

116. Cela dit, je suis certain qu'au moment où le débat s'engagera sur le point 88 il se trouvera quelqu'un pour parler du colonialisme en Amérique latine, ou dans le Pacifique, ou peut-être pour parler du canal de Panama et d'autre chose encore, et je sais très bien ce qui se passera. C'est pourquoi j'implore l'Assemblée — que nous votions maintenant ou plus tard, à son gré —, mais il ne doit y avoir aucun doute que ce que nous voulons, c'est que le projet de résolution sur l'Afrique soit examiné isolément et non pas en relation avec un aspect quelconque de la question faisant l'objet du point 88. Il est certain que les deux questions sont très étroitement liées. Elles concernent toutes deux le colonialisme. Mais accordez-nous votre assistance. Il s'agit de l'assistance à l'Afrique. Il s'agit de l'assistance politique à l'Afrique. La question est celle de l'indépendance de tout le continent africain. Il s'agit d'une assistance à nous prêter. C'est le mot "assistance" qui est le mot clef. Il ne s'agit pas d'une déclaration générale. Nous en avons déjà une. Il s'agit d'une assistance à l'Afrique en particulier. Je demande à tous de nous donner assistance pour que ce sujet soit examiné en tant que programme précis et distinct, afin que nous puissions avoir une déclaration et que nous entreprenions un programme particulier. Lorsqu'il s'agira de l'assistance à l'Amérique latine et aux territoires coloniaux, nous agirons en conséquence. Si l'on nous demande de prêter assistance à une autre région, nous prêterons cette assistance. Telle est la distinction que je tiens à faire ici. Nous demandons nettement que l'on prête assistance à l'Afrique et je suis sûr que les représentants nous prêteront l'assistance dont nous avons besoin.

117. Le PRESIDENT: L'Assemblée est donc saisie d'une proposition de la Nigéria destinée à donner la priorité au point 22, a, de l'ordre du jour, intitulé "Assistance à l'Afrique: Programme des Nations Unies pour l'indépendance".

118. Le représentant de la Pologne a proposé un amendement visant à ce que le point 22 soit discuté en même temps que le point 88 de l'ordre du jour intitulé "La situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux". Telles sont les deux propositions dont nous sommes saisis.

119. M. DIALLO (Guinée): La délégation de la République de Guinée a écouté avec tout l'intérêt qu'elle mérite la demande de priorité formulée par le représentant de la Nigéria. Ma délégation tient tout d'abord à dire combien elle est surprise qu'une question de priorité intéressant un problème de cette importance n'ait été portée à notre connaissance qu'en séance de l'Assemblée générale. En effet, dans le cadre de notre groupe de travail — le groupe africain —, nous sommes en contact avec la délégation de la Nigéria

sur ce point précis et nous avons eu, pas plus tard que le 3 novembre 1961, des discussions à ce sujet. Le président de notre groupe pour le mois de novembre, le représentant de Madagascar, vient de nous informer à l'instant qu'une réunion du groupe africain est prévue pour ce soir à 18 heures; au cours de cette réunion le représentant de la Nigéria nous parlera de ce problème.

120. C'est en tenant compte de ce fait, et étant donné qu'il est capital, à nos yeux, que toutes les délégations africaines s'entendent sur ce point, que la délégation de la Guinée voudrait lancer un appel au représentant de la Nigéria pour que sa demande de priorité ne soit pas mise aux voix au cours de la séance actuelle, pour permettre au groupe africain de discuter la question. Nous avons des raisons de fond pour nous opposer à cette priorité et nous les évoquerons si nous y sommes contraints. Mais nous préférons, pour l'instant, lancer simplement un appel au représentant de la Nigéria pour que ne soient pas étalées à cette tribune des divergences africaines sur des questions essentielles et vitales pour l'émancipation de notre continent.

121. C'est pour cette raison que nous demandons au représentant de la Nigéria et aux membres de l'Assemblée de surseoir à toute décision jusqu'à ce que le groupe africain ait pu se réunir. Si cet appel n'était pas entendu, je demanderais à reprendre la parole pour exposer mes raisons de fond.

122. M. QUAISON-SACKY (Ghana) [traduit de l'anglais]: La délégation du Ghana juge assez malencontreux qu'un désaccord quelconque ait pu s'élever sur la question du colonialisme. Pour nous, le colonialisme, où qu'il se manifeste, est un phénomène inquié-

tant. Il est vrai que l'Afrique est le seul continent où l'on trouve encore de nombreux territoires coloniaux; aucun autre continent n'en compte autant, nous semble-t-il. Voilà pourquoi nous estimons que la question de l'Afrique dont nous avons appuyé, au Bureau [138ème séance] l'inscription à l'ordre du jour et dont nous avons demandé qu'elle soit discutée directement en séance plénière, revêt une grande importance. Cependant, comme l'a dit le représentant de la Guinée, il serait regrettable qu'il y ait un éparpillement des voix ou un différend causé par la divergence de vues entre les représentants de la Nigéria et de la Pologne.

123. Je viens d'être informé que le groupe africain tiendra une réunion à 18 heures. Il est maintenant 17 h 30 et je dépose donc une motion d'ajournement, en sorte que le groupe africain puisse se concerter et que nous puissions prendre définitivement position demain, ou lorsque le Président l'estimera à propos.

124. Le PRESIDENT: L'Assemblée est saisie d'une motion d'ajournement de la séance, soumise par le représentant du Ghana. Avant de la mettre aux voix, je tiens à préciser que le règlement intérieur ne prévoit pas de motion d'ajournement pour permettre à tel ou tel ensemble de délégations de se prononcer, étant donné que jusqu'à présent il n'y a pas, à l'Assemblée générale, de groupes reconnus comme tels.

125. Quoi qu'il en soit, nous sommes saisis d'une motion d'ajournement de la séance, que je mets immédiatement aux voix.

Par 78 voix contre zéro, avec 17 abstentions, la motion est adoptée.

La séance est levée à 17 h 35.



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Président: M. Mongi SLIM (Tunisie).

Décision concernant la procédure

1. M. RAKOTOMALALA (Madagascar): J'ai demandé la parole pour faire une brève déclaration au nom des 27 délégations des Etats africains. Ces délégations, soucieuses de contribuer à activer les travaux de notre assemblée, et désireuses également de montrer leur cohésion et leur solidarité lorsqu'il s'agit de problèmes aussi vitaux pour le monde et pour l'Afrique que ceux faisant l'objet des points 88 et 22 de l'ordre du jour, proposent que ces points fassent l'objet d'une discussion commune et, partant, d'un débat général unique.

2. Ces 27 délégations comprennent, bien entendu, la Nigéria, dont l'Assemblée connaît et apprécie l'ardent dévouement à la cause de la liberté dans le monde et à la défense de l'Afrique. De ce fait, je suis autorisé à déclarer que la demande de priorité qui a été présentée par la délégation nigérienne est retirée.

3. Le PRESIDENT: L'Assemblée est saisie d'une proposition de compromis tendant à faire discuter le point 88 de l'ordre du jour intitulé "La situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux" conjointement avec le point 22 de l'ordre du jour intitulé "Assistance à l'Afrique: a) Programme des Nations Unies pour l'indépendance".

4. La présidence constate qu'aucune délégation ne soulève d'objection à la proposition du représentant de Madagascar et considère que cette proposition est adoptée par l'Assemblée.

Il en est ainsi décidé.

POINTS 88 ET 22 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

La situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux (suite)

Assistance à l'Afrique:

a) Programme des Nations Unies pour l'indépendance

5. Le PRESIDENT: L'Assemblée va donc commencer la discussion commune des points 88 et 22 de l'ordre du jour. Nous discuterons les projets de résolution lorsque le débat sur les points eux-mêmes sera terminé. Il va de soi que chaque délégation pourra parler sur l'une ou l'autre de ces deux questions, ou sur les deux points à la fois, au moment où nous abordons le débat général, je voudrais attirer l'attention des membres de l'Assemblée sur le fait que d'importantes questions sont inscrites à notre ordre du jour et que nous devons essayer de mener nos travaux à bonne fin. Je lance donc un appel à toutes les délégations qui veulent participer à la discussion sur les points 88 et 22, a, de l'ordre du jour pour qu'elles se fassent inscrire le plus rapidement possible et soient prêtes à prendre la parole dans l'ordre de leur inscription. Je propose à ce sujet, sauf objection de la part de l'Assemblée, de clore la liste des orateurs pour le débat général sur ces deux questions le jeudi 9 novembre à 18 heures.

6. M. Henry Ford COOPER (Libéria) [traduit de l'anglais]: Je suis toujours au regret lorsque je ne partage pas les vues du Président; tel est le cas en ce moment: je demande au Président de ne clore la liste des orateurs que le vendredi 10 novembre. Il s'agit d'une question très importante pour les Etats africains, qui continuent à tenir des réunions sur cette question. Je vous demande donc instamment, Monsieur le Président, de ne clore la liste des orateurs que vendredi, au lieu de jeudi.

7. Le PRESIDENT: Compte tenu des observations formulées par le représentant du Libéria, la présidence ne voit aucun inconvénient à clore la liste des orateurs, pour le débat de ces deux questions, le vendredi 10 novembre à 18 heures.

Il en est ainsi décidé.

8. M. LAPINE (Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques) [traduit du russe]: Nous sommes heureux que le groupe africano-asiatique ait décidé de discuter en même temps les deux questions qui figurent à l'ordre du jour. En effet, elles sont étroitement liées.

9. Il y a un an exactement, à la quinzième session de l'Assemblée générale [869^e séance], M. N. S. Khrouchchev, chef du Gouvernement soviétique, lançait un appel à tous les Etats Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, pour qu'ils adoptent sans tarder une décision sur la liquidation complète et immédiate du système colonial.

"... rien ne peut arrêter la lutte des peuples pour leur libération, car c'est là un grand processus historique et irréversible qui se manifeste avec une force toujours croissante" [par. 172].

"L'histoire, toute l'évolution économique et politique du monde condamnent inexorablement l'anachronique et honteux régime colonial." [Par. 220.]

10. L'Union soviétique a toujours été et reste fidèle à sa politique de paix et de soutien de la lutte que les peuples asservis mènent pour leur indépendance nationale. Cette politique a été proclamée pour la première fois par le fondateur de l'Etat soviétique, V. I. Lénine, et elle a été constamment appliquée par le Gouvernement soviétique depuis l'instauration du pouvoir des Soviets, c'est-à-dire depuis 44 ans.

11. Je suis heureux de le mentionner le jour même où dans mon pays et dans le monde entier se célèbre le quarante-quatrième anniversaire de la grande révolution socialiste d'Octobre.

12. Cette politique de paix et de soutien de la lutte des peuples asservis a été récemment réaffirmée au cours du vingt-deuxième congrès du parti communiste de l'Union soviétique, parti qui compte 10 millions de membres. Dans son nouveau programme, qui a été approuvé par tout le peuple soviétique, le parti communiste de l'Union soviétique affirme qu'il a l'obligation internationale d'aider tous les peuples qui cherchent à obtenir et à consolider leur indépendance nationale et qui combattent pour la suppression totale du régime colonial.

13. Le peuple soviétique a gagné sa liberté au prix d'une lutte longue et opiniâtre contre le joug des grands propriétaires et des capitalistes et contre les interventions de l'impérialisme international. Les citoyens soviétiques, qui ont tant souffert eux-mêmes, suivent avec une sympathie sincère la lutte pour la libération des peuples coloniaux; ils appuient activement leur juste combat et sont convaincus que l'aube de la liberté et du bonheur doit maintenant poindre pour tous les peuples qui se trouvent encore sous la dépendance coloniale.

14. Les personnes ici présentes se rappellent les discussions passionnées et orageuses qui ont eu lieu, aux séances de l'Assemblée générale et hors des Nations Unies, à la suite de la proposition du Gouvernement soviétique sur la liquidation immédiate et complète du colonialisme. Les joutes oratoires qui ont marqué la session de l'ONU sont sans précédent dans l'histoire des organisations internationales. Les représentants des puissances coloniales ne voulaient pas accepter une intervention lourde de conséquences de l'Organisation des Nations Unies dans les affaires coloniales, qu'ils ont pris l'habitude de considérer comme relevant de leur compétence nationale. Ils ont accusé l'Union soviétique d'envenimer artificiellement les antagonismes internationaux. On a même tenté de prouver à cette même tribune que, depuis de longues années, les puissances coloniales n'avaient pas d'autre souci que prendre soin des peuples opprimés, et on nous a parlé de "mission civilisatrice", des "bienfaits" des puissances coloniales, etc.

15. Mais les défenseurs du colonialisme ont été couverts de honte. La discussion qui s'est déroulée devant l'Assemblée a arraché leur masque aux colonisateurs et a montré le vrai visage de ceux qui, pendant de longues années, ont asservi et pillé les peuples coloniaux et ont voué des millions d'êtres humains à la misère, à la faim et à la mort pour assurer les profits des monopoles impérialistes.

16. Vous vous rappelez avec quel acharnement les puissances coloniales se sont opposées à l'adoption de la Déclaration [résolution 1514 (XV)] qui a été proposée d'abord par l'Union soviétique et, ensuite, par un groupe de 43 Etats indépendants d'Asie et d'Afrique. Et ce ne fut que par crainte de se trouver

totallement isolés que les représentants des puissances coloniales ont été contraints de modifier leur tactique. Finalement, ils ont retiré leurs objections contre la discussion de la question coloniale en séance plénière, et ils se sont ensuite abstenus lors du vote de la Déclaration. Ils ne l'ont fait que lorsqu'ils ont été convaincus qu'ils n'étaient pas en mesure d'empêcher l'adoption de la résolution proclamant la nécessité de mettre fin au régime colonial.

17. L'adoption de la Déclaration par l'Assemblée générale a donné en quelque sorte une forme juridique aux demandes légitimes des peuples qui luttent pour leur indépendance nationale. Les guerres coloniales, la terreur et les mesures de répression exercées contre les combattants des mouvements de libération, les tentatives visant à démembrer les nouveaux Etats et à saper leur souveraineté, ne peuvent être considérées autrement que comme des violations flagrantes du droit international, comme des crimes contre l'humanité et comme un défi évident lancé à l'Organisation des Nations Unies.

18. La Déclaration sur la liquidation du colonialisme a reçu l'approbation des peuples, car la suppression du régime colonial écarte l'une des causes de guerre les plus dangereuses et contribue par là-même à améliorer la situation internationale et à consolider la paix et la sécurité entre Etats.

19. Cette déclaration a marqué le début de la dernière étape de la lutte pour la libération des peuples et elle représente un grand succès pour tous les peuples épris de liberté. Il y a une dizaine d'années, les colonisateurs n'imaginaient même pas qu'il leur faudrait, et très rapidement, dire adieu, non seulement à une ou à quelques-unes, mais à toutes leurs colonies. L'adoption de la Déclaration a démontré la force et l'influence croissantes des Etats pacifiques et elle a prouvé au monde entier que lorsque ces Etats s'unissent pour défendre une cause juste et forment un front unique, ils peuvent obliger l'Organisation des Nations Unies à servir les véritables intérêts de la paix et la cause de la libération des peuples du colonialisme.

20. L'année qui vient de s'écouler a été une période de lutte intense des peuples pour leur libération, et cette lutte a porté de nouveaux fruits. A la présente session, nous avons admis comme Membre de l'Organisation des Nations Unies le jeune Etat africain du Sierra Leone. On peut noter également avec satisfaction la fin du régime de tutelle au Cameroun britannique ainsi que la proclamation prochaine de l'indépendance du Tanganyika, du Samoa-Occidental et de l'Ouganda.

21. A propos de l'octroi de l'indépendance à ces pays, on a pu entendre des remarques sur la "bonne volonté" des colonisateurs. On a tenté de présenter la création des nouveaux Etats comme une manifestation de la générosité des puissances coloniales. Ces déclarations hypocrites ne peuvent tromper personne. Les peuples ont une assez bonne idée de la "générosité" des colonisateurs au vu des événements d'Algérie, d'Angola, du Sud-Ouest africain, du Kenya et de nombreuses autres régions où coule le sang des patriotes qui luttent pour la liberté et l'indépendance.

22. Les nouveaux pays dont nous avons tous salué les représentants à la dernière session ont aussi gagné leur liberté au prix d'une lutte très dure qui

leur a coûté d'innombrables victimes et de pénibles privations.

23. Si l'on ne prend pas les mesures les plus urgentes, le colonialisme peut encore causer beaucoup de nouvelles souffrances et faire d'autres victimes, entraîner la mort de millions d'êtres humains et susciter des conflits armés et des guerres, menaçant ainsi la paix et la sécurité internationales. Les puissances coloniales continuent à résister obstinément au puissant mouvement de libération des peuples. C'est pourquoi il est significatif que l'Assemblée générale ait décidé à sa présente session, sur proposition de l'Union soviétique, d'examiner la façon dont la Déclaration est appliquée et les mesures qu'il y a encore lieu de prendre pour accélérer la liquidation complète du régime colonial.

24. Ainsi que vous vous le rappelez, la Déclaration proclame solennellement que tous les peuples ont le droit de libre détermination et qu'en vertu de ce droit ils déterminent librement leur statut politique et poursuivent librement leur développement économique, social et culturel. En outre, elle se fonde sur un principe équitable, à savoir que le manque de préparation dans les domaines politique, économique ou social ou dans celui de l'enseignement ne doit jamais être pris comme prétexte pour retarder l'indépendance. Cependant, les colonisateurs se livrent encore à diverses manœuvres et inventent toutes sortes de prétextes pour retarder l'octroi aux peuples colonisés du droit à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance et pour freiner leur développement politique et économique.

25. Au cours de la discussion générale, à la présente session, certains représentants des puissances coloniales ont essayé de créer l'impression que le problème colonial aurait perdu de son acuité. Des déclarations d'apaisement ont été faites du haut de cette tribune; on nous a dit que le nombre actuel des habitants des territoires non autonomes constitue moins de 2 p. 100 de la population du monde. Mais que signifie ce chiffre de 2 p. 100? Cela représente plus de 70 millions d'êtres humains qui subiront encore la domination coloniale au 1er janvier 1962! Il s'agit de 88 territoires non autonomes. Sur ce nombre, 35 territoires, qui comptent 34 millions d'habitants, sont encore des colonies anglaises; 11 territoires, avec une population de 12 millions d'habitants, sont des colonies françaises; 8 territoires, avec 13 millions d'habitants, sont des colonies portugaises; 12 territoires appartiennent aux Etats-Unis, 5 à l'Espagne, 2 aux Pays-Bas, etc. Peut-on tolérer que 27 territoires coloniaux ou sous tutelle existent encore sur le grand continent africain et que plus de 50 millions d'Africains y vivent sous le joug colonial le plus cruel? On ne saurait non plus oublier que 16 territoires coloniaux comptant près de 10 millions d'habitants existent encore en Asie, qu'en Amérique il y a 17 colonies peuplées de 7 millions d'habitants, etc.

26. La Déclaration proclame la nécessité de mettre fin à toutes les actions armées et mesures de répression dirigées contre les peuples dépendants. Cependant, les puissances coloniales n'en tiennent pas compte.

27. Le colonialisme agonise. Cependant, comme un fauve gravement atteint, il résiste désespérément et cette résistance s'accompagne de crimes monstrueux contre l'humanité. Les guerres coloniales continuent à causer la mort de centaines de milliers

d'individus; le racisme et l'arbitraire policier se déchaînent dans les colonies et les territoires sous tutelle. Il est évident que les déclarations hypocrites sur la "bonne volonté" des colonisateurs ne sauraient aucunement masquer ces faits flagrants.

28. L'Assemblée générale doit se rendre compte exactement de ce qui se passe en Angola. Les colonisateurs portugais y mènent depuis deux ans déjà une guerre ouverte contre une population sans défense. Ils détruisent des villages entiers, des régions entières, et laissent derrière eux des incendies et des cendres. Plusieurs milliers d'Angolais ont été obligés de quitter leur patrie et de chercher refuge dans d'autres pays.

29. L'Organisation des Nations Unies dispose d'un nombre suffisant de témoignages autorisés qui prouvent que les bandes armées portugaises ont exterminé en Angola plus de 50 000 femmes, vieillards et enfants sans défense. Des documents effrayants — les photographies de patriotes angolais atrocement torturés — ont été présentés récemment à la Quatrième Commission. Les colonisateurs portugais ne jugent même pas nécessaire de dissimuler l'extermination en masse de la population autochtone. Le journal anglais *Daily Mirror* écrivait au mois de mai de cette année: "Ils se vantent maintenant publiquement de leur intention de tuer encore 100 000 Angolais". Et l'agence Reuter a communiqué de Lisbonne que le nouveau gouverneur de l'Angola, De Slandez, avait déclaré: "La seule alternative que nous leur offrons (c'est-à-dire aux patriotes angolais), c'est la capitulation librement consentie ou l'extermination".

30. Et tous ces événements ont lieu à notre époque, à un moment où les représentants des puissances coloniales nous parlent ici, aux Nations Unies, des nobles principes du "monde libre" et même de leur générosité à l'égard des peuples opprimés!

31. Il convient d'ajouter que la situation dans d'autres colonies portugaises, telles que le Mozambique et la Guinée portugaise, n'est pas meilleure qu'en Angola; le racisme y règne, la traite des esclaves existe encore et la population sans défense est exterminée.

32. On ne saurait parler sans tristesse et sans colère d'une date qui a été tout récemment marquée dans le monde entier: sept années se sont écoulées depuis le début de la guerre coloniale en Algérie. Près de 800 000 Algériens ont péri pendant cette période de guerre; plus de 200 000 patriotes ont été jetés en prison, près d'un million d'autochtones ont été enfermés de force dans des camps de concentration que l'on appelle des "camps de regroupement". Plus de 300 000 personnes ont été obligées de quitter leur patrie pour fuir les persécutions. Il n'existe pas de village algérien où les expéditions punitives n'aient pas laissé de traces sanglantes, ni de famille algérienne qui n'ait pas souffert du fait des colonisateurs.

33. La guerre d'Algérie n'a valu et ne pourra valoir aucun succès aux colonisateurs. Malgré sa supériorité militaire et économique et l'assistance de ses alliés de l'OTAN, la France n'est pas en mesure de briser la résistance du peuple algérien qui, aux prises avec les difficultés causées par la guerre et par la terreur, a pu créer son gouvernement et s'unir contre l'opresseur.

34. Depuis que la guerre d'Algérie est commencée, l'Assemblée générale s'est réunie sept fois et chaque

fois, ici, dans cette salle, on a entendu des appels pour faire cesser la guerre criminelle contre le peuple algérien. Jusqu'à quand la France et ses alliés militaires méconnaîtront-ils l'opinion de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, sa charte et ses décisions?

35. Les activités auxquelles se livrent les colonisateurs dans la République du Congo continuent à susciter de graves inquiétudes. Les puissances coloniales ne peuvent nullement se faire à l'idée que le peuple congolais défend son indépendance et l'intégrité territoriale de son jeune Etat en dépit de toutes les difficultés et de tous les obstacles.

36. Le Gouvernement national qui a été constitué dans la République du Congo a déclaré qu'il se considérait comme le successeur du premier gouvernement légitime de Patrice Lumumba, homme d'Etat éminent et héros national qui a été tué par les colonisateurs et par leurs mercenaires. Mais les colonisateurs poursuivent leurs manœuvres douteuses au Congo. Les résolutions du Conseil de sécurité et de l'Assemblée générale concernant ce pays sont restées jusqu'à présent lettre morte et les assassins de Patrice Lumumba et leurs complices ne sont toujours pas punis.

37. Malgré les décisions du Conseil de sécurité, des armements (y compris des avions d'origine belge, française, ouest-allemande ou anglaise) et de nombreux mercenaires sont dirigés vers le Katanga à travers la Rhodésie, le Congo (Brazzaville), l'Angola et d'autres Etats. Les monopoles étrangers et en premier lieu l'Union minière financent et arment la bande séparatiste de Tshombé et les autres agents des colonisateurs qui s'opposent à l'unité du Congo.

38. L'Union soviétique considère qu'il est grand temps de mettre fin aux interventions des puissances coloniales dans les affaires intérieures du Congo, de rattacher le Katanga au territoire de la République, de punir les assassins de Patrice Lumumba et des autres patriotes congolais, de retirer du territoire du Congo toutes les troupes étrangères, tous les mercenaires belges, français, sud-africains, rhodésiens et autres et de permettre ainsi au peuple et au gouvernement du Congo de disposer librement d'eux-mêmes.

39. Les actes des colonisateurs belges au Ruanda-Urundi constituent une violation flagrante de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux: la terreur policière règne dans le pays; des villes et des villages y sont occupés par les troupes belges. Le Premier Ministre, M. Rwagasore, y a été assassiné récemment. Les Belges persécutent les forces patriotiques du pays et continuent à piller ses richesses naturelles et à exploiter la population en s'appuyant sur un régime d'arbitraire policier. Pour cela, ils utilisent le régime de tutelle et usent des droits de la "puissance administrante". Cependant, ce régime a pris depuis longtemps la forme illégale de la domination coloniale. Rien ne le justifie et il devrait être liquidé avec l'ensemble du vieux système colonial. La suppression du régime de tutelle doit apporter l'indépendance totale non seulement au Ruanda-Urundi, mais aussi à la Nouvelle-Guinée, à l'île de Nauru, aux îles du Pacifique et à tous les autres territoires qui, sous divers prétextes, demeurent encore sous la dépendance des puissances impérialistes.

40. A entendre les représentants britanniques, on croirait presque, dans bien des cas, qu'ils sont par-

tisans de l'octroi de l'indépendance à leurs colonies. Cependant, le Royaume-Uni reste toujours la plus grande puissance coloniale et n'abandonne ses positions coloniales que sous la pression des mouvements de libération nationale.

41. Si le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni n'est pas opposé à l'octroi de l'indépendance aux colonies britanniques, pourquoi donc les colonisateurs anglais la refusent-ils encore au Kenya et à la Guyane britannique? Pourquoi l'aviation anglaise bombarde-t-elle des agglomérations pacifiques d'Aden oriental? Pourquoi cette guerre coloniale menée depuis six ans contre le peuple d'Oman? C'est un fait aussi que les troupes et la police britanniques se livrent à des représailles en masse contre la population de la Rhodésie du Nord.

42. La Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux interdit toutes les pratiques de ségrégation et de discrimination. Cependant, chacun sait que le racisme continue à sévir dans la République sud-africaine. La discrimination raciale et l'apartheid y sont mises au rang de politique gouvernementale. M. Verwoerd, premier ministre de la République sud-africaine, a déclaré avec cynisme au mois de mai de cette année que son gouvernement maintiendrait "la suprématie des blancs", en d'autres termes le racisme, l'arbitraire policier, la terreur et les mesures de répression à l'encontre de la grande majorité de la population.

43. M. Louw, ministre des affaires étrangères de la République sud-africaine, a payé, dans un discours prononcé à la présente session [1033ème séance], de citer en quelque sorte la politique raciste en exemple aux autres puissances coloniales. Ce discours révoltant a été condamné par la grande majorité des Etats Membres et seules les puissances coloniales ont refusé de s'associer à la décision de l'Assemblée générale stigmatisant l'intervention raciste de Louw.

44. L'Afrique du Sud a annexé le Territoire du Sud-Ouest africain et y a introduit le régime de discrimination raciale et l'arbitraire policier; l'esclavage y est pratiqué et la population locale est enfermée de force dans des "réserves" que rien ne distingue des camps de concentration hitlériens. On ne peut lire sans un sentiment de colère et d'indignation le rapport du Comité du Sud-Ouest africain, qui relate les tortures monstrueuses auxquelles on soumet la population autochtone.

45. La délégation soviétique appuie sans réserve la proposition tendant à exclure la République sud-africaine de l'Organisation des Nations Unies et à appliquer à cet Etat raciste des sanctions économiques, politiques et autres.

46. L'Assemblée générale doit s'opposer fermement aux tentatives obstinées de certaines puissances coloniales visant à maintenir leur domination dans des territoires qu'elles occupent illégalement et qui font partie intégrante d'autres Etats indépendants Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Jusqu'à quand les colonisateurs portugais vont-ils se conduire en maîtres à Goa et dans les autres territoires appartenant à l'Inde? Quand les colonisateurs espagnols quitteront-ils finalement les territoires qui appartiennent au Maroc? Jusqu'à quand les Indonésiens qui habitent l'Irian occidental devront-ils subir le joug des colonisateurs hollandais? Il faut rappeler ici encore une fois la disposition bien connue de la Déclaration: "Toute tentative visant à détruire partiel-

lement ou totalement l'unité nationale et l'intégrité territoriale d'un pays est incompatible avec les buts et les principes de la Charte des Nations Unies".

47. Les manœuvres auxquelles le Gouvernement néerlandais se livre actuellement ne sauraient tromper personne. L'Irian occidental est partie intégrante de l'Indonésie. Aussi, le droit à "l'autodétermination" que les autorités hollandaises proposent pour ce territoire n'a-t-il pour objet que de perpétuer en fait la domination des colonisateurs hollandais sur cette partie du territoire indonésien. Il est du devoir de l'Organisation des Nations Unies non seulement de rejeter le plan des Pays-Bas, mais encore d'exiger fermement du Gouvernement néerlandais qu'il mette immédiatement fin à l'occupation illégale de ce territoire étranger.

48. Un an s'est écoulé depuis l'adoption de la Déclaration sur la liquidation du colonialisme et il est manifeste que les puissances coloniales se sont abstenues l'année dernière au moment du vote dans l'espoir qu'elles pourraient — à parler franchement — méconnaître la décision de l'Assemblée générale et garder leur liberté d'action à l'égard des pays colonisés. Les puissances coloniales ne veulent pas céder leurs positions de bon gré. Au front mondial anti-colonialiste, elles opposent le front de leurs forces armées, de leurs alliances et de leurs bases militaires, de leurs forces de police et de tous les autres moyens de lutte contre les peuples coloniaux. La consolidation des sombres forces du colonialisme peut être décelée partout où les peuples opprimés ont engagé le combat pour leur libération.

49. Un pays politiquement et économiquement arriéré comme le Portugal pourrait-il résister aux forces nationales vigoureuses et croissantes de l'Angola si les colonisateurs portugais ne recevaient pas une assistance continue de la part de leurs alliés de l'OTAN? Les faits qui ont été cités lors des débats de l'Assemblée prouvent que les troupes portugaises utilisent dans la guerre contre l'Angola des armes en provenance des Etats-Unis ou d'Allemagne occidentale. Ce sont des avions de fabrication américaine qui lancent des bombes américaines au napalm sur les villes et les villages d'Angola. Pour mener la guerre en Angola, le Portugal reçoit des crédits américains.

50. Est-il nécessaire de prouver que, sans l'assistance des Etats-Unis et de ses autres alliés militaires, en particulier de l'Allemagne occidentale, la France n'aurait pas été en mesure de continuer aussi longtemps la guerre contre le peuple algérien? La France mène cette guerre à l'aide d'armes américaines modernes que lui fournit l'OTAN, et grâce aux crédits des Etats-Unis et de l'Allemagne occidentale.

51. Les événements du Congo ont clairement montré au monde entier que, malgré les divergences et les contradictions qui existent entre les monopoles des puissances impérialistes, les gouvernements de ces puissances se mettent rapidement d'accord lorsqu'il s'agit de mesures communes à prendre pour sauvegarder les intérêts de telle ou telle d'entre elles qui se trouve menacée par la pression du mouvement de libération nationale. Si les colonisateurs belges du Congo n'avaient pas reçu à temps l'aide des colonisateurs américains, anglais et français, qui ont utilisé, à cet effet, l'Organisation des Nations Unies, le peuple congolais aurait su les chasser depuis long-

temps et consolider l'unité nationale et l'indépendance de son Etat.

52. De nombreux représentants qui sont intervenus ici lors de la discussion sur l'apartheid en Afrique du Sud et sur la situation au Sud-Ouest africain ont demandé comment il se fait que l'Organisation des Nations Unies examine cette question depuis plus de 10 ans déjà sans aboutir à un résultat quelconque et que le gouvernement raciste de la République sud-africaine méconnaisse impunément toutes les décisions de l'Assemblée générale. La réponse est simple: les principales puissances coloniales, c'est-à-dire les Etats-Unis et l'Angleterre, soutiennent en fait la République sud-africaine et empêchent l'Organisation des Nations Unies de prendre des décisions, des mesures et des sanctions susceptibles de contraindre le gouvernement de ce pays à tenir compte de l'opinion publique mondiale.

53. Les puissances coloniales, que leur lutte commune contre le mouvement de libération nationale rend étroitement solidaires, comptent de plus en plus ouvertement sur les blocs coloniaux militaires et sur les bases militaires qui sont devenues les citadelles du colonialisme et qui subsistent même dans les anciennes colonies devenues indépendantes.

54. L'année dernière, les impérialistes belges ont utilisé la base militaire de Kamina comme point de départ de leur agression contre la République du Congo. C'est de là qu'ils ont lancé des opérations militaires ayant pour objet de séparer la province du Katanga de la République du Congo. Tout récemment, la base militaire française de Bizerte a servi à lancer une agression contre la Tunisie. Les autorités françaises ont conservé cette base pour exercer une pression sur tous les pays du Maghreb. Les milieux dirigeants français se sont réservé le droit de garder la base militaire de Diégo-Suarez et d'autres points d'appui situés à Madagascar, île qui, disent-ils, est un navire porte-avions tourné vers l'océan Indien; les autorités françaises renforcent leurs bases militaires en Mauritanie, au Niger et au Tchad; ces bases sont pointées vers l'Algérie.

55. Les colonisateurs anglais utilisent la base militaire de Kahava au Kenya pour maintenir leur domination dans ce pays et s'aventurer à main armée dans les pays voisins. Malgré les protestations des partis politiques du Kenya, les Anglais renforcent et élargissent ce point d'appui du colonialisme. La base militaire de Moukala, à Aden, permet aux avions britanniques de bombarder les villes et les villages d'Oman. Les Anglais ont mis à la disposition des Etats-Unis des territoires situés dans la mer des Antilles pour qu'ils y construisent des bases militaires.

56. Il est universellement connu que ce sont les bases américaines situées à Porto Rico ou dans d'autres pays latino-américains qui ont servi à l'agression contre Cuba. Les colonisateurs américains conservent leurs bases militaires sur des territoires étrangers, même lorsque les gouvernements légitimes de ces pays en exigent l'évacuation. Les autorités françaises et anglaises agissent avec la même arrogance et foulent aux pieds les normes internationales et la souveraineté des petits pays.

57. Ainsi, d'une part, les représentants des puissances coloniales ont tendance à affirmer ici que c'en est pratiquement fini du colonialisme et ils parlent de leur "bonne volonté"; d'autre part, ils conservent, renforcent et agrandissent leurs bases militaires en

territoire étranger et créent de nouvelles bases dirigées contre les pays colonisés et les Etats qui ont récemment accédé à l'indépendance.

58. Ce sont les actions concertées des alliances militaires et coloniales et le réseau des bases militaires qui révèlent peut-être le plus éloquemment les véritables intentions des puissances coloniales et leurs plans à l'égard des peuples colonisés et des nouveaux Etats.

59. Avant d'accorder l'indépendance à un pays quelconque, les puissances coloniales mettent en œuvre leurs forces armées, leur puissance économique et leurs relations commerciales et autres pour tisser autour de lui un réseau de traités, accords et engagements inégaux; ils concluent des arrangements avec les forces réactionnaires du pays et s'infiltrer partout. Leur objectif est de maintenir leur influence pendant de longues années, de conserver les leviers économiques et de continuer à exploiter la population et les richesses naturelles.

60. De nombreuses colonies possèdent d'immenses richesses naturelles dont les monopoles étrangers tirent profit; mais quand elles accèdent à l'indépendance, elles se trouvent invariablement débitrices des puissances coloniales. Par exemple, à la veille de son indépendance, le Congo (Brazzaville) avait un déficit commercial de plus de 10 milliards de francs africains; quant à celui de la République du Tchad, il dépassait 3 milliards de francs. Le Dahomey, la Haute-Volta et d'autres pays se sont trouvés dans une situation analogue.

61. Tous les nouveaux Etats éprouvent actuellement de grandes difficultés en raison de l'écart entre les prix des produits agricoles et ceux des produits manufacturés. Au cours de la discussion générale, les représentants des pays africano-asiatiques ont noté avec une grande inquiétude que cet écart ne cessait d'augmenter. Par exemple, d'après le représentant de la République centrafricaine, au cours des six dernières années, les prix des produits agricoles exportés par les pays africains n'ont augmenté que de 11 p. 100, alors que les prix des produits en provenance des pays capitalistes se sont accrus de 42 p. 100, soit quatre fois plus que les premiers. Grâce à la politique des prix et au taux défavorable de l'échange, les monopoles des Etats-Unis et de l'Europe occidentale exploitent de plus en plus les pays colonisés et les pays économiquement peu développés.

62. Un grave danger menace l'indépendance économique des pays africains: il s'agit des efforts qu'on déploie pour les entraîner dans la Communauté économique européenne. On veut ainsi en faire des fournisseurs de matières premières à bon marché pour l'industrie européenne et subordonner leur politique aux objectifs de l'OTAN qui, comme on sait, s'appuie largement sur les ressources de la Communauté économique européenne. La participation des Etats africains à la Communauté ne ferait qu'accentuer la différence entre les prix agricoles et les prix industriels, différence qui grève déjà lourdement l'économie des jeunes Etats. Par conséquent, la tentative des pays impérialistes d'entraîner les pays africains dans la Communauté économique européenne répond aux vieux objectifs colonialistes: maintenir les pays peu développés dans le rôle de producteurs de matières premières agricoles, exploiter leurs populations, conserver les profits excessifs résultant du déséquilibre du taux de l'échange.

63. Pourtant, les puissances impérialistes font du battage autour de la prétendue assistance qu'elles accordent aux pays peu développés. Mais de quelle "assistance" s'agit-il? Qui donc bénéficie des crédits, des prêts et de l'assistance technique octroyés par les Gouvernements des Etats-Unis, du Royaume-Uni, de la France et des autres puissances coloniales? Ce sont avant tout leurs monopoles et leurs consortiums, qui continuent à piller les peuples des pays peu développés en réalisant des bénéfices fabuleux.

64. Car c'est un fait que, de 1946 à 1959, chaque dollar investi dans les pays peu développés a rapporté aux Etats-Unis deux dollars et demi de bénéfice. D'après les calculs des économistes soviétiques, les monopoles des Etats-Unis et des autres puissances occidentales retirent 20 milliards de dollars par an des pays peu développés. Ce n'est pas par hasard que les monopoles américains s'infiltrer avec une telle persistance dans les pays nouvellement indépendants. Ils font pression sur leurs partenaires, les anciens colonisateurs, obtiennent des concessions, s'assurent des privilèges, imposent aux gouvernements des jeunes Etats toutes sortes d'accords de coopération économique, créent des "zones monétaires", des "unions douanières" dont ils tirent profit, etc.

65. Cependant, cette course effrénée aux profits se heurte maintenant aux nouvelles relations économiques entre pays peu développés et pays socialistes fondées sur l'assistance désintéressée et la coopération dans l'égalité des droits; aussi les rois des monopoles et ceux qui sont à leur service dans les gouvernements entrent-ils en fureur. Ils dénoncent à grands cris le danger et l'expansion communistes, alors qu'il s'agit simplement d'assistance économique et de coopération commerciale.

66. L'Union soviétique et le système socialiste mondial ont en effet mis fin au monopole des puissances impérialistes en ce qui concerne la fourniture de biens d'équipement, l'octroi de crédits et de prêts, l'expérience et les connaissances techniques. Le monde entier sait que les pays socialistes apportent aux Etats peu développés une assistance désintéressée, exempte de toute condition politique. Les Etats socialistes considèrent que c'est pour eux une obligation internationale d'aider les pays peu développés, ils sont animés par des sentiments de solidarité à l'égard des peuples de ces pays, qui luttent pour l'indépendance économique complète et pour la liquidation rapide des pénibles conséquences que le colonialisme a entraînées dans les domaines de l'économie, de l'instruction, de la science et de la culture.

67. En faisant obstacle par tous les moyens aux relations économiques croissantes entre les nouveaux Etats et les pays socialistes, les impérialistes cherchent à maintenir les anciennes colonies et semi-colonies dans le système économique capitaliste. Ils s'efforcent d'y consolider la position d'infériorité de ces Etats. C'est l'impérialisme des Etats-Unis d'Amérique qui est le principal rempart du colonialisme moderne. Les monopoles américains et la politique militariste des Etats-Unis dirigent l'action des blocs militaires et coloniaux contre les mouvements de libération nationale et contre la souveraineté des jeunes Etats. Les impérialistes américains continuent à renforcer le réseau des bases militaires dans les régions des ex-empires coloniaux, où l'esprit de la lutte libératrice n'a pas disparu. Le Pentagone crée de nouvelles formations aéroportées, qu'on appelle

"brigades de pompiers", "unités spéciales", etc., pour écraser la résistance des peuples opprimés et dépendants.

68. En un mot tous les moyens — guerre coloniale, blocs militaires, conspiration, terreur, sabotage, pression économique, corruption — sont mis en œuvre pour maintenir sous la domination des puissances impérialistes les peuples qui se sont libérés, pour faire en sorte que l'indépendance qu'ils ont conquise soit purement nominale ou pour les priver de cette indépendance.

69. La République fédérale d'Allemagne s'est jointe au front des pays impérialistes. Cet Etat revancharde et militariste aide la France dans sa lutte coloniale contre le peuple algérien et lui a accordé un crédit de 2 milliards de marks à cet effet. Des anciens SS jouent un rôle actif dans les légions étrangères de France, d'Espagne, de Belgique et d'autres puissances coloniales. L'Allemagne occidentale, d'après les informations de presse, a participé aux expériences nucléaires françaises en Afrique. Les monopoles de l'Allemagne occidentale, étroitement liés à ceux des Etats-Unis, agissent de concert dans de nombreux pays coloniaux et peu développés. Certains milieux de l'Allemagne occidentale nourrissent encore l'espoir de rétablir et même d'agrandir l'ancien empire colonial de l'Allemagne du Kaiser. Et c'est justement à partir de l'Allemagne occidentale que continuent à se répandre les idées et les théories racistes, haineuses, les idées de militarisme et de revanche.

70. Cependant, quels que soient les efforts conjugués des puissances impérialistes, ils ne sauraient arrêter l'offensive finale contre le colonialisme. Le front uni de la lutte contre le honteux esclavage colonial croît et se renforce. Ce n'est pas un fait du hasard si, au cours des dernières années, les impérialistes n'ont pu attirer, dans leurs blocs militaires, aucun des nouveaux Etats d'Asie et d'Afrique.

71. Chaque jour voit s'intensifier la lutte pour l'indépendance politique et pour un développement économique autonome répondant aux intérêts du peuple, et non à ceux des monopoles étrangers. Les pays libérés du joug colonial comprennent de mieux en mieux la signification historique de la noble voie qu'ont tracée les peuples de l'Union soviétique et des autres pays socialistes.

72. L'intérêt grandissant que l'on porte aux républiques socialistes de l'Asie centrale et d'autres régions de l'Union soviétique qui, en évitant le stade pénible du capitalisme, ont obtenu des succès sans précédent dans les domaines de l'économie nationale, de l'instruction, de la science, de la culture et de l'art, est significatif. Aucune propagande anticomuniste ne peut supprimer ou atténuer l'attrait irrésistible que l'expérience magnifique des pays socialistes exerce sur les peuples hier encore assujettis. Ceux-ci y voient de plus en plus clairement l'exemple à suivre pour développer leur indépendance nationale d'une manière susceptible d'assurer leur bonheur et leur prospérité.

73. L'Union soviétique et les autres pays socialistes n'ont pas l'intention d'intervenir dans les affaires intérieures des jeunes Etats et d'imposer le socialisme à quiconque. Les idées socialistes trouvent toutes seules leur chemin vers le cœur des peuples qui ont acquis l'indépendance nationale et de ceux qui luttent encore pour leur libération du joug colonial.

74. La marche victorieuse de ces idées ne saurait être arrêtée ni par les bases militaires ni par les blocs agressifs des puissances impérialistes.

75. La Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux est la condamnation à mort du colonialisme. Mais l'exécution de ce verdict exige de nouveaux efforts concertés de la part de tous les peuples du monde. L'Assemblée générale doit achever l'œuvre qu'elle a si bien commencée à la session précédente.

76. Désormais, l'objectif principal consiste à traduire dans les faits la volonté des peuples, telle qu'elle est exprimée dans la Déclaration de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, afin que les dispositions qu'elle contient ne restent pas lettre morte.

77. L'Union soviétique estime que l'Assemblée générale, à sa seizième session, doit adopter une résolution prévoyant des mesures concrètes pour l'application de la Déclaration. Et tout d'abord, il faut fixer la date limite de la liquidation complète et définitive du régime colonial. On sait que la Déclaration ne comporte pas de clause à cet effet. Les colonisateurs en profitent pour maintenir leur domination sur les colonies en recourant à toutes sortes de prétextes.

78. La Conférence de Belgrade des pays non alignés a été d'avis que 1962 devait être l'année de la liquidation définitive du colonialisme partout où il existe encore. Nous proposons que la liquidation définitive et inconditionnelle du colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations soit achevée à la fin de 1962 au plus tard.

79. Pourquoi cette année-là? Nous partons du principe bien connu de la Déclaration du 14 décembre 1960 selon lequel "le manque de préparation dans les domaines politique, économique ou social... ne doit jamais être pris comme prétexte pour retarder l'indépendance". Il n'y a pas à l'heure actuelle de peuples qui ne soient mûrs pour la liberté; il n'y a que des colonisateurs qui s'opposent à l'octroi de l'indépendance. L'expérience a montré de façon concluante combien il était faux de prétendre que les peuples colonisés ont besoin d'une préparation spéciale pour accéder à l'indépendance. A une certaine époque, les défenseurs du colonialisme ont essayé d'appliquer ce système, si l'on peut l'appeler ainsi, aux peuples de l'Asie, mais ceux-ci n'ont pas jugé bon de les écouter. Ils ont chassé les colonisateurs et, grâce à la création d'Etats indépendants, ils développent avec succès leur économie et leur culture et jouissent d'une grande autorité sur la scène internationale. On peut en dire autant des Etats d'Afrique. On essaye de nous convaincre que les Africains ne sont pas encore mûrs pour l'indépendance, qu'ils ne seraient pas en état d'assurer le fonctionnement complexe de l'administration de l'Etat. Pourtant, combien d'hommes d'Etat et d'hommes politiques éminents l'Afrique a-t-elle déjà donnés! Les représentants des jeunes Etats d'Afrique dont nous écoutons avec intérêt les brillants discours sont-ils donc en quoi que ce soit inférieurs à nous autres, formés à l'école de la diplomatie européenne? L'histoire des jeunes Etats d'Asie et d'Afrique a montré de façon évidente le haut degré d'épanouissement culturel et spirituel qu'atteignent les peuples lorsqu'ils rejettent le joug colonial, redressent la tête et commencent à s'exprimer à haute voix.

L'histoire de ces Etats prouve justement que les régimes coloniaux, loin de préparer ces peuples à "l'autonomie", freinent de toutes les manières possibles le processus naturel de leur développement économique, politique, social et culturel.

80. Certains prétendent que, dans le cas de l'Afrique, par exemple, il faudrait reculer la date de l'octroi de l'indépendance de presque 10 ans! Cela signifierait que nous devons nous résigner à ce que la population du Sud-Ouest africain subisse pendant de nombreuses années encore la barbarie moyenâgeuse des racistes sud-africains, à ce que les peuples du Kenya et de la Rhodésie du Nord vivent dans la terreur et soient victimes de mesures de répression. Non, nous manquerions à notre devoir devant l'humanité si nous continuions à tolérer l'existence du colonialisme. Voilà pourquoi nous proposons que le système colonial soit complètement liquidé dans le monde entier à la fin de 1962. Nous croyons que cette proposition trouvera un appui unanime.

81. Mais il ne suffit pas de fixer une date. Il faut encore préciser de façon concrète les mesures à prendre entre-temps, dans tous les territoires non autonomes, pour assurer l'application de la Déclaration.

82. Tout d'abord, l'Organisation des Nations Unies doit exiger qu'il soit mis fin immédiatement à toutes les guerres coloniales et à toutes les mesures de répression exercées contre les combattants des mouvements de libération nationale.

83. L'Organisation ne peut rester indifférente devant la juste lutte de ces peuples et elle doit exiger des colonisateurs qu'ils se soumettent à la volonté exprimée dans la Déclaration. De plus, il est indispensable que les gouvernements des puissances coloniales comprennent qu'ils risquent de s'attirer les sanctions prévues par la Charte des Nations Unies s'ils continuent à méconnaître à l'avenir les décisions de l'Organisation. En particulier, ces sanctions doivent être appliquées dès à présent au Portugal, qui refuse de se conformer à la demande de l'Organisation des Nations Unies et de cesser sa guerre criminelle contre l'Angola.

84. Il faut souligner l'absolue nécessité de retirer immédiatement des territoires coloniaux toutes les troupes des puissances coloniales, de dissoudre toutes les formations paramilitaires étrangères et de liquider complètement les bases militaires étrangères dans les territoires non autonomes et partout où elles servent à exercer des pressions sur les jeunes Etats.

85. Nous pensons également que l'Organisation des Nations Unies doit exiger l'abrogation de tous les accords — y compris les accords secrets — qui ont été conclus avec les territoires non autonomes dans le dessein de limiter la souveraineté des futurs Etats indépendants.

86. Si nous soulevons cette question, c'est parce que les colonisateurs ont commencé à appliquer une nouvelle méthode pour "moderniser" en quelque sorte le régime colonial décrépit: lorsqu'ils se rendent compte que leur domination dans un pays quelconque touche à sa fin, ils cherchent à y préserver leurs positions de toutes les manières possibles. Ils tissent autour des colonies un réseau de traités et accords divers qui limitent directement ou indirectement la souveraineté du futur Etat indépendant.

87. Avant tout, ils se réservent des privilèges pour leurs monopoles et le "droit" pour ceux-ci de conserver les concessions qui leur avaient été précédemment accordées, et ils imposent aux nouveaux Etats l'obligation d'aligner entièrement leur politique économique, monétaire et financière sur celle de l'ex-métropole. Les puissances coloniales essayent de poser comme condition à l'octroi de l'indépendance la conclusion de diverses conventions prévoyant une prétendue "coopération" avec la métropole en matière de politique étrangère, de défense, etc., qui ont pour but de limiter la souveraineté des jeunes Etats et de les attirer d'une façon ou d'une autre dans les blocs agressifs militaires et politiques des puissances occidentales. Nous savons que, dans certains cas, les dirigeants politiques des Etats dépendants ont été obligés de signer des conventions de ce genre afin d'obtenir l'indépendance de leurs pays. Mais nous jugeons absolument inadmissible que les puissances coloniales continuent d'imposer des accords de ce genre aux Etats dépendants et fassent renaître ainsi le colonialisme sous de nouvelles formes.

M. Quaison-Sackey (Ghana), vice-président, prend la présidence.

88. Il faut aussi exiger l'abrogation immédiate des actes par lesquels les puissances administrantes annexent des territoires non autonomes ou des parties intégrantes de ces territoires, et interdire de tels actes à l'avenir.

89. Enfin, nous estimons que l'Organisation des Nations Unies doit demander aux puissances administrantes d'accorder sans délai des droits et des libertés démocratiques étendus aux populations de tous les territoires non autonomes, de créer toutes les conditions nécessaires pour le transfert des pleins pouvoirs à la population locale et d'abroger toutes les lois et dispositions qui prévoient une discrimination raciale, religieuse, etc. Selon nous, il faut octroyer aux peuples dépendants les droits et les libertés démocratiques les plus larges, y compris la liberté de parole, de presse, de réunion, ainsi que le droit d'élire leurs organes de gouvernement au suffrage universel.

90. C'est là le minimum que l'Organisation des Nations Unies doit faire pour s'acquitter de la noble mission que représente la liquidation du colonialisme.

91. Pour assurer l'exécution de toutes ces mesures, l'Organisation des Nations Unies doit exercer un contrôle sévère et inlassable. C'est pourquoi le Gouvernement soviétique propose de créer une commission spéciale de l'ONU composée de représentants des principaux groupes d'Etats, qui sera chargée d'examiner en détail la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration, et les mesures propres à mettre cette déclaration en œuvre. Cette commission comprendra avant tout des représentants des Etats qui ont porté tout le fardeau du joug colonial et qui, de ce fait, ont acquis une vaste expérience en matière de lutte contre le colonialisme et de création d'Etats indépendants.

92. Les propositions du Gouvernement soviétique figurent dans le projet de résolution de l'Assemblée générale [A/L.355] intitulé "La situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux", que la délégation de l'Union soviétique recommande à votre attention.

93. La suppression du colonialisme est l'un des problèmes les plus importants de notre époque et des

millions d'hommes, l'humanité tout entière, ont intérêt à ce qu'il soit résolu sans tarder. Les peuples des colonies obtiendront enfin la liberté à laquelle ils aspirent et pourront jouir du droit naturel de décider librement de leur destin. La destruction des points d'appui du colonialisme éliminera l'une des sources les plus dangereuses de conflits militaires et assainira considérablement la situation internationale. La liquidation définitive et complète du colonialisme permettra d'établir entre tous les pays et tous les peuples des relations fondées sur une égalité réelle, de renforcer l'amitié et la coopération entre tous les peuples de la terre et de conserver et de consolider la paix dans le monde.

94. M. MALALASEKERA (Ceylan) [traduit de l'anglais]: Depuis qu'à sa quinzième session l'Assemblée générale a adopté sa déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux [résolution 1514 (XV)], certains événements se sont produits qui ont confirmé combien cette déclaration était nécessaire. Les auteurs de cette résolution et ceux qui en ont pris l'initiative, comme ceux qui ont voté en faveur de son adoption, peuvent éprouver à juste titre un sentiment de satisfaction à la pensée que la Déclaration a pris place dans l'histoire de l'évolution du colonialisme et, bien entendu, dans l'histoire des activités des Nations Unies, qui s'inspirent des objectifs exaltants énoncés aux Chapitres XI, XII et XIII de la Charte.

95. Parmi les événements qui sont pour ma délégation une source de satisfaction particulière, il faut citer l'admission au sein de la communauté internationale du Sierra Leone qui est passé du statut de colonie au statut de pleine souveraineté. Le passage de la tutelle à l'indépendance dans l'ordre et la légalité n'est plus qu'une question de semaines pour le Tanganyika que nous espérons voir admis parmi nous peut-être au cours de la présente session. La question de l'avenir du Territoire sous tutelle du Ruanda-Urundi semble aussi entrer dans une phase de conclusion positive et nous espérons vivement que cette solution sera conforme à l'objectif premier de la mission sacrée du régime de tutelle, celui de la primauté des intérêts de la population.

96. Le continent africain n'est pas la seule partie du monde d'où nous parvenons de bonnes nouvelles de cet ordre. L'indépendance sera reconnue également au Samoa-Occidental dans un très proche avenir et nous espérons que ce peuple pacifique jouira de sa liberté dans le bonheur et fera rayonner sur le reste du monde cette sérénité pour laquelle il est célèbre. Nous espérons aussi que dans d'autres régions, pour lesquelles la solution des problèmes s'entrevoit mais reste encore voilée par certaines complications, il sera possible d'aboutir bientôt à des conclusions de nature à satisfaire les populations qui aspirent à un avenir meilleur.

97. Nous nous trouvons donc en présence d'événements réels et d'espoirs solidement fondés qui indiquent les uns comme les autres que la Déclaration a permis d'aboutir à des résultats tangibles. Je n'ai nullement l'intention de discuter avec ceux qui pourraient prétendre que ces événements se seraient produits de toute façon et que, même s'il n'y avait pas la Déclaration, l'histoire suivrait son cours et entraînerait en tout état de cause la disparition du colonialisme, phase historique caractérisée par des erreurs politiques et par un traitement indigne de la personne humaine. Que cela soit vrai ou faux, ceux qui vou-

draient minimiser les répercussions immédiates de la Déclaration doivent cependant reconnaître que cette déclaration n'a pas été imaginée impulsivement, mais qu'elle a été précédée par une lutte de l'homme, lutte matérielle, émotive et morale, et qu'elle est devenue un impératif international, tirant son origine des aspirations de ceux qui étaient opprimés et de ceux qui, bien que libres, ont consacré leur vie et leurs efforts à l'abolition du colonialisme. Il faut reconnaître que les puissances coloniales elles-mêmes, s'étant rendu compte de la violence de ce vent de révolution, ont aussi en maintes occasions pris conscience des réalités de la vie, ont eu la sagesse de satisfaire les exigences des populations et se sont montrées à la hauteur de leur tâche en élaborant d'avance les phases préparatoires et les phases initiales du transfert des pouvoirs. Il convient de rendre hommage comme il se doit à de telles attitudes clairvoyantes et de reconnaître, à cet égard, la sagesse dont ont fait preuve le Royaume-Uni, les Etats-Unis, la Nouvelle-Zélande et la France.

98. Nous sommes enclins, certes, à décerner des louanges méritées et il nous est agréable de le faire, mais nous sommes prêts aussi à infliger, quoique sans plaisir, le blâme justifié. Le monde n'est pas encore débarrassé du colonialisme, bien qu'il n'y ait plus actuellement que 50 millions de personnes sous domination étrangère, contre 800 millions en 1946, à la création de l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Le progrès accompli est en soi remarquable, mais il reste encore presque 70 territoires sur la liste des territoires non autonomes et pour la plupart d'entre eux les puissances administrantes n'ont pas encore pris nettement position quant à leur avenir. Dans certains cas, nous avons entendu des déclarations négatives tant au sein de l'Assemblée que dans d'autres organes des Nations Unies et ma délégation, comme beaucoup d'autres, est très préoccupée de cet état de choses. A ce sujet, je ne cacherai pas que je pense au Gouvernement de l'Afrique du Sud qui pratique ouvertement et avec une obstination entêtée la discrimination raciale au Sud-Ouest africain, et que je pense aussi au Gouvernement du Portugal qui a provoqué le soulèvement de nations africaines opprimées, en appliquant des méthodes coloniales de l'âge médiéval, et qui réprime maintenant l'insurrection avec une cruauté implacable par les bombes, les balles, le feu, l'emprisonnement et les exécutions. Ma délégation estime que l'Organisation des Nations Unies ne peut continuer à rester le témoin muet de la barbarie des coupables et des souffrances tragiques des victimes.

99. Comme je l'ai déjà indiqué, il existe encore près de 70 territoires soumis au régime colonial. La situation dans certains de ces territoires n'offre pas toujours le spectacle d'une répression aussi radicalement draconienne que dans les cas que je viens de citer, mais, dans l'esprit de notre temps, elle est cependant totalement anachronique.

100. De l'avis de ma délégation, nous devons nous proposer surtout, en examinant la question dont nous sommes saisis, d'éliminer cet anachronisme une fois pour toutes et de rendre la dignité, le droit à l'autodétermination et l'indépendance à tous ceux qui, à un moment ou à un autre, ont perdu ces biens et ces droits élémentaires de la personne humaine à la suite d'une défaite infligée par la force matérielle.

101. La Déclaration que l'Assemblée générale a adoptée l'an dernier [résolution 1514 (XV)] énonce un

ensemble de principes qui sont en parfait accord avec les principes de la Charte et qui, pour donner des résultats efficaces et tangibles, doivent, comme tous les principes, se traduire en une action réaliste clairement définie. On a déjà souligné nettement la nécessité d'une action de ce genre lors de la quinzième session de l'Assemblée générale, au cours de laquelle la Quatrième Commission, la Première Commission et l'Assemblée elle-même ont manifesté l'intention d'aborder cette question de façon concrète. C'est uniquement en raison de l'ordre du jour très chargé de l'Assemblée à sa dernière session qu'il n'a pas été possible de prendre une décision. A cet égard, je me permettrai de renvoyer les membres de l'Assemblée au procès-verbal de la 995ème séance plénière, au cours de laquelle cette opinion a été exprimée.

102. Ma délégation est fermement convaincue qu'une décision est nécessaire et je me propose de présenter dans un instant quelques suggestions quant à sa nature.

103. Auparavant, je ne puis m'abstenir d'adresser à tous les Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies l'appel le plus énergique, en leur demandant de reconnaître que le colonialisme est une question trop importante en soi, trop pénible et trop grave, pour que nous la considérions comme un aspect du conflit qui oppose les grandes puissances ou encore, pour employer une expression courante, que nous la mêlions aux différends de la guerre froide. Ma délégation est d'avis qu'abstraction faite des autres périls de portée internationale, si la lutte pour l'abolition complète et inconditionnelle du colonialisme n'est pas poursuivie pour sa propre cause, on risque de perdre de vue la seule et unique fin si admirablement formulée dans la Charte: la primauté des intérêts et de la prospérité des habitants des territoires dépendants. Rien ne doit ni ne peut nous faire perdre cette fin de vue et tout ce qu'on peut y adjoindre accessoirement risquerait justement d'avoir cette conséquence.

104. Nous n'avons pas à chercher bien loin pour trouver la preuve de la vérité de cette prémisse. Les diverses phases de la tragédie qu'a connue le Congo (Léopoldville), ancien territoire non autonome sous administration de la Belgique, nous apparaissent comme l'exemple le plus déplorable de la manière dont la convoitise et l'ambition peuvent rendre vain ou illusoire le potentiel de prospérité et de bien-être, par ailleurs excellent, d'un pays doté de richesses naturelles et de solides ressources humaines. Il faut en outre faire en sorte que les souffrances endurées par des milliers d'êtres humains et le sacrifice de M. Lumumba, de notre Secrétaire général et d'autres fonctionnaires des Nations Unies, et plus récemment celui du prince Rwagasore, premier ministre du Burundi, entre autres, servent à tout le moins à décourager ceux qui se prépareraient à répéter des actes analogues qu'il faut considérer comme des méfaits du colonialisme.

105. Compte tenu des opinions que je viens de formuler et qui constituent le cadre général dans lequel ma délégation se propose d'aborder la question de l'application de la Déclaration sur l'indépendance, je désire présenter quelques remarques sur certains détails relatifs à l'application de la Déclaration. Je tiens aussi à réserver le droit de ma délégation de développer ces remarques et d'entrer dans des détails plus techniques, si la suite du débat sur la question en révélait la nécessité.

106. J'affirmerai d'abord que ma délégation est fermement convaincue qu'il n'y a dans le monde ni territoire ni population qui soit incapable de se gouverner efficacement. Le mythe selon lequel les populations devraient être progressivement préparées et formées en vue de s'administrer elles-mêmes et de gérer leurs propres affaires est finalement détruit. Même ceux qui, pour des raisons évidentes, étaient très attachés à cette opinion jusqu'à une date très récente, l'ont abandonnée en la reconnaissant erronée et moralement inadmissible. Je dirai aussi que ce mythe doit être remplacé par une vérité intangible à mes yeux, qui est que chaque peuple est parfaitement capable, dans le cadre social et culturel qui lui est propre, de gérer ses propres affaires à condition que d'autres n'y interviennent pas, que ce soit sous prétexte de le protéger ou sous tout autre prétexte spécieux.

107. Une autre question se pose à propos de ce qu'on appelle la préparation à l'indépendance; je veux parler de la situation économique du territoire en cause au moment du transfert des pouvoirs. Tandis qu'un être humain ayant atteint la maturité d'esprit est naturellement doué de la faculté de formuler un jugement politique exprimant son propre intérêt individuel et collectif, il n'est malheureusement pas naturellement pourvu des ressources matérielles et de l'habileté suffisantes pour appliquer les techniques modernes et pour que l'exercice de l'autonomie soit automatiquement couronné de succès. On peut dire sans hésitation que, à exception d'un ou deux cas particuliers peut-être, l'économie de tous les territoires dépendants et de tous les nouveaux Etats indépendants est plus ou moins dans un état de sous-développement caractérisé. Dans certains cas, ils possèdent de vastes ressources naturelles en grande partie inexploitées; dans d'autres, ces ressources ne sont pas abondantes; souvent l'économie y est fondée sur la monoculture ou sur l'agriculture de subsistance; et dans la plupart des cas, ils ne disposent pas de connaissances techniques et administratives suffisantes pour faire profiter la population des ressources du pays. Cet état de choses résulte principalement du fait que sous le régime de l'administration coloniale les ressources de ces territoires étaient soit laissées à l'abandon, soit exploitées au profit de la métropole, le plus souvent sous la direction de techniciens et d'administrateurs métropolitains qui n'acceptaient qu'exceptionnellement de transmettre leurs connaissances aux autochtones, et encore n'était-ce qu'aux échelons inférieurs. Mon propre pays a acquis de ces questions une expérience suffisante pour traiter de ce sujet avec autorité.

108. Nous constatons, d'après les renseignements contenus dans les rapports du Conseil de tutelle et d'après les renseignements communiqués en vertu de l'Article 73, e, de la Charte, qu'au cours des dernières années la situation s'est un peu améliorée dans certains territoires et que l'on s'y préoccupe davantage maintenant de la formation et de la préparation de cadres civils autochtones, de façon à faciliter le transfert des pouvoirs et, par la suite, la jouissance de l'indépendance. Mieux vaut tard que jamais, puisque ces mesures auront contribué au moins à une transition pacifique de l'état de dépendance à l'état d'indépendance par exemple pour le Ghana, la Nigéria, le Sierra Leone et le Tanganyika, et bientôt, nous l'espérons, pour l'Ouganda. Elles peuvent aussi avoir contribué à entretenir les espoirs et à ouvrir les perspectives qui s'offrent à ces pays de parvenir à une prospérité résultant de leurs propres

efforts et répondant à leurs propres besoins. La politique du "jamais" a donné au Congo (Léopoldville), par exemple, de tristes résultats car ce pays souffre encore du manque d'administrateurs, de médecins, d'enseignants, de cadres, etc., provenant des milieux autochtones. Les populations de territoires comme ceux qui sont sous l'administration du Portugal ou de l'Afrique du Sud et qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance qui leur est due sont maintenues dans l'ignorance délibérément et par intention malveillante, et aucune formation ne leur est donnée.

109. Ma délégation s'inscrit en faux, parce qu'elle la considère comme indéfendable et illogique, contre toute argumentation tendant à montrer qu'une prétendue maturité économique serait un préalable nécessaire à l'octroi de l'indépendance. Cette argumentation est indéfendable en raison de ses implications opportunistes et contraires à l'éthique, et elle est illogique parce qu'on ne peut supposer que les puissances coloniales, qui ont disposé dans bien des cas de dizaines d'années ou même de siècles pour former et éduquer les autochtones et ne l'ont pas fait comme elles auraient dû le faire, iraient s'engager maintenant dans cette voie si le régime colonial était maintenu.

110. Il semble, dans ces conditions, que les Nations Unies soient pleinement justifiées à admettre le principe de l'indépendance immédiate et à la réclamer. Elles ont en outre l'obligation sacrée de veiller à ce que toute demande et toute acceptation d'indépendance s'inspirent du principe qui domine tous les autres: celui de la primauté des intérêts des habitants des territoires considérés.

111. Pour diverses raisons, parmi lesquelles celles qui viennent d'être exposées, la situation de fait est telle qu'il existe actuellement pour environ 70 territoires une responsabilité internationale bien définie en vertu des Chapitres XI, XII et XIII de la Charte et de diverses résolutions de l'Assemblée générale. Il existe aussi un certain nombre de territoires pour lesquels on peut admettre que cette responsabilité existe, mais au sujet desquels l'Assemblée ne s'est pas prononcée suffisamment nettement. Parmi ces derniers figurent les territoires administrés par la France en Amérique latine, qui ne sont pas nécessairement autonomes bien qu'on affirme qu'ils le soient. Des représentations concernant le statut de ces territoires ont déjà été formulées tant à la Quatrième Commission qu'au Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes. Bien qu'ils aient précédemment fait l'objet de rapports présentés par le Gouvernement français en vertu de l'Article 73, e, de la Charte, ils ont échappé au contrôle international direct à la suite d'une décision prise unilatéralement par ce gouvernement. Le statut de l'Algérie est maintenu et la guerre de libération se poursuit sans que le Gouvernement français ait clairement exposé la situation devant l'Assemblée générale. D'autres territoires restent sous l'administration d'autres gouvernements, par exemple les territoires sous administration des Etats-Unis d'Amérique, dont le statut — bien qu'ils aient d'abord été sous l'application des obligations visées au Chapitre XI de la Charte et aient été libérés de ces obligations par la suite — justifierait peut-être un nouvel examen de l'Assemblée à la lumière de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance, afin que l'Assemblée s'assure que les intérêts des populations sont convenablement protégés par ce statut particulier assez mal défini.

112. Pour développer les quelques arguments que j'ai essayé de faire valoir en ce qui concerne la nécessité de faire passer dans un ensemble de recommandations pratiques les principes énoncés dans la Déclaration, je tiens à ajouter les observations suivantes, dans lesquelles sont condensées les vues de ma délégation.

113. Les territoires qui font l'objet de nos recommandations sont ceux auxquels s'appliquent les dispositions des Chapitres XI, XII et XIII de la Charte, ainsi que ceux auxquels le Chapitre XI reste applicable bien que, par suite de décisions arbitraires de certains gouvernements, toutes les obligations découlant de ce chapitre de la Charte ne soient pas remplies. Ma délégation voudrait aussi que l'on fasse figurer dans la catégorie des territoires dépendants tous les territoires définis dans l'énoncé du principe IV de la résolution 1541 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale comme des territoires géographiquement séparés et ethniquement ou culturellement distincts du pays qui les administre. Bien que cette définition corresponde généralement aux territoires qui tombent sous le coup des dispositions du Chapitre XI de la Charte, elle est applicable à certains autres territoires qui n'ont pas été énumérés explicitement au titre de ce chapitre.

114. Ayant déjà exposé les vues de ma délégation sur la question de la maturité politique des populations et de leur état de préparation à l'indépendance, et étant parvenu à la conclusion que toute nation est parfaitement capable de gérer ses propres affaires, je désire ajouter quelques observations au sujet des mesures qui rendront pratique, réaliste et valable toute recommandation que nous allons présenter, en ne tenant compte d'aucune autre considération que de celles de la volonté de la population intéressée, de ses intérêts et de sa prospérité.

115. En conséquence, qu'il s'agisse d'élaborer, pour l'application de la Déclaration, une recommandation d'ordre général ou une liste détaillée de dates limites, ma délégation estime qu'il faut tenir compte du principe VI de la résolution 1541 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale, ainsi que des principes VII, VIII et IX, car ce n'est qu'en appliquant ces principes avec sagesse que nous pourrions donner effet à ce qu'exigent les vœux librement exprimés des populations.

116. Le principe VI est rédigé comme suit:

"On peut dire qu'un territoire non autonome a atteint la pleine autonomie:

"a) Quand il est devenu Etat indépendant et souverain;

"b) Quand il s'est librement associé à un Etat indépendant;

"c) Quand il s'est intégré à un Etat indépendant."

117. Bien que, de l'avis de ma délégation, la souveraineté constitue la meilleure forme d'indépendance et celle à laquelle aspireront la plupart des territoires dépendants, il est raisonnable aussi, je pense, d'admettre que certains des territoires encore dépendants actuellement se demanderont si la souveraineté est la forme d'indépendance qui répondrait le mieux à leurs intérêts.

118. Il existe une longue liste de territoires au sujet, desquels nous avons avec certitude que l'accession sans délai à l'état de souveraineté favoriserait les intérêts et les aspirations. Pour en citer simplement

au hasard quelques-uns appartenant à cette catégorie, je mentionnerai le Kenya, la Rhodésie du Nord, la Rhodésie du Sud, le Nyassaland, les Indes occidentales, les îles Fidji, la Guyane britannique, etc. Cependant, en étudiant la liste d'un peu plus près, nous nous demandons, dans le cas de certains autres territoires, si une telle mesure servirait aussi bien leur cause et si ces territoires pourraient envisager avec sérénité leur avenir en tant qu'entités souveraines ou si, au contraire, ils n'éprouvent pas eux-mêmes certains doutes en se demandant si l'indépendance ne serait pas un fardeau plus qu'une source de satisfaction. Je tiens cependant à affirmer avec force maintenant qu'en aucun cas ma délégation ne recommande le maintien du *statu quo* pour ces territoires. Ma délégation ne propose pas non plus que l'un de nous, ou l'ensemble de l'Assemblée générale, dicte en aucun cas à ces populations ce qu'elles doivent souhaiter. Nous reconnaissons néanmoins aux Nations Unies un rôle à jouer dans l'accession à l'indépendance et c'est là un point que je me propose de développer un peu plus loin.

119. Les mesures à prendre pour donner effet à la Déclaration, tout en traduisant le désir de l'Assemblée générale de voir tous les territoires dépendants accéder à l'indépendance, doivent établir une distinction entre les territoires dont l'indépendance devrait revêtir la forme de la souveraineté et ceux dont l'indépendance devrait plutôt revêtir la forme d'une association ou d'une intégration à un autre Etat, conformément aux formules énoncées par l'Assemblée dans les principes VII, VIII et IX de la résolution 1541 (XV).

120. Pour rappeler à ceux qui ne les connaîtraient pas bien le sens de ces principes, je vais citer rapidement quelques phrases de ces principes qui illustrent les notions fondamentales du concept de l'association et de l'intégration. Les principes VII, VIII et IX de la résolution 1541 (XV) stipulent:

"La libre association doit résulter d'un choix libre et volontaire des populations du territoire en question, exprimé selon des méthodes démocratiques et largement diffusées..."

"Le territoire associé doit avoir le droit de déterminer sa constitution intérieure, sans ingérence extérieure, conformément aux méthodes constitutionnelles régulières et aux vœux librement exprimés de ses populations..."

"L'intégration à un Etat indépendant doit se faire sur la base de l'égalité complète entre le peuple du territoire antérieurement non autonome et celui de l'Etat indépendant auquel il s'intègre. Les deux peuples doivent avoir... un statut et des droits de citoyenneté égaux ainsi que des garanties égales pour ce qui est des libertés et droits fondamentaux..."

"L'intégration doit résulter du désir librement exprimé des populations du territoire, pleinement conscientes du changement de leur statut, la consultation se faisant selon des méthodes démocratiques et largement diffusées, impartialement appliquées et fondées sur le suffrage universel des adultes. L'Organisation des Nations Unies pourra, quand elle le jugera nécessaire, contrôler l'application de ces méthodes."

M. Slim (Tunisie) reprend la présidence.

121. Pour des raisons évidentes, je n'ai pas l'intention de donner des exemples de territoires entrant dans la catégorie de ceux qui doivent chercher à obtenir leur association ou leur intégration à un autre Etat souverain. Il est bien évident, en effet, qu'il n'appartient pas à l'Organisation des Nations Unies de dire aux populations ce que doivent être leurs aspirations. C'est l'inverse qui s'impose, c'est-à-dire que les territoires devraient pouvoir dire à l'Assemblée générale, selon des méthodes constitutionnelles régulières et conformément aux vœux librement exprimés des populations, quelles sont leurs aspirations.

122. On peut prévoir que certains territoires jugeront que leurs ressources économiques sont trop restreintes pour qu'ils soient économiquement viables, ou que leur population est trop peu nombreuse — il y a des territoires dont la population compte 1 000 personnes ou même moins, des territoires peuplés de 2 000 ou de 5 000 personnes, etc. — ou encore que leur situation géographique est défavorable. Les populations de ces territoires pourront donc conclure que leurs intérêts exigent l'association ou l'intégration à un autre Etat.

123. Comme il ressort des procès-verbaux de l'Assemblée et de la Quatrième Commission, ainsi que d'autres documents, il existe aussi des territoires sur lesquels divers Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies revendiquent des droits de souveraineté. Pour n'en citer que quelques-uns, et sans oublier, à titre d'exemple, le cas de Chypre, je mentionnerai Aden, le Honduras britannique (Belize), les îles Falkland ou îles Malouines, Gibraltar, l'Ifni, l'Irian occidental et bien d'autres. En prenant des mesures pour l'application de la Déclaration, on devra nécessairement examiner d'une manière assez détaillée ces revendications qui intéressent la communauté internationale.

124. L'histoire du colonialisme nous enseigne que de nombreuses frontières artificielles ont été fixées à la suite d'accords intervenus entre les puissances occupantes. Elle nous enseigne aussi que, dans un certain nombre de cas, les puissances coloniales ont effacé, avec plus ou moins de succès, les vestiges d'influences culturelles et politiques qui existaient dans les régions devenues possessions coloniales. Nous connaissons des cas où certains groupes de population ont été déplacés et remplacés par des colons qui s'expatriaient de la métropole; quelquefois, des chefs ou des groupes de population ont été éliminés par extermination, bannissement, subjugation, arrestation ou corruption, que cette corruption revête la forme de postes bien rémunérés ou toute autre forme. L'Assemblée devra avoir la possibilité d'examiner la légitimité des revendications de certains Membres et, si besoin est, de les confronter avec les vœux de la population. L'Assemblée aura notamment la très lourde responsabilité de veiller à ce qu'une forme de colonialisme ne soit pas remplacée par une autre et qu'aucune forme de néo-colonialisme ne vienne s'y substituer.

125. Pour que l'Assemblée générale puisse faire ce qu'il faut et le faire bien, ma délégation estime qu'elle doit décider, dans le cadre de l'application de la Déclaration, quels sont les meilleurs moyens de s'attaquer à cette question et à diverses autres. De même l'Assemblée doit compter, dans la mesure du possible et pour autant que cela soit judicieux, sur la coopération des Membres administrants auxquels

elle pourrait demander de lui faciliter le travail en acceptant de recevoir, dans certains territoires qu'ils administrent, des groupes ou des missions de bons offices ou tout autre organe, quel qu'en soit le nom, qui seraient envoyés par l'Organisation des Nations Unies et d'accorder à ces missions toutes les facilités qui seraient nécessaires pour leur permettre de déterminer les tendances de l'opinion publique dans le territoire considéré.

126. On pourrait aussi, le cas échéant, solliciter la coopération du Membre administrant pour aider lesdits groupes ou missions à préparer et mettre en œuvre des consultations permettant de déterminer les vœux des populations en ce qui concerne la nature de leur statut futur. Si le choix de la population s'orientait vers l'association ou l'intégration à un autre Etat, la question se poserait de savoir quel serait cet Etat souverain. Par la suite, si c'était nécessaire et si les parties intéressées le désiraient, il appartiendrait à l'Organisation des Nations Unies de les aider au cours des négociations relatives à l'accord de cet Etat et aux conditions de l'association ou de l'intégration.

127. Je me souviens qu'à diverses reprises, par exemple dans la résolution 1539 (XV), les Membres administrants ont été invités à assurer la participation des représentants de territoires non autonomes aux travaux des organes appropriés de l'Organisation des Nations Unies. D'ailleurs, mon pays, Ceylan, est en partie à l'origine de la rédaction de cette clause de cette résolution. Maintenant que le Royaume-Uni, après bien des années d'hésitation, s'est engagé à communiquer des renseignements d'ordre politique ou constitutionnel relatifs aux territoires qu'il administre, ce pays jugera peut-être possible de faire venir devant l'Assemblée des représentants qualifiés de ces territoires pour exposer les problèmes politiques qui se posent dans les territoires en question. Je choisis comme exemple le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni parce que ce pays administre encore plus de 40 territoires et parce qu'en coopérant avec l'Organisation des Nations Unies pour la liquidation définitive du régime colonial ce pays faciliterait et simplifierait beaucoup la tâche des Nations Unies. La participation directe de représentants qualifiés des territoires non autonomes à ces travaux particuliers des Nations Unies pourrait en effet faciliter considérablement les activités de l'Organisation et pourrait même alléger la charge des responsabilités des puissances administrantes elles-mêmes, qui ont été jusqu'à présent la seule source de renseignements officiels sur la situation dans les territoires et dont les renseignements ont pu être déformés, soit délibérément, soit, je le reconnais, inconsciemment.

128. De l'avis de ma délégation, les Nations Unies ont une lourde responsabilité pour ce qui est d'aider les territoires non autonomes à atteindre les fins ultimes fixées par la Charte. Comme nous le savons tous, les fins des Chapitres XII et XIII relatifs au régime de tutelle ont déjà été atteintes dans une large mesure, mais les fins du Chapitre XI restent toujours à atteindre; il en est de même des fins de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance en ce qui concerne les territoires qui n'entrent pas dans le cadre des activités des Nations Unies, prévues au Chapitre XI de la Charte.

129. En simplifiant peut-être excessivement la question, on pourrait dire que dans un certain nombre de cas l'accession à la souveraineté ne doit pas pré-

senter de grandes difficultés. Si les observations que j'ai faites au nom de ma délégation à propos des autres formes d'indépendance méritent de retenir l'attention de l'Assemblée, je suggérerai, sans présenter pour le moment une proposition formelle, que l'Assemblée envisage de créer un groupe de travail, constitué sur la base d'une répartition géographique, où seraient représentés les grands secteurs d'intérêt qui se dégagent de l'opinion internationale sur cette question. Le groupe ainsi constitué pourrait réunir des Etats Membres d'Asie, d'Afrique, d'Amérique latine, d'Amérique du Nord, d'Europe de l'Est et d'Europe occidentale. Son mandat pourrait être suffisamment étendu pour lui permettre d'entendre sur place, c'est-à-dire dans les territoires en cause ou en tout autre lieu, les opinions exprimées par des experts qualifiés en matière de questions coloniales, quelle que soit leur nationalité, et, surtout, de recueillir les vues des chefs des territoires et de définir les tendances de l'opinion publique dans les territoires en cause. Il existe à l'Organisation des Nations Unies des comités qui ont acquis une grande expérience en matière de colonialisme et qui ont obtenu dans ce domaine d'importants résultats, et si le groupe proposé était créé il devrait aussi se mettre en rapport avec ces comités, car il s'assurerait de cette manière un concours précieux pour les tâches qui lui incomberaient.

130. Ce sont là des détails dans lesquels l'Assemblée n'a pas à entrer pour le moment, mais qu'elle voudra peut-être examiner plus tard si elle décide que les propositions qui viennent d'être présentées méritent attention. Pour décrire brièvement et en termes généraux l'objectif fondamental du groupe en question, je dirai qu'il consisterait à aider l'Assemblée à résoudre le problème de l'abolition du colonialisme. Le temps presse et la solution doit être trouvée rapidement. Il est essentiel d'agir vite, mais la hâte peut aussi être préjudiciable. Si, animés d'un dessein ferme et persévérant, nous nous mettons en devoir de résoudre ces problèmes multiples et complexes, nous réussirons dans notre tâche et nous la mènerons à bien sans nous fixer d'autre objectif que celui que j'ai répété un si grand nombre de fois dans les paragraphes qui précèdent: la primauté des intérêts et de la prospérité des populations intéressées.

131. La question de la date à laquelle l'abolition définitive du colonialisme doit être achevée a fait l'objet de profondes spéculations et d'âpres discussions parmi les représentants de nombreux Etats Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Ma délégation est convaincue qu'on ne peut tolérer un seul jour de retard injustifié. J'ai déjà développé les raisons de ce point de vue. Etant donné les décisions relatives à l'indépendance prochaine de certains territoires et si l'on considère que l'Assemblée générale doit tenir compte de l'opinion publique dans d'autres territoires, il semblerait raisonnable de penser qu'il ne devrait plus subsister dans quelques années une seule colonie dans le monde moderne. Je n'ai cependant ni l'intention ni le moyen de fixer une date limite. Ma délégation a beaucoup réfléchi aux problèmes que pose la question en discussion et nous avons jugé utile d'exposer aux membres de l'Assemblée, pour qu'ils les examinent, certaines de nos pensées.

132. Le PRESIDENT: Je n'ai plus d'orateurs inscrits pour le débat général de ce soir. Je vais donner la

parole aux orateurs qui veulent exercer leur droit de réponse.

133. M. FLORES AVENDAÑO (Guatemala) [traduit de l'espagnol]: Je suis monté à la tribune pour y traiter brièvement de deux questions. En premier lieu, je voudrais répondre à certains propos tenus par le représentant de l'Union soviétique au cours de l'intéressante intervention qu'il vient de prononcer. Si j'ai bien compris, le représentant de l'Union soviétique a déclaré que les pays qui se sont abstenus de voter sur la motion de censure adoptée par l'Assemblée générale [1039^{ème} séance] contre le discours prononcé par le représentant de l'Afrique du Sud [1033^{ème} séance] ont agi ainsi parce qu'ils étaient soumis à une pression des puissances colonialistes. Comme le Guatemala s'est abstenu dans ce vote, je tiens à dire au représentant de l'Union soviétique que son opinion est erronée et qu'elle est injuste. La position constante de mon pays au sujet de la question coloniale est bien connue à l'Assemblée et à l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Le Guatemala s'est toujours prononcé catégoriquement contre ce régime qui met l'homme dans un état de sujétion, le prive de sa liberté et l'exploite. Il existe sur ce point des preuves suffisantes dans cet organisme international. Le Guatemala s'est abstenu de voter la motion de censure pour la simple raison qu'il ne voulait pas, ne fût-ce que d'une manière indirecte, porter atteinte à la liberté de parole du représentant d'un Etat Membre; or, la motion de censure équivalait à certains égards à une limitation de cette liberté de parole.

134. La délégation du Guatemala a toujours fait sienne la pensée de l'homme qui disait à son interlocuteur ces magnifiques paroles: "Je ne suis pas de votre avis sur ce que vous me dites, mais je donnerais ma vie pour défendre votre droit de le dire". C'est pourquoi je déclare que l'opinion émise par le représentant de l'Union soviétique au sujet de la position du Guatemala est injuste et erronée.

135. L'autre question dont je veux parler est la suivante: l'orateur qui vient de quitter la tribune a parlé du territoire de Belize en indiquant qu'il s'agissait là d'un cas qui pose une question de souveraineté. A cet égard, ma délégation déclare que le territoire de Belize est occupé illégalement par le Royaume-Uni et elle réaffirme dans les termes les plus fermes les droits de souveraineté du Guatemala sur ce territoire.

136. M. GODBER (Royaume-Uni) [traduit de l'anglais]: J'ai demandé à faire usage de mon droit de réponse au sujet du discours prononcé par le représentant de l'Union soviétique. Toutefois, je voudrais auparavant répondre d'une simple phrase à l'intervention du représentant du Guatemala que je viens d'écouter. Je ne veux pas m'engager maintenant dans une controverse. Je me bornerai à dire que le Royaume-Uni ne doute aucunement de sa souveraineté sur le Honduras britannique et je tiens à réserver formellement tous nos droits au sujet de cette question. J'en resterai là.

137. Comme je l'ai dit, je m'étais proposé de répondre en quelques mots au discours du représentant de l'Union soviétique parce que j'ai jugé ces quelques mots nécessaires pour que mon silence ne puisse pas être interprété comme l'acceptation, sous quelque forme que ce soit, des affirmations absurdes et ridicules formulées dans ce discours au sujet de

la politique du gouvernement de Sa Majesté. Toutefois, je n'ai pas l'intention de commenter maintenant ces accusations grotesques. Je le ferai en temps opportun, si le Président me donne la parole, au moment où, comme je l'espère, je participerai à ce débat particulièrement important. Je me bornerai à dire pour le moment que mon gouvernement rejette absolument les accusations qui ont été portées, accusations qui sont absolument dénuées de tout fondement et, si je puis me permettre de le faire remarquer au représentant de l'Union soviétique, ont été ressassées si souvent. En inventant ces histoires ridicules sur les réalisations de mon pays, le représentant de l'Union soviétique fait la preuve du néant de la politique de son pays sur ces questions. Je tiens à dire que mon pays est très fier de ce qu'il a accompli dans ses colonies et je m'efforcerai de justifier cette fierté lorsque je prendrai la parole officiellement à ce sujet.

138. M. BINGHAM (Etats-Unis d'Amérique) [traduit de l'anglais]: Je ne chercherai nullement à faire des observations détaillées au sujet de la longue déclaration prononcée cet après-midi par le représentant de l'Union soviétique. Nous présenterons, le moment venu, nos vues sur la question qui fait l'objet du débat. Etant la plus ancienne des puissances anticoloniales, nous ne le cédon à aucune autre nation dans notre dévouement à la cause de la liberté et du droit de tous les peuples à l'autodétermination. Je voudrais cependant présenter de brèves observations sur certains points de la déclaration du représentant de l'Union soviétique qui révèle clairement que son attaque contre le colonialisme est en réalité une attaque contre le monde occidental.

139. Le Ministre des affaires étrangères de Nigéria a exprimé hier [1047^{ème} séance] la crainte que l'on n'introduise une propagande de guerre froide dans la discussion générale sur cette question. Ses craintes étaient pleinement justifiées, comme le montre le discours prononcé cet après-midi par le représentant de l'Union soviétique. Sous le couvert d'une attaque contre le colonialisme, le représentant de l'Union soviétique n'a laissé aucun doute qu'il cherche en fait à atteindre divers objectifs soviétiques de la guerre froide. Il attaque les Etats-Unis et leurs alliés parce qu'ils disposent de bases militaires, mais il sait pertinemment que cet appareil défensif n'est nécessaire que parce qu'il existe un danger évident d'agression communiste.

140. Le représentant de l'Union soviétique s'en prend aux efforts déployés par les Etats-Unis pour aider de nombreuses populations du monde à atteindre par leurs propres moyens un niveau de vie plus élevé, dans un régime de liberté. Ces efforts, dit-il, sont une manifestation d'impérialisme. En revanche, l'assistance accordée par l'Union soviétique est bien entendu purement philanthropique. Je laisse aux représentants siégeant dans cette salle et connaissant ces questions le soin de faire les comparaisons et les rapprochements qui s'imposent.

141. Le représentant de l'Union soviétique critique les liens économiques — mutuellement profitables — qui existent entre les Etats du monde libre. Pourquoi? De toute évidence parce qu'il vise à affaiblir ces liens de façon à faciliter, pour l'Union soviétique et ses satellites, une pénétration dans les domaines économiques vitaux du monde et la conquête de ces domaines.

142. En revanche, j'ai écouté avec plaisir certaines déclarations du représentant de l'Union soviétique.

Je l'ai écouté avec plaisir citer textuellement le paragraphe 2 de la Déclaration adoptée l'an dernier par l'Assemblée générale sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux [résolution 1514 (XV)]. Ce paragraphe stipule:

"Tous les peuples ont le droit de libre détermination; en vertu de ce droit, ils déterminent librement leur statut politique . . ."

143. Je l'ai écouté aussi avec plaisir préconiser certains principes comme ceux de la liberté de parole, de la liberté de la presse, des élections libres et du suffrage universel des adultes. J'ose espérer que ces admirables déclarations, que nous approuvons entièrement, seront bientôt mises en pratique dans les régions du monde placées aujourd'hui sous la domination de l'Union soviétique.

La séance est levée à 17 h 35.

Nations Unies ASSEMBLÉE GÉNÉRALE

SEIZIÈME SESSION

Documents officiels



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SÉANCE PLÉNIÈRE

Mercredi 8 novembre 1961,
à 15 heures

NEW YORK

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Président: M. Mongi SLIM (Tunisie).

Déclaration du Président

1. Le PRÉSIDENT: L'ordre du jour de la présente séance comporte deux questions. La première concerne la suite du débat sur les points 88 et 22, a; la deuxième concerne la troisième partie du rapport de la Première Commission sur les points 73 et 72. Dans la lettre qu'il m'a adressée, le Président de la Première Commission suggère que cette question soit examinée "le plus tôt possible" par l'Assemblée générale en séance plénière. Je propose que nous commencions aujourd'hui par la suite du débat sur les points 88 et 22, a, que nous avons entamé hier.

POINTS 88 ET 22 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

La situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux (suite)

Assistance à l'Afrique:

a) Programme des Nations Unies pour l'indépendance (suite)

2. M. LUNS (Pays-Bas) [traduit de l'anglais]: Ce que nous devons discuter ici maintenant n'est pas

simplement une nouvelle mesure dans la voie qui conduit du colonialisme à l'égalité de statut de tous les peuples du monde. C'est bien plus que cela; il s'agit en fait de mettre fin à une période de l'histoire. Dans son essence comme dans son objet, notre débat doit nous conduire à un accord sur les mesures finales à prendre si l'on veut que l'application pratique de trois ensembles de règles aboutisse à des résultats concrets. Ces trois ensembles de règles sont: premièrement, les principes généraux inscrits dans la Charte des Nations Unies; deuxièmement, les obligations particulières que la Charte et diverses résolutions de l'Assemblée générale imposent aux Etats Membres qui administrent des territoires non autonomes; troisièmement, les directives énoncées dans la résolution 1514 (XV) sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux.

3. Si le Président veut bien me le permettre, je vais énumérer brièvement ces principes, ces obligations et ces directives.

4. Tout d'abord, nous trouvons dans la Charte, au paragraphe 2 de l'article 1, le principe de l'égalité de droits des peuples et de leur droit à disposer d'eux-mêmes, et, au paragraphe 3 de l'Article 1, le principe du respect des droits de l'homme et des libertés fondamentales pour tous sans distinction de race, de sexe, de langue ou de religion.

5. Parmi ces droits de l'homme et ces libertés fondamentales, le droit d'autodétermination occupe une place prédominante. Le droit des peuples et des nations à disposer d'eux-mêmes a été l'objet de la résolution 637 (VII) A de l'Assemblée générale qui, après avoir réaffirmé que les Etats Membres de l'Organisation doivent soutenir le principe du droit de tous les peuples et de toutes les nations à disposer d'eux-mêmes, stipule en son paragraphe 2:

"Les Etats Membres de l'Organisation doivent reconnaître et favoriser la réalisation, en ce qui concerne les populations des territoires non autonomes et des territoires sous tutelle... du droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes et doivent faciliter l'exercice de ce droit aux populations de ces territoires compte tenu... de la volonté librement exprimée des populations intéressées, la volonté de la population étant déterminée par voie de plébiscite ou par d'autres moyens démocratiques reconnus, de préférence sous l'égide des Nations Unies."

6. Au paragraphe 3 de la même résolution, il est dit qu' "en attendant la réalisation du droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes et afin de préparer cette réalisation", il faut assurer la participation directe des populations autochtones aux organes législatifs et exécutifs du gouvernement de ces territoires, ainsi que les préparer à l' "autonomie complète ou à l'indépendance".

7. Les obligations des puissances administrantes ont été précisées plus en détail dans la résolution 1541 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale. Cette résolution précise que la tâche de toute puissance administrante est de conduire les populations qu'elle administre à la pleine autonomie par l'accession du territoire non autonome au statut d'Etat souverain, par sa libre association à un Etat indépendant ou par son intégration à un Etat indépendant. Pour ce qui est de l'intégration à un Etat indépendant, le principe IX de l'annexe à cette résolution stipule:

"a) Le territoire intégré devra avoir atteint un stade avancé d'autonomie, avec des institutions politiques libres, de telle sorte que ses populations aient la capacité de choisir en pleine connaissance de cause, selon des méthodes démocratiques et largement diffusées;

"b) L'intégration doit résulter du désir librement exprimé des populations du territoire, pleinement conscientes du changement de leur statut, la consultation se faisant selon des méthodes démocratiques et largement diffusées, impartialement appliquées et fondées sur le suffrage universel des adultes. L'Organisation des Nations Unies pourra, quand elle le jugera nécessaire, contrôler l'application de ces méthodes."

8. Je passe enfin aux directives de la résolution 1514 (XV) dont l'application est l'objet de la question actuellement en discussion. J'en détache les déclarations suivantes:

"L'Organisation des Nations Unies a un rôle important à jouer comme moyen d'aider le mouvement vers l'indépendance dans les territoires sous tutelle et les territoires non autonomes;

"Tous les peuples ont le droit de libre détermination; en vertu de ce droit, ils déterminent librement leur statut politique;

"Des mesures immédiates seront prises, dans les territoires sous tutelle, les territoires non autonomes et tous autres territoires qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance, pour transférer tous pouvoirs aux peuples de ces territoires... conformément à leur volonté et à leurs vœux librement exprimés... afin de leur permettre de jouir d'une indépendance et d'une liberté complètes."

9. Les directives que je viens de rappeler ont été approuvées par l'Assemblée à d'imposantes majorités et ont suscité de grands espoirs, particulièrement en Asie et en Afrique où l'évolution vers l'autonomie n'est pas encore terminée. Ce qu'on attend de nous maintenant, ce n'est pas que nous nous engagions dans de longues discussions théoriques, mais que nous mettions au point des méthodes pratiques pour atteindre nos objectifs, et les dirigeants des Etats africains l'ont souligné expressément.

10. Pour ne prendre qu'un exemple, la déclaration publiée le 18 septembre 1961 à l'issue de la Conférence de Tananarive^{1/} déclare que les Nations Unies doivent accélérer le processus de décolonisation en faisant usage de tous les moyens possibles pour appliquer la résolution 1514 (XV). Ce que cette déclaration demande, ce sont des solutions pratiques.

11. De nombreux dirigeants africains ont souligné d'autre part que leurs pays et leurs aspirations ne

doivent pas servir de pions dans la guerre froide. Ma délégation comprend et partage entièrement cette préoccupation. Nous nous plaisons à croire, nous aussi, que le grand objectif de la pleine autonomie pour tous les peuples ne sera pas masqué ou trahi par ceux qui se soucient plutôt de mener leurs propres batailles politiques que d'aider les peuples et territoires dépendants à accéder au plus tôt à l'indépendance. Il importe de hâter l'application pratique des principes directeurs adoptés l'an dernier, dans l'intérêt non seulement des peuples encore dépendants, mais aussi bien de tous les autres, car la persistance de l'inégalité engendre des tensions dangereuses que notre monde divisé peut difficilement supporter.

12. Avant d'aborder un cas particulier d'application de la résolution 1514 (XV), permettez-moi de résumer une fois de plus les desiderata énoncés dans la Charte et dans les diverses résolutions de l'Assemblée générale que j'ai citées. Ce sont les suivants: la primauté des intérêts des habitants; la prise en considération des aspirations politiques des populations; l'évolution vers la pleine autonomie ou la pleine indépendance; le droit d'autodétermination; la détermination de la volonté de la population par voie de plébiscite ou par d'autres moyens démocratiques reconnus, de préférence sous l'égide des Nations Unies; le refus de l'intégration à aucun Etat indépendant sauf si elle répond au désir librement exprimé des populations, la consultation se faisant selon des méthodes démocratiques et largement diffusées, impartialement appliquées et fondées sur le suffrage universel des adultes; enfin, le rôle important qui est dévolu aux Nations Unies dans l'ensemble de ce processus.

13. Comment avons-nous appliqué ces principes au seul territoire non autonome restant sous l'administration des Pays-Bas, la Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale?

14. Premièrement, nous avons pris toutes les mesures en notre pouvoir pour répandre l'enseignement, accélérer l'évolution culturelle, économique et politique des habitants, autant qu'il est humainement possible de le faire. Nous avons créé le Conseil de la Nouvelle-Guinée, dont les membres sont en majorité élus au suffrage universel des adultes. Sur 28 membres, 23 sont des Papous. Il existe un certain nombre de conseils locaux, élus selon les mêmes méthodes, et de nombreux autochtones ont été nommés à des postes dans les services administratifs, qui comptent actuellement plus de 50 p. 100 de Papous.

15. Deuxièmement, nous avons offert de transférer la souveraineté sur le territoire à sa population dès que les Nations Unies pourront assumer les services administratifs nécessaires dont la population n'est pas encore en mesure de se charger complètement elle-même.

16. Troisièmement, nous avons émis la proposition que les Nations Unies, conscientes du rôle important qu'elles doivent jouer dans cette évolution, créent une autorité à cette fin.

17. Quatrièmement, nous avons posé comme condition unique, mais essentielle, que le plein et libre exercice du droit d'autodétermination des Papous dans le territoire soit garanti sans équivoque et assuré de bonne foi au moyen d'un plébiscite organisé sous l'égide des Nations Unies. Je répète une fois de plus que le Gouvernement des Pays-Bas respectera entièrement toute décision que prendra la population papoue, y compris naturellement la décision de se rattacher à l'Indonésie.

^{1/} Tenue du 6 au 12 septembre 1961.

18. Cinquièmement, nous avons annoncé que nous sommes disposés à continuer de contribuer au développement du territoire sur la base de notre présente contribution, qui est de 30 millions de dollars par an, jusqu'à la date qui pourra être fixée ultérieurement.

19. Sixièmement, si les Nations Unies le désirent, les Pays-Bas sont également disposés à prier certains fonctionnaires néerlandais se trouvant en Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale d'y rester encore quelque temps.

20. Septièmement, comme premier pas vers la réalisation de ces objectifs et, pour éviter de donner l'impression que nous préjugions le moins du monde la décision à prendre, nous avons proposé que l'Assemblée générale crée une commission des Nations Unies et lui donne pour mandat de se rendre dans le territoire et de se renseigner sur la situation politique, économique, sociale et de l'enseignement dans le territoire, ainsi que sur l'opinion de la population quant à la situation actuelle du territoire et son avenir. Nous avons aussi proposé que cette commission fasse rapport sur la possibilité d'organiser un plébiscite sous le contrôle de l'Organisation des Nations Unies pour connaître les vœux de la population au sujet de son avenir, sur la date à fixer pour le plébiscite et sur la possibilité de placer le territoire, pendant la période intérimaire, en partie ou en totalité sous l'administration d'une autorité internationale de développement créée par l'Organisation des Nations Unies et fonctionnant sous son égide.

21. Huitièmement, nous avons proposé que la commission fasse rapport à l'Assemblée générale à sa prochaine session, et l'Assemblée pourrait alors, sur la base de ce rapport objectif, prendre toutes mesures nécessaires pour continuer la mise en œuvre du plan que nous présentons.

22. Nous avons estimé nécessaire de prévoir ces deux phases dans nos propositions pour trois raisons. La première raison est que la Nouvelle-Guinée, bien qu'elle soit la deuxième île du monde par sa superficie, est, pour bien des Etats Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, une terre très lointaine qui, malgré les rapports volumineux présentés chaque année depuis 12 ans par le Gouvernement des Pays-Bas à l'Assemblée générale par l'intermédiaire du Secrétariat, est restée en quelque sorte terre inconnue et sur l'avenir de laquelle ces Etats Membres auraient peut-être quelque difficulté à se prononcer définitivement dès maintenant.

23. La deuxième raison est que notre proposition est si neuve que les Etats Membres préféreront peut-être ne pas se prononcer, par exemple, sur l'idée d'une autorité internationale de développement créée par l'Organisation des Nations Unies, jusqu'à ce que toutes ses conséquences possibles aient été étudiées à fond par une commission. Je soulignerai encore que pareille offre n'a jamais été faite par aucune puissance administrante aux Nations Unies et que la situation qui nous a incités à faire cette offre est elle aussi sans exemple.

24. La troisième raison résulte de l'attitude, des revendications et des allégations d'un troisième Etat: l'Indonésie. Les membres de l'Assemblée ne savent que trop bien que l'Indonésie a revendiqué le droit d'incorporer la Nouvelle-Guinée néerlandaise — l'Irian occidental, comme elle l'appelle — à son territoire, et cela sans permettre au peuple papou de s'exprimer sur cette incorporation "selon des mé-

thodes démocratiques et largement diffusées, impartialement appliquées et fondées sur le suffrage universel des adultes", sous le contrôle des Nations Unies — je cite l'annexe à la résolution 1541 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale. Je ne veux pas me lancer, maintenant du moins, à discuter les arguments avancés par l'Indonésie à l'appui de cette revendication vraiment extraordinaire. Y faire droit serait violer manifestement tous les principes, toutes les obligations et toutes les directives de la Charte et des résolutions pertinentes de l'Assemblée générale.

25. Je me bornerai pour le moment à dire qu'à l'appui de ses prétentions l'Indonésie a déclaré que les Papous se considéraient comme appartenant à l'Indonésie et souhaitaient lui être intégrés, que l'administration néerlandaise opprimait cruellement la population papoue et l'empêchait de réaliser son désir de s'intégrer à l'Indonésie. Si je me contentais de réfuter ces contrevérités grossières, certaines délégations pourraient encore concevoir des doutes sur la situation véritable. C'est aussi pour cette raison que le Gouvernement néerlandais accueillerait avec faveur une enquête complètement impartiale effectuée sur place par une commission des Nations Unies, qui pourrait faire rapport sur la situation dans le territoire et rendre compte sans parti pris de l'opinion véritable des Papous et de la gestion néerlandaise, de façon que l'Assemblée générale puisse se prononcer définitivement l'an prochain en pleine connaissance de cause.

26. C'est donc en vertu de ces considérations que je recommande à l'attention de tous les Etats Membres le projet de résolution des Pays-Bas [A/L.354]. Les propositions qui s'y trouvent ont été accueillies favorablement par de très nombreuses délégations. Quelques délégations, cependant, nous ont demandé pourquoi nous n'avions pas tenu compte de l'Indonésie — comme elles disent — en faisant ces propositions et pourquoi le règlement du différend territorial entre les Pays-Bas et l'Indonésie ne serait pas réglé en premier lieu.

27. Ma réponse à ces questions est simple. D'abord, nous n'avons pas pu consulter l'Indonésie auparavant parce qu'elle a rompu les relations diplomatiques avec mon pays et est même allée jusqu'à refuser d'accepter la procédure normale en pareil cas, à savoir qu'un Etat tiers soit autorisé à représenter les intérêts néerlandais en Indonésie. En outre, tous les dirigeants et porte-parole indonésiens ont répété à satiété que l'Indonésie ne pourrait accepter qu'une seule solution: l'intégration du territoire et du peuple de la Nouvelle-Guinée néerlandaise à l'Indonésie, sans consultation préalable du peuple papou.

28. Quant au règlement du différend territorial, je ferai observer qu'à l'heure actuelle ce qui importe n'est pas tant la question juridique de savoir si la souveraineté sur la Nouvelle-Guinée appartient aux Pays-Bas ou à l'Indonésie, encore que nous ayons proposé à plusieurs reprises — on me pardonnera de le rappeler — que cette question juridique soit soumise à la Cour internationale de Justice et que l'Indonésie s'y soit constamment refusée. Ce qui importe actuellement et plus que toute autre chose, c'est l'avenir de la Nouvelle-Guinée néerlandaise. Nul n'a le droit d'en décider, sauf les Papous eux-mêmes. Leur laisser la décision est la seule méthode conforme aux principes de la Charte. C'est d'ailleurs aussi la seule qui permette de régler le différend de manière pacifique et durable.

29. Je continue d'espérer que l'Indonésie comprendra enfin que cette méthode est juste et que notre retrait de la Nouvelle-Guinée et l'installation d'une autorité des Nations Unies dans le territoire permettront aux deux pays de rétablir entre eux des relations plus amicales. Pour leur part, les Pays-Bas offriront toujours leur coopération en ce sens.

30. M. WINIEWICZ (Pologne) [traduit de l'anglais] : Comme le montrent la discussion générale et les délibérations de nos grandes commissions, le problème de la liquidation finale du colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations, avec toutes ses implications et ses conséquences, continue de retenir l'attention de l'Assemblée au cours de la présente session, et des Nations Unies en général. Il n'est que trop facile de comprendre pourquoi.

31. La domination coloniale n'est pas seulement la forme la plus inhumaine d'oppression politique qui entrave l'évolution nationale indépendante des peuples qui sont privés de leur liberté, c'est aussi une des formes les plus brutales de l'exploitation économique, qui favorise et accentue l'injuste inégalité et la disparité dans l'utilisation des ressources naturelles et de la main-d'œuvre. De même, la domination coloniale freine la libre évolution culturelle des peuples qui, bien que non indépendants, ont comme toute autre nation le droit d'apporter leur part au fonds commun de civilisation de l'humanité.

32. L'impact de forces sociales et nationales puissantes, libérées après les années tragiques de la seconde guerre mondiale, a ébranlé le fondement du système colonial. C'est alors que la décadence et la chute du colonialisme se sont accélérées. La Charte des Nations Unies, rédigée et signée après la fin des hostilités, ne pouvait pas ne pas tenir compte de cette évolution historique.

33. Si imparfaits et limités qu'ils soient, le régime de tutelle des Nations Unies et le régime des territoires non autonomes ont joué un rôle utile en exerçant une pression constante sur les puissances coloniales afin de les amener à respecter les principes fondamentaux de la Charte, le droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes et le droit à l'indépendance politique des habitants des territoires dépendants.

34. Mais les dispositions des Chapitres XI et XII de la Charte seraient restées longtemps lettre morte sans les mouvements massifs de libération nationale en Asie, en Afrique et ailleurs. Les pays socialistes, bien entendu, se sentent complètement solidaires de ces mouvements de lutte pour la liberté et l'indépendance, si vastes et si puissants qu'ils n'ont pas de précédent dans l'histoire de l'humanité.

35. Ainsi, le nouvel équilibre des forces dans le monde a créé un climat favorable et des conditions propices à la lutte pour l'indépendance. En effet, ceux-là mêmes qui ne reculeraient devant rien pour empêcher tout changement doivent maintenant admettre l'existence de ces faits nouveaux.

36. Une preuve évidente en est la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux [résolution 1514 (XV)] adoptée par l'Assemblée générale à sa quinzième session sur l'initiative de l'Union soviétique. Quatre-vingt-neuf Etats ont voté pour cette charte de la liberté. Nul n'a osé voter contre. Les puissances coloniales se sont abstenues. A la face du monde, le colonialisme a été condamné et finalement mis hors la loi en vertu de cet acte historique.

37. Reposant sur les principes de la Charte, la Déclaration anticolonialiste a un caractère obligatoire pour tous les Etats Membres. Elle proclame la nécessité de mettre inconditionnellement fin au colonialisme et stipule en son paragraphe 5 que des mesures immédiates seront prises, dans les territoires sous tutelle, les territoires non autonomes et tous autres territoires qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance, pour transférer tous pouvoirs aux peuples de ces territoires. Les auteurs de la Déclaration ont insisté sur son application inconditionnelle, je le répète, inconditionnelle et immédiate.

38. Une année à peine s'est écoulée depuis l'adoption de la Déclaration, mais parmi des vingtaines de territoires dépendants le Sierra Leone est le seul qui ait accédé à l'indépendance durant cette période. Ce fut certes un grand plaisir que d'accueillir le Sierra Leone parmi nous en tant que nouveau Membre de l'Organisation des Nations Unies. En fait, les commissions discutent déjà des projets de résolution dont le Sierra Leone est l'un des auteurs; le Sierra Leone se montre déjà actif aux Nations Unies.

39. Le Tanganyika doit accéder à l'indépendance en décembre. Le Samoa-Occidental doit accéder à l'indépendance en janvier. Mais c'est tout. En d'autres termes, ce qui aurait dû être en 1961 la règle générale s'est limité à des cas isolés, et ce malgré le fait que plus de 70 millions d'habitants d'Afrique, d'Asie et d'Amérique latine subissent encore le joug colonial, malgré le fait que certains territoires comme le Ruanda-Urundi, l'Oman, l'Ouganda ou le Kenya possèdent des hommes d'Etat remarquables et des rouages administratifs bien organisés qui leur permettraient d'exercer immédiatement tous les pouvoirs, malgré le fait aussi que l'Assemblée ne pourrait que bénéficier de la contribution à ses débats des Kenyatta, des Jagan et autres dirigeants de ces territoires encore dépendants jusqu'à présent.

40. Tout en retardant l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays dont le droit à l'indépendance est explicitement garanti dans la Déclaration adoptée en décembre dernier par les Nations Unies, les puissances coloniales ont recours à la force armée et aux représailles massives pour étouffer les mouvements de libération nationale, au mépris des termes de la Déclaration, bien entendu.

41. Les événements sanglants qui se sont déroulés au cours des derniers mois en Angola ont fait pleine lumière sur la brutalité de la domination coloniale. Réagissant à leur façon à l'héroïque lutte pour sa liberté que mène le peuple angolais, qui n'a reculé devant aucun sacrifice, les colonialistes ont pris des mesures impitoyables, exterminant des dizaines de milliers d'Angolais. L'Angola continue à baigner dans le sang. Plus tard, au titre d'autres points de l'ordre du jour, nous aurons l'occasion de parler plus longuement de la situation en Angola et aussi de la situation en Algérie, où depuis sept ans la population mène héroïquement son juste et courageux combat pour sa libération.

42. Nous ne pouvons manquer de rappeler en même temps que le colonialisme non seulement viole directement les droits fondamentaux de l'homme et le droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes, mais encore essaie de tourner les dispositions de la Déclaration de décembre qui interdisent strictement d'imposer aucun lien arbitraire entre colonie et métropole.

43. Nous savons en effet que des liens juridiques doivent être créés qui enchaîneront au Portugal les habitants de l'Angola, du Mozambique, de la Guinée portugaise, de Goa, de Timor et d'autres territoires. Mais les colonialistes se trompent s'ils pensent que leur décision arbitraire fera taire les voix qui s'élèvent à cette tribune et les résolutions adoptées par les Nations Unies pour défendre le droit des peuples de ces territoires à disposer d'eux-mêmes.

44. Nous continuerons — et nous ne serons certainement pas les seuls — à insister pour que l'indépendance soit accordée à l'Angola et aux autres colonies portugaises. Nous élèverons une protestation contre toute action illégale commise dans ces territoires. Nous persisterons à refuser de classer parmi les "Portugais" des peuples qui veulent briser le plus tôt possible les liens détestés qui les attachent au Portugal.

45. Il est prévu dans la Déclaration de décembre que tous les pouvoirs législatifs et exécutifs seront transférés immédiatement aux populations des territoires en cause. Voyons comment ce principe est mis en pratique dans la Fédération de la Rhodésie et du Nyassaland, par exemple. Sur 7 900 000 habitants de la Fédération, 7 600 000 sont des Africains et 292 000 des Européens. Mais, dans les organes territoriaux, la représentation est exactement à l'inverse de la proportion effective des deux populations. Quatre cinquièmes des sièges de l'Assemblée fédérale appartiennent aux Européens et les membres du Cabinet de la Fédération sont en majorité Européens. En Rhodésie du Sud, les Européens ont reçu tous les sièges à l'Assemblée législative. Les Européens détiennent 22 des 26 sièges de l'Assemblée de la Rhodésie du Nord et 18 des 23 sièges de l'Assemblée législative du Nyassaland.

46. Les constitutions que l'on prépare en ce moment pour les deux Rhodésies et le Nyassaland maintiennent la discrimination en vigueur contre la population africaine et refusent à cette population le droit de prendre part aux élections selon la règle de l'égalité de suffrage. C'est là ignorer ouvertement le principe du gouvernement représentatif et c'est se refuser à appliquer la Déclaration anticoloniale. *The Observer*, respectable hebdomadaire anglais, a fait remarquer avec ironie que seul un professeur de mathématiques pourrait démêler le mystérieux écheveau du système électoral de la Fédération. Est-ce là un des principes didactiques et éducatifs recommandés par le représentant du Royaume-Uni pendant la discussion générale à la présente session? Faut-il apprendre les mathématiques pour pouvoir saisir les complications des constitutions coloniales?

47. Je ne crois pas qu'il soit nécessaire de répéter ici cette vérité évidente, que les colonialistes refusent d'abandonner leur domination à cause des avantages économiques, politiques, et stratégiques qu'ils en retirent. L'exploitation des ressources naturelles et de la main-d'œuvre, les marchés ouverts aux articles industriels chers fabriqués dans la métropole, tout cela constitue certainement des sources de grands bénéfices. En fait, cela semble être le véritable motif qui se cache derrière ce que les avocats du colonialisme prétendent si souvent ici être une mission d'éducation et de civilisation accomplie par les puissances coloniales dans les territoires qu'ils administrent.

48. La signification politique qui s'attache à la possession d'une colonie va bien au-delà des limites de

son territoire. Le colonialisme rend possible l'exercice d'une pression non seulement sur la population du territoire intéressé, mais aussi sur les gouvernements de ses voisins indépendants. La "présence française" en Algérie accroît les tensions dans toute la région du Maghreb et ralentit la stabilisation et le renforcement de la souveraineté complète des pays de cette région. Est-il besoin de rappeler l'affaire de Bizerte?

49. Le but des mesures répressives en Angola n'est pas seulement de défendre la domination coloniale dans ce pays, mais aussi d'empêcher l'émancipation politique des nations dépendantes dans d'autres parties non libérées du continent africain. L'indépendance de l'Angola serait un coup porté au triste régime d'esclavage qui est appliqué au Sud-Ouest africain. C'est pourquoi le Portugal et l'Afrique du Sud s'opposent ensemble à l'indépendance de l'Angola et c'est pourquoi ces deux pays s'opposent ensemble à l'autodétermination au Sud-Ouest africain. De même — j'aimerais donner un exemple à ce propos —, si ce n'avait été de l'existence des colonies, la position des puissances occidentales à la Commission économique pour l'Afrique aurait été différente, comme l'auraient été les travaux de la Commission si elle avait eu pour seul but de protéger les intérêts de l'Afrique. C'est pourquoi il s'agit ici d'un problème qui touche à l'activité et à l'efficacité de l'Organisation des Nations Unies tout entière.

50. Il y a encore autre chose. Dans la discussion générale, les représentants du Ghana et de la Guinée ont souligné fortement que le problème de la liquidation du colonialisme était étroitement lié à celui du désarmement général et complet. Ils ont fait ressortir que le colonialisme constituait l'un des motifs de la poursuite de la course aux armements et que le désarmement et la décolonisation impliquaient l'élimination de l'esprit de conquête et d'exploitation.

51. Il serait difficile de le contester. Nous savons tous très bien quels sont les liens qui existent entre le colonialisme et les alliances militaires occidentales. C'est précisément l'OTAN qui, grâce à la solidarité politique de tous ses membres et par ses fournitures d'armes, aide les puissances coloniales à poursuivre des actions armées qui permettent de subjuguier toujours plus complètement les populations qui se trouvent encore sous une domination coloniale. Sans cette assistance, serait-il possible de faire traîner des guerres comme celle d'Algérie pendant des années et des années? Serait-il possible d'utiliser les derniers modèles d'armes allemandes, sans parler de celles qu'ont fournies d'autres alliés de l'OTAN, pour décimer en Angola les guérilleros qui ne disposent que d'armes primitives?

52. Je ne pense pas qu'on puisse refuser, même si on compte parmi les ennemis les plus résolus de la responsabilité collective, d'admettre que les événements d'Angola, d'Algérie et d'ailleurs engagent la responsabilité de l'OTAN dans son ensemble.

53. Si les dirigeants de Washington, de Londres et d'autres capitales de pays de l'OTAN veulent nous amener à croire — c'est bien ce qu'ils essaient de faire — qu'ils sont capables de freiner l'expansion et l'esprit agressif du militarisme revanchard allemand, qui constitue pour mon pays un grand sujet de préoccupation, comment peuvent-ils expliquer qu'ils sont sans pouvoir dans le cas du Portugal? La vraie explication ne peut être que la suivante: ils refusent de désapprouver les mesures répressives appliquées en

Angola. Est-ce bien la conclusion que nous devons tirer?

54. Le fait que des bases militaires sont situées sur un territoire non autonome est l'un des obstacles les plus importants qui empêchent ce territoire de parvenir à l'indépendance. Les pays d'Asie et d'Afrique usent, aux Nations Unies, de leur pouvoir de persuasion pour faire progresser le désarmement; ils luttent pour empêcher que leurs pays ne soient entraînés dans la course aux armements; ils réclament la création d'une zone dénucléarisée couvrant tout le continent africain. Mais tout cela ne peut être réalisé que par l'élimination définitive du colonialisme et l'application complète de la Déclaration anticoloniale.

55. L'expérience nous apprend que, partout où les puissances coloniales constatent qu'en raison de la force grandissante des mouvements de libération nationaux elles ne peuvent plus maintenir leur domination par les méthodes coloniales traditionnelles, elles recherchent d'autres formes de domination en vue de maintenir leurs positions.

56. Nous dénonçons le "colonialisme classique" sous tous ses aspects et nous sommes tout aussi fermement opposés aux tentatives faites pour perpétuer ou rétablir la domination coloniale sous la forme d'un néo-colonialisme. Le droit de tous les peuples à l'indépendance doit être respecté entièrement même après qu'ils sont parvenus à l'indépendance. L'indépendance ne doit pas être truquée ou restreinte. L'accession à l'indépendance ne doit pas être dénaturée par des obligations liant le nouveau pays indépendant à l'ancienne métropole en matière d'affaires intérieures ou d'affaires étrangères, de politique économique ou de politique de la défense nationale.

57. Il n'en demeure pas moins que des pays très développés, faisant usage de leur supériorité matérielle, cherchent à poursuivre l'exploitation de jeunes pays anciennement colonisés et à empêcher ou déformer leur développement harmonieux par toutes sortes de mesures d'ordre politique, économique ou militaire. Cela ne peut manquer de conduire à de nouvelles crises et de nouveaux conflits qu'il est nécessaire de prévenir.

58. Si l'intention véritable est de mettre fin à l'exploitation néo-coloniale et d'aider les nouveaux pays à surmonter les premières difficultés qui gênent la formation de leur existence indépendante, la délégation polonaise estime qu'avant toute autre chose trois conditions doivent être remplies.

59. Premièrement, les pays intéressés doivent être libérés de toutes les charges et de toutes les obligations imposées autrefois par le colonialisme, puisque ces charges ne peuvent que retarder ou détourner le cours normal de leur évolution.

60. Deuxièmement, la liberté de mouvement de ces pays ne doit pas être restreinte par des accords conclus entre les métropoles et leurs anciennes dépendances dans des conditions d'inégalité évidente.

61. Troisièmement, les nouveaux pays indépendants doivent recevoir une assistance économique et technique, unilatérale ou multilatérale, qui puisse accélérer le processus d'accession à la souveraineté totale et à la pleine indépendance économique.

62. C'est seulement si ces conditions sont remplies que nous pourrions apporter une aide substantielle aux

pays libérés de la domination coloniale. Comme l'a écrit l'économiste britannique A. H. Hanson, ces pays,

"conscients de leur statut de nations et désireux de participer aux affaires internationales aussi vite que possible, ne sont pas disposés à accepter l'actuelle division du travail parce qu'elle comporte l'acceptation de l'actuelle division des pouvoirs"^{2/}.

63. L'élimination du colonialisme implique non seulement un changement dans la division des pouvoirs. Elle implique aussi un changement dans la structure de la division internationale du travail. Les nouveaux pays indépendants ne doivent pas seulement se libérer de la domination politique et militaire des puissances coloniales; ils doivent aussi cesser de constituer une simple annexe de l'économie métropolitaine. Ils doivent se libérer de ce que Gunnar Myrdal a appelé "le bilatéralisme imposé", qui, incidemment, pourrait bien se transformer en de nouveaux liens imposés, dans le sens des conceptions du Marché commun européen. C'est précisément ce marché commun européen qui pousse certains anciens pays colonisés à accepter une forme de coopération économique imposée, correspondant moins bien à leurs besoins qu'à ceux des grandes puissances européennes. Cela aussi peut constituer une forme de néo-colonialisme et il ne faut pas l'oublier non plus lorsqu'on examine la question de l'assistance à l'Afrique.

64. En bien des cas, les anciens maîtres cherchent à appliquer la maxime classique du colonialisme "diviser pour régner", dans leur politique néo-colonialiste à l'égard des nouveaux pays indépendants. C'est ainsi que nous assistons à des tentatives de démembrement de pays nouvellement libérés en vue d'établir un régime néo-colonial dans une certaine province ou une partie de leur territoire.

65. L'exemple le plus frappant et le plus tragique à la fois est naturellement celui que nous offre le Congo, où nous assistons à des efforts qui ne sont que trop manifestes pour organiser la sécession du Katanga, la province la plus riche du pays, sous la bannière de l'Union minière. Un autre exemple frappant de violation de l'intégrité territoriale semble être l'attitude des Pays-Bas en ce qui concerne l'Irian occidental, où l'on cherche à créer une forme nouvelle de relation de dépendance.

66. Nous avons écouté avec respect le distingué Ministre des affaires étrangères des Pays-Bas, mais nous regrettons de dire qu'il n'a pas réussi à nous convaincre. Nous savons tous trop bien que l'Irian occidental est une partie intégrante de l'Indonésie, comme le Gouvernement néerlandais le reconnaissait dans un rapport présenté aux Nations Unies en 1949. Dans ce rapport, la Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale était expressément citée comme faisant partie de la chaîne d'îles qui forme l'Indonésie. Mais ce territoire est resté sous administration néerlandaise. La proposition des Pays-Bas, faite dans le projet de résolution [A/L.354] tendant à remettre aux Nations Unies les pouvoirs sur ce territoire, est contraire aux dispositions de la Déclaration anticoloniale qui interdit manifestement toute tentative visant à détruire l'unité nationale d'un pays. La proposition des Pays-Bas est évidemment contraire également aux dispositions de la Charte des Nations Unies.

^{2/} A. H. Hanson, *Public Enterprise and Economic Development* (Londres, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1959), p. 9.

67. Cette divergence avec les textes de base des Nations Unies ne peut pas être camouflée par des manœuvres tactiques ou par des sollicitations des textes comme celles dont il est fait usage dans le projet de résolution des Pays-Bas. Nous devons rejeter ce projet. La seule décision juste que les Nations Unies puissent prendre en ce qui concerne l'Irian occidental est de déclarer qu'il fera retour à la mère-patrie et sera incorporé au reste de l'Indonésie. C'est aussi, pensons-nous, la seule solution acceptable pour les enclaves de Sidi-Ifni, de Ceuta, de Melilla et d'autres qui se trouvent encore sous administration coloniale alors qu'elles sont parties intégrantes du Maroc.

68. Nous avons écouté hier avec intérêt les observations du représentant de Ceylan [1048ème séance] qui a présenté des arguments extrêmement intéressants et méritant réflexion sur le problème de la liberté d'association et sur la question des colonies dont divers Etats Membres revendiquent la souveraineté.

69. L'étude de la situation dans les territoires non encore libérés du joug colonial et l'examen des événements survenus depuis l'adoption de la Déclaration anticoloniale de décembre dernier conduisent ma délégation aux conclusions suivantes:

70. Premièrement, tous les droits et libertés démocratiques doivent être immédiatement assurés aux peuples des territoires non autonomes pour leur permettre d'assumer sans délai tous les pouvoirs législatifs et exécutifs ainsi que l'administration de ces territoires. Deuxièmement, toutes les bases militaires et tous autres moyens permettant d'exercer une pression militaire doivent être retirés de ces territoires, et tous accords qui pourraient empêcher les peuples intéressés d'exercer leur souveraineté lors de leur accession à l'indépendance doivent être déclarés nuls et non avenus. Troisièmement, tous les décrets et règlements qui lient un territoire à la puissance administrante en vertu de diverses formes d'accords imposés au peuple colonisé doivent être rapportés. Quatrièmement, les puissances qui administrent des territoires coloniaux doivent être priées de se conformer aux dispositions de la Déclaration de décembre [résolution 1514 (XV)] et de l'appliquer aussi rapidement que possible.

71. Ces conclusions, qui sont conçues pour servir de base à des mesures particulières pour l'application de la Déclaration de décembre, sont reprises dans le projet de résolution présenté par l'Union soviétique [A/L.355].

72. Dans ce projet, il est proposé que l'application des dispositions de la Déclaration et la liquidation définitive du colonialisme doivent être achevées à la fin de 1962 au plus tard. Il y est également proposé qu'une commission spéciale soit créée pour mener une enquête d'ensemble sur la mise en œuvre des décisions des Nations Unies dans ce domaine.

73. Il faut admettre que le temps et l'existence d'un mécanisme approprié ont une grande importance pour ce qui est de la solution du problème. Chaque nouvelle année de retard apporté à la liquidation définitive du colonialisme peut être la cause de nouveaux conflits, de nouvelles tensions et de nouvelles menaces à la paix. D'autre part, l'élimination définitive du colonialisme apportera une amélioration sensible du climat international et une consolidation positive de la paix. C'est là ce qui importe.

74. Au cours de la discussion générale on s'est efforcé, du haut de cette tribune, de nous faire croire que toute solution des problèmes coloniaux exige du temps, que ces problèmes ne peuvent être résolus qu'avec de la patience, de la bonne volonté et de la fermeté. Bonne volonté, fermeté, oui; patience, non! On ne peut pas dire aux peuples qui souffrent sous l'oppression coloniale, qui sont plongés dans la misère et la dégradation, d'attendre patiemment pendant des années qu'on leur fasse cadeau de leur indépendance. On ne peut leur demander cela en une époque où les forces de production et la technologie connaissent un développement sans précédent, en une période de l'histoire caractérisée par un effort gigantesque pour mettre pleinement en œuvre les principes de justice sociale et de libération nationale et sociale, en une ère, ajouterai-je, où le tiers de la population du monde vit sous le régime du socialisme.

75. Il est vrai que les pays dont l'indépendance est encore très jeune se heurtent à des obstacles divers en faisant progresser leur cause, mais il est également vrai que ces obstacles sont dus à une longue période d'administration coloniale. Si le colonialisme devait être maintenu sous une forme quelconque, il ne ferait que multiplier ces obstacles.

76. La vie elle-même a démenti la théorie colonialiste, qui persiste encore en certains lieux, suivant laquelle on peut diviser les peuples en peuples civilisés et peuples non civilisés, entre peuples suffisamment mûrs pour avoir une existence indépendante et peuples trop jeunes encore. Or, notre génération a pu constater que les membres de la nation qui a donné le jour à Goethe et à Beethoven ont commis les actes de barbarie les plus monstrueux dont l'histoire de l'humanité ait jamais donné l'exemple. Les gouvernements et les administrations coloniales des puissances dont la tradition culturelle est fort ancienne et qui en affirment leur fierté portent la responsabilité de l'oppression cruelle imposée à d'innocents habitants autochtones. La conclusion de tout cela est que la ligne de démarcation entre les peuples "civilisés" et les peuples "non civilisés" passe sans doute ailleurs qu'on ne croyait.

77. Quant aux pays anciennement colonisés, leur prestige et leur influence sur la vie internationale se sont très rapidement accrus. On peut voir quelle utile contribution ils apportent aux conférences internationales, à la conclusion d'accords, aux réunions et discussions portant sur les problèmes les plus urgents de notre temps. On a pu le voir des vingtaines de fois, de Bandoung à Belgrade, en passant par de nombreuses autres réunions qui ont marqué dans l'histoire contemporaine.

78. Ces pays apportent une grande et précieuse contribution aux travaux de l'Organisation. L'Organisation des Nations Unies serait inconcevable, l'Assemblée le serait aussi, sans l'Inde, l'Indonésie, la Birmanie, le Maroc, le Mali, le Ghana, la Guinée. J'espère que les représentants d'autres pays que je n'ai pas nommés me le pardonneront.

79. Nous attendons maintenant les représentants d'autres nations qui, si les principes de la Charte et de la Déclaration anticoloniale doivent être appliqués immédiatement, devraient recevoir rapidement leur indépendance, jouir de la plénitude de leurs droits et pouvoir ainsi contribuer à la mise en œuvre du principe de la coexistence pacifique des nations, sans conquête et sans oppression.

80. Pays socialiste, la Pologne ne peut ressentir qu'une sympathie et manifester une entière solidarité à l'égard des aspirations et de la lutte des peuples opprimés pour leur indépendance. Nous leur donnons notre plein appui et notre complète assistance. La Pologne qui, pendant les heures sombres de la seconde guerre mondiale, a traversé toutes les souffrances, subi au milieu des larmes et du sang tous les sacrifices imposés par l'application du principe hitlérien de la race maîtresse et du "Lebensraum", la Pologne, dis-je, est profondément attachée à la cause de la paix. La liquidation du colonialisme servira à renforcer la paix. Les puissances que l'on appelle aujourd'hui les puissances coloniales en bénéficieront aussi, le moment venu. La lutte contre le colonialisme est menée aussi à leur profit. Il ne s'agit donc pas ici de guerre froide, mais d'intérêt commun.

81. Dans son préambule, la Déclaration envisage la liquidation du colonialisme de la manière suivante:

"Consciente de la nécessité de créer des conditions de stabilité et de bien-être et des relations pacifiques et amicales fondées sur le respect des principes de l'égalité de droits et de la libre détermination de tous les peuples..."

"Convaincue que le maintien du colonialisme empêche le développement de la coopération économique internationale... et va à l'encontre de l'idéal de paix universelle des Nations Unies..."

Tels sont les termes de la Déclaration. C'est pourquoi nous posons le problème de la liquidation du colonialisme d'une voix ferme et avec une conviction sincère.

82. M. SHUKAIRY (Arabie Saoudite) [traduit de l'anglais]: Je regarde en arrière pendant un moment. Ce que je contemple, rien ne semblait le désigner particulièrement à l'attention, ce n'était que la quinzième session ordinaire de l'Assemblée générale. Pourtant, cette quinzième session est entrée dans l'histoire comme le jalon le plus important qui ait marqué la vie des Nations Unies. Point n'est besoin de demander comment et pourquoi. La question, c'était le colonialisme; la résolution, ce fut la liberté.

83. Le colonialisme est cependant tout autre chose qu'un simple point de l'ordre du jour — et combien nous en avons déjà examiné et discuté! Le colonialisme est le problème par excellence et il cache le premier de tous les maux. C'est l'asservissement d'un peuple par un peuple; c'est l'exploitation d'une nation par une autre nation; c'est l'humiliation d'une race par une race; en un mot, c'est la domination de l'homme sur l'homme.

84. Le débat n'a pas été un simple débat ordinaire. Nous y avons assisté à un long défilé de souffrances humaines, à une tragique exposition d'oppressions, un lamentable déploiement d'exploitation. Des millions d'êtres humains ont traversé l'an dernier la scène de l'Assemblée, capturés, mutilés, trébuchant sous le poids des chaînes de la servitude. Tant de pays d'Asie, d'Afrique et d'Amérique latine nous ont été représentés, conquis, partagés, lotis. Des camps de concentration et des files ininterrompues de réfugiés ont passé devant nos yeux, paillards, les uns après les autres. Ce fut un véritable film, un vrai drame faisant ressortir le bilan de l'impérialisme et relatant la tragique histoire du colonialisme. Tous les personnages et les héros du colonialisme, tous les architectes et les agents de l'impérialisme figuraient dans

la pièce: le soldat avec ses armes, l'explorateur avec ses cartes et sa boussole, l'aventurier avec ses rêves, l'industriel avec ses capitaux, le gouverneur avec sa maxime "diviser pour régner", le geôlier avec son fouet et ses menottes, le missionnaire à la voix douce-reuse prêchant une mission d'amour, de paix et de fraternité entre les hommes.

85. En vérité, le drame était fascinant, passionnant, sensationnel, mais aussi véritable, représentant des faits d'actualité. Trois continents étaient en scène: l'Asie, l'Afrique, l'Amérique latine. Tout y était: les peuples avec leur terre, leur liberté et leurs richesses, leurs marchés et leurs mines, leur labeur et leur fatigue, je dirai même leur sueur et leurs larmes, n'ayant rien à perdre sauf leurs fers et leurs chaînes.

86. C'était une tragédie à faire dresser les cheveux sur la tête, mais dont le dénouement nous a finalement apporté réconfort et soulagement. L'Assemblée générale a adopté sa résolution historique contre ce mal historique. La décolonisation a été la réponse donnée à la colonisation. La résolution [1514 (XV)] a été adoptée par 89 voix contre zéro, avec 9 abstentions. Parmi les abstentions, je citerai celles des Etats-Unis, du Royaume-Uni et de la France, les "trois mousquetaires" du monde libre.

87. Autant nous nous sommes réjouis de l'adoption de cette résolution par l'Assemblée, autant nous avons déploré ces abstentions. Le règlement intérieur autorise l'abstention. C'est une façon de voter. Mais comment peut-on s'abstenir de soutenir la liberté de l'homme, comment peut-on s'abstenir d'appuyer la dignité de l'homme, comment peut-on, en vérité, se dérober à la Charte des Nations Unies et à ses principes?

88. Cette résolution ne comportait rien de honteux ou de déshonorant qui justifiait l'abstention. Ce n'était qu'une simple paraphrase de la Charte. Elle proclamait "la nécessité de mettre rapidement et inconditionnellement fin au colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations". Quel est l'homme qui, possédant une conscience, je souligne le mot "conscience", et du bon sens, je souligne le terme "bon sens", pouvait s'abstenir d'appuyer la cause de la liquidation du colonialisme, le plus grand mal dont l'humanité ait jamais souffert? La résolution déclarait d'autre part qu'il devait être mis fin à toute action armée et à toutes mesures de répression, de quelque sorte qu'elles soient, dirigées contre les peuples dépendants. Avec le moindre respect pour l'humanité, pouvait-on se dérober à cette exhortation à se conduire comme un être humain, sinon avec humanité?

89. Il se trouve que les abstentionnistes ne venaient ni d'Afrique, ni d'Asie, ni, en général, d'Amérique latine. Ils venaient de ce qu'on appelle "le monde libre", à savoir un reste d'empires, que l'on qualifie souvent de monde libre et dont on vante si souvent la liberté en des placards publicitaires voisinant avec ceux du Coca-Cola et des bas de nylon.

90. Quoi qu'il en soit, la résolution a été adoptée et est devenue la résolution des Nations Unies, la résolution de l'Organisation qui est le dernier refuge du genre humain et qui représente la conscience de l'humanité. A l'origine, la question avait été proposée par l'Union soviétique^{3/}, mais une fois inscrite à

^{3/} Documents officiels de l'Assemblée générale, quinzième session, Annexes, point 87 de l'ordre du jour, document A/4501.

l'ordre du jour de l'Assemblée générale elle est devenue la propriété des Nations Unies. Elle n'appartient plus à l'Union soviétique; elle est la propriété et l'un des biens les plus précieux des Nations Unies. Il est également vrai que la résolution reprenait en grande partie les termes d'un projet de l'Union soviétique^{4/}, mais une fois adoptée par l'Assemblée générale elle n'était plus la propriété de l'Union soviétique. Elle appartient aux Nations Unies et c'est pour elles un bien sacré.

91. Nous étions donc en droit d'attendre que la résolution ne reste pas une voix perdue dans le désert du colonialisme. Nous pensions que le désert se transformerait en un paradis de liberté. Nous espérions que cette magnifique résolution toucherait enfin le cœur des puissances administrantes et guérirait le monde de cette plaie qui a flétri l'histoire de l'humanité. Je dis bien cette "magnifique résolution", à dessein. Sur les 1 640 résolutions qui ont été adoptées jusqu'à ce jour par l'Assemblée, la résolution sur le colonialisme occupe la première place, car elle est sans parallèle et sans précédent dans l'histoire de l'Organisation. Peut-on trouver un bien plus précieux que la liberté? Aucun problème ne peut primer celui de la dignité de l'homme. En somme, quel est l'état d'un homme dominé dans son propre pays, quelle est la valeur de la vie pour une nation humiliée sur son propre sol, quelle vie peut-on mener en dehors de sa patrie? Sans liberté, la vie est sans valeur; sans dignité, la vie est sans valeur; sans foyer, sans patrie, la vie n'est plus une vie. C'est l'abomination de la désolation, l'abîme du désespoir, le crime des crimes.

92. Ce fut donc de la part de l'Union soviétique une initiative dont nous devons véritablement lui savoir gré que de demander, l'an dernier, l'inscription de cette question à notre ordre du jour. Cette année, l'Union soviétique a demandé que l'Assemblée se saisisse à nouveau de la question [voir A/4859]. Mais ce qui rend cette initiative plus éclatante — je le répète, ce qui la rend plus éclatante — de la part de l'Union soviétique, c'est qu'elle a présenté cette demande aux Nations Unies par télégramme, et ce n'est pas souvent que l'on a vu, dans les annales des Nations Unies, une demande d'inscription ainsi présentée par un télégramme de l'Union soviétique. Bien entendu, j'entends d'ici les commérages et les murmures: on dira naturellement qu'il s'agit là d'une mesure de propagande de la part de l'Union soviétique, d'une demande vexatoire faite dans l'intention de démasquer la communauté occidentale. Je ne veux pas entamer une polémique ni réfuter pareille affirmation. Vraie ou fausse, cela n'a pas d'importance. Ce qui compte réellement, c'est le fond de la question. Le fait demeure que c'est l'Union soviétique qui, à la dernière session, a ouvert le dossier des peuples dépendants et des pays asservis. L'initiative n'eût pas été moins heureuse si elle avait émané des pays occidentaux, s'ils avaient eux-mêmes porté la question devant les Nations Unies. Après tout, les puissances occidentales ne représentent-elles pas "le monde libre", du moins de nom, sinon de renom?

93. Mais, en laissant de côté le bon renom, ou plutôt le mauvais renom, si vous le voulez bien, du colonialisme ou de l'impérialisme, c'est l'impérialisme occidental qui, une fois encore, a obligé les Nations Unies à examiner le problème. Certes, la question a été inscrite à la demande de l'Union soviétique, mais ce

sont les puissances occidentales qui lui ont donné son urgence. On pourra bien dire que l'Union soviétique cherche une nouvelle fois à acculer les puissances occidentales. Mais — et je pose la question en toute humilité et avec tout le respect dû aux puissances occidentales représentées à l'Assemblée — pourquoi les puissances occidentales choisissent-elles toujours de se laisser ainsi acculer? Si elles ne veulent pas avoir le dos au mur, pourquoi choisissent-elles toujours de s'appuyer au mur de l'impérialisme? Pourquoi l'Occident ne sort-il pas de cette impasse pour avancer dans l'espace découvert de la liberté et de l'indépendance? Pourquoi l'Union soviétique doit-elle toujours être le défenseur de la liberté des peuples dépendants et pourquoi les puissances occidentales s'obstinent-elles à être leurs geôliers, leurs exploiters cupides et leurs oppresseurs entêtés? Enfin, pourquoi les puissances occidentales n'envoient-elles pas des télégrammes aux Nations Unies pour annoncer l'émancipation des peuples "libres", avant que l'Union soviétique ne demande par télégramme leur libération?

94. Je ne lance pas ces accusations au hasard et sans raison. Les puissances occidentales n'ont pas pris garde au mouvement de décolonisation, elles n'ont pas tenu compte de la résolution adoptée par les Nations Unies, le plus noble appel jamais lancé par l'Organisation. La résolution de l'an dernier n'était pas une condamnation. Elle ne calomniait ni n'offensait personne. Elle visait simplement la liberté politique, l'émancipation économique et la libération sociale. Elle signifiait que l'homme ne pouvait être opprimé à cause de sa peau foncée ni méprisé à cause de ses cheveux crépus.

95. Néanmoins, les puissances occidentales ont fait la sourde oreille et se sont bouché les yeux. Non seulement elles n'ont pas répondu à l'appel de la communauté mondiale, mais elles ont poursuivi leur politique d'oppression et de domination, elles ont accentué leurs mesures de discrimination raciale et accéléré l'extermination d'êtres humains. Les faits sont nombreux, les preuves sont accablantes.

96. Si nous jetons un regard d'ensemble sur notre planète, nous constatons avec stupeur qu'il n'y a pas moins de 88 territoires, dans notre monde, qui sont encore sous domination étrangère. Nous avons parcouru un long chemin sur la route de la liberté. Les Nations Unies sont maintenant une Organisation de plus de 100 nations. Mais ce n'est pas représenter l'universalité que de refuser à 88 territoires d'Asie et d'Afrique le droit de jouir de la souveraineté dont nous jouissons et d'être indépendants comme nous le sommes.

97. Si nous parlons chiffres, si nous ne devons être impressionnés que par les chiffres, nous dirons que ces territoires ne comptent pas moins de 75 millions de personnes foulées aux pieds, avilies et découragées. Leurs terres sont riches d'or et de diamant, de pétrole et de caoutchouc, d'étain et de zinc, d'uranium et d'argent, mais ces peuples sont les plus pauvres du monde. Ils ont en abondance de la laine, du coton et de la soie, mais ils vont nus jusqu'à la cheville. On tire des médicaments de leurs herbes, de leurs fleurs et de leurs arbustes, mais ils sont malades et victimes d'infections et d'épidémies. L'érudition, la culture et la civilisation jalonnent leur histoire, mais ils sont ignorants et analphabètes.

98. En Afrique seulement, il reste 27 territoires comprenant 50 millions d'habitants qui gémissent sous le joug de la civilisation occidentale, synonyme de

^{4/} Ibid., document A/4502.

l'impérialisme occidental. Le Royaume-Uni, à lui seul, asservit encore 35 millions d'hommes sous son joug, 35 millions d'hommes qui sont le dernier vestige de l'empire de Kipling. C'est la domination de l'homme blanc sur la race noire. Si la couleur est une honte, alors la couleur honteuse ne doit pas être celle de l'Africain. La couleur honteuse, c'est celle du cœur noir de l'Europe et de la noire conscience de l'Occident. En ce sens, la couleur n'est pas seulement une honte, mais le fléau des fléaux.

99. Néanmoins, n'examinons pas le colonialisme en général, mais voyons-le dans son actualité, non pas dans le passé, mais dans le présent. Le passé s'est envolé avec toutes ses misères et toutes ses détresses, mais le présent est devant nous, nous pouvons le voir, en prendre conscience et le sentir.

100. L'impérialisme est toujours à l'œuvre au Congo. Les diamants et l'uranium en sont la cible. Ce que l'on a qualifié de scandale des richesses congolaises est devenu un scandale international, et sa récente victime — victime grande et aimée — a été Dag Hammarskjöld. La Belgique, la France et le Royaume-Uni — tirant de différents angles sur différentes cibles — ont précipité le Congo dans la guerre civile, dans le chaos et dans un bain de sang. La raison en est l'impérialisme, et la sécession du Katanga n'est rien d'autre que de l'impérialisme, pur et sans déguisement. Ce qui est avilissant, c'est bien ce cessez-le-feu avec le Katanga. En politique internationale, le cessez-le-feu est une pratique très louable en elle-même. Mais lorsqu'il s'agit d'agresseurs et d'envahisseurs, il ne peut pas y avoir de cessez-le-feu; lorsque l'intégrité territoriale est en jeu, il ne peut pas y avoir de cessez-le-feu.

101. En fait, les forces de l'impérialisme ont privé de leur substance toutes les résolutions des Nations Unies qui insistaient sur l'unicité du Congo, l'unité de son peuple et l'intégrité de son territoire. De même qu'Israël fit son apparition sous le parapluie d'un cessez-le-feu, de même le Katanga naît actuellement à la faveur d'un arrangement de cessez-le-feu. Tout comme l'impérialisme occidental a profondément enfoncé Israël comme un coin au cœur du Moyen-Orient, le Katanga est maintenant enfoncé dans le cœur de l'Afrique: ce sont toujours les mêmes tactiques et la même stratégie.

102. En Angola, le tableau est des plus sombres. Les souffrances humaines y sont incroyables. L'impérialisme procède à une extermination en masse. Par définition, c'est un génocide. Le peuple de l'Angola lutte afin de détruire un vieux mythe de l'empire portugais. Le Portugal se dit innocent de toute discrimination raciale, mais il est coupable d'un crime encore plus odieux: l'extinction d'une race par assimilation. Le Portugal continue à s'agripper à cette hérésie périmée d'un Angola qui serait un autre Portugal au sein de l'Afrique. Ni l'histoire, ni la géographie n'ont encore enseigné au Portugal sa situation sur la carte du monde. L'océan Atlantique ne semble pas assez vaste pour séparer l'Angola du Portugal. En fait, l'attitude du Portugal n'est elle-même qu'un océan d'arguments fallacieux, caractéristiques de l'impérialisme et du raisonnement des impérialistes.

103. En Algérie, la France rumine la négociation et vomit le principe de l'autodétermination. La guerre est entrée dans sa huitième année et le président de Gaulle a perdu dans le désert du Sahara la piste glorieuse de la liberté. Le Gouvernement provisoire

de la République algérienne, qui est toujours résolu à lutter, reste prêt à négocier, mais le peuple algérien n'est pas disposé à se rendre. Par conséquent, c'est pour la France un suicide que de continuer cette guerre coloniale; il est particulièrement atroce de ne pas mettre fin aux atrocités de la guerre. La semaine dernière, le jour de la Toussaint, ce jour sacré en France, les Français ont abattu non moins d'une centaine d'Algériens et en ont blessé des centaines, victimes sans défense, sans armes et innocentes, comprenant des hommes et des femmes, sans discrimination. Qu'aurait donc fait la France si ce jour avait été non pas le jour de tous les saints, mais celui de tous les démons? Sur ce calendrier de cette guerre, chaque jour est voué aux démons pour la France et voué aux saints pour l'Algérie. La France se bat pour maintenir sa domination. L'Algérie se bat pour réaliser sa libération. Voilà qui suffit à flétrir l'impérialisme et tous ceux qui l'appuient.

M. Padilla Nervo (Mexique), vice-président, prend la présidence.

104. A la porte de l'Algérie, il y a Bizerte, où la France conserve une base militaire contre la volonté d'un Etat Membre de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, d'un Etat pleinement indépendant et souverain. C'est là du pur colonialisme, du pur impérialisme, mis en comprimé dans une base militaire. La France prétend qu'elle conserve la base navale de Bizerte pour sa défense et celle du monde libre. Je dirai simplement qu'il s'agit ici d'une base qui ne repose sur aucune base. Il n'y a même pas l'apparence d'un droit légitime, pour la France, de conserver une base navale sur le territoire d'un autre Etat et contre la volonté de sa population. On ne peut maintenir en Tunisie une base militaire contre l'opposition résolue de la Tunisie. Le président Bourguiba — et je sais que le président Mongi Slim peut m'entendre — a courageusement demandé à la France d'évacuer Bizerte, de s'en aller de son territoire, de sa patrie. La Tunisie n'entend pas devenir un champ de bataille, ni dans une guerre froide ni dans une guerre véritable. La Tunisie n'est ni un satellite ni un vassal de la France. Que la France se défende, mais en France! que le président de Gaulle défende la France en Europe, je vous prie, mais non en Afrique, à Marseille, mais non à Bizerte! Si une guerre devait se déclencher — que Dieu nous en préserve —, pourquoi Bizerte devrait-elle devenir une cible, pourquoi la Tunisie devrait-elle devenir un champ de bataille, pourquoi le continent africain tout entier devrait-il devenir un cimetière?

105. En Afrique du Sud, tout un peuple est persécuté. La discrimination raciale est la politique déclarée du Gouvernement de l'Union sud-africaine. Je crains bien qu'il ne s'agisse ici ni d'un gouvernement, ni d'une union, ni de l'Afrique, et je le dis avec tout le respect qui convient. En fait, il y a un gouvernement, mais un gouvernement par lequel le blanc règne sur le noir; il y a une union, mais une union de discrimination et de persécution; enfin, il n'y a rien d'africain là-dedans, car l'Afrique ne peut pas être partie à des actes si honteux, qu'ils se réclament de la religion ou de la race. Le Portugal a défié au moins une quinzaine de résolutions adoptées par l'Assemblée générale; à la seule exception d'Israël, il n'y a pas un seul autre Etat parmi les Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies qui puisse produire un pareil bilan de défi et de résistance aux volontés de la communauté internationale, exprimées dans les résolutions adoptées par les Nations Unies. La situation en Afrique du Sud

est des plus terribles. Non seulement elle est déplorable, mais elle est devenue humainement intolérable. L'Afrique du Sud a récemment été proclamée république; mais une république sans le soutien de son peuple, en fait une république conçue pour tourmenter, torturer et persécuter son propre peuple. Les nombreuses résolutions adoptées contre l'Afrique du Sud se sont révélées stériles et il est grand temps que l'Afrique du Sud soit expulsée de l'Organisation des Nations Unies. C'est la seule sanction qui permettra d'extirper la discrimination raciale et la persécution du sol de l'Afrique. Peut-être un gouvernement pourra-t-il être formé en exil pour représenter le peuple de l'Afrique du Sud, lui rendre son indépendance et rejoindre les Nations Unies? Ce serait là une journée historique pour les Nations Unies et une occasion de joie pour toute l'humanité.

106. Passant à l'Asie, nous nous trouvons devant le problème de la périphérie de la péninsule arabe. Pour y maintenir leur emprise, les Britanniques ont érigé un "mur du pétrole" — c'est la dernière invention de leur stratégie — autour de ce berceau antique du peuple arabe. Depuis Aden sur la mer Rouge jusqu'aux territoires méridionaux du Yémen et à la côte d'Oman, un rideau d'acier a été érigé par les Britanniques, avec des bases militaires disséminées ici et là. Des guerres de libération battent leur plein dans cette région et il en est de même des mesures de répression prises par les Britanniques. Il ne se passe guère de jour où l'on n'enregistre des combats, des bombardements aériens, des destructions de villes ouvertes ou de villages sans défense. L'histoire de l'agression britannique contre le peuple de l'Oman est trop bien connue pour être relatée maintenant dans le détail. En 1957, la question a été portée devant le Conseil de sécurité sous le feu des avions à réaction britanniques, pour ainsi dire. L'an dernier, la question a été portée devant l'Assemblée générale avec accompagnement de chars et de canons britanniques. La question sera discutée en temps voulu. Mais je dirai que cette semaine même, alors que la délégation du Royaume-Uni parlait de désarmement à la Première Commission et de droits de l'homme ou d'autodétermination en d'autres commissions, des armées britanniques apportaient au peuple de l'Oman le massacre et la destruction. Les renseignements officiels les plus récents révèlent le débarquement de nouvelles troupes britanniques, de nouveaux raids militaires, de nouveaux emprisonnements de dirigeants de l'Oman et, fait tragique, l'imposition du couvre-feu au peuple de l'Oman, dans sa propre patrie, par les autorités britanniques.

107. Je me demande bien en vertu de quelle autorité les Britanniques sont en Oman; je serais reconnaissant au représentant du Royaume-Uni de bien vouloir monter à cette tribune pour dire à l'Assemblée en vertu de quelle autorité les Britanniques sont en Oman. Leur seule présence, pour ne pas parler de leur agression militaire, est une violation des dispositions de la Charte et des obligations qui incombent au Royaume-Uni en sa qualité de membre permanent du Conseil de sécurité. Quelle autorité leur donne le droit d'imposer le couvre-feu en un territoire qu'ils ne possèdent pas et à un peuple qui n'est pas le leur? S'il faut imposer le couvre-feu à quelqu'un, c'est aux forces armées britanniques qu'il faut l'imposer, il faut leur imposer un couvre-feu qui leur interdise à jamais de quitter le Royaume-Uni, un couvre-feu immédiat et éternel, afin que le peuple de l'Oman, de même que le reste du monde, puisse jouir d'une paix et d'une tranquillité

éternelles. Voilà le couvre-feu que le Royaume-Uni peut imposer, un couvre-feu retenant ses forces dans les Iles britanniques et leur interdisant à jamais de les quitter. Alors le peuple de l'Oman, de même que tous les peuples d'Afrique et d'Asie, pourra demeurer en paix dans son propre pays. Voilà quel est le couvre-feu que le Royaume-Uni doit imposer, à ses propres forces, mais non au peuple de l'Oman.

108. En ce qui concerne l'Irian occidental, nous voyons, à la présente session, les Pays-Bas chercher à maintenir le colonialisme sous le masque de la décolonisation. L'an dernier, les Pays-Bas se sont abstenus dans le vote sur la résolution contenant la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux; à la présente session, les Pays-Bas fondent leur thèse sur cette même résolution qu'ils se sont précédemment abstenus de voter et ils présentent aujourd'hui à l'Assemblée un projet de résolution [A/L.354] fondé sur cette résolution. Cela suffit, en soi, pour révéler les mobiles cachés de ce projet de résolution que nous présentent maintenant les Pays-Bas; une preuve supplémentaire nous en est fournie par la déclaration qu'a faite cet après-midi le Ministre des affaires étrangères des Pays-Bas lorsqu'il a parlé de la "Nouvelle-Guinée néerlandaise". Je me demande bien comment il se fait que la Nouvelle-Guinée soit néerlandaise alors que les Pays-Bas se disent si désireux de lui accorder l'indépendance.

109. Le fond de ce projet de résolution est plus regrettable encore que sa rédaction. Ce texte réclame une enquête sur la situation dans le territoire et il vise un plébiscite et l'institution d'une tutelle des Nations Unies. Ces mesures sont inacceptables. Elles sont contraires à la résolution de l'Assemblée générale sur laquelle on prétend les fonder. L'indépendance ne peut se substituer à l'unité d'un territoire ou à son intégrité. L'autodétermination ne peut d'aucune façon signifier l'autodestruction, ni être interprétée ainsi. L'Irian occidental est partie intégrante de l'Indonésie, ce qui rend tout plébiscite inacceptable. Pour les Pays-Bas, l'idée d'un plébiscite en Irian occidental est acceptable, puisqu'il ne s'agit pas de leur territoire. Il est facile de parler d'un plébiscite lorsque le territoire intéressé n'appartient pas à votre propre patrie. Les Pays-Bas accepteraient-ils un plébiscite portant sur une province néerlandaise, sur une province faisant partie intégrante des Pays-Bas? Cela explique pourquoi l'Indonésie n'accepte pas cette proposition: qui pourrait en effet accepter le partage de son territoire et une mesure détruisant l'unité de sa population?

110. Au lieu de fabriquer un plan aussi compliqué, complexe et inacceptable, les Pays-Bas feraient mieux de négocier avec l'Indonésie sur la restitution de l'enfant à sa mère. L'Organisation des Nations Unies ne peut être une mère pour ceux qui ont déjà une mère prête à s'occuper d'eux, à les aimer et à se sacrifier pour eux. En agissant ainsi, les Pays-Bas s'assureraient non seulement l'amitié du grand peuple indonésien, sous la direction éclairée de son distingué président, mais aussi le respect et l'amitié de tous les peuples d'Asie et d'Afrique.

111. Finalement, il est encore un autre aspect du colonialisme. Je veux parler du sionisme, sous sa forme et dans sa manifestation les plus repoussantes. Ici, je donne l'assurance à l'Assemblée que je ne me laisserai pas entraîner par les passions d'un Arabe ou par les émotions d'un réfugié. Ce ne sont pas mes propres paroles que je vais prononcer, ni mes

propres idées que je vais exposer, ni mes anciennes déclarations que je vais répéter. Je vais laisser parler les dirigeants sionistes eux-mêmes et leur laisser énoncer leurs propres idées.

112. Dans son discours inaugural au Congrès sioniste, réuni à Londres en 1900, Theodor Herzl, le père du sionisme, disait: "L'Angleterre, qui promène son regard sur toutes les mers, nous comprendra et comprendra nos objectifs." Il s'adressait à l'Angleterre, qui était alors le plus grand des pays impérialistes.

113. Le 18 mai 1901, Herzl, au cours de sa première entrevue avec le sultan ottoman, offrit 1 600 000 livres sterling pour obtenir une charte ouvrant la Palestine à la colonisation juive. Le sultan, souverain d'une grande intégrité, rejeta l'offre et refusa en ces nobles termes de se laisser corrompre:

"Conseillez à M. Herzl de ne pas insister. Je ne puis aliéner un pied carré de terre, car ce n'est pas la mienne, mais celle de mon peuple. Mon peuple a combattu pour sa terre, cette Terre sainte de Palestine, et il l'a fertilisée de son sang. Que les Juifs gardent leurs millions. Si mon empire est démembré, peut-être recevront-ils la Palestine gratuitement, mais on ne mutilera que nos cadavres. Jamais je n'accepterai la vivisection."

114. Le 27 octobre 1902, le même Herzl demandait au Secrétaire britannique aux colonies, Joseph Chamberlain, d'autoriser la colonisation juive à Chypre. Non en Palestine cette fois, mais à Chypre — c'est toujours la même idée générale d'impérialisme, où que ce soit. Le ministre britannique refusa d'accéder à la requête. Le lendemain, Herzl proposait au Secrétaire britannique aux affaires étrangères, lord Lansdowne, l'établissement d'une colonie juive dans la péninsule du Sinaï. Herzl se rendit au Caire pour négocier avec lord Cromer^{5/}, mais le Gouvernement égyptien repoussa le projet purement et simplement. En fait, dès 1840, en Grande-Bretagne, lord Shaftesbury avait proposé — c'est un point très intéressant pour nos amis d'Asie et d'Afrique — un plan de colonisation juive comme moyen d'utiliser "la richesse du peuple juif" pour le développement économique de régions arriérées. Plus tard, lord Lansdowne offrit aux sionistes une certaine superficie sur les hautes terres d'Afrique orientale britannique. Je répète: Afrique orientale britannique.

115. Le 8 février 1920, faisant allusion au succès futur du sionisme, M. Churchill, le plus grand ou le dernier architecte de l'empire britannique, s'exprimait en ces termes:

"Si, dans le cours de notre vie, était créé, sur les rives du Jourdain, sous la protection de la Couronne britannique, un Etat juif qui pourrait compter peut-être trois ou quatre millions de Juifs, un événement se serait produit qui serait particulièrement en harmonie avec les intérêts les plus véritables de l'empire britannique."

C'est-à-dire: les intérêts britanniques les plus véritables dans cette région.

116. En fait, l'*Encyclopædia Britannica*, dans sa dernière édition, rattache la colonisation juive en Palestine à "la sécurité permanente des abords du canal de Suez". C'est un fait enregistré dans des documents historiques que le mouvement sioniste, qui

n'est qu'impérialisme et colonialisme, s'est adressé à toutes les grandes puissances en tenant un seul et même langage, celui du colonialisme. A chaque grande puissance il a tenu un seul et même langage.

117. Aux Etats-Unis, le sionisme a été exposé comme un mouvement de mise en valeur économique tendant à assécher les marécages, à irriguer le désert et à amener le progrès dans toute la région. Notons que le colonialisme utilise exactement les mêmes arguments en Afrique et en Asie.

118. A la Grande-Bretagne, on a prôné le mouvement sioniste en lui attribuant l'objet de "défendre le canal de Suez et la route des Indes".

119. A la France, le plan sioniste a été expliqué en termes particulièrement passionnants et capables de susciter l'intérêt:

"Le pays que nous nous proposons d'occuper comprendra la Basse-Egypte, le sud de la Syrie et le sud du Liban. Cette position... nous rendra... maîtres du commerce de l'Inde, de l'Arabie, de l'Afrique du Sud et de l'Afrique orientale... La France ne peut que souhaiter voir la route menant aux Indes et en Chine occupée par un peuple qui la suivra jusqu'à la mort... Quel peuple est mieux fait pour cet objectif que le peuple juif, qui est voué au même objectif depuis le commencement de l'histoire? Il ne fait aucun doute que le Français et le Juif ont été créés l'un pour l'autre."

120. A l'Allemagne, les chefs sionistes ont présenté leur programme en ces termes:

"Nous voulons établir sur les rives orientales de la Méditerranée une culture moderne et un centre commercial qui, directement et indirectement, seront un appui pour le germanisme. Grâce à l'émigration juive, la Palestine pourra devenir une base politique et commerciale, un Gibraltar germanoturc aux confins de l'océan anglo-arabe."

121. A l'Union soviétique, en 1944, Ben Horin, chef israélite notoire, tenait ce langage:

"En encourageant l'émigration juive, la Russie soviétique non seulement gagnerait la gratitude éternelle de nombreux groupes juifs dans le monde entier..., mais aussi s'assurerait une excellente position au Moyen-Orient."

122. On voit ainsi comment le mouvement sioniste a expliqué ses mobiles selon qu'il s'adressait à la France, aux Etats-Unis, au Royaume-Uni, à l'Allemagne ou enfin à l'Union soviétique. Le sionisme a progressé par bonds, tout comme un autre mouvement impérialiste. Il s'est adressé à tous. Mais ce sont les Britanniques qui, le 2 novembre 1917, au milieu de la première guerre mondiale, ont cherché à s'assurer l'appui du sionisme dans leur effort de guerre et, à cette fin, ont remis à Rothschild, l'un des piliers de la colonisation, une déclaration par laquelle ils s'engageaient à faciliter la colonisation juive en Terre sainte. Aussitôt après la première guerre mondiale, contre la volonté de la population autochtone et sous la protection des baïonnettes britanniques, la colonisation juive a commencé.

123. En application de cette déclaration, 700 000 colons juifs ont été admis dans le pays. Pour financer la colonisation, le sionisme a créé deux institutions, le Keren Kayemît et le Keren Haysod, à l'instar des nombreuses institutions de financement créées en Algérie par la France et au Congo par la Belgique.

^{5/} Agent britannique et consul général de Grande-Bretagne, conseiller du khédive Tewfik.

Selon le témoignage de sir John Simpson, expert officiel du Gouvernement britannique, des milliers et des milliers de paysans autochtones ont été déposés de leurs terres. Ils ont été dépossédés de leurs terres à la suite de cette colonisation juive. Plus tard, avec l'avènement d'Israël et du fait de la terreur et des atrocités exercées, 1 200 000 Arabes, musulmans et chrétiens, ont été dépossédés de leurs terres. En fait, ils ont été dépossédés non seulement de leurs terres, mais aussi de leurs foyers. Ils sont devenus des réfugiés et ils vivent en exil depuis 14 ans.

124. Tel est le sionisme, révélé par ses auteurs et ses partisans, illustré par ses réalisations. Le sionisme a provoqué le partage de la Palestine et l'expulsion du peuple palestinien — les deux plus grands maux qu'ait jamais connus la Terre sainte au cours de sa longue histoire.

125. Mais ce qui est extraordinaire, c'est qu'un tel mouvement impérialiste ait son centre aux Etats-Unis, le premier, le plus grand pays qui se soit rebellé contre le colonialisme et l'impérialisme, les Etats-Unis au glorieux passé anticolonialiste. Le sionisme siège aux Etats-Unis et tire de ce pays ses ressources financières. Tout se passe comme si, présentement, les Etats-Unis étaient une sorte de bourse des valeurs spécialisée dans les actions et les obligations sionistes. Que les Etats-Unis le veuillent ou non, il y a là un mouvement impérialiste qui s'exerce en leur nom. La raison en est très simple. Aider le sionisme, s'en faire le complice, ce n'est rien d'autre que de l'impérialisme sous sa forme la plus haïssable et dans sa manifestation la plus odieuse. Les peuples épris de paix, les combattants de la liberté sont fondés à demander aux Etats-Unis de mettre le sionisme hors la loi et d'interdire son activité, si les Etats-Unis veulent reconquérir la situation morale que leur a valu leur tradition anticolonialiste.

126. Mais il ne suffit pas de dénoncer le colonialisme, il faut encore parvenir à la libération. La quinzième session est celle qui a proclamé une déclaration. Nous devons faire de la présente session celle qui aura pris des mesures d'application et la proposition de l'Union soviétique tendant à créer une commission chargée d'organiser l'application de la déclaration doit être accueillie favorablement, comme le point de départ de mesures positives. Nous appuyons pleinement la création d'une commission des Nations Unies chargée de donner enfin du corps à la résolution sur la décolonisation. Mais nous avons certaines réserves à faire sur le projet de résolution de l'Union soviétique [A/L.355]. L'Union soviétique propose une représentation des "trois principaux groupes d'Etats". Telle est l'expression utilisée dans le projet de résolution de l'Union soviétique. Elle propose que les trois principaux groupes d'Etats soient représentés à la commission. Nous ne sommes pas en faveur de cette manière d'envisager cette question particulière. Ceux qui ont partie liée avec le colonialisme, directement ou indirectement, doivent être exclus de la commission. Le condamné ne peut être juge, le criminel ne peut être accusateur public, sinon le procès est une parodie et l'accusation est un simulacre. Si dans cette commission ne siègent ni les impérialistes ni leurs collaborateurs, le cadre sera prêt pour des mesures franches et une véritable mise en application de la déclaration.

127. Nous souhaitons ardemment que la commission puisse nous informer qu'elle a abouti à des résultats

positifs. Elle emportera tous nos vœux pour le succès de sa mission. Aucune autre commission des Nations Unies n'aura été chargée d'une mission aussi noble: celle d'émanciper l'homme en lui rendant la liberté. Nous comptons que la commission pourra nous apprendre que la décolonisation est complète et universelle, afin que nous puissions fermer ce chapitre sanglant du colonialisme et entreprendre de réhabiliter l'histoire de l'humanité.

128. A propos de l'unité, nous espérons que la commission pourra nous apprendre l'union du Katanga au Congo, de l'Iran occidental à l'Indonésie et du littoral sud de la péninsule arabe au Yémen.

129. A propos de l'indépendance, nous espérons que la commission nous apprendra l'indépendance de l'Algérie, de l'Angola, de l'Oman et de l'Afrique du Sud.

130. Enfin, à propos de l'unité et de l'indépendance à la fois, nous espérons que la commission pourra nous apprendre que la Palestine a retrouvé l'unité et l'indépendance pour ses citoyens légitimes, musulmans, chrétiens et juifs, sans discrimination. Certains me diront peut-être que cela signifiera vraiment la fin d'Israël. C'est tout à fait vrai, mais il ne peut y avoir aucun doute que cette fin ne serve la cause de la paix en Palestine et celle de la stabilité du monde entier.

M. Slim (Tunisie) reprend la présidence.

131. Le PRESIDENT: Avant de passer à la deuxième question inscrite à notre ordre du jour, je vais donner la parole à quatre orateurs qui désirent exercer leur droit de réponse.

132. M. GODBER (Royaume-Uni) [traduit de l'anglais]: Je ne veux pas retarder les travaux de l'Assemblée, qui entend sans doute passer au point suivant, si important, de l'ordre du jour de cette séance. Cependant, certaines observations faites par l'orateur qui m'a précédé à cette tribune étaient si fâcheusement loin de la vérité que je ne puis les laisser sans réponse.

133. Le représentant de l'Arabie Saoudite parle avec une ferveur et une passion que je n'ai aucun espoir d'égaler. Il parle aussi avec un mépris des faits que je n'ai aucun désir d'imiter. Il a cru devoir faire certaines observations sur la politique et les actes du Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni, particulièrement en ce qui concerne le territoire du Sultanat de Mascate et d'Oman. Il est extrêmement regrettable que le représentant de l'Arabie Saoudite ait voulu se livrer une fois de plus à ces allégations extraordinaires. Ma délégation les rejette totalement et nous prouverons la fausseté absolue lorsque la question sera discutée à la Commission politique spéciale. Il me suffira pour l'instant de rappeler un bref passage du discours du représentant de l'Arabie Saoudite et de le réfuter directement. Je rappellerai simplement à l'Assemblée ce qu'il a dit à un certain moment:

"Mais... cette semaine même, alors que la délégation du Royaume-Uni parlait de désarmement à la Première Commission... des armées britanniques apportaient au peuple de l'Oman le massacre et la destruction."

Et il a ajouté:

"Les renseignements officiels les plus récents révèlent le débarquement de nouvelles troupes britanniques..."

134. Il n'y a pas un seul mot de vrai dans tout cela. Il n'y a absolument aucune force britannique stationnée dans la région. Le représentant de l'Arabie Saoudite a dit ensuite qu'il serait reconnaissant au représentant du Royaume-Uni de bien vouloir monter à cette tribune, ce que j'ai fait, de dire pourquoi les choses sont ainsi et d'expliquer pourquoi les Britanniques imposent le couvre-feu au peuple de l'Oman. Je réponds qu'il ne le font pas. Ils ne le font sous aucune forme; je le nie complètement et absolument. Cela, je pense, vaut beaucoup mieux que l'explication que le représentant de l'Arabie Saoudite a demandée. Tels sont les faits. Je ne m'y attarderai pas. Les faits sont les faits et n'importe qui peut les vérifier et en chercher la preuve.

135. Je dirai maintenant quelques mots sur un seul autre point. Le tout et la teneur du discours que nous venons d'entendre constituent en fait une attaque contre l'histoire de la politique coloniale de mon pays. Cette attaque, je la rejette. J'espère avoir l'occasion, au cours des jours prochains, de rappeler à l'Assemblée générale la vérité sur la colonisation britannique. J'en suis fier. La colonisation britannique a conduit plus de 600 millions d'êtres humains à l'indépendance durant ces 15 dernières années et la preuve vivante en est fournie par le spectacle de l'Assemblée elle-même.

136. Tels sont les faits. Je n'ai ni envie ni besoin d'entamer une polémique à leur sujet. Je préfère m'appuyer sur les faits; moi-même et ma délégation ne demandons qu'à être jugés d'après ces faits. Je ne veux rien dire de plus pour l'instant. J'espère y revenir, comme je l'ai dit, lorsque j'aurai l'occasion de m'expliquer complètement sur la question devant l'Assemblée.

137. M. COMAY (Israël) [traduit de l'anglais]: Puisque le représentant de l'Arabie Saoudite trouve le moyen de prononcer un discours contre l'Etat d'Israël à propos de n'importe laquelle des 94 questions inscrites à l'ordre du jour de l'Assemblée, ma délégation devrait prendre beaucoup trop du temps précieux de l'Assemblée si elle devait démentir toutes les fausses allégations et démasquer toutes les citations fabriquées que cet orateur vient de lui offrir. C'est pourquoi je me bornerai à dire que l'histoire du sionisme telle que le représentant de l'Arabie Saoudite vient de la raconter est un tissu d'absurdités. Le sionisme est le mouvement de libération nationale du peuple juif. Il nous a permis de regagner notre indépendance sur le sol de notre ancienne patrie, après que nous eûmes combattu la Grande-Bretagne, puis les armées arabes qui envahirent notre pays et essayèrent sans succès de détruire notre Etat. Israël est un membre permanent de la communauté mondiale, un élément permanent de la configuration politique du Proche-Orient. Que cela plaise ou non au représentant de l'Arabie Saoudite n'a guère d'importance.

138. M. SCHURMANN (Pays-Bas) [traduit de l'anglais]: Je me bornerai à une seule observation, et la voici. Le représentant de l'Arabie Saoudite a rejeté les propositions que les Pays-Bas ont faites concernant la Nouvelle-Guinée. Certes, c'est son droit, bien que ce soit regrettable. Mais il les a rejetées pour une raison fondée sur ce qu'il appelle un fait, et qui est faux. Cela, ce n'est pas son droit, et c'est encore plus regrettable. Il a prétendu qu'il rejetait nos propositions parce que nous étions des hypocrites. Et pourquoi étions-nous des hypocrites? Parce que, a-t-il dit, lorsque l'an dernier l'Assem-

blée avait discuté et adopté la résolution sur la décolonisation, les Pays-Bas s'étaient abstenus, alors que maintenant, tout à coup, ils l'acceptaient. Le représentant de l'Arabie Saoudite a vraiment tiré tout ce qu'il pouvait de cet argument. Il l'a répété plusieurs fois avec de grands gestes et de grands éclats de voix. Il a dit que l'an dernier nous nous étions abstenus et que maintenant nous l'acceptons.

139. Lorsqu'on lance des accusations de ce genre, s'assurer de l'exactitude des faits est en général une précaution utile. Si le représentant de l'Arabie Saoudite s'était donné la peine de consulter les comptes rendus de la quinzième session où le vote par appel nominal sur cette résolution est consigné, il aurait constaté que les Pays-Bas ne se sont pas abstenus sur cette résolution, mais ont voté en sa faveur. C'est pourquoi tous ses arguments sur notre hypocrisie et tous les effets qu'il a voulu en tirer reposaient sur ce prétendu fait et, maintenant qu'il est établi que ce fait est faux, tout s'écroule.

140. Le représentant de l'Arabie Saoudite a cru bon de terminer en nous donnant ce qu'il considérait comme un bon conseil. Il a dit que ce que nous devrions faire, ce serait de remettre la Nouvelle-Guinée à l'Indonésie. Eh bien, je peux l'assurer que nous n'y manquerons pas, mais que nous le ferons seulement si la population papoue de la Nouvelle-Guinée en exprime le vœu. Tant qu'elle ne l'aura pas fait, nous ne suivrons pas le conseil que le représentant de l'Arabie Saoudite a bien voulu nous donner.

141. M. WIRJOPRANOTO (Indonésie) [traduit de l'anglais]: Au nom de ma délégation, je remercie le Président de me donner la possibilité de faire usage de mon droit de réponse.

142. Lorsque la délégation indonésienne écoutait la déclaration du Ministre des affaires étrangères des Pays-Bas, elle avait l'intention de ne pas demander la parole, puisque demain le chef de notre délégation aura amplement l'occasion de préciser notre position. Mais aujourd'hui notre silence pourrait être interprété à tort comme constituant une approbation de la position des Pays-Bas; or, nous n'approuvons pas la position des Pays-Bas.

143. Nous regrettons profondément que les Pays-Bas ne soient pas encore disposés à admettre notre position, qui est la suivante: l'Irian Barat, ou Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale, est une partie de l'Indonésie — les anciennes Indes néerlandaises —, parce qu'avant la guerre il y avait en Indonésie une seule administration et que l'Indonésie était gouvernée par un seul gouverneur général.

144. Je n'ai pas l'intention de traiter de nombreuses questions dans le détail aujourd'hui; il est cependant un point que je ne puis manquer de relever, à propos de la fin du discours du Ministre des affaires étrangères des Pays-Bas. Si le Président veut bien me le permettre, j'en citerai ce passage:

"Ce qui importe actuellement et plus que toute autre chose, c'est l'avenir de la Nouvelle-Guinée néerlandaise."

Je dois ajouter entre parenthèses que pour nous la Nouvelle-Guinée néerlandaise n'existe pas. Pour nous, il n'y a que la Nouvelle-Guinée indonésienne. Je continue la citation:

"Nul n'a le droit d'en décider, sauf les Papous eux-mêmes. Leur laisser la décision est la seule méthode conforme aux principes de la Charte. C'est

d'ailleurs aussi la seule qui permette de régler le différend de manière pacifique et durable,"

145. Ma première observation concernant cette déclaration est que le Ministre des affaires étrangères des Pays-Bas a commis une erreur, en fait une erreur monumentale, en appelant les habitants de l'Irian occidental des Papous. Le nom de "Papou" n'est pas très flatteur, c'est même une insulte. Que signifie le mot "Papou"? Il désigne un peuple non civilisé.

146. Nous n'appelons jamais nos frères et nos sœurs d'Irian occidental des "Papous". Mais pendant 350 ans avant la guerre et pendant 16 ans depuis la guerre, les Hollandais ont appelé nos frères et nos sœurs des Papous; ils continuent à les appeler des Papous, c'est-à-dire à les traiter de peuple sans civilisation. Cela, je ne peux l'accepter. C'est une erreur monumentale.

147. Il y a autre chose. Le peuple que les Pays-Bas appellent des Papous, ce sont nos frères et nos sœurs d'Irian. Nous appartenons tous à la même nation: la nation indonésienne. Depuis de nombreuses années nous ne reconnaissons qu'une seule nation: la nation indonésienne. Il n'y a qu'un pays: l'Indonésie. Il n'y a qu'une langue: la langue indonésienne. Il n'y a qu'un drapeau: le drapeau rouge et blanc.

148. Je rappellerai au Ministre des affaires étrangères des Pays-Bas un mot qui était très répandu avant la guerre et avant la proclamation de notre indépendance. Les Pays-Bas appelaient les autochtones d'Indonésie, ceux qui sont nés en Indonésie, des "inlanders". C'est un mot hollandais qui signifie "indigènes". Chacun sait — et la délégation des Pays-Bas le sait fort bien — que nous détestions le mot "inlander" parce que nous le considérions comme une insulte. C'est une insulte à notre nation qui avait une population de 70 millions d'habitants avant la guerre et qui a maintenant une population de 90 millions d'habitants que d'appeler nos compatriotes des "inlanders". Nous ne pouvons l'accepter.

149. Mais les Pays-Bas ont oublié une chose. Le 17 août 1945, ces mêmes inlanders sont devenus un peuple différent. Nous avons proclamé notre indépendance. Cela signifie qu'à cette date toute la nation, tout l'archipel s'est levé en masse contre la domination des colonialistes néerlandais.

150. Comme nous tous, originaires des autres îles, nos frères et nos sœurs d'Irian ne font qu'un avec nous. Nous formons un tout parce que nous avons eu autrefois le même sort. Nous avons souffert. Nous avons été exploités. Maintenant, nous sommes libres. Mais nos frères et nos sœurs d'Irian ne sont pas encore libres.

151. Sans préjudice de notre attitude à l'égard de la proclamation de notre indépendance, je voudrais me référer à nouveau à la déclaration du Ministre des affaires étrangères des Pays-Bas. Il a déclaré en fait que les Papous, comme il les appelle — et je demande à mes frères et mes sœurs d'Irian de m'excuser si j'emploie ce mot, qui est du Ministre des affaires étrangères des Pays-Bas —, ont le droit de décider. C'est clair; c'est même très clair.

152. Dans notre délégation, nous avons des collègues qui viennent de l'Irian. Si je ne me trompe pas, il y a dans la délégation néerlandaise des membres qui viennent de l'Irian — des frères et des sœurs. Je voudrais poser une question au Ministre des affaires étrangères des Pays-Bas, par l'intermédiaire du Pré-

sident. Le Ministre autoriserait-il les membres de sa délégation qui viennent de l'Irian à rencontrer les membres de notre délégation qui en viennent aussi? Cette question que je pose au Ministre des affaires étrangères des Pays-Bas est très importante, parce qu'elle se rapporte à la déclaration qu'il a faite. Pour notre part, nous donnons à nos collègues qui viennent de l'Irian toute liberté de rencontrer leurs frères de l'Irian, partout, en tout temps, sans conditions. Puis-je espérer que le Ministre des affaires étrangères des Pays-Bas adoptera la même position? J'ai posé une question catégorique. Puis-je avoir une réponse catégorique? J'ai posé une question simple. Puis-je avoir une réponse simple?

153. M. SCHURMANN (Pays-Bas) [de sa place] (traduit de l'anglais): Ma délégation demande à faire usage de son droit de réponse.

154. Le PRESIDENT: Je préférerais que les autres délégations qui désirent exercer leur droit de réponse attendent jusqu'à plus tard pour le faire, afin que l'Assemblée puisse maintenant commencer l'examen du second point de son ordre du jour.

POINTS 88 ET 22 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

La situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux (suite)

Assistance à l'Afrique:

a) Programme des Nations Unies pour l'indépendance (suite)

217. Le PRESIDENT: Avant de lever la séance, je donne la parole au représentant des Pays-Bas qui désire exercer très brièvement son droit de réponse.

218. M. SCHURMANN (Pays-Bas) [traduit de l'anglais]: Je serai extrêmement bref, mais j'ai cru devoir répondre à la question catégorique qui m'a été posée cet après-midi par le représentant de l'Indonésie. A mon sens, c'est la question la plus extraordinaire qui soit, car il nous a demandé si la délégation des Pays-Bas autoriserait ses membres papous à parler à des membres de la délégation indonésienne. Je dois dire que je ne comprends même pas la question, car la réponse est, de toute évidence: "Naturellement!" Tous les membres de notre délégation ont le droit de parler ou de refuser de parler à qui leur plaît et il n'existe aucune différence entre les membres néerlandais et les membres papous de notre délégation. Telle est la seule réponse que je puisse lui donner.

219. J'ajouterai que l'Assemblée aura pu constater que j'ai parlé de Papous et je l'ai fait à dessein. Le représentant de l'Indonésie a dit que ce terme était injurieux. Il se peut qu'en Indonésie il soit injurieux d'appeler quelqu'un "papou", mais je puis vous dire que ni aux Pays-Bas ni en Nouvelle-Guinée ce terme n'est considéré comme injurieux. Au contraire, en Nouvelle-Guinée, la population est très fière de ce nom et les habitants souhaitent être appelés des Papous, et ne veulent pas d'autre nom. Très récemment encore, le Conseil de la Nouvelle-Guinée lui-même a adopté une résolution constatant le désir des habitants d'être appelés des Papous.

220. Les observations que nous avons entendues cet après-midi sur ce point montrent donc, une fois de plus, combien mon ami Sukardjo Wirjopranoto est mal renseigné sur ces habitants, qui, dit-il, sont ses frères et ses sœurs.

La séance est levée à 19 h 15.

Nations Unies ASSEMBLÉE GÉNÉRALE

SEIZIÈME SESSION

Documents officiels



105
1050^e
SÉANCE PLÉNIÈRE

Jeudi 9 novembre 1961,
à 15 heures

NEW YORK

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POINTS 88 ET 22 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

La situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux (A/4859, A/4889, A/4915, A/4944, A/4954, A/4959, A/4960, A/L.354, A/L.355) [suite]

Assistance à l'Afrique (suite):

a) Programme des Nations Unies pour l'indépendance (A/L.357)

1. M. WACHUKU (Nigéria) [traduit de l'anglais]: Comme notre délégation l'a annoncé, je m'occuperai avant tout du deuxième point de notre ordre du jour, c'est-à-dire de la partie a du point 22: "Assistance à l'Afrique: programme des Nations Unies pour l'indépendance". Après quoi j'aurai certainement l'occasion de parler de notre projet de résolution [A/L.357].

2. Les deux points jumelés que nous examinons ont leur petite histoire, qui remonte à certains incidents de la quinzième session. L'Assemblée générale se rappelle en effet que la résolution 1514 (XV) a eu pour origine la déclaration de l'Union soviétique et son projet de résolution^{1/} qui demandait la suppression des colonies du monde entier. Les Etats africano-asiatiques ont repris la proposition soviétique et l'ont remaniée sous la forme d'un projet de résolution; la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale était donc en fait le résultat de ce remaniement africano-asiatique. Cette résolution est une déclaration de caractère général, mais elle ne précise pas par quelles méthodes on pouvait abolir le colonialisme.

3. A la même session, le représentant des Etats-Unis a, dans une lettre^{2/} au Secrétaire général, proposé pour l'Afrique un programme spécial. Plus tard, après la reprise de la session, la délégation des Etats-Unis a déposé un projet de résolution^{3/}, elle l'avait également adressé au Secrétaire général.

^{1/} Documents officiels de l'Assemblée générale, quinzième session, Annexes, point 87 de l'ordre du jour, document A/4502.

^{2/} Ibid., point 88 de l'ordre du jour, document A/4515.

^{3/} Ibid., document A/4515/Add.1.

4. Ce programme, intitulé: "Afrique: programme des Nations Unies pour l'indépendance et le développement", concernait particulièrement les Etats africains. Les représentants qui se trouvaient alors à la Première Commission ont certainement gardé le souvenir du désaccord qui m'a opposé au représentant des Etats-Unis. Quand nous avons entendu sa déclaration, nous avons eu l'impression qu'il n'avait pas fait une proposition concrète, et qu'il était assez injuste de nous demander de prendre l'initiative, car ce n'était pas de nous que venait la proposition. A la suite de cette discussion, les Etats-Unis ont fait une nouvelle proposition, que nous avons reprise, car on nous défiait de prendre l'initiative; j'ai eu l'honneur de présider le Comité de rédaction à qui l'on doit le projet de résolution qui figure dans le rapport que la Première Commission^{4/} a adressé sur ce point à l'Assemblée générale lors de sa quinzième session.

5. Le projet de résolution qui est venu devant la Première Commission traitait de deux sujets différents. Le texte était en deux parties: la partie A traitait de l'indépendance, la partie B ne traitait que du développement économique. Un passage de la partie A n'était pas pour plaire aux grandes puissances, spécialement à celles qui ont des colonies en Afrique. Je veux parler du paragraphe essentiel, le paragraphe 3 de la section A du projet de résolution, qui est ainsi conçu:

"Charge la Quatrième Commission de mettre au point, au moyen d'un dispositif approprié, des modalités précises, et de fixer notamment des dates limites, pour la mise en application de la résolution 1514 (XV), en particulier du paragraphe 5 de la déclaration qui y figure".

6. En d'autres termes, les puissances coloniales ne voulaient pas fixer de date limite. Le paragraphe mentionné, le paragraphe 5 de la déclaration qui figure dans la résolution 1514 (XV), est le suivant:

"Des mesures immédiates seront prises, dans les territoires sous tutelle, les territoires non autonomes et tous autres territoires qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance, pour transférer tous pouvoirs aux peuples de ces territoires, sans aucune condition ni réserve, conformément à leur volonté et à leurs vœux librement exprimés, sans aucune distinction de race, de croyance ou de couleur, afin de leur permettre de jouir d'une indépendance et d'une liberté complètes."

7. Le projet de résolution des Etats africains n'est pas venu en discussion à ce moment-là, pour deux raisons. L'une était la question des dates limites, comme je l'ai déjà dit, et l'autre était la proposition de créer une banque africaine de développement. Les grandes puissances n'étaient pas très satisfaites de ces deux importantes propositions; c'est pourquoi

^{4/} Ibid., document A/4747.

L'Assemblée a reporté à sa seizième session l'examen du point auquel se rapportait le projet de résolution. Comme je l'ai signalé, la forme même de ce texte ne conviendrait plus maintenant, car nous mentionnions certains organes subsidiaires de l'Assemblée qui auraient rempli certaines fonctions et auraient fait rapport à l'Assemblée à la présente session. L'Assemblée n'ayant pas discuté le projet de résolution, ne l'ayant donc ni adopté ni rejeté puisqu'elle en a différé l'examen, les organes en question n'ont pas pu fonctionner. Quand cette question de l'assistance à l'Afrique est revenue à l'ordre du jour de la présente session, nous avons constaté qu'elle était divisée en trois: nous discutons ici la partie a du point 22, tandis que les parties b et c du point 22 ont été renvoyées à la Deuxième Commission.

8. Comme le représentant des Etats-Unis avait défié les Etats africains de prendre l'initiative, comme j'avais participé à l'initiative du projet de résolution, et comme je savais qu'une des pierres d'achoppement était précisément la question des dates limites, ma délégation n'a évidemment pas dormi sur ses deux oreilles. Il ne nous échappe pas que l'on ne peut résoudre aucun problème relatif aux questions coloniales de l'Afrique sans prendre en considération le Gouvernement britannique. Quiconque se figure qu'il peut faire une déclaration ici et ne pas tenir compte du Royaume-Uni perd son temps. On ne peut pas voter l'indépendance de tous les pays d'Afrique sans prendre en considération le Royaume-Uni. Connaissant ses particularités et ses réactions habituelles, nous savions que la seule chose à faire était de négocier et de discuter avec lui. C'est ce qu'a fait mon pays pendant l'intervalle. Si le Gouvernement britannique s'est constamment refusé à envisager toute idée de dates limites, la Nigéria a eu pourtant la chance de l'amener à admettre qu'il faudrait au moins fixer une date au-delà de laquelle il ne subsisterait en Afrique aucun vestige des colonies. J'ai bien dit: "en Afrique", sans spécifier tel ou tel territoire. J'insiste sérieusement là-dessus, parce que l'interprétation qu'une certaine propagande a donnée du projet nigérien a eu des conséquences très fâcheuses.

9. Au début de la présente session, avant que la Nigéria n'ait officiellement déposé son projet de résolution [A/L.357] pour distribution à tous les Membres, nous en avons donné connaissance, comme il est normal, à d'autres Etats africains en sollicitant leurs observations; mais je dois dire qu'au lieu de susciter des critiques objectives et constructives, cela a fait naître ici une sorte de sinistre propagande qui laissait entendre que la Nigéria avait retardé de 10 ans l'indépendance des Etats d'Afrique. Ce bruit m'a semblé particulièrement injuste. Mais, comme il semblait se propager, tout ce que ma délégation pouvait faire était de déposer le texte officiellement, pour que toutes les délégations puissent en prendre connaissance une fois qu'il serait traduit dans toutes les langues officielles. C'est ce que nous avons fait.

10. Je dois dire que les allégations dont je viens de parler ont trouvé leur écho dans les débats. Mardi 7 novembre, au cours de la discussion générale, M. Lapine, représentant de l'Union soviétique, a fait les remarques suivantes:

"Certains prétendent qu'il faut reculer de 10 ans, en Afrique par exemple, la date de liquidation du colonialisme. Mais cela signifierait que nous devons accepter que le peuple du Sud-Ouest africain subisse encore pendant des années la barbarie moyenâgeuse des racistes sud-africains; que les peuples du

Kenya et de la Rhodésie du Nord vivent dans un régime de terreur et d'oppression. Pouvons-nous l'admettre? Certes non. Nous trahirions notre devoir à l'égard de l'humanité si nous ne nous opposions pas à la persistance du système colonial." [1048ème séance, par. 80.]

11. C'est parce que certains avaient intensifié leur propagande contre le projet de résolution, parce qu'ils en avaient faussé le sens de propos délibéré, que le représentant de l'Union soviétique a été amené à faire cette déclaration, dont on ne peut certes pas dire qu'elle s'inspire du texte du projet nigérien.

12. Qu'y a-t-il dans ce projet de résolution? Si l'on examine le préambule et si l'on en compare le texte et le texte des différents paragraphes à la série de résolutions que l'Assemblée a adoptée sur le colonialisme, on s'apercevra que l'Assemblée en a déjà, sous une forme ou une autre, accepté tous les termes, de même que le préambule. Ainsi, personne ne saurait s'opposer sérieusement au préambule, puisque son texte peut se retrouver dans les documents de l'Assemblée générale. La seule innovation d'importance se trouve au paragraphe 1 de la déclaration qui en constitue le dispositif, et que je vais lire pour que personne n'ait de doute sur sa teneur. Je lis depuis le dernier considérant:

"Fermement convaincue que tous les peuples d'Afrique ont un droit inaliénable à la pleine liberté, à l'exercice de leur souveraineté et à l'intégrité de leur territoire national,

"Proclame solennellement:"

Le paragraphe 1 se lit comme suit:

"Que tous les territoires et peuples coloniaux, dépendants ou non autonomes d'Afrique doivent accéder à l'indépendance d'ici au 1er décembre 1970 au plus tard".

13. "D'ici au 1er décembre 1970 au plus tard", cette déclaration concerne expressément l'Afrique. On a appelé cette période de 10 ans "la décennie africaine". La Nigéria ne veut pas qu'il soit dit que "décennie africaine" n'était qu'un mot, elle ne veut pas que ces 10 ans se passent sans être effectivement la "décennie africaine". Le projet de résolution dit que "d'ici au 1er décembre 1970 au plus tard", toute l'Afrique doit être complètement libre et indépendante. On notera que nulle part le projet de résolution n'énumère des territoires, que nulle part il ne fait mention d'un seul territoire non autonome d'Afrique.

14. Nous sommes bien entendu assez réalistes pour comprendre qu'on ne peut pas arriver ici à des conclusions sur la date où tel pays doit devenir libre et indépendant, en ne tenant compte que des facteurs historiques. Bien des facteurs sont à prendre en considération. Il faut consulter les dirigeants politiques des régions intéressées. Après tout, ce sont eux qui gouvernent ces régions, et non pas nous. Il faut aussi consulter les puissances qui ont autorité sur ces régions, parce qu'elles sont intéressées à toute l'affaire. L'Assemblée a adopté beaucoup de résolutions qui concernent l'Afrique du Sud, à propos du Sud-Ouest africain. Quel en a été le résultat? L'ONU n'est pas un gouvernement et n'a pas le pouvoir d'imposer sa volonté à aucun de ses membres indépendants. L'Assemblée adopte une résolution, sans plus; les conséquences varieront selon que l'Etat Membre est capable ou non de s'acquitter des obligations que lui fait la Charte et de se plier aux décisions de l'As-

semblée générale. Quand ce pays refuse de reconnaître l'autorité des Nations Unies et d'appliquer les décisions de l'Assemblée générale, on n'y peut rien, sinon revenir ici et dire que ce pays-là a refusé de se plier à la décision. L'autre jour encore, quand nous avons dit qu'il fallait censurer l'Afrique du Sud, c'était un tollé. On a dit que nous étions en train d'essayer d'enlever à l'Afrique du Sud sa liberté de parole. En vérité, nous figurons-nous qu'une simple déclaration faite ici, sans tenir compte des vœux des peuples intéressés ni de ceux des puissances qui ont autorité sur la région, permettrait au peuple d'accéder à l'indépendance? Nous ne saurions croire, en Nigéria, à une telle possibilité.

15. Qu'avons-nous fait à cet égard? Tout ce que nous demandons, c'est que l'Assemblée générale, considérant sa résolution 1514 (XV) ainsi que la proposition faite par les Etats-Unis et acceptée par les Etats africains (l'assistance à l'Afrique fait l'objet d'un point spécial de notre ordre du jour; l'Afrique est donc le premier continent à considérer; c'est d'ailleurs celui où il y a la majorité des colonies), déclare explicitement à sa seizième session, sans attendre la dix-septième ou la dix-huitième, qu'à une date donnée, et cela au plus tard, le continent tout entier sera libre et indépendant.

16. La déclaration est d'ailleurs rédigée de façon que nul obstacle ne puisse s'opposer à l'indépendance d'un territoire qui serait prêt, à tel ou tel moment, à devenir indépendant.

17. L'intention de cette déclaration est aussi que, dès l'instant où les Nations Unies l'auront adoptée et dès l'instant où le Royaume-Uni se sera engagé, les Etats africains se verront automatiquement obligés de travailler ensemble, par l'intermédiaire des nationalistes de la région intéressée, et avec les puissances coloniales en cause, pour faire en sorte que cette résolution particulière s'applique sur le continent africain.

18. Il ne faut plus que les Africains viennent ici faire une déclaration et s'aperçoivent ensuite que l'on n'a rien fait pour y donner suite. Chacun d'entre nous sera appelé à aider en quelque manière à soulager nos frères des difficultés, des épreuves et des tribulations qu'ils connaissent en Afrique. On demandera sa contribution à chacun d'entre nous. Chacun d'entre nous sera appelé à proposer un plan positif pour la libération de l'ensemble de l'Afrique. Voilà ce dont nous avons besoin.

19. Je tiens à répéter qu'en déposant ce projet de résolution, la Nigéria estime qu'il faut en Afrique une évolution méthodique et pacifique. Nous n'avons pas de fusées, nous n'avons pas de canons, nous n'avons pas les moyens techniques et scientifiques de développer nos immenses ressources. Nous avons relativement peu de spécialistes qualifiés, eu égard aux dimensions de notre continent, qui puissent s'occuper de développer nos ressources. Nous voulons empêcher la subversion à l'intérieur de notre continent. Nous voulons que les conflits idéologiques s'arrêtent aux frontières de notre continent. Toutes ces réalisations ne peuvent s'accomplir dans le désordre.

20. Je crois nécessaire que nous tirions du Congo la leçon qui s'impose. Je sais par expérience personnelle ce qui s'est passé là-bas. Ici aussi, à l'Assemblée, nous avons suivi de près les événements à mesure qu'ils se déroulaient.

21. Quand on examine la question des colonies africaines, on découvre que, dans le nord-ouest du con-

tinents, entre la Mauritanie et le Maroc, se trouve un petit territoire que l'on appelle le Sahara espagnol. Je suis sûr que les nationalistes qui s'y trouvent n'aiment pas que l'on appelle ce territoire Sahara espagnol. Puis, au large, il y a les Canaries. Un peu plus bas, entre le Sénégal et la Guinée, il y a un autre petit territoire que l'on appelle la Guinée portugaise et, dans une enclave, au Sénégal, se trouve la Gambie. Puis, au large de la Nigéria, il y a les îles de Fernando Poo et de São Tomé. En face de ces îles se trouve le Rio Muni, sous domination espagnole. Puis, à l'estuaire du Congo, on trouve Cabinda, qui est entre les mains du Portugal, et juste au-dessous du Congo, il y a l'Angola, puis le Sud-Ouest africain et, à la pointe extrême du continent, il y a l'immense territoire colonial de l'Afrique du Sud.

22. Ensuite, sur la mer Rouge, près de son débouché sur le golfe d'Aden, on trouve la Somalie française. Puis nous trouvons l'énorme bloc colonial qui comprend le Kenya, l'Ouganda, le Ruanda-Urundi, le Tanganyika, la Rhodésie du Nord et le Nyassaland, la Rhodésie du Sud, le Betchouanaland et le Mozambique. Viennent ensuite les enclaves dans la République sud-africaine — car ce pays s'appelle maintenant République sud-africaine —, enclaves qui ont nom: le Souaziland, le Bassoutoland, le Pondoland et le Barotséland. Parmi ces territoires, l'Ouganda, le Kenya, le Tanganyika, la Rhodésie du Nord et celle du Sud, le Nyassaland, le Betchouanaland, le Bassoutoland, le Souaziland, le Pondoland, le Barotséland se trouvent sous l'autorité du Royaume-Uni.

23. Un regard sur la carte d'Afrique vous permettra de constater que les régions en question la traversent de part en part. D'un côté, il y a l'Angola, le Sud-Ouest africain et le Congo, puis de l'autre, en bordure de la mer, il y a le Mozambique et tous les territoires que j'ai énumérés du Kenya jusqu'au Betchouanaland, et qui forment une sorte de vallée entre deux rangées de montagnes.

24. Quand on parle de la libération des colonies, il est tout à fait évident, quand on a la carte sous les yeux, que, si les colonies doivent être libérées, tout doit être fait en liaison avec le Gouvernement britannique, puisqu'il domine ces vastes régions. S'il doit y avoir pression, c'est sur ce gouvernement qu'il faut l'exercer. Si des négociations et des conversations doivent avoir lieu, c'est avec ce gouvernement. Pour ce qui est de l'Angola, c'est avec le Portugal qu'on doit traiter, et il en va de même pour le Mozambique. En ce qui concerne le Sud-Ouest africain, nous sommes en pourparlers avec l'Afrique du Sud depuis plus de 10 ans, mais sans résultat.

25. On a dit que notre projet de résolution condamne ces peuples à attendre encore 10 ans, ce qui n'est pas. C'est ainsi que, pendant que je parle, les représentants du Kenya sont à Londres en train de négocier leur indépendance avec les représentants du Gouvernement britannique. S'ils réussissent autour d'un tapis vert à obtenir l'indépendance pour l'année prochaine, la Nigéria en sera très heureuse et fera tout son possible pour les aider dans cette entreprise. Nous croyons que le Kenya pourrait être indépendant l'an prochain.

26. Les trois groupements sociaux du Kenya doivent parvenir à s'entendre. Il faut que les deux partis africains se réconcilient; il faut aussi prendre des mesures pour protéger les minorités et faire qu'elles ne vivent pas dans la terreur. En d'autres termes, il faut que le pouvoir passe à la majorité et qu'il y ait

en même temps assez de garanties dans la constitution pour assurer la sécurité de la minorité. C'est, à notre avis, la condition de la paix en Afrique. Le reproche que nous faisons à l'Afrique du Sud est que le pouvoir est aux mains d'une insignifiante minorité qui ne veut pas respecter cette loi.

27. Nous apprenons de même que, après des négociations autour d'un tapis vert, les représentants de l'Ouganda et ceux du Royaume-Uni ont déclaré que l'Ouganda serait indépendant en octobre 1962. Nous sommes heureux de ce résultat.

28. Nous savons tous que le mois prochain, le 9 décembre 1961, le Tanganyika deviendra indépendant, et ma délégation sera heureuse et fière de voir ce nouvel Etat devenir Membre de l'Organisation des Nations Unies.

29. La Rhodésie du Nord, le Nyassaland et la Rhodésie du Sud ont subi certaines modifications constitutionnelles, ce qui a suscité certains malentendus en Rhodésie du Nord. L'accord a pu se faire sur un certain plan, après quoi, le chef du gouvernement fédéral, sir Roy Welensky, s'est rendu à Londres où ont été prises certaines décisions arbitraires qui étaient contraires à ce qu'attendait le dirigeant de la majorité du peuple nord-rhodésien, M. Kaunda, qui n'a pas hésité à protester. Il en est résulté des difficultés et des troubles dans le territoire. Mon gouvernement n'a pas hésité à faire savoir au Gouvernement britannique que nous ne pouvions tolérer cette situation, où le vote de 3 millions d'habitants serait égal à celui de 72 000 autres. C'est de la mauvaise arithmétique; il faut donc faire certains changements pour répondre aux vœux des dirigeants de la majorité, tout en sauvegardant comme il convient les droits de la minorité.

30. Je suis persuadé à ce propos que les élections auront lieu en avril 1962, comme prévu, si l'on apporte à la Constitution les changements voulus. Nous ne doutons pas que, comme cela a été le cas au Nyassaland, où le Dr Banda a été victorieux aux élections, à une énorme majorité, M. Kaunda et son parti n'obtiennent la majorité en Rhodésie du Nord. Bien entendu, nous sommes d'avis que le pouvoir doit passer à la majorité et qu'il faut des garanties pour la minorité. Cette politique correspondrait à celle que nous suivons en Nigéria. Nous voulons que cette région évolue dans l'ordre. Nous ne pouvons pas ignorer qu'il y a là des colons dont les intérêts vont très loin; on ne peut pas les exterminer. Il faut résoudre le problème humain; il n'y a pas de baguette magique qui puisse le résoudre du jour au lendemain. Nous ne nous dissimulons pas que ces points sont délicats.

31. Il y a aussi, dans la Fédération rhodésienne, la Rhodésie du Sud qui donnera plus de fil à retordre que la Rhodésie du Nord, car le pouvoir y est entre les mains des colons qui paraissent pencher vers le racisme sud-africain. Mais il semble qu'un vent nouveau commence à y souffler: j'ai lu récemment que les femmes des colons prennent l'initiative et commencent à faire preuve d'amitié envers les Africains au milieu desquels elles vivent. Elles s'efforcent de s'habituer à l'idée que ce sont des êtres humains de la même communauté, et avec lesquels elles doivent vivre. Quiconque constate une telle transformation a le devoir, je crois, de l'encourager. Ces gens sont venus vivre en Afrique et ils veulent y être heureux. Tant qu'ils voudront bien reconnaître les droits de la majorité, je ne vois aucune raison pour que ceux de leur minorité ne soient pas également garantis. Telle

est l'attitude de la Nigéria à l'égard du développement de notre continent.

32. Il y a eu quelques changements. Jusqu'ici, les Africains n'ont jamais eu de représentants. Mais le Gouvernement a décidé que, dans une chambre de 65 sièges, je crois, les Africains en occuperont 15. Il s'agit là d'un progrès indéniable, mais chacun sait qu'il n'est pas à la mesure de nos aspirations. On ne peut pas avoir une majorité dominée par une minorité. Il faut faire pression sur le Gouvernement britannique, qui exerce l'autorité suprême sur ce pays, pour qu'il y prenne des mesures conformes à la tradition britannique.

33. Nous en arrivons, après la Rhodésie du Nord et la Rhodésie du Sud, au Betchoualand, territoire qui est également sous la protection du Royaume-Uni. Le Betchoualand touche à l'Afrique du Sud et au Sud-Ouest africain. J'ai énuméré soigneusement ces territoires car l'indépendance aurait pour cette région au moins deux conséquences. Nous avons cherché une solution au problème du Sud-Ouest africain; nous venions de chercher une solution au problème du racisme de l'Afrique du Sud. Or, un coup d'œil à la carte nous enseigne que, si cette région entière devient indépendante, le Betchoualand aura une frontière commune avec le Sud-Ouest africain et la majorité noire de l'Afrique pèsera de tout son poids sur l'Afrique du Sud. Je ne vois pas comment elle pourrait résister à cette pression très longtemps; elle sera obligée de changer de politique. Nous pouvons voter des résolutions année après année, la politique raciale de l'Afrique du Sud ne changera que lorsque tous les pays dont je viens de parler auront leur indépendance.

34. On a proposé de donner l'indépendance à tous ces pays l'année prochaine. Cela part d'une bonne intention, je le sais; mais, est-ce réalisable? Et si oui, est-ce de l'intérêt de la communauté africaine? Prenons le cas du Sud-Ouest africain. Nous avons lu le rapport. Qui dirige le Sud-Ouest africain aujourd'hui? Ce n'est pas la majorité. Supposons que nous lui accordions l'indépendance; à qui donnerons-nous ainsi le pouvoir? N'est-ce pas précisément à ceux qui oppriment aujourd'hui la majorité? Ne serait-ce pas condamner la majorité à une complète servitude pour un temps indéterminé? Si demain vous accordez l'indépendance au Sud-Ouest africain, si cet Etat vient siéger ici comme Membre de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, y aura-t-il un moyen d'intervenir dans ses affaires intérieures pour transformer la condition de la majorité noire du pays? "Indépendance immédiate", c'est très joli sur le papier. Mais ceux qui ont analysé la situation du pays avec les meilleures intentions du monde n'ont pas assez tenu compte du facteur humain. C'est l'Afrique. La situation du Sud-Ouest africain est terrible, c'est vrai. Mais nous voulons trouver un moyen qui permette à notre organisation, en collaboration avec les Etats africains et les puissances coloniales intéressées, de mettre en place un dispositif pratique pour transmettre le pouvoir à la majorité en sauvegardant les intérêts de la minorité, au lieu de nous contenter de jeter l'indépendance à la tête du peuple: en agissant ainsi, on croit faire quelque chose pour les Africains, alors qu'en réalité on les vend comme esclaves.

35. Pour en revenir à la Fédération de la Rhodésie et du Nyassaland, supposons que vous lui accordiez l'indépendance aujourd'hui. Il y a là-bas un gouvernement, à la tête duquel se trouve sir Roy Welensky.

A qui, dans ces conditions, transmettriez-vous le pouvoir? A sir Roy Welensky? Que ferait son gouvernement? Il a autorité sur l'armée et la police, a tous les moyens d'écraser l'opposition, puisqu'il n'y a personne pour aider l'opposition. Tout ce que demande le projet nigérien, c'est une déclaration. Si les Nations Unies la font, le Royaume-Uni sera forcé de collaborer avec les autres Etats d'Afrique et avec les dirigeants des régions intéressées, et ils pourront ensemble mettre sur pied un dispositif pour chaque territoire. Voilà pourquoi nous nous sommes abstenus, de propos délibéré, de mentionner nommément aucun territoire.

36. Nous ne pouvons pas, siégeant ici, fixer une date pour l'Ouganda, une date pour le Kenya, une autre pour la Rhodésie, une autre encore pour ce que l'on appelle le Sahara espagnol. Les dirigeants de toutes ces régions sont dispersés un peu partout. Nous voyons sans cesse les chefs politiques du Sud-Ouest africain venir ici pour présenter quelque requête à la Quatrième Commission. Certains dirigeants sont à New York, d'autres sont à Londres, d'autres sont en visite à Lagos, d'autres s'en vont à Accra, d'autres encore à Conakry. Nous le savons bien. Il faut rassembler tous ces gens-là afin qu'ils puissent, autour d'une table, élaborer un programme pour leur pays. Ce sont eux, après tout, les chefs de ces territoires. La Nigéria n'a aucune ambition territoriale. Elle ne veut voir naître dans aucun territoire d'Afrique un nouvel impérialisme africain. Elle ne veut pas qu'aucun territoire d'Afrique s'empare d'un autre territoire, si petit qu'il soit. Et c'est pourquoi elle estime qu'il faut donner aux Etats africains l'occasion de siéger ensemble et de définir une politique pour leur propre continent. Si c'est pécher que de vouloir cela, c'est un glorieux péché, et la Nigéria est fière de le commettre.

37. Une fois de plus, je voudrais que mes frères africains se souviennent de ce qui s'est passé au Congo. Quand vient le moment de l'indépendance, ceux qui étaient frères d'armes dans la lutte pour l'indépendance deviennent ennemis dans la lutte pour le pouvoir; c'est inévitable. Nous avons vu cela au Congo. Et si trop de mains, au Congo, se sont tendues vers l'assiette au beurre, n'était-ce pas sous l'influence de forces extérieures? C'est ce que j'ai dit en parlant à la presse. Si l'on jette l'indépendance à la tête du pays, sans préparation sérieuse ou sans assurer formellement au pays l'aide des Etats africains déjà Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies ou de pays amis dans toutes les parties du monde, comment être sûr qu'il ne se trouvera pas des gens pour chercher à opposer les dirigeants les uns aux autres, de façon à pécher en eau trouble? C'est ce qui s'est produit au Congo, et c'est une des raisons pour lesquelles un des dirigeants du Congo a trouvé la mort: on l'avait bien mal conseillé. Nous voulons éviter cela. Nous ne pouvons pas nous permettre de faire disparaître nos propres dirigeants africains. Nous devons les protéger pour leur permettre de servir leur pays.

M. Ortiz Martín (Costa Rica), vice-président, prend la présidence.

38. Il y a aussi le commerce des idéologies. On a dit que la personnalité africaine doit se projeter. Mais comment une personnalité pourrait-elle se projeter si elle ne s'est pas affirmée? Il faut que je raconte une histoire qui déplaira peut-être à certains. En mai et en juin 1961, les envoyés d'un pays d'Europe méridionale

sont venus à Stanleyville, ont ramassé une centaine d'écoliers de plus de 6 ans et les ont emmenés. L'Organisation des Nations Unies a été au courant de l'affaire. En était-il de même du Gouvernement congolais? Quel était le but visé? Si ces enfants sont tenus éloignés de leur pays jusqu'à l'âge de 21 ans, seront-ils encore Congolais? Veut-on les élever dans certaines idéologies incompatibles avec leurs propres articles de foi?

39. Il faut nous prémunir contre pareils dangers. C'est pourquoi notre objectif actuel doit être l'accession systématique des pays africains à l'indépendance, accession organisée par les Etats africains eux-mêmes, en collaboration avec l'Organisation des Nations Unies et les pays amis. Nous ne devons pas permettre que l'Afrique resserve de champ de bataille aux grandes puissances.

40. Nous voulons abolir le colonialisme une fois pour toutes. Il ne faut pas que le colonialisme sorte par la porte et rentre par la fenêtre sous une autre forme. Voilà le but du projet nigérien. Nous voulons protéger l'Afrique contre les rivalités internes.

41. On voudra bien se rappeler que dans mon intervention dans la discussion générale [1031ème séance], j'ai posé, au nom de mon gouvernement, trois conditions que nous voulions voir le Portugal remplir en ce qui concerne l'Angola et le Mozambique: le Portugal doit reconnaître le principe de l'indépendance des régions qui sont sous son autorité; le Portugal doit reconnaître la légitimité des dirigeants politiques de ces régions; et le Portugal, s'il désire s'assurer la bonne volonté de la population de ces régions, doit être prêt à mettre au point le dispositif qui permettra de transmettre le pouvoir aux dirigeants de ces régions. Le Portugal n' imagine même pas que ces peuples puissent devenir indépendants. Comment pouvons-nous songer à conférer l'indépendance à l'Angola l'an prochain? Voulons-nous remettre entre les mains du Portugal les Angolais que nous prétendons vouloir délivrer? Comment pouvons-nous songer à donner immédiatement l'indépendance au Mozambique? Voulons-nous le remettre entre les mains du pays qui l'administre actuellement? L'Organisation des Nations Unies n'a aucun moyen d'imposer l'indépendance à un pays. Connaissions-nous d'ailleurs les dirigeants de ces pays? Comment pouvons-nous savoir si le Portugal ne choisira pas les gens qui lui plaisent en déclarant: "Voilà les chefs"? Comment pouvons-nous savoir si le Portugal ne va pas rentrer par la petite porte pour reprendre le pouvoir?

42. Le but du projet de résolution est donc de créer un dispositif qui permettra aux Etats indépendants d'Afrique de surveiller étroitement l'évolution des régions qui ne sont pas encore indépendantes.

43. A propos de l'indépendance, on a employé pendant une douzaine d'années l'adjectif "immédiat". Le mot a perdu toute signification. Chez nous, en Nigéria, "immédiat" ne veut pas dire que l'on va mettre l'affaire au garde-meuble. C'est pourquoi le paragraphe 2 de notre projet de résolution déclare:

"Que des mesures immédiates doivent être prises d'urgence dans tous les territoires coloniaux, dépendants ou non autonomes d'Afrique, pour préparer les peuples de ces territoires à assumer l'entière gestion de leurs affaires d'ici à 1970".

44. Cela ne veut pas dire qu'il s'agisse d'atermoyer. "Préparation" ne signifie pas qu'il faut renvoyer tout le monde au cours préparatoire. Par "préparation", ne

faut-il pas entendre l'élaboration de diverses constitutions? Ce mot signifie que les peuples eux-mêmes, par l'entremise de leurs partis politiques ou de tout autre organe politique prendront l'initiative de gouverner leur territoire. On ne gouverne pas en restant dehors. C'est en gouvernant que l'on apprend à gouverner. Tel est le sens que nous donnons au mot "préparation". Cela ne veut pas dire qu'il faut mettre à l'université toute la population d'une région et que la région ne deviendra indépendante que lorsque tous ses habitants seront diplômés. Quelle absurdité! La plupart des chefs politiques n'ont jamais été à l'université. Mon père, par exemple, n'a jamais été à l'université, mais il a gouverné. "Préparation", comme je l'ai dit, ne signifie pas nécessairement aller à l'école secondaire ou à toute autre école du type occidental. Cela ne veut pas dire que, pour gouverner, il faille connaître l'anglais, le français, l'allemand ou le russe. Quelqu'un peut gouverner selon ses propres traditions, mais il faut qu'il soit préparé à mesurer les responsabilités du pouvoir. Il ne faut pas prendre le pouvoir pour détruire ceux que l'on est censé servir. Voilà ce que nous entendons par "préparation" en Nigéria.

45. Quand les Etats d'Afrique se sont réunis à Monrovia^{5/}, ils ont fait certaines déclarations communes. Ils ont reconnu que, si l'on veut vivre en Afrique dans la paix et la tranquillité, il faut résoudre certains problèmes fondamentaux. Un d'entre eux est celui de la compréhension mutuelle. Par suite du régime colonial, on parle français dans certaines régions d'Afrique, anglais dans d'autres. On nous a tenus séparés. Il faut maintenant que nous puissions communiquer entre nous. Les moyens actuels de communication, par route ou par téléphone, ne sont pas suffisants. Il faut les développer. Un grand nombre d'entre nous se rencontrent pour la première fois aux sessions de l'Assemblée générale. Les Etats africains entendent profiter de leur indépendance pour instaurer la compréhension mutuelle et pour collaborer en matière économique, culturelle, scientifique et technique ainsi qu'entre gouvernements.

46. La Conférence des Etats d'Afrique doit reprendre à Lagos, capitale de mon pays. Si l'Assemblée adopte le projet de résolution, fixant ainsi la date au-delà de laquelle on ne peut pas différer l'indépendance de l'Afrique, nous avons l'intention de proposer à la Conférence des Etats d'Afrique de fixer la date de l'indépendance des différentes contrées intéressées. Nous comptons inviter à cette conférence les chefs politiques de ces différentes régions, de façon à connaître de première main la situation qui est la leur. Combien d'entre nous ont-ils visité ces territoires ou les connaissent-ils pratiquement?

47. Nous avons délibérément laissé pendante la date exacte à fixer pour l'indépendance de chacun des territoires. Avec des plans soigneusement élaborés et bien exécutés, certaines de ces régions deviendront évidemment indépendantes en moins de cinq ans; d'autres ne mettront pas plus de cinq ans à le devenir. Mais nous ne devons pas oublier l'Angola, le Sud-Ouest africain et le Mozambique. Le Gouvernement britannique a déjà pris des engagements de principe en ce qui concerne l'indépendance des territoires qui sont sous son influence. Le Portugal a-t-il pris les mêmes engagements? L'autre jour, j'ai lu dans la presse que le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis avait déclaré qu'il était partisan de ce plan progressif. N'est-ce pas que

notre idée fait son chemin, si les deux plus grandes puissances occidentales se sont mises d'accord pour accepter le principe d'une date limite pour l'indépendance de l'ensemble du continent africain, et non pas pour tel ou tel pays? Ayant pris cet engagement de principe, ces deux puissances ne peuvent donc pas refuser une date particulière que les Etats africains auront fixée après entente avec les dirigeants des territoires intéressés. Ce serait trop de présomption de fixer une date pour un pays avant d'avoir consulté ses dirigeants. Et nous n'en avons pas l'intention.

48. Mais nous avons raison, nous Etat indépendant, de songer à une évolution ordonnée et pacifique, à une évolution harmonieuse de notre continent au cours de ces 10 années, et de penser que la fin de cette décennie verra la fin du colonialisme en Afrique. Nous avons raison de l'affirmer, et de prévoir en même temps une certaine marge. Qu'arrivera-t-il, en effet, si nous fixons la date de 1963 et si rien n'est encore fait à cette date? Les peuples ne se sentiront-ils pas profondément déçus? Supposons que nous fixions la date de 1965 et que rien ne se soit encore fait à cette date; qu'arrivera-t-il? On m'a souvent demandé: "En vertu de quoi pouvez-vous fixer une date donnée? En vertu de quoi pouvons-nous proposer que l'Afrique tout entière soit indépendante au plus tard le 1er décembre 1970?"

49. La réponse est que nous fixons ces dates à la lumière de notre expérience nigérienne, et parce que nous sommes certains que les Africains pourront s'organiser pendant cette période et mettre au clair la situation du continent. Si l'on doit en arriver à une épreuve de force, si elle est inévitable, on ne l'évitera pas. Mais combien y a-t-il aujourd'hui en Afrique d'Etats qui, fiers de leur indépendance toute neuve, soient aussi en mesure d'organiser leur économie et leurs ressources de telle manière qu'elles aient pour d'autres pays de la valeur et de l'utilité? Si, au moment où ces pays reçoivent leur indépendance, nous ne pouvons pas les aider, ils chercheront de l'aide d'un autre côté. C'est alors qu'en cherchant une aide ils risquent de tomber dans certains pièges, les pièges mêmes que nous voulons éviter.

50. Ce sont quelques-uns des points que nous avons en tête quand nous avons réfléchi à cette situation. J'ai évité soigneusement de faire une proposition d'ensemble au sujet des colonies. Que l'on ne croie pas un instant que la Nigéria ne s'intéresse pas au problème général de l'abolition des colonies. Mais, puisque nous avons fait une déclaration générale dans la résolution 1514 (XV), tout autre projet de résolution soumis à l'Assemblée générale devait, à notre sens, proposer un plan concret pour une région donnée et ne pas seulement donner matière aux débats habituels.

51. J'ai écouté certaines des déclarations faites ici; aucune d'elles n'offre un programme tangible et concret pour aucune région; j'excepte la proposition des Pays-Bas [A/L.354]. Le Gouvernement néerlandais a offert ici un plan qui est un sujet de controverse entre le Gouvernement néerlandais et le Gouvernement indonésien. Il s'agit d'une proposition concrète; mais, je le répète, elle fait l'objet d'une controverse. Je pensais que ceux qui voulaient voir appliquer la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale choisiraient une région donnée et diraient: "Nous voulons que ce pays soit indépendant à telle date", qu'ils nous diraient ensuite pourquoi il doit en être ainsi et qu'ils affirmeraient enfin que ce pays est

^{5/} Conférence des Etats indépendants d'Afrique (4-8 août 1959).

prêt à l'indépendance. J'ai recherché une déclaration de ce genre dans tous les procès-verbaux, mais sans succès. Je n'ai trouvé que les mêmes vieilles déclarations sur le colonialisme, toujours le colonialisme.

52. Le colonialisme est certainement pour nous quelque chose de très important. J'aurais pensé que la question de l'Algérie ferait l'objet d'une proposition. Dans un projet de résolution^{6/}, les Etats africains ont proposé que l'ONU y organise un plébiscite, dont elle surveillerait le déroulement. Mais qu'est-il advenu quand nous avons déposé ici notre projet de résolution? Avons-nous réussi à le faire adopter? N'y a-t-il pas eu des abstentions, et ainsi de suite? Cela prouve à l'évidence que le moment est venu où les Africains devront prendre eux-mêmes l'initiative sur leur propre continent. Il y a maintenant en Afrique assez d'Etats indépendants pour qu'ils puissent se grouper et trouver une solution pour leur continent, une solution et non pas simplement une déclaration générale. Tout ce que nous avons demandé, c'est une déclaration applicable à l'ensemble de l'Afrique, et non à un pays particulier. Mais les détails qui concernent chaque pays, un par un, ce sont les Etats africains qui doivent les recueillir et les analyser en collaboration avec les nationalistes d'autres parties de l'Afrique.

53. Je me suis étendu sur cette question parce que je ne veux pas que l'on répande une propagande mal-faisante contre le projet nigérien, que l'on interprète toute l'affaire de travers et que l'on dise que nous cherchons à condamner les nationalistes africains à 10 ans de servitude en attendant leur indépendance. Il n'y a rien de pareil en aucun endroit de notre projet de résolution. On a toujours eu tendance, parmi les nationalistes, à ne considérer que le côté négatif des questions. Puisque nous avons obtenu notre indépendance, je pense que le moment est venu pour nous de considérer les aspects positifs de l'indépendance et des problèmes qui en découlent. Avec l'indépendance vont nécessairement certaines responsabilités, et nous voulons jalousement préserver l'avenir de notre continent.

54. A l'heure actuelle, beaucoup d'Africains se rendent à l'étranger. Certains y vont pour acquérir des connaissances qui seront utiles à leur pays, et constructives. Mais reconnaissons aussi que d'autres s'éprennent, à l'étranger, de choses inutiles à leur pays. Ils perdent de vue l'avenir de leur propre pays, leurs traditions, leurs parents et amis, et deviennent les agents d'idéologies étrangères et de gouvernements étrangers. C'est pourquoi l'indépendance de l'Afrique ne doit pas être, aujourd'hui, une indépendance purement formelle, mais une indépendance véritable. Les dirigeants actuels de l'Afrique doivent penser à l'Afrique d'abord avant de penser à un pays étranger.

55. Ce que nous voulions faire entendre, en déposant notre projet, c'est qu'il faut tout faire pour prévenir l'intervention étrangère dans les affaires africaines. Il faut tout faire pour écarter de la communauté africaine les dictatures, quelque forme qu'elles prennent. Il faut tout faire pour s'opposer au genre de gouvernement qui ne recherche pas le bien du peuple, mais convoite le pouvoir et le seul pouvoir, au genre de gouvernement qui détruit l'âme et la source de sa force. L'Afrique veut tirer parti de

ses ressources et les développer, restaurer sa culture si longtemps étouffée. Elle veut devenir un bastion de paix dans le monde, mais elle ne peut pas devenir un bastion de paix si le désordre accompagne son indépendance.

56. Je me suis efforcé d'expliquer le sens de notre projet de résolution. Je n'ai pas dit grand-chose de l'autre projet de résolution [A/L.355] que l'Union soviétique a déposé à l'occasion du point 88 de l'ordre du jour, parce que j'estime que ceux qui l'ont discuté en ont assez dit. Dans le présent débat, je me borne exclusivement à l'assistance à l'Afrique et je serai heureux d'entendre toute proposition qu'une autre délégation pourrait faire. Nous l'examinerons d'un œil critique, nous l'analyserons avec objectivité et l'appuierons selon qu'elle coïncidera ou non avec nos propres idées. Nous ne pouvons pas nous permettre de nous laisser entraîner dans des controverses. Nous ne voulons pas nous engager ici dans des conflits idéologiques. Nous voulons rester sur notre propre terrain.

57. J'ai indiqué le principal point de doctrine qui inspire notre projet de résolution. Personne, que je sache, n'a nié son intérêt; mais on l'a critiqué pour cette question de date. Je demande humblement à toutes les délégations qui croient sincèrement que l'Afrique mérite un peu de paix pour développer ses ressources, qui croient que l'Afrique doit se développer paisiblement, harmonieusement et sans désordre, de voter pour le projet nigérien. La question est très claire et très simple. On nous a demandé de prendre l'initiative: nous avons pris l'initiative. J'espère du moins que mes amis les représentants des pays d'Afrique comprennent maintenant dans quel esprit nous avons rédigé notre projet de résolution.

58. On a soutenu que nous n'aurions pas dû déposer ce projet de résolution avant de nous être assurés de l'approbation de certains. A vrai dire, je ne vois rien dans le règlement qui empêche aucune délégation de déposer un projet de résolution. A mon avis, si l'on dépose un projet de résolution, c'est pour qu'il circule, pour que les autres délégations aient la faculté de l'étudier et de décider de leur conduite à son égard. N'importe qui peut examiner ce projet de résolution, la Nigéria n'y voit pas d'objection; mais elle en voit à une propagande concertée, subversive contre ce projet et à une fausse interprétation de nos intentions. Cela étant maintenant bien clair, je tiens à dire que nous sommes heureux de savoir que le Gouvernement britannique est disposé à appuyer la date limite proposée pour l'Afrique. J'ai bon espoir également que, lorsque des dates limites particulières auront été fixées pour des pays déterminés, en collaboration avec le Royaume-Uni et avec les dirigeants de ces territoires, le Gouvernement britannique appuiera aussi ces dates. Nous le connaissons et nous croyons que, en se retirant de ces territoires, il veut conserver l'amitié et la sympathie des populations qui les habitent.

59. Je crois que l'intention du Royaume-Uni est de continuer à garder des liens d'amitié avec les habitants de ces territoires, de les garder longtemps, et de forger de nouveaux liens d'amitié, fondés non pas sur la domination, mais sur l'association et la compréhension mutuelle. C'est ce genre d'amitié que nous désirons voir s'édifier sur tout le continent africain. Nous n'avons pas d'ennemis. Nous entendons conserver nos amis et en faire de nouveau; mais nous ne voulons nous mettre à la remorque de personne.

^{6/} Documents officiels de l'Assemblée générale, quinzième session, Annexes, point 71 de l'ordre du jour, document A/L.334.

60. Etre indépendant, c'est par définition pouvoir déterminer sa propre politique, ses propres objectifs, pouvoir tirer ses propres conclusions sans avoir à subir l'ingérence de forces extérieures. Notre pays a exercé son droit, en qualité de Membre de l'Organisation des Nations Unies et en toute indépendance, de déposer un projet de résolution, parce que nous sommes persuadés que, si l'on fait ce grand pas sur notre continent, nous découvrirons, vers la fin de ces 10 années, que nous serons bien près de résoudre le problème racial que nous a posé l'Afrique du Sud. Nous savons qu'il y a en Afrique assez d'Etats indépendants pour exercer sur l'Afrique du Sud une pression telle qu'elle ne pourra pas résister à la poussée d'indépendance du continent africain. Nous savons que, si ce projet est adopté, et si les Etats d'Afrique agissent dans l'esprit qui en a inspiré le texte, l'éternelle question du Sud-Ouest africain sera réglée.

61. Je suis certain que, avec l'appui du Gouvernement britannique et du Gouvernement américain, le Portugal sera obligé de changer d'attitude. Le Royaume-Uni est un vieil ami du Portugal; s'il décide que l'heure est venue de faire sonner les cloches de l'indépendance pour l'Afrique tout entière, le Portugal ne pourra pas continuer à cacher sa tête dans le sable. Il devra ressentir le souffle irrésistible du vent nouveau. Que les Etats-Unis, en particulier, qui donnent actuellement à l'Europe occidentale sa force économique, se soient engagés à suivre sur ce point une ligne anticolonialiste, c'est un fait qui ne manquera pas d'avoir des conséquences et des répercussions d'une grande portée pour le Portugal et pour son comportement sur la scène africaine.

62. S'il en est ainsi — et j'attends avec impatience de voir se réaliser ce qu'annoncent les journaux, c'est-à-dire que les grandes puissances fassent une déclaration publique à cet égard —, si ce que je dis est vrai et si tout ce que j'ai dit auparavant est exact, je suis bien certain, si l'Assemblée adopte le projet nigérien, que le continent africain tout entier sera indépendant avant le 1er décembre 1970.

63. M. SUBANDRIO (Indonésie) [traduit de l'anglais]: Le point que nous discutons en ce moment est extrêmement important. L'année dernière, l'Assemblée générale a adopté une déclaration historique sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux [résolution 1514 (XV)]. Elle a solennellement proclamé la nécessité de mettre rapidement fin au colonialisme, sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations.

64. Il n'est guère besoin de m'étendre ici sur ce que le colonialisme a signifié pour l'humanité. On a prononcé des millions de mots dans cette enceinte pour décrire la condition d'un nombre infini d'êtres humains qui, au cours de centaines d'années, ont eu à souffrir du fléau du colonialisme, de la domination et de l'exploitation de l'étranger. L'histoire de ces êtres humains est une histoire d'oppression et de misère, d'humiliation et d'exploitation. Mais ils ont également connu la guerre et les luttes héroïques pour la liberté.

65. En fait, le colonialisme s'est toujours heurté à la résistance. Plus le colonialisme s'imposait durement, plus forte était la résistance. Les guerres coloniales, même localisées et à petite échelle, sont inhérentes à l'histoire du colonialisme. Ce n'est que grâce à leur supériorité technique et matérielle que les puissances coloniales ont réussi, dans le passé, à imposer leur domination aux populations de vastes régions du globe.

66. Chaque puissance coloniale a fondé des colonies ou des dépendances pour sa commodité particulière. Mais, quand a grandi la résistance à cette domination et à l'exploitation qu'il l'a suivie, elle a pris la forme d'une résistance nationale et d'une lutte nationale pour l'indépendance et la liberté. Tous les habitants de ces territoires asservis étaient liés par un sort et un intérêt communs: se libérer de la servitude coloniale. C'est ce nationalisme, cette force collective d'un peuple qui se considérait comme une entité nationale, que craignaient le plus les puissances coloniales. Et c'est cette force collective, soutenue par l'idéal humain de liberté et de dignité, d'égalité et de progrès, qui est parvenue à conquérir l'indépendance nationale de bien des territoires dépendants.

67. Cependant, lutter pour l'indépendance nationale n'a jamais été facile. Il a fallu surmonter tous les efforts — politiques, économiques et militaires — que les puissances coloniales déployaient pour écraser les mouvements nationaux de liberté, pour anéantir la force collective nationale. Cette lutte s'est toujours heurtée à la politique coloniale: diviser pour régner, à la subversion et même à l'intervention directe dont le but était de briser la volonté et l'unité nationales.

68. Et même l'indépendance une fois conquise, après de durs mais victorieux combats, les puissances coloniales se sont efforcées par les moyens les plus divers, notamment par la conclusion de prétendus accords, de protéger leurs intérêts le plus longtemps possible.

69. Je ne dis là rien de bien nouveau. A beaucoup de membres de cette assemblée, à ceux en particulier qui ont subi les épreuves des luttes coloniales, ces caractéristiques du colonialisme sont familières. Beaucoup, dont l'Indonésie elle-même, doivent encore lutter contre le colonialisme dans leur propre pays. C'est pourquoi nous estimons comme d'une extrême importance que l'Assemblée examine soigneusement et sérieusement ce problème du colonialisme. C'était, et c'est encore une tâche difficile et ardue que d'éliminer le colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et manifestations, comme le demande la Déclaration adoptée par les Nations Unies.

70. Cette déclaration, dont nous discutons actuellement la mise en œuvre, représente une victoire morale pour toutes les forces anticoloniales. Les puissances coloniales, de leur côté, n'ont pas, dans leur ensemble, appuyé cette déclaration, encore qu'elles n'aient pas pu se permettre de s'opposer directement à l'exigence de la liberté pour tous les peuples et nations encore dépendants. Cela veut dire qu'il faut travailler à l'application de la Déclaration avec tous les moyens politiques et moraux dont nous disposons. Cette tâche réclame notre effort total et concerté.

71. Il serait d'ailleurs inexact de dire que cette déclaration n'a eu aucune influence sur l'attitude des puissances coloniales. Après tout, le colonialisme est une attitude et un état d'esprit. La lutte pour la liberté et la dignité de l'homme, où qu'elle se soit déroulée, a certainement fait apparaître le visage d'un monde nouveau aux yeux de ceux pour lesquels le monde s'était limité jusque-là à leurs propres intérêts étroits. Elle a élargi l'esprit humain. Elle n'a pas émancipé seulement les peuples coloniaux; elle a aussi émancipé les puissances coloniales dans leurs conceptions et leur attitude. C'est une bonne chose. Il faut s'en féliciter.

72. Pourtant, si certaines puissances coloniales ont évolué dans le sens de l'émancipation, d'autres ré-

sistent encore. Elles s'incrument aveuglément et cherchent à résister à la marée de l'histoire. Il est donc du devoir de l'Assemblée d'accélérer le processus d'émancipation et de libération, pour le plus grand profit des puissances coloniales comme pour celui des peuples colonisés. Car la fin du colonialisme n'apporte aux puissances coloniales ni moins de liberté, ni moins de dignité qu'aux peuples anciennement colonisés. C'est là, je crois, le vrai sens de la Déclaration adoptée par les Nations Unies.

73. La Déclaration cherche à améliorer les relations internationales dans l'égalité et la liberté. Elle recherche la paix et la sécurité dans le progrès et le bien-être pour tous. Il y a, on l'a déjà dit, quelque 70 millions d'êtres humains dispersés dans le monde — mais surtout en Asie et en Afrique — qui vivent sous la domination des puissances coloniales ou dans leur dépendance. Cette situation doit prendre fin sans tarder, comme l'exige la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale. Nous ne pouvons plus atterrir. Tant que des êtres humains souffriront du colonialisme, tant qu'il y aura des gens — peu importe le degré actuel de leur développement social — qui sont privés de leurs droits fondamentaux, le monde ne connaîtra pas de paix. C'est leur manque de liberté, et non pas le degré de leur développement social, qui menace la paix entre les nations. Nous ne le répéterons jamais assez.

74. C'est dans la liberté que doit se faire cette évolution politique et sociale, guidée par les idéaux nationaux et inspirée par la volonté de bâtir une nation forte et unie. Nous ne voulons pas que le colonialisme ne prenne fin que sur le papier. Nous voulons apporter la liberté aux peuples encore dépendants dans des conditions qui leur permettront véritablement de se développer politiquement, socialement et économiquement, en collaboration avec les Nations Unies. Notre propre expérience nous a prouvé que c'est là une tâche d'une immense ampleur.

75. C'est pourquoi ma délégation appuie l'idée de créer, pour mettre en œuvre la résolution 1514 (XV), une commission composée de Membres à qui les aspirations des peuples colonisés sont vraiment familières, et qui les comprennent vraiment. Ceux qui participeront aux travaux de cette commission des Nations Unies devront être imbus de l'esprit de lutte pour la liberté qui anime les peuples colonisés.

76. L'Assemblée n'est pas sans savoir que le groupe africano-asiatique, dont fait partie ma délégation, est en train, après avoir rédigé la Déclaration que l'Assemblée générale a adoptée à sa quinzième session, d'étudier le problème de son application et la possibilité de rédiger un projet de résolution à cette fin — sans préjudice, bien entendu, du projet de résolution de l'Union soviétique [A/L.355], qui mérite toute notre attention. Je voudrais par conséquent me réserver le droit de prendre plus tard la parole sur tous les projets de résolution dont nous pourrions être saisis au titre des points 88 et 22, a.

77. Mon intervention d'aujourd'hui s'adresse plus particulièrement à la déclaration qu'a faite hier [1048ème séance] le Ministre des affaires étrangères des Pays-Bas, qui a ajouté au dossier du présent débat un projet de résolution [A/L.354] qui concerne une partie de mon pays: l'Irian occidental.

78. J'ai écouté très attentivement le Ministre des affaires étrangères des Pays-Bas expliquer, hier, sa proposition — à première vue très généreuse — de

décoloniser le territoire de l'Irian occidental, partie intégrante de la République de l'Indonésie. Pour cela, les Pays-Bas renonceraient à leur autorité et transfèreraient la souveraineté à la population dès que l'ONU pourrait se charger des services administratifs que cette population elle-même est incapable d'assumer actuellement.

79. J'ai été particulièrement frappé d'entendre M. Luns dire que cette mesure des Pays-Bas aurait un caractère unique et nouveau, aucune puissance n'ayant jamais tenté auparavant d'en prendre une semblable.

80. Si nous ignorions ce que sont les relations internationales, si nous n'étions pas aussi familiarisés avec la lutte contre le colonialisme, si nous n'avions jamais entendu parler du violent combat que le peuple indonésien a mené contre les colonisateurs pour gagner son indépendance, et si cette proposition de M. Luns était immédiatement applicable aux colonies que les Pays-Bas conservent encore — comme le Surinam et Curaçao —, je serais le premier à féliciter M. Luns et à lui exprimer mon admiration pour son attitude humaine et anticoloniale. Il mériterait même le prix Nobel de la paix, au même titre que M. Luthuli en Afrique du Sud.

81. Mais un examen plus approfondi de l'apparente générosité des Pays-Bas mène inexorablement à une conclusion bien différente de celle de M. Luns.

82. Tout d'abord — et j'insiste sur ce point —, l'indépendance de l'Indonésie n'a pas résulté d'un généreux cadeau de Noël que nous auraient fait les Pays-Bas. Nous avons gagné notre indépendance au prix d'une guerre cruelle et acharnée, menée de 1945 à la fin de 1949. La lutte pour son indépendance a coûté à l'Indonésie plus d'un demi-million de vies humaines. A cette époque-là, les Pays-Bas disposaient d'une force matérielle supérieure: ils s'en sont servi avec une impitoyable cruauté. Les massacres d'habitants étaient presque quotidiens. Nous avons connu des tribulations sous l'occupation japonaise, mais on peut dire que ce n'était rien en comparaison de la cruauté néerlandaise.

83. Pour ne citer qu'un exemple, je rappelle que le fameux capitaine Westerling a réussi, en l'espace d'une semaine, à tuer 40 000 personnes dans le sud de Célèbes; c'étaient pour la plupart des vieillards, des femmes et des enfants, les jeunes gens en âge de porter les armes ayant gagné la jungle pour organiser la guérilla contre les Pays-Bas. Cet épisode de notre lutte nationale est encore frais dans notre mémoire; chaque année, nous commémorons le massacre du sud de Célèbes, pour rappeler à la population que nous avons acquis notre indépendance au prix de durs combats et de lourds sacrifices.

84. Même après avoir reconnu notre indépendance, à la fin de 1949, les Pays-Bas ont continué leur politique coloniale de subversion contre la jeune république. C'est à leur instigation, et pour diviser l'Indonésie, que s'est proclamée la soi-disant République des Moluques méridionales. En quelques jours, avec nos seuls moyens militaires, nous avons écrasé ce mouvement séparatiste. Les Pays-Bas ont alors fomenté des insurrections de toutes parts et ont à cet effet renvoyé le capitaine Westerling en Indonésie. Il a dirigé contre le gouvernement central un coup de force qui a lui aussi échoué.

85. Après cet échec, les Pays-Bas se sont employés à envenimer le problème de l'Irian occidental, allant jusqu'à faire figurer ce territoire en litige dans leur

constitution, comme faisant partie du Royaume des Pays-Bas. A l'origine, le maintien temporaire de l'administration néerlandaise d'occupation avait constitué une mesure opportuniste, destinée à calmer les réactions intérieures néerlandaises à la suite de la perte de l'Indonésie; mais, par la suite, les Pays-Bas ont entrepris de se servir de ce territoire comme d'une base pour augmenter les difficultés que connaît l'Indonésie et semer la subversion dans d'autres territoires indonésiens.

86. Cette attitude anti-indonésienne des Pays-Bas s'est aussi manifestée dans leur refus constant d'engager des discussions bilatérales sur le fond du problème de l'Irian occidental. Quand on en est venu à des discussions de procédure, les Pays-Bas sont allés jusqu'à faire attendre une délégation indonésienne deux mois durant, aux Pays-Bas, avant de daigner assister à la séance. En outre, pour montrer en quel dédain il tenait les Indonésiens, M. Luns, au cours de la Conférence de Genève, en 1955, s'est soudain absenté pour aller passer quelques semaines de vacances en Méditerranée.

87. Si je mentionne ces faits, ce n'est que pour donner une idée des sentiments violemment anti-indonésiens qui animent le Ministre des affaires étrangères des Pays-Bas. Il saisira toute occasion d'humilier l'Indonésie et le peuple indonésien. De 1954 à 1957, nous avons présenté à l'Assemblée générale des Nations Unies des projets de résolution d'une extrême modération, dont l'objet était simplement que l'Assemblée recommande des négociations pacifiques entre l'Indonésie et les Pays-Bas sur le problème de l'Irian occidental. M. Luns a refusé même cela, sous prétexte que l'Irian occidental était une affaire intérieure des Pays-Bas. Plus tard, en 1959, les Pays-Bas ont envoyé en Indonésie le porte-avions Karel Doorman, sous le prétexte typiquement néerlandais qu'ils s'agissait de réprimer certains aspects de la politique agressive de l'Indonésie envers les Pays-Bas. Telles se présentent nos relations avec les Pays-Bas depuis la seconde guerre mondiale, en pleine période de décolonisation.

88. Après cette expérience, personne en Indonésie, et je l'espère dans cette auguste assemblée, ne peut considérer comme particulièrement généreuse l'attitude des Pays-Bas à l'égard des problèmes coloniaux. Je présume que M. Luns lui-même doit se sentir gêné de ce qu'il a dit de la nouveauté de la politique de décolonisation désintéressée des Pays-Bas, pour peu que l'on compare ses paroles avec ce qu'il a fait lui-même ces dernières années. J'y reviendrai.

89. En second lieu, si le Ministre des affaires étrangères est vraiment si généreux, d'idées si avancées en matière d'évolution humaine, que n'applique-t-il sa proposition aux colonies néerlandaises de Curaçao et de Surinam, qui attendent jour après jour d'être libérées de la servitude coloniale? Au lieu de cela, il a jugé à propos d'appliquer exclusivement sa proposition au territoire d'un Etat indépendant et souverain, à tout le moins d'un territoire en litige.

90. En troisième lieu, si les Pays-Bas adoptent une attitude généreuse dans la lutte contre le colonialisme, que ne donnent-ils leur appui au peuple de l'Algérie et de l'Angola, dont les fils se sacrifient par milliers dans une lutte héroïque pour la liberté?

91. Il est facile de voir que rien ne demeure de la générosité affichée par le Ministre des affaires étrangères des Pays-Bas.

92. On peut se demander pourquoi, dans ces conditions, les Pays-Bas font soudain leur proposition de prétendue décolonisation d'une partie du territoire indonésien, qu'ils ont réoccupée par la force, même avec l'offre tentante d'un paiement annuel de 30 millions de dollars. D'aucuns diront peut-être que c'est une grosse concession de la part des Pays-Bas. Non, cela n'a rien à voir avec une concession.

93. Tôt ou tard, les réalités de l'heure devaient contraindre le Gouvernement néerlandais à mettre un terme à sa vieille politique coloniale. Cependant, même à cet égard, les Pays-Bas ont du retard sur d'autres puissances coloniales: ne s'accrochent-ils pas à leurs colonies de Curaçao et de Surinam? Et quelles sont les réalités qui ont contraint le Ministre des affaires étrangères à se montrer généreux?

94. C'est, tout d'abord, la pression de l'opinion mondiale, qui réclame l'abolition du colonialisme partout, sous toutes ses formes et manifestations; ce qu'exprime la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale. C'est, en deuxième lieu, le danger que les Pays-Bas se voient boutés hors de l'Irian occidental par les forces anticoloniales qui existent en Indonésie même. Car les forces anticoloniales d'Indonésie sont aujourd'hui matériellement en mesure (ce n'était pas le cas il y a quelques années) d'éliminer à bref délai de l'Irian occidental le colonialisme néerlandais.

95. En fait, quoi que nous puissions penser de la politique suivie par le Ministre des affaires étrangères des Pays-Bas, nous lui devons, nombre d'entre nous aussi bien que moi, une expérience des plus instructives, sinon très constructive; à savoir que nous pouvons affronter et défaire la politique coloniale des Pays-Bas à condition d'appliquer notre force nationale dans sa totalité: politique, économique et militaire. C'est ce que nous appelons la politique du front total.

96. A regret, il nous a fallu affecter à l'achat d'armements une part appréciable de notre revenu national, laquelle en d'autres circonstances, aurait pu aller à la reconstruction nationale ou au bien-être social du peuple indonésien. Mais ce n'est que grâce à cette politique du front total que les Pays-Bas ont commencé à comprendre que leur occupation illégale de l'Irian occidental par la force armée pouvait prendre fin sous l'action des forces de l'Indonésie elle-même. Cette vérité, jointe à la pression qui s'exerce universellement pour la décolonisation, a créé, dans l'opinion néerlandaise, un climat propice à l'abandon de la domination néerlandaise en Irian occidental.

97. Les Pays-Bas ont dénoncé notre politique du front total comme une politique de force. A la lumière de l'histoire de la lutte indonésienne pour l'indépendance, l'Assemblée discerne pourtant sans peine, je l'espère, qui a eu recours à la coercition et à la répression, en vertu d'une supériorité militaire, de 1945 à 1949; qui a eu recours à la coercition et à la répression en réoccupant militairement l'Irian occidental; qui emploie des tactiques de coercition, de répression et d'intimidation en envoyant le porte-avions Karel Doorman dans les eaux indonésiennes. Ai-je besoin de poursuivre cette énumération?

98. En toute humilité, nous ne faisons que nous armer, parfois au prix de dures privations, pour protéger notre intégrité nationale contre les attaques et les mesures répressives d'une puissance coloniale, les Pays-Bas.

99. Nous avons donné maintes preuves de nos sentiments pacifiques, depuis 1954 jusqu'à 1957, année où

nous avons demandé l'appui des Nations Unies. Mais nos projets de résolution, encore qu'approuvés à une majorité substantielle, n'ont pas obtenu la majorité requise, les deux tiers des voix. Nous étions donc seuls pour affronter la violence et les entreprises subversives d'une puissance coloniale. Que devons-nous faire? Nous soumettre humblement aux caprices de la politique étrangère des Pays-Bas? Nous ne le pouvions pas, nous ne le ferons pas.

100. Les 90 millions d'habitants de l'Indonésie ont leur fierté nationale et le sentiment de leur dignité. Ils ont proclamé leur indépendance le 17 août 1945 et l'ont défendue dans une guerre sans merci. Si la guerre anticoloniale a pris fin en 1949, ce n'est que parce que nous espérions, que nous étions sûrs, à cette époque, que le problème qui restait encore à résoudre avec les Pays-Bas pouvait l'être dans un esprit de bonne volonté et d'une manière pacifique. Nous avons toujours espéré que les Pays-Bas considéreraient l'abandon de leur dernier territoire colonial d'Indonésie comme le moyen d'améliorer les rapports humains, et non comme un échec dans leur vie nationale.

101. Nous n'aurions jamais pu imaginer que l'Irian occidental — la partie la moins explorée et la moins exploitée de l'Indonésie avec 700 000 habitants seulement — créerait un tel problème que l'Indonésie dût prendre les armes pour achever son indépendance.

102. Je sais que l'Assemblée n'a, jusqu'ici, pas toujours pu empêcher une puissance coloniale de faire usage de sa supériorité militaire contre les peuples colonisés ou anciennement colonisés. En revanche, j'espère sincèrement que l'Assemblée ne dénoncera pas, en le qualifiant de violence, le geste des peuples colonisés ou anciennement colonisés qui recourent aux armes contre les forces arrogantes et agressives d'une puissance coloniale.

103. A l'heure actuelle, pour des raisons que j'ai déjà indiquées, les Pays-Bas sont disposés à abandonner leur pouvoir en Irian occidental. Si l'on met vraiment à profit l'heureuse atmosphère politique qui nous a conduits à cette étape et si l'on désire sincèrement de part et d'autre résoudre ce litige, je crois que nous pourrions toujours parvenir à une formule transactionnelle.

104. Malheureusement, ce n'est pas ce que l'on fait. Au contraire, les Pays-Bas cherchent à tirer parti de cette atmosphère propice pour faire la sourde oreille aux légitimes revendications de l'Indonésie, ce qui ne fait qu'envenimer les rapports entre nos deux pays.

105. D'ailleurs, même en admettant qu'un compromis avec l'Indonésie n'intéresse pas les Pays-Bas, ils ne se comportent pas en Irian occidental comme M. Luns a cherché à l'exposer devant l'Assemblée.

106. S'il semble qu'il y ait, aux Pays-Bas, un climat favorable à l'abandon du pouvoir en Irian occidental, il n'en demeure pas moins que le nombre des expulsés a subitement augmenté. Au cours de la discussion générale [1030ème séance], j'ai dit que le nombre des réfugiés est d'une centaine par mois.

107. Il me faut corriger ce chiffre; en rentrant chez moi, à Djakarta, au mois d'octobre dernier, je me suis arrêté à Singapour et j'y ai rencontré 1 100 réfugiés transportés par bateau de l'Irian occidental à Djakarta. Et un autre bateau, chargé de plus de 1 000 passagers, se dirige maintenant vers Djakarta. La campagne anti-indonésienne en Irian occidental s'étend de foyer

en foyer et s'accroît de jour en jour. Elle s'accompagne de violences physiques contre ceux qui osent élever la voix en faveur d'une réunion à la République d'Indonésie. Les autorités hollandaises hissent encore le prétendu drapeau national de l'Irian occidental et cherchent à lancer un hymne national, pour essayer de créer artificiellement les symboles de l'Irian occidental, Etat indépendant. Dans ce territoire, le hollandais a remplacé l'indonésien comme lingua franca.

108. Tels sont les faits réels, qui contrastent nettement avec les paroles mielleuses et conciliantes du Ministre des affaires étrangères des Pays-Bas, qui nous dit que le peuple de l'Irian occidental aura toute liberté de s'associer à l'Indonésie.

109. Nous avons pensé que, si la population de l'Irian occidental avait ainsi liberté de choix, la campagne anti-indonésienne, l'expulsion de milliers d'habitants et la répression de ceux qui souhaitent l'association à la République d'Indonésie devraient au moins y prendre fin immédiatement. Lancer — je devrais même dire imposer — un prétendu drapeau national et un prétendu hymne national de l'Irian occidental, cela peut-il avoir un autre but que de préjuger, dans un sens trop évident, l'issue de ce prétendu choix?

110. Une fois de plus, je rappelle que, si les Pays-Bas recherchent un compromis avec l'Indonésie, s'ils veulent résoudre leur litige avec l'Indonésie, chacun devra faire des concessions. D'ores et déjà, je puis dire qu'un tel accord ne pourra pas se faire au prix d'une concession totale, soit de la part de l'Indonésie, soit de la part des Pays-Bas. Mais si nous sommes sincères de part et d'autre, je ne vois pas pourquoi nous ne trouverions pas une formule d'accord sur la question de l'autodétermination et celle de la compétence des Nations Unies.

111. Mais que se passe-t-il à l'heure actuelle? Le Ministre des affaires étrangères des Pays-Bas a complètement passé l'Indonésie sous silence au cours de la discussion générale, à la 1016ème séance de l'Assemblée. Il a complètement passé l'Indonésie sous silence dans le projet de résolution qu'il a déposé. Hier, nous avons été sensibles à l'obligeance qu'il a manifestée à notre égard en parlant de l'Indonésie comme d'une nation qui s'intéresserait peut-être au problème de l'Irian occidental. Mais, étant donné l'attitude des Pays-Bas en Irian occidental, j'hésite même à croire sincère cette allusion rapide et tardive à l'Indonésie. Je crois plutôt qu'elle répond au désir de paraître raisonnable dans cette enceinte internationale pour y rallier quelques voix.

112. Nous pensions que le Gouvernement néerlandais aurait profité de cette atmosphère propice pour sonder les réactions de l'Indonésie. S'il ne pouvait pas le faire directement, un autre pays se serait certainement trouvé pour faire les premiers sondages. A cet égard, le Ministre des affaires étrangères des Pays-Bas a trouvé un prétexte; je cite sa déclaration: "... Puisque l'Indonésie a rompu les relations diplomatiques avec les Pays-Bas et a même été jusqu'à refuser d'accepter la procédure normalement suivie en pareil cas, qui consiste à permettre à un pays tiers de représenter les intérêts néerlandais en Indonésie ..." [1049ème séance, par. 87].

113. C'est vrai, nous avons rompu les relations diplomatiques avec les Pays-Bas; quelques mois plus tard, après la tentative d'intimidation que représentait l'envoi du porte-avions Karel Doorman dans les eaux

territoriales indonésiennes, nous avons décidé qu'il était temps de faire disparaître nos restes de rapports avec les Pays-Bas.

114. En Indonésie, les esprits sont tellement échauffés que la nation tout entière commence à exiger que nous nous préparions à nous mesurer une dernière fois avec les Pays-Bas, pour la défense de l'intégrité de notre territoire. Il semble que les Pays-Bas ne cesseront jamais de harceler l'Indonésie, ne cesseront jamais de livrer l'Indonésie à la subversion, ne cesseront jamais d'humilier l'Indonésie, du moins tant qu'ils se sentiront militairement supérieurs à l'Indonésie.

115. La guerre coloniale de 1945-1949 semble ne pas avoir suffi aux Pays-Bas. La création d'un mouvement séparatiste, qui a connu son apogée lors de la création de la République des Moluques méridionales, ne paraît pas avoir mis le point final à l'hostilité néerlandaise à l'égard de l'Indonésie. Aujourd'hui, les Pays-Bas se préparent à jouer le dernier acte du drame Indonésie-Pays-Bas en retranchant l'Irian occidental du reste de l'Indonésie.

116. Je ne me propose pas d'examiner en détail, au point où en est le débat, le projet néerlandais de résolution. Mais, pour donner aux délégués qui n'ont pas assisté aux sessions de 1954 à 1957 une idée claire de la question, je vais me permettre de rappeler certains faits.

117. Tout d'abord, l'Indonésie ne revendique le territoire d'aucun autre peuple. Tous les Indonésiens auraient honte si leur lutte contre le colonialisme dégénérait en expansionnisme et les amenait à coloniser un autre peuple. Les Indonésiens, sous la conduite du président Soukarno, non seulement luttent pour leur propre indépendance nationale, mais, je puis le dire en toute modestie, contribuent sans relâche à la lutte des autres peuples d'Asie et d'Afrique pour l'indépendance.

118. L'Irian occidental, que les Hollandais appellent Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale, faisait partie des Indes orientales néerlandaises. C'est un fait historique. Constitutionnellement, les Pays-Bas eux-mêmes ont remplacé le nom "Indes orientales néerlandaises" par le nom "Indonésie", dans la Constitution du royaume des Pays-Bas.

119. On pourrait s'appuyer sur quantité de citations des déclarations officielles des Pays-Bas pour confirmer non seulement que l'Irian occidental fait partie intégrante de l'Indonésie, mais encore qu'il n'a jamais été question, au cours des pourparlers hollando-indonésiens qui ont abouti à un règlement pacifique^{7/}, de séparer de l'Etat indonésien la "résidence" administrative d'Irian occidental. Pour ne mentionner que quelques sources, le Gouvernement néerlandais a déclaré officiellement, dans le rapport qu'il a adressé aux Nations Unies sur l'Indonésie pour les années 1948 et 1949:

"L'Indonésie se compose d'une série de groupes d'îles, dans la région équatoriale, s'étendant depuis le littoral asiatique jusqu'à l'Australie. Les principaux groupes d'îles sont: les grandes îles de la Sonde (Java et Madoura, Sumatra, Bornéo et Célèbes et quelques autres petites îles adjacentes), les petites îles de la Sonde (Bali, Lombok, Sumbawa, Florès, Timor, Sumba, Roti et quelques autres

petites îles), les Moluques et la Nouvelle-Guinée située à l'ouest du 141ème degré de longitude est^{8/}."

120. De plus, M. H. J. van Mook, alors gouverneur général de l'Indonésie, a déclaré, lors d'une conférence réunie par les Pays-Bas à Den Pasar (Bali), en 1946, pour discuter la formation du sous-Etat d'Indonésie orientale, qu'il "n'était nullement dans l'intention (des Pays-Bas) d'exclure la Nouvelle-Guinée de l'Indonésie".

121. Ainsi, il n'y avait pas le moindre doute, pour les parties intéressées, que l'ensemble de l'Indonésie, y compris l'Irian occidental, constituerait le territoire du nouvel Etat indépendant d'Indonésie, ce qui est d'ailleurs tout à fait logique et naturel. Confirmant cet accord, M. van Roijen, représentant des Pays-Bas au Conseil de sécurité, a déclaré le 22 décembre 1948, alors que le Conseil discutait de l'indépendance de l'Indonésie:

"Comme je l'ai expliqué dès le début, il ne s'agit pas, en fait, de savoir si oui ou non l'Indonésie doit devenir indépendante. Toutes les parties s'accordent pour dire que ce qui constituait jadis les Indes orientales néerlandaises doit devenir un Etat indépendant aussitôt que possible^{9/}."

122. Telle était en effet la base de l'accord conclu pour mettre fin à la guerre coloniale et reconnaître la création d'un nouvel Etat indépendant, l'Indonésie, qui comprendrait tout le territoire des anciennes Indes orientales néerlandaises.

123. Ainsi donc l'unité indonésienne a toujours été reconnue, malgré les différences ethniques et raciales de sa population, et par le Gouvernement néerlandais aussi. Dans son rapport officiel adressé aux Nations Unies, en 1948, au sujet de l'Indonésie, le Gouvernement néerlandais déclarait:

"Au point de vue racial, les populations indigènes peuvent être divisées en deux groupes: les Malais, à l'ouest, et les Papous, à l'est. Comme ces races se sont mélangées dans une grande mesure, elles ne sont pas séparées par des lignes de démarcation bien nettes^{10/}."

124. Puis, en décembre 1948, M. van Roijen, représentant des Pays-Bas au Conseil de sécurité, a donné d'autres précisions:

"... la population de l'Indonésie se compose d'environ 17 groupes ethniques et linguistiques principaux, qui, à leur tour, comprennent un nombre encore plus élevé de sous-groupes ... La vie en commun sous la Couronne des Pays-Bas a fait naître un sens de la nationalité indonésienne et la volonté d'établir un Etat indonésien ...^{11/}"

Ce qui n'est pas tout à fait exact, car, avant l'arrivée des Pays-Bas, il y avait un Etat encore plus grand, l'Empire de Çrividjaya, qui s'étendait vers l'est, depuis l'Afrique jusqu'à ce qui constitue actuellement

^{8/} Territoires non autonomes, Résumés et analyses des renseignements transmis au Secrétaire général au cours de l'année 1948, publication des Nations Unies, No de vente: 49.VI.B.1, vol. I, p. 151.

^{9/} Procès-verbaux officiels du Conseil de sécurité, troisième année, No 132, 388ème séance, p. 11.

^{10/} Territoires non autonomes, Résumés et analyses des renseignements transmis au Secrétaire général au cours de l'année 1948, publication des Nations Unies, No de vente: 49.VI.B.1, vol. I, p. 152.

^{11/} Procès-verbaux officiels du Conseil de sécurité, troisième année, No 132, 388ème séance, p. 19 et 20.

^{7/} Conférence tenue à La Haye du 23 août au 2 novembre 1949.

l'Irian occidental, et même jusqu'à la partie orientale de l'île de Nouvelle-Guinée, et de la Thaïlande à l'océan indien.

125. Tous ces faits historiques sont bien connus de la plupart des membres de l'Assemblée, et hier encore [1049ème séance] le représentant de l'Arabie saoudite les a exposés de façon très lucide et très convaincante.

126. En fait, si l'on parle des groupes ethniques d'Asie sud-orientale, il y a aussi les groupements plus vastes: Mélanésiens à l'ouest et Polynésiens à l'est. Ces considérations de groupes raciaux n'ont bien entendu rien à voir avec l'indépendance de l'Indonésie qui nous intéresse ici. Ce qui compte, c'est que le peuple indonésien, à l'est comme à l'ouest, partout même, indépendamment de toutes les différences de races, constitue depuis des siècles une entité nationale et une nationalité indonésienne, comme les Pays-Bas eux-mêmes l'ont confirmé.

127. Après tout, je crois que la population de pratiquement tous les Etats nationaux est composée de divers groupes raciaux ou ethniques; en fait, on peut souvent y discerner des groupes raciaux très différents. Cela n'a rien d'étonnant, c'est dans l'ordre des choses.

128. C'est pourquoi les Pays-Bas agissent de façon mesquine et perverse en essayant de se servir des différences ethniques pour atteindre leurs objectifs politiques au détriment de l'Indonésie. Ils disent que les habitants de l'Irian occidental sont du type négrito, donc liés aux races d'Afrique, et devraient donc comme elles obtenir leur propre indépendance. Cette affirmation n'est pas seulement fausse; elle est très tendancieuse, sinon même insidieuse. Tout d'abord, on trouve les prétendus négritos d'Indonésie non seulement en Irian occidental, mais dans toute la partie orientale de l'Indonésie — les Moluques — et même dans des endroits isolés de Sumatra et de Java. Comme il était dit dans la déclaration officielle des Pays-Bas que j'ai déjà citée:

"Comme ces races se sont mélangées dans une très grande mesure, elles ne sont pas séparées par des lignes de démarcation bien nettes."

129. Si l'on veut tirer des arguments du facteur racial, il faudra noter que les Indonésiens ont d'étroits liens de race avec les habitants de la Malaisie et des Philippines. Nous parlons la même langue que la Fédération de Malaisie. Pourtant, je puis assurer l'Assemblée que l'Indonésie n'a jamais eu de revendication territoriale sur la Malaisie ou les Philippines. L'inverse est également vrai. Ce sont des Etats indépendants et souverains, et nous nous en réjouissons. Même dans la grande île de Bornéo (Kalimantan), dont le nord est territoire britannique, et dans la moitié de l'île de Timor, qui est portugaise, nous ne revendiquons aucun territoire. Nous ne considérons, en effet, comme l'Indonésie, comme le territoire indonésien, que l'ensemble du territoire de l'ancienne colonie des Indes orientales néerlandaises. C'est pourquoi nous ne revendiquons pas non plus la partie orientale de l'île de la Nouvelle-Guinée, qui est administrée par l'Australie.

130. L'Irian occidental, partie intégrante des anciennes Indes orientales néerlandaises, est évidemment territoire indonésien. Qualifier de revendication territoriale notre droit à l'Irian occidental est déformer de propos délibéré les faits et l'histoire, pour brouiller les cartes et justifier l'injustifiable occupation coloniale de ce territoire par les Pays-Bas.

131. Le Ministre des affaires étrangères des Pays-Bas a proclamé très haut le droit du peuple de l'Irian occidental à disposer de lui-même. Mais ce n'est pas en criant très fort que l'on change les faits de l'histoire. Il a essayé de faire oublier que le peuple de l'Irian occidental avait déjà exercé son droit à l'autodétermination, non pas comme groupe ethnique, comme les Pays-Bas le voudraient, mais comme partie intégrante de la nation indonésienne, qui, en 1945, comptait 70 millions de citoyens.

132. M. Luns a également laissé entendre que les habitants de l'Irian occidental n'avaient jamais combattu le colonialisme néerlandais d'Indonésie ou ne s'étaient jamais associés à cette lutte. Voyons les faits. Pendant la période coloniale, c'est en Irian occidental que les Pays-Bas ont installé leur tristement fameux camp de concentration, Boven Digul, où ils reléguaient les chefs politiques de l'Indonésie. Des milliers de combattants de la liberté ont vécu, relégués et misérables, dans ce camp de concentration, et des centaines d'entre eux sont morts de maladie ou à la suite de mauvais traitements. C'est ainsi que le sang de nombreux combattants indonésiens de la liberté a baigné l'Irian occidental. La population de l'Irian occidental savait fort bien ce que signifiait la lutte pour l'indépendance indonésienne et elle était étroitement associée à ce combat.

133. Aussi, quand l'Indonésie a proclamé son indépendance en 1945, la population de l'Irian occidental a immédiatement et activement participé à la défense de la République. Des partis politiques locaux se sont créés, dirigés par les Irianais eux-mêmes, comme le Partai Kemerdekaan Indonesia Irian (Parti irianais de l'Indonésie indépendante), dirigé par Silas Paparé. Mais, quand les forces néerlandaises ont réoccupé l'Irian occidental, la liberté politique a disparu et les dirigeants politiques ont été emprisonnés ou chassés du territoire.

134. Le peuple de l'Irian occidental n'a jamais voulu être séparé de l'Indonésie. Quand la Conférence patronnée par les Pays-Bas allait se réunir en 1946 à Den Pasar (Bali), sous la présidence de M. van Mook, alors lieutenant-gouverneur, ceux des dirigeants politiques qui se trouvaient encore là ont réclamé, le 12 décembre 1946, par un message aux autorités néerlandaises: premièrement, que l'Irian occidental ne soit pas exclu de la Fédération indonésienne et reste partie intégrante de l'Indonésie; deuxièmement, qu'un groupe représentatif de l'Irian occidental soit autorisé à se rendre à la Conférence de Den Pasar; troisièmement, que l'Irian occidental ne soit pas recolonisé. Ce message était signé de MM. C. M. Kré, M. Indey et N. Jouwé, tous habitants de l'Irian occidental. En fait, M. Indey est maintenant membre de la délégation néerlandaise dont il est le conseiller pour le présent débat.

135. Nous sommes heureux, à ce propos, de voir que les Pays-Bas ont amené ici des personnalités de l'Irian occidental et nous espérons, puisque nous en avons aussi dans notre propre délégation, que les uns et les autres seront autorisés à causer ensemble, à siéger ensemble, à sortir ensemble. Nous espérons que la délégation néerlandaise donnera pleine liberté à ces Irianais de rencontrer leurs compatriotes ici, à New York, sans cerbère, sans être surveillés par les Hollandais. Je dis cela parce que, malheureusement, quand ces délégués se sont rencontrés par hasard dans un restaurant et ont commencé à causer en amis, le cerbère hollandais a immédiatement payé

l'addition sans même laisser finir leur repas aux Irianais de la délégation néerlandaise. On ne voulait pas que ces Irianais puissent se rencontrer, même s'ils venaient du même village. En ce qui nous concerne, nous permettons aux Irianais qui font partie de la délégation néerlandaise de prendre contact avec ceux de notre propre délégation. Nous sommes tout prêts à autoriser les Irianais de la délégation néerlandaise d'essayer de convaincre ceux qui font partie de notre propre délégation qu'ils doivent ou devenir un peuple indépendant ou faire partie des Pays-Bas. Nous voulons la liberté de contact et de mouvement entre les Irianais des deux délégations, d'autant plus qu'ils viennent des mêmes villages.

136. Je pourrais mentionner bien d'autres exemples d'opinions exprimées en Irian occidental en faveur du maintien de l'Irian dans la République d'Indonésie, et cela malgré les efforts non dissimulés que les Hollandais faisaient pour maintenir indéfiniment leur domination sur l'Irian occidental, tout particulièrement à la veille de la Conférence de la table ronde de La Haye, au second semestre de 1949. Je donnerai tous ces exemples en temps utile, s'il y a lieu.

137. Les dirigeants qui, dans le passé et récemment encore, ont été emprisonnés en Irian occidental, et notamment ceux qui ont été relégués dans le camp de concentration de Boven Digul — lequel existe toujours — pourraient aussi faire bien des révélations qui réfuteraient les allégations de M. Luns, selon lesquelles le peuple d'Irian occidental n'a jamais exprimé son désir de liberté. Cette allégation est, en fait, une insulte à l'intelligence et à la dignité du peuple de l'Irian occidental, et nous ne saurions l'accepter.

138. Il n'est toutefois pas surprenant d'entendre de telles déclarations de la part du porte-parole du Gouvernement néerlandais. Ce gouvernement n'a jamais accepté que des peuples qu'il préfère considérer comme retardés et non civilisés puissent exprimer leur désir de liberté. De telles déclarations de la part des gouvernements coloniaux sont aussi familières à mes amis d'Asie et d'Afrique qu'à nous-mêmes.

139. Pour toutes ces raisons, nous devons rejeter sans réserve le projet néerlandais tel qu'il se présente actuellement. Nous constatons que le Ministre des affaires étrangères des Pays-Bas, au lieu de chercher une formule de compromis, tient à exploiter le mieux possible l'atmosphère propice qu'il y a dans son pays pour mettre la dernière touche à son hostilité envers l'Indonésie en séparant, sous le masque du généreux bienfaiteur qui dispense l'indépendance à des peuples coloniaux, le territoire de l'Irian occidental du reste de l'Indonésie.

140. Subitement, le Ministre des affaires étrangères des Pays-Bas déclare solennellement que les Pays-Bas ont la mission sacrée d'accorder la souveraineté à la population locale de l'Irian occidental et qu'il leur faut irrévocablement accomplir cette mission. Nous, qui avons récemment obtenu notre indépendance, nous connaissons très bien ce mythe de la "mission sacrée" des puissances coloniales. Le résultat de cette "mission sacrée" des Pays-Bas en Indonésie, au cours de 300 ans de domination sur les vastes empires autrefois prospères de Çrividjaya et de Matjopahit, le voici: quand les Pays-Bas ont quitté l'Indonésie, il n'y avait que 500 médecins, 200 avocats et 50 ingénieurs diplômés, pour une population de 70 millions d'habitants.

141. Quelle différence, maintenant qu'il y a une administration nationale! Avant la guerre, 750 000 enfants allaient à l'école primaire. Maintenant, ils sont environ 11 millions. Nous avons 11 universités, qui reçoivent 50 000 étudiants, comparés aux 200 étudiants d'avant la guerre. Et même maintenant, que font les Pays-Bas pour la population de l'Irian occidental? Au cours des 10 dernières années, il n'y a pas eu plus de trois étudiants de ce territoire qui aient réussi à accéder au niveau universitaire, alors que, même parmi les réfugiés d'Irian occidental qui viennent dans notre pays, il y a plus d'une douzaine d'étudiants d'université.

142. C'est dans ces possibilités d'épanouissement de la nature et de la dignité humaines que réside la différence essentielle entre une société nationale libre et une société coloniale. Cela nous pousse encore davantage à vouloir libérer le peuple de l'Irian occidental de cette injustice, de cette tragédie humaine.

143. Pour l'Indonésie, une chose au moins est claire: si les Pays-Bas font de la séparation de l'Irian occidental un fait accompli, s'ils proclament l'indépendance de ce territoire comme ils ont proclamé la République des Moluques méridionales, nous serons contraints de nous servir de tous les moyens dont nous disposerons pour rendre nulle une telle proclamation, même si cela signifie qu'il nous faut faire la guerre aux Pays-Bas. Tous les pays feraient de même. A la proclamation de l'indépendance d'une partie intégrante de notre territoire national, à l'instigation d'une puissance étrangère, nous répondrons par la force.

144. C'est parce que certains essaient d'abuser ainsi de la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale qu'il y a à l'heure actuelle des troubles en Asie et en Afrique. Dès que, dans ces régions, des dissensions se produisent entre certains groupes, les puissances étrangères, et en particulier les anciennes puissances coloniales, cherchent toujours à favoriser les mouvements séparatistes. A vrai dire, il n'est pas difficile de créer ou de favoriser le séparatisme après plus de 10 ans d'occupation militaire. Ce n'est pas un phénomène limité aux pays d'Asie ou d'Afrique. Nous l'avons vu se produire également dans l'Europe occupée par les nazis, en application de la maxime: "Diviser pour régner". Je connais fort bien les Pays-Bas; et, si l'Indonésie avait la possibilité d'occuper ce pays pendant 10 ans, je puis assurer l'Assemblée qu'il ne nous serait pas difficile d'y créer trois Etats indépendants en employant la résolution 1514 (XV), mais en en déformant le sens. Même à l'heure actuelle, il y a dans certains pays d'Europe des tendances favorables à la sécession et au séparatisme. Toutefois, les puissances étrangères n'ont pas, d'une manière générale, exploité ces dissensions. Dans ces conditions, c'est véritablement un crime et une honte que les puissances coloniales puissent s'abuser de la résolution 1514 (XV) que lorsqu'il s'agit de nations d'Asie et d'Afrique. Ces nations ont déjà à faire face à bien des difficultés pour reconstruire et rebâtir leur pays. Si elles sont forcées par surcroît de faire face à la politique de séparatisme des puissances coloniales, les difficultés se multiplient alors — jusqu'à devenir peut-être impossibles à maîtriser.

145. En Indonésie, nous sommes décidés à relever ce défi — en employant de préférence des moyens pacifiques, des contacts directs ou la médiation directe de l'ONU. Si cela n'est pas possible, j'ose espérer que l'Assemblée ne privera pas les pays colonisés ou anciennement colonisés de leur droit d'user de tous

les moyens dont ils disposent pour parfaire leur indépendance. Je ne demande pas ici aux Pays-Bas de faire preuve envers l'Indonésie d'une générosité qu'il ne lui ont jamais témoignée dans le passé. Ce qui a toujours, en effet, caractérisé leur politique, c'est une étroitesse de vues et une mesquinerie qui ont coûté à l'Indonésie, de 1945 à nos jours, plus d'un demi-million de vies humaines et d'indicibles souffrances. Ce que je veux, c'est faire appel au bon sens des Pays-Bas, ne serait-ce que dans leur propre intérêt national. Ne poussez pas trop loin votre haine de l'Indonésie, car nous avons notre fierté nationale. Et nous avons certainement les moyens, plus puissants qu'en 1945, de nous opposer à toute politique agressive et provocatrice de la part des Pays-Bas.

146. Pour terminer, je veux aussi m'adresser à mes collègues de l'Assemblée, et tout particulièrement à ceux des pays d'Asie et d'Afrique qui viennent, tout comme l'Indonésie, de recouvrer leur indépendance et leur souveraineté. On sait que l'Indonésie est un champion tenace de la lutte pour l'indépendance — dans quelque partie du monde qu'elle se déroule — et cela parfois au détriment de ses intérêts nationaux immédiats. Nous pouvons dire, en toute modestie, que nous avons apporté notre part à la lutte qui doit mettre fin au colonialisme. La lutte pour l'indépendance qui s'est déroulée en Asie a eu de profondes répercussions sur la lutte anticolonialiste qui se déroule en Afrique et a été pour elle un appui. Réciproquement, la lutte farouche et héroïque que les peuples africains et leurs dirigeants mènent pour l'indépendance nous aidera à éliminer le colonialisme, une fois pour toutes, de l'Asie.

147. Dans cette lutte commune contre le colonialisme, nous n'avons pas été divisés dans le passé; nous ne le serons pas dans l'avenir. Ce n'est qu'avec ce sentiment d'être unis, et la détermination de le rester,

que nous nous avancerons dans notre énorme tâche: reconstruire, rebâtir, consolider notre nationalité. Quelles que puissent être les différences de nos conceptions particulières de politique intérieure ou extérieure, ne tombons pas dans les pièges de la politique coloniale de "Diviser pour régner". Nous devons encore faire face, même après avoir atteint l'indépendance, à des tentatives dangereuses de pénétration et de subversion venues de l'extérieur, sous l'étiquette politique, économique ou militaire. Et nous ne pouvons en avoir raison qu'en faisant efficacement échec à la politique de "Diviser pour régner".

148. L'Assemblée tout entière a, dans ce problème de l'Irian occidental, une lourde responsabilité. Il ne s'agit pas d'un problème de décolonisation, comme voudraient le faire croire les Pays-Bas, mais bel et bien d'un différend entre deux Etats souverains, l'Indonésie et les Pays-Bas. Si l'Assemblée adopte le projet néerlandais [A/L.354], elle légitimera l'emploi de la force par la puissance coloniale pour réoccuper une partie de l'Indonésie; elle légitimera aussi par conséquent le droit de l'Indonésie à rejeter par la force les Pays-Bas de l'Irian occidental — donc, la guerre entre deux Etats souverains. Ce n'est pas une menace; ce n'est pas non plus un cliquetis de sabre. Mais tels sont les faits, telle est la conclusion à laquelle ils pourraient mener.

149. En vérité, les Indonésiens sont las de la guerre. Ils continuent à souffrir des séquelles de la guerre. Rien n'est plus cher à leur cœur que de vivre et de travailler dans la paix. Mais si une guerre coloniale nous est imposée, si nous n'avons pas d'autre choix que de reprendre les armes pour parfaire notre indépendance, nous ne reculerons pas devant cette responsabilité.

La séance est levée à 17 h 50.

Nations Unies
**ASSEMBLÉE
GÉNÉRALE**

SEIZIÈME SESSION

Documents officiels



106 1052^e
SÉANCE PLÉNIÈRE

Lundi 13 novembre 1961,
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Président: M. Mongi SLIM (Tunisie).

POINTS 88 ET 22 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

La situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux (suite*)

Assistance à l'Afrique (suite*):

a) Programme des Nations Unies pour l'indépendance

1. U ON SEIN (Birmanie) [traduit de l'anglais]: La question que nous débattons ici depuis une semaine environ est d'une importance primordiale pour nous et par conséquent pour l'humanité tout entière. Il s'agit du point 88 et de la partie a) du point 22; l'Assemblée a fort sagement décidé d'examiner ces deux questions ensemble. Nous savons tous qu'elles ont pour origine la résolution 1514 (XV), que l'Assemblée a adoptée il y a un an, presque jour pour jour, à une écrasante majorité. Les délégués n'ont pas oublié, j'en suis sûr, que mon pays était un des auteurs de cette résolution, avec plusieurs autres pays d'Asie et d'Afrique.

2. Au risque de répéter ce que l'on sait déjà, je me permets d'affirmer une fois de plus que ma délégation attache une très grande importance à cette résolution, qui s'intitule: "Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux". Ma délégation considère cette résolution comme un monument qui marque un tournant dans l'histoire des pays coloniaux et dans l'histoire du monde. C'est en vérité la proclamation d'une ère nouvelle et ma délégation espérait ardemment que toutes les puissances coloniales y répondraient avec le même empressement. Un an après l'adoption de cette importante déclaration, il convient de se demander si elle a trouvé l'écho que nous espérions.

3. Voici le paragraphe 5 de la Déclaration qui figure dans la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale:

"Des mesures immédiates seront prises, dans les territoires sous tutelle, les territoires non autonomes et tous autres territoires qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance, pour transférer tous pou-

voirs aux peuples de ces territoires, sans aucune condition ni réserve, conformément à leur volonté et à leurs vœux librement exprimés, sans aucune distinction de race, de croyance ou de couleur, afin de leur permettre de jouir d'une indépendance et d'une liberté complètes."

La Déclaration s'applique aux territoires sous tutelle ainsi qu'aux territoires non autonomes et tous autres territoires dépendants.

4. Comme nous le savons tous, le Tanganyika, le plus vaste des territoires sous tutelle, célébrera son indépendance le 9 décembre 1961. Ma délégation se réjouit à l'avance d'accueillir officiellement l'Etat souverain du Tanganyika, pendant la session actuelle de l'Assemblée générale, dans notre communauté mondiale. Le Samoa occidental, qui, si je ne me trompe, est le plus petit des territoires sous tutelle, deviendra également Etat indépendant à la fin de l'année. Nous avons déjà parmi nous les représentants de l'Etat indépendant du Sierra Leone; ma délégation est heureuse de leur adresser ses félicitations et ses vœux les plus chaleureux.

5. Le cas de ces divers pays montre de façon positive que certaines puissances coloniales donnent ou vont donner une réponse positive à la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale. La délégation birmane sait parfaitement ce que signifie l'indépendance et ce que signifie aussi l'asservissement colonial. Aussi partage-t-elle entièrement la joie, les espérances et l'enthousiasme de la population de ces Etats récemment apparus sur la scène mondiale. Pour exactement la même raison, elle ne peut pas oublier les souffrances et la détresse de ces millions d'êtres demeurés sous la domination coloniale en Afrique, en Asie et dans certaines régions de l'Amérique latine.

6. Il reste encore sous la domination étrangère plus de 50 millions d'êtres humains, répartis sur quelque 70 territoires. Au premier rang de ces territoires, citons l'Angola, l'Algérie, le Sud-Ouest africain, le Ruanda-Urundi, l'Irian occidental. Il me souvient à ce propos de ce que ma délégation déclarait l'an dernier, du haut de cette même tribune et sur le même sujet. Elle disait notamment:

"... si l'on retarde trop longtemps le processus d'accession à l'indépendance, un sentiment de frustration et de désespoir s'empare des esprits et engendre malheureusement la rancœur et la haine. Si un pays doit lutter trop longtemps pour son indépendance, des forces extrêmes apparaissent à la surface et prédominent, qui ne sont certainement pas de nature à favoriser la cause de la démocratie — but que la plupart d'entre nous recherchent — ni celle de l'amitié entre les nations^{1/}."

*Reprise des débats de la 1050^{ème} séance.

^{1/} Documents officiels de l'Assemblée générale, quinzième session, Séances plénières, 930^{ème} séance, par. 9.

7. Au siècle où nous vivons, les preuves ne manquent pas de l'exactitude de cette maxime; citons par exemple la tragique situation de l'Angola, de l'Algérie et du Sud-Ouest africain. Ma délégation croit fermement que le haut idéal de paix et de tranquillité, de démocratie et de liberté, de justice et d'amitié sera inconcevable tant que le colonialisme et ses manifestations n'auront pas disparu. De l'avis de ma délégation, l'ensemble des événements actuels ne semble pas indiquer que toutes les puissances coloniales appliquent fidèlement les dispositions de la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale. Il est prouvé qu'il y a encore des exterminations massives et des répressions violentes. Les injustices économiques et sociales s'y donnent libre cours. La haine et l'amertume sévissent partout.

8. Il est vraiment navrant que le colonialisme puisse engendrer une telle myriade de maux concomitants. Ma délégation estime que le colonialisme est actuellement une des principales causes, sinon la principale cause, de conflits internationaux. Cela ne fait de bien à personne; ma délégation est donc persuadée que, si elles ont un peu de bonne volonté et de prévenance, toutes les nations s'uniront contre le colonialisme. Nous espérons également que l'Assemblée générale voudra bien être le point de ralliement où nous prendrons toutes les mesures possibles pour mettre fin au colonialisme.

9. Il est fort heureux, à notre avis, que nous examinions aujourd'hui où en est l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. L'Assemblée générale devrait faire tous ses efforts pour défendre les principes proclamés dans cette déclaration. Ma délégation presse instamment toutes les puissances coloniales de montrer un peu de prévoyance et de bonne volonté, de prouver qu'elles savent lire les signes des temps, non dans l'intérêt de tel ou tel secteur de la communauté mondiale, mais dans celui de toute la famille des nations, dont elles font elles aussi partie.

10. On a beaucoup parlé de la date de l'indépendance. Les opinions diffèrent à ce sujet. Pour sa part, ma délégation rejette d'emblée la thèse très souvent soutenue par certaines puissances, et qui voudrait que telle ou telle nation ne soit pas prête ou mûre pour l'indépendance, parce qu'elle manquerait de personnel qualifié, etc., etc. Après tout, c'est en forgeant qu'on devient forgeron. Il est bien évident que, dans tout pays colonisé, il y aura peu de gens instruits dans l'art de gouverner, pour la simple raison que, pendant de nombreuses années, ces pays ont été gouvernés par des puissances étrangères. Inutile de répéter ici que les habitants des pays colonisés ont leur propre conscience nationale et savent ce qui leur convient le mieux. C'est pourquoi ma délégation se prononce en faveur de l'indépendance sans délai pour tous les pays qui sont sous la domination étrangère.

11. S'il m'est permis de me résumer, ma délégation est prête à appuyer toute proposition qui aurait les objectifs suivants: premièrement, renforcer autant qu'il est possible les principes énoncés dans la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale; deuxièmement, faciliter dans toute la mesure possible l'extinction du colonialisme dans toutes ses manifestations; troisièmement, indiquer certaines dispositions qui faciliteraient l'application de la résolution 1514 (XV) ou pourraient y contribuer.

12. C'est en fonction de ce que je viens de dire que ma délégation prend position à l'égard des divers projets de résolution dont nous sommes saisis.

13. M. BITSIOS (Grèce): On nous demande souvent, à nous Grecs, si, parmi les concepts et les institutions politiques que nos ancêtres ont légués à l'humanité, il faut aussi compter le concept de la colonisation.

14. Dans le bassin méditerranéen et au-delà, vers les côtes de la mer Noire et vers le continent asiatique, bien des villes célèbres par leur histoire et par leur civilisation portent des noms grecs et nous fournissent ainsi le témoignage que la notion de la colonisation n'était pas étrangère à la Grèce antique. Cependant, pour qu'il n'y ait pas de confusion, il me faut ajouter tout de suite que la Grèce a donné l'indépendance à ses colonies bien avant l'adoption de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux [résolution 1514 (XV)], dont l'application fait aujourd'hui l'objet de nos débats. En d'autres termes, nous avons donné le bon exemple, il y a 2 000 ans. Mais ce qui est encore plus important, c'est que nos ancêtres ont conçu le colonialisme surtout comme une projection de leur rayonnement culturel et de leur civilisation. Ils ont transplanté, dans les territoires colonisés, les richesses de leur pensée, de leur libéralisme, de leurs institutions démocratiques. Ils ont ainsi réussi à faire de leurs colonies des centres de civilisation aussi rayonnants que la métropole elle-même. Voici un autre exemple qui, bien souvent, n'a pas été imité par les colonisateurs contemporains.

15. Cette référence à un passé un peu trop éloigné n'eut qu'un seul but: celui de mieux souligner, par l'évocation des traditions qui empreignent notre pensée, la position favorable de ma délégation à l'égard des tendances qui se dessinent au cours de la seizième session de l'Assemblée, quant à la façon dont la résolution adoptée au cours de la dernière session sera appliquée. Notre tâche consiste dorénavant à mieux définir, là où il y a lieu, le principe énoncé dans le texte de cette résolution et à consacrer les mesures pratiques qui assureront son application.

16. L'autre jour [1048ème séance], le distingué représentant de Ceylan, dans son très éloquent et très constructif discours, a posé la question de savoir si, l'histoire suivant son cours, nous assisterions à l'extinction du colonialisme, même si l'ONU s'abstenait de formuler les principes qui doivent mener à l'indépendance des pays colonisés. Il est d'autre part vrai que la Charte des Nations Unies consacre ses chapitres XI et XII, à la rédaction desquels ont collaboré les puissances coloniales, aux territoires non autonomes et aux territoires sous tutelle.

17. Ces considérations n'ôtent, aux yeux de ma délégation, rien de la valeur et de la nécessité des efforts entrepris par cette assemblée pour établir un programme plus systématisé concernant, en premier lieu, le rôle qui incombera à notre organisation au cours de la période qui s'écoulera jusqu'à l'extinction du colonialisme.

18. En effet, le temps n'est pas si loin — et les chapitres XI et XII faisaient alors, comme aujourd'hui, partie de notre charte — où cette assemblée était empêchée, par les règles des majorités requises, de dépêcher au peuple chypriote le message que, selon notre charte, il avait droit à son indépendance.

19. Voilà pourquoi nous jugeons nécessaire, indispensable, la consécration d'un programme régissant

la marche vers la décolonisation et établissant le rôle des Nations Unies.

20. J'ai déjà dit qu'à notre avis les tâches de cette assemblée sont à présent au nombre de deux: la première est de mieux définir, là où il y a lieu, les principes contenus dans le texte de la résolution 1514 (XV); la seconde est de tomber d'accord sur les mesures pratiques qui assureront son application.

21. En ce qui concerne les principes, ma délégation estime qu'il est d'une importance primordiale d'affirmer que la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance doit être appliquée à tous les peuples du monde qui revendiquent leur droit à l'indépendance ou leur droit de décider eux-mêmes de leurs institutions politiques et sociales; car la notion de la liberté est et doit rester indivisible.

22. Ma délégation pense aussi que les termes indépendance et liberté employés par les rédacteurs de la résolution devront être par la suite clarifiés. Avec un réalisme frappant, le représentant de Ceylan nous a démontré, dans le discours que je viens de mentionner, que la souveraineté n'est pas la forme exclusive de l'indépendance. L'annexe d'une autre résolution, la résolution 1541 (XV), contient en effet certains principes qui doivent prendre leur place dans le texte complété de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. Cette annexe stipule notamment [principe VI] que l'on peut dire qu'un territoire non autonome a atteint la pleine autonomie: a) quand il est devenu Etat indépendant et souverain; b) quand il s'est librement associé à un Etat indépendant; c) quand il s'est intégré à un Etat indépendant.

23. Une condition préalable est cependant nécessaire pour sanctionner ces solutions dans chaque cas spécifique: la volonté de la population du territoire en cause, exprimée librement et par des moyens démocratiques. Ce sont les principes VII et IX de l'annexe à la résolution 1541 (XV), principes qui, comme je l'ai dit, devront être incorporés au texte complété de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance.

24. Un troisième principe qui doit être défini plus clairement est celui contenu au paragraphe 3 de la Déclaration. Il y est dit:

"Le manque de préparation dans les domaines politique, économique ou social ou dans celui de l'enseignement ne doit jamais être pris comme prétexte pour retarder l'indépendance."

25. C'est un principe juste dans le contexte des responsabilités de la puissance administrante. Mais il est de la responsabilité de notre organisation de veiller à ce que la communauté internationale entreprenne, elle, le soin d'assister les populations qui accèdent à l'indépendance sans avoir atteint un degré suffisant de développement, surtout dans le domaine économique. En ce sens, l'initiative prise, en 1960, par la délégation des Etats-Unis^{2/}, quand elle nous a demandé d'envisager un programme pour le développement économique de l'Afrique, devra, pendant cette session, retenir toute notre attention et aboutir à l'élaboration par l'Assemblée de propositions concrètes dans ce sens.

26. En ce qui est de la méthode, c'est-à-dire des mesures pratiques concernant l'application de la

Déclaration, ma délégation estime qu'il importe de procéder avec réalisme, avec le souci de ne rien préconiser qui soit irréalisable. La hâte, la précipitation ne feraient qu'affaiblir sa valeur morale. Dorénavant, à côté des cas où, de toute évidence, la solution applicable sera l'indépendance souveraine, nous nous trouverons, par la nature des choses, devant d'autres cas où, en raison par exemple du nombre très limité des habitants ou de l'exigüité des ressources économiques, des solutions spéciales, nécessitant un processus parfois plus lent, devront être recherchées. Dans cet ordre d'idées, nous pensons que les auteurs de la résolution 1514 (XV) ont sagement agi en ne fixant pas, dans leur texte, une date limite pour l'indépendance de tous les territoires sous régime colonial, sans distinction. Une date trop rapprochée risquerait de se révéler inopérante. Une date éloignée serait un message décourageant pour certaines populations qui sont en droit d'aspirer à l'indépendance immédiate, et encouragerait peut-être certains milieux à retarder le processus de développement d'autres peuples qui n'ont pas encore atteint un degré suffisant de maturité.

27. Nous pensons également qu'une ligne de conduite devra être soigneusement étudiée pour permettre aux Nations Unies de veiller à l'application des principes qu'elles ont adoptés quant à la décolonisation, tout en évitant une ingérence trop directe de leur part dans le domaine des responsabilités des puissances administrantes, surtout dans la mesure où une telle ingérence provoquerait des anomalies et par conséquent retarderait l'accomplissement de nos objectifs. La délégation hellénique est convaincue que nos débats sur cette importante question, et les décisions que nous serons amenés à prendre, contribueront positivement au progrès du monde et au raffermissement de l'ordre et de la paix internationale. Plus que toute chose, elle souhaite que les milieux dirigeants de certains pays rapprochent leur politique de ce qui constitue la conviction, le credo unanime des membres de cette assemblée. Aucune formule fictive et irréaliste n'a pu résister aux impératifs de l'histoire. La voie vers l'indépendance de tous les territoires qui ne bénéficient pas encore de ce bienfait suprême est maintenant grande ouverte. Ceci a été rendu possible par l'attachement des Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies aux principes de l'égalité des êtres humains, du respect de leur droit de décider eux-mêmes de leur destinée, de leur droit de vivre sous le système politique et social de leur propre choix. Ceci a été aussi rendu possible par l'esprit de compréhension, de réalisme et d'adaptation qui a caractérisé la ligne de conduite de certaines puissances coloniales. Rendons-leur ce qui leur est dû.

28. Ayant ainsi défini la position de la délégation hellénique sur le problème de l'application de notre déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance, je désire réserver notre droit d'intervenir de nouveau dans ce débat quand les divers projets de résolution seront examinés en détail.

29. M. BRUCAN (Roumanie) [traduit de l'anglais]: Depuis la seconde guerre mondiale, plus d'un million d'êtres humains se sont libérés de la domination coloniale ou semi-coloniale et ont pris le chemin de l'indépendance.

30. Voici 15 ans à peine, la plupart des pays d'Asie étaient des colonies ou semi-colonies; il y a trois ans, l'Afrique était encore un continent en majeure partie colonial. Aujourd'hui le colonialisme agonise; malgré

^{2/} Documents officiels de l'Assemblée générale, quinzième session, Annexes, point 38 de l'ordre du jour, documents A/4515 et Add.1.

sa résistance désespérée, plus rien ne peut en écarter le coup fatal. Ces transformations majeures, qui se reflètent de plus en plus dans la composition de l'Assemblée, n'ont aucun précédent dans l'histoire du monde.

31. Il est essentiel de comprendre la pleine signification de ce phénomène mondial, et de connaître les facteurs qui l'ont provoqué et déclenché. C'est essentiel, car, si nous comprenons mieux les dimensions internationales de l'effondrement du colonialisme, et si nous comprenons mieux les facteurs qui l'ont déclenché, nous saurons mieux définir les meilleures méthodes et le rythme qui convient le mieux pour mener à bonne fin la décolonisation. Il est tout aussi important d'avoir une idée juste des forces qui s'opposent à ce que les peuples coloniaux obtiennent la liberté et l'indépendance. Nous verrons ainsi plus nettement les obstacles qui se dressent sur le chemin et les moyens de les abattre.

32. Après tout, si nous voulons mener à bon terme cette histoire de décolonisation, c'est naturellement sur les forces qui ont abattu le colonialisme que nous devons nous appuyer — et non pas sur les forces qui ont essayé et qui essaient encore, avec l'énergie du désespoir, d'en maintenir l'existence. Ce sont des vérités bien banales, mais il faut bien rappeler les truismes quand certains les mettent en doute.

33. L'indépendance politique est avant tout le résultat de la lutte que les populations mènent pour rejeter la domination impérialiste, et non pas le résultat d'une persuasion amicale exercée sur l'opprimeur. Nous en avons par-dessus la tête d'entendre les colonialistes prétendre que c'est grâce à leur générosité et leur grandeur d'âme que tant de pays ont pu devenir indépendants. Si les mouvements de libération nationale avaient accepté la thèse que l'on obtient l'indépendance en la mendiant aux impérialistes, la main tendue, très peu vraiment de délégations asiatiques et africaines siégeraient aujourd'hui à l'Assemblée.

34. La vérité, c'est que les colonialistes n'ont jamais donné et ne donneront jamais l'indépendance à aucun pays en cadeau de Noël. C'est la lutte des populations, c'est leur volonté d'être libres, c'est la condamnation universelle du colonialisme dénoncé comme la faute et la honte de notre temps, et c'est surtout la pression exercée par l'énorme masse des forces anti-impérialistes qui ont brisé le colonialisme.

35. C'est l'unité, la lutte commune des Etats anti-coloniaux au sein de l'ONU qui ont donné sa force à la Déclaration historique sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux; c'est l'échec des tactiques colonialistes de division qui a permis d'adopter cette déclaration à la quasi-unanimité.

36. Cette victoire marquait un grand progrès dans l'histoire de l'ONU. N'oublions pas que, jusque-là, c'est-à-dire jusqu'en décembre 1960, les puissances coloniales avaient réussi à rendre l'ONU pour le moins neutre dans le conflit entre colonialisme et peuples asservis. N'oublions pas — pour ne citer qu'un exemple frappant — que la République sud-africaine a réussi pendant de longues années à obtenir la bénédiction des Nations Unies, malgré nos protestations, pour sa tutelle du Sud-Ouest africain.

37. Après tout, ce n'est pas par hasard que les puissances coloniales se sont abstenues de voter la Déclaration en question. Cette abstention avait deux significations, qui devraient être deux leçons pour ceux qui ont encore des illusions sur la nature du

colonialisme: d'abord que les puissances impérialistes résistent obstinément à l'octroi de l'indépendance aux peuples coloniaux; ensuite que, lorsque les forces anticolonialistes de l'ONU font bloc, les colonialistes n'osent pas les affronter directement et doivent battre en retraite.

38. Ce n'est qu'en gardant ces deux leçons à l'esprit que les Nations Unies peuvent avec succès mener à bonne fin les principales tâches que leur assigne la Déclaration, et avant tout la libération des peuples encore asservis à l'étranger.

39. Les précédents orateurs ont déjà longuement décrit l'attitude des alliés colonialistes, qui mettent tout en œuvre pour sauver de la désintégration complète le système colonial, et pour se maintenir en Afrique, leur dernier bastion.

40. Je voudrais, pour ma part, m'occuper de ce qui est au cœur de la politique colonialiste, c'est-à-dire de l'exploitation éhontée de toutes les ressources naturelles des peuples "colonisés", qui fournissent aux monopoles occidentaux des bénéfices fabuleux. C'est la protection de ces intérêts acquis et leur conservation par tous les moyens qui dictent la plus impitoyable des politiques coloniales, les répressions les plus brutales et les guerres coloniales les plus sanglantes, qui menacent la paix et la sécurité internationales.

41. Prenez par exemple les intrigues des colonialistes au Katanga, et le rôle joué dans cette sale affaire par un Etat voisin du Katanga, la Rhodésie du Nord. Ce n'est pas par hasard que sir Roy Welensky est devenu le plus proche allié de Moïse Tshombé. Le 7 octobre 1961, l'*Economist*, hebdomadaire londonien, a, dans l'article intitulé: "The brass behind the copper", révélé les motifs cachés de cette étroite association entre les deux partisans du colonialisme.

42. L'*Economist* nous dit que le Katanga et la Rhodésie du Nord fournissent à eux deux un cinquième de la production mondiale de cuivre, et que cette industrie minière est aux mains de quatre grands groupes: Anglo-American Corporation, Rhodesian Selection Trust, Tanganyika Concessions, et British South Africa Company. Pour n'oublier personne, rappelons que l'Union minière belge a des intérêts dans ces groupes, et notamment dans les Tanganyika Concessions, dont le conseil d'administration compte plusieurs Belges. Mais le président du Conseil d'administration est un ancien ministre du Gouvernement britannique — le capitaine Charles Waterhouse. Il appartient donc à l'"Establishment", dont il personifie les deux fonctions: faire de la politique et faire de l'argent.

43. Quant aux profits qu'extraient de l'Afrique ces gros monopoles, l'*Economist* nous en donne un chiffre éloquent: la British South Africa Company a gagné au cours des cinq dernières années, au seul titre des redevances, 150 millions de dollars, soit 30 millions de dollars par an. Qu'est-ce que ces redevances? En vertu de l'accord signé en 1895 entre la British South Africa Company et les chefs africains, la Compagnie reçoit une redevance sur chaque tonne de minerai extraite du sol. C'est là du pur colonialisme, et je n'ai pas besoin d'expliquer plus longuement pourquoi les colonialistes britanniques ont pris une part si active aux récents événements du Katanga.

44. Une situation analogue s'observe dans les colonies portugaises. Dans le Mozambique, les industries de base, charbonnages de Moatize, coton et thé sont

aux mains d'une compagnie qui appartient à des Britanniques. Les gisements d'uranium de Tete appartiennent à la British South Africa Company, et le charbon de Moxico, en Angola, appartient au groupe Krupp, d'Allemagne occidentale. Les chemins de fer de Benguela appartiennent à la British American Belgian Company et aux Tanganyika Concessions. L'industrie des mines de diamant d'Angola est aux mains des trusts américains, tandis que la bauxite est entre des mains françaises. C'est la Standard Oil and Gulf, dont il est inutile de rappeler la nationalité, qui est chargée de la mise en valeur des ressources pétrolières.

45. Bref, les capitaux britanniques, américains, belges, ouest-allemands et français s'allient aux capitaux portugais dans le pillage colonialiste de l'Angola et du Mozambique. En Algérie, l'American Standard Oil et la British Royal Dutch partagent avec la Compagnie française des pétroles l'exploitation du pétrole saharien. On pourrait dire que c'est la raison d'être de l'OTAN.

46. De très riches ressources naturelles, les salaires très bas payés aux Africains, tout cela promet aux investissements occidentaux des profits sans précédent, même selon les normes coloniales. Une étude du Congrès des Etats-Unis montre que le capital américain investi en Afrique rapporte en moyenne 30%, alors que pour tout autre capital américain investi à l'étranger, le taux ne dépasse pas 26%. Des primes aussi extraordinaires sont irrésistibles pour les gens du groupe Rockefeller. Ils viennent de saisir un tiers des stocks des Tanganyika Concessions, et ont obtenu par ce détour de très gros intérêts dans l'Union minière du Haut Katanga.

47. Et les Africains? Les statistiques relatives aux Africains donnent des chiffres d'une tout autre nature. En Algérie, environ 800 000 Algériens ont trouvé la mort dans la guerre coloniale, au cours des sept dernières années. En Angola, plus de 50 000 habitants ont été tués en 1960 et 1961, et, comme la presse l'a rapporté, les colons portugais ont l'intention de massacrer encore 100 000 Angolais. Plus de 20 000 habitants du Kenya ont été tués ces dernières années au cours de répressions massives. Voilà pour les statistiques africaines. Autrement dit, pendant que les compagnies occidentales se font des bénéfices, les compagnies africaines se font trouer la peau. Telle est la division du travail dans le monde moderne.

48. Voilà le vrai visage du colonialisme, aucune belle parole ne pourra le rendre reluisant.

49. Passons maintenant à la question de l'Irian occidental.

50. Un trait spécial de la décolonisation en cours, c'est la complexité des formes de lutte et de tactique que les colonisateurs emploient pour sauvegarder leurs possessions ou du moins une partie d'entre elles.

51. Pour atteindre leurs buts, les colonialistes font grand usage de tout ce qui est anachronique et maintenu artificiellement: le système tribal, les conflits intertribaux, l'ignorance, la superstition. Ils divisent volontairement des unités ethniques compactes en groupes distincts, ils isolent les uns des autres des parties de tribu ou de nationalité, ils brisent les liens économiques et historiques, ils divisent les communautés ethniques et linguistiques.

52. Tant que les puissances coloniales maintiennent leur domination sur un territoire, elles s'efforcent par tous les moyens de conserver l'intégrité du territoire. Jamais, pendant les siècles d'occupation hollandaise de l'Indonésie, les colonialistes n'ont remarqué que l'Irian occidental aurait dû avoir un statut distinct pour les raisons qu'ils soulignent maintenant. Mais, dès qu'il leur a fallu accorder l'indépendance à l'Indonésie, ils ont subitement exagéré et exacerbé tous les éléments possibles de division pour empêcher le nouveau gouvernement d'affirmer son autorité sur l'ensemble du territoire, et pour séparer finalement de ce territoire indépendant une partie qui aurait un gouvernement spécial, dirigé par eux. Telle est l'histoire de l'Irian occidental.

53. Mais quel droit a donc la puissance coloniale de conserver un morceau du territoire d'un pays qui a conquis son indépendance? L'Irian occidental appartient à l'Indonésie; la seule chose que les Pays-Bas aient à faire, c'est le laisser tranquille. Ce n'est pas l'affaire des Pays-Bas ni de personne d'autre de s'occuper de l'Irian occidental. C'est l'affaire de l'Indonésie, dont il constitue une part inaliénable.

54. La délégation roumaine appuie donc très fortement la position de l'Indonésie dans ses justes prétentions sur l'Irian occidental.

55. Notre opinion dûment réfléchie, c'est que 1962 doit être l'année de l'indépendance pour tous les territoires et pour tous les peuples qui sont encore colonisés, comme l'a proposé la délégation soviétique dans son projet de résolution [A/L.355].

56. Nous appuierons de tout cœur les mesures proposées par l'Union soviétique et nous estimons qu'il faut les prendre de toute urgence pour assurer très vite la mise en œuvre de la Déclaration.

57. Puisqu'à la Conférence de Belgrade les chefs d'un bon nombre de pays indépendants d'Asie et d'Afrique, hommes politiques experts en colonialisme, sont arrivés à la conclusion que 1962 devrait marquer la fin du joug colonialiste, cela devrait convaincre tout le monde non seulement que cet objectif est politiquement et moralement urgent, mais encore qu'il est pratiquement très accessible.

58. Oui, il est accessible, pourvu que les forces qui ont accéléré la décolonisation ces dernières années demeurent unies.

59. Prenez par exemple l'Afrique. En deux ans seulement, 1960 et 1961, 20 nouveaux territoires, peuplés au total de près de 100 millions d'habitants, sont devenus indépendants. Pourquoi donc, au nom du ciel, faudrait-il attendre une dizaine d'années pour libérer les 50 millions de gens qui vivent encore asservis de l'étranger? C'est une question de simple calcul. Mais qui pourrait donc prétendre que les Algériens, les Angolais, les Kényens ne sont pas prêts à l'indépendance ou y sont moins prêts que ceux qui l'ont déjà obtenue?

60. Non, l'histoire et l'expérience même de l'ONU ont réfuté, et réfutent encore tous les jours, les prétextes d'immaturité politique ou économique que les colonialistes inventent pour excuser leur lenteur à accorder l'indépendance. Ce sont la liberté et l'indépendance qui favorisent et accélèrent le développement politique et économique d'une nation, et non pas l'esclavage et l'oppression.

61. Quant aux facteurs et aux forces qui ont contribué à accélérer la décolonisation, ces facteurs et ces

forces se manifestent avec plus de vigueur que jamais. Ils sont plus nombreux que jamais. Ils sont plus unis que jamais. D'ailleurs, les peuples encore asservis d'Afrique, d'Asie et d'Amérique latine ont le droit d'attendre de ceux qui sont récemment sortis victorieux de ce grand combat, c'est-à-dire les nouveaux Etats indépendants d'Afrique, qu'ils soient un facteur accélérateur de la décolonisation. Après tout, le grand objectif de ce processus n'est pas seulement la libération des peuples encore asservis, mais c'est aussi la décolonisation complète et totale — économique, politique, culturelle et militaire — des territoires qui ne sont parvenus à l'indépendance qu'à une date récente.

62. La question n'est donc pas de savoir si, dans un avenir plus ou moins éloigné, le colonialisme sera aboli. Les colonialistes eux-mêmes savent qu'il le sera. On ne devrait même pas s'étonner de les entendre le dire. La véritable question dont s'occupe l'Assemblée, c'est de libérer d'urgence les peuples coloniaux: de mettre fin aux guerres coloniales qui se déroulent en Algérie, en Angola et ailleurs: d'arrêter le massacre des populations innocentes et l'interne abusif des dirigeants politiques; de mettre fin une fois pour toutes au régime féroce de la discrimination raciale, et de prendre des mesures immédiates pour remettre tous les pouvoirs au peuple des

territoires coloniaux et des territoires sous tutelle. Voilà ce que les malheureuses populations esclaves d'Afrique, d'Asie et d'Amérique latine attendent de l'Assemblée. Voilà ce que nous devons faire.

63. Le PRESIDENT: Je n'ai plus d'orateurs inscrits pour cet après-midi, mais je me dois d'informer l'Assemblée qu'il reste encore à entendre 42 orateurs pour le débat général sur la présente question.

64. Etant donné les travaux de la Première Commission et étant donné que nous ne pourrions disposer que de quatre séances au cours de cette semaine, il m'apparaît nécessaire de tenir des séances de nuit, de façon à pouvoir terminer, le plus rapidement possible, le débat général sur cette question. Nous aborderons ainsi, dans le meilleur délai, la discussion des projets de résolution et aurons le temps de discuter des deux grandes questions qui restent à notre ordre du jour. Compte tenu de ces circonstances, je vous propose donc de tenir demain, mercredi et jeudi des séances de nuit.

65. En conséquence, je prie les orateurs qui se sont fait inscrire de bien vouloir prendre leurs dispositions pour prendre la parole dès que possible.

La séance est levée à 16 h 25.

Nations Unies ASSEMBLÉE GÉNÉRALE

SEIZIÈME SESSION

Documents officiels



1054^e
SÉANCE PLÉNIÈRE

Mardi 14 novembre 1961,
à 20 h 30

NEW YORK

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POINTS 88 ET 22 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

La situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux (suite)

Assistance à l'Afrique (suite):

a) Programme des Nations Unies pour l'indépendance

1. M. NORIEGA (Colombie) [traduit de l'espagnol]: La quinzième session de l'Assemblée générale a commencé, comme tous les représentants s'en souviennent, avec les acclamations et les applaudissements qui fêtaient l'admission à l'Organisation des 16 nouveaux Etats africains et de la République de Chypre. L'allégresse des nouvelles nations, qui s'était communiquée à toute l'Assemblée, était parfaitement justifiée: un événement d'une importance primordiale venait de s'accomplir. Mais cet événement ne devait rien à la génération spontanée, ni au hasard, ni à des pressions momentanées, ni à la poussée de réclamations prématurées. C'était le point culminant d'un processus, ce processus irréluctable de libération des peuples asservis, qui deviendra dans l'histoire, comme c'est déjà un lieu commun de le répéter, le trait caractéristique de notre époque.

2. S'agissant des deux questions en discussion, je voudrais faire une sommaire analyse de ce processus en insistant sur la tâche accomplie par les trois protagonistes du drame: les peuples qui ont lutté et luttent encore pour leur indépendance, les puissances qui se chargeaient ou se chargent encore de les administrer, et enfin les Nations Unies.

3. De vieilles nations avaient acquis au cours des siècles certaines suprématies dans les domaines de l'esprit et du progrès matériel; cela suscitait chez elles une vocation d'empire, également signe de leur temps; il leur était naturel d'ajouter à leurs suprématies la domination sur de nombreux autres territoires. L'aventure engendrée par les découvertes et les conquêtes d'autrefois et que l'on appelle la colonisation européenne était un phénomène d'expansion, normal chez les pays qui font leur crise de croissance.

4. Si nous envisageons la colonisation comme un événement historique, nous concluons de ce premier aperçu que certains la critiquent comme un mal en soi et que d'autres tentent de la justifier avec des notions comme celles d'"intelligence plus mûre" ou de "nations avancées", au risque de choquer certaines susceptibilités. Je crois inutile d'ouvrir ici une querelle rétrospective sur la genèse de la colonisation sous prétexte d'en rechercher les causes. Considérons-la comme un fait et suivons-en le cours pendant ces derniers siècles.

5. La rivalité de forces où se débattaient les nations européennes au début de la colonisation explique que chaque territoire nouvellement conquis ait d'abord été considéré comme un simple apport à la puissance du conquérant. Avec ce critère, on a vu tant de fois s'estomper le sens profond de l'entreprise civilisatrice (parfois même, il n'y avait aucun sens de ce genre), que les colonies ont fini par être considérées comme un objet d'exploitation économique, si cupide et si brutale que non seulement les richesses naturelles, mais même les êtres humains sont devenus objets de troc et de commerce. C'est aujourd'hui un anachronisme que de rappeler le temps où l'on discutait pour savoir si les aborigènes des territoires conquis avaient à quelque titre des droits qui méritaient d'être respectés par les conquérants. Ce qui est grave dans le passif de la colonisation, ce n'est pas que l'on ait ouvert cet étrange débat, c'est qu'il était absolument nécessaire, nécessaire au point qu'il marquait un progrès, le commencement de la mobilisation de la conscience chrétienne du monde occidental, en l'incitant à étudier ce qui s'est appelé plus tard l'aspect moral de la colonisation.

6. Quand on fait allusion aux souffrances indubitables qu'apporte la colonisation et si l'on veut entreprendre une étude impartiale et intègre, il ne faut pas oublier ceci: les pays conquérants, les pays métropolitains eux-mêmes, dont la cupidité inhumaine envers les colonies résultait surtout de la rivalité féroce entre gouvernements, sont ceux-là même où prirent naissance les courants d'opinion qui plaidaient pour les droits des peuples colonisés et qui condamnaient les pratiques abusives des gouvernements. On ne peut oublier, surtout aujourd'hui en réponse aux attaques inconsidérées lancées à la Quatrième Commission, que l'Eglise catholique eut l'honneur de prendre l'initiative de la campagne en faveur des aborigènes des terres conquises: il y eut des statuts édictés par le pape, des études techniques écrites par des religieux éminents, l'abnégation et le sacrifice héroïque d'une foule de missionnaires. Rappelons que Vitoria, dans la première moitié du XVI^e siècle, déclarait que le gouvernement des colonies devait s'exercer dans certaines limites, de manière à servir le bien-être et les intérêts des Indiens, et non pas seulement les profits des Espagnols.

* Reprise des débats de la 1052^e séance.

7. Il n'est pas étonnant que l'Eglise ait été à l'origine de ces mouvements qui tentaient de sauver la dignité humaine des habitants des terres conquises, puisque la défense des droits inaliénables de l'homme a toujours été et sera toujours sa fonction essentielle. A ce propos, si l'on nous permet d'insister, nous voudrions rappeler une citation: "Les droits de l'homme, au sens occidental, ne sont rien d'autre que des valeurs religieuses transférées dans le domaine séculier. Quand on ne conçoit plus l'homme à l'image de Dieu, il n'est plus protégé si on veut l'utiliser comme moyen à des fins simplement humaines. Ses droits et ses libertés fondamentales ont perdu leur finalité métaphysique." Mais l'effort visant à ennoblir l'œuvre colonisatrice n'est pas particulier à l'Eglise seule. Si dans les plans des gouvernements conquérants la convoitise et l'intérêt matériel prédominaient, l'élite des grandes nations qui travaillait sur le plan culturel — à la fin comme au début, partout et toujours, l'intelligence réclame ses droits —, cette élite ne pouvait accepter l'idée que "coloniser" signifie seulement exploiter. Elle a refusé d'admettre que les pays soient frustrés de ce qui devait être avant tout une immense action civilisatrice. C'est alors que de tous côtés les partisans des droits des peuples aborigènes commencèrent leur exégèse. A la fin du XVIII^{ème} siècle, Burke disait à propos de ce qu'il appelait le principe de la "morale géographique":

"Le pouvoir politique étant toujours exercé sur des hommes, les privilèges réclamés ou exercés au mépris des hommes sont totalement artificiels et contraires à l'égalité naturelle: ils devraient s'exercer en quelque façon à l'avantage de tous les hommes... Ces droits ou privilèges, qu'on les appelle comme on voudra, n'appartiennent aux conquérants que comme des biens en tutelle et la tutelle ne va pas sans la responsabilité... la charte même, qui charge le parlement de corriger toute fraude relative aux garanties accordées à la société, nous fait en même temps un droit et un devoir d'intervenir activement toutes les fois que le pouvoir et l'autorité conférés par nous seront pervertis quant à leurs objectifs et se transformeront en instruments de violence et d'injustice."

8. Les Anglais à morale utilitaire, Bentham à leur tête, réclamèrent l'émancipation rapide de toutes les colonies. Les associations d'intellectuels, de politiciens, de philanthropes se multipliaient, stigmatisaient leurs gouvernements pour la mauvaise administration coloniale, dénonçaient les injustices qui frappaient les indigènes et réclamaient la protection des prérogatives inhérentes à leur condition d'êtres humains. Les partis d'opposition, dans les parlements de la plupart des puissances coloniales, en tirèrent une foule d'arguments polémiques. Grâce à cet effort patient de nombreuses années, la colonisation, il faut bien le reconnaître, a eu aussi un certain bilan positif. Est-il imprudent de le rappeler aujourd'hui? Au-delà et à côté des impératifs purement économiques, des problèmes de marchés, de libre-échange, de zones d'influence et de ce qu'on appelle la politique du pouvoir camouflé, il s'est produit peu à peu un échange de valeurs essentielles qui ont balayé bien des conceptions européennes périmées et qui, chez les peuples neufs, ont provoqué cet éveil impressionnant de nationalités vigoureuses, tumultueuses dans leur jeunesse, sûres de leur destinée, appelées de nos jours à jouer un rôle marquant

dans la tâche difficile qui consiste à débrouiller une situation internationale compliquée.

9. Pour les colonies espagnoles d'Amérique, l'heure de l'émancipation est arrivée au début du siècle dernier. Nous avons lutté durement et, lorsque s'est tu le fracas des combats, lorsque à la fureur iconoclaste des premiers moments — et dans la vie des peuples les moments durent des dizaines d'années — ont succédé la réflexion, le calme et la sagesse, nous nous sommes rendu compte que nous avions lutté entre frères. Une même langue, une même religion, une même conception de la vie et de l'univers, dont nous sommes fiers, nous rapprochent tellement de l'Espagne, que, pour clore cette étape de son œuvre colonisatrice, nous avons adopté une expression qui est un symbole et un hommage: nous l'appelons maintenant la mère patrie.

10. La lutte pour la libération des autres peuples non autonomes a été malheureusement beaucoup trop lente. Tandis que la conscience nationaliste s'éveillait et se répandait progressivement dans les populations des territoires asservis, dont l'aspiration légitime à la souveraineté était secondée par les pays indépendants et par des groupes, des courants d'opinion, des partis, à l'intérieur même des puissances administrantes, celles-ci réagirent de façons diverses, mais, jusqu'à la première guerre mondiale, elles refusèrent toujours avec une agressive obstination de satisfaire les demandes légitimes des populations coloniales. C'est le moment où naquit le principe du "double mandat" auquel les empires coloniaux britannique, hollandais et français adhérèrent volontairement, mais avec des restrictions; selon ce principe, les colonies représentaient une double tutelle, au profit des peuples coloniaux et du monde en général. Vers 1914, on commença timidement à reconnaître certains droits aux colonies: par l'Acte de Berlin (1885) sur la liberté de commerce et de navigation au Congo et en Nigéria, l'Acte général de la Conférence de Bruxelles (1895) sur la suppression de la traite des esclaves en Afrique, l'Acte du Congo (1885) dans lequel on a voulu voir un précédent du "Mandat" apparu en 1919, la Conférence d'Algésiras (1906) où l'on parlait du Maroc non comme d'une colonie, mais comme d'un pays en tutelle ou d'un protectorat, avec droit de recevoir des rapports sur l'application de cette tutelle et droit de vérification et d'inspection. Le vaste empire colonial se secouait péniblement. Les puissances coloniales s'évertuaient à maintenir intacte leur domination, mais déjà chez elles et dans la conscience universelle grandissait un sentiment de rébellion contre la situation existante. Même dans les mesures que prenaient ces puissances en affectant avec arrogance de faire des concessions généreuses, prenaient force les thèses et les principes qui devaient plus tard entrer dans le droit international dans la période entre les deux guerres mondiales et dans celle qui a suivi et que nous vivons aujourd'hui.

11. Nous n'allons pas parler des "mandats" de la Société des Nations, sinon dans la mesure où c'est indispensable pour mettre en évidence les progrès réalisés sur les années précédentes et pour montrer en quoi ces mandats diffèrent essentiellement du régime international de tutelle ou de la déclaration relative aux territoires non autonomes, que l'on trouve dans la Charte des Nations Unies. Nous n'avons pas l'intention de chercher si la théorie du régime des mandats a été exposée pour la première fois dans un mémorandum de 1917 du parti travailliste-indépendant britannique, dans les propositions faites en

1918 par la Conférence travailliste et socialiste interalliée de Londres, dans le cinquième des 14 points de Wilson, dans la théorie du général Smuts, certes regrettablement étroite, dans les efforts du ministre britannique des affaires étrangères, ou dans les travaux de l'Américain Beer. Ce qui est certain, c'est que la Société des Nations a adopté ce régime et qu'elle a divisé les mandats en trois classes, A, B et C; elle a rangé dans la classe A les régions enlevées à l'Empire ottoman, auxquelles l'existence comme nations indépendantes était reconnue provisoirement, la Palestine et l'Irak sous administration britannique, et la Syrie et le Liban sous administration française; elle a rangé dans la classe B les colonies allemandes d'Afrique centrale, le Cameroun et le Togo placés aussi sous administration française et sous administration britannique, l'Afrique orientale sous administration britannique, et le Ruanda-Urundi sous administration belge; enfin, elle a rangé dans la troisième catégorie le Sud-Ouest africain allemand, confié à l'Union sud-africaine, les îles allemandes du Pacifique au nord de l'Equateur confiées au Japon, les îles du Pacifique austral, dont la Nouvelle-Guinée allemande confiée à l'Australie, les Samoa à la Nouvelle-Zélande et l'île de Nauru à l'administration conjointe de l'Australie, de la Grande-Bretagne et de la Nouvelle-Zélande.

12. Le régime des mandats reposait sur sept principes; si certains d'entre eux n'ont pas été observés, cela ne portait pas atteinte aux obligations solennelles de caractère international que l'on peut énumérer ainsi: non-annexion, tutelle confiée aux nations développées, porte ouverte, non-exploitation militaire, consultation du pays sous mandat, indépendance définitive ou autonomie et contrôle international. On a dit que, conformément aux termes de l'Article 22 du Pacte de la Société des Nations, le destin définitif des territoires sous mandat n'avait pas été très nettement fixé, mais que les auteurs du texte avaient à l'esprit un processus qui devait aboutir à l'indépendance, avec, comme étapes intermédiaires, la participation aux organes de gouvernement, puis l'autonomie.

13. Le contrôle des mandataires était de la compétence du Conseil de la Société des Nations, mais la surveillance et l'application directe du régime des mandats étaient confiées à la Commission permanente des mandats, composée en majeure partie de ressortissants de puissances non mandataires, qui devaient agir en toute indépendance de leurs gouvernements et dont étaient exigées certaines qualités et compétences particulières. Les puissances mandataires devaient faire rapport tous les ans et les habitants des territoires avaient le droit de pétition devant la Commission, dont l'autorité et l'efficacité ont été si bien reconnues que l'on doit compter au nombre de ses grandes réalisations le fait qu'elle a réussi à étendre à des territoires simplement coloniaux le niveau d'administration propre au régime des mandats.

14. Nous comprenons sans peine que le régime des mandats de la Société des Nations ait éliminé ce que l'on pourrait appeler l'ancienne conception tyrannique du colonialisme, en obligeant les puissances coloniales à régier leur conduite, livrée jusque-là aux caprices de leur libre arbitre, selon la notion de tutelle qui tout à la fois donne des droits et impose des obligations que l'on doit remplir selon les principes énoncés par Burke. Cette évolution a été le résultat de la première guerre mondiale, ce qui nous amène à méditer sur le tragique et pourtant splendide

destin de l'homme, condamné à ne gravir les échelons du perfectionnement qu'à l'issue des folles aventures d'extermination où son orgueil le précipite.

15. Durant la période d'entre les deux guerres, grâce au nouveau climat international, et s'étant soustraits au régime des mandats, l'Irak, le Liban et la Syrie ont consolidé leur indépendance. Mais il a fallu la deuxième guerre mondiale pour qu'une nouvelle conception des droits des peuples asservis abattît les derniers vestiges des pratiques colonialistes qui sévissaient dans le monde occidental. Il est déplorable que, parallèlement à ce progrès, on ait vu s'installer et s'affermir dans le vaste et silencieux empire du monde communiste d'autres formes d'asservissement qui sont les plus répandues aujourd'hui et qui constituent vraiment le néo-colonialisme.

16. Il est inutile de s'attarder à examiner et comparer les antécédents immédiats de l'élaboration et de l'incorporation à la Charte des Nations Unies des textes qui en sont devenus les Chapitres XI, XII et XIII. Il convient cependant de signaler, à propos du régime international de tutelle, qu'à la Conférence de Téhéran Staline avait trouvé "excellent" le régime de tutelle suggéré pour l'Indochine française par Tchang Kai-shek, avant une demande du président Franklin D. Roosevelt, que l'Union Soviétique a défendu l'administration de tutelle directe pour les trois colonies italiennes et enfin qu'à San Francisco cette même délégation de l'Union soviétique a pris une part si importante aux travaux du comité chargé d'étudier le régime de tutelle, qu'il existe un éloge très flatteur de cette précieuse collaboration, prononcé par M. Stassen, représentant des Etats-Unis.

17. Plus tard, dans la lutte qu'elle a menée pour étendre ses zones d'influence — lutte acharnée avec domination du type militaire — et qui a atteint l'an dernier un point culminant (nous y reviendrons plus loin), l'Union soviétique s'est mise à rejeter les accords de tutelle sous le prétexte que les autorités administrantes ne pouvaient, d'après elle, établir des bases militaires, navales ou aériennes et entretenir des forces nationales que dans les zones déclarées zones stratégiques, qui sont sous le contrôle du Conseil de sécurité.

18. Pour apprécier ce qu'a été le régime de tutelle dans les territoires où il a fait suite au régime des mandats (sauf pour le Sud-Ouest africain et la Palestine) et dans les territoires détachés des Etats ex-ennemis après la seconde guerre mondiale, il suffit de suivre les rapports annuels du Conseil de tutelle à l'Assemblée générale. Dans celui qui a trait à la période du 10 juin 1960 au 19 juillet 1961 [A/4785], on voit que, l'an prochain, les seuls territoires encore soumis au régime de tutelle seront la Nouvelle-Guinée et Nauru, sous administration de l'Australie, et le territoire sous tutelle des îles du Pacifique, zone stratégique sous administration des Etats-Unis. Le Tanganyika obtiendra sa liberté le 9 décembre 1961 et le Samoa-Occidental le 10 janvier 1962. On espère que le rapport de la Commission spéciale pour le Ruanda-Urundi fournira des renseignements qui permettront de décréter l'indépendance de ce territoire.

19. En ce qui concerne la troisième catégorie de territoires placés sous le régime de tutelle, c'est-à-dire les territoires qui seraient volontairement placés sous ce régime par les Etats responsables de leur administration, ce cas, qui était visé par l'Article 77, c, de la Charte, ne s'est pas encore

présenté. Pourtant (mais je tiens à préciser que je n'entends pas définir en ce moment la position de ma délégation sur cette question), la proposition des Pays-Bas [A/L.354] avec son mémoire explicatif, portant sur le territoire appelé Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale ou Irian occidental, pourrait ressembler à une forme de tutelle volontaire et conditionnelle, où l'autorité administrante serait, conformément à l'Article 81, l'Organisation elle-même.

20. Pour terminer cette brève analyse des Chapitres XII et XIII de la Charte, nous dirons que M. Trygve Lie, secrétaire général, avait raison quand il affirmait que le régime international de tutelle n'est pas une simple prolongation du régime des mandats de la Société des Nations. C'est un nouveau système de contrôle international. Il a une portée plus large, des possibilités bien meilleures, des pouvoirs plus grands que le régime des mandats. Nous ajouterons que ses réalisations suffiraient à justifier l'existence de l'ONU et les espérances que l'humanité a mises en elle.

21. Mais entrons dans un domaine où les progrès accomplis satisfont les aspirations les plus exigeantes et peuvent être qualifiées de surprenants. Les rédacteurs de la Charte des Nations Unies à San Francisco n'ont éprouvé ni hésitations ni scrupules à indiquer la destinée finale des territoires sous administration étrangère, malgré la résistance acharnée des puissances intéressées à maintenir leurs prérogatives colonialistes. Cette destinée finale ne pouvait être que l'indépendance et c'est bien ainsi que la définit la Charte, expressément et sans la moindre équivoque.

22. On a beaucoup écrit sur les limites et la portée des Articles 73 et 74, en étudiant leur texte de la manière la plus minutieuse. On a été jusqu'à prétendre que dans le titre du Chapitre XI, "Déclaration relative aux territoires non autonomes", les puissances coloniales s'étaient permis ce qu'un certain juriste a appelé une sorte de "restriction mentale" en sous-entendant qu'il s'agissait d'une forme d'obligations de catégorie différente de celles que contractaient les signataires de la Charte. Mais, selon ce même juriste, s'il y avait une telle arrière-pensée, la pratique a montré que ce fut en vain. Dans l'Article 73, b, le membre de phrase "dans la mesure appropriée aux conditions particulières de chaque territoire et de ses populations et à leurs degrés variables de développement" a été inséré dans la disposition qui fait obligation aux puissances administrantes de développer la capacité des populations de s'administrer elles-mêmes, de tenir compte des aspirations politiques des populations et de les aider dans le développement progressif de leurs libres institutions politiques. On a dit que cette incise était une formule transactionnelle qui retirait sa force à la proposition originale de la Chine, proposition qui fixait comme but à la politique coloniale l'autonomie et l'indépendance. Mais l'incohérence de cette observation devient manifeste si l'on remarque seulement que le destin prévu pour les territoires non autonomes est la pleine autonomie, les autorités administrantes ayant l'obligation contractuelle expresse de favoriser leur progrès afin de rendre cette autonomie possible. Prétexter, pour empêcher ou retarder l'indépendance d'un territoire, qu'il est encore insuffisamment évolué, serait pour l'autorité administrante tenter d'alléguer sa propre faute pour se dispenser d'une obligation, ce qui est juridiquement inacceptable.

23. Chaque fois qu'une autorité administrante prétend qu'un territoire non autonome n'a pas atteint un degré de développement suffisant pour assumer décemment et sans risques la direction de son propre destin, l'Organisation se trouve devant une alternative: ou bien il existe réellement des obstacles exceptionnels qui ont empêché le progrès du territoire malgré les efforts loyaux de l'autorité administrante; ou bien celle-ci montre sans le vouloir qu'elle est incapable d'accomplir la mission qu'elle a acceptée en tant que Membre de l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Dans chacun de ces cas, l'Organisation doit agir. Nous envisageons maintenant la question de savoir comment, par quels moyens et jusqu'à quel point, les Nations Unies peuvent maintenir leur autorité, d'autant plus indispensable quand il s'agit de préserver les dispositions fondamentales de la Charte et d'en assurer l'application.

24. Dans le processus qu'ont suivi les relations des puissances administrantes et les territoires non autonomes, et les relations des unes et des autres avec les Nations Unies, l'insistance sur l'emploi du mot "processus" n'est pas due à un caprice, mais à un choix voulu du terme le plus juste pour décrire la situation; on peut constater une suite indiscutable de progrès de plus en plus nets. Lorsqu'en 1949 l'Assemblée a adopté la résolution 332 (IV) qui portait création d'un comité spécial chargé d'examiner les renseignements communiqués en vertu du paragraphe e de l'Article 73 de la Charte, si une délégation avait alors eu l'audace non pas même de proposer, mais de suggérer que parmi les renseignements fournis par les puissances administrantes devraient figurer des renseignements de caractère politique et constitutionnel, une pareille prétention aurait été qualifiée de témérité abusive et inacceptable. Pourtant, l'année dernière, comme corollaire fondamental des obligations que le Chapitre XI de la Charte impose aux puissances administrantes dans la résolution 1535 (XV), qui a été adoptée sans la moindre difficulté, l'Assemblée a jugé indispensable que de tels renseignements sur la situation politique et constitutionnelle des territoires non autonomes soient fournis et elle a prié instamment les puissances administrantes de les lui communiquer.

25. A ce propos, il n'est pas sans intérêt de citer les paragraphes 64 et 65 de la première partie du rapport du Comité [A/4785] pour l'année actuelle, dans lesquels on lit:

"Sur les 51 territoires non autonomes au sujet desquels des renseignements ont été communiqués en 1960, 41 sont administrés par le Royaume-Uni, trois par la Nouvelle-Zélande, trois par les Etats-Unis, deux par l'Australie, un par les Pays-Bas et un conjointement par la France et le Royaume-Uni.

"Certains membres du Comité ont relevé que si l'Australie, les Etats-Unis d'Amérique, la Nouvelle-Zélande et les Pays-Bas communiquaient régulièrement des renseignements d'ordre politique, le Royaume-Uni ne l'avait jamais fait."

Le Royaume-Uni a annoncé solennellement ces renseignements dans le discours prononcé par son ministre des affaires étrangères dans la discussion générale [1017ème séance].

26. Nous ne résistons pas à la tentation de citer le commentaire d'un auteur brésilien sur les résultats

de la première réunion du Conseil culturel interaméricain, tenue à Mexico en 1951:

"La culture intellectuelle ne peut se dissocier de la vie politique et économique des peuples ni de leur vie morale, en sorte que leur développement culturel est intimement lié au niveau de leur condition politique et de leur situation économique, ainsi qu'au niveau de leur élévation morale."

27. Devant des vérités aussi élémentaires, il est surprenant qu'il y ait eu des doutes à l'ONU pendant un certain temps sur le devoir des puissances administrantes de fournir des renseignements d'ordre politique et constitutionnel, au lieu de limiter les renseignements communiqués à de simples renseignements statistiques et autres de nature technique relatifs aux conditions économiques, sociales, de l'instruction, alors que ces renseignements d'ordre politique et constitutionnel sont essentiels et fondamentaux si l'on veut savoir comment s'accomplit la mission sacrée que la Charte a confiée aux puissances administrantes dans les territoires non autonomes.

28. Mais c'est une surprise relative. Tournons nos regards vers le chemin, marqué de laborieux progrès, qu'il a fallu parcourir en se dirigeant vers le but de la disparition définitive du colonialisme. Tenons compte du fait que ces progrès considérés isolément peuvent provoquer une certaine inquiétude si l'on est intransigent, ou encore une sorte de désenchantement, mais que vus dans leur ensemble et avec un certain recul ils peuvent inspirer le plus sincère optimisme. C'est ce qu'il faut affirmer nettement, pour renforcer notre foi en l'efficacité de l'Organisation.

29. Nous n'allons pas examiner d'autres points sur lesquels, comme ce fut le cas pour les renseignements d'ordre politique et constitutionnel, les premiers balbutiements de l'Organisation des Nations Unies de 1949 contrastent avec l'arrogance belliqueuse qu'elle a manifestée ces dernières années pour la défense indispensable de ses privilèges. Le Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes, créé presque timidement avec des attributions très limitées, s'est transformé en un bastion chargé de surveiller jalousement la conduite des puissances administrantes et rivalisant avec le Conseil de tutelle. La Quatrième Commission, forum ouvert à toutes les querelles et toutes les discussions, a soumis à l'Assemblée générale pour approbation définitive les principes directeurs qui déterminent l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements, ainsi que des résolutions qui invitent les puissances administrantes à s'acquitter de leur devoir d'assistance dans les domaines de l'éducation, de la culture, de l'administration, de la technique, de l'économie, et qui condamnent les pratiques discriminatoires et recommandent "d'accorder à tous les habitants le plein exercice des droits politiques fondamentaux, en particulier du droit de vote et d'établir l'égalité entre tous les habitants des territoires non autonomes, sans distinction de race".

30. Il en est résulté que, sous réserve de quelques déplorables exceptions que nous mentionnerons brièvement un peu plus loin, les puissances coloniales ont répondu, presque toujours honnêtement, à ces exigences successives et systématiques. Des questions comme celle de savoir quels sont les territoires sur lesquels elles doivent communiquer des renseignements, celle du maintien de l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements sur des territoires

pour lesquels des renseignements ont été fournis autrefois mais ne le sont plus, celle du droit pour les organes compétents des Nations Unies de visiter officiellement les territoires ou d'entendre des pétitions qui en émanent, celle du fondement de ce qu'on appelle la souveraineté résiduelle, et d'autres questions du même genre, ne sont plus aujourd'hui des questions compliquées et controversées, et si l'on en discutait le dénouement pourrait se deviner facilement.

31. Y aurait-il une nation de bonne foi qui pourrait nier ces progrès? N'oublions pas que depuis la réunion de San Francisco une trentaine d'Etats ont été soustraits au régime de l'administration étrangère, ont reçu tous les attributs de la souveraineté et sont entrés à l'Organisation des Nations Unies.

32. Comme exemple de ce que les Nations Unies ont fait et continuent à faire dans le domaine de la tutelle, prenons la résolution 1515 (XV), si noble et si généreuse dans ses objectifs, mais méprisée et dénaturée par ceux qui ont voulu en faire un misérable instrument de propagande pour favoriser leurs manœuvres de guerre froide.

33. Nous avons encore toutes fraîches dans la mémoire les escarmouches qui se sont déroulées dans cette salle de l'Assemblée, éberluée: coups de soubliers sur les pupitres, injures et vociférations allant certain jour jusqu'à faire lever la séance, et ce marteau, emblème de l'autorité présidentielle, brisé, lorsqu'on a discuté la question de l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux.

34. L'Union soviétique avait présenté un projet de résolution et un amendement qui ont été rejetés. Ne perdons pas de vue que toutes les décisions se prennent ici par l'adoption ou le rejet de projets de résolutions. Finalement, c'est avec une majorité écrasante et avec neuf abstentions seulement qu'a été votée la proposition des 43 Etats africaino-asiatiques qui est devenue la célèbre résolution 1514 (XV), dont le dispositif stipule, en son paragraphe 5:

"Des mesures immédiates seront prises, dans les territoires sous tutelle, les territoires non autonomes et tous autres territoires qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance, pour transférer tous pouvoirs, aux peuples de ces territoires, sans aucune condition ni réserve, conformément à leur volonté et à leurs vœux librement exprimés, sans aucune distinction de race, de croyance ou de couleur, afin de leur permettre de jouir d'une indépendance et d'une liberté complète."

Au paragraphe 3 de la même résolution, l'Assemblée déclarait:

"Le manque de préparation dans les domaines politique, économique ou social ou dans celui de l'enseignement ne doit jamais être pris comme prétexte pour retarder l'indépendance."

35. Laissons de côté, car l'occasion d'une telle étude de fond peut se présenter dans un proche avenir, la question de savoir si dans le membre de phrase "tous autres territoires qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance", venant après la mention expresse des territoires sous tutelle et des territoires non autonomes, on fait allusion à la domination silencieuse du véritable néo-colonialisme, dont nous avons tantôt mentionné l'existence. Occupons-nous de certains problèmes sérieux que pose cette même résolution.

36. Demandons-nous en premier lieu si cette résolution a aboli automatiquement les Chapitres XI, XII et XIII de la Charte, puisque depuis l'an dernier, de nouveau cette année, on parle d'accorder immédiatement, et de force pourrait-on dire, la pleine souveraineté et l'indépendance aux territoires sous tutelle et aux territoires non autonomes. Ce mouvement déjà trop connu a provoqué à la Quatrième Commission l'ajournement de la résolution habituelle que l'on vote chaque année, aux termes de laquelle l'Assemblée générale prend note du rapport du Conseil de tutelle et recommande aux autorités administrantes de tenir compte des recommandations et observations qui s'y trouvent. Il semble que le même fait va se produire (une demande officielle est déjà déposée) à propos de la résolution concernant le rapport du Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes, en attendant que l'Assemblée ait pris une décision sur le point 88 de l'ordre du jour, celui que nous examinons en ce moment.

37. Autrement dit, tout se passe comme si l'on donnait congé au Conseil de tutelle et si l'on refusait de proroger, comme on l'a fait en 1952, 1955 et 1958, le mandat du Comité des renseignements qui expire cette année.

38. Posons ici une question, qui a déjà été posée une fois, comme unique argument pour apaiser ces précipitations excessives: "Peut-on reviser la Charte par une simple résolution de l'Assemblée?"

39. Dans le document A/L.355, l'Union soviétique propose un projet de résolution où figure ce qui suit au paragraphe 2 du dispositif:

"L'Assemblée...

"Déclare que la liquidation définitive et inconditionnelle du colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations devra être achevée à la fin de 1962 au plus tard."

40. Si l'offensive serrée et virulente contre les objectifs connus dont rendent compte les documents qui ont provoqué ce projet de résolution, et si l'alinéa c du paragraphe 3 du dispositif ne découvriraient nettement ses intentions véritables ou, comme on dit, ne laissent pas pointer les oreilles du loup, on pourrait être porté à croire que cette résolution est bonne et ingénue comme un agneau pascal. Vouloir précipiter le processus de décolonisation, non point l'accélérer, ce qui serait très différent, mais vouloir l'achever en l'espace d'un an, comme le propose le texte de l'Union soviétique, nous paraît, pour être correct, une erreur monumentale. Avec un tel précédent, l'Assemblée ne serait-elle pas tentée d'adopter, dans un geste humanitaire, une résolution déclarant que le cancer serait vaincu et supprimé à une date précise, disons en 1962, ou, pour continuer cet inoffensif exercice de dialectique, une résolution déclarant que cette même année 1962 devrait voir disparaître de la terre l'ignorance, la faim et la misère?

41. Dans le projet de résolution [A/L.357] présenté par la Nigéria et surtout dans le brillant exposé de son ministre des affaires étrangères devant l'Assemblée [1050^{ème} séance], on trouve une conception réaliste, sérieuse et constructive du problème de l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. Ce projet fixe également, pour le continent africain seulement, une date limite pour atteindre cet objectif, mais le délai de 10 ans qu'il propose est du moins un

hommage à la prudence et au sens des responsabilités.

42. Sans qu'il s'agisse d'une proposition formelle ni d'une prise de position à l'égard dudit projet de résolution, car le moment viendra pour l'une et pour l'autre quand la discussion deviendra plus précise, nous pensons que si on l'étendait à d'autres zones géographiques et si on le complétait par le renouvellement des fonctions du Conseil de tutelle et du Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes, ce projet pourrait apporter une conclusion satisfaisante au problème que nous discutons.

43. Deux faits sont évidents. D'une part, le Conseil de tutelle, à moins qu'une réforme de la Charte ne le supprime, existera tant qu'il y aura des territoires non autonomes pouvant lui être confiés volontairement pour administration, conformément à l'alinéa c de l'Article 77. D'autre part, pour répondre précisément à l'appel pressant contenu dans la résolution 1514 (XV), comprise dans sa signification véritable, et pour que certaines fonctions accomplies grâce à la bonne volonté des puissances administrantes tombent sous la stricte juridiction et compétence du Comité des renseignements, ce dernier, si son mandat est renouvelé, ou le nouveau Comité qui sera créé pour lui succéder, doit être doté de moyens suffisants pour accomplir avec efficacité sa très importante mission. Ce n'est pas un des problèmes les moins sérieux que d'éviter le chevauchement des fonctions qui entrave parfois l'activité de certains organes des Nations Unies. Nous avons, par exemple, une proposition de la Quatrième Commission tendant à créer un comité spécial [A/C.4/L.704/Rev.1] pour s'occuper du regrettable refus du Portugal de donner des renseignements sur ses territoires, et les problèmes que pose la conduite non moins déplorable de l'Union sud-africaine à l'égard du Sud-Ouest africain.

44. En dehors des autorités les plus importantes, selon l'évolution actuelle de ces questions et compte tenu de la nouvelle situation créée par la résolution 1514 (XV), donnons au Comité des renseignements, ou à celui qui le remplacera, un personnel suffisant pour établir des sous-comités ou des comités de travail chargés d'examiner et de régler en collaboration tous les conflits qui peuvent survenir dans tout territoire non autonome et chargés aussi de suivre d'un œil vigilant les lacunes de l'administration, afin de les signaler en temps utile du haut de cette tribune devant la conscience universelle, ce qui est, comme la preuve en est faite, une manière de les corriger.

45. Nous avons une foi inébranlable en l'Organisation des Nations Unies. C'est pourquoi nous l'invitons à se défendre des impatiences dangereuses et de tout ce qui pourrait altérer la solennité austère qui lui est indispensable. Ainsi gagnera-t-elle chaque jour un peu plus d'autorité pour servir les idéaux qui ont présidé à sa création.

46. Nous vous prions maintenant de nous excuser d'avoir parlé si longtemps et nous remercions l'Assemblée de l'attention qu'elle a bien voulu nous prêter.

47. M. DOSUMU-JOHNSON (Libéria) [traduit de l'anglais]: Une fois de plus, l'Assemblée est appelée à réfléchir sur l'un des problèmes les plus révoltants, les plus inhumains qui aient tourmenté l'esprit de l'homme au cours des dernières années. Sans doute

ce problème se posera-t-il à l'Organisation jusqu'au moment où les derniers vestiges de l'odieuse pratique du colonialisme, sous toutes ses formes, auront été supprimés de la surface de la terre, et où nous aurons créé à sa place une franche atmosphère de liberté et d'égalité, de collaboration confiante et de respect naturel pour les droits de tous les êtres humains à la vie, à la liberté, à la recherche du bonheur, sans limites imposées de l'étranger.

48. Débarrassé des foules de mots qui l'habillent, le problème que l'Assemblée doit résoudre se réduit à ceci: "Que toutes les colonies soient libérées dans le monde entier, libérées dès maintenant".

49. Vous nous comprendrez si nous consacrons la majeure partie de nos remarques à l'Afrique. Tout en souhaitant et appuyant de tout cœur l'abolition immédiate du statut colonial dans toutes les parties du monde, nous sommes mieux placés pour parler de la situation en Afrique.

50. A sa quinzième session, l'Assemblée générale a adopté le 14 décembre 1960, par 89 voix contre zéro, avec 9 abstentions, la résolution 1514 (XV) proposée par 43 pays d'Asie et d'Afrique.

51. On ne soulignera jamais trop l'importance de cette résolution pour les pays coloniaux et pour les peuples d'Afrique en particulier. Elle a attiré l'attention du monde sur les horreurs du colonialisme comme on ne l'avait jamais fait jusque-là. Elle a tendu à rendre les grandes puissances conscientes de leur responsabilité envers les peuples administrés par elles. La Déclaration qui figure dans cette résolution a condamné la sujétion des peuples à une subjugation, à une domination et à une exploitation étrangères. Elle a affirmé notamment:

"Des mesures immédiates seront prises ... pour transférer tous pouvoirs aux peuples de ces territoires [dépendants] sans aucune condition ni réserve, conformément à leur volonté et à leurs vœux librement exprimés, sans aucune distinction de race, de croyance ou de couleur, afin de leur permettre de jouir d'une indépendance et d'une liberté complètes."

Elle a affirmé également:

"Il sera mis fin à toute action armée et à toutes mesures de répression... dirigées contre les peuples dépendants ... et l'intégrité de leur territoire national sera respectée."

52. Cette déclaration a fait l'objet d'interprétations diverses, mais, de l'avis de ma délégation et de mon gouvernement, c'est bien plus que le simple exposé d'objectifs généraux; c'est une décision de l'Assemblée et elle impose donc aux Etats Membres des obligations immédiates, d'ordre juridique et moral.

53. Nous avons la chance de compter parmi nous des puissances coloniales et d'anciennes puissances coloniales qui sentent les tendances sociales et politiques universelles et qui s'adaptent aux circonstances avec dynamisme. C'est en elles que nous plaçons notre espoir. Elles nous encouragent par leurs votes qui montrent et signifient que nos efforts en vue de faire reconnaître la dignité et la valeur de tous les êtres humains aboutiront à une réussite dans un délai déterminé et sans plus de résistance.

54. Il reste cependant des colonialistes irréductibles qui forment une catégorie à part. Ils feignent d'ignorer l'évolution historique: leur politique étrangère est dictée par les passions, les sentiments, les idéologies

et les craintes, plutôt que par la pensée logique et le dynamisme du progrès historique.

55. L'orientation de la politique étrangère d'une nation est parfois influencée par l'état de sa civilisation. Une culture jeune et en pleine croissance est active, audacieuse, tandis qu'une civilisation vieillie se fige dans sa forme présente et songe surtout à sa sécurité. Un des traits les plus inquiétants chez les colonialistes irréductibles est qu'ils manquent absolument des connaissances que procurent seuls le contact direct et les associations sur le plan international. La principale tâche de l'Assemblée sera de rééduquer les dirigeants de ces civilisations décadentes en les envoyant visiter d'autres territoires afin qu'ils y prennent des leçons de respect mutuel et de démocratie. Ils sont rivés à leur pays, leurs idées sont toutes faites, ils n'ont pas la moindre expérience directe de ce qui se passe autour d'eux. Si on les encourageait à se rendre régulièrement dans des territoires désormais souverains et indépendants, ils ne pourraient plus faire autre chose qu'une politique de prudence et d'adaptation.

56. Ma délégation croit sincèrement que l'Afrique est de droit et de fait le foyer des hommes dont les ancêtres l'ont occupée les premiers et même y sont nés. Cela est confirmé par les récits bibliques et d'autres documents historiques. Malgré ce qu'on pourrait prendre pour des avis différents, les Africains ont toujours estimé que le continent leur appartient et ils ont tout fait pour résister à la pénétration et la domination européennes, que ce soit en Algérie, en Afrique du Sud, en Angola, à Fernando Po ou en Rhodésie. Ils ont toujours jugé immorales et indéfendables la pénétration et la domination européennes. Si, en apparence, l'Africain a semblé se soumettre à la domination étrangère ou coloniale, c'est uniquement parce qu'il était écrasé par une force supérieure. L'amour de la liberté, l'espoir chéri de l'émancipation sont innés dans le cœur de chaque Africain.

57. L'esprit nationaliste en Afrique n'est pas nouveau, il n'est pas suscité par de prétendus agitateurs. Il a commencé le premier jour où les premiers colonisateurs ont tenté d'occuper une partie du continent. Il n'y a jamais eu un instant d'acceptation passive; toute tentative étrangère pour soumettre l'Afrique s'est heurtée à la résistance africaine. Nos ancêtres étaient des hommes qui croyaient au droit de gouverner et d'être gouvernés selon la formule de leur choix et de résister par tous les moyens en leur pouvoir à ceux qui tenteraient de leur enlever le droit de gérer leurs propres affaires. Pour ne citer que quelques exemples, la domination européenne a rencontré une résistance dans le Haut-Sénégal de 1890 à 1893 sous Mamadou Lamine, au Dahomey de 1890 à 1893 sous le roi Benhazin, au Sierra Leone de 1897 à 1900 sous le roi Bai Bureh, en Ashanti sous le roi Prompeh, en Rhodésie du Sud de 1892 à 1894 sous le roi Lobengula des Matabélés, en Guinée sous Alimini Samouri, au Tanganyika de 1891 à 1894 sous Mkwawa qui était alors le chef suprême des Héhès. Ce sont simplement quelques exemples pour illustrer ce qu'était réellement la situation au sud du Sahara. Il est étrangement stupide et sans aucun fondement d'insinuer que les Africains étaient favorables à la domination étrangère.

58. Le colonialisme a été une source de conflits perpétuels entre les colonisateurs et les colonisés, ainsi qu'une source de tension entre les puissances coloniales elles-mêmes. De la disparition du colonialisme

dépend la solution du conflit Est-Ouest. Il faut donc supprimer le colonialisme et ce sera le premier pas vers la paix universelle et la fraternité humaine. Le colonialisme qui comprend à la fois la subjugation et l'exploitation a été la source de toutes les guerres qui ont eu lieu depuis le début du XVIII^{ème} siècle et, par suite, a menacé constamment la paix et la sécurité de l'univers. Contrairement à tous motifs humanitaires, c'est l'intérêt économique et commercial qui a inspiré l'Europe dans ses entreprises en Afrique et en Asie. La liberté, la souveraineté et l'indépendance de l'Afrique et de l'Asie apporteront pourtant aux anciennes puissances coloniales et de façon générale au monde occidental lui-même d'immenses avantages économiques.

59. Le principal argument contre l'émancipation immédiate des territoires coloniaux est qu'ils doivent y être préparés et que pour cela il faut du temps. Si ma délégation est prête à reconnaître que les peuples doivent être préparés à l'autonomie, elle incline à penser que la meilleure façon d'y arriver est de commencer par la solution politique. La solution fonctionnelle qui est la thèse des colonialistes irréductibles n'est possible que s'il existe une similitude ou une communauté d'intérêts. Cette communauté d'intérêts peut être renforcée par la solution fonctionnelle, mais non pas être créée par celle-ci. L'histoire de l'Australie et de l'Amérique nous a appris que le règlement politique a été la clef des problèmes fonctionnels dans ces continents. En outre, avant l'arrivée des Européens sur notre continent et contrairement aux idées préconçues, les Africains avaient eu leur propre éducation. Ils avaient eu leurs rois et toutes les institutions nécessaires pour s'instruire dans les domaines de l'éducation et du gouvernement. Ils avaient bâti des royaumes et des empires. Leurs normes de vie familiale et de moralité étaient impeccables. Ils avaient eu les empires de Sokoto, Gando et Kano, du Ghana, du Mali, des Songhaï, du Bornou, du Harar, de Gondar et bien d'autres. En de nombreux cas, la domination européenne en Afrique s'est exercée par la méthode indirecte. L'argument de la nécessité d'une préparation ne doit donc pas faire obstacle à la décolonisation immédiate de tous les territoires non autonomes.

60. La question dont l'Assemblée est saisie est celle de l'indépendance d'un peuple, d'un peuple dont les foyers ont été pillés et détruits, d'un peuple qui a été contraint de fournir aux colons les moyens d'une vie confortable et raffinée tandis qu'on l'empêche de prendre la moindre part à cette vie en légalisant la pauvreté, l'ignorance et la discrimination.

61. La plus haute aspiration de l'homme, partout dans le monde et quelles que soient ses conditions de vie, est un insatiable désir de voir reconnaître sa valeur et sa dignité en tant que personne humaine, d'avoir une place respectée dans la société où il vit, de pouvoir participer sans restriction aux possibilités que présente le monde et de jouir de la liberté personnelle; dans un groupe ou dans une nation, ce désir se traduit par des mouvements visant l'indépendance politique et l'entière liberté de développer leur pays à leur gré au point de vue social et matériel, sous un gouvernement de leur choix. C'est tout ce que les Africains vous demandent, en Algérie, en Angola, à Bissão, à São Thomé, au Mozambique, en Rhodésie, au Sud-Ouest africain, en Afrique du Sud et dans tous les territoires coloniaux. C'est tout ce qu'ils demandent: le droit de se gouverner eux-mêmes.

62. Les méthodes par lesquelles la plupart de ces territoires ont été acquis sont d'une honnêteté fort douteuse. Les hauts principes humanitaires des puissances coloniales n'étaient ni hauts ni humanitaires. H. R. Rudin a écrit dans son ouvrage *African Perspective*:

"Quiconque a tenu en main les traités que des chefs sans instruction ont signés d'une croix hésitante, signifiant ainsi qu'ils acceptaient la domination de l'homme blanc, ne peut échapper à la certitude qu'on a dû employer toutes sortes d'artifices pour persuader les Africains de signer des documents qu'ils ne pouvaient comprendre."

63. Du nord au sud, de l'est à l'ouest, le cri de guerre en Afrique est: "Indépendance!" Le pouvoir politique et l'autodétermination sont les objectifs suprêmes de tous les Africains encore soumis au joug colonial. C'est le seul moyen pour les Africains de pouvoir un jour s'exprimer et se développer, même dans les régions où la domination blanche paraît fermement établie.

64. Dans cette lutte, ils ne sont pas seuls; ils ont l'appui sans réserve de tous les Etats indépendants d'Afrique, comme on le voit dans une résolution adoptée par la récente Conférence de Monrovia^{1/}, réunissant les chefs d'Etat d'Afrique et de Madagascar, résolution où ils affirmaient:

"leur détermination unanime de prêter assistance matérielle et morale à tous les territoires dépendants des puissances coloniales en vue d'accélérer leur accession à l'indépendance".

65. Les problèmes les plus difficiles et les plus dangereux en Afrique aujourd'hui sont ceux qui se posent lorsqu'on essaye d'intégrer à la métropole des territoires d'outre-mer ou encore de dresser les blancs contre les Africains. La discrimination raciale sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes les parties du monde atteint l'homme dans ses sentiments les plus profonds. L'Afrique du Sud avec sa politique d'apartheid appliquée par le gouvernement sera l'objectif que viseront les nationalistes africains et les libéraux européens jusqu'à ce qu'elle soit détruite. Elle sera certainement détruite et peut-être plus tôt que nous ne pensons.

66. Passant maintenant au projet de résolution des Pays-Bas [A/L.354], l'Assemblée est une fois de plus saisie de la question de la Nouvelle-Guinée ou Irian occidental. Le projet de résolution des Pays-Bas est présenté dans le cadre de la résolution 1514 (XV) à propos du point de l'ordre du jour intitulé: "La situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux". Sous ce titre, il convient de poser la question de l'autodétermination et de l'indépendance des peuples coloniaux et toute délégation a le droit de le faire. Le Gouvernement néerlandais a soulevé la question pour les habitants de l'Irian occidental. Une puissance coloniale qui cherche à octroyer l'indépendance à un peuple asservi a ce droit et ce privilège.

67. Si nous ignorions la situation qui existait voici trois ou quatre ans en Irian occidental, nous ne mettrions pas en question, nous admirerions sans réserve la mesure prise par le Gouvernement des Pays-Bas en faveur de l'Irian occidental. Mais, connaissant la situation et l'historique du problème,

^{1/} Tenue du 8 au 12 mai 1961.

ma délégation est portée à croire que toute mesure prise par l'Assemblée générale en ce qui concerne l'Irian occidental doit également tenir compte de la revendication émise depuis longtemps par l'Indonésie sur ce territoire. Un règlement de la question de l'Irian occidental doit intervenir, à notre avis, en consultation avec l'Indonésie.

68. Le Gouvernement indonésien revendique l'Irian occidental depuis que l'Indonésie est un Etat indépendant. Il a fondé cette revendication sur les négociations et les résultats de la Conférence de la Table ronde. Le Gouvernement des Pays-Bas a rejeté cette revendication parce que, disait-il, les habitants de l'Irian occidental sont des Papous et non pas des Indonésiens, ni de la même race que les Indonésiens. Même si tel est le cas, nous estimons que les différences ethniques n'empêchent jamais un peuple de former un Etat paisible et harmonieux.

69. Les Pays-Bas proposent un plébiscite qui permettrait à la population de l'Irian occidental de faire connaître ses aspirations. Le Gouvernement néerlandais sait fort bien que cette population est illettrée, et il l'a d'ailleurs qualifiée lui-même, voici quatre ans, de population arriérée et ignorante, primitive de mœurs et de culture et il a déclaré qu'à son avis elle avait besoin d'un tuteur ou d'un guide; le Gouvernement néerlandais ne pouvait donc pas être très sérieux en proposant un plébiscite. Quant à proposer que les Nations Unies agissent comme une sorte d'autorité administrante, ce serait imposer à l'Organisation un rôle sans précédent.

70. L'Organisation des Nations Unies n'a jamais, dans toute son histoire, assumé directement l'administration d'un territoire. Dans tous les cas qui se sont présentés, l'administration a été confiée à une puissance qui avait déjà une certaine expérience des peuples non autonomes. Or les seules puissances qui ont cette expérience sont les puissances coloniales. Etant donné les attaques auxquelles ces puissances sont en butte actuellement, je suppose que pas une d'entre elles ne serait disposée à assumer une telle responsabilité.

71. En ce qui concerne les pays d'Asie, d'Afrique et d'Amérique du Sud, qui ont connu à une époque ou à une autre la domination coloniale et qui ont conquis, dans bien des cas, leur liberté au prix du sang, ils ne voudraient pas, nous en sommes sûrs, assumer le rôle d'autorité administrante. Par suite, même si le projet de résolution des Pays-Bas était adopté, il ne serait pas mis en œuvre, car nous estimons que ce serait une grave erreur que de vouloir appliquer ce projet de résolution sans tenir compte de la revendication de l'Indonésie, qui est appuyée par la majorité des Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Il faut observer que les projets de résolution présentés par l'Indonésie sur le même sujet, jusqu'à présent, ont toujours obtenu la majorité simple à la Première Commission.

72. Certes, mon gouvernement défend le droit de tous les peuples à l'autodétermination, mais il ne pourrait soutenir aucune solution, même fondée sur le principe de l'autodétermination, si elle devait provoquer des effusions de sang, surtout chez les peuples que nous voulons protéger. L'autodétermination et l'indépendance doivent apporter la liberté et le bonheur, non pas la crainte, la haine et les effusions de sang.

73. Les Pays-Bas et l'Indonésie se prétendent tous deux les porte-parole de l'Irian occidental. On nous

dit que pour donner du poids à leurs prétentions ils ont invité des habitants de l'Irian occidental à faire partie de leurs délégations. On ne peut porter un jugement ni parvenir à une décision en se fondant sur la présence de représentants de l'Irian occidental dans la délégation de l'Indonésie, ni d'après la déclaration de cette délégation devant l'Assemblée. Ma délégation regrette que toute cette question ait été mise en discussion à l'Assemblée générale, car nous pensons sincèrement qu'elle finira par diviser la population autochtone en factions qui se prononceront en faveur d'une thèse ou de l'autre et nous estimons donc que cette question devrait être retirée.

74. Tout en admirant les idéaux qui ont inspiré le projet de résolution des Pays-Bas, ma délégation estime que toute mesure qui serait prise devrait l'être en pleine coopération avec la délégation de l'Indonésie et le Gouvernement indonésien. Dans les circonstances actuelles et pour prouver son désir ardent de voir résoudre à l'amiable la question de l'Irian occidental, ma délégation propose de lancer un appel aux Gouvernements des Pays-Bas et de l'Indonésie, et de les inviter à reprendre les négociations pour trouver une solution pacifique. Si nous proposons cet appel, c'est parce que nous savons bien que certaines résolutions que l'Assemblée pourrait adopter ne pourraient être appliquées sans l'emploi de la force, auquel les Nations Unies répugnent toujours. Lorsque des questions de ce genre sont soumises à l'Assemblée, elles restent inévitablement à l'ordre du jour pendant des années sans aboutir à un résultat. Au contraire, beaucoup de questions ont été résolues par négociations directes. La question de Chypre en est l'exemple classique. Nous espérons donc vivement que nos amis entendront cet appel et entreprendront immédiatement des négociations.

75. Les mots sont insuffisants pour exprimer la reconnaissance de ma délégation envers les représentants qui ont donné leur appui à la cause de la liberté des peuples coloniaux. Tous les gouvernements représentés ici, à l'exception des colonialistes irréductibles, ont contribué d'une façon ou d'une autre à la lutte pour l'indépendance des peuples asservis en Afrique et en Asie. Certains ont fait beaucoup, d'autres un peu moins. Quoi qu'il en soit, ils ont fait quelque chose pour le succès de notre cause et nous leur en sommes reconnaissants. Nous les prions maintenant, dans le même esprit, de devenir les vedettes du dernier acte de cette tragédie de l'impérialisme et du colonialisme et, à cet effet, d'appuyer toutes les résolutions conçues pour mettre fin à la servitude, à l'exploitation, à la discrimination, à la misère et à la domination étrangère, en Afrique, en Asie, dans les Amériques et dans les régions les plus reculées de la terre.

76. En fin de compte, les projets de résolution qui nous sont soumis demandent de la bonne foi et de l'impartialité. L'Afrique est notre héritage; elle doit être libre du point de vue politique. Avec l'aide de l'Assemblée, par l'intermédiaire de tout dispositif que les Nations Unies pourront élaborer, que les peuples des territoires non autonomes décident eux-mêmes les dates auxquelles ils devront accéder à l'indépendance. Nous ne mentirons pas à notre promesse d'appuyer toute résolution conçue à cet effet.

77. Les Nations Unies ne doivent pas faillir à leur tâche actuelle qui est de créer un monde nouveau, de le faire grandir et de le conduire pas à pas vers le but de la perfection. Avec la force morale, le courage

et la foi dans les destinées de l'homme, toutes les difficultés seront vaincues et l'Afrique sera libre.

78. M. KURKA (Tchécoslovaquie) [traduit du russe]: Près d'un an s'est écoulé depuis le moment où l'Assemblée générale a adopté la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux [1514 (XV)]. Cette Déclaration, adoptée sur l'initiative de l'Union soviétique par une majorité écrasante des Etats Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, était l'expression de la volonté de toute l'humanité pacifique et progressiste qui avait le droit de s'attendre que la plus haute organisation internationale prit les mesures décisives pour abolir un des plus odieux anachronismes de notre temps, le colonialisme. La résolution 1514 (XV) — cette condamnation symbolique, par les peuples, du colonialisme — est, sans aucun doute, parmi les décisions les plus importantes prises par l'Organisation des Nations Unies depuis sa création.

79. C'est précisément pour cela qu'elle a été accueillie par tous les peuples épris de liberté avec un sentiment de profonde satisfaction. Cette déclaration confirmait à nouveau que tous les peuples ont un droit inaliénable à la pleine liberté, à l'exercice de leur souveraineté et à l'intégrité de leur territoire national, et que la sujétion des peuples à une subjugation, à une domination et à une exploitation étrangères constitue un déni des droits fondamentaux de l'homme, est contraire à la Charte des Nations Unies et compromet la cause de la paix et de la coopération mondiales. Voilà pourquoi l'Assemblée générale a proclamé solennellement la nécessité de mettre rapidement et inconditionnellement fin au colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations.

80. Mais l'adoption de la Déclaration à la dernière session de l'Assemblée n'a pas mis fin à la responsabilité de l'ONU à l'égard de plus de 70 millions d'hommes qui, sur notre planète, souffrent encore maintenant du joug pesant du colonialisme ou d'une semi-exploitation coloniale. Des efforts semblables à ceux qui, l'an dernier, ont précédé l'adoption de la Déclaration, sont à déployer tant que le dernier peuple, le dernier pays asservi, ne pourra vivre librement, sans crainte pour son indépendance. C'est pourquoi l'Assemblée générale doit prendre de nouvelles et énergiques mesures pour assurer en conséquence l'application du programme de libération prévu dans la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance.

81. Le colonialisme, cette honte du XX^{ème} siècle, est toujours vivant bien que les représentants des puissances coloniales cherchent à nous convaincre du contraire.

82. Les événements de ces derniers mois confirment, une fois de plus, que les puissances coloniales sabotent, par tous les moyens, l'application de la Déclaration, poursuivent leurs sanglantes guerres coloniales et appliquent des mesures de répression à l'encontre des peuples coloniaux et des territoires non autonomes. Les puissances coloniales cherchent, par des moyens militaires, à conserver les derniers vestiges de leur domination coloniale et, là où une pression les contraint à céder, ils cherchent à acquérir des positions encore plus dangereuses grâce à de nouvelles formes de colonialisme.

83. Qui pourrait affirmer, dans ces conditions, que le colonialisme est mort?

84. C'est à l'Organisation des Nations Unies qu'incombe l'immense responsabilité de liquider sans délai

les séquelles du colonialisme, afin que soit mis en œuvre le principe de coopération pacifique internationale et que, par là-même, on aboutisse à la paix et à la sécurité générales. Le colonialisme est la manifestation du déni de la liberté et du grossier mépris des principes fondamentaux des rapports entre les peuples. Le déni des droits fait naître des conflits et des guerres qui peuvent, dans l'état actuel des choses, avoir les conséquences les plus terribles que l'on puisse imaginer. Le lien étroit qui unit la nécessité d'exiger la liquidation immédiate du colonialisme, sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations, à celle qui exige la consolidation de la paix et de la sécurité internationales est la conséquence de la nécessité irrécusable de respecter le droit, étant donné l'évolution internationale contemporaine. Les actes malintentionnés des colonisateurs et de leurs acolytes, au Congo, en Angola, en Algérie, en Afrique du Sud et ailleurs, fournissent des exemples patents des efforts convulsifs, visant à l'écrasement des mouvements de libération nationale, qu'ils déploient pour retenir les vestiges de la domination coloniale, et font voir comment peut ainsi s'aggraver la menace d'une catastrophe mondiale.

85. Voilà pourquoi la non-observation, par les puissances coloniales, de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux exige de l'Assemblée générale des Nations Unies de nouvelles mesures décisives. Aussi le Gouvernement de la République socialiste tchécoslovaque accorde-t-il une grande valeur à la proposition faite par le Gouvernement de l'Union soviétique de voir inscrire à l'ordre du jour de la seizième session de l'Assemblée générale la question de l'application de la Déclaration adoptée à la quinzième session de ladite assemblée.

86. Une des exigences fondamentales de la résolution 1514 (XV) était exprimée par un appel lancé aux puissances coloniales afin que celles-ci mettent immédiatement fin à toute action armée et à toutes mesures de répression, de quelque sorte qu'elles soient, dirigées contre les peuples dépendants.

87. A cette exigence humanitaire de la Déclaration, les colonialistes ont cyniquement répondu, comme on le sait, en intensifiant leurs guerres coloniales d'anéantissement, en employant la terreur et des mesures de répression contre les populations des pays coloniaux et non autonomes.

88. Un exemple saisissant de l'arbitraire des colonialistes nous est fourni, avant tout, par l'action terroriste brutale des militaires portugais en Angola, contre le mouvement de libération du peuple angolais, qui cherche à accéder à l'indépendance et à faire disparaître la domination coloniale. Il est indispensable de souligner que le Portugal, qui refuse systématiquement d'appliquer les décisions du Conseil de sécurité et de l'Assemblée générale relatives à l'Angola, a déclenché une guerre coloniale contre le peuple angolais juste après l'adoption de la résolution 1514 (XV) par l'Assemblée générale de l'ONU à sa quinzième session.

89. La cruauté avec laquelle le régime fasciste de Salazar écrase le mouvement de libération nationale dans ce pays est sans exemple. Selon les informations du magazine américain *Newsweek* et selon les quotidiens britanniques *The Observer* et *The Guardian*, au cours de quatre mois seulement de leur campagne d'extermination les mercenaires portugais ont tué environ 50 000 Angolais. Par milliers des Angolais ont été jetés dans les camps de concentration de Baia

dos Tigres, Dembos, Porto Alexandre et Silva Porto. Des unités de la Légion portugaise appliquent en Angola des méthodes aussi cruelles que celles employées par la criminelle organisation nazie "SS", au cours de l'occupation allemande en Europe.

90. Des dizaines de milliers de fugitifs, qui, pour sauver leur vie, passent de l'Angola au Congo voisin, apportent des témoignages bouleversants sur l'extermination massive de la population et sur l'indicible terreur par laquelle les colonisateurs portugais cherchent à maintenir leur domination en Angola.

91. Qui peut donc, à la lumière de ces faits, déclarer que le colonialisme est mort? Que les représentants du Portugal osent encore parler de leur "mission civilisatrice" en Angola. C'est bafouer le bon sens et la dignité!

92. Un autre exemple de l'arbitraire des colonialistes est la situation en Algérie, où la France, depuis sept ans déjà, poursuit une sanglante guerre coloniale dans le dessein d'écraser le mouvement de libération du peuple algérien pour la liberté. Cette guerre a causé au peuple algérien des pertes considérables et de dures souffrances, mais elle n'a pas brisé son inébranlable détermination de conquérir son indépendance. Les colonialistes français se refusent toujours obstinément à reconnaître qu'il n'y a qu'une seule voie pour atteindre la solution du problème algérien, c'est celle qui consiste à donner au peuple algérien la liberté d'exercer son droit à disposer de lui-même.

93. On peut ajouter à cela les projets provocateurs de la France qui tendent à diviser l'Algérie et à en détacher la région la plus riche du territoire algérien, notamment le Sahara, avec ses immenses richesses naturelles.

94. Il faut souligner que ces projets sont en opposition totale au paragraphe 6 du dispositif de la résolution 1514 (XV) qui déclare:

"Toute tentative visant à détruire partiellement ou totalement l'unité nationale et l'intégrité territoriale d'un pays est incompatible avec les buts et les principes de la Charte des Nations Unies."

95. Mais l'Angola et l'Algérie ne sont pas les seuls exemples des méthodes pratiquées par les puissances coloniales pour fouler impudemment aux pieds les recommandations de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays, aux peuples coloniaux, et pour tenter, à main armée, d'écraser le mouvement de libération des peuples.

96. Ceux qui ont ici objecté que les débats sur l'application de la résolution 1514 (XV) intensifient la guerre froide, devraient cependant reconnaître que des "guerres chaudes" sont menées en Afrique et en Asie par les colonisateurs, contre des peuples dont le seul tort est de lutter avec abnégation pour la liberté de leur pays.

97. La Grande-Bretagne, depuis des années, poursuit son agression armée contre l'Oman; elle écrase, par la force armée, le mouvement de libération de la Rhodésie du Nord et de la Rhodésie du Sud, du Kenya, du Nyassaland et autres territoires d'Afrique. Les peuples de la Guyane britannique, des colonies espagnoles et de l'Irian occidental occupé par les Pays-Bas doivent continuer de lutter pour leur liberté.

98. En ce qui concerne l'Irian occidental, je voudrais, à ce propos, remarquer que la délégation tchécoslovaque rejette catégoriquement les manœuvres des

Pays-Bas; elles sont, à proprement parler, à ce point absurdes qu'elles trouvent dans la résolution 1514 (XV) le moyen de perpétuer la domination des colonisateurs hollandais sur ce territoire qui fait incontestablement partie de l'Indonésie. Le Gouvernement tchécoslovaque appuie sans réserve la seule solution équitable et possible qui soit: le retour du territoire de l'Irian occidental à qui il appartient, c'est-à-dire à l'Indonésie.

99. Jusqu'à présent, on n'a pas vu cesser non plus l'ingérence des colonialistes dans les affaires intérieures du Congo, pas plus que n'ont cessé leurs intrigues contre l'intégrité et la souveraineté de ce jeune Etat. Les colonisateurs, à l'aide de leurs fantoches, cherchent encore à détacher du Congo la province la plus riche, le Katanga, en employant, à ces fins, la force armée.

100. Au moment où s'accroît la lutte des peuples colonisés et non autonomes pour leur libération, on ne peut, à ce propos, s'empêcher de rappeler le rôle joué par le groupement agressif de l'OTAN dont le noyau est constitué par les anciens et les nouveaux colonisateurs agissant de compagnie.

101. Ce n'est un secret pour personne que les colonisateurs portugais, pour écraser les patriotes angolais, se servent des armements de l'OTAN et, avant tout, de ceux fournis par l'Amérique et l'Allemagne de l'Ouest. Des divisions portugaises en Angola, françaises en Algérie, faisant partie des cadres du commandement de l'OTAN, et au su du Conseil de l'OTAN, ont été dirigées contre les peuples angolais et algériens. Les unités françaises en Algérie sont, en majorité, équipées d'armes américaines, acquises par l'intermédiaire de l'OTAN. La France effectue, au profit de l'OTAN, des essais nucléaires en territoire africain.

102. Il est clair que, sans une large aide militaire, financière et politique de l'OTAN et des Etats-Unis, les puissances coloniales auraient été, depuis longtemps déjà, contraintes de mettre fin à leurs actions armées contre les peuples colonisés, et obligées de leur accorder l'indépendance.

103. Dans sa déclaration du 7 novembre 1961 [1048ème séance], le représentant des Etats-Unis avait accusé les délégations des pays socialistes d'attaquer les pays occidentaux sous prétexte de lutter contre le colonialisme; et il a tenté d'expliquer que, lorsque les pays socialistes dirigeaient leurs critiques justifiées contre la politique coloniale des Etats impérialistes de l'OTAN et autres blocs agressifs, il s'agissait là d'une opération de "guerre froide".

104. Nous affirmons que semblable calomnie contre les pays socialistes ne peut cacher la faiblesse des arguments présentés par la délégation américaine. Nous n'attaquons pas le dénommé "monde occidental" ni les alliés des Etats-Unis, mais nous luttons pour accélérer la liquidation des derniers vestiges du colonialisme et ce n'est pas notre faute si tous les derniers Etats coloniaux sont les alliés les plus proches des Etats-Unis, dans le bloc militaire de l'OTAN.

105. Mais ce n'est pas tout. Le même jour, le représentant des Etats-Unis voulait nous faire croire que son pays, en sa qualité de "puissance anticolonialiste la plus ancienne", est de tout cœur avec ceux qui luttent pour la liberté et l'indépendance des peuples coloniaux. Mais nous croyons, au contraire, que la vérité est tout l'opposé. Les Etats-Unis possèdent non seulement des territoires coloniaux, comme

Porto Rico, Okinawa, une bonne partie des îles du Pacifique, mais encore ils sont, en fait, l'appui principal des blocs militaires agressifs qui donnent aux puissances coloniales la possibilité d'écraser la lutte de libération des peuples coloniaux et non autonomes.

106. Ce n'est un secret pour personne que c'est aux Etats-Unis que sont formées les unités de subversion qui doivent être envoyées ensuite dans d'autres pays afin d'y réduire les mouvements de libération nationale, d'organiser les sabotages et la subversion dans les pays nouvellement constitués et dont le régime et la politique ne sont pas du goût des impérialistes. Par exemple, ces unités de subversion organisent déjà des campagnes de terreur contre les mouvements de libération des peuples du Sud-Viet-Nam.

107. Comme on le sait, contrairement aux accords de Genève sur l'Indochine de 1954, le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis envoie systématiquement au Sud-Viet-Nam du personnel et du matériel militaires, et encourage les autorités vietnamiennes à saboter les accords de Genève.

108. Cette ingérence des Etats-Unis crée ainsi au Sud-Viet-Nam un dangereux foyer de tension qui représente une menace sérieuse à la paix et à la sécurité de l'ensemble de l'Asie.

109. Mon gouvernement condamne cette ingérence américaine et exige que, dans l'intérêt du peuple vietnamien et de la paix en Asie, le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis observe strictement les accords de Genève sur l'Indochine.

110. C'est vraiment payer d'audace que parler ainsi de la position anticolonialiste des Etats-Unis. Si c'est là de l'anticolonialisme, alors qu'est-ce donc que le colonialisme, au regard du représentant des Etats-Unis?

111. Nous affirmons que toutes les interventions militaires des puissances coloniales de l'OTAN, ou parties à d'autres pactes militaires, contre les mouvements de libération nationale représentent une menace sérieuse à la paix mondiale, car elles peuvent entraîner facilement à des conflits aux conséquences les plus sérieuses.

112. Aussi, dans l'intérêt de tous les peuples, l'Assemblée générale doit prendre des mesures décisives pour faire mettre un terme aux guerres coloniales et aux campagnes de répression des colonialistes et pour assurer la mise en application immédiate de la résolution 1514 (XV). Ce serait le seul moyen de réussir à ce que le processus de libération et d'indépendance se produise sans autres effusions de sang et pertes matérielles.

113. En cherchant à retarder au maximum l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, les puissances coloniales déploient de grands efforts et imaginent toutes sortes de prétextes, afin de justifier, devant l'opinion publique internationale et devant celle de leur propre pays, leur politique coloniale et la couvrir d'un voile pseudo-humanitaire.

114. Ces puissances se targuent de ce qu'elles accomplissent aux colonies une "mission civilisatrice", de ce que les territoires autonomes placés sous leur administration ne seraient prétendument pas mûrs pour l'indépendance, qu'ils ne sont pas en mesure de "voler de leurs propres ailes."

115. Toutes ces échappatoires des colonisateurs non seulement ne correspondent pas à la réalité, mais sont aussi en contradiction avec les dispositions du paragraphe 3 du dispositif de la résolution 1514 (XV), dont voici le texte: "Le manque de préparation dans les domaines politique, économique ou social ou dans celui de l'enseignement ne doit jamais être pris comme prétexte pour retarder l'indépendance".

116. Je voudrais dire à ces avocats du colonialisme: ne parlez pas de "mission civilisatrice" alors que vous pensez au pétrole, à l'uranium, à l'or et autres richesses naturelles des pays non autonomes, alors que vous pensez aux moyens d'édifier votre bien-être sur la misère et l'exploitation des autres peuples.

117. Voilà les "idéaux élevés" au nom desquels vous exercez vos épouvantables violences sur les peuples d'Afrique, d'Asie et d'Amérique latine.

118. L'expérience de nombreux pays nouvellement indépendants démontre que, si un peuple est libéré du joug colonial, suivant une image connue, il peut "déplacer des montagnes" et ne craint aucun obstacle. Nous avons l'exemple des nouveaux Etats d'Afrique et d'Asie lesquels, après le départ des colonialistes et avec des ressources limitées, obtiennent des succès importants dans le développement de leur économie et dans l'amélioration du niveau de vie de leur population, parce que leurs peuples ont secoué les chaînes du servage colonial qui paralysaient toute initiative libre et créatrice. Il est temps de mettre fin à l'humiliation des peuples coloniaux et non autonomes; il est temps d'en finir avec la démagogie — en matière de supériorité des colonisateurs — dont le but est de justifier la prolongation de l'existence du colonialisme.

119. Les impérialistes aiment poser aux "bien-faiteurs" et ils cherchent à faire croire au monde qu'ils ont accordé volontairement l'indépendance à leurs colonies et territoires non autonomes. En vérité, ils ne sont partis volontairement d'aucun de ces territoires; c'est l'héroïque lutte de libération des peuples qui les y a contraints, tout comme le rapport des forces dans le monde, qui devient de plus en plus défavorable au régime impérialiste.

120. Les peuples et les pays coloniaux ne reçoivent pas, de leurs anciens colonisateurs, leur indépendance "par bon vouloir". Ils l'obtiennent grâce à l'exercice du droit inaliénable de tous les peuples à la libre détermination et, en règle générale, à la suite d'une longue lutte. Donc, ils ne sont pas forcés de racheter leur indépendance par des concessions à longue échéance à leurs anciens maîtres les colons, lesquels, soit dit en langage imagé, "veulent revenir par la fenêtre là où les peuples les avaient chassés par la porte". Les diverses théories sur le transfert, par libre consentement, de la souveraineté aux Etats nouvellement constitués, ne visent qu'à maintenir les éléments de domination et à créer des prémisses permettant d'imposer à ces nouveaux Etats des obligations qui, normalement, seraient considérées comme une grossière violation des droits souverains de l'Etat.

121. Pour maintenir dans ces pays leur influence politique, économique et culturelle, les anciens Etats coloniaux s'efforcent, de préférence par voie d'accords arbitraires, de contraindre ces nouveaux Etats à s'intégrer dans divers groupes économiques et politiques, et à créer des bases militaires sur leur territoire et, sous le masque de l'aide dite économique, à conserver dans ces pays leur influence politique, économique et culturelle.

122. Les accords d'aide militaire et la création de bases militaires étrangères sur leur territoire constituent un danger particulièrement grand pour les nouveaux pays indépendants.

123. Il suffit de se rappeler le rôle joué par les bases militaires belges au cours de l'attaque armée des colonialistes contre la République du Congo, après que ce pays s'est vu accorder l'indépendance.

124. La base française de Bizerte, dont la liquidation est résolument exigée par le peuple tunisien depuis la création même de l'Etat tunisien, a servi de prétexte, cette année, à l'agression armée française contre la Tunisie, agression qui a entraîné des pertes humaines et matérielles énormes.

125. Les bases militaires des impérialistes sur territoires étrangers constituent non seulement une menace perpétuelle à l'indépendance et à la souveraineté de ces pays, mais elles servent également aux colonisateurs à écraser les mouvements de libération dans les régions qui les avoisinent.

126. L'Assemblée générale des Nations Unies ne peut passer sous silence une situation dans laquelle, aux formes manifestes de la domination coloniale contraires à la Charte des Nations Unies et au droit international, se substituent des méthodes détournées de domination coloniale. C'est pourquoi l'Assemblée générale doit condamner les accords inégaux, qui représentent l'un des principaux instruments de ces nouvelles formes du colonialisme et un obstacle sérieux à la libération totale des peuples et des pays qui souffrent encore des conséquences d'une longue domination coloniale. L'existence de ces accords et leur maintien en vigueur sont inadmissibles au point de vue du principe de la libre détermination des peuples et du point de vue de la nécessité absolue de liquider complètement le colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations. Les accords inégaux présentent également un danger pour le maintien de la paix et de la sécurité internationales, et leur existence est incompatible avec les principes de coexistence pacifique des peuples, telle que la proclame la Charte des Nations Unies. A notre avis, l'Assemblée générale se doit de prendre une décision qui aurait pour effet d'annuler tous ces accords inégaux produits directs de la domination coloniale. Le droit de refuser ces accords devrait être reconnu à tous ces pays. Il est également indispensable d'abroger tous les accords grâce auxquels les puissances coloniales violent l'unité territoriale de tous les territoires sous tutelle et non autonomes, et, à l'avenir, de ne plus admettre d'agissements de cette nature.

127. La résolution 1514 (XV) indique nettement le problème essentiel qu'il est indispensable de régler immédiatement, à savoir mettre rapidement et inconditionnellement fin à la domination coloniale, cause de la misère et de l'état arriéré d'une grande partie des pays d'Asie, d'Afrique et d'Amérique latine. C'est pourquoi nous sommes convaincus que l'application de cette déclaration doit précisément servir de base à tous les programmes de l'ONU destinés au renforcement de l'indépendance et du développement économique de telle ou telle région.

128. Par exemple, de quoi l'Afrique a-t-elle le plus besoin aujourd'hui? Les pays africains exigent, avant tout, la liquidation pleine et entière du colonialisme sous tous ses aspects, et l'octroi de l'assistance dont ils ont besoin pour éliminer immédiatement les lourdes conséquences de l'exploitation coloniale en

matière économique, sociale et culturelle. Il faut accorder le plus rapidement possible, aux pays africains et autres pays sous-développés, une aide qui leur permette de récupérer dans le domaine économique ce dont ils ont été privés par des lustres et des lustres d'esclavage colonial.

129. Certes, toutes les formes d'"assistance" ne sont pas effectivement une aide pour le développement de l'économie nationale de ces pays. On a bien souvent constaté que sous l'étiquette d'"assistance" se cachent fréquemment des objectifs diamétralement opposés aux intérêts des pays peu développés économiquement. Sous ce rapport, les monopoles américains font figure d'avant-coureurs en déployant, dans divers pays du monde, des efforts considérables pour se saisir des ressources naturelles et s'emparer des positions clés au point de vue économique. Ce n'est pas sans raison qu'ils concentrent leur attention sur les immenses richesses naturelles des anciennes colonies et pays non autonomes. Ce n'est pas par hasard que ces monopoles accordent une importance majeure aux transferts de capitaux et particulièrement à ceux qui, sous forme d'investissements directs à bénéfices rapides, permettent une mainmise sur de nouveaux marchés et ressources de matières premières.

130. Ainsi, de 1950 à 1958, les investissements américains dans les pays sous-développés représentaient 4 milliards de dollars, alors que les bénéfices tirés de ces investissements ont atteint le chiffre énorme de 11 milliards de dollars. Ainsi donc, les monopoles ont fait plus de 100 p. 100 de bénéfices. On peut donc dire que comme "la misère sur le pauvre monde" les monopoles américains se sont jetés sur le continent africain, où plus de 200 sociétés américaines déploient leur activité et où les investissements américains privés s'élevaient en 1959 à 843 millions de dollars contre 104 millions en 1943.

131. Un danger très grave pour les nouveaux pays indépendants, c'est la pénétration des monopoles d'Allemagne occidentale, qui, dans des proportions toujours plus grandes, occupent les positions des anciennes puissances coloniales. Ils pénètrent par la porte de service dans les régions d'où les concurrents anglais, français ou belges ont été chassés par la population autochtone.

132. Outre les transferts de capitaux, et pour écraser les mouvements de libération des peuples coloniaux et non autonomes, on peut encore signaler, toujours d'Allemagne occidentale, les fournitures d'armes et autres équipements à destination de l'Espagne, de la France, du Portugal et autres puissances coloniales. On sait également que, dans les opérations de répression, menées par les forces armées contre les mouvements de libération, un rôle important est dévolu aux hordes mercenaires de fascistes et criminels de guerre d'Allemagne occidentale.

133. Voilà pourquoi la lutte contre le colonialisme est tout aussi importante dans le domaine économique que politique. L'impérialisme utilise le retard économique — qu'il a causé lui-même — des pays libérés afin de les maintenir dans une position d'infériorité à l'égard de la distribution capitaliste internationale du travail, cela pour s'assurer la mainmise sur les richesses naturelles de ces pays et se réserver le contrôle de leur développement économique et politique.

134. Cependant, le capital étranger, qui, du fait de l'exploitation économique des pays sous-développés,

rapporte chaque année plus de 8 milliards de dollars, a déjà perdu sa position de monopole dans l'économie de ces pays.

135. Les Etats du système socialiste mondial, dont la puissance économique va croissant, jouent maintenant de ce fait un rôle important quant aux relations avec les sphères économiques des pays sous-développés, ce qui affaiblit la pression économique des monopoles capitalistes et contribue, par cela même, à l'achèvement victorieux de la lutte des peuples pour leur libération nationale.

136. Grâce à la coopération économique avec les pays socialistes, les pays nouvellement indépendants peuvent plus facilement se débarrasser de leur fatal asservissement aux lois de l'économie capitaliste, et s'arracher aux griffes des trusts impérialistes bien avant que leur puissance de production n'atteigne le niveau des pays développés.

137. Les pays socialistes offrent à ces pays nouvellement indépendants des crédits, des prêts, les machines les plus modernes, de l'équipement et une assistance technique, et cela inconditionnellement et sans atteinte à leur souveraineté. Cette assistance ne vise qu'un but: favoriser le développement économique indépendant des anciennes colonies, les aider à s'intégrer comme partenaires à droits égaux dans la distribution internationale du travail, et à se débarrasser de l'exploitation des puissances capitalistes industriellement développées.

138. Voilà pourquoi, nous pouvons, sans hésitation, rejeter la grossière calomnie par laquelle les représentants des puissances coloniales cherchent à faire croire aux peuples libérés que les pays socialistes ont certains "objectifs secrets" à l'égard de l'Afrique, de l'Asie et de l'Amérique latine. Les clameurs de ces chevaliers de l'anticommunisme renforcent encore notre conviction que nous accomplissons une bonne action qui va carrément à l'encontre des intérêts des colonisateurs de tout poil et qui est au profit du renforcement de l'indépendance des Etats nouvellement constitués.

139. La délégation de la République socialiste tchécoslovaque estime que l'adoption de mesures efficaces pour la mise en œuvre immédiate de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux représente une des tâches essentielles de la présente session de l'Assemblée générale.

140. La conscience humaine ne peut prendre son parti d'aucune forme du colonialisme et ne peut demeurer indifférente à son égard. L'amitié entre nations, en l'occurrence, l'Organisation des Nations Unies, a non seulement le droit, mais le devoir de ne pas tolérer plus longtemps le colonialisme.

141. Le colonialisme, dans toutes ses manifestations, est la négation des normes morales, politiques et juridiques de la communauté internationale contemporaine et une menace directe aux bases d'une édification pacifique et équitable du monde. Voilà pourquoi une lutte constante pour extirper tous les vestiges du colonialisme doit être le fait de tous les peuples, qu'ils soient ou non directement menacés de la domination coloniale.

"Nous sommes opposés à toute forme de colonialisme, ancien ou récent, qui empêche le développement créateur des nations qui se sont engagées dans la voie de la liberté et de l'indépendance."

a déclaré le Président de la République tchécoslovaque, M. Antony Novotny, au cours de la discussion générale de la quinzième session de l'Assemblée générale, et il a ajouté:

"Nous sommes fermement aux côtés des Etats nouveaux qui se sont libérés du joug colonial. Nous pensons que toutes les nations doivent leur venir en aide par tous les moyens pour leur permettre d'occuper dans le monde une place digne et pour empêcher toute ingérence dans leurs affaires intérieures qui mettrait en danger la paix et la sécurité internationales." [871ème séance, par. 59.]

142. Ma délégation estime qu'il est indispensable, avec tout le sérieux qui convient, de tirer les conclusions de ce que les puissances coloniales s'opposent obstinément à l'application de la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale. L'Assemblée générale doit prendre des mesures concrètes pour expliciter encore davantage la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux et pour amener la liquidation la plus rapide du colonialisme, sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations.

143. Les mesures qu'il est indispensable de réaliser, et dont j'ai déjà parlé, figurent au projet de résolution déposé par la délégation de l'Union soviétique [A/L.355]. Ma délégation estime que les mesures proposées sont de toute urgence, et elle est convaincue que leur application conduira à la liquidation définitive du colonialisme; c'est pourquoi nous appuyons pleinement ce projet de résolution.

144. Nous estimons également que pour empêcher, de la part des puissances coloniales, toute obstruction et manœuvres dilatoires à l'égard du processus de liquidation du colonialisme, la nouvelle résolution qu'adoptera l'Assemblée générale de l'ONU doit fixer à ces puissances coloniales un délai obligatoire au terme duquel elles devront octroyer l'indépendance aux territoires placés sous leur tutelle et qui ne s'administrent pas eux-mêmes. Nous estimons que, en fixant la date limite à la fin de 1962, ce délai serait largement suffisant. C'est pourquoi il est indispensable de mettre au point immédiatement et pour chaque territoire un programme concret et réel d'accession à l'indépendance et d'en fixer la date de réalisation.

145. Nous appuyons également la proposition selon laquelle, pour assurer le contrôle sur l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, une commission spéciale serait créée, qui ferait rapport, à la dix-septième session de l'Assemblée générale, sur les résultats de ces travaux.

146. Nous sommes convaincus que les mesures décisives de l'Assemblée générale destinées à soutenir la réalisation immédiate des principes contenus dans la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, auront un retentissement favorable aussi bien parmi les peuples ayant déjà obtenu leur indépendance que parmi ceux qui, en ce moment, passent par l'étape décisive de leur lutte pour la libération. Ces mesures leur seront une aide réelle dans cette lutte et, en même temps, une assurance de l'entière solidarité des autres Etats épris de paix. Elles renforceront la foi des jeunes Etats dans l'Organisation des Nations Unies et dans la justesse des principes de l'entente internationale à laquelle ils se joindront.

147. C'est pourquoi il est essentiel que le processus historique de la liquidation du colonialisme soit

accompli le plus vite possible de manière que tous les peuples puissent réaliser leur droit inaliénable à la liberté, à l'indépendance et à la souveraineté de leur pays, et que soit éliminée la menace à la paix, fruit du colonialisme et des guerres coloniales.

148. M. MIYAZAKI (Japon) [traduit de l'anglais]: L'an dernier, lorsque la question de l'abolition du colonialisme a été discutée à l'Assemblée, ma délégation a eu l'occasion d'exposer son point de vue. Il n'a pas changé: c'est de ce même point de vue que nous examinons la question dont l'Assemblée est saisie maintenant. Pour qu'on le constate, j'aimerais donc rappeler le point de vue de ma délégation.

149. En premier lieu, je préciserai que la délégation du Japon a toujours été en faveur de l'abolition du colonialisme. Le colonialisme est une notion dépassée qui n'a plus de place dans le monde d'aujourd'hui. Il n'y a pas de doute sur ce point. La question est de savoir comment mettre fin au colonialisme et c'est là que les opinions diffèrent. Une première thèse met en relief l'urgence et la nécessité d'agir immédiatement au-dessus de toute autre considération. Selon cette thèse, il n'y a plus de temps à perdre pour mettre fin au régime colonial. Une autre thèse préconise une progression pacifique de l'état de dépendance à l'état d'indépendance. Ma délégation estime que les arguments présentés par ces deux thèses sont d'une égale importance et qu'il faut les associer si l'on veut vraiment réussir la décolonisation. La première thèse trouve un reflet dans le paragraphe 3 de la Déclaration qui figure dans la résolution 1514 (XV):

"Le manque de préparation dans les domaines politique, économique ou social ou dans celui de l'enseignement ne doit jamais être pris comme prétexte pour retarder l'indépendance."

150. L'idée de ce paragraphe est que le manque de préparation ne doit jamais servir de prétexte si un peuple désire l'indépendance, quel que soit son état de préparation. Ce paragraphe ne conteste cependant pas l'intérêt de cette préparation; il est inutile de démontrer qu'une préparation suffisante est toujours recommandable pour une nouvelle nation.

M. Kurka (Tchécoslovaquie), vice-président, prend la présidence.

151. A cette même thèse se rattache l'idée de fixer une date limite et une seule pour tous les territoires encore non autonomes. Ma délégation a des objections contre cette idée d'une seule date limite applicable dans le monde entier, quelle que soit la situation qui varie forcément selon les territoires. La fixation d'une date limite unique est trop mécanique. Elle peut tout au plus exprimer une espérance ou rappeler que le problème est urgent. Les partisans de la date unique doutent parfois eux-mêmes de sa validité. On est tenté de craindre que la fixation d'une date unique et très rapprochée ne soit inspirée par une arrière-pensée, par exemple l'idée de plonger le territoire dans la confusion si la puissance administrante respecte cette date avant que les mesures nécessaires aient été prises, ou encore l'idée de préparer le chemin à la critique si la puissance administrante s'abstient de quitter le pays au jour fixé afin d'éviter le chaos. C'est donc une attitude malintentionnée, c'est l'attitude des agitateurs. Heureusement, à l'exception d'un petit groupe minoritaire, ce n'est pas l'attitude de la grande majorité des Etats. Même si les partisans de la date limite unique sont de bonne foi, une date applicable à tous les territoires unifor-

mément n'aurait guère de sens. Elle viendrait trop tôt pour certains territoires et trop tard pour d'autres.

152. Une date limite revêt pourtant une certaine signification lorsqu'elle s'applique à un territoire particulier et à lui seul. Là encore, on ne peut la fixer arbitrairement. Il est indispensable d'examiner sérieusement la situation du territoire et de décider d'après des critères objectifs.

153. Notre deuxième point de vue fondamental en matière de décolonisation est que la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance doit être appliquée dans le monde entier, quelle que soit la désignation officielle d'un territoire qui présente des attributs et caractères coloniaux. Un territoire sous tutelle ou un territoire non autonome ne prêtent pas à confusion, mais un territoire peut être qualifié de partie intégrante du pays métropolitain ou de membre d'une union ou fédération. Chacun de ces cas doit être retenu pour examen. Si l'on découvre qu'un territoire présente certains caractères coloniaux, il y a lieu de procéder à une étude de sa situation.

154. Notre troisième point de vue est que les règles de la décolonisation, telles qu'elles figurent dans la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance, doivent être appliquées avec souplesse. Vu la variété infinie des conditions et des situations qui règnent dans les territoires dépendants, vu les particularités des divers territoires, il faudra agir avec circonspection et étudier séparément chaque territoire pour lui appliquer les règles de la décolonisation.

155. Un autre élément auquel ma délégation attache de l'importance est la collaboration des puissances administrantes. Après tout, c'est la puissance administrante qui est le plus intéressée à la question et qui est directement responsable de l'indépendance d'un territoire.

156. Lorsque l'Assemblée a examiné le titre de la Déclaration de t nous discutons aujourd'hui l'application, on a émis l'avis que le mot "octroi" était humiliant. On a proposé que l'indépendance ne fût pas octroyée mais obtenue, que la puissance administrante fût consentante ou non. Cette idée n'a pas été acceptée. Elle a été désapprouvée parce qu'elle pouvait causer des heurts et des conflits inutiles. L'intérêt de la collaboration des puissances administrantes ne peut être négligé, car sans cette collaboration le transfert des pouvoirs ne peut être pacifique et le passage de l'état colonial à l'autonomie et l'indépendance sera hérissé de difficultés. Ma délégation attache une importance primordiale à une transition pacifique et harmonieuse. Non seulement les populations coloniales et les puissances administrantes intéressées, mais les Nations Unies elles-mêmes doivent s'épargner les conflits inutiles et regrettables qui accompagnent les actes de décolonisation tentés sans la collaboration de la puissance administrante intéressée.

157. Ma délégation ne veut pas dire par là que la libération des peuples coloniaux doit être laissée au bon plaisir des seules puissances administrantes. Comme je l'ai dit, l'urgence d'agir est aussi importante que l'harmonie de la transition. C'est pourquoi ma délégation estime que les puissances administrantes doivent être instamment et constamment priées de se préparer sans délai à accorder l'indépendance.

M. Slim (Tunisie) reprend la présidence.

158. L'indépendance n'est pas un fruit tombé qu'on ramasse, c'est une récolte, et une bonne récolte exige le labeur persévérant de ceux qui la désirent, les habitants des territoires intéressés, les puissances administrantes et les Nations Unies.

159. Contrairement aux temps passés où la libération ne pouvait se réaliser que par une guerre d'indépendance, nous avons aujourd'hui la Charte des Nations Unies et la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance, qui ont pour but de favoriser l'autonomie et l'indépendance des pays coloniaux dans l'ordre et la paix. C'est vraiment un progrès énorme dans l'évolution de la pensée humaine.

160. Aux Nations Unies, nous appuyons les peuples colonisés dont nous sommes des amis sincères. Nous estimons qu'il est de notre devoir d'inciter et d'encourager les puissances administrantes à se préparer sans délai à leur octroyer l'indépendance. De plus, nous estimons qu'il est de notre devoir de faire tout ce que nous pouvons pour aider les nouvelles nations indépendantes à se suffire à elles-mêmes le plus vite possible.

161. Il faut reconnaître que dans certains territoires la tendance de notre époque se reflète nettement et que les mesures de libération sont en bonne voie. Pour ces territoires, il est inutile de pousser à l'action. Il suffit d'attendre encore un peu pour voir prendre les mesures finales. Ne soyons donc pas trop exigeants envers la puissance qui administre de tels territoires. Ce sont les autres territoires qui doivent recevoir toute notre attention et qui ont besoin de nos encouragements. Je veux parler des territoires qui sont encore aujourd'hui sous le joug d'une domination coloniale à l'ancienne mode.

162. Pour favoriser le progrès de manière continue et organisée, un certain mécanisme est proposé. Cela nous amène à envisager l'aspect pratique de l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux.

163. Je me souviens qu'un représentant a fait observer que toutes les résolutions adoptées par l'Assemblée générale devaient être appliquées. Cela ne fait aucun doute et par suite il est bizarre d'adopter maintenant une nouvelle résolution sur l'application d'une résolution déjà adoptée. Si la question que nous examinons était seulement celle de l'application, cette observation serait justifiée. A mon avis, la question essentielle n'est pas de savoir comment appliquer la Déclaration, en appliquer les dispositions. Tout cela est déjà prévu dans les paragraphes de la Déclaration. Ces dispositions seront appliquées lorsque les puissances administrantes les accepteront et prendront des mesures en conséquence. La question la plus importante est donc de savoir comment encourager les puissances administrantes à prendre ces mesures, spécialement lorsqu'elles temporisent ou lorsque leur carence est évidente.

164. Le dispositif à cet effet devrait être créé sous l'égide des Nations Unies. Il surveillerait tous les territoires dépendants du monde entier. Il ne gênerait pas les puissances administrantes dans leur administration des territoires, mais chaque fois qu'il pourrait rendre un service constructif dans le processus de la décolonisation il porterait la question à la connaissance de l'Assemblée et il la ferait étudier et discuter pour décider des mesures à prendre. Ma délégation estime que ce dispositif pourrait fonctionner à l'avantage des peuples dépendants ainsi qu'à celui

des puissances administrantes et apporterait une contribution tangible à la cause de la décolonisation.

165. En 15 ans, depuis l'instauration du régime international de tutelle, cinq territoires sous tutelle sont devenus indépendants; trois autres sont sur le point de le devenir. C'est un succès remarquable. Ma délégation félicite tous les Etats Membres qui ont participé aux travaux du Conseil de tutelle pour leur féconde contribution à la libération de millions d'êtres qui vivaient sous domination étrangère. L'Assemblée mérite également des éloges pour le rôle important qu'elle a joué dans cette œuvre mémorable.

166. Puisque le nombre des territoires sous tutelle a diminué ainsi, les territoires non autonomes vont prendre plus d'importance. Si nous comptons seulement les territoires au sujet desquels les puissances administrantes communiquent des renseignements conformément à l'Article 73, e, de la Charte, ces territoires sont au nombre de 51. Il existe en outre plusieurs territoires que les résolutions de l'Assemblée qualifient de territoires non autonomes, mais que les puissances administrantes intéressées refusent de considérer comme tels.

167. La Charte prévoit des dispositions différentes pour les territoires sous tutelle et pour les territoires non autonomes. Je vais citer ici quelques exemples de ces différences. Premièrement, la communication de renseignements d'ordre politique et constitutionnel est obligatoire pour les territoires sous tutelle, mais facultative pour les territoires non autonomes. La décision annoncée à l'Assemblée [1017ème séance] par lord Home, secrétaire d'Etat aux affaires étrangères du Royaume-Uni, selon laquelle ce pays communiquera désormais des renseignements d'ordre politique et constitutionnel sur les territoires non autonomes qu'il administre, va au-delà des obligations énoncées au Chapitre XI de la Charte, comme lord Home lui-même l'a fait remarquer.

168. Deuxièmement, l'Assemblée générale est compétente pour recevoir des renseignements fournis par les pétitionnaires des territoires sous tutelle, alors qu'il n'existe aucune disposition de ce genre en ce qui concerne les territoires non autonomes.

169. Troisièmement, des missions de visite peuvent se rendre dans les territoires sous tutelle sous les auspices des Nations Unies, alors que rien de tel n'est prévu pour les territoires non autonomes.

170. Quatrièmement, l'autonomie ou l'indépendance est l'objectif visé pour les territoires sous tutelle, selon le Chapitre XII de la Charte. En ce qui concerne les territoires non autonomes, la Charte ne mentionne pas l'indépendance.

171. La Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance, au contraire, envisage l'indépendance pour tous les territoires dépendants. Elle ne mentionne l'autonomie simple dans aucun de ses paragraphes. Si un territoire désire devenir partie autonome d'un autre pays, ce territoire, après avoir obtenu l'indépendance, doit être libre d'entrer de son plein gré dans le pays de son choix.

172. A en juger d'après divers indices, il semble que les distinctions existant dans la Charte entre les territoires sous tutelle et les territoires non autonomes soient de plus en plus sous-estimées. On peut se demander si cette tendance va à l'encontre des dispositions de la Charte. Ma délégation n'adopte pas une interprétation trop rigide en ce qui concerne

la compétence de l'Assemblée générale. En fait, l'Assemblée a souvent adopté des résolutions sur des questions pour lesquelles la Charte ne lui attribue pas expressément compétence.

173. Point n'est besoin de dire que ces résolutions tendent en fin de compte à marquer le progrès de la coopération internationale et visent à favoriser la paix et la sécurité internationales et le bien-être de l'humanité.

174. L'application de ces résolutions n'est pas obligatoire comme si elle était imposée par les dispositions de la Charte. Ces résolutions n'en sont pas moins salutaires et par conséquent leur application est recommandée.

175. Dans le domaine des questions coloniales, nous voyons beaucoup de cas où, même si l'application des résolutions n'est pas obligatoire, il est bien préférable de leur donner effet.

176. Comme les dispositions de la Charte sont plus précises pour les territoires sous tutelle que pour les territoires non autonomes et comme le problème le plus important est maintenant celui de ces territoires non autonomes, on tend actuellement à faire en sorte que les dispositions primitivement prévues pour les territoires sous tutelle soient de plus en plus appliquées aux territoires non autonomes.

177. Le dispositif dont j'ai parlé plus haut pourra peut-être également jouer un rôle utile dans l'étude de cette question.

178. En conclusion, ma délégation espère que sera créé un dispositif du genre de celui que j'ai esquissé: ainsi l'application de la Charte et de la Déclaration sera constamment suivie, nul retard ne se produira

sans raison valable et l'évolution ordonnée et pacifique vers l'indépendance deviendra possible dans le plus bref délai pour tous les territoires dépendants.

179. L'intérêt essentiel de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance est qu'il est universellement reconnu, pour la première fois, que l'indépendance de tous les pays et peuples coloniaux est indispensable pour la solution de tous les problèmes relatifs au colonialisme.

180. Ma délégation est persuadée que grâce à l'application de la Déclaration la coopération internationale dans le domaine politique sera élargie et renforcée et qu'on se rapprochera par la suite de la paix et de la sécurité internationales.

181. L'an dernier, ma délégation a exprimé devant l'Assemblée [933ème séance] l'espoir que l'adoption de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance mettrait fin à une ère de haine et d'antagonisme et ouvrirait une ère nouvelle de coopération harmonieuse. Ma délégation croit fermement que cet espoir peut se réaliser grâce à l'application de la Déclaration.

182. Des projets de résolution ont été présentés sur le point 88 (La situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux) et le point 22 (Assistance à l'Afrique: a) Programme des Nations Unies pour l'indépendance); d'autres projets seront présentés bientôt. Ma délégation se réserve le droit d'exposer plus tard dans le débat son opinion sur tous ces projets de résolution ou sur certains d'entre eux, afin d'expliquer ses votes.

La séance est levée à 23 h 35.

Mercredi 15 novembre 1961,
à 15 heures

NEW YORK



Nations Unies

ASSEMBLÉE GÉNÉRALE

SEIZIÈME SESSION

Documents officiels

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Président: M. Mongi SLIM (Tunisie).

POINTS 88 ET 22 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

La situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux (suite)

Assistance à l'Afrique (suite):

g) Programme des Nations Unies pour l'indépendance

1. M. PLIMSOLL (Australie) [traduit de l'anglais]: Le présent débat fournit une utile occasion à l'Assemblée générale d'examiner les problèmes qui surgissent et les perspectives qui s'ouvrent dans un important secteur des relations internationales et humaines. Très naturellement et à juste titre, l'Assemblée générale a consacré dès le début une grande partie de son attention à l'extinction du colonialisme dans le monde entier. En participant aujourd'hui à ce débat, je me présente devant vous, très franchement et sans m'en excuser, comme le représentant d'une des puissances administrantes, d'un pays qui administre deux territoires sous tutelle, Nauru et la Nouvelle-Guinée, et un territoire non autonome, le Papua, qui est situé au sud du Territoire sous tutelle de la Nouvelle-Guinée.

2. L'Australie a toujours reconnu l'intérêt légitime et le rôle des Nations Unies en ce qui concerne les aspirations et les problèmes des peuples dépendants. Elle n'a jamais pensé qu'à ce point de vue les Nations Unies fussent une organisation dont l'existence nous était imposée contre notre volonté. Au contraire, l'Australie a joué un rôle important à la Conférence de San Francisco lorsqu'on y a fait figurer dans la Charte des Nations Unies des dispositions efficaces ayant trait aux territoires sous tutelle et aux territoires non autonomes. À San Francisco, ce sont surtout l'Australie, la Nouvelle-Zélande et les pays d'Amérique latine qui ont insisté pour que la communauté internationale, et plus spécialement l'Organisation, puissent agir efficacement en vue de mettre fin à l'ancien régime colonial. Hier soir [1054^{ème} séance], le représentant de la Colombie, dans les observations qu'il a présentées dans ce débat, a souligné certaines des considérations historiques et aussi des notions théoriques, sentimentales et juridiques

dont on a tenu compte lors de l'élaboration de la Charte des Nations Unies sur cet aspect particulier de la responsabilité internationale. En outre, l'Australie a toujours coopéré avec les Nations Unies lorsqu'elle s'est acquittée de ses obligations internationales et de ses responsabilités dans ce domaine.

3. La Charte des Nations Unies est le document de base. La Charte des Nations Unies est le document qui définit les responsabilités des puissances administrantes, les droits des populations des territoires non autonomes et des territoires sous tutelle, ainsi que les responsabilités de l'Organisation internationale. En conséquence, l'Australie a, par traité, une obligation envers la population de la Nouvelle-Guinée. En tant qu'Etat Membre de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, nous avons nos obligations internationales envers les autres Etats Membres, mais nous avons aussi des obligations très précises envers la population de la Nouvelle-Guinée. Ce sont des obligations que nous avons essayé de remplir, des obligations que nous entendons remplir. Conformément à ces obligations, acceptées de bonne grâce et que nous avons nous-mêmes contribué à faire inscrire dans la Charte, nous avons, par exemple, communiqué régulièrement depuis la naissance de l'Organisation des renseignements sur les divers aspects de notre administration, y compris, dès le début, des renseignements sur le progrès politique. Nous avons, par exemple, reçu régulièrement des missions de visite dans les territoires sous tutelle de la Nouvelle-Guinée et de Nauru, et ces missions de visite ont eu accès à tous les renseignements qu'elles désiraient, ont pu s'entretenir avec les habitants autochtones des territoires, se sont rendues dans la capitale de l'Australie afin d'avoir des entretiens non seulement avec les habitants comme elles l'avaient fait dans les territoires, mais aussi avec les ministres responsables de la politique du gouvernement et avec les fonctionnaires australiens chargés de l'exécution de cette politique.

4. Nous avons rendu compte régulièrement aux Nations Unies de la façon dont nous nous acquittions de nos obligations en vertu de la Charte. Nous avons notamment présenté des rapports annuels sur nos territoires, répondu à des questionnaires et à d'autres enquêtes sur des questions précises, comparu devant la Quatrième Commission et le Conseil de tutelle, répondu à des questions, exposé notre politique, pris en considération des recommandations et des déclarations faites par d'autres gouvernements. Nous avons conçu notre rôle dans ce domaine comme ayant deux faces. Nous avons essayé de rendre compte de notre action aux Nations Unies, et nous avons essayé, inversement, de tenir compte des opinions que les gouvernements et les organes des Nations Unies nous ont fait connaître. Le rôle de l'Assemblée générale dans ce domaine est difficile et délicat. Il consiste à favoriser le développement des colonies qui existent encore

tout en évitant, par exemple, des désordres du genre de ceux qui sont survenus au Congo.

5. Les Nations Unies doivent donc faire preuve de réalisme et coopérer avec les Autorités administrantes; quant aux puissances administrantes, elles doivent s'efforcer honnêtement de donner effet au principe de l'autodétermination. Il s'agit donc, comme je l'ai dit, d'une coopération dans les deux sens. La puissance administrante doit faire quelque chose et elle doit faire beaucoup. Les Nations Unies doivent faire quelque chose et on attend d'elles qu'elles le fassent.

6. L'Assemblée générale doit aussi reconnaître que le colonialisme varie dans ses effets et dans ses possibilités, selon la politique et l'attitude générale des différentes puissances coloniales, et aussi selon les différents territoires. Comme le président Senghor du Sénégal l'a dit lorsqu'il a pris la parole récemment devant l'Assemblée [1045ème séance], les puissances coloniales ne sont pas toutes dans la même situation. On ne peut aborder la question en partant de l'hypothèse que les puissances coloniales suivent toutes la même politique. Lorsque je dis cela, je ne pense pas seulement à la question générale de savoir si les puissances s'efforcent honnêtement, énergiquement, de régler les problèmes qui se posent dans leurs territoires, mais je pense aussi au fait que, en raison du caractère différent des divers territoires, différentes autorités administrantes ont à régler des problèmes de différentes sortes et des politiques différentes conviennent dans chaque cas particulier.

7. Nous avons entendu jusqu'ici dans le présent débat deux discours, l'un prononcé par le représentant de Ceylan qui a été l'un des premiers orateurs à prendre la parole sur la question [1048ème séance] et l'autre par le Premier Ministre de la Nigéria [1047ème séance], qui ont présenté un tableau très clair de la manière dont différents problèmes se posent dans différents territoires. Par exemple, la superficie des territoires peut varier dans de larges limites et ces territoires peuvent en conséquence présenter des problèmes très différents. L'Australie, par exemple, administre d'une part Nauru, île peuplée de 2 000 habitants, nombre inférieur à celui des personnes qui sont dans cette salle en ce moment, et elle administre également la Nouvelle-Guinée, qui compte 1 800 000 habitants. Nul ne peut dire que la façon dont ces territoires se développent, ou la situation politique qui prévaudra lorsque ces territoires deviendront indépendants ou autonomes ou parviendront à la solution qui leur conviendra et qu'ils choisiront lorsqu'ils exerceront leur droit à disposer d'eux-mêmes, devront être identiques dans les deux territoires. Le représentant de Ceylan a signalé qu'il existe de nombreux territoires, dans bien des parties du monde, qu'il est difficile, en raison de leur exiguité ou pour d'autres raisons, de concevoir comme des entités complètement indépendantes et séparées, au même titre que des territoires sensiblement plus grands.

8. Par conséquent, la dimension est un facteur à considérer; l'histoire en est un autre. Certaines colonies, avant de connaître leur régime actuel, étaient des pays ayant une longue histoire, une société complexe et hautement évoluée, peut-être un sens très fort de leur identité nationale, des pays qui peut-être avaient été des Etats nationaux florissants, importants et indépendants. D'autres peut-être n'avaient jamais existé en tant qu'Etats nationaux et n'avaient jamais eu le sentiment d'une conscience nationale.

La Nouvelle-Guinée est parmi ces derniers. J'y reviendrai dans quelques instants.

9. Notre collègue du Libéria, M. Dosumu Johnson, a fait hier soir [1054ème séance] quelques remarques très intéressantes sur l'état où se trouvaient certaines régions d'Afrique avant de passer sous une domination coloniale; il y a là un état de choses et une situation historique qui doivent assurément jouer un rôle dans l'évolution politique et le développement de ces régions d'Afrique. Un tel passé historique n'a pas existé partout dans le monde. Dans notre façon de considérer les questions coloniales, nous devons tenir compte du fait que l'histoire diffère d'un continent à l'autre et peut même différer d'une région à l'autre d'un même continent.

10. Un autre élément nous impose de considérer de façon différente les diverses colonies: c'est leur degré d'homogénéité. Certaines régions ont une population homogène; généralement, ce sont celles qui peuvent facilement constituer un Etat national unifié. D'autres comprennent des populations extrêmement variées, soit dans leur composition tribale ou raciale, soit dans l'expression de leur civilisation, et si, dans ce cas, il n'est nullement impossible d'arriver à la création d'un Etat national qui rassemble une grande variété, cela présente néanmoins des difficultés considérables, à moins qu'il n'existe un fonds commun d'histoire qui puisse aider les populations à se rapprocher rapidement.

11. Il y a naturellement aussi la question des ressources économiques et du niveau de développement économique et général du pays; ce sont des éléments dont il faut tenir compte lorsqu'on cherche à déterminer la politique et le rythme de développement à adopter dans un pays quel qu'il soit, et non seulement dans un pays colonial.

12. A mon avis, on peut conclure de tout cela que les Nations Unies ne peuvent pas fixer pour tous les territoires un plan ou une date uniques qui soient applicables et réalistes. C'est là justement une des remarques faites par le Ministre des affaires étrangères de la Nigéria dans sa déclaration devant l'Assemblée et elle témoigne, je pense, d'une conception très juste du problème. Nous sommes en présence de territoires divers, nous devons donc adopter des politiques diverses et les appliquer de façon différente, tout en respectant intégralement pour chacun d'eux les principes directeurs que sont l'autodétermination et la fidélité à la Charte.

13. Après ces considérations générales sur la politique coloniale, je parlerai maintenant du territoire australien de la Nouvelle-Guinée. Comme je l'ai dit, il s'agit là du territoire le plus important qu'administre l'Australie. Nous nous intéressons particulièrement à la Nouvelle-Guinée. Ce n'est pas pour nous un pays lointain vers lequel nous attirant des visées d'accroissement économique ou politique; au contraire, c'est une île voisine, littéralement voisine, de notre pays. L'amitié et la bonne volonté de la population de la Nouvelle-Guinée comptent beaucoup pour l'Australie; la prospérité et la stabilité de la Nouvelle-Guinée comptent beaucoup pour l'Australie. Si la population de la Nouvelle-Guinée devient indépendante — et elle évolue vers l'autodétermination, conformément à notre politique et à la politique des Nations Unies —, il importe que son indépendance soit fondée sur la prospérité et sur la stabilité; il importe pour elle — et pour nous tous, je pense — que son

indépendance soit fondée sur son amitié et sa bonne volonté envers tous ses voisins.

14. La Nouvelle-Guinée est un pays dont le développement, tant politique qu'économique, a présenté d'énormes difficultés, des difficultés matérielles. La Nouvelle-Guinée a été isolée du reste du monde pendant des siècles. Elle n'a pas été, comme les colonies de beaucoup d'autres parties du monde, en contact constant avec d'autres peuples, sous une forme ou sous une autre. Par exemple, les Arabes, qui ont pénétré si loin en Asie et dans le Pacifique, jusqu'en Indonésie et aux Philippines et plus au nord, et ont établi des contacts culturels et autres avec toute cette région, n'ont pas pénétré en Nouvelle-Guinée. Jusqu'à une époque très récente, la Nouvelle-Guinée n'a eu aucun contact avec le reste de l'humanité. Il ne s'y est même pas formé de vastes groupements de tribus, comme il s'en est formé chez certaines des populations dont M. Dosumu Johnson, du Libéria, nous parlait hier soir. La Nouvelle-Guinée comprenait un grand nombre de toutes petites tribus, qui n'avaient normalement de contacts entre elles que pour se faire la guerre.

15. Cette population de 1 800 000 habitants — chiffre le plus élevé qu'elle ait jamais compté, — parle 400 ou 500 dialectes; et il peut y avoir trois tribus vivant dans la même petite vallée et incapables de se comprendre. Les habitants n'ont jamais eu le sentiment d'une existence nationale; la notion même d'île leur était inconnue; ils ne savaient pas qu'ils appartenaient à une vaste population ayant plus ou moins le même fonds culturel. Une conscience nationale se fait jour peu à peu, grâce à l'Australie qui est en train de créer les conditions favorables; mais rien de tel n'existait auparavant. L'établissement d'une administration australienne en Nouvelle-Guinée n'a pas eu pour effet de faire disparaître un Etat indigène prospère ou un groupe de civilisations ou d'entités politiques sous la pression d'une autorité extérieure. C'est cette autorité extérieure qui a fait naître la notion même de nation et d'Etat, malgré cette absence de traditions, cette absence d'unité sociale et politique transcendant les liens familiaux ou tribaux.

16. J'ai déjà eu l'occasion, ici même, d'exposer certaines difficultés auxquelles se sont heurtés dans le passé ceux qui ont ouvert matériellement ce territoire à la civilisation. Nous pouvons aujourd'hui — et par "nous" je veux dire l'humanité dans son ensemble — faire des choses qui étaient impossibles il y a 30 ans, ou même 20 ans, ou même 10 ans: l'aviation, les bulldozers, tout le matériel lourd que nous avons tendance à considérer comme un élément naturel de nos programmes de développement, tout cela n'existait pas. En Nouvelle-Guinée, l'Australie a véritablement été la première dans le monde entier à utiliser la voie aérienne pour ouvrir de nouveaux territoires. Une ville entière a été construite sur les hauts plateaux en amenant par air le matériel lourd et l'équipement nécessaires à la construction d'habitations. Cela se passait il y a 30 ans, à une époque où les transports lourds par air étaient chose tout à fait nouvelle et posaient de très difficiles problèmes.

17. Ensuite, la victoire sur le paludisme a permis de mettre en valeur un territoire qui, dans le passé, était très impénétrable. Là encore l'Australie a joué un très grand rôle, l'Australie et les Australiens, en luttant contre le paludisme et en découvrant divers moyens qui ont permis de lutter efficacement contre cette maladie, soit grâce à des médicaments nouveaux,

soit par des techniques originales d'assèchement des marécages et des étangs. Tout cela fait partie d'un mouvement mondial. Nous devons reconnaître le fait que beaucoup de choses que nous sommes capables de faire aujourd'hui non pas seulement en Nouvelle-Guinée, mais dans le monde entier, n'auraient pas été possibles il y a seulement quelques années; le progrès des connaissances et des techniques, l'accumulation de biens d'équipement, ont permis de réaliser ce qui était jadis impossible.

18. Nous sommes convaincus que l'Australie progresse régulièrement en Nouvelle-Guinée. Nous sommes conscients des responsabilités que nous y avons assumées, des besoins et des aspirations du peuple, et aussi de l'opinion et des avis de la communauté internationale. Notre politique, nos intentions, les voies que nous suivons, ont été exposées régulièrement devant les divers organes des Nations Unies: au Conseil de tutelle, au Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes, à la Quatrième Commission et dans divers organes spéciaux. Nous avons soumis le bilan de nos activités et c'est pourquoi je n'y reviendrai pas dans le détail maintenant. Je ne vais pas vous donner lecture de chiffres concernant l'accroissement des dépenses dans divers secteurs de l'économie, en particulier pour la formation de personnel enseignant et pour le développement de tout ce qui contribuera à la création d'un Etat moderne, car nous avons déjà exposé tout cela devant d'autres organes. Par exemple, nous avons tout récemment fait progresser l'édification d'un système judiciaire dans lequel les autochtones trouvent leur place. Au cours des deux dernières années, nous avons fait de grands progrès dans le transfert des responsabilités politiques et dans l'accroissement du nombre et de la proportion des autochtones dans la fonction publique.

19. Nous savons fort bien qu'il y a encore beaucoup à faire, mais ce n'est pas faute de désirer le faire. C'est simplement parce que nous nous heurtons à une tâche immense en Nouvelle-Guinée, pays d'accès extrêmement difficile, pays où les déplacements d'un endroit à un autre étaient presque impossibles il y a quelques années et sont encore très difficiles.

20. Les dépenses du Gouvernement australien sous forme de subventions non remboursables au Territoire s'élèvent cette année à 38 millions de dollars; cela est tout à fait distinct des dépenses gouvernementales couvertes par les recettes propres du Territoire. C'est une somme importante, qui vient s'ajouter à toutes les recettes que le Territoire peut produire ou que l'Australie peut en tirer. Cela, je pense, témoignera du fait que nous ne considérons pas la Nouvelle-Guinée comme un territoire à exploiter. Comme je l'ai dit, nous la considérons essentiellement comme un pays qui est un de nos voisins et comme un pays dont la prospérité et le progrès contribueront à la paix, à l'existence de bonnes relations et à la sécurité dans la région du monde dont nous faisons partie.

21. Le choix d'un avenir politique ne peut se faire dans le vide. Il doit être lié au progrès économique, social et de l'enseignement. Comme il est dit dans la résolution [1514 (XV)] adoptée l'an dernier par l'Assemblée générale, le manque de préparation ne peut être pris comme prétexte pour retarder l'indépendance. Je crois cependant qu'il y a là quelque chose qui nous impose d'envisager la situation avec prudence et réalisme. A ce sujet aussi, le Ministre

des affaires étrangères de la Nigéria a fait sur la "préparation" quelques observations qui méritent une grande attention, car elles émanent d'un homme qui a consacré une grande partie de sa vie au progrès de l'indépendance chez les peuples d'Afrique et particulièrement dans son propre pays, et qui a une expérience pratique de la manière dont on peut se rapprocher du but. Les conséquences de jugements hâtifs et mal fondés peuvent être désastreuses pour le peuple intéressé et nous ne pouvons pas permettre que leur avenir soit déterminé par des attitudes qui correspondent surtout à des réactions sentimentales, des expédients politiques ou des analogies inexactes ou trompeuses.

22. J'ai exposé ce que nous avons fait dans le territoire australien de la Nouvelle-Guinée. Nous sommes fiers d'avoir choisi cette voie. Nous ne pouvons renoncer à nos responsabilités ou négliger d'en tenir compte et nous attendons des Nations Unies une critique constructive et de la compréhension; nous continuerons, comme nous l'avons toujours fait, à coopérer avec les Nations Unies dans l'exécution des tâches que nous impose la Charte.

23. J'ai parlé de la Nouvelle-Guinée australienne. Elle occupe la partie orientale de l'île. La Nouvelle-Guinée, je n'ai pas besoin de le rappeler, est une île immense. C'est la troisième île du monde après l'Australie et le Groenland. La partie australienne de l'île a 1 800 000 habitants. L'autre moitié, administrée par les Pays-Bas, en a environ 700 000.

24. Aussi la question de la Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale, dont le Gouvernement des Pays-Bas a saisi l'Assemblée générale à la présente session par le projet de résolution [A/L.354] qu'il a présenté au titre du point 88 de l'ordre du jour, est-elle une question qui présente un intérêt particulier pour le Gouvernement australien depuis plusieurs années. J'ai déjà signalé que l'île de la Nouvelle-Guinée est proche de l'Australie et que nous lui portons l'intérêt qu'éprouve tout pays pour un pays voisin auquel le rattachent de nombreux liens. La Nouvelle-Guinée néerlandaise et la Nouvelle-Guinée australienne sont contiguës. C'est pourquoi nous ne pouvons qu'être profondément intéressés par cette question dont le Gouvernement néerlandais a saisi l'Assemblée. En outre, cette question a mis aux prises deux bons amis de l'Australie, les Pays-Bas et l'Indonésie. Elle intéresse aussi tous les Etats Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies parce qu'elle met en cause des principes importants de la Charte et le rôle des Nations Unies pour ce qui est de favoriser le bien-être et le progrès des populations des territoires dépendants.

25. Nous avons toujours espéré, en Australie, que les principales parties intéressées trouveraient à ce problème une solution conforme aux principes de la Charte. Il n'a cependant pas été possible d'y parvenir jusqu'ici en raison de la divergence de fond qui sépare les Pays-Bas et l'Indonésie dans la conception initiale du problème. Il aurait été normal et parfaitement conforme aux dispositions et à l'esprit de la Charte qu'un différend relatif à la souveraineté sur un territoire fût porté devant la Cour internationale de Justice. En fait, les Pays-Bas ont toujours été disposés à l'accepter et cette attitude a confirmé la conviction de l'Australie que les Pays-Bas ont été et sont dans leur droit. Toutefois, comme nous le savons, l'Indonésie ne voulait pas voir saisir la Cour de ce différend, pour le motif qu'il ne s'agissait pas

d'une question juridique mais d'une question politique.

26. Jusqu'à présent, les efforts déployés pour trouver la base d'une solution politique ont échoué. Il est toujours très difficile de trouver la voie d'un règlement lorsqu'il s'agit d'un conflit au sujet d'un territoire sur lequel deux Etats revendiquent un droit de souveraineté. Ce n'est pas une question qui puisse être réglée par une simple recommandation de l'Assemblée ni par des négociations bilatérales, surtout si l'une des principales parties intéressées a rompu ses relations diplomatiques avec l'autre.

27. Ce qui a manqué jusqu'ici, c'est un accord sur les principes fondamentaux qui devaient s'appliquer. Si un règlement fondé sur des principes juridiques ne pouvait être accepté, il fallait alors essayer de traiter la question comme une question politique. Cette façon d'aborder le problème doit être conforme à la Charte et, par conséquent, elle impose de reconnaître le principe de la primauté des intérêts des habitants du territoire et de reconnaître que la population a seule le droit de déterminer elle-même son avenir et que tout règlement devra tenir pleinement compte de la nécessité d'assurer sa prospérité et le développement du territoire. De l'avis du Gouvernement australien, le Gouvernement néerlandais, dans les propositions qu'il a faites, a tiré de la Charte des Nations Unies des principes qui fournissent une excellente base de règlement pour le problème de la Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale. Ces propositions sont également entièrement conformes aux principes de la résolution 1514 (XV), qui ne modifie ni ne remplace la Charte, mais qui énonce des objectifs auxquels nous pouvons tous applaudir, même si certains d'entre nous ont des réserves à faire sur telle ou telle recommandation.

28. Les propositions des Pays-Bas, telles que nous les voyons, offrent un terrain de rencontre praticable entre les points de vue fortement divergents des Pays-Bas et de notre amie et voisine, l'Indonésie. Cela nous semble constituer un progrès important, que nous accueillons comme une proposition constructive, pleine de promesses et pacifique.

29. Voyons ce que les Pays-Bas proposent. D'abord, ils offrent de renoncer à leur souveraineté en faveur des habitants mêmes de la Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale. C'est là une offre généreuse de la part d'un Etat dont l'affirmation juridique de souveraineté n'a pas été soumise à une épreuve juridique.

30. Ensuite, les propositions des Pays-Bas mettent au premier plan le respect du principe d'autodétermination, tel que le reconnaît la Charte des Nations Unies. L'Australie n'a jamais cessé de déclarer qu'il était, à son avis, de la plus grande importance que les habitants autochtones du territoire, qui sont bien après tout la première principale partie intéressée, eussent la possibilité de décider eux-mêmes de leur avenir et de leur statut. A ce sujet, je puis rappeler les remarques faites ici le 7 novembre, jour de l'ouverture du présent débat, par le représentant de Ceylan. Il parlait de territoires sur lesquels des droits de souveraineté avaient été revendiqués par divers Etats Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies et il a cité la Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale. Il a dit:

"L'Assemblée générale devrait avoir la possibilité d'examiner la légitimité des revendications de certains Membres et, si besoin est, de les con-

fronter avec les vœux de la population." [1048ème séance, par. 124.]

Or, la proposition faite par les Pays-Bas serait conforme, croyons-nous, à cette déclaration d'ordre général du représentant de Ceylan.

31. La proposition des Pays-Bas tend à confronter les revendications nationales de souveraineté avec les vœux de la population. L'application du principe d'autodétermination, que l'Australie appuie fermement chaque fois qu'il est question du progrès des peuples coloniaux, donnerait l'occasion aux habitants de la Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale de choisir eux-mêmes leur avenir. Le choix leur serait offert entre l'indépendance, une certaine forme de libre association avec leurs voisins, et même l'intégration politique complète avec l'Indonésie, si tel était leur désir.

32. En outre, la proposition des Pays-Bas permettrait aux Nations Unies d'être directement associées à l'œuvre du développement du territoire de la Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale et à la préparation finale de la population à l'autodétermination. L'offre généreuse du Gouvernement néerlandais de continuer à fournir son aide financière aux habitants du territoire serait complétée par les ressources de la communauté mondiale. Pour sa part, le Gouvernement australien a des raisons de savoir ce que coûte le développement de la Nouvelle-Guinée, aussi bien en personnel qu'en argent. Les problèmes qui se posent pour préparer à l'autodétermination la population de ce territoire non développé, au terrain d'accès formidablement difficile et aux ressources matérielles limitées, sont au moins aussi redoutables que dans le cas du Congo. La création d'une autorité internationale de développement, si telle devait être la recommandation de la commission d'enquête, devrait nous permettre d'éviter les erreurs et les tragédies du Congo, et de fonder l'autodétermination sur les bases les plus sûres.

33. Je puis rappeler à ce sujet la résolution 1541 (XV) adoptée par l'Assemblée générale le 15 décembre 1960, c'est-à-dire le lendemain de l'adoption de la résolution [1514 (XV)] qui contient la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. Cette résolution a déjà été citée par le représentant de Ceylan; je me suis référé plusieurs fois à son discours, car ce fut un discours important prononcé le jour de l'ouverture du débat. Il mérite, je crois, d'être lu attentivement. Nous l'avons écouté avec attention et il a mis en lumière de nombreux et importants aspects de la question, que nous partageons ou non certaines de ses conclusions.

34. Cette résolution 1541 (XV) a été adoptée l'an dernier sur rapport de la Quatrième Commission et c'est une résolution très importante pour notre examen de nombreux problèmes liés au colonialisme. Dans cette résolution, certains principes importants relatifs à l'accession à l'autonomie ou l'indépendance sont soulignés. Au principe VI de l'annexe à cette résolution, il est stipulé:

"On peut dire qu'un territoire non autonome a atteint la pleine autonomie:

"a) Quand il est devenu Etat indépendant et souverain;

"b) Quand il s'est librement associé à un Etat indépendant; ou

"c) Quand il s'est intégré à un Etat indépendant."

35. Ces points procèdent d'une notion fondamentale commune qui est soigneusement énoncée dans l'annexe à cette résolution. En ce qui concerne la libre association à un Etat indépendant, il est dit:

"La libre association doit résulter d'un choix libre et volontaire des populations du territoire en question, exprimé selon des méthodes démocratiques et largement diffusées."

Cela se trouve au principe VII de l'annexe à la résolution 1541 (XV).

36. La même notion apparaît au principe IX où il est question de l'intégration à un Etat indépendant:

"L'intégration doit résulter du désir librement exprimé des populations du territoire, pleinement conscientes du changement de leur statut, la consultation se faisant selon des méthodes démocratiques et largement diffusées, impartialement appliquées et fondées sur le suffrage universel des adultes."

Il s'agit là du principe IX de la résolution adoptée l'an dernier par l'Assemblée générale, le lendemain de l'adoption de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux.

37. De l'avis de la délégation australienne, non seulement ces principes importants doivent être respectés dans les conditions spéciales qui sont celles de la Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale et de sa population, mais le respect de ces principes constitue le seul fondement véritable sur lequel l'avenir de cette population peut se construire de façon durable, pacifique et juste. Une solution qui ne tiendrait pas compte de la volonté populaire et qui ne serait pas en fait approuvée nettement et ouvertement par la population elle-même ne manquerait pas de perpétuer la discorde en Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale et au sujet de ce territoire, et engendrerait des troubles dans le territoire et peut-être aussi dans les régions voisines.

38. L'application de ces principes offrirait les possibilités de la libre association ou l'intégration du territoire à l'Indonésie, si telle était la décision des habitants autochtones de la Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale eux-mêmes. Il incomberait à l'organe des Nations Unies dont la création est proposée de veiller à ce que les habitants choisissent en l'absence de toute contrainte et soient complètement et honnêtement informés de toutes les solutions qui s'offrent à eux en vertu de l'autodétermination. Nous estimons que l'application de ces principes et de ces procédures tiendrait dûment compte des intérêts de l'Indonésie.

39. Je voudrais souligner que la proposition des Pays-Bas ne tend pas à déterminer le résultat final. Elle laisse la voie ouverte à diverses possibilités, mais énonce une réserve importante: l'autodétermination de bonne foi de la population doit être assurée.

40. Les propositions énoncées dans le projet de résolution des Pays-Bas [A/L.354] et dans le mémoire explicatif [A/4915] du 9 octobre 1961 qui l'accompagne ne visent pas tous les détails qui peuvent surgir dans toutes les éventualités. Ces propositions représentent, en un sens, le mandat qui serait confié à la commission des Nations Unies dont la création est proposée. Le projet de résolution et le mémoire explicatif exposent divers points qu'il y aurait lieu d'examiner et le projet de résolution nous demande, dans son dispositif, de décider seulement pour le moment la création d'une commission qui aurait pour mission d'étudier les possibilités d'appliquer la résolution 1541

(XV); la situation politique, économique, sociale et de l'enseignement dans le territoire, l'opinion de la population quant à la situation actuelle du territoire et son avenir, la question d'un plébiscite, et enfin la question d'une autorité internationale de développement.

41. Une étude de ces questions faite par une commission des Nations Unies serait, à mon sens, tout à fait conforme aux principes de la Charte et répondrait à la tendance qui s'est manifestée dans l'opinion et les débats de l'Assemblée au cours des dernières années.

42. Je devrais peut-être dire quelques mots de plus au sujet d'une question que j'ai abordée au début de mon intervention: celle de la position particulière de l'Australie à l'égard de la Nouvelle-Guinée néerlandaise. Comme je l'ai dit, l'Australie peut prétendre à juste titre que cette question et ces propositions l'intéressent particulièrement, étant donné la responsabilité spéciale qui lui incombe en ce qui concerne toute la partie orientale de l'île, étant donné aussi qu'elle veille à la prospérité présente et future des Papous habitant les trois territoires, et étant donné enfin l'importance capitale que représente pour elle la paix, la prospérité et la stabilité de cette région. Comme je l'ai déjà dit, la Nouvelle-Guinée n'est pas pour l'Australie un pays lointain.

43. Le Gouvernement australien administre, comme je l'ai dit, le territoire non autonome du Papua et le Territoire sous tutelle de la Nouvelle-Guinée orientale. Les habitants des trois territoires appartiennent en fait à une même population. Pour sa part, le Gouvernement australien, dans l'administration des deux territoires dont il a la charge, a des objectifs identiques pour l'un et pour l'autre, à savoir amener les habitants aussi rapidement que possible à l'autodétermination, c'est-à-dire arriver au moment où ces habitants détermineront eux-mêmes leur statut et leur avenir.

44. C'est pourquoi le Gouvernement australien partage entièrement les vues du Gouvernement néerlandais quant à l'importance que celui-ci attache au principe d'autodétermination et à son application en Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale d'une manière qui corresponde aux intérêts et aux vœux des habitants. Dans les circonstances particulières où se trouve la Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale, le Gouvernement australien accueille aussi avec faveur la proposition des Pays-Bas tendant à associer directement les Nations Unies au processus d'évolution vers l'autodétermination dans cette partie de l'île de la Nouvelle-Guinée, grâce à la création d'une autorité de développement.

45. Ce que je dis ici ne représente pas un changement d'attitude. Le 6 novembre 1957, le Gouvernement australien et le Gouvernement néerlandais ont défini publiquement les principes sur lesquels les deux gouvernements étaient tombés d'accord et qu'ils appliquaient pour les territoires de la Nouvelle-Guinée dont ils ont la charge. Ils ont notamment déclaré que le Territoire sous tutelle de la Nouvelle-Guinée, le territoire du Papua et la Nouvelle-Guinée néerlandaise étaient géographiquement et ethniquement liés, et que, en attendant que ces territoires accèdent à l'autodétermination, les deux gouvernements continueraient à poursuivre une politique ayant pour objectif le progrès politique, économique et social ainsi que le progrès de l'éducation des populations intéressées en tenant compte de leur affinité ethnique et géographique. Telle était la

déclaration faite par les deux gouvernements en novembre 1957.

46. Lorsque les habitants de la Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale et du Papua-Nouvelle-Guinée accèderont à l'autodétermination, il leur appartiendra de déterminer quelle forme de gouvernement ils choisiront dans chacun des trois territoires et quelles seront leurs relations entre eux et avec leurs voisins.

47. C'est pourquoi l'appui que l'Australie donne à la présente proposition des Pays-Bas est fondé sur l'application générale du principe d'autodétermination dans une région qui est si manifestement homogène du point de vue géographique et ethnique. L'Assemblée générale ne doit rien faire maintenant qui puisse limiter les options qui s'offrent aux habitants. Il est possible, et il doit à notre avis demeurer possible, que les habitants de toute l'île de la Nouvelle-Guinée décident un jour qu'ils doivent avoir un avenir commun. Aucun obstacle permanent ne doit être maintenant dressé, qui puisse ôter aux habitants de l'île la possibilité de faire un tel choix.

48. Je passe maintenant à une autre question qui a été soulevée au sujet de la Nouvelle-Guinée dans une des déclarations faites à l'Assemblée la semaine dernière. Je dirai que nous regrettons beaucoup qu'au cours de ce débat on ait pu parler d'un recours éventuel à la force dans certaines circonstances. Un tel langage est absolument incompatible avec les assurances qui nous ont été données à maintes reprises dans le passé par les plus hautes autorités nationales, selon lesquelles la force ne serait pas employée pour régler cette question. Il est d'autant plus regrettable que les propositions soumises par le Gouvernement néerlandais sont constructives et pacifiques, fondées sur les dispositions et les principes de la Charte, visent des objectifs définis dans les résolutions adoptées par l'Assemblée et ne vont pas plus loin que la création d'une commission chargée d'étudier la question et de faire rapport à l'Assemblée sans préjuger, pour l'instant, l'avenir du territoire.

49. Quelle que soit leur intention, des déclarations selon lesquelles la force sera ou pourra être employée sont, par leur nature, un défi à l'indépendance et à la compétence des Nations Unies. De telles déclarations ne peuvent, à mon avis, avoir aucune place légitime dans nos délibérations, nos recommandations ou nos décisions.

50. Tous les membres de l'Assemblée se sont engagés en outre à s'abstenir, dans leurs relations internationales, de recourir à la menace ou à l'emploi de la force de toute manière incompatible avec les buts des Nations Unies. Des déclarations dans lesquelles le recours à la force est envisagé selon l'hypothèse que je viens de rappeler constituent donc une violation du paragraphe 4 de l'Article 2 de la Charte.

51. La proposition des Pays-Bas, au contraire, ouvre la voie à une solution pacifique conforme aux principes des Nations Unies et aux procédures établies de l'Organisation.

52. Comme je l'ai déjà dit, l'Australie n'a pas l'intention de faire obstruction ou opposition à une union éventuelle de la Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale avec l'Indonésie, si tel devait être le vœu de la population autochtone. Nous ne voulons pas non plus préjuger l'issue des questions mises en jeu. La solution que nous appuyons est celle de la création d'une commission des Nations Unies chargée d'étudier certaines

possibilités, étant bien entendu que le droit d'auto-détermination des populations de la Nouvelle-Guinée elles-mêmes sera garanti et appliqué sans réserve et impartialement.

53. La délégation de l'Australie votera donc le projet de résolution des Pays-Bas.

54. Nous sommes saisis jusqu'à présent de deux autres projets de résolution. Le premier est présenté par l'Union soviétique [A/L.355]; ma délégation ne peut en aucune façon l'accepter. L'autre est le projet de résolution qui a été présenté par la Nigéria [A/L.357]; il concerne l'Afrique et il nous a été présenté et expliqué par le Ministre des affaires étrangères de la Nigéria. A certains égards, ce projet de résolution présente pour ma délégation certaines difficultés, surtout des difficultés de caractère juridique. Toutefois, il aborde la question dans un esprit qui nous paraît constructif et éclairé, et, compte tenu des explications qui nous ont été données par M. Wachuku et souhaitant également donner effet aux buts et aux intentions de la résolution 1514 (XV), l'Australie pourra voter le projet de résolution de la Nigéria.

55. En outre, je crois savoir qu'un nouveau projet de résolution pourrait être présenté par un certain nombre d'Etats africano-asiatiques. Je ne puis évidemment pas me prononcer à ce sujet avant d'en avoir vu le texte, mais l'Australie étudiera ce projet dans le même esprit que celui que nous apportons en général à l'examen de ces questions. Nous étudierons ce projet de résolution en tenant compte des intentions de ses promoteurs. Dans toute la mesure possible, nous appuierons tout ce qui va dans le sens des principes de la Charte et vise à traduire le plus rapidement possible dans la réalité le droit d'auto-détermination de tous les peuples du monde.

56. Au cours de la présente session de l'Assemblée générale, nous avons déjà accueilli ici un certain nombre de nouveaux Etats Membres. Le Sierra Leone, par exemple, est devenu un Etat membre du Commonwealth, il siège ici comme Etat indépendant, et, avant que l'Assemblée ne termine sa session, le Tanganyika sera également devenu l'un des nôtres. Si les programmes établis sont respectés, nous ne tarderons pas à compter encore d'autres nouveaux Etats Membres. Je suis convaincu que le processus d'émancipation des colonies et les progrès de la communauté mondiale prendront un rythme plus rapide que certains d'entre nous ne l'avaient peut-être jamais cru possible. Dans ce développement général du monde, dans cette émancipation progressive des peuples, les Nations Unies ont pu jouer un rôle de premier plan et elles continueront, j'en suis sûr, à jouer un rôle utile en stimulant, en conseillant, en aidant les puissances administrantes dans les territoires dont ces puissances ont encore la charge.

57. Sir Muhammad ZAFRULLA KHAN (Pakistan) [traduit de l'anglais]: J'ai demandé la parole pour présenter un projet de résolution [A/L.365 et Add.1] à titre de question importante et urgente. Ce projet de résolution porte sur une question humanitaire très importante et très urgente. Elle intéresse plusieurs milliers de prisonniers algériens en France, qui font la grève de la faim. Ce projet de résolution est présenté par 34 Etats Membres, parmi lesquels le Pakistan a l'honneur de figurer. Je présente ce projet de résolution à l'Assemblée.

58. M. BERARD (France): Le représentant du Pakistan a cru devoir soulever ici une question totale-

ment étrangère au point de l'ordre du jour actuellement en discussion. On demande, si je comprends bien, pour en traiter, l'interruption du présent débat. Une telle initiative, qui est manifestement entreprise à des fins de propagande, n'est justifiée ni par le règlement intérieur ni par la pratique de l'Assemblée générale.

59. Je me garderai d'aborder le fond de la question, encore qu'il me serait facile d'éclairer l'Assemblée en réfutant, comme l'a déjà fait d'ailleurs le Gouvernement français, certaines allégations tendancieuses qui ont pu être répandues à ce sujet. Je me bornerai à faire observer que la manœuvre à laquelle nous assistons n'est pas de nature à contribuer au règlement de la question. J'aimerais même souhaiter — et je me permets d'insister sur ces mots — j'aimerais souhaiter qu'elle n'aille pas exactement à l'encontre d'un heureux règlement de cette question particulière et de la question plus générale qui est en jeu.

60. La délégation française ne saurait, pour sa part, accepter la proposition qui vient d'être faite. Elle laisse à l'Assemblée générale l'entière responsabilité de la suite qui y sera donnée.

61. M. FEKINI (Libye): La situation extrêmement grave créée par les circonstances qui ont causé la détention de plus de 14 000 prisonniers politiques algériens est pour nous une sérieuse cause de désarroi et d'inquiétude.

62. Devant le refus des autorités françaises de faire droit à leurs aspirations légitimes, conformément aux principes humanitaires et à la pratique internationale en usage, les prisonniers politiques algériens ont eu recours au dernier moyen à leur portée en déclenchant une grève de la faim qui dure maintenant depuis plus de 15 jours. Après une aussi longue période d'abstinence, l'état de santé de ces patriotes algériens, hommes et femmes, est extrêmement alarmant. Leur vie est très sérieusement menacée. Dans ces conditions, nous pensons qu'il est du devoir impérieux des Nations Unies, au moment où nous discutons la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, d'entreprendre d'urgence une action afin de venir au secours des prisonniers algériens dont le cas se pose sur le plan strictement humanitaire.

63. De plus, cette situation a déjà donné lieu à de graves répercussions internationales qui se sont manifestées dans le monde entier et en France même, surtout après la publication du rapport parlementaire sur le traitement des prisonniers algériens; et une émotion particulière s'est emparée des peuples de la région à laquelle nous appartenons.

64. Les impératifs de la solidarité internationale, les principes humanitaires et les responsabilités des Membres de l'ONU qui se sont exprimés avec tant d'éloquence, au cours du présent débat sur le point 88 de l'ordre du jour, exigent qu'une action soit immédiatement entreprise en vue de faire appel au Gouvernement français pour qu'il fasse droit aux légitimes revendications des prisonniers algériens et reconnaisse leur statut de prisonniers politiques; cela leur permettrait d'arrêter cette grève de la faim qui menace gravement leur existence.

65. Chaque heure, chaque minute même qui s'écoule s'accompagne d'une sérieuse aggravation de l'état de santé de ces prisonniers et prisonnières politiques. Nous en appelons à la conscience humaine

des membres de l'Assemblée et à leur sens des responsabilités internationales, dans le cadre général de ce généreux débat, pour que le projet de résolution [A/L.365 et Add.1] présenté aujourd'hui soit adopté dans le plus bref délai. Nous espérons très sincèrement que l'appel qu'il contient et que la valeur humaine de cet appel seront appréciés par la France. Nous espérons aussi qu'en répondant favorablement le Gouvernement français contribuera à renforcer les chances de paix et de coopération.

66. M. BENHIMA (Maroc): Je retiens du projet de résolution [A/L.365 et Add.1] soumis à l'approbation de l'Assemblée générale le paragraphe du dispositif qui est libellé comme suit:

"L'Assemblée générale ...

"Fait appel au Gouvernement de la France, conformément à la pratique internationale en usage et aux principes humanitaires, pour qu'il fasse droit aux légitimes revendications des prisonniers algériens en reconnaissant leur statut de prisonniers politiques, afin de rendre possible, sans délai, l'arrêt de la grève de la faim."

Le caractère d'urgence qui a motivé l'introduction de ce projet de résolution devant l'Assemblée générale a été exposé à cette tribune par le représentant du Pakistan et celui de la Libye. Le représentant de la France nous a exposé les considérations pour lesquelles il souhaitait fermement que ce projet de résolution n'aille pas à l'encontre d'un règlement heureux. Je crois que la délégation marocaine se trouve dans une situation particulièrement favorable pour faire écho à cette phrase du représentant de la France puisque, en cet instant même, une délégation gouvernementale, comprenant deux ministres d'Etat et le Ministre de l'intérieur, a été envoyée par S. M. le Roi du Maroc auprès du général de Gaulle.

67. En effet, l'annonce de la situation de plusieurs milliers de détenus algériens — hommes, femmes et enfants, dont un nombre important a été arrêté récemment dans des conditions qui défient la loi même qui a condamné ces prisonniers — a provoqué au Maroc une forte émotion et des manifestations, dont quelques-unes ont été regrettables. Ces réactions montrent à quel point l'examen de cette question est devenu urgent du fait du traitement réservé aux détenus algériens, en dépit de l'usage international et du droit français lui-même.

68. J'ai lu à dessein le dernier paragraphe du projet de résolution pour bien montrer que les considérations qui nous poussent à l'examiner d'urgence sont des considérations d'ordre moral et humanitaire. Celles-ci fourniront peut-être à la France l'occasion de répondre à notre appel et de faire un geste positif dans une situation qui, depuis plusieurs semaines, non seulement alimente la propagande antifrançaise, mais porte atteinte une fois de plus à la réputation de la France dans ce domaine. Nous voudrions insister pour que la future décision relative à l'examen de cette question et l'adoption du projet de résolution soient considérées comme un appel supplémentaire de l'Assemblée générale s'ajoutant à celui de plusieurs chefs d'Etat et de plusieurs organismes internationaux, ainsi qu'aux démarches qui ont été faites par le Président du Pakistan auprès du général de Gaulle et à celles entreprises par S. M. le Roi du Maroc.

69. Nous avons la conviction que le sujet du présent débat n'est pas étranger à la question qui nous préoccupe. Ce que nous demandons à la France lui a été

demandé indirectement en 1960, dans une résolution qui concerne l'ensemble de ce problème. Nous n'invitons donc pas exceptionnellement l'Assemblée à déroger à son règlement, ni à prendre une décision sur un point qui ne serait pas de sa compétence. Le drame qui est actuellement vécu par des milliers de détenus algériens et l'émotion que cette situation a provoquée à travers le monde nous font le devoir de faire écho à cette émotion. L'Assemblée générale est certainement le meilleur organe, à la fois pour en être l'interprète et pour appuyer les démarches qui sont faites dans plusieurs capitales et par l'intermédiaire de plusieurs hautes personnalités auprès du chef de l'Etat français.

70. Le PRESIDENT: Je donne la parole au représentant du Pakistan pour une motion d'ordre.

71. Sir Muhammad ZAFRULLA KHAN (Pakistan) [traduit de l'anglais]: Je voudrais proposer que la discussion générale sur le point 88 de l'ordre du jour soit suspendue afin que le projet de résolution [A/L.365 et Add.1] que j'ai eu l'honneur de présenter soit examiné immédiatement.

72. Je tiens à dire quelques mots pour répondre aux objections soulevées par le représentant de la France contre le dépôt de ce projet de résolution. Le représentant de la France a dit d'abord que le projet de résolution était totalement étranger au point de l'ordre du jour en discussion. Or je prétends que ce projet de résolution se rapporte directement à ce point de l'ordre du jour et qu'il entre bien dans le cadre de la question.

73. Je prierai les membres de l'Assemblée de bien vouloir se reporter au troisième alinéa du préambule du projet de résolution, qui rappelle la résolution 1514 (XV) adoptée l'an dernier sur le colonialisme et qui la cite même:

"Il sera mis fin ... à toutes mesures de répression, de quelque sorte qu'elles soient, ... pour permettre à ces peuples [les peuples dépendants] d'exercer ... librement leur droit à l'indépendance complète ..."

74. Le représentant de la France a dit ensuite que nous avions déposé ce projet de résolution à des fins de propagande. J'ai profondément regretté d'entendre dire cela. Le projet de résolution est présenté par 34 Etats. La grave situation dont il traite s'est produite en France et n'a pas été créée par aucun des Etats signataires du projet. C'est la situation existante qui a incité les auteurs à soulever la question en tant que question urgente.

75. Le représentant de la France a dit encore que la présentation du projet de résolution risquait d'aller à l'encontre de la reprise des négociations entre la France et l'Algérie sur la question de l'indépendance de l'Algérie. Là aussi, j'ai profondément regretté ses paroles, car en fait les auteurs souhaitent sincèrement que cette grave situation, qui est de nature non seulement à retarder, mais à mettre en danger la reprise des négociations, prenne fin pour que la reprise des négociations soit facilitée et même hâtée.

76. Il est impossible à quiconque d'imaginer que tant que cette situation durera — et ce sont 14 000 êtres humains qui poursuivent une grève de la faim mettant leurs vies en danger — les négociations puissent reprendre dans pareille atmosphère ou que si, par impossible, les négociations devaient reprendre, elles puissent aboutir à un résultat fructueux. L'Assemblée

comprendra, j'en suis sûr, qu'il importe de résoudre cette situation dans un esprit purement humanitaire, les deux parties en cause s'abstenant d'y mettre aucune passion, de façon que l'objectif vers lequel nous avons tous les yeux fixés et que la France et l'Algérie désirent elles aussi atteindre, nous n'en doutons pas, puisse rapidement devenir une réalité.

77. Le **PRESIDENT**: Ainsi, la présidence et l'Assemblée générale sont saisies d'une motion précise de suspension du débat en cours afin que soit examiné d'urgence un projet de résolution [A/L.365 et Add.1]. La présidence voudrait connaître la réaction de l'Assemblée. Y a-t-il une objection à cette proposition?

78. La présidence voudrait prendre toutes précautions utiles de façon que l'Assemblée générale ne puisse considérer qu'elle a été prise au dépourvu. Je répète la proposition précise formulée par le délégué du Pakistan: elle demande la suspension du débat en cours pour que soit examiné d'urgence ce projet de résolution.

79. Constatant qu'il n'y a aucune demande d'intervention, et par conséquent aucune objection, j'en déduis que l'Assemblée générale décide, sans objection, de suspendre le débat en cours en vue d'examiner d'urgence le projet de résolution concernant les prisonniers algériens en France.

Il en est ainsi décidé.

80. Le **PRESIDENT**: Cela étant, je demande à l'Assemblée de concentrer sa discussion sur le projet de résolution [A/L.365 et Add.1], après quoi nous reviendrons au débat en cours.

81. M. **SHUKAIRY** (Arabie Saoudite) [traduit de l'anglais]: C'est grâce à une erreur dont je me réjouis que j'ai l'occasion de prendre la parole sur cette question: en effet, je n'avais pas vraiment demandé la parole pour maintenant.

82. Le projet de résolution [A/L.365 et Add.1] dont nous sommes saisis se recommande à l'approbation de l'Assemblée.

83. J'ai suivi avec beaucoup de respect et d'intérêt la déclaration de notre collègue, le représentant de la France. Je dois reconnaître que cette déclaration était très équilibrée, sauf en ce qui concerne l'argument selon lequel la présentation du projet de résolution était une manœuvre et était entreprise à des fins de propagande. Le représentant du Pakistan a répondu comme il convenait à cet argument.

84. Je désire donc saisir cette occasion pour donner à notre collègue le représentant de la France l'assurance que ce projet de résolution n'est pas motivé par des fins de propagande, car il s'agit de la vie de plusieurs milliers de prisonniers actuellement détenus en France. Je tiens à donner à notre collègue l'assurance que ce projet de résolution ne constitue en aucune façon une manœuvre. Nous ne parlerons pas de politique; nous ne parlerons pas de la question algérienne. Ce projet de résolution n'a d'aucune manière une incidence politique. La question algérienne sera examinée en temps voulu par la Première Commission. Mais, à notre humble avis, ce projet de résolution dissipera les nuages et ouvrira la voie, d'une part, à une discussion sereine à la Première Commission, et, d'autre part, à une rapide reprise des négociations. Le projet de résolution soumis à l'Assemblée est anodin. Il ne condamne ni n'offense personne, ni la France ni quiconque.

85. Je fais appel aux membres de l'Assemblée pour qu'ils considèrent ce projet de résolution dans l'esprit élevé qui l'a fait concevoir. Il ne contient rien qui prête à controverse. Le préambule évoque la grève de la faim entreprise par des milliers d'Algériens prisonniers en France. A mon humble avis, il y a là un fait indéniable. Les journaux de Paris en ont fait état, aussi bien que ceux de New York. Ce fait ne peut être controversé et l'Assemblée ne devrait éprouver aucune difficulté à adopter ce projet de résolution.

86. Quant aux deuxième et troisième considérants, j'ose affirmer qu'ils ne font que rappeler des résolutions antérieures adoptées par l'Assemblée générale. Il est tout à fait approprié de faire mention de ces résolutions pertinentes. Nul ne peut nier que nous les ayons adoptées à notre dernière session, et il est tout à fait approprié de faire figurer maintenant un rappel de cette idée dans le projet de résolution soumis en notre nom.

87. Le dispositif du projet tient en un seul paragraphe; on peut à peine parler de dispositif à son sujet; en fait, il s'agit à peine d'un projet de résolution. N'était la procédure régulièrement suivie par l'Assemblée, il serait à peine besoin de déposer un projet de résolution, car il s'agit simplement d'un appel rédigé dans des termes très honorables, un appel bien modeste, mais dans lequel nous demandons de la façon la plus noble, pour en citer les termes, qu'il soit fait "droit aux légitimes revendications des prisonniers algériens ... afin de rendre possible, sans délai, l'arrêt de la grève de la faim", laquelle — à Dieu ne plaise! — risque d'entraîner une catastrophe qui provoquerait une grave mésentente entre les nations et entre les deux parties principalement intéressées et empêcherait peut-être des négociations que j'espère voir reprendre très prochainement.

88. Je prie donc sincèrement les membres de l'Assemblée d'adopter ce projet de résolution, d'accepter les idées qui y sont exprimées et aussi cet appel — le seul que l'Assemblée puisse adresser dans ces circonstances — comme le minimum qu'exigent la justice et l'humanité. Ce projet de résolution n'a rien de politique. Il repose uniquement sur des considérations humanitaires et n'a pour but que de sauver la vie de milliers de prisonniers — et de nombreux représentants ici présents ont certainement été des prisonniers politiques à un moment ou à un autre et doivent donc comprendre et sentir ce que c'est que d'être prisonniers politiques et ce que c'est qu'une grève de la faim.

89. M. **GUIRMA** (Haute-Volta): C'est avec une profonde émotion que ma délégation intervient sur le projet de résolution qui nous est soumis [A/L.365 et Add.1]. En effet, il s'agit pour nous de rendre manifestes les mobiles qui nous ont poussés à apporter notre signature à ce projet de résolution.

90. L'usage international admet que l'on intervienne pour des prisonniers, que l'on intervienne pour des condamnés à mort, que l'on intervienne en général pour des personnes qui souffrent, quand même ces personnes seraient incriminées pour toutes sortes de faits que généralement l'on réprouve, et a fortiori quand ces personnes sont incriminées pour des faits que, par la suite, on a reconnus comme étant des actes légitimes.

91. Ainsi, pour nous, il ne s'agit pas ici de prendre position contre un pays quelconque. Il ne s'agit pas de manifester notre hostilité vis-à-vis d'aucun pays.

Il s'agit tout simplement de participer à un grand mouvement d'humanisme international en faveur de personnes et de personnalités, dont ceux-là même qui les retiennent dans la situation où elles se trouvent ont reconnu le caractère représentatif sur le plan politique.

92. Il s'agit pour nous de dire ici clairement notre position quant à la politique algérienne définie par le général de Gaulle. Ainsi, en votant en faveur de ce projet de résolution et en l'appuyant, nous n'entendons pas nous classer parmi les ennemis de la France comme les journaux pourront peut-être le dire demain. Nous entendons tout simplement nous classer parmi ceux qui supportent la politique libérale du général de Gaulle qui entend donner son indépendance à l'Algérie envers et contre la réaction de la droite française.

93. En effet, quelles pourraient être les conséquences de la grève de la faim entreprise par les détenus politiques algériens en France? Pense-t-on que si les leaders algériens, qui, depuis 15 jours, font la grève de la faim, se trouvaient devant une issue fatale, pense-t-on que cela arrangerait la solution du problème tel que nous l'entendons? Je pense qu'il est difficile de l'affirmer à cette tribune, comme il est difficile de l'affirmer partout ailleurs.

94. Il s'agit de reconnaître des faits, et les faits sont que les détenus algériens font la grève de la faim, que ces détenus algériens sont indispensables à la conclusion de la paix entre l'Algérie et la France et que dans la mesure où ces détenus algériens seront protégés dans leur vie comme dans leurs droits, le problème de la paix en Algérie sera bien plus facilement résolu. Ainsi notre position est plutôt une position de soutien inconditionnel de la politique libérale du général de Gaulle qui veut enfin en finir avec ce problème algérien, mais qui se heurte à une situation explosive intérieure qui l'empêche de le régler dans le sens de la justice.

95. Voilà pourquoi nous avons pris la décision — la Haute-Volta et un certain nombre d'amis — de signer ce projet de résolution et de l'appuyer.

96. M. SUBANDRIO (Indonésie) [traduit de l'anglais]: Je serai bref. L'attitude de l'Indonésie devant les luttes pour l'indépendance est claire. Nous sommes d'ailleurs au nombre des auteurs du projet de résolution [A/L.365 et Add.1]. Nous présentons et appuyons ce projet de résolution tendant à adresser un appel au président de Gaulle pour qu'il libère ces prisonniers de guerre.

97. L'Indonésie reconnaît le gouvernement provisoire de la République algérienne comme le gouvernement légitime de l'Algérie et nous reconnaissons qu'il mène actuellement une guerre coloniale contre la France. Nous reconnaissons aussi que les soldats qui luttent pour leur indépendance doivent être traités conformément aux principes internationaux d'humanité.

98. Pour ces raisons et sans préjuger en aucune manière l'issue des futures négociations entre la France et l'Algérie, nous recommandons à l'Assemblée de considérer cette question comme urgente. Pour nous, particulièrement après la déclaration claire et lucide du représentant de l'Australie qui a défendu le principe d'autodétermination, lequel a pris la valeur d'une loi pour l'Assemblée, et après la menace qui a été faite d'employer la force dans le

cas de l'Irian occidental, l'Assemblée doit recommander au président de Gaulle de ne pas faire usage de la contrainte ou de la menace de la force contre des prisonniers de guerre.

99. Le PRESIDENT: Je donne la parole au représentant du Pakistan pour une motion d'ordre.

100. Sir Muhammad Zafrulla KHAN (Pakistan) [traduit de l'anglais]: Je vous prie de m'excuser d'avoir demandé la parole pour la troisième fois, mais je suis certain que mes collègues reconnaîtront que mes interventions précédentes portaient sur des points de procédure. Même maintenant je n'abuserai pas du temps de l'Assemblée, étant donné l'urgence de la question que nous avons présentée.

101. Nous comprenons parfaitement les difficultés que présentent cette question, et d'autres questions, pour ce grand pays qu'est la France, dont nous admirons tous tellement la culture et la position qu'elle a prise en faveur de la cause de la liberté, de l'égalité et de la fraternité.

102. Le chef actuel de l'Etat français, à qui ce modeste appel est adressé, s'est élevé en maintes occasions jusqu'aux sommets les plus hauts, alors que les circonstances l'exigeaient, au service de son pays et de son peuple. Il incarne aujourd'hui, si je puis ainsi parler sans impertinence, ce qu'il y a de plus élevé et de plus digne dans l'esprit et la tradition de la France. Nous sommes convaincus que ce modeste appel adressé respectueusement à son gouvernement ne sera pas sans effet.

103. Je puis dire, au nom de tous les auteurs du projet de résolution [A/L.365 et Add.1], que tel est l'esprit dans lequel ce projet a été présenté à l'Assemblée, et nous espérons que l'Assemblée et le Gouvernement de la France le recevront dans le même esprit.

104. Je proposerai la clôture du débat sur ce projet de résolution et, si l'Assemblée y consent, je demanderai que nous passions immédiatement au vote.

105. Le PRESIDENT: L'Assemblée vient d'être saisie d'une motion d'ordre tendant à clore immédiatement le débat et à nous faire passer au vote.

106. Avant de soumettre le projet de résolution [A/L.365 et Add.1] au vote, conformément à l'article 77 du règlement intérieur, je voudrais attirer l'attention du représentant du Pakistan sur le fait qu'il n'y a plus qu'un seul orateur inscrit. Ne pouvons-nous permettre à ce dernier orateur d'intervenir, puis clore la discussion de cette question et passer au vote?

107. Avec l'assentiment du représentant du Pakistan, je donne la parole au représentant de l'Italie.

108. M. THEODOLI (Italie) [traduit de l'anglais]: Je remercie le Président de me donner la parole. Je suis en effet le dernier orateur inscrit, mais étant donné que certains des auteurs du projet de résolution m'ont demandé si je voulais bien prendre la parole après le vote pour expliquer mon vote, je suis prêt à le faire.

109. Le PRESIDENT: Conformément à la motion présentée par le représentant du Pakistan, nous considérons clos le débat sur le projet de résolution [A/L.365 et Add.1]. Nous allons donc soumettre ce projet au vote, mais auparavant je vais donner la parole aux deux orateurs qui ont demandé la parole pour expliquer leur vote avant que celui-ci n'ait lieu.

110. M. PLIMPTON (Etats-Unis d'Amérique) [traduit de l'anglais]: Les Etats-Unis appuient énergiquement toute mesure tendant à faciliter une solution pacifique de la question algérienne. Nous avons espéré et nous continuons d'espérer que des négociations permettront aux parties de se rapprocher d'un accord et d'un règlement durable.

111. Nous nous demandons cependant si ce projet de résolution [A/L.365 et Add.1] ne va pas gêner ces négociations et leur porter préjudice, et s'il ne fera pas reculer les perspectives d'un règlement négocié.

112. Nous tenons naturellement au plus haut point à ce que le traitement des prisonniers algériens soit conforme aux normes humanitaires les plus élevées. Les conditions de leur emprisonnement intéressent particulièrement les Etats-Unis, ainsi que nous l'avons clairement indiqué aux parties intéressées qui s'occupent déjà de chercher une solution à ce problème. Nous craignons cependant que la décision qu'il est maintenant demandé à l'Assemblée de prendre n'ait un effet défavorable sur la situation des prisonniers et sur le cours des négociations. En outre, nous éprouvons certains doutes quant à la procédure suivie à propos de ce projet de résolution et nous ne voudrions pas qu'une telle procédure soit considérée comme établissant un précédent.

113. Les Etats-Unis s'abstiendront sur le projet de résolution.

114. M. BINDZI (Cameroun): J'ai demandé la parole pour expliquer très brièvement le sens que ma délégation entend donner au vote qu'elle va émettre tout à l'heure. Nous ne sommes pas coauteur du projet de résolution [A/L.365 et Add.1]. Nous voterons cependant pour le texte qui nous est soumis. Ma délégation, comme d'autres, ne préjuge pas la question quant au fond, bien qu'elle ait une opinion précise qu'elle fera connaître en son temps. Nous entendons seulement donner à notre vote positif le sens d'un appel à la France. Selon les termes de la résolution, nous faisons remarquer que nous ne demandons même pas la libération des prisonniers, encore que nous la souhaitons ardemment. Nous demandons seulement que la France fasse ce qui est possible pour arrêter cette grève de la faim qui risque, si elle se perpétue, de lui faire avoir 14 000 cadavres sur les bras.

115. Le PRESIDENT: Nous allons procéder au vote sur le projet de résolution soumis par le représentant du Pakistan [A/L.365 et Add.1]. Le vote par appel nominal a été demandé.

Il est procédé au vote par appel nominal.

L'appel commence par l'Uruguay, dont le nom est tiré au sort par le Président.

Votent pour: Yémen, Yougoslavie, Afghanistan, Albanie, Autriche, Bolivie, Bulgarie, Birmanie, République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie, Cambodge, Cameroun, Ceylan, Tchad, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Léopoldville), Cuba, Chypre, Tchécoslovaquie, Dahomey, Ethiopie, Fédération de Malaisie, Finlande, Gabon, Ghana, Guinée, Hongrie, Islande, Inde, Indonésie, Iran, Irak, Jordanie, Laos, Liban, Libéria, Libye, Madagascar, Mali, Mongolie, Maroc, Népal, Nigéria, Norvège, Pakistan, Philippines, Pologne, Roumanie, Arabie Saoudite, Sénégal, Sierra Leone, Somalie, Soudan, Suède, Syrie, Thaïlande, Togo, Tunisie, Turquie, République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine, Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques, République arabe unie, Haute-Volta.

Votent contre: Néant.

S'abstiennent: Uruguay, Venezuela, Argentine, Australie, Belgique, Brésil, Canada, Chili, Chine, Colombie, Costa Rica, Danemark, République Dominicaine, Salvador, Grèce, Guatemala, Irlande, Israël, Italie, Japon, Luxembourg, Mexique, Pays-Bas, Nouvelle-Zélande, Panama, Féroé, Portugal, Afrique du Sud, Espagne, Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord, Etats-Unis d'Amérique.

Par 62 voix contre zéro, avec 31 abstentions, le projet de résolution est adopté.*

116. Le PRESIDENT: Je vais donner la parole à certains orateurs qui l'ont demandée pour expliquer leur vote.

117. M. BOLAND (Irlande) [traduit de l'anglais]: Prenant la parole devant l'Assemblée pour la première fois depuis l'élection de notre président aux hautes fonctions qu'il occupe avec tant de distinction, je voudrais lui exprimer mes sincères félicitations et lui dire quel plaisir et quel honneur c'est pour moi de prendre la parole à l'Assemblée sous sa présidence.

118. Ma délégation a cru devoir s'abstenir dans le vote sur la résolution que l'Assemblée vient d'adopter. Je tiens à préciser les raisons qui ont incité ma délégation à s'abstenir.

119. L'attitude de la délégation irlandaise sur la question du droit de l'Algérie à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance est bien connue. Si on pense à ce que fut notre propre histoire, on comprendra qu'aucune attitude différente de celle que nous avons toujours adoptée ici n'est possible pour nous. La délégation irlandaise ne peut manquer non plus d'éprouver de la sympathie pour les prisonniers algériens qui font la grève de la faim en France et de déplorer leur sort. Les mouvements de libération nationale exigent parfois beaucoup de courage et d'endurance chez leurs adhérents. Le sort des prisonniers algériens qui font actuellement la grève de la faim pour la défense des valeurs et de la cause en lesquelles ils croient trouve un écho particulièrement sensible en nos cœurs. Ce sort doit également émouvoir toutes les délégations à l'Assemblée dans leurs sentiments humanitaires.

120. En vérité, il est tragique qu'à un moment où, grâce à la haute sagesse politique du chef de l'Etat français et des dirigeants nationaux algériens, l'ouverture de négociations paraissait très proche, les grands espoirs que nous avions de voir la question algérienne réglée de manière pacifique soient menacés une fois de plus de s'évanouir du fait de la crise qui vient de surgir à propos des prisonniers algériens qui font la grève de la faim en France.

121. La délégation irlandaise apprécie parfaitement l'urgence de cette situation et comprend que c'est la raison pour laquelle cette résolution a été soumise à l'Assemblée avec un si bref délai, mais certaines délégations, notamment la mienne, n'ont pas eu la possibilité d'en informer leurs gouvernements et de recevoir des instructions avant que la résolution fût mise aux voix. Je tiens à préciser que c'est pour ce motif, parce que la délégation irlandaise n'a pas pu recevoir d'instructions de son gouvernement dans le

*La délégation du Niger a fait savoir par la suite au Secrétariat que, en tant que coauteur du projet de résolution, elle aurait voté en faveur de ce projet si elle avait été présente lors de la séance.

bref délai dont elle disposait, qu'elle s'est abstenue, et non parce qu'elle se serait refusée à appuyer les légitimes revendications nationales de l'Algérie, ou parce qu'elle n'aurait pas éprouvé un profond sentiment d'inquiétude, sinon d'angoisse, à l'égard de ces hommes qui mettent à présent à l'épreuve leur force morale en risquant le sacrifice suprême, comme on le fait toujours lorsqu'on manie cette arme qu'est la grève de la faim.

122. Sir Hugh FOOT (Royaume-Uni) [traduit de l'anglais]: Ma délégation s'est abstenue dans le vote sur la résolution. Les auteurs du projet de résolution étaient mus par des motifs humanitaires que nous ne contestons pas un seul instant. D'autre part, nous ne sommes pas prêts à exprimer nos vues sur la question pour le moment. C'est pour cette raison que nous ne nous sommes pas opposés au projet de résolution.

123. Je dois cependant préciser que ma délégation éprouve certaines appréhensions au sujet de cette proposition et qu'elle désapprouve nettement la méthode suivie pour nous la présenter. Notre première objection est que la question est certainement de la compétence de la France; si j'ai bien compris, cela n'est pas en cause et je crois même que les auteurs l'ont reconnu. En deuxième lieu, la résolution aura nécessairement des répercussions politiques. En troisième lieu, c'est seulement cet après-midi que nous avons eu connaissance de ce projet de résolution aux aspects politiques si importants et ma délégation estime fort regrettable que l'Assemblée générale eût à se prononcer par un vote immédiat et dans ces conditions sur une résolution de cette nature. Nous désirons que le procès verbal fasse mention des graves objections qu'une telle procédure soulève à nos yeux.

124. M. THEODOLI (Italie) [traduit de l'anglais]: Je voudrais simplement expliquer les raisons pour lesquelles ma délégation s'est abstenue dans le vote qui vient d'avoir lieu. Nous comprenons parfaitement, et nous apprécions, les motifs qui ont inspiré les auteurs du projet de résolution, parmi lesquels nous comptons tant de bons amis. Nous nous préoccuons vivement du sort des prisonniers politiques algériens. L'Italie a une longue tradition d'humanité et de justice, et personne, je l'espère, ne pensera que nous sommes indifférents à cette question. Cependant, nous avons éprouvé des doutes en ce qui concerne la procédure suivie dans le cas présent et nous avons également craint que la résolution ne soit mal interprétée par le Gouvernement français. De l'avis de ma délégation, c'est cela qu'il faut avoir présent à l'esprit. Nous sommes certains que le général de Gaulle ne sera pas insensible au sort de ces prisonniers politiques et trouvera un moyen de remédier à la situation, étant donné surtout que trois membres importants du Gouvernement marocain se trouvent en ce moment à Paris.

125. M. DEMETROPOULOS (Grèce): La délégation hellénique déplore sincèrement la situation qui s'est créée par suite de la grève de la faim des prisonniers politiques algériens en France et les événements qui l'ont précipitée. Nous estimons qu'aucune action ne devrait être entreprise qui puisse retarder ou compromettre les négociations qui, seules, peuvent amener une solution de la question algérienne. Nous voulons espérer que le Gouvernement français, dans son désir, que nous savons sincère, d'arriver le plus tôt possible à une solution équitable de la question algérienne, fera tout ce qui est en son pouvoir pour éliminer les causes

de cette grève. Nous sommes persuadés que les discours éloquents et modérés prononcés à l'appui de cette résolution ne peuvent pas rester sans écho en haut lieu, et nous avons pensé que nous servirions le mieux, sur le plan politique, le but humanitaire poursuivi par la résolution qui vient d'être adoptée, en nous abstenant pour éviter de rendre plus délicate encore une situation qui l'est déjà suffisamment.

126. M. NORIEGA (Colombie) [traduit de l'espagnol]: Indépendamment de certaines considérations qui pourraient revêtir une grande importance et qui ont trait à la procédure, à l'opportunité et au fond même de la résolution que l'Assemblée vient d'adopter, nous désirons expliquer que la Colombie a toujours été en faveur de conversations directes entre les parties intéressées pour la solution de la délicate question algérienne, s'efforçant d'éviter tout ce qui pourrait même revêtir l'apparence d'une certaine forme d'ingérence qui risquerait de troubler d'une manière ou d'une autre l'heureux aboutissement de ces négociations que nous désirons de tous nos vœux. C'est pour ce motif que nous nous sommes abstenus dans le vote.

127. M. COMAY (Israël) [traduit de l'anglais]: Ma délégation considère avec une profonde sympathie un appel adressé pour des raisons humanitaires en faveur de prisonniers quels qu'ils soient. Nous nous sommes abstenus cependant dans le cas présent, parce que l'appel est rédigé en des termes qui semblent devoir le rendre inacceptable pour le gouvernement intéressé. C'est pourquoi nous ne sommes pas convaincus qu'il aurait eu l'effet souhaité ou qu'il aurait favorisé ces négociations algériennes pour le succès desquelles nous formons des vœux si ardents.

128. M. SOSA RODRIGUEZ (Venezuela) [traduit de l'espagnol]: Je voudrais expliquer brièvement les raisons pour lesquelles la délégation du Venezuela a dû s'abstenir dans le vote qui vient d'avoir lieu sur le projet de résolution [A/L.365] que l'Assemblée vient d'adopter.

129. L'abstention du Venezuela ne modifie en rien sa position sur le fond de la question algérienne. La position du Venezuela est bien connue de l'Assemblée. Nous avons toujours appuyé le droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes et le droit du peuple algérien à son indépendance. Notre position n'a pas changé. Nous comprenons aussi les raisons humanitaires qui ont incité les auteurs à déposer leur projet de résolution. De l'avis de ma délégation, il ne s'agit pas seulement d'un projet de résolution dont nous pourrions dire qu'il s'inspire exclusivement de principes humanitaires. Ce projet renferme également des considérations d'ordre politique qui nous conduisent à en interpréter les termes pour savoir s'ils sont ou ne sont pas conformes aux dispositions de la Charte et, plus particulièrement, à l'Article 2, paragraphe 7.

130. Etant donné la hâte avec laquelle ce projet a été présenté, nous n'avons même pas eu le temps de l'étudier, ni encore moins d'en référer à notre gouvernement. C'est pourquoi ma délégation n'a pu faire autrement que de s'abstenir.

131. Le PRESIDENT: Je n'ai plus d'autres orateurs inscrits pour prendre la parole au sujet de la résolution qui vient d'être adoptée ou pour des explications de vote. Nous reprenons donc le débat général sur les deux points à l'ordre du jour — les points 88 et 22, 2 — qui a été suspendu.

132. M. MOD (Hongrie): Le sujet du débat présent est "La situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux". Cette déclaration [résolution 1514 (XV)] a été adoptée en 1960 et son importance historique est désormais manifeste. Un des traits caractéristiques de l'époque où nous vivons est la décomposition définitive des empires coloniaux, la liquidation finale du système colonial. Amorcée par la vie même, la question de la liquidation totale du système colonial a été mise à l'ordre du jour des Nations Unies à la suite de la discussion engagée sur l'initiative de l'Union soviétique^{1/} et après que la Déclaration eut été adoptée. L'adoption de la Déclaration a permis et fait obligation à l'ONU, en tant qu'Organisation, de prendre une part active à cette lutte.

133. Les événements de l'année qui s'est écoulée depuis l'adoption de la Déclaration et les polémiques sur son application permettent de tirer plusieurs conclusions claires et importantes.

134. Aujourd'hui, comme tant de fois dans l'histoire de la société humaine, la situation internationale est caractérisée, dans le fond, par la lutte entre deux forces. L'une représente le développement, le progrès, le nouveau, et l'autre l'invariabilité, la stagnation, le *statu quo*, toutefois non pas le *statu quo* de la liberté, mais celui de la servitude. L'adoption de la Déclaration par l'Assemblée générale a marqué une victoire du progrès. Jetons un coup d'œil sur les comptes rendus de la quinzième session pour savoir quels sont les Etats qui s'y sont opposés par tous les moyens et qui, quand il n'y avait rien d'autre à faire, se sont abstenus de voter. Nous trouvons qu'il s'agit des Etats-Unis, du Royaume-Uni, de la France, du Portugal, de l'Espagne, de la Belgique, de l'Afrique du Sud, de l'Australie, par exemple.

135. Je crois que, malgré les différentes jongleries philosophiques et pratiques, tout le monde voit clairement laquelle des grandes puissances représente le progrès et laquelle l'invariabilité; cependant je me permets quand-même, à l'intention des sceptiques, de citer l'ouvrage d'un expert américain en idéologie qui occupe à présent une fonction importante. Cet ouvrage, *The Necessity for choice*^{2/}, a en fait été écrit avant l'adoption de la Déclaration, mais l'alternative qui s'est posée aux Etats-Unis, lors de la discussion de la Déclaration, est de la même nature que les problèmes sur lesquels l'auteur, le professeur Henry A. Kissinger, formule ses thèses. En analysant la situation internationale, l'auteur écrit:

"... quand l'équilibre des puissances est si précaire, ce n'est pas un pur hasard si les lignes de séparation existantes sont si rigide ment maintenues. Car le *statu quo* a du moins l'avantage de la familiarité...^{3/}"

136. Puis, comme s'il voulait lever les doutes sur l'identité du représentant du *statu quo*, il poursuit:

"Une puissance qui représente le *statu quo*, a toujours des difficultés lorsqu'il s'agit de faire face aux problèmes d'une période révolutionnaire. Puisque tout ce qu'elle considère comme "normal" se rat-

tache à un ordre existant, elle reconnaît d'habitude trop tard qu'un autre Etat se propose de renverser le système international. C'est un problème en particulier si un Etat révolutionnaire formule chaque demande comme un objectif limité spécifique qui, en lui-même, semble peut-être tout à fait raisonnable^{4/}."

137. La Déclaration est vraiment "spécifique" pour ceux qui en ont pris l'initiative et qui l'ont appuyée à l'époque; elle l'est encore, maintenant qu'il s'agit de son application, elle est vraiment spécifique, dis-je, car elle s'élève contre le phénomène spécifique du colonialisme, et elle est vraiment "tout à fait raisonnable", car elle peut être réalisée sur la base du rapport donné des forces internationales. La vérité, en bref, est que les forces de l'impérialisme s'opposent par tous les moyens et font obstacle à l'application de la Déclaration, tandis que les pays socialistes et les forces nationales des nouveaux Etats indépendants font des efforts pour la mettre en œuvre.

M. Rossides (Chypre), vice-président, prend la présidence.

138. La Déclaration "proclame solennellement la nécessité de mettre rapidement et inconditionnellement fin au colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations". Toutefois, en 1962, après la présente session de l'Assemblée générale, 88 territoires, d'une superficie de 13 millions de kilomètres carrés, comprenant 71 millions d'habitants, seront encore sous la domination coloniale. La plupart d'entre eux se trouvent en Afrique, mais il y a des colonies en Asie, sur le continent américain, ainsi qu'en Océanie.

139. A quels pays sont ces colonies? Le Portugal est le principal accusé à la seizième session de l'Assemblée générale. Ses faits et gestes donnent du travail à la Quatrième Commission ainsi qu'à l'Assemblée générale elle-même. Le monde entier connaît bien les méthodes coloniales de massacres inhumains frisant le génocide que ce pays pratique en Angola, au mépris des dispositions de la Déclaration. Si l'Organisation des Nations Unies ne prend pas les mesures nécessaires en temps opportun, il peut arriver que les atrocités s'étendent au Mozambique et à la soi-disant Guinée portugaise.

140. Le nom de la Belgique est devenu notoire, en 1960, à la suite de son agression contre le peuple congolais. Dans le Territoire sous tutelle du Ruanda-Urundi, qui est limitrophe du Congo, elle excite les tribus et les nationalités les unes contre les autres pour réprimer le mouvement d'indépendance de la population.

141. Les Pays-Bas, après avoir perdu la majeure partie de leurs territoires coloniaux, suivent le principe *divide et impera* et ne veulent pas démordre de l'Irian occidental, partie intégrante de l'Indonésie qui a recouvré son indépendance nationale; et comme ils pressentent qu'ils ne pourront maintenir leur position, ils font maintenant appel aux Nations Unies. Ils offrent à l'ONU, comme un territoire sous tutelle, une partie — heureusement, une partie seulement — du territoire de l'Indonésie. Il est tout naturel que ma délégation ne prête pas son appui à cette proposition qui, à notre avis, n'est pas seulement inacceptable, mais représente en plus une tentative d'utiliser

^{1/} Voir Documents officiels de l'Assemblée générale, quinzième session, Annexes, point 87 de l'ordre du jour, document A/4501.

^{2/} Henry A. Kissinger, *The Necessity for Choice*, New York, Harper Brothers, édit., 1960.

^{3/} Ibid., p. 173.

^{4/} Ibid.

l'Organisation des Nations Unies pour les objectifs des colonisateurs. "

142. La France poursuit depuis de longues années sa guerre meurtrière contre le peuple algérien. Un triste aspect de cette guerre sans merci a été évoqué par la résolution que l'Assemblée vient d'adopter. Des centaines de milliers de patriotes algériens et de citoyens français ont sacrifié leurs vies à l'avidité coloniale de l'impérialisme français — en vain, du point de vue de la France, car, comme l'expérience de plusieurs anciennes colonies françaises le prouve, la France est vouée d'avance à l'échec en face de la volonté du peuple, en l'occurrence du peuple algérien. Malgré tout cela, le Président du Conseil français a formulé, en juin 1960, les principes de la politique coloniale française comme suit: "Nous voulons sauvegarder, en ce qui concerne notre pays, ses intérêts politiques, ses intérêts stratégiques, aussi son influence intellectuelle et ses possibilités économiques."

143. L'Afrique du Sud a également introduit le régime de l'esclavage médiéval, déjà établi sur son propre territoire, au Sud-Ouest africain, territoire autrefois mis sous mandat par la Société des Nations, et elle sabote la mise du territoire sous la tutelle des Nations Unies. Le Sud-Ouest africain fait également l'objet d'un point de l'ordre du jour.

144. Le Royaume-Uni, qui possède d'immenses territoires en Afrique et ailleurs, est toujours le plus grand empire colonial de notre époque. Ses méthodes ne diffèrent point de celles des autres colonisateurs. Pour ne mentionner que la situation qui règne dans un de ses territoires, à en croire la presse britannique, la militarisation de la Fédération de la Rhodesie et du Nyassaland s'accompagne d'une extension de la législation d'urgence qui, selon M. Tredgold, président de la Cour suprême de la Fédération, "outrage presque tous les droits fondamentaux de l'homme". Ce sont là ses propres paroles.

145. La question de l'Oman figure à l'ordre du jour de l'Assemblée, mais je ne peux m'empêcher de mentionner la cruelle guerre coloniale que les colonisateurs britanniques y livrent à un petit peuple. Là encore, leurs méthodes ne diffèrent nullement de celles des autres colonisateurs.

146. Et enfin, nous en arrivons au principal protecteur international du colonialisme, les Etats-Unis. Malgré toutes les manœuvres de diversion, les Etats-Unis n'ont pas réussi et ne réussiront pas à nier qu'ils sont, eux aussi, une puissance colonialiste. Porto Rico n'est qu'une de leurs colonies. Les Iles du Pacifique, qui sont importantes du point de vue stratégique, sont nominalement un Territoire sous tutelle administré par les Etats-Unis. A la vingt-septième session du Conseil de tutelle, en avril 1960, un pétitionnaire des Iles Marshall a dit: "Sous l'administration des Etats-Unis, notre niveau de vie n'a cessé de décliner ... Notre île a été transformée en terrain d'expériences atomiques."

147. Et l'orateur a poursuivi en ces termes:

"Il y a bien longtemps, nous nous protégeons nous-mêmes, sans l'aide d'aucune autre nation. Par la suite, les Espagnols sont venus nous protéger et nous sommes ainsi passés au statut de possession coloniale. Puis, les Allemands, à leur tour, vinrent nous protéger et l'emprise colonialiste, avec eux, ne fit que se renforcer. Les Japonais, à leur tour, nous ont protégés au nom de la Société des Nations.

Aujourd'hui, voilà que les Etats-Unis nous protègent. Nous sommes encore partie à un plan colonial^{5/}."

148. Par suite du développement de la technique et de la civilisation, la situation internationale actuelle est devenue telle que nous ne devons plus examiner chacune des puissances colonisatrices en elles-mêmes séparément. D'une part, les puissances de moindre importance, comme la Belgique, les Pays-Bas, le Portugal et même la France, ne pourraient pas, à elles seules, concentrer des forces matérielles et militaires suffisantes pour la lutte contre les peuples coloniaux; d'autre part, nous voyons qu'une nouvelle "Sainte-Alliance" s'est constituée en vue de la continuation de la colonisation. Le nom peut être différent selon le continent. Son objectif est cependant partout le même: oppression, militarisation, maintien du *statu quo* colonial à tout prix. Jetons un nouveau coup d'œil sur les faits.

149. Depuis que dure la guerre sanglante en Angola, le Portugal a reçu 300 millions de dollars sous forme d'aide militaire américaine. Les bombes au napalm jetées sur les patriotes angolais portent l'inscription "Made in USA".

150. La France a reçu des Etats-Unis près de 4 milliards 500 millions de dollars d'aide militaire en vue de sa lutte contre le peuple algérien. Il est de notoriété publique que des bombardiers B-26, de fabrication américaine, ont participé à l'attaque contre Bizerte. Pour compléter le tableau, il faut faire remarquer que la République fédérale d'Allemagne, qui joue un rôle de plus en plus proéminent dans l'OTAN, est aussi entrée en scène. Elle a donné aux colonisateurs français une aide d'environ 2 milliards de dollars aux fins de la guerre coloniale en Algérie.

151. La Belgique a reçu 1 milliard 200 millions de dollars d'aide militaire américaine, et ainsi de suite. Je pourrais énumérer les autres colonisateurs, depuis la Grande-Bretagne, en passant par l'Espagne et l'Afrique du Sud.

152. Dans l'antiquité, on disait: "Tous les chemins mènent à Rome." Aujourd'hui, on pourrait dire que les chemins de tous les colonisateurs mènent à Washington. Bien sûr, l'assistance américaine n'est pas désintéressée. Les grands monopoles américains font plusieurs milliards de dollars de profit dans ce "business" colonial.

153. La domination exercée par certaines puissances colonisatrices se fait surtout au moyen de l'OTAN. A ce propos, je ne veux mentionner que deux exemples.

154. L'utilisation de l'Afrique dans une guerre de fusées nucléaires tient une place importante dans les plans de l'OTAN. Un projet concret a été esquissé dans le livre intitulé War and Peace in the Space Age^{6/}, dont l'auteur est le général Gavin, un éminent théoricien militaire des Etats-Unis.

"L'Europe et l'Afrique, dit le général Gavin, font partie du même théâtre tactique. L'Afrique est, en fait, la clef de la défense européenne^{7/}."

^{5/} Cette déclaration a été faite à la 1061ème séance du Conseil de tutelle, dont les comptes rendus ne paraissent que sous forme analytique.

^{6/} James M. Gavin, War and Peace in the Space Age, New York, Harper and Brothers, édit., 1958.

^{7/} Ibid., p. 275.

Et l'auteur poursuit:

"Des engins lancés à partir du Kenya, du Moyen-Orient et de l'Europe méridionale peuvent faire autant pour la défense que des engins lancés du territoire du Royaume-Uni, mais ils sont beaucoup moins exposés à être détruits^{8/}."

155. Gavin considère l'Afrique comme le lieu le plus approprié pour le déploiement des réserves mobiles stratégiques de l'OTAN, composées d'unités blindées et d'unités à fusées. D'Afrique du Nord et de l'Ouest, celles-ci peuvent être transportées par air dans n'importe quelle région.

156. Les idées du général Gavin semblent avoir fortement impressionné certains milieux des Etats-Unis. Le nouveau président l'a nommé ambassadeur des Etats-Unis en France, et cette nomination — selon l'hebdomadaire français Carrefour — est en rapport avec l'intention des Etats-Unis d'empêcher l'Algérie d'échapper des mains de l'Ouest et d'empêcher les négociations avec le Gouvernement provisoire de la République algérienne d'exercer un effet décisivement affaiblissant sur l'OTAN.

157. Voici l'autre exemple. La colonie britannique du Kenya vient d'être intégrée dans la chaîne des bases aériennes stratégiques de l'OTAN en Afrique. C'est le résultat de la décision du Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni de disperser les stocks de bombes et d'obus nucléaires, le long de l'axe stratégique de l'Empire britannique, aux aérodromes de Chypre, d'Aden et d'Afrique orientale. "Les bombardiers à réaction, dit un article du Daily Express, tourneront entre l'Angleterre et les dépôts d'armes, de manière que les Russes ne seront jamais certains de l'endroit où se trouvent les bombardiers." Ce système a été mis à l'épreuve en mai 1961, quand plus de 200 bombardiers de la classe V sont partis des aérodromes de l'axe pour un simulacre d'attaque.

158. Les objectifs des colonisateurs n'ont pas changé. Même aujourd'hui, comme il y a 100 ans, ils veulent s'enrichir par l'exploitation des peuples d'Afrique, d'Asie et d'autres continents. Mais ils ont changé de méthodes, au cours des temps.

159. Il est tout à fait clair que des pays aussi petits que la Belgique ou le Portugal se seraient vus depuis longtemps obligés d'abandonner leurs colonies si, dans les domaines militaire et économique, l'OTAN et le Marché commun européen n'avaient pas créé les conditions qui leur permettent de poursuivre l'oppression coloniale.

160. Une des caractéristiques des méthodes actuelles de la colonisation est la colonisation dite collective. Grâce au Marché commun européen, les colonies françaises et belges, au lieu d'être dominées par un seul pays, ont été jetées en proie à la communauté des colonisateurs animés de la belle idée de l'exploitation collective. Les colonies britanniques subiront bientôt le même sort.

161. Les longues années de délibérations de la Quatrième Commission ont fourni suffisamment de précisions à ce sujet; je crois donc que je peux maintenant laisser de côté les exemples. Il suffit que je me réfère à deux cas flagrants: l'agression collective de l'OTAN contre le Congo et l'attitude des puissances de l'OTAN à l'égard de la question de la base militaire française de Bizerte, pendant la troisième

session extraordinaire de l'Assemblée générale. Pour justifier cette attitude, on a même créé aux Etats-Unis un appui idéologique.

162. Dans un recueil intitulé The Idea of Colonialism^{9/}, on trouve une constatation franche disant que "seul l'idéaliste le plus naïf peut croire qu'en ce moment de crise mondiale les pays métropolitains pourraient se permettre de se retirer" de leurs colonies.

163. Nous nous rappelons tous que le président de Gaulle a souligné la même considération idéologique lorsqu'il a refusé d'évacuer la base de Bizerte.

164. Une autre méthode des puissances colonisatrices, qu'on appelle à juste raison le néo-colonialisme, est l'octroi d'un simulacre d'indépendance à l'un ou l'autre des territoires coloniaux ou des territoires sous tutelle, alors qu'on paralyse le pays devenu indépendant au moyen d'accords économiques et militaires secrets.

165. On ne saurait suffisamment répéter que l'obtention de l'indépendance politique ne signifie pas encore l'indépendance économique, mais seulement le premier pas vers cette dernière. Or, les colonisateurs, en maintenant les positions économiques, tiennent en mains un certain pouvoir politique qu'ils utiliseront, tôt ou tard, pour déroger à l'indépendance octroyée par contrainte.

166. Plusieurs d'entre les nouveaux Etats indépendants sont toujours sous la dépendance économique de leurs anciennes métropoles, et plus d'un parmi eux a été obligé, avant d'obtenir l'indépendance, de conclure des accords militaires secrets. Nous savons tous que, dans le cas du Cameroun français et du Samoa-Occidental par exemple, la question des accords secrets a soulevé de longs débats, des années durant, à l'Assemblée générale.

167. Le néo-colonialisme est l'un des plus grands ennemis des nouveaux Etats indépendants. Mais en tant que symptôme, il n'est pas d'origine toute récente. Je sais qu'il se trouve dans cette salle des représentants qui n'aiment pas entendre le nom de Lénine, surtout parce qu'il a été l'ennemi le plus conséquent de l'impérialisme et du colonialisme; pourtant je ne puis m'empêcher de le citer. En 1920, il a formulé ce problème comme suit:

"Il faut que, devant les plus larges masses de travailleurs de tous les pays, et surtout des pays sous-développés, nous dénoncions et démasquions la tromperie que les puissances impérialistes commettent systématiquement afin de pouvoir, sous le prétexte de la création d'Etats politiquement indépendants, créer des Etats qui leur sont totalement subordonnés dans les domaines économique, financier et militaire."

168. A l'époque de la formation des empires coloniaux, les frontières entre les différentes colonies étaient toujours déterminées par le rapport des forces entre les colonisateurs. Les conditions ethnographiques et historiques étaient toujours négligées. Certains groupes ethniques ont été démembrés, d'autres unifiés de force.

169. Aujourd'hui, à l'époque de l'effondrement définitif des empires coloniaux, les colonisateurs s'ef-

^{8/} Ibid., p. 276.

^{9/} The Foreign Policy Research Institute, Université de Pennsylvanie, The Idea of Colonialism, New York, Frederick A. Praeger, éd., 1958, chap. 2: "Problems in Perspective", par Stefan T. Possony, p. 33.

forcent d'utiliser cette situation artificielle — la balkanisation de l'Afrique — pour semer la discorde parmi les nouveaux Etats indépendants d'Afrique et prolonger ainsi leur influence sur la base du principe divide et impera. Un exemple classique en est l'histoire du Cameroun où les colonisateurs britanniques et français unissaient leurs efforts pour contribuer à la balkanisation de l'Afrique.

170. On pourrait énumérer presque sans fin les exemples illustrant les moyens par lesquels les puissances coloniales s'efforcent de frustrer l'application des principes énoncés dans la résolution adoptée lors de la quinzième session de l'Assemblée générale, mais je ne veux pas employer notre temps à en citer trop.

171. Depuis que l'Assemblée générale, à la demande de l'Union soviétique, a soulevé la question de la liquidation définitive du système colonial, suffisamment de temps s'est écoulé pour nous permettre de voir clairement les véritables intentions des différents gouvernements en ce qui concerne l'un des problèmes les plus importants de notre temps. Suffisamment de temps a passé également pour nous permettre de tirer des différentes positions les conclusions les plus importantes.

172. Ma première conclusion est que, dans la question du colonialisme, il n'y a pas de neutralité. On peut se déclarer soit pour la liquidation, soit pour le maintien du système colonial, mais on doit prendre parti. Les actes des puissances coloniales et de leurs alliés — quand même ils les embelliraient de commentaires des plus pervers — prouvent qu'ils prennent position pour le maintien du système colonial. En s'abstenant, en 1960, lors du vote sur la Déclaration, ils ont donc, en fait, voté contre, et c'est en ce sens que la majorité de l'Assemblée a jugé leur abstention. Un an s'est écoulé depuis, et il est temps de lever le masque.

173. L'autre conclusion — que personne ne doit ignorer — ressort du fait que la liquidation totale et définitive du système colonial est désormais une question unique, qui ne peut être décomposée. Nous voyons, d'une part, que les méthodes et manœuvres des puissances coloniales sont fondées sur un objectif et une politique uniques. D'autre part, nous voyons que les buts stratégiques poursuivis par les colonialistes dépassent de très loin les frontières des colonies et territoires sous tutelle en question. Les puissances coloniales entendent utiliser les colonies africaines en tant que bases militaires contre l'Europe; en outre, elles terrorisent les populations indigènes au moyen des bases militaires. Les Iles du Pacifique ne font pas partie de l'Asie, et pourtant elles figurent comme bases dans les plans militaires contre l'Asie ou l'Europe.

174. La lutte pour la liquidation du système colonial n'est donc pas l'affaire d'un seul continent ou d'un seul groupement de pays et ne devient pas une question de la guerre froide, même si la question est soulevée par une des grandes puissances et même si cela ne convient pas à une autre grande puissance.

175. Non, le problème de la liquidation du système colonial n'est pas un problème de la guerre froide; mais il fait effectivement partie du problème "guerre ou paix". Il en fait partie, car nous devons être conscients du fait que, alors que nous discutons ici les questions de la liquidation du système colonial, de véritables guerres font rage un peu partout dans les colonies. Il en fait partie, car si nous mettons fin

au colonialisme, nous éliminons une des causes principales des guerres. Il en fait partie, car les bases étrangères situées sur les territoires coloniaux constituent un élément important de l'actuelle tension internationale.

176. Il découle du système social et des principes politiques des pays socialistes qu'ils sont anti-colonialistes, qu'ils sont de fermes alliés des nouveaux Etats indépendants. C'est à cause de cela que les colonialistes ont établi, en tant qu'arme à double tranchant, la base du Kenya, par exemple, dont j'ai fait mention. Un tranchant de cette arme servirait la perpétuation du colonialisme et l'autre, l'agression contre le système socialiste. Il s'ensuit donc, en bonne logique, que c'est précisément en vue de la prévention d'une "guerre chaude" — et puisqu'il n'y a pas de neutralité dans la question coloniale — qu'il faut que tous les gouvernements non seulement décident s'ils sont pour ou contre le colonialisme, mais tirent les conclusions nécessaires en ce qui concerne tous les problèmes s'y référant.

177. Je pense que ce n'est pas là une exigence d'une délégation ou d'une autre, dans une situation donnée, mais que c'est la logique même des événements. Au moment où ceux-ci se produisent, nous réagissons tous devant eux, sous forme de vote ou d'action, mais certains d'entre eux peuvent et doivent être encouragés, tout comme nous pouvons et devons prévenir consciemment les autres.

178. La troisième et dernière conclusion est la suivante: l'expérience acquise depuis l'établissement de l'ONU, mais particulièrement pendant ces dernières années, montre de plus en plus clairement que les adversaires de la liquidation du colonialisme sont les mêmes qui provoquent la tension internationale — ceux qui, dans l'ouvrage précité du professeur Kissinger, sont appelés "les puissances représentant le statu quo", ceux qui sont opposés au progrès et partisans de l'invariabilité sociale. Comme l'a dit le professeur: "Une puissance qui représente le statu quo a toujours des difficultés lorsqu'il s'agit de faire face aux problèmes d'une période révolutionnaire."

179. Or, que cela plaise à certains ou non, c'est un des traits caractéristiques de notre époque qu'elle est une période révolutionnaire. Et ce n'est pas là une question d'opinion, mais un enseignement objectif tiré des événements.

180. Le processus révolutionnaire qu'est, pour l'histoire de l'humanité, la désagrégation du système colonial ne peut être arrêté. Ceux qui veulent l'entraver rendent la solution peut-être plus difficile, plus compliquée et sans doute plus sanglante, mais ils ne peuvent pas arrêter ce processus. Le chef de la délégation hongroise à l'Assemblée générale, en sa quinzième session, János Kádár, a fait à juste raison la constatation suivante:

"Les bases du système colonial ont été tellement ébranlées que toute tentative en vue d'entraver le progrès de la libération, loin de l'arrêter, ne fera que l'accélérer." [883ème séance, par. 30.]

C'est justement pourquoi la solution ne peut et ne doit plus être renvoyée, sous aucun prétexte.

181. La Charte impose à l'ONU, en tant qu'organisation, le devoir d'encourager les processus de libération des peuples coloniaux. Si l'Organisation mondiale élabore les méthodes d'une solution pacifique, elle rendra par là un immense service non

seulement aux peuples vivant sous l'oppression coloniale, mais aux puissances colonialistes également.

182. L'importante déclaration adoptée au cours de la quinzième session de l'Assemblée générale au sujet de l'indépendance des peuples coloniaux a fait naître les espérances de millions de personnes opprimées. Il ne faut pas permettre qu'elles se sentent trompées sur le compte de l'ONU; il ne faut pas permettre que la Déclaration reste lettre morte. Les peuples coloniaux espèrent que la déclaration de principe sera suivie par des mesures appropriées; ils espèrent que nous répondrons sans ambages à la question: "Quand et comment l'ONU contribuera-t-elle à notre libération?"

183. La délégation hongroise appuie le projet de résolution présenté par l'Union soviétique [A/L.355] précisément parce qu'il donne à ces questions une réponse claire et concrète.

184. M. LIU Chieh (Chine) [traduit de l'anglais]: Il y a un an, l'Assemblée générale a adopté la résolution contenant la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux [1514 (XV)], qui avait été présentée par un nombre sans précédent de délégations africaines et asiatiques. Cette déclaration était le testament laissé par une session historique qui a vu l'admission simultanée de 17 Etats Membres qui venaient d'accéder à la pleine indépendance nationale. C'était la réaffirmation solennelle des grands principes inscrits dans la Charte des Nations Unies; c'était aussi l'apogée d'une série de résolutions de l'Assemblée ayant trait à l'égalité de droits des peuples et à leur droit à disposer d'eux-mêmes. Avant d'aborder la question de l'application de cette résolution, je crois utile d'examiner à nouveau le rôle des Nations Unies dans cette question, l'une des plus complexes et des plus explosives des temps modernes.

185. A San Francisco, les artisans de la Charte avaient été parmi les premiers à sentir le souffle du changement et ils n'ont pas consacré moins de trois chapitres de la Charte à la question des peuples dépendants. Ces chapitres traitent explicitement de l'aide à apporter à l'évolution progressive des populations vers l'autonomie ou l'indépendance. Pour la première fois, la prospérité des populations dépendantes était considérée comme une question d'intérêt international et les puissances administrantes ont accepté de plein gré l'obligation de favoriser dans toute la mesure possible le progrès social, économique, politique et le progrès de l'instruction des habitants. Le principe de la primauté des intérêts des habitants était établi de manière incontestée et le droit des populations à décider elles-mêmes de leur destin ne pouvait plus être mis en question.

186. Depuis lors, les objectifs fondamentaux de ces dispositions de la Charte ont été rigoureusement poursuivis par les Nations Unies, agissant par l'intermédiaire du Conseil de tutelle et du Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes, et ont été réaffirmés à maintes reprises dans des résolutions adoptées par l'Assemblée générale au cours de sessions successives. C'est ainsi que, grâce à l'élan donné par la Charte, le processus de décolonisation s'est accéléré. Dans ce processus, les vaillants efforts des peuples intéressés et la coopération des puissances administrantes ont joué un rôle essentiel, mais on ne peut nier ou méconnaître l'importance de l'action des Nations Unies qui ont donné l'encouragement et l'aide nécessaires. Il

en est résulté qu'en une brève période de 15 ans plus de 30 territoires autrefois non autonomes sont devenus des nations indépendantes et que plusieurs autres sont sur le point d'accéder à la souveraineté. Le nombre d'habitants des territoires non autonomes, qui était de 215 millions, n'est plus que de 50 millions environ. Si nous comprenions dans notre comparaison des régions d'Asie qui faisaient autrefois partie de l'Empire britannique, la différence serait encore plus frappante. Il est certain que dans aucun autre secteur de leurs multiples activités les Nations Unies ne peuvent se vanter d'avoir tant accompli et que rien ne peut leur être une cause de satisfaction plus profonde.

187. En tenant compte de ce que j'ai exposé, la résolution adoptée l'an dernier, si importante soit-elle, ne fait que réaffirmer les principes et l'idéal déjà énoncés dans la Charte. Cependant, la Déclaration n'en est pas moins extrêmement importante, parce qu'elle attire notre attention sur le dur combat qui nous attend encore jusqu'à ce que la libération de l'homme soit un fait accompli. Dans le dispositif de cette résolution, l'Assemblée proclame solennellement la nécessité de mettre rapidement et inconditionnellement fin au colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations. Puis l'Assemblée déclare que la sujétion des peuples à une subjugation, à une domination et à une exploitation étrangères constitue un déni des droits fondamentaux de l'homme, est contraire à la Charte des Nations Unies et compromet la cause de la paix et de la coopération mondiales.

188. De nombreux orateurs ont parlé ici du colonialisme comme s'il consistait uniquement en la domination exercée par des puissances occidentales sur leurs territoires d'outre-mer en Asie et en Afrique. On a fort peu parlé de l'expansion continentale de l'impérialisme soviétique, qui a eu pour effet d'annexer par la force, d'exploiter, d'asservir et parfois d'annihiler des populations non russes. M. Khrouchtchev, de l'Union soviétique, décrivait en ces termes le colonialisme de la Russie tsariste dans un discours prononcé à la quinzième session de l'Assemblée générale:

"Le gouvernement tsariste a appliqué dans les marches de la Russie une politique essentiellement coloniale qui ne différait guère de ce que l'on peut voir à l'heure actuelle dans les pays coloniaux. Ouzbeks, Nazakhs, Tadjiks et autres nationalités non russes étaient dédaigneusement catalogués comme "étrangers". Ils n'étaient pas considérés comme des hommes et étaient impitoyablement exploités. On fomentait parmi ces peuples la discorde, la haine et les guerres intestines, et l'Empire tsariste ne se maintenait que par la force des baïonnettes et par l'oppression." [869ème séance, par. 207.]

189. Je ne me propose pas de faire retomber les fautes des tsars sur la tête des dirigeants actuels du Kremlin, et je n'ai pas non plus l'intention de détourner votre attention de la situation d'aujourd'hui en vous citant des chapitres de l'histoire. Mais le fait significatif est que, loin de libérer ces populations du colonialisme tsariste, les dirigeants de l'Union soviétique ont resserré leur domination sur les populations non russes, notamment sur les Ukrainiens, les Géorgiens, les Azerbaïdjanais, les Arméniens, même après que ces peuples eurent proclamé leur indépendance à la suite de la révolution de 1917. Pen-

dant la deuxième guerre mondiale, le monde a été le témoin passif de l'annexion par la force des Etats baltes, de l'Estonie, de la Lettonie et de la Lituanie, ainsi que de certaines parties d'autres pays voisins telles que la Carélie finnoise, la Pologne orientale, la Karpato-Ruthénie tchécoslovaque, la Bessarabie roumaine, la Bucovine septentrionale et une partie de la Prusse-Orientale. L'URSS est sortie de la guerre ayant accru son territoire d'une superficie de 680 000 kilomètres carrés et sa population de 22 millions d'habitants. Plus récemment, le colonialisme soviétique a consisté à installer un certain nombre d'Etats satellites sous l'étiquette de "démocraties populaires". Il suffit de rappeler les événements de Hongrie en 1956 pour se convaincre que les prétendues "démocraties populaires" ne sont que des colonies soviétiques camouflées. La colonisation soviétique s'est maintenant étendue en Asie à la Mongolie extérieure, à la Corée du Nord et au Nord-Viet-nam, et elle cherche aujourd'hui de nouvelles pâtures en Afrique et en Amérique latine.

190. J'ai fait ce bref aperçu de l'impérialisme soviétique pour souligner un seul fait. Pendant que le colonialisme des puissances occidentales prend rapidement fin, il se trouve remplacé par une nouvelle forme de colonialisme d'une plus grande portée et d'une plus grande brutalité dans ses méthodes. Permettez-moi de citer l'opinion d'un homme d'Etat asiatique à l'appui de mes dires:

"Il y a cependant une autre forme de colonialisme qui n'apparaît peut-être pas aussi nettement à beaucoup d'entre nous et à laquelle certains ne seraient peut-être pas tentés d'appliquer le terme de colonialisme. Songez par exemple à ces Etats satellites sous domination communiste de l'Europe centrale et orientale, à la Hongrie, la Roumanie, la Bulgarie, l'Albanie, la Tchécoslovaquie, la Lettonie, la Lituanie, l'Estonie et la Pologne. Ces pays ne sont-ils pas des colonies au même titre que les territoires coloniaux d'Afrique et d'Asie? Si nous sommes unis dans notre opposition au colonialisme, n'avons-nous pas le devoir de déclarer ouvertement notre opposition au colonialisme soviétique au même titre qu'à l'impérialisme occidental?"

Ainsi parlait sir John Kotelawala, ancien premier ministre de Ceylan, à la Conférence de Bandoung en 1955. Nous avons entendu pendant ces dernières années, dans notre assemblée, de nombreuses allusions à l'esprit de Bandoung, mais je crois que ces paroles prononcées par un dirigeant d'un pays d'Asie il y a six ans rendent un son plus poignant encore aujourd'hui, devant l'urgence du problème colonial.

191. Il est permis de se demander pourquoi l'Union soviétique, tout en exigeant la libération immédiate des colonies occidentales, cherche en même temps à consolider son emprise sur les peuples captifs vivant dans l'orbite communiste. La réponse, nous la trouvons dans les enseignements de Lénine, qui écrivait ce qui suit:

"En tant que communistes, nous devons appuyer les mouvements bourgeois d'émancipation dans les pays coloniaux lorsqu'ils ont un véritable caractère révolutionnaire et lorsque les représentants de ces mouvements ne nous empêchent pas d'éduquer et d'organiser dans l'esprit révolutionnaire les paysans et les masses exploitées."

Cette ligne de conduite a été fidèlement suivie à la fois par Staline et par Khrouchtchev, parce qu'elle

correspond à la stratégie communiste, qui consiste à favoriser l'agitation et le chaos dans les régions névralgiques, afin de s'y infiltrer et d'y introduire la subversion pour finalement les conquérir.

192. Plusieurs représentants ont dit du haut de cette tribune que le débat actuel ne devait pas se transformer en une propagande de guerre froide. Je partage pleinement ces sentiments, mais je manquerais à la vérité en omettant de dire que la question du colonialisme a été utilisée par les impérialistes communistes comme une arme efficace de guerre froide. A ce sujet, je voudrais, avec votre permission, citer l'éminent Président de la Tunisie. Dans un discours récemment prononcé à Chatham House sur les "Perspectives africaines" le président Bourguiba s'exprimait ainsi:

"A l'époque actuelle, la guerre froide est axée sur la décolonisation et l'indépendance. Ainsi, dans la mesure où le colonialisme crée des rancœurs et des ressentiments, la guerre froide s'établit dans ces régions et le camp communiste s'érige en champion de la liberté et de l'indépendance des peuples coloniaux. De toute évidence, les communistes qui se sont érigés en champions de l'indépendance ne se présentent pas en tant que communistes, mais ils estiment que l'indépendance constitue l'étape préliminaire nécessaire afin d'amener les populations à rejoindre un ensemble communiste ou à subir l'influence des puissances communistes avant de devenir des satellites."

M. Slim (Tunisie) reprend la présidence.

193. Je me suis permis d'invoquer l'opinion d'un homme d'Etat africain à seule fin d'étayer mon affirmation selon laquelle, dans notre désir de ne pas introduire des questions de guerre froide dans ce débat, nous ne devons pas nous dissimuler que les communistes se servent des slogans de la libération coloniale non seulement pour intensifier la guerre froide, mais encore pour favoriser leur grand dessein de domination mondiale.

194. Je passe maintenant aux projets de résolution dont l'Assemblée est saisie et à cette occasion j'indiquerai brièvement la position de ma délégation. Sur la question de la Nouvelle-Guinée néerlandaise ou de l'Irian occidental, depuis que l'Organisation des Nations Unies l'examine, ma délégation affirme que le problème ne peut être tranché avant que les aspirations librement exprimées de la population ne soient connues. La proposition faite par le Gouvernement néerlandais semble conforme aux principes énoncés dans la Charte, en ce sens qu'elle donne la primauté aux intérêts des habitants et à la volonté de la population. Le Gouvernement néerlandais a annoncé qu'il se proposait de céder aux Nations Unies sa souveraineté sur le territoire. Ma délégation pense donc que les Nations Unies devraient assumer cette responsabilité internationale et s'assurer dès que possible des aspirations de la population. Ma délégation votera en faveur du projet de résolution des Pays-Bas [A/L.354].

195. L'autre projet de résolution [A/L.357] dont l'Assemblée est saisie a été proposé par la délégation de la Nigéria et tend à la fixation d'une date limite pour l'accession de tous les territoires africains à l'indépendance. D'une manière générale, il est difficile d'édicter une règle uniforme pour divers terri-

toires, surtout si l'on tient compte du rapport^{10/} du Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes, qui, après une étude approfondie faite l'an dernier sur les progrès réalisés dans les territoires non autonomes, a attiré l'attention de l'Assemblée sur la grande diversité des conditions dans ces territoires. Cependant, la date de 1970 a été proposée par le représentant d'un pays africain et semble acceptable pour les pays directement intéressés. Ma délégation est donc disposée à voter ce projet de résolution dans l'espoir que cette période de transition encouragera les efforts communs des habitants et des puissances administrantes pour hâter le progrès vers l'indépendance.

196. En terminant, je tiens à vous assurer que la Chine est hostile au colonialisme sous toutes ses formes, quelle qu'en soit l'origine, et sans distinction de race, de croyance ou de couleur. D'ailleurs, l'histoire de la République de Chine depuis un demi-siècle abonde en épisodes de luttes incessantes et de résistance contre la domination étrangère, notamment dans notre long conflit contre les forces du communisme international. A l'Organisation des Nations Unies, nous avons toujours appuyé les résolutions et les mesures favorables à la liberté. Ma délégation ne le cède à aucune autre dans son désir d'assurer l'application de la Déclaration historique de l'Assemblée générale, afin que le colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations disparaisse de la surface de la terre. Mais nous demandons instamment à l'Assemblée générale de reconnaître le danger que présente l'impérialisme soviétique, qui cherche à étendre ses tentacules dans toutes les régions où l'ancien colonialisme est en voie d'être extirpé. Nous sommes aussi fermement convaincus que l'application de la Déclaration ne sera complète que lorsque le droit d'autodétermination sera exercé non seulement par les peuples habitant des territoires actuellement non autonomes, mais encore par les millions de captifs habitant les territoires soumis au régime communiste, dont les aspirations à la liberté ne peuvent plus être méconnues par l'Assemblée si elle veut jouer son rôle de gardienne de la liberté.

197. M. SCHURMANN (Pays-Bas) [traduit de l'anglais]: Lorsque le Gouvernement néerlandais a décidé de présenter les propositions contenues dans notre projet de résolution [A/L.354], il l'a fait pour deux raisons. La première raison est qu'après avoir voté pour la résolution 1514 (XV) à la quinzième session de l'Assemblée nous avons estimé de notre devoir d'en respecter les dispositions à l'égard du seul territoire non autonome qui soit encore sous administration des Pays-Bas, celui de la Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale, et par conséquent de prendre des mesures immédiates en vue de transférer tous les pouvoirs à la population du territoire afin de faire en sorte qu'elle puisse exercer son droit à disposer d'elle-même en déterminant librement son statut politique futur; de même, nous avons estimé devoir reconnaître le rôle important qui incombe dans ce processus aux Nations Unies, comme le dit la résolution.

198. La deuxième raison était notre espoir qu'en nous conformant à ce qui était prévu par l'Assemblée générale nous contribuerions de notre mieux à assurer la transition pacifique de la Nouvelle-Guinée

occidentale de l'état de dépendance à l'autonomie complète, ce qui mettrait en même temps un terme à notre long différend avec l'Indonésie.

199. C'est pour cette deuxième raison que le Ministre des affaires étrangères des Pays-Bas, dans ses deux déclarations, la première au cours de la discussion générale [1016ème séance] et la seconde lors de la discussion du présent point de l'ordre du jour [1049ème séance], a évité soigneusement toute allusion au passé qui aurait pu être désagréable à l'Indonésie ou susciter une controverse avec elle; il a donc porté toute son attention sur l'avenir du territoire tel qu'il se présenterait lorsque aurait disparu la principale difficulté pour l'Indonésie, c'est-à-dire la présence des Pays-Bas en Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale.

200. Nous espérons que cette prudence et cette modération trouveraient un écho dans l'attitude de l'Indonésie, chez qui nous espérons rencontrer le même esprit de coopération. A notre grand regret, cependant, le Ministre des affaires étrangères d'Indonésie n'a pas voulu voir la main que nous tendions à lui-même et aussi aux Nations Unies, et, dans sa déclaration du 9 novembre [1050ème séance], au lieu de discuter nos propositions d'une façon raisonnable, il a exprimé des récriminations et même des menaces de violence.

201. Certes, le Ministre d'Indonésie a fait une fugitive allusion à la possibilité de trouver une formule permettant d'appliquer les principes de l'autodétermination et de l'autorité des Nations Unies, mais il a bien précisé que selon la formule à laquelle il songeait l'Indonésie devrait reprendre l'administration du territoire, puis, dans un avenir très éloigné, autoriserait les Papous à "confirmer" qu'ils désirent rester avec l'Indonésie. Est-il besoin de dire que le principe de cette formule n'est qu'une parodie du principe de la liberté de choix?

202. Dans sa déclaration, M. Subandrio a répété toutes ces vieilles accusations et ces expressions de rancœur que nous n'avons entendues que trop souvent, hélas, dans les assemblées des Nations Unies; il a ensuite affirmé la revendication de son pays, qui veut annexer la Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale sans plébiscite; enfin, il a terminé en proférant à plusieurs reprises des menaces d'action militaire dans un proche avenir, à moins que les Pays-Bas n'acceptent de transférer immédiatement la Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale et sa population à l'Indonésie.

203. Bien que les Pays-Bas aient contre l'Indonésie des griefs véritables dont la liste est aussi longue que celle des griefs factices de l'Indonésie contre nous, je m'abstiendrai de les évoquer parce que nous ne voulons pas qu'un débat calme et raisonnable sur la décolonisation de la Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale se transforme en une querelle sur le passé, qui serait ici hors de propos. Je ne veux pas non plus reprendre le Ministre des affaires étrangères d'Indonésie sur ce que nous ne pouvons considérer que comme des menaces déplacées, car tous les Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies se sont engagés, en signant la Charte, à s'abstenir de recourir à la menace.

204. Le but de mon intervention est simplement d'exprimer notre avis, *sine ira et studio*, sur les arguments avancés par l'Indonésie à l'appui de son assertion selon laquelle la Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale ne serait pas actuellement un territoire non autonome sous administration néerlandaise, mais ferait partie du territoire de la République d'Indo-

^{10/} Documents officiels de l'Assemblée générale, quinzième session, Supplément No 15.

nésie, et nous ne serions donc pas fondés à faire les propositions que nous avons faites.

205. Ces arguments sont les suivants:

1) Lorsque M. Sukarno et M. Hatta ont proclamé l'indépendance de l'Indonésie, le 17 août 1945, ils n'ont pas seulement agi au nom de tous les Indonésiens, mais également au nom des Papous de la Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale, exerçant ainsi le droit d'autodétermination des Papous, pour le compte des Papous;

2) L'Indonésie, étant l'Etat successeur des Pays-Bas, doit comprendre tous les territoires qui faisaient autrefois partie des anciennes Indes orientales néerlandaises;

3) Aux termes de la Charte de transfert de souveraineté en date du 2 novembre 1949^{11/}, la souveraineté sur la Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale a été transférée par les Pays-Bas à la République des Etats-Unis d'Indonésie.

Examinons donc calmement ces affirmations.

206. Pour ce qui est des conditions dans lesquelles l'indépendance a été proclamée le 17 août 1945 et des intentions des deux signataires, j'ai la bonne fortune d'avoir à ma disposition un document dont la délégation indonésienne ne peut guère contester l'autorité: il s'agit d'un livre écrit par le professeur Muhammad Yamin, éminent historien et homme d'Etat, membre du gouvernement et membre éminent de la délégation indonésienne. Ce livre — je l'ai sous la main; c'est le premier de deux volumes — est intitulé *Naskah persiapan undang-undang dasar 1945*, ce qui veut dire "Travaux préparatoires du projet de constitution de 1945".

207. Dans cet ouvrage fort intéressant, le professeur Yamin rapporte textuellement les discussions qui ont eu lieu entre les dirigeants du mouvement de l'indépendance indonésienne immédiatement avant la proclamation de l'indépendance. J'aimerais vous donner lecture de certaines déclarations qui ont été faites alors, en traduction bien entendu.

208. A la page 203 de la première partie de son livre, publié en 1959, le professeur Yamin reproduit une déclaration faite par M. Hatta le 11 juillet 1945, quelques jours seulement avant la proclamation de l'indépendance, concernant l'étendue de la future Indonésie. La voici:

"Les frontières de l'Indonésie, à mon avis — déclare M. Hatta —, doivent reposer sur nos revendications antérieures. Ces revendications ne dépassaient pas l'Indonésie ou les anciennes Indes néerlandaises et, en certaines occasions, lors de réunions indonésiennes auxquelles j'ai assisté, j'ai même exprimé le désir de réduire ce territoire. Le territoire de la Papouasie, je préfère le laisser à d'autres. Mais si le Gouvernement japonais" — car l'Indonésie était occupée à l'époque par les Japonais — "voulait abandonner au bénéfice de l'Indonésie la Papouasie qui était autrefois sous domination néerlandaise, je ne m'y opposerais pas, mais je ne le demanderais pas, et si le territoire de la Papouasie pouvait être échangé contre le Bornéo du Nord je ne m'y opposerais pas non plus, et au contraire je m'en réjouirais."

Et M. Hatta ajoutait:

"Personnellement, je déclare volontiers que je ne me soucie nullement de la Papouasie, dont l'avenir appartient à la population elle-même de ce territoire. Je reconnais — dit M. Hatta — que la population de la Papouasie a le droit, elle aussi, de devenir une nation libre."

209. A la page 212, le professeur Yamin indique comment M. Hatta résumait lui-même ses vues et il cite encore ce dernier:

"Ma position est: les Indes néerlandaises sans la Papouasie, mais je ne m'opposerai pas à ce que la population de la Malaisie s'associe à l'Indonésie si elle en exprime le désir."

M. Hatta avait dit auparavant — et on trouvera cette déclaration aux pages 201 et 202 de l'ouvrage en question:

"Ce n'est qu'au sujet de la Papouasie que j'ai entendu hier des déclarations assez troublantes, car elles risquent de créer à l'étranger l'impression que nous allons présenter des revendications qui pourraient paraître impérialistes. Hier, certains ont avancé la thèse selon laquelle on devrait demander à la Malaisie et à la Papouasie de s'associer à la partie indonésienne pour des raisons stratégiques. Je ne suis pas un stratège, mais si je retiens ce que j'ai lu à propos de politique internationale, je crois savoir que la stratégie n'est pas un facteur à considérer en lui-même, mais qu'elle est fonction de la situation politique générale dans le monde. C'est ainsi que Chamberlain déclarait que les frontières de l'Angleterre n'étaient pas sur la Manche, mais sur le Rhin. Si nous suivions cette idée, nous ne nous contenterions pas de la Papouasie seulement, mais nous devrions revendiquer aussi les îles Salomon et ainsi de suite, jusqu'à tout l'océan Pacifique. Mais serions-nous capables de conserver un territoire aussi étendu. Aurions-nous la force d'administrer un aussi grand territoire?"

Telles étaient les paroles que M. Hatta prononçait quelques jours avant la proclamation de l'indépendance.

210. Et que disait M. Sukarno sur cette question? Ses vues sont citées aux pages 204 à 207 du livre du professeur Yamin. Je cite maintenant M. Sukarno:

"Je n'ai jamais pensé que l'Indonésie ne devrait se composer que des anciennes Indes néerlandaises. Je n'ai jamais prétendu que l'Indonésie fût simplement le territoire administré par les Hollandais. Il fut même un temps où je nourrissais l'idée d'une Pan-Indonésie qui ne comprendrait pas seulement la Malaisie et la Papouasie, mais encore les Philippines. Cependant, les Philippines sont déjà une nation libre et nous devons respecter leur souveraineté."

M. Sukarno ajoutait:

"Le Japon nous a demandé quelle devrait être la superficie du territoire de l'Indonésie. Je pense pour ma part, comme M. Yamin, que nous ne sommes pas obligés, ni pour des raisons morales ni pour des raisons internationales, de devenir les héritiers des Hollandais."

211. Voici maintenant un très important passage des déclarations que faisait alors M. Sukarno:

^{11/} Voir Nations Unies, *Recueil des traités*, vol. 69 (1950), I, No 894, p. 206.

"Quant à la Papouasie, je ne connais pas les désirs de sa population, mais je suis disposé à admettre que la population papoue n'a pas encore la maturité politique."

Puis il ajoutait:

"Nous ne sommes pas les héritiers des Hollandais." — Je répète: "Nous ne sommes pas les héritiers des Hollandais." — "Nous ne négocierons ni avec les Hollandais ni avec les Britanniques, mais nous négocierons avec le Japon, et le Japon décidera ce que sera le territoire de l'Indonésie."

212. Je serais tenté de citer encore d'autres passages de ce livre passionnant, mais ces quelques citations suffisent à prouver que des deux dirigeants indonésiens qui ont proclamé l'indépendance de l'Indonésie, M. Sukarno et M. Hatta, ce dernier a exprimé l'avis que la Papouasie — et, au fait, tous deux employaient le mot "Papouasie" qui ne semblait pas alors passer pour injurieux, comme M. Sukarno voudrait nous faire croire qu'il l'est devenu —, M. Hatta, disais-je, a exprimé l'avis que la Papouasie devait être laissée à la population elle-même de ce territoire et qu'elle ne devrait pas être incorporée à l'Indonésie, car cela pourrait paraître impérialiste. Il préférerait avoir le Bornéo du Nord, disait-il. Quant à M. Sukarno, il a dit que l'Indonésie ne devait pas se considérer comme le successeur des Indes néerlandaises, qu'il ne connaissait pas les désirs de la population papoue, laquelle n'avait pas, de toute façon, la maturité politique, et que c'était au Japon de décider des frontières de l'Indonésie.

213. Or, je vous le demande, comment peut-on concilier ces déclarations avec les affirmations actuelles de l'Indonésie qui prétend que la Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale fait partie intégrante de l'Indonésie, que ses habitants sont des Indonésiens et que M. Sukarno et M. Hatta ont proclamé l'indépendance en leur nom? Comme je l'ai déjà fait remarquer à diverses séances de la présente session de l'Assemblée générale, l'Indonésie était occupée depuis trois ans par le Japon au moment de la proclamation de l'indépendance de l'Indonésie, le 17 août 1945, tandis que la Nouvelle-Guinée était demeurée en grande partie sous administration néerlandaise. Il n'y avait naturellement aucune communication entre les deux et il était donc naturel et compréhensible de la part de M. Sukarno de dire qu'il ne connaissait pas les désirs des Papous.

214. Il ne reste qu'un argument, c'est que la Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale aurait été transférée à l'Indonésie aux termes de la Charte de transfert de souveraineté, traité qui a été abrogé unilatéralement par l'Indonésie, ce qui semblerait en faire à tout le moins un document singulier sur lequel étayer une revendication. Il est écrit à l'article 2 de cette charte:

"Considérant qu'il n'a pas encore été possible de concilier les vues des parties relativement à la Nouvelle-Guinée, dont le sort continue donc à faire l'objet d'un différend".

Ensuite sont énumérées cinq autres raisons, dont l'une est:

"Considérant le caractère limité des recherches qui ont été entreprises et menées à bien en ce qui concerne les problèmes soulevés par la question de la Nouvelle-Guinée".

Cela concorde avec ce qu'a dit M. Sukarno, à savoir que les dirigeants indonésiens ne connaissaient pas

les désirs de la population. L'article poursuit en ces termes:

"... [il est décidé que] le statu quo sera maintenu en ce qui concerne la Résidence de la Nouvelle-Guinée, étant entendu que, dans un délai d'un an à compter de la date du transfert de la souveraineté à la République des Etats-Unis d'Indonésie, la question du statut politique de la Nouvelle-Guinée sera réglée par voie de négociations entre la République des Etats-Unis d'Indonésie et le Royaume des Pays-Bas."

215. Il était donc décidé en ce qui concerne la Nouvelle-Guinée, que le statu quo serait maintenu. Quel était-il? Dans un échange de lettres entre les deux parties, en date du 2 novembre 1949, il était stipulé que:

"La disposition de l'article 2 du projet de Charte de transfert de souveraineté, qui se lit: "le statu quo sera maintenu en ce qui concerne la Résidence de la Nouvelle-Guinée" signifie "celle-ci demeurant sous l'autorité du Gouvernement des Pays-Bas."

216. Dans les procès-verbaux de la Conférence de la Table ronde, nous lisons qu'il est convenu d'un commun accord que la disposition selon laquelle le statu quo serait maintenu devait signifier que le territoire demeurerait "sous la souveraineté des Pays-Bas". La souveraineté sur le territoire n'a donc pas été transférée à l'Indonésie et le fait qu'on ne considérait même pas que ce transfert dût nécessairement avoir lieu un jour ressort d'une note annexée à un des autres accords signés à la Conférence de la Table ronde et rédigée comme suit:

"Aucune des dispositions du présent accord ne s'appliquera à la nationalité des habitants de la Résidence de la Nouvelle-Guinée au cas où la souveraineté sur ce territoire ne serait pas transférée à la République des Etats-Unis d'Indonésie^{12/}."

217. Conformément à l'accord conclu à la Conférence de la Table ronde, les Pays-Bas ont négocié avec l'Indonésie, et non pas pendant un an, mais pendant deux ans. Ils ont négocié au sujet d'une solution du problème de la Nouvelle-Guinée. Toutes nos propositions ont été rejetées et l'Indonésie a exigé que nous lui transférions la souveraineté sur la Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale. Ce n'est qu'à la fin de 1951, c'est-à-dire deux ans plus tard, que l'Indonésie a pris tout à coup une nouvelle position, suivant laquelle cette souveraineté lui aurait déjà été transférée. Sur cette nouvelle interprétation des accords, nous avons offert de demander à la Cour internationale de Justice de statuer et nous avons offert de nous soumettre à sa décision. L'Indonésie a refusé et s'en est depuis lors tenue à ce refus.

218. Cependant, l'Assemblée générale elle-même a tranché la question dans l'intervalle. En effet, le 29 juin 1950, le représentant permanent des Pays-Bas a fait savoir au Secrétaire général de l'Organisation des Nations Unies^{13/} que le Gouvernement néerlandais "ne soumettrait plus de renseignements sur l'Indonésie au Secrétaire général, aux termes de l'Article 73, e, étant donné que la souveraineté sur l'Indonésie avait été transférée à la République des Etats-Unis d'Indonésie à l'exception de la Nouvelle-Guinée néerlandaise".

^{12/} Ibid.

^{13/} Voir Documents officiels de l'Assemblée générale, cinquième session, Annexes, point 34 de l'ordre du jour, document A/1302/Rev.1.

219. Plus tard, le 12 décembre 1950, l'Assemblée générale adoptait une résolution présentée par la délégation de l'Inde — résolution 448 (V) — dont le texte est le suivant:

"L'Assemblée générale,

"...

"Notant que le Gouvernement néerlandais a fait connaître le 29 juin 1950 que les Pays-Bas ne présenteraient plus de rapport en vertu de l'Article 73, e, de la Charte en ce qui concerne l'Indonésie, à l'exception de la Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale,

"...

"1. Prend acte avec satisfaction de la communication du Gouvernement néerlandais relative à la cessation de l'envoi de renseignements sur l'Indonésie;

"2. Prie le Comité spécial pour l'examen des renseignements transmis en vertu de l'Article 73, e, de la Charte d'étudier les renseignements qui pourraient être communiqués à l'avenir au Secrétaire général en application de la résolution 222 (III) de l'Assemblée générale, et de faire rapport à leur sujet à l'Assemblée générale."

220. Or, si la souveraineté sur la Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale avait déjà été transférée à l'Indonésie, ou même si l'Indonésie avait pensé que cette souveraineté lui avait été transférée, elle aurait évidemment protesté violemment contre ce texte qui reconnaissait que la Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale était un territoire sous administration néerlandaise sur lequel les Pays-Bas devaient communiquer des renseignements.

221. Mais, hélas, la résolution a été adoptée par 41 voix pour, avec 8 abstentions. Et qu'a fait l'Indonésie? Elle a voté en faveur de cette résolution et le compte rendu enregistre que le représentant de l'Indonésie à la Quatrième Commission, M. Tajibnapis, "remercie la délégation de l'Inde d'avoir pris l'initiative de présenter son projet de résolution. Il remercie également la Quatrième Commission d'avoir approuvé cette proposition"^{14/}.

222. Lorsque les Pays-Bas ont présenté leur premier rapport sur la Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale et que la Quatrième Commission l'a examiné, l'Indonésie n'a toujours soulevé aucune objection.

223. Ce n'est que lorsque le rapport suivant fut présenté — alors que l'Indonésie avait, entre-temps, conçu l'idée d'interpréter différemment la Charte de transfert de souveraineté, et alors seulement — que l'Indonésie a protesté. Néanmoins, les Pays-Bas communiquent des rapports sur la Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale depuis 12 ans, mais jamais l'Indonésie n'a présenté de projet de résolution tendant à inviter les Pays-Bas à cesser de communiquer des renseignements, et, depuis 12 ans, le Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes et la Quatrième Commission acceptent les rapports néerlandais et en discutent longuement.

224. Par conséquent, comme l'Assemblée générale a décidé, dès 1950, que la Nouvelle-Guinée néerlandaise était un territoire non autonome sous administration néerlandaise et comme elle en a tiré les conséquences en acceptant 12 rapports annuels sur ce

territoire, l'Indonésie ne peut faire changer cette décision que par un jugement de la Cour internationale de Justice; mais elle a toujours refusé et refuse encore de solliciter un tel jugement.

225. Lorsque nous avons voté l'an dernier en faveur de la résolution 1514 (XV), nous avons également voté pour le paragraphe 6 de la Déclaration contenue dans cette résolution, qui stipule que:

"Toute tentative visant à détruire partiellement ou totalement l'unité nationale et l'intégrité territoriale d'un pays est incompatible avec les buts et les principes de la Charte des Nations Unies."

C'est un principe que nous approuvons et, s'agissant de la question du Congo, nous avons toujours déclaré que la province du Katanga, qui faisait partie de la République du Congo lors de son accession à l'indépendance, ne devait pas en être séparée.

226. La Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale, elle, n'a jamais fait partie ni de la République des Etats-Unis d'Indonésie ni de la République d'Indonésie, comme elle s'appelle maintenant. L'application du principe, en l'occurrence, signifie non pas que l'Indonésie doit pouvoir incorporer à son territoire un pays qui n'en fait pas partie — bien que la population ait naturellement toujours le droit d'opter pour l'union avec l'Indonésie —, mais, au contraire, que l'unité nationale et l'intégrité territoriale de la Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale doivent être respectées, non seulement par les Pays-Bas, mais aussi par l'Indonésie.

227. Cela étant, il en résulte sans le moindre doute possible que les Pays-Bas étaient juridiquement fondés à présenter les propositions qu'ils ont soumises en ce qui concerne le territoire non autonome de la Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale sous administration néerlandaise.

228. La seule question que l'Assemblée doit maintenant trancher est donc de savoir si ces propositions légitimes sont judicieuses, raisonnables et conformes aux principes énoncés au sujet des territoires non autonomes par la Charte et les diverses résolutions adoptées en la matière, principes que notre ministre des affaires étrangères a analysés dans son intervention du 8 novembre. Notre plan est simple et clair. S'il est adopté, il aura les conséquences suivantes:

1) Nous transférerons la souveraineté sur la Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale à la population de ce territoire le plus rapidement possible, dès que l'Organisation des Nations Unies déclarera que nous pouvons le faire;

2) La population papoue recevra la possibilité de faire usage de son droit de déterminer elle-même son avenir en votant soit pour l'intégration à l'Indonésie, soit pour tout autre statut politique, dès qu'un plébiscite pourra être organisé par les Nations Unies;

3) L'Organisation des Nations Unies aidera les Papous à administrer le territoire pendant la période intérimaire comprise entre notre retrait et le plébiscite;

4) Tout le personnel néerlandais, militaire aussi bien que civil, sera retiré, à moins que l'Organisation des Nations Unies ne prie expressément certaines personnes d'y demeurer à titre temporaire;

5) Les Pays-Bas continueront à contribuer aux frais de l'administration dans les mêmes conditions que maintenant, même après notre retrait;

^{14/} Documents officiels de l'Assemblée générale, cinquième session, Quatrième Commission, 190ème séance, par. 18.

6) La première mesure consistera à envoyer une commission d'enquête des Nations Unies en Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale pour faire rapport sur la situation et sur la possibilité d'appliquer effectivement notre plan.

229. Je ne crois pas que l'on puisse imaginer un plan plus exactement conforme aux résolutions pertinentes de l'Assemblée. S'il s'en trouvait un, nous serions assurément disposés à l'examiner.

230. Une des particularités de notre plan est que la seule décision immédiate que l'Assemblée générale devra prendre dès maintenant consiste à nommer une commission qui se rendra en Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale et fera rapport à la prochaine session de l'Assemblée générale. C'est donc seulement l'an prochain que l'Assemblée sera appelée à se prononcer de façon définitive sur notre plan — et alors, étant saisie d'un rapport impartial, l'Assemblée pourra plus facilement prendre une décision en pleine connaissance de cause.

231. Nous avons fait de notre mieux avec sincérité. J'espère que mes collègues jugeront nos propositions avec la même sincérité. En particulier, nous espérons vivement que l'Indonésie comprendra enfin que la meilleure solution est d'aider les Nations Unies à mettre fin au colonialisme en Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale d'une manière honorable, ordonnée et pacifique, en se fondant sur le droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes.

232. Le **PRESIDENT**: je donne la parole au représentant de l'Indonésie qui désire faire brièvement usage de son droit de réponse.

233. **M. SUBANDRIO (Indonésie)** [traduit de l'anglais]: En demandant la parole, je sais qu'il est tard; je promets donc au Président d'être bref et je m'abstiendrai de répondre immédiatement aux diverses déclarations faites soit par le représentant de l'Australie, soit par le représentant des Pays-Bas.

234. Ce problème nous afflige aussi, nous autres Indonésiens. Personne chez nous ne prend plaisir à cette situation, qui affecte plus encore notre vie nationale que celle des Pays-Bas ou de l'Australie. Nous aussi, nous voulons être débarrassés de ce problème, et nous savons que si nous voulons en être débarrassés cela ne signifie pas que nous devons remporter une victoire sur les Pays-Bas, cela ne signifie certainement pas que nous tenions à affronter ou offenser notre proche voisine et amie, l'Australie.

235. Nous désirons nous aussi ce que le représentant des Pays-Bas a proposé: régler le problème d'une manière honorable. Je pense avoir indiqué nettement, de même que mon gouvernement et le Président de mon pays, que nous souhaitons régler ce problème sur la base de la normalisation de notre amitié et notre coopération futures avec les Pays-Bas. Nous sommes pleinement conscients du fait que pour y parvenir nous ne pouvons régler le problème ni en tenant compte des seuls intérêts de l'Indonésie, ni en tenant compte des seuls intérêts des Pays-Bas.

236. Qu'est-ce donc qui empoisonne ce problème? C'est essentiellement l'attitude des Pays-Bas, qui ne peuvent accepter l'idée de l'indépendance indonésienne. S'il n'y avait pas le problème de l'Irian occidental, peut-être les Pays-Bas inventeraient-ils encore autre chose, dresseraient-ils un autre obstacle rien que pour harceler l'Indonésie, pour humilier l'Indonésie, pour démembrer l'Indonésie, car avant

la sécession, avant la séparation, nous avons vu proclamer la République des Moluques du Sud, création des Pays-Bas, et les chefs de ce mouvement vivent encore aujourd'hui aux Pays-Bas.

237. C'est dans ce contexte qu'il faut étudier le problème de l'Irian occidental, en tenant compte du fait que les Pays-Bas ne peuvent accepter l'idée de l'indépendance de l'Indonésie.

238. Je ferai certainement moi-même, plus tard, une déclaration dans laquelle je fournirai à l'Assemblée des renseignements détaillés sur la position géographique et la situation ethnologique de l'Irian occidental. Le représentant des Pays-Bas a cité quelques passages de l'ouvrage du professeur Yamin. Je connais l'existence de cet ouvrage, mais je voudrais lui rappeler que ce sont des entretiens privés antérieurs à la proclamation de l'indépendance qui ont été publiés par le professeur Yamin et qu'après le 17 août une délégation de l'Irian occidental s'est rendue à Djakarta pour confirmer formellement l'adhésion de ce territoire à la République d'Indonésie.

239. J'aimerais cependant que le représentant des Pays-Bas apporte quelques corrections à sa traduction, car je connais moi aussi les passages qu'il a cités. Il y a peut-être certaines phrases qui ne sont pas très exactement traduites, ce qui peut changer le sens de tout un passage. Peut-être le professeur Yamin pourrait-il aider le représentant des Pays-Bas à réviser la traduction?

240. Quelles que puissent être nos divergences de vues avec le professeur Yamin sur des questions nationales ou internationales, je crois que nous pourrions faire appel à lui et lui demander de se mettre à la disposition de la délégation des Pays-Bas pour retraduire les passages que le représentant des Pays-Bas vient de citer.

241. Je voudrais encore demander au Président de m'accorder son indulgence pendant quelques minutes. Je désire dire quelques mots sur la déclaration faite par le représentant de l'Australie. L'Australie et l'Indonésie sont proches voisines. Dans le monde d'aujourd'hui, nous n'avons pas de querelle de principe avec l'Australie. Je ne pense pas que l'Australie ait des ambitions territoriales. L'Indonésie n'a pas non plus de visées expansionnistes. Nous n'en avons pas besoin. Comme l'Australie, nous avons bien assez de territoire, exploité ou non. Nous n'avons donc rien à craindre de ce pays.

242. En ce qui concerne les systèmes sociaux, l'Australie a le sien, nous avons le nôtre. Nous ne voulons pas plus exporter notre système social en Australie que l'Australie ne veut exporter le sien. Nous n'avons donc pas de querelle de principe avec l'Australie. Ainsi, le terrain semble propice à notre coopération. Je pense aussi que l'Australie comprend certainement que la sécurité de l'Indonésie est aussi la sécurité de l'Australie. Cela est vrai dans tous les domaines. Dans le domaine politique et dans le domaine économique, nous pouvons collaborer et nous entraider. S'il existe actuellement des différences entre nous, je ne les considérerai même pas du point de vue des différences de race. Seule notre histoire est différente et c'est pourquoi nous pouvons avoir pour le moment des points de vue différents, soit sur nos affaires internes, soit sur les questions internationales.

243. En disant cela, je voudrais rappeler au représentant de l'Australie combien il chérit lui aussi la Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale parce qu'elle est proche de son pays. Je voudrais lui rappeler que le territoire de la République d'Indonésie en est encore plus proche. Timor est encore plus proche. Elle est à 100 milles seulement de Darwin, plus près encore de l'Australie que ne l'est le point le plus rapproché de la Nouvelle-Guinée. Je voudrais aussi lui demander de ne pas oublier que 90 millions d'Indonésiens, déployés comme une ombrelle au nord de l'Australie, ont peut-être quelque importance pour l'Australie. Sans rien vouloir diminuer de l'affection que l'Australie porte aux Pays-Bas ou retrancher quoi que ce soit de l'histoire de ses relations avec eux, je voudrais rappeler au représentant de l'Australie que les 90 millions d'Indonésiens qui vivent juste au-dessus de l'Australie — au nord de l'Australie — croient avoir une grande importance à tous égards pour l'Australie.

244. Le représentant de l'Australie a parlé aussi de l'histoire et de la situation géographique de l'Irian oriental, sur lesquelles je n'ai pas compétence pour faire des observations. Je voudrais seulement parler de la population de l'Irian occidental, qui est en étroite association avec celle de l'Indonésie. Sur ce point, le représentant de l'Australie se trompe lorsqu'il nous dit que cette population n'a aucun contact avec le monde extérieur. Immédiatement après la proclamation de l'indépendance, une délégation de l'Irian occidental — je citerai les noms de M. Jouwe et de M. Papare — est venue apporter une lettre à notre président, afin de confirmer par écrit l'appartenance de ce territoire à l'Indonésie, et ce simple fait suffit à montrer que la population avait aussi déjà une conscience politique à l'époque. Mieux encore, elle a même demandé à ne pas être séparée de la République d'Indonésie, à ne pas être amputée de la République d'Indonésie. Mais pour quelle autre raison l'Irian occidental entre-t-il en contact avec le monde extérieur? Parce que l'Irian occidental est pour nous comme le sanctuaire, le symbole de notre liberté. Pourquoi cela? Parce qu'en Irian occidental se trouve le camp de concentration de Boeven Digoel, où des Indonésiens luttant pour leur indépendance sont incarcérés. C'était le plus célèbre des camps de concentration avant la guerre, le plus grand de la région, où étaient exilés des Indonésiens non seulement de Java, mais aussi d'autres territoires. Aujourd'hui, des Indonésiens d'Irian occidental sont encore enfermés dans ce camp de concentration, qui est toujours en activité.

245. C'est pour cette raison aussi que l'Irian occidental est un sanctuaire, un symbole de la lutte pour l'indépendance. Quel que soit donc le jugement de l'Assemblée sur le bien-fondé des revendications de l'Indonésie, nul ne peut nier que l'Irian occidental a des liens avec l'Indonésie, que l'Irian occidental est lié à la proclamation d'indépendance de l'Indonésie et que l'Irian occidental est aussi un élément du différend entre les Pays-Bas et l'Indonésie.

246. Passant au principe de l'autodétermination, qui a été réaffirmé avec tant de sincérité par le représentant de l'Australie, je voudrais l'inviter à rivaliser avec l'Indonésie dans l'application de ce principe. Nous avons donné plus de 500 000 de nos vies, de nos fils, au service de cette cause — chiffre plus élevé, peut-être, que celui des soldats australiens tombés au cours des deux guerres mondiales. Nous

n'avons donc pas de leçon à recevoir pour ce qui est de l'autodétermination. Nous nous sommes battus pour ce droit. C'est d'ailleurs parce que nous nous sommes battus, et d'autres peuples aussi, que la résolution 1514 (XV) a pu voir le jour. Sans cette lutte, sans le sacrifice de plus de 500 000 Indonésiens, cette résolution n'aurait jamais été proposée à l'Assemblée. Nous avons apporté notre contribution. Nous sommes donc entièrement acquis au principe de l'autodétermination. Faire usage de ce principe de l'autodétermination pour amputer le territoire d'autres nations, c'est tout simplement en abuser.

247. Je voudrais disposer d'encore une minute pour dire quelques mots sur l'emploi de la force. Il est exact, comme on l'a dit cet après-midi, que le président Sukarno et moi-même avons promis de ne pas recourir à l'emploi de la force pour résoudre le problème de l'Irian occidental.

248. Cela est exact et je crois que nous allons continuer à tenir cette promesse, en supposant, bien entendu, que le problème de l'Irian occidental continue à être l'objet d'un conflit entre les Pays-Bas et l'Indonésie. Mais si les Pays-Bas ne conspiraient pas et ne faisaient pas tout ce qu'ils peuvent pour que la sécession devienne un fait accompli, alors il n'y aurait pas de conflit entre les Pays-Bas et nous. Or, comme vient de l'expliquer le représentant des Pays-Bas, nul ne peut nier que la Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale est l'objet d'un différend entre les Pays-Bas et l'Indonésie. Peut-on éliminer ce différend entre l'Indonésie et les Pays-Bas en accordant l'indépendance à l'Irian occidental? Quel que soit le bien-fondé des diverses revendications, il y a toujours un différend.

249. Comme nous l'avons déjà promis, s'il y a toujours un différend entre les Pays-Bas et l'Indonésie, nous n'aurons pas recours à l'emploi de la force. Mais dès que l'indépendance sera proclamée en Irian occidental, nous n'aurons plus le choix; nous avons agi de même lors de la proclamation de la République des Moluques du Sud, proclamation faite à la suite d'une conspiration montée à l'instigation des Pays-Bas. Là nous avons eu recours à l'emploi de la force, parce qu'ils avaient proclamé l'indépendance.

250. Dans le cas du mouvement séparatiste, inspiré lui aussi par les Pays-Bas, nous n'avons pas encore eu recours à l'emploi de la force parce que nous pouvons chercher une solution politique. Ce séparatisme n'a pas encore été proclamé. Voici donc notre position: nous n'aurons pas recours à l'emploi de la force tant qu'il s'agira d'un conflit entre les Pays-Bas et l'Indonésie. Nous demandons et même nous recommandons aux Nations Unies que des négociations bilatérales aient lieu. C'est là notre position et je pense que ce serait celle de tout autre pays dont le territoire aurait été totalement ou en partie occupé par la force. Nous soutenons que l'Irian occidental a été occupé par la force; si nous avions été assez forts à l'époque, nous aurions sans doute chassé alors les Pays-Bas.

251. Quoi qu'il en soit, l'équilibre des forces est tel que nous devons souffrir que les Pays-Bas occupent par la force cette partie de l'Indonésie. Ils ont essayé de le faire aussi ailleurs, à Ambon, à Célèbes, mais là nous avons pu faire usage de nos propres forces. C'est seulement en Irian occidental que nous étions beaucoup plus faibles, sinon à peu près sans défense. Voilà pourquoi nous n'avons pas réoccupé le territoire par la force, voilà pourquoi nous les prions depuis

12 ans d'entamer des négociations afin de résoudre le problème.

252. J'ai été vivement intéressé par la déclaration du représentant de l'Australie, qui nous a dit que le problème ne pouvait être résolu de façon bilatérale. Entend-il par là que le problème pourrait être résolu unilatéralement, sans l'Indonésie? Veut-il dire par là, en prenant en considération le bonheur de la population de l'Irian occidental, qu'il pourrait résoudre le problème sans la coopération de l'Indonésie? Je crois que cette population elle-même en serait très malheureuse.

253. Bien entendu, lorsque le représentant de l'Australie affirme qu'il y a là des gens qui réclament l'indépendance, l'indépendance totale, il a raison. Après 10 années d'occupation coloniale, il y a dans le territoire des gens qui disent: "Nous voulons l'indépendance; nous voulons être président; nous voulons être vice-président." C'est vrai. Mais, comme je l'ai dit auparavant, ce n'est pas spécial à l'Asie ou à l'Afrique. Nous pouvons réagir nous aussi comme les pays européens, comme ils l'ont fait pendant l'occupation allemande.

254. D'autre part, je voudrais appeler l'attention de l'Assemblée sur le fait que de nombreux dirigeants expulsés de l'Irian occidental se trouvent dans notre

pays. Ils ont été emprisonnés, ils ont souffert et chacun sait que dans la lutte pour la liberté les dirigeants qui refusent de coopérer avec le peuple colonisateur ou l'administration coloniale sont certainement les véritables dirigeants et seront plus tard choisis comme tels. C'est une loi. L'Asie, l'Afrique, le reste du monde nous en ont montré de nombreuses applications. La question de l'Irian occidental appelle donc notre attention de toute urgence. Elle a un caractère explosif, car très récemment les Pays-Bas ont expulsé plus de 2 000 habitants du territoire — plus de 2 000 en deux mois —, sous prétexte qu'ils n'acceptaient pas la politique des Pays-Bas.

255. Les Pays-Bas hissent déjà un drapeau sur le territoire; ils y introduisent déjà un hymne national. Est-ce là appliquer le droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes? Est-ce là, comme l'a dit le représentant des Pays-Bas, ne pas s'opposer au vœu de la population si elle désire s'associer à l'Indonésie? C'est pour cette raison qu'à notre avis ce projet de résolution [A/L.354] n'a d'autre but que de faire de la sécession, du séparatisme, un fait accompli. Si tel est le cas, vous ne pouvez supposer que l'Indonésie se bornera à attendre de nouvelles négociations avec les Pays-Bas.

La séance est levée à 19 h 25.

Nations Unies
**ASSEMBLÉE
GÉNÉRALE**

SEIZIÈME SESSION

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1056^e
SÉANCE PLÉNIÈRE

*Jeudi 16 novembre 1961,
à 10 h 30*

NEW YORK

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POINTS 88 ET 22 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

La situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux (suite*):

Assistance à l'Afrique (suite*):

a) Programme des Nations Unies pour l'indépendance

51. M. KIZYA (République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine) [traduit du russe]: Le 14 décembre de l'année passée, l'Assemblée générale adoptait la Déclaration historique sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux [résolution 1514 (XV)]. Le monde accueillit avec émotion et joie ce manifeste qui proclamait la libération, la reconnaissance des droits de l'homme et la rénovation sociale et nationale des peuples assujettis.

52. En adoptant cette Déclaration, l'Assemblée générale prononçait l'arrêt de mort du honteux régime colonialiste. Il n'y a eu que neuf abstentions au moment du vote. Neuf délégations seulement ne participaient pas au triomphe général. Et sur ces neuf, huit représentaient des puissances colonialistes qui dominent encore 88 pays assujettis.

53. Un proverbe africain dit que le monde repose sur trois colonnes: la première colonne représente le passé, la deuxième le présent et la troisième l'avenir. Aujourd'hui, l'humanité quitte le passé pour s'engager vers l'avenir. Les hommes puisent dans le passé pour en tirer des leçons qui doivent les aider à édifier des lendemains meilleurs et préparer cet avenir rêvé où n'existeront plus ni l'exploitation de l'homme par l'homme, ni la domination d'un peuple par un autre peuple. Mais le petit nombre de gens qui, pendant des dizaines d'années et des siècles, ont été habitués à fonder leur prospérité sur l'exploitation de pays et de peuples étrangers, préfèrent continuer de vivre dans le passé: ils n'aiment pas le présent et ils redoutent l'avenir.

*Reprise des débats de la 1055ème séance.

54. Il faut bien l'avouer: pendant de nombreuses années l'Organisation des Nations Unies n'est pas réellement intervenue dans la lutte pour la libération nationale des peuples d'Afrique, d'Asie, d'Océanie et d'Amérique latine.

55. La nef de notre Organisation est restée à l'ancre près des berges de l'East River, par crainte de s'engager sur les étendues vastes et agitées des mouvements de libération nationale. Ce n'est qu'au cours de la quinzième session de l'Assemblée générale [869ème séance] que l'Organisation des Nations Unies ayant pris une orientation nouvelle, à la suite de la proposition du Président du Conseil des ministres de l'Union soviétique, M. N. S. Khrouchtchev, a proclamé "la nécessité de mettre rapidement et inconditionnellement fin au colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations".

56. L'initiative de l'Union soviétique, qui a proposé à l'Assemblée générale d'adopter la Déclaration historique sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, était une manifestation de la politique de coopération et d'aide systématiques adoptée par les pays socialistes à l'égard des peuples qui luttent pour obtenir leur liberté. Cette coopération, cette aide fraternelle apportées à ceux qui luttent au nom de la liberté et de la justice, ont toujours été et seront toujours l'une des principales directives de la politique internationale des pays socialistes.

57. Le nouveau programme du parti communiste de l'Union soviétique, qui est aussi le programme de tout le peuple soviétique, a été approuvé par le 22ème Congrès^{2/} du parti communiste de l'URSS qui a récemment achevé ses travaux. Ce programme dit notamment:

"Le parti communiste de l'Union soviétique considère l'alliance fraternelle avec les peuples qui ont rejeté le joug colonialiste et semi-colonialiste comme l'une des pierres angulaires de sa politique internationale. Cette alliance est fondée sur la communauté des intérêts vitaux du socialisme international et du mouvement mondial pour la libération nationale. Le parti communiste de l'Union soviétique considère comme son devoir international d'aider les peuples engagés dans la voie de la reconquête et du renforcement de l'indépendance nationale, d'aider tous les peuples qui luttent pour la liquidation complète du régime colonial."

58. La carte du monde a radicalement changé et cette évolution se poursuit. A la veille de la seconde guerre mondiale, il n'y avait que 63 Etats indépendants. Après cette guerre, plus de 50 pays se sont libérés de la domination coloniale et semi-coloniale. Le mouvement pour la libération du colonialisme s'est développé plus rapidement et d'une manière plus radicale que ne s'y attendaient les théoriciens les plus experts du colonialisme, les gouverneurs et les fonctionnaires les plus expérimentés des ministères des colonies. L'adoption de la résolution 1514 (XV) qui contient la Déclaration a déjà donné des résultats: le Sierra Leone est devenu indépendant, le régime de tutelle dans le Cameroun britannique a pris fin et le Samoa-Occidental ainsi que le Tanganyika sont au seuil de l'indépendance.

59. Nous félicitons les peuples de ces pays d'avoir acquis la liberté si longtemps espérée. En même temps, nous voudrions demander quand prendra fin

l'oppression coloniale de 50 millions d'Africains et de nombreux millions d'hommes qui habitent des possessions coloniales situées dans d'autres parties du monde. On sait que les puissances colonialistes, écrivant avec le sang des peuples le dernier chapitre de l'histoire du colonialisme, répondent par la terreur la plus cruelle aux populations de nombreuses colonies qui réclament la liberté et l'indépendance nationale.

60. L'actualité algérienne en est l'exemple. La guerre cruelle d'extermination contre le peuple algérien dure depuis huit ans déjà. Plus de 800.000 Algériens ont donné leur vie pour arracher la reconnaissance à voix basse de leur droit à l'autodétermination. Mais combien de sacrifices ce peuple héroïque devra-t-il consentir encore pour obtenir sa liberté et son indépendance nationale?

61. Et maintenant parcourons en imagination la carte de l'Afrique au sud de l'Equateur. La guerre coloniale sévit en Angola. Au cours de l'année 1961, les colonisateurs portugais ont exterminé plus de 50 000 Angolais avec l'appui moral et matériel de ceux qui sont leurs confrères à l'OTAN — et, bien entendu, en matière de brigandage colonial.

62. Messieurs, vous n'avez que deux étages à descendre pour vous rendre à la Quatrième Commission et voir les photographies qui y sont exposées: vous en serez transis d'horreur. Vous verrez les barbares blancs du Portugal pointant les armes qui leur ont été fournies par les Etats-Unis, l'Angleterre et l'Allemagne occidentale contre la poitrine de victimes sans défense, vous verrez des Angolais torturés et scalpés et vous verrez aussi les physionomies réjouies des assassins qui posent devant l'objectif à côté des têtes tranchées et fichées sur des piques.

63. Voilà comment le Portugal a réagi à l'égard de la Déclaration de l'Assemblée générale sur la liquidation du colonialisme et l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux!

64. Les troupes britanniques mènent des opérations militaires de répression contre les tribus arabes dans l'Hadramaout, font la guerre contre les populations de l'Oman et fournissent des armes à leurs confrères colonialistes qui versent à flots le sang des peuples opprimés. Voilà la réponse de l'Angleterre à la Déclaration des Nations Unies!

65. Au Sud-Ouest africain, dans le réseau serré des prisons et des camps de concentration situés sur ce territoire, les colonisateurs exterminent la population africaine afin de la "persuader" qu'elle n'est pas prête à assumer la liberté et l'indépendance. Voilà comment l'Afrique du Sud a répondu à la Déclaration de l'Organisation des Nations Unies!

66. Les événements sanglants d'Algérie, du Congo, du Ruanda-Urundi, du Sud-Ouest africain, de l'Angola et d'autres territoires, prouvent que la lutte pour la libération du joug colonial exige des efforts encore plus grands. Ainsi, dans chaque colonie et chaque territoire sous tutelle, il y a sinon une guerre déclarée, du moins les fusillades, la terreur, les prisons et les camps de concentration. Voilà de quelle manière les colonisateurs préparent les populations de leurs colonies à l'indépendance!

67. L'obstruction de fait que les puissances colonialistes font à la Déclaration ne se limite évidemment pas aux méthodes d'agression directe contre les peuples qui luttent pour leur liberté. Le colonialisme contemporain est un colonialisme vaincu qui bat en

^{2/} Tenu à Moscou du 17 au 31 octobre 1961.

retraite sous la pression des mouvements de libération; aussi recherche-t-il avidement des formes nouvelles et de nouveaux moyens de domination en essayant de remplacer par des positions nouvelles celles qu'il a perdues. S'efforçant de conserver par tous les moyens son influence déterminante, il recourt au gouvernement indirect avec l'aide de marionnettes du type Tshombé. Il se sert de plus en plus des méthodes du colonialisme collectif et de la coopération étroite entre les colonisateurs du type moderne et ceux de la vieille école: Américains et Belges au Congo, Portugais, Américains et Anglais en Angola, etc.

68. Les puissances colonialistes sabotent les principes de la Déclaration sur la liquidation immédiate du régime colonial, se hâtent de créer toutes sortes de fausses théories sur "le manque de préparation" des peuples colonisés à l'autonomie et prétendent que ce qui empêche les colonisateurs de partir, c'est le fait que ces peuples sont économiquement dépendants.

69. Cependant, la vérité c'est que l'on ne peut venir à bout de la pauvreté et de l'état arriéré que grâce à l'indépendance, au développement des peuples dans la souveraineté et à leur libération complète et inconditionnelle du joug du colonialisme.

70. Toute la honteuse histoire du colonialisme classique notamment dans la période récente prouve que ce sont précisément les colonisateurs qui cherchent toujours à perpétuer les mœurs surannées et arriérées: structure tribale, hostilité entre les peuples et les tribus qu'ils ont eux-mêmes suscitée. Ils freinent la formation de la conscience nationale et cherchent à préserver la structure tribale archaïque afin de prouver que les peuples dépendants ne sont pas "prêts" à accéder à l'indépendance et afin de s'assurer la possibilité de continuer à les piller impunément.

71. Les pays d'Asie et d'Afrique qui se sont libérés du colonialisme ont prouvé à la face du monde entier à quel point les "arguments" des colonisateurs sont mal fondés. L'évolution harmonieuse de l'Inde, de l'Indonésie, du Ghana, de la Guinée, du Mali et de nombreux autres pays montre à tous les peuples qui gémissent encore sous le talon des colonisateurs la voie véritable vers leur renaissance par leurs propres moyens. L'histoire contemporaine confirme la profonde vérité des paroles du Président de la Guinée, M. Sékou-Touré, qui a déclaré à la quinzième session:

"... tous les peuples, à tout moment, sont capables de se gouverner eux-mêmes... les seuls peuples incapables de s'administrer sont les peuples colonisés, tant que dure cette colonisation" [896ème séance, par. 120].

72. Sans aucun doute, les peuples qui retrouvent la liberté se trouvent en face de problèmes difficiles et compliqués: l'un des plus compliqués est le problème économique. Le colonialisme laisse aux anciennes colonies une économie faible et bornée, ce qui permet aux impérialistes de se livrer au moment de l'octroi de l'indépendance à toutes sortes de combinaisons politiques, de spolier les jeunes Etats ou de créer de nouvelles unions d'Etats.

73. Un exemple particulièrement significatif nous est fourni par cette création artificielle du gouvernement anglais qu'est la Fédération de la Rhodésie et du Nyassaland. En créant cette Fédération, le Royaume-

Uni a cherché à consolider en Afrique centrale la position dominante de la minorité européenne qui pourrait choisir pour devise les paroles du Premier Ministre de cette fédération artificielle, M. Roy Welensky, qui a dit avec un cynisme renversant: "L'égalité des droits des blancs et des noirs? Bien sûr, mais seulement dans deux siècles!" Quelqu'un pourrait-il donc croire sincèrement que les colonisateurs modernes soient capables de céder à des sentiments humanitaires et de satisfaire les demandes des peuples malheureux, exploités et opprimés depuis le temps de sir Cecil Rhodes, le créateur du "Grand Empire" britannique en Afrique? Les colonisateurs anglais luttent pour conserver le plus possible l'état de choses actuel, cela pour que les colons de la Rhodésie du Sud, qui ne représentent que 10 p. 100 de la population, continuent d'occuper plus de la moitié du territoire de ce pays — plus de 20 millions d'hectares — et pour pouvoir aussi à l'avenir exploiter la main-d'œuvre à bon marché des immigrants du Nyassaland et les mines de cuivre de la Rhodésie du Nord afin de développer et de renforcer l'économie de la Rhodésie du Sud où vit la majorité des Européens. Ayant créé cette fédération artificielle, qui est contraire aux intérêts de la population autochtone, les colonisateurs anglais ne pensent qu'à renforcer le pouvoir de la minorité européenne, à conserver la possibilité de piller impunément les richesses africaines et à continuer d'empêcher les Africains d'obtenir l'indépendance réelle.

74. Quant à l'histoire de la création de l'Etat congolais, n'est-ce pas là un exemple typique des menées des colonisateurs qui cherchent à servir leurs propres intérêts en démembrant cette ancienne colonie sur le plan national et économique?

75. On sait bien que les Etats membres de l'OTAN font passer les intérêts des monopoles belges et autres, qui se sont emparés des richesses du Katanga, avant la cause de la liberté, de l'intégrité et de l'indépendance de la République du Congo. Le "mouvement" dit de Tshombé pour l'indépendance du Katanga n'est pas autre chose qu'une tentative des monopoles capitalistes pour être sûrs de pouvoir exploiter cette très riche province en dépit de la volonté du peuple et du gouvernement congolais. L'attitude des colonisateurs au Katanga donne une leçon fort instructive à tous les peuples d'Afrique et cela étant nous n'avons pas le droit de ne pas inciter les Africains à la vigilance.

76. On peut citer un autre exemple pour illustrer les manœuvres des colonisateurs en ce qui concerne la politique de "katanguisation": il s'agit du fameux plan des Pays-Bas sur l'octroi de l'indépendance à l'Irian occidental. Le Ministre des affaires étrangères des Pays-Bas a proposé un plan et un projet de résolution [A/L.354] et il s'est appliqué personnellement à nous persuader de les adopter. Mais chacun comprend que ce projet de résolution dissimule un couteau que l'on essaye de fourrer entre les mains de l'ONU pour l'inciter à déchiqueter cruellement le corps vivant de la République d'Indonésie dans le seul intérêt du colonialisme et de l'impérialisme.

77. Dans son intervention, le Ministre des affaires étrangères de l'Indonésie, M. Subandrio [1050ème séance], a brossé un tableau éloquent des incessantes activités subversives auxquelles se livrent les colonisateurs hollandais pour porter atteinte à l'indépendance nationale et à l'intégrité de la République d'Indonésie. Ne pouvant plus résister à la force et

à l'unité que le peuple indonésien a réalisée dans la lutte pour sa libération complète et pour l'unification de sa patrie, les colonisateurs hollandais appellent maintenant à l'aide l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Nous présumons que l'Assemblée générale doit aider le peuple indonésien et non pas les colonisateurs qui essaient de jouer avec un tel retard le rôle douteux d'un brave "tonton" envers les populations de l'Irian occidental.

78. En posant la question de la liquidation immédiate des vestiges du colonialisme, nous ne pouvons manquer de réclamer également la suppression des bases militaires étrangères qui sont établies sur le territoire de nombreux Etats d'Asie, d'Afrique et d'Amérique latine. Les faits prouvent que les bases militaires constituent un rempart important du colonialisme contemporain et que les impérialistes des Etats-Unis et les autres pays du bloc militaire agressif de l'OTAN s'en servent activement pour étouffer les mouvements populaires de libération et pour déclencher des opérations militaires.

79. Les Etats-Unis, qui sont le rempart de l'impérialisme et du colonialisme, dirigent en fait l'action des blocs militaires et politiques d'agression comme l'OTAN, l'OTASE, le CENTO, l'ANZUS et d'autres, partout où ils peuvent créer des bases militaires sous le couvert de "défense contre le communisme" et mettre ainsi de nombreux pays sous la domination américaine ou dans la situation de pays occupés.

80. Bien plus, les Etats-Unis continuent non seulement de considérer les anciennes colonies et les colonies actuelles comme une source de matières premières nécessaires pour mener une guerre moderne, mais ils les font rentrer dans leurs plans militaires en tant que tremplins pour la préparation et l'exécution de leurs projets d'agression. Prenez pour le moins l'exemple du continent africain. Dans un rapport sur la politique américaine en Afrique, soumis au président Kennedy par un groupe de spécialistes, on lit ce qui suit: "L'Afrique a un rôle décisif à jouer dans la défense de l'Occident — elle garantit le flanc sud de l'OTAN. L'Afrique possède presque 20 sortes de matières premières stratégiques." Dans les états-majors de l'OTAN, on se prépare non seulement à faire des expériences atomiques en Afrique, mais aussi à employer l'arme atomique sur ce continent en cas de guerre. C'est pourquoi les puissances occidentales, membres de l'OTAN, n'ont pas appuyé à la Première Commission, il y a quelques jours, l'appel de nombreux pays africains qui invitait les Etats Membres "à considérer et à respecter le continent africain comme une zone dénucléarisée" [A/4942/Add.3, par. 6 et 9]. Les Etats-Unis et la France sont même allés plus loin: ils ont voté contre la proposition simple et parfaitement raisonnable de s'abstenir d'utiliser le territoire, les eaux territoriales ou l'espace aérien de l'Afrique pour expérimenter, stocker ou transporter des armes nucléaires.

81. Toutes les activités de l'OTAN sont étroitement liées au brigandage du colonialisme international. L'OTAN aide directement la France dans sa guerre colonialiste contre le peuple algérien. C'est au su de l'OTAN et avec son appui que la France utilise en Algérie ses divisions "atlantiques". Nous pouvons rappeler ce que disait le communiqué de l'OTAN du 27 mars 1956: "Le Conseil de l'OTAN est régulièrement informé des réductions de troupes françaises placées à la disposition de l'OTAN. Le Conseil a

étudié la situation créée en Europe à la suite de ces mesures. Il note que la France considère qu'elle doit augmenter, pour des raisons de sécurité de l'Etat, ses forces armées en Algérie (je souligne: en Algérie), territoire qui fait partie de la zone de l'OTAN. Le Conseil reconnaît l'importance pour l'OTAN de la sécurité dans cette région."

82. Au moment de la tradédie congolaise, les puissances atlantiques ont défendu avec un cynisme extraordinaire leurs confrères belges qui cherchaient à restaurer par n'importe quel moyen leurs positions dans la colonie qu'ils venaient de perdre. Aujourd'hui des bombes fabriquées aux Etats-Unis et dans d'autres pays de l'OTAN explosent en Angola.

83. Le 13 novembre, c'est-à-dire lundi dernier seulement, le représentant des Etats-Unis à la Commission politique spéciale ainsi que les représentants de l'Afrique du Sud, de la Belgique, du Royaume-Uni, des Pays-Bas et de la France ont voté contre l'amendement que l'Union soviétique avait présenté au projet de résolution des huit puissances. Cet amendement prévoyait l'interdiction de vendre au Gouvernement de l'Afrique du Sud des armes qu'il pourrait utiliser pour réprimer la population autochtone [A/4968, par. 8 et 11]. Il est évident que si les Etats-Unis ont voté contre cette mesure justifiée et raisonnable c'est qu'ils entendent continuer à fournir aux racistes de l'Afrique du Sud des armes que les partisans de l'apartheid emploient pour tirer sur les manifestants pacifiques africains et pour terroriser et massacrer cette population.

84. Cependant, tous les efforts des forces impérialistes pour éviter une nouvelle décadence du colonialisme sont voués à l'échec.

85. Les représentants des Etats-Unis, du Royaume-Uni et d'autres puissances colonialistes ont dit ici que les pays socialistes, en dénonçant et en condamnant le colonialisme, s'inspirent des intérêts de la "guerre froide". Ces allégations relèvent d'une démagogie facile et ne sauraient guère convaincre qui que ce soit. Nous n'avons besoin ni de la "guerre froide", ni des intérêts qui s'y attachent. Chacun sait que la "guerre froide" est votre enfant, Messieurs les représentants de l'OTAN. Les pays socialistes se sont toujours dressés et continueront à se dresser contre le colonialisme parce que ce système de domination et d'exploitation est profondément étranger à notre régime social, à notre mode de vie et à notre philosophie. Les vaines spéculations des colonisateurs et de leurs défenseurs pour priver les peuples qui luttent contre le joug colonial de l'appui d'autres peuples épris de liberté et pour étouffer ainsi plus facilement les mouvements de libération nationale dans leurs possessions sont vouées à l'échec. Les pays socialistes continueront d'aller coude à coude avec tous les combattants du front anticolonial qui mènent un grand et juste combat pour extirper complètement le système colonial.

86. Le chef de la délégation ukrainienne, M. Podgorny, parlant au cours de la 885ème séance plénière de la quinzième session de l'Assemblée générale, déclarait ce qui suit:

"... tous les hommes de bonne foi tendent une main secourable aux peuples opprimés qui luttent pour leur indépendance... Il ne fait pas de doute que cette aide s'accroîtra continuellement jusqu'à ce qu'il n'y ait plus sur notre planète un seul Etat colonial et dépendant. Les Ukrainiens ont aidé

et continueront à aider les peuples dans leur lutte contre le colonialisme et pour l'indépendance complète" [885ème séance, par. 27].

87. C'est avec un sentiment de sympathie profonde que le peuple ukrainien soutient les peuples qui luttent actuellement contre le colonialisme pour conquérir la liberté et l'indépendance. Nos cœurs et notre aide leur sont acquis. Nous leur tendons une main fraternelle et nous leur disons: périssent à jamais le système diabolique du colonialisme et l'engeance diabolique du néo-colonialisme et que le soleil éblouissant de la vérité et de la liberté vienne déverser sa lumière sur les peuples opprimés et assujettis.

88. Le PRESIDENT: Avant de donner la parole à l'orateur suivant, je la donne au représentant du Niger, pour une motion d'ordre.

89. M. DJERMAKOYE (Niger): Quand a été votée hier la résolution concernant le statut des Algériens prisonniers en France [résolution 1650 (XVI)], ma délégation, coauteur du projet, n'a pas pu être présente ...

90. Le PRESIDENT: Je rappelle au représentant du Niger qu'il s'agit d'une motion d'ordre. Je le prierai de bien vouloir m'expliquer en quoi elle consiste.

91. M. DJERMAKOYE (Niger): Elle consiste à rétablir une erreur commise hier soir, au moment d'un vote qui a eu lieu dans cette assemblée ...

92. Le PRESIDENT: Je me permets de signaler au représentant du Niger qu'il ne saurait s'agir, en la circonstance, d'une motion d'ordre. Il pourra faire rectifier cette erreur par la voie d'une lettre adressée à la Présidence ou au Secrétariat. Nous sommes en train de discuter les points 88 et 22, et nous avons clos le débat, le vote et les explications de vote sur la résolution concernant les prisonniers algériens [résolution 1650 (XVI)].

93. M. DJERMAKOYE (Niger): Monsieur le Président, il s'agit également de mon vote sur le projet de résolution actuellement soumis à notre assemblée et en discussion ...

94. Le PRESIDENT: Nous ne sommes pas en train de discuter des votes sur les projets de résolution actuellement soumis à l'Assemblée.

95. M. DJERMAKOYE (Niger): Dans ces conditions, je me réserve, lorsque le vote interviendra, de demander la parole pour expliquer mon vote.

96. Le PRESIDENT: Je vous en remercie infiniment.

97. M. GODBER (Royaume-Uni) [traduit de l'anglais]: Nous avons eu la chance et l'honneur, ce matin, d'entendre le discours du président de la République islamique de Mauritanie et je voudrais ici le remercier comme il convient de ce discours qui, à bien des égards, est empreint de cette sagesse qui sollicitera, j'en suis certain, notre réflexion et retiendra toute notre attention.

98. Nous avons entendu ensuite un autre discours, celui du représentant de la République soviétique socialiste d'Ukraine. Je crains de ne pouvoir faire les mêmes éloges de ce dernier discours. Au cours de mes observations, je me propose de revenir de temps à autre au discours du représentant de l'Ukraine. Je ne puis que regretter que nous devions si souvent subir ici des déclarations qui donnent une idée déformée des réalisations du Royaume-Uni et des autres pays appartenant à la sphère coloniale. J'estime

devoir parcourir ce matin un domaine assez large pour réfuter non seulement les déclarations de l'orateur qui m'a précédé, mais aussi celles d'autres orateurs que nous avons entendus ces derniers jours.

99. Ce débat revêt évidemment une très grande importance pour tous les Etats Membres et j'ai étudié très attentivement beaucoup des commentaires et des discours qui ont été faits. Ces discours, dans l'ensemble, me semblent pouvoir se ranger en deux grandes catégories assez différentes l'une de l'autre. D'une part, il y a les pays qui portent un intérêt attentif, sérieux et véritable aux problèmes du colonialisme et il s'agit dans bien des cas de pays qui sont d'anciennes colonies. D'autre part, il y a un nombre beaucoup plus faible de pays ayant à leur tête l'Union soviétique qui cherchent, comme nous l'avons vu ce matin, en prétextant de leur intérêt pour les problèmes coloniaux, à se servir de ce débat comme d'un moyen pour dénigrer les puissances coloniales et à faire tout ce qu'ils peuvent pour écarter le débat du problème réel et sérieux et le faire tomber dans l'ornière de la guerre froide. Cela, je le regrette.

100. Je me propose de consacrer la plus grande partie de mes observations à ce que, j'en suis certain, l'Assemblée souhaite entendre de ma délégation, à savoir à une étude sérieuse et impartiale du problème que le Royaume-Uni doit résoudre en ce qui concerne ses derniers territoires coloniaux et ses devoirs à leur égard, tels que je les conçois.

101. Etant donné certaines des accusations monstrueuses et sans fondement que plusieurs orateurs ont portées sur ce que mon pays a fait dans ce domaine, j'estime nécessaire d'énumérer une fois encore les réalisations qui sont à l'actif de mon pays et j'estime avoir le droit, avant de terminer mes remarques, de comparer cet actif avec celui des pays qui condamnent les autres avec tant de liberté et font preuve d'un tel aveuglement devant le lamentable tableau de l'oppression qu'ils exercent eux-mêmes. J'essaierai toutefois de ne pas m'étendre trop longuement sur cet aspect de la question, car je suis certain que toutes les délégations qui s'intéressent sérieusement à ce problème vital voudront connaître le bilan bien pesé que le Royaume-Uni dresse de la situation actuelle.

102. Il n'est guère besoin que je rappelle à l'Assemblée qu'autrefois mon pays a exercé le pouvoir le plus étendu qu'aucune nation ait jamais eu outre-mer et que même aujourd'hui, malgré l'immense transformation qui fait de territoires dépendants des territoires libres et indépendants, demeurés pour la plupart dans le Commonwealth, il reste encore un certain nombre de territoires britanniques, plusieurs ont une grande importance et dans tous, qu'ils soient grands ou petits, les habitants qui vivent sous le drapeau britannique ont droit à être l'objet, et le sont effectivement, de toute la considération, toute l'attention et toutes les préoccupations de mon gouvernement.

103. Lorsque le Premier Ministre du Royaume-Uni a pris la parole devant l'Assemblée générale à sa quinzième session [877ème séance], il a exposé à nouveau le but qui est depuis longtemps l'objectif premier de la politique de mon pays à l'égard des pays dépendants sous administration britannique, politique qui consiste à préparer ces pays à l'autonomie, à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance. Mon premier ministre a cité un passage du message qu'il avait envoyé à M. Krouchtchev dans le courant de

l'été de 1960, message dans lequel il parlait de "la politique que les gouvernements britanniques, de quelque parti politique qu'ils fussent, ont suivie, non seulement depuis la guerre, mais depuis de nombreuses générations". Il disait ensuite ceci :

"Pendant plus d'un siècle, nous avons eu pour but de guider nos territoires dépendants vers la liberté et l'indépendance. Depuis la seconde guerre mondiale, l'Inde, le Pakistan, Ceylan, le Ghana et la Malaisie, avec plus de 510 millions d'habitants, ont atteint ce but de l'indépendance politique et économique. Nous y avons contribué par l'assistance technique et par l'aide financière. Tous ces Etats sont des membres complètement indépendants de notre libre association du Commonwealth. Et ce mouvement n'est pas terminé." [877ème séance, par. 101.]

Voilà ce que le premier ministre de mon pays disait il y a un an.

104. Depuis lors, nous avons eu des preuves frappantes des progrès accomplis dans le monde entier. Peu après le discours du premier ministre, le grand territoire de la Nigéria était admis à l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Ce fut en vérité un événement historique que l'admission à l'Organisation du pays le plus peuplé d'Afrique. Puis, nous avons tous accueilli chaleureusement aux Nations Unies la nouvelle république libre de Chypre. Le Sierra Leone a accédé à l'indépendance le 27 avril 1961, et le Sierra Leone a été accueilli lui aussi chaleureusement parmi les Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies.

105. Le 1er octobre 1961, la partie méridionale de l'ancien territoire sous tutelle du Cameroun britannique s'est unie à la République du Cameroun; la partie septentrionale s'était unie au début de l'année à la Nigéria. Je tiens à rendre un hommage particulier à la sagesse politique du président Ahidjo, ainsi qu'à tous ceux qui se sont employés avec lui à réaliser avec ordre et succès l'union du Cameroun méridional à la République. Cette union s'est faite dans un esprit de bonne volonté totale et de collaboration agissante, et elle nous a permis de mettre fin à notre tutelle sur le Cameroun conformément aux vœux librement exprimés des populations intéressées.

106. Puis, en application de la résolution 1642 (XVI) de l'Assemblée générale, la date de l'indépendance du Tanganyika a été fixée au 9 décembre 1961; nous espérons que les représentants de cet Etat africain prendront place à nos côtés avant la fin de la présente session.

107. Je n'ai nullement épuisé la liste des progrès accomplis en Afrique au cours des derniers mois. Au mois d'octobre 1961, un accord a été conclu sur les dernières étapes du progrès constitutionnel de l'Ouganda et la date de l'accession de l'Ouganda à l'indépendance a été fixée au 9 octobre 1962.

108. Le Kenya et le Zanzibar ont fait l'un et l'autre un pas eux aussi dans la voie de l'indépendance à la suite des élections qui ont eu lieu au début de l'année. Ils jouissent déjà d'une large autonomie interne sous l'autorité de ministres élus.

109. En Afrique occidentale, les principaux territoires qui relevaient de l'administration britannique, la Nigéria, le Ghana et le Sierra Leone, sont des pays indépendants Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, et la Gambie seule est encore adminis-

trée par le Royaume-Uni. Ce territoire a lui aussi franchi un nouveau pas lors de la conférence qui s'est tenue à Londres au mois de juillet 1961 et une nouvelle constitution lui assurant une large autonomie y entrera en vigueur dès le début de l'an prochain.

110. Au Nyassaland, les premières élections organisées conformément à la nouvelle constitution ont eu lieu au mois d'août; en Rhodésie du Nord, le projet de nouvelle constitution a fait l'objet de nouveaux échanges de vues.

111. J'espère en avoir dit assez pour montrer à quel rythme progressent tous les territoires d'Afrique sous administration du Royaume-Uni. Lorsque le Tanganyika accédera à l'indépendance le mois prochain, nous pourrions affirmer avec fierté que les peuples des territoires qui étaient autrefois administrés par le Royaume-Uni et qui ont obtenu leur indépendance représentent le quart de la population totale de l'Afrique.

112. Je dois faire observer ici que l'orateur qui m'a précédé nous a parlé du régime de terreur cruelle que les colonialistes ont opposé aux aspirations des peuples des territoires coloniaux. La liste que je viens d'énumérer montre bien l'inanité et l'absurdité de cette accusation et je la regrette formellement.

113. La rapidité et la diversité ne caractérisent pas seulement les progrès accomplis en Afrique. Des progrès non moins importants ont été accomplis également dans d'autres territoires dans le monde.

114. En Guyane britannique, les élections qui ont eu lieu au mois d'août 1961 ont abouti à l'autonomie interne sous l'autorité d'un premier ministre et de ministres élus. Au Honduras britannique, ce territoire dont la population a tant souffert récemment d'un ouragan dévastateur, des élections ont également eu lieu au début de l'année dans le cadre d'une nouvelle constitution.

115. Après un référendum organisé à la Jamaïque, nous prévoyons que ce territoire accédera à l'indépendance en 1962.

116. Des négociations constitutionnelles qui se sont déroulées cette année à Londres ont abouti à la conclusion d'un accord sur la prochaine émancipation politique de l'île Maurice, où un premier ministre élu a déjà pris ses fonctions.

117. Ces exemples donnent quelque idée de la diversité et de la complexité des progrès constitutionnels réalisés dans l'ensemble des territoires dépendants sous administration du Royaume-Uni; aussi, lorsque le représentant de l'Union soviétique nous parle, comme il l'a fait l'autre jour [1048ème séance], d'une "résistance obstinée", nous pouvons difficilement attribuer cette affirmation surprenante à l'ignorance. Comment peut-il ignorer tous les faits que j'ai cités? Comment peut-il ignorer que 10 territoires anciennement administrés par le Royaume-Uni ont déjà été admis à l'Organisation des Nations Unies? Comment peut-il ignorer le fait que le Secrétaire d'Etat aux affaires étrangères du Royaume-Uni a indiqué lorsqu'il a pris la parole devant l'Assemblée générale le 27 septembre 1961 [1017ème séance], qu'à la fin de 1961 les 660 millions d'habitants du Commonwealth vivront dans des pays indépendants à l'exception de 5 p. 100 d'entre eux?

118. En fait, les accusations de l'Union soviétique sont aussi fausses qu'elles sont générales. Elles travestissent les faits d'une manière honteuse et

délibérée. A mesure que nous entendions le représentant de l'Union soviétique, nous nous rendions compte de plus en plus clairement, si ce n'avait pas été clair dès le début, qu'il ne s'intéresse pas à la situation de fait. Il ne s'intéresse pas non plus au bien des populations en cause. Ce qui l'intéresse, c'est d'attaquer les puissances administrantes dans une manœuvre de guerre froide.

119. Ce qui nous intéresse, nous, c'est d'accélérer, en consultation avec les représentants des populations intéressées, la pleine application des principes en lesquels nous croyons, comme nous en avons fourni des preuves matérielles en tant de circonstances. Sur la cinquantaine de territoires dépendants qui existent encore dans le monde, il y en a une quarantaine sous administration britannique.

120. Dans chacun de ces territoires se présentent des problèmes spéciaux et des complications particulières. Sinon, ils seraient déjà indépendants. Les uns sont petits et éloignés de grandes agglomérations de population et l'on ne voit guère comment ils pourraient vivre isolément du point de vue politique ou du point de vue économique. L'île de Sainte-Hélène, par exemple, n'a qu'une population de quelques milliers d'habitants. Même des territoires plus étendus comme les Seychelles qui ont une population de 40 000 habitants, ne pourraient guère se permettre d'avoir une administration indépendante. Aux Indes occidentales aussi, plusieurs territoires reçoivent du Royaume-Uni une assistance financière ou autre et ne pourraient s'en tirer avec leurs seules ressources.

121. Il est encore d'autres territoires où la situation est compliquée par la proximité de voisins plus grands et plus puissants; tel est le cas, par exemple, des territoires qui relèvent de la Haute Commission, le Betchoualand, le Bassoutoland et le Souaziland. Nul n'oserait affirmer que les problèmes qui se posent dans ces territoires sont susceptibles d'être résolus subitement par de grandes déclarations.

122. Enfin, dans un certain nombre d'autres territoires — et ce sont ceux-là qui posent les problèmes peut-être les plus difficiles —, il subsiste des divisions et des différences politiques, raciales et économiques qui ne pourront être éliminées que par des négociations persévérantes, prudentes et délicates. C'est ainsi qu'en Ouganda nous n'avons pu parvenir que récemment à un accord complet, au terme d'une période pendant laquelle les progrès ont été retardés par des différends internes qui sont heureusement aplanis aujourd'hui. Au Kenya, en ce moment même, il y a désaccord entre les deux principaux partis politiques africains. Nous espérons qu'une conférence qui se réunira à Londres au début de l'an prochain permettra de surmonter ces difficultés.

123. Dans ces pays comme, en fait, dans tous les territoires dont nous avons la charge, nous devons veiller à ce que l'indépendance repose sur une large communauté de vues, sur un accord solide, afin que chacun des nouveaux pays indépendants puisse espérer garder son équilibre et son unité en présence des tâches et obligations nouvelles qui l'attendent.

124. C'est dans la Fédération de la Rhodésie et du Nyassaland que nous nous heurtons peut-être au problème le plus important. Nous nous réjouissons des progrès accomplis récemment au Nyassaland avec le plein accord de tous les intéressés et nous devons prendre acte aussi des progrès importants qui ont été faits récemment en ce qui concerne la

constitution de la Rhodésie du Sud. En Rhodésie du Nord, à l'issue de négociations longues et laborieuses, il a été possible de réduire considérablement les différences de vues et nous espérons qu'il sera bientôt possible de mettre en vigueur une nouvelle constitution. Voilà ce que j'ai à répondre à l'orateur qui m'a précédé et qui a dit, lorsqu'il parlait des Rhodésies, que les colonisateurs britanniques prétendaient qu'il était préférable de laisser les choses telles qu'elles étaient. Ce n'est pas vrai; nous nous efforçons constamment de trouver les moyens de les faire progresser jusqu'au point où les territoires pourront accéder à la pleine indépendance avec toute confiance en l'avenir.

125. Je n'ai guère besoin de dire que dans aucun de ces pays, très différents les uns des autres, le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté n'a l'intention d'atermoyer. Nos réalisations témoignent des principes que nous voulons appliquer et de notre volonté de prendre des risques calculés pour la mise en œuvre de ces principes. Comme le secrétaire d'Etat aux affaires étrangères du Royaume-Uni l'a dit récemment devant l'Assemblée: "Nous avons tenu notre parole à l'égard de l'immense majorité et nous tiendrons notre parole à l'égard de la petite minorité qui reste." [1017ème séance, par. 112.]

126. A ce sujet, permettez-moi de citer le témoignage généreux de M. Wachuku, représentant de la Nigéria, un de ces nombreux pays auxquels le secrétaire d'Etat aux affaires étrangères faisait allusion. Au sujet de l'attitude britannique en ce qui concerne l'octroi de l'indépendance aux territoires d'Afrique, M. Wachuku s'est exprimé ainsi lorsqu'il a participé à ce débat le 9 novembre:

"Nous le connaissons [le Royaume-Uni] et nous croyons qu'en se retirant de ces territoires il veut conserver l'amitié et la sympathie des populations qui les habitent.

"Je crois que l'intention du Royaume-Uni est de continuer à garder des liens d'amitié avec les habitants de ces territoires, de les garder longtemps et de forger de nouveaux liens d'amitié, fondés non pas sur la domination, mais sur l'association et la compréhension mutuelle. C'est ce genre d'amitié que nous désirons voir s'édifier sur tout le continent africain." [1050ème séance, par. 58 et 59.]

Je saisis cette occasion pour confirmer que tel est bien notre objectif et je suis vraiment fort heureux qu'il ait été énoncé si clairement par l'un des pays que nous avons conduits librement à l'indépendance. C'est la meilleure réponse que l'on puisse opposer aux calomnies que nous recevons du bloc soviétique. Peut-être est-il bon de rappeler à l'Assemblée que, dès 1833, Macaulay, dans un discours prononcé à la Chambre des communes, parlait prophétiquement d'un avenir où l'empire indien pourrait se libérer de la tutelle britannique et disait:

"Ce jour viendra-t-il jamais, je ne sais, mais je ne chercherai jamais à l'écarter ou à le retarder. Quand il viendra, ce sera le jour le plus glorieux de l'histoire d'Angleterre..."

Ce jour a fini par arriver non seulement pour l'Inde, mais pour bien d'autres territoires administrés par le Royaume-Uni et, comme Macaulay, nous y voyons non pas un motif de regret mais un titre de gloire.

127. J'ai évoqué brièvement les nombreux progrès qui ont été réalisés récemment ou sont en cours

dans le Commonwealth. Nous, dans le Commonwealth — et quand je dis "nous" je songe au peuple de la Grande-Bretagne travaillant en étroite collaboration et en plein accord avec les peuples du Commonwealth —, nous avons affranchi au cours des 16 années qui se sont écoulées depuis la dernière guerre des populations qui représentent trois fois celle de l'Union soviétique.

128. Mais il ne s'agit pas seulement d'allonger une liste ou d'additionner des chiffres. Il ne s'agit pas non plus de célébrer l'un après l'autre les anniversaires de l'indépendance des territoires que nous avons administrés autrefois. Nous sommes fiers, non seulement du succès de ces réalisations, mais aussi des mesures pratiques qu'il a fallu prendre pour les accomplir. Nous pensons, nous aussi, que le manque de préparation dans les domaines politique, économique ou de l'enseignement ne doit jamais être pris comme prétexte pour retarder l'autonomie ou l'indépendance. Nous avons toujours prétendu en revanche qu'il est vain, qu'il est même périlleux, de proclamer l'indépendance sans lui avoir donné au préalable l'assise indispensable. M. Wachuku, dans le discours profond dont je viens de citer un passage, a souligné à juste titre que l'indépendance, pour être durable, doit être atteinte dans l'ordre et la concorde. Nous partageons son opinion selon laquelle il est impérieux de donner aux nations nouvelles des perspectives raisonnables de stabilité économique et politique. Certes, il est impossible qu'un pays ait tous ses problèmes résolus à l'avance lorsqu'il devient indépendant; il est après tout des problèmes inhérents à chacun des territoires, qui subsisteront et dont certains ne pourront être mieux résolus que par les peuples eux-mêmes, par l'intermédiaire de leurs représentants élus, après l'accession à l'indépendance. Nous considérons cependant comme un devoir absolu de doter les peuples dépendants qui accèdent à l'indépendance des instruments qui leur permettront d'en tirer le meilleur parti possible.

129. Voilà pourquoi nous attachons la plus grande importance à la création de tribunaux impartiaux, indépendants du pouvoir exécutif, rendant leurs jugements en toute liberté et sans être influencés par des interventions officielles ou extérieures quelles qu'elles soient.

130. Voilà pourquoi nous avons voué tous nos soins et toute notre attention à la formation d'un corps de fonctionnaires de carrière qui se savent au service non pas de leur tribu ou de leur parti, mais de tout le peuple de leur pays.

131. Des forces de police conscientes de leurs responsabilités ont appris à défendre l'ordre public avec l'accord de la collectivité et, en passant, je voudrais dire combien j'admire le travail accompli par la police nigérienne au Congo. Dans des conditions difficiles et dangereuses, la police nigérienne s'est acquittée de sa tâche sans peur et avec efficacité, et, comme elle l'aurait fait normalement en Nigéria, elle l'a fait sans armes.

132. Malgré la grande diversité des conditions dans nos territoires, nous avons créé des parlements représentatifs et nous avons enseigné les principes et la pratique de la liberté électorale. Or j'ai noté que le représentant de la RSS d'Ukraine que nous venons d'entendre a dit que les colonisateurs avaient toujours cherché à maintenir dans leurs colonies tout ce qui était périmé. Si la liberté est périmée, eh bien, nous l'admettons: nous l'avons maintenue. Mais pour nous la liberté n'est pas périmée. Peut-être juge-t-il

les choses d'après d'autres critères, mais en ce qui nous concerne nous avons fait progresser ces peuples dans la voie que nous avons nous-mêmes suivie en établissant notre système de gouvernement démocratique et nous en sommes fiers.

133. Il y a longtemps que nous constatons, dans toute l'Asie et toute l'Afrique, un immense désir de voir l'enseignement s'améliorer; nous sommes fiers des systèmes d'enseignement que nous y avons mis sur pied et particulièrement des nombreuses universités déjà bien assises et qui sont en train de se développer rapidement.

M. Ortiz-Martin (Costa Rica), vice-président, prend la présidence.

134. D'autre part, nous avons toujours cherché à relever le niveau de vie des populations et grâce à un vaste réseau de plans de développement divers, que le peuple britannique finance à concurrence de près de 100 millions de livres par an, nous avons consolidé l'économie des territoires que nous administrons. Nous nous sommes efforcés particulièrement de créer de nouvelles industries, d'améliorer l'agriculture, d'encourager l'esprit d'entreprise et de développer le commerce local.

135. Parmi ceux qui parlent en connaissance de cause, il n'est personne qui contestera la portée des mesures qui ont été prises en pleine coopération avec les populations intéressées en vue des objectifs que j'ai exposés. Il n'y a certainement aucun nouveau pays indépendant du Commonwealth qui ne reconnaisse la valeur de ce que nous avons fait pour le préparer à l'indépendance.

136. Les membres de l'Assemblée savent que nous avons coopéré sans réserve dans le passé en communiquant des renseignements conformément à l'Article 73, e, de la Charte. Cet article prévoit la communication de renseignements relatifs aux conditions économiques et sociales ainsi que de l'instruction. La Charte n'en exigeait pas davantage, mais, comme le Secrétaire d'Etat aux affaires étrangères du Royaume-Uni l'a annoncé la mois dernier, nous ferons plus que ce que la Charte exige. Nous le ferons, en ayant confiance que les renseignements que nous aurons à donner emporteront la conviction, et je me félicite que les membres aient été si nombreux à saluer notre décision sur ce point comme un acte de coopération positive avec les Nations Unies.

137. Le Secrétaire d'Etat aux affaires étrangères de mon pays, lorsqu'il a annoncé cette décision importante, a bien indiqué en même temps que nous ne pouvons ni partager ni transférer notre responsabilité. Nous sommes convaincus que, ce faisant, en fournissant des renseignements complets y compris des renseignements sur les progrès politiques et constitutionnels, et en collaborant sans réserve, nous voulons l'espérer, avec les Nations Unies, la responsabilité qui nous incombe d'appliquer les politiques que j'ai exposées ne doit pas être partagée. Des négociations difficiles et parfois délicates sont menées de bon train avec toutes les populations intéressées. L'immixtion ou l'intervention d'un tiers dans ces négociations ne pourraient, nous en sommes certains, qu'entraver, retarder ou même compromettre les progrès rapides qui sont en cours. Nous avons donc indiqué très clairement qu'en offrant de fournir des renseignements d'ordre politique et constitutionnel nous gardons l'entière responsabilité de l'administration des territoires qui restent placés sous notre administration.

138. Dans l'exposé que j'ai fait des progrès des territoires dépendants dans la voie de l'autonomie, de l'autodétermination et de l'indépendance, j'ai brossé, j'ose le dire, l'une des fresques les plus grandioses de notre génération et de notre siècle. Les insultes des ignorants, les calomnies des malveillants ne pourront rien ôter à cette œuvre qui atteint son point culminant et son terme avec l'admission successive de nouveaux Etats Membres à l'Organisation des Nations Unies.

139. Permettez-moi de m'arrêter quelques instants au problème des relations économiques. Le représentant de l'Union soviétique a dit l'autre jour que les puissances impérialistes poursuivent toujours les vieux objectifs colonialistes:

"contenir les pays peu développés dans le rôle de producteurs de matières premières agricoles, exploiter leurs populations, conserver les surprofits dus au déséquilibre du taux de l'échange" [1048ème séance, par. 62].

Prétendre que le Royaume-Uni achète à ses territoires des produits à des prix artificiellement bas et oblige en même temps ces territoires à lui acheter ses produits à des prix surfaits est dénué de tout fondement réel.

140. Nos territoires sont libres d'acheter où ils l'entendent. Nombre d'entre eux donnent la préférence aux importations en provenance de pays du Commonwealth, y compris la Grande-Bretagne, mais en contrepartie la Grande-Bretagne admet l'importation en franchise des produits de ces territoires et cette préférence au sein du Commonwealth est d'une grande importance pour l'économie de ces territoires. Il n'est cependant pas question qu'aucun d'eux soit contraint de vendre quoi que ce soit à la Grande-Bretagne et chacun est libre d'exporter ses produits où il le désire.

141. Non seulement la Grande-Bretagne n'importe pas ces produits à des cours inférieurs, mais il arrive souvent que les territoires exportateurs obtiennent en Grande-Bretagne des prix plus favorables qu'ailleurs, grâce au jeu de ce système préférentiel du Commonwealth. Par exemple, avec la préférence de 15 p. 100 dont bénéficient les bananes en Grande-Bretagne, les producteurs des Indes occidentales obtiennent un prix beaucoup plus avantageux en Grande-Bretagne que sur n'importe quel autre marché. De même, les deux tiers environ du sucre produit dans les territoires du Commonwealth sont écoulés en Grande-Bretagne dans le cadre d'un accord à long terme et à un cours négocié chaque année, cours qui est actuellement supérieur de 50 p. 100 au cours du marché libre mondial. Pendant que nous en sommes au chapitre des pratiques commerciales en général et du sucre en particulier, je puis signaler que le Gouvernement soviétique a beaucoup à nous apprendre, à nous capitalistes, sur la façon de faire des bénéfices. Le sucre qu'il a acheté à Cuba en 1960 à moins de 7 cents américains le kilogramme a été revendu plus de 9 roubles, soit 2,25 dollars le kilogramme, de sorte que le rapport du prix d'achat au prix de vente est de 1 à 35, contre 1 à 2 ou 1 à 3 aux Etats-Unis et en Grande-Bretagne. Même si l'on tient compte des frais de transport, de raffinage et de distribution, le bénéfice net dépasse 1000 p. 100, ce qui n'est pas mal, on l'avouera, pour un pays qui condamne le mobile du profit.

142. Le représentant de l'Union soviétique a prétendu aussi que le seul motif pour lequel les autorités

administrantes font des investissements dans leurs territoires est celui de l'exploitation et il a ajouté que les motifs des pays communistes sont en revanche complètement altruistes. Cette conception économique marxiste qui exclut l'idée du profit tiré d'investissements privés n'a peut-être pas de quoi surprendre, mais elle ne correspond pas à l'attitude des territoires dépendants eux-mêmes, pas plus qu'à celle des nouveaux pays indépendants. Les pays sous-développés, dépendants ou indépendants, manquent par définition de capitaux pour leur développement. Des capitaux sont fournis pour une large part sous forme de capitaux publics, mais on reconnaît généralement qu'ils ne suffisent pas pour permettre à l'économie de croître au rythme voulu. C'est pourquoi les territoires dépendants ou indépendants font souvent savoir qu'ils ont besoin de capitaux privés et c'est pourquoi ils font tout ce qu'ils peuvent pour les attirer. Ils reconnaissent la valeur du commerce qui est le moyen non seulement le plus classique mais aussi le plus commode d'obtenir une assistance. En disant cela, je parle d'expérience, car on se rappellera que lorsque nous nous sommes nous-mêmes attelés à la tâche de relever notre économie après la guerre nous avons lancé le slogan: "Des échanges commerciaux et non pas de l'aide".

143. Le représentant de l'Union soviétique nous a beaucoup parlé du "néo-colonialisme" grâce auquel, selon lui, les puissances administrantes "stipulent des privilèges pour leurs monopoles et le "droit" pour ceux-ci de conserver les concessions qui leur avaient été précédemment accordées, et cherchent à imposer aux nouveaux Etats l'obligation d'aligner entièrement leur politique économique, monétaire et financière sur celle de l'ex-métropole" [1048ème séance, par. 87]. Cette allégation ne peut certainement pas s'appliquer aux relations de la Grande-Bretagne et du Commonwealth.

144. Aucuns des pays, appartenant au Commonwealth ou non, qui travaillent en association avec le Royaume-Uni pour poursuivre leur développement économique n'a été empêché de créer sa propre économie nationale indépendante. Aucun de ces pays n'a souffert d'une ingérence dans sa structure sociale ou agraire. Aucun de ces pays n'a vu son industrialisation entravée ou sa liberté de choix limitée en quelque façon que ce soit en ce qui concerne ses importations et ses exportations. Pour le Royaume-Uni, le "néo-colonialisme" est un mythe mystérieux propagé principalement par ceux qui en savent davantage qu'ils ne veulent bien le révéler sur le véritable néo-colonialisme tel qu'ils le pratiquent et davantage encore sur la pratique de ce système. Quant à nous, nous sommes fiers de ce que nous avons fait en matière d'aide financière et technique. Ainsi que je l'ai dit à Genève en juillet dernier au Conseil économique et social^{3/}, les capitaux de source publique et privée que la Grande-Bretagne verse aux pays sous-développés atteignent la somme de 800 millions de dollars par an. Nous sommes fiers de ne pas avoir réduit notre programme d'aide malgré nos propres difficultés économiques. En fait, cette aide a plus que doublé depuis 1958 et elle dépasse de beaucoup l'aide fournie actuellement par l'Union soviétique.

145. Je crois devoir exposer maintenant quelques réflexions sur l'intervention décourageante que le

^{3/} Documents officiels du Conseil économique et social, trente-deuxième session, 1160ème séance, par. 14.

représentant de l'Union soviétique a faite la semaine dernière.

146. Tout d'abord, permettez-moi de commenter la lettre que M. Gromyko a adressée au Président de l'Assemblée générale au sujet de l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, lettre dans laquelle il affirme avec éloquence:

"Aujourd'hui, il n'y a pas de peuple qui ne soit prêt pour la liberté mais il y a des peuples encore privés de liberté par la contrainte. Eux aussi doivent être libérés. Il est du devoir de l'Organisation des Nations Unies ... de les aider à réaliser leurs aspirations." [A/4889, par. 45.]

147. Comme ces opinions ont été réaffirmées en des termes presque identiques par M. Lapine, permettez-moi de rappeler ici que de tous les grands empires qui existaient au XIXème siècle il n'en est qu'un seul qui ait récemment étendu son territoire à la suite d'agressions. Depuis 1939, l'empire dont je parle s'est annexé des territoires ayant une superficie totale de 500 000 kilomètres carrés et une population de 22 500 000 habitants. De plus, soit en employant directement la force armée, soit en s'en servant comme d'une menace, cet empire a imposé le régime de son choix à sept autres pays ayant une population totale de plus de 90 millions d'habitants. L'empire dont je parle est l'empire soviétique. Je relèverai ici qu'aucun pays ou qu'aucune république fédérée au sein du bloc soviétique n'a reçu la possibilité de négocier son indépendance à l'amiable, comme ce fut le cas de tant de nos anciens territoires coloniaux. Le représentant de l'Union soviétique répliquera certainement que nul n'en a éprouvé le désir. Mais pouvons-nous le croire? Qu'en savons-nous?

M. Slim (Tunisie) reprend la présidence.

148. Le fait que les frontières sont étroitement gardées pour protéger la population contre son envie de s'enfuir prouve manifestement que ces régimes manquent de l'appui populaire. Un pays, un seul pays, la Yougoslavie, grâce à sa situation géographique heureuse et aux sentiments nationalistes vigoureux de son peuple, a réussi à défier l'hégémonie soviétique, mais nous nous souvenons tous des mesures brutales, y compris des sanctions économiques, qui ont été prises contre ce pays pour tenter de l'obliger à se soumettre. D'autres pays ont eu moins de chance. Je n'ai pas à vous rappeler avec quelle brutalité a été réprimée la veillée d'indépendance du peuple hongrois qui a essayé de se détacher du Pacte de Varsovie et d'adopter une politique étrangère neutre, une politique d'amitié avec tous les peuples, sans adhérer à aucun bloc. Le chef de la Hongrie, M. Nagy, avait osé demander que l'Union soviétique appliquât les cinq principes de la coexistence pacifique dans ses relations avec les pays du camp communiste. Avec d'innombrables compatriotes, il est mort pour sa cause. L'Union soviétique, à ce qu'il semble, est prête à applaudir à l'indépendance, au non-alignement des pays éloignés, mais elle étouffe impitoyablement les mêmes aspirations à l'intérieur du bloc. On assure qu'en Roumanie, en vertu d'un décret de 1958, quiconque préconise une politique extérieure neutre est passible de la peine de mort. De même, le soulèvement de l'Allemagne orientale en 1953 a été écrasé par les blindés soviétiques.

149. M. Lapine a dit au sujet de la liquidation du régime de tutelle:

"La liquidation du régime de tutelle doit apporter l'indépendance totale non seulement au Ruanda-Urundi, mais aussi à la Nouvelle-Guinée, à l'île de Nauru, aux îles du Pacifique et à tous les autres territoires qui, sous divers prétextes, demeurent encore sous la dépendance des puissances impérialistes." [1048ème séance, par. 39.]

Puisque le représentant de l'Union soviétique a parlé des îles du Pacifique, peut-être est-ce le moment de lui demander quand les îles Kouriles obtiendront leur indépendance. Ce archipel, on le sait, constitue une partie du butin que l'Union soviétique a exigé pour sa participation de neuf jours à la guerre contre le Japon. Depuis que les forces soviétiques l'ont occupé en 1945, le monde extérieur ne sait guère ce qui s'y passe. On n'a pas offert de placer ces îles sous la tutelle des Nations Unies. On n'a jamais communiqué aucun renseignement à leur sujet. L'Union soviétique observe en ce qui les concerne un silence inquiétant. Les îles sont jalousement gardées et, même, les pêcheurs japonais qui peuvent franchir involontairement, sans rien faire d'illicite, la limite des eaux territoriales fixée unilatéralement par l'Union soviétique sont jetés en prison et leurs embarcations sont saisies. Il semble que, comme en Asie centrale soviétique, on y ait encouragé une immigration russe massive, de sorte que le nombre des colons blancs de nationalité russe l'emporte probablement maintenant sur celui des habitants originaires.

150. Les Russes ont aussi établi d'importantes installations militaires sur ces îles qui occupent une position stratégique. Ce ne devrait pourtant pas être un obstacle à l'indépendance, puisque M. Lapine a exprimé sans équivoque l'opinion de son gouvernement sur l'iniquité des puissances coloniales qui établissent de telles bases dans leurs territoires coloniaux. J'aimerais relever ici que les orateurs soviétiques font preuve d'une curieuse ambivalence à propos des pactes militaires et des bases militaires. Ainsi, dans son discours, M. Lapine s'en est pris sur ce point aux pays non communistes, dont le Royaume-Uni. Peut-être a-t-il oublié que l'Union soviétique a conclu des accords militaires bilatéraux avec la Chine communiste et avec la Corée du Nord et qu'elle a adhéré au Pacte de Varsovie? Et puisque c'est là l'un des thèmes des insultes des représentants de l'Union soviétique et d'autres membres du bloc communiste, je me permettrai de souligner que l'Union soviétique s'est servie du Pacte de Varsovie et de traités bilatéraux antérieurs pour établir toute une série de bases militaires sur le territoire de ses satellites. L'orateur qui m'a précédé ce matin a longuement parlé de toute cette question des bases. Il n'est que juste d'en montrer ce côté-ci également. Depuis la fin de la guerre, l'URSS a notamment créé un vaste réseau de bases aériennes avec l'aide des régimes communistes qu'elle a mis sur pied en Europe orientale. Les aérodromes des pays satellites sont ouverts aux équipages militaires soviétiques, qui les utilisent. En Hongrie, par exemple, les quatre divisions motorisées soviétiques disposent de zones spéciales, avec dépôts, magasins, etc. Du fait de l'intégration militaire réalisée dans le cadre du Pacte de Varsovie, l'URSS exerce un contrôle complet sur ces bases. Le siège de l'Organisation du Pacte de Varsovie se trouve à Moscou; son état-major est dirigé par un commandant en chef russe. Il y a de

nombreuses bases soviétiques sur le territoire de pays autrefois indépendants qui ont été annexés par l'Union soviétique après la guerre, par exemple dans les Etats baltes, à Kaliningrad (l'ancienne Königsberg) et dans la Ruthénie carpatique. On se souvient que l'Union soviétique a invoqué le Pacte de Varsovie pour justifier l'intervention militaire par laquelle elle a écrasé le soulèvement hongrois en 1953.

151. Je l'ai dit, on a beaucoup parlé ce matin des pactes militaires. Mais il n'est que juste de rappeler également ce côté-ci de la question. Il ne s'agit pas du tout d'une affaire unilatérale et c'est pourquoi, naturellement, nous devons nous efforcer de parvenir au désarmement, de façon que ces bases militaires soient finalement éliminées. Je ne mentionne ces faits que parce qu'on ne cesse de nous les reprocher et que la justice veut que l'on montre également l'autre panneau du diptyque.

152. M. Lapine a aussi accusé les puissances coloniales d'essayer d'empêcher les Nations Unies d'intervenir dans les affaires coloniales en prétextant que ces affaires relèvent de leur "compétence nationale". Puis-je rappeler à M. Lapine que dans un discours qu'il a prononcé au début de cette session, il a soutenu vigoureusement ce même principe qu'il veut tourner maintenant en ridicule. J'espère ne pas le flatter exagérément en me référant constamment à ses discours, mais simplement lui montrer combien nous nous plaisons à les étudier. Le 25 septembre, s'opposant à l'inscription à l'ordre du jour de la question du Tibet, il déclarait:

"... la Chine populaire est maîtresse chez elle; ses droits souverains et ses actions ne peuvent être discutés par l'Assemblée générale ni par un autre organisme international. La Charte des Nations Unies se fonde précisément sur ce principe, qui est obligatoire pour tous les organes de l'ONU" [1014^{ème} séance, par. 162].

C'est M. Lapine qui s'exprimait en ces termes, et non pas moi; il poursuivait:

"Il est clairement stipulé dans la Charte que les Nations Unies ne doivent pas intervenir dans des affaires qui relèvent essentiellement de la compétence nationale d'un Etat. Ainsi, entraîner l'Assemblée générale, comme certaines puissances en ont l'intention, dans un débat sur la prétendue question du Tibet, revient à intervenir dans les affaires intérieures de la République populaire de Chine et à violer de façon flagrante la Charte des Nations Unies." [Ibid., par. 162 et 163.]

153. Le représentant de la Malaisie, dans une réponse émouvante, a affirmé que tous les peuples ont le droit de vivre dans la liberté et la justice. Je tiens à citer sa réponse parce que je crois qu'elle mérite de retenir l'attention de toutes les délégations. Il a déclaré:

"... ce droit appartient à tous les peuples du monde, qu'ils soient assujettis au colonialisme traditionnel ou à toute autre forme d'oppression, de la part de n'importe quelle puissance.

"Lorsque nous nous élevons contre le colonialisme et la violation des droits de l'homme en Afrique, ce n'est pas seulement parce que les victimes sont des Africains et que les oppresseurs sont des puissances coloniales occidentales, mais essentiellement parce qu'il s'agit de la domination et de l'oppression de l'homme par l'homme. Si la

même oppression se produit ailleurs, il est du devoir absolu de l'Assemblée générale d'adopter une attitude identique, même si elle encourt par là le mécontentement de certains qui participent à ce qu'il est convenu d'appeler la guerre froide." [Ibid., par. 177 et 178.]

154. C'est le représentant de la Malaisie qui s'est exprimé ainsi et si j'ai cité ce passage c'est qu'il traduit mieux que je ne pourrais le faire l'attitude de ma délégation. Nous ne prétendons pas être parfaits et, encore que nous estimions pouvoir nous enorgueillir de bien des choses que nous avons accomplies récemment, nous sommes prêts à entendre ici de nombreuses critiques, les unes constructives, mais d'autres, je le crains, malveillantes et non fondées. Nous avons coopéré de nombreuses façons et, comme je le rappelais à l'Assemblée il y a un instant, nous avons décidé volontairement de communiquer des renseignements d'ordre politique sur tous nos territoires. Tout ce que nous demandons, c'est que la même vigilance apportée à scruter nos actions s'exerce aussi à l'endroit de l'empire soviétique, où le vent de la liberté n'a pas encore commencé de souffler.

155. C'est sans plaisir, sans plaisir aucun, que je fais allusion aux défauts d'autrui, mais quand les réalisations de mon propre pays sont dénigrées avec autant de constance par le bloc soviétique, quand les représentants de ce bloc s'acharnent à donner des réalisations de mon pays une image qui travestit la vérité et qui fait insulte à l'intelligence des autres représentants, force m'est de rappeler à l'Assemblée le bilan de ceux qui cherchent à salir la réputation que nous nous sommes acquise dans ce domaine. Les hommes de race blanche ont droit à l'autodétermination au même titre que les autres hommes et ce serait très mal qu'en cette Assemblée nous oubliions le sort de ceux à qui l'on refuse la liberté sur le continent européen au moins autant qu'ailleurs.

156. Je voudrais revenir maintenant pendant quelques instants en arrière, non pour rappeler les réalisations de mon pays, car elles sont bien connues et de nombreux représentants ici présents peuvent en témoigner. Ce que je veux faire, c'est renouveler les assurances que moi-même et d'autres représentants du Royaume-Uni avons déjà données. Il y a de nombreuses années, nous nous sommes fixé comme but d'enseigner notre propre système de gouvernement à nos territoires dépendants, de les encourager à croire, comme nous y croyons, en la liberté de l'individu, et de les mettre à même d'exercer cette liberté avec la conscience de leurs responsabilités et en s'administrant eux-mêmes.

157. Nous avons commencé cette tâche bien avant que l'Union soviétique ne songeât à s'intéresser à cette question. Nous l'avons menée à bien, comme je l'ai rappelé à l'Assemblée, pour un nombre élevé, impressionnant et croissant de nations libres, qui ont presque toutes choisi librement de maintenir le lien réel mais difficile à définir qui les rattache à nous dans le cadre du Commonwealth.

158. D'autres, je l'ai dit, approchent régulièrement de ce même but et nous nous réjouissons de les voir devenir des nations indépendantes, tout comme vous, les membres de l'Assemblée générale, vous vous réjouirez de les accueillir, j'en suis certain, parmi les Nations Unies, lorsque le moment sera venu.

159. Chacun de ces succès est de notoriété publique et nous pouvons nous permettre de traiter avec

mépris les tentatives des envieux qui cherchent à minimiser notre œuvre. Je donne l'assurance que nous ne nous détournerons pas de cet objectif, mais qu'au contraire nous retirerons des encouragements des interventions objectives et sincères de ceux qui s'intéressent réellement à cette question et ne sont pas mus simplement par la volonté de considérer ce sujet important comme le thème d'une manœuvre de la guerre froide.

160. Il s'agit de quelque chose en quoi nous croyons profondément et peut-être ai-je donc retenu l'attention des membres de l'Assemblée pendant plus longtemps que je ne l'aurais dû aujourd'hui, mais les réalisations de notre pays ont été trop souvent dénigrées et j'étais bien en droit de rappeler aux délégations ce que nous avons accompli par le passé et ce que nous sommes résolus à faire encore dans l'avenir jusqu'à ce que tous nos territoires dépendants aient atteint la pleine maturité que recherchent tous les hommes libres du monde.

161. Le **PRESIDENT**: Je donne la parole au représentant de l'Union soviétique qui désire exercer son droit de réponse.

162. **M. LAPINE** (Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques) [traduit du russe]: Je voudrais dire quelques mots à propos de l'intervention si irritée du représentant du Royaume-Uni. On peut comprendre son irritation. En effet, humainement parlant, il n'est pas facile d'être aujourd'hui représentant du colonialisme anglais. Même si ce colonialisme garde encore sa grandeur — comme l'a déclaré ici le représentant du Royaume-Uni —, il n'est pas aisé de défendre le régime colonial.

163. Quant aux déclarations déjà nombreuses que le représentant du Royaume-Uni a faites pour se dire fier de l'histoire coloniale de son pays, nous nous réservons le droit de répondre en détail à ces fières déclarations; nous pouvons aussi apporter des citations nombreuses pour montrer ce que vaut cette "fierté" et quelle infamie représente toute l'histoire du colonialisme anglais.

164. Le représentant du Royaume-Uni a fait des allusions à "l'empire colonial" de l'Union soviétique. Le représentant du colonialisme ne doit pas se sentir fort à l'aise pour avoir à recourir à de telles calomnies. Il est clair pour tous que l'Union soviétique est une union libre de républiques socialistes, une union solide, indestructible et cimentée par l'amitié profonde, la solidarité et la communauté d'intérêts de ces peuples. Certes, nous comprenons qu'il ne vous plaise pas que ces pays, ces républiques, soient solides, qu'elles aient des gouvernements stables qui jouissent de la confiance du peuple et sont réélus à l'unanimité au cours d'élections qui se déroulent, en Union soviétique, dans des conditions réellement démocratiques. Mais que faire, Messieurs? Nous n'y pouvons rien! Aussi puissant que soit votre désir de voir chanceler l'Union soviétique, cela ne se produit pas. L'Union soviétique est solide et les républiques qui la composent collaborent harmonieusement.

165. Vous n'aimez pas non plus les pays de démocratie populaire; vous n'aimez pas leurs gouvernements et vous estimez qu'ils devraient être remplacés par d'autres. Vous donnez le boire et le manger à certains gouvernements chez vous, notamment aux Etats-Unis. Mais là aussi, que pouvons-nous y faire?

166. Eh bien, continuez de donner le boire et le manger à ces gouvernements et financez-les. Il se

trouve, cependant, que les peuples de ces pays ont élu d'autres gouvernements. Ils leur font confiance, ainsi qu'aux représentants de ces gouvernements près de l'Organisation des Nations Unies: ce sont les représentants plénipotentiaires de leurs Etats souverains et l'on n'y peut rien changer.

167. La pratique de l'appui à des gouvernements d'émigrés ne vous a jamais réussi. Pendant longtemps vous avez donné le boire et le manger même au gouvernement du Tsar, aux représentants de ce gouvernement ainsi qu'à ceux du gouvernement provisoire. Vous avez donné le boire et le manger à Kérénsky; vous êtes aux petits soins avec tous ces gens-là jusqu'à un âge très avancé. Mais qu'en est-il résulté? Notre pays en a-t-il été affecté d'une manière quelconque? Tous ces gens sont tombés dans l'oubli. Déjà personne ne s'en souvient.

168. Vous n'aimez pas le Traité de Varsovie. Je dois avouer qu'il ne nous plaît pas non plus. Nous serions heureux d'y renoncer. Vous savez qu'il a été conclu après la création de l'OTAN. S'il n'y avait pas eu l'OTAN, s'il n'y avait pas eu cette alliance militaire des puissances occidentales, il n'y aurait pas non plus de Traité de Varsovie. Nous vous l'avons proposé, à plusieurs reprises: Messieurs, liquidez l'OTAN ou tout au moins concluons un accord entre l'OTAN et la Traité de Varsovie et la situation changera. Mais les puissances occidentales s'y refusent. Elles ont créé le bloc militaire de l'OTAN et d'autres blocs et alliances militaires. Cependant, lorsque l'Union soviétique et les Etats socialistes ont réagi en concluant le Traité de Varsovie, cela n'a pas été du goût des puissances occidentales. Mais que voulez-vous donc? Que nous désarmions, que nous ouvrons nos frontières, et que nous vous disions: Allez-y donc, Messieurs, venez donc intervenir chez nous (comme en 1918 et 1919)? Non, ne comptez pas là-dessus. Il va de soi que l'Union soviétique répondra à toute mesure militaire par des mesures militaires. Cela renforcera la défense de notre pays et remplira de joie et de bonheur tous les travailleurs.

169. Quant aux bases militaires, vous savez parfaitement que l'Union soviétique n'a pas de bases sur territoire étranger. Elle les a entièrement liquidées. Et il serait fort bien que vous suiviez cet exemple.

170. Pour conclure, je voudrais dire que les tentatives visant à détourner l'Assemblée générale du problème colonial et d'un examen de la responsabilité qui pèse sur les puissances colonialistes en ce qui concerne les guerres coloniales, le régime de terreur, l'arbitraire policier et le fait que la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux [résolution 1514 (XV)] n'est pas appliquée, toutes ces tentatives sont vouées à l'échec. Ces tentatives ont également été faites l'an dernier, à la dernière session de l'Assemblée générale. Vous vous souvenez, certes, qu'un représentant était alors intervenu ici pour essayer d'attaquer le "colonialisme soviétique" et qu'à cette occasion il avait été traité de "laquais" par le chef de notre gouvernement. Or, actuellement, ce ne sont plus seulement les représentants de pays dominés, mais également les représentants de leurs maîtres qui commencent à intervenir ainsi. Cela les regarde, bien entendu, et ils sont libres de refaire pour ainsi dire, la triste expérience des laquais, mais ils n'en retireront aucun succès.

La séance est levée à 13 h 15.

Nations Unies

ASSEMBLÉE GÉNÉRALE

SEIZIÈME SESSION

Documents officiels

Vendredi 17 novembre 1961,
à 15 heures

NEW YORK

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Président: M. Mongi SLIM (Tunisie).

Déclaration du Président

1. Le **PRESIDENT**: Avant de donner la parole aux orateurs inscrits pour cette séance, je voudrais annoncer à l'Assemblée qu'après les six orateurs de cet après-midi il nous en restera encore 29 autres inscrits pour le débat sur les points 88 et 22, a, de notre ordre du jour. En vue de terminer nos travaux dans les meilleurs délais, il est absolument nécessaire que nous travaillions, la semaine prochaine, en séances de nuit et, si cela s'avérait nécessaire, nous tiendrions également une ou deux séances le samedi. Au cours des jours à venir, nous continuerons le débat sur les points 88 et 22, a, et entamerons la discussion et, au besoin, le vote sur les projets de résolution les concernant. J'ose espérer que nous pourrons ainsi terminer ces deux questions à la fin de la semaine prochaine, ce qui pourrait nous permettre de commencer le débat sur la question suivante au cours de la semaine d'après.

2. Au cours des séances de la semaine prochaine, qui auront trait au débat sur les deux questions en cours, les orateurs seront appelés successivement dans l'ordre dans lequel ils sont inscrits sur la liste. Je leur serais très reconnaissant de prendre toutes dispositions utiles en vue d'être prêts à prendre la parole dès qu'ils seront appelés à la tribune.

POINTS 88 ET 22 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

La situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux (suite)

Assistance à l'Afrique (suite):

a) Programme des Nations Unies pour l'indépendance

3. M. **QUAISON-SACKÉY** (Ghana) [traduit de l'anglais]: La quinzième session de l'Assemblée générale a été une session historique, et cela ne vient pas simplement de l'admission de non moins de 17 nouveaux Etats indépendants à l'Organisation ou de la présence ici, pour la première fois, d'une pléiade de chefs d'Etat ou de gouvernement. Ce qui a aussi

conféré à cette session un caractère historique, c'est le fait que les deux grandes puissances de la Terre, l'Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques et les Etats-Unis d'Amérique, ont présenté deux importantes questions qui touchent aux aspirations de tous les peuples d'Afrique.

4. La question présentée par l'Union soviétique a conduit, on le sait, à l'adoption de la fameuse résolution 1514 (XV) contenant la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux qui a été élaborée par le groupe africano-asiatique et définitivement mise au point à la suite de longues discussions et consultations menées en dehors de ce groupe. De l'avis de ma délégation, cette déclaration occupe une place aussi prédominante, en ce qui concerne l'Afrique, que la Charte des Nations Unies et la Déclaration universelle des droits de l'homme.

5. L'examen de la question intitulée "Assistance à l'Afrique: programme des Nations Unies pour l'indépendance", proposée par les Etats-Unis à la quinzième session, avait été renvoyé à la présente session et cette question est maintenant examinée en même temps qu'une question qui découle de la résolution 1514 (XV) et qui est intitulée "La situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux".

6. On peut se réjouir de ce que les Etats-Unis aussi bien que l'Union soviétique aient pris, à l'Organisation des Nations Unies, l'initiative d'un mouvement tendant à abolir définitivement le régime colonial et l'impérialisme en Afrique et dans d'autres parties du monde. Il est maintenant tacitement admis que le colonialisme est un anachronisme, qu'il est une source d'hostilité entre les nations et entre les peuples, et qu'il milite contre la paix du monde. En se posant en champions des forces anticolonialistes dans le monde, les Etats-Unis et l'Union soviétique semblent exprimer une certaine philosophie fondamentale connue dans l'Amérique révolutionnaire et dans la Russie moderne. Les principes de la révolution américaine ont souvent été invoqués, en Afrique et ailleurs, par ceux qui combattaient pour la liberté, au cours des luttes politiques qu'ils menaient pour libérer leur pays du joug colonialiste. Tous les nationalistes africains acceptent sans réserve ces paroles de Jefferson:

"Lorsqu'au cours des événements humains un peuple se voit dans la nécessité de rompre les liens politiques qui l'unissaient à un autre et de prendre parmi les puissances de la Terre le statut d'indépendance et d'égalité auquel les lois de la nature et du Dieu de la nature lui donnent droit, un juste respect de l'opinion des hommes exige qu'il déclare les causes qui l'ont porté à cette séparation."

7. D'autres Américains théoriciens de la politique, comme Thomas Paine, ont fourni de nombreuses armes politiques à l'agitation. D'autre part, le caractère révolutionnaire et les tactiques révolutionnaires du

marxisme ont exercé un attrait considérable sur les nationalistes africains. Aussi, c'est vers les deux grandes puissances qui n'ont pas une tradition de colonisation en Afrique que l'on se tourne. Aux Etats-Unis, en particulier, qui entretiennent d'étroites relations avec les puissances coloniales d'Europe, nous demandons instamment de se désolidariser totalement des politiques coloniales de leurs alliés, d'autant plus qu'ils sont passés par les mêmes épreuves que l'Afrique. Dans leur grandeur, les Etats-Unis ne doivent pas oublier à cause de leurs préoccupations en Europe qu'ils sont les héritiers d'une grande tradition anticolonialiste et ils doivent aider autant que possible les Africains dans leurs efforts pour mettre fin immédiatement au colonialisme.

8. Le fait que l'Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques et les Etats-Unis d'Amérique ont pris l'initiative de ce mouvement constitue une combinaison particulièrement heureuse et bien venue d'éléments souhaitables; ainsi, notre tâche comprend l'élaboration d'un programme: un programme des Nations Unies, un programme pour l'application de la Déclaration, tant en ce qui concerne l'Afrique qu'en ce qui concerne les pays dépendants dans les autres parties du monde. N'est-ce point ce qui pourrait le mieux convenir à la situation que l'approbation légale et morale explicitement accordée par l'Organisation aux aspirations légitimes des peuples luttant pour leur indépendance? N'est-ce point ce qui pourrait être trouvé de mieux que de confier formellement à l'Organisation la responsabilité de l'application totale et immédiate de la Déclaration historique sur le colonialisme?

9. Ma délégation note avec satisfaction que, depuis l'adoption de la Déclaration, le Sierra Leone est devenu indépendant et membre de la communauté internationale; d'ici quelques semaines, le Tanganyika sera passé de l'état de territoire sous tutelle à l'indépendance. Le Samoa-Occidental sera bientôt indépendant et l'indépendance de l'Ouganda n'est pas loin. Il faut rendre hommage aux autorités administrantes intéressées non seulement pour avoir tenu compte des réalités de la vie et avoir pris le vent de l'évolution, mais aussi pour avoir aidé ces peuples avec une sagesse clairvoyante à réaliser leurs aspirations.

10. Toutefois, après avoir rendu cet hommage, ma délégation ne peut s'empêcher de remarquer que le processus de décolonisation s'est désespérément et obstinément ralenti et qu'il existe encore quelque 70 territoires non autonomes dont la population totale est de plus de 50 millions d'habitants, ainsi que plusieurs autres territoires qui n'ont pas encore accédé à une indépendance complète. Tous les peuples de ces territoires — plus de 70 millions d'habitants — connaissent encore les horreurs et les souffrances de l'impérialisme: ils continuent d'être exclus de l'administration effective de leur patrie, ils sont souvent soumis à d'injustes pratiques de discrimination raciale et la plupart d'entre eux se voient encore refuser la liberté et les droits démocratiques les plus élémentaires fondés sur le principe du suffrage égalitaire. Nous ne pouvons pas ne pas insister aussi sur le fait qu'aux termes de la Déclaration il ne peut être établi de distinction entre un colonialisme "bon" ou "bienveillant" et un impérialisme "mauvais" ou "répressif".

11. Un certain contentement de soi semble régner dans certains milieux. Certes, le Royaume-Uni, en tant que puissance coloniale, ne peut être classé dans la même catégorie que le Portugal, qui s'obstine dans

une guerre coloniale pour continuer à tenir à la gorge l'Angola et d'autres territoires portugais; mais si nous louons le Royaume-Uni pour les progrès accomplis dans la bonne direction, la triste vérité n'en est pas moins que la majorité des territoires coloniaux restant en Afrique sont sous domination britannique. C'est ce système de domination coloniale qui doit être aboli une fois pour toutes. Nous avons la ferme conviction que les territoires africains n'ont pas besoin d'être sous une domination européenne pour jouir des bienfaits de la civilisation moderne. Qu'il s'agisse d'enseignement, de développement économique, de protection sociale ou de santé publique, dans tous ces domaines des progrès peuvent être accomplis sans qu'il soit besoin d'administration coloniale grâce à un système adéquat d'assistance bilatérale ou multilatérale. Ce n'est pas sous l'impulsion de sentiments altruistes, nous le soutenons, que les Européens ont gouverné et gouvernent l'Afrique.

12. En effet, l'essence même du colonialisme ne consiste-t-elle pas, de la part de puissances étrangères, à imposer et à maintenir un système politique et économique sur le territoire national d'un autre peuple, en faisant fi, de propos délibéré, de son droit à l'autodétermination? La principale caractéristique du colonialisme est l'imposition arbitraire, sans le consentement des peuples en cause, d'un système étranger conçu au premier chef pour servir les intérêts de la puissance colonisatrice. Que ce système soit maintenu de vive force ou, d'une manière plus subtile, par une coercition déguisée en paternalisme, cela ne fait pas de différence quant au principe même de ce système. Il implique nécessairement que les intérêts et le développement des peuples coloniaux sont subordonnés à ceux de la puissance colonisatrice. Il s'agit par conséquent d'une force fondamentalement opposée aux progrès et à l'avancement du peuple assujetti, sauf dans le cas où un tel développement est essentiel pour créer des conditions de paix et de stabilité, ou plutôt de stagnation, permettant de sauvegarder et de favoriser les intérêts des puissances colonisatrices.

13. Dans son évolution récente, le colonialisme est devenu un système extrêmement compliqué et ramifié de domination politique et économique; le contrôle direct et l'emploi de la force sont judicieusement tempérés par un contrôle indirect, grâce au maintien d'une classe dirigeante sur laquelle on peut compter pour défendre les intérêts coloniaux contre le peuple assujetti. Afin de se perpétuer et de maintenir et d'accroître l'exploitation à laquelle ils se livrent, les régimes coloniaux n'ont pas hésité à avoir recours à des procédés tels que la discrimination raciale, la ségrégation et autres pratiques destinées à dépouiller les peuples asservis de leur dignité, de leur identité et de leur volonté même d'autodétermination.

14. Mais, quel que soit le raffinement des procédés que les puissances colonisatrices ont adoptés selon les territoires, le système a inévitablement eu pour effet de figer le développement politique, économique et social à un stade primitif ou quasi primitif et de fausser les forces dynamiques de l'évolution. D'où le retard des pays dépendants par rapport au niveau général du progrès atteint dans les autres pays du monde et la différence tragique qui existe, au point de vue du développement et du progrès, entre les pays assujettis et les pays industrialisés.

15. Il faut reconnaître, bien entendu, que le système lui-même comportait certains aspects secondaires

profitables: ceux qui exploitaient les pays coloniaux étaient obligés, pour le succès de leurs entreprises, de créer une certaine infrastructure économique et sociale; manifestement, il leur fallait des ports, des routes, des écoles, des hôpitaux s'ils voulaient tirer de l'exploitation le maximum de profit et organiser et employer la main-d'œuvre indigène de manière efficace. Mais ces avantages, si on les considère dans le contexte historique, n'ont été que des conséquences purement secondaires et pour ainsi dire fortuites. Par une ironie du sort, cependant, ces conséquences ont à leur tour fait naître chez les peuples autochtones une prise de conscience de leurs droits et de leur dignité; ceux-là mêmes que les puissances colonisatrices avaient formés afin de les utiliser pour leur exploitation sont devenus, du fait de cette éducation, conscients de leur personnalité et de leur force, tant sur le plan humain que sur le plan national, et ont refusé de continuer à être les instruments de leur propre ruine.

16. Ainsi a commencé le grand réveil de l'Afrique et de l'Asie, qui s'est développé en une force anti-colonialiste d'une puissance et d'une portée telles que les protagonistes mêmes du mouvement en sont parfois surpris. Devant un tel état de choses, celles des puissances coloniales qui ne manquaient pas d'un certain esprit pratique et d'un certain sens des réalités ont compris qu'il serait sage d'adapter leurs points de vue aux conditions nouvelles et de parvenir à l'équilibre nécessaire pour maintenir leurs positions précaires.

17. C'est pour s'adapter à l'évolution des temps modernes que le Royaume-Uni, qui est notre ami, a entrepris son processus de décolonisation; et c'est pour se mettre dans le vent de la même évolution que la France a jugé bon d'appliquer à la plus grande partie de son empire africain les grands principes de la révolution française. Ainsi, sur près de 800 millions d'individus qui se trouvaient sous une domination étrangère en 1946, les neuf dixièmes ont maintenant accédé à la liberté et à l'indépendance.

18. La liberté de mon pays, le Ghana, a été le résultat de ce processus. Notre accession à l'indépendance a été la première d'une série d'émancipations de peuples dits coloniaux de l'Afrique au sud du Sahara, série qui se poursuit encore et que nous souhaitons sincèrement et ardemment voir se poursuivre jusqu'à ce que le dernier être humain sous le joug soit libéré. Alors seulement notre propre indépendance prendra toute sa signification, nos sacrifices trouveront leur consécration et notre histoire brillera de tout son éclat. Comment, en effet, la personnalité africaine pourrait-elle se projeter pleinement et effectivement autrement que dans le contexte plus étendu de la liberté et de l'indépendance de l'Afrique? L'Afrique, nous l'avons dit, ne peut être à moitié libre et à moitié asservie. Ce n'est qu'une façon de parler que de désigner les Africains par des termes tels que Ghanéens, Nigériens, Congolais: car lorsqu'on nous rencontre dans les rues de Londres, de New York, de Paris ou de Moscou, on nous montre du doigt en nous appelant des "Africains", avec tout ce que cela évoque pour des esprits européens — en Amérique, bien sûr, nous sommes des nègres. Ce qui importe, c'est qu'en tant qu'Africains nous ne pouvons tolérer qu'aucune partie de l'Afrique demeure encore longtemps sous une domination coloniale, de quelque forme qu'elle soit. L'indépendance du Ghana, nous le répétons, ne peut prendre toute sa signification que dans le contexte

plus large d'une Afrique totalement libre et indépendante.

19. Une indépendance de pure forme ne suffit pas. Le colonialisme se tourne maintenant vers de nouvelles tactiques. Au lieu de naviguer contre le vent, il prend au contraire le vent de l'évolution, de manière à conserver sa dernière place forte — sa suprématie économique et technique. Dans ses derniers sursauts d'agonie, il est presque résigné à mourir, mais il se prépare en même temps à renaître de ses cendres, tel le phénix, à renaître avec une jeunesse et une vigueur renouvelées et à vivre sous une forme plus rusée et ainsi bien plus dangereuse de néo-colonialisme.

20. Par néo-colonialisme, cela s'entend, nous voulons désigner la pratique qui consiste à octroyer une indépendance de forme avec l'intention cachée de faire du pays libéré un Etat-client et de le contrôler, ou mieux de le téléguider, en fait, par des moyens autres que des moyens politiques. Il s'agit en réalité de maintenir une hégémonie par l'entremise d'un gouvernement interposé et au moyen d'un ensemble d'armes économiques, idéologiques et autres, y compris l'imposition d'accords militaires discutables. Il s'agit de défendre les mêmes intérêts sur le cadavre du colonialisme ancien modèle; les deux systèmes sont semblables pour ce qui est de leur nature et de leurs buts, seules les méthodes sont adaptées aux conditions modernes.

21. Dans ces conditions, la lutte contre le colonialisme doit s'étendre à toutes ses formes, tant économiques que politiques, de sorte que l'on parvienne rapidement à l'indépendance, et pas seulement d'une manière formelle, mais d'une manière réelle et complète. Le colonialisme doit être définitivement liquidé dans le plus bref délai; l'indépendance est une nécessité urgente, mais elle ne doit pas être purement nominale; elle ne doit pas être un rideau à l'abri duquel les mêmes influences étrangères, connues pour être ouvertement colonialistes, pourront continuer à s'exercer en secret.

22. Ce sont ces considérations qui forment la charpente, pour ainsi dire, de notre position devant le problème de l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, notamment en Afrique.

23. On se souviendra que la Déclaration proclame que la sujétion des peuples à une subjugation, à une domination et à une exploitation étrangères constitue un déni des droits fondamentaux de l'homme, est contraire à la Charte des Nations Unies et compromet la cause de la paix et de la coopération mondiales. La Déclaration affirme en outre que tous les peuples ont le droit de libre détermination; en vertu de ce droit, ils déterminent librement leur statut politique et poursuivent librement leur développement économique, social et culturel.

24. Néanmoins, que constatons-nous un an après l'adoption de cette déclaration? Il reste encore 88 territoires qui ne sont toujours pas complètement indépendants et parmi eux, comme je viens de le dire, environ 70 territoires habituellement désignés comme "territoires non autonomes" et ayant une population totale d'environ 70 millions d'habitants. Rien qu'en Afrique il existe 27 de ces territoires, avec environ 50 millions d'habitants. Comme je l'ai mentionné il y a un instant, seul le Sierra Leone, au cours de l'année dernière, a en fait accédé à l'indépendance, encore que quelques autres territoires doivent en faire autant dans un avenir immédiat.

25. Manifestement, les progrès dans ce sens ne s'accomplissent pas au rythme qui était prévu lorsque l'Assemblée a proclamé solennellement la nécessité de mettre rapidement et inconditionnellement fin au colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations. Ce n'est pas ce que l'on escomptait lorsque l'Assemblée demandait que des mesures immédiates fussent prises pour transférer tous pouvoirs aux peuples des territoires qui n'avaient pas encore accédé à l'indépendance.

26. Je voudrais définir clairement la position du Ghana. L'Assemblée elle-même a déclaré que le manque de préparation dans les domaines politique, économique ou social ou dans celui de l'enseignement ne devait jamais être pris comme prétexte pour retarder l'indépendance. Cela signifie que tout ce qui reste à faire, c'est de régler les modalités et les procédures du transfert des pouvoirs aux peuples dépendants, sans aucune condition ni réserve, conformément à leur volonté et à leurs vœux librement exprimés et sans aucune distinction de race, de croyance ou de couleur.

27. Nous ne croyons pas, comme on l'a suggéré, que cette formule entraîne nécessairement la remise du pouvoir entre les mains de gouvernements ou de groupes minoritaires existants. Elle signifie que les pouvoirs doivent être transférés conformément à la volonté et aux vœux librement exprimés des peuples intéressés, sans aucune distinction de race, de croyance ou de couleur. Elle ne signifie pas que le peuple doit être empêché d'accéder à l'indépendance sous prétexte qu'il manque de formation ou qu'il n'a pas de possibilités économiques. L'indépendance, dans notre esprit, est une valeur spirituelle, un droit; il n'est guère en accord avec la dignité humaine de dire qu'un peuple ne peut pas accéder à l'indépendance parce qu'il manque de ressources matérielles lui permettant de subvenir à ses besoins, ou parce qu'il n'a pas assez de fonctionnaires qualifiés pour constituer une administration, ou encore parce qu'il n'a pas assez de techniciens pour monter des industries. Ma délégation ne pense pas que l'indépendance soit en quoi que ce soit une question de "maturité". Nous croyons que les problèmes qui se posent actuellement au Congo, par exemple, sont dus à la subversion impérialiste et non au manque de capacité des Congolais à se gouverner eux-mêmes.

28. Nous ne prétendons pas que les problèmes disparaissent dès que les pays accèdent à l'indépendance et que les nouveaux pays indépendants n'aient pas à faire face à des problèmes encore plus importants et encore plus difficiles à résoudre; au contraire, leur incapacité à subvenir à leurs besoins, le fossé qui se creuse entre leurs aspirations légitimes et les ressources insuffisantes dont ils disposent, tant sur le plan matériel que sur le plan humain, tant en qualité qu'en quantité, cela constitue nécessairement un problème. Certes, on peut apporter une solution à ce problème en établissant des liens avec des puissances plus riches, plus fortes et plus développées; il peut alors se faire, et c'est là le danger de cette solution, que ces puissances se paient de cette protection et de cette assistance en incorporant les pays qui en bénéficient dans leur zone d'influence; une telle solution constitue, il n'est pas besoin de le dire, l'élément de base du néo-colonialisme, dont j'ai déjà parlé, et n'a évidemment absolument rien qui puisse inciter à la recommander.

29. La seule solution valable, la seule qui tienne compte des idéaux exprimés dans la Déclaration, est celle d'une assistance collective fournie à ces Etats nouveaux par l'intermédiaire des Nations Unies ou d'institutions régionales créées à cette fin. Nous, Ghanéens, nous ne condamnons pas une coopération amicale et loyale entre l'ancienne puissance administrante et le nouveau pays indépendant, pas plus que nous ne dénisons à chaque Etat le droit de conclure comme bon lui semble des accords ou arrangements bilatéraux d'assistance. Mais s'il est vrai, comme le recommande la Déclaration, que le manque de préparation dans les domaines politique, économique ou social ou dans celui de l'enseignement ne doit jamais être pris comme prétexte pour retarder l'indépendance, alors la coopération et l'assistance sous des auspices internationaux constituent la seule manière d'éviter que les bénéficiaires ne deviennent des Etats-clients ou qu'ils ne soient incorporés à l'un des camps qui se livrent à la guerre froide.

30. C'est là où la question "Assistance à l'Afrique: programme des Nations Unies pour l'indépendance" devient particulièrement importante. Ma délégation n'est pas opposée à ce que l'on parvienne à l'indépendance d'une manière ordonnée et pacifique. Mais cela ne doit pas être pris comme prétexte d'un retard. Si, comme je l'ai dit, il existe certaines insuffisances, matérielles ou humaines, qui risquent de soulever un problème ou une difficulté pour l'accession à l'indépendance, on peut et l'on doit y remédier en élaborant maintenant un énergique et audacieux programme d'assistance. L'existence de ce programme n'est pas et ne peut pas être une condition préalable à l'indépendance; elle doit accompagner l'accession à l'indépendance et se poursuivre après elle.

31. La Déclaration proclame aussi qu'il sera mis fin à toute action armée et à toutes mesures de répression dirigées contre les peuples dépendants pour permettre à ces peuples d'exercer pacifiquement et librement leur droit à l'indépendance complète. Rapprochez cela de la situation en Angola et vous aurez un tableau d'horreur. Depuis deux ans, on ne cesse de s'y livrer à des représailles massives pour étouffer le mouvement de libération nationale, on y prend encore des mesures impitoyables d'extermination qui équivalent à un génocide et des dizaines de milliers d'Angolais ont été tués. La situation dans les autres territoires portugais d'Afrique n'est pas plus brillante: on y pratique toujours un travail forcé quitte de l'esclavage, ainsi qu'un racisme de la pire espèce, contraire au comportement traditionnel des Portugais, et le sort de l'homme ordinaire y est même pire qu'en Afrique du Sud.

32. On n'insistera jamais assez sur le fait que c'est là une violation flagrante de la Déclaration et les amis et alliés du Portugal portent une lourde responsabilité dans cette affaire. Ma délégation traitera ce sujet plus en détail lors de la discussion des questions relatives à l'Angola et au refus du Portugal de se plier aux exigences de la Charte. Je ne ferai maintenant que citer les paroles du Président du Ghana s'adressant à l'Assemblée à la quinzième session:

"... le vent qui souffle en Afrique n'est pas un vent quelconque. C'est un ouragan furieux, et ni le Portugal ni aucune autre puissance coloniale d'ailleurs n'est en mesure d'empêcher l'ouragan furieux du nationalisme africain de souffler dans les colonies opprimées et tyrannisées." [869ème séance plénière, par. 48.]

33. Aussi la délégation du Ghana fait-elle appel au Portugal pour qu'il ne s'obstine pas dans sa décision aveugle de s'opposer aux revendications légitimes des peuples de l'Angola, du Mozambique et de la Guinée dite portugaise, qui aspirent à l'indépendance. Que le Portugal cesse de se dresser contre l'Afrique tout entière au sujet de l'indépendance de l'Angola et des autres territoires coloniaux portugais et qu'il mette en œuvre en Angola, au Mozambique et dans les autres colonies portugaises une politique conforme à la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale et au Chapitre XI de la Charte.

34. Plus au sud, au Sud-Ouest africain, le caractère effroyable de l'administration sud-africaine a récemment été mis en lumière et décrit dans un rapport spécial du Comité du Sud-Ouest africain [A/4926]. Les sévices intolérables infligés à la population africaine et la politique d'apartheid largement pratiquée ont été exposés de manière détaillée. Comment peut-on s'attendre à ce que nous nous contentions de faire des déclarations, alors que dans un territoire comme celui-là les populations autochtones sont totalement privées de tous droits politiques et civiques, ne sont considérées que comme une source de main-d'œuvre à bon marché, ne reçoivent aucune part des profits tirés du commerce, de l'industrie et de l'agriculture, et sont traitées sur leur propre terre comme des parias auxquels on refuse jusqu'à la consolation que pourrait leur procurer l'instruction?

35. Dans un rapport ultérieur [A/4957], le même Comité énonce cette conclusion: "La politique, les méthodes et les mesures appliquées pour l'administration du territoire ont été en contradiction avec les buts et les principes du Mandat, comme avec la Charte des Nations Unies et les idées éclairées de l'humanité." Aucun des appels lancés en faveur d'une évolution et d'une réforme n'a été entendu, et l'Afrique du Sud continue de manière flagrante à ne tenir aucun compte de l'opinion mondiale et à refuser aux Nations Unies le droit de connaître son administration. Que l'Afrique du Sud ne soit absolument pas digne d'administrer le Territoire du Sud-Ouest africain n'a certainement pas à être plus amplement prouvé; la seule solution possible consiste à transférer effectivement les pouvoirs aux habitants du Territoire et à fournir par l'intermédiaire des Nations Unies une assistance suffisante pour les aider à maintenir leur indépendance. La délégation du Ghana continuera à faire pression sur l'Afrique du Sud, tant dans le domaine juridique que sur le plan politique, jusqu'à ce que les aspirations légitimes du peuple du Sud-Ouest africain soient pleinement réalisées.

36. L'Algérie est aussi un territoire où s'exerce une action répressive pour étouffer le combat juste et nécessaire que mène le peuple algérien pour la liberté, l'autodétermination et l'indépendance, ainsi que l'intégrité du territoire national. Cette guerre sans signification que la France poursuit depuis huit ans en Algérie est une menace pour la paix et la sécurité du monde et a été condamnée à juste titre par l'ensemble du monde civilisé. Mon gouvernement ne peut que considérer comme un acte d'hostilité contre l'Afrique toute assistance fournie à la France directement ou indirectement par l'intermédiaire de l'Organisation du Traité de l'Atlantique nord. A maintes reprises, les Nations Unies ont demandé qu'il soit mis fin à cette guerre tragique et à sa quinzième session l'Assemblée, dans une résolution [1573 (XV)], a non seulement reconnu le droit du peuple algérien à l'indé-

pendance et à la libre détermination sur la base de l'unité et de l'intégrité territoriale de l'Algérie, mais a aussi reconnu que l'Organisation des Nations Unies a la responsabilité de contribuer à ce que ce droit sacré soit mis en œuvre.

37. Cependant, la situation se détériore rapidement, entraînant des souffrances terribles et des pertes de vies humaines. Presque chaque jour, des dépêches de presse nous informent que des actes de violence et de barbarie sont perpétrés contre des Algériens sans armes. Il est donc plus urgent que jamais de n'épargner aucun effort pour chercher à ce problème une solution rapide et pacifique. Heureusement, la France admet elle-même maintenant que l'Algérie doit nécessairement être indépendante; heureusement aussi, certains signes montrent que la France ne considère plus l'autodétermination de l'Algérie comme une solution de désespoir excluant la coopération, mais comme une solution raisonnable qui pourra servir de base à de nouvelles et fructueuses relations. La France reconnaît aussi que pas un Algérien ne cessera de revendiquer la souveraineté algérienne sur le Sahara et que les habitants du Sahara sont décidés à être Algériens. Dans ce contexte, le moins que puisse faire l'Assemblée, en tenant compte de ses responsabilités permanentes telles qu'elles ont été définies à la quinzième session, est de recommander la reprise de négociations loyales et positives avec pour but la conclusion d'un accord sur le principe, les modalités et le calendrier de l'indépendance, ainsi que la conclusion d'un cessez-le-feu. Par la suite, des négociations pourront aussi être menées pour définir les relations entre la France et l'Algérie, pour accorder des garanties à la population française d'Algérie.

38. Les nouvelles concernant la situation en Algérie sont mauvaises. Ma délégation est fermement convaincue que M. Ben Bella, vice-président du Gouvernement provisoire de la République algérienne, et d'autres détenus devraient être libérés afin de détendre l'atmosphère en vue de négociations adéquates et efficaces menant à une solution définitive et sans équivoque pour l'indépendance du peuple algérien. Il faut que l'on cesse d'immoler la jeunesse de France et d'Algérie. Le Ghana fait appel à la France pour qu'elle respecte la Déclaration de la résolution 1514 (XV) et qu'elle s'y conforme.

39. La situation dans ce qu'on appelle les territoires de la Haute Commission en Afrique australe continue aussi à être une cause de grand mécontentement. Le principe du suffrage universel n'a été appliqué dans aucun de ces territoires. Au Soudan, la moitié environ des membres de la nouvelle législature doivent être élus par les colons blancs, qui sont seulement au nombre de 10 000 sur une population totale de 250 000 habitants. Au Bassoutoland, les membres élus sont encore en minorité et au Betchoualand les 380 000 Africains ont 10 représentants au Conseil législatif alors que les 3 000 Européens ont aussi 10 représentants, et le reste des sièges est réparti entre un groupe de fonctionnaires européens et des membres nommés par le gouvernement. Si c'est là tout ce que le Royaume-Uni peut montrer en fait de progrès constitutionnels accomplis au cours de ses 70 années de présence, alors il est manifeste que l'Organisation doit y prêter attention et en prendre note. Ma délégation pense que des mesures positives devraient être prises immédiatement pour appliquer, en ce qui concerne ces territoires de la Haute Com-

mission, la déclaration de la résolution 1514 (XV) et notamment le paragraphe 5 qui stipule:

"Des mesures immédiates seront prises dans les territoires sous tutelle, les territoires non autonomes et tous autres territoires qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance, pour transférer tous pouvoirs aux peuples de ces territoires, sans aucune condition ni réserve, conformément à leur volonté et à leurs vœux librement exprimés, sans aucune distinction de race, de croyance ou de couleur, afin de leur permettre de jouir d'une indépendance et d'une liberté complètes."

40. Je n'ai pas l'intention d'entreprendre l'examen de tous les territoires d'Afrique qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance complète. Si je me suis quelque peu appesanti sur cette question des territoires africains, c'est parce que c'est en Afrique que subsiste encore le principal bastion de l'impérialisme et du colonialisme. Aussi, avec votre permission, je ferai quelques observations sur la situation en Afrique centrale.

41. Il semble, à considérer la récente évolution constitutionnelle dans les Rhodésies, que l'on s'efforce résolument de faire de cette région une autre Afrique du Sud. Les leaders africains du Nyassaland et des Rhodésies ont exprimé leur opposition au maintien de la Fédération sous sa forme actuelle, mais il n'en sera pas tenu compte tant que les changements constitutionnels proposés dans chacun des territoires n'auront pas été arrêtés. Or, ils ne sont pas près de l'être. En Rhodésie du Nord, aucun signe ne montre que sera tenue la promesse que contenait le rapport établi en 1960 par la Commission Monckton^{1/}, qui recommandait le transfert des pouvoirs à la majorité africaine dès que possible; pourtant, le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni s'était engagé à donner suite aux grandes recommandations de ladite commission. Au lieu de cela, on a essayé d'élaborer des plans de compromis, par exemple le plan McLeod et les recommandations de Hone, qui ont été rejetées par les dirigeants africains. De plus, en ce qui concerne le droit de vote, des complications sans fin ont surgi, qui semblent faites plus pour tourner que pour respecter les principes démocratiques, ce qui est au détriment de la majorité africaine.

42. En Rhodésie du Sud également, les leaders africains ont rejeté les nouvelles propositions constitutionnelles qu'ils jugeaient complètement inacceptables, "mises au point par des blancs pour des blancs" et "un déni choquant des droits fondamentaux de l'homme et une insulte aux principes de la démocratie". La validité du référendum qui a eu lieu sur ces propositions est douteuse, non seulement parce qu'à la base le vote a été faussé en faveur des colons, mais aussi parce qu'à en croire les rapports et les plaintes émanant des dirigeants africains, s'il n'y avait pas eu ce que le *Times* de Londres a appelé "une campagne honteuse", les résultats auraient probablement été différents. Ainsi, ces nouvelles mesures ont été qualifiées de farce permettant à une minorité de continuer à exercer des prérogatives qui appartiennent à la majorité ou à l'ensemble de la population.

43. Au Nyassaland, le tableau est moins décourageant, mais il faut espérer que l'on établira bientôt

^{1/} Rapport de la Commission consultative pour la révision de la Constitution de la Rhodésie et du Nyassaland (Londres, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1960) Cmnd. 1148.

une constitution révisée conformément aux vœux du parti africain majoritaire. Nous sommes également heureux d'apprendre qu'au Kenya l'on prévoit pour le début de l'année prochaine, ou plus tôt, comme le suggèrent les nationalistes africains, une conférence constitutionnelle en vue de l'autonomie complète et de l'indépendance; nous voulons naturellement espérer qu'une fois ces dispositions arrêtées, les élections se feront sur la base du suffrage universel. En outre, nous demandons instamment à la puissance administrante de tout faire pour encourager un rapprochement et un accord entre les grands partis au sujet des principes fondamentaux de la constitution. Nous intercédons de la sorte car nombreux sont ceux — nous ne sommes pas forcément de leur avis — qui soupçonnent la puissance administrante de se servir de l'un de ces partis pour retarder l'accord et ainsi l'indépendance. Nous ne partageons pas ces soupçons, mais ils sont fort répandus. Nous insistons aussi sur le fait que le maintien de la base militaire du Royaume-Uni dans le Territoire ne doit pas faire l'objet d'un marchandage dans les négociations pour l'indépendance; nous préférierions certes voir cette question liquidée tout de suite, mais nous reconnaissons également que le Territoire aura le droit de prendre lui-même les décisions qui s'imposeront lorsqu'il accèdera à l'indépendance; ce qui est sûr, c'est que cela ne doit pas constituer un élément de l'accord global concernant l'indépendance.

44. Comme je l'ai déjà dit au cours de la déclaration que j'ai faite l'an dernier devant la Première Commission:

"Il importe — en ce qui concerne l'Afrique centrale et orientale — de souligner ce point des droits de la majorité. On nous accuse souvent de nationalisme noir, de racisme à rebours, voire de communisme. C'est se méprendre entièrement. Nous autres, Africains, nous nous préoccupons davantage des droits fondamentaux de l'homme que de pigmentation de l'épiderme ou d'idéologie. Nous nous considérons comme faisant partie de la grande communauté humaine dans laquelle l'homme en tant que tel, sans égard à la couleur de son épiderme ou à l'idéologie qu'il professe, est le facteur décisif^{2/}."

45. Cependant, nous ne sommes pas sans nous rendre compte des difficultés. Il y a bien entendu ce problème d'ordre général: des minorités de race, de langue, de couleur ou de religion différentes ont tendance à redouter la domination de la majorité. Mais ces craintes peuvent être apaisées grâce à des garanties constitutionnelles et juridiques acceptables pour les représentants dûment élus au suffrage universel. Un problème plus important, mais non insoluble, réside dans le fait que puisque ce sont les Européens qui détiennent le monopole de l'éducation, des connaissances professionnelles et des capitaux, c'est l'activité européenne qui soutient en fait la vie économique de régions comme le Kenya et ce qu'on appelle la Fédération d'Afrique centrale. On peut résoudre ce problème en offrant à toutes les races les mêmes possibilités en matière d'éducation et d'acquisition de connaissances professionnelles et autres moyens leur permettant d'être armées pour l'existence.

46. Pour notre part, nous avons insisté aux diverses conférences africaines pour que le transfert des pou-

^{2/} Cette déclaration a été faite à la 1142^e séance de la Première Commission, dont le compte rendu officiel n'est publié que sous forme de compte rendu analytique.

voirs politiques se fasse par étapes, c'est-à-dire pour que l'on fixe une date précise pour une proche accession à l'indépendance, et nous avons fait appel aux puissances administrantes pour qu'elles prennent rapidement des mesures permettant de mettre en œuvre les dispositions de la Charte et de réaliser les aspirations politiques des peuples, à savoir l'autodétermination et l'indépendance.

47. A notre avis, ces mesures devraient comprendre un programme considérablement accéléré et étendu d'éducation et de formation technique, de nouvelles possibilités offertes systématiquement aux Africains dans le domaine de l'agriculture et de l'industrie, ainsi qu'une participation rapidement accrue des Africains à la vie politique de leur pays. En prenant de telles mesures, on rétablirait ce qui, à notre avis, manque le plus dans les sociétés pluralistes d'Afrique: la confiance et l'espoir de la majorité africaine.

48. Puis-je me permettre maintenant de faire quelques observations au sujet du paragraphe 6 de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, dans lequel il est dit que:

"Toute tentative visant à détruire partiellement ou totalement l'unité nationale et l'intégrité territoriale d'un pays est incompatible avec les buts et les principes de la Charte des Nations Unies."

49. Le problème du Katanga constitue un cas de ce genre. Des tentatives déplorables et malintentionnées continuent à être faites par ceux qui possèdent des intérêts dans le pays pour soutenir le régime fantoche de M. Tshombé, de qui on se sert pour diviser la République du Congo (Léopoldville) au moyen d'activités sécessionnistes. La République du Congo est, aux yeux de ma délégation, une et indivisible et les Nations Unies doivent faire de leur mieux pour que ces intrigues inspirées par l'impérialisme cessent de lui faire tort. Ma délégation aura l'occasion d'exprimer son opinion en détail lors de la discussion de la question, mais nous insistons sur ce point: les Nations Unies doivent aider autant qu'elles le peuvent le Gouvernement central de la République du Congo dans ses efforts pour maintenir l'intégrité territoriale du Congo tout entier.

50. Cette assistance sera conforme à la résolution du Conseil de sécurité en date du 14 juillet 1960^{3/} adoptée lorsque le Premier Ministre de la République du Congo (Léopoldville) le regretté Patrice Lumumba, qui fut assassiné de sang-froid, avait lancé un appel aux Nations Unies pour qu'elles l'aident à sauvegarder la paix, l'ordre et la souveraineté de la République du Congo. La délégation du Ghana insiste sur un deuxième point: les résolutions du Conseil de sécurité relatives à la situation dans la République du Congo doivent être pleinement mises en œuvre et tous les mercenaires étrangers doivent être expulsés du Katanga. En troisième lieu, nous lançons un appel à tous les Etats pour qu'ils renoncent à maintenir avec le Katanga des relations commerciales, financières et consulaires, parce que ces relations nuisent à l'intégrité territoriale de la République du Congo et sapent cette intégrité si on les entretient sans avoir consulté le Gouvernement central ou le Président de la République.

51. Le différend qui s'est élevé au sujet de l'Irian occidental ou "Nouvelle-Guinée néerlandaise" peut

aussi être considéré comme un exemple des problèmes envisagés au paragraphe 6 de la Déclaration. Ma délégation déplore que les négociations antérieurement menées entre le Gouvernement de la République d'Indonésie et le Gouvernement néerlandais n'aient pas réussi à régler le différend.

52. La Charte de transfert de la souveraineté, comprise dans l'Accord de la Conférence de la table ronde intervenu entre les Pays-Bas et l'Indonésie^{4/} et transférant à la République d'Indonésie la souveraineté sur ce que l'on appelait les Indes orientales néerlandaises, stipulait expressément en son article premier:

"Le Royaume des Pays-Bas transfère à la République des Etats-Unis d'Indonésie de façon inconditionnelle et irrévocable l'entière souveraineté sur l'Indonésie et par là même reconnaît ladite République des Etats-Unis d'Indonésie comme Etat indépendant et souverain."

53. Ainsi, c'était à la République indépendante des Etats-Unis d'Indonésie qu'était transférée la souveraineté sur l'Indonésie; mais qu'était-elle, cette Indonésie? Nul n'ignore que les Pays-Bas administraient ce qui est maintenant la République d'Indonésie et l'Irian occidental comme une seule et même colonie appelée les Indes orientales néerlandaises. On a même dit qu'après la seconde guerre mondiale le Gouvernement néerlandais désignait officiellement l'ensemble des Indes orientales néerlandaises sous le nom d'Indonésie. Cela est confirmé par le fait que, dans leur dernier rapport annuel sur l'Indonésie adressé à l'ONU en 1949, les Pays-Bas décrivaient l'Indonésie comme suit:

"... une série de groupes d'îles dans la région équatoriale s'étendant depuis le littoral asiatique jusqu'à l'Australie. Les principaux groupes d'îles sont: les grandes îles de la Sonde ... les petites îles de la Sonde ... les Moluques et la Nouvelle-Guinée située à l'ouest du 141ème degré de longitude est^{5/}."

54. Cette description géographique faite par le Gouvernement néerlandais ne laisse aucun doute: l'Irian occidental, ou Nouvelle-Guinée, fait partie d'une certaine entité géographique appelée alors les Indes orientales néerlandaises et devenue maintenant l'Indonésie.

55. Malgré les déclarations faites par des porte-parole des Pays-Bas comme le Dr Royen selon lesquelles toutes les parties étaient d'accord pour que ce qui était jusqu'alors les Indes orientales néerlandaises devînt dès que possible un Etat indépendant, les Pays-Bas maintiennent leur présence en Irian occidental en raison d'une clause échappatoire de l'article 2 de la Charte de transfert de la souveraineté. C'est là le nœud du problème. Cet article, qui a trait à la "résidence de la Nouvelle-Guinée" stipule notamment:

"Considérant qu'il n'a pas encore été possible de concilier les vues des parties relativement à la Nouvelle-Guinée, dont le sort continue donc à faire l'objet d'un différend,..." "Considérant que les parties se sont donné pour principe de résoudre

^{3/} Documents officiels du Conseil de sécurité, quinzième année, Supplément de juillet, août et septembre 1960, document S/4387.

^{4/} Nations Unies, *Recueil des Traités*, vol. 69 (1950), No 894.

^{5/} Voir *Territoires non autonomes, Résumés et analyses des renseignements transmis au Secrétaire général au cours de l'année 1948* (publication des Nations Unies, No de vente: 49.VI.B.1), p. 1510.

par des moyens pacifiques et raisonnables tous les différends qui pourraient exister ou s'élever par la suite entre eux, ...il est décidé que le statu quo sera maintenu en ce qui concerne la Résidence de Nouvelle-Guinée, étant entendu que, dans un délai d'un an à compter de la date du transfert de la souveraineté à la République des Etats-Unis d'Indonésie, la question du statut politique de la Nouvelle-Guinée sera réglée par voie de négociations entre la République des Etats-Unis d'Indonésie et le Royaume des Pays-Bas."

56. Le point de départ, donc, est l'accord auquel sont parvenus ensemble l'Indonésie et les Pays-Bas, selon lequel il devait y avoir, à un certain moment, des négociations au sujet du statut de l'Irian occidental ou Nouvelle-Guinée. Toutefois, en dehors de ces considérations d'ordre juridique, mon gouvernement pense que ce différend comporte un certain nombre d'éléments politiques au sujet desquels l'Organisation des Nations Unies doit endosser franchement ses responsabilités, de sorte que l'on puisse parvenir à un règlement pacifique.

57. Mon gouvernement a étudié soigneusement les propositions contenues dans le projet de résolution [A/L.354] présenté par la délégation des Pays-Bas. En d'autres circonstances, on trouverait que ce projet de résolution est audacieux, qu'il montre une certaine imagination et qu'il va assez loin pour constituer un premier pas nécessaire vers l'application de la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale dans certains territoires non autonomes. Mais les circonstances étant ce qu'elles sont et tout en appuyant l'intervention de l'Organisation des Nations Unies dans ce différend, ma délégation considère que la solution proposée par les Pays-Bas repose entièrement sur une base qui préjuge la principale question en litige, compte tenu de l'article 2 de la Charte de transfert de souveraineté, acceptée aussi bien par l'Indonésie que par les Pays-Bas. Le Territoire peut-il, en raison de considérations juridiques ou politiques, faire l'objet d'un accord de la manière qui a été proposée? S'il ne le peut pas, la solution proposée, malgré la façon admirable dont elle a été liée au principe de l'autodétermination, n'a rien à voir avec la question.

58. Ma délégation souhaite que cette question n'entraîne pas une guerre et que l'on puisse trouver une solution pacifique grâce à des négociations pacifiques; nous espérons également que l'on trouvera une base acceptable pour les deux parties, sur laquelle on puisse fonder ces négociations, qu'elles soient menées dans le cadre de l'Assemblée ou en dehors d'elle. La délégation du Ghana propose qu'un comité des bons offices, composé de cinq membres, soit nommé par le Président de l'Assemblée, avec l'accord des deux parties intéressées, afin d'entamer des négociations entre l'Indonésie et les Pays-Bas pour régler le différend au sujet du Territoire de l'Irian occidental. Ce comité, s'il était nommé, élaborerait ses propres procédures en vue de parvenir à une solution satisfaisante pour tous les intéressés. Le Comité des bons offices ferait rapport à l'Assemblée générale soit l'an prochain, soit aussitôt que possible avant la dix-septième session, sur les progrès accomplis dans le règlement du différend.

59. Nous espérons vivement que l'on n'insistera pas pour que le projet de résolution fasse l'objet d'un vote, afin d'éviter que chacun ne se raidisse davantage sur ses positions. En fait, ma délégation demande à la délégation des Pays-Bas de retirer son projet de

résolution de manière qu'un projet de résolution acceptable pour chacune des deux parties puisse être préparé et présenté. Toutefois, si le projet de résolution des Pays-Bas est mis aux voix, ma délégation se verra dans l'obligation de voter contre.

60. Il y a, certes, quelques territoires où l'on éprouve de la méfiance quant aux bienfaits de l'indépendance et à leur aptitude à se maintenir dans cette condition. Certains d'entre eux, comme les territoires de la Haute Commission en Afrique australe, dont j'ai déjà parlé, ont une superficie vraiment peu étendue, une population assez faible et une économie qui n'est pas viable. Mais, de l'avis de ma délégation, cela ne signifie pas que la Déclaration ne s'applique pas à eux. La Déclaration, pour ce qui est de ces territoires, doit, à ce qu'il nous semble, être interprétée en tenant compte de la résolution 1541 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale, où il est stipulé au principe VI de l'annexe à cette résolution, que la pleine autonomie peut être atteinte non seulement quand un territoire est devenu Etat indépendant et souverain, mais aussi quand il s'est librement associé ou intégré à un Etat indépendant. Aussi, tant que l'on parvient à une telle association ou à une telle intégration à la suite d'un choix exprimé librement, de plein gré et démocratiquement, et sur la base d'une égalité totale, de préférence sous les auspices des Nations Unies, alors l'application de la Déclaration ne doit pas nécessairement préjuger ni exclure ces possibilités autres que la condition d'Etat indépendant et souverain.

61. Ce sont ces considérations qui ont guidé ma délégation lorsque nous avons examiné les questions que discute actuellement l'Assemblée. Il résulte de ces considérations que, quelle que soit la façon dont l'Assemblée décide de considérer le problème de l'application de la Déclaration, il est manifestement nécessaire de créer un comité spécial pour examiner les progrès de cette application dans tous les territoires non autonomes et sous tutelle et autres territoires qui ne sont pas encore complètement indépendants; ce comité serait également chargé de faire rapport sur ces progrès et de soumettre des recommandations à ce sujet. En ce qui concerne l'Afrique, nous estimons, tout bien pesé, que le comité devrait, avec la coopération des puissances administrantes, des chefs nationalistes et des représentants élus, mettre au point les détails précis de la mise en application immédiate de la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale, en tenant pleinement compte des aspirations librement exprimées des habitants. Le processus de remise des pouvoirs ne peut prendre guère plus d'un an, si les puissances administrantes sont de bonne foi et si les dirigeants africains le veulent.

62. La délégation du Ghana pense que tous les territoires africains non indépendants doivent le devenir sans retard et nous faisons appel à toutes les puissances pour qu'elles considèrent sans rancœur partisane la question de l'application de la Déclaration que l'Assemblée a adoptée l'an dernier, qui est péremptoire, à laquelle on ne peut déroger et qui ne souffre aucun retard. Elle affirme la confiance en la capacité de tous les peuples, en Afrique comme ailleurs, à diriger eux-mêmes leurs affaires. Elle répare une injustice qui a été infligée à l'Afrique dans le passé. En vérité, si l'Afrique était un continent oublié en 1946, au moment où a été promulguée la Charte des Nations Unies, la Déclaration, en demandant qu'il soit mis fin immédiatement au régime colonial dans tous les territoires qui ne sont pas encore indépendants, a rétabli l'équilibre. C'est pour

cela que la Déclaration doit être appliquée sans réserve ni retard. C'est pour cela que les territoires non indépendants d'Afrique ne peuvent attendre longtemps avant d'accéder à l'indépendance et c'est pour cela qu'on ne doit pas tenter d'embrouiller la question d'un programme des Nations Unies pour l'indépendance de l'Afrique avec des querelles hors de propos et des attitudes condescendantes.

63. Nous demandons à l'Assemblée d'adopter des résolutions mettant sur pied, un dispositif approprié pour l'application immédiate de la Déclaration de la résolution 1514 (XV). Ma délégation n'appuiera aucun projet de résolution traitant de l'indépendance de l'Afrique qui ne serait pas conforme à cette déclaration de l'an dernier. Les objectifs sont bien définis. Attelons-nous donc à la tâche pour liquider immédiatement le colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations.

M. Nosek (Tchécoslovaquie), vice-président, prend la présidence.

64. M. FLORES AVENDAÑO (Guatemala) [traduit de l'espagnol]: Je tiens en premier lieu à rendre hommage au distingué représentant qui vient de quitter la tribune pour le magnifique discours qu'il a prononcé, car il a fait du problème du colonialisme un examen complet qui peut guider parfaitement le jugement de l'Assemblée. Je voudrais seulement faire une synthèse, exprimer une opinion et réaffirmer un espoir.

65. Nous discutons en ce moment les points 22 et 88 de l'ordre du jour de l'Assemblée, qui sont d'une importance primordiale pour le maintien de la paix et découlent de la résolution 1514 (XV) adoptée par l'Assemblée à sa quinzième session. Essentiellement, il ne s'agit de rien de moins que de la libération de millions d'êtres humains. Le représentant du Ghana, qui vient de quitter cette tribune, a affirmé avec raison que la question présentait pour le continent africain une importance égale à celle que présente la Charte pour les Nations Unies. Tout récemment [1052ème séance], le représentant de la Birmanie a dit à ce propos qu'un coup de clairon sonnait et qu'il fallait espérer que toutes les nations seraient touchées par le sentiment de l'urgence de cet appel et y répondraient. C'est pourquoi la délégation du Guatemala, fidèle à la position anticolonialiste qui a toujours été la sienne, désire faire entendre sa voix à cette tribune.

66. Dans un discours prononcé devant l'Assemblée le 28 septembre dernier [1019ème séance], le Ministre des relations extérieures de mon pays a fait savoir d'une manière claire et catégorique que le Guatemala condamne avec la plus grande énergie le colonialisme et la discrimination raciale. Je dois aussi rappeler que le général Miguel Ydigoras Fuentes, président de la République du Guatemala, dans une déclaration qui a été portée à la connaissance des représentants permanents auprès de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, a condamné la politique dite de l'apartheid en ces termes: "La discrimination raciale n'est rien de moins qu'un esclavage déguisé."

67. En vérité, parler de colonialisme et de discrimination raciale, c'est parler d'esclavage. Les groupements d'hommes qui ne peuvent exprimer librement leurs opinions, qui n'ont pas le droit de s'associer en partis politiques pour examiner les problèmes qui ont trait à l'administration des affaires publiques, qui ne peuvent porter un jugement sur la conduite de leurs dirigeants, qui ne peuvent faire usage du droit

de vote pour élire des autorités et un gouvernement selon leurs aspirations et leurs coutumes, qui ne peuvent enfin exploiter librement et à leur profit les ressources de leur territoire et qui sont en outre soumis à un cruel régime de travail à salaires dérisoires, ces hommes, dis-je, sont des esclaves.

68. Il est incroyable qu'à notre époque de nombreux pays et des millions d'êtres humains soient privés de leurs libertés fondamentales. Il ne fait aucun doute que la crise actuelle qui menace de détruire notre civilisation est une crise des valeurs humaines. Elle est peut-être la conséquence logique de la prédominance du pouvoir politique et des progrès terribles de la science, appliqués à subjuguier les peuples au mépris du destin spirituel de l'homme. En un mot, c'est la négation de la liberté et l'absence de la justice.

69. Le processus historique du colonialisme n'est autre chose que l'évolution historique des peuples. Le phénomène sociologique de la croissance et de l'accumulation des éléments du pouvoir a permis, dans l'Antiquité, à certains peuples d'en soumettre d'autres, ce qui a donné lieu à ce qu'on a appelé "les guerres de conquête", dont la suite naturelle a été la colonisation.

70. Il serait lassant d'exposer dans le détail ce processus historique, d'autant plus que d'éminents orateurs l'ont déjà fait à cette tribune d'une manière admirable. Ils nous ont dit ce qui s'est passé au cours des millénaires. Il nous suffit donc de dire que si, dans l'Antiquité, le système colonial pouvait trouver sa justification dans le fait qu'il était appliqué à des milieux dont l'organisation sociale primitive et l'absence de valeurs spirituelles assuraient la domination de ceux qui cultivaient ces valeurs, amélioreraient cette organisation et accumulaient des éléments de travail et de puissance, en ces temps-ci, au niveau auquel nous vivons à notre époque, à la lumière du droit et des exigences d'une science et d'une technique qui progressent à pas de géant, le système colonial ne peut plus se concevoir. Je puis affirmer du haut de cette tribune que ce système est répudié universellement et que le désir est vif de parvenir à sa prompte liquidation.

71. Le continent américain, lui aussi, a souffert des guerres de conquête et est passé par le processus cruel de la colonisation. Mais le bilan a été dressé et le solde est favorable. Il est favorable parce que la puissance colonisatrice, l'immortelle Espagne, a répandu sur les terres d'Amérique la semence de sa race et y a mêlé les richesses de son sang ardent.

72. Grâce à des capitaines audacieux, des marins intrépides, de savants géographes, des chroniqueurs remarquables, des écrivains habiles et de saints prédicateurs, la colonisation a eu pour conséquence primordiale de donner naissance à une souche nouvelle, la race indo-espagnole, qui, à travers le long processus de domination coloniale et de luttes pour l'indépendance, a toujours maintenu haut l'étendard de la dignité humaine et de la liberté de l'homme. Cette race indo-espagnole est représentée aujourd'hui par 20 nations, compte 200 millions d'êtres humains et, par sa culture, par son progrès, par son organisation, est maintenant d'un grand poids dans les destinées du monde.

73. Comment pourrions-nous ne pas être heureux d'accueillir à l'Assemblée de nouveaux Etats indépendants? Comment pourrions-nous ne pas souhaiter pour le continent africain un destin tel que celui que connaît notre Amérique?

74. Cependant, nous devons dire que le colonialisme n'a pas été liquidé sur notre continent. Des puissances extra-continentales occupent encore des territoires américains, occupation qui a été réalisée et maintenue par l'usage de la force, l'abus du pouvoir et au mépris du droit. L'Amérique a le ferme espoir que, si la Charte des Nations Unies reste en vigueur, le colonialisme sera bientôt totalement liquidé sur son territoire aussi. Lors de la neuvième Conférence internationale américaine tenue à Bogota en 1948, l'Organisation des Etats américains a déclaré que le processus de l'indépendance américaine ne serait pas considéré comme terminé tant que ne seraient pas chassés de son territoire les régimes coloniaux qui s'y maintiennent. Afin d'arriver à des solutions rapides et d'accélérer ce processus de liquidation, cette conférence a créé la Commission américaine de territoires non autonomes et l'a chargée de rechercher les moyens appropriés pour restituer à leurs propriétaires légitimes les territoires occupés et libérer notre continent du système anachronique et humiliant du colonialisme.

75. Les puissances coloniales actuelles, grâce à leurs ressources économiques et même à leurs moyens militaires, imposent un régime qui maintient une distinction insultante entre les ressortissants de la métropole et les habitants des colonies, refusant à ces derniers les droits et possibilités qui sont réservés aux premiers. Devant la censure universelle que suscite cette conduite répréhensible, ces puissances se targuent d'être en train d'éduquer les colonies pour l'exercice de la liberté et de la démocratie et font beaucoup de propagande autour des sommes investies et des résultats atteints pour élever le niveau de vie et de culture des peuples colonisés.

76. Cependant, la délégation du Guatemala prétend qu'il n'est pas possible d'enseigner l'exercice de la liberté dans le cadre de systèmes de répression qui offensent gravement la dignité de l'homme et qui restreignent la jouissance des dons essentiels de la vie. Il est impossible que l'arbre fécond de la liberté puisse prospérer dans un tel climat.

77. C'est pourquoi ma délégation a écouté avec la plus grande sympathie les idées intéressantes exprimées par tous les orateurs qui ont traité la question à cette tribune, en particulier celles qui ont trait à la recherche des modalités d'une liquidation rapide du colonialisme, sans ingérences, sans dangers et sans attermolements préjudiciables.

78. Le chemin parcouru est riche en enseignements. Notre assemblée universelle a déjà une grande expérience en ce qui concerne la forme la plus appropriée que doit revêtir une action propre à obtenir des résultats satisfaisants. Nous devons espérer avec confiance que la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée aura les conséquences les plus rapides et les plus favorables, et, grâce à cette expérience, une année peut succéder à l'autre en préparant des fruits magnifiques pour l'année suivante, jusqu'à l'année de la liquidation définitive du colonialisme. Cette année-là, les Nations Unies auront écrit une page ineffaçable de leur histoire car alors le soleil brillera également pour tout le genre humain. Si l'espoir est le temps en marche, nous sommes fondés à croire que les Nations Unies auront bientôt écrit cette page magnifique de leur histoire.

79. On a aussi parlé ici du néo-colonialisme. Le représentant du Ghana qui vient de quitter la tribune a voulu prendre comme exemple, si j'ai bien com-

pris, les événements du Katanga pour montrer les caractéristiques de ce que l'on appelle le néo-colonialisme. Peut-être ne pourrait-on donner une définition concrète exacte de ce néo-colonialisme, mais il y a là un exemple qui pourrait éclairer le jugement de qui chercherait à se renseigner sur un problème aussi intéressant.

80. Cependant, il est un autre genre de colonialisme dont le représentant du Royaume-Uni a longuement parlé dans son discours d'hier. Il a dit qu'il y avait des peuples subjugués, il a cité des cas précis, il a expliqué le processus qui a été suivi, il a donné le nombre de millions d'êtres humains assujettis et le nombre de millions de kilomètres carrés occupés, et il a aussi expressément mentionné un empire qui a eu un penchant pour le colonialisme depuis l'époque des tsars: il a parlé de l'Union soviétique. Le représentant du Royaume-Uni a poursuivi en disant que là où il y a des soldats qui gardent les habitants pour les empêcher de s'en aller et non pour défendre leurs frontières, là il n'y a pas de liberté, là se trouve l'assujettissement. Là aussi il peut y avoir un néo-colonialisme.

81. Si un représentant est tenu de dire la vérité, alors ces choses-là doivent être dites aussi. Je ne le fais pas afin d'adresser d'amères critiques à l'Union soviétique. Cependant, je puis dire que lorsque, le matin, je m'achemine vers ce lieu de travail et que je vois sur la place des Nations Unies la ligne des drapeaux qui ornent l'entrée, il m'arrive parfois de penser, quand ils sont agités par le vent, qu'en eux palpite le cœur du monde; mais à peine ai-je tourné le coin à gauche pour gagner l'entrée de la salle de l'Assemblée que je vois d'autres drapeaux, en berne ceux-là, mélancoliques, tristes, sans agitation et sans vie. Que sont ces drapeaux? Ce sont ceux de peuples qui sont asservis eux aussi. Il faut souhaiter que cela disparaisse et que l'on cherche une solution honorable à ces problèmes, car si on ne le fait pas, on aura libéré l'Afrique, mais il y aura d'autres peuples qui gémiront sous le joug du néo-colonialisme.

82. Je désire également faire miennes les opinions exprimées par le représentant de Ceylan qui, dans son discours brillant et constructif [1048ème séance], a adressé un appel aux peuples pour que le problème du colonialisme ne soit pas situé au point de choc entre les grandes puissances, car il deviendrait alors un élément de plus de la guerre froide. C'est pourquoi j'estime que l'Union soviétique n'a pas le droit de fustiger le colonialisme tant qu'elle n'a pas apporté de solution au problème dont je viens de parler.

83. C'est pour suivre la voie de la liberté tracée par nos ancêtres que le Guatemala vous parle de cette tribune. En Amérique centrale, le souci de la liberté de l'homme constitue une tradition. Il suffirait pour le prouver — et pour vous faire comprendre pourquoi je me suis exprimé sur cette question avec tant de sincérité et d'émotion — que je vous cite un fait rigoureusement authentique.

84. Cela se passait dans la capitale de mon pays. L'Assemblée constituante de 1824 devait examiner la question de la libération des esclaves. L'éminent José Siméon Cañas, originaire du Salvador mais délégué ou député du district de Chimaltenango, dans la République du Guatemala — c'était aux beaux jours de la Fédération d'Amérique centrale — était gravement malade. Cependant, il rassembla toutes ses forces physiques et spirituelles et alla prendre sa place à l'Assemblée. Se dressant, il a prononcé ces

paroles immortelles: "Je suis venu en me traînant et si j'avais été agonisant je serais venu agonisant pour demander la liberté des esclaves."

85. Inutile de vous dire que l'Assemblée s'est levée et a chaleureusement acclamé ce geste; alors Cañas, assisté du député guatémalien Pedro Molina, a rédigé le document qui décrétait la libération des esclaves en Amérique centrale, faisant ainsi de la Fédération d'Amérique centrale l'un des premiers pays à proclamer la libération des esclaves.

86. C'est avec ces mots que, suivant la route glorieuse tracée par nos ancêtres, je viens soutenir les motions présentées afin que la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée soit appliquée et que soient libérés tant de millions d'hommes qui gémissent dans l'esclavage. Le Guatemala le fait parce que l'Amérique centrale a toujours été le cœur de la justice et le poumon de la liberté.

M. Slim (Tunisie) reprend la présidence.

87. M. BOURGUIBA (Tunisie): Il y a bientôt un an, nous adoptions à l'unanimité une résolution [1515 (XV)] dont le texte était proclamé solennellement comme la "Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux".

88. Lorsque je parle d'unanimité, j'espère ne pas trop forcer les règles de calcul de notre assemblée, car il y a eu quelques abstentions. Mais je veux croire qu'il n'y a pas eu, de la part des délégations qui se sont abstenues, autre chose que des réserves de forme — et non pas un refus tellement honteux qu'elles auraient été forcées de camoufler leurs vrais sentiments sous ces formes, ou encore une réédition de la grande lâcheté de Ponce Pilate!

89. L'Assemblée à sa quinzième session a couronné ainsi l'admission de nombreux pays sortant de l'ère coloniale en proclamant la nécessité de mettre rapidement fin au colonialisme où qu'il sévit.

90. Cette déclaration — fruit de l'initiative de la délégation de l'Union soviétique^{6/} — devait trouver immédiatement l'occasion de se concrétiser dans une certaine mesure grâce à la proposition d'étude d'un programme des Nations Unies pour l'indépendance et le développement de l'Afrique présentée par la délégation des Etats-Unis^{7/}. Ces initiatives devaient donner encore plus d'emphasis à l'Année de l'Afrique, et nous avons été heureux à l'époque de rendre hommage à leurs promoteurs. Malheureusement, les débats de la quinzième session ne devaient pas permettre, du fait de leur longueur, de mener à son terme la discussion sur le second projet, et seule la Première Commission eut à en connaître.

91. La présente session devait donc s'inquiéter du sort de ces deux initiatives, à savoir, d'une part, étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux et, d'autre part, continuer l'étude du programme relatif à l'Afrique.

92. A ce propos, ma délégation se félicite de voir que la partie politique de ce dernier point a été jugée de la compétence de l'Assemblée réunie en séance plénière et nous nous félicitons aussi de la jonction des deux débats, car le second point est le meilleur

exemple, la meilleure illustration que l'on puisse trouver pour discuter utilement du premier point.

93. En effet, l'Afrique offre malheureusement un grand nombre de sujets d'inquiétude, et, sous toutes ses latitudes, le sang coule du fait d'une incompréhensible cécité politique et morale qui pousse encore certains pays à refuser de reconnaître la réalité pourtant chaque jour plus tangible, à refuser non point de précéder le courant de l'histoire — ce serait trop leur demander peut-être — mais tout au moins de s'y résigner et de le suivre.

94. Notre débat est trop clair pour qu'il nécessite de ma part de longs développements qui ne seraient qu'une redite — moins éloquente — des interventions des distingués collègues qui m'ont précédé à cette tribune.

95. Je m'efforcerai donc d'exposer brièvement les vues de mon gouvernement. Pour ce faire, je passerai rapidement en revue la situation telle qu'elle se présente en cette fin d'année 1961, un an après la Déclaration du 14 décembre 1960. Je me permettrai d'en tirer les conclusions qui m'amèneront à formuler quelques suggestions. Ainsi, je crois pouvoir joindre utilement les deux points de l'ordre du jour qui nous occupent présentement.

96. Il y a quelques jours, le peuple algérien entrait dans la huitième année de sa guerre de libération. Deux semaines plus tôt, on assistait à Paris, à l'occasion d'une manifestation pacifique protestant contre un traitement discriminatoire, à une "ratonnade", cette hideuse chasse à la peau brune qui a fait honte — et ceci pour son honneur — à l'opinion française. Depuis le 1er novembre, plusieurs milliers d'Algériens détenus en France ont amorcé une grève de la faim dans le but d'obtenir le seul traitement qui convienne à leur qualité de patriotes, celui du régime politique, et pour protester contre les abus d'une administration pénitentiaire que des parlementaires français mêmes n'ont pu que condamner.

97. L'Assemblée générale a fort heureusement pris une initiative [résolution 1650 (XVI)] sur ce point particulier. Mais en même temps, on a entendu le Président de la République française parler de l'imminence de négociations entre le Gouvernement provisoire de la République algérienne; est-ce là l'atmosphère propice à des entretiens fructueux? Dans ses déclarations répétées, le Gouvernement français semble adopter une ligne voisine de celle indiquée par notre Déclaration sur l'indépendance. Malheureusement, rien n'est encore venu corroborer dans les faits ces intentions déclarées.

98. Plus au sud, toujours en Afrique, le Congo continue de nous préoccuper, de nous endeuiller, du fait de l'obstination criminelle des tenants de certains intérêts qui ont réussi à trouver et à garder, Dieu sait à quel prix, une équipe de fantoches dont ils se servent comme paravent pour ériger un Katanga prétendu indépendant. La logique de leur politique ne pouvait que les amener à créer cette armée qui compte dans ses rangs des mercenaires recrutés, un peu partout où l'on trouve cette faune, particulièrement parmi les ex-coloniaux, bien entendu, tels que les anciens combattants d'Indochine, les transfuges de la guerre d'Algérie, et d'autres encore.

99. Comme on peut le constater, une solidarité de fait s'est établie entre les tenants d'une même politique, qu'elle soit pratiquée au nord ou au sud du Sahara, et que les aventuriers qui la poursuivent, soient

^{6/} Voir Documents officiels de l'Assemblée générale, quinzième session, Annexes, point 87 de l'ordre du jour, document A/4501.

^{7/} Voir ibid., point 88 de l'ordre du jour, documents A/4515 et Add.1.

Français, Belges, Portugais ou Sud-Africains. L'apparition de ces maraudeurs volants, qui ont fait tant de mal au Congo, fait peser une responsabilité plus lourde encore sur les approvisionneurs. Il ne s'agit plus de conjonction d'intérêts privés ou de rêves insensés: pour que des avions à réaction puissent être vendus et passés en contrebande, il faut au moins, de la part des autorités constituées, une certaine bienveillance.

100. Depuis notre Déclaration sur l'indépendance, un nouvel incendie s'est déclaré, qui couvait et qui avait été annoncé depuis longtemps: c'est le bain de sang dans lequel les responsables portugais essaient de noyer les aspirations angolaises à la dignité. Comme cela s'est vu dans d'autres cas, on s'indigne à Lisbonne de l'immixtion dans les affaires intérieures de l'Angola, du Mozambique et d'autres territoires parce qu'ils ont été décrétés, en vertu d'un mythe prétendu juridique, "partie intégrante de la métropole". Je crois qu'il me suffira de rappeler les avatars d'une formule inspirée par le même esprit: on avait parlé, il y a quelques années, de "la France une, de Dunkerque à Tamanrasset".

101. L'Afrique du Sud, de son côté, non contente d'avoir été pratiquement expulsée du Commonwealth, persévère dans son aberration et continue d'ignorer la réalité. Sa politique d'apartheid, qui renie même certaines hypocrisies admises, lui vaudrait au moins un brevet de franchise et de cynisme si elle ne creusait la tombe de la société même qu'elle tente d'édifier. L'Afrique du Sud persiste par ailleurs à refuser d'appliquer les résolutions des Nations Unies concernant le Sud-Ouest africain. Il n'est pas nécessaire d'être une Cassandra pour annoncer à ces insensés des larmes et du sang.

102. Au Moyen-Orient, une entreprise coloniale d'un autre genre continue de bafouer la conscience humaine. L'expulsion de la plus grande partie de la population autochtone de la Palestine a été la condition qui a rendu possible la création et la survie d'un Etat artificiel dont la philosophie même est un affront aux règles de la morale internationale. Cette condition d'existence demeure puisque, il y a à peine quelques jours, le Parlement israélien votait une loi interdisant d'envisager même l'éventualité d'un retour de tout ou d'une partie des 1 200 000 réfugiés arabes — ceci au mépris des principes que les Membres de l'Organisation se sont engagés à respecter lors de leur admission.

103. L'archipel indonésien, lui aussi, souffre des séquelles de l'ère coloniale. Le Gouvernement néerlandais a décidé, à la faveur d'une réoccupation militaire partielle postérieure à la déclaration de l'indépendance de l'Indonésie, que l'Irian occidental, habité par 1 p. 100 à peine de la population des anciennes Indes orientales néerlandaises, ne faisait plus partie de l'Indonésie. Nous avons entendu, il y a quelques jours [1049^{ème} séance], le représentant des Pays-Bas nous exposer les grandes lignes d'un projet que son gouvernement a proposé de suivre pour mettre en pratique la résolution [1514 (XV)] adoptée au cours de la quinzième session. Ce projet aurait droit à l'approbation chaleureuse de notre assemblée s'il ne péchait par une faiblesse qui se trouve être, de l'avis de ma délégation, assez grande pour ne plus faire de ce plan généreux qu'une simple manœuvre tendant à retenir et à garder une partie de l'ancien empire. En effet, sous prétexte de mettre en jeu le principe de l'autodétermination, le Gouvernement néerlandais essaie

tout simplement d'amputer l'Indonésie d'une province. Et si nous pensons que l'autodétermination est le meilleur critère d'évolution vers le statut d'Etat émancipé, encore faut-il en tempérer l'exercice par un garde-fou, ou plutôt un "garde-manœuvre", à savoir le principe selon lequel le territoire d'un nouvel Etat indépendant doit être le même que celui qui dépendait de l'ancienne administration coloniale. C'est en vertu de l'application de ce principe même que ne se pose plus aujourd'hui, en Afrique du Nord, la question d'un Sahara autre qu'algérien. Que l'on imagine ce que donnerait l'application systématique et aveugle de l'autodétermination. Combien de nations éclateraient, qui ont des mouvements séparatistes, partout dans le monde!

104. Enfin, je voudrais faire un bref rappel des dangers que présentent les séquelles du colonialisme, non pas seulement pour l'évolution harmonieuse des pays encore dépendants, mais aussi pour les pays indépendants et même des Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies. C'est à l'été dernier que je pense, et à la façon dont le Gouvernement français a fait fi de tout ce que la morale et le droit international lui imposaient comme obligation de respecter l'intégrité de mon pays, de respecter sa volonté explicite de voir son territoire évacué complètement. Je ne reviendrai pas sur l'horrible massacre qui a placé Bizerte au nombre des villes martyres de la barbarie humaine. Je dirai simplement qu'aujourd'hui, bien que les forces d'agression se soient retirées sur leurs anciennes positions, le Gouvernement français n'a pas encore fait l'ombre d'un geste pour répondre à nos manifestations de bonne volonté. Il continue à ignorer la réalité et, cependant, il ne peut pas ne pas se rendre compte que pareille attitude d'aterrissement ne peut qu'engendrer de nouvelles épreuves.

105. Le tableau est bien sombre. Malheureusement, l'abus que font les puissances coloniales de la solidarité atlantique n'est pas fait pour aider le monde occidental à rétablir une réputation ternie du fait que les mouvements de libération se font surtout contre les membres de cette alliance, auxquels l'histoire a accordé le privilège d'avoir des colonies.

106. Mon but n'est pas de faire un réquisitoire; aussi n'insisterai-je pas sur d'autres cas où malheureusement la Déclaration sur l'indépendance est restée lettre morte.

107. En sommes-nous réduits à dresser un procès-verbal de carence?

108. La Tunisie s'y refuse, bien qu'au cours de l'année 1961 elle ait eu à endurer des épreuves suffisantes pour l'aigrir et diminuer sa confiance. Cependant, elle veut trouver dans certains faits des raisons de ne pas désespérer; il y a quelques semaines, notre assemblée s'est enrichie de l'apport d'un nouveau membre: le Sierra Leone. Dans quelques jours, c'est le Tanganyika qui accédera à l'indépendance; dans quelques mois, ce sera le Samoa-Occidental. Sur un autre plan, notre organisation a su, lorsque des problèmes de principes se sont posés, prendre des décisions importantes: je rappellerai seulement le vote unanime qui a clos le débat de l'Assemblée générale à sa troisième session extraordinaire, réunie à la suite de l'agression dont mon pays a souffert l'été dernier. Et il y a quelques semaines, un coup de semonce a été adressé par notre assemblée à la délégation de l'Afrique du Sud.

109. Il y a ainsi, aux moments cruciaux, des sur-sauts qui viennent heureusement contrarier cette espèce d'équilibre qui a tendance à s'instaurer entre deux mouvements antagonistes: d'une part, le grand élan du monde vers la liberté, et plus particulièrement l'impatience toujours plus pressante des peuples dominés à se dégager des liens de sujétion; d'autre part, les réticences des pays colonisateurs, leur mauvaise foi ou tout simplement leur incapacité à s'adapter au mouvement général. Pareil déphasage a régulièrement engendré des heurts, trop souvent sanglants, dont le seul résultat a été non pas seulement de freiner la roue de l'histoire, mais de réduire les chances de coopération et d'amitié entre les peuples dans l'avenir. C'est pour faire face à cette situation qu'en 1960 notre assemblée générale avait proclamé solennellement certains principes; c'est pour donner plus de consistance à sa Déclaration qu'il nous appartient, en conclusion de nos débats, d'apporter de la chair et du sang à cette proclamation, de sorte qu'elle devienne une réalité vivante. Ce résultat ne peut être obtenu que par l'énoncé de mesures pratiques qui doivent, dans leur conception, tenir compte des expériences passées, heureuses ou malheureuses.

110. Un destin injuste, mais dont le déroulement a prouvé l'utilité, a fait que le pays que j'ai l'insigne honneur de représenter a connu toutes les phases de la lutte pour l'indépendance. Bien qu'orienté par vocation vers les méthodes de la modération et de la négociation, il a su accepter les épreuves de force lorsqu'on l'y a acculé. C'est le témoignage de trois quarts de siècle de lutte sacrée, modeste du fait des dimensions de la Tunisie, que nous offrons à nos frères d'Afrique qui souffrent encore leur calvaire; c'est le fruit d'une expérience plus brève, mais honnête, que nous offrons à nos frères qui accèdent à l'indépendance; c'est un appel solennel que nous adressons aux pays colonisateurs pour qu'ils ouvrent leurs yeux non pas seulement aux réalités de notre monde tourmenté, mais aussi à leurs intérêts bien compris, car ces nations, elles aussi, malgré leurs erreurs, malgré leurs crimes, sortent en définitive une partie de cette humanité qui se débat sur les bords d'un gouffre digne de l'apocalypse.

111. Ce danger mortel qui menace la race humaine, illustré par l'instabilité et la précarité des relations dans notre monde, est né de l'antagonisme des deux blocs, le bloc occidental et le bloc oriental, antagonisme dont l'un des résultats les plus malheureux a été de faire du tiers monde — Afrique, Asie, Amérique du Sud — l'objet d'une compétition dont il se refuse à être le trophée.

112. D'autre part, la roue de l'histoire tourne inexorablement dans le sens de la libération des peuples. Le colonialisme est condamné, non pas seulement par notre Déclaration, mais par l'histoire; c'est une constatation d'ordre presque médical. A quoi bon s'obstiner à essayer d'insuffler la vie dans un corps déjà en décomposition? Combien stériles sont les tentatives en vue de retarder les échéances de l'histoire!

113. C'est dans cet esprit, et cela paraît peut-être paradoxal, à la fois d'idéalisme et de réalisme, que le Président de la République tunisienne a proposé le 2 mars 1959 l'idée d'une "table ronde" de la décolonisation. Je cite:

"Il s'agira de faire sortir l'humanité de l'ère coloniale pour l'engager dans celle de la coopération. C'est à froid que l'opération doit se réaliser. On

pourra fixer des étapes raisonnables, sauvegarder les chances d'une coopération fructueuse, d'une amitié durable. On doit pouvoir le faire. Il ne faut pas que des pays colonisés arrachent leur indépendance dans l'effusion de sang au risque de sombrer peut-être dans l'anarchie que pourra exploiter le camp adverse pour déchaîner les rancunes, propager son idéologie et préparer sa domination."

114. Le président Bourguiba a continué:

"J'imagine aisément une grande conférence qui réunirait tous les pays qui ont encore des colonies ou des pays semi-coloniaux.

"Réunis d'abord entre eux, ces pays pourraient parvenir à un accord. Ils inviteraient ensuite les représentants des peuples intéressés autour d'une table ronde, ou bien encore ils constitueraient des comités chargés d'étudier séparément le cas de chaque pays et d'examiner ses possibilités et ses conditions particulières."

115. Un peu plus loin encore, le président Bourguiba a dit:

"Ils pourront établir le contact avec les mouvements nationalistes, organiser avec eux des élections libres qui révéleront les éléments les plus valables et les plus lucides avec lesquels se fera le dialogue.

"L'évolution des peuples colonisés échappera de la sorte aux aléas du terrorisme, de la violence et de l'anarchie.

"La négociation entre colonisateurs et colonisés, en même temps qu'elle définira les étapes et les méthodes de l'émancipation, devra s'étendre à l'examen d'un plan d'assistance et de relèvement économiques. Il faut arracher les peuples au sous-développement, qui est une forme de la servitude.

.....

"Ce faisant, les pays occidentaux ne feraient qu'appliquer les principes dont ils se réclament, à savoir: aider les peuples à se libérer politiquement et économiquement. Acquis dans les conditions que je propose, une telle libération interviendrait dans le cadre d'un plan raisonnable qui restitue le pouvoir aux nationaux, prévoit l'organisation des élections et la mise en place des cadres.

"On s'inquiétera ensuite de mettre au point des formules d'aide et des modalités d'investissement pour accélérer les programmes d'industrialisation.

"On aura ainsi ouvert aux peuples libérés la voie du progrès économique et technique."

116. Cet appel, lancé il y a bientôt trois ans par le président Bourguiba, n'a malheureusement pas eu, de la part des puissances coloniales, l'écho réaliste que nous attendions. Il était sans doute trop prophétique si l'on considère les événements qui, depuis, ont ensanglanté le continent africain et qui ont été en fait malheureusement la seule réaction que nous ayons enregistrée.

117. Il y a bien eu des réalisations — j'en prends pour témoins celles des délégations africaines qui ont accru notre grande famille depuis lors — mais il n'y a pas eu de solution du problème dans son ensemble. Plus que jamais, et ce n'est pas seulement l'affection du rejeton pour son géniteur qui nous anime, nous pensons que pareille idée mérite l'attention de notre assemblée. C'est à notre sens le seul moyen

d'aborder un problème dans son essence, avec des chances de solutions pratiques qui auront pour première vertu celle de ne pas être partielles et disjointes. Ainsi l'on éviterait, du fait d'une participation volontaire et honnête des puissances coloniales et de l'appui des Nations Unies, que des réactions épidermiques n'engendrent ces soubresauts de fauve blessé et acculé que nous constatons chez ceux qui n'ont rien oublié et qui n'ont rien appris. Notre organisation se doit de s'engager dans cette voie.

118. Mais pouvons-nous honnêtement élaborer une formule unique et rigide pour mettre nos intentions en pratique? Notre but est clairement défini: c'est la libération totale. Mais il est difficile d'affirmer qu'une seule recette sera valable partout. Les moyens, les voies, les modalités peuvent différer, doivent différer en fait en fonction des données particulières à chaque pays. Mais ma délégation est d'avis que nous devons éviter, par la fixation d'une date même ultime, de donner l'impression que l'on se résigne à moraliser ou à admettre, ne serait-ce qu'un instant, le maintien d'un régime colonial où que ce soit.

119. Telles sont les réflexions qu'au nom de ma délégation, je pensais utile de confier à l'attention de mes collègues, à l'occasion du débat qui nous occupe. Je désirerais, en reprenant quelques phrases prononcées par le président Bourguiba à Belgrade, à la veille de la seizième session de l'Assemblée, vous indiquer le sens, le but et les perspectives que ma délégation s'assigne dans la présente discussion.

"Dans son essence, la lutte nationaliste a été pour nous, anciens colonisés, un combat pour la dignité de l'homme sous toutes les latitudes; un combat contre le colonialisme parce qu'il a foulé aux pieds cet attribut fondamental de la personne humaine. Ce racisme tantôt hypocrite et cauteleux, tantôt insolent et cynique, nous l'avons combattu, nous le combattons, nous le combattrons toujours. Nous ne ménagerons pas nos efforts pour venir en aide à ceux qui en souffrent. Mais le combat pour la dignité de l'homme ne prend pas fin avec la domination coloniale. Il doit continuer en vue de libérer les hommes de la faim, de l'ignorance, de la maladie. Il doit se prolonger par la lutte contre le sous-développement, contre l'exploitation de l'homme par l'homme, dans la même cité.

"C'est là le défi que nous lance l'histoire. Si nous savons le relever, nous arriverons non seulement à sauver nos peuples de l'emprise du colonialisme et à les mettre à l'abri des entreprises d'un néo-colonialisme, mais encore et surtout, nous aurons contribué à préserver la paix et la sécurité dans le monde."

120. M. PAVICEVIC (Yougoslavie): En adoptant la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux [résolution 1514 (XV)], l'Assemblée générale a stigmatisé d'une manière non équivoque le colonialisme sous toutes ses formes. Il s'agit donc non seulement de la condamnation du colonialisme en tant que système qui est déjà historiquement dépassé, contraire à la Charte des Nations Unies et en désharmonie absolue du point de vue moral et politique avec les besoins de notre époque, mais bien du système dont l'existence représente une menace permanente à la paix et un obstacle à la consolidation de cette dernière. Cet acte historique a été en même temps une expression évidente de l'opinion générale selon laquelle la liquidation du système colonial, c'est-à-dire du rapport d'inégalité

et d'exploitation économique, est non seulement indispensable mais constitue l'une des préconditions de la réalisation des rapports d'égalité et de collaboration si nécessaires à la sauvegarde de la paix et à la promotion du bien-être dans le monde entier. Finalement, en adoptant la Déclaration, l'Assemblée générale a assumé des obligations déterminées envers les peuples qui se trouvent toujours sous la domination étrangère et, en même temps, elle a endossé une responsabilité particulière quant aux efforts déployés en vue d'éliminer les foyers dangereux et les causes possibles de conflits dont l'existence, dans la plupart des cas, était et demeure le résultat de la politique colonialiste ou néo-colonialiste.

121. Depuis l'adoption de la Déclaration, la lutte de certains peuples coloniaux pour la liberté et l'indépendance a été couronnée de succès. Le Sierra Leone — dont nous avons salué avec satisfaction l'admission à l'Organisation des Nations Unies, il y a quelques jours [1018ème séance] — s'est activement associé aux efforts de la communauté internationale des Etats souverains en vue de la sauvegarde de la paix et du progrès mondial.

122. Le 9 décembre 1961, le peuple du Tanganyika accédera à l'indépendance, ce qui représentera l'ouverture d'une brèche en Afrique orientale à travers laquelle — nous l'espérons — le vent du changement contribuera rapidement à terminer avec succès la longue lutte des peuples de cette région.

123. L'Ouganda accédera à l'indépendance en 1962. De son côté, le célèbre chef africain Jomo Kenyatta demande que son pays martyre occupe, le 1er février 1962, la place qui lui revient depuis longtemps. Le peuple du Samoa-Occidental deviendra libre le 1er janvier 1962.

124. Ce sont là des événements d'une importance exceptionnelle, que nous saluons de tout cœur. Nous sommes profondément convaincus que l'apparition de nouveaux Etats indépendants sur la scène internationale et au sein de l'Organisation des Nations Unies contribuera sensiblement à renforcer notre organisation et la position de ceux dont l'intérêt essentiel est de sauvegarder la paix et de développer la collaboration entre les peuples égaux en droits, collaboration fondée sur le principe de la coexistence active et pacifique.

125. Si importants que soient les résultats obtenus dans l'élimination des rapports coloniaux, le processus d'émancipation des peuples colonisés n'a pas encore pris fin. Ce processus ne s'est pas déroulé dans le passé et, malheureusement, ne se déroule pas encore aujourd'hui sans grands heurts ni sans une forte résistance de la part de certaines puissances coloniales aux aspirations justifiées des peuples dépendants dont la lutte est, sans aucun doute, facilitée par la libération d'un grand nombre d'anciennes colonies, mais dont les souffrances ne sont pas atténuées de ce fait.

126. On souligne très souvent ici que les pays qui sont encore des colonies ne représentent que 2 p. 100 de l'ensemble de la population qui, à la fin de la seconde guerre mondiale, se trouvait sous la domination coloniale. Derrière ce faible pourcentage se cache le fait que 70 millions d'hommes environ vivent toujours sous le régime colonial, et c'est pourquoi cet argument a une valeur contraire à celle qu'on voudrait lui attribuer. A notre avis, il renforce la thèse selon laquelle il faut accélérer la liquidation du colonialisme, et non pas la ralentir.

127. Bien entendu, nous sommes loin de nier les différences dans le degré de développement des divers territoires non autonomes, mais nous ne pouvons pas accepter les théories qui, en partant de cet argument, cherchent à justifier le ralentissement du processus de décolonisation. Par ailleurs, ces différences ne sont-elles pas encore plus grandes dans le degré de développement des Etats indépendants, et la résistance des puissances coloniales n'est-elle pas plus forte précisément dans les colonies relativement plus développées? Le fait est que les colonies existantes sont toujours des colonies, non pas parce qu'elles sont moins développées que celles qui ont conquis leur indépendance, mais bien parce qu'il s'agit, dans la plupart des cas, de forteresses du colonialisme et du néo-colonialisme auxquelles, sans égard pour les aspirations de leurs habitants et contrairement à leurs intérêts, on donne une place particulière et importante dans les divers plans économiques, militaires ou stratégiques. C'est pourquoi les forces coloniales et les forces néo-colonialistes ne manquent pas de recourir à toutes sortes de moyens — depuis la déformation cynique du contenu du droit à l'autodétermination, jusqu'à l'emploi de la force brutale — dans le seul but de prolonger leur règne et leur exploitation des peuples et des pays encore dépendants.

128. Bien que voué à l'échec, le colonialisme n'est malheureusement pas mort. Non seulement les dizaines de millions d'hommes qui vivent sous le régime colonial, mais également les guerres coloniales et les interventions colonialistes dans diverses régions du monde, en premier lieu sur le continent africain, en sont les meilleures preuves.

129. L'oppression brutale dans les territoires sous administration portugaise qui s'est transformée, en Angola, en une véritable guerre coloniale, la guerre d'Algérie qui dure depuis sept ans, l'aventure colonialiste à Bizerte, en été 1961, la politique d'apartheid haïe et condamnée par le monde entier que pratique le Gouvernement sud-africain, l'application de la discrimination raciale dans nombre de colonies, ne sont que quelques-unes des manifestations de l'obstination des milieux colonialistes et de certaines puissances coloniales à maintenir leurs privilèges ou à ralentir le processus de libération des colonies.

130. Si, à ces exemples que je viens de mentionner, on ajoute les tentatives faites pour influencer, au moyen de pressions économiques et autres, la politique intérieure et extérieure des pays nouvellement libérés et de ceux qui sont en voie d'acquiescer leur indépendance, une seule conclusion s'impose: les milieux colonialistes cherchent de toutes leurs forces, justement dans cette dernière phase de décomposition du colonialisme, à s'opposer au développement inévitable du processus d'émancipation des peuples dépendants, sans reculer devant l'emploi de la force et devant le recours à des aventures irresponsables, sans tenir compte des répercussions que cela peut avoir sur la situation internationale actuellement si tendue.

131. A notre avis, la tragédie de la République du Congo représente toujours, malheureusement, un exemple vivant de l'obstination, de la résistance et des tentatives opiniâtres des forces néo-colonialistes pour regagner et maintenir par tous les moyens, même après l'accession des colonies à l'indépendance, leurs privilèges économiques et politiques.

132. Il ne faut point oublier que la cause fondamentale de la crise congolaise et de toutes les souffrances

qu'endure le peuple de ce jeune Etat africain est l'intervention étrangère organisée, encouragée, financée et armée par les puissances coloniales et les milieux financiers étrangers.

133. La sécession n'est ici que l'une des formes sous lesquelles se manifeste l'intervention colonialiste, la désintégration du Congo étant la méthode employée pour maintenir les privilèges coloniaux, pour prolonger l'exploitation des richesses naturelles de ce pays.

134. Aucune rhétorique parlementaire, si brillante soit-elle, ne pourrait camoufler cet état de choses et encore moins déformer la vérité sur le drame qui se déroule depuis 17 mois au Congo. Ce drame humain et national représente un avertissement sérieux pour toutes les forces anticolonialistes, ainsi que pour notre organisation: le colonialisme, bien que voué à l'échec, n'est pas mort, mais constitue un danger réel pour l'indépendance des pays nouvellement libérés.

135. Ces tendances profondément antihistoriques, dangereuses tant par les troubles qu'elles suscitent que par le fait qu'elles se mêlent aux contradictions des blocs militaires — ce qui complique encore davantage la situation sur les deux plans — demandent, à notre avis, des actions déterminées et énergiques de la part de la communauté internationale. De telles actions sont d'autant plus nécessaires que la situation internationale est devenue dangereusement tendue et que l'humanité, plus que jamais depuis la seconde guerre mondiale, doit faire face au problème de la guerre ou de la paix.

136. La véritable menace pour la paix et les foyers de conflits réels et en puissance, ce sont l'oppression coloniale et les interventions colonialistes, non pas la résistance des peuples colonisés à cette violence et leur lutte pour l'affranchissement du règne colonial.

137. C'est dans ce sens que les efforts pour la liquidation du colonialisme non seulement ne sont pas en opposition mais se trouvent en entière harmonie avec les efforts déployés en vue de consolider la paix mondiale. La décolonisation définitive, la liquidation définitive du règne et du système coloniaux représenteront une contribution importante à la consolidation de la paix, du fait qu'elle éliminera de nombreux foyers dangereux de conflits et réduira la sphère des conflits entre les blocs existants.

138. Ainsi que je l'ai dit, le problème colonial occupe, en raison de ses conséquences, une place très importante parmi les questions qui rendent la situation actuelle telle que nous la voyons. Ce problème, et la nécessité de le liquider définitivement, se sont vu accorder l'attention qu'ils méritent par la Conférence des pays non alignés^{8/}. Dans la déclaration de cette conférence, il est dit entre autres:

"Les participants à la conférence sont convaincus que l'apparition de pays nouvellement libérés aidera aussi à réduire l'aire des antagonismes de blocs et à encourager toute tendance visant à affermir la paix et à promouvoir une coopération pacifique entre nations indépendantes et égales.

"Les participants à la conférence réaffirment solennellement leur appui à la Déclaration relative à l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, adoptée à la quinzième session de l'Assemblée générale des Nations Unies, et recom-

^{8/} Conférence réunie à Belgrade, du 1er au 6 septembre 1961.

mandent l'abolition immédiate, inconditionnelle, totale et définitive du colonialisme et ils ont décidé de faire un effort concerté pour mettre fin à toutes les formes et manifestations du néo-colonialisme et de la domination impérialiste."

139. La délégation yougoslave considère que notre organisation se doit de procéder sans tarder à la mise en œuvre de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux en vue de la libération définitive des peuples encore dépendants. En tenant compte de l'expérience du passé où le rôle actif et l'intervention de notre organisation ont rendu la liquidation des rapports coloniaux plus facile, en tenant compte aussi des besoins de l'évolution contemporaine, ma délégation estime que l'Assemblée générale ou l'organe qu'elle aura créé doit adopter une procédure lui assurant de larges possibilités d'action et sa participation active et indispensable dans le processus de décolonisation. Le droit de pétition, l'audition des pétitionnaires, l'examen de la situation sur les lieux, etc., doivent devenir les moyens normaux permettant de réunir les données nécessaires à la fixation, le plus tôt possible, de délais courts et réalistes pour l'accession à l'indépendance de chaque territoire, délais dans les limites desquels on procéderait, avec la collaboration et sous le contrôle de l'ONU, au transfert du pouvoir aux populations autochtones.

140. Ma délégation appuiera toute proposition ayant pour but d'appliquer effectivement la Déclaration et de mettre fin à un système qui, dans le passé, a conduit très souvent à des conflits très graves et qui, aujourd'hui encore, du fait même de son existence, représente une menace permanente pour les intérêts de notre organisation, pour les intérêts de la paix et pour ceux de l'humanité tout entière.

141. Ma délégation se prononcera en temps voulu sur les projets de résolution qui sont ou pourraient être présentés à l'examen de cette assemblée.

142. Je voudrais toutefois m'arrêter à un problème qui se trouve de nouveau soumis à l'Assemblée générale. Il s'agit de celui de l'Irian occidental, territoire que le Gouvernement des Pays-Bas considérait, dans tous les rapports présentés par lui à l'ONU avant 1949 et dans toutes les discussions ayant précédé le transfert de la souveraineté à l'Indonésie indépendante, comme faisant partie de ce qu'on appelait, à cette époque, les Indes orientales néerlandaises. Le fait que la souveraineté sur ce territoire, pour une raison ou pour une autre, n'a pas été transférée à l'Indonésie, comme elle aurait dû l'être, n'a aucunement modifié la situation en ce qui concerne son statut.

143. L'attitude de mon gouvernement au sujet de cette question est connue et elle a été exposée à plusieurs reprises: l'Irian occidental est une partie intégrante du territoire indonésien. C'est pourquoi la délégation yougoslave estime qu'aucune proposition méconnaissant ce fait à notre avis indéniable ne pourrait présenter une base pour une solution équitable et constructive.

144. Par ailleurs, la délégation yougoslave est convaincue que la solution durable et constructive de ce problème ne pourrait être cherchée et réalisée qu'en respectant les droits légitimes de l'Indonésie. La volonté passée et présente de ce pays de collaborer à la recherche d'une solution négociée nous indique la voie qui permettrait d'aboutir à une solution pacifique de ce problème — le transfert à l'Indonésie de la

souveraineté sur l'Irian occidental — et d'éliminer ainsi ce différend qui représente une menace sérieuse à la paix dans cette région du monde.

145. M. COLLIER (Sierra Leone) [traduit de l'anglais]: Une fois de plus, l'Assemblée est appelée à examiner l'éternelle question du colonialisme, notamment pour ce qui est de l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux.

146. Lorsque l'Assemblée générale a adopté à sa quinzième session la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, contenue dans la résolution 1514 (XV), l'ONU a réaffirmé certains principes importants posés dans les Chapitres XI, XII et XIII de la Charte des Nations Unies. Ces principes montrent quels sont les nobles idéaux qui ont inspiré les Etats fondateurs de l'Organisation et tous ceux qui, depuis, en sont devenus Membres.

147. Depuis l'adoption de cette résolution, de nombreux faits sont venus démontrer la bonne volonté et la sincérité de certaines puissances administrantes dont les représentants ont appuyé cette résolution. En effet, c'est avec un orgueil légitime que nous rappelons que notre pays, le Sierra Leone, a accédé à l'indépendance le 27 avril 1961 pour prendre place parmi les nations libres du monde. Il n'est que juste d'ajouter que cette accession s'est faite dans une atmosphère qui reflétait les meilleures relations et la plus cordiale amitié possibles entre mon pays et le Gouvernement britannique — nos anciens administrateurs coloniaux — dans une atmosphère d'où étaient exclues toute rancœur et toute amertume. En fait, c'est en raison de ces bonnes relations et de cette cordiale amitié que mon pays, après avoir accédé à l'indépendance, a été fier d'entrer dans la famille du Commonwealth britannique de nations.

148. Sans aucun doute, nombreux sont les pays autrefois dépendants et maintenant libres qui peuvent se réjouir d'avoir entretenu des relations tout aussi agréables avec leurs anciennes puissances administrantes. Pourtant, malgré des cas de ce genre, il ne faut malheureusement pas perdre de vue qu'environ 50 millions d'âmes sont encore sous la domination de puissances étrangères dans environ 70 territoires, en dépit de l'adoption de cette très importante résolution, la résolution 1514 (XV).

149. Nous avons donc le devoir de chercher à la présente session par quels moyens assurer l'application de cette remarquable résolution. Il ne serait guère utile d'exposer longuement tous les maux et toutes les humiliations que l'on doit au colonialisme. Il n'est certes pas besoin de se complaire dans une guerre verbale de récriminations. Ma délégation, qui représente un pays qui vient à peine de se libérer du statut colonial, préfère se tourner vers l'avenir. Nous vivons la plus exaltante des aventures: l'édification d'une nouvelle nation. Mais malgré l'atmosphère optimiste dans laquelle nous vivons et bien que nous soyons grandement soulagés de nous voir sortis d'une situation de dépendance et de respirer maintenant l'air léger d'une indépendance récemment acquise, nous ne pouvons demeurer insensibles au sort et au destin de ceux qui nous entourent. Nous ne pouvons cesser de sympathiser avec tous ceux qui sont encore en train de lutter pour la liberté et tous ceux qui sont encore en train de combattre pour obtenir le droit de décider de leur propre destinée.

150. C'est là un droit inaliénable. Dans l'univers entier, les hommes doivent être libres de diriger

eux-mêmes leurs affaires nationales et libres de choisir s'ils veulent se gouverner eux-mêmes ou s'associer à un autre groupe. Du fait que ma délégation reconnaît ce principe fondamental, nous applaudissons de tout cœur aux sentiments exprimés dans la résolution 1514 (XV). Nous voyons dans cette résolution une importante évolution dans la façon de penser de l'homme civilisé; cette résolution exprime une répugnance universelle à l'égard du maintien de la domination d'un groupe d'individus sur un autre groupe. Pourtant, en dépit de cette résolution, il y a encore quelques pays, représentés à l'Assemblée, qui s'obstinent malheureusement dans cette antique doctrine de la supériorité raciale et de l'inégalité des hommes.

151. Si je dis que certains pays s'obstinent à soutenir la doctrine de l'inégalité des hommes, c'est parce que je ne puis guère interpréter autrement leur conduite lorsqu'ils prétendent que certains peuples ne sont pas mûrs et ne sont pas aptes à l'indépendance. Si un groupe d'individus peut s'arroger le droit de déterminer l'étalon ou la norme permettant de dire dans quelle mesure une nation est mûre et prête pour l'indépendance, alors on doit admettre l'hypothèse que cela sous-entend: la nation qui s'arroge un tel droit est en état de savoir et de déterminer quelle est la véritable mesure de l'indépendance et quelles en sont les conditions préalables.

152. De l'avis de ma délégation, on ne peut déterminer si un peuple est prêt pour l'indépendance au moyen de normes arbitraires établies par un autre peuple. Toute nation a le droit de décider de son propre destin et nous estimons moralement indéfendable qu'un peuple doive continuer à vivre sous la domination d'une puissance étrangère lorsque ce peuple a déclaré son intention de se gouverner lui-même. C'est pour cela que ma délégation appuiera tout projet de résolution condamnant le colonialisme et conçue pour y mettre fin le plus vite possible.

153. Toutefois, nous reconnaissons pleinement qu'il est difficile de fixer des dates limites pour l'indépendance. Nous ne croyons pas que l'indépendance d'un peuple puisse être établie de cette façon. Nous pensons qu'il serait plus utile d'expulser les instruments de la répression; cela est d'ailleurs conforme aux termes du paragraphe 4 de la Déclaration de la résolution 1514 (XV), qui stipule:

"Il sera mis fin à toute action armée ou à toutes mesures de répression... dirigées contre les peuples dépendants... et l'intégrité de leur territoire national sera respectée."

154. Dans ce contexte, nous aimerions rappeler que nous éprouvons une vive inquiétude devant les événements de l'Angola, où les Portugais ont employé toutes sortes de violences pour maintenir sous le joug un peuple qui souffre et qui lutte pour ses droits.

155. D'autre part, nous espérons que les négociations actuellement en cours entre les Français et les Algériens aboutiront bientôt et mettront fin à cette longue, à cette interminable lutte que mène un peuple valeureux pour obtenir l'autodétermination.

156. C'est à l'Organisation des Nations Unies qu'incombe la responsabilité de prendre position sur cette question. S'il est vrai que l'Organisation a été conçue et créée pour faire disparaître les conditions de tension et les causes de guerre et pour créer un climat propice à la paix, alors il est certainement de notre devoir de faire de notre mieux pour exercer toute la pression morale dont nous disposons et d'élargir au maximum les fonctions de l'Organisation afin d'éliminer maintenant le colonialisme.

157. Nous avons tous entendu prononcer à cette tribune d'hypocrites déclarations contre le colonialisme faites par certains représentants de pays qui n'ont guère de motif d'être satisfaits d'eux-mêmes, car on pourrait bien parler de colonialisme lorsque les habitants d'un pays sont obligés de se soumettre à un gouvernement d'inspiration étrangère contre la volonté de la masse de la population. On pourrait bien parler de colonialisme dans le cas de ces peuples auxquels on n'a jamais accordé le droit de diriger leurs propres affaires. C'est là un mal qu'il faudrait également bannir sans retard. Il est hypocrite d'utiliser certaines normes contre un groupe de nations et d'en utiliser d'autres lorsqu'on envisage sa propre situation.

158. Comme on l'a déjà dit à la présente session, aucune résolution relative au sort des territoires dépendants n'a beaucoup de chances d'être appliquée sans le concours des puissances administrantes intéressées. Nous avons déjà constaté, au cours des dernières années, la bonne volonté de certaines nations — notamment le Royaume-Uni — qui se sont montrées disposées à renoncer à leurs possessions lorsque le peuple avait manifesté son désir de se gouverner lui-même. C'est un exemple que d'autres nations devraient suivre. Je tiens à déclarer que ma délégation approuve l'utile suggestion du représentant de Ceylan, qui a dit récemment [1049ème séance] que l'Assemblée générale devait s'efforcer d'obtenir le concours des Etats membres administrants et les inviter à faciliter sa tâche en admettant dans certains territoires actuellement sous leur administration des groupes des Nations Unies ou des missions de bons offices et en mettant à leur disposition les moyens nécessaires pour les aider à s'assurer des tendances de l'opinion publique dans le territoire considéré. Le représentant de Ceylan a ajouté que les Nations Unies pourraient par la suite, si le besoin s'en faisait sentir et si les parties intéressées le désiraient, apporter leur aide à ces parties au cours des négociations. C'est là une suggestion hardie qu'aucune puissance administrante s'intéressant sincèrement à l'application de la résolution 1514 (XV) ne devrait juger inacceptable.

159. Ma délégation souhaite apporter son appui à cette proposition ou à toute autre proposition qui aurait pour effet l'octroi de l'indépendance à des pays et peuples coloniaux, et nous proclamons une fois de plus notre foi dans les nobles idéaux de l'universalité des droits fondamentaux de l'homme qui sont inscrits dans la Charte des Nations Unies.

La séance est levée à 18 heures.

Nations Unies

ASSEMBLÉE GÉNÉRALE

SEIZIÈME SESSION

Documents officiels

Lundi 20 novembre 1961,
à 15 heures

NEW YORK

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Président: M. Mongi SLIM (Tunisie).

POINTS 88 ET 22 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

La situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux (suite)

Assistance à l'Afrique (suite):

a) Programme des Nations Unies pour l'indépendance

1. Le **PRESIDENT**: Avant de donner la parole au premier orateur inscrit sur ma liste, je voudrais attirer l'attention de l'Assemblée sur un projet de résolution [A/L.366 et Add.1] qui a trait au point 66 de l'ordre du jour, c'est-à-dire à la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux.

2. **M. PADILLA NERVO (Mexique)** [traduit de l'espagnol]: Que le Président veuille bien me permettre d'abord, tout en réaffirmant le plaisir que nous éprouvons à voir les débats de l'Assemblée présidés par un homme d'Etat aussi éminent, de dire que ma délégation a un autre motif particulier de satisfaction. Je veux parler de la décision que nos gouvernements respectifs viennent de rendre publique et aux termes de laquelle le Mexique et la République tunisienne, désireux de resserrer les liens qui existent entre ces deux pays et de renforcer l'amitié qui unit leurs deux peuples, sont convenus d'établir entre eux des relations diplomatiques. Nous venons une fois de plus à cette tribune pour joindre notre voix — la voix du Mexique — à celles de tous les peuples de la terre qui proclament leur droit à la liberté, à l'indépendance, à l'exercice de leur souveraineté et à l'intégrité de leur territoire national.

3. J'ai déjà dit précédemment que les hommes d'aujourd'hui ont un rôle à jouer dans l'avènement d'une ère nouvelle caractérisée par deux forces également impétueuses et prometteuses. L'une est l'impulsion irrésistible qui porte les peuples à la liberté et à la liquidation du colonialisme; l'autre est la puissance de la science et de la technique qui ouvre à l'homme la voie de l'espace extra-atmosphérique.

4. La première de ces forces est une force révolutionnaire et unificatrice, indépendante de toutes considérations politiques et idéologiques; elle s'impose avec une urgence qui l'emporte sur les conflits internationaux et tous les Etats, les plus grands comme les plus petits, s'en réclament.

5. A maintes reprises au cours des 16 années qui se sont écoulées depuis la création de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, nous avons lutté pour favoriser la prospérité des habitants des territoires non autonomes, leur progrès politique et économique, et pour leur évolution vers l'autonomie et l'indépendance. Le peuple mexicain, depuis qu'il a conquis son indépendance il y a 150 ans, a toujours soutenu avec persévérance le principe de la libre détermination, consacré par la Charte, et le principe de la non-intervention qui en est le corollaire. Notre conviction et les efforts que nous avons déployés en faveur des légitimes aspirations qui portaient les peuples dépendants vers leur libération se sont manifestés dans tous les actes de la délégation du Mexique, tant au Conseil de tutelle qu'à la Quatrième Commission et à l'Assemblée générale.

6. A cette même tribune, le Président du Mexique, **M. Adolfo López Mateos**, a déclaré il y a deux ans [828^e séance]: "Pour nous, la liberté de l'individu et la liberté des nations sont inséparables et complémentaires. Les nations ne peuvent être libres que si les hommes qui les composent sont eux-mêmes libres, et les individus ne peuvent être libres que s'ils vivent dans un pays libre. La révolution mexicaine, la première qui ait triomphé dans ce siècle, a ajouté à ce concept traditionnel un principe nouveau: la liberté individuelle s'épanouit pleinement dans la justice sociale. C'est ainsi que mon pays a lutté pour l'indépendance des nations, la liberté des individus et la justice sociale pour les collectivités."

7. Nous avons exposé ces principes et d'autres principes semblables chaque fois que nous avons jugé opportun de réaffirmer les idéaux de liberté qu'ils contiennent. Le 24 octobre dernier, lors de la célébration du dix-septième anniversaire de la création de notre organisation mondiale, le Ministre des relations extérieures de mon pays, **M. Manuel Tello**, a déclaré à Mexico: "Un autre problème auquel les Nations Unies doivent faire face est celui des colonies. Le Mexique a toujours été et reste partisan convaincu de la liquidation définitive du système colonial. Cependant, la liquidation d'une colonie doit répondre à une fin nette et précise: la prospérité de ses habitants par l'exercice de leurs droits souverains."

8. L'an dernier, dans sa résolution 1514 (XV), l'Assemblée générale a proclamé solennellement la nécessité de mettre fin au colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations. L'an dernier, nous nous sommes fixé un but; cette année, nous cherchons la voie à suivre pour l'atteindre.

9. L'histoire nous enseigne que les cris d'indépendance ne marquent pas la fin mais le début de la lutte. C'est dans l'exercice de la liberté qu'on défend la liberté. Accéder à l'indépendance, c'est parvenir à un point de départ, au début d'une lutte sans fin pour la défense de la souveraineté, de l'intégrité territoriale, de la justice sociale, des droits et des libertés fondamentales de l'homme. Pour gagner cette bataille, il faut l'avoir préparée et avoir les moyens de la mener.

10. Les Nations Unies doivent aider, avec conviction et clairvoyance, à gagner cette bataille. Les groupements humains qui peuplent les nombreux territoires encore dépendants ne sont pas tous parvenus au même niveau de développement politique, culturel et social. Ils n'ont pas tous au même degré, ou à un degré sensiblement le même, la capacité et les moyens de résister aux forces hostiles de l'intérieur ou de l'extérieur. Des situations différentes et des circonstances différentes nécessitent une aide appropriée à chaque cas particulier. L'Assemblée générale a réaffirmé qu'elle était convaincue que tous les peuples ont un droit inaliénable à la pleine liberté, à l'exercice de leur souveraineté et à l'intégrité de leur territoire national, et elle a reconnu le désir passionné de liberté de tous les peuples dépendants.

11. Il y a déjà de nombreuses années, le Mexique a soutenu, à cette même tribune, que l'existence de vastes groupements humains privés du droit fondamental des peuples à la libre détermination politique ne pouvait que peser lourdement et dangereusement sur les destinées, toujours plus étroitement mêlées, de tous les Etats, et particulièrement sur la responsabilité morale de l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Aucune considération juridique, aucune explication de nécessité politique du moment ne peuvent persuader les peuples qui se sentent aptes à exercer leur droit à la souveraineté de renoncer à leurs aspirations ou d'en remettre à plus tard la réalisation.

12. Nous restons, comme nous l'avons toujours été, partisans convaincus de la liquidation du système colonial. Nous pensons cependant que dans ce processus d'importance capitale, qui met en jeu le bonheur de millions d'êtres humains, l'Assemblée doit agir sans perdre de vue que l'indépendance, tout en constituant une fin en soi, doit aussi permettre aux populations de réaliser leur progrès politique, économique et social, dans l'exercice de leur souveraineté.

13. La coopération sincère et désintéressée des Nations Unies est indispensable pour mener à bien cette œuvre gigantesque de manière ordonnée et féconde. Dans l'introduction à son rapport annuel sur l'activité de l'Organisation [A/4800/Add.1], le Secrétaire général, M. Hammarskjöld, parlant des principes démocratiques fondamentaux énoncés dans la Charte, s'est exprimé en ces termes:

"La résolution sur le colonialisme adoptée par l'Assemblée générale à sa quinzième session peut être considérée comme proclamant de nouveau dans son ensemble, et de façon plus détaillée, le principe énoncé dans la Charte. Jusqu'à présent, cette évolution s'est traduite par la création d'un grand nombre de nouveaux Etats nationaux et par une augmentation révolutionnaire du nombre des Membres de l'Organisation."

14. L'Assemblée doit maintenant s'attaquer à la tâche qui consiste à donner effet à la résolution sur le colonialisme, résolution que le Secrétaire général

a considérée comme un nouvel énoncé d'un principe fondamental contenu dans la Charte. Dans les circonstances présentes, je crois qu'il est opportun et peut-être même indispensable de rappeler l'analyse profonde et objective que le Secrétaire général a placée dans l'introduction précitée à son rapport annuel, car cette analyse fait état d'une expérience amère dont nous avons tous été les témoins et contient une mise en garde solennelle à laquelle nous devons tous prêter attention:

"C'est à propos de conflits concernant l'évolution vers la pleine autonomie et l'indépendance que l'Organisation a eu à faire face à ses tâches d'ordre exécutif les plus complexes. C'est aussi à propos de l'action exécutive dans ce domaine que les diverses conceptions de l'Organisation, ainsi que de ses décisions et de sa structure, s'affirment de la façon la plus nette. Pour ce qui est de cet aspect particulier des travaux de l'Organisation, ce n'est pas, comme à l'habitude, entre les intérêts des différents blocs que le front a été tracé, mais plutôt entre, d'une part, un grand nombre de nations ayant des objectifs bien naturels, surtout pour celles qui récemment encore se trouvaient sous la domination coloniale ou sous quelque autre forme de domination étrangère, et, d'autre part, un petit nombre de puissances ayant d'autres objectifs et d'autres intérêts dominants. Cela peut se comprendre si l'on considère qu'une majorité de nations souhaitent se tenir à l'écart des conflits de grandes puissances, tandis que les blocs ou les grandes puissances cherchent à assurer leurs positions et leur sécurité en faisant des efforts pour maintenir ou étendre leur influence dans les régions nouvellement apparues sur la carte politique.

"On pourrait donner de nombreux exemples de la façon dont cette confrontation influe sur les prises de position à l'égard du problème des fonctions exécutives de l'Organisation. Peut-être serait-il indiqué, à ce sujet, de dire un mot en passant du problème du Congo et des activités des Nations Unies dans ce pays. Diverses puissances et divers intérêts non africains ont vu dans la situation au Congo la source possible d'une évolution capable d'avoir des répercussions sensibles sur leur position internationale. Ils ont donc eu tout naturellement des idées très arrêtées sur l'orientation qu'ils souhaitaient voir donner à cette évolution au Congo et -- l'absence de traditions politiques dans le pays aidant, comme aussi l'absence de cette stabilité que les institutions politiques ne peuvent acquérir qu'avec le temps et l'expérience -- la voie était libre pour quiconque voulait influencer sur les événements en soutenant telle ou telle faction ou telle ou telle personnalité. Fidèle à ses principes, l'Organisation des Nations Unies ne pouvait se laisser guider dans son opération que par l'intérêt des Congolais et par leur droit de décider librement de leur avenir, en pleine connaissance de cause et sans ingérence de l'extérieur."

15. Nous estimons que l'Assemblée doit tenir compte des observations du Secrétaire général que je viens de citer lorsqu'elle examine les méthodes et les moyens à appliquer pour transférer tous pouvoirs aux populations des territoires non autonomes, conformément à leur volonté et à leurs vœux librement exprimés, afin de leur permettre de jouir d'une indépendance et d'une liberté complètes, comme cela est prévu dans la résolution 1514 (XV), par. 5, de manière à réaliser la liquidation du système colonial

de façon ordonnée en tenant compte des conditions particulières de chaque territoire à l'effet d'éviter que ne se reproduisent des situations chaotiques.

16. Ma délégation est d'avis que l'Assemblée devrait être en possession de renseignements spéciaux relatifs aux différents territoires non autonomes et, à cette fin, il conviendrait peut-être de constituer une commission chargée d'étudier les conditions particulières de chacun de ces territoires et de faire rapport sur ce sujet, ainsi que sur les mesures, les normes ou les méthodes appropriées pour l'application de la résolution 1514 (XV) dans chaque cas.

17. Je crois opportun de rappeler que, dans cet hémisphère, la neuvième Conférence internationale américaine qui s'est tenue à Bogota en 1948 a créé une commission ayant des attributions de ce genre. C'est la Commission américaine des territoires non autonomes, instituée à la suite d'une déclaration qui, en ce qui concerne notre hémisphère, a énoncé 12 ans plus tôt les objectifs et les principes que les Nations Unies devaient proclamer par la suite pour l'ensemble du monde dans la résolution 1514 (XV) adoptée par l'Assemblée générale à sa quinzième session.

18. Nous espérons que les décisions que l'Assemblée générale prendra à l'issue du présent débat ne seront pas l'expression de positions politiques extrêmes, dont la mise en œuvre serait impossible ou douteuse, mais au contraire la manifestation d'un effort réel ayant pour objet — conformément à la volonté librement exprimée des peuples dépendants et avec le concours sincère des puissances administrantes — de conduire à bref délai les colonies et les territoires sous tutelle à une vie indépendante, en tant qu'Etats souverains capables de forger en toute liberté leur propre destinée.

19. Le Mexique souhaite pour tous une heureuse destinée; étant un pays américain, il réaffirme dans les termes mêmes employés par la neuvième Conférence internationale américaine^{1/} que "l'idéal qui inspira les gestes de l'indépendance de l'Amérique animera toujours nos peuples et nos gouvernements unis par l'obligation morale de lutter, par tous les moyens pacifiques en leur pouvoir, pour supprimer du continent toute situation de dépendance, quelle qu'en soit la forme, politique, économique ou juridique". Nous affirmons aussi dès maintenant que le processus historique de l'émancipation de l'Amérique ne sera pas terminé tant qu'il subsistera dans notre continent des populations ou des régions soumises au régime colonial ou des territoires occupés par des pays non américains.

20. Le peuple mexicain a toujours donné la preuve de son dévouement profond et inébranlable à la cause de la liberté; il proclame et défend le droit à l'autodétermination et le droit de tout peuple libre de se donner les règles qui lui conviennent le mieux. Il rejette toute injustice et toute forme d'hégémonie extérieure. En cette assemblée mondiale ou ailleurs, il a fait entendre sa voix en faveur des faibles et des opprimés et il a défendu toutes les causes justes. Nous appartenons à une Amérique libre que nous aimons et que nous saurons conserver toujours libre. Nos populations se caractérisent par l'absence absolue de préjugés raciaux. Depuis que nous avons accédé à une vie indépendante, la notion d'égalité entre les

Etats est toujours allée de pair avec la notion non moins généreuse d'égalité entre les hommes. Nous luttons contre les préjugés et contre les concepts funestes du régime colonial, non en tant que tels, mais parce qu'ils sont contraires à nos idéaux. Nous condamnons la pratique injuste et répugnante de la ségrégation et de la discrimination raciale parce qu'elle est contraire à notre foi en la dignité de la personne humaine, à notre nature et à notre histoire. Il y a quelques jours, notre représentant à la Commission politique spéciale a déclaré au nom de notre délégation:

"Le Mexique est en fait l'exemple le plus parfait de métissage racial et spirituel, non seulement depuis sa constitution en un Etat souverain, mais à vrai dire depuis les premiers temps de la domination coloniale. Parmi les crimes du conquérant n'a pas figuré la discrimination raciale... Le sang étranger est venu se mêler au sang indigène dès le début et sans le moindre heurt... Le fait le plus patent dans l'histoire du Mexique, c'est la participation à notre vie publique, sur un pied d'égalité totale, des trois groupes raciaux: les indigènes, les métis et les créoles. Si un pur créole, Hidalgo, est à l'origine de l'indépendance, c'est un Indien tout aussi pur, Juárez, qui a rétabli la République et qui a fondé parmi nous un Etat moderne, à jamais débarrassé d'habitudes coloniales caduques^{2/}."

21. Le présent débat, au cours duquel on affirme le droit de tous les peuples à la liberté et où l'on élabore des plans pour la liquidation du colonialisme dans le monde, est le témoignage le plus éloquent de notre espérance et de notre foi en notre destin. En fait, nous admettons la continuité de l'histoire et un avenir illimité qui perpétuent dans le temps et dans l'espace les valeurs permanentes et éternelles de la conscience humaine. Il s'agit donc d'un acte de foi universel en la possibilité nécessaire d'assurer la paix et de mettre fin à jamais au danger d'un conflit nucléaire qui menace d'effacer notre civilisation et d'éteindre notre espèce.

22. Le Mexique s'associe à cet acte de foi. Je suis monté aujourd'hui à cette tribune du monde — et c'est intentionnellement que j'y suis monté aujourd'hui 20 novembre — en tant que porte-parole humble et fidèle du peuple et du gouvernement que je représente, pour proclamer une fois de plus notre vocation de liberté.

23. Un siècle et demi s'est écoulé depuis la proclamation de notre indépendance et aujourd'hui même ma patrie commémore le 51ème anniversaire du début de la révolution mexicaine qui fut la première grande révolution sociale du XXème siècle, une révolution des Mexicains et, selon les paroles de notre président López Mateos, du Mexique et pour le Mexique.

24. Notre révolution a été un mouvement de rédemption, une offensive irrésistible contre l'injustice et la sujétion, une éruption qui a lancé dans le vent de l'histoire l'aspiration enflammée à être libre et l'invincible volonté de triompher du peuple mexicain. Il s'est imposé et il a triomphé. Les peuples qui n'ont pas peur de vivre et qui, pour vivre comme ils le veulent, n'ont pas peur de mourir triomphent toujours.

^{1/} Acte final (chap. XXXIII) de la neuvième Conférence internationale américaine, tenue à Bogota du 30 mars au 2 mai 1948.

^{2/} Cette déclaration a été faite à la 271ème séance de la Commission politique spéciale, dont les comptes rendus officiels ne sont publiés que sous forme de comptes rendus analytiques.

25. Ma présence ici, en ce 20 novembre, est un hommage à tous ceux qui combattent pour émanciper leurs peuples et pour assurer le respect de la dignité humaine. Elle est en même temps un modeste tribut aux héros de ma patrie, au peuple que je représente et qui incarne le héros suprême des luttes pour l'indépendance, le soldat vaincu des guerres de réforme, le défenseur généreux de la patrie lors des attaques et des interventions étrangères, et le créateur, dans l'épopée rédemptrice de la révolution, du Mexique moderne, d'un Mexique grand et bien nôtre, mais qui appartient à une Amérique unie et libre et qui est aussi au service de la concorde universelle.

26. Le **PRESIDENT**: Avant de donner la parole aux orateurs suivants, je voudrais faire savoir à l'Assemblée générale que nous avons encore une longue liste d'orateurs pour le débat en cours et que nous avons encore au moins deux ou trois questions très importantes à discuter en séances plénières. Je me permets donc d'adresser un appel aux orateurs — surtout à ceux qui ont déjà eu l'occasion de prendre la parole au cours de ce débat — pour qu'ils écourtent leurs discours dans la mesure du possible. Cela facilitera considérablement nos travaux et pourra nous amener à une heureuse conclusion de nos débats.

27. **M. WAHAB** (République arabe unie) [traduit de l'anglais]: Les débats qui se sont déroulés sur la question en discussion à l'Assemblée générale tant à la quinzième session que pendant les deux dernières semaines ont fait ressortir à juste titre l'importance capitale que l'on attache à cette question. Ils ont également mis en relief le vif intérêt et les préoccupations profondes que suscite le problème du colonialisme dans les cœurs et les esprits de millions d'êtres humains.

28. La résolution 1514 (XV), où figure la Déclaration adoptée par l'Assemblée générale à sa dernière session, a été considérée à juste titre comme l'une des principales résolutions adoptées par l'Organisation mondiale. Elle a rassuré les millions d'êtres humains qui n'ont pas encore recouvré leurs droits imprescriptibles à l'autodétermination et à la souveraineté nationale, sur l'intérêt que l'Organisation prend à leurs aspirations et sur sa volonté de mettre fin au problème colonial qui a causé et cause encore tant de souffrances humaines et qui fait obstacle à toute compréhension vraiment internationale et à l'établissement de relations amicales entre les nations.

29. Fait significatif, la Déclaration a été adoptée sans opposition, ce qui prouve que l'ensemble de la communauté internationale se préoccupe de mettre fin au colonialisme et est résolue à y parvenir. Fait plus significatif encore, deux grandes puissances, l'Union soviétique et les Etats-Unis d'Amérique, ont proposé à la quinzième session de l'Assemblée générale d'inscrire à l'ordre du jour deux questions importantes ayant trait au colonialisme.

30. La question proposée par l'Union soviétique a conduit à l'adoption de la résolution 1514 (XV) qui avait été rédigée par le groupe africano-asiatique. La question proposée par les Etats-Unis d'Amérique était intitulée: "Assistance à l'Afrique: programme des Nations Unies pour l'indépendance".

31. Nous espérons sincèrement que ce problème du colonialisme ne deviendra pas un objet de "guerre froide" mais qu'il constituera au contraire un terrain d'entente. Il convient de citer à ce sujet la déclaration

faite par le président Gamal Abdel Nasser à l'Assemblée nationale lorsqu'il a parlé des résultats de la Conférence de Casablanca^{3/}:

"Nous disons qu'on ne peut favoriser une heureuse issue de la lutte que mène l'Afrique en poussant ce continent dans la guerre froide qui divise les blocs de puissances. Pour que les buts visés dans cette lutte soient atteints, il faut faire de l'Afrique un terrain de rencontre où règne un esprit constructif, non un champ de bataille où s'abat la destruction et où s'opposent les blocs de puissances."

32. Dans la Déclaration que contient la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale, l'Assemblée a proclamé solennellement la nécessité de mettre fin au colonialisme car, pour reprendre ses propres termes:

"La sujétion des peuples à une subjugation, à une domination et à une exploitation étrangères constitue un déni des droits fondamentaux de l'homme, est contraire à la Charte des Nations Unies et compromet la cause de la paix et de la coopération mondiales."

33. L'Assemblée générale réaffirme ainsi dans la Déclaration les principes proclamés à San Francisco en 1945 en ce qui concerne l'accession des peuples dépendants à l'indépendance nationale. Contrairement aux tentatives qui avaient été faites précédemment au cours de l'histoire des organisations internationales, les auteurs de la Charte des Nations Unies ont envisagé avec raison le problème de la paix et de la sécurité internationales d'une façon positive et constructive. Ils n'ont pas compris la paix de façon négative; ils ont compris qu'il fallait créer de façon positive les conditions de stabilité qui conduisent à la paix et à la sécurité. L'une de ces conditions principales est la jouissance de droits égaux par tous les peuples et toutes les nations, grandes et petites, l'émancipation des peuples dépendants et leur accession dans la dignité à la place qui leur revient dans la communauté des nations. Lorsqu'on a prévu le régime de tutelle et le principe de la responsabilité internationale envers les territoires non autonomes, on envisageait la liquidation du problème colonial et le passage rapide des populations de l'état de dépendance à l'état d'indépendance nationale. Le rapport entre ces deux régimes et le problème de la paix est exposé clairement au paragraphe 2 de l'Article 76 de la Charte qui stipule que l'une des fins essentielles du régime de tutelle est d'"affermir la paix et la sécurité internationales".

34. Plus de 15 ans se sont écoulés depuis que la Charte des Nations Unies a solennellement proclamé parmi ses buts, ses principes, ses objectifs et ses idéaux l'accession des peuples dépendants à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance nationale. Lorsque l'Assemblée générale a examiné le problème du colonialisme à sa quinzième session, on a reconnu de façon générale que, si l'Organisation des Nations Unies, pendant ces 15 années, avait beaucoup aidé certains peuples dépendants à acquérir leur indépendance, il restait cependant encore des millions d'êtres humains auxquels on refusait de reconnaître ces droits inhérents à la personne humaine et qui étaient toujours asservis à la domination et à l'oppression étrangères.

35. Parfaitement consciente de ce fait douloureux et déplorable, l'Assemblée générale a jugé de son devoir

^{3/} Conférence des Etats indépendants d'Afrique, tenue du 3 au 7 janvier 1961.

d'adopter la résolution 1514 (XV). Dans cette résolution, l'Assemblée générale déclarait solennellement qu'elle était

"... persuadée que le processus de libération est irrésistible et irréversible et que, pour éviter de graves crises, il faut mettre fin au colonialisme et à toutes les pratiques de ségrégation et de discrimination dont il s'accompagne".

Afin de donner effet à cette affirmation, l'Assemblée générale déclarait donc:

"Des mesures immédiates seront prises dans ... tous ... [les] territoires qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance, pour transférer tous pouvoirs aux peuples de ces territoires, sans aucune condition ni réserve, conformément à leur volonté et à leurs vœux librement exprimés, sans aucune distinction de race, de croyance ou de couleur, afin de leur permettre de jouir d'une indépendance et d'une liberté complètes."

36. Bien que la communauté des nations ait exprimé par cette déclaration son désir et sa volonté de mettre fin au colonialisme dans toutes ses manifestations, on continue à observer dans l'histoire du colonialisme des symptômes qui ne laissent pas d'être inquiétants et profondément regrettables.

37. Si certaines puissances coloniales ont compris qu'elles ne pouvaient pas s'opposer au déferlement de la vague de liberté et s'inclinent lentement devant le désir de la communauté internationale, d'autres cherchent obstinément à maintenir leur domination par la force des armes et l'oppression.

38. Depuis que la Déclaration a été adoptée, bien des événements se sont produits. Parmi les événements heureux il faut citer: l'admission du Sierra Leone à l'Organisation des Nations Unies, le fait que le Tanganyika accédera à l'indépendance le 9 décembre, que l'Ouganda accédera bientôt à l'indépendance, que le Samoa-Occidental deviendra libre le 1er janvier prochain. Dans d'autres territoires, en revanche, la situation s'aggrave rapidement, entraînant des souffrances et des pertes de vies humaines.

39. En Algérie, la guerre de libération est entrée dans sa huitième année. Presque chaque jour, nous recevons d'Algérie des nouvelles tragiques et inquiétantes sur la violence brutale et la répression exercées par la France contre le peuple algérien. Toutes les conférences internationales ont condamné la politique française en Algérie. Les chefs d'Etat qui se sont réunis à Belgrade^{4/} en septembre 1961 ont déclaré:

"Les pays participants estiment que la lutte du peuple algérien pour la liberté, l'autodétermination et l'indépendance, et pour l'intégrité de son territoire national, y compris le Sahara, est juste et nécessaire, et sont en conséquence décidés à accorder au peuple algérien tout l'appui et l'aide possibles^{5/}."

40. En Angola, le Gouvernement portugais mène une guerre coloniale contre le mouvement de libération des Angolais et continue à intensifier son action militaire dans les territoires qu'il administre.

41. La Conférence de Belgrade a déclaré à ce propos:

"Les pays participants ont avec beaucoup d'inquiétude appelé l'attention de la Conférence sur les événements d'Angola et les intolérables mesures de répression prises par les autorités coloniales portugaises contre le peuple angolais, et ils exigent qu'il soit mis fin immédiatement à toute effusion de sang en Angola; tous les pays pacifiques, particulièrement les Etats Membres des Nations Unies, devraient aider le peuple angolais à se constituer sans retard en Etat libre et indépendant^{6/}."

42. Au Sud-Ouest africain, la politique d'apartheid reste toujours la loi fondamentale qui régit la population. Dans les Rhodésies, les Africains ne sont toujours pas représentés convenablement aux organes législatifs et exécutifs; les intérêts des Africains sont encore subordonnés à ceux de la minorité.

43. Au Congo, les puissances coloniales essaient de saboter l'indépendance qu'elles ont été forcées d'accorder en raison de l'éveil national et elles cherchent à diviser le Congo afin de recouvrer leur domination par d'autres moyens.

44. L'Oman est toujours occupé par le Royaume-Uni. Dans notre région du monde, une autre forme de colonialisme existe: un Etat artificiel a en effet été créé avec l'aide et l'appui des puissances coloniales. Il convient de citer à ce propos la déclaration faite par le président Gamal Abdel Nasser lorsqu'il a pris la parole devant l'Assemblée à la quinzième session:

"L'impérialisme suit sa propre logique ... révélée dans le crime commis contre le peuple de Palestine, [logique qui] a consisté d'une part à rompre l'unité géographique du monde arabe et d'autre part à établir, au cœur même du monde arabe, une base d'où l'impérialisme pourrait menacer les peuples arabes. Je ne crois pas qu'il en existe de preuve plus évidente que la conspiration qui a abouti à l'agression tripartite menée contre nous en 1956."
[873ème séance, par. 131.]

45. Les exemples auxquels je viens de faire allusion sont en contradiction flagrante avec les idéaux et les objectifs élevés en vue desquels l'Organisation des Nations Unies a été créée. Ils révèlent un mépris regrettable de la Déclaration que l'Assemblée générale a adoptée l'an dernier et dans laquelle elle a affirmé que "la sujétion des peuples à une ... domination et à une exploitation étrangères ... compromet la cause de la paix et de la coopération mondiales".

46. Comment les peuples africains, par exemple, peuvent-ils se sentir en harmonie avec la France, le Portugal, l'Afrique du Sud, alors que leurs frères d'Algérie, d'Angola et du Sud-Ouest africain sont actuellement soumis à des mesures de répression parce qu'ils luttent pour la liberté?

47. N'oublions pas non plus que l'Assemblée générale a stipulé dans la Déclaration précitée que des mesures immédiates seront prises, dans tous les territoires qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance, pour transférer tous pouvoirs aux peuples de ces territoires, afin de leur permettre de jouir d'une indépendance et d'une liberté complètes.

48. Il faut aussi remarquer que l'Assemblée générale a condamné à juste titre toute tentative inspirée par le colonialisme et visant à porter atteinte à l'unité

^{4/} Conférence des Etats non alignés, tenue du 1er au 6 septembre 1961.

^{5/} Conférence de Belgrade, 1961 (publié par la *Revue de politique internationale*, Belgrade), No 5, p. 21.

^{6/} Ibid.

naionale d'un pays, tout en prétendant lui accorder une indépendance qui n'est que nominale. Nous ne savons que trop bien dans notre région du monde, instruits que nous sommes par une amère expérience, quels dommages sont causés, quelles injustices et quelles souffrances sont provoquées par un partage illégal et injuste des pays.

49. Les tentatives visant à détruire l'unité nationale ne sont pas seulement un phénomène du passé; on y a malheureusement encore recours, comme dans le cas de l'Irian occidental qui, tout en étant une partie intégrante de l'Indonésie, est actuellement détaché du reste du territoire de l'Indonésie sous le prétexte fallacieux de la libre détermination. On s'est efforcé de présenter cette séparation en la masquant sous diverses formes, dont la plus récente est la nouvelle proposition des Pays-Bas. On ne peut qu'être frappé par la tactique habile qui consiste à essayer de faire examiner la question de l'Irian occidental dans le cadre du point 88 de l'ordre du jour, relatif à l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. Toutefois, cette tactique ne peut changer les faits: l'Irian occidental fait partie de l'Indonésie. Si nous devons discuter la question de l'Irian occidental à propos de ce point de l'ordre du jour, nous devons le faire en tenant compte du paragraphe 6 de la Déclaration contenue dans la résolution 1514 (XV), qui est ainsi conçu:

"Toute tentative visant à détruire partiellement ou totalement l'unité nationale et l'intégrité territoriale d'un pays est incompatible avec les buts et les principes de la Charte des Nations Unies."

50. Etant donné la situation qui règne dans le monde aujourd'hui en ce qui concerne le problème colonial, l'Assemblée générale doit examiner sérieusement les mesures à adopter et les dispositions à prendre pour appliquer et mettre effectivement en vigueur la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux.

51. Les puissances coloniales n'ont cessé de répéter que, pour pouvoir atteindre cet objectif, il fallait de nombreuses années de travail pour préparer les populations aux responsabilités et aux charges qu'implique l'indépendance. De tels arguments ont été réfutés par l'histoire qui a montré très clairement que ces arguments ne sont avancés que pour justifier une prolongation indéfinie de la domination et de l'exploitation étrangères.

52. En conclusion, ma délégation est d'avis d'accorder immédiatement l'indépendance à tous les territoires dépendants qui n'ont pas encore obtenu la pleine souveraineté et l'entière liberté, et d'instituer des dispositifs appropriés et satisfaisants pour l'application effective de la Déclaration. Ma délégation s'est donc jointe à un certain nombre de délégations africaino-asiatiques pour présenter un projet de résolution en ce sens [A/L.366 et Add.1].

M. Quaison-Sackey (Ghana), vice-président, prend la présidence.

53. M. TARABANOV (Bulgarie): En 1960, l'Assemblée générale, sur la proposition de l'Union soviétique^{7/}, a discuté la question de l'abolition du colonialisme et adopté la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux [résolution 1514

(XV)], préparée en collaboration étroite par les pays d'Asie et d'Afrique.

54. Ce document est un des plus grands et des plus nobles actes que les Nations Unies aient adoptés jusqu'à présent. Il est l'expression de la volonté des peuples du monde entier d'en finir une fois pour toutes avec ce fléau de l'humanité — la domination coloniale.

55. La Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux a été conçue par ses auteurs en des termes particulièrement modérés afin que l'on pût arriver à un vote unanime. Ses dispositions étaient fondées sur les principes mêmes de la Charte des Nations Unies et en dérivait directement. Elle a trouvé un accueil enthousiaste auprès de l'opinion publique mondiale et plus particulièrement auprès des peuples des pays nouvellement libérés. C'est d'ailleurs la raison pour laquelle il ne s'est pas trouvé un seul Etat qui ait pu s'opposer ouvertement aux dispositions de ce document historique. Cette absence d'opposition ouverte, lors du vote, a été une grande victoire morale de l'opinion publique mondiale et des peuples du monde entier sur le colonialisme.

56. Il y a eu, certes, des délégations qui se sont abstenues de voter en faveur de cette résolution et c'étaient précisément les représentants des pays qui possédaient dans le passé et qui possèdent actuellement des colonies. Le fait même que ces pays se sont abstenus et n'ont pas voté contre la Déclaration a suscité l'espoir parmi certaines délégations que l'on ne se heurterait peut-être pas à une très forte opposition à la réalisation de cette idée noble — la libération des peuples coloniaux de l'esclavage.

57. Cependant, c'était mal connaître la nature et le caractère des colonisateurs et des impérialistes. Non seulement ils ne se sont pas conformés à l'esprit et à la lettre de la Déclaration, mais, durant l'année qui s'est écoulée depuis son adoption, ils ont entrepris de nouvelles actions, de nouvelles guerres contre les peuples qui se trouvent encore sous le joug colonial, ainsi que contre leurs aspirations et leur volonté d'accéder à l'indépendance.

58. La Déclaration a suscité l'enthousiasme et a raffermi la volonté des peuples coloniaux d'accéder le plus tôt possible à l'indépendance nationale; elle en a encouragé plusieurs à manifester cette volonté. C'est justement la manifestation du désir du peuple angolais de voir appliquer à cette colonie portugaise les idées et les principes contenues dans la Déclaration, de la voir libre après cinq siècles de joug colonial, qui a provoqué la répression féroce des colonialistes portugais contre la population autochtone, qui les a incités à se lancer contre elle dans une guerre sans merci. Les colonisateurs portugais ont exterminé plus de 50 000 Angolais — des hommes, des femmes et des enfants — rien qu'au cours d'une seule année. Près de 150 000 personnes ont été forcées de fuir leur pays natal en raison de la terreur. Des milliers d'Angolais ont été arrêtés, torturés, assassinés. Au lieu donc de se conformer à la Déclaration et d'accorder au peuple angolais le droit d'exprimer librement sa volonté d'accéder à l'indépendance, les colonisateurs portugais ont eu recours au génocide à l'égard de la population autochtone.

59. En Rhodésie du Nord et du Sud, les colons ont entrepris, avec la complicité bienveillante de la

^{7/} Voir Documents officiels de l'Assemblée générale, quinzième session, Annexes, point 87 de l'ordre du jour, document A/4501.

puissance coloniale, des mesures draconiennes pour l'affirmation et la consolidation du pouvoir d'une poignée d'esclavagistes. La terreur coloniale y a sévi pendant des mois et des mois. Il n'y a pas le moindre doute que ces actions ont été entreprises et poursuivies avec l'appui des autorités coloniales britanniques. Le dirigeant bien connu du mouvement de libération nationale en Rhodésie du Nord, Kenneth Kaunda, l'a exprimé d'une manière éloquente en déclarant: "Macleod nous a vendus à Welensky."

60. Il est à peine nécessaire de s'attarder sur la continuation et l'intensification de la terreur et de l'oppression en Afrique du Sud — dont les détails sont connus de cette assemblée — par lesquelles les racistes poursuivent leur politique inhumaine et abjecte de ségrégation raciale.

61. Les colonisateurs belges, d'un autre côté, continuent, eux aussi, leur répression sanglante contre la population du Ruanda-Urundi. Ils ont incité et stimulé les animosités et les luttes tribales afin de pouvoir prolonger leur domination sur ce pays; le résultat le plus récent en est l'assassinat du prince Rwagasore, premier ministre du Gouvernement du Burundi élu par le peuple.

62. La guerre coloniale menée depuis sept ans par les colons et les colonisateurs français contre l'héroïque peuple algérien a été intensifiée, ces derniers temps, et a occasionné au peuple algérien de nouvelles victimes et des souffrances considérables.

63. Si nous ne nous arrêtons pas sur tous les exemples d'oppression et de guerre ouverte que les puissances coloniales ont fournis en vue d'empêcher l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, c'est parce que la liste en serait trop longue. Voilà donc pourquoi certains pays se sont abstenus de voter en sa faveur. Voilà comment les colonisateurs et les impérialistes entendent l'appliquer. Et pourtant, dans cette même déclaration, il a été souligné, au paragraphe 4 du dispositif, qu'"il sera mis fin à toute action armée et à toutes mesures de répression, de quelque sorte qu'elles soient, dirigées contre les peuples dépendants, pour permettre à ces peuples d'exercer pacifiquement et librement leur droit à l'indépendance complète".

64. Allons-nous être les témoins muets de cette extermination des meilleurs patriotes des pays qui se trouvent encore sous le joug colonial? Et ceci, pour la seule raison qu'ils demandent le droit pour leurs peuples d'exprimer librement leur volonté de voir leur pays indépendant, leur désir de déterminer eux-mêmes leur statut politique? Cette organisation va-t-elle permettre que la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux soit bafouée, que son désir de la voir appliquée serve de prétexte au déclenchement de nouvelles répressions contre les peuples coloniaux?

65. Dans l'atmosphère de sympathie ardente des peuples du monde entier pour les peuples se trouvant encore sous le joug colonial, sympathie qui a trouvé une expression palpable dans la Déclaration, comment était-il possible aux colonisateurs d'entreprendre des guerres coloniales contre les peuples opprimés et des répressions en masse contre les patriotes décidés à lutter pour libérer leur pays du joug colonial? Cette question est d'autant plus pertinente que, dans certains cas, des excès ont été commis par des pays tels que le Portugal qui, évidemment, n'ont pas la possibilité de mener, avec leurs propres

forces, une action prolongée et de grande envergure — et ceci, sur des champs de bataille très éloignés.

66. Si les colonisateurs portugais ont été en état de le faire, c'est parce que, dans ce cas particulier, a joué la "Sainte-Alliance" des intérêts coloniaux. Les colonialistes ont serré leurs rangs, et les colonisateurs portugais ont puisé des forces dans leurs alliances militaires et les ont utilisées contre les peuples des colonies qui luttent pour l'indépendance de leurs pays. Les armes avec lesquelles les forces armées portugaises ont essayé de mater la révolte des patriotes angolais, rasant des villages entiers et exterminant leurs populations, ont été fournies par l'alliance militaire de l'Atlantique nord dont les buts agressifs sont bien connus. En effet, a-t-on jamais contesté que les avions qui ont servi à incendier au napalm les villages angolais ont été fabriqués et fournis par les Etats-Unis d'Amérique à leurs alliés portugais? Est-il possible au Portugal, un pays arriéré et pauvre, d'entreprendre des actions militaires dans des régions lointaines sans l'aide financière et militaire des Etats-Unis et de ses autres alliés de l'OTAN?

67. Par conséquent, il est désormais impossible aux impérialistes, membres de l'alliance de l'OTAN, de nier leur participation dans les guerres coloniales de leurs alliés, ainsi que dans l'oppression coloniale. Les manœuvres navales et aériennes combinées du Royaume-Uni et du Portugal à proximité des côtes de l'Afrique, en juin 1961, n'ont-elles pas été entreprises dans le but d'aider les opérations militaires portugaises et d'intimider le peuple d'Angola? La fourniture d'armes, d'aide matérielle, et l'appui moral dont jouit le Portugal dans son œuvre sanglante contre le peuple angolais et les peuples des autres colonies portugaises ne sauraient être niés. Dans sa réponse écrite à une question posée par un membre du Parlement britannique, le Premier Ministre de Grande-Bretagne a fait entendre, en effet, qu'en décidant que l'on pouvait envoyer des armes au Portugal on devait tenir compte de ses exigences militaires raisonnables en tant qu'allié de l'OTAN. Cependant les exigences militaires du Portugal, à l'heure actuelle, apparaissent clairement à tous: ce ne sont que les exigences d'une guerre coloniale contre les peuples qui luttent pour leur indépendance.

68. Les explications confuses des représentants qualifiés des Etats-Unis, selon lesquelles ils auraient fait savoir au Portugal que les armes fournies ne devaient pas être utilisées en Angola, démontrent que les Etats-Unis savent parfaitement où ces armes sont utilisées. Néanmoins, ils continuent à en procurer aux colonialistes portugais.

69. Il est un autre pays qui, ces dernières années, entre en lice pour s'assurer une participation plus large dans la compétition coloniale: l'Allemagne de l'Ouest, dépositaire des aspirations coloniales de l'Allemagne du Kaiser et de Hitler. Non seulement elle fournit des crédits pour l'exploitation des colonies, mais elle commence aussi à participer à l'organisation de cette exploitation, à fournir du matériel militaire pour écraser les luttes des peuples coloniaux.

70. En 1960, un éminent représentant a déclaré ici que "la guerre d'Algérie constitue la seule réalisation à l'actif de l'OTAN". En 1961, la liste des "réalisations" à l'actif de l'OTAN a été allongée par la guerre coloniale en Angola, la participation à l'agression contre le peuple tunisien à Bizerte, la continuation de la division du Congo, etc. Il devient donc de plus en

plus évident qu'en plus des buts agressifs qui leur ont été assignés les alliances militaires des pays impérialistes — des Etats-Unis avant tout —, organisées dans les différentes parties du globe, servent également à réprimer la lutte des peuples coloniaux et semi-coloniaux qui cherchent à rejeter la domination coloniale et étrangère.

71. Cependant, la lutte des peuples des colonies pour leur libération nationale est de plus en plus active et pressante. L'opinion publique mondiale et les décisions de l'Assemblée générale des Nations Unies prouvent de plus en plus que, même pour les colonisateurs les plus acharnés, il est dorénavant impossible de conserver et même de prétendre détenir encore longtemps le pouvoir politique dans les colonies, du moins sous sa forme présente.

72. Pour les colonisateurs, le pouvoir politique dans les pays coloniaux n'était et n'est pas un but en soi, mais un moyen d'accaparer les richesses nationales des colonies, les sources immenses de matières premières et d'exploiter la main-d'œuvre coloniale. Cédant à la pression croissante des peuples, les colonialistes font cependant tout leur possible afin de conserver le pouvoir politique dans les colonies le plus longtemps possible; ils le font non seulement parce que c'est pour eux le moyen le plus efficace de s'assurer l'exploitation économique des peuples coloniaux, mais parce que cela leur permet, au cas où ils seraient obligés de lâcher prise, de disposer d'un délai supplémentaire pour organiser des positions de repli, pour organiser la continuation de cette exploitation sous d'autres formes de domination. D'ores et déjà, avant d'être forcées de quitter leurs colonies, les puissances coloniales cherchent par tous les moyens à s'assurer — soit par le truchement de traités secrets et inégaux, soit sous la forme d'une prétendue coopération — des avantages économiques et politiques dans leurs anciennes colonies. Ces traités, signés au moment ou avant même la remise définitive du pouvoir politique aux nouveaux Etats, représentent un danger réel pour la paix et l'indépendance de ces pays.

73. D'autre part, dans certains cas, les puissances coloniales se sont arrogé le droit, par des accords militaires inégaux, de garder des bases militaires dans des pays accédant à l'indépendance. Celles-ci sont destinées non seulement à défendre les intérêts de ces puissances et à continuer l'exploitation économique des pays dans lesquels elles sont installées, mais en même temps elles servent de places d'armes pour l'agression contre les pays voisins. En outre, elles représentent, dans le cas d'une guerre mondiale, un danger réel pour les populations des régions où elles se trouvent.

74. Les Nations Unies doivent prendre toutes les mesures nécessaires pour couper court à cette activité des puissances coloniales et de leurs alliés qui cherchent à engager d'avance l'avenir des peuples et des pays qui ont accédé ou sont en train d'accéder à l'indépendance. Elles doivent veiller, comme le stipule le paragraphe 5 du dispositif de la Déclaration, à ce que "des mesures immédiates [soient] prises, dans les territoires sous tutelle, les territoires non autonomes et tous autres territoires qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance, pour transférer tous pouvoirs aux peuples de ces territoires, sans aucune condition ni réserve, conformément à leur volonté et à leurs vœux librement exprimés". Malgré les stipulations claires et explicites de cette

déclaration — la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux — qui, au paragraphe 6 de son dispositif, rejette d'une manière catégorique "toute tentative visant à détruire partiellement ou totalement l'unité nationale et l'intégrité territoriale d'un pays" comme étant incompatible avec les buts et les principes de la Charte des Nations Unies, des tentatives sont faites pour détacher des régions entières de certains pays afin d'assurer la continuation de l'exploitation coloniale.

75. La manœuvre entreprise par les Pays-Bas dans le but de détacher l'Irian occidental de l'Indonésie, sous le prétexte fallacieux d'organiser un plébiscite soi-disant pour connaître les vœux de la population au sujet de son avenir, n'est qu'une nouvelle tentative des colonialistes et une nouvelle forme de la continuation déguisée de la domination coloniale. Depuis quand le Gouvernement des Pays-Bas — qui, lors des discussions de la Table ronde^{8/} avec les représentants du peuple indonésien aussi bien qu'au Conseil de sécurité, avait déclaré à maintes reprises que l'Irian occidental faisait partie intégrante des territoires connus sous la dénomination générale des Indes orientales néerlandaises —, s'est-il aperçu que l'Irian occidental ne représentait plus une partie de l'Indonésie? Ayant eu la possibilité d'étudier, pendant plus d'un siècle de domination coloniale sur ce pays, tous les détails de la composition ethnique de la population des Indes orientales néerlandaises, les représentants du Gouvernement des Pays-Bas auraient dû, au moment des Conférences de la Table ronde, être sûrs des déclarations qu'ils faisaient. Comment se fait-il, alors, qu'un peu plus tard ils se soient aperçus que cette population ne faisait plus partie de la population des îles indonésiennes? A n'en pas douter, c'est uniquement le désir de continuer leur domination sous une autre forme qui est à la base du projet de résolution [A/L.354] soumis par les Pays-Bas à cette assemblée.

76. Nous croyons que les délégations sont persuadées que ces contre-vérités, avancées uniquement dans le but d'aider les Pays-Bas à prolonger leur domination sur cette partie du territoire national indonésien, devraient être rejetées. Nous sommes certains que l'Assemblée générale ne permettra pas de manœuvres visant au démembrement du territoire d'un pays, sous couleur d'appliquer la déclaration sur l'abolition du système colonial. Au contraire, les Nations Unies devront prendre les mesures nécessaires afin que le Gouvernement des Pays-Bas envisage des négociations tendant à trouver les modalités les plus appropriées pour restituer ce territoire à la République indonésienne.

77. Il existe des cas analogues et particulièrement frappants dans d'autres pays où des parties vives du territoire national sont détachées et continuent à servir de bases à une activité coloniale représentant un danger réel pour les pays dont le territoire et la souveraineté nationale ont été restreints de cette manière. C'est le cas par exemple des enclaves espagnoles d'Ifni, Sidi, Ceuta et Melilla, sur le territoire national du Maroc. Il est grand temps que cet état de choses disparaisse de ces contrées arrachées par la force du territoire national du Maroc. De pareilles survivances du passé, qui sont des empiétements physiques sur la souveraineté nationale des peuples, ne peuvent que servir à semer des conflits

^{8/} Conférence de la Table ronde, réunie à La Haye du 23 août au 2 novembre 1949.

parmi les peuples et présentent un danger réel pour la paix.

78. Dans son intervention [1056ème séance] le représentant du Royaume-Uni est venu nous faire l'éloge de la politique coloniale de son pays aussi bien dans le passé que dans le présent. Il a insisté sur la prétendue nécessité de prolonger le joug colonial dans les nombreuses colonies britanniques qui existent à l'heure actuelle, pour que le Royaume-Uni puisse, d'après lui, les préparer convenablement à l'indépendance.

79. Nous ne nous serions certes pas attardés sur ces déclarations si elles ne constituaient pas une nouvelle démonstration frappante de l'opposition farouche que certains milieux manifestent à l'égard de la liquidation immédiate du colonialisme sous toutes ses formes. Il est à remarquer néanmoins que tous les ans, alors que les peuples coloniaux, sous la poussée puissante de notre époque, se libèrent du joug colonial, les représentants du Royaume-Uni, au lieu de venir ici faire amende honorable pour toutes les souffrances que les colonisateurs britanniques ont fait endurer à ces peuples, deviennent de plus en plus oublieux des faits de l'histoire.

80. En 1960, en réponse à de tels arguments, qui montrent peu de respect pour les capacités intellectuelles des membres de cette assemblée, nous leur avons opposé les déclarations faites par un des inspirateurs les plus éminents de la politique coloniale britannique, au moment même de l'accession de l'Inde à l'indépendance. En 1961, le représentant du Royaume-Uni a cité le discours fait par le Premier Ministre britannique au cours de la quinzième session de l'Assemblée [877ème séance]; il a mentionné une lettre envoyée, selon lui, au cours de l'été 1960, par le Premier Ministre à Nikita Khrouchtchev et a déclaré que cette lettre définissait toute la politique coloniale de son pays. Qu'a-t-il cité de cette lettre? Ceci: "Pendant plus d'un siècle, nous avons eu pour but de guider vers la liberté et l'indépendance les territoires dépendant de nous." Mais cette déclaration, ainsi que autres qu'il a faites, sont directement démenties par celles que nous avons eu l'occasion de citer [929ème séance], au cours de la quinzième session de l'Assemblée, lors de notre intervention sur la question coloniale. En effet, nous avons cité la déclaration faite le 5 mars 1947 par sir Stafford Cripps, au nom du gouvernement travailliste quand il défendait la politique de ce gouvernement contre les critiques de l'opposition. Il disait:

"... En premier lieu, il [le gouvernement travailliste] pouvait essayer de renforcer le contrôle britannique en Inde en augmentant le personnel des services du secrétariat d'Etat et en renforçant considérablement les troupes britanniques, afin d'être en état de maintenir notre responsabilité administrative aussi longtemps que nécessaire, en attendant un accord entre les communautés hindoues. Une telle politique aurait eu pour résultat une décision bien déterminée de rester en Inde pendant au moins 15 ou 20 ans... La seconde solution était d'admettre que la première solution n'était pas possible... Une chose était évidemment impossible, c'était de décider d'y maintenir notre responsabilité pour une période indéfinie, lorsque nous n'avions pas la force pour le faire."

Donc, il devient absolument clair que le Royaume-Uni n'a pas quitté les Indes parce qu'il suivait une politique

de libération de ses colonies, mais justement parce qu'il n'avait pas la force nécessaire d'y rester, parce qu'il n'avait pas la force militaire et économique de tenir sous sa férule le peuple indien, le mouvement de libération nationale indien. D'un autre côté, une autorité du Royaume-Uni sur la politique coloniale, sir Winston Churchill, a déclaré, en s'opposant bien entendu à la politique suivie à ce moment-là par le parti travailliste à l'égard de l'Inde: "Nous nous dissocions de la politique indienne du gouvernement et rejetons toute responsabilité quant aux conséquences qui vont assombrir et ensanglanter les prochaines années." Plus loin, s'opposant à la décision du gouvernement travailliste d'engager des pourparlers avec le mouvement national et avec l'Inde, sir Winston Churchill a souligné que si le Royaume-Uni ne possédait pas "la force militaire et la volonté nécessaires pour régler ses affaires en Inde d'une manière judicieuse" — une manière judicieuse signifie certainement, pour le représentant de l'opposition du moment, de perpétuer le joug colonial en Inde et d'instaurer un gouvernement qui suivrait les injonctions de la politique britannique — il ne devrait pas finir "par un sabotage prématuré et précipité", augmentant ainsi les maux et les malheurs, comme M. Churchill appelle la libération de l'Inde du joug colonial.

81. Voilà la politique du Royaume-Uni. Est-il possible maintenant de faire admettre que cette politique a été, depuis un siècle, une politique de libération des peuples coloniaux? Non. Cette politique a été un effort constant en vue de tenir les peuples coloniaux sous la férule des colonialistes; mais cette politique ne pouvait pas être maintenue plus longtemps parce que les différents gouvernements, devant la pression constante du mouvement de libération nationale dans les pays coloniaux et surtout devant la pression constante des peuples du monde entier ainsi que de cette organisation, n'ont pas pu maintenir leur politique. Voilà pourquoi ils ont décidé de partir.

82. Ces déclarations, venant d'hommes d'Etat britanniques, sont certainement édifiantes. Tels sont les faits, et personne ne pourra rien y changer.

83. Nous sommes certains que toutes les délégations — exception faite, bien entendu, de celles des puissances coloniales et de leurs alliés les plus proches — seront d'accord pour insister afin que des mesures soient prises pour l'application immédiate de la Déclaration sur l'abolition du colonialisme, des mesures urgentes et concrètes qui nous permettront de nous féliciter l'année prochaine d'un travail positif dans le sens de la libération de tous les peuples coloniaux.

84. Or, nous sommes tous témoins ici — comme nous venons de le voir — des efforts des puissances coloniales en vue de différer l'indépendance des colonies pour des années et des années, sous prétexte que certains des peuples coloniaux ne seraient pas encore mûrs pour l'indépendance, que l'on devrait donner aux colonisateurs le temps de les y préparer. Mais ils les préparent depuis des siècles!

85. Nous rejetons résolument cette thèse fallacieuse. Qui oserait affirmer maintenant que les peuples d'Algérie, du Kenya, d'Angola ou d'Oman — pour ne citer que quelques exemples —, des peuples qui ont sacrifié des dizaines et des centaines de milliers de vies dans leur lutte contre le joug colonial, ne sont pas mûrs pour l'indépendance?

86. Quant à la période de préparation — thème favori des colonisateurs — je viens de rappeler à cette assemblée qu'en 1947, lorsque les colonialistes britanniques se sont vus forcés d'accorder l'indépendance au peuple de l'Inde, ils ne parlaient que d'un seul manque de préparation; ils s'excusaient de ne pas avoir fait les préparatifs nécessaires pour retenir cette colonie par la force des armes pour une période de plusieurs décennies encore. Voilà les préparatifs qui n'ont pas été faits. L'envergure du mouvement de libération nationale ces derniers temps a pris, il est vrai, certains colonisateurs au dépourvu, et il se peut que, dans plusieurs territoires, ils n'aient pas encore achevé leurs préparatifs dans le but d'y sauvegarder leur position économique, sinon politique.

87. Voilà ce qui inquiète le plus les colonisateurs. Voilà pourquoi ils nous demandent d'attendre jusqu'à ce qu'ils se préparent pour le néo-colonialisme. Ce ne sont pas les peuples coloniaux qui ne sont pas prêts pour l'indépendance; ce sont les colonisateurs qui ont besoin de temps pour mieux préparer leur politique de néo-colonialisme.

88. L'Assemblée générale ne peut pas devenir complice des colonisateurs dans leurs desseins dissimulés. Nous avons assez d'exemples instructifs devant nous. On n'a accordé qu'un an de sursis aux colonisateurs au Katanga pour consolider leur position, et voilà qu'aujourd'hui le problème de liquider la domination économique aussi bien que politique du colonialisme sur la province la plus riche du Congo est plus complexe et plus difficile que jamais.

89. Chaque année, chaque mois qui passe est utilisé par les colonisateurs en Rhodésie pour consolider leurs positions; maintenant, ils menacent de transformer ce pays en une seconde Afrique du Sud. Chaque mois qui passe permet aux colonisateurs d'inventer de nouvelles théories au sujet de la "maturité des peuples coloniaux", la prétendue "impossibilité de décoloniser les petits territoires", et je ne sais quoi encore.

90. Voilà pourquoi il est plus que jamais urgent et nécessaire de prendre des mesures pour l'octroi immédiat de l'indépendance aux peuples coloniaux. C'est la raison pour laquelle notre délégation a salué l'initiative de la délégation de l'Union soviétique [A/4859] qui a soulevé la question de l'adoption, à la session actuelle, de mesures additionnelles et concrètes afin de mettre en œuvre sans délai la Déclaration sur l'abolition du colonialisme.

91. Les mesures envisagées dans le projet de résolution présenté par la délégation de l'Union soviétique [A/L.355] ont pour but de couper court aux manœuvres des colonisateurs qui cherchent à différer l'heure de la libération complète des peuples coloniaux.

92. En premier lieu, nous appuyons la proposition qui fait l'objet du paragraphe 2 du dispositif et selon laquelle la fin de 1962 doit marquer la fin du colonialisme. Cette proposition est parfaitement réaliste, surtout si l'on applique les mesures envisagées au paragraphe 3 du dispositif, notamment la démocratisation de la vie aux colonies, l'organisation d'élections libres et l'établissement d'institutions nationales véritablement démocratiques qui assureraient le pouvoir, le retrait des troupes des puissances coloniales et la liquidation des bases militaires, l'abrogation de toutes les restrictions à la liberté, l'indépendance et la souveraineté de ces peuples. Si tous

les peuples épris de paix unissaient leurs efforts pour surmonter l'hostilité et la résistance des colonisateurs, la mise en œuvre de toutes ces mesures serait parfaitement réalisable.

93. Notre délégation voudrait souligner l'importance particulière de la mesure envisagée dans le paragraphe 4 du dispositif: la création d'une commission spéciale "chargée d'examiner à fond et en détail la situation concernant l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux et les mesures propres à mettre cette déclaration en œuvre".

94. La délégation bulgare voudrait soumettre à cette assemblée certaines considérations qui, à son avis, pourraient contribuer à la solution rapide de la question de l'octroi de l'indépendance aux peuples coloniaux.

95. Afin d'assurer l'absence complète de parti pris et de garantir la manifestation réelle de la volonté populaire dans les pays coloniaux, les Nations Unies devraient prendre une part très active à toutes les mesures préparatoires portant sur la proclamation d'une amnistie pleine et inconditionnelle en faveur de tous les détenus politiques, le retour de tous les émigrés politiques, l'organisation du suffrage universel, l'établissement des institutions nationales auxquelles serait transféré le pouvoir, l'organisation d'élections ou de référendums conformément aux conditions régnant dans chaque colonie, etc. Cette participation des Nations Unies devrait s'exercer non seulement lorsque ces mesures seraient prises, mais jusqu'à l'accession de chaque pays à l'indépendance. Un des moyens d'assurer un rôle actif à notre organisation, c'est d'envoyer sur place des missions spéciales des Nations Unies. Notre organisation a déjà acquis une expérience suffisante dans ce domaine, surtout en ce qui concerne les territoires sous tutelle. Nous sommes d'avis que cette expérience devrait être appliquée à toutes les colonies: face à l'octroi de droits et de pouvoirs plus larges aux missions qui y seraient envoyées.

96. En second lieu, il faudrait que la commission chargée de l'application de la Déclaration ait la possibilité de demander la discussion et l'adoption de ses recommandations quant à l'accession à l'indépendance de tel ou tel pays sans attendre l'ouverture de la dix-septième session de l'Assemblée générale. Cette commission traiterait de nombreuses questions urgentes et parfois complexes. Pour faciliter son travail, il faudrait qu'elle puisse faire un rapport à l'Assemblée générale sans aucun délai. Voilà pourquoi, à notre avis, la seizième session de l'Assemblée générale devrait rester ouverte — du moins en ce qui concerne les questions coloniales — pour que l'on puisse la convoquer durant la période allant jusqu'à l'ouverture de la dix-septième session ordinaire.

97. Voilà les suggestions que ma délégation avait l'intention de faire.

98. Guidés par l'idée de la libération de l'homme de toute exploitation, nous soutenons de tout cœur la lutte des peuples coloniaux pour leur libération de l'exploitation et du joug colonial, pour leur indépendance nationale. Nous sommes certains que cette lutte sera victorieuse. Cependant, nous pensons que, par ses décisions, l'Assemblée générale peut contribuer au succès de cette lutte héroïque et juste et empêcher beaucoup de souffrances et une effusion

de sang provoquée par les colonisateurs dans leur obstination à s'accrocher à leur domination coloniale. De notre côté, nous voudrions réaffirmer que nous sommes prêts à accorder aux peuples coloniaux tout notre appui dans leur lutte sacrée pour la liberté et l'indépendance.

99. Le peuple bulgare est convaincu que, grâce aux efforts communs de tous les peuples épris de paix, notre assemblée sera en mesure d'élaborer les décisions et de prendre les mesures les plus appropriées pour que soient réalisées les aspirations des peuples coloniaux à l'octroi immédiat de la liberté et de l'indépendance.

M. Slim (Tunisie) reprend la présidence.

100. M. MAKAL (Guinée): Depuis son admission au sein de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, la République de Guinée a toujours affirmé, par la voix de ses différentes délégations, que la colonisation, loin d'être une œuvre de bienfaisance et de charité ou une mission civilisatrice, est en réalité une agression caractérisée et une spoliation systématique perpétrée contre les peuples qui les subissent.

101. On pouvait s'attendre qu'à San Francisco^{2/} les nations souveraines, réunies pour élaborer la Charte des Nations Unies, condamnent sans équivoque ce phénomène et préconisent les moyens radicaux susceptibles d'y mettre une fin rapide et définitive. Malheureusement, on est bien obligé de constater que, malgré les dispositions du Chapitre XI de la Charte, celle-ci a été conçue comme un compromis de circonstances — qui ont d'ailleurs cessé d'exister.

102. Dès lors, il apparaît clairement que les puissances coloniales, par leur ruse, ont réussi à entraîner l'Organisation des Nations Unies dans leurs aventures coloniales sous des formes multiples dont la moindre n'est pas la tutelle. C'est pourquoi pour nous, peuples anciennement colonisés, résolument engagés dans la lutte pour la libération complète de nos frères encore ployés sous l'oppression étrangère, l'adoption de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux [résolution 1514 (XV)] n'a été qu'une juste réparation des graves lacunes de San Francisco. On se souvient encore qu'au cours des débats qui avaient précédé l'adoption à l'unanimité de cette résolution, le 14 décembre 1960, toutes les délégations d'Afrique et d'Asie avaient démontré brillamment le caractère essentiellement négatif et arbitraire de la colonisation et avaient demandé avec force son élimination immédiate et inconditionnelle sur tous les continents. Les convictions exprimées alors ont été formulées avec justesse dans la Déclaration qui proclamait solennellement la nécessité de mettre rapidement et inconditionnellement fin au colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations. Ces mêmes convictions ont été récemment proclamées avec force par les représentants de 25 pays non alignés, réunis à Belgrade^{10/} pour discuter des grands problèmes de l'heure.

103. La signification et la portée de la Déclaration n'échapperont à personne: elle constitue la volonté clairement manifestée par notre organisation de libérer des dizaines de millions d'êtres humains dont le processus de développement normal a été brusquement interrompu. Elle constitue également

la condamnation sans appel du système de domination et d'exploitation d'un peuple par un autre. Pour toutes ces raisons, la délégation de la République de Guinée s'attendait à voir toutes les puissances coloniales signataires de notre charte — le Royaume-Uni, la France, l'Espagne, la Belgique, les Pays-Bas, l'Australie et la prétendue République sud-africaine — appliquer dans sa lettre et dans son esprit les mesures préconisées par la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. Or, que constatons-nous un an après l'adoption de cette déclaration historique?

104. En ce qui concerne les territoires sous tutelle, tout en enregistrant avec satisfaction les décisions relatives à l'accession à l'indépendance du Tanganyika, le 9 décembre 1961, et du Samoa-Occidental, le 1er janvier 1962, force nous est de noter que ce fait ne résulte pas de l'application de la Déclaration, mais d'un processus engagé antérieurement à l'adoption de ladite Déclaration, processus essentiellement lié à la volonté exprimée avec force par les populations de ces deux territoires.

105. Au sujet du Ruanda-Urundi, nous ne pouvons qu'exprimer le ferme espoir que l'Assemblée générale, conformément aux aspirations et à la volonté des populations intéressées, décidera, au cours de la seizième session, la levée de la tutelle et l'accession immédiate à l'indépendance de ce territoire sous administration belge.

106. Quant aux territoires du Pacifique, l'on ne peut que déplorer leur lente évolution et affirmer à nouveau que tous les principes de la Déclaration leur sont applicables intégralement.

107. Parlant du Sud-Ouest africain, il suffit de rappeler que la prétendue République sud-africaine n'a jamais cessé de violer systématiquement toutes les résolutions de l'Assemblée générale, tout en accélérant le processus d'intégration illégale de ce territoire autrefois mis sous mandat par la Société des Nations dont notre organisation est la seule et unique héritière. Pour éviter à ce territoire la catastrophe que le gouvernement de Pretoria lui prépare, il est urgent que le Conseil de sécurité prenne en main son avenir et y applique résolument toutes les dispositions de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. Telles sont les mesures que préconise le Gouvernement de la République de Guinée pour mettre fin sans délai aux aventures coloniales de l'Organisation des Nations Unies.

108. La situation dans les territoires non autonomes, depuis l'adoption de la Déclaration, est restée statique. En effet, aucun des pays colonisés n'a accédé à l'indépendance en vertu de cette résolution. Le seul pays que nous ayons eu le plaisir d'accueillir parmi nous depuis le 14 décembre 1960, à savoir le Sierra Leone, a pu se libérer uniquement grâce à un accord intervenu antérieurement à l'adoption de la résolution, sous la pression des peuples africains. On nous signale par ailleurs l'accession prochaine de l'Ouganda à l'indépendance. Nous souhaitons à ce pays une indépendance réelle dans son intégrité territoriale.

109. Les quelques renseignements que les puissances administrantes se flattent de nous communiquer ne peuvent constituer en tout état de cause une application loyale de la Déclaration. Ils ne sauront être considérés favorablement par notre délégation que dans la mesure où ils nous indiqueront sans équivoque les méthodes

^{2/} Conférence des Nations Unies sur l'organisation internationale, réunie du 25 avril au 26 juin 1945.

^{10/} Conférence des pays non alignés, réunie du 1er au 6 septembre 1961.

et mesures concrètes prises en vue de l'accession des pays intéressés à leur souveraineté. En effet, la Déclaration dispose aux paragraphes 4, 5 et 6 — et je cite:

"Il sera mis fin à toute action armée et à toutes mesures de répression, de quelque sorte qu'elles soient, dirigées contre les peuples dépendants, pour permettre à ces peuples d'exercer pacifiquement et librement leur droit à l'indépendance complète, et l'intégrité de leur territoire national sera respectée.

"Des mesures immédiates seront prises, dans les territoires sous tutelle, les territoires non autonomes et tous autres territoires qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance, pour transférer tous pouvoirs aux peuples de ces territoires, sans aucune condition ni réserve, conformément à leur volonté et à leurs vœux librement exprimés, sans aucune distinction de race, de croyance ou de couleur, afin de leur permettre de jouir d'une indépendance et d'une liberté complètes.

"Toute tentative visant à détruire partiellement ou totalement l'unité nationale et l'intégrité territoriale d'un pays est incompatible avec les buts et les principes de la Charte des Nations Unies."

110. Qui oserait affirmer que ces dispositions essentielles ont été observées par les puissances coloniales, alors même que:

111. En Algérie, la France continue sa guerre d'extermination:

112. En Angola, le Portugal, désormais considéré comme un criminel de guerre par les peuples africains, persiste dans sa politique de génocide, a eu glé par sa propre fiction qui consiste à faire des Africains noirs des Portugais blancs.

113. L'Espagne, tout en acceptant de nous communiquer des renseignements sur ses colonies, s'accroche, elle aussi, à la fiction juridique des provinces d'outre-mer.

114. Quant au Royaume-Uni qui se vante de poursuivre une politique de dégageant colonial, il continue à asservir une quarantaine de territoires, y compris les Rhodésies, où le méprisable système de discrimination raciale est érigé en dogme d'Etat. La politique de néo-colonialisme de cette puissance s'est révélée au grand jour dans la triste affaire katangaise, avec toutes les graves conséquences qu'elle peut entraîner pour l'Afrique.

115. Que dire de la Belgique? Ce pays s'est définitivement disqualifié aux yeux des peuples africains par ses agissements au Congo et au Ruanda-Urundi.

116. Les Pays-Bas, quant à eux, après s'être opposés d'une façon persistante à toutes les décisions des Nations Unies en faveur des peuples coloniaux, ont déposé un projet de résolution [A/L.354] dans lequel ils prétendent "respecter le principe de l'autodétermination conformément aux principes de la Charte des Nations Unies" et proclament leur intention de mettre l'Irian occidental sous la tutelle des Nations Unies. Ils se présentent devant l'Assemblée sous le manteau du parfait décolonisateur décidé à appliquer la Déclaration. Mais en réalité, par leur refus d'appliquer cette déclaration à leurs possessions d'Amérique du Sud, ils violent le paragraphe 6 de son dispositif. Le projet de résolution que les Pays-Bas proposent, loin d'être l'application loyale du principe

de l'autodétermination, n'a pour but que d'entraîner l'ONU dans les manœuvres d'autodestruction des Etats Membres. Ma délégation rejette en bloc toutes ces manœuvres d'inspiration et d'essence néo-colonialistes.

117. Tous ces faits prouvent que la résolution, dont l'adoption a soulevé tant d'espoirs chez les peuples coloniaux et qui constitue aujourd'hui l'élément déterminant de toutes les actions menées par les délégations opposées à la domination d'un peuple par un autre, n'a en fait connu aucune tentative d'application de la part des puissances coloniales. Il est par conséquent urgent de prendre les mesures nécessaires tendant à traduire dans les faits les diverses dispositions de la Déclaration. A cet égard, ma délégation a étudié avec attention et intérêt les mesures préconisées pour la mise en œuvre de la résolution. Elle salue toutes les délégations qui ont apporté et qui continuent d'apporter leur contribution positive à la liquidation du colonialisme. Cependant, elle n'est pas d'avis que la meilleure méthode d'accession à l'indépendance des pays coloniaux consiste à fixer des dates limites. En effet, nous savons par expérience que, sans ingérence étrangère, tout peuple, à tout moment, est capable de prendre en main ses destinées. L'exemple de mon pays prouve éloquemment le bien-fondé de cette affirmation puisque, aussi bien, la Guinée a accédé du jour au lendemain à l'indépendance et a pu surmonter, grâce à l'unité de son peuple et à la clairvoyance de ses leaders, les multiples obstacles créés sur son chemin. En plus, nous devons affirmer qu'aucun peuple consulté sur son sort n'accepterait que l'échéance de sa libération soit retardée d'un jour. Ma délégation met au défi tous les orateurs qui, du haut de cette tribune, soutiennent la thèse contraire en accordant un sursis au colonialisme. Il serait impensable de demander aux peuples d'Algérie ou d'Angola, qui journellement versent leur sang pour la reconquête immédiate de leur liberté, d'attendre encore plus longtemps. Cette considération est, bien entendu, valable pour tous les autres peuples victimes de la domination coloniale.

118. C'est pour toutes ces raisons que ma délégation ne saurait souscrire à la fixation d'une date, encore moins d'une date aussi extravagante que 1970, dont le moins qu'on puisse dire est que sa détermination relève de la plus haute fantaisie, à moins qu'elle ne soit inspirée par de mystérieux et malveillants oracles.

119. Au demeurant, ma délégation ne comprend pas les raisons qui ont présidé à l'inscription à l'ordre du jour du deuxième point que nous discutons sous sa forme actuelle. Elle estime que cette question, qui a fait l'objet de discussions à la Première Commission, au cours de la quinzième session de l'Assemblée, a été dénaturée par une procédure insidieuse. On sait que ses aspects social et économique ont été transférés aux commissions compétentes. Quant à son aspect politique, il s'intègre intimement dans l'application de la Déclaration qui s'applique à toutes les colonies, quel que soit le continent où elles existent.

120. C'est forte de ces considérations que ma délégation propose ce qui suit.

121. Premièrement, nous demandons que l'Assemblée réaffirme les objectifs et les principes incorporés dans la Déclaration sur la fin du colonialisme. Deuxièmement, nous exigeons que les puissances

coloniales libèrent immédiatement tous les territoires soumis à leur contrôle. Troisièmement, nous demandons la création d'un comité spécial qui aurait pour rôle de veiller à l'application de la Déclaration, de faire des suggestions et des recommandations, notamment dans les domaines de l'instauration du suffrage universel dans les territoires coloniaux; auparavant, une amnistie inconditionnelle serait accordée à tous les détenus politiques, en vue de l'établissement d'organes législatifs et exécutifs démocratiques auxquels tous les pouvoirs devront être transférés sans limitation aucune. Le comité pourrait se réunir partout où il le jugerait utile pour s'acquitter de sa tâche. Ce programme constitue un minimum sur lequel on ne pourrait transiger.

122. Ma délégation a toujours affirmé que la décolonisation est une condition nécessaire à la réalisation de la paix, car elle est une étape essentielle de tout programme réaliste de désarmement général et complet. Il est clair que la décolonisation, impératif de notre temps, se fera avec ou sans la collaboration des puissances coloniales. Il appartient à celles-ci de choisir, dans l'intérêt de tous les peuples, la voie la plus raisonnable. La Déclaration trace cette voie. Il reste aux puissances coloniales à s'y engager loyalement et résolument dans l'intérêt de la paix et de la sécurité internationales.

123. Quant à nous, Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, notre rôle est aussi clair que précis. Nous devons parachever la grande œuvre commencée en 1960, par la fixation des meilleures conditions et modalités de mise en application immédiate de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux peuples et pays coloniaux. C'est le moins que les peuples opprimés de tous les continents, et en particulier les peuples africains, attendent de la seizième session de l'Assemblée générale de l'Organisation des Nations Unies.

M. Rossides (Chypre), vice-président, prend la présidence.

124. Le **PRESIDENT**: Je donne la parole au représentant de l'Inde pour la présentation d'un projet de résolution.

125. **M. Krishna MENON (Inde)** [traduit de l'anglais]: Ma délégation avait d'abord demandé la parole pour présenter un projet de résolution [A/L.367] concernant l'Irian occidental. Depuis que nous avons été autorisés à prendre la parole, nous avons pu nous entendre avec la délégation de l'Indonésie pour prendre sa place à la présente séance et, afin de faire gagner du temps à l'Assemblée, nous avons cru bon de traiter de la question, sur laquelle nous aurions parlé de toute façon à l'occasion de ce projet de résolution.

126. Je voudrais, si l'on veut bien me le permettre, exprimer nos vues sur cette discussion générale de la question du colonialisme. Nous sommes déjà parvenus à un point si avancé dans ce débat que certaines déclarations peuvent peut-être paraître se répéter.

127. La décision de mettre fin au régime colonial a été prise par l'Assemblée pendant la première partie de sa quinzième session et de nombreuses déclarations ont aussi été prononcées à ce sujet pendant la reprise de cette quinzième session. De nombreux orateurs ont parlé de la situation dans les pays coloniaux et des dangers qu'il y aurait à ne pas mettre fin à cet état de choses. Maintenant encore,

en cette enceinte, ce problème est évoqué à tout moment, soit à la Quatrième Commission, soit à l'Assemblée, soit en l'une ou l'autre des diverses commissions. Comme dans le cas du désarmement — mais peut-être dans une moindre mesure — où, tout en parlant depuis des années de désarmer, nous continuons à accumuler des armes, de même dans le cas des colonies, bien qu'aucune colonie nouvelle n'ait été créée, une bataille d'arrière-garde se poursuit et malheureusement, dans le cas de certaines puissances, les empires semblent avoir la vie dure.

128. Mais permettez-moi d'exposer la position de mon gouvernement. Nous ne considérons plus la liquidation du colonialisme comme un sujet de troubles ou de revendications de la part des pays anciennement ou encore actuellement sous le régime colonial. C'est maintenant aux Nations Unies qu'il appartient de s'en occuper, car elles ont adopté la résolution 1514 (XV) pratiquement à l'unanimité et, qui plus est, elles ont invité les pays qui administrent des territoires dépendants à mettre fin à leur domination. Donc, il n'est plus question de faire de l'agitation d'un certain côté ou même de chercher à établir le bien-fondé de la question. Nous avons déjà statué. Tout ce qu'il faut maintenant, c'est que les puissances qui exercent encore leur pouvoir dans certains pays — quelles que soient les dispositions juridiques ou les modalités auxquelles réponde cette situation — renoncent à leur domination. Nous pourrions alors faire gagner du temps à l'Assemblée et, qui mieux est, nous pourrions empêcher que ne se reproduisent des événements semblables à ceux du Congo, ou de l'Angola, ou de l'Algérie, et nous pourrions même, mieux encore, mettre fin à la crise qui sévit encore au Congo, ou en Angola, ou en Algérie.

129. La question dont nous sommes saisis maintenant est celle de l'application de cette résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale. Etant donné l'importance de la question, on peut dire que la résolution est concise, à l'exception du préambule, et elle fait ressortir que la sujétion des peuples à une subjugation ou une domination étrangères constitue un déni des droits fondamentaux de l'homme. Toutefois, il n'y a rien dans cette résolution qui ne figure déjà dans la Charte. Dans les dissensions qui séparent les hommes à travers le monde, les difficultés ne proviennent pas du fait qu'il n'y a pas assez de lois, de codes d'éthique ou autres, mais du fait que les hommes ne s'y soumettent pas.

130. En revanche, il serait faux de penser qu'on n'a pas réalisé de gros progrès. Ainsi, à cette séance, les représentants d'anciens pays colonisés semblent monopoliser la présidence, que ce soit le Président ou le Vice-Président qui occupe en ce moment le fauteuil présidentiel. Il y a quelques années seulement, cinq, six ou sept ans, nous entendions réclamer du haut de cette tribune l'indépendance de ces pays et aujourd'hui non seulement ces pays sont devenus des Etats indépendants, mais leurs représentants président aux destinées de l'Organisation. Ce sont là des choses que nous oublions parfois, mais si tous les Etats Membres s'en souvenaient ils se rendraient compte de l'énormité de la faute qu'ils commettent en prolongeant leur domination coloniale; en effet, dès que le démon des empires est exorcisé, non seulement des populations se trouvent libérées dans le monde, mais aussi leurs vastes énergies; leurs frustrations disparaissent et le domaine de la liberté s'agrandit en ce monde.

131. En ce qui concerne la résolution 1514 (XV), nous sommes maintenant passés du stade des revendications, des justifications ou même des plaintes au stade de la mise en application de ce texte. C'est-à-dire que notre but doit être d'appliquer les décisions prises par l'Assemblée — et, quand je dis "notre but", j'entends non seulement les pays coloniaux et les anciens pays coloniaux, mais toute l'Assemblée qui doit désormais passer à la tâche concrète du démantèlement des empires, afin que les territoires soient rendus à leurs peuples respectifs dans des conditions qui permettent l'accroissement effectif de leur liberté. Ainsi se trouveront corrigés certains des déséquilibres qui existent, étant donné que le monde ne peut pas être moitié libre et moitié esclave, non plus que les pays.

132. Je reviens maintenant au projet de résolution [A/L.366 et Add.1] dont l'Assemblée est maintenant saisie. Je n'ai pas l'intention de l'examiner paragraphe par paragraphe, mais je veux parler de certaines clauses de son dispositif.

133. Nous regrettons qu'il soit nécessaire de présenter ce projet de résolution. Mon pays, que ce soit à l'Assemblée ou au Conseil de tutelle, depuis quatre ou cinq ans, s'est toujours opposé en principe à la fixation d'une date. Ce n'est pas que nous craignons que les colonies ne soient libérées trop vite, mais nous pensons que la fixation d'une date risque de donner aux puissances administrantes l'impression qu'elles n'ont plus le devoir de s'efforcer de réaliser des progrès en tenant compte du calendrier des événements. D'autre part, je me souviens parfaitement qu'il y a quelques années, lorsqu'on examinait la question du Tanganyika, certains membres du Conseil de tutelle voulaient que ce territoire accédât à l'indépendance dans un délai de 10 ans; à cette époque, la puissance administrante estimait qu'il faudrait 50 ans. Cependant, dans quelques jours le Tanganyika deviendra indépendant et, sans aucun doute, sera bientôt admis comme Membre de l'Organisation.

134. Quant au propre pays du Président de l'Assemblée, il fut un temps où l'on prétendait, pour ne pas avoir à le libérer, que ce n'était pas une colonie — je reviendrai sur ce point dans un instant lorsque je parlerai de nos amis du Portugal, non que nous ayons contre eux une aversion toute particulière, mais parce que leur cas nous pose un problème et que nous devons l'examiner.

135. Maintenant, selon les termes du projet de résolution, nous sommes invités à réitérer et à réaffirmer solennellement certains objectifs et principes. Point n'est besoin que quiconque parle en faveur de cette cause. J'irai même plus loin et je dirai que ce projet de résolution représente dans une certaine mesure un compromis pour beaucoup de délégations aussi ne devrait-il y en avoir aucune à l'Assemblée qui vote contre son adoption.

136. L'an dernier, lorsque la résolution 1514 (XV) a été adoptée, nous avons invité les puissances coloniales à prendre des mesures immédiates pour l'appliquer. Cela signifiait que certaines mesures devaient être prises, sans tenir compte de dates, afin qu'aucune colonie ne se trouve aujourd'hui dans la même situation qu'à l'époque de l'adoption de cette résolution. Lorsqu'une puissance métropolitaine n'en a rien fait, lorsqu'un pays colonial n'a pas au moins bénéficié d'une liberté un peu plus grande qu'auparavant, on peut dire que la résolution n'a pas été respectée par l'Etat Membre intéressé et cela

doit être considéré comme une faute dans sa conduite envers l'Assemblée.

137. C'est pourquoi nous en sommes venus cette année à nous préoccuper de l'application des décisions de l'Assemblée. En effet, l'Assemblée est maîtresse de sa propre procédure et, puisqu'elle a pris cette décision pratiquement à l'unanimité, il est normal que, dans le cadre de sa compétence et des dispositions de la Charte, elle institue un dispositif pour lui donner effet. Le paragraphe 3 du dispositif de ce projet de résolution prévoit donc la création d'un comité spécial de 17 membres qui seront désignés par le Président de l'Assemblée générale au cours de la présente session.

138. Ma délégation est particulièrement heureuse que ce soit le Président de l'Assemblée qui doive procéder à cette désignation car la question sera ainsi maintenue en dehors de la guerre froide et de toutes les discussions de géographie, c'est-à-dire qu'il ne sera pas question de savoir si, sur la carte, tel pays appartient à l'Asie ou tel autre à l'Afrique. C'est le Président qui, avec sa sagesse et dans l'exercice normal de ses fonctions, en consultation avec les diverses parties intéressées, exercera son jugement et nommera un comité de 17 membres, chargé non pas d'étudier si telle ou telle colonie est prête ou non pour sa libération, mais de réaliser cette libération, c'est-à-dire le processus de démembrement des empires.

139. Ce comité étudiera l'application de la Déclaration et suggérera les moyens de donner rapidement effet à ce texte. Il n'est nullement question que ce comité soit un nouveau conseil de tutelle ou un nouveau super-Etat, ou encore qu'il soit investi d'une sorte de pouvoir de condominium sur les territoires; ce comité aura simplement pour objectif de mettre en œuvre les dispositions de la résolution 1514 (XV).

140. Nous devons malheureusement tenir compte du fait qu'en dépit du caractère unanime de ces décisions de l'Assemblée il existe des pays — heureusement très peu nombreux — qui refusent de coopérer avec l'Assemblée pour mettre ses résolutions en application. Depuis des années, l'Assemblée n'a pu obtenir la coopération de la partie directement intéressée en ce qui concerne les résolutions qu'elle a adoptées sur la discrimination raciale et il a donc fallu, dès 1954 ou 1955, créer des comités pour entreprendre des enquêtes dans certaines régions du monde.

141. Tous les Membres de l'Assemblée savent qu'à la Quatrième Commission, depuis deux ans, nous avons dû lutter avec acharnement pour persuader le Gouvernement portugais de remplir les obligations prévues par la Charte; et, depuis longtemps, même ceux qui nous paraissaient plus éclairés avaient l'impression qu'en communiquant des renseignements sur les territoires coloniaux ils nous faisaient une faveur. Il n'en est rien; c'est là une obligation imposée par la Charte aux puissances coloniales qui doivent communiquer, avec certaines limitations, des renseignements sur les territoires dépendants qu'elles administrent. Ce principe est maintenant admis et je suis heureux de constater que la Quatrième Commission a adopté, il y a seulement quelques heures, un autre projet de résolution concernant les territoires non autonomes, qui a également pour objet de favoriser la décolonisation et qui invite les puissances métropolitaines à prendre des mesures

pour aider à former des fonctionnaires et techniciens autochtones compétents dans les territoires dépendants afin de donner une application effective aux résolutions de l'Assemblée.

142. Cet aspect particulier de la question, dont l'Assemblée n'a cependant pas encore été saisie, est très important et l'on s'en rend compte si l'on considère ce qui se passe au Congo. Rien ne condamne plus catégoriquement le colonialisme que ce qui se passe au Congo — et je ne veux pas tant parler du retour des Belges, ou des mercenaires, ou de Tshombé, ou de détails de ce genre, que du fait même qu'après des années de domination un pays métropolitain laisse un territoire dans une situation d'anarchie telle qu'à son départ la guerre civile et l'intervention étrangère ne puissent être évitées. Voilà en effet le tableau le plus déplorable de la domination coloniale qu'il ait été donné à l'Assemblée de contempler.

143. Un autre paragraphe de ce projet de résolution donne à ce comité spécial l'autorisation de se réunir en tout autre lieu que le Siège de l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Cela ne veut pas dire que nous donnions à ce comité l'autorisation de négocier avec les gouvernements d'Etats souverains au sujet de leurs territoires coloniaux. Cependant, dans bien des cas, il n'est pas possible d'obtenir les renseignements voulus ici et, dans le cas d'un ou de deux pays avec lesquels nous avons déjà tenté de négocier, nous avons constaté que ces pays ne permettaient pas aux délégations des Nations Unies de pénétrer sur les territoires considérés; nous devons donc donner à ce comité l'autorisation de se réunir là où il l'estimera bon afin d'obtenir les renseignements recherchés et de s'acquitter de sa mission.

144. Les autres paragraphes traitent d'aspects plus constructifs de la question et il y est demandé au Conseil de tutelle, au Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes, aux institutions spécialisées, etc., de travailler à cette fin dans leurs domaines d'activité respectifs. Il n'est pas nécessaire que je m'étende sur ce point, si ce n'est pour rappeler qu'il y a certaines régions des empires coloniaux où cette résolution n'a pas été respectée et où l'on semble encore vivre dans des conditions inchangées depuis bien des dizaines d'années.

145. A ce propos, je n'ai cessé de répéter que nous reconnaissons toujours les progrès qui sont réalisés et que nous en rendons hommage à qui de droit lorsqu'il y a lieu. S'il est vrai que l'Empire britannique compte encore une trentaine ou une quarantaine de territoires coloniaux et environ 30 à 40 millions d'êtres humains sous sa domination — ce vaste empire sur lequel, disait-on, le soleil ne se couchait jamais et qui s'étendait sur toutes les mers et tous les continents — là du moins le processus de liquidation a commencé. Nous éprouvons nous-mêmes quelque fierté à penser que nous avons encouragé ce processus. Cependant, il reste toujours ces territoires dont je viens de parler — encore que certains d'entre eux, comme le Tanganyika, soient sur le point d'accéder à l'indépendance et que, je l'espère, les territoires de l'Afrique orientale britannique doivent venir bientôt se joindre à nous en tant qu'Etats indépendants. Je tiens à exprimer l'espoir que l'on ne cherchera pas à reprendre d'une main ce qu'on donne de l'autre, car toute tentative pour porter atteinte à l'indépendance nationale qui est accordée aurait de très graves répercussions; la responsabilité, c'est-à-dire l'exercice du pouvoir, ne serait plus en effet du ressort

de la puissance métropolitaine et, en même temps, ne serait pas encore solidement établie chez les populations coloniales elles-mêmes.

146. Donc, il reste encore ce vaste territoire de l'ancien Empire britannique et, dans certains cas comme celui de la Fédération de la Rhodésie et du Nyassaland — sur ce point je ne fais aucune réserve —, nous attendons fiévreusement de voir ce qui adviendra, car au début de ce siècle, sous l'influence du libéralisme qui avait caractérisé le XIX^{ème} siècle, l'Empire britannique a accordé ce qu'on a appelé l'indépendance à une minorité d'habitants de cette terre de l'Union sud-africaine, qui a environ deux siècles de retard sur la civilisation moderne pour toutes ces questions, ce qui a eu pour conséquence qu'une petite minorité n'a acquis l'"indépendance" que pour opprimer les autres.

147. La Fédération de la Rhodésie et du Nyassaland est géographiquement, politiquement, sentimentalement et "morale" proche de l'Union. Dans les trois territoires du Souaziland, du Betchouanaland et du Bassoutoland qui connaissent certaines difficultés sur le plan géographique et dans le territoire du Sud-Ouest africain qui devrait être un territoire sous tutelle, des problèmes particuliers se posent. Si ces pays reçoivent simplement une indépendance creuse mais non son contenu, nous condamnerons encore des millions et des millions d'êtres humains à la domination et au racisme d'une petite minorité. C'est pourquoi mon pays reste vigilant sur ce point. Nous ne souhaitons nullement retarder le progrès de la Rhodésie et du Nyassaland réunis. Nous ne voulons nullement nous prononcer sur les avantages ou les inconvénients d'une fédération ou d'un système non fédéraliste. Ce qui nous intéresse c'est que la population africaine, la population asiatique ou toute autre population qui n'appartiennent pas à la race des dirigeants ne deviennent pas les esclaves d'un empire et ne connaissent pas le même genre de démocratie que celle des Grecs d'il y a 2 000 ans, alors que les destinées et la liberté de 300 personnes exigeaient l'oppression de 30 000 personnes. C'est pourquoi, tout en restant vigilants sur ce point, nous ne souscrivons pas à la perpétuation de l'empire. En cette matière, le Royaume-Uni a le devoir envers lui-même, envers ses associés du Commonwealth, envers le bon exemple qu'il a donné au cours des quelques dernières années en hâtant le processus de libération, de faire en sorte qu'un plus grand nombre d'êtres humains ne se trouvent pas condamnés à l'esclavage racial sous prétexte de libération.

148. Je passe maintenant à l'exemple classique de l'empire du XX^{ème} siècle, l'empire du Portugal. Ce pays d'Europe relativement petit a sous sa domination — si mes chiffres sont exacts, comme je le crois — environ 3 300 000 km² de territoires en Afrique et en Asie, et ces territoires comptent à eux tous plus d'habitants que le Portugal même.

149. Or on s'efforce non seulement de perpétuer le colonialisme dans ces territoires, mais encore on cherche à tromper l'Assemblée en prétendant qu'ils font partie du Portugal. Je voudrais que vous examiniez cette affirmation non pas simplement du point de vue de la terminologie. Lorsqu'un pays déclare que le territoire d'un autre lui appartient, il adopte une attitude différente de celle des autres pays métropolitains — la Grande-Bretagne, par exemple, qui déclare toujours "nous possédons tel territoire, mais nous espérons qu'un jour il sera libre" — même si,

dans ce cas, "un jour" veut dire dans 500 ans — alors que dans le cas du Portugal cette affirmation signifie que, non seulement aujourd'hui mais à jamais, ce pays refusera d'accorder l'indépendance à des populations coloniales sous prétexte que ce ne sont pas des populations coloniales. C'est ainsi que les Portugais procèdent. Ils leur disent: "Vous n'êtes pas des populations coloniales, vous faites partie du Portugal." Cependant, si elles font partie du Portugal, elles devraient jouir des droits civiques et de toutes les égalités qui accompagnent ces droits.

150. Voilà donc un Membre de l'Organisation des Nations Unies qui, non seulement aujourd'hui, non seulement demain, mais toujours, refusera de donner à un peuple la patrie qui est en fait la sienne. Et alors que le puissant Empire britannique a jugé bon, par habileté politique, par clairvoyance, par bon sens et par décence, de renoncer à tous pouvoirs dans son grand empire de l'Inde, peut-on croire que le petit territoire enclavé dans l'Inde et que le Portugal considère comme faisant partie du Portugal va rester dans la sujétion? Peut-on imaginer que notre désir de ne pas provoquer d'actions guerrières en quelque endroit que ce soit, notre répugnance à agir directement et à créer dans le monde encore plus de difficultés qu'il n'y en a déjà, vont durer indéfiniment? On ne peut certes pas opprimer indéfiniment des populations.

151. L'autre jour, parlant devant la Quatrième Commission [1207ème séance] parce que le représentant du Portugal avait contesté certaines déclarations de notre premier ministre, j'ai eu l'occasion de répéter qu'en tant qu'Etat nous n'avions pas abjuré l'emploi de la force. Il y a en Inde beaucoup de pacifistes qui ne veulent pas de l'emploi de la force. Les enseignements de Gandhi étaient opposés à l'emploi de la force. Toutefois, en tant qu'Etat nous disposons d'une armée, d'une marine et d'une aviation, qui je l'espère ont de la valeur. Nous n'avons donc pas abjuré l'emploi de la force. Nous avons signé la Charte et nous sommes disposés à mettre les forces armées de notre pays à la disposition des Nations Unies. Par conséquent si l'agression se poursuit indéfiniment, si nos populations risquent à tout moment d'être abattues de sang-froid, s'il n'y a pas de liberté civile et si la paix et la sécurité de notre pays d'une part et celles du monde entier d'autre part sont mises en danger par les conflits incessants qui se déroulent sur notre territoire, nul n'a le droit, ni même en vertu de la Charte des Nations Unies, ni en vertu d'aucune loi de morale, d'aucune règle d'éthique politique, d'aucun principe régissant le comportement des Etats sur le plan international, d'empêcher un Etat souverain comme le nôtre de chercher à parachever la libération de l'ensemble du pays.

152. Comme on l'entend souvent dire en Inde, pour nous Goa est comme une œuvre inachevée. J'entends par là qu'il y avait sur notre territoire trois puissances coloniales, dont l'une était la Grande-Bretagne, la plus importante de toutes. Nous avons négocié avec cette puissance et c'est vraiment ce qui importe le plus. Il y avait ensuite la France qui possédait sept enclaves dans notre pays et, par de patientes négociations, nous sommes parvenus à une solution en vertu de laquelle nous avons au moins obtenu que ces territoires, aussi petits soient-ils, nous soient transférés en fait, et je ne pense pas que le transfert de droit se fasse longtemps attendre.

153. Nous avons longtemps essayé de négocier, nous avons maintenu des missions à Lisbonne, nous avons négocié avec les Portugais. Nous avons agi ainsi même lorsqu'ils se sont adressés à la Cour internationale de Justice en invoquant des motifs indéfendables, lorsqu'ils ont revendiqué le droit de passage sur notre territoire souverain afin d'opprimer les habitants de leur colonie. Nous nous sommes toujours conformés à la Charte et au droit des gens.

154. Ce que j'ai déclaré l'autre jour devant la Quatrième Commission reste la politique de mon gouvernement. Nous n'aurons pas recours à l'emploi de la force si nous pouvons l'éviter. Toutefois, le moment venu, si l'agression se poursuit de telle sorte que des milliers et des milliers d'êtres humains soient obligés d'endurer cette situation, si l'opinion publique de notre pays ne peut plus supporter de voir que des frères de race soient assassinés et si le territoire devient également une arène où s'affrontent les intrigues internationales, alors, en qualité d'Etat souverain, nous nous réservons le droit de prendre les mesures qui nous plairont, sous réserve de respecter le droit des gens. C'est tout ce que nous avons déclaré et notre position reste inchangée.

155. Mais, cela dit pour éclairer la situation, nous ne nous précipitons pas en cette affaire, sachant pertinemment que le recours à l'emploi de la force, quelle qu'en soit la justification, a toujours d'autres conséquences. Néanmoins il n'est pas possible qu'un Etat souverain, disposant de ressources suffisantes pour sa défense et pour sauvegarder sa dignité et sa souveraineté, reste longtemps impassible. Ce n'est pas là tenir des propos violents. Il n'est pas question d'adresser un ultimatum au Portugal ou de prendre une mesure quelconque de ce genre. Cependant, notre peuple s'impatiente et notre gouvernement s'est efforcé depuis tant d'années déjà de modérer cette impatience que nous ne pourrions longtemps contenir ce sentiment inspiré par des motifs légitimes et par le désir d'être libre.

156. Telles sont les déclarations que je voulais faire à propos de certains territoires d'Asie.

157. En Afrique, je dois parler de l'Angola et du Mozambique et d'autres territoires où sévit aujourd'hui une cruauté telle qu'elle surpasse encore ce que l'on avait connu au temps de l'impérialisme, pendant des centaines d'années. Des gens ont été victimes d'assassinats, un grand nombre de personnes ont été chassées de chez elles avec leur famille. Il y a de nombreux réfugiés. Les mesures de répression qui sont prises sont incompatibles non seulement avec la Charte mais encore avec l'attitude que l'on doit pouvoir attendre d'un Membre de l'Organisation des Nations Unies. A aucune tribune nous n'avons jusqu'ici soulevé cette question, si ce n'est pour appeler sur elle l'attention des autres Etats Membres et pour alerter l'opinion publique; j'espère que l'opinion publique saura en prendre note, car l'opinion publique est souvent le remède le plus efficace contre les maux qui affligent le monde, et l'on est parvenu aujourd'hui au point où le pays intéressé n'a plus d'amis qui soient favorables au maintien de son empire. Nous sommes l'un des peuples qui désirent rester amis avec ce pays; notre peuple s'est trouvé associé à la civilisation portugaise, encore que ce fût par le moyen de la conquête, pendant trois ou quatre cents ans. Certaines personnes parlent la langue; il n'est pas dans notre intention, pas plus que dans le cas de Pondichéry, d'effacer ce qui a

laissé une empreinte historique, en apportant l'indépendance et la libération à ces régions.

158. Cependant, d'un autre côté, l'impérialisme du Portugal est l'une de ces choses qui tournent en dérision la résolution 1514 (XV). Il s'agit d'un pays relativement petit mais qui a, il est vrai, des alliés puissants. Et une fois de plus, sans vouloir offenser personne, aucune grande puissance, nous tenons à dire que l'alliance armée de pays coloniaux avec d'autres pays nous cause quelque inquiétude car ce déploiement de forces ne peut durer longtemps — c'est le cas en Algérie où, nous dit-on, près de la moitié de l'aviation française et une partie importante de la flotte française s'emploient à réprimer le soulèvement du peuple algérien. De nombreux pays ont maintenant reconnu le Gouvernement provisoire de la République algérienne. De nombreux autres ne l'ont pas encore fait. Ce n'est qu'une question de discrétion et de patience. Le moment ne tardera plus où la France devra reconnaître qu'il n'y a pas à l'heure actuelle, en 1961, deux manières de régler la question des territoires coloniaux. Ou bien on s'y maintient et l'on en subit les conséquences, ou bien on s'en retire et l'on se conforme aux principes de la Charte. Que l'on songe donc à l'Empire français en Afrique où, pour ajouter à toutes les autres difficultés, on a notamment utilisé ces territoires et cette région pour y faire des essais d'armes nucléaires, contre le gré et sans l'assentiment des populations africaines.

159. Telles sont donc les tâches encore inachevées dans le domaine colonial; telles sont les raisons pour lesquelles 28 orateurs ont parlé devant l'Assemblée au cours des cinq ou six dernières séances et, en un sens, notre temps a été bien employé. Nous avons pris des décisions et nous devons continuer notre tâche. Au paragraphe 3 du dispositif du projet de résolution [A/L.366 et Add.1], on lit qu'un comité spécial sera créé. Je ne doute nullement que le Président ne prenne les mesures nécessaires dès que l'Assemblée aura adopté ledit projet de résolution.

160. Nous sommes aussi saisis de deux autres projets de résolution, l'un présenté par la Nigéria [A/L.357] et l'autre par l'Union soviétique [A/L.355]. Ma délégation aura sans doute quelque chose à dire en temps opportun sur ce second texte mais, pendant que je suis à cette tribune, je tiens à dire, sans aucune réserve, que le Gouvernement indien n'accepte pas le paragraphe 1 du dispositif du projet de résolution de la Nigéria, quelle que soit son attitude par ailleurs, car dans ce paragraphe on a fixé la date limite de 1970. Or nous n'avons pas fixé de date limite pour la Nigéria, et la Nigéria ne s'est pas fixé elle-même une date limite. Pour une partie de l'Afrique, rester sous la domination coloniale jusqu'en 1970, c'est bien long et, je le répète, cette date de 1970 ne concerne que l'Afrique. Il y a des territoires coloniaux dans la région des Caraïbes, il y a des territoires coloniaux en Asie, Timor dans le Pacifique, Macao au large de la côte chinoise et Goa sur notre propre péninsule — tous ces autres territoires existent — et le projet de résolution ne prévoit cette date limite de 1970 que pour l'Afrique. Aussi est-il impensable que le Gouvernement indien accepte cette date. Pour la même raison, nous ne voulons accepter aucune date. Pour certaines populations, il peut être trop long à attendre jusqu'à la fin de 1962. De toute façon, cela crée un problème. Si à la fin de 1962 rien ne s'est produit, alors on pourra encore considérer que la résolution 1514 (XV) est tournée en dérision. Nous sommes

donc d'avis que l'indépendance doit être immédiate; nous ne voulons pas nous occuper du calendrier. Et le seul moyen de la rendre immédiate est de prendre des mesures qui mettront fin aux empires et non pas graduellement; nous partageons l'opinion des orateurs qui ont exprimé le désir de voir raccourcir les délais.

161. Les nations non engagées qui se sont réunies à Belgrade^{11/} ont discuté cette question longuement et sont toutes parvenues à la conclusion qu'il n'était pas de l'intérêt des colonies de fixer à l'avance une date pour leur libération, mais que leur libération devait être imposée par le rythme des événements. Il n'y a aucune raison de fixer 1962 comme date limite car nous avons déclaré que les peuples dépendants n'avaient pas à posséder certaines qualités requises ni à passer des examens pour qu'il soit possible de liquider les empires. Les puissances qui les dirigeaient jusqu'à maintenant n'ont pas le droit de se trouver là et les populations ont, elles, le droit d'être libres. C'est tout.

162. Comme je l'ai déjà dit, il y a aujourd'hui à l'Assemblée de nombreux représentants de pays qui étaient encore des colonies il y a seulement deux, cinq, huit ou 10 ans et qui remplissent aujourd'hui d'importantes tâches au service de l'humanité.

163. Cela me conduit à la partie suivante de mon exposé, qui concerne l'Irian occidental^{12/}. La question de l'Irian occidental est une question sur laquelle l'Assemblée est bien renseignée car nous la discutons en détail depuis des années à la Première Commission. J'espère ne pas être mal compris en disant que le projet de résolution [A/L.354] présenté par les Pays-Bas — que nous ne pouvons cependant pas accepter et que l'Indonésie n'a pas accepté car il va en grande partie à l'encontre de l'histoire — représente au moins un changement. Il implique en effet que les Pays-Bas nous font savoir ici qu'ils honoreront leur engagement de mettre fin à leur empire. Naturellement je ne suppose pas que cela s'applique à leurs possessions de la région des Caraïbes mais enfin ils se proposent de mettre fin à leur empire. Toutefois, cela dit, j'apprends que dans son dernier discours sur ce sujet le représentant des Pays-Bas a bien précisé qu'il n'y aurait rien de changé avant un an. Aussi, sans vouloir discuter des mérites du projet de résolution [A/L.367] que nous avons présenté, je dois dire qu'il est de nature différente; dans ce texte, nous demandons que la question fasse l'objet de négociations directes. Nous proposons aussi que, compte tenu de l'historique de cette question et du fait que l'Assemblée doit être désireuse de voir autant que possible, si toutefois cela est possible, les changements s'opérer d'une façon pacifique, de nouvelles tentatives soient faites pour que les deux parties intéressées entament des négociations bilatérales, des discussions bilatérales.

164. Maintenant, on se demande peut-être quelle est notre propre position devant cette question. Je voudrais donc, sans vouloir discuter du bien-fondé de cette position et sans demander à l'Assemblée de prendre parti, essayer d'exposer nos raisons à l'Assemblée. Donc, ce qui est à la base de la situation actuelle en Irian occidental, c'est la charte de transfert de la souveraineté incorporée à l'Accord de la Conférence de la Table ronde de 1949^{12/}. L'article

^{11/} Conférence des pays non alignés, tenue du 1er au 6 septembre 1961.

^{12/} Organisation des Nations Unies, *Recueil des Traités*, vol. 69 (1950), I, No 894.

premier de cette charte stipule que "le Royaume des Pays-Bas transfère ... de façon inconditionnelle et irrévocable" — si toutefois ces mots veulent dire quelque chose et j'espère que l'Assemblée le remarquera — donc, "le Royaume des Pays-Bas — c'est-à-dire le Gouvernement néerlandais — transfère à la République des Etats-Unis d'Indonésie, de façon inconditionnelle et irrévocable, l'entière souveraineté sur l'Indonésie, et par là même reconnaît ladite République des Etats-Unis d'Indonésie comme Etat indépendant et souverain".

165. A la Conférence de la Table ronde, les représentants de l'Indonésie ont soutenu la thèse selon laquelle l'Irian occidental avait toujours fait partie de l'Indonésie. Or on me dit que la délégation des Pays-Bas a rappelé ici que nous avons appuyé une proposition présentée à la Quatrième Commission [190ème séance], proposition qui, par la suite, a été adoptée par l'Assemblée à sa cinquième session et qui avait trait à la communication des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes — et, si j'ose m'exprimer ainsi — il s'agit là soit d'un malentendu soit plutôt d'une déformation des faits. Je ne dis pas que cette déformation des faits soit l'œuvre des Néerlandais, mais le résultat est le même. En fait, quand la Quatrième Commission a été saisie de la question de la communication des renseignements concernant l'Irian occidental, le Gouvernement indien a réservé sa position.

166. Il a déclaré que la communication des renseignements concerne les territoires qui sont réellement dépendants, quoi qu'il en soit de la question de souveraineté. Si ces territoires sont dépendants, si leur administration est, à tort ou à raison, entre les mains de quelqu'un — comme c'était le cas pour la Tunisie et le Maroc, au sujet desquels nous avons soutenu que ces pays n'étaient pas des colonies mais des pays qui avaient formé une alliance avec la France il y avait de nombreuses années et qui, en vertu du Traité d'Algésiras^{13/}, devaient garder leur souveraineté —, dans ce cas nous avons demandé que l'indépendance leur fût rendue. Nous avons simplement demandé la restitution de l'indépendance à des territoires qui étaient en fait dépendants; à cette époque, nous avons fait des réserves, et le fait que nous avons admis que les dispositions du paragraphe e de l'Article 73 leur étaient applicables ne peut être invoqué à l'appui de la thèse selon laquelle l'Irian occidental serait un territoire distinct, une colonie néerlandaise. L'Irian occidental, du point de vue du Gouvernement indien, fait partie intégrante de l'Indonésie.

167. Cependant, dans toutes ces questions, lorsque surviennent d'importants changements, nous pensons qu'il y a matière à pourparlers et à entente. Aussi, puisque les Pays-Bas ont décidé, selon leur projet de résolution [A/L.354], de se retirer de l'Irian occidental, la question du sort de ce territoire doit faire l'objet de pourparlers et d'un accord. Je tiens aussi à ajouter que nous ne pouvons accepter ce qui est prévu dans le projet de résolution des Pays-Bas, à savoir que l'Organisation des Nations Unies devrait créer une commission pour la Nouvelle-Guinée néerlandaise, car cela implique, au mieux comme au pire, que la question de souveraineté est contestée. Ce paragraphe particulier préjuge la question. Nous sommes tout disposés à laisser ceci en suspens et à permettre à l'Indonésie et aux Pays-Bas de se réunir sous l'égide du Président de l'Assemblée afin de

rechercher les moyens d'organiser ce processus de liquidation.

168. Nous tenons à exprimer notre satisfaction du fait que le Gouvernement néerlandais a offert de dépenser d'importantes sommes d'argent pour le développement économique de ce territoire. Toutefois, aucune aide économique, si importante soit-elle, ne peut remplacer la liberté d'un peuple. On peut soutenir que les habitants de l'Irian occidental ont droit à l'autodétermination; s'il en était ainsi, ce serait à l'Assemblée de le décider et, quels que soient les résultats des travaux accomplis sous l'égide du Président, en ce qui concerne la question de la souveraineté, ceux-ci présenteraient un certain intérêt pour l'Assemblée. Toutefois, si l'on estimait que tout pays devrait venir ici déclarer qu'il accepte la doctrine de l'autodétermination, alors il nous semble que chaque village, chaque Etat et chaque municipalité devrait devenir territoire indépendant.

169. La position du Gouvernement indien est la suivante: l'Irian occidental est un territoire colonial qui était administré par les Pays-Bas et dont la souveraineté a été transférée en vertu des dispositions de la charte de transfert de la souveraineté. Quoi qu'il en soit, je n'ai pas l'intention de discuter ici, maintenant, de la valeur de cette opinion car nous souhaitons éviter de créer des difficultés à ce sujet. Nous sommes fermement persuadés qu'étant donné ce qui s'est passé depuis cinq ou six ans et le fait qu'un grand nombre de Néerlandais et d'Indonésiens ont reconnu quels étaient leurs intérêts, une nouvelle période de négociation directe, avec l'aide des bons offices du Président de l'Assemblée, permettrait d'aboutir à une solution qu'il n'était pas possible de trouver jusqu'à présent.

170. Certains demanderont peut-être si ce n'est pas là une échappatoire. Nous répondrons qu'il y a un an, deux ans ou cinq ans, personne n'aurait pensé que la puissance impériale des Pays-Bas viendrait ici se déclarer prête à se retirer de ce territoire. Cependant, à l'heure actuelle, pour se retirer, les Pays-Bas veulent prescrire quelque chose au sujet de l'avenir du territoire. D'après ce que je crois comprendre, les Indonésiens répondent que les Pays-Bas n'ont pas le droit de donner ce territoire, parce qu'il ne leur appartient pas.

171. Pour ce qui est de ce que nous pouvons faire à la présente session, nous pensons que notre projet de résolution [A/L.367] permettrait peut-être de mettre fin à la domination impériale des Pays-Bas en Irian occidental, ce qui donnerait aux habitants de l'Irian occidental la possibilité de se joindre aux Indonésiens; en fait, la situation de l'Irian occidental ressemble beaucoup à celle de Goa, à cela près toutefois que pour Goa il n'existe pas de charte de transfert de la souveraineté. L'Irian occidental fait partie du territoire indonésien et, comme nous l'avons dit, si l'on considère la question de l'Irian occidental en tenant compte de la résolution 1514 (XV) et de l'histoire de la question, l'Irian occidental n'a jamais existé, seule existait l'Indonésie. Il n'y avait pas d'Irian occidental avant la charte de transfert de la souveraineté, il n'y avait que l'Indonésie. Je sais qu'on invoquera l'argument selon lequel il s'agissait d'une région où une Résidence avait été maintenue, etc. Il est bien certain que les Pays-Bas voient la question sous un autre angle. Tenant compte de l'histoire de ce conflit, il existe un différend qui n'a pas été réglé entre l'Indonésie et les Pays-Bas,

^{13/} Signé le 7 avril 1906.

c'est incontestable, mais pour nous c'est un différend qui ne porte pas sur la souveraineté mais sur la manière dont la question doit être résolue.

172. Le quatrième alinéa du préambule du projet de résolution [A/L.367] est ainsi conçu: "Ayant entendu les déclarations du Ministre des affaires étrangères des Pays-Bas et du Ministre des affaires étrangères de l'Indonésie" — si le Ministre des affaires étrangères de l'Indonésie, au nom de son gouvernement et du peuple indonésien, avait pu accepter la proposition faite par les Pays-Bas, nous n'en serions pas ici à discuter d'arguties de constitutionnalité; toutefois, le Gouvernement indonésien ne peut accepter cette proposition parce que la population indonésienne n'ignore pas quelle est sa situation dans cette affaire. Les deux alinéas suivants sont ainsi libellés: "Préoccupée par le fait que la prolongation de ce différend pourrait entraîner une nouvelle aggravation des relations entre les deux pays" — relations qui ne cessent de s'aggraver depuis longtemps — et "Désireuse de voir rétablies des relations normales et amicales entre les Pays-Bas et la République d'Indonésie", ce qui est très nécessaire à nos yeux pour la stabilité de la région du monde où nous nous trouvons — plus particulièrement pour le vaste archipel indonésien qui s'étend dans l'océan Pacifique et au sujet duquel certaines positions ont été prises lors de la deuxième Conférence des Nations Unies sur le droit de la mer, qui s'est tenue à Genève en 1960, positions qui pour nous étaient assez décevantes — nous estimons donc, selon les termes du septième alinéa du préambule du projet de résolution, "qu'il est nécessaire d'apporter à ce problème une solution pacifique par voie d'accord".

173. Le dispositif du projet de résolution de l'Inde est ainsi conçu:

"1. Invite instamment les Gouvernements de l'Indonésie et des Pays-Bas à entreprendre de nouvelles négociations, sous l'égide du Président de l'Assemblée générale, en vue de résoudre cette question conformément aux principes de la Charte des Nations Unies;

"2. Prie le Président de faciliter les négociations bilatérales envisagées sous ses auspices, au paragraphe 1 ci-dessus;

"3. Prie les Gouvernements de l'Indonésie et des Pays-Bas de coopérer ..."

174. Je prétends que c'est là un projet de résolution qui ouvre les voies de la paix et non les voies du conflit. Aucune des parties ne risque de perdre beaucoup, car le Gouvernement des Pays-Bas n'avait pas, de toute façon, l'intention de faire quoi que ce soit avant un an. Il avait demandé qu'une commission d'enquête fût créée par les Nations Unies, ce qui revenait à préjuger l'ensemble de la question de la souveraineté et je ne vois pas sur quelle autorité on pourrait se fonder si ce n'est dans le cadre des buts généraux de la Charte, car il n'existe pas en l'occurrence d'accord de tutelle. En outre, l'administration du territoire est actuellement aux mains de l'une des parties et toute enquête qui pourrait être faite serait influencée par cet état de choses.

175. C'est pour toutes ces raisons que nous avons présenté en toute bonne foi ce très simple projet de résolution qui se borne à souhaiter que les négociations bilatérales, qui se poursuivent d'ailleurs depuis longtemps, engendrent, avec l'aide du Président,

une situation différente puisque les circonstances actuelles ne sont plus ce qu'elles étaient il y a deux ou trois ans.

176. Le fait que le Gouvernement néerlandais a accepté la résolution sur la liquidation du colonialisme et que l'opinion publique de ce pays est disposée à admettre que l'autorité des Pays-Bas cesse de s'exercer dans cette région écarte l'une des difficultés principales. En ce qui concerne l'autre difficulté, c'est-à-dire le fait que l'opinion publique aux Pays-Bas a encore ses propres vues sur la question de savoir qui détient la souveraineté, il s'agit là d'une difficulté pour laquelle nous pourrions peut-être trouver une solution dans le cadre de l'Accord de Linggadjati et grâce à l'aide que le Président apportera aux parties pour les amener à comprendre leurs positions respectives.

177. N'oublions pas qu'en 1946 il semblait que la position de l'Indonésie pût donner lieu à quelque chose comme la guerre; le Conseil de sécurité est intervenu et l'Indonésie indépendante a surgi presque du jour au lendemain. Aujourd'hui, elle est l'un des pays qui, au sein de l'Organisation, apporte une contribution effective à la mise en œuvre des objectifs de la Charte. Nous proposons donc à l'Assemblée d'adopter ce projet de résolution qui est conforme au principe du règlement pacifique des différends. Nous avons présenté notre propre interprétation qui est l'interprétation du Gouvernement indien et notre position en ce qui concerne la souveraineté de l'Indonésie sur la totalité des îles indonésiennes, au nombre de 3 000 environ, constituant l'archipel. Si nous avons parlé de la question de l'interprétation du traité de 1949 qui, selon nous, engendre certaines conséquences, nous n'avons pas demandé aujourd'hui qu'une décision soit prise sur cette question. On peut consulter tous les documents suivants: l'Accord de la Conférence de la Table ronde, la résolution 1514 (XV) et tous les comptes rendus des débats qui ont eu lieu depuis. Je suis absolument certain, considérant que les négociations bilatérales ont donné des résultats dans le passé, qu'elles peuvent en donner dans le cas qui nous occupe et nous avons eu récemment l'exemple des Etats-Unis et de l'Union soviétique qui ont présenté à l'Assemblée une déclaration commune sur les principes convenus pour les négociations relatives au désarmement [A/4879].

178. Notre pays a toujours préconisé à cette tribune que les pays entre lesquels existent des divergences de vues doivent se rencontrer et non s'éviter. Nous pensons qu'il est préférable de ne pas faire intervenir d'autres éléments dans les circonstances actuelles et que toute influence qui pourrait se révéler nécessaire, selon l'évolution des pourparlers, pour rendre possible une médiation ou une conciliation ou encore pour provoquer un apaisement, pourrait venir du Président de l'Assemblée générale.

179. Pour toutes ces raisons, nous estimons donc d'une part que l'on est maintenant parvenu au stade où il convient d'assurer l'application de la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale et d'autre part que le Comité que le Président devra désigner doit être créé avec l'approbation unanime de l'Assemblée.

180. En ce qui concerne la question particulière de l'Irian occidental, nous venons de présenter ce projet de résolution, qui constitue une offre de paix. Il s'agit là d'une situation qui suscite notre intérêt parce que nous ne voudrions pas que des divergences de vues ou un différend plus grave se fassent jour

dans cette région du monde. L'Asie du Sud-Est, pour un grand nombre de raisons, est une région névralgique. C'est un vaste archipel et nous avons tout lieu de penser que, lorsque ce problème sera résolu, les Pays-Bas pourront apporter une contribution bien plus importante au développement de cette région et à la mise en œuvre générale des buts des Nations Unies. J'ai donc l'honneur de présenter ce projet de résolution.

M. Slim (Tunisie) reprend la présidence.

181. M. SUBANDRIO (Indonésie) [traduit de l'anglais]: J'ai demandé à prendre de nouveau la parole dans ce débat après avoir entendu la déclaration faite le 15 novembre [1055ème séance] par le représentant des Pays-Bas, afin de donner aux représentants de l'Assemblée un complément d'informations plus précises qui leur permettent de parvenir à une conclusion correcte sur cette question de l'Irian occidental.

182. Me conformant à la demande du Président, j'ai considérablement abrégé la déclaration que je me propose de faire. J'ai cependant cru de mon devoir de prendre la parole en raison de la gravité de la question. Cette question de l'Irian occidental se rattache au problème colonial de l'Indonésie. La majeure partie de l'Indonésie a déjà accédé à l'indépendance. Cette indépendance a été chèrement acquise après une guerre coloniale et au prix de nombreuses vies humaines.

183. En outre, la question de l'Irian occidental est l'une des sources du différend entre les Pays-Bas et l'Indonésie, parmi tant d'autres qui ont toujours été exploitées par les Pays-Bas afin de rendre la situation de l'Indonésie toujours plus difficile tant sur le plan intérieur que sur le plan international. Comme je l'ai déclaré, même après avoir reconnu l'indépendance de la République d'Indonésie les Pays-Bas n'ont jamais pu admettre l'idée de transformer les anciens liens coloniaux en des liens plus profitables de coopération et d'amitié durable dans l'intérêt des deux pays.

184. Je ne serais pas revenu sur cet aspect de la question de l'Irian occidental si le représentant des Pays-Bas n'avait pas adopté la position inverse en parlant de l'Irian occidental comme si cette question ne se rattachait pas au problème colonial de l'Indonésie. A l'appui de son argumentation, le représentant des Pays-Bas a cité certains paragraphes de mémoires sur l'histoire de la Constitution indonésienne de 1945, texte qui a été adopté immédiatement après la proclamation de l'indépendance de l'Indonésie le 17 août 1945.

185. En bref, le représentant des Pays-Bas a cherché à donner l'impression que M. Hatta avait été partisan d'exclure l'Irian occidental du futur territoire de l'Indonésie, tout en prêtant au président Sukarno des mobiles que l'on pourrait qualifier de visées expansionnistes.

186. Tout d'abord, je regrette vivement qu'une question d'une telle gravité — une question qui risque même de donner lieu à un conflit réel dans cette région du monde si on ne l'aborde pas avec sincérité, honnêteté et diplomatie — ait été traitée aussi à la légère par le représentant des Pays-Bas, comme si la question de l'Irian occidental n'était qu'un jeu de mots, comme si cette grave question ne fournissait qu'une occasion de faire de l'esprit.

187. Peut-être le représentant des Pays-Bas a-t-il déjà épuisé les arguments sincères et valables qu'il

pouvait présenter à l'appui de la thèse de son pays; aussi a-t-il cru bon de citer des mémoires sur les délibérations privées des dirigeants indonésiens au cours des journées incertaines et tumultueuses qui précédèrent la fin de la seconde guerre mondiale. Toutefois, il est certain qu'il faut analyser et interpréter ces délibérations comme faites des opinions personnelles de certains dirigeants sur un problème particulier. A mon humble avis, il semble plutôt déplacé de se servir d'extraits de ces délibérations privées comme d'arguments contre la politique qui a été officiellement tracée, instaurée et par la suite mise en œuvre par l'Indonésie depuis le début de la République, et cela n'est certainement pas une preuve de bonne foi.

188. Je ne nierai pas les divergences d'opinions et d'idées personnelles qui se sont manifestées parmi les dirigeants indonésiens avant la proclamation de l'indépendance de l'Indonésie, mais il est clair qu'en définitive il a été décidé finalement que le territoire indonésien devait comprendre l'ensemble des Indes néerlandaises, rien de plus, rien de moins. J'ajouterai qu'avant la proclamation — et même avant la guerre — des divergences d'opinions se faisaient également jour parmi les dirigeants indonésiens quant à la structure de l'Etat indonésien, ces opinions se fondant soit sur des principes unitaires, soit sur des principes fédéralistes. En définitive, la nation a décidé que l'Indonésie serait un Etat unitaire faisant place à une large autonomie régionale. La devise de l'Indonésie, "Bhinneka tunggal ika", signifie "l'unité dans la diversité".

189. Le 17 août 1945, le président Sukarno a proclamé l'indépendance de l'Indonésie. Le lendemain de la proclamation, les dirigeants nationaux ont confirmé que le territoire de l'Indonésie comprenait la totalité du territoire des Indes néerlandaises et, par la suite, nous avons reçu l'appui des populations de toutes les régions de l'Indonésie, y compris de l'Irian occidental. Le Président a bien précisé dans un discours prononcé à la radio que l'Indonésie était exactement ce qu'elle était auparavant, c'est-à-dire qu'elle comprenait les Indes néerlandaises qui, pour parler communément, s'étendent d'Atjeh, pointe septentrionale de Sumatra, jusqu'à Merauke, pointe orientale de l'Irian occidental.

190. Permettez-moi aussi de prouver indéniablement que nous ne sommes pas des expansionnistes ou des néo-colonialistes, comme la délégation des Pays-Bas et d'autres puissances l'ont insinué soit à l'Assemblée, soit au dehors. Il serait plutôt comique, si les événements n'étaient pas si tragiques, d'entendre les puissances coloniales faire la leçon sur la signification de l'autodétermination.

191. Comme je l'ai déclaré devant l'Assemblée, c'est au prix d'amères expériences et de lourds sacrifices que nous avons appris ce que signifie la liberté, ce que signifie l'autodétermination. Pour nous, ces mots ne sont pas de simples notions abstraites. Ces mots ne sont pas de simples slogans ou des mots imagés au moyen desquels on réunit des suffrages. Non, ces mots représentent l'âme indonésienne. Ces mots engendrent l'espoir d'une vie meilleure, ils suscitent la détermination, le courage et même, s'il le faut, les sacrifices personnels.

192. Il ne peut en être autrement chez un peuple fier et civilisé qui était encore il y a quatre siècles l'un des peuples les plus prospères et les plus importants de cette région du monde, puis qui a dû subir

la dégradation de l'asservissement colonial et n'a pas encore pu, même en cette année 1961, se libérer entièrement de l'esprit de vengeance et de subversion des Pays-Bas.

193. Nous n'avons aucune prétention sur les territoires qui ne faisaient pas partie des anciennes Indes néerlandaises, encore qu'ils soient situés sur la même île, et qui plus est, lorsque la Malaisie nous a fait part de ses intentions de se joindre en une fédération avec le Sarawak, le Brunéi et le Bornéo du Nord, qui sont trois colonies de la couronne britannique, nous avons déclaré que nous ne nous y opposons pas et que nous leur souhaitons plein succès dans leur union afin que chacun puisse vivre en paix et en liberté.

194. Pour plus de clarté, je me permets de rappeler à l'Assemblée que les trois quarts de l'île de Bornéo sont territoire indonésien, tandis que le reste constitue les trois colonies de la couronne britannique dont je viens de parler. Par leur nature et d'un point de vue ethnologique et géographique, ces territoires britanniques sont plus proches de l'Indonésie que de la Malaisie, par exemple. Toutefois, nous avons quand même fait savoir à la Malaisie que nous ne nous opposons pas à l'union de ces territoires, fondée sur la volonté de liberté des populations intéressées. En ce qui concerne l'Indonésie, et en vertu de la décision prise par la nation, nous nous en tenons à l'accord relatif à l'étendue du territoire de la République d'Indonésie, accord que le représentant des Pays-Bas a confirmé publiquement et officiellement au Conseil de sécurité des Nations Unies en 1948. Le représentant des Pays-Bas a, je le répète, publiquement et officiellement confirmé que:

"Toutes les parties s'accordent pour dire que ce qui constituait jadis les Indes orientales néerlandaises doit devenir un Etat indépendant aussitôt que possible¹⁴."

195. En conséquence, les opinions personnelles de M. Sukarno avant la proclamation de notre indépendance, qui ont été citées par M. Schürmann, au sujet de l'éventuelle création d'un Etat pan-malais, c'est-à-dire d'une fédération ou confédération qui aurait résulté de la volonté générale des populations, ne correspondaient nullement à un désir expansionniste. Après tout, au moment de ces délibérations, pendant la seconde guerre mondiale, alors que l'Indonésie n'entrevoyait pas encore la fin de la guerre, les frontières de l'ancien territoire des Indes néerlandaises avaient été remplacées par des limites de zones d'occupation japonaises qui ne coïncidaient pas avec ces anciennes frontières. Dans ces conditions, il est bien naturel que des opinions personnelles divergentes aient pu être exprimées en ce qui concerne les frontières éventuelles du futur Etat indonésien.

196. Même aujourd'hui les populations de race malaise souhaitent vivement en fait se rapprocher et réunir toutes leurs forces nationales pour un but commun, sur le plan politique, sur le plan économique et sur le plan culturel. Le Premier Ministre de Malaisie, Tunku Abdul Rahman, est particulièrement très partisan de cette conception.

197. Je crois qu'il est vraiment très difficile aux Pays-Bas de nier que la question de l'Irian occidental se rattache à l'ensemble du problème colonial de

l'Indonésie. J'examinerais maintenant les arguments juridiques par lesquels les Pays-Bas s'efforcent de dissimuler le fond réel du problème.

198. Le représentant des Pays-Bas a très habilement commencé par se référer à l'article 2 de la charte de transfert de la souveraineté qui est incorporée à l'Accord de la Conférence de la Table ronde. Afin de compéter sa présentation des textes, je me permettrai de citer aussi le paragraphe 1 de l'article premier de cette même charte, dont le représentant du Ghana a déjà parlé. Il est ainsi conçu:

"Le Royaume des Pays-Bas transfère à la République des Etats-Unis d'Indonésie de façon inconditionnelle et irrévocable l'entière souveraineté sur l'Indonésie et par là même reconnaît ladite République des Etats-Unis d'Indonésie comme Etat indépendant et souverain."

199. Telle est l'essence même de l'Accord: l'entière souveraineté sur l'Indonésie a été transférée de façon inconditionnelle et irrévocable à la nouvelle République d'Indonésie en sa qualité d'Etat indépendant et souverain.

200. Il est exact, je ne le nie pas, qu'il existe d'autres articles qui contiennent certaines autres dispositions, mais ces dispositions ont trait à la mise en application du transfert de la souveraineté sur l'ensemble de l'Indonésie. Ainsi, l'article 2 de la charte, que M. Schürmann a mentionné et qui vise le différend existant alors sur le statut politique de l'Irian occidental, ne fait nullement mention de la souveraineté qui, à l'article premier, est déjà transférée entièrement et de façon inconditionnelle et irrévocable.

201. Comme je l'ai déjà expliqué à l'Assemblée, ces clauses étaient indispensables aux Pays-Bas pour qu'au Parlement néerlandais on pût réunir la majorité des deux tiers requise pour l'approbation de l'Accord de la Conférence de la Table ronde et procéder à la revision nécessaire de la Constitution des Pays-Bas.

202. A cette époque, tout cela était bien compris, tant aux Pays-Bas qu'en Indonésie. De nombreuses personnalités éminentes des Pays-Bas qui n'ont pas de préjugés à l'égard de l'Indonésie ont confirmé et précisé ce point dans des déclarations publiques. C'est ainsi que récemment encore, le 13 novembre 1961, le quotidien néerlandais *Haagse Courant* rapportait que M. Suurhoff, président du parti travailliste néerlandais — le parti travailliste est par ordre d'importance le deuxième parti politique des Pays-Bas — avait fait la déclaration suivante. Je cite:

"M. Suurhoff n'aurait éprouvé aucun regret et n'aurait pas fait d'opposition si la Nouvelle-Guinée [occidentale] avait été visée par les dispositions du transfert de la souveraineté en 1949. Toutefois, c'était impossible; même sans qu'il fût question de la Nouvelle-Guinée [occidentale], le transfert de la souveraineté à l'Indonésie a tout juste obtenu, à cette époque, la majorité requise des deux tiers. Par la suite, le parti travailliste dut admettre que le problème avait été mis en veilleuse."

203. Ce qui est important dans cette citation, c'est qu'en dépit du fait que le président du parti travailliste néerlandais a donné de la situation une interprétation différente de la nôtre, il ne s'agit pas d'une question de principe mais bien d'un expédient permettant de réunir la majorité requise des deux tiers.

¹⁴/ Voir Documents officiels du Conseil de sécurité, troisième année, No 132, 388ème séance, p. 11.

204. En outre, le professeur Duinstee, membre du parti même de M. Luns, a également confirmé ce souci d'un expédient dans son livre intitulé La Nouvelle-Guinée, pont entre les Pays-Bas et l'Indonésie, qui vient d'être publié il y a seulement deux semaines. Voici, en traduction, un extrait (p. 183) de ce livre intéressant:

"Rétrospectivement, la séparation de la Nouvelle-Guinée de l'Indonésie a été une erreur. Elle était en fait nécessaire pour obtenir la majorité des deux tiers requise pour la loi sur le transfert de la souveraineté. La Nouvelle-Guinée a été le prix qu'il a fallu payer pour que le parti chrétien historique et le parti pour la liberté et la démocratie fussent disposés à donner leurs voix, et que ces partis ont jugé nécessaire pour se décharger de leurs responsabilités envers leurs membres et leurs électeurs. Cela était prévu depuis longtemps. Le problème de la Nouvelle-Guinée n'était d'importance vitale ni pour le parti catholique populaire, ni pour le parti travailliste, ni pour le Cabinet, mais simplement pour obtenir la majorité des deux tiers."

205. A la lumière de ces explications venant de personnes autorisées, il est clair que l'essence du contrat politique que renfermait la charte de transfert de la souveraineté entre l'Indonésie et les Pays-Bas consistait en ce que les Pays-Bas devaient abandonner leur souveraineté sur l'ancien territoire des Indes néerlandaises et transférer leur entière autorité de façon inconditionnelle et irrévocable à une Indonésie souveraine. En même temps, certaines dispositions étaient prévues, aussi pour des raisons de commodité, afin qu'il fût possible de mettre en application le transfert formel de la souveraineté à l'Indonésie.

206. On nous a demandé pourquoi nous ne réglions pas cette question de l'Irian occidental par l'intermédiaire de la Cour internationale de Justice. D'abord, comme il doit être évident maintenant, cette question se rattache à un problème colonial plus vaste qui n'a pas encore été complètement réglé. Cette question de l'Irian occidental n'est pas un simple litige entre deux Etats souverains. Le différend entre les Pays-Bas et l'Indonésie a des racines plus profondes et c'est délibérément que l'on a fait de l'Irian occidental un sujet de litige. Je reviendrai plus tard sur ce point.

207. Le contrat établi entre l'Indonésie et les Pays-Bas, tel qu'il ressort de la charte de transfert de la souveraineté, n'était pas à cette époque un contrat entre des parties égales, comme, par exemple, entre les Etats-Unis et le Royaume-Uni aujourd'hui. Il s'agissait d'un contrat relatif à l'abandon par les Pays-Bas, puissance coloniale, à l'Indonésie, nouvel Etat souverain et indépendant, de la souveraineté sur tout le territoire des Indes néerlandaises. Cela était énoncé clairement au paragraphe 1 de l'article premier de la charte. Tel était l'esprit de l'ensemble de ce contrat. Dans ce contrat, il n'était nullement question du droit à l'autodétermination de la population de l'Irian occidental, il n'y était pas même fait allusion, pas plus qu'à l'instauration artificielle de ce territoire en un Etat indépendant distinct.

208. En toute franchise, à cette époque, ce contrat entre l'Indonésie et les Pays-Bas nous donnait satisfaction parce que les bases du transfert de la souveraineté étaient posées de façon nette et ferme. A vrai dire, nous n'avons pas attaché trop d'importance

à l'énoncé des autres dispositions de la charte après avoir reçu des assurances explicites selon lesquelles tous ces détails n'étaient prévus qu'à titre d'expédients politiques. Après avoir entendu les assurances répétées et les confirmations d'hommes d'Etat néerlandais tels que M. J. van Mook et M. van Royen, selon lesquelles les Indes néerlandaises — par la suite appelées Indonésie — deviendraient libres et indépendantes en tant qu'entité territoriale et nationale unique, nous nous sommes déclarés satisfaits du contrat. A cette époque, il n'existait en Irian occidental aucun mouvement en faveur d'une séparation de l'Indonésie. Au contraire — je le répète: au contraire — les chefs de la population locale ont fait des déclarations publiques et présenté des pétitions officielles aux forces d'occupation néerlandaises et au Gouvernement néerlandais afin que l'Irian occidental ne fût pas séparé de l'Indonésie.

209. Ces faits n'ont jamais été démentis par aucun porte-parole néerlandais. Des hommes d'Etat et des politiciens néerlandais les ont au contraire confirmés directement et indirectement. La population de l'Irian occidental n'a pas demandé la séparation, et même de nombreuses personnalités politiques des Pays-Bas estiment absurde de soutenir que l'on doit reconnaître à la population de l'Irian occidental un droit particulier et distinct à l'autodétermination. Par exemple, M. Gerretson, qui n'est d'ailleurs pas un ami de l'Indonésie mais qui s'est au contraire opposé avec véhémence au transfert de la souveraineté à l'Indonésie, a fait la remarque suivante dans un débat public au Parlement néerlandais:

"Considéré indépendamment de la querelle avec l'Indonésie, ceci" — c'est-à-dire le fait de conférer un prétendu droit à l'autodétermination — "est quelque chose d'étonnant en ce que l'on veut conférer aux Papous de l'âge de pierre ce que l'on refusait aux habitants du Surinam en 1953, bien que les Papous — je dis bien les Papous — n'aient rien demandé tandis que les habitants du Surinam revendiquaient vigoureusement ce droit."

Cette citation est tirée des procès-verbaux de la Première Chambre du Parlement néerlandais, 1954/1955, page 504.

210. Je ne crois pas que la Cour internationale de Justice soit le lieu où l'on puisse résoudre les problèmes coloniaux. Si les Algériens, par exemple, pouvaient s'adresser à la Cour internationale de Justice, le jugement qui serait prononcé serait peut-être que le colonialisme français est légal — légal selon le "droit international" — en vertu de tel ou tel traité.

211. En fait, le colonialisme est un contrat politique qui a une validité légale, mais allons-nous maintenir le colonialisme parce qu'on peut dire qu'il a une justification légale?

212. La charte de transfert de la souveraineté est un contrat politique concernant le transfert de l'entière souveraineté des Pays-Bas de façon inconditionnelle et irrévocable à la nouvelle République d'Indonésie en sa qualité d'Etat souverain. Cela est clair et explicite. A côté de cela, il existe des dispositions d'application destinées à ajuster la chose à la situation politique de l'époque aux Pays-Bas. Tant que les Pays-Bas n'auront pas appliqué complètement le contrat politique de transfert de la souveraineté à la nouvelle République d'Indonésie de façon inconditionnelle et irrévocable, il existera encore un problème

colonial de l'Indonésie et le colonialisme néerlandais s'exercera activement en Indonésie. Comme je l'ai déclaré, ce n'est pas par l'intermédiaire de la Cour internationale de Justice qu'on peut remédier au colonialisme qui peut se comparer à une maladie immorale et inhumaine des relations internationales. Tout traité entre nations, même fondé sur la loi du plus fort, peut être reconnu valable par la Cour internationale de Justice.

213. C'est pourquoi les Pays-Bas ont pu s'opposer à l'adoption d'un projet de résolution présenté par l'Indonésie à l'Assemblée générale de 1954 à 1957, recommandant aux deux parties d'entreprendre des pourparlers au sujet de la question de l'Irian occidental pour trouver une solution pacifique, parce que cette question de l'Irian occidental était considérée comme relevant de la compétence nationale. Nous avons pour principe général de nier la compétence de la Cour internationale de Justice en matière de problèmes coloniaux. Notre attitude n'est certainement pas due à la crainte de voir la Cour rendre un jugement favorable aux Pays-Bas au sujet de la charte de transfert de la souveraineté.

214. En résumé: a) la question de l'Irian occidental se rattache au problème colonial de l'Indonésie; b) l'Irian occidental fait partie de la lutte pour l'indépendance. Les raisons sont les suivantes: premièrement, l'Irian occidental faisait partie du territoire des Indes néerlandaises et, même avant l'ère du colonialisme néerlandais en Indonésie, il a fait partie des anciens empires Sriwidjaja et Modjopahit.

215. Ce dernier fait ressort clairement du livre intitulé *The Ageless Indies*^{15/} de l'anthropologue américain Raymond Kennedy. Je cite un extrait traduit de la page 34 de ce livre:

"... le grand Empire de Modjopahit, dont la capitale était située dans la partie orientale de Java, exerçait son autorité suprême sur la plus grande partie de l'Inde, des Philippines et du sud-est de l'Asie au XIVème siècle et pendant la majeure partie du XVème siècle. C'est à cette époque que la civilisation indo-javanaise s'est répandue très largement dans toute la région; même encore aujourd'hui, on trouve des traces de cette influence, sous la forme d'alphabets indiens anciens, d'objets en or et autres métaux, de monuments de pierre et d'innombrables traits de culture et de langue, vers le nord jusqu'à Luzon aux Philippines et vers l'est jusqu'à la Nouvelle-Guinée, limite extrême des Indes."

216. Deuxièmement, la proclamation de l'indépendance de la République d'Indonésie le 17 août 1945 a reçu l'appui de la population partout en Indonésie, y compris l'Irian occidental lui-même, comme le prouvent les déclarations faites à l'époque par les dirigeants de l'Irian occidental. D'ailleurs, les sacrifices consentis par la population de l'Irian occidental elle-même lorsque les forces néerlandaises ont réoccupé la région l'ont encore confirmé. Si la proclamation d'indépendance de l'Indonésie n'est pas encore claire pour le représentant des Pays-Bas en ce qui concerne l'intégrité territoriale de l'Indonésie, j'appellerai une fois encore son attention sur les nombreux discours prononcés à la radio par le président Sukarno immédiatement après le 17 août 1945.

217. Troisièmement, la question de l'Irian occidental fait partie intégrante de la lutte de l'Indonésie pour l'indépendance, et cela fut confirmé par les déclarations officielles d'hommes d'Etat et de personnalités politiques des Pays-Bas eux-mêmes, par exemple M. van Royen et M. van Mook, avant la reconnaissance officielle de l'indépendance de l'Indonésie en 1949.

218. Quatrièmement, cela résulte du fait que, selon l'esprit de la charte de transfert de la souveraineté, conformément aux dispositions du paragraphe 1 de l'article premier, l'entière souveraineté était transférée à l'Indonésie de façon inconditionnelle et irrévocable.

219. Il est exact que cette charte a été annulée parce que le Gouvernement néerlandais en avait violé l'esprit et les principes. Néanmoins, en vertu de ce contrat, les Pays-Bas ont officiellement renoncé à leur souveraineté sur l'Indonésie et transféré leurs pouvoirs à la République d'Indonésie. C'est là un fait historique et politique que les Pays-Bas ne pourraient renverser qu'en réoccupant par la force toute l'Indonésie.

220. La question de l'Irian occidental, objet du différend entre les Pays-Bas et l'Indonésie, est ainsi exploitée par les Pays-Bas pour entretenir leur soif de revanche envers l'Indonésie. En effet dès le début, en 1945, les Pays-Bas n'ont eu qu'un but, écraser l'indépendance indonésienne, et, quand cela s'est révélé impossible, ils n'ont plus cherché qu'à harceler l'Indonésie et à y répandre la subversion. De 1945 à la fin de 1949, nous avons mené une guerre coloniale cruelle et du côté indonésien plus d'un demi-million de vies humaines ont été sacrifiées. Cependant, après 1949 et jusqu'à la fin de 1957, nous avons accordé aux Pays-Bas une position économique privilégiée en Indonésie, favorisant les Pays-Bas par rapport aux autres nations. Nous sommes même allés si loin dans nos concessions économiques qu'un économiste allemand, Helbig, a conclu dans son livre *Indonesia* que les recettes annuelles nettes des Pays-Bas en Indonésie après 1950 étaient supérieures au revenu annuel net de ce pays à l'époque où il était administrateur colonial.

221. Cependant, cet arrangement n'était pas encore suffisant pour apaiser la rancœur des Pays-Bas contre l'Indonésie. A partir du moment où la charte de transfert de la souveraineté a été signée, à la fin de 1949, les Pays-Bas ont poursuivi leurs activités subversives, qui se sont manifestées par des mouvements séparatistes et des soulèvements et ont trouvé leur apogée dans la proclamation d'indépendance de la prétendue "République des Moluques du Sud", dans la partie orientale de l'Indonésie, près de l'Irian occidental. Heureusement, nous avons pu vaincre la subversion des Pays-Bas et nous avons écrasé par la force cette prétendue "République des Moluques du Sud" instaurée à l'instigation des forces armées néerlandaises. Etant donné cet esprit d'hostilité des Pays-Bas contre l'Indonésie, nous sommes certains que s'il n'existait pas de différend au sujet de l'Irian occidental les Pays-Bas chercheraient encore d'autres possibilités de harceler l'Indonésie dans l'intention de miner la force de l'Indonésie tant sur le plan national que sur le plan international. C'est cet esprit d'hostilité et de rancœur qu'il faut faire disparaître si l'on veut qu'il soit possible de régler soit la question de l'Irian occidental, soit le problème général des différends entre les Pays-Bas et l'Indonésie. Tant que cet esprit sera le principe

^{15/} Publié par la John Day Company, New York, 1942.

directeur de la politique étrangère des Pays-Bas envers l'Indonésie, toute concession grande ou petite de la part de l'Indonésie sera tout au plus interprétée comme un signe de faiblesse et risquera simplement d'exciter la soif d'agression des Pays-Bas envers l'Indonésie.

222. Je passe maintenant aux raisons pour lesquelles nous repoussons le projet de résolution des Pays-Bas [A/L.354]. D'abord, je suis certain que chacun est maintenant convaincu que la question de l'Irian occidental se rattache au problème colonial de l'Indonésie et, dans cet ensemble, l'Irian occidental est la source du conflit qui oppose les Pays-Bas à l'Indonésie. Cela implique évidemment que le règlement de la question de l'Irian occidental doit faire partie du règlement du différend plus vaste qui oppose les Pays-Bas à l'Indonésie. J'irai même plus loin. J'espère sincèrement que le règlement de cette question ouvrira peut-être un nouveau chapitre dans l'histoire des relations entre les Pays-Bas et l'Indonésie, un chapitre dans lequel les Pays-Bas accepteront de bon cœur l'indépendance de l'Indonésie, ne garderont aucune rancune ou hostilité envers l'Indonésie, oublieront leur glorieux passé de colonisateurs des Indes néerlandaises et ne s'opposeront pas à une coopération honorable avec l'Indonésie dans l'intérêt commun des deux pays.

223. Permettez-moi aussi d'insister sur un point. Comme les Pays-Bas, nous attachons assurément la plus grande importance à la prospérité et au progrès des populations de l'Irian occidental. Nous considérons qu'il est de la plus haute importance de servir les intérêts de l'ensemble de la population indonésienne. Quoi qu'on puisse dire sur le fait que nous sommes insuffisamment équipés pour les besoins d'une administration moderne, ou sur notre manque de personnel qualifié et de connaissances scientifiques dans la gestion des entreprises économiques et industrielles, on ne peut nier que l'Indonésie a fait d'énormes progrès dans les domaines social et culturel. Dans le domaine de l'enseignement, l'UNESCO a même reconnu que les réalisations de l'Indonésie sont parmi les meilleures du monde par rapport aux autres pays qui viennent d'accéder à l'indépendance en se libérant de la domination coloniale ou semi-coloniale.

224. Les délégations de l'Australie et des Pays-Bas font toujours allusion aux Papous qui vont demi-nus ou à peine vêtus, fait probablement exact pour plus de 90 p. 100 de la population qui vit là sous la domination coloniale des Pays-Bas. Toutefois, dans le reste de l'Indonésie et en particulier dans l'intérieur de Bornéo et des Célèbes, nous avons commencé en 1950 dans des conditions à peu près semblables, mais aujourd'hui nous sommes du moins parvenus au stade où nous pouvons fournir des vêtements convenables à toute la population, même si ces vêtements ne sont pas toujours de la meilleure qualité. Je me permettrai de tirer humblement une conclusion: après cette courte période d'indépendance nationale, nous avons peut-être encore beaucoup à apprendre en ce qui concerne les connaissances techniques et scientifiques des puissances coloniales, mais, pour ce qui est de l'aspect social et des efforts faits pour élever le niveau social et culturel de nos populations, je crois que les puissances coloniales comme les Pays-Bas doivent reconnaître leur infériorité. Pour nous, les populations de l'Irian occidental, comme les autres citoyens de l'Indonésie, ne sont pas de simples sujets d'études anthropologiques. Nous les

considérons comme nos égaux et ce non seulement pour des considérations d'éthique; ils sont nos égaux en tant qu'êtres humains sur le plan social.

225. Aussi, qu'aucune puissance coloniale, même ayant à sa disposition les connaissances techniques voulues et des capitaux abondants, ne s'arroge le droit de se sentir supérieure dans ses relations sociales avec les autochtones ou de croire qu'elle peut toujours faire mieux que les chefs et les autorités de la même origine nationale.

226. Les Pays-Bas se vantent maintenant de leur contribution annuelle de 30 millions de dollars. Je vous dirai qu'une petite fraction seulement de cette somme est consacrée au bien-être des 700 000 habitants de l'Irian occidental. Les dépenses pour la défense de l'Irian occidental ont été évaluées à 10 millions de dollars en 1959. En 1960, ces dépenses ont été évaluées au double en raison du développement des armements nécessaires pour poursuivre dans cette région la politique d'agression des Pays-Bas envers l'Indonésie. Une autre part importante de ces 30 millions de dollars est consacrée au paiement du personnel néerlandais coûteux qui se trouve en Irian occidental et des importations en grosses quantités de produits de luxe en provenance des Pays-Bas. On peut donc tirer les conclusions qui s'imposent quant aux maigres sommes qui restent pour améliorer les conditions de vie des populations de la région. Ces faits démontrent une fois pour toutes que la mission sacrée des Pays-Bas envers les populations de l'Irian occidental est un mythe. Les quelques progrès réalisés dans ce pays en matière de protection sociale ne sont pas dus à l'administration coloniale des Pays-Bas mais plutôt aux activités des missionnaires.

227. Cela dit, ce qui nous paraît essentiel maintenant c'est qu'il va de l'intérêt des populations de l'Irian occidental, de leur prospérité et de leur liberté, que le litige entre les Pays-Bas et l'Indonésie soit réglé. C'est pour cette raison que nous ne parvenons pas à comprendre pourquoi le Gouvernement néerlandais ne s'est pas donné la peine de nous consulter directement ou indirectement sur le règlement de cette question de l'Irian occidental, particulièrement étant donné que cette question présente une telle importance pour les populations mêmes de l'Irian occidental. M. Luns, ministre des affaires étrangères, a dit le 8 octobre 1961 qu'il n'avait pas pu consulter l'Indonésie d'avance parce que l'Indonésie avait rompu les relations diplomatiques et parce que l'Indonésie ne voulait admettre qu'une seule solution, celle de la remise de la Nouvelle-Guinée néerlandaise à l'Indonésie sans consultation préalable de la population papoue. Or M. Luns, ministre des affaires étrangères, n'a pas cherché à savoir, après que l'opinion publique néerlandaise eut autorisé le Gouvernement néerlandais à abandonner son autorité sur l'Irian occidental, si l'Indonésie ne pourrait avoir d'autres vues sur la question de l'Irian occidental. Cette investigation pouvait se faire par l'intermédiaire de n'importe quel autre pays, même après la rupture complète des relations diplomatiques entre les deux pays.

228. D'un autre point de vue, du point de vue du conflit qui a opposé presque de tout temps les Pays-Bas à l'Indonésie, nous pouvons, nous, les Indonésiens, nous attendre à tout de la part des Néerlandais. Aucune insulte, aucune humiliation n'est trop basse pour eux si elle peut faire du tort à l'Indonésie. Cette question d'une prétendue autodétermination

de la population de l'Irian occidental est maintenant exploitée comme un instrument de la politique étrangère des Pays-Bas plutôt pour frapper l'Indonésie que pour apporter la liberté et le bonheur à la population de l'Irian occidental.

229. Quelles sont mes raisons pour parler de la sorte? Si je parle ainsi, c'est parce que l'opinion publique aux Pays-Bas et le climat politique de ce pays en général ont été récemment plutôt favorables à l'abandon de leur prétendue souveraineté sur l'Irian occidental. Une partie de cette opinion a compris qu'il vaut mieux transférer directement l'autorité des Pays-Bas à la République d'Indonésie. Le territoire de l'Irian occidental compte 700 000 habitants qui expriment de plus en plus ouvertement leurs sentiments anticolonialistes. L'Irian occidental n'offre aux milieux commerçants et industriels des Pays-Bas aucune perspective d'avenir; même l'industrie pétrolière, dont les Pays-Bas se vantent toujours, s'est soldée par un échec et ses activités ont pratiquement pris fin récemment. L'affermissement de l'Etat indonésien et de ses forces défensives, le climat international qui pousse à la décolonisation, tous ces facteurs ont fait de l'Irian occidental une véritable charge pour les Pays-Bas, sans aucune perspective de profit ni sur le plan politique, ni sur le plan économique.

230. En conséquence, les obstacles que les Pays-Bas opposaient depuis 1950 à la réalisation complète de l'indépendance de l'Indonésie n'existent plus. C'est un fait que l'opinion publique aux Pays-Bas a fortement tendance, et même plus encore actuellement, à faire de cette question de l'Irian occidental un pont qui conduise à la normalisation des relations entre les Pays-Bas et l'Indonésie.

231. Dans cette même déclaration à laquelle j'ai déjà fait allusion et qui a été publiée le 13 novembre 1961 dans le *Haagse Courant*, M. Suurhoff, président du parti travailliste néerlandais, a dit:

"Le mémorandum des Pays-Bas [sur l'Irian occidental] qui a été diffusé récemment à New York révèle une amélioration de la politique du Gouvernement néerlandais. C'est un fait que le parti travailliste apprécie. La participation de l'Indonésie à la mise en œuvre du plan Luns semble possible. Cette participation a toujours été l'un des objectifs du parti travailliste dans ses efforts d'internationalisation."

232. Tel est l'essentiel de la déclaration de M. Suurhoff en ce qui concerne le plan Luns. Cela témoigne d'un état d'esprit différent. Quels que puissent être le bien-fondé ou les torts des revendications respectives des deux parties en présence, M. Suurhoff et l'opinion publique néerlandaise en général considèrent qu'il est indispensable de régler le différend opposant les Pays-Bas à l'Indonésie, dans l'intérêt des deux pays et aussi dans l'intérêt même de la population de l'Irian occidental. Dans cet esprit et sur la base des concessions mutuelles qu'il est possible de faire, les deux parties sont, ce me semble, en mesure de trouver une solution honorable. Leur devise doit donc être: l'Irian occidental, pont jeté entre l'Indonésie et les Pays-Bas.

233. Cependant, le plan Luns s'inspire-t-il de cet esprit? Instinctivement et aussi après avoir soigneusement examiné ce plan, l'Indonésie est nettement convaincue que ledit plan n'est pas empreint de cet esprit de conciliation et même qu'il abonde en intrigues coloniales et révèle des sentiments anti-indonésiens.

234. Lorsque M. Luns a prononcé son premier discours devant l'Assemblée le 26 septembre 1961 [1016ème séance], il a simplement feint d'ignorer l'existence de l'Indonésie en cherchant à faire aboutir une solution de la question de l'Irian occidental qui soit une solution internationale. Lorsque M. Luns a présenté son projet de résolution concernant une prétendue décolonisation, il s'est comporté comme si l'Indonésie n'existait pas. Ce n'est qu'après notre réaction violente et devant une opinion publique toujours plus pressante aux Pays-Bas que la délégation néerlandaise a fait distribuer son mémorandum [A/4915] dans lequel il était vraiment fait mention de l'Indonésie.

235. Ayant pris la décision de renoncer à sa prétendue souveraineté sur l'Irian occidental, le Gouvernement néerlandais a maintenant le choix entre différentes manières de donner suite à cette intention.

236. Premièrement, il peut mettre à profit cet abandon de la souveraineté pour régler honorablement le différend entre les Pays-Bas et l'Indonésie, en se fixant pour objectif la prospérité de la population de l'Irian occidental et en créant en même temps un esprit de coopération entre nos deux pays.

237. Deuxièmement, il peut également se servir de cette politique d'abandon de la souveraineté comme d'une arme aussi efficace que possible contre l'Indonésie, en particulier devant cette assemblée internationale, sans même — je le répète, sans même — transférer ses pouvoirs à la population de l'Irian occidental.

238. Malheureusement, c'est cette dernière solution que le Gouvernement néerlandais a choisie jusqu'à maintenant en se faisant surtout passer pour un bienfaiteur ayant eu l'initiative d'une prétendue décolonisation. L'essentiel pour le représentant des Pays-Bas, c'est de faire de l'Indonésie une accusée devant cette assemblée internationale. Ce qu'ils cherchent, c'est à mettre l'Indonésie au banc des accusés. Cette prétendue autodétermination de la population de l'Irian occidental n'est que d'importance secondaire pour le Gouvernement néerlandais. Il semble que ce soit une grande victoire pour la politique étrangère des Pays-Bas que d'humilier l'Indonésie maintenant, d'humilier l'Indonésie pour les 10 ou 15 prochaines années, de refuser à l'Indonésie la possibilité de libérer dans la paix cette partie de son territoire qui lui a été arrachée.

239. Je dois dire que ladite proposition des Pays-Bas peut paraître à première vue très intéressante. Cependant, connaissant les faits et le manque de sincérité de la politique étrangère des Pays-Bas à l'égard de l'Indonésie en particulier et l'attitude obstinée de ce pays à l'égard de ses autres colonies, comme le Surinam et Curaçao, il est immédiatement tout à fait évident que le projet de résolution des Pays-Bas manque d'honnêteté et de sincérité. Par opposition à ce projet de résolution dont l'objet est d'obtenir un appui international, la politique suivie par les Pays-Bas en Irian occidental est d'une tout autre nature. Elle demeure coloniale et anti-indonésienne avec toutes les graves conséquences que cela implique.

240. D'abord en Irian occidental, tous les dirigeants et tous les hommes qui n'approuvent pas la politique étrangère des Pays-Bas et l'interprétation donnée par ce pays à l'autodétermination, qui signifie séparatisme et sécession de l'Indonésie, sont expulsés du

territoire à la cadence de 1 000 par mois. D'autres sont mis en prison, notamment dans le camp de concentration de Boven Digul, de triste réputation.

241. Ensuite, les Pays-Bas ont donné tout récemment à la population un prétendu "drapeau national" et un prétendu "hymne national", composé d'ailleurs, ce qui n'est pas surprenant, par un Hollandais. Ces faits ont donné lieu le 27 octobre 1961 à une réaction si violente de la part de la population à Sorong et à Hollandia que la police néerlandaise a dû payer de ses morts et de ses blessés les conséquences de ces manifestations. La population était surtout armée d'arcs et de flèches. Au sujet de cet incident on pouvait lire le 15 novembre 1961 dans le journal hollandais Algemene Handelsblad ce qui suit:

"L'affaire du drapeau" — c'est-à-dire l'incident provoqué par la présentation du drapeau national — "crée l'impression fâcheuse que le gouvernement Plateel n'a pas pu endiguer ces forces à temps et est maintenant entraîné irrésistiblement par le courant. Il est à souhaiter que les chefs papous responsables puissent allier à beaucoup de souplesse et de sens des réalités suffisamment de bon sens et de nationalisme compréhensif, sinon la bataille de la Nouvelle-Guinée est irrémédiablement perdue, non pas à La Haye, non pas à New York, mais à Hollandia" — c'est-à-dire en Irian occidental.

242. D'une part, les autorités coloniales s'efforcent de faire connaître les symboles de l'indépendance de l'Irian occidental, elles essaient de lancer leur prétendu "hymne national" et leur prétendu "drapeau national". D'autre part, elles limitent et refusent de reconnaître à la population de l'Irian occidental des pouvoirs réels, comme le montre une lettre ouverte adressée au Premier Ministre des Pays-Bas par E. J. Bonay, membre du Conseil de la Nouvelle-Guinée autour duquel on a fait une telle publicité. Voici la traduction d'un passage de cette lettre ouverte, datée de Hollandia, le 12 novembre 1961:

"... conformément à l'attente de la population de la Nouvelle-Guinée néerlandaise, le Gouvernement néerlandais et l'administration néerlandaise de la Nouvelle-Guinée ont institué un Conseil de la Nouvelle-Guinée, ce qui est considéré comme le pas le plus important dans la voie de la démocratisation de l'organisation constitutionnelle de la Nouvelle-Guinée néerlandaise. Les grandes espérances auxquelles ce conseil avait au début donné lieu et qui s'étaient manifestées par l'intérêt que cette institution avait suscité ont été peu à peu déçues avec le temps parce que quelques membres néerlandais, loyalement suivis par certains membres papous, se sont servis du Conseil pour imposer leur point de vue aux autres.

"On avait pensé que le Conseil de la Nouvelle-Guinée serait un organe qui servirait les intérêts de la population et permettrait aux représentants de la population de faire librement entendre leur voix par les autorités.

"On avait également pensé que le Président de ce conseil romprait complètement ses anciennes relations avec les autorités. En fait, il y a maintenant deux membres néerlandais, dont l'un est le Président, et quelques satellites papous qui ont pris une attitude dictatoriale et imposent leur opinion au Conseil, si bien que la majorité des membres papous qui n'ont ni les connaissances ni l'expérience nécessaires n'ont pas le temps de se faire une

opinion indépendante. On les pousse à aller à la dérive dans le jeu joué par un petit groupe qui use de moyens malhonnêtes ..."

Plus loin, on peut lire:

"Tout ce que le Conseil de la Nouvelle-Guinée propose maintenant en fait de motions, de résolutions, etc., ne résulte jamais d'une initiative des membres papous ..."

Cela est vraiment très révélateur. Permettez-moi de répéter ce passage:

"Tout ce que le Conseil de la Nouvelle-Guinée propose maintenant en fait de motions, de résolutions, etc., ne résulte jamais d'une initiative des membres papous ..."

243. Voilà ce que le Gouvernement néerlandais appelle ici, devant l'Assemblée, préparer les Papous à la démocratie et à l'autonomie. La majorité des représentants à l'Assemblée sont déjà bien au courant, j'en suis certain, de la propagande coloniale et des réalités telles qu'elles se présentent dans les territoires coloniaux.

244. En outre, j'ai encore ici une autre lettre également adressée par un membre du Conseil de la Nouvelle-Guinée au Premier Ministre des Pays-Bas sous forme de lettre ouverte, où il est demandé que l'Indonésie participe aux décisions qui seront prises pour régler la question de l'Irian occidental. Il est dit dans cette lettre que la population de la Nouvelle-Guinée est dans l'impossibilité de résoudre elle-même ses problèmes sans la participation de l'Indonésie.

245. Qui plus est, la situation en Irian occidental s'aggrave vraiment. On en est même venu au point où, dans un lieu appelé Gag, l'élection au conseil local, qui a eu lieu le 3 novembre 1961, a dû se dérouler à bord du destroyer néerlandais Overijssel et sous la surveillance de bateaux patrouilleurs de la police. Toute la population a été contrainte de monter à bord du destroyer et de participer à l'élection. Chacun pourra tirer ses propres conclusions quant à la nature d'une telle élection, surtout si l'on pense à l'autodétermination telle qu'on l'envisage dans le projet de résolution des Pays-Bas.

246. Il est bien évident que le projet de résolution des Pays-Bas n'offre rien de constructif mais n'a que pour but de jouer le jeu des Pays-Bas contre l'Indonésie. On nous demande même maintenant de reconnaître le principe de l'autodétermination pour l'Irian occidental, comme si l'Irian occidental était un territoire colonial distinct situé quelque part en Afrique, en Amérique ou en Europe et n'ayant rien à voir avec l'Indonésie, rien à voir avec la lutte de l'Indonésie pour l'indépendance, rien à voir avec le différend entre les Pays-Bas et l'Indonésie. Cela, je pense, nul ne peut attendre de nous que nous l'acceptions. Quoi qu'il arrive, il est clair que la population de l'Irian occidental est étroitement liée aux autres populations de l'Indonésie. Les habitants de l'Irian occidental ont lutté pour l'indépendance nationale qui a été proclamée par les dirigeants indonésiens le 17 août 1945. Les habitants de l'Irian occidental ont aussi consenti des sacrifices de vies humaines pour cette lutte. Dès le début, ils ont participé au mouvement général de l'Indonésie pour l'indépendance, qui par la suite a été réprimé en Irian occidental par les forces d'occupation néerlandaises. En outre, le plus important camp de concentration de l'Asie du Sud-Est, Boven Digul, se trouve en Irian occidental et constitue en quelque sorte le sanctuaire national

de la lutte de l'Indonésie pour son indépendance. Là, dans ce lieu de bannissement impitoyable, la plupart de nos dirigeants — quelle que soit la région d'Indonésie d'où ils viennent, y compris l'Irian occidental — ont fait leur apprentissage de chefs de la nation dans des conditions d'indicibles souffrances et de tortures.

247. Si les Pays-Bas appliquaient le prétendu plan de décolonisation dont il est question dans leur projet de résolution à Curaçao et au Surinam qui sont encore des colonies de la couronne néerlandaise et qui luttent pour leur indépendance, si les Pays-Bas défendaient le principe de l'autodétermination dans les cas de l'Algérie, de l'Angola et d'autres territoires d'Afrique, alors il n'y aurait pas de divergence d'opinions entre les Pays-Bas et l'Indonésie. Mais si, en cherchant une solution à la question de l'Irian occidental, les Pays-Bas ne tiennent aucun compte de l'Indonésie, comme si l'Indonésie n'était pas une entité politique, comme si l'Indonésie n'était pas une entité économique, comme si l'Indonésie n'était pas une entité militaire, alors il sera bien naturel qu'une réaction violente et lourde de conséquences se déclenche en Indonésie.

248. Certains diront peut-être que nous nous passionnons trop pour cette question. Comment pourrait-il en être autrement? La lutte pour la liberté est une lutte sincère et idéaliste. La lutte pour la liberté engendre l'espoir pour l'avenir, l'espoir d'une vie meilleure, libre de toute répression et de toute humiliation. Je sais que pour les Pays-Bas cette lutte n'est jamais que le champ de bataille offert aux intrigues coloniales, qu'un simple jeu qui consiste à s'efforcer de tenir en échec par l'emploi de la force les populations colonisées ou anciennement colonisées en alliant à cette force l'influence certaine dont les Pays-Bas jouissent sur le plan international, qu'une occasion enfin de rivaliser d'esprit et d'habileté dans l'art de présenter des arguments juridiques. Les expériences amères du passé nous ont heureusement servi d'enseignement tant en ce qui concerne les détours de l'esprit que l'emploi de la force. Nous ne sommes plus aussi naïfs qu'en 1950.

249. Désormais nous affrontons avec confiance l'intrigue coloniale néerlandaise sous tous ses aspects. Nous pouvons mesurer le degré de sincérité des Pays-Bas dans ce processus de décolonisation en considérant l'attitude adoptée par ce pays à l'égard de l'Indonésie indépendante. Tant qu'ils n'auront pas admis l'idée de l'indépendance de l'Indonésie, les Pays-Bas garderont leurs caractéristiques fondamentales de puissance coloniale. Je suppose que c'est seulement par suite d'un lapsus que le représentant des Pays-Bas a déclaré que son pays renoncerait à la souveraineté sur la seule colonie qui lui reste, l'Irian occidental. Je puis lui rappeler que le Surinam et Curaçao ont un statut de colonies. J'aimerais qu'il se reporte à l'article publié récemment par le quotidien Nieuw Suriname du Surinam, article qui a d'ailleurs été reproduit par le journal néerlandais Algemene Handelsblad dans son numéro du 10 novembre 1961. M. Pengel, président du parti national du Surinam, le plus grand parti du pays, y a exposé ses revendications dans les termes suivants: "Le Surinam doit accéder immédiatement à l'indépendance complète. Un nouveau retard risquerait d'avoir des conséquences regrettables."

250. Ces observations ne font que confirmer notre conviction du manque de sincérité des Pays-Bas dans leur manière de considérer les problèmes coloniaux.

251. Au sujet des observations faites par le représentant de l'Australie, j'ai déjà fait usage de mon droit de réponse le jour même [1055ème séance] pour lui répondre. Nous connaissons la position de l'Australie sur cette question. Ce qui nous a surpris dans les observations du représentant de l'Australie, c'est qu'il fait maintenant passer cette question de l'Irian occidental du second plan où elle se trouvait au tout premier plan. Nous espérons simplement que cela ne signifie pas qu'il attache une moindre importance à l'Indonésie en tant qu'élément du problème de sécurité pour l'Australie et qu'il ne substitue pas l'Irian occidental à l'Indonésie comme meilleure garantie de sécurité pour l'Australie.

252. Ce que je ne comprends pas non plus, c'est que le représentant de l'Australie affirme qu'il est contre les négociations bilatérales. Pour autant que je sache, cela est contraire aux assurances données par le Premier Ministre, M. Menzies, au président Sukarno, au général Nasution et à moi-même.

253. Avant de quitter cette tribune, je tiens à présenter quelques propositions constructives en vue d'un règlement honorable de ce différend qui oppose depuis longtemps les Pays-Bas à l'Indonésie.

254. Premièrement, il doit régner un climat de bonne volonté sincère entre les deux parties qui doivent être résolues à créer un esprit nouveau de coopération. A défaut de quoi, toute concession de la part de l'Indonésie, petite ou grande, sera mal interprétée et considérée comme un signe de faiblesse.

255. Deuxièmement, si les deux parties acceptent d'aborder ainsi le problème, si les deux parties acceptent cette psychologie du rapprochement et de l'entente, alors le fait que les Pays-Bas sont prêts à renoncer à leur souveraineté et à leurs pouvoirs sur l'Irian occidental pourra être mis à profit au maximum, en premier lieu pour le bien de la population de l'Irian occidental, en deuxième lieu pour le règlement du différend entre les Pays-Bas et l'Indonésie, en troisième lieu pour la reprise d'une coopération amicale entre les Pays-Bas et l'Indonésie.

256. Troisièmement, nous prenons acte des engagements pris par le Gouvernement néerlandais depuis 1950 envers la population de l'Irian occidental dans la mesure où ils sont dans l'intérêt de la population de l'Irian occidental et propres à favoriser des relations d'amitié entre l'Indonésie et les Pays-Bas.

257. Quatrièmement, une fois supprimé tout obstacle à l'abandon complet de l'autorité en Indonésie, les Pays-Bas seront en mesure de faire honneur à leurs engagements officiels et officieux, aux termes desquels l'ancien territoire des Indes néerlandaises constitue une entité nationale unique. Ce sont ces engagements pris après 1950 et ceux qui datent d'avant 1950, notamment quant à la signification réelle de l'expression "transfert de l'entière souveraineté sur l'Indonésie", que les deux parties pourront avoir la sagesse de concilier et de formuler, à condition que les deux parties soient fermement résolues à chercher un arrangement dans des conditions raisonnables.

258. Cinquièmement, aux fins ci-dessus mentionnées, nous ne sommes pas opposés, en principe, à entamer des négociations bilatérales, comme certains membres de l'Assemblée l'ont suggéré et comme M. Krishna Menon, représentant de l'Inde, l'a proposé à l'Assemblée dans un projet de résolution [A/L.367].

259. Sixièmement, s'il faut prévoir, en vue d'une solution honorable de ce genre, une période de transi-

tion au cours de laquelle l'Organisation des Nations Unies devra jouer un rôle, l'Indonésie lui donnera toute sa coopération et tout son appui.

260. Septièmement, aucune des deux parties ne devra prendre d'initiative qui pourrait être interprétée comme une tentative unilatérale risquant d'être préjudiciable à la solution du problème dans le contexte approprié.

261. Je remercie le Président d'avoir bien voulu m'accorder la parole encore une fois.

262. M. HAILEMARIAM (Ethiopie) [traduit de l'anglais]: C'est pour moi un grand honneur et un privilège que de prendre la parole à cette tribune devant l'Assemblée générale pour y faire connaître une fois de plus les sentiments authentiques du peuple éthiopien sur la question de la suppression du colonialisme et en même temps pour préciser la position de ma délégation au sujet du point 88 (La situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux) et du point 22 (Assistance à l'Afrique: a) programme des Nations Unies pour l'indépendance).

263. Pour nous, le colonialisme a de tout temps été chose maudite. Il est bien certain que les pays et les peuples qui l'ont pratiqué ont ainsi renoncé à tous les principes de la morale. L'essence du colonialisme est la subjugation et l'exploitation égoïste de l'homme par l'homme. Aussi le considérons-nous comme une forme moderne de l'esclavage.

264. Je voudrais pouvoir trouver quelques mots aimables à dire à l'égard de ce système d'immoralité organisée, mais je ne le puis. A maintes reprises, les colonialistes et leurs partisans nous ont conseillé de mettre un frein à nos critiques de ce système. Ici, je me permettrai de citer M. Alemayehou, qui était président de la délégation éthiopienne à la quinzième session de l'Assemblée générale et qui a déclaré le 30 novembre 1960:

"... Nous savons ce que des observateurs neutres qui vivent dans la liberté peuvent éprouver à l'égard du colonialisme en général, car nous avons nous-mêmes connu l'oppression, puis la liberté. Mais ils" — les observateurs neutres — "ne peuvent pas comprendre nos sentiments à l'égard du colonialisme, car ils ont toujours vécu dans la liberté. Il est facile pour les observateurs neutres de formuler des critiques, car ils n'ont jamais subi la plus abjecte et la plus dégradante des humiliations, ils n'ont jamais été des étrangers dans leur propre pays, ils n'ont jamais combattu et donné leur vie pour des causes qui n'étaient pas les leurs et ne faisaient qu'apporter une gloire nouvelle à leurs déjà glorieux oppresseurs, et ils n'ont jamais peiné pour accroître encore la richesse déjà fabuleuse de leurs maîtres et pour augmenter la force des mains qui les broient. Il faut avoir vécu sous l'empire colonialiste et être passé soi-même par ces épreuves pour comprendre la pleine signification du colonialisme." [928^e séance, par. 22.]

265. Chacun sait qu'un heureux concours de circonstances diverses, y compris la lutte qu'a menée sa population pour la liberté, a permis à mon pays de rester longtemps un flot indépendant dans une mer de pays colonisés. Toutefois, on n'a pas oublié que la liberté séculaire de notre patrie a été violée en cette date fatale du jeudi 3 octobre 1935 par le colonialisme sous la forme la plus brutale qu'ait connue

l'histoire, à savoir le fascisme. Les représentants ici présents se souviennent certainement que cet événement a été suivi par cinq longues années d'occupation de l'Ethiopie, années qui nous ont paru des siècles, avec tout ce que cela comporte de misères et de privations indicibles et au prix de plus de 760 000 vies humaines innocentes. Je puis vous assurer que pendant encore bien des années les Ethiopiens auront de la difficulté à l'oublier, surtout lorsqu'en discute la question du colonialisme. A vrai dire, il serait humainement impossible au milieu d'Ethiopiens qui ont perdu leur père ou d'autres êtres chers de prétendre oublier les maux qui accompagnent l'apparition du colonialisme. Je sais que dans bien des pays représentés ici le colonialisme a laissé derrière lui des traces inoubliables de dévastation et des marques durables de bouleversement.

266. Si j'évoque le passé, ce n'est pas pour entretenir la rancune, mais pour expliquer les raisons pour lesquelles les Ethiopiens éprouvent de tels sentiments à l'égard du colonialisme et parce que, selon un proverbe éthiopien: "Celui qui frappe peut oublier, mais la victime jamais". Toutes excuses mises à part, le colonialisme n'a pour but que l'exploitation économique de terres étrangères et de peuples étrangers. La principale raison d'être de l'aventure coloniale a toujours été l'accumulation de profits énormes provenant de marchés en expansion, une main-d'œuvre à bon marché, une abondance de ressources minérales et de produits de base. Pour ne donner que quelques exemples, le salaire mensuel qui était payé à un travailleur africain au Kenya en 1924 était inférieur à ce que touche actuellement par heure un ouvrier manuel de New York. Telle était la condition réservée au travailleur africain qui peinait pour enrichir ses maîtres blancs. Tout récemment, en 1947, en Rhodésie du Nord, une loi consacrait ce même principe: elle accordait au mineur africain un salaire exactement 28,6 fois moindre que celui du mineur blanc accomplissant exactement le même travail. C'est donc un fait indéniable que la conséquence du colonialisme est l'exploitation, principalement l'exploitation économique.

267. Il doit être encourageant de vivre à la présente époque, et, j'en suis certain, il doit être immensément agréable, ne serait-ce que d'assister à la faillite inévitable et irrésistible du système du colonialisme. Le cours de l'histoire a enfin dépassé le colonialisme et en fait un épisode du passé sur lequel il n'est plus possible de revenir. Toutefois, nous ne devons pas nous leurrer, la disparition du colonialisme risquerait d'être inutilement retardée si nous nous laissions aller à l'apathie. Ce sont des obstinés qui détiennent maintenant les vestiges du colonialisme. Tel est le cas, par exemple, de l'Angola, de l'Algérie et du Katanga, pour n'en mentionner que quelques-uns. Nous ferons donc bien de redoubler d'efforts et de coordonner nos actions pour mettre rapidement fin au colonialisme et à l'impérialisme dans toutes leurs manifestations.

268. Les réalisations actuelles en ce qui concerne la libération des pays de la domination coloniale sont les fruits des efforts communs d'Etats africains et asiatiques et d'autres Etats amis des peuples opprimés et des pays persécutés.

269. Permettez-moi de retracer les principales étapes de cette lutte dans laquelle nous avons joint nos efforts. On n'a pas oublié que la Conférence de Bogor, qui réunissait les Premiers Ministres de la

Birmanie, de Ceylan, de l'Inde, de l'Indonésie et du Pakistan, a pris l'initiative et la décision de réunir la Conférence des Etats africano-asiatiques, qui s'est tenue à Bandoung du 18 au 24 avril 1955. Cette conférence a adopté d'un commun accord, comme l'énonce le communiqué final, la résolution suivante:

"La Conférence

"a) Déclare que le colonialisme sous toutes ses formes est un mal auquel il convient de mettre fin rapidement;

"b) Affirme que la sujétion des peuples à la domination et l'exploitation étrangères constitue un déni des droits fondamentaux de l'homme, qu'elle est contraire à la Charte des Nations Unies et qu'elle fait obstacle à la paix et à la coopération internationales;

"c) Déclare donner son appui à la cause de la liberté et de l'indépendance de tous les peuples soumis à la domination et à l'exploitation étrangères;

"d) Invite les puissances intéressées à accorder à ces peuples la liberté et l'indépendance.

"En raison de la situation troublée qui règne actuellement en Afrique du Nord et du refus persistant opposé aux peuples de l'Afrique du Nord de reconnaître leur droit à disposer d'eux-mêmes, la Conférence africano-asiatique déclare donner son appui aux droits des peuples de l'Algérie, du Maroc et de la Tunisie à disposer d'eux-mêmes et à accéder à l'indépendance et elle invite instamment le Gouvernement français à régler cette question sans délai par des moyens pacifiques 16/."

270. Le Président me permettra certainement de dire que son vaillant pays, la Tunisie, a pu, à la suite de la Conférence de Bandoung, bénéficier d'un appui pour accéder à l'indépendance.

271. La première Conférence des Etats indépendants d'Afrique qui s'est réunie à Accra le 1er avril 1958 a réaffirmé les principes de la Charte des Nations Unies, de la Déclaration universelle des droits de l'homme et de la Déclaration de Bandoung dans sa résolution II relative à l'avenir des territoires africains dépendants et elle a invité les puissances administrantes à prendre rapidement des mesures pour mettre en œuvre les dispositions de la Charte des Nations Unies et pour répondre aux aspirations politiques des peuples des territoires dépendants qui souhaitent l'indépendance. Elle a invité en outre les puissances administrantes à s'abstenir de prendre des mesures de répression, de refuser arbitrairement de reconnaître les droits de l'homme et de pratiquer la discrimination raciale.

272. La Conférence des Etats indépendants d'Afrique qui s'est réunie à Monrovia, au Libéria, du 4 au 8 août 1959, a adopté sa résolution V relative aux territoires non indépendants. Cette résolution étant très courte, je me permets de la citer intégralement:

"La Conférence des Etats indépendants d'Afrique,

"Après avoir entendu les pétitionnaires de l'Ouganda, de l'Angola et de la Rhodésie du Sud,

"Réitère la résolution II prise à Accra par les Etats indépendants d'Afrique relative à l'avenir des territoires africains dépendants;

"Reconnaît aux territoires non encore indépendants de l'Afrique le droit à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance;

"1. Invite les puissances administrantes à respecter la Charte des Nations Unies dans ce domaine, à prendre des mesures rapides pour appliquer les dispositions de la Charte et à tenir compte des aspirations politiques des peuples et de leur droit à disposer d'eux-mêmes et à l'indépendance;

"2. Lance un appel à la conscience mondiale et aux Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies pour qu'ils aident ces territoires à réaliser leurs aspirations légitimes et à atteindre leur indépendance conformément à la Charte des Nations Unies."

L'appel que cette conférence adressait aux Nations Unies est toujours valable.

273. Du 14 au 26 juin 1960, mon pays, l'Ethiopie, a eu l'honneur et le privilège d'accueillir la deuxième Conférence des Etats indépendants d'Afrique qui s'est réunie à Addis-Abéba. Par la résolution XII, nous avons instamment demandé au Gouvernement britannique de prendre immédiatement des mesures pour dissoudre la Fédération de l'Afrique centrale qui avait été imposée aux peuples africains contre leur gré le 23 octobre 1953. Au sujet de l'élimination de nouvelles formes de colonialisme en Afrique, la Conférence a adopté la résolution X invitant toutes les puissances coloniales à s'abstenir de toute action qui risquerait de compromettre la souveraineté et l'indépendance des Etats naissants. Le but en était de prévenir les difficultés pouvant résulter de ce que l'on appelle maintenant le "néo-colonialisme".

274. En outre, la Conférence d'Addis-Abéba a adopté la résolution IX 17/ sur la liquidation de la domination coloniale en Afrique. J'aimerais citer les paragraphes 1, 2, 5 et 11 de cette résolution, qui sont pertinents. Le paragraphe 1 est ainsi conçu:

"Invite instamment les puissances coloniales à fixer des dates conformément à la volonté des populations, pour l'accession immédiate à l'indépendance de tous les pays non indépendants, et à communiquer ces dates aux populations intéressées."

Le paragraphe 2 est ainsi conçu:

"Décide que les Etats indépendants d'Afrique continueront à exercer une action concertée pour obtenir par tous les moyens pacifiques possibles l'élimination complète de la domination coloniale en Afrique."

Le paragraphe 5 est ainsi conçu:

"Adresse un nouvel appel aux dirigeants, aux partis politiques et aux autres organisations des pays non indépendants pour qu'à ce stade historique de leur lutte ils s'unissent en un front national afin de hâter la libération de leurs pays."

Enfin le paragraphe 11 est ainsi conçu:

"Adresse un appel aux puissances coloniales pour qu'elles s'abstiennent de réprimer les mouvements de libération nationale et qu'elles libèrent immédiatement les prisonniers politiques, les détenus et les personnes en liberté surveillée."

275. A la quinzième session ordinaire de l'Assemblée générale, le 23 septembre 1960, M. Khrouchtchev,

17/ Texte anglais dans *Second Conference of Independent African States (14-26 June 1960)* [Ministère de l'information du Gouvernement impérial éthiopien, 1960], p. 103. Traduction française établie à partir de l'anglais par le Secrétariat de l'ONU.

16/ Asian-African Conference, du 18 au 24 avril 1955 (The Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, 1955), p. 32 et 33.

au nom du Gouvernement de l'URSS, a eu le mérite de donner lecture d'un projet de déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, à la 862^e séance plénière de l'Assemblée générale. A l'issue des débats qui ont suivi, l'Assemblée générale a adopté par 89 voix contre zéro, avec 9 abstentions, la résolution 1514 (XV) en date du 14 décembre 1960, qui a maintenant une grande importance historique. Qu'il me soit permis de nommer les pays qui se sont abstenus: Portugal, Espagne, Afrique du Sud, Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord, Etats-Unis d'Amérique, Australie, Belgique, République Dominicaine et France. Il suffira de dire qu'un ou deux de ces pays ne sont pas en bonne compagnie lorsque nous parlons de colonialisme.

276. Cette résolution n'est pas une résolution ordinaire, c'est une résolution qui fait époque, un texte dont on a une haute opinion et que l'on pourrait presque considérer comme une charte pour le progrès humain et la libération coloniale. Puisque les questions en discussion, c'est-à-dire les points 88 et 22, a, de l'ordre du jour, se rapportent à l'application de la résolution 1514 (XV), je me permettrai de citer la Déclaration qui figure dans cette résolution.

[Le représentant de l'Ethiopie donne lecture de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, qui figure dans la résolution 1514 (XV).]

277. Du 5 au 13 juin 1961, la réunion préliminaire des représentants de certains Etats non alignés, qui s'est tenue au Caire, a préparé l'ordre du jour de la Conférence des pays non alignés, en insistant particulièrement sur la nécessité de liquider d'urgence le colonialisme.

278. Du 1^{er} au 6 septembre 1961, la Conférence de Belgrade, à laquelle prenaient part 25 chefs d'Etat ou de gouvernement de pays non alignés, a discuté et finalement publié une déclaration soulignant que le colonialisme est en voie de disparition. Dans cette déclaration, il est dit notamment:

"Les participants à la Conférence réaffirment solennellement leur appui à la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux adoptée à la quinzième session de l'Assemblée générale des Nations Unies, et recommandent l'abolition immédiate, inconditionnelle, totale et définitive du colonialisme et ils ont décidé de faire un effort concerté pour mettre fin à toutes les formes et manifestations du néo-colonialisme et de la domination impérialiste ^{18/}."

De plus, la Conférence a donné son appui au principe de l'autodétermination pour l'Algérie, elle a exprimé sa grande inquiétude des mesures de répression toujours plus graves prises en Angola, elle a demandé instamment qu'aucune intervention étrangère ne soit tolérée au Congo et elle a condamné résolument la politique d'apartheid pratiquée dans la République sud-africaine.

279. La Déclaration de l'Assemblée générale sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux n'est pas restée lettre morte au cours des 11 derniers mois, je me plais à le constater. C'est ainsi que:

1) Le Sierra Leone a accédé à l'indépendance le 27 avril 1961 et est heureusement venu se joindre

^{18/} Conférence de Belgrade, 1961 (publié par la *Revue de politique internationale*, Belgrade), No 5, p. 21.

à nous à l'Organisation des Nations Unies pour lutter contre les vestiges du colonialisme. J'ai été particulièrement heureux d'entendre le représentant du Sierra Leone parler contre le colonialisme lorsqu'il a pris la parole;

2) Le régime de tutelle sur le Territoire sous tutelle du Cameroun sous administration du Royaume-Uni a pris fin pendant cette période;

3) Le Tanganyika accédera à l'indépendance le 9 décembre 1961 et viendra très probablement prendre sa place au sein de cette communauté de nations avant la clôture de la présente session de l'Assemblée générale;

4) Le Samoa-Occidental doit accéder à l'indépendance le 1^{er} janvier 1962;

5) Le Ruanda-Urundi sera indépendant avant le mois d'avril 1962;

6) L'Ouganda obtiendra son indépendance le 9 octobre 1962 au plus tard; et, à vrai dire, je ne serais pas surpris de voir certains des jeunes combattants de la liberté de l'Ouganda, comme Godfrey Benaïsa, à leur sortie de prison, venir assister à la dix-septième session de l'Assemblée générale en qualité de représentants de leur pays;

7) En Amérique latine, les progrès réalisés sur le plan constitutionnel en Guyane britannique sont des plus encourageants;

8) Nous avons toute confiance dans la compétence de M. Banda pour libérer le Nyassaland du colonialisme dans un avenir relativement proche;

9) La Fédération des Indes occidentales, qui comprend 10 îles, et dont la population totale est de près de 3 millions d'habitants, pourrait fort bien accéder bientôt à l'indépendance, à condition que les dirigeants de la Jamaïque fassent preuve d'un esprit résolu et clairvoyant;

10) Enfin, le Kenya, pays voisin et ami, sera indépendant au plus tard au cours du début de l'année 1962. Ces nouvelles sont une source de joie et de satisfaction pour l'Ethiopie qui est restée longtemps, en fait pendant des siècles, entourée de puissances coloniales. Maintenant, pour la première fois depuis des siècles, elle sera entourée d'Etats africains frères devenus indépendants, et il faut être Ethiopien pour comprendre l'immense plaisir que nous procure cette situation.

280. A ce stade, permettez-moi de rappeler les paroles de la deuxième Conférence des Etats indépendants d'Afrique réunie à Addis-Abéba en 1960, qui a adressé un appel "aux dirigeants, aux partis politiques et aux autres organisations des pays non indépendants pour qu'à ce stade historique de leur lutte ils s'unissent en un front national afin de hâter la libération de leurs pays". Compte tenu de cet appel, ma délégation voudrait inviter les dirigeants politiques du Kenya à ne pas faire le jeu des intrigues colonialistes et risquer ainsi de retarder leur indépendance. Actuellement, M. Jomo Kenyatta, ce vaillant dirigeant du Kenya qui était en prison depuis 1952 jusqu'à cette année, se trouve en ce moment dans mon pays, l'Ethiopie, pour resserrer encore et renforcer les liens de l'amitié traditionnelle entre les peuples du Kenya et de l'Ethiopie. J'ose également exprimer l'espoir que ses visites à Londres et à Addis-Abéba contribueront largement à hâter l'accession du Kenya à l'indépendance.

281. Nous espérons fermement que, conformément au paragraphe 3 de la Déclaration figurant dans la résolution 1514 (XV), le manque de préparation dans le domaine politique ne sera pas pris comme prétexte pour retarder l'indépendance du Kenya.

282. Tout ce que je viens de rappeler montre que pendant les 11 derniers mois nous avons progressé dans la voie de l'émancipation coloniale. Il faut se souvenir qu'en 1939 environ 60 p. 100 de la population mondiale était sous la domination coloniale, alors qu'aujourd'hui ce rapport a été ramené à 2 p. 100. Néanmoins, il est encore à déplorer que l'homme exploite son semblable en vertu de l'ignoble système colonialiste.

283. En Afrique, le colonialisme est encore une réalité — et qui plus est, une dure réalité. Sur notre continent, 22 p. 100 de nos populations continuent à languir sous la domination européenne. Il faut rappeler que les colonialistes, à l'origine de leur aventure égoïste en Afrique, comme ailleurs, prétextaient toujours que le but de leur visite était inoffensif et consistait à apporter "le christianisme aux païens" et "la civilisation aux pays arriérés".

284. A l'heure actuelle, en Afrique seulement, 20 territoires n'ont pas encore obtenu leur indépendance, sans compter Ifni, Ceuta, São Tomé, Fernando Poo, l'archipel des Comores, la Réunion, l'île Maurice, ainsi que la République sud-africaine, pays qu'on ne peut considérer comme un territoire indépendant, si ce n'est d'une manière purement formelle et théorique. Ces 20 pays couvrent une superficie de 9 410 000 km² environ et comptent une population totale de 50 900 000 habitants. En outre, si l'on ajoute les 13 millions d'habitants non blancs de la République sud-africaine, on est effrayé de voir qu'en Afrique 63 900 000 habitants, répartis sur une superficie de 10 660 000 km² environ, se trouvent en servitude sous une domination étrangère. De plus, en dehors de l'Afrique, plus de 30 autres territoires avec une population totale de près de 20 millions d'habitants se trouvent sous la domination coloniale.

285. Je fais appel à l'Assemblée pour qu'elle exerce toute l'autorité morale dont elle jouit, dans l'intérêt de la dignité de l'homme et en faveur de l'émancipation coloniale. Nous qui jouissons à l'heure actuelle des bienfaits de la liberté et ne sommes pas soumis à une domination étrangère, nous ne devons pas oublier, je vous en conjure, les millions d'êtres humains qui, dans le monde entier, aspirent passionnément à l'indépendance. Je ne doute pas que l'heure soit venue d'entreprendre une croisade victorieuse contre le colonialisme. Les vestiges du colonialisme et de l'impérialisme sous toutes leurs formes et dans toutes leurs manifestations livrent une bataille perdue d'avance. Toutefois, comme je l'ai déjà dit, les colonialistes, dans leur dernière retraite, ont laissé quelques éléments particulièrement obstinés et intraitables, comme Salan en Algérie, Verwoerd en Afrique du Sud, Welensky en Rhodésie du Sud; mais, de notre côté, nous devons également nous montrer inflexibles en notre qualité de champions de la liberté, de l'égalité, de la justice et de la fraternité humaine.

286. Nous devons raviver notre foi dans la destinée suprême de l'homme pour refréner ses tendances égoïstes, de même qu'il a su maîtriser l'atome invisible. A notre époque, l'heure de la liberté sonne vibrante et claire, la marche vers la liberté se poursuit à un rythme régulier et constant, et aucune

puissance ne sera en mesure de l'interrompre jusqu'à ce que le colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations ait disparu. Telle est la conviction de l'Ethiopie, dont j'ai l'honneur, au nom de ma délégation et en toute humilité, de faire part à l'Assemblée, sachant pertinemment que ces faits auront leur place dans les annales de l'histoire.

287. Je voudrais maintenant présenter quelques observations sur certains des problèmes d'actualité qui subsistent pour la bonne application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux.

288. Il est regrettable que le Gouvernement portugais persiste à se refuser à toute coopération avec les Nations Unies en ne communiquant aucun renseignement sur les territoires qu'il a encore sous sa dépendance et en invoquant le prétexte fictif d'un "Etat unitaire".

289. On se souviendra que la France aussi considérait l'Algérie comme une partie de son territoire. Aujourd'hui, pareille thèse est insoutenable.

290. En vertu des dispositions de la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale, il y a obligation de communiquer des renseignements au titre de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte des Nations Unies, notamment à l'égard d'un territoire géographiquement séparé ou qui de toute autre manière est distinct du pays qui l'administre.

291. L'Angola, qui s'étend sur une superficie de 1 250 000 km² environ et dont la population est de 4 500 000 habitants est un territoire africain tombé aux mains cruelles du colonialisme. Depuis longtemps, mon pays entretient des liens d'amitié avec le Portugal. Nous aimerions que cette amitié puisse durer.

292. Toutefois, l'élimination du colonialisme est pour nous un acte de foi. Contrairement aux paragraphes 4 et 5 de la Déclaration, le Portugal a pris des mesures impitoyables de répression contre les Africains qui aspirent à l'indépendance. Des milliers d'hommes, de femmes et d'enfants africains ont été massacrés par les Portugais. En outre, un véritable esclavage déguisé est pratiqué en Angola.

293. Parlant du travail forcé en Angola, Henrique Galvão, un Portugais qui vaut son pesant d'or, disait au sujet de l'employeur portugais en général:

"Ce qui l'intéressait, c'était de le maintenir (il s'agit du travailleur africain) en bonne santé, de lui conserver sa force et son agilité, tout comme il l'aurait fait pour son cheval ou son taureau. Aujourd'hui, l'autochtone ne s'achète pas, on le loue simplement au gouvernement."

294. L'Assemblée n'ignore pas, j'en suis certain, que le Portugal livre une bataille perdue d'avance. Des puissances plus grandes que le Portugal qui est un petit pays se sont efforcées en vain d'aller contre le cours de l'histoire. Ma délégation reprendra cette question portugaise lorsque l'Assemblée en sera de nouveau saisie en séance plénière. Toutefois, à ce stade, il suffit de dire que la politique suivie par le Portugal en Angola est l'une des pierres d'achoppement qui font obstacle à la mise en application de la Déclaration.

295. Nous remarquons maintenant que les grandes puissances déploient tous leurs efforts pour mettre fin aux problèmes qui découlent encore de la seconde guerre mondiale. Cependant, en Afrique, nous n'avons

malheureusement pas encore pu régler un problème qui découlait de la première guerre mondiale. Je veux parler de la question du Territoire sous mandat du Sud-Ouest africain.

296. L'Article 22 du Pacte de la Société des Nations prévoyait que la puissance administrante devait appliquer le principe selon lequel le bien-être et le développement de ces peuples forment une mission sacrée de civilisation. Le deuxième paragraphe de l'article 2 du Mandat stipulait que la Puissance mandataire accroîtrait "par tous les moyens en son pouvoir, le bien-être matériel et moral ainsi que le progrès social des habitants du Territoire" soumis à ce mandat. L'Afrique du Sud n'avait aucune excuse pour ne pas remplir ses obligations. Cependant, le Gouvernement de l'Union a agi exactement à l'opposé des dispositions précitées dans son administration du Territoire sous mandat du Sud-Ouest africain. Il est triste de constater que le travail forcé est ouvertement pratiqué au Sud-Ouest africain et que le honteux système de l'apartheid a été institué par la Puissance mandataire dans le Territoire. Les salaires des Africains sont exagérément bas et les conditions de travail sont extrêmement pénibles. Le déplacement arbitraire des autochtones d'un lieu à un autre et d'une réserve à l'autre a montré à quel point la République sud-africaine méprise souverainement la Charte des Nations Unies et la Déclaration des droits de l'homme.

297. Conformément aux dispositions de l'article 4 du Mandat, l'instruction militaire des autochtones était interdite, sauf pour assurer la police locale. En outre, on ne devait établir aucune base militaire ou navale ni aucune fortification. Cependant, la Puissance mandataire a également violé cette stipulation en établissant des bases militaires, navales et aériennes dans le Territoire sous mandat du Sud-Ouest africain. On l'a fait sans aucun doute pour terroriser et intimider la population africaine. Qui plus est, cette année l'armée a en outre été chargée de garder toutes les frontières du Territoire pour en interdire l'entrée au Comité du Sud-Ouest africain, créé par l'Assemblée générale.

298. Selon les termes de la Déclaration qui figure dans la résolution 1514 (XV), le processus de libération est irrésistible et irréversible et, pour éviter de graves crises, il faut mettre fin au colonialisme et à toutes les pratiques de ségrégation et de discrimination.

299. En ce qui concerne la situation en Algérie, il serait utile de noter que ceux qui ont rédigé la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale n'ont pas cessé de penser à l'Algérie. Nous le savons parce que, du début jusqu'à la fin, nous avons suivi de très près l'élaboration de cette résolution. Ma délégation regrette par conséquent que les paragraphes 2, 4 et 6 de la Déclaration n'aient pas été respectés dans ce cas. Nous avons toujours été des amis de la France et nous le resterons, mais nous croyons aussi que les pays doivent accéder à l'indépendance et telle est notre ferme conviction. La guerre d'Algérie qui se poursuit depuis huit ans doit prendre fin rapidement. Le peuple algérien doit avoir la possibilité de déterminer lui-même quel sera son avenir, selon les principes démocratiques de libre détermination et d'égalité. Il faut sortir de l'impasse où se trouvent les pourparlers entre le Gouvernement provisoire de la République algérienne et la France, et les négociations doivent être reprises immédiatement. En outre, c'est avec un grand soulagement et un immense plaisir que nous avons appris ce matin qu'environ

4 000 combattants algériens de la liberté qui avaient héroïquement fait la grève de la faim avaient bénéficié du statut de prisonniers politiques. Ce fait est réellement un présage de bon augure particulièrement important pour l'indépendance future de l'Algérie.

300. Nous sommes heureux de noter que le président de Gaulle a déclaré il y a quelques jours à Toulon que la fin de la guerre d'Algérie était proche. Nous espérons que la France ne se laissera pas intimider par les éléments d'extrême droite, comme Salan, et qu'elle accordera l'indépendance au peuple algérien.

301. Il ne faut pas oublier que la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux proclamait "la nécessité de mettre rapidement et inconditionnellement fin au colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations".

302. Néanmoins, le néo-colonialisme s'efforce de démembrer la République du Congo (Léopoldville) en manœuvrant pour aider le mouvement sécessionniste de Tshombé qui n'est qu'un fantoche au service des hommes d'affaires belges. Nous croyons qu'en expulsant par la force les mercenaires du Katanga, les Nations Unies prépareront le retour de la paix dans ce malheureux pays.

303. Ma délégation a soigneusement examiné la proposition des Pays-Bas tendant à internationaliser l'Irian occidental. Il faut reconnaître, à en juger d'après l'attitude de coopération des colonialistes, que les Pays-Bas semblent ici faire preuve d'une certaine bonne volonté. Toutefois, si l'on étudie de près ladite proposition en la replaçant dans son contexte, c'est-à-dire compte tenu du différend opposant l'Indonésie aux Pays-Bas, on s'aperçoit que la proposition n'est en fait qu'une formule subtile visant à permettre aux néo-colonialistes de parvenir à leurs fins, qui sont de fragmenter les pays d'Afrique et d'Asie. Si nous levons le voile flatteur dont on a entouré cette proposition, nous constatons que l'objectif essentiel des Pays-Bas est d'empêcher définitivement le retour de l'Irian occidental à l'Indonésie. Nous sommes convaincus quant à nous que l'Irian occidental est plus proche de l'Indonésie que des Pays-Bas — cela est d'ailleurs évident pour toute personne capable de se faire un jugement.

304. L'Indonésie, l'un des plus farouches ennemis du colonialisme, ne peut être soupçonnée de chercher à coloniser un autre pays. Il y aurait en effet une contradiction dans les termes si l'on imputait des visées colonialistes à un pays anticolonialiste. Le seul motif que nous puissions prêter à l'Indonésie lorsqu'elle réclame l'Irian occidental, c'est qu'elle veut libérer ce territoire du colonialisme. C'est pourquoi ma délégation se range du côté de l'Indonésie sur cette question. Même en admettant qu'il existe un différend entre l'Indonésie et les Pays-Bas au sujet de la souveraineté sur l'Irian occidental, il serait déplacé de la part des Pays-Bas de remettre ce territoire à un autre pays ou, si vous préférez, à une organisation internationale, sans l'assentiment de l'Indonésie.

305. Nous aimerions naturellement voir s'établir une plus grande coopération entre l'Organisation des Nations Unies et les Pays-Bas, mais cela doit se traduire par l'application correcte de la Déclaration figurant dans la résolution 1514 (XV) aux colonies néerlandaises du Surinam, de Curaçao et d'Aruba. Pourquoi les Pays-Bas ne libèrent-ils pas ces territoires? Suppose-t-on que la Déclaration ne s'applique

pas à ces territoires coloniaux? Quoi qu'il en soit, nous estimons que l'Organisation des Nations Unies doit faire appel tant aux Pays-Bas qu'à l'Indonésie pour qu'ils entament immédiatement des négociations en vue de régler leur différend relatif à l'Irian occidental. Nous sommes persuadés qu'une telle décision résoudra toutes les difficultés et permettra en définitive d'aboutir à une solution à l'amiable. Ma délégation juge intolérable et inacceptable que l'Indonésie soit harcelée pour avoir réussi à accéder à l'indépendance au prix de plus d'un demi-million de vies humaines sacrifiées pour la liberté.

306. La résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale a une importance historique car elle pose les principes de la décolonisation universelle. Cependant, cette résolution ne prévoit pas de dispositif pour l'application de ces principes à des cas précis. C'est pourquoi ma délégation a activement participé, depuis son élaboration jusqu'à sa présentation, à la préparation du projet de résolution [A/L.366 et Add.1] que nous avons rédigé pour en saisir l'Assemblée aujourd'hui.

307. Ce projet de résolution recommande dans son dispositif la création d'un comité spécial de 17 membres qui seront désignés par le Président au cours de la présente session. Le paragraphe 4 du dispositif renferme un projet de mandat. On prévoit que le comité sera chargé du dispositif d'application de la Déclaration sur le colonialisme. En outre, le comité est autorisé à formuler des recommandations et des suggestions dans des cas particuliers. Le comité aura besoin de la collaboration de tous les

Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, notamment des puissances coloniales qui administrent actuellement des territoires encore dépendants. En vertu du paragraphe 6 du dispositif, le comité est autorisé à se réunir, si besoin est, en tout autre lieu que le Siège des Nations Unies, en consultation avec les autorités compétentes, afin de pouvoir s'acquitter efficacement de ses fonctions.

308. Pour en revenir au paragraphe 2 du dispositif, le projet de résolution invite toutes les puissances coloniales à agir sans plus tarder afin de mettre la Déclaration en application. Il stipule que les puissances coloniales doivent appliquer ce texte scrupuleusement. Je tiens à souligner ce terme "scrupuleusement", car il importe avant toute chose que la Déclaration soit appliquée scrupuleusement. A ce propos, ma délégation croit que ce nouveau comité spécial dont la création est prévue dans ledit projet de résolution que nous avons l'honneur de présenter à l'Assemblée aujourd'hui permettra d'atteindre les buts visés au point 22 de l'ordre du jour, c'est-à-dire "Assistance à l'Afrique: a) programme des Nations Unies pour l'indépendance". Il est bien entendu que le comité spécial ne sera pas exclusivement au service de l'Afrique, mais qu'il aidera les mouvements de libération dans le monde entier.

309. En terminant, je tiens à exprimer sincèrement l'espoir que les efforts déployés pour liquider le colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations seront bientôt couronnés de succès.

La séance est levée à 19 h 35.

Nations Unies
**ASSEMBLÉE
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Président: M. Mongi SLIM (Tunisie).

POINTS 88 ET 22 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

La situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux (suite)

Assistance à l'Afrique (suite):

a) Programme des Nations Unies pour l'indépendance

3. M. SULAIMAN (Irak) [traduit de l'anglais]: Par la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, qui figure dans la résolution 1514 (XV) adoptée à la quinzième session, l'Assemblée générale a pris la décision la plus importante de notre temps. Cette déclaration nette et sans équivoque, qui vise à mettre fin à une sombre période d'exploitation massive, est non seulement un des documents les plus remarquables de l'histoire, mais aussi l'expression des forces irrésistibles qui parviendront à

libérer définitivement l'homme et la société de la subjugation. Le droit fondamental et universellement admis de tous les peuples à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance complète a maintenant été sanctionné par l'Organisation mondiale.

4. L'application réelle et effective de cette décision historique qui "proclame solennellement la nécessité de mettre rapidement et inconditionnellement fin au colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations" est attendue avec impatience par des millions de personnes qui subissent l'oppression coloniale. La Déclaration elle-même souligne le caractère urgent du problème et demande que des "mesures immédiates" soient prises pour accorder l'indépendance "sans aucune condition ni réserve". La liquidation définitive du colonialisme constituera une contribution importante à la paix mondiale et éliminera une des causes principales de guerre, la guerre et le colonialisme ayant toujours été étroitement associés dans notre histoire.

5. La lutte entre les puissances coloniales pour la possession des colonies et le combat héroïque des peuples coloniaux pour leur libération ont un rapport étroit avec toutes les grandes guerres des temps modernes. De très nombreux états souverains nés durant l'ère coloniale ont accédé à l'indépendance par la guerre. L'histoire de l'hémisphère occidental, tant au nord qu'au sud, l'histoire de l'Europe orientale et des Balkans, celle de l'Asie et de l'Afrique en offrent des exemples évidents. C'est un paradoxe que les deux grandes guerres de notre siècle, malgré leur origine coloniale et leur caractère colonial, ont ébranlé les fondements mêmes du système colonial et ont fait s'écrouler l'un après l'autre les grands empires du XIXème siècle.

6. L'éveil des masses coloniales opprimées, la révolte contre l'humiliation et l'esclavage auxquels ces peuples étaient soumis et l'appui de l'opinion publique progressiste et libérale du monde entier ont démontré que les jours du colonialisme étaient comptés. La Déclaration sur l'abolition du colonialisme le confirme. Il y est également reconnu que le colonialisme persiste dans de nombreuses parties du monde.

7. Nous croyons que les territoires coloniaux constituent de dangereux éléments de trouble dans l'ordre mondial actuel; il en sera ainsi jusqu'à ce qu'on parvienne à la libération générale et complète et à la création d'une communauté universelle de nations libres. Les conflits armés et les guerres de libération qui sont aujourd'hui en cours dans certaines parties du monde exigent que des mesures soient prises immédiatement pour l'application de la Déclaration non seulement dans l'intérêt des peuples colonisés qui luttent, mais aussi dans l'intérêt de la paix mondiale et dans la véritable intérêt des peuples des puissances coloniales elles-mêmes.

*Reprise des débats de la 1042ème séance.

8. Dans le cadre du mouvement inévitable et irrésistible vers l'indépendance, nous avons vu avec grand plaisir le Sierra Leone devenir cette année un Etat indépendant et souverain et obtenir son admission à l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Nous attendons le moment où nous pourrions souhaiter la bienvenue au Tanganyika en tant qu'Etat indépendant. Il n'en reste pas moins que le système du colonialisme existe encore. Il est vrai que 800 millions d'êtres humains ont obtenu leur souveraineté en tant que nations indépendantes au cours des 15 dernières années. Il est vrai aussi cependant qu'il y a aujourd'hui encore à peu près 80 territoires non autonomes, comptant plus de 70 millions d'habitants, qui restent sous la domination coloniale.

9. La libération de plus de 90 p. 100 des êtres humains qui étaient encore sous le joug colonial après la seconde guerre mondiale constitue en soi un argument de poids contre ceux qui défendent le maintien du colonialisme dans les parties relativement restreintes du monde où il subsiste. Le prétexte souvent invoqué par les colonialistes a été écarté par l'Assemblée générale dans sa déclaration: "Le manque de préparation dans les domaines politique, économique ou social ou dans celui de l'enseignement ne doit jamais être pris comme prétexte pour retarder l'indépendance".

10. Malgré toutes les leçons de l'histoire, le colonialisme mène désespérément un combat d'arrière-garde contre les peuples qui luttent pour réaliser leurs aspirations à la liberté et à l'indépendance. Dans ses derniers jours d'agonie, il semble ne pas vouloir quitter la scène de l'histoire sans terreur ni crimes. La répression militaire se poursuit, au mépris de la Déclaration qui stipule: "Il sera mis fin à toute action armée et à toutes mesures de répression... dirigées contre les peuples dépendants".

11. En tête de liste figure la guerre coloniale d'Algérie, avec toute son horreur et toutes ses tragédies. Depuis plus de sept ans, le Gouvernement français mène une guerre totale contre le peuple algérien. Le 1er novembre de cette année, l'héroïque peuple algérien est entré dans la huitième année de sa guerre de libération nationale. Les atrocités commises par les Français tant en France qu'en Algérie, les arrestations et déportations en masse d'Algériens, accompagnées de terreur et de meurtres, ont été largement relatées dans la presse mondiale. Il ne se passe guère de jour sans qu'on nous parle de répressions inhumaines et de persécution des patriotes algériens. Les dernières nouvelles concernant les cinq chefs algériens captifs en France, qui font la grève de la faim depuis le début du mois de concert avec des milliers d'autres prisonniers algériens, ont troublé la conscience internationale. La préoccupation profonde que suscitent le sort de milliers d'Algériens prisonniers en France et le sérieux danger qu'il présente pour les perspectives d'un règlement pacifique et négocié a été exprimée récemment par l'Assemblée générale dans l'appel qu'elle a lancé à la France pour qu'elle fasse droit aux légitimes revendications des prisonniers et leur reconnaisse le statut de prisonniers politiques [résolution 1650 (XVI)]. Nous sommes heureux d'apprendre que 20 jours après un accord a pu être réalisé, qui met un terme à cette grève de la faim. Nous espérons que cet accord ouvrira la voie à de nouvelles négociations en vue de règlement de la question algérienne.

12. Cette guerre désespérée et moralement indéfendable se déchaine sans merci contre un peuple qui aspire à la liberté. On en prévoit clairement l'issue inéluctable. L'Algérie sera bientôt une nation indépendante et la cause de la liberté triomphera ici comme elle a triomphé ailleurs dans le monde. L'Assemblée a déjà adressé plusieurs appels à la France en la priant de mettre fin à cette guerre criminelle; ils ont tous été accueillis avec dédain. La Déclaration adoptée l'an dernier est également restée lettre morte; la guerre et les mesures de répression se poursuivent à un rythme croissant.

13. Afin de brosser un tableau fidèle de la guerre coloniale d'Algérie, il convient toujours de rappeler que les forces armées françaises comprennent plus de 600 000 hommes, que plus d'un million et demi d'hommes ont servi dans l'armée française en Algérie depuis le début de la guerre, que les deux tiers de l'aviation militaire française et la moitié de la flotte française y prennent part, qu'un million d'Algériens ont été tués dans cette guerre, que plus d'un million et demi de civils sont devenus des personnes déplacées, que plus de 200 000 Algériens sont internés dans des camps et des prisons militaires et que plus de 300 000 Algériens se sont réfugiés en Tunisie et au Maroc.

14. Bien que le Gouvernement français ait finalement accepté l'inévitable conclusion et ait reconnu le droit du peuple algérien à l'autodétermination, la France poursuit cette guerre insensée. Parmi les causes principales de la continuation de cette tragédie humaine figurent les intérêts établis des colonialistes français et d'autres puissances occidentales dans le pétrole saharien. C'est là un exemple frappant de la tentative permanente d'exploitation coloniale et de sa nature. D'autre part, la menace qu'agite la France de partager l'Algérie reste un obstacle majeur sur la voie d'un règlement pacifique. Dans sa lutte, le peuple algérien a l'appui total de ses frères du monde arabe et des peuples épris de liberté du monde entier. Mon pays a donné et donnera toute l'assistance possible au peuple algérien dans son combat pour sa libération nationale.

15. L'agression militaire de la France ne s'est pas limitée à l'Algérie. Les forces armées françaises qui maintiennent une base militaire à Bizerte sur le territoire de la Tunisie indépendante, au lieu de se retirer, ont lancé une attaque impitoyable contre le peuple tunisien et les forces armées de la Tunisie. Cet acte d'agression qui a soulevé l'indignation du monde entier est une manifestation évidente de la mentalité coloniale sous sa forme la plus brutale. Aucun prétexte de défense de l'Occident ne peut justifier le maintien de ces troupes étrangères sur le sol tunisien. Nous appuyons sans réserve notre sœur la République de Tunisie. Nous condamnons l'action de la France et nous exigeons qu'elle retire sans condition ses troupes de Bizerte.

16. Au Congo, on se rend une fois de plus clairement compte du rôle important qu'ont joué les intérêts des monopoles et les intérêts coloniaux pour porter atteinte à l'unité et à l'intégrité territoriale de cette jeune république. Afin d'assurer leur contrôle sur les riches ressources minières de la province du Katanga, ces milieux, l'Union minière en tête, n'ont pas hésité à plonger le Congo et l'ensemble du monde dans une crise aiguë. Les colonialistes belges, appuyés par d'autres milieux intéressés, n'ont pas hésité à entrer en guerre non seulement contre l'unité et l'indépendance du Congo, mais aussi contre les Na-

tions Unies. Ils ont eu recours à tous les moyens pour semer le trouble, fournissant des armes ou des mercenaires, finançant le mouvement séparatiste et les agents coloniaux, commettant des actes criminels, en particulier le meurtre du chef national du Congo, feu Patrice Lumumba. Les horribles constatations de la Commission d'enquête des Nations Unies sur la mort de M. Lumumba ont révélé le rôle abominable joué dans cet acte criminel par Tshombé et son prétendu ministre de l'intérieur, avec le concours de mercenaires belges et autres. Les coupables de ce crime atroce devraient être promptement déférés en justice.

17. Une nouvelle vague d'atrocités des colonialistes belges a déferlé une fois de plus sur l'Afrique au cours de l'année écoulée. Le peuple du territoire sous tutelle du Ruanda-Urundi sous administration de la Belgique a été soumis à une répression et une terreur impitoyables. Le massacre et l'emprisonnement des patriotes, y compris le meurtre du Premier Ministre de l'Urundi, ont servi à étouffer dans l'œuf les aspirations nationalistes. Des villages entiers ont été placés sous le contrôle des forces armées. C'est ainsi que les colonialistes belges ont appliqué la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance. Aucun prétexte ne devrait pouvoir être invoqué pour empêcher la liquidation du colonialisme, sous forme de tutelle ou sous toute autre forme.

18. La guerre menée au cours des deux dernières années par les colonisateurs portugais contre le peuple d'Angola offre un autre tableau tragique en Afrique. Ici, des bandes armées portugaises sans pitié ont détruit des villages entiers, ont tué des dizaines de milliers d'enfants, de femmes et de vieillards sans défense et ont chassé des milliers de personnes de leur terre. Nous exigeons qu'il soit mis fin à cette terreur et que le Gouvernement portugais soit condamné pour les crimes qu'il a commis.

19. Dans une autre partie du grand continent africain, malgré l'indignation et les protestations mondiales maintes fois exprimées, la discrimination raciale est pratiquée en tant que politique d'Etat, en violation de tous les droits de l'homme et contrairement à la Charte des Nations Unies et à la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance. La force et la répression brutales, sous leurs formes les plus cruelles, sont employées pour appliquer cette politique. Même des déclarations officielles admettent en tentent de justifier cette politique, en particulier la déclaration prononcée à cette tribune par le Ministre des affaires étrangères d'Afrique du Sud. Le monde ne peut garder le silence devant les atrocités commises par la République sud-africaine contre la population du Sud-Ouest africain et devant les actes cruels qui sont relatés dans le rapport du Comité du Sud-Ouest africain [A/4926]. Nous croyons que les Nations Unies ont le devoir de prendre des mesures efficaces afin d'arrêter la politique raciale de l'Afrique du Sud. Ma délégation a eu l'honneur de se joindre à nos amis d'Afrique pour présenter le projet de résolution [A/SPC/L.71 et Add.1 à 6] que la Commission politique spéciale a adopté ultérieurement sur la question.

20. La Déclaration proclame solennellement que le colonialisme, sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations, doit prendre fin. Cependant, les puissances coloniales, se rendant compte de la situation nouvelle qui règne dans le monde et sentant venir la fin inévitable de leur domination, ont eu recours à des tentatives et à des manœuvres qui ne peuvent tromper personne. Parmi ces tentatives

figure en premier lieu celle qui vise à détruire partiellement ou totalement l'unité nationale et l'intégrité territoriale d'un pays et qui est mentionnée au paragraphe 6 du dispositif de la Déclaration.

21. J'ai déjà évoqué les tentatives de partage en Algérie et au Congo. Maintenant, sous couvert du droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes, le Gouvernement des Pays-Bas essaie de maintenir, par le truchement de l'Organisation, son influence sur l'Irian occidental, partie intégrante et inséparable de la République d'Indonésie. Les colonisateurs hollandais, séparés par les mers et des milliers de kilomètres du territoire indonésien et n'ayant aucune affinité avec le peuple de l'Indonésie, devraient laisser le peuple de l'Irian occidental obtenir sa liberté en se joignant à sa patrie, la République indépendante d'Indonésie.

22. Hier, le président de la délégation de l'Inde a présenté au sujet de l'Irian occidental un projet de résolution [A/L.367] dans lequel l'Assemblée générale invite instamment les Gouvernements de l'Indonésie et des Pays-Bas "à entreprendre de nouvelles négociations ... en vue de résoudre cette question". Ma délégation appuie la proposition de l'Inde, qui est rédigée en termes fort conciliants. La question de l'Irian occidental est une question indonésienne et aucune solution ne peut être envisagée sans le consentement et l'accord total de l'Indonésie.

23. Un autre exemple évident est celui du Koweït. Le Royaume-Uni, avec toute l'expérience de l'Empire britannique, s'efforce de perpétuer sa domination sur le Koweït, sous-district administratif de Bassora, auquel il a eu accès vers la fin du XIXème siècle. La Grande-Bretagne y a établi son influence à la faveur d'un accord secret et illégal conclu en 1899 entre le résident politique britannique dans le Golfe et le Cheik, employé du Gouvernement ottoman, et contre paiement au Cheik d'une somme annuelle de 15 000 roupies — environ 3 000 dollars. Lorsque le Sultan de l'Empire ottoman protesta contre ces contacts britanniques étrangers avec un de ses fonctionnaires, le Gouvernement britannique et le Cheik s'excusèrent et réaffirmèrent qu'ils reconnaissaient la suzeraineté ottomane.

24. Pendant et après la première guerre mondiale, le district du Koweït et l'Irak lui-même se sont trouvés sous occupation britannique. Cela est semblable à ce qui s'est passé dans de nombreuses parties du monde qui étaient sous domination coloniale et où l'impérialisme maintenait de force un pays dans la division. Il était impossible, pendant que les deux parties du pays étaient sous influence étrangère, de réaliser l'unité. Cependant, même les gouvernements du régime prérévolutionnaire de l'Irak les plus dévoués à la Grande-Bretagne ont constamment demandé le retour du Koweït à la patrie. Après la révolution irakienne du 14 juillet 1958 et l'élimination de tous les vestiges de l'influence britannique, la politique du Royaume-Uni s'est efforcée de maintenir une domination de fait sur le Koweït et de barrer complètement la route à l'unité en donnant à la séparation un caractère permanent.

25. Une solution conforme aux intérêts coloniaux britanniques n'était pas difficile à trouver. Pourquoi ne pas déclarer la petite ville de Koweït Etat indépendant? C'est ce qui a été fait par une note adressée au Cheik le 19 juin 1961. Le paragraphe 4 de cette lettre dit: "Rien dans ces conclusions n'empêchera le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté d'aider le Gouvernement

du Koweït si ce dernier le demande." Il n'a pas fallu beaucoup de temps pour découvrir la supercherie, montrer au monde la véritable nature de cette indépendance et révéler la présence et la domination des intérêts britanniques dans la région.

26. En raison de la situation nouvelle créée par la tactique britannique, l'Irak n'avait d'autre solution que de proclamer ses droits légitimes sur le Koweït. Malgré l'affirmation clairement soulignée à maintes reprises que l'Irak n'aurait recours qu'à des moyens pacifiques pour rétablir ces droits, des forces militaires britanniques ont été envoyées d'urgence au Koweït en nombre tel qu'elles menaçaient la sécurité de l'Irak et la paix dans la région.

27. A cet égard, il importe de noter que des troupes britanniques avaient été envoyées au Koweït quelque temps avant l'annonce de l'échange de lettres entre le résident britannique au Koweït et le Cheik. Cet accord commode qui permet au Koweït d'appeler des troupes britanniques fait du Koweït une base militaire d'où la Grande-Bretagne peut menacer l'Irak et d'autres pays arabes, en fait tout le Moyen-Orient. Le Royaume-Uni ne sera pas à court d'arguments pour suggérer au Cheik de demander une aide militaire. On ne peut non plus s'attendre que le Cheik, qui est tributaire de la protection de la Grande-Bretagne et sous son contrôle, s'oppose aux vœux ou aux ordres britanniques.

28. Pourquoi cet intérêt soudain du Royaume-Uni pour une ville de Koweït indépendante, petite ville de structure tribale et de régime féodal que le Royaume-Uni maintient par la diplomatie et l'aventure militaire, district dont la population ne dépasse pas 250 000 habitants, composés pour moitié de personnes considérées par le Cheik comme des étrangers? Est-ce parce que la Grande-Bretagne est maintenant devenue le champion de la libération nationale et de la cause de l'indépendance? Qu'advient-il alors des millions de personnes qui vivent dans 41 territoires sous domination coloniale britannique?

29. Quand la Grande-Bretagne s'est établie dans le golfe Arabique, de vives rivalités coloniales sévissaient dans cette région stratégique. La Russie tsariste essayait d'accéder aux eaux chaudes du golfe et de fonder un centre charbonnier à Koweït. La France a réussi à conclure un accord secret avec le Sultan de Mascate. L'Allemagne est intervenue avec son fameux projet de chemin de fer de Bagdad à Koweït, qui menaçait les routes britanniques des Indes. Mais ces raisons n'existent plus. La raison, maintenant, c'est le pétrole.

30. Le Moyen-Orient possède 69 p. 100 des réserves de pétrole connues, soit plus des deux tiers des réserves mondiales, à l'exclusion de celles de l'Union soviétique.

31. Le Koweït lui-même possède les plus grandes réserves de pétrole du Moyen-Orient, environ 62 milliards de barils, alors que les réserves connues des Etats-Unis sont évaluées à 33,5 milliards de barils. A lui seul, le Koweït détient 21 p. 100 des réserves connues de pétrole du monde, soit plus que le total des réserves des Etats-Unis et de l'Union soviétique, qui représente 17 p. 100. Au cours actuel, ces réserves sont estimées à plus de 100 milliards de dollars. Ces chiffres ne tiennent pas compte de la zone neutre entre le Koweït et l'Arabie Saoudite, qui a des réserves de 6,5 milliards de barils.

32. Selon les spécialistes du pétrole, le champ pétrolifère le plus riche du monde est situé au Koweït, lequel est maintenant le premier producteur de pétrole brut du Moyen-Orient. Sa production se situe en moyenne à environ 1,9 million de barils par jour. Le prix de revient de la production pétrolière du Koweït est le plus bas du monde. Cette immense entreprise appartient à la Kuwait Oil Company, société fondée en commun par la British Petroleum Co et la Gulf Oil Corporation des Etats-Unis. D'après les redevances versées au Cheik de 1948 à 1960, les bénéfices de la Kuwait Oil Company ont atteint au total 2,8 milliards de dollars. La déclaration suivante, faite par la baronne Summerskill à la Chambre des lords le 19 juillet 1961, montre clairement la nature et l'ampleur des intérêts britanniques. En ce qui concerne l'acquisition de pétrole, voici ce qu'elle a dit:

"Je dois dire que, fondamentalement, il n'y a pas plus de raison pour nous de posséder et encore moins d'occuper militairement des champs pétrolifères arabes que des fermes danoises, alors que les produits des uns et des autres nous sont tout aussi essentiels. Je demanderai au Secrétaire aux affaires étrangères d'examiner très sérieusement la question des bénéfices énormes des sociétés pétrolières du Moyen-Orient. Ces bénéfices ont été réinvestis en majeure partie au Royaume-Uni. Le Cheik reçoit de la Kuwait Oil Company environ 100 millions de livres par an" (le chiffre exact est 150 millions). "Sur cette somme, 30 à 40 millions de livres sont investis à la Bourse de Londres. On estime maintenant les avoirs du Cheik à 300 millions de livres au moins" (le chiffre exact est 1 milliard) "et ses investissements représentent entre 8 et 10 p. 100 de tous les capitaux nouveaux disponibles chaque année au Royaume-Uni pour investissement. Cette aide économique arabe à la Grande-Bretagne dépasse largement toute assistance dont bénéficie un pays sous-développé."

Cette déclaration expliquera la raison véritable qui pousse le Royaume-Uni à maintenir séparé le Koweït et à y prolonger sa domination, sous couvert d'une fausse indépendance. Cet accord commode doit permettre à la Grande-Bretagne de s'assurer non seulement sa part des bénéfices sur le pétrole, mais aussi les sommes colossales qui reviennent au Royaume-Uni sous forme d'investissement, comme l'a fait observer la baronne Summerskill. Cet aspect de la question est très important. L'autre aspect est qu'en conservant le Koweït comme base britannique commode, ainsi qu'il résulte de l'échange de notes en date du 19 juin 1961, la Grande-Bretagne se propose de maintenir sa puissance et sa domination dans la région, surtout maintenant qu'elle a perdu ses bases militaires en Irak à la suite de la révolution de 1958. Les récentes opérations militaires britanniques au Koweït l'ont clairement prouvé.

33. Nos droits reposent sur le principe de l'unité nationale et de l'intégrité territoriale, énoncé dans la Charte et dans la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance. Ce principe était connu bien avant que le Koweït devînt l'un des principaux producteurs de pétrole.

34. Dans d'autres parties de la péninsule Arabique, la Grande-Bretagne maintient un réseau de bases militaires destinées à protéger ses intérêts acquis, qui s'étendent du Koweït à Aden. Ces mêmes bases sont conservées et ont été en fait utilisées pour me-

nacer l'Irak et pour réprimer tous les mouvements de libération dans la région.

35. Le transfert apparent de forces militaires d'un territoire à un autre ne doit tromper personne. A vrai dire, toute la région forme un ensemble militaire destiné au maintien de l'influence britannique et à la protection des intérêts pétroliers.

36. Dans une des régions de la patrie arabe, en Oman, la lutte pour se libérer du joug colonial britannique dure depuis des années. Ici encore, les sociétés pétrolières sont derrière toutes les mesures de répression. Un aspect significatif du conflit, dont a parlé le Ministre des affaires étrangères de l'Irak dans le discours qu'il a prononcé dans la discussion générale à la présente session [1028ème séance], réside dans le fait que la Petroleum Development Company possède et finance sa propre armée, la Force opérationnelle Mascate-Oman, levée par le Gouvernement britannique et commandée par des officiers mercenaires britanniques.

37. Le colonialisme s'est manifesté sous sa pire forme au cœur de la patrie arabe. Ce qui s'est passé en Palestine était sans précédent dans l'histoire du monde. Un peuple entier a été chassé de sa patrie par l'occupation militaire et remplacé par des éléments complètement étrangers. Le colonialisme a constitué une période tragique de l'histoire du monde dans les derniers siècles. Comme bien d'autres mouvements, il a joué son rôle, puis s'est mis à décliner pour se désintégrer rapidement. La résolution adoptée l'année dernière sur la liquidation définitive du colonialisme doit en supprimer les derniers vestiges. Mais on trouve encore dans l'Assemblée mondiale le symbole et les représentants de l'ère coloniale, ce qui est un défi aux principes sur lesquels l'Organisation des Nations Unies a été fondée.

38. Face à la marée montante des mouvements de libération nationale dans le monde arabe et ayant pris conscience du caractère éphémère de la domination coloniale étrangère, les puissances coloniales occidentales, notamment la Grande-Bretagne, ont préparé le terrain, grâce à des accords à leur convenance conclus au long des années, pour imposer un nouveau genre d'impérialisme que le monde n'avait jamais connu auparavant, à savoir une transformation matérielle de la structure de la société et de l'Etat, destinée à devenir permanente. Certaines puissances occidentales, les Etats-Unis en tête, y ont contribué avec leurs énormes ressources et leur influence politique. L'Organisation des Nations Unies a partagé cette lourde responsabilité et elle a laissé les forces d'occupation s'installer et se considérer comme un Etat en pays occupé.

39. Sous le prétexte de l'immigration d'un peuple persécuté, l'impérialisme, en stratège, a constitué une force qu'il puisse utiliser pour protéger ses intérêts dans la région. En fait, les soi-disant immigrants étaient des renforts pour les troupes d'occupation. Ils ne sont pas venus avec le consentement des habitants légitimes du pays.

40. Je voudrais appeler ici l'attention de l'Assemblée sur certains faits révélés par l'ancien directeur de l'Administration des Nations Unies pour le secours et la reconstruction (UNRRA) en Europe, le général anglais sir Frederick Morgan. Dans son livre *Peace and War; a Soldier's Life*, publié récemment, sir Frederick écrit que l'UNRRA a été "habilement" utilisée pour favoriser une "campagne sioniste

d'agression en Palestine". Il y déclare également que la majorité des personnes qui ont immigré en Palestine après la seconde guerre mondiale l'ont fait sous la contrainte des sionistes. Il souligne en outre que l'entraînement militaire pour la guerre de libération (ou prétendue telle) contre le mandat britannique en Palestine a eu lieu dans des camps de l'UNRRA pour personnes déplacées. Les instructeurs étaient des sous-officiers en uniforme des armées britannique et américaine. J'espère que ces déclarations jetteront quelque lumière sur le caractère militaire du mouvement d'immigration sioniste.

41. Etant donné la nature agressive du sionisme et le mythe, toujours vivant dans l'esprit des chefs sionistes, des "frontières historiques d'Israël", l'établissement, au cœur de la nation arabe, d'Israël, tête de pont destinée à protéger les intérêts économiques et stratégiques occidentaux, a instauré au Moyen-Orient un climat de crainte et d'instabilité qui menace la paix.

42. Au cours des années écoulées depuis la création d'Israël, le monde s'est rendu compte que ce pays représente une menace non seulement pour le Moyen-Orient, mais pour la paix mondiale. L'existence de cet élément colonial et étranger au sein de la patrie arabe est un danger constant et très grave pour la stabilité et pour la paix. Si le colonialisme doit être liquidé, sa pire manifestation, telle qu'elle apparaît en Palestine, doit alors disparaître elle aussi.

43. En conclusion, l'an passé, sur l'initiative de l'Union soviétique, l'Assemblée a été saisie de la question de l'abolition du colonialisme. La Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, présentée par le groupe africano-asiatique, a été adoptée sans opposition. Cette déclaration "proclame solennellement la nécessité de mettre rapidement et inconditionnellement fin au colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations". Elle demande qu'il soit mis fin à toute action armée et à toutes mesures de répression dirigées contre les peuples coloniaux et que des mesures immédiates soient prises pour permettre à ces peuples d'accéder à l'indépendance. Elle souligne que l'unité nationale et l'intégrité territoriale des pays doivent être respectées. Cependant, le colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations non seulement subsiste, mais multiplie les mesures prises pour résister aux forces croissantes de libération.

44. La Déclaration énonce certains principes et appelle certaines mesures. Sa vraie valeur dépend de son application. Selon nous, il est essentiel que l'Assemblée prenne maintenant des mesures pour que la Déclaration soit appliquée réellement, efficacement et rapidement. C'est à cette fin que nous nous sommes inscrits parmi les auteurs du projet de résolution présenté par un certain nombre de pays d'Afrique et d'Asie [A/L.366].

45. Nous sommes convaincus que le régime colonial ne durera plus longtemps. Certaines parties du monde, à un moment donné de leur histoire, ont profité de la pauvreté et de la faiblesse des autres pour édifier leur propre prospérité. Peut-être ne s'agit-il pas tant maintenant de savoir que cette exploitation doit prendre fin, que de déterminer comment les anciens territoires coloniaux doivent être indemnisés des pertes qu'ils ont subies, en contrepartie des richesses et ressources qui en ont été tirées pendant toute

la période du colonialisme occidental. Quant à un dédommagement pour les humiliations, les mesures répressives, les souffrances et l'injustice, je crains fort qu'il soit impossible de l'évaluer d'un point de vue matériel.

46. M. FEKINI (Libye): L'aspect dominant de l'histoire et de l'évolution de ce siècle trouve, sans aucun doute, son illustration la plus significative dans la lutte des pays et des peuples soumis à la domination et à l'exploitation étrangères en vue de se libérer du joug colonial, de réaliser leurs aspirations profondes à la liberté et d'assumer pleinement la gestion de leurs propres affaires dans l'indépendance nationale et l'intégrité territoriale.

47. Comme les hommes, à travers l'histoire, ont âprement défendu la cause de leurs libertés individuelles et de leur dignité personnelle, les peuples soumis à la domination coloniale ont opposé à l'occupation de leurs pays et à l'usurpation de leurs richesses naturelles toutes les formes de la résistance, dans la pleine conviction du caractère illégal et immoral de la subjugation des pays par d'autres pays et des peuples par d'autres peuples.

48. L'avènement de l'ère des Nations Unies et les nobles principes de dignité et de liberté proclamés par la Charte ont été pour les peuples opprimés une précieuse source d'inspiration, d'encouragement et d'espoir dans la reconnaissance du bien-fondé de leurs aspirations légitimes. Il est d'ailleurs réconfortant de constater qu'au cours de ses 16 années d'existence, l'Organisation des Nations Unies a déployé des efforts admirables en vue d'aider à l'émancipation des peuples dépendants et à leur promotion au rang de nations indépendantes et souveraines. Les résultats encourageants obtenus montrent que le nombre des Etats Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies a maintenant atteint le double de celui des Membres originaires de l'Organisation et que, au cours de la seule quinzième session de l'Assemblée générale, qualifiée à juste titre de "session de l'Afrique", un grand nombre de territoires africains sont entrés dans la famille des nations libres et souveraines.

49. Bien qu'il y ait encore beaucoup à faire dans un continent jadis considéré en quelque sorte comme la chasse gardée du colonialisme, les résultats acquis au bénéfice de la cause de la libération des peuples en Afrique ont été, à leur tour, une source d'inspiration et d'encouragement pour l'Organisation des Nations Unies dans son inlassable labeur en vue de réaliser les objectifs de la Charte relatifs à l'instauration "de meilleures conditions de vie dans une liberté plus grande" et à l'affermissement du principe de l'égalité de droits des nations grandes et petites.

50. Procédant d'une vision universaliste du monde, ces efforts de l'Organisation des Nations Unies en vue de faciliter l'accès à l'émancipation et à la dignité des peuples dans le cadre de leurs aspirations nationales à la liberté et à l'indépendance, ces efforts des Nations Unies, dis-je, ont été poursuivis inlassablement dans les diverses régions du monde assujetties à la domination coloniale. Cette action de l'Organisation a été poursuivie avec patience et persévérance au sein des organes intéressés et de l'Assemblée générale, conformément aux principes généraux de la Charte en la matière, et plus particulièrement en application des dispositions pertinentes énoncées aux Chapitres XI, XII et XIII de la Charte, relatifs aux territoires non autonomes et au régime international de tutelle.

51. Ces efforts des Nations Unies n'ont cependant pas manqué de se heurter à des difficultés considérables et des obstacles de toute sorte ont été dressés sur leur voie. En effet, les forces du colonialisme, de l'oppression et de l'exploitation ont parfois atteint des limites inimaginables dans leurs agissements en vue de retarder cette évolution historique des peuples pour recouvrer leurs droits naturels à la dignité et à la libre détermination de leurs destinées.

52. Des tragédies sans précédent dans l'histoire de l'humanité en ont résulté, qui menacent sérieusement la paix et la sécurité internationales tout en constituant des défis flagrants à la conscience humaine telle qu'elle s'exprime dans les buts, les idéaux et les principes de la Charte des Nations Unies.

53. Pour ne mentionner que quelques-unes de ces tragédies, qui figurent à l'ordre du jour des commissions compétentes de l'Assemblée au cours de la présente session, je me contenterai de mentionner le supplice des populations autochtones en Afrique du Sud et dans le Sud-Ouest africain, le drame des réfugiés palestiniens chassés de leur patrie ancestrale par les bandes du colonialisme sioniste, la guerre colonialiste atroce qui se déroule depuis plus de sept années contre le peuple algérien, la répression sanglante qui s'opère contre le peuple d'Angola et bien d'autres tragédies encore qui ont été et continuent d'être la cause de malheurs et de souffrances indicibles.

54. Les injustices commises à l'égard des populations opprimées et les excès criminels commis contre elles ont engendré de par le monde entier, et au sein des puissances coloniales elles-mêmes, un vaste mouvement de sympathie et de solidarité agissante qui, au moment où il fournissait aux populations victimes de l'occupation et de l'exploitation étrangères des raisons d'espoir et des moyens d'encouragement dans leur lutte, a réussi, grâce à son généreux humanisme et à l'élévation de ses idéaux et principes, à mobiliser les énergies des hommes et des nations de bonne volonté en vue d'une suppression radicale et définitive de ces fléaux maléfiques que sont la domination et l'exploitation des peuples par les peuples.

55. Ce mouvement, qui a trouvé ses champions parmi les pays nouvellement indépendants d'Asie et d'Afrique et parmi leurs prédécesseurs dans l'émancipation nationale en Amérique latine, a été une telle force d'attraction que les deux principales puissances du monde actuel, l'Union soviétique et les Etats-Unis d'Amérique, ordinairement empêtrées dans une compétition sans merci, trouvant son expression la plus dramatique dans la guerre froide, se sont engagées dans une course — combien heureuse et bénéfique cette fois — en rivalisant d'initiative pour soumettre respectivement à l'examen de l'Assemblée la question de la liquidation définitive du colonialisme par l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux et la question intitulée "Assistance à l'Afrique: programme des Nations Unies pour l'indépendance et le développement".

56. Le problème de l'abolition du colonialisme et l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux a donné lieu, au cours de la quinzième session, aux historiques et intéressants débats que l'on sait. Les délibérations de l'Assemblée générale ont été couronnées de succès à la grande satisfaction de l'humanité tout entière en général, et des peuples soumis à la domination étrangère, en particulier, par l'adoption quasi unanime, au cours de la fameuse

séance du 14 décembre dernier, de la Déclaration — désormais historique — sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux [résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale].

57. Cette déclaration qui, comme son homologue sur les droits de l'homme, devrait être désignée sous le nom de Déclaration universelle d'indépendance des peuples, a sans doute marqué une étape extrêmement importante dans l'histoire des Nations Unies. En mettant, en quelque sorte, le colonialisme hors la loi des Nations Unies, elle a certainement contribué dans une large mesure à la mise en œuvre des buts et des principes de la Charte. Aussi, c'est un devoir pour nous tous d'en rappeler sans cesse les nobles principes et de veiller scrupuleusement à la mise en œuvre systématique des règles d'action qu'elle a posées.

58. Qu'il me soit permis, à cette occasion, d'exprimer à la délégation soviétique combien nous apprécions l'initiative qu'elle a prise en demandant l'inscription à l'ordre du jour de la présente session de l'Assemblée générale du point intitulé "La situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux" [A/4859]. Et comme nous sommes entrain de débattre cette question conjointement avec le point intitulé "Assistance à l'Afrique: programme des Nations Unies pour l'indépendance", qu'il me soit également permis d'exprimer à la délégation américaine combien nous apprécions qu'elle ait pris l'initiative de l'inscription de ce point à l'ordre du jour de la dernière session [A/4515 et Add.1] et qu'elle ait gracieusement consenti à son élaboration par les délégations des pays indépendants d'Afrique intéressées.

59. Dans cette véritable charte de la libération de tous les peuples qu'est la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, l'Assemblée générale a solennellement proclamé le principe selon lequel l'assujettissement des peuples à une subjugation, à une domination et exploitation étrangères, constitue un refus des droits fondamentaux de l'homme, est contraire à la Charte des Nations Unies et compromet la cause de la paix et de la coopération mondiale. Un autre principe, qui fait suite au précédent et le consacre en quelque sorte, est que tous les peuples ont le droit de libre détermination; en vertu de ce droit, ils déterminent librement leur statut politique et poursuivent librement leur développement économique, social et culturel.

60. Ces deux principes fondamentaux de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux doivent constituer une partie intégrante de l'éthique internationale; ils doivent être enseignés à toutes les générations — présentes et futures — dans le monde entier, de même qu'ils doivent être commentés dans leur contexte historique dans le cadre du rôle des Nations Unies et des horizons nouveaux qu'ils font entrevoir pour la paix du monde et pour l'amitié et la coopération entre tous les peuples de la terre.

61. D'autre part, la délégation libyenne suggère qu'une procédure — extraordinaire s'il le faut — soit entamée pour que ces deux principes trouvent leur place légitime et nécessaire parmi les résolutions solennelles exprimées par les peuples des Nations Unies et les buts et principes énoncés au Préambule et au Chapitre premier de la Charte des Nations Unies.

Nous pensons que de cette manière ils seront rehaussés au rang des obligations solennelles contractées par les peuples dans l'édification du monde nouveau des Nations Unies.

62. Dans le cadre du présent débat sur la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, tout instrument relatif à la conclusion de nos présentes délibérations, devra rappeler — en les soulignant avec un accent particulier — ces deux principes fondamentaux, qui constituent en quelque sorte la pierre angulaire de tout l'édifice de la charte universelle de l'indépendance des peuples.

63. Dans cette charte, nous avons proclamé solennellement qu'il sera mis fin à toute action armée et à toutes mesures de répression, quelles qu'elles soient, dirigées contre les peuples dépendants, pour permettre à ces peuples d'exercer pacifiquement et librement leur droit à l'indépendance complète de telle sorte que l'intégrité de leur territoire national soit respectée.

64. Mais, malheureusement, nous avons le profond regret de faire l'amère constatation que, au mépris flagrant de cette claire disposition, des guerres coloniales atroces, avec le cortège honteux de répressions et d'exactions inhumaines dont elles s'accompagnent, font toujours rage en Algérie, en Angola et ailleurs, plus impitoyables et plus meurtrières que jamais, privant les peuples de ces pays d'exercer leurs droits naturels à réaliser, dans la paix et la liberté, leur indépendance complète et l'intégrité de leur territoire.

65. En application de cette disposition claire — et combien juste et humaine —, les Nations Unies se doivent de prendre les mesures les plus énergiques en vue de mettre fin rapidement à ces guerres et à ces mesures de répression qui caractérisent le colonialisme et l'oppression dans leurs manifestations les plus barbares. D'autre part, des sanctions sévères devront être prises contre les puissances coloniales qui sont en train de perpétrer ces crimes inhumains. Cela devra se faire sans ménagement et sans distinction d'alliance ou d'idéologie.

66. Il est en effet absolument inadmissible qu'il soit permis que ces puissances coloniales, aveuglées par la passion et par une mentalité qui a fait époque, continuent d'imposer un défi aussi insultant à la conscience universelle. Il est en effet très regrettable qu'au moment où la communauté internationale s'est exprimée, dans une déclaration quasi unanime, pour l'indépendance des peuples et contre toutes les mesures de répression dont ils peuvent être l'objet, il est regrettable, dis-je, que des guerres coloniales soient déclenchées, avec les moyens de destruction les plus modernes et les plus massifs contre les peuples qui ne demandent qu'à jouir pacifiquement de leurs droits naturels à vivre dans la liberté et dans la dignité. C'est là une situation intolérable qui met en jeu l'honneur des Nations Unies, dont le devoir est de mettre rapidement et définitivement fin à ce triste état de choses.

67. Il a été proclamé dans la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux que "le manque de préparation dans les domaines politique, économique ou social ou dans celui de l'enseignement ne doit jamais être pris comme prétexte pour retarder l'indépendance [résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale, par. 3]. Or nous constatons à notre grand regret que ce faux argument sert

toujours de prétexte pour faire durer le martyre de plusieurs peuples soumis à la domination étrangère et à repousser indéfiniment à des échéances lointaines leur accession à l'indépendance, sans pour autant les pourvoir — j'entends d'une façon sérieuse et effective — des moyens adéquats pour remédier à leurs prétendues insuffisances. J'affirme cela avec d'autant plus de conviction que l'on a eu précisément recours à ces mêmes faux arguments pour mettre en doute, au moment où notre problème était discuté dans cette enceinte, notre préparation à assumer les charges de l'indépendance. Et pour l'information et le profit des délégations ici présentes j'affirme que rien n'a été plus faux. Les progrès que nous avons faits dans tous les domaines, la gestion de nos affaires, l'instruction, le développement économique et social sont allés à pas de géant, si j'ose m'exprimer ainsi, en comparaison avec notre situation à l'apogée de l'occupation étrangère. Pour ne citer qu'un exemple, dans le domaine de l'éducation, alors que seulement 5 000 garçons et filles fréquentaient l'école en 1942, nous en avons maintenant plus de 200 000. L'instruction est gratuite et obligatoire à l'échelon élémentaire, est gratuite à l'échelon secondaire et à l'université.

68. Nous sommes d'autre part particulièrement préoccupés de ce que, contrairement aux recommandations de la Déclaration concernant la sauvegarde de l'unité nationale et de l'intégrité territoriale des pays intéressés, des actes visant à détruire partiellement ou totalement cette unité et cette intégrité sont toujours commis dans le processus de décolonisation, à des fins douteuses et par le truchement de moyens spéciaux. C'est dans cet esprit que nous nous opposerons à toute tentative d'opérer un partage en Algérie. Nous estimons que dans le cadre de leurs responsabilités pour l'application honnête de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, les Nations Unies doivent prêter l'attention qui convient à cet aspect de la question.

69. Dans cet ordre d'idées, qu'il me soit permis de dire que, dans l'examen du projet de résolution relatif à la question de l'Irian occidental [A/L.354] présenté par la délégation des Pays-Bas, nous devons nous comporter avec la circonspection que recommandent les circonstances et l'historique de cette affaire sur laquelle l'attention des Nations Unies a été attirée à plusieurs reprises, dans le cadre du contentieux entre l'Indonésie et les Pays-Bas. Nous espérons que les Nations Unies, au lieu d'exacerber ce conflit entre deux pays que nous comptons tous les deux parmi les nations amies, par une décision hâtive et peut-être prise sous le coup de l'émotion, useront de leur sagesse en recommandant aux deux parties en cause de régler pacifiquement ce différend en tenant compte de l'unité et de l'intégrité des pays et de l'option naturelle des populations intéressées. Nous pensons que l'adoption du projet de résolution présenté par l'Inde [A/L.367] servirait bien mieux tous les intérêts en cause et principalement l'intérêt de la paix.

70. J'en viens maintenant à la règle d'action précise posée par la Déclaration contenue dans la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale pour permettre de réaliser dans les meilleures conditions l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. Cette règle a été énoncée au paragraphe 5 de ladite déclaration dans les termes suivants:

"Des mesures immédiates seront prises, dans les territoires sous tutelle, les territoires non auto-

nomes et tous autres territoires qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance pour transférer tous pouvoirs aux peuples de ces territoires, sans aucune condition ni réserve, conformément à leur volonté et à leurs vœux librement exprimés, sans aucune distinction de race, de croyance ou de couleur, afin de leur permettre de jouir d'une indépendance et d'une liberté complètes."

71. Nous demeurons fermement convaincus que tout délai et tout atermoiement dans la mise en œuvre de cette disposition opérative fondamentale de la Déclaration ne peuvent être que des sources permanentes de conflits, de heurts et de frictions et qu'ils compromettront de la manière la plus sérieuse l'entente internationale, comme le prouvent dans plusieurs régions du monde les situations de plus en plus dangereuses qui constituent des menaces à la paix et à la sécurité internationales. Aussi sera-t-il important de lancer aux Etats intéressés un appel urgent pour qu'ils agissent sans retard ni délai en vue d'assurer, dans les meilleures conditions, pour toutes les parties en cause, le transfert des pouvoirs aux peuples de tous les territoires non encore indépendants, compte tenu des recommandations énoncées dans le paragraphe 5 de la Déclaration, que je viens de citer. Pour permettre à ce processus de transfert des pouvoirs de s'opérer avec célérité et loyauté, les Nations Unies se doivent de créer un organe restreint où les puissances administrantes seront dûment représentées, aux fins d'examiner dans quelle mesure les dispositions de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux ont été appliquées dans tous les territoires soumis encore à l'administration étrangère, de faire rapport à l'Assemblée générale sur les progrès accomplis dans la mise en exécution de la Déclaration et d'inclure dans ce rapport les suggestions et recommandations relatives à ces territoires, y compris, s'il le faut, les délais nécessaires à l'achèvement de l'indépendance.

72. C'est dans cet esprit, et compte tenu des considérations exposées au cours de cette intervention, que nous avons parrainé, avec un certain nombre d'autres délégations, le projet de résolution A/L.366. Nous espérons que l'Assemblée générale lui donnera le large appui qu'il mérite.

73. En conclusion, la délégation libyenne est convaincue que la plus sincère coopération entre les Nations Unies en vue de l'application loyale et intégrale de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux est un élément fondamental pour l'instauration d'un monde meilleur où les nations grandes et petites travailleront dans l'égalité souveraine en vue du triomphe des idéaux de la paix, de la coopération et de la prospérité de cette planète, à jamais débarrassée de la servitude, de la domination et de l'exploitation des peuples par les peuples et de l'homme par l'homme.

74. M. KISSELEV (République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie) [traduit du russe]: Au seuil de l'année 1961, la quinzième session de l'Assemblée générale des Nations Unies a adopté, sur l'initiative du chef du Gouvernement de l'Union soviétique, N. S. Khrouchtchev, la Déclaration historique sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux [résolution 1514 (XV)]. Dans les annales de l'histoire seront inscrits en lettres d'or les termes de cette déclaration qui proclamait solennellement: "la nécessité de mettre rapidement et inconditionnellement fin

au colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations".

75. Les peuples de tous les pays ont appuyé chaleureusement la Déclaration selon laquelle des mesures immédiates seront prises pour transférer tous pouvoirs aux peuples coloniaux et mettre fin à toute terreur et à toute guerre coloniale.

76. Cette déclaration est un manifeste des Nations Unies sur la liquidation définitive du colonialisme, le plus honteux phénomène de notre époque. Le programme du parti communiste de l'Union Soviétique l'a déjà déclaré on ne peut plus clairement: "Le flot puissant des révolutions de libération nationale balaie le système colonial et ruine les bases de l'impérialisme. De jeunes Etats souverains se sont créés et se créent là où se trouvaient d'anciennes colonies et des possessions semi-coloniales. Leurs peuples sont entrés dans une nouvelle période de développement, ils se sont haussés au rang de créateurs d'une vie nouvelle, de collaborateurs actifs à la politique internationale, de force révolutionnaire pour la destruction de l'impérialisme."

77. Alors qu'avant la seconde guerre mondiale, on ne comptait que 63 Etats indépendants, maintenant, et rien qu'à l'Organisation des Nations Unies, on compte 103 Etats Membres. Chaque année, le nombre des Etats souverains ira s'augmentant. Au cours de la période d'après-guerre, 42 pays se sont constitués sur les débris des empires coloniaux, ce qui représente plus de 1 milliard 600 millions d'individus libérés de l'esclavage colonial; et ce processus se poursuit, étant donné que des millions d'êtres humains se trouvent encore sous le joug du colonialisme.

78. Dans la déclaration qu'il a prononcée le 7 novembre dernier, le représentant de l'Union soviétique a déjà dit que 35 territoires avec une population de 34 millions d'habitants demeurent encore des colonies anglaises; 11 territoires, comprenant une population de 12 millions d'habitants sont des colonies françaises; 8 territoires, avec une population de 13 millions d'habitants sont des colonies portugaises, et, en Amérique, on compte 17 colonies avec une population de 7 millions d'habitants. Ces chiffres font voir que la liquidation du régime colonial n'est pas encore achevée. Les colonisateurs s'efforcent par tous les moyens possibles de faire tourner en arrière la roue de l'histoire et ne reculent devant aucun procédé, devant aucune méthode pour maintenir leur domination.

79. Les puissances coloniales ont répondu à la Déclaration des Nations Unies par des actes sanglants au Congo, en Oman, en Algérie et dans d'autres régions du monde où des peuples assujettis s'efforcent avec ténacité d'obtenir la réalisation des exigences formulées dans cette déclaration. Au cours de l'année écoulée depuis l'adoption de la Déclaration, un seul pays a obtenu son indépendance, tandis que dans 88 territoires, des millions d'êtres humains réclament leur liberté et leur indépendance.

80. Le Premier Ministre de l'Inde, M. Nehru, parlant ici même le 3 octobre 1960, déclarait avec raison: "Le colonialisme tient encore fermement des bastions dans certaines parties du monde, et le racisme et la domination raciale existent encore, surtout en Afrique." [882ème séance, par. 109.]

81. Nous sommes entièrement d'accord avec cette affirmation. L'Union soviétique a posé, à ce propos, la question de savoir comment la Déclaration a été

appliquée, quels sont les obstacles et difficultés que doivent surmonter les peuples coloniaux, auxquels, comme on peut en juger d'après les événements de l'année écoulée, les puissances coloniales ne sont nullement disposées à octroyer l'indépendance.

82. Les représentants des puissances coloniales qui ont pris la parole au cours de ce débat, notamment ceux des Pays-Bas et du Royaume-Uni, ont parlé longuement de leur compréhension à l'égard des aspirations des peuples à l'indépendance, de leur sympathie devant leurs efforts en vue d'assurer cette indépendance et de la contribution soi-disant importante qu'ils auraient apportée au développement de la civilisation chez les peuples coloniaux. Il a été dit à ce sujet beaucoup d'autres belles phrases.

83. Dans son intervention du 16 novembre dernier [1056ème séance] le Ministre des affaires étrangères du Royaume-Uni, M. Godber, pour justifier et défendre le colonialisme anglais, a déclaré ici que le but principal de la politique coloniale de la Grande-Bretagne était de conduire les territoires dépendants vers la liberté et l'indépendance, d'aider les peuples encore dépendants à créer plus vite des Etats libres dans lesquels toutes les populations, sans distinction de race, de tribu et de religion pourraient vivre et travailler dans la concorde. Cette déclaration est pure hypocrisie et vise à tromper l'opinion publique mondiale. Un grand nombre de représentants des pays d'Asie et d'Afrique ont eux-mêmes participé à la lutte contre les colonisateurs anglais et ont maintes fois connu la prison. Le représentant du Royaume-Uni a sciemment passé sous silence que l'indépendance acquise par les peuples d'anciennes colonies britanniques, Inde, Birmanie, Ghana, etc. n'est nullement le fruit de la noble politique du Royaume-Uni, mais bien le fruit de la lutte de ces peuples. Cette lutte a revêtu diverses formes: soulèvements armés, résistance passive, guérilla de partisans contre les colonisateurs, etc.

84. Prenons l'exemple du Kenya. Selon les données fournies par le Royaume-Uni lui-même, ce pays, placé sous la domination britannique, compte 6 millions d'Africains et 63 000 Anglais. Depuis neuf ans déjà, le Kenya mène une lutte héroïque pour sa libération. Le soulèvement du peuple du Kenya, déclenché en 1952, sous la conduite du remarquable chef du mouvement de libération nationale, Jomo Kenyatta, a été féroce-ment réprimé par les colonisateurs, après une guerre de quatre ans qui coûta au peuple 10 000 tués et 150 000 personnes jetées en prison. Mais la lutte du Kenya continue et les colonisateurs britanniques y répondent par de nouvelles arrestations et mesures répressives.

85. Depuis des années, les habitants du Nyassaland, de la Rhodésie du Nord et de la Rhodésie du Sud, unis artificiellement dans la soi-disant Fédération de la Rhodésie et du Nyassaland, luttent pour leur indépendance. Au printemps 1959, sur le territoire de cette fédération, selon les informations d'un journal américain, éclatait un soulèvement populaire contre les colonisateurs, particulièrement au Nyassaland. Des troupes, des tanks, des avions à réaction furent lancés contre des Africains presque désarmés. A la suite de cette lutte inégale, des dizaines d'Africains furent tués, des centaines blessés et des milliers jetés en prison. Mais la lutte du peuple ne s'est pas arrêtée. Des démonstrations anticoloniales importantes ont eu lieu en 1960 en Rhodésie du Nord. Actuellement elles ne ces-

sont toujours pas. Au cours de ces événements, les Anglais ont tué plus de 100 Africains.

86. La lutte pour l'indépendance nationale continue et s'accroît dans d'autres colonies britanniques: en Oman, l'écho du tonnerre des canons se faisant entendre dans tout ce pays martyr; en Ouganda, au Tanganyika, en Gambie, au Zanzibar, en Guinée britannique.

87. Le représentant du Royaume-Uni, M. Godber, a calomnié ici l'Union soviétique en répandant le mythe d'un prétendu "colonialisme soviétique". Apparemment, ces hommes d'Etat ont une telle habitude de penser en restant cantonnés dans les idées de domination et soumission, de persécution du faible par le fort, qu'ils ne peuvent imaginer entre Etats de relations fondées sur l'égalité, l'amitié et l'assistance mutuelle telles qu'elles se manifestent entre Etats socialistes.

88. Je crois qu'un grand nombre de représentants ici présents conviendront avec moi que le colonialisme est synonyme de conquête militaire de colonies, d'exploitation on ne peut plus cruelle de leurs habitants, de transformation de ces colonies en sources de matières premières et agricoles au bénéfice des métropoles, de monoculture, de développement unilatéral et anormal des territoires colonisés, de sous-développement, de pauvreté, d'analphabétisme, de la plus basse espérance de vie dans le monde, etc. Voilà ce qu'est le colonialisme.

89. Dans tous les pays socialistes, l'économie se développe avec succès, la culture nationale s'épanouit, le bien-être des populations s'accroît continuellement. Tout le monde sait ce qu'était la situation de la Russie tsariste avant la Révolution d'octobre et ce qu'elle est aujourd'hui devenue: les républiques florissantes de l'Union soviétique, où le niveau industriel et agricole est élevé, l'instruction est obligatoire, les cadres nationaux sont abondants, les cultures nationales en plein épanouissement.

90. Tous les gens de bonne foi qui viennent dans ces républiques peuvent aisément s'en convaincre. Les peuples de ces républiques ont obtenu des succès remarquables, grâce à leur travail plein d'abnégation et à l'assistance fraternelle du peuple russe et des autres peuples de l'Union soviétique. La RSS de Biélorussie, que je représente ici, peut servir d'exemple. Contrairement au capitalisme et au colonialisme qui divisent les peuples, fractionnent les nations, pratiquent l'apartheid et la discrimination raciale, le socialisme rapproche les peuples et élève ceux qui sont en retard au niveau des plus avancés.

91. La Russie tsariste comprenait plus de 100 peuples et nationalités différents, divisés par des barrières capitalistes et féodales. Et c'est précisément sur la base du pouvoir soviétique et de l'union librement consentie que cette masse de gens, issus de peuplades diverses et parlant des langues différentes, est allée fraternellement de l'avant, au coude à coude sur la voie de l'épanouissement et du progrès dans tous les domaines.

92. Permettez-moi de donner les renseignements suivants. De nos jours, la proportion des élèves sur 10 000 personnes, en RSS de Biélorussie, dépasse celle de pays tels que l'Angleterre, la France et l'Italie. En 1960, la production industrielle était 34 fois plus forte qu'en 1913. A l'heure actuelle, en RSS de Biélorussie, comme partout ailleurs en Union soviétique, se développent dans des proportions gigan-

tesques la construction de logements, l'électrification, etc. Les produits industriels de la Biélorussie sont exportés dans plus de 50 pays.

93. Le peuple biélorussien tire une fierté légitime du succès obtenu grâce au socialisme; il est également fier des perspectives encore plus grandioses de son développement économique. Au cours d'une génération, cette région aux confins de la Russie tsariste, attardée et faiblement développée, a pu se transformer en un Etat à l'industrie considérablement développée et qui non seulement a pu mettre fin à l'analphabétisme et à la pauvreté des masses, mais s'élève au niveau des nations les plus avancées du monde; et pourtant, cette génération a vu, de la part de l'impérialisme international, deux tentatives cruelles et perfides de détruire et d'anéantir l'Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques.

94. Les habitants des pays socialistes ont librement choisi la voie du socialisme et du communisme et rien ne saurait les en faire dévier.

95. Ce n'est pas de gaieté de cœur que ce mythe du "colonialisme soviétique" a été inventé par messieurs les colonisateurs et impérialistes; cela signifie qu'ils n'ont pas et ne peuvent pas avoir d'arguments pour défendre leur système colonialiste pourri et qu'ils ne leur reste rien d'autre que de proférer des niaiseries incommensurables du genre de celles de feu le Ministre de la défense des Etats-Unis, M. Forrestal, qui se jeta par la fenêtre rien que parce qu'il lui avait semblé déjà voir arriver les tanks soviétiques à Washington.

96. Les habitants des pays socialistes édifient un meilleur avenir et personne ne les en empêchera.

97. Les représentants de l'Arabie Saoudite, de Ceylan, de la Pologne, de l'Indonésie, de la Roumanie et d'autres pays qui ont pris la parole avant moi ont cité des exemples de la méconnaissance que les puissances coloniales manifestent à l'égard des dispositions de la Déclaration de l'Organisation des Nations Unies en date du 14 décembre 1960.

98. Je voudrais également vous citer quelques exemples. Actuellement, les colonisateurs s'efforcent à tout prix de maintenir leur domination dans les pays asservis par eux, en employant à cet effet les méthodes les plus diverses. Les puissances coloniales maintiennent un système d'assujettissement économique des pays sous-développés en tablant sur la pénétration dans ces pays des monopoles capitalistes sous une forme ou une autre et, tout en y maintenant l'économie dans un état de stagnation et de marasme, se voient contraintes dans bien des cas, à faire des concessions.

99. Elles déclarent octroyer à leurs colonies l'indépendance politique mais, à côté de cela, elles conservent toutes les positions clefs en matière d'économie, de finances et de forces armées. Le résultat en est que l'indépendance devient fictive, elle n'existe que sur le papier. En réalité, l'exploitation coloniale des peuples continue non par voie de conquêtes militaires, mais au moyen d'un asservissement économique et politique.

100. Les impérialistes imposent aux pays coloniaux des traités et accords léonins; ils accaparent les sources de matières premières, installent des bases militaires, remplacent l'exploitation coloniale individuelle par l'exploitation collective et, souvent, utilisent à ces fins l'Organisation des Nations Unies et ses multiples organes.

101. Pour mettre en œuvre les idées du néo-colonialisme, les Etats-Unis ont créé ce qu'on appelle le Peace Corps. La prétendue "assistance" accordée par les pays de l'Ouest poursuit des buts intéressés, c'est-à-dire la recherche de profits. Ce n'est pas par hasard que la plus grande partie de la prétendue assistance américaine est dirigée sur les pays alliés des Etats-Unis, dans les blocs militaires d'agression.

102. Les puissances coloniales se réservent des profits considérables tirés par les monopoles du Royaume-Uni, de la France, des Etats-Unis d'Amérique, de la Belgique, du Portugal et d'autres pays, de l'exploitation des richesses naturelles et de la main-d'œuvre à bon marché de leurs possessions coloniales. Ces Etats sont étroitement liés entre eux par des blocs militaires tels que l'OTAN, l'OTASE, la CENTO, etc.

103. Ils s'appuient pour agir sur des bases militaires créées par eux. Je vais les énumérer: Bizerte (Tunisie), Tahala (Kenya), Mukula (Aden) ainsi que sur les bases de Mauritanie, de Nigéria, du Tchad et autres point d'appui militaires. Les colonisateurs ne veulent pas quitter ces bases, car ils ne veulent pas céder volontairement leurs positions et abandonner les profits fabuleux tirés de leurs colonies. Les avions militaires qui s'envolent de ces bases pour attaquer les populations pacifiques de l'Angola, de l'Algérie, du Congo, de l'Oman et d'Aden sont les avions de l'OTAN et leurs bombes portent l'estampille "OTAN".

104. L'Organisation des Nations Unies ne peut pas détourner son attention du rôle toujours croissant de la République fédérale d'Allemagne dans la politique des puissances coloniales. Après la fin sans gloire du troisième Reich hitlérien, les monopolisateurs allemands, tout d'abord, se calmèrent et tinrent leur langue au chaud. Cependant, à mesure qu'avec l'aide des Etats-Unis d'Amérique se reconstituait le potentiel économique de l'Allemagne occidentale, s'accrut aussi l'appétit des militaristes et revanchards de Bonn.

105. Les regards avides des néo-colonisateurs de l'Allemagne occidentale se tournèrent à nouveau vers l'Afrique et vers d'autres régions du monde. Certes, les méthodes de pillage colonial ont changé, mais les buts restent les mêmes. Les monopoles d'Allemagne occidentale se jettent sur les richesses naturelles de l'Afrique. Celle-ci, avec sa population de plus de 200 millions d'habitants, ses ressources minérales qui ne sont pas encore entièrement découvertes et reposent toujours dans les entrailles de la terre, ses richesses considérables en matières premières et en denrées alimentaires sont l'objectif de l'avidité des impérialistes de l'Allemagne occidentale.

106. Déjà en 1954, l'Allemagne occidentale a importé des pays africains 59 p. 100 du minerai de nickel, 40 p. 100 du minerai de manganèse, 36 p. 100 du minerai de cuivre, 33 p. 100 du minerai de chrome, 28 p. 100 du minerai de plomb et 63,9 p. 100 des phosphates.

107. A mesure que grandissent en Allemagne de l'Ouest les industries de guerre et que se constituent des armées d'agression, les besoins de ce pays en matières stratégiques augmentent sans cesse. Aussi le continent africain prend-il une importance toujours grandissante pour l'Allemagne de l'Ouest. A côté de l'infiltration du commerce extérieur et de l'exportation des capitaux, le gouvernement d'Adenauer tend à utiliser, à des fins expansionnistes, le système de

l'assistance économique et technique aux pays sous-développés. Mais cette prétendue "assistance" de la République fédérale d'Allemagne ne se distingue en rien de celle des Etats-Unis d'Amérique, du Royaume-Uni et de la France, étant donné qu'elle est accordée à relativement court terme et au taux élevé de 6,8 p. 100 par an; cette assistance non seulement ne favorise pas, mais elle entrave l'industrialisation des pays sous-développés, car ces pays exportent d'énormes ressources qui sont indispensables au développement de leur industrie nationale.

108. Il convient cependant de remarquer que la politique néo-colonialiste de la République fédérale d'Allemagne revêt un aspect quelque peu différent de celui des Etats-Unis d'Amérique et d'autres pays.

109. Etant donné que l'Allemagne occidentale n'a pas maintenant de colonies en propre, les néo-colonialistes de Bonn ont décidé d'utiliser à leurs fins égoïstes le slogan artificiel d'anticolonialisme de l'Allemagne occidentale. Ce vaste battage d'anticolonialisme est utilisé par les impérialistes de l'Allemagne occidentale afin de tromper les peuples des pays sous-développés, et, sous l'apparence de négociations sur pied d'égalité, tend à s'infiltrer dans la vie économique de ces pays, préluant ainsi à une pénétration progressive non seulement économique mais politique.

110. En 1956, Schacht, industriel bien connu d'Allemagne occidentale, écrivait dans le journal *Deutsche Aussenpolitik* (No. 3) — je cite:

"L'empire colonial allemand doit être rétabli sous une forme nouvelle et, pour cela, l'expansion économique sera complétée par l'infiltration culturelle et politique."

111. Voilà pourquoi le gouvernement d'Adenauer fait hypocritement des avances aux gouvernements des nouveaux Etats africains. L'énergie dépensée pour attirer l'Afrique dans les plans stratégiques de l'OTAN se reflète dans la théorie dite de l'Eurafrrique, laquelle prévoit l'intégration de l'Afrique dans le système des Etats de l'Europe occidentale, où dominent les militaristes de l'Allemagne occidentale et leurs monopoles. Ainsi, les militaristes de l'Allemagne occidentale poursuivent, eux aussi, des objectifs coloniaux manifestes: à l'aide des méthodes du néo-colonialisme, maintenir les pays d'Afrique dans le rôle de fournisseurs de matières premières pour l'Allemagne occidentale.

112. Le néo-colonialisme de l'Allemagne occidentale représente un danger pour les peuples africains étant donné que les militaristes allemands se prétendent anticolonialistes. Cette perfide manœuvre est une séquelle directe de l'idéologie impérialiste et hitlérienne.

113. Aujourd'hui, le gouvernement d'Adenauer tend à consolider ses positions dans toutes les colonies et pays sous-développés. A ce propos, la déclaration parue dans le journal bourgeois ouest-allemand *Die Welt*, du 7 février 1960, est caractéristique. Je cite:

"De tous les pays occidentaux, la République fédérale d'Allemagne occupe la position la plus avantageuse en Afrique. L'Angleterre s'est compromise dans la crise de Suez, la France en Algérie, les Américains, dans leurs activités, subissent des échecs. L'Allemagne, elle, n'a pas de colonies. C'est en même temps une bonne occasion pour nous, un problème que nous avons à résoudre."

114. Par ces procédés démagogiques les néo-colonialistes de Bonn espèrent tromper les peuples africains. Chacun sait que la République fédérale d'Allemagne apporte une assistance militaire et économique aux colonialistes français dans leur lutte contre le peuple algérien. L'Allemagne occidentale envoie en Algérie, non seulement de l'argent — nous avons déjà parlé de cela —, mais du matériel militaire: des armes et des munitions. Dans la Légion étrangère on recrute comme fantassins mercenaires (lansquenets) d'anciens SS et des criminels. Le correspondant ouest-allemand Entelman, dans le journal *Welt der Arbeit*, du 17 octobre 1958, édité en Allemagne occidentale, écrivait (je cite):

"Il y a, en fait, en Algérie 35 000 à 40 000 soldats d'origine allemande. On en rencontre à chaque pas. La moitié d'entre eux sont d'anciens lansquenets parmi lesquels de nombreux SS qui appartiennent aux troupes de choc et que l'on recrute partout où doit s'engager une action particulièrement sanglante et cruelle."

115. On peut citer de nombreux exemples de l'attitude hostile du Gouvernement de Bonn à l'égard des peuples d'Afrique. Il suffit de rappeler que le Gouvernement de Bonn a approuvé et appuyé l'agression anglo-franco-israélienne contre l'Egypte en 1956. En 1958, les aérodromes de l'Allemagne occidentale ont été transformés en lieux de transbordement pour le transfert de troupes américaines au Liban et en Jordanie. Les monopoles allemands sont complices du crime perpétré contre le Congo. Le héros de l'Afrique, feu le Premier Ministre du Congo, Patrice Lumumba, au cours d'une conférence de presse faite à Léopoldville, le 8 septembre 1960, parlait de l'existence d'un accord secret entre Bonn et Bruxelles concernant la participation de capitaux de l'Allemagne occidentale dans l'exploitation des richesses naturelles du Katanga.

116. Quelques semaines après, le Ministre de la guerre du Katanga, M. Yav, se rendait en Allemagne occidentale et y avait des conversations secrètes avec le gouvernement d'Adenauer. Par la suite, dans la République fédérale d'Allemagne, le recrutement de volontaires pour le Katanga se trouvait sanctionné.

117. La République fédérale d'Allemagne tente de pénétrer aussi dans les pays qui, récemment encore, se trouvaient dans la zone d'influence de l'Angleterre, de la France et d'autres puissances occidentales. On doit dire qu'elle n'a pas mal réussi dans cette tentative. Le représentant permanent des Etats-Unis à l'ONU, M. Stevenson, l'a reconnu lui-même lorsqu'il déclarait, après un voyage effectué en Afrique, en été 1957 (je cite):

"J'ai rencontré partout des spécialistes travaillant pour le compte de très importantes entreprises de l'Allemagne occidentale."

118. Voilà le véritable visage des néo-colonisateurs allemands. Mais que les néo-colonisateurs fassent les agneaux ne réussira pas à tromper les peuples africains et à leur dissimuler la nature colonisatrice de la politique de la République fédérale d'Allemagne.

119. Après la création, en août 1961, du Gouvernement central de la République du Congo avec, à sa tête, M. Adoula, il semblait que tout était prêt pour la liquidation définitive de la crise qui secouait le Congo depuis plus d'un an. Mais les événements qui se sont déroulés tout récemment au Katanga ont démontré que les colonisateurs n'ont nullement l'intention

d'abandonner de plein gré leurs positions. Depuis bien longtemps, le Commandement des Nations Unies se démène avec Tshombé, au Katanga, mais, jusqu'à ce jour, sans résultat. Et pourtant, la résolution du Conseil de sécurité du 21 février 1961¹/accorde à la Force des Nations Unies le droit légitime de lutter pour assurer l'intégrité territoriale et l'indépendance du Congo. Malgré cela, aucune mesure décisive n'a été prise par les forces armées et, de ce fait, la Force des Nations Unies n'a même pas pu s'acquitter des petites tâches qui, à ce stade, lui incombaient.

120. On le sait, le 20 septembre 1961, dans la ville de Ndola, des représentants de l'ONU ont signé avec Tshombé, sans la sanction (je souligne, sans la sanction) du Conseil de sécurité, un accord d'armistice et d'échange de prisonniers. Ainsi, l'Organisation des Nations Unies, sous la pression des colonisateurs, s'est trouvée dans l'impossibilité de mettre fin à la sécession du Katanga. On peut naturellement se demander qui donc est protégé par l'appareil des Nations Unies au Congo, quels intérêts et quelles aspirations il défend. Les activités de l'Organisation des Nations Unies favorisent, en pratique, les intérêts des monopoles et des sociétés des Etats-Unis, du Royaume-Uni, de France, de République fédérale d'Allemagne, de Belgique, qui ne veulent pas abandonner volontairement leurs positions au Congo. Ce n'est pas fortuitement que le roi des Belges, Léopold II, avait dit du Congo que c'était un "splendide gâteau africain". En effet, le Congo est une des régions les plus riches d'Afrique. Au sud, en particulier au Katanga, se trouvent les plus grands gisements de cuivre du monde. Le Congo fournit 73 p. 100 de la production mondiale de cobalt, 80 p. 100 de la production mondiale des diamants industriels et il approvisionne les pays occidentaux en uranium. On y extrait encore le zinc, le radium, le germanium, le cadmium et autres métaux et minéraux précieux. Le Katanga fournissait, par le passé, 45 p. 100 du revenu national et 60 p. 100 des recettes d'exportation de l'ensemble du pays.

121. Outre les sociétés belges, des sociétés anglaises, françaises, allemandes occidentales, nord-américaines y ont leurs intérêts. Les capitaux étrangers investis et l'intérêt que portent des monopoles étrangers au Katanga atteignent de telles proportions que les sociétés étrangères ne veulent, à aucun prix, abandonner leurs positions; ils craignent que le Gouvernement central du Congo n'établisse son contrôle sur leurs entreprises et leurs bénéfices. C'est pourquoi, après l'échec des opérations de l'ONU au Katanga, les monopoles étrangers ont fait tout ce qui dépendait d'eux pour protéger leur homme de paille Tshombé contre une défaite, en l'aidant militairement, financièrement et politiquement. Ce sont précisément eux, les capitalistes étrangers, qui, dans la tragédie congolaise, sont les principaux coupables.

122. La délégation biélorussienne considère qu'il est grand temps d'abandonner cette politique d'aterrissements et d'inertie; il est temps de mettre fin aux intrigues des ennemis de la liberté et du peuple congolais. Il est clair que plus tôt les Etats occidentaux abandonneront leur politique corrompue au Congo, plus la solution de la crise congolaise, laquelle a trop traîné en longueur, sera facile et rapide.

123. Le Ministre des affaires étrangères des Pays-Bas, M. Luns, parlant dans cette salle le 8 novembre

¹/ Documents officiels du Conseil de sécurité, seizième année, Supplément de janvier, février et mars 1961, document S/4741.

1961 [1048ème séance], a tenté de déformer le sens de la Déclaration des Nations Unies, pour l'utiliser à satisfaire les intérêts des colonialistes hollandais qui s'efforcent d'arracher à l'Indonésie une partie de son territoire. Le représentant des Pays-Bas considère qu'il n'est pas nécessaire de rendre au peuple indonésien son territoire traditionnel, l'Irian occidental.

124. Le projet de résolution des Pays-Bas [A/L.354] dont nous avons été saisis propose que l'Irian occidental soit placé sous la tutelle de l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Ce n'est là qu'une manœuvre tactique des colonisateurs hollandais qui utilisent tous les moyens pour maintenir leur domination coloniale. Le projet de résolution des Pays-Bas n'est qu'un procédé tactique auquel les colonisateurs ont recours, pour porter un coup à l'Indonésie, sous le couvert de l'ONU, et pour étouffer le mouvement de libération nationale en Irian occidental.

125. Cet exemple illustre la manière dont les colonisateurs hollandais utilisent, dans leur propre intérêt, le principe de l'autodétermination, uniquement pour en finir avec le mouvement de libération nationale et diviser un peuple qui lutte pour sa liberté.

126. Mais tous ces efforts des colonisateurs sont vains. Aucun subterfuge ne réussira à tromper le peuple de l'Irian occidental et l'opinion publique mondiale. Ce procédé n'est pas nouveau, il n'est que le prolongement d'une vieille politique colonisatrice: diviser pour régner.

127. La délégation de la RSS de Biélorussie appuie entièrement les thèses principales exprimées ici le 9 novembre 1961 par le Ministre des affaires étrangères de la République d'Indonésie, M. Subandrio, ainsi que ses interventions ultérieures. Le représentant de l'Indonésie nous a fourni des faits très convaincants qui démasquent les stratagèmes des colonisateurs hollandais en Irian occidental. Il a démontré que, pour arriver à une sécession entre l'Irian occidental et l'Indonésie, le Gouvernement néerlandais a recours à la force brutale. De nombreux habitants sont jetés en prison; des milliers d'autres, qui s'opposent à la politique hollandaise, sont expulsés du pays. A l'heure actuelle, 2 000 personnes expulsées d'Irian vivent à Singapour dans des conditions très pénibles et attendent une possibilité quelconque de rentrer en Indonésie.

128. L'Organisation des Nations Unies doit, dans l'intérêt du peuple indonésien, entreprendre de résoudre cette question et aider la réunification de l'Irian occidental avec la République d'Indonésie. Il ne faut pas perdre de temps et attendre que le Gouvernement de la République d'Indonésie, en réponse à l'attaque armée des Pays-Bas, ait recours à la force pour libérer ses frères de l'Irian occidental.

129. Monsieur le Président, permettez-moi de m'arrêter sur le projet de résolution de la Nigéria (A/L.357) qui propose que tous les territoires et peuples coloniaux, dépendants ou non autonomes d'Afrique accèdent à l'indépendance en 1970.

130. Certains orateurs qui ont pris la parole avant moi ont déclaré que la discussion de la question de l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux relevait de la guerre froide. On ne peut être d'accord avec cette assertion. Ceux qui proposent de retarder de 10 ans la solution du problème de la liquidation du colonialisme ne connaissent-ils donc pas les faits? Ne savent-ils pas comment les colonisateurs fran-

çais et portugais "préparent" à l'indépendance les peuples d'Algérie et d'Angola? Ces faits ont été exposés ici par de nombreux orateurs.

131. Le peuple algérien a déjà créé un gouvernement provisoire, et on nous propose ici, à l'Organisation des Nations Unies, un délai de 10 ans. Il est clair que, si l'on accorde un répit de 10 ans aux colonisateurs français, ceux-ci trouveront, pendant ce temps, les moyens de faire justice du mouvement de libération nationale en Algérie. Donner aux colonisateurs portugais un délai de 10 ans, c'est leur donner la possibilité, dans ce laps de temps, d'exterminer et de jeter en prison les meilleurs fils et filles d'Angola, qui luttent pour leur libération; c'est faire traîner encore pendant de longues années la solution de ce problème.

132. Des millions d'êtres humains, victimes du colonialisme, demandent à l'Organisation des Nations Unies d'agir logiquement et d'aider les peuples coloniaux à obtenir leur indépendance dès 1962.

133. Je suis entièrement d'accord avec le représentant de la Nigéria qui, lors de la discussion générale du 10 octobre 1961 [1031ème séance] dans cette salle, disait qu'il y a encore dans le monde beaucoup de gens qui pensent davantage au cobalt, à l'uranium et à d'autres minerais qu'à l'heureux avenir de la population du Congo. Certes, ce n'est là qu'une infime minorité, mais comme c'est elle qui tient dans ses mains des capitaux énormes, la puissance et les richesses, on sait où elle se trouve. Les magnats financiers de Wall Street, les grands monopoles du Royaume-Uni, de France, de Belgique, du Portugal, de Hollande et d'autres pays utilisent tous les moyens à leur disposition pour faire avorter la Déclaration de l'Organisation des Nations Unies sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, ou en retarder le plus longtemps possible l'exécution.

134. De plus, tout le cours de l'histoire démontre que les colonisateurs n'auraient jamais accordé l'indépendance aux peuples asservis par eux, si la lutte pour la libération nationale des peuples coloniaux n'avait atteint l'ampleur et la forme actuelles.

135. C'est pour cette raison, de l'avis de la délégation de la RSS de Biélorussie, que le projet de résolution de la Nigéria est absolument inacceptable. Ma délégation estime que ce projet ne peut pas être adopté et elle invite tous les Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies à aider les peuples coloniaux à obtenir la réalisation de leur indépendance nationale dès 1962.

136. Le temps est venu de mettre la camisole de force aux colonisateurs et d'appliquer des sanctions aux puissances coloniales. D'après le cours de l'histoire, le colonialisme est voué à sa perte et, comme le disait M. Khrouchtchev au vingt-deuxième congrès du parti communiste de l'Union soviétique, on le clouera avec un pieu dans son tombeau. Telle est la volonté des peuples qui luttent toujours et de plus en plus résolument pour leur liberté et leur indépendance.

137. A notre avis, l'Assemblée générale agira justement si, dès maintenant, elle adopte une résolution tendant à l'application de sanctions contre le Portugal qui refuse d'appliquer les décisions de l'Organisation des Nations Unies sur la cessation de la guerre — guerre d'extermination — contre le peuple angolais.

138. La délégation biélorussienne approuve résolument la proposition tendant à l'application de sanctions économiques et politiques contre la République sud-

africaine dont nous exigeons l'expulsion de l'Organisation des Nations Unies.

139. Nous appuyons chaleureusement le projet de résolution de l'Union soviétique [A/L.355] concernant le processus de l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux et qui propose que l'Assemblée générale déclare l'an 1962, l'année de la liquidation définitive du colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations et cela sur toute la surface de notre planète.

140. C'est en l'année 1962 qu'il faut sceller le tombeau du colonialisme. Si cette résolution est adoptée et mise en œuvre, alors, sur notre terre, se lèvera une aube nouvelle, une vie meilleure s'offrira à des dizaines de millions d'êtres humains qui pâtiennent encore sous le joug des colonisateurs. Une liquidation totale et universelle du colonialisme contribuerait considérablement à la cause de la paix et de la sécurité des peuples du monde entier et ce serait une des mesures les plus importantes pour réduire la tension internationale.

141. La liquidation du colonialisme faisant suite à la liquidation de l'oppression de certaines nations par d'autres permettra d'établir des relations amicales et sur pied d'égalité entre les peuples de la terre entière. Mais pour atteindre ce but, l'Organisation des Nations Unies doit apporter sa contribution à la liquidation du système colonial; elle doit faire en sorte que soient mises en œuvre les mesures urgentes pour l'application de sa propre déclaration.

142. Prenant la parole le 23 septembre 1960 [869^{ème} séance, par. 176] ici-même et exprimant la volonté du peuple soviétique, le chef du Gouvernement de l'Union soviétique a dit:

"Fidèle à sa politique de paix et de soutien de la lutte que les peuples asservis mènent pour leur indépendance nationale — politique proclamée par Vladimir Ilyitch Lénine, fondateur de l'Etat soviétique —, l'URSS fait appel à l'Organisation des Nations Unies pour qu'elle défende la juste cause de la libération des colonies et prenne sans tarder des mesures en vue de l'abolition complète du régime colonial."

143. L'application immédiate de la Déclaration des Nations Unies sur la liquidation du colonialisme contribuera à résoudre très rapidement le plus important problème de notre temps — prévenir une guerre thermonucléaire, assurer la paix universelle. C'est la tâche la plus grande, la plus noble de notre temps et l'Organisation des Nations Unies doit faire tout le possible pour assurer son accomplissement.

M. Bitsios (Grèce), vice-président, prend la présidence.

144. M. CHEHLAOUI (Syrie): La résolution 1514 (XV) adoptée par l'Assemblée générale à sa dernière session restera, dans les annales de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, une date mémorable et glorieuse, parce qu'elle consacre l'égalité entre les hommes en octroyant l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. En effet, par cette résolution, l'Assemblée générale a voulu mettre fin à une grande injustice: la domination de l'homme par l'homme. Alors que parfois la supériorité de certains peuples sur d'autres était souvent apparente, peut-être même parfois réelle, dans beaucoup d'autres cas, rien ne pouvait

justifier cette domination, sauf peut-être une ambition politique, stratégique et souvent économique.

145. Ce colonialisme — puisqu'il faut l'appeler par son nom — n'a jamais eu pour objectif des idées humanitaires; il n'a jamais eu pour idéal l'éducation et l'évolution des peuples relativement sous-développés, et il y a très peu de cas dans l'histoire où un pays a tendu la main à un autre pays moins développé uniquement pour le relever. Je n'ai d'ailleurs pas besoin de recourir à l'histoire tout au long des temps pour rappeler les faits et les méfaits du colonialisme. Mon pays, qui lui aussi a souffert de ce fléau pendant longtemps, garde encore le souvenir amer des années terribles de son annexion sous divers noms et sous la domination de diverses puissances. Nous compatissons sincèrement aux maux de ceux qui n'ont pas encore pu secouer le joug des envahisseurs et voudrions voir cette résolution de l'Assemblée générale leur éviter un supplément de malheur et de sacrifices.

146. Je dois peut-être dire, pour être sincère, que de nos jours les choses ne se passent plus complètement de la même façon que par le passé. Elles ne se passent plus complètement de la même façon, du moins pour certains pays coloniaux. Il est incontestable que l'existence d'institutions internationales a réduit considérablement l'indifférence de certains colonisateurs vis-à-vis de l'opinion mondiale. Mais je ne puis malheureusement pas dire que tous les pays colonisateurs ont changé de méthode dans leur conception du colonialisme et l'application de ses règles. Ni ces institutions internationales, au premier rang desquelles vient l'Organisation des Nations Unies, ni l'évolution des temps n'ont désarmé certains chevaliers du lucre et de la destruction.

147. Ils ne veulent pas comprendre, comme d'autres l'ont compris, qu'une ère de liberté s'est ouverte et que le temps de l'esclavage est enfin révolu. Car la libération des peuples asiatiques, et plus tard de ceux du continent africain, n'est pas l'œuvre de sentiments humanitaires, comme semblent vouloir le dire aujourd'hui les grands colonisateurs de l'histoire. C'est une lutte qui s'est engagée entre le présent et le passé, une lutte qui n'est pas simplement idéologique, et nous savons comment et à quel prix certains pays asiatiques ont conquis leur indépendance au début de ce siècle. Je dis bien "conquis", car je ne suis pas de ceux qui disent que cette indépendance a été concédée généreusement par les colonisateurs. Si nous avons assisté, au cours de ces dernières années, à des gestes spectaculaires de la part de certains colonisateurs, octroyant l'indépendance à certaines de leurs colonies, nous ne pouvons perdre de vue que ces gestes ont été soit arrachés par une lutte lente et héroïque, soit déterminés par l'évolution sûre du colonialisme vers une étape de libération inévitable.

148. Je ne voudrais pas m'étendre plus longuement sur cette étape du passé, et je ne puis qu'applaudir à certains résultats. En remerciant ceux qui ont été les promoteurs de la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale, ceux qui s'y sont associés et ceux qui s'y sont conformés, je suis heureux, avec l'ensemble de notre organisation, de voir aujourd'hui de nouveaux pays nous rejoindre ici. Le Sierra Leone est le premier de ces Etats à faire partie de l'Organisation depuis l'adoption par l'Assemblée générale de cette belle et historique résolution 1514 (XV). Nous verrons bientôt le Tanganyika, le Samoa-Occidental et bien d'autres encore nous rejoindre.

149. Les pays sous le régime de tutelle n'auront aucune difficulté à s'émanciper bientôt, grâce certainement aux pays qui les administrent et à la surveillance bienveillante des organismes des Nations Unies. Certes, certaines difficultés demeurent toujours en ce qui les concerne, mais ces difficultés ne sont pas insurmontables.

150. L'autre jour, le représentant de Ceylan, M. Malalasekera, nous a fait un magistral exposé en ce qui les concerne [1048ème séance]. Je suis sûr que ses remarques et ses conseils retiendront toute l'attention qu'ils méritent.

151. Mais il y a, malheureusement, des situations qui ne sont pas encore nettes et claires, et d'autres qui ne semblent pas devoir l'être. En effet, le colonialisme a des dénominations et des aspects divers. Il intervient même dans des pays indépendants. Nous avons vu — et nous voyons encore — ses méfaits au Congo. Dois-je vous parler de la succession des faits qui se sont déroulés depuis l'époque relativement récente où ce pays a accédé à l'indépendance? Qui peut, aujourd'hui, contester que la situation tragique dans laquelle se débat le Congo est l'œuvre de certains pays colonisateurs convoitant ses richesses et essayant par tous les moyens de le diviser et d'isoler une de ses provinces les plus riches pour mieux accaparer ces richesses? Tous ces maux, qui en est responsable, sinon les colonisateurs? Qui soutient les séparatistes et les encourage? Qui donc, en définitive, est responsable de la mort de ceux qui tombent chaque jour en défendant, là-bas, les principes des Nations Unies pour la liberté et l'émancipation des peuples? Evidemment, tout le monde s'en défend; et pourtant, nous connaissons ceux qui ont besoin de toutes les richesses minières de ce pays.

152. Pouvons-nous donc, devons-nous nous montrer moins durs quand nous parlons de colonialisme? Et tous ces peuples d'Afrique, exagèrent-ils donc quand ils se solidarisent avec leurs frères d'Angola sous domination portugaise? Et l'humanité entière ne doit-elle pas se montrer indignée de cette extermination radicale de femmes, de vieillards et d'enfants sans appui et sans défense?

153. Le tableau de ces horreurs n'est pas moins tragique en Afrique du Sud. Les gouvernements de ces deux pays ne trouvent, pour se défendre, que des dénégations gratuites. La ségrégation raciale, avec toutes les horreurs qui l'accompagnent, devient presque une institution officielle et l'on ne cherche plus à s'en justifier. C'est là une insulte non seulement à l'Organisation des Nations Unies, mais à l'humanité tout entière. Si nous nous élevons aujourd'hui avec véhémence contre la situation dans les colonies portugaises et en Afrique du Sud, nous ne pouvons passer sous silence toutes les autres formes du colonialisme, quel que soit le pays qui le pratique. Même quand il n'est pas accompagné d'autant d'horreurs, le colonialisme doit disparaître complètement.

154. Le problème de l'Irian occidental doit être résolu à la satisfaction de l'Indonésie, dont il a été séparé, car il est inconcevable de prétendre qu'une partie détachée d'un Etat puisse librement déterminer son sort; il n'y aurait plus, dans ces conditions, d'unité et d'intégrité territoriales — surtout pour les anciennes colonies, divisées par l'envahisseur et qui n'ont pu se libérer que de façon fragmentaire, pour des raisons qu'il serait superflu d'expliquer en détail. Les Pays-Bas occupent encore une partie du territoire indonésien, et cette partie doit rejoindre

la mère patrie dans son indépendance — indépendance qu'elle a acquise au prix de lourds sacrifices. Ma délégation espère que la liquidation de ce problème ne rencontrera pas de grandes difficultés et que les Pays-Bas feront encore un pas, le pas définitif, pour établir de bons rapports avec l'Indonésie.

155. Bien d'autres pays demeurent encore asservis. Je ne puis malheureusement trouver un autre terme pour qualifier leur situation. Je ne voudrais pas les citer par leur nom, pour ménager certaines susceptibilités, espérant que, bientôt, les pays administrants sauront les diriger sur la voie de la libération, selon le vœu des Nations Unies. Nous voudrions que cette libération soit sincère et totale, que plus rien ne subsiste qui puisse faire penser à l'idée même de l'occupation étrangère. Nous ne voudrions pas que des litiges et des querelles puissent apparaître un jour, résultant de cette ancienne occupation. Le cas de Bizerte est une illustration éloquente des situations confuses et contradictoires qui empêchent l'établissement de liens normaux entre les peuples. Si cette situation anormale a fait des victimes, hélas, la compréhension du Gouvernement tunisien et sa volonté de paix ont évité le pire et nous espérons que la France ne tardera pas à évacuer la base de Bizerte, faisant ainsi droit aux justes revendications du peuple tunisien.

156. Mais il y a là, dans cette partie de l'Afrique, un pays qui souffre et qui lutte: l'Algérie, depuis plus de sept ans, offre sur l'autel de l'indépendance des victimes innombrables et est décidée à continuer sa lutte jusqu'à la dernière goutte de sang du dernier de ses fils. Cette situation a ému le monde entier et c'est en vain que l'on prétendra que la question algérienne est une question d'ordre intérieur français. Il vous appartiendra de juger en définitive si l'Algérie doit ou non devenir indépendante. Bientôt, vous aurez à en décider. Mais je souhaite cependant que nous n'ayons pas l'occasion d'ouvrir ce grand dossier et qu'une issue favorable puisse enfin consacrer cette lutte de huit ans qui met le peuple algérien au premier rang des peuples martyrs. Nous sommes solidaires, nous les Arabes, de tous nos frères qui luttent pour leur libération et ce n'est pas seulement en Algérie que nous sommes de leur côté. En d'autres régions aussi, les Arabes luttent et lutteront éternellement s'il le faut.

157. En bordure de la péninsule Arabique, des régions entières sont encore maintenues sous l'emprise britannique. Le pétrole est leur malheur. Sous des dénominations diverses, ces régions sont souvent gouvernées par des fantoches à la solde de l'étranger et contre la volonté de leur peuple. Des bases militaires sont dispersées tout au long de ces territoires depuis Aden jusqu'aux confins du Yémen et à la côte de l'Oman. Là, des chefs sont emprisonnés et remplacés par d'autres chefs plus obéissants. En vertu de quelle loi un pays étranger a-t-il le droit d'exercer ces pressions et d'établir des bases militaires en maintenant dans ces pays un régime de terreur? Nous verrons bientôt — lorsque cette affaire viendra devant l'Assemblée — quelles explications pourront donner les autorités britanniques pour justifier leurs agissements. C'est là une nouvelle forme du colonialisme, peut-être la plus dangereuse, et qu'il faut à tout prix éliminer.

158. J'aurais voulu terminer là non intervention, mais il est une question que je ne saurais oublier car elle est la manifestation la plus déplorable du colonialisme déguisé, de la domination flagrante et de la

plus grande injustice de tous les temps: c'est l'occupation de la Palestine. Des étrangers venus des quatre coins du monde, de races et de langues différentes, se sont installés en Palestine, chassant ses occupants, s'emparant de leurs biens et détruisant leurs propriétés. Les massacres qui ont accompagné les expulsions sont au-delà de toute description. La Grande-Bretagne est la première responsable de ces crimes. Et pourtant, le monde a affecté d'ignorer toutes ces horreurs et une espèce de légalité a été octroyée à cet assemblage hétéroclite, à qui on n'avait promis cependant qu'un foyer au sein de la Palestine arabe. Depuis lors, dans cette partie du monde, aucune tranquillité n'est plus possible et, depuis plus de 13 ans, les couloirs des Nations Unies retentissent des réclamations de ceux qui ne peuvent oublier leur patrie. Une voix qualifiée, celle de M. le ministre Shukairy, s'est élevée pour relater les diverses phases par lesquelles a passé cette colonisation sioniste; il vous en a retracé les origines et vous a expliqué comment les tractations des chefs sionistes ont abouti à faire de cette terre de paix une terre de haine et de discorde. C'est sur cette terre, pourtant, que le Christ fut crucifié pour amener la paix dans le monde. Mais cette crucifixion se poursuit encore puisque les Arabes de Palestine y trouvent leur calvaire. Eux aussi devront ressusciter un jour, car il est impossible que la plus grande injustice de tous les temps puisse durer éternellement. Un jour, le monde ouvrira enfin les yeux et comprendra.

159. Que ceux qui ne partagent pas complètement mon point de vue sur le colonialisme croient au moins à la sincérité de mes paroles. Je suis sûr que tous ici présents nous travaillons à sa liquidation sous toutes ses formes et n'importe où qu'il se trouve. Je suis sûr aussi que l'on sera sincère dans la définition des principes contenus dans le texte de la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale, que l'on sera sincère dans leur application à tous les peuples du monde qui revendiquent le droit de décider eux-mêmes de leurs institutions politiques et sociales. Je souhaite à tous de voir le jour où cette question du colonialisme sera uniquement du ressort des historiens.

M. Slim (Tunisie) reprend la présidence.

160. M. SOSA RODRIGUEZ (Venezuela) [traduit de l'espagnol]: Le 14 décembre 1960 a été sans aucun doute une date mémorable dans les annales de l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Elle a été en outre mémorable pour des millions d'êtres humains qui, ce jour-là, ont entrevu l'aube de leur indépendance.

161. Il est certain que, bien avant la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, le processus de décolonisation était déjà amorcé sous l'impulsion des idées de liberté et d'égalité qui ont pris forme à la fin de la seconde guerre mondiale. Il est indubitable cependant que la Déclaration a unifié ce processus et l'a étendu à tous les peuples encore placés sous le régime colonial.

162. Le principe est maintenant admis par tous. Il ne s'agit plus que de le mettre en pratique et de veiller à ce qu'il ne reste pas lettre morte, mais qu'il se traduise par l'indépendance de tous les peuples qui ne jouissent pas encore de ce bienfait.

163. Sans aucun doute, le processus de décolonisation doit s'accélérer, mais, en même temps, il doit se dérouler sous une forme telle que l'indépendance signifie progrès et bien-être, non régression et chaos. Ce processus doit donc être appliqué dans l'intérêt

exclusif des peuples encore soumis au colonialisme et non pour les faire simplement changer de maîtres ou les abandonner à une vie précaire, sans moyens d'existence suffisants. En effet, une indépendance politique théorique ne sert de rien si l'on tombe en fait sous la dépendance politique ou économique d'une autre puissance. Une liberté théorique ne sert de rien si les chaînes de l'ignorance et de la barbarie subsistent.

164. Le processus de décolonisation doit être accéléré, mais son rythme ne peut être égal pour tous. Le but est le même, mais la distance à parcourir varie suivant le point de départ. C'est donc pure démagogie que de prétendre que, subitement et sans distinction, tous les peuples encore placés sous le régime colonial peuvent se transformer du jour au lendemain, et tous en même temps, en nations capables de vivre en complète indépendance du point de vue politique et économique.

165. Cela ne signifie pas que le processus de l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux doive être différé; bien au contraire, ce processus doit être déjà engagé et là où il ne l'est pas l'Organisation des Nations Unies doit le déclencher et l'accélérer. Cependant, il est certain que les phases de ce processus ne peuvent être les mêmes pour tous.

166. La vocation à l'indépendance est égale pour tous les peuples, mais la jouissance de cette indépendance doit être préparée soigneusement afin qu'il en découle bien-être et progrès. En conséquence, l'obligation qui incombe aux puissances coloniales ou administrantes ne consiste pas à donner immédiatement une indépendance nominale, mais à amorcer sans tarder le processus tendant à fournir aux pays et aux peuples soumis à leur domination les éléments indispensables à une vie indépendante. C'est là que l'Organisation des Nations Unies est appelée à jouer un rôle prépondérant pour ce qui est tant de l'orientation et de la surveillance de ce processus que de la mise en œuvre de ses différentes phases.

167. Il a déjà été proclamé et reconnu qu'aucun pays ni peuple n'a le droit de maintenir un autre peuple sous le régime colonial. Ce principe ne doit pas se traduire dans la pratique par l'indépendance nominale immédiate de tous les peuples colonisés, ce qui impliquerait qu'ils se transformeraient du jour au lendemain en Etats abandonnés à leur propre sort, mais il doit signifier, au contraire, que les puissances coloniales ou administrantes doivent commencer immédiatement à investir les richesses de ces territoires coloniaux au profit de leurs habitants et à préparer promptement ces peuples colonisés à l'exercice de leur indépendance, afin que celle-ci puisse être accordée le plus rapidement possible dans des conditions qui assurent le bien-être à ces peuples. C'est de cette seule façon que les puissances coloniales pourront payer leur dette envers les peuples colonisés.

168. Bien entendu, ce processus de préparation indispensable ne doit pas servir de prétexte pour retarder ou refuser l'indépendance. Si un tel cas se présentait, les Nations Unies devraient alors intervenir pour assurer la stricte application de la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale. Aux yeux de ma délégation, pour mettre en œuvre correctement ladite résolution, il faut non seulement développer immédiatement l'éducation des populations autochtones

dans tous les domaines, mais aussi appliquer les principes suivants:

a) Adoption de mesures appropriées en vue de la formation technique et politique immédiate du personnel autochtone nécessaire pour prendre en charge l'administration de l'Etat;

b) Transfert progressif des fonctions administratives au personnel autochtone formé à cette fin;

c) Réorganisation progressive de l'économie du pays ou du territoire, de telle sorte que la mise en valeur des ressources naturelles de ce pays ou territoire puisse servir de base à sa stabilité économique;

d) Education politique de la population afin de l'habituer à la vie dans l'indépendance et aux obligations qui incombent à une société moderne, tant dans le domaine intérieur que dans le domaine international.

169. Tel est, d'une façon générale, le processus qui devrait déjà être amorcé conformément aux termes de la résolution 1514 (XV) et qui, précisément, constitue, à propos de l'application de ladite déclaration, l'objectif soumis cette année à l'Assemblée. Nous devons reconnaître que, à quelques méritoires exceptions près, la situation générale qui s'offre à nous quant à l'application sincère des principes inscrits dans la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux laisse beaucoup à désirer.

170. Dans de nombreux cas, nous n'assistons pas précisément à un effort visant à préparer des colonies ou territoires non autonomes ou sous tutelle à l'indépendance, mais, bien au contraire, à la répression, dans le sang, de la juste aspiration des peuples à obtenir une indépendance à laquelle ils ont droit et à laquelle ils se sentent déjà préparés.

171. Nous constatons également qu'il subsiste des obstacles qui, dans de nombreux cas, empêchent ces peuples de jouir de leurs ressources naturelles. De puissants intérêts sont encore à l'œuvre pour que l'exploitation de ces richesses continue de grossir le patrimoine des investisseurs étrangers, ne laissant rien ou presque aux populations autochtones. C'est là le péché capital du colonialisme et c'est ce qu'il faut éliminer si l'on veut vraiment assurer la création de nouveaux Etats indépendants capables de vivre par eux-mêmes et de s'acquitter de leurs engagements envers la société internationale.

172. L'effort des Nations Unies visant à abolir le colonialisme ne doit pas, par conséquent, consister en une déclaration démagogique selon laquelle tous les pays et les peuples coloniaux sont dès aujourd'hui proclamés totalement indépendants ou doivent le devenir dans un délai d'un an, uniquement en vertu d'une résolution des Nations Unies; il faut que, dès à présent, l'Organisation des Nations Unies multiplie ses pressions et son contrôle sur les puissances co-

loniales afin de veiller à ce que le processus de décolonisation sous tous ses aspects soit appliqué sans tromperies ni oppositions et que l'indépendance totale soit accordée dans les plus brefs délais aux pays et aux peuples qui y sont déjà prêts, pour que cette indépendance ne soit pas un vain mot, mais une réalité concrète et positive. Le colonialisme est un fléau qu'il faut éliminer de telle manière que les maux qu'il engendre disparaissent au lieu de s'aggraver. Une indépendance théorique ne sert de rien si le territoire reste en fait dépendant sur le plan économique ou politique. Une indépendance de façade ne sert de rien si l'on ne dispose pas des moyens nécessaires pour la faire devenir réalité. La tâche des Nations Unies consiste donc à coopérer à la création de nouveaux Etats indépendants capables de vivre en tant que tels, et non de participer à l'instauration d'une indépendance artificielle qui laisserait subsister le colonialisme sous un nom différent.

173. Le peuple du Venezuela aspire sincèrement à la disparition définitive de la domination coloniale dans le monde. La Chambre des députés de mon pays a récemment adopté sur cette question, à l'unanimité, la motion dont je vais me permettre de donner lecture:

"La Chambre des députés de la République du Venezuela,

"Convaincue que le colonialisme est un vestige anachronique qui retarde le progrès humain et est la négation absolue du droit des peuples,

"Convaincue également que la disparition du régime colonial est un devoir impératif pour tous les Vénézuéliens fidèles à l'idéal de Bolívar,

"Rappelant qu'en décembre 1960 l'Organisation des Nations Unies a adopté la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, mais que, bien que par la suite de nombreux pays aient accédé à l'indépendance, il existe encore des territoires soumis à une domination coloniale, des peuples soumis à une domination et à une exploitation étrangère, choses expressément condamnées dans ladite déclaration,

"Affirme:

"Que le désir unanime de la Chambre et son aspiration profonde sont de voir cesser définitivement la domination colonialiste et l'oppression de certains peuples par d'autres; et, à cet effet, déclare que tous les pays privés de leur souveraineté ou soumis au statut colonial, en Asie, en Afrique ou en Amérique, doivent acquérir le plein statut de nations souveraines."

174. C'est inspirée par les postulats que je viens d'indiquer que la délégation du Venezuela se prononcera sur les divers projets de résolution qui sont soumis à l'examen de l'Assemblée sur cette question.

La séance est levée à 13 h 35.

Nations Unies ASSEMBLÉE GÉNÉRALE

SEIZIÈME SESSION

Documents officiels


1060^e
SÉANCE PLÉNIÈRE

Mardi 21 novembre 1961,
à 20 h 30

NEW YORK

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POINTS 88 ET 22 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

La situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux (suite)

Assistance à l'Afrique (suite):

a) Programme des Nations Unies pour l'indépendance

1. M. EL-FARRA (Jordanie) [traduit de l'anglais]: Ce qui caractérise la présente session de l'Assemblée — est-il utile de le dire? — c'est le grand nombre des problèmes, des situations difficiles et des sujets d'anxiété. La communauté mondiale aurait peine à retrouver des difficultés aussi graves dans la longue histoire des relations internationales. On ne peut qu'exprimer son désarroi et sa déception, son alarme et son appréhension devant les problèmes en suspens qui sont l'héritage du colonialisme partout où il a existé.

2. Les tensions qui se manifestent entre les deux camps de la guerre froide, leurs alliances respectives et leur rivalité cristallisent dans une certaine mesure d'importants problèmes coloniaux dans diverses régions, y suscitant un grand malaise. Les petits Etats aimeraient voir cesser cette guerre froide: la poursuivre ne sert à rien, ne contribue en rien au bien-être de l'humanité. L'actuelle tension mondiale est la source de bien des pressions; or, sous la pression des circonstances, il peut se produire une erreur de calcul ou une faute qui entraîneraient de graves conséquences.

3. Le monde a rapetissé, pour deux raisons: d'une part, l'amélioration des moyens de communication et de transport; d'autre part, la diffusion des lumières de l'esprit, des idéaux et des principes du progrès. L'esprit qui a percé les secrets de l'énergie atomique et de l'espace extra-atmosphérique devrait s'abandonner exclusivement et avec confiance à ses facultés créatrices, à ses responsabilités et à son ingéniosité. Dans un monde interdépendant, l'ONU peut, grâce à la coopération internationale, agir efficacement et faire des merveilles; elle peut se consolider et devenir capable de mettre un terme au colonialisme et à l'exploitation.

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4. Animés de cet esprit nouveau, nous pourrions appliquer correctement, convenablement et complètement la résolution adoptée à la dernière session au sujet du colonialisme [1514 (XV)] et voir ainsi les héros algériens célébrer l'admission de leur Etat indépendant parmi les Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Grâce à cet esprit, nous assisterons à l'entrée de l'Oman et d'autres pays dans la famille des nations. Voilà des problèmes qui, de même que d'autres, intéressent chacun de nous.

5. Nous autres, petites puissances, avons nos responsabilités dans ce monde rétréci. Il ne nous est pas permis de demeurer indifférents. Il est de notre devoir de faire le nécessaire pour empêcher une nouvelle aggravation de la situation mondiale, car la persistance du colonialisme et de l'oppression dans de nombreuses régions contribue à l'empirer et alourdit le fardeau de ceux qui voudraient faire de ce monde un lieu où il ferait meilleur vivre.

6. Dans bien des régions, la politique "diviser pour régner" est toujours en honneur, au mépris flagrant du droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes. La Jordanie a toujours fermement cru à ce droit et elle n'a jamais manqué d'en soutenir le principe. Nous avons agi avec nombre d'amis pour défendre ce droit qui nous vient de Dieu. Aujourd'hui, bien des peuples qui ont lutté pour l'indépendance font maintenant partie de notre grande organisation au même titre que nous. Nous avons récemment célébré l'admission de nouveaux Membres et avons adressé à leurs gouvernements et à leurs peuples nos félicitations les plus chaleureuses. Au moment de la rédaction de la Charte et de la création de l'ONU, l'Organisation ne comptait que 51 Membres. Aujourd'hui, grâce aux mouvements de libération et grâce aux efforts déployés par les Nations Unies en faveur des droits fondamentaux de l'homme, ce chiffre dépasse la centaine. Il est regrettable, cependant, que nombre d'autres peuples ne soient pas encore parmi nous, bien qu'ils le méritent depuis longtemps. Il faut citer, parmi eux, le peuple de Palestine et celui de l'Algérie.

7. Depuis longtemps, le peuple palestinien lutte pour occuper sa place dans la famille des nations. Mais certains expédients et une politique de force ont contraint notre organisation elle-même à trahir — et j'insiste sur ce mot — un principe fondamental inscrit dans sa Charte: le principe de l'autodétermination. Elle a morcelé la Palestine contre la volonté de la majorité de son peuple. C'était en 1947, alors que les grandes puissances pouvaient, en usant de certaines pressions, obtenir la majorité. Les nouveaux Membres actuels n'étaient pas avec nous pour voir comment, à l'époque, les blocs de puissances, tant occidentales qu'orientales, ont fait preuve d'adresse pour frustrer les Arabes de Palestine de leur droit divin de vivre sur leur sol sous la protection des principes mêmes que consacre la Charte.

Les grandes puissances ne parlent jamais de cette forme de colonialisme, pour la simple raison qu'elle sert leurs desseins agressifs. Leur attitude à cet égard et leur silence singulier sont fort éloquentes. Ce serait pour chaque grande puissance un exercice salutaire que de s'interroger sur l'attitude et le silence absolu des autres puissances à l'égard d'un problème grave.

8. Heureusement, l'ONU d'aujourd'hui n'est plus le club exclusif des grandes puissances. Le tableau a maintenant changé. Grâce aux Etats d'Asie, d'Afrique et d'Amérique latine, aucune des grandes puissances ne peut empêcher l'adoption d'aucune décision qui réclame l'application du droit d'autodétermination, tout simplement parce qu'aujourd'hui les petites puissances ont leur mot à dire.

9. On n'aboutira à régler le problème palestinien qu'en s'attaquant à sa racine coloniale. Les solutions fragmentaires sont absolument inacceptables. Nous les rejeterons, comme notre peuple les rejettera et comme nos enfants les rejetteront. L'injustice n'a jamais eu place dans notre échelle des valeurs, et nous n'accepterons jamais d'y être soumis. Tant que cette invasion coloniale ne sera pas liquidée et que les droits intégraux des Arabes de Palestine ne seront pas entièrement rétablis, l'Orient continuera d'être un foyer d'instabilité et de conflits.

10. Notre problème n'est pas un problème de réfugiés; c'est un problème politique. C'est une question coloniale, une question de foyer et de patrie. C'est de là que devraient partir tous ceux qui ont pour tâche de le résoudre. Telles sont la volonté et la détermination du peuple palestinien; et aux côtés de ce peuple se tient toute la famille des nations arabes. Les gouvernements arabes ne peuvent que se faire l'écho des vœux légitimes de ce peuple, sinon c'est leur propre existence qui est en péril.

11. Dans le *New York Times* du 8 novembre 1961, nous lisons:

"La Knesset (Parlement) a approuvé, à une majorité écrasante... la thèse du gouvernement, qui est que les réfugiés arabes qui ont fui ne doivent pas être rapatriés sur le territoire qui, depuis cette époque, est devenu l'Etat d'Israël."

Elle a approuvé

"la thèse du Premier Ministre, pour qui la seule solution du problème des réfugiés est de les réinstaller dans les pays arabes..."

12. Nous lisons aussi que, dans la même décision, la Knesset a approuvé la déclaration par laquelle M. Ben Gourion rejetait la proposition, soumise aux Nations Unies, de donner aux réfugiés le choix entre le rapatriement ou la réinstallation.

13. Ce n'est que récemment que la Commission de conciliation de Palestine a chargé M. Johnson d'étudier les moyens de mettre en œuvre la résolution [194 (III)] par laquelle les Nations Unies demandaient le rapatriement des réfugiés ou une compensation. L'attitude actuelle des sionistes montre clairement qu'il est impossible d'envisager une solution pacifique. Pour nous, cette attitude se comprend, car la paix ne sert pas les intérêts de l'Etat sioniste. Ce n'est qu'à la faveur des tensions mondiales et de la guerre que le sionisme a atteint ses buts. L'histoire le montre: à la suite de la première guerre mondiale, la déclaration Balfour a promis de donner une "patrie" au sionisme; à la suite de la seconde

guerre mondiale, on a promis un "Etat juif" au sionisme; et, très récemment, à la suite de la guerre franco-algérienne, du conflit soviéto-hongrois et du conflit anglo-égyptien, le sionisme a essayé de trouver un nouvel appui pour pousser encore plus loin son expansion dans la région de Gaza et dans la péninsule du Sinaï. Ainsi, tous les gains du sionisme sont dus à de grandes guerres et à des actes d'agression. C'est ce mouvement colonial-sioniste qui lance aujourd'hui un défi à la patrie arabe.

14. Il est de fait que l'héroïque lutte du peuple algérien a inspiré beaucoup de mouvements de libération. La guerre d'Algérie est entrée dans sa huitième année. Le monde entier a reconnu le droit de l'Algérie à l'indépendance. Nous espérons que la France comprendra que l'esprit colonialiste du XIX^e siècle, c'est-à-dire la domination et l'exploitation, a disparu. Les Français doivent accepter les réalités de la situation avant que l'incendie n'embrase le cœur même de la France. Nous reparlerons plus longuement de cette question quand l'Assemblée l'abordera.

15. La question de l'Oman est aussi d'ordre colonial. Elle découle des mêmes aspirations qui ont présidé au réveil du monde arabe. Les Arabes continueront d'agir pour une solution naturelle et adéquate de cette question coloniale. Tant qu'elle ne sera pas réglée, la lutte se poursuivra.

16. La souveraineté du Maroc sur tout son territoire est un droit légitime. Certaines parties de ce pays sont encore soumises à différentes formes de domination et d'exploitation étrangères. Nous sommes persuadés que le Maroc réalisera l'unité complète de son territoire.

17. Cela vaut également pour la Tunisie. Le maintien de l'occupation de Bizerte par la force est une violation de la souveraineté de la Tunisie. L'Assemblée générale et le Conseil de sécurité ont reconnu le droit de la Tunisie d'obtenir l'évacuation de tout son territoire par les forces françaises, mais la France continue à braver la résolution des Nations Unies [1622 (S-III)]. Notre organisation devrait être saisie de la question et prendre de nouvelles mesures.

18. J'en viens maintenant à la question de l'Irian occidental. Après un examen attentif, il nous semble, selon les éléments historiques et les documents pertinents, que l'Irian occidental est une des 23 provinces de l'Indonésie et qu'il est, par conséquent, partie intégrante de ce pays. Le mouvement national dont le but était d'obtenir des Pays-Bas l'indépendance de l'Indonésie visait, nous n'avons aucune raison d'en douter, la souveraineté de toute la région appelée jusque-là les Indes orientales néerlandaises. Les Pays-Bas l'ont admis dans de nombreux documents, dont le dernier en date est le rapport L/ adressé aux Nations Unies, rapport que le Ministre des affaires étrangères de l'Indonésie a dernièrement cité [1057^e séance]. Je n'ai donc pas besoin d'y revenir.

19. Il n'est rien de plus précis, de plus catégorique et de plus clair que ceci: l'Irian occidental a toujours été considéré comme faisant partie du territoire national qui est devenu l'Etat indépendant d'Indonésie. Nul ne conteste que l'exercice de la souveraineté sur l'Indonésie lui ait été transféré complètement et inconditionnellement en 1949. Nul ne conteste non plus

L/ Voir *Territoires non autonomes — Résumés et analyses des renseignements transmis au Secrétaire général au cours de l'année 1961* (publication des Nations Unies, numéro de vente: 49.VI.B.1), p. 151.

qu'il ait été convenu que le statut politique de l'Irian occidental au sein de l'Indonésie ferait l'objet de négociations dans un délai d'un an après l'accord d'indépendance de 1949. A l'époque, les Néerlandais considéraient indéniablement cette province comme une partie de l'Indonésie.

20. Après sa domination coloniale bien connue sur l'Irian occidental, après avoir accordé à Indonésie une souveraineté péniblement acquise, après avoir essayé en vain d'annexer officiellement la province indonésienne de l'Irian occidental, les Pays-Bas, dans leur projet de résolution [A/L.354], ont soumis aux Nations Unies cette question, des plus embarrassantes pour eux, en employant toutes les formules courantes telles que "répression", "souveraineté du groupe ethnique", "autodétermination" et autres, pour dissimuler leur véritable désir: c'est-à-dire que, faute de pouvoir annexer ouvertement l'Irian occidental, ils voudraient qu'il soit indépendant de l'Indonésie pour qu'ils puissent "éduquer" le peuple, le former à leur manière de penser et, en fin de compte, y avoir un régime à leur dévotion.

21. Ni de tels arguments ni des phrases sentimentales ne peuvent changer ce fait que l'Irian occidental est partie intégrante de l'Indonésie. Nous reviendrons sur ce point lorsque nous parlerons des projets de résolution.

22. En conclusion, ma délégation déclare qu'elle figure parmi les auteurs d'un autre projet de résolution [A/L.366 et Add.1 à 3] qui prévoit des mesures adéquates pour la réalisation rapide des objectifs et principes énoncés dans la déclaration adoptée par l'Assemblée générale l'an dernier [résolution 1514 (XV)]. Nous sommes pour la libération et l'indépendance complètes de tous les peuples, et nous sommes persuadés que ceux qui luttent maintenant pour leur indépendance seront bientôt parmi nous, Membres, au même titre que nous, de l'Organisation des Nations Unies.

23. M. BUDO (Albanie): L'examen, sur l'initiative de l'Union soviétique^{2/}, de la question de la liquidation du colonialisme, et la quinzième session de l'Assemblée générale, et la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux [résolution 1514 (XV)] adoptée à l'issue des débats, le 14 décembre 1960, constituent un succès important pour les forces anticolonialistes et feront date dans l'histoire de l'activité des Nations Unies. En effet, le colonialisme, cette survivance honteuse pour notre société humaine, est l'un des problèmes les plus angoissants de notre époque. Il n'est pas seulement le déni le plus brutal et le plus éhonté des droits élémentaires de l'être humain, en contradiction avec les normes généralement reconnues du droit international et les principes élevés formulés dans la Charte des Nations Unies, il ne représente pas seulement une forme féroce de l'exploitation de l'homme par son prochain, de l'asservissement le plus barbare d'une nation par une autre, du plus faible par le plus fort, il constitue en même temps une entrave intolérable à l'épanouissement politique, économique et culturel des peuples et, partant, un crime contre l'humanité et la civilisation.

24. L'expérience séculaire a montré que le colonialisme a été et reste une source de guerres atroces

contre les peuples luttant pour la reconnaissance de leurs droits inaliénables, pour la liberté et l'indépendance; il est aussi une source de menaces continues pour la paix et pour la sécurité internationales.

25. Tout le monde, à l'exception des colonialistes, a apprécié la valeur et la portée historique de la Déclaration. Tous les peuples épris de liberté et de paix ont chaleureusement accueilli cette décision de l'Assemblée générale. En particulier, une lueur d'espoir légitime a effleuré les cœurs des peuples subjugués luttant pour se délivrer des chaînes du colonialisme; en effet, ils ont estimé que les colonialistes — malgré leur nature et leur politique fondée uniquement sur la domination et l'exploitation des peuples, sous la pression de la position adoptée d'une part par notre organisation et d'autre part par les Etats et les peuples pacifiques, et par-dessus tout sous les coups directs portés par la lutte de libération nationale dans les diverses colonies — se verraient obligés de respecter la Déclaration et de prendre les mesures propres à la mettre en œuvre.

26. Les espoirs et les vœux ardents des peuples ont-ils été réalisés? Les puissances coloniales ont-elles tenu compte des obligations qui leur incombent, en tant que Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, de mettre en œuvre les dispositions de la Déclaration, dispositions conformes aux buts et aux principes énoncés dans la Charte? Il n'en est malheureusement rien.

27. Le fait est que les puissances coloniales se sont efforcées, comme dans le passé et même davantage, de maintenir et de consolider — fût-ce sous des formes nouvelles et par tous les moyens à leur disposition, y compris l'emploi de la force armée — le régime colonial dans les territoires qu'elles ont sous leur administration.

28. Ainsi que l'ont souligné d'autres représentants dans ce débat, bien qu'il se soit déjà écoulé une année environ depuis l'adoption de la Déclaration par l'Assemblée générale, jusqu'à présent un seul pays, le Sierra Leone, ancienne colonie britannique, a accédé à l'indépendance en avril 1961 et vient d'être admis comme Membre de notre organisation, ce qui nous a grandement réjouis. Il y a encore le Tanganyika et le Samoa-Occidental qui doivent prochainement devenir indépendants. Sans doute un tel état de choses n'est pas du tout satisfaisant et ne correspond point aux exigences expresses de la Déclaration selon laquelle il faudrait immédiatement prendre des mesures pour permettre aux territoires sous tutelle et aux autres territoires non autonomes de jouir d'une indépendance et d'une liberté complètes. A la fin de l'année 1961, il y aura 88 territoires, comprenant au total plus de 70 millions d'habitants, qui se trouveront encore soumis à la servitude coloniale.

29. Devant une telle situation, les Nations Unies se doivent d'adopter des mesures appropriées en vue de mettre en œuvre sans délai la Déclaration du 14 décembre 1960. La valeur de cette déclaration réside dans l'objectif qu'elle se propose, à savoir la libération et l'accession à l'indépendance des pays et des peuples coloniaux, et son importance historique sera affirmée dans la mesure où elle contribuera à atteindre cet objectif.

30. Un coup d'œil sur les prescriptions et les mesures que préconise la Déclaration nous permet de nous rendre compte où nous en sommes de son application. Examinons en particulier les paragraphes 4,

^{2/} Documents officiels de l'Assemblée générale, quinzième session, Annexes, point 87 de l'ordre du jour, document A/4501.

5 et 6 du dispositif de cette résolution. Selon eux, les puissances coloniales devaient prendre "des mesures immédiates" dans les territoires sous tutelle et autres territoires non autonomes, "pour transférer tous pouvoirs aux peuples de ces territoires, sans aucune condition ni réserve ... afin de leur permettre de jouir d'une indépendance et d'une liberté complètes". Il était précisé:

"Il sera mis fin à toute action armée et à toute mesure de répression ... contre les peuples dépendants, pour permettre à ces peuples d'exercer pacifiquement et librement leur droit à l'indépendance complète, et l'intégrité de leur territoire national sera respectée."

31. Il est en outre prescrit que "toute tentative visant à détruire partiellement ou totalement l'unité nationale et l'intégrité territoriale d'un pays est incompatible avec les buts et les principes de la Charte des Nations Unies".

32. Pour couper court aux prétextes traditionnels et aux manœuvres dilatoires bien connues des impérialistes et colonialistes, qui ne lâchent jamais leur proie de leur propre gré, il est expressément prévu au paragraphe 3 du dispositif:

"Le manque de préparation dans les domaines politique, économique ou social ou dans celui de l'enseignement ne doit jamais être pris comme prétexte pour retarder l'indépendance".

33. Quelle a été en réalité l'attitude adoptée par les puissances coloniales à l'égard de ces prescriptions objectives et non équivoques de la résolution adoptée par l'Assemblée générale?

34. Plusieurs représentants qui m'ont précédé à cette tribune ont mis en évidence, en citant des faits incontestables, que ces puissances ont foulé aux pieds la Déclaration. Non seulement elles n'ont pas tenu compte de ses dispositions, mais elles ont redoublé d'efforts en vue de s'accrocher par tous les moyens possibles aux territoires sous leur domination.

35. Le monde entier est au courant de la guerre cruelle du Portugal contre l'héroïque peuple d'Angola qui lutte pour la liberté. Des chiffres ont été cités ici. Selon les évaluations les plus modestes, on compte plus de 50 000 tués angolais, rien que pour les quatre premiers mois de la guerre sanglante. Environ 20 000 soldats portugais, équipés de l'armement du bloc agressif de l'OTAN, continuent la guerre d'extermination dans ce pays d'Afrique. L'aviation est la principale arme utilisée, et les agresseurs portugais n'hésitent pas à faire usage de bombes au napalm, même contre les populations civiles. Les atrocités et les massacres en masse ont atteint un tel degré qu'on a, à juste titre, qualifié cette tuerie de génocide, et, ainsi que nous l'a dit ici le représentant de la Guinée [1058^{ème} séance], les peuples d'Afrique appellent les colonialistes portugais des criminels de guerre.

36. Le régime de terreur et de répression élevé en système par le gouvernement de Salazar sévit également dans les autres colonies portugaises telles que le Mozambique, la Guinée dite portugaise et Goa.

37. Pour se faire une idée de la façon dont le gouvernement de Salazar prend en considération la résolution de l'Assemblée générale et de la conception qu'il a des peuples sous sa domination, il suffit de citer ici les paroles que son ministre de la défense a adressées cet été aux soldats portugais au moment

de leur départ pour l'Angola: "Vous n'allez pas combattre contre des êtres humains, leurs a-t-il dit, mais contre des sauvages et des animaux féroces". Naturellement, cela se passe de commentaires. Mais l'on ne saurait s'empêcher de poser la question de savoir comment il serait possible de concilier ces paroles du Ministre portugais de la défense, qui considère que les Africains ne sont pas des êtres humains, avec la prétention du Gouvernement portugais de traiter les populations africaines comme des Portugais à droits égaux.

38. Le cas de l'Algérie est un autre exemple qui illustre les séquelles de malheurs, de massacres et de dévastations qu'apporte aux peuples cette institution honteuse pour notre siècle qu'est le régime colonial; il montre aussi à quel point les puissances coloniales tiennent compte de la résolution adoptée par l'Assemblée générale. Les colonialistes français se cramponnent à leur politique de domination coloniale. Ils mènent une guerre criminelle contre le peuple algérien martyr qui lutte depuis sept années déjà, ne reculant devant aucun sacrifice pour réaliser ses aspirations légitimes à recouvrer l'indépendance perdue il y a plus d'un siècle, lorsque les impérialistes français occupèrent le pays par la force des armes. Chaque jour qui passe ajoute aux pertes en vies humaines et aux ruines. Nous aurons l'occasion d'examiner en détail la question algérienne lorsque nous discuterons ce point qui figure à l'ordre du jour de la seizième session de l'Assemblée, mais nous tenons à souligner dès à présent que le problème algérien ne pourra jamais être réglé par la force des armes, car il n'y a pas de force qui puisse venir à bout de la volonté inébranlable du peuple algérien de lutter jusqu'à la mort pour sa liberté et son indépendance. L'unique solution, c'est la stricte application par le Gouvernement français de la Déclaration, la reconnaissance au peuple algérien de son droit à l'indépendance et le renoncement à tous les plans visant à démembrer l'Algérie et à lui arracher certaines des parties de son territoire les plus riches en ressources naturelles, y compris le Sahara algérien.

39. Le Royaume-Uni, qui est la principale puissance coloniale dans le monde, ignore totalement la Déclaration et continue, comme par le passé, à se servir de tous les moyens possibles pour maintenir sous le joug colonial des dizaines de millions d'hommes. Les colonialistes britanniques continuent à réprimer le mouvement de libération des peuples subjugués. Ils foulent aux pieds les droits légitimes des peuples de la Rhodésie. Ils massacrent ceux qui combattent pour la liberté au Nyassaland, au Kenya, dans la péninsule Arabique et dans d'autres territoires. Dans la région qui s'étend d'Aden à l'Oman, ils mènent une guerre de ravages et de dévastations, dans laquelle le bombardement aérien tient une place de premier rang et transforme en ruines des villes ouvertes et des villages sans défense. Voilà déjà cinq années que le Royaume-Uni continue cette guerre criminelle contre l'héroïque peuple de l'Oman.

40. La situation actuelle au Congo et les événements tragiques dont ce pays a été le théâtre nous offrent un exemple frappant des conséquences du colonialisme, des manœuvres de toutes sortes et des actes, y compris l'emploi de la force armée, auxquels recourent les puissances colonialistes en vue de garder leur mainmise sur les pays accédant à l'indépendance. Les éléments de la situation au Congo sont, d'une part, la lutte du peuple congolais pour la sauvegarde de l'indépendance et de l'intégrité territoriale du pays

et, d'autre part, les intérêts entrelacés des colonialistes belges, américains, britanniques et autres. Les impérialistes, s'appuyant sur des fantoches du genre de Tshombé et consorts, cherchent par tous les moyens à ne pas lâcher ce pays, et, surtout, à lui arracher la province du Katanga, qui est connue dans le monde entier pour ses immenses richesses.

41. De même, le gouvernement belge, poursuivant sa politique colonialiste au Ruanda-Urundi, s'emploie de son mieux, recourant aux mesures les plus criminelles, à empêcher le peuple de ce territoire d'accéder à l'indépendance, conformément à la résolution adoptée par l'Assemblée générale.

42. Pour ce qui est de l'Afrique du Sud, il est universellement connu que le gouvernement de ce pays, non seulement a violé systématiquement la Déclaration du 14 décembre 1960, mais a toujours rejeté les nombreux appels et résolutions de l'ONU lui demandant de mettre fin à sa politique d'apartheid et de discrimination raciale et de reconnaître au peuple du Sud-Ouest africain le droit à la liberté et à l'indépendance. La situation en Afrique du Sud est terrible et intolérable; les persécutions et la terreur sévissent dans le Sud-Ouest africain.

43. En ce qui concerne l'Irian occidental, nous nous trouvons devant une nouvelle tactique de la part des Pays-Bas. En effet, cette puissance colonialiste a saisi l'Assemblée générale d'un projet de résolution [A/L.354] par lequel elle espère masquer ses visées bien connues. La proposition qu'il contient montre bien que le Gouvernement néerlandais n'a pas renoncé à sa politique colonialiste envers l'Irian occidental et que tout ce qu'il vise, c'est d'y perpétuer le régime colonial, fût-ce sous une forme nouvelle. D'un certain point de vue, cette manœuvre est intéressante, car elle nous fait voir jusqu'à quel point les puissances coloniales sont capables de tourner les résolutions de l'Organisation des Nations Unies; elle nous montre comment, dans un cas donné, le Gouvernement néerlandais utilise la déclaration de l'Assemblée générale sur la suppression du colonialisme en faveur du maintien de ce système d'asservissement.

44. Naturellement, personne ne se fait d'illusion sur les motifs de telles manœuvres. L'Irian occidental fait partie intégrante de l'Indonésie comme par exemple le Katanga fait partie du Congo. Dans l'un comme dans l'autre cas, il s'agit d'une tentative caractérisée des impérialistes pour démembrer les pays devenus indépendants et pour leur arracher les provinces les plus riches afin d'y perpétuer le système d'exploitation coloniale. Le projet de résolution soumis par les Pays-Bas se trouve en opposition flagrante avec la Déclaration au nom de laquelle il est présenté. Il tend en particulier à violer le paragraphe 6 de son dispositif. L'unique solution valable à la question de l'Irian occidental, c'est son union avec la mère patrie, et le règlement de cette question devra être le résultat de négociations entre l'Indonésie et les Pays-Bas.

45. Lorsque les Nations Unies examinent le problème angossant de l'élimination du colonialisme et lorsqu'elles s'efforcent d'exposer objectivement la position des puissances coloniales envers ce problème, pour savoir exactement à quoi s'en tenir et pour envisager les mesures qu'il convient de prendre en vue de remédier à la situation existante et de mettre fin une fois pour toutes au régime de domination coloniale, elles devraient reconnaître qu'il

est extrêmement important de réserver aux Etats-Unis d'Amérique la première place parmi les puissances impérialistes responsables du maintien du colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations.

46. Malgré les efforts de leurs représentants pour nous faire croire le contraire, les Etats-Unis d'Amérique ne sont-ils pas, en effet, le principal rempart du colonialisme contemporain et, par conséquent, l'adversaire le plus résolu et le plus dangereux du mouvement de libération nationale qui se dresse contre le colonialisme? Ce n'est un secret pour personne que, s'il n'y avait pas les Etats-Unis d'Amérique, les autres puissances colonialistes n'auraient pu résister devant le mouvement puissant des peuples vers l'indépendance et que la domination coloniale aurait disparu de la scène mondiale depuis longtemps.

47. Qui ne sait que les colonialistes portugais, belges, britanniques, français, espagnols et autres maintiennent leurs colonies et mènent des guerres coloniales grâce à l'assistance américaine qui leur est donnée soit directement, soit sous forme d'assistance militaire, soit dans le cadre du bloc agressif de l'OTAN qui est dirigé par les Etats-Unis? Il paraît même superflu de rappeler ici, car cela est de notoriété publique, que c'est l'armement américain qui sert à équiper les armées des puissances colonialistes qui mènent des guerres sanglantes en Angola, en Algérie, à Aden, en Oman et partout ailleurs où coule le sang des peuples luttant pour leur libération du joug colonial. Ne sait-on pas que les bombes lancées en Angola, en Algérie, à Bizerte et ailleurs sont de production américaine aussi bien que les avions servant à ces bombardements?

48. Les Etats-Unis sont donc complices de la tragédie actuelle des guerres coloniales menées par les autres puissances coloniales et du maintien de ce système abhorré d'exploitation des peuples, système à l'application duquel les monopoles américains participent et dont ils tirent des bénéfices énormes. Les Etats-Unis sont eux-mêmes une puissance colonialiste, malgré les efforts qu'ils déploient pour induire en erreur l'opinion publique; en tant que telle, non seulement ils n'ont rien fait pour mettre en œuvre la Déclaration en ce qui concerne leurs propres colonies, comme Porto Rico et de nombreuses îles de l'océan Pacifique, mais ils s'efforcent au contraire d'étendre leur domination coloniale à d'autres territoires, tout en adoptant des formes nouvelles d'oppression.

49. Il est caractéristique qu'à l'heure actuelle les impérialistes, obligés, par le présent rapport des forces dans le monde et sous la pression directe de la lutte des peuples subjugués, de renoncer à cette forme périmée et démasquée que l'on s'est plu à dénommer le colonialisme classique, s'emploient à circonscrire, par des accords de toutes sortes, les territoires qu'ils doivent évacuer; autrement dit, ils cherchent à remplacer le colonialisme par le néo-colonialisme qui, tout en leur assurant le maintien de l'exploitation coloniale, a des chances, selon eux, de berner les peuples exploités. Il convient de souligner que les impérialistes américains et ceux de l'Allemagne de l'Ouest sont particulièrement actifs à cet égard. Le néo-colonialisme, cette nouvelle forme dangereuse d'exploitation, doit être condamné et frappé de la même façon que le colonialisme.

50. L'un des moyens qu'utilisent les puissances impérialistes, dans le but de s'assurer la domination des peuples et pour servir leurs plans de guerre, c'est

la conclusion d'accords d'aide militaire avec les pays récemment devenus indépendants et la création, sur le territoire de ces pays, de bases militaires. Les événements de ces derniers temps ont suffisamment témoigné du danger que créent les bases militaires en territoires étrangers. Elles constituent une menace constante à la sécurité et à l'indépendance du pays sur le territoire duquel elles sont installées, elles sont utilisées contre le mouvement de libération des peuples et constituent en même temps une menace grave pour la paix et la sécurité internationales.

51. Le puissant mouvement des peuples pour se libérer de la servitude coloniale et pour consolider l'indépendance nationale a pris, ces dernières années, un élan sans précédent. La composition actuelle de l'Organisation des Nations Unies et la part active et positive que prennent à nos débats les représentants des pays nouvellement indépendants sont un témoignage des succès remportés jusqu'à présent par les peuples, ainsi que de l'importance et de la portée que revêtent les transformations actuelles de la société humaine.

52. En Afrique, en Asie, en Amérique latine, les peuples luttent résolument contre l'impérialisme et le colonialisme, contre le régime colonialiste ancien et nouveau. Tous les peuples du monde sympathisent profondément avec eux et appuient fermement ceux qui combattent pour la liberté en Angola, en Algérie, au Congo, à Cuba, en Indonésie, en Tunisie, à Oman, en Somalie française et dans tout autre territoire dépendant. La liquidation du colonialisme, son élimination totale de la société humaine est inéluctable, malgré les efforts désespérés de l'impérialisme pour maintenir ce régime esclavagiste. C'est là le processus irréversible de l'histoire de la société humaine.

53. Mais une des plus hautes tâches des Nations Unies est d'apporter, conformément aux principes élevés proclamés dans la Charte, une contribution efficace à ce mouvement général des peuples pour la liberté, pour la délivrance définitive et sans délai du joug colonialiste. Elle ne peut être réalisée que par l'adoption et la mise en œuvre de mesures concrètes. La déclaration de l'Assemblée générale du 14 décembre 1960, pour ne pas perdre de sa valeur, doit être portée plus en avant dans la voie des mesures pratiques et doit être traduite dans les faits.

54. La délégation de la République populaire d'Albanie estime que le projet de résolution présenté par la délégation de l'Union soviétique [A/L.355] répond pleinement à ce but. Il est, en particulier, nécessaire de couper court à toutes les tentatives dilatoires des puissances colonialistes et de fixer une date limite pour une liquidation totale du régime colonial, sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations. Nous estimons utile de souligner que la fixation d'un délai d'une année ne signifie point que les puissances colonialistes doivent attendre l'expiration de ce délai pour libérer les peuples et les pays qui sont encore sous leur dépendance. Nous sommes contre tout sur-sis au régime colonialiste qui ne ferait que prolonger les souffrances des peuples subjugués. Les puissances coloniales doivent permettre immédiatement à tous les peuples asservis de devenir indépendants, et la limite d'un an n'est qu'un délai maximum, ainsi que l'indiquent clairement les termes "au plus tard" du paragraphe 2 du dispositif du projet de résolution soviétique. Nous estimons donc que le délai d'un an est en faveur des peuples dépendants et devient un

obstacle aux manœuvres dilatoires des puissances colonialistes.

55. En outre, la création d'une commission spéciale, proposée dans le même document est une mesure indispensable. Elle constituera l'organe responsable qui donnera corps à la déclaration sur la liquidation du colonialisme.

56. Le Gouvernement albanais a, de tous temps, appuyé la lutte des peuples pour la libération nationale. Cette position correspond aux aspirations profondes de notre peuple et aux principes qui sont à la base de notre Etat socialiste. Ma délégation a été heureuse de la nouvelle initiative prise par l'Union soviétique d'examiner à la présente session de l'Assemblée la question de l'application de la déclaration sur l'élimination du colonialisme.

57. Nous appuyons entièrement le projet de résolution déposé par l'Union soviétique, et nous sommes persuadés que l'Assemblée générale adoptera les mesures décisives qui s'imposent afin de réaliser la déclaration historique du 14 décembre 1960 et de mettre ainsi, sans plus tarder et une fois pour toutes, un terme au régime abhorré du colonialisme et à ses conséquences funestes.

M. Schürmann (Pays-Bas), vice-président, prend la présidence.

58. M. Dato' KAMIL (Fédération de Malaisie) [traduit de l'anglais]: L'an dernier, à sa quinzième session, l'Assemblée générale a adopté à une majorité écrasante le projet de résolution, déposé par des pays d'Afrique et d'Asie, qui est devenu la résolution 1514 (XV) sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. La délégation malaisienne a eu l'honneur d'être au nombre des auteurs de cette résolution et elle a eu, au cours du débat, l'occasion de faire connaître clairement ses idées sur le problème de la décolonisation.

59. Ma délégation reste inébranlablement convaincue de la nécessité d'abolir vite et avec ordre le colonialisme et toutes les formes de domination et de tutelle. En intervenant dans les débats de la présente session, elle voudrait dès l'abord renouveler l'engagement qu'elle a pris de contribuer à la prompt réalisation de cet objectif.

60. Le colonialisme, sous toutes ses formes et sous tous ses déguisements, est contraire à la loi fondamentale de la justice humaine, celle que proclame la Charte des Nations Unies: le respect des droits fondamentaux de l'homme, de la dignité et de la valeur de la personne humaine; de l'égalité des droits de l'homme et de la femme, ainsi que des nations grandes et petites. Cette seule considération suffit à condamner le colonialisme comme une institution immorale, qu'il faut éliminer rapidement et complètement.

61. Il y a plus. Le colonialisme empêche la réalisation d'un des objectifs fondamentaux de la Charte: l'instauration entre les nations de relations amicales fondées sur le respect du principe de l'égalité des droits et de la libre détermination des peuples. C'est également une source constante de friction entre les peuples et les Etats; à ce titre, le refus obstiné qu'il oppose au désir passionné que les peuples soumis ont d'accéder à la liberté et à l'indépendance constitue une menace éventuelle à l'harmonie des relations internationales et à la paix du monde. Ainsi, de l'avis de ma délégation, la reconnaissance par la Charte du droit inaliénable des peuples à disposer

d'eux-mêmes n'est pas simplement l'expression d'un idéal noble et lointain. C'est plutôt la reconnaissance de cette réalité fondamentale, qu'une paix durable ne saurait s'instaurer dans le monde que dans la liberté et l'égalité de tous les peuples et de toutes les nations. Le colonialisme, sous toutes ses formes et sous tous ses déguisements, est donc aujourd'hui un anachronisme qu'il est urgent de faire disparaître.

62. Ma délégation estime donc que le problème de la décolonisation rentre dans l'objectif d'ensemble des Nations Unies, qui est d'instaurer un ordre mondial durable, fondé sur la loi fondamentale de la justice humaine, en vertu de laquelle tous les peuples et toutes les nations ont droit à la liberté et à l'égalité et ont la faculté de choisir leur propre destin et leur mode de vie.

63. De l'avis de ma délégation, la Déclaration historique sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux représente, plus que n'importe quelle autre résolution, un jalon important dans la progression des Nations Unies vers la réalisation d'un ordre mondial pacifique fondé sur le respect de la liberté et de l'égalité de tous les peuples. L'adoption même de cette déclaration reflète l'évolution de la vie internationale. L'Assemblée générale n'aurait pu ni concevoir ni adopter la Déclaration s'il n'y avait pas eu depuis 20 ans un immense progrès dans la voie de la décolonisation, comme en témoigne la présence, parmi les Nations Unies, de tant de pays qui, il n'y a que peu d'années, vivaient encore sous la tutelle coloniale de l'Occident.

64. L'adoption de la résolution 1514 (XV) par l'Assemblée générale est en grande partie le fruit des laborieux efforts de ces pays — dont le mien — récemment parvenus à l'indépendance et qui étaient poussés par le désir sincère de mettre fin, vite et sans désordre, aux institutions et aux pratiques colonialistes dont eux seuls connaissent les méfaits et peuvent parler avec autorité et conviction.

65. L'admission même de tant de nouveaux Membres au cours des deux dernières années prouve manifestement que l'histoire marche irréversiblement vers la liberté et vers l'émancipation de la domination étrangère. Sans doute le processus historique qui devait inaugurer ce nouvel ordre mondial d'Etats indépendants et égaux a-t-il pris forme dans la première moitié du siècle ou plus tôt même; il faut pourtant dire que les dispositions de la Charte des Nations Unies qui concernent l'égalité des droits de l'homme et de la femme et la dignité de la personne humaine ont dû constituer une source d'inspiration et de confiance pour des millions d'êtres humains asservis dans le monde entier, et les ont encouragés à accélérer leur lutte de libération. En outre, la Charte a également permis de faire du bien-être des peuples soumis un problème international. A cet égard, elle a fait aux Etats Membres qui ont des colonies l'obligation précise de préparer les peuples qui sont sous leur domination à assumer la responsabilité de leur propre gouvernement.

66. Il n'en demeure pas moins que ni la Charte ni la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux qui figure dans la résolution 1514 (XV) ne sont à l'origine de ce processus historique. Leur but est plutôt de favoriser et d'accélérer, de façon ordonnée et sans perdre de vue l'importance d'une transformation pacifique, le processus historique que les peuples colonisés avaient déjà déclenché par leur volonté irrésistible de s'émanciper et de

devenir libres et indépendants. Ce processus de décolonisation étant ainsi établi sur une base bien organisée et sous le contrôle constant des Nations Unies et de l'opinion mondiale, on peut espérer que la transformation complète de l'ordre ancien en une nouvelle communauté d'Etats souverains libres et égaux pourra s'obtenir avec un minimum de conflits et de violences et dans des conditions qui permettront aux nouveaux Etats indépendants d'être assez préparés pour assumer la pleine responsabilité du maintien de leur souveraineté et de leur intégrité nationale et territoriale.

67. C'est à la lumière de ces considérations que ma délégation voudrait examiner la question de la mise en œuvre de la résolution 1514 (XV), qui fait l'objet de notre débat d'aujourd'hui. Nous nous félicitons que les termes de cette résolution s'accordent parfaitement avec l'opinion générale de la délégation malaise sur le problème de la décolonisation. Cette résolution ne cherche pas à condamner les puissances coloniales, car la condamnation, si justifiée qu'elle puisse être dans certains cas, ne sert pas les intérêts des peuples colonisés, non plus que la cause d'une transformation pacifique et ordonnée. Mais elle appelle, à juste titre, l'attention sur les maux et les dangers inhérents à l'instauration du colonialisme et à sa pratique. Elle met en lumière l'anachronisme du colonialisme dans notre monde d'aujourd'hui où les idéaux de liberté et d'égalité en sont venus à gouverner le cours de l'histoire avec une force irrésistible et toujours plus puissante. Elle souligne en outre que le maintien de la domination coloniale non seulement est contraire à la Charte des Nations Unies, mais empêche la paix et la coopération mondiales de s'instaurer.

68. Quant aux aspects pratiques du problème, le projet de résolution demande qu'il soit mis fin au colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations; il enjoint aux autorités intéressées de prendre des mesures immédiates, dans les territoires sous tutelle, les territoires non autonomes et tous les autres territoires qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance, en vue de transférer tous les pouvoirs aux peuples intéressés. Cependant, consciente de la nécessité d'une transition méthodique et d'un transfert de pouvoirs effectué dans les meilleures conditions possibles, ma délégation est d'avis que cette déclaration ne prescrit pas que tous les pouvoirs soient transférés immédiatement et sans délai; ce qui y est demandé, c'est que des mesures soient prises promptement en vue du transfert définitif des pouvoirs. Les puissances coloniales ont trop souvent retardé l'indépendance sous le fallacieux prétexte que les peuples colonisés n'étaient pas préparés; on ne faisait d'ailleurs rien pour les préparer, à supposer qu'ils aient eu besoin de préparation. Ainsi, l'insuffisance de préparation politique, économique, sociale et scolaire n'a que trop souvent servi de prétexte pour retarder l'indépendance. C'est une attitude déplorable de la part des puissances coloniales, attitude directement contraire à l'obligation qu'elles ont, aux termes de la Charte, de préparer les peuples qui dépendent d'elles à assumer l'entière responsabilité de leur indépendance dans le plus bref délai. Ma délégation considère qu'il est de la plus haute importance que toutes les autorités qui administrent des territoires dépendants s'acquittent fidèlement des obligations que leur font la Charte et la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale, pour ne pas être, en négligeant leurs responsabilités, la cause lamentable

de retards sans fin dans la réalisation de l'indépendance à laquelle aspirent les peuples placés sous leur autorité. Les conséquences déplorables d'une telle négligence nous sont devenues si familières au cours des dernières années qu'il n'est vraiment pas nécessaire que je prenne sur le temps précieux de l'Assemblée pour en parler maintenant en détail.

69. En ce qui concerne la préparation des peuples, point qui, à notre avis, est au cœur même du problème de la décolonisation, ma délégation prend acte avec une certaine satisfaction des assurances que certaines puissances coloniales ont données en s'engageant à préparer sans délai leurs peuples et leurs territoires coloniaux à l'exercice de leur pleine souveraineté. Ce n'est qu'en traitant le problème de la décolonisation de façon sensée et avec bienveillance que le transfert des pouvoirs pourra s'opérer dans la cordialité et l'harmonie, ce qui, au lieu de rompre brutalement dans la haine et la vengeance les liens entre les puissances coloniales et les peuples dépendants, ouvrira une nouvelle ère de relations heureuses et de coopération entre partenaires égaux au sein d'une communauté mondiale de nations souveraines. Le bien-fondé de cette conception a été prouvé maintes fois au cours des dernières 20 années. Le Commonwealth des nations, né de l'Empire britannique, en est un bon exemple.

70. Le Commonwealth est une communauté vivante qui grandit à mesure que l'Empire britannique rétrécit. Depuis l'adoption de la résolution 1514 (XV), le Sierra Leone a accédé à l'indépendance et est maintenant membre du Commonwealth. Un autre territoire africain sous administration britannique, le Tanganyika, doit arriver à l'indépendance le 9 décembre 1961, dans quelques jours. Il est permis d'espérer que les Nations Unies pourront encore accueillir un nouveau Membre au cours de la présente session. Le représentant du Royaume-Uni a mis l'Assemblée générale au courant de l'accord réalisé touchant les étapes finales de l'évolution constitutionnelle de l'Ouganda, et a annoncé que ce territoire recevrait son indépendance en octobre de l'année prochaine. Le représentant du Royaume-Uni a également parlé de l'évolution qui s'est produite au Kenya, à Zanzibar, en Gambie, au Nyassaland, ainsi qu'en Guyane britannique, aux Antilles et dans d'autres territoires. Nous nous félicitons que le Royaume-Uni ait donné l'assurance de pousser la préparation de ces territoires dépendants, pour leur permettre d'assumer promptement leur pleine souveraineté.

71. Dans d'autres régions cependant, certaines puissances coloniales continuent à contrecarrer ou à réprimer les aspirations à la liberté des peuples placés sous leur tutelle. Elles emploient divers moyens, dont la force, pour dénier à ces peuples le droit à la libre détermination et à l'indépendance. C'est un grave sujet de préoccupation pour ma délégation. Une telle obstination de la part des puissances coloniales conduira inévitablement à de nouvelles violences, à des conflits internationaux; elle est une menace pour l'harmonie et la paix du monde. Ma délégation exhorte instamment ces puissances, dans l'intérêt de la communauté mondiale et dans leur propre intérêt, à tenir pleinement compte des aspirations à l'indépendance des peuples qu'elles dominent et à faire en conséquence le nécessaire pour faciliter la réalisation prochaine de ces aspirations. Ce n'est qu'ainsi que l'on écartera le danger de haine et de violence et que l'indépendance pourra naître dans l'amitié et dans l'harmonie.

72. Ma délégation n'a pas hésité à souligner la nécessité d'une préparation appropriée. Je tiens cependant à souligner que notre désir n'est pas de voir l'indépendance retardée. Il n'est pas non plus dans nos intentions, comme je l'ai déjà dit, de tolérer que l'on retarde l'indépendance sous prétexte de préparation insuffisante. J'insiste sur la nécessité de cette préparation, car, apparemment, c'est devenu un sujet de controverse. Il y a ici certaines délégations qui ont exigé la liquidation immédiate du colonialisme. La délégation soviétique, par exemple, a déposé un projet de résolution [A/L.355], où l'Assemblée générale

"Déclare que la liquidation définitive et inconditionnelle du colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations devra être achevée à la fin de 1962 au plus tard".

73. Ma délégation représente un pays qui, pendant près d'un siècle, a été sous le joug étranger, et qui n'a recouvré son indépendance que depuis quatre ans; elle peut dire en toute honnêteté que nul plus qu'elle ne souhaite l'abolition rapide du colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations. Cependant, nous tenons à aborder ce problème avec plus de sérieux et plus de réalisme. Nous ne sommes pas contre les dates limites; mais fixer des dates limites beaucoup trop proches, sans tenir compte des réalités, comme celles que le projet soviétique propose d'appliquer à tous — je dis bien à tous — les territoires dépendants, quel que soit leur degré d'évolution et de préparation, c'est un acte qui est lourd de dangers. Certes, quelques territoires seront déjà prêts à l'indépendance même avant la fin de 1962; mais bien d'autres auront peut-être besoin de plus de temps. Si l'indépendance est accordée à tous les territoires avant la fin de 1962, de 1963 ou de 1964, sans un examen préalable et approfondi de la situation particulière à chacun d'eux, ma délégation craint que bon nombre d'entre eux ne soient exposés à des difficultés et à des dangers divers, capables même de compromettre leur indépendance et leur souveraineté nouvellement acquises.

74. Les dates limites ne sont acceptables que si elles ne concernent qu'un territoire particulier ou un groupe particulier de territoires dont la situation et les difficultés sont analogues, et à la suite de l'étude approfondie des circonstances, compte dûment tenu de la nécessité d'une préparation, et compte tenu aussi des aspirations de leur peuple. La nécessité de cette préparation n'est nulle part mieux soulignée que dans le projet nigérien de résolution [A/L.357] qui, tout en proclamant que tous les territoires et peuples coloniaux, dépendants et non autonomes d'Afrique doivent accéder à l'indépendance d'ici au 1^{er} décembre 1970 au plus tard, proclame également qu'il faut d'urgence prendre des mesures dans ces territoires pour préparer — j'insiste, pour préparer — leur peuple à assumer l'entière gestion de leurs affaires d'ici à 1970.

75. Si la préparation à l'indépendance est un facteur d'une extrême importance dans l'harmonieux déroulement du processus de décolonisation, il n'importe pas moins d'étudier à fond la situation de chaque territoire et les points particuliers sur lesquels la préparation doit porter; on peut ainsi préconiser au sujet de chacun une ligne de conduite et un calendrier précis pour les diverses étapes de l'évolution constitutionnelle, y compris l'indépendance elle-même.

76. L'idée d'un comité spécial, que l'on trouve dans le projet des 37 puissances [A/L.366 et Add.1 à 3]

paraît intéressante à ma délégation. C'est exactement l'instrument qu'il faut pour entreprendre l'examen dont je viens de parler et pour faire des recommandations. Ma délégation est donc très heureuse de souscrire sans réserve à cette résolution, dont elle est coauteur, avec 36 autres délégations d'Afrique et d'Asie. La proposition que représente ce projet est un pas dans la bonne direction, et je suis persuadé que l'Assemblée l'adoptera.

77. Je voudrais, pour conclure, dire quelques mots du projet de résolution [A/L.354] que la délégation néerlandaise a déposé au sujet de la question de l'Irian occidental ou Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale. Ma délégation a écouté attentivement les déclarations des représentants des Pays-Bas et de l'Indonésie, et elle y a réfléchi à la lumière des données qu'elle possède sur ce problème. Il est profondément regrettable et inquiétant que le problème persiste et qu'il oppose les deux pays intéressés, avec lesquels la Fédération de Malaisie entretient des relations amicales. En tant que voisins immédiats de l'Indonésie et ses amis, nous attendons avec anxiété un prompt règlement de ce problème. Je dis bien avec anxiété, car la permanence de ce différend empêche non seulement la reprise des relations entre les Pays-Bas et l'Indonésie, mais encore, ce qui est plus grave, constitue une menace persistante de conflit armé dans la région, conflit qui mettrait sérieusement en péril la paix en Asie sud-orientale et dans le monde entier. Ma délégation estime donc que la question de l'Irian occidental est un problème urgent qui exige une solution rapide.

78. Après avoir examiné tous les faits qui ont trait à cette question et étudié les déclarations faites ici, ma délégation a la conviction que les tentatives que l'on fera pour résoudre ce problème ne seront réalistes ou fructueuses que si l'on n'oublie jamais que la question de l'Irian occidental est une source de différend entre les Pays-Bas et l'Indonésie, et que sa solution implique par conséquent l'accord des deux pays intéressés. Notre assemblée ne peut pas imposer une solution que l'une des parties accepterait pendant que l'autre la repousserait catégoriquement. Dans les déclarations qu'il a faites à l'Assemblée générale, le Ministre des affaires étrangères de l'Indonésie s'est opposé énergiquement à la proposition faite par le gouvernement néerlandais dans le projet de résolution dont j'ai parlé. Cela étant, ma délégation ne voit pas comment ce texte, même si l'Assemblée l'adopterait, pourrait résoudre le problème. Il ne pourrait qu'aggraver la situation et rendre encore plus difficile d'atteindre une solution qui aurait vraiment l'agrément des deux parties. Il est urgent de régler ce problème; à notre avis, on n'y parviendra que par des négociations que les parties intéressées auront conduites sérieusement et avec le désir d'aboutir. L'attitude de ma délégation à l'égard du projet néerlandais sera dictée par les considérations que je viens d'exposer.

M. Slim (Tunisie) reprend la présidence.

79. M. GARCIA INCHAUSTEGUI (Cuba) [traduit de l'espagnol]: La République de Cuba, avec ses 114 500 kilomètres carrés et ses 6 600 000 habitants, a une grande expérience de la question que nous débattons aujourd'hui. C'est Cuba qui a vu, il y a 63 ans à peine, la liquidation du dernier réduit, dans l'hémisphère occidental, de l'empire colonial de l'Espagne, jadis si puissant. C'est à Cuba que, le 1er janvier 1959, grâce au triomphe de notre révo-

lution, le colosse de l'impérialisme américain a subi un grave échec.

80. En d'autres termes, c'est à Cuba qu'a fini de s'effondrer un puissant empire et qu'a commencé la décadence d'un empire non moins puissant. C'est dans notre patrie qu'a été vaincu le colonialisme des vieilles puissances européennes, ainsi que le néo-colonialisme américain qui lui avait succédé. Tout cela en 63 ans, au cours desquels l'héroïque bravoure de notre peuple a infligé des défaites cuisantes à deux puissants empires.

81. Quatre siècles de domination coloniale espagnole et 80 ans de lutte pour s'en débarrasser, 61 ans de domination néo-coloniale yankee et 61 ans de lutte contre cette domination ont donné à notre peuple des raisons et des forces pour couronner ses victoires du 1er janvier 1959 et du 19 avril 1961, et pour renouveler victorieusement ses actes glorieux chaque fois que les tentacules de l'impérialisme colonialiste des Etats-Unis se dresseront contre l'indépendance de notre patrie.

82. La lutte des peuples pour l'indépendance a toujours été une lutte héroïque; où qu'elle ait lieu, elle bénéficiera de la sympathie et de la solidarité de notre peuple. Au septième alinéa de la Déclaration de La Havane, l'Assemblée nationale du peuple cubain a proclamé:

"Le devoir que les nations exploitées et opprimées ont de combattre pour leur libération; le devoir que chaque peuple a de se solidariser avec tous les peuples opprimés, colonisés, exploités ou attaqués, en quelque endroit du monde qu'ils se trouvent et quelle que soit la distance géographique qui les sépare. Tous les peuples du monde sont frères!"

Et le sixième alinéa de la même Déclaration proclame:

"L'Assemblée nationale du peuple cubain condamne enfin l'exploitation de l'homme par l'homme et l'exploitation des pays sous-développés par la finance impérialiste."

83. Comme tous les autres peuples d'Amérique latine, notre peuple a connu la liberté conditionnelle: il avait hymne et drapeau, mais son gouvernement était un gouvernement fantoche, toutes ses ressources naturelles et tout son commerce étaient aux mains des monopoles impérialistes étrangers. Nous avons connu l'assistance technique entre guillemets, les prêts entre guillemets, destinés non pas à mettre en valeur nos richesses conformément aux intérêts de notre peuple, mais bien à aider l'exploitation financière étrangère et à mieux river nos fers. Quand les impérialistes investissaient des capitaux dans une route, un chemin de fer ou une ligne électrique, ce n'était que pour exploiter plus facilement à leur profit nos ressources naturelles. Ce n'est pas en vain qu'ils ont fait de la majorité de nos nations des sources de main-d'œuvre à bon marché, et les importatrices de tous les biens de consommation produits par leur empire. D'un peuple qui n'est maître ni de son économie ni de ses ressources naturelles, on ne peut pas dire qu'il est pleinement indépendant. Bien que l'indépendance politique soit une étape importante, elle est chimérique si le nouvel Etat n'a pas en main ses ressources naturelles et son économie.

84. Il convient de dire ici que les colonialistes ont eu recours, pour l'exploitation de nos pays, à des

moyens subtils qui n'en étaient que plus dangereux. Ainsi, au colonialisme archaïque et traditionnel a succédé le néo-colonialisme. Nouvelle Sainte-Alliance, les grands intérêts financiers internationaux déchaînent la guerre en Algérie, en Angola et au Congo. Ils assassinent et emprisonnent les dirigeants les plus qualifiés. Ils lancent des campagnes de diffamation contre les gouvernements indépendants d'Afrique, d'Asie ou d'Amérique latine par l'intermédiaire de leurs prétendues agences internationales de presse, qui pourraient s'appeler agences internationales du mensonge. Quelles qu'elles soient, les compagnies financières, quand elles voient menacés leurs louches intérêts, provoquent coups d'Etat et guerres civiles; et, quand elles voient que les mercenaires dont elles disposent dans le monde ne leur suffisent pas, elles utilisent alors les forces régulières de leur gouvernement. Elles remplacent les fonctionnaires, envoient leurs unités navales au large des côtes d'autres pays et y imposent sous une étrange forme l'autodétermination ou l'idée qu'elles se font de l'autodétermination.

85. Ce n'est pas sans raison qu'un des hommes d'Etat d'une de ces puissances coloniales a un jour affirmé: "Ce qui est bon pour la General Motors est bon pour les Etats-Unis". Mais, ce qui est bon pour la General Motors, la United Fruit et l'Union minière n'est pas tellement bon pour les peuples que ces compagnies enchaînent et dépouillent. Et que peut le gouvernement de ces puissances coloniales pour empêcher les agressions que commettent ces intérêts? Il est lamentable de devoir dire que ce pouvoir est nul, car ces gouvernements sont en place par la grâce de ces mêmes intérêts financiers, de ces compagnies, et prennent grand soin de ne pas heurter les intérêts auxquels ils doivent leur existence. C'est pourquoi certains conflits deviennent insolubles; c'est pourquoi on assassine, pourquoi on se livre au génocide contre les peuples qui, en Amérique, en Afrique et en Asie, luttent pour leur indépendance; c'est pourquoi les meurtres ne rencontrent que l'indifférence; c'est pourquoi tous les pays qui possèdent des colonies appartiennent à la même alliance militaire.

86. Nous condamnerons donc toujours le colonialisme sous tous ses aspects. C'est une forme archaïque de l'exploitation de l'homme par l'homme, qui ne se compare pas au développement économique, technique et social qui s'est produit et se produit aujourd'hui dans certains pays où le peuple s'est rendu maître du pouvoir et, avec lui, de ses sources de richesse et de son propre destin.

87. Néanmoins, les peuples ont marqué une sérieuse avance contre le colonialisme et le néo-colonialisme. Mais il reste encore bien des territoires et des millions d'êtres humains qui sont victimes de ces maux.

88. La lutte dramatique du peuple algérien, sa volonté d'être libre ou de mourir sont un défi à la civilisation. Jusqu'à quand resterons-nous les bras croisés en face du génocide commis contre un peuple qui, au prix du sang de ses fils, lutte pour la libre détermination? Serait-ce par hasard un honneur pour un gouvernement que de mener une guerre si injuste? Est-il nécessaire d'invoquer de meilleures raisons pour l'indépendance que celles que nous donne le peuple algérien par son courage, son héroïsme et sa ferme volonté d'être libre?

89. En Angola, une guerre d'extermination se déchaîne contre un peuple qui ne commet d'autre crime

que celui d'aimer l'indépendance au prix même de sa vie.

90. Au Congo, un empire minier dont l'influence internationale est grande entretient une armée de mercenaires bien équipés et fait la guerre pour réserver au néo-colonialisme qu'il représente une grande zone des ressources naturelles qui appartiennent au nouvel Etat. Le néo-colonialisme essaie à tout prix, et même au prix de la paix et de l'unité des nouveaux Etats, de se réserver les tentantes ressources naturelles de ces régions. La guerre que provoque la présence d'une grosse armée de mercenaires, aux moyens puissants, ne peut pas s'appeler une guerre civile au vrai sens du terme; c'est une agression coloniale caractérisée. Ainsi donc les hauts intérêts financiers internationaux, moralement responsables de l'assassinat de Patrice Lumumba, sont ceux qui déchaînent de nouveau la violence au Congo.

91. Nous reconnaissons la souveraineté de la République indonésienne sur l'Irian occidental. Ce n'est qu'un stratagème que de prétendre protéger l'intégrité territoriale des nouveaux Etats indépendants en conservant à la domination coloniale ou néo-coloniale de vastes portions de ces territoires. On vient nous demander l'autodétermination pour une partie intégrante de l'Indonésie. Nous répondons: le peuple de l'Indonésie tout entière, y compris l'Irian occidental, n'avait-il pas déjà exercé son droit d'autodétermination en conquérant son indépendance? Il faut garantir aussi l'indépendance du Kenya, de la Rhodésie du Nord et de la Rhodésie du Sud, du Nyassaland et d'autres territoires africains, et mettre un terme à l'agression contre le peuple de l'Oman en lui permettant d'accéder à l'indépendance.

92. Il est indispensable de faire cesser la mauvaise administration qu'un gouvernement raciste exerce sur le Sud-Ouest africain, de préparer l'indépendance de ce pays et de mettre un terme à l'intolérable politique d'apartheid qui se pratique là-bas tout comme dans la nation administrante.

93. Il faut que cessent l'agression impérialiste contre le peuple de la République populaire de Chine et l'intervention militaire américaine à Formose et dans le Viet-Nam du Sud.

94. En Amérique latine, il faut mettre fin au colonialisme des vieilles puissances européennes et au néo-colonialisme des Etats-Unis. Nous espérons qu'à très brève échéance les rêves des fondateurs deviendront réalité et que, de la Terre de Feu au rio Bravo, seuls se dresseront les drapeaux d'Etats indépendants. Il faut accorder l'indépendance aux colonies qui subsistent dans cet hémisphère et évacuer les territoires arrachés illégalement à la souveraineté des républiques latino-américaines.

95. La menace de débarquement des forces régulières américaines sur le territoire de la République Dominicaine constitue une agression contre le peuple dominicain; les Etats-Unis s'efforcent ainsi de maintenir intacte la dictature de Trujillo. C'est grâce à l'occupation militaire américaine que Trujillo est arrivé au pouvoir; étant lui-même un démocrate de style américain, il a été un collaborateur efficace de la démocratie entre guillemets. Balaguer a été imposé par Trujillo. Les Etats-Unis prétendaient ne pas entretenir de relations amicales avec son régime; cependant, prétextant qu'il fallait défendre Balaguer contre ceux qui l'avaient amené au pouvoir, les Etats-Unis ont envoyé leurs avions, leurs bateaux et leurs porte-

avions. Balaguer a alors menacé son peuple de l'intervention étrangère. Ainsi, par l'intermédiaire de l'infanterie de marine des Etats-Unis, on essaie de sauver une autre démocratie entre guillemets au profit de la civilisation occidentale.

96. On est ému au souvenir des milliers de Latino-Américains assassinés par les marines en 50 ans d'interventions continuelles, et au spectacle des navires des Etats-Unis qui, juste au moment où l'Assemblée générale étudie les moyens d'éliminer le colonialisme, sillonnent la mer des Antilles et menacent des peuples. Le peuple dominicain et tous les autres peuples latino-américains condamnent cette nouvelle agression.

97. Fidèle au souvenir de Simón Bolívar, de José Martí et de Benito Juárez, le Gouvernement révolutionnaire de Cuba a demandé que le Conseil de sécurité se réunisse d'urgence pour connaître de l'intervention yankee à Saint-Domingue. Le Conseil de sécurité doit condamner et faire cesser cette intervention, dont le but, au surplus, est de défendre la tyrannie de Trujillo contre le mouvement national de libération de Saint-Domingue. De la fermeté avec laquelle le Conseil de sécurité agira dépendra que cette intervention, que nous dénonçons comme une étape préalable à celle qui se prépare contre Cuba, ne dégénère en un grave conflit international.

98. Porto Rico constitue une position avancée du colonialisme yankee en Amérique latine. La lutte du peuple portoricain pour son indépendance a un parallèle historique dans celle de Cuba. C'est en 1868 que les guerres d'indépendance ont commencé à Porto Rico et à Cuba. Le Parti révolutionnaire cubain, qu'avait fondé José Martí, revendiquait l'indépendance de Cuba et de Porto Rico.

99. Les Etats-Unis ont fait de Porto Rico ce qu'ils appellent un Etat libre associé, dans le dessein de perpétuer son statut de territoire non autonome et de n'être pas obligés de fournir des renseignements en tant qu'Etat administrant, et encore moins de préparer le pays à l'indépendance. Il n'est pas besoin d'être expert en droit international pour comprendre que sous ce titre pompeux se dissimule le colonialisme le plus cynique. La souveraineté totale est la condition sine qua non d'un Etat indépendant. Il n'y a pas la moindre trace de souveraineté à Porto Rico. Non seulement on y trouve une armée étrangère d'occupation — l'armée des Etats-Unis —, mais plus de 10 bases sont disséminées sur ce petit territoire, dont une base atomique. On y constate aussi que l'impérialisme colonialiste des Etats-Unis va plus loin, et qu'avec les puissants moyens dont il dispose, il soumet le pays à un processus inhumain de dénationalisation. Porto Rico, comme Cuba et d'autres pays d'Amérique latine, s'est enrichi de l'apport de deux cultures: la culture espagnole et la culture noire. Nos peuples s'enorgueillissent de ce métissage.

100. On ne fait pas de différence, chez nous, entre hommes de races distinctes. Il n'y existe que l'être humain, quelle que soit la couleur de sa peau; "l'homme est plus que noir ou blanc", avait dit José Martí. Cependant, avec quelle justice un empire qui pratique l'apartheid à l'intérieur même de ses frontières peut-il gouverner un peuple comme celui de Porto Rico? La réponse est fort simple: ici même, à New York, les représentants peuvent se rendre compte, là où vivent les Portoricains, des conditions dans lesquelles ils travaillent et des possibilités qui leur sont offertes. Dans l'île, conformément à ce

processus de dénationalisation, on leur a même imposé une langue autre que l'espagnol. Seule le patriotisme et les traditions nationales ont sauvé ce peuple frère qui résiste à ce traitement et le répudie.

101. Quant à l'autodétermination, qu'est-ce, à Porto Rico, sinon une farce des colonialistes américains? Comment, dans un pays occupé militairement par des forces étrangères, des élections peuvent-elles avoir pour but de déterminer si ces forces y séjournent légalement? Pourquoi don Pedro Albizu Campos, patriote, nationaliste, avocat sorti de Harvard, reste-t-il au secret en prison, bien qu'il soit âgé de 70 ans? Pourquoi ne permet-on pas à sa femme et à son avocat de communiquer avec lui? Don Pedro Albizu Campos, ce vieillard, est — les Américains le savent bien — un symbole de l'Amérique latine, et son existence même crie aux Latino-Américains et au monde: "Yankees, lâchez Porto Rico!"

102. Non seulement l'impérialisme américain fait de Porto Rico une colonie, mais il s'en sert pour exporter le colonialisme en Amérique latine. Tout récemment, c'est M. Moscoso, trafiqueur au pays qui l'a vu naître, que l'on a nommé directeur de l'Alliance pour le progrès. Rien ne pouvait blesser davantage la sensibilité latino-américaine que de faire passer l'aide économique par le canal d'un colonialiste. Il est prouvé que les Américains essaient d'appliquer à d'autres pays d'Amérique latine leur expérience portoricaine. M. Muñoz, gouverneur de son pays grâce à l'intervention étrangère, incarne l'esprit de collaboration des politiciens véreux du continent. La délégation cubaine demande l'application de la résolution 1514 (XV) à Porto Rico, pays qui n'a pas encore atteint l'indépendance.

103. Nous ne craignons pas, pour notre part, de voir la question coloniale se convertir en un sujet de guerre froide, car c'est précisément ce prétexte que les colonialistes invoqueront pour retarder l'indépendance des territoires placés sous leur domination.

104. En face du colonialisme, on ne peut adopter que deux attitudes: être pour l'indépendance et la souveraineté des peuples, ou être contre. La guerre froide n'a rien à voir dans la lutte qui oppose des peuples à ceux qui les réduisent en esclavage. Et si les puissances coloniales estiment un seul instant que ces peuples deviennent des sources de guerre froide, qu'elles renoncent sans tarder à leur pouvoir colonial et cessent d'offrir des arguments à cette transformation.

105. Nous ne souscrivons pas non plus au critère de l'apprentissage de l'indépendance. Le prétexte constamment invoqué par les puissances coloniales pour maintenir leurs colonies en esclavage consiste à dire qu'elles ne sont pas préparées à l'indépendance. L'indépendance totale est la condition première du développement de toute société, et l'on ne saurait admettre qu'il y ait des sociétés indépendantes et d'autres qui ne le sont pas. Nous ne croyons pas à l'existence de sociétés semi-indépendantes, malgré certaines formules pompeuses qui tendent à le faire accroire. L'indépendance n'admet pas de moyen terme: elle est ou elle n'est pas. Quant à l'indépendance après un long délai, elle ne nous plaît pas non plus. L'existence du colonialisme est incompatible avec la Charte des Nations Unies, et elle constitue pour la paix une grave menace.

106. Enfin, nous estimons qu'il faut faire rentrer dans le cadre de l'abolition du colonialisme la liquidation des bases militaires en territoire étranger.

Ce sont les colonialistes ou les néo-colonialistes qui ont imposé la majorité de ces bases, spécialement celles que les grandes puissances ont installées sur le territoire des petits Etats. La présence de forces militaires des grandes puissances dans les petits Etats compromet et menace leur indépendance. Ce ne sont pas des bases destinées à la défense du territoire métropolitain; ce sont des bases destinées à l'agression contre les petits Etats où elles se trouvent et contre les petits Etats voisins. Notre patrie souffre de la présence des troupes américaines dans la base navale de Guantánamo et s'y oppose. La présence de bases militaires étrangères est une manifestation du pouvoir colonial. Notre patrie souffre de la présence des troupes américaines dans la base navale de Guantánamo et s'y opposera par tous les moyens légaux et en toutes occasions. C'est ce qu'elle fait aujourd'hui encore.

107. Nous nous félicitons que les pays réunis à Belgrade^{3/} aient reconnu le bon droit de notre peuple:

"Ils reconnaissent aussi que la présence à Guantánamo (Cuba) d'une base militaire des Etats-Unis d'Amérique, au maintien de laquelle le gouvernement et le peuple de Cuba ont manifesté leur opposition, affecte la souveraineté et l'intégrité territoriale de ce pays."

108. La base de Guantánamo est une menace pour l'indépendance de Cuba et pour celle des pays d'Amérique latine. Là se concentrent et s'instruisent les forces mercenaires que les Américains et leurs agents entretiennent en permanence dans la zone caraïbe. C'est de là que partent les avions, les porte-avions et les navires quand il s'agit d'exercer une pression sur un des pays de l'hémisphère. C'est là que l'on forme les saboteurs et les assassins qui se sont mis au service de l'impérialisme. C'est là que l'on torture, que l'on tue. La résolution que nous sommes appelés à adopter à ce sujet doit mentionner explicitement la suppression de toutes les bases militaires à l'étranger.

109. Avant de conclure, nous voulons dénoncer devant l'Assemblée les projets agressifs que le colonialisme américain nourrit contre notre patrie et qui s'exécutent actuellement à partir des différentes bases américaines de la zone caraïbe et des bases situées dans les territoires que le néo-colonialisme américain occupe dans la région.

110. Petit pays à la longue tradition de lutte contre le colonialisme, pays qui se tient en garde contre les graves menaces de l'impérialisme américain, pays non compromis par des pactes militaires et qui désire la paix et le progrès des peuples, nous souhaitons que la résolution 1514 (XV) et celles que l'Assemblée adoptera pour lui donner effet réalisent leurs objectifs et que le colonialisme soit dans un très bref délai un mal des temps révolus, dont l'histoire ne parlera qu'en hommage à ceux qui ont lutté et qui sont morts pour sa disparition. A elle seule, la réalisation de cet objectif justifierait aux yeux des générations futures la raison d'être de notre organisation.

111. M. COMAY (Israël) [traduit de l'anglais]: L'événement le plus passionnant de notre époque est la liquidation, en 20 ou 30 ans, de grands empires coloniaux bâtis en l'espace de cinq siècles. Ce processus n'est pas encore achevé, il est vrai, d'ardentes luttes

pour la liberté requièrent l'attention de notre organisation, en particulier en Afrique. Mais un fait demeure: depuis la seconde guerre mondiale, des centaines de millions de sujets ont accédé à l'indépendance politique; nos drapeaux flottent maintenant devant cet immeuble, parmi ceux d'autres Etats Membres souverains, et nos porte-parole siègent ici sur un pied d'égalité avec ceux d'autres pays plus anciens.

112. Il n'est pas besoin de rappeler ici la longue histoire des souffrances causées par le système colonial. Ces pages d'histoire sont souillées d'oppression et d'exploitation. Mais notre génération a assisté à une révolution dans la pensée humaine, et beaucoup de ce qui était autrefois considéré comme naturel est devenu aujourd'hui intolérable. De ce fait, la domination étrangère s'est dans bien des cas terminée sans effusion de sang et sans heurts, et le transfert de pouvoirs s'est effectué de façon ordonnée et concertée, comme nous espérons que ce sera bientôt le cas pour tous les territoires encore non autonomes. Il n'est que juste de noter que la politique actuelle des deux principales puissances coloniales, le Royaume-Uni et la France, repose sur leur désir de conduire à l'autonomie les territoires qui sont encore sous leur dépendance. C'est en fait autant les colonisateurs que les colonies qui trouvent leur liberté dans l'abolition du colonialisme, système non seulement immoral, mais encore périmé. En se retirant de leur propre gré, les puissances coloniales se débarrassent de leur fardeau et se soustraient aux vexations et aux haines qui accompagnent aujourd'hui la domination d'un peuple sur un autre. Selon la façon dont ils se retireront, ils pourront espérer conserver l'amitié de leurs sujets. Il appartient aux nouveaux Etats, une fois l'indépendance acquise, de décider ou non de maintenir volontairement avec l'ancien pays métropolitain une association fondée sur l'égalité, le respect et des avantages mutuels.

113. A cet égard, ma délégation estime que la proposition néerlandaise qui concerne la Nouvelle-Guinée est en tout point conforme à l'esprit et à la lettre de la Charte et de la résolution 1514 (XV), adoptée à la dernière session de l'Assemblée. Comment ne pas se féliciter d'un plan qui vise à transférer la souveraineté aux habitants d'un territoire avec l'aide directe de l'ONU, en laissant au peuple intéressé le soin de décider de son propre avenir après l'indépendance?

114. Dans le mémoire [A/4954] distribué par la délégation néerlandaise le 4 novembre 1961, nous avons été frappés de lire: "Les Pays-Bas désirent irrévocablement mettre un terme à leur passé de puissance coloniale". Il y a plusieurs siècles, leurs navigateurs et leurs marchands ont étendu l'influence hollandaise à de lointains pays d'outre-mer, et leur petit pays du nord-ouest de l'Europe est devenu un centre de richesse, de puissance et de culture. En mettant un point final à ce chapitre impérial, les Pays-Bas ne feront que rehausser la vraie grandeur d'un peuple dont le génie créateur, l'énergie, l'habileté, l'amour de la liberté et la tolérance lui a acquis l'admiration générale.

115. Le principe de l'indépendance nationale est un de ceux qui éveillent les sentiments les plus profonds et les souvenirs les plus vénérés du peuple israélien. Il y a des milliers d'années, nous luttons pour notre indépendance contre les grands empires de l'Antiquité. Encore et encore, leurs armées ont foulé aux pieds notre liberté; encore et encore, l'étendard de la ré-

^{3/} Conférence de Belgrade, 1961 (publié par la *Revue politique internationale*, Belgrade, No 5, p. 22).

volte s'est redressé, car un peuple ne peut jamais être définitivement vaincu tant que l'amour de la liberté vit en son cœur. Les événements décrits dans l'Ancien Testament forment la toile de fond historique de l'indépendance qu'Israël a retrouvée en 1948, après une lutte acharnée et douloureuse contre la puissance mandataire et l'invasion des armées arabes.

116. A notre grand regret, certains porte-parole arabes ont tenté d'exploiter le présent débat à des fins de propagande anti-israélienne. Pour ne pas faire perdre son temps à l'Assemblée, ma délégation s'est abstenue d'exercer son droit de réponse dans chacun de ces cas, et je me bornerai ici à quelques observations générales. Le thème principal de cette attaque est qu'Israël est de quelque manière associé au colonialisme. C'est une affirmation aussi rebattue que gratuite, à laquelle on a recours dans le fallacieux espoir d'influencer les amis qu'Israël compte en Asie et en Afrique. Voici comment a réagi le Ministre des affaires étrangères d'Israël quand certains ont porté les mêmes accusations pendant la quinzième session de l'Assemblée, lors de la discussion générale:

"Nous savons que cette accusation est absurde. Les Arabes le savent aussi et, ce qui est plus important, les Africains le savent. Les dirigeants des pays d'Afrique ne vont pas se laisser épouvanter par des slogans stupides. On peut être sûr qu'ils jugeront leurs relations avec les autres pays d'après l'attitude adoptée par ces pays à l'égard d'eux, et non d'après des discours de propagande prononcés à New York." [907ème séance, par. 87.]

117. Un des discours que nous avons entendus ce soir a été celui du représentant de la Jordanie, lequel, au cours d'une dissertation historique des plus singulières, a découvert que la formation de l'Etat d'Israël est liée à deux guerres mondiales. Je n'ai pas souvenir de l'existence d'Etats arabes sur la carte avant l'écrasement de l'Empire ottoman par les Alliés dans la première guerre mondiale; d'autres Etats arabes sont nés à la suite de la seconde guerre mondiale. Personne que je sache n'en a pris prétexte pour contester la légitimité d'aucun d'entre eux. Je suis même surpris d'entendre de tels arguments de la part du représentant d'un royaume créé par le Royaume-Uni dans le cadre d'un règlement d'après guerre. Israël, lui, est né sur le champ de bataille; c'était en 1948, alors que les armées des pays environnants tentaient d'écraser notre pays par les armes.

118. Le sionisme est apparu dans les temps modernes comme le mouvement de libération nationale d'un petit peuple qui a retrouvé son indépendance dans son ancienne patrie, où ses ancêtres vivaient en hommes libres avant la première invasion arabe du pays. Nous sommes prêts à vivre avec nos voisins dans un esprit de coopération pacifique et à développer avec eux notre région pour le bien de tous ceux qui l'habitent. C'est absolument tout ce que nous demandons aux autres pays, qu'ils soient proches ou lointains.

119. La résolution 1514 (XV) adjure tous les pays de mettre fin "à toutes les pratiques de ségrégation et de discrimination"; ma délégation éprouve devant cet appel une profonde émotion. Au cours des siècles, notre peuple a été la victime traditionnelle de telles pratiques. Nous avons survécu à de nombreux épisodes sombres et sanglants dont nous avons nous-mêmes connu l'apogée quand les nazis ont formé le projet d'apporter au problème juif ce qu'ils nommaient la

"solution finale" par le génocide et l'extermination d'un peuple entier. Nous rejetons avec passion toutes les notions de race inférieure ou de race supérieure, et l'idée que l'on puisse déterminer le statut d'un homme dans la société en fonction de ses traits ou de la couleur de sa peau. Nous constatons avec satisfaction que le Conseil économique et social a soumis sur ce point un projet de résolution [A/4886] à l'Assemblée générale et que la Quatrième Commission est saisie d'un autre projet de résolution [A/C.4/L.707], qui condamne catégoriquement la discrimination raciale dans les territoires non autonomes.

120. Aucune nation, c'est vrai, ne pourrait aisément oublier les tragédies du passé; l'important est pourtant de construire l'avenir. Comme tous les autres pays nouveaux, Israël s'est aperçu que la proclamation de l'indépendance n'est qu'un commencement et non une fin. Nous espérons que, dans l'esprit du projet nigérien de résolution [A/L.357], la période 1960-1970 verra la fin de tout ce qui subsiste de domination étrangère en Afrique. Au fur et à mesure que les chefs africains assument la responsabilité de guider les destinées de leur pays, ils se posent la question que nous autres, les pays nouvellement libérés qui siégeons déjà ici, nous sommes posés: "Et après le colonialisme?" C'est en effet dans un monde troublant que nous sommes nés, un monde dans lequel le génie humain peut atteindre la lune ou les étoiles, mais menace de détruire la vie sur notre planète, un monde où certains peuples jouissent d'une abondance inimaginable jusqu'à nos jours, alors que d'autres sont encore arriérés et pauvres. Tout en étant en butte à des pressions de l'extérieur, les chefs nationaux de nos nouveaux pays doivent s'attaquer aux énormes problèmes qui se posent à l'intérieur de leurs frontières. Nous sommes en même temps tenus de donner à nos peuples la stabilité politique, les libertés civiles, une administration efficace, une armée, une réforme agraire, le développement industriel, une formation technique, des services sanitaires, l'enseignement, des logements, des moyens de transport et même de l'eau potable. Aucun Etat nouveau ne dispose des ressources financières ou des compétences qu'exige un tel programme. Cela vaut d'ailleurs pour bien d'autres pays anciens, comme en témoigne la prévoyante "Alliance pour le progrès" que les Etats-Unis et les républiques d'Amérique latine ont récemment conclue.

121. Il faut de toute nécessité et de toute urgence que les possédants et les déshérités partagent leurs ressources, dans un esprit d'intérêt bien compris et la conviction que notre monde est devenu un et indivisible.

122. Bien que l'assistance doive incomber surtout aux nations industrielles avancées, les pays plus petits et plus pauvres peuvent faire beaucoup pour s'entraider. Au cours de ses 13 années d'indépendance, Israël a appris avec orgueil et satisfaction qu'il pouvait partager avec d'autres son expérience de bâtisseur de nation, les techniciens qu'il a formés et les méthodes de coopération qu'il a mises au point. Nous collaborons maintenant avec beaucoup d'autres pays tant économiquement que techniquement. Cette collaboration se manifeste de bien des façons: entreprises communes en matière de construction, d'aménagement hydraulique et de navigation, constitution de villages en coopératives agricoles, mouvements de jeunesse, circulation des travailleurs et autres domaines dans lesquels les méthodes audacieuses et nouvelles d'Israël appellent l'attention des pays qui sont

aux prises avec des problèmes analogues. Nous avons des centaines d'experts qui travaillent dans ces pays et environ un millier de boursiers viennent chez nous chaque année. Nous sommes persuadés qu'une coopération pacifique et constructive de cet ordre est la base la plus solide de l'amitié entre nos peuples. Les dirigeants africains et asiatiques savent parfaitement que, pour édifier une nation, une assistance pratique dispensée sur place importe plus aux pays qui se libèrent du colonialisme que des protestations de fraternité qui ne seraient que des mots vides.

123. Le gouvernement et le peuple d'Israël appuient de tout cœur la liquidation du colonialisme, partout et sous toutes ses formes. Nous avons déjà exposé clairement devant l'Assemblée nos idées sur certaines situations déterminées: il n'est pas besoin de les répéter. Partout où l'indépendance n'est pas encore acquise, elle doit l'être rapidement. Mais l'indépendance politique ne suffit pas à elle seule. Elle risque de rester sans signification si elle ne s'accompagne pas du progrès économique et social et d'une vie meilleure pour les citoyens du nouvel Etat. On ne peut pas remédier par la seule indépendance à la faim, la maladie et l'ignorance que connaît encore la plus grande partie de l'humanité, à ces maux historiques que ne peut guérir qu'une aide généreuse et massive, accordée non pas comme une charité, mais parce que nous sommes tous membres de la même famille humaine.

124. Le PRESIDENT: Je donne la parole au représentant du Portugal, qui désire exercer son droit de réponse.

125. M. DE MIRANDA (Portugal) [traduit de l'anglais]: Je remercie le Président de m'avoir autorisé à prendre la parole ce soir; je promets d'être très bref. Une fois de plus, je dois prendre la parole à l'Assemblée pour rectifier ce que le représentant de l'Inde a dit au sujet de mon pays. Dans son discours d'hier, il a mis en cause la politique d'outre-mer du Portugal et a conclu en ces termes:

"Cependant, si elles font partie du Portugal, elles devraient jouir des droits civiques et de toutes les égalités qui accompagnent ces droits." [1058ème séance, par. 149.]

126. Le représentant de l'Inde travestit la vérité. S'il est si peu au courant des affaires portugaises, il doit chercher à en savoir davantage. Entre-temps, je puis lui dire que moi-même, Goan, et mes ancêtres depuis de nombreuses générations avons été citoyens portugais et avons joui d'un statut de pleine égalité avec les autres citoyens portugais nés en Europe. Pour la même raison, nous autres Goans jouissons de la même indépendance que les citoyens portugais d'Europe.

127. Toutefois, d'après la propagande indienne, pour donner l'indépendance aux Goans, il faut les annexer à l'Union indienne, bien que le Premier Ministre de l'Inde ait lui-même admis que nous avons, nous Goans, une culture différente. A noter que cette annexion ne doit pas être fonction de la volonté du peuple goan, car, ainsi que nous l'avons déclaré devant l'Assemblée [1025ème séance] et en avons apporté la preuve irréfutable à la Quatrième Commission, le Premier Ministre de l'Inde lui-même a déclaré le 6 septembre 1955 que les Portugais devront abandonner Goa, même si les Goans veulent qu'ils y restent. Même si les Goans veulent qu'ils y restent — c'est ce qu'a dit le Premier Ministre de l'Inde; je ne fais que répéter.

128. Le représentant indien a dit, dans son exposé d'hier que "le représentant du Portugal avait contesté certaines déclarations de notre premier ministre" [1058ème séance, par. 151]. Nouveau travesti de la vérité. Nous n'avons mis en doute aucune déclaration du Premier Ministre de l'Inde. Nous n'avons cité ces déclarations que pour les déplorer. Qui nous a mis au défi de démontrer l'authenticité de ces déclarations? C'est le représentant de l'Inde à la Quatrième Commission. Nous avons relevé le défi et avons prouvé cette authenticité d'une façon qui ne devrait laisser de doute chez aucun homme de bonne foi.

129. Mais aujourd'hui, nous en resterons au discours que le représentant de l'Inde a prononcé hier pour corroborer les intentions machiavéliques de l'Union indienne. Le représentant de l'Inde a dit: "Par conséquent, si l'agression se poursuit indéfiniment, si nos populations risquent à tout moment d'être abattues de sang-froid, s'il n'y a pas de liberté civile et si la paix et la sécurité de notre pays d'une part et celles du monde entier sont mises en danger par les conflits incessants qui se déroulent sur notre territoire, nul n'a le droit, ni même en vertu de la Charte des Nations Unies, ni en vertu d'aucune loi morale, d'aucune règle d'éthique politique, d'aucun principe régissant le comportement des Etats sur le plan international, d'empêcher un Etat souverain comme le nôtre de parachever la libération de l'ensemble du pays." [Ibid.]

130. Dans ce bref paragraphe, il y a presque autant d'inexactitudes que de mots. Que cherche à insinuer le représentant de l'Inde? Que les Goans sont Indiens? Ethniquement peut-être, mais juridiquement, politiquement et culturellement, non. Ou bien le représentant de l'Inde veut-il insinuer que le tout petit territoire de Goa commet une agression contre la grande Union indienne et met en danger la sécurité de l'Union indienne et du monde? Seule une imagination délirante ou un individu d'une incroyable légèreté peut s'aventurer à émettre une telle idée. Quel intérêt et quel avantage peut avoir le petit territoire de Goa à attirer sur lui la colère de la puissante Union indienne? N'est-il pas vrai que le Portugal a offert de négocier et est toujours prêt à négocier avec l'Union indienne sur les problèmes que pose la proximité géographique? Mais l'Union indienne ne veut pas négocier, parce qu'elle veut annexer Goa au nom de l'unité politique de l'Inde géographique, unité politique qui n'a jamais existé que dans la légende, non dans l'histoire et qui, aujourd'hui, est irréalisable, étant donné l'existence, dans l'Inde géographique, d'autres territoires qui sont aussi souverains et indépendants que l'Union indienne elle-même.

131. Le représentant indien a poursuivi: "Nous avons longtemps essayé de négocier, nous avons maintenu des missions à Lisbonne, nous avons négocié avec les Portugais." [Ibid., par. 153.] Le représentant de l'Inde travestit la vérité une fois de plus. Qu'est-ce que l'Union indienne a essayé de négocier? L'Union indienne a seulement réclamé que Goa lui soit livré. Cette mise en demeure s'appelle-t-elle négociation dans le dictionnaire indien? Quand le Portugal a refusé de s'y soumettre, le gouvernement indien a fermé sa légation de Lisbonne et a demandé au Portugal de fermer la légation de New Delhi. Dans un esprit de bon voisinage, le Portugal a cherché à négocier, mais l'Union indienne n'a voulu entendre parler de rien d'autre que de l'annexion de Goa.

132. Après avoir rappelé l'affaire dont est saisie la Cour internationale de Justice, le représentant indien a déclaré: "Nous nous sommes toujours conformés à la Charte et au droit des gens." [Ibid.] L'Union indienne l'a prouvé par son agression sanglante et par l'usurpation des enclaves portugaises de Dadra et de Nagar Avelli, comme par sa déclaration unilatérale d'annexion de ces enclaves, en dépit de l'arrêt de la Cour internationale de Justice qui reconnaît la souveraineté du Portugal sur les territoires en question et son droit d'accès à ces territoires^{4/}.

133. Revenant à la question du recours à la force contre Goa, le représentant de l'Inde a déclaré:

"Toutefois, le moment venu, si l'agression se poursuit de telle sorte ..."

Quelle agression? De quelle sorte? Jusqu'ici, l'agression est toujours venue de l'Inde.

"Que des milliers et des milliers d'êtres humains soient obligés d'endurer cette situation ..."

Quelle situation? Goa vit en paix.

"Si l'opinion publique de notre pays ne peut plus supporter de voir que des frères de race sont assassinés."

Manifestement par les terroristes qui, venant de l'Union indienne, s'infiltrèrent dans le territoire de Goa et qui ont déjà tué plusieurs Goans, que maintenant le représentant indien appelle cyniquement ses frères.

"Et si le territoire devient également une arène où s'affrontent des intrigues internationales."

Supposition aussi vague que malintentionnée.

"Alors, en qualité d'Etat souverain, nous nous réservons le droit de prendre les mesures qui nous plaisent, sous réserve de respecter le droit des Goans." [Ibid., par. 154.]

134. Le représentant de l'Inde a dit lui-même que Goa est une des besognes inachevées de l'Union indienne, et que le peuple indien s'impatiente. Je n'ai rien besoin d'ajouter sur la nature réelle du prétendu "cas de Goa". C'est un cas de l'impérialisme de l'Inde, qui a déjà plusieurs victimes à son actif et jette depuis quelques années des regards de convoitise sur l'Inde portugaise, laquelle, depuis 450 ans, est partie intégrante du Portugal.

135. Le représentant de l'Inde a beau jeu d'employer la force contre Goa: Goa est petit et faible; mais il n'ose pas parler d'employer la force pour recouvrer les territoires indiens que New Delhi revendique et qu'un voisin plus puissant occupe actuellement. Les journaux d'aujourd'hui le savent bien.

136. Je voulais parler surtout de Goa, mais, avec votre permission, Monsieur le Président, je désirerais ajouter quelques mots au sujet de l'Angola. Je n'ai pas besoin d'en parler longuement, puisque la question est à l'ordre du jour de l'Assemblée.

137. Le représentant de l'Inde a parlé de cruauté et de meurtres en Angola. Si je comprends bien, il veut parler de la cruauté et des meurtres imputables aux terroristes; sinon, je lui demanderai de bien vouloir réviser son code de moralité.

138. Le PRESIDENT: Je donne la parole au représentant des Etats-Unis, qui désire exercer son droit de réponse.

139. M. BINGHAM (Etats-Unis d'Amérique) [traduit de l'anglais]: Je voudrais répondre très brièvement à certaines observations du représentant de Cuba. Je regrette de devoir le faire à cette heure tardive et d'abuser de la patience des délégations, mais la plupart des propos du représentant de Cuba n'ont absolument rien à voir avec la question en discussion. Ses déclarations appellent cependant une brève réponse.

140. Il est intéressant de voir que le représentant de Cuba a fait allusion à la révolution de Cuba contre l'Empire espagnol en 1898, sans rappeler le grand rôle que les Etats-Unis ont joué dans cette révolution. Il a fait état d'extravagantes accusations d'intervention des Etats-Unis en République Dominicaine. Ses accusations feront demain l'objet d'un débat au Conseil de sécurité. Pour l'instant, je ne veux poser qu'une question. Qui parle au nom de la République Dominicaine? Est-ce le gouvernement de ce pays, ou bien le gouvernement cubain?

141. Le représentant de Cuba a traité assez longuement de la situation de Porto Rico, ce qui n'entre pas davantage dans le cadre de la question discutée actuellement par l'Assemblée. En 1953, l'Assemblée générale a précisé, dans sa résolution 748 (VIII), que le peuple portoricain avait choisi librement un statut de Commonwealth en libre association avec les Etats-Unis, et que Porto Rico était donc entièrement autonome. Aujourd'hui comme hier, si 10 p. 100 du corps électoral de Porto Rico désiraient demander un changement de ce statut, ils seraient libres de le faire, et un plébiscite serait organisé.

142. On pourrait souligner qu'il y a à Porto Rico un parti de l'indépendance — qui n'est pas celui au nom duquel le représentant de Cuba a parlé, mais un parti qui s'attache à exprimer ses revendications dans le cadre du régime démocratique d'élections libres qui est celui de Porto Rico. Il est intéressant de noter que, lors des trois dernières élections, les voix recueillies à Porto Rico par le parti de l'indépendance n'ont pas cessé de diminuer. En 1952, il a obtenu 126 000 voix sur les 600 000 suffrages exprimés; quatre ans plus tard, 86 000 voix sur un total de 700 000; en 1960, il n'avait plus que 21 000 voix sur les 700 000 suffrages exprimés et n'a pas pu élire un seul représentant au Parlement.

143. Le groupe dont a parlé le représentant de Cuba est un groupe marginal, qui ne s'intéresse ni aux institutions démocratiques ni aux désirs de la population, mais ne cherche qu'à imposer au peuple de Porto Rico, par des méthodes violentes, sa volonté fanatique. Ce groupe ne participe pas aux élections, car ses membres savent fort bien que, les élections étant libres, le résultat ne pourrait que les couvrir de confusion.

144. S'il est ici un représentant qui doute de la liberté totale des élections à Porto Rico, je lui conseille d'aller là-bas la prochaine fois que des élections s'y dérouleront, pour se rendre compte par lui-même. Il sera le bienvenu. Bien entendu, le représentant de Cuba ne sait rien des élections libres, car, dans son pays, toutes les élections sont supprimées.

145. Nous sommes fiers des progrès de Porto Rico, progrès réalisés dans la liberté. Je voudrais simple-

^{4/} Affaire du droit de passage sur territoire indien (fond), arrêt du 12 avril 1960; C.I.J. Recueil 1960, p. 6.

ment rapporter quelques exemples de ces progrès dont nous sommes fiers. Au cours des 20 dernières années, la production brute de Porto Rico a augmenté de 150 p. 100, le nombre des automobiles de 600 p. 100, les exportations de 500 p. 100, et les importations de 800 p. 100. L'espérance de vie des habitants est passée de 46 à 68 ans: tout ceci en 20 ans seulement.

146. Nous sommes fiers aussi de Teodoro Moscoso, qui est aujourd'hui à la tête de l'Alianza para el Progreso. Loin d'être une insulte à nos amis d'Amérique latine, cette nomination est bienvenue d'eux. Que cette Alianza para el Progreso, programme audacieux tourné vers l'avenir, ait à sa tête un homme qui partage avec les pays d'Amérique latine le grand héritage de la culture hispano-américaine — et qui se trouve être en même temps citoyen des Etats-Unis et fier de l'être —, c'est pour eux une source de fierté.

147. Le PRESIDENT: Je donne la parole au représentant de la Jordanie, qui désire exercer son droit de réponse.

148. M. EL-FARRA (Jordanie) [traduit de l'anglais]: Je regrette d'intervenir à une heure aussi tardive, mais la déclaration que nous venons d'entendre appelle vraiment une réponse.

149. Peu importe comment le représentant d'Israël a essayé de dépeindre la situation; une chose est claire et fort difficile à nier: l'idéal du sionisme est d'amener de plus en plus d'immigrants juifs dans notre pays, d'acquérir une plus grande part de notre terre et de continuer à déplacer nos populations. Voilà ce qu'est le sionisme. Et ceux qui veulent connaître la vérité à ce sujet s'apercevront qu'il n'y a aucune différence entre le nazisme, mentionné par le représentant d'Israël, et le sionisme; l'un et l'autre sont fondés sur la notion de race; l'un repose sur

le concept de la suprématie nazie, l'autre sur celle du peuple élu: le peuple sioniste. L'un et l'autre reposent sur le concept du "Lebensraum". Le sionisme veut se constituer un territoire pour réunir en Palestine tous les exilés du monde, et son désir d'expansion répond à cet objectif.

150. L'un et l'autre disposent d'une cinquième colonne. Les nazis en avaient une; les sionistes possèdent dans le monde entier leurs groupes de pression et leurs organisations, qui constituent partout un Etat dans l'Etat, une ville dans la ville. Ces groupes sionistes ont pour mission d'exercer des pressions et de modifier en faveur des sionistes la politique des pays intéressés, même si ce changement va à l'encontre des intérêts de ces pays mêmes. Ce sont ces pressions qui ont amené la promesse d'une patrie et celle d'un Etat, ces promesses que j'ai évoquées dans ma déclaration, promesses faites par de grandes puissances étrangères qui n'avaient jamais possédé cette terre et qui n'avaient aucun droit ou titre à transmettre. Ce sont ces pressions qui ont entraîné la création, sur notre sol, du petit Etat étranger que nous y voyons actuellement.

151. Aucun travesti de vérité ne peut changer ce tableau. Les faits sont les faits; ils sont tenaces et bien difficiles à nier.

152. Le PRESIDENT: La parole est au représentant de l'Inde, qui désire exercer son droit de réponse.

153. M. NATWAR SINGH (Inde) [traduit de l'anglais]: Il n'est pas dans la politique de ma délégation de se livrer à des polémiques avec la délégation portugaise. Le dossier des méfaits du Portugal est bien connu de l'Assemblée. Tout ce que je peux dire, c'est que nous répudions en bloc les informations — dirai-je les déformations? — que le représentant du Portugal a soumises à l'Assemblée il y a quelques instants.

La séance est levée à 23 h 25.

Nations Unies

ASSEMBLÉE GÉNÉRALE

SEIZIÈME SESSION

Documents officiels



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SÉANCE PLÉNIÈRE

Mercredi 22 novembre 1961,
à 15 heures

NEW YORK

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POINTS 88 ET 22 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

La situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux (suite)

Assistance à l'Afrique (suite):

a) Programme des Nations Unies pour l'indépendance

1. Le **PRESIDENT**: Avant de donner la parole aux orateurs inscrits sur ma liste, je voudrais attirer l'attention de l'Assemblée sur le fait qu'elle est saisie de quatre projets de résolution [A/L.354, A/L.355, A/L.366 et Add.1 à 3 et A/L.367 et Add.1] concernant le point 88 de l'ordre du jour, et d'un seul projet de résolution [A/L.357 et Add.1] concernant le point 22, a. J'espère que vendredi prochain nous aurons terminé la discussion générale sur ces deux points et que nous pourrons alors aborder l'examen des projets de résolution et passer au vote le lundi 27 novembre 1961. Je voudrais à cette occasion faire appel à toutes les délégations pour qu'elles prennent toutes dispositions utiles en vue d'une discussion fructueuse et rapide des projets de résolution concernant ces deux points de notre ordre du jour.

2. **M. IQBAL (Pakistan)** [traduit de l'anglais]: Le Pakistan a eu l'honneur de figurer au nombre des auteurs de la résolution 1514 (XV), adoptée par l'Assemblée générale le 14 décembre 1960. Cette résolution avait été présentée par le groupe des délégations africano-asiatiques et adoptée au titre de la question intitulée: "Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux", dont l'inscription avait été proposée par l'Union soviétique pour discussion à la quinzième session de l'Assemblée générale. A la même session, les Etats-Unis d'Amérique avaient proposé l'inscription de la question intitulée: "Assistance à l'Afrique: programme des Nations Unies pour l'indépendance"; à la précédente session [995^{ème} séance], l'examen de cette question a été ajourné, mais nous l'examinons maintenant en même temps que la question intitulée: "La situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux".

3. Dans la résolution 1514 (XV), l'Assemblée générale "Proclame solennellement la nécessité de mettre rapidement et inconditionnellement fin au colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations". Elle déclare que:

"Des mesures immédiates seront prises, dans les territoires sous tutelle, les territoires non autonomes et tous autres territoires qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance, pour transférer tous pouvoirs aux peuples de ces territoires, sans aucune condition ni réserve, conformément à leur volonté et à leurs vœux librement exprimés, sans aucune distinction de race, de croyance ou de couleur, afin de leur permettre de jouir d'une indépendance et d'une liberté complètes."

4. Ma délégation constate avec plaisir que l'impérialisme est sur le point de disparaître et que le monde s'engage heureusement sur la voie qui doit le conduire à la solution du problème du colonialisme. L'an dernier, nous nous sommes réjouis de voir s'ouvrir cette ère spectaculaire de l'indépendance africaine et nous avons été particulièrement heureux d'accueillir à l'Organisation 16 nouveaux Etats africains. Cette année, nous avons eu le plaisir aussi de recevoir le Sierra Leone dans cette communauté internationale d'Etats souverains. Nous espérons y accueillir le Tanganyika vers le milieu de décembre. Il y a lieu de penser que l'Ouganda, le Ruanda-Urundi et le Samoa-Occidental accèderont aussi à l'indépendance dans un proche avenir. La reprise des négociations pour la reconnaissance et la réalisation de l'indépendance de l'Algérie est imminente.

5. Nous espérons sincèrement que ces négociations aboutiront très rapidement à la réalisation de cet objectif qui nous est cher, l'indépendance de l'Algérie, et que nous pourrons assister à l'admission de l'Algérie à l'Organisation des Nations Unies avant la fin de la présente session de l'Assemblée.

6. Il est indéniable que le bilan de ce qu'ont fait certaines puissances coloniales est bien meilleur que celui d'autres puissances et, sur ce point, ma délégation n'hésite pas à rendre hommage à ceux qui le méritent. Nous pensons en particulier au Royaume-Uni, qui a contribué plus que toute autre puissance coloniale à la cause de l'indépendance. La politique britannique qui consiste à orienter les colonies vers l'autonomie est diamétralement opposée à celle de certaines autres puissances coloniales qui prétendent, en vertu d'une fiction, ne pas considérer leurs territoires d'outre-mer comme des colonies et, en conséquence, ne sont pas disposées à prendre pour politique de préparer ces territoires à l'autonomie ou l'indépendance.

7. Cependant, nous n'avons pas l'intention de procéder à une étude comparative du bilan des diverses puissances coloniales. Nous avons toujours estimé que le système du colonialisme était insoutenable,

que ce soit sous sa forme classique ou sous d'autres formes. Il y a de nombreuses formes d'exploitation, de subjugation et de domination des peuples, pour lesquelles on n'a pas encore trouvé un terme général. Il est incontestable cependant que le maintien du colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations, quelque justification rationnelle ou imaginaire que l'on veuille en donner, entrave la libération et l'émancipation de l'homme qui veut se libérer de sa subjugation par autrui, et constitue un anachronisme auquel il faut mettre fin dès que possible.

8. La Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, contenue dans la résolution 1514 (XV) adoptée en 1960 par l'Assemblée générale, a énoncé certains principes. Ces principes sont conformes à la Déclaration universelle des droits de l'homme et aux dispositions de la Charte des Nations Unies. La question dont nous sommes maintenant saisis est de savoir comment mettre ces principes en application. Peut-on fixer une date limite unique à laquelle le colonialisme serait supprimé? Ma délégation estime que l'Organisation des Nations Unies doit trouver les moyens propres à l'application effective de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance dans un délai aussi court que possible, mais les circonstances sont très diverses et nous ne tenons pas à voir se reproduire ailleurs les événements du Congo.

9. Deux aspects du colonialisme appellent un examen attentif. Premièrement, c'est essentiellement la puissance administrante qui est directement responsable en ce qui concerne l'octroi de l'indépendance à un territoire colonial. En conséquence, sans la coopération et le concours de la puissance administrante, il est oiseux de fixer une date limite ou d'examiner à quelle époque tel ou tel territoire devrait accéder à la liberté et à l'indépendance.

10. Deuxièmement, la résolution 1514 (XV) stipule expressément que:

"Le manque de préparation dans les domaines politique, économique ou social ou dans celui de l'enseignement ne doit jamais être pris comme prétexte pour retarder l'indépendance";

mais l'expérience du Congo nous a montré cependant qu'il est nécessaire de former rapidement les populations des territoires dépendants, particulièrement à l'exercice du pouvoir politique, afin qu'elles puissent s'acquitter des responsabilités qui sont celles d'un Etat souverain. Ce n'est qu'ainsi que l'on assurera le transfert pacifique et ordonné des pouvoirs, en épargnant au pays la confusion et le désordre.

11. Partant de ces considérations, ma délégation estime que la fixation d'une date limite générale, absolue et immédiate, uniformément applicable à tous les territoires dépendants du monde entier, est dénuée de réalisme et arbitraire. Il faut considérer le cas de chaque territoire dépendant en tenant compte des conditions et circonstances qui lui sont particulières. Une date limite unique serait trop rapprochée pour un territoire et trop éloignée pour un autre.

12. La seule méthode pratique permettant de résoudre la difficulté d'une date limite unique à terme ou d'une date limite générale, absolue et immédiate consiste à envisager une série de dates limites, fixées pour différents territoires selon les différentes conditions et circonstances.

13. Mais avant de fixer cette série de dates limites pour différents territoires, il serait nécessaire que

l'Assemblée générale examine l'état d'évolution politique de chaque territoire en consultation avec la puissance administrante intéressée, ainsi qu'avec les représentants de l'opinion politique, afin d'être à même de déterminer si la population d'un territoire est prête à assumer les responsabilités inhérentes à l'indépendance dans le plus court délai et de fixer alors une date limite appropriée à chaque territoire pour son accession à l'indépendance.

14. Donc, à notre avis, l'application effective de la Déclaration exige la création par les Nations Unies d'un dispositif conçu pour surveiller et hâter le processus de décolonisation. A ce sujet, je désire parler du projet de résolution [A/L.366 et Add.1 à 3] que le Pakistan a l'honneur de présenter avec d'autres pays d'Asie et d'Afrique. Ce projet de résolution prévoit la création d'un comité spécial de 17 membres qui seront désignés par le Président de l'Assemblée générale au cours de la présente session. Ce comité, en consultation avec les autorités compétentes et avec l'aide d'organes des Nations Unies comme le Conseil de tutelle, le Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes et les institutions spécialisées intéressées, étudiera l'application de la Déclaration contenue dans la résolution 1514 (XV), formulera des suggestions et des recommandations quant aux progrès réalisés et à la mesure dans laquelle la Déclaration est mise en œuvre, et fera rapport à l'Assemblée générale à sa dix-septième session.

15. Etant donné que ce comité sera chargé de surveiller et hâter le processus de décolonisation en consultation et en collaboration avec les autorités administrantes sans s'ingérer en aucune façon dans l'administration des territoires dépendants, nous espérons sincèrement que le projet de résolution pourra être accepté par tous et adopté à une très forte majorité.

16. En ce qui concerne le projet de résolution des Pays-Bas [A/L.354] relatif à la Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale, nous avons exposé brièvement notre position dans la déclaration faite à l'Assemblée au nom du Pakistan dans la discussion générale le 3 octobre [1025^e séance]. Nous avons déclaré alors et nous répétons aujourd'hui que si la proposition des Pays-Bas avait porté sur un territoire colonial ou sur un territoire sous tutelle, elle pourrait servir de modèle pour les autres puissances coloniales qui pourraient s'inspirer utilement de la proposition contenue dans ce projet de résolution afin de préparer leurs propres colonies ou territoires sous tutelle à l'autonomie ou à l'indépendance. Mais la proposition contenue dans ce projet de résolution ne peut permettre de régler le différend sur la Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale, différend qui oppose depuis tant d'années les Pays-Bas et l'Indonésie et qui a troublé leurs relations amicales. Il est évident qu'un différend de cette nature ne peut être réglé que par voie d'accord et non par une déclaration unilatérale, ou par le recours à un artifice ou à une proposition conçue et avancée par l'une des parties au différend et inacceptable pour l'autre partie.

17. Certes, à première vue, la proposition des Pays-Bas semble tendre à réaliser l'un des principaux objectifs des Nations Unies, celui qui consiste à favoriser l'autodétermination. Mais un instant de réflexion permet de constater que si l'Assemblée générale adoptait cette proposition malgré l'opposition de l'Indonésie, non seulement elle ne favoriserait pas l'autodétermination, mais elle se prononcerait de façon unilatérale sur un délicat différend qui dure depuis

des années. Nous ne voyons aucun motif de supposer que l'Indonésie ne souhaiterait pas favoriser l'autodétermination de la population de la Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale, si celle-ci la désirait. Mais avant d'engager un tel processus, les revendications de l'Indonésie visant la reconnaissance de sa souveraineté sur la Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale et le transfert de l'administration de ce territoire doivent être tranchées de façon juste et équitable. L'adoption de toute autre méthode ne servirait qu'à exacerber la tension qui existe déjà entre l'Indonésie et les Pays-Bas et à introduire dans ce différend un nouvel élément qui en rendrait le règlement amiable plus difficile encore.

18. Ma délégation se permet de faire observer au Gouvernement des Pays-Bas qu'il aurait avantage à retirer ce projet de résolution et à rechercher un règlement à l'amiable de son différend avec l'Indonésie au sujet de la Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale. Nous avons des motifs d'espérer qu'en se déclarant prêts à transférer la souveraineté et l'administration du territoire de la Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale aux Nations Unies, les Pays-Bas apportent à la situation un élément sur la base duquel un règlement du différend à l'amiable pourrait devenir possible. Toutefois, cela demanderait du temps et, à cette fin, il est nécessaire que le projet de résolution proposé par les Pays-Bas soit retiré. Nous espérons sincèrement que cette demande sera dûment examinée par le Gouvernement néerlandais. Cependant, s'il jugeait devoir insister pour que son projet de résolution soit mis aux voix, nous devrions nous y opposer pour les raisons qui viennent d'être indiquées.

19. M. TSEVEGMID (République populaire mongole) [traduit du russe]: La Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux [résolution 1514 (XV)], adoptée le 14 décembre 1960 par une très forte majorité des Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies a eu un retentissement considérable parmi les peuples du monde entier et a recueilli leur chaleureuse approbation.

20. C'est avec une profonde satisfaction que la République populaire mongole a reçu la nouvelle de l'adoption de cette déclaration historique, alors qu'à l'époque elle n'était pas encore, chacun le sait, Membre de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, et n'a pas eu le plaisir de voter pour la Déclaration directement dans cette salle. Cependant, le Gouvernement de la République populaire mongole exprimant la volonté de son peuple et s'inspirant du caractère pacifique de sa politique étrangère a immédiatement déclaré sa solidarité avec les idées élevées de cette déclaration.

21. Le peuple mongol, qui pendant plus de 200 ans a souffert de toutes les horreurs et de toutes les humiliations d'une autorité étrangère, a accédé à l'indépendance il y a 40 ans et a connu toute la beauté et toutes les joies d'une vie libre et indépendante; il a pu se convaincre par lui-même des magnifiques perspectives de développement économique et culturel ouvertes à des peuples libérés de la domination coloniale. Voilà pourquoi le peuple mongol a toujours soutenu et soutiendra toujours à l'avenir les mouvements de libération nationale des peuples coloniaux, pour leur liberté et leur indépendance. C'est pour cette raison que la République populaire mongole, depuis les premiers jours de son existence, mène une politique de pleine reconnaissance des droits des peuples à l'autodétermination des Etats nationaux et s'élève sans cesse contre le colonialisme, sous quelque forme qu'il se manifeste.

22. Sous la poussée puissante du mouvement de libération nationale des peuples, soutenu par tous les peuples du monde épris de liberté, beaucoup de pays se sont libérés ces derniers temps de l'oppression du joug colonial. La lutte des peuples coloniaux pour la libération continue à prendre une ampleur toujours plus grande et maintenant il est peu probable que quelqu'un doute que le système colonial soit condamné à périr.

23. Cependant, le système colonial n'est pas encore définitivement détruit. Sous l'oppression coloniale se trouvent encore 88 territoires avec plus de 70 millions d'habitants. La délégation de la République populaire mongole remarque avec beaucoup de tristesse que les puissances coloniales font des tentatives pour freiner le processus historique inévitable de libération des peuples coloniaux et s'opposent par tous les moyens à l'application des dispositions de la Déclaration concernant la mise en pratique de mesures immédiates en vue de la liquidation du colonialisme.

24. Une des violations les plus criantes des dispositions de la Déclaration est constituée par les guerres coloniales qui se déroulent actuellement en Algérie, en Angola et en Oman. Ces guerres coûtent la vie à des dizaines et des centaines de milliers de personnes, laissent des masses de gens sans abri et sans moyens d'existence. Les colonisateurs ont accentué encore la terreur et la répression contre la population d'autres colonies: Ruanda-Urundi, Sud-Ouest africain et Rhodésie. Dans toutes les colonies, qu'elles soient sous l'autorité de l'Angleterre ou du Portugal, de la France ou des Etats-Unis d'Amérique, de la Belgique ou de l'Union sud-africaine, le sang coule; un arbitraire barbare, l'illégalité, une effrayante discrimination raciale y règnent et la population est acculée aux limites du désespoir.

25. Permettez-moi de vous rappeler à ce propos une déclaration faite par un habitant du Sud-Ouest africain, M. Zedekia Ngavirue, devant le Comité du Sud-Ouest africain de l'Assemblée générale.

26. M. Ngavirue a quitté le Sud-Ouest africain le 24 mai 1961 en étant délégué par la SWANU (Union nationale du Sud-Ouest africain) pour donner au Comité des renseignements de première main sur la situation dans le territoire. M. Ngavirue parlant de la situation dans le Sud-Ouest africain déclare avec colère:

"Aujourd'hui, dans le Sud-Ouest africain, vous constaterez que l'Africain moyen a faim, qu'il est sans abri, qu'il est à peine vêtu ou en haillons, et il s'agit pourtant là de besoins fondamentaux; son espérance de vie est de 35 ans ... Dans le Sud-Ouest africain, vous constaterez aujourd'hui que l'homme blanc, lui, est gras, soigné, qu'il vit dans une habitation moderne, bien meublée, ou même parfois dans un château; il possède une belle automobile, et d'une façon générale, mène une existence opulente. Il a une espérance de vie d'environ 65 ans ..."

[Citation extraite du rapport du Comité du Sud-Ouest africain relatif aux résolutions 1568 (XV) et 1596 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale, A/4926, par. 77.]

27. Ceci est un exemple de la situation à laquelle la prétendue "mission civilisatrice" des colonisateurs a amené la population du Sud-Ouest africain dans la République sud-africaine.

28. Aussi étrange que cela puisse paraître, aujourd'hui encore, les colonisateurs affirment avec force

que leur "mission civilisatrice" n'est pas encore terminée, que les peuples des colonies ne sont pas encore "préparés" à une existence libre et indépendante. Les représentants des Etats coloniaux essaient de réhabiliter le colonialisme qui s'est complètement discrédité lui-même. Ils disent que si le colonialisme a été mauvais, ce fut dans le passé, mais que maintenant le colonialisme se serait "amélioré", et veulent imposer encore pour des dizaines d'années ce colonialisme soi-disant "amélioré".

29. Les événements des dernières années ont montré que le colonialisme continue comme par le passé à jouer un rôle de parasite, que ses buts n'ont pas changé; il est destiné à assurer les bénéfices des monopoles aux dépens de l'exploitation des colonies; et seule la liquidation des régimes coloniaux donnera aux peuples coloniaux la possibilité de bénéficier enfin de la science, de la technique et de la culture modernes.

30. L'expérience historique nous montre le manque de fondement de la théorie colonialiste sur l'impréparation des peuples des colonies à l'indépendance. Les pays libérés du joug colonial se développent à un rythme rapide et se débarrassent de l'héritage colonial passé. Dans cette salle, il y a beaucoup de représentants de pays qui étaient récemment encore des colonies, et qui maintenant jouent un grand rôle dans les affaires internationales et résolvent avec succès les problèmes de développement économique et de progrès culturel de leurs pays.

31. Tout ce que nous venons de dire est confirmé par le développement de la République populaire mongole depuis sa libération de la domination étrangère. Durant ces 40 ans de vie libre et indépendante, la République populaire mongole non seulement a éliminé les restes d'une domination étrangère, mais a même obtenu de grands succès dans la vie politique, économique, culturelle et sociale du pays.

32. Jusqu'à la renaissance de l'indépendance nationale, la Mongolie était un des pays les plus arriérés de l'Asie; son peuple subissait le joug cruel de l'étranger et de ses valets. L'économie du pays était de caractère pastoral. Il n'y avait ni système d'instruction publique, ni services de santé publique.

33. Ce n'est que grâce à la victoire du mouvement de libération nationale et à l'expulsion des exploiters étrangers que le peuple mongol est devenu effectivement maître dans son pays.

34. Le peuple mongol, devenu maître chez lui, a choisi la voie d'un développement non capitaliste. Ces 40 ans de l'histoire de notre pays ont montré toute la justesse, toute la vitalité d'un tel développement.

35. Les difficultés, dues à un extrême retard économique et technique, qui se dressaient devant le peuple mongol sur la route de son développement, ont été heureusement surmontées grâce au labeur héroïque de notre peuple et à l'aide désintéressée du premier pays socialiste du monde, l'Union soviétique.

36. Pendant les années de pouvoir populaire, notre pays a créé à neuf une industrie nationale. Des branches de l'industrie lourde et légère, telles que l'énergie, les industries minières, pétrolière, métallurgique, l'industrie du cuir, le textile, l'industrie alimentaire, etc., se développent rapidement. Grâce à l'industrialisation du pays, la production industrielle a quadruplé dans ces dernières décennies.

37. Notre agriculture se développe aussi avec succès. La caractéristique de ce développement de notre agriculture est qu'à côté de l'élevage, branche essentielle de notre économie agricole, qui était jadis la seule forme de l'économie nationale, est apparu un nouveau secteur, l'agriculture proprement dite. La création de cette nouvelle branche de l'économie agricole nous a permis de nous suffire à nous-mêmes avec notre propre production de céréales.

38. Grâce au succès obtenu dans les domaines de l'agriculture et de l'industrie, la République populaire mongole, de pays d'élevage, s'est transformée en pays à la fois agricole et industriel.

39. Aujourd'hui, le peuple mongol entreprend avec enthousiasme la réalisation du troisième plan quinquennal de développement de l'économie nationale (1961-1965); ce plan prévoit que la production industrielle doublera, alors que les surfaces cultivées seront presque triplées.

40. De grands succès ont été aussi obtenus dans les domaines de la culture, de la science et de la santé publique. L'une des plus importantes réalisations est la liquidation de l'analphabétisme de la population et la réussite de l'introduction de l'enseignement primaire général dans les localités rurales, et de l'école de sept classes pour les enfants des villes.

41. Actuellement, chez nous, un individu sur six étudie dans quelque établissement scolaire, environ huit personnes sur 1 000 fréquentent un établissement d'enseignement supérieur.

42. Une des plus importantes réalisations de notre culture nationale est le développement de la recherche scientifique, des arts, de la littérature et l'accroissement des milieux intellectuels nationaux. L'Académie des sciences de la République populaire mongole comprend de nombreux instituts de recherche.

43. Depuis les premiers jours de l'organisation des services de santé publique dans le pays, la population reçoit les soins médicaux gratuits. Actuellement il y a un médecin pour 1 000 personnes.

44. Ainsi, toute l'histoire de la renaissance nationale de la Mongolie montre que même les pays les plus en retard du point de vue économique ont toute possibilité de conquérir et de consolider leur indépendance nationale et politique et de marcher d'un pas assuré dans la voie d'un développement autonome, indépendant et libre.

45. J'ai cité ces quelques faits sur le développement de notre pays uniquement pour que l'Assemblée générale puisse encore une fois se convaincre combien la liberté et l'indépendance sont prisées et chéries par les grandes et les petites nations en général, par les peuples coloniaux et dépendants en particulier.

46. On le sait, la Déclaration de l'Organisation des Nations Unies a condamné la thèse de la prétendue "impréparation" des peuples des colonies à l'indépendance. Il est dit dans la Déclaration:

"Le manque de préparation dans les domaines politique, économique ou social ou dans celui de l'enseignement ne doit jamais être pris comme prétexte pour retarder l'indépendance."

47. Si l'ONU en a ainsi décidé, il ne doit pas y avoir en pratique d'atermoiements dans la mise en œuvre de la Déclaration: il ne doit pas y avoir d'obstacle à la liquidation immédiate du colonialisme, ceci par l'adoption de mesures urgentes et concrètes, aboutis-

sant au transfert des pouvoirs dans les colonies aux organes des gouvernements choisis par la population même de ces pays.

48. L'Assemblée générale de l'Organisation des Nations Unies a proclamé solennellement la nécessité de mettre fin au colonialisme et cela sans retard ni réserve. On ne peut donc admettre que, pendant des dizaines d'années encore, certains peuples doivent subir l'esclavage colonial comme le voudraient les colonialistes. D'après l'opinion de la délégation de la République populaire mongole, la proposition tendant à ce que l'année 1962 devienne celle de la liquidation définitive et générale des régimes coloniaux apparaît comme tout à fait conforme à la réalité. Une telle proposition a été formulée à la Conférence des pays non alignés à Belgrade^{1/} et nous la soutenons pleinement.

49. La délégation de la République populaire mongole appuiera également les autres propositions prévoyant la prise de mesures effectives pour la mise en œuvre de la Déclaration.

50. Ce serait une erreur de supposer qu'avec l'adoption de la Déclaration nous allons en terminer avec le colonialisme. Nous, représentants d'Etats libres et indépendants, et notre délégation en est convaincue, n'avons pas le droit d'admettre les attermoissements que l'on voit se produire dans l'application de cette déclaration.

51. Notre délégation croit et espère que l'écrasante majorité de ceux qui sont ici reconnaîtra que la méconnaissance des droits de nations, de pays entiers, que le mépris de la dignité humaine, que la discrimination raciale sont un crime de la plus haute gravité contre l'humanité et en contradiction avec l'esprit de la Charte des Nations Unies.

52. Le peuple mongol et le Gouvernement de la République populaire mongole partagent entièrement et soutiennent les justes revendications des peuples luttant pour leur liberté et leur indépendance.

53. On sait que, pendant des centaines d'années, les colonisateurs ont soutiré les richesses des pays coloniaux, ont pompé la sueur des peuples de ces pays. Maintenant ces colonialistes répriment cruellement les mouvements de libération nationale des peuples qui luttent pour la liberté et l'indépendance de leur pays. Les événements d'Algérie, d'Angola, du Congo et de beaucoup d'autres territoires sous domination coloniale le montrent clairement.

54. Le monde entier sait que les peuples des pays coloniaux d'Afrique et d'Asie ne menacent pas la sécurité des autres pays; ainsi, par exemple, les Angolais ne menacent pas le territoire du Portugal; les habitants de Goa et de l'Irian occidental n'essaient pas de s'emparer du territoire de la Hollande ou du Portugal, alors qu'au contraire le Portugal et la Hollande font la guerre sur les territoires desdits pays; par là même ils — les colonisateurs — menacent la paix et la sécurité des peuples.

55. La délégation de la République populaire mongole estime que la politique du Gouvernement des Pays-Bas tendant à amputer la République d'Indonésie de l'Irian occidental est non seulement une atteinte à l'intégrité territoriale et à la souveraineté politique de l'Indonésie, pays qui est de nos amis, mais aussi une violation flagrante de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de

l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux adoptée à la quinzième session de l'Assemblée générale de l'Organisation des Nations Unies.

56. Les tentatives des Pays-Bas d'intégrer au Royaume des Pays-Bas l'Irian occidental, représentant 22 p. 100 de l'ensemble du territoire de la République d'Indonésie, avec son million d'habitants, ne sauraient être considérées autrement que comme une manifestation de la politique colonialiste agressive de la Hollande, comme un essai pour conserver sa domination sur cette partie inaliénable du territoire indonésien.

57. La délégation de la République populaire mongole partage entièrement l'opinion de la délégation de l'Indonésie à ce sujet et appuie et continuera à appuyer les justes revendications du peuple indonésien et du Gouvernement de la République d'Indonésie pour l'intégration totale de son territoire lequel comprend plus de 3 000 îles.

58. Notre délégation estime que tous les efforts du Gouvernement de la République d'Indonésie pour liquider l'administration coloniale de la Hollande dans l'Irian occidental, et pour y établir la pleine juridiction de la République d'Indonésie, constituent un grand apport du peuple et du Gouvernement de l'Indonésie à la cause de la liquidation du colonialisme, à la cause du maintien de la paix et de la sécurité dans l'Asie du Sud-Est et le monde entier.

59. L'Organisation des Nations Unies ne doit ni prier ni supplier les colonialistes de renoncer à leur politique coloniale dans les pays d'Asie et d'Afrique, mais doit les obliger à se soumettre aux résolutions de l'Assemblée générale des Nations Unies qui expriment la volonté de tous les peuples.

60. Il va de soi que la condition première pour l'octroi de l'indépendance aux colonies est l'arrêt des sanglantes guerres coloniales, la fin de la répression contre les participants au mouvement de libération nationale et le retrait de toutes les troupes étrangères des colonies. Il est indispensable de créer dans ces pays les conditions qui donneraient la possibilité à leurs peuples d'établir des organes du pouvoir nationaux et de bâtir leur vie sans ingérence étrangère.

61. L'application d'une série de mesures concrètes de ce genre est proposée dans le projet de résolution [A/L.355] soumis à l'examen de la présente session de l'Assemblée générale par la délégation de l'Union soviétique. La délégation de la République populaire mongole votera pour ce projet.

62. Tout retard dans l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux est incompatible avec les buts et les principes élevés de notre organisation et il est gros de conséquences dangereuses pour la cause de la paix.

63. La liquidation complète du honteux système colonialiste ferait disparaître une des dangereuses sources de guerre, favoriserait une détente dans les relations internationales et assurerait la paix et la sécurité internationales.

64. S'inspirant du principe inviolable du droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes, la délégation de la République populaire mongole exprime le sentiment de particulière sympathie de son peuple pour la lutte héroïque que mènent les peuples coloniaux pour la liberté et l'indépendance, les assure de sa solidarité, exige résolument l'application sans réserve de la

^{1/} Tenue du 1er au 6 septembre 1961.

Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, adoptée à la quinzième session de l'Assemblée générale de l'Organisation des Nations Unies.

M. Bitsios (Grèce), vice-président, prend la présidence.

65. M. FARAH ALI OMAR (Somalie) [traduit de l'anglais]: Dans son intervention au cours de la discussion générale, le Ministre des affaires étrangères de la République somalienne, M. Abdullahi Issa, a déclaré au sujet de la question du colonialisme qui est l'objet de notre discussion:

"Le colonialisme n'est pas seulement une inquiétante et persistante source de conflits locaux. C'est également une menace directe à la paix et à la sécurité du monde. L'examen des problèmes du colonialisme a fait apparaître une certaine communauté de vues, puisque l'on a reconnu qu'il faut avant tout et surtout considérer le colonialisme du point de vue de la dignité de l'homme et de la paix et de la sécurité dans le monde." [1027ème séance, par. 127.]

M. Issa a ajouté:

"Je crois qu'indépendamment de la menace qu'il représente pour la paix internationale, le colonialisme est un des fléaux que l'humanité non seulement abhorre, mais encore est déterminée à éliminer définitivement." [Ibid., par. 128.]

66. C'est dans ce même esprit que ma délégation a appuyé sans réserve, l'an dernier, la résolution de l'Assemblée générale qui condamne le colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations. C'est dans ce même esprit que nous sommes fiers d'être parmi ceux qui ont présenté le projet de résolution [A/L.366 et Add.1 à 3] actuellement en discussion.

67. Mais avant d'aborder le fond de la discussion, nous tenons à dire que nous avons écouté avec un grand intérêt les déclarations des orateurs qui nous ont précédés. D'après toutes les déclarations entendues, il ressort qu'à de très rares exceptions, regrettables — je répète, de très rares exceptions regrettables —, l'Assemblée est presque unanime dans son désir sincère de mettre rapidement fin à cette situation historique qui appartiendra bientôt au passé. Le plus tôt sera le mieux, car, de nos jours, il n'est guère concevable qu'un gouvernement ou une nation ayant du bon sens conteste sérieusement le droit fondamental de tout peuple d'exercer pleinement son droit à l'autodétermination. Il est presque inadmissible, à un moment où tant de peuples d'Afrique, dont la Somalie, ont accédé à la pleine indépendance, que d'autres peuples puissent encore être empêchés de se joindre à la communauté des nations libres et de jouer tout leur rôle non seulement dans l'édification de leur propre avenir, mais aussi dans celle d'un monde meilleur.

68. Comme d'autres nations qui ont connu le colonialisme, nous pensons qu'aujourd'hui le stade des récriminations est passé. Notre seule tâche consiste à trouver les moyens de mettre fin au colonialisme où qu'il puisse encore exister. La seule façon d'y parvenir est d'élaborer une procédure assurant aux peuples intéressés le droit d'exprimer librement leurs vœux quant à leur avenir.

69. Dans cet esprit, ma délégation est disposée à accueillir favorablement toutes propositions présen-

tées à cette fin, à savoir l'indépendance complète et la liberté de tous les peuples encore soumis à la domination coloniale.

70. A ce sujet, ma délégation désire adresser un appel aux Gouvernements de l'Afrique du Sud et du Portugal en leur demandant de voir la réalité en face et de tenir compte du fait certain que, s'il est possible d'opprimer ou d'enchaîner l'homme dans son corps, il est impossible de réprimer ses aspirations et de contrôler son esprit. On peut détruire l'homme, mais ses idéaux demeurent. Ces deux pays croient-ils vraiment qu'une politique de répression brutale et de domination constitue la seule réponse à la revendication des peuples qui réclament l'autodétermination et l'indépendance? Nous pensons sincèrement que non. Nous espérons que cet appel sera accueilli dans l'esprit dans lequel il est formulé.

71. A la Conférence des pays non alignés tenue à Belgrade^{2/}, le Président de la Somalie, M. Adan Abdullah Osman, condamnant le colonialisme, a déclaré:

"Je voudrais appeler votre attention sur le fait que nous avons tendance à considérer le colonialisme comme la domination d'une nation européenne sur une nation asiatique ou africaine et à lancer des invectives à l'adresse des puissances coloniales blanches, tout en gardant un complet silence sur la domination d'une race par une autre race de la même couleur. Cela se passe de nos jours en Europe, en Asie et en Afrique."

Il a poursuivi:

"Il serait donc souhaitable dans l'intérêt de la paix mondiale d'étudier de près tous les différends de ce genre et de prier des Etats amis d'user de leurs bons offices auprès des parties au différend pour les amener à un règlement à l'amiable."

72. La population de la province frontalière septentrionale du Kenya, qui est en majeure partie d'origine somalienne, a demandé au Gouvernement britannique la possibilité d'exprimer librement ses vœux qui sont de se séparer du Kenya et de se joindre à la République somalienne avant que le Kenya accède à l'indépendance. Sans vouloir, en faisant cette demande, retarder d'un seul jour l'accession de nos frères du Kenya à l'indépendance — telle est la politique officielle de mon gouvernement —, nous devons faire observer que la Somalie se souvient avec angoisse et émoi que c'est aussi le Gouvernement britannique qui a fait cadeau à trois reprises de parties importantes de notre chère patrie à nos frères les Ethiopiens. Outre cette pénible séparation forcée, cet acte ignominieux de colonialisme a assombri l'atmosphère de sérénité et de fraternité qui, autrement, aurait pu régner dans les relations entre la Somalie et l'Ethiopie. Notre délégation croit devoir déclarer publiquement que nous demandons au Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni de s'abstenir, à l'avenir, de mesures aussi injustes et arbitraires que celles qu'il a prises dans le passé contre le peuple et l'intégrité territoriale de la Somalie, sans pour autant retarder l'octroi prochain de l'indépendance à nos frères du Kenya.

73. Le Gouvernement britannique a accordé l'indépendance à plusieurs millions d'êtres humains et s'est ainsi acquis un immense fonds de bonne volonté. Ne serait-il pas préférable, pour le maintien de

^{2/} Tenue du 1er au 6 septembre 1961.

bonnes relations dans l'avenir entre les nations d'Afrique orientale et centrale et la Grande-Bretagne, que le Gouvernement britannique mène une politique tendant à accorder la liberté aux peuples d'Afrique centrale comme il le fait actuellement pour le Tanganyika, l'Ouganda et le Kenya?

74. L'Algérie et la Somalie française sont les seuls territoires coloniaux encore détenus en Afrique par le Gouvernement français. Le fait que le Gouvernement français continue à garder ces deux territoires contre la volonté de leurs habitants affecte sensiblement la compréhension mutuelle, la coopération et l'amitié entre la France et les peuples du continent africain. J'ai l'espoir que l'esprit qui a incité le Gouvernement français à accorder l'indépendance à 15 Etats africains frères représentés ici aujourd'hui ne se démentira pas et que l'Algérie et la Somalie française pourront très prochainement exprimer librement leurs vœux sur leur avenir grâce à une autodétermination impartialement appliquée, en évitant ainsi de nouvelles effusions de sang.

75. Pour terminer, nous voulons exhorter l'Assemblée à voter à l'unanimité le projet de résolution en discussion [A/L.366 et Add.1 à 3]. Ce projet de résolution qui mettra en application la décolonisation marquera l'aube d'une ère où la concorde, la coopération et l'amitié régneront entre tous les peuples de notre planète. Toute tentative pour s'opposer à ce courant d'indépendance et de liberté fondé sur la libre expression de la volonté des peuples intéressés ne fera qu'aviver les haines et ajouter aux conflits mondiaux.

M. Slim (Tunisie) reprend la présidence.

76. M. VAKIL (Iran): La Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux [résolution 1514 (XV)], dont l'Assemblée examine actuellement les mesures et les moyens de mise en application, a incontestablement marqué un tournant dans l'évolution de la communauté internationale. Mon pays, sans avoir jamais été directement soumis au joug colonial, a toujours été en contact avec les différentes manifestations de ce phénomène historique et ainsi peut prétendre avoir une conception objective et juste du colonialisme.

77. L'Iran est fier d'avoir toujours soutenu, sans condition ni réserve, la cause des peuples colonisés. Au cours de la quinzième session de l'Assemblée, ma délégation a eu l'occasion d'exprimer largement ses vœux sur le problème colonial dans son ensemble et, par sa participation active à la préparation de la Déclaration, elle a donné de nouvelles preuves de l'importance qu'elle attache et de l'appui sans réserve qu'elle apporte au mouvement de libération des peuples colonisés. Aussi me contenterai-je, en 1961, de faire quelques observations sur les conséquences d'ordre politique et juridique qui découlent de la résolution 1514 (XV).

78. On ne saurait bien saisir le sens et la portée de cet acte, et la place de choix qu'il occupe dans l'histoire des relations internationales, sans avoir présent à l'esprit le chemin difficile et souvent tortueux qu'a suivi, depuis la création de l'ONU, le mouvement de libération des peuples coloniaux, à l'intérieur et à l'extérieur de cette organisation.

79. L'un des buts essentiels de l'ONU est, selon le paragraphe 2 de l'Article premier de la Charte, d'aider les peuples colonisés à disposer d'eux-

mêmes, et les Chapitres XI, XII et XIII de la Charte précisent les responsabilités importantes qui incombent à notre organisation dans ce domaine.

80. Les dispositions de ces chapitres constituaient incontestablement, en 1945, un progrès en ce qui concerne les territoires sous tutelle et les territoires non autonomes.

81. Selon ces dispositions, l'ONU a la responsabilité de se préoccuper de l'avenir des territoires non autonomes et de surveiller l'évolution des populations qui ne sont pas encore libres d'administrer leurs propres affaires, afin de les conduire vers la pleine autonomie et l'indépendance.

82. Sans être à l'abri de tout reproche, il faut reconnaître que l'application des dispositions des Chapitres XII et XIII de la Charte a abouti, dans l'ensemble, à des résultats satisfaisants et que l'ONU a pu jouer un rôle déterminant dans l'accession d'un grand nombre de pays colonisés à l'indépendance. La présence dans cette salle de représentants de nombreux Etats anciennement sous tutelle ou non autonomes et la contribution précieuse qu'ils apportent à la collaboration internationale sont autant de preuves indubitables de l'importance du rôle joué par l'Organisation dans ce domaine. Avec la collaboration des autorités administrantes, l'œuvre de notre organisation dans l'exercice du régime international de tutelle a été, dans la plupart des cas, couronnée de succès.

83. Après l'accession imminente à l'indépendance du Tanganyika et du Samoa-Occidental, il ne restera plus que trois des 13 territoires placés à l'origine sous le régime international de tutelle. Les résultats obtenus ont ainsi justifié, dans une large mesure, les espoirs qu'on avait placés dans le régime de tutelle. Nous attendons avec impatience le jour, qui n'est pas très éloigné, où le Conseil de tutelle pourra déclarer qu'il s'est entièrement acquitté des tâches qui lui avaient été confiées aux termes de la Charte.

84. Si l'œuvre de l'ONU a été en général satisfaisante dans les territoires sous tutelle, tel n'a pas toujours été le cas en ce qui concerne les territoires non autonomes. Les dispositions du Chapitre XI de la Charte, par suite du refus catégorique et obstiné de certaines puissances coloniales de remplir leurs obligations internationales, sont restées, dans certaines régions du monde, lettre morte. Je ne veux pas parler ici des cas particuliers qui seront discutés dans d'autres circonstances. Qu'il me soit néanmoins permis de rappeler avec une profonde tristesse que, en ce moment même où nous discutons de l'abolition du système colonial, des milliers d'êtres humains continuent encore d'être les victimes des pratiques et des sévices coloniaux.

85. En dehors de ces cas exceptionnels, on peut dire, ainsi que les documents préparés par le Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes le laissent entendre, que certains progrès d'ordre économique, social et autre ont été réalisés dans ces territoires. Mais il faut ajouter que ces progrès sont loin de satisfaire les exigences de notre temps. On peut dire qu'en principe le rythme des progrès, dans les territoires où ils ont été réalisés, était souvent sinon toujours dépassé par le rythme du mouvement d'émancipation des peuples colonisés.

86. La période 1946-1960 a montré que le mouvement de libération des peuples opprimés est entré dans une nouvelle phase. Ce qui était considéré par

la Charte comme un idéal est maintenant un fait accompli et ce mouvement historique a cessé d'être une affaire interne des puissances coloniales pour devenir un important problème international. En face de cette évolution historique, l'ONU devait se prononcer. Elle l'a fait en donnant, au moyen de la Déclaration, une interprétation des principes énoncés dans la Charte, interprétation qui était à la fois juste et conforme aux exigences de l'heure.

87. Le succès ou l'échec de notre organisation dépend de la façon dont elle s'adapte aux besoins du temps. L'ONU ne peut s'en tenir à une conception statique du monde telle qu'elle a été formulée il y a 15 ans; elle doit être en contact constant avec la réalité vivante et la refléter. La Déclaration n'est en effet que l'adaptation aux conditions actuelles du monde du principe de l'autodétermination des peuples établi par la Charte en 1945. Je me rallie, à ce sujet, à l'opinion d'un homme dont le nom restera gravé dans l'histoire comme le plus grand artisan de l'œuvre de la collaboration internationale. Je veux parler du regretté Secrétaire général, Dag Hammarskjöld, lorsqu'il dit à la page 2 de l'Introduction au rapport annuel du Secrétaire général sur l'activité de l'Organisation [A/4800/Add.1]:

"La résolution sur le colonialisme adoptée par l'Assemblée générale à sa quinzième session peut être considérée comme proclamant de nouveau dans son ensemble, et de façon plus détaillée, le principe énoncé dans la Charte. Jusqu'à présent, cette évolution s'est traduite par la création d'un grand nombre de nouveaux Etats nationaux et par une augmentation révolutionnaire du nombre des Membres de l'Organisation."

88. Ailleurs dans le même document, à propos de l'importance du problème de l'autodétermination des peuples, il est dit — et je cite:

"C'est, là encore, une question dont l'Assemblée générale est saisie depuis des années et qui restera vraisemblablement au premier plan de ses préoccupations jusqu'à ce que l'on parvienne à un résultat définitif qui consacre la pleine application de ces principes fondamentaux dans le sens indiqué par la résolution de l'an dernier."

89. De l'avis de ma délégation, la Déclaration représente le point culminant de l'évolution progressive de l'opinion publique internationale, et la mise en œuvre de ses dispositions constitue un facteur important de la préservation de la paix et de la sécurité dans le monde.

90. Du point de vue juridique, on peut dire que cette résolution a apporté des éléments nouveaux au droit international. Les déclarations étatiques ont toujours été considérées comme l'une des sources des règles du droit international. Ce qui différencie la Déclaration des déclarations étatiques des siècles précédents, c'est que, au lieu d'être l'émanation de la volonté de quelques puissances appartenant à une région géographique limitée, elle exprime la volonté de la quasi-unanimité des membres de la communauté internationale actuelle. De plus, ce qui lui donne une force et une valeur particulières, c'est que la volonté des Etats y coïncide entièrement avec les aspirations des peuples. Le rôle de plus en plus important de la volonté des peuples dans la création des normes juridiques interétatiques est le résultat des changements radicaux qui se sont produits depuis 15 ans dans la structure et l'organisation politico-sociale du monde.

91. Au moment où le système colonial est condamné par tous ceux qui veulent que l'intérêt du monde prime l'intérêt particulier d'une puissance quelconque; au moment où nous envisageons des mesures concrètes pour faire disparaître les derniers vestiges du colonialisme, la question qui se pose est de savoir si la réalisation de ce but sera le fruit de luttes sanglantes, au cours desquelles périront encore des milliers d'êtres humains, ou si l'on trouvera le moyen, comme ce fut déjà le cas dans plusieurs pays qui ont récemment accédé à l'indépendance, de permettre à cette évolution historique inévitable de continuer son cours dans la paix et le calme.

92. Notre époque est celle d'une évolution rapide et on peut dire révolutionnaire de la communauté internationale. La vitesse est devenue la condition indispensable du succès de toute entreprise humaine. Cette observation est particulièrement valable pour ce qui est de l'évolution ou plutôt de la disparition du système colonial. Les méthodes classiques qui pouvaient aboutir dans le passé à des résultats satisfaisants ne répondent plus aux exigences de notre époque — époque du dynamisme révolutionnaire.

93. En examinant l'application de la Déclaration, nous devons poursuivre inlassablement notre idéal, désormais incontesté, d'un monde où aucun peuple ne serait dominé par un autre, mais nous devons aussi tenir compte des moyens pratiques pour le réaliser. Pour que le transfert des pouvoirs aux peuples coloniaux soit effectué dans les meilleures conditions, l'ONU doit prendre en considération les conditions propres de chaque territoire. Certains principes énoncés dans la résolution 1541 (XV) du 15 décembre 1960 constituent, à nos yeux, des critères valables pour apprécier les mesures concrètes qui aideraient les territoires encore dépendants à accéder à l'indépendance.

94. L'élément primordial dans le transfert des pouvoirs, ses modalités et ses conditions est, sans aucun doute, la volonté de la population de chaque territoire. Or, il est de la plus grande importance que les autorités administrantes permettent à ces populations de s'exprimer sur leur avenir en toute liberté et par des moyens démocratiques.

95. L'une des idées les plus illogiques consiste, à notre avis, à vouloir appliquer sans discernement les mêmes méthodes à des populations ayant des antécédents psychologiques et politiques différents. Tout en étant convaincus que les mesures destinées à effacer les derniers vestiges du colonialisme présentent un caractère d'urgence, nous estimons que, compte tenu des situations très variées et foncièrement différentes des territoires non autonomes, la fixation d'une date pour la fin du colonialisme s'avère forcément illogique et par conséquent impraticable.

96. Le projet de résolution [A/L.366] dont ma délégation a l'honneur d'être l'un des auteurs et dans la préparation duquel elle a eu une part active, contient des éléments nécessaires pour permettre à notre organisation de s'acquitter de sa lourde responsabilité à l'égard des peuples colonisés.

97. Il est indéniable que dans les circonstances présentes la collaboration des autorités administrantes, directement responsables de la situation des territoires dépendants et possédant de plus larges renseignements à leur sujet, constitue l'élément indispensable pour le succès des travaux du Comité spécial prévu par ce projet de résolution. Nous voulons espérer que les autorités administrantes, conscientes de

la grande responsabilité qu'elles assument à l'égard de l'histoire, ne manqueront pas de prêter leur concours à l'organisation pour faire disparaître à jamais les derniers vestiges d'un système qui admettait sans ambages l'asservissement de l'homme par l'homme. La réussite de notre organisation dans l'accomplissement de cette tâche s'inscrira dans l'histoire comme une grande victoire, une victoire qui fera droit aux aspirations les plus nobles de l'humanité.

98. Avant de descendre de cette tribune, je voudrais adresser une dernière requête aux membres de l'Assemblée. Je voudrais particulièrement leur recommander le projet de résolution dont nous sommes coauteurs. Il est signé à l'heure actuelle par 38 puissances; j'espère qu'il recueillera l'assentiment unanime de l'Assemblée.

99. M. BINGHAM (Etats-Unis d'Amérique) [traduit de l'anglais]: Le 14 décembre de l'an dernier, l'Assemblée générale a adopté une résolution [1514 (XV)] dans laquelle elle a proclamé solennellement "la nécessité de mettre rapidement et inconditionnellement fin au colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations". A cette fin, l'Assemblée a déclaré:

"Des mesures immédiates seront prises, dans les territoires sous tutelle, les territoires non autonomes et tous autres territoires qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance, pour transférer tous pouvoirs aux peuples de ces territoires, sans aucune condition ni réserve, conformément à leur volonté et à leurs vœux librement exprimés, sans aucune distinction de race, de croyance ou de couleur, afin de leur permettre de jouir d'une indépendance et d'une liberté complètes."

100. Comme tous les représentants le savent, je crois, les Etats-Unis se sont associés aux principes de cette déclaration historique. Nous serons heureux si, grâce à notre participation à ce débat et aux débats futurs, ainsi que par nos actes, tant dans le cadre des Nations Unies qu'en dehors, nous pouvons aider à la réalisation de ces nobles buts.

101. Quand on considère le problème du "colonialisme", terme qui a reçu bien des interprétations différentes au cours de nos débats, il importe au premier chef que nous nous comprenions et que nos idées soient claires en la matière. C'est le premier but de ce débat: libérer tous les esprits, le nôtre et ceux des autres, des préjugés, des soupçons et des demi-vérités qui compliquent et entravent notre quête commune du progrès.

102. Ensuite, il importe que nous examinions le problème du colonialisme dans son entier. Comme nous considérons tous ce problème et les autres problèmes à la lumière de notre propre expérience, certains d'entre nous ont eu tendance dans le passé à voir le colonialisme d'un point de vue limité ou partiel. Nos efforts ont ressemblé à ceux des aveugles de la fable dont chacun cherche à se représenter un éléphant en touchant chacun une partie différente de l'animal.

103. Aux Etats-Unis, par exemple, on se demande souvent pourquoi les puissances occidentales qui ont renoncé depuis 1945 à la domination qu'elles exerçaient sur près d'un milliard d'hommes et de femmes, continuent d'être critiquées et accusées d'impérialisme forcené, notamment par quelques-unes des nouvelles nations elles-mêmes, alors que l'Union soviétique qui, pendant la même période, a absorbé tant de pays indépendants d'Europe orientale, ou la Chine

communiste qui, depuis 10 ans, écrase toute tentative d'autonomie du Tibet, sont traitées avec beaucoup plus de douceur par ces mêmes critiques.

104. Pour les Etats-Unis, l'esprit anticolonialiste n'est pas une nouveauté. Nous avons été la première nation des temps modernes à passer de la domination coloniale à l'indépendance. La Déclaration d'indépendance adoptée le 4 juillet 1776, document qui a fondé notre pays, contient ces vérités évidentes:

"... que tous les hommes naissent égaux, qu'ils sont dotés par leur Créateur de certains droits inaliénables, parmi lesquels la vie, la liberté et la recherche du bonheur; que pour assurer ces droits des gouvernements sont institués parmi les hommes, tirant leurs justes pouvoirs du consentement des gouvernés."

105. Les fondateurs des Etats-Unis ont déclaré — et c'est toujours la conviction de leurs descendants — que ces vérités ne sont pas l'apanage d'une race ou d'une nation particulière, mais appartiennent à toute l'humanité. Ce n'est pas le peuple de mon pays ou les seuls peuples représentés ici dont les hommes naissent égaux, ce sont "tous les hommes" et, en fait, l'influence de cette déclaration s'est fait sentir dans le monde entier et continue de se faire sentir de nos jours.

106. Mais nous nous souvenons, d'après notre propre expérience, que les Etats-Unis n'ont pas cessé de rechercher le sens profond du colonialisme même après avoir accédé à la liberté en tant que première grande nation anticoloniale. Longtemps après avoir conquis notre indépendance de la Grande-Bretagne et longtemps après avoir vu se cicatriser les plaies de notre révolution grâce à une amitié avec la mère patrie fondée sur les assises solides de la coégalité, nous avons continué — et nous continuons encore — à sonder les faits de l'histoire coloniale que nous avons vécue. Nous avons continué — et nous continuons encore — à rappeler aux générations successives d'Américains les circonstances de leur naissance à l'indépendance. Nous avons continué — et nous continuons encore — à redéfinir et à élargir le sens de l'autodétermination, dans une conception toujours plus large de la liberté, qui s'étend de la politique à la structure sociale, à la structure de l'enseignement, à la structure économique, à nos droits et devoirs dans la famille des nations.

107. Aux premiers temps de notre indépendance, nous avons toujours la tentation d'imputer toutes nos difficultés à notre ancien suzerain colonial, mais, à mesure que le temps passait, nous avons pu de mieux en mieux résister à cette tentation et regarder vers l'avenir plutôt que vers le passé. Nous avons été contraints de regarder en face les vérités concernant notre pays: où nous en étions, où nous voulions aller et comment y arriver. Et en regardant ces vérités en face, nous avons appris à travailler à des œuvres concrètes au profit de notre peuple.

108. Pour toutes ces raisons fondées sur notre propre expérience, la délégation des Etats-Unis applaudit les hommes d'Etat des nouvelles nations indépendantes qui forment de nouvelles associations dont tous les membres tireront avantage, sur une base d'égalité, avec diverses nations, y compris celles qui les dominaient autrefois. Nous applaudissons spécialement les hommes d'Etat toujours plus nombreux qui se refusent à employer des méthodes d'aventuriers de théâtre, qui apportent une contribution réaliste de très grande

valeur à la solution des problèmes pratiques qui se posent aux Nations Unies et qui donnent ici, à leurs propres peuples, le meilleur exemple possible de la façon dont on travaille à construire une nouvelle nation.

109. Ainsi, nous qui sommes réunis dans cette salle de l'Assemblée, bien des choses nous rapprochent. Les sentiments de nos amis des nouvelles nations sur cette question du colonialisme ne choquent et n'offensent nullement le peuple américain. Au contraire, nous partageons ces sentiments et nous y applaudissons, nous nous considérons comme privilégiés de vivre à une époque où ces sentiments de liberté transforment la carte politique et inspirent les actes des hommes et des femmes dans le tiers du monde, à un rythme sans précédent dans l'histoire de l'humanité.

110. L'Organisation des Nations Unies a favorisé ce mouvement de libération depuis sa fondation. La Charte des Nations Unies exige des puissances administrantes qu'elles traitent les territoires coloniaux et les territoires dépendants non comme des sources de profit pour la puissance qui gouverne, mais comme l'objet d'une "mission sacrée" et un moyen de progrès pour les peuples dépendants. Cela est bien précisé à l'Article 73 du Chapitre XI de la Charte, intitulé "Déclaration relative aux territoires non autonomes". Cet article déclare que les puissances administrantes ont une responsabilité envers la communauté des nations, que les intérêts des populations autochtones ont la primauté et que parmi ces intérêts figurent le progrès vers l'autonomie, le développement de libres institutions et la réalisation des "aspirations politiques", ce qui a signifié l'indépendance dans la plupart des cas. Le même Article précise également que le rythme et les méthodes de ce progrès doivent tenir compte des "conditions particulières de chaque territoire et de ses populations et de leurs degrés variables de développement".

111. Depuis 15 ans que l'Organisation des Nations Unies existe, l'Article 73 a été appliqué avec une grande rapidité et une ampleur extraordinaire. Une quarantaine de pays, peuplés de plus de 800 millions d'habitants, ont accédé à l'indépendance depuis 1946. Presque tous sont Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies et leurs représentants siègent dans cette salle. Dans l'Afrique seule, non moins de 22 Etats ont fait cette transition, si bien qu'aujourd'hui les deux tiers de l'Afrique sont libres et indépendants. D'autres Etats suivront dans les années prochaines.

112. Cette réussite a donné un élan puissant à la poussée vers l'indépendance et la pleine autonomie dans d'autres pays qui sont encore dépendants aujourd'hui et qui sentent qu'ils sont entraînés par le même grand courant de l'histoire. Il est sain et naturel qu'il en soit ainsi. La présence même parmi nous d'un nombre fortement accru de nations nouvelles, toutes libres d'exprimer les opinions qui leur semblent justes, a conféré à cette question une urgence nouvelle qui a été exprimée de façon frappante dans la résolution 1514 (XV) adoptée l'an dernier par l'Assemblée générale et contenant la Déclaration historique sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, dont j'ai parlé au début de mon intervention.

113. Sur cette toile de fond, j'examinerai maintenant la situation actuelle telle qu'elle apparaît à mon gouvernement et plus précisément la situation des vastes

territoires coloniaux qui demeurent sur le continent africain.

114. Il y a d'abord la question des territoires africains du Portugal, question dont l'Assemblée générale s'occupe depuis plusieurs années et qui, pendant l'année écoulée, a porté avant tout sur la situation en Angola. Il n'est pas douteux que les peuples de l'Angola et des autres territoires portugais ont droit à tout ce que leur garantit la Charte, le droit de développer pleinement et sans entraves tout leur potentiel économique, politique et culturel. Je suis certain que l'Assemblée connaît parfaitement la position des Etats-Unis à ce sujet.

115. Au printemps dernier, au Conseil de sécurité [946ème séance], M. Stevenson a exprimé la conviction de mon gouvernement, conviction qui demeure ferme et inchangée, que des réformes graduelles effectuées dans les territoires portugais — et même l'accélération de ces réformes — s'imposent si l'on veut que les populations sous administration portugaise progressent aux points de vue politique, économique et social vers la pleine autodétermination à laquelle ils ont droit. Mais ma délégation aura d'avantage à dire sur cette question lors de l'examen de la situation en Angola.

116. Puis vient le problème du Sud-Ouest africain, problème compliqué par des facteurs historiques et juridiques. Mais la question fondamentale est claire: la population du Sud-Ouest africain doit recevoir la possibilité d'aspirer à l'autodétermination et à la réaliser.

117. Dans ce contexte, il est inévitable à mon avis de parler de la politique d'apartheid en Union sud-africaine, encore que ce problème soit discuté ailleurs. Nous continuons à croire, comme le faisaient nos aïeux lors de la fondation des Etats-Unis, que les gouvernements "tirent leurs justes pouvoirs du consentement des gouvernés". En Afrique du Sud, le consentement de la grande majorité ne compte guère. Nous pensons qu'il est inadmissible qu'un groupe qui ne compte pas plus du cinquième de la population d'un pays détienne en fait tous les pouvoirs et relègue la majorité en une sujétion éternelle du fait de sa race. En vertu de la Charte, nous sommes tous engagés à effacer cette injustice, cette grossière atteinte aux droits de l'homme.

118. En Afrique, pour la plupart des pays, le transfert des pouvoirs aux Africains s'est effectué dans des régions où les minorités européennes sont très petites. Dans ces régions, le Royaume-Uni et la France ont très vite senti le vent du changement et ont transféré les pouvoirs aux dirigeants africains.

119. Cette œuvre constructive est, j'en suis certain, le gage de la sincérité de ces deux puissances métropolitaines qui s'attaquent maintenant au problème beaucoup plus difficile de l'autodétermination qu'il s'agit de donner à des communautés mixtes telles que celles de l'Algérie ou des Rhodésies. Si le progrès dans ce domaine demande plus de temps, c'est en partie parce que le problème est infiniment plus complexe. Dans ce cas-là, une minorité depuis longtemps dominante et une majorité qui ne jouit pas de tous ses droits et de toutes ses garanties légitimes doivent trouver une base nouvelle de coexistence. La majorité doit apprendre à porter sa part des responsabilités du pouvoir. La minorité privilégiée doit donner son aide dans ce processus d'éducation et doit en retour se voir assurer la sauvegarde de

ses droits de minorité, car une société libre n'est pas possible si le pouvoir de la majorité et les droits de la minorité ne sont pas équilibrés et conciliés.

120. La métamorphose historique des colonies en sociétés autonomes multiraciales et démocratiques impose à tous les intéressés une tâche très délicate et difficile. Nous exprimons l'espoir que les gouvernements et les peuples intéressés continueront de poursuivre cette tâche avec toute la rapidité possible.

121. J'ai parlé de certaines des questions coloniales les plus urgentes et les plus brûlantes qui se présentent en Afrique. Nous promettons à nouveau que les Etats-Unis consacreront sans relâche leur dévouement, leur énergie et leurs capacités à la recherche de solutions pacifiques et constructives, conformes aux idéaux de la Charte, pour les problèmes que posent ces questions.

122. J'indiquerai maintenant un principe général dont les Etats-Unis s'inspirent dans tous les aspects de la question. Nous préférons voir les dirigeants et les peuples d'Afrique conquérir l'indépendance réelle, faire tous les durs efforts que cela exige, créer toutes les institutions que cela exige, plutôt que les voir se contenter de l'image creuse et stérile d'une indépendance sans réalité.

123. Ici, nous devons rechercher un équilibre délicat. La Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux énonce expressément: "Le manque de préparation dans les domaines politique, économique ou social ou dans celui de l'enseignement ne doit jamais être pris comme prétexte pour retarder l'indépendance". Mais le mot clef ici est "prétexte", une raison prétendue qui dissimule quelque autre motif. Nul ne doit crier à l'obstruction s'il faut du temps pour édifier ces institutions en toute bonne foi. Refuser de prendre le temps nécessaire serait nous tromper cruellement et tromper cruellement toutes les populations intéressées. L'expérience tragique du Congo nous a enseigné cette leçon d'une façon si éclatante qu'il est à espérer que nous ne l'oublions pas.

124. C'était là un pays qui, après une préparation trop limitée, s'est vu soudain accorder, presque imposer, la pleine indépendance politique et qui a vu du jour au lendemain cette indépendance tourner en chaos. Tout Etat Membre de l'Organisation des Nations Unies doit assurément prendre à cœur tout ce que cette tragédie signifie et le devoir de donner aux peuples dépendants les connaissances et les institutions qui sont indispensables à une liberté viable. Un legs de libres institutions, de fonctionnaires honnêtes, compétents et loyaux, d'un commerce et d'une industrie suffisamment développés, d'un système d'enseignement efficace et étendu, représente l'une des ressources les plus précieuses qu'une nation jeune ou naissante puisse posséder. Malgré une impatience compréhensible, les dirigeants de ces nations doivent être prêts à insister pour que ces conditions soient réalisées dans toute la mesure possible avant de se lancer sur les eaux agitées et dangereuses d'un monde tourmenté.

125. Il est facile de crier "Uhuru" ou "liberté" en toute langue. Mais pour qu'un pays soit vraiment libre, il faut que ses habitants et ses dirigeants disposent des institutions et des connaissances nécessaires pour pouvoir prendre des décisions avec sagesse d'année en année, au long de toutes les années à venir, prendre les grandes décisions souveraines qui détermineront leurs destinées nationales.

126. Et des décisions aussi lourdes de conséquences ne doivent pas être prises seulement au début de l'ère d'indépendance d'une nation, mais au cours de toutes les années à venir dans sa carrière de nation. Le pouvoir de prendre ces décisions est le patrimoine le plus précieux de toutes les nations. Une nation qui n'est pas libre de prendre des décisions par elle-même n'est en fait pas libre du tout.

127. Pour qu'une nation jouisse de cette liberté, il faut deux choses. Il faut que le droit de décider soit entre ses mains et non entre des mains étrangères. Elément non moins essentiel, il faut aussi qu'elle dispose, dans son peuple et parmi ses dirigeants, des connaissances et de l'expérience qui peuvent seules donner l'aptitude à décider.

128. Il n'y a pas là une recette infaillible. Toute nation libre court le risque de prendre une décision dans le mauvais sens, mais toute nation doit avoir les connaissances et l'expérience qui, tout au moins, lui donnent une chance de prendre une décision heureuse et sage.

129. Ce n'est qu'ainsi que les nouvelles nations auront la force de préserver leur indépendance. L'importance de ce principe a été soulignée ici à juste titre et avec sagesse par plusieurs représentants, notamment par le Ministre des affaires étrangères de Nigéria [1050ème séance] lorsqu'il a présenté son projet de résolution si éclairé [A/L.357].

130. Il reste maintenant la question qui nous intéresse ici à l'Assemblée, le plus directement: que peuvent faire les Nations Unies actuellement pour accélérer et guider le processus de décolonisation?

131. La nature de cette action des Nations Unies doit nécessairement être variable selon les situations qui se présenteront et qui, nous l'avons vu, seront radicalement différentes pour des territoires différents. La grande résolution 1514 (XV) adoptée au mois de décembre dernier par l'Assemblée demandait que des mesures immédiates soient prises par les puissances administrantes pour mettre fin au régime colonial.

132. Pour bien des territoires, cela n'a posé que peu ou pas de problèmes. Le Tanganyika, pour ne prendre qu'un seul exemple, était déjà fort avancé sur la route de l'indépendance à laquelle il accédera en fait le mois prochain. Dans les territoires portugais d'Afrique, en revanche, le droit de la population à disposer d'elle-même n'a pas encore été reconnu par le Gouvernement portugais.

133. Il y a d'autres cas, dont celui du Territoire sous tutelle de la Nouvelle-Guinée est un exemple, où l'Autorité administrante, en l'occurrence l'Australie, a pleinement accepté, en droit comme en pratique, les responsabilités qui lui incombent en vertu de la Charte, mais où des dizaines de milliers d'habitants n'ont pas encore de contacts avec le monde extérieur. Une longue période de développement les attend avant qu'on puisse espérer voir en eux une nation indépendante et viable.

134. Les Etats-Unis estiment que les Nations Unies ont deux tâches très différentes à accomplir dans ce domaine. A l'égard des gouvernements qui, malheureusement, ne se conforment que lentement et avec réticence aux responsabilités qui leur incombent en vertu de la Charte, nous estimons que la bonne méthode consiste à créer des comités spéciaux char-

gés d'enquêter sur la situation dans leurs territoires, de procéder à des consultations avec les puissances administrantes et d'essayer de les convaincre, de tenir l'Assemblée générale au courant, de faire des recommandations précises et d'attirer l'attention d'une opinion mondiale éclairée sur chacune de ces situations. Nous avons confiance que cette méthode donnera des résultats avec le temps, mais pas aussi vite que beaucoup d'entre nous le voudraient.

135. Il est clair que cette méthode ne convient pas pour les autres cas dans lesquels la puissance administrante a accepté les responsabilités qui lui incombent en vertu de la Charte et travaille de bonne foi avec la population autochtone à les remplir. Lorsque, par exemple, un gouvernement qui administre un territoire non autonome fait fidèlement rapport à l'Assemblée générale, par l'intermédiaire du Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes, sur l'administration de ce territoire et sur la situation économique et sociale et même politique qui y règne, nous estimons qu'il ne convient guère que les Nations Unies traitent le cas comme s'il s'agissait d'un cas d'oppression coloniale.

136. Les Etats-Unis sont associés avec trois territoires qui ne sont pas pleinement autonomes: les îles Vierges américaines, Guam et les Samoa américaines dont la population autochtone est de moins de 100 000 habitants au total.

137. Dans la mesure où le mot "colonialisme" désigne des rapports injustes entretenus contre les vœux de la population des territoires en question, des rapports de sujétion, d'oppression et d'exploitation, le terme "colonialisme" ne peut absolument pas s'appliquer à la situation qui règne dans ces territoires.

138. Nous reconnaissons toutefois que ces territoires, bien qu'ils jouissent d'une large mesure d'autonomie, en ce sens qu'ils ont leurs propres organes législatifs librement élus au suffrage universel des adultes, ne sont pas pleinement autonomes au sens où ce terme est généralement employé aux Nations Unies. Mon gouvernement a communiqué en conséquence des rapports, en vertu de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte sur ces trois territoires en tant que territoires non autonomes — bien que, puis-je préciser, ce terme déplaît un peu aux dirigeants élus de ces territoires, qui les considèrent comme autonomes. Il en résulte que ces territoires qui, du moins techniquement, ne sont pas autonomes relèvent de la résolution 1514 (XV).

139. Conformément à l'attachement que nous portons au principe de l'autodétermination et conformément aussi à la résolution 1514 (XV), ma délégation est heureuse d'annoncer à l'Assemblée que les Etats-Unis entament des consultations avec les conseils élus compétents de Guam, des Samoa américaines et des îles Vierges américaines, quant aux mesures qui pourraient être prises dans chacun de ces territoires, compte tenu des conditions qui lui sont particulières, pour déterminer les vœux de sa population en ce qui concerne son avenir politique. Nous agissons de même dans le Territoire sous tutelle des Îles du Pacifique, mais ce dernier relève de la compétence du Conseil de sécurité.

140. Dans bien des territoires dépendants, comme dans les territoires des Etats-Unis dont il vient d'être question, des rapports de consultation et d'association d'une importance capitale se multiplient entre la puissance administrante et les dirigeants autochtones.

Les Nations Unies ne doivent rien faire qui risque de nuire à ces rapports ou s'y ingérer, car ils constituent la voie la plus directe et la plus courte vers une véritable autodétermination. En fait, l'efficacité de cette méthode est prouvée par les centaines de millions de personnes qui ont accédé à l'indépendance au cours des 15 dernières années. Cette méthode qui a subi l'épreuve de l'histoire mérite qu'on la respecte et qu'on la laisse continuer de s'appliquer sans complications nouvelles.

141. Cependant, il est certain que les Nations Unies peuvent jouer un rôle très constructif. Un projet de résolution [A/L.366 et Add.1 à 3] propose la création d'un comité de l'Assemblée qui s'occuperait des progrès réalisés sur la voie de l'élimination de la domination coloniale dans les territoires qui sont encore dépendants. Nous estimons que sa fonction principale devrait être d'étudier la situation et de présenter à l'examen de l'Assemblée et de tous les Etats Membres intéressés, des principes directeurs d'action dans ce domaine d'importance capitale. Ce comité s'occuperait par exemple de certains problèmes particulièrement difficiles qui subsistent, tels que ceux des petites îles, des enclaves et des territoires où il y a des minorités importantes. Ce comité, calqué sur le Comité spécial des Six, chargé de la question de la communication de renseignements en vertu de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte, qui s'est occupé de certains problèmes de définition dans ce domaine, pourrait avoir une utilité véritable.

142. Heureusement, les cas où la puissance administrante travaille de bonne foi avec la population locale à atteindre les buts du Chapitre XI de la Charte sont les plus nombreux aujourd'hui. Le régime colonial, dans les cas les meilleurs, est appelé à se liquider de lui-même et c'est ce qui ne peut manquer de se passer. Il l'a fait au cours des 15 années historiques qui viennent de s'écouler et de nombreuses délégations présentes dans cette salle en sont la preuve vivante.

143. Que ne puis-je terminer sur ce sujet avec cette heureuse constatation! Mais j'estime qu'il est de mon devoir de parler d'une autre forme de sujétion de peuples étrangers qui afflige l'humanité dans l'histoire contemporaine.

144. L'Union soviétique ne se prive jamais de réclamer l'indépendance immédiate de tous les territoires coloniaux sous contrôle de l'Occident. En fait, elle va même plus loin: elle exige que tout contact entre les nations naissantes et l'Occident soit rompu, isolant ainsi les nations nouvelles de l'appui technique et économique que les nations industrielles de l'Occident peuvent leur offrir et leur offrent. Cette intéressante méthode affaiblirait tellement les nations nouvelles qu'elles ne pourraient guère échapper au sort que l'Union soviétique peut leur réserver.

145. Entre-temps, nombreux sont ceux, non seulement aux Etats-Unis, mais aussi dans beaucoup de parties du monde, qui demandent à juste titre: Qu'advient-il des 200 millions d'étrangers que l'Union soviétique asservit depuis 1945? N'ont-ils pas aussi le droit, en vertu de la Déclaration historique contenue dans la résolution 1514 (XV) de "déterminer librement leur statut politique" et de "jouir d'une indépendance et d'une liberté complètes"? Cet asservissement n'est-il pas aussi une forme virulente du colonialisme ou, si l'on préfère, de l'impérialisme?

146. Ces gens veulent savoir pourquoi les Nations Unies concentrent leur attention sur des formes de

domination coloniale occidentale dont la fin approche rapidement, et accordent peu ou pas d'attention à ces formes beaucoup plus opiniâtres et subtiles de domination que l'Union soviétique pratique surtout en Europe orientale et que la Chine communiste pratique au Tibet et ailleurs. Le même principe d'autodétermination n'est-il pas en cause dans tous ces cas? Pourquoi ne pas être plus autoritaire et insistant à l'égard de ceux qui persistent opiniâtement dans l'injustice?

147. Nous nous sentons tout à fait en sympathie avec ceux qui posent ces questions. Les sentiments des Etats-Unis et de la majorité des Etats Membres à l'égard des tragiques questions de Hongrie et du Tibet sont bien connus de l'Assemblée générale et ils seront réaffirmés prochainement lorsque ces deux questions viendront en discussion. Le moment viendra sûrement où justice pourra être rendue dans la paix à ces peuples et à d'autres qui sont maintenus aujourd'hui, contre leur gré, sous la domination étrangère de Moscou ou de Pékin. Avec le temps, leur jour viendra et les Nations Unies auront leur rôle à jouer. L'histoire a son propre cours et sa propre logique.

148. A ce sujet, on a pris note avec intérêt des déclarations extrêmes que le très compétent représentant de l'Union soviétique s'est cru obligé de faire pour répondre à certaines observations que le représentant du Royaume-Uni a formulées récemment à propos du colonialisme soviétique, dans la très franche déclaration qu'il a faite au cours de ce débat. Il semble que M. Godber ait touché un point sensible. La réponse de M. Lapine, bien que brève, contenait des affirmations aussi remarquables que celle-ci:

"... l'Union soviétique est une union libre de républiques socialistes... cimentée par l'amitié profonde, la solidarité et la communauté d'intérêts de ces peuples" [1056ème séance, par. 164].

149. Pour ne citer qu'un exemple parmitant d'autres, je me demande si les 900 000 — il s'agit bien de 900 000 — Kazaks musulmans qui ont disparu mystérieusement de leur république nationale entre 1920 et 1939 seraient d'accord avec M. Lapine. Ou bien si les 400 000 Allemands de la Volga, les 259 000 Tartares de Crimée, les 130 000 Kalmouks — tous déportés vers l'Est — seraient d'accord avec M. Lapine. M. Lapine a dit également:

"Quant aux bases militaires, vous savez parfaitement que l'Union soviétique n'a pas de bases sur territoire étranger." [Ibid., par. 169.]

150. Pour ne prendre qu'un exemple, il y a actuellement en Hongrie, c'est un fait, plus de 50 000 soldats soviétiques. Or, la déclaration de M. Lapine que je viens de citer peut nous conduire à l'une des deux conclusions suivantes: ou bien ces 50 000 soldats soviétiques opèrent à partir d'hôtels, de pensions de famille et d'auberges de campagne, ou bien l'Union soviétique ne considère pas la Hongrie comme un territoire étranger. Que chacun choisisse sa conclusion.

151. Dans un document [A/4889] déjà distribué sur cette question, l'Union soviétique a jugé bon de diriger surtout ses attaques contre les Etats-Unis dont les territoires dépendants — y compris leur territoire sous tutelle — ont une population de moins de 200 000 habitants, contre les Etats-Unis qui font de leur mieux pour appliquer la Charte en toutes ces matières. Je ne veux pas importuner les représentants en répon-

dant ici à ces accusations extravagantes. Néanmoins, nous ferons prochainement distribuer un document où seront exposées certaines observations sur le memorandum de l'Union soviétique.

152. Je passerai maintenant à une autre question. Le différend concernant le territoire de la Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale est pour l'Assemblée une grande épreuve et lui offre une occasion sans précédent. Je n'essaierai pas de passer en revue l'histoire embrouillée de ce différend et je n'ai pas la prétention de porter un jugement sur les revendications contradictoires des gouvernements de l'Indonésie et des Pays-Bas.

153. Cependant il semble, par bonheur, que la confrontation stérile d'affirmations et de contre-affirmations tire à sa fin. Si l'Assemblée agit de façon judicieuse et réaliste, ce territoire peut cesser bientôt d'être l'objet d'un litige international. Il pourrait même servir d'exemple de décolonisation intelligente.

154. Mon gouvernement juge constructive et fort heureuse l'initiative que le Gouvernement des Pays-Bas a prise en proposant de renoncer à son contrôle sur la Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale, l'administration étant placée sous l'autorité des Nations Unies pendant une période intérimaire. La condition fondamentale que pose le Gouvernement des Pays-Bas est que les habitants du territoire aient le droit d'exercer un libre choix au sujet du sort qui sera réservé au territoire. La position des Etats-Unis sur le principe de l'autodétermination est bien connue et nous ne voyons pas de raison valable de refuser aux habitants de la Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale la possibilité d'exprimer leur volonté.

155. D'autre part, encore que nous accueillions avec faveur le principe général de la proposition des Pays-Bas, à notre avis le projet de résolution des Pays-Bas [A/L.354] reflète complètement le point de vue de ce pays et ne fait pas une part suffisante à l'intérêt intense que l'Indonésie porte au territoire.

156. Nous estimons qu'il n'y a rien à gagner à chercher à méconnaître, comme le fait le projet de résolution des Pays-Bas, la revendication de l'Indonésie touchant la souveraineté sur le territoire que ce pays appelle l'Irian Barat. A notre avis, il ne faut pas demander à l'Assemblée d'accepter soit la thèse de la souveraineté néerlandaise, soit la thèse indonésienne. Quoi qu'elle fasse, elle devrait le faire sans préjugé pour l'une ou l'autre partie. Etant donné le différend qui existe, la bonne méthode, conformément à la Charte des Nations Unies, semblerait être d'assurer à la population du territoire la possibilité de se prononcer en temps utile sur son avenir politique, sous l'égide des Nations Unies.

157. Pour obtenir ce résultat, il nous semble que toute résolution adoptée par l'Assemblée devra préciser clairement que les Hollandais transféreront à une certaine date l'administration du territoire aux Nations Unies. Les conditions de ce transfert seraient établies à sa dix-septième session par l'Assemblée générale après avoir reçu les recommandations d'une petite commission composée d'Etats Membres désintéressés.

158. Nous pensons qu'une telle administration des Nations Unies, qui permettrait à la population du territoire d'exprimer son choix, devrait donner à l'Indonésie une possibilité raisonnable de poursuivre son objectif qui consiste à réaliser l'intégration de

la Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale à l'Indonésie. Pendant la période intérimaire, il serait mis fin au contrôle des Pays-Bas et une administration impartiale des Nations Unies exercerait une complète autorité. Nous supposons que sous le régime de cette administration l'Indonésie aurait accès au territoire.

159. Nous ne croyons pas que la proposition de la délégation de l'Inde [A/L.367 et Add.1] offre une solution définitive de ce problème. Encore que nous souhaitons vivement voir concilier les vues des Pays-Bas et de l'Indonésie à ce sujet, encore que nous serions heureux de voir entamer des pourparlers amicaux entre les parties au différend, nous ferons remarquer que de semblables propositions de simples négociations bilatérales ont déjà été présentées ici et ont été rejetées. Nous estimons que tout projet de résolution sur la question doit maintenant tenir compte du fait nouveau que les Pays-Bas se sont déclarés prêts à transférer, aux Nations Unies leurs pouvoirs sur le territoire.

160. De plus, à notre avis, l'adoption d'un simple appel aux parties pour qu'elles négocient équivaldrait à rejeter — ou tout au moins à méconnaître — l'idée que la population du territoire doit se voir accorder le droit à l'autodétermination. En fait, nous notons avec regret que le projet de résolution présenté par la délégation de l'Inde ne fait aucune allusion à la population de la Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale et semble accepter l'idée que son avenir politique peut et même devrait être réglé par d'autres sans tenir compte de l'avis de la population.

161. Le droit à l'autodétermination est un droit fondamental selon la Charte et selon la résolution 1514 (XV). Le représentant de l'Inde, M. Krishna Menon, a déclaré ici l'autre jour [1058ème séance] qu'il ne pouvait accepter l'idée d'une commission des Nations Unies, car ce serait reconnaître tacitement que la souveraineté sur le territoire prêtait à différend. Mais tel est précisément le cas: l'Indonésie revendique la souveraineté et sa thèse est appuyée par un certain nombre de délégations, dont celle de l'Inde, mais les Pays-Bas revendiquent la souveraineté eux aussi et leur thèse est également appuyée par un certain nombre de délégations.

162. Il semble donc qu'il y ait là un cas où l'application du principe de l'autodétermination est tout à fait opportune et constitue même la seule façon pratique et juste de sortir de l'impasse dans laquelle on se trouve depuis plus de 10 ans.

163. Une observation encore: il y a tout lieu d'espérer et de croire que le Gouvernement indonésien pourra accepter et accepter l'idée de l'autodétermination de la Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale, à condition que cette consultation soit organisée de façon impartiale et à condition que l'Indonésie ait libre accès à la région. Ma délégation estime que l'Indonésie aurait évidemment intérêt à accepter le futur retrait des Pays-Bas de la Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale, puis à poursuivre ses objectifs par des moyens pacifiques. C'est une question complexe, qui demandera du temps, de la patience et les efforts concertés de tous les intéressés.

164. Les membres de l'Assemblée générale ont le privilège de jouer un rôle dans l'une des évolutions historiques les plus créatrices de l'humanité: la naissance de nations nouvelles qui passent du statut de colonies à la pleine égalité dans la communauté mondiale. Cette évolution est déjà très avancée. Il

nous appartient de l'aider, de la faciliter, de la guider dans des voies pacifiques. Lorsque les parties responsables faiblissent ou manquent à leurs obligations, nous avons le devoir d'exiger des actes. Lorsque les problèmes sont résolus de bonne foi, nous devons respecter l'œuvre qui s'accomplit. Lorsque tous nos appels se heurtent à l'entêtement et au défi, dressons-nous et travaillons pour ce qui est juste, jusqu'à ce que ce qui est juste triomphe dans la paix.

M. Ortiz Martin (Costa Rica), vice-président, prend la présidence.

165. M. CORNER (Nouvelle-Zélande) [traduit de l'anglais]: L'an dernier, la Nouvelle-Zélande a voté pour la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux [résolution 1514 (XV)]. Nous en avons été fiers. Tout en faisant des réserves sur certaines parties du texte de cette déclaration, nous avons pleinement souscrit à son objet principal. Le peuple de la Nouvelle-Zélande estime qu'au sein de l'Organisation, comme au dehors, nous devons travailler ensemble à édifier un monde de nations indépendantes, dévouées au bien commun de l'humanité et exemptes, tant à l'intérieur qu'à l'extérieur, de toutes formes de domination, de discrimination et d'oppression. Ce n'est que dans un tel monde que la valeur individuelle et la dignité essentielle de la personne humaine, quelle que soit sa race ou sa couleur, pourront être pleinement assurées. Ce n'est qu'ainsi que ses talents et ses possibilités pourront avoir libre cours dans l'intérêt de tous.

166. L'une des faiblesses fondamentales du système colonial, si éclairé soit-il, est que ce système ne peut permettre la pleine réalisation du potentiel individuel et national. Les puissances administrantes et les puissances non administrantes le reconnaissent aujourd'hui généralement. Ce fait a été reconnu en 1945. Les auteurs des chapitres de la Charte concernant les territoires dépendants ont mis l'accent sur le caractère transitoire des relations coloniales et sur la nécessité de favoriser l'évolution de tous les territoires sur les plans politique, social et économique, afin qu'ils puissent parvenir à l'autonomie ou à l'indépendance, selon les conditions particulières du territoire.

167. Cela a d'ailleurs été reconnu avant 1945. Par exemple, le 21 janvier 1944 la Nouvelle-Zélande et l'Australie ont déclaré conjointement^{3/} que la doctrine de la tutelle, déjà applicable dans le cas des territoires sous mandat dont les deux gouvernements étaient puissances mandataires, devait s'appliquer, d'une manière générale, à tous les territoires coloniaux du Pacifique et des autres régions, et que l'objet principal de cette tutelle était la prospérité des populations autochtones et leur développement social, économique et politique. Cette déclaration peut sembler assez anodine aujourd'hui, mais elle était presque révolutionnaire en 1944. La Nouvelle-Zélande s'est conformée à l'esprit de cette déclaration et, sous l'impulsion de son premier ministre, M. Peter Fraser, qui a présidé le Comité chargé de rédiger les chapitres de la Charte relatifs aux territoires sous tutelle et aux territoires non autonomes, la délégation de la Nouvelle-Zélande a joué un grand rôle dans les débuts du mouvement tendant à la décolonisation. Il est vrai

^{3/} Accord de 1944 entre l'Australie et la Nouvelle-Zélande, publié dans les *Keesing's Contemporary Archives* (Bristol, Keesing's Publications Ltd.), vol. V, p. 6273.

que ce mouvement a acquis actuellement une force dont on ne rêvait même pas à San Francisco, au point que la Nouvelle-Zélande, qui était alors à l'avant-garde, semble maintenant faire partie des "modérés". Mais s'il existe des divergences de vues entre nous et ceux qui sont maintenant les chefs du mouvement de décolonisation, ces divergences portent sur les délais et les méthodes pratiques, certainement pas sur l'objectif visé.

168. Les principes fondamentaux et les dispositions de la Charte demeurent valables, mais, avec la récente accession à l'indépendance de nombreux pays et l'éveil politique des populations encore dépendantes, le problème a pris un tour plus urgent. La plupart des puissances administrantes ont réagi avec ingéniosité et énergie, comme le montre la présence ici de représentants de si nombreux Etats africains. Une ou deux des puissances coloniales d'autrefois ont malheureusement éprouvé quelque difficulté à adapter leur politique au changement de situation. La plus grande puissance impérialiste de toutes, l'Union soviétique, prétend se faire une fois de plus, cette année, le champion des peuples opprimés, et elle a même présenté un projet de résolution [A/L.355] qui souligne notamment la nécessité d'assurer dans les territoires dépendants l'organisation d'élections libres et l'exercice de la liberté de parole et de presse. L'audace de l'auteur de ce projet de résolution coupe le souffle et provoque un étonnement légèrement amusé en même temps qu'écoeuré. Mais je n'insisterai pas sur la nature de cette manœuvre soviétique qui relève de la guerre froide. Nous connaissons bien le désir des populations d'Asie et d'Afrique de rester en paix et de pouvoir s'occuper elles-mêmes et à leur façon de leurs problèmes urgents, sans qu'on y fasse intervenir des questions qui relèvent de la guerre froide.

169. Nous ne pouvons pas prendre au sérieux l'initiative soviétique avec ses arrière-pensées évidentes. Nous prenons en revanche très au sérieux l'opinion de nos collègues d'Asie et d'Afrique. Nombre d'entre eux, en tant que représentants de pays qui viennent de se libérer du statut colonial, sont particulièrement bien placés pour parler en connaissance de cause et avec autorité sur la question examinée en ce moment. Que leurs vues diffèrent sensiblement à certains égards, cela est naturel. Ils sont cependant unanimes sur un point, à savoir que l'Assemblée générale doit prendre cette année des mesures pour l'application rapide des principes de la Déclaration sur le colonialisme.

170. Ma délégation comprend ce désir. Nous croyons en outre que l'Assemblée doit pouvoir agir en cette direction sans porter atteinte aux droits et aux responsabilités, que la Déclaration sur le colonialisme ne modifie pas, qui appartiennent aux Etats Membres administrants, en vertu de la Charte, en ce qui concerne les territoires sous tutelle ou territoires non autonomes dont ils ont la charge. Tant que ces Etats Membres chercheront honnêtement à s'acquitter de leurs obligations en vertu de la Charte, leur position doit être respectée. Même si l'on pouvait ne pas tenir compte des considérations juridiques, l'Assemblée agirait certainement sagement, sur le plan pratique, en ne cherchant pas à légiférer de manière détaillée pour les nombreux territoires encore dépendants, qui sont extrêmement différenciés des points de vue de leur situation générale et de leurs possibilités. Certains Etats Membres administrants se sont toujours acquittés de leurs obligations en vertu de la Charte et généralement en obtenant des résul-

tats admirables. L'expérience et le bon sens montrent qu'il faut laisser à ces Etats Membres administrants, dont la bonne foi n'est pas contestée, le soin de travailler au progrès politique rapide de leurs territoires et à l'application de toute recommandation générale que l'Assemblée pourra faire.

171. Le désir général se manifeste aussi à l'Assemblée de voir les peuples qui prennent possession du patrimoine qui leur revient, de leur Etat indépendant, avoir en main quelque chose de solide et de viable qui puisse satisfaire leurs aspirations sans cesse grandissantes. Il nous semble parfois que certains Etats représentés à l'Organisation ont un intérêt constant à susciter ou à entretenir le désordre, mais ce n'est certainement pas vrai de la majorité des Etats.

172. Nous ne contestons pas qu'il soit utile que les Nations Unies maintiennent une pression sur les Etats Membres administrants. La Nouvelle-Zélande, bien qu'elle se fût acquittée avec enthousiasme et bonne volonté de sa tâche au Samoa-Occidental, a tiré grand profit de l'attention rigoureuse et constante et de la pression impitoyable du Conseil de tutelle. Son action nous a aidés à accomplir notre tâche avec vigilance; elle était utile et nécessaire même quand, sur le moment, elle paraissait importune. Ce qui est très important, c'est l'esprit dans lequel cette attention et cette pression sont exercées. Nous avons toujours envisagé notre tâche au Samoa Occidental dans un esprit de coopération étroite entre les Nations Unies, l'Autorité administrante et la population du Territoire. Les Nations Unies ont fait preuve du même esprit. C'est cette atmosphère de coopération, cet esprit de collaboration, au service d'une des plus nobles entreprises humaines, qui a permis les résultats fructueux qui aboutissent à l'indépendance des Samoans dans l'ordre. Les critiques ne nous ont pas été épargnées lorsque des Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies les jugeaient justifiées, mais nous avons entendu aussi quelques éloges et quelques encouragements. Nous avons de bonnes raisons de savoir que la générosité d'esprit se rencontre chez les Membres de l'Organisation.

173. Je demande aux représentants de m'excuser d'avoir cité le Samoa-Occidental en exemple, mais c'est le seul cas qui me soit très familier; encore que les problèmes de ce pays soient simples comparés à ceux que connaissent beaucoup de nouveaux Etats, ce sont essentiellement les mêmes problèmes quant à leur nature et leur nombre, et souvent, parce que l'échelle est réduite, on peut les voir avec plus de netteté.

174. Si les Samoans, qui seront indépendants dans cinq semaines, s'étaient contentés de rester en une société tribale vivant en économie de subsistance, ils n'auraient pu se gouverner sans aucune aide extérieure à aucun moment; en fait, leurs superbes aptitudes en matière de politique et de gouvernement donnent souvent aux politiciens de pays dits développés une allure d'amateurs. En ce sens, nous approuvons l'argument soutenu par plusieurs représentants qui affirment que tous les peuples coloniaux sont prêts à prendre en main leurs propres affaires immédiatement. Mais le Samoa ne pouvait pas conserver son économie traditionnelle et son régime de gouvernement. Avec la création de services médicaux, la population du Samoa s'accroissait à un rythme plus rapide qu'aucune autre population au monde. Le développement agricole et économique était nécessaire,

ne fût-ce que pour maintenir le niveau de vie existant; pour améliorer ce niveau — et tel était le désir croissant de cette population croissante —, il fallait des méthodes et des connaissances nouvelles dans les domaines de l'administration, de l'agriculture, de la santé, de l'enseignement et des travaux publics.

175. Ce n'est pas critiquer une société traditionnelle que de dire qu'elle ne peut répondre immédiatement aux besoins accrus et aux désirs accrus d'une population accrue dans un monde moderne. Il faut jeter un pont entre une société traditionnelle et une société nouvelle, une société nouvelle dont on ne peut prédire la forme qu'elle prendra, car cette forme variera d'un peuple à l'autre. La tâche de ceux qui administrent des colonies ou des territoires sous tutelle est d'aider la population à construire ce pont le plus vite possible. Cependant, même avec la meilleure volonté du monde, il faut du temps pour construire ce pont. Il faut du temps pour que garçons et filles achèvent le cycle de l'enseignement primaire et celui de l'enseignement secondaire, pour que certains sortent de l'université, pour que d'autres acquièrent au prix d'une expérience difficile une formation de médecin, d'ingénieur ou d'administrateur. Quelquefois, rien ne semble se produire, pendant que les années passent. Mais alors les investissements dans l'enseignement commencent enfin à rapporter: garçons et filles reviennent des écoles et des universités, les diplômés rentrent, les apprentis achèvent leur formation, les administrateurs commencent à avoir confiance en leur compétence. Puis le progrès vient d'un coup, en même temps que la maîtrise et l'enthousiasme. La patience est récompensée. Qu'on ne se méprenne pas: je n'ai pas eu l'intention de faire une plaidoirie en faveur du retard ou de la passivité.

176. Chacun de nous a eu une expérience qui détermine sa façon de penser. Celle de la Nouvelle-Zélande a été déterminée par la position qu'elle occupe dans le Pacifique et la connaissance qu'elle a de cette région, avec ses îles minuscules, qui ne sont souvent que des atolls de corail, habitées par une poignée d'hommes et dispersées sur les vastes étendues solitaires de l'océan Pacifique. Il n'est pas étrange que la remarquable diversité des territoires encore dépendants dans le monde entier puisse quelquefois passer inaperçue aux yeux de ceux qui, c'est naturel, pensent surtout à l'Afrique. Cependant, les différences d'ordre physique et politique qui existent entre un vaste territoire continental et une petite île isolée du Pacifique sont bien plus marquées que des similitudes fortuites dans le statut international.

177. Si l'Assemblée générale décidait de créer une commission spéciale chargée d'examiner l'application de la Déclaration, il ne fait pas de doute que cette commission serait frappée de la complexité et de la variété des tâches auxquelles ont à faire face certains Etats Membres administrants. Il est improbable qu'une formule unique puisse s'appliquer à tous les cas. Tout principe général, si valable soit-il en théorie, devra dans la pratique être appliqué très prudemment et intelligemment. C'est parce que nous reconnaissons ces réalités que nous appuyons le projet de résolution [A/L.357] proposé par la Fédération de Nigéria, sur la question intitulée: "Assistance à l'Afrique: a) programme des Nations Unies pour l'indépendance".

178. Etant donné la sensibilité politique de l'Afrique et les difficultés aiguës qui ont surgi au sujet de certains territoires africains, comme l'Angola et le Sud-Ouest africain, il nous semble raisonnable d'accorder

une attention particulière aux problèmes de la décolonisation sur ce continent. Il semble réaliste de réclamer que des mesures immédiates soient prises pour préparer les peuples des territoires dépendants de ce continent à assumer complètement la gestion de leurs affaires. Bien que très éloignés de cette région, la Nouvelle-Zélande partage la profonde inquiétude d'autres Etats Membres qui souhaitent que les entités politiques qui naissent en Afrique soient stables et réellement indépendantes, ne risquant ni de sombrer dans le chaos intérieur ni de dépendre de façon exagérée, et par conséquent malsaine, de puissances étrangères ou de pays voisins plus grands et plus forts.

179. Nous ne pensons pas qu'il soit sage de vouloir fixer une date limite définitive pour l'indépendance des territoires d'Afrique, et encore moins pour celle de tous les territoires dépendants. Notre propre expérience au Samoa-Occidental, bien que limitée, nous a démontré qu'il est pratiquement difficile et politiquement imprudent de vouloir fixer une date définitive avant d'avoir atteint l'une des dernières étapes du processus de développement par lequel ce territoire est sorti de tutelle. Lorsque cette étape a été atteinte, il est devenu à peu près inévitable et en fait très utile de fixer une date pour l'indépendance, d'accord avec les dirigeants samoans. Mais nous sommes prêts à voter en faveur du projet de résolution de la Nigéria, avec sa date limite de 1970 au plus tard pour l'indépendance des territoires d'Afrique, car il nous semble que cette date ne devrait pas gêner beaucoup les Etats Membres administrants qui respectent les obligations imposées par la Charte et qu'elle pourrait aiguillonner utilement ceux qui ne les respectent pas.

180. Si ces problèmes coloniaux ne sont pas résolus et si des nations stables ne sont pas établies avec des gouvernements à base populaire, la lutte pour l'Afrique au XXème siècle pourrait bien avoir de plus mauvaises conséquences, et pendant plus longtemps, que la lutte pour l'Afrique à la fin du siècle dernier. L'atmosphère internationale d'aujourd'hui est chargée de telles tensions qu'il faut réduire absolument au minimum tout risque de conflit entre les grandes puissances. Certes, nous accueillons favorablement la façon dont de nombreux pays étrangers aident les nouvelles nations indépendantes d'Afrique, mais les événements qui se sont déroulés au cours des 18 derniers mois dans la partie centrale de ce continent ont amplement montré les dangers qu'entraînent les rivalités internationales et les pressions qui peuvent être engendrées lorsque les faiblesses intérieures d'un Etat fournissent à des pays étrangers la possibilité de poursuivre leurs propres desseins.

181. Dans le Pacifique, heureusement, les problèmes de la décolonisation sont habituellement d'un ordre différent et, en général, ne comportent pas de menace pour la paix ou la sécurité internationales. Toutefois, en tant que pays du Pacifique, la Nouvelle-Zélande ne peut manquer de s'intéresser spécialement à la prospérité de la Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale. Nous avons été particulièrement impressionnés par la générosité et l'imagination dont les Pays-Bas ont fait preuve dans leurs propositions [A/L.354] relatives à l'application à ce territoire de la Déclaration sur le colonialisme. Prises dans leur ensemble, ces propositions nous paraissent constituer non seulement un effort constructif en vue de trouver dans le cadre des Nations Unies une solution à un problème épineux et difficile, mais également un défi lancé à

l'Assemblée d'appuyer l'application ordonnée de sa propre déclaration. Il est proposé qu'en tant que première mesure une commission des Nations Unies se rende en Nouvelle-Guinée et fasse un rapport impartial sur la situation du territoire et les opinions actuelles de la population autochtone. L'établissement de ce rapport impartial sur la situation du territoire et les opinions actuelles de la population autochtone constitue clairement une condition préalable au transfert aux Nations Unies des responsabilités qui, selon ces propositions, devraient être confiées à une autorité internationale de développement. Encore que nous ne soyons pas très sûrs que la commission puisse, en fait, donner dès maintenant un avis sur la date d'un plébiscite, nous sommes sensibles aux arguments qui militent en faveur d'un mandat aussi large que possible.

182. La Nouvelle-Zélande a la chance d'entretenir les relations les plus amicales avec l'Indonésie aussi bien qu'avec les Pays-Bas. Ce fut un problème pénible pour ceux d'entre nous qui, depuis des années, ont dû envisager la possibilité d'avoir à prendre parti dans un différend entre deux amis — l'un d'eux est l'Indonésie, proche voisin de la Nouvelle-Zélande, avec qui nous entretenons des liens étroits et amicaux, particulièrement dans le cadre du Plan de Colombo. Heureusement, les propositions des Pays-Bas n'excluent nullement la possibilité que les habitants de la Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale se décident en faveur du rattachement à l'Indonésie. Le fait que les Pays-Bas sont prêts à transférer leur administration à une autorité internationale impartiale est une garantie que tout choix sera fait librement et en connaissance de cause. Nous estimons que les propositions dont l'Assemblée est saisie peuvent ouvrir une ère nouvelle en fournissant la possibilité de régler de façon objective un problème de longue date. La puissance extérieure a offert de quitter le territoire et de laisser complètement la décision à la population intéressée, dans le cadre de l'Organisation. Elle est allée plus loin encore et a offert de mettre une somme considérable à la disposition des Nations Unies et de fournir des administrateurs et des experts si les Nations Unies le désirent, mais seulement si elles le désirent.

183. Ce pourrait être là une de ces propositions historiques comme il en a surgi de temps en temps dans l'histoire des Nations Unies. Si elle était tout simplement écartée, il serait possible que d'autres puissances hésitent désormais à faire des propositions semblables aux Nations Unies. Ne serait-ce que pour cette raison, ne serait-ce que parce que les propositions des Pays-Bas offrent de très vastes possibilités aux Nations Unies, nous supposons qu'elles seront étudiées avec le plus grand soin. En même temps, nous avons noté la très vive réaction négative de nos amis d'Indonésie. Ce fut pour nous une surprise et une déception. Nous sommes persuadés que la menace de la force n'est pas le dernier mot de l'Indonésie, mais sa réaction est cependant un fait politique de grande importance qu'on ne peut pas plus écarter qu'on ne peut écarter la volonté de la population autochtone. Nous souhaitons que la réaction de l'Indonésie ne reste pas négative. En fait, la possibilité d'une évolution est apparue dans la déclaration faite lundi [1058ème séance] par M. Subandrio. Comme je l'ai déjà dit, nous n'estimons pas que la proposition des Pays-Bas exclue la réalisation des objectifs que vise l'Indonésie. Nous sommes néanmoins disposés à examiner avec sympathie des propositions qui donneraient

à l'Indonésie de plus grandes assurances sur ce point. La tranquillité future de toute la région et, en particulier, le bonheur et la prospérité de la population de la Nouvelle-Guinée exigent que l'on fasse tout pour obtenir un accord aussi large que possible, toujours sur la base des principes de la Charte.

184. Nous comptons qu'il s'établira un accord plus large avant le vote sur une question dans laquelle entrent en jeu des éléments passionnels aussi bien que des principes fondamentaux. Trois parties principales sont directement en cause: la population de la Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale, l'Indonésie et les Pays-Bas. J'ai nommé la population du territoire en premier non seulement pour des raisons de principe, mais aussi parce qu'elle constitue un fait politique et que sa réaction à toute solution ne peut être méconnue de ceux qui souhaitent une décolonisation pacifique. Je suppose en outre que les Nations Unies doivent également être considérées maintenant comme une quatrième partie, puisque deux des parties intéressées ont souvent porté la question devant les Nations Unies et que les Nations Unies elles-mêmes sont considérées comme devant se préoccuper particulièrement des intérêts des populations qui ne sont pas encore en mesure de parler en leur propre nom.

185. La Charte, qui met l'accent sur le "principe de l'égalité de droits des peuples et de leur droit à disposer d'eux-mêmes", est loin d'être mise en œuvre dans toutes les parties du monde. C'est à juste titre que nous pouvons saluer les grands progrès accomplis depuis 1945 pour ce qui est du bonheur et de la prospérité de ceux qui vivent sous une domination étrangère et pour ce qui est de les aider à progresser vers l'indépendance. Mais il est assez naturel que certains d'entre nous ressentent quelque impatience lorsqu'ils pensent à ce qu'il reste à faire avant de pouvoir voir la fin du colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations, nouvelles aussi bien qu'anciennes. Cette impatience doit nous pousser à faire des efforts accrus et non tendre à nous faire méconnaître l'immensité de la tâche qui nous attend. Les membres de l'Assemblée veulent que les peuples dépendants réalisent leurs aspirations politiques rapidement, mais dans les conditions d'ordre et de paix qui non seulement assureront le mieux leur propre prospérité et leur intégrité, mais aussi contribueront au développement harmonieux de la communauté des nations.

186. Notre expérience en tant qu'autorité administrante, bien qu'à petite échelle, nous a convaincus de la valeur des dispositions actuelles en ce qui concerne le contrôle de l'administration des territoires sous tutelle et l'examen des renseignements communiqués au sujet des territoires non autonomes. Nous félicitons le Royaume-Uni d'avoir récemment décidé de communiquer des renseignements politiques sur ces territoires. Nous espérons que les résolutions qui seront adoptées au sujet des questions actuellement en discussion ne modifieront pas les attributions du Conseil de tutelle et du Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes, organes auxquels la coopération des Etats Membres administrants a été librement et utilement donnée par le passé et leur est assurée à l'avenir. Sans cette coopération, l'Assemblée ne peut guère exercer d'influence agissante dans le monde des territoires dépendants. La Charte des Nations Unies a été rédigée après mûres réflexions et il n'est pas question de la réviser en faisant bon

marché de méthodes et de dispositifs qui ont donné de bons résultats.

M. Slim (Tunisie) reprend la présidence.

187. J'ai cité des exemples tirés de l'expérience de la Nouvelle-Zélande, d'une façon qui pourrait être interprétée comme un appel à la patience ou même à la prudence. Il convient donc de souligner également l'une des grandes leçons qui nous ont été enseignées par l'expérience: c'est seulement lorsqu'on peut donner des responsabilités politiques plus grandes aux peuples dépendants pour l'administration de leurs propres affaires qu'un progrès réel peut être accompli dans l'accélération de leur développement économique et social. Il vient un moment où la puissance administrante, aussi pleine de bonne volonté qu'elle soit, ne peut faire davantage qu'elle ne fait. Une coopération entière, même dans des entreprises que chacun reconnaît comme essentielles, ne peut exister tant que la population n'est pas convaincue qu'elle a le ferme contrôle de sa propre destinée et que c'est sa volonté qui prime. Ce n'est qu'alors que cette population est consciente de porter tout le poids de ses responsabilités et consacre toute son attention à ses problèmes.

188. Comme les Samoans ne cessaient de nous le rappeler: "Un bon gouvernement ne remplace pas un gouvernement autonome". Nous savons grâce à une expérience incontestable que l'exercice des responsabilités politiques peut libérer des énergies et révéler des possibilités humaines en puissance qui, dans d'autres conditions, ne se manifestent que rarement ou pas du tout. La joie de voir un peuple s'épanouir, de le voir libérer toute son énergie, est la plus grande récompense que puisse recevoir une puissance administrante; c'est une récompense qui efface le souvenir d'années d'efforts dépensés et de critiques subies. C'est l'une des raisons pour lesquelles les puissances coloniales éclairées sont en train de se retirer rapidement elles-mêmes. C'est notre vœu sincère que leur exemple serve d'inspiration aux autres, moins éclairées, qui cherchent à justifier leur politique en se prévalant d'anciens préjugés de races, d'attitudes historiques désuètes ou d'idéologies nouvelles mais non moins fausses qui visent à étendre et à perpétuer la domination d'une minorité sur une majorité.

189. Le **PRESIDENT**: Je donne la parole au représentant de l'Ethiopie, qui désire exercer son droit de réponse.

190. **M. HAILE MARIAM (Ethiopie)** [traduit de l'anglais]: Mon pays, l'Ethiopie, a travaillé en vue de l'accession à l'indépendance de ses frères somalis et a eu le plaisir d'exprimer sa joie lorsqu'ils y furent parvenus. Le Premier Ministre actuel de l'Ethiopie a eu lui-même l'honneur de féliciter nos frères somalis lors de leur admission à l'Assemblée [865^{ème} séance].

191. C'est pourquoi il est désagréable à la délégation éthiopienne d'être contrainte de répondre à nos frères somalis. Nous le regrettons profondément. Les Ethiopiens aiment leurs frères de Somalie parce qu'il n'y a pas de différence entre l'Ethiopie et la Somalie; en fait, avant le colonialisme, l'Ethiopie et la Somalie ne constituaient qu'un seul pays. Dès le départ, le colonialisme a eu recours aux techniques du néo-colonialisme pour nous séparer. C'était une mesure rétrograde sur le plan de l'unité africaine. Quoi qu'il en soit, nous gardons encore l'espoir d'être réunis

un jour à nos frères somalis, lorsqu'ils seront revenus à la raison.

192. Il y a deux jours, j'ai lancé un appel pour la libération de l'Etat frère du Kenya aussitôt que possible. C'était à la 1058^{ème} séance de l'Assemblée. Nous regrettons profondément que le représentant de la Somalie, M. Farah Ali Omar, ait proposé tout à l'heure que l'on sépare le Kenya septentrional du reste du Kenya avant l'accession de ce pays à l'indépendance. C'est bien regrettable surtout venant du représentant d'un pays africain frère, la Somalie.

193. Etant une colonie, le Kenya n'est pas représenté ici; il ne peut donc répondre à la Somalie. Mais nous espérons sincèrement qu'à la dix-septième session de l'Assemblée générale, le Kenya sera indépendant et sera admis à l'Assemblée.

194. Je me demande si le représentant ami de la Somalie osera encore demander alors le démembrement du Kenya. Il est regrettable que la proposition faite à la présente séance par le représentant d'un pays africain frère, la Somalie, risque de retarder l'accession prochaine de nos frères du Kenya à l'indépendance. Je suis certain que ces querelles entre Africains, cette manœuvre dilatoire employée par un pays africain pour retarder l'indépendance d'un autre pays africain, font le plus grand plaisir aux puissances coloniales. C'est déplorable.

195. Quant aux aspirations de la Somalie à démembrer l'Ethiopie, chacun sait que ce n'est là qu'un vain mirage, un rêve irréalisable. La Somalie n'existait pas en tant qu'Etat avant le 30 juin 1960; par conséquent, les ambitions territoriales exprimées par notre frère de la Somalie montrent son manque de connaissance de l'histoire de son propre pays et de l'Ethiopie. Tout le monde sait que l'Etat actuel de Somalie était depuis des temps immémoriaux une province de l'Ethiopie. Le concert des nations, dans sa sagesse, a maintenant créé un nouvel Etat, la Somalie. Nous avons accepté ce fait et nous avons félicité nos amis. Tout allait pour le mieux, nous lui avons souhaité sincèrement le succès.

196. Cependant, des idéologies sinistres, celles du fascisme et du nazisme qui préconisaient l'expansionnisme territorial et l'irréductibilisme racial, ne peuvent pas servir à démembrer l'Ethiopie ou quelque autre pays d'Afrique. Cette façon d'agir ne peut que réduire énormément le prestige de nos frères de Somalie et nous le regrettons profondément. Je souhaite sincèrement que M. Farah Ali Omar renonce à ses petites chicanes et s'engage à créer une atmosphère plus favorable à la concorde entre l'Ethiopie et la Somalie. Nous ne craignons pas d'être recolonisés par quelque pays que ce soit parce que nous avons réussi à conserver notre unité nationale et notre intégrité territoriale contre d'autres Etats expansionnistes qui possédaient de grands armements perfectionnés. L'Ethiopie n'a pas été colonisée, elle a été occupée pendant cinq ans seulement et encore partiellement seulement.

197. Le paragraphe 6 de la Déclaration figurant dans la résolution 1514 (XV) stipule:

"Toute tentative visant à détruire partiellement ou totalement l'unité nationale et l'intégrité territoriale d'un pays est incompatible avec les buts et les principes de la Charte des Nations Unies."

Cela est applicable au Kenya, puisque c'est tiré de la Déclaration de l'Assemblée sur le colonialisme.

Nous espérons que le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni ne se laissera pas influencer et ne retardera pas l'indépendance du Kenya à cause de ce qu'a dit le représentant de la Somalie.

198. Le PRESIDENT: Je donne la parole au représentant de l'Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques, qui désire exercer son droit de réponse.

199. M. LAPINE (Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques) [traduit du russe]: Je voudrais répondre d'une façon très courte au raisonnement très naïf de M. Bingham représentant les Etats-Unis d'Amérique et mon collègue à la Quatrième Commission. Il a essayé ici d'enseigner aux pays d'Afrique comment il faut comprendre l'indépendance, l'autonomie, quelles connaissances, quelle expérience il faut avoir pour avoir le droit d'être indépendants. Il est évident que ces conseils ne sont pas très à leur place. Mais ne nous y arrêtons pas. Il est évident que les représentants de l'Afrique y répondront eux-mêmes. A part cela, nous allons encore avoir la possibilité de revenir au problème du colonialisme en examinant les projets de résolution.

200. Je voudrais dire quelques mots sur le raisonnement de M. Bingham au sujet de l'Union soviétique.

201. Il a déclaré que l'on pose souvent la question aux Etats-Unis, à ce qu'il semble, de savoir pourquoi, les Etats occidentaux ayant libéré de nombreux pays coloniaux, l'Union soviétique ne suit pas cet exemple. M. Bingham fait mine que de telles questions le mettent dans une situation embarrassante. Nous sommes prêts à l'aider. Expliquez donc à vos concitoyens que la presse américaine, ainsi que les milieux officiels des Etats-Unis depuis longtemps déforment la vérité à propos de l'Union soviétique.

202. Aux Etats-Unis, depuis de longues années, on publie et diffuse des idées fausses et calomnieuses sur l'Union soviétique. Et il est compréhensible que les simples citoyens des Etats-Unis puissent se poser des questions absurdes du genre de celles citées par M. Bingham. Il n'y a rien d'étonnant à cela. Si vous écriviez dans vos journaux et dans vos revues, si vous transmettiez par votre radio la vérité au sujet de l'Union soviétique, la vérité sur notre constitution, la vérité sur les rapports des républiques socialistes avec l'Union soviétique, la vérité sur notre économie, notre culture, notre politique, la vérité sur nos rapports avec les pays de démocratie populaire etc., évidemment on ne se ferait pas aux Etats-Unis de ces idées fausses.

203. Malheureusement, beaucoup de conceptions défendues parfois par les représentants des Etats-Unis, et par ceux qui veulent faire plaisir aux Etats-Unis, sont basées sur la contre-information, sur une déformation absolument grossière des faits. Il est possible que parfois les représentants des Etats-Unis commencent eux-mêmes à croire à ces contre-informations. Il est visible que ceci est une particularité de la "guerre froide" que continuent à mener contre l'Union soviétique la presse et la radio des Etats-Unis, et nous en avons les échos ici même à l'Organisation des Nations Unies.

204. M. Bingham pose une question: "Pourquoi la Déclaration [résolution 1514 (XV)] ne s'applique-t-elle pas aux 200 millions d'hommes habitant les pays socialistes?" Mais voyez parfaitement vous-mêmes l'absurdité de cette question. Et bien! C'est parce que ces peuples sont libres, vivent dans des Etats indépendants et souverains et se dirigent comme ils le

croient nécessaire, sans s'adresser aux Etats-Unis d'Amérique.

205. On discute ici la question du colonialisme et non pas ce qui vous plaît en Union soviétique et ce qui vous y déplaît. C'est un grand plaisir, que le représentant des Etats-Unis ait enfin parlé des colonies américaines. Ceci est bon signe. Il serait excellent que les Etats-Unis appliquent la Déclaration en ce qui concerne ces possessions coloniales, le monde entier considérant cela comme un phénomène positif.

206. Mais M. Bingham déclare qu'il faudrait demander aux populations des îles Vierges américaines, de Guam et des Samoa américaines, comment elles désirent se développer. Mais vous reconnaissez vous-mêmes qu'elles sont prêtes à l'indépendance. Dans ces conditions, sur quoi les consulter? Est-ce qu'un pays quelconque, est-ce qu'un peuple quel qu'il soit vous dira qu'il refuse la liberté, l'indépendance, mais préfère rester sous l'autorité des Etats-Unis? Il est impossible d'imaginer de telles réponses. Alors à quoi bon ces consultations? Ces pays sont déjà prêts à l'indépendance. Accordez-leur l'indépendance en conformité avec la Déclaration et l'affaire est réglée.

207. Je voudrais relever encore deux déclarations destinées également, sans doute, à des gens naïfs, mais il n'y en a pas dans cette assemblée.

208. Le représentant américain a parlé des forces armées soviétiques en Hongrie. Il l'a fait avec la tendance habituelle des Américains à la sensation. Mais qui donc ignore que les troupes soviétiques en Hongrie y restent en vertu d'un accord avec le Gouvernement de la République souveraine de Hongrie? Qui donc ne sait pas que l'Union soviétique a déjà proposé à plusieurs reprises aux puissances occidentales de retirer toutes les troupes des territoires étrangers dans les limites de son territoire national? Et nous sommes prêts à le faire à tout moment. Mais les Etats-Unis envoient en Europe de nouveaux contingents, de nouvelles divisions. C'est un fait! Vous pouvez jouer la naïveté, mais ne comptez pas que les autres soient aussi naïfs et qu'en réponse à l'augmentation de vos forces militaires, ils vont affaiblir leur défense. On ne peut attendre cela de l'Union soviétique et des pays socialistes.

209. Maintenant une dernière remarque sur les relations économiques de l'Occident avec les pays sous-développés.

210. Le représentant des Etats-Unis a tenté de nous faire croire que l'Union soviétique souhaite la rupture de ces relations. Mais qui le croira? C'est pure invention de votre part. L'Union soviétique ne s'est jamais prononcée pour la rupture des relations des pays sous-développés avec les puissances occidentales. Ce serait absurde et naïf. Nous nous élevons contre les différentes formes du néo-colonialisme. Nous sommes opposés à ce que la coopération économique soit assortie de conditions politiques, que soient imposés à ce pays des accords de toutes sortes basés sur l'inégalité; nous nous opposons à ce que les relations économiques soient associées de menaces, d'implantations de bases militaires, de corruption, de commerce à conditions inégales et désavantageuses, etc. Voilà contre quoi s'élève l'Union soviétique. De nombreux pays d'Afrique et d'ailleurs ont fait de même. Nous serions heureux si les relations entre les pays occidentaux et les pays sous-développés présentaient un caractère réellement commercial exempt de toutes sortes de conditions

politiques et discriminatoires, si ces relations se fondaient sur une pleine égalité de droits, sur une franche coopération, etc. Qui donc pourrait s'élever contre ceci? Personne.

211. Le représentant des Etats-Unis a décidé aussi de répandre toutes sortes de calomnies contre l'Union soviétique de la nature de celles dont se servent habituellement la presse à sensation et la "Voix de l'Amérique". Après tout, c'est son affaire et je n'ai pas l'intention de lui répondre à ce sujet. Il faut croire que, quand on défend une mauvaise cause, on n'est pas très difficile sur le choix des moyens

et que l'on fait entrer même les informations de la presse à sensation à l'intérieur de l'Organisation des Nations Unies.

212. Cette session examine sous tous ses aspects et d'une façon approfondie le problème de la liquidation du colonialisme et elle mènera cette étude à bonne fin et prendra une résolution juste. Nous n'avons aucun doute à ce sujet. Et les tentatives de diversion anticommuniste ne détourneront pas la session de l'objectif fondamental et généreux qui est le sien.

La séance est levée à 18 h 20.

Vendredi 24 novembre 1961,
à 20 h 30

NEW YORK

Nations Unies
ASSEMBLÉE
GÉNÉRALE

SEIZIÈME SESSION

Documents officiels



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POINTS 88 ET 22 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

La situation en ce qui concerne l'applctation de la Décla-
ration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux
peuples coloniaux (suite*)

Assistance à l'Afrique (suite*):

a) Programme des Nations Unies pour l'indépendance

1. Le **PRESIDENT**: Avant de donner la parole aux orateurs inscrits pour la séance de ce soir, j'aimerais attirer l'attention de l'Assemblée générale sur le nouveau projet de résolution qui a été déposé [A/L.368].

2. **M. ROSSIDES** (Chypre) [traduit de l'anglais]: La résolution 1514 (XV) adoptée l'an dernier et contenant la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux a été qualifiée à juste titre de résolution historique. Cette résolution qui a condamné dans le monde entier le colonialisme et même toute domination d'un peuple sur un autre peuple par la force a ouvert un nouveau chapitre dans l'histoire de l'humanité. Le colonialisme était admis autrefois sur le plan international en tant que système politique d'administration et sa légalité constitutionnelle était reconnue. Ainsi, la domination par la force et le déni des droits fondamentaux de l'homme étaient choses normales. Tout en ayant toujours été en contradiction avec les fondements de la morale, le colonialisme ne constituait pas alors un problème mondial. Maintenant, c'est un problème mondial et un problème qu'il faut impérativement résoudre d'urgence.

3. Les Nations Unies auraient failli à leur responsabilité première si elles n'avaient pas, par cette déclaration, solennellement condamné et aboli le colonialisme.

4. La résolution adoptée l'an dernier reflète et enregistre le réveil de la conscience de l'humanité devant ce problème. En toute étape de l'évolution du genre humain, les idées et concepts qui ont cours déterminent les problèmes qui surgissent, leur importance et leur gravité. Ainsi, une injustice ne devient vraiment un problème qu'à partir du moment où la

conscience de l'humain se réveille devant cette injustice. L'injustice est alors considérée de plus en plus comme une anomalie et une cause de friction qui ne peut être éliminée que par le rétablissement de la justice et de l'équilibre.

5. Il faut comprendre que dans de tels cas les tentatives d'immobilisme et de maintien de l'ordre par la force, sans porter remède au mal essentiel, sont condamnées à l'échec et provoquent des luttes et des conflits plus graves encore. Il est vain en effet d'essayer d'endiguer la marée de la liberté ou d'arrêter le cours de l'histoire.

6. Dans notre monde en évolution rapide, l'élément essentiel de la science du gouvernement est la capacité de s'adapter promptement à des conditions sans cesse changeantes. Plus vite les puissances administrantes s'adapteront au temps présent, mieux cela vaudra pour elles et pour le monde entier. En effet, il ne peut être dans l'intérêt véritable des puissances coloniales elles-mêmes de persister à appliquer une politique de domination et d'inégalité, avec tout ce que cela comporte de conflits et de luttes à l'intérieur ainsi que d'accroissement de la tension sur le plan international.

7. C'est ce que les Nations Unies cherchent à éviter. D'une façon générale, on peut dire qu'aucune nation, aucun peuple et aucun gouvernement, quelle que soit sa force matérielle, ne peut méconnaître impunément les principes moraux fondamentaux conditionnés par l'époque et par le lieu, ni ne tenir aucun compte de la force de l'opinion publique mondiale. Quand il s'agit de colonialisme, il ne faut pas perdre de vue que ce terme, tout en étant apparenté à celui de colonisation, a acquis une signification distincte et indépendante. Il désigne toute domination par la force et l'exploitation d'un peuple par un autre.

8. Chypre, dans son histoire moderne, n'a pas été colonisée, elle n'était pas une colonie dans aucun des sens authentiques du mot. Toutefois, durant une période récente, Chypre avait le statut d'une colonie et elle a connu le colonialisme dans une de ses manifestations les plus graves, celle de la politique qui consiste à "diviser pour régner".

9. Etant nous-mêmes à peine sortis d'un état de dépendance coloniale à l'issue d'une longue lutte que nous avons menée dans le domaine politique pour nous libérer, qui a duré des dizaines d'années et s'est terminée par quatre années de résistance armée et de grands sacrifices, nous faisons nôtre avec une sympathie particulièrement chaleureuse la cause de la libération de tous les peuples coloniaux. Nous partageons leurs espoirs et leurs aspirations, ainsi que leurs épreuves et leurs tribulations. Nous sommes à leurs côtés dans leur marche vers la liberté, qu'il s'agisse de l'Algérie, de l'Angola, du Ruanda-Urundi ou de toute autre contrée du monde où l'on refuse la liberté au peuple. Mais, indépendamment de notre

* Reprise des débats de la 1061^{ème} séance.

engagement total pour la cause de la liberté, nous considérons la question de la liquidation du colonialisme également d'un point de vue plus large, celui de la paix et de la stabilité dans le monde, car il ne peut y avoir de paix durable sans la liberté universelle et il ne peut y avoir de liberté universelle tant que le colonialisme subsiste.

10. L'interdépendance est un des grands traits de notre époque. A mesure que les progrès de la technique permettent à l'homme de maîtriser davantage la nature, les dimensions de la terre se rétrécissent sous ses pieds. Plus que jamais, il est évident que l'humanité est indivisible, de même que sont indivisibles la liberté et la paix. Les dangers de guerre qui menacent l'humanité devraient rendre ces vérités plus saisissantes encore, de sorte que nous progressions, avec l'accord général et la coopération éclairée de tous les États, vers l'élimination du colonialisme sous toutes ses formes, du totalitarisme et de toute autre forme de domination par la force, et que nous suivions ainsi la voie de la paix.

11. Un autre aspect du colonialisme, dont les Nations Unies doivent tenir compte particulièrement, est que le colonialisme est l'un des deux grands écueils auxquels les Nations Unies elles-mêmes se sont heurtées. L'autre est la guerre froide. Le colonialisme, du reste, par son effet néfaste sur le domaine politique, a compliqué la guerre froide. La persistance de certaines puissances à appliquer un colonialisme d'une époque révolue a exercé une influence rétrograde sur l'Organisation des Nations Unies et a sérieusement porté atteinte à son prestige et à son autorité. Il en a été ainsi parce que ces puissances donnaient un exemple d'observation des résolutions des Nations Unies sur la libre détermination et les droits de l'homme, résolution dont elles réclamaient l'application, en d'autres cas, ou pis encore, parce qu'elles usaient de leur influence pour empêcher l'adoption de telles résolutions, pourtant fondées sur la Charte des Nations Unies. La politique colonialiste n'a pas exercé une influence heureuse sur l'Organisation des Nations Unies et sur son prestige. Nous en avons vu de nombreux exemples dont certains nous touchaient même directement, mais d'une façon générale la question algérienne peut être citée comme un cas d'espèce.

12. Lorsqu'à la dixième session de l'Assemblée générale, en 1955, la question algérienne a été portée pour la première fois devant les Nations Unies, l'Assemblée, influencée par les courants d'opinions qui dominaient à l'époque, a décidé [548ème séance] de ne pas l'examiner. La question a donc été laissée de côté. Ainsi, les Nations Unies n'ont pas adopté une résolution tendant à régler cette question d'une façon pacifique, à une époque où un tel règlement aurait cependant été beaucoup plus facile à obtenir. Le résultat regrettable de cette attitude a été que les effusions de sang ont continué et que la situation s'est aggravée. Il en a été de même aux sessions suivantes.

13. La force des événements qui prenaient de plus en plus la voie de la violence dans une situation en aggravation rapide a déterminé leur développement sans que les Nations Unies eussent pris une initiative constructive pour aplanir les divergences et apporter une contribution utile au règlement de la question sur la base de la Charte. Cette attitude pouvait à l'époque paraître souhaitable à ceux qui préféraient que l'Organisation des Nations Unies fût inactive, mais il est évident maintenant qu'elle n'a servi les intérêts ni du peuple français, ni du peuple algérien, ni de l'Orga-

nisation elle-même et de la paix mondiale. En 1959, bien que le président de Gaulle, pratiquant une politique plus réaliste et plus perspicace, eût admis le principe de l'autodétermination pour l'Algérie, les Nations Unies ont toujours été incapables de se prononcer en faveur de ce principe conformément à leur charte, ou d'adopter une résolution sur une question d'une telle importance pour la paix mondiale. De ce fait, l'Organisation des Nations Unies a été reléguée au rôle d'une arrière-garde, au lieu d'être, comme ses fondateurs l'avaient voulu, une avant-garde qui, par une action en temps opportun, devance les crises et prévient les difficultés. Pareille incapacité d'agir conformément aux principes fondamentaux de la Charte dans un cas d'une importance aussi capitale ne pouvait pas faire honneur à l'Organisation ni rehausser son prestige.

14. Toutefois, à la suite de l'entrée de nouveaux Membres, un esprit de respect pour les principes de l'Organisation des Nations Unies s'est fait sentir, une nouvelle atmosphère s'est créée. A la quinzième session, pour la première fois, a été adoptée une résolution [1573 (XV)] sur la question algérienne, sur le fond de la question. Bien que la situation continue à s'aggraver, il y a maintenant des signes prometteurs qui annoncent la reprise prochaine de nouvelles négociations. Nous espérons sincèrement qu'elles se dérouleront dans un esprit de compréhension mutuelle qui permettra de rétablir la paix fondée sur la liberté, l'égalité et la coopération entre les deux nations intéressées et d'instituer une nouvelle ère d'association étroite et amicale entre la France et l'Algérie.

15. Je me suis étendu assez longuement sur le cas de l'Algérie, en le considérant comme un exemple des écueils auxquels les Nations Unies se sont heurtées à cause de l'esprit de colonialisme et, par conséquent, comme une preuve de la nécessité de sa suppression. Il y a eu bien d'autres cas d'écueils de ce genre. Toutefois, il faut maintenir et consolider avec soin l'autorité et le prestige de l'Organisation des Nations Unies et il faut favoriser son développement normal, car elle représente aujourd'hui le seul moyen existant d'atteindre la compréhension internationale et la paix et le seul espoir de l'humanité à un moment où son existence même est en jeu. La liquidation définitive du colonialisme renforcera l'Organisation de nombreuses façons, notamment en rendant les puissances occidentales plus libres dans leur politique, ce qui fortifiera et élargira le front commun de lutte pour la liberté et les droits de l'homme, fondements de la paix.

16. La Déclaration de l'an dernier sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux a constitué un important pas en avant vers l'indépendance de tous les peuples, mais il est nécessaire de prendre des mesures pour en assurer l'application rapide. Ma délégation est heureuse de constater que, depuis l'adoption de la Déclaration sur le colonialisme, le Sierra Leone a acquis l'indépendance et est devenu Membre de l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Nous nous préparons à accueillir ici le Tanganyika et, peu de temps après, le Samoa-Occidental, qui seront de nouveaux États indépendants. Le fait que ces pays ont acquis leur indépendance par des moyens pacifiques est à l'honneur de la puissance administrante intéressée qui a appliqué une politique réaliste avisée et conforme à la Déclaration. Cependant, il reste encore plusieurs millions d'hommes, environ 70 millions, sous une domination coloniale dans différents territoires. Dans certains de ces territoires, le

progrès vers l'indépendance semble particulièrement lent; dans d'autres, il est à peu près nul.

17. Nous sommes profondément préoccupés et affligés par la situation tragique en Angola, où les victimes de la répression et de la lutte pour la libération se chiffrent par milliers. Le déni de liberté et la violation des droits de l'homme en Angola sont un sujet de préoccupation générale tant au sein de l'Organisation qu'au dehors; on ne peut fermer les yeux devant cette situation sous le prétexte que la question relèverait de la compétence nationale d'un Etat. L'argument selon lequel l'Angola ferait partie intégrante de la métropole portugaise n'est qu'une fiction juridique dont le but est d'esquiver les dispositions de la Charte. La réalité présente parle d'elle-même et prouve que le peuple de l'Angola est un peuple colonial asservi auquel sont refusés les libertés et les droits fondamentaux de l'homme. En outre, il faut souligner que, dans tous les cas de violation massive des droits de l'homme, l'argument de la compétence nationale est sans valeur. Ma délégation est d'avis, comme nous l'avons déjà dit en une autre occasion, que les Nations Unies peuvent et doivent pouvoir, en vertu de la Charte, intervenir dans tous les cas et dans n'importe quelle partie du monde où les droits de l'homme sont violés et s'efforcer de faire opérer les redressements nécessaires dans l'intérêt de la paix, car il ne peut y avoir de paix là où les libertés et les droits fondamentaux de l'homme sont violés et où la volonté du peuple est orientée vers la rébellion, que la rébellion soit latente ou ouverte.

18. Dans certains territoires d'Afrique australe, où des colonies de blancs vivent au milieu d'une population de couleur, la situation du point de vue du respect des droits de l'homme et de la représentation politique est toujours loin d'être satisfaisante. Le tableau général qu'offre le monde colonial montre que des mesures urgentes doivent être prises pour l'application de la Déclaration adoptée l'an dernier, afin que ses dispositions soient traduites dans la réalité.

19. C'est pourquoi ma délégation a présenté, en commun avec 37 autres délégations, un projet de résolution [A/L.366 et Add.1 à 3]. Il est proposé dans ce projet de résolution de créer un comité spécial chargé d'étudier l'application de la Déclaration contenue dans la résolution 1514 (XV) et de faire rapport à l'Assemblée générale à sa dix-septième session; cela devrait constituer un pas utile et constructif vers l'application de la Déclaration. Nous espérons que la plupart des membres de l'Assemblée approuveront ce projet de résolution.

20. Il est également important de protéger les nouveaux Etats de toute atteinte à leur indépendance, que ce soit sous la forme d'un néo-colonialisme ou sous toute autre forme; à cet égard, la question proposée l'an dernier par les Etats-Unis sous le titre "Afrique: programme des Nations Unies pour l'indépendance et le développement"^{1/} avait pour but d'aider les nouveaux Etats, qui étaient alors au nombre de 16, à éviter une ingérence étrangère dans leur progression vers l'indépendance.

21. Je voudrais dire maintenant quelques mots au sujet des deux projets de résolution concernant la question de l'Irian occidental ou Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale.

22. En ce qui concerne le projet de résolution des Pays-Bas [A/L.354] nous estimons devoir exprimer notre appréciation des bonnes intentions manifestées par les Pays-Bas dans leur façon d'envisager la question, ainsi qu'en témoigne l'offre de transférer la souveraineté à la population du Territoire de Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale, ou Irian occidental, et de le placer sous l'administration de l'Organisation des Nations Unies en vue de l'application du principe de l'autodétermination, conformément à la Charte et à la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale. Nous apprécions également le respect évident dont témoignent les Pays-Bas à l'égard de l'Organisation des Nations Unies et de la Déclaration sur le colonialisme, en se conformant à l'esprit des temps modernes. Si pareille attitude était adoptée par d'autres puissances coloniales ou dans d'autres territoires, la liquidation du colonialisme ne poserait aucun problème.

23. Dans ce cas particulier, cependant, d'autres considérations importantes doivent également être retenues. L'intégrité de l'Indonésie en tant qu'entité nationale unique, comprenant la Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale, a été reconnue et traitée comme telle par le Gouvernement néerlandais durant toute la période de la souveraineté des Pays-Bas et de leur occupation de l'ensemble du territoire.

24. D'autre part, il faut tenir compte du fait que la population de l'Irian occidental n'est pas en mesure, pour le moment, et ne le sera pas avant longtemps, de s'administrer elle-même, et il faut envisager aussi s'il est possible ou pratique que l'Organisation des Nations Unies entreprenne d'exercer une sorte de tutelle directe sur la Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale pendant ce temps.

25. Tout cela devra être examiné et il faudra l'examiner en tenant compte du fait que l'intégrité d'une nation, si c'est une seule nation, un seul pays, ne doit pas être détruite par une autodétermination pareille appliquée à une petite partie de cette nation. Par conséquent, tout cela devra être examiné et nous réservons, pour le moment, notre attitude.

26. Le projet de résolution de l'Inde [A/L.367 et Add.1] a le mérite de laisser s'écouler un nouveau délai d'un an avant que l'on s'engage dans un sens ou dans un autre, ce qui permet de nouvelles négociations et de nouveaux arrangements entre les Pays-Bas et l'Indonésie dans l'espoir d'un accord sur une solution satisfaisante pour les deux parties, sauvegardant leurs intérêts ainsi que ceux de la population de la Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale ou Irian occidental.

27. Le fait est significatif que le Gouvernement néerlandais lui-même a reconnu, dans la charte de transfert de la souveraineté^{2/} qui a déclaré l'Indonésie indépendante, que le sort de l'Irian occidental intéressait directement l'Indonésie et devrait être débattu et résolu par des négociations entre les deux parties, ainsi que le prévoyait la charte de transfert. Par cette disposition de la charte de transfert, deux points étaient admis. Le premier point résulte du fait même que dans la charte de transfert de la souveraineté qui a déclaré l'Indonésie indépendante on a jugé nécessaire de faire une réserve pour ce qui est de l'Irian occidental, ce qui implique que l'Irian occidental était considéré comme faisant partie de l'Indonésie, puisqu'il était nécessaire de faire cette réserve dans

^{1/} Voir Documents officiels de l'Assemblée générale, quinzième session, Annexes, point 38 de l'ordre du jour, document A/4515 et Add.1.

^{2/} Voir Nations Unies, *Recueil des Traités*, vol. 69 (1950), I, No 894, p. 207.

la charte de transfert. S'il s'était agi d'une partie d'un autre pays, il n'y aurait eu aucune nécessité de faire une réserve.

28. Le deuxième point est que la nécessité de négociations entre les Pays-Bas et l'Indonésie au sujet de l'avenir de l'Irian occidental est admise par cette disposition même de la charte de transfert. En conséquence, il semble qu'un nouveau délai d'un an, ou d'une autre durée — je ne sais pas s'il est question d'un an, ou d'un délai plus court ou plus long —, durant lequel des négociations se dérouleraient entre les deux parties, serait conforme aux intentions premières des Pays-Bas et utile aux deux parties en permettant d'arriver à une solution par voie d'accord quant au sort futur de l'Irian occidental. Si les deux parties n'arrivent pas à un accord, nous pourrions réexaminer la question. Mais pourquoi ne pas leur donner une chance de s'entendre? Pourquoi ne pas leur offrir la possibilité de se réunir?

29. Cela est conforme aux principes de l'Organisation des Nations Unies et il me semble que ce dernier projet de résolution pourrait être utile. Néanmoins, nous ne voulons pas nous engager. Nous devons examiner la question plus avant et nous nous réservons le droit de présenter de nouvelles observations sur les deux projets de résolution.

30. Un autre point que je mentionnerai au sujet de la liquidation du colonialisme est que ma délégation n'est pas d'avis que l'année 1970 ou toute autre date soit fixée comme terme pour la décolonisation définitive. Cette proposition paraît manquer au plus haut degré de sens pratique, si l'on tient compte de la marche rapide des événements à notre époque. En cet âge de la technologie et de la vitesse, toute date fixée d'avance aurait pour effet de retarder plutôt que d'accélérer le processus de décolonisation. La décolonisation doit être immédiate et continue dans chaque territoire. Elle aurait dû commencer aussitôt adoptée la résolution 1514 (XV) et elle devrait se poursuivre dans chaque territoire avec célérité, en tenant compte des conditions propres à chaque territoire et en progressant méthodiquement vers l'indépendance. La fixation de dates à l'avance constituerait donc un obstacle à la réalisation de l'objectif même d'une rapide décolonisation.

31. Nous avons atteint une époque où la liquidation définitive du colonialisme amorcera un vaste mouvement en avant vers l'abandon de toutes les notions de domination par la force dans les conflits d'intérêts ou d'idéologies et ouvrira la voie à une paix durable. La liquidation définitive du colonialisme est une nécessité préalable à tout mouvement vers la liberté et la paix. En effet, aussi longtemps que subsistera l'esprit de domination par la force et qu'il sera sanctionné par le colonialisme, cet esprit entraînera inévitablement dans son sillage la méfiance et la suspicion, contrecarrant tous les efforts vers la réalisation d'un monde pacifique. En considérant la question dans ce sens plus large, on peut dire qu'il est de l'intérêt de toute l'humanité que le colonialisme soit liquidé au plus vite.

32. Nous adressons un appel aux Etats administrants, aux termes de notre projet de résolution [A/L.366 et Add.1 à 3], en leur demandant leur coopération sincère pour une prompt liquidation du colonialisme dans l'ordre et le calme, en substituant l'égalité et l'amitié aux antagonismes et aux luttes entre ceux qui dominent et ceux qui sont asservis. Alors seulement

pourrions-nous envisager avec espoir un avenir de nouvelles réalisations humaines dans un univers de paix fondée sur la liberté.

33. M. SYLLA (Madagascar): Prenant pour la première fois la parole à cette tribune, je me permets, Monsieur le Président, de vous réitérer les félicitations que le Gouvernement de la République malgache vous a précédemment adressées à l'occasion de votre élection à l'unanimité à la présidence de l'Assemblée générale à sa seizième session. Nous en avons été doublement heureux, d'une part, parce que, membre de la grande famille africaine, nous avons ressenti tout l'honneur qui, de ce fait, rejaillissait sur notre continent, d'autre part, parce que vous avez été, pour notre pays, un fidèle et précieux ami.

34. Il m'est agréable d'exprimer au Secrétaire général nos plus chaleureuses félicitations. Sa nomination à la tête de notre organisation contribuera à maintenir haut et ferme son prestige. Mon gouvernement est persuadé que le Secrétaire général apportera dans ses fonctions la même foi, le même enthousiasme et la même compétence que son éminent prédécesseur, Dag Hammarskjöld, devant la mémoire duquel, une fois de plus, mon gouvernement s'incline avec respect et tristesse.

35. Ma délégation, comme celles des 26 autres Etats africains, a estimé nécessaire de grouper en un seul débat les deux questions inscrites à l'ordre du jour de notre session: l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, et l'assistance à l'Afrique. Elle considère que ces deux questions sont inséparables. Nous ne concevons pas que l'indépendance puisse signifier l'anarchie et la misère, et les récents événements qui se sont produits dans un pays qui nous est particulièrement cher — je veux parler du Congo (Léopoldville) — nous en apportent, s'il en est besoin, une nouvelle confirmation.

36. Ce point de vue est, du reste, partagé par tous les Etats qui, réunis du 6 au 12 septembre 1961 à Tananarive, ont formé cette union d'Etats pacifiques, résolus à conjuguer leurs efforts pour un monde meilleur et qui s'appelle l'Union africaine et malgache. Abordant ce chapitre primordial de l'indépendance, les chefs d'Etat et de gouvernement de l'Union africaine et malgache ont adopté à l'unanimité la déclaration suivante:

"Les chefs d'Etat et de gouvernement de l'UAM sont conscients du fait que voici. C'est l'existence de pays sous-développés, c'est-à-dire l'inégalité entre les peuples — inégalité organisée — qui a provoqué les deux guerres mondiales en excitant l'appétit des grandes puissances. Ils sont également conscients du fait que ce sont, en même temps, les lenteurs de la décolonisation et la faiblesse des Etats décolonisés qui entretiennent la guerre froide. Deux séries de mesures s'imposent: accélérer le processus de décolonisation, aider les pays décolonisés à se développer.

"L'Organisation des Nations Unies doit accélérer le processus de décolonisation en usant de tous ses moyens pour faire appliquer la Déclaration sur l'indépendance des pays et des peuples coloniaux votée à la XVème Assemblée générale.

"Comment? En examinant chaque cas particulier pour préconiser des solutions efficaces. Nous distinguerons, dans ce domaine, les puissances qui

décolonisent efficacement et celles qui s'y refusent: essentiellement la France et l'Angleterre, d'une part, le Portugal, l'Afrique du Sud et les autres, d'autre part. On signalera que l'Asie est loin d'être décolonisée.

"Mais il ne suffit pas de décoloniser. Pour que la décolonisation atteigne son but, encore faut-il que les régimes des pays indépendants soient démocratisés."

37. L'on constatera que, dans ce raccourci saisissant, les problèmes de la décolonisation et ceux de la nécessité de l'assistance aux pays colonisés sont posés en termes nets et précis.

38. J'aimerais développer en quelques mots la doctrine du Gouvernement malgache sur ces deux points. Je parlerai d'abord des problèmes de l'assistance; les pays et peuples dépendants doivent être préparés à la souveraineté interne et externe. Sur ce point, notre doctrine n'a pas changé depuis que, le 13 novembre 1959, le Président de la République malgache a eu l'honneur de la développer^{3/} devant la Deuxième Commission.

39. Etudiant les problèmes du sous-développement, le président Tsiranana a exposé certaines des raisons qui ont accentué celui-ci au cours des 10 dernières années: une exceptionnelle expansion démographique, l'augmentation de l'écart entre le niveau de vie dans le monde sous-développé et celui des pays industriels. Cette inégalité se traduit par une certaine prise de conscience, par les pays insuffisamment développés, de leur situation par rapport au reste du monde.

40. Seule une aide financière judicieusement répartie peut abréger le temps que nécessite l'ascension des pays sous-développés vers une situation économique normale. Mais, comme l'a fait remarquer notre président, cette aide financière doit être humanisée en ce sens qu'on ne doit lui imposer ni des objectifs limités ni des conditions paralysantes. L'ère du paternalisme est révolue tout comme, précédemment, celle du despotisme éclairé. Il n'est plus temps de chercher à faire le bonheur et la prospérité des peuples malgré eux ou sans eux.

41. Je pense que ces quelques considérations ne devront jamais être perdues de vue par les Etats qui, si généreusement, apportent aux pays sous-développés de l'Afrique et de Madagascar une aide que l'Assemblée générale a caractérisée comme étant un sursaut de la conscience universelle. C'est aussi un acte intelligent susceptible d'éliminer l'une des causes qui empêchent la fraternité d'être la loi suprême de notre monde.

42. Il a été beaucoup question ici de la différenciation que certains tentent de faire entre l'aide bilatérale et l'aide internationale ou multilatérale. J'estime, pour ma part, que c'est là un faux problème. Si, en effet, l'aide internationale multilatérale présente d'incontestables avantages, touchant notamment à la sauvegarde de la dignité et de l'indépendance nationales, il nous faut bien reconnaître que le volume de cette aide est loin de correspondre à l'importance des buts qu'elle s'est assignés. Or, les besoins des pays sous-développés sont urgents. Seule l'aide bilatérale leur permet actuellement d'accélérer leur promotion dans tous les domaines dans la mesure où, accordée avec désintéressement et générosité, elle ne s'ac-

compagne d'aucune exigence politique, d'aucune forme de servitude.

43. On a beaucoup parlé, au sein de notre assemblée et dans les commissions spécialisées, des liens économiques existant actuellement entre certains Etats européens et les Etats africains et malgache qui ont demandé d'être membres associés. Je veux parler ici du Marché commun au sujet duquel bien des affirmations contraires à la vérité ont été lancées du haut de cette tribune.

44. L'association de mon pays avec cet organisme ne comporte absolument aucun lien de caractère politique. Les obligations contractuelles de l'une et de l'autre partie sont clairement énoncées. Il est notamment précisé qu'aucune limitation ne peut être apportée à la création ou à l'expansion de nouvelles industries dans mon pays.

45. En ce qui concerne les accords bilatéraux d'assistance avec la France, mon gouvernement estime qu'ils sont des éléments primordiaux de notre développement. Certes, des critiques ont été maintes fois entendues selon lesquelles certaines grandes puissances "lâchaient, dans le vide de l'indépendance, leurs anciennes colonies après leur avoir permis d'accéder à l'indépendance". Cela n'a pas été notre cas, et je tiens à le proclamer bien haut. Cela appartient au passé; mais, en ce qui concerne l'avenir, dans les accords bilatéraux que nous recherchons, il ne pourra jamais être question d'aliéner notre souveraineté.

46. Sur ce point précis, nous avons une doctrine: c'est d'engager les nations qui ont encore des pays dépendant d'eux à octroyer à ces derniers l'indépendance dans les meilleurs délais par l'autodétermination de leurs peuples et à se faire un devoir d'adopter, parallèlement, les réformes appropriées, en particulier des mesures économiques, afin que cette indépendance s'épanouisse dans un climat de prospérité, de concorde et de paix.

47. J'ai dit tout à l'heure que l'aide économique et financière devait être judicieusement répartie. Elle doit porter sur des travaux et des investissements sélectionnés, non pas en raison de leur caractère spectaculaire, mais surtout parce qu'ils peuvent contribuer au bonheur et au progrès de l'homme, ce qui, en définitive, devrait être notre premier souci. Le président Tsiranana s'est expliqué longuement à ce sujet quand il a précisé qu'il était nécessaire de consacrer une grande partie de l'aide financière à des investissements "au ras du sol".

48. J'en viens maintenant à la question de l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, qui fait l'objet du point 88 de notre ordre du jour. La base de la doctrine de mon gouvernement est l'autodétermination. Nous estimons que ce n'est pas à d'autres pays, ni même à notre organisation, de fixer le destin des peuples dépendants. C'est à ces peuples — et à eux seuls — qu'il appartient de dire clairement, lorsque le moment est venu, quel est le sort qu'ils entendent librement choisir. J'estime qu'en la matière le devoir de notre organisation est de veiller à ce que l'expression de la volonté populaire soit sincère et que le choix ne soit entaché d'aucune pression extérieure.

49. Dans notre esprit, les mesures destinées à donner force à la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indé-

^{3/} Documents officiels de l'Assemblée générale, quatorzième session, Deuxième Commission, 620ème séance.

pendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux [résolution 1514 (XV)] sont les suivantes:

1) Prise rapide de mesures administratives et politiques tendant à associer les populations à l'administration de leurs pays et à constituer les cadres administratifs et politiques nécessaires;

2) Déclaration formelle des grandes puissances qui doivent s'engager à respecter le libre choix des populations;

3) Orientation de l'économie de ces peuples de façon à leur donner une aisance économique lorsqu'ils auront atteint l'indépendance politique;

4) Mise en œuvre de l'autodétermination par une consultation sincère, avec, en cas de besoin, l'assistance de notre organisation.

Telles sont les grandes lignes des mesures qui, d'après mon gouvernement, doivent constituer la mise en œuvre de la Déclaration.

50. Dans la ligne de ces mesures, il apparaît immédiatement que certains des Etats colonisateurs, et en premier lieu le Portugal, doivent modifier l'orientation de leur politique. Au lieu d'une assimilation, qui n'est qu'une vue utopique de l'esprit, ce pays doit résolument regarder la réalité en face. Il y a une âme africaine, une âme malgache, comme il y a une âme angolaise, une âme particulière à l'Africain du Mozambique. Je répète qu'il n'est pas réaliste de persister à vouloir orienter l'administration de ces territoires en vue d'une intégration irréalisable en fait et dangereuse dans la pratique.

51. C'est dans ce sens que mon pays voudrait voir s'infléchir la ligne de l'action coloniale du Portugal, si ce pays veut se conformer aux principes solennellement posés dans la Déclaration.

52. En ce qui concerne l'Afrique du Sud, est-il besoin de déclarer avec force que mon pays désapprouve entièrement la politique de ségrégation raciale, d'apartheid, telle qu'elle a été définie récemment à la tribune de notre assemblée par le délégué de l'Afrique du Sud [1033ème séance]. On croit rêver quand on entend défendre, à la tribune de notre organisation, une politique dont le seul but est de dénier tous droits politiques et, en fait, toute dignité morale à 9 millions d'Africains soumis à la dure loi de la suprématie d'une minorité blanche. Il est évident que de telles conceptions violent les principes les plus sacrés énoncés dans la Charte des Nations Unies et portent gravement atteinte à la dignité de l'homme.

53. Les derniers territoires encore sous mandat ou sous tutelle doivent faire l'objet d'une préparation intensive dans la ligne que nous avons définie plus haut, de façon qu'ils se trouvent dotés d'institutions qui leur soient propres et que l'on puisse procéder à l'autodétermination, qui doit demeurer l'assise fondamentale de la décolonisation.

54. Il existe des cas particuliers dont la solution ne semble pas être aussi simple que les intéressés veulent bien le dire. Je fais allusion ici au problème de la Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale et à celui des autres territoires pour lesquels aucune annonce officielle d'accession à l'indépendance n'a encore été faite. Pour tous ces problèmes, les solutions doivent être étudiées par mon gouvernement, en liaison avec les Etats de l'Union africaine et malgache et, ce qui serait infiniment souhaitable, au sein d'un groupement plus vaste, tel que celui des participants à la Conférence de

Monrovia^{4/}, ou le groupe africain dans son ensemble. Je le répète avec force, c'est aux peuples intéressés, et à eux seuls, qu'il appartient de choisir leur destin. C'est là la pierre angulaire de la politique de mon gouvernement: l'autodétermination.

55. Nous voici au terme de ces débats, au cours desquels tant d'éminents orateurs, rivaillant de générosité, ont étudié les moyens les meilleurs pour une rapide éradication du colonialisme.

56. Mon gouvernement est prêt à appuyer tous projets de résolution tendant à la mise en œuvre de la Déclaration et à voter en leur faveur. Il estime souhaitable pour cela d'avoir la collaboration des grandes puissances ayant encore la responsabilité de territoires et de peuples dépendants. Sans cette collaboration, nos résolutions risquent de conserver un caractère tout théorique ou de ne représenter que des phases de la guerre froide.

57. Si, comme je le crois fermement, la grande majorité des peuples dépendants choisit l'indépendance, la puissance administrante doit continuer à leur apporter son appui et, par ailleurs, notre organisation et les organismes internationaux doivent sans délai se pencher sur leur sort en vue de leur apporter une aide immédiate et suffisante.

58. J'ai la ferme conviction que c'est dans ces directions que l'ONU doit s'orienter pour mettre en œuvre les principes généraux qu'elle a posés dans la Charte et pour répondre à l'immense espoir que ces principes ont suscité dans le monde.

59. M. BENHIMA (Maroc): Je me souviens qu'à son retour d'exil S. M. Mohammed V, s'adressant pour la première fois au peuple marocain, a recommandé avec une émotion particulière que tout son peuple, s'il ne parvenait pas à oublier les souffrances qu'il avait endurées, fît un effort pour pardonner à ceux qui les leur avaient fait subir. Il a exhorté la nation à ne pas se préoccuper d'un passé qui pouvait sans doute lui inspirer de la rancune, mais à tendre toute son énergie vers un avenir qui réclamait d'elle plus d'efforts que le passé, qui comportait plus d'obstacles pénibles à franchir et qui ne pouvait être construit sainement que dans la concorde nationale et la coopération avec tout le monde, y compris l'ancien colonisateur. Le roi lui-même a été le premier à tendre la main du pardon à ceux qui, au Maroc ou ailleurs, avaient été les responsables de son exil et du drame qui s'en était suivi. C'est avec une particulière satisfaction que nous avons constaté que c'était là non seulement un geste politique d'une grande sagesse, mais la manifestation d'une conception philosophique d'une profonde justesse et d'une haute élévation de pensée. C'est d'ailleurs l'attitude qu'ont eue, avant ou après lui, tous ceux qui ont eu la lourde charge de diriger la lutte douloureuse de leurs peuples pour leur libération, à l'époque où la liberté était arrachée à l'occupant par le sang, les larmes et les souffrances dans les prisons. Je voudrais me référer notamment à l'exemple de Jawaharlal Nehru, de Sukarno, de Bourguiba, de N'Krumah, qui sera certainement suivi demain par Ben Bella, Ben Keddah et leurs amis.

60. C'est forte de cet enseignement et animée de cet esprit que la délégation du Maroc participe au débat sur le colonialisme, en essayant d'apporter sa contribution à la recherche des moyens appropriés

^{4/} Conférence des Etats indépendants d'Afrique, réunie du 4 au 8 août 1959.

pour accélérer le phénomène de décolonisation et en excluant tout esprit de rancune contre qui que ce soit, quelle que puisse être, pourtant, la légitimité de ce sentiment.

61. Nous avons écouté parfois, non sans une certaine surprise, des interventions qui accusaient légèrement les voix anticolonialistes de se livrer à l'expression d'un refoulement de haine ou de rancune, comme s'il était plus décent d'être un ancien colonisateur qu'un ancien colonisé. Sans vouloir faire ici le procès du colonialisme, il faut convenir cependant que ce phénomène, qui a marqué l'histoire des trois derniers siècles, ne peut être passé sous silence par simple pudeur, alors qu'aujourd'hui ceux-là mêmes qui en ont fait l'expérience se trouvent placés devant la nécessité historique de le dénoncer tel qu'il a été, et non pas tel que l'ont décrit ceux qui l'ont pratiqué.

62. Nous voulons que nos interventions soient considérées non point comme des plaidoiries, mais comme des témoignages authentiques, qui n'ont pu être apportés quand la loi du silence nous était imposée, témoignages que nous devons honnêtement verser au dossier de l'histoire pour l'honneur de ceux qui ont consacré leur vie à la liberté et par amour des générations à venir, auxquelles nous voulons à tout prix épargner ce calvaire. D'autre part, nous pensons honnêtement que, la liberté ayant rendu le dialogue possible entre colonisateurs et colonisés, la confrontation pourrait entraîner la disparition de tous les complexes et ouvrir la voie à une collaboration loyale et fructueuse. Il ne tient d'ailleurs qu'à ceux qui nous accusent que ce sujet de discussion disparaisse. Le débat auquel nous procédons actuellement devrait, à notre sens, exaucer ce vœu, si la sincérité est égale chez tous ceux qu'il concerne.

63. Il serait bien difficile de nous opposer la preuve d'une mauvaise volonté quelconque en ce qui concerne cette attitude d'oubli et cet esprit de coopération. Il serait encore plus difficile de nous citer le nom des dirigeants de peuples anciennement colonisés qui n'aient pas fait preuve du courage nécessaire pour tourner une page sur le passé et pour manifester à toute occasion leur désir réel de coopérer loyalement et de faire un apport positif, au sein de la communauté internationale, par esprit d'émulation, à la marche du progrès de leurs peuples et de l'humanité tout entière.

64. Mais force nous est de constater malheureusement que les pays colonialistes ne se sont dépouillés, ni tous ni complètement, de leurs préjugés et continuent à se manifester, en dépit de tous les courants, de toutes les évolutions et de tous les appels, dans leur position anachronique. Depuis des années déjà, tout le monde parle de la fin du colonialisme et de sa liquidation. Il suffit malheureusement de regarder la carte de certains continents pour constater que certaines puissances impérialistes qui s'y étaient établies par la conquête y sont toujours et s'efforcent d'y rester par les moyens mêmes qu'elles avaient utilisés les premiers jours de leur installation. Il suffit aussi d'examiner la liste des pays colonialistes pour y trouver les noms de toutes les puissances qui sont traditionnellement des pays à empire. Aucun nom n'y manque. Alors pourquoi parler de la fin du colonialisme? Pourquoi parler généreusement de la modification des valeurs et de la transformation des mentalités?

65. Nous craignons de nous laisser tout simplement séduire par un dialogue dans lequel les colonisateurs

parlent le même langage que ceux qui veulent se libérer et que l'intention des uns, en tenant ce langage, ne soit pas exactement la même que celle des autres.

66. Bien sûr, le climat politique, depuis quelques années, a changé à tel point qu'un comportement colonialiste intégral est devenu impossible. Mais le changement de langage, s'il a donné aux pays colonisateurs la bonne conscience d'un changement, ne s'est pas toujours traduit, pour les peuples colonisés, par un changement réel.

67. La Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux [résolution 1514 (XV)], qui a été adoptée en 1960, ne traduit pas la réalité: un an après l'adoption de cette résolution, nous sommes encore en présence de guerres d'extermination, de manifestations de racisme, de manœuvres diplomatiques sans scrupules entreprises par beaucoup de puissances qui n'ont pourtant pas voté contre cette résolution, l'année dernière.

68. Il est par ailleurs indispensable d'éclaircir un point qui risque de devenir, si ce n'est déjà fait, une source d'erreurs historiques qui obscurciraient l'origine et la portée de cet événement.

69. Les idées qui font la valeur de la Déclaration ne sont pas nées telles quelles d'une initiative des auteurs de cette déclaration ni des interventions de tous ceux qui étaient venus la commenter à cette tribune. Pendant qu'un voile de pudeur était encore jeté sur la réalité des empires coloniaux, il s'était toujours trouvé, heureusement, des gouvernements ou des peuples pour dénoncer les tragédies du colonialisme. Il y a des chefs d'Etat, des hommes politiques, de grands penseurs, dont la vie a été consacrée à la défense de la liberté partout où une atteinte lui était portée. Mais, au cours de la dernière guerre et au lendemain de la victoire sur les pays totalitaires, la valeur de la liberté a été telle que certaines consciences ont été troublées dans les rangs mêmes des colonialistes.

70. Parallèlement à l'éclosion de ces sentiments, les peuples subjugués ont pris une conscience si nette du caractère impératif de leur combat que l'aspiration à la liberté s'est manifestée de façon éclatante et que la lutte est devenue inévitable. Le cauchemar du fascisme avait réellement libéré l'homme, et la contagion de la liberté a été spontanée. Quelques pays ont bénéficié de la conjoncture internationale grâce à leur propre situation ou à celle du pays qui les dominait et ont accédé à une forme de souveraineté qui leur a permis de venir grossir les rangs de ceux qui luttent pour faire accorder une plus grande liberté aux peuples soumis à la domination étrangère. Les voix du Pakistan, de l'Irak, du Liban, de l'Indonésie, de l'Egypte et de l'Inde ont constamment dénoncé le colonialisme et tous ces pays ont apporté leur soutien aux mouvements de libération dans les pays d'Afrique et d'Asie. Cette solidarité a eu des échos qui ont retenti à travers tous les continents, et les élans encore timides de quelques mouvements de libération s'en sont trouvés fortement consolidés.

71. Une série de rencontres entre ces Etats ont donné lieu à une organisation plus efficace de ce soutien et de cette solidarité. Les conséquences de cette action ont été telles que la suprématie des puissances impérialistes a subi des secousses qui ont conduit certaines d'entre elles à réviser leurs attitudes et à modifier les structures de leur empire. Un mot qui

a connu depuis un grand succès pourrait, à notre avis, résumer l'esprit dans lequel ce nouveau comportement s'est effectué. On a dit en effet, à propos du colonialisme anglais, que, lorsque l'Angleterre octroie l'indépendance à un Etat de son ancien empire, les Anglais s'en vont mais l'Angleterre reste.

72. Ce n'est pas là seulement une boutade. Cette formule exprime à notre avis une réalité propre à une première étape de la décolonisation. Le sens de l'expression a été favorablement accueilli par certains pays anciennement colonisés qui ont très sincèrement espéré et cru en une collaboration loyale entre les deux pays qui modifierait leurs anciens rapports. Nous avons tous connu cette étape au cours de laquelle nous avons voulu voir se retirer le colonisateur et maintenir une place privilégiée aux pays anciennement dominants, dans un esprit de collaboration loyale.

73. C'est cet esprit peut-être qui a fait la force du Commonwealth et qui a donné en quelque sorte et paradoxalement un certain prestige au colonialisme britannique. Le génie de ce colonialisme a été souvent donné en exemple à d'autres pays, mais malheureusement le Royaume-Uni ne l'a pas appliqué partout, et ceux qui ont voulu en fin de compte l'appliquer à leur propre cas l'ont complètement dénaturé, de sorte que cette étape s'est révélée aussi dangereuse pour l'avenir des pays en voie d'émancipation que le maintien pur et simple du colonialisme classique.

74. On pourrait dire que les premières manifestations du néo-colonialisme sont apparues dans l'application de l'esprit dénaturé de cette boutade. Je voudrais pouvoir prendre comme exemple l'évolution du colonialisme français, non pas pour des raisons subjectives particulières, mais peut-être à cause d'une connaissance plus large que l'expérience nous a permis d'en acquérir.

75. Le Gouvernement provisoire de la France libre avait été sans doute frappé, à Londres, par les conceptions, la souplesse et le sens d'adaptation du colonialisme britannique. D'autre part, le rôle joué par l'Empire français dans la continuation de la guerre et la conception libérale que je crois personnellement être celle du général de Gaulle avaient permis de dégager, à la Conférence de Brazzaville, en janvier 1944, les principes et les bases de rapports nouveaux entre la France et les pays qui constituaient son empire. Le concept de l'Union française aurait peut-être pu être autre chose qu'un euphémisme substitué à l'expression démodée d'empire. Mais toutes les subtilités juridiques mises en œuvre pour modifier les lois de ce nouveau régime ont incontestablement altéré les bonnes intentions de ses promoteurs et l'on s'est trouvé en réalité en présence d'une simple version nouvelle de l'empire colonial. La manœuvre a été si claire et si transparente que, quelques mois à peine après la Conférence de Brazzaville, le mouvement d'indépendance marocain a, dans une proclamation solennelle, dénoncé les dangers de cette nouvelle politique et réclamé l'indépendance pure et simple du Maroc. La répression qui s'est abattue sur le mouvement nationaliste a fini par faire apparaître, s'il en était besoin, le caractère fallacieux de ce qu'on a essayé de présenter comme une étape libérale.

76. Je n'ai pas l'intention de me livrer à une analyse approfondie de l'évolution du système colonial à partir de cette période, mais il me semble nécessaire, au moment où nous ressentons encore des craintes devant les manifestations du néo-colonialisme, d'en

dénoncer certains aspects dont le danger risque de demeurer inaperçu grâce à la subtilité avec laquelle il a été déguisé.

77. Le droit colonial n'a pas été modifié uniquement en fonction des éléments traditionnels qui président à l'élaboration d'une loi. Les circonstances politiques et l'évolution du phénomène colonial ont constamment influencé le législateur de cette catégorie de droit. D'ailleurs la rapidité avec laquelle le droit colonial a évolué prouve que, pendant les 20 dernières années, la pression des courants politiques dans les pays en voie d'émancipation a à elle seule infléchi sérieusement son contenu. Tant de lois et de codes ont été abandonnés avant même d'avoir été définitivement élaborés! On est passé du régime de l'Union française à celui des Etats associés, des territoires d'outre-mer à la loi-cadre, à l'autonomie interne et finalement à toutes les variantes du concept de la communauté.

78. Mais, à travers toute cette évolution, un facteur est demeuré constant: la volonté du législateur de maintenir intacts la position et les privilèges de l'Etat colonisateur en cédant pour la forme, mais pour la forme seulement, aux exigences politiques internes ou internationales. La lutte des pays colonisés a été également une lutte sur le plan institutionnel puisque, à cette période de reconsidération des structures coloniales, le néo-colonialisme voulait poser sûrement de nouveaux jalons pour la pérennité de sa présence.

79. Certains peuples ont été plus heureux que d'autres et ont pu se dresser devant ces nouvelles méthodes comme ils s'étaient dressés devant les anciennes. D'autres n'ont pas pu ou n'ont pas voulu prendre garde aux conséquences dangereuses de cette subtilité et sont aujourd'hui en présence de difficultés énormes pour réaliser une indépendance véritable à laquelle ils ont réellement cru et qu'ils veulent sincèrement réaliser.

80. Notre débat a permis à des orateurs de continents différents, de croyances et de formations différentes, d'être largement d'accord sur cette forme de danger que nous voulons dénoncer, sans aucune acrimonie mais avec toute notre volonté d'être lucides. Il se peut que certains pays colonisés retrouvent leur liberté sans connaître les horreurs de la guerre, les souffrances et les tortures des prisons. Nous serons les premiers à nous réjouir que le sacrifice des uns serve à épargner aux autres les inconvénients de la voie étroite et de ses difficultés. Mais il est du devoir de ceux qui ont été contraints à d'autres voies de mettre en garde contre la fausse liberté et la fausse indépendance.

81. Nous avons tout lieu de demeurer sceptiques. Loin de conformer sincèrement son attitude à la volonté des peuples qui réclament la liberté, loin d'appliquer les résolutions auxquelles il donne l'impression de souscrire, le colonialisme ne veut en réalité rien perdre de ses privilèges. Tout au plus essaie-t-il de créer de nouveaux arguments pour créer de nouveaux privilèges et tous ne sont pas du genre que nous avons dénoncés quand nous avons essayé d'analyser l'évolution du droit sur lequel il essaie de baser son action nouvelle. D'autres systèmes ont été utilisés, qui sont plus dangereux que les subtilités juridiques. On se souviendra par exemple de quelle manière une trêve demandée pendant la guerre de Palestine a servi en fin de compte les intérêts des conquérants sionistes sur le point d'être refoulés de la Palestine. Le colo-

nialisme, acculé à quitter le Moyen-Orient, a installé de la sorte un Etat artificiel dont il a fait l'instrument de ses desseins et auquel il essaie aujourd'hui encore de faire chausser ses propres bottes pour sillonner l'Afrique et l'Asie en qualité de gérant des intérêts dont il ne peut plus être lui-même le détenteur direct.

82. Cette forme de colonialisme dont le sionisme a pris la relève a été magistralement analysée et clairement dénoncée à la Conférence de Casablanca^{5/}. L'on sait également qu'une des dernières trouvailles du colonialisme a été la soustraction de certains territoires à certains pays au moment de l'indépendance, soustraction effectuée sous mille prétextes mais dont aucun n'est valable. On a d'abord étendu une souveraineté étrangère sur ces territoires pour en faire ensuite, soi-disant, des Etats indépendants. Il n'est pas suffisant de dénoncer la tricherie juridique qui consiste à écarter le détenteur normal de ces provinces et de ces territoires, le souverain naturel de ces territoires, pour créer de toutes pièces un Etat artificiel et venir ainsi bouleverser les données permanentes du droit international par une simple jonction du droit administratif et du droit constitutionnel interne. Je me suis laissé dire — et j'aimerais répéter — cette expression à propos de tels pays et de tels Etats: ce sont les enfants adultères du colonialisme que l'on demande à l'Organisation des Nations Unies d'adopter. Ce fut le cas de la Mauritanie, de l'Irian occidental et, actuellement, du Katanga.

83. Le dernier système qui a été pratiqué use de moyens encore plus radicaux. Après avoir soustrait à son profit une partie du territoire dont il avait l'administration, le pays colonisateur érige ce territoire en terre de souveraineté et le rattache à sa métropole. Telles sont les tentatives portugaises à Goa ou en Angola et les tentatives de l'Espagne en ce qui concerne les territoires marocains du Sahara méridional et des villes de Ceuta et de Melilla.

84. Devant de telles pratiques, n'est-il pas légitime de demeurer sceptique sur la sincérité des pays colonisateurs qui s'associent aux pays colonisés pour reconnaître la nécessité de mettre fin au colonialisme? Comment pourrait-on prendre au sérieux une telle attitude alors que la France continue la guerre d'Algérie, entrée depuis quelques semaines dans sa huitième année? Comment peut-on croire à la sincérité du Portugal qui mène une guerre d'extermination systématique en Angola? Comment peut-on enfin croire à la sincérité du Royaume-Uni qui maintient sa présence dans de nombreux territoires africains et qui mène une répression violente contre les populations de l'Oman? Comment peut-on demeurer tranquille quand on écoute à cette tribune le représentant d'un gouvernement exposer, avec des justifications juridiques et morales, la pratique du racisme dans les territoires qu'il contrôle? Comment peut-on être tranquille sur le sort du Sud-Ouest africain quand nous savons qu'il s'agit d'un territoire confié à une puissance par l'Organisation internationale et que l'on refuse aujourd'hui à cette dernière le droit de regard et le droit d'enquête sur ce territoire où le racisme existe à l'état intégral?

85. On comprendra aisément que devant ce doute, né de la constatation d'autant de contradictions entre les intentions et le comportement réel, de nombreux pays

d'Afrique et d'Asie aient soumis à l'Assemblée un projet de résolution [A/L.366 et Add.1 à 3] tendant à la constitution d'une commission qui aurait pour tâche de dégager, avec notre collaboration, les moyens appropriés pour mettre en œuvre et réaliser l'objectif de la Déclaration adoptée, en 1960, en présence de nombreux chefs d'Etat et dont le retentissement à travers le monde peut être considéré comme un des effets les plus importants des travaux de notre organisation. Les auteurs de la résolution se sont efforcés de la faire adopter à l'unanimité comme le requiert son caractère moral; ils ont essayé de tenir compte de toutes les difficultés pour permettre à tous ceux qui administrent encore des territoires non indépendants d'effectuer le changement de régime avec la plus grande facilité et dans l'intérêt des populations en voie de devenir indépendantes.

86. Mais pour nous, qui avons participé aux Conférences de Bandoung^{6/}, du Caire^{7/}, d'Accra^{8/}, d'Addis-Abéba^{9/}, de Casablanca et de Belgrade^{10/}, la Déclaration a été la consécration à l'échelle internationale des efforts constants pour l'accès à la liberté de tous ceux qui n'y sont pas encore parvenus.

87. Notre objectif ne s'arrête pas là. Nous ne voulons pas diviser le monde en deux catégories. L'asservissement seul constitue une ligne de partage. La liberté, au contraire, rapproche les peuples, les unit et enrichit la communauté internationale grâce à l'apport de la variété des génies que seule la liberté peut faire éclore.

88. Nous avons hâte de voir s'instaurer cet esprit de coopération dont la disparition même provisoire a causé tant de crises dans le monde. Cette coopération, les petites puissances y tiennent encore plus que les grandes. Mais, si pour nous elle signifie assistance et aide contre le sous-développement économique, culturel et social, si elle signifie respect et tolérance mutuels, elle demeure encore, dans l'esprit de certains de nos partenaires, un simple voile pour cacher la subordination de nos intérêts supérieurs à leurs intérêts propres, la priorité de leur prestige sur notre dignité, la primauté de leur défense sur la nôtre, une assistance pour un développement réalisé selon leurs vœux et conforme à leur volonté de maintenir une inégalité permanente dans les nouveaux rapports que nous voulons avoir avec eux.

89. Je voudrais, avant de terminer, faire connaître l'attitude de mon pays en ce qui concerne une question importante que l'interprétation abusive de la Déclaration a introduite à dessein dans notre débat actuel.

90. Le Gouvernement des Pays-Bas a cru devoir faire triompher sa politique dans l'Irian occidental en présentant à notre assemblée un projet de résolution [A/L.354] dont le résultat consacrerait non seulement le fait accompli, je veux dire le fait colonial dans cette partie de l'Indonésie, mais constituerait l'atteinte la plus grave à l'esprit de la Déclaration elle-même. Le conflit entre les Pays-Bas et l'Indonésie existe depuis la reconnaissance de l'indépendance à ce pays.

^{6/} Conférence réunie du 18 au 24 avril 1955.

^{7/} Conférence de solidarité des peuples d'Asie et d'Afrique, réunie du 26 décembre 1957 au 1er janvier 1958.

^{8/} Conférence des Etats indépendants d'Afrique, réunie du 15 au 22 avril 1958.

^{9/} Conférence des Etats indépendants d'Afrique, réunie du 14 au 26 juin 1960.

^{10/} Conférence des pays non alignés, réunie du 1er au 6 septembre 1961.

^{5/} Conférence des Etats indépendants d'Afrique, réunie du 3 au 7 janvier 1961.

Les négociations qui, après une guerre douloureuse pour le peuple indonésien, ont abouti à la reconnaissance de cette indépendance avaient consacré sans équivoque la souveraineté de l'Indonésie sur ce territoire qui, de tout temps, a fait partie du territoire indonésien et que les Pays-Bas eux-mêmes ont toujours administré comme tel.

91. Nous savons tous comment, au sortir d'une guerre de libération, les négociations pour l'indépendance sont conduites. Pour des considérations qui ont paru provisoirement valables, mais provisoirement seulement, le Gouvernement indonésien, après s'être fait donner acte de sa souveraineté complète sur ce territoire, a accepté que le transfert réel des pouvoirs se fasse à une date ultérieure. Malheureusement, le Gouvernement hollandais n'a pas cru devoir respecter cet engagement, et il a constamment opposé des fins de non-recevoir aux revendications légitimes de l'Indonésie.

92. Les innombrables négociations ont toutes échoué et le litige a été porté pendant plusieurs années devant l'Organisation des Nations Unies. A aucun moment, les Pays-Bas n'ont pu réfuter le caractère indonésien de l'Irian occidental et les négociations qu'elle menait avec l'Indonésie sont, en quelque sorte, une reconnaissance formelle du droit de l'Indonésie à poser le problème. Il est bien étrange de voir dans quel esprit et avec quelle rapidité le Gouvernement hollandais veut appliquer à ce cas la résolution du 14 décembre 1960.

93. La responsabilité des Pays-Bas devait, tôt ou tard, cesser dans cette partie de l'Indonésie, et, s'ils veulent sincèrement mettre fin au régime colonial, ils devraient rendre cette province au pays dont elle est une partie intégrante. Ils le savent aussi bien que l'Indonésie. Le procédé qui a été utilisé par le Gouvernement des Pays-Bas, à la lumière et à l'abri de la Déclaration, est une grave erreur politique de sa part. Non seulement il constitue un manquement à des engagements solennellement souscrits, mais le fait de vouloir abuser de cette résolution en la dénaturant dans sa lettre et dans son esprit nous met en droit de douter de la sincérité de certaines puissances qui ont voté en sa faveur. Mon pays entretient, avec le Royaume des Pays-Bas, d'excellentes relations, et nos rapports ont été de tout temps cordiaux, à la satisfaction des deux pays. Mais nous avons le droit, au nom même de cette amitié, de dénoncer un procédé qui ne contribue pas à grandir ses auteurs.

94. La délégation de l'Inde a déposé un autre projet de résolution [A/L.367 et Add.1] sur la même question. Cette résolution invite les deux gouvernements à entreprendre de nouvelles négociations avec la collaboration du Président de l'Assemblée, en vue de résoudre ce problème. Il nous semble que le Gouvernement des Pays-Bas ne devrait pas se refuser à un tel appel. Nous accorderons notre appui au projet de résolution de l'Inde. Mais, comme nous n'avons jamais eu à voter contre un projet de résolution déposé par les Pays-Bas, nous souhaiterions — et d'autres délégations le souhaiteraient sans doute comme nous — que leurs représentants le retirent pour ne pas nous mettre dans l'obligation de le rejeter. A maintes reprises, le Gouvernement de l'Indonésie a proclamé sa volonté de trouver une solution pacifique à ce problème. Nous sommes convaincus que, si le Gouvernement des Pays-Bas faisait preuve des mêmes dispositions, ce problème trou-

verait bientôt une solution qui donnerait satisfaction à toutes les parties.

95. Notre attention a été attirée, au début du débat, sur un projet de résolution déposé par plusieurs pays africains [A/L.368] et relatif à la même question. Nous avons eu le temps de l'examiner avec l'intérêt qu'il mérite. Nous ne doutons pas un seul instant de la sincérité et de l'esprit dans lequel ses auteurs ont essayé de trouver, à leur manière, une solution au problème de l'Irian occidental; mais certaines dispositions de ce projet de résolution rejoignent malheureusement presque intégralement les considérations exposées dans le projet du Gouvernement hollandais, et pour ces raisons nous sommes contraints de le rejeter. Nous le rejetons avec d'autant plus de peine que ce sont des pays africains qui viennent d'accéder à l'indépendance qui veulent contribuer à la consolidation du mouvement d'indépendance dans toutes les parties du monde où la domination demeure. Mais nous leur adressons un appel pour que dans ce projet de résolution, dont la subtilité est assez dangereuse et dont les conséquences pourraient se retourner demain contre d'autres pays africains, on laisse au principe de l'autodétermination la valeur morale qu'il a toujours comportée. Nous demandons qu'on n'abuse pas de ce principe en le mettant au service de certaines causes qui sont elles-mêmes en train, je me permets de le dire, de débaucher ce principe au profit de la création artificielle de certaines nouvelles colonies; celles-ci sont actuellement présentées devant l'opinion internationale comme des pays indépendants, mais en réalité elles ne sont que des appendices des anciens empires.

96. M. THEODOLI (Italie) [traduit de l'anglais]: Ma délégation n'avait pas l'intention, primitivement, de prendre la parole dans cette discussion générale. Les opinions du Gouvernement italien sur le problème du colonialisme ont été amplement exposées à l'Assemblée l'an dernier lorsque nous avons appuyé la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, contenue dans la résolution 1514 (XV). Nous pensions donc pouvoir simplement expliquer plus tard nos votes sur les divers projets de résolution dont nous sommes maintenant saisis.

97. Toutefois, de tragiques événements nous ont montré dernièrement que tout ce qui se passe en Afrique nous concerne bien plus que nous ne l'aurions cru possible. Je le dis non seulement parce que notre pays y a subi des pertes douloureuses, mais aussi parce que nous ne pouvons pas faire autrement que de participer à tous les drames qui se jouent dans ce monde, où que ce soit. Cela est particulièrement vrai quand il s'agit de l'Afrique et du Congo où 13 aviateurs italiens ont été cruellement assassinés et quatre autres ont péri au cours de vols pacifiques au service de l'Organisation des Nations Unies.

98. Ainsi, 17 Italiens ont rallié les rangs de la brave troupe de soldats et de fonctionnaires de différentes nationalités qui, sous la conduite inspirée de M. Dag Hammarskjöld, ont donné leur vie au service de l'humanité. A ce propos, je voudrais donner lecture à l'Assemblée d'un passage du discours prononcé au Parlement italien le 16 novembre 1961 par notre premier ministre, M. Fanfani:

"Le message que nos aviateurs ont légué au peuple congolais, dans sa recherche tourmentée de l'indépendance et de la liberté, c'est que nous n'avons pas l'intention, après ces événements tragiques,

de retirer notre aide. La générosité avec laquelle ces aviateurs ont accepté leur mission et donné leur vie dans l'accomplissement de leur devoir nous incite à ne pas oublier la mission civilisatrice exercée toujours par l'Italie durant des millénaires. Elle nous incite à persévérer dans nos efforts pour comprendre les nouvelles nations et les aider dans leurs graves difficultés. Nos aviateurs morts nous ont indiqué le chemin à suivre, qui est de persévérer, en faisant abstraction de toute discrimination, nationale, raciale ou historique, en un sentiment du devoir de solidarité et de respect de la valeur et de la dignité de la personne humaine."

Notre premier ministre a dit encore ceci:

"Nous avons l'intention de discuter les graves problèmes du Congo à l'Organisation des Nations Unies et nous ferons remarquer que les aviateurs italiens ont donné l'exemple non pas de blancs qui oppriment, mais de blancs qui donnent généreusement leur vie pour la liberté et la sécurité d'autres peuples."

99. Mon gouvernement est d'avis que le moment est venu de faire un ample examen de tous les aspects compliqués de la situation au Congo et de la tâche dévolue aux Nations Unies. Pour le moment, je désire simplement donner cet avis, mais nous portons de toute façon un vif intérêt aux deux questions de l'assistance à l'Afrique et de la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. Nous avons écouté avec beaucoup d'intérêt de nombreux discours brillants et de nombreuses déclarations constructives, parmi lesquelles quatre ont particulièrement attiré notre attention, celles des représentants de Ceylan, de la Nigéria, de la Colombie et de Madagascar. Nous avons trouvé aussi des idées intéressantes dans la déclaration du représentant du Ghana.

100. Mon pays observe la naissance et la croissance des nouvelles nations d'Afrique avec beaucoup de sympathie et de compréhension; nous sommes d'avis qu'il faut aider autant qu'on le pourra les nouvelles classes dirigeantes dans leurs efforts pour favoriser l'évolution de leur pays, selon les caractères nationaux qui lui sont propres, dans les domaines politique, économique et culturel. Dans ce processus, les Nations Unies ont un grand rôle à jouer non seulement en sauvegardant la paix et en éliminant la guerre comme moyen de régler les conflits internationaux, mais aussi en offrant une assistance technique et financière et en luttant contre les causes profondes des conflits, la misère, l'ignorance et l'injustice, et en favorisant ainsi le progrès social et l'élévation des niveaux de vie.

101. Nous sommes également d'avis que le Conseil de tutelle qui a accompli incontestablement une œuvre remarquable à tous les points de vue devra continuer à fonctionner tant qu'il restera un territoire non autonome susceptible de se voir accorder l'indépendance conformément à l'Article 73 de la Charte.

102. La même considération s'applique, dans son champ propre d'activité, au Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes qui a accompli une œuvre très utile en clarifiant des situations et en accélérant le processus d'évolution vers l'autonomie politique et l'indépendance.

103. Les règles prescrites aux Chapitres XI, XII et XIII de la Charte, dont l'expérience a montré qu'elles sont fondées sur des principes d'une grande

sagesse, devront continuer à nous servir de guides à l'avenir. Nous avons le devoir sacré de voir au-delà du simple processus de l'accession à l'indépendance. L'accession d'un nouveau pays à l'indépendance politique ne représente pas tellement un but définitif qu'une étape — quoique très importante sans aucun doute — dans son évolution. L'indépendance ne doit pas signifier l'isolement politique et économique et ne doit pas engendrer le désordre, l'agitation et le chaos.

104. Quant à la question très controversée d'une date limite éventuelle à laquelle les nouvelles nations devraient obtenir l'indépendance, nous sommes d'avis que la rapidité est certainement préférable à la léthargie, mais qu'il y a là essentiellement une question d'opportunité. La rapidité est importante, mais la hâte peut être dangereuse. Le vieil adage latin *Festina lente*, "Hâte-toi lentement", est pleinement valable en la matière. En d'autres termes, comme le représentant du Pakistan l'a dit à la Quatrième Commission [1160ème séance]:

"Nous devons être opposés aussi bien à l'établissement hâtif d'une utopie qu'à d'inutiles délais et temporisations."

105. Ainsi que l'a déclaré devant l'Assemblée le Ministre des affaires étrangères de la Nigéria, il faut en Afrique une évolution méthodique et pacifique. Il a affirmé:

"Nous voulons empêcher la subversion à l'intérieur de notre continent. Nous voulons que les conflits idéologiques s'arrêtent aux frontières de notre continent. Toutes ces réalisations ne peuvent s'accomplir dans le désordre. Je crois nécessaire que nous tirions du Congo la leçon qui s'impose." [1050ème séance, par. 19 et 20.]

106. Les délégations qui jugent essentiel de mettre complètement fin au colonialisme par tous les moyens et au plus vite soulignent l'importance du paragraphe 3 de la Déclaration contenue dans la résolution 1514 (XV), qui stipule:

"Le manque de préparation dans les domaines politique, économique ou social ou dans celui de l'enseignement ne doit jamais être pris comme prétexte pour retarder l'indépendance."

Nous approuvons cette affirmation, mais nous souscrivons aussi à l'opinion autorisée qui a été exprimée ici même que cette affirmation n'enlève rien à la valeur de la préparation, car il serait difficile de nier le fait qu'il est bon que toute nouvelle nation ait une préparation suffisante. En fait, la préparation a été considérée à juste titre comme le cœur même du problème.

107. Pour toutes ces raisons, nous sommes en faveur du projet de résolution [A/L.366 et Add.1 à 3] présenté par 38 pays d'Afrique et d'Asie, que nous considérons comme constructif et réaliste. La création d'un comité chargé de l'étude des problèmes particuliers aux différents territoires — idée qui avait déjà été suggérée, comme nous sommes heureux de l'apprendre, il y a deux ans par le Président de la Tunisie — nous paraît le meilleur moyen d'aborder ce délicat problème, car la fixation d'une unique formule rigide pour tous les territoires non autonomes qui existent encore dans le monde serait certainement impossible et manquerait de réalisme. Nous désirons par conséquent présenter nos sincères félicitations aux nombreux auteurs de ce projet de

résolution pour avoir donné un si bel exemple de coopération et de compromis.

108. D'après ce que je viens de dire, il est évident que nous ne pouvons pas accepter au contraire les idées dont s'inspire le projet de résolution [A/L.355] qui a été présenté par la délégation de l'Union soviétique et commenté très longuement dans les discours prononcés par les représentants des pays socialistes. Je dois dire que chaque fois que j'écoute de tels discours je me sens confondu d'admiration, oui, d'admiration pour leur étonnant courage — ou devrais-je dire plutôt audace — de se poser chaque fois en champions de la liberté, de la démocratie, de la justice et du progrès. Il me semble vraiment que c'est aller un peu loin que de supposer que tous les membres de l'Assemblée ignorent totalement non seulement les faits essentiels de la géographie et de l'histoire, mais même les faits relatés tous les jours dans la presse.

109. L'une des allégations les plus courantes des pays socialistes est que leurs propres mobiles sont toujours purs, altruistes et dictés exclusivement par des sentiments de solidarité et de souci du bien-être des populations: tous les gouvernements occidentaux, en revanche, et les membres de l'OTAN en particulier, sont accusés de n'entretenir que des rêves sinistres d'exploitation économique et d'oppression politique.

110. Dans le cas du Portugal, par exemple, on a beaucoup critiqué le fait que ce pays ne s'était pas conformé à une résolution de l'Assemblée générale. Nous le regrettons profondément, ainsi que nous l'avons déclaré à la Quatrième Commission [1202ème séance], mais nous devons cependant signaler que le Portugal a entrepris dans ses territoires d'Afrique un programme de réformes qu'il serait équitable de mettre quand même à son actif, dans l'espoir qu'il y a là un premier pas dans la bonne direction et que ce pays trouvera le moyen de faire plus et mieux l'an prochain.

111. Toutefois, nous comprenons l'émotion des nations d'Afrique et d'Asie dans ce cas. Plus difficiles à comprendre sont les dures critiques émanant de certaines délégations de pays qui ont pourtant beaucoup à se reprocher dans le même domaine. Nul d'entre nous n'a pu oublier les résolutions concernant les événements qui se sont déroulés en Hongrie en octobre 1956, ni la résolution concernant le Tibet qui a été adoptée à la quatorzième session de l'Assemblée, résolutions dont les parties intéressées ont fait fi ouvertement et de manière agressive.

112. On a beaucoup parlé récemment des "vents de changement" qui ont soufflé sur de nombreux anciens empires coloniaux et dont les effets ont été très encourageants. Si nous considérons l'empire néo-colonial qui s'étend d'Europe en Asie, nous y remarquons aussi des vents qui soufflent et des changements qui se produisent, mais ils sont d'une autre nature. Les vents qui soufflent sont les vents glacés de l'Arctique qui transportent les retombées radio-actives. Quant aux changements, certes, il y en a eu d'intéressants, en particulier sur la Place Rouge et en d'autres lieux.

113. Il y a quelques jours, le représentant d'un des pays socialistes nous a dûment informés que le XXIIème congrès du parti communiste avait adopté pour l'ensemble des peuples soviétiques un nouveau programme qui promettait notamment une assistance

"à tous les peuples qui luttent pour la destruction complète du système colonial". Je dois dire que je trouve cela très intéressant. Cependant, je pense que la grande majorité des membres de l'Assemblée se souviendront spécialement du XXIIème Congrès du parti communiste pour une autre raison, pour les surprenantes révélations faites sur les événements qui se sont déroulés dans l'empire soviétique pendant 30 années. Ces révélations, émanant des sources les plus hautes et les plus inattaquables, nous présentent un tableau de tortures et d'assassinats en masse de chefs du parti, d'intellectuels, d'ouvriers et de paysans.

114. Ce que je viens de dire ne constitue nullement une tentative de notre part de distraire l'Assemblée générale de la discussion du problème colonial, ainsi que certains ne manqueront pas de l'insinuer. Nous voulons simplement attirer l'attention sur le fait qu'il faut faire preuve de plus d'impartialité et d'humilité dans cette discussion. Elle porte sur la fin du colonialisme, question de la plus haute importance pour le monde entier et particulièrement pour les nouvelles nations d'Afrique et d'Asie, dont mon pays comprend parfaitement les sentiments et les aspirations, d'autant plus que nous comptons parmi elles de nombreuses et sincères amies. L'Italie n'est plus une puissance coloniale ni une puissance administrante et elle entretient des relations très amicales et fructueuses avec les pays indépendants qu'elle a administrés autrefois soit comme colonies, soit comme territoires sous tutelle. Nous n'avons pas d'intérêts particuliers ici, ni d'un côté ni de l'autre, mais nous sommes d'avis qu'on doit envisager le problème du colonialisme dans sa véritable perspective.

115. Ce que nous pourrions appeler le colonialisme à l'occidentale est en voie de disparition. Au cours des 15 dernières années, une quarantaine de pays, comptant plus de 800 millions d'habitants, ont accédé à l'indépendance. Rien qu'en Afrique, pas moins de 22 Etats nouveaux sont nés et 16 d'entre eux sont entrés à l'Organisation des Nations Unies, la plupart bien avant que l'Assemblée eût adopté la résolution 1514 (XV). Dans quelques jours, le Tanganyika en fera autant. Ce pays a donné naissance à un dirigeant remarquable en la personne de son premier ministre, M. Nyerere, dont les qualités d'homme d'Etat se sont révélées lors de la déclaration qu'il a faite cette année devant le Conseil de tutelle, à sa vingt-septième session [1171ème séance].

116. L'an prochain, ce sera le tour de l'Ouganda et du Samoa-Occidental, de sorte qu'il ne restera pratiquement qu'environ 70 millions de personnes sous le régime colonial, ce qui représente approximativement le dixième du nombre primitif.

117. En revanche, une autre forme de colonialisme a dressé sa hideuse tête en Europe et en Asie, où une grande puissance exerce une domination militaire, politique et économique absolue sur des millions d'hommes et de femmes qui auparavant étaient libres, non pas dans des territoires d'outre-mer, mais dans des pays voisins. Dans ces colonies, il n'y a pas de liberté de parole, pas de liberté de la presse, même pas de liberté de se déplacer. Aucune disposition n'est prise pour leur assurer l'autonomie et rien n'est certainement prévu en vue de la diffusion d'informations sur les activités de l'Organisation des Nations Unies.

118. C'est en tenant compte de ce qui précède que je voudrais citer une fois encore devant l'Assemblée les paroles émouvantes prononcées par le représentant de la Fédération de Malaisie le 25 septembre 1961, alors qu'il appuyait l'inscription à l'ordre du jour de la question du Tibet:

"Lorsque nous nous élevons contre le colonialisme et la violation des droits de l'homme en Afrique, ce n'est pas seulement parce que les victimes sont des Africains et que les oppresseurs sont des puissances coloniales occidentales, mais essentiellement parce qu'il s'agit de la domination et de l'oppression de l'homme par l'homme. Si la même oppression se produit ailleurs, il est du devoir absolu de l'Assemblée générale d'adopter une attitude identique, même si elle encourt par là le mécontentement de certains qui participent à ce qu'il est convenu d'appeler la guerre froide."
[1014ème séance, par. 178.]

119. Nous estimons, dans l'esprit du projet de résolution de la Nigéria [A/L.357], que les 10 prochaines années verront la fin du colonialisme en Afrique. Espérons qu'elles verront aussi l'aube d'une nouvelle ère de liberté et de justice pour tous les peuples opprimés du monde, "sans aucune condition ni réserve, conformément à leur volonté et à leurs vœux librement exprimés, sans aucune distinction de race, de croyance ou de couleur, afin de leur permettre de jouir d'une indépendance et d'une liberté complètes", ainsi que le stipule la résolution historique 1514 (XV) que ma délégation approuve sans réserve.

M. Schürmann (Pays-Bas), vice-président, prend la présidence.

120. M. BA (Mali): Au cours de sa quinzième session au moment où elle adoptait la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux [résolution 1514 (XV)], notre assemblée fut un des hauts lieux de l'histoire contemporaine, sinon de l'histoire de l'humanité. Après la suppression de l'esclavage, ce fut le deuxième acte qui honore notre condition d'homme.

121. Ce n'est pas par hasard qu'elle a été inspirée par l'Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques¹¹ et que, à l'exception des pays colonialistes impénitents, elle fut adoptée par l'ensemble des pays de progrès, en tout cas de tous les pays qui ont conscience que la suppression de l'esclavage colonial, de toute domination coloniale dans le monde, est un des facteurs essentiels du maintien de la sécurité et de la paix universelles.

122. Nous avons fait ici lors de la quinzième session [901ème séance] le procès du colonialisme classique avec son cortège d'oppressions: oppression politique, oppression économique, oppression sociale et culturelle, et leur toile de fond raciste. Nous avons mis l'accent sur les structures plaquées sur notre fond national par le colonisateur pour transfigurer et défigurer nos pays. Nous avons souligné les dangers graves, pour les Etats nouvellement indépendants, des démarches du néo-colonialisme qui, en apparence moins oppressives que les manifestations du colonialisme traditionnel, sont cependant importantes et plus perfides. Nous avons même signalé au passage ces formes d'apparence libérales, le "white man's burden", le colonialisme sous la forme du libéralisme d'affaires.

123. Les nouveaux rapports politiques à l'échelle internationale et l'émergence des pays jeunes ont atteint à mort le colonialisme. Ce fait ne saurait nous étonner. Il est inscrit dans le processus du développement historique. La liquidation du système colonial est un phénomène inéluctable; elle est irréversible. Ce sont là des vérités premières connues de tous les militants anticolonialistes des mouvements de libération nationale, et c'est pourquoi nous abordons ce problème avec une parfaite sérénité, conscients du fait que notre assemblée, dans sa sagesse, prendra des décisions qui iront dans le sens de l'histoire. A l'heure où nous parlons, à l'ombre de la déclaration qui "proclame solennellement la nécessité de mettre rapidement et inconditionnellement fin au colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations", il existe encore près de 80 territoires d'une superficie de 10 à 12 millions de kilomètres carrés comprenant plus de 70 millions d'habitants. Nous ne retiendrons pas votre attention par une énumération fastidieuse de ces colonies dont l'existence, quoi qu'on dise et quoi qu'on pense, constitue une honte à l'heure où la maîtrise de la technique et de la science ouvre à l'homme de si grandioses perspectives. Nous ne parlerons de certaines de ces colonies qu'en raison de la tragédie que connaissent les mouvements de libération dans certaines d'entre elles et du génocide qui y est pratiqué par le colonialisme décadent aux abois.

124. En Angola, le Portugal, petit pays européen arriéré, profitant de l'appui de ses alliés occidentaux puissants, se livre au massacre délibéré des populations africaines. Par respect pour les sentiments humanitaires des personnes civilisées réunies ici, nous ne parlerons pas des atrocités dont l'odieux spectacle a été présenté par le cinéma et la télévision. Des photographies qui font frissonner d'horreur ont été affichées dans cette assemblée et constituent des monuments de barbarie qui font que le Portugal et son régime fasciste sanguinaire sont couverts d'opprobre et détestés de tous les hommes civilisés du monde. Notre assemblée se doit de prendre des mesures urgentes et décisives pour que cesse le génocide qui risque, si l'on n'y prend garde, d'affecter le Mozambique et la Guinée dite portugaise. Nous reviendrons en son temps sur ce brûlant problème.

125. Au Congo, nous avons mesuré l'étendue des méfaits du colonialisme belge et de ses alliés impérialistes. Seize mois d'expérience des Nations Unies n'ont pas cessé de rendre chaque jour plus urgente la solution de ce terrible exemple de décolonisation voulue et organisée par la pire coalition impérialiste, au nom des intérêts sordides de l'Union minière du Haut-Katanga. Au Comité consultatif pour le Congo, nous avons indiqué nos positions qui peuvent se résumer en mesures pratiques et immédiates pour mettre fin à la sécession du Katanga (nœud de tout le problème congolais), et en un appui inconditionnel au Gouvernement central, seule autorité avec laquelle doivent traiter les Nations Unies. L'exacerbation des oppositions tribales au Ruanda-Urundi n'est qu'un stade prémonitoire d'une "orientation congolaise" du devenir de cette région.

126. Le Royaume-Uni au Kenya, malgré la vaillance et la détermination du peuple kikouyou debout derrière son libérateur Jomo Kenyatta, veut, par des méthodes dilatoires, arriver à une seconde révolte des Mau Mau. Cependant, tous les Africains sont convaincus que le

¹¹/ Voir Documents officiels de l'Assemblée générale, quinzième session, Annexes, point 87 de l'ordre du jour, document A/4501.

Kenya a largement mérité son indépendance et n'a pas besoin de deux années supplémentaires d'esclavage colonial.

127. Le même Royaume-Uni, pilier du système colonial, prépare, semble-t-il, la militarisation de la Rhodésie-Nyassaland pour les fins que vous devinez.

128. En Afrique du Sud, une minorité blanche, au nom du fascisme colonial le plus exacerbé, pratique, au mépris des résolutions de notre assemblée et de celles de toutes les organisations internationales, sa honteuse politique d'apartheid cent fois condamnée par l'opinion des pays civilisés. Nul doute que dans ce pays, dominé par les héritiers du maréchal Smuts et de M. Malan à la Verwoerd, l'Organisation des Nations Unies devra, pour faire appliquer notre déclaration, envisager des moyens à la mesure de l'insolence et de la haine raciste d'un gouvernement qui affiche tant de mépris pour l'Organisation.

129. L'Afrique du Sud, comme nous le savons, pratique également son odieux système au Sud-Ouest africain et s'oppose farouchement à la mise sous tutelle de ce territoire par les Nations Unies. Le point de notre ordre du jour qui traite de ce problème nous permettra d'y revenir plus en détail.

130. Les Pays-Bas ne veulent pas lâcher l'Irian occidental, dernier souvenir de leur empire colonial. L'Irian occidental fait cependant, sans conteste, partie intégrante de l'Indonésie. Les machinations politico-juridiques des Pays-Bas ne peuvent que retarder la solution indonésienne de la question de l'Irian que le représentant des Pays-Bas appelle avec dédain la Papouasie, le pays des Papous, des hommes à queue. Nous, nous sommes pour l'indépendance et la liberté de tous les peuples, des Papous comme des femmes à plateau, des Zoulous, comme des Pygmées d'Afrique.

131. Le machiavélisme qui consiste à mélanger, dans le projet de résolution des Pays-Bas [A/L.354], les principes de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance et la reconnaissance du droit de l'Indonésie sur l'Irian occidental, n'est qu'une manœuvre pour maintenir le statu quo colonial en Guinée dite néerlandaise. Si les Pays-Bas veulent éviter l'arbitrage de l'Assemblée générale, qu'ils se décident à négocier avec l'Indonésie sur des bases pacifiques, en parfaite égalité, de nation souveraine à nation souveraine. Hors de ces voies, je doute que le problème puisse être résolu en méconnaissant un pays aussi grand que l'Indonésie dont les droits ne sont mis en doute par personne.

132. Et maintenant, voici l'Algérie, notre sœur, terre de géhenne, je dirai de génocide. Comment ne pas vitupérer contre le colonialisme français dans son entêtement à poursuivre cette guerre sans nom qui entre dans sa huitième année, cette guerre contre un peuple debout, décidé à se libérer de la tyrannie et de la domination, cette guerre enfin qui doit aboutir inévitablement à l'indépendance de l'Algérie. La France de Descartes, des humanistes, la France de la Commune de Paris, de Jaurès, accepter d'être traitée comme le Portugal de Salazar ou l'Afrique du Sud de Verwoerd, la France dont le peuple et la culture sont tant aimés de par le monde, accepter, comme disait l'autre jour Guy Mollet, ancien président du Conseil français, "cette bêtise reconnue par tant de personnalités nationales"! Nous ne comprenons pas que la France accepte de s'aliéner tant de sympathies dans tant de pays, car la guerre d'Algérie, qui est une sale guerre, aura contribué à

mobiliser dans la réprobation tous les peuples de tous les pays amis des nationalistes algériens qui combattent sur leur sol la domination étrangère. L'honneur de la France exige que, pendant qu'il est temps encore, elle mette rapidement fin à cette guerre coloniale. C'est le vœu sincère de tous ceux qui ont été nourris de culture française. Nous souhaitons vivement qu'un ultime geste du général de Gaulle, en mettant fin à cette guerre qui est la nôtre, rétablisse la France dans l'estime de tous.

133. Ce tableau général du colonialisme serait incomplet si l'on ne mentionnait pas la dernière folie coloniale en date: Bizerte, base étrangère implantée sur le territoire d'un Etat souverain qui en réclame l'évacuation. Plus de 1 000 morts tunisiens, au nom des impératifs de la défense de l'Occident, de la sacro-sainte alliance de l'OTAN. Bizerte reste pour nous un symbole, la manifestation la plus typique du néo-colonialisme, qui doit donner l'alarme dans tous les Etats nouvellement indépendants.

134. Le néo-colonialisme n'est pas un mythe. Ceux qui pensent que nous en parlons dans un but de propagande, en termes freudiens, risquent simplement d'être les victimes inconscientes d'un phénomène désormais historique: le néo-colonialisme prenant la relève du colonialisme traditionnel. Le néo-colonialisme se définit comme "l'octroi d'un simulacre d'indépendance à un territoire colonial ou à un territoire sous tutelle, alors qu'on paralyse le pays devenu indépendant au moyen d'accords économiques et militaires".

135. Si nous ne craignons de retenir trop longtemps l'attention de l'Assemblée, nous pourrions brosser un tableau complet des manifestations du néo-colonialisme: plans économiques (plan de Constantine et autres) mobilisant des moyens considérables pour des objectifs officiels considérés comme irréalisables; accaparement des terres de colonisation; déplacement de populations; destruction violente des communautés de travail avec leurs techniques et leur équilibre social; pression démographique, cercle vicieux évoluant vers le stade suprême du sous-développement; erreurs de calcul, volontaires ou non, de technocrates habitués à concevoir le développement économique en termes capitalistes; refus du développement agricole parce que le colonialisme désire forger une arme nouvelle contre la révolution paysanne, une arme socio-économique qui doit "casser la paysannerie" (80 p. 100 de la population autochtone) par la famine, le surpeuplement, l'exode, la destruction du milieu traditionnel lui-même, la création enfin d'un "Lumpenproletariat" incapable, dans la majorité des cas, de produire sa subsistance. Ailleurs, le néo-colonialisme préfère subventionner indéfiniment la misère, combler indéfiniment le déficit agricole par des dons de céréales dont l'importance est appelée à s'accroître à mesure que le déficit s'aggrave, plutôt que de laisser résoudre le problème agraire par la mobilisation révolutionnaire des masses rurales sous-employées. Coexistence dans une même nation d'une économie agraire collectiviste et autoritaire et d'une économie industrielle soumise aux règles du jeu capitaliste pour le seul profit d'une "élite différenciée de la masse"; essor des productions destinées à l'exportation s'accompagnant d'une stagnation ou d'un recul des productions destinées à la consommation intérieure; désarticulation de l'économie nationale et aggravation de sa dépendance vis-à-vis de l'étranger: voilà le tableau du néo-colonialisme.

136. A cela s'ajoutent: 1) les besoins de luxe plus ou moins grands de "l'élite différenciée de la masse"; 2) un marché protégé pour les industries de l'Europe; 3) un déficit agricole chronique. Comme dirait l'économiste A. Gorz, "la révolution agraire, retardée par la mise en selle de quelque Tchang Kai-shek ou Batista, attendrait son Mao Tsé-toung ou son Fidel Castro".

137. On "achèterait" ainsi de la stabilité politique pour tel pays en voie de développement afin de le conserver au monde dit "libre". Le Dr Waxmuth, de la Eisen-Essen, définit comme suit, dans une déclaration de programme de la confédération patronale allemande, le rôle des Etats africains:

"L'industrie allemande s'intéresse au plus haut point à l'Afrique; mais, comme tout bon commerçant, elle demande des garanties — avant tout sur le plan politique. La condition primordiale, toutefois, est que les régimes africains soient stables et solidement liés à l'Europe."

Sans commentaire!

138. Comme on le voit, le colonialisme et le néo-colonialisme sont des frères siamois. Hors de la libération complète et définitive des pays sous domination coloniale, pas de salut, pas de possibilité de développement économique et social, de développement tout court. C'est pourquoi, face au problème général de la liquidation du colonialisme, nous n'admettons aucune neutralité, aucun compromis. On est pour ou contre le colonialisme. C'est pourquoi, nous indiquerons sans ambages la position du Mali au sujet de l'application de la Déclaration.

139. En premier lieu, ma délégation pense que la résolution s'est prononcée sans équivoque quant à la date de mise en application: fin immédiate du colonialisme et octroi immédiat de l'indépendance aux pays et peuples coloniaux. Cette stipulation signifie que les mesures de décolonisation doivent être appliquées sans délai. Nous serons donc opposés à toute décision fixant un délai, ou minimum ou maximum. Ma délégation votera par contre en faveur de tout projet de résolution tendant à instaurer, au cours de cette session, un organisme international spécial chargé de mettre immédiatement en pratique les modalités de passation des pouvoirs aux autorités autochtones responsables des colonies ou semi-colonies, après consultations diligentes avec les ex-puissances coloniales. Cet organisme spécial devra comporter une répartition géographique équilibrée où l'Afrique, martyre du colonialisme, devra avoir une place de choix.

140. En deuxième lieu, ma délégation — au risque de paraître peu ou pas objective — est opposée à ce que j'appelle des manœuvres dilatoires tendant à retarder la fin du colonialisme sous le fallacieux prétexte de l'impréparation des populations autochtones à l'exercice du pouvoir politique. Ceux des pays africains ou asiatiques qui invoqueraient cet argument apporteraient, consciemment ou inconsciemment, de l'eau au moulin des puissances coloniales, dont le rêve est de conserver le plus longtemps possible les privilèges inhérents à l'exploitation des peuples colonisés.

141. Ceux d'entre nous qui ont eu l'occasion d'écouter les pétitionnaires de l'Angola, de la Guinée dite portugaise, du Ruanda-Urundi ou du Sud-Ouest africain ont pu apprécier leur haut degré de conscience politique, aussi bien des problèmes nationaux que des problèmes internationaux. De sorte que l'objectivité

qu'on invoque dans cette affaire est l'objectivité des colonialistes impénitents qui s'accrochent encore à leurs privilèges, qui refusent d'être des hommes de leur temps. Notre rôle sera de bousculer simplement ces fossiles et d'appliquer hardiment la volonté de l'immense majorité de cette assemblée qui veut aider le colonialisme à mourir de sa belle mort.

142. Pour conclure, je voudrais souligner que le problème général de la fin du colonialisme dans le monde ne saurait souffrir des vicissitudes et des aléas de la guerre froide. La liquidation du système colonial ne saurait être le monopole ni d'un continent, ni d'un pays, ni d'un groupement de pays. La liquidation du système colonial est un problème fondamental de notre époque qui justifierait à lui seul l'existence des Nations Unies. L'honneur de notre organisation exige que, par son action éclairée et unanime, elle mette fin au colonialisme, aux foyers de guerres coloniales et injustes qui font rage en Afrique et mettent en péril la paix et la sécurité internationales. La fin du colonialisme devient de ce fait une des dominantes de la question générale de la guerre ou de la paix.

143. Les peuples africains encore sous domination coloniale attendent beaucoup de la Déclaration adoptée par l'Assemblée générale à sa quinzième session. Ils attendent de son application, c'est-à-dire de nous, d'être des peuples libres. Ils attendent de son application l'arrêt des massacres en Algérie et en Angola. Nous n'avons pas le droit de décevoir l'espoir de plusieurs millions d'hommes humiliés, bafoués, torturés.

144. Notre assemblée, en sa seizième session, se doit d'être à la hauteur de l'humanisme du XXème siècle, cet humanisme qui, comme disait Jacques Decour il y a 25 ans, "est une foi rationnelle en la valeur et la dignité de l'homme, un respect civilisé de sa personne, un culte militant de sa liberté".

145. M. LAPINE (Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques) [traduit du russe]: La délégation de l'Union soviétique voudrait d'abord noter avec satisfaction que la proposition tendant à examiner les moyens d'assurer l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux [résolution 1514 (XV)] a été approuvée et appuyée par la majorité des pays d'Afrique, d'Asie et d'Amérique latine. De même qu'à la session précédente l'initiative de l'Union soviétique au sujet de la suppression du colonialisme a été reconnue comme opportune et d'une nécessité vitale.

146. L'activité que déploie l'Assemblée générale pour l'étude du problème de la liquidation du colonialisme ressort bien du fait qu'une cinquantaine de délégations ont pris part à la discussion de ce problème, discussion qui dure depuis trois semaines. Les orateurs ont souligné dans leurs interventions l'importance historique de la Déclaration adoptée à la session précédente sur l'initiative de l'Union soviétique. D'autre part, les participants au débat ont exprimé leurs craintes et leur inquiétude en constatant que l'exigence majeure formulée dans la Déclaration, c'est-à-dire l'adoption de mesures immédiates pour la liquidation totale du honteux système colonial, n'a pas été mise en œuvre et que les puissances coloniales empêchent l'octroi de l'indépendance aux peuples opprimés, mènent des guerres d'extermination et intensifient la terreur et la répression à l'égard des peuples qui luttent pour leur liberté.

147. En ce qui concerne les interventions des représentants des puissances coloniales, il convient de noter cette année une certaine modification de leur tactique. A la session précédente, vous vous en souvenez, il a fallu lutter pour que la question coloniale fût examinée non pas en commission, comme le proposaient les puissances coloniales, mais en séance plénière de l'Assemblée. A la présente session, ces puissances, instruites par une amère expérience, n'ont plus décidé de s'opposer à l'examen de la question coloniale en séance plénière. C'est un fait qui mérite d'être retenu. Vous le savez, avant la quinzième session le problème colonial dans son ensemble n'avait jamais été débattu à une tribune internationale.

148. En sanctionnant la Déclaration, l'Organisation des Nations Unies a non seulement donné son appui moral à la cause des peuples coloniaux qui luttent pour leur liberté et leur indépendance, mais elle s'est chargée en même temps de les libérer de l'oppression, afin de mener à bien la grande œuvre de la liquidation totale du régime colonial.

149. Il est caractéristique que les représentants des puissances coloniales ne se sont pas prononcés directement, cette fois, contre la Déclaration qu'ils avaient attaquée avec un tel acharnement à la session précédente. Dans son intervention, le représentant des Etats-Unis a qualifié la Déclaration d'historique et de célèbre. Mais c'est là un changement d'orientation purement apparent, pour la forme. Si l'on en juge d'après les actes des puissances coloniales, elles s'en tiennent à leurs anciennes positions et continuent à chercher des voies et moyens de conserver les vestiges du système colonial, ignorant ainsi les exigences de l'Organisation des Nations Unies concernant la liquidation immédiate du système colonial. Elles produisent d'anciennes et de nouvelles conditions et réserves pour prolonger leur domination sur les pays coloniaux et dépendants.

150. Les représentants des puissances coloniales ont soutenu activement à l'Assemblée la proposition visant à reculer le délai de la liquidation du colonialisme en Afrique à l'année 1970. Ils avaient de la peine à dissimuler leur satisfaction devant cette proposition. Et, de fait, comment les colonisateurs anglais, portugais, belges, français, espagnols et autres ne se réjouiraient-ils pas du moratoire de 10 ans qu'on leur propose pour liquider leurs possessions coloniales!

151. De toute évidence, ceux qui proposent de reporter à l'année 1970 le délai pour l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays d'Afrique aident les colonisateurs, volontairement ou involontairement, en leur fournissant la possibilité légale de tourner la Déclaration et de gagner ainsi du temps pour consolider leurs positions dans les territoires dépendants.

152. L'Assemblée générale se doit de rejeter catégoriquement des tentatives de ce genre visant à "aider" les colonisateurs. Ce qu'on nous propose, c'est ni plus ni moins que de renier les grands et équitables principes adoptés par l'Assemblée générale à sa quinzième session pour résoudre le problème colonial. La Déclaration exige la liquidation immédiate du système colonial, sans aucune condition ni réserve. C'est précisément cette exigence qui a conféré à la Déclaration ce caractère de document historique de notre époque et qui lui a valu l'approbation universelle. Et voici qu'on nous propose maintenant de renoncer à l'essentiel, à ce qui constitue l'essence et

la force agissante de la résolution des Nations Unies. Non, il est impossible d'y consentir. Nous sommes réunis ici pour étudier les mesures propres à mettre en œuvre la Déclaration et non pas les voies détournées qui permettraient de réduire la Déclaration à un chiffon de papier.

153. Quels sont les arguments avancés au cours de nos débats contre l'octroi immédiat de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux? Ce sont toujours les mêmes, ces anciens arguments que nous avons déjà entendus bien des fois.

154. Ce sont avant tout des références au prétendu manque de préparation des peuples coloniaux à gouverner eux-mêmes leurs pays. On sait qu'en 1960 seulement, 18 pays, avec 85 millions d'habitants, ont accédé à l'indépendance. Et les colonisateurs avaient prétendu, pour chacun de ces pays et pendant de longues années, qu'ils n'étaient pas préparés à l'indépendance.

155. Le Premier Ministre du Tanganyika, qui accèdera encore cette année à l'indépendance, a raconté qu'il y a trois ou quatre ans les autorités anglaises estimaient qu'un délai de 20 à 25 ans pour la "préparation à l'indépendance" de ce territoire avait un caractère "trop révolutionnaire". Il est bon de rappeler ces faits pour faire mieux voir l'hypocrisie des colonisateurs quand ils parlent du manque de préparation des peuples à l'indépendance.

156. Les pays qui se sont libérés du joug colonial ont déjà remporté des succès incontestables sur la voie de leur renaissance nationale et culturelle. Un grand nombre de ces pays, il est vrai, ne sont pas encore entièrement maîtres de leur économie et de leurs richesses naturelles. Mais cela est dû au fait qu'ils ne se sont pas encore libérés de la domination des monopoles impérialistes. Toutefois, ayant accédé à cette nouvelle période de leur évolution, ils ont acquis la possibilité d'extirper les racines économiques du colonialisme. Il est hors de doute qu'ils arriveront finalement à liquider sur leurs territoires les graves conséquences de la domination coloniale sous toutes ses formes.

157. Quelles raisons peut-on invoquer pour priver du droit à une évolution nationale indépendante les pays qui se trouvent encore sous le joug des puissances coloniales? Le niveau d'évolution de ces pays est-il inférieur à celui des pays qui ont déjà accédé à l'indépendance? La Déclaration interdit d'invoquer quelque prétexte que ce soit pour retarder l'octroi de l'indépendance et l'Organisation des Nations Unies est tenue de mettre en œuvre avec persévérance ce noble principe, en rejetant toutes les "conditions" et les "réserves" des colonisateurs comme fausses et intéressées.

158. On serait tenté de rappeler les paroles si justes prononcées par l'honorable représentant de Ceylan:

"... il n'y a dans le monde ni territoire ni population qui soit incapable de se gouverner efficacement". [1048ème séance, par. 106.]

Le mythe de la nécessité d'une préparation à l'indépendance, comme il l'a souligné avec justesse, est non seulement erroné, mais aussi "moralement inadmissible".

159. Les partisans de ce mythe ne demandent pas mieux que de masquer leur défense du colonialisme par des considérations "pratiques". Ils sont, voyez-vous, contre les "appels collectifs à l'indépendance".

Ils sont en faveur d'une "étude rationnelle" du problème colonial et contre la propagande, etc. Donnez-leur le temps nécessaire, ne serait-ce encore qu'une ou deux décennies, et ils prépareront, en puisant dans la population indigène, des personnalités qualifiées comme premiers ministres, comme ministres, comme fonctionnaires, comme instituteurs et comme médecins, et après, à les en croire, ils abandonneront les pays soumis à leur pouvoir.

160. Mais qui croirait à des contes pareils? Les enfants eux-mêmes, bien qu'ils aiment les contes de fées, protestent toujours à leur manière quand le loup du "Chaperon rouge", ayant dévoré la grand-mère et pris sa place dans son lit, s'efforce de contrefaire la voix de sa victime.

161. Qui pourrait croire que les colonisateurs portugais, belges, hollandais et autres se préoccupent de la préparation des classes intellectuelles de la population indigène? Où l'a-t-on vu? En Algérie? En Angola? En Rhodésie? Au Sud-Ouest africain?

162. Chacun sait que tous les pays coloniaux, sans exception, qui sont parvenus à obtenir l'indépendance, se sont heurtés, en premier lieu, au problème de l'analphabétisme des masses et de l'insuffisance des cadres nationaux. Et ce n'est qu'après avoir chassé les colonisateurs qu'ils ont disposé pratiquement de grandes possibilités pour réussir rapidement à liquider l'analphabétisme et pour préparer des cadres nationaux. Ces pays, en deux ou trois ans, sont parvenus dans ce domaine à des résultats qui n'avaient pu être atteints pendant les siècles de domination coloniale.

163. Il convient de faire remarquer que jadis les autorités coloniales considéraient déjà comme avantageux pour elles de tirer parti de certains individus de la population indigène, en leur donnant une formation de fonctionnaires, d'employés de bureau pour leurs entreprises, etc. Mais, si elles le faisaient et continuent de le faire, c'est tout d'abord dans leur propre intérêt, en tenant compte de considérations purement mercantiles. Les fonctionnaires et les employés de bureau, formés sur place, leur reviennent moins cher que ceux qu'on fait venir de la métropole. Toutefois, il est de règle que l'accès aux postes élevés soit fermé aux représentants de la population indigène. Partout il leur est interdit d'avoir une activité politique. Vous pouvez trouver des indications sur ce "système de préparation des cadres" — si je puis dire — dans les rapports du Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes et dans ceux du Conseil de tutelle, soumis à l'Assemblée générale.

164. Pour éviter d'être accusé de faire de la propagande, je me référerai exclusivement aux documents de l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Le rapport du Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes [A/4785] contient des données caractéristiques, fournies par le Gouvernement britannique, sur la préparation et la formation de cadres administratifs et techniques autochtones. Les Britanniques ont institué, l'an dernier, des cours spéciaux pour la formation des cadres. Qui préparent-ils? Il suffit de jeter un coup d'œil sur le tableau donné en appendice à l'une des annexes au rapport et tout devient clair. Tout d'abord, ils forment des agents de police et des agents des services pénitentiaires. Les cours sont suivis par 340 futurs agents de police et des services pénitentiaires et par 70 futurs instituteurs seulement. Pour l'Ouganda, par exemple, les

Britanniques forment 49 agents de police et des services pénitentiaires, et tout juste trois instituteurs et deux médecins. Des Bermudes, 19 étudiants sont venus suivre les cours; 16 d'entre eux retourneront dans leur pays en qualité d'agents de police ou d'agents des services pénitentiaires. De l'avis des Britanniques, on n'a pas besoin aux Bermudes de médecins ni d'instituteurs.

165. Voilà donc comment se présente en réalité la préparation des cadres d'après les données fournies par les autorités britanniques elles-mêmes. Ce qui les intéresse, ce sont les cadres qui les aident à maintenir le régime d'oppression.

166. Dans un autre document des Nations Unies, le rapport du Comité du Sud-Ouest africain [A/4926], on cite la déclaration du Ministre des affaires indigènes de la République sud-africaine. Il affirme que c'est faute de perspicacité que l'on avait donné aux élèves africains un régime scolaire sur le modèle européen, ce qui les induisait en erreur quant à la place qu'ils pourraient occuper dans la collectivité.

167. Telle est la déclaration d'un membre du gouvernement qui applique ouvertement la politique de l'apartheid. Mais une telle politique n'est pas appliquée seulement dans la République sud-africaine. Au cours du débat à l'Assemblée et aux comités des Nations Unies, on a souvent fait voir que la politique de discrimination raciale est appliquée également en Rhodésie du Nord, au Nyassaland et dans les colonies portugaises. Le colonialisme ne peut exister sans discrimination raciale.

168. L'un des arguments invoqués par les partisans du colonialisme est le suivant: ils prétendent que les pays qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance manquent de stabilité politique, d'unité ethnique et qu'il n'y a pas d'entente entre les partis et leurs dirigeants. Mais nul n'ignore que ce sont les colonisateurs eux-mêmes qui provoquent des discords intestins et des oppositions entre les tribus et les partis et affaiblissent ainsi le front national commun de lutte, afin de rester maîtres de la situation et d'être à la fois juges et bourreaux.

169. Les événements au Ruanda-Urundi peuvent servir d'exemples probants d'une telle tactique. Les autorités belges excitent les unes contre les autres les tribus, provoquent des querelles intestines et les utilisent elles-mêmes comme prétextes pour exercer une justice sommaire contre les forces patriotiques du pays. Grâce aux lois d'exception, à l'armée et à la police, les Belges empêchent les forces patriotiques du Ruanda-Urundi de se raffermir sur une base nationale commune et justifient hypocritement leur présence dans le pays par l'absence de "l'ordre et la paix" nécessaires.

170. Mais peut-on s'attendre à "l'ordre et la paix" de la part des colonisateurs belges, armés jusqu'aux dents et qui, profitant du régime dit de tutelle, ont pratiquement occupé le pays?

171. En invoquant la nécessité d'une "stabilité politique", comme condition préalable à l'octroi de l'indépendance, le représentant des Etats-Unis a rappelé la "leçon du Congo". Quelques autres représentants des puissances coloniales ont fait de même. A leur point de vue, il n'y avait pas à se hâter d'accorder l'indépendance à ce pays. Mais les représentants de la République du Congo ont maintes fois protesté à l'Assemblée générale, au Conseil de sécurité et dans les commissions contre de telles allégations, en rap-

pelant aux personnes de courte mémoire que la crise du Congo a été provoquée non par l'octroi de l'indépendance à ce pays, mais par l'ingérence agressive des puissances coloniales dans les affaires intérieures du peuple congolais.

172. Si ces puissances, et avant tout la Belgique, le Royaume-Uni, la France et les Etats-Unis, n'étaient pas intervenues dans les affaires du peuple congolais et avaient fait enfin cesser la querelle intestine au sujet des richesses naturelles du Katanga, le peuple congolais aurait réussi depuis longtemps déjà à en finir avec les séparatistes katangais et à rétablir l'ordre chez lui. Les documents soumis à l'Assemblée générale à la suite de l'enquête sur les circonstances de la mort du Premier Ministre de la République du Congo, Patrice Lumumba, et de ses collaborateurs ont confirmé une fois de plus que ce forfait pèse sur la conscience des colonisateurs et de leurs mercenaires. Ils ne reculent encore maintenant devant aucun moyen pour essayer d'empêcher l'unité nationale du pays et la création d'un gouvernement stable et authentiquement national.

173. A entendre raisonner les représentants des puissances coloniales, déclarant que les pays dépendants, avant de se voir accorder l'indépendance, doivent posséder une "stabilité politique", on serait enclin à demander à ces représentants si leurs propres pays peuvent servir d'exemple dans ce domaine.

174. Faut-il fournir des preuves que n'importe quel pays capitaliste est déchiré par des contradictions antagonistes? N'importe lequel de ces pays est le théâtre de contradictions extrêmement aiguës et implacables entre la classe ouvrière et la bourgeoisie. L'an dernier seulement, plus de 40 millions de travailleurs de ces pays ont participé à des grèves politiques. Dans tous les pays occidentaux importants, il est un fait caractéristique: la recrudescence du mouvement paysan. Dans tous ces pays, on observe constamment une âpre lutte entre les différents groupes de la bourgeoisie et leurs partis. Une lutte de classes implacable et une mêlée au sein même de la bourgeoisie pour le pouvoir et les profits provoquent l'instabilité des gouvernements de ces Etats et les incitent à tout moment à faire effort pour imposer un régime fasciste, ce qui, à son tour, intensifie et accroît encore la résistance de la classe ouvrière et des masses populaires.

175. Et voilà que les représentants de ces gouvernements qui vivent eux-mêmes comme sur un volcan mettent ici en avant comme conditions pour l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays coloniaux l'établissement de la stabilité politique, l'entente entre les partis et les dirigeants des pays dépendants, etc. Il est difficile de concevoir une plus grande hypocrisie que des "conditions" comme celles-là.

176. Si les puissances coloniales se souciaient véritablement de voir s'instaurer une stabilité politique dans les pays dépendants, elles ne se seraient pas mises à soulever des objections au projet de résolution de l'Union soviétique [A/L.355] qui propose, afin de donner suite à la Déclaration, les mesures suivantes: premièrement, a) "permettre à la population autochtone de jouir véritablement de tous les droits et libertés démocratiques ..."; deuxièmement, "... abroger toutes les lois et dispositions tolérant la discrimination raciale et toutes les interdictions ou restrictions frappant l'activité des partis politiques, des syndicats et des organisations sociales

autochtones, et proclamer une amnistie inconditionnelle en faveur de tous les détenus politiques."

177. Le projet de résolution de l'Union soviétique propose d'organiser l'élection au suffrage universel d'organes de gouvernement et de créer ainsi des institutions nationales véritablement démocratiques, de leur transférer tous les pouvoirs et de mettre fin à l'activité de tous les organes de l'administration coloniale.

178. Qu'est-ce qui empêche les puissances coloniales d'accepter ces propositions et d'accorder ainsi leur appui aux réformes démocratiques d'un caractère général qui expriment directement les buts indiqués dans la Déclaration? On a dit ici qu'avant de transmettre le pouvoir aux mains du peuple il fallait procéder à une longue "préparation constitutionnelle" et que cette préparation devait incontestablement être effectuée par les autorités administrantes elles-mêmes.

179. Toutefois, l'expérience a démontré que les puissances coloniales cherchent à imposer aux pays dépendants des constitutions qui, en réalité, ne font que consolider l'ordre établi par le régime colonial et entravent la formation d'organes du pouvoir véritablement nationaux.

180. Ainsi, par exemple, les constitutions imposées par les Britanniques au Kenya, à la Rhodésie du Nord et au Nyassaland ont pour but de renforcer la situation dominante et privilégiée de la minorité britannique qui vit dans ces pays. Selon la constitution imposée au Kenya, tout le pouvoir continue à reposer entre les mains du gouverneur britannique. Les Européens élisent à ce qu'on appelle le Conseil législatif un représentant pour 5 000 habitants, alors que la population indigène a un représentant pour 130 000 électeurs. En Rhodésie, la loi électorale exclut de la participation aux élections la presque totalité de la population autochtone.

181. Enfin, je voudrais mentionner encore une tentative faite en vue d'inciter l'Assemblée générale à se départir de la résolution adoptée sur la liquidation immédiate du colonialisme. On propose à cette fin d'établir des délais pour l'octroi de l'indépendance à des pays pris séparément, délais qui dépendraient de l'accord, pour chaque cas d'espèce, de l'autorité administrante, de ses plans et de ses désirs. Les auteurs de cette proposition veulent, encore une fois, se faire passer, à leurs dires, pour des gens "pratiques" et "réalistes". Il est possible, après tout, qu'ils croient réellement à ce qu'ils disent. Mais l'Assemblée générale ne peut pas se laisser guider par des illusions. L'expérience a démontré que la libération du joug du colonialisme ne peut être obtenue qu'à la suite d'une lutte des peuples pour leur indépendance. Les colonisateurs ne s'en vont que lorsqu'ils sont convaincus que cela est indispensable afin de ne pas être honteusement chassés du pays. Comme l'a dit de façon imagée le chef du Gouvernement soviétique, "les colonisateurs les plus prévoyants réussissent à partir cinq minutes avant d'y être forcés à grands coups de pied, pour employer un langage familier".

182. Est-il possible, en général, de parler à cette époque de l'administration des pays coloniaux dans le sens que donnent à ces mots les colonisateurs? Existe-t-il en réalité, un "système de gouvernement" par exemple en Angola? Non, en Angola on ne gouverne pas la population indigène, on l'extermine. Peut-on

parler d'un "système de gouvernement" en Algérie? Non, c'est la huitième année déjà que sévit un régime d'extermination de la population algérienne. Peut-on appeler "système de gouvernement" le régime de contrôle policier, de cantonnement dans des réserves et de discrimination raciale appliqué au Sud-Ouest africain? Evidemment non, c'est un régime d'oppression et de terreur. Les puissances coloniales parlent d'un "régime de gouvernement" pour masquer un régime d'oppression et de terreur. Elles exterminent la population autochtone, rassemblent la population indigène dans des réserves et des camps de concentration, tuent et emprisonnent les dirigeants nationaux et corrompent ceux qui ne font pas preuve d'une fermeté suffisante pour défendre les intérêts de leur peuple.

183. Imaginez-vous qu'un beau jour — et ce jour arrivera inévitablement — les pays impérialistes soient privés de leurs bases militaires, de leurs porte-avions, de leurs bombardiers et avions de chasse, des bombes au napalm et autres; que restera-t-il alors du système de gouvernement colonial? Absolument rien! Ce système est usé, il est mort. Sous la pression du mouvement de libération nationale, le système colonial s'est en fait écroulé.

184. Que diraient de l'Organisation des Nations Unies les peuples opprimés si elle emboîtait le pas à ceux qui recommandent de faire dépendre la question des délais pour l'octroi de l'indépendance de la décision des autorités administrantes, autrement dit des colonisateurs eux-mêmes?

185. Au moment où a été déposé le projet de résolution de la Nigéria [A/L.357], nous avons appris que les autorités administrantes britanniques n'envisageaient pas la liquidation totale du colonialisme en Afrique avant une dizaine d'années. Des plans identiques sont établis par les autorités administrantes australiennes et par d'autres puissances coloniales.

186. Mais y a-t-il sur notre planète des peuples qui consentiraient à attendre 10 ans l'octroi de la liberté et de l'indépendance? Les puissances coloniales se servent d'un calendrier à leur guise. Si l'on s'y conformait, les peuples coloniaux devraient attendre encore de longues années avant d'être libérés. Mais les peuples opprimés ne veulent pas vivre et ne vivront pas en s'en tenant à ce calendrier des colonisateurs.

187. Il n'y a pas motif de se faire des illusions au sujet des autorités administrantes. Après l'institution du mécanisme de contrôle de la mise en œuvre de la Déclaration, des négociations avec ces autorités pourront avoir lieu, mais ces pourparlers ne devront concerner que la liquidation totale, immédiate et absolue du colonialisme. Il ne devra pas y être question de prolonger la durée de ce système que les peuples tiennent pour honteux et odieux.

188. La Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux exige la liquidation immédiate et inconditionnelle du colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations et les puissances coloniales doivent se soumettre sans réserve à cette exigence. C'est à cette fin que la délégation de l'Union soviétique, dans son projet de résolution, propose de réaliser la liquidation définitive du colonialisme à la fin de 1962 au plus tard. Cette proposition fait directement suite à la Déclaration.

189. Au cours des débats à la présente session, on a exprimé la crainte que la liquidation des restes du système colonial en une année ne risque de provoquer une "aggravation", des "conflits", le "chaos", etc. Est-il possible de prêter l'oreille à des craintes pareilles? Nous proposons d'en finir avec le colonialisme en 1962. Cela signifie que, d'ici un an, les colonisateurs devront quitter l'Angola, l'Algérie, le Sud-Ouest africain, le Kenya, le Ruanda-Urundi et d'autres pays où coule à flots le sang des combattants pour la libération, où pas une journée ne se passe sans que l'on persécute et que l'on tue des femmes, enfants et vieillards innocents.

190. En réponse à cela nous entendons des avertissements: "C'est dangereux", "Cela peut provoquer une aggravation et le chaos". En même temps, certains représentants des puissances coloniales, faute de tout argument, font valoir des soupçons et disent que notre proposition est dictée par le désir de maintenir la guerre froide. Etrange logique!

191. Il en ressort que les guerres coloniales qui sont menées actuellement dans le monde sont presque une manifestation de l'ordre et que, si l'on exige de les faire cesser immédiatement et d'accorder la liberté et l'indépendance aux peuples, c'est là une manifestation de la guerre froide. Voyez jusqu'à quelle absurdité peuvent en arriver les défenseurs du colonialisme!

192. On pourra dire que les délégations qui se prononcent en faveur d'un délai de 10 ans ou plus pour la liquidation du colonialisme n'ont pas en vue une prolongation des guerres coloniales. Mais que proposent-elles alors pour mettre fin aux guerres coloniales, à la terreur et à la répression qui sévissent actuellement dans les pays coloniaux et dépendants? Il n'est pas possible de supposer que, pendant ce délai de 10 ans que l'on propose d'accorder aux colonisateurs pour le règlement de leurs affaires, ils vont adopter aux colonies une attitude paisible et pacifique et vont cesser de tuer et de persécuter la population autochtone.

193. L'expérience vécue nous apprend que le colonialisme, qui est sur son déclin et vit ses derniers jours, devient de plus en plus cruel et impitoyable dans la répression du mouvement de libération nationale, en s'efforçant de se maintenir le plus longtemps possible dans les pays soumis à l'exploitation et au pillage.

194. Une inquiétude particulière est provoquée par le fait que les colonisateurs qui réagissent contre une liquidation immédiate du colonialisme continuent en même temps de prendre des mesures de guerre dirigées contre les peuples qui luttent pour leur libération ou ceux qui ont déjà accédé à l'indépendance. Nous avons en vue, en particulier, les préparatifs qui sont effectués aux Etats-Unis en vue de ce que l'on appelle des guerres limitées. Nous pensons également à l'entraînement renforcé des unités, dites spéciales, destinées, conformément à des communications officielles, à des guerres nécessitant l'application de "méthodes extraordinaires". Ce qu'on entend par "méthodes extraordinaires" ressort clairement de l'exemple d'intervention à Cuba, qui a ignominieusement échoué, et du soutien accordé aux rebelles en Indonésie. On sait que des détachements spéciaux américains sont expédiés en ce moment au Viet-Nam du Sud et dans d'autres régions.

195. L'Assemblée générale se doit de condamner catégoriquement de pareils agissements, dirigés contre les peuples d'Asie, d'Afrique et d'Amérique latine et qui menacent la paix et la sécurité de tous les peuples.

196. La délégation de l'Union soviétique propose, dans son projet de résolution, de retirer des pays dépendants toutes les troupes des puissances administrantes et de liquider intégralement les bases militaires étrangères dans les territoires sous tutelle et les autres territoires non autonomes.

197. Le représentant des Etats-Unis a vu dans cette proposition le désir de l'Union soviétique d'affaiblir la défense de son pays et des autres pays membres de l'OTAN. Qui pourrait croire, Messieurs, à la nécessité d'une base militaire à la Jamaïque pour la défense de Washington et de bases militaires au Kenya pour la défense de Londres? La presse américaine est plus sincère que les représentants des Etats-Unis à l'Organisation des Nations Unies et elle ne dissimule pas le fait que de telles bases militaires ne jouent évidemment aucun rôle dans la défense de ce que l'on nomme le monde occidental et qu'elles sont conçues avant tout pour des buts locaux en liaison avec le maintien de l'influence exercée sur ces territoires des anciens empires coloniaux.

198. Ces bases sont là pour défendre les sources de pétrole, les gisements d'uranium, les plantations de caoutchouc, les mines de cuivre et de pierres précieuses; elles défendent les sphères d'influence des monopoles des pays impérialistes sur des territoires étrangers. Ce sont des points d'appui pour l'impérialisme et le colonialisme. Ces bases sont dirigées contre les pays coloniaux et les Etats sous-développés d'Asie, d'Afrique et d'Amérique latine.

199. Soit dit en passant, ces bases n'ont jamais été utilisées pour les fins que leur attribue le représentant des Etats-Unis, mais elles ont été maintes fois utilisées et elles sont utilisées actuellement comme moyens de menace et de répression envers les peuples qui mènent leur lutte de libération nationale et pour exercer une pression militaire et politique sur les Etats d'Asie, d'Afrique et d'Amérique latine.

200. Les Etats-Unis, le Royaume-Uni et la France conservent ces bases contre la volonté des peuples, en ayant recours à des moyens de pression économique, au chantage, aux menaces, à la corruption, à la propagande anticommuniste et à d'autres procédés caractéristiques de la politique impérialiste.

201. Dans le rapport du Comité du Sud-Ouest africain [A/4926], au paragraphe 77, vous pouvez lire que la République sud-africaine a des bases militaires à Ohopoho, dans le Kaokoveld, à Windhoek et à Walvis Bay.

202. Un pétitionnaire du Sud-Ouest africain, Mburumba Kerina, qui a pris la parole hier, le 23 novembre, à la Quatrième Commission, a déclaré: "Nous savons que la République sud-africaine a besoin des bases militaires pour massacrer les Africains. La propagande anticommuniste, ce n'est qu'un camouflage^{12/}."

203. En ce qui concerne la déclaration sophistiquée du représentant des Etats-Unis, selon laquelle l'Union

soviétique, en se prononçant contre les bases, "se propose d'affaiblir la défense des pays occidentaux", il conviendrait de rappeler que l'Union soviétique poursuit constamment une politique de paix et ne se prépare pas à attaquer qui que ce soit. On sait aussi que l'Union soviétique possède suffisamment d'armes et fusées modernes pour riposter par un coup écrasant aux attaques des agresseurs.

204. Nous ne voulons pas, cependant, minimiser le rôle dangereux des innombrables bases militaires qui servent d'appui armé au colonialisme, qui menacent l'évolution pacifique des Etats qui ont accédé récemment à la liberté et à l'indépendance, et qui sont une menace pour la paix mondiale. L'existence de ces bases empoisonne l'atmosphère internationale. Il ne fait aucun doute que le retrait des forces étrangères et la liquidation des bases militaires dans les pays coloniaux sont les moyens les plus sûrs pour assurer la liquidation pacifique du colonialisme sans effusion de sang et sans victimes inutiles. Et si vous êtes sincères, Messieurs les représentants des puissances coloniales, en parlant ici de votre volonté de résoudre le problème colonial par des moyens pacifiques, il faut avant tout que vous retiriez vos forces armées des pays coloniaux et que vous liquidiez vos bases militaires. Ce serait la meilleure preuve de vos intentions pacifiques dans la liquidation du système colonial. Ces mesures pourraient contribuer grandement à atténuer la tension internationale, à assurer la paix et à consolider la sécurité des peuples.

205. La délégation de l'Union soviétique note avec satisfaction que la majorité des délégations ont appuyé le projet de résolution [A/L.355], proposant la création d'une commission spéciale ou d'un comité spécial pour la surveillance et le contrôle de l'application, dans toutes les colonies, les territoires sous tutelle et les territoires non autonomes, de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux.

206. La délégation de l'Union soviétique exprime l'espoir que ladite commission comprendra les représentants des Etats qui connaissent d'expérience le colonialisme du fait qu'ils ont supporté eux-mêmes le poids du joug colonial et qui savent ce que représentent la lutte contre le colonialisme et l'édification d'Etats nationaux indépendants.

207. La détermination des pleins pouvoirs de la commission mérite une attention particulière. A notre avis, la commission spéciale des Nations Unies, créée en vue de parvenir à mettre complètement en œuvre les dispositions de la Déclaration, devrait disposer de pouvoirs suffisamment étendus pour avoir une activité efficace. La commission ne devra pas se contenter d'informations que les puissances coloniales consentiront à lui fournir. Elle doit disposer du droit d'inspection et du droit d'envoyer des missions itinérantes dans n'importe quel territoire non autonome.

208. Les peuples qui luttent pour leur liberté et leur indépendance doivent considérer la commission spéciale comme un défenseur sincère et fidèle et qui aura toujours sans cesse en vue leurs intérêts. Mais ces peuples ne pourront avoir confiance en la commission que si elle est composée de partisans convaincus de la Déclaration, qui concentreront tous leurs efforts à réaliser complètement la noble tâche de la liquidation immédiate du colonialisme, sans chercher de compromis avec les colonisateurs.

^{12/} Cette déclaration a été faite à la 1222^{ème} séance de la Quatrième Commission, dont le compte rendu officiel n'a été publié que sous forme de compte rendu analytique.

209. Je voudrais maintenant commenter en deux mots l'intervention du représentant de l'Italie. Il a parlé ici et de la Place Rouge et du XXIIème Congrès de notre parti. J'ai été délégué à ce congrès et je pourrais parler longuement de ses travaux et des décisions qui ont été prises. Je le dis en passant, toute la documentation du Congrès a été ouvertement et abondamment reproduite par la presse. En ce qui concerne les raisonnements du représentant de l'Italie, comme dans le dicton russe "il ne le sait que par ouï-dire". S'il avait voulu être réellement renseigné sur l'Union soviétique, il aurait mieux valu qu'il demande audience à son premier ministre ou à son ministre des affaires étrangères qui se sont rendus récemment en Union soviétique, dans le cadre d'une visite amicale. Ils auraient pu lui fournir des renseignements vraiment exacts et intéressants au sujet de notre pays. Nous sommes très heureux qu'à la suite de ce voyage les relations se soient améliorées et continuent à s'améliorer entre l'Union soviétique et l'Italie. L'intervention du représentant de l'Italie, fondée sur des "on-dit", ne peut du reste porter atteinte à ces relations.

210. Il convient de relever une remarque très dangereuse dans l'intervention du représentant de l'Italie. Il a exprimé sa satisfaction des mesures prétendument prévues et qui sont en voie d'exécution par le Portugal en Angola. Il a dit son espoir que l'année prochaine ces mesures seraient encore amplifiées. Ces raisonnements provoquent de l'inquiétude. Au cours de cette année, le Portugal, grâce à l'aide des pays de l'OTAN et grâce aux armements de l'OTAN, a exterminé 50 000 Angolais sans défense. A quoi s'attend l'année prochaine, de la part du Portugal, le représentant de l'Italie, si l'Organisation des Nations Unies ne prend pas des mesures énergiques pour la liquidation du joug colonial en Angola?

211. Le représentant de l'Italie a dit qu'il admirait l'audace des représentants des pays socialistes quand ils parlent de la liquidation du colonialisme. Nous avons des raisons de parler crânement, nous avons la conscience nette. Il ne nous reste qu'à nous étonner de la couardise, de la duplicité et de l'esprit de compromis des représentants des pays de l'OTAN, quand ils évoquent les événements d'Angola, d'Algérie et d'autres régions du monde. La tendance aux compromis est en partie compréhensible. Le fait est que presque tous les pays de l'OTAN sont des puissances coloniales et ceux qui ne sont pas des puissances coloniales mais qui sont membres de l'OTAN sont tout bonnement tombés en mauvaise compagnie et sont contraints de leur emboîter le pas.

212. Je voudrais également profiter de cette occasion pour dire quelques mots de l'intervention du représentant du Royaume-Uni. Il est monté plusieurs fois à cette tribune pour défendre le colonialisme britannique. Il a déclaré être fier de l'histoire coloniale de son pays. Inutile de discuter là-dessus. Rendons à chacun son dû. Les Indiens sont fiers de s'être débarrassés du régime colonial et les colonisateurs britanniques sont fiers d'avoir opprimé pendant des siècles les peuples de l'Inde et ceux de bien d'autres pays et de continuer jusqu'à présent d'opprimer encore près de 35 millions de personnes.

213. Mais, puisqu'on vient d'aborder l'histoire de l'impérialisme britannique, il vaudrait la peine de rappeler certains faits. On sait, par exemple, qu'en un siècle 2 130 000 esclaves ont été expédiés d'Afrique aux colonies britanniques d'Amérique. Les commer-

cants britanniques gagnaient des fortunes et se voyaient honorés dans leur pays grâce à la traite des esclaves. Ce sont des faits que le représentant du Royaume-Uni peut trouver dans l'ouvrage de son compatriote Ingram, publié à Londres en 1895 déjà.

214. Les représentants du Royaume-Uni nous disent ici que leur pays se serait efforcé d'amener les peuples coloniaux à l'indépendance et qu'ils en sont fiers. Mais on voudrait leur rappeler que les colonisateurs britanniques ont commencé par priver de liberté et d'indépendance des peuples constitués en Etats et qu'ils ont freiné pendant des dizaines d'années l'évolution de ces pays et de ces peuples et qu'aujourd'hui, quand on les chasse avec haine, ils exigent presque de la reconnaissance et cherchent même à en tirer profit sur le plan politique.

215. On pourrait rappeler au représentant britannique que toute l'histoire de l'administration des colonies par le Royaume-Uni, histoire dont il est fier, n'est qu'une suite de guerres coloniales, d'expéditions punitives et de répressions en masse. Pendant bien des années, le Royaume-Uni a mené des guerres contre les peuples de l'Inde, de la Birmanie, de l'Afghanistan, de la Chine, de l'Egypte, de la Nigéria, du Ghana, du Kenya, de la Rhodésie et de beaucoup d'autres pays. Il serait peut-être plus facile d'énumérer les pays contre lesquels le Royaume-Uni n'a pas mené de guerres que de continuer la liste des pays et des peuples qui ont dû subir les attaques et massacres perpétrés par les forces armées des colonisateurs britanniques. Le Royaume-Uni continue encore maintenant à mener des opérations dans ses colonies africaines. Ses bombardiers bombardent les villes et villages de l'Oman et ses forces navales menacent aussi d'autres pays arabes.

216. Ces guerres ont causé aux peuples des calamités innombrables et leur ont coûté d'innombrables victimes. Il est impossible de prendre son parti de ces essais d'embellir et de justifier l'histoire sanglante de l'impérialisme britannique, comme au reste de tout autre impérialisme. Le représentant du Royaume-Uni a cité ici des textes de tout genre afin de prouver que les colonisateurs britanniques n'étaient aucunement des colonisateurs et qu'ils ont comblé de bienfaits l'Inde, le Ghana, la Nigéria et d'autres pays.

217. Permettez-moi de citer de même un ou deux textes provenant de sources dont l'authenticité et l'objectivité ne peuvent être mises en doute. Je voudrais me référer à l'autobiographie de M. Nehru, dont nous avons récemment eu l'honneur d'entendre une déclaration à l'Assemblée. Dans son livre, M. Nehru rend hommage au peuple britannique, dont les facultés sont également hautement appréciées par le peuple soviétique. Mais, à côté de cela, l'ouvrage de M. Nehru contient un certain nombre d'appréciations frappantes et profondes sur le colonialisme britannique qu'il considère comme inhumain et comme très hypocrite.

218. Voici ce que dit dans son livre M. Nehru:

"Je déteste l'impérialisme britannique et je lui tiens rigueur de s'être imposé à l'Inde. Je déteste le système capitaliste. J'ai une aversion particulière et du ressentiment pour la façon dont l'Inde est exploitée par les classes dirigeantes britanniques. Mais je ne considère pas l'Angleterre ou le peuple anglais dans son ensemble comme responsables de cet état de choses.

"...

"Mais, si les Anglais viennent ici comme des tigres, ils ne doivent pas s'attendre à de l'amitié ou à la coopération. Le tigre de l'impérialisme ne rencontrera que la plus acharnée des oppositions et aujourd'hui notre pays doit faire face à cet animal féroce. On peut apprivoiser le tigre sauvage de la forêt et, en le cajolant, lui faire perdre sa férocité innée, mais il n'y a aucune possibilité d'apprivoiser le capitalisme ou l'impérialisme.

"... la liberté et l'impérialisme britannique sont incompatibles et ni la loi martiale, ni tous les procédés mielleux du monde ne pourront jamais les rendre compatibles ni les rapprocher l'un de l'autre^{13/}."

219. Je m'excuse auprès des interprètes de les obliger à traduire du russe en anglais ce qui a été écrit en anglais.

220. Ces considérations nécessitent-elles des commentaires? Le temps ne leur a fait perdre ni leur force ni leur actualité. Je me permets de me référer aussi au testament du grand Rabindranath Tagore, dont le centième anniversaire de la naissance a été fêté l'année dernière avec un tel respect par toute l'humanité progressiste:

"Le jour viendra ou, par la force du destin, les Anglais seront contraints à renoncer à leur colonie indienne. Mais en quel état laisseront-ils l'Inde en partant, dans quel état de misère révoltante! Quand le torrent des siècles de domination britannique se sera enfin desséché, que de boue et de vase il restera dans son lit! Je croyais autrefois que les sources de la civilisation jailliraient du cœur de l'Europe, mais aujourd'hui, quand je me prépare à quitter ce monde, il ne me reste plus trace de cette croyance."

221. Nous n'aurions pas commencé à rappeler l'histoire et la littérature concernant le colonialisme si nous n'y avions pas été poussés par le représentant du Royaume-Uni qui a déclaré être fier de l'histoire coloniale du Royaume-Uni. Il n'y a pas de quoi en être fier!

222. Nous terminons aujourd'hui la discussion générale sur la question coloniale et nous sommes appelés à prendre une décision.

223. Le projet de résolution de l'Union soviétique prévoit des mesures dont l'adoption à la présente session garantirait une mise en œuvre totale et absolue de la Déclaration au cours de l'année qui vient. Notre proposition s'inspire du désir de mettre fin le plus rapidement possible au honteux système colonial qui a entraîné et qui entraîne encore toujours tellement de calamités et de malheurs pour les peuples d'Afrique, d'Asie et d'Amérique latine. De plus, la délégation de l'Union soviétique s'inspire de la conviction qu'une liquidation immédiate des vestiges du colonialisme consolidera la paix et la sécurité des peuples et assainira l'ensemble de l'atmosphère internationale.

224. L'adoption, au cours de la présente session, de la proposition concernant la création d'une commission spéciale ou d'un comité spécial pour la surveillance de l'application de la Déclaration permettra de

placer la liquidation du colonialisme sous un contrôle international rigoureux et sans relâche.

225. Nous sommes heureux de constater que l'idée d'un tel contrôle et de la création d'un comité spécial à cette fin figure également dans le projet de résolution présenté par le groupe africaino-asiatique [A/L.366 et Add.1 à 3]. Tout en notant avec satisfaction que ce projet est fondé sur les principes et les buts énoncés dans la Déclaration, nous devons toutefois attirer l'attention sur certaines faiblesses du texte, dues non seulement à ce qu'il ne fixe pas de délai pour la liquidation du colonialisme, mais aussi à ce qu'il ne contient pas de mesures concrètes garantissant la liquidation du colonialisme. Ces mesures figurent justement dans le projet de résolution de l'Union soviétique.

226. La délégation de l'Union soviétique, pour les raisons exposées plus haut, s'oppose de façon catégorique à la proposition de la Nigéria tendant à étendre le délai de liquidation du colonialisme jusqu'à l'année 1970 et elle votera contre cette proposition.

227. En ce qui concerne le projet de résolution au sujet de l'Irian occidental [A/L.354], la délégation de l'Union soviétique a déjà eu la possibilité de déclarer nettement que l'Union soviétique appuyait sans réserve l'attitude de l'Indonésie et ses droits naturels et légitimes à ce territoire indonésien. La délégation de l'Union soviétique votera contre le projet de résolution déposé par les Pays-Bas qui cherchent à prolonger sous une nouvelle forme leur domination sur l'Irian occidental.

228. Notre délégation exprime l'espoir que l'Assemblée générale prendra une décision qui garantira l'application complète et immédiate de la Déclaration historique adoptée par la quinzième session de l'Assemblée générale des Nations Unies et qui permettra de mener à bonne fin la noble cause de la libération des peuples du joug colonial et de la dépendance.

229. Le PRESIDENT: La parole est au représentant de la Mauritanie, qui désire exercer son droit de réponse.

230. M. SOULEYMANE Ould Cheikh Sidya (Mauritanie): Je serai très bref, pour la bonne raison qu'il n'est nullement dans mes intentions d'engager une polémique. Je tiens simplement à protester avec la dernière énergie contre les allégations ignobles et abjectes qui viennent d'être prononcées à l'endroit de mon pays par le représentant de S. M. le Roi du Maroc, ou plus exactement par le porte-parole d'Allal el Fassi.

231. Je ne m'appesantirai pas sur des procédés oratoires maintenant bien connus. Je dirai simplement au représentant de Sa Majesté qu'il n'a pas atteint son but, qu'il a été incapable d'emporter notre conviction.

232. La République islamique de Mauritanie n'a aucune leçon à recevoir d'une monarchie absolue où se débat dans la misère et le despotisme un peuple qui fera bientôt entendre sa voix. Ce n'est pas en faisant des discours pathétiques, ici et ailleurs, que le Gouvernement marocain fera œuvre constructive. En tout cas, nous le proclamons bien haut, nous n'avons rien à apprendre du Royaume anachronique du Maroc. La monarchie marocaine n'a aucune leçon à donner à une république née de l'autodétermination et qui est dirigée par un gouvernement démocratique s'appuyant sur la volonté populaire et non, comme le Maroc, par une clique de bourgeois et de féodaux qui sucent le

^{13/} Jawaharlal Nehru, *Toward Freedom?*, New York, the John Day Company, p. 266 et 267.

sang du peuple et ne se maintiennent que par la prohibition et la démagogie.

233. Pour terminer, Monsieur le représentant de Sa Majesté, ou plus exactement, je le répète, Monsieur le porte-parole d'Allal el Fassi, que d'éloquence! Mais cette éloquence, faites-la donc chez vous et laissez les autres en paix. Pensez aux maux de votre peuple et à ce qui vous attend!

234. Le PRESIDENT: Je donne la parole au représentant de la Tchécoslovaquie, qui désire exercer son droit de réponse.

235. M. KURKA (Tchécoslovaquie) [traduit du russe]: Monsieur le Président, je vous suis très obligé de m'avoir autorisé à exercer mon droit de réponse et de m'avoir donné la parole à une heure aussi tardive. La discussion générale est déjà terminée, semble-t-il, mais je voudrais dire quelques mots au sujet des interventions des représentants des Etats-Unis [1061ème séance] et du Royaume-Uni [1056ème séance], faites au cours de la discussion générale.

236. Je n'ai pas trouvé nécessaire de répondre à ces représentants immédiatement après leurs interventions, car je n'entendais pas les aider à détourner l'attention de l'Assemblée générale de la question dont elle est saisie.

237. A notre 1061ème séance, le représentant des Etats-Unis, M. Bingham, a déploré qu'à l'Organisation des Nations Unies certains Etats Membres critiquent sans arrêt les puissances occidentales en les traitant de colonisateurs et d'ultra-impérialistes, tandis que les critiques de la politique colonisatrice ne se dressent pas contre les pays socialistes.

238. Il est évident que cette attitude peut ne pas être du goût du représentant des Etats-Unis. Il semble qu'il ne puisse pas ou ne veuille pas comprendre qu'au cours d'un débat sur la liquidation du colonialisme des critiques sévères doivent inévitablement être adressées aux puissances coloniales, c'est-à-dire aux puissances occidentales, y compris les Etats-Unis, mais ne doivent l'être en aucun cas, comme l'aurait voulu M. Bingham, aux pays socialistes que tous les peuples qui luttent pour leur liberté et leur indépendance considèrent à juste titre comme les adversaires logiques du colonialisme.

239. En cherchant à remédier à cette situation extrêmement désagréable pour les colonisateurs et à l'améliorer, M. Bingham et son collègue britannique, M. Godber, sont entrés en lice pour la libération des "peuples asservis" d'Europe orientale.

240. Ces messieurs, faute d'argument sérieux pour justifier la prolongation de l'existence des empires coloniaux, cherchent des échappatoires dans les calomnies bien connues et désuètes, selon lesquelles les pays socialistes de l'Europe orientale sont sous la dépendance coloniale de l'URSS, que ce sont des satellites des Soviétiques, etc. M. Godber, représentant de la délégation britannique, a même jugé nécessaire de reprendre ces déclarations devant la Commission politique lors de la discussion sur le désarmement.

241. En dépit du fait que leurs élucubrations calomnieuses ont été déjà maintes fois démenties et n'ont pas produit à l'Assemblée générale l'effet que les inspireurs de ces élucubrations s'étaient efforcés à tout prix de provoquer, les représentants des puissances coloniales ont jugé opportun d'y revenir encore et toujours.

242. Nous ne pouvons nous défaire de l'impression que, pour leurs arguments, ils se laissent guider par le principe douteux mis en circulation par le chef de la propagande nazie, feu Goebbels, à savoir qu' "un mensonge répété 100 fois devient une vérité". Cependant, le sort de l'auteur de ce principe a démontré qu'il était entièrement faux, ce que prouvent également les résultats des efforts faits par des représentants des puissances coloniales pour, d'une part, se faire passer pour des adversaires du colonialisme et pour des champions de la liberté des peuples coloniaux asservis et exploités, et, d'autre part, pour parler d'un certain colonialisme des pays socialistes.

243. Les faits sont certes chose réfractaire. On ne peut les esquiver et il est absolument impossible de les démentir par un flot d'attaques calomnieuses et d'élucubrations provocatrices. Ce n'est pas par hasard que les représentants des puissances coloniales attaquent précisément les pays socialistes, car ils voient en eux à juste titre des adversaires résolus du colonialisme et un rempart solide pour tous les peuples qui luttent pour leur liberté et leur indépendance.

244. En s'efforçant en vain de détourner l'attention de l'Assemblée générale d'un examen logique du problème éminemment important et urgent de la liquidation définitive de tout le système d'esclavage colonial, les représentants des puissances coloniales, notamment ceux des Etats-Unis et du Royaume-Uni, ont eu recours à leur thème préféré, le souci hypocrite de la liberté des pays d'Europe orientale, qu'ils se plaisent à appeler ici des colonies de l'Union soviétique.

245. En tant que représentant de l'un de ces pays d'Europe orientale, la République socialiste tchécoslovaque, qui est l'un des membres fondateurs de l'Organisation des Nations Unies et avec laquelle, entre autres, les Etats-Unis et le Royaume-Uni entretiennent des relations diplomatiques normales, je voudrais faire à ce propos quelques observations.

246. Les puissances impérialistes n'arrivent pas à prendre leur parti du fait que le peuple de la Tchécoslovaquie et les peuples des autres pays socialistes de cette partie du monde se sont engagés dans la voie d'une évolution démocratique véritable et libre. Leur bête noire, c'est l'idée qu'à la suite des pénibles expériences du passé les peuples de ces pays, après s'être débarrassés de leurs "défenseurs" occidentaux et dans leur effort d'assurer leur liberté et leur indépendance, se sont vus contraints à ne compter que sur leurs propres forces, sur les amitiés et alliances mutuelles et, avant tout, sur l'amitié solide, l'alliance et la collaboration étroite de l'Union soviétique.

247. Il faut beaucoup d'audace au représentant du Royaume-Uni, d'un Etat qui en septembre 1938, dans l'intérêt de ses propres plans impérialistes, a sacrifié sans hésitation, je le répète, sans hésitation, à Munich, l'indépendance de la Tchécoslovaquie, il faut beaucoup d'audace au représentant de ce pays pour prêcher aujourd'hui aux Etats d'Europe orientale, y compris la Tchécoslovaquie, la liberté et l'indépendance. Munich, Messieurs, c'est la terrible contrepartie que nous avons payée pour notre alliance avec les prétendues "démocraties occidentales". Mais, en même temps, cela nous a servi de dure leçon, nous apprenons la valeur que représentent pour les Etats impérialistes la liberté et l'indépendance des autres pays.

248. Tel était l'état de choses en 1938 et c'est ce qu'il est encore aujourd'hui, alors qu'avec l'appui du Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni la situation en Allemagne occidentale commence à constituer une véritable menace pour la sécurité de la Tchécoslovaquie et pour la liberté des pays de toute l'Europe. A la lumière de ces faits, les paroles prononcées par les représentants des puissances impérialistes au sujet de la liberté des peuples d'Europe orientale rendent un son tout à fait faux.

249. Il n'y aurait nul besoin de s'arrêter à ces attaques calomnieuses des représentants des Etats occidentaux et de faire perdre à notre assemblée un temps précieux s'il ne s'agissait que de calomnies. Mais les forces d'agression en Occident, dans la poursuite de leur politique de haine contre les pays socialistes, ne se bornent pas à exprimer des désirs passionnés et des calomnies sans fondement. Leur politique revêt également un autre aspect, un aspect beaucoup plus dangereux.

250. Ce n'est un secret pour personne que les puissances occidentales, les Etats-Unis en tête, n'ont pas renoncé à l'idée de provoquer de vive force un revirement dans l'évolution des pays socialistes et de les attirer à nouveau dans leur sphère d'influence et sous leur domination. Il y a toujours en vigueur aux Etats-Unis une loi selon laquelle, chaque année, plus de 100 millions de dollars sont inscrits au budget d'Etat pour l'organisation d'activités subversives dirigées contre les pays socialistes d'Europe orientale.

251. Ces derniers temps, les milieux agressifs des Etats-Unis en sont venus à prendre de nouvelles mesures dangereuses. Reconnaissant qu'à l'intérieur de chaque pays socialiste leurs plans ne peuvent compter sur aucun soutien, ces milieux, selon les déclarations de certaines personnalités officielles, ont entrepris la préparation de forces pour une guerre dite "non classique", autrement dit l'entraînement de saboteurs, chargés d'activités de subversion, de sabotage et de terrorisme dirigées contre les Etats socialistes.

252. A ce propos, je voudrais attirer votre attention sur le numéro du 24 mai de cette année du Wall Street Journal. Il publie des commentaires détaillés et des données très importantes au sujet de cette dangereuse politique des Etats-Unis. L'article du journal constate littéralement que le gouvernement de M. Kennedy entend étendre et intensifier l'application de méthodes dites "non classiques" qui comprennent les activités partisans et antipartisans, des campagnes d'espionnage, des activités de subversion, de sabotage et de terrorisme.

253. Le même article explique clairement le but de ces activités. On y cite notamment un mémorandum rédigé sous forme de circulaire par le général Trudeau qui dirige le service d'investigations et de développement de l'armée de terre. Il y est dit ce qui suit:

"Nous devons trouver un moyen de renverser le régime communiste qui règne actuellement, cela sans qu'il y ait une guerre généralisée ni même une guerre limitée."

L'article énumère d'une façon relativement détaillée les méthodes qui permettent d'atteindre ces buts. Il y est dit en particulier qu'à l'heure actuelle les Etats-Unis entraînent des contingents de partisans recrutés parmi les citoyens américains et les citoyens de pays dits "alliés". L'article poursuit en

précisant que le président Kennedy, devant le Congrès, a présenté des plans prévoyant que les "contingents spéciaux" des forces armées américaines seront à peu près doublés d'ici juin 1962. Il est dit plus loin que ces contingents sont composés d'aviateurs volontaires, qui s'entraînent à la pénétration en territoire ennemi et à l'organisation de forces internes hostiles au régime. Voilà ce que dit le Wall Street Journal, d'habitude très bien informé.

254. Monsieur le Président, je vous prie de m'excuser d'avoir été contraint de recourir à de si longues citations, mais je considère qu'elles jettent une très vive lumière sur certains agissements qui sont actuellement l'objet d'une attention soutenue des cercles militaires des Etats-Unis. On fonde évidemment de grands espoirs sur ces activités pour la "libération" de nos pays, dont M. Bingham a parlé à la 1061ème séance de l'Assemblée générale, autrement dit on espère que les peuples des pays socialistes seront de nouveau absorbés par les monopoles capitalistes et placés sous leur domination.

255. Je puis donner au représentant des Etats-Unis l'assurance que ce sont là vraiment des espoirs illusoires. Mais là n'est pas la question. Ce dont il s'agit, c'est qu'ici la politique intervient dans les relations normales entre des Etats souverains. Ce genre de politique est dangereux et peut avoir des suites extrêmement graves. C'est pour cette raison que les Etats socialistes réprouvent cette politique et ils ne négligeront aucun effort pour la mettre en pleine lumière aux yeux de tous les peuples pacifiques.

256. Le peuple tchécoslovaque, aussi bien que les peuples des autres pays d'Europe orientale, s'est prononcé unanimement pour le socialisme, dans l'édification duquel il a déjà obtenu de remarquables succès. On ne peut le faire dévier de cette voie à l'aide d'attaques, de provocations ou de calomnies répandues contre le socialisme par ses ennemis.

257. A l'adresse de nos honorables collègues, les représentants des Etats-Unis et du Royaume-Uni, qui, jusqu'à présent, ne les ont pas encore comprises, je voudrais citer de nouveau les paroles prononcées de cette même tribune, à la quinzième session de l'Assemblée générale, par le Président de la République socialiste tchécoslovaque, M. Antoine Novotny, qui s'exprimait en ces termes:

"... cessez de spéculer sur un changement du système social de notre pays, sur la défaite et la destruction du socialisme ... comprenez enfin que la notion de liberté, telle que vous la concevez et en faveur de laquelle vous plaidez aujourd'hui avec tant d'ostentation est maintenant absolument incompréhensible et inacceptable pour notre peuple. Nous envisageons notre liberté sous un autre angle, celui des intérêts de l'évolution de la société socialiste dans son ensemble, c'est-à-dire du développement complet de l'homme, sans l'avidité qui caractérise votre société capitaliste". [871ème séance, par. 39 à 43.]

M. Slim (Tunisie) reprend la présidence.

258. Le PRESIDENT: Je donne la parole au représentant du Royaume-Uni, qui désire exercer son droit de réponse.

259. Sir Hugh FOOT (Royaume-Uni) [traduit de l'anglais]: Je crois savoir que je suis le dernier orateur de la séance de ce soir et je ne me propose pas de

retenir l'Assemblée pendant plus de quelques minutes. A vrai dire, j'aurais préféré ne pas avoir à retenir l'Assemblée même pendant ces quelques minutes, n'était ce que le représentant de l'Union soviétique a dit à la fin de son long discours.

260. J'estime devoir dire quelques mots qui, je l'espère, apporteront une note un peu encourageante après les propos abusifs plutôt décourageants que nous avons dû écouter pendant une bonne heure et demie. Le représentant de l'Union soviétique a parlé du colonialisme et il a cité le premier ministre Nehru. Dans le sens de la domination exercée par un pays sur un autre, nous sommes tous opposés au colonialisme, non seulement le premier ministre Nehru, mais nous tous. Nous sommes fiers d'avoir fait d'anciennes colonies des nations libres dans notre Commonwealth. C'est de cela que nous sommes fiers; nul n'est fier du colonialisme.

261. Le représentant de l'Union soviétique a cité, au sujet du colonialisme, le premier ministre Nehru. J'accepte la déclaration qu'il a faite. Je vais cependant citer d'autres paroles. L'an dernier, j'ai eu l'honneur d'assister à deux journées de l'indépendance: la première, dans le plus petit des territoires du Commonwealth britannique qui aient accédé à l'indépendance, à Chypre; la deuxième, dans le pays gigantesque de la Nigéria, où près de 40 millions de personnes ont accédé à l'autonomie, à la libre détermination et à l'indépendance. Le soir où le drapeau vert et blanc de la Fédération de Nigéria a été hissé, nous avons écouté le discours du Premier Ministre de la Nigéria, une personnalité d'envergure mondiale, une de celles qui dominent la présente génération.

262. Qu'a-t-il dit, en parlant de ce que nous avons apporté? Voici les paroles exactes qu'il a prononcées en ce soir de l'indépendance à Lagos, en Nigéria:

"Je m'adresse maintenant, en les remerciant, aux fonctionnaires britanniques qui ont travaillé avec nous pendant des années. Vous êtes venus vers nous comme des maîtres, puis comme des dirigeants, puis aujourd'hui comme des associés, mais toujours comme des amis."

Telle est la citation que j'oppose à celle que le représentant de l'Union soviétique nous a faite.

263. Le représentant de l'Union soviétique a parlé de l'esclavage et il est évident que l'esclavage marque une page honteuse dans l'histoire des hommes. Mais il a parlé d'un passé depuis longtemps révolu, d'une époque où de nombreux peuples s'occupaient de la traite des esclaves. Mais ce qui nous intéresse davantage, c'est le néo-esclavage, le néo-esclavage de l'époque présente où des multitudes de personnes, en l'ère que nous vivons et du temps de notre propre génération, ont été assujetties à une domination. C'est le néo-esclavage du système soviétique que nous condamnons.

264. Je ne vais pas parler ce soir des Etats satellites et de la prétention qui vient d'être émise, selon laquelle ces Etats seraient libres. A qui pourrait-on faire croire qu'ils sont libres? A qui pourrait-on faire croire qu'on y jouit de la liberté individuelle?

265. Je passe à un cas précis. Je me souviens que le Ministre d'Etat du Royaume-Uni, quand il a pris la parole devant l'Assemblée [1036^{ème} séance], a cité un cas précis. Et nous n'avons pas reçu de réponse, absolument aucune réponse. Nous parlons des îles

du Pacifique. En ces jours, on s'intéresse beaucoup aux îles du Pacifique, parce qu'il ne restera plus de territoires sous tutelle que dans le Pacifique lorsque le Ruanda-Urundi, le dernier des territoires sous tutelle d'Afrique, aura accédé à l'indépendance. Les représentants soviétiques au Conseil de tutelle, comme ailleurs, portent beaucoup d'intérêt et à juste titre sur tout ce qui se passe dans les îles du Pacifique, en Nouvelle-Guinée, par exemple, et dans l'île minuscule de Nauru. Mais que se passe-t-il dans les îles soviétiques? Que se passe-t-il dans les îles Kouriles? Cette question précise a été posée par mon ministre d'Etat, mais les représentants soviétiques n'y ont pas répondu un mot. Ces îles, également situées dans le Pacifique, demeurent entourées de l'inquiétant silence du régime soviétique. Pas un renseignement n'est fourni à leur sujet. Ces îles ne sont pas des territoires sous tutelle. Nous ne savons rien de ce qui s'y passe. Elles sont traitées comme faisant partie de l'empire soviétique et, à partir du moment où elles sont entrées dans l'empire soviétique, le monde n'en a plus entendu parler.

266. Pour ce qui est d'affranchir des peuples, nous sommes des experts. Nous avons conduit à l'affranchissement et installé dans les assemblées mondiales, au cours des 16 dernières années, des populations trois fois supérieures en nombre à la population de l'Union soviétique. Je ne suis pas surpris que les représentants de l'Union soviétique l'ignorent. L'Union soviétique n'est pas experte en affranchissement, elle est experte en oppression. Nous sommes le peuple qui, en particulier au cours des quelques dernières dizaines d'années, les années que j'ai moi-même vécues, a travaillé pour amener d'autres peuples à la pleine indépendance et nous sommes fiers, je le répète, nous sommes fiers de ce que nous avons fait, non de ce que nous avons fait il y a des générations, mais de ce que nous avons fait à l'époque dont je parle.

267. Les nouveaux pays du Commonwealth ont progressé vers la liberté, tandis que les satellites de l'Union soviétique ont rétrogradé vers le néo-esclavage.

268. Je ne retiendrai pas l'Assemblée plus d'une ou deux minutes de plus, mais je voudrais parler de certains des territoires qui ont été mentionnés ce soir. Nous avons parfois l'impression, en écoutant ces accusations usées, répétées maintes et maintes fois, d'écouter un vieux disque de phonographe fêlé. Il y a quelque temps, dans ce débat [1059^{ème} séance], nous avons entendu M. Kisselev, de la RSS de Biélorussie. Parlant mardi dernier, il a dit: "La lutte pour l'indépendance se poursuit au Tanganyika." La lutte pour l'indépendance se poursuit au Tanganyika, voilà bien ce qu'il a dit. Or le Tanganyika va fêter son indépendance dans deux semaines. En ce moment même où, selon nos amis soviétiques, le combat, la lutte se poursuit au Tanganyika, les Tanganyikais, en réalité, se préparent à célébrer les fêtes de leur accession à l'indépendance avec la pleine approbation et la pleine coopération du Royaume-Uni. Voilà un des disques fêlés de l'Union soviétique.

269. M. Lapine nous a demandé il y a quelque temps pourquoi le Royaume-Uni refusait d'accorder l'indépendance au Kenya. Il n'est pas question de refuser l'indépendance au Kenya. Le Royaume-Uni est désireux et soucieux de voir le Kenya devenir indépendant et le retard est dû à des désaccords entre les deux principaux partis politiques du Kenya. En ce moment

même, nous envoyons sans tarder un expert en questions constitutionnelles, qui arrivera dans quelques jours au Kenya, pour aider les deux partis à élaborer des propositions pour la nouvelle constitution sous le régime de laquelle le Kenya deviendra indépendant. Soit dit en passant, nous avons été mal renseignés — pour employer un terme courtois — sur la situation actuelle; il y a déjà une majorité d'Africains au Parlement du Kenya.

270. On a parlé des problèmes de la Rhodésie du Nord. Là, les divergences ont été restreintes d'une façon qui rapproche tellement les deux points de vue que nous espérons pouvoir aller bientôt de l'avant, avec une nouvelle constitution, vers de nouvelles élections.

271. Au sujet de la Rhodésie du Sud, je me souviens avoir entendu dire précédemment, au cours de ce débat, qu'une nouvelle Afrique du Sud était en train de se constituer. Je tiens à le nier formellement. Le Premier Ministre de la Rhodésie du Sud a fait récemment une déclaration aux termes de laquelle son programme pour les prochaines élections reposait sur l'abolition de toute ségrégation raciale, de toute discrimination raciale en Rhodésie du Sud. Il est extravagant de donner à entendre que la politique suivie en Rhodésie du Sud serait la même qu'en Afrique du Sud.

272. Les mêmes progrès se poursuivent dans nos autres territoires. L'un après l'autre, les territoires du Commonwealth britannique sont conduits à l'autonomie, l'autodétermination, l'indépendance. L'un après l'autre, ils entrent à l'Assemblée générale. Ce que nous faisons là, nous le justifions, nous le défendons et, je le répète, nous en sommes fiers. Toute ma vie, j'ai consacré mes efforts aux préparatifs qui sont l'objet d'un tel dédain du représentant de l'Union soviétique. Toute ma vie, j'ai travaillé avec les peuples de ces pays à constituer les parlements, à établir la fonction publique, à développer l'enseignement. Le représentant de l'Union soviétique a cité des chiffres pour prétendre que nous ne formions pas d'enseignants. C'est une allégation extravagante. Il n'a pas parlé des universités qu'on est en train de créer dans ces pays. Il a parlé de trois instituteurs en Ouganda, mais il a passé sous silence l'université qu'on est en train de développer en Ouganda et qui aura des sections également au Kenya et au Tanganyika, soit trois collèges en tout, dépendant de la nouvelle Université d'Afrique orientale.

273. J'apporte mon témoignage personnel des efforts accomplis pour réaliser cette préparation et je puis dire que ce travail n'a pas été fait en vain. Je suis sûr qu'il n'est pas dans l'Assemblée un seul représentant d'un des pays anciennement sous administration du Royaume-Uni qui puisse contester que les préparatifs accomplis pendant toutes ces années ont été précieux et ont donné de bons résultats.

274. Pour terminer, je voudrais dire quelques mots au sujet du nationalisme. Je crois que le nationalisme,

une des grandes forces de notre siècle, de notre génération, est une force qui agit pour le bien de l'humanité. Je crois que les nouvelles nations que la marée du nationalisme a portées à l'Assemblée peuvent sauver le monde. Je crois que leur influence peut être décisive à l'avenir. Aucun pays — ni l'Union soviétique, ni aucun autre pays — ne pourra ne pas tenir compte de l'existence de ces nouvelles nations. Elles auront une influence capitale dans les temps à venir. Je remercie Dieu qu'il en soit ainsi. Je crois qu'elles constituent à bien des points de vue l'espoir du monde. C'est la marée du nationalisme qui les a portées ici. Le nationalisme, je l'admets, peut tourner au racisme, peut devenir une source de mal, mais le nationalisme peut devenir une source de patriotisme, une source de fierté et d'effort.

275. L'Union soviétique croit-elle au nationalisme? Je me suis donné la peine l'autre jour de chercher quelle était la plus récente prise de position, dans les hautes sphères de l'Union soviétique, sur la question du nationalisme. J'ai constaté qu'on tient certains propos ici mais qu'on parle un langage différent chez soi. Au sujet du nationalisme, citerai-je à l'Assemblée quelques lignes du programme du Parti, publié récemment en URSS? Ce programme du Parti qui est omnipotent réclame "une lutte implacable contre les manifestations et survivances du nationalisme sous toutes ses formes". Voilà comment l'Union soviétique parle à son peuple, chez elle, et ce n'est pas ce qu'elle dit ici. Le programme poursuit:

"La liquidation des manifestations du nationalisme est dans l'intérêt de toutes les nations et nationalités de l'URSS."

276. Je crois et nous croyons tous que l'un des grands mouvements de notre génération, de notre ère, est la création de nouvelles nations. Personnellement, je suis heureux et fier d'avoir pu, toute ma vie, travailler avec quelques-uns des peuples intéressés à la création de ces nouvelles nations. Je n'ai pas honte de ce que nous avons fait et ceux d'entre nous qui considèrent ce qui a été fait en ces 30 ans de travail avec les peuples des nouvelles nations maintenant indépendantes estiment que ce fut du bon travail.

277. Je repousse les accusations qui ont été portées contre nous et je suis très heureux d'avoir eu l'occasion, même à cette heure tardive, de réfuter en particulier les accusations de l'Union soviétique.

278. Le PRESIDENT: Avant de lever la séance, je voudrais attirer l'attention de l'Assemblée sur un nouveau projet de résolution [A/L.369] qui a été présenté par la délégation du Mexique et qui vient d'être distribué. A notre prochaine séance, lundi, nous examinerons les divers projets de résolutions et nous passerons ensuite au vote.

La séance est levée à 0 h 35.

Nations Unies ASSEMBLÉE GÉNÉRALE

SEIZIÈME SESSION

Documents officiels


1065^e
SÉANCE PLÉNIÈRE

 Lundi 27 novembre 1961,
 à 15 heures

NEW YORK

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POINTS 88 ET 22 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

La situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux (suite)

Assistance à l'Afrique (suite):

g) Programme des Nations Unies pour l'indépendance

1. Le PRÉSIDENT: Nous avons terminé vendredi la discussion générale des points 88 et 22, a, de notre ordre du jour. Nous allons maintenant procéder à la discussion et aux explications de vote concernant les projets de résolution. Je tiens, à ce propos, à rappeler les projets dont nous sommes saisis: ce sont les projets de résolution des Pays-Bas [A/L.354], de l'Union soviétique [A/L.355], de 38 puissances [A/L.366 et Add.1 à 3], de l'Inde et de neuf autres puissances [A/L.367/Rev.1], de 13 pays d'Afrique [A/L.368], du Mexique [A/L.369] et de la Nigéria et du Libéria [A/L.357 et Add.1]. Je signale également que des amendements au projet de résolution A/L.366 et Add.1 à 3 ont été déposés sous la cote A/L.370.

2. M. KOSCIUSKO-MORIZET (France): Les projets de résolution sur lesquels l'Assemblée va avoir à se prononcer intéressent, en réalité, deux questions différentes. L'une est l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux [résolution 1514 (XV)], à laquelle a été rattaché le programme des Nations Unies pour l'indépendance, inclus originellement dans le problème général de l'assistance à l'Afrique. L'autre est l'avenir de la Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale, dont l'examen eut peut-être été, de l'avis de ma délégation, mieux à sa place dans le cadre d'un point spécial de notre ordre du jour.

3. Je traiterai d'abord des projets de résolution relatifs au problème de la Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale.

4. La délégation française a suivi de très près les discussions qui y ont été consacrées. Cette question présente, à certains égards, un caractère sui generis qui en accentue la complexité et recommande à notre diligente attention les différents projets de résolution.

5. Le projet déposé, d'emblée, par la délégation néerlandaise [A/L.354], après les déclarations du Ministre des affaires étrangères des Pays-Bas, nous paraît répondre à une double préoccupation. D'une part, il exprime l'engagement solennel pris par la puissance administrante de régler le sort de la Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale sur la base de l'autodétermination. D'autre part, il propose une procédure originale qui, compte tenu des données particulières du problème de la Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale, doit permettre la mise en œuvre du principe de libre disposition.

6. Le souci du Gouvernement des Pays-Bas de régler le problème de la Nouvelle-Guinée conformément au principe de l'autodétermination ne peut rencontrer qu'un accueil très favorable de la part de ma délégation. C'est sur cette base, pensons-nous, que doit se fonder le processus de la décolonisation en vue, à la fois, de répondre aux vœux et de protéger les intérêts des populations en cause.

7. Nous constatons aussi que les mesures prises dans le territoire de la Nouvelle-Guinée pour accélérer l'accession de la population à l'autonomie et les résultats obtenus font honneur au peuple et au Gouvernement néerlandais. De plus, l'engagement pris par ce dernier de se conformer aux décisions arrêtées par les populations papoues, quelles que soient ces décisions, la promesse qu'il a faite de maintenir son assistance financière à concurrence de 30 millions de dollars par an en vue du développement de la Nouvelle-Guinée, sans hypothèque d'aucune sorte, constituent, selon nous, des éléments positifs dont il convient de tenir compte.

8. En ce qui concerne la procédure de mise en œuvre de l'autodétermination préconisée par la délégation des Pays-Bas dans le cas particulier de la Nouvelle-Guinée, certains feront peut-être remarquer qu'elle s'écarte des deux moyens prévus dans la Charte des Nations Unies. L'un est l'accession à la pleine souveraineté des territoires encore dépendants, à l'initiative et sous les auspices de la puissance administrante; l'autre consiste à placer ces mêmes territoires sous le régime international de tutelle, l'Autorité chargée de l'administration pouvant être constituée par un ou plusieurs Etats ou par l'Organisation elle-même. Ce sont ces voies qu'a suivies mon pays pour assurer l'évolution des territoires dont il avait la charge. Les dispositions de la Charte auraient sans doute pu fournir une formule propre à résoudre les problèmes qui se posent en l'occurrence.

9. Mais il convient de noter que, dans le cas de la Nouvelle-Guinée, le Gouvernement des Pays-Bas s'est trouvé devant des difficultés particulières dont l'une tient à l'existence d'une revendication territoriale. La délégation française comprend que, pour avoir égard à cette situation spéciale, des solutions originales aient pu être recherchées par la puissance administrante à laquelle il appartient de préparer le

règlement du problème en tenant compte de toutes les données. Aussi bien c'est à la suite d'un libre choix et de sa propre initiative que cette puissance s'adresse aux Nations Unies pour leur soumettre un plan qu'elle a elle-même conçu.

10. La délégation française a prêté également une très vive attention à la thèse soutenue par le représentant de l'Indonésie, dont l'argumentation se fonde sur le paragraphe 6 de la Déclaration: "Toute tentative visant à détruire partiellement ou totalement l'unité nationale et l'intégrité territoriale d'un pays est incompatible avec les buts et les principes de la Charte des Nations Unies."

11. Il est permis de se demander si cette disposition peut être invoquée en la circonstance. Il est d'abord au moins douteux que l'Indonésie et la Nouvelle-Guinée aient constitué une seule et même entité nationale avant l'occupation de ces archipels par les Pays-Bas.

12. La délégation indonésienne se réfère alors au principe en vertu duquel un pays qui accède à l'indépendance doit être délimité par les frontières mêmes qu'a créées la puissance coloniale. Pour ma délégation, il ne saurait s'agir d'un principe absolu mais seulement d'une règle de sage empirisme. Il serait en effet aisé de citer des cas où une telle règle n'a pas été appliquée. Certains grands ensembles territoriaux placés, durant l'époque coloniale, sous une même administration pour des raisons pratiques, ont pu, au moment de l'émancipation, se séparer en plusieurs Etats, vu le caractère spécifique des différentes parties qui composaient l'entité initiale, c'est-à-dire, en dernière analyse, pour répondre aux vœux des populations elles-mêmes.

13. Si l'on veut donc, comme le souhaite la délégation indonésienne, maintenir uni l'ensemble administratif constitué par le colonisateur, cela se peut, cela est peut-être souhaitable, mais cela ne saurait être qu'avec le libre consentement des opinions dans le territoire en litige; en d'autres termes, par la mise en œuvre de l'autodétermination.

14. Dans le cas qui nous occupe, il ne semble pas que le Gouvernement indonésien soit en droit de concevoir des inquiétudes particulières puisque le Ministre des affaires étrangères des Pays-Bas, M. Luns, a déclaré ce qui suit. Je cite:

"Le Gouvernement néerlandais tient à affirmer solennellement que, si la population papoue décide de s'unir à l'Indonésie, le Gouvernement néerlandais ne formulera absolument aucune objection et respectera entièrement cette décision de même qu'il respecterait toute autre décision de la population papoue."

15. D'autre part, du haut de cette même tribune, l'honorable représentant de l'Indonésie s'est déclaré convaincu des aspirations de la population de la Nouvelle-Guinée à rejoindre la République d'Indonésie.

16. J'en arrive donc au projet de résolution présenté par l'Inde et d'autres puissances [A/L.367/Rev.1].

17. Il préconise l'ouverture de "nouvelles négociations" bilatérales pour résoudre la question. Certes, la délégation française accueille avec faveur le principe d'une solution qui se propose de réconcilier des opinions divergentes. Mais, en la circonstance, une telle formule louable en soi n'est-elle pas incomplète? La délégation française partage l'avis, exprimé par beaucoup d'autres délégations, selon lequel tout règle-

ment du problème doit faire mention du droit des populations à l'autodétermination. Ce droit a été proclamé solennellement par les Pays-Bas, ce qui n'exclut nullement la possibilité pour l'Indonésie de faire entendre sa voix à cette occasion dans des conditions d'impartialité que toute commission ad hoc, dont la création serait décidée par cette assemblée, aurait certainement à cœur d'assurer. C'est pour cette raison que la délégation française aura le regret de s'opposer au projet indien qui nous paraît insuffisant.

18. Le projet de résolution dû à 13 délégations africaines [A/L.368] nous semble une solution de compromis. En effet ces dispositions prennent, d'après nous, en considération les principaux éléments du problème.

19. Premièrement, étant donné d'une part qu'il existe un litige, on doit s'efforcer de régler celui-ci par la voie de négociations bilatérales à la faveur desquelles les deux parties en cause seront à même de faire valoir leurs intérêts et leurs vues.

20. Deuxièmement, il convient d'autre part de ne pas perdre de vue que toute solution qui engage le sort définitif d'un territoire non autonome doit être fondée sur le principe du droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes, droit que le Gouvernement des Pays-Bas a décidé, de sa propre initiative, de laisser les habitants de la Nouvelle-Guinée exercer librement.

21. Troisièmement, au cas enfin où les intéressés n'arriveraient pas à définir d'un commun accord une solution, la création d'une commission chargée de procéder à une enquête et d'étudier l'éventualité d'établir un régime international pour l'administration et la surveillance du territoire semble pouvoir être acceptée.

22. Ainsi que je l'ai déjà remarqué, l'affaire présente un caractère sui generis en raison des conditions particulières existant dans le territoire intéressé et de l'éventualité qu'une période transitoire s'écoule avant que le statut de la Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale ne soit définitivement fixé. Tous les droits et aspirations des parties en cause nous semblent préservés par ce dernier projet de résolution.

23. Telles sont les considérations qui guideront les votes de notre délégation sur ce problème de la Nouvelle-Guinée.

24. Le débat relatif à l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux nous semble avoir été marqué par deux sortes d'interventions qui se traduisent par deux sortes de résolutions.

25. Les premières, heureusement limitées sinon par leur longueur, du moins par leur nombre, n'ont brillé ni par la nouveauté ni par la probité, illustrant une fois de plus la parole de l'Evangile: "Pourquoi vois-tu la paille qui est dans l'œil de ton frère et ne vois-tu pas la poutre qui est dans ton œil?" C'est ainsi que si l'on a quelque peu parlé de néo-colonialisme — et en quels termes et par quelles bouches autorisées —, il n'est guère apparu que les antennes, les clichés, les slogans entendus laissent espérer à cette session la mise en œuvre d'un néo-anticolonialisme; j'entends par là celui qui s'attaquerait à toutes les formes de domination étrangère, sans distinction de couleur, de race, de religion et de continent, en Asie et en Europe aussi bien qu'en Afrique. Soyons cependant attentifs et patients, car si les Nations Unies ont vocation d'universalité, il n'est pas douteux que cette grande

aspiration à l'indépendance et à la liberté — pour nous, ces deux concepts sont inséparables —, qui est exprimée dans les passages les plus valables de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance, trouvera tôt ou tard un champ d'application universel.

26. Ces premières interventions trouvent leur expression dans le projet de résolution de l'Union soviétique [A/L.355]. Il serait tentant de prendre au pied de la lettre ce projet. Mais quels que soient les changements intervenus dans ce grand pays et dans ce vaste empire, il ne semble pas que les auteurs de ce texte consentent encore à appliquer à eux-mêmes leurs propres résolutions et à se soumettre à la loi commune. La déstalinisation n'est pas encore poussée au point de décoloniser les peuples non russes. C'est une des raisons majeures pour lesquelles nous nous prononcerons contre ce premier projet et contre l'amendement soviétique [A/L.370] au projet de résolution des 38 puissances [A/L.366 et Add.1 à 3] qui vient d'être déposé.

27. Les autres interventions, l'immense majorité, ont eu le mérite de s'attacher — comme l'a réclamé à cette tribune notre collègue de Grèce [1052ème séance] — d'une part à mieux définir les principes exposés dans la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance, d'autre part à rechercher un accord sur les mesures pratiques. Je n'en voudrais citer d'autre exemple que le remarquable exposé que le Ministre des affaires étrangères de Nigéria a fait devant notre assemblée [1050ème séance]. Non que nous partageons toutes ses vues, mais il a abordé les problèmes réels de la décolonisation. Et lorsqu'on entre dans le concret, les mirages s'évanouissent. Il est bon qu'il soit dit que le chauvinisme n'est pas un remède au sous-développement, le verbalisme à la stagnation, un discours de propagande un alibi aux tâches ardues, pour les nouveaux Etats, de la préparation des budgets et des plans, de la formation des cadres, de l'organisation de l'administration. Il est utile aussi de rappeler, comme l'a fait ici le Ministre des affaires étrangères de la République malgache [1064ème séance], que le processus de décolonisation ne pouvait se dissocier de l'assistance aux pays ex-colonisés. Ce réalisme nous semble inspirer le projet de résolution signé par les 38 pays d'Afrique et d'Asie.

28. Je voudrais indiquer à ce sujet la position de notre délégation. Je tiens d'abord, en louant les coauteurs de l'effort qu'ils ont accompli, à marquer notre accord sur le fond du problème. Au cours de la quinzième session de l'Assemblée, notre délégation rappelait les paroles prononcées par le général de Gaulle, le 5 septembre 1960: "L'émancipation des peuples ... est conforme tout à la fois au génie de notre pays ... et au mouvement irrésistible qui s'est déclenché dans le monde à l'occasion de la guerre mondiale et de ce qui s'en est suivi." [Voir 945ème séance, par. 134.] Et au cours de la quatorzième session de l'Assemblée, notre ministre des affaires étrangères, M. Couve de Murville, soulignait à cette même tribune, le 30 septembre 1959, que "Le droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes, qui est inscrit à l'Article premier de la Charte des Nations Unies, est ainsi la règle qui a été suivie par le Gouvernement français." [814ème séance, par. 105.] Cette règle demeure toujours la nôtre. Depuis, en effet, la Conférence de Brazzaville, en janvier 1944, en pleine guerre mondiale, en passant par la Constitution de 1946 qui créait l'Union française, la loi-cadre de 1956, l'immense référendum de 1958, la Communauté

et l'accession à l'indépendance et à la vie internationale de tous ces nouveaux Etats présents ici parmi nous, nos égaux, et malgré les péripéties, retards ou précipitations, que les réalités et les hommes rendaient sans doute inévitables, c'est une continuité de pensée et d'action dans le dessein français qui nous permet d'accueillir avec sérénité les critiques, surtout quand elles sont prononcées en notre langue, et avec confiance le jugement de l'histoire.

29. Nous n'avons pas attendu la Déclaration pour savoir où nous voulions aller, ce que nous voulions faire, et pour le faire. Qu'il s'agisse des territoires sous tutelle ou des territoires non autonomes, nous avons préparé l'autodétermination par l'autogestion, et si nous ne prétendons pas imposer la généralisation de notre conception, du moins avons-nous la fierté de penser que cette méthode a épargné bien des tâtonnements et des crises aux peuples dont nous avons la charge et qui sont maintenant les seuls maîtres de leur destin.

30. Nous avons donc scrupuleusement rempli les prescriptions de la Charte des Nations Unies dans son esprit comme dans sa lettre, celles du Chapitre XI qui impliquaient la transmission de renseignements au Secrétaire général de notre organisation, comme celles des Chapitres XII et XIII qui prévoyaient la surveillance par les Nations Unies de l'administration de tutelle. Je voudrais relever à cette occasion que certains de nos territoires d'outre-mer auxquels il a été fait incidemment allusion par des délégations probablement mal informées ont atteint leur complète autonomie. C'est librement qu'ils ont choisi leur statut actuel, après les mêmes consultations démocratiques que celles qui ont engagé d'autres territoires dans des évolutions différentes. Leurs habitants bénéficient de garanties et de droits égaux à ceux de tous nos concitoyens: suffrage universel des hommes et des femmes, représentation librement élue, institutions démocratiques.

31. Parce que notre tâche est accomplie, et nous pensons bien accomplie, et parce que la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance nous apparaît, en ce qui nous concerne, comme le couronnement d'une évolution déjà réalisée et non comme un point de départ, nous ne sommes que plus à l'aise pour faire, à l'égard d'une résolution dont nous approuvons l'inspiration, quelques remarques.

32. Certains de nos amis — et nous en comptons, dans tous les continents, de nombreux — nous ont dit en nous demandant notre vote: "Cette résolution ne vous gêne pas, elle ne vous concerne pas." Cela est vrai, sinon dans la mesure où les 103 Etats Membres de notre organisation sont intéressés à établir dans la vie des peuples un peu plus de sécurité, un peu plus de clarté, un peu plus de justice, un peu plus de bien-être. Si, par conséquent, nous ne sommes pas directement concernés — ou comme on dit ici: si nous ne sommes pas "visés" —, ce n'est pas une raison pour être indifférents à un certain nombre de principes qui nous tiennent à cœur parce qu'ils sont le fondement même de notre organisation, qu'ils en permettent le développement et le progrès et qu'ils sont une garantie pour tous les Etats Membres.

33. Nous avons eu l'occasion de développer ce point de vue dans les différentes commissions de l'Assemblée et à propos d'autres problèmes ou de problèmes analogues. Pour nous, la Charte demeure la Charte; c'est notre constitution, et il n'est pas possible de l'interpréter ou même de l'amender par le biais de

résolutions. Si l'on considère que la Charte est insuffisante, parce que le monde depuis 16 ans s'est transformé, qu'il y a des lacunes à combler ou des corrections à apporter, si, comme l'a dit à cette tribune M. Vakil, délégué de l'Iran [1061ème séance], en termes excellents, on pense que le succès ou l'échec de notre organisation dépend de la façon dont elle s'adapte aux besoins du temps, il faut alors reviser la Charte selon les procédures légales prévues à cet effet.

34. Qu'un tel problème se pose à propos du projet de résolution qui nous est présenté, et encore davantage à propos du projet de résolution introduit par notre collègue du Mexique [A/L.369], cela n'est pas contestable. Plusieurs délégations l'ont souligné, même si elles ont abouti à des conclusions différentes des nôtres. Je pense, en particulier, à l'analyse si précise du représentant de la Colombie, M. Noriega [1054ème séance], devant notre assemblée, à l'exposé circonstancié du représentant du Japon, M. Miyazaki, un des coauteurs de la résolution africano-asiatique, qui a déclaré ici même: "La tendance prévaut de plus en plus de suggérer d'appliquer aux territoires non autonomes les dispositions primitivement prévues pour les territoires sous tutelle." [Voir 1054ème séance, par. 176*.]

35. Le problème est bien posé, et c'est dans la mesure où les projets de résolution en question tentent de le trancher par des procédures qui nous semblent contestables, parce qu'elles s'écartent de celles prévues par la Charte, que nous croyons devoir formuler expressément des réserves d'ordre constitutionnel et juridique. Que l'on ne vienne surtout pas nous accuser de formalisme ou de juridisme; il est normal dans notre organisation d'invoquer le droit, et depuis 2 000 ans, c'est-à-dire depuis que nous-mêmes avons été colonisés, nous sommes les héritiers d'une certaine conception latine, voire romaine, du droit des gens et des nations, de la foi dans les chartes et les traités, de la fidélité aux engagements pris et du respect de la signature donnée.

36. Voilà la raison pour laquelle nous ne pouvons donner notre approbation complète au projet de résolution africano-asiatique qui nous est soumis. Cette expression de nos principes juridiques ne préjuge pas du désir de notre délégation de favoriser la recherche de solutions pragmatiques. Nous ne nous opposerons pas, en tout cas, à ce que le projet de résolution des 38 puissances soit adopté à l'unanimité.

37. Le PRESIDENT: Avant de donner la parole aux orateurs suivants, je me dois de signaler à l'Assemblée générale que nous avons prévu, pour terminer la discussion et le vote des deux points actuels, une séance d'après-midi et une séance du soir. La liste des orateurs inscrits pour les explications de vote est en train de s'allonger. Je dois donc clore cette liste avant le vote, c'est-à-dire dans une demi-heure, sauf objection de la part de l'Assemblée. Pour faciliter l'achèvement de nos travaux sur ce sujet, j'ai l'intention de continuer la séance, jusqu'aux environs de 7 heures. Si nous pouvons voter sur tous les projets de résolution, j'annulerai la séance du soir; sinon, nous en aurons une, de façon à terminer cette question aujourd'hui.

38. M. ADEEL (Soudan) [traduit de l'anglais]: Si ma délégation n'a pas participé au débat général sur le

point 88 de l'ordre du jour et la partie a du point 22, ce n'est pas que les maux — ou mieux les péchés — du colonialisme nous laissent le moins du monde indifférents. Ces maux et ces péchés ont été dénoncés pendant des années, tant ici qu'ailleurs, au cours de débats approfondis. Nous avons fait clairement entendre notre voix durant ces débats. Il y a quelques semaines encore, le 13 octobre 1961, le chef de l'Etat soudanais, le maréchal Ibrahim Abboud, s'est adressé en ces termes à l'Assemblée générale:

"Nous sommes absolument convaincus que l'une des causes essentielles de tension, qui menacent le monde aujourd'hui et qui représentent une menace directe à la paix et à la sécurité internationales, se trouve être la perpétuation du colonialisme dans ses formes classico-modernes, dans de nombreuses parties du monde." [A/PV.1036, p. 12.]

C'est grâce à la lutte de l'homme contre l'injustice, l'oppression et l'humiliation, et à sa volonté de recouvrer les droits inaliénables que Dieu lui a donnés, que ce monstre dragon est aujourd'hui sinon mort tout à fait, tout au moins dans une espèce de coma.

39. C'est pour débarrasser l'humanité des mortels venins de ce monstre que l'Assemblée générale a pris la décision historique qu'exprime la résolution 1514 (XV). A notre avis, cette résolution, quoique tardive, fait date et n'est dépassée en importance que par la Charte.

40. Mais l'Assemblée générale n'a pas aujourd'hui, d'après nous, à faire l'historique de la question qui a mené à l'adoption de la résolution 1514 (XV); il lui faut plutôt examiner les moyens de la mettre immédiatement en œuvre.

41. C'est dans cet esprit que l'on a soumis diverses propositions à l'examen de l'Assemblée, et j'ai l'intention, dans ma déclaration qui sera fort brève, de dire quelques mots de chacune de ces propositions.

42. Tout d'abord, je ferai quelques remarques sur le projet déposé par les Pays-Bas [A/L.354]. Nous sommes sensibles aux motifs qui ont poussé la délégation néerlandaise à déposer ce projet et à son désir de collaborer avec les Nations Unies à la mise en œuvre de la résolution 1514 (XV); nous sommes heureux aussi que les Pays-Bas aient voté cette résolution; il nous faut pourtant faire face à certaines difficultés.

43. En premier lieu, on a demandé si la Nouvelle-Guinée néerlandaise — ou Irian occidental — est un territoire non autonome auquel la résolution 1514 (XV) est applicable. L'Indonésie prétend en effet que le territoire en question fait partie intégrante de l'Indonésie, pays souverain et indépendant. L'attitude des deux parties directement intéressées, les Pays-Bas et l'Indonésie, nous semble diamétralement opposée. Elles ne peuvent même pas s'entendre sur le nom du territoire. Etant donné ces divergences fondamentales, nous pensons que le meilleur moyen de résoudre ce problème et de rétablir des relations amicales entre deux Etats Membres — qui ont tant à s'offrir mutuellement — serait de les inciter à reprendre des négociations directes.

44. Le Ministre des affaires étrangères d'Indonésie nous a dit et répété que la proposition néerlandaise est tout à fait inacceptable, car elle aurait, à son avis, pour effet de porter atteinte à la souveraineté et à l'intégrité territoriale de l'Indonésie. Etant donné cette attitude, nous pensons qu'au lieu d'adopter

*Traduction provisoire tirée de l'interprétation.

une résolution contraire à l'avis d'une des parties directement intéressées — et dont la coopération est indispensable au succès de toute proposition destinée à résoudre ce regrettable différend —, l'Assemblée ferait bien de persuader les deux parties d'entamer des négociations immédiates, avec le cas échéant l'aide de l'ONU, en vue de résoudre ce problème. L'Assemblée générale contribuerait ainsi au rétablissement de rapports harmonieux entre deux Membres dévoués de notre organisation. Je me permets de faire cette proposition en raison de l'amitié que mon pays éprouve tant pour l'Indonésie que pour les Pays-Bas.

45. Le projet de résolution A/L.367/Rev.1, déposé à l'origine par l'Inde, semble suivre une voie analogue à la nôtre; nous serons heureux de l'appuyer.

46. En ce qui concerne ce problème particulier, plusieurs Etats africains ont déposé un troisième projet de résolution [A/L.368]. Nous estimons qu'il ne devrait y avoir, qu'il ne peut y avoir ni méfiance ni doute à l'égard des nobles sentiments qui ont dicté cette proposition. Celle-ci — comme celle de l'Inde — met l'accent sur la nécessité d'un accord négocié. De même que la proposition indienne, ce texte voudrait que les parties puissent, dans la reprise de leurs négociations, disposer de l'aide de l'ONU sous une forme ou une autre par l'entremise du Président de l'Assemblée ou du Secrétaire général. Ces deux aspects de la proposition ont notre appui sans réserve.

47. Mais, d'autre part, nous ne pouvons pas nous empêcher de voir dans ce texte certains termes qui peuvent, à notre avis, prêter à une interprétation erronée, ce qui porterait préjudice aux négociations que l'on se propose d'entamer.

48. L'exemple suivant suffira pour illustrer mon argument. Cette proposition est tout entière imprégnée de l'hypothèse que le territoire en question est un territoire auquel s'applique le droit d'autodétermination. Cette conception suscite chez ma délégation les mêmes doutes sérieux que la proposition néerlandaise. Si les Nations Unies admettaient cette idée, cela équivaudrait, selon nous, à porter un jugement sur la prétention de l'Indonésie à la souveraineté sur ce territoire. Nous estimons que l'Assemblée générale n'est pas compétente pour juger les prétentions de ce genre. Si ce texte devait finalement faire l'objet d'un vote, ma délégation voterait dans le sens que je viens d'indiquer.

49. Examinons maintenant le projet soviétique [A/L.355]. J'ai le devoir de dire que, si la teneur générale de ce texte a notre agrément, nous avons pourtant certaines réserves à faire, particulièrement à l'égard du paragraphe 2, qui donne une date limite pour la libération de tous les territoires non autonomes. Ce que nous réclamons énergiquement, c'est la liquidation définitive du colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations, immédiatement et sans délai.

50. Vous vous rappelez sans doute que les chefs d'Etat et de gouvernement des pays non alignés qui se sont réunis à Belgrade^{1/} avaient mentionné, au cours de leurs délibérations, l'année 1962, mais que l'unanimité finale ne s'était pas faite à ce sujet. La réso-

lution 1514 (XV) elle-même ne mentionne aucune date. Elle dispose simplement:

"Des mesures immédiates seront prises, dans les territoires sous tutelle, les territoires non autonomes et tous autres territoires qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance, pour transférer tous pouvoirs aux peuples de ces territoires, sans aucune condition ni réserve, conformément à leur volonté et à leurs vœux librement exprimés ..."

51. Je voudrais souligner, si l'Assemblée me le permet, les mots "à leur volonté et à leurs vœux librement exprimés". Nous estimons que la détermination des dates est une importante question sur laquelle il faut consulter la population des territoires en cause. Si les Nations Unies fixaient une date sans consulter la population des territoires intéressés, elles agiraient, à notre humble avis, contrairement à l'esprit et à la lettre du paragraphe 5 de la Déclaration contenue dans la résolution 1514 (XV).

52. Ce serait une façon de procéder à laquelle il nous serait impossible de nous rallier, car, selon notre interprétation de ce paragraphe, il faut consulter la population des territoires non autonomes en question sur un problème aussi important que celui de la date où ils veulent accéder à l'indépendance. Cette date, c'est à eux de la choisir. Nous espérons que ce choix se fera le plus tôt possible, mais ne leur imposons pas notre volonté. A la présente session, l'Assemblée générale devrait, selon nous, examiner non pas tellement la question des dates que celle des moyens et des dispositifs à mettre en place et de la procédure à adopter pour assurer l'application rapide de la résolution 1514 (XV).

53. Le projet de résolution des 38 puissances [A/L.366 et Add.1 à 3] nous semble répondre à cette conception. Nous aurions voulu être coauteurs de ce projet, mais certains doutes exprimés quant à la composition du Comité spécial dont il est question au paragraphe 3 de cette résolution nous ont obligés à adopter une attitude plus réservée. Etant donné l'ampleur du sujet à examiner et le temps imparti au comité qui aurait à l'étudier, nous croyons qu'un comité plus restreint serait préférable. Cette réserve faite, nous serons heureux d'appuyer ce projet, car nous estimons que c'est le plus réalisable de tous les projets soumis jusqu'à présent à l'Assemblée.

54. En ce qui concerne le projet mexicain [A/L.369], ma délégation fera la remarque suivante. En premier lieu, nous estimons que, si l'Assemblée adopte, comme nous l'espérons, les propositions africano-asiatiques consignées dans le document A/L.366 et Add.1 à 3, la proposition mexicaine deviendra superflue. En second lieu, nous devons faire certaines réserves de base à l'égard de certaines dispositions de ce projet. Nos principales objections concernent l'interprétation que l'on pourrait éventuellement donner aux paragraphes 2 et 3. Nous estimons que ces paragraphes soulèvent des problèmes qui prêtent à la controverse. Si cette proposition est mise aux voix, je vous demanderai de bien vouloir soumettre ces deux paragraphes à un vote séparé.

55. M. SCHURMANN (Pays-Bas) [traduit de l'anglais]: Etant donné que nous en sommes à l'examen des projets de résolution présentés au titre du point 88 et de la partie a du point 22 de notre ordre du jour, ma délégation voudrait indiquer nettement sa position à l'égard de ces textes.

56. Tout d'abord, nous sommes saisis du projet de résolution A/L.366 et Add.1 à 3, dont 38 pays d'Afrique

^{1/} Du 1er au 6 septembre 1961.

et d'Asie sont coauteurs. Aux termes de ce texte, l'Assemblée nommerait un comité spécial dont la tâche serait d'étudier l'application de la Déclaration qui figure dans la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale, de faire des suggestions et des recommandations quant aux progrès réalisés et à la mesure dans laquelle la Déclaration est mise en œuvre, et de faire rapport à l'Assemblée générale à sa dix-septième session.

57. Au cours de ses diverses interventions, ma délégation a déjà appuyé sans réserve les mesures de mise en œuvre de la résolution 1514 (XV), pour laquelle nous avons voté l'année dernière sans aucune équivoque. Au point où en sont les débats, nous tenons simplement à déclarer que nous voterons de tout cœur, et sans aucune réserve, le projet des 38 puissances.

58. Ce que je viens de dire du projet africano-asiatique s'applique également au projet mexicain [A/L.369]. En fait, ce texte envisage d'appliquer à tous les territoires non autonomes les mesures que les Pays-Bas ont volontairement proposé d'appliquer au seul territoire non autonome qui soit encore sous administration néerlandaise, la Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale.

59. Nous sommes ensuite saisis de trois projets relatifs à l'application à la Nouvelle-Guinée néerlandaise de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. Le premier de ces documents [A/L.354] émane des Pays-Bas eux-mêmes. Ce projet de résolution vise, en substance, à appliquer à la population de la Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale le principe posé au paragraphe 2 du dispositif de la résolution 1514 (XV), lequel, je me permets de le rappeler à l'Assemblée, dispose:

"2. Tous les peuples ont le droit de libre détermination; en vertu de ce droit, ils déterminent librement leur statut politique et poursuivent librement leur développement économique, social et culturel."

60. Si notre projet de résolution était adopté, une commission de l'ONU se rendrait en Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale et ferait rapport à l'Assemblée à sa prochaine session, sur nos propositions, dont la plus importante est que nous prêts à transférer notre souveraineté à la population de la Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale aussitôt que l'ONU sera en mesure de l'aider à administrer le territoire. Les Nations Unies constitueront une autorité internationale à cet effet et la population de la Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale, dès qu'elle sera capable d'exprimer sa volonté et prête à le faire, pourra, sous le contrôle de l'ONU, décider de se joindre à l'Indonésie ou adopter tout autre statut politique de son choix.

61. Les avantages que présente l'adoption de notre projet de résolution sont les suivants. Premièrement, ce texte reflète de la façon la plus précise et la plus stricte possible la lettre et l'esprit de tous les principes, règlements et directives qui figurent dans la Charte des Nations Unies ainsi que dans toutes les résolutions pertinentes adoptées par l'Assemblée générale au cours des années écoulées. Deuxièmement, il met fin, de façon pacifique, honorable et appropriée, à notre différend avec l'Indonésie et ouvre la voie à des relations meilleures et plus amicales entre nos deux pays. Et troisièmement, il sera une première preuve et une preuve convaincante de la justesse des principes énoncés dans la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux et de la possibilité pratique d'appliquer ces principes.

62. Notre projet de résolution a pour objet de sauvegarder et de protéger les intérêts du peuple papou, qui se tourne vers l'Assemblée avec espoir et confiance: il attend avec espoir que ses aspirations légitimes à l'autodétermination soient entendues; il attend avec confiance que les membres de l'Assemblée générale observent les principes de la Charte en lui rendant justice.

63. Je n'en dirai pas plus pour recommander l'adoption de notre projet de résolution.

64. Je passe maintenant au projet de résolution déposé à l'origine par la délégation indienne [A/L.367/Rev.1]. Je dirai d'emblée que ce projet est pour nous totalement inacceptable, et nous prions instamment tous les membres de l'Assemblée de voter contre. Voici pourquoi: ce projet, qui ne fait que reprendre les anciens projets de résolution déposés en vain par l'Indonésie en 1954, en 1956 et en 1957, présente un vice évident. Ce vice éclatant et, dirai-je, presque incroyable, est qu'en traitant de l'avenir de la Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale, ce document ne mentionne même pas la seule partie qui ait le droit de décider de cet avenir: le peuple papou lui-même.

65. Il invite l'Indonésie et les Pays-Bas à régler entre eux l'avenir du peuple papou, comme si ce peuple et son territoire étaient un objet dont d'autres peuvent disposer à leur gré. Mon gouvernement ne saurait être ni ne sera partie à une transaction de ce genre.

66. En déposant son projet de résolution, le Ministre indien de la défense nationale a trouvé bon de traiter comme une mauvaise plaisanterie le droit d'autodétermination; il l'a ridiculisé en disant que, si tout pays devait se soumettre à la doctrine de l'autodétermination, chaque village et chaque municipalité devraient devenir indépendants.

67. En d'autres occasions, nous avons entendu le représentant de l'Inde, M. Menon, déployer toute son éloquence à propos de ce même principe d'autodétermination qu'il méprise tant à l'heure actuelle. Pour nous — comme pour les autres membres de l'Assemblée, je l'espère — ce sujet mérite un examen sérieux. C'est pourquoi, je préfère rappeler à l'Assemblée générale ce qu'avait répondu, le 17 juin 1950, l'éminent Premier Ministre de l'Inde, M. Nehru, quand on lui avait demandé son opinion sur la question de la Nouvelle-Guinée; pour lui, le critère décisif était le suivant: "Qu'est-ce qui est bon pour la Nouvelle-Guinée et que veut sa population?" Telles ont été les paroles de M. Nehru.

68. Il semble que M. Menon se soit écarté de la thèse de son premier ministre et aussi, semble-t-il, de l'opinion de son propre pays. Pour vous le prouver, permettez-moi de citer l'article paru le 14 novembre 1961 dans le *Hindustan Times* de New Delhi, un des journaux les plus influents de l'Inde. Voici ce qu'il disait:

"C'est au Gouvernement indonésien qu'il appartient de répondre, maintenant que les Hollandais ont offert de confier l'administration du territoire à l'ONU, à condition que l'ONU garantisse à la population le droit d'autodétermination.

"Un interrègne de l'ONU ne serait acceptable pour le Gouvernement indonésien que si le territoire lui était finalement transféré sans consultation populaire. Cette thèse va à l'encontre de notre conception de la démocratie. Une lourde responsabilité repose

sur les membres africano-asiatiques, celle des s'inspirer de considérations démocratiques dans la décision qu'ils prendront sur la proposition hollandaise."

69. Le *Hindustan Times* touche au cœur même de la question. L'autodétermination et les considérations démocratiques devraient être les principes directeurs de la décision de l'Assemblée générale. Le projet indien méconnaît et viole ces principes, et ses termes sont incompatibles avec les stipulations explicites de la Charte et de la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale, ainsi qu'avec les objectifs du projet néerlandais. Adopter ce projet de résolution équivaldrait donc à rejeter les propositions néerlandaises. Ma délégation votera contre ce projet de résolution et espère qu'il ne sera pas adopté.

70. Enfin, nous sommes saisis d'un autre projet de résolution [A/L.368], déposé par les délégations suivantes: Cameroun, Congo (Brazzaville), Côte-d'Ivoire, Dahomey, Gabon, Haute-Volta, Madagascar, Mauritanie, Niger, République centrafricaine, Sénégal, Tchad et Togo. Ce projet est, à notre avis, un ingénieux essai de combiner les principes énoncés dans le projet néerlandais avec l'idée indonésienne des négociations, telle qu'elle figure dans le projet indien, mais de façon à échapper aux défauts du projet indien.

71. Ce texte ne nous donne pas la satisfaction que nous procurerait l'adoption de notre propre projet [A/L.354]; mais ma délégation, voulant montrer qu'elle apprécie les sérieux efforts de ses auteurs et faire preuve d'un esprit de bonne entente et de conciliation, est prête à accepter ce projet et à se conformer à la demande exprimée au paragraphe 1. Quant à notre vote sur ce projet de résolution, nous prendrons notre décision après sa présentation et compte tenu de la suite du débat.

72. Ma dernière remarque porte sur le projet de résolution déposé par la Nigéria et le Libéria [A/L.357 et Add.1]. Aborder le problème en fixant des dates pour l'indépendance de tous les peuples d'Afrique — et notamment mentionner une date finale qui doit valoir pour tous les territoires, étant entendu que chaque territoire pourrait avancer cette date — nous semble à la fois juste et pratique. Nous voterons ce texte.

73. Le **PRESIDENT**: Avant de donner la parole aux orateurs suivants, je dois annoncer à l'Assemblée que, conformément à l'annonce que j'ai faite tout à l'heure, nous clôturons la liste des orateurs inscrits pour prendre la parole avant le vote. Elle comporte actuellement 23 orateurs.

74. **M. DJERMAKOYE (Niger)**: En venant présenter à cette tribune le projet de résolution [A/L.368] que nous soumettons à l'approbation de notre assemblée, nous tenons tout d'abord à affirmer, en dépit des interprétations diverses et des commentaires que notre projet a suscités, que notre seul souci est de voir le différend qui oppose actuellement l'Indonésie et les Pays-Bas — des pays Membres de notre organisation — trouver un aboutissement heureux.

75. L'inscription de notre projet de résolution à l'ordre du jour puise sa justification dans le fait que nous nous trouvons auparavant devant deux projets de résolution: celui déposé par les représentants de l'Inde et d'autres puissances [A/L.367/Rev.1] et celui du représentant des Pays-Bas [A/L.354]; aucun n'est accepté par les deux parties. Dans

ces conditions, nous avons été amenés à rechercher une solution intermédiaire qui pourrait servir de base de discussion aux parties directement intéressées à la question de la Nouvelle-Guinée.

76. Les parties intéressées à cette question négocient depuis bientôt 12 ans afin de trouver un règlement de leur différend et, à notre connaissance, jusqu'à ce jour, aucun élément nouveau ne semble avoir été introduit en vue d'un rapprochement. En effet, les Pays-Bas, pays colonisateur, revendiquent la souveraineté sur la Nouvelle-Guinée et se disposent à faire appel à l'Organisation des Nations Unies au moyen d'un projet de résolution, pour transférer cette souveraineté à notre organisation, afin d'amener ainsi la Nouvelle-Guinée à l'autodétermination. L'Indonésie, cependant, considère que la Nouvelle-Guinée est partie intégrante de son territoire et demande la reconnaissance de sa souveraineté sur elle. Voilà où réside la controverse sur laquelle il faut pouvoir se prononcer avant d'aller plus loin.

77. Dans cette controverse, ce qui nous a beaucoup surpris, c'est qu'une des parties intéressées ne demande pas l'avis des populations de la Nouvelle-Guinée. C'était par là qu'on aurait dû d'abord commencer pour que toute équivoque fût levée. C'est aux populations de la Nouvelle-Guinée seules qu'il appartient de dire, en l'état actuel des choses, qui est habilité à revendiquer la souveraineté de son sol avant qu'elles-mêmes ne se prononcent, par voie de référendum ou par toute autre voie, sur leur propre sort. Il faudrait en convenir dans cette controverse: la voix des populations de la Nouvelle-Guinée ne devrait, en aucun cas, être négligée.

78. Qu'il me soit permis d'insister sur ce point: un des principes fondamentaux proclamé dans la Charte des Nations Unies est précisément la sauvegarde et la garantie de la libre détermination des peuples. Notre projet de résolution [A/L.363] ne trouve son sens et son fondement que dans cette préoccupation. Mais avant d'aller plus loin, il faudrait que les parties intéressées en conviennent. C'est pour cette raison que nous avons jugé utile de demander à l'Indonésie et aux Pays-Bas de reprendre les négociations sur cette base et de trouver une solution afin que la paix et la sécurité internationales déjà compromises comme on le sait, par toutes sortes de conflits, puissent être sauvegardées dans cette région du monde.

79. Certes, m'objectera-t-on, les négociations durent depuis des années. A cela je répondrai simplement qu'elles ont peut-être été mal engagées et que les deux parties restant chacune dans sa tour d'ivoire ne veulent pas se mettre à l'échelle des réalités qui commandent le monde. C'est pour cela que nous avons demandé tout d'abord la reprise des négociations qui devront aboutir, si les parties sont animées de bonne volonté, à une conclusion heureuse dans un laps de temps relativement court. Ces négociations, puisqu'il faut qu'elles aient lieu entre les gouvernements des deux parties intéressées, devront se poursuivre grâce aux bons offices du Secrétaire général qui diligentera les réunions; et, connaissant les qualités de cœur et d'esprit du Secrétaire général, je suis persuadé que tout sera mis en œuvre pour que, par la voie de négociations pacifiques, une solution à ce conflit puisse être trouvée avant la date même que nous avons cru devoir proposer pour marquer la fin des négociations.

80. S'il en était autrement — ce que, bien sûr, nous ne souhaitons pas — nous aimerions qu'une commission, que nous désignerions au cours de cette session

de l'Assemblée, aille sur place étudier la situation politique, économique et sociale de la Nouvelle-Guinée. Cette commission, une fois profondément pénétrée de l'objectif qui lui est assigné, ferait un rapport à la dix-septième session de l'Assemblée générale. Ainsi, notre organisation pourra décider en toute connaissance de cause de confier l'avenir des populations de la Nouvelle-Guinée à telle ou telle organisation internationale, étant bien entendu qu'à chaque moment les populations pourront se prononcer librement sur le genre de statut national et international qui, à leur avis, sera en mesure de satisfaire leurs propres aspirations.

81. Telle est, en toute simplicité, l'idée qui nous a conduits à déposer notre projet de résolution devant l'Assemblée. Elle n'a pas la prétention d'être une innovation, mais elle est conforme aux principes que nous n'avons jamais cessé de prôner en vue de la décolonisation de l'Afrique et de tous les pays non autonomes placés sous une domination étrangère. Négociations, autodétermination, respect de la personnalité des peuples et de leurs frontières: telles sont les conditions de vie dans lesquelles l'humanité avide de paix devrait résolument s'engager.

82. Notre souhait le plus sincère est que tous ceux qui sont épris de paix et de justice apportent leur appui à notre projet de résolution, dont le seul but est de garantir la sécurité internationale, le bonheur et l'avenir de l'humanité.

83. C'est pour toutes ces raisons que je me permettrai de demander à l'Assemblée d'accorder la priorité absolue à notre projet de résolution sur tout autre projet relatif à la Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale.

M. Rossides (Chypre), vice-président, prend la présidence.

84. M. JHA (Inde) [traduit de l'anglais]: Au cours d'un débat fort long et parfois épuisant, nous avons étudié l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. Nous en sommes maintenant arrivés au moment où il faut examiner et mettre aux voix les résolutions dont l'Assemblée est saisie. Je voudrais donc, avec votre permission, Monsieur le Président, indiquer l'attitude de ma délégation à l'égard de ces différents textes.

85. Il y a deux projets de résolution, l'un déposé par l'Union soviétique [A/L.355], l'autre par la Nigéria et le Libéria [A/L.357 et Add.1] — il y en a même un troisième [A/L.369] déposé plus tard par le Mexique et dont je parlerai tout à l'heure — qui ne concernent aucun territoire en particulier, mais visent simplement à avancer l'application de la résolution 1514 (XV) aux pays coloniaux et aux territoires non autonomes en général. Ces projets de résolution découlent logiquement de la résolution 1514 (XV), mais expriment quelques idées divergentes à l'égard de ce que l'on appelle d'une façon générale la date limite de l'indépendance.

86. Selon le projet soviétique [A/L.355], l'Assemblée générale déclarerait notamment:

"Que la liquidation définitive et inconditionnelle du colonialisme, sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations, devra être achevée à la fin de 1962 au plus tard."

87. Le projet de résolution déposé par le Ministre des affaires étrangères de Nigéria mentionne spécifiquement

les territoires et peuples coloniaux ou non autonomes d'Afrique, et proclame solennellement:

"Que tous les territoires et peuples coloniaux, dépendants ou non autonomes d'Afrique doivent accéder à l'indépendance d'ici le 1er décembre 1970 au plus tard."

88. Le fait même que nous soyons en présence de deux dates limites, assez éloignées l'une de l'autre, et que ces deux propositions viennent de délégations dont l'empressement à mettre fin au colonialisme est certain et bien connu montre combien il est difficile de fixer une date limite. Le chef de notre délégation, M. Krishna Menon, a exprimé le 20 novembre l'avis du Gouvernement indien sur la fixation de pareilles dates:

"Notre attitude est — a-t-il dit — que l'indépendance doit être immédiate. Nous ne voulons pas suivre le calendrier." [1058ème séance, par. 160.]

89. Il est difficile de choisir une date limite (1962, 1970 ou une date intermédiaire), car tout délai risque d'être trop long dans certains cas et trop court peut-être dans d'autres, quand il s'agit de faire le nécessaire pour la remise des pouvoirs: consultation du peuple, et ainsi de suite. En outre, l'Assemblée, en fixant une date limite, prendrait, il me semble, une certaine attitude protectrice et paternaliste, et méconnaîtrait dans une certaine mesure les vœux des peuples intéressés. Car c'est à la population du territoire qu'il appartient, après tout, de déterminer comment et quand elle prendra la suite de son suzerain colonial. A supposer que l'on prenne pour date limite 1962 — et les dates limites tendent à devenir des dates fixes —, elle risque d'être trop lointaine pour les pays déjà mûrs pour l'indépendance qu'ils devraient avoir depuis longtemps déjà, avec la liberté que les puissances coloniales leur ont opiniâtement refusée pendant de longues années.

90. Selon nous, ce que l'Assemblée générale pourrait faire de mieux serait d'user de tout son crédit et de toute son influence pour que des mesures soient prises immédiatement en vue du transfert de tous les pouvoirs aux peuples intéressés, conformément à leur désir librement exprimé, comme le prévoit d'ailleurs la résolution 1514 (XV).

91. Il est significatif, à cet égard, que la Conférence qui s'est tenue récemment à Belgrade^{2/} ait jugé plus sage de ne pas fixer de date limite, mais de réclamer une indépendance qui suivrait le cours des événements.

92. Nous estimons donc que l'Assemblée ne devrait pas, en fixant une date limite, se lier les mains ou entraver le cours des événements dans les pays coloniaux et les territoires non autonomes. Le mieux serait que nous persistions à réclamer aux puissances coloniales de prendre des mesures immédiates en vue de l'application de la résolution 1514 (XV), et ma délégation, tout en appréciant sans réserve la sincérité qui anime les deux projets de résolution et tout en approuvant pratiquement tous les termes de ces projets, ne pourra pas donner son appui à l'une ou l'autre des dates limites qu'ils prévoient.

93. Il y a deux jours, la délégation mexicaine a déposé un projet de résolution [A/L.369]. Nous avons, comme bien d'autres membres de l'Assemblée, un très grand respect pour la délégation mexicaine, en

^{2/} Conférence des chefs d'Etat et de gouvernement des pays non alignés, tenue à Belgrade du 1er au 6 septembre 1961.

raison de l'attitude libérale qu'elle a toujours adoptée et de l'intérêt qu'elle a pris à tout ce qui s'est fait en faveur de la liberté des peuples coloniaux ou non autonomes. Nous estimons cependant que le dispositif de ce projet de résolution cherche à établir des principes et des modalités qui devraient, à vrai dire, faire l'objet d'une étude poussée de la part du comité spécial dont le projet du Mexique et celui des pays africano-asiatiques [A/L.366 et Add.1 à 3] prévoient la constitution.

94. Dans le projet de résolution des pays africano-asiatiques, la question est prudemment et volontairement évoquée, en termes généraux, au paragraphe 4:

"Prie le Comité spécial d'étudier l'application de la Déclaration contenue dans la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale, de formuler des suggestions et des recommandations quant aux progrès réalisés et à la mesure dans laquelle la Déclaration est mise en œuvre, et de faire rapport à l'Assemblée générale à sa dix-septième session."

95. Après plusieurs semaines d'examen au sein du groupe de pays qui — dois-je le rappeler — représente une grande partie de cette assemblée, nous pensons que le mieux serait de laisser l'initiative générale au comité spécial envisagé, sans le lier par aucun mandat défini, ni lui indiquer exactement sa tâche et quel genre de recommandations il lui faudra adresser à l'Assemblée générale en exécution de son mandat.

96. En outre, d'autres difficultés se présentent à propos des paragraphes du dispositif du projet mexicain de résolution. Je n'en signalerai qu'une ou deux. A l'alinéa a du paragraphe 1 du dispositif, on lit, par exemple, qu'une des attributions du comité spécial serait la suivante:

"Examiner tous les cas de territoires non autonomes, qu'il s'agisse de territoires coloniaux ou de territoires placés sous tutelle internationale et administrés par une puissance, afin de signaler quels sont parmi eux ceux qui sont déjà en mesure d'accéder immédiatement à l'indépendance complète."

Ma délégation estime que c'est là demander un peu trop à un comité. Un comité ne devrait pas avoir pour tâche de déterminer, en ce qui concerne les différents territoires, si tel ou tel d'entre eux est mûr pour l'indépendance, ou à quelle date il le sera. C'est là, estimons-nous, une attitude paternaliste. Nous croyons qu'il appartient à la population des territoires, à ses dirigeants politiques, de déterminer avec les puissances coloniales, par la discussion, la négociation ou même parfois par le recours aux armes — tel a été le cas dans certains territoires coloniaux — la date et les modalités de la remise des pouvoirs.

97. L'Assemblée risquerait de s'attirer de grandes difficultés de la part des dirigeants et des partis politiques des territoires non autonomes si elle devait indiquer des dates ou dire à quel moment, d'après elle, tel ou tel territoire serait mûr ou non pour l'indépendance.

98. Je ne vais pas poursuivre l'examen des diverses clauses qui figurent dans le premier, le deuxième et le troisième paragraphe du projet mexicain. Pris isolément, chacun de ces paragraphes pourrait n'être pas tellement critiquable, ou du moins il pourrait, dans certains cas particuliers, fournir la bonne solution. Mais nous ne pensons pas que ce soit là le genre de directives que l'on devrait donner, au point du moins où nous en sommes, au comité spécial que

nous chargerions d'examiner toute la question de l'application de la résolution 1514 (XV). Avec beaucoup de regret et aussi avec tout le respect que nous avons pour la délégation mexicaine, nous ne pourrions pas appuyer son projet de résolution. Nous espérons que le projet des pays africano-asiatiques, dont le texte, soigneusement rédigé après avoir été mûrement pesé, a réuni un grand nombre de coauteurs, recevra l'approbation de l'Assemblée.

99. J'en viens maintenant à la question de l'Irian occidental. Qu'il me soit permis de dire, en premier lieu, qu'étant donné l'importance de cette question, son historique et le long différend qu'elle a suscité entre l'Indonésie et les Pays-Bas, étant donné aussi que l'Assemblée générale l'a examinée dans le passé comme un point séparé, nous aurions préféré que cette affaire ne nous arrive pas incidemment, en quelque sorte, et à l'occasion de la question générale de l'application de la Déclaration contenue dans la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée. La question n'est pas si simple. Selon nous, l'Assemblée générale doit faire preuve de prudence et de circonspection à son égard, ne serait-ce que parce qu'il s'agit d'un différend considérable entre deux Etats Membres, différend qui a soulevé des passions aussi bien en Indonésie qu'aux Pays-Bas, et peut-être dans d'autres pays.

100. Puisque le représentant des Pays-Bas s'est montré assez dur à l'égard de notre projet de résolution et a peut-être douté de nos motifs, il va me falloir m'étendre sur le projet néerlandais un peu plus peut-être que je ne l'aurais souhaité et indiquer très exactement notre attitude à l'Assemblée. L'Irian occidental a fait, pendant plus de 350 ans, partie intégrante des Indes orientales néerlandaises, entité clairement reconnue et reconnaissable. Après la seconde guerre mondiale, les Indonésiens ont mené une lutte acharnée contre la puissance coloniale et, les bons offices de l'ONU ayant permis de mettre fin aux hostilités et d'arriver à un règlement, l'Indonésie a obtenu son indépendance. L'instrument de la remise des pouvoirs est la Charte de transfert de la souveraineté^{3/} qui figure dans l'Accord de 1949 conclu à la Conférence de la table ronde.

101. Le tout premier article de la partie de l'Accord qui s'intitule "Charte de transfert de la souveraineté" dispose:

"Le Royaume des Pays-Bas transfère à la République des Etats-Unis d'Indonésie, de façon inconditionnelle et irrévocable, l'entière souveraineté sur l'Indonésie et par là même reconnaît ladite République des Etats-Unis d'Indonésie comme un Etat indépendant et souverain."

102. Le paragraphe 2 de l'article premier est lui aussi important à cet égard:

"La République des Etats-Unis d'Indonésie accepte ladite souveraineté dans le cadre des dispositions de sa Constitution dont le texte a été porté, sous forme de projet, à la connaissance du Royaume des Pays-Bas."

103. L'alinéa f de l'article 2 de la Charte de transfert de souveraineté prévoit ce qui suit au sujet de la résidence de Nouvelle-Guinée:

"Il est décidé que le *statu quo* sera maintenu en ce qui concerne la résidence de Nouvelle-Guinée,

^{3/} Voir Nations Unies, *Recueil des Traités*, vol. 69, 1950, No 894, p. 207.

étant entendu que, dans un délai d'un an à compter de la date du transfert de la souveraineté à la République des Etats-Unis d'Indonésie, la question du statut politique de la Nouvelle-Guinée sera réglée par voie de négociations entre la République des Etats-Unis d'Indonésie et le Royaume des Pays-Bas."

104. Plus tard, le 2 novembre 1949, après un échange de lettres, il a été reconnu que la clause "le statu quo sera maintenu en ce qui concerne la résidence de Nouvelle-Guinée" signifiait "sous le Gouvernement du Royaume des Pays-Bas".

105. Qu'allons-nous faire de ces documents de base et de ces faits? Nous ne pouvons pas les ignorer tout simplement. Selon le paragraphe 1 de l'article premier de la Charte de transfert de la souveraineté "le Royaume des Pays-Bas transfère à la République des Etats-Unis d'Indonésie, de façon inconditionnelle et irrévocable, l'entière souveraineté sur l'Indonésie", c'est-à-dire les Indes néerlandaises et "la République des Etats-Unis d'Indonésie accepte ladite souveraineté dans le cadre des dispositions de sa constitution dont le texte a été porté, sous forme de projet, à la connaissance du Royaume des Pays-Bas". Cette constitution s'étendait à l'ensemble des territoires des Indes orientales néerlandaises. Et dans un délai d'un an après la date du transfert de la souveraineté complète à la République — transfert, je le répète, inconditionnel et irrévocable —, la question du statut politique de la Nouvelle-Guinée devait être réglée par voie de négociations bilatérales..

106. Nous n'avons pas ici à arbitrer les revendications rivales de l'Indonésie et des Pays-Bas quant à la souveraineté sur l'Irian occidental. Nous n'avons pas compétence pour cela et, d'ailleurs, l'Assemblée générale non plus. Nous pensons que chacun de nous est en droit d'avoir sa propre opinion et de former son propre jugement. Ma délégation estime que ce qui a été transféré à l'Indonésie, c'est la souveraineté complète, sans réserve ni condition, sur l'ensemble du territoire des Indes orientales néerlandaises. Par conséquent, la souveraineté sur l'Irian occidental, puisque ce territoire faisait partie intégrante des Indes orientales néerlandaises, est passée à l'Indonésie. Ce que l'Indonésie n'a pas reçu, c'est l'administration de l'Irian occidental, qui est demeurée entre les mains des Pays-Bas, et c'est la question du statut politique mais non pas celle de la souveraineté de la Nouvelle-Guinée qui devait faire l'objet de négociations et de discussions ultérieures. Il y a quelques années, ces négociations ont été entamées à plusieurs reprises, mais sans succès. Il a cependant été réaffirmé plus d'une fois qu'il ne devrait être apporté aucun changement à l'actuel statut politique de l'Irian occidental sans l'accord exprès des parties en cause.

107. Mais voilà que les Pays-Bas ne sont plus d'accord sur ce point; ils estiment que la Charte de 1949 maintenait la souveraineté néerlandaise sur l'Irian occidental en attendant un accord ultérieur. Il est des membres de l'Assemblée qui partagent sans doute l'avis des Pays-Bas. Nombreux sont, d'un autre côté, ceux qui reconnaissent, comme nous, la souveraineté indonésienne sur l'Irian occidental. En mettant les choses au mieux ou au pire, il est impossible de nier objectivement l'existence d'un différend de longue date et encore irrésolu entre les Pays-Bas et l'Indonésie. C'est ce qui rend très complexe cette affaire et exige que l'Assemblée générale l'examine

avec prudence et sagesse si elle ne veut pas contribuer à créer de sérieuses difficultés dans cette région du monde.

108. Du point de vue de l'Assemblée générale, la question de la souveraineté sur l'Irian occidental n'aurait pas de conséquences importantes en elle-même si elle ne faisait pas l'objet des propositions faites ici par la délégation néerlandaise et du projet de résolution des 13 puissances [A/L.368], lequel est, aux yeux de ma délégation, une variante adoucie des propositions néerlandaises.

109. Examinons tout d'abord les propositions néerlandaises. Qu'il me soit permis de dire, en premier lieu, que nous devons les étudier avec soin et que, dans la mesure où elles expriment le désir que ce pays a d'abandonner l'administration de la Nouvelle-Guinée et de mettre fin à son empire, nous les accueillons favorablement et y sommes sensibles. Mais il y a, dans le texte néerlandais, d'autres éléments qu'il faut examiner d'une manière particulièrement méticuleuse. Tout d'abord, ce projet de résolution [A/L.354] part de l'hypothèse — les termes du cinquième alinéa de son préambule ne laissent aucun doute à cet égard — que les Pays-Bas ont la souveraineté sur l'Irian occidental. Il n'en est pas ainsi, d'après nous; en tout cas, la question de la souveraineté fait l'objet d'un grave différend. Ensuite, le projet néerlandais demande, en principe, que les Nations Unies approuvent une administration de l'ONU qui s'effectuerait par le moyen d'une autorité des Nations Unies et un plébiscite qui aurait lieu sous les auspices des Nations Unies, et propose la création d'une commission qui serait chargée de déterminer les modalités et détails d'application de ces principes.

110. Tout cela se ferait sans l'accord ni le consentement de l'Indonésie, dont le projet semble complètement ignorer les revendications. A notre avis, ce n'est pas la bonne façon de régler ce long différend, qui s'est depuis 10 ans montré rebelle à toute solution, a empoisonné les relations entre l'Indonésie et les Pays-Bas et déchaîné en Indonésie et même aux Pays-Bas de profondes passions politiques. Même quand la solution paraît être sage, il faut y arriver de la façon qui est la bonne. Dans une affaire de ce genre, la manière de trouver la solution est aussi importante que la solution elle-même. Nous craignons que, si l'Assemblée générale avait à prendre hâtivement en la matière une décision lourde de conséquences, sans s'efforcer de chercher une solution concertée, elle risquerait de troubler les esprits en Asie du Sud-Est et d'augmenter la tension et les conflits dans cette partie du monde au lieu de les réduire.

111. Nous ne croyons pas que placer l'Irian occidental sous l'administration de l'ONU, même à titre temporaire, serait conforme à la Charte, sauf s'il y a un accord de toutes les parties en cause. La Charte des Nations Unies ne prévoit ni ne permet l'administration des territoires sous l'autorité de l'ONU, sauf dans le cadre du système de tutelle. Il y a de bonnes raisons à cela: l'Organisation s'est créée pour être un centre de règlement pacifique des différends et non pas pour devenir un Etat ou un super-Etat. Avec juste raison, les auteurs de la Charte ne voulaient pas que l'ONU reprenne elle-même la tutelle d'un territoire contre le désir des parties en cause, et risque, de ce fait, de s'attirer l'inimitié d'un Etat ou de l'opinion nationaliste de sa population. Je me permets d'attirer votre attention sur ces vérités évidentes pour vous dire qu'il ne saurait vraiment

être question que l'ONU prenne la responsabilité d'administrer, même à titre d'intérim, l'Irian occidental, sans l'accord de l'Indonésie, laquelle, à notre avis, a la souveraineté sur le territoire en question. Une telle initiative ne pourrait d'ailleurs être prise sans une décision unanime ou presque unanime de l'Assemblée et sans le consentement des Pays-Bas qui administrent effectivement le territoire. Agir d'une autre manière reviendrait à contrevenir aux dispositions de la Charte et pourrait entraîner l'ONU dans un conflit sérieux avec certains de ses membres. Les mêmes observations s'appliquent au projet de résolution des 13 puissances. Ce projet n'est pas aussi détaillé que le projet néerlandais, mais le fond en est le même. Il demande à l'Assemblée d'accepter qu'en principe l'ONU prenne en charge l'administration de l'Irian occidental et admette tacitement la souveraineté néerlandaise sur ce territoire. A cet égard, j'aimerais appeler l'attention de l'Assemblée sur le sixième alinéa du préambule de ce projet.

112. Dans ces deux projets de résolution, il est beaucoup question du principe de l'autodétermination. Ce principe est, nous le savons, mentionné dans la Charte, et le droit des peuples non autonomes à disposer d'eux-mêmes est de nouveau mentionné dans la résolution 1514 (XV) que l'Assemblée a adoptée à la quasi-unanimité. Le principe de l'autodétermination tel qu'il est énoncé dans la Charte ne peut s'appliquer qu'en fonction des principes de base de la Charte, notamment du principe de l'égalité souveraine des Etats et de celui du respect de la souveraineté des Etats.

113. Le deuxième alinéa de l'Article premier de la Charte fait état lui-même du principe de l'égalité de droits des peuples et de leur droit à disposer d'eux-mêmes, un moyen de développer les relations amicales entre les nations. Ce que dit en fait la Charte, c'est qu'un des buts de l'ONU est de développer entre les nations des relations amicales fondées sur le respect du principe de l'égalité de droits des peuples et de leur droit à disposer d'eux-mêmes. Il est évident, d'après le libellé de l'article, que l'autodétermination des peuples est un moyen d'établir des relations amicales entre les nations. Nous appuyons le principe de l'autodétermination, mais nous ne saurions admettre qu'on l'applique au territoire et au peuple d'Etats souverains et indépendants ou que l'on s'en serve pour régler des différends sans avoir l'accord des Etats en cause et sans avoir réalisé des conditions convenues.

114. Qu'une petite digression me soit permise. A cette tribune, il y a quelques instants, le représentant des Pays-Bas a vivement critiqué notre projet de résolution [A/L.367/Rev.1], parce que ce texte ne reconnaît pas le principe de l'autodétermination. En fait, il est même allé jusqu'à dire que notre projet ignorait et violait le principe du droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes. Je voudrais lui faire observer que ces critiques ne sont pas fondées. Que dit notre projet de résolution? J'aimerais appeler l'attention de l'Assemblée sur ce texte. On n'y trouve pas un seul mot qui puisse donner l'impression que nous sommes opposés au principe de l'autodétermination; au contraire, si on lit le paragraphe 1, on constatera qu'il:

"Invite instamment les Gouvernements de l'Indonésie et des Pays-Bas à entreprendre de nouvelles négociations, sous l'égide du Président de l'Assemblée générale, en vue de résoudre cette question

conformément aux buts et principes de la Charte des Nations Unies."

Le principe du droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes ne figure-t-il pas parmi ceux des Nations Unies à l'Article premier de la Charte? Comment peut-on dire alors, puisque nous citons la Charte, que nous commettons la faute impardonnable de passer sous silence ou de violer le principe de l'autodétermination? Je ne peux vraiment pas comprendre cet argument.

115. Le représentant des Pays-Bas a aussi affirmé que notre projet de résolution traite la population comme inexistante ou inerte. On ne trouve rien, dans le projet indien — auquel d'ailleurs un certain nombre d'autres pays se sont associés — qui puisse s'interpréter comme signifiant que la population de l'Irian occidental est inerte. Ce projet de résolution est fort simple: il demande que, sous l'égide du président de l'Assemblée, les parties intéressées engagent des négociations en vue de résoudre cette question conformément à la Charte des Nations Unies.

116. Ce projet de résolution est simple, mais il est sage: il évite les écueils, il ne cherche pas à imposer une solution particulière ou une résolution déterminée par-dessus la tête de l'une ou l'autre des parties en cause. Rien dans ce projet ne peut se comprendre comme préjugant les questions qui pourront se poser au cours des négociations: question de l'autodétermination, question de la souveraineté, ou une autre. Nous avons, dans ce projet de résolution, évité délibérément de poser aucune condition préalable et de rien préjuger, pour permettre aux négociations de se dérouler dans les conditions les plus propices.

117. Le représentant des Pays-Bas a mentionné la déclaration faite il y a quelques jours, du haut de cette même tribune, par M. Krishna Menon (1058ème séance). M. Menon voulait simplement dire que le principe de l'autodétermination ne peut pas s'appliquer à la population d'un territoire souverain. La Charte mentionne le droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes, mais on ne peut pas morceler la population d'un pays, sinon où irions-nous? Il faudrait alors l'autodétermination dans chaque municipalité, l'autodétermination dans chaque groupe ethnique, linguistique, religieux et ainsi de suite? Assurément, personne ici, aucun représentant d'un Etat souverain ne pourrait accepter une proposition qui permettrait de fractionner en plusieurs groupes la population de cet Etat; le monde a déjà assez de difficultés de ce genre comme cela. Allons-nous appliquer jusqu'à l'absurde le principe de l'autodétermination, si bon qu'il soit, et détruire l'unité et la souveraineté des Etats? Tel est le sens de la déclaration de M. Menon. Nous ne sommes pas opposés au principe de l'autodétermination quand, avec l'accord des parties en cause, il est appliqué dans des conditions et des circonstances propices, mais l'appliquer à tort et à travers, dans tout les différends, jusqu'à amener le morcellement du peuple d'un Etat souverain, est, selon moi, quelque chose que les auteurs de la Charte n'ont certainement jamais eu en vue. Si nous en décidions ainsi, nous créerions un précédent et nous risquerions fort de regretter tous le jour où nous aurions ainsi décidé.

118. Je me suis écarté quelques instants de mon texte, parce que je ne voulais pas que notre proposition donne lieu à aucun malentendu. Les délégations sont libres d'accepter cette proposition ou de la rejeter. Elles sont maîtresses de leur choix. Mais pré-

tendre que notre projet s'inspire de mauvais motifs, qu'il méconnaît ou viole les dispositions de la Charte ou certains de ses principes, c'est, je le soutiens, une critique qui n'est nullement justifiée.

119. Je passe maintenant au projet de résolution des 13 puissances, lequel, tout en réclamant des négociations, fixe comme date limite le 1er mars 1962 et invite en outre l'Assemblée à désigner une commission qui ferait une enquête au cas où les parties ne seraient pas parvenues à aucun accord à cette date. Ce projet, en dépit de tout le respect que je dois à ses auteurs, lesquels, je l'ai déjà dit, ont certainement examiné le problème avec beaucoup de sincérité, ne nous semble pas aborder la question d'une manière réaliste. Comment peut-on espérer qu'un différend qui dure depuis 10 ans sera réglé en trois mois? Il n'est guère juste d'exercer une telle pression sur les parties en cause et de faire peser sur leurs délibérations la menace d'une commission d'enquête ou de toute autre mesure. Dans la mesure où les 13 auteurs de ce projet reconnaissent le principe des négociations directes, c'est un pas dans la bonne direction, c'est un progrès. Si de telles négociations ont lieu, il est évident que les parties en cause auront les meilleures chances de réussir si aucun délai, aucune condition préalable ou postérieure ne leur sont imposés et si elles peuvent aborder l'une et l'autre l'affaire avec le maximum de souplesse.

120. Ma délégation estime que la seule décision que les Nations Unies puissent prendre est de demander aux parties d'entamer des négociations et d'aider à ces négociations. Quand deux Etats Membres sont immobilisés dans un différend aussi durable que celui-ci, rien ne peut remplacer la négociation. Tout diktat des Nations Unies serait inutile, imprudent et contraire à l'esprit de la Charte. Il n'est pas de cas, à ma connaissance, où les Nations Unies aient cherché à régler un différend entre deux Etats Membres par-dessus la tête de l'un d'eux. A cet égard, puis-je rappeler ce qui s'est passé, récemment, à la Commission politique spéciale au sujet du différend survenu entre l'Italie et l'Autriche à propos du traitement accordé à la population germanophone de Bolzano? L'an dernier, l'Assemblée avait décidé, et cette année la Commission a suivi cet exemple, de n'imposer aucune solution particulière, ni même de préciser aucune méthode de négociation ou de conciliation, sans l'accord des parties intéressées.

121. Pour les raisons que je viens d'indiquer, ma délégation, à son grand regret, devra s'opposer au projet des Pays-Bas ainsi qu'à celui des 13 puissances, si ces textes sont mis aux voix.

122. De notre côté, nous avons soumis à l'Assemblée un projet de résolution [A/L.367/Rev.1] qui porte aussi les signatures de la Bolivie, du Congo (Léopoldville), de la Guinée, du Libéria, du Mali, du Népal, de la République arabe unie et de la Syrie. Dans ce projet, nous ne préjugeons aucun problème, pas plus celui de l'autodétermination que celui du rôle éventuel de l'ONU dans l'Irian occidental. Nous ne pouvions mieux faire, pour assurer aux négociations un maximum de succès, que de les placer sous les auspices du Président de l'Assemblée générale, en qui les deux parties au différend — et bien entendu les autres Etats Membres — ont toute confiance.

123. Les parties intéressées auront, sans aucun doute, pris bonne note des idées exprimées ici par les membres de l'Assemblée. Dans le préambule de notre projet de résolution, nous avons mentionné les

très importantes déclarations du Ministre des affaires étrangères des Pays-Bas et du Ministre des affaires étrangères d'Indonésie. Ces déclarations sont donc enregistrées ici, et il est bien évident qu'il en sera tenu compte dans les négociations. Nous les avons mentionnées toutes deux dans le préambule, sans, bien entendu, indiquer laquelle préférer. Ce n'est pas à nous à nous prononcer à ce sujet.

124. Comme je l'ai dit, les idées exprimées par les membres de l'Assemblée, les déclarations faites par le Ministre des affaires étrangères des Pays-Bas et celui de l'Indonésie et par d'autres auront leur influence sur les négociations. Ce n'est que de cette façon que la question de l'Irian occidental aura la meilleure chance d'être résolue, avec ou sans la participation de l'ONU, mais il faut tenir compte des divers aspects de la question, ainsi que des idées exprimées au cours du présent débat.

125. Nous espérons que notre projet de résolution recevra un très large appui et que les auteurs des autres projets ne réclameront pas la mise aux voix. Il est préférable, tout au moins pour le moment, de garder ces autres projets en attente, comme des idées dignes de considérations. C'est pour l'Assemblée générale la meilleure façon de traiter ce difficile et long différend entre deux Etats Membres, différend qui est à l'origine de bien des difficultés et de troubles dans cette région du monde.

M. Slim (Tunisie) reprend la présidence.

126. M. MIYAZAKI (Japon) [traduit de l'anglais]: Avec votre permission, Monsieur le Président, je voudrais évoquer les événements tragiques qui se sont produits récemment au Congo et ont entraîné la mort de 13 militaires italiens qui exécutaient une mission pour le compte de notre organisation. Ma délégation tient à exprimer ses sincères condoléances au peuple italien et à rendre hommage à ses hommes qui ont trouvé au Congo une mort tragique.

127. Il y a deux semaines, ma délégation a eu l'occasion de donner son avis à l'Assemblée [1054^{ème} séance] sur l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux [résolution 1514 (XV)].

128. Nous voudrions, maintenant, exprimer notre opinion sur les divers projets déposés à ce sujet. Trois de ces projets portent sur la Déclaration en général, un intéresse l'Afrique et trois autres un territoire en particulier.

129. Permettez-moi, tout d'abord, de parler des trois projets de résolution qui intéressent la Déclaration dans son ensemble. Le projet déposé par l'Union soviétique [A/L.355] nous semble difficile à accepter, pour deux raisons. Tout d'abord ce texte propose, au paragraphe 2, une date limite. Ma délégation a déjà dit sans équivoque, lors d'une intervention antérieure devant l'Assemblée, ce qu'elle pense de cette date limite applicable à tous les territoires, quelles que soient les circonstances et conditions particulières. Nous estimons que fixer automatiquement une date limite applicable à tous les territoires sous tutelle et non autonomes n'est pas pratique, car on aura peut-être à constater qu'elle était prématurée ou, au contraire, trop tardive pour l'application de la Déclaration de l'indépendance à tel ou tel des territoires intéressés. La date limite prévue dans le projet soviétique, à savoir la fin de 1962, ne peut que contenir, je le crains, le germe d'accusations acrimonieuses.

130. L'autre raison pour laquelle nous estimons qu'il est difficile d'accepter ce projet réside dans l'alinéa c du paragraphe 3:

"Retirer toutes les troupes des puissances administrantes, licencier toutes les formations paramilitaires non autochtones et liquider intégralement les bases militaires étrangères dans les territoires sous tutelle et les autres territoires non autonomes."

131. Le retrait de toutes les troupes étrangères et la liquidation des bases militaires sont avant tout des mesures de désarmement. Or, le problème du désarmement met en jeu nombre de questions délicates, et ma délégation, après avoir mûrement réfléchi, juge préférable de ne pas introduire les affaires de désarmement dans la question de la décolonisation. Il ne faut pas, sous le couvert de questions coloniales, se mêler de la question du désarmement et y jeter la confusion.

132. C'est pourquoi ma délégation devra voter contre le projet de résolution de l'Union soviétique et contre l'amendement proposé par ce pays dans le document A/L.370.

133. Contrairement au projet soviétique, celui du groupe africano-asiatique [A/L.366 et Add.1 à 3] est entièrement et exclusivement conforme à l'esprit et au texte de la Déclaration. Ce projet se distingue de la proposition soviétique en ce sens qu'il ne s'embarasse ni d'une date limite universelle ni d'un élément hétérogène comme la question du désarmement.

134. Les auteurs de ce projet examinent dans le préambule la situation récente de la décolonisation dans le monde et font des commentaires sur le point où en est l'application de la Déclaration. Le bilan qu'ils dressent de la décolonisation dans le monde nous paraît peut-être plus alarmant, dans l'ensemble, que la réalité, puisqu'ils ne mentionnent pas, par exemple, la récente indépendance du Sierra Leone et celle qu'auront bientôt le Tanganyika, l'Ouganda et le Samoa-Occidental. Tous ces événements dont nous nous félicitons, les auteurs se contentent d'y faire allusion en quelques mots en disant, au quatrième alinéa: "à quelques exceptions près".

135. Dans un projet de résolution de ce genre, il est d'ailleurs normal que les auteurs, souhaitant vivement une prompte et prochaine amélioration de la situation, aient tendance à considérer la question d'un œil critique.

136. Lundi dernier [1058ème séance], le représentant de l'Inde, un des auteurs du projet, en a expliqué, paragraphe par paragraphe, le dispositif. Depuis, beaucoup d'autres délégués ont pris la parole en faveur de ce projet. A vouloir parler en détail de son dispositif, je risquerais des redites. Je serai bref et concentrerai uniquement mon attention sur la proposition de créer un comité spécial.

137. Cette question mérite, en effet, qu'on s'y arrête, car c'est, en somme, l'essentiel du projet de résolution. Ce comité spécial aurait pour objectif et pour mandat d'étudier où en est l'application de la Déclaration, de faire des propositions et recommandations à son sujet et de faire rapport à l'Assemblée générale, à sa dix-septième session. Un comité similaire est également envisagé dans le projet soviétique. Mais les deux projets de résolution diffèrent considérablement sur un point: la composition du comité. Le projet soviétique reprend l'idée, généralement peu populaire, de la "troïka". Dans le projet africano-

asiatique, la composition du comité spécial est laissée à la discrétion de l'Assemblée générale.

138. Les dispositions de ce projet sont assez souples, en ce qui concerne non seulement la composition du comité, mais aussi ses fonctions et ses méthodes de travail. Ma délégation est d'avis que la souplesse de ce texte servira davantage l'objectif qu'il cherche à atteindre.

139. Avant de conclure, j'aimerais attirer votre attention sur un point très important qui concerne la mise aux voix de ces deux textes. Il est de mon devoir de souligner ce qui rend incompatibles le projet de résolution de l'URSS et celui du groupe africano-asiatique: c'est la question du comité spécial. Les deux projets envisagent la création d'un comité spécial. Il ne nous est pas possible de les adopter l'un et l'autre, sous peine d'avoir deux comités spéciaux: l'un à "troïka", l'autre composé de 17 membres, et tous deux aux mêmes fins. Cela ne peut se faire. Aussi proposerai-je la solution suivante: quiconque voudra voter pour le projet soviétique devra se prononcer contre le projet africano-asiatique, et vice versa. Un vote affirmatif sur l'un et l'autre des projets de résolution serait pour le moins illogique.

140. Dans la forme et dans le fond, le projet mexicain [A/L.369] ne diffère guère, me semble-t-il, du projet africano-asiatique, à cela près que dans certains paragraphes il est trop ambitieux et exige beaucoup de l'ONU. Je souhaite donc sincèrement que ce texte ne remplace pas celui des pays africano-asiatiques et n'empêche pas de l'adopter.

141. En tant que coauteur, mon pays demande une écrasante majorité pour le projet de résolution des 38 puissances africano-asiatiques, parmi lesquelles figurent de nombreux pays qui étaient naguère des colonies.

142. Quant au projet de résolution de la Nigéria et du Libéria [A/L.357 et Add.1], ma délégation le trouve logique, exception faite de la date limite du 1er décembre 1970, mentionnée au paragraphe 1; j'admets que cette date limite est raisonnable, mais je me demande pourquoi il en est fait mention. Bien que ma délégation soit quelque peu sceptique quant à la nécessité de cette date, elle n'hésitera pas à voter pour ce texte, dont l'ensemble lui paraît acceptable.

143. J'en viens maintenant aux trois projets relatifs au territoire qui fait l'objet d'un différend entre les Pays-Bas et l'Indonésie. Ma délégation a étudié avec le plus grand soin le projet de résolution [A/L.354] déposé par la délégation néerlandaise. Les dispositions de ce projet suivent strictement les principes de la Charte des Nations Unies, ce qui lui confère un grand mérite.

144. Ma délégation craint pourtant que ce projet de résolution ne résolve pas le différend qui oppose depuis longtemps les Pays-Bas à l'Indonésie, deux pays qu'une étroite amitié lie au Japon. Les dispositions de ce texte pourraient même aggraver entre les deux parties une tension déjà grande.

145. Ma délégation estime, avant tout, qu'il faut régler cette question pacifiquement, par un accord qui donnera satisfaction aux deux parties, je dis bien "aux deux parties", et qu'il ne faut pas négliger le bien-être futur de la population. Toute résolution qui ne tiendrait pas compte de ces deux éléments essentiels ne satisfait pas entièrement ma délégation. Comme le projet dont je parle ne semble pas résoudre le différend, il sera difficile à ma délégation de l'appuyer.

146. Ma délégation s'abstiendra de voter sur le projet néerlandais, compte tenu de ses avantages et de ses inconvénients.

147. A la différence du texte néerlandais, le projet de résolution de l'Inde [A/L.367/Rev.1] tient compte du différend et invite instamment les parties à négocier, sous l'égide du Président de l'Assemblée générale. Ma délégation pense qu'il ne faut pas mettre aux négociations de conditions préalables — ni le transfert de la souveraineté sur le territoire contesté, ni l'autodétermination de sa population. Ces deux questions doivent être l'objet même des négociations et non leurs conditions préalables. Comme ce point d'une extrême importance n'est pas nettement précisé dans le projet et que l'une des parties s'oppose à ce texte, ma délégation pense que, dans ces circonstances, il ne sera guère utile. Aussi s'abstiendra-t-elle, lors du vote sur ce projet.

148. Ma délégation rend hommage aux délégations africaines qui ont fait le dur effort d'élaborer le projet de résolution A/L.368. Elles étaient, sans aucun doute, animées du désir louable et sincère de trouver à cette question difficile une solution acceptable. Ce projet de résolution semble être un compromis entre les deux résolutions dont je viens de parler. Ma délégation, pour désireuse qu'elle soit de l'appuyer, s'abstiendra néanmoins lors du vote sur ce projet de résolution, pour les mêmes raisons que je viens d'exposer.

149. M. SUBANDRIO (Indonésie) [traduit de l'anglais]: J'ai redemandé la parole pour préciser la position de l'Indonésie à l'égard des projets de résolution dont nous sommes saisis. Parmi les textes déposés en application de la résolution 1514 (XV), trois sont d'une portée générale. Nous avons, en premier lieu, le projet de résolution A/L.355, déposé par la délégation soviétique; en deuxième lieu, le projet de résolution A/L.366, déposé par 38 puissances africano-asiatiques, dont l'Indonésie; en troisième lieu, le projet de résolution A/L.369, déposé par le Mexique. Ce dernier document ne nous a été remis qu'avant-hier.

150. Je dirai tout d'abord que l'on relève, dans ces trois textes, une heureuse identité d'esprit et d'intention et, ce qui est encore plus important, un accord complet sur la nécessité de créer un comité qui serait chargé d'examiner la situation et de faire, à ce sujet, des propositions et des recommandations relatives à la mise en œuvre de la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale. Cependant, après mûre réflexion, nous estimons que c'est le projet africano-asiatique qui répond le mieux aux exigences de la situation présente.

151. Nous pensons tout d'abord que ce texte — résultat de nombreuses consultations et discussions — traduit un esprit de conciliation et représente par conséquent l'accord le plus général auquel on puisse arriver au sein de notre Assemblée. Même si ma délégation estime souhaitable et possible de mettre fin au colonialisme dans deux ans, soit avant le 1er janvier 1964, les auteurs de ce projet ont considéré qu'il y existe à ce sujet des différences d'opinions, non seulement dans le groupe africano-asiatique, mais dans l'ensemble de l'Assemblée. Les auteurs de ce projet ont donc décidé de ne pas fixer de date limite, mais d'insister tout particulièrement, dans un esprit de conciliation, sur l'élément d'urgence de la question.

152. Je ferai observer ensuite que le comité spécial de 17 membres que prévoit le projet africano-asiatique

aurait la plus grande latitude possible pour remplir son mandat. En effet, d'après ce texte, le comité serait chargé d'accomplir sa tâche "en se servant de tous les moyens dont il pourra disposer dans le cadre des procédures et des modalités qu'il adoptera pour bien s'acquitter de ses fonctions".

153. Ce comité pourrait se réunir en tout autre lieu que le Siège des Nations Unies chaque fois qu'il le jugerait souhaitable ou nécessaire, et devrait faire connaître ses propositions et recommandations à l'Assemblée générale, lors de sa dix-septième session.

154. La liberté d'action que ce texte accorde implicitement au comité est, selon nous, d'une extrême importance au stade actuel, car cet organisme aurait à examiner quantité de questions coloniales différentes qui se posent encore dans le monde, avec tous les problèmes divers qu'elles impliquent. Nous sommes persuadés que, pour faire convenablement son travail indubitablement lourd de conséquences, le comité devrait avoir un maximum de responsabilité et de liberté d'action dans le cadre des buts et principes de la Charte des Nations Unies.

155. Quant au projet de résolution du Mexique, je voudrais en retenir tout particulièrement deux points les rapprochant de notre projet de résolution, c'est-à-dire le projet africano-asiatique.

156. Le premier de ces points porte sur le droit d'autodétermination. Ma délégation approuve sans réserve ce projet quand il affirme solennellement:

"La liquidation de toute situation coloniale doit s'effectuer de manière à permettre l'application la plus large du principe fondamental de l'autodétermination des peuples."

157. Ce droit d'autodétermination s'applique, bien entendu, à toute la population qui vit dans une colonie ou sur le territoire d'une colonie qui forme un tout. Il est indispensable de bien comprendre ce principe pour éviter que certaines puissances n'appliquent chaque fois qu'elles le peuvent la politique "diviser pour régner". Ce droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes ne doit pas être appliqué aux groupes raciaux, culturels et ethniques d'une colonie, mais à l'ensemble du territoire de cette colonie et à sa population tout entière. Dans le cas qui nous intéresse, cette population a subi des humiliations et enduré des épreuves pendant des siècles et, grâce à sa lutte pour la liberté, elle a constitué une nation en dépit de différences raciales, culturelles et ethniques.

158. Le deuxième point que je voudrais soulever est la mention, dans le projet mexicain, de la possibilité d'un recours à la Cour internationale de Justice en cas de litiges qui se produiraient au cours du processus de décolonisation. Ce recours ne pourra jamais conduire à la solution nécessaire, car les accords ou les traités conclus pendant ou immédiatement après une guerre coloniale entre l'ancienne métropole et le nouveau pays ne sont pas des traités signés entre égaux; dans les différends qui en résultent, il s'agit de trancher des problèmes politiques qui sont dus à l'inégalité antérieure. La solution de pareils différends exige que les anciens rapports entre les deux pays fassent entièrement place à de nouveaux rapports de justice et d'égalité, fondés sur l'intérêt mutuel et conformes aux réalités politiques.

159. J'en viens aux trois projets relatifs à la question de l'Irian occidental: le projet néerlandais [A/L.354], celui dont l'Inde et la Bolivie ont été les premiers

auteurs [A/L.367/Rev.1] et enfin celui des 13 puissances africaines [A/L.368].

160. Je voudrais pourtant d'abord exposer très nettement la position de ma délégation et de mon gouvernement à cet égard. Dès le début, ma délégation a précisé que, si nous débattons ici la question de l'Irian occidental, ce n'est pas pour obtenir des Nations Unies une résolution qui réglerait le problème. Cela, nous l'avons déjà fait autrefois, en demandant aux Nations Unies d'inviter les deux parties, par une recommandation, à engager des négociations en vue de résoudre pacifiquement le problème. A cause du refus des Pays-Bas, l'Assemblée n'a même pas pu adopter une recommandation aussi simple, bien que la majorité des Etats Membres ait appuyé les efforts pacifiques de mon gouvernement.

161. A partir de 1957, le gouvernement et le peuple indonésiens ont décidé de résoudre eux-mêmes ce problème, pour que ce territoire, seule partie de l'Indonésie qui soit encore soumise à l'occupation néerlandaise, puisse venir compléter l'unité nationale de l'Indonésie. Solennellement adoptée par le peuple et le Gouvernement de l'Indonésie, cette politique est leur décision inébranlable, dont ils ont pesé toutes les conséquences. Cela dit, nous ne nous opposons à aucune résolution qui tendrait à rapprocher les parties et à créer un climat de conciliation, même si elle ne permettait pas d'aboutir immédiatement à une solution de compromis sur un problème aussi complexe.

162. Une résolution de ce genre ne devrait évidemment pas préjuger les droits et les revendications de l'Indonésie. C'est pourquoi nous rejetons intégralement le projet néerlandais de résolution [A/L.354], car, tout d'abord, il a incontestablement pour objet de nous imposer à nous, à notre peuple, à notre gouvernement, la reconnaissance complète du droit d'autodétermination de la population de l'Irian occidental, c'est-à-dire de son droit de devenir un pays indépendant, comme si cette population n'avait pas pris part à la lutte de l'Indonésie pour l'indépendance, lutte qui a atteint son point culminant lors de la guerre coloniale de 1945 à 1950, et qui a coûté le sacrifice de plus de 500 000 vies humaines; comme si ce territoire n'avait rien à voir avec le différend néerlandono-indonésien causé par l'attitude intransigeante que les Pays-Bas ont prise à l'égard de l'Indonésie depuis 1945; comme si la question de l'Irian occidental ne relevait pas de la série de campagnes et d'agissements subversifs que les Pays-Bas ont menés pour créer des mouvements séparatistes et des mouvements de sécession dont nous avons déjà triomphé dans le passé, soit par une politique habile soit par l'action militaire, comme dans le cas de la soi-disant République des Moluques méridionales, proclamée sur le territoire indonésien à l'instigation des Pays-Bas.

163. C'est aussi pourquoi, lorsque l'Inde a présenté pour la première fois le projet de résolution A/L.367/Rev.1 [1058ème séance], j'ai déclaré que nous ne nous opposons pas à ce texte et qu'en cas d'adoption, mon gouvernement y souscrirait sincèrement, en vue de régler par négociation, comme on le souhaite, ce différend politique qui, à vrai dire, a ruiné les rapports amicaux entre deux Etats Membres. Nous espérons que les Pays-Bas vont envisager de changer d'attitude à l'égard du projet indien.

164. En tout état de cause, quelle que puisse être leur attitude en tant qu'Etat souverain, les Pays-Bas ne pourraient pas s'engager dans une décision unilatérale

que nous considérerions comme une solution imposée. Dans ce cas, que l'on ne se fasse pas d'illusions, l'Indonésie ferait usage de son droit de souveraineté et de tous les moyens nationaux dont elle dispose pour éliminer une solution ainsi imposée.

165. J'en arrive maintenant au projet de résolution [A/L.368] dont les auteurs sont le Cameroun, le Congo (Brazzaville), la Côte-d'Ivoire, le Dahomey, le Gabon, la Haute-Volta, Madagascar, la Mauritanie, le Niger, la République centrafricaine, le Sénégal, le Tchad et le Togo. Nous ne mettons pas en doute la sincérité et l'honnêteté des pays signataires. Au contraire, nous leur sommes profondément reconnaissants d'avoir contribué à la recherche d'une solution pacifique de ce problème. Nous acceptons, dans l'ensemble, le préambule de ce projet de résolution, sauf, en ce qui concerne le différend qui nous occupe, le dernier alinéa. Je dois dire en revanche que, lorsque les auteurs de ce projet proposent dans le dispositif des négociations entre les deux parties, ils préjugent en même temps l'issue des négociations et même la position indonésienne.

166. Il nous est demandé de reconnaître par avance le principe de l'autodétermination du peuple de l'Irian occidental. Cela, je l'ai déjà dit, nous ne pouvons pas l'accepter. Si l'Irian occidental était un pays d'Asie, d'Europe ou d'Amérique, qui n'ait rien à faire avec l'Indonésie, nous souscririons sans réserve à ce principe. Mais nul ne saurait nier que ce territoire a quelque chose à voir avec l'Indonésie, même si nos revendications ne sont pas acceptées. Les Pays-Bas eux-mêmes n'ont pas nié les liens politiques et historiques qui unissent l'Indonésie à l'Irian occidental et tout ce qu'ils impliquent.

167. Quand ce texte dispose, dans le préambule, que l'Irian occidental est un territoire non autonome, ce que nous ne saurions admettre, il préjuge, comme je viens de le dire, l'attitude indonésienne. En revanche, nous acceptons le paragraphe 2:

"L'Assemblée générale prie le Secrétaire général d'apporter aux négociations le concours de ses bons offices, en effectuant auprès des deux gouvernements toutes les démarches susceptibles de faciliter la reprise et la poursuite de ces négociations."

168. Quant à l'alinéa a du paragraphe 5, celui qui précise qu'une commission serait envoyée en Irian occidental, en vue "de faire une enquête sur la situation existant dans ce territoire", il préjuge, comme je l'ai déjà dit, les négociations. Si j'étais à la place des Pays-Bas, je me contenterais d'entamer des négociations que je mènerais jusqu'en mars prochain sans l'intention d'arriver à un résultat quelconque, puis je chercherais ultérieurement une solution en me fondant sur les paragraphes 5 et 6.

169. Il est évident que la politique des Pays-Bas les orienterait dans ce sens. Aussi, quand ce texte prévoit la procédure à suivre en cas d'échec des négociations, il ne pousse certainement pas les Pays-Bas à parvenir à un accord sur le problème que pose l'Irian occidental. Au contraire, il les endétournerait plutôt, car les paragraphes 5 et 6 reflètent plus ou moins la teneur de la résolution néerlandaise.

170. Je comprends donc fort bien pourquoi le représentant des Pays-Bas est disposé à accepter ce projet de résolution: son pays est contre les négociations. Après l'échec des négociations — ne voulant pas, j'en suis certain, parvenir à un accord, les Pays-Bas veilleraient à ce qu'elles aboutissent à un échec — le

dispositif de la résolution néerlandaise entrerait alors en vigueur.

171. C'est donc à mon grand regret — car les auteurs de ce projet sont sincères — que nous ne pouvons pas accepter le texte des 13 pays d'Afrique. Nous sommes obligés de le rejeter parce qu'il préjuge la position indonésienne et qu'en ce cas il ne peut qu'empirer les rapports entre l'Indonésie et les Pays-Bas et augmenter la tension entre les deux forces qui s'opposent dans l'Irian occidental.

172. J'en arrive maintenant au projet de résolution A/L.357 et Add.1, déposé par la Nigéria et patronné ensuite également par le Libéria. Si les peuples africains sont disposés à l'accepter, l'Indonésie l'appuiera.

173. Je voudrais souligner une fois de plus que notre lutte pour l'indépendance, qui a duré des dizaines d'années, prouve à l'évidence que nous soutenons fermement, dans la sphère nationale comme dans la sphère internationale, le principe de l'autodétermination quand il s'agit d'indépendance et d'intégrité nationales. Mais nous nous opposons, en faisant valoir tous nos droits souverains et en utilisant tous les moyens dont nous disposons, à tout essai, de la part des puissances coloniales, de faire intervenir l'autodétermination ethnique ou régionale de façon à semer la confusion dans la lutte nationale pour l'indépendance.

174. Les récents événements du Congo montrent abondamment que l'autodétermination totale d'après des considérations régionales ou ethniques ne fait qu'apporter la confusion et la souffrance à la population intéressée, quand elle n'augmente pas la tension internationale en général. Nous appuyons sans réserve l'indépendance et l'intégrité du Congo; de plus, étant donné la résolution que le Conseil de sécurité a récemment adoptée⁴, non seulement nous revenons sur notre idée de retirer du Congo les contingents indonésiens, mais nous nous proposons d'y envoyer un nouveau contingent soutenir l'action des Nations Unies et aider le Gouvernement central du Congo à assurer son intégrité territoriale.

175. En ce qui concerne l'Indonésie, nous avons prouvé de façon indéniable que l'Indonésie, composée de 3 000 îles, grandes et petites, qu'habitent des groupes ethniques différents, constitue une entité nationale, en dépit de tous les agissements subversifs auxquels les Pays-Bas pourraient avoir recours pour la désintégrer et la partager en plusieurs Etats. Personne ne saurait prétendre que cette unité est due à l'usage de la force. Sans la conviction et le dévouement des Indonésiens et leur sentiment profond d'appartenir à une seule nation, aucune unité n'aurait pu se maintenir, même par la force.

176. Nous avons une autre raison de repousser la proposition néerlandaise. Nous refusons que l'on envoie une commission dans une partie du territoire d'une puissance souveraine, quand une puissance coloniale a réoccupé cette partie du territoire, car l'envoi d'une telle commission légaliserait cette occupation. Au surplus, étant donné le conflit néerlandais-indonésien, une commission spéciale ne saurait faire œuvre utile au service de la paix, et spécialement au service des intérêts et du bien-être de la population de l'Irian occidental.

177. En premier lieu, comme les Pays-Bas eux-mêmes l'ont déjà dit, tout le territoire de l'Irian occidental, après des siècles d'occupation coloniale, reste *terra incognita* même pour les occupants néerlandais. En second lieu, ce territoire, que réoccupe aujourd'hui une puissance coloniale, est privé de tous ses chefs nationalistes, hommes sincères et honnêtes qui ont combattu avec leurs autres compatriotes de toute l'Indonésie. Ils ont été expulsés du territoire ou emprisonnés.

178. Pour ces raisons, la commission ne serait qu'un instrument destiné à légaliser la situation de fait qui sépare de la République d'Indonésie l'Irian occidental. L'envoi de la commission envisagée a donc une signification essentielle et profonde et aurait en vérité des conséquences graves, d'une portée incalculable. On ne peut pas travestir cet envoi en une innocente décision technique, étant donné tout le problème complexe qui oppose les Pays-Bas et l'Indonésie. Voilà pourquoi nous rejetons énergiquement l'envoi, à l'heure actuelle, d'une commission en Irian occidental, tant que ce pays restera réoccupé par les Pays-Bas, tant que la vie nationale indonésienne n'y sera pas pleinement rétablie dans la liberté et que les milliers de déportés n'y seront pas revenus. Une des raisons primordiales pour laquelle nous rejetons le projet néerlandais est que les Pays-Bas s'efforcent d'imposer à l'Indonésie, puissance souveraine, une solution unilatérale du problème de l'Irian occidental, une solution unilatérale du conflit néerlandais-indonésien, même si c'est par l'intermédiaire des Nations Unies qu'ils veulent y arriver. Une telle initiative est, à mon avis, contraire à la dignité et à l'honneur de tout pays souverain. Or, c'est un des plus importants aspects du projet néerlandais. L'Assemblée générale doit y songer très soigneusement, car il s'agit d'un conflit entre deux Etats souverains, Membres l'un et l'autre de l'Organisation des Nations Unies.

179. On ne peut pas imposer une solution; on ne peut pas en tout cas l'imposer pacifiquement. Si l'on essayait, le précaire *statu quo* qui existe dans l'Irian occidental entre les deux forces opposées pourrait même se trouver compromis et, partant, un conflit aux conséquences incalculables risquerait d'éclater.

180. J'espère, à présent, que la délégation néerlandaise, le Gouvernement néerlandais et le peuple néerlandais lui-même renonceront, dans leur propre intérêt, à fermer les yeux sur le différend qui oppose l'Indonésie aux Pays-Bas. C'est un grave différend, aux conséquences incalculables. Nous avons rompu toutes nos relations diplomatiques avec les Pays-Bas: il n'y a plus la moindre représentation diplomatique des Pays-Bas en Indonésie, ni la moindre représentation diplomatique de l'Indonésie aux Pays-Bas. Tel est le sens du différend, telle est sa profondeur, et j'espère que l'Assemblée l'aura compris. En outre, comme je l'ai déjà dit, les Pays-Bas ont triplé leurs forces en Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale — en Irian occidental — et nous sommes forcés d'avoir des effectifs d'une égale importance.

181. Je dois dire que tous les jours le *statu quo* est précaire, que c'est une paix précaire. Il y a de petites îles que les Pays-Bas n'occupent que pendant le jour et que nous réoccupons la nuit. Dans ces conditions, la moindre erreur d'une part ou de l'autre pourrait entraîner des conséquences incalculables.

182. Quant à nous, nous ferons de notre mieux pour maintenir la paix dans cette région tant que nous n'aurons pas résolu notre différend avec les Pays-Bas;

⁴/ Documents officiels du Conseil de sécurité, seizième année, Supplément d'octobre, novembre et décembre 1961, document S/5002.

mais nous voudrions, d'autre part, que l'Assemblée comprenne qu'elle ne devrait pas imposer une solution que l'un ou l'autre pays ne pourrait accepter ou qu'ils rejetteraient tous les deux. Toute solution adoptée par cette assemblée doit avoir l'approbation des deux parties. C'est pourquoi nous recommandons vivement — comme nous le faisons depuis le début — que les Pays-Bas et l'Indonésie engagent des négociations.

183. Il est vrai qu'auparavant les négociations n'avaient a priori aucun sens, car les Pays-Bas n'étaient pas alors en mesure d'abandonner leur administration de l'Irian occidental et la souveraineté qu'ils revendiquaient. Mais aujourd'hui la politique des Pays-Bas et l'opinion de leur peuple leur permettraient, il me semble, d'abandonner la souveraineté qu'ils revendiquent et leur administration de l'Irian occidental. Il existe à l'heure actuelle de larges possibilités d'accord entre l'Indonésie et les Pays-Bas et — que l'Assemblée en soit assurée — cet accord ne sera certainement pas fondé sur les exigences indonésiennes; il ne préjugera ni les droits et prétentions de l'Indonésie, ni les droits et prétentions des Pays-Bas. Nous aborderons avec une entière confiance et dans un esprit de coopération l'étude de ce problème afin d'en trouver la solution et je crois que le moment est venu de discuter de la question à notre avantage mutuel. Si, après une première série de négociations, il n'est pas possible de trouver une solution, nous pourrions toujours les continuer jusqu'à ce que nous arrivions à un résultat.

184. M. PLIMSOLL (Australie) [traduit de l'anglais]: Quand j'ai pris la parole, lors de la discussion générale, sur les points dont nous débattons aujourd'hui [1055ème séance], j'ai indiqué l'attitude de ma délégation à l'égard des projets déposés par l'Union soviétique [A/L.355], la Nigéria et le Libéria [A/L.357 et Add.1] et les Pays-Bas [A/L.354]. Je voudrais maintenant faire connaître nos idées sur les autres projets de résolution dont nous sommes saisis: celui de divers pays d'Asie et d'Afrique [A/L.366 et Add.1 à 3], celui du Mexique [A/L.369], celui de l'Inde [A/L.367/Rev.1] et enfin le projet déposé par un certain nombre d'Etats africains d'expression française [A/L.368].

185. Quelques mots tout d'abord sur le projet déposé par l'Afghanistan et divers pays d'Afrique et d'Asie [A/L.366 et Add.1 à 3]. Les pays qui nous ont soumis ce texte se sont donné beaucoup de mal. Ils ont consulté beaucoup de délégations dans divers groupes, et nous sommes maintenant en présence d'un projet qui pourrait, je pense, recevoir un large appui au sein de notre assemblée. La délégation australienne votera pour ce texte. Je voudrais, cependant, préciser notre attitude à l'égard de certaines de ses dispositions. Il est sans doute inévitable, en effet, que le libellé d'un projet de cette nature, rédigé de façon à obtenir l'agrément général, ne soit pas absolument conforme à celui que chaque délégation aurait adopté si elle présentait le projet elle-même.

186. Je ferai la première observation que voici. Ce projet de résolution est évidemment subordonné aux dispositions de la Charte. L'Assemblée générale, comme tout autre organe des Nations Unies, doit s'en tenir à la Charte et les dispositions de la Charte l'emportent sur toute déclaration que pourrait faire tel ou tel organe. Cette réserve faite, ce projet détaille certains des buts de la Charte et propose certaines modalités propres à assurer plus rapidement et mieux l'exécution des processus prévus dans

la Charte. C'est dans cet esprit que la délégation australienne peut souscrire à ce projet.

187. Le huitième alinéa du préambule déclare: "Le manque de préparation dans les domaines politique, économique ou social ou dans celui de l'enseignement ne doit jamais être pris comme prétexte pour retarder l'indépendance." J'ai déjà fait quelques observations à ce sujet, lors de la quinzième session de l'Assemblée [933ème séance]. Le mot "prétexte", selon la délégation australienne, est le mot clef de ce paragraphe. Il signifie qu'il ne faut pas invoquer le manque de préparation comme une mauvaise raison, une fausse raison pour retarder l'indépendance des territoires non autonomes ou des territoires sous tutelle. Mais, bien entendu, cela ne veut pas dire non plus qu'il faut créer immédiatement certains Etats quand les conditions nécessaires à leur équilibre et à leur progrès ne sont pas réalisés. La Charte elle-même, à l'Article 73 et à l'alinéa b de l'Article 76, reconnaît que les puissances administrantes ont l'obligation d'aider les populations des territoires dont elles ont la responsabilité et qu'elles ont des devoirs à l'égard de ces populations comme elles en ont à l'égard des autres membres de l'Assemblée. J'ai pris acte de l'interprétation donnée à d'autres dispositions du projet par quelques-uns de ses auteurs. Ils reconnaissent qu'en prenant des mesures immédiates pour amener à l'indépendance les territoires placés sous leur administration, les Etats s'acquittent non seulement des obligations que leur fait la Charte, mais aussi de ce que réclame ce projet de résolution. Cela ne signifie pas l'indépendance immédiate. Cela signifie des mesures immédiates dans le sens de l'indépendance.

188. L'Australie, puissance administrante, honore non seulement les obligations que lui fait la Charte, mais aussi les mesures préconisées par l'Assemblée, mesures qu'elle applique dans les territoires placés sous son administration et dont elle a fait état devant l'Assemblée, en séance plénière, ainsi que devant le Conseil de tutelle, la Quatrième Commission et le Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes.

189. Ma deuxième observation est que le texte de ce projet est imprécis ou parfois trop général. Comme je l'ai déjà dit, c'est évidemment le propre de toute résolution qui doit tenir compte d'une large gamme d'opinions au sein de l'ONU. En votant pour cette résolution, la délégation australienne tiendra compte, toutefois, des explications et des interprétations qu'en auront données à l'Assemblée certains de ses auteurs. Nous supposons aussi — et nous devons supposer — que le comité spécial se montrera à la hauteur de ses responsabilités. Ce projet de résolution, je le répète, est, à certains égards, assez vague et nous devons supposer — nous sommes en droit de supposer, je pense — que le comité agira avec le sens de ses responsabilités et conformément au désir de la majorité des membres de l'Assemblée. Tant qu'il en sera ainsi, le Gouvernement australien appuiera le comité et collaborera avec lui. Nous voterons donc pour ce projet.

190. Nous sommes également saisis d'un projet de résolution [A/L.369], déposé par le Mexique. Beaucoup des points auxquels touche ce texte figurent aussi dans le projet africano-asiatique; le projet mexicain les aborde, à certains égards, sous un angle un peu différent, mais ses objectifs sont dans l'ensemble à peu près semblables à ceux du projet africano-

asiatique. La délégation mexicaine a joué depuis longtemps un rôle important et constructif à la Quatrième Commission de l'Assemblée générale. Le peuple mexicain et son gouvernement ont, avant même la création de l'ONU, montré l'intérêt actif et sincère qu'ils portaient à la liquidation du régime colonial. Mais je crois que ce projet de résolution présenterait certaines difficultés si l'on nous invitait à le mettre immédiatement aux voix. Le représentant de l'Inde a examiné, au début de l'après-midi, quelques-unes de ces difficultés; ma délégation est d'accord sur bien des points avec les déclarations faites par M. Jha à ce sujet. La raison de quelques-unes de ces difficultés est, me semble-t-il, que ce projet nous a été soumis très tard, le 24 novembre, au moment où le dernier orateur était à la tribune. Nous n'avons donc pas pu examiner ce texte et consulter notre gouvernement, comme nous l'avions fait pour le projet africano-asiatique [A/L.366 et Add.1 à 3]. La délégation mexicaine ayant ainsi montré son intérêt pour ce problème et exposé l'orientation de ses idées sur la question, nous espérons qu'elle ne réclamera pas la mise aux voix de son texte. Elle pourrait peut-être, maintenant qu'elle l'a déposé, accepter qu'il constitue un document à prendre en considération, un ensemble d'idées dont tous nos gouvernements devraient tenir compte. La délégation australienne préfère, du moins au point où en sont les débats, le libellé du projet africano-asiatique.

191. Voilà donc ce que j'avais à dire des projets relatifs à l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux [résolution 1514 (XV)]. J'en viens, maintenant, aux projets de résolution qui concernent tout particulièrement la Nouvelle-Guinée néerlandaise.

192. J'ai déjà dit au cours du présent débat que l'Australie appuierait le projet néerlandais [A/L.354]. Je n'ai pas besoin, il me semble, de répéter les raisons de notre attitude. Depuis le moment où j'ai pris la parole, nous avons été saisis d'un projet de résolution déposé par l'Inde [A/L.367/Rev.1] et d'un projet de résolution déposé par le Cameroun et d'autres Etats d'Afrique [A/L.368].

193. Le projet indien demande des négociations entre le Gouvernement indonésien et le Gouvernement néerlandais. L'Australie ne s'est jamais opposée, pour sa part, à des négociations bilatérales entre ces deux Etats, elle ne s'y oppose toujours pas. Ce contre quoi nous nous élevons, c'est que les parties soient forcées de négocier sur une base qui exclut l'autodétermination et est de ce fait contraire aux principes de la Charte. Si le Gouvernement indonésien a toujours pour doctrine que les négociations ne peuvent pas avoir lieu sur la base de l'autodétermination, nous ne voyons pas comment, à considérer les choses pratiquement, des conversations bilatérales pourraient être fructueuses. Il ne s'agit pas d'être opposé en principe aux conversations bilatérales. Il s'agit seulement de savoir si de telles conversations pourraient être réellement fructueuses, puisque les Pays-Bas se sont engagés à appliquer à ce territoire le principe de l'autodétermination. Selon notre interprétation, la proposition néerlandaise n'envisage pas une solution unilatérale, mais une solution décidée dans le cadre de l'ONU, puisque les efforts que l'on a faits dans le passé pour régler le problème par voie de négociations bilatérales se sont soldés par un échec. C'est pourquoi la délégation australienne ne peut pas appuyer le projet indien et s'y opposera.

194. Quant au projet de résolution [A/L.368] déposé par le Cameroun et certains pays africains d'expression française, la délégation australienne estime qu'il offre la possibilité d'un véritable compromis, qui permettrait aux divers pays de manifester qu'ils sont partisans de négociations bilatérales. Le premier paragraphe de cette résolution presse le Gouvernement indonésien et le Gouvernement néerlandais "de reprendre sans délai les négociations en vue de parvenir à un accord sur l'avenir du territoire de la Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale, sans préjudice du respect de la volonté des populations et de leur droit à disposer d'elles-mêmes". Cela étant, la délégation australienne est disposée à appuyer la méthode préconisée par les pays africains d'expression française.

195. Dans leur projet de résolution, les Etats africains d'expression française font un nouvel effort pour tenir compte de certaines objections faites à la solution néerlandaise, au cours du présent débat. En certains endroits de leur projet, et notamment au deuxième alinéa du préambule, ils reconnaissent que "le territoire de la Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale fait l'objet d'un différend entre l'Indonésie et les Pays-Bas".

196. Pour préciser un point qui a pu causer certains malentendus au début du débat, je voudrais dire que l'Australie ne désire nullement que l'Indonésie n'ait rien à dire à aucune solution de ce problème. Si la population de la Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale choisit librement l'Indonésie, l'Australie ne s'y opposera pas; mais si la Nouvelle-Guinée choisit librement une autre forme de gouvernement, l'Australie souhaiterait que ce territoire garde avec l'Indonésie les relations les plus amicales. Il est évident que l'avenir de la Nouvelle-Guinée ne saurait être assuré par une solution qui l'opposerait à ses voisins.

197. Mais l'essentiel de notre thèse est que la solution choisie devra être une solution voulue par la population de ce territoire. L'Australie estime que la stabilité durable de la Nouvelle-Guinée et de toute la région dépend, en fin de compte, de la solution que pourra accepter et choisir la population de la Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale. L'Australie s'est engagée à accorder l'autodétermination aux populations de la partie orientale de l'île, qu'elle administre. La solution la plus durable et la plus juste serait, à notre avis, celle qui offrirait également à la population de l'autre partie de l'île la faculté de déterminer librement son sort. Comme je l'ai déjà dit, si la population de la Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale décide librement de s'unir à l'Indonésie, l'Australie ne fera pas d'objection. Si elle choisit une autre solution, il est essentiel qu'elle entretienne avec tous ses voisins, y compris l'Indonésie, des relations d'amitié, de paix et de coopération.

198. Nous voterons donc pour le projet de résolution [A/L.368] déposé par le Cameroun et plusieurs autres Etats d'Afrique. Nous croyons que ce texte s'appuie sur les principes de la Charte, et en particulier sur le principe de l'autodétermination, principe qu'il faut, d'après nous, appliquer à l'ensemble de l'île.

199. M. LORIDAN (Belgique): La délégation belge votera en faveur du projet de résolution concernant l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux et présenté par 38 puissances [A/L.366]. Sans doute n'en approuve-t-elle pas tous les termes, ni encore moins l'esprit dans lequel certaines délégations la conçoivent. Mais la délégation belge est en accord avec les principes qui sont à la base de ce projet. Négligeant les objec-

tions qu'elle aurait à formuler, elle votera, je viens de l'annoncer, en faveur du texte en question.

200. Je me dispenserai de réfuter ici une fois de plus les accusations calomnieuses et éculées qui ont été lancées dans ce débat contre mon pays et dont quelques délégations semblent s'être fait une spécialité. Le manque de fondement de ces attaques ressort des faits. La Belgique n'a pas attendu la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux [résolution 1514 (XV)] pour accorder l'indépendance au Congo dès que les représentants du peuple congolais en ont formulé le vœu. C'est le 30 juin 1960 que le Congo devint indépendant et, dès le 7 juillet, le Conseil de sécurité approuvait sa demande d'admission à l'Organisation des Nations Unies ⁵/.

201. En ce qui concerne le Ruanda-Urundi, territoire sous tutelle, la Belgique, conformément aux principes inscrits dans la Charte des Nations Unies et exécutant les stipulations de l'Accord de tutelle, poursuit l'émancipation des populations. Ce processus est entré maintenant dans sa phase finale.

202. Tous les observateurs de bonne foi savent que la Belgique, autorité de tutelle, a apporté sa coopération aux Nations Unies et, en particulier, à la Commission des Nations Unies pour le Ruanda-Urundi qui s'est rendue dans le territoire.

203. Le Gouvernement belge n'a jamais perdu de vue que le but ultime était la réalisation des aspirations librement exprimées des populations intéressées. Je suis autorisé à réaffirmer ici solennellement que le souhait du Gouvernement belge est que, en conformité avec les procédures prévues dans la Charte et les accords de tutelle, le Ruanda-Urundi puisse accéder à l'indépendance au plus tard dans le courant de l'année 1962. Des propositions en ce sens et tenant compte des vœux des populations des territoires seront faites lorsque sera examinée, prochainement, par l'Assemblée générale, la question du Ruanda-Urundi.

204. La déclaration que je viens de faire dissipera, j'en suis convaincu, toute confusion ou tout doute qui pourrait subsister au sujet des intentions de la Belgique concernant l'octroi rapide de l'indépendance aux territoires dont elle a encore la charge.

205. M. ROS (Argentine) [traduit de l'espagnol]: Notre brève intervention a pour but d'expliquer les raisons qui guideront la délégation argentine dans son vote sur les deux points soumis à l'Assemblée.

206. En ce qui concerne le point 88 de l'ordre du jour (Application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux), nous voterons pour le projet de résolution déposé par 38 pays africano-asiatiques [A/L.366 et Add.1 à 3].

207. La délégation argentine a appuyé la résolution 1514 (XV) et, chaque fois que l'occasion s'est présentée, tant dans les différents organes des Nations Unies que dans les commissions de l'Assemblée, elle n'a jamais manqué de signaler l'importance fondamentale de cette résolution. Fidèle à cette attitude et estimant que le projet de résolution, qui sera sûrement adopté, est le fruit de longues et patientes délibérations et constitue un grand pas vers l'élimination

progressive et ordonnée des structures coloniales actuelles, ma délégation l'appuiera par conséquent sans réserve.

208. Pour ce qui est du projet de résolution déposé par le Mexique [A/L.369], au cas où ses différents paragraphes seraient mis aux voix séparément, nous devrions malheureusement voter contre l'alinéa b du paragraphe 1 et contre les paragraphes 2 et 3. Si ce projet était mis aux voix avec ces paragraphes, nous voterions contre l'ensemble du texte.

209. Les raisons qui poussent ma délégation à voter de la sorte sont parfaitement claires. Le projet mexicain envisage comme possible que l'ONU administre des territoires dont le cas est encore en litige, et aussi que l'on applique sans discrimination le principe de l'autodétermination, avec intervention éventuelle de la Cour internationale de Justice ou d'autres organes chargés de régler pacifiquement les différends. Le texte ne fait aucune exception et ne tient pas compte des situations qui varient selon les circonstances.

210. Mon gouvernement estime que le droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes, énoncé au paragraphe 2 de l'Article premier de la Charte, est à envisager en fonction des circonstances qui en conditionnent l'exercice. Nous entendons par là qu'il existe des facteurs qui limitent la portée de ce droit quand des questions, telles que l'unité territoriale de l'Etat ou la situation particulière du territoire en litige, exigent une application très stricte du principe de l'autodétermination. Nous estimons, en effet, que ce principe ne peut s'appliquer sans discrimination quand un territoire a, par exemple, été séparé d'un Etat indépendant, sans qu'un accord international vienne ratifier postérieurement cette situation de fait et, notamment, quand la population autochtone a été dispersée et que des groupes de colons de la puissance occupante se sont installés sur ce territoire.

211. Par exemple, appliquer sans discrimination le principe de l'autodétermination à des territoires très peu peuplés mettrait le destin de ces territoires entre les mains d'un très petit nombre de colons de la puissance qui s'y est installée par la force, en violation des droits internationaux les plus élémentaires. Le principe de l'autodétermination servirait ainsi d'écran pour légaliser un transfert de souveraineté sous la protection des Nations Unies.

212. C'est principalement pour ces raisons, sans compter les difficultés pratiques qu'impliquerait l'adoption du projet de résolution africano-asiatique, lequel prévoit la création d'un comité spécial et l'éventuelle administration internationale de tant de territoires, ce qui exigerait d'abord une préparation minutieuse étant donné les énormes dépenses que l'Organisation serait bien en peine d'assumer en ce moment, ma délégation se verra obligée, à son grand regret, de voter contre le projet mexicain tel qu'il nous est présenté.

213. En ce qui concerne le cas particulier que constitue l'application de la résolution 1514 (XV), la délégation argentine, pour des raisons du même ordre que celles que je viens d'indiquer, s'abstiendra lors du vote sur le projet déposé par les Pays-Bas [A/L.354].

214. Nous apprécions à sa juste valeur ce projet, mais nous estimons que c'est le projet des 13 pays d'Afrique [A/L.368] qui mérite notre appui. Nous voterons donc en sa faveur. Si le sixième alinéa du

⁵/ Ibid., quinzième année, Supplément de juillet, août et septembre 1960, document S/4377.

préambule fait l'objet d'un vote séparé, nous nous abstenons néanmoins, pour les raisons que nous avons déjà mentionnées. Qu'il me soit permis d'exprimer notre reconnaissance au groupe des pays africains qui ont présenté ce projet de résolution, car ils ont fait un effort constructif pour trouver une solution à un problème qui préoccupe notre organisation depuis 1954. Cette initiative nous montre combien les nouvelles nations d'Afrique peuvent utilement collaborer aux travaux des Nations Unies.

215. Pour ce qui est du projet de résolution de la Nigéria et du Libéria [A/L.357 et Add.1], notre délégation votera en faveur de ce texte s'il est mis aux voix. Nous estimons qu'il s'agit là d'un effort sérieux, puisqu'il prévoit, pour l'indépendance totale de tous les territoires non autonomes d'Afrique, une indispensable période de préparation.

216. Je voudrais, en même temps, mentionner qu'aucun pays n'était mieux qualifié que la Nigéria et le Libéria pour nous offrir, sans être influencé par des pressions politiques extérieures, une conception du processus de libération des territoires africains, processus que nous voulons tous voir appliquer rapidement et d'une manière ordonnée, pour que l'avenir soit prospère et exempt d'inutiles différends constitutionnels.

M. Quaison-Sackey (Ghana), vice-président, prend la présidence.

217. M. GUIRMA (Haute-Volta): Ma délégation a examiné soigneusement les problèmes auxquels se rapportent les différents documents soumis à l'Assemblée générale. Je ne m'attarderai pas à l'analyse de ces documents, car j'ai le souci de ne pas abuser de la patience de l'Assemblée. Mon intention est d'exprimer brièvement les sentiments de ma délégation au sujet des projets de résolution des Pays-Bas [A/L.354], de 13 pays d'Afrique [A/L.368] et de l'Union soviétique [A/L.355].

218. Le projet de résolution des Pays-Bas, qui traite de la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux est, en toute objectivité, très séduisant. En effet, c'est la première fois dans les annales des Nations Unies qu'une puissance coloniale vient demander à notre organisation de se rendre dans un territoire en sa possession pour enquêter et investiguer afin d'élaborer un rapport dégageant les éléments d'un référendum en vue de l'autodétermination. Nous avons tant de fois fait pression sur d'autres puissances coloniales pour avoir cette possibilité de contrôler l'autodétermination des peuples! Nous l'avons demandé à la France pour l'Algérie, au Portugal pour l'Angola et le Mozambique, à l'Afrique du Sud pour le Sud-Ouest africain, territoire pourtant sous tutelle des Nations Unies du point de vue juridique. Toutes ces puissances ont refusé avec fracas, d'un refus net et tranchant, voire méprisant et insultant, en invoquant la Charte des Nations Unies pour justifier leur refus de collaboration internationale.

219. Aujourd'hui, les Pays-Bas prouvent par leur initiative que c'était nous qui avions raison et ils tracent ainsi un magnifique chemin lumineux que les derniers colonialistes impénitents, c'est-à-dire le Portugal et l'Afrique du Sud, doivent suivre immédiatement. Nous ne cacherons pas notre sympathie pour cette initiative et nous aurons le courage de l'exprimer.

220. On nous objecte qu'il s'agit d'une province indonésienne et qu'il s'agit de remettre un enfant à sa mère. Nous éviterons les détails et nous laisserons aux anthropologues le soin d'étudier si les Papous, qui sont nègres, sont de la même famille que les Indonésiens et si, avant la colonisation hollandaise, ces pays faisaient un tout un et indivisible. Nous ne chercherons pas non plus à savoir si la thèse selon laquelle les différents pays nouveaux doivent recouvrir exactement la superficie des possessions de l'ancienne puissance administrante est exacte ou non; ce sont des spéculations qui pourraient mener loin. Disons tout simplement qu'il y a tant de mères qui réclament tant d'enfants qu'il faut maintenant délivrer des certificats de filiation et de légitimité. Ces certificats, dans le cas qui nous intéresse, seront le rapport de la commission des Nations Unies et le référendum relatif à l'autodétermination dont il est question dans le projet de résolution des Pays-Bas.

221. Il serait contraire à la Charte, quand le principe d'autodétermination est en cause, de ne pas en tenir compte. Cependant, il est évident que les Gouvernements néerlandais et indonésien sont désireux de négocier. Ils négocient depuis 12 ans; ils peuvent encore négocier quelque temps. La négociation est un principe pacifique, conforme à la Charte des Nations Unies. Mais si la négociation est si longue, c'est la preuve que le problème est sérieux. D'ailleurs, nous ne voulons pas préjuger du résultat du référendum qui peut être favorable aussi bien à un côté qu'à l'autre. Nous sommes impartiaux et neutres. C'est pourquoi nous avons élaboré, en collaboration avec 12 autres pays d'Afrique, un projet de résolution qui se base sur ces deux principes fondamentaux de la Charte: le respect de cet instrument et l'autodétermination. Ce projet fait appel à la bonne volonté des Gouvernements de l'Indonésie et des Pays-Bas afin qu'ils négocient en vue de parvenir à un accord sur l'avenir du territoire de la Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale, sans préjudice du respect de la volonté des populations et de leur droit à disposer d'elles-mêmes.

222. J'en viens maintenant au projet de résolution présenté par l'Union soviétique [A/L.355].

223. Les pays africains doivent une certaine reconnaissance à l'Union soviétique: elle a toujours parlé ici en faveur des peuples coloniaux d'Afrique; elle a toujours condamné le colonialisme étranger en Afrique; elle a toujours pris des initiatives importantes dans ce domaine. Et, en 1961 encore, elle a pris l'initiative de présenter le projet de résolution que nous examinons. Ma délégation rend hommage à la générosité de l'Union soviétique vis-à-vis des peuples d'Afrique et souhaite que les gouvernements impérialistes finissent par comprendre, eux aussi, où est le chemin de la justice et du droit des peuples africains.

224. Elle constate cependant que plusieurs projets de résolution ont été déposés sur le même sujet. Le projet de résolution signé par 38 pays d'Afrique et d'Asie [A/L.366 et Add.1 à 3] attire notre attention parce qu'il semble plus timide que celui de l'Union soviétique, pourtant, nous connaissons bien nos problèmes; nous savons quels remèdes il faut à nos maux et nous savons de quoi nous souffrons. De ces souffrances, nous avons tiré des leçons très utiles que nous méditons soigneusement. Nous avons appris aussi, à travers le monde, différentes méthodes de lutte et nous avons fait différentes expériences. Nous savons que l'on est plus fort dans la lutte quand on

sait reconnaître ses fautes et apprécier ses qualités. C'est pourquoi il semble évident que tous les amis de l'Afrique se doivent d'aller vers l'Afrique et de lui demander ce qu'il faudrait que l'on fasse pour lui venir en aide.

225. Nous apprécions les concours extérieurs. Mais combien il est regrettable qu'ils dispersent nos efforts ou simplement nos attentions! Et combien nous aimerions qu'ils aident à la solution de nos terribles maux en dehors de ces marais où l'on s'enlise que constituent toutes les situations créées par la méfiance entre les gouvernements, situations causées par la guerre froide, dont les Africains ne sont pas responsables.

226. Dans ces conditions, il est clair que nous préférons soutenir ce que nous avons écrit et proposé nous-mêmes, et nous souhaitons que nos amis se joignent à nous pour voter en faveur du projet de résolution des 13 puissances d'Afrique. Nous nous abstiendrons sur les autres projets de résolution, dans l'intention de nous en tenir à l'essentiel et à l'utile.

227. M. ZOLLNER (Dahomey): Après un examen attentif des divers projets de résolution qui vont faire l'objet d'un vote aujourd'hui, ma délégation réserve son attitude à l'égard des projets de résolution de l'Union soviétique [A/L.355], de la Nigéria et du Libéria [A/L.357 et Add.1], et de celui des 38 puissances [A/L.366 et Add.1 à 3]. Nous allons donc examiner les projets de résolution des Pays-Bas [A/L.354], de l'Inde et d'autres puissances [A/L.367/Rev.1] et enfin celui de 13 pays d'Afrique [A/L.368] relatifs au différend qui oppose l'Indonésie aux Pays-Bas.

228. De quoi s'agit-il?

229. D'un côté, l'Indonésie réclame la reconnaissance de sa souveraineté sur cette région parce qu'elle figurait dans le même groupe administratif que l'Indonésie actuellement indépendante, celui des Indes orientales néerlandaises. De l'autre côté, les Pays-Bas contestent toute souveraineté indonésienne sur ce territoire qui n'était pas inclus dans les accords établissant l'indépendance et la souveraineté de la République d'Indonésie dans le cadre de ses frontières actuelles.

230. Ce sont là les éléments du différend. Examinons maintenant les deux premiers projets de résolution.

231. Le projet déposé par les Pays-Bas [A/L.354] envisage la possibilité pour les Nations Unies de prendre ce territoire en main jusqu'à ce que celui-ci puisse décider de son statut. Cette initiative nous semble excellente au premier abord. Confier un territoire non autonome aux Nations Unies, c'est lui assurer en effet les meilleures chances d'un développement heureux et l'accès à la vie internationale, dans le cadre de son propre choix. L'autodétermination, le libre choix pour un territoire non indépendant, est un des principes essentiels énoncés dans la Charte des Nations Unies.

232. Cependant, il eût été souhaitable de voir une solution fondée sur la libre détermination des populations du territoire contesté être le résultat d'un accord des parties après négociations, et non pas un geste unilatéral. L'Indonésie étant l'une des parties dans ce différend, nous ne pouvons accepter qu'elle soit ignorée dans un projet de résolution décidant du sort du territoire de la Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale, ce qui est le cas dans le projet de résolution soumis par les Pays-Bas.

233. Le second projet de résolution, déposé par les délégations de l'Inde et plusieurs autres puissances, demande aux deux parties la reprise des négociations. C'est là une très bonne idée. Il est évident en effet que la meilleure solution à un conflit est un accord spontané des deux antagonistes, et nous ne devons rien négliger qui facilite leur rapprochement. L'idée en soi est pleine de sagesse, mais quelle en est la portée pratique dans le texte qui nous est soumis? Deux objections fondamentales sautent aux yeux.

234. Tout d'abord, nous constatons qu'il n'est fait aucune mention du peuple même de la Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale et de ce que peut être son opinion. Le texte demande des négociations entre les deux parties en litige sans qu'il y ait, du commencement à la fin, un seul mot concernant le principal intéressé, sans que rien n'indique une consultation de la population dont on voudrait ainsi disposer souverainement et arbitrairement. Représentants de peuples anciennement colonisés, nous sommes et devrions être plus imbus de ce principe de libre détermination pour les territoires non indépendants, qui est l'un des points capitaux de toute notre action.

235. La deuxième objection à ce projet de résolution réside dans le fait que préconiser purement et simplement la reprise des négociations n'apporte pas une solution au problème dans le contexte actuel. En effet, ce différend dure depuis bientôt 12 ans; plusieurs tentatives de négociations ont eu lieu et sont demeurées sans résultat, rien n'obligeant alors les parties à aboutir à un accord rapide. Qu'est-ce qui prouve que les négociations auraient plus de chances d'aboutir en ce moment, même sous l'égide d'une personnalité des Nations Unies si aucun élément nouveau n'intervient, si rien n'incite les parties à chercher un terrain commun d'entente? Des négociations engagées dans ces conditions pourraient aussi bien durer 12 nouvelles années. C'est pour cela que nous sommes convaincus qu'une simple reprise des négociations, dans les termes du projet de résolution soumis par l'Inde, ne fait qu'éluder le problème et aboutirait seulement à le poser de nouveau, peut-être même d'une manière plus aiguë, dans un avenir plus ou moins rapproché.

236. Il reste le troisième projet de résolution déposé par 13 délégations [A/L.368] dont celle du Dahomey. Ce projet de résolution donne la priorité à la négociation, mais ces négociations sont assorties de certaines conditions. Elles doivent ne pas perdre de vue le respect de la volonté des populations et leur droit à disposer d'elles-mêmes. D'autre part, si les négociations n'aboutissent pas à un résultat satisfaisant au 1er mars 1962, des dispositions accessoires entreront en vigueur. Dans cette perspective, les parties sont tenues de faire preuve de bonne volonté et d'accélérer le processus de leurs négociations. Dans le cas contraire, une commission des Nations Unies entrerait en action pour envisager les possibilités de confier momentanément l'administration à une forme d'organisation internationale qui restera à déterminer, donc les possibilités de retirer cette administration aux Pays-Bas. Il n'est que trop normal en effet que, avant de procéder à une consultation de la population, il convienne de soustraire celle-ci à l'influence néerlandaise.

237. Confier l'administration de la Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale à l'Organisation des Nations Unies pendant une période qui restera à déterminer et pendant laquelle les Indonésiens auraient, de même que les ressortissants de n'importe quelle autre nation, libre

accès dans le territoire, donnerait à l'Indonésie toutes garanties sur la sincérité de la consultation qui suivrait cette période.

238. Si un rattachement éventuel de la Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale à la République d'Indonésie intervient à la suite d'une consultation de la population, cette solution ne pourrait que faire éclater au grand jour le bien-fondé de la cause indonésienne et éviter à l'Indonésie toutes les contestations et les résistances qu'elle rencontre en ce moment. Si le peuple de la Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale repoussait ce rattachement et souhaitait son indépendance, même après que l'influence néerlandaise eut été éliminée par la prise en charge internationale, il serait évident alors qu'une telle consultation préalable aurait épargné à l'Indonésie bien des troubles résultant du rattachement d'une population non consentante. Dans l'un ou l'autre cas, la République d'Indonésie y gagne. Nous comprenons donc difficilement une opposition du Gouvernement indonésien à cette solution de sagesse. Nous ne pouvons faire fi d'un principe aussi important que celui de l'autodétermination, serait-ce même pour faire plaisir à un pays ami. Il convient de souligner qu'il ne s'agit pas, même dans l'hypothèse pessimiste d'une absence d'accord au 1er mars 1962, de décider une mesure qui engage l'avenir du territoire contesté. Il s'agit d'une simple enquête faite par une commission objective et tenant compte de tous les éléments du problème. Une décision ne serait prise éventuellement que lors de la dix-septième session de l'Assemblée générale et par cette assemblée. D'autre part, cette date du 1er mars 1962 n'indique que le début des travaux de la commission, et non pas du tout un terme aux négociations. Si une solution négociée, tenant compte du peuple néo-guinéen, intervenait même après cette date, nous ne pourrions que nous en réjouir.

239. Nous espérons que ce projet de résolution emportera donc finalement l'adhésion des deux parties. Par son esprit de conciliation, il harmonise dans toute la mesure possible les aspirations des deux parties. C'est pour cela que ma délégation demande la priorité de vote en faveur de notre projet de résolution et souhaite que l'Assemblée se prononce sur cette demande, conformément à l'article 93 du Règlement intérieur de l'Assemblée générale.

M. Slim (Tunisie) reprend la présidence.

240. M. QUINTERO (Philippines) [traduit de l'anglais]: La délégation philippine désire expliquer la position de son gouvernement à l'égard des projets qui nous sont soumis. Les Philippines sont un des coauteurs du projet de résolution A/L.366 et Add.1 à 3; nous voterons naturellement en sa faveur.

241. Je voudrais maintenant dire ce que ma délégation pense du projet de résolution déposé par les Pays-Bas [A/L.354]. Dans des circonstances normales, une puissance administrante qui déciderait de reconnaître le droit d'autodétermination au territoire non autonome qu'elle administre et d'abandonner volontairement sa souveraineté sur ce territoire pour le placer sous l'autorité et la tutelle des Nations Unies, en vue de se conformer aux obligations de la résolution 1514 (XV), ferait preuve d'une initiative que nous saluerions tous comme un acte louable et généreux. C'est dans cet esprit que la délégation philippine considère le projet néerlandais.

242. Ce que je viens de déclarer suppose, cependant, que le statut du territoire non autonome n'est pas

mis en cause. Dans le cas de la Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale, l'Indonésie conteste les prétentions des Pays-Bas à la qualité d'autorité administrante.

243. Il ne faut pas oublier qu'au moment où les Pays-Bas ont reconnu l'indépendance de l'Indonésie, le 27 décembre 1949, le statut de la Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale devait faire, au cours de l'année suivante, l'objet de négociations entre les deux pays. Ces négociations ont échoué. On a essayé à plusieurs reprises de porter l'affaire devant les Nations Unies; mais là aussi c'est en vain que l'on a recherché une solution satisfaisante.

244. Il est donc évident que le projet néerlandais, quelles que soient ses qualités intrinsèques, ne saurait en aucun cas régler la question de la Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale, du moins tant que l'Indonésie n'aura pas renoncé, sur ce territoire, à sa revendication contraire aux thèses néerlandaises, et accepté que l'administration en soit confiée à une commission spéciale de l'ONU, comme prévu dans le projet. C'est pourquoi la délégation philippine ne voit pas comment elle pourrait accepter ou refuser ce projet de résolution.

245. Etant donné le caractère très épineux du problème et les dangers qu'il représente pour la paix en Asie du Sud-Est, nous pensons, avec d'autres Etats, qu'il est essentiel de maintenir par tous les moyens un climat de conciliation entre les parties, dans le calme et l'amitié. Il ne faut pas, selon nous, que l'un ou l'autre pays durcisse sa position et ferme la porte à des négociations qui permettraient d'aboutir à un compromis satisfaisant. C'est dans cet esprit que nous nous voyons forcés de nous abstenir à l'égard de ce projet de résolution et d'insister auprès des deux parties pour qu'elles continuent à rechercher, dans un esprit de sérénité et de concessions mutuelles, une solution définitive au conflit qui les oppose et les moyens légitimes de parvenir à cette solution.

246. Notre attitude à l'égard des autres projets de résolution dont l'Assemblée est saisie s'inspirera de la position de mon gouvernement, telle que je viens de l'exposer, et du projet africano-asiatique [A/L.366 et Add.1 à 3] que nous appuierons, puisque les Philippines sont un des signataires de ce texte.

247. M. BROOKS (Canada) [traduit de l'anglais]: Voici ce que ma délégation pense du projet de résolution [A/L.366 et Add.1 à 3] déposé conjointement par 38 pays d'Asie et d'Afrique.

248. L'Assemblée générale a conclu, l'année dernière, un débat très important en adoptant la résolution 1514 (XV): Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. Cette résolution marque une grande étape dans l'œuvre politique des Nations Unies. Elle s'accorde avec l'esprit de la Déclaration universelle des droits de l'homme et se fonde sur les principes fondamentaux de la Charte. Elle avait pour auteurs les pays d'Asie et d'Afrique, aucun Etat Membre ne s'y est opposé, elle a recueilli 89 voix; tout cela ajoute à son importance. Je relève, en passant, que le Canada a eu le plaisir d'être parmi ceux qui l'ont votée.

249. Il est juste et naturel que l'Assemblée, ayant à sa quinzième session adopté cette déclaration, ait voulu cette année examiner où en est son application.

250. L'attitude de ma délégation se fonde sur un certain nombre de considérations. Il nous importe, avant tout, que le monde entier respecte les libertés

et droits essentiels de l'homme, en particulier le principe de l'autodétermination et celui de l'égalité de traitement sans acception de race, de couleur ou de croyance.

251. Nous sommes heureux de constater également le rôle grandissant que les nouvelles nations d'Afrique et d'Asie jouent sur la scène internationale. Notre désir de conserver à notre organisation son efficacité nous incite à nous joindre à ces nouveaux Etats. Le Canada attache une grande importance à la consolidation des liens du Commonwealth, qui nous unissent à quelques-unes des principales nations d'Asie et d'Afrique et à d'autres territoires africains très proches de l'indépendance. D'autre part, du fait que notre pays est bilingue, nous autres Canadiens sommes conscients de nos affinités culturelles et linguistiques avec les pays d'expression française d'Afrique et d'Asie du Sud-Est.

252. Aussi sommes-nous vraiment sincères dans notre désir de voir la décolonisation de toutes les populations non autonomes qui veulent l'indépendance se faire à un rythme que seules doivent déterminer des considérations pratiques de stabilité interne. Cela implique que les habitants du pays détermineront eux-mêmes leur destinée avec l'aide de ceux qui ont une réelle expérience du pays et ont agi pour donner aux nations nouvelles l'assurance de la stabilité politique et économique dans l'avenir.

253. C'est pourquoi ma délégation, ici comme ailleurs, a toujours insisté sur la nécessité de former rapidement des fonctionnaires et des techniciens autochtones dans les territoires sous tutelle et non autonomes. Pour que les territoires dépendants puissent prendre un bon départ et devenir des Etats viables, il leur faut la solide base que représentent des administrateurs qualifiés. Certaines délégations ont insisté à juste titre sur cette nécessité, en particulier celles de la Nigéria, de l'Inde et de la Birmanie.

254. Nous pouvons tous apporter notre aide à la réalisation de cet objectif. Au Canada, par exemple, plus de 1 000 étudiants venus de territoires non autonomes ou de territoires sous tutelle reçoivent, cette année, un enseignement supérieur ou poursuivent leurs études au titre des programmes d'assistance technique.

255. En matière d'indépendance, le danger, me semble-t-il, n'est pas que la puissance administrante refuse de s'incliner en fin de compte devant l'élan du nationalisme. Nous avons eu, dans une très grande majorité de cas, la preuve éclatante du contraire. Le danger est plutôt dans le cas de territoires administrés selon des conceptions différentes que l'indépendance ne trouve les habitants presque totalement impréparés à assumer les responsabilités nouvelles qu'ils demanderont et obtiendront certainement.

256. C'est pourquoi nous autres Canadiens appuyons pleinement la méthode britannique: créer les cadres administratifs en formant un noyau de fonctionnaires qui, à l'heure de l'indépendance, devra fidélité non pas à une tribu ou à un parti, mais à l'ensemble du pays. La sagesse de cette politique est amplement démontrée.

257. Pour que l'indépendance soit durable, pour qu'elle ne donne pas naissance à des factions et à des luttes intestines, il faut aussi qu'elle s'institue dans l'harmonie et dans l'ordre. C'est ainsi que la France et le Royaume-Uni ont procédé avec une ampleur et une rapidité sans précédent dans l'histoire mondiale.

258. Dans beaucoup de régions du monde, il est des pays qui viennent d'acquérir leur indépendance, mais notre attention se porte irrésistiblement, à l'heure actuelle, sur les événements que connaît le continent africain. Le passage à l'indépendance s'y fait à une cadence extraordinaire; la marée de la liberté y bat son plein. Vingt-deux pays d'Afrique sont arrivés à l'indépendance depuis 1946.

259. Ces derniers mois, ce sont le Sierra Leone et la Mauritanie que nous avons accueillis au sein de l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Nous attendons avec impatience de recevoir en décembre le Tanganyika, société multiraciale, dont le facile passage à l'indépendance pourrait servir d'exemple à d'autres territoires. Mais ce n'est pas tout. L'indépendance de l'Ouganda pointe déjà à l'horizon, et nous espérons que celles du Kenya, du Ruanda-Urundi et d'autres territoires africains suivront sous peu.

260. Permettez-moi d'ajouter quelques mots au sujet de l'union de la partie méridionale du Cameroun ex-britannique avec la République du Cameroun, union qui date d'octobre 1961. Etant donné le caractère bilingue de ce pays, puisqu'il est maintenant l'expression à la fois française et anglaise, nous avons à son égard une affinité particulière. Nous voudrions également rendre un hommage particulier à tous ceux qui, dans un esprit de coopération et de bonne volonté, qui est tout à leur honneur, ont su mener cette union à bien.

261. Il est manifeste que l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance a fait des progrès, tant en Afrique que dans d'autres régions du monde. Ma délégation comprend bien que l'Assemblée puisse vouloir prendre maintenant des dispositions nouvelles pour instituer un organe, comme le propose le projet de résolution des 38 puissances, pour étudier l'application de la Déclaration coloniale et faire des propositions et des recommandations sur les progrès de sa mise en œuvre. Cela nous paraît logique et raisonnable. Nous voterons donc ce projet de résolution.

262. J'aimerais maintenant indiquer comment nous interprétons ce texte.

263. Il ne nous échappe pas qu'il s'agit d'un compromis obtenu au prix de longues et laborieuses discussions; nous pensons pourtant que l'on aurait pu libeller de façon plus heureuse certains alinéas du préambule. A notre avis, la majorité des puissances administrantes, qui honorent les obligations que leur fait la Charte, ont rapidement avancé dans la voie que préconise la Déclaration.

264. Le Gouvernement canadien considère, après mûre réflexion, qu'il faut appliquer dans le monde entier la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, que l'Assemblée doit prendre le colonialisme dans son acception la plus large et tout faire pour que la Déclaration s'applique partout où l'on entrave ou interdit, de propos délibéré, la marche des peuples vers l'indépendance et la liberté.

265. Nous devrions être particulièrement prudents quand nous examinons une formule unique ou des principes généraux applicables à tous les territoires qui sont encore sous régime colonial. Chacun d'eux connaît des problèmes et des conditions qui lui sont propres et dont il faut tenir compte. Dans certains, des mesures ont déjà été prises qui assureront la réalisation ordonnée de l'indépendance dans un proche avenir. Dans d'autres, les parties intéressées pro-

cèdent actuellement à de délicates négociations en vue de résoudre des situations complexes. Quant, à certains petits territoires, on peut sérieusement se demander si leur indépendance complète servirait au mieux les intérêts de leurs habitants. Pour obtenir des solutions pratiques, il faut appliquer des méthodes diverses, selon les circonstances. En tout état de cause, seuls les désirs et les besoins des populations sont à prendre en considération. Cette réalité est, nous semble-t-il, reconnue dans le projet nigérien relatif à l'indépendance des pays d'Afrique [A/L.357 et Add.1].

266. Nous espérons que le comité spécial qu'envisage le projet A/L.366 et Add.1 à 3 tiendra compte de ces considérations, en déterminant sa méthode de travail et en s'acquittant des tâches dont il sera chargé.

267. Les puissances administrantes ne peuvent pas partager leur responsabilité ou s'en décharger. Le comité spécial n'a pas pour fonction de s'ingérer dans les affaires des puissances administrantes, mais d'examiner avec soin les progrès réalisés et faire des propositions et recommandations en vue essentiellement des mesures à prendre dans la pratique pour favoriser l'application de la Déclaration.

268. Notre interprétation du paragraphe 6 est la suivante: si le comité spécial désire se réunir ailleurs qu'au Siège de l'ONU, il ne pourra le faire qu'après avoir consulté les autorités compétentes et obtenu leur accord.

269. En collaborant étroitement avec le Conseil de tutelle et le Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes, le comité spécial facilitera sans aucun doute la marche des territoires vers l'autonomie complète ou l'indépendance. Mais, comme le représentant du Japon nous l'a rappelé, l'indépendance n'est pas une manne tombée du ciel; c'est une récolte, et une bonne récolte exige un travail dur et ininterrompu, de tous ceux qui la désirent: les habitants du territoire eux-mêmes, les autorités administrantes et les Nations Unies.

270. Cette collaboration à trois est la condition sine qua non de la décolonisation. Il importe par-dessus tout que le comité envisagé en tienne compte dans ses travaux. L'esprit de coopération si bien illustré par la tutelle néo-zélandaise au Samoa-Occidental doit se retrouver au sein du comité spécial.

271. Seule la collaboration avec les autorités administrantes permettra de passer, dans l'ordre et dans la paix, du régime colonial à l'autonomie ou à l'indépendance. Il faut s'assurer de leur coopération active et amicale. Nous sommes sûrs que cette considération entrera en ligne de compte non seulement lors de la nomination des membres du comité spécial, nomination qui s'inspirera de la nécessité d'une répartition géographique équitable, mais aussi lors des travaux mêmes du comité spécial.

272. M. GARIN (Portugal) [traduit de l'anglais]: Je vais expliquer brièvement la position de ma délégation à l'égard des divers projets de résolution: A/L.355, A/L.357 et Add.1, A/L.366 et Add.1 à 3, des amendements à ce dernier document [A/L.370] et du document A/L.369.

273. Lors de l'adoption de la résolution 1514 (XV), ma délégation s'était abstenue de voter; nous avions à ce moment-là exposé les raisons de notre abstention.

Nous avons dit que nous partagions entièrement le sentiment de ceux qui cherchaient à mettre fin à toutes les manifestations véritables du colonialisme, c'est-à-dire à l'asservissement politique, à l'exploitation économique ou à la domination d'un peuple pour des raisons idéologiques. Nous avons en même temps souligné que la résolution ne tenait pas compte de la complexité extrême des divers problèmes en jeu et de leur répercussion éventuelle. Nous avons dit:

"... Le projet de résolution que vient d'approuver l'Assemblée ne nous paraît tenir compte ni de la complexité de tous les problèmes traités dans ce cadre, ni de leurs répercussions éventuelles. Bien des conséquences et bien des réalités pratiques n'ont été ni prises en considération, ni placées dans la perspective qui leur convient, et il n'a pas été tenu compte de certains aspects politiques, économiques ou autres, qui peuvent surgir ultérieurement.

"De même, nous avons entendu ici les dirigeants de quatre ou cinq pays nous parler d'un nouveau type de colonialisme, qui est le système politique et économique le plus détestable que le monde ait jamais connu et qui a entraîné la subjugation et l'oppression de nombreux pays qui ont été ainsi livrés à la tyrannie. Ma délégation aurait pensé que ce type de colonialisme aurait dû, lui aussi, être condamné dans le projet de résolution adopté par l'Assemblée, car un effort dans ce sens aurait servi l'intérêt de l'humanité entière. Toutefois, l'Assemblée en a jugé autrement, et le texte qu'elle a adopté a ainsi perdu le sens et la portée universels qu'il aurait pu avoir ⁵."

274. Les projets de résolution déposés à ce sujet pendant la présente session découlent de la résolution 1514 (XV). Tous souffrent non seulement du défaut de la résolution mère, mais insistent en fait pour que l'on fonde de nouvelles mesures sur cet instrument défectueux.

275. On n'a pas essayé de définir ce qui constitue l'essence du colonialisme, ni de distinguer entre colonialisme et colonisation. On a mis l'accent sur les différences culturelles et raciales et on a insisté sur la situation géographique, alors que les facteurs dont on aurait dû tenir compte relèvent de la nature des rapports économiques, juridiques et politiques. Si ces derniers rapports sont conformes aux droits fondamentaux de l'homme, il est évident que toutes les autres considérations deviennent sans intérêt.

276. Malheureusement, on a traité toute l'affaire dans une atmosphère d'intense émotivité qui n'est certainement pas propice à une sagesse politique pratique et constructive. Aussi les projets de résolution s'écartent-ils non seulement de l'idée principale, mais soutiennent manifestement ce qui est en réalité la pire forme du colonialisme, celle qui s'étend de nos jours et tient déjà des millions d'hommes en esclavage. En fait, les prémisses sur lesquelles se fondent ces projets de résolution sont très exactement celles qu'énonce la puissance qui essaie de détourner l'attention de son propre colonialisme tyrannique en provoquant cyniquement des attitudes émotives, qui conduisent à des conclusions partiales, chimériques et myopes. Si certains ont parfois mentionné "toutes les formes du colonialisme", sa forme

⁵/ Voir Documents officiels de l'Assemblée générale, quinzième session (1ère partie), Séances plénières (vol. II), 947ème séance, par. 103 et 104.

actuellement la plus florissante brille par son absence de ces projets de résolution: on l'a de ce fait admis comme acceptable. De l'avis de ma délégation, la question est trop grave pour qu'on la néglige.

277. Une autre forme de colonialisme n'a pas trouvé place dans les projets de résolution; c'est le colonialisme qui règne dans certaines régions où, en raison du système des castes, de vastes secteurs de la population sont privés du bénéfice des droits élémentaires de l'homme, où un confessionnalisme agressif opprime des minorités raciales ou religieuses, où les résolutions par lesquelles le Conseil de sécurité a régulièrement demandé un plébiscite sont bafouées par ceux-là mêmes qui les ont réclamées, où les populations intéressées sont tenues en échec par la force, où même les jugements de la Cour internationale de Justice sont violés et où, unilatéralement, on déclare annexés des territoires étrangers.

278. Dans les projets de résolution ne figurent pas de dispositions contre la menace du néo-colonialisme qui tente surtout de bloquer les marchés, les matières premières et les devises, et de maintenir ainsi dans la dépendance économique les pays sous-développés. Ce néo-colonialisme essaie insidieusement de constituer de nouvelles zones d'influence par le moyen détourné de l'infiltration économique, qui peut mettre en danger l'indépendance et la personnalité véritables de certains pays, surtout celles des pays d'Afrique, en en retardant le développement économique. Voilà des questions qui, bien entendu, intéressent profondément mon pays.

279. D'après les dires de certaines délégations, il semble que derrière ces projets de résolution se cache une savante manœuvre: refuser de voir la poutre que l'on a dans l'œil pour chercher la paille, réelle ou imaginaire, qui est dans l'œil de certains autres choisis à dessein. Il est significatif que deux de ces projets aient pour auteurs des pays bien connus eux-mêmes pour leur attitude impérialiste. Aussi ces projets de résolution peuvent-ils être considérés, à certains égards, comme destinés à semer la confusion; dans un cas au moins, comme certaines délégations l'on reconnu, ils cherchent à démembrer un Etat sous le couvert de l'anticolonialisme et en violation des principes fondamentaux de la Charte.

280. Au cours du présent débat, on a parlé de mon pays. Tout en protestant énergiquement contre les accusations injustifiées et calomnieuses lancées contre nous, ma délégation tient à préciser qu'elle se dissocie complètement de ces projets de résolution parce qu'elle rejette catégoriquement les allégations qui voudraient nous les rendre applicables. Certains orateurs ont essayé de tromper l'Assemblée sur les réalités historiques et présentes de la vie portugaise et sur les liens juridiques, politiques, sociaux et économiques qui unissent les différentes parties de la nation portugaise. La conception que l'on a aujourd'hui du colonialisme est tirée du système appliqué depuis le XIXème siècle par les puissances industrielles. Mais le Portugal d'outre-mer s'est, lui, formé au XVIème siècle et a obéi depuis lors à un idéal très différent, qu'il n'a jamais abandonné. Cette aspiration élevée, c'est l'intégration économique, sociale, politique et spirituelle de tous les peuples, sans aucune discrimination raciale ou autre, pour former une seule entité politique, par une évolution sociale graduelle, qui aujourd'hui encore n'a rien perdu de sa valeur humaine ni de sa force dynamique. La nation portugaise a existé sur cette base historiquement et juridiquement. Nos provinces européennes d'outre-mer n'ont pas été intégrées l'année dernière, et nous n'avons jamais changé — dans l'essentiel du moins — la structure constitutionnelle de notre pays.

281. Pour conclure, je dirai que ces projets de résolution, tout en voulant mettre fin au vrai colonialisme, passent à côté de leur objectif, car ils ne tiennent pas compte de l'essentiel du problème; ils excluent de leur champ d'application les formes les plus cruelles du colonialisme et du néo-colonialisme, notamment du colonialisme économique; ils se fondent enfin, au moins en partie, sur des idées fausses et insoutenables qui, aux yeux de ma délégation, ne méritent pas examen. Pour toutes ces raisons, ma délégation ne participera pas au vote sur les projets de résolution dont est saisie l'Assemblée, à savoir les documents A/L.355, A/L.357 et Add.1, A/L.366 et Add.1 à 3 et amendement [A/L.370], et A/L.369.

La séance est levée à 19 h 10.

Nations Unies ASSEMBLÉE GÉNÉRALE

SEIZIÈME SESSION

Documents officiels


1066^e
SÉANCE PLÉNIÈRE

 Lundi 27 novembre 1961,
 à 20 h 30

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POINTS 88 ET 22 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

La situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux (fin)

Assistance à l'Afrique (suite):

a) Programme des Nations Unies pour l'indépendance

1. M. PADILLA-NERVO (Mexique) [traduit de l'espagnol]: Je voudrais exposer brièvement quelques-unes des idées qui ont inspiré le projet de résolution présenté par la délégation du Mexique [A/L.369].

2. L'an dernier, l'Assemblée générale a indiqué dans la résolution 1514 (XV) le but auquel nous aspirons: l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. Cette année, nous cherchons la voie, les méthodes, les mesures les meilleures pour atteindre ce but le plus tôt possible. Autrement dit, nous cherchons les moyens de mettre effectivement en application cette résolution 1514 (XV). Nous voulons prendre des mesures pratiques, des mesures adaptées aux réalités actuelles et qui nous rapprochent de notre but. La résolution 1514 (XV) ne sera pas réellement appliquée simplement parce que nous en aurons adopté d'autres pour la réaffirmer, elle ne sera pas appliquée simplement parce que nous aurons répété deux ou trois fois qu'elle devrait l'être.

3. Un des problèmes les plus graves que cette assemblée doit résoudre consiste à trouver des méthodes et modalités satisfaisantes pour mener à bon terme l'accession des peuples coloniaux à l'indépendance. Les expériences tragiques qui viennent de se dérouler, surtout au Congo, font apparaître que la solution qui sera donnée à ces problèmes aura généralement une influence décisive sur le sort futur des peuples coloniaux et même sur le maintien de la paix internationale.

4. Jusqu'à présent, l'apparition d'Etats nouveaux n'avait presque jamais été préparée ni facilitée par une action organisée de la communauté internationale. Les Nations Unies n'ont patronné et soutenu l'avène-

ment de nouveaux Etats que dans certains cas particuliers, comme ceux des anciennes colonies italiennes de Libye et de Somalie, et à l'occasion des plébiscites organisés dans quelques pays, comme le Ghana et le Cameroun. Jusqu'à présent, les conditions dans lesquelles les nouveaux Etats ont accédé à l'indépendance résultaient exclusivement d'une lutte entre la ferveur nationaliste de la population et la résistance que lui opposait l'ancienne autorité coloniale.

5. Ma délégation estime que dans l'esprit de la résolution 1514 (XV) il ne s'agit pas seulement que les Etats accèdent à l'indépendance, mais encore qu'ils y accèdent dans des conditions telles que leur vie économique et leur indépendance elle-même ne soient pas hypothéquées en faveur d'une puissance quelconque. A notre avis, l'Assemblée doit donc s'assurer que les conditions dans lesquelles s'effectue la décolonisation ne représentent pas une menace pour la paix et la sécurité internationales, et qu'elles ne faussent pas la souveraineté et l'indépendance des territoires et des peuples qui acquièrent leur liberté.

6. Les Nations Unies ont une responsabilité en ce qui concerne les conditions et les modalités selon lesquelles se réalise la libération des peuples coloniaux. Tel est à notre avis le sens profond de la résolution historique 1514 (XV) que l'Assemblée générale a adoptée et qui contient la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux.

7. L'Assemblée générale a décrété par un acte réfléchi et solennel la fin du colonialisme, mais, en la décrétant, elle a souligné en même temps dans l'un des considérants de cette résolution le rôle important qui incombe à l'Organisation des Nations Unies pour ce qui est de favoriser le mouvement d'indépendance dans les territoires sous tutelle et les territoires non autonomes.

8. Cette déclaration signifie que l'Assemblée se charge désormais de veiller à ce que cette indépendance soit obtenue dans les meilleures conditions pour les populations autochtones et non pas sous une forme anarchique ou nuisible. Telles sont les considérations qui ont inspiré le projet de résolution présenté par le Mexique.

9. Nous ne croyons pas que l'octroi de l'indépendance puisse être une opération mécanique, automatique, survenant à une date fixée d'avance, identique dans tous les cas et réalisée toujours dans les mêmes conditions. La liberté et l'indépendance ne résultent pas d'affirmations solennelles et le départ officiel de la puissance administrante ne suffit pas à rendre un Etat souverain. La situation des 80 territoires dépendants peut être extrêmement variée et il n'est pas possible de suivre la même marche dans tous les cas.

10. Les Nations Unies ne doivent ni ne veulent provoquer des révolutions dans les territoires non auto-

nomes, ni une hostilité stérile à l'Assemblée contre les puissances coloniales.

11. La collaboration des puissances administrantes des colonies et des autorités administrantes des territoires sous tutelle est indispensable pour assurer l'évolution ordonnée et pacifique vers l'autodétermination et l'indépendance. Les puissances qui administrent des territoires ont en la matière des politiques très différentes et on ne peut les placer toutes sur le même plan.

12. Tous les hommes et tous les peuples, quel que soit leur degré de développement et les progrès qu'ils ont réalisés, ont le même droit à la liberté, mais il existe aussi des différences considérables dans la capacité des territoires à devenir des Etats souverains reconnus comme tels sur le plan international.

13. Ma délégation estime que le véritable objectif ultime que nous visons est l'autodétermination pour les peuples qui n'exercent pas encore ce droit. Or, l'autodétermination d'un peuple s'exprime, se traduit et se reflète normalement dans la constitution d'un Etat indépendant, mais la création d'une entité politique douée d'une personnalité internationale propre, c'est-à-dire la création d'un nouvel Etat, n'est pas toujours viable et n'est même pas toujours possible. Il faut savoir dans quels cas elle est possible et viable et dans quels autres elle ne l'est pas, ou pas encore. Il est indispensable que le territoire remplisse certaines conditions évidentes, dictées par sa géographie, le nombre de ses habitants et d'autres facteurs qui permettent de supposer que le nouvel Etat sera viable.

14. Songez par exemple au cas de l'île Tristan da Cunha, perdue dans l'immensité de l'océan Atlantique, qui comptait moins de 300 habitants; songez encore à l'île de la Passion. Parmi les territoires dépendants, il en est plusieurs qui sont dans des situations semblables, sinon identiques. Dans leur cas, l'indépendance, au sens classique du mot, n'aurait aucune signification; mieux vaudrait parler de gouvernement local et d'autonomie.

15. Voyons maintenant d'autres territoires plus peuplés et plus riches de ressources, voisins d'autres Etats ou territoires dont ils sont séparés par des frontières artificielles, malgré les nombreux liens ethniques et culturels qui unissent leurs populations. Il peut se présenter des cas où la bonne solution ne consisterait pas nécessairement à créer un nouvel Etat indépendant, mais où l'on devrait par exemple provoquer la fédération ou même la fusion des deux territoires voisins si les populations en manifestaient le désir dans l'exercice de leur droit à l'autodétermination.

16. Enfin, dans certains cas très particuliers, lorsqu'un territoire se trouve géographiquement séparé d'un Etat, mais qu'il existe entre eux des liens étroits, l'indépendance peut signifier l'union sur la base de l'égalité complète, si telle est la volonté réelle de la population. Ainsi, les îles Hawaii et l'Alaska ont vraiment accédé à l'indépendance en se rattachant aux Etats-Unis comme Etats de l'Union, sur la base d'une égalité totale, sans devenir des entités indépendantes sur le plan international.

17. Comme je le disais tout à l'heure, il peut exister une multitude de situations différentes et des cas très variés. La décision à prendre dans chaque cas dépendra des circonstances et caractéristiques particulières. C'est pourquoi nous proposons qu'un comité

spécial constitué à cet effet examine tous les cas de territoires non autonomes et recommande à l'Assemblée, l'an prochain, les mesures qui pourraient être prises, avec la collaboration des puissances administrantes, pour accélérer l'octroi de la liberté ou de l'indépendance aux territoires qui ne l'ont pas encore.

18. Inspiré de ces idées, le projet de résolution que nous avons présenté prévoit l'indispensable contact avec la puissance administrante et suppose une coopération qui sera finalement profitable non seulement aux populations des territoires, mais aussi aux Etats qui les administrent.

19. Le projet de résolution du Mexique représente un effort sincère de mon gouvernement pour contribuer à la liquidation accélérée du colonialisme. Je suis persuadé que la méthode que nous proposons permettra d'atteindre ce noble objectif d'une façon ordonnée, continue et complète.

20. M. UYS (Afrique du Sud) [traduit de l'anglais]: Nous avons écouté avec attention la discussion générale sur la question du colonialisme dans l'espoir qu'à cette occasion on accorderait aussi beaucoup d'attention au cas des 200 millions de personnes qui ont perdu leur indépendance par la conquête et qui vivent sous la subjugation depuis 1945. Plusieurs orateurs ont évoqué cet aspect de la question, mais la grande majorité des délégations ne se sont occupées que d'un seul type de colonialisme. Faut-il y voir un nouvel exemple de l'application de deux poids et deux mesures? Pas un seul des projets de résolution dont l'Assemblée générale est saisie ne vise ces millions de personnes qui subissent ce nouveau type d'oppression et d'asservissement. Pour comble, un des projets de résolution a été présenté par le principal architecte de ce moderne régime d'oppression.

21. Il est également intéressant de noter que beaucoup de ceux qui ont lancé contre mon pays des accusations sans fondement, souvent sans aucune retenue et même au mépris du règlement intérieur, n'ont manifesté aucun intérêt pour les nombreux millions de personnes qui vivent sous le joug de la nouvelle puissance impérialiste d'aujourd'hui.

22. Certaines parties du projet de résolution qui figure dans le document A/L.366 et Add.1 à 3 sont acceptables pour mon pays. Nous sommes sensibles aussi à l'esprit dans lequel ce projet de résolution a été présenté. Malheureusement, il contient certaines dispositions qui, à notre avis, vont au-delà des obligations prescrites dans la Charte; il sera donc impossible à ma délégation de voter pour lui. Il en est de même des projets de résolution contenus dans les documents A/L.357 et Add.1 et A/L.369. Nous voterons naturellement contre le projet de résolution de l'Union soviétique [A/L.355].

23. M. BINGHAM (Etats-Unis d'Amérique) [traduit de l'anglais]: Je voudrais définir brièvement la position de ma délégation sur les divers projets de résolution qui nous sont soumis.

24. Pour parler d'abord des projets de résolution d'ordre général, nous sommes très reconnaissants aux nombreux auteurs du projet de résolution figurant dans le document A/L.366 et Add.1 à 3 pour la peine qu'ils ont prise et la patience qu'ils ont montrée durant plusieurs semaines de discussions difficiles pour mettre au point un texte qui puisse être accepté, croyons-nous, par l'écrasante majorité des Etats Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, un texte qui, mieux encore, puisse donner des résultats.

25. Ma délégation se propose donc de voter pour le projet de résolution dit africano-asiatique s'il est mis aux voix sous sa forme actuelle. Nous sommes fermement opposés aux amendements de l'Union soviétique [A/L.370] à ce projet de résolution. Nous estimons que ces amendements détruiraient l'équilibre délicat établi dans le projet de résolution A/L.366 et Add.1 à 3 sous sa forme actuelle, équilibre réalisé grâce à des concessions mutuelles pendant des semaines de négociations; il importe, à notre avis, de ne pas détruire cet équilibre. L'adoption de ces amendements rendrait le projet de résolution inacceptable pour mon gouvernement.

26. Nous avons lu avec un vif intérêt le projet de résolution du Mexique [A/L.369]. Nous estimons que ce texte donne à penser et renferme beaucoup d'idées intéressantes, notamment celles qui viennent d'être exposées en détail par le représentant du Mexique. Nous estimons cependant que nous n'avons pas eu assez de temps pour étudier comme il le faudrait toutes les incidences de ce projet de résolution. De plus, il nous semble incompatible avec le projet de résolution A/L.366 et Add.1 à 3 et, comme il est bien certain que ce dernier sera adopté par l'Assemblée à une très forte majorité, nous espérons qu'ensuite le représentant du Mexique n'insistera pas pour que son propre projet soit mis aux voix.

27. Quant au projet de résolution figurant dans le document A/L.357 et Add.1, déposé à l'origine par la délégation de la Nigéria, nous avons été très frappés par l'exposé des motifs fait par le Ministre des affaires étrangères de la Nigéria lorsqu'il a présenté ce texte [1050ème séance]. Si ce projet de résolution est mis aux voix, nous le voterons.

28. Nous voterons contre le projet de résolution A/L.355, présenté par l'Union soviétique, non parce qu'il vient de l'Union soviétique, mais parce que nous le trouvons tendancieux et non conforme aux réalités.

29. Je passe maintenant aux projets de résolution d'ordre particulier qui se rapportent à la question de la Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale. Lorsque j'ai pris la parole dans la discussion générale l'autre jour [1061ème séance], j'ai signalé que pour diverses raisons nous avions certaines critiques à formuler contre le projet de résolution présenté par le Gouvernement néerlandais [A/L.354] et contre le projet de résolution présenté par le Gouvernement indien [A/L.367/Rev.1]. Nous estimons que le projet de résolution des Pays-Bas ne tenait pas suffisamment compte de la position du Gouvernement indonésien en la matière. Nous estimons d'autre part que le projet de résolution de l'Inde n'apporterait rien d'utile et qu'il avait le tort de ne pas mentionner le principe de l'autodétermination. Nous n'avons pas été convaincus par l'exposé fait avec beaucoup de compétence cet après-midi par le représentant de l'Inde, M. Jha. Il a effectivement souligné que ce projet de résolution faisait mention de la Charte et des principes de la Charte d'une façon générale et que parmi ces principes figurait celui de l'autodétermination. Nous pensons cependant qu'il ressortait clairement de la déclaration de M. Jha que pour la délégation de l'Inde — et sans doute aussi pour les autres auteurs du projet de résolution — l'autodétermination ne devait pas s'appliquer dans ce cas particulier, car les délégations en question — et ici encore M. Jha l'a dit très clairement — acceptent l'argument du Gouvernement indonésien selon lequel il s'agirait d'un seul Etat indivisible et l'autodétermination ne pourrait pas s'appliquer pour ce motif.

30. Mais, comme je l'ai fait observer l'autre jour, c'est précisément là ce qui fait l'objet du différend. Voilà pourquoi, je le répète, il nous semble que l'adoption de ce projet de résolution n'apporterait rien d'utile et nous écarterait même de notre objectif au lieu de nous en rapprocher, car elle équivaldrait à rejeter la proposition tendant à une autodétermination organisée sous les auspices des Nations Unies.

31. Nous estimons que dans le projet de résolution A/L.368 on a conservé ce qu'il y avait de meilleur dans les deux projets de résolution, celui des Pays-Bas et celui de l'Inde, et nous pensons que les 13 délégations de pays d'Afrique qui l'ont déposé doivent être félicitées de cette initiative. Nous approuvons les déclarations faites à l'appui de ce projet de résolution par les représentants du Niger, de la Haute-Volta et du Dahomey. A notre avis, ce projet de résolution offre la possibilité d'une solution par voie de négociations entre l'Indonésie et les Pays-Bas, et tous ici nous préférons, j'en suis sûr, voir parvenir à une solution par cette voie. Cependant, le projet de résolution indique ensuite ce qu'il y aurait lieu de faire si les négociations ne donnaient pas de résultat dans un délai raisonnable. Je crois que le représentant de l'Argentine et d'autres représentants ont émis l'avis dans des conversations privées qu'il serait préférable de supprimer le paragraphe 6 du dispositif du projet de résolution figurant dans le document A/L.368. Ce paragraphe semble donner lieu à certaines difficultés particulières, et nous suggérons donc aux auteurs du projet d'envisager la suppression du paragraphe 6 du dispositif.

32. Ma délégation votera pour ce projet de résolution des 13 nations africaines, ainsi que pour la motion de priorité en sa faveur dont le représentant du Niger a parlé [1065ème séance, par. 83]. Nous espérons que ce projet de résolution sera adopté, ce qui rendra inutile de voter soit sur la proposition des Pays-Bas soit sur la proposition de l'Inde.

33. M. COMAY (Israël) [traduit de l'anglais]: Ma délégation a déjà annoncé qu'elle appuie le projet de résolution africano-asiatique figurant dans le document A/L.366 et Add.1 à 3, ainsi que le projet de résolution de la Nigéria [A/L.357 et Add.1]. Nous allons examiner certains autres projets de résolution et amendements sous l'angle de leur compatibilité avec ces deux projets de résolution.

34. Pour le moment, je me bornerai à quelques observations sur les projets de résolution relatifs à la Nouvelle-Guinée néerlandaise. En principe, nous sommes vivement partisans du règlement de tous les différends entre Etats par voie de négociations directes. Toutefois, dans le cas particulier qui nous occupe, je ne crois pas que l'on puisse demander à deux pays de négocier entre eux ce que doit être l'avenir d'un troisième pays. Le principe de l'autodétermination doit être respecté et la décision définitive doit être laissée aux habitants du territoire intéressé.

35. Nous voterons contre le projet de résolution de l'Inde [A/L.367/Rev.1] parce qu'il présente le problème comme un simple différend entre les Pays-Bas et l'Indonésie et ne tient aucun compte de la population de la Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale.

36. Ma délégation considère le projet de résolution qui figure dans le document A/L.368, projet déposé par un groupe de délégations africaines, comme un effort constructif, une tentative, digne de véritables

hommes politiques, de concilier le principe de la négociation et le principe de l'autodétermination; nous lui donnons donc notre entier appui. Nous appuyons de même la proposition tendant à voter sur ce projet de résolution par priorité.

37. M. BOZOVIC (Yougoslavie): Comme nous l'avons déclaré au cours du débat général sur le point 88 de l'ordre du jour [1057^{ème} séance], le Gouvernement yougoslave considère l'Irian occidental comme ayant été et comme étant toujours une partie intégrante de l'Indonésie se trouvant encore, pour certaines raisons, sous l'administration des Pays-Bas. Partant de ce point de vue et considérant que tout projet qui ne tiendrait pas compte des droits légitimes de l'Indonésie ne pourrait servir de base à une solution équitable et constructive de cette question, la délégation yougoslave votera contre le projet de résolution présenté par les Pays-Bas [A/L.354].

38. Le projet de résolution de 13 pays d'Afrique [A/L.368], malgré les efforts louables de ses auteurs, ne diffère ni quant au fond ni quant à son but du projet de résolution des Pays-Bas. En conséquence, ma délégation, pour les raisons que j'ai indiquées et qui s'appliquent également à ce texte, votera contre le projet de résolution présenté par 13 pays d'Afrique. Si le vote sur ce projet a lieu par division, ma délégation votera contre le sixième considérant qui, par implication, considère l'Irian occidental comme un territoire non autonome aux termes du Chapitre XI de la Charte; à notre avis, ce n'est pas le cas, en dépit du fait que le Gouvernement des Pays-Bas a présenté tous les ans des rapports sur cette partie du territoire indonésien, ce qui — nous le savons tous — a été l'objet de réserves et d'une opposition continue les plus expresses de la part de l'Indonésie. Nous voterons également contre les paragraphes 1 et 5 de ce projet parce que les négociations entre le Gouvernement de l'Indonésie et celui des Pays-Bas sont soumises à un délai déterminé d'avance et parce que ces paragraphes contiennent des éléments qui, s'ils étaient acceptés en ce moment, pourraient être considérés comme préjugant la position de l'une ou de l'autre des parties en cause.

39. Finalement, ma délégation votera contre les autres paragraphes de ce projet de résolution, à l'exception du paragraphe 2, de même que contre le projet de résolution dans son ensemble, étant donné que la création de la commission proposée non seulement ne facilitera pas le règlement de cette question, mais, bien au contraire, nous le craignons, créera une situation qui, comme cela est souligné au troisième considérant, serait "susceptible de mettre en danger la paix et la sécurité internationales".

40. Le projet de résolution déposé par l'Inde et plusieurs autres pays [A/L.367/Rev.1] trace, à notre avis, la voie à suivre pour le règlement de cette question, de façon à contribuer au rétablissement de relations normales et amicales entre l'Indonésie et les Pays-Bas ainsi qu'à la stabilisation de la paix dans cette partie du monde. C'est pourquoi ma délégation votera pour ce projet de résolution.

41. Nous voterons aussi en faveur du projet de résolution présenté par 38 pays d'Afrique et d'Asie [A/L.366 et Add.1 à 3]. Ce projet, bien qu'il eût pu être complété par une analyse plus poussée des termes du mandat du Comité spécial, représente, tel qu'il est devant nous, un pas important vers la mise en œuvre de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépen-

dance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux [résolution 1514 (XV)].

42. Par contre, ma délégation n'est malheureusement pas en mesure de voter en faveur du projet de résolution soumis par la Nigéria et par le Libéria [A/L.357 et Add.1]. Si les dispositions de ce projet sont mises aux voix séparément, nous voterons contre les paragraphes 1 et 2, qui prévoient l'année 1970 comme la date avant laquelle tous les territoires et peuples coloniaux doivent accéder à l'indépendance.

43. Ayant voté contre la date envisagée qui, à notre avis, ne correspond pas aux besoins et à la réalité d'aujourd'hui, nous ne pourrions que voter contre le projet de résolution dans son ensemble si ces paragraphes sont acceptés, bien que nous soyons favorables aux autres paragraphes de ce projet de résolution.

44. Ma délégation votera en faveur du projet de résolution soumis par l'Union soviétique [A/L.355], qui prévoit une série de mesures concrètes pour l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, si ce projet est mis aux voix. Nous voudrions toutefois ajouter que, dans la composition de la commission spéciale qui y est proposée, la participation majoritaire des pays qui se sont récemment libérés du colonialisme serait maintenue; pour ces raisons, ma délégation s'abstiendra dans le vote sur le paragraphe 4 si un vote par division intervenait. Dans le cas où le projet de résolution présenté par l'Union soviétique serait retiré, ma délégation voterait en faveur des amendements que la délégation soviétique a présentés [A/L.370], pour autant que ces amendements seront mis aux voix.

45. Malgré la sympathie que nous éprouvons à l'égard de certaines idées contenues dans le projet de résolution présenté par le Mexique [A/L.369], nous ne sommes pas en mesure de l'appuyer. En principe, nous nous accordons à reconnaître qu'il importe "que les autorités locales aient un degré d'aptitude politique et administrative qui leur permette de se soustraire aux pressions internationales et d'assurer de façon satisfaisante le développement économique et le progrès social des habitants de leurs territoires". La question fondamentale qui se pose ici est celle de savoir comment déterminer l'existence d'une telle aptitude, et qui devrait en être juge. Nous savons tous que les puissances coloniales ont toujours considéré et considéré encore qu'elles sont seules compétentes pour prendre des décisions; il va de soi que nous ne sommes pas d'accord avec une telle interprétation du rôle des puissances administrantes. Ce sont les habitants des territoires dépendants et leurs représentants politiques qui doivent en décider. Nous considérons que, dès l'instant où un peuple demande à accéder à l'indépendance, la question des aptitudes politiques ne se pose plus; elle ne se pose ni en ce qui concerne l'exercice des fonctions politiques ni en ce qui concerne la solution des difficultés d'ordre administratif auxquelles d'ailleurs beaucoup de pays indépendants ont toujours à faire face.

46. D'autre part, les litiges relatifs à la souveraineté sur un territoire qui fait partie d'un système colonial ou qui est le résultat d'un héritage colonial ont toujours été considérés — ainsi que l'expérience l'a démontré — comme étant essentiellement des différends de nature politique. Ces différends ne sauraient donc être réglés aujourd'hui, dans de nouvelles conditions, seulement et exclusivement sur la base

des principes de droit international qui étaient applicables à l'époque des conquêtes coloniales, et sur la base des traités conclus entre les puissances coloniales et ceux qui étaient ou que l'on voulait croire les représentants des populations autochtones.

47. Telles sont quelques-unes des raisons pour lesquelles ma délégation ne pourra pas donner son appui au projet de résolution présenté par le Mexique.

48. M. ABDEL WAHAB (République arabe unie) [traduit de l'anglais]: Je voudrais définir l'attitude de ma délégation devant les divers projets de résolution dont nous sommes saisis et expliquer les motifs qui nous ont incités à nous inscrire parmi les auteurs du projet de résolution figurant dans le document A/L.366 et Add.1 à 3.

49. Dans sa résolution 1514 (XV), l'Assemblée générale a demandé instamment que tous pouvoirs soient transférés immédiatement aux peuples des territoires dépendants et que des mesures immédiates soient prises à cet effet. Or, aucune mesure importante n'a été prise dans le sens indiqué par l'Assemblée générale dans cette résolution. Les auteurs du projet de résolution ont donc jugé nécessaire la création d'un comité spécial chargé de surveiller l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, et de prêter assistance aux Etats intéressés pour l'application effective de la Déclaration. Ce comité jouirait d'un mandat étendu afin de pouvoir exécuter au mieux la tâche qui lui serait confiée. Selon l'avis de ma délégation, ce comité devrait pouvoir recevoir des pétitions et se rendre dans les territoires dépendants, pour être en mesure d'offrir une assistance selon la situation qui y règne.

50. Ma délégation a déjà exprimé son avis sur le projet de résolution [A/L.354] présenté par les Pays-Bas; elle votera contre ce projet.

51. Nous sommes persuadés que les auteurs du projet de résolution A/L.368 sont poussés par un vif désir de trouver une solution au problème de l'Irian occidental, mais ma délégation estime que la solution juste est celle que pourront accepter les deux parties au différend, celle qui résultera de négociations entre ces parties. Le projet de résolution part de l'hypothèse que les Pays-Bas ont la souveraineté sur le territoire. Or, tout le monde reconnaît que l'Indonésie a toujours contesté et continue à contester cette prétention des Pays-Bas. L'Indonésie affirme à bon droit que l'Irian occidental est partie intégrante de son territoire, et la validité de cette attitude a été reconnue ici par de nombreuses délégations, notamment celle de la République arabe unie.

52. Si nous admettons, comme il est écrit dans le projet de résolution, que la souveraineté sur l'Irian occidental fait l'objet d'un différend entre les Pays-Bas et l'Indonésie, il faut aider les parties intéressées à trouver une solution par voie de négociations; il ne faut pas imposer une solution à l'une des parties intéressées.

53. Pour toutes ces raisons, ma délégation espère que l'Assemblée adoptera le projet de résolution A/L.367/Rev.1, que ma délégation a eu l'honneur de présenter avec d'autres délégations.

54. Ma délégation ne peut appuyer le projet de résolution A/L.368 et votera contre lui.

55. Bien que ma délégation soit parmi les auteurs du projet de résolution A/L.366 et Add.1 à 3, elle

n'hésitera cependant pas à appuyer tout amendement ou toute autre proposition en faveur de l'abolition immédiate du colonialisme.

56. Quant au projet de résolution A/L.369, il a exactement le même objet que le projet A/L.366 et Add.1 à 3. D'ailleurs, nous n'avons pas eu le temps de l'examiner de près. Nous demandons en conséquence à la délégation mexicaine de bien vouloir reconsidérer sa position.

57. M. LAPINE (Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques) [traduit du russe]: La délégation de l'Union soviétique se félicite vivement du fait que les pays d'Afrique et d'Asie ont appuyé sa proposition tendant à ce que l'Assemblée générale examine la question de l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux [résolution 1514 (XV)] et ont présenté un projet de résolution à ce sujet [A/L.366 et Add.1 à 3].

58. Il est hors de doute que le projet de résolution souscrit par 38 pays d'Asie et d'Afrique est conforme aux principes et aux objectifs de la Déclaration qui a été adoptée à la quinzième session de l'Assemblée générale. Nous constatons aussi avec satisfaction que les auteurs du projet de résolution ont appuyé la proposition de l'Union soviétique tendant à créer un comité spécial qui assurerait le contrôle de l'application de la Déclaration. Mais le projet de résolution africaino-asiatique présente aussi, à notre avis, certains côtés faibles que nous avons déjà signalés. Son défaut principal est de ne pas indiquer de délai pour la liquidation du colonialisme.

59. De nombreuses délégations ont relevé à juste titre, dans leurs interventions, que si la Déclaration adoptée par l'Assemblée générale à sa quinzième session avait indiqué des délais précis pour la liquidation du colonialisme, ainsi que l'Union soviétique l'avait alors proposé, nous ne serions pas contraints aujourd'hui de constater une grande lenteur dans l'application de la Déclaration. C'est pourquoi la délégation soviétique propose de compléter le paragraphe 2 du dispositif du projet de résolution africaino-asiatique par les mots: "et proclame solennellement que 1962 sera l'année de la liquidation du colonialisme".

60. Ce paragraphe 2 serait donc rédigé de la manière suivante:

"2. Invite les Etats intéressés à agir sans plus tarder afin d'assurer scrupuleusement l'application et la mise en œuvre de la Déclaration et proclame solennellement que 1962 sera l'année de la liquidation du colonialisme".

61. Cette rédaction découle directement de l'esprit et de la lettre de la Déclaration et correspond au paragraphe 5 de son dispositif qui stipule que des mesures immédiates seront prises pour transférer tous pouvoirs aux peuples des territoires, sans aucune condition ni réserve.

62. Cette proposition est fondée sur le fait qu'il n'y a pas, à l'heure actuelle, de peuples qui ne soient pas prêts à l'indépendance. Il est nécessaire de préciser un délai pour éviter aussi que les puissances colonialistes continuent à poser, sous une forme ou une autre, des conditions et réserves de toutes sortes tendant à reculer le plus longtemps possible la liquidation des vestiges du colonialisme.

63. On a soutenu ici que l'indépendance ne pouvait être accordée qu'une fois atteint un certain "niveau

d'instruction et d'expérience", une fois conclu un "accord avec l'autorité administrante", s'il existe une "stabilité politique", etc.

64. Les conditions et réserves de cette nature — et elles sont légion — sont contraires à l'esprit de la Déclaration et doivent être résolument repoussées. La fixation d'un délai pour la liquidation complète du colonialisme, ainsi que le propose l'Union soviétique, permettra d'appliquer la Déclaration sur une base solide et pratique.

65. On a essayé ici de suggérer des délais plus longs pour la liquidation du colonialisme, ou encore on s'est opposé à la fixation de délais en général, en invoquant certaines conditions ou situations particulières comme dans les cas des îles peu peuplées, etc. Il est toutefois impossible de ne pas voir l'artifice de tels arguments. La diversité de situation des différents territoires ne doit pas faire perdre de vue l'obligation la plus importante de notre époque: la liquidation du colonialisme. L'objectif principal est de permettre à l'Algérie, à l'Angola, au Kenya, au Ruanda-Urundi, à la Rhodésie du Nord, au Nyassaland, à la Nouvelle-Guinée, à la Guyane britannique et à d'autres territoires d'obtenir la liberté complète et l'indépendance au plus tard à la fin de 1962 et de pouvoir accueillir parmi nous, au cours de la prochaine session de l'Assemblée générale des Nations Unies, les représentants de ces pays comme Membres de plein droit de la famille des nations. On ne peut pas admettre que l'on substitue à une question de cette importance les problèmes concernant telle ou telle île peu peuplée. Les problèmes particuliers de ce genre seront résolus sans difficulté lorsque les questions importantes auront elles-mêmes trouvé une rapide et bonne solution.

66. Adopter la proposition sur la liquidation du colonialisme serait mettre fin à toutes les guerres coloniales. Ce serait vraiment le meilleur moyen d'arrêter le plus rapidement possible l'effusion de sang. Les sacrifices et souffrances de l'humanité seront d'autant moins nombreux et les chances de consolider la paix du monde d'autant plus grandes que le colonialisme sera plus vite liquidé.

67. Certains ont exprimé la crainte que la fixation d'un délai ne serve de prétexte aux puissances coloniales pour retarder d'un an l'octroi de l'indépendance à des pays qui auraient pu la recevoir dès maintenant. Nous voudrions expliquer que notre proposition ne doit pas provoquer de telles craintes. De nombreux pays, certes, doivent recevoir et recevront l'indépendance sans délai, c'est-à-dire avant la fin de 1962.

68. D'autres ont dit encore que le délai proposé par la délégation soviétique ne tenait pas assez compte des traits spécifiques de l'Afrique et de l'Asie et qu'il était purement formel. On a également essayé de prêter à la proposition soviétique des intentions de propagande. Nous avons expliqué notre position en détail dans nos interventions précédentes et nous avons fait justice de ces soupçons. Mais peut-être faudrait-il citer certains dirigeants africains influents à qui l'on ne peut reprocher de ne pas suffisamment connaître l'Afrique, leurs peuples et la volonté de ces peuples d'acquiescer la liberté et l'indépendance. C'est précisément parce que ces dirigeants connaissent l'Afrique qu'ils insistent pour que 1962 soit l'année de la liquidation complète du colonialisme.

69. A la Conférence de Belgrade, en septembre dernier^{1/}, le Président du Ghana, M. Nkrumah, a dit qu'il faut avertir les colonisateurs qu'ils ont à débarrasser l'Afrique de leur présence. Les machinations constitutionnelles et les tergiversations tendant à entraver l'octroi de la liberté et de l'indépendance sont vouées à l'échec. Je propose à la Conférence, a dit M. Nkrumah plus loin, de décider que les puissances colonialistes aient à quitter l'Afrique le 31 décembre 1962 au plus tard.

70. M. Nkrumah a ajouté que, si l'Organisation des Nations Unies n'agissait pas ainsi, c'est-à-dire si elle ne pouvait obtenir que sa propre déclaration sur la liquidation du colonialisme soit mise en œuvre immédiatement, la cause de la paix universelle en souffrirait gravement.

71. C'est pourquoi je voudrais souligner une fois de plus le fait que liquider le plus rapidement possible le colonialisme, ce serait non seulement accorder la liberté et les droits de l'homme à des millions de personnes opprimées, mais aussi créer des conditions propices à la consolidation de la paix.

72. Le colonialisme est synonyme de guerre et de terreur. Il est la cause constante de la tension internationale. Toute tentative de retarder la liquidation des vestiges du colonialisme implique le danger de nouvelles crises et conflits militaires, de nouvelles victimes et de nouveaux malheurs. C'est pourquoi la délégation soviétique estime indispensable de fixer un délai précis — à savoir l'année 1962 — pour l'application de la Déclaration.

73. La délégation soviétique estime qu'il est également nécessaire de compléter le paragraphe 4 du dispositif du projet de résolution africano-asiatique. A notre avis, le paragraphe où le comité spécial est prié d'étudier l'application de la Déclaration et de faire rapport à l'Assemblée générale en formulant des suggestions et des recommandations doit être précisé de la manière suivante:

"de formuler des suggestions et des recommandations quant à la mise en œuvre immédiate et à l'achèvement de l'exécution de la Déclaration, et de faire rapport à l'Assemblée générale à sa dix-septième session".

74. Nous estimons que cette précision donnerait au mandat du comité spécial un caractère plus concret qui correspondrait aux objectifs et aux principes de la Déclaration. Les termes que nous voudrions ajouter au paragraphe 4 de la résolution africano-asiatique découlent directement du préambule de cette résolution et des objectifs que ses auteurs se sont fixés.

75. Nous espérons que notre amendement ne soulèvera pas d'objections et sera adopté par les délégations.

76. Je voudrais dire deux mots à propos des interventions tardives des représentants du Portugal et de la République sud-africaine.

77. Vous vous rappelez, certes, qu'au cours des discussions générales la délégation des Etats-Unis s'est déjà efforcée de faire prendre aux débats sur certaines questions et une tournure anticommuniste et le ton de la "guerre froide". Mais ces tentatives ont échoué. Malgré l'insistance du représentant des Etats-Unis, personne n'a voulu s'engager sur un terrain aussi mauvais et aussi ingrat. Les Etats-Unis

^{1/} Tenue du 1er au 6 septembre 1961.

en ont été réduits à se charger seuls de cette pénible besogne. Mais voici qu'après nombre d'interventions malheureuses qui ont suscité l'opposition et n'ont recueilli aucune sympathie il est même paru un document plein de calomnies, de colère et de ces sottises qui accompagnent généralement la colère.

78. Je veux parler des "observations" sur le mémorandum soviétique que le représentant des Etats-Unis a fait distribuer ici [A/4985]. Il faut reconnaître, par pure objectivité, que la délégation des Etats-Unis a remporté aujourd'hui un grand succès puisque son document a été appuyé par les délégations du Portugal et de la République sud-africaine. C'est là un fait fort significatif qui caractérise peut-être mieux ce document et les efforts déployés pour que notre discussion adopte le ton de la "guerre froide".

79. Les interventions des représentants du Portugal et de la République sud-africaine n'ont fait que souligner la communauté d'esprit qui lie les colonisateurs et la volonté des Etats-Unis d'assumer désormais la direction idéologique du colonialisme.

80. Vous savez que le discours du Ministre des affaires étrangères de la République sud-africaine a été censuré par l'Assemblée générale. L'intervention qu'a faite aujourd'hui le représentant de cette — si l'on peut dire — "république" mérite de l'être également. Les représentants des Etats-Unis eux-mêmes sentent probablement que leur document a une fâcheuse odeur, car autrement ils ne l'auraient pas ainsi fait passer à la sauvette une fois terminée la discussion générale.

81. Nous avons déjà eu l'occasion de réagir à de semblables tentatives des Etats-Unis pour détourner l'attention de l'Assemblée générale de la discussion sur la liquidation du colonialisme. Le représentant de la Tchécoslovaquie dans son intervention et celui de la Pologne dans sa lettre au Président de l'Assemblée [A/4989] ont dignement répliqué à ces tentatives. Nous aurons nous-mêmes l'occasion de répondre d'une façon appropriée aux Etats-Unis qui essayent de répandre de nouveau leurs absurdes et calomnieuses élucubrations. Des manœuvres de ce genre avaient eu lieu déjà l'an dernier et les nouvelles n'auront pas plus de succès que les précédentes.

82. Nous voudrions dire encore deux mots pour préciser la position de la délégation soviétique au sujet de certains projets de résolution.

83. Nous souscrivons aux idées défendues dans le projet de résolution présenté par l'Inde et d'autres pays [A/L.367/Rev.1] au sujet des négociations entre l'Indonésie et les Pays-Bas. Nous avons déjà dit que l'Union soviétique soutient pleinement les revendications légitimes de l'Indonésie sur l'Irian occidental.

84. Nous prendrons position contre le projet de résolution du Mexique [A/L.369] qui, comme on l'a fait remarquer ici à juste titre, affaiblirait la Déclaration. De toute évidence, les auteurs de ce projet n'ont pas disposé du temps nécessaire pour réfléchir suffisamment à la rédaction de leur texte et ce n'est pas par hasard que le représentant des Pays-Bas et les représentants de certains pays colonialistes, entre autres les Etats-Unis, ont appuyé avec tant d'empressement ce projet de résolution. Pour les mêmes raisons, nous ne pourrions pas appuyer le projet de résolution du groupe de Brazzaville [A/L.368].

85. Nous voudrions souligner de nouveau que nous voterons contre le projet de résolution de la Nigéria

[A/L.357 et Add.1] pour les raisons qui ont été exposées en détail dans les interventions précédentes de la délégation soviétique.

86. Nous voterons pour le projet de résolution du groupe africano-asiatique portant sur le sujet général de la discussion de l'Assemblée, à savoir la situation en ce qui concerne l'application et la mise en œuvre de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux.

87. M. FLORES AVENDAÑO (Guatemala) [traduit de l'espagnol]: A la séance du 17 novembre [1057ème séance], la délégation du Guatemala a défini la position de son gouvernement devant l'importante question du colonialisme, dans la discussion des points 22 et 88 de l'ordre du jour, et a réaffirmé alors l'enthousiasme avec lequel elle avait voté pour la résolution 1514 (XV) adoptée par l'Assemblée générale. Je dois rappeler cependant que la délégation du Guatemala a déclaré à cette occasion que "le Guatemala, à la Conférence de San Francisco, a formulé d'expresses réserves à l'égard de ses droits lorsque nous avons discuté la question du régime international de tutelle ou les rapports soumis par les puissances chargées de l'administration des territoires non autonomes. Ces réserves, nous les avons réaffirmées devant l'Assemblée générale, au Conseil de tutelle et dans les diverses commissions des Nations Unies chaque fois que cela est devenu nécessaire". A cette occasion, la délégation du Guatemala a déclaré que "le projet de résolution que nous venons d'adopter ne saurait en rien affecter les territoires faisant l'objet de litiges ou de revendications".

88. Avec de tels précédents et ayant examiné les divers projets de résolution qui vont être bientôt mis aux voix, ma délégation se prononce comme suit. Elle votera pour le projet de résolution présenté par 38 pays d'Afrique et d'Asie [A/L.366 et Add.1 à 3], car elle estime que ce projet répond au juste désir qu'éprouve l'Assemblée d'assurer l'application de la résolution 1514 (XV) en édictant toute mesure justifiée et recommandable pour accélérer le processus de la liquidation du colonialisme; ce projet de résolution n'a pas les inconvénients signalés par les représentants qui ont fait l'analyse des autres projets de résolution et qui y ont relevé de graves contradictions et des mesures difficilement applicables en pratique. Toutefois, en votant pour ledit projet de résolution, ma délégation répète une fois de plus qu'une telle résolution ne pourra en rien affecter les légitimes droits de souveraineté que le Guatemala ne cesse de revendiquer depuis plus de 100 ans sur le territoire guatémalien de Belize, illégalement occupé par une puissance colonialiste.

89. Quant au projet de résolution présenté par la délégation du Mexique [A/L.369], ma délégation apprécie l'esprit qui l'anime, mais elle aura le regret de voter contre; elle estime que le dispositif vise certains points qui, d'après la teneur des principes de la Charte de San Francisco, ne sont pas de la compétence de l'Assemblée.

90. M. GEBRE-EGZY (Ethiopie) [traduit de l'anglais]: J'ai l'honneur de monter à cette tribune pour expliquer les votes de la délégation éthiopienne.

91. Nos vues sur le colonialisme et le néo-colonialisme ont été longuement exposées le 20 novembre 1961 [1058ème séance]. Ma délégation est l'un des auteurs du projet de résolution figurant dans le document A/L.366 et Add.1 à 3. Il se trouve que

ce projet a l'appui du plus grand nombre d'Etats Membres parce qu'il est présenté par le plus grand nombre de délégations. En d'autres termes, selon la formule de Jeremy Bentham, ce projet de résolution est celui qu'il faut adopter parce que c'est celui dont l'adoption fera le plus plaisir au plus grand nombre de délégations.

92. Pour parler sérieusement, nous pensons qu'après l'adoption de ce projet de résolution il sera inutile de voter sur aucun autre des projets de résolution. Ma délégation a beaucoup travaillé, avec d'autres délégations amies, à l'élaboration de ce projet. Nous avons beaucoup réfléchi et nous avons pris beaucoup de précautions pour rendre ce texte aussi acceptable que possible, sans jamais oublier l'essentiel du problème, c'est-à-dire le fait qu'il faut prendre des mesures immédiates pour liquider le colonialisme de la façon la plus pratique.

93. Au paragraphe 3 du dispositif de ce projet de résolution, il est proposé de créer un comité spécial de 17 membres, chargé d'examiner loyalement l'application et la mise en œuvre de la déclaration historique sur le colonialisme. Si tout s'arrange assez bien pour que tous les territoires dépendants obtiennent leur indépendance avant la dix-septième session, ce sera parfait. Le comité spécial en rendra compte à l'Assemblée générale à sa dix-septième session. Si, au contraire, les colonialistes irréductibles essaient de retarder ce mouvement irrésistible et irréversible vers la libération, s'ils vont à contre-courant de ce mouvement de l'histoire, alors le comité spécial de 17 membres formulera des suggestions et recommandations appropriées sur les moyens de contrecarrer cet état de choses. De plus, le projet de résolution autorise le comité spécial de 17 membres à se réunir en tout autre lieu que le Siège de l'Organisation des Nations Unies lorsque cela pourrait être nécessaire, en consultation avec les autorités compétentes. Tous les Etats Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, notamment ceux qui administrent des territoires dépendants, sont invités à assurer au comité leur coopération la plus complète.

94. Ma délégation a exposé, voici une semaine, qu'on atteindrait certainement les objectifs du point 22, a, de l'ordre du jour si l'on créait ce comité spécial. Bien qu'il y ait en Afrique trois fois plus de peuples dépendants que dans toutes les autres parties du monde, je rappellerai respectueusement à l'Assemblée que nous menons aujourd'hui dans le monde entier une croisade contre le colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations. Le comité spécial de 17 membres sera notre instrument pour la liquidation du colonialisme.

95. Ma délégation estime en conséquence qu'il n'est pas nécessaire d'adopter le projet de résolution de la Nigéria, figurant dans le document A/L.357 et Add.1. Nous sommes convaincus que la délégation de la Nigéria n'avait que de bonnes intentions en présentant ce projet de résolution. Toutefois, en tenant compte des diverses observations qui ont été faites au nom de ma délégation, je me permettrai de demander formellement à la délégation de la Nigéria de ne pas insister pour que son projet de résolution soit mis aux voix maintenant. J'espère que dans le contexte de l'unité africaine mes amis de la Nigéria pourront accéder à cet appel.

96. Ma délégation désire aussi saisir cette occasion pour exprimer ses très vifs remerciements à la

délégation de l'Union soviétique pour ses efforts en faveur de la libération des peuples coloniaux. Néanmoins, les points visés par le projet de résolution de l'Union soviétique, figurant dans le document A/L.355, sont déjà visés par notre propre projet de résolution [A/L.366 et Add.1 à 3]. Ma délégation demande donc à la délégation de l'Union soviétique de ne pas insister pour que son projet de résolution soit mis aux voix.

97. Nous avons eu l'occasion d'exprimer notre opinion sur le projet de résolution des Pays-Bas, figurant dans le document A/L.354. Je n'entrerai pas dans les détails. Je dirai simplement que nous sommes obligés de voter contre lui. Il faut toutefois rappeler que notre délégation a récemment déclaré devant l'Assemblée générale que d'après nous "l'Organisation des Nations Unies doit faire appel tant aux Pays-Bas qu'à l'Indonésie pour qu'ils, entament immédiatement des négociations en vue de régler leur différend relatif à l'Irian occidental" [1058ème séance, par. 305]. Nous estimons que c'est le moyen qui permettra de régler la question de la manière la plus amicale et, en même temps, nous sommes convaincus que cette formule sera acceptable pour les Pays-Bas comme pour l'Indonésie. C'est pourquoi ma délégation votera pour le projet de résolution figurant dans le document A/L.367/Rev.1.

98. Mon pays entretient des relations très cordiales et très amicales avec le Mexique et avec la délégation mexicaine. Le projet de résolution du Mexique [A/L.369] contient certaines propositions intéressantes; cependant, il nous semble que notre projet de résolution exprime déjà la substance du projet de résolution du Mexique. Je demanderai donc respectueusement à la délégation mexicaine de ne pas insister pour que son projet de résolution soit mis aux voix. Je tiens à exprimer au Mexique et à sa délégation notre reconnaissance et notre admiration pour avoir exprimé avec tant de réalisme et de vigueur leur opposition au colonialisme.

99. En ce qui concerne le projet de résolution figurant dans le document A/L.368, ma délégation estime que le projet de l'Inde traite la question comme il convient. Nous avons beaucoup de respect et de reconnaissance pour les efforts de nos collègues qui ont présenté le projet de résolution A/L.368. A notre grand regret, notre position nous oblige à voter contre lui.

100. Avant de terminer, je voudrais pour la dernière fois lancer un appel à toutes les délégations en leur demandant de voter pour le projet de résolution figurant dans le document A/L.366 et Add.1 à 3; nous mettons en ce texte toute notre confiance et tous nos espoirs et nous comptons qu'il sera l'instrument de la liquidation totale du colonialisme.

101. Le PRESIDENT: Je donne la parole au représentant de la Nigéria pour une motion d'ordre.

102. M. NGILERUMA (Nigéria) [traduit de l'anglais]: Je désire profiter de l'occasion qui m'est offerte pour remercier toutes les délégations qui ont donné leur appui au projet de résolution figurant dans le document A/L.357 et Add.1 présenté au titre du point 22 de l'ordre du jour, intitulé "Assistance à l'Afrique, a) Programme des Nations Unies pour l'indépendance". Ce projet de résolution a pour auteurs ma délégation et la délégation du Libéria.

103. Je dois également affirmer que ma délégation reconnaît la sincérité et l'honnêteté de la plupart des

délégations qui ont exprimé des doutes et des craintes au sujet de la disposition fixant au 1er décembre 1970 la date limite à laquelle tout le continent africain devra être libéré du colonialisme.

104. Dans l'intérêt de l'unité et de la solidarité africaines, j'ai le plaisir d'annoncer que, pour répondre à l'appel que le représentant de l'Ethiopie vient de nous adresser, nous n'insisterons pas pour que notre projet de résolution soit mis aux voix maintenant. Le Gouvernement nigérien espère que les chefs de gouvernement de pays d'Afrique qui doivent se réunir à Lagos, en Nigéria, tout au début de l'année 1962, réussiront à concilier leurs vues et à adopter une position commune que nous présenterons de concert à la dix-septième session de l'Assemblée générale.

105. En conséquence, ma délégation demande formellement que le point 22 de l'ordre du jour, intitulé "Assistance à l'Afrique, a) Programme des Nations Unies pour l'indépendance", ainsi que notre projet de résolution sur ce point, soit renvoyé à la dix-septième session de l'Assemblée générale pour suite de la discussion et pour décision.

106. Ma délégation votera naturellement pour le projet de résolution A/L.366 et Add.1 à 3, dont nous avons l'honneur d'être signataires avec d'autres pays d'Afrique et d'Asie. Nous espérons qu'il sera voté unanimement par l'Assemblée.

107. Ma délégation doit remercier la délégation de l'Union soviétique de l'intérêt qu'elle a montré et des initiatives qu'elle a prises pour la liquidation rapide des derniers vestiges du colonialisme. Cependant, ma délégation croit devoir ajouter que c'est nous, et par "nous" j'entends les pays d'Afrique et d'Asie, que c'est nous, dis-je, qui avons porté le hât du colonialisme, qui savons le mieux où il blesse. Nous estimons que notre projet de résolution est construit avec soin et prudemment équilibré, et qu'il répond le mieux à nos intentions. J'adresse donc sincèrement un appel à l'URSS en lui demandant de ne pas insister pour que son projet de résolution [A/L.355] ni ses amendements [A/L.370] au projet de résolution A/L.366 et Add.1 à 3 soient mis aux voix.

108. Ma délégation est également très sensible à la bonne volonté et aux bonnes intentions de la délégation mexicaine. Là encore, nous lançons un appel en faveur de la solidarité et nous demandons au Mexique de ne pas insister pour faire mettre aux voix son projet de résolution [A/L.369].

109. Le PRESIDENT: Je donne la parole au représentant de l'Union soviétique pour une motion d'ordre.

110. M. LAPINE (Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques) [traduit du russe]: Le projet de résolution de l'Union soviétique et le projet de résolution des pays africano-asiatiques [A/L.366 et Add.1 à 3] partant d'un même principe, nous voterons en faveur de ce dernier projet de résolution souscrit par 38 pays. Nous n'y avons apporté que des amendements peu importants [A/L.370] qui peuvent être acceptés sans provoquer quelque dissidence ou divergence que ce soit. Bien plus, dans un esprit de coopération, nous sommes prêts à nous rallier aux appels du représentant de l'Ethiopie et du représentant de la Nigéria et nous n'insisterons pas pour que l'on mette aux voix notre propre projet de résolution.

111. Nous espérons que les autres délégations feront également preuve de bonne volonté et de bonnes intentions, d'abord pour appuyer nos amendements et

ensuite — je m'adresse surtout aux Pays-Bas, au Mexique et au groupe de Brazzaville — pour retirer leurs projets de résolution afin que nous puissions adopter à l'unanimité le projet de résolution des pays africano-asiatiques et appuyer le projet de résolution de l'Inde [A/L.367/Rev.1].

112. Le PRESIDENT: Je donne maintenant la parole aux deux orateurs qui ont demandé à expliquer leur vote avant le scrutin.

113. M. GALLIN-DOUATHE (République centrafricaine): Si la délégation de la République centrafricaine porte, comme il se doit, un intérêt particulier aux questions se rapportant à la libération des dernières colonies d'Afrique, elle ne laisse pas pour autant de suivre avec un vif intérêt l'évolution de la décolonisation dans les autres parties du monde. Mon pays estime en effet qu'il s'agit là d'une question qui revêt, où qu'elle se pose, une importance primordiale. Elle comprend une série de problèmes locaux dont la solution contribuera puissamment à détendre l'atmosphère dans laquelle nous travaillons. Je crois que l'Organisation pourra accueillir d'un grand soulagement la disparition, de son ordre du jour, de la dernière affaire coloniale.

114. En attendant ce moment, nous devons travailler sans relâche à trouver et à imposer pour ce genre de questions des règlements conformes à l'esprit de la Charte. Il faut aussi que l'Organisation intervienne là où sa protection est nécessaire pour permettre à des populations sur le point d'être émancipées d'exprimer librement leurs vœux.

115. C'est pourquoi mon pays considère avec faveur le plan que M. Luns a exposé le 26 septembre 1961 à la tribune de l'Assemblée générale [1018ème séance]. Mon gouvernement constate, en effet, que le projet néerlandais aura pour résultat immédiat, s'il est adopté, de placer l'administration et le développement de la Nouvelle-Guinée néerlandaise sous la surveillance active des Nations Unies. Par la suite, les Pays-Bas seraient disposés à transférer leurs pouvoirs actuels à un organisme international créé et dirigé par les Nations Unies, sous l'autorité duquel la population serait préparée à l'exercice rapide du droit d'autodétermination. Cette formule me paraît convenir fort bien à un territoire dont l'évolution politique est encore peu avancée. Elle est de nature à lui éviter les épreuves et les convulsions dont certaines régions du continent africain ont été et sont encore affectées.

116. En revanche, ma délégation ne peut donner son adhésion à la thèse du représentant de l'Indonésie, malgré toute sa sympathie pour ce pays. L'un des principaux arguments donnés à l'appui de cette thèse par M. Subandrio, dans son intervention devant l'Assemblée générale [1050ème séance], est que, lorsqu'un territoire colonisé accède à l'indépendance, sa souveraineté nouvelle doit s'exercer dans les limites où s'étendait la souveraineté coloniale. Il s'agit là d'un principe qui est sans doute juste, dans la plupart des cas, mais qu'il convient de tempérer lorsqu'on se trouve en présence de territoires dont les populations ne sont pas unies par des liens raciaux et culturels ou par des croyances communes, ce qui est le cas de l'Indonésie et de la Nouvelle-Guinée néerlandaise.

117. Que les habitants de cette colonie veuillent devenir indonésiens, mon gouvernement ne demande qu'à le croire et verrait avec satisfaction l'Irian occidental unir son destin à celui des grandes îles de l'Ouest

placées sous l'autorité du Gouvernement de Djakarta. S'il en est ainsi, une libre consultation populaire, fondée sur le droit à l'autodétermination des populations intéressées, ne manquera pas de l'établir clairement, et l'une des tâches de l'organisme de contrôle des Nations Unies prévue pour la première période d'application du plan ne sera-t-elle pas de neutraliser cet esprit anti-indonésien qui préoccupe tant le Gouvernement de Djakarta?

118. Voilà les raisons pour lesquelles ma délégation s'est proposé, à l'origine, de donner sa voix au projet de résolution présenté par les Pays-Bas [A/L.354]. Dans notre esprit, son adoption aurait confirmé l'universalité de ce principe de l'autodétermination auquel le représentant de l'Indonésie et moi-même devons l'honneur de siéger ici.

119. Cependant, à la réflexion et après avoir entendu les énergiques interventions de la délégation indonésienne, les représentants d'un certain nombre de pays africains, dont le mien, se sont demandé si le droit à l'autodétermination, accordé dans un tel contexte politique, ne comportait pas des risques assez grands pour que nous tentions un ultime effort de conciliation.

120. Je ne veux nullement dire par là que les arguments de l'Indonésie m'aient amené à douter des principes qui m'avaient incliné à soutenir le plan de M. Luns, mais simplement que l'inimitié d'un puissant voisin ne me semble pas un heureux don de joyeux avènement à faire à une jeune nation qui devient maîtresse de ses destinées.

121. C'est pourquoi ma délégation souhaite qu'un ultime effort soit entrepris, avec le concours du Secrétaire général, par les Pays-Bas et l'Indonésie, pour arriver, avant le 1er mars 1962, à une solution acceptable par les deux parties et ne préjugant en rien du droit de la population à décider en dernier ressort du statut du territoire.

122. Ma délégation votera donc en faveur du projet de résolution A/L.368, dont elle demande qu'il soit mis aux voix en priorité.

123. D'autre part, si ma délégation a noté avec intérêt l'esprit de conciliation qui anime le projet A/L.367/Rev.1, présenté à l'origine par l'Inde, il n'en demeure pas moins qu'elle regrette que ce projet ne mentionne pas le principe de l'autodétermination. En outre, comme les Pays-Bas et l'Indonésie négocient sans résultat depuis plus de 10 ans sur le sort de la Nouvelle-Guinée néerlandaise, il convient désormais, pour toute nouvelle tentative de conciliation, de fixer une date limite.

124. Je parlerai pour finir, et très brièvement, de deux autres projets de résolution présentés à l'Assemblée générale, et tout d'abord du projet de résolution A/L.366 et Add.1 à 3. Un grand nombre de délégations ont participé à sa rédaction et parmi elles se trouvent des délégations de pays qui ont été des territoires coloniaux, notamment en Afrique. Je suis d'autant plus heureux de constater que la décolonisation y est traitée à la fois avec l'énergie et la hauteur de vues que paraît réclamer cette importante question. Aussi est-ce très volontiers que la République centrafricaine donne sa voix à ce texte qui lui paraît constituer une utile contribution à la solution de notre problème.

125. Enfin ma délégation s'abstiendra lors du vote sur le projet de résolution présenté par le Mexique

[A/L.369], car elle n'a pas eu le temps matériel d'examiner ce projet avec tout le soin qu'il requiert.

126. M. URQUIA (Salvador) [traduit de l'espagnol]: L'adoption de la résolution 1514 (XV) par l'Assemblée générale à sa quinzième session a parfaitement défini, on peut le dire, la position du monde devant l'existence de territoires qui demeurent encore aujourd'hui sous domination étrangère, soit à titre de colonies, soit à titre de territoires administrés selon le régime international de tutelle institué par la Charte des Nations Unies.

127. Ma délégation est une de celles qui ont voté avec le plus d'enthousiasme en faveur de ladite résolution, bien qu'à son avis elle présente des points un peu exagérés et peut-être trop ambitieux. La preuve en est que nous nous trouvons aujourd'hui devant de nombreux projets de résolution relatifs à l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. Par bonheur, les décisions qui ont été annoncées du haut de cette tribune il y a quelques instants par le représentant de la Nigéria, puis par le représentant de l'Union soviétique, simplifient un peu la tâche de l'Assemblée générale pour les votes auxquels elle procédera dans quelques instants sur ces projets de résolution; on peut en effet considérer à toutes fins utiles que le projet de résolution de l'Union soviétique [A/L.355] et le projet de résolution de la Nigéria [A/L.357] ont été retirés, puisque leurs auteurs n'insistent pas pour qu'ils soient mis aux voix.

128. Dans ces conditions, nous avons devant nous deux groupes de projets de résolution. Le premier groupe de projets de résolution, de caractère général, dirai-je, concerne la question de l'application de la résolution relative à l'indépendance des territoires coloniaux; à ce groupe appartiennent le projet de résolution présenté par 38 pays d'Asie et d'Afrique [A/L.366 et Add.1 à 3], auquel l'Union soviétique a proposé des amendements [A/L.370], et le projet de résolution du Mexique [A/L.369]. L'autre groupe de projets de résolution, de caractère particulier, concerne l'un des territoires considérés comme non autonomes, celui de la Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale, appelée aussi l'Irian occidental; à ce groupe appartiennent trois projets de résolution: celui des Pays-Bas [A/L.354], celui de la Bolivie et de sept autres pays [A/L.367/Rev.1], celui de la Haute-Volta et de 12 autres pays d'Afrique [A/L.368].

129. Sur les deux premiers projets de résolution, celui des 38 pays d'Afrique et d'Asie et celui du Mexique, je tiens à dire que ma délégation croit que tous deux contiennent des éléments intéressants que l'on pourrait reprendre dans une résolution mieux structurée, réunissant une partie de l'un et une partie de l'autre.

130. Le projet de résolution des pays d'Afrique et d'Asie a un caractère plus général, mais il ne nous paraît pas si bien coordonné que le projet de résolution du Mexique, même si ce dernier présente lui aussi certains inconvénients que je ne crois pas nécessaire de mentionner à ce point du débat, alors que nous en sommes aux explications de vote; il est regrettable que tous les représentants soient animés d'une telle hâte qui nous pousse à vouloir voter aujourd'hui même sur ces projets de résolution, bien que l'un d'eux, celui du Mexique, n'ait été présenté, me semble-t-il, que vendredi dernier et n'ait pas pu être étudié à fond par toutes les délégations.

131. Si cela avait été possible, ma délégation aurait proposé la constitution d'un groupe de travail composé des auteurs de ces projets de résolution et chargé d'examiner si l'on ne pourrait tirer de ces textes un projet de résolution unique, qui puisse satisfaire les aspirations de toute l'Assemblée. Nous estimons cependant qu'une proposition de ce genre risquerait d'être considérée comme tardive à ce moment et nous ne faisons donc pas de proposition formelle à cet effet.

132. Entre ces projets de caractère général et les projets de caractère particulier, notamment le projet de résolution des Pays-Bas, on constate aussi un certain lien, que nous aimerions signaler ici: en effet, dans leur projet de résolution, les Pays-Bas proposent de transférer à l'Organisation des Nations Unies le territoire de la Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale ou de l'Irian occidental; or, le projet de résolution du Mexique renferme une disposition en vertu de laquelle de tels territoires pourraient être placés sous l'administration conjointe des Nations Unies sans aucun doute dans le cadre du régime international de tutelle organisé aux Chapitres XII et XIII de la Charte.

133. De plus, le projet de résolution du Mexique contient une déclaration qui rendrait plus acceptable, si l'on peut dire, l'idée fondamentale qui est à la base du projet de résolution des Pays-Bas. C'est la déclaration qui figure au paragraphe 2 du dispositif et où il est dit que l'Assemblée décide "de proclamer solennellement que, pour ce qui est de territoires au sujet desquels il existe un différend en ce qui concerne le titulaire de la souveraineté, le fait de les placer temporairement sous la tutelle des Nations Unies ne préjuge ni leur sort final ni les droits que d'autres Etats prétendent avoir sur eux et ne limite pas le droit de la population desdits territoires à la libre détermination". Si un texte semblable pouvait figurer dans le projet de résolution des Pays-Bas, je crois qu'il permettrait de dissiper certaines craintes que manifeste spécialement, comme il est naturel, la délégation de l'Indonésie: si cette partie de l'île de la Nouvelle-Guinée était transférée, comme il est proposé dans le projet de résolution des Pays-Bas, à une commission ou autorité internationale désignée par les Nations Unies, on pourrait croire que la voie légale d'une revendication sur ce territoire serait désormais interdite à l'Indonésie.

134. Nous savons tous que ce territoire a un statut spécial en vertu des dispositions de la charte de transfert de la souveraineté, et qui date du moment où, en 1949, les Pays-Bas ont reconnu solennellement l'indépendance de l'Indonésie au cours d'une conférence de la "table ronde" réunie sous les auspices des Nations Unies. D'autre part, c'est un fait qu'il existe actuellement une contestation encore non résolue aujourd'hui, malgré tous les efforts déployés jusqu'à maintenant par l'Assemblée générale pour la recherche d'une solution.

135. Il est regrettable aussi qu'à ce point du débat il ne paraisse plus possible de chercher à établir un ajustement entre ces projets de résolution, car, je le répète, entre le projet de résolution des Pays-Bas et une partie du projet de résolution du Mexique, ma délégation trouve une sorte de lien qui pourrait contribuer nettement à faciliter la compréhension de ces questions et la conclusion d'un accord général.

136. Les choses se sont simplifiées du fait que deux projets de résolution ont été pratiquement retirés; le vote en sera évidemment plus facile; un

problème subsiste cependant: si tous ces projets de résolution sont adoptés, nous nous trouverons devant plusieurs commissions ou comités dont les mandats ne s'harmoniseront pas toujours entre eux et pourront même être incompatibles, ce qui nuirait beaucoup à l'intérêt de leurs travaux et à la recherche de l'objectif visé. Cet objectif, comme nous le savons tous, est d'arriver dans un délai relativement bref — mais non aussi bref que certains paraissent le désirer — à la pleine indépendance de territoires qui sont actuellement sous tutelle ou qui sont simplement des colonies ou territoires non autonomes et dont beaucoup sont protégés par les dispositions du Chapitre XI de la Charte.

137. J'estime qu'il y aurait peut-être une certaine exagération à proclamer que l'année 1962 sera l'année de la liquidation du colonialisme, comme le voudrait un des amendements de l'Union soviétique [A/L.370]. Il est indéniable en effet que les populations de ces territoires ne sont pas toutes en état d'accéder à la pleine autonomie, encore moins à la pleine indépendance. Le projet de résolution du Mexique contient à ce sujet des considérations et des dispositions qui nous semblent d'une valeur inappréciable et qui, à notre grand regret, ne sont pas entrées en ligne de compte à l'heure de la décision.

138. On dirait que dans l'esprit de certaines délégations les populations de tous ces territoires sont identiques et vivent dans les mêmes conditions; indiscutablement, il n'en est rien. On se trompe si l'on croit à cette uniformité. De même que les médecins affirment qu'il n'y a pas de maladies sans malades, nous pourrions dire qu'il n'y a pas de colonialisme sans colonies, puisque chacune des colonies est un cas particulier. Voilà ce que nous apprécions le plus dans le projet de résolution du Mexique: l'idée de constituer un comité spécial qui étudierait séparément chaque cas particulier et ferait rapport sur chacun d'eux, afin que l'Assemblée générale soit ainsi en mesure de se prononcer et que les Etats intéressés puissent prendre les dispositions qui s'imposent.

139. Ces idées serviront de guide à la délégation de mon pays quand nous voterons sur les projets de résolution en discussion. Nous ignorons s'ils seront tous mis aux voix. Nous regretterions beaucoup que le projet de résolution du Mexique ne le soit pas, mais nous pensons que, si le projet de résolution des 38 pays d'Afrique et d'Asie est adopté, il sera très difficile à l'Assemblée d'adopter aussi le projet de résolution du Mexique, parce qu'il risquerait peut-être d'y avoir incompatibilité, jusqu'à un certain point, entre deux résolutions de l'Assemblée générale. C'est pourquoi, à notre grand regret, nous devons nous joindre aux délégations qui ont demandé à la délégation du Mexique de ne pas insister pour que son projet de résolution soit mis aux voix, en supposant que l'Assemblée adopte d'abord le projet de résolution des 38 pays d'Afrique et d'Asie, qui bénéficie de la priorité du point de vue chronologique. Si le projet de résolution des 38 pays d'Afrique et d'Asie est adopté comme nous pensons qu'il le sera — nous le souhaitons et nous voterons en sa faveur —, je crois qu'il serait préférable de ne pas mettre aux voix le projet de résolution du Mexique.

140. Le PRESIDENT: Nous en avons terminé avec les explications de vote. Avant de passer au scrutin, je crois utile de faire le point de la situation.

141. A la suite de l'appel lancé par certaines délégations, le représentant de l'URSS a déclaré que

sa délégation n'insisterait pas pour que son projet de résolution [A/L.355] soit mis aux voix; comme le représentant de la Nigéria a annoncé que sa délégation n'insisterait pas non plus pour que l'on vote sur son projet de résolution [A/L.357 et Add.1], ces deux projets ne seront pas mis aux voix. En conséquence, l'Assemblée n'aura pas à se prononcer au sujet du point 22, a, de l'ordre du jour, auquel se rapportait le seul projet de résolution de la Nigéria, et devra donc voter uniquement sur les propositions relatives au point 88.

142. En outre, je dois signaler que l'on vient de soumettre un amendement [A/L.371] au projet de résolution A/L.367/Rev.1, tendant à ajouter, à la fin du paragraphe 1 de ce projet, le membre de phrase suivant: "et notamment la volonté des populations et leur droit à disposer d'elles-mêmes". Le texte de cet amendement va être distribué immédiatement.

143. J'estime qu'il serait raisonnable que l'Assemblée vote d'abord sur les projets de résolution de caractère général et ensuite sur les projets de caractère particulier, ceux qui touchent la question de la Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale, tout en respectant pour chaque série de projets l'ordre dans lequel ils ont été présentés.

144. Donc — et je me résume — je mettrai d'abord aux voix les propositions appartenant au premier groupe, c'est-à-dire les amendements [A/L.370] au projet de résolution A/L.366 et Add.1 à 3, puis ce projet lui-même, et le projet de résolution A/L.369. J'inviterai ensuite l'Assemblée à se prononcer sur les propositions du second groupe: le projet de résolution A/L.354, l'amendement [A/L.371] au projet de résolution A/L.367/Rev.1, puis ce projet lui-même, et le projet de résolution A/L.368; une demande de vote en priorité ayant été formulée pour ce dernier projet, je consulterai l'Assemblée à ce sujet au moment voulu.

145. Si personne ne soulève d'objection, je considérerai que l'Assemblée accepte cette procédure.

Il en est ainsi décidé.

146. Le PRÉSIDENT: Avant de procéder au vote, je rappelle, afin d'éviter toute équivoque, que la majorité requise pour l'adoption des diverses propositions dont nous sommes saisis est celle des deux tiers, conformément à tous les précédents.

147. J'invite l'Assemblée à se prononcer sur les amendements [A/L.370] que l'URSS a proposé d'apporter au projet de résolution A/L.366 et Add.1 à 3. Je mets d'abord aux voix le premier amendement. On a demandé le vote par appel nominal.

Il est procédé au vote par appel nominal.

Le vote commence par l'Afrique du Sud, dont le nom est tiré au sort par le Président.

Votent pour: République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine, Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques, République arabe unie, Yougoslavie, Albanie, Bulgarie, République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie, Congo (Léopoldville), Cuba, Tchécoslovaquie, Ghana, Guinée, Hongrie, Irak, Mali, Mongolie, Maroc, Pologne, Roumanie.

Votent contre: Afrique du Sud, Espagne, Suède, Thaïlande, Tunisie, Turquie, Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord, États-Unis d'Amérique,

Uruguay, Venezuela, Argentine, Australie, Belgique, Bolivie, Brésil, Canada, Chili, Chine, Colombie, Costa Rica, Danemark, République Dominicaine, Equateur, Salvador, Fédération de Malaisie, France, Grèce, Guatemala, Haïti, Islande, Iran, Irlande, Israël, Italie, Japon, Luxembourg, Mexique, Pays-Bas, Nouvelle-Zélande, Nicaragua, Norvège, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Pérou, Philippines.

S'abstiennent: Soudan, Togo, Haute-Volta, Yémen, Afghanistan, Autriche, Birmanie, Cambodge, Cameroun, République centrafricaine, Ceylan, Tchad, Congo (Brazzaville), Chypre, Dahomey, Ethiopie, Finlande, Gabon, Inde, Indonésie, Côte-d'Ivoire, Jordanie, Laos, Liban, Libéria, Libye, Madagascar, Mauritanie, Népal, Niger, Nigéria, Arabie Saoudite, Sénégal, Sierra Leone, Somalie.

Le Portugal ne participe pas au vote.

Par 46 voix contre 19, avec 36 abstentions, le premier amendement est rejeté.

148. Le PRÉSIDENT: J'invite l'Assemblée à se prononcer sur le second amendement soumis par l'URSS.

Par 36 voix contre 22, avec 35 abstentions, le second amendement est rejeté.

149. Le PRÉSIDENT: Je mets aux voix le projet de résolution [A/L.366 et Add.1 à 3] présenté par 38 pays. On a demandé le vote par appel nominal.

Il est procédé au vote par appel nominal.

L'appel commence par l'Arabie Saoudite, dont le nom est tiré au sort par le Président.

Votent pour: Arabie Saoudite, Sénégal, Sierra Leone, Somalie, Soudan, Suède, Syrie, Thaïlande, Togo, Tunisie, Turquie, République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine, Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques, République arabe unie, États-Unis d'Amérique, Haute-Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yémen, Yougoslavie, Afghanistan, Albanie, Argentine, Australie, Autriche, Belgique, Bolivie, Brésil, Bulgarie, Birmanie, République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie, Cambodge, Cameroun, Canada, République centrafricaine, Ceylan, Tchad, Chili, Chine, Colombie, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Léopoldville), Costa Rica, Cuba, Chypre, Tchécoslovaquie, Dahomey, Danemark, République Dominicaine, Equateur, Salvador, Ethiopie, Fédération de Malaisie, Finlande, Gabon, Ghana, Grèce, Guatemala, Guinée, Haïti, Hongrie, Islande, Inde, Indonésie, Iran, Irak, Irlande, Israël, Italie, Côte-d'Ivoire, Japon, Jordanie, Laos, Liban, Libéria, Libye, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritanie, Mexique, Mongolie, Maroc, Népal, Pays-Bas, Nouvelle-Zélande, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigéria, Norvège, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Pérou, Philippines, Pologne, Roumanie.

Votent contre: néant.

S'abstiennent: Afrique du Sud, Espagne, Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord, France.

Le Portugal ne participe pas au vote.

Par 97 voix contre zéro, avec 4 abstentions, le projet de résolution est adopté.

150. Le PRÉSIDENT: Je donne la parole au représentant de l'Inde pour une motion d'ordre portant sur la procédure du scrutin, conformément à l'article 90 du règlement intérieur.

151. M. JHA (Inde) [traduit de l'anglais]: Nous venons de procéder au vote sur le projet de résolution pré-

senté par des Etats Membres d'Afrique et d'Asie. Le vote de ce projet de résolution a été impressionnant: il a été acquis à l'unanimité, à l'exception de quatre abstentions. Considérant le résultat de ce vote massif, je me suis permis de demander la parole pour adresser un appel à la délégation du Mexique et lui demander de ne pas insister pour que son projet de résolution [A/L.369] soit mis aux voix. Comme je l'ai déjà dit dans ma déclaration de cet après-midi [1065ème séance], la sincérité des motifs qui animent la délégation du Mexique et les objectifs qu'elle a visés en déposant ce projet de résolution devant l'Assemblée générale sont bien dans la ligne de la contribution remarquable que le Mexique a déjà apportée à la cause de la liberté des peuples dépendants et, je dirai même, dans la ligne du grand libéralisme dont il a fait preuve dans son attitude aux Nations Unies. J'ai cependant cru devoir faire observer alors que ce projet de résolution contenait de nombreux points de détail et nous estimons qu'au point où nous en sommes le mieux que puisse faire l'Assemblée serait de se contenter de la résolution qu'elle vient d'adopter.

152. Si le projet de résolution du Mexique n'est pas mis aux voix et s'il est plus ou moins laissé de côté pour le moment, nous sommes certains que les objectifs de la délégation mexicaine seront atteints, car le comité spécial qui va être constitué en exécution de la résolution que nous venons d'adopter pourra examiner ce projet de résolution et peut-être prendre en considération certaines des idées qu'il renferme. Je désire donc ajouter ma voix à celles des autres représentants qui ont déjà demandé à la délégation mexicaine de ne pas insister pour que son projet de résolution soit mis aux voix.

153. Le PRESIDENT: Je donne la parole au représentant du Mexique pour une motion d'ordre portant sur la procédure du scrutin.

154. M. PADILLA NERVO (Mexique) [traduit de l'espagnol]: J'ai écouté avec grande attention les observations faites par plusieurs représentants au sujet du projet de résolution de ma délégation [A/L.369]. Nous avons pris en considération les raisons qui ont motivé leurs réserves et les difficultés qu'ils éprouvent à l'appuyer.

155. Nous sommes reconnaissants des paroles généreuses que nous ont values les objectifs dont s'inspirait notre projet de résolution et nous avons reçu dans le même esprit l'appel amical qui nous a été adressé par plusieurs délégations pour nous demander de ne pas insister pour le faire mettre aux voix.

156. De plus, le projet de résolution A/L.366 et Add.1 à 3, présenté par 38 pays d'Afrique et d'Asie, a été adopté à une majorité extraordinaire, comprenant la voix de ma délégation. Bien qu'à mon avis le projet de résolution du Mexique eût établi sous une forme plus précise un dispositif destiné à assurer la liquidation du colonialisme, il coïncide dans ses grandes lignes avec celui que nous venons d'adopter. C'est pourquoi je n'insiste pas pour que notre projet de résolution soit mis aux voix et je me réserve le droit de le soumettre à l'examen de l'Assemblée une autre fois.

157. Le PRESIDENT: Le représentant du Mexique ayant annoncé qu'il n'insistait pas pour que le projet de résolution présenté par son pays [A/L.369] soit mis aux voix, l'Assemblée n'a pas à se prononcer sur ce projet.

158. Cela étant, nous en avons terminé avec les projets de résolution de caractère général. Nous allons passer au vote sur les projets de résolution de caractère particulier, concernant la Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale, que je vais énumérer. Il y a d'abord le projet de résolution A/L.354, puis vient le projet de résolution A/L.367/Rev.1, qui a fait l'objet d'un amendement [A/L.371], et, enfin, le projet de résolution A/L.368.

1810 (XVII). La situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux

L'Assemblée générale,

Rappelant sa résolution 1514 (XV) du 14 décembre 1960, contenant la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, et sa résolution 1654 (XVI) du 27 novembre 1961 portant création d'un Comité spécial de dix-sept membres chargé d'étudier l'application de ladite Déclaration,

Consciente du fait que la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux et la création ultérieure du Comité spécial ont suscité partout, notamment chez les peuples qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance, de grands espoirs de voir éliminer sans retard toutes les formes de colonialisme et de domination étrangère,

Ayant examiné le rapport du Comité spécial²¹,

Notant avec un profond regret que, malgré les efforts de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, les dispositions de la Déclaration n'ont pas été appliquées intégralement dans un grand nombre de territoires et que, dans certains cas, des mesures préliminaires n'ont même pas encore été prises en vue de réaliser les objectifs de la Déclaration,

Profondément inquiète de l'attitude négative et du refus délibéré de certaines puissances administrantes de coopérer avec le Comité spécial,

Réaffirmant sa conviction que tout retard dans l'application de la Déclaration est une source continue de conflits sur le plan international, entravant sérieusement la coopération internationale et créant, dans de nombreuses régions du monde, des situations de plus en plus dangereuses qui risquent de menacer la paix et la sécurité internationales,

1. *Exprime sa reconnaissance* au Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux pour le travail qu'il a accompli;

2. *Prend note avec satisfaction* des méthodes et des procédures que le Comité spécial a adoptées pour s'acquitter de ses fonctions;

3. *Proclame à nouveau et réaffirme solennellement* les objectifs et les principes énoncés tant dans la Déclaration contenue dans la résolution 1514 (XV) que dans la résolution 1654 (XVI);

4. *Déplore* le refus de certaines puissances administrantes de coopérer à l'application de la Déclaration dans les territoires placés sous leur administration;

5. *Invite* les puissances administrantes intéressées à mettre fin immédiatement à toute action arriérée et

répressive dirigée contre les peuples qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance, notamment contre les activités politiques de leurs dirigeants légitimes;

6. *Prie instamment* toutes les puissances administrantes de prendre des mesures immédiates pour permettre à tous les territoires et peuples coloniaux d'accéder sans retard à l'indépendance, conformément aux dispositions du paragraphe 5 de la Déclaration;

7. *Décide* d'élargir la composition du Comité spécial, créé par la résolution 1654 (XVI), en y adjoignant sept nouveaux membres qui seront désignés par le Président de l'Assemblée générale;

8. *Invite* le Comité spécial ainsi remanié:

a) A continuer de rechercher les voies et moyens les mieux appropriés en vue de l'application rapide et intégrale de la Déclaration à tous les territoires qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance;

b) A proposer des mesures concrètes en vue de l'application intégrale de la Déclaration;

c) A présenter à l'Assemblée générale en temps opportun, et au plus tard à sa dix-huitième session, un rapport complet contenant ses suggestions et ses recommandations sur l'ensemble des territoires mentionnés au paragraphe 5 de la Déclaration;

d) A informer le Conseil de sécurité de tous faits, survenus dans ces territoires, qui risquent de menacer la paix et la sécurité internationales;

9. *Prie* tous les Etats Membres, notamment les puissances administrantes, de prêter leur entière coopération au Comité spécial;

10. *Prie* le Secrétaire général de continuer à fournir au Comité spécial tous les moyens et le personnel nécessaires à l'application de la présente résolution.

1195ème séance plénière,
17 décembre 1962.

* * *

Le Président de l'Assemblée générale, agissant conformément au paragraphe 7 de la résolution ci-dessus, a nommé les sept nouveaux membres suivants du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux: Bulgarie, Chili, Côte-d'Ivoire, Danemark, Irak, Iran et Sierra Leone²².

En conséquence, le Comité spécial se compose des Etats Membres suivants: AUSTRALIE, BULGARIE, CAMBODGE, CHILI, CÔTE-D'IVOIRE, DANEMARK, ETATS-UNIS D'AMÉRIQUE, ETHIOPIE, INDE, IRAK, IRAN, ITALIE, MADAGASCAR, MALI, POLOGNE, ROYAUME-UNI DE GRANDE-BRETAGNE ET D'IRLANDE DU NORD, SIERRA LEONE, SYRIE, TANGANYIKA, TUNISIE, UNION DES RÉPUBLIQUES SOCIALISTES SOVIÉTIQUES, URUGUAY, VENEZUELA et YOUGOSLAVIE.

²⁰ Documents officiels de l'Assemblée générale, dix-septième session, Supplément No 2 (A/5202).

²¹ Ibid., dix-septième session, Annexes, point 25 de l'ordre du jour, document A/5238.

²² Voir A./5397.



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POINT 25 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

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71. Le **PRESIDENT** (traduit de l'anglais): L'Assemblée va maintenant passer à l'examen du rapport du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, à l'exception des chapitres II, IX et XI qui ont trait à la Rhodésie du Sud, au Sud-Ouest africain et à l'Angola, territoires qui font l'objet de points distincts de l'ordre du jour de la dix-septième session.

72. **M. RIFAI** (Syrie) [Rapporteur du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux] (traduit de l'anglais): J'ai l'honneur de présenter à l'Assemblée générale le rapport qui rend compte des travaux du Comité spécial pendant la période allant du 20 février au 19 septembre 1962 [A/5238].

73. Le Comité spécial a été créé par la résolution 1654 (XVI) de l'Assemblée générale, adoptée le 27 novembre 1961. Conformément à cette résolution, le Président de l'Assemblée générale a désigné, le 23 janvier 1962, les 17 membres du Comité spécial.

74. La tâche assignée au Comité spécial par l'Assemblée générale consistait à étudier l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, figurant dans la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale. Cette déclaration stipule notamment que:

"Des mesures immédiates seront prises, dans les territoires sous tutelle, les territoires non autonomes et tous autres territoires qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance, pour transférer tous pouvoirs aux peuples de ces territoires, sans aucune condition ni réserve, conformément à leur volonté et à leurs vœux librement exprimés, sans aucune distinction de race, de croyance ou de couleur, afin de leur permettre de jouir d'une indépendance et d'une liberté complètes."

Ainsi que le souligne le rapport, l'adoption de la Déclaration par l'Assemblée générale a été considérée

comme une réalisation éminemment constructive et comme une étape dans les efforts déployés par l'Organisation des Nations Unies pour atteindre les buts et objectifs de la Charte. La Déclaration elle-même est une déclaration de foi, une source d'inspiration pour ceux qui vivent encore sous le régime colonial et une expression du désir universel d'accélérer le processus de libération des peuples coloniaux, où qu'ils se trouvent.

75. Le Comité spécial a commencé ses travaux le 20 février 1962, moins d'un mois après la désignation de ses membres par le Président. Il a poursuivi ses travaux jusqu'au 19 septembre 1962. Pendant cette période, le Comité spécial a tenu 117 séances plénières en plus des réunions de ses sous-comités et groupes de travail officiels ou officieux. Cela montre l'importance que les membres du Comité spécial ont attachée à la tâche qui leur était confiée et le sérieux avec lequel ils l'ont entreprise. A cet égard, je tiens à rendre hommage au Président de la seizième session de l'Assemblée générale, aujourd'hui ministre des affaires étrangères de Tunisie, M. Mongi Slim, et au Secrétaire général par intérim, pour l'intérêt qu'ils ont porté aux travaux du Comité spécial. Ils l'ont manifesté non seulement en participant à sa séance d'ouverture, mais aussi en suivant de près l'évolution de ses travaux.

76. Dans sa résolution 1654 (XVI), l'Assemblée générale a chargé le Comité spécial:

"... d'accomplir sa tâche en se servant de tous les moyens dont il disposera dans le cadre des procédures et des modalités qu'il adoptera pour bien s'acquitter de ses fonctions".

La première tâche du Comité spécial a donc été d'adopter ses méthodes de travail et ses procédures. Après un débat très approfondi et constructif, le Comité spécial est parvenu à un accord sur les méthodes et procédures à suivre pour remplir son mandat. Un résumé des opinions exprimées par les membres du Comité spécial concernant l'organisation de ses travaux figure aux paragraphes 15 à 111 du chapitre premier du rapport et les décisions prises sont indiquées au paragraphe 112 de ce même chapitre. Je n'y reviendrai donc pas ici. Je tiens toutefois à souligner que l'expérience a prouvé au Comité spécial que les méthodes et procédures adoptées et suivies se sont révélées très appropriées et efficaces pour l'accomplissement de ses fonctions.

77. Pour ce qui est de l'examen de l'application de la Déclaration en ce qui concerne les "territoires sous tutelle, les territoires non autonomes et tous autres territoires qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance", je voudrais aussi appeler l'attention de l'Assemblée générale sur quelques-unes des plus importantes décisions du Comité spécial. D'abord, il a décidé que la méthode la plus efficace pour s'acquitter de son mandat était d'examiner les territoires un à un. Puis il a décidé que priorité serait donnée aux territoires d'Afrique. Un ordre de priorité a donc été dressé, étant entendu que, si les circonstances l'exigeaient, des additions et des modifications pourraient y être apportées par la suite. Sur ce point, j'attire l'attention sur les paragraphes 124 à 127 du chapitre premier du rapport.

78. La résolution 1654 (XVI) de l'Assemblée générale autorisait le Comité spécial à se réunir en tout autre lieu que le Siège de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, lorsque cela pourrait être nécessaire pour lui

* Reprise du débat de la 1164^eme séance.

permettre de s'acquitter efficacement de ses fonctions, en consultation avec les autorités compétentes. Invité par les Gouvernements du Maroc, de l'Éthiopie et du Tanganyika, le Comité spécial a décidé de tenir des séances dans ces trois pays d'Afrique. On trouvera, aux paragraphes 134 à 142 du chapitre premier de ce rapport, des précisions sur les déplacements du Comité spécial en Afrique pendant la période du 20 mai au 8 juin 1962. Comme l'indique le rapport, ce voyage en Afrique a été très utile par suite de l'expérience que ses membres ont acquise et de son effet psychologique sur les pays dépendants et indépendants de ce continent.

79. Je tiens à exprimer, au nom du Comité spécial, sa gratitude aux Gouvernements du Maroc, de l'Éthiopie et du Tanganyika pour l'avoir invité et à les remercier de l'assistance et de l'hospitalité qu'il a reçues pendant son séjour.

80. Des renseignements détaillés sur l'examen des différents territoires par le Comité spécial figurent aux chapitres II à XI du rapport. Chacun de ces chapitres contient les sections suivantes. La section A donne des renseignements sur le territoire. La section B expose l'examen de la question par le Comité spécial. Cette section est divisée en trois sous-sections: introduction, audition de pétitionnaires et observations de membres du Comité spécial. Puis la section C est intitulée "Décisions prises par le Comité spécial". Elle contient les décisions et recommandations adoptées par le Comité spécial. Certains chapitres contiennent en outre des sections supplémentaires où figurent des renseignements sur toutes mesures pertinentes prises par l'Assemblée générale concernant le territoire intéressé.

81. Le Comité spécial a décidé de faire figurer dans son rapport, pour chaque territoire, le résumé des opinions des pétitionnaires qui se sont présentés devant lui, ainsi que le résumé des observations des membres du Comité spécial. Le volume du rapport s'en trouve accru, mais on a pensé que les membres de l'Assemblée générale seront ainsi mieux à même de comprendre les décisions et recommandations du Comité spécial. Bien que le rapport soit assez long, pour les raisons que je viens d'expliquer, je suis certain que la table des matières détaillée qui figure en tête du volume permettra aux membres de le consulter facilement.

82. Je vais passer maintenant à la situation de chacun des 12 territoires examinés dans le rapport.

83. Le chapitre premier traite, comme je l'ai déjà indiqué, de l'organisation des travaux et fait état de l'opinion du Comité spécial sur les travaux futurs.

84. Le chapitre II concerne la Rhodésie du Sud, le premier territoire dont le Comité spécial se soit occupé. Comme le savent déjà les membres de l'Assemblée générale, le Comité spécial a étudié à fond la situation en Rhodésie du Sud et a envoyé à Londres un sous-comité chargé de s'entretenir avec le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni en vue de trouver une solution conforme au mandat du Comité spécial et aux aspirations des populations de la Rhodésie du Sud.

85. Par la suite, un rapport spécial sur la Rhodésie du Sud a été présenté par le Comité spécial lors de la reprise de la seizième session de l'Assemblée générale. Sur la base du rapport du Comité spécial, l'Assemblée générale a alors examiné d'urgence la

question de la Rhodésie du Sud et a adopté la résolution 1747 (XVI). Le Comité spécial a pris note de cette résolution et en particulier de son paragraphe 3 aux termes duquel il était prié de poursuivre les efforts constructifs qu'il déployait pour que la Déclaration soit appliquée au plus tôt à ce territoire. La Quatrième Commission a déjà examiné la question de la Rhodésie du Sud à la présente session et, sur rapport de la Commission, l'Assemblée générale a déjà adopté deux résolutions, la résolution 1755 (XVII) du 12 octobre 1962 et la résolution 1760 (XVII) du 31 octobre 1962.

86. Le chapitre III traite de la Rhodésie du Nord. Les conclusions et recommandations du Comité spécial concernant ce territoire sont exposées aux paragraphes 193 à 205 de ce chapitre du rapport. Les recommandations comportent un projet de résolution qui est proposé à l'Assemblée générale pour adoption. Comme le Comité spécial l'en avait prié, le Secrétaire général par intérim a communiqué le 18 juin 1962 au Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni les conclusions et recommandations du Comité spécial. Je signalerai en passant que des élections ont eu lieu en Rhodésie du Nord le 30 octobre 1962 et qu'il faudra sans doute tenir compte de leurs résultats avant l'adoption de toute résolution relative à ce territoire.

87. Le chapitre IV concerne le Nyassaland. Le Comité spécial a constaté que la situation au Nyassaland était relativement moins difficile étant donné qu'aux élections de 1961 le Malawi Congress Party, sous la direction du Dr Hastings Banda, avait déjà obtenu la majorité des sièges. Les conclusions et recommandations du Comité spécial concernant le Nyassaland sont exposées aux paragraphes 67 et 68 de ce chapitre du rapport. De même, le Secrétaire général par intérim a communiqué le 18 juin 1962 au Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni les conclusions et recommandations du Comité spécial.

88. Le chapitre V traite des territoires dépendant du Haut Commissaire: Bassoutoland, Betchouanaland et Souaziland. En raison de la situation géographique de ces territoires et de la similitude de leurs problèmes, le Comité spécial a décidé de les étudier ensemble. Il recommande à l'Assemblée générale d'examiner un projet de résolution concernant ces trois territoires; ce projet figure au paragraphe 214 de ce chapitre du rapport.

89. Le chapitre VI concerne le territoire de Zanzibar. Dans ce cas encore, le Comité spécial recommande à l'Assemblée générale d'examiner un projet de résolution qui se trouve au paragraphe 154 de ce chapitre du rapport.

90. Le chapitre VII concerne la Guyane britannique. En raison du caractère d'urgence de la situation en Guyane britannique, le Comité spécial l'a étudiée par priorité et a adopté le 30 juillet 1962 une résolution aux termes de laquelle le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni était prié de prendre immédiatement certaines mesures. Le Secrétaire général par intérim a communiqué cette résolution à ce gouvernement le 1er août 1962. Le texte en est donné au paragraphe 84 de ce chapitre du rapport.

91. Le chapitre VIII traite du Mozambique. Lorsqu'il a examiné la situation dans ce territoire, le Comité spécial était saisi du rapport du Comité spécial pour les territoires administrés par le Portugal. Le Comité spécial recommande à l'Assemblée générale d'exami-

ner un projet de résolution relatif au Mozambique qui se trouve au paragraphe 109 de ce chapitre du rapport.

92. Le chapitre IX traite du Sud-Ouest africain. En étudiant l'application de la Déclaration à ce territoire, le Comité spécial était notamment saisi du rapport du Comité spécial pour le Sud-Ouest africain. Les conclusions et recommandations relatives au Sud-Ouest africain se trouvent aux paragraphes 120 à 124 de ce chapitre du rapport.

93. Le chapitre X traite du Kenya. Le Comité spécial recommande à l'Assemblée générale d'examiner un projet de résolution qui se trouve au paragraphe 88 de ce chapitre du rapport.

94. Le chapitre XI traite de l'Angola. Comme dans le cas du Mozambique, le Comité spécial était saisi du rapport du Comité spécial pour les territoires administrés par le Portugal. Un projet de résolution recommandé à l'Assemblée générale pour examen figure au paragraphe 44 de ce chapitre du rapport.

95. Le dernier chapitre, le chapitre XII, est constitué par des résumés de pétitions de caractère général et de pétitions concernant des territoires autres que ceux dont il est question aux chapitres II à XI.

96. Avant de terminer cette partie de mon exposé, je voudrais dire quelques mots des travaux futurs du Comité spécial. Cette question a fait l'objet d'un examen très attentif par le Comité spécial ainsi que par un groupe de travail nommé à cette fin. Les opinions du Comité spécial sur cette question sont exposées aux paragraphes 146 à 152 du rapport.

97. Au cours de ses travaux depuis février 1962, le Comité spécial a étudié l'application de la Déclaration dans 12 territoires, dont 11 territoires situés en Afrique. Comme on le constatera, l'importance accordée à l'Afrique dès le début des travaux se justifie par le caractère impérieux des problèmes qui se posent dans les colonies d'Afrique et la nécessité de prendre d'urgence des mesures appropriées en vue d'éviter des difficultés encore plus grandes à l'avenir. Le Comité spécial estime que la sagesse de sa décision d'examiner les territoires d'Afrique par priorité a été amplement démontrée par les événements politiques survenus dans ces territoires.

98. Le Comité spécial reconnaît qu'il n'a, en aucune façon, terminé la tâche que lui a confiée l'Assemblée générale et qu'il reste encore bien des territoires dans lesquels la situation doit être étudiée en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration. En outre, il faudra que le Comité spécial suive l'effet des décisions déjà prises, ou qui le seront, par l'Assemblée générale concernant les territoires dont elle s'est déjà occupée mais où la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux n'a pas encore été mis en œuvre.

99. Une autre question sur laquelle je voudrais appeler l'attention particulièrement, à propos des travaux futurs du Comité spécial, est celle de la coordination des travaux entre les divers organes des Nations Unies dont les activités s'exercent dans le domaine colonial. C'est ce que le Secrétaire général par intérim a signalé dans l'introduction à son rapport annuel [A/5201/Add.1, p. 4]. Le Comité spécial en a pris note au paragraphe 152 du chapitre premier de son rapport et a exprimé l'espoir que l'opinion du Secrétaire général retiendra l'attention de l'Assemblée générale.

100. Enfin, si vous le permettez, Monsieur le Président, je voudrais dire quelques mots sur certaines questions de méthode. L'examen du présent rapport a été attribué à l'Assemblée générale en séance plénière. Si l'on tient compte de la façon dont cette déclaration historique a été adoptée et de la décision qui a été prise par la suite de créer le Comité spécial, il est tout à fait normal que ce rapport soit examiné par l'Assemblée générale en séance plénière. Toutefois, l'Assemblée voudra peut-être faire la lumière sur quelques questions d'ordre pratique avant d'aborder l'examen des divers projets de résolution qui figurent dans le rapport du Comité spécial. Je prendrai d'abord la question de la Rhodésie du Sud, dont traite le chapitre II du rapport. Comme on le sait, cette question constitue un point de l'ordre du jour de la présente session et l'Assemblée générale a déjà adopté deux résolutions que j'ai rappelées précédemment. Par conséquent, en attendant le rapport demandé au Secrétaire général aux termes du paragraphe 4 du dispositif de la résolution 1760 (XVII) du 31 octobre, il serait peut-être inutile de procéder maintenant à un examen détaillé de ce territoire. C'est là une question qui doit être laissée au jugement et à la discrétion des membres de l'Assemblée.

101. Puis vient la question du Sud-Ouest africain, dont traite le chapitre IX du rapport. La Quatrième Commission en discute actuellement sur la base du rapport du Comité spécial pour le Sud-Ouest africain. Par conséquent, la Quatrième Commission pourrait aussi se reporter au chapitre IX du présent rapport dans l'examen de cette question. De cette façon, nous éviterions que des propositions particulières concernant ce territoire ne proviennent de deux instances.

102. La troisième question est celle du Mozambique, dont traite le chapitre VIII du rapport. Ce territoire fera l'objet d'un examen par la Quatrième Commission dans le cadre du rapport du Comité spécial pour les territoires administrés par le Portugal. Comme je l'ai déjà signalé, le chapitre VIII contient un projet de résolution sur le Mozambique, présenté à l'Assemblée générale pour examen. Il faudra donc prévoir des aménagements appropriés des travaux entre les séances plénières et la Quatrième Commission pour éviter que des recommandations ou des projets de résolution ne prennent naissance dans deux organes différents.

103. Le quatrième et dernier problème concerne l'Angola, dont traite le chapitre XI du rapport. Là encore, un projet de résolution est recommandé à l'Assemblée générale pour examen. En outre, il y a le rapport du Sous-Comité chargé d'examiner la situation en Angola [A/5286], qui doit être examiné en séance plénière. La Quatrième Commission sera aussi saisie de la question de l'Angola dans le cadre du rapport du Comité pour les territoires administrés par le Portugal [A/5160 et Corr.1]. Comme dans le cas du Mozambique, il y aurait donc lieu de trouver le moyen d'éviter la présentation de recommandations ou de projets de résolution en double.

104. Je suis certain que nous pourrions trouver des dispositions pratiques qui assureront l'efficacité du débat et la possibilité de prendre des décisions sans difficultés de procédure.

105. En terminant, j'ai l'honneur, au nom du Comité spécial, de présenter son rapport à l'Assemblée générale en exprimant l'espoir qu'il lui sera d'un

grand secours dans ses efforts tendant à mettre fin au colonialisme.

106. Le **PRESIDENT** (traduit de l'anglais): La parole est au représentant de la Guinée sur une motion d'ordre.

107. **M. DIALLO Telli** (Guinée): J'ai demandé, par motion d'ordre, à faire un très bref exposé et une proposition concrète concernant la méthode de travail de l'Assemblée générale sur l'important rapport dont nous venons d'être saisis [A/5238].

108. En effet, avant de lever la 1165ème séance, le Président a proposé — et il n'y a pas eu la moindre objection — d'exclure les trois territoires de la Rhodésie du Sud, du Sud-Ouest africain et de l'Angola, des délibérations de l'Assemblée dans le cadre du rapport du Comité des Dix-Sept. Le rapporteur de ce comité vient d'ajouter à cette liste le Mozambique, qui fera également l'objet d'un examen par la Quatrième Commission dans le cadre du rapport du Comité spécial pour les territoires administrés par le Portugal [A/5160].

109. Il ressort du rapport du Comité des Dix-Sept et du brillant exposé que vient de faire son rapporteur qu'en dehors des trois territoires sur lesquels une décision a été prise hier — Rhodésie du Sud, Sud-Ouest africain et Angola — neuf autres territoires, dont huit sous administration britannique, ont fait l'objet d'une étude particulière et d'une décision du Comité des Dix-Sept.

110. Le problème qui se pose à nous — et c'est là qu'intervient la proposition concrète de la Guinée — est de savoir s'il convient de procéder ici à l'étude détaillée de chacun de ces territoires. La proposition de la Guinée consiste à renvoyer la discussion sur ces neuf territoires à la Quatrième Commission. Et voici pour quelles raisons.

111. Le Comité des Dix-Sept a reçu, par la résolution 1654 (XVI), une mission bien précise qui est la mise en application de la résolution 1514 (XV). Cette dernière résolution contenait une proclamation solennelle et un certain nombre de dispositions. La proclamation solennelle, tout le monde s'en rappelle. Le 14 décembre 1960, l'Assemblée générale proclamait solennellement "la nécessité de mettre rapidement et inconditionnellement fin au colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations". Les dispositions, très nombreuses, peuvent se résumer dans le paragraphe 5 de la résolution, ainsi libellé:

"Des mesures immédiates seront prises, dans les territoires sous tutelle, les territoires non autonomes et tous autres territoires qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance, pour transférer tous pouvoirs aux peuples de ces territoires, sans aucune condition ni réserve, conformément à leur volonté et à leurs vœux librement exprimés, sans aucune distinction de race, de croyance ou de couleur, afin de leur permettre de jouir d'une indépendance et d'une liberté complètes."

112. Ainsi, l'Assemblée générale prenait la décision historique de proclamer la nécessité de l'indépendance de tous les pays et de tous les peuples colonisés. L'année dernière, 12 mois après, en présence d'un fait, extrêmement décourageant pour nous, de la non-application de cette résolution, l'Assemblée générale prenait une deuxième décision importante: après avoir réitéré et solennellement réaffirmé les objectifs et les principes essentiels contenus dans la Déclaration de

1960^{1/}, elle invitait instamment les Etats intéressés (c'est-à-dire les puissances coloniales) à agir sans plus tarder afin d'assurer scrupuleusement l'application et la mise en œuvre de cette déclaration. Cette résolution créait un comité spécial de 17 membres, auquel elle demandait de s'occuper de la mise en application effective de la Déclaration et de rendre compte de son travail à la dix-septième session de l'Assemblée générale.

113. Nous sommes à présent saisis du rapport du Comité des Dix-Sept. Nous pensons très sincèrement qu'à la fois pour des raisons d'efficacité et de logique il serait très difficile, ici, en séance plénière, d'entrer dans la discussion détaillée et de prendre une décision pour chacun des territoires. En effet, ce qu'on attend de nous, ce que prévoyait la résolution 1654 (XVI), c'est la suite logique, normale, nous voulons espérer la conclusion, des deux résolutions précédentes: 1514 (XV) et 1654 (XVI). Et notre décision doit nécessairement s'appliquer à l'ensemble des territoires qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance, ceci quel que soit le statut de ces territoires, qu'il s'agisse de territoires sous tutelle, de territoires non autonomes ou de territoires à statut international, comme le Sud-Ouest africain usurpé par le Gouvernement de la République sud-africaine. Il nous faut donc nécessairement une décision de principe qui concerne l'ensemble de ces territoires. Je suis persuadé que l'Assemblée fera en sorte que cette décision soit la conclusion de nos travaux.

114. Pour cette raison et bien que l'étude sur les différents territoires (Rhodésie du Nord, Nyassaland, Bassoutoland, Betchouanaland, Souaziland, Zanzibar, Guyane britannique, Mozambique et Kenya) soit extrêmement utile, nous pensons que l'Assemblée générale devrait faire la synthèse de l'ensemble de cette étude et, sur la base de cette synthèse, dégager la décision définitive qu'elle exigerait des puissances coloniales pour mettre un terme, cette fois pour de bon, à la colonisation. Sur la base des directives ainsi données, la Quatrième Commission, qui est déjà saisie de l'ensemble de la question, prendrait une décision définitive et concrète pour chacun des territoires.

115. Il convient en effet de rappeler que le Mozambique, dont faisait état, tout à l'heure, le rapporteur du Comité des Dix-Sept, est tout naturellement inclus dans le rapport du Comité spécial pour les territoires administrés par le Portugal [A/5160]. Les huit autres territoires, tous sous administration britannique, sont traités dans le rapport du Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes [A/5125]. Il s'agit, je crois qu'il n'est pas inutile de le répéter, des territoires sous administration britannique. Or, depuis quelque temps déjà, l'administration coloniale britannique consent à fournir, sur ces territoires, non seulement les renseignements exigés aux termes du Chapitre XI de la Charte, mais également des renseignements politiques et constitutionnels.

116. En toute hypothèse, pour éviter toute difficulté, nous pensons que l'Assemblée générale, sur la base des directives précises et de la synthèse qui auront été déterminées ici, pourrait habiliter spécialement la Quatrième Commission à prendre pour base de discussion non seulement les rapports des autres comités spéciaux, mais le rapport du Comité des

^{1/} Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, adoptée par l'Assemblée générale le 14 décembre 1960 [résolution 1514 (XV)].

Dix-Sept, afin qu'une fois pour toutes elle se débarrasse de cette question de la colonisation.

117. Telle est la proposition, portant sur la méthode, que voulait faire la délégation de la Guinée.

118. Le **PRESIDENT** (traduit de l'anglais): Le représentant de la Guinée serait-il disposé à présenter à l'Assemblée la conclusion de sa déclaration sous la forme concrète d'une proposition, afin que l'Assemblée puisse être appelée à se prononcer sur cette proposition?

119. **M. DIALLO Telli** (Guinée): Pour la sérénité même des débats extrêmement importants sur le rapport du Comité des Dix-Sept, la délégation de Guinée n'a pas cru devoir faire une proposition formelle, espérant que sa suggestion recevrait l'assentiment unanime. S'il y a des objections, la délégation de Guinée est prête à faire une proposition concrète. Compte tenu de la clarté et de la nécessité de la méthode de travail qui a été suggérée, la délégation de Guinée n'a pas cru devoir faire une proposition concrète. Elle ne le fera que si elle y est obligée.

120. **M. AGUIRRE** (Uruguay) [traduit de l'espagnol]: La délégation de l'Uruguay n'a pas d'objection à formuler sur le fond de la proposition du représentant de la Guinée. Bien plus, la délégation de l'Uruguay aurait jugé plus pratique que le rapport du Comité des Dix-Sept fût renvoyé directement à la Quatrième Commission pour qu'elle propose à l'Assemblée des projets de résolution sur chacune des questions. Mais au point où nous en sommes, où la Quatrième Commission a arrêté son programme de travail et où il a été décidé que le rapport du Comité des Dix-Sept serait discuté directement en séance plénière, la délégation de l'Uruguay considère, eu égard à l'efficacité des travaux, à la nécessité de s'en acquitter d'une façon rapide et réaliste, qu'il est préférable de suivre la méthode suggérée par le Rapporteur du Comité des Dix-Sept et de soumettre à la Quatrième Commission celles des questions du rapport du Comité des Dix-Sept qui se trouvent inscrites aussi à l'ordre du jour de la Quatrième Commission.

121. Quant aux autres questions, elles devraient être examinées directement en séance plénière, car, si, au point où en est l'Assemblée, nous soumettions à la Quatrième Commission les neuf questions traitées dans le rapport du Comité des Dix-Sept et si les longs débats auxquels chacune d'elles a donné lieu au Comité des Dix-Sept devaient se répéter, nous ne voyons pas comment il serait possible d'accomplir la tâche dont nous voulons tous nous acquitter pour faire aboutir les principes qui ont inspiré la résolution portant création du Comité.

122. Aussi ma délégation se permet-elle d'insister pour que nous suivions la méthode de travail suggérée par le Rapporteur: renvoyer à la Quatrième Commission les questions qui figurent déjà à son ordre du jour et maintenir l'examen en séance plénière des autres questions traitées dans le rapport du Comité des Dix-Sept; il faut tenir compte du fait que le Comité a déjà présenté à l'Assemblée un projet de résolution pour chacune d'elles: l'Assemblée peut se prononcer à leur sujet sans y passer trop de temps et avec l'aide du Comité qui doit mériter sa confiance.

123. **M. QUAISON-SACKY** (Ghana) [traduit de l'anglais]: Nous espérons que la suggestion du représentant de la Guinée ne soulèverait pas d'objection à l'Assemblée puisque, comme il l'a dit lui-même, la

Quatrième Commission est déjà saisie de l'ensemble des questions traitées dans le rapport du Comité spécial. La délégation du Ghana attache une grande importance à ce rapport. Comme l'Assemblée l'avait décidé l'an dernier, le Comité spécial devait étudier l'application de la Déclaration de 1960, formuler des suggestions et des recommandations quant aux progrès réalisés et à la mesure dans laquelle la Déclaration est mise en œuvre, et faire rapport à l'Assemblée générale lors de sa dix-septième session. L'Assemblée n'a pas précisé alors que ce serait en séance plénière.

124. Nous estimons que la suggestion du représentant de la Guinée est très pratique en ce sens que toutes les questions traitées dans le rapport doivent aussi être examinées en détail par la Quatrième Commission. Peut-être le représentant de l'Uruguay ne tient-il pas compte du fait que le rapport du Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes [A/5215] traitera de tous les territoires visés dans le présent rapport. Nous estimons donc que la Quatrième Commission doit entrer dans les détails et étudier quelles résolutions l'Assemblée devrait adopter. C'est alors seulement que ce rapport pourra être utilement examiné en séance plénière. A notre avis, la question doit rester à l'ordre du jour des séances plénières; toutefois, elle ne doit pas y être discutée maintenant, mais seulement lorsque la Quatrième Commission aura étudié de façon approfondie la situation dans les divers territoires dont traite le rapport. Sinon, nous en arriverions à cette situation que la Quatrième Commission étudierait la question du Bassoutoland ou celle du Sud-Ouest africain, puis que l'Assemblée générale en ferait autant en séance plénière. Il y aurait ainsi chevauchement des efforts, ce que nous voulons tous éviter, j'en suis certain.

125. Je ne veux pas non plus présenter une proposition formelle, dans l'espoir que le représentant de l'Uruguay ne formule pas officiellement son objection. J'espère avoir convaincu l'Assemblée générale par mon explication de la nécessité de ne pas s'opposer à la suggestion du représentant de la Guinée.

126. **M. DIALLO Telli** (Guinée): A l'intention du représentant de l'Uruguay, je voudrais très brièvement préciser une fois de plus — et je remercie le représentant du Ghana qui vient de le faire pour sa part — qu'il ne s'agit absolument pas d'escamoter en quoi que ce soit la discussion du rapport du Comité des Dix-Sept, auquel nous attachons la plus haute importance. Nous voulons que l'ensemble de ce rapport soit discuté ici. Mais ce sur quoi il nous paraît important de prendre une décision dès à présent, c'est la nécessité d'avoir, à l'issue de nos discussions ici, en séance plénière, la suite normale et logique qui doit être donnée et à la résolution 1514 (XV) et à la résolution 1654 (XVI), d'où est né, l'an dernier, le Comité des Dix-Sept. En d'autres termes, il faut prendre une décision d'ensemble, qui vise l'ensemble des territoires qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance. Il est certain que cette décision d'ensemble, que cette synthèse qui aura été tirée de l'étude du rapport du Comité des Dix-Sept, servira de directive à la Quatrième Commission lorsque celle-ci aura à se prononcer, sur la base de tous les documents à sa disposition, au sujet de tel ou tel territoire.

127. Pour préciser, une fois de plus, la situation, nous disons donc qu'à notre avis l'Assemblée générale

devrait discuter le rapport dans son ensemble, et prendre ainsi une décision visant l'ensemble des territoires qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance. Après, sur la base de cette décision de principe — que nous souhaitons être la conclusion définitive sur le problème de la décolonisation — la Quatrième Commission, compte tenu de tous les éléments, c'est-à-dire compte tenu du rapport même du Comité des Dix-Sept [A/5238] en ce qui concerne les points précis, compte tenu du rapport du Comité spécial pour les territoires administrés par le Portugal [A/5160], compte tenu du rapport du Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes [A/5215], compte tenu du rapport du Comité spécial pour le Sud-Ouest africain [A/5212 et Add.1 à 3], et compte tenu aussi, éventuellement, du rapport du Sous-Comité chargé d'examiner la situation en Angola [A/5286], prendra des décisions particulières pour chacun des territoires.

128. Il va sans dire que, dans la décision définitive que nous prendrons ici et qui, à notre point de vue, sera nécessairement une décision d'ensemble, bien d'autres questions connexes seront examinées; en particulier le sort du Comité des Dix-Sept ou de tout autre organe que l'Assemblée générale pourrait instituer pour donner suite à la décision qui sera prise cette année.

129. J'espère que ces éclaircissements donneront satisfaction au représentant de l'Uruguay et qu'il n'insistera pas, permettant ainsi à l'Assemblée de poursuivre ses travaux.

130. M. BOZOVIC (Yougoslavie) [traduit de l'anglais]: Ayant entendu l'explication que le représentant de la Guinée vient de donner, la délégation de la Yougoslavie estime que sa suggestion — qui, nous a-t-il dit, pourrait être présentée comme proposition formelle s'il est nécessaire — est très pratique pour l'examen du rapport du Comité des Dix-Sept et en particulier des chapitres qui traitent des territoires pris un à un.

131. Au sujet des observations du représentant de l'Uruguay, je me souviens, sans avoir les documents en main en ce moment, que le Président de la Quatrième Commission a reçu un certain nombre de demandes de représentants de partis politiques de quelques territoires africains qui demandent à être entendus par la Quatrième Commission lorsque la question des territoires non autonomes sera examinée. Certaines de ces demandes proviennent de territoires dont le Comité des Dix-Sept a étudié la situation.

132. D'un point de vue pratique, si nous décidons d'examiner tous les territoires à l'exception de ceux que vous avez mentionnés hier, Monsieur le Président, et en y ajoutant le Mozambique, et si nous prenons des décisions sur les recommandations du Comité des Dix-Sept, nous nous trouverons par la suite, lorsque nous examinerons la question des territoires non autonomes, amenés à entendre des pétitionnaires de certains de ces territoires et à rouvrir la question, et peut-être à présenter à l'Assemblée générale une nouvelle proposition ou des additifs à une proposition déjà adoptée.

133. C'est pour cela et en tenant compte aussi de la possibilité de nouvelles demandes d'auditions provenant de divers territoires qu'à mon avis la proposition du représentant de la Guinée est judicieuse, nous épargnera du temps et évitera sans doute un chevauchement des travaux. Nous pourrions alors

discuter en séance plénière les questions de principe, tandis que les cas particuliers traités dans le rapport pourraient être examinés par la Quatrième Commission à la lumière de tous renseignements nouveaux qui pourraient être recueillis auprès des pétitionnaires qui ont déjà demandé à être entendus ou qui pourraient le faire.

134. Mlle BROOKS (Libéria) [traduit de l'anglais]: Je crois que les représentants de la Guinée et de la Yougoslavie ont déjà dit ce que je voulais dire moi-même, mais je désire expliquer en outre au représentant de l'Uruguay que, si le point de l'ordre du jour concerne les renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes, on constate dans le rapport du Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes [A/5215] que les mêmes territoires qui sont énumérés dans le rapport du Comité des Dix-Sept sont énumérés aussi dans le rapport du Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes. Par conséquent, en ce qui concerne sa suggestion tendant à accepter la demande faite par le Rapporteur du Comité des Dix-Sept qui a pour objet de faire renvoyer à la Quatrième Commission les questions relatives aux territoires dont elle a déjà à connaître, on constate que tout territoire qui n'est pas autonome figure sur la liste du Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes.

135. J'appuie le représentant de la Guinée afin que, lorsque la Quatrième Commission discutera finalement la question, il ne soit pas porté atteinte au sens général de la Déclaration sur la décolonisation. C'est un aspect du problème, mais en séance plénière nous avons la possibilité de faire une évaluation sur la base des rapports présentés par le Comité spécial pour les territoires administrés par le Portugal [A/5160] et par le Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes. Si la Quatrième Commission examinait le rapport présenté par le Comité des Dix-Sept, à cette étape elle serait dans une meilleure position pour faire en séance plénière une évaluation efficace de la situation d'ensemble selon l'intention du projet de résolution.

136. Le PRÉSIDENT (traduit de l'anglais): Je donne la parole au représentant de la Syrie.

137. M. RIFAI (Syrie) [traduit de l'anglais]: Je vous remercie, Monsieur le Président, d'avoir donné la parole au représentant de la Syrie, car c'est en cette qualité que je vais parler et non en qualité de Rapporteur.

138. Je voudrais d'abord mettre en garde les membres de l'Assemblée générale contre une mesure qui pourrait être inconsiderée. Je ne suis pas monté à la tribune pour entamer une dispute avec le représentant de la Guinée. Je respecte ses opinions et je suis certain que tous ici nous avons le souci d'éviter des doubles emplois dans les travaux et d'inutiles conflits entre des recommandations. Il me semble qu'il y a là un point dont il faut tenir compte. En présentant le rapport à l'Assemblée, j'y ai déjà fait allusion et j'ai fait certaines suggestions pratiques pour éviter des résolutions et des recommandations faisant double emploi ou même divergentes.

139. Je sais que le représentant de la Guinée s'inspire d'un noble motif, de même que le représentant du Ghana et que tous ceux qui ont pris la parole en faveur de la méthode qu'il a suggérée. Il me semble que le mieux serait maintenant de différer toute

décision sur la motion que le représentant de la Guinée vient d'exposer et de renvoyer la décision à demain. A mon avis, nous risquons de prendre une décision inconsidérée que nous pourrions regretter par la suite. Je ne veux pas dire que la meilleure méthode soit de continuer l'examen du rapport dans tous ses points, mais j'estime qu'étant donné son importance et la décision déjà prise par le Bureau et par l'Assemblée elle-même de le discuter directement en séance plénière nous ne devrions pas renverser maintenant cette décision inconsidérément.

140. Pour cette raison, je fais appel aux représentants, en particulier au représentant de la Guinée, en leur demandant de ne pas s'opposer à l'ajournement de la décision à prendre sur la question de méthode que ce représentant a soulevée, jusqu'à ce que nous ayons disposé d'assez de temps pour examiner ce problème qui est d'une très grande importance pour nous tous. Je suis certain que le représentant de la Guinée conviendra avec moi que nous sommes tous animés du même désir et je lui renouvelle donc mon appel en lui demandant d'accepter pour le moment que la décision soit ajournée.

141. M. MONGUNO (Nigéria) [traduit de l'anglais]: Ma délégation n'avait pas l'intention d'intervenir, mais, après avoir entendu la proposition du représentant de la Guinée, je tiens à dire qu'à notre avis il y aurait doubles emplois à tous égards si la question était examinée à la fois en séance plénière et à la Quatrième Commission. Si l'on envisage la chose d'un point de vue pratique, il semblerait même difficile d'entendre les pétitionnaires en séance plénière, s'il est exact qu'une demande d'audition ait été reçue par le Président de la Quatrième Commission. Il faudrait, je crois, reconstruire la salle des séances! J'espère que ceux qui ont présenté des objections à la suggestion du représentant de la Guinée reconnaîtront qu'il est plus pratique de renvoyer à la Quatrième Commission l'ensemble de la question et que nous y gagnerons du temps, car presque tous ses aspects devront être examinés par la Commission. J'espère que les autres délégations en conviendront aussi.

142. M. GEBRE-EGZY (Ethiopie) [traduit de l'anglais]: Il semble y avoir une certaine confusion sur ce qu'est en réalité la proposition de la délégation de la Guinée. Si j'ai bien compris, selon cette proposition la Quatrième Commission devrait traiter des territoires énumérés par le représentant de la Guinée, premièrement parce qu'il est plus pratique d'entendre les pétitionnaires en commission, deuxièmement parce que dans certains cas les territoires font déjà l'objet d'un examen de la part d'autres comités, troisièmement parce que la discussion en serait accélérée. Mais la proposition de la délégation de la Guinée — et je crois qu'on n'a pas bien compris ceci — est aussi que l'Assemblée discute en séance plénière le principe de l'application de la Déclaration. En d'autres termes, la proposition tend à renvoyer l'examen de détail du rapport à la Quatrième Commission, tandis que la question générale de l'application de la Déclaration serait discutée en séance plénière.

143. Il se trouve que nous avons fait presque la même proposition au Comité des Dix-Sept. Malheureusement, cette idée en est restée là, d'abord faute de temps et aussi parce qu'à cette étape un accord tacite semblait être intervenu pour réserver toutes ces questions aux séances plénières.

144. Ce que je tiens à faire ressortir, c'est ceci: la proposition de la délégation de la Guinée ne signifie pas que la question soit discutée à la fois en séance plénière et à la Quatrième Commission. Elle signifie que l'Assemblée, en séance plénière, examinera si la résolution 1514 (XV) a été convenablement appliquée, tandis que la Quatrième Commission discutera le cas d'un certain nombre de territoires qui, d'une façon ou d'une autre, font déjà l'objet d'un examen de la part de la Commission ou de comités, ce qui présentera des avantages tant du point de vue de l'audition des pétitionnaires que du point de vue de l'accélération des travaux.

145. J'ai demandé la parole pour préciser ce point et pour appuyer la proposition de la délégation de la Guinée. Je ne pense pas que cette question soulève des difficultés telles que nous devions ajourner la suite du débat. Je prie donc les représentants de l'Uruguay et de la Syrie de ne pas insister sur leurs suggestions, afin que l'Assemblée puisse trancher la question.

146. Le PRESIDENT (traduit de l'anglais): Le représentant de la Guinée a demandé la parole, certainement pour donner d'autres explications sur des points qui seraient restés obscurs pour les représentants qui ont pris la parole depuis sa dernière intervention ou pour d'autres représentants. Avant de lui donner la parole, je voudrais savoir si quelqu'un désire exposer son opinion sur la question afin que le représentant de la Guinée, s'il le veut bien, puisse répondre à toutes les questions à la fois.

147. Il semble qu'aucun autre représentant ne désire intervenir maintenant. Je donne donc la parole au représentant de la Guinée.

148. M. DIALLO Telli (Guinée): Je me trouve embarrassé parce que devant deux appels. J'avais demandé la parole avant que monte à cette tribune le représentant de l'Ethiopie, pour répondre favorablement à l'appel du représentant de la Syrie. Mais, comme le Président m'y a indirectement invité, je voudrais tout de même donner encore quelques précisions.

149. Je suis content que le représentant de l'Ethiopie ait parfaitement compris, sauf sur un point, la thèse de la Guinée. Je ne pense pas que ce soit un certain nombre de territoires évoqués devant le Comité des Dix-Sept qu'il faille renvoyer en commission, mais c'est l'ensemble des territoires particuliers évoqués dans le rapport de ce comité et, sur ce point, la représentante du Libéria a parfaitement traduit ma pensée. C'est en effet l'ensemble de ces territoires qui se trouve, de par le rapport du Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes (A/5215), porté devant la Quatrième Commission.

150. Une autre précision est également absolument indispensable: Je déclare une fois de plus que l'ensemble du rapport du Comité des Dix-Sept devrait, à notre point de vue, être discuté ici et faire l'objet d'une décision de l'Assemblée générale. Mais la question que je pose — ou la question sur laquelle je voudrais que l'on médite si jamais on reportait la séance à demain — est celle-ci: combien de résolutions voudrait-on que l'on adoptât à l'issue de nos débats sur le rapport du Comité des Dix-Sept? La réponse à cette question, du point de vue de ma délégation, est très simple.

151. Il serait souhaitable d'avoir une résolution et une seule, qui soit la suite normale, la suite logique

de nos débats. Je souhaiterais que ce soit la conclusion de l'ensemble des débats sur la décolonisation. Sur la base de directives aussi claires et précises données par l'Assemblée générale, la Quatrième Commission, à la fois en fonction des éléments précis que contient le rapport du Comité des Dix-Sept (A/5238), en fonction également du rapport du Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes (A/5215), du rapport du Comité spécial pour le Sud-Ouest africain (A/5212 et Add.1 à 3) et des rapports des autres comités spéciaux, prendrait, dans le cadre de ces directives bien précises, une décision définitive sur chacun des territoires.

152. Voici la position de la Guinée concernant l'appel du représentant de la Syrie. Je dois dire que, désireux de ne rien bousculer, je ne vois aucune objection, si c'est le sentiment de l'Assemblée, à reporter ultérieurement le débat en vue d'un examen plus approfondi. Je voudrais ajouter que je regrette que le rapporteur du Comité des Dix-Sept, le représentant de la Syrie, n'ait pas assisté à une réunion importante cet après-midi; car notre proposition n'est pas précipitée du tout. C'est à la suite de consultations avec un certain nombre de délégations qui ont tout le temps travaillé ensemble que la proposition a été faite ici. Je regrette infiniment que le représentant de la Syrie n'ait pas été au courant et n'ait pas pris part à ces assises importantes. Quoi qu'il en soit, ma conclusion est que je ne vois pas d'objection à reporter ma proposition à plus tard en vue de consultations plus approfondies.

153. M. PACHACHI (Irak) [traduit de l'anglais]: Il serait bon, je crois, de préciser les questions dont l'Assemblée est saisie.

154. Si j'ai bien compris le représentant de la Guinée, ce qu'il propose, c'est, en termes concrets et précis, que l'Assemblée procède en séance plénière, sur l'ensemble du rapport du Comité des Dix-Sept, à une discussion générale à l'issue de laquelle elle adopterait une résolution contenant des principes généraux. Alors et alors seulement, la Quatrième Commission serait saisie des divers chapitres du rapport du Comité des Dix-Sept qui traitent des différents territoires. Lorsqu'elle aurait terminé cet examen, la Quatrième Commission recommanderait à l'Assemblée générale d'adopter certaines résolutions à la lumière des principes généraux contenus dans la résolution que l'Assemblée aurait adoptée. C'est ainsi que je comprends la proposition du représentant de la Guinée. Toutefois, si l'Assemblée adoptait cette proposition, il se poserait, je crois, une question de méthode de travail...

155. Le PRESIDENT (traduit de l'anglais): Ceci, bien entendu, à condition que le sens de la proposition du représentant de la Guinée soit celui que le représentant de l'Irak lui donne.

156. M. PACHACHI (Irak) [traduit de l'anglais]: En effet, mes observations sont fondées sur l'hypothèse que j'ai compris le sens exact de la proposition du représentant de la Guinée. Cela signifierait, bien entendu, que la Quatrième Commission ne pourrait pas poursuivre ses travaux pendant que l'Assemblée générale procéderait à la discussion générale du rapport du Comité des Dix-Sept, et, puisque les résultats de la discussion du rapport du Comité des Dix-Sept seraient portés devant la Quatrième Commission, il me semblerait naturel que les deux organes ne se réunissent pas en même temps, car toute décision que la Quatrième Commission pourrait

prendre serait sans doute prématurée et pourrait être dépassée par les principes généraux de la résolution adoptée par l'Assemblée générale.

157. Il y a donc là une difficulté et je saisis cette occasion pour faire une observation. Je crois que le représentant de la Guinée a dit que la Quatrième Commission examine la situation des divers territoires qui relèvent du Chapitre XI, en ce qui concerne le Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes ou aussi le Comité spécial pour les territoires administrés par le Portugal. Mais je suis sûr qu'il sera d'accord avec moi si je lui fais remarquer que le contexte dans lequel la Quatrième Commission examine la situation des territoires portugais aux termes de la résolution [1699 (XVI)] portant création du Comité spécial pour les territoires administrés par le Portugal est tout à fait différent du contexte de la résolution adoptée en 1960 et de la résolution de l'an dernier portant création du Comité des Dix-Sept.

158. Pour toutes ces raisons, je cherche encore des éclaircissements sur la question. Si nous adoptons la proposition du représentant de la Guinée telle que je la comprends, est-il vraiment utile que la Quatrième Commission poursuive ses travaux, puisqu'il est très vraisemblable qu'ils seraient rendus sans valeur ou en tout cas modifiés radicalement à la lumière de toute résolution qui serait adoptée par l'Assemblée générale sur les principes généraux relatifs à l'application de la résolution 1514 (XV) ?

159. Mlle BROOKS (Libéria) [traduit de l'anglais]: Il est exact que j'ai entendu dire que 104 ou 105 nations peuvent interpréter la Charte de 104 ou 105 et maintenant de 110 façons différentes. En fait, je n'ai pas compris que le représentant de la Guinée ait proposé de différer les travaux de la Quatrième Commission jusqu'après la discussion générale du rapport en séance plénière. Je crois que c'est tout le contraire. J'estime que la Quatrième Commission devrait d'abord avoir la possibilité d'examiner la question en détail et d'entendre les pétitionnaires, et que l'Assemblée générale examinerait alors le rapport du Comité des Dix-Sept en séance plénière en tenant compte des discussions détaillées de la Quatrième Commission, puis en dégagerait des principes généraux, notamment pour ce qui est du concept qui donne son sens à la résolution sur la décolonisation. Voilà comment je voyais les choses. Mais, s'il faut changer tout cela et procéder à une discussion en vue d'établir un principe général auquel la Quatrième Commission devra se conformer dans ses travaux, je crois que les choses seront très différentes et que je devrai reconsidérer la position que j'avais prise.

160. Etant donné ce qui précède, je pense que le mieux serait de suspendre l'examen de la question, au point où nous en sommes, jusqu'à ce que nous ayons pu nous réunir par groupes et nous expliquer clairement les uns aux autres ce que signifie réellement la motion. Peut-être serons-nous mieux en mesure, plus tard, de prendre une décision ou de voter sur la question.

161. M. DIALLO Telli (Guinée): Le représentant de l'Irak a posé deux questions importantes qui méritent d'être éclaircies. Tout d'abord, il a évoqué la base légale du travail qui s'effectue à la Quatrième Commission, dans le cadre des dispositions du Chapitre XI de la Charte. Je crois savoir, et je suis persuadé, que le représentant de l'Irak sera d'accord avec moi

pour constater que, depuis l'adoption de la résolution 1514 (XV), en décembre 1960, c'est bien dans le cadre des dispositions d'ensemble de cette résolution que la Quatrième Commission élabore ses projets de résolution concernant les territoires non autonomes.

162. En toute hypothèse et pour lever toute équivoque, je ne verrais aucun inconvénient, au contraire, à ce qu'un mandat spécial soit donné à la Quatrième Commission par l'Assemblée générale en ce qui concerne les points particuliers des territoires spécifiquement mentionnés dans le rapport du Comité des Dix-Sept.

163. La deuxième question soulevée par le représentant de l'Irak est celle de la continuité ou de la simultanéité des travaux de la Quatrième Commission et de l'Assemblée générale. Sur ce point, il résulte des informations venant des amis qui nous représentent à la Quatrième Commission que cet organe étudie actuellement le rapport du Comité spécial pour le Sud-Ouest africain [A/5212 et Add.1 à 3]; il abordera ensuite, compte tenu de l'ordre du jour qu'il a déjà adopté, le rapport du Comité spécial pour les territoires administrés par le Portugal [A/5160], et ce n'est qu'à l'issue de l'étude de ce document que la Quatrième Commission s'occupera du rapport du Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes [A/5215].

164. Je pense donc qu'avant que la Quatrième Commission aborde l'examen des territoires particuliers mentionnés dans le rapport du Comité des Dix-Sept l'Assemblée générale aura terminé son travail. Mais je veux être très clair et très précis, en particulier après l'exposé que vient de faire la représentante du Libéria. Je pense qu'il est préférable qu'une décision de principe, qui soit une décision d'ensemble, soit prise ici sur le rapport du Comité des Dix-Sept, et que ce soit à la lumière des principes ainsi dégagés, et des objectifs ainsi fixés, que la Quatrième Commission, en venant à l'étude concrète de chacun des territoires, détermine son action.

165. J'ajoute, pour être clair et précis, que je ne pense pas que le fait d'étudier ici l'ensemble du rapport du Comité des Dix-Sept arrête la Quatrième Commission dans son travail. Je crois néanmoins que, pour éviter toute équivoque, il serait important, à l'issue de notre débat ici, de donner un mandat spécial à la Quatrième Commission, pour que sur la base de ce mandat, et à la lumière des principes et des objectifs dégagés, elle prenne des décisions concrètes et pratiques sur chacun des territoires.

166. M. PACHACHI (Irak) [traduit de l'anglais]: Si j'ai bien compris le représentant de la Guinée, il n'envisage pas que la Quatrième Commission prenne une décision quelconque concernant aucun des territoires avant que l'Assemblée générale ait adopté une résolution contenant des principes généraux à l'issue de la discussion générale sur l'ensemble du rapport du Comité des Dix-Sept. Je crois que c'est bien là ce que je lui ai entendu dire. Mais, s'il n'envisage pas cela, c'est qu'il ne voit pas qu'il puisse y avoir incompatibilité entre les décisions prises par la Quatrième Commission sur des territoires particuliers et une résolution où seraient énoncés des principes généraux, adoptée en séance plénière. Or, je prévois précisément, si je comprends bien le motif qui pousse à l'adoption d'une telle résolution énonçant des principes généraux, que des complications pourraient surgir

au cas où des résolutions adoptées par la Quatrième Commission ne seraient pas complètement ou entièrement compatibles avec les principes généraux de la résolution qu'adopterait l'Assemblée et d'où devraient découler, pour ainsi dire, toutes les décisions de la Quatrième Commission sur des territoires particuliers.

167. Telle est la difficulté dans laquelle je me trouve. D'ailleurs, je ne vois pas très bien comment la Quatrième Commission pourrait continuer à étudier, discuter et décider au sujet de territoires particuliers tout en sachant que l'Assemblée générale peut lui envoyer une résolution dont les principes généraux ne seraient peut-être pas compatibles avec les décisions qu'elle aurait déjà prises.

168. M. DIALLO Telli (Guinée): Je voudrais préciser de nouveau que la Quatrième Commission discute actuellement du Sud-Ouest africain, territoire qui ne figure pas aujourd'hui sur la liste des territoires en discussion, pour la simple raison qu'hier, à la fin de la 1165ème séance, le Président a demandé d'exclure ce territoire de nos délibérations. En l'absence de toute opposition, il me semble qu'une décision a été prise sur ce point.

169. En tout état de cause, je n'ai pas demandé — et je n'ai pas pensé un seul instant qu'il faille le faire — d'arrêter le travail de la Quatrième Commission qui, dans mon esprit, ne peut ni ne doit cesser de travailler, pour la simple raison, comme je l'ai déjà dit, que, depuis 1960, elle a adopté tous ses projets de résolution dans le cadre des dispositions de la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale. Il va sans dire que la résolution que nous adopterons ici sera une suite normale et logique, pour ne pas dire la conclusion naturelle, des débats qui ont conduit à l'adoption des résolutions 1514 (XV) et 1654 (XVI).

170. Je ne vois absolument pas — et je ne propose rien dans ce sens — que la Quatrième Commission doive arrêter son travail à la fois sur le Sud-Ouest africain et sur les colonies portugaises. Ce que je veux dire, c'est que pour les autres territoires, qui font l'objet de la discussion et de ma proposition, et qui sont non autonomes, l'Assemblée générale aura certainement adopté une résolution d'ensemble avant que la Quatrième Commission aborde leur examen.

171. Voilà ce que je voulais dire; j'espère que ces éclaircissements auront satisfait le représentant de l'Irak.

172. M. BAYONA (Colombie) [traduit de l'espagnol]: Les observations pertinentes du représentant de l'Irak et le souci exprimé par la représentante du Libéria rejoignent précisément les idées centrales qui ont été celles de ma délégation pendant ce court débat de procédure.

173. Nous sommes très pressés; nous cherchons une méthode qui puisse écourter nos travaux tout en nous permettant de parvenir à une heureuse conclusion. Le représentant de la Guinée nous propose: premièrement, une discussion générale; deuxièmement, le renvoi du rapport du Comité spécial des Dix-Sept à la Quatrième Commission; troisièmement, le retour de la question en séance plénière de l'Assemblée générale. En d'autres termes, nous ne doublons pas les travaux, nous les trions!

174. Ma délégation juge très judicieuses les observations faites tout d'abord par le représentant de la Syrie et auxquelles le représentant de l'Irak a donné

son appui avisé. Puisque nous cherchons une méthode pour faciliter la tâche qui consiste à mettre fin au colonialisme, ma délégation appuie la proposition du représentant de l'Irak.

175. M. AGUIRRE (Uruguay) [traduit de l'espagnol]: Ma délégation regrette beaucoup de prendre encore le temps de l'Assemblée. Je le fais précisément en raison d'une réflexion du représentant de la Guinée qui nous a demandé, certainement sans mauvaise intention, de permettre à l'Assemblée de continuer à examiner le problème.

176. Or ma délégation se préoccupe toujours précisément de ne pas empêcher la poursuite des travaux de l'Assemblée, mais au contraire de contribuer à les abrégier et à les rendre plus pratiques. C'est pourquoi ma délégation n'a pas en ce moment l'intention de maintenir son objection. Mais, tenant compte de la proposition qu'a faite le représentant de la Syrie et après avoir entendu notamment des opinions divergentes sur le sens et la portée de la proposition du représentant de la Guinée, ma délégation a l'intention de demander la levée de la séance afin de donner aux représentants le temps de méditer la question et de chercher à concilier les opinions diverses qui ont été exposées à cette tribune, et afin qu'on puisse adopter la méthode la meilleure pour la poursuite de nos travaux.

177. Cependant, ma délégation désire faire aussi une autre observation au sujet de ce qu'ont dit certains représentants selon lesquels les questions traitées dans le rapport du Comité spécial des Dix-Sept sont en fait inscrites à l'ordre du jour de la Quatrième Commission dans le cadre de la question intitulée "Renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes". Si tel était réellement le cas, rien n'aurait justifié qu'aucune des huit autres rubriques fût traitée à part. En inscrivant cette question à l'ordre du jour, nous aurions inscrit en même temps tous les aspects de cette grande lutte que nous avons entreprise pour mettre fin au colonialisme et à laquelle nous nous sommes voués. Il y a une raison de fond, de principe, pour avoir séparé les huit autres rubriques de cette question et pour qu'elle suive le cours normal qu'elle a toujours suivi à l'Assemblée générale bien avant la création du Comité spécial des Dix-Sept et l'adoption de la résolution qui a donné le jour à ce comité.

178. Pour terminer, j'insiste sur ma proposition tendant à ce que la séance soit levée immédiatement.

179. M. DIALLO Tell (Guinée): Je m'excuse d'avoir demandé la parole, mais, tant à rester dans le cadre du règlement intérieur, je voudrais appuyer la proposition d'ajournement faite par le représentant de l'Uruguay et, toujours dans le cadre du règlement, l'appel lancé par le représentant de la Syrie. Mais, avant de descendre de la tribune, je voudrais, résumant le plus brièvement possible la proposition de la Guinée, redire à l'intention des membres de l'Assemblée que ce que voudrait la Guinée, c'est une discussion d'ensemble du rapport du Comité des Dix-Sept et l'adoption d'une résolution unique sanctionnant cette discussion. Je suis persuadé que ceci résume exactement la pensée de la Guinée.

180. Nous voudrions, dans cette résolution finale, donner un mandat à la Quatrième Commission en ce qui concerne les territoires spécifiquement mentionnés dans le rapport.

181. En conclusion, je soutiens, afin de permettre des négociations et des contacts plus fructueux, la motion d'ajournement soumise par les représentants de l'Uruguay et de la Syrie.

Organisation des travaux de l'Assemblée

182. Le PRÉSIDENT (traduit de l'anglais): Je puis dire que la discussion qui vient de se dérouler a été très utile et qu'elle était aussi très nécessaire en raison de la situation où nous nous trouvons du fait que des questions interdépendantes ont été renvoyées à la Quatrième Commission et aux séances plénières de l'Assemblée. En séance plénière, nous devons discuter la question générale qui est traitée dans le rapport du Comité des Dix-Sept et qui porte sur tous les territoires coloniaux. Puis, en séance plénière aussi, est prévue la discussion de la question de l'Angola qui est le point suivant, le point 25 de la liste des questions à discuter en séance plénière.

183. D'un autre côté, les questions de la Rhodésie du Sud et du Sud-Ouest africain, ainsi je crois que des autres territoires portugais, ont été renvoyées à la Quatrième Commission. Il est donc très nécessaire qu'avant d'aborder l'examen du rapport du Comité des Dix-Sept nos idées soient bien claires quant à la méthode et la procédure à suivre pour éviter des actions parallèles inutiles. Je suis très heureux que la question ait été soulevée avant que nous entamions la discussion du rapport, afin qu'il ne nous reste aucun doute dans l'esprit au sujet de la procédure à suivre.

184. Si l'Assemblée ne s'y oppose pas, voici ce que je proposerai de faire. Nous nous réunirons en séance plénière vendredi matin 9 novembre 1962. Les délégations auront ainsi toute la journée de demain pour examiner la question et pour se faire une opinion sur la façon de discuter le rapport du Comité spécial. J'aurai aussi le temps de réfléchir à tout ce qui a été dit cet après-midi et je serai peut-être en mesure de saisir l'Assemblée, lorsque nous nous réunirons vendredi matin, d'une proposition répondant aux vœux et aux points de vue exprimés en général cet après-midi. Si nous pouvons alors nous mettre d'accord sur une solution, que ce soit celle que j'aurai proposée ou toute nouvelle solution qui aura pu être présentée — mais j'espère que nous ne passerons pas trop de temps sur cette question de procédure après en avoir délibéré si longuement cet après-midi —, nous pourrions alors continuer en sachant où nous allons et comment y parvenir.

185. Il reste deux autres points à mentionner. Premièrement, si je comprends bien, il ressort de la discussion d'aujourd'hui que la question distincte de l'Angola, qui est le point suivant de la liste des questions à discuter en séance plénière, serait en un sens, à cette étape, en tout cas, examinée dans le cadre de la discussion de l'ensemble du rapport, quelle que soit la procédure que nous adoptons. Naturellement, elle devra être examinée séparément aussi. Il appartiendra à l'Assemblée de décider, après s'être prononcée sur la façon de procéder pour ce qui est du rapport du Comité des Dix-Sept, ce qu'elle entend faire pour la question de l'Angola, si elle veut la traiter ici même ou la renvoyer à la Quatrième Commission.

186. Deuxièmement, une autre question que l'Assemblée devra examiner en ce qui concerne la procédure, c'est — à supposer qu'elle préfère la discussion

générale du rapport du Comité des Dix-Sept — l'adoption d'une résolution générale où elle indiquerait ses vues sur l'application de la résolution primitive sur laquelle le Comité des Dix-Sept était chargé de faire rapport, et dont la Quatrième Commission s'inspirerait dans l'examen des questions particulières dont elle est saisie. Cela admis, quelle serait alors l'étape suivante? L'Assemblée en aura-t-elle terminé avec le rapport du Comité des Dix-Sept et étudierait-elle dans quelle mesure il peut s'appliquer aux résolutions dont la Quatrième Commission la saisira sur des points particuliers qui relèvent de la Quatrième Commission, sous réserve toutefois de la façon dont devra être traitée la question de l'Angola? Ou bien envi-

sage-t-elle qu'une fois saisie des résolutions présentées par la Quatrième Commission elle reprenne le rapport du Comité des Dix-Sept? C'est là un point sur lequel je n'ai pas bien compris l'intention des représentants qui ont pris la parole, mais je ne veux pas que le débat reprenne maintenant sur ce point. Je suis certain que les représentants réfléchiront à ce point également. Lorsque nous nous réunirons vendredi, nous verrons plus clair sur toutes ces choses. La prochaine séance aura lieu vendredi à 10 h 30.

La séance est levée à 19 h 5.

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SÉANCE PLÉNIÈRE

Vendredi 9 novembre 1962,
à 10 h 30

NEW YORK

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POINT 25 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

La situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux: rapport du Comité spécial constitué aux termes de la résolution 1654 (XVI) de l'Assemblée générale (A/5238) [suite]

110. M. SHUKAIRY (Arabie Saoudite) [traduit de l'anglais]: Ce que nous avons maintenant à examiner n'est pas un rapport ordinaire d'un comité des Nations Unies. Le rapport du Comité spécial des Dix-Sept sur la décolonisation marque une étape décisive dans la lutte des hommes pour la liberté et la dignité. Dans sa marche vers la liberté pendant des siècles innombrables, l'homme n'a épargné aucun effort, si dur fût-il, l'homme n'a esquivé aucune souffrance, si accablante fût-elle. A notre époque même, les tentatives des Nations Unies pour favoriser la cause de la liberté n'ont pas été négligeables. C'est le 23 septembre 1960 que le président Khrouchtchev a proposé d'inscrire à l'ordre du jour de la quinzième session une question intitulée "Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux". Vu que l'opinion publique mondiale a applaudi l'Union soviétique pour avoir pris une initiative si hardie et de si grande portée, nous sommes heureux de voir que les Nations Unies n'ont pas hésité à accepter le défi. Vraiment, sur ce point les Nations Unies n'ont pas failli à leur devoir: elles ont saisi l'occasion de prêter leur appui à cet appel de la communauté internationale. Ainsi, dans la résolution 1514 (XV), l'Assemblée générale a déclaré solennellement: "La sujétion des peuples à une subjugation, à une domination et à une exploitation étrangères constitue un déni des droits fondamentaux de l'homme, est contraire à la Charte des Nations Unies..." Tout en affirmant les droits de tous les peuples à l'autodétermination, l'Assemblée générale a souligné que des mesures immédiates doivent être prises pour accorder l'indépendance à tous les peuples et à tous les pays.

111. Considérée dans sa juste perspective et dans le contexte écrasant du colonialisme, cette résolution,

à vrai dire, n'était pas une résolution. C'était une charte de la liberté, une grande charte universelle de la liberté, un décret d'émancipation de tous les peuples qui luttent pour la dignité et l'égalité. Adoptée le 14 décembre 1960, cette charte de la liberté n'était pas moins suprême et pas moins sublime que la Charte des Nations Unies de 1945. Les peuples et les pays asservis se doivent d'exprimer leur reconnaissance à l'Union soviétique pour avoir pris cette initiative et aux Nations Unies pour mener le combat dans ce domaine jusqu'au dernier moment de la victoire. Le 14 décembre 1960 devrait entrer dans l'histoire comme le jour de l'indépendance de tous les peuples, digne d'être commémoré comme fête internationale d'actions de grâces et d'allégresse.

112. A la seizième session, les Nations Unies, encore une fois sur l'initiative de l'Union soviétique, ont examiné l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. Pour cet évangile, il fallait un missionnaire, si je puis dire, chargé de le prêcher et de le mettre en pratique. Dans sa résolution 1654 (XVI), l'Assemblée générale a adopté certaines mesures propres à donner plus d'efficacité à la Déclaration. La décolonisation était lancée et un Comité spécial de 17 membres a été chargé de donner effet à la Déclaration. C'était une nouvelle étape historique, le passage de la Déclaration à son application, de la colonisation à la décolonisation, de la domination à l'émancipation et de l'exploitation à la nationalisation.

113. Muni de tous ces pouvoirs, le Comité spécial a décidé de se mettre en route et son pèlerinage a commencé par un voyage en Afrique. En effet, pour connaître les problèmes de la liberté, il faut les vivre. Il faut aller sur le continent où le colonialisme se pratique, où la discrimination raciale s'exerce, où des souffrances sont infligées aux hommes. Depuis de nombreuses générations, l'Afrique tremblait dans l'affliction et sous la répression. Aller voir l'Afrique, c'était donc le moins que pût faire l'Organisation des Nations Unies pour racheter le passé, pour offrir une promesse au présent et donner un espoir à l'avenir. Ce voyage avait pour objet de cicatriser des blessures qui saignaient depuis très longtemps, de réparer une injustice écrasante, de libérer des millions de gens à qui l'on refusait tout, sauf les chaînes de la subjugation et le joug de la domination.

114. C'est ainsi que le Comité spécial est parti pour l'Afrique, avec la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux en guise d'évangile — et quel précieux évangile! Ce voyage était un débarquement des Nations Unies — j'insiste sur cette expression —, c'était un débarquement des Nations Unies dans la bataille pour la liberté. Au Maroc, le Comité a été touché par les paroles émouvantes de S. M. le roi Hassan II, digne chef d'un grand pays. En Ethiopie, le Comité a été bouleversé par la voix d'un ancien combattant de la liberté, S. M. I. Haile Sélassié. Au Tanganyika, le Comité a été enthousiasmé par la passion de liberté qu'exprimaient les chefs du pays. C'est ainsi qu'une vague d'allégresse a déferlé sur l'Afrique, depuis l'Atlantique à l'ouest jusqu'à l'océan Indien à l'est, et je dirai qu'il soufflait sur le continent non seulement un vent de changement, mais une vraie tempête. Par l'intermédiaire du Comité spécial, les Nations Unies menaient campagne en Afrique pour la liberté, partaient en croisade pour l'indépendance, chassaient les derniers vestiges de l'impérialisme et du colonialisme.

115. Malgré son caractère généreux, c'était une mission désespérante, une tâche terrifiante. Il est facile d'imaginer les maux du colonialisme, mais, pour en mesurer l'angoisse, pour en éprouver la détresse et pour en jauger la profondeur, il faut le vivre, il faut au moins le voir, voir le colonialisme dans les souffrances des peuples et voir l'impérialisme dans les tortures des nations. Rendons grâce à notre éminent comité pour son endurance et à son éminent rapporteur pour sa persévérance. Le rapport de M. Rifai, de la Syrie, est un noble plaidoyer pour la liberté et une terrible mise en accusation pour l'impérialisme.

116. Je rends un hommage sincère et profond au Comité spécial qui a accompli sa tâche avec tant de compétence, qui a dressé un rapport si clair sur ses travaux et qui s'est donné tant de peine pour trouver une ligne de conduite à recommander.

117. Je dis "tant de peine", car tous les membres du Comité étaient en proie à des sentiments divers et contradictoires. C'était un drame de réactions contraires, encourageantes et décourageantes. La volonté des peuples d'Afrique, résolus à obtenir leur liberté, était très encourageante; la volonté des puissances coloniales, résolues à ralentir la marche de la liberté, était très décourageante. Les puissances administrantes — Royaume-Uni, Portugal et Afrique du Sud — persistent à vouloir maintenir leur domination coloniale, luttent pour un jour de plus de colonialisme, une proie de plus pour l'exploitation.

118. En Rhodésie du Sud, en Rhodésie du Nord et au Nyassaland, le Royaume-Uni — j'aimerais le dire en termes modérés — n'a pas répondu à la résolution de l'Assemblée générale contenant la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. Par le moyen de mécanismes constitutionnels, par des intrigues législatives, par des manœuvres électorales, par des techniques discriminatoires, les Britanniques ont tout combiné — oui, combiné vraiment — pour servir les intérêts britanniques, sans tenir compte des intérêts des Africains, habitants légitimes du pays.

119. En Rhodésie du Sud, il est évident que la grande majorité de la population a repoussé la Constitution du 6 décembre 1961. En fait, l'Assemblée générale, dans sa résolution 1747 (XVI) du 28 juin 1962, a exigé que le Royaume-Uni réunisse une conférence représentant tous les partis et chargée de formuler une constitution pour remplacer celle de 1961.

120. En Rhodésie du Nord, d'autre part, il est devenu évident que la Constitution de février 1962 était incompatible avec la Déclaration des Nations Unies et avec la résolution des Nations Unies. Au Nyassaland, aucune mesure n'a été prise pour élaborer une constitution ou pour réaliser l'indépendance. Ainsi, la Constitution de la Rhodésie est inconstitutionnelle. Elle a été promulguée par la Grande-Bretagne et non par les grandes Rhodésies ou le grand peuple de la Rhodésie. On peut imposer la domination étrangère, mais on ne peut imposer une constitution. Elle doit être la libre expression de la volonté du peuple, non le diktat des maîtres.

121. En ce qui concerne les élections générales, le Royaume-Uni se préparait, par une série de lois discriminatoires, à établir un gouvernement étranger, parfaitement étranger au territoire et à la population. Ce gouvernement allait être un gouvernement blanc, trop blanc, mais animé des plus noires intentions.

et, visant les plus sombres objectifs. La méthode était caractéristique de l'impérialisme: "à chaque homme une voix" pour les blancs, mais "à 1 000 hommes une voix" pour les Africains. Voilà le système appliqué par la Puissance administrante. Pour mettre en œuvre une telle politique, le Royaume-Uni a lancé une série de lois discriminatoires, accompagnée d'une campagne d'arrestations visant les chefs politiques du pays.

122. La Rhodésie du Sud n'est pas une terre négligeable sans passé et dont le Royaume-Uni puisse faire si peu de cas avec tant de légèreté. D'une superficie voisine de celle du Japon, la Rhodésie du Sud est célèbre par les fabuleuses mines du roi Salomon et par le monument de pierre des Zimbabwé, dont les ruines sont aujourd'hui les plus formidables et les plus mystérieuses du monde.

123. Le Royaume-Uni vise, semble-t-il, à établir dans le pays des ruines formidables et mystérieuses, mais cette fois sur le plan politique, dans les trois territoires, les deux Rhodésies et le Nyassaland. La limitation du droit de vote en tenant compte des biens et de l'instruction n'est qu'un des moyens employés pour maintenir la suprématie des blancs. En Rhodésie du Sud, par exemple, la Constitution de 1961 prévoit un système très compliqué de conditions à remplir pour avoir le droit de vote, système qui vise à disqualifier les habitants et à établir un gouvernement blanc dans le territoire. On trouve là deux listes électorales, la liste A et la liste B, caractérisées par des critères différents fondés sur l'âge, la résidence, la propriété et l'instruction. On a fixé des échelles diverses, établies en centaines de livres sterling, pour les revenus annuels et les biens. Pour être électeur, il faut avoir un revenu annuel de quelques centaines de livres ou posséder des biens évalués à tant de centaines de livres sterling.

124. Avec une telle technique électorale, aux élections précédentes qui ont eu lieu en Rhodésie du Sud 429 Africains seulement ont voté, alors qu'il y avait 3 millions de citoyens africains — imaginez un peu: sur 3 millions d'Africains, 429 seulement peuvent voter! Avec le système électoral actuel, moins de 5 p. 100 des Africains auraient le droit de vote. Un Africain ne peut gagner un revenu si élevé ni avoir des biens d'une telle valeur. Il ne peut pas non plus acquérir l'instruction requise, puisqu'il n'y a que deux écoles secondaires dans tout le pays. Cette politique n'est que trop claire. Elle vise indubitablement à donner le droit de vote aux colons blancs et à en priver les Africains. Cette politique rappelle les paroles de sir Godfrey Huggins, l'ancien premier ministre, paroles qui résonnent encore dans les échos de l'Afrique. Brutalement et sans vergogne, il a déclaré: "Dans une démocratie, il faut qu'il y ait une aristocratie et les gens doivent gagner leur droit de vote." Mais comment donc les Africains peuvent-ils gagner leur droit de vote lorsqu'on les dépouille jusqu'aux os et qu'on les laisse dans la misère et l'indigence!

125. C'est vrai, le pays abonde en richesses et ressources naturelles de toutes sortes, mais la politique du Royaume-Uni, puissance administrante, vise à rendre les colons de plus en plus riches et les Africains de plus en plus pauvres. La Rhodésie est bien connue pour son chrome, et le fait que les Etats-Unis en sont le principal acheteur témoigne de sa haute valeur stratégique. La zone cuprifère de la Rhodésie du Nord produit environ 15 p. 100 du cuivre

du monde entier. Ce gisement est, pour sa richesse, le deuxième du monde. Il suffit de savoir que la production annuelle des mines est évaluée à 130 millions de livres: chiffres impressionnants de richesse et de pauvreté, richesse des colons blancs, pauvreté des Africains! Ce chiffre comprend le bénéfice des compagnies, qui s'élève à 40 millions de livres. La British South Africa Company, qui a gouverné le pays pendant un demi-siècle, avait enregistré en 1954 un bénéfice net de 3 225 898 livres sterling. Il est inutile de dire que dans ces compagnies les propriétaires sont blancs et les travailleurs sont noirs.

126. Toute cette richesse est refusée aux Africains et la question angoissante est de savoir comment les Africains peuvent gagner leur droit de vote et devenir électeurs, alors que les colons blancs pompent — et j'emploie le mot à dessein — pompent toute la richesse du pays pour eux-mêmes et pour eux-mêmes seulement.

127. Comment l'Africain aurait-il assez de biens pour devenir électeur, alors que presque tout ce qui a de la valeur est la propriété des colons blancs? En Rhodésie du Sud, bien que les colons blancs ne représentent pas plus de 8 p. 100 de la population, ils possèdent à eux seuls 47 millions d'acres des meilleures terres — quel chiffre! C'est presque la moitié de la superficie totale du pays.

128. Si vous traversez une terre de la meilleure catégorie, elle appartient à un blanc, il est inutile de le demander. Les Africains peuvent même être chassés de leur terre et envoyés dans des réserves si l'on découvre dans leur sol des richesses minérales. C'est ainsi que des centaines de familles ont été transférées dans des régions qui leur étaient totalement étrangères au point de vue du climat, du milieu et même de la langue. Ces gens ont été déracinés de leur région simplement parce qu'on y avait découvert des richesses minérales. Je me demande comment ces malheureux pourraient devenir électeurs et comment ils pourraient gagner leur droit de vote, alors qu'ils peuvent à peine gagner leur pain. Vous ne pouvez demander à des gens qui peuvent à peine gagner leur pain de réussir à gagner leur droit de vote, avec le système électoral actuel et les conditions exigées.

129. Au contraire, les colons blancs, en sus des nombreux privilèges dont ils sont gratifiés, peuvent avoir des baux de 999 ans sur les terres de la Couronne. Le chiffre est amusant — 999 ans. Ce n'est pas 1 000 ans. C'est, pour être précis, 1 000 ans moins un an. C'est caractéristique de la minutie et de la précision britanniques.

130. Au Nyassaland, les colons blancs possèdent un million d'acres des terres les plus fertiles, tandis que les noirs — je n'aime pas ce terme — ne sont que des ouvriers à gages. N'oublions pas qu'au Nyassaland il y a 600 fois plus de noirs que de blancs. Oui, au Nyassaland, les noirs sont 600 fois plus nombreux que les blancs et pourtant la plupart des terres fertiles appartiennent aux blancs.

131. Quant à l'idée d'une aristocratie dans la démocratie, telle qu'elle est traduite dans la politique du Royaume-Uni, c'est tout simplement, dans son principe et dans ses détails, de l'indépendance politique. Dans les Rhodésies, les Britanniques instituent une aristocratie de la couleur, une aristocratie du travail et une aristocratie fédérale. Les constitutions, les lois et les systèmes électoraux sont prévus pour

instituer cette triple aristocratie. La troïka est attribuée aux Russes, mais les Britanniques semblent l'apprécier aussi. En tout cas, ils l'apprécient pour l'Afrique, sinon pour le Royaume-Uni.

132. Dans les Rhodésies et au Nyassaland, la discrimination fondée sur la couleur est si odieuse qu'on l'a dénoncée comme encore plus abominable qu'en Afrique du Sud, patrie de l'apartheid, patrie détestée de l'apartheid. Un dirigeant ségrégationniste bien connu s'est écrit un jour: "Songez au changement qui se produirait dans notre évolution politique et affective s'il y avait un jour des noirs au Parlement!" Telles sont les paroles honteuses d'un dirigeant ségrégationniste.

133. Peut-être cette remarque serait-elle encore tolérable s'il s'agissait d'élections au Parlement britannique; mais comment peut-on songer à élire en Afrique un parlement sans Africains? Si cette politique de suprématie blanche continue, les parlements d'Afrique, je le crains fort, se fermeront entièrement à tous les blancs, à tous les Européens. Il se pourrait même que les blancs soient expulsés de tout le continent africain s'ils n'apprennent pas à mieux se conduire.

134. Voilà le danger qui, malgré nous et à notre regret — car nous le regrettons, nous n'en éprouvons aucun plaisir —, menace les blancs en Afrique s'ils ne se conduisent pas mieux. Lorsque les Africains ont réclamé un système électoral libre et libéral pour les Rhodésies et le Nyassaland, un ministre éminent de la Fédération a dit: "Ces Africains ne savent pas ce qu'ils veulent. Autant demander à un enfant de deux ans de commander un cuirassé." Je crains que cet argument ne soit désastreux pour la situation de la Puissance administrante. Après un siècle presque entier pendant lequel le Royaume-Uni a exercé sa mission civilisatrice — j'emploie ce terme de "mission civilisatrice" pour les besoins de la cause, mais je n'admets pas cette mission —, s'il n'y a pas dans ce territoire un seul Africain capable de commander un cuirassé, c'est que la politique suivie par le Royaume-Uni est un fiasco, un échec, une faillite.

135. Quant à l'aristocratie du travail, la politique britannique en Rhodésie manque totalement de générosité. Elle vise à refuser aux travailleurs autochtones le droit de vote, pour ne rien dire de la possibilité de gagner décemment leur vie. Le mineur blanc bénéficie en Rhodésie du Nord du plus haut niveau de vie et du salaire le plus élevé de tous les mineurs du monde entier, y compris les Etats-Unis. A part le logement et de nombreux services sociaux, le salaire annuel moyen du mineur blanc s'élève à 2 000 livres sterling. Le salaire mensuel moyen d'un ouvrier blanc est de 105 livres. Le salaire de l'Africain, ridiculement bas et insuffisant, est de 6 livres sterling par mois. Il était encore plus bas avant la grève de 1953. Je le demande donc, du haut de cette tribune: comment, le salaire de l'Africain étant de 6 livres par mois, le salaire de l'Européen étant de 2 000 livres par an, comment un Africain pourrait-il gagner son droit de vote?

136. En Rhodésie du Sud, l'inégalité est incroyable. Les travailleurs européens y gagnent 250 livres par mois. Le salaire des Africains va de 21 cents à 50 cents par jour. Il s'évalue en centaines de dollars par mois pour le colon blanc, en simples cents pour l'Africain. Et, avec ces quelques cents par jour,

le travailleur africain devrait gagner non seulement sa vie, mais encore son droit de vote?

137. L'aristocratie de la fédération — dernier terme de cette triple aristocratie britannique dans le pays — présente un autre aspect désastreux qui ne doit pas nous échapper. L'idée de fédération, c'est vrai, présente de nombreux attraits pour les Africains ou les Asiatiques. Quand toutes les conditions requises pour cela sont réunies, l'unité ou la fédération est un bienfait. Mais la Fédération des Rhodésies et du Nyassaland telle qu'elle est actuellement conçue est une malédiction pour les Africains. Derrière son organisation se cache un plan pour maintenir la suprématie des blancs et l'infériorité des Africains, plan déguisé sous le slogan de l'association entre Européens et Africains. Les temps ont changé, mais les Britanniques n'ont changé que des titres et leur politique est restée exactement la même. Ils ont essayé par tous les moyens de rester, de rester pour continuer leur domination et leur exploitation.

138. En 1922, M. Huggins, le premier ministre à vie du territoire, préconisait l'union de la Rhodésie du Sud et de l'Afrique du Sud. Ce n'était point par amour de l'union. L'union en vue était l'union dans la persécution et la discrimination raciale, l'union dans l'apartheid. Plus tard, M. Huggins a décidé de poursuivre une politique de fusion. Il préconisait la transformation de la Rhodésie du Sud et de la Rhodésie du Nord en un seul Etat unitaire. Il a aussi abandonné cette idée et a prôné la fédération, l'actuelle aristocratie britannique.

139. Dans le cas présent, la fédération est prévue surtout pour fédérer les blancs et diviser les noirs. Elle vise à grouper les forces des blancs pour les mobiliser contre le nationalisme africain. Une fédération réelle est incompatible avec la persécution et la discrimination raciales. Ces avocats européens de la fédération ont déclaré maintes et maintes fois qu'ils sont contre "le mélange des peuples et la constitution d'une société "café au lait". Telle est leur politique. Tels sont les rudiments de la politique qui domine en Afrique. On est contre le mélange des peuples, qui produirait une population "café au lait".

M. Forthomme (Belgique), vice-président, prend la présidence.

140. En Afrique, les Européens — et je regrette de devoir dire les Européens en général, mais il semble que telle est bien la politique et la pratique des Européens en Afrique —, les Européens n'ont pas honte de se moquer des souffrances du peuple et de tourner en ridicule la créature de Dieu. Ils aiment bien prendre leur café au lait, mais ils ne veulent pas voir ce mélange de couleurs dans la société. Ils aiment bien prendre leur café au lait payé par la sueur des Africains, mais ils repoussent l'idée d'une société café au lait, ils repoussent l'unité et la fraternité de la population. La faute n'en incombe pas à ceux qui ont la peau noire, mais à ceux qui ont la conscience noire: l'esprit sombre où germent des intentions monstrueuses et une politique perfide.

141. Aujourd'hui, l'abominable chef du parti de la fédération, Roy Welensky, marche sur les traces de son maître Huggins. Comme son maître, il tourne la fédération en une sorte d'aristocratie britannique, d'aristocratie européenne. C'est la domination de la majorité par la minorité, des Africains par les Européens. Si les Africains essayaient d'exercer leurs droits, Roy Welensky appliquerait les paroles de son

maître qui disait: "Si les Africains tentent de prendre le pouvoir, nous les arrêterons net." Welensky s'en tient aujourd'hui au slogan "Nous les arrêterons net", mais il sait très bien que c'est la fin du colonialisme qui est nette. Le colonialisme ne ressuscitera pas. C'est pourquoi Welensky, dernier symbole du colonialisme britannique, livre son dernier combat, et la fédération est sa dernière arme dans cette guerre qu'il va perdre. Dans sa défense de la fédération, il s'est trahi par ses propres paroles quand il a dit: "Le régime colonial est fini, mais il faut que nous tenions quand même, d'une manière ou d'une autre" — il est fini, mais nous devons tenir quand même d'une manière ou d'une autre — "ou bien nous perdrons tout comme nous avons perdu l'Inde."

142. Il ne s'agit pas de fédération. Ce n'est pas la fédération qui les intéresse. C'est l'exploitation. Ce sont les fabuleuses richesses qu'ils ont dans leurs coffres, même si elles proviennent des cercueils des Africains. Dans ces conditions, la fédération est en réalité le cercueil du nationalisme africain. Cette politique consiste à unir les blancs dans la liberté, les noirs dans l'esclavage et sous la domination. Il s'agit de les unir, mais par les chaînes de la discrimination raciale. Les intentions des Britanniques sont parfaitement claires: les 9 millions d'Africains des Rhodésies et du Nyassaland se prosterneront aux pieds des 300 000 Européens, tout comme en 1888 le super-impérialiste britannique Cecil Rhodes avait pris à son service les jeunes princes du territoire pour cirer ses bottes — mais l'histoire de l'Angleterre est encore noire de ce cirage-là.

143. Récemment, lorsque les élections ont eu lieu en Rhodésie du Nord contrairement aux résolutions de l'Assemblée générale, Roy Welensky a ranimé le souvenir de Cecil Rhodes. Dans le New York Times du 31 octobre, alors que l'Assemblée était en session et peu avant les élections, un article a rapporté que Welensky avait parlé du nationalisme africain comme d'un "poing martelant la porte sauvagement". Un poing martelant la porte sauvagement! Que le poing africain frappe sauvagement, je dis que c'est faux, absolument faux. Welensky et sa clique, voilà l'image de la sauvagerie. Que ce poing africain martèle la porte, c'est vrai, absolument vrai. Le poing africain mettra en morceaux la porte du colonialisme et ni Welensky ni le Royaume-Uni ne pourront jamais en réunir les morceaux. Peut-être ces morceaux pourraient-ils trouver place au British Museum où sont exposés bien d'autres objets de l'impérialisme.

144. Je parle avec colère et ressentiment, c'est vrai, parce que nous ne pouvons pas et nous ne devons pas tolérer cette dégradation de l'homme. Que les Africains aient le visage noir et les cheveux crépus, ce n'est pas une raison pour qu'ils soient dominés par les blancs qui ont le visage clair, les yeux bleus et les cheveux blonds. La proportion des noirs par rapport aux blancs est en Rhodésie du Sud de 14 contre un, en Rhodésie du Nord de 40 contre un, au Nyassaland de 700 contre un et Roy Welensky, réfugié européen hors la loi, veut jouer les Nérons à Rome et incendier le pays/même qui lui a donné asile. Quelle ingratitude indicible, qui nous rappelle Brutus, et combien perfide était Brutus!

145. Ce tableau sinistre que j'ai brossé de la situation dans les trois territoires de la Rhodésie du Nord, de la Rhodésie du Sud et du Nyassaland est plus ou moins exact aussi pour ce qui est des trois autres territoires, le Bassoutoland, le Betchouanaland et le

Souaziland. Je ne parlerai pas de la situation dans ces territoires, parce qu'il n'y a qu'une différence de degré entre eux et ceux dont j'ai déjà parlé.

146. Le Royaume-Uni a nié que l'on eût l'intention de rattacher ces trois territoires à l'Afrique du Sud. J'estime que c'est là un dessein très dangereux. Dans la Constitution de 1961 de la République sud-africaine figurent des dispositions visant expressément l'annexion de ces territoires par l'Afrique du Sud. Les Britanniques nient, mais combien de fois ces dénégations se sont-elles révélées être de purs aveux? N'ont-ils pas nié des dizaines de fois qu'ils eussent l'intention de créer un Etat juif en Palestine, ce qui a été une entreprise désastreuse? Israël a été créé pour menacer la paix, et un peuple entier a été chassé de sa patrie.

147. Cette méthode britannique qui consiste à tout nier, on la trouve à l'état pur partout où il y a des Britanniques en Afrique. Au Kenya, dont l'histoire a été sanglante sous la domination britannique, on a entendu maintes fois de telles dénégations. Les Britanniques prétendent qu'ils font tous leurs efforts pour réaliser l'unité du pays. Mais nous savons de la bouche même des dirigeants du Kenya que le Royaume-Uni fait tout ce qu'il peut afin de diviser pour régner, qu'il encourage le régionalisme et soutient le séparatisme. Telles sont les déclarations des chefs du pays et on les trouve dans les documents du Comité spécial des Dix-Sept. Créer plusieurs Katangas au Kenya, tel est le pain quotidien de la politique britannique. Or la katanaganisation est le casse-tête le plus déprimant qui ait été infligé aux Nations Unies.

148. Quant aux techniques constitutionnelles et à l'exploitation économique du Kenya, il est superflu d'en parler longuement. Il suffira de savoir que ce sont des techniques britanniques. Il existe toutefois un point par où le problème du Kenya présente une menace pour la paix mondiale. Ce n'est pas un secret militaire que le Royaume-Uni a établi au Kenya, contre la volonté de la population, un noyau de bases militaires. Le plus grave est que des armes nucléaires sont stockées dans les arsenaux britanniques du Kenya. Cela non plus n'est pas un secret militaire. Il en est question dans le rapport du Comité spécial des Dix-Sept [A/5238]. Une de ces bases militaires se trouve à une quinzaine de kilomètres de la capitale, Nairobi.

149. Récemment, le Times de Londres a reconnu que des forces britanniques sont stationnées au Kenya pour protéger les intérêts du Royaume-Uni au Moyen-Orient. Un expert militaire des Etats-Unis a confirmé que des fusées lancées du Kenya peuvent avoir le même effet que des fusées lancées de Londres, du Royaume-Uni. Dans un article du Daily Express, on annonce que le Royaume-Uni a décidé de stocker des armes nucléaires sur ses aéroports d'Aden, de Chypre et d'Afrique orientale, notamment au Kenya.

150. Le peuple du Kenya, en même temps qu'il exige son indépendance immédiate, exige le démantèlement immédiat de ces bases militaires. Il y a là une situation vraiment très grave; la crise de Cuba, sans aller au fond des choses (je n'ai pas l'intention d'aller au fond des choses pour le moment), la crise de Cuba doit servir d'avertissement aux Nations Unies. Je ne vais pas faire ici un parallèle ou une comparaison. Rappelons-nous toutefois que le Kenya n'est pas territoire britannique. Cuba est un pays cubain qui a un peuple cubain et un gouvernement cubain. Rappelons-

nous aussi que le Kenya se trouve dans l'hémisphère de l'Afrique, de l'Asie et du Moyen-Orient.

151. Si les Etats-Unis, grande puissance nucléaire, se croient menacés par la nucléarisation de Cuba, que doivent croire alors les Africains et les Asiatiques qui ont des armements si limités ? Les peuples d'Asie et d'Afrique ne sont pas disposés à voir leur terre ravagée et leurs hommes exterminés par une guerre nucléaire sur leur continent, une guerre à laquelle ils ne sont pas partie. Le Kenya doit être dénucléarisé et notre sécurité assurée. Si le démantèlement de Cuba est justifié, celui du Kenya l'est encore plus. Il faut reconnaître, je pense, que les vies humaines en Afrique et en Asie sont aussi sacrées, aussi dignes d'amour que les vies humaines dans l'hémisphère occidental. Si nous devions maintenir les bases de missiles au Kenya et les démanteler à Cuba, nous démantèlerions la Charte même des Nations Unies.

152. Sur la question de Zanzibar, je n'ai pas grand-chose à dire. Le rapport du Comité spécial donne un bon tableau de la situation actuelle. Le Comité adresse au Royaume-Uni un pressant appel pour qu'il libère tous les prisonniers politiques et mette fin à l'état d'urgence à Zanzibar. Pour le moment, je ne peux porter de jugement favorable ou défavorable sur l'attitude du Royaume-Uni. Nous ne savons pas si le Royaume-Uni a accepté ou repoussé l'appel du Comité spécial et nous serions très heureux si le représentant du Royaume-Uni montait à cette tribune pour nous dire que son gouvernement a accepté les recommandations du Comité. Nous verrons bien. Nous ne sommes pas portés à condamner ou à critiquer pour le plaisir de condamner ou de critiquer. Nous voudrions seulement voir le Royaume-Uni agir avec justice en Afrique et se conduire correctement à l'Organisation des Nations Unies.

153. Sur le fond de la question, le Comité spécial a adressé un appel à tous les éléments de la population de Zanzibar pour qu'ils fassent l'unité nationale et a invité le Royaume-Uni à ne négliger aucun effort pour que le territoire accède à l'indépendance le plus tôt possible. Nous appuyons cette initiative et nous attendons avec impatience le jour de l'indépendance.

154. Avec la même impatience, nous attendons aussi que soit fixé le plus tôt possible la date de l'indépendance de la Guyane britannique. Loin de tout, sur la côte nord-est du continent sud-américain, la Guyane britannique, nous en sommes certains, réalisera bientôt ses aspirations nationales. La liberté doit être accessible aux pays lointains comme aux pays proches. Nous espérons que ce territoire va devenir une Guyane indépendante. Les atlas universels ne mentionneront plus la Guyane britannique, mais la Guyane tout court, ou la Guyane tout ce qu'on voudra, mais non britannique.

155. Au Mozambique et en Angola, le Portugal défend les mêmes principes qui ne sont en rien des principes. Le Portugal a été condamné pour son impérialisme classique, pour sa discrimination raciale sans merci, pour ses pratiques de travail forcé et ses actes brutaux de répression. Au Mozambique, les 7 millions d'habitants sont désignés comme "não civilizados", à l'exception de quelques milliers qui sont classés comme "civilizados". Même sans savoir le portugais, et je le prononce très mal, on peut comprendre les termes "civilizados" et "não civilizados". Au bout de 456 ans de mission civilisatrice — je reprends l'argu-

ment des Portugais, non le mien — les Portugais n'ont réussi à civiliser que quelques milliers d'habitants sur plusieurs millions. Nous devrions sans doute attendre le jour du jugement dernier avant que le Portugal ne parvienne à civiliser le reste des habitants.

156. En 1951, le statut du territoire a été changé: il est devenu province d'outre-mer sous le nom de "provincia de Mozambique", mais ce changement de nom n'a pas changé les faits de l'histoire et de la géographie. Le Mozambique n'est pas une province du Portugal et ne le sera jamais. Faisant partie de l'Afrique, le Mozambique doit partager avec les Etats africains les joies de l'indépendance et les gloires de la liberté.

157. En Angola persiste la même situation douteuse. Le Portugal mène une guerre coloniale pour combattre une guerre de libération. Il est déplorable que les puissances de l'OTAN, au lieu d'aider les populations africaines à reconquérir leur liberté, aident le Portugal à supprimer la liberté. L'OTAN expédie au Portugal des armes modernes tandis que les Africains défendent leur patrie avec des armes d'autrefois. En fait, l'OTAN prouve bien, comme il le prétend, qu'il défend la liberté, mais c'est la liberté de refuser aux peuples leur liberté. Telle est la liberté que l'OTAN défend.

158. Je passe enfin à la question d'Aden. Pour nous, le problème d'Aden est le problème primordial, même s'il vient en dernier dans le rapport du Comité. La question d'Aden, et, d'ailleurs, de toute la bordure du sud et de l'est de l'Arabie, est trop bien connue pour qu'il soit besoin de l'exposer en détail. C'est une question coloniale et rien d'autre. La Grande-Bretagne s'était emparée de ces territoires pour s'assurer la route des Indes au temps où les Indes étaient les plus beaux bijoux de la Couronne britannique. Mais les Indes ne sont plus britanniques et j'espère que personne en Grande-Bretagne ne le niera. Les Indes appartiennent à leurs peuples libres, indépendants et souverains, et les deux grands Etats de l'Inde et du Pakistan sont maintenant représentés à l'Assemblée.

159. Il est donc naturel qu'Aden et les autres territoires arabes deviennent libres, indépendants et souverains. Les procédés tactiques envisagés actuellement par le Royaume-Uni pour établir une fédération comprenant Aden et les régions voisines, contre la lettre et l'esprit de la résolution de l'Assemblée générale sur l'octroi de l'indépendance, se révèlent au grand jour. Depuis quand les Britanniques sont-ils favorables à une fédération des peuples arabes ? N'est-ce pas la Grande-Bretagne qui a démembre le monde arabe après la première guerre mondiale ? Les Britanniques soutiennent la fédération quand elle sert leurs intérêts, mais, quand leurs intérêts l'exigent autrement, c'est le démembrement qui devient l'objet de leur politique et l'évangile pour lequel ils partent en croisade. Peu leur importe que cet évangile ne soit pas sacré et que cette croisade ne soit pas sainte.

160. La question d'Aden présente une grave menace pour la paix et la sécurité du Moyen-Orient et même du monde entier, dirai-je. Vous comprenez tout de suite de quoi je veux parler. Je pense aux bases militaires d'Aden. En fait, Aden tout entier n'est qu'une énorme base militaire. Avec son potentiel militaire, Aden sera forcément un objectif stratégique ou une base d'opérations. Quoi qu'il en soit, il s'agira d'un échange nucléaire ou thermonucléaire. Aden est terre arabe et tous les territoires voisins sont terres arabes; c'est tout un sous-continent arabe.

161. Il est inévitable que nous, les Arabes, avec nos terres et nos peuples, nous devenions parties à une guerre à laquelle nous n'avons aucune raison d'être partie et à laquelle nous ne désirons pas participer. Nous serons entraînés dans la guerre contre notre volonté et contre une nation avec laquelle nous n'avons aucune raison de nous quereller, encore moins de faire la guerre.

162. Cette situation est intolérable et les Nations Unies doivent y mettre fin. Les bases militaires britanniques d'Aden doivent être démantelées sous le contrôle des Nations Unies. Si les puissants Etats-Unis s'inquiètent de Cuba, ce petit Etat, vous pouvez imaginer les sentiments de nos tribus sans défense, qui ne sont pas à 150 kilomètres du rivage inquiétant, mais au cœur même du pays, là où se trouvent les missiles et les bases des missiles. En un mot, il faut laisser libres les peuples d'Aden et des autres territoires. C'est à eux d'établir eux-mêmes leur propre constitution. C'est à eux de choisir leur propre destin, que ce soit fédération, rattachement, union ou toute forme possible d'autodétermination.

163. En conclusion, je me permettrai de dire que le Comité spécial a fait d'excellent travail. Il a amorcé la décolonisation. Nous sommes certains que le Comité continuera son activité en Afrique, en Asie et en Océanie avec le même zèle et la même volonté. Aussi longtemps que le colonialisme subsistera sur la terre, le Comité devra subsister lui aussi; il faut qu'il reste là pour chasser le colonialisme de la terre entière.

164. Au cours de cette session, six nouveaux Etats Membres ont été admis à l'Organisation. Nous ne pouvons que nous réjouir de voir cette maison de la fraternité humaine ainsi bondée, remplie d'un mur à l'autre. Mais nous aurons toujours de la place pour de nouveaux venus, il y aura toujours ici de la place en abondance pour de nouveaux Membres d'Asie et d'Afrique, car la maison de la liberté ne cesse de s'agrandir. Elle n'exclura personne, elle accueillera tout le monde.

165. Nous trouvons pourtant que nous ne sommes pas encore au complet. Certainement, notre joie est immense d'avoir vu entrer six nouvelles nations à l'Organisation pendant cette session. Nous sommes heureux que la Trinité et Tobago et la Jamaïque apportent à l'Organisation le charme de leur climat, la beauté et l'harmonie de leurs paysages. Nous nous sommes réjouis de voir le Rwanda et le Burundi rejoindre leurs collègues africains dans la course vers la liberté. Nous avons été heureux d'accueillir l'Algérie, et l'admission de l'Ouganda ajoute encore à notre joie. Nous sommes vraiment heureux et même profondément remués de cette réunion attendue si longtemps. Mais, au milieu de ces émotions joyeuses, nous ne pouvons nous empêcher d'exprimer notre grande inquiétude.

166. Trop nombreuses sont les nations qui restent en dehors de l'Organisation. Environ 100 millions de personnes souffrent encore dans les chaînes de la répression sous le joug de la domination étrangère. Il y a encore des guerres de libération menées contre le colonialisme sur plusieurs champs de bataille. Il y a encore des centaines de camps de concentration, de prisons, de tribunaux militaires, de chambres de torture, et toutes formes de souffrances humaines. Il y a encore des millions de nos frères qui sont persécutés et victimes de la discrimination simple-

ment parce que leur peau est noire et parce que leurs cheveux sont crépus. Il y a encore des millions de réfugiés partout dans le monde qui languissent loin de leur patrie et aspirent à rentrer dans leurs foyers. A l'ordre du jour de la présente session, comme aux 14 sessions précédentes, figure la question des réfugiés de Palestine. Toute une nation réfugiée vit actuellement en exil, mais elle est résolue à regagner sa mère patrie, à rétablir sa vie nationale, à libérer le pays de ses ancêtres, à mettre en pratique sa souveraineté et son indépendance, et à occuper enfin sa place légitime ici, à l'Organisation, aux côtés de toutes les nations du monde.

167. Nous pensons à tous ces millions de gens d'Asie et d'Afrique alors que nous examinons ce rapport sur la décolonisation. Faisons donc de notre rapport à la présente session, pour libérer ces membres de la famille humaine, les millions de nos frères qui luttent encore si vaillamment pour leur liberté en Angola, en Palestine, en Afrique du Sud, au Mozambique, en Oman, sur les côtes méridionales de l'Arabie et dans toutes les régions d'Asie et d'Afrique. Si nous y parvenions, les Nations Unies atteindraient un nouveau caractère d'universalité: ce serait les Nations Unies d'un monde libre. L'Organisation ne serait plus seulement celle des nations qui étaient unies dans la guerre, mais celle de toutes les nations unies dans la paix et la liberté.

M. Zafrulla Khan (Pakistan) reprend la présidence.

168. Le PRESIDENT (traduit de l'anglais): Je donne la parole au représentant de Cuba qui a demandé à faire usage de son droit de réponse.

169. M. JUARBE Y JUARBE (Cuba) [traduit de l'espagnol]: Nous sommes au regret de retenir l'Assemblée à cette heure tardive, mais nous avons jugé nécessaire d'apporter un petit éclaircissement à propos de l'allusion faite à Cuba par le représentant de l'Arabie Saoudite.

170. Le représentant de l'Arabie Saoudite, dont nous admirons tous l'éloquence impétueuse, nous a dit qu'il ne voulait pas établir de parallèle entre la présence d'une base atomique britannique sur le territoire du Kenya et les armes défensives de la République révolutionnaire de Cuba. Il nous a dit que Cuba est un pays libre, souverain et indépendant. Mais il a ajouté que, si les craintes des Etats-Unis au sujet de Cuba sont justifiées, les craintes des pays voisins du Kenya se justifient aussi, notamment celles des peuples d'Asie qui sont dans la même zone que le Kenya.

171. Nous voulons préciser au représentant de l'Arabie Saoudite, et nous savons bien qu'il ne l'ignore pas, que Cuba n'est pas une colonie, que les armes qui existent à Cuba sont des armes défensives d'une République qui, comme il l'a dit, est libre, souveraine et indépendante, que les armes qui existent au Kenya sont des armes offensives, comme toutes celles qui se trouvent aux mains des puissances colonialistes dans des territoires coloniaux, que les armes du Kenya, comme celles de tout territoire colonial, sont destinées à maintenir et à renforcer le colonialisme, toujours en vue de l'agression interne contre le peuple asservi et de l'agression externe contre celui qui menacerait le maintien du colonialisme.

172. D'autre part, les armes qui existent à Cuba sont anticolonialistes et anti-impérialistes; ce sont les armes défensives d'un peuple menacé de mort

par l'impérialisme des Etats-Unis, par le colonialisme des Etats-Unis, par l'acharnement des Etats-Unis à continuer l'exploitation de notre peuple et sa dégradation, comme l'a rappelé le représentant de l'Arabie Saoudite. Tout cela, nous avons réussi à l'arrêter le 1er janvier 1959.

173. Nous regrettons de ne pas être du même avis pour ce qui est d'établir un parallèle impossible entre les deux situations; nous regrettons vivement qu'on ait parlé de Cuba et établi un tel parallèle, même sans intention de le faire. En ces jours où notre pays, qui n'est pas une grande puissance, ni militaire ni économique, lutte pour son existence même, nous savons que le représentant de l'Arabie Saoudite n'a pas eu l'intention de nous blesser, mais nous avons jugé bon de donner des précisions pour le cas où ces paroles risqueraient, dans un certain milieu ou sur un certain plan, de provoquer quelque confusion.

174. Pour terminer, nous répétons ceci: il existe à Cuba des armes pour la défense de la liberté, de l'indépendance et de la souveraineté, défense pleinement légitime, dans le cadre de la Charte des Nations Unies et conformément aux dispositions du droit international. Il existe à Cuba des armes pour défendre cette liberté et même, si nécessaire, pour défendre le Kenya, pour défendre le peuple de l'Arabie Saoudite, ou tout autre peuple menacé dans sa liberté, son indépendance et sa souveraineté.

175. Cuba est prête à se défendre, la tête haute, sans peser les risques, car, lorsqu'il s'agit de défendre la liberté, l'indépendance et la souveraineté d'un peuple, autrement dit sa vie même, on ne songe pas à peser les risques.

176. Nos armes ne sont pas comme celles qui se trouvent au Kenya et nous regrettons d'avoir dû le dire à la suite des déclarations du représentant de l'Arabie Saoudite.

177. Le **PRESIDENT** (traduit de l'anglais): Je donne la parole au représentant de l'Arabie Saoudite qui désire faire usage de son droit de réponse.

178. **M. SHUKAIRY** (Arabie Saoudite) [traduit de l'anglais]: Je serai très bref. Je ne veux pas engager un débat sur la question de Cuba. J'ai dit bien clairement dans ma déclaration que je ne voulais pas

toucher au fond de la question, dans un sens ou dans l'autre, et, si je ne me trompe, je l'ai dit deux fois. Tel est mon premier point.

179. Deuxième point: j'ai dit dans ma déclaration que je ne voulais établir aucun parallèle, aucune comparaison entre la situation de Cuba et celle des territoires en question, Aden et le Kenya. Je l'ai dit deux fois aussi et je le répète; je ne désire en cette occasion établir aucun parallèle, aucune comparaison entre la situation de Cuba et toute autre situation.

180. Troisième point: j'ai dit nettement que, si la situation provoquée à Cuba est justifiée, elle l'est plus encore au Kenya et à Aden. Ce petit mot "si", avec ses deux lettres "s" et "i", répond à toute la question. Je prends bonne note de l'explication et des éclaircissements fournis par mon collègue de Cuba et je comprends parfaitement ses appréhensions.

La séance est levée à 13 h 20.

*Reprise des débats de la 1151ème séance.

ASSEMBLÉE
GÉNÉRALE

DIX-SEPTIÈME SESSION

Documents officiels

Jeudi 15 novembre 1962,
à 15 h 40.

NEW YORK

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Président: M. Muhammad ZAFRULLA KHAN (Pakistan).

POINT 25 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

La situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux: rapport du Comité spécial constitué aux termes de la résolution 1654 (XVI) de l'Assemblée générale (suite)

1. M. DIALLO Telli (Guinée): Depuis de nombreuses années, et singulièrement depuis 1960, les divers aspects de la décolonisation sont devenus, sans contestation possible, le centre principal des préoccupations de l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Aujourd'hui, plus que jamais, la décolonisation reste de loin, avec le désarmement, dont elle est une des conditions primordiales, le problème international le plus grave auquel notre organisation doit faire face dans ses efforts pour la réalisation de ses objectifs essentiels qui sont le maintien et le renforcement de la paix et de la sécurité internationales. Il n'est, en effet, aucun des organes essentiels des Nations Unies, aucun de ses organismes de travail, aucune de ses institutions spécialisées qui n'ait été mis sérieusement à contribution dans cette œuvre de décolonisation politique, économique et culturelle. Session après session, une proportion de plus en plus importante des points de notre ordre du jour se rapporte à ce thème central, et l'ordre du jour de la présente session confirme éloquentement cette tendance qui demeure la meilleure illustration des efforts louables des Nations Unies pour la liquidation du système de domination et d'exploitation coloniales.

2. En outre, depuis 1958, à la quasi-totalité des reprises de session, l'attention s'est en fait concentrée sur la décolonisation que discutent non seulement le Conseil de tutelle, la Quatrième Commission et l'Assemblée réunie en séance plénière, mais également, et à des titres divers, toutes les autres commissions de l'Assemblée générale. Le Conseil de sécurité et la Cour internationale de Justice eux-mêmes n'ont pu se tenir à l'écart de cette préoccupation centrale; le premier a eu à s'occuper non seulement du drame congolais, mais aussi de la

menace à la paix que constitue la guerre coloniale menée par le Portugal en Angola; quant à la Cour internationale de Justice, elle se trouve saisie depuis 1959 de la question du Sud-Ouest africain, territoire à statut international, mais que le Gouvernement de la République sud-africaine, par un procédé inqualifiable, a constamment refusé de soumettre au régime normal de tutelle des Nations Unies, en vue de sa libération définitive. Cette activité ne s'est pas limitée, il s'en faut, au Siège de l'Organisation à New York. En effet, durant le seul été dernier et dans le seul cadre de la décolonisation, quatre organes importants des Nations Unies ont parcouru le continent africain pour s'acquitter de leurs mandats respectifs. Les missions effectuées en Afrique respectivement par le Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, le Sous-Comité chargé d'examiner la situation en Angola, le Comité spécial pour les territoires administrés par le Portugal et, enfin, le Comité spécial pour le Sud-Ouest africain, toutes ces missions ont soulevé en Afrique un intérêt considérable et renforcé les espoirs et la confiance des peuples africains que de nouvelles et décisives étapes seraient franchies en vue d'assurer l'accélération du processus de leur libération définitive.

3. Tout ce qui précède prouve suffisamment qu'une partie importante des activités de notre organisation se trouve accaparée par les divers problèmes qui se rattachent à la décolonisation.

4. Le temps nous paraît venu de nous débarrasser définitivement de cette gangrène coloniale, afin de consacrer nos préoccupations, nos activités et nos énergies aux autres fins constructives de la Charte, l'amitié entre les peuples et la coopération entre les Etats. Aussi bien, ma délégation ne perdra pas de temps à faire le procès du colonialisme; les faits sont connus de tous. Au cours de nombreux débats antérieurs, toute la lumière a été faite sur le colonialisme, sur ses causes et ses manifestations, sur ses conséquences, ses abus, ses forfaits et ses crimes. Par ailleurs, tout a été dit sur le régime de répression et de terreur, sur les pratiques de travail forcé et de discrimination raciale, sur les violations systématiques de toutes les formes de liberté, sur les humiliations gratuites et les brutalités infligées à des peuples sans défense, sur les actes de vandalisme et, par endroits, sur la politique de génocide que l'on a tenté d'employer en vain pour endiguer la marée du nationalisme; la cause est désormais entendue. Et c'est bien sur la base de ces informations que l'Organisation des Nations Unies, se faisant l'écho de l'opinion publique mondiale, a condamné solennellement le colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations. Son verdict historique n'est autre que la Déclaration solennelle du 14 décembre 1960 sur l'octroi

immédiat et inconditionnel de l'indépendance à tous les pays et à tous les peuples encore colonisés^{1/}.

5. Pour la délégation de la Guinée, cette déclaration, comme l'a dit à cette tribune le représentant de l'Arabie Saoudite [1168ème séance], n'est pas une résolution comme les autres. Bien plus qu'une résolution, le texte fondamental adopté le 14 décembre 1960 est, en réalité, une deuxième charte, celle de la liberté pour tous les peuples asservis, celle qui vient combler si heureusement les graves lacunes de la Charte élaborée à San Francisco. A bien des égards, la Déclaration du 14 décembre 1960 apparaitra, avec le temps, comme la deuxième charte politique des Nations Unies, élaborée à l'intention des peuples dominés d'Asie et d'Afrique que les puissances coloniales avaient réussi, des siècles durant, et même à la Conférence de San Francisco, à maintenir en marge de la vie internationale. On comprendra aisément, dans ces conditions, l'importance exceptionnelle que nous donnons au rapport du Comité spécial [A/5238] soumis à notre examen et à notre sanction. Tout comme la Déclaration à la mise en œuvre de laquelle il est consacré, ce rapport n'est pas pour nous un rapport comme les autres. C'est un monument capital destiné à la mise en application de la deuxième charte qui sera retenue par l'histoire comme l'une des œuvres maîtresses, peut-être l'œuvre maîtresse, de l'Organisation des Nations Unies. C'est dans ces perspectives qu'il convient de replacer notre débat actuel pour lui restituer tout à la fois sa signification véritable, son sens politique et aussi toute sa portée universelle. Les faits sont tout à la fois très simples et très clairs.

6. L'Assemblée générale des Nations Unies, au cours de sa quinzième session, a proclamé solennellement la nécessité d'assurer l'indépendance immédiate et inconditionnelle de tous les pays et peuples coloniaux. A cette fin, elle a invité toutes les puissances coloniales à transférer sans condition ni réserve tous les pouvoirs aux peuples des territoires encore subjugués, afin de leur permettre de jouir d'une indépendance et d'une liberté complètes.

7. Un an plus tard, au cours de sa seizième session, devant le refus de coopération et la carence des puissances coloniales, en tout cas devant l'inobservation de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance, l'Assemblée générale, notant les graves dangers que fait courir à la paix et à la sécurité internationales tout retard dans l'application de cette déclaration, insistait auprès des puissances coloniales pour qu'elles assurent une application scrupuleuse des dispositions prescrites en matière de décolonisation. En outre, l'Assemblée générale créait, par sa résolution 1654 (XVI), un Comité spécial de 17 membres ayant pour mandat de veiller à la mise en œuvre de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance.

8. Ainsi donc, l'Assemblée générale, après avoir posé en 1960 le principe de la libération de tous les peuples, s'est penchée, en 1961, sur l'urgente nécessité d'une application effective de ce principe.

9. Qu'en sera dans ce domaine capital la dix-septième session de l'Assemblée générale? Se haussera-t-elle au niveau des responsabilités que lui imposent tout à la fois les impératifs de notre temps, sa mission historique et les espoirs fervents que tant de peuples

encore asservis placent aujourd'hui en elle? Telle est, brièvement résumée, la question qu'il importe d'avoir constamment à l'esprit en abordant l'examen du rapport du Comité spécial (A/5238) soumis actuellement à notre appréciation.

10. Ce rapport a retenu toute notre attention. Il convient dès l'abord de féliciter très sincèrement le Comité spécial pour le travail sérieux qu'il vient de nous présenter et qui constitue, à nos yeux, un outil précieux pour permettre à notre assemblée, au cours de la présente session, d'accélérer considérablement le processus de décolonisation.

11. Notre approbation porte à la fois sur les méthodes de travail du Comité spécial comme sur les résultats auxquels ce travail a abouti. Tout d'abord, sur le plan de la méthode, il était particulièrement opportun que le Comité spécial abordât son travail par l'Afrique, où se trouve la quasi-totalité des pays et des peuples encore maintenus sous domination coloniale et où se situent incontestablement les situations les plus explosives et qui, de ce fait, requièrent les solutions les plus urgentes.

12. Par ailleurs, nous pensons que le Comité spécial a eu parfaitement raison de refuser de se transformer en comité de renseignements. En décidant d'utiliser non seulement les informations du Secrétariat, mais aussi les données recueillies sur place en Afrique au cours de ses déplacements au Maroc, en Ethiopie et au Tanganyika, le Comité spécial a montré un souci louable d'aller au cœur même du problème qu'il avait mission de résoudre. Le séjour du Comité spécial en Afrique a soulevé partout dans le continent et particulièrement chez les populations encore asservies un intérêt intense et nourri de légitimes espoirs.

13. Quant à la substance même du rapport, l'étude spécifique de territoires particuliers, qui se trouvent être les plus peuplés ou qui se trouvent devant les situations les plus graves, demeure certainement une contribution positive à notre commune entreprise. Néanmoins, sur ce point, notre sentiment est que ces études apparaissent un peu trop longues pour les conclusions auxquelles le Comité spécial est finalement parvenu. Un travail plus concis aurait certainement permis au Comité spécial de se pencher sur plus de territoires et de formuler, à l'issue de ces études particulières, une conclusion d'ensemble portant sur la totalité de son mandat, conclusion qui n'a pu être formulée, hélas, probablement faute de temps. Il reste, cependant, que, si le Comité spécial n'a pas tiré cette conclusion d'ensemble, il nous a fourni tous les éléments nécessaires pour permettre à chaque délégation de se prononcer en toute connaissance de cause. En effet, les résultats des études concrètes et spécifiques par territoire peuvent permettre de dégager une synthèse d'ensemble valable pour tous les territoires coloniaux et donner ainsi la substance nécessaire à une résolution générale qui soit sinon la conclusion définitive, du moins la suite logique et normale des résolutions 1514 (XV) et 1654 (XVI) de l'Assemblée générale.

14. A cet égard, il nous paraît particulièrement indiqué d'analyser succinctement les conclusions du Comité spécial sur les 12 territoires sur lesquels son enquête a porté. Ainsi donc, nous allons passer rapidement en revue les recommandations principales et les conclusions définitives auxquelles le Comité spécial a abouti à l'issue des études consacrées à chacun des territoires.

^{1/} Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale.

15. Tout d'abord, en ce qui concerne la Rhodésie du Sud, le rapport (A/5238), au paragraphe 152 du chapitre II, cite la résolution 1747 (XVI) dans laquelle l'Assemblée générale, après avoir noté avec regret que le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord n'a pas encore pris des mesures pour transférer tous pouvoirs au peuple de la Rhodésie du Sud, demande que la résolution 1514 (XV) soit appliquée au plus tôt — je souligne les mots "au plus tôt" — à la Rhodésie du Sud afin que ce territoire puisse devenir un nouvel Etat africain indépendant.

16. Au sujet du Nyassaland, le Comité spécial, prenant acte de la décision du Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni d'engager des pourparlers avec le Dr Banda sur les progrès constitutionnels du territoire, a exprimé l'espoir que ces pourparlers aboutiront à la fixation d'une date — je répète "à la fixation d'une date" — de l'accession du Nyassaland à l'indépendance (par. 67 du chap. IV du rapport).

17. Par ailleurs, le Comité spécial, après avoir réaffirmé le droit inaliénable des peuples du Bassoutoland, du Betchouanaland et du Souaziland à l'indépendance, demande à l'Assemblée de déclarer solennellement à l'intention de l'Afrique du Sud que toute tentative pour annexer ces territoires ou pour porter atteinte à leur intégrité territoriale sera considérée par l'Organisation des Nations Unies comme un acte d'agression qui viole la Charte des Nations Unies (par. 214 du chap. V du rapport).

18. En ce qui concerne Zanzibar, le Comité spécial invite la Puissance administrante à ne négliger aucun effort pour que ce territoire accède à l'indépendance le plus tôt possible — je répète "accède à l'indépendance le plus tôt possible" — conformément à la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux (par. 154 du chap. VI du rapport).

19. Quant à la Guyane britannique, le Comité spécial prie le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni et le Gouvernement de la Guyane britannique de reprendre immédiatement — je souligne "immédiatement" — les négociations en vue d'aboutir à un accord sur la date de l'indépendance — encore "la date de l'indépendance" — de ce territoire, conformément aux vœux de la population tels que son parlement les a exprimés (par. 84 du chap. VII du rapport).

20. En ce qui concerne le Mozambique, le Comité spécial, après avoir réaffirmé solennellement le droit inaliénable du Mozambique à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance, appuie ses revendications en vue de son accession immédiate à l'indépendance et prie le Conseil de sécurité, au cas où le Portugal refuserait d'appliquer la présente résolution et les résolutions antérieures de l'Assemblée, de prendre des mesures appropriées, y compris, le cas échéant, l'adoption de sanctions, pour obtenir que le Portugal se conforme à ses obligations (par. 109 du chap. VIII du rapport).

21. Au sujet du Sud-Ouest africain, le Comité spécial conclut que le moment est venu pour les Nations Unies de prendre d'urgence des mesures concrètes, y compris éventuellement des sanctions à l'encontre de l'Afrique du Sud, pour empêcher l'annexion du Sud-Ouest africain par ce pays et pour assurer au plus tôt — je souligne "pour assurer au plus tôt" — son accession à l'indépendance (par. 124 du chap. IX du rapport).

22. Pour le territoire du Kenya, le Comité spécial invite la Puissance administrante et tous les intéressés à n'épargner aucun effort pour que le territoire accède à l'indépendance le plus tôt possible — je souligne "accède à l'indépendance le plus tôt possible" — conformément à la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux et, pour conclure, le Comité exprime l'espoir que le Kenya deviendra un Etat indépendant et souverain et se joindra à la communauté des nations dans le plus bref délai (par. 88 du chap. X du rapport).

23. Finalement, en ce qui concerne l'Angola, le Comité spécial, après avoir réaffirmé solennellement le droit inaliénable du peuple angolais à l'indépendance et appuyé ses revendications en vue de son accession immédiate à l'indépendance — je souligne "son accession immédiate à l'indépendance" — demande au Gouvernement portugais d'assurer le transfert des pouvoirs au peuple de l'Angola, conformément à la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. En outre, le Comité spécial prie le Conseil de sécurité, au cas où le Portugal persisterait à refuser d'appliquer la présente résolution et les résolutions antérieures de l'Assemblée générale et du Conseil de sécurité, de prendre les mesures appropriées, y compris l'adoption de sanctions, pour obtenir que le Portugal se conforme à ses obligations (par. 44 du chap. XI du rapport).

24. Ainsi donc, une même idée se dégage de l'ensemble des conclusions particulières sur les territoires spécifiques étudiés par le Comité. Cette idée a été traduite pour chacun des territoires par la nécessité d'une libération qualifiée tantôt d'immédiate, tantôt de très rapide, devant avoir lieu tantôt le plus tôt possible, tantôt dans les plus brefs délais et autres expressions analogues, qui toutes traduisent la même pensée: la nécessité urgente d'une action, la nécessité urgente de l'application de la résolution 1514 (XV), la nécessité urgente et impérieuse qu'il y a d'accélérer le processus de décolonisation. A cette idée fondamentale, il n'y a pas une seule exception: c'est donc, pensons-nous, autour de cette idée qu'il convient de bâtir la résolution d'ensemble sanctionnant le rapport du Comité spécial des Dix-Sept. A cet égard, il n'est pas superflu de rappeler que c'est précisément cette nécessité d'accélérer le processus de décolonisation qui a été à la base de l'intervention des Nations Unies tant en 1960 qu'en 1961. Sur ce point précis, la résolution 1514 (XV) avait été claire en invitant les puissances coloniales à prendre des mesures immédiates en vue de transférer sans aucune condition ni réserve tous les pouvoirs aux peuples coloniaux.

25. Ainsi donc, libération immédiate, sans condition ni réserve, de tous les peuples coloniaux, tel est bien le principe fondamental consacré par la Déclaration du 14 décembre 1960. Afin qu'il ne subsiste aucune équivoque et pour couper court aux arguments fallacieux de tous ceux qui brandissent avec obstination la prétendue nécessité d'une préparation à l'indépendance, l'Assemblée générale écartait catégoriquement tout préalable basé sur le retard des territoires subjugués. Elle posait ainsi au paragraphe 3 de cette même déclaration de 1960 le principe, à nos yeux fondamental, que:

"Le manque de préparation dans les domaines politique, économique ou social ou dans celui de l'enseignement ne doit jamais être pris comme prétexte pour retarder l'indépendance."

Il importe aujourd'hui d'avoir présent à l'esprit ce principe sans lequel toute politique de décolonisation ne serait que pure duperie par le fait qu'on laisserait à la fantaisie de la puissance coloniale le libre choix de se dérober à toute obligation de décolonisation effective.

26. Fort heureusement, ce principe posé, rien ne pouvait plus servir de refuge légal ni même de paravent aux tenants de la prolongation du système de domination coloniale. Deux issues, et deux seules, s'offraient désormais aux colonisateurs : s'exécuter, en libérant leurs colonies, ou se rebeller ouvertement contre l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Comme on pouvait le craindre, c'est bien malheureusement la deuxième attitude, si lourde de conséquences, que nombre de puissances coloniales ont préféré adopter.

27. Devant cette rébellion et ce défi délibéré, et eu égard aux menaces de discorde et de graves conflits internationaux qui en découlent, il importe que l'Assemblée générale assume aujourd'hui toutes ses responsabilités en exigeant, quoi qu'il advienne, le respect de sa déclaration solennelle du 14 décembre 1960 et sa mise en œuvre sans délai. Les puissances coloniales, par leur inaction, par leur manque de coopération et, dans certains cas, par leur rébellion ouverte, cherchent à vider de tout sens l'expression "libération immédiate". Il nous appartient de couper court à ces manœuvres si nous voulons sauver notre œuvre en exigeant le respect de l'esprit et de la lettre de la résolution 1514 (XV). C'est pour cette raison qu'il importe de donner à présent à la Déclaration du 14 décembre 1960 une signification plus concrète et plus précise en fixant un délai limite pour la libération effective des territoires sous tutelle, des territoires non autonomes et de tous les autres territoires qui n'ont pas encore accédé à leur pleine indépendance.

28. Nous nous sommes, pour notre part, toujours prononcés contre tout sursis, si minime soit-il, au régime de domination, car notre conviction a toujours été et demeure que tout peuple, à tout moment, doit être laissé libre de diriger lui-même ses propres destinées. De ce fait, à notre avis, rien ne peut justifier un seul instant l'esclavage des individus ou la domination des peuples. Cependant, l'attitude de résistance passive ou de rébellion caractérisée de certaines puissances coloniales oblige aujourd'hui l'Assemblée générale à prévoir de nouvelles dispositions en fonction des réalités nouvelles afin de parachever son œuvre de salut universel. Cette étape nouvelle qu'exige de nous la situation créée par la non-application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance, c'est celle-là même que faisait acclamer à cette tribune, le 9 octobre 1962, le président Sekou Touré, lorsqu'il a déclaré :

"Si nous devons tous nous réjouir de l'adoption par l'Assemblée générale des Nations Unies d'une résolution relative à l'indépendance immédiate des pays africains, nous conservons, cependant, de sérieuses inquiétudes quant à la lenteur apportée par certaines puissances coloniales dans l'application de ladite résolution.

"... C'est pourquoi il est rendu nécessaire que l'actuelle session de l'Assemblée adopte une nouvelle résolution fixant au 24 octobre 1963 — dix-huitième anniversaire de l'ONU — la date limite pour l'accession des colonies à l'indépendance nationale." [1148ème séance, par. 32 et 33.]

29. Telle est la proposition concrète que la délégation de la République de Guinée est heureuse de soumettre à nouveau à l'appréciation de notre assemblée à titre de conclusion générale à nos débats sur le rapport du Comité spécial des Dix-Sept.

30. Cette proposition, qui découle tout naturellement de l'analyse détaillée des études spécifiques faites sur les divers territoires inventoriés, est, en réalité, la synthèse des conclusions diverses auxquelles le Comité spécial a finalement abouti dans l'ensemble des cas particuliers qu'il a eu l'occasion d'examiner. Une telle proposition correspond parfaitement à la nécessité impérieuse, unanimement reconnue par l'opinion internationale, d'accélérer sérieusement le cours irréversible de la décolonisation. A ce titre, elle comblerait heureusement les immenses espoirs que tous les peuples encore asservis placent dans nos assises actuelles. Par-dessus tout, cette proposition est la suite normale et logique de la Déclaration historique sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux.

31. Enfin, et il convient de le proclamer hautement, l'adoption de cette proposition serait le couronnement d'une œuvre qui réhabiliterait définitivement les Nations Unies aux yeux de tous les peuples colonisés, dont la triste condition et les cris de détresse n'avaient pas été, pour des motifs connus de tous, suffisamment pris en considération à la Conférence de San Francisco.

32. Pour toutes ces raisons, nous pensons que, pour demeurer fidèle à elle-même et parachever sa grande œuvre de décolonisation, l'Assemblée générale, à l'issue de nos débats actuels, se doit de proclamer solennellement le 24 octobre 1963 comme la date de la fin de la colonisation dans le monde. Dans le même esprit, elle se doit d'inviter instamment toutes les puissances coloniales à observer scrupuleusement les dispositions de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance et, en particulier, à transférer sans condition ni réserve, avant cette date, tous les pouvoirs qu'elles détiennent encore aux peuples des territoires dépendants afin de leur permettre d'accéder à leur pleine indépendance nationale et de jouer sur le plan international le rôle normal dévolu à tous les peuples souverains du monde.

33. L'adoption par l'Assemblée d'une telle proposition consacrerait, sur le plan des principes, l'achèvement de l'œuvre de décolonisation entreprise par l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Elle aurait sans nul doute une portée immense partout dans le monde. Il est aisé de prévoir les conséquences heureuses qu'elle engendrerait partout, en Asie, en Amérique, dans le Pacifique, en Europe même, et plus particulièrement dans le continent africain. Ce serait certainement un pas décisif vers la réconciliation générale des peuples et des Etats qui pourraient, enfin, lier à jamais, pour les célébrer ensemble, la fin du régime colonial et l'anniversaire de l'Organisation des Nations Unies.

34. C'est compte tenu de toutes ces raisons que nous soumettons avec confiance à l'approbation de l'Assemblée générale cette proposition destinée à mettre un terme définitif, en 1963, à toutes les aventures coloniales qui ont coûté et qui coûtent encore si cher, à tous égards et inutilement, à toute la communauté internationale.

35. Enfin, notre proposition, si elle était approuvée, aurait tout naturellement une incidence directe sur

l'ensemble des questions coloniales et des résolutions soumises dans ce domaine, à quelque titre que ce soit et par quelque organe que ce soit, à la décision de l'Assemblée générale.

36. Sous cette seule réserve, qui s'imposait de toute évidence, notre délégation approuve l'ensemble des conclusions et, partant, les projets de résolution contenus dans le rapport du Comité spécial, objet de nos délibérations actuelles.

37. C'est assez dire que la délégation guinéenne est d'avis que le Comité spécial des Dix-Sept, ayant donné satisfaction, devrait être reconduit pour parachever, dans les nouveaux délais impartis, sa mission qui est de veiller à l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance, dans le cadre de son mandat initial et à la lumière des dispositions de la résolution qui sera adoptée à la présente session.

38. Dans ce même ordre d'idées, notre délégation approuve la suggestion du Secrétaire général par intérim visant à supprimer tous les autres comités et sous-comités chargés, à des titres divers, des territoires non autonomes, en vue de concentrer toutes les questions antérieurement de leur ressort au niveau du seul Comité spécial des Dix-Sept.

39. En dehors de tous les avantages signalés à cet égard par le Secrétaire général dans l'introduction à son rapport annuel [A/5201/Add.1], avantages qui ont trait à l'économie de personnel et d'argent et à l'allègement des tâches des délégations intéressées, cette suggestion nous paraît parfaitement conforme à la nouvelle situation créée, depuis 1960, par l'adoption de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance.

40. Depuis cette date, en effet, le stade d'information nous semble révolu, en tout cas dépourvu de tout intérêt pratique. Aussi tout comité créé à cette fin, comme le Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes, aurait dû disparaître en raison de l'inutilité manifeste de son mandat dans le contexte politique nouveau créé au sein des Nations Unies.

41. Mieux, nous pensons quant à nous que le Conseil de tutelle lui-même devrait disparaître, non seulement pour les raisons précitées, mais encore parce qu'il importe hautement que les Nations Unies, ayant pris sur la décolonisation les décisions que l'on sait, donnent l'exemple en cette matière en libérant immédiatement tous les territoires sous tutelle. Toute modification touchant le Conseil de tutelle requiert, nous le savons, un amendement de la Charte, mais notre délégation pense que cette adaptation se révèle presque indispensable. Faute de la possibilité de dissolution légale du Conseil de tutelle, celui-ci devrait être mis en sommeil au plus vite. Les faits, tout autant que la situation politique, l'exigent comme étant la seule solution de bon sens.

42. Cependant nous reconnaissons que la suppression de tous les comités et comités spéciaux relatifs aux territoires dépendants pourrait justifier un élargissement de la composition actuelle du Comité spécial des Dix-Sept pour des raisons de stricte efficacité. A notre avis, un tel aménagement devrait absolument éviter de modifier l'équilibre actuel de la composition politique qui a permis au Comité spécial de réaliser le travail fécond que nous approuvons aujourd'hui.

43. A cette fin et compte tenu des délais dont nous disposons, nous souhaitons que les éventuelles ad-

jonctions soient limitées à la fois en nombre et en qualité. En ce qui concerne le nombre de ces adjonctions, quatre nous paraît un chiffre raisonnable à ne pas dépasser, sous peine de nuire à la cohésion d'ensemble.

44. Au sujet de la qualité, les nouvelles délégations incluses dans le Comité spécial, quel que soit leur mode de désignation, devraient être choisies en fonction du seul critère de l'efficacité positive de leur contribution réelle à l'objectif essentiel des Nations Unies dans ce domaine, objectif qui demeure l'accélération du processus de décolonisation.

45. Enfin, pour conclure, la délégation guinéenne estime que toute résolution d'ensemble sur le rapport du Comité spécial doit porter au moins sur les deux idées essentielles que nous venons d'analyser: la fixation d'une date limite d'accession à l'indépendance nationale de tous les peuples colonisés et le sort qu'il convient de réserver à l'organisme chargé de suivre la mise en œuvre des décisions de l'Assemblée générale en cette matière.

46. Fidèle à la position anticolonialiste constante de son peuple et de son gouvernement et profondément convaincue d'être en pleine communion d'idées et de sentiments avec non seulement tous les peuples africains et leurs dirigeants, mais également avec tous les autres peuples asservis par le colonialisme et qui luttent pour leur libération et leur réhabilitation totale, la délégation de la République de Guinée se déclare prête, comme toujours, à s'associer activement à toute initiative hardie destinée à permettre à l'Assemblée générale des Nations Unies de parachever, au cours de sa dix-septième session, son œuvre la plus noble et la plus immortelle: celle de la décolonisation totale dans le monde en 1968.

47. Notre espoir — celui de tous les peuples colonisés et de toutes les forces de progrès et de paix dans le monde —, notre espoir demeure que, sur une question de cette importance et de cette portée, tous les représentants à cette assemblée accepteront de franchir ensemble au coude à coude, comme en 1960, ce grand pas historique vers un avenir plein de promesses, de liberté et de bonheur pour tous. Ce sera sans doute, pour les Nations Unies, une de leurs plus belles victoires depuis leur création. Nous souhaitons que chaque représentant dans cette salle puisse avoir la fierté d'y avoir contribué pour la plus grande gloire du peuple et du pays au nom desquels il décide ici souverainement de la liberté et du destin des autres peuples maintenus encore arbitrairement et contre leur gré en dehors de la scène internationale.

48. M. WINIEWICZ (Pologne) [traduit de l'anglais]: Il est devenu parfaitement clair pour tous ceux qui siègent à l'Assemblée que c'est le problème de la liquidation du colonialisme qui tient maintenant la première place, juste après la question du désarmement général et complet, aussi bien dans l'opinion publique mondiale que dans les travaux de l'Organisation. Ces deux problèmes sont étroitement liés. En fait, le maintien de la paix, le renforcement de la coexistence pacifique des Etats et le développement de la coopération internationale dépendent de la solution qui sera finalement donnée à ces deux problèmes.

49. Tant que nous ne serons pas parvenus à mettre effectivement fin à la course aux armements, tant que nous n'aurons pas désarmé le monde, nous ne pour-

rons pas extirper radicalement les menaces permanentes de conflits et le cauchemar d'une guerre destructrice. Nous ne pourrions pas non plus créer des conditions propices à une coopération pacifique entre les nations tant que l'exploitation, la discrimination et l'asservissement des nations qui subissent le joug du colonialisme ne seront pas finalement éliminés.

50. Ceux qui ont jusqu'à présent tiré profit de la faiblesse et de l'oppression des peuples misérables et qui entendent continuer à le faire s'appuient sur la force et avant tout sur la force militaire. Le maintien des positions stratégiques et le développement des bases militaires sont un des facteurs de la vigoureuse résistance opposée à l'émancipation et à la libération des peuples opprimés. Si le progrès de la décolonisation favorise et contribue à renforcer la coexistence pacifique et la coopération pacifique de l'humanité, le progrès de la lutte pour l'arrêt de la course aux armements et la mise en œuvre d'un programme de désarmement général et complet ne peut donc qu'accélérer la liquidation définitive du colonialisme. De même que le désarmement est la nécessité la plus impérieuse de notre époque, de même la liquidation du système colonial est un phénomène qui influence les événements contemporains et qui constitue à notre époque une révolution — je dirai même que c'est la révolution de notre époque.

51. Nous nous rappelons encore nettement la réception touchante et enthousiaste qui a été faite dans cette salle, à si juste titre, à la délégation de l'Algérie libre et indépendante. Elle a montré combien la question de la liberté et de l'indépendance des nations touchait profondément tous les cœurs et tous les esprits. Le rôle important joué par les nations libérées des liens coloniaux et devenues Membres de l'Organisation est significatif par son influence sur l'évolution de la situation internationale. Ce sont ces nations qui élèvent leur voix puissante pour défendre la paix mondiale, qui agissent en faveur du désarmement, qui ont conscience des liens entre le colonialisme et les préparatifs de guerre et qui réclament le respect des principes de la coexistence pacifique des nations, énoncés dans la Charte des Nations Unies.

52. Avec la fin du colonialisme, des perspectives entièrement nouvelles s'ouvrent pour l'humanité. Les nations déjà libérées apportent aux entreprises de l'homme la pleine contribution de leur génie national, jusqu'ici opprimé par les colonisateurs. En se joignant aux Nations Unies, elles n'ont pas seulement élargi l'Organisation quantitativement, elles y ont aussi apporté un changement qualitatif.

53. Il existe encore des territoires et des peuples qui attendent leur admission dans la communauté des nations indépendantes, souveraines et égales. Cinquante millions d'hommes subissent encore la domination coloniale dans trois continents. Beaucoup d'entre eux meurent en combattant, les armes à la main, ou devant des pelotons d'exécution, ou en prison. C'est leur destin, leurs infortunes et leur avenir qui font l'objet de notre débat. Allons-nous les aider dans la lutte qu'ils mènent pour leur émancipation nationale? Allons-nous répondre à leurs espoirs, qui dépendent de nos décisions?

54. Tout à fait récemment, un des pétitionnaires, un représentant du peuple de la Rhodésie du Sud, a demandé à la Quatrième Commission: "Vous qui êtes des gens libres, comprendrez-vous jamais ce que c'est

que d'être né en esclavage, de vivre en esclavage, sans autre espoir que de mourir en esclavage?"

55. Souvenons-nous des étapes du colonialisme, de triste mémoire. On a commencé par traiter les territoires dépendants comme un "no man's land", pour en faire par la suite le théâtre de l'inhumanité de l'homme envers l'homme, du trafic des esclaves, de guerres coloniales oruelles, pour finir par des tentatives de disculper le colonialisme en alléguant sa prétendue mission civilisatrice. Il est grand temps de clore ce chapitre infamant de l'histoire humaine.

56. Au cours de la dernière guerre, bien des pays en Europe ainsi qu'en Asie ont connu l'oppression des fascistes de la "race des seigneurs". A la Pologne non plus, les épreuves les plus terribles n'ont pas été épargnées. Nous savons bien ce que c'est que de vivre sans la liberté. Bien que nous en ayons été privés pendant six ans, nous n'avons jamais capitulé et nous avons combattu, sans égard aux sacrifices, jusqu'à la victoire finale.

57. Les Nations Unies — c'est-à-dire nous, peuples libres, d'où que nous venions, quelles que soient la couleur de notre peau, nos idéologies ou nos croyances — ne peuvent pas et ne doivent pas rester indifférentes au sort de ceux qui sont encore tenus en esclavage. Les aspirations de tous les territoires coloniaux, grands ou petits, vers une émancipation nationale doivent faire l'objet de toute notre sollicitude jusqu'à l'élimination complète du colonialisme. Nous devons déjouer toutes les manœuvres politiques, dont les buts sont si faciles à deviner, qui mettent en cause l'avenir de l'Angola, du Mozambique, de la Guyane britannique, du Kenya, de la Rhodésie et d'autres territoires. Nous devons le faire non seulement dans l'intérêt des nations qui luttent pour leur liberté, mais aussi dans l'intérêt de la paix et dans notre intérêt à tous.

58. Nous nous souvenons de quels principes on s'est inspiré lorsqu'on a abordé la question de la liquidation du colonialisme à la quinzième session de l'Assemblée générale, qu'on peut qualifier d'historique. Selon la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, énoncée dans la résolution 1514 (XV) adoptée le 14 décembre 1960:

"La sujétion des peuples à une subjugation, à une domination et à une exploitation étrangères constitue un déni des droits fondamentaux de l'homme, est contraire à la Charte des Nations Unies et compromet la cause de la paix et de la coopération mondiales."

La Déclaration est devenue une arme puissante aux mains des peuples dépendants qui luttent pour leur liberté et leur indépendance. Nul n'a osé s'opposer à l'adoption de la Déclaration. Pourtant, même à cette époque, plusieurs abstentions ont fait naître des doutes sur la sincérité de quelques puissances en ce qui concerne la mise en œuvre des dispositions de la Déclaration. Comme les événements l'ont prouvé depuis deux ans, cette mise en œuvre s'est heurtée à la résistance, déclarée ou dissimulée, des puissances coloniales.

59. Lorsque nous avons examiné, à la seizième session, la question de l'application de la Déclaration — à nouveau sur l'initiative de l'Union soviétique —, nous sommes arrivés à la conclusion qu'à part quelques exceptions les puissances coloniales s'opposaient à cette application. C'est pourquoi l'Assemblée générale a adopté la résolution 1654 (XVI).

priant instamment toutes les puissances coloniales d'observer scrupuleusement et sans délai les principes de la Déclaration. En même temps, aux termes de cette résolution, le Comité spécial des Dix-Sept a été créé et chargé de surveiller, au nom des Nations Unies, le processus de décolonisation et d'élaborer des mesures pratiques et des recommandations concernant les territoires dépendants en vue d'obtenir l'application complète de la Déclaration anti-colonialiste.

60. Le Comité spécial a présenté les résultats des travaux approfondis qu'il a accomplis pendant une période relativement courte — six mois dans un rapport complet et détaillé portant sur les 12 territoires qui ont fait jusqu'à présent l'objet de ses délibérations [A/5238]. De l'étude des faits très précis et analysés objectivement qui sont présentés dans le rapport, on ne peut manquer de conclure qu'il constitue une mise en accusation, pondérée mais grave, du colonialisme. Le caractère angoissant des faits relatés et analysés dans le rapport frappe d'autant plus qu'il décrit une situation qui existe toujours à une époque où le colonialisme, déjà critiqué et condamné, approche de sa fin.

61. Le Comité spécial a adopté la bonne méthode en étudiant séparément chaque territoire, ce qui lui a permis d'examiner attentivement les caractères propres à chacun d'eux. Grâce à l'audition de pétitionnaires, le Comité a eu connaissance des opinions, des vœux et des réclamations des autochtones. On peut considérer également que le voyage du Comité en Afrique, où se trouvent la plupart des territoires dépendants, a donné des résultats concrets, de même que la pratique qui consiste à envoyer des missions pour étudier sur place la situation dans certains territoires.

62. Grâce à ces méthodes, le Comité a pu examiner attentivement les problèmes qui lui étaient soumis, porter un jugement sur ces problèmes en connaissance de cause et élaborer des conclusions, soit sous la forme de projets de résolution présentés à l'Assemblée générale, soit, comme il a eu raison de le faire, sous la forme de recommandations adressées directement aux puissances administrantes.

63. Bien que le rapport se limite à l'étude de la situation dans 12 pays seulement, il montre cependant que de nombreuses mesures sont encore d'une application généralisée dans la politique coloniale des puissances administrantes. Je me permettrai d'en citer quelques exemples. En Angola, le Gouvernement portugais poursuit depuis près de deux ans, comme chacun sait, une guerre d'extermination contre le mouvement de résistance. Il y a eu des dizaines de milliers de morts. Il semble évident, je pense, que le Portugal n'aurait pu agir ainsi sans l'aide militaire et sans le soutien des puissances atlantiques. On peut donc dire que le gouvernement de Lisbonne n'est pas le seul responsable des événements de l'Angola, mais que la responsabilité est partagée par ceux qui fournissent du matériel militaire au Portugal et qui tolèrent la politique coloniale de leur allié. Ce n'est pas en prétendant qu'on s'en lave les mains qu'on y changera quelque chose. Il est grand temps que les Nations Unies prennent la décision de mettre fin au sauvage massacre de la population de l'Angola. Il est grand temps de mettre en œuvre des mesures énergiques pour obliger le Portugal, qui s'y refuse, à respecter les décisions de l'Assemblée générale.

64. Une situation explosive existe aussi au Mozambique où l'on peut affirmer que les autorités portugaises sont en train de préparer, par le rassemblement de 40 000 soldats, une action ouverte contre le mouvement national de libération. Attendrons-nous que le Mozambique explose à son tour et se mue en un autre Angola? Il faut que la répression contre la population autochtone cesse, que les prisonniers politiques soient libérés et que les partis politiques soient autorisés à exercer librement leurs activités. Il faut créer des institutions politiques représentatives pour que les pouvoirs soient finalement transférés au peuple du Mozambique.

65. Les événements qui se sont déroulés récemment en Afrique du Sud — il est d'ailleurs question de ce problème dans presque tous les comités et commissions de l'Organisation — suscitent de graves inquiétudes. La militarisation du pays se poursuit rapidement, les dépenses militaires ont été doublées et on a toutes raisons de supposer que des préparatifs militaires sont dirigés contre les mouvements nationaux de libération au Sud-Ouest africain et, en fait, contre la population africaine de la République sud-africaine également.

66. De même, dans la Fédération de la Rhodésie et du Nyassaland les autorités ont augmenté les effectifs de la police et de l'armée. Le Premier Ministre de la Fédération, sir Roy Welensky, menace d'employer la force pour maintenir la domination des colons blancs et briser le mouvement national de libération des Africains. Là aussi, la situation est lourde de graves menaces.

67. Le rapport du Comité spécial révèle d'ailleurs d'autres faits qui méritent une attention particulière. Par des constitutions imposées et des régimes électoraux égarément compliqués, les autorités coloniales cherchent à maintenir le pouvoir aux mains de la minorité de colons blancs et essayent d'empêcher, ou tout au moins de retarder, la mise en place de gouvernements exprimant la volonté de l'écrasante majorité de la population. La Constitution de la Rhodésie du Nord est un exemple frappant de cette politique. Seulement 3 p. 100 de la population africaine possède en fait le droit de vote, en raison des nombreuses conditions discriminatoires portant sur la propriété, les impôts et l'instruction, qui sont mises à l'octroi du droit de vote. Le régime électoral prévu par la Constitution est tellement complexe que, comme l'a fait remarquer à juste titre un quotidien digne de foi, *The Scotsman*, les experts le considèrent comme le plus compliqué qui ait jamais existé en ce bas monde. C'est sur de telles bases qu'ont eu lieu les récentes élections, dont les résultats n'ont fait que confirmer la nécessité d'instituer dans ce territoire le suffrage universel et égal. C'est exactement dans ce sens que le Comité spécial a formulé ses conclusions et ses recommandations — ce qui montre une fois de plus sa sagesse.

68. Je me permettrai maintenant de parler de la situation dans deux autres territoires où l'inégalité des Africains se manifeste d'une manière tout aussi troublante. Il y a quelques jours, malgré la résistance de la population africaine et au mépris de l'opinion exprimée par l'Assemblée générale, une nouvelle Constitution ouvertement discriminatoire envers la population africaine est entrée en vigueur en Rhodésie du Sud. Au Betchouanaland, les deux tiers des sièges au Conseil législatif sont occupés par les 3 000 colons blancs, tandis que les 350 000 Africains n'en ont

que le tiers. Je pourrais citer bien d'autres exemples du même genre.

69. Des mesures frappant d'interdiction la création de partis politiques ou d'illégalité ceux qui existent déjà ont été prises pour empêcher la population autochtone d'exprimer sa volonté. L'Assemblée générale s'est déjà déclarée très nettement contre l'interdiction arbitraire de la Zimbabwe African Peoples Union en Rhodésie du Sud et contre les persécutions dont ses dirigeants font l'objet, par l'adoption, à la présente session, de la résolution 1755 (XVII). Nous attendons maintenant la réaction de la Puissance administrante qui est, en dernier ressort, responsable du territoire de la Rhodésie du Sud. Les autorités de la Rhodésie du Sud ont eu recours à cette même méthode exactement pour la troisième fois en trois ans afin de supprimer toute opposition contre leur politique raciale et contre leurs tentatives de création d'un Etat raciste au cœur même de l'Afrique noire.

70. Les autorités coloniales utilisent aussi, parmi les manœuvres tactiques qui font partie de leur arsenal, celle qui consiste à susciter des conflits d'ordre politique, racial ou tribal et à les exploiter, comme c'est le cas au Kenya et à Zanzibar, ou même en Guyane britannique. Elles refusent ensuite d'accorder aux peuples le droit inaliénable d'exprimer leur volonté et de devenir indépendants, sous prétexte de désaccords entre les groupements politiques des pays dépendants. L'histoire fournit de nombreux exemples montrant que les impérialistes ont souvent appliqué cette méthode qui consiste à diviser pour régner, bien que ses résultats n'aient jamais été heureux. Pour ce qui est de la Guyane britannique, je ne peux qu'exprimer notre déception de l'échec récent de la conférence constitutionnelle dont la convocation avait été retardée si souvent par la Puissance administrante et qui, sous prétexte d'un différend entre le gouvernement et les partis politiques d'opposition, a remis à plus tard, une fois de plus, la fixation de la date de l'indépendance de la Guyane britannique. L'Assemblée générale se trouve ainsi devant une situation nouvelle et, par conséquent, elle devra adopter de nouvelles recommandations pour assurer l'octroi de l'indépendance sans autre retard au peuple de ce pays.

71. Une question vient évidemment à l'esprit: comment comprendre et expliquer cette résistance des puissances coloniales? La réponse ne semble pas difficile: par la position prise sur le plan international par ces puissances et aussi par des motifs très forts fondés sur des intérêts très particuliers d'ordre financier et économique.

72. Dans la région de l'Afrique étudiée par le Comité spécial des Dix-Sept se trouvent de nombreux et riches gisements de précieux minerais non ferreux comme des minerais de cuivre, de nickel, d'or, d'argent, de tungstène, de cobalt, d'uranium, etc. L'extraction de ces minerais fournit des bénéfices énormes aux capitaux américains et aux capitaux de l'Europe de l'Ouest. C'est sur les liens mutuels des trusts internationaux et non sur la charité qu'est fondée l'alliance — qu'on ne peut qualifier de "sainte-alliance" — du Portugal, de l'Afrique du Sud et de la Fédération de la Rhodésie et du Nyassaland. Telle est la clef qui permet aussi de comprendre les mobiles secrets de la sécession du Katanga.

73. D'autre part, les colons blancs qui se sont emparés des terres arables les plus étendues et les plus fertiles, d'où ils ont expulsé la population autochtone,

sont considérés comme les garants de la sécurité des intérêts acquis dans ces pays. Les colons blancs s'étant appropriés les meilleures terres, les autochtones en sont réduits à chercher du travail à un salaire de famine et à émigrer en masse. Dans les colonies portugaises, la vie économique est entièrement fondée sur le travail forcé. Les autorités portugaises vont même jusqu'à tirer des bénéfices de l'exportation de la main-d'œuvre autochtone. C'est ainsi qu'aux termes de ce qu'on appelle la Convention du Mozambique, conclue par le Portugal, l'Afrique du Sud et la Fédération de la Rhodésie et du Nyassaland, le Gouvernement portugais, comme le Comité l'a appris grâce aux pétitionnaires, s'est engagé à envoyer chaque année dans ces pays des dizaines de milliers d'Africains pour y travailler dans les mines. Les autorités portugaises reçoivent 7 livres par travailleur africain. Tout commentaire serait superflu.

74. Il est un autre fait auquel je n'ai fait qu'une brève allusion dans mes remarques préliminaires et dont il faut tenir compte.

75. De nombreuses bases militaires appartenant à des puissances coloniales sont disséminées un peu partout dans les territoires dépendants. Il est évident qu'elles jouent toutes un rôle déterminé dans la stratégie d'ensemble des puissances atlantiques. Il ne faut ni sous-estimer le rôle de ces bases dans la lutte menée contre le mouvement d'indépendance des territoires en question, ni oublier qu'elles constituent des moyens de pression sur les nouveaux Etats indépendants voisins. Il est donc facile de comprendre pourquoi la grande conférence sur un monde sans bombe, qui s'est tenue à Accra en juillet dernier, a été si résolument favorable à des mesures de désarmement et plus particulièrement à la dénucléarisation de l'Afrique. A ce propos et en tenant compte de la résolution adoptée par l'Assemblée générale sur la dénucléarisation de l'Afrique [résolution 1652 (XVI)], il vaudrait la peine de se demander de quel genre d'armes les puissances coloniales et leur alliés disposent dans leurs bases africaines. Ont-ils des stocks de bombes nucléaires destinées à une force de frappe aérienne? Ont-ils des plates-formes de lancement pour fusées à tête nucléaire? Le représentant de l'Arabie Saoudite a parlé plus franchement de ce problème dans son impressionnant discours d'il y a deux jours. Je me borne à poser des questions; c'est aux représentants de l'Afrique d'exiger des réponses.

76. Le rapport du Comité spécial ne peut fournir des réponses à toutes les questions pertinentes. Les données qu'il rassemble et les conclusions qu'il en tire permettent cependant d'évaluer d'une façon tout à fait satisfaisante l'étendue et la portée des problèmes qu'il reste encore à résoudre.

77. Bien entendu, on peut souligner que la lutte pour l'émancipation nationale et l'influence qu'elle a eue sur les décisions des Nations Unies ont déjà contribué à libérer tant de peuples coloniaux qu'il ne reste aujourd'hui plus grand-chose de ce problème. Mais cette constatation ne fait que renforcer l'argument selon lequel il faut accélérer d'autant plus le processus de libération des nations encore dépendantes. Il est inadmissible que des droits qui ont déjà été octroyés à certains peuples soient refusés à ceux qui luttent avec une impatience croissante pour obtenir l'application pleine et entière du droit à l'autodétermination, à l'indépendance et à l'égalité souveraine, énoncé dans la Charte des Nations Unies.

78. Aucun argument ne peut être invoqué en sens contraire. Les défenseurs du régime colonial cherchent encore à nous convaincre que les peuples dépendants n'ont pas encore atteint la maturité nécessaire et ne sont pas prêts à prendre le pouvoir entre leurs mains. Pourtant, il est apparu, à la lumière de l'expérience, que cette thèse était dépourvue de tout fondement et la démonstration en a été donnée clairement après la guerre par la rapide émancipation de nations dont les représentants, pleinement conscients de leurs responsabilités et faisant preuve d'une grande maturité d'esprit, prennent part aux initiatives et aux décisions internationales les plus importantes comme aux travaux de l'Organisation. Ce n'est que dans l'indépendance, dans le libre exercice de leur volonté nationale et dans une évolution nationale sans contraintes que les forces créatrices propres à chaque nation peuvent se donner libre cours. Ce n'est que dans l'indépendance qu'elles peuvent contribuer pleinement et efficacement au progrès de l'humanité.

79. Le processus de décolonisation doit être mené à bonne fin au plus tôt. Le Président de la Guinée a suggéré à juste titre, dans son discours à l'Assemblée générale [1148ème séance] qu'on fixe la date limite de la décolonisation à octobre 1963. L'orateur qui m'a précédé a aussi exposé ce problème. Nous approuvons le bien-fondé de cette proposition, mais en même temps nous pensons qu'il faudrait prendre des mesures conformément aux conclusions du Comité spécial pour: premièrement, faire cesser toutes les persécutions et toutes les pratiques discriminatoires dont sont victimes les populations des territoires dépendants; deuxièmement, accorder les libertés démocratiques et la liberté d'action aux partis politiques représentant la population autochtone; troisièmement, procéder à des élections fondées sur le suffrage universel et égal; quatrièmement, transférer dans le plus bref délai possible tous les pouvoirs constitutionnels à des organes nationaux établis à la suite de ces élections. Toutes ces conditions figurent d'ailleurs dans les projets de résolution présentés par le Comité spécial des Dix-Sept sur les divers territoires.

80. Le paragraphe 4 du dispositif de la Déclaration anticoloniale devrait être étudié d'une manière approfondie. Je le cite encore une fois:

"Il sera mis fin à toute action armée et à toutes mesures de répression, de quelque sorte qu'elles soient, dirigées contre les peuples dépendants, pour permettre à ces peuples d'exercer pacifiquement et librement leur droit à l'indépendance complète, et l'intégrité de leur territoire national sera respectée."

81. Ce qui importe réellement, ce n'est pas l'indépendance et la liberté d'action pour les colons blancs qui ont récemment été représentés à la Quatrième Commission par sir Edgar Whitehead; c'est l'indépendance pour les habitants autochtones qui sont les seuls véritables maîtres de ces territoires jusqu'à présent coloniaux.

82. La délégation polonaise est en faveur de l'approbation du rapport du Comité spécial des Dix-Sept et de l'adoption des recommandations qu'il contient. Nous sommes d'avis que les Nations Unies doivent continuer à déployer leurs efforts en matière de décolonisation dans le cadre du Comité spécial. En six mois, le Comité spécial a prouvé son utilité; les résultats de son activité auraient été encore plus

concrets si les puissances administrantes avaient fait preuve d'un plus grand esprit de coopération.

83. Le Comité spécial, en prenant pour principe directeur la résolution 1654 (XVI), est parvenu à élaborer des méthodes qui, dans ses activités pratiques, ont résisté à l'épreuve du temps et ont permis de mieux comprendre la situation telle qu'elle existe actuellement dans les principaux territoires coloniaux. Je crois aussi que nous devons exprimer toute notre reconnaissance au Comité spécial pour n'avoir négligé aucun des événements importants qui ont marqué la lutte de libération des peuples coloniaux au cours de l'année 1962 et pour avoir formulé des conclusions soigneusement pesées.

84. L'Assemblée générale devrait recommander au Comité spécial, en tant que principal organe chargé de la décolonisation, de continuer, conformément à la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, à observer l'évolution de la situation dans tous les territoires sous tutelle et non autonomes, ainsi que dans tous les autres territoires qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance. Ces efforts devraient, dès que possible, porter particulièrement sur les territoires que le Comité n'a pas encore pu étudier jusqu'à présent.

85. Par tous les moyens dont il dispose, le Comité spécial devrait s'efforcer de parvenir à une décolonisation rapide et pacifique conformément aux termes de son mandat et avec la collaboration aussi complète que possible des puissances administrantes. Au cas où cette entreprise rencontrerait une résistance et des obstacles consistant en une violation des principes de la Charte des Nations Unies ou de la Déclaration anticolonialiste, et au cas où cette situation mettrait en danger les intérêts de la population autochtone ou représenterait une menace contre la paix, le Comité pourrait et devrait avoir recours à la convocation d'une session extraordinaire de l'Assemblée générale ou à la convocation du Conseil de sécurité. En même temps, nous estimons opportun d'adresser un appel solennel à toutes les puissances pour qu'elles accordent au Comité spécial leur entière coopération et leur assistance sans aucune restriction.

86. Les peuples qui aspirent, aujourd'hui plus que jamais, à la paix et au progrès sont pleinement en droit de demander à tous les gouvernements leur coopération active afin de supprimer les restes du colonialisme et, au cas où ce serait nécessaire, pour condamner et châtier ceux qui ne se montrent pas disposés à renoncer à leurs intérêts égoïstes et qui s'opposent à la marche irréversible de l'histoire. C'est ce qu'a déclaré M. Wladyslaw Gomulka, au nom de la Pologne, à la quinzième session de l'Assemblée générale, dans les termes suivants:

"... rien ni personne ne pourra restaurer le régime colonial, que ce soit sous ses formes anciennes ou sous de nouvelles formes. Toute tentative pour faire machine arrière se heurtera à la résistance des nations récemment libérées, qui ne sont plus seules, car elles ont à leurs côtés des forces puissantes. A leurs côtés, se trouvent tous ceux qui chérissent la cause de la paix et de la liberté, les pays qui édifient un nouvel ordre socialiste, les nations qui ont fait l'expérience de l'oppression et de l'exploitation coloniales." [874ème séance, par. 32.]

87. Le chemin qui conduit les peuples coloniaux vers l'indépendance complète n'a jamais été un chemin facile et il en est toujours ainsi. C'est tout d'abord d'eux-mêmes que dépend la bonne direction que ce chemin prendra. C'est le devoir des Nations Unies de les aider dans la réalisation de leurs aspirations, dans leur lutte et dans leurs efforts, et c'est là ce qu'ils attendent de nous.

88. M. AUBAME (Gabon): Vous avez reçu, Monsieur le Président, le jour de votre élection à la présidence de notre dix-septième session, les félicitations que le représentant du Cameroun, M. Bindzi, vous a adressées au nom des 12 pays frères de l'Union africaine et malgache.

89. Je tiens cependant, avant d'aborder la question inscrite à notre ordre du jour, au nom du Président de l'Union africaine et malgache, Léon Mba, et au nom du Gouvernement gabonais, à vous exprimer la joie que nous éprouvons causée votre brillante élection à un poste où tant de vos prédécesseurs illustres ont fait entendre les paroles de sagesse et de paix qui restent un précieux enseignement.

90. Ce n'est certes pas une tâche facile que de présider aux destinées de notre haute institution. Mais, quand on fait un retour en arrière et que l'on constate que notre famille, qui comptait, lors de sa fondation, 51 pays, groupe aujourd'hui 110 nations libres, on peut dire que les secrétaires généraux et les présidents qui ont eu la lourde charge de nos institutions ont bien mérité de l'humanité.

91. Avec quelle émotion nous avons tous salué l'admission du Rwanda, du Burundi, de la Jamaïque, terre de liberté, célébrée par le grand libérateur Simon Bolivar, du territoire de la Trinité et Tobago, de l'Ouganda, qui viennent pacifiquement d'accéder à la souveraineté.

92. Enfin, la présence de la délégation de la République algérienne démocratique et populaire consacre la naissance à l'indépendance de ce peuple qui vient d'obtenir sa liberté. La sagesse et le courage du général de Gaulle, l'appui de tous les pays d'Afrique et d'Asie qui doivent à la France leur fierté nationale, ont mis un terme à de douloureux combats. Une fois encore le libérateur de la France, fidèle à l'idéal de liberté de la nation française, a montré que l'amitié fraternelle pouvait succéder aux combats et aux déchirements.

93. Pendant longtemps, l'Occident a détenu le monopole de la puissance mondiale. Les deux guerres qui ont dévasté le monde, l'évolution de populations trop longtemps opprimées, la naissance de jeunes nations qui ont pris conscience de leur rôle international, ont créé de nouveaux centres de puissance, et l'Afrique a surgi de son long sommeil pour prendre la place à laquelle son dynamisme et sa sagesse lui donnent un droit incontestable.

94. Le Gabon est fier de collaborer à la construction d'une Afrique nouvelle, car son gouvernement, sous la sage et ferme direction du président Léon Mba, est conscient des responsabilités écrasantes qu'impose la construction d'une nation. La cause de nombreuses catastrophes a été l'indifférence des dirigeants aux besoins du peuple, avec sa contrepartie inévitable, l'attitude négative des populations. Mon gouvernement s'est efforcé d'associer les élites aux responsabilités politiques. Les Gabonais acceptent l'immense effort de construction nationale qui leur est demandé et suivent attentivement les grands

débats de notre organisation, qui permettent à toutes les nations de faire entendre leur voix. Ils savent bien qu'il n'est point d'espoir de conserver une jeune indépendance sans la solidarité internationale et la protection de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, comme d'ailleurs les populations encore colonisées savent que leur combat pour leur libération serait par trop inégal sans l'appui des peuples libres.

95. Le gouvernement et le peuple gabonais ont suivi avec passion l'évolution de la situation des pays opprimés d'Afrique, mais ils estiment que la mauvaise volonté — pour ne pas dire la mauvaise foi — de certains interlocuteurs a entravé considérablement le déroulement rapide de nos travaux.

96. La création du Comité spécial des Dix-Sept chargé de la mise en œuvre de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux marque une étape importante dans la voie de la libération. Comment, en effet, notre organisation pourrait-elle laisser se prolonger la situation tragique de nos frères de l'Angola, du Mozambique, de la Guinée dite portugaise, de l'île Saint-Thomas et de l'île du Prince? Chaque jour nous parviennent de ces territoires occupés des informations dignes de foi sur les massacres de populations qui aspirent à la liberté. D'ailleurs, comment une nation occupante qui impose à son peuple une dictature fasciste, qui en violation flagrante des droits de l'homme a inscrit 15 p. 100 seulement de la population sur les listes électorales, a créé des tribunaux d'exception, interné ou emprisonné sans jugement, contraint toute opposition libérale à vivre dans la clandestinité, comment cette nation pourrait-elle entendre la voix de populations d'une autre race écrasées par le plus impitoyable des régimes d'oppression? De tous les territoires occupés par le Portugal nous parviennent les mêmes appels déchirants qui confirment les résultats de l'enquête du Comité spécial.

97. Au Mozambique, les travailleurs noirs sont recrutés par la Chambre des mines de l'Afrique du Sud et, chaque année, plus de 100 000 malheureux sont obligés de quitter leur pays et d'abandonner leur famille, souvent sans espoir de retour. Cette nouvelle forme d'esclavage est d'ailleurs une source de revenus importants, puisque l'Afrique du Sud verse 6 dollars par travailleur recruté par les autorités portugaises. La situation des paysans n'est guère plus enviable — grâce à des salaires de famine, la production cotonnière rapporte au Portugal plus de 50 millions de dollars par an et permet aux fabricants de textiles portugais de produire à bas prix et de réaliser d'énormes bénéfices au détriment des travailleurs noirs.

98. En ce qui concerne l'instruction des habitants du Mozambique, 1 p. 100 seulement de la population a fréquenté l'école pendant deux ans. L'enseignement secondaire et supérieur ne sont ouverts qu'à une infime minorité de privilégiés.

99. En Angola, la situation est toujours tragique. La lutte dans le maquis fait des dizaines de milliers de victimes; des femmes, des enfants, des vieillards sont sauvagement assassinés. Jamais, dans la douloureuse histoire du colonialisme, on n'avait vu un pareil acharnement dans la tuerie. Les prêtres, les pasteurs n'ont pas été épargnés, car, aux yeux de l'occupant portugais, leurs sentiments de compassion passent pour une complicité et une adhésion aux idées

de liberté. Et à Lisbonne le révérend père de Andrade a été jeté en prison.

100. Faut-il rappeler que, depuis plus de 500 ans, tous les droits sacrés de l'homme sont refusés aux Angolais: le droit à l'assistance médicale, la liberté d'expression, l'égalité devant la justice et devant la loi.

101. Le représentant de mon pays et ses collègues de l'Afrique noire ont apporté à la Commission la documentation émouvante recueillie auprès des réfugiés qui ont réussi à s'évader des territoires occupés par le Portugal; ils ont souligné, une fois encore, la non-observation par le Gouvernement portugais du Chapitre XI de la Charte et de la résolution 1542 (XV). Il est en effet inadmissible que le droit de décider unilatéralement s'il lui appartient ou non de donner des renseignements sur la situation de ces territoires soit évoqué par la délégation portugaise.

102. L'échange de notes entre les représentants du gouvernement de Lisbonne et le Président du Comité spécial pour les territoires administrés par le Portugal [A/5160, par. 10 à 12] permet de juger avec quelle obstination ce gouvernement a toujours refusé l'entrée de ses territoires colonisés aux représentants des Nations Unies. C'est ainsi que le chargé d'affaires du Portugal à Léopoldville faisait savoir au Président du Comité spécial des Sept que quelques membres seulement dudit Comité pourraient être autorisés à se rendre en Angola, mais que les représentants de certains pays, s'étant montrés de parti pris, ne pouvaient pénétrer dans ce territoire. Aussitôt, le 28 mai 1962, le Comité jugeait que cette exclusion de deux membres nommés par l'Assemblée générale était une insulte et rendait l'invitation portugaise inacceptable. En tant qu'Etat Membre des Nations Unies, le Portugal devait apporter son concours à l'ONU pour l'application des résolutions de notre assemblée. Aussi le Comité spécial des Sept s'est-il vu dans l'obligation de recevoir des pétitions et d'entendre des pétitionnaires au sujet de la situation qui règne dans les territoires administrés par le Portugal.

103. En décidant de se rendre en Afrique pour prendre connaissance des renseignements que les réfugiés des colonies portugaises pourraient lui fournir, le Comité spécial a marqué l'intérêt que notre organisation portait aux malheureux habitants des régions d'Afrique en voie de libération.

104. Au cours de ce séjour, les représentants de tous les partis politiques des colonies portugaises ont été entendus, parmi lesquels il convient de citer: l'Union démocratique nationale du Mozambique, l'Union nationaliste africaine du Mozambique, l'Union nationale africaine du Mozambique indépendant, le Mouvement populaire de libération de l'Angola, présidé par M. Mario Andrade, le Front national pour la libération de l'Angola, présidé par M. Roberto Holden, l'Union nationale des travailleurs angolais, le Mouvement de libération de la Guinée dite portugaise et le Comité de libération des îles Saint-Thomas et du Prince.

105. Si j'ai cru utile d'énumérer quelques-uns de ces principaux mouvements d'indépendance, c'est pour que vous vous rendiez compte de l'état de maturité politique des populations asservies par le Portugal. Mais, malgré les nuances dans l'exposé de leurs justes revendications, un idéal commun unit les diri-

geants de ces groupements: la volonté de libération, de la libération sans retard.

106. Ces populations ne peuvent, en effet, rester soumises à des maîtres qui n'ont su ni respecter leur culture, ni assurer leur progrès économique et social, ni développer leur instruction, ni les protéger contre les abus, l'exploitation, la maladie, la misère et la faim.

107. Et le Comité spécial des Sept estimait qu'il incombait au Portugal d'assurer la mise en application de la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale, qui déclare en son paragraphe 1:

"La sujétion des peuples à une subjugation ... étrangère constitue un déni des droits fondamentaux de l'homme, est contraire à la Charte des Nations Unies et compromet la cause de la paix et de la coopération mondiales."

108. Dans son paragraphe 3, donnant ainsi une réponse anticipée à certaines affirmations d'un membre d'un gouvernement colonialiste, la résolution 1514 (XV) dispose:

"Le manque de préparation dans les domaines politique, économique ou social ou dans celui de l'enseignement ne doit jamais être pris comme prétexte pour retarder l'indépendance."

109. D'ailleurs, ce prétexte évoqué à plusieurs reprises par les occupants n'est-il pas la condamnation même du colonialisme et l'aveu qu'aucun effort n'a été tenté pour éduquer les masses asservies, condamnées à travailler pour leur maître?

110. Le problème de l'Angola, le plus angoissant peut-être, puisque c'est sur ce territoire que des victimes sont tombées par milliers et tombent encore chaque jour, met d'ailleurs doublement la paix en péril et constitue une menace de conflit qui doit être écartée le plus rapidement possible. Il ne s'agit pas seulement des massacres de populations pacifiques, mais également de l'aide apportée par le Portugal au mouvement séparatiste des dirigeants katangais. Car l'Angola, relié directement par voie ferrée au Katanga, permet le transit des armes et des munitions pour les mercenaires qui combattent les troupes des Nations Unies et entravent l'œuvre de pacification entreprise avec énergie par notre organisation. Les Etats-Unis s'étaient émus de l'utilisation faite par le Portugal des armes livrées dans le cadre de l'OTAN et avaient même effectué une démarche à Lisbonne invitant le Portugal à ne pas utiliser cet armement pour décimer la population angolaise. Nous pensons que les nations amies membres de l'Organisation du Traité de l'Atlantique nord doivent exercer un contrôle absolu sur l'usage fait par le Portugal d'engins de destruction, qui doivent être réservés à la défense du monde libre et non à l'écrasement d'un peuple qui aspire à vivre, lui aussi, dans un monde libéré.

111. Le Portugal se retranche naturellement derrière des interprétations juridiques, prétendant que les résolutions de l'Assemblée ne peuvent avoir d'effet obligatoire, et affirme que ce problème ne relève pas de la compétence des Nations Unies. Ces arguments ne peuvent être retenus; il s'agit, bien, avant tout, d'une question politique. Aucune échappatoire de procédure ne saurait être acceptée. Chaque jour se traduit par de nouvelles victimes, et nous trahissons l'esprit et la lettre de la Charte des Nations Unies en n'exigeant pas le respect des principes qui sont à la base même de notre institution.

112. Pour abuser l'opinion, certains gouvernements ont étendu à leurs territoires d'outre-mer leur législation nationale, transformant ainsi théoriquement une colonie en une province. Je doute fort que cette fiction juridique ait modifié en quoi que ce soit la volonté d'indépendance de ces populations. Les habitants noirs de terres situées à des milliers de kilomètres, d'une culture différente, ayant leur propre histoire, leurs traditions ancestrales, ne peuvent pas et ne veulent pas considérer leur patrie comme une parcelle du territoire de leur maître. Seule une politique de décolonisation peut assurer aux puissances coloniales actuelles qu'elles conserveront l'amitié des peuples qu'elles doivent libérer.

113. L'afflux régulier de colons auxquels de larges facilités d'installation sont consenties, le renforcement de l'armée, de la police et de la milice du pays colonisateur nous prouvent que la volonté d'indépendance des populations opprimées et leur combat pour leur libération s'affirment chaque jour plus passionnés.

114. En 1946, la Charte de San Francisco a donné à tous les peuples colonisés l'immense espoir d'une libération tant attendue. Quant à nous, des anciennes colonies françaises, nous savions, depuis la Conférence de 1944 tenue à Brazzaville, que l'heure de notre indépendance allait sonner. Mais, seules de tous les territoires d'Afrique ou d'Asie, les possessions portugaises et espagnoles restent soumises à l'occupation. Alors que la France et la Grande-Bretagne ont su, par leur libéralisme, conquérir l'amitié des peuples d'Afrique et d'Asie qu'elles avaient colonisés, le Portugal et l'Espagne s'obstinent à vouloir maintenir sous leur dictature des territoires situés à des milliers de kilomètres et habités par des populations d'une autre race. Le Portugal, indifférent à la souffrance d'une population dont la mortalité infantile atteint 60 p. 100 et où, faute de soins, deux adultes sur trois sont incapables de travailler, a soulevé dans toute l'Afrique une indignation dont cette assemblée doit, dans son intérêt même et pour le maintien de son autorité, tenir le plus grand compte.

115. J'ai, il y a un an, à cette tribune, affirmé que mon pays considérait que le droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes était un droit sacré inscrit comme un des buts fondamentaux de notre action [1029^e séance]. Je suis persuadé que la Grande-Bretagne, dont le libéralisme mérite souvent notre hommage, ne laissera pas plus longtemps les populations de la Rhodésie du Sud dans une situation d'inégalité politique et sociale qui est une injure à nos principes.

116. Ce sont les jeunes pays indépendants et ceux qui vont le devenir qui ont droit à toute notre sollicitude. Bientôt, et nous sommes presque unanimes ici à le vouloir, les populations de couleur d'Afrique du Sud seront aussi libérées de cette forme inhumaine de colonialisme qui s'appelle l'apartheid. Oui, il faut que nos frères du Sud-Ouest africain et d'Afrique du Sud soient libérés de la peur, il faut que cessent, comme l'a dit le poète, l'esclavage de la peur et la peur de l'esclavage.

117. Ainsi, le jour, que nous espérons tous proche, où l'amitié universelle des peuples aura chassé toute possibilité de conflit, l'Organisation des Nations Unies, après avoir facilité la libération des nations

encore colonisées, pourra consacrer tous ses efforts à l'assistance aux pays en voie de développement. Car, si le monde est divisé par la guerre froide, il est aussi un autre fossé à combler, c'est celui qui sépare les peuples qui bénéficiaient d'une surabondance de produits de ceux qui sont écrasés par la maladie et la faim. Tant qu'une partie de l'humanité aura faim, la décolonisation ne sera pas achevée, car cette division du monde entre satisfaits et misérables est une forme moderne, tout aussi néfaste, du colonialisme, de l'exploitation de l'homme par l'homme. Je sais que de nombreux pays ont fait des sacrifices — et nous leur rendons hommage — pour instruire, soigner, nourrir les peuples qui sont encore dans la double misère intellectuelle et matérielle. Mais nous pensons qu'il faut faire encore davantage, car il n'est pas juste, il n'est pas humain, il n'est pas pensable, que deux hommes sur trois ne puissent se nourrir.

118. C'est en cette année de la Décennie des Nations Unies pour le développement que les nations libres d'Afrique reconnaissent l'œuvre accomplie par le Conseil économique et social, mais il reste encore beaucoup à faire. Car le progrès technique, si rapide dans les pays surdéveloppés, accentue le retard des nations qui en sont encore au premier stade de leur infantilisme économique.

119. Il est tout de même terrible que la majorité des nations représentées ici ne soient pas encore parvenues à une étape normale de développement.

120. Ah! si, comme le Conseil l'a justement constaté, la question du désarmement intégral et complet était réglée, si les sommes fantastiques consacrées aux forces de destruction étaient affectées à l'œuvre d'amélioration du niveau de vie de l'humanité, comme la tâche de notre organisation serait facilitée!

121. Conscientes de leur devoir, la délégation et la mission gabonaises ne manqueront pas de collaborer de toute leur énergie à assurer le succès des travaux du Conseil économique et social, en qui les jeunes nations d'Afrique placent tant d'espoir.

122. Notre devoir impérieux, notre véritable raison d'être, les obligations que nous impose la Charte et que nous voulons respecter nous commandent d'oublier tout ce qui nous sépare pour assurer la paix, la sécurité internationale et la justice.

123. La République gabonaise, soyez-en persuadés, ne ménagera aucun effort, ne reculera devant aucun sacrifice pour apporter à cette œuvre humaine et généreuse sa plus large contribution. La foi du peuple gabonais dans notre institution, l'idéal de paix de tous nos compatriotes, la volonté du Président de la République, Léon Mba, et du gouvernement de collaborer de tout notre cœur, de toute notre âme, de toute notre énergie à la libération des peuples encore opprimés, à la sauvegarde de la paix, au progrès moral et matériel de l'humanité sont le gage le plus fidèle de notre attachement aux obligations de notre charte.

124. Quelle déception pour le monde si la dix-septième session de l'Assemblée générale ne donnait pas, aux graves problèmes inscrits à son ordre du jour, des solutions conformes à l'esprit de coopération internationale qui fut la raison profonde de l'établissement de notre organisation!

La séance est levée à 17 h 25.

Nations Unies ASSEMBLÉE GÉNÉRALE

DIX-SEPTIÈME SESSION

Documents officiels



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1170°
SÉANCE PLÉNIÈRE

Mardi 20 novembre 1962,
à 10 h 30

NEW YORK

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Président: M. Muhammad ZAFRULLA KHAN
(Pakistan).

POINT 25 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

La situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux: rapport du Comité spécial constitué aux termes de la résolution 1654 (XVI) de l'Assemblée générale (suite)

1. U TIN MAUNG (Birmanie) [traduit de l'anglais]: Depuis trois ans à peu près, l'Organisation des Nations Unies s'occupe activement de l'examen des divers aspects de la décolonisation. Tant en séance plénière qu'à la Quatrième Commission — désignée officiellement sous le nom de Commission de tutelle — de nombreuses délégations ont participé avec énergie aux débats sur le colonialisme. D'autre part, les représentants des puissances administrantes ont suivi avec plus d'attention les discours et les interventions des représentants des nouveaux Etats indépendants, qui, par leur expérience personnelle et leur connaissance de la situation politique dans certains des territoires dont nous nous occupons, apportent un atout supplémentaire dans notre travail. La délégation birmane apprécie à sa juste valeur leur rôle constructif.

2. Les délégations qui représentent les puissances administrantes se sont efforcées de faire gagner du temps en ne faisant pas souvent usage de leur droit de réponse, ce qui a contribué, me semble-t-il, à accélérer les travaux de la Commission. Le point 25 de l'ordre du jour dont est saisie l'Assemblée générale réunie en séance plénière ne peut pas être réglé en un ou deux jours et nous nous réjouissons de voir l'intérêt manifesté à son sujet par beaucoup de délégations.

3. Le rapport du Comité spécial constitué aux termes de la résolution 1654 (XVI) de l'Assemblée générale, qui comprend quelque 600 pages, n'est pas un document ordinaire des Nations Unies. Ce dossier volumineux sur la politique coloniale des puissances

administrantes et les réactions que cette politique a suscitées chez les représentants des 17 Etats Membres chargés d'étudier l'application de la Déclaration sur le colonialisme, ainsi que les témoignages présentés au Comité spécial par les pétitionnaires, constitue un ouvrage passionnant et qui donne à réfléchir. Il ressort de ce rapport que, grâce à la pression exercée par l'opinion publique mondiale, le colonialisme peut parfaitement être enterré une bonne fois pour toutes.

4. Je manquerais à mon devoir si je n'offrais pas, au nom de ma délégation, mes félicitations les plus chaleureuses au Comité spécial des Dix-Sept pour la façon dont il a répondu à l'appel des peuples dépendants du monde entier. Les peuples coloniaux se sont tournés vers cet organe compétent pour lui demander conseils et directives dans la lutte qu'ils mènent pour l'indépendance et la liberté.

5. Ce rapport où est examinée la situation dans plus de 10 territoires représente un instrument efficace grâce auquel ceux d'entre nous qui souscrivent pleinement aux buts et aux principes de la Charte et qui souhaitent voir le passage inévitable de la dépendance à l'indépendance s'effectuer de manière pacifique et dans l'ordre pourront, avec la meilleure volonté du monde, accélérer le processus de décolonisation.

6. On sait que, même la fameuse Déclaration une fois adoptée, les puissances coloniales ont été unanimes à manifester de la lenteur, voire de la paresse, à s'acquitter des obligations internationales qui leur incombent en vertu des Chapitres XI et XII de la Charte. Les puissances coloniales avancent fort aisément des arguments et des affirmations qui sont en contradiction avec les normes habituelles de la logique et avec les faits qui existent dans les régions coloniales du monde, ces régions qu'il est impossible de faire entrer, par quelque effort d'imagination que ce soit, dans les limites traditionnelles du monde libre.

7. A maintes reprises, dans les organes principaux des Nations Unies, les représentants de nouveaux Etats indépendants qui étaient passés par des stades divers de la décolonisation nous ont fait profiter de leur expérience et ont présenté des suggestions précieuses aux puissances administrantes, afin que le passage inéluctable de l'état de tutelle et de dépendance à l'indépendance et à la souveraineté nationale puisse se faire de manière pacifique.

8. Je n'ai pas besoin de rappeler ici les vieux arguments usés auxquels les puissances coloniales ont recours. L'Assemblée les connaît bien. Qu'il me suffise de dire que, par le paragraphe 3 du dispositif de la Déclaration [résolution 1514 (XV)], la thèse colonialiste qui a été utilisée naguère comme une ruse contre les peuples dépendants se trouve caté-

goriquement répudiée une fois pour toutes. Je veux évidemment parler du paragraphe suivant:

"Le manque de préparation dans les domaines politique, économique ou social ou dans celui de l'enseignement ne doit jamais être pris comme prétexte pour retarder l'indépendance."

9. Avant l'adoption de la Déclaration qu'on appelle à juste titre la charte de l'indépendance et de la liberté, le rythme de la décolonisation était toujours fixé par les puissances coloniales. Elles faisaient croire à leurs pupilles, les peuples dépendants, qu'après l'accession à l'indépendance ils se trouveraient en difficultés à moins que leurs problèmes futurs, postérieurs à l'indépendance, ne fussent résolus pendant qu'ils étaient encore au seuil de l'indépendance. Mais tous ces vains efforts pour retarder l'indépendance ont été réduits à néant lorsque les peuples dépendants, exerçant leur droit inaliénable à la libre détermination, se sont lancés avec ténacité dans des mouvements de libération qui ne sont pas allés parfois sans violence ni effusion de sang.

10. Dans certains territoires où les autorités coloniales ont dénié tous les droits politiques et les libertés fondamentales et où, avec la complicité de régimes qui partagent leurs opinions, elles se sont disposées à réprimer sauvagement le mouvement de libération populaire, les puissances et les régimes coloniaux ont eu recours à l'action armée ou à des mesures de répression de toutes sortes pour agir contre le peuple qui luttait pour son indépendance et sa liberté.

11. Bien qu'il y ait longtemps maintenant que la Déclaration sur la décolonisation a été proclamée au monde entier, certaines puissances coloniales s'accrochent encore opiniâtement à leurs idées périmées et à leur politique de domination politique, d'exploitation économique et de discrimination raciale.

12. Bien contre le gré de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, ces puissances coloniales se sont opposées à la poussée vers la liberté qui se manifestait chez les peuples coloniaux. Elles n'ont pas cherché à appliquer de leur propre chef et de leur plein gré les dispositions de la Déclaration. Elles ont invoqué toutes sortes d'excuses vagues et équivoques pour retarder l'indépendance.

13. Un an après que l'Assemblée générale eut adopté la Déclaration historique sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, les Nations Unies ont jugé absolument indispensable de ne pas laisser dépendre l'application de cette déclaration de la bonne volonté et des bonnes dispositions des puissances coloniales, et de les obliger à se rendre compte du danger qu'elles couraient en retardant cette application. Pour constituer un organe efficace et compétent des Nations Unies qui se verrait confier la surveillance de l'application de la Déclaration, 17 États Membres ont été désignés par le Président de l'Assemblée générale, à la seizième session, pour siéger au Comité spécial. Nous sommes maintenant saisis du rapport de ce comité spécial [A/5238].

14. Nous voulons dire d'abord que nous approuvons les méthodes de travail et la procédure du Comité spécial. Sauf en de très rares circonstances, les membres du Comité se sont efforcés de concilier leurs opinions divergentes et sont parvenus à un accord sans devoir voter. Il ne leur a pas toujours été facile d'arriver à l'unanimité sur certaines questions colo-

niales. À l'exception de cas où des questions de principe essentielles étaient en cause, les 17 membres ont tenté de faire et d'obtenir l'unanimité et de prendre leurs décisions sans recourir à des votes.

15. Deuxièmement, il n'était que juste et équitable que, dans ses délibérations, le Comité accordât la priorité au continent africain et que les 17 membres aient tous considéré absolument indispensable de se rendre dans les territoires africains où existent les situations les plus tendues qui exigent notre attention immédiate.

16. Troisièmement, le Comité ne s'est pas borné à devenir un organe chargé de recueillir des faits ou des renseignements, car, comme nul d'entre nous ne l'ignore, toutes les populations du monde sont parfaitement au courant des manifestations stupéfiantes du colonialisme, des maux qu'il engendre et des craintes qu'il inspire.

17. On ne peut évidemment s'attendre que le Comité spécial des Dix-Sept, le premier de son espèce dans les annales des Nations Unies, ait été parfait en tout point. La délégation birmane est la moins qualifiée pour critiquer de trop près la tâche accomplie avec tant d'efficacité par les 17 États Membres.

18. Le volume même du rapport est tel qu'il suffit à faire hésiter les lecteurs éventuels ou ceux qui voudraient étudier le processus de la décolonisation et il ne faut pas oublier que le Comité spécial a à peine abordé les territoires situés dans des continents autres que l'Afrique. Les observations des membres du Comité occupent une place considérable dans le rapport; ces observations nous aident évidemment beaucoup à comprendre les réactions des représentants siégeant au Comité spécial devant les pétitions ou les diverses politiques, mais je crois qu'on pourrait apporter de grandes améliorations aux chapitres qui traitent exclusivement des conclusions générales.

19. Ma délégation estime que ces conclusions générales auraient dû être plus poussées, mais nous comprenons fort bien les raisons pour lesquelles le Comité n'a pas pu formuler de suggestions et recommandations aux fins d'examen par l'Assemblée générale, s'agissant d'accélérer le rythme de la décolonisation. Malgré le caractère peu concret de ses conclusions, le Comité spécial nous a permis d'étudier la situation qui existe dans chacun des territoires dépendants et de recommander les mesures précises que les puissances administrantes devraient prendre, à notre avis, afin que le transfert des pouvoirs aux peuples dépendants qui doivent être finalement maîtres de leur destin puisse s'opérer pacifiquement, dans l'ordre et avec méthode.

20. La responsabilité très nette qui incombe au Comité spécial en vertu du mandat défini par la résolution 1554 (XVI) du 27 novembre 1961 est de veiller à ce que la Déclaration ne reste pas lettre morte. Le Comité doit décourager et dissuader les puissances administrantes de prendre toute mesure qui entraverait la mise en œuvre de la Déclaration et des décisions de l'Assemblée générale.

21. En présentant nos observations sur les territoires dont traite le rapport du Comité spécial, nous serons uniquement guidés par des considérations touchant l'urgence du problème et la nécessité d'empêcher la situation de s'aggraver davantage dans tous les territoires.

22. En ce qui concerne la Rhodésie du Sud, territoire non autonome, la Quatrième Commission lui a consacré 38 séances pendant lesquelles 60 délégations ont pris part à la discussion générale. Deux résolutions importantes, la résolution 1755 (XVII) du 12 octobre 1962 et la résolution 1760 (XVII) du 31 octobre 1962, ont été adoptées à l'écrasante majorité des Etats Membres. Nous avons le regret de devoir noter que la Puissance administrante, en l'occurrence le Royaume-Uni, n'a pas encore pris de mesures pour transférer tous les pouvoirs à la population de ce territoire.

23. Le gouvernement de sir Edgar Whitehead a promulgué la Constitution de 1961, que la population a rejetée et à laquelle elle s'oppose avec véhémence, mais qui est maintenant en vigueur. Les élections qui devaient avoir lieu au printemps 1963 sont maintenant fixées au 14 décembre 1962, c'est-à-dire dans quelques semaines seulement. Rien ne permet jusqu'à présent de penser que le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni soit parvenu à prendre les mesures nécessaires pour atteindre les objectifs définis au paragraphe 3 du dispositif de la résolution 1760 (XVII) de l'Assemblée générale, en date du 31 octobre 1962.

24. En Rhodésie du Nord, M. Kaunda et son parti ont abondamment prouvé leur modération et leur esprit de coopération en acceptant de se présenter aux élections, alors qu'ils estiment que la Constitution est entachée de racisme et inapplicable. Dans ce territoire, le pouvoir est aux mains d'une petite minorité de colons blancs, au préjudice des droits et des intérêts de la très grande majorité autochtone. L'Assemblée générale doit aider les autochtones de la Rhodésie du Nord en suivant de très près la situation générale en Afrique centrale. La majorité africaine rejettera les rapports de toute nature avec d'autres pays que la puissance coloniale britannique voudrait imposer aux peuples africains. Le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni devra renoncer au système multiracial tant vanté, dans ses répercussions politiques et économiques, et inviter les autorités fédérales à retirer leurs forces armées de la Rhodésie du Nord.

25. Passant maintenant au Nyassaland, on constate que les problèmes y sont évidemment plus faciles à résoudre que dans les autres territoires de la Fédération. La raison en est simple et claire: les colons européens sont moins nombreux au Nyassaland que dans les autres territoires. Il n'y a donc aucune raison, du point de vue politique, pour que le Nyassaland continue à faire partie de la Fédération.

26. A la Conférence constitutionnelle du Nyassaland, qui s'est ouverte le 12 novembre 1962, M. Hastings K. Banda, chef du parti majoritaire, le Malawi Congress Party, et ministre du gouvernement à majorité africaine, aurait pris l'engagement de retirer le Nyassaland de la Fédération de la Rhodésie et du Nyassaland une fois l'indépendance obtenue. Sous la direction compétente et désintéressée de M. Banda, le peuple du Nyassaland a accepté la Constitution actuelle, faute de mieux.

27. Aux élections générales d'août 1961, le Malawi Congress Party a obtenu 22 des 28 sièges de l'Assemblée législative. Sur les 10 membres du Conseil exécutif, sept sont membres de ce parti.

28. La Conférence constitutionnelle du Nyassaland avait pour tâche et pour objectif d'élaborer une nouvelle constitution, mais les autorités britanniques se trouvent en présence d'un des problèmes les plus difficiles qui se soient jamais posés à elles en

Afrique. Dans son premier discours à la Conférence, le dirigeant du Nyassaland a déclaré que la population du Nyassaland hérit les liens qui l'unissent à la Grande-Bretagne. Mais il a ajouté:

"... nous avons été profondément irrités du fait qu'on nous a imposé un type d'association qui n'est pas en conformité avec ces liens et nous nous sommes élevés avec vigueur contre cette association".

La délégation birmane exprime l'espoir que les autorités britanniques et les dirigeants du Nyassaland auront de nouveaux entretiens qui permettront de fixer la date de l'indépendance.

29. Si nous considérons maintenant les trois territoires dépendant du Haut Commissaire, à savoir le Bassoutoland, le Betchouanaland et le Souaziland, nous nous rappelons que le Gouvernement sud-africain a toujours eu l'intention d'annexer ces trois territoires dont deux sont des protectorats et le troisième est une colonie. Nous savons évidemment ce que dira le Royaume-Uni: c'est qu'il existe dans le South Africa Act de 1909, qui a créé l'Union sud-africaine, des dispositions en vertu desquelles certaines mesures pourraient intervenir si un accord devait être conclu ultérieurement en vue du transfert à l'Union sud-africaine, maintenant devenue la République sud-africaine, des trois territoires dépendant du Haut Commissaire.

30. Le représentant du Royaume-Uni a déclaré au Comité spécial que, sur le plan politique, les territoires sont complètement indépendants de l'Afrique du Sud et qu'en 1954 sir Winston Churchill s'est engagé, devant la Chambre des communes, à ce que ces territoires ne soient pas transférés sans que leurs habitants aient été consultés.

31. La Puissance administrante n'a pas besoin de perdre son temps à s'informer officiellement des vœux des autochtones de ces trois territoires. En effet, les pétitionnaires représentant les habitants de ces territoires qui ont été entendus par le Comité spécial ont déjà demandé l'aide des Nations Unies et invité la Puissance administrante à veiller à ce que ces territoires ne soient pas annexés par le Gouvernement sud-africain.

32. En tant que Puissance administrante, le Royaume-Uni n'a pas le choix et doit accorder l'indépendance à ces territoires le plus tôt possible. Nous voulons donc demander instamment au Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni de ne tenir aucun compte de l'"avertissement" de M. Verwoerd, premier ministre de l'Afrique du Sud, qui, parlant au Transvaal le 30 septembre 1961, a dit que, s'ils étaient indépendants, le Bassoutoland, le Betchouanaland et le Souaziland risqueraient de devenir un danger pour l'Afrique du Sud. Je pense qu'il voulait dire que, lorsque ces trois territoires africains accèderaient à l'indépendance, ils seraient si faibles économiquement qu'ils constitueraient une menace grave pour la souveraineté d'une Afrique du Sud dominée par les blancs.

33. Etant donné que la population autochtone des territoires, sous l'impulsion de nationalistes africains progressistes aux idées modernes, a rejeté des constitutions réactionnaires, racistes et antidémocratiques, la Puissance administrante a maintenant pour tâche évidente d'abroger les dispositions constitutionnelles actuellement en vigueur et d'organiser sans plus de retard dans ces trois territoires des élections

sur la base du suffrage direct et universel des adultes, comme le Comité spécial l'a recommandé.

34. Les autorités de Pretoria n'ont pas encore renoncé à leur plan en vue d'annexer le Bassoutoland, le Betchouanaland et le Souaziland ou d'empiéter sur leur intégrité territoriale. Il serait donc sage que les Nations Unies se préparent à toute éventualité qui pourrait se produire si l'on tentait de porter atteinte à l'unité nationale et à l'intégrité territoriale d'un de ces trois territoires, ce qui obligerait à prendre des mesures fermes et résolues.

35. Si, quittant ces territoires, nous nous dirigeons vers le nord-est, nous arrivons au protectorat de Zanzibar et Pemba. Ces îles tropicales où croissent les cocotiers et où se répand le parfum du girofle auraient dû rester un paradis paisible. Toutefois, en juin 1961, à la suite d'élections générales, Zanzibar est devenue le théâtre de scènes de désordre et de troubles, dont les causes sont exposées en détail dans le rapport du Comité spécial des Dix-Sept.

36. Le Comité spécial s'est adressé à bon droit à la Puissance administrante pour lui demander de relâcher tous les prisonniers politiques arbitrairement détenus et de mettre fin à l'état d'urgence proclamé à Zanzibar. Là encore il est fait appel à la Puissance administrante qui est le Royaume-Uni et qui est censée protéger le peuple de Zanzibar dont les intérêts devraient passer avant tout, pour qu'elle favorise l'harmonie et l'unité parmi les groupes politiques de Zanzibar, sans retarder l'accession du territoire à l'indépendance sous quelque prétexte que ce soit.

37. Lorsque, partant de Zanzibar, nous allons vers le sud de l'équateur, nous arrivons au Mozambique où nous trouvons une situation tout à fait différente. On sait que le Portugal refuse de coopérer avec les Nations Unies pour préparer le peuple de ce territoire non autonome à l'indépendance complète.

38. Depuis 450 ans, le Portugal exerce au Mozambique, comme dans le reste de son empire, une domination coloniale impitoyable. Les intérêts des autochtones, qui devraient passer avant toute autre chose, sont négligés. La population est privée de ses libertés fondamentales et se voit interdire toute activité politique. Sur les 6 millions et demi d'habitants du Mozambique, les 4 554 Africains qui représentent 0,3 p. 100 de la population et qui sont classés "assimilados" ne peuvent pas siéger au Conseil législatif. En vertu des prétendues réformes constitutionnelles, deux chefs de village africains seulement seront autorisés à siéger au Conseil législatif. Ces prétendues réformes à la portugaise ne peuvent tromper personne.

39. Au Kenya, nous apprenons que la Puissance administrante a demandé à tous les chefs de parti de conjuguer leurs efforts afin de donner une véritable impulsion à l'évolution vers l'autonomie et l'indépendance, mais, de l'avis de ma délégation, la Puissance administrante a le devoir très net d'encourager l'harmonie et l'unité, si les intérêts de la minorité doivent être respectés et protégés par la majorité. Mais quelles sont les minorités au Kenya? Ce sont les communautés d'immigrants venus d'Europe et d'Asie, dont les intérêts économiques sont maintenant au Kenya qui, nul ne l'ignore, est un pays africain. Veulent-ils continuer à demeurer paisiblement dans un Kenya indépendant? Veulent-ils servir un Kenya indépendant, ou bien veulent-ils mener une campagne pour obtenir des indemnités, ou encore veulent-ils

se joindre aux éléments défaitistes qui prônent la théorie — que soutiennent sans aucun doute certains Européens — en vertu de laquelle il vaut mieux "partir avant qu'il ne soit trop tard"?

40. Je citerai quelques extraits d'un article de M. Tom Mboya, intitulé "Qui sont ces habitants du Kenya?", M. Mboya écrit ce qui suit:

"Jamais un nationaliste qui a tout son bon sens ne pourra confier le destin de son peuple à un individu ou à un groupe d'individus prêts à profiter du moindre différend pour abandonner le pays qui a tant fait pour eux et pour les leurs. En effet, tous les Européens, tous les Asiatiques doivent bien admettre que le Kenya les a réellement servis pendant toutes ces années. Ceux qui désertent à l'heure actuelle ne font que confirmer l'idée des Africains qui pensent que les immigrants ont eu et ont encore pour premier objectif d'exploiter notre pays et sa population. Aux yeux des Africains, nul ne peut revendiquer l'égalité de droits, de possibilités, de privilèges et de protection s'il n'est prêt à accepter en même temps sa part de devoirs, de responsabilités et de risques. Ceux qui envoient leur argent hors du pays au moment où le Kenya en a le plus besoin, ceux qui propagent la panique et la crainte en sapant ainsi la confiance dans le Kenya tant à l'intérieur qu'à l'extérieur au moment où le Kenya en a le plus besoin, ceux-là ne sont pas dignes de s'appeler habitants du Kenya et leur conduite ne plaide pas en faveur des garanties qu'ils s'efforcent d'obtenir du peuple africain."

41. La Puissance administrante préférerait retarder l'indépendance en alléguant que les deux grands partis politiques africains sont désunis ou incapables de se mettre d'accord sur certains problèmes politiques et constitutionnels, mais le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni devrait sans tarder, puisqu'il a déclaré vouloir mener la population du Kenya à l'indépendance complète, faire tous les efforts nécessaires pour organiser des élections nationales.

42. En terminant, je dirai que, si ma délégation a omis de parler de certains territoires visés dans le rapport, ce n'est pas faute d'intérêt de notre part pour ces territoires, mais uniquement parce que nous pensons avoir aisément l'occasion soit en séance plénière, soit à la Quatrième Commission, d'examiner ces questions dans l'intérêt bien compris des meilleures méthodes de la procédure parlementaire.

43. M. PACHACHI (Irak) [traduit de l'anglais]: Voici la troisième fois que l'Assemblée générale examine en séance plénière la question de l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. Le premier débat sur cette question, à l'issue duquel a été adoptée la Déclaration solennelle qui figure dans la résolution 1514 (XV), avait été ouvert par le Président du Conseil de l'Union soviétique en personne, au mois de septembre 1960 [869^eme séance]. La discussion a porté alors, ce qui était inévitable et opportun, sur la question générale du colonialisme, sa place dans l'histoire et le rôle que les Nations Unies devaient jouer pour hâter sa disparition complète du monde entier.

44. Cette année, l'Assemblée doit trouver les moyens les meilleurs et les plus efficaces de mettre en œuvre sans délai et complètement cette déclaration qu'on peut considérer à bon droit comme une des plus grandes réussites des Nations Unies et un des jalons les plus lumineux de leur histoire.

45. L'Organisation des Nations Unies a été créée pour satisfaire l'immense besoin de paix et de sécurité de l'humanité, et pour étancher sa soif éternelle de liberté et de dignité. Ce besoin est plus grand dans les colonies que partout ailleurs. De tous les nobles idéaux et principes qui sont énoncés dans la Charte des Nations Unies, aucun n'est plus pertinent ni important à l'époque actuelle que la double notion de la responsabilité internationale du bien-être des populations non autonomes et de la responsabilité des puissances coloniales devant la communauté mondiale.

46. Les Nations Unies ont commencé par prendre des mesures prudentes et vagues pour appliquer les dispositions de la Charte concernant les territoires sous tutelle et non autonomes, mais, le nombre des Membres ayant beaucoup augmenté et le mouvement mondial de libération nationale prenant de plus en plus de vigueur, elles n'ont plus pu se contenter de mesures palliatives et des progrès modestes qui avaient caractérisé les premières années d'activité de l'Organisation. On considérerait alors l'octroi de l'indépendance comme un but éloigné et dans certains cas inaccessible, tandis qu'il a pris rang maintenant parmi les responsabilités qui incombent directement aux Nations Unies.

47. C'est en tenant compte de cette évolution qu'il convient de considérer les travaux du Comité spécial des Dix-Sept. A la différence d'autres organes comme le Conseil de tutelle ou le Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes, le Comité spécial a reçu un mandat clair et précis qui ne laisse subsister ni doute ni équivoque. Ce mandat est défini en quelques mots dans un seul paragraphe de la résolution 1554 (XVI) de l'Assemblée générale, ainsi libellé :

"Prie le Comité spécial d'étudier l'application de la Déclaration, de formuler des suggestions et des recommandations quant aux progrès réalisés et à la mesure dans laquelle la Déclaration est mise en œuvre, et de faire rapport à l'Assemblée générale lors de sa dix-septième session".

On peut constater que les instructions de l'Assemblée générale au Comité spécial lui donnent un mandat très précis. Il est chargé d'une tâche particulière et d'une seule, celle de faire des recommandations en vue de l'application rapide de la Déclaration dans tous les territoires qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance. C'est compte tenu de ce mandat précis que nous examinerons les recommandations du Comité sur les divers territoires. Toutefois, avant de procéder à cet examen, nous jugeons nécessaire de commencer par considérer l'avenir du Comité et ses rapports avec les autres organes des Nations Unies.

48. En ce qui concerne l'avenir, il n'y a pas de doute que le Comité spécial a encore beaucoup à faire. Il n'a pas encore examiné la situation des territoires situés hors d'Afrique et il pourrait même reprendre à ses prochaines sessions l'examen de certains territoires africains qu'il a déjà étudiés. Ce qui importe, c'est que le Comité spécial continue à exister et que ses moyens d'action soient élargis et améliorés de manière qu'il puisse s'acquitter efficacement de ses responsabilités croissantes. Si l'on se rappelle que la Déclaration envisageait le transfert immédiat des pouvoirs aux peuples des territoires dépendants, il est évident non seulement qu'une tâche très lourde attend le Comité spécial, mais aussi qu'il devra exécuter cette tâche promptement et avec le minimum de retard.

49. Pour permettre au Comité spécial d'accomplir ses fonctions comme il convient, l'Assemblée générale devrait, en priorité, faire disparaître les chevauchements actuels des activités des Nations Unies dans ce domaine. C'est là un véritable problème qui doit être résolu de manière à renforcer les possibilités de l'Organisation. Sinon, les efforts qu'elle fait pour assurer le progrès rapide des peuples dépendants vers la liberté et l'indépendance se trouveraient entravés et dispersés. Nous devons examiner ce problème avant tout du point de vue de la pertinence des mandats des divers organes actuellement chargés de ces activités par rapport aux buts et principes généraux de la Déclaration. Le Conseil de tutelle qui est un des organes principaux des Nations Unies devra continuer à exister tant que la Charte ne sera pas modifiée. En tout état de cause, les territoires qui relèvent encore du régime international de tutelle présentent des caractères et sont à un stade de développement tels que la Déclaration les intéresse peut-être moins directement, tout au moins dans l'avenir immédiat, que les autres territoires dépendants d'Asie et d'Afrique. Donc, si la Charte n'est pas modifiée, et nous ne prévoyons pas qu'elle le soit dans un avenir proche, le Conseil de tutelle devra poursuivre ses travaux.

50. Pour les autres organes, la situation est assez différente. La création du Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes, le plus ancien de ces organes, représentait à l'époque une mesure novatrice hardie et importante. Le Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes s'occupait essentiellement des problèmes de l'enseignement et des problèmes sociaux et culturels des territoires non autonomes, mais il a été pendant des années le seul organe des Nations Unies où l'on examinait à fond et en détail les problèmes des peuples dépendants autres que ceux qui relèvaient du régime de tutelle. C'est au Comité des renseignements que des voix s'élevaient pour défendre les aspirations légitimes à la liberté et à la justice de beaucoup de territoires qui sont maintenant représentés ici en qualité de membres pleinement souverains de la communauté internationale. Mon pays a eu l'honneur de siéger neuf ans de suite à ce comité et nous connaissons l'importance des services qu'il a rendus et du rôle qu'il a joué.

51. Maintenant que cette phase des travaux de l'Organisation touche à sa fin, j'estime qu'il est de mon devoir de rendre publiquement hommage au Secrétariat qui, sous l'impulsion de deux chefs éminents, M. Wilfrid Benson et M. Arnold Kunst, a été pendant toutes ces années au service du Comité. L'Organisation a envers eux, comme envers leurs compétents collaborateurs, une dette de reconnaissance dont il est impossible de s'acquitter par des mots.

52. A mesure que le mouvement de libération nationale s'est répandu et amplifié, à mesure que des colonies ont accédé de plus en plus nombreuses à l'indépendance et sont devenues Membres de l'Organisation, l'importance du rôle du Comité des renseignements a décliné en proportion. L'adoption de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux et la création du Comité spécial des Dix-Sept ont entraîné une nouvelle diminution des responsabilités du Comité des renseignements, même si elles n'en ont pas amoindri l'utilité. Les études techniques qu'il établit chaque année conservent une grande valeur; elles pourront être pour-

suivies et elles aideront certainement le Comité spécial des Dix-Sept à évaluer sa tâche dans les divers territoires.

53. Bien que les trois autres organes, c'est-à-dire le Comité spécial pour les territoires administrés par le Portugal, le Comité spécial pour le Sud-Ouest africain et le Sous-Comité chargé d'examiner la situation en Angola, aient des fonctions particulières, les cas de double emploi sont encore fréquents. En outre, le mandat de ces organes est devenu inactuel. Que le Portugal respecte l'Article 73 de la Charte, cela importait peut-être à l'époque où l'Assemblée s'efforçait de convaincre ce pays de s'acquitter de ses obligations de puissance administrante, mais, après l'adoption de la Déclaration et la création du Comité spécial des Dix-Sept, il semble qu'il n'y ait guère d'utilité à poursuivre ce dialogue avec le Portugal. Le Sous-Comité chargé d'examiner la situation en Angola constitue peut-être un cas particulier. Bien qu'il ait été créé par l'Assemblée générale, il doit faire rapport à la fois à l'Assemblée et au Conseil de sécurité. On se rappelle que le Conseil de sécurité a été saisi pour la première fois de la question de la situation en Angola en février 1961, en vertu de l'Article 34 de la Charte. Par la suite, tant l'Assemblée générale [résolution 1742 (XVI)] que le Conseil de sécurité ont adopté des résolutions sur la question.

54. Cela veut dire que, du point de vue juridique, la question de l'Angola est examinée sous deux angles différents. D'une part, en tant que menace éventuelle à la paix et à la sécurité internationales, la situation serait toujours de la compétence du Conseil de sécurité et le Sous-Comité pourrait être maintenu afin d'informer le Conseil de tous faits nouveaux qui risqueraient de menacer la paix. L'autre aspect des travaux du Sous-Comité, qui a trait à l'avenir politique de l'Angola et à son accession à l'indépendance, devrait normalement être confié au Comité spécial des Dix-Sept, qui a déjà adopté une résolution particulière sur la question.

55. En ce qui concerne le Sud-Ouest africain, je crois qu'il faut envisager la situation d'un point de vue complètement différent. Pendant des années, l'Organisation des Nations Unies a cherché patiemment à reproduire, dans la mesure du possible, le régime des mandats dans ce territoire, conformément à l'avis consultatif donné par la Cour internationale de Justice en 1950, mais ces efforts se sont révélés vains devant l'attitude intransigente du Gouvernement sud-africain. Depuis l'adoption des résolutions 1514 (XV) et 1654 (XVI), il n'y a plus guère de raison de ne pas traiter le Sud-Ouest africain de la même manière que les autres territoires non autonomes.

56. L'Assemblée a fait un dernier effort, en adoptant sa résolution 1702 (XVI), pour inciter le Gouvernement sud-africain à s'acquitter des obligations qui lui incombent en vertu de la Charte. Cet effort ayant échoué, la question du Sud-Ouest africain devrait maintenant être reprise par le Comité spécial des Dix-Sept où elle sera examinée dans les mêmes conditions que tous les autres territoires dépendants, dans le cadre du mandat précis attribué au Comité par la résolution 1654 (XVI).

57. Les Nations Unies doivent aujourd'hui obtenir plus que des progrès partiels et une évolution progressive vers l'indépendance. Elles doivent obtenir

rien de moins que l'indépendance immédiate. Les organes dont je viens de parler et dont la tâche était en grande partie définie en fonction du concept de l'évolution progressive ont donc été dépassés complètement par les événements révolutionnaires de ces dernières années.

58. Compte tenu de toutes ces considérations, notamment du fait que les mandats de la plupart de ces organes ne sont plus pertinents, et étant donné qu'il est nécessaire d'éviter les cas de double emploi ainsi que de s'attaquer avec rapidité et énergie à l'un des buts principaux que les Nations Unies se sont engagées à atteindre, à savoir l'octroi de l'indépendance, il semble qu'il n'y ait qu'une solution possible: unifier les travaux et les rassembler entre les mains du Comité spécial des Dix-Sept. Pour que le Comité spécial puisse s'acquitter promptement de sa tâche et élargir ses activités de manière à s'occuper de tous les territoires coloniaux, on pourrait avantageusement répartir son travail entre plusieurs sous-comités qui se réuniraient en même temps et étudieraient en profondeur et en détail les problèmes particuliers à chaque territoire. Il faudrait alors augmenter le nombre des membres du Comité spécial. Les membres actuels ont apporté une contribution précieuse, et l'expérience qu'ils ont acquise au cours de plusieurs mois de dur labeur et de grands voyages devrait être d'un grand secours au Comité spécial dans ses réunions futures. Mais, étant donné que les activités du Comité spécial vont probablement être élargies et qu'il est absolument indispensable d'agir avec rapidité, l'accroissement du nombre de ses membres lui permettrait de mieux s'acquitter de ses responsabilités. Si l'on décidait de ne pas augmenter le nombre des membres, le Comité spécial devrait continuer à appliquer sa méthode de travail actuelle, c'est-à-dire procéder à un examen détaillé des divers territoires les uns après les autres et non simultanément. Cette méthode est lente. Il faudrait des années au Comité spécial des Dix-Sept pour achever l'étude détaillée des territoires encore sous le régime colonial, qui sont plus d'une cinquantaine, si ces études détaillées devaient être faites l'une après l'autre au cours de séances plénières du Comité spécial.

59. Il est vrai que telle était la méthode employée par le Conseil de tutelle. Mais il existe une différence importante entre les deux organes. Le Comité spécial des Dix-Sept doit accomplir sa tâche dans les plus brefs délais, tandis que le Conseil de tutelle n'est aucunement limité par le temps.

60. Il n'y a donc pas d'autre moyen de procéder que d'attribuer l'étude de territoires ou groupes de territoires à des sous-comités qui les examineront en détail et en profondeur et qui feront rapport au Comité plénier, lequel prendra alors des décisions en se fondant sur les rapports de ses sous-comités, sans avoir à étudier lui-même en détail les territoires un à un. Des petits sous-comités peuvent seuls procéder à un examen simultané en détail et en profondeur. Actuellement, le nombre des membres du Comité spécial est trop réduit pour qu'il puisse se diviser en cinq ou en six sous-comités qui puissent travailler efficacement.

61. Pour résumer, voici quelles sont nos suggestions quant aux travaux futurs du Comité spécial. Premièrement, le Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes, le Comité spécial pour le Sud-Ouest africain, le Comité spécial pour les territoires administrés par le Portugal et le Sous-Comité

chargé d'examiner la situation en Angola cesseraient d'exister, sous réserve du maintien de ce dernier sous-comité uniquement afin de tenir le Conseil de sécurité au courant des événements pouvant avoir une influence sur la paix et la sécurité, comme le Conseil l'a envisagé dans sa résolution du 9 juin 1961¹. Les études qui incombent au Comité des renseignements pourraient être continuées par le Secrétariat, si l'Assemblée le demande. Deuxièmement, on devrait élargir la composition de l'actuel Comité spécial des Dix-Sept en lui ajoutant sept nouveaux membres choisis en fonction d'une répartition géographique équitable et, comme l'a dit le représentant de la Guinée [1167ème séance], en fonction aussi de leurs compétences. A notre avis, il ne suffirait pas, étant donné le programme de travail très chargé qui attend le Comité spécial, d'ajouter quatre membres seulement, comme ce représentant l'a envisagé. Troisièmement, le Comité spécial élargi devrait entreprendre l'examen de la situation dans tous les territoires qui ne sont pas encore indépendants et présenter ses recommandations à l'Assemblée générale à sa dix-huitième session. Il devrait également être autorisé à proposer, lorsque faire se peut, des dates limites précises pour l'accession à l'indépendance des divers territoires.

62. En ce qui concerne les méthodes que le Comité spécial a adoptées pour l'organisation de ses travaux, nous appuyons les décisions qui ont été prises pour ce qui est du rassemblement de renseignements, de l'audition de pétitionnaires et de l'envoi de groupes de visite. Nous félicitons particulièrement le Comité spécial d'avoir décidé de porter son attention sur l'Afrique, où le colonialisme se manifeste encore sous les formes les plus néfastes. La domination coloniale sévit toujours dans des régions étendues de ce continent et des millions d'Africains sont encore soumis à une discrimination raciale infamante.

63. Avant d'examiner séparément les divers territoires, je tiens à féliciter les membres du Comité spécial du travail remarquable qu'ils ont accompli dans le laps de temps relativement court dont ils disposaient. Cela ne m'empêchera pas de dire que le rapport est peut-être inutilement long, surtout lorsqu'il s'agit des comptes rendus des débats du Comité spécial dont nous disposons évidemment aussi sous forme sténographique et analytique.

64. Lorsqu'on étudie les 10 chapitres qui traitent des différents territoires, on est frappé par la similitude de leurs problèmes: retard et lenteur sans justification dans l'octroi de l'indépendance; acceptation, voire encouragement des pratiques de discrimination et de persécution raciales; refus des libertés démocratiques et politiques fondamentales; protection des intérêts économiques étrangers et acceptation des formes les plus flagrantes d'exploitation.

65. Dans les observations qui suivront, je m'abstiendrai de parler de la Rhodésie du Sud, au sujet de laquelle nous avons déjà exprimé notre opinion lors de la reprise de la seizième session et au début de la présente; je ne parlerai pas non plus des territoires administrés par le Portugal et du Sud-Ouest africain, qui feront l'objet de débats à la Quatrième Commission. La délégation irakienne à cette commission fera connaître son opinion en temps opportun et nous examinerons les résolutions proposées par le Comité spécial des Dix-Sept sur l'Angola et le Mozambique conjointement avec les résolutions que la Quatrième Commission jugera bon de présenter à propos de ces deux territoires. Je me bornerai donc à des obser-

vations sur les autres territoires dont le Comité spécial des Dix-Sept s'est occupé, à savoir la Rhodésie du Nord, le Nyassaland, les trois territoires dépendant du Haut Commissaire, Zanzibar, la Guyane britannique et le Kenya, et sur d'autres territoires hors d'Afrique dont le Comité n'a pas pu s'occuper faute de temps.

66. En ce qui concerne la Rhodésie du Nord, j'ai à dire ce qui suit. Là, comme dans plusieurs autres territoires africains, le grand problème est celui de la minorité européenne. La Rhodésie du Nord revendique légitimement son indépendance immédiate, ce qui continue à lui être refusé, et son peuple aspire à la liberté, aspiration qui est toujours frustrée, et ce sans autre raison que le fait que la Puissance administrante n'est pas disposée à remplir les obligations qui lui incombent aux termes de la Charte et à mettre fin à la domination despotique qu'une minorité blanche de 77 000 personnes exerce sur une population de 2 millions et demi d'Africains. Le Comité spécial nous brosse un tableau réaliste de la situation déplorable qui règne en Rhodésie du Nord. Dans la déclaration qu'il a faite en avril dernier au Comité spécial des Dix-Sept, M. Kenneth Kaunda, chef nationaliste, en a donné un compte rendu détaillé que je ne me propose pas de répéter.

67. Depuis la publication du rapport du Comité spécial des Dix-Sept, des élections ont eu lieu en Rhodésie du Nord le 30 octobre 1962. Environ 40 p. 100 du total de la population blanche y a pris part, tandis que 4 p. 100 seulement de la population africaine votait. Le système électoral complexe, qui défie le bon sens, est essentiellement conçu de manière à interdire à l'immense majorité africaine l'exercice de ses droits politiques fondamentaux. Toutefois, les 100 000 Africains qui ont été autorisés à voter n'ont pas laissé la moindre incertitude quant à leurs vœux et à leurs aspirations pour l'avenir. Les voici: obtenir l'indépendance immédiate; mettre fin à la Fédération d'Afrique centrale; résister à tous les efforts faits pour séparer du pays la partie riche et l'annexer à la Rhodésie du Sud; enfin, rendre au pays ses richesses naturelles qui sont exploitées depuis des années par des sociétés étrangères comme la British South Africa Company qui contrôle les ressources minières du pays et exploite ses richesses dans l'intérêt d'étrangers et qui, soit dit en passant, fournit à Welensky et à son parti leur principal appui financier. Toutefois, par suite des obstacles compliqués qui entravent le droit de vote des Africains, les résultats officiels des élections n'ont pas correspondu à la volonté réelle de l'écrasante majorité africaine.

68. Le bruit court maintenant que l'United National Independence Party, et l'African Congress Party s'associeraient pour pouvoir exercer un contrôle sur le nouveau Parlement. Il reste néanmoins 11 sièges à pourvoir pour lesquels des élections partielles doivent avoir lieu le mois prochain et il n'est pas encore sûr que la Rhodésie du Nord aura un gouvernement véritablement nationaliste et africain. Mais, si les élections ont vraiment démontré quelque chose, c'est que la majorité africaine a une confiance absolue dans l'United National Independence Party. Le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni devrait avoir la sagesse de tirer les leçons qui s'imposent et de prendre des mesures pour hâter les progrès du parti dans la voie de l'indépendance. Telle est la raison pour laquelle nous appuyons le projet de résolution que recommande le Comité spécial des Dix-Sept [A/5238, par. 205] et qui correspond dans une large mesure

aux vœux de la majorité de la population, puisqu'il fait état de ses trois exigences essentielles, l'indépendance immédiate, la dissolution de la Fédération d'Afrique centrale et le respect de l'unité et de l'intégrité territoriale du pays,

69. Si nous passons maintenant au Nyassaland, nous constatons que la Fédération d'Afrique centrale y a été rejetée de manière encore plus catégorique. Toutefois, l'évolution de ce territoire vers l'indépendance s'est faite avec beaucoup moins de heurts que dans le cas de la Rhodésie du Nord, notamment en raison du fait que la minorité européenne y est relativement réduite. La Constitution de 1960, qui a bien des défauts, s'est néanmoins révélée un texte éprouvé lorsque le Nationalist Malawi Congress Party, dirigé par M. Hastings Banda, s'est assuré le contrôle du Parlement en août 1961. M. Banda est actuellement à Londres où il discute non seulement des conditions de l'octroi de la pleine autonomie interne mais aussi, officiellement peut-être, mais avec autant d'ardeur, de la date de l'indépendance du Nyassaland et de sa séparation complète d'avec la Fédération d'Afrique centrale. Le Comité spécial des Dix-Sept n'a pas recommandé de résolution et il est sans doute bon d'attendre l'issue des entretiens qui ont lieu en ce moment à Londres et dont nous espérons vivement qu'ils aboutiront à la reconnaissance totale du droit du Nyassaland à l'indépendance et à la séparation complète d'avec la Fédération d'Afrique centrale de Welensky.

70. En ce qui concerne les trois territoires dépendant du Haut Commissaire, le Bassoutoland, le Betchouanaland et le Souaziland, le Comité spécial des Dix-Sept a esquissé dans son rapport les principaux problèmes qui se posent. On note en premier lieu le niveau relativement bas de leur développement économique et social, la pratique courante de la discrimination raciale, le caractère peu satisfaisant des dispositions constitutionnelles actuellement en vigueur et enfin la crainte constante de l'annexion à l'Afrique du Sud. Je voudrais appeler l'attention de l'Assemblée sur la déclaration des trois pétitionnaires entendus par le Comité spécial. Ce qu'ils ont dit et ce que de nombreux membres du Comité spécial ont indiqué dans leurs opinions ne laisse subsister dans notre esprit aucun doute quant à la situation qui règne actuellement dans ces territoires. Les recommandations du Comité spécial nous ont paru raisonnables et l'Assemblée aurait raison de les adopter. Elles consistent à suspendre les dispositions constitutionnelles actuelles, à procéder à des élections au suffrage universel des adultes et à convoquer une conférence constitutionnelle avec la participation des représentants librement élus du peuple, afin de fixer la date de l'accession à l'indépendance. D'autre part, avant de renoncer à son autorité, la Puissance administrante devait restituer aux autochtones les grandes étendues de terre qui leur ont été enlevées. Une fois que les territoires auraient accédé à l'indépendance, l'Organisation des Nations Unies devrait adopter des mesures d'urgence pour leur permettre de s'attaquer à leurs très graves problèmes économiques et pour remédier à la pauvreté et à la misère dues à des années d'exploitation et de négligence.

71. Au sujet de Zanzibar, le Comité spécial des Dix-Sept a entendu de nombreux pétitionnaires qui ont tous déclaré qu'une accession rapide à l'indépendance est nécessaire. Des divergences de vues se sont fait jour sur les modalités du nouveau système élec-

toral qui doit être établi dans le territoire et sur la date des nouvelles élections. Ces opinions divergentes ont été conciliées dans une large mesure, et le seul problème qui ne soit pas encore résolu est celui de la date des élections. La solution idéale consisterait à ce que les partis se mettent d'accord et forment éventuellement un gouvernement de coalition; dans cette hypothèse, le problème de la date des élections cesserait d'être un élément décisif ou un prétexte pour retarder l'octroi de l'indépendance. Nous espérons qu'un accord interviendra bientôt entre les partis.

72. En Guyane britannique, la situation continue à être grave. La Conférence constitutionnelle de Londres s'est soldée par un échec, pas plus tard que la semaine dernière, et la date de l'accession du pays à l'indépendance semble être à nouveau reculée. Le gouvernement de M. Jagan et les partis de l'opposition ne peuvent toujours pas se mettre d'accord sur le régime électoral. Il semble que des deux côtés on soit maintenant d'accord pour que des élections aient lieu avant l'indépendance, mais le grand problème essentiel qui les sépare encore est de savoir si ces élections devraient être organisées sur la base de la représentation proportionnelle ou sur celle du scrutin uninominal. La puissance administrante ne peut pas, non plus qu'à Zanzibar, nier toute responsabilité en ce qui concerne l'impasse dans laquelle la Guyane britannique se trouve aujourd'hui. N'eussent été les émeutes de février dernier, le pays aurait accédé à l'indépendance depuis plusieurs mois.

73. Je rappellerai brièvement les faits nouveaux intervenus depuis la dernière session. Il y a un peu plus d'un an, le Parlement de la Guyane a demandé au Gouvernement britannique de fixer une date pour l'indépendance en 1962. Le Gouvernement britannique a donné une suite favorable à cette demande et a informé M. Jagan qu'une conférence constitutionnelle chargée de fixer la date de l'indépendance se tiendrait en mai 1962. Cette décision a été communiquée à la Quatrième Commission juste avant la fin de la deuxième partie de la seizième session, le 22 février 1962 [1302^{ème} séance]. Néanmoins, peu après, la conférence a été renvoyée au mois de juillet, sous prétexte que la commission d'enquête sur les troubles avait besoin d'un délai pour mener à bien ses investigations. La conférence n'a pas été tenue en juillet, mais a été remise à octobre, et voici qu'elle vient de se terminer par un échec. Il semble n'y avoir aucun doute que des menées de l'extérieur ont contribué aux émeutes de février dernier et que ceux qui se sont employés à fomentier ces désordres intérieurs ont certainement envisagé le renvoi de l'indépendance à une date ultérieure. Il n'est pas difficile de découvrir leurs motifs, mais il faut que tous comprennent que les pays qui sont à la veille de l'indépendance doivent être libres de choisir eux-mêmes leur politique économique et sociale. D'autre part, il faut aussi que les dirigeants des petits pays qui luttent pour améliorer leur situation économique se rappellent que ces petits pays ne peuvent pas se permettre de jouer le jeu dangereux de la politique de puissance ni de se laisser entraîner dans la guerre froide.

74. L'Assemblée doit insister pour que rien ne soit épargné afin de permettre à la Guyane d'accéder sans retard à une indépendance dont elle devrait jouir depuis longtemps; le projet de résolution présenté par le Comité spécial des Dix-Sept pourrait servir de base à toute nouvelle décision que l'Assemblée pourrait prendre.

75. Je passe maintenant au Kenya, un des territoires africains les plus importants, auquel l'Irak, comme d'autres pays arabes du Moyen-Orient, attache une importance particulière car le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni désire manifestement y conserver une base militaire pour défendre les intérêts pétroliers étrangers implantés jusque dans nos pays. Je parlerai de cet aspect essentiel du problème colonial lorsque j'examinerai la situation à Aden et en Arabie du Sud. Il est indéniable que le Kenya a fait de grands progrès dans la voie de l'indépendance, surtout depuis 1960. Les résultats obtenus en deux ans sont exposés dans le rapport et il est inutile que je les énumère ici. La situation est actuellement la suivante: le Kenya a l'autonomie interne, avec un parlement et un gouvernement qui contrôlent les partis nationalistes. Il semble qu'il n'y ait plus qu'une étape à franchir avant que l'indépendance soit pleine et entière: il faut rédiger une constitution sur la base des principes adoptés par la conférence constitutionnelle qui s'est tenue cette année et organiser des élections au suffrage universel des adultes. Ces mesures devraient être prises au cours de l'année qui vient et le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni devrait décider sans plus tarder de la date des élections. Nous acceptons entièrement le projet de résolution présenté par le Comité spécial.

76. Le dernier chapitre du rapport du Comité spécial des Dix-Sept, c'est-à-dire le chapitre XII, est consacré à des pétitions qui concernent des territoires dont le Comité ne s'est pas occupé en particulier. Parmi ces territoires, Aden intéresse particulièrement ma délégation. La situation s'est beaucoup aggravée dans ce territoire et dans les régions voisines depuis que la Chambre des communes du Royaume-Uni a adopté, mardi dernier, le plan établi par le gouvernement en vue de la création d'une fédération entre Aden et les cheikats voisins. M. Jawad, ministre des affaires étrangères d'Irak et chef de la délégation irakienne, a parlé, dans le discours qu'il a prononcé dans la discussion générale le mois dernier, de la fédération et des motifs véritables pour lesquels le Gouvernement britannique préconise sa création. Il a cité des passages d'un document du Gouvernement britannique sur sa politique de défense^{2/} et il a appelé l'attention sur les brefs extraits suivants que je citerai à mon tour:

"Pour des opérations éventuelles dans le golfe Persique, nous avons compté sur Aden comme base et sur des renforts provenant du Kenya. Dorénavant, nous nous proposons de maintenir des forces terrestres en permanence à Aden et dans le golfe Persique et de les renforcer rapidement, en cas d'urgence, non seulement par air, mais aussi au moyen d'une force amphibie mixte spéciale à l'est de Suez, capable de débarquer des forces terrestres avec leur équipement lourd dans les régions menacées et de fournir un appui aérien et des moyens de communication... Actuellement, nous maintenons au Kenya une partie de la Réserve stratégique de l'Armée, qui peut venir soutenir le pouvoir civil dans les territoires africains dont nous avons la charge et qui peut servir de renfort à nos forces du Moyen-Orient, principalement pour des opérations dans le golfe Persique." [1152^{ème} séance, par. 40.]

77. Outre qu'elle était due au désir de maintenir une base militaire permanente, la fédération a été imposée au peuple d'Aden afin de perpétuer la séparation de la ville et ses environs, d'une part, et, de l'autre, du

Yémen dont ils sont partie intégrante. La précipitation avec laquelle on a fait adopter le plan de fédération au Parlement peut s'expliquer par les grands changements survenus au Yémen, où un gouvernement progressiste s'est tourné vers l'avenir et enfin pris le pays en main. La révolution yéménite et l'instauration d'un gouvernement dévoué à la cause des réformes et du progrès ôtent aux éléments libéraux d'Aden tous les doutes qu'ils auraient pu avoir quant à la réunion avec le Yémen. D'autre part, on n'a jamais obtenu l'assentiment du peuple d'Aden en faveur de la fédération. On a rejeté la demande des partis d'opposition qui voulaient que des élections aient lieu avant la fusion. Au lieu de cela, le prétendu Conseil législatif a adopté le plan de fédération. Ce conseil est élu par un mode de scrutin absolument antidémocratique. Ses membres élus, qui sont au nombre de 12, représentent les voix de 2 p. 100 seulement de toute la population. Huit de ces membres élus se sont abstenus et quatre seulement ont voté pour le projet de fédération.

78. La décision d'un tel conseil peut-elle remplacer une décision qui serait prise par un organe élu par la majorité de la population, avec un mode de scrutin vraiment démocratique? Comment peut-on trancher d'une telle manière une question aussi importante pour l'avenir de la population?

79. La décision du Gouvernement britannique est encore moins justifiable si l'on se rappelle que des élections devaient avoir lieu en janvier 1963. En vérité, le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni aurait au moins dû attendre que ces élections aient eu lieu. On nous dit que la situation dans le territoire n'aurait pas permis d'organiser des élections à une date aussi rapprochée.

80. Supposons, pour pouvoir poursuivre la discussion, que ce soit exact. Le Gouvernement britannique n'aurait-il pas dû aussi reculer la mise en application du plan de fédération jusqu'au moment où des élections pourraient avoir lieu dans le territoire? Aucune raison majeure n'obligeait à faire adopter le plan par le Parlement à l'heure actuelle et avant les élections, d'autant plus qu'Aden ne pourra pas se retirer de la Fédération avant six années accomplies. Le destin de la population d'Aden a donc été fixé pour six ans au moins par le vote minoritaire d'un conseil choisi par un mode de scrutin extrêmement restrictif et sélectif il y a quatre ans, lors d'élections que les partis nationalistes d'opposition avaient boycottées.

81. M. Duncan Sandys, secrétaire d'Etat aux relations avec le Commonwealth et aux colonies, a donné à la Chambre des communes, le 13 novembre 1962, une raison fort curieuse pour expliquer son refus de renvoyer la fédération jusqu'après les élections. Il a déclaré qu'il ne pouvait pas y avoir d'élections parce que le gouvernement fédéral pourrait reconsidérer l'offre qu'il avait faite d'une fédération avec Aden si un nouveau retard intervenait.

82. Si nous songeons que le gouvernement fédéral est l'instrument fidèle et obéissant des Britanniques, nous pouvons nous rendre compte de l'absurdité de cet argument. Toutefois, M. Sandys a dit très franchement que la révolution au Yémen était la grande raison pour laquelle le Gouvernement britannique s'était hâté de faire approuver le plan de fédération. Il a dit ceci:

"La question essentielle n'est plus de savoir s'il doit ou ne doit pas y avoir d'élections avant la fusion.

"La question principale est maintenant de savoir si Aden et la fédération doivent, en s'unissant, être renforcés et consolidés, face à des incitations ouvertes à la rébellion."

83. La mesure précipitée et inconsidérée qu'a prise le Gouvernement britannique en faisant adopter le plan de fédération par le Parlement a provoqué des réactions immédiates à Aden, où le Ministre de l'éducation et de l'information, l'une des rares personnalités élues d'Aden, a démissionné en signe de protestation, tandis que le Secrétaire général de la Confédération des syndicats d'Aden, qui est actuellement détenu, a été fouetté — je dis bien: fouetté — parce qu'il ne voulait pas accepter le plan du Gouvernement britannique.

84. Au Royaume-Uni même, des voix se sont élevées en grand nombre pour protester contre la décision hâtive du Gouvernement britannique. Je ne vais pas citer d'extraits des interventions des membres de l'opposition travailliste à la Chambre des communes, qui ont condamné le plan de fédération, mais je citerai une source impartiale.

85. Dans un éditorial judicieusement intitulé "Un dinosaure à Aden", *The Observer* de dimanche dernier, 18 novembre 1962, constatait ce qui suit:

"Le gouvernement a décidé d'imposer une fusion entre la colonie d'Aden et la Fédération d'Arabie du Sud (cheikats de l'ancien protectorat occidental d'Aden) sans s'assurer du consentement de la population d'Aden; c'est une décision surprenante, dangereuse et imprudente. Elle est surprenante parce qu'elle va à l'encontre de toutes les leçons que la Grande-Bretagne a pu tirer de son expérience en matière d'émancipation des colonies et d'affaires du Moyen-Orient depuis 15 ans. Elle est dangereuse parce qu'elle risque de créer inutilement un foyer de violence et de répression, au nom de l'ordre et de la stabilité. Elle est imprudente parce qu'elle portera certainement atteinte aux intérêts britanniques qu'elle se propose de sauvegarder et risque même de les détruire."

86. Le plan de fédération est totalement incompatible avec la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. Je vais dire pourquoi en quelques mots. Dans la lettre qu'ils ont adressée au Secrétaire d'Etat aux colonies, les ministres de la Fédération et d'Aden — qui ont été soigneusement choisis — déclarent notamment, et je cite:

"Le Gouvernement britannique nous a fait comprendre qu'aucune des propositions que nous pourrions vouloir formuler ne doit toucher la souveraineté britannique sur Aden ni les pouvoirs réservés du Gouverneur. Nous nous rendons compte que la Grande-Bretagne, étant donné l'importance stratégique d'Aden, doit avoir les garanties les plus complètes qui lui permettent de faire fonctionner librement son dispositif de défense dont elle a un besoin absolu pour s'acquitter de ses responsabilités mondiales."

C'est très commode, en vérité.

87. L'article II du "traité", qui vient maintenant d'être ratifié par la Chambre des communes, stipule catégoriquement: "Aucune clause du présent traité ne porte atteinte à la souveraineté britannique sur Aden."

88. Il n'est guère nécessaire que je souligne l'incompatibilité de cet article avec la Déclaration. Selon l'Article IX du traité:

"Le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni peut à tout moment exclure ou retirer de la Fédération toute zone située à l'intérieur d'Aden, s'il le juge souhaitable aux fins de ses responsabilités mondiales en matière de défense."

En outre, Aden n'a pas le droit de se retirer de la Fédération sauf avec l'approbation du Gouvernement britannique, ce qui ne peut d'ailleurs pas se faire avant l'expiration d'un délai de six ans. Toutefois, même en cas de retrait, Aden restera toujours colonie britannique.

89. L'objectif essentiel de la Fédération est donc de maintenir le statut colonial d'Aden et de garantir l'autorité britannique dans cette partie du monde arabe. Les méthodes employées sont diverses. Par exemple, le Gouverneur ou le Haut Commissaire britannique, puisque tel sera son titre, pourra annuler toute décision prise par la Fédération sur des questions intéressant la défense, les affaires extérieures et la sécurité intérieure. De cette manière, les Britanniques n'ont rien laissé au hasard; si bien que, même si les cheiks chefs de tribus de la Fédération devaient un jour, ce qui est peu probable, demander l'indépendance véritable ou exiger le retrait des armes nucléaires ou des autres installations militaires d'Aden, le Gouvernement britannique pourrait opposer son veto. Nous nous trouvons donc ici en présence d'un territoire que le Gouvernement britannique ne prétend même pas préparer à l'indépendance.

90. Ce territoire est une base militaire et restera une base militaire, que cela plaise ou non à ses habitants ou à la population des autres pays arabes directement menacés par cette base. En d'autres termes, Aden doit rester colonie à tout jamais. Et pourquoi? La réponse est évidente: pour maintenir la domination britannique sur les diverses colonies pétrolières du Moyen-Orient.

91. Je n'exagérerai pas en disant qu'il existe aujourd'hui dans notre région du monde un mode de colonialisme plus insidieux et plus dangereux que dans n'importe quelle autre région. Une poignée de cheiks et de potentats locaux doivent être défendus à tout prix. Et pourquoi? La raison en est simple: où donc les sociétés pétrolières étrangères pourraient-elles trouver des associés aussi dociles et serviles pour l'exploitation des ressources pétrolières du monde arabe?

92. Le monde entier est au courant du gaspillage inconsidéré des vastes richesses nationales des pays arabes. La colonie britannique du Koweït en fournit l'exemple le plus frappant et la délégation irakienne a eu maintes occasions de révéler les bénéfices fabuleux que les sociétés pétrolières étrangères et les cheiks tirent de leur association, alors que tous les pays arabes font appel à leurs ressources jusqu'à la dernière limite pour faire face aux besoins pressants de leur population dans les domaines économique et social.

93. Nul ne doit s'attendre à voir le peuple arabe tolérer ce système néfaste et inique. Le courant de réforme et de progrès envahit les pays arabes l'un après l'autre et les bases d'Aden et d'ailleurs ne pourront jamais arrêter cette évolution irréversible. On compte 47 cheiks et petits potentats le long de la côte du golfe et de l'Arabie méridionale et orientale. Ils sont liés au Royaume-Uni par des traités spéciaux de protectorat qui assurent le maintien de la prédominance des intérêts britanniques et de la

puissance coloniale britannique. Leur importance stratégique a beaucoup diminué depuis la disparition de l'Empire britannique en Asie, mais le Royaume-Uni continue à s'accrocher obstinément à sa position privilégiée, surtout à cause du pétrole. Et c'est pour le pétrole que cet étrange conglomérat de potentats féodaux et de principicules, du Cheik du Koweït au Sultan de Mascate, doit être conservé et protégé. Les richesses et les capitaux dont les pays ont un besoin tellement désespéré pour améliorer les conditions d'existence de millions de personnes dans les masses indigentes du monde arabe doivent être remis à une poignée de cheiks et de gouvernants ignares et irresponsables.

94. Je voudrais ici encore citer un extrait du même éditorial de The Observer, qui décrit la situation en Arabie méridionale:

"Il y a l'alliance de la puissance impériale, des chefs féodaux locaux et d'une minorité de négociants contre une opposition nettement nationaliste et de gauche, appuyée par une grande partie de la population. Il y a un droit de vote défini de manière à exclure la plupart des voix qui pourraient être d'opposition. Il y a les dirigeants syndicaux emprisonnés pour s'être livrés à des activités politiques et avoir organisé des grèves illégales, qui sont fouettés, à coups de canne, parce qu'ils ont menacé de faire la grève de la faim pour manifester leur solidarité avec un des leurs. A l'arrière-plan, il y a l'assimilation de la puissance impériale à tous les régimes réactionnaires qui subsistent au Moyen-Orient et s'opposent aux forces de la réforme et du nationalisme qui se sont enfin affirmées au Yémen et donc dans l'ensemble de la péninsule Arabe. Et quelle est la raison de tout cela? C'est qu'on veut maintenir, que la population locale l'accepte ou non, une base militaire dont le rôle essentiel est la protection des intérêts pétroliers dans le golfe Persique."

95. Voilà une description de la pire des formes du colonialisme, du colonialisme fondé purement et simplement sur la cupidité. Je peux dire incidemment qu'au moins dans ce cas particulier on nous épargne généreusement les arguments hypocrites qui invoquent "le fardeau des blancs" et prétendent que le colonialisme prépare les peuples arriérés à l'indépendance. Dans les colonies pétrolières du monde arabe, dont le Koweït constitue le pire exemple, on ne prétend rien de tel, on ne donne pas de nobles excuses. C'est tout bonnement une question de bénéfice. Et Aden doit être maintenu comme base pour protéger ce règne de l'exploitation et de la cupidité.

96. Nous espérons, et je suis convaincu que toutes les délégations des pays arabes ont ce même espoir, que les Nations Unies porteront leur attention sur ce coin oublié de notre terre. Nous espérons aussi qu'à la présente session l'Assemblée générale adoptera une résolution affirmant le droit du peuple d'Aden et de l'Arabie méridionale à se réunir au Yémen et à réaliser ses aspirations à la liberté et à l'indépendance.

97. Je dois ajouter que la politique coloniale du Royaume-Uni dans cette partie du monde arabe est très différente de la politique libérale et éclairée qu'il suit en Afrique occidentale et dans certaines régions d'Asie. Nous avons eu l'occasion de féliciter le Royaume-Uni, comme l'ont fait aussi les représentants de quelques-unes de ses anciennes colonies, de sa politique clairvoyante. Mais il semble que dans le

monde arabe, le pétrole ait annihilé toute capacité de raisonner et qu'il ait fait du Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni, qui a été pendant des années à l'avant-garde des puissances coloniales lorsqu'il s'agissait de préparer les peuples coloniaux à l'indépendance, l'un des auxiliaires les plus puissants de la réaction et de l'exploitation dans notre région du monde.

98. Pas un Arabe ne peut parler du colonialisme sans se rappeler la victime la plus tragique que le colonialisme ait faite dans le monde arabe. Il n'est pas d'autre victime du colonialisme qui mérite, autant que le peuple de Palestine, une juste restitution. Nous ne perdrons jamais l'espoir de réveiller la conscience de l'humanité, endormie depuis des années par les allégations mensongères des agresseurs et l'impulsance des victimes. Nos voix ne cesseront pas de se faire entendre jusqu'à ce que le peuple de Palestine ait retrouvé la terre de ses ancêtres, où il pourra de nouveau marcher sans crainte ni honte dans la liberté et la dignité.

99. Le rapport dont nous sommes saisis ne fait pas mention de la Palestine, mais cela n'empêche pas que son nom soit gravé de manière indélébile dans notre esprit et dans notre cœur. Tout débat sur le colonialisme sera toujours incomplet si l'on n'y parle pas de la Palestine et de son peuple, qui sont les victimes les plus tragiques du colonialisme de notre époque. Ce qui a peut-être fait le malheur du peuple de Palestine, c'est qu'il a dû mener sa lutte pour la liberté à un moment où l'impérialisme était encore à l'apogée de sa puissance et où les continents d'Afrique et d'Asie étaient encore courbés sous le joug de la domination étrangère.

100. Comme tout aurait été différent si le peuple de Palestine s'était trouvé face au défi sioniste aujourd'hui plutôt qu'hier! Nous ne doutons pas qu'alors que le mouvement de libération nationale atteint son point culminant les peuples d'Asie et d'Afrique, enfin libérés des chaînes du colonialisme, seraient venus au secours de leurs frères de Palestine pour les aider à lutter contre l'assaut des envahisseurs étrangers.

M. Malizta (Roumanie), vice-président, prend la présidence.

101. Notre foi dans la justice de cette cause est inébranlable. Nous sommes certains que tôt ou tard les peuples d'Asie et d'Afrique contribueront eux-mêmes à dénoncer cette imposture qu'est Israël. Ils comprendront que, dans le monde arabe d'aujourd'hui, le sionisme constitue une force beaucoup plus néfaste et dangereuse que l'apartheid, une force expansionniste et agressive qui a pour but de dominer nos terres et d'arrêter les progrès de notre peuple.

102. La Commission politique spéciale doit examiner prochainement à nouveau un aspect particulièrement douloureux de la question de Palestine, le problème des réfugiés; ma délégation exposera alors en détail son point de vue sur cette terrible tragédie qui, après plus de 15 ans, pose aux Nations Unies le plus grave problème qu'elles aient à résoudre: respecter les idéaux et les principes de la Charte et rendre justice, une justice due depuis trop longtemps, à un peuple sur lequel se sont abattues les pires calamités engendrées par le colonialisme. Qu'il me suffise ici, pendant ce débat historique en séance plénière, de rappeler à l'Assemblée qu'elle n'aura pas achevé sa tâche de décolonisation tant que la Palestine continuera à subir la domination coloniale des envahisseurs étrangers.

103. M. ADEYINKA (Nigéria) [traduit de l'anglais]: Je veux d'abord, au nom de ma délégation, féliciter le Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la résolution 1514 (XV) contenant la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux de la compétence avec laquelle il a exécuté sa tâche et rempli son mandat pendant sa première année d'existence, et du rapport complet, impressionnant et objectif qu'il a présenté à l'Assemblée générale [A/5238].

104. Ma délégation constate avec satisfaction que le Comité spécial a examiné en détail tous les territoires coloniaux, qu'il s'agisse de la Rhodésie du Sud, de la Rhodésie du Nord, du Nyassaland, du Bassoutoland, du Betchouanaland, du Souaziland, de Zanzibar, de la Guyane britannique, du Mozambique, du Sud-Ouest africain, du Kenya ou de l'Angola. Après avoir lu le rapport du Comité spécial, nul ne peut éprouver d'incertitude quant aux problèmes que pose la situation et à ceux qui doivent être résolus. La délégation nigérienne exprime ses remerciements sincères au Comité spécial pour les travaux qu'il a accomplis pour les Nations Unies afin de faire progresser le mouvement de décolonisation et de libération.

105. Bien que la perspective d'ensemble de la situation coloniale reste sombre, ma délégation ne peut que se réjouir et se féliciter des progrès actuels, dont témoigne l'admission récente de nouveaux Etats indépendants en qualité de Membres de l'Organisation. Néanmoins, nous ne devons pas nous reposer sur nos lauriers. Nous devons poursuivre la lutte jusqu'à ce que nous ayons complètement fait disparaître de la surface de la terre les derniers vestiges de la domination et l'exploitation de l'homme par l'homme.

106. Il est évident que nous devons redoubler nos efforts. Le mouvement de libération des colonies va maintenant s'attaquer au cœur du problème. Je veux parler ici particulièrement de la situation en Afrique australe et en Afrique centrale, où les blancs ont installé des régimes minoritaires qui, le dos au mur, livrent un dernier combat dans un effort vain et désespéré en vue de résister à la vague inexorable de l'émancipation et du nationalisme africain. Qu'il s'agisse du régime colonial auquel le Portugal soumet les territoires de l'Angola et du Mozambique, de la Fédération d'Afrique centrale qui groupe les Rhodésies et le Nyassaland, ou du régime impie de l'apartheid avec sa monstrueuse et abominable politique raciale, le problème posé avant tout par l'existence de groupes minoritaires qui, depuis des siècles, jouissent de privilèges immérités et exercent une domination politique sur une vaste majorité, qui bénéficient à des degrés divers de l'aide économique et militaire de leurs amis d'Europe dont l'origine raciale est généralement la même, et qui refusent de tenir compte de la marche du temps et de comprendre les avertissements prophétiques.

107. Ma délégation, comme beaucoup d'autres, juge absurde la théorie portugaise selon laquelle une partie de l'Afrique pourrait être partie intégrante du Portugal. Cette théorie est aussi incongrue qu'elle est erronée. Le Gouvernement nigérien et le peuple de mon pays appuient sans la moindre réserve les masses qui luttent en Angola et au Mozambique pour obtenir les droits de l'homme fondamentaux et la libre détermination, et qui sont résolues à se gouverner elles-mêmes. La même politique est valable pour toutes les autres régions d'Afrique qui sont encore sous

le joug de la domination coloniale ou de régimes minoritaires, que ce soit dans la Fédération d'Afrique centrale, en Afrique du Sud ou au Sud-Ouest africain, ou d'ailleurs dans n'importe quelle autre région du monde. Le Gouvernement nigérien et le peuple de mon pays sont fermement convaincus que notre indépendance sera dénuée de toute signification tant que la totalité de l'Afrique n'aura pas été libérée de la domination coloniale.

108. Dans la partie de l'Afrique où ma délégation estime que se trouve le cœur du problème de la décolonisation, c'est-à-dire dans le centre et le sud de l'Afrique, ce problème se présente sous divers aspects. Des minorités blanches exercent une discrimination raciale contre d'écraçantes majorités africaines en s'efforçant malhonnêtement de maintenir le statu quo en invoquant une supériorité raciale. De même, toujours pour que ce statu quo soit préservé, les Africains sont victimes de discrimination dans le domaine de l'enseignement comme sur le plan économique. Dernièrement, ces mêmes régimes minoritaires blancs se sont mis à faire équipe pour constituer ce qu'on a appelé une "alliance impie" pour se fournir mutuellement des défenses militaires et un soutien moral. Malheureusement, nous savons — et nous en avons des preuves — qu'ils sont soutenus par certains pays, notamment par ceux du bloc de l'OTAN.

109. D'autre part, les minorités blanches se sont aussi groupées en un complexe industriel de plus en plus étendu où les conseils d'administration sont étroitement reliés et dont les activités vont du Katanga à Salisbury et jusqu'au Cap; il s'agit du groupe d'exploitations minières qui va du Cap au Katanga. Nous avons des preuves qui indiquent clairement que ce complexe industriel prend de l'extension et se transforme en un mécanisme économique puissant qui deviendra supranational et pourra exercer une influence considérable non seulement sur les gouvernements de ces territoires africains, mais aussi dans les capitales occidentales. Etant donné que ces mêmes sociétés qui réalisent des bénéfices fantastiques et astronomiques dépendent de la main-d'œuvre migratoire africaine à bon marché, nous pensons qu'elles représentent un autre élément de forte résistance aux progrès politiques et économiques des Africains dans le sud et le centre de l'Afrique.

110. Nous avons procédé à cet examen rapide des problèmes en cause afin que l'Assemblée puisse les aborder sous un angle exact et mieux en comprendre tous les éléments. Ma délégation estime que les Nations Unies devraient étudier de manière approfondie les activités et les opérations de ce puissant complexe industriel aux conseils d'administration étroitement reliés et nous espérons que l'Assemblée générale s'occupera de cette question.

111. En 1961, le budget de défense nationale de l'Afrique du Sud est passé de 12 millions à 35 millions de livres. En 1962, il a fait un bond inquiétant et a atteint 60 millions de livres. Ce que nous devons nous demander tout d'abord, c'est si la situation existant dans le territoire peut justifier une somme aussi énorme et si l'on peut considérer que cet accroissement des dépenses militaires est fait uniquement pour assurer la défense intérieure et le maintien de l'ordre public.

112. Ma délégation exprime la vive inquiétude qu'elle ressent devant les préparatifs militaires de l'Afrique du Sud qui, si on les laisse se poursuivre, constitueront une menace à la paix et à la sécurité de l'Afrique

et du monde entier. Ils deviennent de nature offensive et l'on pourrait penser qu'ils correspondent aux intentions agressives du régime d'apartheid qui est hanté par sa politique raciale inique que condamne le monde entier qui blâme également les procédés de bandits dont est victime le Territoire sous mandat du Sud-Ouest africain.

113. Ma délégation constate avec satisfaction que l'Assemblée générale a adopté la résolution 1761 (XVII) à une immense majorité et elle compte que cette résolution sera appliquée scrupuleusement, notamment par les puissances qui donnent au Gouvernement sud-africain les moyens économiques et militaires de continuer à s'efforcer de poursuivre sa politique haïssable.

114. La Nigéria espère voir bientôt admettre à l'Organisation un Kenya libre et indépendant, ainsi qu'une Guyane britannique indépendante. Nous escomptons également que les colonies qui subsistent en Afrique deviendront des États africains libres et indépendants. Nous demandons instamment à toutes les puissances coloniales intéressées en Afrique australe et centrale d'aider les Nations Unies à hâter l'œuvre de décolonisation qui doit être accomplie. Nous leur demandons instamment d'arriver le plus rapidement possible à une entente avec les mouvements de libération en Afrique et d'épargner à l'Afrique et au reste du monde l'holocauste racial que pourrait provoquer leur refus persistant, aveugle et intransigeant de s'incliner devant l'inévitable.

115. Je citerai l'ouvrage d'un érudit éminent, spécialiste des affaires africaines, M. Thomas Patrick Melady, dont l'étude intitulée *The White Man's Future in Black Africa* (L'avenir des blancs en Afrique noire) présente les conclusions de l'auteur sur l'avenir des blancs en Afrique; voici ces conclusions, qui ont l'approbation de ma délégation:

"La signification du changement rapide qui intervient dans l'équation du pouvoir dans le monde se manifeste en grande partie dans le changement brusque du statut des blancs en Afrique. Ils ont été les maîtres pendant des siècles. Maintenant, ils ne peuvent envisager de rester en Afrique que s'ils acceptent le nouvel ordre de choses."

116. Les régions qui sont encore contrôlées par les Portugais et par les groupes blancs minoritaires constituent les sources de conflit en puissance. L'avenir des blancs y est incertain, car l'intransigeance persistante des gouvernants qui ne tiennent aucun compte des réalités et encore moins des droits des noirs obscurcit la possibilité d'établir à l'avenir des rapports harmonieux. Il est déplorable que l'attitude inflexible de quelques hommes, à Lisbonne, à Salisbury, à Pretoria, soit la cause non seulement d'effusions de sang, mais aussi d'une aggravation des rapports entre les races.

117. Les résultats obtenus par les dirigeants noirs en Afrique occidentale sont tout à fait rassurants pour l'avenir des blancs. Lorsqu'on se rappelle ce qu'ont enduré les populations noires d'Afrique sous la domination blanche, on ne peut qu'être touché en voyant les dirigeants noirs préconiser en retour l'aide mutuelle et la fraternité. Les résidents blancs des régions qui sont encore dépendantes ne devraient-ils pas être réconfortés par ce qu'ont accompli les États indépendants d'Afrique occidentale et équatoriale depuis quelques années? Les blancs qui sont prêts à accepter l'ordre nouveau le seront; ceux qui veulent toujours

maintenir leur prédominance ne le seront pas. Rien ne pourra les rassurer, car les derniers vestiges de la domination blanche en Afrique fondront aussi sûrement que la neige de l'hiver dernier s'est transformée en eau sous le soleil du printemps. Un chaud soleil printanier brillera bientôt sur la neige de ces régions. Comme il est tragique que ces hommes, au lieu d'accepter la société nouvelle avec l'enthousiasme qui salue un jour nouveau, en aient fait l'objet de leur hantise et de leur crainte.

118. Ces quelques blancs préfèrent toujours se tourner vers le passé, vers l'époque où les peuples blancs représentaient la force politique et économique dominante du monde. L'ère de la domination absolue des blancs est révolue. Elle ne reviendra jamais. Il est regrettable que ces hommes s'obstinent à s'accrocher à des formes mortes. Pis encore, ils préfèrent, comme les nobles Français du XVIIIème siècle, marcher à l'échafaud en alléguant qu'eux seuls sont des hommes d'honneur et aller à la mort dans l'angoisse et dans des tourbillons de sang. Laissera-t-on cette poignée d'hommes envahis par la peur entraîner la destruction des centaines de milliers d'innocents noirs et blancs?

119. D'autre part, l'harmonie qui règne entre les noirs et les blancs dans les anciens territoires britanniques et français d'Afrique occidentale et d'Afrique équatoriale constitue un hymne ininterrompu de courage et d'espoir d'amitié entre les races en Afrique. Pour beaucoup, c'est l'indice qu'une aube nouvelle d'harmonie raciale peut poindre en Afrique. L'Afrique, qui a vu naître les millions de personnes qui ont subi les indignités brutales de l'esclavage, peut devenir le lieu de rencontre où une réconciliation s'opérera entre noirs et blancs. Cela pourra se produire parce que les noirs sont prêts à pardonner et à oublier le passé, et disposés à vivre en harmonie avec les blancs qui ont choisi de s'établir en Afrique. Cela s'est déjà produit dans la plupart des régions où les peuples africains ont obtenu leur indépendance.

120. Comme il est regrettable que l'aurore de demain, pleine d'espoir, puisse être assombrie par la politique de l'axe Salisbury-Pretoria-Lisbonne, qui n'a jamais été morale et qui n'est maintenant plus viable! Les nations blanches du monde doivent agir avant qu'une poignée d'hommes n'entraînent leurs compatriotes dans une lutte sanguinaire et ne fassent un tort irréparable à la cause de l'harmonie entre les races dans toute l'Afrique.

121. Les peuples blancs d'Europe et d'Amérique doivent assumer leurs responsabilités et s'assurer qu'il ne se produise pas de massacre racial dans les régions portugaises d'Afrique, dans les Rhodesies et en Afrique du Sud. C'est là une occasion de transformer de sinistres ténèbres en une aube nouvelle et éclatante. Il n'y a plus un instant à perdre. Les peuples noirs d'Afrique, maintenant qu'ils sont libres, ont offert leur amitié. L'avenir des blancs en Afrique noire sera prometteur s'ils acceptent cette amitié et trouvent une solution aux problèmes qui subsistent. La conscience des blancs ne peut donner ici que la seule réponse possible: la liberté pour tous les peuples d'Afrique de se gouverner eux-mêmes, dans toute l'Afrique. S'il en est ainsi, les blancs auront en Afrique un avenir brillant, car ils pourront créer leur foyer parmi leurs amis africains, dans la nouvelle nation africaine.

122. La délégation nigérienne souhaite que le Comité spécial pour la décolonisation continue son œuvre utile. Nous partageons l'avis de ceux qui ont dit que le

Comité spécial devrait être chargé de poursuivre l'examen du problème de la décolonisation. Nous coopérerons avec nos collègues des autres délégations en cherchant à définir avec eux les mesures que l'Assemblée pourrait prendre afin de hâter le jour qui verra la disparition de la colonisation.

M. Zairulla Khan (Pakistan) reprend la présidence.

123. M. BARNES (Libéria) [traduit de l'anglais]: Plusieurs orateurs qui sont intervenus avant moi dans ce débat sur le rapport du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux [A/5238] ont émis l'opinion, lorsqu'ils ont évalué l'importance de cette question, que la décolonisation et le désarmement sont les deux problèmes de caractère vital et crucial qui se posent aux Nations Unies dans les efforts constants que fait l'Organisation pour atteindre l'objectif essentiel en vue duquel elle a été créée: le maintien de la paix et de la sécurité internationales. Bien plus: depuis les débuts des Nations Unies, à San Francisco, en 1945, débuts auxquels j'ai eu l'honneur d'assister en qualité de Secrétaire de la délégation du Libéria, le problème colonial s'est imposé comme l'une des principales préoccupations de l'Organisation. C'est l'importance politique de ce problème qui a incité les auteurs de la Charte à y énoncer le principe de l'égalité et de la libre détermination, afin que les pays et les peuples dépendants puissent s'engager aussi vite que possible sur la voie de l'indépendance nationale, et à écrire, au paragraphe 2 de l'Article premier, que les buts et les principes des Nations Unies comprendraient notamment le suivant:

"Développer entre les nations des relations amicales fondées sur le respect du principe de l'égalité des droits des peuples et de leur droit de disposer d'eux-mêmes, et prendre toutes autres mesures propres à consolider la paix du monde."

124. Il importe de noter que cette disposition de la Charte, qui attache une importance primordiale à la mise en œuvre des principes d'égalité et de libre détermination de tous les peuples, a été inspirée par l'Union soviétique et a été insérée dans la Charte à la suite d'un amendement présenté par les Etats-Unis, l'Union soviétique, le Royaume-Uni et la Chine, pays sous les auspices desquels la Conférence des Nations Unies sur l'organisation internationale s'est réunie le 25 avril 1945. Tout le monde s'accordait donc à reconnaître que la communauté internationale était directement intéressée par l'avenir et le destin des peuples coloniaux.

125. Je crois qu'il est exact de dire que plus des deux tiers des Membres actuels de l'Organisation peuvent faire remonter leur indépendance à leur libération, sous une forme ou sous une autre, de la domination coloniale; cette constatation témoigne d'une manière éloquente et significative que le colonialisme touche effectivement à sa fin et qu'il doit se hâter maintenant de préparer ses propres obsèques. C'est compte tenu de tous ces éléments que les Nations Unies se sont déclarées à une écrasante majorité en faveur de l'abolition du colonialisme en adoptant la résolution 1514 (XV) par laquelle l'Assemblée se félicitait de ce qu'un grand nombre de territoires dépendants ont accédé à la liberté et à l'indépendance au cours de ces dernières années et reconnaissait les tendances toujours plus fortes vers la liberté qui se manifestent dans les territoires qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance.

126. Lorsque, en promulguant la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, les Nations Unies ont proclamé solennellement la nécessité de mettre rapidement et inconditionnellement fin au colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations, et qu'elles ont déclaré que la sujétion des peuples à une subjugation, à une domination et à une exploitation étrangères constitue un déni des droits fondamentaux de l'homme, est contraire à la Charte des Nations Unies et compromet la cause de la paix et de la coopération mondiales, elles se sont fait l'écho des prières pressantes et des exigences de tous les peuples qui réclament l'indépendance totale et absolue et qui subissent les misères et les indignités que la domination étrangère leur impose, et elles ont réaffirmé qu'il est nécessaire de faire disparaître sur-le-champ tous les vestiges du régime colonial. Cette déclaration historique et mémorable n'est donc pas le fruit de quelque caprice, mais constitue un document bien intentionné et significatif et qui est né, comme une nécessité historique, des événements, des luttes héroïques et des aspirations qui ont été pendant des années celles de peuples réduits en esclavage, pour lesquelles des millions de vies humaines ont été sacrifiées et pour lesquelles des êtres humains luttent encore. Cette déclaration est donc irréversible et irrésistible et fait partie des réalités de l'existence auxquelles chacun doit, tôt ou tard, qu'il le veuille ou non, adapter sa pensée, ses actes, sa politique et son mode de vie national.

127. La Conférence des chefs d'Etat africains et malgache, qui s'est tenue à Monrovia en mai 1961 et à Lagos en janvier 1962, a souligné sans équivoque le caractère inique du colonialisme dans toutes ses manifestations et a invité en conséquence toutes les puissances coloniales à déclarer publiquement qu'elles acceptaient le principe du droit naturel de toutes leurs dépendances coloniales à accéder à l'indépendance complète. La Conférence a aussi demandé aux puissances coloniales de prendre les mesures nécessaires pour faire en sorte que tous les territoires coloniaux accèdent à l'indépendance le plus tôt possible, conformément aux vœux librement exprimés de la population de ces territoires. Les chefs de 22 Etats africains et malgache se sont donc déclarés pleinement et inébranlablement solidaires du grand mouvement historique de notre temps et ont appuyé sans restriction la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux.

128. Pour assurer l'application de ce document historique, le Comité spécial des Dix-Sept constitué aux termes de la résolution 1654 (XVI) a présenté à l'Assemblée un rapport sur les travaux qu'il a accomplis du 20 février 1962 au 19 septembre 1962. La délégation libérienne attache une importance particulière aux activités du Comité spécial et je m'empresse d'ajouter que nous le félicitons de l'esprit de dévouement, de justice et de compréhension avec lequel il a conçu et mené à bien sa tâche.

129. Dans les parties de son rapport qui traitent du fond de la question, le Comité spécial examine un certain nombre de territoires, en Afrique notamment. La raison qui a incité le Comité spécial à étudier en priorité les problèmes coloniaux sur le continent africain, parce que c'est en Afrique qu'on trouve le plus grand nombre d'hommes encore soumis à la domination coloniale et que c'est là que se posent quelques-uns des problèmes les plus difficiles, est tout à fait fondée. Le mouvement qui tend à libérer

l'Afrique du colonialisme acquiert de la force de jour en jour. Il importe vraiment de savoir si le peuple qui lutte pour rejeter le joug de siècles de domination et d'exploitation se verra aider dans l'accomplissement de son destin par l'action constructive des Nations Unies ou s'il sera contraint de faire des efforts de plus en plus désespérés et de prendre des mesures de plus en plus dangereuses pour défendre son existence et arriver à jouer le rôle qui lui revient dans l'humanité et dans la société internationale. Les nombreux pétitionnaires que le Comité spécial a entendus ont affirmé qu'ils croient que l'Organisation peut contraindre les puissances administrantes à leur octroyer l'indépendance immédiate et qu'elle est décidée à le faire. Si nous voulons que cette évolution politique se fasse dans la paix et non dans la violence, nous ne pouvons ni ne devons les décevoir et il est évident qu'il est du devoir des Nations Unies de veiller à ce que cette évolution pacifique ait lieu.

130. En ce qui concerne la Rhodésie du Sud, l'un des territoires dont le Comité spécial s'est occupé, nous constatons avec un regret et un trouble croissants que, malgré la résolution 1747 (XVI) adoptée par l'Assemblée générale par 73 voix contre une et où elle a affirmé que la Rhodésie du Sud est un territoire non autonome au sens du Chapitre XI de la Charte, le Royaume-Uni continue à alléguer que ce territoire ne relève pas de la compétence de l'Organisation, et qu'il n'a donc pas jugé possible de se conformer à l'intention et aux vœux de la grande majorité des Etats Membres de l'Organisation qui ont exprimé leurs désirs dans la résolution susmentionnée. Nous prenons note des conclusions auxquelles est parvenu le Comité spécial, à savoir que le Royaume-Uni n'a pas encore pris de mesure pour transférer tous les pouvoirs au peuple de la Rhodésie du Sud. Je désire rappeler que la délégation libérienne a dit à ce sujet à la seizième session [1111ème séance] que le Royaume-Uni ne peut pas, comme Ponce Pilate, se laver les mains du problème de la Rhodésie du Sud.

131. Pour ce qui est de la Rhodésie du Nord, le Comité spécial a conclu [A/5238, par. 193 à 201] que les conditions d'électorat inscrites dans la Constitution du 28 février 1962 sont discriminatoires et portent préjudice aux intérêts des autochtones; que l'inclusion de la Rhodésie du Nord dans la Fédération d'Afrique centrale a été imposée contrairement aux vœux des autochtones qui constituent l'écrasante majorité de la population de la Rhodésie du Nord, et que la situation dans ce territoire est telle qu'une petite minorité détient les pouvoirs gouvernementaux au détriment des droits et des intérêts de l'écrasante majorité autochtone. Le tableau brossé par le Comité est déplorable et fait bien ressortir que la Constitution actuelle est conçue pour maintenir la suprématie des blancs en Rhodésie du Nord. Les Africains qui sont en Rhodésie du Nord — leur foyer naturel — se trouvent donc être des étrangers dans leur propre patrie.

132. En affirmant le droit inaliénable de la population du Nyassaland à la libre détermination et à l'indépendance nationale, le Comité spécial, dans les conclusions qu'il a présentées sur ce territoire, a noté avec satisfaction que M. Hastings Banda et le Royaume-Uni ont décidé d'engager des pourparlers sur le progrès constitutionnel et il a exprimé l'espoir que ces pourparlers aboutiraient à l'accession du Nyassaland à l'indépendance, conformément aux vœux du peuple. La délégation libérienne prend une part sincère à ces espoirs et à cette attente.

133. La situation créée dans les territoires dépendant du Haut Commissaire, le Bassoutoland, le Betchouanaland et le Souaziland, par les projets de l'Afrique du Sud qui a l'intention de les annexer, a conduit le Comité spécial à recommander à l'Assemblée de déclarer que toute tentative faite pour annexer ces territoires ou pour tenter atteinte d'une façon quelconque à leur intégrité territoriale sera considérée par l'Organisation des Nations Unies comme un acte d'agression qui viole la Charte des Nations Unies. La délégation libérienne appuie les conclusions du Comité spécial.

134. Dans les conclusions auxquelles il est parvenu pour les territoires de Zanzibar, de la Guyane britannique et du Kenya, le Comité a souligné qu'il est nécessaire de leur accorder l'indépendance le plus tôt possible. Pour ce qui est de la Guyane britannique, il est extrêmement regrettable que la Conférence sur ce territoire, qui s'est tenue à Lancaster House, à Londres, pendant trois semaines dans le courant de l'automne 1962, ait abouti à une impasse.

135. Je passe maintenant aux territoires de l'Angola et du Mozambique, administrés par le Portugal. L'Assemblée générale et le Conseil de sécurité ont adopté plusieurs résolutions à leur sujet. Je veux parler notamment de la résolution 1542 (XV) qui a déclaré que l'Angola et le Mozambique, ainsi que plusieurs autres territoires, sont des territoires non autonomes; de la résolution 1603 (XV) qui a invité le Portugal à envisager d'urgence l'application, en Angola, de mesures et de réformes visant à donner effet à la Déclaration sur la décolonisation; de la résolution S/4824 du Conseil de sécurité qui a invité les autorités portugaises à cesser immédiatement les mesures de répression prises contre la population angolaise. On espérait et l'on escomptait, comme je l'ai dit, que, par suite de l'effet cumulatif des résolutions concernant ces territoires, par suite aussi de la pression de l'opinion publique internationale, pratiquement unanime à considérer que le Gouvernement portugais veut arrêter le cours de l'histoire en s'obstinant à poursuivre une politique coloniale archaïque et inique pratiquée sous ses aspects les plus rétrogrades, la conscience et le sens politique des dirigeants portugais se seraient éveillés et les auraient conduits à renoncer, une fois pour toutes, à ce régime moyenâgeux d'exploitation et de terrorisme auquel le Portugal soumet sans relâche et sans honte la population de ces territoires.

136. Depuis cinq siècles ou davantage, les Portugais accomplissent leur "mission civilisatrice" en Angola et au Mozambique, et, comme l'a dit M. Grimes, secrétaire d'Etat du Libéria, dans son intervention dans la discussion générale le 26 septembre 1962:

"La prétendue mission historique du Portugal, chargé de répandre la civilisation, a été démasquée; on constate que c'est un tissu de mensonges et l'une des plus grandes tromperies que le monde ait jamais connues." [1132ème séance, par. 31.]

137. Je dirai tout de suite que la coopération du Portugal pourra sans nul doute favoriser une action constructive des Nations Unies en vue de rendre espoir aux populations de l'Angola et du Mozambique, et que des mesures doivent être prises pour réfuter cette thèse insoutenable selon laquelle ces territoires africains sont partie intégrante du Portugal, pays européen, situé en Europe. De nos jours, alors que les peuples montrent partout qu'ils aspirent à la dignité, au droit à exercer et à cultiver ces facultés que

notre créateur à tous a données à chaque homme, alors que se fait entendre un appel puissant et prolongé en faveur de la liberté et d'une plus grande justice sociale, les derniers vestiges du colonialisme, où qu'ils se trouvent dans le monde, ne peuvent que susciter le mécontentement, la tension, le danger. Cette constatation est particulièrement vraie lorsqu'il s'agit de territoires situés sur le continent africain, où le souffle du renouveau se fait sentir très fortement. Le Portugal ne peut d'aucune manière s'abriter des forces du progrès qui se manifestent dans le monde d'aujourd'hui. S'il s'obstine à pratiquer dans le monde du XX^{ème} siècle une politique du XV^{ème} siècle, s'il s'obstine à rester dans les rangs des colonialistes qui s'éclaireissent de jour en jour, il risque d'entretenir une source évidente d'instabilité internationale et de troubles en Afrique, qui pourra avoir des conséquences catastrophiques pour tous les intéressés.

138. Je saisis cette occasion pour adresser un appel au Portugal et l'inviter à tendre la main aux Nations Unies pour coopérer avec elles et participer à l'effort collectif afin de réparer les torts dont a été et dont est toujours victime la population sans défense des territoires africains, et pour aider à créer dans le monde un ordre nouveau dans lequel toutes les nations coopéreront aux efforts et aux aspirations de l'humanité vers la dignité, la liberté, la prospérité et la paix.

139. Au Sud-Ouest africain, la situation est caractérisée par la tristesse et le désespoir. La politique de discrimination raciale flagrante du Gouvernement du Sud-Ouest africain a pris maintenant des proportions telles qu'elle a dépassé le stade de la patience et de l'endurance non seulement des habitants africains de cette région, mais aussi de tous les hommes et de toutes les femmes de bonne foi dans le monde entier. Le spectre sinistre de ce régime abominable jette toujours son ombre menaçante sur le continent africain, et le Gouvernement sud-africain intensifie progressivement la répression systématique contre les Africains, qui constituent plus des deux tiers de la population du pays.

140. Je crois que, dans ce cas, aucun pays ne peut se vanter d'avoir poursuivi, comme le fait l'Afrique du Sud, une politique aussi dépourvue de moralité, d'humanité et de réalisme, et condamnée par le reste du monde. On s'efforce ainsi, brutalement, de maintenir une classe blanche privilégiée en exploitant systématiquement la population africaine autochtone; cela doit prendre fin immédiatement.

141. Enfin, ma délégation demande que le processus de décolonisation soit accéléré afin que disparaissent définitivement les conditions effroyables imposées par la domination coloniale. C'est là un des besoins urgents de notre époque si nous voulons que les nobles principes des Nations Unies concernant l'égalité et la libre détermination des peuples deviennent des réalités vivantes.

142. Dans l'introduction à son rapport annuel [A/5201, Add.1], le Secrétaire général a appelé l'attention de l'Assemblée sur la prolifération des comités et co-

mités spéciaux chargés de s'occuper de la question des territoires non autonomes et, pour des raisons évidentes, il a suggéré de confier au Comité spécial toutes les activités dans ce domaine. Il convient aussi de noter que le Comité spécial a soulevé le problème de la coordination de ses activités avec celles du Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes, du Sous-Comité de l'Angola, du Comité spécial pour les territoires administrés par le Portugal et du Comité spécial pour le Sud-Ouest africain. Ma délégation estime qu'il est nécessaire de reconsidérer l'utilité de cette pléthore de comités qui traitent exactement des mêmes problèmes.

143. Dans son intervention de ce matin, le représentant de l'Irak a fourni d'abondantes raisons et justifications pour le maintien du Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes. Nous pensons nous aussi qu'il est utile de conserver ce comité, mais qu'il convient de regrouper les activités des autres comités sous les auspices du Comité spécial. A notre avis, cela entraînera forcément une modification du mandat du Comité spécial, et il faudra porter le nombre de ses membres à 21 au moins.

144. L'Organisation des Nations Unies concrétise notre civilisation et correspond donc aux aspirations de l'humanité tout entière. Il nous appartient par conséquent, et c'est clair et net, de nous attaquer au problème du colonialisme avec fermeté et décision, car, si nous fléchissons devant la résistance, notre génération restera longtemps dans la mémoire des hommes comme ayant manqué de volonté, de largeur de vues et d'enthousiasme.

La séance est levée à 13 h 10.

*Reprise des débats de la 1168^{ème} séance.

Mardi 20 novembre 1962,
à 15 heures

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Nations Unies
**ASSEMBLÉE
GÉNÉRALE**

DIX-SEPTIÈME SESSION

Documents officiels



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POINT 25 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

La situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux: rapport du Comité spécial constitué aux termes de la résolution 1654 (XVI) de l'Assemblée générale (A/5238) [suite]

39. M. BINGHAM (Etats-Unis d'Amérique) [traduit de l'anglais]: Il y a près d'un an [1048^{ème} séance], j'ai eu le privilège de prendre part à cette tribune à la discussion sur la mise en œuvre de la Déclaration historique sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux [résolution 1514 (XV)]. J'ai évoqué à cette occasion la tradition immuable d'anti-colonialisme de mon pays, qui remonte à ses origines. J'ai indiqué la situation dans nos trois petits territoires encore non autonomes et dans le Territoire sous tutelle des Iles du Pacifique, et j'ai exposé notre politique à l'égard de ces territoires. J'ai également expliqué en détail notre opinion sur certains des problèmes coloniaux encore en suspens, en particulier en Afrique australe, et j'ai montré l'opposition entre ce que les puissances occidentales avaient fait d'une façon générale depuis 20 ans et ce qui s'était fait dans l'empire communiste.

40. Je ne voudrais pas abuser de la patience des représentants en revenant sur ces sujets. Je n'en ai d'ailleurs pas besoin. La position de mon gouvernement procède d'un engagement fondamental envers la liberté et elle ne varie pas d'une année à l'autre. En conséquence, la politique de mon gouvernement, procédant de cet engagement, demeure non moins constante. C'est ainsi que les Etats-Unis, aussi bien hors des Nations Unies qu'à l'Organisation, se sont employés depuis longtemps à favoriser l'application universelle du principe de la libre détermination. Chaque fois que des démarches diplomatiques et des remontrances discrètes offraient un espoir d'améliorer la situation dans une colonie, mon pays a joué, à ma connaissance, un rôle utile dans un sens progressiste. Certes, le succès a été loin d'être total et le rythme a pu souvent paraître lent, mais, fidèles à leur engagement, les Etats-Unis persévéreront. Cette constance de l'objectif visé explique pourquoi la politique de mon pays à l'égard du colonialisme est exactement ce qu'elle a toujours été, pourquoi mon pays est resté fidèle au critère primordial de la liberté. Il n'y a nul mérite intrinsèque dans l'ancienneté ou la nouveauté d'une politique. Ce qui importe réellement, c'est sa validité. Les Etats-Unis ne se proposent donc pas de modifier leur politique fondamentalement saine envers le colonialisme pour chercher à tout prix à

"faire du neuf". Nous sommes opposés à tout ce qui tend à restreindre la liberté et nous serons toujours en faveur de toute action promettant de donner des résultats pratiques pouvant servir la cause de la liberté.

41. Avant de passer au rapport du Comité spécial sur l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux [A/5238], comité qu'on appelle maintenant couramment Comité des Dix-Sept, je passerai brièvement en revue certains événements de l'année écoulée.

42. Tout d'abord, ma délégation note avec satisfaction qu'au cours des 12 derniers mois huit nouveaux territoires ont accédé à l'indépendance et à l'état de nation. Pour quatre d'entre eux, le Tanganyika, le Samoa-Occidental, le Rwanda et le Burundi, les Nations Unies, par le fonctionnement de leur régime de tutelle, ont joué un rôle important en rapprochant le jour de l'accession à l'indépendance et en permettant aux peuples intéressés d'accéder à l'état de nation dans les meilleures conditions de liberté politique et de possibilités de développement économique et de progrès social. Dans un cas, celui de l'Algérie, ce pays est devenu une nation après une longue période de luttes, dont l'apogée des étapes finales a été marquée par de nombreux actes d'une grande sagesse de la part des chefs algériens et français. Dans le cas des trois autres pays, la Jamaïque, la Trinité et Tobago et l'Ouganda, le processus d'accession à l'indépendance s'est déroulé pacifiquement et dans l'ordre, et il fait le plus grand honneur au Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni et aux dirigeants et aux peuples de ces trois nouveaux pays. Le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni a fait régulièrement rapport aux Nations Unies sur ces territoires conformément à l'Article 73 de la Charte. Le Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes a examiné ces rapports. Cependant, le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni a joué lui-même le rôle prépondérant en élaborant, de concert avec les territoires, les mesures préparatoires à l'indépendance et en faisant effectivement accéder ces territoires à l'indépendance.

43. De ces huit nouvelles nations, sept, à notre satisfaction unanime, siègent à présent en qualité de Membres de l'Organisation et apportent à nos délibérations une contribution d'importance vitale. La huitième, le Samoa-Occidental, en raison de l'exiguïté de son territoire et de ses ressources limitées, a décidé de ne pas demander son admission à l'Organisation.

44. A l'exception de l'année 1960, durant laquelle 18 nations ont accédé à l'indépendance, l'année écoulée a été sans précédent quant au nombre de territoires non autonomes qui sont devenus des nations indépendantes.

45. Il est particulièrement significatif que, dans les huit cas qui viennent d'être cités, les Etats Membres qui administraient auparavant ces territoires faisaient tous partie du monde libre, de cette partie du monde que nous appelons libre parce qu'elle repose sur le principe fondamental de la liberté de choix. Durant la même période, aucun des pays étrangers qui se trouvent sous la domination du nouvel impérialisme communiste, pays habités par des peuples qui ont des traditions culturelles différentes, une langue différente et dans bien des cas une race différente de celles de leurs maîtres, durant la même période, dis-je, aucun de ces pays sous domination communiste n'a obtenu la vraie liberté ou même une liberté de choix à un degré limité.

46. Il me suffira de rappeler l'exposé historique qui se trouve dans le document A/4985^{1/} et, en particulier, la section relative aux pratiques coloniales soviétiques. Voici les victimes ethniques du colonialisme soviétique: les Tartares de Crimée, les Kalmouks, les Ingriens, les nations des pays baltes et celles de l'Asie centrale. Vous les connaissez tous et ceux qui contesteront le plus bruyamment ce que j'ai dit sont ceux qui les connaissent le mieux.

47. Peut-être puis-je épargner au représentant de l'Union soviétique la peine de faire usage de son droit de réponse. Il rétorquerait sans aucun doute que dans le monde communiste la domination des peuples par un gouvernement étranger d'un pays éloigné n'est pas du colonialisme.

48. Le fait est que la délégation soviétique n'applique les termes de "colonialisme" ou d'"impérialisme" qu'aux régions dont le système gouvernemental n'est pas de son goût. En cela, les représentants de l'Union soviétique nous font penser à un personnage de Lewis Carroll: Humpty Dumpty. Ceux qui connaissent la classique Alice au pays des merveilles et sa suite, De l'autre côté du miroir, se rappelleront que Humpty Dumpty, expliquant ses principes sémantiques à Alice, lui disait sur un ton de raillerie:

"Lorsque j'emploie un mot, il prend le sens que je veux lui donner, ni plus ni moins.

— Il reste à savoir, dit Alice, si vous pouvez vraiment donner aux mots tant de sens différents.

— Il reste à savoir, réplique Humpty Dumpty, qui sera le maître. C'est tout."

En appliquant le raisonnement de Humpty Dumpty au monde moderne, on peut dire que, là où le maître est l'Union soviétique, il n'y a pas de colonialisme et que là où le maître n'est pas l'Union soviétique, mais qu'elle cherche peut-être à le devenir, on lance l'alerte au colonialisme.

49. Nous envisageons le problème d'une façon différente; nous disons qu'il y a colonialisme ou impérialisme là où il n'y a pas de liberté de choix. Nous attachons une importance particulière à la partie de la résolution 1514 (XV) qui proclame que

"Tous les peuples ont le droit de libre détermination; en vertu de ce droit, ils déterminent librement leur statut politique et poursuivent librement leur développement économique, social et culturel."

50. En avril dernier, le président Kennedy l'a réaffirmé lorsqu'il a dit au Congrès des Etats-Unis: "Notre nation est fidèle au principe de la libre détermination et elle continuera d'appuyer et de favoriser la réalisation d'une saine autonomie partout dans le monde." La même idée est exprimée dans notre propre déclaration d'indépendance, qui contient la notion révolutionnaire que les justes pouvoirs du gouvernement découlent du consentement des gouvernés. La liberté de choix a entraîné la naissance de huit nations nouvelles dans les 12 derniers mois. L'absence de cette liberté dans une grande partie du monde a eu pour résultat que les aspirations d'hommes et de femmes épris de liberté ont continué à être frustrées.

51. Je passe maintenant au rapport lui-même du Comité des Dix-Sept [A/5238]. Le volume de ce document montre que le Comité a travaillé avec

diligence et assiduité sous la direction d'un bureau compétent et dévoué.

52. Je dois avouer que le Comité n'a pas abordé sa tâche selon la procédure que nous avions envisagée lorsque nous avons voté la résolution 1654 (XVI) ou lorsque nous avons accepté de faire partie du Comité. Dès le début des travaux du Comité, nous avons suggéré qu'après avoir rassemblé toute la documentation et tous les renseignements se rapportant à ses travaux, et en tirant profit en particulier de l'expérience des Etats Membres qui avaient eux-mêmes accédé à l'indépendance, le Comité devrait s'occuper surtout de trouver des solutions aux divers types de situations coloniales qui existent dans le monde et devrait élaborer des suggestions et des recommandations applicables à ces cas.

53. Dans sa majorité, le Comité a préféré examiner les divers cas un par un. Il a donc fait porter son attention presque exclusivement sur 12 territoires particuliers, tous sauf un situés en Afrique. On a rassemblé et présenté beaucoup de renseignements utiles au sujet de ces territoires. Dans certains cas, par exemple ceux du Kenya et de Zanzibar, les recommandations finales du Comité ont été réalistes et constructives. Dans d'autres cas, par exemple celui de Singapour, le Comité, après avoir entendu les pétitionnaires, a décidé avec sagesse de ne prendre aucune mesure. Dans la plupart des autres cas, toutefois, ma délégation n'a pas pu approuver entièrement la teneur des résolutions ou recommandations qui ont été adoptées. Dans certains cas, nous avons jugé que les efforts déployés par le Comité, même s'ils étaient bien intentionnés, manquaient d'esprit réaliste et n'avaient aucune chance d'être suivis d'effet.

54. Dès le début des travaux du Comité, nous avons proposé, et cette proposition avait recueilli l'accord général, que le Comité cherche à réaliser une entente unanime et qu'il évite autant que possible de procéder à des votes. Le but de cette méthode, à notre idée, était d'élargir au maximum les terrains d'entente entre les membres, afin d'assurer aux recommandations du Comité l'appui du plus grand nombre de délégations. En suivant cette méthode, le Comité a pu dans certains cas parvenir à des conclusions qu'on a correctement qualifiées de décisions du Comité, même si certains membres n'auraient pas été en mesure d'émettre un vote affirmatif si elles avaient été mises aux voix.

55. Malheureusement, dans la majorité des cas, cette méthode n'a pas été suivie. Les résolutions et recommandations du Comité ont été mises aux voix d'une manière qui soulignait et mettait en relief les divergences de vues entre les membres et affaiblissait ainsi l'autorité de ces recommandations dans l'opinion des Etats Membres auxquels elles étaient destinées.

56. C'est surtout la délégation de l'Union soviétique, à notre avis, qui est à blâmer de ce fâcheux résultat. Cette délégation s'est montrée constamment plus intéressée par le souci de mettre certains Etats Membres en mauvaise posture et de poursuivre ses propres objectifs politiques que d'aboutir à une unanimité d'opinion qui aurait pu avoir un effet plus salutaire pour la liberté et le bien des peuples des territoires intéressés.

57. Par cette attitude et par d'autres moyens, la délégation de l'Union soviétique a constamment mêlé la guerre froide aux travaux du Comité, d'une façon

^{1/} Documents officiels de l'Assemblée générale, seizième session, Annexes, points 88 et 22, a, de l'ordre du jour.

qui a entravé ses travaux et diminué leur utilité. En de nombreuses occasions, la délégation soviétique a lancé contre des Etats Membres des accusations violentes et excessives, dénuées de fondement et souvent sans rapport avec les travaux du Comité. Cette tactique a été appliquée aussi bien au cours des séances du Comité que pendant les conférences de presse tenues à l'occasion du voyage du Comité en Afrique. Pour ne citer qu'un seul exemple, la délégation soviétique a accusé, à un certain moment, les Etats-Unis d'avoir une base de lancement de fusées dans l'île de Zanzibar, alors que, comme les habitants du territoire le savent bien, l'installation américaine en question est une station de repérage des satellites, destinée exclusivement à coopérer au programme des Etats-Unis des vols spatiaux de cosmonautes, une station absolument ouverte, que le public est expressément et cordialement invité à visiter. Cette accusation contrastait d'une manière étrange avec les aimables félicitations adressées au président Kennedy par le président Khrouchtchev à l'occasion du succès des vols spatiaux de nos cosmonautes.

58. Parfois, aussi, le Comité a agi d'une façon que nous avons considérée comme très regrettable; dans certains cas, il n'a pas fait preuve, comme il aurait été souhaitable, du sens de ses responsabilités. Nous avons jugé comme faisant particulièrement preuve d'un manque de considération le prétendu "appel" lancé au sujet de Zanzibar, qui a été proposé et mis aux voix le même jour, le dernier jour du voyage du Comité en Afrique, sans tenir compte des demandes de plusieurs membres qui auraient voulu avoir au moins la possibilité de consulter leurs gouvernements sur ce sujet. Une autre fois, le Comité a entendu, sur la demande instante de la délégation soviétique, des pétitionnaires qui prétendaient représenter un certain grand parti d'un territoire africain mais qui ont été ensuite désavoués par les autorités responsables du parti, au nom duquel les pétitionnaires n'avaient pas été habilités à parler.

59. Nous avons exprimé des réserves, et nous les maintenons, sur la décision du Comité de se rendre en Afrique et d'y tenir des réunions dans certaines capitales. Nous avons vivement apprécié les invitations adressées par les trois gouvernements intéressés, ceux du Maroc, de l'Ethiopie et du Tanganyika, et l'hospitalité qu'ils ont offerte aux membres du Comité. Cependant, nous n'avons pas estimé que ce voyage du Comité ait constitué le meilleur emploi possible des sommes considérables qui ont été dépensées à cet effet.

60. Il semble qu'à cet égard les organes des Nations Unies ne bénéficient pas de cette sorte de jugement d'ensemble qui, dans une administration, peut être prononcé par un directeur du budget ou un ministre des finances qui décident au sujet d'un projet particulier: "Ce projet paraît très séduisant, mais, considérant les autres besoins de l'administration, nous ne pouvons pas nous permettre d'y donner suite." Ma délégation estime qu'il serait très désirable qu'une procédure de ce genre soit instituée et appliquée à l'avenir.

61. J'espère que les membres des délégations comprendront l'esprit dans lequel j'ai présenté ces observations sur les travaux du Comité des Dix-Sept. Si nous voulons que les Nations Unies acquièrent une efficacité croissante, nous n'avons rien à gagner à passer sous silence les insuffisances de ses organes constitutifs. Nous ne pourrions non plus remplir

utilement les tâches qui nous sont confiées en cherchant à éluder des controverses ou en nous abstenant d'exprimer des critiques sincères. Malheureusement, il y a dans le monde trop d'organes dits délibérants où l'on n'entend jamais une désapprobation et où des applaudissements bruyants en faveur de la politique officielle imposée sont la seule manifestation admise de l'opinion des membres. Nous persistons à croire que le Comité spécial sur l'application de la Déclaration sur le colonialisme peut jouer un rôle utile et constructif en accélérant le processus de décolonisation et en favorisant l'accession de nouvelles nations à l'indépendance dans les meilleures conditions possibles. Nous pensons que les insuffisances que nous avons constatées dans les travaux du Comité jusqu'à maintenant pourront être corrigées à l'avenir et nous espérons qu'ainsi nos critiques auront été constructives. Nous voulons espérer qu'on pourra trouver le moyen de réduire au minimum les égarements et divagations qui ont caractérisé dans le passé les tentatives faites par une certaine délégation pour faire entrer la guerre froide dans les travaux du Comité. En ce qui concerne la composition future du Comité, nous pensons que le nombre actuel des membres est à peu près le nombre maximum permettant un fonctionnement pratique. Il nous paraît naturel et souhaitable d'instituer un certain système de roulement des membres du Comité afin de combiner l'expérience et la nouveauté des conceptions. Nous sommes prêts à coopérer pleinement avec le Comité, que nous continuons à en être membre ou non.

62. Dans l'introduction à son rapport annuel [A/5201/Add.1], le Secrétaire général par intérim a attiré l'attention sur la multiplicité des comités qui ont été constitués pour s'occuper des questions coloniales. On pourrait fort bien réaliser d'intéressantes économies en procédant à une concentration plus poussée prenant pour cadre le Comité spécial. Du point de vue des économies budgétaires et d'une bonne organisation, nous sommes partisans d'une telle concentration. Il peut cependant y avoir des cas particuliers où l'existence de comités séparés pourrait être nécessaire et souhaitable.

63. En terminant, je dirai simplement que mon pays attend avec impatience le jour où tous les peuples du monde bénéficieront de la liberté de choix quant à leur destinée politique. Les Nations Unies ont joué un rôle important en aidant l'humanité à atteindre ce but, rôle plus important peut-être que celui qui avait été envisagé en 1945 à San Francisco, mais il est naturel qu'une organisation dynamique comme celle-ci croisse et se développe d'une façon que ses fondateurs n'avaient pas prévue. L'Organisation peut être comparée — elle agit de plus en plus en ce sens — à un puissant projecteur qui fait converger les rayons de l'opinion publique mondiale sur les régions du monde où l'on fait fi de la liberté. Ce projecteur a déjà baigné de lumière certaines régions où les problèmes qui se présentent sont difficiles et paraissent même insolubles. Il y a de nombreuses autres régions que le projecteur n'a pas encore éclairées. Dans les deux cas, une tâche considérable nous attend avant que l'homme acquière partout dans le monde la liberté et la dignité qui doivent lui appartenir de droit naturel et divin.

64. M. USHER (Côte-d'Ivoire): L'impérialisme colonial a atteint son apogée avant la première guerre mondiale. Après de vigoureuses luttes entre envahisseurs et indigènes et des guerres de frontière et de

récupération, parfois meurtrières, entre envahisseurs, ceux-ci firent la paix par le Traité de Berlin de 1885 en se partageant l'Afrique. Mais si l'on se rappelle le rôle joué par les conseils de certains pays, qui ont pris la tête d'un mouvement de sédition dans les colonies pendant la guerre de 1914-1918, on ne peut se tromper en disant que les colonies n'étaient pas étrangères aux causes de la dernière guerre. Nous pouvons en tout cas affirmer avec certitude que, blessé dans son amour-propre, humilié de se voir ravir ses colonies à une époque où la grandeur nationale se mesurait à l'étendue coloniale, le Gouvernement de l'Allemagne nazie a entrepris d'affirmer sa grandeur et sa supériorité en colonisant, au nom de la même doctrine, l'Europe et les nations elles-mêmes colonialistes.

65. Grâce au ciel, ses desseins ne se réalisèrent pas parce que l'Amérique et les pays du tiers monde volèrent au secours de leurs amis et colonisateurs pour faire régner la justice et la dignité, et faire triompher la liberté à tout jamais. Rien d'étonnant alors à ce que l'opinion fût anticolonialiste après la seconde guerre mondiale. Les Américains, par idéalisme, ont enseigné cette doctrine:

"Aucune nation n'a le droit imprescriptible de gouverner des peuples sujets. Lorsqu'un pays prend en charge un peuple qu'il a assujéti, son seul mandat est de l'éduquer et de l'amener à un développement politique et moral lui permettant de s'affranchir. En outre, le maintien du colonialisme est contraire au vrai principe démocratique."

Et je suis certain que ce grand pays continue à l'heure actuelle à enseigner la même doctrine.

66. Le général de Gaulle, de son côté, en 1944, nous a appris que "la politique coloniale française consiste à mener chacun des peuples coloniaux à un développement qui lui permette de s'administrer et, plus tard, de se gouverner lui-même". Certes, la France a eu des difficultés dans ses rapports avec les colonies. Mais nous ne pensons pas qu'elles soient le fait du général de Gaulle. C'est pourquoi nous continuons à penser que le gouvernement qu'il dirige actuellement croit sincèrement à la doctrine qu'il a professée en 1944, et les preuves qu'il en a données confirment notre conviction.

67. Le Royaume-Uni, à cette époque déjà, décelait et annonçait "ce vent nouveau qui souffle sur l'Afrique". Staline était plus laconique; mais il affirmait que "les colonies étaient la cause de la seconde guerre mondiale".

68. C'est en ayant en mémoire cet acte de foi des grandes puissances et cette espérance des peuples encore subjugués que les créateurs de l'Organisation des Nations Unies se sont réunis à San Francisco. Ils ne nous ont pas déçus. Ils ont rédigé une Charte qui est un monument et qui proclame solennellement la liberté, le respect de l'homme, l'égalité de tous, la libre détermination des peuples, l'égalité et le respect mutuel des nations. Ils ont ainsi échafaudé un organe anticolonialiste — le plus parfait — et, ce faisant, ils ont édifié non seulement un atelier, mais mieux un temple de la paix, comme dirait le président Houphouët-Boigny.

69. Nous étions dans les meilleures traditions en adoptant, à la quasi-unanimité, la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux [résolution 1514 (XV)], qui constitue un hymne à la paix. Aussi ma délégation tient à féliciter

le Comité des Dix-Sept pour l'œuvre importante qu'il a accomplie en nous présentant un rapport [A/5238] si complet. Nous connaissons les difficultés dans lesquelles ce comité a travaillé; nous sommes heureux que ce rapport nous ait permis, à sa simple lecture, de juger du progrès que nous avons accompli dans nos efforts pour le maintien de la paix. Ce comité doit survivre et doit poursuivre sa tâche avec une détermination farouche, car il est assuré d'être dans le sens de la vérité.

70. Les colonies qui font l'objet du rapport du Comité des Dix-Sept peuvent être réparties en trois groupes: les colonies qui dépendent du Royaume-Uni: la Guyane britannique, le Kenya, Zanzibar, la Rhodésie du Nord, le Nyassaland, la Rhodésie du Sud, le Betchoualand, le Souaziland et le Bassoutoland; les colonies qui dépendent du Portugal: l'Angola, le Mozambique, la Guinée portugaise; et, enfin, les colonies qui dépendent de l'Afrique du Sud: le Sud-Ouest africain et — pourquoi ne pas le dire — l'Afrique du Sud.

71. Prenons d'abord le Kenya, le Zanzibar et la Guyane britannique. Dans ces pays, il faut constater, lorsqu'on parcourt le rapport, que l'on aperçoit à l'horizon une certaine lueur qui conduit vers ce qui est peut-être pour nous le souhait le plus vif: l'indépendance. Il nous semble également avoir noté que le Royaume-Uni a l'intention de conduire ces pays vers la souveraineté, et assez rapidement.

72. Mais l'inquiétude se fait plus grande lorsque nous abordons la situation de la Fédération de la Rhodésie et du Nyassaland, et celle des protectorats. Si le représentant du Royaume-Uni a prononcé le mot "indépendance" à propos du Kenya et de Zanzibar, il ne l'a pas fait pour la Fédération et les protectorats; il nous a semblé avoir entendu simplement parler de leur "autonomie".

73. Il m'est apparu que les représentants de 7 940 000 Africains ont déclaré qu'ils n'approuvaient pas la Fédération, institution qui, en l'occurrence, n'a été créée que pour favoriser les intérêts de 305 500 Européens. Cette fédération constitue un carcan destiné à empêcher la Rhodésie du Nord et le Nyassaland, qui ne comprennent, l'une que 77 000 Européens, et l'autre que 9 500 Européens, d'accéder à l'indépendance. Il nous semble que, si la Fédération est maintenue, la population blanche y représentera une fraction, près d'un dixième, de la population africaine. Le terme "dixième" nous fait peur, dans certaines régions de l'Afrique où le chiffre 10 est considéré un peu comme est considéré le chiffre 13 en Europe. Il semble que ces craintes soient fondées. L'Algérie, en effet, a souffert parce qu'un dixième de sa population était constitué d'Européens blancs. La Rhodésie du Nord souffre et rencontre certaines difficultés; or, les calculs montrent également qu'un dixième de sa population est composé d'Européens. Alors nous craignons pour cette fédération qui se présentera encore avec cette fraction de sa population — un dixième — constituée d'Européens.

74. Quant à la Rhodésie du Sud, elle couve une situation explosive. La nouvelle Constitution, imposée malgré les appels des Nations Unies, risque de mettre en danger la sécurité de l'Afrique. A la Quatrième Commission [1366ème séance], nous avons entendu les explications fournies par le Premier Ministre de la Rhodésie du Sud, explications en apparence libérales, mais qui révèlent, en vérité, les réalités les plus antidémocratiques. C'est ainsi qu'il nous

a appris que cette constitution a visé à abolir tout ce que les lois antérieures pouvaient contenir de discriminatoire; mais, ce faisant, il nous a expliqué que quelques-unes des lois antérieures avaient réservé certaines terres aux Africains; il s'agissait de terres inaliénables. Ces lois également ont été considérées comme des lois typiques de la discrimination. La Constitution nouvelle a aboli ces lois qui réservaient des terres aux Africains. Dorénavant, tout le monde peut, dans des conditions d'égalité de moyens économiques, concourir pour l'achat de ces terres. Lorsqu'on sait que les Africains sont de loin les plus faibles économiquement, cette disposition d'apparence démocratique constitue en vérité une mesure d'expropriation organisée.

M. Rakotomalala (Madagascar), vice-président, prend la présidence.

75. Le Premier Ministre de la Rhodésie du Sud nous a également exposé que, pour reviser cette constitution, il fallait obligatoirement obtenir l'accord des différents groupements raciaux. Or, dans cette constitution défavorable à la majorité africaine et où toute révision ne devrait être qu'une mesure de progrès en faveur des Africains, une telle disposition — et cela se voit clairement — apparaît comme un droit de veto concédé à la minorité blanche — qui a ainsi sa garantie — chaque fois que l'on tentera de reviser la Constitution dans un sens favorable aux Africains. Reste maintenant le problème clef: les lois qui transfèrent les pouvoirs, autrefois réservés à la Couronne britannique, à un Conseil constitutionnel, alors qu'il est précisé que ce dernier ne peut donner que des avis consultatifs. Lorsque, au sujet d'une loi proposée, le Conseil émet un avis défavorable, cette loi peut être votée à la majorité des deux tiers de l'Assemblée législative, ou à la majorité simple après une période de six mois à compter de la date de l'avis défavorable du Conseil constitutionnel. Si l'on rapproche cela du fait que les Européens occuperont 50 sièges à l'Assemblée législative alors que les Africains n'en disposeront que de 15 au plus, on constate que les Européens auront la majorité des deux tiers. On comprendra que ladite disposition constitue un grossier camouflage qui achève d'enlever tout espoir et toute protection à la majorité africaine. Tel est le sort dramatique réservé à 3 millions d'Africains, parce qu'ils ont accordé l'hospitalité à 225 000 Européens constituant le dixième de leur population totale.

76. Quant aux protectorats du Betchouanaland, du Bassoutoland et du Souaziland, nous ne savons pas quel sort leur est réservé. Nous savons tout juste qu'après un siècle de colonisation ils ne constituent qu'une réserve de main-d'œuvre au profit de l'Afrique du Sud, et qu'il y a même un projet qui vise à les précipiter dans l'enfer de l'Afrique du Sud, sous les regards complaisants de leur haut commissaire qui, lui, serait, dit-on, depuis des temps immémoriaux, installé dans le paradis des blancs.

77. Le Royaume-Uni ne doit pas transférer ses protectorats à l'Afrique du Sud, et cela dans l'intérêt même des blancs de l'Afrique du Sud. Ces derniers nous ont déclaré ici, par l'intermédiaire de leur ministre des affaires extérieures, qu'ils voulaient survivre tout en étant en minorité au milieu d'une majorité d'Africains qui les écrasent. Je crois que le Royaume-Uni évitera de rendre cette majorité plus écrasante encore en transférant le Bassoutoland, le Souaziland et le Betchouanaland à l'Afrique du Sud. Une seule voie est par conséquent acceptable pour

ces protectorats, et c'est leur préparation à l'indépendance, et à l'indépendance immédiate.

78. Malgré les doutes et les craintes que ma délégation a émis, elle se doit, pour rester dans l'objectivité, de reconnaître l'effort fait par le Royaume-Uni, qui a participé effectivement aux travaux du Comité des Dix-Sept. Nous avons lu ses interventions et nous avons senti qu'il y avait là réellement une bonne foi, un effort pour participer effectivement à ces travaux.

79. Ma délégation reconnaît que le Royaume-Uni a été le premier à déclencher le mécanisme de la décolonisation, en Asie en accordant l'indépendance à l'Inde, en Afrique en accordant l'indépendance au Ghana. Mais force est bien de constater qu'il reste encore le principal pays colonisateur et qu'il se heurte à un difficile processus de décolonisation.

80. Mais nous sommes certains que l'application intégrale et loyale des principes qui nous sont communs est la seule solution susceptible de résoudre ces difficultés: application du principe de l'égalité de tous et de la libre détermination (dite autodétermination), c'est-à-dire la désintégration de la Fédération, si tel est le vœu de la majorité; consultation au suffrage universel, égalitaire et direct, dans les Rhodésies et au Nyassaland; installation de gouvernements élus par le peuple, sans aucune distinction de race, de couleur, de religion, et en repoussant avec dédain tout suffrage censitaire, qui fait de la pauvreté un vice et qui est par conséquent une aberration. Comme l'a dit le leader Kenneth Kaunda: "A chaque adulte, une voix, à chaque voix, la même valeur." Les astuces constitutionnelles visant à assurer les privilèges des minorités sont des dangers latents.

81. Mais, si, à la lecture du rapport du Comité des Dix-Sept, nous apercevons quelque lueur d'espoir pour les pays encore sous domination britannique, nous pouvons à peine cacher notre crainte, dominer nos sentiments de révolte, en abordant l'examen des colonies portugaises et sud-africaines: l'Angola, le Mozambique, la Guinée portugaise, le Sud-Ouest africain et l'Afrique du Sud. Le dialogue avec ces deux pays paraît difficile parce qu'il nous semble qu'ils ne vivent pas dans le même siècle que nous.

82. Le Portugal continue à voir dans les conquêtes coloniales la marque de la grandeur des nations. Comme jadis Rome, il rêve de provinces, tente des assimilations qui peuvent être une réalité, mais une réalité inaccessible. La Rome de César n'est pas la Rome de Segni, et Virgile a pu, à juste titre, dire: "Souviens-toi, Romain, que tu as gouverné des peuples." Puisse cela n'être qu'un souvenir pour le Portugal. Puisse-t-il comprendre, avec Montherlant, que "les colonies sont faites pour être perdues" et qu'elles naissent avec la croix de mort au front".

83. Partout la conscience nationale s'éveille et partout on réclame l'indépendance. En 1940, seuls la Thaïlande et le Japon, le Libéria et l'Éthiopie bénéficiaient de la souveraineté intégrale. En 1962, la carte du monde permet de juger de la vigueur du mouvement nationaliste, de l'ampleur du succès remporté. L'ancienne forme de domination est condamnée; là où elle ne se transforme pas de bon gré, elle sera contrainte de disparaître, et le Portugal s'en apercevra.

84. Quant à l'Afrique du Sud, elle songe au bon temps de la conquête des Incas, et des hidalgos qui ont tout exterminé sur leur passage à l'époque de la règle:

"La force prime le droit; ôte-toi de là que je m'y mette."

85. Ceux-là mêmes qui ne sont pas les victimes immédiates de ces régimes anachroniques sont par instants portés à croire qu'il n'y a pas d'autre issue possible, pour les peuples de l'Angola, du Mozambique, du Sud-Ouest africain et de l'Afrique du Sud, que la guerre ou la subversion, et que ce n'est qu'ainsi qu'ils pourront se libérer.

86. Et l'on frissonne à l'idée que certaines autorités de l'Afrique du Sud et du Portugal ont entretenu des relations avec Hitler; ce sont ceux-là mêmes qui sont les pères des lois de l'apartheid. Hitler a disparu, mais sa doctrine de gouvernement dictatorial est appliquée dans certains pays, tandis que d'autres appliquent sa doctrine raciale de génocide et d'extermination massive. C'est pourquoi nous sonnons l'alerte. Ne vous désintéressez pas de ces régions. Agissez avant qu'il ne soit trop tard.

87. L'Afrique veut la paix. Elle a besoin de la paix, la paix intérieure, la paix avec ses voisins, la paix dans le monde, comme l'ont solennellement proclamé les présidents Houphouët-Boigny et Sekou Touré au cours de la visite officielle que le président de mon pays vient d'effectuer en Guinée.

88. L'Afrique croit que les blancs ont leur place en Afrique, non plus en maîtres, mais en tant que citoyens et sur un pied d'égalité avec les autres citoyens. Aussi, retranchée dans ce dernier carré, se refuse-t-elle à désespérer de l'efficacité de la méthode de persuasion. Elle doit persuader tous ses amis. Ces amis, que l'on ne me permette de les citer, car c'est précisément parce qu'ils sont des amis que je voudrais les nommer, en disant à quel point ils sont dignes de confiance, à quel point ils peuvent être utiles à l'Afrique. Ce sont la France, le Royaume-Uni, les Etats-Unis, la Belgique, les Pays-Bas, l'Italie, le Luxembourg, l'Autriche, la Nouvelle-Zélande, la République fédérale d'Allemagne et les membres du groupe de l'Occident, ainsi que le Vatican et le Conseil oecuménique des églises. Eux seuls peuvent influencer le Portugal, l'Espagne et l'Afrique du Sud et les amener à changer de politique.

89. Le Premier Ministre de l'Afrique du Sud, dans la déclaration qu'il a faite après l'adoption des sanctions par l'Assemblée générale [voir résolution 1761 (XVII)], a affirmé qu'en ce qui concernait son pays les importations en provenance des 15 Etats qui avaient voté contre les sanctions constituaient 68 p. 100 du total des importations, et que les exportations vers ces Etats représentaient 65 p. 100 du total des exportations. Cette déclaration est symptomatique.

90. L'Occident pourrait apprendre à ces pays que la grandeur nationale est définie par d'autres critères que l'étendue des empires coloniaux et que, d'expérience, les meilleurs liens avec les anciennes possessions coloniales sont ceux qui sont tissés sous les auspices de l'amitié, de l'égalité et des intérêts réciproques.

91. En effet, dans la lutte que se livrent l'Est et l'Ouest, l'Afrique veut demeurer à l'écart, mais elle ne peut pas s'empêcher d'être l'objet d'une compétition permanente dont l'enjeu est le choix diplomatique et moral, choix qu'elle s'efforce d'éclairer parce qu'elle a conscience que sa neutralité serait un facteur de paix. Aussi ma délégation se plaît à

rappeler cette pensée, tout italienne, de Giuseppe Mazzini:

"Mieux vaut une heure de communion dans une grande pensée avec un peuple qui ressuscite, que toute une existence dans la solitude d'un trône menacé par les uns et méprisé par les autres."

92. Quant au Vatican, étant entendu que le Portugal prétend être soutenu dans sa politique coloniale par la hiérarchie catholique et que l'Afrique du Sud, dans l'article premier du South Africa Act de 1909, prétend être un pays chrétien dont la civilisation est fondée sur la Bible et sur les doctrines fondamentales du christianisme, le Vatican, dis-je, devrait profiter du Concile du Vatican II pour leur réaffirmer que Jésus est Dieu et qu'il a dit que tous les hommes étaient frères de Jésus-Christ et leur rappeler, dans le "schéma" sur la source de la révélation qui est actuellement en discussion au Concile, que l'Evangile rapporte que le Christ, interrogé sur la question de savoir quel est le premier et le plus grand des commandements qu'il faut observer pour gagner le Ciel, a dit: "Aime ton prochain comme toi-même." Et cet amour, charité par excellence, est incompatible avec la discrimination raciale. Ainsi, la hiérarchie du Portugal pourrait réapprendre la doctrine de saint Paul sur les églises de missions, et surtout l'enseignement de l'encyclique Fidei Donum du 21 avril 1957.

93. Pour conclure, ma délégation estime, à la lumière du rapport du Comité des Dix-Sept, qu'il faut tenir compte, en ce qui concerne le maintien de la Fédération, de l'opinion des partis influents de la Rhodésie du Sud, de la Rhodésie du Nord et du Nyassaland. Elle est d'avis qu'il faut accorder immédiatement l'indépendance à la Rhodésie du Nord, au Nyassaland, au Kenya, à Zanzibar et à la Guyane britannique.

94. La Rhodésie du Sud, les protectorats du Patchouanaland, du Souaziland et du Bassoutoland, le Mozambique, l'Angola et l'Afrique du Sud doivent être érigés immédiatement en Etats autonomes, avec un gouvernement responsable, élu au suffrage universel, égalitaire. Dans les pays à forte minorité blanche, on pourrait envisager une assemblée économique et sociale où les différents groupements économiques et les groupes de pression économique seraient représentés. Parce que c'est une nécessité, c'est une obligation; la paix le commande.

95. Nous avons vécu la répression à Madagascar, la répression en Côte-d'Ivoire, la guerre d'Indochine, la lutte meurtrière du Maroc, le ratisage de Tunisie, la guerre d'Indonésie, la guerre de Malaisie, la guerre du Kenya, la guerre d'Algérie, la guerre d'Angola. Que de morts inutiles! Que de vies innocentes sacrifiées! Et, malgré cela, faut-il s'attendre encore à une guerre de Rhodésie, à des guérillas en Afrique du Sud et dans le Sud-Ouest africain?

96. C'est assez. Arrêtons les guerres. Et nous le pouvons si chacun de nous, chacun des chefs d'Etat, accepte la dédicace de Thomas Jefferson:

"Je ne suis pas un avocat des modifications fréquentes dans les lois et les constitutions. Mais les lois et les institutions doivent aller de pair avec le progrès de la conscience humaine. A mesure qu'elle se développe et s'éclaire, que de nouvelles découvertes sont faites, de nouvelles vérités révélées, les coutumes et les opinions changent. Avec l'évolution des circonstances, les institutions doivent progres-

ser également afin de s'adapter à l'époque. Nous pourrions tout aussi bien exiger d'un homme qu'il portât encore le veston qui lui servait étant enfant, que d'une société civilisée de rester soumise à jamais au régime de ses ancêtres barbares^{2/}."

97. Le **PRESIDENT**: Le représentant du Royaume-Uni a demandé à exercer son droit de réponse; je lui donne maintenant la parole.

M. Zafrulla Khan (Pakistan) reprend la présidence.

98. Sir **Patrik DEAN** (Royaume-Uni) [traduit de l'anglais]: Dans son discours de ce matin [1170^{ème} séance], le représentant de l'Irak a lancé un certain nombre d'accusations contre mon pays. Je répondrai peut-être à certaines d'entre elles plus tard dans ce débat. Il en est une cependant à laquelle je répondrai dès à présent: c'est l'allégation suivant laquelle le Koweït serait une colonie britannique. Le Ministre des affaires étrangères d'Irak, M. Jawad, avait déjà fait la même insinuation dans le discours qu'il a prononcé dans la discussion générale [1152^{ème} séance] et, à cette occasion, ma délégation avait estimé devoir répondre. Je regrette que le représentant de l'Irak persiste dans cette allégation qui est en réalité dénuée de tout fondement.

99. Le Gouvernement du Koweït fera, j'en suis sûr, les observations qu'il jugera appropriées sur cette allégation fantaisiste. Je n'ai nul besoin d'affirmer que le Koweït est un pays entièrement souverain et indépendant; le fait est évident en soi. Ma délégation a déjà rappelé aux membres de l'Assemblée que le Gouvernement du Koweït a été reconnu par plus de 75 pays, dont presque tous les Etats arabes, et qu'il est membre de la Ligue arabe.

100. M. **PUDLAK** (Tchécoslovaquie) [traduit du russe]: Le Président du Conseil des ministres de l'Union soviétique, M. Khrouchtchev, a proposé le 23 septembre 1960 [869^{ème} séance, par. 185], à la quinzième session de l'Assemblée générale, d'étudier la question de la liquidation complète du colonialisme. A la suite de cette généreuse initiative, l'Assemblée générale a adopté le 14 décembre 1960 [947^{ème} séance], en dépit du mécontentement évident des puissances coloniales, l'historique Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. De ce fait se sont ouvertes de nouvelles perspectives aux mouvements de libération nationale dans les pays d'Asie, d'Afrique et d'Amérique latine. Et cela se comprend. En effet, en adoptant cette déclaration, l'Organisation des Nations Unies a pris parti pleinement et sans réserve pour les peuples coloniaux opprimés; elle a reconnu leurs aspirations à la liberté et proclamé comme irréversible et inéluctable ce processus de libération que les colonisateurs ont qualifié, pendant de nombreuses années d'"activités subversives", en traitant comme des criminels de courageux patriotes et combattants pour la liberté. Les Nations Unies ont solennellement proclamé la nécessité d'une liquidation rapide et totale du colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations et ont sévèrement condamné les actes de répression des colonisateurs, ainsi que leurs diverses manœuvres en vue de maintenir sous leur domination les peuples coloniaux. La Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux a créé des conditions favorables à une liquidation pacifique du système colonial périmé, cela

sans effusion de sang, sous réserve que les puissances coloniales se conforment, sans attermolement ni faux-fuyants, à l'appel des Nations Unies et accordent sans délai l'indépendance à tous les peuples qui souffrent encore sous le joug colonial. Il n'en a pas été ainsi et l'an dernier l'Assemblée générale, à sa seizième session, a été amenée à constater avec regret que les puissances coloniales ne mettaient pas en œuvre les dispositions de la Déclaration. Bien plus, en contradiction directe avec les termes de cette déclaration, elles continuaient à exercer des mesures brutales de répression contre les peuples coloniaux aspirant à l'indépendance. Aussi l'Assemblée générale a-t-elle créé le Comité des Dix-Sept [résolution 1654 (XVI)] qui a été chargé de veiller scrupuleusement à l'application des dispositions de la Déclaration sur la liquidation du colonialisme.

101. Le rapport présenté par le Comité des Dix-Sept [A/5238] à la dix-septième session de l'Assemblée générale des Nations Unies et actuellement à l'examen est un document tout à fait important, significatif et instructif. Il donne dans l'ensemble un tableau objectif aussi bien des activités du Comité des Dix-Sept que de la situation en ce qui concerne l'application ou plutôt la non-application de la Déclaration de 1960.

102. La délégation tchécoslovaque apprécie les activités du Comité des Dix-Sept; elle approuve en principe ses conclusions, ses recommandations et ses propositions. Nous estimons aussi que le Comité a eu raison d'aborder en premier lieu le problème de la liquidation du colonialisme en Afrique, tout en ne perdant pas de vue d'autres problèmes urgents tels que l'octroi de l'indépendance à la Guyane britannique.

103. Cependant, tout en jugeant d'une façon favorable le rapport du Comité des Dix-Sept, nous sommes loin de pouvoir nous déclarer satisfaits de la situation regrettable pour ce qui est de l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. En fait, le rapport du Comité fait clairement apparaître que les colonisateurs utilisent différents prétextes pour saboter l'application de la Déclaration de 1960, qu'ils refusent d'accorder l'indépendance aux peuples coloniaux et qu'ils intensifient la terreur contre les peuples qui luttent pour la liberté et pour l'observation des droits élémentaires de l'homme. Dans tous ou presque tous les cas qu'il a examinés, le Comité a été amené à constater qu'en pratique, durant la période comprise entre la seizième et la dix-septième session de l'Assemblée générale, non seulement il n'avait pas été tenu compte de la Déclaration de 1960, mais qu'elle avait même été grossièrement violée. Les peuples mènent une lutte de grande envergure en Rhodésie du Sud et en Rhodésie du Nord, au Nyassaland, au Bassoutoland, au Betchouanaland, au Swaziland, à Zanzibar, en Guyane britannique, au Mozambique, au Sud-Ouest africain, au Kenya, en Angola, à Aden et à Singapour. Partout, nous voyons des peuples qui luttent pour leur indépendance, pour acquérir le droit à une vie humaine, heureuse et digne, tandis que les colonisateurs, grâce à diverses manœuvres frauduleuses et à l'emploi brutal de la violence, contrairement à la Déclaration sur la liquidation du colonialisme, s'efforcent de maintenir leur domination sur la population autochtone et de renforcer leur prédominance économique et stratégique.

104. Je voudrais me référer à certains arguments dont les colonisateurs se servent le plus fréquemment

^{2/} The Thomas Jefferson Memorial, Alexandria (Virginie), Action Publications, 1949, p. 9.

et aux méthodes et aux "trucs" les plus typiques qu'ils utilisent pour essayer de retarder l'octroi de l'indépendance aux colonies.

105. Les colonisateurs aiment à parler de leur "mission civilisatrice" dans les colonies. Mais les exécutions en masse et les effusions de sang ont fait justice de cette légende qui n'est plus bonne à figurer même dans les manuels pour écoles primaires. Les colonisateurs se contredisent d'ailleurs eux-mêmes en affirmant en même temps que les nations colonisées "ne sont pas mûres pour l'indépendance". En quoi consiste, dans ce cas, cette "mission civilisatrice" si, au long de décennies et parfois de siècles d'action "éducative", ils ne sont pas parvenus à élever les peuples colonisés jusqu'à un niveau de civilisation qui leur permette de se gouverner eux-mêmes?

106. Ces arguments des colonisateurs ne font que confirmer leur incapacité et, qui pis est, leur mauvaise volonté absolue à favoriser l'essor économique, culturel et politique de la population autochtone, puisque leur but est de prolonger leur domination sur le pays. La situation dans les colonies portugaises revêt certains aspects tragi-comiques. Alors qu'en pratique toute la population autochtone, à d'infimes exceptions près, est considérée comme "non civilisée", tous les Portugais vivant aux colonies sont censés être "civilisés", tandis qu'il est notoire qu'une notable proportion en est analphabète, mis à part le niveau moral des colonisateurs portugais qui sont bien connus pour traiter les indigènes avec une sauvage brutalité.

107. Certaines puissances coloniales tranchent le problème colonial d'une façon très simple: elles "suppriment" leurs colonies en les déclarant partie intégrante de la métropole ou en les qualifiant de "provinces d'outre-mer", de "départements africains", etc. Ce procédé naïf rappelle l'anecdote du moine roublard qui avait envie de manger du poulet un jour maigre sans commettre de péché. Il baptisa le poulet du nom de "poisson" et il le dégusta sans l'ombre d'un remords. Toutefois, les peuples de l'Angola, du Mozambique, de Porto Rico et d'autres colonies, déclarés partie intégrante du territoire de la métropole, ne se laisseront pas dévorer comme un poulet sans défense, car ils sauront faire justice de ces constructions pseudo-légales des colonisateurs, de même que le peuple algérien a su faire justice de la fiction absurde des "départements d'Afrique du Nord".

108. Une autre manœuvre, non moins trompeuse, de la part des colonisateurs consiste à accorder aux colonies "l'indépendance" en créant un gouvernement autonome composé exclusivement d'un nombre restreint de colons européens, ultra-réactionnaires, il va de soi, et d'orientation chauvine, mettant ainsi la population autochtone à la merci d'un tel gouvernement raciste. Un exemple typique de ce procédé est donné par la Rhodésie du Sud, où ce processus d'une autonomie trompeuse se poursuit, en contradiction avec les appels et résolutions réitérés des Nations Unies. Cette question a même fait l'objet d'une discussion à la présente session. Nous craignons toutefois que les résolutions adoptées ici à ce sujet ne subissent le même sort que de nombreuses autres résolutions contenant des appels des Nations Unies aux puissances coloniales.

109. Un phénomène que nous considérons particulièrement dangereux et menaçant pour la paix du monde

est la militarisation systématique instaurée par les puissances coloniales dans les territoires non autonomes. Bien des données concrètes nous ont été fournies à ce sujet de vive voix par les pétitionnaires, et au cours de la présente discussion. Les colonisateurs ne se contentent pas de refuser l'octroi de l'indépendance aux peuples colonisés, mais ils renforcent systématiquement leurs positions militaires sur les territoires de ces peuples en y installant des polygones et des dépôts d'armements agressifs de destruction massive. Cela vaut pour les fies du Pacifique que les Etats-Unis contaminent progressivement par le rayonnement funeste né des essais nucléaires; il en est de même pour le Kenya, Aden, le Sud-Ouest africain et d'autres territoires.

110. Dans la plus grande partie des territoires non autonomes, l'agriculture est jusqu'ici la source principale de l'alimentation de la population autochtone. Cependant, les colonisateurs s'approprient systématiquement les meilleures terres arables pour les donner aux colons de race blanche et aux immigrants nouvellement recrutés, tandis que les membres des tribus locales sont transférés de force dans des régions infertiles. En Angola, par exemple, les colons européens possèdent approximativement la moitié des terres arables et de la meilleure qualité, tandis que la population autochtone, qui est 40 fois plus nombreuse, dispose d'un peu plus de la moitié de terres arables, moins fertiles du reste. Au Sud-Ouest africain, les colons de race blanche se sont approprié 86 p. 100 des terres arables, et l'exode de la population autochtone se poursuit, tandis qu'en Allemagne fédérale on recrute de nouveaux émigrants de race blanche, de sorte que les colonisateurs allemands retournent en Afrique d'où ils avaient été chassés après la première guerre mondiale.

111. Les colonisateurs refusent à la population autochtone le bénéfice des droits élémentaires de l'homme et des droits politiques. Les travailleurs des colonies sont l'objet d'une exploitation brutale, alors que les monopoles étrangers retirent de l'exploitation de ces pays des bénéfices énormes.

112. Afin de retarder le jour de la libération, les colonisateurs instaurent dans leurs colonies des constitutions et des systèmes électoraux qui assurent à une poignée de colons de race blanche tous les avantages et privilèges possibles alors que la population autochtone est soit totalement privée des droits électoraux, soit réduite à un droit limité, comme c'est le cas, par exemple, en Rhodésie du Sud, où, selon la nouvelle Constitution, sur un total de 65 membres de l'Assemblée législative, 50 représentent environ 200 000 colons européens et 15 seulement assurent la représentation d'environ 3 millions d'indigènes. Et l'on vient, du haut même de cette tribune, qualifier cela de progrès immense.

113. La méthode traditionnelle de tous les usurpateurs et dont se servent souvent les puissances coloniales consiste à appliquer le principe "diviser pour régner". L'instigation et l'exploitation des antagonismes nationaux, tribaux, religieux et autres constituent une arme puissante dans l'arsenal des colonisateurs. Mais leurs manœuvres ne se bornent pas à cela; dans certains cas, ils utilisent une procédure absolument inverse, en pratiquant une politique d'intégration des colonies dans des unités territoriales plus importantes sous forme de fédérations, afin d'arriver à une proportion des forces qui leur permette de maintenir en esclavage la population au-

tochtone. Un exemple saisissant de cette politique nous est fourni par la Fédération de la Rhodésie et du Nyassaland, qui ne représente rien d'autre qu'une fédération des colons de race blanche dirigée contre la population africaine autochtone, qui, par conséquent, refuse absolument d'y coopérer.

114. Lorsque les colonisateurs, sous la pression du mouvement de libération nationale, sont contraints de se retirer, ils s'efforcent d'effectuer une "décolonisation" qui ne modifie pratiquement en rien leur position dominante. A cet effet, ils cherchent à limiter l'indépendance des nouveaux Etats surgis des ruines des empires coloniaux désagrégés en leur imposant des accords sans aucune égalité de droits, qui leur assurent toutes sortes de privilèges, des bases militaires, etc.

115. Le concept de l'Eurafrrique, base du marché de l'Europe occidentale, est une manifestation typique du néo-colonialisme ou plutôt du colonialisme collectif. Il s'agit au fond du plan conçu par les monopoles d'Allemagne occidentale et les monopoles français pour étendre leur pouvoir sur le continent africain en intégrant les Etats africains à la Communauté économique européenne, en les maintenant naturellement en état de dépendance, en qualité d'annexe agraire des pays industrialisés d'Europe occidentale auxquels ces Etats fournissent des matières premières. Les peuples africains ont acquis suffisamment l'expérience des colonisateurs allemands et français comme aussi d'autres colonisateurs européens pour se rendre compte du danger qu'ils courent de la part de ces colonisateurs qui se dissimulent derrière la façade collective de la Communauté économique européenne.

116. Le 5 juin 1962, à Accra, à la Conférence qui réunissait les combattants pour la libération du continent africain, le Président du Ghana, M. Kwame Nkrumah, a formulé d'une manière très claire le danger que courent ces pays:

"L'impérialisme ne change pas de nature, mais seulement de forme. A des fins d'exploitation et pour maintenir sa stratégie de la guerre froide, l'impérialisme a constamment besoin d'annexes coloniales, au propre ou au figuré."

117. Le président Nkrumah a dit ensuite qu'il qui-conque a étudié plus en détail la structure du Marché commun peut facilement comprendre que:

"... l'objectif du Marché commun, en s'associant les pays africains, est de satisfaire la soif de gain du bloc impérialiste et de nous empêcher d'appliquer une politique indépendante et neutre. Il est clair également que les impérialistes et les colonisateurs ont décidé de maintenir les Etats africains dans la position de fournisseurs de matières premières à bon marché.

"Si nous ne réagissons pas contre ce danger et si nous lions notre sort à celui du Marché commun, nous condamnerons ainsi l'économie africaine à un perpétuel assujettissement à l'économie de l'Europe occidentale. Le développement économique et l'indépendance nationale ne sont pas concevables sans une possibilité illimitée de conserver pour soi une puissante capacité industrielle. Les activités du Marché commun peuvent donc avoir des conséquences politiques et économiques néfastes pour les Etats africains indépendants. Cette organisation représente une tentative de substituer à l'ancien

système d'exploitation coloniale un nouveau système de colonialisme collectif qui serait beaucoup plus puissant et plus dangereux que l'ancien mal et nous cherchons à l'extirper de notre continent."

118. L'aide économique que les puissances occidentales offrent aux nouveaux Etats représente elle aussi un instrument de pénétration politique et militaire, étant donné qu'elle implique souvent des conditions d'inégalité, limitant l'indépendance de ces Etats.

119. Des agents de toute sorte sillonnent les territoires d'Afrique et d'Asie en proposant aux nouveaux Etats une aide économique apparemment avantageuse en échange de garanties pour la liberté de l'entreprise privée, de l'investissement de capitaux étrangers et surtout de l'exportation des bénéfices réalisés, sans parler des garanties directes, politiques et militaires. De cette façon, les impérialistes imposent aux Etats nouvellement constitués des accords qui les privent en fait de la liberté si péniblement acquise.

120. Il est indiscutable que tous les genres d'accords inégaux qui contiennent de telles obligations néo-colonialistes sont contraires au droit international, à la Charte des Nations Unies et à la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, qui proclame clairement la nécessité absolue de liquider le colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations. Les impérialistes n'ont pas le droit d'exiger l'exécution de telles obligations et les pays qui se sont vu imposer des accords aussi inéquitables sont pleinement en droit de s'en dégager.

121. Malgré différentes nuances dans l'argumentation, malgré des méthodes différentes et les divergences résultant de la lutte concurrentielle pour les marchés, les sources de matières premières et les sphères d'influence, nous pouvons constater une solidarité de principe entre les puissances occidentales chaque fois que le colonialisme se heurte à l'anti-colonialisme et aux mouvements de libération nationale. Dans la lutte contre les mouvements de libération nationale, certaines puissances coloniales peuvent, dans tel ou tel cas, faire preuve de plus ou moins de souplesse. Parfois même elles font risette à un tel mouvement, à condition évidemment qu'il soit dirigé contre une autre puissance coloniale et qu'on puisse espérer s'approprier les marchés du concurrent moins chanceux. Une certaine concurrence entre les puissances coloniales s'était manifestée dès les débuts du colonialisme et l'on assistait constamment à des tentatives de répartition nouvelle du butin colonial. Cependant, quand, par suite de la première et surtout de la seconde guerre mondiale, les positions des impérialistes se sont affaiblies considérablement, la lutte des peuples coloniaux pour la liberté et l'indépendance a acquis une telle intensité que la question de la liquidation totale du colonialisme est devenue d'actualité. Nous avons assisté alors, de la part des impérialistes, à des efforts désespérés pour s'opposer non seulement individuellement, mais collectivement, à la pression des mouvements de libération nationale, en se servant du potentiel militaire des pactes agressifs, en particulier de l'OTAN. Cela s'est manifesté de façon particulièrement caractéristique dans le cas de l'Algérie.

122. Si les Etats-Unis et l'OTAN n'avaient pas fourni à la France une aide de toutes sortes dans la guerre contre le peuple algérien, la lutte pour la libération de l'Algérie n'aurait pas duré sept ans et n'aurait pas

exigé autant de victimes. De même pour l'Angola, où le soutien offert par les Etats-Unis et par d'autres alliés atlantiques permet au régime de Salazar d'intensifier la terreur et la répression dirigées contre la population autochtone. On peut en dire autant du Sud-Ouest africain, où les armes dites "atlantiques", autrement dit celles de l'Allemagne occidentale, de la France et de la Grande-Bretagne, ainsi que leurs avions et leurs fusées, permettent de maintenir en esclavage le peuple d'une ancienne colonie allemande, bien que 44 ans se soient écoulés depuis la première guerre mondiale et 17 depuis la seconde. Il en est de même encore pour le Katanga, attendu que l'uranium et les biens de l'Union minière présentent pour les impérialistes un intérêt beaucoup plus considérable que l'unification, la consolidation et l'indépendance du Congo.

123. On pourrait citer encore maints exemples dans différentes parties du monde. Je voudrais vous rappeler au moins le cas d'une région du continent américain, le cas de la Guyane britannique, dont le peuple courageux est victime des manœuvres hypocrites des colonisateurs britanniques qui ne tiennent pas compte de ses aspirations à la liberté et continuent à lui refuser l'indépendance tant de fois promise. Il est du reste intéressant de constater que les Etats-Unis, qui se posent en défenseurs de la liberté et de la démocratie sur le continent américain et même en champions de la lutte contre le colonialisme, admettent sans protester l'existence sur leur continent des colonies britanniques et autres. Les Etats-Unis acceptent plus volontiers l'existence d'une Guyane aux mains des colonisateurs britanniques que celle d'une Guyane indépendante dotée d'un gouvernement conforme à la volonté du peuple.

124. Nous pensons que même ceux qui sont enclins à croire à la légende de l'anticolonialisme américain devraient se demander pourquoi le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis, qui sait s'assurer la soumission inconditionnelle de ses alliés atlantiques dans la poursuite d'objectifs bien moins nobles que la liquidation du colonialisme, ne peut pas les contraindre à mettre en œuvre la Déclaration des Nations Unies sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux.

125. La réponse est simple. Les Etats-Unis d'Amérique sont étroitement liés aux colonisateurs européens, ou, si vous préférez, les colonisateurs atlantiques, parce qu'ils sont eux-mêmes une puissance coloniale et qu'en fait ils représentent le rempart le plus solide et la cheville ouvrière de l'impérialisme et du colonialisme mondiaux. Tenant compte de l'opinion publique mondiale et de considérations de tactique à l'égard des nouveaux Etats d'Asie et d'Afrique dont l'influence à l'Organisation des Nations Unies ne cesse de croître, le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis est à la recherche d'un compromis quelconque entre le colonialisme et le mouvement de libération nationale. Cependant, en règle générale, ce compromis se réduit à fournir à leurs alliés atlantiques, britanniques, français, portugais et autres colonisateurs, des armes de destruction qui peuvent être utilisées pour les guerres coloniales d'extermination contre les populations autochtones, tandis que les Etats-Unis offrent aux Africains le prétendu "Peace Corps" [Les volontaires de la paix] qui s'occupe de faire de la propagande en faveur du mode de vie américain et de l'anticolonialisme américain.

126. Les arguments utilisés par les colonisateurs sont trop piteux, leurs manœuvres trop transparentes

et leurs méthodes trop disoréditées pour qu'il soit nécessaire ici de les analyser et de les réfuter.

127. De toute façon, l'ère des polémiques et des discussions est révolue. A la suite de l'adoption en 1960 de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, que l'on a qualifiée ici à juste titre de Grande Charte des peuples asservis et qui de fait a mis le colonialisme hors la loi, la liquidation immédiate du colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations se trouve être à l'ordre du jour. Les intérêts des peuples qui subissent encore la servitude coloniale, ainsi que l'intérêt de la paix dans le monde entier, de la coexistence pacifique et de la collaboration pacifique des peuples, exigent que la Déclaration sur la liquidation du colonialisme soit immédiatement mise en œuvre.

128. A ce propos, je voudrais m'arrêter très brièvement sur les tentatives réitérées des colonisateurs de détourner l'attention des Membres de l'Organisation de l'essence même des questions que nous discutons, en attaquant de façon provocante les pays socialistes et en accusant les délégations de ces pays d'utiliser l'examen des problèmes coloniaux pour attiser la "guerre froide", pour lancer des attaques contre les puissances coloniales, etc.

129. Bien que les représentants des puissances occidentales fassent intervenir la "guerre froide" dans la discussion des questions coloniales — l'intervention du représentant des Etats-Unis l'a confirmé aujourd'hui —, la délégation tchécoslovaque et les autres délégations des pays socialistes défendent le point de vue anti-impérialiste et anticolonialiste. Quelles que soient les manœuvres des impérialistes, elles ne sauraient contraindre la délégation tchécoslovaque, fraternellement solidaire des peuples d'Asie, d'Afrique et d'Amérique latine, à ne pas dévoiler les crimes des colonisateurs et à ne pas insister sur la liquidation immédiate de cette honte du XXème siècle. Si cela ne plaît pas aux impérialistes, nous pouvons leur dire comment se libérer rapidement et facilement de la discussion de ces problèmes qui ne sont pas de leur goût.

130. Occroyez donc immédiatement, sans atermoiements ni faux-fuyants, l'indépendance aux peuples d'Afrique, d'Asie et d'Amérique latine que vous maintenez jusqu'à présent sous le joug colonial, en contradiction avec la Déclaration de 1960. La discussion des problèmes coloniaux à la tribune des Nations Unies deviendra ainsi automatiquement et immédiatement sans objet. Enfin, il serait temps que l'Organisation, à laquelle se sont joints de nouveaux pays libérés du joug du colonialisme, se consacre entièrement à la solution de problèmes tels que le désarmement général et complet, y compris le problème de l'utilisation des ressources libérées par suite de l'arrêt de la course fébrile aux armements à des fins pacifiques, telles que le développement économique et culturel des peuples d'Asie, d'Afrique et d'Amérique latine, affranchis de l'exploitation coloniale.

131. Il arrive parfois que, par nécessité, les impérialistes se posent en gens vertueux. Quand on les chasse des colonies, ils font comme si l'indépendance acquise par les nouveaux Etats ne résultait pas de la lutte qu'ils ont menée pour la conquérir, mais qu'elle n'est qu'un don généreux de la part des colonisateurs. En ce moment, un moyen commode leur est offert de poser, de force, en gens vertueux,

c'est de se soumettre au processus inéluctable de l'histoire et d'accepter de mettre en œuvre la Déclaration sur la liquidation du colonialisme. S'ils ne le font pas et s'ils ne quittent pas les colonies de plein gré et en temps voulu, qu'ils le sachent bien, ils en seront chassés, comme ils ont été chassés d'Algérie. Aujourd'hui, ils peuvent encore partir avec leurs valises; demain, ils devront fuir sans elles si, du reste, ils réussissent à fuir, car la patience des peuples a des limites et le déclin du colonialisme est inévitable.

132. En ce qui concerne la République socialiste tchécoslovaque, les peuples d'Asie, d'Afrique et d'Amérique latine savent bien que toute notre sympathie leur est acquise, que nous sommes en faveur des mouvements de libération nationale et des hommes courageux qui combattent contre le colonialisme et l'impérialisme.

133. Le peuple et le gouvernement tchécoslovaques entendent approfondir constamment leur amitié avec les pays d'Asie, d'Afrique et d'Amérique latine. Nous continuerons à accorder à ces pays, dans la mesure de nos moyens, une aide et un appui désintéressés. Ainsi que l'a dit au mois de juin 1962 le Président de la République socialiste tchécoslovaque, M. Antonín Novotný:

"La République socialiste tchécoslovaque est entièrement et en toutes circonstances aux côtés des peuples qui luttent pour se libérer de l'esclavage colonial et de ceux qui, déjà libérés, commencent à édifier leur vie propre. Nous saluons tous ces peuples qui vivent libres aujourd'hui et décident de leurs propres affaires. Nous leur souhaitons d'aller de l'avant vers leur avenir aux côtés de tous les peuples qui marchent vers le progrès et vers la paix."

134. La délégation tchécoslovaque estime que, cette année, l'Assemblée générale doit prendre des mesures énergiques afin d'assurer le plus rapidement possible la mise en œuvre de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux.

135. L'Assemblée doit adopter une résolution qui prive les colonisateurs de la possibilité d'avoir recours à de nouveaux attermoiements et de continuer à retarder la décolonisation. C'est dans cet ordre d'idées que nous appuyons pleinement la proposition faite le 9 octobre de cette année, au cours de la discussion générale [1148^{ème} séance], par M. Sekou Touré, président de la République de Guinée, et reprise récemment par la délégation de la Guinée [1169^{ème} séance]. Dans cette proposition, il est suggéré que l'Assemblée générale fixe une date limite définitive pour la liquidation du colonialisme. Il y est suggéré également qu'à la date du 24 octobre 1963, qui marquera le dix-huitième anniversaire de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, soit proclamée la liquidation totale et définitive du colonialisme et qu'il soit ainsi mis fin à jamais à ce triste et honteux chapitre de l'histoire de l'humanité, ce qui permettra d'aborder un nouveau chapitre, celui de la collaboration pacifique de tous les pays et de tous les peuples libérés de l'exploitation coloniale.

136. La liquidation du colonialisme aurait pour effet d'éliminer de multiples foyers de tension militaire, de faciliter et d'accélérer grandement les pourpar-

lers sur la réalisation d'un désarmement général et complet et de conjurer le danger d'une guerre nucléaire, en ouvrant devant les peuples les perspectives d'une évolution économique et culturelle sans précédent.

137. C'est pourquoi la délégation de la République socialiste tchécoslovaque entend appuyer toutes les propositions visant à atteindre ces nobles objectifs, qui seront présentées à l'Assemblée générale vers la fin de la discussion générale et lors de l'examen des questions concrètes par les commissions compétentes.

138. M. GREN (Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques) [traduit du russe]: L'Assemblée générale, à sa dix-septième session, a abordé l'examen de la question qui est l'une des plus importantes de son ordre du jour: "La situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux".

139. Pour cette question, nous sommes saisis du rapport du Comité spécial des Dix-Sept [A/5238], créé en vertu d'une décision prise par l'Assemblée générale à sa seizième session [résolution 1654 (XVI)]. La seizième session a confié au Comité la tâche importante de contribuer à la mise en œuvre de la Déclaration en invitant le Comité à examiner la question et à présenter ses considérations et ses recommandations à l'Assemblée générale au cours de sa dix-septième session.

140. Le Comité spécial, au cours de ses travaux qui se sont poursuivis du 20 février au 19 septembre 1962, a examiné à la lumière des exigences formulées dans la Déclaration la situation dans 12 colonies: Rhodésie du Sud, Rhodésie du Nord, Nyassaland, Souaziland, Bassoutoland, Betchouanaland, Zanzibar, Mozambique, Sud-Ouest africain, Kenya, Angola et Guyane britannique. Au sujet de tous ces territoires, le Comité a présenté des recommandations qui doivent être examinées au cours de la présente session.

141. De l'avis de la délégation de l'Union soviétique, le Comité a eu raison d'accorder la priorité à l'examen de la situation dans les colonies du continent africain, attendu qu'en Afrique le colonialisme maintient encore quelques-unes de ses positions et que ses récidives mettent sérieusement en danger la paix et la sécurité des peuples.

142. Il faut reconnaître que le Comité spécial a accompli un travail considérable et que sa création à la seizième session de l'Assemblée générale était opportune et bien indiquée.

143. Les recommandations élaborées par le Comité tiennent compte des particularités concrètes de chaque territoire et suggèrent les mesures à prendre afin de faire octroyer l'indépendance aux territoires en question.

144. Après avoir entendu de nombreux pétitionnaires et avoir tenu des séances en Afrique, le Comité spécial a attiré l'attention de l'opinion publique mondiale sur la situation de fait dans ces territoires et il a ainsi contribué à consolider les forces qui militent en faveur d'une mise en œuvre sans délai de la Déclaration des Nations Unies sur la liquidation du système colonial.

145. La délégation de l'Union soviétique estime que, dans l'examen de la mise en œuvre de la Déclaration, nous devons à cette session concentrer notre

attention sur la recherche des moyens les plus rapides et les plus efficaces de liquider le système colonial, ainsi que l'exige la Déclaration, et aussi sur la mise en évidence des causes qui empêchent cette liquidation. Dans ce sens, le rapport du Comité et ses recommandations facilitent notre tâche à maints points de vue.

146. Au cours de la discussion générale à la présente session, presque toutes les délégations ont fait état de la Déclaration, mais avec deux attitudes différentes. L'immense majorité des orateurs, constatant avec inquiétude que la Déclaration n'avait jusqu'à présent pas été mise pleinement en œuvre, ont formulé à l'adresse des Nations Unies une demande juste et légitime visant à faire prendre de nouvelles mesures radicales pour faire respecter la décision prise à la quinzième session au sujet de la liquidation du système colonial.

147. A ces exigences s'oppose un autre point de vue, défendu en premier lieu et surtout par les représentants des puissances coloniales qui, sous une forme ou sous une autre, ouvertement ou de façon déguisée, ont pris la défense de leur propre politique, visant à maintenir le système colonial.

148. Tels ont été à ce sujet les deux courants d'opinion qui se sont déjà fait jour au cours de la discussion générale. Mais il ne fait aucun doute que le premier courant d'opinion l'emportera sur le second.

149. En défendant leur droit légitime à une existence indépendante, dès la première année qui a suivi l'adoption de la Déclaration, les peuples du Tanganyika, du Sierra Leone, du Samoa-Occidental et du Cameroun britannique ont échappé à l'esclavage colonial.

150. La deuxième année d'application de cette charte de libération des peuples coloniaux a été marquée par la victoire historique de l'Algérie. Le peuple héroïque d'Algérie a apporté une contribution inestimable au mouvement de libération nationale. La victoire remportée par les valeureux fils et filles de l'Algérie inspire tous les peuples qui subissent encore le joug colonial pour une lutte sans merci contre les dominateurs étrangers.

151. Le Rwanda et le Burundi, derniers débris de l'empire colonial belge, ont acquis l'indépendance, ainsi que les peuples de la Jamaïque et de la Trinité et Tobago. Nous avons accueilli récemment un autre nouveau Membre de l'Organisation, l'Ouganda, autre Etat africain.

152. Nous voyons dans cette salle des représentants de nouveaux Etats, qui siègent ici sur un pied d'égalité, en qualité de Membres de l'Organisation, et participent aux discussions et à la solution de problèmes internationaux d'actualité.

153. La délégation soviétique, au nom des peuples et du gouvernement de l'Union soviétique, est heureuse de féliciter les nouveaux jeunes Etats indépendants et de leur souhaiter la bienvenue, et c'est de tout cœur qu'elle leur souhaite le succès dans leur essor national.

154. On ne peut non plus manquer de reconnaître la contribution efficace apportée par la Déclaration à l'accélération du processus de libération, par des peuples indépendants, de leurs frères et sœurs de race qui subissent encore le joug colonial dans les territoires annexés par les colonisateurs.

155. Un grand succès dans cette juste cause a été réalisé par le peuple de l'Inde qui, à la suite d'une action résolue, a libéré des colonisateurs portugais les territoires de son patrimoine national de Goa, Daman et Diou.

156. L'héroïque peuple indonésien a obtenu une victoire importante, après une lutte opiniâtre, pour la juste cause de la libération de l'Irian occidental de la domination coloniale.

157. Tous ces faits nous démontrent une fois encore que le régime colonial est condamné et que sa disparition finale est décidée. En prenant la parole à la quinzième session de l'Assemblée générale pour demander l'adoption de la Déclaration, le chef du Gouvernement de l'Union soviétique, M. Khrouchtchev, faisait remarquer:

"En fait, tout ce qu'il s'agit de savoir maintenant, c'est si l'enterrement du régime colonial se fera dans le calme ou s'il s'accompagnera des dangereuses aventures que pourront entreprendre les tenants du colonialisme acculés aux mesures extrêmes." [869ème séance, par. 177.]

158. Il ajoutait encore qu'il était impossible de prolonger l'existence du régime colonial condamné, soit par des complots, soit même par la force des armes.

159. Le chef du Gouvernement de l'Union soviétique a adressé alors un appel aux pays occidentaux en les invitant à coordonner les mesures tendant à la liquidation du régime colonial de gouvernement, à accélérer de cette façon ce processus historique régulier et à faire tout pour permettre aux peuples des pays coloniaux d'accéder à un statut d'égalité et de décider eux-mêmes de leur sort.

160. Une analyse des événements des deux dernières années nous oblige à constater que les pays occidentaux n'ont pas répondu à de tels appels.

161. Les résultats acquis au cours des deux dernières années en matière de libération des peuples coloniaux ne témoignent nullement que les puissances coloniales aient appliqué de bonne foi la Déclaration.

162. Les faits démontrent de façon irréfutable que les puissances coloniales poursuivent leurs efforts pour faire échouer la mise en œuvre de la Déclaration et que les peuples coloniaux conquièrent de haute et pénible lutte la liberté et l'indépendance. Jusqu'à présent, 50 millions environ d'êtres humains végètent encore sous le joug colonial.

163. A sa session précédente, l'Assemblée générale, dans sa résolution 1654 (XVI) du 27 novembre 1961, a attiré l'attention des puissances coloniales sur le retard inadmissible apporté à l'application de la Déclaration, qui crée dans de nombreuses régions du monde une situation de plus en plus dangereuse qui peut constituer une menace à la paix et à la sécurité internationales. A la présente session, force nous est de nous occuper de nouveau de cette question.

164. La situation qui prévaut dans les colonies portugaises est universellement connue. Les crimes que continuent à perpétrer les colonisateurs portugais ne le cèdent en rien aux forfaits des nazis.

165. Les Nations Unies ne peuvent pas et ne doivent plus se contenter de chercher en vain à persuader le Portugal, qui bafoue ouvertement les principes fondamentaux et les plus importantes décisions des Nations Unies et se met ainsi de lui-même hors de l'Organisation.

166. La délégation soviétique estime que le moment est depuis longtemps venu de prendre les mesures les plus sévères contre un autre gouvernement qui enfreint de façon préméditée les décisions de l'Assemblée générale: le Gouvernement de la République sud-africaine.

167. Faisant complètement fi des exigences de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, le Gouvernement sud-africain cherche à perpétuer par la terreur et la violence le régime colonial dans le Territoire du Sud-Ouest africain qu'il a annexé. L'Assemblée devrait se rendre compte qu'il s'agit de l'existence même de la population autochtone du Sud-Ouest africain et que seules des mesures radicales et rapides peuvent en prévenir l'anéantissement définitif.

168. L'attitude du Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni envers la Déclaration mérite une sévère réprobation. La Grande-Bretagne en effet demeure la plus grande puissance coloniale, avec 36 possessions coloniales, dont la population se chiffre à 28 millions d'âmes environ.

169. La Grande-Bretagne, qui, à la différence d'autres puissances coloniales, a compris que la fin du colonialisme est inévitable, recourt maintenant à toutes sortes de manœuvres qui lui permettraient de conserver sa position dans ses possessions.

170. Ces manœuvres ressortent clairement de la documentation du rapport du Comité des Dix-Sept. En patronnant le régime antidémocratique des racistes de la Rhodésie du Sud qui exercent leur domination sur toute la population autochtone, le Royaume-Uni mène en même temps en Guyane britannique une politique d'ébranlement du gouvernement élu par la majorité de la population, afin de le remplacer par ses créatures.

171. Le Royaume-Uni cherche aussi à éluder les exigences sans équivoque de la Déclaration sur l'octroi aux peuples du droit à déterminer eux-mêmes leur statut politique en s'efforçant d'inclure de force, avant l'octroi de l'indépendance, certaines possessions coloniales dans des unions telles que la Fédération de la Rhodésie et du Nyassaland, la Fédération des Indes occidentales, la Fédération de Malaisie et la Fédération des principautés de l'Arabie du Sud. Qu'on ne s'y méprenne point: nous ne nous opposons pas aux fédérations en général. Cependant, les fédérations ou autres unions ne peuvent être constituées que par des peuples libres, après leur libération du joug colonial, sur la base de la volonté et du désir du peuple librement exprimés. Seule une telle solution du problème des fédérations correspond à l'esprit et à la lettre de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux.

172. Les peuples du Kenya, de la Rhodésie du Nord, de la Rhodésie du Sud, du Nyassaland, de la Guyane britannique, de Zanzibar, du Betchoualand, du Basoutoland, du Souaziland, d'Aden et d'autres possessions britanniques réclament instamment pour eux le transfert des pouvoirs et l'octroi immédiat de l'indépendance. Les Nations Unies doivent appuyer ces revendications légitimes des peuples opprimés et exiger du Royaume-Uni une application totale et sans délai de la Déclaration des Nations Unies sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux.

173. Il ne faut pas oublier non plus que la France garde sous sa domination 10 possessions coloniales, peuplées d'environ 1 300 000 habitants.

174. La Déclaration des Nations Unies est totalement méconnue par le gouvernement franquiste d'Espagne. Depuis que la Déclaration a été proclamée, parmi les cinq possessions coloniales espagnoles, peuplées de 1 250 000 habitants au total, aucune n'a obtenu l'indépendance. Le Gouvernement espagnol étend à ses colonies le régime fasciste et réprime brutalement le mouvement pour la réunion à la mère patrie de la population autochtone des territoires annexés au détriment du Maroc.

175. En examinant le problème de la mise en œuvre de la Déclaration, on ne saurait manquer d'évoquer la position des Etats-Unis, en tant que puissance dirigeante parmi les pays occidentaux. Il faut bien dire nettement qu'il dépend de la position des Etats-Unis que la Déclaration soit mise en œuvre rapidement et sans qu'il en résulte des heurts qui ont des répercussions sur le destin de nombreuses nations, et aussi sur la cause de la paix dans certaines régions et même dans le monde entier. Nous devons malheureusement constater que les Etats-Unis donnent leur appui sous des formes diverses aux principales puissances coloniales comme le Portugal, l'Afrique du Sud, le Royaume-Uni, l'Espagne, etc. Les Etats-Unis ont refusé, par exemple, que des mesures radicales soient prises contre les racistes sud-africains, comme l'a bien fait ressortir, à la Commission politique spéciale, le débat sur la politique de l'apartheid, appliquée par le Gouvernement de la République sud-africaine. Les Etats-Unis ont voté contre la résolution qui reflétait, on le sait, le point de vue de tous ceux qui luttent pour une juste solution du problème.

176. Les Etats-Unis ont adopté la même position, qui se résume en un appui offert aux puissances coloniales dans leur lutte contre les peuples asservis, au cours des travaux du Comité des Dix-Sept. La délégation des Etats-Unis a voté contre les résolutions du Comité des Dix-Sept relatives à la Rhodésie du Nord, au Betchoualand, au Basoutoland, au Scuziland, au Mozambique et à l'Angola, résolutions qui avaient pour but d'aider à appliquer à ces territoires la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance. La délégation des Etats-Unis a protesté également contre l'audition par le Comité de pétitionnaires et s'est opposée au voyage du Comité en Afrique.

177. Il convient de constater également que les Etats-Unis ne se conforment pas aux dispositions de la Déclaration à l'égard de leurs possessions coloniales, comme les Iles du Pacifique, Porto Rico et les Samoa américaines, et qu'ils cherchent plutôt à y renforcer leur domination.

178. Voici, par exemple, ce que dit à ce sujet le général de brigade en retraite des Etats-Unis Hugh B. Hester, dans un article intitulé "Les multiples formes du colonialisme", paru dans le *New World Review* de mars 1962. Parlant des territoires du Pacifique administrés par les Etats-Unis, il écrit:

"Saipan, les Iles Marshall, Mariannes et Carolines sont formellement sous la tutelle du Gouvernement des Etats-Unis... En pratique, les choses se passent comme si ces Iles étaient la propriété des Etats-Unis et se trouvaient sous le contrôle de leur gouvernement, sans aucune surveillance extérieure, exactement comme dans le cas des colonies d'autres puissances coloniales. Le cas des Iles Ryû-Kyû, qui comprennent l'Ile d'Okinawa, est encore plus inquiétant... Ces Iles sont elles aussi actuellement contrôlées, possédées et administrées en tant que colonies des Etats-Unis."

179. De fait, l'île d'Okinawa, administrée comme colonie par les Etats-Unis, a été transformée en base militaire; en de nombreux endroits y ont été installées des fusées munies d'ogives nucléaires. Il est caractéristique qu'au moment où les îles Saipan et Tinian ont été reprises en 1947 au Japon et placées sous mandat des Etats-Unis la délégation des Etats-Unis a déclaré à la commission compétente des Nations Unies que le Japon s'était vu retirer le mandat sur ces îles pour la seule raison qu'il y avait installé des bases militaires et constituait ainsi un danger pour les autres pays. Ayant oublié ces déclarations de l'époque, les Etats-Unis font maintenant ce qu'ils reprochaient autrefois au Japon.

180. Le statut colonial de Porto Rico est toujours maintenu. Le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis a décidé de faire procéder sur l'île à ce qu'il appelle un "plébiscite" pour savoir si les Porto-Ricains désirent obtenir l'indépendance. On peut se demander de quel genre de plébiscite, de quelle libre expression de sa volonté il pourra s'agir pour la population de Porto Rico, alors que l'île sert de base militaire aux Etats-Unis et que le plébiscite sera organisé par l'administration coloniale américaine, sous la menace des baïonnettes des "marines" américains.

181. Ainsi que l'a déclaré le secrétaire exécutif du parti porto-ricain "Action porto-ricaine unifiée", Juan Carretjer, un tel plébiscite "ne constitue pas un moyen juridique de libération de la colonie, mais un instrument d'annexion". Prenons maintenant pour exemple l'attitude des Etats-Unis à l'égard des Samoa américaines. Lorsque les îles du Samoa-Occidental ont reçu l'indépendance l'an dernier, on aurait pu penser que les Etats-Unis saisiraient cette occasion pour accorder l'indépendance aux Samoa américaines. Il n'en fut rien. L'Assemblée doit se souvenir des expédients auxquels ont eu recours les représentants des Etats-Unis pour éluder une telle décision.

182. Dans l'article cité plus haut du général américain Hester, l'auteur, en évoquant d'autres formes du colonialisme, fait remarquer que le contrôle économique s'avère souvent comme étant plus efficace et plus avantageux que l'occupation effective. Voici ce qu'il écrit: "C'est dans la pratique de ce genre de colonialisme que "l'élite au pouvoir" aux Etats-Unis a fait preuve de sa plus grande maîtrise. En ce sens, les Etats-Unis sont actuellement la plus grande puissance coloniale ..."

183. La raison principale qui incite les puissances coloniales à s'opposer à la mise en œuvre de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance, c'est le souci de permettre aux multiples monopoles installés dans les pays sous domination coloniale de conserver leurs positions économiques. L'exploitation par rapine des ressources naturelles et de la population autochtone des pays colonisés enrichit de nombreux monopoles américains, anglais, français, ouest-allemands et autres. Les intérêts économiques de ces monopoles sont défendus avant tout par les dirigeants politiques des puissances coloniales.

184. Le Comité spécial des Dix-Sept a disposé de nombreux documents contenant des preuves incontestables du fait que la politique des puissances occidentales à l'égard des territoires coloniaux de l'Afrique centrale et australe est déterminée par les intérêts d'une centaine des plus importantes compagnies qui, à la façon de la pieuvre, sucent les richesses naturelles de ces pays et pompent ainsi vers

leurs coffres-forts des centaines de millions de dollars.

185. Cette région du continent africain, la plus développée au point de vue industriel, est rattachée à la sphère d'activité des monopoles internationaux qui constituent ce qu'on appelle "l'empire sud-africain". Dans cette région d'Afrique, le rôle prédominant appartient à des compagnies: la Rhodesia Selection Trust, l'Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa que dirige Oppenheimer, le roi sans couronne de l'Afrique du Sud, la British South Africa Company qui possède des droits pour l'exploitation des ressources minières au Nyassaland couvrant une superficie de 42 000 kilomètres carrés et des plantations en Rhodesie du Sud d'une superficie de 53 600 hectares, la Mozambique Gulf Oil Company qui appartient au groupe Mellon et d'autres compagnies encore.

186. Ainsi, par exemple, en Angola, la compagnie anglo-portugaise Angola Diamond Company a une concession sur les neuf dixièmes du territoire. Le chemin de fer de Benguela, en Angola, qui relie le Katanga aux ports de l'Atlantique, est pour 90 p. 100 la propriété de la compagnie Tanganyika Concessions, dont les Rockefeller disposent d'un paquet d'actions qui leur en assure le contrôle. A ces compagnies puissantes s'est joint récemment le consortium Krupp d'Allemagne occidentale qui a obtenu du Gouvernement portugais un contrat pour l'extraction du minerai de fer en Angola.

187. La Standard Oil Company des Rockefeller domine l'industrie en Guinée portugaise. Au Mozambique, la Mozambique Gulf Oil Company du groupe Mellon, déjà mentionnée, a obtenu une concession pour la prospection du charbon et du pétrole sur un territoire de 120 000 kilomètres carrés, ce qui représente 15 p. 100 de tout le territoire de la colonie. Là encore, sur les 14 sociétés pour la culture du sisal, trois sont britanniques et cinq ouest-allemandes. La Compagnie sucrière du Mozambique est aussi propriété anglaise. Quant à la société belge par actions Société minière et géologique du Zambezi, elle possède 60 p. 100 des actions de l'industrie charbonnière du Mozambique.

188. Au Sud-Ouest africain, l'exploitation des mines et l'exportation des minerais sont entre les mains de compagnies britanniques, telles que la Consolidated Mines of South West Africa et d'autres sociétés. Six des principales mines de cuivre de la Rhodesie du Nord appartiennent à deux compagnies, où dominent les capitaux américains.

189. Le Premier Ministre de la Guyane britannique, M. Jagan, a cité au Comité des Dix-Sept des faits stupéfiants qui témoignent des moyens utilisés par la Puissance administrante pour protéger les intérêts des capitaux étrangers. Il apparaît que les bénéfices des compagnies étrangères qui disposent des secteurs principaux de l'économie du pays ne sont pas contrôlés par le Gouvernement de la Guyane britannique, mais par la commission fiscale de la Puissance administrante, de sorte que le Gouvernement de la Guyane britannique, qui est responsable de l'essor économique du pays, ne dispose d'aucun droit de regard sur les bénéfices réalisés par les compagnies étrangères et sur les capitaux qu'elles exportent à l'étranger. De nombreuses compagnies, avec l'assentiment de la Puissance administrante, sont en général exemptées de tous impôts. Parmi ces compagnies se trouvent de nombreuses compagnies américaines et anglaises de production de l'aluminium, d'extraction

de la bauxite, de l'industrie sucrière, etc. Cette liste des monopoles étrangers qui pillent les peuples sous domination coloniale est loin d'être complète.

190. Les faits démontrent que les mouvements de libération nationale des peuples des pays coloniaux se heurtent à l'opposition d'un rassemblement international puissant des gros monopoles liés d'une façon organique aux appareils administratifs des puissances coloniales et qui exercent une influence décisive sur leur politique. Il est intéressant à cet égard de citer les révélations significatives de Jord Robins, un des dirigeants de la British South Africa, à la 64^{ème} assemblée annuelle de cette compagnie:

"Je suis heureux de vous faire savoir que je suis en possession d'une assurance écrite formelle du Secrétaire d'Etat pour les affaires coloniales, d'après laquelle, dans la nouvelle constitution prévue pour la Rhodésie du Nord, le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté conserve des pouvoirs suffisants pour empêcher toute violation de l'accord de 1950 de la part du Gouvernement de la Rhodésie du Nord."

(Conformément à l'accord de 1950, cette compagnie détient des droits sur l'exploitation des ressources minières en Rhodésie du Nord jusqu'en l'an 1986.)

191. Cette déclaration met en lumière l'essence véritable de la politique des puissances coloniales à l'égard des colonies. Au nom des intérêts avides des monopoles, on refuse aux peuples coloniaux le droit légalement admis à l'indépendance, on cherche à perpétuer le retard économique et culturel des peuples dépendants et l'on réprime brutalement toute action en vue de l'indépendance.

192. Le rapport du Comité spécial des Dix-Sept [A/5238] note avec inquiétude que les puissances coloniales procèdent à des préparatifs militaires intensifs destinés à réprimer par la force des armes les mouvements de libération nationale des peuples coloniaux. Tel est le cas en premier lieu pour l'Angola, la Rhodésie du Sud, le Sud-Ouest africain et le Mozambique. C'est ainsi que le Portugal a renforcé l'an dernier ses garnisons au Mozambique par de nouvelles unités comprenant au total 50 000 hommes. Les nouvelles unités comprennent en grande partie des parachutistes et des détachements de débarquement et de diversion. Dans la région du Mozambique qui avoisine le Tanganyika et le Nyassaland, on vient de construire 15 nouveaux aérodromes militaires. De plus, on a organisé un "corps de volontaires de défense civile, composé de colons de race blanche". Dans toutes les plantations importantes du nord du pays, des stocks d'armes et d'équipement militaire ont été constitués. Tenant compte de ces faits inquiétants, le Comité spécial des Dix-Sept note dans sa résolution [ibid., par. 109] que la politique du Portugal à l'égard du Mozambique "constitue un défi à l'Organisation des Nations Unies et à l'opinion publique mondiale et une menace grave à la paix et à la sécurité en Afrique". Le Comité réprime vivement les mesures de répression dirigées contre le peuple du Mozambique et demande qu'il y soit mis un terme sur-le-champ.

193. Cela étant, l'Assemblée générale devrait attacher une attention spéciale au danger créé par les livraisons aux puissances coloniales d'armes provenant des pays occidentaux pour réprimer les mouvements de libération nationale des peuples coloniaux. La partie du rapport du Comité spécial consacrée aux territoires sous administration du Portugal spécifie

que la plus grande partie de l'équipement militaire et autres fournitures dont dispose le Portugal provient des pays membres de l'OTAN. Le Comité arrive à la conclusion que, tant que les armes se trouveront aux mains des Portugais, elles seront utilisées contre les mouvements de libération nationale en Afrique, en dépit des assurances de toutes sortes que le Portugal pourrait donner. Il est évident, d'après le Comité, qu'une aide militaire de ce genre fournie au Portugal constitue une aide à la répression de mouvements de libération dans les territoires sous administration du Portugal.

194. L'Organisation des Nations Unies peut-elle continuer à prendre son parti de ce que l'OTAN joue un rôle aussi néfaste en ce qui concerne la répression des mouvements de libération nationale en Afrique, la lutte des peuples coloniaux pour leur indépendance et les aspirations des jeunes Etats africains qui veulent affermir leur indépendance et assurer la paix?

195. Si l'on parle sérieusement de la mise en œuvre de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, il est indispensable d'arrêter immédiatement l'aide militaire de l'OTAN aux colonisateurs en Afrique et de mettre l'embargo sur la vente et la fourniture d'armes dans les colonies africaines et autres. C'est là une des conclusions auxquelles est arrivé le Comité spécial au sujet des territoires sous administration du Portugal. Des recommandations analogues sont contenues dans plusieurs résolutions soumises par le Comité spécial. La délégation soviétique considère que ces recommandations devraient être énergiquement appuyées par l'Assemblée générale.

196. Il est indispensable également de tenir compte des exigences présentées de plus en plus énergiquement par les pays africains au sujet des bases militaires et des troupes étrangères stationnées en territoire africain. Cette question est en relation directe avec la liquidation définitive du système colonial. Les peuples coloniaux considèrent la liquidation des bases militaires et le retrait des troupes étrangères stationnées sur leur territoire comme une des principales conditions pour leur conquête d'une véritable indépendance.

197. L'OTAN dispose en Afrique de 17 bases de l'armée aérienne et de 7 bases de l'armée navale. Le nombre des formations militaires stationnées sur ces bases et leur puissance de feu dépasse tout ce que possédaient en Afrique les puissances coloniales au temps de leur domination sans réserve de ce continent. Ces bases sont là pour s'opposer à l'indépendance des Etats africains et des peuples coloniaux.

198. Les représentants de la population autochtone du Kenya qui ont pris la parole devant le Comité des Dix-Sept ont déclaré carrément que les bases militaires britanniques situées sur le territoire du Kenya constituent une menace sérieuse pour le pays, qu'elles sont un obstacle non seulement à la conquête de l'indépendance du Kenya, mais aussi à la collaboration avec d'autres Etats africains. Ils ont exprimé leur grande inquiétude du fait que le Royaume-Uni dispose d'armes nucléaires sur ces bases et ils ont demandé au Comité d'insister auprès du Royaume-Uni pour la liquidation des bases militaires au Kenya. Au cours des événements survenus au Kenya de 1952 à 1960, les troupes terrestres et aériennes de ces bases ont été lancées contre les Africains. Ces forces armées

sont toujours prêtes à être utilisées contre la libération du peuple du Kenya.

199. Toutefois, les pays de l'OTAN continuent de faire fi des exigences légitimes des peuples d'Afrique et d'encercler l'Afrique de bases militaires. L'Allemagne occidentale se mêle aussi à cette affaire. Selon les journaux anglais, le Gouvernement portugais a conclu avec la République fédérale d'Allemagne, dans le cadre de l'OTAN, un accord aux termes duquel la République fédérale d'Allemagne disposera de bases aériennes sur le territoire du Portugal.

200. Un rôle particulièrement actif à cet égard est joué par les Etats-Unis qui ont créé et s'efforcent d'étendre le réseau de leurs bases militaires dans diverses régions d'Asie, d'Afrique et d'Amérique latine. Alors qu'en 1943 les forces armées des Etats-Unis étaient stationnées sur les territoires de 39 Etats, le nombre de ces Etats est passé à 49 en 1953 et à 79 en 1960.

201. La délégation soviétique est fermement convaincue qu'il ne peut être question de paix et de sécurité pour les peuples d'Afrique ainsi que de la liquidation du colonialisme sur ce continent tant que ne seront pas supprimées les bases militaires sur les territoires des Etats africains et retirées toutes les forces armées étrangères de ces territoires. Nous appuyons pleinement cette revendication des peuples d'Afrique et nous estimons qu'il est du devoir de l'Assemblée générale de dire résolument son avis faisant autorité pour contraindre les pays de l'OTAN à satisfaire cette revendication légitime.

202. La politique des puissances occidentales à l'égard des colonies apparaît particulièrement piteuse au Congo. Les puissances coloniales, après avoir déclenché une agression contre la République du Congo, ne cessent de s'ingérer dans les affaires intérieures du pays, dans l'intérêt des gros monopoles anglais, belges, américains et français qui s'y sont implantés. Les puissances occidentales font tout leur possible pour que ne cesse pas le battage autour du Congo, car cela leur permet de mener des intrigues et de se partager les richesses du Congo. Le rapport^{4/} que vient de publier récemment le chef de l'Opération des Nations Unies au Congo fournit un riche matériel de faits sur la façon dont les puissances occidentales continuent à faire les maîtres au Congo. Le rapport démontre que le chiffre des mercenaires dans l'armée de Tshombé ne cesse d'augmenter et que tous proviennent de Belgique et d'autres pays occidentaux. En fait, Tshombé reçoit sans cesse, de façon directe ou camouflée, de la Belgique, du Royaume-Uni, des Etats-Unis, de la France et de la République fédérale d'Allemagne des avions, des armes et de l'équipement. Les ambassadeurs et d'autres représentants des Etats-Unis, du Royaume-Uni et de la Belgique continuent à mener dans les coulisses des pourparlers avec Tshombé, ce qui, en définitive, renforce son régime séparatiste et perpétue la division du Congo.

203. Il est évident aussi que les puissances occidentales utilisent à ces fins l'appareil de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, de sorte que les représentants de l'administration et le Haut Commandement des forces armées des Nations Unies patronnent de fait le régime Tshombé en lui donnant la possibilité de renforcer sa position. L'activité séparatiste de

Tshombé représente un sérieux danger non seulement pour l'intégrité territoriale et pour l'indépendance de la République du Congo, mais également pour les pays limitrophes, en premier lieu l'Angola, la Rhodésie du Nord, la Rhodésie du Sud et le Nyassaland, qui mènent en ce moment une pénible lutte pour se libérer du joug colonial.

204. Les Etats-Unis qui ont voté en novembre 1961 en faveur de la décision du Conseil de sécurité de liquider le mouvement séparatiste du Katanga, dans l'intérêt de leur entente avec leurs alliés, avant tout le Royaume-Uni, la Belgique et la France, se sont ensuite opposés en fait à l'application de cette décision et ils s'efforcent en ce moment de s'entendre avec les séparatistes, à l'insu du peuple congolais et au détriment de ses intérêts vitaux et au préjudice de l'unité et de l'indépendance de la République du Congo.

205. De l'avis de la délégation soviétique, l'Organisation des Nations Unies doit prendre des mesures énergiques pour mettre fin à l'ingérence des Etats-Unis, du Royaume-Uni, de la Belgique et de la France dans les affaires intérieures de la République du Congo et pour faire appliquer les résolutions du Conseil de sécurité sur l'expulsion des mercenaires étrangers du Katanga et la subordination du Katanga au gouvernement central du Congo.

206. Ainsi qu'en témoignent les faits, les Etats-Unis, le Royaume-Uni, le Portugal, la République sud-africaine, la France et d'autres puissances coloniales sabotent la mise en œuvre de la Déclaration. On en trouve une confirmation dans le rapport que nous a présenté le Comité spécial des Dix-Sept.

207. En dépit des difficultés et obstacles qu'ont dressés devant lui les puissances coloniales, le Comité spécial, à en juger par son rapport, a effectué un travail considérable et utile.

208. Pour ce qui concerne les recommandations concrètes présentées par le Comité spécial des Dix-Sept, la délégation soviétique estime que les recommandations au sujet de l'Angola et du Sud-Ouest africain devraient être étudiées au moment où l'Assemblée générale examinera les points pertinents de son ordre du jour. La question de la Rhodésie du Sud a déjà été examinée, comme on le sait, à la dix-septième session de l'Assemblée. Les recommandations du Comité au sujet des autres territoires devraient être approuvées au stade actuel, afin qu'elles aient force de décisions de l'Assemblée générale.

209. La délégation soviétique considère que la tâche primordiale de la dix-septième session de l'Assemblée générale pour résoudre cette question est d'adopter des décisions qui forceraient les colonisateurs à subordonner leur cupidité mesquine et leurs intérêts égoïstes aux intérêts de toute l'humanité, autrement dit à appliquer la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, sans autres réserves ni délais. Le Comité des Dix-Sept devrait s'inspirer dans ses travaux futurs de ces décisions de l'Assemblée.

210. Avant tout, l'Assemblée générale doit appuyer résolument la proposition de la délégation de la République de Guinée au sujet d'une date limite pour la liquidation complète et définitive du système colonial.

211. Afin que la Déclaration puisse être mise en œuvre, il est indispensable de contraindre les puis-

^{4/} Documents officiels du Conseil de sécurité, dix-septième année, Supplément No 4, document S/5053/Add.12.

sances coloniales à mettre fin immédiatement à toutes les opérations militaires et à toutes les répressions contre les peuples des colonies et des territoires non autonomes, à retirer de ces territoires leurs forces armées et leur personnel militaire et à liquider toutes les bases militaires sur ces territoires.

212. Il faut prendre des mesures décisives pour permettre aux peuples des colonies et des territoires non autonomes d'exercer leur droit imprescriptible à la démocratie et à la liberté, y compris la liberté de parole, de presse et de réunion et leur droit de former des partis politiques et des organisations sociales. Toutes les lois et tous les règlements qui limitent ou interdisent l'activité des partis politiques et des organisations sociales devraient être immédiatement abrogés. Une amnistie sans réserve devrait être proclamée à l'égard de tous les détenus politiques dans les colonies et les territoires non autonomes. Devraient être abrogés également toutes les lois et tous les règlements autorisant une discrimination raciale.

213. Pour autant que l'administration coloniale continue à saboter le transfert des pouvoirs à la population autochtone, il faut assurer que dans les colonies et les territoires non autonomes aient lieu les élections des nouveaux organes du pouvoir sur la base du suffrage universel et secret. C'est ainsi seulement que pourront être créées des institutions véritablement nationales et démocratiques auxquelles tous les pouvoirs devront être transférés.

214. Nous estimons que l'Organisation des Nations Unies doit exiger l'abrogation immédiate de tous les accords imposés auparavant par les puissances coloniales, accords qui limitent ou violent la souveraineté, l'indépendance et l'intégrité territoriale des territoires sous tutelle et des autres territoires non autonomes. Il est indispensable enfin d'exiger l'abrogation immédiate de tous les actes officiels concernant l'union des territoires non autonomes, en totalité ou en partie, à la métropole. Il faut aussi déclarer fermement aux puissances coloniales que l'incorporation de telle ou telle autre colonie ou d'une partie de la colonie à une quelconque fédération ne peut être décidée que par le peuple de cette colonie, exprimant librement sa volonté, une fois acquise l'indépendance.

215. La continuation des agissements des colonisateurs qui tendent à saper l'unité nationale et l'intégrité territoriale des colonies ou des pays libérés du joug colonial doit être résolument condamnée.

216. De l'avis de la délégation soviétique, l'Assemblée générale ne saurait passer sous silence une question qui affecte les intérêts vitaux de millions de gens — la restitution par les colonisateurs de toutes les terres qu'ils se sont appropriées dans les colonies. Ces terres qui ont appartenu de tout temps à la population autochtone doivent être restituées à leurs légitimes propriétaires. Le devoir de l'Assemblée est d'aider les peuples à rétablir ce droit historique.

217. Les peuples attendent de la dix-septième session de l'Assemblée générale qu'elle adopte les mesures les plus rigoureuses contre les colonisateurs portugais, ainsi que contre les occupants et les racistes de l'Afrique du Sud, qui, depuis de nombreuses années, violent sans vergogne et criminellement la Charte des Nations Unies et les résolutions de l'Assemblée générale.

218. La délégation soviétique estime que l'Assemblée générale a des raisons plus que suffisantes pour exiger l'application sans délai des sanctions politiques, économiques et autres, prévues par les Articles 41 et 42 de la Charte des Nations Unies, à l'égard du Portugal et de la République sud-africaine.

219. Il va de soi que les Etats-Unis d'Amérique et les autres alliés du Portugal à l'OTAN sont tenus de cesser d'accorder au gouvernement de Salazar toute l'aide qu'il utilise pour l'extermination massive des peuples de l'Angola, du Mozambique et de la Guinée portugaise.

220. La délégation soviétique est convaincue que l'Organisation des Nations Unies doit également exiger de tous ses membres qui accordent une aide aux puissances coloniales de cesser immédiatement de la fournir si elle est susceptible d'être utilisée contre les peuples qui luttent pour se libérer de la dépendance coloniale.

221. Toutes les propositions présentées par la délégation soviétique sont pleinement conformes à l'esprit de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux et ont pour but d'accélérer sa mise en œuvre. La délégation soviétique espère que l'Assemblée générale étudiera soigneusement nos propositions et adoptera des résolutions pouvant contribuer réellement à supprimer complètement et définitivement le colonialisme sur la terre.

222. Pour terminer, je parlerai de l'intervention du représentant des Etats-Unis qui a tenté peu plausiblement de détourner l'Assemblée générale d'examiner une question aussi importante que celle de l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux.

223. Il a une fois de plus répété la calomnie bien connue à laquelle les Etats-Unis ont recours quand ils veulent camoufler leur politique impérialiste et distraire l'attention de l'Assemblée de la solution des questions importantes qui nous sont soumises.

224. Il n'est pas du goût de la délégation des Etats-Unis que 15 républiques socialistes soviétiques soient unies en une seule grande union, l'Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques. Les relations d'amitié, de collaboration et d'aide mutuelle qui unissent nos républiques ne leur plaisent pas. Ils ne voient pas d'un bon œil nos succès, qui sont maintenant de notoriété universelle, en matière de science, de technique, de culture, d'industrie et dans d'autres domaines des activités humaines.

225. Mais, comme on dit, nous ne pouvons rien pour aider les Etats-Unis. Nous pourrions dire, à notre tour, que le régime capitaliste en vigueur aux Etats-Unis n'est pas de notre goût. Néanmoins, nous ne proposons pas à l'Assemblée générale d'étudier cette question, ni d'émettre un jugement à ce sujet, car ce sont là affaires intérieures des Etats-Unis.


226. Les délégations comprennent naturellement que l'intervention calomnieuse du représentant des Etats-Unis n'est qu'une tentative pour attiser dans l'Organisation des Nations Unies l'esprit de guerre froide et pour détourner l'Assemblée de l'étude du problème de la liquidation du système colonial.

227. Si les Etats-Unis tiennent réellement à renforcer l'esprit de collaboration constructive à l'Organisation, ils doivent porter leur attention non pas sur les élucubrations et les calomnies dirigées contre l'Union soviétique, mais sur les moyens de répondre

par des actes appropriés au désir fervent de tous les peuples du monde de voir liquider le honteux système colonial.

228. C'est précisément la liquidation du système colonial, cette lourde séquelle de l'époque impérialiste, source de guerres et de tension internationale, qui apportera la liberté aux peuples coloniaux, consolidera la paix universelle et la sécurité internationale.

229. C'est vers ce but que doivent tendre les efforts de tous les pays qui ont à cœur la paix et la collaboration internationale.

230.  PRESIDENT (traduit de l'anglais): Je donne la parole au représentant du Japon qui a demandé à faire usage de son droit de réponse.

231. M. MATSUI (Japon) [traduit de l'anglais]: Dans sa déclaration, le représentant de l'Union soviétique

a jugé bon de parler assez longuement des îles Ryūkyū, qui font partie intégrante du Japon. Je réserve le droit de ma délégation de répondre sur ce point au représentant de l'Union soviétique après avoir dûment examiné sa déclaration. Pour le moment, il suffira de faire observer que cette question est entièrement en dehors de la question en discussion.

232. Le PRESIDENT (traduit de l'anglais): J'ai une liste de plus de 60 orateurs inscrits dans la discussion générale de cette question, y compris ceux qui ont pris la parole aujourd'hui. Pour que nous puissions les entendre tous, je devrai naturellement surveiller la progression de la discussion et, si cela devient nécessaire, nous pourrions être obligés de tenir la semaine prochaine des séances du soir.

La séance est levée à 18 h 5.

Nations Unies ASSEMBLÉE GÉNÉRALE

DIX-SEPTIÈME SESSION

Documents officiels



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SÉANCE PLÉNIÈRE

Mardi 21 novembre 1962,
à 10 h 30

NEW YORK

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Président: M. Muhammad ZAFRULLA KHAN
(Pakistan).

POINT 25 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

La situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux: rapport du Comité spécial constitué aux termes de la résolution 1654 (XVI) de l'Assemblée générale (suite)

En l'absence du Président, M. Zea (Colombie), vice-président, prend la présidence.

1. M. NICOLAESCU (Roumanie): C'est la troisième fois que le problème de l'abolition du colonialisme, en tant que système, est l'objet de l'attention de l'Assemblée générale.

2. Les Nations Unies ont saisi l'importance considérable du processus historique de la libération des peuples et se sont rangées nettement du côté de cette immense force de l'époque contemporaine, en proclamant solennellement la nécessité de la liquidation immédiate et sans condition du colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et manifestations. La Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, adoptée il y a deux ans par l'Assemblée générale [résolution 1514 (XV)], sur l'initiative de l'Union soviétique, a stimulé la lutte des peuples coloniaux, en leur offrant de nobles idéaux, de grands espoirs et une arme puissante pour l'accélération du processus de libération.

3. Maintenant, il s'agit de présenter devant l'humanité le bilan de la mise en application de ce document d'importance historique et de déterminer l'efficacité de l'action des Nations Unies dans le domaine si important de la libération des peuples. De l'avis de ma délégation, cette efficacité doit être appréciée en premier lieu selon la manière dont l'Organisation des Nations Unies réussit à assurer les conditions voulues pour accélérer la libération des peuples coloniaux et liquider les derniers vestiges du colonialisme.

4. L'ampleur du mouvement révolutionnaire, la présence parmi nous, en tant qu'États indépendants, de l'héroïque Algérie, du Burundi, du Rwanda, de la Jamaïque, de la Trinité et Tobago et de l'Ouganda, dont nous avons chaleureusement salué l'accession

à l'indépendance, ainsi que la réintégration d'autres territoires dans les États dont ils ont fait partie nous édifient sur l'influence positive de la Déclaration.

5. Mais, en étudiant la carte politique du monde, on constate qu'aujourd'hui, deux ans après l'adoption de la Déclaration, il n'y a que neuf noms qui ont disparu de la liste des territoires coloniaux. En conservant le rythme actuel de l'augmentation annuelle du nombre des territoires accédant à l'indépendance, la libération de quelque 80 territoires coloniaux qui existent encore à présent en Afrique, en Asie et en Amérique latine ne serait accomplie que dans un délai très long, et cela malgré le fait que la Déclaration exigeait expressément, dès 1960, le transfert immédiat de tous les pouvoirs aux peuples coloniaux.

6. Aujourd'hui, deux ans après l'adoption de la Déclaration, il est plus clair que jamais que les puissances coloniales appelées à mettre en œuvre cette déclaration sont devancées par le temps, mènent une politique contraire aux leçons de l'histoire, ignorent la volonté des Nations Unies et mettent en danger l'autorité même et l'efficacité de l'Organisation.

7. Le Comité des Dix-Sept, dont la laborieuse activité nous est démontrée par le rapport en discussion [A/5238], nous fournit une information très vaste et des conclusions qui nous permettent l'examen approfondi de l'application de la Déclaration et spécialement des difficultés que les peuples des colonies ont à surmonter.

8. L'opposition des puissances coloniales à la mise en œuvre de la Déclaration et à l'essor du mouvement de libération revêt les formes les plus diverses, allant des actions militaires répressives contre les peuples qui luttent pour leur indépendance, comme ceux de l'Angola, du Mozambique et d'autres colonies portugaises, provoquant ainsi l'indignation légitime de l'humanité tout entière, jusqu'à des manœuvres politiques visant à affaiblir le front de lutte anti-coloniale. On invoque le manque de préparation de ces peuples à se gouverner eux-mêmes, on dresse des programmes de réformes mineures qui, en réalité, renforcent la domination coloniale, on entame des négociations de longue durée, destinées à nourrir l'illusion de changements proches, on crée et cultive des divergences entre les partis politiques locaux ou entre divers groupements de la population.

9. La précipitation de ces actions ainsi que la gamme étendue des méthodes employées reflètent l'insistance avec laquelle les puissances coloniales s'efforcent de maintenir les positions et les privilèges que les rapports coloniaux leur ont donnés. Elles refusent de renoncer aux richesses fabuleuses des colonies, aux immenses profits offerts par l'exploitation coloniale,

^{1/} Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux.

et à la main-d'œuvre bon marché que les colonies mettent à leur disposition.

10. Il y a des centaines d'années, les peuples coloniaux ont dû payer avec de grands sacrifices l'arrivée sur leurs terres des premiers prétendus "civilisateurs" européens, qui, par la force et par le chantage, s'emparèrent de vastes territoires; aujourd'hui, les peuples coloniaux doivent payer, toujours par des sacrifices, le départ des colonialistes des territoires qu'ils ont pillés.

11. Ce sont les immenses ressources naturelles, d'une rare richesse et variété, de l'Afrique centrale et de l'Afrique méridionale, la bauxite du Surinam et les phosphates de Nauru qui expliquent la résistance obstinée opposée par les puissances impérialistes à la libération des colonies.

12. Un membre du Parlement britannique, M. Jack Jones, a déclaré:

"Il y a en Afrique centrale un immense potentiel économique que nous ne pouvons nous permettre de perdre. On a beaucoup parlé de la "ceinture du cuivre", mais je voudrais informer mes honorables collègues que, sans cette richesse, ce pays" — c'est-à-dire le Royaume-Uni — "aussi bien que l'Amérique seront dans 10 années beaucoup moins puissants qu'ils ne le sont aujourd'hui."

13. Un savant américain bien connu, M. William E. B. Du Bois, a dit:

"On peut affirmer sans aucune peur d'exagérer que la traite des esclaves a coûté à l'Afrique noire 100 millions d'âmes. Et pourtant, on se demande quelles pourraient être les causes qui ont déterminé, depuis 1600, la stagnation de la culture dans cette région!"

14. Lorsque la traite des esclaves a cessé, les profits des colonialistes ont été conditionnés par l'asservissement économique et par l'exploitation brutale de la main-d'œuvre bon marché assurée par l'apartheid, par des lois racistes érigées au rang d'institution, par des lois discriminatoires, par le refus d'accorder aux autochtones les droits politiques élémentaires, par l'usurpation de leurs terres, par l'obscurantisme, etc.

15. Ce ne sont que des formes nouvelles d'exploitation; l'essence restant la même, celle de l'esclavage. D'ailleurs, les résultats en sont, eux aussi, analogues. La traite des esclaves a coûté à l'Afrique 100 millions d'êtres humains. Mais combien de millions ont coûté au même continent les guerres coloniales, telles que la guerre d'Algérie; les massacres, comme ceux de l'Angola; la terreur, comme celle qui règne en Afrique du Sud, en Rhodésie du Sud ou, il y a quelques années, au Kenya? Dans la riche zone des Rhodésies, la durée moyenne de la vie ne dépasse pas 30 ans et, sur l'île de la Réunion, elle atteint à peine 26 ans. Que signifient des faits pareils, sinon la destruction progressive d'immenses ressources humaines?

16. Certains des représentants qui m'ont précédé ont, à juste titre, insisté sur le caractère collectif du colonialisme contemporain. Il est évident, pour nous, que ce ne sont pas seulement les peuples coloniaux qui doivent faire face aujourd'hui à cet aspect du colonialisme. Nous aussi nous ressentons cette tendance à l'intérieur de l'Organisation des Nations Unies.

17. Autrefois, il y a des siècles, les puissances coloniales divisaient le monde en sphères d'influence par des accords impérialistes. Plus de la moitié des membres de ce forum connaissent ce fait par leur propre expérience. De nos jours, la variante moderne de l'activité concertée des puissances coloniales consiste dans l'union de leurs intérêts économiques, financiers et militaires, qui s'étendent comme un réseau dans le monde entier.

18. Si l'on soumet à un examen l'activité des monopoles étrangers en Afrique centrale et en Afrique méridionale, on saisira justement la présence et l'interpénétration des intérêts des neuf compagnies principales agissant dans toute cette région. La tragédie du peuple congolais, la sécession du Katanga et le rôle joué par l'Union minière du Haut-Katanga en cette affaire jettent une lumière supplémentaire sur la question. Par le passé, le Katanga appartenait à la Belgique, mais les profiteurs de l'exploitation de ses richesses, les industriels britanniques, américains, français et de l'Allemagne de l'Ouest ont été toujours aux côtés des industriels belges, et c'est en commun qu'ils agissent également aujourd'hui.

19. Tout récemment, les pétitionnaires montraient devant le Comité des Dix-Sept que, par un accord avec le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni, toute l'exploitation de diamants de l'Angola a été concédée à la compagnie Companhia de Diamantes de Angola. Mais au conseil d'administration de cette compagnie siègent le fameux industriel Oppenheimer, ainsi que des directeurs des compagnies de Beers et de la Société générale de Belgique.

20. Tout ce réseau d'intérêts financiers a un caractère supranational. Le professeur W. Wolfe, de l'Université de Washington, s'y référant, le nomme "un genre spécial de système autonome, en réalité supranational, ayant un genre spécial d'influence, sinon même le contrôle entier, sur les ressources que nous sommes habitués à considérer comme ressources nationales des Etats".

21. De ce système supranational complexe se détache la présence des capitaux monopolistes britanniques, ouest-allemands, français, belges, et surtout américains. En tant que force financière principale du monde occidental, les monopoles des Etats-Unis occupent une place prédominante dans la direction des compagnies des colonies et dans la politique que mènent ces compagnies. Et, comme la politique des Etats-Unis a été et sera toujours entreprise par la coopération entre le "business" et le gouvernement, la présence d'armements de fabrication américaine en Angola et en Afrique du Sud est entièrement explicable, tout comme l'est l'appui que les représentants des Etats-Unis accordent aux puissances coloniales à l'Assemblée générale, à ses commissions et à ses comités.

22. On peut affirmer avec certitude que la nouvelle variante des anciens empires coloniaux, où le soleil ne se couchait jamais, c'est aujourd'hui l'empire formé par le réseau des intérêts financiers et économiques internationaux, où la part du lion revient aux monopoles américains.

23. Plus de la moitié de l'humanité a éprouvé d'une manière douloureuse le régime de l'oppression et de l'exploitation coloniales, et la délégation roumaine partage l'inquiétude profonde que de nombreuses délégations d'Afrique et d'Amérique latine ont exprimée, du haut de cette tribune, à l'égard des consé-

quences tragiques que peut avoir le maintien de ce régime.

24. L'humanité doit aujourd'hui faire face à des problèmes particulièrement graves par suite de l'existence, tout au long des années, de l'inhumain régime colonial sur une partie considérable du monde. D'immenses régions du globe présentent de nos jours des preuves irréfutables de l'effet rétrograde du colonialisme sur le développement des forces sociales de production, car le colonialisme a privé les peuples de vastes possibilités de développement et de prospérité. La suppression de l'abîme entre le niveau de développement des pays qui ont connu ou qui connaissent l'oppression coloniale et celui d'une poignée de puissances enrichies à la suite de l'exploitation de ces pays est devenue une préoccupation majeure de l'humanité et, implicitement, de l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Il est clair que les conséquences néfastes du colonialisme créent des problèmes particulièrement difficiles pour toute l'humanité. Ceux qui, d'une manière ou d'une autre, se prononcent pour la continuation des rapports coloniaux ou cherchent à les perpétuer contribuent au maintien de la source qui crée et alimente ces graves problèmes.

25. L'abolition totale du régime colonial sous toutes ses formes ou manifestations constitue une question urgente dont la solution ne saurait comporter aucun ajournement. En dépit de l'obstruction des colonialistes, les peuples se libéreront. Cependant, les difficultés qu'ils auront à surmonter seront d'autant plus grandes et leur indépendance d'autant plus amoindrie que l'on permettra à la dernière phase du colonialisme — la phase de l'agonie — de continuer.

26. Les colonies sont transformées de plus en plus en dépendances économiques des puissances coloniales. Le colonialisme pille non le présent, mais également l'avenir des peuples des colonies. C'est pourquoi maintenir une telle situation, ce serait condamner les futurs Etats indépendants à des difficultés toujours plus grandes et aggraver proportionnellement le déséquilibre économique du monde.

27. De plus, les puissances coloniales cherchent à présent à trouver de nouvelles formes de colonialisme en vue de pouvoir, dorénavant, maintenir aussi leurs privilèges. On a recours, à cet effet, aux méthodes les plus diverses, depuis l'encouragement de la création des Etats racistes du type de la Rhodésie du Sud jusqu'à l'imposition de bases militaires dont l'existence limitera substantiellement la souveraineté des futurs Etats indépendants. Du haut de cette tribune, de nombreux représentants ont manifesté leur inquiétude devant le fait que les Etats-Unis et les autres membres de l'OTAN ont établi dans le monde colonial de nombreuses bases militaires, mettant ainsi en danger la liberté des peuples et la paix du monde.

28. On appuie des mouvements non populaires, tout en refusant de reconnaître des régimes établis d'une manière démocratique, mais dont l'orientation n'est pas du goût des colonialistes, comme c'est le cas en Guyane britannique; on conclut des arrangements entre puissances coloniales au détriment des futurs Etats. A cet égard, on connaît les accords anglo-américains concernant le louage, pour des dizaines d'années, de bases navales sur le territoire des colonies anglaises de la mer des Caraïbes qui, prétend-on, devraient être reconnus par les gouvernements de ces colonies au moment de leur libération.

29. N'est-il pas clair que de telles actions colonialistes tentent de limiter l'indépendance des futurs Etats, de leur imposer dès maintenant une orientation politique favorable aux puissances coloniales? Plus les colonialistes auront la possibilité de rendre définitifs ces arrangements, plus les conséquences qui en découleront pour les peuples des colonies seront tragiques.

30. Mais, qui plus est, maintenir le régime colonial dans certains territoires, c'est attenter aux efforts d'unité et de solidarité des peuples qui ont connu ou connaissent encore l'exploitation coloniale; c'est porter un grave préjudice aux efforts entrepris par les Etats libérés en vue d'accélérer, en s'aidant mutuellement, leur développement économique et spirituel.

31. On lit, dans la Déclaration du Caire, des pays en voie de développement 2/:

"La Conférence ... demande instamment la décolonisation complète comme étant nécessaire pour le développement économique des peuples dépendants et [pour] l'exercice de leurs droits souverains sur leurs ressources nationales." [A/5162, point 8.]

32. La Commission économique pour l'Afrique discute des questions essentielles pour le progrès de l'Afrique telles que la coordination des efforts économiques sur le plan régional, la création d'un marché commun africain, l'extension du système de transport continental.

33. Comment peut-on ignorer les obstacles qui entravent la réalisation de tels objectifs, obstacles dus à la persistance, aujourd'hui encore, du colonialisme dans une partie importante de l'Afrique? A présent, seulement 10 p. 100 environ des échanges de marchandises entre pays africains s'opèrent sur le continent, et il n'y a pas longtemps encore, on était obligé, pour aller par exemple d'Accra à Casablanca, de passer par Paris ou Londres, ce qui doublait la distance.

34. Comment peut-on ignorer les conséquences néfastes de la tactique Divide et impera employée par les colonialistes afin d'ouvrir largement la porte à de futurs conflits sanglants entre pays et peuples? La résolution 1654 (XVI) de l'Assemblée générale attire notre attention sur le fait que:

"tout nouveau retard dans l'application de la Déclaration est une source continue de conflits et de discordes sur le plan international, entrave sérieusement la coopération internationale et crée, dans de nombreuses régions du monde, une situation de plus en plus dangereuse qui peut constituer une menace à la paix et à la sécurité internationales".

35. Dans son rapport, le Comité des Dix-Sept relève que la situation en Angola, au Katanga, dans le Sud-Ouest africain, en Rhodésie du Sud et au Mozambique constitue un véritable danger pour la paix du monde.

36. De nombreux représentants ont souligné que l'existence, au centre de l'Afrique, du régime raciste sud-africain, véritable bastion du colonialisme contre la libération des peuples, constitue une menace permanente pour l'Afrique, et peut-être pour le monde entier. La cause de l'abolition immédiate du colonialisme est donc la cause de l'humanité, la cause de la paix et de la coopération internationale.

2/ Déclaration de la Conférence sur les problèmes de développement économique, réunie au Caire du 5 au 12 juin 1962.

37. En formulant les considérations que je viens d'exposer la délégation roumaine a été beaucoup aidée par l'ample activité du Comité spécial de 17 membres chargé de mettre en œuvre la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. De l'avis de ma délégation, le Comité a déployé une activité utile en vue de promouvoir la libération des peuples coloniaux et a offert une large tribune aux éminents représentants de ces peuples pour qu'ils fassent entendre les appels lancés à l'humanité par les peuples opprimés.

38. Les recommandations et les conclusions du Comité sont conformes aux principes de la Déclaration et sont acceptables pour ma délégation. La position invariablement négative des quatre puissances coloniales au sein du Comité à l'égard des recommandations faites ne diminue pas la valeur de celles-ci, mais elle met en lumière l'esprit dans lequel ces puissances font montre de coopération en ce qui concerne la libération des peuples coloniaux, coopération qu'en paroles, du haut de la tribune de l'ONU, elles offrent généreusement. L'histoire nous montre que, lors de leur libération, les peuples coloniaux n'ont jamais pu compter sur la générosité des colonialistes, mais seulement sur leurs propres efforts et sur l'appui de ceux qui, comme eux, avaient connu la domination étrangère.

39. Nous soulignons aussi le mérite du Comité de mettre en discussion, tout d'abord, les territoires qui présentent des problèmes urgents et, en priorité, les problèmes de l'Afrique. Il n'y a pas de doute que la résolution que l'Assemblée générale adoptera à la fin de ces débats inspirera une nouvelle force à ce comité et à ceux qui ont soutenu les idéaux qui sont à l'origine de sa création.

40. Le peuple roumain nourrit des sentiments de chaleureuse sympathie envers les peuples coloniaux et se solidarise avec eux dans la lutte pour la conquête de l'indépendance nationale. La République populaire roumaine, comme Etat socialiste, soutient, dans l'arène internationale, la cause des peuples coloniaux et dépendants qui luttent pour leur libération. A l'Assemblée générale et dans d'autres organismes de l'ONU, la délégation roumaine s'est invariablement prononcée en faveur de l'autodétermination et de l'indépendance nationale de ces peuples.

41. M. Gheorghiu-Dej, président du Conseil d'Etat de la République populaire roumaine, a déclaré, lors de la quinzième session de l'Assemblée générale:

"Nous estimons que la fidélité aux principes de la Charte des Nations Unies est devenue incompatible avec l'oppression coloniale dont se rendent coupables des Etats Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies. En conséquence, il est grand temps que l'Organisation des Nations Unies demande à tous les gouvernements de respecter strictement les dispositions de la Charte concernant l'égalité et le respect des droits souverains et de l'intégrité territoriale de tous les Etats sans exception, en repoussant toute forme de colonialisme, tout droit ou privilège exclusif dont bénéficiaient certains Etats au détriment d'autres Etats." [873ème séance, par. 44.]

42. Animée par de tels sentiments, la délégation roumaine estime, par conséquent, que cette année l'Assemblée générale doit faire un pas décisif vers la liquidation du système colonial, en adoptant des mesures résolues qui puissent obliger les puissances coloniales à mettre immédiatement en pratique les dis-

positions de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, et effacer les taches noires du colonialisme de la carte du monde et de l'histoire de l'humanité.

43. M. HSUEH (Chine) [traduit de l'anglais]: Le Comité spécial des Dix-Sept mérite nos remerciements et notre gratitude pour la façon rapide et énergique dont il s'est acquitté de la tâche que l'Assemblée lui avait confiée.

44. En sept mois seulement, le Comité spécial a tenu 117 séances et a examiné la situation de 12 territoires. Il a recommandé à l'examen de l'Assemblée six projets de résolution concernant huit territoires. Il a également, sous sa propre responsabilité, fait sur deux autres territoires des recommandations adressées directement aux puissances administrantes. Nous avons reçu le rapport du Comité spécial qui compte 584 pages [A/5238]. Ce document, un des plus volumineux que les Nations Unies aient jamais publié, montre bien tout le travail accompli par le Comité spécial.

45. Ce rapport est instructif et très édifiant. Il représente un nouvel effort vers la concrétisation des nobles principes inscrits dans la Charte, à savoir: "proclamer à nouveau notre foi dans les droits fondamentaux de l'homme, dans la dignité et la valeur de la personne humaine, dans l'égalité de droits des hommes et des femmes, ainsi que des nations, grandes et petites". Toutes les délégations ici présentes n'approuveront peut-être pas en totalité les conclusions et recommandations qui figurent dans le rapport, mais je suis certain qu'elles reconnaîtront que le Comité spécial a travaillé consciencieusement et a contribué à l'application des buts et principes de la Charte.

46. Le rapport du Comité spécial montre que des conditions déplorables résultant du colonialisme continuent d'exister dans plusieurs territoires étudiés. Dix-sept ans après la signature de la Charte, la répression des droits de l'homme, l'inégalité et la discrimination raciale sont encore pratiquées dans ces territoires. Ces pratiques intolérables ont été mises en lumière une fois de plus grâce aux travaux du Comité spécial. Il est vraiment urgent que l'Assemblée générale redouble d'efforts pour mener à bien la décolonisation et pour mettre fin à ces pratiques. Le meilleur moyen d'y arriver est de prendre toutes mesures pour faire en sorte que les populations de ces territoires reçoivent aussitôt que possible le droit à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance.

47. Ma délégation approuve entièrement cette façon d'agir. Quelles que soient les questions coloniales, la politique fondamentale de mon gouvernement s'est toujours fondée sur les trois "principes du peuple" préconisés par le père de la République de Chine, M. Sun Yat-sen, c'est-à-dire l'indépendance nationale, la démocratie et le développement économique. En Chine, nous souhaitons que tous les peuples mènent la vie de leur choix, dans la paix et la prospérité et sur un pied d'égalité, quelles que soient leur couleur, leur race et leur croyance.

48. Aussi, ma délégation approuve-t-elle, d'une façon générale, la plupart des recommandations et conclusions du Comité spécial. En lisant ce long rapport, nous ne pouvons manquer de constater que les conditions qui règnent dans les territoires étudiés ne sont pas partout les mêmes. Elles présentent tout au moins des différences de degré. A vrai dire, tant que les

peuples de ces territoires n'exerceront pas leur droit à l'autodétermination, ils demeureront dépendants et colonisés. Mais il faut ajouter que le progrès vers l'autodétermination et l'indépendance est plus rapide dans certains territoires que dans d'autres. Même sous une seule puissance administrante, les conditions particulières d'un territoire diffèrent de celles d'un autre.

49. Aussi ma délégation estime-t-elle que l'Assemblée générale devrait, en examinant le rapport du Comité spécial, faire une distinction entre les territoires où des signes prometteurs sont visibles et ceux où l'avenir demeure sombre. Pour les territoires où l'on fait de rapides progrès vers l'autodétermination et l'indépendance, l'Assemblée générale devrait encourager les puissances administrantes intéressées à accélérer le processus de décolonisation jusqu'à son aboutissement. Pour ceux où la domination coloniale semble encore tenace, l'Assemblée générale devrait adopter des mesures plus énergiques pour mieux exercer une pression. Ma délégation ne croit pas que l'Assemblée générale puisse aider les peuples coloniaux en distribuant les mêmes blâmes à toutes les puissances administrantes.

50. Cela m'amène à la question de la fixation d'une date pour l'indépendance de tous les territoires coloniaux. Il ressort de l'étude du rapport du Comité spécial que l'adoption d'une date unique pour l'indépendance de tous les territoires n'aurait aucune signification. Au chapitre concernant la déclaration relative aux territoires non autonomes, l'Article 73 de la Charte des Nations Unies tient compte des "conditions particulières de chaque territoire et de ses populations" et de "leurs degrés variables de développement".

51. Ma délégation estime qu'il est peut-être souhaitable de fixer des dates raisonnables afin d'accélérer le progrès de la décolonisation et d'encourager les puissances administrantes à préparer les dernières étapes menant les populations des territoires dépendants à l'exercice de leur droit à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance.

52. Sur ce point, j'ai été frappé par ce que le représentant du Tanganyika a déclaré au Comité spécial. D'après le paragraphe 48 du chapitre premier du rapport, le représentant du Tanganyika a dit que:

"Sa délégation ne jugeait pas indiqué d'insister pour que l'indépendance fût accordée immédiatement à tous les territoires, sans qu'on se préoccupe de savoir si cela ne risquerait pas d'entraîner le chaos. Elle n'approuvait pas non plus l'attitude du Royaume-Uni quand il déclarait vouloir prendre tout son temps pour l'octroi de l'indépendance."

Je crois que le représentant du Tanganyika a adopté une attitude sage, utile et constructive. Nous nous souvenons tous que l'Union soviétique a réclamé à l'Assemblée l'an dernier et a réclamé à nouveau au Comité spécial cette année que tous les territoires deviennent indépendants avant la fin de 1962. En agissant ainsi, l'Union soviétique se préoccupait peu de savoir si cette mesure risquait de mener au chaos ou de nuire au prestige des Nations Unies. L'Union soviétique ne fait que révéler son hypocrisie par cette attitude. Ses mobiles sont évidents: elle veut se poser aux yeux des peuples d'Afrique en champion unique de la décolonisation. Il lui importerait peu qu'on ne puisse pas mettre en œuvre une résolution de l'Assemblée générale fixant

au 31 décembre 1962 la date de l'indépendance de tous les territoires. Si une telle résolution devait amener le chaos dans certains territoires, elle servirait les fins de l'Union soviétique, qui sont de répandre le fléau du communisme.

53. Dans notre zèle à mettre fin au colonialisme, nous devons regarder au-delà de l'horizon de l'indépendance. Sans aucun doute, notre objectif immédiat est l'indépendance pour tous les peuples qui la désirent. Toutefois, nous ne devons pas oublier d'autres problèmes qui peuvent venir compliquer celui de l'indépendance. Nous devons toujours penser à l'importance suprême du bien futur des peuples qui ne sont pas encore indépendants, non seulement dans le domaine politique, mais aussi dans les domaines économique, social et autres. Le représentant du Venezuela, en expliquant la raison pour laquelle il s'opposait à une date unique pour l'indépendance de tous les territoires, a déclaré d'après le paragraphe 98 du chapitre premier du rapport du Comité spécial:

"La date de l'indépendance devrait être fixée, pour chaque territoire, en tenant compte des circonstances particulières qui lui permettraient d'accéder à l'indépendance dans des conditions telles que sa stabilité et sa viabilité d'Etat indépendant seraient assurées."

54. Je voudrais citer également sur ce point ce qu'a dit le représentant de Madagascar, au nom de l'Union africaine et malgache, d'après le paragraphe 93 du chapitre premier du rapport:

"... le problème de la décolonisation devait être résolu par la négociation, la conciliation, l'arbitrage et tous autres moyens pacifiques prévus par la Charte".

Ma délégation croit que ces déclarations faites par des représentants d'Etats qui ont subi le colonialisme sont très sages et que l'Assemblée générale devrait en tenir dûment compte.

55. On a beaucoup parlé, dans ce débat, de la discrimination raciale et de l'oppression des noirs par les blancs. Je veux ajouter la voix de ma délégation à celle des représentants qui ont exprimé leur ressentiment à l'égard de pratiques aussi intolérables. L'Assemblée générale doit faire tout son possible pour aider à y mettre fin. Il est deux initiatives que l'Assemblée générale pourrait prendre. Dans les territoires où des mesures discriminatoires fondées sur la race et la couleur demeurent officielles, l'Assemblée devrait en tenir pour responsables les puissances administrantes et les inviter à y mettre immédiatement fin. Dans les territoires où les préjugés raciaux sont surtout dus à une attitude sociale découlant de la tradition, l'Assemblée devrait encourager les puissances administrantes à promouvoir l'harmonie et la compréhension entre les races.

56. Sur ce deuxième point, n'oublions pas que la plupart des blancs qui vivent aujourd'hui en Afrique descendent des colons blancs qui se sont établis en Afrique il y a des siècles. Les hommes sont souvent le jouet des circonstances et des traditions. Mais l'évolution des temps modernes oblige de nombreux blancs, en Afrique, à rompre avec le passé. Par exemple, on fait remarquer, au paragraphe 142 du chapitre II du rapport du Comité spécial, qu'en Rhodésie du Sud "deux électeurs blancs sur trois avaient voté pour l'élargissement du droit de vote". On ne peut donc, en toute équité, accuser tous les

blancs d'Afrique de pratiquer la discrimination et d'avoir des préjugés.

57. En outre, la plupart des blancs d'Afrique sont nés en Afrique, ont été élevés en Afrique, y sont profondément enracinés. S'ils n'ont pas de préjugés contre leurs compatriotes noirs, ils ne doivent pas être à leur tour victimes de préjugés. Ils peuvent jouer un rôle utile dans la société où ils sont destinés à vivre. Il faut leur donner la possibilité de contribuer à son développement. Notre ressentiment contre la discrimination raciale ne doit pas nous entraîner dans l'excès contraire. Il ne faut pas penser que tous les blancs sont méchants et qu'ils doivent tous être chassés d'Afrique.

58. Sur ce point, ma délégation a été frappée par la déclaration que M. Kenneth Kaunda, président du United National Independence Party de la Rhodésie du Nord, a faite devant le Comité spécial. Elle est résumée au paragraphe 61 du chapitre III du rapport:

"Le parti de M. Kaunda était prêt à envisager d'incorporer une déclaration des droits à la déclaration d'indépendance de la Rhodésie du Nord, pour convaincre tous les groupes minoritaires du pays, qu'ils fussent noirs, métis ou blancs, que leur avenir était assuré. Ils n'auraient pas à craindre d'être expulsés une fois que leurs capitaux et leurs connaissances ne seraient plus nécessaires au pays."

Cette déclaration prouve, à mon avis, la largeur de vues d'un dirigeant africain.

59. En ce qui concerne la situation raciale en Afrique, l'Assemblée générale devrait faire tout son possible pour supprimer toutes formes de discrimination raciale et assurer l'édification d'une société multiraciale harmonieuse et pacifique. Je crois que c'est à cela que pensait le représentant de Madagascar dans la déclaration qu'il a faite au Comité spécial à propos de la Rhodésie du Nord et que nous trouvons résumée au paragraphe 177 du chapitre III du rapport:

"L'essentiel était d'élaborer une constitution équitable et de jeter les bases d'un bon accord entre les diverses fractions de la population. L'exemple de Madagascar prouvait que cela était parfaitement réalisable."

Ma délégation partage sans réserve les vues exprimées dans cette déclaration par le représentant de Madagascar.

60. La décision prise par le Comité spécial d'examiner en priorité les territoires d'Afrique est une décision dont nul, je crois, ne peut contester la sagesse. Outre les raisons qu'en donne le Comité au paragraphe 149 du chapitre premier de son rapport, j'ajouterai que c'est en Afrique que les peuples ont vécu le plus longtemps sous le colonialisme. Il est donc urgent et nécessaire que les Nations Unies s'efforcent en premier lieu de mettre fin à la domination coloniale sur ce continent.

61. On lit au paragraphe 151 du chapitre premier du rapport:

"Le Comité spécial reconnaît qu'il n'a, en aucune façon, terminé la tâche que lui a confiée l'Assemblée générale et qu'il reste encore bien des territoires dans lesquels la situation doit être étudiée en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration."

Ma délégation partage entièrement cette opinion. On se rappellera peut-être que le Comité spécial a été

créé, selon les termes de la résolution 1654 (XVI) de l'Assemblée générale, en vue "... d'étudier l'application de la Déclaration, de formuler des suggestions et des recommandations quant aux progrès réalisés et à la mesure dans laquelle la Déclaration est mise en œuvre, et de faire rapport à l'Assemblée générale lors de sa dix-septième session". Dans la Déclaration, l'Assemblée générale "proclame solennellement la nécessité de mettre rapidement et inconditionnellement fin au colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations".

62. Ce dont le Comité spécial s'est occupé jusqu'à présent, c'est d'une seule forme de colonialisme qui peut être considérée comme la plus ancienne et la plus répandue. Elle a été pratiquée par les puissances occidentales européennes pendant des siècles, surtout en Afrique mais aussi dans d'autres parties du monde. Depuis la fin de la seconde guerre mondiale, de nombreuses nouvelles nations indépendantes d'Afrique et d'Asie ont échappé à cette forme de colonialisme et sont devenues Membres de l'Organisation. Le nombre des Membres, qui a plus que doublé depuis 1945, prouve la célérité de la liquidation du colonialisme d'Europe occidentale. Le rapport du Comité spécial fournit aussi d'autres preuves qui montrent que la fin de ce type de colonialisme approche rapidement. Je ne crois pas que les Nations Unies rencontreront de grandes difficultés dans les efforts qu'elles déploient en ce sens, sauf peut-être dans quelques cas très rares.

63. Toutefois, l'Assemblée générale, pour être fidèle à la proclamation solennelle contenue dans sa déclaration que je viens de citer, ne peut se contenter de la suppression de ce seul type de colonialisme. Dans le débat sur le colonialisme à la dernière session de l'Assemblée générale, ma délégation a attiré l'attention sur l'apparition, depuis la fin de la seconde guerre mondiale, d'un nouveau type de colonialisme: le colonialisme soviétique ou russe. La seconde guerre mondiale a permis à l'Union soviétique d'ajouter 680 000 kilomètres carrés à son territoire et plus de 22 millions d'habitants à sa population. Depuis la fin de la guerre, l'empire soviétique s'est encore beaucoup étendu. L'Assemblée générale a sans doute raison de liquider d'abord le colonialisme d'Europe occidentale partout où il subsiste encore, mais elle ne s'acquitterait pas entièrement des obligations que la Charte lui impose si elle fermait les yeux devant la vie tout aussi terrible et intolérable que mènent des millions de personnes sous le colonialisme russe.

64. Le colonialisme russe est d'une forme plus subtile. D'aucuns diront qu'un examen de cette question implique la guerre froide. En fait, la guerre froide est un rideau de fumée que l'Union soviétique n'hésite jamais à utiliser et derrière lequel elle cache son colonialisme, avec tous les crimes hideux qu'il comporte. Le colonialisme russe utilise en outre avec un rare succès des fantoches et des Quislings locaux, appartenant à la même race que les peuples qu'il veut maintenir en captivité. Ainsi, la discrimination raciale qui accompagne généralement le colonialisme d'Europe occidentale n'est pas un aspect important du colonialisme russe.

65. Quoi qu'il en soit, le colonialisme russe est réel. Permettez-moi d'en examiner certains aspects. Le paragraphe 1 de la Déclaration contenue dans la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale parle de "la sujétion des peuples à une subjugation, à une domination et à une exploitation étrangères". Prenons

par exemple les cas de l'Estonie, la Lettonie et la Lituanie. Ces pays ont été autrefois des pays indépendants. Que sont-ils aujourd'hui? N'ont-ils pas été occupés par les impérialistes russes et intégrés de force dans leur empire colonial? Les peuples de ces pays ne sont-ils pas assujettis aujourd'hui à une subjugation, à une domination et à une exploitation étrangères? Les droits fondamentaux ne leur sont-ils pas refusés simplement parce qu'ils sont européens et ne sont pas des peuples de couleur? Ces droits doivent-ils leur être refusés parce que, parler de leur sort actuel donne lieu à des accusations de recours à la guerre froide?

66. On lit au paragraphe 2 de la même Déclaration: "Tous les peuples ont le droit de libre détermination." Les peuples d'Ukraine, de Biélorussie, de Hongrie et d'Allemagne de l'Est, par exemple, ont-ils reçu le droit de libre détermination? L'Assemblée générale craint-elle d'examiner cette question parce qu'elle ferait intervenir la guerre froide ou, plutôt, parce que son examen déplairait aux Russes?

67. Pouvons-nous dire que ces peuples, parce qu'ils sont blancs, sont moins fondés à jouir du droit de libre détermination? Non; je soutiens que, lorsque la Déclaration parle de "tous les peuples", il faut entendre tous les peuples y compris les blancs.

68. Il est affirmé au paragraphe 6 du dispositif de la Déclaration:

"Toute tentative visant à détruire partiellement ou totalement l'unité nationale et l'intégrité territoriale d'un pays est incompatible avec les buts et les principes de la Charte des Nations Unies."

N'est-il pas vrai que, du fait du colonialisme russe, les territoires de l'Allemagne, de la Corée et du Viet-Nam, jadis des pays unifiés, ont été divisés ou démembrés? N'est-il pas vrai que les colonialistes russes veulent perpétuer la division de ces pays et, dans le cas de la Corée, en violation flagrante des nombreuses résolutions de l'Assemblée générale visant à la réunification de ce pays?

69. Je n'ai examiné, à titre d'exemples, que quelques paragraphes ou principes contenus dans la Déclaration. En fait, chacun des paragraphes de cette déclaration s'applique aussi bien aux pays d'Europe et d'Asie maintenus en captivité sous le colonialisme russe qu'aux pays d'Afrique encore dépendants. Pouvons-nous avoir la conscience tranquille tant que l'Assemblée générale n'assurera pas la mise en œuvre complète de la Déclaration pour ces pays d'Europe ou d'Asie?

70. De l'autre côté de la Première Avenue, en face du bâtiment de l'Assemblée, il est un petit bâtiment au faîte duquel les drapeaux de neuf pays captifs d'Europe sont en berne. Ces neuf drapeaux rappellent chaque jour à l'Assemblée générale que la Déclaration sur le colonialisme n'est pas encore mise en œuvre en Europe. Les revendications des peuples épris de liberté qui mettent leurs drapeaux en berne ne sont pas moins fondées que celles des Angolais en exil au Congo (Léopoldville). Il est d'autres peuples en Europe, en Asie et en Amérique qui connaissent le même sort. Chaque jour, leurs habitants continuent à s'enfuir par milliers de leur patrie vers l'Europe occidentale, Hong-kong, New York et Miami pour y vivre une misérable vie d'exil, à seule fin de respirer l'air de la liberté, et ils le font au péril de leur vie. Ces gens sont quelques-uns parmi les millions de réfugiés, pour emprunter quelques paroles à l'élo-

quente déclaration du représentant de l'Arabie Saoudite, les "millions de réfugiés partout dans le monde qui languissent loin de leur patrie et aspirent à rentrer dans leurs foyers" [1168ème séance, par. 166]. Les résolutions 1514 (XV) et 1654 (XVI) de l'Assemblée générale ne pourront avoir leur signification pleine et entière tant que l'indépendance et la liberté ne seront pas rendues à ces peuples.

71. Ma délégation fait donc sienne l'opinion déjà exprimée à l'Assemblée générale selon laquelle le Comité spécial des Dix-Sept doit poursuivre ses travaux. Nous reconnaissons aussi qu'il devrait poursuivre ses efforts pour aider en premier lieu à décoloniser les pays d'Afrique qui sont encore sous domination coloniale. Mais ma délégation croit fermement que le Comité spécial devrait étendre ses activités aux pays qui sont tombés sous le joug du colonialisme russe en Europe, en Asie et dans d'autres parties du monde. Lorsque ces pays seront décolonisés à leur tour, l'Assemblée générale pourra alors se présenter devant le tribunal de l'histoire et dire avec fierté qu'elle s'est acquittée des obligations qui lui incombaient en vertu de la Charte. Cette œuvre accomplie, les Nations Unies auront rempli leur mission historique: elles seront, pour emprunter de nouveau une expression au représentant de l'Arabie Saoudite, "les Nations Unies d'un monde libre".

72. M. Abdul Monem RIFA'I (Jordanie) [traduit de l'anglais]: Conformément à la résolution 1654 (XVI) de l'Assemblée générale, le Président de la seizième session ordinaire a désigné les 17 membres du Comité spécial, chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, et de s'acquitter des tâches indiquées dans cette résolution. Un rapport de près de 600 pages sur les travaux du Comité des Dix-Sept portant sur la période allant du 20 février 1962 au 19 septembre 1962 est soumis à l'examen de l'Assemblée [A/5238]. Avant d'étudier les différents aspects de ce rapport et de présenter des observations sur son contenu, je tiens à rendre hommage au Rapporteur du Comité spécial, M. Nahmuddine Rifai (Syrie), pour les louables efforts qu'il a déployés dans la préparation de cet utile rapport.

73. Il est aisé de se rendre compte, à la lecture de ce rapport, de la persévérance avec laquelle les membres du Comité se sont acquittés de leur tâche avec dévouement et avec un sens profond de leurs responsabilités. En sept mois, le Comité a tenu 117 séances, dont 18 en Afrique. Au cours de ces séances, il a examiné la question de l'octroi de l'indépendance à 12 territoires totalisant près de 29 millions d'habitants. C'est là un travail impressionnant dont nous devons féliciter chaleureusement les membres du Comité, son distingué président, M. Jha (Inde), et son vice-président, M. Coulibaly (Mali).

74. Quant au rapport, le mieux est selon moi de le lire à la lumière de la résolution qui portait création du Comité spécial. Cette résolution, dans son esprit et dans sa lettre, était destinée à assurer sans restriction la réalisation rapide des objectifs de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance et sur la décolonisation. Un point important de la résolution 1654 (XVI) est qu'elle n'imposait pas des modalités ou formes de procédure particulières, ni ne restreignait le mandat donné quant à l'application de la Déclaration. Elle ne limitait pas l'action à une région particulière, à un certain type de territoire non autonome, et n'imposait pas une période définie ou

un ordre de priorité déterminé. Tout cela était laissé à la discrétion du Comité spécial, qui a élaboré sa méthode et a organisé lui-même ses travaux. En ce qui concerne la constitution du Comité lui-même, la résolution n'a pas défini non plus la durée du mandat de ses membres.

75. Cependant, le Comité spécial a pu arrêter une bonne méthode de travail. En parvenant à un accord sur ce point, le Comité a eu des discussions fructueuses et utiles. Les divergences d'opinion quant aux fonctions du Comité et à sa méthode de travail, qui sont mentionnées au chapitre premier du rapport, ont été aplanies dans un esprit de compréhension et le Comité a pu prendre des décisions acceptables sur les questions du règlement intérieur, du rassemblement de renseignements, des pétitions écrites et de l'audition de pétitionnaires, des groupes de visite, de la méthode d'examen de la situation des territoires et des relations avec d'autres organes des Nations Unies.

76. Ma délégation tient à se déclarer satisfaite de l'objectivité dont ont fait preuve les membres du Comité dans l'organisation de leurs travaux. Je voudrais cependant faire certaines observations sur ce point au sujet de la question de l'examen de la situation des territoires et de celle des groupes de visite; ces questions sont traitées au paragraphe 112 du chapitre premier du rapport.

77. En ce qui concerne les territoires, le Comité a décidé que priorité serait donnée aux territoires d'Afrique, ce que ma délégation approuve particulièrement.

78. Cet ordre de priorité a été adopté pour les raisons suivantes qui sont exposées au paragraphe 149 du chapitre premier du rapport:

"Si le Comité spécial a décidé d'examiner par priorité la situation dans les territoires situés sur le continent africain, c'est parce qu'il a estimé que c'est en Afrique que le plus grand nombre d'individus continuent de vivre sous un régime colonial, que c'est en Afrique que l'on trouve encore les plus grands territoires coloniaux et que c'est enfin en Afrique que l'on rencontre les problèmes les plus difficiles."

79. Dans la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance qui figure dans la résolution 1514 (XV), il est question de l'octroi de l'indépendance et de la liberté à tous les peuples de la terre et à tous les territoires non autonomes sans aucune distinction, condition ni réserve. Ce principe de l'indépendance universelle a été établi parce qu'on a reconnu pleinement que tous les peuples assujettis de la terre désirent ardemment conquérir leur liberté et gagner leur indépendance. Le désir de la dignité humaine et la fièvre de la liberté ont enflammé tous les cœurs et tous les esprits. Ceux qui ne concrétisent pas leurs sentiments par des effusions de sang et des sacrifices les expriment par des larmes et des soupirs. Tous les peuples sont égaux dans leur désir de liberté et d'indépendance et tous doivent avoir des possibilités égales d'accéder à cette indépendance. Ma délégation appuie donc l'avis exprimé par le représentant de la Guinée [131^{ème} séance] qui a proposé de fixer une date précise et rapprochée pour achever l'octroi de l'indépendance à tous les peuples de la terre.

80. Je comprends que, pour faciliter sa tâche, le Comité spécial devait établir un programme pour la

mener à bien. Ce programme, pour reprendre les termes du rapport, a été vertical plutôt qu'horizontal. En d'autres mots, il s'agissait de prendre chaque cas en particulier et de l'examiner en détail. Ma délégation estime que les travaux du Comité spécial, en ce qui concerne la mise en application de la Déclaration d'indépendance, pouvaient se faire à la fois dans un sens vertical et horizontal.

81. On constate, d'après son rapport, que le Comité spécial a créé notamment un Sous-Comité du questionnaire et un Sous-Comité des pétitions. Ces dispositions ont été prises en vue d'examiner tel ou tel cas par priorité et d'en étudier les différents aspects, mais le Comité pourrait ainsi mettre des années à venir à bout de sa tâche.

82. De l'avis de ma délégation, le Comité spécial aurait pu arrêter d'autres dispositions pour couvrir des domaines plus étendus. Il aurait pu créer d'autres sous-comités pour mettre en œuvre la Déclaration dans d'autres continents et régions, au lieu de se limiter à une seule région et de devoir lui accorder la priorité, en laissant les autres territoires sur la liste d'attente.

83. A cet égard, le rapport mentionne ce qu'il appelle les questions de plus grande importance et les questions d'importance relative. Pour ce qui est de l'octroi de l'indépendance à tous les peuples et territoires non autonomes, nous ne devrions pas établir une distinction ou une classification entre ce qui est important et ce qui l'est moins. Les problèmes diffèrent bien entendu selon leur importance politique et leurs répercussions politiques, mais cela ne devrait pas avoir d'effet sur le principe fondamental selon lequel l'indépendance doit être accordée à tous ceux qui en sont privés, qu'ils connaissent des crises politiques ou non. Le rapport mentionne aussi des questions qui menacent la paix internationale. Le Comité des Dix-Sept ne devrait pas, selon moi, prendre pour seul critère de ses travaux la menace à la paix internationale.

84. Ma délégation considère que le Comité spécial est expressément prié, au paragraphe 4 du dispositif de la résolution 1654 (XVI), "de formuler des suggestions et des recommandations quant aux progrès réalisés et à la mesure dans laquelle la Déclaration est mise en œuvre".

85. Nous avons besoin de savoir, par exemple, où en est la décolonisation depuis la promulgation de la Déclaration et ce qui reste encore à faire dans ce domaine. Nous avons besoin de savoir quels sont, dans le monde, les territoires dont les peuples n'ont pas encore obtenu leur liberté et acquis leur indépendance et dans quelles conditions ils vivent. Nous avons besoin de savoir quelle est l'attitude et quelles sont les réactions des puissances coloniales quant à la décolonisation et de savoir dans quelle mesure elles sont disposées à mettre fin au régime colonial. Nous avons besoin de ces renseignements préalables pour nous permettre de poursuivre l'application de la Déclaration dans le cadre d'une opération d'ensemble et immédiate.

86. Nous aurions donc aimé que le rapport mentionne les régions et les nations qui ont été soit oubliées soit privées de la sollicitude et de la sympathie de la communauté mondiale des nations libres. Nous devons commencer à leur donner vie et énergie. Le représentant de l'URSS a déclaré que 88 territoires, groupant au total 70 millions d'habitants, étaient encore

sous la domination coloniale. Dans une lettre adressée au Président du Comité spécial, le représentant du Royaume-Uni a dressé un état des territoires qui avaient été administrés par ce pays et avaient obtenu l'autonomie et l'indépendance. Le rapport lui-même ne présente pas une telle étude. Il y est dit:

"Le Comité spécial, après avoir décidé d'étudier en priorité la situation dans les territoires d'Afrique, n'a pas jugé utile, dès le début de ses travaux, de dresser une liste complète de tous les territoires qui relèvent de sa compétence, bien que l'établissement d'une telle liste puisse être nécessaire par la suite." [A/5238, chap. 1er, par. 151.]

87. Mon pays appartient à une région arabe dont certaines parties situées sur les côtes de la péninsule Arabe ne sont pas encore autonomes et subissent toujours une domination coloniale. La patrie arabe étant une entité unique, la domination étrangère sur une quelconque de ses parties pourrait constituer une menace à l'indépendance et à l'unité de l'ensemble. Les Arabes ont payé cher leur indépendance. De l'est à l'ouest, du Tigre à l'Atlantique, la clameur de leur lutte nationale continue à se faire entendre. Pour répondre à leurs aspirations nationales, l'agression armée étrangère en Palestine doit cesser et l'indépendance de tous les territoires nationaux doit être obtenue. Ce problème préoccupe vivement les délégations arabes au moment où l'Assemblée discute la question de l'indépendance et de la décolonisation.

88. L'élargissement du champ des activités du Comité spécial pourrait conduire à envisager d'augmenter le nombre de ses membres. Ma délégation estime qu'une telle augmentation se justifie et je désire me réserver le droit de reprendre la parole sur ce point en tenant compte de l'évolution du débat.

89. La deuxième question sur laquelle j'ai une observation à faire est celle des groupes de visite. Je reconnais que le Comité a agi sagement en envoyant des groupes de visite dans certains pays quand cela était nécessaire. Les réunions que le Comité a tenues en Afrique l'ont rendu plus accessible aux pétitionnaires et lui ont permis de prouver de façon plus concrète qu'il se préoccupe des aspirations légitimes des peuples africains. Le Comité a pu observer de près les aspects déplaisants du colonialisme en Afrique et se rendre compte des aspirations des Africains à l'indépendance et à la souveraineté.

90. La résolution 1654 (XVI) n'a pas établi de conditions ou de limites aux réunions du Comité en dehors du Siège de l'Organisation. Le paragraphe 6 du dispositif de la résolution autorise le Comité spécial à se réunir en tout autre lieu que le Siège de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, lorsque cela pourrait être nécessaire pour lui permettre de s'acquitter efficacement de ses fonctions. Ma délégation estime cependant qu'une telle autorisation devrait être définie et réglementée avec plus de précision.

91. Un point important sur lequel je désire attirer l'attention est l'observation faite par le Comité spécial au paragraphe 152 du chapitre premier de son rapport, sur ses relations avec d'autres organes des Nations Unies qui agissent eux aussi pour la liquidation du colonialisme. Ma délégation se rend bien compte de ce que le Comité appelle le "danger de doubles emplois et par conséquent de gaspillage d'efforts et d'argent". Sur ce point, nous examinerons très attentivement la suggestion que le Secrétaire général par intérim a faite dans l'introduction à son

rapport annuel [A/5201/Add.1] au sujet de la possibilité de combiner tous les travaux touchant ce domaine, sous l'égide du Comité spécial.

92. Je ferai maintenant quelques brèves observations de caractère général sur les conclusions et recommandations du Comité spécial, relatives aux territoires dont il s'est occupé. Il va sans dire que les projets de résolution figurant au rapport représentent les conclusions du Comité et les mesures qu'il recommande à l'Assemblée générale en ce qui concerne les territoires africains dont la situation a été examinée et où le régime colonial et la discrimination raciale se manifestent sous leurs formes les plus odieuses. Ma délégation qui rejette toute forme de colonialisme en Afrique et ailleurs votera en faveur de ces recommandations, ainsi que de toute autre proposition qui pourrait contribuer à briser définitivement le joug du colonialisme.

93. En ce qui concerne la situation en Rhodésie du Sud, nous constatons que l'Assemblée générale a adopté récemment deux résolutions [1755 (XVII) et 1760 (XVII)] qui ont été votées à une large majorité après de longs débats à la Quatrième Commission et à l'Assemblée générale. Ma délégation n'a pas manqué de s'associer aux efforts déployés pour l'application des principes du droit et de la démocratie dans ce territoire africain.

94. En ce qui concerne la Rhodésie du Nord, le rapport du Comité spécial montre que la situation dans ce territoire est loin d'être satisfaisante. Une élection a eu lieu récemment en vertu d'une constitution qui, selon le Comité spécial, n'est pas conforme au paragraphe 5 de la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale, a un caractère discriminatoire et est contraire aux principes fondamentaux de libre détermination. La situation en Rhodésie du Nord est clairement exposée dans le rapport du Comité. Ma délégation appuie sans réserve les vœux et les aspirations nationales de l'écrasante majorité africaine de ce territoire.

95. Au Nyassaland, la situation montre que les Africains sont déjà en majorité dans les organes législatif et exécutif. Ma délégation espère, comme le Comité spécial, que les pourparlers entre le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni et M. Banda permettront de fixer une date rapprochée pour l'indépendance du Nyassaland. Nous espérons aussi que les vœux des habitants du territoire qui repoussent la Fédération d'Afrique centrale seront réalisés.

96. Pour ce qui est du Bassoutoland, du Betchouanaland et du Souaziland, ma délégation se préoccupe beaucoup de la situation dans ces territoires, telle qu'elle est décrite dans le rapport. On n'y fait pas grand-chose pour y mettre en place des institutions représentatives et l'on craint fort que ces territoires ne soient absorbés par la République sud-africaine.

97. Ma délégation a suivi avec intérêt les événements qui ont eu lieu récemment à Zanzibar et les efforts déployés par le Comité spécial. Nous espérons vivement qu'un accord interviendra bientôt sur le système électoral et sur la date des élections de manière que l'indépendance ne soit pas retardée plus longtemps.

98. Quant à la Guyane britannique, nous avons appris que les négociations qui ont repris récemment à Londres n'ont pas donné de résultats positifs. Nous demandons instamment que l'on fixe une date proche

pour l'accession du territoire à l'indépendance et nous souhaitons que les parties en cause aboutissent le plus tôt possible à un accord sur les élections et le système électoral.

99. Au sujet de l'Angola et du Mozambique, point n'est besoin pour moi de répéter que ma délégation est profondément préoccupée comme le sont, en vérité, toutes les délégations ici présentes par la situation grave qui règne dans ces deux territoires africains, vastes et importants, dont la population totale est de plus de 11 millions d'habitants. Le refus opiniâtre du Gouvernement portugais de reconnaître ses devoirs et ses responsabilités, son mépris persistant des résolutions de l'Assemblée générale et la manière flagrante dont il viole les principes d'une conduite civilisée exigent des mesures décisives. Nous prendrons donc pleinement en considération les mesures proposées par le Comité spécial au paragraphe 9 du chapitre VII et au paragraphe 44 du chapitre XI et aux recommandations pertinentes. Cependant, nous préférons ne traiter le problème de l'Angola que lorsque l'Assemblée examinera le point 29 de l'ordre du jour.

100. En ce qui concerne le Sud-Ouest africain, la question a déjà été examinée par la Quatrième Commission. Ma délégation note avec satisfaction l'unanimité avec laquelle la résolution a été adoptée par la Commission. Elle espère que le Gouvernement sud-africain cédera devant les vœux unanimes de l'Organisation internationale.

101. Quant au Kenya, nous notons avec satisfaction les progrès qui ont été réalisés dans ce territoire vers l'accession à l'indépendance et à la souveraineté. Nous sommes convaincus qu'une fois cette dernière étape franchie le Kenya réalisera pleinement ses aspirations nationales.

102. Pour ce qui est d'Aden, l'Assemblée devrait accorder une attention particulière à ce territoire arabe en raison de son importante position stratégique. Le Royaume-Uni utilise la colonie d'Aden comme base militaire centrale dans son système de défense et menace ainsi toute la région.

103. En faisant entrer Aden dans la Fédération de l'Arabie du Sud, on perpétue son statut colonial. La Fédération a été imposée contre la volonté de la population d'Aden, qui n'a pas eu encore la possibilité d'exprimer ses aspirations nationales. La situation d'Aden et son statut posent un problème si grave qu'il réclame un examen approfondi et immédiat. Nous prions instamment le Comité spécial d'accorder une attention particulière à la question d'Aden.

104. M. SYLLA (Madagascar): Nous voici maintenant au cœur de l'une des plus importantes questions portées à l'ordre du jour de la dix-septième session. Les orateurs qui m'ont précédé ont été unanimes à souligner la grande signification de la décision que nous allons prendre: celle de traduire dans les faits l'immortelle Déclaration contenue dans la résolution 1514 (XV) que, dans un grand élan de générosité, l'Assemblée générale a adoptée le 14 décembre 1960, et où elle "proclame solennellement la nécessité de mettre rapidement et inconditionnellement fin au colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations".

105. Après avoir, dans la Déclaration universelle des droits de l'homme, affirmé la dignité et les droits imprescriptibles de la personne humaine, l'Orga-

nisation, poursuivant son œuvre grandiose d'émancipation, a, par sa résolution 1514 (XV), établi le droit des peuples à la liberté, au libre choix de leurs destinées, en un mot à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance.

106. Au cours de sa seizième session, notre assemblée, inquiète de voir que la libération des peuples colonisés ne s'effectuait pas au rythme qu'elle espérait, a adopté, le 27 novembre 1961, une nouvelle résolution [1654 (XVI)] où elle réaffirmait les principes qu'elle avait posés un an auparavant et demandait instamment aux Etats intéressés: "d'agir sans plus tarder afin d'assurer scrupuleusement l'application et la mise en œuvre de la Déclaration". Cette résolution a décidé la création d'un Comité spécial de 17 membres chargé d'assurer l'application de la Déclaration, et c'est le rapport de ce comité [A/5238] que nous sommes présentement appelés à examiner.

107. Madagascar a eu l'honneur d'être désigné par M. Mongi Sl'm, alors président de l'Assemblée générale, pour faire partie de ce comité. Ma délégation a participé de son mieux à ses travaux, aussi bien à ceux qui se sont déroulés pendant sept mois à New York qu'à ceux des sessions spéciales tenues en Afrique. C'est dire que mon gouvernement est pleinement d'accord sur les conclusions du rapport et apportera sa pleine et entière contribution aux mesures qui seront décidées ici pour en assurer l'application rapide et complète.

108. Madagascar, jadis indépendante, a perdu sa souveraineté nationale en 1896. Elle l'a regagnée en 1960, après de paisibles et amicales négociations avec la France, et lorsque, après 20 mois d'une période transitoire d'autonomie interne, elle a jugé que les conditions d'une accession à l'indépendance totale étaient remplies. Si, malgré quelques périodes difficiles, Madagascar a, de 1896 à 1960, poursuivi son ascension sociale et économique, je puis ici attester que sa population a toujours conservé vivace son aspiration à l'indépendance, et a accueilli avec enthousiasme l'affirmation solennelle donnée par la France, en 1944, à la suite de la Conférence de Brazzaville que ses buts étaient uniquement de conduire les peuples dont elle avait la charge à la libre gestion de leurs affaires. Et, sous l'impulsion du général de Gaulle, fidèle à ses promesses et à son idéal, la France a libéré, en moins de huit ans, 15 pays africains et Madagascar.

109. Si je rappelle ces faits, c'est pour montrer aux peuples colonisateurs quelle est la voie dans laquelle ils doivent s'engager pour faire droit à la requête instantane que leur adresse la conscience universelle. Le rapport du Comité des Dix-Sept leur trace les méthodes à suivre pour cela. Il faut qu'ils s'y plient. Il faut qu'ils comprennent qu'un tournant de la vie des peuples doit être franchi, que le cours de l'histoire est irréversible.

110. Tout homme est l'égal de tout autre homme, et, quelle que soit sa couleur, il a droit à la liberté. Que l'on ne vienne pas objecter que certaines tribus sont encore à l'état sauvage, qu'elles ne sont pas mûres pour l'indépendance, qu'elles ne sont satisfaites de leur sort, alors qu'en réalité elles sont soumises à un régime d'asservissement. Etant de bonne foi, nous reconnaissons que certains peuples colonisés d'Afrique sont encore arriérés. Est-ce de leur faute ou de celle de leurs colonisateurs qui, sciemment, les maintiennent dans l'analphabétisme, car ils savent que

l'homme instruit, évolué, est à même de pouvoir chercher à se libérer, en portant sa cause devant les plus hautes instances? N'est-ce pas la honte de notre siècle de voir l'apartheid, c'est-à-dire la supériorité d'un homme sur un autre homme déterminée par le simple critère de la peau, le blanc étant le maître et le noir le valet voué aux travaux serviles, le premier exploitant l'autre à des fins mesquines: l'appât au gain, la recherche de la richesse et du confort? Comment peut-on concevoir un tel déséquilibre des peuples, une telle inégalité dans les droits de l'homme? Oui, comment peut-on, dans ces conditions, aspirer à la paix universelle?

111. Pour nous, Malgaches, nous pensons à la possibilité de la coexistence. Depuis notre indépendance, tous les étrangers vivant sur notre sol jouissent des mêmes libertés humaines que nous. Pourquoi n'en serait-il pas ainsi dans les autres pays où les noirs, en plein XXème siècle, sont encore opprimés? C'est un appel à la fraternité des hommes que Madagascar adresse à l'Afrique du Sud et au Portugal. Les peuples sous le joug colonial continueront la lutte pour leur émancipation. Ils n'auront de cesse que lorsqu'ils l'auront obtenue. Madagascar et tous les autres Etats épris de justice et d'égalité les y aideront.

112. Le Royaume-Uni a, pour sa part, compris et admis cela. Il a à son actif une impressionnante liste de pays libérés par lui depuis la dernière guerre et, tout récemment encore, ma délégation a salué à cette même place, avec vous tous, l'admission du Tanganyika, de la Trinité et Tobago, de l'Ouganda. Le rapport du Comité des Dix-Sept montre que cette œuvre n'est pas achevée. Nous insistons amicalement mais fermement pour que, malgré les difficultés que nous ne méconnaissons pas, le Royaume-Uni applique les conclusions du Comité des Dix-Sept, non seulement pour la Rhodésie du Sud, mais encore pour les autres territoires africains et pour la Guyane britannique, visés également dans le rapport.

113. Mais ici apparaît la différence fondamentale entre l'attitude du Royaume-Uni, qui entend appliquer les principes de la Charte et les accepte loyalement, et celle des autres Etats, notamment l'Afrique du Sud et le Portugal qui, eux, répudient publiquement ces principes et refusent d'admettre que les territoires qu'ils administrent ont droit à l'indépendance et doivent y accéder dans les meilleurs délais.

114. Il ne faut pas réduire l'entreprise généreuse de décolonisation dans laquelle notre organisation s'est résolument engagée à une simple question de politique. En aucun cas, elle ne devrait servir de prétexte à des attitudes démagogiques qui ne tromperaient personne, car nul n'ignore ici combien est ardue notre tâche et combien de problèmes délicats doivent être résolus afin que des échecs sanglants ne soient pas la rançon d'une hâte injustifiée.

115. Notre but final n'est pas de poser des postulats inapplicables, mais de concilier la liberté politique des peuples à libérer avec leur bonheur, l'épanouissement de leur personnalité, un exercice paisible et harmonieux de la liberté reconquise. Des questions techniques se posent. Chaque cas doit être examiné dans son propre contexte. C'est au Comité des Dix-Sept, c'est en dernière analyse à nous tous, Membres de l'Organisation, qu'incombe le choix des méthodes et la fixation des étapes. Et enfin la décision finale doit appartenir aux peuples colonisés, par la voie de l'autodétermination.

116. La délégation malgache estime que, sur un point aussi primordial de la Charte des Nations Unies et de l'idéal qui nous rassemble à l'Organisation, aucun compromis n'est possible. Tous les Etats doivent obéir à nos résolutions et les appliquer car elles reflètent la conscience du monde, et notre organisation doit user de tous les moyens à sa disposition pour les y contraindre en cas de besoin. Cette attitude de la délégation malgache est conforme à celle prise, lors de la récente Conférence de Libreville^{3/}, par les 12 Etats qui forment l'Union africaine et malgache.

117. Avant que l'indépendance soit octroyée aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, les colonisateurs doivent les préparer, afin qu'ils soient à même d'assumer les lourdes tâches qu'entraîne la gestion d'un Etat. N'est-ce pas justement ce qui a été fait pour les Etats d'Afrique d'expression française, où l'on est passé d'un régime à un autre sans rupture d'équilibre et sans heurt et où jamais la paix n'a été troublée? Cette préparation des peuples avant l'indépendance est nécessaire, mais elle exige un complément indispensable: l'assistance au nouvel Etat indépendant jusqu'à ce qu'il ait atteint sa maturité, et cela sous toutes les formes: assistance technique et assistance financière, notamment.

118. Notre attitude répond enfin aux sentiments profonds du peuple malgache tout entier qui, sous l'égide de son président, Philibert Tsiranana, entend prendre une part active à la grande œuvre de libération humaine que nous poursuivons au sein de l'Organisation.

119. Pour nous Malgaches, cette libération humaine s'applique non seulement aux peuples noirs d'Afrique encore colonisés, mais aussi aux hommes d'autres races, d'autres couleurs, tenus sous le joug du néo-colonialisme. Ceux-là aussi, qu'ils soient de race blanche ou jaune, ont droit à la liberté et à l'autodétermination. Il ne faut pas que des hommes puissent, par la force, imposer à d'autres hommes une situation de fait qu'ils sont astreints à subir contre leur gré et qui ne répond pas à leur légitime désir de vivre comme ils l'entendent.

120. Pour terminer, je tiens, ici, à donner l'assurance que nous apporterons notre contribution aux efforts des 110 Etats Membres de notre organisation pour promouvoir le bien-être de tous les hommes.

121. M. CHANDERLI (Algérie): Dans la longue lutte de l'homme pour ses libertés, il y a eu des étapes particulièrement importantes qu'il faut marquer d'une pierre blanche, car elles représentent des victoires essentielles. Parmi ces moments historiques qui jalonnent cette marche triomphale vers la conquête des libertés fondamentales, la Déclaration adoptée par notre assemblée sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux occupe une place de choix. C'est à la suite de cette déclaration, et pour en traduire dans les faits les principes généreux, que nous avons décidé de constituer l'an dernier un Comité spécial [résolution 1654 (XVI)]. C'est le rapport de ce comité [A/5238] que nous examinons aujourd'hui. Je voudrais à cette occasion rendre hommage au Comité des Dix-Sept et à son rapporteur, car, en vérité, ils ont accompli une tâche considérable qui va contribuer efficacement à la mise en application de la Déclaration générale sur le colonialisme. En effet, le colonialisme moribond n'a cependant pas

^{3/} Conférence des chefs d'Etat africains et malgache, réunie du 10 au 13 septembre 1962.

disparu de la surface de la terre, et nous en trouvons, notamment en Afrique, des survivances abominables.

122. L'Algérie combattante, qui a été le prestigieux fer de lance de la lutte contre le colonialisme en Afrique, n'a pas à rappeler ici ses positions fondamentales à ce sujet. Bien plus, à l'occasion de l'admission de notre pays à l'Organisation des Nations Unies, le Premier Ministre du Gouvernement algérien a indiqué avec force, dans son discours [1147^{ème} séance], que la pierre angulaire de la politique de l'Algérie indépendante serait avant tout la lutte contre le colonialisme. C'est dire avec quelle attention nous suivons les travaux de l'Assemblée générale dans ce domaine et, particulièrement, ceux du Comité des Dix-Sept.

123. L'Algérie, son peuple et son gouvernement n'épargneront aucun effort, sous quelque forme que ce soit, pour contribuer à la liquidation rapide et définitive du colonialisme. En Afrique, où trop de peuples et trop de territoires sont encore sous la domination étrangère, nous comptons apporter, à tous nos frères luttant pour leur dignité, la solidarité agissante de l'Algérie. C'est pourquoi nous ne croyons pas nécessaire de nous étendre ici sur nos intentions et sur notre volonté d'action. Elles sont connues et, bien plus, nous avons déjà eu l'honneur d'apporter une aide concrète, directe dans certains cas. Nous nous proposons d'accroître ce soutien et de faire en sorte qu'il soit aussi efficace que possible.

124. Nous avons devant nous le volumineux rapport du Comité des Dix-Sept; c'est un document remarquablement instructif, car non seulement il rend compte des progrès réalisés, mais également des difficultés rencontrées dans l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. Décidés à coopérer activement à l'entreprise de décolonisation, nous éviterons de rétenir l'attention de l'Assemblée par une analyse détaillée des questions soulevées dans ce rapport. Les orateurs qui ont traité de ce sujet ont déjà exprimé les idées qui sont souvent les nôtres. Nos options étant connues, il est donc inutile de répéter ce que beaucoup de nos amis ont déjà dit, ici, et tout récemment, les représentants de la Guinée [1169^{ème} séance] et de l'Irak [1170^{ème} séance] dans des interventions magistrales sur ce point particulier de notre ordre du jour. Nous nous contenterons donc de faire une suggestion pratique qui permettrait peut-être d'accélérer la mise en application de la Déclaration sur le colonialisme en fonction de l'activité du Comité des Dix-Sept.

125. En effet, ma délégation aura l'occasion d'intervenir, ici même, ou devant la Quatrième Commission suivant le cas, pour exprimer son point de vue au sujet de chacun des territoires qui ont fait l'objet des travaux du Comité des Dix-Sept. Qu'il me soit cependant permis de dire, dans le cadre de cette intervention de caractère général, que les 10 chapitres du rapport du Comité relatif à 10 territoires différents traduisent une remarquable similarité quant aux problèmes auxquels les peuples de ces territoires ont à faire face. Dans chaque cas, on relève le maintien scandaleux de pratiques de discrimination et de persécutions raciales, l'absence de libertés politiques fondamentales, la continuation de l'exploitation de l'homme par l'homme et les privilèges exorbitants d'intérêts économiques étrangers; enfin, des machinations inadmissibles tendant à retarder injustement l'accession à l'indépendance de ces territoires. Les

Nations Unies se doivent, dans notre esprit, d'adopter une attitude plus ferme pour mettre fin à ces pratiques indignes de la Charte qui nous lie.

126. Il a été souvent question, au cours des années récentes, du problème de la date d'accession à l'indépendance des territoires coloniaux, et c'est à ce sujet que nous nous permettrons de faire une suggestion pratique. Comme on le sait, des propositions multiples ont été faites à ce sujet tendant à fixer une date précise, plus ou moins lointaine, pour la libération de ces territoires. Les propositions avancées à cette tribune comme devant la Quatrième Commission avaient ceci de commun qu'elles envisageaient la même date pour toutes les colonies ou territoires dépendants. Nous souhaiterions apporter un élément réaliste à ces propositions qui ont, pour la plupart, soulevé des objections nombreuses.

127. Nous suggérons que le Comité des Dix-Sept soit chargé par l'Assemblée générale d'étudier le cas particulier de chaque territoire et, compte tenu de ses observations, de proposer une date précise applicable à chaque territoire pour son accession à l'indépendance. Nous pouvons par exemple, sans trop de difficultés, prévoir que le Comité des Dix-Sept pourrait proposer formellement une date extrêmement rapprochée pour l'indépendance de Zanzibar et celle de la Guyane britannique. Il pourrait, de la même façon, étudier le cas d'autres territoires, s'entourer de toutes les informations nécessaires, procéder à des consultations utiles et proposer des dates limites qui tiendraient compte avec réalisme de la situation politique et économique du territoire considéré.

128. Ces propositions, soumises à l'Assemblée générale, pourraient être acceptées ou amendées après discussion et feraient admettre l'objet de mise en demeure si nécessaire, en assurant que les puissances coloniales ne soient pas toujours consentantes.

129. J'ajouterai, comme suggestion complémentaire à ce qui précède, que le Comité des Dix-Sept, justement afin de s'informer et de consulter, devrait multiplier les missions de visite soit dans les territoires coloniaux, soit dans les capitales des puissances coloniales. L'exemple de la mission du Comité des Dix-Sept à Londres est significatif quant aux résultats positifs qui peuvent être atteints de cette manière. En outre, le Comité devrait spécialiser certains de ses membres, par petits groupes éventuellement, dans les différents problèmes qu'il examine, afin d'accélérer son travail. En effet, si les 17 membres du Comité devaient étudier, les uns après les autres, les différentes questions soumises à leur examen, nous craignons que le temps dont ils auraient besoin pour ce faire ne soit extrêmement long et qu'ils ne puissent terminer leurs travaux aussi rapidement que l'Assemblée le souhaite.

130. Voilà des idées que nous livrons aux réflexions de l'Assemblée, avec l'espoir qu'elles contribueront à faciliter la tâche de ceux qui, en notre nom et avec nous, travaillent à résoudre les problèmes posés par la survivance de la domination coloniale, notamment en Afrique.

131. Pour compléter cette intervention, j'ajouterai un mot sur la question de l'élargissement éventuel du Comité des Dix-Sept. Ma délégation n'a pas d'objection, a priori, à une telle initiative. Nous croyons, cependant, que l'on ne devrait augmenter le nombre des membres du Comité que si cela était vraiment jugé nécessaire.

132. L'œuvre de décolonisation est sans doute la plus noble des tâches que notre organisation a choisi courageusement d'entreprendre. La liquidation du colonialisme, nous le savons, contribuera largement à réduire les tensions internationales. Ce faisant, nous aurons rapproché l'heure où un monde pacifié ne se souviendra qu'à travers ses livres d'histoire qu'il a connu une période dominée par la tragique aberration de l'exploitation de l'homme par l'homme, de la domination, du racisme et de l'injustice sociale. L'une des pages les plus sombres de l'histoire de l'humanité aura alors été tournée à jamais. Mais d'ici là nous devons demeurer vigilants et continuer sans relâche le combat nécessaire pour la libération de l'homme. Aucun d'entre nous n'est vraiment et ne sera vraiment libre aussi longtemps qu'un peuple et un territoire demeureront sous la domination étrangère.

133. Ceci est en tout cas le sentiment profond du peuple et du gouvernement algériens. Et nous n'aurons de cesse que lorsque tous les hommes de la Terre seront libérés de l'oppression et de l'injustice.

134. M. CISSE (Sénégal): L'importance du rapport [A/5238] dont l'Assemblée générale se trouve saisie aujourd'hui ne saurait échapper à ma délégation, qui fut parmi les promoteurs de la résolution 1514 (XV) sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. C'est une tâche des plus importantes que de faire le point de la décolonisation depuis la date à jamais mémorable du 14 décembre 1960, à laquelle notre assemblée a adopté la résolution 1514 (XV) donnant ainsi à sa politique une orientation nouvelle, conformément à ce que l'on est convenu depuis d'appeler "l'esprit de Bandoung" et qui devait soulever de la part des peuples opprimés, asservis et épris de dignité et d'indépendance, une vague d'espoir et d'enthousiasme. Les termes de la résolution résonnent encore à nos oreilles. Jamais l'Organisation n'avait fait un pas aussi décisif pour promouvoir le respect de sa charte et de la Déclaration universelle des droits de l'homme, ni même reformulé avec autant de netteté et de vigueur les principes directeurs de son action dans le monde.

135. Et les peuples coloniaux ne s'y sont pas trompés; la résolution 1514 (XV) a sonné le glas du colonialisme, annonçant des temps nouveaux, un monde de dignité, d'indépendance, d'harmonie et de paix. Mieux, et c'est là un facteur d'une portée inestimable, les pays colonisés qui luttent pour leur indépendance nationale savent qu'ils ne sont plus seuls, que leur cause est juste et que la conscience internationale, que notre organisation incarne, s'est émue et jouera en leur faveur pour hâter leur libération du joug odieux du colonialisme. On a dit, et cela est certainement vrai, que la résolution sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux constitue une nouvelle charte de l'action des Nations Unies. Cela est évident puisque, par l'adoption de cette résolution, l'Organisation a abandonné les vœux pieux pour déclarer que la pratique du colonialisme compromet son œuvre et jure avec les principes mêmes sur lesquels elle repose, et en a décrété la fin immédiate.

136. Les résultats ne se sont pas fait attendre. Pour s'en convaincre, il suffit de parcourir du regard notre assemblée pour qui il est devenu une tradition, à chaque session, de saluer l'admission de nouveaux Membres qui ont fraîchement échappé au joug du colonialisme. Il suffit aussi de parcourir la salle pour se rendre compte que les absents à ce rendez-vous

universel sont nombreux. Dans la seule Afrique, 100 millions d'individus ne sont pas représentés ici. L'afflux des pétitionnaires d'Afrique, comme des autres parties du monde, est aussi une preuve que la colonisation est encore vivace, qu'elle a conservé toutes ses forces, et que l'Assemblée doit redoubler de vigilance, persister dans son effort et donner les derniers coups — ceux-là mortels — à ce monstre. C'est là l'intérêt du rapport du Comité des Dix-Sept.

137. Avant tout, ma délégation tient à adresser aux membres de ce comité ses félicitations les plus vives pour le travail considérable qu'ils ont accompli. L'immensité de leur tâche serait, s'il en était encore besoin, la preuve que la résolution 1514 (XV) n'a reçu qu'un début d'application. Nous nous devons aussi de féliciter les membres du Comité d'avoir, dans leur plus grande majorité, examiné la situation des pays encore dépendants et formulé des recommandations dans l'esprit de la résolution précitée.

138. L'examen même partiel du rapport montre clairement que la décolonisation en est arrivée à un stade ultime, mais qui n'en requerra pas moins que nous redoublions d'efforts. L'Organisation se heurte au bastion du colonialisme: les colonies de peuplement en Afrique centrale et en Afrique orientale. Les puissances administrantes se sont hâtées de promouvoir l'accession à l'indépendance des colonies d'exploitation, conformément à la résolution 1514 (XV). Cependant, à la lumière des événements récents survenus dans les Rhodésies, on est amené à penser que c'est pour mieux s'opposer à la vague de libération qui secoue le monde que l'on a accordé l'indépendance aux colonies d'exploitation, pour concentrer les efforts pour la résistance dans celles qui restent.

139. Les Rhodésies et le Nyassaland constituent un exemple typique; le colonialisme le plus aveugle y livre ses dernières batailles avec l'énergie du désespoir. Car, en fait, qu'est-ce que ces régimes où 200 000 ou 300 000 blancs gouvernent au nom de 3 millions de noirs, où, pour voter, il faut jouir d'un certain revenu et avoir atteint un certain degré d'instruction, alors que le gouvernement ne néglige rien pour empêcher les noirs de remplir les conditions du cens ?

140. Le cas de la Rhodésie du Sud est des plus familiers à notre organisation: une poignée de colons y multiplient les subterfuges et les astuces constitutionnels pour empêcher la population africaine de jouir des bienfaits de l'indépendance et perpétuer ainsi leur domination sur le pays. L'Assemblée connaît les machinations constitutionnelles des colons d'Afrique centrale: les lois électorales capacitaires et censitaires qu'inspire une odieuse volonté de domination et qui excluent du corps électoral la majorité des populations africaines, la dissolution pure et simple des partis politiques nationalistes que l'on accuse de prêcher l'agitation et la subversion alors qu'on les a sciemment accusés à la violence, l'emprisonnement des leaders de ces partis dont le délit consiste à demander le retour de leur pays à la dignité et à la liberté — tout cela est bien connu. L'Assemblée ne se laissera certainement pas tromper par la mince façade constitutionnelle dont on s'entoure en Afrique centrale.

141. On s'obstine à nous répéter que la Rhodésie du Sud est autonome depuis 1923; l'ONU s'est prononcée à ce sujet en juin dernier [voir résolution 1747 (XVI)], et nous rejetons cet argument fallacieux pour

exiger l'abrogation de la Constitution de ce pays, laquelle ne prévoit ni l'institution du suffrage universel, ni la mise sur pied de pouvoirs qui représentent authentiquement la volonté du peuple. On ne peut s'y tromper. La résolution 1514 (XV) est lumineuse; c'est aux autochtones et non aux colons, si bien intentionnés soient-ils, qu'il faut remettre le pouvoir. L'indépendance que nous réclamons n'est pas pour les colons, qui n'ont jamais été asservis, mais pour les autochtones.

142. Le rapport est explicite à ce sujet; le dénominateur commun des pays de l'Afrique centrale, orientale et méridionale, c'est le racisme, l'exploitation des noirs, les pires violations des droits de l'homme. Qu'est-ce que cette fédération que sir Roy Welensky veut à tout prix imposer aux Africains, sinon un autre subterfuge pour mieux les tenir en main et perpétuer leur asservissement? Cette fédération ne serait qu'une caricature de l'aspiration de l'Afrique à l'unité. C'est un procédé grossier auquel les forces extrémistes et réactionnaires ont recours pour conserver leur domination. Il y a dans l'attitude de ces gouvernements une grande part de provocation.

143. La position de ma délégation est connue: il faut accorder à ces pays leur indépendance. Et, surtout, qu'on ne vienne pas prétexter le manque de préparation pour retarder leur libération. Les populations de ces pays sont passées par des épreuves telles que leur maturité est évidente; et puis, si les puissances administrantes ne leur ont que parcimonieusement dispensé les bienfaits de l'éducation, tout porte à croire que seule l'indépendance leur permettra de faire appel à la coopération internationale pour la promotion de leurs peuples.

144. Le Sud-Ouest africain connaît un sort encore plus sombre. L'Afrique du Sud, prétextant la caducité illusoire du Mandat confié par la Société des Nations, multiplie les tentatives d'intégration du Territoire. Ce que l'Assemblée sait de l'extraordinaire politique d'apartheid qu'elle a maintes fois condamnée doit expliquer pourquoi une pareille annexion nous indigné et pourquoi nous nous y opposons.

145. Ma délégation déplore que le Royaume-Uni évoque les dissensions et les divergences de vues entre les formations politiques locales pour retarder l'indépendance de la Guyane britannique, de Zanzibar, du Bassoutoland, du Betchouanaland, du Souaziland et du Kenya. Elle espère aussi que le Royaume-Uni se lavera bientôt du soupçon de retarder l'indépendance du Kenya pour des considérations militaires et stratégiques.

146. Le Portugal, de même que l'Afrique du Sud, persiste dans son attitude de défi à l'Organisation et ne se maintient en Angola, comme au Mozambique, que par la force des armes. L'Afrique du Sud, si extraordinaire que cela paraisse, dépense annuellement 60 millions de livres pour maintenir son armée de répression; le Portugal ne perpétue sa domination sur ses colonies que par l'envoi périodique de renforts pour maintenir l'ordre, un ordre qui répugne à la conscience internationale. Nous rejetons avec dédain l'argument selon lequel les colonies portugaises feraient partie intégrante du territoire national portugais. C'est là un argument auquel les colonialistes ont recours et qui ne repose que sur du sable. Ce n'est pas la première fois qu'on l'évoque à cette tribune, et ma délégation est fermement convaincue

que, devant notre détermination, le Portugal y renoncera, comme les autres avant lui. L'administration portugaise en Angola, au Mozambique, en Guinée dite portugaise et aux îles du Cap-Vert s'est soldée par un échec. Le niveau de vie des populations autochtones de ces territoires est le plus bas d'Afrique; qui plus est, on ne leur épargne rien. La discrimination raciale, le travail forcé, un régime policier, tel est leur lot.

147. La position de ma délégation est nette: on n'a pas appliqué la résolution sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux à tous les pays que nous venons d'énumérer. L'Organisation se doit de faire comprendre nettement aux puissances administrantes qu'elle n'est pas dupe, que les pays en question ne jouissent ni de l'autonomie, ni de l'indépendance. L'Assemblée générale doit engager le Royaume-Uni, dont on connaît le passé louable de décolonisateur, à cesser de faire le jeu des colons et à assurer la primauté des intérêts des populations autochtones en leur accordant l'indépendance. L'Assemblée générale doit aussi exclure de son sein les membres qui érigent en doctrine la violation flagrante de la Charte des Nations Unies et de la Déclaration universelle des droits de l'homme, en l'occurrence le Portugal et l'Afrique du Sud. L'Assemblée n'a certainement pas manqué d'être saisie d'angoisse devant les mises en garde du président de la ZAPU⁴. C'est parce que le Royaume-Uni a remis le sort des Africains entre les mains d'une poignée de colons que nous avons à faire face aujourd'hui à l'odieuse politique d'apartheid. Il ne faut pas que l'on répète cette erreur en Rhodésie. Il ne faut pas que l'on tolère la mainmise de l'Afrique du Sud sur le Sud-Ouest africain, ni la consolidation de la Fédération raciste et oppressive de sir Roy Welensky, dont on connaît le rôle au Katanga.

148. Nous autres Africains, nous avons tout à perdre dans la constitution de ce que l'on a judicieusement dénommé "Alliance impie". Si, sur le sol africain, le dictateur Salazar, le champion de la suprématie des blancs, sir Roy Welensky, et le raciste Verwoerd se donnaient la main, c'en serait fini du progrès, de la dignité et de la liberté dans cette partie de l'Afrique, et l'action de l'Organisation s'en trouverait compromise pour longtemps. Cette alliance mettrait en péril la sécurité de nos Etats et la paix du monde. Les Nations Unies doivent prévenir ce mal. Pour ce faire, les Membres de l'Organisation doivent prendre nettement conscience de leurs responsabilités et retirer aux tenants de l'apartheid le soutien inavoué qu'ils leur portent, de même qu'ils doivent mettre un terme à leur politique de duplicité qui consiste à condamner le Portugal à la tribune de l'ONU alors que, d'un autre côté, on fournit à ce pays armes et munitions qui lui permettent de poursuivre en Afrique sa campagne d'extermination.

149. Lorsque l'Assemblée générale a adopté la résolution 1514 (XV), ma délégation était parmi celles, nombreuses, qui avaient exprimé leur satisfaction de voir la communauté internationale reconnaître à nouveau ses devoirs envers les peuples dépendants. Aujourd'hui, ma délégation prend à son compte les conclusions du Comité des Dix-Sept, déclare que la résolution 1514 (XV) n'a reçu qu'un début d'application, et votera en faveur de tout projet de résolution destiné à hâter la libération des peuples opprimés.

La séance est levée à 12 h 40.

Nations Unies
**ASSEMBLÉE
GÉNÉRALE**

DIX-SEPTIÈME SESSION

Documents officiels



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1173^e
SÉANCE PLÉNIÈRE

Mercredi 21 novembre 1962,
à 15 heures

NEW YORK

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Président: M. Muhammad ZAFRULLA KHAN
(Pakistan).

En l'absence du Président, M. Diallo Telli (Guinée),
vice-président, prend la présidence.

POINT 25 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

La situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux: rapport du Comité spécial constitué aux termes de la résolution 1654 (XVI) de l'Assemblée générale (*suite*)

7. M. MELO FRANCO (Brésil): Durant les débats sur la procédure qui se sont déroulés en séance plénière au sujet de l'interprétation du point 25, la délégation du Brésil a préféré ne pas intervenir. Elle était certaine que l'Assemblée générale, en sa sagesse, trou-

verait la formule la meilleure pour nous épargner une double discussion ou pour éviter des projets de résolution superflus ou contradictoires sur différentes questions attribuées tantôt aux séances plénières, tantôt à la Quatrième Commission, et se référant tous au chapitre général de nos efforts en vue de liquider le colonialisme dans le monde.

8. C'est toujours soucieuse d'éviter une double discussion du sujet que la délégation du Brésil prend aujourd'hui la parole sur le point 25. Aussi ma délégation ne considérera-t-elle maintenant que les aspects généraux du problème et du rapport (A/5238) qui nous est présenté par le Comité spécial^{1/} et laissera-t-elle à son représentant à la Quatrième Commission le soin de traiter des aspects particuliers à chaque territoire. Plus précisément, la délégation du Brésil se bornera à examiner, ici, le chapitre premier du rapport du Comité spécial et, d'une manière tout à fait générale, l'œuvre de ce comité durant son existence de moins d'un an.

9. Le rapport du Comité spécial est non seulement l'un des documents les plus volumineux publiés jusqu'ici par les Nations Unies, mais aussi l'un des plus importants quant au traitement des problèmes posés par la décolonisation. En nous le présentant, le Rapporteur, M. Najmuddine Rifai, de la Syrie, a fort bien su mettre en relief, et en toute justice, la tâche immense accomplie par chaque membre dans l'exercice du mandat conféré par l'Assemblée générale.

10. Lorsque, l'année dernière, l'Assemblée adopta la résolution 1654 (XVI) créant le Comité spécial, dont la dénomination aujourd'hui consacrée est celle de Comité des Dix-Sept, il n'était pas difficile de prévoir quelles fonctions allait assumer cet organe des Nations Unies dans le domaine de la décolonisation. Pour orienter l'évolution des territoires dépendants sur le chemin de l'autonomie ou de l'indépendance, la Charte des Nations Unies, comme l'on sait, avait prévu, d'une part, le Conseil de tutelle, et avait, d'autre part, donné à l'Assemblée générale la possibilité d'instituer le Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes.

11. La révolution fondamentale provoquée au sein de l'Organisation par l'adoption sans voix dissidente, le 14 décembre 1960, de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux [résolution 1514 (XV)] eut pour principale conséquence l'établissement du Comité des Dix-Sept. Lié directement à l'Assemblée générale, le Comité allait accepter, ou même attirer à soi, en vertu des larges attributions qui lui étaient confiées, la fonction d'organe supérieur d'étude et de mise en œuvre de décisions, pratiquement sur toutes les questions de décolonisation, sans jamais chercher à se dérober devant aucun problème de ce genre.

12. Si, lorsqu'on établit le bilan de son œuvre pendant cette première année de son existence, l'on constate que le Comité des Dix-Sept ne s'est occupé que de quelques territoires, c'est parce que, malgré le désir de la majorité de ses membres, il lui était manifestement impossible de traiter de tous les territoires dépendants existant encore dans le monde contemporain.

13. A ce stade de notre examen, deux questions connexes peuvent immédiatement se poser: première-

^{1/} Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux.

ment, l'ampleur de son mandat, tel qu'il est interprété par le Comité des Dix-Sept, est-elle compatible avec les dispositions de la Charte? Deuxièmement, cet organe n'est-il pas sur le point de se superposer non seulement à divers comités spéciaux, mais à la Quatrième Commission elle-même? Sur ces deux points, la délégation du Brésil croit pouvoir répondre par la négative. En fait, le Comité des Dix-Sept, à la lumière de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, n'est pas allé au-delà de son mandat, mais il a su, au contraire, agir dans les limites fixées par la Charte et par les résolutions importantes qui sont venues interpréter et compléter la Charte sur ce point. Telle, par exemple, la résolution 1541 (XV), qui fournit aux Etats Membres des critères objectifs, grâce auxquels est dûment interprété un concept fondamental pour notre action en matière coloniale, celui de territoire non autonome.

14. On allègue, d'autre part, que la Quatrième Commission perd sa raison d'être si le Comité des Dix-Sept, comme il lui est arrivé de le faire, présente des projets de résolution directement à l'Assemblée générale. La délégation du Brésil ne voit aucun inconvénient à ce procédé, du moment que chaque délégation conserve le droit d'exprimer son opinion sur chaque sujet, de proposer des amendements et de voter en toute liberté. Nous estimons aussi qu'il est utile que l'étude de questions complexes soit faite d'abord par un organe spécialisé, puis reconsidérée librement par l'une des grandes commissions, avant que l'Assemblée générale prenne la décision finale.

15. Revenant aux fonctions du Comité des Dix-Sept, on constate qu'en pratique celui-ci est venu se superposer non seulement au Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes, mais aussi à divers comités chargés de questions coloniales bien déterminées et dont l'activité n'est plus qu'un instrument permettant au Comité des Dix-Sept d'accomplir sa tâche. Il convient de rappeler aussi que le Conseil de tutelle voit diminuer son importance à mesure que sont mis en vigueur les moyens qui nous rapprochent du but pour lequel il a été établi.

16. En effet, le Comité des Dix-Sept étend son action sur tout le domaine de la décolonisation pour les trois raisons suivantes. D'abord, le Comité accepte la responsabilité de classer comme territoires non autonomes des territoires jusqu'alors en dehors du champ d'action des Nations Unies — responsabilité qui lui a été expressément confiée par l'Assemblée générale et qui est bien dans l'esprit de la Charte. Cette compétence est des plus importantes en raison des conséquences qui peuvent découler de l'exercice du principe d'autodétermination. Ensuite, le Comité est saisi du problème des territoires administrés par le Portugal, transformant ainsi le Comité des Sept^{2/} en un organe subsidiaire chargé d'étudier minutieusement leurs conditions. Finalement, le Comité a été chargé de la question du Territoire du Sud-Ouest africain, faisant donc également du Comité spécial des Nations Unies pour le Sud-Ouest africain l'un de ses organes subsidiaires.

17. Dans cette perspective, la tâche déjà réalisée par le Comité des Dix-Sept durant l'année en cours est énorme, même si elle n'est que partielle, car, comme nous l'avons dit, le domaine de la décolonisation est beaucoup plus étendu que celui que peuvent viser ses activités.

^{2/} Comité spécial pour les territoires administrés par le Portugal.

18. La délégation du Brésil est toujours convaincue que, dans la lutte pour la paix, la solution qui sera donnée au problème colonial joue un rôle de premier plan. Elle l'a déjà affirmé et insiste encore sur ce point: l'ère du colonialisme est historiquement dépassée et il ne reste plus qu'à en liquider les résidus. Mais, précisément parce que ce sont des résidus, il est nécessaire de les traiter avec le plus grand soin et la plus grande efficacité, de crainte que le colonialisme ne vienne ajouter d'autres maux à ceux qu'il a déjà engendrés. Le colonialisme, de nos jours, est un archaïsme historique et sociologique, dont la disparition pacifique ne pourra être que bienfaisante pour les Etats et les collectivités humaines. Son extinction retirera de la société contemporaine des éléments politiques, économiques, sociaux et émotionnels qui mettent en danger la paix et la sécurité internationales.

19. Il est incontestable d'autre part que les Nations Unies ont contribué pour une large part à précipiter le processus de liquidation du colonialisme en augmentant l'efficacité des mesures prises dans ce sens. Si, avant la première guerre mondiale, la décolonisation revêtait, en règle générale, des caractères belliqueux, avant la seconde guerre, déjà, elle a pu prendre parfois un aspect relativement pacifique en plus d'un point. Mais c'est depuis la seconde guerre mondiale que les Nations Unies ont su imposer à cette évolution un caractère réellement pacifique, malgré quelques exceptions douloureuses et sanglantes. Il ne faut pas cacher, non plus, que cela est dû en partie à la conscience que certaines puissances coloniales ont prise du fait qu'il ne leur était plus possible de résister à la marée croissante des revendications nationales des peuples dépendants.

20. Comme résultat de l'action des Nations Unies et de la compréhension de certaines puissances coloniales, des centaines de millions d'individus ont accédé à la vie souveraine, dans différents pays, sous diverses formes d'Etat. Les Nations Unies ont collaboré, directement ou indirectement, à l'accession à l'indépendance politique de plus de 700 millions d'êtres humains.

21. Aujourd'hui, nous nous acheminons irrévérablement vers la définition, par le moyen de l'autodétermination, des trois derniers territoires sous tutelle des Nations Unies.

22. En sa qualité de membre du Comité spécial des Nations Unies pour le Sud-Ouest africain, le Brésil croit qu'une solution juste et pacifique sera trouvée pour ce problème qui a déjà fait l'objet de 63 résolutions des Nations Unies, depuis plus de 16 ans de discussions. La Puissance mandataire doit comprendre que tous les faits relevés sur son administration du Territoire — qu'ils soient bons, comme elle l'allègue, ou mauvais, comme l'affirment les Nations Unies — ne peuvent conduire qu'à une seule conclusion: celle que l'option des populations doit être un acte de la volonté même de ces populations, manifestée en toute liberté. La Puissance mandataire doit comprendre, en outre, que sa position à cet égard, du point de vue international, est la source de graves frictions qui ne peuvent qu'empoisonner l'atmosphère et qui compromettent en grande partie l'équilibre auquel aspirent justement les Etats africains souverains, dont la majorité n'a commencé que récemment à jouir de cette souveraineté, mais qui démontrent déjà une maturité expressive dans le traitement de leurs problèmes nationaux et internationaux.

23. Quant aux territoires non autonomes, le tableau est encore impressionnant. Il y a plus d'une cinquantaine de ces territoires sur la carte du monde et leur population totale s'élève à environ 80 millions de personnes. La principale puissance en cause, le Royaume-Uni, a pourtant montré sa compréhension de l'urgence du problème et de l'anachronisme du système colonial.

24. Ces territoires non autonomes sont de structures démographiques diverses. Les uns présentent un pourcentage relativement élevé de population descendant des colonisateurs. Dans des cas de ce genre, nous avons assisté, ces derniers temps, à des luttes atroces, telles que celle qui a été menée pendant sept ans en Algérie, pays que nous avons déjà la satisfaction de voir ici en qualité d'Etat Membre. Il est pourtant hors de doute qu'une solution a déjà été trouvée, et effectivement mise en vigueur, dans un passé plus lointain, pour des territoires d'une telle structure démographique. Mon pays, le Brésil, est un exemple frappant de ces sociétés multiraciales dans lesquelles les droits de l'homme sont garantis et pratiqués, sans préjugés ni discrimination de race, de couleur ou de croyance. Ces territoires de peuplement, comme leur nom l'indique, peuvent être peuplés d'hommes de toute origine et de toute condition, pourvu que soient respectés les caractéristiques "nationales" provenant de leur véritable structure démographique, précisément parce qu'ils sont assez grands et assez riches pour accueillir en leur sein tous les hommes de bonne volonté qui y sont nés ou qui y ont été reçus.

25. A cet égard, il faut reconnaître qu'une différence fondamentale doit être établie entre les colonisateurs et leurs descendants, d'une part, et le pouvoir économique, généralement installé dans la métropole, d'autre part, pouvoir qui cherche à identifier ses intérêts égoïstes aux besoins des colonisateurs et de leurs descendants, créant ainsi des oppositions interraciales qui ne font que porter préjudice aux véritables intérêts des peuples.

26. C'est dans cette perspective, estime la délégation du Brésil, que ces problèmes peuvent être examinés par l'Assemblée générale. C'est aussi dans ce complexe que se situe le Royaume-Uni en tant que principale puissance coloniale intéressée. Nous avons confiance en la traditionnelle sagesse politique des Britanniques pour parvenir à la solution qui sera la meilleure, et conforme à la Charte des Nations Unies.

27. Des raisons de nature diverse, comme la grande majorité des Etats Membres le savent d'ailleurs, placent la délégation du Brésil dans une position particulière en ce qui concerne le problème des territoires sous administration portugaise. A cet égard, le Brésil désire exprimer de nouveau deux souhaits ardents: tout d'abord, que le débat qui doit se dérouler devant la Quatrième Commission soit dépourvu de tout élément passionnel; ensuite, que l'on trouve une formule pour que le Portugal accepte un dialogue constructif avec les Nations Unies pour le profit effectif des populations des territoires qu'il administre, et dans le sens de l'histoire contemporaine. Ce sens est d'ailleurs celui de l'histoire même du Portugal, qui a su accepter la marche du Brésil vers l'indépendance sans compromettre l'ensemble des liens étroits qui unissent les deux pays.

28. Un grand nombre d'Etats désirent vivement — et pareil désir se justifie dans une large mesure — parvenir à des solutions concrètes et immédiates telles qu'elles sont postulées dans la Déclaration sur l'octroi

de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. Le Brésil partage ce désir, mais, en même temps, il désire rappeler que nous devons tous nous efforcer de ne pas tomber dans des mesures, qui, au lieu de conduire à une solution pacifique et définitive des conflits coloniaux, pourraient être la source de nouvelles frictions, de nouvelles complications, et de troubles pour une paix déjà précaire et instable, une paix dont le renforcement devrait être notre principal but.

29. C'est ainsi que la délégation du Brésil estime de son devoir de relever, une fois de plus, à cette occasion, que, tout en reconnaissant que les sanctions sont parties intégrantes de la Charte et s'y trouvent explicitement contenues, il faut considérer leur application en évaluant avec sérénité leur opportunité et leur convenance. Il faut recourir aux sanctions, premièrement lorsqu'elles peuvent être effectivement appliquées, et secondement, quand elles sont adoptées de telle manière qu'elles garantissent la paix et la sécurité des régions où elles doivent être appliquées. Pour la délégation du Brésil, tant que des sanctions, au lieu de corriger une situation concrète ou de régler pacifiquement une question, peuvent mettre en danger l'existence même des Nations Unies en tant qu'instrument essentiel de la paix, il est préférable d'en différer l'application jusqu'à ce que le recours à des sanctions représente un moyen effectif de pacification.

30. On peut donc, dès maintenant, comprendre quels sont les principes qui guident la délégation du Brésil dans l'examen du point 25 de notre ordre du jour, principes que je résumerai de la manière suivante.

1) Nous sommes partisans d'une prolongation de l'existence du Comité des Dix-Sept pour une année encore, délai qui pourrait même être étendu à la lumière du rapport qui sera présenté à la dix-huitième session de l'Assemblée générale.

2) Nous sommes partisans d'une concentration des efforts du Comité, grâce à l'élimination d'autres comités et sous-comités spéciaux qui traitent des questions coloniales. Je m'empresse d'ajouter que, de par leur nature et en raison du travail qu'ils accomplissent, le Conseil de tutelle prévu dans la Charte et le Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes ne tomberaient évidemment pas sous le coup de cette suppression.

3) Nous considérons ouverte la question de la structure, de la composition, du nombre de membres et des méthodes de fonctionnement du Comité spécial, qui pourra être aussi bien le Comité des Dix-Sept que celui des Vingt et Un, ou ce que l'Assemblée générale, en sa sagesse, préférera.

4) Nous pensons que, dans le système de fonctionnement du Comité spécial, on pourra prévoir la possibilité de recourir à des Etats Membres ne faisant pas partie du Comité, pour des missions spéciales au sein de sous-comités *ad hoc*, selon une procédure à établir.

5) Nous croyons finalement que le bilan positif présenté par le Comité des Dix-Sept mérite les éloges des Etats Membres, malgré les réserves que l'on pourrait faire sur quelques points particuliers.

31. Avant de terminer cette intervention, la délégation du Brésil voudrait encore saluer les efforts des Etats Membres qui font partie du Comité des Dix-Sept. Elle le fait, en se référant tout spécialement

aux deux membres latino-américains, l'Uruguay et le Venezuela, qui, grâce à une participation lucide et constante, ont su donner la mesure de la pensée latino-américaine tout au long des travaux du Comité.

32. Sir James PLIMSOLL (Australie) [traduit de l'anglais]: L'Australie est membre du Comité des Dix-Sept. Nous avons participé à ses travaux activement pendant toute l'année. J'ai eu personnellement l'honneur de représenter l'Australie et le plaisir de visiter l'Afrique au cours du voyage que le Comité des Dix-Sept y a fait.

33. L'Australie a participé à la discussion de toutes les questions dont s'est occupé le Comité des Dix-Sept; nous avons pris part à l'audition et à l'interrogation des pétitionnaires, et je voudrais cet après-midi montrer brièvement comment l'Australie évalue et juge la situation à la lumière de son expérience.

34. Je tiens tout d'abord à rendre hommage à M. C. S. Jha (Inde), président du Comité et ancien représentant permanent de son pays auprès des Nations Unies, qui nous a apporté un point de vue constructif, ainsi, bien entendu, qu'une très riche expérience dans le domaine du fonctionnement des organes des Nations Unies et de leurs possibilités d'aboutir à des réalisations. Je nommerai aussi M. Coulibaly (Mali), vice-président du Comité et président de notre groupe lors de son séjour en Afrique. Pour ma part, j'ai été très heureux de travailler sous la direction de M. Coulibaly et de pouvoir observer la dignité et l'intégrité dont il a fait preuve au cours de notre voyage. Notre rapporteur était M. Rifai (Syrie), qui possède, en plus de ses qualités de rapporteur, une expérience particulière dans ce domaine. Il a été membre de la mission de visite en Nouvelle-Guinée australienne et administrateur spécial des Nations Unies au plébiscite du Samoa-Occidental. Je tiens aussi à rappeler les services rendus par les membres du Secrétariat tant au Siège que durant notre voyage en Afrique.

35. Il serait utile de rappeler ici l'esprit et les principes qui ont inspiré l'Australie dans sa participation aux travaux du Comité des Dix-Sept. Mon pays est en faveur de la libre détermination pour tous les peuples du monde. C'est là une attitude loyale et c'est l'esprit que nous nous sommes efforcés de faire entrer dans la Charte lors de sa rédaction à San Francisco en prenant l'initiative de certaines dispositions essentielles concernant les territoires coloniaux. Nous croyons à la libre détermination. Nous croyons aussi à la suppression de la discrimination fondée sur la couleur, dans les colonies non moins que dans les Etats indépendants. En dehors de toute considération de justice ou d'efficacité, nous connaissons les sentiments d'humiliation et de frustration que doivent éprouver tous ceux qui sont victimes de la discrimination en raison de la couleur, de la race ou de tout autre motif.

36. C'est pourquoi nous devrions nous efforcer ensemble d'atteindre deux objectifs: assurer à tous les peuples le véritable exercice du droit de libre détermination et donner à chacun, dans un territoire, des chances égales de jouer un rôle dans la vie politique, économique et sociale de ce territoire, sans distinction de race, de couleur ou de religion.

37. En ce qui concerne les activités du Comité des Dix-Sept, l'Australie a toujours pensé qu'il ne devrait pas y avoir de séparation entre les puissances administrantes et les autres membres du Comité. Nous

avons une tâche commune qui nous est assignée par la Charte des Nations Unies et qui nous est également dictée par la résolution 1654 (XVI) adoptée par l'Assemblée. Nous pensons que notre tâche consiste, au Comité, à œuvrer ensemble en vue d'assurer la réalisation des objectifs de la Charte; nous concevons le Comité comme une équipe et non comme un ensemble de groupes divisés sur la base de l'origine géographique ou de distinctions entre puissances administrantes et puissances non administrantes.

38. J'espère qu'en étudiant ce rapport nous prendrons tous mieux conscience du fait que les territoires dépendants ne sont pas d'un modèle unique. Dans sa partie générale comme dans les études des divers territoires, le rapport montre bien que des problèmes différents se posent dans des territoires différents. Des territoires différents sont à des stades différents de développement et les puissances administrantes y ont envisagé leurs tâches et leurs obligations dans un esprit différent et selon des méthodes différentes. Tout cela fait qu'il serait peu réaliste et même artificiel, à mon sens, de songer à fixer une date limite applicable à tous les territoires sans tenir compte de leur situation actuelle, de la politique poursuivie par les puissances administrantes ou du degré de coopération qui existe entre la puissance administrante et les Nations Unies.

39. J'ai dit que les puissances administrantes n'agissent pas toutes de la même manière. Deux d'entre elles, l'Afrique du Sud et le Portugal, suivent, tant dans les principes qu'elles proclament que dans la pratique qu'elles suivent, une politique que la plupart des membres de l'Assemblée générale considèrent comme ne remplissant pas pleinement les obligations qui leur incombent en vertu de la Charte. A la présente session, l'Australie a voté à la Quatrième Commission pour un projet de résolution sur le Sud-Ouest africain [voir A/5310], qui n'est pas encore venu en séance plénière, mais qui représente les vues de presque tous les membres de l'Assemblée et qui est fondé sur un principe essentiel: celui de donner effet au droit de libre détermination.

40. Comme nous l'avons déjà dit aux sessions précédentes de l'Assemblée et comme nous le dirons encore à la présente session, l'Australie considère que le Portugal devrait se conformer à l'obligation qui lui incombe d'accorder aux populations de ses territoires d'outre-mer le droit de disposer librement d'elles-mêmes et qu'il devrait prendre des mesures pour assurer l'exercice de ce droit.

41. Mais, en ce qui concerne les autres puissances administrantes, j'estime qu'il ne peut y avoir de doute à l'Assemblée sur le fait qu'elles agissent dans la bonne direction. Il peut y avoir des différences quant à la cadence suivie et quant aux méthodes employées, mais je ne crois pas qu'un observateur impartial puisse mettre en doute la sincérité qui anime ces puissances administrantes dans leur désir d'amener les territoires à la libre détermination. Comme je l'ai dit, on constatera toujours des différences en ce qui concerne la cadence du mouvement et les méthodes employées, mais il est certain que des pays comme l'Australie, les Etats-Unis et le Royaume-Uni s'efforcent honnêtement de remplir les obligations de la Charte. Nos traditions, imprégnées du respect des droits de l'homme et de la croyance en ces droits, nous y obligent. Une opinion publique bruyante nous y pousse; nous devons rendre compte à nos parlements

de la manière dont nous nous acquittons de ces tâches. Dans nos pays, le public, les parlements et les gouvernements sont tous au courant de ce qui se passe ici, aux Nations Unies, et des déclarations qui y sont faites par des représentants de toutes nuances.

42. Les délibérations des Nations Unies exercent sur la formation de l'opinion une influence considérable non seulement sur la pensée de ceux qui représentent ici les Etats Membres, mais aussi dans nos pays sur l'opinion publique elle-même. J'ai souvent songé à cette sorte de force impondérable que libèrent les Nations Unies lorsqu'elles prennent des décisions réfléchies, force qui constitue l'un des moyens les plus efficaces d'exercer une influence sur ce qui se fait aujourd'hui dans le monde, plus particulièrement dans le domaine du colonialisme.

43. Sans parler du rôle joué par les puissances administrantes, les problèmes qui se posent dans les territoires eux-mêmes diffèrent d'un territoire à l'autre. Les antécédents historiques, par exemple, sont différents. Les peuples de certains territoires dépendants ont vécu en sociétés ou en communautés organisées et sont riches d'un long passé historique et d'une ancienne et lente évolution culturelle unifiée; peut-être ont-ils même formé pendant longtemps un groupe organisé en une seule communauté. On trouve au contraire dans certaines parties du monde, en Nouvelle-Guinée australienne par exemple, des territoires qui n'ont jamais connu, au cours de leur histoire, de communauté homogène, où il n'y a jamais eu de communications matérielles dans l'ensemble du territoire et où ont vécu des tribus dispersées, dont certaines étaient très petites et qui avaient des communications très limitées, si même elles en avaient, avec les tribus voisines. Il est impossible de traiter de tels territoires exactement de la même façon. Une société comprenant une seule race ou une seule religion ou une seule tribu se trouve dans une situation tout à fait différente de celle d'une société groupant de nombreuses tribus de races diverses et peut-être même de nombreuses sectes religieuses antagonistes. Depuis quelques années, on a parfois dû s'efforcer de créer un sentiment d'unité là où il n'avait jamais existé auparavant. Nous devons tenir compte de la réalité de certains de ces problèmes.

44. On peut être convaincu, comme je le suis et comme l'est aussi le Gouvernement australien, qu'il ne devrait pas y avoir de discrimination entre des populations de couleur différente ou de religion différente. Mais la conviction que des distinctions de cette nature ne devraient pas exister ne doit pas nous faire oublier que, dans certains cas, la discrimination est un état de fait, fondé sur des facteurs dont nous devons avoir raison. C'est parfois une tâche de réconciliation et d'éducation qu'il faut accomplir; il faut dissiper la crainte — parfois inspirée du dehors — qui règne parmi les différents groupes d'une même société. Nous devons nous efforcer de faire disparaître ces obstacles. Cela implique parfois un devoir d'éducateur, au sens très large du terme. J'ai entendu des représentants parler du problème de l'éducation des populations en vue de les préparer à l'autonomie. Il ne s'agit pas simplement d'éduquer les populations autochtones; il s'agit très souvent d'éduquer, si je puis dire, certains des groupes dominants eux-mêmes à l'intérieur d'une société en les familiarisant avec l'idée du travail en commun et en les amenant peu à peu à accepter des formes coopératives d'action politique ou commerciale.

45. Les travaux accomplis par le Comité des Dix-Sept depuis un an ont montré qu'il ne s'agit pas toujours des divergences entre la puissance administrante et la population locale qui retardent l'indépendance. Les obstacles proviennent parfois de divergences qui se font jour à l'intérieur du territoire dépendant lui-même, entre les groupes autochtones du territoire, ou entre des groupes qui y ont immigré depuis longtemps mais qui ne sont pas nécessairement composés d'Européens. La Guyane britannique et Zanzibar, deux des territoires qui ont été étudiés par le Comité des Dix-Sept, en fournissent des exemples. Le Comité tout entier estime que le plus urgent est de rapprocher les différents groupes à l'intérieur de ces deux territoires afin qu'ils puissent accéder à l'indépendance et se gouverner eux-mêmes, avec toutes les obligations que cela comporte, sur la base d'un accord conclu entre les groupes. Il ne s'agit ni dans un cas ni dans l'autre de conflits entre la population du territoire et la Puissance administrante. Comme je l'ai dit, cet avis est partagé à des degrés divers par tous les membres du Comité des Dix-Sept.

46. J'ajouterai que, de l'avis de l'Australie, il n'appartient ni à l'Assemblée générale, ni au Comité des Dix-Sept, ni plus généralement aux Nations Unies, de faire un choix entre les chefs ou les partis d'un territoire. Il ne nous appartient pas d'imposer à un territoire un chef plutôt qu'un autre. Ce que nous devons faire, c'est préparer le moment où la population elle-même aura choisi celui qu'elle veut suivre et la forme de société et de constitution qu'elle désire adopter.

47. Comme je l'ai dit, les problèmes changent d'un territoire à l'autre et dans bien des cas il ne s'agit pas d'une simple question de colonialisme. On trouve dans la plupart des situations qui se présentent des éléments qui ne sont pas coloniaux. Certains des problèmes qui se posent dans ces territoires sont des problèmes que l'humanité a toujours connus: comment élever le niveau de vie pour tous, comment favoriser l'exercice des droits de l'homme. Ces problèmes ne se posent pas seulement dans les territoires coloniaux. Il y a des problèmes raciaux: comment obtenir des groupes de race différente qu'ils vivent côte à côte en bonne intelligence. Il y a les problèmes économiques de développement et la nécessité de trouver des marchés extérieurs pour la production primaire; il faut enfin apprendre à surmonter la peur: peur des conflits qui peuvent se déchainer entre divers groupes d'une même communauté, ou encore peur de voir intervenir des voisins puissants. On comprend mieux de quoi il s'agit en prenant des cas particuliers. L'Australie, par exemple, dans son propre territoire de Nouvelle-Guinée, a dû faire face à certains de ces problèmes: édifier une société unique, habituer la population à considérer le monde comme un tout et à voir les possibilités qui s'offrent à elle, alors que cette même population avait parfois été totalement coupée du reste du monde jusqu'à ces dernières années. On constate en Nouvelle-Guinée des craintes très réelles parmi la population autochtone quant à ce que l'avenir lui réservera. J'estime que, dans ce territoire, l'Australie et les Nations Unies ont su établir une coopération fructueuse, coopération qui subsistera, j'en suis sûr, et qui permettra à la population d'accéder à la libre détermination.

48. Mais la véritable question qui se pose très souvent dans un territoire est de savoir comment faire pour arriver à un résultat. Il ne s'agit pas de savoir

quelles sont les intentions de la puissance administrante ni à quels mobiles obéissent les dirigeants de la population autochtone. Il s'agit plus souvent de savoir comment passer à la dernière étape, celle qui donnera au pays déjà presque autonome l'indépendance de fait, comment concilier les divers éléments qui luttent entre eux et avec la puissance administrante, comment régler les conflits qui se produisent à l'intérieur du territoire et ceux qui s'élèvent entre les différents pouvoirs intéressés.

49. Nous nous apercevons parfois, au cours des discussions qui ont lieu à l'Assemblée générale ou dans les commissions, que chaque pays raisonne en fonction de ses propres intérêts. En Afrique par exemple, tel pays souhaiterait naturellement que son voisin nouvellement indépendant soit un Etat avec lequel il puisse espérer entretenir des relations pacifiques. Par conséquent, nous ne pouvons pas examiner ces problèmes d'une manière abstraite, ni prétendre que les intérêts nationaux n'entrent pas en jeu.

50. Ce que je viens de dire n'était qu'un aperçu général de la position de l'Australie en tant que membre du Comité des Dix-Sept; je parlerai maintenant brièvement des travaux du Comité lui-même depuis un an. Je n'ai pas l'intention de parler de certains territoires en particulier. Comme membre du Comité, l'Australie a eu la possibilité de faire connaître son opinion — et elle l'a fait — au sujet de presque tous les territoires qui ont été étudiés, et le rapport du Comité des Dix-Sept expose quelle a été notre politique. Je n'ai donc pas l'intention d'y revenir. Mais je présenterai quelques observations d'ordre général, dont la première portera sur des questions de procédure.

51. En ce qui concerne la procédure à suivre par le Comité, l'Australie a adopté une position très semblable à celle que le représentant des Etats-Unis a exposée hier à l'Assemblée générale [1171^{ème} séance]. Selon nous, les décisions prises par le Comité devaient autant que possible l'être par un assentiment unanime plutôt que par un vote. Cette prise de position a été inspirée en grande partie par les sentiments que j'ai exposés cet après-midi: nous pensons que le Comité ne devrait pas se diviser en puissances administrantes et en puissances non administrantes, mais que nous devons plutôt nous efforcer de trouver un terrain d'accord aussi étendu que possible; dans certains cas, d'ailleurs, il y a eu une grande mesure d'accord. Le débat qui s'est déroulé au début de l'année sur la Rhodésie du Sud a montré que le Comité n'aurait peut-être pas pu arriver à un accord unanime sur une déclaration détaillée, mais qu'il pouvait parvenir à un accord presque unanime sur une ligne de conduite générale. Nous avons pu nous mettre d'accord sur un dossier qui a été emporté à Londres par un sous-comité chargé de discuter avec le Gouvernement britannique. Beaucoup d'entre nous ont estimé qu'au lieu de voter sur des résolutions et de risquer ainsi de diviser le Comité inutilement et prématurément, il était préférable de nous considérer les uns les autres comme des associés et que le Comité dans son ensemble se considère comme l'associé de la puissance administrante du territoire considéré, dans l'entreprise qui consiste à chercher à atteindre pour ce territoire les objectifs visés. Nous avons estimé que nous pouvions parfois faire des progrès plus réels en cherchant à stimuler, à suggérer ou à observer, plutôt qu'à adop-

ter des formules qui ne pourraient recueillir l'accord de certains membres influents.

52. Personnellement, j'ai l'impression que les travaux du Comité des Dix-Sept ont été, dans l'ensemble, meilleurs au début de l'année que vers la fin. Au début de l'année, le Comité passait beaucoup plus de temps à ses travaux. Certains représentants pourront être enclins à le critiquer et à dire que l'essentiel est d'aller vite. Mais la rapidité n'est pas un objectif en soi. Ce qu'il faut, c'est une rapidité qui conduise à des résultats positifs et justes.

53. Le Comité a passé beaucoup de temps sur la Rhodésie et le Nyassaland. Après un long débat sur la Rhodésie du Sud, marqué par l'audition de pétitionnaires et par une discussion détaillée, un sous-comité composé de six représentants de puissances non administrantes a été créé. Ce sous-comité s'est rendu à Londres, où il a eu avec le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni de franches conversations. Le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni a pris cette visite très au sérieux. Le sous-comité a été reçu par les ministres les plus importants du Cabinet britannique. Cette visite a eu une influence sur la façon de penser des Britanniques, de même qu'elle a exercé une influence sur l'état d'esprit et la compréhension des problèmes au Siège de l'Organisation. Selon moi, le Comité a ainsi fait œuvre utile et productive et, quoi qu'on puisse penser de la question de la Rhodésie du Sud qui est si difficile à traiter en soi, sans parler des attitudes des gouvernements en la matière, je crois qu'on doit rendre au Comité des Dix-Sept l'hommage qu'il mérite pour sa contribution à ce sujet.

54. Plus avant dans l'année, et pour diverses raisons, le Comité n'a pas pu procéder à un examen approprié dans le cas de certains territoires. Des votes ont parfois été imposés sur des projets de résolution qui n'avaient pas fait l'objet d'un examen suffisant ou qui ne reflétaient pas la situation correctement. Mais ces choses arrivent dans n'importe quel organe. La situation ne m'inspire pas un pessimisme exagéré, bien que les choses n'aient peut-être pas pris le tour que mon gouvernement aurait désiré. Il n'y a nulle raison de désespérer. Le temps a fait défaut, particulièrement vers la fin, et je crois que le Comité a voulu faire trop de choses en trop peu de temps, sachant que l'Assemblée générale allait se réunir et qu'elle attendrait de recevoir un rapport. Peut-être le Comité a-t-il ainsi voulu s'occuper de trop de territoires et le faire trop rapidement. Mais il procédera l'an prochain, au cours de ses travaux, à un nouvel examen plus approfondi de certains des territoires déjà étudiés.

55. Je crois que la plupart des Etats Membres se sont efforcés honnêtement d'apporter leur contribution aux travaux du Comité et que nous ne devons pas juger ce travail au seul vu du rapport. Il faut se souvenir aussi des entretiens officieux qui ont eu lieu entre nous tous et qui ont eu une influence sur la pensée de chacun d'entre nous. Nous ne pouvons nous attendre toujours à ce qu'il en sorte des résultats immédiats. Nous savons, après tout, qu'il faut un certain temps dans nos propres gouvernements pour que la politique définie passe dans les faits et soit admise par chacun de ceux qui sont appelés à l'appliquer. Les Nations Unies possèdent cette sorte d'influence que nous sommes trop souvent enclins à sous-estimer ou à méconnaître: l'influence directe ou la pression indirecte que peuvent exercer des

discussions raisonnées, qui sont souvent plus importantes que des résolutions.

56. J'ai dit que la plupart des Etats Membres avaient essayé honnêtement d'apporter leur contribution aux travaux du Comité. Je dois cependant dire quelques mots de l'attitude de l'Union soviétique, parce que l'Union soviétique, tant au Comité que dans le présent débat, a parlé de l'attitude de ceux qu'elle appelle les "pays occidentaux", ce qui comprend l'Australie, je suppose, et qu'elle a prétendu que ces pays ne s'étaient pas acquittés honnêtement de leurs obligations. Pendant les travaux du Comité des Dix-Sept, l'Union soviétique a tenté à maintes reprises de se servir du thème du colonialisme pour intensifier la guerre froide et elle a cherché à diviser le Comité. Je me rappelle qu'à l'occasion de la discussion relative à un certain territoire l'Union soviétique a délibérément imposé un vote, alors que d'autres pays, y compris les pays d'Afrique et d'Asie, cherchaient à faire l'unanimité et à élargir le terrain d'accord plutôt qu'à sanctionner ou à cristalliser les divergences. L'Union soviétique a critiqué d'autres pays, mais pour ce qui est de ses propres territoires elle s'est réfugiée derrière le paragraphe 7 de l'Article 2 concernant les affaires qui relèvent de la compétence nationale. La Charte s'applique à tous les pays et à tous les peuples. Elle ne se limite pas à ceux qui relèvent actuellement de la juridiction des pays occidentaux; à ce sujet je citerai un passage d'une déclaration faite le 11 octobre 1962 par sir Garfield Barwick, ministre australien des affaires étrangères, devant la Chambre des représentants. Il a dit:

"J'estime que cette déclaration "générale" — il s'agit de la Déclaration sur la liquidation du colonialisme — "s'applique également aux peuples asservis à l'Union soviétique et à la Chine communiste, et j'espère que les Nations Unies porteront en temps voulu leur attention sur ces territoires. On constate que, tandis que la Grande-Bretagne s'emploie à accorder l'indépendance à tant de peuples, l'Union soviétique et la Chine communiste s'emploient à étendre leurs empires et à augmenter le nombre des régions qui leur sont assujetties."

57. Je présenterai maintenant quelques observations au sujet de ce que le Comité des Dix-Sept doit faire. Je pense que j'ai déjà donné une idée de mes vues sur ce point. Tout d'abord, le Comité doit s'assurer que les puissances administrantes s'efforcent loyalement, à un rythme raisonnable et par des moyens raisonnables, de donner effet aux dispositions de la Charte relatives à la libre détermination. Le Comité devrait stimuler de diverses manières, en donnant des idées et en posant des questions par exemple, l'action des puissances administrantes. Je parle en qualité de représentant d'une Autorité administrante et je puis dire que l'intérêt manifesté par les Nations Unies ne nous a jamais froissés. Au contraire, nous l'avons accueilli favorablement et nous avons cherché à tenir compte des avis exprimés ici, soit par l'Organisation des Nations Unies elle-même, soit par des pays apportant leur contribution personnelle aux débats. Il y aura toujours des divergences de vues, mais il n'y en a pas qu'aux Nations Unies, au Comité des Dix-Sept et dans les autres organes des Nations Unies. Il existe des divergences dans les territoires intéressés. Il existe des divergences au sein même des puissances administrantes. Dans tous nos pays qui ont des parlements libres et une presse libre qui peut rapporter ce qui se passe dans le monde, la

discussion existe: discussion habituelle, bien informée, reflétant de diverses manières ce qui se dit ici, ce dont les représentants font état ici et ce que leurs gouvernements disent chez eux.

58. Les autorités administrantes ont leurs responsabilités propres. En tant que telles, elles ont bien entendu la responsabilité d'appliquer la Charte, d'assurer l'ordre public dans les territoires qu'elles administrent, d'y maintenir une forme de société organisée, une structure politique organisée en marche vers l'indépendance. Elles ont la responsabilité d'empêcher la rupture de l'ordre public, l'interruption des services sociaux, le non-fonctionnement des services de la santé, l'écroulement du système économique. Elles ont l'obligation de prendre en considération les avis émis par les organes des Nations Unies et ceux qui sont exprimés ici par chaque pays. Une autorité administrante sait que, si elle méconnaît ces avis ou ces recommandations, elle le fait solemment, que son choix engage sa responsabilité et qu'elle doit être sûre des raisons qui la poussent à ne pas se conformer aux avis exprimés ici.

59. Quant aux autres pays, ils peuvent faire des critiques et suggestions constructives, mais ils ont la responsabilité de ne pas gêner les puissances administrantes ou ceux qui travaillent dans les territoires en provoquant des vagues d'émotion injustifiables ou en rendant plus difficile la réconciliation entre les divers éléments dans un territoire. Je sais qu'il s'agit souvent là d'une question d'opinion. Il est naturel que les puissances administrantes aient tendance à adopter un point de vue assez différent de celui qui voit les choses de l'extérieur. Dans chaque cas, c'est une question d'opinion. Mais il s'est trouvé des cas où une intervention extérieure a eu pour effet de rendre plus difficiles l'accord, la conciliation ou l'édification d'un Etat en situation de fonctionner.

60. Il ne faut pas non plus s'en tenir à de simples déclarations. Il ne suffit pas d'adopter une résolution réclamant l'indépendance immédiate. Il est utile de rappeler à chacun que l'objectif visé est l'indépendance et de stimuler tous les intéressés. Mais ce n'est pas une simple déclaration qui fera naître un Etat indépendant, qui permettra d'édifier une économie, qui suffira à réconcilier les éléments opposés d'une même communauté.

61. A mon sens, il est très important que les membres du Comité des Dix-Sept soient pleinement

conscients, dans leurs travaux, de ce que peut représenter un organe des Nations Unies et de la grande influence qu'il peut exercer s'il sait imposer le respect et si ses déclarations et décisions sont réalistes. C'est ainsi que le Comité pourra exercer une influence et commander le respect parmi la population d'un territoire. Si une résolution adoptée, qui peut être séduisante dans l'abstrait pour des personnes qui ne vivent pas dans le territoire intéressé, n'a rien de réaliste pour ceux qui y vivent, elle ne produira pas l'effet recherché. Elle ne pourra qu'affaiblir, dans ce territoire, le prestige du Comité des Dix-Sept, voire celui des Nations Unies.

62. Je puis me résumer ainsi. L'Australie croit à la libre détermination comme étant l'objectif que doivent atteindre tous les peuples du monde. Nous estimons que nous avons tous l'obligation, ensemble et séparément, de favoriser la libre détermination pour tous les peuples. Nous voulons l'élimination de la discrimination fondée sur la couleur, la race ou la religion, parmi tous les peuples du monde, coloniaux ou indépendants. Nous voulons que dans tous les territoires coloniaux naisse une société fondée sur une libre détermination véritable, sans discrimination pour motifs de race, de sexe ou de religion et où chacun ait des chances égales de jouer un rôle dans la vie économique, sociale et politique du pays. Nous voulons que le passage du statut de territoire colonial à celui de pays indépendant s'opère, s'il se peut, sans chaos ni destruction, car il importe que les nouveaux Etats prennent le départ dans les meilleures conditions possible. Nous voulons les lancer avec toutes les chances de leur côté pour ce qui est des biens d'équipement, des marchés intérieurs et extérieurs, de la structure de l'enseignement et du système de gouvernement constitutionnel. Nous ne voulons pas que ce qui existe déjà dans une certaine mesure risque d'être détruit par des combats, des conflits ou une agitation sociale inutile.

63. L'Australie continuera à coopérer avec les Nations Unies pour que ces objectifs soient atteints. Nous le ferons en notre qualité d'Autorité administrante, en notre qualité de membre du Comité des Dix-Sept et pour nous conformer aux obligations qui incombent à tous les Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, puissances administrantes ou puissances non administrantes.

La séance est levée à 16 h 25.

Nations Unies
**ASSEMBLÉE
GÉNÉRALE**

DIX-SEPTIÈME SESSION

Documents officiels



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SÉANCE PLÉNIÈRE

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NEW YORK

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de la résolution 1654 (XVI) de l'Assemblée générale
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16. M. ROS (Argentine) [traduit de l'espagnol]: La délégation argentine désire exprimer sa reconnaissance et présenter ses félicitations aux membres du Comité spécial créé par la résolution 1654 (XVI) ^{1/}, en particulier aux représentants de l'Uruguay et du Venezuela, pour les travaux qu'ils ont accomplis dans cet organe de l'Assemblée générale. Le document A/5238, qui contient le rapport du Comité spécial, montre l'ampleur des travaux accomplis en cette première année d'activité.

17. Lorsqu'elle a examiné le rapport, notre délégation a tenu compte aussi des travaux accomplis par tous les comités qui, au cours de l'intervalle compris entre la seizième et la dix-septième session de l'Assemblée générale, ont étudié des questions relatives aux territoires non autonomes ainsi qu'au cas particulier du Territoire sous mandat du Sud-Ouest africain. Le panorama qui se présente à nous, bien qu'éclairé par l'accession à l'indépendance de divers territoires, pose actuellement des problèmes, tant au point de vue de la structure de l'Organisation qu'en ce qui constitue le fond de la question de la décolonisation; ces problèmes méritent une analyse sérieuse et nous devons exprimer à leur propos notre opinion qui est largement inspirée par les idéaux de la Charte des Nations Unies et par notre position traditionnelle devant les problèmes coloniaux.

18. En ce qui concerne les problèmes d'organisation, nous estimons que le Comité des Dix-Sept a accompli sa tâche avec succès, bien que la délimitation de sa compétence ait quelque peu manqué de précision, ce qui provient du désir de satisfaire des opinions parfois éloignées les unes des autres. Le Comité des Dix-Sept, inspiré par les fins proposées dans la résolution 1514 (XV), a surmonté l'obstacle constitué par cette imprécision de la délimitation de sa compétence. C'est ainsi que le rapport soumis à l'Assemblée générale à sa présente session montre une ligne d'action orientée fermement vers l'application rapide de la résolution 1514 (XV) et que les projets de résolution figurant dans ledit rapport réaffirment cette volonté dans les cas particuliers de plusieurs territoires.

19. Nous partageons l'opinion exprimée par le Secrétaire général dans l'introduction à son rapport annuel [A/5201/Add.1] en ce qui concerne la nécessité de réduire la dispersion des compétences en matière coloniale. Le nombre des comités spéciaux en la matière pendant l'année qui s'achève montre la nécessité de concentrer les travaux au Comité spécial créé par la résolution 1654 (XVI). Nous avons vu des cas où une même question a été traitée simultanément par deux comités. Il faut donc remédier à ce défaut, qui est d'ailleurs normal puisque l'Assemblée traverse actuellement une période d'expérimentation; l'organe créé par ladite résolution doit réunir toute la compétence qui est dispersée dans d'autres comités spéciaux. A cet effet, le Comité des Dix-Sept pourra créer tous les sous-comités nécessaires à l'accomplissement de ses travaux. Le projet de résolution adopté par la Quatrième Commission [A/C.4/L.757] prévoit la dissolution du Comité spécial pour le Sud-Ouest africain, dont les fonctions seront reprises par le Comité des

POINT 25 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

La situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux; rapport du Comité spécial constitué aux termes

^{1/} Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux.

Dix-Sept. Le Comité spécial pour les territoires administrés par le Portugal et le Sous-Comité de l'Angola devraient avoir une fin identique. Nous affirmons qu'il doit en être ainsi, car le fait d'attribuer à des comités divers la compétence qui appartient logiquement à l'organe créé par la résolution 1654 (XVI) est préjudiciable au prestige dudit organe et double, lorsqu'il ne triple pas, les tâches de l'Organisation. Naturellement, cette opinion ne tend pas à minimiser les excellents travaux accomplis par lesdits comités spéciaux et qui ont été exposés dans les rapports présentés.

20. Nous nous permettrons toutefois de faire une exception à la suggestion précédemment émise. Nous affirmons que le Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes doit être maintenu au cours du remaniement structural du mécanisme des Nations Unies concernant les questions coloniales. Nous estimons nécessaire qu'il soit étroitement relié au Comité des Dix-Sept, mais nous pensons aussi, en nous fondant sur l'expérience que nous avons acquise après y avoir travaillé pendant trois ans, que le genre de travail que le Comité des renseignements accomplit actuellement conformément à la Charte a un caractère distinct de celui qui est effectué au Comité spécial. Le Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes accomplit ses travaux dans une ambiance sereine qui est favorable à l'équilibre et à l'objectivité avec laquelle on doit accueillir les renseignements communiqués par les puissances administrantes. Il nous est difficile de croire que le Comité spécial pourrait consacrer le temps nécessaire à un examen sérieux de ces renseignements.

21. Une autre question qui mérite une observation est celle de la composition actuelle du Comité spécial créé par la résolution 1654 (XVI). Si ce comité est appelé à centraliser les travaux effectués séparément par des comités spéciaux, il sera obligé de créer des sous-comités, ainsi qu'on l'a déjà fait dans le cas des pétitions. C'est là un argument qui justifie certainement l'élargissement du Comité spécial. Le caractère universel du Comité spécial rendra également cet élargissement nécessaire. Nous affirmons que l'Amérique latine, qui était représentée dans les comités spéciaux, devra continuer à l'être dans une proportion appropriée lors de l'élargissement prévu. Nous présumons que la proportion actuelle ne sera pas modifiée de façon défavorable par l'augmentation du nombre des membres.

22. Quittant les questions de structure, nous abordons certaines questions de fond qui se posent à nous. Nous devons exprimer notre regret et notre découragement devant l'absence de coopération avec les Nations Unies que l'on constate chez certaines puissances administrantes. C'est ainsi que le Portugal n'a donné aucun signe montrant qu'il pourrait accepter la moindre possibilité d'entente. Le rapport du Comité spécial pour les territoires administrés par le Portugal ainsi que le rapport sur l'Angola montrent que le Gouvernement portugais a une attitude d'incompréhension en face du problème posé, ainsi qu'une insistance marquée à chercher en vain à s'abriter derrière le paragraphe 7 de l'Article 2 de la Charte des Nations Unies, bien que l'Organisation se soit déclarée compétente par un vote massif de la quasi-totalité de ses membres. En ce qui concerne le Territoire du Sud-Ouest africain, l'Afrique du Sud estime qu'elle peut continuer à méconnaître les responsabilités qui découlent du Mandat, malgré l'avis

consultatif de la Cour internationale de Justice et les nombreuses résolutions de l'Assemblée générale. Nous devons admettre qu'à part ces attitudes résolument négatives les autres puissances administrantes ont généralement coopéré de façon sincère avec les Nations Unies, ce qui facilite à certains points de vue l'œuvre de décolonisation.

23. L'évolution vers l'indépendance des pays et des peuples coloniaux n'est pas la même dans tous les territoires; les problèmes sont différents; les difficultés intérieures des partis locaux retardent parfois inutilement la date de l'indépendance. Le problème des minorités d'origine européenne qui détiennent le contrôle du gouvernement du territoire peut entraver un développement harmonieux vers le libre exercice de l'autodétermination dans certains territoires, en raison de l'absence de vision politique et du manque de générosité de leurs dirigeants. Malgré les difficultés occasionnées par ces divers facteurs, nous croyons cependant que tous les peuples coloniaux parviendront à acquérir la liberté. Notre tâche, qui est aussi celle du Comité spécial créé par la résolution 1654 (XVI), est de parvenir à ce que cette liberté soit obtenue le plus rapidement possible, dans la paix et en collaboration étroite avec les puissances administrantes, si elles comprennent les fins poursuivies par les Nations Unies et prennent une attitude de solidarité sincère envers l'Organisation.

24. Notre pays, qui a subi une occupation étrangère sur une partie de son territoire, comprend le désir de liberté immédiate qui anime les peuples d'Afrique, d'Asie et d'Amérique. Nous pensons que l'ère de liberté en laquelle nous vivons permettra l'élimination du colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations, même dans le cas des territoires de faible étendue. Ainsi, l'occupation des îles Malouines, qui a constitué au cours du processus d'expansion de l'impérialisme britannique une violation brutale de notre souveraineté alors que notre pays faisait ses premiers pas dans la voie de l'indépendance, est considérée par le peuple argentin comme un phénomène qui ne peut contribuer de manière profitable à la compréhension mutuelle et à l'amitié qui rapprochent deux peuples unis par de nombreux liens. La présence anachronique du Royaume-Uni dans ces îles faiblement peuplées est dépourvue de sens politique et nous espérons que le Royaume-Uni, qui a pris une attitude généreuse dans d'autres parties du monde, aura la même attitude dans ce cas particulier.

25. Nous ne voulons pas terminer sans exprimer notre désir fervent qu'au cours de l'année prochaine de nouveaux pays accèdent à l'indépendance et que d'autres assurent et accélèrent le processus qui mène à cette fin. Pour qu'il s'accomplisse harmonieusement, sur des bases démocratiques, sans discrimination politique, raciale ou économique, et avec une conception généreuse de l'avenir des peuples intéressés, nous faisons confiance à l'Organisation, au Comité spécial, ainsi qu'à la compréhension et à la collaboration que les puissances administrantes sauront offrir.

26. M. MacQUARRIE (Canada) [traduit de l'anglais]. Lorsque la résolution 1654 (XVI) a été adoptée l'an dernier, la délégation canadienne a reconnu qu'il était logique et raisonnable de créer un organe chargé de veiller à l'application de la Déclaration de 1960 sur le colonialisme [résolution 1514 (XV)] et de faire des suggestions et des recommandations quant aux pro-

grès réalisés dans l'application de la Déclaration. Cette déclaration est considérée à juste titre comme un document historique. Elle indique dans les termes les plus clairs avec quelle ardeur l'Assemblée générale désire accélérer, par tous les moyens dont elle dispose, le mouvement vers l'indépendance qui est une des caractéristiques les plus passionnantes et les plus importantes de l'époque à laquelle nous vivons.

27. Ma délégation n'a pas de motif d'être insatisfaite des progrès continus qui ont été réalisés depuis deux ans dans l'application de la Déclaration. Dix-sept nouveaux Membres se sont joints aux Nations Unies en septembre et octobre 1960, au début de la quinzième session. Fiers de leur indépendance et désireux de conserver toute son impulsion au mouvement de libération, ces nouveaux membres ont joué un rôle particulièrement décisif dans l'adoption de la Déclaration sur le colonialisme à une majorité écrasante lors de la quinzième session de l'Assemblée générale, le 14 décembre 1960 [947ème séance]. Depuis lors, 10 nouveaux pays indépendants sont devenus Membres de l'Organisation. Plusieurs autres pays se trouvent actuellement au seuil de l'indépendance et nous nous préparons à les accueillir également.

28. Le Canada a voté pour la résolution qui a institué le Comité des Dix-Sept, étant entendu que le Comité aurait pour tâche de suivre avec grande attention les progrès accomplis dans l'application des principes de la Déclaration sur le colonialisme, d'offrir des suggestions quant aux mesures pratiques à prendre dans ces territoires particuliers et de faire rapport à l'Assemblée générale à sa présente session.

29. Comme nous l'avons montré clairement en d'autres occasions, l'attitude du Canada en ce qui concerne le problème de la suppression du colonialisme repose sur un certain nombre de considérations. En tout premier lieu, il nous paraît essentiel que les principaux droits fondamentaux de l'homme et les libertés fondamentales, notamment le droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes et le droit pour l'individu d'être à l'abri de toute discrimination fondée sur la race, la couleur, la croyance religieuse ou la conviction politique, soient pleinement respectés partout dans le monde. Deuxièmement, le Canada désire faire tout ce qui est en son pouvoir pour favoriser l'évolution vers l'autonomie complète et vers l'indépendance de tous les peuples dépendants qui désirent se libérer de la domination coloniale, la rapidité de cette évolution ne devant être limitée que par des considérations pratiques de stabilité intérieure. Nous croyons fermement à la politique du "bon départ", c'est-à-dire à la mise sur pied d'une économie viable solidement fondée sur une administration compétente. Troisièmement, le Gouvernement canadien estime que la Déclaration sur le colonialisme doit s'appliquer dans le monde entier. Quatrièmement, chacun des territoires coloniaux qui restent à des problèmes spéciaux et des conditions qui lui sont propres. Les solutions envisagées par les Nations Unies doivent donc être pragmatiques. Des méthodes différentes doivent être appliquées dans chaque cas selon les circonstances. Cinquièmement, les puissances administrantes ne peuvent partager avec d'autres ou faire endosser par d'autres les responsabilités qu'elles ont envers les peuples dépendants placés sous leur contrôle. Pour que les Nations Unies contribuent à une évolution ordonnée, il faut qu'elles tiennent compte de ces responsabilités, aussi bien que des aspirations des habitants du territoire colonial intéressé.

30. Le Comité spécial a accompli avec vigueur et fermeté sa tâche difficile. Ma délégation est particulièrement heureuse de rendre hommage à la compétence et à la sagesse du Président du Comité, M. Jha, de l'Inde, que nous avons accueilli récemment en tant que représentant de son pays au Canada.

31. Le Comité a fait beaucoup de bon travail en étudiant les problèmes posés dans les territoires qu'il a examinés. Le volume du rapport indique assez l'importance des problèmes non encore résolus. L'expérience acquise par le Comité prouve clairement que, pour réaliser des progrès dans ce domaine très important et complexe, il est bon que toutes les parties intéressées soient animées d'un esprit de compromis. Chaque fois qu'il a été possible de se mettre d'accord, le Comité a fait des propositions constructives et pratiques. Malheureusement, au lieu de chercher des solutions pratiques aux problèmes existants, la délégation soviétique s'est servie des délibérations du Comité spécial pour mettre en avant des propositions ex. têmes concernant les territoires coloniaux, propositions qu'on savait être inacceptables pour les puissances administrantes. Le sujet dont le Comité s'occupe, c'est-à-dire l'accession des peuples dépendants à l'autonomie, est trop important pour qu'on s'en serve comme d'un moyen de marquer des points insignifiants dans les débats du Comité ou de faire adopter des résolutions qui n'auront pratiquement aucune chance d'être mises à exécution.

32. Le Comité a parfois adopté des résolutions adressées directement aux puissances administrantes. A notre avis, cela sortait du cadre du mandat du Comité et était très regrettable, eu égard à l'autorité et au prestige de l'Assemblée générale. Le Comité devrait s'en tenir à faire rapport à l'Assemblée générale. S'il estime que la situation dans un territoire particulier requiert d'urgence l'attention de l'Assemblée, il est libre de le faire savoir. Si elle le juge bon, l'Assemblée peut alors prendre des mesures, selon la procédure établie pour la convocation d'une session extraordinaire ou d'une session extraordinaire d'urgence. De toute manière, la responsabilité de faire directement des recommandations aux puissances administrantes doit incomber uniquement à l'Assemblée générale.

33. Ayant fait ces observations, je soulignerai que ma délégation est d'avis que l'idée fondamentale qui a conduit à créer le Comité des Dix-Sept est bonne: il faut qu'il existe un certain organe, responsable devant l'Assemblée, qui soit chargé de peser et d'évaluer les progrès accomplis dans l'application de la Déclaration sur le colonialisme en date du 14 décembre 1960. La seule autre possibilité, et nous estimons qu'elle ne peut être pratique sauf dans des circonstances spéciales, serait de créer plusieurs organes subsidiaires ayant chacun un mandat limité et particulier. Cela soulèverait de sérieux problèmes de coordination. Il y aurait aussi un réel danger que la prolifération de comités spéciaux pour les questions coloniales, de compositions très diverses, n'entraîne la publication de rapports de valeur inégale ainsi qu'un gaspillage d'efforts et de fonds. Tout cela serait particulièrement regrettable au moment où les Nations Unies s'efforcent de faire des économies de personnel et d'argent.

34. Ma délégation ne veut pas présenter pour l'instant des observations sur les recommandations particulières faites par le Comité des Dix-Sept. Certaines de ces recommandations ont été dépassées par les

événements, comme ce fut le cas pour la Rhodésie du Nord et pour la Guyane britannique. Les conclusions et recommandations du Comité relatives à la Rhodésie du Sud ont été examinées par l'Assemblée générale qui a pris sa décision à leur sujet. En ce qui concerne le Sud-Ouest africain, la question a déjà été examinée par la Quatrième Commission, auprès de laquelle j'ai eu plus d'une fois l'honneur de représenter mon pays.

35. Le résultat de la discussion sur le Sud-Ouest africain, qui vient de se terminer à la Quatrième Commission, prouve qu'il est possible d'arriver à une unité fondamentale, même sur une difficile question coloniale, si l'on s'efforce patiemment et sérieusement de prendre en considération les différents points de vue et d'agrandir ainsi au maximum le terrain d'entente. Pour des raisons analogues, nous persistons à croire que la meilleure méthode de travail pour le Comité spécial est celle qui consiste à réaliser l'accord. Cette méthode laisse toute liberté à tous les Membres, permet à l'opinion de la majorité de s'exprimer clairement et vigoureusement et supprime la nécessité de procéder à des votes qui diviseraient souvent le Comité.

36. Dans l'avenir immédiat, le Comité spécial, poursuivant ses travaux, continuera de s'occuper surtout des problèmes relatifs à l'application de la Déclaration sur le colonialisme dans les territoires d'Afrique. Nous reconnaissons le bien-fondé de la décision du Comité de donner la priorité aux territoires d'Afrique qui subissent encore la domination coloniale. C'est dans ce continent que se posent certains des problèmes les plus difficiles qu'il reste encore à résoudre.

37. Dans son rapport, le Comité spécial reconnaît:

"... qu'il n'a, en aucune façon, terminé la tâche que lui a confiée l'Assemblée générale et qu'il reste encore bien des territoires dans lesquels la situation doit être étudiée en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration" [A/5238, chap. 1er, par. 151].

Les situations de fait qui existent dans bien des parties du monde et ne sont pas limitées à une région géographique particulière justifient pleinement cette conclusion. Pour des raisons faciles à comprendre, on a beaucoup parlé depuis plusieurs années de l'Asie et de l'Afrique, parce que ce sont les régions où le mouvement irrésistible du nationalisme a surgi et s'est élancé toujours plus vite. Ce sont justement les grands progrès réalisés dans ces régions qui ont stimulé l'intérêt et concentré l'attention du monde sur l'évolution qui s'y produisait.

38. Cependant, l'Assemblée générale a reconnu que le Comité spécial des Dix-Sept ne doit pas oublier que la Déclaration sur le colonialisme, comme la Déclaration universelle des droits de l'homme et comme la Charte des Nations Unies, a été conçue pour être d'application universelle. Les résolutions adoptées par l'Assemblée sur la question n'accordent aucune dispense et n'admettent aucune exception. Les droits et libertés inscrits dans la Déclaration appartiennent à tous les peuples dépendants, où qu'ils se trouvent. De l'avis de la délégation canadienne, tel est l'angle sous lequel les Nations Unies doivent envisager l'application de toutes déclarations et résolutions de l'Assemblée générale ayant trait aux droits fondamentaux et aux libertés fondamentales. C'est leur application universelle, sans distinction, que nous devons avoir

en vue. En tenant compte des méthodes qu'elle a établies et des priorités qu'elle a arrêtées, l'Assemblée générale doit agir pour assurer cette application universelle. Lorsque nous abordons le problème du colonialisme, nous devons tous nous souvenir que les circonstances historiques qui ont favorisé la formation des empires belge, britannique, hollandais, français et allemand au XVIIIème siècle et au XIXème siècle ont conduit, à la même époque, à l'établissement d'un empire russe qui a soumis à une domination étrangère des cultures anciennes et des nations entières. Ainsi, le colonialisme s'est répandu, à partir de l'Europe, non seulement au-delà des océans, mais aussi sur de vastes étendues de terres. De plus, dans les temps modernes, nous avons été témoins d'une deuxième poussée de l'impérialisme russe. Des pays libres, constitués en vertu du droit de libre détermination dont on a favorisé l'exercice à la fin de la première guerre mondiale, ont été engloutis par l'empire communiste.

39. Il ne s'agit pas là de faits purement historiques dont l'importance est effacée par le temps; il s'agit d'un aspect essentiel du problème que nous discutons aujourd'hui et que nous avons discuté à l'Assemblée en maintes autres occasions et sous des titres divers. Il s'agit du problème de l'application universelle des droits et libertés proclamés par notre charte.

40. En poursuivant les buts et principes élevés qui sont énoncés par la Charte, l'Organisation a contribué largement à apporter la liberté et l'indépendance à de nombreux pays. L'histoire nous apprend que, depuis 1939, 44 nations, groupant au total plus de 840 millions d'habitants, ont accédé à l'indépendance. Aujourd'hui, leurs représentants jouent un rôle important dans nos délibérations.

41. Mais que dire de la situation des peuples assujettis qui se trouvent dans l'empire soviétique? Les estimations peuvent varier, mais il y a environ 96 millions de personnes qui sont soumises à la domination soviétique et qui n'ont jamais été autorisées à exercer le droit de libre détermination que l'Union soviétique proclame à grands cris pour les autres. Que l'Union soviétique persiste à refuser aux nations soumises à sa domination l'exercice du droit à des élections libres et du droit d'expression, c'est un phénomène unique et inquiétant à l'époque où dans le monde entier l'une des plus hautes aspirations de l'humanité est l'évolution de tous les peuples dépendants, dans la paix et dans l'ordre, vers la liberté.

42. Ce phénomène est d'autant plus inquiétant que ce qui se passe effectivement dans l'empire soviétique ne correspond absolument pas aux grandes protestations de la propagande soviétique. Tout de suite après la révolution soviétique, on a fait beaucoup de bruit autour de la croyance communiste au droit de libre détermination. Vers 1920 et peu après, les Etats indépendants ont effectivement vu le jour dans la masse continentale qui est maintenant dominée par le communisme russe. Cependant, les aspirations nationalistes des différents peuples qui habitaient cette immense étendue ont été rapidement étouffées dès que les dirigeants du parti communiste à Moscou se sont rendu compte que ces Etats étaient résolus à préserver leur liberté politique et leur héritage culturel et linguistique de l'ingérence du Kremlin. Avec un mépris grossier de l'indépendance qui avait été d'abord reconnue à ces Etats et sans aucun égard pour les traités d'amitié et de non-intervention qui liaient alors ces Etats à l'Union soviétique, on a en-

voyé l'Armée rouge asservir de nombreuses nations, petites mais fibres. C'est ainsi que, même dans une période où des progrès étaient accomplis ailleurs, c'est-à-dire depuis 1939, l'Union soviétique a annexé plus de 680 000 kilomètres carrés de territoire, comprenant une population de 22 millions d'habitants. En employant des tactiques inventées au cours de la période révolutionnaire et perfectionnées à une époque plus récente, l'empire soviétique a absorbé dans les 23 dernières années les Etats baltes, les îles Kouriles, le sud de l'île Sakhaline, Tannou-Touva qui faisait autrefois partie de la Mongolie, certaines provinces finlandaises, certaines provinces polonaises, la Bessarabie et le nord de la Bukovine qui appartenaient autrefois à la Roumanie, la Prusse orientale, la Rhuténie qui faisait autrefois partie de la Tchécoslovaquie et qui est surtout ukrainienne de culture et de langue.

43. De plus, cette extension de la domination soviétique s'est toujours accompagnée de la suppression systématique du nationalisme politique dans les régions assujetties et de la destruction de cultures, de langues et de religions auxquelles les populations étaient attachées de longue date. Quand la résistance était acharnée, l'Union soviétique employait la déportation comme moyen de renforcer sa domination. Non moins de sept minorités nationales ont été ainsi exilées de leurs régions d'origine et c'est seulement en 1957 qu'un semblant d'effort a été fait pour restituer à certaines de ces minorités ne serait-ce qu'une minuscule fraction des droits dont elles avaient été privées.

44. Nous n'avons là qu'une petite partie de l'histoire de la tyrannie soviétique, histoire qui ne fait pas honneur à un pays jouissant du rang de grande puissance à l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Cette histoire expose au grand jour les raisons pour lesquelles l'Union soviétique et ses partisans consacrent tant de temps, dans les débats des Nations Unies, à critiquer et à condamner les actions des autres.

45. Elle explique pourquoi les représentants de l'Union soviétique au Comité spécial des Dix-Sept ont eu recours à une tactique qui ne pouvait avoir d'autre but que celui d'entraver les travaux du Comité. Les représentants de l'Union soviétique cherchaient manifestement à masquer les laides réalités qui existent dans la sphère de l'impérialisme soviétique en les couvrant du rideau de fumée de leurs attaques virulentes contre les puissances occidentales. Afin de détourner l'attention de sa pratique du mal, l'Union soviétique fait depuis longtemps des sermons sur les péchés d'autrui.

46. Le Canada, conformément à ses traditions et à ses convictions, a salué avec grande satisfaction l'évolution régulière qui s'est produite depuis 20 ans en faveur de l'indépendance. Nous nous sommes efforcés d'encourager cette évolution en exerçant notre influence dans le sens de la conciliation, de l'ordre et du progrès. Nous avons été heureux de pouvoir aider les nouveaux Etats à affermir sur des bases solides leur stabilité économique et sociale.

47. C'est pourquoi nous déplorons que le respect des droits de l'homme et des libertés fondamentales, qui a caractérisé toutes les réalisations des Nations Unies pendant cette période, n'ait pas pénétré dans les régions soumises à la domination soviétique. Le contraste éclate au grand jour entre la conduite des puissances occidentales et celle de l'Union soviétique, et nul n'ignore la contradiction qui se mani-

feste entre les déclarations de l'Union soviétique et ses actes. Il nous suffit de tourner nos regards vers le mur de Berlin pour voir avec quelle opiniâtreté l'Union soviétique cherche à isoler de la contagion de la liberté les peuples opprimés qui vivent derrière le rideau de fer.

48. Les opinions que je viens d'exprimer ne traduisent aucun changement d'attitude de la part du Canada. Dans le discours qu'il a prononcé dans la discussion générale devant l'Assemblée en septembre 1960 [871ème séance], le Premier Ministre du Canada avait relevé le contraste frappant qui existait entre le bilan des puissances d'Europe occidentale et celui de l'Union soviétique. M. Diefenbaker s'était alors adressé au président Khrouchtchev pour l'inviter à traduire en actes ses nombreuses protestations d'intérêt en faveur des droits des peuples dépendants, en accordant aux nations placées sous sa domination le droit de choisir leurs propres chefs et leur propre forme de gouvernement par des élections libres et secrètes. Le Premier Ministre du Canada avait alors déclaré:

"En fait, la présente Assemblée est composée en très grande partie de pays qui sont d'anciens territoires coloniaux, territoires sous mandat ou territoires sous tutelle du Royaume-Uni, du Commonwealth et d'autres nations.

"Je me permettrai de poser ici cette question: à combien d'êtres humains l'URSS a-t-elle accordé leur indépendance? Pouvons-nous oublier comment l'une des colonies d'après guerre de l'Union soviétique a cherché à se libérer, il y a quatre ans, et ce qu'il en est advenu?

"Je fais cette observation parce que l'histoire du Commonwealth et d'autres pays incite à faire une comparaison avec la domination imposée à certains peuples et territoires, sous couleur, dans certains cas, de libération et toujours accompagnée, pour ceux qui la subissent, de la perte de la liberté politique. Comment concilier la tragédie qui a suivi le soulèvement hongrois de 1956 avec l'assertion pleine d'assurance qu'a faite ici le président Khrouchtchev, il y a quelques jours? M. Khrouchtchev a dit [869ème séance]:

"Nous avons toujours voulu et nous voudrions toujours que les peuples d'Afrique et des autres continents, en se libérant du joug colonial, établissent dans leur pays le régime de leur choix."

"J'approuve cette idée et j'espère que ces mots annoncent, pour l'avenir, un changement d'attitude de la part de ceux que représente M. Khrouchtchev.

"Mais que dire de la Lituanie, de l'Estonie, de la Lettonie? Que dire des Ukrainiens épris de liberté et de tant d'autres peuples d'Europe orientale que je n'énumérerai pas, de peur d'en oublier? M. Khrouchtchev a continué en disant:

"La suppression complète et définitive du régime colonial sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations est dictée par tout le cours de l'histoire mondiale des dernières dizaines d'années."

"Il ne peut y avoir deux poids et deux mesures dans les affaires internationales.

"Je demande au Président du Conseil des ministres de l'URSS de donner aux nations qui sont sous sa domination le droit à des élections libres et la possibilité de choisir, de manière véritablement libre,

la forme de gouvernement qu'elles désirent. Si le principe qu'il a énoncé, et qui doit s'appliquer de façon universelle, entraîne pour lui cette conclusion, des mesures seront prises pour exécuter les obligations de la Charte des Nations Unies et un nouvel espoir naîtra pour l'humanité entière." [871^{ème} séance, par. 193 à 197.]

AI-je besoin d'ajouter que l'Union soviétique n'a pas répondu à cette invitation? Aucun signe n'est venu montrer aux Nations Unies qu'un adoucissement ait été apporté à la situation intolérable qui règne dans l'empire soviétique.

49. Conformément à la position définie par son premier ministre, le Gouvernement canadien a continué à insister pour que les Nations Unies portent leur attention sur les conditions qui règnent dans l'empire soviétique et plus particulièrement sur la négation des droits de l'homme et des libertés fondamentales. Ces conditions devraient être examinées dans toutes les discussions de l'Assemblée au sujet de ces droits et libertés et du statut des peuples dépendants, où qu'ils se trouvent. Notre intention est de replacer dans une juste perspective les réclames violentes que l'Union soviétique fait pour le compte des autres au sujet de droits et d'avantages qu'elle refuse aux peuples assujettis de l'empire soviétique.

50. Il est incontestable que la Déclaration sur le colonialisme doit s'appliquer partout dans le monde. Il est incontestable qu'elle est loin d'être généralement appliquée. Il est bien évident que le Comité spécial a encore devant lui beaucoup de travail utile à accomplir. Si j'ai insisté dans ma déclaration sur le problème de l'impérialisme soviétique, c'est que jusqu'à présent, de l'avis de mon gouvernement, les Nations Unies n'ont pas prêté à ce problème l'attention qu'il mérite. Alors que les Nations Unies examinent la situation dans beaucoup d'autres régions, pourquoi ne se tournent-elles jamais vers les régions soumises à la sombre tyrannie soviétique? L'Assemblée n'a aucune raison d'opérer un choix parmi ceux qu'elle dénonce comme oppresseurs.

M. Crowe (Royaume-Uni), vice-président, prend la présidence.

51. M. BUDO (Albanie): Deux années se sont écoulées depuis que l'Assemblée générale a adopté la Déclaration contenue dans la résolution 1514 (XV) sur l'élimination du système odieux du colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations. A la session précédente, l'Assemblée, par sa résolution 1654 (XVI), notant avec regret la violation des dispositions de la Déclaration par les puissances coloniales, créait un Comité spécial de 17 membres chargé de veiller à l'application de ces dispositions et de lui présenter à ce sujet un rapport à la présente session.

52. Les résolutions et les mesures adoptées par l'Organisation des Nations Unies ont ranimé les espoirs des peuples subjugués et ont donné un nouvel élan à leur mouvement et à leur lutte légitime de libération nationale. Elles ont été appuyées par tous les peuples épris de liberté et de paix.

53. Cependant les puissances coloniales non seulement n'ont pas tenu compte des obligations qui leur incombent tant sur la base des résolutions susmentionnées qu'en vertu de la Charte, mais, face aux efforts de l'Organisation et à la lutte croissante des peuples pour se délivrer des chaînes du colo-

niaisme, ont multiplié leurs agissements et se sont employées par tous les moyens à leur disposition à maintenir, fût-ce sous des formes nouvelles, ce régime honteux d'asservissement et d'exploitation des peuples qui est à la base même du système impérialiste.

54. Au cours de cette année, de nouveaux pays ont, grâce à leur lutte, accédé à l'indépendance. C'est ainsi que nous avons eu la joie d'accueillir parmi nous à cette session six nouveaux Membres à l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Il importe en particulier de souligner que la victoire historique remportée, grâce à sa longue lutte héroïque, par le vaillant peuple d'Algérie a été le triomphe hautement mérité de ses aspirations légitimes. Par sa lutte couronnée de victoire, le peuple algérien n'a pas seulement libéré sa patrie: il a été, par son exemple, une source d'inspiration et d'encouragement pour tous les peuples luttant contre l'asservissement colonial, et a apporté une grande contribution à la cause du mouvement de libération nationale.

55. D'autres nations, des dizaines de millions d'êtres humains, souffrent encore sous le joug de la domination étrangère. Dans divers points du globe, des peuples livrent des combats contre les oppresseurs colonialistes, des milliers d'hommes tombent au champ de bataille ou sont victimes de mesures de répression atroces en raison uniquement de la lutte qu'ils mènent pour la reconnaissance de leurs droits légitimes et inaliénables à la liberté et à l'indépendance. La résolution 1514 (XV) prescrit dans son paragraphe 5:

"Des mesures immédiates seront prises, dans les territoires sous tutelle, les territoires non autonomes et tous autres territoires qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance, pour transférer tous pouvoirs aux peuples de ces territoires, sans aucune condition ni réserve, conformément à leur volonté et à leurs vœux librement exprimés, sans aucune distinction de race, de croyance ou de couleur, afin de leur permettre de jouir d'une indépendance et d'une liberté complètes."

56. Nous ne pouvons nous empêcher d'exprimer notre préoccupation à l'égard de l'application de la Déclaration et de l'état de choses intolérable dont sont actuellement victimes des millions d'hommes assujettis, et qui constitue en même temps une menace constante à la paix et à la sécurité internationales. Les dispositions de la Déclaration ne doivent pas rester lettre morte; elles doivent se traduire dans les faits et elles doivent contribuer efficacement à la lutte des peuples asservis qui cherchent à mettre un terme une fois pour toutes et sans plus tarder au régime colonial.

57. Les Nations Unies ne peuvent rester indifférentes devant le sort de ceux qui souffrent encore sous la domination coloniale des impérialistes. Le rapport du Comité spécial [A/5238] ainsi que les faits patents de la situation régnant à l'heure actuelle dans les territoires dépendants d'Afrique et d'autres continents témoignent de l'importance que revêt la question de l'élimination définitive et immédiate du colonialisme sous toutes ses formes.

58. Certains orateurs qui m'ont précédé dans ce débat ont exposé la situation sérieuse existant dans les territoires qui ont été l'objet d'une étude dans le rapport présenté par le Comité spécial, ainsi que dans d'autres territoires dépendants, et nous ont dépeint la position négative adoptée en la matière par les

puissances administrantes respectives, leur attitude obstructionniste et leurs manœuvres diverses pour éviter l'application de la résolution 1514 (XV). Des faits irréfutables cités à cette tribune nous ont montré, à l'évidence, la façon dont les puissances ont foulé aux pieds les dispositions de la Déclaration, ainsi que leurs efforts redoublés en vue de prolonger autant que possible leur domination sur les territoires se trouvant sous leur administration.

59. Le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni poursuit en Afrique sa politique, érigée en système, visant à sauvegarder, sous des formes nouvelles, ses intérêts impérialistes et colonialistes.

60. Dans les deux Rhodésies et au Nyassaland, où sévit la discrimination raciale la plus abominable, le Royaume-Uni, ne respectant point la Déclaration du 14 décembre 1960, ne renonce pas à ses manœuvres législatives et autres mesures discriminatoires intolérables visant à assurer la position privilégiée de la minorité des colons blancs et à sauvegarder les intérêts des colonialistes britanniques qui retirent de ces pays des bénéfices fabuleux.

61. En ce qui concerne la Rhodésie du Sud, le Royaume-Uni n'a tenu aucun compte de la résolution 1747 (XVI), et en particulier de l'alinéa a de son paragraphe 2, dans lequel l'Assemblée générale demande la convocation d'une conférence constitutionnelle où seraient représentés tous les partis politiques, en vue d'élaborer "une constitution qui remplacerait la Constitution du 6 décembre 1961 et garantirait les droits de la majorité de la population sur la base du principe "à chacun une voix". Contrairement à la demande de l'Assemblée et en dépit de l'opposition résolue de la population africaine, le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni vient justement de mettre en vigueur la Constitution discriminatoire de 1961. L'arbitraire et les pratiques discriminatoires au détriment de la population africaine, qui représente la majorité écrasante, continuent comme par le passé; un régime de répression sans merci frappe toutes les forces progressistes de la population autochtone; les partis politiques sont toujours interdits et les combattants de la liberté languissent dans les prisons des maîtres blancs.

62. Des moyens visant aux mêmes buts sont appliqués dans d'autres territoires sous administration britannique. Ainsi qu'il ressort du rapport du Comité des Dix-Sept, le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni, malgré ses promesses et ses déclarations, a recours, au Kenya, à Zanzibar et en Guyane britannique, à sa méthode traditionnelle bien connue consistant à diviser pour régner; il s'efforce de semer des discordes de toutes sortes et de favoriser le séparatisme et le régionalisme. Les patriotes du Kenya mettent en garde l'Organisation contre tout délai qui pourrait être dangereux tant pour l'avenir de ce pays menacé de démembrement et de fragmentation en de nouveaux Katangas que pour la paix en général.

63. A Zanzibar, les autorités britanniques ne cessent d'arrêter et d'emprisonner les patriotes qui luttent contre l'oppression coloniale. Le 5 mai 1962, elles ont arrêté le journaliste James Bugenko et 14 autres patriotes. La population de Zanzibar s'est élevée avec vigueur et a protesté énergiquement contre de tels actes; elle a dévoilé, en particulier, la coopération, dans cette abominable besogne, entre les autorités britanniques et le consulat des Etats-Unis à Zanzibar, coopération qui vise à écraser, par tous les moyens

de répression, la lutte des combattants de ce territoire pour la liberté. La population de Zanzibar s'est prononcée contre la prétendue aide des Etats-Unis et a fermement exigé le démantèlement des bases américaines de fusées à Zanzibar.

64. En ce qui concerne la Guyane britannique, le Royaume-Uni a encore retardé l'indépendance de ce territoire et n'a même pas fixé une date à cet effet.

65. Au Moyen-Orient, à côté de la guerre d'extermination qu'il mène contre l'héroïque peuple d'Oman, qui lutte depuis des années pour sa liberté et son indépendance, le Royaume-Uni tend à transformer sa colonie d'Aden en une base militaire principale, devant servir ses plans agressifs dans cette zone où sa position a été sérieusement ébranlée par suite de la défaite subie en ce qui concerne le canal de Suez. Les mesures prises dans ce sens dernièrement par le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni, y compris ses tentatives pour créer une fédération entre Aden et les zones contiguës, nous fournissent une preuve de plus des liens étroits qui existent entre les plans de stratégie militaire des impérialistes et leur système de domination coloniale et, par là, du danger que représente pour la cause de la paix la survivance de ce régime d'asservissement des peuples.

66. Malgré la résolution 1514 (XV), et bien que l'Assemblée générale et l'opinion publique mondiale aient condamné à maintes reprises la politique colonialiste du Portugal et ses prétentions absurdes au sujet de ses colonies, le gouvernement de ce pays continue à ne tenir aucun compte des obligations qui lui incombent en vertu de la Charte et des résolutions de l'Organisation. Logique avec sa position foncièrement négative et insensée, le Gouvernement portugais a publié, le 28 août 1962, un plan tendant à annexer purement et simplement ses colonies au Portugal comme faisant partie intégrante du territoire de la métropole. Si paradoxal que cela puisse paraître, c'est là un fait qui correspond à la conception que ce gouvernement se fait de ses colonies. Le monde est au courant de la guerre d'extermination que mènent, depuis deux ans, en Angola, les colonialistes portugais. On ne saurait trop attirer l'attention de l'Assemblée générale sur cette guerre atroce qui a pris le caractère d'un véritable génocide. Les Nations Unies doivent agir d'urgence afin de mettre un terme au massacre d'une population qui lutte pour son droit inaliénable à une vie libre et indépendante.

67. Un régime de terreur et de répression règne dans les autres colonies portugaises. Le dirigeant de la lutte de libération nationale de la Guinée dite portugaise et des îles du Cap-Vert, Amílcar Kobra, parlant à une conférence de presse, le 27 août 1962, du régime de terreur coloniale dans son pays, soulignait que la capitale, Bissão, est transformée en une grande prison; plus de 9 000 agents de police équipés d'armes modernes terrorisent la population autochtone et environ 3 000 combattants de la liberté se meurent dans les prisons et les camps de concentration. Parmi les méthodes utilisées par les autorités coloniales contre les Africains, il citait l'empoisonnement, les tortures sauvages, l'anéantissement de villages entiers. Parlant de la lutte de libération nationale, qui prend des proportions toujours plus grandes, il attirait particulièrement l'attention sur l'aide fournie au Portugal, pour mener sa guerre coloniale, par l'Organisation du Traité de l'Atlantique nord et par les puissances impérialistes qui font partie de ce bloc agressif, en tout premier lieu les Etats-Unis.

68. Nul doute que, sans cette aide, le Portugal ne serait jamais en mesure ni de tenir tête à la lutte croissante de libération nationale des peuples se trouvant sous sa domination, ni de fouler aux pieds les nombreuses résolutions adoptées à son sujet par l'Assemblée générale. Il est bien connu que, sur la base de l'accord en vigueur entre le Portugal et les Etats-Unis, ce dernier pays a construit des bases militaires dans les îles des Açores. Pour le renouvellement de cet accord, le Gouvernement portugais a exigé des Etats-Unis de nouvelles fournitures d'armements et un plus grand appui diplomatique en ce qui concerne sa politique coloniale en Afrique. Le journal *La Tribune des Nations* affirmait récemment que le Portugal avait demandé au Gouvernement des Etats-Unis d'exercer son influence auprès de certains de ses alliés aux Nations Unies afin que ceux-ci lui accordent leur appui au sein de l'Organisation au sujet de ses problèmes coloniaux; le journal ajoutait que cette demande avait obtenu l'approbation du Pentagone.

69. La coopération étroite entre les colonialistes portugais et les impérialistes américains s'applique à toutes les colonies portugaises. C'est grâce à cette coopération que le Portugal est en train de construire maintenant de nouvelles bases en Angola et au Mozambique.

70. Le leader nationaliste du Mozambique, A. Gvambe, dans une déclaration récente, disait notamment à ce sujet qu'à part les 10 bases existant déjà au Mozambique les Portugais en construiraient encore cinq autres, dont l'une à proximité de la frontière du Tanganyika. Toutes ces bases sont construites, affirme-t-il, avec l'aide directe du bloc des pays de l'OTAN, et en vue de réprimer le mouvement de libération au Mozambique et dans d'autres pays d'Afrique. Nous estimons nécessaire d'attirer l'attention de l'Assemblée générale sur l'importance que revêt la suppression des bases militaires des puissances occidentales en territoire africain et dans les autres territoires sous leur dépendance. Cela répond tant à la nécessité de créer des conditions favorables à la libération des peuples subjugués qu'à la paix en général.

71. En Afrique du Sud, le gouvernement applique toujours sa politique criminelle d'apartheid contre la population de couleur. Ne tenant aucun compte de la Déclaration de l'Assemblée générale et des nombreuses résolutions adoptées à son sujet, ce gouvernement continue à maintenir sa domination coloniale sur le Sud-Ouest africain. Les mesures extraordinaires qu'il a prises dernièrement, l'accélération de ses préparatifs militaires visant à réprimer par la force des armes le mouvement de libération nationale dans le Sud-Ouest africain ne peuvent manquer d'inquiéter les Nations Unies et d'attirer leur attention sur la gravité de la situation. Ainsi qu'il est préconisé dans le rapport du Comité spécial, l'Organisation doit adopter sans plus tarder des mesures concrètes en vue d'assurer au plus tôt l'accession du Sud-Ouest africain à l'indépendance.

72. La situation qui règne dans les territoires encore soumis au régime colonial présente un sinistre tableau. Ainsi, des millions d'êtres humains subissent encore l'exploitation la plus inhumaine, vivent dans la misère, sont l'objet de la discrimination raciale et de l'humiliation la plus abominable, sont privés des droits politiques, économiques et sociaux les plus élémentaires, et sont constamment soumis à un

régime de terreur féroce et de répression qui s'aggrave à mesure que se développent le mouvement et la lutte de libération nationale de ces peuples, et qui va, dans certains cas, jusqu'à la guerre coloniale d'extermination. Les maîtres colonialistes, les monopoles de la métropole et leurs instruments locaux, les colons blancs, implantés du dehors dans les territoires dépendants, tiennent en leurs mains tous les pouvoirs, retirent des bénéfices énormes et jouissent de tous les privilèges au détriment des populations autochtones.

73. La position négative obstinément adoptée par les puissances coloniales à l'égard de la résolution 1514 (XV) et des autres résolutions pertinentes de l'Assemblée générale, ainsi qu'envers les principes mêmes de la Charte, est contraire aux obligations qui incombent à ces puissances en tant que Membres de l'Organisation. Cette position anachronique, qui pèse si lourdement sur la vie de millions d'êtres humains, est condamnée par tous les peuples épris de liberté et de paix et ne peut plus être tolérée.

74. Nul doute que, si les puissances colonialistes ont pu maintenir jusqu'à présent leur domination coloniale, si elles ont pu résister encore à la puissante vague du mouvement des peuples pour l'indépendance, c'est grâce à leur solidarité et surtout grâce à l'appui et à l'aide qu'elles reçoivent de la première puissance impérialiste, les Etats-Unis. Ce pays constitue à présent le principal rempart du colonialisme contemporain. Il est l'adversaire le plus dangereux du mouvement de libération nationale des peuples, de tous ceux qui luttent pour se délivrer du joug colonial ou pour consolider leur indépendance et leur souveraineté nationale. Les Etats-Unis portent donc la responsabilité première du maintien actuel du système abhorré de l'exploitation coloniale, dont les monopoles américains sont copartenaires avec les autres colonialistes et tirent des bénéfices énormes.

75. Un trait caractéristique de la période qui a suivi la seconde guerre mondiale est le fait que les puissances impérialistes, en face du nouveau rapport des forces dans le monde, et assaillies par la vague montante de la lutte de libération des peuples subjugués, se sont rendu compte de l'impossibilité de maintenir plus longtemps encore les formes périmées de domination politique dans les colonies; elles ont estimé nécessaire de recourir, pour sauvegarder leurs intérêts, à de nouvelles méthodes, plus voilées que les précédentes et mieux adaptées aux conditions nouvelles. C'est ainsi qu'elles se sont vues forcées dans certains cas de faire des concessions politiques en sauvegardant en même temps leurs intérêts économiques, principalement le contrôle sur les matières premières et sur les denrées alimentaires, ainsi que les marchés pour leurs produits industriels et pour leurs capitaux.

76. Dans cette forme d'exploitation néo-colonialiste des peuples, aux anciens colonialistes se sont ajoutés de nouveaux partenaires, comme les Etats-Unis, l'Allemagne de l'Ouest et d'autres encore. Certainement, dans cette ruée vers le néo-colonialisme, les Etats-Unis se sont révélés le concurrent le plus puissant et le plus redoutable pour les anciennes puissances coloniales, ainsi que l'adversaire le plus dangereux des peuples luttant pour leur indépendance.

77. Dès qu'a commencé l'extraction, par les étrangers, de l'or, des diamants, du cuivre et d'autres

minéraux dans des régions telles que l'Afrique du Sud, la Rhodésie et le Congo, le capital américain a concurrencé le capital européen. Pour avoir une idée de l'afflux du capital des Etats-Unis en Afrique, il convient de noter que, tandis qu'en 1939 les investissements américains dans ce continent se montaient seulement à 100 millions de dollars, en 1959 le total des investissements atteignait plus de 2 milliards de dollars et donnait un bénéfice de 20 p. 100, soit 400 millions de dollars. Il importe de faire observer que, si le total des investissements américains actuels en Afrique est inférieur à ceux des puissances coloniales européennes, le fait significatif est que les investissements de ces dernières vont en diminuant, tandis que ceux des Etats-Unis croissent sans cesse.

78. L'aide que les puissances occidentales proposent aux pays sous-développés récemment devenus indépendants ne répond point à leurs nécessités de développement rapide; elle poursuit des objectifs qui n'ont rien de commun avec les intérêts de ces pays.

79. Dans une brochure récemment publiée par la Mission des affaires étrangères de la Kenya African National Union, où l'on décrit en détail la pénétration néo-colonialiste américaine en Afrique, il est dit notamment en ce qui concerne la prétendue aide américaine:

"Les formes variées de l'aide des Etats-Unis aux pays sous-développés ne visent pas à donner à ces pays ce dont ils ont besoin pour leur développement rapide; elles visent plutôt à créer des bases de pénétration pour les investissements américains et à satisfaire les exigences de l'impérialisme américain. Cela signifie l'extraction à bas prix des minéraux et autres ressources nécessaires aux industries des Etats-Unis. Cela signifie la conquête de marchés et de profits nouveaux pour les produits manufacturés provenant des Etats-Unis ou pour les industries de consommation établies à l'étranger par le capital américain. Cela signifie aussi le contrôle des matières stratégiques, la création de bases et d'alliances militaires supplémentaires, ainsi que l'engagement des pays économiquement dépendants à suivre la politique étrangère du Gouvernement des Etats-Unis."

Dans un autre passage, il est dit:

"La prétendue assistance donnée par les Etats-Unis aux pays africains n'est autre chose que la fourniture d'armes destinées à être employées contre les peuples mêmes de ces colonies et pour protéger les investissements des compagnies américaines qui les exploitent."

80. Certainement, la pénétration néo-colonialiste des Etats-Unis ne se limite pas à l'Afrique, elle s'étend aux autres continents et à de nombreux pays. Ainsi les Etats-Unis, en dehors de la domination coloniale directe, se servent de méthodes nouvelles camouflées en vue d'établir la domination financière et politique de l'impérialisme américain.

81. Nul doute que les peuples d'Afrique, d'Asie et d'Amérique latine savent à quoi s'en tenir. Forts de leur propre expérience de la domination colonialiste ou de l'expérience des autres peuples qui n'ont pu se délivrer des chaînes du colonialisme que grâce à une longue lutte, ils sauront faire échouer les plans et les visées de tous les néo-colonialistes, y compris les Etats-Unis.

82. Plus que jamais, la situation internationale actuelle évolue en faveur des peuples. La lutte des peuples contre le colonialisme et le néo-colonialisme, qui constitue des sources de guerre et de tension internationale, va s'accroissant et remporte victoire sur victoire. Cette lutte est étroitement liée au mouvement des peuples pour la défense de la paix. La paix et la liberté des peuples sont inséparables l'une de l'autre. Chaque victoire dans la lutte pour l'indépendance nationale affaiblit les forces de l'impérialisme agressif et constitue un coup porté aux forces de guerre et une contribution à la consolidation de la paix.

83. Les Nations Unies ne doivent épargner aucun effort en vue de contribuer efficacement à la lutte des peuples pour l'indépendance. C'est la tâche la plus élevée de l'Organisation. Les puissances coloniales ne tiennent pas compte de la Déclaration et des résolutions de l'Assemblée générale en la matière et ne veulent pas renoncer à leurs intérêts colonialistes et impérialistes. L'Assemblée générale doit adopter des mesures adéquates énergiques et décisives pour forcer les puissances coloniales à appliquer et mettre en œuvre complètement et immédiatement la Déclaration sur l'élimination, le plus rapidement possible et sans délai, du système colonialiste sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations. Il faut en finir une fois pour toutes avec cette séquelle honteuse pour notre société qu'est le colonialisme.

84. L'ONU doit exiger aussi de tous ses membres qu'ils s'abstiennent d'accorder à n'importe quelle puissance coloniale une assistance destinée à être employée contre la lutte des peuples pour se délivrer du colonialisme.

85. Etant donné l'attitude obstinée négative du Portugal et de l'Afrique du Sud à l'égard de toutes les résolutions de l'Organisation qui les concernent, il n'est que temps, pour l'Assemblée générale, d'adopter des mesures décisives pour forcer ces puissances coloniales à appliquer immédiatement la Déclaration aux territoires sous leur administration respective et d'exiger, le cas échéant, l'application des sanctions prévues au Chapitre VII de la Charte.

86. La délégation albanaise estime que le Comité spécial, par son travail considérable, a fait œuvre utile. Son rapport nous fournit un exposé important de la situation dans les territoires qui font l'objet de son étude, ainsi que de l'attitude négative adoptée par les puissances coloniales vis-à-vis de la Déclaration. Nous considérons que les conclusions et les recommandations contenues dans le rapport faciliteront la tâche de l'Assemblée générale dans l'adoption des mesures nouvelles propres à donner au plus tôt effet à la Déclaration.

87. Ma délégation appuiera toutes les mesures susceptibles de tendre efficacement à l'objectif recherché: l'élimination, une fois pour toutes et sans délai, du colonialisme sous toutes ses formes.

88. M. IQBAL (Pakistan) [traduit de l'anglais]: Permettez-moi d'abord d'adresser les félicitations les plus sincères de ma délégation au Comité spécial pour son rapport sur la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux [A/5238].

89. Je rappellerai ici que le Comité spécial a été créé par la résolution 1654 (XVI) de l'Assemblée générale, qui avait été proposée par 38 Etats d'Afrique

et d'Asie, dont le Pakistan, et adoptée le 27 novembre 1961. Elle était destinée à atteindre les objectifs fixés dans la résolution 1514 (XV), adoptée le 14 décembre 1960. La résolution 1514 (XV), dont mon pays s'honore d'avoir été également l'un des auteurs, a reçu avec raison le titre de Déclaration historique sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, car elle proclame solennellement "la nécessité de mettre rapidement et inconditionnellement fin au colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations" et elle déclare que "des mesures immédiates seront prises, dans les territoires sous tutelle, les territoires non autonomes et tous autres territoires qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance, pour transférer tous pouvoirs aux peuples de ces territoires, sans aucune condition ni réserve, conformément à leur volonté et à leurs vœux librement exprimés, sans aucune distinction de race, de croyance ou de couleur, afin de leur permettre de jouir d'une indépendance et d'une liberté complètes".

90. Ma délégation est heureuse de constater que, deux ans après l'adoption de cette résolution historique, de nombreux peuples ont été reconnus comme nations libres et de nombreuses nations ont accédé à l'indépendance. En 1960, 18 nouveaux Etats ont été admis comme Membres de l'Organisation. En 1961 et en 1962, nous avons été heureux d'accueillir le Tanganyika, le Sierra Leone, l'Ouganda, la Trinité et Tobago, la Jamaïque, le Rwanda, le Burundi et l'Algérie dans notre communauté internationale d'Etats souverains. Nous avons aussi le ferme et sincère espoir que, dans un proche avenir, le problème du colonialisme sera définitivement résolu de manière juste et appropriée.

91. Je puis dire que la position de mon pays sur ce problème est bien connue. Nous nous sommes toujours élevés contre le système du colonialisme sous sa forme traditionnelle et sous toutes ses autres formes. Le colonialisme, dans le sens admis du terme ou dans son sens implicite et de quelque manière qu'on prétende le justifier, conduit toujours à une exploitation d'un genre ou d'un autre et retarde la marche naturelle de l'homme vers la liberté, en l'empêchant de secouer le joug imposé par d'autres hommes.

92. Il n'est pas nécessaire d'énumérer les maux qu'engendre le colonialisme, car on en a déjà parlé longuement dans les précédents débats de l'Assemblée. Depuis deux ans, une des préoccupations majeures des Nations Unies est de trouver les moyens de hâter le processus de décolonisation, grâce à l'application effective de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, dans le plus bref délai.

93. Ma délégation attache une grande importance au rapport du Comité spécial, qu'elle a étudié très attentivement. A notre avis, le programme de travail adopté par le Comité est judicieux. En décidant de donner la priorité aux territoires dépendants d'Afrique et de s'en occuper avant d'entreprendre l'examen d'autres territoires, le Comité a choisi une sage ligne de conduite, car c'est certainement en Afrique que des peuples et des territoires demeurent encore soumis dans une très large mesure à la domination coloniale et vivent dans des conditions tragiques et déplorables qui sont une source de tension explosive. Nous avons assisté aux débuts foudroyants de l'indépendance africaine: il est indiscutable que sa réali-

sation totale équivaldra presque à la solution du problème du colonialisme.

94. Nous devons aussi féliciter le Comité pour sa décision de se rendre en Afrique et d'y tenir des réunions, ce qui, tout en montrant la ferme intention du Comité d'affronter les problèmes là où ils se trouvent, avec toutes leurs conséquences tragiques et explosives, a également — selon les propres paroles de M. Diallo Telli, ambassadeur de Guinée — "soulevé en Afrique un intérêt considérable et renforcé les espoirs et la confiance des peuples africains que de nouvelles et décisives étapes seraient franchies en vue d'assurer l'accélération du processus de leur libération définitive" [1169ème séance, par. 2].

95. Le Comité spécial a accompli une tâche vraiment très utile en attirant l'attention des Nations Unies sur les conditions qui règnent dans 12 territoires coloniaux, dont 11 territoires d'Afrique et un territoire d'Amérique du Sud. Cependant, il reste encore d'autres territoires dont la situation relève des travaux du Comité, bien que, pour des raisons évidentes, il n'ait pas encore adopté un programme de travaux futurs concernant ces territoires. Les problèmes complexes que posent certains territoires dépendants comme les îles éparpillées dans l'océan Pacifique ou les petites enclaves enfermées dans un autre territoire doivent également être examinés, et des suggestions et recommandations constructives seraient nécessaires, surtout en ce qui concerne les mécanismes d'autodétermination ou d'accession à l'indépendance pour ces territoires.

96. Nous avons également étudié avec grande attention les recommandations du Comité spécial se rapportant aux autres comités, sous-comités et comités spéciaux qui s'occupent actuellement de la question de l'application de la Déclaration dans les territoires dépendants de toutes catégories. On pourrait envisager soit de fusionner avec le Comité spécial ces divers organes des Nations Unies qui s'occupent de domaines très voisins, soit de coordonner d'une manière ou d'une autre leurs méthodes de travail. A notre avis, il conviendrait d'augmenter le nombre des membres du Comité spécial, à condition bien entendu que cela n'entrave pas sa liberté d'action. Le rapport du Comité contient des études particulières sur les territoires non autonomes administrés par le Royaume-Uni et par le Portugal. Comme ce document l'indique, les conditions varient beaucoup d'un territoire à l'autre: certains territoires semblent prêts à assumer immédiatement les responsabilités de l'indépendance, tandis que les progrès réalisés dans d'autres sont très limités.

97. La situation dans les territoires dépendants de l'Afrique australe, notamment en Rhodésie du Sud, au Mozambique, en Angola et au Sud-Ouest africain, est indéniablement alarmante et pose des problèmes qui appellent des solutions rapides. Nous savons naturellement que certaines puissances administrantes ont agi de manière plus louable que d'autres et nous avons toujours enregistré avec satisfaction la contribution apportée par le Royaume-Uni à la cause de la liberté et de l'indépendance. J'ai déclaré l'an dernier dans mon intervention sur la même question du colonialisme:

"La politique britannique qui consiste à orienter les colonies vers l'autonomie est diamétralement opposée à celle de certaines autres puissances coloniales qui prétendent, en vertu d'une fiction, ne pas

considérer leurs territoires d'outre-mer comme des colonies et, en conséquence, ne sont pas disposées à prendre pour politique de préparer ces territoires à l'autonomie ou l'indépendance." [1061ème séance, par. 6.]

Etant donné l'observation que je viens de faire, nous espérons sincèrement que, devant la situation angossante qui se présente en Rhodésie du Sud, le Royaume-Uni exercera son influence et s'acquittera de ses responsabilités, conformément aux vœux librement exprimés de la population autochtone.

98. Si nous estimons que, dans chacun des territoires dépendants quels qu'ils soient, le transfert des pouvoirs doit se faire pacifiquement et harmonieusement, notre manière d'aborder le problème du colonialisme ne doit pas se fonder sur des émotions, mais doit être réaliste et constructive. Le problème du colonialisme présente trois grands aspects. En premier lieu figure le désir passionné de liberté éprouvé par les peuples non autonomes qui aspirent à l'indépendance. C'est à cause de ce désir universel de liberté nationale que le processus de libération est irrésistible et irréversible. Vient en second lieu le rôle des puissances administrantes qui sont directement responsables de l'octroi de l'indépendance à leurs territoires coloniaux. C'est pourquoi il est impossible d'atteindre dans l'ordre et dans la paix les objectifs inscrits dans la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux sans le concours et la coopération des puissances administrantes. Enfin, bien que la résolution 1514 (XV) ait catégoriquement affirmé que "le manque de préparation dans les domaines politique, économique ou social ou dans celui de l'enseignement ne doit jamais être pris comme prétexte pour retarder l'indépendance", il existe dans certains territoires dépendants des peuples auxquels il faut donner aussi rapidement que possible une formation, surtout en ce qui concerne l'exercice du pouvoir politique. C'est la seule méthode qui permettra à ces peuples d'assumer les responsabilités qui incombent à un Etat indépendant et d'empêcher leurs pays de sombrer dans l'anarchie et la confusion.

99. Nous avons déjà été témoins du fait que, dans les territoires dépendants où il a été possible de réaliser un heureux compromis entre ces trois aspects du problème du colonialisme, le transfert des pouvoirs s'est effectué pacifiquement et des pays ont accédé à l'indépendance sans heurts. C'est ainsi que le cercle magique, symbole d'harmonie, s'inscrit dans les trois côtés du triangle.

100. En conclusion, nous sommes heureux de constater que, grâce aux efforts des Nations Unies et de ses organes qui s'occupent de la question de l'application de la Déclaration, en particulier du Comité spécial, les peuples assujettis avancent rapidement vers la liberté; le jour n'est pas très éloigné où l'homme pourra, en tous points du globe, s'enorgueillir de respirer dans un monde libéré, un monde véritablement libre, un monde fondé sur l'amitié et la coopération des peuples et des Etats, où tous s'efforceront de réaliser les idéaux de la Charte pour que règne partout un ordre meilleur.

M. Zafrulla Khan (Pakistan) reprend la présidence.

101. M. SMIRNOV (République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie) [traduit du russe]. Plus de deux ans se sont écoulés depuis le jour où, sur la proposition de l'Union soviétique, présentée par le chef du Gouver-

nement soviétique, M. Khrouchtchev [869ème séance, par. 189], l'Assemblée générale des Nations Unies a adopté à l'unanimité [947ème séance] la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux [résolution 1514 (XV)]. C'était une grande victoire pour les forces progressistes de l'humanité entière. La Déclaration a permis de déployer une attaque encore plus vaste contre le colonialisme afin de l'extirper définitivement.

102. Chaque année, de nouveaux Etats et de nouveaux peuples se voient octroyer l'indépendance. De novembre 1961 à ce jour, nombre de nouveaux Etats ont obtenu l'indépendance: le Tanganyika, la Trinité et Tobago, la Jamaïque, le Rwanda, le Burundi, l'Algérie et l'Ouganda. Les colonisateurs portugais ont été mis à la porte de leurs anciennes colonies en Inde, et les colonisateurs hollandais ont été contraints à régler avec l'Indonésie le problème de l'Indonésie occidentale.

103. Cependant, la mise en œuvre de la Déclaration laisse encore, à notre avis, toujours à désirer, car elle se heurte à une opposition féroce de la part des forces coloniales réunies. Il faut absolument faire encore preuve de détermination et d'unité dans l'action pour vaincre l'opposition des colonisateurs et obtenir la mise en œuvre complète de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux.

104. De même que quelqu'un qui se noie s'accroche à un fétu de paille, les colonisateurs s'accrochent à n'importe quelle possibilité pour conserver leurs positions coloniales dans les territoires administrés. Ils emploient à cette fin toutes sortes de méthodes artificieuses, en posant aux démocrates et aux philanthropes, tout en s'efforçant de freiner la marche des peuples vers la liberté, l'indépendance et le progrès.

105. Les Etats coloniaux et les Etats qui leur sont rattachés au sein des différents blocs s'efforcent avant tout de tirer parti de l'Organisation des Nations Unies et de tous ses organes où l'on décide de la mise en œuvre de la Déclaration. Il n'est pas de question, il n'est pas de décision visant à faire appliquer la Déclaration qui ne se heurte à l'opposition de ces pays. Il suffit de prendre connaissance des comptes rendus des séances et de voir quels sont les Etats qui votent régulièrement contre ou qui s'abstiennent de voter pour savoir à qui il faut imputer le retard dans l'application de la Déclaration. Les mêmes faits se sont produits lors des travaux du Comité des Dix-Sept, qui était chargé, comme on le sait, de formuler des recommandations quant aux progrès réalisés et à la mesure dans laquelle la Déclaration est mise en œuvre, et de faire rapport à l'Assemblée générale à sa présente session. Ainsi qu'il apparaît du rapport du Comité des Dix-Sept [A/5238], on a pu constater nettement, au cours de ses travaux, deux attitudes différentes: l'attitude des représentants des puissances coloniales et de leurs alliés qui s'efforcent par tous les moyens de différer la mise en œuvre de la Déclaration, et celle de tous les autres pays qui insistent sur l'application immédiate des principes de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux.

106. Ainsi, le représentant des Etats-Unis, en essayant de restreindre l'efficacité du Comité, a suggéré que les recommandations définitives du Comité se rapportent "à des types de situations plutôt qu'à des cas individuels" [ibid., chap. 1er, par. 19]. C'est bien le représentant des Etats-Unis qui a contesté au

Comité le droit d'entendre les pétitionnaires et d'envoyer des missions sur les lieux sans l'accord de la puissance administrante. Le représentant du Royaume-Uni a menacé "... de retirer la coopération du Royaume-Uni au Comité spécial, s'il y avait quelque tentative que ce soit d'intervention dans l'administration des territoires dont il avait la responsabilité" [ibid., chap. 1er, par. 25].

107. A la lumière de ces faits, il semble pour le moins étrange que le représentant de l'Australie ait déclaré à la 1173ème séance de l'Assemblée, le 21 novembre 1962, que l'attitude de l'Union soviétique a fait obstacle aux travaux du Comité des Dix-Sept. Qui donc s'est opposé à l'envoi de missions sur les lieux, à l'audition de pétitionnaires, qui a fait objection aux recommandations du Comité? Le représentant de l'Australie pense-t-il vraiment que les participants à l'Assemblée n'ont pas pris connaissance du rapport du Comité?

108. Ainsi qu'on l'a souligné maintes fois du haut de cette tribune, notamment dans les interventions de la délégation de la RSS de Biélorussie, les pays socialistes sont à ce sujet en faveur d'une application totale et immédiate de la Déclaration et sont désireux de collaborer dès maintenant et à l'avenir avec tous ceux qui partagent cette opinion. Mais comment peut-on collaborer avec ceux qui se refusent à mettre en œuvre la Déclaration?

109. Le Comité des Dix-Sept a travaillé dans des conditions difficiles car il s'est heurté sans arrêt à la résistance des colonialistes et des forces qui leur sont alliées. Toutefois, ces forces n'ont plus maintenant une influence décisive et n'ont donc pu exercer un effet considérable sur les résultats des travaux du Comité des Dix-Sept. Il est certain que, sans ces difficultés, le Comité aurait pu parvenir à de meilleurs résultats.

110. Ayant examiné de façon approfondie la documentation que contient le rapport du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, la délégation de la RSS de Biélorussie ne peut manquer de noter avec satisfaction que dans l'ensemble c'est bien l'esprit de la Déclaration qui a prévalu dans les travaux du Comité. Dans l'état actuel de l'opinion publique et de la situation dans le monde en général, persister à défendre ouvertement le colonialisme n'est guère possible. C'est pourquoi les Etats coloniaux, en appliquant la théorie contemporaine du néo-colonialisme, utilisent divers moyens et méthodes malhonnêtes pour prolonger l'existence des régimes coloniaux existants dans les territoires qu'ils administrent. A ce propos, il faut que tous les peuples du monde soient en alerte, qu'ils dévoilent à temps les manœuvres des colonisateurs et qu'ils y opposent la résistance nécessaire. Ce serait se laisser aller à une illusion dangereuse que de refuser de voir ce qui se passe dans le monde, fût-ce sous une forme camouflée.

111. Le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni applique dans tous ces domaines une politique particulièrement subtile et voilée. Jusqu'à ces derniers temps, c'est ce gouvernement qui tire encore les ficelles du colonialisme dans tous les points du globe. Les colonialistes britanniques n'ont pas encore renoncé à la politique qui consiste à "diviser pour régner". Ainsi, au Kenya, le Royaume-Uni s'est mis à attiser les tendances locales et séparatistes, à favoriser les

scissions et la création de cinq ou six nouveaux Katangas. Mais cette politique provoque une résistance de plus en plus grande de la part du peuple du Kenya, ainsi que des peuples d'autres territoires où les colonisateurs essaient d'implanter cette politique. Aussi sont-ils contraints de rechercher d'autres méthodes qui leur permettent, pour l'extérieur, de faire semblant d'octroyer l'indépendance, tandis qu'en réalité le régime colonialiste subsiste toujours. Cette activité a eu pour résultat la création, contre la volonté des populations, de la Fédération de la Rhodésie et du Nyassaland, dans le dessein de faire échouer l'octroi de l'indépendance à ces territoires. Les peuples de cette fédération mènent une lutte héroïque pour une indépendance authentique de ses trois parties: la Rhodésie du Sud, la Rhodésie du Nord et le Nyassaland.

112. Le Gouvernement colonialiste de la Fédération, ayant à sa tête sir Roy Welensky, est allé, afin de consolider sa domination sur ces territoires, jusqu'à organiser de prétendues "élections" en vue d'élire un parlement fédéral. Il serait difficile d'inventer, en matière d'"élections", une farce plus hypocrite. La population totale de la Fédération de la Rhodésie et du Nyassaland étant de 9 millions d'habitants, seuls 120 755 électeurs ont été admis à voter et 15 000 personnes seulement ont participé au vote qui a eu lieu le 27 avril 1962. Sir Roy Welensky a néanmoins proclamé de façon retentissante la "victoire" du parti fédéral unifié qui a obtenu 54 des 59 sièges au Parlement. Et voilà comment le Royaume-Uni essaie de créer une Fédération en Afrique centrale.

113. Dans la partie sud de la péninsule Arabique, le Royaume-Uni s'efforce d'unifier ses possessions, y compris Aden, en une Fédération de l'Arabie du Sud. Dans l'Asie du Sud-Est, il préconise un plan d'unification des colonies en ce qu'on désigne par le terme "la grande Malaisie". Dans tous ces plans, le but est le même — conserver sa domination, sous une forme voilée, sur les colonies de ces régions.

114. L'argument le plus courant dont se servent les colonisateurs du Royaume-Uni et d'autres pays pour contrecarrer l'application de la Déclaration est le prétendu manque de préparation de ces territoires à l'autonomie des points de vue politique, économique et social.

115. De tels trucs pour différer l'octroi de l'indépendance sont appliqués dans presque tous les territoires administrés par les pays colonisateurs. Etant donné que la détermination du degré de préparation à l'indépendance et son accomplissement dépendent entièrement des colonisateurs, ceux-ci sont décidés à différer indéfiniment l'octroi de l'indépendance. A ce propos, il convient de citer la déclaration du Premier Ministre de la Trinité et Tobago, M. Williams, le 20 novembre 1962, devant la London School of Economics. Voici un extrait de cette déclaration:

"Les Indes occidentales représentent un citron dont le Royaume-Uni a exprimé tout le jus et il fait seulement attention à ne pas glisser sur le reste."

116. Si c'est ainsi que le Royaume-Uni prépare à l'indépendance toutes ses autres colonies, les Nations Unies devront attendre longtemps la mise en œuvre de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. Il sied de rappeler aux

représentants des Etats coloniaux le paragraphe de la Déclaration qui dit:

"Le manque de préparation dans les domaines politique, économique ou social ou dans celui de l'enseignement ne doit jamais être pris comme prétexte pour retarder l'indépendance." [Résolution 1514 (XV).]

117. On cherche à atteindre les mêmes buts par d'autres subterfuges, par exemple en semant la discorde entre les tribus et entre les partis politiques. La Puissance administrante applique au Kenya une tactique — si l'on en juge d'après le rapport du Comité spécial — qui consiste à démontrer que la diversité des points de vue des partis politiques sur différentes questions ne permet pas à la Puissance administrante de soutenir un parti contre les autres, ce qui l'empêche par conséquent d'octroyer l'indépendance.

118. Les faits démontrent que les colonialistes britanniques ignorent la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, et qu'ils continuent d'opprimer et d'exploiter les peuples des territoires qui dépendent du Royaume-Uni. Ils refusent de prendre des mesures radicales pour octroyer l'indépendance aux peuples asservis, ils les privent des droits démocratiques élémentaires en continuant d'appliquer la politique de discrimination raciale et en réprimant par la force brutale toute velléité de libération nationale véritable. Mais nous sommes convaincus que les colonies restantes parviendront à obtenir la liberté et l'indépendance.

119. La politique coloniale d'oppression et de rapine la plus effrénée et la plus brutale est appliquée par le Portugal dans les territoires qui dépendent de lui. C'est spasmodiquement que ce petit pays s'efforce de maintenir sa domination sur des territoires dont la superficie est 22,5 fois celle du Portugal et la population 1,3 fois plus nombreuse que celle du Portugal lui-même.

120. Toute l'humanité progressiste s'indigne des événements sanglants déclenchés par les autorités dans les colonies portugaises et particulièrement en Angola où se poursuit une guerre coloniale. L'armée coloniale portugaise qui reçoit de l'armement des pays membres de l'OTAN extermine la population locale sans défense. Des dizaines de milliers d'Africains ont été tués et des milliers d'autres, fuyant les tortures et la mort, ont quitté leurs foyers et se sont réfugiés au Congo. Mais aucune souffrance n'a pu contraindre les Angolais à renoncer à leur désir de libérer leur pays. Cette lutte aurait été couronnée de succès depuis longtemps si le Portugal n'avait pas été aidé par de nombreux pays membres de l'OTAN qui fournissent au gouvernement de Salazar des armes et lui accordent des prêts, utilisés pour faire la guerre au peuple angolais et aux peuples d'autres territoires dépendant du Portugal. Les peuples de l'Angola, du Mozambique, de la Guinée portugaise et d'autres colonies portugaises endurent des humiliations et privations intolérables et sont victimes d'une politique de rapine et d'extermination massive.

121. C'est sans aucune gêne que le Portugal ne met pas en œuvre la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. Le Gouvernement portugais a tout bonnement déclaré que toutes ses colonies étaient des "provinces d'outre-

mer" et que, cela étant, il ne s'estimait pas tenu de leur appliquer la Déclaration.

122. La situation n'est pas meilleure, au point de vue de l'octroi de l'indépendance, dans les colonies appartenant à l'Espagne, à la France, aux Pays-Bas, aux Etats-Unis et à la République sud-africaine. Les colonisateurs ont les uns pour les autres une entière compréhension et un appui total; ils agissent de concert et selon une entente préalable contre le mouvement de libération nationale des peuples de leurs colonies. C'est à cette fin qu'on installe dans les territoires administrés, ou à proximité, des bases militaires et qu'on équipe en armes les forces qui luttent contre les peuples des colonies.

123. Depuis que la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance a été adoptée, on a pu constater de façon irréfutable le grave danger que présentent pour le mouvement de libération nationale les bases militaires en territoire étranger. Ces bases existent dans de nombreux pays d'Afrique, d'Asie, d'Amérique et d'Océanie, mais nous avons en vue avant tout les bases installées sur les territoires dépendants du Royaume-Uni, des Etats-Unis, de la France, des Pays-Bas, du Portugal, de la Belgique et de l'Espagne. Ce n'est un secret pour personne que les blocs d'agression des puissances occidentales utilisent ces bases, en fin de compte, pour la lutte contre le mouvement de libération nationale des peuples des colonies et des pays dépendants.

124. En prenant la parole à la 1380^{ème} séance de la Quatrième Commission, le représentant du Royaume-Uni a confirmé, sans chercher à le dissimuler, que des armes sont livrées à la République sud-africaine, tout en le justifiant, à vrai dire, par la fiction d'intérêts spéciaux dans cette région.

125. Les peuples des territoires dépendants exigent on ne peut plus catégoriquement que l'octroi de l'indépendance soit accompagné de la liquidation des bases militaires sur leurs territoires, du retrait de ces territoires des forces armées étrangères qui y sont stationnées et de l'arrêt des fournitures d'armes aux Etats qui les utilisent ou qui pourraient les utiliser contre le mouvement de libération nationale.

126. La délégation de la RSS de Biélorussie se joint à l'opinion déjà exprimée par de nombreuses autres délégations pour souligner que l'octroi de l'indépendance politique ne constitue que le premier pas sur la voie difficile qui mène vers l'indépendance totale, c'est-à-dire politique, économique et spirituelle, des nations qui ont souffert pendant longtemps sous l'oppression colonialiste. Il ne faut jamais perdre de vue que les colonisateurs ont édifié au cours des siècles leur politique dans les territoires dépendants dans le dessein de maintenir les populations de ces territoires dans l'ignorance, la pauvreté, le manque de confiance dans leurs propres forces. Voyez comment vivent les peuples en Rhodésie du Sud, au Nyassaland, au Sud-Ouest africain, au Kenya, au Mozambique, en Angola, en Guyane britannique, en Guinée portugaise, en Guinée espagnole et dans tous les autres territoires coloniaux ou dépendants. Sans parler de l'absence de droits politiques, de la privation pour la population autochtone des colonies, du droit de vote, du droit d'association, du droit aux réunions et meetings, de la liberté de parole et de presse, ces populations sont également privées du droit de posséder de la terre, de travailler, d'étudier, de bénéficier de soins médicaux, des assurances

sociales, etc. Ces gens sont en fait privés de la possibilité de vivre.

127. On ne peut que s'indigner à la lecture du rapport du Comité spécial sur la mise en œuvre de la Déclaration en prenant connaissance de la situation des peuples des colonies et des pays dépendants. La discrimination raciale et l'inégalité de droits vont jusqu'à l'extrême. Voici quelques exemples.

128. En Rhodésie du Nord, on traite un homme suivant la couleur de sa peau. Il y a des hôpitaux pour les Européens et d'autres pour les Africains. Il arrive souvent que l'ambulance de secours d'urgence, appelée sur le lieu d'un accident, revient à vide si le blessé est un Africain. On traite chaque Africain comme un criminel en puissance. La discrimination raciale entraîne aussi une inégalité des niveaux de salaire. Les salaires des mineurs sont, pour les Africains, sept à dix fois inférieurs à ceux d'un blanc de la même spécialité. D'après les données statistiques gouvernementales pour 1960, il n'y avait à fréquenter l'école que la moitié seulement des enfants africains d'âge scolaire. A peine 2 à 3 p. 100 d'élèves africains peuvent compter recevoir une instruction universitaire.

129. Les colonisateurs aiment souvent parler de l'état de prospérité des populations des territoires qu'ils administrent et des biens matériels qu'ils leur assurent. Dans le *New York Times* du 10 avril 1961, un correspondant, Benjamin Welles, dans un article intitulé "Une île espagnole paisible au large des côtes d'Afrique donne une leçon d'intégration", décrit comme suit la colonie espagnole de Fernando Poo:

"La ravissante île espagnole de Fernando Poo... est un paradis de paix et d'ordre par opposition au continent agité d'Afrique..."

"Ensemble vivent et prospèrent 16 000 Africains et 4 000 Européens, sans aucune friction."

Et ainsi de suite dans le même esprit. Or la situation réelle dans l'île n'a rien de commun avec le tableau qu'en a brossé l'auteur de l'article.

130. Le Rio Muni (partie continentale), l'île de Fernando Poo et un groupe de petites îles constituent la colonie de la Guinée espagnole, qui compte une population de 212 000 habitants, dont 4 500 sont des blancs. La misère et l'absence de tous droits, voilà le lot de la population autochtone de la colonie. Sur tout le territoire de la Guinée espagnole, il n'y a qu'une seule école secondaire (strictement réservée aux blancs) et deux écoles professionnelles qui comptent en tout 217 élèves.

131. En 1957, lorsque la Nigéria se trouvait encore sous la domination coloniale complète de l'administration anglaise, elle avait conclu avec l'Espagne un accord sur l'emploi de travailleurs nigériens dans la colonie espagnole. Depuis cette époque, des dizaines de milliers de travailleurs nigériens sont allés travailler sous contrat dans l'île. Des centaines d'entre eux sont morts par suite de sévices et de pénibles conditions de vie. Les travailleurs nigériens tout comme la population autochtone se trouvent dans une situation d'esclaves. La moindre faute est passible d'une amende, de coups de fouet, d'emprisonnement. Ils habitent dans des logements misérables et sales, à huit dans une petite pièce. Des hommes jeunes et forts perdent leur santé au bout d'un ou deux ans et beaucoup d'entre eux en meurent.

132. Voilà le "paradis" réalisé sur l'île de Fernando Poo par les administrateurs espagnols. Et cela n'est qu'un spécimen de la situation des populations dans toutes les colonies où les colonialistes réalisent pour la population une vie aussi paradisiaque.

133. Toute l'humanité progressiste, notamment le peuple biélorussien, s'indigne de la façon dont les puissances administrantes bafouent les populations de tous les territoires coloniaux et dépendants. Nous avons exprimé à la Quatrième Commission [1361ème séance] notre juste indignation à ce sujet, mais nos dires ont été repoussés "avec mépris" par M. Godber, représentant du Royaume-Uni.

134. Nous n'avons jamais eu d'illusion quant à la "sympathie" de M. Godber à notre égard, mais il devra quand même tenir compte de l'opinion publique mondiale et le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni devra finalement prendre des mesures concrètes pour mettre en œuvre la Déclaration. Les peuples des pays coloniaux et dépendants et toute l'humanité progressiste l'exigent instamment. Cette injustice historique doit être réparée et le colonialisme doit être enterré.

135. Il est difficile de se faire l'avocat du diable. Il est plus difficile encore de défendre le colonialisme, mais il trouve quand même toujours des défenseurs. Ceux-ci votent à l'Organisation des Nations Unies contre les résolutions conçues pour faire mettre en œuvre la Déclaration; ils se prononcent contre ceux qui démasquent la nature véritable du colonialisme, ils se soutiennent et se complimentent les uns les autres. Ainsi, prenant la parole au Comité des Dix-Sept et évaluant la politique appliquée par le Royaume-Uni au Nyassaland, le représentant des Etats-Unis a dit que "[le Dr Banda et] le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni [avaient] droit [tous deux] à des encouragements et des éloges pour [leur] récente initiative" [A/5238, chap. IV, par. 63].

136. Au cours de l'examen par le Comité spécial de la question du Bassoutoland, du Betchouanaland et du Souaziland, le représentant de l'Australie a déclaré que "le Royaume-Uni avait généralement eu pour politique d'encourager les peuples à établir un système de gouvernement démocratique et responsable" [ibid., chap. V, par. 147].

137. Dans le rapport du Conseil de tutelle [A/5204, 2ème partie, chap. II, par. 138], le représentant des Etats-Unis, en analysant les activités déployées par l'Autorité administrante australienne en Nouvelle-Guinée et à Nauru, affirme que:

"... l'Administration a fait un effort remarquable ...",

"... son travail est excellent ...",

"... les progrès ... en santé publique sont admirables ...",

"... l'Autorité administrante méritait des éloges".

138. Le colonisateur se comble réciproquement d'éloges de toutes manières. C'est comme dans une fable du grand écrivain russe Krylov: "Le coucou loue le coq de ce qu'il loue le coucou." Ce n'est pas des louanges que méritent en fait les colonisateurs, mais une réprobation universelle, pour leurs agissements dans les territoires qu'ils administrent, pour la misère et les peines qu'endure la population autochtone, pour le sang versé dans la lutte contre le colonialisme, pour la non-application de la Déclaration.

139. Les représentants de la plupart des pays, en intervenant aux séances du Comité des Dix-Sept, à celles de la Quatrième Commission, aussi bien qu'aux séances plénières de la dix-septième session de l'Assemblée, soumettent à une critique sévère le colonialisme et les pays qui n'appliquent pas la Déclaration. En réponse, les colonisateurs, cherchant à esquiver leur responsabilité, ont recours, comme d'habitude, à des calomnies contre l'Union soviétique et contre d'autres pays socialistes.

140. La délégation de la RSS de Biélorussie pensait que la couronne de lauriers pour les calomnies anti-soviétiques devait revenir au représentant des Etats-Unis, mais aujourd'hui nous avons dû renoncer à cette idée et nous devons probablement offrir cette couronne au vainqueur, le représentant du Canada. Le représentant du Canada comprend-il qu'il se prononce contre les fondements mêmes sur lesquels est édifiée l'Organisation des Nations Unies? Il me semble qu'il ne le comprend pas.

141. Le représentant de l'Australie, M. Plimsoll, en prenant la parole à la séance précédente, n'a pas résisté non plus à la tentation d'avoir recours à la calomnie à l'adresse de l'Union soviétique. Les colonisateurs et leurs alliés font toujours appel à la calomnie lorsqu'ils se trouvent le dos au mur et qu'ils n'ont rien à dire pour se justifier.

142. Nous sommes convaincus que la majorité des membres de l'Organisation ne se laissera pas dévier de l'étude de la question en cours par les manœuvres des colonisateurs.

143. La délégation de la RSS de Biélorussie condamne la façon d'agir des puissances administrantes par suite de l'insuffisance de l'application de la Déclaration et demande que soient prises toutes les mesures possibles pour que le colonialisme soit définitivement liquidé en 1963. A cet égard, nous appuyons la proposition du Président de la Guinée, M. Sekou Touré [voir A/PV.1148, par. 33], pour qu'à la date du 24 octobre 1963, jour anniversaire de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, tous les pays et peuples coloniaux, conformément au désir des populations, se voient octroyer l'indépendance. Les puissances coloniales doivent mettre fin immédiatement à toutes les mesures de représailles utilisées contre les peuples qui luttent pour leur libération. Il est indispensable d'assurer à la population autochtone la possibilité d'exercer ses droits et libertés démocratiques, y compris la liberté de parole, de presse et de réunion.

144. Toutes les lois qui admettent la discrimination raciale, les restrictions et limitations quant aux partis politiques, aux syndicats et à d'autres organisations sociales et politiques doivent être rapportées. Tous les détenus politiques doivent être libérés. Tous les pouvoirs doivent être transférés, dans tous les territoires non autonomes, aux représentants du peuple, élus par voie démocratique, sur la base du suffrage universel direct.

145. La mise en œuvre de toutes ces mesures et d'autres encore pour la liquidation du colonialisme doit être effectuée sous un contrôle constant et rigoureux de l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Des mesures décisives, allant jusqu'aux sanctions, doivent être prises contre les Etats qui, depuis deux ans déjà, refusent délibérément de mettre en œuvre la Déclaration. Le moment est venu, pour le Conseil de sécurité, de s'occuper de ces questions.

146. La délégation de la RSS de Biélorussie est intervenue et continuera d'intervenir résolument contre toutes les formes du colonialisme. Nous appuierons les mesures les plus radicales qui puissent assurer l'application de la Déclaration.

147. La liquidation du colonialisme est une des tâches les plus importantes de notre temps et sa solution immédiate est dans l'intérêt de millions d'êtres humains, de l'humanité tout entière. Les peuples des colonies se verront octroyer finalement la liberté tant désirée et pourront profiter de leur droit légitime de disposer eux-mêmes de leur sort. La liquidation totale et définitive du colonialisme posera les fondements de relations entre les pays et les peuples fondées sur une égalité réelle des droits, elle consolidera les liens d'amitié et de collaboration entre tous les peuples de notre planète qui maintiendront et raffermiront la paix sur la terre.

148. Le PRESIDENT (traduit de l'anglais): Deux orateurs sont encore inscrits pour la présente séance; avant de donner la parole à l'orateur suivant, j'annonce que je ferai, à la fin de la présente séance, une déclaration sur l'ordre de nos travaux pour la semaine prochaine.

149. M. KOIRALA (Népal) [traduit de l'anglais]: Je profite de l'occasion qui m'est offerte pour préciser que la politique de non-alignement suivie sans défaillance par le Népal a pour seul et unique objectif le maintien de la paix. La paix ne sera jamais qu'un vain désir tant que le colonialisme ne sera pas éliminé, sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations, tant que le désarmement universel ne sera pas réalisé et tant que les ressources techniques, scientifiques et économiques du monde ne seront pas mises en commun pour lutter contre la faim, la maladie et l'analphabétisme. Le colonialisme, que nous définissons comme "l'intrusion lente, graduelle et imperceptible de l'Ouest dans les pays de l'Est pour la satisfaction de besoins en matières premières et en débouchés, qu'une industrialisation hautement mécanisée rend toujours plus pressants", est un mal absolu, et représente aujourd'hui un véritable anachronisme.

150. Le Népal, quoiqu'il n'ait jamais été soumis lui-même à aucun joug, se rend parfaitement compte que le mouvement anticolonial fait partie du mouvement plus général en faveur de la paix, et mon pays s'oppose à toute domination, de quelque ordre qu'elle soit, d'une nation par une autre. Si nous nous dressons contre le colonialisme, ce n'est pas que nous ayons subi, à une époque quelconque de notre histoire, les iniquités du régime colonialiste, mais c'est parce que toute notre politique est fondée sur une foi profonde dans les libertés fondamentales et dans la dignité et la valeur de la personne humaine.

151. Pour préciser notre position à l'égard du colonialisme et les raisons qui la motivent, je ne peux mieux faire que de citer quelques extraits du discours prononcé le 2 septembre 1961 par mon souverain, le roi Mahendra du Népal, à la Conférence des chefs d'Etat ou de gouvernement des pays non alignés, réunie à Belgrade, conférence qui, à bien des égards, a sonné le glas du colonialisme dans toutes ses manifestations:

"Depuis quatre ou cinq siècles, l'Europe a évolué beaucoup plus vite que les autres continents à maints égards, surtout du point de vue de la science et de la technique. C'est pourquoi elle s'est dotée d'un sys-

tème économique et politique dynamique, assorti d'une certaine échelle des valeurs humaines qui, à quelques différences de forme près, est devenue la règle dans tout le continent européen, ainsi qu'un modèle pour beaucoup d'autres pays et continents, fascinés et même éblouis par ses splendeurs. Sous l'impulsion que lui ont donnée des transformations économiques radicales, la civilisation européenne, telle qu'elle s'est développée au cours de cette période fructueuse, a pris un caractère excessivement extroverti, pour emprunter une expression de la psychologie moderne, qui l'a poussée à se tourner vers l'extérieur.

"Au cours de la période, plusieurs pays d'Europe occidentale se sont agressivement élançés au dehors, en porte-flambeaux de la civilisation européenne, et ont déclenché les phénomènes extrêmement pénibles que l'on a appelés par la suite le colonialisme et l'impérialisme. La civilisation asiatique, en revanche, est dans l'ensemble une civilisation introvertie, de sorte qu'elle se montre sous son meilleur jour lorsqu'elle regarde vers l'intérieur, mais sous le pire lorsqu'elle cherche à se tourner vers l'extérieur. La prise de contact entre la civilisation asiatique et le colonialisme d'Europe occidentale a accentué les tendances naturelles de l'Asiatique à la contemplation et au repli sur lui-même. L'Asie s'est repliée plus encore sur son propre "empire" individualiste, éclairé par son seul égoïsme, tandis que des puissances d'Europe occidentale... réduisaient l'humanité en esclavage en se taillant de grands empires sur lesquels le soleil ne se levait jamais, tout au moins pour les peuples colonisés.

"Toutefois, si nous regardons le monde d'aujourd'hui, nous constatons que le phénomène le plus important de la situation internationale n'est pas le colonialisme, mais la lutte anticoloniale des peuples d'Asie et d'Afrique. Après une lutte longue et acharnée, le mouvement anticolonial en Asie est presque arrivé à sa maturité. Presque tous les pays d'Asie anciennement colonisés ont acquis leur indépendance... Non seulement ces pays ont conquis leur indépendance politique, mais ils ont déjà bien avancé sur la voie de l'indépendance économique.

"La réussite du mouvement anticolonial en Asie et le soutien puissant que les nouveaux pays indépendants d'Asie lui ont accordé ont ensemble imprimé une forte impulsion à la lutte des pays africains pour leur indépendance. Certains de ces pays l'ont conquis au cours des dernières années, et, s'agissant du continent dans son ensemble, on constate dans tous les pays africains un énorme mouvement des masses vers leur libération.

"Le Népal se range résolument du côté des forces révolutionnaires. Nous estimons que le colonialisme est, sans restriction, un mal, un ordre social et politique qui suppose entre les hommes des relations inacceptables. Il faut appuyer la révolution anticoloniale partout où elle se manifeste, sous quelque forme que ce soit, et le Népal a toujours adopté une attitude inflexible à cet égard. Si les puissances coloniales déclarent que nous n'apprécions pas comme il convient leurs intentions et que nous ne comprenons pas leurs problèmes, répondons-leur qu'elles ne comprennent pas nos sentiments.

"Mais, tout en prenant cette position inflexible contre le colonialisme, nous reconnaissons que certaines puissances coloniales ont agi de meilleure grâce et avec plus de hauteur de vues et d'imagi-

nation que d'autres, dans leur réaction devant le défi des temps présents. Une puissance coloniale comme le Royaume-Uni, après avoir compris que les jours du colonialisme étaient comptés, a agi, dans l'ensemble, de façon à mériter l'approbation de nombreux pays. Ayant donné l'exemple en asservissant de nombreuses populations, le Royaume-Uni a aussi donné l'exemple en leur accordant la liberté.

"Mais on peut observer, à ce stade, que nous serons induits en erreur — et cela gravement — si nous en déduisons que la lutte contre le colonialisme est arrivée à terme. Il nous faut au contraire nous tenir prêts et être prêts à livrer un dur et long combat pour assurer la liquidation complète du colonialisme^{2/}..."

152. Je demande à l'Assemblée de m'excuser de lui avoir fait entendre une aussi longue citation. J'ai pensé toutefois qu'il convenait en cette occasion de réaffirmer la politique de mon pays à l'égard du colonialisme et, par conséquent, que le long extrait dont j'ai donné lecture était indispensable pour montrer quelle est l'opinion de mon souverain, de mon gouvernement et du peuple népalais sur les divers problèmes que pose le colonialisme. Ma délégation estime d'autre part, comme le Ministre adjoint des affaires étrangères de Pologne l'a fait remarquer le 15 novembre 1962 [1169ème séance] à si juste raison, que la question du colonialisme ne le cède en importance qu'à celle du désarmement général et complet, ce qui nous autorise à faire une petite digression. En effet, le problème du colonialisme n'est pas un phénomène isolé dans la politique mondiale actuelle. Le colonialisme et les mouvements qui le combattent, leurs succès et leurs échecs ne représentent en réalité qu'un aspect du mouvement plus général en faveur de la paix. Il serait vain que l'humanité entière consacre toute son énergie à maintenir des relations honnêtes entre les nations, à établir la coexistence pacifique dans une liberté plus grande et à préserver la paix, le bonheur et la sécurité dans le monde, si nous n'abandonnions pas et ne résolvions pas en même temps comme il convient les problèmes posés par le colonialisme. Tous ces problèmes sont liés entre eux, de sorte que nous manquerions à notre devoir si nous ne reconnaissons pas maintenant que l'accès au statut d'indépendance ne constitue pas le but suprême d'une nation. Disons plutôt que le mouvement anticolonial participe du mouvement plus général en faveur de la paix et que le succès du premier contribuera beaucoup au triomphe final du second. Il est réconfortant de constater que le problème du colonialisme a été envisagé dans sa véritable perspective, comme il ressort des déclarations faites par les représentants, toutes empreintes de sagesse et de modération, et offrant des suggestions pratiques.

153. Nous sommes saisis du rapport du Comité spécial [A/5238]: les constatations, les suggestions et les conclusions qu'il renferme nous ont permis de nous faire une idée exacte du colonialisme tel qu'il est pratiqué par de nombreux Etats dans bien des parties du monde. Ainsi que beaucoup d'autres délégations l'ont fait remarquer, cet énorme rapport de près de 600 pages n'est pas un document ordinaire: il représente un jalon important dans le processus de décolonisation des pays et des peuples assujettis. Les espoirs des nations et des peuples opprimés, et leur aspiration à se libérer de la

^{2/} Conférence de Belgrade (publié par la Revue de politique internationale, Belgrade, 1961), No 4, p. 23.

domination extérieure, se trouvent exprimés avec feu dans ce volume. Bien que le Comité, faute de temps, n'ait pas pu s'occuper de nombreux autres territoires coloniaux ou non autonomes, il a cependant examiné 12 territoires: la Rhodésie du Sud, la Rhodésie du Nord, le Nyassaland, le Bassoutoland, le Betchouanaland, le Souaziland, Zanzibar, la Guyane britannique, le Mozambique, le Sud-Ouest africain, le Kenya et l'Angola. Le Comité a entendu des pétitionnaires, il a rassemblé des renseignements, il s'est déplacé et il nous a soumis des observations et des conclusions dont la lecture est fort intéressante et encourageante. Ma délégation tient à adresser ses vives félicitations au Président, au Vice-Président, au Rapporteur et aux autres membres du Comité pour le dévouement avec lequel ils se sont acquittés de la tâche qui leur a été confiée par l'Assemblée générale, ainsi que pour l'excellent rapport qu'ils nous ont présenté.

154. Nous nous associons à toutes les délégations qui ont approuvé les travaux et les méthodes du Comité spécial des Dix-Sept. Il faut souligner l'importance du fait que, pénétré de la gravité de ses responsabilités, le Comité a décidé de mener ses travaux sans recourir à des votes, sauf en quelques occasions.

155. Ma délégation approuve aussi sans réserve le refus du Comité de s'en tenir au rôle de simple commission d'enquête ou de centre d'information. La grande latitude laissée au Comité par l'Assemblée [résolution 1654 (XVI)] dans l'accomplissement de sa tâche, qui est d'étudier "l'application de la Déclaration, de formuler des suggestions et des recommandations quant aux progrès réalisés et à la mesure dans laquelle la Déclaration est mise en œuvre", justifie amplement l'affirmation du représentant de l'Union soviétique selon laquelle le Comité n'a pas été créé pour se livrer à de stériles discussions.

156. Au cours du débat sur la question, on s'est demandé si le Comité avait bien fait d'examiner les territoires un à un. De l'avis de ma délégation, cette méthode était pourtant la seule méthode légitime qu'on pouvait suivre utilement étant donné les circonstances. La question du colonialisme a été si souvent soulevée et discutée depuis des années que nous savons tous ici à quoi nous en tenir quant à la situation coloniale en général dans le monde. Le Comité a été créé pour trouver les moyens de mettre en œuvre la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, et il s'est attelé comme il le devait à la tâche de trouver les moyens de résoudre chaque type de problème colonial. Pour accomplir sa mission historique, le Comité a décidé avec raison d'examiner en priorité le continent africain, où règne la forme la plus subtile du colonialisme.

157. Nous sommes heureux de constater qu'il n'y a pratiquement plus personne qui conteste les méfaits du colonialisme et la nécessité de le supprimer. La plupart des pays d'Asie et d'Afrique sont maintenant libres et les autres sont sur le point d'accéder à la liberté et à l'indépendance. Ainsi, l'histoire des XVIII^{ème} et XIX^{ème} siècles, marquée par la pénétration des pays de l'Ouest dans les pays de l'Est, subit un renversement progressif; comme l'a dit justement notre roi Mahendra, cela est dû à l'éclosion, dans les pays d'Asie et d'Afrique, d'un sentiment patriotique intense auquel on a donné le nom de nationalisme et qui traduit le désir d'être libre de toute domination intérieure ou

extérieure, de choisir son propre système politique, économique et social, sans aucune pression extérieure.

158. Nous ne cherchons pas ici à diminuer le rôle des Nations Unies dans le processus de décolonisation. Nous voulons simplement faire remarquer que l'indépendance a souvent été réalisée sans l'appui effectif des Nations Unies. Pour prendre un exemple récent, l'Algérie s'est libérée du joug étranger à la suite de la lutte incessante menée par le peuple algérien. En revanche, les Nations Unies ont joué un rôle décisif dans la solution du problème de l'Irian occidental. Là, les Nations Unies sont allées jusqu'à assurer l'administration du territoire. Ce dernier exemple n'est pas loin de justifier la foi mystique de nombreux peuples assujettis qui attribuent aux Nations Unies le pouvoir de tout faire et de tout réussir. Cette foi se fonde surtout sur la résolution 1514 (XV), qui déclare:

"La sujétion des peuples à une subjugation, à une domination et à une exploitation étrangères constitue un déni des droits fondamentaux de l'homme, est contraire à la Charte des Nations Unies et compromet la cause de la paix et de la coopération mondiale.

"Tous les peuples ont le droit de libre détermination; en vertu de ce droit, ils déterminent librement leur statut politique et poursuivent librement leur développement économique, social et culturel."

Cette résolution historique constitue la Grande Charte de l'histoire des Nations Unies et traduit le désir universel de l'humanité: vivre et laisser vivre, dans une atmosphère d'égalité, de liberté et de justice.

159. Les grands traits de cette résolution peuvent se résumer ainsi: réaffirmation de la foi en la dignité de la personne humaine, proclamation du droit inaliénable des peuples à la libre détermination, reconnaissance du fait que l'existence du colonialisme empêche le développement de la coopération internationale. Mais il ne suffisait pas de réaffirmer une foi, de proclamer un principe ou de reconnaître un fait indéniable pour briser les solides remparts du colonialisme. Après un an, l'Assemblée a dû admettre, sur une initiative de l'Union soviétique, que la Déclaration resterait lettre morte si on ne trouvait pas des moyens pratiques de la mettre en œuvre. Au paragraphe 5 du dispositif, la résolution déclarait sans ambiguïté:

"Des mesures immédiates seront prises, dans les territoires sous tutelle, les territoires non autonomes et tous autres territoires qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance, pour transférer tous pouvoirs aux peuples de ces territoires, sans aucune condition ni réserve, conformément à leur volonté et à leurs vœux librement exprimés, sans aucune distinction de race, de croyance ou de couleur, afin de leur permettre de jouir d'une indépendance et d'une liberté complètes."

En raison de l'intransigeance et des atermoiements dont ont fait preuve les puissances coloniales dans l'application de cette disposition de la résolution, l'Assemblée a estimé avec raison qu'il fallait créer un Comité spécial de 17 membres afin d'assurer la mise en œuvre de la Déclaration. La résolution 1654 (XVI) qui a créé le Comité a souligné à nouveau avec vigueur que "le manque de préparation dans les domaines politique, économique ou social ou dans celui de l'enseignement ne doit jamais être pris comme prétexte pour retarder l'indépendance". Cette dispo-

sition de la résolution est d'autant plus importante que les puissances coloniales, cherchant toujours à temporiser, avalent l'habitude de prêter l'état arriéré des peuples assujettis pour faire obstacle à leur marche vers l'indépendance, ce qui était un argument absolument contraire à la logique.

160. Le Portugal a récemment avancé le plus fallacieux de tous ces arguments en déclarant que l'Angola, le Mozambique et les autres territoires portugais d'outre-mer n'étaient pas véritablement des territoires d'outre-mer mais faisaient partie du Portugal métropolitain. En s'attaquant avec décision au fondement même d'affirmations aussi dénuées de tout fondement, le dernier alinéa du préambule de la résolution a repoussé comme il convenait les prétextes avancés par les puissances coloniales pour pouvoir conserver leur position de maîtres pendant une durée indéterminée.

161. Les efforts déployés par certaines de ces puissances coloniales pour renverser le cours des événements n'ont pas réussi à apaiser le vent de changement qui, depuis la fin de la seconde guerre mondiale, souffle en faveur de la lutte anticoloniale. Le nombre des Membres qui composaient l'Organisation des Nations Unies a plus que doublé en 17 ans et huit nouveaux territoires ont accédé à l'indépendance depuis un an seulement. Les Nations Unies ont joué un rôle fondamental dans l'accélération du processus d'indépendance en ce qui concerne le Burundi, le Rwanda, le Tanganyika et le Samoa-Occidental. Le processus d'accession à l'indépendance s'est fait dans l'ordre pour la Jamaïque, la Trinité et Tobago et l'Ouganda, ce qui est au crédit des dirigeants et du peuple du Royaume-Uni, aussi bien que de ceux des territoires intéressés. Le cas de l'Algérie a été unique, en ce sens que ce pays a accédé à l'indépendance après huit années d'une lutte amère et héroïque. Grâce à la sagesse politique et à la clairvoyance dont les chefs algériens et le gouvernement du président de Gaulle ont fait preuve dans leurs efforts pour mettre fin au drame algérien, l'aube de la liberté et de l'autodétermination s'est enfin levée sur l'Algérie. Une fois encore, nous félicitons toutes ces nouvelles nations pour leur accession à l'indépendance et nous leur souhaitons bonne chance pour la tâche encore plus difficile de leur développement économique et social.

162. Comme je l'ai déjà dit, le temps travaille pour la lutte anticoloniale, pour la justice, pour la liberté et pour la libre détermination. Le Comité des Dix-Sept a été chargé avec raison d'accélérer le processus de décolonisation. Il a examiné jusqu'ici 12 territoires et ses observations sur chacun d'eux figurent dans son rapport. Bien que plusieurs délégations aient déjà commenté les observations et constatations du Comité, ma délégation ne croit pas inutile de revenir sur ces conclusions.

163. Pour ce qui est de la Rhodésie du Sud, la grande question est que le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni n'a pas jugé bon de prendre des mesures pour transférer tous les pouvoirs à la population de ce territoire. Une grande puissance comme la Grande-Bretagne, alléguant une convention constitutionnelle, s'est laissée aller à l'inaction, tandis qu'une infime minorité blanche continue de fouler aux pieds la destinée d'une grande majorité autochtone. Convaincue qu'une convention reste une convention tant qu'elle n'a pas été abrogée et que nous établirions un heureux précédent en la faisant abroger, ma délégation a voté en faveur des résolutions 1755 (XVII) et 1760 (XVII)

qui demandent à l'autorité supérieure d'abandonner sa politique d'inertie et d'assumer réellement ses responsabilités.

164. En ce qui concerne la Rhodésie du Nord et le Nyassaland, après avoir examiné à fond la situation dans ces deux territoires et après avoir étudié les dépositions des pétitionnaires, le Comité spécial a confirmé le droit inaliénable des peuples de ces territoires à la libre détermination et à l'indépendance nationale. Le Comité a aussi jugé bon de recommander la fixation de dates pour l'accession de la Rhodésie du Nord et du Nyassaland à l'indépendance.

165. Il y a longtemps que l'Afrique du Sud manifeste son intention d'annexer les trois territoires dépendant du Haut Commissaire: le Bassoutoland, le Betchouanaland et le Souaziland. Après avoir rappelé le droit inaliénable des peuples à l'indépendance, le Comité spécial a demandé à l'Assemblée générale de déclarer, malgré les objections des puissances occidentales, qu'une telle initiative aurait des conséquences graves et que toute tentative de porter atteinte d'une façon quelconque à leur intégrité territoriale serait considérée par l'Organisation des Nations Unies comme un acte d'agression qui viole la Charte des Nations Unies.

166. Le Comité a fait une étude détaillée des causes des troubles qui se sont produits à Zanzibar à la suite des élections générales de 1961. Le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni est invité à favoriser l'harmonie et l'unité entre les divers éléments politiques de Zanzibar et à accélérer l'accession à l'indépendance.

167. Nous savons très bien que les entretiens qui ont eu lieu à Londres à l'automne de 1962 entre le Royaume-Uni et la Guyane britannique n'ont abouti à aucun résultat positif. Pour décourageant qu'il soit, cet échec ne doit pas nous faire perdre de vue l'objectif ultime. Le Comité a prié les gouvernements intéressés de reprendre immédiatement les négociations en vue d'aboutir à un accord sur la date de l'indépendance. Nous espérons que l'échec récent n'empêchera pas la reprise des négociations.

168. Le cas du Sud-Ouest africain est très grave. Ce territoire international se trouve menacé d'annexion par le Gouvernement sud-africain qui est totalement engagé dans une politique d'apartheid. Le Comité a conclu à ce sujet que le moment est venu pour les Nations Unies de prendre d'urgence des mesures pour empêcher l'annexion du Sud-Ouest africain par l'Afrique du Sud et pour faire en sorte que la résolution 1514 (XV) soit appliquée au plus tôt. Le projet de résolution présenté à l'Assemblée générale par la Quatrième Commission [voir A/5310] et dont ma délégation s'honore d'être un des auteurs est fondé sur les constatations, conclusions et recommandations du rapport du Comité des Dix-Sept et du Comité du Sud-Ouest africain; il réaffirme la proclamation solennelle du droit inaliénable du peuple du Sud-Ouest africain à l'indépendance et à la souveraineté nationale.

169. Le Comité a demandé à la Puissance administrante de prendre des mesures pour que le Kenya accède à l'indépendance le plus tôt possible.

170. Au sujet des malheureux territoires du Mozambique et de l'Angola, le Comité a réaffirmé à juste titre le droit des peuples à la libre détermination et à l'indépendance. La question de l'Angola sera examinée par l'Assemblée très prochainement et ma délégation a toujours pris sur cette question une

attitude ferme et claire. Nous exposerons de nouveau notre opinion lorsque le moment sera venu.

171. Ainsi, le point essentiel qui se dégage de l'étude du rapport est la réaffirmation des principes de l'égalité des nations et du droit inaliénable de tous les peuples à l'indépendance et à la libre détermination. Le Comité spécial, par son examen approfondi des problèmes en jeu, a confirmé la Déclaration de l'Assemblée [résolution 1514 (XV)] selon laquelle "le manque de préparation dans les domaines politique, économique ou social ou dans celui de l'enseignement ne doit jamais être pris comme prétexte pour retarder l'indépendance". En effet, ma délégation estime qu'on remédiera plus vite et mieux à ce manque de préparation dans une atmosphère d'égalité et de liberté que dans l'atmosphère d'inertie mentale qui résulte de la domination étrangère.

172. Dans la plupart des cas, le Comité a recommandé l'octroi immédiat de l'indépendance et il a demandé aux puissances administrantes, à une ou deux exceptions près, de prendre les mesures nécessaires pour transférer effectivement tous pouvoirs aux peuples des territoires intéressés. Sur ces bases, la délégation de la Guinée a suggéré la fixation d'une date précise pour l'octroi de l'indépendance à tous les territoires et peuples dépendants. Plusieurs autres délégations en ont parlé. Bien qu'elle respecte l'esprit dans lequel cette suggestion a été faite, ma délégation estime qu'une telle mesure ne pourrait pas être appliquée à tous les territoires. Sans doute serait-il souhaitable de fixer une date précise pour l'accession à l'indépendance de certains territoires; il est même certain qu'une date limite devrait être décidée maintenant pour quelques-uns de ces territoires. La position de ma délégation est que, si l'Assemblée générale fixe une date limite, cette fixation devra s'entendre avec une certaine souplesse, car les circonstances peuvent être variables dans chaque cas et il faudra en tenir compte dans l'application pratique.

173. Avant de terminer, je dirai quelques mots des questions d'organisation. Nous approuvons dans son ensemble le rapport du Comité et nous sommes convaincus qu'il peut continuer à jouer un rôle très constructif dans l'accélération du processus de décolonisation. Dans l'introduction à son rapport annuel [A/5201/Add.1], le Secrétaire général par intérim a attiré notre attention sur la multiplicité des comités et sous-comités qui traitent de questions de même nature et il a suggéré que les travaux soient regroupés en un comité unique. Pour des raisons d'économies budgétaires et de coordination des travaux, plusieurs délégations ont approuvé cette suggestion. Ma délégation approuve elle aussi les vues du Secrétaire général par intérim et nous accorderons grande attention à toute proposition qui pourrait être faite à ce sujet. Pour le moment, on pourrait peut-être élargir la composition du Comité des Dix-Sept en tenant compte de la composition de tous les autres comités qui traitent de questions se rapportant au colonialisme. Le comité élargi pourrait, comme d'habitude, se diviser en sous-comités qui s'occuperaient de territoires particuliers.

174. En conclusion, on peut dire que nul n'ose plus aujourd'hui défendre le colonialisme au nom de quelque mission civilisatrice, ou sous tout autre prétexte. Ce fait même est déjà une arme puissante aux mains des forces anticoloniales. Une fois amorcés, les mouvements du cœur ne s'arrêtent plus. En outre, le

Comité a reçu l'appui de tous les Etats Membres, grands ou petits, coloniaux ou non. Toutes ses délibérations ont été marquées par la modération et l'absence de rancune, ce qui suffit à montrer que le colonialisme touche à sa fin. Quelques exceptions demeurent, quelques vestiges du colonialisme subsistent encore, particulièrement dans les territoires où de puissants intérêts pétroliers ou miniers et la présence de nombreux colons blancs s'ajoutent à la domination coloniale. Dans l'ensemble, tout un continent est devenu majeur et nous nous trouvons au seuil d'une ère nouvelle qui ne connaîtra pas la discrimination entre les hommes.

175. M. MALALASEKERA (Ceylan) [traduit de l'anglais]: Ma délégation n'est pas intervenue plus tôt dans la discussion générale sur les travaux du Comité des Dix-Sept parce que notre opinion sur l'ensemble de la question du colonialisme est bien connue. Ma déclaration sera d'ailleurs brève. Nous désirons simplement dire quelques mots au sujet des travaux du Comité et du rapport soumis à notre examen [A/5238].

176. Dans cette discussion, on a soulevé certaines questions concernant la composition numérique du Comité, ses méthodes de travail et la portée de ses activités. On a parlé à plusieurs reprises de la fixation d'une date limite pour la liquidation définitive du colonialisme.

177. Ma délégation tient d'abord à rendre hommage au Comité qui, sans avoir bénéficié d'aucune expérience passée, a su trouver les méthodes qui conviennent le mieux à son action. Chaque fois qu'il le pouvait, le Comité s'est efforcé de prendre ses décisions par accord unanime. Certes, dans tout organe des Nations Unies, l'unanimité est souhaitable, pourvu que ce soit avec l'idée d'arriver à des résultats positifs. Quand la possibilité d'arriver à des résultats positifs est en jeu, unanimité ne peut pas et ne doit pas devenir synonyme de paralysie: il ne faut pas qu'une sorte de droit de veto s'oppose à des décisions prises par moins que la totalité des membres d'un organe. En fait, nous doutons qu'un comité des Nations Unies créé par l'Assemblée générale puisse, selon la Charte, renoncer au principe démocratique des décisions prises à la majorité des voix. Nous devons nous rappeler à ce propos que le Comité spécial est avant tout un organe chargé de l'application de la Déclaration sur le colonialisme [résolution 1514 (XV)]. Ce sont donc des fonctions quasi exécutives qu'il exerce, surtout si l'on considère l'urgence qui s'attache à son action. La tâche qui lui est assignée est vaste et difficile. Il faut donc lui laisser une grande liberté d'action pour l'établissement des meilleures méthodes d'élaboration rapide de ses recommandations à l'Assemblée.

178. C'est pourquoi ma délégation appuie sans réserve la ligne de conduite suivie par le Comité qui a appliqué une procédure très libérale pour l'audition des pétitionnaires, surtout ceux qui réclament la liberté des peuples au nom desquels ils parlent. C'est aussi la raison pour laquelle ma délégation souhaiterait que le Comité spécial ait toute latitude de se rendre dans les régions relevant de son mandat chaque fois qu'il le jugera nécessaire.

179. Lorsqu'on réfléchit aux droits et aux devoirs du Comité des Dix-Sept, il importe de ne pas oublier qu'il a reçu le mandat le plus large qui ait jamais été donné à un organe exécutif des Nations Unies. C'est le mandat découlant d'une Déclaration adoptée à une

majorité écrasante par les Nations Unies et ayant le formidable soutien de l'opinion publique mondiale.

180. De même, en ce qui concerne l'ordre de priorité, le Comité a déjà donné des preuves de sa sagesse en décidant d'examiner en priorité les colonies qui subsistent encore en Afrique; en effet, c'est en Afrique que le colonialisme défend ses dernières positions et qu'il espère même réussir à opérer une contre-offensive.

181. A en juger par les craintes exprimées devant l'Assemblée, par de nombreux signes et par l'attitude rien moins que satisfaisante souvent adoptée par les puissances métropolitaines dans les territoires, l'expression "néo-colonialisme" n'est plus un simple euphémisme: elle désigne un processus réel qui, lentement, insidieusement, derrière la fumée et le vacarme de la guerre froide, est en train de devenir une grande cause de conflits qui s'enflent jusqu'à prendre les dimensions d'un choix entre la guerre et la paix. Fort heureusement, le Comité des Dix-Sept a été alerté par les signes avant-coureurs de la tempête menaçante et il saura, j'en suis sûr, faire appel au Conseil de sécurité s'il est nécessaire.

182. Comme on l'a souligné maintes fois, le Comité spécial tient entre ses mains le sort d'une cinquantaine de millions d'êtres humains qui sont encore privés du droit de libre détermination consacré par la Charte. C'est donc une terrible et solennelle responsabilité que le Comité a assumée. Mais il ne s'agit pas seulement des hommes. A notre époque, tout territoire qui n'est pas libéré devient un point stratégique en puissance qui attire à lui les forces de conflit actuellement déchaînées dans le monde. Par exemple, même si les colonies de l'Afrique centrale et de l'Afrique australe ne comprenaient que la moitié de leur population actuelle, leur importance dans l'équilibre mondial des puissances n'en serait pas diminuée. Par conséquent, ce ne sont pas seulement les hommes, mais aussi les territoires qui sont en jeu.

183. C'est pourquoi, si le facteur humain a une importance primordiale et même sacrée, les régions soumises au régime colonial ont elles aussi une importance capitale. Ce ne sont pas seulement les peuples que nous devons libérer, mais aussi leurs patries. Les hommes et leur pays forment une unité indivisible.

184. J'ajouterai encore quelques mots sur cette question capitale. Il s'agit du domaine où des intérêts économiques vitaux sont en jeu pour les puissances coloniales. On en déduit qu'il doit nécessairement y avoir conflit entre ces vastes intérêts économiques et la liberté des peuples. Ma délégation est d'avis que ce conflit n'est pas inéluctable. Au contraire, une association peut même s'établir, à condition qu'elle repose sur la reconnaissance de la souveraineté nationale. Lorsque des intérêts économiques vitaux sont en jeu, les dirigeants des grands combinats industriels et commerciaux devraient être les premiers à comprendre qu'il n'est pas de bonne politique — et que c'est même faire preuve d'un bien mauvais sens des affaires — de risquer ces intérêts en les opposant à une évolution irrésistible. Celui dont la maison présente un danger d'incendie devrait être le dernier à s'opposer à la création d'un corps de pompiers.

185. En insistant sur cette idée de priorité, ma délégation n'a pas l'intention d'exclure d'autres territoires qui luttent actuellement pour leur liberté,

comme la Guyane britannique qui, même selon les critères colonialistes, est certainement prête aujourd'hui à recevoir son indépendance sans qu'on la lui marchandé davantage.

186. Un mot encore au sujet des dates limites. Dans son principe même, une telle expression contredit en quelque sorte la Déclaration sur le colonialisme. Mais nous sommes certains que M. Telli, représentant de la Guinée, lorsqu'il a proposé [1169ème séance] de fixer au 24 octobre 1963 la date limite pour l'accession des colonies à l'indépendance, ne songeait nullement à prévoir un délai qui retarderait l'indépendance immédiate qui est réclamée, car chaque jour de prolongation du colonialisme est un jour de trop, dans un monde où des hommes s'élancent vers les étoiles sur les ailes de la liberté, tandis que d'autres restent enchaînés dans les ténèbres de l'esclavage. Nous demandons aux puissances métropolitaines de faire l'effort de volonté et de clairvoyance nécessaire pour se mettre au rythme du mouvement de libération en Afrique. Parallèlement, ma délégation estime que le Comité spécial devrait s'efforcer, dans ses recommandations, d'établir la date qui, à son avis et à la lumière des faits, serait à retenir pour l'accession à l'indépendance de chaque territoire particulier.

187. Nous exprimons notre confiance pleine et entière au Comité spécial qui va maintenant devoir affronter une année difficile au cours de laquelle, nous en sommes sûrs, de nombreux autres peuples actuellement coloniaux se joindront aux nations libres et entreront à l'Organisation mondiale.

La séance est levée à 18 h 15.

Nations Unies ASSEMBLÉE GÉNÉRALE

DIX-SEPTIÈME SESSION

Documents officiels



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SÉANCE PLÉNIÈRE

Lundi 26 novembre 1962,
à 10 h 30

NEW YORK

SOMMAIRE

Point 25 de l'ordre du jour:

La situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux: rapport du Comité spécial constitué aux termes de la résolution 1654 (XVI) de l'Assemblée générale (suite) 887

Président: M. Muhammad ZAFRULLA KHAN (Pakistan).

POINT 25 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

La situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux: rapport du Comité spécial constitué aux termes de la résolution 1654 (XVI) de l'Assemblée générale (suite)

1. M. SOULEYMANE (Mauritanie): Cette année encore, notre assemblée a le redoutable honneur de mettre en accusation le colonialisme rétrograde et doit persévérer dans ses efforts pour contribuer à faire disparaître ce mal dont souffre encore la conscience des hommes.

2. Il y a plus de deux ans, et plus précisément le 23 septembre 1960, le Président du Conseil des Ministres de l'Union soviétique, M. Khrouchtchev, intervenant au début de la quinzième session de l'Assemblée générale [869^e séance], demandait formellement l'inscription à l'ordre du jour d'une question intitulée "Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux". Après le long débat historique qui devait s'ensuivre la résolution 1514 (XV) fut adoptée le 14 décembre 1960 à la quasi-unanimité, illustrant une fois de plus le principe d'autodétermination des peuples et réaffirmant la volonté de notre organisation de participer à la mise en œuvre de ce principe. Quelle qu'ait été son intention ou les buts visés, il faut reconnaître que l'initiative du Président de l'Union soviétique a suscité beaucoup d'admiration et de sympathie dans le monde entier, y compris chez les peuples mêmes des pays colonisateurs.

3. Ainsi donc, notre organisation, dont le rôle important en matière de décolonisation n'est plus à souligner, aborde ce point de son ordre du jour avec le souci d'apporter de nouvelles idées et de susciter plus de progrès encore dans la liquidation des dernières séquelles du colonialisme.

4. Nous ne nous faisons aucune illusion, car nous savons que le chemin est encore long et que les sacrifices en hommes et en énergie sont plus que jamais nécessaires. Cependant, persuadés que le droit et la justice sont du côté des peuples luttant pour leur

dignité et leur existence, nous ne pouvons nous permettre de douter un seul instant du triomphe final des forces de progrès et de libération.

5. Il est certain que nous avons affaire à un ennemi redoutable, à une force qui a fait ses preuves tout au long de l'histoire de l'humanité. Assurément, le colonialisme a existé de tout temps et en tout lieu. Les qualificatifs pour le caractériser différaient, mais l'institution elle-même est née avec les hommes et s'est perpétuée à travers les âges sous des formes diverses mais toujours avec la même nocivité.

6. A l'origine des mouvements de colonisation nous trouvons toujours les mêmes mobiles et les mêmes préoccupations. Tout au long de la vie des peuples et des Etats, nous découvrons que les hommes ont constamment cherché, par la voie de la violence, la satisfaction de leur volonté de domination et de leurs tendances à exploiter les richesses d'autrui. Cette volonté se traduit toujours par un expansionnisme non fondé, mais que l'on cherche à légitimer a posteriori en faisant appel à une certaine morale ou à un droit reposant sur la force. Que ce soit dans l'antiquité, au Moyen Age ou de nos jours, les résultats de pareilles situations sont bien connus.

7. Jadis, au temps du féodalisme classique, après avoir anéanti l'adversaire et occupé son fief, le seigneur n'avait plus qu'à réduire le reste du clan ou de la tribu en esclavage et s'approprier tous les biens. Le même processus caractérise, avec beaucoup plus de raffinement, la situation coloniale moderne. N'oublions pas, cependant, qu'elle s'est instituée sous les mêmes traits caractéristiques; rares furent les colonies ou les protectorats instaurés en dehors de la violence et des massacres. Les expéditions et les guerres coloniales, les "pacifications" sont encore dans nos mémoires. A son début, le régime colonial faisait commerce des hommes; à l'instar des féodaux du Moyen Age, qui réduisaient les vaincus à l'esclavage, les colonisateurs exportaient les habitants des territoires conquis, à la grande joie des négriers, vers d'autres horizons. Il ne pouvait d'ailleurs en être autrement, car toutes ces doctrines de domination coloniale tenaient de l'exploitation et du racisme.

8. Ce faisant, l'institution coloniale a suivi une évolution lente et progressive. Elle a gagné, le temps aidant, en raffinement et en séduction. Les causes sont demeurées, mais les formes ont subi des mutations. En d'autres termes, le colonialisme s'adapte, s'assouplit et se métamorphose continuellement.

9. Un des aspects les plus constants du colonialisme est sa dépendance du contexte international. Comme nous le savons, la colonisation classique reposait sur la loi du plus fort, c'était le règne des armes et de la terreur, de l'inégalité entre les hommes et de la primauté d'un droit modelé à l'usage des détenteurs

de la puissance militaire et économique, en l'occurrence des grandes familles et des empires européens. Cette domination et cette exploitation durant plusieurs siècles devaient provoquer les premières failles du système. La concurrence entre les empires coloniaux s'installait et devait engendrer la première guerre mondiale dont la fin désastreuse faisait apparaître aux yeux des détenteurs de la force les futures transformations mondiales.

10. Une certaine évolution était amorcée, mais les mêmes facteurs de domination et d'exploitation persistaient. Des empires coloniaux désintégrés laissaient la place à un nouvel ordre colonial, bénéfice des vainqueurs de cette première épreuve militaire à l'échelle du monde, dont les véritables raisons résidaient dans la course aux conquêtes coloniales. Ainsi le terrain était favorable à la naissance et au développement des théories impérialistes dont les plus tristement célèbres avaient pour nom nazisme et fascisme. Il est étrange de noter que les causes demeurent les mêmes: domination, expansionnisme, racisme et exploitation.

11. Toutes ces forces conjuguées ont constitué l'une des causes de la seconde guerre mondiale. Nous déplorons toujours les dévastations de cette dernière, mais nous reconnaissons aussi qu'elle a permis de dégager un nouvel équilibre des forces. Le monde n'appartient plus, malgré les apparences et les situations provisoires, aux maîtres d'hier.

12. Deux puissances mondiales géantes se sont dressées l'une contre l'autre, et ont consacré, après Yalta, la division du monde en deux zones précises d'influence. Mais qu'à cela ne tienne, l'antagonisme entre l'Est et l'Ouest devait créer un climat favorable à l'épanouissement des nationalismes et des indépendances et faciliter le mouvement de décolonisation. Le système colonial était forcé d'évoluer, parfois même dans le sens du progrès.

13. Ainsi, après ce long cheminement, il s'agit actuellement, dans ce domaine, de munir progressivement notre organisation d'armes efficaces pour la liquidation du colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations. Nous sommes convaincus, et un passé récent le confirme, que beaucoup de problèmes coloniaux peuvent trouver leur solution ici. Il suffit seulement que les Etats intéressés y mettent de la bonne volonté et ne tardent plus à respecter leurs obligations découlant d'une charte à laquelle ils ont librement adhéré.

14. Ce rôle primordial de l'Organisation des Nations Unies tire sa vigueur des principes qui sont sa raison d'être. Peut-on reprocher aux hommes du XX^{ème} siècle d'avoir cru et de continuer à croire en notre charte? Que dit-elle? "Foi dans les droits fondamentaux de l'homme, dans la dignité et la valeur de la personne humaine, dans l'égalité de droits des hommes et des femmes, ainsi que des nations, grandes et petites..." Voilà une des sources d'énergie pour ceux qui luttent afin que ces paroles ne restent pas lettre morte.

15. Ceux qui continuent à croire aux vertus du régime colonial sont aussi parmi ceux qui, à San Francisco, ont signé, le 25 juin 1945, la Charte des Nations Unies, et, par conséquent, ont donné force exécutoire à l'Article premier de cette même charte qui invite au développement entre les nations de "relations amicales fondées sur le respect du principe de l'égalité de droits des peuples et de leur droit à disposer d'eux-mêmes..."

16. Mais où en sommes-nous en cette proche fin d'année? Nous constatons qu'il y a toujours ceux qui ont accepté le principe de décolonisation et ont presque achevé son application, et ceux qui refusent obstinément de décoloniser. Ceux-là nous rappellent décidément que l'indépendance est presque toujours acquise au prix du sang. Certains Etats africains ont constitué une exception en accédant à l'indépendance dans l'amitié et la coopération avec l'ancienne métropole. Cela tenait presque de l'accident historique dû à la poignante personnalité d'un homme et à son sens de l'histoire. Evidemment, ce n'est pas à force de souhaits que Salazar s'inspirera de De Gaulle!

17. La guerre d'Algérie vient juste de prendre fin et nous pensions qu'elle serait l'occasion de mûres réflexions pour les puissances coloniales qui ne saisissent pas encore le sens du monde de demain. Pourtant, cette guerre d'Algérie a permis de dégager certaines vérités immuables. Elle a prouvé qu'un peuple dépourvu de moyens pouvait dresser sa volonté face à un adversaire dont la puissance était redoutable à plus d'un titre et que, finalement, cette volonté l'emporte sur les armes et impose la liberté. Salazar et d'autres pourraient utilement se pénétrer de ces vérités et tirer profit de ces expériences.

18. Nous savons que la lutte pour l'indépendance est longue et pleine d'embûches. Personne n'accepte de décoloniser de plein gré, mais toujours sous des contraintes de natures diverses. Il est évident que les causes invoquées par les colonisateurs ne doivent pas nous décourager dans notre croisade de la liberté.

19. Chaque fois qu'un problème de décolonisation se pose, la puissance mise en cause déclare qu'il s'agit d'une affaire purement nationale et invoque le principe de la non-ingérence dans les affaires intérieures d'un Etat. Mais, lorsque la volonté d'indépendance se fait plus précise et plus violente, on proclame alors que le peuple en question n'est pas préparé à l'indépendance ou bien qu'il s'agit non pas de refuser l'indépendance mais de la conférer plutôt à un gouvernement stable et libre.

20. Toutes ces manœuvres dilatoires sont bien connues et elles continuent à être employées en Afrique et ailleurs par ceux qui ne veulent pas encore se rendre à l'évidence et qui croient à la politique du "dernier quart d'heure".

21. Nous ne pouvons que nous féliciter de voir que, depuis la fin de la seconde guerre mondiale, le nombre des Etats indépendants a plus que doublé. Cela ne doit pas nous empêcher cependant d'être impressionnés par le grand nombre des peuples subjugués qui luttent sans relâche pour leur dignité et leur libération. Notre attention est attirée davantage par les pays où des conflits armés permanents opposent colonisateurs et colonisés, tel le cas de l'Angola par exemple. Mais il y a tous les autres territoires où le déséquilibre des forces en présence est si colossal que chaque révolte est réprimée dans le sang, étouffée et entourée de secret.

22. C'est dans la mesure où les puissances coloniales renoncent à un passé révolu qu'il sera possible de liquider, sans effusion de sang, les dernières séquelles d'un colonialisme agonisant que tout condamne.

23. Dans sa vocation de contribuer et de participer au règlement pacifique des conflits coloniaux, l'Organisation mérite, à plus d'un titre, notre admiration. On n'insistera jamais assez sur le caractère fonda-

mental et historique du texte de la résolution 1514 (XV) qui est une déclaration dont peuvent s'inspirer les dernières puissances coloniales. Dans le mémoire explicatif accompagnant la lettre par laquelle le président Khrouchtchev saisissait formellement l'Assemblée générale, le 23 septembre 1960, d'une question intitulée "Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux", le chef d'Etat soviétique demandait l'indépendance immédiate de tous les pays et peuples coloniaux^{1/}. Une fois de plus, notre reconnaissance va à l'Union soviétique pour avoir songé à faire cette proposition si essentielle à l'élan des peuples colonisés vers la libération.

24. Un an après l'adoption de cette résolution capitale, c'est encore l'Union soviétique qui a appelé l'attention de l'Assemblée générale sur le problème de l'application de cette déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux^{2/}.

25. C'est ainsi que la résolution 1654 (XVI) devait être aussitôt adoptée, résolution dont l'un des apports les plus précieux fut la création d'un Comité spécial de 17 membres chargés d'étudier l'application de la Déclaration et de formuler des suggestions et des recommandations. C'est avec une réelle satisfaction que nous avons accueilli cette décision, conscients du rôle important et des lourdes responsabilités qui lui incombent. Il suffit pour s'en convaincre d'examiner le volumineux et précieux rapport du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux [A/5238]. Nous tenons à féliciter chaleureusement le Comité spécial et ses différents groupes de travail qui, sous la présidence éclairée du représentant de l'Inde, M. Chandra Shekhar Jha, nous ont permis d'apprendre beaucoup et d'envisager sous un jour nouveau le grave problème de la décolonisation.

26. Nous avons grandement apprécié la contribution du représentant du Mali au sein de ce comité spécial. C'est avec beaucoup de réalisme qu'il a développé ses vues en ce qui concerne la priorité à observer dans l'examen des divers cas concrets de décolonisation, priorité aux territoires dépendants d'Afrique et priorité aux cas urgents tels que l'Angola.

27. Cela dit, si notre organisation peut contribuer à la solution pacifique des conflits coloniaux, il lui est par contre difficile de participer avec la même efficacité à la lutte contre le néo-colonialisme. Il faut bien constater, en effet, que les forces du colonialisme ne désarment jamais complètement. On essaie de récupérer de la main gauche ce que l'on a donné, à contrecœur, de la main droite. Les moyens de se maintenir en place, d'exercer des pressions de toute nature ne sont pas à démontrer. Cela relève d'une technique habile et subtile. Il s'agit, pour le pays qui vient d'accéder à la souveraineté, de faire preuve de perspicacité et de savoir distinguer ce qui procède d'une domination déguisée de ce qui rentre dans le cadre de la véritable coopération entre Etats égaux et souverains.

28. Certains essaient, par des manœuvres de diversion, de localiser et de dénoncer le néo-colonialisme là où il ne se trouve pas en réalité.

29. Dans le cas particulier de notre continent, l'Afrique, nous croyons que rares sont les pays qui, à la suite d'une longue expérience, ne sont pas à même de découvrir toute tentative de porter atteinte à leur souveraineté. Il est vrai que le néo-colonialisme peut s'introduire par la voie de conventions particulières avec l'ancienne métropole, conventions qui perpétuent certains intérêts et qui protègent des situations acquises durant la période de domination coloniale. Il peut exister aussi grâce à la mise à la disposition de l'Etat nouvellement indépendant d'une assistance dite technique, mais qui n'est ni appropriée, ni assortie des garanties requises et qui peut aboutir à une forme d'administration indirecte.

30. Pour s'opposer à cela, il appartient à chaque Etat de faire la preuve de son aptitude à gérer ses propres affaires en fonction de l'intérêt de ses populations. Cette preuve, beaucoup d'Etats africains la donnent quotidiennement sans faire de démagogie.

31. Parfois, l'on a tenté de dénaturer le sens des liens qui existent entre certains Etats et leur ancienne métropole, à des fins de publicité internationale. La vérité, c'est que ces Etats-là désirent bannir toute rancune et toute haine à l'égard des anciens colonisateurs, les aidant ainsi à remplacer le mythe du "diviser pour régner" par la devise "unir pour coopérer".

32. Si donc le colonialisme classique européen, c'est-à-dire la division du monde en colonies d'exploitation ou de peuplement, est agonisant, il n'est ni réaliste ni de bonne politique de lui substituer, à une échelle plus grande encore, la division du monde en zones d'influence de l'Est ou de l'Ouest.

33. Dans le cadre de la décolonisation, certaines voix se sont fait entendre pour dénoncer un néo-impérialisme économique susceptible de mettre en danger les Etats africains associés au Marché commun. Nous entendons poursuivre notre édification nationale en respectant des étapes qui s'imposent et en recherchant l'aide, d'où qu'elle vienne. Alors, à quoi bon vouloir nous persuader que nous sommes atteints d'un mal que nous ne ressentons pas dans l'état actuel de notre développement? Nous avons des urgences à satisfaire et, si l'aide du Marché commun contribue à trouver des solutions immédiates à certains de nos problèmes, pourquoi la rejeter et par quoi la remplacer? Cela ne signifie pas que nous ne nous réservons pas le droit de procéder à de nouveaux examens de nos engagements, si notre évolution l'impose.

34. Enfin, après avoir tant parlé du colonialisme et de la décolonisation, nous aurions mauvaise conscience si nous n'attirions pas l'attention de cette assemblée sur une forme de domination plus grave pour la paix du monde que toutes celles exposées plus haut. Depuis quelques années, en effet, nous assistons à l'avènement d'un néo-colonialisme pratiqué par ceux-là mêmes qui, hier, luttaient pour leur dignité, leur liberté et l'indépendance de leur pays. Par une sorte de mimétisme, toute une doctrine annexionniste est en train de s'élaborer dans les cerveaux de certains hommes d'Etat et de certains responsables d'Afrique et d'ailleurs. Cet impérialisme annexionniste repose invariablement sur les causes que nous avons passées en revue plus haut. Il est l'illustration même de cette volonté de domination dont nous parlions et de la convoitise à l'égard des richesses des pays voisins, souvent sous-estimés. A notre sens, il est plus

^{1/} Documents officiels de l'Assemblée générale, quinzième session, Annexes, point 87 de l'ordre du jour, document A/4501.

^{2/} Ibid., seizième session, Annexes, points 88 et 22, a, de l'ordre du jour, document A/4859.

déshonorant encore que le colonialisme et l'impérialisme classiques, car il est assorti du désir, de la part de ceux qui le pratiquent, de dissimuler à leur opinion publique leurs difficultés internes et l'état de déconfiture de leur appareil gouvernemental. En plus des raisons classiques, on invoque soit la race, soit la religion, soit la continuité territoriale, soit l'idée d'unité avec tout ce qu'elle recèle de pouvoir magique sur l'opinion publique interne. On a même vu l'exemple d'Etats qui revendiquaient comme leur propriété un territoire auquel nulle frontière ne les liait et dont le peuple se distinguait du leur par son particularisme et son système.

35. La nouveauté de cette forme de domination provient aussi du fait qu'elle participe de la démagogie et du désir de discrediter les autres. Que de fois n'a-t-on pas entendu parler de "valet du colonialisme", d'"agent de l'impérialisme", d'"Etat fantôme" et nous en passons. En réalité, ceux qui se prévalent de cette nouvelle façon de coloniser le voisin sont les véritables instruments, souvent inconscients, du néo-colonialisme.

36. Un rapide coup d'œil les dévoile et l'on constate avec étonnement que des milliers de fonctionnaires étrangers dirigent, en dernier ressort, leur administration et contrôlent leurs services publics, que des milliers d'enseignants forment leur jeunesse dans la langue et le système de leur ancienne métropole, que des centaines de milliers de colons possèdent la majorité de leurs bonnes terres cultivables et de leurs fermes, que l'économie de leur pays est entre les mains de monopoles étrangers et qu'ils vivent et dépendent de l'aide financière, économique et militaire de plusieurs grandes puissances.

37. Il était de notre devoir de dénoncer avec véhémence, à cette tribune, cette nouvelle menace à la souveraineté et à la coexistence pacifique des Etats, menace qui est en contradiction avec le mouvement général des peuples vers le progrès et la liberté, menace aussi à l'égard de la Charte et de l'existence de l'Organisation des Nations Unies.

38. En terminant, toutes nos pensées vont vers les hommes qui luttent encore en ce moment même, sur les champs de bataille anonymes, contre les forces obscures du colonialisme, pour recouvrer leur dignité et leur liberté. Ce long débat sur la décolonisation est un hommage universel qui leur est rendu.

39. Nous espérons que l'année 1963 sera celle de l'indépendance, celle qui élargira davantage encore notre cercle de fraternité.

40. M. TARAZI (Syrie): Notre assemblée traite en ce moment de l'un des problèmes les plus importants qu'elle ait eu à examiner depuis que la Charte est entrée en vigueur: celui de l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux.

41. La paix mondiale ne saurait être préservée et maintenue tant que nous n'aurons pas mis définitivement fin au système colonial devenu incompatible avec les données actuelles de notre époque et les impératifs des Nations Unies.

42. Nous sommes redevables à l'Union soviétique de la suggestion faite par l'entremise de son premier ministre, M. Khrouchtchev, de déclarer immédiatement l'indépendance de tous les pays et de tous les peuples coloniaux.

43. C'est ainsi que, le 14 décembre 1960, l'Assemblée générale adopta la fameuse résolution 1514 (XV) dont le texte avait été proposé par 43 pays asiatiques et africains. La date du 14 décembre 1960 marquera les annales de l'histoire contemporaine de son empreinte indélébile. Ce jour-là, le droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes et de leurs destinées, droit sur lequel était fondée la Charte, a été pris en main par l'Assemblée générale elle-même afin de lui donner une vigueur nouvelle et de faire en sorte que les vestiges de l'impérialisme, naguère tant vantés par ceux qui se prétendaient investis d'une mission sacrée de civilisation, disparaissent définitivement.

44. Il arriva cependant que les puissances coloniales auxquelles s'adressait directement l'appel de l'Assemblée ne prêtèrent pas attention à la volonté unanime des Membres de l'Organisation qui s'exprimaient au nom de la conscience publique mondiale. Elles persistèrent dans leur politique antérieure qui consistait à n'accorder l'indépendance qu'en fonction de leurs intérêts, lesquels, souvent, n'étaient compris qu'*a posteriori*.

45. Usant de subterfuges juridiques surannés, les autorités administrantes n'ont cessé de proclamer leur attachement à des positions acquises souvent par la ruse et par la violence et au mépris des règles de la morale. L'histoire du colonialisme est liée à une multitude de conditions sociales, économiques et politiques qui sont aujourd'hui complètement dépassées. Les deux guerres mondiales ont eu pour résultat de faire éclater les contradictions qui se cachaient derrière le phénomène colonial.

46. La victoire de la révolution d'Octobre 1917 en Russie a ouvert la voie à un phénomène nouveau, celui de la distinction entre pays capitalistes et pays socialistes. Cette distinction, reposant sur des critères qualitatifs, a rendu impossible tout compromis entre les grandes puissances en vue d'un partage mutuel des territoires subjugués. Au lendemain de la seconde guerre mondiale, de nombreux pays asiatiques sont parvenus à acquérir leur indépendance. Peu après, ils ont été suivis des pays africains qui sont venus grossir les rangs de ceux qui luttent pour la libération des peuples et pour une paix véritable sans laquelle l'humanité ne saurait atteindre ses objectifs de prospérité et de bonheur.

47. Tout récemment, nous avons acclamé la présence parmi nous de la Jamaïque, de la Trinité et Tobago, du Rwanda, du Burundi et de l'Ouganda. Nous avons eu également le privilège de voir l'Algérie siéger parmi nous, à la suite des souffrances innombrables endurées par un peuple qui a mené une lutte héroïque et implacable pour la restauration de ses droits et de ceux de tous les peuples opprimés.

48. La lutte de l'Algérie a été le point culminant des guerres de libération nationale.

49. En dépit des facteurs que je viens d'énumérer, les puissances coloniales n'ont pas voulu donner effet à la fameuse Déclaration adoptée le 14 décembre 1960 par l'Assemblée générale; aussi celle-ci fut-elle dans l'obligation de réitérer, par sa résolution 1654 (XVI) du 27 novembre 1961, les principes qu'elle avait déjà entérinés et de créer un Comité spécial de 17 membres chargé "d'étudier l'application de la Déclaration, de formuler des suggestions et des recommandations quant aux progrès réalisés et à la mesure dans laquelle la Déclaration est mise en œuvre, et de faire rapport à l'Assemblée générale lors de sa dix-septième session".

50. Le Comité spécial des Dix-Sept, auquel la République arabe syrienne s'honore d'appartenir, a entrepris une tâche difficile et délicate au cours d'un laps de temps relativement restreint. Il a pu mettre à notre disposition un rapport volumineux et instructif dont la valeur, en tant qu'instrument de travail, ne saurait être contestée [A/5238].

51. Je ne voudrais pas faire l'éloge du rapport car il se trouve que le Rapporteur du Comité spécial est membre de ma délégation. Qu'il me soit permis de remercier tous ceux qui ont bien voulu faire l'éloge du Rapporteur et de les assurer de la gratitude de mon pays qui se sent vraiment touché des marques d'estime qui lui ont été ainsi témoignées. Ma délégation a hautement apprécié la méthode de travail que le Comité spécial a adoptée; elle lui a été reconnaissante de s'être rendu en Afrique, sur l'invitation de S. M. le roi Hassan II du Maroc, de l'empereur Haile Selassie d'Ethiopie, ainsi que du Gouvernement du Tanganyika.

52. Nous pensons que le fait d'examiner de près les problèmes qui se posent dans les territoires africains dont l'indépendance n'a pas encore été proclamée constitue la meilleure façon d'agir, contrairement à l'idée émise par certains à ce sujet. En effet, l'audition sur place des pétitionnaires et les consultations avec les gouvernements des pays africains jouissant de leur indépendance et connaissant bien les maux dont souffrent les peuples encore dominés sont un garant sûr de l'efficacité des résultats que ne manqueront pas de produire les efforts continus et vigilants du Comité spécial.

53. Nous sommes d'avis que, à la lumière du débat qui se poursuit actuellement, le Comité spécial devrait continuer la noble tâche qui lui a été assignée par l'Assemblée générale, au cours de sa seizième session. Nous déplorons l'attitude passive des puissances coloniales qui n'ont pas entendu donner la suite qui convient à l'appel qui leur a été adressé visant à mettre fin à leur administration.

54. En effet, aucun argument de nature à maintenir celle-ci ne saurait être retenu. Les puissances coloniales ont beau se retrancher derrière l'immaturité et la faiblesse de leurs administrés, la volonté unanime des Nations Unies veut qu'elles se retirent en abandonnant les territoires qu'elles gèrent à leurs propriétaires légitimes. Personne ne leur tiendrait rigueur si elles obtempéraient à cette demande claire et précise.

55. La Déclaration du 14 décembre 1960, en son paragraphe 3, prévoit ce qui suit:

"Le manque de préparation dans les domaines politique, économique ou social ou dans celui de l'enseignement ne doit jamais être pris comme prétexte pour retarder l'indépendance."

Aussi, nous ne voyons pas pourquoi on ne fixerait pas une date limite à l'expiration de laquelle le système colonial devrait complètement disparaître pour être remplacé par le système normal et juste de l'indépendance. Au lieu de cela, que constatons-nous actuellement dans le seul continent africain auquel le Comité spécial a consacré, à juste titre, le plus clair de son temps?

56. De la lecture du rapport du Conseil spécial [A/5238], plusieurs idées se dégagent que nous voudrions brièvement exposer. Il apparaît, d'une part, que certains territoires devraient, d'ores et

déjà, être déclarés indépendants. Ils ne le sont pas encore par suite d'une carence dont la puissance administrante assume l'entière responsabilité. Il en est ainsi de Zanzibar et du Kenya.

57. La position du Bassoutoland, du Botswana et du Swaziland a été assortie par le Royaume-Uni d'un système d'administration compliqué et ambigu qui la rend fragile et caduque. Des territoires contigus à la République sud-africaine sont administrés par un Haut Commissaire britannique qui a son siège en territoire sud-africain. Si la situation dont souffrent les peuples de ces territoires n'était pas aussi grave, on croirait assister à un spectacle de vaudeville qui pourrait fort bien se transformer en drame.

58. En effet, le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni se prononce publiquement contre la politique de discrimination raciale pratiquée par la République sud-africaine. Cela ne l'empêche cependant pas de maintenir auprès de celle-ci un Haut Commissaire chargé d'administrer des territoires adjacents et qui ne manquera pas d'imiter les méthodes de ceux avec qui il cohabite, même si ces méthodes sont dénoncées par le gouvernement qui l'a nommé.

59. En ce qui concerne la Fédération de la Rhodésie et du Nyassaland, nous pensons que la situation requiert notre examen. Le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni, passé maître dans l'art colonial, prétend s'en laver les mains. Pour lui, les trois pays en question sont devenus autonomes et il n'assumerait que leur défense et leur représentation à l'étranger. Pour le reste, il n'a pas à s'occuper de leur libération, car les blancs se sont libérés de sa contrainte et ont constitué leur propre structure politique. Celle-ci n'est qu'artificielle. Des populations blanches, minoritaires entendent gouverner les majorités africaines, parce que des artifices juridiques, qui ne trompent personne, ont été mis en place afin de continuer, sous le couvert de l'autonomie formelle, une exploitation coloniale et d'échapper ainsi à la conclusion finale. Que faut-il admirer le plus, l'astuce britannique qui veut assurer la survie d'un système colonial condamné ou l'entêtement des colons européens qui, sous l'égide d'un sir Roy Welensky, d'un sir Edgar Whitehead, veulent maintenir une suprématie au mépris des lois de l'histoire?

60. Il n'en est pas moins vrai que c'est là un triste exemple de la fameuse théorie des races qui fut préconisée par l'Allemand Nietzsche, le Français Gobineau et l'Anglais Houston Stewart Chamberlain et qui n'a servi qu'à couvrir l'enrichissement illégitime et injustifié d'une poignée d'Européens au détriment des masses noires d'Afrique.

61. Dans son ouvrage intitulé *The Politics of African Nationalism*, qui vient de paraître à New York, M. George W. Shepherd, professeur à l'Université de Denver (Colorado), nous dit ceci à propos de la Fédération centrafricaine:

[L'orateur poursuit en anglais.]

"Il est manifeste que la Fédération d'Afrique centrale n'est pas viable. Les partis nationalistes africains de la Rhodésie du Nord et du Nyassaland ont lutté avec acharnement contre cette fédération et s'en retireront dès qu'ils arriveront au pouvoir."

[L'orateur poursuit en français.]

3/ George W. Shepherd, Jr., *The Politics of African Nationalism*, New York, Frederick A. Praeger, édit., 1962, p. 206.

62. M. Shepherd ajoute plus loin:

[L'orateur poursuit en anglais.]

"Les blancs n'ont pas d'autre choix que d'accepter l'inévitable".

[L'orateur reprend en français.]

63. Il est à souhaiter que les colons blancs et le Royaume-Uni soient en mesure de méditer ces réflexions érites par quelqu'un qui n'est pas communiste, mais qui entend au contraire maintenir l'Afrique dans l'orbite de l'Occident.

64. Il va de soi que les mêmes réflexions s'appliquent au Sud-Ouest africain. Le Comité spécial devrait être en mesure de faire comprendre à la République sud-africaine que son attitude, eu égard à ce territoire, est faite de mépris pour la Charte et pour les obligations qu'elle a instituées. La population du Sud-Ouest africain n'a que trop souffert de ce mépris.

65. L'attitude du Portugal n'est pas non plus à louer. Le Portugal entend utiliser des artifices constitutionnels pour se dérober aux obligations qui découlent du fait même qu'il administre des territoires africains. On a beau décréter que le Mozambique et l'Angola sont des provinces portugaises, la réalité est tout autre. La population africaine n'y est pas traitée sur un pied d'égalité avec la population européenne. Elle continue de souffrir de l'exploitation, de la faim et de l'ignorance.

66. Ainsi donc, la politique d'assimilation ne saurait tromper que ceux qui veulent l'être. La France a essayé vainement de l'appliquer après la seconde guerre mondiale sous le couvert de l'Union française prévue par la Constitution de 1946 et de la Communauté française en vertu de la Constitution de 1958. Le Portugal, dont les ressources juridiques et politiques sont loin d'égaliser celles de la France, ne pourrait prétendre continuer dans une voie qui n'est pas réaliste.

67. La lutte du peuple angolais pour sa libération fait l'objet d'une admiration unanime. Il est regrettable que des puissances aussi responsables que le Royaume-Uni, les Etats-Unis et l'Australie n'aient pas jugé bon d'approuver la résolution que le Comité spécial nous propose au sujet de l'Angola [A/5238, chap. XI, par. 44], résolution qui se trouve être en parfaite concordance avec les injonctions du Conseil de sécurité en la matière.

68. Faut-il, pour convaincre les représentants des pays en question, rappeler ces paroles d'un expert anglais dans les questions africaines, M. John Hatch, qui travaille actuellement comme expert en Sierra Leone? M. John Hatch, dans son ouvrage intitulé Africa Today and Tomorrow paru récemment, dit ce qui suit:

[L'orateur poursuit en anglais.]

"... Les deux territoires (l'Angola et le Mozambique) sont parmi les plus arriérés du continent. On fait très peu de chose pour fournir aux habitants un niveau d'instruction raisonnable et cela diminue naturellement pour les Africains les chances de prétendre au statut d'"assimilados"... Le travail forcé est d'un usage courant; il est organisé sur la base de pourcentages par des agents recruteurs asiatiques. Non seulement les planteurs font usage

du système du travail forcé, mais l'administration y a recours pour les travaux routiers".

[L'orateur reprend en français.]

69. Pour en arriver à Aden, ma délégation pense que le maintien de la présence britannique dans le sud de la péninsule Arabique constitue une grave atteinte aux droits légitimes de la nation arabe. Aden constitue une base militaire et nucléaire qui menace l'intégrité de tous les pays arabes avoisinants. Elle devrait être démantelée, car nous sommes contre le maintien des bases parce qu'elles menacent la paix et la sécurité, surtout lorsqu'elles se trouvent en territoire étranger.

70. D'autre part, la création d'une fédération artificielle entre des chefs de petits clans dans le seul but de perpétuer un régime de domination ne saurait qu'entraver la marche du progrès par le maintien de structures féodales dépassées. Les peuples arabes ne sauraient accepter de voir certains de leurs territoires complètement aliénés dans le but de servir des intérêts pétroliers.

71. Permettez-moi de vous lire, dans cet ordre d'idées, ce qu'a écrit le Manchester Guardian dans son numéro du 15 novembre 1962:

[L'orateur poursuit en anglais.]

"Le Gouvernement a peu d'excuses pour pousser à l'exécution de ses plans, discutés mardi à la Chambre des communes, tendant à faire entrer la Colonie d'Aden dans la Fédération de l'Arabie du Sud. Il est vain de prétendre que c'est là ce que désire la population d'Aden. Quant à la population de la Fédération, elle n'a pas encore atteint le niveau de maturité politique qui lui permettrait d'avoir une opinion. Le nouveau régime sera imposé, non accepté, et nous devrions savoir maintenant que les fédérations de ce genre ne sont pas viables.

"Il est vrai qu'au mois d'août le Gouverneur du Conseil exécutif d'Aden a approuvé le plan de fusion, mais depuis lors un des cinq ministres, et peut-être même trois, se sont ravisés. Il est vrai aussi que le Conseil législatif d'Aden a approuvé le plan en septembre, mais seule une minorité des membres élus a voté pour le plan et ces membres avaient été élus voici près de quatre ans, par un corps électoral très limité et à la suite d'élections boycottées par l'opposition nationaliste.

"Les gouvernements intéressés (celui de la métropole et celui de la colonie) ne peuvent se faire d'illusions sur la popularité de ce plan et ils ont retardé prudemment d'un an les élections qui devaient avoir lieu au début de janvier. La fusion doit prendre effet en mars. Il y a certainement des difficultés pratiques qui interdisent une campagne électorale immédiate, mais c'est là un argument pour retarder la fusion encore davantage.

"Certains des chefs les plus actifs de l'opposition sont en prison et le Gouvernement d'Aden qui a devant lui des jours difficiles peut s'estimer heureux que la Cour suprême ait refusé tout récemment un appel demandant la mise en liberté sous caution du Secrétaire général du Congrès des syndicats d'Aden (TUC). Moins heureusement pour lui, au même moment, juste avant le débat à la Chambre des communes, on a appris que certains détenus avaient été battus, non pas fouettés, mais battus au bâton. Neuf

prisonniers avaient reçu 12 coups de bâton chacun pour avoir refusé leur nourriture. Or ces détenus n'avaient pas été condamnés, ils n'avaient même pas encore été jugés. Nous en entendrons encore parler.

"Peut-être le Gouvernement britannique est-il arrivé à la conclusion que la possession de la base d'Aden est indispensable et que la fusion doit être imposée par la contrainte, puisque le consentement ne sera sans doute pas obtenu. L'ennui est que la contrainte qu'on devra exercer est justement ce qui mettra le plus cette base en danger."

[L'orateur reprend en français.]

72. Les peuples arabes continuent d'ailleurs de souffrir du fait qu'on a créé en leur sein un Etat artificiel qui s'est appelé l'Etat d'Israël. Cette création n'a été faite qu'en vue de maintenir la domination coloniale et d'empêcher les Arabes de réaliser leurs aspirations réelles, en les mettant en état d'alerte et en les menaçant de disparition.

73. Le Comité spécial des Dix-Sept aurait dû aborder la question palestinienne dans son rapport. Comme il ne l'a pas fait, nous attirons son attention sur cette particularité flagrante et déplorable.

74. Nous voudrions également que le Comité spécial nous renseigne au sujet de certains territoires situés en dehors de l'Afrique et dont le statut n'est pas nettement défini. Les territoires en question ne sont pas administrés et gouvernés par leur population, mais par des métropoles européennes qui n'en font pas état dans leurs rapports.

75. Telles sont les observations que ma délégation a cru devoir formuler au sujet du rapport du Comité spécial des Dix-Sept. Je dirai, en guise de conclusion, que le Comité spécial devrait se remettre à la tâche le plus vite possible, afin que nous soyons en mesure de finir, en 1963, l'œuvre que nous avons amorcée en 1960. Aucun retard ne saurait être permis en la circonstance. L'heure avance, les peuples souffrent, la paix est menacée. N'épargnons aucun effort pour parvenir au but assigné.

76. Sir Patrick DEAN (Royaume-Uni) [traduit de l'anglais]: L'adoption par l'Assemblée générale de la résolution 1514 (XV) connue plutôt sous le nom de Déclaration sur le colonialisme a été généralement acclamée comme un événement important dans l'histoire des Nations Unies. Ensuite, la création par l'Assemblée générale, à sa seizième session, d'un Comité spécial chargé d'étudier l'application de la Déclaration et de formuler des recommandations quant aux progrès réalisés et à la mesure dans laquelle la Déclaration est mise en œuvre a été considérée comme importante parce qu'elle reflétait le désir de l'Assemblée de voir accéder rapidement à l'indépendance tous les territoires qui n'y avaient pas encore accédé.

77. Mais, contrairement à l'impression donnée dans ce débat par le représentant de l'Union soviétique et ses associés, l'adoption de la Déclaration sur le colonialisme et la création d'un Comité spécial de 17 membres n'étaient pas les premières mesures prises par les Nations Unies au sujet des territoires non autonomes. Avant même la fondation de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, les auteurs de la Charte, parmi lesquels la délégation de mon pays a joué un rôle de premier plan, avaient rédigé les dispositions importantes qui figurent aux Chapitres XI et XII et qui établissent des principes directeurs à l'intention des

Etats Membres qui administrent des territoires non autonomes, et portant création du régime de tutelle pour ceux des territoires qui étaient placés sous mandat international. Le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni s'est toujours acquitté loyalement de ses obligations en vertu des Chapitres XI et XII de la Charte. Les 16 années qui se sont écoulées entre la signature de la Charte et la création du Comité spécial des Dix-Sept ont vu accéder à l'indépendance non moins de 16 des anciens territoires britanniques, avec plus de 630 millions d'habitants au total; 12 de ces territoires sont membres du Commonwealth. A eux seuls, ces 12 nouveaux Etats du Commonwealth forment le neuvième de l'Assemblée générale.

78. La politique du Gouvernement britannique envers les territoires non autonomes qu'il administre est claire. Nous estimons que les peuples de ces territoires doivent accéder aussi vite que possible à l'autonomie et à l'indépendance. Nous avons toujours considéré et nous considérons ces territoires comme des pays ayant leur propre originalité, leurs traditions particulières et leur mode de vie, bien qu'ils soient placés pour le moment sous l'administration du Gouvernement britannique. En ce qui nous concerne, nous n'avons jamais été enclins à penser que ces territoires faisaient partie intégrante de la métropole et ce respect de leur caractère propre a toujours été à la base de toute l'attitude prise par les gouvernements et administrations britanniques devant les problèmes de ces territoires, politiques, économiques ou sociaux. Il était donc naturel que le Gouvernement britannique considère ces territoires comme des nations embryonnaires, puisqu'ils n'étaient en aucune manière incorporés au Royaume-Uni lui-même et qu'au fur et à mesure de leur développement ils assumeraient inévitablement de plus en plus la responsabilité directe de leurs propres affaires.

79. Contrairement à l'Union soviétique, nous ne nous opposons pas au nationalisme; nous créons des nations nouvelles. Notre but a été de faire en sorte que les nations nouvelles ne soient pas faibles et divisées, mais fortes et stables; nous estimons en effet qu'elles ont un rôle de plus en plus important à jouer dans les affaires mondiales et dans le progrès économique et social de l'humanité. Comme le représentant du Royaume-Uni, sir David Ormsby-Gore, l'a dit dans son discours sur la question à la quinzième session de l'Assemblée générale:

"Telles sont les convictions sincères et profondes du peuple britannique. Depuis de nombreuses années, elles ont guidé nos actes à l'égard des populations des territoires d'outre-mer. C'est sur ces convictions que continueront à s'appuyer les efforts que nous déploierons en commun, jusqu'à ce que nous ayons atteint les buts que nous nous sommes fixés dans notre politique et que les peuples de ces pays aient réalisé leurs aspirations nationales."
[925ème séance, par. 53.]

80. La preuve la plus convaincante de la sincérité de notre politique et de notre adhésion à ces objectifs, c'est la présence à l'Assemblée de tant d'Etats Membres indépendants qui ont été autrefois sous administration britannique. Tous les ans, nous accueillons de nouvelles nations dans le Commonwealth indépendant. A la dernière session de l'Assemblée, nous avons admis comme Membres le Sierra Leone et le Tanganyika, dont la population totale dépasse 11 millions d'habitants et qui ont accédé tous deux à l'indépendance en 1961. Cette année a vu l'indé-

pendance de trois autres anciens territoires britanniques, la Jamaïque, la Trinité et Tobago, et l'Ouganda, dont la population totale dépasse 9 millions d'habitants. Ainsi, en ces deux années qui se sont écoulées depuis le discours du représentant britannique dont je viens de citer quelques phrases, le nombre des habitants vivant dans des territoires sous administration britannique, déjà beaucoup amoindri dans les années immédiatement précédentes, a diminué de moitié. Cependant, les représentants de la Pologne et de la Tchécoslovaquie, dans leurs longs discours sur la "décolonisation", n'ont pas trouvé place pour mentionner ces réalisations positives.

81. Ces pays n'ont pas vu le jour par hasard ou de manière indépendante. Il y a eu dans leur évolution beaucoup plus que des proclamations d'indépendance, comme le représentant de l'Australie l'a fait remarquer dans son discours prononcé ici mercredi dernier [1173ème séance]. Le Gouvernement britannique a apporté beaucoup de soins et d'attention à la création dans chaque territoire d'un service de fonctionnaires compétents, à l'institution de tribunaux impartiaux et à la création de parlements représentatifs. L'avènement de ces pays à la condition de nations libres et indépendantes est l'issue logique et concrète de cette politique persévérante de préparation et de formation.

82. Dès le début de l'administration britannique, chaque organe législatif d'un territoire a été habilité à légiférer sur tous les points intéressant les affaires intérieures du territoire; le progrès vers l'autonomie et l'indépendance a consisté dans le retrait graduel du contrôle du Gouvernement britannique et l'élargissement régulier de l'exercice de ce contrôle par la population locale. A chaque étape de ce progrès, les mesures prises résultent de discussions entre le Gouvernement britannique et les représentants de la population des territoires; dans ces discussions, la contribution des représentants de la population augmente naturellement depuis les premières étapes, où le Gouvernement britannique joue le premier rôle, jusqu'à l'étape finale, où c'est aux habitants eux-mêmes de décider de la forme de leur constitution. Ainsi, le passage de la dépendance à l'indépendance ne se fait pas par le retrait soudain d'une administration toute-puissante qui laisserait un vide à sa place, mais par le retrait final d'une autorité qui reculait de plus en plus à l'arrière-plan depuis un certain temps.

83. Comme je l'ai dit, la preuve la plus nette de ce processus est fournie chaque fois qu'un territoire accède à l'indépendance et entre à l'Organisation des Nations Unies, soit comme Etat séparé, soit en tant que partie d'un ensemble plus vaste. Mais nous devons souligner qu'entre-temps les autres territoires non autonomes ne restent pas figés dans l'immobilité: ils progressent rapidement le long de la même route que tant d'anciens territoires coloniaux ont déjà suivie. Je citerai plus loin quelques exemples de ce processus continu qui se déroule dans les territoires encore placés sous notre administration.

84. Ainsi, la politique et la pratique appliquées par le Gouvernement britannique envers ses territoires dépendants sont en harmonie complète avec la lettre et l'esprit du Chapitre XI de la Charte; en fait, notre politique et notre pratique ont en grande partie inspiré ce chapitre. Nous étions sûrs, nous sommes sûrs, que notre politique est la bonne; nous avons continué en 1961 et en 1962, comme nous l'avions

fait les années précédentes, à conduire nos territoires à l'indépendance aussi rapidement que possible. Nous n'avons pas besoin de déclarations, de résolutions ou de comités pour confirmer la justesse de notre politique. L'adoption de la résolution 1514 (XV) et la création du Comité spécial des Dix-Sept par la résolution 1654 (XVI) n'ont pas provoqué de changements dans la méthode ni l'orientation de notre politique. Néanmoins, dans l'esprit de coopération dont nous avons fait preuve dans le passé envers le Conseil de tutelle et le Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes, nous avons accepté de coopérer avec le Comité des Dix-Sept, de lui fournir des renseignements et de participer à ses discussions. En même temps, nous avons bien précisé que nous ne pourrions accepter aucune forme d'intervention du Comité dans l'administration des territoires dont nous avons la charge et que nous nous acquitterions de notre responsabilité pleinement et sans crainte.

85. En acceptant l'invitation du Président de l'Assemblée à être membre du Comité des Dix-Sept, nous entendions que la tâche essentielle du Comité serait, comme l'établit nettement la résolution 1654 (XVI), "d'étudier l'application de la Déclaration, de formuler des suggestions et des recommandations quant aux progrès réalisés et à la mesure dans laquelle la Déclaration est mise en œuvre". En d'autres termes, le Comité aurait pour fonction de passer en revue ce qui a été accompli et d'indiquer d'une façon générale, pour guider l'Assemblée et ceux qui ont la charge de l'administration de territoires dépendants, les grandes lignes de l'action future. Conformément à cette conception de la tâche du Comité, la délégation britannique a mis à sa disposition tous renseignements sous la forme de documents constitutionnels, de comptes rendus et documents de conférences, etc., en plus des renseignements de base dans le domaine politique et constitutionnel qu'elle avait déjà fournis en vertu de l'engagement qu'elle avait pris à la seizième session de l'Assemblée. La délégation britannique a assisté à toutes les séances du Comité et lui a fourni des exposés sur les faits nouveaux intervenus récemment dans nos territoires. Nous avons envoyé notre représentant accompagner le Comité dans son voyage en Afrique, bien que nous eussions de sérieuses appréhensions au sujet de ce voyage. Nous avons invité les représentants du Comité à venir à Londres pour s'y entretenir avec nos ministres. Nous avons l'espoir que le Comité, mis en présence de tous les faits, parviendrait à trouver un terrain d'entente entre les diverses délégations et pourrait ainsi établir un rapport d'ensemble sur ce qui a été réalisé et ce qu'il reste à faire.

86. Cependant, le résultat des travaux du Comité n'est pas entièrement satisfaisant. En premier lieu, étant donné le grand nombre des territoires inscrits à son ordre du jour, ma délégation estimait que le Comité ne devrait pas examiner chaque territoire séparément en grand détail, mais devrait plutôt s'efforcer de faire une revue d'ensemble et parvenir à des conclusions générales sur quelques-uns des points les plus importants du problème qui se présentait. Le Comité a toutefois décidé d'examiner un par un le cas de tous les territoires inscrits sur sa liste et cette décision a eu pour résultat qu'après avoir tenu 117 séances il n'avait réussi à terminer l'examen que de 12 territoires, dont trois avaient déjà été examinés à fond par d'autres organes de l'Assemblée.

87. En deuxième lieu, il a été décidé vers le début des travaux du Comité que tous ses membres chercheraient à se mettre d'accord sur les diverses questions en cours d'examen sans recourir à des votes. Cette méthode de travail dite de l'assentiment unanime se fondait sur la saine hypothèse qu'il ne servirait à rien de bon d'imposer l'adoption de résolutions inacceptables pour ceux à qui elles s'adresseraient.

88. Cependant, le Comité a vite abandonné la méthode de l'assentiment unanime et il a adopté une série de résolutions dont plusieurs, je regrette de le dire, étaient fondées sur une compréhension insuffisante des faits et étaient déjà dépassées par les événements. De plus, certaines des décisions du Comité ont été prises selon une procédure parfaitement étrangère aux procédures parlementaires normales des Nations Unies. Par exemple, ce qu'on a appelé un "appel" relatif à Zanzibar a été adopté par le Comité à Dar es-Salam un peu plus d'une heure après que l'on eut soulevé cette question pour la première fois, avant même qu'un texte écrit eût été distribué. Je n'ai pas besoin de faire de plus amples observations sur un tel procédé.

89. En troisième lieu, ma délégation estime que, l'audition de pétitionnaires contre le gré des puissances administrantes constituait une manière incorrecte de procéder et que, de toute façon, elle n'était pas nécessaire puisque le Comité disposait de renseignements complets sur la situation dans tous les territoires britanniques. Or non seulement le Comité a entendu des pétitionnaires de nos territoires, mais il s'est même rendu en Afrique, surtout afin d'entendre encore d'autres pétitionnaires. Vu l'état précaire des finances de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, la dépense de plus de 100 000 dollars entraînée par ce voyage semble plutôt excessive pour une telle fin.

90. Enfin, le Comité n'a fait aucun effort sérieux pour coopérer avec les autres comités chargés de l'examen de questions coloniales et il n'a pas eu recours comme il aurait dû le faire à leurs compétences spéciales en certains domaines. Par exemple, le Comité a discuté la situation au Mozambique alors que le Comité spécial pour les territoires administrés par le Portugal travaillait encore à son rapport, ce qui a motivé des protestations de ce dernier comité. La résolution sur le Mozambique a été adoptée dans les 24 heures qui ont suivi l'adoption du rapport du Comité spécial pour les territoires administrés par le Portugal [A/5160 et Corr.1], ce qui excluait toute possibilité d'examiner sérieusement ce rapport. Le Comité a entendu des pétitionnaires du Sud-Ouest africain alors que le Comité spécial chargé de ce territoire était en train de siéger; les mêmes pétitionnaires ont pu se présenter la même semaine devant les deux comités, ce qui a été fort commode pour eux.

91. Je regrette d'avoir à faire des critiques de ce genre sur les travaux du Comité, mais il est important de juger et d'évaluer franchement le résultat de ses travaux jusqu'à maintenant s'il doit les continuer pendant une nouvelle période. A ce sujet, je dois bien préciser que, lorsque mon gouvernement a accepté de siéger au Comité et de coopérer avec lui, c'était en tenant compte de sa composition et du mandat défini pour le Comité dans la résolution 1654 (XVI). Cependant, on trame actuellement dans cette maison le projet d'augmenter le nombre des membres du Comité ou de l'autoriser expressément à inter-

venir dans l'administration des territoires dont le Gouvernement britannique a la charge, contrairement aux principes qui ont toujours été appliqués sur ce point. Ma délégation doit faire devant l'Assemblée les réserves les plus expresses en ce qui concerne la question de sa participation future aux travaux du Comité si de tels projets devaient être retenus.

92. Tout examen d'ensemble des travaux du Comité doit faire une place au rôle joué par les représentants de l'Union soviétique, qui se sont naturellement empressés de faire avorter toute méthode constructive et qui ont cherché à tout moment à faire du Comité une tribune pour la propagande de la guerre froide, comme le représentant des Etats-Unis l'a noté récemment dans son discours. Comme toujours, ils ne se sont intéressés qu'aux critiques destructives, non aux solutions constructives, et cela dérivait inévitablement de l'objectif fondamental de l'Union soviétique qui est de créer le chaos et la confusion dans les nations nouvelles. Leur tactique s'est manifestée nettement dès le début; par exemple, à la 49ème séance, le 11 mai, le représentant de l'Union soviétique au Comité des Dix-Sept a cherché à tourner en ridicule les efforts déployés par les délégations pour parvenir à un accord et a dit:

"Comment pourrait-il y avoir accord? Comment pourrait-il y avoir compromis?... Nous ne pouvons concevoir de coopération avec les puissances coloniales."

93. Poursuivant cette même politique d'attitude négative, le représentant de l'Union soviétique a pris fréquemment une position différente de celle des autres membres du Comité. A la 26ème séance du Comité, il s'est opposé à ce que, comme suite à l'invitation du Gouvernement britannique, un sous-comité se rende à Londres et il a dit:

"Je sais, certes, qu'il est arrivé au cours de l'histoire que l'on aille à Canossa pour y confesser ses péchés. Mais il ne peut en être ainsi pour nous. Plusieurs siècles se sont écoulés depuis Canossa. Nous n'avons pas de péchés à confesser ni que nous devions aller nous faire pardonner à Londres."

Venant du représentant de l'Union soviétique, cette déclaration a de quoi surprendre, c'est le moins qu'on puisse dire.

94. Dans les discussions sur certains territoires, les représentants de l'Union soviétique ont délibérément écarté toutes considérations pratiques et se sont montrés peu soucieux des intérêts des populations intéressées. Ils n'ont pas cessé de demander la fixation de dates précises pour l'accession à l'indépendance, alors qu'ils devaient savoir eux-mêmes que leurs propositions étaient totalement dénuées de réalisme; par exemple, dans les cas de la Rhodésie du Nord, du Nyassaland et des territoires dépendant du Haut Commissaire, le représentant de l'Union soviétique a demandé avec insistance que l'Assemblée générale fixe une date antérieure au 31 décembre 1962 pour l'accession de ces territoires à l'indépendance, alors que même les pétitionnaires de ces territoires ne l'avaient pas demandé. Ces manœuvres et d'autres initiatives du représentant de l'Union soviétique ont été rejetées de façon décisive par la majorité des membres du Comité.

95. Le représentant de l'Union soviétique a souvent dénoncé la prétendue absence de coopération des puissances qu'il lui plaît d'appeler "les puissances coloniales". L'heure est venue pour son gouvernement de

donner un exemple de coopération en ce qui concerne ses propres territoires dépendants. S'il est vrai que la domination britannique s'est exercée pendant longtemps sur des territoires d'Afrique et d'Asie, le retrait de cette domination lors de l'accession de ces territoires à l'indépendance a été rapide et continu depuis 1945. C'est pourquoi nous invitons instamment aujourd'hui le Gouvernement de l'Union soviétique à examiner sa propre conduite avant de critiquer la nôtre. En 1815, Ceylan est passé tout entier sous la domination britannique; au même moment, la Russie occupait l'Azerbaïdjan. Ceylan a accédé à l'indépendance en 1947; quand pouvons-nous espérer voir l'Azerbaïdjan indépendant? La Nigéria et le Ghana sont passés sous l'influence britannique au milieu du XIX^{ème} siècle. Lagos a été proclamée colonie en 1862, un protectorat a été établi sur la Côte-de-l'Or en 1874. Dans la même période, on a vu la Russie conquérir les Etats indépendants de l'Asie centrale qui avaient une très ancienne civilisation; le dernier Etat kazak indépendant a été soumis en 1854, la conquête des trois Etats uzbeks du Turkestan a été achevée en 1876 et l'ensemble du Turkménistan a été finalement soumis et annexé peu après 1880. Après près d'un siècle de domination britannique, le Ghana est devenu indépendant en 1957 et la Nigéria est devenue indépendante en 1960; à quelle date est fixée l'indépendance des territoires soviétiques de l'Asie centrale?

96. Après quelques années d'occupation britannique, Chypre a été officiellement annexée à la Grande-Bretagne en 1914; trois ans auparavant, en 1911, le Tannou-Touva avait été occupé par les Russes et proclamé protectorat. Chypre est devenue indépendante en 1960; nous voulons croire que les plans soviétiques pour l'indépendance du Tannou-Touva seront bientôt portés à notre connaissance.

97. Les territoires occupés par le Gouvernement britannique pendant la première guerre mondiale ont été placés après cette guerre sous mandat de la Société des Nations; après la seconde guerre mondiale, ceux qui n'avaient pas accédé à l'indépendance ont été placés sous la tutelle des Nations Unies. Le dernier d'entre eux, le Tanganyika, est devenu indépendant l'an dernier.

98. Qu'en est-il des territoires acquis par l'Union soviétique pendant et après la seconde guerre mondiale, notamment l'Estonie, la Lituanie, la Lettonie, la partie méridionale de l'île Sakhaline et les îles Kouriles? Ces territoires ont-ils été mis sous le régime de tutelle? Des renseignements ont-ils été communiqués sur ces territoires en vertu de l'Article 73 de la Charte? La Déclaration sur les pays coloniaux leur est-elle appliquée? Telles sont les questions auxquelles la délégation britannique espère que le représentant de l'Union soviétique donnera des réponses quand le Comité des Dix-Sept en viendra à s'occuper de ce problème.

99. Le représentant de l'Union soviétique pendant le présent débat, qui a le titre de Ministre des affaires étrangères de l'Estonie, a parlé avec chaleur contre la création de fédérations ou autres unions contrairement aux vœux des populations intéressées. Se souviendrait-il du malheureux sort de son propre pays, l'Estonie, qui était un Etat libre et indépendant et qui était membre de la Société des Nations jusqu'en 1940, année où il a été incorporé de force à l'Union soviétique? Je sais parfaitement qu'en attirant l'attention de l'Assemblée sur ces choses je risque

de m'attirer le déplaisir du représentant de l'Union soviétique. Lui et ses amis s'appliquent avec grande diligence à propager la fable selon laquelle seules les puissances occidentales auraient participé à l'expansion coloniale au XIX^{ème} siècle et seuls existeraient encore les empires coloniaux des pays de l'Ouest. Rien ne peut être plus éloigné de la vérité, comme le représentant du Canada l'a prouvé abondamment dans le discours impressionnant et convaincant qu'il a prononcé vendredi dernier [1174^{ème} séance]. Comme première mesure pour tenter de remplir les obligations prévues par les dispositions de la Charte concernant les territoires non autonomes, l'Union soviétique devrait, à notre avis, fournir des renseignements sur ses territoires non autonomes conformément à l'Article 73, g, de la Charte.

100. Je ferai maintenant quelques observations sur certains chapitres du rapport du Comité des Dix-Sept, mais auparavant je tiens à rendre hommage à son éminent rapporteur pour le travail et le soin qu'il a consacrés à la préparation de ce document. Comme il apparaîtra d'après ce que j'ai déjà dit, ma délégation ne peut approuver toute la teneur ni toutes les conclusions du rapport, mais cela ne diminue en rien le mérite de M. Rifai qui a réussi à rassembler en un faisceau des centaines de faits et d'arguments et à les présenter à l'Assemblée en un document unique, clair et complet. Il mérite vraiment les remerciements de l'Assemblée pour son travail.

101. En examinant séparément les divers territoires britanniques visés dans le rapport du Comité, je me bornerai aux questions de progrès politique et constitutionnel, bien que le développement économique, social et culturel ait aussi une importance capitale.

102. Je commencerai par les territoires du Betchouanaland, du Bassoutoland et du Souaziland.

103. Comme il est dit dans le rapport, le Bassoutoland est un petit pays de 28 500 kilomètres carrés et de 800 000 habitants, qui forme une enclave située à l'intérieur de l'Afrique du Sud. Le Betchouanaland, avec une superficie plus de 20 fois supérieure à celle du Bassoutoland, n'a que la moitié de sa population. Le Souaziland, le plus petit des trois, n'a que 17 400 kilomètres carrés de superficie et 280 000 habitants. Ces territoires sont assez souvent désignés sous le terme de territoires dépendant du Haut Commissaire parce que, durant la plus grande partie de leur association à la Couronne britannique, leur administration a été confiée à un Haut Commissaire nommé par le Gouvernement britannique. Ces territoires ont été associés à nous parce que leurs peuples avaient demandé protection contre des voisins plus puissants. En 1909, lorsque l'Union sud-africaine a été créée par le Gouvernement britannique, les chefs africains de l'époque ont demandé que leurs territoires fussent exclus de l'Union et le Gouvernement britannique a accédé à cette demande. Si ces territoires ont conservé leur individualité distincte, ils le doivent donc au fait que la Grande-Bretagne a répondu aux appels de leurs peuples. Au point de vue politique, ils sont entièrement indépendants de la République sud-africaine et, malgré les allégations inconsidérées du représentant de l'Arabie Saoudite, telle est toujours la politique de la Grande-Bretagne. Sir Winston Churchill a déclaré en avril 1954:

"Il ne peut être question que le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté puisse accepter actuellement le transfert du Bassoutoland, du Betchouanaland et du Souaziland à l'Union sud-africaine. Nous nous

sommes engagés, depuis le South Africa Act de 1909, à ne pas transférer ces territoires tant que leurs habitants n'auront pas été consultés et tant que le Parlement du Royaume-Uni n'aura pas eu l'occasion d'exprimer son avis."

Cette définition de la politique britannique est encore valable aujourd'hui.

104. Non seulement ces territoires sont tous trois parfaitement indépendants de la République sud-africaine au point de vue politique, mais chacun de ces territoires est lui-même une entité politique distincte. Je vais parler de chacun d'eux successivement. J'ai l'intention de décrire avec assez de détails leur statut constitutionnel précis, car il ressort des discours de certains représentants, notamment ceux de la Birmanie et de l'Irak, que cette question n'est pas encore parfaitement claire pour tout le monde.

105. La Constitution actuelle du Bassoutoland correspond à des propositions faites par les Bassoutos eux-mêmes. A la fin de 1956, le Conseil du Bassoutoland a créé deux comités dont les membres étaient des membres du Conseil et qui étaient chargés l'un de la réforme constitutionnelle et l'autre des affaires de chefferie; en juillet 1958, le Conseil a approuvé un rapport établi d'après les travaux de ces deux comités. Puis il a envoyé à Londres une délégation chargée d'avoir des conversations avec le Gouvernement britannique. Il en est résulté un accord sur une nouvelle constitution dont la principale caractéristique était l'entrée de 40 membres élus au Conseil du Bassoutoland et de trois membres élus au Conseil exécutif. D'autre part, les membres du Conseil exécutif prenaient chacun la responsabilité d'un département ministériel ou d'un secteur particulier de l'administration, sans devenir officiellement des ministres; des membres élus sont maintenant chargés de l'éducation et de la santé publique, des travaux publics et du commerce, et de l'administration locale. Moins de 18 mois après la mise en vigueur de la nouvelle Constitution, le Conseil du Bassoutoland a exprimé le désir de nouvelles réformes constitutionnelles et il a prié le Haut Commissaire et le Chef suprême de prendre des dispositions pour créer une commission constitutionnelle dotée d'un mandat étendu. Cette commission aurait pour tâche d'examiner le fonctionnement de la Constitution de 1959 et de faire des propositions pour la perfectionner, notamment en ce qui concerne l'institution d'un gouvernement responsable, le rôle constitutionnel du Chef suprême dans un système de gouvernement responsable, la composition du Conseil exécutif et l'addition à la Constitution de dispositions protégeant les droits de l'homme et les libertés fondamentales. La commission a été constituée avec une composition très large comprenant des représentants du National Party, du Marema Tlou, du Freedom Party et du Congress Party. Elle est maintenant à l'œuvre et elle a reçu des témoignages de tous les secteurs de la population dans toutes les parties du territoire. Plus de 20 000 personnes ont assisté à 41 réunions, 640 personnes ont fait des dépositions orales, 1 200 mémoires écrits ont été présentés. Ces faits montrent nettement combien on cherche à s'assurer des vœux de la population au sujet de la future constitution, et je ne connais aucun autre exemple d'une consultation populaire aussi complète. Une sous-commission va procéder au tri et au collationnement des témoignages apportés à la commission et à la préparation générale de ses futures sessions. Le rapport de la commission sera évidemment très

important pour déterminer la prochaine étape du développement constitutionnel du territoire.

106. Quant au Betchouanaland, sa constitution actuelle, qui est entrée en vigueur en décembre 1960, est fondée sur les recommandations d'un comité constitutionnel composé de huit membres du Conseil consultatif mixte dont quatre Africains et quatre Européens, et de quatre fonctionnaires. La Constitution institue un Conseil législatif de 35 membres, dont 21 membres élus, quatre membres désignés et 10 membres fonctionnaires. Dix des 21 membres élus sont des Africains, ainsi que deux des quatre membres désignés. Les 10 fonctionnaires sont membres du Conseil en vertu de leurs fonctions. Il est absolument faux de les qualifier de "colons blancs", comme l'a fait le représentant de la Pologne.

M. Seydoux (France), vice-président, prend la présidence.

107. Les membres élus, Africains, Asiatiques et Européens, sont choisis par leurs propres communautés; les Asiatiques et les Européens sont élus au scrutin direct et les Africains sont élus par le Conseil africain, dont la plupart des membres sont eux-mêmes élus au scrutin direct. Tout comme au Bassoutoland, des membres élus du Conseil législatif sont entrés au Conseil exécutif et des membres africains s'occupent maintenant des travaux de deux départements ministériels importants, celui des services sociaux et celui des ressources naturelles. La nouvelle Constitution fonctionne bien; elle a nettement lancé le territoire sur la route qui le mènera à l'autonomie interne et elle devrait normalement subsister sans changement pendant les quatre années du mandat de l'actuel Conseil législatif qui a été élu en 1961. Cependant, le Commissaire résident a décidé de reviser la Constitution en 1963, l'an prochain; il a l'intention de faire prochainement des propositions en vue d'un nouveau progrès constitutionnel, en consultation avec les représentants des partis politiques, les chefs, les autres intérêts et les collectivités. De son côté, le Gouvernement britannique sera prêt à étudier toutes propositions relatives à la prochaine étape qui auront recueilli l'appui général de l'opinion dans le territoire.

108. Tandis qu'au Bassoutoland et au Betchouanaland de nouvelles constitutions sont déjà en vigueur, on continue à élaborer la nouvelle constitution du Souaziland. Le Commissaire résident a créé un comité constitutionnel composé de membres africains et européens, et chargé de faire des recommandations sur la forme que devra prendre la constitution. Le Comité a terminé ses travaux à la fin de l'an dernier; son rapport a été publié en mars dernier, accompagné des observations officielles du Gouvernement britannique. Avant de prendre une décision définitive sur une question si importante pour la population du Souaziland, le Gouvernement britannique a voulu connaître les réactions de l'opinion publique dans l'ensemble du territoire. La publication du rapport accompagné des observations du Gouvernement britannique a permis aux divers points de vue de s'exprimer librement et publiquement. Nous pensons que les décisions relatives à la forme de la nouvelle constitution du Souaziland seront prises dans le courant des mois prochains.

109. Ainsi, les trois territoires sont dans une situation transitoire et de nombreux problèmes se posent. Un des plus importants, qui intéresse à des degrés divers les trois territoires, concerne le rôle

et les pouvoirs des chefs. Les chefs constituent un élément vital dans le gouvernement des territoires et ils sont dans la vie de leurs peuples une force de cohésion, mais leur rôle doit être adapté pour s'intégrer dans le nouveau cadre de la société africaine moderne. Ce n'est là qu'une des difficultés qui compliquent la réforme constitutionnelle, mais il y en a d'autres, par exemple dans deux des territoires les difficultés provoquées par la présence de races différentes.

110. L'important est que le Gouvernement britannique est au courant de ces problèmes; il connaît également leur degré d'urgence; il accélère au maximum la recherche de leur solution. A cet effet, il applique les mêmes méthodes de consultation et de négociation qui ont réussi avec les populations d'autres territoires. Il est certain de trouver une solution heureuse aux problèmes constitutionnels de ces trois territoires. Le bref exposé que je viens de faire sur la situation dans ces trois territoires montre que la description que le représentant de la Syrie en a faite ici ce matin était bien loin de correspondre à la réalité.

111. Je désire encore, à ce propos, signaler l'opposition complète entre la situation véritable dans les territoires sous administration britannique et les exposés outrageusement inexacts qui ont été faits devant l'Assemblée par les représentants des délégations communistes et le porte-parole de la délégation de l'Arabie Saoudite. Mais la technique employée est celle des allusions et insinuations calomnieuses et l'on nous fournit rarement des faits qui viendraient à l'appui des accusations lancées. Toutefois, dans un ou deux cas où l'on a cité de prétendus faits, ils étaient sans aucun fondement. J'en citerai quelques exemples. Le représentant de la Pologne a déclaré:

"C'est ainsi qu'aux termes de ce qu'on appelle la Convention du Mozambique, conclue par le Portugal, l'Afrique du Sud et la Fédération de la Rhodésie et du Nyassaland, le Gouvernement portugais s'est engagé à envoyer chaque année dans ces pays des dizaines de milliers d'Africains pour y travailler dans les mines." [1169ème séance, par. 73.]

112. Le fait est que la Convention du Mozambique ne concerne pas et n'a jamais concerné la Fédération de la Rhodésie et du Nyassaland; c'est un arrangement bilatéral entre le Portugal et l'Afrique du Sud, qui ne concerne pas du tout la Fédération. D'un autre côté, le représentant de l'Arabie Saoudite a prétendu que les colons blancs du Nyassaland possédaient la plus grande partie des terres fertiles de ce territoire. En fait, sur la superficie totale des terres du Nyassaland qui est de 9 320 000 hectares, 8 millions d'hectares sont des terres réservées aux Africains, 1 million d'hectares sont du domaine public, notamment les réserves forestières, et 320 000 hectares seulement, soit moins de 3,5 p. 100 de la superficie totale, sont détenus en propriété privée ou à bail, et ces 320 000 hectares sont cultivés par des exploitants de toutes races, Européens, Africains et Indiens, et non uniquement par des "colons blancs". Je cite ces chiffres pour montrer comment certaines délégations ont cherché à présenter à l'Assemblée une version délibérément falsifiée de la réalité.

113. Je parlerai maintenant de deux autres territoires, l'un en Amérique du Sud, l'autre en Afrique orientale, qui ont à résoudre des problèmes analogues malgré leur éloignement géographique: la Guyane britannique et Zanzibar. Dans les deux territoires, le principe de l'indépendance pleine et entière est

accepté depuis quelque temps, mais des difficultés locales en ont empêché la réalisation. Dans les deux territoires, des élections ont eu lieu dans l'été de 1961 et elles ont abouti à peu près à un équilibre entre les grands partis. Dans les deux territoires, les désaccords politiques normaux qui sont la sève même de la démocratie ont été aggravés par des divergences entre les diverses communautés, et ces dissensions se sont brusquement manifestées sous forme de troubles importants à Zanzibar en juin 1961 et de troubles de moins d'intensité à Georgetown en février 1962. Dans les deux cas, le gouvernement élu a jugé nécessaire de proclamer l'état d'urgence et de faire appel aux troupes britanniques pour aider les forces de police locales à rétablir l'ordre. Les organes législatifs de Zanzibar et de la Guyane britannique ont adopté à l'unanimité, l'un en septembre et l'autre en octobre 1961, des résolutions demandant que des mesures soient prises pour accélérer l'accession à l'indépendance; donnant suite à ces résolutions, le Gouvernement britannique a invité des délégations représentant le gouvernement et les partis d'opposition de chaque territoire à venir à Londres discuter en conférence des prochaines réformes constitutionnelles. La conférence sur Zanzibar s'est réunie à Londres en mars et avril 1962; la conférence sur la Guyane britannique s'est réunie en octobre et novembre de cette même année. Etant donné que certaines délégations ont tenté de donner une idée fautive des débats et des résultats de cette dernière conférence, ma délégation a demandé que le rapport de cette conférence soit distribué comme document des Nations Unies. Dans les deux cas, il n'y avait pas de différend sur un certain nombre de questions, mais l'accord n'a pas pu se faire entre les deux grands partis sur certaines questions importantes. Dans les deux cas, il fallait décider si le territoire accèderait à l'indépendance sur la base des résultats des élections de 1961, comme le voulaient les partis du gouvernement, ou si de nouvelles élections auraient lieu avant l'indépendance, comme le réclamaient énergiquement les partis de l'opposition.

114. Pour la Guyane britannique, il se posait aussi la question de la représentation proportionnelle. Le Gouvernement britannique a dû déclarer aux deux conférences que les progrès constitutionnels à venir dépendaient forcément de l'aptitude des divers partis à résoudre eux-mêmes leurs différends, mais le désaccord a persisté malgré de longues discussions sur les questions controversées. Le Gouvernement britannique n'a donc pas pu fixer, pour le moment, la date de l'indépendance de la Guyane britannique ni celle de Zanzibar; l'indépendance complète reste le but à atteindre, mais les prochaines étapes vers ce but dépendent forcément de ce que les chefs politiques et les peuples des deux territoires réussiront à faire pour aplanir les différends qui les séparent.

115. Depuis la fin de la conférence de Zanzibar, le Résident britannique fait de son mieux pour trouver une solution qui rapproche les deux parties et qui permette de nouveaux progrès constitutionnels; le Gouverneur de la Guyane britannique s'efforcera de même dans ce territoire de concilier les différends entre partis lorsque la délégation qui a participé à la conférence reviendra à Georgetown. Nous espérons fermement que dans les deux territoires les discussions aboutiront vite à un accord sur les prochaines mesures à prendre et je suis certain que tous les membres de l'Assemblée admettront que la solution de ces problèmes doit venir des territoires eux-

mêmes; elle ne peut certainement pas leur être imposée de l'extérieur.

116. Nous avons entendu le représentant de la Pologne lancer contre nous son accusation bien connue: "diviser pour régner", ce qui est son thème favori; mais, je le répète, notre objectif est la pleine et entière indépendance de la Guyane britannique et de Zanzibar; le processus aboutissant à cette fin se heurte uniquement au désaccord entre les grands partis de ces territoires. Nous avons œuvré, et nous continuerons à le faire, pour maintenir la paix, pour diminuer la tension, pour aplanir les différends et pour ouvrir ainsi la voie vers l'indépendance.

117. Avant de quitter ces deux territoires, je dois rectifier deux autres déformations des faits. Le représentant de l'Union soviétique a prétendu que les bénéfices des sociétés étrangères en Guyane britannique ne sont pas contrôlés par le gouvernement élu de ce territoire, mais par une commission fiscale de la Puissance administrante. Il a également prétendu qu'avec l'assistance de la Puissance administrante de nombreuses sociétés étaient exemptes de tout impôt.

118. Ces allégations sont toutes deux entièrement fausses. D'une part, le Gouvernement britannique ne contrôle pas les bénéfices des sociétés étrangères en Guyane britannique et il n'a pas de commission fiscale dans ce territoire. Toutes les questions fiscales sont régies par la législation locale et dépendent du Ministre des finances du Gouvernement de la Guyane britannique, qui est un ministre élu. D'autre part, la législation du territoire prévoit des dégrèvements limités en faveur de tous les bénéfices réalisés afin d'encourager la création ou le développement des industries locales. Toutefois, c'est au gouvernement élu de la Guyane britannique et non pas au Gouvernement britannique qu'il appartient de donner à telle ou telle société le bénéfice de ces dégrèvements.

119. Avant de passer aux autres territoires africains, je dirai quelques mots des affirmations faites au sujet d'Aden par certains représentants, notamment ceux de l'Irak, de la Syrie et de la Jordanie. Il est parfaitement exact que le Gouvernement britannique a dans ce secteur d'importantes obligations dans le domaine de la défense; il n'y a là rien de secret. Il est exact aussi que, pour remplir ces obligations, des forces britanniques sont stationnées à Aden. Toutefois, la proposition tendant à faire entrer Aden dans la Fédération de l'Arabie du Sud n'a pas été conçue par le Gouvernement britannique, mais a été élaborée par les ministres du Gouvernement d'Aden et de la Fédération de l'Arabie du Sud en vue de mettre fin aux divisions qui existent actuellement entre leurs populations, qui sont de la même race, parlent la même langue, pratiquent la même religion et ont les mêmes intérêts économiques. Le territoire d'Aden, qui a seulement 195 kilomètres carrés de superficie et 200 000 habitants, ne peut vraiment pas envisager l'indépendance comme Etat isolé, tandis que l'union avec la Fédération de l'Arabie du Sud lui permettrait de partager l'entière indépendance future de la Fédération. Je donne ces précisions pour rétablir les choses telles qu'elles sont, en raison des déclarations trompeuses qui ont été faites ici à ce sujet.

120. Je passe maintenant au Kenya et à la Rhodésie du Nord. Ces deux territoires sont à une étape cruciale de leur développement constitutionnel et les prochains mois seront décisifs. D'importantes conférences constitutionnelles sur chacun de ces terri-

toires se sont réunies à Londres en 1960. Ces conférences ont été le point de départ d'une série d'événements qui ont abouti, dans le cas de la Rhodésie du Nord, aux propositions constitutionnelles de février 1962, et, dans le cas du Kenya, à une deuxième conférence constitutionnelle qui a terminé ses travaux en avril 1962. Conformément aux décisions adoptées au cours de ces négociations, aux dispositions ont été prises dans les deux territoires pour organiser des élections avec un corps électoral plus étendu. En Rhodésie du Nord, ces élections ont eu lieu voici quelque semaines, mais elles ne sont pas encore achevées et il y aura encore des élections pour plusieurs sièges le 10 décembre. Au Kenya, les travaux des diverses commissions pour la délimitation des circonscriptions et d'autres questions importantes sont toujours en cours en vue de la préparation des élections et de la mise en vigueur d'une nouvelle constitution l'an prochain.

121. Ces deux territoires sont donc dans une période de transition et je sais que l'Assemblée, qui admet sans réserve les objectifs que le Gouvernement britannique s'efforce d'atteindre, jugera sagement les obstacles et les dangers qu'il faut encore surmonter et partagera notre ferme intention de donner au Kenya et à la Rhodésie du Nord autant d'assistance et d'encouragement que possible pour réaliser de nouveaux progrès constitutionnels.

122. Pour finir, je passe au Nyassaland. Ainsi qu'il avait été convenu au début de l'année entre le Dr Hastings Banda et le Gouvernement britannique, une conférence constitutionnelle s'est réunie à Londres ce mois-ci. A cette conférence ont assisté des représentants de tous les partis du Nyassaland, notamment le Malawi Congress Party du Dr Hastings Banda; elle s'est terminée le 23 novembre.

123. La conférence est parvenue à un accord complet sur un projet de constitution comportant l'autonomie du territoire, constitution qui sera instituée en deux étapes. Selon cette nouvelle constitution, le Conseil exécutif actuel, qui est présidé par le Gouverneur, sera remplacé par un cabinet ministériel présidé par un premier ministre et le Gouverneur devra consulter ce cabinet dans l'exercice de la plupart de ses fonctions. La première étape de cette constitution autonome entrera en vigueur dans les trois mois. C'est pour le Nyassaland un progrès important et décidé à la suite d'un accord, un progrès accompli après consultation et avec l'agrément de tous les intéressés.

124. Le rapport du Comité des Dix-Sept se termine par deux annexes, dont une est le texte d'une lettre en date du 4 septembre 1962 adressée par le représentant du Royaume-Uni au Président du Comité des Dix-Sept; je crois qu'un rappel de cette lettre conviendra parfaitement en guise de conclusion à mon discours. Cette lettre résume l'essentiel de la politique suivie par le Gouvernement britannique depuis de longues années et qu'il continuera de suivre à l'avenir.

125. Nous avons créé dans chacun de nos territoires des gouvernements distincts afin que les habitants acquièrent de l'expérience dans l'administration de leurs propres affaires et afin que le passage de la bureaucratie à la démocratie se réalise aussi vite que possible par étapes progressives et naturelles. Nous avons élaboré avec les habitants des plans de gouvernement représentatif; nous avons créé des services publics qui dépendent non d'un parti ou d'une

tribu, mais de tous les habitants du pays qu'ils desservent. Où donc, je vous le demande, peut-on trouver un tel système dans l'empire soviétique? Nous avons créé des tribunaux impartiaux libres de toute ingérence du pouvoir exécutif et qui rendent la justice sans distinction de partis, de races ou d'opinions politiques; nous avons créé des forces de sécurité locales afin que ces pays, lorsqu'ils auront accédé à l'indépendance, aient à leur disposition le moyen de faire respecter l'ordre public sans recourir à l'aide ou à l'intervention de l'extérieur.

126. Enfin, nous avons constamment eu pour objectif de surmonter les différends entre races, groupes ou tribus, et de promouvoir un véritable patriotisme national.

127. A la lettre que je viens de rappeler était jointe une liste chronologique des progrès constitutionnels réalisés de décembre 1960, date à laquelle l'Assemblée générale a adopté la Déclaration sur le colonialisme, en septembre 1962. On constate d'après ce document que chaque mois a été marqué par des succès importants dans la direction de l'autonomie et de l'indépendance des territoires sous administration britannique. Je prie instamment tous les membres de l'Assemblée de lire avec soin l'annexe I du rapport actuellement soumis à leur examen. Ce n'est pas seulement un tableau des progrès accomplis. A ce simple titre, il est déjà assez convaincant, mais mieux encore il montre clairement les méthodes et principes que nous appliquons dans les territoires administrés par nous et qui, à notre avis, doivent régir les progrès ultérieurs. L'annexe I donne ainsi la meilleure réponse à ceux qui doutent de nos intentions et dénigrent ce que nous avons réalisé.

128. Je rappelle que notre secrétaire d'Etat, lord Home, a déclaré l'an dernier devant l'Assemblée: "Nous avons tenu notre parole à l'égard de l'immense majorité et nous tiendrons notre parole à l'égard de la petite minorité qui reste" [1017ème séance, par. 112].

129. Le PRESIDENT: Je donne la parole au représentant de la Pologne pour l'exercice de son droit de réponse.

130. M. WOLNIAK (Pologne) [traduit de l'anglais]: Le représentant du Royaume-Uni a eu la bonté de dire, dans son discours, que, tout en reconnaissant que de nouveaux pays indépendants d'Afrique et d'autres régions avaient été admis à l'Organisation, nous n'avions pas chanté les louanges de la politique coloniale britannique. Je dois admettre que nous pourrions même nous sentir honorés d'avoir été choisis pour faire l'objet de cette plainte. En effet la Pologne se trouve sur ce point en honorable compagnie, en compagnie de la majorité écrasante des Membres de l'Organisation. Le représentant du Royaume-Uni semble adopter une logique plutôt étrange: il voudrait faire une vertu de ce qui n'était qu'une nécessité. Mais je suis sûr que les Nations Unies ne verraient aucun inconvénient à cette attitude si le Royaume-Uni voulait bien montrer quelque esprit de coopération avec l'Organisation en s'occupant de libérer les dernières colonies britanniques encore très nombreuses. Malheureusement, le rapport du Comité des Dix-Sept nous dit qu'on déplore l'absence d'une coopération sincère de la part des autorités britanniques, ou que leur coopération est loin d'être satisfaisante, s'agissant des territoires britanniques non autonomes.

131. Le PRESIDENT: Je donne la parole au représentant de l'Irak pour l'exercice de son droit de réponse.

132. M. PACHACHI (Irak) [traduit de l'anglais]: Le représentant du Royaume-Uni a accusé ma délégation et d'autres délégations de pays arabes d'avoir fait des affirmations trompeuses au sujet de la question d'Aden et de l'Arabie du Sud. Je dois avouer que j'ai été un peu déçu à l'audition du discours du représentant du Royaume-Uni, car j'avais espéré qu'il tenterait de répondre aux nombreuses questions que nous avions posées à ce propos. Il s'est contenté de dire que l'idée de la Fédération avait été lancée par les ministres de la Fédération et d'Aden, et n'avait en aucune manière été suggérée par le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni.

133. Dans ma déclaration [1170ème séance], j'ai donné lecture de la lettre que les ministres avaient adressée au Secrétaire d'Etat aux colonies et aux relations avec le Commonwealth et dans laquelle ils indiquaient eux-mêmes qu'ils considéraient comme entendu que le Royaume-Uni conserverait son autorité sur Aden. J'ai aussi montré que les ministres de la Fédération et d'Aden n'avaient pas été librement élus comme représentants du peuple. J'ai montré que certains des ministres avaient été nommés et que d'autres avaient été élus, et que les élections avaient eu lieu il y a plusieurs années avec un mode de scrutin tout à fait contraire à la démocratie et avaient été boycottées par tous les partis nationalistes d'Aden. Nous ne pouvons donc pas considérer comme valable cette lettre adressée au Secrétaire d'Etat aux colonies. Nous devons la considérer, et je crois que ce serait juste, comme une lettre écrite par des personnes qui ne sont pas libres et qui ne représentent certainement pas leur pays.

134. Le représentant du Royaume-Uni a fait une autre observation: étant donné qu'Aden n'est pas viable et ne peut accéder seule à l'indépendance, le fait de se joindre à la Fédération lui permettrait, selon ce qu'a dit le représentant du Royaume-Uni, de partager l'indépendance future de la Fédération. Or j'ai donné lecture de l'article 2 de l'accord portant création de la Fédération. Cet article dit très nettement qu'aucune disposition de l'accord ne porte atteinte à la souveraineté du Royaume-Uni sur Aden. J'ai cité aussi d'autres articles concernant le droit d'Aden de se séparer de la Fédération. J'ai montré que, loin d'offrir à Aden la promesse de l'indépendance dans le cadre de la Fédération, l'accord empêche nettement Aden — je dirais même l'empêche absolument — de jamais obtenir l'indépendance, que ce soit dans le cadre de la Fédération ou en dehors d'elle.

135. Je pense donc que le représentant du Royaume-Uni n'a pas dit l'exacte vérité — je pense en fait que c'est plutôt lui qui a fait des affirmations trompeuses — quand il a déclaré que la Fédération permettrait à Aden d'accéder à l'indépendance, qu'il a appelée l'objectif ultime de la Fédération. Comme je l'ai dit, le texte de l'accord exclut l'indépendance d'Aden. L'article 2 est inconditionnel, il est clair et catégorique.

136. J'avais espéré que le représentant du Royaume-Uni nous dirait pourquoi l'on s'était tellement hâté de faire adopter le plan fédéral par la Chambre des communes il y a 15 jours, malgré les signes évidents d'opposition qui se manifestaient dans le territoire et bien que des élections fussent prévues pour janvier prochain. Notre opinion, et celle des partis nationalistes d'Aden, c'est qu'on n'aurait pas dû faire passer

à la hâte le plan fédéral devant le Parlement avant que des élections aient été organisées selon un système beaucoup plus démocratique, élections auxquelles tous les partis nationalistes auraient pu participer. Au contraire, le plan fédéral a été présenté à la Chambre des communes après avoir été approuvé par le Conseil législatif d'Aden, qui, comme je l'ai déjà montré, a quelques représentants élus, mais élus depuis quatre ans selon un mode de suffrage tout à fait antidémocratique et qui en fait des personnages très peu représentatifs de leur pays.

137. On a déclaré que les élections ne pouvaient se faire en janvier. C'est peut-être exact, mais, si les élections ne pouvaient se faire en janvier, il n'y avait nul besoin de se hâter de faire adopter le plan fédéral par le Parlement avant qu'elles aient pu se faire, sinon en janvier, du moins à une autre époque de l'année prochaine.

138. Comme je l'ai dit, je suis vraiment déçu que le représentant du Royaume-Uni ne nous en ait pas dit davantage sur ce point très important.

139. M. BAYONA (Colombie) [traduit de l'espagnol]: Quand on parle de la décolonisation, quand on fait le bilan de ce que la communauté internationale a réalisé dans ce domaine primordial, on ne peut éviter de citer, même au risque de répéter ce qui a déjà été dit, une preuve éloquente qui montre dans toute leur ampleur les résultats obtenus: en un peu plus de 15 ans d'existence, l'Organisation a vu le nombre de ses membres atteindre et dépasser la centaine. Cette croissance extraordinaire justifie pleinement à elle seule les efforts des hommes qui, à San Francisco, après l'hécatombe mondiale, ont fondé un nouvel ordre international sur la reconnaissance de principes essentiels visant au développement et au perfectionnement de la société humaine.

140. La liquidation du régime colonial, qui retient aujourd'hui l'attention des peuples et des gouvernements, est une étape dans une des grandes époques de l'histoire de l'humanité. C'est la fin d'un mouvement d'expansion lancé par les grandes puissances de l'Occident et dans lequel, à vrai dire, le mobile principal n'était pas tellement le simple profit de la puissance coloniale. Elle avait aussi une mission plus élevée, qui souvent a dégénéré et parfois a été oubliée, mais qui en fin de compte a laissé des fondations sur lesquelles les nouveaux Etats se dressent aujourd'hui dans l'indépendance. La décolonisation est la conséquence inévitable d'un mouvement historique de libération qui, heureusement, porte ses fruits dans certaines régions du monde.

141. D'autres représentants ont déjà analysé, dans des interventions sereines et judicieuses, les véritables prodromes de cette période où nous vivons. Sans remonter plus loin, ils ont évoqué la Charte des Nations Unies, car c'est dans ce document magistral que l'intelligence humaine a consacré en formules lapidaires ce qu'on pourrait appeler la philosophie de l'anticolonialisme. C'est la Charte qui a suscité cette apparition prodigieuse de nouveaux Etats qui n'est pas encore terminée et c'est de la Charte qu'émane ce dynamisme permanent qui devra établir la liberté et l'indépendance en tous les points de la terre.

142. Divers représentants africains, notamment ceux du Gabon [1169ème séance] et de la Côte-d'Ivoire [1171ème séance], ont signalé dans ce débat l'activité de certains hommes d'Etat occidentaux en faveur de

la décolonisation. Leur rôle ne s'est pas borné à faire inscrire certaines dispositions dans le statut constitutionnel des Nations Unies, il s'est aussi manifesté par des actes concrets qui témoignent de la sincérité de leurs auteurs. Nous devrions toujours nous en souvenir quand on parle du colonialisme. C'est là en effet une réalité que prétendent minimiser les hommes qui se posent faussement en champions de la liberté, en même temps que, dans leur désir de domination universelle, ils réduisent en esclavage et veulent annihiler des peuples entiers.

143. Le représentant de l'Argentine à la Sixième Commission, M. José María Ruda, dans son discours sur le point 75 de l'ordre du jour, intitulé "Examen des principes du droit international touchant les relations amicales et la coopération entre les Etats conformément à la Charte des Nations Unies", a eu l'amabilité de rappeler que, sur l'initiative de la délégation de la Colombie, la Conférence de San Francisco avait inscrit dans la Charte un principe qui doit régir les relations internationales: le principe de la bonne foi. A ce propos, il a dit:

"Nous estimons que la portée éthique et juridique de ce principe de la bonne foi ne se situe pas uniquement sur le plan des abstractions, mais au contraire que ses répercussions doivent se faire sentir sur le plan effectif des relations internationales^{6/}."

144. Aux Nations Unies, quand on assiste à certains débats, notamment ceux qui portent sur le colonialisme, on entend des déclarations qui incitent à se demander si ceux qui les prononcent respectent réellement le principe de la bonne foi. Il semble qu'il existe très souvent, au-dessus des considérations relatives au sort des peuples, des intérêts plus importants au nom desquels on cherche à convertir toute réunion sur l'anticolonialisme en tribune propice à la guerre froide.

145. Naguère, j'ai pu observer à la Quatrième Commission combien certaines délégations étrangères au groupe des pays d'Afrique et d'Asie s'inquiétaient parce qu'un certain projet de résolution sur le Sud-Ouest africain ne prévoyait pas de sanctions contre la Puissance administrante qui ne s'acquitte pas de ses obligations internationales. Des pressions ont été exercées, mais les auteurs du projet, agissant de manière aussi raisonnable qu'indépendante, ont maintenu leurs appréciations et ont présenté un texte qui a été adopté presque à l'unanimité. Les promoteurs de la guerre froide en ont été pour leurs frais et la cause du peuple africain s'est vue fortifiée par une résolution qui, grâce à la forme sous laquelle on l'a adoptée, représente l'opinion péremptoire de la communauté internationale qui devra peser d'un grand poids dans les décisions futures du Gouvernement de la République sud-africaine.

146. Dans le même ordre d'idées, on voit mieux la signification de certains concepts relatifs à la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale. Cette résolution constitue sans aucun doute un instrument historique; elle a eu de l'influence et elle en aura encore sur l'accélération du mouvement de décolonisation. On ne peut nier que cette résolution se détache entre toutes les autres par l'exposé et la précision du thème traité. Les délégations africaines et asiatiques qui avaient présenté le projet de réso-

^{6/} Cette déclaration a été faite à la 758ème séance de la Sixième Commission, dont les comptes rendus officiels ne sont publiés que sous forme de comptes rendus analytiques.

lution^{2/} sont dignes de l'estime générale par les nobles fins qu'elles avaient à l'esprit. Toutefois, ma délégation ne partage pas les points de vue des délégations qui prétendent donner un nom précis à cette résolution, tandis qu'elles portent de violentes attaques verbales contre certaines puissances. On a déjà dit ici-même que la résolution, par sa nature, appartient aux Nations Unies du fait qu'elle a été approuvée par beaucoup d'Etats, non point par un ou quelques-uns. Ces Etats ne peuvent se déclarer uniques maîtres et seigneurs d'une cause dont l'origine remonte à de nombreuses années et qui, avant 1960, avait produit des fruits réels et avait ouvert la voie qui devait conduire et qui conduira à l'indépendance beaucoup d'autres peuples.

147. La délégation de la Colombie est fermement convaincue que le chemin qui reste à parcourir dans cette pénible marche vers la liberté des peuples encore soumis à la domination coloniale sera moins dur s'il existe une coopération plus loyale entre tous les Etats Membres de l'Organisation. Il est hors de doute que la compréhension des problèmes facilitera la découverte des solutions pacifiques et efficaces.

148. Comme j'ai eu l'honneur de le déclarer à la Quatrième Commission lors de l'examen des questions de la Rhodésie du Sud et du Sud-Ouest africain, où ma délégation a voté pour les projets de résolution présentés, la Colombie s'inspire de l'article premier de la Charte des Nations Unies. L'égalité de droits des peuples, leur droit à disposer d'eux-mêmes, le respect des droits de l'homme et des libertés fondamentales pour tous sans distinction d'aucune sorte sont des normes qui se complètent et dont l'application universelle marquera le triomphe indiscutable de l'Organisation.

149. Cette attitude est avant tout un culte incessant des idéaux qui hier encore — qu'est-ce que 150 années dans la vie millénaire des peuples? — ont inspiré et animé le mouvement d'émancipation de la Colombie et de tous les pays de l'Amérique latine. A cette époque, des patriotes célèbres ont donné au peuple le texte de la Déclaration des droits de l'homme et ont accéléré la réalisation de l'épopée américaine, sans doute un des mouvements de libération les plus fameux de l'histoire de l'humanité. Telle est la tradition que la Colombie cultive et protège non seulement à l'intérieur de son territoire, où la Constitution nationale est fondée sur la reconnaissance des droits fondamentaux de l'homme, mais aussi dans le domaine international, où la Colombie plaide pour l'application fidèle de tous les principes inscrits dans la Charte des Nations Unies.

150. A ce qu'on dit, à côté de la décolonisation l'Organisation mondiale doit affronter un autre problème grave si elle entend maintenir la paix et la sécurité internationales: le problème du désarmement. Sans aucun doute, le désarmement général et complet est une des grandes aspirations de l'humanité; il serait insensé d'abandonner l'espoir de la réaliser. Toutefois, un célèbre homme d'Etat d'un pays aupaquisme exemplaire, la Suisse, avait bien raison quand il affirmait que le désarmement est et restera un faux problème tant qu'on n'aura pas créé les conditions qui permettront seules de le réaliser. "Le désarmement, disait-il, suppose en premier lieu le renoncement à l'usage de la force, à la menace même

d'employer la force pour le règlement des différends. Il suppose en outre la création d'un certain ordre international." En ce sens, il serait peut-être plus exact de parler du perfectionnement du nouvel ordre international. On peut donc soutenir que pour le maintien de la paix et de la sécurité internationales il vaudrait mieux réaliser avant le désarmement, selon les termes de la Charte,

"... la coopération internationale en résolvant les problèmes internationaux, d'ordre économique, social, intellectuel ou humanitaire, en développant et en encourageant le respect des droits de l'homme et des libertés fondamentales pour tous sans distinction de race, de sexe, de langue ou de religion".

Cette évocation des grands problèmes de la communauté internationale n'est pas fortuite, encore moins inopportune. Quand on examine les divers aspects de la décolonisation, rien ne peut se rapprocher plus du sujet que les droits fondamentaux de la personne humaine. On ne peut oublier que les tendances modernes du droit international soulignent de plus en plus la haute valeur du respect de la dignité de la personne humaine dans l'équilibre de la société internationale. C'est là une condition indispensable pour parvenir à une véritable "coexistence pacifique", car rien ne sera plus difficile que de faire coexister des peuples libres maîtres de leur destin et des peuples opprimés privés de leurs libertés essentielles. A quoi sert le désarmement si les causes de guerre subsistent? Si l'on parvient à réaliser un accord sur le désarmement, combien de temps sera-t-il respecté si les grandes puissances prétendent continuer leur politique de domination et d'expansion? La liquidation du système colonial de l'Occident touche à sa fin. Quand donc commencera l'application du principe du droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes dans les pays opprimés par l'impérialisme soviétique?

151. C'est un motif de satisfaction pour les Nations Unies et d'espérance pour toute l'humanité que de pouvoir apprécier ce que signifie la présence de nouveaux Etats à l'Organisation mondiale. Au-delà de la simple question numérique, c'est l'apport des intelligences au service des idéaux suprêmes du genre humain. A une précédente séance de l'Assemblée générale, le Ministre des affaires étrangères de Madagascar a prononcé un excellent discours chargé de sens, qu'il faut se rappeler et citer souvent. Parlant de l'œuvre réalisée par l'Organisation dans les domaines de la libération de l'homme, cet homme politique africain a déclaré:

"Pour nous Malgaches, cette libération humaine s'applique non seulement aux peuples noirs d'Afrique encore colonisés, mais aussi aux hommes d'autres races, d'autres couleurs, tenus sous le joug du néo-colonialisme. Ceux-là aussi, qu'ils soient de race blanche ou jaune, ont droit à la liberté et à l'autodétermination. Il ne faut pas que certains hommes puissent, par la force, imposer à d'autres hommes une situation de fait qu'ils sont astreints à subir contre leur gré et qui ne répond pas à leur désir légitime de vivre comme ils l'entendent." [1172ème séance, par. 119.]

Ce sont là des paroles remarquables; elles montrent la route que l'Organisation devra suivre, car on trouve dans le préambule de la Charte une réaffirmation de foi dans les droits fondamentaux de l'homme et dans la dignité et la valeur de la personne humaine. Observer ces principes est indispensable pour établir une paix durable où disparaîtront pour l'humanité la

^{2/} Documents officiels de l'Assemblée générale, quinzième session, Annexes, point 87 de l'ordre du jour, document A/L.323 et Add.1 à 6.

crainte et la terreur des armes, qu'elles soient de type classique ou atomiques.

152. Après ces considérations préliminaires sur le déroulement actuel et futur de la politique anticolonialiste où l'Organisation s'est engagée, ma délégation désire rappeler les travaux accomplis par le Comité spécial chargé d'étudier l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. Le rapport du Comité spécial [A/5238] représente un apport utile pour l'examen de la question, et je ne dis pas cela par bienveillance envers ses auteurs. Je reconnais simplement la diligence avec laquelle les membres du Comité ont mené à bien, pendant leur première session, le mandat qui leur avait été confié par la résolution 1654 (XV). Nous qui siégeons à la Quatrième Commission, nous avons pu bénéficier de ces travaux, en particulier pour l'étude des questions relatives à la Rhodésie du Sud et du Sud-Ouest africain. La présentation rationnelle des renseignements, des délibérations et des conclusions relatives à chacun des territoires a beaucoup facilité la tâche de la Commission.

153. Cependant, la délégation de la Colombie maintient ses réserves sur certaines conclusions et recommandations adoptées, notamment celles qui touchent l'application de sanctions. Le souci d'être objectif sur le pouvoir qu'ont les Nations Unies de recourir à ces mesures, en certains cas des objections de caractère juridique fondées sur les dispositions de la Charte, une appréciation réaliste des complications qui peuvent surgir d'une telle manière de faire et surtout le désir permanent d'essayer tous les moyens pacifiques avant de recourir à des mesures de ce genre, telles sont les principales raisons pour lesquelles la Colombie a voulu adopter une attitude prudente devant cette question délicate.

154. D'autre part, en ce qui concerne les méthodes de travail du Comité spécial et les incidences de ses délibérations, nous jugeons constructives les observations faites par les délégations des Etats-Unis et de l'Australie. Tout semble indiquer que, si le Comité se libère à l'avenir des influences de la guerre froide et peut agir selon des motifs techniques plutôt que politiques — si l'on peut parler d'une technique de la décolonisation — les résultats seront plus favorables. Que les expériences de la première année de travail servent vraiment de leçons pour les plans d'avenir.

155. Ma délégation approuve pleinement la réorganisation prévue pour le Comité spécial et la suppression des comités créés pour des fins analogues dans le domaine de la décolonisation. La concentration de ces activités en un seul organe compétent, outre l'économie budgétaire qui en résultera pour l'Organisation, permettra, comme on l'a déjà dit, d'éviter les doubles emplois qui pourraient à un certain moment ralentir ou paralyser l'œuvre entreprise. Lorsque les suggestions relatives à l'augmentation du nombre des membres, au roulement des membres, à la représentation géographique et à d'autres questions connexes auront été présentées en totalité, la délégation de la Colombie donnera son avis définitif sur ces points. Elle déclare en tout cas que, si l'on augmente le nombre des membres du Comité, il faudra donner une représentation plus importante à l'Amérique latine, continent toujours prêt à défendre la cause de la liberté. Les actuels représentants de l'Amérique latine au Comité, c'est-à-dire les représentants de l'Uruguay et du Venezuela, ont collaboré

brillamment à ses travaux et méritent de cordiales félicitations.

156. Une analyse de la situation dans chacun des territoires examinés dans le rapport du Comité ne nous paraît pas utile ni opportune dans cette discussion générale. La pratique montre qu'il est plus indiqué d'en discuter à la Quatrième Commission. La délégation de la Colombie interviendra alors, comme elle l'a déjà fait pour la Rhodésie du Sud et le Sud-Ouest africain, avec le ferme propos de contribuer à la solution des problèmes.

157. Le Ministre des affaires étrangères de Colombie, M. José Antonio Montalvo, dans le discours qu'il a prononcé à l'Assemblée le 28 septembre dernier, a déclaré :

"La Colombie est en faveur de l'autonomie et l'indépendance de tous les peuples et du droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes. Toutefois, nous ne voudrions ni blesser, ni insulter des pays amis auxquels les Nations Unies demandent de libérer des territoires qui sont encore sous leur administration." [1137ème séance, par. 104.]

Ce sera là une règle invariable que ma délégation observera toujours et notamment au sujet des territoires qui font actuellement l'objet de différends graves. Elle ne peut prendre une autre attitude en examinant, par exemple, les questions relatives aux territoires administrés par le Royaume-Uni et par le Portugal.

158. Dans le premier cas, nous rendons hommage à cette grande puissance dont l'action historique a permis à tant de peuples d'être aujourd'hui représentés à l'Assemblée. Souhaitons que des situations comme celle de la Rhodésie du Sud disparaissent définitivement et que s'établissent dans les territoires qui sont près d'accéder à l'indépendance des gouvernements démocratiques garantissant les droits de l'homme. Dans le deuxième cas, la Colombie nourrit le vif espoir que le Portugal, conscient des transformations qui se manifestent dans la communauté internationale, détournera le danger qu'il courrait en allant à contre-courant de l'histoire, car elle tend à renverser le colonialisme qui est anachronique. Si l'on passe en revue la géographie politique du monde, le panorama ne peut être plus éloquant. Les empires coloniaux de presque tous les pays d'Europe ont disparu. La France, la Belgique, les Pays-Bas, sans parler du Royaume-Uni, ont accepté ce qui est une tendance fondamentale de l'époque et ont liquidé leurs empires coloniaux, en laissant ainsi le champ libre à une floraison de nouveaux Etats. Le Portugal ne peut faire exception. La Colombie, dans un geste d'amitié sincère, se déclare convaincue que ce pays acceptera finalement d'engager avec les Nations Unies un dialogue constructif qui conduira à l'application du principe de la libre détermination dans les territoires qu'il administre.

159. De même que les relations de type colonial disparaissent de jour en jour, on voit surgir de plus en plus fort et de plus en plus net le concept de l'indépendance entre peuples et nations libres. Ce nouveau lien semble devoir unir les nations que les mouvements d'émancipation ont pu séparer. La différence est que cette union sera plus solide et plus durable, parce qu'elle s'inspire des principes fondamentaux de l'égalité des droits des hommes et des nations, sans discrimination d'aucune sorte.

160. On peut s'imaginer ainsi combien il serait profitable d'agir conformément aux exigences de l'heure présente pour éviter que certaines attitudes ne suscitent des divisions portant atteinte à des liens historiques d'amitié. Le respect et l'application oppor-

tune de la libre détermination paraît être le meilleur et le seul moyen de surmonter ces vicissitudes de l'histoire. Pour ce faire, le plus tôt sera le mieux.

La séance est levée à 13 h 10.

Nations Unies ASSEMBLÉE GÉNÉRALE

DIX-SEPTIÈME SESSION

Documents officiels



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1176°
SÉANCE PLÉNIÈRE

Lundi 26 novembre 1962,
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POINT 25 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

La situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux: rapport du Comité spécial constitué aux termes de la résolution 1654 (XVI) de l'Assemblée générale (A/5238) (suite)

En l'absence du Président, sir Patrick Dean (Royaume-Uni), vice-président, prend la présidence.

1. M. VOLIO (Costa Rica) [traduit de l'espagnol]: Le rapport du Comité spécial constitué aux termes de la résolution 1654 (XVI), publié sous la cote A/5238, est tellement important et tellement significatif que l'Assemblée générale fait bien de lui consacrer plusieurs séances pour l'examiner à fond. Les nombreux renseignements qui figurent dans ce document et dans ses annexes aideront certainement les Nations Unies à poursuivre leur lutte contre le colonialisme en employant des moyens appropriés à la nature du mal qu'elles veulent éliminer.

2. La délégation du Costa Rica se plaît à souligner la part constructive prise par le Venezuela et l'Uruguay aux travaux du Comité spécial. Ces deux pays ont fait preuve en l'occurrence du sens élevé des responsabilités dont ils sont coutumiers et, par leur truchement, l'Amérique latine a manifesté une fois de plus l'intérêt primordial qu'elle attache à la décolonisation depuis les premières délibérations des Nations Unies.

3. Les pays d'Amérique latine, qui étaient tous représentés à la Conférence de San Francisco, s'y sont employés avec diligence à forger pour la lutte contre le colonialisme des armes nouvelles et plus efficaces. En étroite collaboration avec d'autres pays, ils ont pris la tête du mouvement dans ce sens et ont tout mis en œuvre pour que le Conseil de tutelle soit un des organes principaux des Nations Unies et que les Chapitres XI et XII de la Charte renferment des dispositions qui marquent un progrès considérable par rapport au Pacte de la Société des Nations.

4. Les différences entre le Pacte et la Charte sont notables en ce qui concerne les peuples soumis au joug colonial. La question n'est évoquée que deux fois dans le Pacte, à l'Article 22 et à l'alinéa b de l'Article 23, et chaque fois d'une façon qui trahit une conception restrictive et paternaliste de la responsabilité des puissances coloniales envers les peuples assujettis. L'Article 22 stipule que ces puissances doivent veiller au "bien-être" et au "développement" des peuples autochtones. Aux termes de l'alinéa b de l'Article 23, les Membres de la Société des Nations "s'engagent à assurer le traitement équitable des populations indigènes dans les territoires soumis à leur administration".

5. Dans la Charte des Nations Unies, en revanche, trois chapitres, notamment le Chapitre XI, imposent clairement aux puissances coloniales l'obligation d'amener rapidement les peuples assujettis à l'autonomie et de développer leurs "libres institutions politiques" dans le respect absolu du droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes, principes que le Pacte de la Société des Nations n'énonçait pas.

6. Malgré ses imperfections de structure, le Conseil de tutelle a progressé dans la voie de la décolonisation et, lorsque son action s'est trouvée paralysée, l'Assemblée générale a pu surmonter les obstacles en créant des comités spéciaux qui ont donné une forte impulsion à la croisade entreprise. Cette nouvelle étape a abouti à l'adoption des fécondes résolutions 1514 (XV) et 1654 (XVI) de l'Assemblée générale et à l'entrée en action d'un organe nouveau et plus efficace, le Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux.

7. La participation de l'Amérique latine à l'élaboration de la nouvelle conception de la lutte pour l'émancipation des peuples assujettis à une domination étrangère est la conséquence des mouvements de libération de nos propres pays qui ont laissé une empreinte profonde et ineffaçable sur l'esprit de leurs populations, à tel point que la condamnation du colonialisme prend la valeur d'une clause liant juridiquement les parties dans divers instruments du système régional panaméricain. Il suffit, à cet égard, de citer la résolution XXXIII de la neuvième Conférence internationale américaine, en date du 2 mai 1948, dont le préambule débute par les trois alinéas suivants:

"... le processus historique de l'émancipation de l'Amérique ne sera pas terminé tant qu'il existera sur le continent des peuples et des régions soumis au régime colonial ou des territoires occupés par des pays non américains;

"... l'idéal qui inspira le geste de l'indépendance de l'Amérique animera toujours nos peuples et nos gouvernements unis par l'obligation morale de lutter, par tous les moyens pacifiques en leur pou-

voir, pour supprimer du continent toute situation de dépendance, quelle qu'en soit la forme, politique, économique ou juridique;

"... depuis leur indépendance, les Etats américains ont été d'accord pour poursuivre cet objectif, lequel a été défini dernièrement d'une façon précise, au cours des réunions de consultation des ministres des relations extérieures tenues à La Havane et à Rio de Janeiro, dans des résolutions condamnant le régime colonial en Amérique et consacrant le droit des peuples de ce continent de disposer librement de leur destin".

8. Fidèle à ce glorieux passé, la délégation du Costa Rica a étudié avec une attention particulière le rapport du Comité spécial sur ses premiers travaux. Elle a noté avec satisfaction que ce rapport contribuerait puissamment aux efforts déployés par les Nations Unies pour mettre fin au colonialisme. Le Comité spécial a su arrêter judicieusement sa procédure et déterminer un ordre de priorité pour l'examen des questions soumises à son examen par l'Assemblée générale. Il a accompli sa tâche conformément aux lignes directrices tracées par la Charte et par les résolutions auxquelles il doit sa création. Cependant, comme je l'indiquerai plus loin, des influences extérieures se sont fait sentir dans ses travaux et ont peut-être rendu son œuvre moins constructive.

9. Je n'ai pas l'intention d'analyser le rapport dans le détail; il est inutile, en effet, de répéter des observations déjà faites à cette tribune par d'autres délégations. Pour exprimer notre opinion quant au fond, il suffira de dire que, dans la majorité des 12 cas examinés par le Comité spécial, on s'est sensiblement rapproché de l'autodétermination complète et que les Nations Unies doivent redoubler d'efforts pour accélérer le processus et atteindre le plus rapidement possible les objectifs fixés par les résolutions 1514 (XV) et 1654 (XVI) de l'Assemblée générale. La complexité des problèmes qui se posent et toutes les difficultés qui se présentent, loin de plaider en faveur d'un ralentissement de la mise en œuvre des décisions de l'Assemblée, font ressortir la nécessité de surmonter ces obstacles dans les plus brefs délais. A cette fin, les parties intéressées, en particulier les puissances administrantes, doivent mobiliser tous les moyens dont elles disposent dans la certitude que l'humanité progressera ainsi vers une des dates les plus glorieuses de son histoire, celle de la disparition du régime colonial.

10. Ma délégation croit utile de souligner les différences entre les attitudes adoptées par les trois puissances administrantes mentionnées dans le rapport. Elle espère ainsi encourager celle qui s'est montrée soucieuse d'appliquer les dispositions de la Charte et des résolutions de l'Assemblée générale relatives au colonialisme, et chercher à influencer sur les deux autres dont le comportement ne mérite jusqu'ici que le blâme.

11. Il ressort d'une étude attentive du rapport du Comité spécial que le Royaume-Uni accepte l'évolution vers l'autonomie et l'indépendance totale des pays soumis à son administration, à pleine conscience des responsabilités qui lui incombent, en tant que Puissance administrante, en vertu de la Charte et des résolutions 1514 (XV) et 1654 (XVI), et ne met pas obstacle à l'action menée par les Nations Unies pour hâter le processus de décolonisation. Dans la Rhodésie du Nord, dans la Rhodésie du Sud, au Nyassaland, à Zanzibar, au Kenya, au Bassoutoland, au Betchouana-

land et au Souaziland, les difficultés qui freinent l'accession à l'autonomie complète sont dues non à l'obstruction du Royaume-Uni, mais à un ensemble de conditions politiques, économiques et sociales propres à ces territoires. Le plus marquant de ces facteurs est d'ailleurs l'odieuse et tenace opposition des minorités blanches qui détiennent le pouvoir et empêchent la politique officielle éclairée et les efforts du Royaume-Uni de porter leurs fruits.

12. Une situation analogue a existé en Amérique à l'époque coloniale. Les autorités coloniales feignaient un grand respect pour les lois progressistes dites "Leyes de Indias", mais se gardaient bien de les appliquer. Cependant, le Royaume-Uni est en mesure d'exercer son autorité et son influence pour vaincre la résistance obstinée des minorités blanches et les faire renoncer à leur politique discriminatoire contraire à la libre détermination de la population autochtone. Il devra aussi, dans divers cas, activer la décolonisation malgré les divergences entre les groupes politiques qui luttent pour l'autonomie et renoncer sur ce point à son actuelle attitude paternaliste ambiguë. Au Bassoutoland, au Betchouanaland et au Souaziland, la Puissance administrante devra faire un effort spécial pour améliorer, avec la collaboration des Nations Unies, les déplorable conditions économiques et sociales qui règnent en ce moment, et hâter d'autre part l'avènement de libres institutions politiques.

13. Mon pays se réjouit de noter que trois des territoires administrés par le Royaume-Uni arrivent au seuil de l'indépendance. Ce sont le Nyassaland, le Kenya et la Guyane britannique. Cette dernière viendra bientôt augmenter le nombre des Etats américains et, avec la Jamaïque et la Trinité et Tobago, grossir les rangs des membres de l'association panaméricaine. Nous l'espérons fermement.

14. C'est un tableau bien différent que nous révèle le rapport du Comité spécial en ce qui concerne le Mozambique, l'Angola et le Sud-Ouest africain, territoires soumis à la domination du Portugal et de la République sud-africaine. Non seulement la politique d'intolérance raciale de la minorité de colons blancs et son mépris absolu de la dignité de la majorité autochtone s'y donnent libre cours, non seulement aucune évolution vers l'autonomie ne s'y dessine, mais encore on y entrave l'action des Nations Unies au point de leur refuser toute intervention, ce qui les empêche de mener à bien leur noble entreprise d'élimination de toutes les formes de discrimination et de la domination coloniale exercée par les puissances en question. Il est à la fois pénible et irritant de voir comment y sont traités ces travailleurs, dont la condition rappelle l'esclavage. Afin de mettre un terme à ces atteintes à la liberté et à la dignité de l'homme, les Nations Unies ne doivent rien négliger pour peser de toute leur autorité morale en faveur des peuples qui subissent le joug portugais et sud-africain. La délégation du Costa Rica veut croire qu'on ne laissera pas plus longtemps le Portugal et la République sud-africaine défier la conscience universelle représentée par les Nations Unies.

15. L'importance et l'ampleur de la tâche confiée par l'Assemblée générale au Comité spécial exigent qu'il poursuive ses travaux pendant tout le temps nécessaire pour donner effet aux résolutions 1514 (XV) et 1654 (XVI). Le Costa Rica souhaite toutefois qu'à l'avenir le Comité spécial ne soit plus troublé par les échos pernicieux de la guerre froide qu'y a malencontreusement fait retentir une grande puis-

sance, ainsi qu'il ressort du rapport. En effet, lors de l'examen des divers cas par le Comité spécial, cette puissance a affecté de passer sous silence tous les éléments positifs et a voulu établir un lien arbitraire et sans aucun fondement entre les erreurs et omissions commises par les puissances administrantes et l'ensemble de valeurs morales et politiques qui caractérise le monde occidental. Elle a ainsi introduit, mal à propos et contrairement au vœu de l'Assemblée générale, un facteur de paralysie et de désunion dont l'influence, si elle se prolongeait, pourrait fausser l'action du Comité spécial et la mener à l'échec.

16. Il faut exclure totalement la guerre froide des délibérations du Comité spécial si l'on veut vraiment atteindre les objectifs de l'Assemblée générale en matière de lutte anticolonialiste; ils n'ont absolument rien à voir avec les dangers et les craintes que la guerre froide a apportés à l'humanité. La grande œuvre de la décolonisation doit être abordée dans un esprit de sympathie profonde et sincère pour le sort des peuples assujettis à une domination étrangère, sans jamais être mise au service des intérêts politiques égoïstes d'un pays quelconque.

17. La lutte anticolonialiste doit sa raison d'être, son dynamisme et sa haute valeur morale au désir ardent, au droit inaliénable des êtres humains assujettis à la domination étrangère de ne plus éprouver ce sentiment de dépossession, d'infériorité sociale, économique et politique qu'engendre le régime colonial, d'être délivrés de la persécution, de la discrimination et de la sujétion, et surtout de recouvrer la dignité originelle qu'ils ont perdue. Cette lutte anticolonialiste a un caractère universel puisqu'elle vise à rendre à des millions d'hommes leur terre natale et la possibilité de s'y livrer librement et sans ingérence extérieure aux activités qui les mèneront à un plein épanouissement sur les plans matériel et spirituel.

18. La nature même du processus, les sacrifices consentis depuis des années, les espoirs mis dans la victoire finale, la part que les peuples libérés prendront au progrès de l'humanité, tout cet immense trésor matériel et spirituel de la croisade libératrice imposent le respect et exigent que ceux qui collaborent à l'entreprise n'aient pas d'intentions étrangères à ses nobles fins.

19. Pour toutes ces raisons, la délégation du Costa Rica demande qu'on prolonge le mandat du Comité spécial pendant le temps que réclamera l'accomplissement de sa mission, mais qu'on modifie sa composition pour empêcher l'intervention de la guerre froide dans ses travaux. Il est indispensable, à cette fin, d'exclure la puissance responsable de la situation que j'ai évoquée. En effet, l'étude du rapport montre que, si cette puissance a fait intervenir la guerre froide dans les travaux du Comité spécial, cela n'avait rien de fortuit, mais correspondait à un plan préconçu et découlait d'une politique générale. Un changement volontaire de cette politique au cours de la nouvelle phase des activités du Comité spécial paraît improbable. Si d'autres exclusions s'imposaient pour donner effectivement suite à notre suggestion, nous croyons que l'Assemblée générale devrait s'y résoudre dans l'intérêt même de la décolonisation.

20. Il est temps d'en finir avec la tendance à faire intervenir des arrière-pensées politiques dans l'examen du cas des peuples assujettis, à envisager la réalité à travers des verres déformants et à déna-

turer la cause généreuse que nous défendons. Aucune étiquette "Est" ou "Ouest" ne doit être appliquée aux mouvements de libération des peuples coloniaux ni aux efforts déployés par les Nations Unies pour les appuyer. Ils ont une valeur et une signification propres; leur caractère les met très au-dessus des vicissitudes de la guerre froide.

21. M. AGUIRRE (Uruguay) [traduit de l'espagnol]: La délégation uruguayenne tient d'abord à dire la fierté et la gratitude qu'elle éprouve d'avoir été choisie pour siéger au Comité spécial. Une des plus hautes préoccupations de l'Organisation internationale, une de ses plus nobles entreprises et l'objet de ses efforts les plus constants a été la lutte pour éliminer le colonialisme. Au stade où cette action est parvenue, il est certain que le Comité créé par la résolution 1654 (XVI) pour veiller à l'application de la résolution 1514 (XV) est l'instrument par excellence, le remède le plus approprié pour rendre la santé — la santé que représentent la liberté et la dignité dans leurs expressions politiques — aux hommes des vastes territoires coloniaux dont on s'est occupé jusqu'ici.

22. Nous avons écouté avec grande attention les observations et suggestions formulées à cette tribune au sujet de l'œuvre du Comité et du rapport qui en rend compte [A/5238]. En tant que membre de cet organe, l'Uruguay a jugé préférable de connaître avant tout l'opinion de ceux qui, de l'extérieur, en se tenant dans une expectative compréhensible, ont suivi les premiers pas du Comité en lui prêtant un précieux appui et en lui donnant de judicieux conseils. Etant donné les avis exprimés et leur caractère éminemment constructif, dont nous sommes reconnaissants aux intéressés, nous nous croyons maintenant autorisés à faire part des réflexions que nous inspirent sept mois d'expérience au Comité.

23. Nous devons en premier lieu rendre hommage au Président du Comité, M. Jha, représentant de l'Inde, qui a largement mérité l'éloge à lui décerné par sir Hugh Foot lorsqu'il l'a spirituellement félicité d'avoir rendu possible la coexistence entre le lion et l'agneau, étant bien entendu, comme sir Hugh Foot l'a précisé, qu'il s'agissait du lion africain-asiatique et de l'agneau administrant.

24. Notre hommage va aussi au Vice-Président, M. Coulibaly, représentant du Mali, qui s'est toujours montré à la hauteur de sa tâche, et au Rapporteur, M. Rifai, représentant de la Syrie, qui a su s'acquitter avec tact et sens pratique d'une des missions les plus délicates qu'ait jamais eu à remplir un rapporteur d'un organe des Nations Unies. Nous n'oublierons pas non plus les louanges dues à tous les fonctionnaires du Secrétariat qui, sous la direction de M. Protitch et M. Chacko, ont fourni la base indispensable à l'action du Comité.

25. Quant aux travaux du Comité, nous dirons qu'au cours de ses sept premiers mois d'existence il a eu le grand mérite de marquer par des réalisations pratiques la période obligatoire d'expérimentation et de formation qu'a traversée cet organe nouveau; en plus de l'essai nécessaire en matière de formes et de procédures, il a abordé le fond même du problème. Nous traiterons de ces deux aspects: d'une part, de la mise au point des méthodes, à propos desquelles nous parlerons des normes qui nous paraissent indiquées pour l'organisation des travaux de l'Assemblée générale, et, d'autre part, des progrès réalisés quant au

fond, en nous inspirant les observations que nous avons entendues et que nous approuvons.

26. Le Comité a créé des sous-comités pour étudier de manière approfondie certaines situations. A notre avis, cette façon de diviser le travail est non seulement commode et utile, mais encore indispensable pour gagner du temps et accroître l'efficacité.

27. Dans l'exécution de sa mission, le Comité s'est rendu en Afrique et a siégé dans certaines capitales de ce continent. Nous ne pouvons trop souligner les avantages de cette manière de faire qui a produit une impression notable sur l'opinion publique africaine, a renforcé le prestige du Comité et a mis en vedette son action. Le Comité a entendu des pétitionnaires et a ainsi bénéficié de renseignements de source directe qui sont toujours utiles; en effet, ce procédé, malgré ses inconvénients inévitables, fournit, à qui veut voir l'ensemble d'un problème et la répartition des opinions, un fil conducteur permettant d'arriver à une meilleure compréhension de la situation. Des délégations ou des sous-comités ont été chargés de traiter directement de certaines questions avec les puissances administrantes, moyen qui peut être très efficace pour atteindre les objectifs visés. Les données rassemblées grâce à ces activités ont permis de formuler à la fin de chaque chapitre du rapport des conclusions et recommandations qui sont soumises à l'Assemblée pour qu'elle les examine et adopte des résolutions en conséquence.

28. J'en viens maintenant à nos observations. On note dans le rapport à l'étude une extrême diversité quant aux conclusions des chapitres relatifs aux différents territoires examinés.

29. Pour la Rhodésie du Sud, comme le précise le document A/5124, le Comité spécial a adopté sur le rapport du Sous-Comité constitué pour s'occuper de la question et a soumis à l'Assemblée générale, en demandant l'examen immédiat pour raison d'urgence, un projet de résolution qui a été transmis aux Etats Membres par le Secrétaire général. Toutefois, il s'agit ici d'un cas spécial qui représente une exception et non la règle.

30. Pour la Rhodésie du Nord, le Comité a présenté des conclusions et des recommandations, y compris un projet de résolution à l'intention de l'Assemblée générale; le Secrétaire général a transmis le tout au Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni.

31. Pour le Nyassaland, le Comité a adopté des conclusions et recommandations — mais sans projet de résolution — qui, comme les précédentes, ont été transmises par le Secrétaire général au Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni.

32. Pour le Bassoutoland, le Betchouanaland et le Souaziland, le Comité a adopté un texte énonçant diverses considérations et a recommandé à l'Assemblée une série de dispositions.

33. Pour Zanzibar, le Comité a estimé qu'il se trouvait devant une situation d'urgence et il a lancé, par l'entremise du Secrétaire général, un appel adressé à la Puissance administrante. Sur le fond du problème, il a proposé un projet de résolution à l'Assemblée générale.

34. Pour la Guyane britannique, le Comité a adopté une résolution dans laquelle il s'adresse au Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni et à celui du territoire et il a demandé au Secrétaire général de la communiquer à la Puissance administrante.

35. Pour le Mozambique, le Comité a proposé à l'Assemblée générale un projet de résolution dans lequel est prévue une intervention du Conseil de sécurité.

36. Pour le Sud-Ouest africain, le Comité a approuvé un ensemble de conclusions et de recommandations ne comprenant pas de projet de résolution.

37. Pour le Kenya, il a présenté un projet de résolution à l'Assemblée générale.

38. Pour l'Angola, il a proposé à l'Assemblée générale un projet de résolution dans lequel est prévue une intervention du Conseil de sécurité.

39. Cette diversité montre bien que nous en sommes à un stade expérimental où l'on essaie divers moyens et qui peut être riche d'enseignements pour l'action future du Comité, voire pour un aménagement de son mandat, ainsi que pour l'examen de ses travaux par l'Assemblée générale et pour la coordination avec d'autres organes existants.

40. La délégation uruguayenne estime que les études auxquelles se livre le Comité spécial devraient aboutir à une série de conclusions et de recommandations soumises à l'Assemblée générale; la Quatrième Commission devrait les examiner et élaborer en conséquence des projets de résolution qui seraient finalement adoptés en séance plénière. Cette méthode assurerait une collaboration effective entre les différents organes intéressés et permettrait de gagner du temps, d'agir plus efficacement et de mieux coordonner les efforts.

41. En cas de situation d'urgence excluant qu'on puisse attendre l'ouverture de la session de l'Assemblée, le Comité devrait agir immédiatement et chercher une solution en adoptant lui-même des résolutions et en demandant au Secrétaire général de transmettre ses conclusions et ses appels à la Puissance administrante. En prévision de pareilles circonstances, dont il lui appartiendrait d'apprécier le caractère, le Comité spécial devrait être expressément habilité à appeler l'attention du Secrétaire général et à solliciter son concours, soit simplement pour qu'il prête ses bons offices, soit pour qu'il saisisse le Conseil de sécurité, selon la gravité et l'urgence de l'affaire.

42. Il convient de noter que le Comité a déjà recouru effectivement à l'entremise du Secrétaire général et que, d'autre part, au cours de la présente session, l'Assemblée générale a adopté une résolution sur la Rhodésie du Sud [1760 (XVII)], cependant que la Quatrième Commission a approuvé un projet de résolution relatif au Sud-Ouest africain [A/5310, projet de résolution II], où sont prévues certaines mesures de la part du Secrétaire général. Le premier de ces textes l'invite à prêter ses bons offices pour favoriser la conciliation et aider à atteindre les objectifs définis dans les résolutions de l'Assemblée générale. Le second tend à le prier de nommer un représentant résident de l'assistance technique au Sud-Ouest africain et à prendre les dispositions voulues pour assurer une présence effective des Nations Unies dans ce territoire.

43. En ce qui concerne la résolution adoptée par l'Assemblée, il s'agit, à notre avis, du type d'action nécessaire dans tous les cas. Le Comité spécial devra, quand il l'estimera nécessaire, demander une intervention immédiate du Secrétaire général. C'est précisément ce qui s'impose dans le cas de la Rhodésie du Sud à la veille de l'organisation d'élections et de l'en-

trée en vigueur de la constitution de décembre 1961 à laquelle une résistance a été opposée. En revanche, pour le Sud-Ouest africain où une mission de nature permanente est envisagée, ma délégation a déjà dit à la Quatrième Commission [1386ème séance] que des demandes de ce genre seraient plus utilement adressées au Comité spécial qu'au Secrétaire général.

44. Nous cherchons en ce moment à réaménager un édifice complexe d'organes dont les attributions se chevauchent. Confier directement au Secrétaire général une tâche permanente du type envisagé reviendrait à disperser les efforts, à créer un nouveau cas de double emploi et en outre à commettre une faute qui devrait être ultérieurement réparée, puisque nous imposerions au Secrétaire général un surcroît de responsabilité au risque de compromettre l'efficacité de son action. Je répète qu'il nous paraît souhaitable, voire indispensable, de recourir à son intervention en cas d'urgence, mais nous ne croyons pas indiqué d'avoir recours à lui comme moyen ordinaire de régler des situations dans leur évolution normale.

45. Ces observations nous amènent à parler de l'activité future du Comité spécial par rapport à celle d'autres organes ayant des fonctions précises en ce qui concerne certains aspects de la lutte contre le colonialisme. A notre avis, il serait pratique, économique et efficace de tout rassembler entre les mains du Comité spécial. Nous apprécions comme elle le mérite l'œuvre accomplie par les organes spéciaux qui se sont occupés du Sud-Ouest africain, des territoires portugais et de l'Angola, mais nous partageons l'opinion du Secrétaire général et de la majorité des orateurs qui m'ont précédé à cette tribune: il convient maintenant de centraliser les opérations, et l'organe le plus qualifié est le Comité spécial constitué aux termes de la résolution 1654 (XVI) de l'Assemblée générale et dont nous étudions actuellement le rapport. Pour le Sous-Comité chargé d'examiner la situation en Angola, il faudra bien entendu tenir compte de ses relations avec le Conseil de sécurité.

46. En ce qui concerne le Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes, nous estimons, comme les délégations de l'Argentine et du Brésil, qu'il ne doit pas disparaître. En effet, les motifs qui ont incité à le créer existent toujours et sa tâche ne se confond pas avec celle du Comité spécial, auquel il peut au contraire prêter un précieux concours, ce qu'il a du reste fait jusqu'ici. Comme le représentant de l'Irak l'a souligné, il s'agit d'un organe technique dont les travaux sont très utiles pour le Comité spécial. La compétence de ce dernier s'étend à un si grand nombre de territoires qu'il ne pourrait examiner toutes les situations, à tous les stades. Le Comité des renseignements l'aidera donc puissamment en préparant la documentation sur la base de laquelle le Comité spécial fondera ses décisions. Dans le système de relations que nous avons décrit entre le Comité spécial, la Quatrième Commission, l'Assemblée plénière et le Secrétaire général, le Comité des renseignements jouera le rôle d'un élément de base appuyant efficacement tous les efforts déployés.

47. J'ai parlé du caractère expérimental de cette question des méthodes et procédures, en vue de tracer le chemin qui paraîtrait le meilleur pour l'avenir. J'ai précisé qu'à mon sens le Comité spécial devrait désormais formuler des conclusions et recommandations générales. Il y a lieu d'ajouter que, dans les circonstances présentes et étant donné que le rapport

est examiné directement en séance plénière, l'inclusion de projets de résolution dans le rapport facilite les travaux de l'Assemblée.

48. Le climat des séances plénières ne se prête guère à l'élaboration de projets de résolution qui doivent d'abord être mis au point par des groupes d'étude comme les commissions ou comités spéciaux. C'est la formule adoptée cette fois par le Comité spécial qui a permis d'examiner directement ici son rapport conformément à la décision prise lors de la répartition des questions inscrites à l'ordre du jour.

49. Si nous passons à la façon dont le Comité spécial s'est acquitté quant au fond de la mission à lui confiée par la résolution 1654 (XVI), nous devons dire qu'il a agi comme il le devait, en gardant toujours présents à l'esprit les objectifs suprêmes énoncés dans la Déclaration sur l'autorité de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. Nous ne pouvons nous enorgueillir des résultats obtenus pour les territoires examinés, mais des mesures importantes ont été prises, des démarches sérieuses ont été faites auprès des puissances administrantes et l'on peut aujourd'hui espérer voir s'accroître bientôt le nombre des pays indépendants Membres de l'Organisation. Nous n'approuvons pas sans aucune réserve tout ce qui a été fait au Comité spécial, mais il s'est toujours efforcé d'accomplir la noble tâche qui lui incombait.

50. Parmi les points sur lesquels nous croyons devoir insister, en répétant des observations antérieures, figure la décision contestable prise par le Comité d'adopter lui-même des résolutions sur le fond des questions soumises à son examen. Sans doute lui appartient-il de recommander et de proposer des projets de résolution, mais c'est à l'Assemblée, où sont représentés tous les Etats Membres, de conférer à ces textes le poids de son autorité. Voilà pourquoi, songeant aux situations qui pourraient requérir une action d'urgence, nous avons suggéré de recourir au Secrétaire général ou de signaler le cas à son attention.

51. Un autre problème a soulevé des difficultés au Comité: celui de la situation politique intérieure qui fait parfois obstacle à l'accession d'un territoire à l'indépendance. L'objectif essentiel des efforts du Comité est précisément l'indépendance. Il n'est ni habilité par son mandat, ni effectivement en mesure de résoudre ou de traiter des problèmes de politique intérieure. Tenons-nous-en donc fermement à l'objectif primordial de l'indépendance. Le reste viendra à son heure, une fois l'indépendance obtenue.

52. Cette observation, pour valable qu'elle soit, à notre avis, dans la majorité des cas, ne s'applique pas à celui de la Rhodésie du Sud. Il importe ici au premier chef, comme nous l'avons déjà indiqué, de savoir à qui seront transférés ou dévolus les pouvoirs. Le bénéficiaire ne peut être autre que la totalité de la société politique, la masse et l'autorité, le peuple et le gouvernement. Il n'y a pas souveraineté pleine et véritable sans suprématie du peuple, c'est-à-dire de la masse, les pouvoirs devant appartenir légitimement à tous les citoyens et non à une fraction de la population. C'est pourquoi nous appuyons la résolution adoptée par l'Assemblée et prévoyant une intervention du Secrétaire général pour prévenir un transfert impopulaire et antidémocratique des pouvoirs à un groupe d'habitants, à un groupe minoritaire qui imposerait sa loi à la

majorité, à un groupe partiellement étranger au territoire, qui dominerait les autochtones.

53. Quant au projet de résolution relatif à la Rhodésie du Nord, ma délégation considère qu'étant donné les faits nouveaux survenus depuis que le Comité a approuvé ce texte vers le milieu de l'année il serait bon de lui apporter quelques amendements pour mieux tenir compte de la situation actuelle. Cet exemple précis illustre bien l'intérêt d'un simple énoncé de conclusions et de recommandations en fonction desquelles l'Assemblée élaborerait, le moment venu, des résolutions appropriées.

54. Quant aux projets de résolution présentés par le Comité à l'Assemblée sur le Mozambique et l'Angola, ma délégation maintient les réserves qu'elle a faites touchant le caractère constitutionnel et la conformité à la Charte des paragraphes 6, 7 et 8 des deux projets. Ces réserves l'ont amenée à s'abstenir dans le cas du Mozambique. Elle n'a voté pour le texte relatif à l'Angola qu'en raison de la gravité extrême de la situation dans ce territoire.

55. On nous pardonnera de nous étendre si longuement sur cette question. Ma délégation attache une haute importance à l'œuvre pour laquelle a été créé le Comité spécial. J'approche, toutefois, du terme de mes observations.

56. A cette tribune, au cours de la présente discussion, on a cité la phrase d'un pétitionnaire entendu par la Quatrième Commission, qui s'est écrié: "Les peuples libres comprendront-ils jamais ce que c'est que naître dans l'esclavage, vivre sans espoir dans l'esclavage et finir par mourir dans l'esclavage?" Nous ne croyons pas que dans les conditions actuelles, ici, aux Nations Unies, cette phrase s'applique dans le cas des territoires soumis au régime colonial traditionnel. Nous ne croyons pas qu'on puisse parler de vivre sans espoir dans l'esclavage. L'espoir qui ne s'est peut-être jamais éteint même aux heures les plus sombres a été ravivé par l'œuvre de l'Organisation internationale et s'affermi devant les perspectives de réalisation que lui ouvre l'action du Comité, devenu l'arme de la croisade menée par les Nations Unies pour éliminer définitivement le colonialisme. Le nombre même des Etats Membres, qui est aujourd'hui de 110, témoigne éloquentement et irréfutablement d'une progression résolue et assurée qui ne s'arrêtera que lorsque l'objectif ultime sera atteint. Mieux vaut ne pas fixer de dates précises. Il paraît aussi utile ou plus utile et en tout cas certainement plus réaliste, plus conforme à l'existence de conditions fatalement différentes, de s'en tenir à l'idée d'accomplir le plus vite possible la tâche fixée. A cette fin, nous sommes disposés à répéter sans cesse sur tous les tons, avec toute la force et toute l'autorité dont nous pouvons disposer, nos appels aux puissances administrantes pour leur faire prendre conscience de leurs responsabilités. Le Portugal et l'Afrique du Sud restent apparemment insensibles à la pression d'un courant que rien ne peut arrêter. Ce sont les principaux champions du mépris des tendances et des espérances qui font la dynamique du monde moderne. Puissé la Providence guider notre action pour que nous fassions comprendre et accepter à ces deux Etats les impératifs de l'humanitarisme et de l'amour du prochain.

57. La France a laissé la voie libre à de nombreux millions d'hommes, habitant des millions de kilomètres carrés, qui jouissent aujourd'hui de l'indépendance politique et contribuent très utilement aux

efforts déployés pour assurer les mêmes avantages à leurs frères. Le Royaume-Uni a manifesté une compréhension digne des grandes traditions britanniques. Je rappellerai à ce propos la célèbre déclaration de Chatham lors de la guerre qui devait aboutir à l'indépendance des Etats-Unis:

[L'orateur poursuit en anglais.]

"Nous serons finalement obligés de partir. Faisons preuve de modération quand nous le pouvons, n'attendons pas d'y être forcés."

[L'orateur reprend en espagnol.]

Cette judicieuse et noble remarque a été parfaitement interprétée par ceux qui ont dirigé la politique du Royaume-Uni en matière coloniale depuis 17 ans. Nous savons toutefois que tout n'est pas terminé. Ce mouvement général ne peut s'arrêter aux frontières de la Rhodésie du Sud, du Kenya, de Zanzibar, ou de tant d'autres territoires qui attendent encore la consécration de l'indépendance.

58. Il y a beaucoup à faire, mais il est faux de prétendre que les habitants des territoires dont s'occupe le Comité spécial sont condamnés à vivre sans espoir dans l'esclavage et à mourir dans l'esclavage. En revanche, par un étrange paradoxe, on connaît d'autres territoires, d'autres peuples, dont le cas ne peut être inscrit à notre ordre du jour, mais pour qui les raisons d'espérer sont remplacées par des murs de béton, l'autodétermination par la menace des chars blindés et les possibilités d'expression par une impitoyable répression policière qui étouffe toute tentative de soulèvement. Dans ces territoires-là effectivement, pour la honte de l'Organisation, on peut dire que l'espoir est mort et que les êtres humains végètent, dépouillés de leurs plus nobles prérogatives.

59. Pour terminer, nous ferons simplement observer que la teneur même du rapport, le mandat confié au Comité spécial, le soutien encourageant fourni par toutes les délégations qui ont participé à la discussion, l'engagement solennel pris par l'Organisation et par l'humanité laissent prévoir qu'à la prochaine session de l'Assemblée nous accueillerons ici avec joie un nombre considérable d'Etats nouvellement parvenus à l'indépendance.

M. Zafrulla Khan (Pakistan) prend la présidence.

60. M. DADET (Congo [Brazzaville]): En prenant la parole sur la question de l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, et en le faisant au nom d'une nation africaine, j'ai profondément conscience d'être obligé de répéter ce qui a été dit par les représentants d'autres délégations, ou de la mienne au cours des précédentes sessions de notre assemblée, aussi bien qu'à la présente session. Le problème de la libération des derniers territoires non autonomes du monde se maintient, avec l'évidence la plus cruelle, au premier plan de notre ordre du jour. Il y a là une tâche dont nous avons à poursuivre inlassablement la réalisation. Le Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux a effectué un travail considérable pour lequel ma délégation présente à ses membres ses chaleureuses félicitations et leur exprime sa profonde gratitude.

61. Les discussions de cet organisme l'ont amené à traiter des problèmes qui sont examinés par ailleurs par d'autres groupes de travail de notre assemblée,

mais le Comité spécial des Dix-Sept a condensé dans son œuvre l'ensemble de nos préoccupations à l'égard de la libération future de nos frères encore esclaves ou assujettis. Le rapport du Comité spécial des Dix-Sept [A/5238] est le reflet fidèle et précis de notre inquiétude. Et je crois que notre angoisse est partagée par une écrasante majorité de peuples libres, car presque tous comprennent maintenant l'anachronisme que représente la persistance dans certaines parties du monde de statuts d'infériorité qui, sous une dénomination ou une autre, privent des millions d'hommes et de femmes de l'exercice démocratique de leurs droits de citoyens.

62. Pour supprimer ou retarder désespérément l'octroi de l'indépendance et d'une liberté totale et universelle dont la définition semble pourtant si clairement et si simplement établie par notre charte, des systèmes juridiques d'une étonnante habileté et parfois d'une déconcertante complexité ont été inventés: ils vont de la doctrine de l'apartheid à une prétendue politique d'assimilation, en passant par des régimes électoraux compliqués dont le but est toujours de frustrer les uns au bénéfice des autres.

63. Je ne crois vraiment pas que les rédacteurs de la Charte des Nations Unies, auxquels l'Afrique libérée ne cesse de rendre hommage, aient eu des arrière-pensées aussi subtiles lorsqu'ils ont écrit qu'ils étaient résolus à proclamer leur foi "dans les droits fondamentaux de l'homme, dans la dignité et la valeur de la personne humaine, dans l'égalité de droits des hommes et des femmes, ainsi que des nations, grandes et petites".

64. Comment peut-on souscrire sincèrement à ces principes et professer par ailleurs un prétendu développement parallèle qui n'est que l'asservissement d'une race par une autre, ou une prétendue société multiraciale dans laquelle seuls quelque 1 p. 100 de privilégiés exercent la plénitude de leurs droits, ou même certaines formules constitutionnelles plus élaborées qui permettent à une minorité de prétendre parler au nom de la majorité?

65. Je m'égare en revenant sur des arguments qui ont été tellement répétés tout au long de nos débats qu'ils inondent aujourd'hui les archives de l'Organisation. Mais notre lassitude ne doit pas être prise pour de la faiblesse ou pour de la résignation. L'impatience grandissante des peuples libres d'Afrique rejoint chaque jour plus étroitement celle de leurs frères encore asservis, et leur solidarité de plus en plus consciente risque de faire éclater demain les frontières de la sagesse et de la modération.

66. Modérée, l'Union africaine et malgache l'a toujours été, et certains nous l'ont parfois reproché. Mais notre mesure s'arrête aux limites que nous imposent la fidélité à nos convictions démocratiques et notre foi dans la liberté. Au cours de la Conférence des chefs d'Etats africains et malgache, tenue à Bangui, en République centrafricaine, du 25 au 27 mars 1962, notre groupe a pris des décisions nettes sur l'aide concrète à fournir aux pays de notre continent qui ne sont pas encore indépendants. Cette assistance sera marquée sur le plan diplomatique par l'approbation de toute sanction que l'Organisation prendra pour mettre à la raison les colonialistes impénitents; sur le plan financier, par le secours de nos modestes ressources donné à nos frères africains; sur le plan militaire, par notre collaboration dans la formation technique des combattants des armées de libération; sur le plan intellectuel et so-

ciâl, enfin, par la participation à l'instruction des cadres des nouvelles nations.

67. La lecture du rapport du Comité spécial nous confirme dans notre résolution. Elle nous indique les différents points sur lesquels doit porter notre effort. Nous faisons confiance au Royaume-Uni, car nous savons que ce pays a su créer une forme de démocratie qui compte parmi les plus libérales du monde. Nous savons aussi qu'il a su en répandre les principes à travers son ancien empire. Mais, en Rhodésie du Sud, le Royaume-Uni se trouve aux prises avec une coalition de colons européens, prêts à toutes les aventures pour ne pas renoncer à leurs privilèges. Ce problème ne saurait être éludé en affirmant qu'il s'agit là d'un territoire déjà autonome et que l'intervention de l'ancienne Puissance administrante ne peut plus en changer le régime intérieur.

68. Une coalition analogue de colons a paralysé l'Algérie pendant des années et coûté une longue guerre à la France et au peuple algérien.

69. Il ne faut pas tolérer au sud la même erreur qui a été commise au nord de l'Afrique. Il ne faut pas que, par l'artifice d'un suffrage restreint, une minorité blanche gouverne un pays au mépris des droits de la majorité noire. Les restrictions au droit de vote, fondées sur la fortune et l'instruction, sont un anachronisme que l'Europe occidentale a abandonné depuis longtemps. Il est vrai qu'il subsiste encore dans le monde des monarchies plus ou moins absolues, mais elles reposent, du moins nous l'espérons, sur le consentement traditionnel du peuple, sur sa confiance dans son roi ou son prince. Il n'y a pas de monarchie en Rhodésie, mais une oligarchie constituée par une classe et une race favorisées, et cette oligarchie est rejetée par le peuple africain. C'est notre fierté, dans l'Afrique indépendante de langue anglaise et de langue française, que d'avoir conduit aux urnes électorales nos pères parfois encore illettrés et nos femmes souvent mal instruites. Peu d'entre eux se sont trompés. Ils ont su choisir les chefs qu'ils méritaient et dont ils avaient besoin. C'est pourquoi il ne faut pas qu'un grand pays d'Europe nous invite à retourner à des formules constitutionnelles que même une dictature, de droite ou de gauche, n'oserait pas instituer.

70. La résolution 151 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale a posé en son paragraphe 3 le principe suivant:

"Le manque de préparation dans les domaines politique, économique ou social ou dans celui de l'enseignement ne doit jamais être pris comme prétexte pour retarder l'indépendance."

Ce qui est vrai à l'échelle des nations l'est aussi à l'échelle des individus. L'insuffisance de culture ou la pauvreté ne saurait servir de motifs pour restreindre l'exercice par un citoyen de ses droits politiques les plus élémentaires.

71. Un problème analogue se pose en Rhodésie du Nord où les privilèges de la minorité blanche sont aussi exorbitants qu'en Rhodésie du Sud, et où l'on a cherché à les protéger et à les renforcer par le maintien d'une fédération qui n'a jamais été acceptée par la population rhodésienne et qui a été le principal obstacle à l'admission rapide du Nyassaland à notre organisation. Nous souhaitons vivement que le Royaume-Uni adopte dans cette région une politique courageuse, digne de ses traditions et libérée de toute pression mue par des intérêts particuliers. Nous demandons aussi au Royaume-Uni d'appliquer le

principe de l'autodétermination au Bassoutoland, au Betchouanaland et au Souaziland et de les protéger contre une annexion dont nous connaissons la menace et les terribles conséquences qu'elle entraînerait pour ces petits pays et leurs malheureux peuples.

72. A Zanzibar, nous pensons qu'il n'y a pas de difficultés majeures et nous avons le ferme espoir que ce pays se joindra à notre organisation dans très peu de temps. Si les chefs de partis ne peuvent s'y mettre d'accord, pourquoi ne pas suivre la proposition faite au Comité spécial par le représentant de Madagascar [voir A/5238, chap. VI, par. 137], et soumettre la question de l'indépendance à un référendum organisé sous contrôle international? La France a procédé, dans les territoires coloniaux, à des consultations de ce genre et leur issue a donné satisfaction à tous.

73. Quant à la Guyane, elle semble plus avancée encore sur la voie de l'indépendance et son admission à notre organisation ne devrait plus être retardée. Enfin, le Kenya doit échapper aux derniers efforts des colons européens qui tentent de retarder son évolution, et il doit accéder lui aussi à la souveraineté dans les délais les plus brefs. Nous avons dit que nous faisons confiance au Royaume-Uni; nous comptons sur son gouvernement éclairé pour vaincre les résistances qui restent à surmonter. Nous ne pouvons pas en dire autant du Portugal. L'anachronisme, ici, n'est pas défendu seulement par une poignée de colons, il est installé dans les palais de Lisbonne et ne s'en ira qu'avec le régime de M. Salazar, lorsque le peuple portugais aura la force de le modifier ou de s'en débarrasser.

74. Nous ne sommes pas, à priori, hostiles à l'assimilation ni à la création d'une société multilatérale, mais alors celle-ci doit être fondée sur l'égalité de tous, dans le même statut juridique, politique et social. En cinq siècles, le Portugal a pu donner le titre d'"assimilés" à 2 p. 100 de ses sujets africains; encore savons-nous avec quelle réserve il faut accepter ce terme qui cache lui aussi des discriminations. En tout cas, un simple calcul d'arithmétique nous indique combien il faudrait encore de centaines d'années pour faire, de tous les habitants de l'Angola, du Cabinda et du Mozambique, des Portugais à part entière. Nous ne savons pas si le monde durerait assez longtemps pour voir l'achèvement d'une aussi longue et aussi consciencieuse politique dite civilisatrice. Alors, nous préférons penser que nos frères dominés par le gouvernement de Lisbonne ne sont pas des citoyens portugais, qu'ils ont déjà acquis assez de civilisation pour devenir des hommes libres et qu'ils obtiendront le reste par leurs propres efforts, avec l'aide des autres peuples d'Afrique et des Européens de bonne volonté.

75. Ma délégation se réserve le droit de traiter plus en détail la question des colonies portugaises, dans le cadre de ce point particulier de l'ordre du jour. Mais, puisque nous discutons ici le problème de l'indépendance dans son ensemble, nous tenons à affirmer que le Portugal doit être placé désormais non plus en présence de nos paroles mais en face de nos actions, et, puisqu'il croit, par sa politique, défendre certains de ses intérêts, nous devons lui montrer ce que cette même politique peut lui faire perdre de ses autres intérêts.

76. Nous avons à infliger une leçon analogue à l'Union sud-africaine, d'abord pour sa politique de ségrégation, dont je ne parlerai pas puisqu'elle a fait l'objet d'un débat spécial, ensuite pour l'annexion illégale du

Sud-Ouest africain par ce pays. Ici encore, nous sommes en présence d'une nation africaine condamnée aux "réserves indigènes", aux laissez-passer, au silence politique et à la stagnation économique pour la seule commodité d'une minorité de colons étrangers.

77. L'Afrique du Centre et du Sud est maintenant devenue le bastion d'une caste de privilégiés, qui ont formé entre eux une coalition désespérée pour résister jusqu'au bout à toute politique d'évolution. Cette résistance est irrévocablement condamnée. Il appartient aux puissances administrantes, et à leur défaut à notre organisation, de prononcer pacifiquement cette condamnation avant qu'elle ne le soit par la violence. Aujourd'hui, une guerre meurtrière sévit déjà en Angola. Il en sera de même peut-être demain en Rhodésie. Quand la violence est installée dans un peuple, elle est toujours accompagnée de la haine, elle détruit toutes les chances de fraternité et d'amitié qui existent entre individus de races et de classes différentes. Elle produit la peur et la rancune, la vengeance des uns et la fuite désespérée des autres. Elle compromet à jamais toutes possibilités de créer cette société multiraciale dont le Portugal a fait une caricature mais dont beaucoup d'entre nous sont fiers d'avoir fait une réalité.

78. Nous sommes certains qu'il resterait aujourd'hui beaucoup plus de colons français dans l'Algérie indépendante si les barricades d'Alger étaient tombées quelques années plus tôt. C'est dans l'intérêt bien compris de tous que nous devons faire disparaître les barricades de toutes sortes qui encombrant encore notre continent sous des étiquettes choisies par M. Salazar, M. Welensky ou M. Verwoerd.

79. C'est pourquoi mon pays approuvera toutes les mesures pratiques qui seront décidées par l'Organisation pour amener à la raison ceux qui n'ont rien appris. Nous appuierons, s'il le faut, leur expulsion de l'Organisation des Nations Unies afin que la limite soit bien établie entre ceux qui cherchent sincèrement à semer les germes de la paix et de la fraternité humaine recommandées par notre charte, et ceux qui méprisent celles-ci et ne récolteront que la guerre et la haine.

80. En conclusion, ma délégation approuve entièrement les recommandations du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. Elle espère que la grande majorité de l'Assemblée partagera son point de vue et que les sanctions qui seront décidées, appliquées d'une manière progressive, aideront les obstinés à trouver le chemin de la sagesse et nos frères africains à être présents, la tête haute, au rendez-vous de la liberté.

81. BENITES (Equateur) [traduit de l'espagnol]: Ma délégation a étudié avec soin le rapport publié sous la cote A/5238 et tient à féliciter le Comité spécial de l'objectivité, de la clarté et du caractère complet de son exposé sur des territoires divers. Certains éléments, toutefois, sont communs à tous les territoires considérés ou à la plupart d'entre eux; nous allons tenter de les dégager.

82. En premier lieu, le rapport concerne principalement des territoires situés au sud du Sahara, ou, pour être plus précis, en Afrique au sud de l'équateur. Les seules exceptions sont la Guyane britannique, le petit territoire d'Aden et la petite colonie de Singapour. Pour le reste, il s'agit d'un ensemble africain, com-

prenant la Fédération de la Rhodésie et du Nyassaland, le Souaziland, le Bassoutoland, le Betchouanaland, Zanzibar et Pemba, le Sud-Ouest africain, l'Angola, le Mozambique et le Kenya, soit en tout 5 253 999 kilomètres carrés comptant au total, d'après l'Annuaire statistique des Nations Unies pour 1961, 18 236 550 habitants.

83. En deuxième lieu, la population en question se compose surtout d'autochtones soumis à la domination politique et économique d'un petit groupe de colons blancs qui ont institué un régime de discrimination et de ségrégation raciales.

84. En troisième lieu, il est notoire que l'organisation économique de ces territoires est fondée sur l'exploitation du sol et du sous-sol par la minorité blanche qui emploie à cette fin une main-d'œuvre autochtone à bon marché.

85. Enfin, il existe dans ces territoires des mouvements de libération nationale qui s'expriment par l'action de partis politiques et, dans quelques cas, par une résistance armée.

86. La situation peut se résumer comme suit: le colonialisme est particulièrement vivace en Afrique au sud de l'équateur; il repose sur la discrimination raciale et se traduit par l'exploitation des richesses naturelles à l'aide d'une main-d'œuvre autochtone à bon marché, ce qui a entraîné l'apparition de mouvements de libération dont l'objectif est l'indépendance totale. Bien entendu, on ne peut voir dans l'Afrique une entité ethnique, culturelle, ni même géographique. Rien que dans la partie située au sud du Sahara, il y a une véritable mosaïque de races et de cultures, de langues et de dialectes, de zones géographiques différentes: forêts, montagnes, plaines et zones arides. Cette diversité a été accentuée par la colonisation européenne qui s'est développée à la suite du Traité de Berlin et a ajouté de nouveaux groupes ethniques et culturels au fonds autochtone, de nouvelles langues étrangères à la multitude des dialectes vernaculaires.

87. On peut toutefois discerner un facteur d'unité dans les aspirations communes de tous les peuples africains à en finir avec l'odieux régime colonial. Le phénomène a eu deux conséquences notables: d'une part, les divers mouvements politiques de libération nationale s'inspirent de plus en plus d'un sentiment de cohésion et de solidarité panafricaines; d'autre part, les maîtres coloniaux se groupent aussi sur le plan international en une espèce de Sainte-Alliance secrète qui se manifeste, sur le plan militaire, par un accroissement inusité des armements et, sur le plan politique, par la constitution de fronts communs. L'évolution autochtone doit avoir tout son origine à la structure même de la société coloniale africaine, axée dès le début sur l'idée de la supériorité ethnique et culturelle de l'Europe telle que l'avait conçue le comte de Gobineau. Cette doctrine raciste s'est exacerbée en Afrique jusqu'à donner naissance à l'espèce de théologie élaborée par Daniel Malan et aux conceptions politiques rigides appliquées par des hommes de gouvernement comme les ministres Verwoerd et Welensky.

88. En dehors toutefois du racisme considéré comme un système social, il y a eu accord unanime sur l'utilisation économique de la main-d'œuvre autochtone, délibérément maintenue à un niveau inférieur. En 1896 déjà, dans une note au Foreign Office, sir Harry Johnson écrivait: "L'abondance de la main-d'œuvre

garantira la sécurité financière du Protectorat." Les colonisateurs ont employé deux moyens pour parvenir à leurs fins: ils ont imposé de lourds tributs qui ont perpétué l'endettement du travailleur indigène; ils ont réparti les terres de telle façon que les autochtones n'obtenaient que les plus stériles et les plus malsaines, les meilleures étant réservées aux colons. La paupérisation des masses provoquait et continue de provoquer une saturation du marché du travail, qui fait que l'indice des salaires reste très bas. Dans beaucoup de territoires coloniaux, l'homme, en tant qu'instrument de travail, constitue toujours une importante marchandise d'exportation. Au Nyassaland, par exemple, où la densité démographique atteint 60 habitants par kilomètre carré, le pays ne peut nourrir sa population et des migrations considérables de travailleurs se produisent périodiquement.

89. En ce qui concerne le Bassoutoland, le Comité spécial indique dans son rapport:

"Les Bassoutos vont travailler dans la République sud-africaine, principalement dans les mines d'or. Le recensement de 1956 a fait état de 154 782 absents (en sus des 638 857 habitants décomptés dans le territoire)." [A/5238, chap. V, par. 8.]

Pour le Betchouanaland, le Comité écrit:

"Beaucoup d'hommes se rendent dans les territoires adjacents pour y travailler une partie de l'année, notamment dans les mines de la République sud-africaine." [Ibid., par. 37.]

Quant au Souaziland, il est signalé que 11 728 Souazis travaillaient en 1956 dans la République sud-africaine [ibid., par. 58].

90. Ces allées et venues des masses africaines paupérisées ont contribué à donner aux mouvements africains de libération leur caractère international. Il ne faut pas oublier que le continent est actuellement en pleine période de création d'Etats nouveaux. Lors de la constitution de l'Organisation, en 1945, trois Etats africains seulement figuraient parmi les Membres fondateurs: au nord du Sahara, l'Egypte, et, au sud du Sahara, le Libéria et l'Ethiopie. Pendant les 10 premières années, aucun Etat d'Afrique n'est entré à l'Organisation, jusqu'à l'admission de la Libye en 1955. Pendant les cinq années suivantes, seuls y entrèrent le Soudan et la Tunisie en 1956, le Ghana en 1957, la Guinée en 1958. On a appelé 1960 l'année de la libération coloniale, parce qu'elle a vu admettre à l'Organisation 16 Etats africains, suivis de trois autres en 1961 et de quatre encore au cours de la présente session. Ainsi, en sept ans, les rangs des Nations Unies se sont grossis de 28 pays d'Afrique, qui représentent près du tiers du nombre total des Etats Membres.

91. Ce serait faire preuve de l'aveuglement le plus absolu que de s'imaginer que ces peuples, qui ont vécu et souffert sous le joug du colonialisme, resteront indifférents au sort de leurs frères non encore parvenus à l'indépendance. Aussi comprenons-nous parfaitement leur véhémence, leur passion quand on traite ici du problème colonial. Quelles que soient les tendances politiques, les croyances religieuses, les différences quant au degré de développement, les variations linguistiques, il y a unité des Africains contre le colonialisme. Le danger que représentent pour la paix et la sécurité la perpétuation du colonialisme et la politique d'armement des grandes puissances n'est donc pas un vain mot.

92. Il ne faut pas oublier non plus que cette lutte se déroule dans un monde partagé entre des systèmes de vie opposés, avec tous les périls que cela comporte. C'est pourquoi nous croyons nécessaire de réaffirmer que tous ceux qui sont attachés aux idées démocratiques de l'Occident, fondées sur le respect de la liberté et de la dignité humaines et du droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes, doivent, non seulement en paroles mais aussi par leurs actes, ne rien négliger pour que soient effectivement et pratiquement éliminés le colonialisme, le racisme et l'exploitation de l'homme pour des raisons raciales.

93. Je voudrais tirer quelques conclusions des remarques qui précèdent. La première est qu'à notre avis la guerre froide ne doit pas influencer sur la liquidation du colonialisme, que ce soit au Comité spécial ou ailleurs. La deuxième est que le Comité spécial dont nous examinons le rapport doit être maintenu et renforcé pour éviter la dispersion des efforts entre de nombreux organes. La troisième est qu'il convient de lui assigner un mandat précis qui empêche toute confusion avec les attributions et prérogatives des grandes commissions de l'Assemblée générale. Enfin, nous recommandons de charger le Comité spécial d'entreprendre d'urgence une étude sur la situation économique et sociale des territoires encore soumis à la domination coloniale, notamment pour ce qui est du régime foncier, des fluctuations des salaires, des indices de la consommation et de la production, des mouvements migratoires, des méthodes et conditions de travail et, en général, de tous les facteurs socio-économiques, afin de faire en sorte que l'émancipation politique se réalise en conjonction avec un plan de développement économique approprié des territoires libérés.

94. Pour terminer, je dois souligner que ma délégation estime opportun, urgent et indispensable d'accorder l'indépendance immédiate à la Guyane britannique qui remplit toutes les conditions voulues pour pouvoir se gouverner elle-même.

95. M. COLLIER (Sierra Leone) [traduit de l'anglais]: Lorsque l'Assemblée générale a adopté en décembre 1960 la résolution 1514 (XV), maintenant devenue historique, elle a affirmé avec force que la communauté internationale venait de reconnaître le colonialisme comme un mal qu'il faut extirper de la société civilisée. Il en était d'ailleurs grand temps. Le monde, bouleversé et honteux des horreurs et des brutalités de la seconde guerre mondiale, a noblement conçu à San Francisco une Charte consacrée à l'instauration de la paix et de la sécurité internationales. A cette fin, l'Organisation des Nations Unies n'a cessé de persévérer dans sa détermination de faire disparaître les causes de tension dans le monde. L'indépendance à laquelle étaient promues de nombreuses nations et la dépendance dans laquelle demeuraient de nombreux pays et peuples coloniaux ont créé, ainsi que l'Organisation l'a estimé à juste titre, une situation internationale explosive d'où ne manqueraient pas de surgir des tensions et des conflits, tout à fait indépendamment du fait que la notion de l'assujettissement d'un peuple par un autre, qui implique le principe de la supériorité raciale, a été considéré comme absolument inacceptable pour un esprit civilisé.

96. C'est ainsi qu'a été adoptée, pour exprimer cette idée universelle, la résolution qui demandait l'octroi immédiat de l'indépendance à tous les pays et peuples coloniaux. Malgré cette résolution, l'Assemblée générale a constaté à sa seizième session qu'en fait de

nombreux territoires étaient encore soumis à une domination et une exploitation coloniales et qu'il fallait se préoccuper de cette situation. Le Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux a alors été constitué aux termes de la résolution 1654 (XVI).

97. Je tiens à saisir cette occasion pour féliciter le Comité spécial, au nom de ma délégation, de son volumineux et excellent rapport [A/5238] et de la détermination et du dévouement dont il a su faire preuve dans l'accomplissement de sa tâche alors qu'il a eu à surmonter souvent de graves difficultés créées par certaines puissances coloniales ainsi que leurs manœuvres d'obstruction.

98. Ce qui montre bien que le colonialisme exerce encore son emprise mortelle en Afrique, c'est le fait que le Comité spécial a jugé nécessaire d'étudier en priorité la situation dans 11 territoires d'Afrique: Rhodésie du Sud, Rhodésie du Nord, Nyassaland, Souaziland, Bassoutoland, Betchouanaland, Zanzibar, Mozambique, Sud-Ouest africain, Kenya et Angola. Les conclusions du Comité spécial constituent une révélation de ce que ma délégation considère comme une situation très alarmante dans certains de ces territoires. Dans beaucoup d'entre eux, les puissances coloniales n'ont fait aucun effort sérieux pour mettre en œuvre les dispositions de la résolution 1514 (XV). Au contraire, nous avons constaté la violation la plus flagrante de nombreuses résolutions de l'Assemblée.

99. L'Afrique du Sud et le Portugal se sont encore signalés comme les pires coupables. Le Gouvernement sud-africain, non content de perpétrer les plus ignobles atrocités contre la population autochtone, sans défense, de ce pays, cherche maintenant à mettre la haute main sur le Sud-Ouest africain, bravant ouvertement l'opinion internationale. Est-ce que l'Organisation mondiale va rester là sans rien faire en attendant qu'aboutissent les ignobles machinations du Gouvernement sud-africain blanc, lâche autant qu'inhumain? Et que dire du Bassoutoland, du Betchouanaland et du Souaziland où la majorité autochtone se voit toujours refuser le droit à l'autodétermination? Comme si cela ne suffisait pas, nous y voyons le spectre abominable et menaçant de l'apartheid se dessiner dans l'ombre.

100. Ma délégation est pleinement d'accord avec le Comité spécial lorsqu'il exprime son inquiétude au sujet des préparatifs militaires entrepris dans certains de ces territoires. Nous estimons que tous les préparatifs militaires sont répréhensibles et ont un caractère offensif où que ce soit. Nous ne pouvons nous permettre d'y faire objection dans certains cas et les excuser quand il s'agit d'autres pays et moins encore en Afrique. Ils constituent un motif de scandale pour la moralité internationale quand ils visent, comme c'est le cas, à étouffer les droits naturels de la vaste majorité des autochtones et à résister aux légitimes mouvements de libération nationale par la force des armes. Le Gouvernement sud-africain qui a porté son budget de défense de 12 millions de livres avant 1961 à 60 millions de livres en 1962 ne l'a pas fait en raison de menaces extérieures imminentes, mais parce qu'il veut réprimer et, si besoin est, exterminer les autochtones en raison de leurs légitimes aspirations à l'autodétermination. L'Afrique du Sud n'est d'ailleurs pas la seule à agir ainsi. Il est lamentable de penser que nous voyons en Afrique les Portugais avoir l'au-

dace de commettre parfois contre notre population les pires horreurs de la tyrannie nazie. Le Portugal a au Mozambique des unités militaires comptant plus de 50 000 hommes, comprenant notamment des parachutistes et des commandos. On nous a dit en outre qu'au Mozambique seul on a construit 15 nouveaux aérodrômes.

101. On se demandera sans doute comment le Portugal a pu procéder à pareil déploiement militaire. Il n'y a pas à chercher bien loin, la réponse est: l'OTAN. Le rapport du Comité spécial pour les territoires administrés par le Portugal [A/5160] nous apprend que la plus grande partie de l'équipement militaire et autre fourni au Portugal provient des pays de l'OTAN. Le Comité spécial déclare en outre que, contrairement aux assurances qui peuvent être données, le Portugal continuera à utiliser ces armes à des fins de répression contre la population de l'Afrique. C'est pourquoi ma délégation n'attache pas beaucoup d'importance aux belles paroles souvent hypocrites par lesquelles certains pays condamnent la conduite du Portugal en Afrique — non, certainement pas, puisqu'ils ont été ainsi parties à la politique regrettable et barbare du Portugal.

102. Cette attitude de consentement criminel et parfois de complicité non déguisée qui a caractérisé les politiques de certaines nations envers le colonialisme en Afrique n'a pas seulement été manifeste en ce qui concerne l'Angola et le Mozambique, mais aussi d'autres territoires comme la Rhodésie du Sud où les Britanniques ont persisté à chercher à abdiquer leurs responsabilités en invoquant des arguments spécieux qui n'ont convaincu personne.

103. Ces nations impérialistes, avec l'appui déclaré ou voilé de leurs amis, ont fait de leur mieux pour s'opposer aux impératifs de notre époque. Elles tentent désespérément d'arrêter la marche du mouvement de libération. Mais ni leurs odieuses conspirations pour faire échec aux légitimes aspirations de notre peuple, ni leurs tactiques et leurs manœuvres pour faire échouer nos efforts à l'Assemblée n'entraveront le mouvement irrésistible qui se renforce d'année en année. Le destin est de notre côté et nous finirons par triompher. Nous réduirons à merci et mettrons en déroute les alliances impies liguées contre nous pour contrecarrer l'évolution de l'histoire.

104. Ma délégation appuiera donc tout projet de résolution qui reconnaîtra la situation explosive dans ces territoires où le colonialisme est encore prospère et qui recommandera des mesures rigoureuses et décisives non seulement contre les pays qui perpétuent ce système, mais aussi contre ceux qui, par leur complicité, permettent à cette situation de se développer.

105. Ma délégation approuve entièrement la suggestion du Secrétaire général par intérim tendant à attribuer au Comité spécial des Dix-Sept toutes les activités sur le colonialisme qui sont actuellement confiées à quatre autres comités des Nations Unies. Indépendamment du fait que cette concentration entraînera une utile économie de temps et d'argent, il nous semble qu'elle évitera des doubles emplois et permettra d'obtenir de meilleurs résultats.

106. Une chose encore. Ma délégation estime que le Comité spécial a remarquablement souligné l'intransigeance de la politique portugaise en Afrique. Tant en Angola qu'au Mozambique, les Portugais continuent à refuser à la population autochtone ses droits civils et

politiques et poursuivent sans trêve leurs pratiques du travail forcé, de la discrimination raciale et de l'oppression. Cependant, malgré cette liste bien connue d'atrocités, l'afflux d'armes envoyées au Gouvernement portugais par ses alliés de l'OTAN continue. Certains de ces gouvernements sont de ceux qui se complaisent à faire des homélies sur la moralité internationale et qui ont publiquement promis leur appui en faveur d'une décolonisation rapide et du rétablissement des droits des peuples à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance partout dans le monde. Mais comment pourra-t-il jamais être mis fin rapidement au problème colonial si certains gouvernements continuent à fournir aux puissances coloniales des armes offensives qui, comme ils le savent ou devraient le savoir, serviront à la poursuite de politiques néfastes et à renforcer l'emprise de fer exercée sur les peuples qui luttent courageusement dans ces territoires. Ma délégation voudrait croire que les Etats Membres qui ont dans ces territoires des intérêts vitaux sous la forme de gros capitaux investis ne laisseront pas ces intérêts leur masquer l'existence des problèmes qui menacent la paix et la sécurité mondiales. A notre avis, il faut non seulement bien dire, mais aussi bien faire.

107. Le monde a enduré assez longtemps cette gangrène qu'est le désir de l'homme d'assujettir son semblable de toutes sortes de façons. En Afrique, nous avons souffert particulièrement de la forme colonialiste et raciste de ce mal. Nous sommes enfin à une époque où l'homme civilisé s'insurge contre cette pratique et n'est plus disposé à en tolérer plus longtemps les manifestations. Il faut qu'à l'Organisation des Nations Unies nous traduisions dans nos actes ce désir universel de tous les hommes dignes de l'être. Si nous poursuivons la tâche qui a commencé si noblement par l'adoption de la résolution 1514 (XV) et s'est poursuivie par l'adoption de la résolution 1654 (XVI) et les excellents travaux du Comité spécial, la période 1960-1970 méritera vraiment d'être acclamée par l'histoire et la postérité comme la période du développement.

108. M. CORNER (Nouvelle-Zélande) [traduit de l'anglais]: Il y a maintenant près de deux ans que la Déclaration sur le colonialisme a été adoptée par l'Assemblée. Alors que nous sommes réunis pour examiner l'application de la Déclaration, le moment semble venu de faire le point et de procéder à une réévaluation. Le rôle des Nations Unies dans l'abolition du colonialisme a été défini par les principes généraux qui ont été énoncés. Dans la présente discussion, nous étudions la tâche déjà accomplie et ce qui reste encore à faire.

109. Tournons nos regards vers le passé et nous constatons que huit pays, dont cinq en Afrique, ont accédé à l'indépendance depuis un an, et que ce rythme n'a été dépassé que pendant l'année record de la Déclaration même. Puis regardons vers l'avenir et nous nous apercevons que cinq territoires au moins, dont quatre en Afrique, auront probablement accédé à l'indépendance avant la fin de l'an prochain. Pour ces territoires, le but, qui est de passer à l'état de nations, est clairement en vue et proche, et ne pourrait être éloigné que par des dissensions intérieures.

110. On peut vraiment établir une opposition entre ces résultats et les progrès réalisés depuis deux ans pour ce qui est des autres grandes questions internationales. Pendant ce temps, les négociations sur le

désarmement ont avancé péniblement pouce à pouce et un traité d'interdiction des essais nucléaires est un peu plus proche, mais la somme des progrès accomplis est piteuse comparée à l'enjeu que représente pour l'humanité la solution cherchée. Dans ces autres domaines, celui du désarmement ou du développement, si nous regardons la réalité en face nous nous apercevons que des solutions spectaculaires sont peu probables. La plupart des problèmes mondiaux les plus anciens se sont acheminés avec une lenteur inévitable vers leur solution, sauf dans le cas du colonialisme. Qu'on se place de n'importe quel point de vue sur le plan international, le succès atteint par la Déclaration n'est pas peu de chose et c'est là une preuve frappante du changement opéré dans les esprits. Nous mesurons aussi de la sorte nos propres progrès vers la liberté. Car, ainsi que le représentant de l'Algérie nous l'a rappelé, aucun de nous ne pourra être véritablement libre tant que tous nos semblables ne seront pas nos égaux en liberté et dignité.

111. Ainsi, en Nouvelle-Zélande, il nous est difficile d'être d'accord avec ceux qui prétendent que la Déclaration n'a pas encore porté de fruits. Le peu de place dont nous disposons dans ce bâtiment vient réfuter pareille assertion. L'impatience de voir achever l'œuvre de décolonisation est naturelle. La nécessité impérieuse d'achever le processus de libération pèse lourdement sur la conscience de nombreux représentants réunis ici, en particulier ceux dont le pays a accédé à l'indépendance récemment. Mais l'impatience doit nous inciter à de nouveaux efforts et non pas nous égarer en nous faisant oublier les tâches qui restent à accomplir.

112. En vérité, dans un monde humain où le progrès n'est possible que dans la concorde et la patiente recherche de solutions aux problèmes qui se posent, il est à peu près aussi dénué de bon sens de réclamer une décolonisation instantanée qu'un désarmement instantané, un développement instantané ou toute autre réalisation instantanée. La décolonisation n'est pas seulement un état d'esprit, bien que cela soit essentiel; c'est aussi un processus. Dans la plupart des territoires où la puissance administrante s'acquitte honnêtement de sa mission, le problème consiste à poser les fondations d'un Etat moderne aussi rapidement que possible. Le rythme peut toujours en être accéléré, et c'est là un rôle important qui revient aux Nations Unies comme nous pouvons nous-mêmes en témoigner, mais il est clair que le processus lui-même ne peut être instantané.

113. Le colonialisme, système de domination étrangère d'un peuple ou d'une race sur un autre peuple ou une autre race, ne peut et ne doit pas survivre dans les conditions de la vie moderne. Que ce fait soit si largement reconnu est un véritable succès qui ne tient cependant pas à la Déclaration seule. Ce document historique résume, énonce et proclame solennellement un ensemble de principes qui en soi ne sont pas nouveaux. Mais aujourd'hui, pour la première fois dans l'histoire, nous avons à la fois une volonté collective internationale et le moyen, par l'intermédiaire de l'Organisation, de mettre fin au colonialisme et d'en empêcher à jamais la réapparition. C'était en 1945 la thèse de la Nouvelle-Zélande et nous l'avons soutenue lorsque le Premier Ministre néo-zélandais d'alors affirmait que la doctrine de la tutelle était applicable dans ses grands principes à tous les territoires coloniaux. Et elle n'est controversée, à ma connaissance, par aucune des grandes

puissances qui reconnaissent leurs obligations aux termes de la Charte.

114. Les questions que nous avons à résoudre maintenant semblent donc être surtout d'ordre pratique; examiner les meilleurs moyens de traduire en actes les principes de la Déclaration et, ce faisant, reviser le mécanisme employé par les Nations Unies en matière de décolonisation. Je sais bien que, selon d'autres théories, nous devrions simplement déclarer que dans quelques mois, par exemple en octobre 1963, le processus de décolonisation devra être entièrement terminé. Si nous acceptons qu'il en soit ainsi, il n'y a rien à ajouter; il est inutile de continuer à y penser et à discuter de moyens à employer et de situations pratiques. Il est inutile de discuter de la structure et des travaux de comités; car, si la décision doit dans chaque cas être automatique et toujours la même — l'indépendance dans quelques mois —, que reste-t-il à discuter? Je suppose toutefois que la plupart d'entre nous se préoccupent d'assurer le meilleur départ possible aux populations des colonies qui restent et par conséquent s'intéressent aux questions pratiques.

115. Il est compréhensible que le Comité spécial chargé du colonialisme ait fait porter ses efforts d'abord sur le continent africain. La libération de vastes régions du continent africain depuis quelques années constitue, dans le domaine des droits de l'homme, l'événement majeur et le plus émouvant de notre temps. Il n'est pas surprenant que l'éclat dont brille la liberté dans tant de nouveaux pays ait apporté un espoir nouveau et soudain aux populations des territoires qui restent dépendants. La détermination des chefs des Etats indépendants d'Afrique de hâter l'avènement de l'autodétermination dans tout ce continent est à la fois noble et encourageante.

116. Ainsi le Comité spécial s'est-il occupé la première année de 12 territoires, dont 11 en Afrique. Sur ces 11 territoires, huit relèvent à des degrés divers de la responsabilité du Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni, le Portugal en administre deux et l'Afrique du Sud un. Nous notons immédiatement une différence fondamentale dans la façon d'administrer ces groupes de territoires. D'une part, le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni a adopté une politique qui consiste à promouvoir activement l'autonomie et l'indépendance dans ses divers territoires: les Gouvernements du Portugal et de l'Afrique du Sud n'en ont pas fait autant. Dès les débuts de l'Organisation, le Royaume-Uni a coopéré avec elle dans l'application de cette politique. Les Gouvernements du Portugal et de l'Afrique du Sud ont au contraire refusé de coopérer et ont même préféré adopter une attitude de défi. Il va sans dire que ces politiques et attitudes différentes appellent de la part de l'Organisation des réactions différentes.

117. L'administration du Mandat de l'Afrique du Sud sur le Sud-Ouest africain va faire l'objet d'un avis de la Cour internationale de Justice que nous attendons; entre-temps, la Quatrième Commission a approuvé un projet de résolution II qui figure dans son rapport [A/5310]; ce texte constructif offre au Gouvernement sud-africain ce qui est probablement sa dernière chance de coopérer avec l'Organisation au sujet du Territoire du Sud-Ouest africain.

118. La Nouvelle-Zélande espère que les quelques indices d'une volonté de coopération qu'on a pu discerner de la part du Gouvernement sud-africain

depuis deux ans iront en s'accroissant, avant qu'il soit trop tard.

119. L'évolution vers l'autodétermination des territoires du Portugal en Afrique est étouffée sous le mythe, auquel seul le Gouvernement portugais paraît encore attacher importance, que ces parties de l'Afrique sont des parties du Portugal lui-même. Cette attitude est contraire à l'esprit et à la lettre de la Déclaration sur le colonialisme. Elle menace de porter un tort irréparable à l'histoire souvent glorieuse du peuple portugais et d'anéantir les progrès solides que le Portugal a faits dans d'autres domaines à l'époque moderne. Malgré l'uniformité de l'administration portugaise en Afrique, nous devons néanmoins tenir compte de la diversité des conditions qui règnent dans les différents territoires. En Angola, la violence a éclaté; au Mozambique, il n'en est rien jusqu'à présent. L'enclave de Cabinda est très petite et elle se rapproche plus naturellement de l'une ou l'autre des Républiques congolaises que de l'Angola, par qui elle est actuellement administrée.

120. Alors que le Portugal et l'Afrique du Sud se sont montrés peu disposés à faire face aux réalités et aux nécessités de l'époque présente, le Royaume-Uni avait, bien avant la Déclaration sur le colonialisme, donné la preuve, la preuve tangible, par la création d'Etats indépendants en Asie et en Afrique, de sa volonté de poursuivre sa politique qui tend vers le but de l'autodétermination de ses territoires dépendants. La majorité des Etats Membres ont reconnu la sagesse de cette politique et sa réalisation effective. Pour les territoires britanniques qui restent en Afrique, le but n'est pas contesté. S'il n'y avait pas de complications, il est certain qu'ils seraient déjà indépendants comme le sont le Ghana, la Nigéria, le Sierra Leone, l'Ouganda et le Tanganyika, dans le Commonwealth, et le Soudan et la Somalie, hors du Commonwealth.

121. Les complications qui font obstacle à la mise en œuvre de la Déclaration sont irritantes. Elles le sont pour la population des territoires dépendants, pour les Membres de l'Organisation et non moins, j'en suis certain, dans ce cas, pour la puissance qui a la charge des territoires. Chacune des trois parties — les dirigeants politiques du territoire intéressé, la puissance administrante et les Membres de l'Organisation — porte séparément la responsabilité de reconnaître qu'il faut supprimer les obstacles qui s'opposent à l'autodétermination définitive, puis jouer son rôle dans cette évolution. Dans certains des autres territoires britanniques, les complications ne sont pas graves et il est clair que l'indépendance est très proche. A Zanzibar et au Kenya, on se préoccupe surtout de l'unité nationale. Le Nyassaland, qui a un gouvernement africain, et la Rhodésie du Nord, qui en aura probablement bientôt un, doivent définir leurs relations l'une avec l'autre et avec la Rhodésie du Sud. La Rhodésie du Sud, qui est autonome et qui a jusqu'à présent un gouvernement entièrement composé de blancs, doit accélérer l'africanisation de son gouvernement et de son administration. Le Bassoutoland, le Betchoualand et le Souaziland sont situés à l'intérieur ou en bordure de l'Afrique du Sud. Les complexités de la situation de tous ces territoires doivent être reconnues et les responsabilités que nous avons tous envers eux ne peuvent être méconnues. Notre problème, qui est aussi celui de la Puissance administrante et celui des populations de ces territoires, est d'atteindre aussi vite que possible le but que nous nous sommes tous fixé.

La responsabilité qui nous incombe particulièrement en tant que Membres de l'Organisation est de veiller à ce que ce but soit atteint par des moyens pacifiques, car telle est la grande règle prescrite par la Charte des Nations Unies.

122. Chaque pays aborde le problème du colonialisme sous l'angle de sa propre expérience. Sans aucun doute, lorsque nous soulignons la diversité des territoires dépendants et la nécessité qui en découle de faire preuve de souplesse, nous sommes influencés en Nouvelle-Zélande par notre propre situation de pays du Pacifique. La Déclaration sur le colonialisme ne s'applique pas moins à la région du Pacifique qu'à d'autres régions, mais nous sommes enclins à penser, comme d'autres orateurs qui m'ont précédé, que la région du Pacifique exige peut-être des solutions particulières.

123. Les problèmes de la région du Pacifique, à la différence de ceux qui se posent en Afrique, relèvent plus de la géographie que de l'histoire. Ils résultent de la grande dispersion d'îles et de peuples répartis sur d'immenses étendues d'océan, désavantagés par leur isolement les uns des autres et du reste du monde et par le manque de ressources minières et d'autres ressources. L'application de la Déclaration sur le colonialisme doit donc compter avec ces conditions particulières aussi bien qu'avec la politique.

124. En tant que Puissance administrante, bien que peu importante, la Nouvelle-Zélande a continué de mettre en pratique les principes qu'elle a constamment défendus dans cette enceinte. Au début de l'année notre ancien territoire sous tutelle du Samoa-Occidental est devenu indépendant, bien qu'il soit juste peut-être d'ajouter que l'évolution vers l'indépendance avait commencé de nombreuses années auparavant. La Nouvelle-Zélande a encore sous son administration un groupe d'îles du Pacifique sud qui n'ont ensemble que des liens assez lâches, les îles Cook et Nioué. Il est difficile de faire dépendre ces îles d'un des concepts classiques du colonialisme ou de l'impérialisme. Leur population, qui compte en tout 24 000 habitants, est d'origine polynésienne, comme le sont de nombreux Néo-Zélandais. Leur superficie est au total de 500 kilomètres carrés de terre ferme répartie sur 2 millions et demi de kilomètres carrés d'océan. Leurs ressources, purement agricoles, sont limitées et la Nouvelle-Zélande doit même leur apporter chaque année une importante contribution financière pour assurer les services sociaux et autres.

125. La Nouvelle-Zélande communique des renseignements politiques et autres au sujet de ces territoires depuis que l'Organisation existe. Le processus de développement constitutionnel qui se déroule depuis 10 ans se poursuit et nous semble tout à fait conforme aux principes de la Déclaration sur le colonialisme. Il ne convient pas ici d'entrer dans les détails qui seront fournis à la Quatrième Commission lorsqu'elle étudiera le point pertinent de l'ordre du jour, mais il est peut-être utile de donner un rapide aperçu de la situation.

126. Dès cette année, les assemblées législatives des îles Cook et de Nioué — élues naturellement au suffrage universel et par les habitants eux-mêmes — ont reçu plein contrôle sur leur budget et ont le pouvoir de faire les affectations de crédits et de dépenser non seulement leur revenu local, mais aussi les subventions versées par la Nouvelle-Zélande. L'an prochain, le conseil exécutif de chaque territoire

sera choisi par l'assemblée législative, à la seule exception du Commissaire résident, nommé par la Nouvelle-Zélande. L'année suivante, les commissaires résidents se retireront des conseils. Ces conseils seront ainsi transformés en cabinets dûment constitués et l'autonomie interne sera entièrement réalisée.

127. Les populations de ces îles auront alors atteint un stade de développement constitutionnel tel qu'elles pourront valablement décider de leur statut futur, soit qu'elles restent seules, soit qu'elles s'associent à la Nouvelle-Zélande ou entrent dans quelque autre association du Pacifique sud, si cela est faisable. Nous envisageons donc de procéder alors à un genre de consultation conforme à la Charte et à la Déclaration afin de permettre à la population d'exprimer librement ses vœux.

128. Ce qui se passe ici à petite échelle a néanmoins, à mon avis, quelque valeur d'exemple. Au risque de sembler faire perdre du temps à l'Assemblée en l'entretenant de très petites questions alors que de beaucoup plus importantes figurent au premier plan de nos préoccupations, j'ai exposé dans leurs grandes lignes les plans de la Nouvelle-Zélande à l'égard de ses territoires du Pacifique en manière d'illustration, tirée de notre propre expérience, de la façon dont les principes de la Déclaration y sont appliqués. Cette application s'effectue dans un cadre probablement très différent de celui qui est normalement envisagé et qui n'a probablement pas eu une grande part dans la pensée de ceux qui ont rédigé la Déclaration. Dans une région aussi vaste et aussi variée que celle du Pacifique, beaucoup d'autres solutions sont possibles. Nous sommes cependant certains que, si tous les intéressés s'en tiennent à un point de vue pragmatique, les caractéristiques de la géographie et celles des divers territoires particuliers pourront être conciliées avec les buts des Nations Unies.

129. Dans le Pacifique comme en Afrique, ces buts et les obligations assumées par les puissances administrantes aux termes de la Charte sont généralement reconnus et respectés. Mais, de même que l'Afrique du Sud et le Portugal ont essayé d'échapper à leurs obligations, il y a dans la région du Pacifique une puissance qui en fait autant. Cinq puissances ont acquis des territoires dans le Pacifique à la suite de deux guerres mondiales. Quatre d'entre elles, dont la Nouvelle-Zélande, ont placé ces acquisitions sous tutelle internationale. La cinquième, l'Union soviétique, a conquis le sud de l'île Sakhaline et l'archipel des Kouriles, qui groupent au total près d'un demi-million d'habitants autochtones, ce qui est un chiffre important si l'on songe que les autres territoires non autonomes du Pacifique comptent ensemble environ 3 millions d'habitants. Non seulement l'Union soviétique n'a pas placé ses conquêtes sous tutelle internationale, mais elle ne les a jamais reconnues en tant que territoires non autonomes. En tant que Puissance administrante, l'Union soviétique a refusé de communiquer des renseignements sur leurs progrès politiques ou autres. Elle n'admet pas que leur indépendance soit possible et ne leur reconnaît pas le droit à l'autodétermination.

130. La politique de l'Union soviétique s'est traduite en fait par l'annexion pure et simple. L'annexion n'est pas une pratique reconnue par le nouvel ordre mondial établi par la Charte des Nations Unies. Pour autant que je sache, deux pays seulement n'ont pas reconnu cette situation: l'Afrique du Sud, qui voulait annexer

le Sud-Ouest africain en 1946, et l'Union soviétique, qui a effectivement annexé toute une série de territoires non russes. La Pologne, la Tchécoslovaquie, la Roumanie, la Finlande et le Japon sont au nombre des pays qui ont eu à déplorer la perte d'une partie du territoire national et de provinces entières ainsi que le transfert de millions de personnes.

131. Je ne m'arrêterai pas sur ce sujet, non plus que sur l'invasion et l'annexion du Tibet par la Chine, sinon pour souligner que le colonialisme n'est pas seulement le fait de ceux qui reconnaissent leurs obligations, respectent la Charte et se montrent favorables aux intérêts de la communauté internationale. Il y a aussi des colonialistes délinquants, en Afrique et ailleurs, qui esquivent leurs responsabilités. Comme beaucoup de représentants l'ont déjà noté, le Comité spécial des Dix-Sept a encore beaucoup à faire avant que les principes de l'autodétermination franche et libre s'affirment dans le monde. Nous voulons que la phase actuelle de la décolonisation s'achève aussi rapidement que possible. Les Nations Unies seront alors mieux à même d'examiner de plus près toute la question de la liberté de l'homme. Car, pour répéter ce que j'ai dit tout à l'heure mais dans un contexte différent, aucun de nous ne pourra vivre vraiment dans la liberté et la dignité humaine tant que tous les hommes ne seront pas libres. On ne triche jamais avec les dieux.

132. Après l'expérience de cette année, il ne fait aucun doute que le Comité spécial des Dix-Sept a assumé le rôle principal en examinant l'application de la Déclaration. Le volume de travail qu'il a déjà accompli est impressionnant, mais, comme je l'ai dit, il reste beaucoup à faire encore. Au moment où nous faisons le point et procédons à une réévaluation, il est donc nécessaire non seulement de passer en revue toute la série des problèmes coloniaux, mais aussi de reviser et, lorsque cela est possible, d'améliorer le mécanisme institué par les Nations Unies pour y faire face.

133. Des orateurs qui m'ont précédé ont présenté des propositions de réorganisation du Comité spécial des Dix-Sept. Nous les avons étudiées avec intérêt. Nous sommes enclins à penser que le nombre exact des membres qui composeront à l'avenir le Comité n'a pas une importance primordiale, qu'il soit augmenté de quatre ou sept membres ou reste inchangé. Il ne serait pas avisé d'augmenter le nombre de ses membres au point que le Comité ne soit plus maniable et perde de son efficacité. D'autre part, nous verrions quelques avantages à la suggestion du représentant du Brésil selon laquelle le Comité aurait le pouvoir d'inviter certains pays à sa table en des circonstances spéciales si leur présence peut être particulièrement utile.

134. Ce qui importe, à notre avis, c'est que la répartition du travail soit plus efficace. La rapidité de la décolonisation et les efforts croissants des Nations Unies ont eu pour résultat une multiplicité de comités spéciaux qui traitent chacun un point du problème et dont les mandats font souvent double emploi. Le moment est venu de rationaliser ce développement désordonné et de confier au Comité spécial, dont les travaux seraient répartis entre des sous-comités si cela semblait préférable, la responsabilité que se partagent actuellement plusieurs comités. Ces derniers ne conserveraient plus alors aucune fonction et pourraient être supprimés. Seul le Conseil de tutelle ferait exception, non seulement parce qu'il est un

organe principal des Nations Unies conformément à la Charte, mais aussi parce qu'il a ses propres méthodes qui ont fait leurs preuves et s'occupe maintenant spécialement d'une région, celle des territoires sous tutelle du Pacifique.

135. Le Comité spécial des Dix-Sept a élaboré et éprouvé ses propres procédures; on devrait maintenant lui permettre de poursuivre ses travaux avec calme et réalisme. Les principes ont été posés. Les actes sont maintenant plus importants que les discours. Lorsque la puissance administrante se montre disposée à collaborer, il est évident que des résultats plus concrets et plus rapides sont possibles ainsi. Lorsque l'indépendance est ouvertement le but de la puissance administrante, la tâche du Comité est alors de l'aider et non pas de tout compliquer. Lorsque la puissance administrante n'est pas disposée à collaborer — et j'en ai cité certains cas —, nous estimons que le plus sûr moyen d'obtenir des résultats concrets est d'exercer progressivement une pression, dans le cadre reconnu que prescrit la Charte, pour faire progresser la cause des droits de l'homme et de l'autodétermination des peuples assujettis.

136. Dans les deux cas, le rôle des Nations Unies est important et comporte des responsabilités. En faisant le point des progrès accomplis depuis l'adoption de la Déclaration il y a deux ans, nous constatons que l'Organisation des Nations Unies a acquis un pouvoir, un véritable pouvoir, en matière de décolonisation. Cette œuvre a une importance immense et historique. La tâche qui nous attend n'est pas moins importante. Elle consiste à parachever ce pouvoir pour assurer aux peuples intéressés, d'une façon concrète et raisonnée, les profits les plus immédiats et les bienfaits les plus durables.

137. M. MOD (Hongrie): La dix-septième session de l'Assemblée générale est la troisième session consécutive qui est saisie des questions générales de la liquidation du système colonial. L'Assemblée générale a adopté la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, le 14 décembre 1960, sans opposition. On était donc en droit d'attendre que les Etats Membres, en tout premier lieu naturellement les puissances coloniales, respectent aussi dans la pratique les dispositions de la Déclaration, c'est-à-dire qu'elles octroient immédiatement l'indépendance à leurs colonies.

138. Avant d'examiner l'état actuel du problème du colonialisme et des tâches qui s'ensuivent pour nous, nous devons donc répondre à la question de savoir pourquoi il était nécessaire d'inscrire à l'ordre du jour de la présente session la question de l'application de la Déclaration.

139. Etait-ce pour célébrer la réalisation de la décolonisation accomplie dans l'esprit de la Déclaration? Non. Etait-ce pour dresser le bilan des résultats obtenus en commun dans le processus accéléré de la décolonisation? Non. Etait-ce pour prendre de nouvelles mesures collectives, nécessitées par la situation qui s'est produite grâce à la coopération bienveillante et sincère des colonisateurs? Non et toujours non.

140. Ce ne sont pas les résultats obtenus en commun par la voie pacifique, mais c'est la résistance que les puissances coloniales opposent à l'évolution historique et aux résolutions adoptées par les Nations Unies dans l'esprit de cette évolution qui a nécessité pour la deuxième fois l'inscription de cette question à l'ordre du jour.

141. La résolution 1654 (XVI) de l'Assemblée générale a précisé ce fait en termes exprès. Dans son préambule, en examinant les dispositions les plus importantes de la Déclaration, elle énonce ce qui suit (et je cite quelques fragments du préambule):

"Constatant avec regret qu'à quelques exceptions près il n'a pas été donné suite aux dispositions contenues dans ledit paragraphe [par. 5] de la Déclaration,

"Prenant note du fait que, contrairement aux dispositions du paragraphe 4 de la Déclaration, ...

"Constatant avec inquiétude que, contrairement aux dispositions du paragraphe 6 de la Déclaration..."

142. La plupart des interventions que nous avons entendues jusque-là ont constaté le même phénomène. Une des tâches principales qui s'imposent à nous dans la présente discussion est donc d'analyser les causes et les méthodes de la résistance des colonisateurs et d'élaborer une résolution donnant effet à des mesures aptes à briser cette résistance et assurant l'application immédiate et sans conditions des dispositions de la Déclaration.

143. Les orateurs qui m'ont précédé, ainsi que les délibérations des deux sessions précédentes de l'Assemblée générale, ont relevé l'importance que revêt la question de la liquidation du colonialisme dans cette période de la vie de l'humanité. C'est pourquoi je ne désire mentionner que quelques-unes des conclusions finales, principalement pour souligner de nouveau l'importance de la présente discussion. La liquidation du colonialisme est une question qui se pose en importance qu'à celle du désarmement général et complet; c'est donc un problème qui touche de près les intérêts de l'humanité entière. La liquidation du colonialisme est l'un des processus les plus révolutionnaires du milieu du XXème siècle, un processus qui, en raison de sa nature, opère des changements radicaux dans les relations entre peuples; il est donc révolutionnaire aussi en tant que facteur historique. Elle est étroitement liée à la question du désarmement; elle en est la condition à certains égards et la conséquence en d'autres circonstances. La position que prend un Etat, non seulement par des paroles, mais surtout par des actes, dans la question du colonialisme affecte donc l'humanité entière et cette prise de position est en même temps la pierre de touche du système social de l'Etat en question.

144. Dans les débats sur la liquidation du colonialisme, l'objet de la polémique est fourni dans tous les cas par quelques territoires où la gestion des affaires politiques et de l'économie nationale est contrôlée non par la population autochtone, mais par une puissance coloniale étrangère. Il est également de notoriété publique que les puissances coloniales respectives occupent ces territoires par la violence, sous prétexte de "civilisation" au stade du développement de la société humaine qui est connu sous le nom de capitalisme, de 100 à 400 ans avant l'époque actuelle. La Déclaration du 14 décembre 1960 ne demande à ces puissances que de rendre le pouvoir à la population de ces territoires qu'elles exploiteront pendant si longtemps.

145. La mise en application des principes de la Déclaration sert donc à réparer les injustices historiques commises par la société capitaliste. Mais ces principes indiquent également que, dans les conditions de l'actuel stade de développement de la société

humaine, le maintien du colonialisme en tant que rapport entre différentes communautés humaines n'a désormais aucune base politique, économique ou morale. L'Union soviétique a le mérite historique incontestable d'avoir été la première à reconnaître ce fait et à suggérer les principes anticolonialistes énoncés dans la Déclaration du 14 décembre 1960.

146. Depuis 1960, un grand nombre de pays sont devenus indépendants et ont été admis à l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Mais nous nous trouverions en contradiction avec les faits et avec les justes conclusions tirées de ces faits par l'Assemblée générale si l'accroissement du nombre des Membres de l'ONU nous faisait oublier le fait que ces résultats sont issus de luttes, souvent de luttes sanglantes, et non — comme les puissances coloniales voudraient nous le faire croire — le produit d'une évolution pacifique, du bon sens et de la générosité des puissances coloniales. Pour assurer la liquidation complète du colonialisme et la libération des peuples qui souffrent toujours sous le régime colonial, il importe beaucoup que justement ici-même, à l'ONU, nous ne perdions jamais de vue ce fait.

147. Les délibérations de l'Assemblée générale au sujet du colonialisme ont subi une évolution intéressante. Au début, lorsque la question de l'indépendance nationale des colonies avait été soulevée, les puissances colonisatrices ont déclaré tout net que cela ne regardait pas l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Même à la quinzième session de l'Assemblée générale, en 1960, le représentant du Royaume-Uni, à titre d'explication de vote, après l'adoption de la Déclaration, a invoqué la Charte des Nations Unies pour prouver que la Déclaration était contraire à la Charte et ne concernait pas les colonies britanniques. M. Ormsby-Gore a déclaré le 14 décembre 1960:

"C'est ainsi qu'à notre sens le paragraphe 1 de la Déclaration n'est absolument pas applicable aux habitants des territoires que nous administrons puisqu'il s'agit d'une domination et d'une exploitation étrangères contraires à la Charte des Nations Unies, alors que l'administration britannique des territoires non autonomes respecte strictement les dispositions pertinentes de la Charte." [947ème séance, par. 49.]

148. Cette attitude était caractéristique, c'était celle de tous les autres pays qui se sont abstenus lors du vote sur l'adoption de la Déclaration. Mais, depuis lors, personne n'a dit que l'ONU n'était pas en droit de prendre position contre le colonialisme sans réserve et de façon conséquente, et c'était là le premier résultat appréciable de la Déclaration au sein de l'Organisation.

149. Les deux années qui se sont écoulées depuis 1960 sont marquées de toute une série de prétextes et de manœuvres de diversion auxquels les colonisateurs ont eu recours par le passé également, mais qui sont devenus significatifs du fait que, désormais, il leur était impossible de refuser carrément la Déclaration. Ces manœuvres sont multiformes, mais elles sont toutes destinées à poursuivre le même but: le maintien du système colonial.

150. Quant aux arguments et à l'attitude de l'Espagne et du Portugal, ces pays se sont cantonnés derrière des conceptions du Moyen Âge. Ils ont proclamé que deux fois deux font cinq et ils ont déclaré qu'ils ne tiendraient aucun compte d'un avis contraire. Tant pis pour l'histoire si elle les a dépassés de quelques

siècles: jour après jour, ils violent la lettre et l'esprit de la Déclaration. Mais ils n'ont pas voté contre son adoption. Ces deux pays se sont abstenus de voter.

151. L'attitude du Royaume-Uni rappelle un peu ce qu'a dit l'emprunteur de la fable en retournant à son ami la cruche à l'anse cassée qu'il lui avait empruntée: "D'une part, je ne t'ai emprunté aucune cruche; d'autre part, elle avait déjà l'anse cassée lorsque je te l'ai empruntée."

152. D'une part, dans son intervention précitée, M. Ormsby-Gore a déjà fait savoir à l'Assemblée que la base de principe de la Déclaration, son paragraphe 1, "n'est absolument pas applicable aux habitants des territoires que nous administrons"; d'autre part, dans la discussion de la question de la Rhodésie du Sud, le représentant du Royaume-Uni au Comité spécial des Dix-Sept a déclaré que "la Rhodésie du Sud jouissait de l'autonomie interne depuis 1923" [A/5238, chap. II, par. 62]. Autrement dit, le Royaume-Uni ne doit retourner aucune cruche à l'ONU; d'ailleurs, dans ce cas concret, la cruche était depuis longtemps en mains compétentes, non seulement avant que les Nations Unies l'aient exigé, mais bien avant que les Nations Unies aient été créées.

153. Les arguments des puissances coloniales peuvent être divisés en deux catégories.

154. Dans la première, le Portugal et l'Espagne déclarent: "Nous n'avons pas de possessions coloniales." On peut aussi classer les États-Unis qui font le silence sur leurs propres territoires sous tutelle, comme s'ils n'existaient pas du tout.

155. Dans la seconde, les représentants du Royaume-Uni disent: "Nos colonies progressent en plein accord et en ordre vers l'indépendance et l'autonomie." On ne sait quand elles atteindront l'un et l'autre de ces buts, mais elles l'atteindront toutes; elles n'ont qu'à attendre patiemment et se perfectionner. Quiconque n'est pas d'accord sur ce point, ou bien est un ennemi du "développement pacifique", ou bien introduit la guerre froide dans la discussion, ou encore ne comprend pas que tous les territoires ne sont pas encore mûrs pour l'indépendance, et cela pour des raisons différentes. Pour la plupart des territoires coloniaux, on prétend qu'il n'était pas encore possible de former suffisamment de cadres indigènes pour la gestion indépendante des affaires de ces territoires.

156. Ce sont là les arguments présentés par les colonisateurs et leurs amis. Nous assistons aussi à une manœuvre qui consiste à essayer de nous faire parler sur d'autres sujets, sur les pays socialistes par exemple. Nous comprenons fort bien que la délégation des États-Unis, et quelques autres délégations, se trouvent dans une situation peu enviable lorsque, dans cette enceinte, nous assistons au procès du colonialisme et que, pour en sortir, tout moyen leur semble bon. Ce que nous ne comprenons pas, cependant, c'est que ces pays ne se rendent pas compte que par cette manœuvre ils sous-estiment la majorité politique des membres de cette assemblée. Ma délégation, par exemple, a eu l'occasion d'expliquer plusieurs fois, et de prouver dans cette assemblée, comment la contre-révolution en Hongrie a été organisée, financée, armée et dirigée par les puissances occidentales. Tout le monde sait donc que ces événements peuvent être invoqués sous un seul aspect de la question, notamment par le fait que les mêmes puissances qui, en Union sud-africaine, en Rhodésie du Sud et en d'autres territoires, soutiennent et

arment les forces réactionnaires, soutiennent et arment la réaction sous toutes ses formes et partout dans le monde. Mais cette tentative pour détourner l'attention de l'Assemblée générale de ses tâches réelles ne produira aucun fruit pour ses initiateurs et je pense qu'il serait grand temps que ces délégations se rendent compte que le niveau politique, dans cette assemblée, est tout de même bien plus élevé que dans les réunions des campagnes électorales de leur pays.

157. Il faut, à plus d'un titre, que nous détruisions ces allégations des puissances coloniales. En premier lieu, parce que la réalité de la vie des peuples coloniaux contredit toutes ces affirmations; leur prémisse est donc fausse. En second lieu, parce que, partant de là, elles amènent d'autres pays à en venir aussi à des conclusions erronées et trompeuses. D'autre part, les puissances coloniales désirent se servir de fausses conclusions pour induire en erreur les Nations Unies et l'opinion publique du monde entier, tout en se prétendant les défenseurs des droits des peuples et des droits de l'homme. Si l'allégation portugaise, selon laquelle le Mozambique et l'Angola ne sont pas des pays par eux-mêmes, mais des provinces du Portugal, ne servait pas seulement à tromper le monde extérieur, mais si le Portugal la prenait au sérieux, il faudrait que les conditions qui y existent en général soient du moins conformes au niveau de vie portugais, qui est d'ailleurs extrêmement bas à l'échelle européenne. Au cours de l'audition des pétitionnaires, au Comité spécial des Dix-Sept, M. Simango, représentant de l'Union démocratique nationale du Mozambique, a dit qu':

"... son organisation, qui représentait les intérêts de 6 millions et demi d'habitants africains du Mozambique, tenait à informer le Comité que cinq siècles de domination coloniale portugaise se soldaient par l'exploitation économique, la répression politique et la dégradation sociale de la population africaine de ce vaste territoire." [A/5238, chap. VIII, par. 24.]

158. Dans son chapitre traitant du Mozambique, le rapport du Comité spécial des Dix-Sept [*ibid.*, chap. VIII] souligne l'inhumaine terreur policière que font régner les autorités portugaises et constate aussi que l'expression "province d'outre-mer" n'est qu'une pure fiction qui sert à tromper l'étranger. Pour autant que nous sachions, les habitants autres que ceux des possessions portugaises d'outre-mer sont traités en citoyens portugais. Au Mozambique, cependant, après cinq siècles de domination portugaise, il y a, d'après les statistiques officielles, en tout et pour tout 4 353 non-Portugais "assimilados", qui ont réussi à obtenir le premier degré de nationalité portugaise. Les autres 6 millions et demi d'habitants africains du Mozambique ne sont pas considérés, par le Portugal, comme ses nationaux du point de vue de sa conception de politique intérieure. De quel droit exige-t-il donc que nous, Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, les considérions comme ressortissants portugais?

159. Les débats qui se sont déroulés l'an dernier et cette année sur la question de la Rhodésie du Sud rendent inutile une analyse détaillée de la manière dont le Royaume-Uni essaie d'escamoter l'autonomie. Ma délégation en a parlé amplement déjà à la Quatrième Commission. Maintenant, je ne désire que souligner la conclusion que nous en avons tirée: à l'issue du prétendu référendum de 1923, que le Royaume-Uni considère comme un fondement juri-

dique, politique et moral, c'est sur la base de 8 000 et quelques voix que l'autonomie a été octroyée aux colons blancs. Ni à ce moment-là, ni depuis, personne n'a consulté la population autochtone. Par conséquent, le Royaume-Uni ne peut se poser en porte-parole de la population autochtone.

160. Les puissances qui se sont opposées à la liquidation du colonialisme emploient encore une méthode bien connue et qui n'est pas toujours sans effet: en camouflant l'essentiel des problèmes réels, elles nous accablent de propagande de guerre froide. Il est un fait notoire que les Etats-Unis ont d'importants capitaux investis en Afrique du Sud tout comme au Sud-Ouest africain. Nombre de délégations et de pétitionnaires ont relevé ce fait à la Quatrième Commission, de même qu'au cours des sessions antérieures de l'Assemblée générale. La meilleure preuve de la position des Etats-Unis est fournie par l'abstention de ce pays ou son vote contre les projets de résolution sur la question du Sud-Ouest africain. Cette attitude a été appréciée par un conseiller de la délégation sud-africaine à la seizième session de l'Assemblée générale, lorsqu'il a fait, de retour dans son pays le 20 décembre 1961, la déclaration suivante au "Windhoek Advertiser":

"La délégation du Royaume-Uni a livré une lutte sérieuse pour le compte de l'Afrique du Sud... Nous avons des obligations envers la Grande-Bretagne, car c'est grâce à elle que la motion demandant des sanctions économiques n'a pas obtenu la majorité des deux tiers des voix à l'Assemblée générale. Les Etats-Unis ont également contribué à ce résultat."

161. Comme en bien d'autres cas, les faits sont diamétralement opposés à ce que les puissances colonisatrices disent aux Nations Unies, et les faits ne se discutent pas. Il est notoire cependant que nombre de pays non alignés s'efforcent d'éviter les questions dites de guerre froide. C'est pourquoi, au lieu de discuter sur les faits, les puissances coloniales, si elles se trouvent en face d'une constatation qu'elles ne peuvent réfuter, la qualifient tout simplement de question de guerre froide; mais, en réalité, cet argument sert à faire reculer les pays non alignés devant la discussion du problème et à rompre par là l'unité des pays qui insistent sur la liquidation du colonialisme.

162. En ce qui concerne la pénurie générale de cadres dirigeants parmi les populations autochtones, ma délégation est entièrement d'accord avec le représentant de l'Arabie Saoudite qui, en analysant la situation en Rhodésie, a déclaré que cette référence à la pénurie des cadres est "un argument... désastreux, pour la situation de la Puissance administrante" [1168ème séance, par. 134].

163. Les puissances colonisatrices ont encore un argument que je voudrais analyser brièvement. Il consiste à dire qu'en plus de l'assistance politique et civilisatrice les pays colonisés et les territoires non autonomes reçoivent de la puissance coloniale une importante assistance économique, une assistance tellement importante que la puissance coloniale "y va de sa poche". Les plus raisonnables des puissances coloniales ne contestent plus le fait historique que le colonialisme a signifié pour la population du pays assujéti, en plus de l'extermination et de l'esclavage, la spoliation économique de son pays. Selon le nouvel argument, alors que c'était vrai par le passé, il n'en est plus ainsi actuellement.

164. Examinons tout d'abord quelques données concrètes. Les investissements directs du capital privé américain dans les territoires dépendant de pays d'Europe occidentale sont passés de 427 millions de dollars en 1949 à 906 millions de dollars en 1957. Pendant ces huit ans, les "investisseurs" américains y exportaient des capitaux nouveaux s'élevant à 229 millions de dollars et ils réimportaient aux Etats-Unis 1 159 millions de dollars de profits. En d'autres termes, les capitalistes américains — qui étaient probablement dans une situation moins favorable que les capitalistes du pays métropolitain — ont obtenu un accroissement de capital de 479 millions de dollars, sans avoir aucun risque à courir, réimportant en même temps des bénéfices s'élevant à 930 millions de dollars. Ces 930 millions de dollars proviennent de la soustraction pure et simple d'une partie du revenu national produit par les peuples de ces pays colonisés. La mesure du pillage dont ces pays ont été victimes apparaît aussi dans le fait que le total de 906 millions de dollars d'investissements de l'année 1957 a rapporté un bénéfice net de 239 millions de dollars, soit 26,3 p. 100.

165. Les statistiques publiées par les colonisateurs européens évitent soigneusement de faire des analyses d'une sincérité similaire. Nous connaissons cependant les chiffres d'affaires de certaines entreprises privées:

"Pour la Consolidated Gold Fields of South Africa, Ltd.,... le bénéfice net, en 1961, était de 4 100 000 livres sterling, pour un capital de 14 500 000 livres, dont la plus grande part est d'origine britannique... Pour l'Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa, Ltd., avec un capital de 7 750 000 livres seulement, le bénéfice net, en 1961, était de 8 400 000 livres et les dividendes, de 4 900 000 livres... L'Union minière du Haut-Katanga... possède un capital de plus de 57 millions de livres et les dividendes pour 1959-1960 étaient approximativement de 19 500 000 livres... La Tanganyika Concessions, vieille compagnie britannique, ... a d'immenses propriétés forestières et minières... Son capital, d'origine britannique, est de 10 millions de livres et ses dividendes pour 1959-1960 étaient de 3 millions de livres^{1/}."

166. Vu ce qui précède, c'est faire une estimation trop modeste que de dire qu'il faut peut-être quatre années entières pour que le capital d'une puissance coloniale soit amorti aujourd'hui dans les colonies. Les choses allaient certainement plus vite "dans le bon vieux temps". Mais la situation actuelle prouve clairement que, du point de vue économique et social:

a) Les puissances coloniales, loin "d'y aller de leur poche", tirent, même aujourd'hui, des profits fabuleux du labeur des peuples colonisés et de leur économie nationale;

b) Les puissances coloniales vivaient au stade de développement dit capitaliste de l'évolution sociale, ou à un stade de transition vers le capitalisme, lorsque l'époque du pillage colonial a commencé, et elles vivent dans un système du même type à notre époque où ce pillage se poursuit. Le système social du type capitaliste est caractérisé, par conséquent, au cours de son histoire tout entière, du point de vue des pays colonisés, par sa qualité de parasite;

c) L'époque de l'évolution de l'humanité, où la population du monde était divisée en pays riches et pays pauvres, était l'époque des sociétés capitalistes. C'est un fait notoire que le niveau de vie des peuples, disons grosso modo des pays actuels de l'OTAN, avant l'ère du colonialisme, n'était pas beaucoup différent de celui des pays des autres continents.

167. Il s'ensuit donc logiquement qu'une des raisons pour lesquelles les puissances coloniales tiennent invariablement à leurs possessions est une simple cause matérielle: la chasse au profit, et non pas quelque mission civilisatrice transcendante.

168. Nous sommes tous d'accord — qui avec plaisir, qui sans joie — pour admettre que l'époque du colonialisme, plus exactement du colonialisme classique, tire à sa fin.

169. Mais les données que j'ai énumérées en parlant des aspects économiques du colonialisme démontrent aussi qu'aujourd'hui le pillage des richesses de différents pays colonisés est pratiqué non seulement par tel ou tel pays ou par les capitalistes d'un pays donné, mais par des groupements financiers dont les membres sont des contribuables importants des différentes puissances coloniales. Quelle que soit leur nationalité, ces hommes ont un trait caractéristique commun: ils veulent maintenir leurs privilèges coûte que coûte. Leur influence est si grande que, dans beaucoup de cas, ils peuvent intégrer la défense de leurs intérêts dans la politique officielle de leur pays. C'est ainsi que s'est formée, dans la lutte contre la liquidation du colonialisme, cette "unholy alliance" — l'Alliance impie — dont les membres voudraient tous renverser le cours de l'histoire.

170. Sur le continent africain lui-même, comme Basil Davidson, le publiciste anglais réputé, l'a écrit:

"Il existe sans doute aujourd'hui une alliance impie d'entraide et de coopération entre les hommes sinistres et bornés, en Afrique, qui croient que l'avenir ne doit pas être meilleur que le passé, mais qu'il doit être le même, que le colonialisme doit être maintenu, que la haine raciale doit persister.

"Le Portugal, l'Union sud-africaine, la Fédération de Rhodésie et du Nyassaland, l'Etat fantoche séparatiste du Katanga, avec les subventions importantes qu'il reçoit des entreprises minières relevant de la Belgique, les gouvernements de tous ces pays, avec leurs riches amis à l'étranger, se sont associés en un complot pour arrêter l'expansion de la liberté politique et économique en Afrique centrale et en Afrique du Sud. De puissants intérêts politiques et économiques britanniques sont engagés dans cet effort pour détruire tout espoir en un changement constructif^{2/}."

171. L'activité de cette Alliance impie a eu pour résultats la politique d'apartheid dans la République sud-africaine, la pseudo-constitution de 1961 qui foule aux pieds le droit à l'indépendance nationale et les droits élémentaires des habitants africains constituant plus de 90 p. 100 de la population de la Rhodésie du Sud, des dizaines de milliers d'assassinats en Angola, les salaires de famine des ouvriers noirs en Rhodésie du Nord, le travail d'esclaves au Mozambique, et on pourrait énumérer longuement les outrages aux droits de l'homme, aux droits économiques et politiques, que les membres de l'Alliance

^{1/} Rosalyn de Ainslie, *The Unholy Alliance*, Salazar-Verwoerd-Welensky, p. 22 à 24.

^{2/} Ibid., préface de Basil Davidson, p. 2.

imple perpètrent, au centre et au sud de l'Afrique, contre le propriétaire réel de ces territoires, la population autochtone.

172. Ils ne pourraient et n'oseraient commettre tous ces crimes s'ils ne jouissaient pas de l'assistance de l'Alliance impie. Le petit Portugal, avec ses quelques millions d'habitants, ne pourrait mener une guerre meurtrière contre l'Angola sans l'assistance et les armements de l'OTAN. Même les mercenaires du Katanga ne combattent pas pour rien; ils sont à la solde de l'Alliance impie qui leur fournit des armes. Le *New Statesman* a formulé d'une manière juste et précise l'activité déployée par le Royaume-Uni en ce sens dans un article où on peut lire notamment:

"Whitehead a reçu un prêt considérable dont une large part sert à financer sa police, tandis que le Dr Verwoerd en Afrique du Sud est approvisionné en avions militaires qui peuvent être employés contre les masses noires. Même certains députés torys sont consternés de cet emploi cynique des ressources britanniques^{3/}."

173. Tout cela n'est cependant que l'un des côtés de la question. L'Alliance impie ne protège pas seulement les privilèges des colons blancs en Rhodésie; elle ne maintient pas seulement le régime fasciste à la pointe de la baïonnette en Afrique du Sud, elle ne se moque pas seulement de l'ONU et de l'opinion mondiale en subventionnant l'armée de mercenaires du Katanga; en d'autres termes, elle ne se contente pas seulement de "soutenir" les colons blancs et d'empêcher la formation pacifique de la société "multiraciale" que ses représentants prêchent ici, aux Nations Unies. Les buts principaux qu'elle poursuit sont l'accroissement des profits, l'amortissement du capital à un rythme plus rapide que celui qu'il est possible d'obtenir dans le pays métropolitain. Puisque ses intérêts coïncident avec ceux de l'Afrique du Sud et des colons blancs de la Rhodésie du Sud, elle s'allie à eux. C'est ainsi et à ces fins qu'interviennent les accords secrets dissimulés aux peuples africains.

174. Malgré la contestation des gouvernements intéressés, il ressort des déclarations des pétitionnaires et des articles de la presse que cette alliance existe. Je dois ajouter cependant que, dans ce cas, quoique la question soit d'une extrême importance du point de vue des problèmes locaux africains, il ne s'agit que de l'un des moyens d'enrayer les mouvements africains de libération nationale, et ce moyen n'est même pas le plus important. Les principaux ennemis de l'application des principes de la Déclaration sont ceux des membres de l'Alliance impie qui ne siègent pas en Afrique, mais qui fournissent des armes et de l'argent pour les besoins de l'alliance qui déploie son activité antiprogressiste sur le continent africain même. De qui s'agit-il? Des pays de l'alliance politico-militaire, des pays qui mettent les armes entre les mains des colonisateurs portugais, des mercenaires du Katanga et des racistes sud-africains. Il s'agit des pays qui, sans consulter la population autochtone, construisent des bases militaires de fusées nucléaires et autres à Aden, à Beira (Mozambique), au Kenya, etc., dans l'intérêt de leurs plans d'agression.

175. Cette alliance militaire embrasse tous les pays qui possèdent des colonies en Afrique ou ailleurs, ou qui y ont des investissements importants dont la rentabilité dépend du maintien du *statu quo* — depuis

les Etats-Unis d'Amérique jusqu'à la Belgique, le Portugal et la République fédérale d'Allemagne. Bien entendu, il s'agit de l'OTAN.

176. La politique que l'OTAN et ses membres poursuivent à l'encontre des peuples coloniaux et dépendants révèle en même temps le rapport étroit qui existe entre le désarmement général et complet et la liquidation du colonialisme. Sur quoi se fonde le pouvoir des mercenaires du Katanga, des colons de Rhodésie du Sud et des Portugais qui tiennent des peuples africains sous la domination coloniale? Il se fonde sur l'OTAN, sur les armements reçus des membres de l'OTAN, et non pas sur l'assistance des peuples. S'il faut liquider ces armements dans le cadre du désarmement général et complet, il est évident que l'oppression coloniale fondée sur la violence prendra fin, et la volonté de la majorité se fera valoir.

177. Il est donc également évident que celui qui a intérêt à ce que le colonialisme soit liquidé a également intérêt à réaliser le désarmement général et complet, non seulement pour assurer l'utilisation pacifique des moyens techniques et des vastes fonds qui deviennent disponibles après la réduction des dépenses militaires, mais aussi pour rendre impossible l'oppression coloniale.

178. Et enfin l'importance d'une relation historiquement établie apparaît ici. La formation du système capitaliste n'est pas seulement une coïncidence, elle est aussi l'explication de la naissance du colonialisme — ce système dans lequel des pays à niveaux de vie peu différents doivent se diviser en pays riches et pays pauvres. D'autre part, la liquidation politique et économique complète du colonialisme et de ses conséquences n'est réalisable qu'en même temps que le désarmement général et complet, qui est une condition militaire, économique, politique et technique de la liquidation, dans un temps historiquement court, de cette différence entre des pays riches et des pays pauvres. En dépit de toute opposition, la liquidation politique complète du colonialisme sera réalisée sous peu. Mais les conséquences économiques du colonialisme persisteront pendant assez longtemps, et ceci dans une large mesure, parce que les colonisateurs dépourvus de leurs privilèges politiques jouissent encore, en beaucoup d'endroits, de privilèges économiques illégaux qu'ils défendront avec acharnement. Et ces privilèges deviendront de plus en plus les principaux obstacles qui s'opposent au développement économique à l'échelle mondiale.

179. Pour conclure, je voudrais exposer le point de vue de ma délégation concernant directement le rapport du Comité spécial des Dix-Sept [A/5238].

180. La résolution 1654 (XVI) et le Comité spécial des Dix-Sept ont, sous maints rapports, répondu à notre attente; ils ont sans doute fait progresser d'un pas important la cause de la liquidation du colonialisme. L'activité du Comité spécial était compliquée, l'année dernière, par les travaux de plusieurs comités de moindre importance saisis de problèmes analogues. Ma délégation est d'accord sur la solution proposée par le Secrétaire général pour mettre fin à cette situation. Comme plusieurs autres délégations l'ont déjà souligné, si toutes les questions concernant le colonialisme sont renvoyées au Comité spécial des Dix-Sept, et si les différents sous-comités sont supprimés, il faudra élargir le Comité spécial pour qu'il puisse s'acquitter de ses tâches.

181. Le Comité spécial des Dix-Sept a pris des décisions justes à propos des 12 territoires coloniaux

^{3/} Voir *New Statesman*, 19 octobre 1962, p. 513.

dont il s'est occupé. Ma délégation est en faveur de l'adoption de ces décisions par l'Assemblée générale.

182. Après une année d'expérience, il faudrait déjà définir plus précisément les attributions du Comité spécial, notamment en vue d'éviter une répétition des discussions de procédure qui, l'an dernier, ont pris beaucoup de temps au Comité spécial, particulièrement au début de ses travaux. Cette définition est nécessaire aussi parce que la Quatrième Commission a déjà chargé — et très justement — le Comité spécial des Dix-Sept, et le chargera probablement à l'avenir aussi, de s'occuper des problèmes de ce genre concernant les colonies, problèmes qui exigent le concours d'un organe tenant des séances permanentes. La diminution heureuse du nombre des territoires coloniaux ne signifie pas, pour le moment, l'allègement des tâches du Comité spécial, car il y a un bon nombre de territoires coloniaux dont les problèmes n'ont pas encore figuré à l'ordre du jour du Comité spécial.

183. Les expériences que nous avons faites jusqu'ici à la dix-septième session de l'Assemblée générale et les débats sur la question du colonialisme — que nous examinons la question de la Rhodésie du Sud, celle du Sud-Ouest africain ou celle de la politique d'apartheid — confirment à nouveau la constatation que l'Organisation des Nations Unies ne peut aider les peuples coloniaux qu'en prenant une position anticolonialiste constante et conséquente. A ce propos, ma délégation prête son appui à la proposition du président Sekou Touré [1148ème séance] qui demande à l'ONU de fixer le mois d'octobre 1963 comme date limite de la liquidation du colonialisme. Il est notoire que les pays socialistes ont relevé, dès le début, la nécessité de fixer un tel délai.

184. Les interventions que nous avons entendues jusqu'ici montrent clairement que la majorité des Etats Membres des Nations Unies éprouvent de vives inquiétudes au sujet de l'allure que prennent les événements en plusieurs endroits au sud du continent africain, de la guerre d'extermination menée contre le peuple angolais, de la situation en Rhodésie du Sud et des conditions qui ressemblent au génocide en République sud-africaine et au Sud-Ouest africain. Ma délégation partage cette opinion que la situation dans cette région compromet la paix en Afrique et dans le monde entier. En même temps, il ne faut pas oublier la question des territoires coloniaux de l'Asie, de l'Océanie et du continent américain.

185. Etant donné ce qui précède, ma délégation pense que la résolution qui sera adoptée devrait contenir les dispositions suivantes.

186. En premier lieu, l'Assemblée générale devrait exiger l'abolition immédiate des mesures d'oppression militaires et policières prises contre les peuples coloniaux et la liquidation des forces d'oppression militaires et policières dans les pays coloniaux.

187. En deuxième lieu, l'Assemblée générale devrait déclarer que les privilèges économiques, politiques et militaires des colonisateurs par rapport à la population autochtone, ainsi que les bases militaires créées malgré la volonté et sans le consentement de la population autochtone, doivent être liquidés d'urgence comme étant contraires à la Charte des Nations Unies et à la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux.

188. En troisième lieu, l'Assemblée générale devrait souligner une fois de plus que tout traité conclu, avant

l'octroi de l'indépendance, avec un territoire colonial ne saurait être obligatoire pour le pays en question, après l'octroi de l'indépendance, que si ce pays l'accepte librement après qu'il aura recouvré son indépendance.

189. En quatrième lieu, l'Assemblée générale devrait inviter nommément toutes les puissances coloniales à mettre immédiatement en application les dispositions de la Déclaration, de la résolution 1654 (XVI), adoptée par l'Assemblée générale le 27 novembre 1961, et de la résolution qui sera adoptée.

190. En cinquième lieu, enfin, l'Assemblée générale devrait charger le Comité spécial des Dix-Sept de poursuivre ses travaux dans l'esprit de la Déclaration, de la résolution 1654 (XVI) et de la résolution qui sera adoptée.

191. La délégation hongroise est convaincue que le succès de la lutte contre l'Alliance impie, la liquidation définitive du colonialisme, n'est réalisable que par l'application de mesures expresses et non équivoques. Ma délégation est prête à appuyer tout projet de résolution qui faciliterait la réalisation de ce dessein.

La séance est levée à 18 h 10.

Nations Unies
**ASSEMBLÉE
GÉNÉRALE**

DIX-SEPTIÈME SESSION

Documents officiels



129 1177^e
SÉANCE PLÉNIÈRE

Mardi 27 novembre 1962,
à 15 heures

NEW YORK

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Président: M. Muhammad ZAFRULLA KHAN
(Pakistan).

de la résolution 1654 (XVI) de l'Assemblée générale
(A/5238) [suite]

5. M. BINDZI (Cameroun): Au moment où, au nom de la République fédérale du Cameroun, j'ai l'honneur d'aborder cette tribune pour examiner avec vous, à la lumière du rapport [A/5238] soumis par le Comité des Dix-Sept^{1/}, où nous en sommes avec l'application des résolutions adoptées depuis deux ans sur la décolonisation, j'avoue que je ressens une double anxiété,

6. Double inquiétude parce que, d'une part, je m'interroge déjà intensément sur la résolution — la troisième du genre — que nous adopterons éventuellement en conclusion de nos travaux, et aussi surtout parce que je me demande quel accueil sera réservé à cette troisième initiative de notre organisation, non par ceux-là qui souhaitent le maintien du statu quo, mais par les autres, ceux qui attendent de nous la fin de leur asservissement, leur délivrance, leur salut.

7. Les anxieux, les pauvres, les déshérités, ceux dont le cri ne peut parvenir dans ce sanctuaire que par l'écho atténué des porte-voix désintéressés que nous sommes, examineront en effet attentivement, et ce n'est pas peu dire, notre prochaine résolution. Ou ils y décèleront le souffle vivifiant qui ranime la flamme de l'espérance, ou alors ils y trouveront le poison mortel de l'abandon qui transforme l'homme même le plus modéré en désespéré, c'est-à-dire celui qui est prêt à mourir, à tout perdre parce qu'il n'a plus rien à conserver ou à gagner. C'est souligner l'importance de ce débat.

8. Les éminents orateurs qui m'ont précédé ont déjà tour à tour analysé, statistiques à l'appui, la situation dans les territoires africains encore dépendants sur le sort desquels le Comité des Dix-Sept, en se rendant en Afrique, a présenté des conclusions réfléchies et concrètes.

9. Qu'il me soit permis de féliciter ce comité pour le travail considérable fourni et le courage mis à aller constater sur place, autant que faire se pouvait, les réalités locales.

10. Que certains, surtout ceux qui ont adopté pour canon immuable de leurs relations avec notre organisation de ne jamais accepter aucune de ses commissions sur leur sol ou sur un sol qu'ils contrôlent, que ceux-là ne viennent pas accuser le Comité d'avoir entendu n'importe qui, ni lui reprocher d'avoir fait la publicité de sa présence au sein même du colonialisme afin de provoquer les dépositions de tous ceux qui voulaient dénoncer aux représentants des Nations Unies les drames de la situation dans les

POINT 25 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

La situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux: rapport du Comité spécial constitué aux termes

^{1/} Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux.

territoires où le Comité, en dépit de l'opposition qu'il a rencontrée, a pourtant jugé utile de se rendre.

11. Il est évident que, sur la situation intérieure des territoires dépendants et les mesures à prendre, ce qu'il y avait à dire l'a été avec beaucoup d'éloquence. Je crois qu'il faut être reconnaissant au Comité d'être allé par priorité en Afrique où il existe encore plus de colonies qu'ailleurs.

12. Ma délégation, quant à elle, se propose de porter le débat au niveau du dialogue avec les puissances administrantes, car il est prouvé que c'est leur mentalité, leur disposition actuelle à l'égard du problème posé, qui est en jeu. Les plus récentes expériences sont là, éloquentes en elles-mêmes. Il est évident que l'obstacle a toujours été la volonté politique des métropoles — je ne dis pas l'opinion publique des métropoles — qui s'est chaque fois opposée à l'émancipation des territoires coloniaux.

13. Ainsi je me propose, je le répète, non pas d'analyser la situation intérieure de chacun des pays, mais de passer en revue les arguments des puissances encore coloniales, dans cet ordre: le Royaume-Uni, le Portugal, l'Afrique du Sud, l'Espagne et, dans une commune mesure, l'Indonésie et l'Australie à propos de l'Irian ou Nouvelle-Guinée.

14. Un rapide coup d'œil sur la carte de l'Afrique montre que le Royaume-Uni détient encore une grande partie de notre continent, je dirai même la plus grande partie, car, pour nous comme pour chacun, l'Histoire reste l'Histoire. Que l'Afrique du Sud soit indépendante, c'est incontestable. Qu'elle ait rompu tous liens avec le Royaume-Uni du fait de sa sortie du Commonwealth, ce serait trop dire. Au reste, le Sud-Ouest africain est là qui rappelle la responsabilité du Royaume-Uni dans le fait de la domination de certaines parties subtropicales de l'Afrique. Nous y reviendrons en temps opportun.

15. Le Royaume-Uni est donc responsable d'une grande partie de l'Afrique encore dominée actuellement. Il serait injuste de ne pas reconnaître qu'il en convient lui-même. Mais il dit: "Le problème est difficile; les pays ne se ressemblent pas. J'ai une grande expérience en la matière; faites-moi confiance et tout ira bien." C'est ce que nous a répété hier encore, à cette même tribune, le représentant du Royaume-Uni [1175^{ème} séance].

16. Comment, honnêtement, délivrer — pour employer cette expression bancaire dont je m'excuse — un "chèque en blanc"? Le dossier, à notre avis, ne semble pas mériter un tel blanc-seing.

17. D'abord, toute question de décolonisation est difficile. N'en pas convenir, c'est supposer que le Royaume-Uni n'a pas souffert de la libération des autres possessions devenues Etats indépendants. Que le Royaume-Uni ait perdu l'empire des Indes le cœur léger, tous nos efforts sont impuissants à nous en persuader. D'ailleurs, les difficultés qu'il s'est ingénié à laisser sur place sont bien le témoignage de l'espoir entretenu d'être vite rappelé en arbitre. Nous ne citerons aucune référence; nous ne donnerons aucun exemple. Nous voulons être compris; nous rejetons la polémique et nous en appelons à l'évidence.

18. Mais pourquoi veut-on nous persuader qu'il est plus difficile de décoloniser en Afrique qu'en Inde? Parce que, dans les territoires en cause, il existe

un colonat blanc? Peut-être est-ce là qu'est la difficulté.

19. Cela me rappelle l'exemple que des confesseurs aimaient à citer chez nous à leurs ouailles pour leur inculquer la monstruosité du faux témoignage. "Supposez, leur disait-on, que vous vous permettiez de déplumer une volaille du haut d'une colline un jour d'orage. Supposer, à la suite de cette opération, que l'on vous enjoigne de restituer tout son plumage à l'oiseau; y arriveriez-vous?"

20. Le colonat blanc est minoritaire. Du fait de la colonisation, il a usé et abusé de tous les privilèges: accaparement des meilleures terres, confiscation de tous les droits, oppression, répression, détermination politique, etc...

21. La restitution intégrale? Mais aucun Africain n'y songe et ne vous l'a jamais demandée. Bien que juste dans son principe — nous nous en rendons compte — elle serait impossible en pratique. Ce qui est demandé, c'est un accommodement. Ce qu'il y a de monstrueux dans la colonisation, ce n'est pas le fait de quitter son sol natal pour d'autres lieux: c'est, une fois sur place, d'ériger en vérité révélée cette prétention selon laquelle l'originaire ne possède rien, est comparable à une bête sauvage, et que tout appartient désormais au nouvel arrivant, comme la terre au premier occupant. Car, à moins de lui dénier la qualité d'homme, qui est-ce donc que le premier occupant? Par une substitution inqualifiable, curieuse, abusive, c'est le dernier arrivé qui devient le premier occupant! Le comble, c'est que le Royaume-Uni conclut: "Faites-moi confiance et tout ira pour le mieux." Je ne prendrai qu'un exemple, celui de cette séance du 12 juin 1962 [1109^{ème} séance] où l'Assemblée examina la question de l'inscription éventuelle, à son ordre du jour, d'un point nouveau intitulé "Situation en Rhodésie".

22. Jamais, comme en ce jour-là, je n'ai entendu de déclaration aussi solennelle, aussi pathétique. Ecoutez-la, je vous en prie. C'est le représentant du Royaume-Uni qui parle:

"Dans tous les territoires où nous avons certaines responsabilités, le Royaume-Uni exerce son influence dans le sens de l'établissement de constitutions libérales. Je fais cette déclaration sans crainte d'être contredit. [*Ibid.*, par. 29.]

"Je demande aux représentants qui s'intéressent de très près à la question, à ceux — et ils sont nombreux — qui ont la plus large expérience des méthodes et de la politique britanniques de réfléchir une fois de plus avant d'inviter l'Assemblée générale à prendre la responsabilité d'instituer un débat qui pourrait faire beaucoup de mal. [*Ibid.*, par. 29.]

"Je demande instamment à l'Assemblée de prendre acte de la déclaration que je viens de faire, d'y réfléchir et, en conséquence, de décider de ne pas adopter, maintenant, la recommandation du Bureau." [*Ibid.*, par. 30.]

23. Après le vote, dans cette même assemblée, le 31 octobre 1962, de la résolution que vous savez sur les Rhodésies [résolution 1760 (XVII)], pouvons-nous faire confiance à la parole donnée par la Grande-Bretagne? Je vous laisse juges. Chacun se souvient que le représentant de la Grande-Bretagne nous avait avoué que le processus constitutionnel que nous décrivions ici n'aurait pas lieu, que les élections n'auraient pas lieu avant le printemps 1963, etc.

Chacun se souvient aussi, en fin de compte, de la course contre la montre qui s'est livrée dans cet honorable hémicycle afin de parvenir à l'adoption d'un texte avant 18 heures (heure locale), c'est-à-dire 0 heure à Salisbury. On est donc, concrètement, le résultat de cette influence dont se targuait le délégué de la Grande-Bretagne et au nom de laquelle il nous adjurait de faire confiance?

24. Le délégué de la Grande-Bretagne, le 12 juin 1962 [1109ème séance], avait fait montre de ce grand talent devant lequel nous sommes pleins d'admiration et auquel nous rendons hommage. Mais le talent a ses barrières, qui sont les faits.

25. Certes, la Grande-Bretagne, comme elle le dit elle-même, peut se vanter de grands mérites en matière de décolonisation. Elle peut citer, comme elle l'a fait hier [1175ème séance], une liste impressionnante de pays. Nous le lui concédons volontiers, encore que, dans le fond, nous ne soyons peut-être pas complètement d'accord. Chacun, en cette matière, a sa propre conviction.

26. Nous croyons toutefois que c'est une raison supplémentaire et urgente de décoloniser en Afrique aussi. De grâce, que la Grande-Bretagne ne s'endorme pas sur ses lauriers; n'est-ce pas Francis Bacon qui l'en avertit, quand il écrit, avec ce flair commercial bien britannique: "La gloire ressemble au marché: parfois, quand vous y restez quelque temps, les prix baissent."

27. Je m'adresserai ensuite au Portugal. Avec lui, le dialogue est toujours très difficile, au risque de se réduire, comme au cours d'un récent procès judiciaire retentissant, à un monologue du juge d'instruction ou du procureur général, encore que je ne me sente pas la capacité de tenir le rôle de l'un ou l'autre de ces hauts magistrats.

28. Pour le Portugal, donc, il n'y a pas de colonies. Ce sont des provinces d'outre-mer, rattachées à la République par une constitution sacro-sainte octroyée par l'Acropole moderne qu'est le Portugal métropolitain.

29. Dans un monde où gagne "l'hérésie libératrice", Lisbonne a supplanté tous autres lieux saints dans la détermination et la prédétermination du destin d'autres peuples: Angola, Mozambique, Cap-Vert, etc. Ces territoires sont représentés au Parlement métropolitain. Ils votent. Certains de leurs autochtones, la minorité, s'ils en sont jugés dignes, en remplissant certaines conditions, peuvent devenir "assimilados". C'est, d'après le Portugal, l'émancipation idéale.

30. Nous avons entendu ici le Ministre des affaires étrangères du Portugal, intervenant à la fin de la discussion générale [1155ème séance]. Nous nous attendions, à des informations sur les intentions de son gouvernement et les mesures qu'il entend mettre en œuvre pour décoloniser. De cela, rien du tout. Qu'avons-nous entendu? Des comparaisons désobligeantes à l'égard de nos républiques, un alignement d'éléments statistiques dont un grand penseur moderne a dit que c'est la troisième forme du mensonge.

31. Nous avons en outre, à propos de Goa et des autres possessions anciennement portugaises, assisté à une longue lamentation sur l'une des plus grandes calamités qui, paraît-il, puissent s'abattre sur un être humain: perdre la citoyenneté portugaise.

32. Nous prendrons comme référence le Brésil, cette terre d'avenir qui respire l'espoir et la prospérité. Si toutes ses possibilités actuelles proviennent du fait qu'il a brisé les chaînes portugaises, alors, de grand cœur, nous disons: "Bonne chance aussi à Goa et aux autres colonies".

33. Réfuter les théories erronées du Portugal? A quoi bon! L'opinion mondiale en a fait abondamment justice. Ce qui nous afflige, après les démonstrations si brillantes que les différentes délégations se sont ingéniées depuis à produire, c'est le sentiment d'une idée fixe qui semble s'être emparée des Portugais. J'entends bien les milieux dirigeants portugais. Cette idée consiste à nous vanter les vertus de l'assimilation, cette assimilation dépassée, périmée, pour ne pas dire plus. Ainsi ne nous reste-t-il plus qu'à déplorer, avec Bossuet: "Le plus grand dérèglement de l'esprit, c'est de croire les choses parce qu'on veut qu'elles soient, et non parce qu'on a vu qu'elles sont en effet 2/."

34. Pourtant, dans son comportement interne et politique, le Portugal ne croit même pas que les choses soient si bien. Nous n'en voulons pour preuve que cette instabilité constitutionnelle, ce besoin de réadaptation qu'il s'efforce de satisfaire périodiquement, au fur et à mesure que nous énonçons ici son anachronisme et surtout au fur et à mesure que les populations intéressées manifestent bruyamment ou brutalement leur impatience. N'est-il donc pas temps de rompre avec tout ce passé de louvoiements, de temporisation, de mesures fragmentaires, pour voir enfin où est la vraie voie, celle de l'avenir, qui débouche sur l'amitié, l'entente durable et la vraie fraternité?

35. Se réfugier, en matière de décolonisation, dans cette sorte de manie tendant à la perfectibilité constitutionnelle, ce n'est pas régler le problème; c'est, comme l'a si bien dépeint Dante, se mettre dans la position de la Florence décadente; écoutez plutôt:

"Combien de fois, pour ne parler que de ces temps-ci, tu as changé d'institutions, de monnaie, de magistrature, de mœurs, et renouvelé les membres de ta Cité! Si tu as quelque souvenir de tes désastres et quelque sens, tu verras que tu ressembles à cette malade qui ne peut trouver de repos sur sa couche et qui tâche d'apaiser sa douleur en changeant d'attitude." (*La Divine Comédie*, liv. II, ch. VI).

36. Aussi, la refonte continue du statut des Africains ne trompe que le Portugal lui-même. Personne n'y croit, ni les populations intéressées, ni les Nations Unies.

37. Enfin, venons-en à l'Afrique du Sud. Là, il n'est, comme l'on dit, pire sourd que celui qui ne veut pas entendre. Je ne serais pas sincère si je ne voulais évoquer que l'affaire du Sud-Ouest africain qui, comme chacun sait, est un territoire sous mandat et que l'Union sud-africaine veut soustraire à la compétence de cette communauté internationale, hier Société des Nations, aujourd'hui Nations Unies. Peu importe le vocable, car c'est grâce à lui qu'avec la complicité de la Grande-Bretagne cette Afrique du Sud a aujourd'hui juridiction sur le Sud-Ouest africain.

38. Sans être juriste, je voudrais écarter d'un mot toute prétention de l'Afrique du Sud sur le Sud-Ouest

2/ Bossuet, *Traité de la connaissance de Dieu et de soi-même*, chap. Ier.

africain. Y a-t-il jamais eu, en matière de droit privé, appropriation d'un legs en tutelle? On sait toute la rigueur de la loi sur le statut de la tutelle. Or, la majorité en l'occurrence ne peut être que l'indépendance, tout mandat perpétuel ou minorité perpétuelle étant à écarter systématiquement.

39. En outre, le tuteur ne peut pas arguer de l'absence de majorité; s'agissant de pays, nous ne voyons pas le fondement juridique qui peut autoriser l'Afrique du Sud à intégrer le Sud-Ouest africain. Là comme ailleurs et plus qu'ailleurs le principe de l'autodétermination doit être appliqué. La consultation impartiale de la population est indispensable.

40. Le Mandat à nos yeux demeure. Les Nations Unies ne peuvent qu'être subrogées dans les droits de la Société des Nations. Le domaine de Genève et la Cour internationale de Justice en sont les plus vivants témoignages.

41. Le devoir des Nations Unies en l'occurrence, c'est seulement, comme en droit privé, de déclarer la déchéance du Mandat de l'Afrique du Sud — même unilatéralement — le mandat ayant toujours ce droit dès lors que les termes du mandat ne sont plus respectés. Sans préjuger sa décision, nous sommes d'ailleurs certains que la Cour internationale de Justice prononcera son jugement en ce sens.

42. Mais là ne s'arrête pas et ne s'arrêtera jamais notre contentieux avec l'Afrique du Sud: il y a encore l'apartheid. Pour nous, c'est aussi une question coloniale. Nous affirmons et réaffirmons que le sol de l'Afrique du Sud appartient d'abord et en premier lieu aux véritables originaires qui ne sauraient être les seuls immigrants européens du XVIII^e siècle. Avant eux cette partie du monde était habitée par les Bantous. La force, la spoliation ont établi une situation de fait que nous enregistrons sans comprendre. Nous comprenons encore moins et d'autant moins que les derniers venus confisquent à leur bénéfice exclusif tous les droits au détriment des premiers occupants.

43. Si les Africains paient aujourd'hui les frais de leur hospitalité légendaire, la "reconnaissance du ventre" exige que l'on partage au moins tout en commun. Que, si l'on admet que les derniers venus ont acquis eux aussi droit de cité sur une terre qui n'avait jamais été la leur, les citoyens originaires et naturels ne soient point frustrés.

44. Nous raisonnons là dans les généralités, en nous conformant à notre indication du début. Nous ne voulons pas descendre à la critique des faits, qui sont en eux-mêmes accablants pour les puissances coloniales et les minorités impérialistes.

45. L'Afrique du Sud nous dit — et c'est M. Louw lui-même qui, répondant au représentant des Etats-Unis, le proclamait à cette tribune le 6 novembre 1962 [1165^e séance]:

"... en ce qui nous concerne, dans une situation où la population de race blanche" — et nous soulignons ce mot — "est incontestablement en minorité, nous sommes poussés naturellement par la volonté de survivre. Il en aurait été exactement de même si, dans ce pays-ci, avec une population d'environ 180 millions d'habitants, il y avait eu la même proportion entre les noirs et les blancs qu'en Afrique du Sud; dans cette hypothèse, il y aurait ici 30 ou 40 millions de blancs contre 140 millions de noirs et, dans de telles conditions,

les blancs seraient poussés naturellement par la même volonté de survivre. Telle était la comparaison que je faisais. Pour rétablir les choses, il fallait que je monte à cette tribune pour dissiper ce qui a été certainement ce matin un malentendu de la part du représentant des Etats-Unis". [Ibid.]

46. Je laisse évidemment à son auteur cette affirmation sensationnelle selon laquelle "lorsqu'une population blanche est sans aucun doute en minorité, elle ressent un désir naturel de survivre".

47. Je laisse encore à M. Louw tout l'honneur d'affirmer que les Etats-Unis se seraient comportés de la même façon que l'Afrique du Sud s'ils avaient compté une majorité de noirs contre une minorité de blancs dans la même proportion.

48. Je pose seulement la question: pourquoi faut-il qu'une population minoritaire éprouve le besoin de survivre, alors que, dirigeante, elle ne court aucun risque, aucun danger?

49. Je laisse également tout le sens de discrimination raciale contenu dans l'expression "minorité blanche".

50. Je dois aussi dénoncer toute l'hypocrisie que cache l'euphémisme "éprouver le besoin de survivre" que M. Louw a voulu elliptique à dessein. Eprouver le besoin de survivre? En Afrique du Sud, chacun l'a compris, c'est parquer les populations majoritaires, les exploiter, les brimer à tous les points de vue, en un mot, leur dénier tout droit d'être des hommes.

51. Mais peut-on valablement prendre cela comme critère de rapports humains entre les communautés de ce monde qui se dit civilisé? N'est-ce pas là une monstruosité, un singulier retour en arrière? Quelle différence y trouver avec les plus purs canons de la doctrine nazie contre le régime duquel l'Afrique du Sud peut avoir quelque fierté de s'être battue? Ses morts, qui sont aussi nos morts — car les martyrs pour la liberté et le droit appartiennent à l'humanité entière — doivent éprouver quelque honte dans leur tombe de voir leur Etat honorer ce qu'ils ont combattu jusqu'à consentir le sacrifice suprême de leur vie.

52. Passons à l'Espagne. Son éminent représentant, M. de Lequerica, dans un élan spontané du cœur, s'est écrié ici le 5 octobre 1962 [1143^e séance], saluant, au cours du débat général, l'admission de nouveaux Membres:

"Quoi qu'on puisse penser de chaque cas en particulier, le mouvement dans son ensemble est une cause de joie et d'espoir. Nous assistons à une floraison printanière de peuples et de nations, notamment sur le continent africain, et il n'est que juste de louer la hauteur de vues et le sens de l'époque avec lesquels les anciens Etats qui avaient porté à d'autres terres les meilleurs éléments des vieilles cultures et civilisations ont favorisé l'évolution dont témoignent tant de joyeux avènements." [Ibid., par. 99.]

53. Et, comme en une espèce de remords, il regretta l'absence de la participation de l'Espagne à ce festival de libération:

"En Amérique, lors de la découverte et pendant trois siècles encore, les Espagnols ont donné l'exemple à bien des égards, et notamment sur le plan de l'émancipation. Quand l'heure de l'Afrique

est venue, au milieu du XIXème siècle, le rôle de l'Espagne a été beaucoup moins important. Nous n'avons participé que très peu à l'épopée africaine du XIXème et du XXème siècle. D'autres peuples ont recueilli le profit et la gloire..." (*Ibid.*, par. 134.)

54. Non, sincèrement, nous ne croyons pas que l'Espagne ait à se plaindre. Elle peut, elle doit, que dis-je, elle va y participer puisque M. de Lequerica a dit aussi:

"Nul ne peut nous empêcher de nous réjouir de cette floraison et de l'accession à la vie nationale de peuples dont les représentants ont parlé si souvent, non avec rancœur, mais avec reconnaissance de ceux qui, au cours de l'histoire, ont contribué à leur progrès matériel et moral." (*Ibid.*, par. 101.)

55. Voilà que nous sommes d'accord! Ces paroles, je les dédie respectueusement au général Franco et à son gouvernement. Oui, il faut que personne ne se prive de cette joie! C'est lieu d'entonner comme à l'église: Laetamini, Laetamini! Réjouissez-vous! Peuples de Rio de Oro, de la Guinée équatoriale et de Fernando Póo! L'Espagne aussi veut participer "à cette joie de voir fleurir ceux qui naissent à la vie nationale". Vous n'aurez, j'en suis sûr, j'en suis certain, que des paroles non d'amertume, mais bien de reconnaissance à l'égard de l'Espagne!

56. La théorie des provinces d'outre-mer avec représentation dans les parlements métropolitains? Mais qui donc peut y ajouter quelque sérieux? Décidément l'histoire est un éternel recommencement. Bien naïfs étions-nous qui croyions ces théories usées et périmées!

57. Enfin deux brèves réflexions sur les deux Iriens, occidental et oriental. Que l'on sache bien que, pour le premier — c'est-à-dire l'Irien occidental — la question n'est pas résolue. L'Assemblée générale et la patrie de M. Ellsworth Bunker conservent une responsabilité déterminante devant Dieu et devant l'histoire. Ici même, nous avons pris date. Le New York Times du 13 novembre a publié une information sur la réaction parfaitement légitime — et nous l'approuvons complètement — de l'Administrateur des Nations Unies contre les indications de la presse indonésienne relatant des velléités d'annexion pure et simple de l'Irien occidental par l'Indonésie. Nous souhaitons que les alarmes du New York Times ne soient pas fondées. Si elles l'étaient, ce serait le coup de force et une agression ouverte contre les Nations Unies. Une fois encore, nous supplions que l'on respecte le processus de l'accord soumis à l'approbation de l'Assemblée générale. Le contraire serait simplement de la forfaiture.

58. En ce qui concerne l'Irien oriental, nous pouvons être édifiés. Nous avons écouté avec attention la semaine passée [1173ème séance] le représentant de l'Australie dont la modération réfléchie a toujours forcé le respect. Il nous a, en bref, mis en garde contre la hâte, en insistant sur la différence des problèmes entre les territoires. Il a mis l'accent sur les difficultés rencontrées, voire l'impossibilité d'accorder rapidement l'indépendance.

59. Nous répondons que tout cela n'est pas nouveau. Nous l'avons également entendu à propos de nos propres pays. Au reste, tout cela est périmé et dépassé. Comment en effet concilier cette prudence tardive, l'acceptation de faire bénéficier tous les

hommes du droit à l'autodétermination, et le vote, au cours des deux dernières sessions, de deux résolutions, la 1514 (XV) et la 1654 (XVI), qui ont balayé tous les préalables possibles? Nous avouons humblement que nous ne comprenons pas la double attitude des puissances administrantes qui votent allègrement un texte et le déclarent ensuite inapplicable. N'avons-nous pas entendu le même représentant de l'Australie écarter jusqu'à toute idée de fixation de date?

60. Sans prendre parti sur cette question précise, nous nous demandons quand finalement les puissances administrantes jugeront que le moment opportun a sonné définitivement pour décoloniser. Nous craignons renvois sur renvois qui ne soient qu'un renvoi pur et simple aux calendes dites grecques.

61. J'ai exprimé une double inquiétude au début de cet exposé. Quelle sera la conclusion de ce débat? L'honneur de l'Organisation s'y trouve engagé, la paix dans les territoires aussi. Ma délégation estime que l'Assemblée s'est, par deux fois, engagée dans un sens qui ne souffre plus de recul. Je me souviens encore de l'enthousiasme qui souleva cet hémicycle en cette séance historique du 14 décembre 1960 [947ème séance] où nous adoptâmes ensemble la résolution 1514 (XV). Ce que nous nous sommes plu à y voir, ce n'est pas un acte fortuit, un produit des circonstances qu'engendre un moment d'intense émotion collective, un geste entre la propagande et la diplomatie. Au contraire, nous y avons décelé une orientation de fond réfléchie et irréversible, de même portée hautement humanitaire que la Déclaration universelle des droits de l'homme que cette résolution rappelle et reprend dans le paragraphe 1 de son dispositif. Et c'est là que la conclusion de nos débats engage la paix dans les territoires encore dépendants. Les populations qui attendent et espèrent en fondant leur espoir sur cette organisation seraient déçues si nous semblions revenir en arrière au cours de cette délibération. Il ne leur resterait plus que la ressource qu'engendre le désespoir. J'écarte d'avance une telle éventualité.

62. Je me suis volontairement abstenu d'examiner la situation dans les territoires de peur de réveiller certaines susceptibilités. Nous avons essayé de nous astreindre à demeurer sur les crêtes. Nous n'avons voulu échanger que des considérations d'ordre général. Nous croyons avoir réfuté les arguments présentés par la défense du statu quo, c'est-à-dire la colonisation.

63. Nous ne saurions mieux faire que d'emprunter, à titre de conclusion, cette adjuration du représentant de la France, M. Kosciuszko-Morizet, à sir Edgar Whitehead sur la question de la Rhodésie. J'ai choisi les paroles d'un représentant de la France à cause des relations amicales qui unissent cette dernière aux pays encore administrés, à cause d'un passé récent aussi. J'ai surtout choisi M. Kosciuszko-Morizet, dont la carrière aux Nations Unies restera une référence et la connaissance des problèmes africains une autorité.

64. Voici ce qu'à travers sir Edgar Whitehead il conseillait à toutes les vieilles gloires du monde qui se veulent encore coloniales:

"Dépêchez-vous, Monsieur Whitehead;" — Messieurs Whitehead du monde entier — "il n'est pas vrai que vous ayez devant vous tout le temps dont vous croyez pouvoir encore disposer. Il n'est pas vrai que, quelque spécifique que soit la question

de Rhodésie, elle puisse être réglée en dehors du contexte international, en dehors du contexte mondial, en quelque sorte se traiter en vase clos. Là peut-être, l'audace est la sagesse suprême." [1163ème séance, par. 14.]

65. Le **PRESIDENT** (traduit de l'anglais): Je donne la parole au représentant de l'Espagne pour exercer son droit de réponse.

66. **M. DE LEQUERICA** (Espagne) [traduit de l'espagnol]: Je vais reprendre une partie de ce que vient de dire, en termes nobles et clairs qui font honneur à sa délégation, le représentant du Cameroun. Je parlerai aussi de ce qu'ont dit en termes courtois d'autres représentants, notamment celui du Gabon. J'ai généralement observé que tous les pays africains qui sont certainement intéressés par ces problèmes se sont prononcés d'une façon remarquablement modérée et ont fait preuve de compréhension à l'égard de l'Espagne et de sa délégation à l'Assemblée, au cours des rares allusions dont nous avons été l'objet. Je ne parle évidemment pas d'autres pays non africains, pour qui certains débats ne servent que de prétextes pour provoquer des perturbations, pour échanger des injures et porter des accusations dénuées de tout fondement. Je ne veux en aucune façon m'en occuper.

67. Pour préciser les idées exposées par le représentant du Cameroun, je dirai en termes concrets, pour mieux définir mes intentions, que, lors de la réunion de la Commission économique pour l'Afrique qui s'est tenue à Addis-Abéba en février 1961, ma délégation n'avait pas reçu à temps les instructions du Gouvernement espagnol destinées à son représentant; en raison de la résolution qui a été adoptée dans ces conditions, ma délégation a présenté au Conseil économique et social, à sa trente-quatrième session, la déclaration qui figure dans un document dont le Conseil a été saisi lors de sa réunion à Genève et dont il a fait état dans le rapport présenté à l'Assemblée générale [A/5203, par. 437].

68. Dans le document indiqué en premier lieu, il est dit textuellement ce qui suit:

"Ma délégation [la délégation espagnole] tient à déclarer maintenant que le Gouvernement espagnol est disposé à appliquer la résolution 1466 (XIV) de l'Assemblée et la résolution 24 (III) de la Commission économique pour l'Afrique.

"Le Gouvernement espagnol a collaboré et souhaite continuer de collaborer avec tous les organes des Nations Unies, en respectant scrupuleusement la lettre et l'esprit de la Charte. Cette politique, fondée sur les principes de la solidarité internationale et que l'on a pu constater tout récemment au sein d'autres organes des Nations Unies, l'amène aujourd'hui à préciser sa position de manière à éviter tout malentendu.

"Ma délégation demande donc au Conseil économique et social de considérer, lorsqu'il adoptera une résolution définitive sur cette question, que la position de l'Espagne ne diffère en rien de celle des pays européens visés aux paragraphes 2 et 3 du dispositif de la résolution 42 (IV) ... 3/

69. D'autre part, j'ajouterai que l'Espagne se félicite de ce que les autochtones aient unanimement

reconnu la façon humaine et progressiste selon laquelle elle a accompli son œuvre de collaboration avec la population autochtone de l'Afrique équatoriale en vue d'assurer le progrès de cette population et elle se plaît à constater l'esprit d'amitié et de coexistence qui règne dans cette région.

70. Le Sous-Secrétaire à la Présidence vient de se rendre dans les territoires espagnols d'Afrique équatoriale. Je trouve reproduites, dans le journal *ABC* de Madrid du 21 octobre 1962, les paroles qu'il a prononcées, à Santa Isabel de Fernando Póo, en Afrique même. Le Ministre du Gouvernement espagnol a déclaré:

"Du point de vue économique, ces territoires ne présentent aucun intérêt pour l'Espagne, mais il y a quelque chose qui l'emporte sur les intérêts matériels: la conscience du devoir à accomplir. Si l'Espagne adoptait la position commode qui consiste à s'éviter des complications et à abandonner ces territoires à leur sort, comme ils ne peuvent pas se suffire à eux-mêmes, ces territoires seraient la proie des appétits étrangers et leurs habitants risqueraient de connaître les horreurs du communisme." Le Ministre a ajouté que "nous, Espagnols, nous sommes, plus que tout autre peuple, respectueux de l'autodétermination, mais de l'autodétermination authentique".

71. De même, parlant de l'Afrique équatoriale espagnole — et je signale spécialement ces paroles au représentant du Cameroun et à ceux d'autres pays africains qui se sont occupés de la question, parce que ces paroles définissent une attitude —, le Ministre a déclaré:

"Si, en raison de leur éloignement et de leurs caractéristiques humaines particulières, les habitants désiraient un jour modifier leur statut actuel et si une majorité devait se prononcer dans ce sens, l'Espagne ne créerait aucun obstacle pour convenir avec ces provinces de leur avenir."

72. **M. POLIANYCHKO** (République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine) [traduit du russe]: Le 23 septembre 1960 [869ème séance] de cette salle sont parvenus au monde entier les mots: "Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux". C'est le titre donné par le chef du Gouvernement soviétique, M. Khrouchtchev, à ce document historique dans lequel s'exprimait la volonté unanime des peuples de notre planète: "mettre rapidement et inconditionnellement fin au colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations".

73. Le 27 novembre 1961, l'Assemblée générale, après débat sur la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration, a adopté la résolution 1654 (XVI) demandant aux Etats intéressés "d'agir sans plus tarder afin d'assurer scrupuleusement l'application et la mise en œuvre de la Déclaration". L'Assemblée générale a décidé de créer un Comité spécial chargé, au nom de l'Organisation, d'étudier les progrès réalisés et la mesure dans laquelle la Déclaration est mise en œuvre et de formuler des suggestions et des recommandations à ce sujet. Ainsi, l'Assemblée générale a fait un pas important, du point de vue des efforts pratiques de l'Organisation des Nations Unies pour la mise en œuvre de la Déclaration.

74. Le rapport du Comité spécial présenté à notre examen [A/5238] et les propositions et recommanda-

3/ Documents officiels du Conseil économique et social, trente-quatrième session, Annexes, point 10 de l'ordre du jour, document E/L.953 et Corr.1.

tions qu'il contient méritent, selon la délégation de la RSS d'Ukraine, d'être approuvées. Le Comité a eu raison de concentrer présentement son attention sur les territoires non autonomes régis par les principaux Etats coloniaux. Evidemment, cela ne signifie nullement que l'Organisation se désintéresse du sort des populations qui vivent dans d'autres possessions coloniales.

75. Depuis la proclamation de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux [résolution 1514 (XV)], presque deux années se sont écoulées. Pendant cette période, le colonialisme a subi de nouveaux coups mortels et la grande cause de la liberté a vu s'élargir ses limites. Mais les buts poursuivis par la Déclaration ne sont pas encore atteints.

76. Je rappelle le paragraphe 5 de la Déclaration:

"Des mesures immédiates seront prises, dans les territoires sous tutelle, les territoires non autonomes et tous autres territoires qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance, pour transférer tous pouvoirs aux peuples de ces territoires, sans aucune condition ni réserve, conformément à leur volonté et à leurs vœux librement exprimés, sans aucune distinction de race, de croyance ou de couleur, afin de leur permettre de jouir d'une indépendance et d'une liberté complètes."

77. La tâche est claire et parfaitement déterminée. Mais les puissances coloniales responsables des territoires sous tutelle et non autonomes se dérobent par tous les moyens à la solution de ce problème. Tout d'abord, elles ignorent les exigences de la Déclaration suivant lesquelles des mesures immédiates doivent être prises pour assurer la décolonisation des peuples encore asservis; là où la pression des événements oblige les colonialistes à céder du terrain, ils ont recours à toute sorte de subterfuges pour barrer à ces peuples la voie vers la liberté et l'indépendance réelles.

78. Le résultat est que plus de 50 millions de personnes, en Afrique, en Asie, en Amérique latine et en Océanie, restent sous la domination des colonialistes anglais, portugais, espagnols, américains, sud-africains, etc.

79. Quand on lit les comptes rendus des séances du Comité spécial des Dix-Sept et les rapports des autres comités et commissions qui s'occupent des territoires colonisés, quand on prend connaissance des "lois" publiées par les colonialistes de l'Afrique du Sud, de l'Angola, de la Rhodésie du Sud, de la Rhodésie du Nord, du Betchouanaland, du Mozambique, l'esprit se refuse à croire que les faits évoqués puissent se produire dans la seconde moitié du XXème siècle.

80. Le Portugal administre la colonie du Mozambique depuis 456 ans. Les succès des "civilisateurs" portugais sont stupéfiants: le Mozambique s'est transformé en un véritable empire de l'arbitraire, de l'ignorance et de la terreur.

81. Les autochtones du Mozambique sont divisés en deux groupes dont l'un est dit "population non civilisée" et l'autre "population assimilée". Les "non-civilisés" représentent 99,9 p. 100 de la population autochtone. Ils sont privés de tous droits politiques, économiques et sociaux. Les partis politiques, les syndicats, les coopératives et autres sociétés sont interdits. Tout est interdit au noir du

Mozambique, sauf le droit d'être esclave chez les racistes blancs qui représentent 1 p. 100 de la population du pays.

82. Les colonisateurs se sont approprié les trois quarts de toutes les terres arables. Privant ainsi les Africains de leurs moyens d'existence, ils en ont fait leurs esclaves qu'ils exploitent sans merci et qu'ils vendent en outre par centaines de milliers, comme du bétail, pour aller travailler dans les mines de l'Afrique du Sud et de la Rhodésie du Sud.

83. La population du Mozambique végète dans la misère et l'analphabétisme. Seule, une quantité négligeable — quelque 0,8 p. 100 de la population autochtone — sait lire et écrire. Il n'y a pratiquement pas de soins médicaux pour les Africains. Les richesses du pays, minéral de fer, sucre, wolfram, coton, cuivre, or et minéraux radio-actifs, sont exportés en Europe et en Amérique. Avec l'aide des colonisateurs portugais se produit ainsi un troc typique de richesses contre misères en quantités équivalentes.

84. Aux exigences des populations du Mozambique, de l'Angola et d'autres colonies tendant à l'octroi immédiat de la liberté et de l'indépendance, le Portugal de Salazar répond par la terreur et les opérations militaires. Plus la conscience nationale s'accroît et plus la lutte pour la libération nationale des peuples subjugués se développe, plus la politique du Portugal se fait féroce et sanglante dans les colonies qu'il administre. En Angola, le Portugal mène une guerre d'extermination contre la population insurgée, en utilisant tous les types d'armement qu'il reçoit de ses alliés de l'OTAN, le Royaume-Uni et les Etats-Unis.

85. Les représentants du dictateur fasciste Salazar nous déclarent ici qu'en étudiant la question de l'octroi immédiat de l'indépendance aux colonies portugaises l'Organisation des Nations Unies s'ingère illégalement dans "les affaires intérieures" du Portugal, sous prétexte qu'en 1951 ces colonies ont été déclarées "provinces portugaises d'outre-mer".

86. Ce truquage juridique des colonisateurs ne peut tromper personne. Les peuples des colonies ne prendront jamais les fictions juridiques des colonisateurs pour une liberté réelle. Dans leur lutte courageuse, ils s'appuient sur le seul droit légitime, le droit de n'importe quel peuple à vivre dans la liberté et l'indépendance. Si on ne donne pas à ces peuples le droit à une vie indépendante, le droit de choisir leur régime politique et social, d'organiser leur vie sur leur propre sol comme ils l'entendent, alors ils lutteront pour le conquérir, si nombreuses que puissent être les victimes qu'ils auront à porter sur l'autel de la liberté.

87. La grande bataille pour l'indépendance de son pays qu'a livrée le petit mais héroïque et courageux peuple algérien en est une preuve convaincante. Aujourd'hui, ce sont les champions de la liberté de l'Angola et de l'Oman qui nous apportent cette preuve. L'homme du XXème siècle ne peut pas vivre à genoux et il n'y consentira pas. Plus les colonisateurs résisteront à cette pression libératrice des peuples subjugués, plus sévère sera la sanction de l'histoire et plus lourd le châtiment qui s'abattra sur la tête des oppresseurs.

88. En dépit de tous les efforts des Nations Unies, le Gouvernement de l'Afrique du Sud refuse de coopérer à la mise en œuvre des mesures destinées à

l'octroi de l'indépendance à la population du Sud-Ouest africain. Bien au contraire, ce gouvernement a repoussé unilatéralement les accords internationaux concernant ce territoire; il foule grossièrement aux pieds les dispositions de la Charte des Nations Unies et toutes les résolutions de l'Assemblée générale concernant le Sud-Ouest africain. Dans cette région, le pouvoir se trouve entièrement entre les mains d'une insignifiante poignée de colons blancs qui applique ouvertement la théorie fasciste et raciste de l'apartheid, laquelle a été proclamée doctrine gouvernementale officielle de l'Afrique du Sud. La politique de l'apartheid confirme la tutelle perpétuelle des blancs sur les populations autochtones vouées à vivre dans l'analphabétisme et l'esclavage.

89. Toute l'existence de l'Africain, littéralement chacun de ses pas sont réglementés par des lois et des ordonnances racistes. L'Africain n'a même pas le droit de se déplacer librement dans son propre pays, de circuler d'une localité à l'autre. Conformément à la loi sur les activités subversives, toute protestation contre la ségrégation raciale, toute demande d'amélioration des conditions de travail peuvent être considérées comme des crimes contre l'Etat, entraînant un emprisonnement de cinq ans et davantage et même la peine de mort.

90. Il est significatif que le chef de l'administration pénitentiaire est le Commissaire général aux affaires indigènes et qu'il occupe en même temps les postes de président des services agricoles et fiscaux, de président de l'administration des mines de diamant et du Conseil pour les affaires de sociétés privées, de directeur du département des recettes de l'Etat, etc. C'est donc un gardien de prison qui dirige les activités les plus importantes de la vie intérieure du pays. Cela n'est pas pour surprendre, car l'Afrique du Sud n'est, au fond, qu'une vaste prison pour la population noire.

91. Les racistes de l'Afrique du Sud préparent toute la population blanche à la guerre, équiper l'armée d'engins de guerre modernes afin de pouvoir noyer dans le sang le mouvement croissant de libération nationale des Africains.

92. Face à ce défi lancé ouvertement par les racistes de l'Afrique du Sud, le moment est venu de réagir par des mesures décisives afin de dégriser ces colonisateurs qui ne connaissent plus de bornes et de mettre un terme aux souffrances du peuple du Sud-Ouest africain.

93. La délégation de la RSS d'Ukraine appuie entièrement la proposition tendant à retirer au gouvernement Verwoerd le mandat sur le Sud-Ouest africain et visant à prendre des mesures décisives ayant pour but d'octroyer l'indépendance à ce territoire.

94. Nous, qui avons adopté la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, n'avons pas le droit de laisser se dévaluer nos décisions concernant les problèmes coloniaux. Nous ne pouvons rester indifférents au fait que les décisions des Nations Unies sont effrontément méconnues par les colonisateurs et que les peuples en lutte peuvent perdre confiance en l'efficacité de l'Organisation. Il vient un jour où aux paroles, même les plus nobles, si elles ne sont pas prises en considération, on doit préférer des actes résolus.

95. Ceux-ci sont d'autant plus nécessaires que dans la partie sud du continent africain est en train de

se former une alliance politico-militaire puissante constituée par les colonialistes de l'Afrique du Sud, du Portugal et de la Rhodésie. Les buts visés par ce groupement créent une menace pour l'avenir des peuples africains et représentent un foyer potentiel de danger de guerre dans le monde.

96. Ce n'est un secret pour personne que l'entente Welenski, Whitehead, Verwoerd et Salazar trouve des appuis auprès de l'OTAN et surtout auprès du Royaume-Uni et des Etats-Unis d'Amérique, dont les intérêts économiques et politiques dans cette région sont bien connus de tous.

97. Par exemple, on ne peut pas ignorer le fait que, jusqu'à présent, la promesse du Royaume-Uni de transférer le Bassoutoland, le Betchouanaland et le Souaziland à l'Afrique du Sud a toujours force juridique. Sur ces territoires, le pouvoir appartient aux colons blancs — sujets britanniques et sud-africains. Le Gouvernement britannique ne prend aucune mesure en vue de l'octroi de l'indépendance à ces territoires, tandis que les racistes de l'Afrique du Sud, dans la Constitution de 1961, se sont hâtés de confirmer leurs prétentions sur le Bassoutoland, le Betchouanaland et le Souaziland.

98. Nous appuyons le projet de résolution [A/5238, chap. V, par. 214] du Comité spécial où il est déclaré "que toute tentative faite pour annexer le Bassoutoland, le Betchouanaland et le Souaziland... sera considérée par l'Organisation des Nations Unies comme un acte d'agression qui viole la Charte" et où l'on réaffirme "le droit inaliénable [des peuples de ces territoires] à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance".

99. Le Royaume-Uni demeure toujours le plus grand empire colonial. Le mouvement de libération nationale dans les colonies britanniques se trouve à différentes étapes de son développement, mais il ne fait aucun doute que tous les peuples des colonies désirent ardemment obtenir leur liberté et acquérir leur indépendance nationale. Ce désir rencontre toujours la même résistance opiniâtre de la part des colonisateurs britanniques.

100. Sous des prétextes divers, on renvoie à plus tard l'octroi de l'indépendance à la Guyane britannique, au Kenya, au Nyassaland et à Zanzibar. Dans ces pays où les éléments nationaux sont prêts dès aujourd'hui à assumer le pouvoir, les colonialistes appliquent leur devise favorite "diviser pour régner".

101. Le parti populaire progressiste de la Guyane britannique, dirigé par M. Jagan, actuel premier ministre du gouvernement local, a remporté des succès aux élections, à plusieurs reprises depuis 1953, malgré les manœuvres de la Puissance administrante. Cependant, la politique du parti dirigeant n'ayant pas l'heur de plaire au Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni, ce dernier s'efforce par tous les moyens de remettre à plus tard l'octroi de l'indépendance à la Guyane britannique, et, en même temps, d'ébranler le parti populaire progressiste.

102. Prenant prétexte de certaines différences d'opinions entre les deux partis qui forment la base de la coalition gouvernementale, on temporise quant à l'octroi de l'indépendance à Zanzibar et Pemba, bien que les deux partis exigent la mise en œuvre immédiate du droit à l'autodétermination.

103. Conformément à la Constitution de 1960 pour le Nyassaland, chaque Africain élu au Conseil législatif représente plus de 120 000 habitants, alors

qu'un membre du même Conseil, choisi d'après ce qu'on appelle la liste supérieure, c'est-à-dire une liste formée principalement d'électeurs blancs, ne représente que 800 personnes. Mais, notwithstanding ces conditions dites "démocratiques", le parti de la population africaine, le Malawi Congress Party, a remporté la victoire aux élections du mois d'août de l'an dernier.

104. Cependant, la Puissance administrante n'a encore pris aucune mesure effective pour mettre en œuvre la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, en ce qui concerne le Nyassaland. C'est l'administration coloniale du Royaume-Uni qui continue de régner. En dépit des vœux clairement exprimés par la population, le Nyassaland fait toujours partie d'une fédération artificiellement créée dans laquelle le pouvoir est aux mains du gouvernement raciste de Roy Welenski.

105. En ce qui concerne la Rhodésie du Nord et la Rhodésie du Sud, les racistes blancs, avec l'appui et l'aide efficace du Royaume-Uni, ont établi un régime d'obscurantisme et de terreur qui diffère peu de celui du Mozambique ou de l'Afrique du Sud. Il est clair que les gouvernements de Roy Welenski et d'Edgar Whitehead suivent la même voie que celui de Verwoerd en Afrique du Sud.

106. Les titres des lois régissant la vie politique des Africains de la Rhodésie du Sud sont, à eux seuls, significatifs: loi sur l'ordre public, loi sur la détention préventive, loi sur les organisations illicites; loi sur le maintien de l'ordre public, etc.; toutes ces lois n'ont pas été promulguées dans un passé lointain, mais récemment, depuis deux ou trois ans. Elles sont la réponse des colonisateurs à la poussée du mouvement de libération nationale, aux exigences de la Déclaration sur l'octroi immédiat de l'indépendance.

107. En dotant la Rhodésie du Sud d'une nouvelle constitution, le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni a déclaré qu'il transmettait au peuple toute la responsabilité concernant son avenir. Mais que comprend donc le peuple de la Rhodésie du Sud? Deux cent mille Européens auxquels cette constitution accorde tous les pleins pouvoirs, ou 3 millions d'Africains qui, par cette nouvelle manœuvre de la "démocratie" anglaise, se voient confirmés dans leur ancien état d'esclavage?

108. Tout cela montre qu'en changeant les méthodes d'administration coloniale le Gouvernement britannique s'efforce de dissimuler sa domination, sous une forme plus subtile de dépendance et de soumission de la colonie à la métropole.

109. En fait, la moelle même de toute domination coloniale, c'est l'exploitation économique, le pillage économique des colonies. Si les colonialistes n'entendent pas quitter ces territoires, c'est précisément parce qu'ils en retirent des richesses considérables et qu'ils exploitent le travail et les biens des autres peuples. Jamais le cas ne s'est présenté qu'ils renoncent volontairement et sans lutte à la domination coloniale. S'ils sont contraints de quitter les colonies, s'ils sont dans l'obligation d'accorder à ces populations l'indépendance politique, ils s'efforcent alors de les lier par des conventions et accords inégaux, afin de s'assurer et de consolider des positions économiques, c'est-à-dire s'assurer la poursuite de leur exploitation économique.

110. Les accords et conventions de ce genre sont, pour les colonialistes et les monopoles internationaux, une ligne de repli qui garantit le maintien de la domination impérialiste et l'asservissement économique des peuples d'autres pays. Il faut qu'au stade actuel de notre examen de la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration l'Assemblée générale décide que la mise en œuvre logique du principe de l'autodétermination des peuples est incompatible avec une pratique qui consiste à imposer des relations et accords inégaux entre Etats.

111. Saisis de crainte pour leurs empires coloniaux qui craquent à toutes les coutures, les puissances coloniales unissent leurs efforts pour lutter contre le mouvement croissant de libération nationale. On a mis en place au service du colonialisme un système de blocs militaires: OTAN, CENTO, OTASE. Dans le cadre des alliances militaires, on se cotise pour une caution mutuelle entre colonialistes en vue d'étouffer par la force des armes tout mouvement de libération nationale en Afrique, en Asie, en Amérique latine.

112. Des Etats comme le Portugal, l'Espagne, l'Afrique du Sud n'auraient pu résister aux mouvements de libération nationale des peuples s'ils n'avaient profité d'une large aide économique et militaire de leurs puissants alliés des blocs militaires, avant tout des Etats-Unis d'Amérique et du Royaume-Uni, et aussi de l'Allemagne occidentale, de la France, etc. Cette aide et cet appui sont conditionnés par les intérêts communs qu'ont les puissants monopoles internationaux, et l'impérialisme international dirigé par les Etats-Unis, à l'exploitation économique et la soumission politique d'autres peuples.

113. La liquidation du colonialisme suppose la mise en œuvre logique et totale du droit des peuples à l'autodétermination, le transfert à ces peuples d'une souveraineté pleine et entière qui ne doit pas être limitée par des accords inégaux, qu'ils soient économiques, militaires ou politiques.

114. Pour terminer, je tiens à dire quelques mots à propos des tentatives faites par certains orateurs pour faire dévier l'Assemblée de la question que nous traitons. Les représentants du Royaume-Uni et du Canada se sont montrés particulièrement empressés à cet égard; ils ont repris, en duo, le vieux refrain de la calomnie antisoviétique. Le représentant du Royaume-Uni a parlé des traits communs de la politique coloniale de l'impérialisme anglais et de la Russie tsariste. Certes, il y a des points communs, mais la politique de l'Union soviétique en matière de nationalité, y compris la Transcaucasie et l'Asie centrale et dont M. Dean a voulu se faire le défenseur mal venu, n'a rien à voir avec la politique du tsarisme russe. Nous voudrions rappeler au représentant du Royaume-Uni qu'en 1917 le tsarisme a été détruit grâce aux efforts réunis des peuples de l'ancien empire russe et, avant tout, aux efforts des révolutionnaires russes eux-mêmes; cela, il faut bien le dire, en dépit de l'intervention armée de l'impérialisme international, y compris l'impérialisme anglais, qui, de toutes ses forces, a tenté de rétablir la prison tsariste des peuples.

115. M. Dean a versé des larmes de crocodile sur le sort du peuple d'Azerbaïdjan. Aujourd'hui, la République socialiste soviétique d'Azerbaïdjan est une des 15 républiques souveraines et égales en droits de l'Union soviétique, en même temps que la RSS d'Ukraine. On peut se permettre de demander au représentant du Royaume-Uni qui, en 1918, a fusillé

les membres du premier gouvernement de la République socialiste soviétique d'Azerbaïdjan? Ce sont les interventionnistes anglais; par la force armée, ils ont essayé de soumettre à leur domination le peuple de l'Azerbaïdjan et les peuples de l'Asie centrale qui, avec le grand peuple russe, se sont soulevés, pendant la révolution d'Octobre, contre le joug tsariste.

116. Mais, ces tentatives des impérialistes ont complètement échoué et, aujourd'hui, les colonialistes anglais pleurent sur le passé, car ils n'ont pu se faire prendre à charge par les peuples de la Transcaucasie et de l'Asie centrale, comme ils l'ont fait pour les peuples du Kenya, de la Rhodésie, du Nyasaland et des autres possessions coloniales britanniques.

117. Sur les ruines de la Russie tsariste s'est créée une puissante union de peuples réellement libres, l'Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques. Je me permettrai de rappeler les paroles prononcées à la quinzième session de l'Assemblée générale par le chef du Gouvernement de l'Union soviétique, M. Khrouchchev:

"Le Gouvernement tsariste a appliqué dans les marches de la Russie une politique essentiellement coloniale qui ne différait guère de ce que l'on peut voir, à l'heure actuelle, dans les pays coloniaux. Ouzbeks, Kazakhs, Tadjiks et autres nationalités non russes étaient dédaigneusement catalogués comme "étrangers". Ils n'étaient pas considérés comme des hommes et étaient impitoyablement exploités. On fomentait parmi ces peuples la discorde, la haine et les guerres intestines, et l'Empire tsariste ne se maintenait que par la force de baïonnettes et par l'oppression. Lorsque les peuples d'Asie centrale et de Transcaucasie ont obtenu la liberté nationale et des droits égaux à ceux des autres peuples de la Russie, ils ont montré ce qu'ils pouvaient faire pour développer l'économie et la culture nationales.

"Le développement de notre pays a-t-il souffert du fait que ces peuples ont reçu le droit à l'indépendance et à l'autonomie? Notre pays multinational connaît-il la discorde et l'inimitié entre les populations, la désagrégation de l'Etat? Pas du tout, et la chose est impossible." [869^{ème} séance, par. 207 et 208.]

"En URSS, toutes les nationalités se sont rapprochées, se sont très étroitement unies. Une amitié véritable est née entre ces nationalités, et toutes les épreuves de la seconde guerre mondiale n'ont pu l'ébranler. Ce ne sont pas seulement les minorités nationales qui ont bénéficié de ces grands changements, mais aussi les Russes, les Ukrainiens et les Biélorussiens, qui représentent la majorité des habitants de l'Union soviétique.

"Nous sommes fiers d'avoir prouvé par l'expérience des anciennes marches de la Russie que les pays de l'Est peuvent parfaitement, en l'espace d'une génération, rattraper le retard, mettre fin à la misère, à la maladie et à l'ignorance et s'élever au niveau des pays économiquement développés." [Ibid., par. 210 et 211.]

118. Quant au discours du représentant du Canada, nous pouvons dire que de telles déclarations sont devenues une banalité. De temps à autre, les hommes

d'Etat et les diplomates du Canada montent à la tribune dans leur propre pays, aux sessions de l'OTAN ou ici, sur ordre de l'extérieur, mais animés de leur propre zèle, pour verser un flot trouble de mensonges, inspirés par une haine aveugle contre les peuples de l'Union soviétique qui, les premiers, ont brisé les chaînes de la domination et de l'esclavage capitaliste.

119. La révolution d'Octobre, qui a annoncé au monde le commencement d'une ère nouvelle, une ère de liberté et d'égalité véritables pour tous les peuples, pour toutes les races, est comme une flamme brûlante pour les yeux et les mains rapaces des impérialistes. Ceux qui sont habitués à édifier leur bonheur en très grande partie aux frais d'autres peuples gardent rancune aux peuples des Etats socialistes qui ont montré par leur exemple comment il faut agir pour flanquer à la porte les pillards étrangers, disposer soi-même de ses propres richesses et organiser sa propre existence.

120. Certains cercles internationaux qui ont intérêt à attiser la haine contre l'Union soviétique et à miner son autorité cherchent souvent à charger de cette tâche ingrate ceux qui sont prêts à les servir. Malheureusement, les hommes politiques canadiens montrent assez souvent qu'ils sont prêts à cela, dans un esprit antisoviétique clairement marqué. Il est inutile d'analyser les insinuations ordurières du représentant du Canada à l'adresse des peuples soviétiques, y compris le peuple ukrainien. Nous voudrions seulement faire remarquer que c'était là une pitoyable tentative de substituer aux problèmes réels de la libération des peuples du colonialisme, laquelle exige une solution immédiate, des "problèmes" qui viennent à l'esprit de colonialistes affolés qui, perdant toute maîtrise d'eux-mêmes, livrent un combat d'arrière-garde désespéré contre le mouvement de libération nationale.

121. Il est curieux de souligner cependant que le représentant du Canada, mêlant la calomnie aux soupçons hypocrites, s'est efforcé de jouer sur l'amour-propre des peuples soviétiques en les gratifiant d'épithètes pompeuses pour adoucir ses propos trompeurs et tendancieux. Il a qualifié le peuple ukrainien de "peuple épris de liberté" sans soupçonner, apparemment, que, sur les lèvres d'un défenseur du colonialisme, la reconnaissance même des mérites d'un peuple peut avoir le ton d'une insulte. Que la délégitimation du Canada ne se fasse pas d'illusions: notre peuple connaît les motifs réels qui ont obligé les hommes d'Etat de ce pays, s'ils interviennent à une tribune politique, nationale ou internationale, à se laisser mener par le bout du nez par la réaction impérialiste. Oui, du moment qu'il s'agit des Ukrainiens et autres peuples soviétiques, le peuple ukrainien est un peuple épris de paix et c'est précisément pour cela qu'il ne tolérera pas que les impérialistes et leurs thuriféraires s'ingèrent dans les affaires intérieures de nos frères, les peuples socialistes qui ont acquis leur indépendance, leur liberté et leur puissance, et qui édifient leur lumineux avenir communiste.

122. La liberté et la sécurité dans le monde seront toujours menacées tant qu'à tous les peuples ne seront pas assurées l'égalité et l'indépendance, tant que ne sera pas brisé le dernier maillon de la chaîne du colonialisme. Le droit de chaque peuple à en finir avec le joug étranger est sacré et inaliénable. Nous

sommes convaincus que ce droit triomphera infailliblement sur tous les points du globe.

123. La délégation ukrainienne appuiera toute proposition tendant à faire atteindre la noble fin proclamée dans la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux; la liquidation totale du colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations.

M. Plimsoll (Australie), vice-président, prend la présidence.

124. M. RAMOS (Philippines) [traduit de l'anglais]: Le processus de décolonisation commencé à la fin de la seconde guerre mondiale est un des chapitres les plus brillants de l'histoire des hommes toujours en quête de la liberté. Ce processus a suscité une révolution dont l'ampleur et la signification sont égales à celles des autres grands événements politiques qui ont profondément marqué notre civilisation et le cours de l'histoire.

125. Deux grandes forces ont permis cette révolution. L'une est la poussée du nationalisme, qui, gagnant toutes les couches de la société, a déclenché l'affirmation militante du droit à l'autodétermination et aux autres droits fondamentaux de l'homme. L'autre résulte du développement des moyens de communication modernes qui ont accéléré la diffusion dans le monde entier des principes de liberté inscrits dans la Charte des Nations Unies.

126. L'Organisation des Nations Unies a elle-même joué un rôle capital dans cette révolution. Elle a servi de catalyseur dans le processus de décolonisation, elle a orienté sur des voies pacifiques les mouvements d'indépendance et a permis aux nations qui venaient d'acquiescer leur indépendance de trouver aussitôt la place qui leur revenait dans une communauté d'Etats libres respectueux du principe de la légalité. Les travaux du Comité spécial des Dix-Sept prouvent combien les Nations Unies se soucient de voir les territoires encore colonisés se libérer rapidement. Les progrès signalés par le Comité sont encourageants.

127. Nous avons tout lieu de nous réjouir de cette évolution, mais l'après des débats sur la question du colonialisme prouve que notre tâche est loin d'être achevée. Le colonialisme est en effet comme une maladie parasitaire qui ne réagit pas toujours de la même manière à un traitement donné. Ce mal présente les phases classiques d'une guérison apparente et d'une rechute brusque; ce qui le caractérise avant tout, c'est la ténacité avec laquelle il s'attache aux victimes qu'il a choisies. Ainsi, de nos jours, alors que nous luttons pour hâter la fin du colonialisme à l'ancienne mode, nous voyons surgir des formes de domination plus subtiles, aussi dangereuses dans leurs effets qu'habiles à dissimuler leur véritable caractère. Un des aspects essentiels de notre tâche consiste à être vigilants pour déceler toutes les manifestations de cette nouvelle forme du colonialisme, les dénoncer partout où elles risquent d'apparaître et les empêcher de se maintenir, en y mettant autant d'énergie et de résolution que nous en avons mises à vaincre les formes plus anciennes du colonialisme.

128. Il ne faut jamais oublier que le colonialisme, quelle que soit sa forme, n'est jamais justifié. A la base de toutes les formes du colonialisme se trouve en effet, comme premier principe, la doctrine néfaste

qu'un groupe d'hommes est supérieur à un autre. Dans sa forme la plus primitive, le colonialisme viole les droits fondamentaux du peuple asservi, déforme et pervertit sa personnalité et exploite sans pitié son patrimoine national.

129. Si mon pays s'intéresse spécialement au problème du colonialisme, c'est parce que nous, Philippines, avons été asservis pendant plus de quatre siècles. Nous avons été une colonie espagnole pendant plus de trois siècles et les Etats-Unis d'Amérique nous ont dominés pendant près d'un demi-siècle. Nous partageons donc dans une plus ou moins grande mesure avec les peuples des anciennes colonies la douloureuse expérience qui consiste à être gouverné contre sa volonté par des puissances étrangères.

130. Les Philippines sont un des plus anciens peuples révolutionnaires du monde. Sous la domination espagnole, pendant près de quatre siècles, nous nous sommes soulevés en moyenne tous les deux ans. Le dernier de ces soulèvements obstinés réussit finalement en 1898.

131. Le 12 juin 1898, le chef des forces révolutionnaires philippines proclama la République des Philippines, premier Etat démocratique libre à apparaître dans l'Asie coloniale. Pour défendre cette première République des Philippines, notre peuple luttait contre les Etats-Unis d'Amérique dans une guerre qui dura plus de trois ans et ne prit fin que lorsqu'il ne nous resta plus rien pour résister aux forces des Etats-Unis, supérieures en armes et en nombre.

132. Puis, notre peuple s'engagea dans une campagne résolue et intransigeante pour obtenir l'indépendance immédiate, absolue et totale. Cette campagne fut menée pacifiquement, par des moyens constitutionnels, les Etats-Unis ayant adopté pour ligne de conduite de reconnaître le droit à l'autodétermination du peuple philippin. Il a fallu pourtant plus de 30 ans d'efforts pacifiques pour que cette politique aboutisse à une loi qui fixait une date précise pour la reconnaissance de l'indépendance des Philippines. Après ces 30 ans, une dizaine d'années s'écoulèrent encore avant que la République des Philippines ne fût finalement restaurée.

133. Cet événement historique eut lieu le 4 juillet 1946, au début même de ce processus de décolonisation dont j'ai parlé. La République restaurée des Philippines, Membre originaire de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, fut la première des anciennes colonies d'Asie à se comporter en Etat libre et indépendant. En ce sens, on peut dire que nous avons ouvert la voie à l'émancipation des peuples coloniaux, voie que nous cherchons maintenant à consolider et à parfaire.

134. Après ce bref historique du mouvement d'indépendance aux Philippines, qui éclaire l'attitude de mon gouvernement devant le colonialisme, j'évoquerai maintenant une partie du rapport du Comité spécial des Dix-Sept, dont nous sommes saisis sous la cote A/5238. Il s'agit de la partie qui touche notre souveraineté sur le Bornéo du Nord, à propos du projet de création d'une nouvelle fédération appelée la Fédération de Grande Malaisie.

135. Ces deux sujets, la souveraineté sur le Bornéo du Nord et la Fédération de Grande Malaisie, intéressent particulièrement les Philippines parce que la création de cette nouvelle Fédération de Grande Malaisie impliquerait le transfert de la souveraineté

sur le Bornéo du Nord. Les Philippines revendiquent officiellement la souveraineté sur le Bornéo du Nord. Un différend qui n'est pas encore réglé existe à ce sujet entre les Philippines et le Royaume-Uni.

136. En exposant la politique de son gouvernement devant l'Assemblée dans la matinée du 27 septembre 1962, le Vice-Président et Secrétaire aux affaires étrangères des Philippines a mentionné brièvement la revendication du Gouvernement des Philippines sur le territoire du Bornéo du Nord. Il a dit notamment:

"Nous accompagnons nos revendications de l'assurance de notre désir sincère de voir la question réglée par des moyens pacifiques et compte tenu du droit des habitants du Bornéo du Nord à disposer d'eux-mêmes, de préférence sous les auspices des Nations Unies." [1134^{ème} séance, par. 25.]

137. Plus tard au cours de la même séance, le représentant du Royaume-Uni a dit:

"...en ce qui concerne les revendications sur le Bornéo du Nord, je dois déclarer, afin qu'il en soit pris acte, que le Royaume-Uni n'a aucun doute quant à ses droits de souveraineté sur le territoire du Bornéo du Nord" [Ibid., par. 127.]

Par ces déclarations des représentants des deux gouvernements en cause, le problème de la souveraineté sur le Bornéo du Nord a été nettement posé.

138. Le différend entre les Philippines et le Royaume-Uni au sujet de la souveraineté sur le Bornéo du Nord provient surtout des interprétations divergentes données par les deux pays à un acte signé le 22 janvier 1878 par le sultan Jamal Al Alam, chef du Sultanat des Soulou. Avant cette date, le Sultan des Soulou était le souverain et maître incontesté du Bornéo du Nord. L'acte est écrit en caractères arabes et le texte est en langue malaise. Le mot clef est le mot malais "padjak" qui signifie "bail", ce qui, à notre sens, signifie clairement que le territoire a été loué et non pas vendu ou cédé, comme le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni le prétend à tort.

139. Le mode de paiement, par versements annuels, corrobore notre conviction que cet accord était un bail. Il s'y ajoute le fait que le montant du loyer était de 5 000 dollars malais, porté par la suite à 5 300 dollars malais par an, ce qui équivaut à 1 800 dollars des Etats-Unis environ par an, ou 150 dollars des Etats-Unis par mois, pour un territoire couvrant 76 400 kilomètres carrés, à peu près la superficie de l'Irlande.

140. Lorsque le premier bénéficiaire du bail, une société privée du nom de British North Borneo Company, a transféré au Royaume-Uni, le 26 juin 1946, ses droits sur le territoire, elle a transféré des droits découlant d'un bail et non pas des droits de souveraineté, pour la simple raison que la société ne pouvait transférer des droits qu'elle ne possédait pas elle-même. Lorsque le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni a annexé, avec une hâte bien compréhensible, le territoire du Bornéo du Nord en tant que colonie de la Couronne, le 10 juillet 1946 — six jours après la restauration de la République des Philippines —, le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni a accompli là un acte dont la légalité peut paraître pour le moins douteuse.

141. Sept ans auparavant, un tribunal britannique avait émis un avis ainsi conçu:

"Il est parfaitement clair que le successeur des droits de souveraineté du Sultan des Soulou est le Gouvernement des îles Philippines..."

Cette citation, qui éclaire singulièrement la question de la souveraineté sur le Bornéo du Nord, est tirée d'une décision du Chief Justice Macaskie, de la Cour suprême du Bornéo du Nord, lors d'un procès intenté par les héritiers du sultan Jamalul Kiram, chef du Sultanat des Soulou de 1894 jusqu'à sa mort en 1936. Bien que nous ne soyons pas disposés à admettre tous les avis émis par le juge Macaskie, nous nous référons à sa décision pour expliquer la raison qui a poussé le Sultan des Soulou à résilier le bail sur le territoire quelques années plus tard.

142. L'affaire portée devant les tribunaux de Bornéo était une action en revendication intentée en vue d'obtenir un jugement désignant les héritiers de feu le sultan Jamalul Kiram, auxquels revenait le droit de percevoir le loyer prévu dans l'acte de 1878. Dans sa décision, le juge Macaskie a fait une distinction entre ce qu'il appelait "les héritiers privés" du Sultan décédé, auxquels revenait le droit de toucher la somme annuelle de 5 300 dollars malais, et le "successeur des droits de souveraineté" du Sultan. Le juge Macaskie a désigné comme héritiers privés du Sultan la princesse Tarhata Kiram et huit autres personnes, et comme successeur des droits de souveraineté le Gouvernement des Philippines.

143. Le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni connaissait parfaitement l'opinion du juge Macaskie selon laquelle le Gouvernement des Philippines était le successeur des droits de souveraineté du Sultan des Soulou. Il savait également que la princesse Tarhata Kiram et huit autres personnes avaient été déclarées héritiers privés dudit Sultan par la Cour suprême du Bornéo du Nord. Mais, lorsqu'il a annexé le Bornéo du Nord le 10 juillet 1946 et assumé la souveraineté sur ce territoire cinq jours plus tard, le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni n'en a fait notification ni au Gouvernement des Philippines, ni aux héritiers du Sultan. Un Américain éminent, grand défenseur du principe de l'autodétermination, qui n'est autre que l'honorable Francis Burton Harrison, auteur d'une étude juridique sur l'affaire du Bornéo du Nord, a appelé l'annexion du Bornéo du Nord par le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni un acte d'agression politique. En 1957, le sultan Esmail Kiram a fait une proclamation résiliant le bail de 1878. Cette résiliation a été officiellement notifiée au Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni à Londres, à la British North Borneo Company à Jesselton et au Secrétaire général de l'Organisation des Nations Unies à New York.

144. Voyons maintenant une autre partie du rapport du Comité spécial concernant la question de l'autodétermination des habitants du Bornéo du Nord. Le Comité a fait distribuer un certain nombre de pétitions concernant des territoires coloniaux. L'une d'elles^{4/}, datée du 9 septembre 1962, émanant de partis politiques du Bornéo du Nord, du Sarawak et du Brunei, demande à l'Organisation des Nations Unies qu'elle "...intervienne au sujet du transfert de souveraineté proposé au Sarawak et au Sabah" — le Bornéo du Nord est aussi connu sous le nom de Sabah — "étant donné qu'un tel transfert priverait les peuples de ces territoires de leur droit à dis-

^{4/} A/AC.109/PET.46, document mimeographié seulement.

poser d'eux-mêmes et de leur droit à l'indépendance totale". Comme autre solution, la pétition demande à l'Organisation des Nations Unies d'organiser et de tenir un plébiscite avant qu'il ne soit procédé au transfert de souveraineté.

145. On lit notamment dans cette pétition:

"13. La Commission [Cobbold] a conclu qu'un tiers environ de la population était très favorable à la réalisation de la "Grande Malaisie" sans conditions, un tiers l'acceptait, mais à certaines conditions et en exigeant certaines garanties, et le reste y était opposé. Cette conclusion est complètement fautive, ne peut être étayée par des faits et ne saurait être acceptée par des observateurs objectifs et impartiaux."

146. Dans le rapport Cobbold^{5/} lui-même il est reconnu ce qui suit:

"Lorsque nous avons évalué l'opinion des habitants du Bornéo du Nord ... nous n'avons pu arriver qu'à une appréciation approximative. Nous ne garantissons pas qu'à l'avenir leur opinion ne se modifiera pas dans un sens ou dans l'autre. En tenant compte de toutes les difficultés et de l'impossibilité où nous étions d'atteindre toutes les parties de ces vastes territoires, nous sommes arrivés à établir une opinion générale, raisonnablement bien fondée sur des renseignements de source privée ou représentative."

147. Dans une autre partie du rapport Cobbold, il est admis que "faute de temps" les habitants du territoire n'ont pu "étudier avec soin" les conséquences que pourraient avoir pour le Bornéo du Nord les projets de création de la Fédération de Grande Malaisie. Ailleurs, nous lisons ce qui suit:

"Il n'y a pas eu d'élections ... Ce n'est que récemment qu'on a prévu d'organiser des élections aux conseils de district et aux conseils municipaux^{6/}."

148. En d'autres termes, depuis 1881, époque à laquelle la British North Borneo Company a entrepris d'administrer le Bornéo du Nord pour le compte du Sultan des Soulou, et jusqu'en 1946, année où le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni a annexé le Bornéo du Nord en tant que colonie de la Couronne, les habitants du territoire n'ont même pas eu l'occasion d'élire leurs représentants locaux.

149. La situation est semblable dans le domaine de l'enseignement. Les chiffres donnés par le rapport Cobbold montrent que parmi les habitants âgés de 10 ans ou plus, 72 000 seulement savent lire et écrire, et 227 000 sont illettrés. Sur une population autochtone de plus de 300 000 habitants, deux seulement ont fait des études supérieures.

150. Il est utile aussi de noter que selon ce qu'on appelle la "Liste chronologique des progrès constitutionnels" [A/5238, annexe I] les gouvernements intéressés ont déjà décidé en principe que la future Fédération de Grande Malaisie, qui doit comprendre le Bornéo du Nord, sera constituée le 31 août 1963, mais il n'y est pas mentionné un point important de cette décision, à savoir l'entente réalisée entre les gouvernements intéressés, selon laquelle ils concluront dans les six mois un accord en bonne et due

forme prévoyant le transfert de la souveraineté sur le Bornéo du Nord à la future Fédération de Grande Malaisie. Il est à présumer que cette période de six mois a commencé le jour où la décision a été prise, vers la fin de juillet ou le début d'août 1962.

151. La série de mesures conduisant à l'incorporation du territoire dans la future Fédération de Grande Malaisie, dont l'échéance est fixée au 31 août 1963, rend pratiquement certain que les habitants de ce territoire auront, après cette date, perdu le droit d'exprimer leur opinion réelle sur la question primordiale de l'autodétermination.

152. Nous espérons sincèrement qu'avant cette échéance la revendication du Gouvernement des Philippines sur le Bornéo du Nord aura été réglée dans la légalité et la justice. Selon cette revendication, en effet, le droit des habitants du Bornéo du Nord à l'autodétermination serait assuré.

153. Le territoire du Bornéo du Nord est très proche des Philippines. De nombreuses îles de l'archipel des Philippines — les îles de la Tortue et les îles Mangsee — sont à faible distance du Bornéo du Nord. A partir des îles situées à l'extrême sud de l'archipel des Philippines, on peut atteindre le Bornéo du Nord en barque ou en pirogue.

154. L'avenir du Bornéo du Nord présente donc pour les Philippines un intérêt vital du point de vue de leur sécurité nationale. Ce territoire est comme un bouchon qui ferme notre grande mer intérieure, la mer des Soulou, et présente donc une grande importance stratégique pour les Philippines.

155. En faisant valoir leur revendication légitime concernant la souveraineté sur le Bornéo du Nord, les Philippines n'ont cependant ni l'intention, ni le désir de passer outre aux vœux des habitants de ce territoire. Le Bornéo du Nord n'est pas un atoll du Pacifique habité par des albatros, ni une île de l'Antarctique habitée par des pingouins. Elle est peuplée par près d'un demi-million d'habitants dont le droit à l'autodétermination doit être respecté et pris en considération.

156. C'est pour cette raison même que M. Macapagal, président des Philippines, a donné le 27 juillet 1962 l'assurance solennelle suivante:

"Les Philippines s'en tiennent loyalement au principe de la libre détermination des peuples. C'est pourquoi, au cas où il deviendrait nécessaire, à quelque moment que ce soit, de déterminer les vœux des habitants du Bornéo du Nord quant à leur avenir, les Philippines les appuieront au cas où ils voudraient exercer ce droit, de préférence par un plébiscite sous les auspices de l'Organisation des Nations Unies."

157. Cette assurance solennelle a été réitérée devant l'Assemblée [1134ème séance, par. 25] par le Vice-Président et Secrétaire aux affaires étrangères des Philippines dans sa déclaration sur la politique de son pays, que j'ai déjà citée.

158. Mon gouvernement n'a ménagé aucun effort pour que ce différend au sujet du Bornéo du Nord soit réglé rapidement à l'amiable et sur une base bilatérale.

159. Sous la pression toujours croissante de l'opinion publique des Philippines, la Chambre des représentants du Congrès des Philippines a adopté à l'unanimité, le 24 avril 1962, une résolution invitant

^{5/} Report of the Commission of Enquiry into North Borneo and Sarawak, 1962, London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, Command Paper 1794, chap. 3, par. 143.

^{6/} Ibid., par. 104.

le Président des Philippines à revendiquer la souveraineté sur le Bornéo du Nord. Pourtant, avant que le Président ait pu donner suite à cette résolution, le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni a informé le Gouvernement des Philippines qu'il s'opposerait et ferait obstacle à une telle revendication, dans le dessein d'empêcher la présentation de cette revendication avant même que son bien-fondé ait été examiné.

160. Le 22 juin 1962, mon gouvernement a fait le premier pas vers une solution négociée du problème du Bornéo du Nord. Il a informé le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni de la revendication de souveraineté des Philippines sur ce territoire et a demandé au Royaume-Uni que des conversations aient lieu, soit à Manille, soit à Londres, pour discuter tous les problèmes concernant cette question.

161. Il n'a été tenu aucun compte de cette demande. Le Gouvernement des Philippines s'est alors trouvé dans la nécessité d'envoyer un aide-mémoire réitérant sa demande de conversations bilatérales. Ce n'est que le 8 août 1962 que le Gouvernement des Philippines a reçu un aide-mémoire du Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni. Cet aide-mémoire, cependant, passait complètement sous silence la demande du Gouvernement des Philippines concernant des conversations bilatérales. Le 12 septembre, peu de temps avant l'ouverture de la présente session de l'Assemblée générale, une nouvelle note a été envoyée au Gouvernement britannique, renouvelant encore une fois la demande des Philippines concernant des conversations bilatérales.

162. Mon gouvernement est très préoccupé par la manière quelque peu cavalière dont nos demandes réitérées ont été traitées par le Royaume-Uni pendant cinq mois. Il nous est de plus en plus difficile de ne pas en tirer la conclusion que le Royaume-Uni ne veut pas tenir compte de notre revendication, étant apparemment déterminé à nous placer devant le fait accompli.

163. Entre-temps, en effet, la période de six mois pendant laquelle devait être envisagé le transfert du territoire du Bornéo du Nord à la future Fédération de Grande Malaisie est presque arrivée à expiration. Mon gouvernement ne pourrait accepter cet état de choses sans s'émouvoir, d'autant plus que, comme nous l'avons déjà fait remarquer, les modalités de transfert ne prévoient pas un exercice véritable du droit à l'autodétermination par les habitants du Bornéo du Nord. C'est pourquoi nous avons informé les gouvernements intéressés que nous ne pourrions en aucune manière accepter l'Accord de Londres au sujet du territoire du Bornéo du Nord comme un fait accompli qui ne tiendrait aucun compte de la revendication des Philippines, ce que ces gouvernements n'ignorent nullement. Nous leur avons également fait savoir que nous maintenons notre revendication au sujet du Bornéo du Nord et que nous la maintiendrons jusqu'à ce que le différend soit réglé par des moyens pacifiques conformément aux principes de la Charte des Nations Unies.

164. Mon gouvernement a gardé sa sérénité devant ce qui semble être une indifférence voulue à l'égard de nos demandes réitérées de conversations bilatérales. Mais nous sommes persuadés que le Royaume-Uni, que les Philippines considèrent comme un allié dans la cause de la paix mondiale, cessera de ne tenir aucun compte de notre juste revendication. La simple justice et les intérêts bien compris des peuples en cause exigent que notre différend avec

le Royaume-Uni au sujet du Bornéo du Nord soit réglé avant la création d'une Fédération de Grande Malaisie, pour garantir aux habitants du Bornéo du Nord l'exercice du droit de libre détermination, et, en même temps, assurer la paix, l'amitié et l'entente des peuples de cette partie du monde.

M. Muhammad Zafrulla Khan (Pakistan) reprend la présidence.

165. Le **PRESIDENT** (traduit de l'anglais): Je donne la parole au représentant du Royaume-Uni pour qu'il exerce son droit de réponse.

166. Sir Patrick DEAN (Royaume-Uni) [traduit de l'anglais]: Le représentant des Philippines vient de parler de la revendication de son gouvernement sur le territoire du Bornéo du Nord. A l'appui de sa revendication, il a avancé un certain nombre de déclarations, d'arguments et de citations.

167. Ma délégation étudiera ces arguments, déclarations et citations avec tout le soin qu'ils méritent sûrement. En attendant, je ne dirai qu'une chose: c'est là une revendication toute nouvelle. La Constitution des Philippines de 1946, aussi bien que la résolution de 1961 du Congrès des Philippines sur les eaux territoriales, ont toutes deux défini les limites des Philippines en excluant le Bornéo du Nord. En outre, il existe dans la population du Bornéo du Nord une forte opposition à la revendication des Philippines. Les chefs des cinq organisations politiques du Bornéo du Nord ont envoyé le mois dernier au Président des Philippines une lettre ouverte où il est dit notamment:

"Nous ne croyons pas — et notre peuple ne croit pas — que le Gouvernement de la République des Philippines puisse revendiquer un territoire quelconque en invoquant l'ancien Sultanat des Soulou, ou pour quelque autre raison. Nous estimons que, quoi qu'on puisse dire au sujet de cette prétendue revendication, pas un seul des peuples du Bornéo du Nord ne désire faire partie de la République des Philippines ni ne voudrait y consentir."

168. Je suis autorisé par mon gouvernement à déclarer une fois de plus à ce sujet que le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni n'a aucun doute quant à sa souveraineté sur le Bornéo du Nord et je réserve formellement ses droits sur ce point.

169. J'ajouterai peut-être que pour le cas où il semblerait utile, après une étude plus approfondie, de donner une réponse plus complète à la dernière déclaration du représentant des Philippines, ma délégation se réserve le droit d'intervenir plus tard dans le présent débat.

170. M. SONN VOEUNSAI (Cambodge): Ma délégation ne se propose pas, au cours de la présente intervention, de traiter le problème de la décolonisation dans son ensemble. Les représentants qui m'ont précédé à cette tribune en ont parlé avec éloquence et avec chaleur. Il nous est loisible aussi de nous référer aux diverses déclarations qui ont été faites, du 28 novembre au 14 décembre 1960, quand l'Assemblée générale avait examiné la question de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux; ces déclarations ont été consignées dans quelque 260 pages de comptes rendus sténographiques des séances.

171. Ma délégation voudrait vous parler seulement des aspects généraux du travail qui a été accompli

par le Comité des Dix-Sept pendant sept mois, en s'attachant, autant que possible, à tirer des leçons utiles pour l'accomplissement des tâches futures que l'Assemblée générale pourrait confier à ce comité de la décolonisation. Ce faisant, elle manifeste son grand désir de contribuer utilement à la réalisation d'une entreprise qui honore la communauté internationale.

172. La délégation cambodgienne tient cependant à réaffirmer la position de son pays en ce qui concerne la libération des peuples encore assujettis, et à rappeler les principes essentiels qui l'ont toujours guidée. Cette position et ces principes ont été définis clairement par le chef vénéré de notre Etat, Son Altesse Royale le prince Norodom Sihanouk, tant à la Conférence de Bandoung en 1955^{2/} qu'à celle de Belgrade en 1961^{3/}. A ce sujet, je voudrais citer des passages du discours qu'il a prononcé dans cette dernière ville, le 3 septembre de l'année dernière, devant une trentaine de chefs d'Etat ou de gouvernement des pays non alignés:

"Nous nous sommes réunis", a-t-il dit, "pour réaffirmer et défendre tous les principes sacrés de la souveraineté des Nations, de la liberté pour les peuples de choisir leur régime, leurs institutions, leur politique dans la mesure où elle n'est pas fondée sur l'agression et ne constitue pas un danger pour la paix mondiale."

Et plus loin, il ajoutait:

"Nous, Cambodgiens, n'ignorons nullement que, si le colonialisme est moribond, il n'a pas pour autant disparu de la surface du globe. Nous savons que, en Afrique notamment, des peuples versent leur sang pour obtenir leur liberté. Mais ces peuples savent qu'ils ne sont plus seuls comme nous le fîmes dans notre lutte pour l'indépendance. Par contre leurs oppresseurs savent aussi que leur combat est sans issue et que la réprobation générale les entoure. Dans ces conditions, sans ménager notre appui à nos frères courageux, sans pusillanimité, je crois que dans leur intérêt même nous devons prendre garde aux sursauts d'un colonialisme anachronique, qui rendraient leurs luttes plus longues et plus sanglantes."

"Notre combat contre les survivances du colonialisme gagnera en efficacité s'il est lucide, s'il est mené avec la certitude qui est la nôtre que la victoire définitive est proche."

"Notre force nouvelle, une force qui ne fera que s'accroître, s'exprimera d'autant mieux qu'elle refusera de se laisser entraîner par les rancœurs d'un passé douloureux. Et c'est pourquoi j'ai la conviction que notre voix sera plus impressionnante, mieux écoutée, si elle s'élève sans haine et sans passion^{2/}."

173. C'est avec cette détermination, et aussi avec cette lucidité et cette objectivité, que ma délégation a eu l'honneur de participer, en tant que membre, aux travaux du Comité spécial sur la décolonisation.

174. Parlant maintenant de ces travaux, je voudrais vous dire que nous avons été immédiatement pénétrés

de leur importance qu'avait rehaussée la présence, à la séance d'ouverture, du Président de la dernière session de l'Assemblée générale et du Secrétaire général par intérim. Je ne puis m'empêcher de vous rappeler les recommandations qu'ils nous ont faites: "Il est apparu de plus en plus urgent", a dit M. Mongi Slim, "de hâter l'accession à la souveraineté des nations se trouvant encore sous administration coloniale. Il est d'autre part éminemment souhaitable que l'évolution de ces pays s'opère dans l'harmonie et la paix, sans convulsions génératrices de ressentiments et de méfiance^{10/}." Et U Thant avait ajouté: "Les membres du Comité, conscients des lourdes responsabilités qui leur ont été confiées, mèneront sans aucun doute leurs travaux dans un esprit de coopération."

175. Les travaux ont été conduits activement. Il importe maintenant d'en dresser le bilan. A mon avis, celui-ci comporte des aspects positifs mais aussi des aspects négatifs; mais, avant de vous les présenter, je voudrais attirer votre attention sur deux principes importants qui ont guidé l'action du Comité.

176. D'une part, il s'agit de la recherche d'une coopération effective des puissances administrantes. C'est assurément dans ce sens que le Comité spécial a délégué six de ses membres pour se rendre à Londres, afin de conférer avec le Gouvernement britannique sur toutes les questions se rapportant à l'avenir des territoires qui sont sous administration, directe ou indirecte, de ce dernier. C'est ainsi qu'il a suivi avec un grand intérêt les efforts entrepris par le Comité spécial pour le Sud-Ouest africain et par le Comité spécial pour les territoires administrés par le Portugal, pour entrer en contact avec les puissances administrantes intéressées. Enfin, je voudrais vous signaler également qu'un questionnaire, préparé par un sous-comité, a été adopté puis adressé par les soins du Secrétaire général au Royaume-Uni, au Portugal et à l'Afrique du Sud.

177. D'autre part, le Comité spécial s'est attaché à obtenir le plus de renseignements possible sur la situation des territoires qu'il étudie. C'est dans cet esprit qu'il a créé un sous-comité des pétitions et qu'il s'est rendu en Afrique. Mais, pour étayer son opinion, il ne s'est pas contenté de n'écouter qu'un seul son de cloche et il est toujours disposé à entendre les exposés des puissances administrantes. Quant à ma délégation, il ne lui aurait pas déplu d'entendre, au sein du Comité spécial, les déclarations des représentants du Portugal et de l'Afrique du Sud.

178. Et maintenant, quels sont les aspects positifs du bilan?

179. Premièrement, des méthodes de travail et une certaine procédure ont été définies; nous ne cesserons pas de les améliorer, compte tenu de l'expérience acquise.

180. Deuxièmement, une douzaine de territoires parmi ceux qui requièrent une action urgente ont été examinés; l'Assemblée générale a maintenant une vue plus précise sur les problèmes qui les intéressent.

181. Troisièmement, des suggestions et des recommandations, dont un grand nombre sous forme de résolutions, ont été formulées: elles pourront aider les délégations ici présentes à prendre les décisions qui s'imposent.

^{10/} Voir A/AC.109/SR.1, mimeographié seulement.

^{2/} Conférence africaino-asiatique, tenue à Bandoung en avril 1955.

^{3/} Conférence des pays non alignés, tenue à Belgrade en septembre 1961.

^{2/} Conférence de Belgrade, publiée par la *Revue de politique internationale*, Belgrade, 1961, No 4, p. 32.

182. Mais il y a aussi les aspects négatifs que je ne saurais passer sous silence. Je pense à cette sorte d'impuissance qu'on éprouve en constatant qu'aucun résultat concret n'a été obtenu. Et pourtant, le Comité spécial ne s'était pas résigné à attendre la dix-septième session de l'Assemblée générale pour lui faire rapport, comme le lui avait recommandé le paragraphe 4 de la résolution 1654 (XVI). Comme son rapporteur, M. Najmuddine Rif, l'a signalé (1167^e séance) quand il a présenté son rapport (A/5238), chaque fois que les conclusions et recommandations ont été adoptées, elles ont été transmises par les soins du Secrétaire général par intérim aux puissances administrantes intéressées: le 18 juin pour la Rhodésie du Nord, pour le Nyassaland, pour Zanzibar; le 1^{er} août pour la Guyane britannique.

183. Il est désolant d'apprendre que, dans presque tous les cas, aucune suite n'a été donnée, aucun commencement d'exécution effectué. Il est regrettable aussi de constater que les membres des comités spéciaux pour le Sud-Ouest africain et pour les territoires administrés par le Portugal n'aient pas eu la possibilité de se rendre dans les pays intéressés. Enfin il est malheureux qu'à cette heure aucune réponse n'ait encore été reçue des puissances auxquelles le questionnaire avait été adressé.

184. De cette analyse succincte du bilan des réalisations du Comité des Dix-Sept, il serait utile de tirer des leçons pour l'avenir. De l'avis de ma délégation, les suivantes paraissent être importantes.

185. Premièrement, il est nécessaire d'inviter, d'une façon ferme et pressante, les puissances administrantes à apporter au Comité spécial leur pleine coopération.

186. Deuxièmement, il est souhaitable que le Comité spécial dispose de pouvoirs plus étendus ou puisse recourir à tout moment à une instance supérieure, session extraordinaire de l'Assemblée générale ou Conseil de sécurité.

187. Troisièmement, le Comité doit procéder à l'examen de la situation dans les territoires d'une façon plus systématique, en étudiant une à une des rubriques bien déterminées, comme l'existence des droits de l'homme et du citoyen, la non-discrimination raciale, la participation des autochtones aux affaires publiques, les conditions d'une réelle autodétermination.

188. Qu'il me soit permis maintenant de dire quelques mots au sujet des conclusions et recommandations relatives aux 12 territoires examinés.

189. Je ne reviens pas sur les positions qu'a prises ma délégation au sein du Comité spécial, sur ces cas spécifiques; elles sont déterminées à la fois par les aspirations légitimes des populations intéressées et par les recommandations précises contenues dans la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. Je pense toutefois qu'il faudrait que l'Assemblée générale tienne dûment compte de l'évolution récente de la situation dans ces territoires. Certaines suggestions formulées il y a trois ou quatre mois pourraient être revisées. Il en serait ainsi, par exemple, pour la Rhodésie du Sud, où la constitution du 6 décembre 1961 est mise en application malgré la résolution 1760 (XVII), pour la Guyane britannique, à la suite de l'échec de la Conférence de Londres du mois dernier. Dans certains cas même, il serait possible de fixer des dates limites pour l'octroi de l'indépendance.

190. Pour les décisions concernant des questions particulières comme celles du Sud-Ouest africain et des territoires sous administration du Portugal, il est évident que l'Assemblée générale doit attendre les rapports de la Quatrième Commission pour se prononcer.

191. Je voudrais aussi vous faire part des points de vue de ma délégation sur des propositions précoisées concernant l'avenir du Comité.

1) Fixation d'une date limite pour l'octroi de l'indépendance à tous les pays et peuples coloniaux. Ma délégation n'est pas contre ce principe, mais elle croit qu'il ne correspond pas nécessairement à la réalité et qu'il est préférable de retenir la suggestion suivant laquelle le Comité spécial est habilité à proposer une date précise pour chaque territoire, compte tenu du désir librement exprimé de la population. Nous désirons que l'évolution des nations vers la souveraineté se fasse dans l'harmonie et la paix, mais l'obtention de la liberté pour les individus et pour les peuples opprimés ne saurait être démesurément différée.

2) Elargissement éventuel du Comité. Je ne doute pas que la tâche du Comité est écrasante. Mais ma délégation estime qu'une augmentation trop considérable du nombre de ses membres pourrait nuire à l'accélération de ses travaux.

3) Concentration des tâches. Ma délégation pense que le Conseil de tutelle doit être maintenu (sa suppression ne peut d'ailleurs résulter que d'un amendement de la Charte), mais que les autres comités spéciaux pourraient être supprimés. Il reste la question du Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes qui, en plus des études spéciales concernant des domaines techniques, doit maintenant, en vertu de la résolution 1700 (XVI), examiner les renseignements d'ordre politique et constitutionnel. Cette nouvelle activité intéresse directement le Comité des Dix-Sept qui, du fait que le Comité des renseignements ne se réunit qu'une fois par an, vers le mois d'avril, pourrait la prendre à son compte.

192. Voilà les quelques observations que ma délégation a l'honneur de soumettre à l'Assemblée, au sujet des travaux du Comité des Dix-Sept. En vous les présentant, nous n'avons pas de plus grand désir que de contribuer, dans la mesure de nos faibles moyens, mais avec une absolue sincérité, à la solution de ce difficile problème de la décolonisation. C'est sans louange ni critique, sans haine ni passion, mais avec une vue objective et une grande détermination, dans le respect de la Charte et des obligations d'Etat Membre des Nations Unies, que le gouvernement et le peuple cambodgiens souhaitent voir mettre fin au colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations.

193. Pour terminer, je voudrais de nouveau citer Son Altesse Royale le prince Norodom Sihanouk qui a dit:

"Ma pensée va vers tous ceux qui, par le monde, versent leur sang pour leur liberté et leur indépendance. À ceux-là, je tiens à exprimer notre entière solidarité et notre conviction que le jour est proche où nous aurons la joie de les accueillir parmi nous."

194. M. KAKA (Niger): Nous avons parcouru avec beaucoup d'intérêt le rapport important présenté par

le Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. Le Comité des Dix-Sept mérite les félicitations de l'Assemblée pour le rapport volumineux et très documenté qu'il vient de nous fournir. Pour sa part, la délégation de la République du Niger l'approuve sans réserve et saisit cette occasion pour adresser ses plus vifs remerciements à tous ceux qui ont pris part à la constitution de ce document historique dont d'éminents orateurs ont su, à cette même tribune, analyser avec talent le contenu extrêmement intéressant et instructif.

195. Il est hors de doute que l'Afrique est, de tous les continents, celui qui a le plus souffert et qui, malheureusement, continue de souffrir encore des effets de l'expansionnisme européen.

196. Afrique, tu as été meurtrie dans ta chair et dans ta dignité! En 1885, à Berlin, autour d'une table, tu as été découpée comme un gâteau au mépris de tous scrupules et de toute conscience par des hommes obsédés par l'appât du gain. Sourds à tous tes appels, insensibles à tes pleurs et à tes gémissements, occupés qu'ils étaient de s'accrocher à tes flancs frémissants comme ces parasites suceurs, lestiques, ils déniaient aujourd'hui à tes enfants le droit d'être eux-mêmes sur la terre de leurs pères. Les colons britanniques devenus plus Rhodésiens que les Bantous par la force des choses s'occupent d'organiser de véritables chasses à l'homme noir afin de s'emparer de ses terres.

197. Quelle ironie du sort! La stupidité de 200 000 colons blancs rhodésiens a transformé ce beau pays d'Afrique en un enfer pour les 3 millions de Rhodésiens noirs où l'injustice est devenue la règle d'or.

198. Cependant, les Bantous ne réclament que la justice et l'égalité devant la loi. Seul l'égoïsme sordide des uns empêche les deux communautés de vivre ensemble dans un esprit fraternel.

199. Il est vraiment regrettable de constater que, par leur obstination et leur entêtement, les tenants du pouvoir actuel ne se rendent pas compte que le temps travaille contre eux et que, tôt ou tard, la loi du nombre jouera à leur détriment.

200. C'est pourquoi nous pensons que l'Organisation des Nations Unies, ce haut lieu de la conscience universelle, doit pouvoir agir efficacement pour le rétablissement de l'égalité et de la justice dans ce pays.

201. Et c'est le lieu et le moment de dire que le Gouvernement britannique a une grande part de responsabilité morale dans la situation actuelle de la Rhodésie du Sud. Il peut, s'il le voulait, rétablir la confiance entre les deux communautés en suspendant la constitution actuelle et en convoquant une nouvelle conférence à laquelle seraient conviés tous les dirigeants rhodésiens. Ils trouveront, j'en suis sûr, une formule qui sauvegardera les intérêts des uns et des autres.

202. J'ose croire que le Gouvernement britannique ne restera pas indifférent à l'appel de la conscience universelle. En tout cas, il est mis au banc d'épreuve, car d'autres territoires non moins importants, étudiés par le Comité spécial, attendent d'être indépendants dans les délais les plus brefs. Dans tous les cas, la pratique de l'autodétermination permettra aux populations de décider de leur sort.

203. Le colonialisme, cette honte du XXème siècle, est à son déclin. Et c'est pourquoi nous ne comprenons pas l'attitude pour le moins stupide du gouvernement de Lisbonne face à ce problème. Son expérience coloniale, plusieurs fois séculaire, devrait lui dicter une attitude plus réaliste et plus raisonnable.

204. La roue de l'histoire tourne, tourne et tournera toujours. Il n'appartient pas au seul Gouvernement portugais de l'arrêter ou de modifier quelque peu sa course.

205. Il est injuste de la part du gouvernement de Lisbonne de décider unilatéralement de l'annexion de ses colonies sans que les intéressés puissent dire leur mot.

206. Nous savons évidemment comment les Portugais et les autres se sont partagé la dépouille de l'Afrique au cours de la célèbre Conférence de Berlin vers la fin du siècle dernier. Nous savons également que l'appât du gain a été le seul mobile qui a conduit au dépeuplement de l'Afrique. Le Portugal a été l'un de ces pays qui ont taillé une part très importante dans la chair palpitante et sanglante du colosse sans défense. Et aujourd'hui l'on vient nous parler ici du droit du Portugal à disposer du sort des millions de populations africaines.

207. Cette situation, pour le moins anachronique, ne peut durer, car les autres partenaires du Portugal à Berlin ont restitué à l'Afrique ce qu'ils lui avaient ravi. Les plaies de ce continent trop meurtri dans sa chair et sa dignité se cicatrisent déjà. Les colonies portugaises ne sauraient faire exception à la règle. Elles s'émanciperont et deviendront des Etats indépendants et souverains.

208. Le gouvernement de Lisbonne doit méditer la leçon de l'histoire, lui dont l'histoire coloniale est si riche de souvenirs. Le 18 octobre 1962, à cette même tribune [1155ème séance], le représentant du Portugal, dans sa déclaration de politique générale, disait:

"Nous ne prétendons pas être parfaits. Mais c'est un fait que, dans la nation portugaise, conformément aux Articles 55 et 56 de la Charte, tous sont égaux, tous jouissent des mêmes droits politiques et civiques, tous bénéficient de la même représentation politique, tous ont accès aux mêmes possibilités de progrès éducatif et social, et tout cela aussi bien en droit qu'en fait." [Ibid., par. 43.]

209. Je me permets de dire au représentant du Portugal que notre expérience de pays qui a connu la colonisation pendant un demi-siècle nous permet de douter de l'égalité dont il est fait état. C'est peut-être l'égalité du cheval et du cavalier.

210. Plus loin, après avoir fait l'inventaire des réalisations portugaises pendant plus de quatre siècles de domination, il déclara encore:

"En réalité l'Angola et le Mozambique sont, dans tous les domaines, deux des territoires d'Afrique les plus avancés et ils peuvent soutenir la comparaison avantageusement avec les territoires des pays qui nous ont critiqués le plus vivement." [Ibid., par. 48.]

211. Nous n'avons jamais déclaré qu'il n'y a eu aucune réalisation dans les colonies portugaises. Au contraire, nous sommes heureux d'apprendre que ces colonies sont les plus avancées d'Afrique, et cela dans tous les domaines. C'est dire donc que ces

territoires sont à présent capables de se gouverner eux-mêmes, vu le degré de développement qu'ils ont atteint.

212. La déclaration de M. Nogueira nous encourage dans notre conviction qu'il est grand temps d'accorder sans tarder l'indépendance à l'Angola, au Mozambique et à la Guinée dite portugaise. Le Portugal y gagnera, car il aura préservé la coopération fructueuse entre lui et ces territoires devenus indépendants et souverains.

213. J'en arrive maintenant à un autre problème, celui du Sud-Ouest africain, que l'Afrique du Sud administre depuis décembre 1920.

214. Pour résumer toute la politique réactionnaire de ce pays, qu'il me suffise de citer ici M. Verwoerd, premier ministre du Gouvernement de la République d'Afrique du Sud, au cours du congrès de son parti tenu le 27 septembre 1962 à Windhoek:

"Il faut que le monde entier comprenne — et je tiens à souligner cela d'une manière claire et sans équivoque — que les destins de l'Afrique du Sud et du Sud-Ouest africain sont irrévocablement liés et soudés, et qu'aucune intimidation, aucun danger, aucune menace ne nous détourneront de notre tâche et de notre devoir à l'égard des blancs et des populations de couleur. La seule voie pour l'Afrique du Sud et le Sud-Ouest africain consiste en une évolution séparée des blancs et des populations de couleur, et cette évolution doit être menée honnêtement."

215. Cette déclaration, claire et précise, se passe de tout commentaire.

216. Le Gouvernement de l'Afrique du Sud continue donc toujours sa politique inhumaine au mépris de la Déclaration universelle des droits de l'homme et de la Charte de San Francisco. Ce pays, où une minorité, parce qu'elle dispose des moyens de répression, gouverne malgré l'immense majorité, doit faire l'objet de sévères sanctions, car, après tout, le Mandat qu'il exerce sur le Sud-Ouest africain ne signifie pas que ce territoire lui appartienne. Le mépris avec lequel ce gouvernement continue d'accueillir toutes les résolutions se rapportant à sa politique d'apartheid justifie bien notre position à son égard.

217. Nous savons qu'il n'est pas seul, car, derrière lui, se profile la silhouette de quelques puissances d'argent qui continuent à lui prodiguer sympathie et solidarité.

218. Le Sud-Ouest africain n'étant pas la propriété de l'Afrique du Sud, notre organisation serait complice de génocide aux yeux de la population de ce territoire et aux yeux du monde entier si elle n'envisageait pas le retrait du Mandat et l'octroi de l'indépendance sans conditions; sinon, nous risquons de nous trouver devant le fait accompli, c'est-à-dire son annexion pure et simple.

219. En effet, le rapport [A/5238] mentionne bien au paragraphe 8 du chapitre IX: "Toutes les références du Mandat ont, cependant, été retirées ensuite de la Constitution par le South West Africa Affairs Amendment Act de 1949."

220. C'est pourquoi le gouvernement et le peuple du Niger sont prêts à appuyer toute initiative tendant à arracher le Sud-Ouest africain des griffes du Gouvernement de la République de l'Afrique du Sud.

221. Nous faisons nôtre cette recommandation du Comité spécial pour le Sud-Ouest africain:

"... le Comité spécial pour le Sud-Ouest africain désirera peut-être attirer l'attention de l'Assemblée générale sur la nécessité impérieuse d'une action continue et ferme de sa part, qui pourrait consister à impartir au Gouvernement sud-africain un bref délai pour qu'il se conforme aux résolutions de l'Assemblée, faute de quoi serait envisagée la possibilité d'une abrogation du Mandat et d'une prise en charge simultanée de l'administration du Territoire en vue de préparer sa population à l'indépendance..." [A/5212, 2^{ème} partie, par. 43, du rapport du Président et du Vice-Président.]

222. Je ne puis terminer cette intervention sans lancer un suprême appel aux populations encore sous domination étrangère qui doivent réfléchir sur les leçons de l'histoire. Les mouvements de libération nationale doivent, partout, conjuguer leurs efforts de manière à présenter toujours un front commun, tant il est vrai que l'union fait la force. Ce faisant, ils sèment et développent l'esprit révolutionnaire qui facilite la lutte. Leurs efforts joints aux nôtres ne manqueront pas de précipiter l'heure de la libération nationale. Qu'ils soient assurés, dans cette voie, de l'appui moral et actif de la République du Niger.

223. Enfin, convaincue que tous les peuples réclament le droit inaliénable de disposer d'eux-mêmes, ma délégation appuiera toute initiative tendant à supprimer le colonialisme, cette honte du XX^{ème} siècle, dans les délais les plus brefs.

224. M. DUGERSUREN (Mongolie) [traduit de l'anglais]: Dans l'histoire de l'humanité, l'année 1960 a ouvert un chapitre remarquable des annales de la libération des peuples, en particulier des peuples d'Afrique.

225. Dans le courant de cette année 1960, 17 territoires coloniaux et dépendants ont obtenu leur indépendance.

226. Le 14 décembre 1960, l'Assemblée générale, sur l'initiative du Gouvernement de l'Union soviétique, a adopté la Déclaration historique sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux [résolution 1514 (XV)]. En approuvant cette grande charte de la liberté, les Nations Unies ont affirmé à nouveau les aspirations légitimes des peuples opprimés et exploités à la liberté et à la dignité, et, exprimant la volonté d'une majorité écrasante, elles ont condamné le brutal colonialisme qui appartient à une ère révolue.

227. Deux ans se sont écoulés depuis cette date historique. Les peuples des territoires coloniaux et non autonomes, inspirés par la Déclaration, ont remporté de nouvelles victoires dans leur lutte pour l'indépendance nationale. Il est réconfortant de constater qu'à la présente session nous avons accueilli six nouveaux Membres à l'Organisation: l'Algérie, le Burundi, la Jamaïque, le Rwanda, la Trinité et Tobago et l'Ouganda.

228. A sa seizième session, l'Assemblée générale des Nations Unies fait un autre progrès important vers la mise en œuvre de la Déclaration en créant le Comité spécial qui a pour tâche d'examiner et d'assurer l'application de la Déclaration. Il convient de noter que l'importante résolution 1654 (XVI) portant création du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la

Déclaration a été adoptée, elle aussi, sur l'initiative de l'Union soviétique.

229. Ainsi, l'Assemblée générale discute à sa présente session une des plus importantes questions inscrites à son ordre du jour en vue de faire le bilan des résultats obtenus par les peuples et par l'Organisation dans l'application de la Déclaration, et d'élaborer des recommandations concrètes pour nos activités futures tendant à mettre fin au scandaleux régime colonial.

230. Nous sommes saisis du rapport du Comité spécial des Dix-Sept [A/5738] qui doit servir de base à nos délibérations.

231. Je me bornerai à quelques observations d'ordre général sur la question, sans examiner dans le détail la situation de tous les divers territoires dont traite le rapport du Comité spécial. Ma délégation a eu et aura encore l'occasion de développer les vues de mon gouvernement sur ces territoires à la Quatrième Commission.

232. Ma délégation est d'avis que, malgré les obstacles et les pressions exercées par les puissances coloniales tant à l'intérieur qu'à l'extérieur, le Comité spécial a fait un travail très méritoire. En abordant sa tâche, le Comité a très justement donné la priorité à l'Afrique, ce qui s'explique par l'urgence des revendications des colonies africaines. Son travail a été favorisé par le fait qu'il s'est rendu en Afrique et y a tenu un certain nombre de réunions.

233. En fournissant aux représentants de partis politiques des territoires coloniaux et à d'autres personnes intéressées l'occasion d'exprimer leurs opinions, le Comité a notablement contribué à attirer l'attention de l'opinion mondiale sur la situation dans ces territoires.

234. Les travaux du Comité n'ont évidemment pas été sans imperfections ni faiblesses, dont je parlerai tout à l'heure en présentant les propositions de ma délégation au sujet de l'activité future du Comité.

235. La désintégration progressive du régime colonial sous la pression croissante des mouvements de libération nationale des peuples opprimés est un des traits caractéristiques de notre temps. Depuis la seconde guerre mondiale, près d'un milliard et demi d'hommes ont été libérés du joug colonial et cela non pas grâce à la bienveillance des colonisateurs, comme les représentants des puissances occidentales voudraient le faire croire, mais grâce à la lutte héroïque des peuples coloniaux et dépendants.

236. Le mouvement des peuples vers la liberté et l'indépendance prend un nouvel élan et remporte de nouvelles victoires sur le colonialisme.

237. Nous devons pourtant constater ici que, bien que deux années se soient écoulées depuis l'adoption par l'Assemblée générale de sa déclaration historique, le hideux système colonial n'a pas encore entièrement disparu, par la faute de l'attitude des puissances coloniales. L'application de la Déclaration sur la décolonisation rencontre une résistance obstinée de la part des puissances occidentales, qui essaient par tous les moyens de maintenir sous le joug colonial les habitants des territoires dépendants.

238. Sur notre globe, un certain nombre de pays, totalisant environ 50 millions d'habitants, se trouvent

encore sous la domination coloniale. Les colonialistes s'agrippent en Afrique, dont une partie considérable n'est pas encore libérée du colonialisme. La Grande-Bretagne, le Portugal, l'Espagne, l'Afrique du Sud et d'autres puissances coloniales refusent d'accorder l'indépendance aux peuples coloniaux.

239. Malgré la Déclaration des Nations Unies, le Portugal essaie de maintenir sa domination, au moyen de mesures de guerre, sur les peuples de l'Angola, du Mozambique, de la Guinée dite portugaise et de certaines îles africaines, sans tenir aucun compte de la volonté clairement exprimée des peuples de ces territoires.

240. En Angola, les colonialistes portugais mènent depuis près de deux ans une guerre d'extermination. Ils sont en train d'anéantir le peuple angolais à l'aide d'armes fournies par les puissances membres de l'Organisation du Traité de l'Atlantique nord (OTAN), pour briser la volonté du peuple angolais et étouffer ses aspirations à la liberté et à l'indépendance nationale. Les massacres sans précédent dont le peuple angolais a été victime de la part des Portugais sont bien connus. Les colonialistes portugais mènent aussi une guerre coloniale contre les populations de la Guinée dite portugaise et des îles du Cap-Vert. De même, ils préparent une guerre au Mozambique, où des contingents considérables de l'armée et de la police reçoivent un armement important pour écraser le mouvement de libération nationale des 6 millions d'Africains du Mozambique.

241. Le fait que les dirigeants portugais sont soutenus par leurs alliés de l'OTAN est la seule explication de l'impertinence avec laquelle ils passent outre aux décisions des Nations Unies et aux revendications légitimes des peuples. Les monopoles des puissances de l'OTAN, qui profitent largement de l'exploitation des ressources des colonies portugaises, ont grand intérêt à y maintenir le régime colonial.

242. Au mépris de la Déclaration des Nations Unies et de la volonté des peuples des pays coloniaux, le Royaume-Uni se maintient avec ténacité dans ses colonies. La Rhodésie du Sud, la Rhodésie du Nord, le Nyassaland, le Kenya, Zanzibar, la Gambie, le Bassoutoland, le Betchouanaland, le Souaziland, l'Oman et Aden, ainsi que de nombreux autres pays, souffrent sous le joug colonial de la Grande-Bretagne.

243. Au cours de la discussion sur la question de la Rhodésie du Sud, nous avons vu comment, par différents subterfuges et diverses manœuvres, comme la prétendue "autonomie" de la Rhodésie du Sud, le représentant du Royaume-Uni a essayé d'éluder la responsabilité de son pays concernant la situation en Rhodésie du Sud. Malgré la résolution 1760 (XVII) adoptée par l'Assemblée générale à la présente session, les colons blancs ont mis en vigueur en Rhodésie du Sud une constitution fondée sur la discrimination raciale, qui a été énergiquement condamnée par les Nations Unies. Il est évident que les autorités coloniales ont osé agir ainsi, au mépris des recommandations des Nations Unies, uniquement parce qu'elles sont soutenues par le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni. Les Britanniques ont maintenu jusqu'à présent la Rhodésie du Nord, la Rhodésie du Sud et le Nyassaland dans une fédération coloniale artificielle, où une poignée de colons blancs domine le pays à l'aide de la discrimination raciale et contre la volonté des populations de ces territoires. Le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni n'est apparemment pas disposé à fixer une date limite pour l'octroi de

l'indépendance au Kenya, alors que les habitants de ce pays, par la voix de deux partis, la Kenya African National Union (KANU) et la Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU) demandent fermement que tous les pouvoirs leur soient transférés en 1962.

244. La conférence constitutionnelle sur la Guyane britannique, que le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni avait promis de convoquer, a été ajournée sous des prétextes divers.

245. Le Gouvernement de la République sud-africaine, qui a annexé le Territoire sous mandat du Sud-Ouest africain, exploite et opprime sans pitié la population de ce territoire en exerçant une discrimination raciale contre la population autochtone. La population du Sud-Ouest africain ne veut pas vivre plus longtemps sous l'administration de l'Afrique du Sud. Elle exprime sa volonté de liberté et d'indépendance par la voix d'organisations nationales telles que la National Union of South West Africa, la South West African People's Organization et d'autres encore.

246. Tandis que le vieux colonialisme classique compte ses jours, les puissances impérialistes sont en train de mettre au point de nouvelles méthodes plus subtiles d'asservissement et de domination. Le néo-colonialisme a recours à divers moyens pour arriver à ses fins. Il suffira d'en énumérer quelques-uns: l'asservissement économique des pays sous-développés par des arrangements et contrats commerciaux inéquitables et par une prétendue aide économique et des prêts; la domination politique en entraînant les pays dans des alliances militaires multilatérales et bilatérales et en établissant des bases militaires sur leur territoire, ainsi qu'en soutenant des régimes périmés et réactionnaires contre les mouvements de libération nationale des peuples, et par d'autres moyens.

247. Dans le discours qu'il a prononcé le 9 octobre 1962 à l'Assemblée générale, S. E. M. Sekou Touré, président de la Guinée, parlant des conséquences économiques du néo-colonialisme, a dit:

"Par le jeu des grands marchés économiques, nos pays sont soumis à une paupérisation constante qui fait des pays pauvres les pourvoyeurs des nations très développées. Se substituant à l'impérialisme politique, un impérialisme économique multinational cherche à étendre sa domination sur les pays non développés dans le domaine économique. C'est ainsi que la dégradation continue des termes de l'échange rend dérisoires, sinon inopérantes, l'aide et la coopération techniques dont bénéficient nos pays." [1148ème séance, par. 68.]

248. Le Marché commun fournit la base économique du néo-colonialisme collectif des puissances impérialistes. Le troisième Congrès des peuples africains a condamné à juste titre cette nouvelle forme du colonialisme. Il convient de relever ici que même le journal *The New York Times* a récemment exprimé le mécontentement du Gouvernement des Etats-Unis et l'inquiétude des agriculteurs américains devant la politique tarifaire des pays du Marché commun. Il est évident que dans les pays en voie de développement la réaction serait encore beaucoup plus forte.

249. Les alliances et les bases militaires des impérialistes sont devenues des instruments importants de domination politique. Les bases militaires établies en territoire étranger ont pour but d'étouffer les mou-

vements de libération nationale et d'autres mouvements progressistes dans différentes régions du monde. Ces bases sont là pour rappeler la cruauté des puissances coloniales impérialistes. Les puissances de l'OTAN, qui attachent une importance particulière à l'Afrique, ont déjà installé près de 40 bases aériennes et navales sur ce continent. Ces bases constituent une grave menace pour les mouvements de libération nationale sur ce continent et pour la paix et la sécurité des nations de cette région.

250. Je saisis cette occasion pour déclarer que ma délégation soutient les nombreuses délégations arabes qui ont exigé ici la suppression immédiate des bases militaires britanniques au Kenya et à Aden.

251. Les puissances impérialistes n'attachent pas moins d'importance aux alliances avec des régimes locaux féodaux ou d'autres régimes et éléments corrompus. Les régimes fantoches servent à camoufler commodément les plans impérialistes des puissances occidentales.

252. Les Etats-Unis d'Amérique sont devenus l'une des plus grandes puissances coloniales. L'impérialisme des Etats-Unis cherche à supplanter les anciennes puissances coloniales. Cette politique expansionniste des milieux dirigeants des Etats-Unis s'exprime par la doctrine selon laquelle il faut "combler le vide" qui se produirait quand les anciennes puissances coloniales doivent abandonner leurs colonies sous la pression du mouvement de libération nationale.

253. La revue britannique *African Trade and Development* a fait remarquer avec inquiétude que le fait même de la décolonisation a fourni une bonne occasion aux milieux d'affaires américains de remplacer les propriétaires de ressources africaines et d'écartier les obstacles du chemin des capitalistes américains. Plus de 200 sociétés américaines opèrent actuellement en Afrique et, selon certains renseignements, les investissements des Etats-Unis sur ce continent dépassent 3 milliards de dollars.

254. Grâce à la conversion du crypto-colonialisme voilé des Etats-Unis en un colonialisme évident, "l'empire colonial invisible" est devenu encore plus sinistre.

255. Sous le couvert de la tutelle, les Etats-Unis ont pratiquement transformé en colonies américaines de nombreuses îles du Pacifique, comprenant une population totale de près de 7 millions d'habitants. Le Viet-Nam du Sud, la Corée du Sud, Taiwan et Okinawa ont été réduits au même état.

256. Il est d'autant plus grave et dangereux que les impérialistes américains prêtent assistance à d'autres puissances coloniales dans la répression et la guerre qu'elles ont entreprises contre les populations des territoires coloniaux et dépendants.

257. Comme chacun sait, les milieux monopolistes de l'Allemagne occidentale, que la défaite de l'Allemagne hitlérienne a privés de leurs anciennes possessions coloniales mais qui ont gardé leurs ambitions expansionnistes, se donnent beaucoup de mal pour prendre pied dans l'économie des pays sous-développés. Les impérialistes de l'Allemagne occidentale s'intéressent spécialement à l'Afrique. M. Richard Jaeger, vice-président du Bundestag, exprimant la politique coloniale des milieux dirigeants de la République fédérale d'Allemagne, écri-

vait le 15 septembre 1960 dans le journal Abend-zeitung de Munich:

"La suppression de toutes les possessions coloniales... était du romantisme, dépourvu du sens des réalités. L'Afrique aurait encore eu besoin de la domination européenne pendant au moins un demi-siècle, sinon un siècle entier."

258. Ce ne sont là que quelques exemples des méfaits et des intentions néfastes des puissances coloniales.

259. La grande tâche des Nations Unies est à présent d'assurer l'application rapide de la Déclaration sur la liquidation du colonialisme. Il faudrait pour cela rendre plus rationnel et efficace le travail des organes compétents des Nations Unies. Ma délégation estime elle aussi que, pour éviter d'inutiles doubles emplois et le gaspillage d'énergie et d'argent, tous les comités qui s'occupent des territoires coloniaux, sauf le Comité spécial des Dix-Sept, devraient être dissous, et tous les travaux concernant l'application de la Déclaration devraient être concentrés sous les auspices de ce dernier comité.

260. La délégation mongole est en faveur de l'approbation du rapport du Comité des Dix-Sept et des principales recommandations qu'il contient.

261. Notre délégation propose que l'Assemblée générale recommande au Comité spécial de terminer rapidement l'examen de tous les territoires coloniaux et dépendants et de continuer d'observer l'évolution de la situation dans ces territoires pour tenir l'Assemblée générale et d'autres organes intéressés des Nations Unies dûment informés en temps voulu de cette évolution.

262. Etant donné les circonstances, il serait très important de fixer une date limite pour la liquidation complète du colonialisme. A ce sujet, la délégation mongole accueille favorablement l'opinion exprimée par M. Sekou Touré, président de la République de Guinée, en séance plénière de l'Assemblée générale, tendant à ce que la date du 24 octobre 1963 soit fixée comme date limite pour l'accession de toutes les colonies à l'indépendance.

263. Notre délégation estime que la résolution de l'Assemblée générale sur le rapport du Comité spécial des Dix-Sept devrait inviter de façon pressante les puissances administrantes à mettre fin immédiatement et complètement à toutes les actions militaires dans leurs territoires coloniaux, à retirer leurs troupes de ces territoires, à permettre à la population autochtone d'exercer tous ses droits et de jouir de toutes ses libertés démocratiques, et à faire procéder à des élections libres des organes du pouvoir, sur la base du suffrage universel. En outre, il est nécessaire aussi d'exiger l'abrogation de toutes les lois et de tous les règlements servant des fins colonialistes et sanctionnant la discrimination raciale.

264. De plus, selon ma délégation, l'Assemblée générale devrait déclarer sans équivoque aux autorités coloniales du Portugal et de l'Afrique du Sud que, si elles poursuivent les atrocités commises dans leurs territoires dépendants et continuent de faire fi des recommandations des Nations Unies concernant ces territoires, il en résulterait des conséquences sérieuses, y compris des sanctions économiques et autres.

265. La délégation mongole espère que les Nations Unies demanderont aux Etats Membres qui aident

les puissances coloniales dans leurs méfaits de cesser immédiatement toute assistance qui pourrait être utilisée au détriment des peuples qui luttent pour leur liberté et leur indépendance.

266. Pour terminer, ma délégation exprime une fois de plus l'espoir de voir l'Assemblée générale adopter à sa présente session une résolution visant à la liquidation rapide et complète du honteux colonialisme, sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations.

267. Le **PRESIDENT** (traduit de l'anglais): Je donne la parole au représentant de la Tchécoslovaquie qui a demandé à faire usage de son droit de réponse.

268. **M. PAVLIK** (Tchécoslovaquie) [traduit du russe]: Usant de mon droit de réponse, je tiens à réagir très brièvement contre des allusions faites à l'adresse de mon pays dans les déclarations de certains représentants. Les représentants du Canada et de la Nouvelle-Zélande, en défendant le colonialisme, se sont en réalité faits les avocats d'une cause perdue d'avance. Voyant qu'il n'y a aucun espoir de gagner cette cause, ils essaient au moins de calomnier et de dénigrer leurs adversaires.

269. Faute de tout argument pour la défense du colonialisme, ces deux représentants ont essayé de détourner l'attention de l'Assemblée générale de la question débattue, par des attaques provocatrices contre des pays socialistes. Ils ont notamment évoqué une prétendue "annexion" par l'Union soviétique, après la seconde guerre mondiale, d'une partie du territoire tchécoslovaque.

270. Compte tenu de ce que le Canada et la Nouvelle-Zélande sont très éloignés de l'Europe centrale et de l'Europe orientale, on peut admettre que les connaissances historiques et géographiques relatives à ces régions font défaut à leurs représentants. Toutefois, on ne peut passer sous silence la grossière ignorance des avocats du colonialisme qui viennent à cette tribune.

271. Ainsi, la Russie dite subcarpathique, la région transcarpathique actuelle, dont la population, comme le représentant du Canada a dû le reconnaître lui-même, est ukrainienne de langue et de culture, après la seconde guerre mondiale, usant de son droit d'autodétermination et conformément à un accord signé le 29 juillet 1945 entre la Tchécoslovaquie et l'Union soviétique, s'est jointe à l'Ukraine soviétique. Cette région transcarpathique n'a jamais été peuplée par des Tchèques ni par des Slovaques et il n'y a eu aucun déplacement forcé de population.

272. Le Gouvernement tchécoslovaque a simplement reconnu à la population ukrainienne de cette région le droit à l'autodétermination. Un point, c'est tout. Cependant, les représentants du Canada et de la Nouvelle-Zélande ont oublié de dire que cette région a été arrachée à la Tchécoslovaquie en 1939, avant la seconde guerre mondiale, à la suite de la trahison munichoise des puissances occidentales, abandonnant à Hitler la Tchécoslovaquie pour qu'il la mette en pièces. Si l'on veut parler de sa partie orientale, elle a été abandonnée à Horthy, dictateur fasciste de Hongrie à l'époque.

273. A vrai dire, cette région des Carpathes aurait dû être rattachée à l'Ukraine soviétique dès après la première guerre mondiale. Mais les intrigues antisoviétiques des puissances occidentales ont empêché ce rattachement et ce territoire a reçu un

statut spécial qui le rattachait temporairement à la République tchécoslovaque.

274. Cependant, en 1938 et 1939, les puissances occidentales ont jeté la Tchécoslovaquie par-dessus bord et consenti au démembrement du pays, y compris la région transcarpathique qui a été livrée au dictateur fasciste de la Hongrie.

275. Et voilà qu'aujourd'hui on verse des larmes de crocodile parce que la population ukrainienne de la région transcarpathique, usant de son droit d'autodétermination, s'est jointe à l'Ukraine soviétique à laquelle elle appartient ethniquement, géographiquement et historiquement.

276. Les impérialistes et leurs avocats voudraient bien enfoncer un coin entre la Tchécoslovaquie et l'Union soviétique en réchauffant un problème qui,

depuis longtemps, a été résolu par consentement fraternel et dans un respect absolu de la volonté du peuple.

277. Comme on a pu le voir au cours de ce débat, les colonialistes et leurs avocats restent isolés. Ils s'adressent des compliments réciproques et rivalisent d'efforts pour provoquer les pays socialistes.

278. Mais la plupart des délégations ignorent ces manœuvres de diversion et concentrent leur attention sur la question qui figure à l'ordre du jour — la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux — et sur la question de la liquidation complète et définitive du colonialisme.

La séance est levée à 18 h 5.

Nations Unies ASSEMBLÉE GÉNÉRALE

DIX-SEPTIÈME SESSION

Documents officiels



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SÉANCE PLÉNIÈRE

Mercredi 28 novembre 1962,
à 15 heures

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POINT 25 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

La situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux: rapport du Comité spécial constitué aux termes de la résolution 1654 (XVI) de l'Assemblée générale (suite)

1. M. PAVICEVIC (Yougoslavie): L'Assemblée générale est saisie du rapport [A/5238] du Comité des Dix-Sept^{1/} qui, en raison du temps limité dont il disposait et de la complexité comme de l'envergure du problème, n'a pas été en état de s'occuper cette année de tous les territoires qui se trouvent toujours sous la domination coloniale. Toutefois, par son contenu et son caractère, le rapport représente un document important qui permet à l'Assemblée générale de dresser un bilan des efforts faits jusqu'à présent dans l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux [résolution 1514 (XV)], d'évaluer les résultats obtenus, d'analyser les difficultés et leurs causes, et, finalement, de décider des mesures à prendre pour la mise en œuvre immédiate de cette déclaration.

2. En tant que membre du Comité des Dix-Sept, la délégation yougoslave a eu l'occasion d'exprimer son point de vue sur la situation dans les territoires qui font l'objet du rapport du Comité. Ceci étant, et vu que la position de la Yougoslavie en ce qui concerne la question du colonialisme et sa place dans la situation actuelle très complexe est suffisamment connue, je ne m'arrêterai qu'aux aspects qui sont communs à toutes les colonies existant aujourd'hui et qui caractérisent la situation présente dans le domaine de la décolonisation.

3. Il ne fait aucun doute qu'après l'adoption de la Déclaration un certain nombre de peuples colonisés ont

^{1/} Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration de l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux.

accès à l'indépendance, et que certains changements positifs ont eu lieu dans quelques-uns des territoires toujours dépendants en vue de préparer leurs peuples à l'indépendance. Cependant, malgré ce développement relativement favorable, la situation générale dans le domaine de la décolonisation en général — et pour ce qui est en particulier de la mise en œuvre de la Déclaration d'indépendance — est encore loin d'être satisfaisante. Le rapport du Comité des Dix-Sept nous amène plutôt à conclure que nous assistons à un développement propre à susciter des inquiétudes.

4. Naturellement, nous sommes loin de nier le caractère relativement progressif de certaines mesures entreprises par quelques puissances administrantes dans les domaines politique, économique et social ou dans celui de l'enseignement, dans un certain nombre de colonies. Comparées à la situation existant antérieurement dans ces colonies, c'est-à-dire examinées d'un point de vue rétrospectif, ces mesures peuvent être considérées comme représentant un certain progrès, bien que minime et lointain à venir. Si, au contraire, nous avons à apprécier ces actions à la lumière des demandes de l'Assemblée générale pour la mise en œuvre immédiate de la Déclaration, de même qu'à la lumière des obligations qu'ont les puissances coloniales d'adapter leur politique et leurs actions aux besoins et aux conditions de l'époque actuelle, et en premier lieu aux demandes des peuples colonisés — ce qui, à notre avis, devrait être le seul critère valable —, il devient évident que les mesures déjà prises ne sont pas suffisantes. Toute autre conclusion à ce sujet ne pourrait avoir pour résultat, pensons-nous, qu'un faux sentiment de contentement, et par cela même ne pourrait que nuire à la lutte des peuples colonisés pour leur indépendance, ce qui, bien entendu, ne servirait les intérêts ni des peuples colonisés, ni de la communauté internationale et de la paix dans le monde.

5. Aucun lecteur objectif du rapport du Comité des Dix-Sept ne peut se soustraire à l'impression que, dans cette dernière phase du colonialisme classique, certains événements et changements ont lieu dans l'attitude des parties les plus intéressées et les plus directement engagées, notamment les peuples colonisés et les forces colonialistes. Il s'agit, dans notre opinion, de changements qui, en raison des conséquences possibles et probables pouvant en découler, doivent être l'objet d'une attention toute particulière de la part de l'Assemblée générale.

6. La détermination des peuples colonisés, dont la conscience politique et la force grandissent de jour en jour, d'achever leur liberté et leur indépendance, par voie pacifique si possible, ou par la lutte si cette solution leur est imposée, est un fait que l'on ne peut plus méconnaître. Ceci d'autant plus que cette détermination s'accompagne de nombreuses preuves de réalisme et de modération dans la recherche des solutions aux différents problèmes

orées par le colonialisme, par exemple; la réforme du système électoral, la garantie raisonnable des intérêts des colons blancs, les modalités du transfert de pouvoir aux organes représentatifs et exécutifs, etc. En adoptant une telle attitude, les peuples colonisés créent de leur côté les conditions favorables pour une décolonisation plus accélérée et moins douloureuse, mais ils déclinent en même temps toute responsabilité quant aux conséquences éventuelles qui s'ensuivraient si les puissances coloniales poursuivaient la même politique qu'elles ont pratiquée jusqu'ici.

7. Au lieu de s'adapter à la situation nouvelle et aux demandes justifiées et raisonnables des peuples colonisés, les forces colonialistes passent à la contre-offensive — plus particulièrement dans les territoires qui, pour des raisons militaires, politiques et économiques, représentent les bastions du colonialisme classique. C'est pourquoi nous assistons de plus en plus à des mesures visant à étouffer les mouvements de libération nationale, à interdire les organisations politiques autochtones et à emprisonner les leaders politiques, comme ceci a récemment été le cas en Rhodésie du Sud.

8. Nous sommes aussi témoins des tentatives visant au maintien de la position dominante et privilégiée de la minorité blanche et des intérêts économiques étrangers par l'imposition des constitutions élaborées sans la participation et contre la volonté des peuples colonisés, ou par l'emploi de la force. Ajoutons à ceci les actions délibérées pour aggraver les différences entre les groupements ethniques ou politiques, comme cela est le cas dans les deux Rhodésies, au Kenya et en Guinée britannique à laquelle on refuse l'indépendance en raison d'intérêts politiques plus larges qui sont entièrement étrangers à la situation réelle dans ce territoire. Finalement, au lieu de montrer une compréhension pour les aspirations justifiées des peuples colonisés, on répond par la guerre coloniale en Angola ou par des préparations de grande envergure ayant pour but la suppression des mouvements de libération nationale en Afrique centrale et en Afrique du Sud, où les budgets militaires des colonisateurs doublent d'année en année.

9. Ce qui est particulièrement inquiétant dans cette phase de décolonisation, c'est que les puissances coloniales et les gouvernements minoritaires blancs ne sont pas seuls à appliquer une telle politique. Ils jouissent de l'appui des milieux politiques et financiers d'un certain nombre de pays dont les intérêts politiques, stratégiques et économiques demandent le maintien de la présente situation dans le domaine colonial et l'établissement de systèmes de gouvernement qui sauvegarderaient le plus longtemps possible la position privilégiée des intérêts étrangers. La mise au service d'une pareille politique d'arrangements militaires et l'utilisation de la position privilégiée des intérêts économiques étrangers dans les territoires dépendants, pour les mêmes buts, ne peuvent, bien entendu, avoir que des conséquences extrêmement négatives.

10. La vraie situation dans les régions où sévit encore le colonialisme extrême ne peut être déguisée ni par les théories dénouçant le manque de maturité de certains pays, ni par l'évocation de ce qu'on appelle le "good record" de certaines puissances coloniales, pas plus que par les tentatives ayant pour but d'obscurcir le vrai problème par l'emploi d'une rhétorique parlementaire et de discours adressés

aux audiences en dehors de cette salle. Les bons discours ne peuvent pas être substitués à une mauvaise politique, à une mauvaise pratique. Par un ton anticolonial du discours, on ne rachète pas un vote adverse. Le vote en faveur des résolutions anticoloniales n'est pas suffisant pour justifier l'appui réel à la politique des puissances coloniales.

11. En soulignant ce que nous considérons comme manquant de réalisme et étant négatif dans l'attitude des puissances coloniales et des forces colonialistes, nous ne perdons de vue ni les difficultés objectives, ni la diversité des problèmes auxquels on a à faire face dans les différentes colonies. Nous ne nions pas le fait qu'il est dans l'intérêt général aussi bien que dans l'intérêt des peuples colonisés d'accéder à l'indépendance dans les meilleures conditions possibles et qu'une période de préparation pour l'indépendance pourrait, dans certains cas, s'avérer désirable. Toutefois, nous n'avons jamais pensé et nous ne croyons pas aujourd'hui que les difficultés objectives et les circonstances particulières aux différentes colonies pourraient être utilisées pour justifier un délai quelconque dans le processus de décolonisation. D'ailleurs, anticipant les arguments des puissances coloniales, l'Assemblée générale avait déjà donné une réponse dans la Déclaration dont un des paragraphes dit que le manque de préparation dans les domaines politique, économique, social et de l'éducation ne doit jamais être pris comme prétexte pour retarder l'indépendance [par. 3]. Une réponse adéquate est de ce fait donnée aux théories du paternalisme qui reconnaissent le droit et la capacité de juger du degré de maturité de la préparation à l'indépendance à tous, sauf aux peuples dont le sort est en cause. En ce qui nous concerne, nous croyons que ce droit n'appartient qu'aux peuples colonisés dont la coopération immédiate et entière représente une condition préalable pour le succès de toute préparation à l'indépendance.

12. Nous sommes contre la simplification exagérée aussi bien que contre une généralisation injustifiée. Nous acceptons le fait qu'il y a des différences dans l'attitude de certaines puissances coloniales, ou plutôt dans la politique suivie par elles. Il n'y a pas de doute que ces différences sont importantes et que l'on doit en tenir compte dans la considération du problème colonial. Mais, en même temps, nous devons également constater qu'il y a des différences importantes dans la politique et dans l'attitude d'une même puissance coloniale envers les divers territoires sous son administration. De telles différences n'existent pas, bien entendu, dans le cas du Portugal dont la politique est négative et réactionnaire sur tout le front des réalisations coloniales. Toutefois, analysant la politique du Royaume-Uni dans cette phase de décolonisation, ou pour mieux dire de colonialisme, c'est avec regret que nous constatons l'existence de différences tangibles entre une politique réaliste d'adaptation aux demandes des peuples colonisés dans le passé et la politique pratiquée par rapport au Kenya, à la Rhodésie du Nord et surtout par rapport à la Rhodésie du Sud. Une politique réaliste envers un des territoires sous administration britannique ne devrait et ne pourra jamais servir de justification à une politique négative envers un autre de ces territoires. Il en va de même de l'argument du "good record" qui milite plutôt en faveur d'une politique conséquente et positive de décolonisation que d'une politique contraire.

13. Au sein du Comité des Dix-Sept, la délégation yougoslave, animée du désir de faciliter les efforts communs et l'accomplissement de la tâche confiée audit Comité par l'Assemblée générale, s'est également prononcée en faveur de la coopération avec les puissances coloniales. Qu'il me soit permis de répéter ici ce que nous avons notamment déjà souligné au sein du Comité des Dix-Sept, que la base de cette coopération ne saurait être autre que la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, et l'obligation des puissances coloniales de procéder immédiatement et sans ambiguïté à la mise en œuvre de cette déclaration avec la pleine participation des peuples colonisés et de l'Organisation des Nations Unies.

14. Sur la base du rapport et des conclusions du Comité des Dix-Sept [A/5238], et avec une appréciation objective de la situation actuelle dans le domaine de la décolonisation, l'Assemblée générale devrait, à notre avis, demander aux puissances coloniales de prendre sans délai les mesures nécessaires pour la création, dans les territoires dépendants, d'organes exécutifs et représentatifs issus d'élections sur la base du suffrage universel et égal pour tous, et de faire en sorte que ces organes s'associent aux efforts communs faits en vue d'accélérer et de terminer le processus de décolonisation. La réalisation d'une participation active des peuples colonisés aux efforts communs de décolonisation, devrait, à notre avis, être une des tâches essentielles du Comité des Dix-Sept. Ce comité, comme nous le savons, n'a pas été établi en vue de recueillir des données statistiques transmises par les puissances coloniales et d'en faire une analyse *post factum*, mais bien pour agir en tant qu'un instrument actif et efficace et un organe d'action politique et pratique de la communauté internationale dans la mise en œuvre immédiate et conséquente de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance. C'est dans ce sens que le rôle du Comité des Dix-Sept devrait, à notre avis, être conçu et renforcé.

15. La mise en œuvre des mesures dont je viens de parler nécessiterait que la plus haute priorité soit donnée à ceux des territoires dépendants qui, en raison de leur développement, paraissent avoir la situation politique la plus aiguë. Le Comité des Dix-Sept devrait en même temps recourir plus souvent à l'utilisation de méthodes adéquates pour déterminer les aspirations et les désirs des peuples de ces territoires en ce qui concerne leur avenir immédiat.

16. En d'autres termes, le Comité des Dix-Sept devrait élaborer davantage et perfectionner la procédure et la méthode de travail qui lui permettraient le maximum d'activité et d'initiative pour répondre de la manière la plus efficace aux demandes d'une situation donnée.

17. Nous espérons que, dans l'accomplissement de ses tâches, le Comité pourra compter sur une compréhension et un appui beaucoup plus constructifs, aussi bien de la part des puissances coloniales que de la part de tous les autres pays, plus particulièrement de ceux qui, d'une façon ou d'une autre, sont en mesure d'apporter une grande contribution à la réalisation des buts et des principes de la Charte et de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance.

18. Les nombreuses suggestions faites en ce qui concerne la méthode et la substance du travail du Comité des Dix-Sept — celles que nous avons déjà

entendues et celles que nous entendrons, plus particulièrement celles qui se rapportent à la fixation des dates limites pour l'accession à l'indépendance des territoires dépendants individuels — représentent, à notre avis, une contribution importante et une base solide, aussi bien pour les actions nouvelles de l'Assemblée générale que pour le travail futur du Comité des Dix-Sept.

19. La délégation yougoslave estime que les buts que l'Organisation des Nations Unies s'est donnés en adoptant la Déclaration et en créant le Comité des Dix-Sept rendent une concentration des efforts et une unification au maximum des activités de l'Assemblée générale dans le domaine colonial extrêmement désirables. Une organisation rationnelle de ces activités, réalisée au moyen de la concentration des efforts au sein du Comité spécial, est une condition importante pour la réalisation de la tâche principale que nous nous sommes tracée en adoptant la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance, à savoir la libération de tous les peuples colonisés.

20. A notre avis, toutes les autres considérations et tous les intérêts particuliers devraient être subordonnés à la réalisation de cette tâche principale. Il n'est pas, bien entendu, dans nos intentions de dire qu'en cas de situation spécifique — s'il s'en produit — on ne pourrait faire des exceptions, si ces exceptions sont justifiées par des conditions particulières dans un territoire donné ou dans un domaine spécifique de la décolonisation et si, de ce fait, une exception à ce principe est dans le seul et exclusif intérêt d'une mise en œuvre accélérée et plus complète de la Déclaration.

21. La délégation yougoslave est aussi d'avis qu'il serait nécessaire et en accord avec le but fondamental de la Déclaration ainsi qu'avec l'existence du Comité des Dix-Sept d'adapter le Secrétariat des Nations Unies, au point de vue de l'organisation et du travail, aux exigences de cette nouvelle situation, afin qu'il puisse servir plus efficacement encore à la réalisation des tâches que l'Assemblée générale s'est données en proclamant la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux.

22. Fidèle aux principes qu'elle a toujours défendus et à la position qu'elle a toujours prise sur le problème de la décolonisation, la délégation yougoslave n'épargnera à l'avenir aucun effort pour contribuer à la recherche des solutions qui permettront aux peuples colonisés de prendre, au sein de la communauté internationale, la place qui leur revient et dont ils ont été si longtemps privés, consciente que, ce faisant, elle apportera sa contribution à la sauvegarde de la paix et au développement de la coopération internationale.

23. Dato'ONG (Fédération de Malaisie) [traduit de l'anglais]: L'adoption de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, qui fait l'objet de la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale, marque une étape historique dans les efforts déployés par les Nations Unies pour atteindre un des objectifs essentiels de la Charte: l'édification d'un ordre mondial juste et pacifique, fondé sur le respect effectif des droits fondamentaux de l'homme, le respect de la dignité et de la valeur de la personne humaine, ainsi que de l'égalité de droits des nations grandes et petites. Un seul autre événement peut être considéré comme ayant été aussi positif et aussi exaltant: l'adoption par l'Assemblée générale de la

Déclaration universelle des droits de l'homme en 1948.

24. Pour donner suite à cette résolution et pour traduire concrètement les principes qu'elle énonce, l'Assemblée générale a adopté à sa session suivante, c'est-à-dire à la seizième session, la résolution 1654 (XVI) créant un Comité spécial de 17 membres chargé d'étudier l'application de la Déclaration, de formuler des suggestions et des recommandations quant aux progrès réalisés et à la mesure dans laquelle la Déclaration est mise en œuvre, et de faire rapport à l'Assemblée générale.

25. Nous sommes maintenant en possession du rapport du Comité spécial [A/5238]. Avec ses presque 600 pages, c'est un des rapports les plus volumineux qu'ait jamais présentés un comité des Nations Unies, ce qui montre bien l'ampleur du travail réalisé. En sept mois seulement, le Comité a tenu au total 117 séances, tant à New York que lors de séjours dans des territoires africains. Au cours de cette période, le Comité spécial a étudié la situation de 12 territoires coloniaux, tous situés en Afrique à l'exception de la Guyane britannique.

26. Nous approuvons la décision prise par le Comité spécial de donner priorité aux territoires situés en Afrique, parce que, comme le souligne le rapport:

"... c'est en Afrique que le plus grand nombre d'individus continuent de vivre sous un régime colonial, ... c'est en Afrique que l'on trouve encore les plus grands territoires coloniaux et... c'est enfin en Afrique que l'on rencontre les problèmes les plus difficile." [A/5238, chap. 1er, par. 149.]

27. Ma délégation approuve également les autres raisons qu'avance en ce sens le Comité spécial, à savoir que l'importance qu'il a accordée à l'Afrique se justifie par le caractère impérieux des problèmes qui se posent dans les colonies d'Afrique et la nécessité de prendre d'urgence des mesures appropriées en vue d'éviter des difficultés encore plus grandes à l'avenir.

28. Le rapport du Comité spécial fournit à l'Assemblée générale une foule de renseignements précieux sur la situation des territoires que le Comité a étudiés jusqu'à présent, ainsi que sur les problèmes auxquels il s'est heurté. En soumettant ce rapport, le Comité spécial a posé un nouveau jalon dans la suite des tentatives faites par la communauté internationale pour liquider définitivement les derniers vestiges du colonialisme.

29. Je tiens à saisir l'occasion qui m'est offerte de féliciter ici au nom de ma délégation le Comité spécial qui, sous l'habile direction de son président, M. C. S. Jha, représentant de l'Inde, et de son vice-président, M. Sori Coulibaly, représentant du Mali, a mené à bien une tâche délicate en étudiant un dossier si fourni dans le délai relativement court dont il disposait. M. Najmuddine Rifai, représentant de la Syrie et rapporteur du Comité, mérite une mention spéciale pour la compétence et la clarté avec lesquelles il a exposé les conclusions du Comité dans le rapport dont l'Assemblée est saisie.

30. Bien que la tentation soit vive, je m'abstiendrai pour le moment d'entreprendre un examen détaillé des problèmes relatifs à chaque territoire. Il convient cependant de souligner dès le départ que les problèmes qui se posent dans les colonies d'Afrique sont urgents et appellent des solutions immédiates. L'entêtement

que met le Gouvernement portugais, par exemple, à refuser d'accepter les réalités de l'heure et à dénier obstinément aux peuples qui lui sont assujettis le droit à l'autodétermination est une source constante de heurts qui pourraient bien engendrer des menaces plus graves à la paix et à la sécurité internationales. Le maintien des pratiques de discrimination et de ségrégation raciales qui rend si aigus les problèmes posés dans de nombreuses colonies africaines, notamment les territoires administrés par le Portugal et le Sud-Ouest africain où le régime inique de l'apartheid est imposé par le Gouvernement sud-africain, est tout aussi dangereux par ses répercussions éventuelles.

31. L'intention avouée que manifeste le Gouvernement sud-africain d'annexer les trois territoires dépendant du Haut Commissaire, le Bassoutoland, le Betchouanaland et le Souaziland, a suscité chez les membres du Comité spécial de vives inquiétudes et les a incités à avertir le Gouvernement sud-africain que toute tentative faite pour annexer ces territoires ou pour porter atteinte d'une façon quelconque à leur intégrité territoriale sera considérée par l'Organisation des Nations Unies comme un acte d'agression qui viole la Charte des Nations Unies.

32. Les problèmes raciaux existant dans de nombreuses colonies africaines ne doivent pas faire obstacle à la satisfaction des espoirs et des aspirations naturelles des peuples africains à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance. Toute tentative visant à empêcher l'exercice de cette autodétermination par l'imposition constante de discriminations raciales destinées à perpétuer la domination d'une minorité raciale sur l'immense majorité de la population autochtone est non seulement contraire à la Charte et à la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, mais constitue même une politique à courte vue lourde de dangers pour les territoires intéressés et aussi sur le plan international. Quoi qu'il en soit, une telle tentative ne peut réussir puisque, par sa nature même, elle s'oppose au courant de l'histoire et au processus irrésistible et irréversible de libération des peuples asservis.

33. L'histoire de la décolonisation contient de nombreux exemples très nets de territoires à population multiraciale qui ont accédé à l'indépendance en s'inspirant du principe de l'égalité et de l'harmonie raciales et qui ont réussi dans cette entreprise. La Fédération de Malaisie compte parmi les pays du monde contemporain où des peuples de races diverses, ayant des caractéristiques culturelles, religieuses et linguistiques différentes, ont décidé de s'unir pour accéder à la dignité de l'indépendance. C'est cette même unité que la Malaisie d'avant l'indépendance, luttant pour se libérer de la domination coloniale britannique, avait créée dans un esprit de tolérance, de coopération et d'égalité, qui constitue aujourd'hui la base solide sur laquelle le peuple malais a fondé et développe sa stabilité et sa prospérité politiques, économiques et sociales.

34. La politique de la Fédération de Malaisie en matière de colonialisme n'a pas besoin d'être explicitée davantage. Nous nous opposons au colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations, qu'il s'agisse du colonialisme traditionnel tel que le pratiquent les puissances d'Europe occidentale ou du nouveau genre de colonialisme encore plus sinistre de l'impérialisme communiste. Nous sommes d'avis que le colonialisme, sous quelque forme que ce soit, constitue une source constante

de frictions internationales et une menace à la paix et à la sécurité du monde, et qu'il faut donc l'éliminer rapidement.

35. Le rapport du Comité spécial a souligné une nouvelle fois qu'il est urgent de mettre fin au colonialisme. Il a révélé en outre que, même à l'intérieur d'un continent comme l'Afrique, les problèmes diffèrent d'un territoire à l'autre. Nous approuvons donc la façon dont le Comité a abordé le problème en étudiant les territoires un à un, car cette façon de procéder est la seule qui permette de dégager les problèmes propres à chacun d'entre eux et de formuler des suggestions et des recommandations propres à les résoudre. Là où les puissances administrantes pratiquent une politique éclairée, les Nations Unies doivent les aider de leurs encouragements, afin d'accélérer encore le processus de décolonisation. D'un autre côté, les Nations Unies doivent exercer une pression plus forte pour obtenir l'élimination de tout ce qui fait obstacle à ce processus de décolonisation.

36. J'ai quelques observations à faire sur l'avenir du Comité spécial. Tous les représentants qui ont abordé ce sujet ont été unanimes à dire que le Comité spécial devait poursuivre son œuvre. Ma délégation est entièrement de cet avis. Certains orateurs ont avancé des suggestions concrètes quant à l'élargissement de sa composition et à la coordination de ses travaux avec ceux d'autres comités chargés de tel ou tel problème colonial. Nous appuierons toute proposition qui pourrait faciliter et accélérer cette importante tâche des Nations Unies.

37. Pour ce qui est de la composition du Comité spécial, il convient de noter qu'en désignant ses 17 membres le Président de la seizième session de l'Assemblée générale avait dûment tenu compte du principe de la représentation géographique, pour permettre au Comité spécial de bénéficier, dans l'accomplissement de l'importante tâche qui lui avait été confiée, de la sagesse et de l'expérience de personnes représentant un éventail de régions aussi vaste que possible.

38. Ma délégation relève avec satisfaction que le Comité spécial comprend bon nombre de représentants de pays d'Afrique et d'Asie qui n'ont souvent accédé eux-mêmes à l'indépendance qu'à une date récente. C'est là un facteur important, car ces représentants ont particulièrement à cœur de voir les peuples assujettis accéder à l'indépendance rapidement et dans l'ordre, souci qui provient de leur connaissance et de leur expérience directes de la domination coloniale, comme de leur compréhension intime des nombreux problèmes qu'a posés leur propre lutte pour l'indépendance. Les représentants des pays d'Afrique et d'Asie qui siègent au Comité spécial doivent donc être à même de contribuer à ses travaux de façon utile et constructive.

39. L'Assemblée générale a chargé le Comité d'un problème grave qui intéresse la vie, le destin et les aspirations de millions d'individus encore asservis à une domination étrangère. Ces peuples attendent des Nations Unies qu'elles défendent leur cause, en espérant et en escomptant de toutes leurs forces que les efforts que nous déployons ici mèneront sans tarder à la suppression des injustices et des infamies qu'ils endurent depuis si longtemps.

40. Il est regrettable que certains pays membres aient délibérément utilisé la tribune du Comité

spécial à des fins de guerre froide et de propagande. Ce genre d'activité dessert les intérêts mêmes des peuples coloniaux. Etant donné la confiance que l'Assemblée générale a mise en lui, le Comité spécial a de lourdes responsabilités. L'Assemblée générale est en droit de s'attendre que le Comité s'en acquitte fidèlement dans l'intérêt réel et pour le bien des millions d'habitants des pays colonisés.

41. Avant de terminer, je ferai quelques observations sur une déclaration qu'a faite hier [1177ème séance] le représentant de la République des Philippines au sujet d'une revendication du Gouvernement philippin, qui prétend à la souveraineté sur le territoire du Bornéo du Nord. Pour mon gouvernement, cette revendication ne concerne actuellement que les Gouvernements du Royaume-Uni et des Philippines. Mais, puisque le représentant des Philippines a parlé de la future création d'une Fédération de Grande Malaisie, il me paraît utile d'apporter ici certaines précisions.

42. Mon gouvernement a été amené à élaborer le plan de création d'une Grande Malaisie à cause du désir très vif de la population du Bornéo du Nord d'accéder à l'indépendance en fusionnant avec la Fédération de Malaisie. Ce vif désir se manifeste partout dans le territoire. Tous les partis politiques du territoire approuvent ce plan. Il n'y a pratiquement pas de voix dissidente. Les partis politiques United National Kadazan Organisation, United National Sabah Organisation, Borneo Utara National Party, Pasok Momogun Party et North Borneo Indian Congress ont formé une alliance et se sont prononcés en faveur du plan. Cette alliance, désignée sous le nom de Sabah Alliance Party, représente tous les secteurs de la population du Bornéo du Nord.

43. Je souligne en passant que le Pasok Momogun Party, dont je viens de citer le nom, était le seul parti du Bornéo du Nord représenté parmi les trois pétitionnaires qui ont adressé au Comité des Dix-Sept la pétition dont le représentant des Philippines a parlé hier. Ce même parti, le Pasok Momogun Party, fait maintenant partie du Sabah Alliance Party qui, je le répète, appuie le plan de création d'une Grande Malaisie.

44. M. KIRONDE (Ouganda) [traduit de l'anglais]: La ligne politique que mon gouvernement se propose de suivre vis-à-vis de l'impérialisme sous tous ses divers aspects et dans ses différentes manifestations est déjà connue de tous. Ayant accédé à l'indépendance tout récemment, l'Ouganda tient à sauvegarder cette indépendance toute neuve ainsi qu'à aider ceux qui sont encore esclaves de l'impérialisme. On ne peut envisager cette question de l'impérialisme de deux façons différentes, aucun compromis n'est possible, et ma délégation compte bien, en agissant en étroite collaboration avec les autres pays du monde qui chérissent la liberté, harceler l'ennemi jusqu'à la victoire finale. Le plus grand danger qui guette aujourd'hui l'Afrique vient peut-être de l'extrémisme sud du continent africain où le vent de changement, qui a depuis cinq ans acquis la force d'un ouragan, a frappé au sud le mur de l'apartheid pour se répercuter au nord, si bien que toute l'Afrique risque maintenant d'être la proie de ce monstre sud-africain de l'apartheid et du racisme. Aucun Etat africain n'est à l'abri des tentacules de ce monstre. Son action se fait déjà sentir jusqu'au Katanga, à l'Angola, et au Mozambique, dans les territoires dépendant du Haut Commissaire, le

Bassoutoland, le Betchouanaland et le Souaziland, qui sont tous empêchés d'accéder à l'indépendance, soit par la République sud-africaine, soit par des sympathisants ou des admirateurs de sa politique raciale.

45. Je n'ai pas l'intention de parler de chacun des pays encore placés sous domination coloniale; je me limiterai à ceux où la situation est la plus désespérée et la plus explosive. J'avertis d'abord les représentants ici présents que dans certains pays la domination coloniale sévit dans toute sa dureté, sa brutalité et son injustice, mais sous un camouflage. Je pense à des pays comme la République sud-africaine et la Rhodésie du Sud. Les anciennes puissances coloniales y ont remis le pouvoir, en totalité ou en partie, à un groupe de colons blancs prêts à tout, qui, après s'être partagé tous les pouvoirs politiques, se posent maintenant en Etats démocratiques indépendants.

46. Selon moi, le régime colonial s'est maintenu dans ces deux pays et sous une forme pire que la précédente, parce que le pouvoir politique est passé de Whitehall à Cape Town ou à Salisbury et qu'au lieu de lutter contre une puissance coloniale lointaine et détachée, ayant une tradition de libéralisme et professant une politique de décolonisation, comme la Grande-Bretagne, les Africains doivent maintenant lutter contre l'impérialisme blanc qui est sur place et dont la politique repose sur la supériorité raciale et la sujétion perpétuelle des peuples africains. C'est bien, et de loin, la pire de toutes les formes d'impérialisme, parce qu'elle induit si facilement en erreur toute personne non avertie et parce qu'en Afrique du Sud, dans les Rhodésies et dans les colonies portugaises la lutte pour l'autodétermination est devenue pour les autochtones africains une lutte pour la vie même. L'effort commun d'armement et la conspiration d'alliance et d'aide mutuelle entre le Portugal, l'Afrique du Sud, la Fédération de Rhodésie et du Nyassaland et l'Etat séparatiste fantoche du Katanga sont autant d'indices d'une volonté bien arrêtée de perpétuer le colonialisme et de maintenir un règne de terreur. Des formes modernes d'esclavage, de tyrannie, de cruauté fanatique et de haine froide sont ainsi devenues les caractéristiques d'un régime qui repose essentiellement sur la crainte.

47. Les problèmes étaient relativement simples quand l'Inde, par exemple, ou même mon propre pays, l'Ouganda, luttait pour conquérir leur liberté, alors que la situation des pays où le gouvernement est aux mains d'une minorité blanche est extrêmement confuse. On pourrait dire, en reprenant un proverbe ougandais, qu'elle fait penser à un serpent dans une marmite en terre cuite. Pour pouvoir se servir de la marmite, qui est souvent le seul ustensile du ménage, il faut tuer le serpent, mais en tuant le serpent on risque de briser la marmite. Le mal qui ravage ces régions est si profond et bouleverse à tel point tous les rouages de la chose politique que le seul remède possible doit être administré à dose massive et de l'extérieur.

48. Il est maintenant bien évident que la poignée de colons portugais qui vivent au Mozambique et en Angola, envieux de la position inattaquable qu'ont réussi à se tailler les colons blancs en Afrique du Sud et dans les deux Rhodésies, repoussent l'idée désormais dépassée de l'assimilation et de l'intégration à la mère patrie et réclament la mainmise complète sur la politique afin de pouvoir finalement

revendiquer leur indépendance en suivant l'exemple de leurs frères blancs d'Afrique du Sud.

49. De plus, ces pays qui se prétendent des Etats indépendants ne sont nullement tenus de communiquer aux Nations Unies des rapports périodiques sur leur administration et ils peuvent ainsi promulguer les lois les plus draconiennes et adopter les mesures répressives les plus sévères sans que les Membres de l'Organisation puissent leur demander de rendre compte de leurs actes. A mon avis, les Etats Membres devraient envisager sérieusement la possibilité de demander au gouvernement blanc d'Afrique du Sud, qui représente 2 millions de blancs, de communiquer des rapports périodiques, conformément à l'alinéa g de l'Article 73 de la Charte, sur la façon dont il traite les 10 millions d'Africains dont il a la charge. Si la Grande-Bretagne est tenue de fournir des rapports sur le Kenya, elle devrait aussi, ou bien le Gouvernement de la Rhodésie du Sud le devrait, faire rapport sur la façon dont l'un ou l'autre administre le territoire de la Rhodésie du Sud. Le critère essentiel dans les deux cas est l'existence de rapports de maître à serviteur entre la classe gouvernante et les peuples autochtones assujettis. Ce critère repose sur la possession du pouvoir politique et de tout ce qui en découle par la classe dirigeante de race blanche, d'une part, et l'impuissance et la soumission forcée des peuples autochtones, d'autre part. Du point de vue humanitaire comme à d'autres points de vue, ceux qui détiennent tout pouvoir sur une autre race ou une autre classe assument automatiquement le rôle de tuteurs et il est normal qu'ils rendent compte de la façon dont ils exercent cette tutelle sur les peuples assujettis dont ils ont la charge. La nécessité de fournir de tels rapports est d'autant plus impérieuse quand une minorité représentant 10 p. 100 de la population s'arroge le pouvoir et impose sa loi à la majorité, comme c'est le cas dans la République sud-africaine.

50. Pour toucher de façon plus précise la question brûlante de la Rhodésie du Sud, je dois redire encore une fois que le Gouvernement britannique a le devoir de déclarer en termes non équivoques qu'il n'accordera pas l'indépendance à la Rhodésie du Sud tant que le pouvoir politique ne sera pas retiré à la minorité blanche et remis aux autochtones, qui constituent l'immense majorité de la population. La Rhodésie du Sud est à peu près le dernier pays où la Grande-Bretagne puisse défendre la cause des Africains et éloigner de nous le désastre qui menace d'engloutir l'Afrique tout entière.

51. Les perspectives qui s'offrent à ce territoire, au reste de la Fédération d'Afrique centrale et aux deux territoires portugais de l'Angola et du Mozambique sont extrêmement sombres car la suprématie blanche y est totale, malgré le vent puissant de nationalisme africain qui continue à balayer l'Afrique en tous sens, amenant les Etats africains à l'indépendance l'un après l'autre. Aussi sûrement que la nuit succède au jour, le heurt entre le nationalisme et le panafricanisme, d'une part, et les forces de l'apartheid et du racisme, d'autre part, est proche et inévitable.

52. Dans les territoires portugais de l'Angola et du Mozambique, la situation est encore plus désespérée et inextricable que partout ailleurs en Afrique. Il est ardu et ingrat de comparer l'un à l'autre les régimes de deux colonies, parce qu'en disant que l'un est pire que l'autre on semble préférer un mal à un autre; mais,

en considérant qu'un mal peut être moindre qu'un autre, on peut dire que le type de colonialisme de l'Afrique du Sud est un mal moindre que celui que subissent les colonies portugaises, parce que dans le premier cas les noirs savent où ils en sont vis-à-vis des blancs et parce que le principe du développement égal et parallèle, tout injuste qu'il soit, tend à donner à l'Africain la possibilité de recueillir quelques miettes de civilisation qui tombent de la table du maître. Dans les colonies portugaises, au contraire, il est indéniable que l'on compte maintenir éternellement les autochtones dans le rôle d'ilotes, de porteurs d'eau et de bûcherons au service de leurs seigneurs blancs. Après 450 ans de colonialisme portugais, il n'existe pas dans tous les territoires portugais d'Afrique une seule école secondaire pour Africains, ni par conséquent une seule université, ce qui a pour résultat lamentable que l'on peut compter sur ses 10 doigts le nombre d'Africains possédant un diplôme universitaire.

53. Il est évident que le Portugal est incapable d'améliorer et de promouvoir le bien-être social, politique et économique du peuple africain. C'est d'ailleurs un pays européen arriéré. Charité bien ordonnée commence par soi-même; le Portugal ferait bien de mettre de l'ordre chez lui avant de vouloir étendre à l'Afrique sa "mission civilisatrice". Les Nations Unies ont le devoir de s'assurer que l'Angola et le Mozambique accèdent rapidement à l'indépendance ou, à défaut, qu'ils soient placés sans délai sous la tutelle de l'Organisation.

54. En ce qui concerne la question de la Fédération d'Afrique centrale, ma délégation est fermement d'avis qu'il est tout à fait vain de vouloir séparer ce qui a été uni. La meilleure façon de faire l'unification de l'Afrique est de procéder d'abord à des groupements de gouvernements à l'échelon régional, et le démembrement de la Fédération serait donc une fausse manœuvre. La seule chose à faire maintenant est de donner à chacun une voix, sans répartir les habitants en citoyens de première et de deuxième classe et limiter ainsi le droit de vote de la grande majorité de la population autochtone de la Fédération d'Afrique centrale.

55. Pour en venir à un pays plus proche du mien, ma délégation est d'avis qu'il faut maintenant organiser des élections générales au Kenya le plus tôt possible. Pour trouver la solution la plus satisfaisante aux problèmes raciaux et tribaux qui s'y posent actuellement, le Kenya a besoin d'un gouvernement jouissant de l'appui de la majorité de la population. De tels problèmes fournissent immanquablement aux impérialistes un fructueux terrain d'action.

56. Ma délégation considère la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale comme la Grande Charte des peuples coloniaux et comme la marque d'une ère nouvelle dans l'histoire des Nations Unies. Fidèle à l'esprit de cette résolution sur la décolonisation, ma délégation a à cœur de voir accéder à l'indépendance tous les territoires qui n'y sont pas encore parvenus.

M. Liu (Chine), vice-président, prend la présidence.

57. M. BENHIMA (Maroc): Les débats habituels sur le colonialisme devant notre organisation ressemblaient, il y a quelques années encore, à un procès où les parties, demeurant absentes, plaident en quelque sorte par personnes interposées l'une se voyant d'autant plus contrainte à la passion que

l'autre feignait le désintéressement quand ce n'était pas l'insouciance.

58. De tels débats, conclus dans l'indifférence de la majorité, laissent en général les problèmes dans leur stade statique au point de vue de l'intervention de notre organisation, et la confrontation entre le colonisé et le colonisateur était immanquablement transférée sur le plan de la lutte directe, chaque fois plus inégale et plus violente, mais où la victime n'était plus toujours la partie perdante.

59. De nombreux peuples n'ont pas pu suivre d'autre itinéraire, et le phénomène colonial lui-même a commencé à disparaître à la suite d'échecs militaires aussi dramatiques pour ceux qui défendaient ce phénomène colonial que pour ceux qui cessaient d'en être les victimes. L'inéluctabilité de ce processus, jointe à la dynamique du courant de libération dans le monde, a fini par amener les puissances colonisatrices les plus réticentes à penser à une possibilité de résoudre par des voies différentes les problèmes que posait leur domination.

60. L'Organisation des Nations Unies offrait en effet un cadre adéquat pour la confrontation pacifique des parties et la recherche d'une solution satisfaisante pour chacune d'elles.

61. Les débats n'ont pas toujours été aisés; ils n'ont pas toujours été couronnés de succès. Mais le dialogue tempérait toujours quelque peu le désespoir des uns et la violence des autres; il apportait aussi la possibilité d'un témoignage dont le coefficient d'objectivité facilitait l'arbitrage.

62. Depuis quatre ans notamment, et sauf quelques exceptions parfois douloureuses, nous avons assisté à une évolution à peu près conforme à ces idées et à ces principes. Mais il n'a pas semblé complètement rassurant de se fier de façon passive à la seule vertu de ce processus et à la valeur de certains exemples, même très bien réussis.

63. La responsabilité de l'Organisation ne pouvait se limiter à l'énoncé de certains principes, quel que soit leur poids moral ou juridique. L'expérience avait montré la nécessité d'une vigilance plus étroite et même l'institution d'organes particulièrement appropriés pour veiller à l'exécution rapide et fidèle des principes de la Charte et des décisions de la majorité. Sur le plan du colonialisme, divers organes existent qui sont de création concomitante à la Charte ou ultérieure, nés de nouvelles interprétations de la Charte même ou du pragmatisme de sa jurisprudence. Et, s'il est vrai que certains ont joué un rôle particulièrement satisfaisant dans la voie de la libération des peuples, d'autres n'ont manifesté malheureusement qu'une sclérose dangereuse pour la vie de l'Organisation tout entière.

64. Au cours de la quinzième session de l'Assemblée générale, qui a examiné avec une attention toute particulière plusieurs aspects de la situation internationale, et qui a dégagé des courants assez forts vers la solution rapide de certaines crises endémiques, l'Assemblée a adopté la résolution 1514 (XV), qui a été saluée par l'opinion mondiale comme un des événements les plus importants de la vie de l'Organisation et qui a eu, spécialement dans les pays encore colonisés à l'époque, un remarquable retentissement. On se rappelle qu'elle n'a pas obtenu ici le concours de toutes les puissances; néanmoins, elle n'a pas provoqué ouvertement leur hostilité, et la mauvaise

humour de certaines d'entre elles n'a pas altéré l'enthousiasme général.

65. Mais cette importante décision, qui a ranimé l'espoir dans l'Organisation, risquait de demeurer lettre morte si elle n'était, sans retard, consolidée par la création d'un organisme spécialement conçu pour sa mise en application. Au cours de la seizième session, l'Assemblée générale a eu la sagesse d'adopter la résolution 1654 (XVI), tendant à la création du Comité des Dix-Sept, chargé de veiller à l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux.

66. La délégation du Maroc a suivi avec un vif intérêt les consultations qui ont abouti à la composition du Comité et, ultérieurement, les travaux de cet organisme tant en ce qui concerne ses réunions au Siège que celles qui ont été tenues dans différents pays. L'importance que nous avons accordée à son rôle et à son travail nous a du reste incités à solliciter qu'il tienne une session à Tanger, et ma délégation saisit cette occasion pour exprimer de nouveau ses remerciements au Secrétariat et au Comité lui-même pour l'honneur qui nous a été fait en nous permettant de l'accueillir dans notre pays. Je peux vous affirmer, comme mes collègues de l'Ethiopie et du Tanganyika n'auront pas manqué de le faire, l'immense espérance des populations du continent africain qui ont vu les représentants des 17 pays Membres examiner sur place, avec intérêt et dévouement, tous les problèmes qu'ils ont pu confronter sur notre continent.

67. Je puis affirmer également que tous les dirigeants des mouvements de libération qui ont pu être entendus à l'occasion de ces sessions africaines ont désormais une foi plus solide dans le rôle de l'Organisation quant à la liquidation du colonialisme, et accordent, de ce fait, une place plus large au principe de l'évolution pacifique des rapports entre pays colonisés et pays colonisateurs.

68. Si l'on ne peut préjuger des conclusions que les puissances coloniales ont tirées d'un an d'existence et d'activité du Comité, on peut sans erreur affirmer que les peuples qui luttent pour leur indépendance ont investi un immense capital de confiance dans l'Organisation des Nations Unies, et ont remis avec une grande espérance une partie de leur lutte entre ses mains. Il nous semble que c'est là un résultat dont notre organisation doit particulièrement être fière, car, plus que jamais, sa cause se confond avec celle de la liberté et, plus que jamais, cette liberté semble devoir être conquise et consolidée dans l'équilibre et l'harmonie.

69. Nous avons entendu, au sein du Comité des Dix-Sept comme au cours du débat actuel, de nombreuses critiques adressées au Comité, les unes dirigées contre son existence même, d'autres dénonçant les faiblesses de sa procédure et des objectifs de son action.

70. Nous admettons qu'un organisme qui existe à peine depuis un an et dont la tâche si lourde a sans doute mis à l'épreuve une méthode de travail qui a été recherchée beaucoup plus dans le désir de coopération et d'efficacité souhaitées par la majorité de ses membres que dans une définition statique qui aurait été retenue dès sa création puisse faire l'objet de certaines critiques. Mais les termes dans lesquels ces critiques ont été formulées nous donnent le droit de remettre en cause la sincérité de certaines puissances coloniales qui doivent, en fait, viser davantage

l'existence du Comité que certains aspects de son activité. S'il en était ainsi, ces puissances nous donneraient, plus que par le passé, des raisons de souhaiter son maintien et de reconnaître les mérites certains de son activité.

71. Le remarquable rapport [A/5238] qui nous a été présenté par M. Najmuddine Rifai, représentant de la Syrie, est un document dont la valeur n'échappera ni aux Membres de l'Organisation, ni aux peuples qui ont confiance en elle et qui trouvent dans ce document un diagnostic précis de tous les aspects de la domination coloniale, là où elle existe encore.

72. Les auditions des pétitionnaires, les entretiens avec certaines autorités administrantes nous sont rapportés dans une authenticité et une objectivité qui donnent à notre débat actuel sur le problème le plus passionnant de notre siècle une tournure d'où la passion est totalement absente. J'ajouterai que, par la diversité de ses études, le rapport se présente comme une synthèse de l'ensemble des problèmes concernant les territoires non autonomes et qui sont répartis entre plusieurs comités spéciaux. Je suis sûr que les mérites de chacun de ces comités ne seraient guère diminués si l'ensemble des questions concernant la fin du colonialisme était désormais centralisé entre les mains du Comité des Dix-Sept. Les recherches qui ont été faites et les rapports des comités spéciaux constituent un apport d'ordre historique et technique appréciable pour la suite des travaux du Comité des Dix-Sept. Bien entendu, pour des raisons tenant à la Charte même, l'existence du Conseil de tutelle demeure hautement souhaitée, ainsi que celle du Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes. Pour des raisons politiques qui n'échappent à personne, le Sous-Comité chargé d'examiner la situation en Angola doit être maintenu pour continuer sa tâche auprès de l'Assemblée générale et du Conseil de sécurité.

73. Ma délégation se rallie à la suggestion qui a été faite à cette tribune par plusieurs éminents orateurs, tendant à l'augmentation du nombre des membres du Comité des Dix-Sept. Différents chiffres ont été avancés, mais rien ne semble s'opposer à un accord imminent sur le nombre supplémentaire de membres dont la participation serait considérée comme utile à la tâche de cet organisme, tout en lui évitant les inconvénients d'un appareil très lourd dans son articulation, et sans altérer l'atmosphère de coopération et d'harmonie qui doit continuer à le caractériser.

74. D'autre part, à l'occasion du discours qu'il a prononcé devant l'Assemblée générale, en octobre dernier [1148ème séance], le président Sekou Touré a exprimé le vœu de voir l'Assemblée se mettre d'accord et arrêter une date limite à laquelle tous les peuples colonisés auraient recouvré leur liberté. Mon éminent collègue, le représentant de la Guinée, a renouvelé cette suggestion au cours du débat actuel [1169ème séance]. Je sais quelles sont les divergences de vues qu'une telle suggestion n'a pas manqué de provoquer. Là encore ma délégation espère qu'un accord interviendra bientôt et sera formulé dans le projet de résolution qui sera soumis à l'Assemblée.

75. L'existence du Comité des Dix-Sept, sa méthode de travail, les modifications nécessaires à apporter à sa composition et à sa procédure méritent certainement des commentaires plus complets que ceux que ma délégation a jugé utile de formuler. C'est là un instrument dont il est vain de prétendre qu'il est

actuellement à l'état de perfection souhaitable; mais cet aspect de son existence n'exclut pas une action d'amélioration et de perfectionnement à entreprendre, soit en son sein, soit par l'Assemblée générale elle-même.

76. Ce qui demeure primordial dans l'examen de son rapport, c'est davantage la finalité qui a été assignée au Comité et l'analyse du progrès qu'il aura réalisé sur la voie de la mise en application de la Déclaration sur la fin du colonialisme.

77. La fusion sous un même point de l'ordre du jour de ces deux aspects de la question ne doit pas faire perdre de vue à l'Assemblée que le vrai débat doit porter sur le processus de la décolonisation.

78. Nous avons considéré que l'innovation la plus importante introduite par les résolutions 1514 (XV) et 1654 (XVI) dans le domaine de la lutte contre le colonialisme était l'introduction d'une méthode de travail fondée sur le dialogue et la coopération entre les puissances administrantes et des pays Membres choisis parmi les plus qualifiés pour exprimer au sein de l'Organisation les revendications des peuples encore colonisés.

79. Nous avons effectivement fondé un grand espoir sur la portée d'un tel événement qui modifie complètement la nature des rapports entre les derniers défenseurs de la domination coloniale et les peuples qui se sont reconnu le devoir de lutter au sein de l'Organisation pour mettre un terme à cette domination.

80. Mais la substitution du dialogue à la confrontation violente ne doit pas seulement donner bonne conscience à ceux qui ne l'avaient pas auparavant et paralyser le cours de l'histoire sous prétexte que ce dialogue a besoin de temps pour porter ses fruits. Il serait particulièrement dangereux pour la paix que l'on se réfugie confortablement dans le pacifisme de cette politique et que l'on oublie les risques de réveil douloureux après une patience déçue. Car, de façon générale, si cette méthode a eu le mérite d'éviter des crises aiguës ici ou là dans les différents territoires encore dépendants, elle ne semble pas avoir conduit jusqu'à présent à des résultats concrets sur la voie d'une libération proche.

81. Je ne ferai pas une analyse de la situation dans chacun des territoires intéressés par le rapport. La Quatrième Commission, qui étudie en détail les problèmes relatifs à chacun d'entre eux nous offre une occasion plus appropriée de nous attarder devant chaque cas et d'examiner l'évolution correspondante. Mais, de façon générale, la nature des conflits n'a pratiquement pas changé et les puissances administrantes, même quand elles admettent en principe la perspective du changement, ne semblent pas prendre les mesures nécessaires pour en accélérer l'avènement.

82. Dans les territoires sous domination portugaise, nous nous trouvons encore devant un comportement colonialiste intégral, et le Gouvernement portugais continue à manifester une indifférence totale à toute action des Nations Unies, quelle que soit sa nature. Aucun progrès n'est réalisé dans la voie de la collaboration avec les Nations Unies. Et, dans les territoires en question, la guerre se développe et les deux parties s'installent dans le climat d'une lutte à outrance qui semble laisser aux armes le soin de décider de l'avenir. Le conflit armé entre bientôt dans sa quatrième année et exclut de plus

en plus un recours au dialogue ou à toute autre voie pacifique.

83. Ni les injonctions des Nations Unies, ni les conseils des amis les plus proches, ni encore moins la valeur des expériences nombreuses et récentes ne semblent entamer l'obstination des autorités portugaises. Les tentatives faites par le mouvement nationaliste angolais vers la recherche d'une discussion restent ignorées et les dirigeants de la lutte pour la libération ne manqueront pas de ce fait d'être renforcés dans la détermination d'engager à leur tour une guerre totale à laquelle l'Afrique, sinon le monde entier, ne pourra pas rester indifférente.

84. Si, en Angola, la situation tragique ne suscite aucun changement dans l'attitude du Portugal il n'est guère prévisible qu'il prenne une attitude différente au Mozambique ou en Guinée.

85. Quant à l'Afrique du Sud, le défi chaque jour plus insolent qu'elle lance à l'Organisation des Nations Unies traduit, s'il le fallait, le mépris avec lequel elle continue de pratiquer dans le Sud-Ouest africain et sur le territoire même de la République une politique d'extermination raciste dont elle a annoncé publiquement la philosophie dans ses institutions et dont les lois, de plus en plus coercitives, s'étendent maintenant aux blancs eux-mêmes qui la désapprouvent.

86. Le testament du Dr Mallan est chaque jour enrichi par ses successeurs et sa doctrine traverse les frontières de tous les Etats africains où la minorité européenne domine pour transformer cette immense région qui va du Cap à Elisabethville en une zone de terreur raciste où aucune valeur religieuse, humaine ou même de droit international n'a plus droit de cité.

87. Cet exemple semble particulièrement suivi en Rhodésie du Sud où nous avons gardé, jusqu'à il y a quelques semaines encore, l'espoir que l'autorité du Gouvernement britannique et ses obligations internationales autant que sa responsabilité morale pourraient imposer à la minorité blanche les bases d'une solution équitable. Une constitution ignorant les droits les plus élémentaires de la majorité autochtone est imposée par le gouvernement de sir Roy Welensky, fermant ainsi brutalement la porte à tout espoir de négociations, comme cela paraissait possible lors de la visite du Sous-Comité pour la Rhodésie du Sud à Londres en avril dernier.

88. Le Gouvernement britannique invoque son incapacité légale et son impuissance matérielle à intervenir directement dans le conflit, mais il oublie sans doute que c'est Londres qui a conquis le territoire et que c'est Londres qui a investi la minorité blanche de l'autorité et de la puissance qu'elle détient.

89. Mais alors, que penser de la situation au Kenya ou en Guyane, où aucun obstacle de cette nature n'existe pour retarder l'octroi de l'indépendance à ces deux pays? Depuis longtemps, les dirigeants nationalistes dans l'un et dans l'autre ont accepté de mettre fin à une lutte armée et ont déposé le couteau au vestiaire pour s'asseoir autour des fameuses tables rondes.

90. Il faut bien le reconnaître, la Grande-Bretagne utilise ici et là des facteurs d'ordre interne à ces territoires, qui ne doivent relever que de leur seule souveraineté, pour retarder indéfiniment la date

d'une indépendance solennellement reconnue dans son principe.

91. Voilà la situation actuelle dans les principaux territoires auxquels le Comité des Dix-Sept a consacré l'essentiel de ses travaux, fort de l'investiture de l'Assemblée générale et animé par l'esprit qui a présidé au cours des deux dernières années à l'adoption des deux résolutions 1514 (XV) et 1654 (XVI) qui ont proclamé solennellement la nécessité de l'octroi de l'indépendance à tous les peuples qui n'en bénéficiaient pas encore.

92. Nous refusons d'être déçus par ces résultats. Bien au contraire, le Comité des Dix-Sept a entrepris une tâche dont la difficulté égale la noblesse, mais qui demande certainement une persévérance dynamique et une vigilance soutenue pour arriver au terme d'une mission qui restera la plus grande fierté de notre organisation.

93. Vous me permettrez, dans l'examen des responsabilités du Comité des Dix-Sept et de la tâche qui lui a été confiée, de préciser que cet organisme ne s'est pas penché sur tous les problèmes du colonialisme ni sur le destin de tous les territoires où la domination étrangère persiste sous une forme ou sous une autre.

94. A l'occasion du même débat devant l'Assemblée générale, lors de la seizième session [1043ème séance], ma délégation a traité du problème de certains territoires qui font partie intégrante du Maroc et qui cependant demeurent jusqu'à ce jour exclus de la souveraineté effective de l'autorité marocaine. Dans un souci de préserver le caractère amical des relations de mon pays avec les pays qui sont responsables de cet état de choses, je m'abstiens de revenir sur la manière dont ces parties de notre territoire national restent soumises à une autorité non marocaine. Fidèle à deux principes qui ont guidé l'action de son père, S. M. Hassan II répugne à la controverse devant les instances internationales entre le Maroc et ses amis et voisins. Il a d'autre part une profonde confiance dans la vertu des amitiés développées par une histoire commune et consolidées dans l'épreuve. Il vient récemment encore, par des gestes solennels, de réaffirmer sa croyance dans ces deux principes en réinvestissant toute sa confiance dans les déclarations d'amitié faites par l'éminent représentant d'un pays ami, directement intéressé dans cette situation, et qui a été l'hôte d'honneur du Maroc.

95. En évoquant ce problème particulier à mon pays, je renouvelle l'espoir de mon gouvernement d'aboutir à la reconnaissance de ses droits par la voie des négociations, voie que nous avons constamment suivie depuis sept ans pour chercher à résoudre d'autres problèmes primordiaux pour l'épanouissement complet de notre souveraineté nationale.

96. Dans d'autres circonstances, des chemins différents nous ont été imposés dont le résultat n'a en rien altéré nos principes. Mais il est certainement très réconfortant de constater qu'entre pays traditionnellement amis on soit de part et d'autre sincèrement disposé à préférer la négociation à tout autre recours.

97. De nombreuses délégations ont salué avec satisfaction, à cette tribune, l'accord intervenu entre

l'Indonésie et les Pays-Bas^{2/}, accord qui, après plusieurs années d'un conflit inutile, a mis fin par la voie des négociations à une situation qui était sur le point de provoquer probablement une guerre aussi longue que celle qui a précédé l'indépendance.

98. Ce sont là incontestablement des exemples qui méritent d'être mis en relief, mais qui ne sont malheureusement que des éclaircies dans un horizon encore sombre car, depuis des années, tout le monde parle de la fin du colonialisme et de sa liquidation; mais, quand on se penche sur la carte de quelques continents, on constate encore que d'immenses territoires, avec de nombreuses populations, se débattent avec plus ou moins de chance dans les contradictions de l'ordre colonial qui proclame, devant les instances internationales, les meilleures intentions, alors que son comportement réel correspond bien plus à ses intentions originelles.

99. Il suffirait d'examiner, par exemple, la situation dans le Moyen-Orient pour se rendre compte que la lutte du peuple d'Oman dure depuis plusieurs années, disséminant l'élite du pays et contraignant son souverain légitime à l'exil sans que le Royaume-Uni manifeste la moindre disposition libérale.

100. Quant à la tragédie de la Palestine, 15 ans de manœuvres conjuguées du sionisme international et de l'impérialisme qui le soutient n'ont pas imposé la mystification de la légitimité d'un foyer israélite bâti sur les ruines de foyers arabes. Ne sommes-nous pas, dans ce cas de la Palestine, précisément devant un exemple frappant d'une profonde hypocrisie intellectuelle et politique qui, au nom d'une injustice dont le nazisme et ses complices européens sont seuls responsables, établit la plus grande injustice de l'histoire en arrachant plus d'un million d'Arabes au foyer de leur religion, de leur race et de leur civilisation.

101. De quelle sorte de paix pourrait-on parler, et à quel genre de conférence peut-on inviter les représentants des immigrants israélites d'Europe pour siéger avec les Arabes et transformer une annexion en fait accompli?

102. C'est une illusion immense et très dangereuse à entretenir que de croire qu'un changement de langage puisse modifier le comportement effectif du colonialisme. On a sûrement substitué une politique adaptée avec souplesse aux exigences d'intérêts politiques permanents et susceptible, dans bien des cas, d'étouffer les aspirations légitimes, mais qui ne pourra en aucun cas — et pendant longtemps — détourner le cours de la libération des peuples de sa direction naturelle, et encore moins consolider les assises de la paix et instaurer une coopération fructueuse entre les peuples.

103. M. DAAR (Somalie) [traduit de l'anglais]: Représentant d'un pays d'Afrique qui, avant l'indépendance, a souffert des conséquences néfastes de la division coloniale que continuent à subir des territoires somalis colonisés, représentant d'un pays qui s'est toujours voué à la cause de la libération complète du continent africain des derniers vestiges du colonialisme, je suis impatient d'exposer nos vues à l'Assemblée sur la question en discussion.

104. Il fut un temps où les colonialistes pouvaient profiter de ce qu'il n'y avait pas de présence des

^{2/} Accord entre la République d'Indonésie et le Royaume des Pays-Bas concernant la Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale (Irian occidentale), signé au Siège de l'Organisation, le 20 septembre 1962.

Nations Unies dans les territoires qu'ils avaient colonisés pour imposer aux autochtones des mesures d'oppression et de répression, au mépris flagrant des principes de la Charte des Nations Unies. Ma délégation constate avec une satisfaction immense qu'il en va tout autrement aujourd'hui. L'épais brouillard d'incertitude et de crainte qui pesait sur les populations sans défense de ces territoires s'est dissipé grâce à la force formidable émanant de la résolution historique 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale, résolution qui a immédiatement fait la lumière sur tout le régime de tyrannie et de terreur imposé par les impérialistes impitoyables. Ils ne peuvent plus désormais supprimer, à l'insu de tous, les combattants de la liberté qui sont résolus à rompre les chaînes de l'esclavage et de la sujétion, et qui sont guidés par la puissante et historique Déclaration qui fait l'objet de la résolution et par laquelle l'Assemblée générale des Nations Unies a solennellement affirmé certains principes.

105. Le paragraphe 1 du dispositif de la résolution 1514 (XV) stipule:

"La sujétion des peuples à une subjugation, à une domination et à une exploitation étrangères constitue un déni des droits fondamentaux de l'homme, est contraire à la Charte des Nations Unies et compromet la cause de la paix et de la coopération mondiales."

Le paragraphe 5 du dispositif de la même résolution se lit comme suit:

"Des mesures immédiates seront prises, dans les territoires sous tutelle, les territoires non autonomes et tous autres territoires qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance, pour transférer tous pouvoirs aux peuples de ces territoires, sans aucune condition ni réserve, conformément à leur volonté et à leurs vœux librement exprimés, sans aucune distinction de race, de croyance ou de couleur, afin de leur permettre de jouir d'une indépendance et d'une liberté complètes."

106. Convaincue de la valeur des justes idéaux inscrits dans la Charte des Nations Unies et résolue à faire appliquer la célèbre Déclaration dont je viens de citer certains passages, l'Assemblée générale a créé, par sa résolution 1654 (XVI), le Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. La création de ce comité a été pour les Nations Unies une victoire importante et a porté un coup mortel au colonialisme, car elle permet désormais de prévenir des dangereuses menaces à la paix et à la sécurité internationales.

107. Le rapport qui nous est soumis par le Comité spécial [A/5238] prouve bien que les décisions prises par l'Assemblée générale et consignées dans les résolutions 1514 (XV) et 1654 (XVI) étaient justifiées par la nécessité urgente de liquider complètement le colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations.

108. Ma délégation note avec regret que le rapport ne parle pas des régions du territoire somali qui subissent encore le joug colonial, sous différentes formes déguisées et détournées. Quoi qu'il en soit, je ne puis que féliciter vivement le Comité spécial des Dix-Sept pour les efforts infatigables qu'il a déployés et pour l'efficacité certaine avec laquelle il s'est acquitté des tâches délicates dont l'Assemblée

générale l'avait chargé. L'ampleur et la valeur du rapport justifient largement les félicitations que ma délégation, comme certainement beaucoup d'autres, adresse au Comité spécial.

109. Il y a quelques jours, la Quatrième Commission, à la fin de son débat sur le Sud-Ouest africain, a recommandé dans un projet de résolution [voir A/5310, par. 27] la dissolution du Comité spécial pour le Sud-Ouest africain. Ce projet de résolution répondait au désir exprimé par le Secrétaire général dans l'introduction à son rapport annuel [A/5201/Add.1] de voir diminuer le nombre des comités existant actuellement.

110. Comme le représentant de l'Irak l'a bien expliqué il y a quelques jours [1170ème séance], nous n'avons que faire d'un grand nombre de comités, dont le seul résultat est qu'ils font double emploi et qu'ils empâtent les uns sur les autres. Ma délégation approuve donc entièrement les représentants qui sont intervenus avant moi pour se prononcer en faveur de la dissolution de tous les comités, à l'exception peut-être du Comité spécial pour les territoires administrés par le Portugal.

111. Le Comité spécial des Dix-Sept devra donc reprendre toutes les tâches confiées jusqu'ici aux comités dissous. On semble s'accorder à penser que le nombre actuel des membres du Comité spécial devrait être augmenté, mais des avis divers ont été exprimés quant à savoir de combien de nouveaux membres.

112. Étant donné les diverses tâches qui lui ont déjà été confiées et celles qui pourraient lui être attribuées, la composition du Comité spécial devrait être assez large pour qu'il puisse constituer ses propres sous-comités, qui seraient chargés de telle ou telle tâche. Ma délégation serait donc disposée à appuyer la suggestion du représentant de l'Irak tendant à ajouter sept nouveaux membres aux 17 membres actuels, ce qui, j'en suis sûr, permettrait la répartition géographique équitable qui est envisagée.

113. Ma délégation est heureuse de noter que le Comité spécial des Dix-Sept a entériné les conclusions et recommandations du rapport du Comité spécial pour le Sud-Ouest africain [A/5212] dont mon pays avait l'honneur d'être un des sept membres. J'ai à peine besoin de rappeler à l'Assemblée que la question du Sud-Ouest africain est soumise à l'examen des Nations Unies depuis leur fondation. Ma délégation regrette de devoir constater que le Gouvernement sud-africain a violé le mandat qui lui était confié lors de la disparition de la Société des Nations.

114. Ma délégation a donc étudié la question du Territoire sous mandat du Sud-Ouest africain avec le plus grand sérieux et en toute objectivité, et elle est parvenue aux conclusions ci-après:

a) L'intolérable système de l'apartheid a pénétré dans tous les secteurs de la vie de ce territoire;

b) L'Afrique du Sud a failli à ses obligations de puissance mandataire et a négligé de faire progresser les autochtones du Sud-Ouest africain dans les domaines économique, social, politique et de l'éducation;

c) L'Afrique du Sud s'est non seulement refusée obstinément à coopérer avec les Nations Unies pour mettre en œuvre les résolutions de l'Assemblée générale sur le Sud-Ouest africain, mais est allée

jusqu'à induire en erreur les représentants des Nations Unies;

d) Les Nations Unies doivent intervenir énergiquement et établir une présence des Nations Unies dans le Territoire pour appliquer les résolutions 1566 (XV) et 1702 (XVI) qui concernent à la fois les aspects politiques et économiques de la situation au Sud-Ouest africain;

e) Le monde doit s'unir contre l'Afrique du Sud et contre sa politique au Sud-Ouest africain, afin de l'empêcher d'exploiter l'indifférence dont certaines délégations ont fait preuve en s'abstenant d'appliquer les résolutions antérieures relatives au Sud-Ouest africain, et de saisir ce prétexte pour perpétuer leur tyrannie sur la population autochtone du Territoire;

f) La mise en œuvre de la résolution 1702 (XVI) de l'Assemblée générale permettrait aux Nations Unies d'atteindre leurs objectifs et de satisfaire les aspirations des autochtones du Sud-Ouest africain;

g) Ma délégation estime sage et praticable la première mesure recommandée par le Comité spécial pour le Sud-Ouest africain, qui consisterait à accorder à l'Afrique du Sud un bref délai pour lui permettre de coopérer avec les Nations Unies pour la mise en œuvre des résolutions de l'Assemblée générale sur le Sud-Ouest africain;

h) Tout en tenant compte de la procédure contentieuse engagée devant la Cour internationale de Justice contre l'Afrique du Sud par l'Éthiopie et le Libéria et tout en espérant que le jugement interviendra prochainement, nous estimons qu'il faut envisager l'éventualité d'abroger le Mandat.

115. C'est la deuxième mesure recommandée par le Comité spécial et elle pourrait être appliquée si cela devenait nécessaire. Cela signifierait évidemment que l'administration du Territoire serait simultanément prise en charge par les Nations Unies.

116. Ma délégation est donc heureuse de constater que dans leur immense majorité les représentants siégeant à la Quatrième Commission de l'Assemblée sont parvenus aux mêmes conclusions. Nous en sommes d'autant plus satisfaits qu'il y a quelques jours, rappelons-le, la Commission a adopté une résolution avec une seule abstention et sans opposition, sur cette question délicate du Sud-Ouest africain [voir A/5310, par. 27].

117. Je tiens à souligner trois aspects importants de cette résolution: d'abord, elle traite d'une façon satisfaisante les points que j'ai signalés, conformément à la position de ma délégation et de nombreuses autres délégations; ensuite, elle assigne au Comité spécial des Dix-Sept, qui a les compétences voulues pour s'acquitter de cette tâche délicate, le mandat indiqué dans la résolution 1702 (XVI); enfin, cette résolution a été adoptée à la quasi-unanimité, ce qui est particulièrement important car c'est la première fois dans l'histoire des Nations Unies qu'une résolution concernant le Sud-Ouest africain rencontre un appui aussi général.

118. Ma délégation n'a pas l'intention d'analyser le changement d'attitude de certaines délégations quant à la question du Sud-Ouest africain. Cela pourrait être une façon de chercher des compliments ou de nous en attribuer en partie le mérite, ce qui ne serait guère modeste de notre part. Mais je tiens à souligner

énergiquement combien ma délégation se félicite de la quasi-unanimité qui s'est faite lors de l'adoption de la récente résolution sur le Sud-Ouest africain. Quels qu'aient pu être les divers mobiles en jeu, ils ne peuvent être considérés que comme de nobles intentions qui méritent notre appréciation et notre gratitude. Il n'y a rien d'autre à ajouter, si ce n'est que l'Afrique du Sud doit regarder la réalité en face et s'incliner devant l'autorité des Nations Unies, avant d'y être contrainte.

M. Muhammad Zafrulla Khan (Pakistan) reprend la présidence.

119. Pour ce qui est de la Rhodésie du Sud, la position obstinée qu'a prise le gouvernement des colons n'a pas évolué et le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni n'a rien fait pour répondre à l'appel lancé par les Nations Unies dans la résolution 1747 (XVI), mais les événements récents montrent que la situation s'est aggravée dans le Territoire depuis l'adoption par l'Assemblée générale de la résolution 1755 (XVI) à la reprise de la seizième session.

120. On pourrait avoir l'impression que depuis l'adoption par l'Assemblée générale de la résolution 1760 (XVII) cette situation explosive a perdu de sa gravité et que nos vives inquiétudes ont été apaisées par l'adoption de cette résolution.

121. Ma délégation sent très nettement qu'alors même qu'ils n'assistent pas en personne à nos débats la voix des chefs de la population de la Rhodésie du Sud résonne sans cesse à nos oreilles et nous atteint au plus profond de nos cœurs.

122. Compte tenu de tout ce que je viens de dire, gardons toujours présentes à l'esprit les dispositions essentielles de la résolution 1760 (XVII). Ma délégation espère ardemment que le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni et le gouvernement des colons de la Rhodésie du Sud entendront les appels répétés des Nations Unies et que les résolutions de l'Assemblée générale pourront désormais être effectivement mises en œuvre.

123. La question de la Rhodésie du Nord a été traitée en détail dans le rapport du Comité spécial. La situation dans le territoire peut se résumer ainsi: premièrement, la Constitution du 28 février 1962 prévue pour la Rhodésie du Nord n'est pas conforme aux principes énoncés dans la résolution 1514 (XV); deuxièmement, les autochtones de la Rhodésie du Nord sont manifestement victimes de discriminations, du fait des conditions à remplir pour pouvoir être inscrit sur les listes électorales; troisièmement, l'appartenance forcée de la Rhodésie du Nord à la Fédération d'Afrique centrale se heurte à l'opposition farouche de l'immense majorité des autochtones du territoire; quatrièmement, une minorité de colons blancs se cramponne au pouvoir, lésant ainsi les autochtones de la Rhodésie du Nord; cinquièmement, les habitants de la Rhodésie du Nord doivent se voir reconnaître le droit à l'autodétermination pour pouvoir décider du destin de leur propre pays.

124. Cependant, les résultats des élections organisées en octobre dernier semblent montrer que le United Nations Independence Party et l'African Congress Party pourraient former un gouvernement de coalition s'ils détenaient les 11 sièges qui restent encore à pourvoir.

125. Ma délégation espère donc que, s'il en est ainsi, le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni facilitera

les choses à la majorité africaine, qui exige à bon droit l'indépendance immédiate hors de la Fédération et le respect de l'intégrité du territoire.

126. Quant au Nyassaland, ma délégation est heureuse de noter que M. Hastings Banda, le chef nationaliste, est actuellement en train de négocier à Londres avec le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni. Je pense donc qu'il est encore prématuré de parler de cette question.

127. Le Comité spécial s'est également occupé des trois territoires dépendant du Haut Commissaire, le Bassoutoland, le Betchouanaland et le Souaziland [A/5238, chap. V]. Il a clairement dégagé quatre circonstances importantes qui déterminent généralement la situation de ces territoires: premièrement, la crainte d'être annexés par l'Afrique du Sud; deuxièmement, l'insuffisance de leur développement économique de base; troisièmement, la discrimination raciale qui y est largement pratiquée; enfin, l'absence de progrès constitutionnels raisonnables.

128. Cela étant, ma délégation approuve sans réserve la résolution que le Comité spécial recommande dans son rapport [A/5238, par. 214]. Cette résolution demande à la Puissance administrante, c'est-à-dire en l'occurrence au Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni, de prendre les mesures suivantes:

a) Abroger les dispositions constitutionnelles actuelles;

b) Convoquer immédiatement une conférence constitutionnelle avec la participation des leaders politiques démocratiquement élus des trois territoires afin de fixer la date de leur accession à l'indépendance.

c) Entreprendre un effort sérieux d'assistance économique, financière et technique par l'intermédiaire des programmes de coopération technique des Nations Unies et par l'intermédiaire des institutions spécialisées, afin de remédier à la situation écono-mico-sociale déplorable régnant dans les trois territoires.

d) Restituer aux autochtones toutes les terres qui leur ont été enlevées, sous quelque forme ou sous quelque prétexte qu'ait eu lieu cette aliénation.

129. Ma délégation est heureuse de noter que les habitants du Kenya se sont vu reconnaître le droit à l'autodétermination et que le jour n'est plus loin où nous verrons ce pays frère devenir souverain et indépendant.

130. De même, j'espère que les habitants de Zanzibar et de la Guyane britannique régleront les divergences mineures qui font obstacle à leur marche vers l'indépendance totale et qu'ils prendront bientôt la place qui leur revient dans la grande famille des Nations Unies.

131. Enfin, et ce n'est pas le moins important, les tristes exemples de l'Angola et du Mozambique préoccupent sérieusement ma délégation, qui constate avec regret que le Portugal refuse de coopérer avec les Nations Unies pour préparer à l'indépendance les autochtones de ces territoires.

132. C'est pourtant la méthode qu'ont traditionnellement suivie d'autres puissances coloniales qui ont eu la sagesse de voir clair et de regarder la réalité en face, et ont ainsi rempli leurs obligations avec dignité et pour le bien de tous les intéressés. Si le Portugal et son complice en matière de sujétion de l'homme, l'Afrique du Sud, refusent de faire de

même, ma délégation peut leur prédire en toute certitude qu'ils se condamnent à la catastrophe.

133. En conclusion, ce rapport détaillé du Comité spécial des Dix-Sept a porté un coup fatal au cœur du colonialisme et j'espère que le jour est proche où celui-ci disparaîtra complètement de la surface du globe.

134. M. TCHOBANOV (Bulgarie): Deux ans se sont écoulés depuis le jour où l'Assemblée générale, à sa quinzième session, a adopté la Déclaration — véritablement historique — sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux [résolution 1514 (XV)]. Les idées que cette déclaration a proclamées sont bien la bannière sous laquelle les peuples coloniaux, les uns après les autres, arrachent de haute lutte leur indépendance nationale, la bannière aussi sous laquelle un certain nombre de peuples, qui n'ont pas encore brisé le joug de la servitude coloniale, continuent de mener un combat héroïque qui nous rapproche chaque jour du moment de l'écroulement définitif de l'édifice honteux du colonialisme.

135. Au cours de l'année écoulée, la lutte de libération nationale a marqué de nouveaux succès considérables: l'Algérie, le Rwanda, le Burundi, l'Irian occidental ont accédé à l'indépendance. La mer des Caraïbes a vu, à son tour, venir la liberté: la Jamaïque et l'Etat de Trinité et Tobago sont maintenant libres. Tout récemment encore, l'Ouganda est venue se joindre à la famille des nations indépendantes.

136. La délégation de la République populaire de Bulgarie est heureuse de saluer bien chaleureusement les peuples et gouvernements de ces pays, leur indépendance nationale nouvellement recouvrée et de souhaiter vivement la bienvenue à leurs représentants à cette tribune.

137. Il n'y a pas lieu cependant, en présence de ces succès, de se rassurer prématurément et d'attendre les bras croisés le moment où le système colonial se mourra de lui-même. Plus de 80 territoires dans les différentes parties du monde, peuplés de plus de 60 millions d'habitants, continuent à se trouver sous la dépendance coloniale. L'Organisation doit concentrer son attention et sa vigilance sur la question coloniale aussi longtemps que le dernier peuple n'aura pas brisé les chaînes de l'esclavage colonial.

138. Les travaux du Comité des Dix-Sept, dont nous discutons le rapport actuellement, a grandement contribué à cette œuvre et nous tenons à dire ici toute notre satisfaction du travail énorme accompli par ce comité, ainsi que des résultats très sérieux auxquels ses travaux ont abouti. La liquidation des derniers vestiges du colonialisme est à l'heure actuelle l'une des tâches les plus essentielles de l'Organisation. Il convient de rappeler que c'est pour elle une obligation qui découle des termes exprès de la Charte et qui prend figure, dans les circonstances actuelles, d'un devoir moral de tout premier ordre. La liquidation du colonialisme est un impératif historique incontestable de notre époque.

139. La grande révolution d'Octobre en Russie a sonné le glas de l'impérialisme dans une double acception du mot. En Russie même, cette révolution a détruit à la fois la servitude sociale et la servitude nationale, brisant les privilèges iniques et exorbitants des grands propriétaires terriens et des privilégiés de la fortune dans le domaine de la finance,

de l'industrie et du commerce. Le Grand Octobre a du même coup détruit les murailles de cette "prison des nations" qu'était la Russie tsariste pour les dizaines de millions de travailleurs de nationalité non russe. Cette révolution, la plus grandiose de toutes celles que l'histoire du genre humain ait connues, a produit une puissante réaction en chaîne, à la fois dans les deux directions majeures: celle de l'émancipation sociale et celle de l'émancipation nationale.

140. Le premier aspect de la révolution d'Octobre a eu pour effet, quelque 25 ans plus tard, après la défaite militaire des puissances de l'axe, toute une série de révolutions à caractère socialiste dans différentes parties du monde, si bien qu'actuellement à peu près un tiers du genre humain a définitivement aboli l'exploitation de l'homme par l'homme.

141. Son deuxième aspect, celui de l'abolition radicale de l'oppression d'une nation par une autre, a donné une poussée vigoureuse aux mouvements de libération nationale dans les pays coloniaux. Si bien que maintenant, alors que, il y a un quart de siècle seulement, la majorité des humains appartenait à des pays se trouvant sous la dépendance coloniale ou semi-coloniale, aujourd'hui, comme cela a été noté il y a quelques instants, il ne reste plus que quelque 60 millions d'hommes dans les différents territoires coloniaux.

142. Les effets de la grande révolution socialiste d'Octobre en Russie sont donc comparables — mais en infiniment plus grand — à ceux de la grande Révolution française de 1789 pour ce qui concerne l'abolition de la monarchie absolue, des servitudes féodales et, jusqu'à un certain point, de l'oppression nationale en Europe occidentale et, partiellement, dans d'autres parties du monde. C'est bien ce que j'entendais en disant tout à l'heure que la liquidation de l'oppression coloniale est un impératif absolu de notre temps.

143. A côté de cette raison majeure pour l'abolition du système colonial, il y a une raison subsidiaire, mais très importante aussi, à l'abolition de ce système périmé: le souci majeur de l'opinion publique des peuples du monde est à l'heure actuelle de se prémunir contre une nouvelle guerre mondiale qui, dans les circonstances présentes, ne pourrait être que l'holocauste thermonucléaire total. Le colonialisme étant la source principale de la guerre, il convient, pour prévenir la guerre, d'abolir aussi rapidement que possible tout ce qui subsiste du colonialisme. Au siècle passé, l'un des idéologues du colonialisme britannique, Joseph Chamberlain, déclarait: "Si, pour un instant, nous évoquions l'histoire de notre pays durant le siècle écoulé, nous verrions que toute guerre, grande ou petite, à laquelle nous avons pris part a, en dernier ressort, été conduite pour des intérêts coloniaux. C'est absolument vrai et demeurera vrai aussi longtemps que cette époque ne sera pas révolue."

144. Comme je viens de le mentionner il y a quelques instants, des tentatives sont faites sur différents points du globe pour freiner le processus de décolonisation, et ceci, aux termes de la Déclaration de 1960, crée "des conflits croissants qui constituent une grave menace à la paix mondiale".

145. Il convient de se pencher avec une attention toute particulière sur le cas d'une région géographique où la politique et les agissements des colonialistes

ont conduit à un état de choses intolérable portant en lui des dangers excessivement graves. Je veux parler de la partie méridionale du continent africain comprenant la République sud-africaine, les Rhodésies, l'Angola, le Mozambique et le Katanga. Il n'y a rien de fortuit ni d'arbitraire dans le fait que, sur les 12 territoires coloniaux dont le Comité spécial des Dix-Sept a eu à s'occuper en détail, neuf appartiennent à cette région géographique précisément. Dans cette partie de l'Afrique, 4 millions seulement d'Européens cherchent par tous les moyens à maintenir 50 millions d'Africains dans un état qui diffère bien peu de l'esclavage pur et simple.

146. C'est à dessein que, parlant de la question coloniale, nous avons compris dans le nombre des colonies la République sud-africaine également. Il nous a semblé que le fond importe beaucoup plus que la forme. Or, quant au fond, cette soi-disant République n'est en réalité qu'une colonie où "la métropole", au lieu de demeurer en Europe, s'est transportée en entier au centre de la colonie. Bien qu'aucune mer ni aucun océan ne sépare métropole et colonie, la population autochtone de cette prétendue république subit une oppression et une exploitation exactement du type colonial. Dans cette région géographique, les privilèges des minorités blanches s'étendent, comme chacun le sait, à tous les domaines de la vie. Les droits politiques sont un apanage exclusif de ces minorités, alors que les Africains en sont à peu près complètement privés. L'industrie se trouve à 100 p. 100 entre les mains des groupements monopolistes occidentaux. La terre fertile appartient entièrement aux blancs alors que les Africains ont été entassés dans les terrains réservés ("reservations") et les régions semi-désertiques. Au Nyassaland par exemple, les blancs possèdent par tête d'habitant 50 fois plus de terre que les Africains, au Souaziland 36 fois plus. Les blancs jouissent de la gratuité de l'enseignement public et il est dépensé, par tête d'élève blanc, des dizaines de fois plus d'argent que pour un enfant africain. Ceux-ci ne peuvent obtenir qu'une instruction tout à fait rudimentaire capable tout au plus de les rendre aptes à mieux servir leurs maîtres blancs.

147. Le niveau de vie moyen de la population blanche est l'un des plus élevés au monde, alors que le revenu moyen des Africains dans la Fédération de Rhodésie et du Nyassaland est de 40 fois inférieur à celui des Européens dans ce même territoire.

148. Les esclavagistes blancs ne veulent à aucun prix se priver de leurs privilèges exorbitants et semblent décidés à tout afin de les maintenir. C'est là un des facteurs majeurs qui s'opposent aux aspirations des peuples de cette partie de l'Afrique à la liberté et à l'indépendance. Ce facteur, cependant, n'est pas le seul.

149. De plus en plus fréquemment, ces temps derniers, apparaît le rôle sinistre des puissants groupements financiers de la Grande-Bretagne, des Etats-Unis, de l'Allemagne occidentale et d'autres pays occidentaux encore. Il est à peine besoin d'évoquer le rôle de l'Union minière du Haut-Katanga dans le drame congolais.

150. Le Comité des Dix-Sept a accueilli une pétition remarquable de la part d'une certaine Mlle Ginwalla [voir A/5238, chap. XII, par. 3 à 6], document qui décrit en détail la nature et les activités de ces groupements, activités qui exercent une influence

particulièrement néfaste sur la politique de tel gouvernement occidental. Outre l'Union minière à laquelle je viens de faire allusion, une place particulièrement importante est occupée par des compagnies à capitaux anglais et américains telles que: The Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa, dénommée le mauvais génie des Rhodésies; ensuite, The Diamond Corporation, The American Climax Corporation, The Tanganyika Concession, etc.

151. Les investissements de ces monopoles rapaces s'élevaient, à la fin de 1958, à la somme de 5 milliards de dollars, dont 3 milliards de capitaux britanniques, 600 millions de capitaux américains, et le reste: français, allemands, occidentaux, etc.

152. Les bénéfices de ces monopoles sont fabuleux. L'on pourrait citer, à titre d'exemple, l'une des plus petites de ces corporations, l'Union Corporation, laquelle, sur un capital de 1 250 000 livres sterling, a réalisé en 1958 un bénéfice net de 1 900 000 livres.

153. Dans les conseils d'administration de ces groupements siègent des personnages qui sont intimement liés aux gouvernements des pays occidentaux; et ce n'est un secret pour personne que des questions d'une importance vitale pour les millions d'habitants de l'Afrique sont réglées par ces gouvernements dans l'intérêt des monopoles et au grand détriment des peuples d'Afrique; il suffira de rappeler le Katanga et les Rhodésies.

154. Aux deux facteurs susmentionnés, il y a lieu d'ajouter les cercles politiques des coloniaux influents dans les pays occidentaux, cercles pour lesquels le maintien du système colonial dans la partie méridionale du continent africain présente de l'intérêt, non seulement du point de vue des avantages économiques qu'on en retire, mais bien, et plus encore, pour des considérations de caractère politique et stratégique. Pour ces cercles, le maintien des positions des Européens dans la partie méridionale de l'Afrique présente un grand intérêt en tant que moyen destiné à exercer une pression continue sur les pays qui ont récemment accédé à l'indépendance nationale, à l'effet d'influer sur leur politique intérieure et extérieure.

155. Toutes les forces ci-dessus mentionnées se trouvent réunies dans ce que, ces temps derniers, on a, si à propos, appelé "l'Alliance impie" ("the Unholy Alliance").

156. Comme membres de ces coalitions des forces des ténèbres se sont particulièrement signalés les gouvernements de Verwoerd, de Salazar et de Welensky, ainsi que des personnages de l'espèce de Tshombé.

157. Toutes les tentatives de dissimuler l'existence de cette coalition se sont avérées vaines, puisqu'un nombre trop grand de preuves vient démontrer son existence. Ladite coalition jouit non seulement de l'appui politique, mais aussi de l'assistance financière et en fournitures d'armes d'un certain nombre d'Etats membres de l'Organisation du Traité de l'Atlantique nord (OTAN). L'assistance que l'OTAN a accordée au Portugal pour l'écrasement du soulèvement populaire héroïque en Angola est trop bien connue pour qu'il soit nécessaire d'y insister.

158. Dans son rapport [A/5160], le Comité spécial pour les territoires administrés par le Portugal indique ce qui suit:

"... une grande partie du matériel militaire et autre que le Portugal obtient de diverses sources, et principalement d'Etats membres de l'OTAN, a été abondamment utilisée et continue à l'être par les forces militaires portugaises et les autres forces portugaises de répression pour opprimer le peuple angolais et les peuples d'autres territoires sous administration portugaise ... Il est évident que toute assistance de cet ordre implique ceux qui la fournissent dans la répression des mouvements de libération dans les territoires sous administration portugaise." [Ibid., par. 439.]

159. Un grand nombre de faits ont été produits devant le Comité des Dix-Sept et à la Quatrième Commission de cette assemblée — faits relatifs à l'assistance sur une vaste échelle que le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni accorde aux racistes sud-africains, assistance qui revêt la forme de fournitures de matériel de guerre et de construction d'usines de matériel de guerre.

160. Il y a trois mois seulement, le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni a accordé à Whitehead un emprunt dont une grande partie sera utilisée au renforcement des forces de police chargées d'exercer la répression à l'égard des patriotes de la Rhodésie du Sud.

161. C'est bien la raison pour laquelle il est impossible, lorsqu'on parle de cette "Union sacrée" — ou plutôt "Union impie" — à laquelle je faisais allusion, de ne pas parler aussi de ces forces redoutables en dehors de l'Afrique qui soutiennent la coalition par des moyens politiques, économiques, financiers et militaires. Ce sont là les forces qu'affrontent les peuples de l'Afrique méridionale.

162. Il est donc aisé de voir que, dans cette partie du continent africain, nous sommes en présence d'une situation qui constitue une menace très sérieuse pour la paix et la sécurité dans le monde. Il y a, d'une part, les peuples de l'Angola, du Mozambique, des Rhodésies, de la République sud-africaine et d'autres qui aspirent à la liberté et à l'indépendance nationale; ce sont des aspirations en tout point naturelles et légitimes et que rien ni personne ne saurait étouffer. Il y a, d'autre part, "l'Alliance sacrée" — ou plutôt "l'Alliance impie" — et les amis de cette dernière, en Occident, qui tentent par tous les moyens, y compris la force armée, d'étouffer la lutte de libération nationale.

163. Aux Nations Unies, les gouvernements des membres de "l'Alliance sacrée" montrent le plus grand mépris pour les décisions de notre organisation. Le Ministre des affaires étrangères de la République sud-africaine n'est-il pas venu nous déclarer [1128ème séance], sans la moindre équivoque, du haut de cette même tribune, que ni les critiques, ni les menaces, ni la peur ne feront dévier l'Afrique du Sud du chemin ... que les racistes sud-africains croient juste. La position de Salazar est identique à celle-ci, comme est identique celle de Whitehead qui, le 31 octobre, a déclaré à la 1367ème séance de la Quatrième Commission qu'il s'était rendu à New York dans le but unique d'expliquer à l'Organisation des Nations Unies ce que son gouvernement raciste est en train de faire en Rhodésie du Sud, et nullement dans l'intention de modifier en quoi que ce soit la politique qu'il avait pratiquée jusqu'ici.

164. En Angola, comme vous le savez, les choses ont été poussées au point que le conflit imminent a fait explosion — conflit au cours duquel les Por-

tugais, avec une cruauté qui est caractéristique des colonialistes, ont fait des dizaines de milliers de victimes.

165. Au Mozambique, en Rhodésie du Sud, dans la République sud-africaine, la situation est si tendue qu'il y a lieu de s'attendre à tout instant à quelque explosion semblable à celles de l'Angola et de l'Algérie.

166. Il est indispensable que l'Organisation se penche avec toute l'attention voulue sur ces faits troublants et prenne, s'il le faut, des mesures énergiques tendant à assurer la mise en application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, et à écarter aussi la menace très sérieuse pour la paix et la sécurité suspendue sur cette partie du monde.

167. Ce sont là les conclusions auxquelles le Comité des Dix-Sept a abouti, et elles se trouvent consignées dans les recommandations et dans le projet de résolution que son rapport présente. Ma délégation considère comme un point très important le fait que ce rapport nous propose, dans un certain nombre de cas, d'envisager l'éventualité d'un recours au Conseil de sécurité pour les cas où les Etats colonisateurs persisteraient dans leur refus de se conformer aux résolutions de l'Assemblée générale, proposant alors d'aller jusqu'à l'application des sanctions prévues par la Charte. Je déclare que ma délégation est prête à appuyer sans la moindre réserve ces suggestions du Comité des Dix-Sept.

168. Si nous avons insisté plus particulièrement sur la situation dans les territoires situés dans la partie méridionale de l'Afrique, c'est que c'est dans ces régions surtout que la Déclaration de 1960 se heurte à une résistance particulièrement acharnée et que les problèmes les plus ardues se trouvent concentrés. Ceci, cependant, ne veut nullement dire qu'il serait permis de se désintéresser des colonies situées dans d'autres parties du monde. Vous trouverez des obstacles à la mise en exécution de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance, ainsi qu'une application faussée de celle-ci, un peu partout, aussi bien en Afrique qu'en Asie, en Amérique et dans le Pacifique.

169. Le Comité des Dix-Sept s'est particulièrement occupé de la situation en Afrique, et nous comprenons fort bien les raisons qui l'ont poussé à agir de la sorte. Lorsqu'il se remettra au travail dans le proche avenir, il aura évidemment à connaître aussi de la situation dans les territoires dont il ne s'était pas occupé jusqu'ici. Un travail énorme reste encore à effectuer dans le domaine de la décolonisation, et le Comité des Dix-Sept devrait évidemment poursuivre sa tâche dans l'avenir avec une énergie accrue, utilisant l'expérience qu'il a su accumuler au cours de ses travaux. Il sera à même, dans l'avenir, de s'acquitter de toutes les tâches dont la présente session aura à le charger, et aussi d'achever l'examen de la situation dans toutes les colonies.

170. Le Comité déclare, au paragraphe 148 de son rapport [A/5238], que les méthodes et procédures qu'il avait jusqu'ici suivies sont les plus appropriées pour la circonstance. Il nous semble que les bons résultats auxquels ce Comité a abouti viennent confirmer la justesse de cette appréciation.

171. Le fait d'avoir visité un certain nombre de territoires africains et entendu des pétitionnaires

a permis au Comité des Dix-Sept d'avoir des impressions d'une grande richesse, bien que pas toujours directes, et cela lui a donné la possibilité de nous présenter des recommandations et des projets de résolution d'une grande valeur, qui se signalent surtout par leur objectivité exemplaire et par la riche documentation sur laquelle ils sont basés.

172. Il y a lieu de regretter que le Comité ait été dans l'impossibilité de visiter les territoires qui faisaient l'objet de ses investigations. Il apparaît cependant à la lecture du rapport que nous sommes en train de discuter que le Comité avait bien pris la décision de visiter en principe chacun de ces territoires et avait fait tout ce qui dépendait de lui pour s'y rendre. S'il n'a pu le faire, c'est de toute évidence du fait des obstacles créés par les puissances coloniales. Vu la gravité du problème, l'Assemblée générale devrait, à notre avis, inviter lesdites puissances à coopérer avec le Comité pour que ces visites puissent avoir lieu.

173. Dans la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance, l'Organisation des Nations Unies a proclamé un certain nombre de principes fondamentaux relativement aux problèmes coloniaux. Ces principes sont la loi internationale en matière coloniale, et tout Etat Membre est tenu de les observer scrupuleusement, sous peine de se trouver en violation de l'obligation la plus essentielle à laquelle il a souscrit en entrant dans cette organisation.

174. Malheureusement, et comme cela a été amplement démontré au cours de ce débat, dans un nombre extrêmement grand de colonies, cette Déclaration n'a pratiquement pas été appliquée du tout. Dans un certain nombre de cas, comme celui de l'Angola, la répression militaire se poursuit de plus belle. L'expérience a, de plus, montré que, chaque fois qu'une colonie était sur le point d'accéder à l'indépendance, la puissance coloniale s'évertuait à poser des conditions, à imposer des restrictions, dont la quantité et la nature sont telles que leur application équivaldrait à un refus de donner effet à la Déclaration.

175. L'Assemblée aurait à s'occuper tout particulièrement de ce dernier aspect du problème et à prendre des mesures qui s'imposent.

176. Nous sommes d'avis tout d'abord qu'il convient de fixer un délai limite à l'application intégrale de la Déclaration, comme cela a déjà été proposé par certaines délégations.

177. Déjà en décembre 1960, l'Assemblée générale a invité les puissances coloniales à effectuer le transfert des pouvoirs, leur demandant de remettre ceux-ci entre les mains des populations autochtones. Les deux années qui se sont écoulées depuis étaient largement suffisantes pour que ce transfert s'opérât. Comme nous le savons tous, il n'en a rien été dans l'immense majorité des cas. Si un délai était fixé, comme nous le proposons avec d'autres délégations, le colonialisme se trouverait pour ainsi dire hors la loi après l'expiration du délai. La fixation du délai donnerait une impulsion vigoureuse aux mouvements de libération nationale et exercerait une forte pression sur les puissances coloniales, les obligeant de manière efficace à mieux respecter la loi internationale. Si cela ne suffisait pas l'ONU serait fondée à avoir recours aux mesures extrêmes et à aider de manière plus directe les mouvements de libération nationale.

178. Il conviendrait, en second lieu, de proclamer un certain nombre de principes tendant à l'octroi

d'une indépendance nationale authentique dépourvue de toutes sortes de conditions et de restrictions.

179. C'est ainsi, par exemple, que très souvent les puissances coloniales s'assurent d'avance la faculté de maintenir des troupes ou d'établir des bases militaires après la proclamation de l'indépendance. C'est le cas, par exemple, du Kenya, où le Royaume-Uni a l'une de ses bases militaires les plus importantes. Le rapport du Comité note que la principale revendication des nationalistes de ce territoire porte sur le retrait des troupes britanniques et l'évacuation de la base. S'il n'était pas fait droit à cette revendication, le Royaume-Uni aurait entre les mains, une fois le Kenya proclamé "indépendant", un moyen redoutable pour exercer une pression sur les futurs gouvernements du Kenya, sans compter les risques effroyables que ce pays courrait en cas de guerre nucléaire.

180. L'Organisation des Nations Unies a le devoir évident d'aider les peuples du Kenya et d'autres pays coloniaux se trouvant dans une position similaire à se débarrasser des restrictions de cette nature, restrictions qui grèvent leur avenir d'une hypothèque bien dangereuse.

181. Il conviendrait d'adopter une attitude similaire à propos de toutes autres restrictions apportées à la souveraineté nationale, restrictions que les puissances coloniales essaient d'imposer par les moyens les plus divers, à savoir: traités inégaux, clauses constitutionnelles assurant des privilèges à des non-Africains et ainsi de suite.

182. Ma délégation émet l'espoir que les mesures que la présente session de l'Assemblée générale aura à prendre seront susceptibles de donner une poussée vigoureuse au processus d'émancipation des peuples de la servitude coloniale et à la liquidation définitive du honteux système colonial.

183. M. SULEIMAN (Soudan) [traduit de l'anglais]: C'est la troisième fois que l'Assemblée générale discute la question de l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. A la différence des débats précédents sur diverses questions coloniales qui ont eu lieu dans d'autres commissions, notre discussion s'inspire d'une déclaration solennelle figurant dans la résolution 1514 (XV) qui "proclame solennellement la nécessité de mettre rapidement et inconditionnellement fin au colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations". A cette fin, l'Assemblée générale a prié le Comité spécial, par sa résolution 1654 (XVI), "d'étudier l'application de la Déclaration, de formuler des suggestions et des recommandations quant aux progrès réalisés et à la mesure dans laquelle la Déclaration est mise en œuvre, et de faire rapport à l'Assemblée générale lors de sa dix-septième session."

184. Le rapport du Comité spécial [A/5238] traite de 12 territoires dépendants, dont 11 sont situés en Afrique. Nous devons nous féliciter de la décision qu'a prise le Comité de donner priorité à l'étude des territoires africains, car la situation y est très alarmante et menace la paix et la stabilité de la région. Après avoir étudié les chapitres concernant ces territoires, ma délégation juge inutile de parler de la Rhodésie du Sud, des territoires de l'Angola et du Mozambique, et du Sud-Ouest africain, puisqu'ils font l'objet d'autres points de l'ordre du jour de l'Assemblée.

185. Pour ce qui est de la situation en Rhodésie du Nord, nous constatons que le facteur qui s'oppose manifestement à la réalisation de l'indépendance complète est l'attitude et la position prises par la minorité européenne. Les chefs africains ont fait preuve d'assez de modération et de sagesse dans leur façon d'aborder le problème. Malgré une constitution inapplicable qui tend à assurer la suprématie à la minorité européenne, ils ont présenté des candidats aux récentes élections. Bien que 100 000 Africains seulement sur 2 500 000 au total aient été autorisés à voter, il est clair qu'ils étaient tous partisans de l'indépendance complète et de la libération de leur pays de l'exploitation économique qu'ils subissent patiemment depuis des dizaines d'années. Nous appuyons de toutes nos forces la recommandation du Comité spécial qui demande l'indépendance immédiate du Territoire.

186. La situation au Nyassaland nous semble beaucoup plus favorable et l'indépendance y est proche. Nous sommes particulièrement heureux de savoir que les entretiens qui ont eu lieu dernièrement à Londres entre les chefs africains et les membres du Gouvernement britannique se sont terminés dans une atmosphère cordiale et ont donné de bons résultats.

187. Pour ce qui est des trois territoires dépendant du Haut Commissaire, le Bassoutoland, le Souaziland et le Betchouanaland, le principal problème qui se pose est le risque d'être annexés par la République sud-africaine dont la politique d'apartheid est condamnée par le monde entier. Sur ce point nous estimons qu'il est aujourd'hui plus urgent que jamais de rappeler au Royaume-Uni l'engagement qu'il a pris en 1909 d'accorder sa protection à ces territoires et la déclaration faite à la Chambre des communes par sir Winston Churchill et affirmant que ces territoires ne seraient pas transférés à l'Afrique du Sud sans que leurs habitants soient consultés. D'autre part, le Comité spécial a souligné la situation économique précaire de ces territoires et l'absence de dispositions constitutionnelles qui permettraient à l'opinion publique de s'exprimer véritablement. Ma délégation approuve les recommandations du Comité spécial qui demandent que des mesures soient prises pour préparer l'indépendance de ces territoires.

188. Le Comité spécial a entendu plusieurs pétitionnaires au sujet de la situation à Zanzibar. Il semble que le seul problème qui se pose aux partis politiques soit de s'entendre sur la date des élections. Nous espérons que ce différend sera bientôt réglé afin que la population de l'île puisse poursuivre sa marche vers l'indépendance.

189. Nous devons constater que, malgré certaines difficultés, le Kenya a réalisé des progrès sensibles depuis deux ans dans la voie de l'indépendance. Nous espérons fermement que la nomination d'un nouveau Gouverneur du Kenya correspond, de la part du Royaume-Uni, au désir d'accélérer la mise au point de dispositions constitutionnelles préparant l'accession à l'indépendance de cet important territoire africain. Le seul grand problème qui reste à résoudre est celui qui pose la fuite rapide des capitaux liquides qui fait peser sur le pays, à la veille de son indépendance, la menace de la banqueroute.

190. En ce qui concerne la Guyane britannique, nous pensons que son indépendance est fortement retardée sans raison valable, si ce n'est que le parti au pouvoir ne plaît pas au Gouvernement britannique. Nous espérons que l'Assemblée générale adoptera les

recommandations nécessaires pour aider ce territoire à accéder à l'indépendance.

191. En résumé, nous devons souligner que les problèmes importants auxquels doivent faire face les territoires africains encore dépendants sont créés par les facteurs suivants.

192. Premièrement, l'attitude de la minorité européenne, qui dénie absolument à la majorité africaine le droit de jouer son rôle légitime dans des gouvernements librement élus. Deuxièmement, les intérêts financiers européens dont les capitaux accumulés ne peuvent être protégés que si la minorité européenne est au pouvoir. Troisièmement, la politique de l'Afrique du Sud et du Portugal, qui ne peuvent tolérer de voir se créer autour d'eux des États africains gouvernés par une majorité africaine.

193. Dans ces conditions, nous tenons à souligner que, pour aider ces territoires à conquérir leur indépendance, nous devons avant tout réaffirmer solennellement les principes de la Charte et demander à la Puissance administrante, c'est-à-dire au Royaume-Uni, de remplir ses obligations envers l'Organisation.

194. En conclusion, nous devons féliciter le Comité spécial de son rapport si utile et de l'attitude conciliante qui a présidé à ses délibérations. Nous espérons que l'Assemblée générale examinera sérieusement les projets de résolution présentés par le Comité spécial. Quant à l'action future du Comité spécial, ma délégation appuiera toutes dispositions qui pourront l'aider à mener sa tâche à bonne fin.

Gouvernement des Pays-Bas nos condoléances les plus sincères en cette triste circonstance.

196. M. SCHURMANN (Pays-Bas) [traduit de l'anglais]: Dans la douleur que ressentent si profondément les hommes et les femmes des Pays-Bas, du Surinam et des Antilles néerlandaises devant la mort de S. A. R. la princesse Wilhelmine, qui a régné sur les Pays-Bas pendant 50 ans, les paroles de respectueux hommage que le Président de l'Assemblée vient de prononcer ont été un réconfort à leur peine.

197. Durant son long règne, la reine Wilhelmine a marqué notre mode de vie de sa forte personnalité et s'est acquis le respect et l'amour de ses sujets. Pendant la guerre, elle a maintenu bien haut le flambeau de notre espoir et de notre confiance et, après son abdication, elle a fait la preuve de sa grandeur d'âme en s'effaçant complètement de la vie publique et en se dévouant discrètement à la cause de la paix et à l'allègement des souffrances d'autrui.

198. Ce sera pour moi un honneur que de transmettre vos condoléances à notre famille royale, à notre gouvernement et aux peuples du Royaume des Pays-Bas.

La séance est levée à 17 h 35.

Nations Unies
**ASSEMBLÉE
GÉNÉRALE**

DIX-SEPTIÈME SESSION

Documents officiels



131 1180^e
SÉANCE PLÉNIÈRE

Jeudi 29 novembre 1962,
à 15 heures

NEW YORK

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Président: M. Muhammad ZAFRULLA KHAN
(Pakistan).

dant, malgré toutes ces grandes réalisations, nous nous heurtons à un problème qui n'a pas encore été résolu jusqu'ici: le problème du colonialisme. C'est un problème né des rapports que l'homme entretient avec un autre homme qui peut ne pas lui ressembler et dont la couleur peut être différente; l'un et l'autre sont cependant des êtres humains, égaux à tous égards et habilités à bénéficier des mêmes droits et des mêmes privilèges.

15. Nous lisons dans la Charte des Nations Unies:

"Nous, peuples des Nations Unies, résolus...

"... à proclamer à nouveau notre foi dans les droits fondamentaux de l'homme, dans la dignité et la valeur de la personne humaine, dans l'égalité de droits des hommes et des femmes, ainsi que des nations, grandes et petites..."

16. Ces nobles principes sont également inscrits dans les constitutions de tous nos pays. Certaines d'entre elles ont été proclamées avant même que le colonialisme n'eût été introduit dans la plupart des régions qu'il a subjuguées. Toutefois, ces idées et ces principes élevés n'étaient applicables qu'à l'intérieur des frontières des pays qui les proclamaient et non dans les territoires qu'ils dominaient.

17. Dès sa création, l'Organisation a établi, sous son autorité, un régime international de tutelle pour l'administration et la surveillance de certains territoires. Les fins essentielles de ce régime étaient notamment les suivantes:

"... favoriser le progrès politique, économique et social des populations des territoires sous tutelle ainsi que le développement de leur instruction; favoriser également leur évolution progressive vers la capacité à s'administrer eux-mêmes ou l'indépendance, compte tenu des conditions particulières à chaque territoire et à ses populations [et] des aspirations librement exprimées des populations intéressées..."

"... encourager le respect des droits de l'homme et des libertés fondamentales pour tous, sans distinction de race, de sexe, de langue ou de religion, et développer le sentiment de l'interdépendance des peuples du monde".

18. La Charte des Nations Unies contient également, au Chapitre XI, des dispositions tout aussi nettes sur la façon de sauvegarder les droits et intérêts des populations des territoires non autonomes.

19. Au début, l'Organisation a adopté une attitude prudente quant à la mise en œuvre de ces principes et à l'émancipation des peuples courbés sous le joug de la domination et du colonialisme. Les Nations Unies s'attendaient évidemment à ce que les colonisateurs s'acquittent des obligations qu'ils avaient assumées en souscrivant à la Charte. Mais ce processus s'est déroulé plutôt lentement. Dans certains cas, les colonisateurs ont fait la sourde oreille et n'ont tenu aucun compte de ces obligations.

20. Il est vrai que le colonialisme a été banni de nombreux pays depuis quelques années. Nous avons eu la grande joie de voir bien des pays frères conquérir leur liberté et leur indépendance et nous avons pu constater combien était importante leur contribution aux travaux des Nations Unies.

21. La Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux [résolution 1514

POINT 25 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

La situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux: rapport du Comité spécial constitué aux termes de la résolution 1654 (XVI) de l'Assemblée générale (suite*)

14. M. RIAD (République arabe unie) [traduit de l'anglais]: L'homme a accompli, à l'époque moderne, des progrès considérables, illimités, dans de nombreux secteurs de la vie humaine. Ses réalisations dans les domaines de la science, de la technique, de la médecine, de l'agriculture, de l'industrie et récemment dans la conquête de l'espace extra-atmosphérique ont été universellement saluées comme la marque de sa supériorité et de son génie. Cepen-

*Reprise des débats de la 1178ème séance.

(XV)], adoptée il y a deux ans, a été l'occasion pour des millions d'individus dans le monde entier et en particulier pour ceux qui sont encore soumis à une organisation étrangère d'entendre réaffirmer que l'Organisation prend à cœur leurs aspirations et qu'elle est fermement résolue à mettre fin au colonialisme. Cette déclaration, que beaucoup d'éminents orateurs qui m'ont précédé dans ce débat ont considérée à juste titre comme une des plus grandes réalisations des Nations Unies et comme un flambeau éclairant une ère nouvelle, proclame solennellement "la nécessité de mettre rapidement et inconditionnellement fin au colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations", et déclare en outre que "le manque de préparation dans les domaines politique, économique ou social ou dans celui de l'enseignement ne doit jamais être pris comme prétexte pour retarder l'indépendance". Aucun Etat Membre n'a osé voter contre ces principes, mais les puissances coloniales continuent à avoir recours à bien des subterfuges ou prétextes pour se maintenir dans leurs derniers retranchements.

22. L'argument le plus courant est que tel ou tel territoire n'est pas prêt pour l'indépendance. Outre le fait que cette affirmation contredit de façon vraiment flagrante les dispositions de la Déclaration que j'ai citées il y a un instant, ma délégation considère qu'aucun argument valable ne peut être avancé en toute honnêteté à l'appui de cette thèse. On a déjà dit que tel ou tel territoire était trop pauvre pour être autonome. Je prétends que cet argument des colonialistes est sans valeur. De plus, notre propre expérience prouve que, bien loin de faire empirer la situation économique des nouveaux pays indépendants, l'abolition du colonialisme y a toujours suscité un véritable éveil. Les peuples qui deviennent indépendants lancent leur pays avec enthousiasme sur la voie du développement et redoublent d'efforts quand ils savent qu'ils ne sont plus exploités au profit des étrangers.

23. Dans certains pays qui ont lutté pour conquérir leur indépendance et qui y sont parvenus, les interventions étrangères continuent en fait à paralyser les efforts déployés pour animer la vie nationale. Ainsi, par leur intervention directe ou indirecte, les colonialistes ont provoqué au Congo une situation explosive, au mépris des résolutions des Nations relatives au respect de l'indépendance réelle, de l'unité et de l'intégrité territoriale de ce pays.

24. Pour certains autres territoires, les colonialistes continuent à maintenir la fiction juridique aujourd'hui dépassée selon laquelle ils feraient partie de la métropole; cependant, il va de soi que ces territoires n'ont aucun lien commun, ethnique, social ou culturel avec ceux qui soutiennent cette théorie. Le seul lien possible, s'il y en a un, repose essentiellement sur la force. La fiction juridique qui lie ces territoires à leurs maîtres est une de ces anomalies de l'histoire créées et perpétuées par le déséquilibre des forces.

25. Dans notre région du monde, nous constatons une domination et une exploitation étrangères unifiées en leur genre, qui entrent manifestement dans le cadre du sujet dont nous discutons.

26. Je veux parler des nombreux territoires de la péninsule Arabique qui sont victimes de la domination britannique. La communauté internationale continue à ne pas se rendre compte de la dureté

du colonialisme britannique dans cette région du monde, surtout parce qu'on dissimule très soigneusement la situation à l'opinion publique. La maladresse des Britanniques est si totale qu'ils ont réussi à isoler ces territoires du reste du monde. Alors que l'Asie et l'Afrique ont été balayées par une grande vague de décolonisation qui a permis l'accession à l'indépendance de nombreux territoires et de nombreux peuples, le colonialisme britannique s'est fait délibérément et systématiquement de cette partie du monde un camp retranché.

27. Je me permettrai d'exposer aussi brièvement que possible les événements qui ont conduit à cette situation intolérable qui n'est certainement conforme ni aux dispositions de la Charte ni à l'esprit de notre temps. Après avoir occupé Aden au début du XIX^{ème} siècle, les Britanniques ont progressé vers l'Est en couvrant non moins de 2 000 kilomètres. Lors de cette invasion, ils ont occupé l'une après l'autre les régions qu'ils traversaient. Ils n'ont cependant pas voulu les désigner sous le nom de colonies, comme ils l'avaient fait pour Aden. Ils se sont contentés de les qualifier de protectorats. Le Gouvernement britannique a déclaré que ses forces étaient là pour protéger ces territoires des envahisseurs français et portugais. En fait, leur véritable but était d'avoir le contrôle de toutes les voies de communication menant aux colonies britanniques en Orient, notamment en Inde. Plus tard, les Britanniques ont inventé un autre prétexte: ils resteraient dans la région pour protéger également ces émirats contre une invasion éventuelle de leurs voisins arabes. Plus tard encore, ils ont trouvé une nouvelle excuse à leur domination, la nécessité de protéger les cheiks les uns contre les autres.

28. Je reconnais que les habitants de ces territoires ont besoin d'être protégés, mais, s'ils doivent l'être, c'est bien contre la domination étrangère britannique qui est fondée sur des bases fausses, illégales et injustes. Ces gens devraient, en toute justice, être protégés contre l'exploitation britannique.

29. Le Gouvernement britannique a toujours soutenu que sa présence dans la région est fondée sur tout un réseau de traités et d'accords conclus entre les souverains de ces territoires, d'une part, et le Gouvernement britannique ou ses agents, d'autre part. En réalité, les ancêtres de ceux qui détiennent aujourd'hui le pouvoir n'avaient alors d'autre choix, devant l'invasion d'imposantes forces armées britanniques, que de souscrire à ces prétendus accords de protectorat, puisqu'ils ne pouvaient ni résister ni repousser cette puissante nation étrangère. Ces accords ne doivent en aucun cas être considérés par la communauté internationale comme des traités valables conclus entre parties égales. Comment accepter comme un traité international valable un instrument en vertu duquel un souverain "s'engage, en son nom et au nom de ses héritiers et successeurs, à ne jamais céder, vendre, hypothéquer ou laisser occuper son territoire sauf au bénéfice du Gouvernement britannique"? Ce n'est là qu'un exemple des clauses de ces traités qui ont été imposés à l'époque aux souverains de ces pays et en vertu desquels les Britanniques continuent à dominer et à coloniser cette région du monde.

30. Même au XX^{ème} siècle, les Britanniques n'ont pas renoncé à leur méthode qui consiste à contraindre les souverains à souscrire à n'importe quelle concession ou accord nécessaire pour garantir leurs intérêts

dans la région, en particulier en ce qui concerne le pétrole. La population de ces territoires vit dans des conditions effarantes de misère, d'analphabétisme et de dénuement, mais la richesse de leurs terres ne leur a jamais rien rapporté; au contraire, c'est un fléau que la domination britannique ne cherche qu'à perpétuer.

31. Ainsi, la population de ces territoires se heurte à trois ennemis redoutables: la domination britannique, l'exploitation par certaines compagnies pétrolières et la présence au pouvoir de réactionnaires soutenus par la Grande-Bretagne. Je me bornerai à citer à cet égard deux exemples récents pour montrer jusqu'où va cette oppression. Vous n'ignorez pas que la population de l'Oman a pris les armes pour résister à la domination britannique, dirigée par l'agent britannique à Mascate. L'aviation militaire britannique a lancé des avions à réaction contre le peuple de l'Oman; des villages ont été bombardés et une population paisible a été victime de toutes sortes de terreurs. Le Gouvernement britannique s'est justifié, à ironie, en prétendant n'être intervenu qu'à la demande du Sultan de Mascate qui revendique l'Oman. Le deuxième exemple concerne l'imposition par le Gouvernement britannique d'une sorte de fédération réunissant un certain nombre de cheikats du sud à la colonie d'Aden. Je ne parlerai pas longuement de cette grave question qui a déjà fait l'objet d'un examen détaillé devant le Comité spécial², comme il ressort de la section D du chapitre XII du rapport dont nous sommes saisis [A/5238]. Je tiens cependant à souligner à quel point sont périmées les méthodes qu'utilise le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni en imposant un régime à un peuple sans se préoccuper de ses vœux et en allant à coup sûr à l'encontre de ses aspirations.

32. La politique britannique, fondée sur la force, qui consiste à dénier à la population d'Aden son droit naturel à la libre détermination, est en contradiction flagrante avec la Charte des Nations Unies et la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. Le Gouvernement britannique ou ses forces armées à Aden ne pourront pas continuer à demeurer indifférents à ces droits reconnus ni à s'opposer à la marée d'émancipation et de liberté, en particulier après la grande révolution yéménite qui s'est produite en septembre dernier et qui a renversé une fois pour toutes l'ancien régime réactionnaire.

33. Ma délégation partage la vive préoccupation qui s'est exprimée dans le présent débat au sujet du maintien à Aden d'une base militaire britannique dotée des armes et des engins les plus modernes. Nul ne peut nier que l'objectif réel ainsi visé est de perpétuer la domination britannique dans la région. J'estime non seulement que cela va contre les intérêts des habitants, mais que c'est une menace à la paix et à la sécurité dans cette région. La délégation de la République arabe unie espère sincèrement que cette question sera examinée en détail et d'urgence afin que ces populations puissent être libérées de la domination étrangère.

34. Ma délégation ne pourrait considérer comme complète une discussion sur le problème du colonialisme qui n'évoquerait pas l'acte colonial le plus effroyable qui ait été commis dans notre histoire,

je veux parler de la conspiration coloniale sioniste contre le peuple palestinien, qui a entraîné l'expulsion de ce peuple de la Palestine et l'occupation de son pays par des forces étrangères. Les Nations Unies ne peuvent se permettre de rester indifférentes au droit naturel et tout à fait élémentaire qu'a le peuple palestinien à rentrer dans ses foyers et à recouvrer son pays et son indépendance.

35. A sa seizième session, l'Assemblée générale a demandé aux Etats intéressés d'agir sans plus tarder afin d'assurer scrupuleusement l'application et la mise en œuvre de la Déclaration et a décidé de créer un Comité spécial chargé d'étudier l'application de la Déclaration, de formuler des suggestions et des recommandations quant aux progrès réalisés et à la mesure dans laquelle la Déclaration est mise en œuvre, et de faire rapport à l'Assemblée générale lors de sa dix-septième session [résolution 1654 (XVI)].

36. Avant d'examiner le rapport présenté par le Comité spécial, qui fait l'objet de notre discussion, j'ai l'agréable devoir de féliciter le Comité pour la tâche admirable qu'il a accomplie. Je tiens à louer les membres du Comité pour la façon dont ils ont répondu à l'attente des peuples dépendants du monde entier et pour les résultats qu'ils ont atteints dans le délai relativement bref dont ils disposaient.

37. Le Comité a décidé d'examiner en priorité les territoires d'Afrique. Il a examiné certains d'entre eux et a fait rapport à leur sujet. Cependant, il a mission de s'occuper de tous les cas de colonialisme. A cette fin, l'Assemblée générale pourrait peut-être, si elle le juge bon, envisager la possibilité d'en élargir la composition afin de permettre au Comité de faire face à la situation qui se présentera certainement à lui. Plusieurs représentants ont déjà fait allusion à cette idée et certaines suggestions ont été avancées dans la discussion générale. Ma délégation est résolument favorable à l'augmentation du nombre des membres du Comité.

38. A la lecture des 10 chapitres du rapport traitant des territoires examinés par le Comité spécial, on peut relever un certain nombre de problèmes analogues: retard injustifié dans l'octroi de l'indépendance, manifestations diverses de discrimination raciale, exploitation des autochtones par les colons européens, imposition de certains arrangements, et surtout manœuvres variées pour diviser la population d'un même territoire.

39. Le Comité a examiné notamment les questions de la Rhodésie du Sud, du Sud-Ouest africain et des territoires administrés par le Portugal. Je n'en parlerai pas, puisque deux d'entre eux ont déjà fait l'objet d'un débat à la Quatrième Commission et que le troisième est actuellement à l'examen. Je m'en tiendrai donc aux autres territoires examinés par le Comité spécial.

40. Le premier territoire dont traite le rapport après la Rhodésie du Sud est la Rhodésie du Nord. Le rapport expose en détail la situation qui règne dans ce territoire où une population de 2 500 000 Africains est soumise à la domination de 77 000 blancs qui refusent de reconnaître à la majorité africaine l'égalité des droits politiques, sociaux et économiques.

41. Aux élections qui ont eu lieu le 30 octobre 1962, 4 p. 100 seulement des Africains ont pu voter en raison des conditions d'électorat. Toutefois, les 100 000 Africains qui ont pu voter n'ont laissé aucun

² Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux.

doute quant à leur volonté d'obtenir l'indépendance immédiate, de voir disparaître la Fédération d'Afrique centrale et de faire respecter l'intégrité territoriale de leur pays. Des élections partielles doivent encore avoir lieu en décembre.

42. La discrimination sociale et économique va toujours de pair avec la discrimination politique. Je n'ai pas l'intention d'analyser en détail la situation sociale et économique de la Rhodésie du Nord: M. Kenneth Kaunda l'a fait en avril 1962 devant le Comité spécial [A/5238, chap. III, par. 33 à 63]. La vie quotidienne de la population dépend en fait entièrement du bon vouloir des sociétés étrangères, comme la South African Company, qui exploitent les richesses minérales et les ressources humaines. C'est d'ailleurs cette même société qui fournit à sir Roy Welensky et à son parti leur principal soutien financier. Les efforts entrepris pour détacher la région la plus riche du pays et l'annexer à la Rhodésie du Sud s'inscrivent dans le cadre du dessein colonialiste qui vise à absorber complètement la population, du point de vue économique, au profit de ses exploiters. Nous espérons que le projet de résolution recommandé par le Comité spécial sera adopté, car il tient compte des grands vœux de la population: indépendance immédiate, dissolution de la Fédération d'Afrique centrale et respect de l'unité et de l'intégrité territoriale du pays.

43. Le rapport aborde ensuite le cas du Nyassaland, au sujet duquel il ne recommande pas de projet de résolution. Nous sommes heureux de noter que les entretiens qui ont eu lieu à Londres ont été couronnés de succès. Le Nyassaland a pu progresser vers l'indépendance beaucoup plus facilement que la Rhodésie du Nord, peut-être parce que la minorité européenne y est plus réduite; maintenant que M. Banda a réussi dans ses négociations, le Nyassaland est beaucoup plus près de l'objectif qu'il cherche à atteindre avec le plein appui de la population: l'indépendance et la séparation totale d'avec la Fédération d'Afrique centrale. Nous espérons fermement que le jour de la proclamation de l'indépendance du Nyassaland est proche.

44. Le chapitre suivant du rapport traite des territoires dépendant du Haut Commissaire, le Basoutoland, le Betchouanaland et le Souaziland. Les déclarations des pétitionnaires de ces territoires, telles qu'elles sont résumées dans le rapport, font ressortir la misère qui y règne, par suite des longues années d'exploitation et de mauvaise gestion de la Puissance administrante. Il est certain que, si ces pays étaient indépendants et pouvaient organiser des élections au suffrage universel, bien des injustices seraient supprimées et, avec l'aide des Nations Unies, ces pays pourraient affermir leur économie et utiliser leurs ressources naturelles et humaines, que la Puissance administrante exploite actuellement à son bénéfice exclusif.

45. Nous sommes certains que, pour atteindre cet objectif conformément à la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, l'Assemblée générale adoptera les recommandations du Comité spécial invitant notamment le Royaume-Uni à suspendre les dispositions constitutionnelles actuelles, à procéder à des élections au suffrage universel des adultes et à convoquer une conférence constitutionnelle chargée de fixer selon les vœux de la population la date de l'accession à l'indépendance de chacun des trois territoires intéressés, ainsi que les recom-

mandations concernant les remèdes à apporter à la situation économique-sociale déplorable des trois territoires, la fourniture d'une assistance économique, financière et technique par l'intermédiaire des programmes de coopération technique des Nations Unies et par l'intermédiaire des institutions spécialisées, et l'appel invitant instamment l'Autorité administrante à restituer aux autochtones toutes les terres qui leur ont été enlevées.

46. Depuis deux ans, Zanzibar a été à plusieurs reprises le théâtre de désordres dus en particulier à un climat de tension et à des désaccords entre les partis politiques. Cependant, tous les pétitionnaires des différents partis politiques ont été unanimes à souhaiter l'indépendance le plus tôt possible. Toutefois, c'est la mésentente entre les partis qui a fourni à la Puissance administrante le prétexte qu'elle invoque pour retarder l'indépendance. Puisque les divergences entre partis politiques semblent maintenant ne plus porter que sur la date des élections, nous espérons qu'on parviendra très vite à un accord. Nous comptons donc que les recommandations du Comité spécial seront adoptées par l'Assemblée générale et que l'appel des Nations Unies sera entendu tant par la Puissance administrante que par la population de Zanzibar, qui pourra ainsi atteindre l'objectif de l'indépendance, que tous s'accordent à souhaiter.

47. Pour ne pas quitter le continent africain, je passerai maintenant au chapitre X du rapport, relatif au Kenya. Ce chapitre expose les réalisations acquises depuis deux ans et qui ont finalement conduit le pays, après bien des déboires, presque à la veille de son indépendance. Le Kenya jouit maintenant de l'autonomie interne et ce sont les partis nationalistes qui sont au pouvoir. La Conférence constitutionnelle a atteint des résultats très importants puisqu'elle a abouti à un accord sur une nouvelle constitution contenant une déclaration des droits et instituant un parlement bicaméral, l'une des chambres étant élue au suffrage universel des adultes. Toutefois, la date de l'indépendance et des nouvelles élections n'a pas encore été fixée. Nous espérons que la Puissance administrante ne tardera plus longtemps à la faire. La résolution recommandée par le Comité spécial va dans ce sens et nous espérons qu'elle sera adoptée.

48. Venons-en enfin à la Guyane britannique. Un accord est intervenu sur le principe de l'indépendance, mais la Conférence constitutionnelle qui s'est finalement réunie en octobre 1962 vient de se terminer sur un échec. Il semble que les partis continuent à demeurer divisés quant à la question de savoir si les élections doivent avoir lieu sur la base de la représentation proportionnelle ou par circonscription. Là encore, nous pensons que, si l'indépendance n'avait pas été retardée si longtemps, le pays ne se trouverait pas dans l'impasse où il est aujourd'hui. Retarder l'indépendance ne fait que compliquer les choses pour les parties intéressées. Les divergences sont aplanies beaucoup plus aisément quand un pays est libre de choisir lui-même sa voie. En fait, la plupart du temps, les divergences sont aggravées, voire suscitées, de l'extérieur. Nous espérons donc que le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni suivra la procédure normale en transférant au Gouvernement de la Guyane britannique les pouvoirs qu'il détient encore, afin que le pays puisse accéder rapidement à l'indépendance.

49. Nul n'ignore la position de ma délégation sur cette question très importante de la liquidation du colonialisme. Mon gouvernement l'a précisée à maintes reprises et ma délégation l'a réaffirmée en bien des occasions devant les organes des Nations Unies chaque fois que la question était soulevée. Nous avons toujours soutenu que le droit des peuples à la liberté et à l'indépendance est un de leurs droits naturels. C'est pour cette raison et aussi parce que nous nous sentons solidaires des peuples soumis à une domination coloniale que nous n'avons jamais cessé de prôner ce principe et que nous ne relâcherons pas nos efforts tant que tous nos frères qui souffrent encore du colonialisme n'auront pas recouvré leur indépendance et leur liberté. Nous espérons que le jour est proche où nous verrons la fin de l'ère coloniale et l'accession de tous les territoires coloniaux à l'indépendance.

50. M. SOSA RODRIGUEZ (Venezuela) [traduit de l'espagnol]: Une des réalisations les plus positives des Nations Unies et qui caractérise l'époque où nous vivons est le processus de décolonisation, amorcé timidement à San Francisco dans les dispositions du Chapitre XI de la Charte et renforcé de manière claire et impérative, 15 ans plus tard, dans la Déclaration historique sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux [résolution 1514 (XV)]. Cette déclaration a consacré les vœux de la communauté internationale en faveur de l'éradication définitive des systèmes encore en vigueur de domination et de subjugation d'un peuple par un autre.

51. L'année suivante, la résolution 1654 (XVI) de l'Assemblée générale est venue accélérer le processus de décolonisation pour le faire passer du simple stade des déclarations de principes à celui de l'intervention active des Nations Unies. La création du Comité spécial des Dix-Sept, comme on appelle le Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, a été décidée par la résolution 1654 (XVI).

52. Le Comité, né de la nécessité de doter les Nations Unies d'un organe spécial chargé d'étudier, de surveiller et d'accélérer le processus de décolonisation, se présente comme une instance nouvelle dotée de pouvoirs sans équivalent dans l'histoire de l'Organisation, mais très bien adaptée à la fin visée qui est l'élimination du colonialisme dans la société moderne.

53. Sans nier les mérites des efforts déployés par les Nations Unies pour résoudre les problèmes coloniaux jusqu'en 1960 et en tenant plutôt compte du fait que cette activité a abouti à la résolution 1514 (XV), il faut reconnaître qu'à partir de ce moment et après la création du Comité spécial les Nations Unies ont changé de ton dans l'examen des questions coloniales; s'il est certain que ce ton nouveau doit toujours rester conforme à l'esprit de la Charte des Nations Unies, il n'en est pas moins vrai qu'on n'avait jamais auparavant prétendu exercer une pression plus concrète sur les puissances administrantes en les invitant instamment à réviser leur politique colonialiste afin de l'adapter au processus de la libre détermination des peuples, unique formule qui permette de résoudre les questions relatives à la structure des sociétés à l'époque présente.

54. L'action des Nations Unies dans le processus de décolonisation ne doit pas être seulement idéaliste,

mais aussi pragmatique, et rester dans le cadre de la Charte qui doit être considérée comme un document vivant et interprété dans le sens de l'évolution historique, comme l'affirme le paragraphe 18 des considérations générales du rapport du Comité spécial des Dix chargés de la question de la communication de renseignements en vertu de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte^{3/}.

55. Lorsque le Président de l'Assemblée générale, en conformité du paragraphe 3 du dispositif de la résolution 1654 (XVI), a décidé de faire figurer le Venezuela parmi les 17 pays devant former le Comité, nous avons accepté cette honorable mission et apporté notre concours au nouvel organe. Nous étions guidés par notre position anticolonialiste, mais dépourvus de préjugés qui auraient pu donner lieu à des actions trop hâtives, explicables en un certain sens mais pas toujours favorables à la cause des peuples encore soumis au régime colonial.

56. C'est dans cet esprit que la délégation du Venezuela a occupé son siège au Comité spécial des Dix-Sept et a réitéré dès le début sa position mûrement réfléchie devant les problèmes coloniaux, en tant que mandataire d'un peuple qui a conquis son indépendance depuis à peine 150 ans, une indépendance douloureuse obtenue après 15 ans d'une lutte où a péri 40 p. 100 de notre population et pour laquelle il a fallu remplacer par l'action armée l'absence totale, dans le monde d'alors, des systèmes collectifs de coopération internationale visés au Chapitre XI de la Charte des Nations Unies ou des propositions et recommandations d'un comité spécial.

57. Je rappellerai à ce propos l'attitude prise par la délégation du Venezuela au Comité spécial des Dix-Sept lorsqu'il a discuté les méthodes de travail et la procédure à adopter, attitude qui est exposée au paragraphe 98 du rapport du Comité.

58. En tant que représentant du Venezuela, j'ai réaffirmé en cette occasion que nous avons toujours été anticolonialistes pour des raisons historiques et à cause du tempérament de notre peuple latino-américain, qui, ayant été soumis à la domination coloniale jusqu'au XIX^e siècle, apprécie pleinement les bienfaits de l'indépendance. J'ai également déclaré en cette occasion que, selon nous, le processus de décolonisation ne pouvait être identique pour tous les territoires non autonomes ou sous tutelle et que la date de l'indépendance devait être fixée dans chaque cas en tenant compte des circonstances particulières qui permettraient à un territoire déterminé d'accéder à l'indépendance dans des conditions propres à assurer sa stabilité et sa viabilité en tant qu'Etat indépendant.

59. C'est sur ces principes de base que la délégation du Venezuela a établi sa position en ce qui concerne les 12 territoires dépendants examinés par le Comité depuis le début de ses travaux à la fin de février 1962 jusqu'au mois de septembre dernier; dans chaque cas, elle a insisté pour que fût examinée objectivement chaque situation particulière, afin que les suggestions et recommandations du Comité s'adaptent à la réalité et soient effectivement conformes au mandat confié par l'Assemblée générale.

60. Nous avons été heureux que le Comité des Dix-Sept ait en général partagé ces mêmes idées, ce qui

^{3/} Documents officiels de l'Assemblée générale, quinzième session, Annexes, point 38 de l'ordre du jour, document A/4526.

a permis à la délégation du Venezuela de voter pour toutes les résolutions figurant dans le rapport du Comité, qui constituent ses recommandations à l'Assemblée générale. Certaines de ces recommandations sont le résultat du voyage fait en Afrique par le Comité spécial des Dix-Sept, en mai et juin de l'année en cours, à la suite des invitations reçues des Gouvernements du Maroc, de l'Ethiopie et du Tanganyika. Je tiens, à cette occasion, à réitérer aux représentants de ces pays la gratitude du Venezuela pour la merveilleuse hospitalité que leurs gouvernements ont réservée aux membres du Comité. Ce voyage a permis au Comité un contact direct avec le continent le plus touché par les problèmes coloniaux, qu'il examinait à ce moment-là.

61. Le voyage à Londres du Sous-Comité de six membres chargé d'avoir des entretiens avec le Gouvernement britannique au sujet de la situation en Rhodésie du Sud a été lui aussi très constructif. C'est pourquoi je tiens aussi à exprimer à nouveau notre gratitude pour la courtoisie et l'amabilité dont ont fait preuve en cette occasion les autorités du Royaume-Uni.

62. En notre qualité de membre du Comité des Dix-Sept, il nous est difficile de procéder à un examen des erreurs de cet organe ou de mettre en relief les avantages que sa création a procurés aux peuples qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance. Ces deux aspects ont fait et continueront de faire l'objet des observations d'autres délégations, en particulier de celles qui ne font pas partie du Comité et peuvent juger avec une plus grande impartialité l'œuvre dont le rapport précité fait état.

63. Certaines délégations qui sont intervenues dans ce débat ont parlé de l'action future du Comité des Dix-Sept et de l'opportunité d'en élargir la composition et de prendre des décisions quant à l'existence d'autres organes subsidiaires, afin de canaliser l'activité future des Nations Unies dans ce domaine particulier au moment où elle semble atteindre son point culminant.

64. Le Secrétaire général a déjà émis, dans l'introduction à son rapport annuel [A/5201/Add.1], l'idée de supprimer tous les autres comités et sous-comités chargés des diverses questions relatives aux territoires non autonomes, en vue de confier exclusivement ces tâches au Comité spécial des Dix-Sept. Quelques représentants ont proposé, par exemple, que le Comité spécial pour les territoires administrés par le Portugal ou le Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes cessent leurs activités qui seraient centralisées par le Comité spécial des Dix-Sept où se fait déjà une partie de ce même travail. Conformément à cette même tendance, la Quatrième Commission a adopté, il y a quelques jours, un projet de résolution [voir A/5310] présenté par plusieurs délégations d'Amérique latine, d'Afrique et d'Asie, demandant à l'Assemblée générale de mettre fin aux fonctions du Comité spécial pour le Sud-Ouest africain.

65. Ma délégation a pris note de ces points de vue, ainsi que des opinions exprimées par diverses délégations, tendant à concentrer en un seul organe toutes les activités de cette nature déployées par les Nations Unies, afin d'éviter des doubles emplois et des contradictions lors de l'examen des questions coloniales, comme cela s'est produit à la présente session de l'Assemblée générale.

66. Cette unification aurait pour conséquence la nécessité d'élargir la composition du Comité spécial des Dix-Sept, qui resterait le seul organe subsidiaire en matière coloniale et assumerait une responsabilité encore plus grande et un travail plus vaste. Sur ce point, divers représentants sont allés jusqu'à indiquer le nombre des nouveaux membres qui devraient compléter le Comité spécial des Dix-Sept. Certains ont parlé de quatre nouveaux membres, d'autres de sept. Il existe là des opinions différentes mais qui méritent toutes d'être prises en considération.

67. Dans ce même ordre d'idées, il y a lieu de ne pas oublier que toute augmentation du nombre des membres du Comité entraînerait sans doute la nécessité de réviser ses méthodes actuelles de travail et, comme l'a signalé le représentant de l'Irak [1170ème séance], il pourrait procéder à l'examen simultané de divers territoires moyennant la constitution de sous-comités spéciaux et abandonner ainsi la méthode d'examen consécutive qu'il a suivie jusqu'à maintenant.

68. Au début de mon intervention, je me suis référé à plusieurs reprises aux résolutions 1514 (XV) et 1654 (XVI), et j'ai mis en relief leur signification dans le processus de décolonisation. Ma délégation souhaite que le présent débat se termine par l'adoption d'un nouvel instrument des Nations Unies qui tienne à perfectionner davantage ce qui a été fait dans le domaine de l'action anticoloniale; elle souhaite aussi que la résolution qui sera adoptée ici soit parfaitement conforme aux deux résolutions précitées et que ces trois résolutions expriment ensemble les principes directeurs de l'action internationale dans son effort final en vue de liquider le colonialisme dans le monde.

M. Bingham (Etats-Unis d'Amérique), vice-président, prend la présidence.

69. M. VAKIL (Iran): Avant de procéder à l'examen du rapport (A/5238), qui constitue l'objet principal des présents débats, je me propose de faire quelques observations d'ordre général relatives aux activités de l'Organisation des Nations Unies en matière de décolonisation. Ces observations nous paraissent nécessaires pour placer la question actuellement soumise à l'examen de l'Assemblée dans son contexte.

70. Pour assurer le respect du principe de l'égalité de droits des peuples et de leur droit à disposer d'eux-mêmes et en faire le fondement du développement des relations amicales entre les nations, la Charte confère à l'Organisation de grandes responsabilités à l'égard des populations des territoires soumis au régime colonial. Ceux-ci sont classés par la Charte en deux catégories, la première comprenant les territoires placés sous le régime international de tutelle, et la deuxième tous les autres territoires dont la population ne s'administre pas encore elle-même.

71. Faut-il rappeler que cette division de territoires dépendants en deux catégories différentes par la Charte n'est qu'un accident de l'histoire, les territoires placés sous le régime de tutelle étant des anciennes colonies des puissances vaincues des deux guerres mondiales, et les autres celles des vainqueurs? Cela veut dire qu'aucune différence de nature n'existe réellement entre les deux catégories de territoires, et, bien qu'exprimées d'une manière différente, les fins du régime de tutelle sont et

ne peuvent être qu'analogues à celles qui concernent les territoires non autonomes. La nature de la fonction des Nations Unies dans les deux cas est essentiellement la même et consiste à exercer le contrôle de la communauté internationale sur les Etats qui assument la responsabilité d'administrer ces territoires, et son but final, dans les deux cas, est la préparation de la population de ces territoires à l'autonomie et à l'indépendance.

72. Malgré la similitude existant entre les deux catégories de territoires, il faut reconnaître que les 11 territoires placés sous le régime international de tutelle étaient dans une situation privilégiée par rapport aux territoires dits non autonomes qui, à la création de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, étaient 10 fois plus nombreux et, au point de vue de la population, beaucoup plus importants.

73. Les dispositions des Chapitres XII et XIII de la Charte relatives au régime international de tutelle, et particulièrement celles concernant l'obligation par l'autorité administrante de présenter un rapport annuel, et la possibilité pour le Conseil de tutelle de recevoir les pétitionnaires et d'envoyer des missions de visite, sont de nature à établir un lien très étroit entre la communauté internationale et la population de ces territoires.

74. En ce qui concerne les territoires non autonomes, par contre, la Charte ne met pas les mêmes moyens à la disposition des Nations Unies. Le seul lien entre l'Organisation et les populations des territoires non autonomes a été assuré pendant 15 ans par les renseignements statistiques et autres de nature technique que les autorités administrantes communiquaient, selon les termes de l'Article 73, au Secrétaire général. Là aussi, certaines autorités administrantes, se refusant à s'acquitter de leurs obligations internationales, tenaient l'Organisation des Nations Unies dans une ignorance complète de la situation existant dans les territoires sous leur administration.

75. Comme on pouvait s'y attendre, le résultat de l'application de cette méthode n'a pas tardé à se faire sentir. Le régime international de tutelle, fonctionnant dans l'ensemble d'une façon satisfaisante, a conduit à l'autonomie et à l'indépendance huit des 11 territoires sous tutelle. Le rythme de développement et le processus de décolonisation dans les territoires non autonomes ont été par contre, sauf dans des cas tout à fait exceptionnels, beaucoup plus lents, et l'on est en droit de dire que dans certains cas aucun progrès dans le sens de la préparation de la population à s'administrer elle-même n'a été réalisé. Durant les 15 dernières années, des changements très importants, sinon révolutionnaires, ont complètement transformé le visage du monde, et l'éveil de la conscience nationale des peuples anciennement subjugués et colonisés est incontestablement l'une des causes profondes de ces changements. L'Assemblée générale des Nations Unies, représentant la communauté internationale, ne pouvait et n'a fait que refléter et traduire progressivement ces changements dans les décisions qu'elle a prises en matière coloniale.

76. La Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et peuples coloniaux contenue dans la résolution 1514 (XV) est l'aboutissement logique et le couronnement de toutes ces décisions. Cette déclaration, complément indispensable des Chapitres XI,

XII et XIII de la Charte, vise essentiellement à mettre en harmonie l'Organisation des Nations Unies avec les vérités du monde d'aujourd'hui. La promesse de la Charte de l'Atlantique⁴ d'assurer "à tous les hommes de tous les pays une existence affranchie de la peur et du besoin" et la foi proclamée, au préambule de la Charte, dans les droits fondamentaux de l'homme, dans la dignité et la valeur de la personne humaine, dans l'égalité de droits des hommes et des femmes, ainsi que des nations grandes et petites, ont acquis leur consécration dans la Déclaration. L'idée maîtresse de la résolution 1514 (XV), de l'avis de ma délégation, était de combler les lacunes que je viens de mentionner en donnant à la communauté internationale la possibilité d'exercer un contrôle plus efficace sur le développement du processus de décolonisation dans les territoires d'indépendance et, plus particulièrement, à l'égard de cette catégorie infortunée comprenant les territoires non autonomes.

77. C'était dans cette intention que le Comité des Dix-Sept, créé l'année dernière par l'Assemblée générale [résolution 1654 (XVI)], a été chargé d'examiner la situation dans l'ensemble de ces territoires en ce qui concerne l'application de la résolution 1514 (XV). Faut-il souligner qu'en émettant cette opinion ma délégation n'a nullement l'intention de limiter le sens et la portée historique de la résolution 1514 (XV)? Ce que nous cherchons, c'est à déterminer sur le plan pratique les mesures effectives que l'Organisation des Nations Unies peut et doit prendre pour atteindre les objectifs de ladite résolution. C'est dans ce contexte que, de l'avis de ma délégation, nous devons aborder le rapport présenté par le Comité des Dix-Sept.

78. Ce rapport est un travail constructif et objectif, et les membres du Comité spécial méritent des éloges pour la façon dont ils ont accompli la tâche qui leur était confiée. Nos observations seront d'ordre général et principalement limitées au chapitre premier de ce rapport, qui est consacré à l'examen général de la question. Tout en reconnaissant la valeur de l'œuvre accomplie par le Comité spécial et en approuvant d'une façon générale les méthodes et la procédure qu'il a adoptées, on remarque quelques lacunes résultant sans doute du caractère sans précédent de ces activités et qui seront certainement — nous en sommes persuadés — comblées à l'avenir.

79. La première décision à prendre pour la mise en application de la résolution 1514 (XV) aurait dû être, de l'avis de ma délégation, la délimitation du champ d'activité du Comité spécial en établissant la liste des territoires dépendants auxquels les dispositions de la résolution 1514 (XV) sont applicables. L'établissement d'une liste complète de ces territoires, à laquelle le paragraphe 151 du chapitre premier fait allusion, nous paraît d'autant plus important que la définition et l'interprétation de l'expression "territoires non autonomes" ont fait l'objet pendant plusieurs années, à la Quatrième Commission tout autant qu'à l'Assemblée générale, de longs débats.

80. C'est à la suite de ces débats que l'Assemblée générale a adopté, à sa quinzième session, la résolution 1514 (XV). Celle-ci énonce les principes qui doivent guider l'Organisation des Nations Unies dans

⁴ Déclaration commune faite le 14 août par M. Winston Churchill, premier ministre du Royaume-Uni, et M. Franklin Delano Roosevelt, président des Etats-Unis.

la détermination du statut d'un territoire non autonome. Dans d'autres résolutions subséquentes, l'Assemblée générale a appliqué ces principes généraux aux cas particuliers de certains territoires non autonomes. La résolution 1542 (XV), par exemple, énumère les neuf territoires non autonomes sous administration portugaise, et la résolution 1747 (XVI) stipule que la Rhodésie du Sud est un territoire non autonome au sens du Chapitre XI de la Charte.

81. Considérés sous l'angle du processus de décolonisation, les territoires dépendants, dont le nombre dépasse encore 60, peuvent, nous semble-t-il, être classés en deux catégories.

82. La première catégorie comprend la majorité des territoires non autonomes, pour la plupart en Afrique, sous l'administration du Royaume-Uni. S'il est vrai que la situation de ces territoires n'est pas actuellement explosive et que même l'Autorité administrante fait généralement preuve de sagesse et de compréhension, il n'en demeure pas moins que le rythme de développement y est loin de satisfaire les exigences de notre temps et les objectifs de la résolution 1514 (XV). Nous estimons que les efforts de l'Organisation des Nations Unies en ce qui concerne ces territoires doivent viser particulièrement à pousser les autorités administrantes à accélérer le processus de décolonisation.

83. La deuxième catégorie de territoires dépendants qui méritent l'attention immédiate de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, parce que la situation y est de nature à menacer la paix dans le continent africain, comprend le Territoire sous mandat du Sud-Ouest africain, les territoires sous administration portugaise et la Rhodésie du Sud — pour ne citer que ceux-là. Ce qui rend la situation de ces territoires particulièrement dangereuse est le refus obstiné des autorités administrantes de faire droit aux aspirations légitimes des populations autochtones et de s'incliner devant les résolutions de l'Assemblée générale.

84. Le sort des populations du Sud-Ouest africain constitue, depuis 1946, l'une des préoccupations principales de l'Assemblée générale. Durant ces 16 années, tous les moyens pacifiques dont dispose l'Organisation des Nations Unies ont été mis en œuvre pour amener le gouvernement de Pretoria à s'acquitter de ses obligations internationales. Mais les résolutions nombreuses de l'Assemblée générale et l'avis consultatif de la Cour internationale de Justice en cette matière^{5/} sollicité par l'Assemblée n'ont pu changer aucunement l'attitude intransigeante de ce gouvernement.

85. Il est particulièrement à regretter qu'en refusant de respecter les droits de la population du Sud-Ouest africain et en pratiquant la politique de discrimination et de ségrégation raciales d'apartheid le Gouvernement de l'Afrique du Sud s'est fait le champion de la violation non seulement des obligations qu'il a assumées en vertu de la Charte et de la Déclaration universelle des droits de l'homme, mais aussi des principes fondamentaux de la morale universelle. Il y a quelques jours seulement, la Quatrième Commission a adopté, par 96 voix contre zéro, avec une abstention, un projet de résolution [A/5310, projet de résolution II] prévoyant de nouvelles mesures tendant à permettre à l'Organisation des

Nations Unies d'exécuter les responsabilités qui lui incombent à l'égard de la population du Sud-Ouest africain. Pouvons-nous espérer que le Gouvernement de Pretoria entendra enfin la voix de la raison, prêter son concours à l'application des dispositions de ce projet et épargnera ainsi au monde une catastrophe que la continuation de la situation actuelle ne tardera pas à produire?

86. La situation en Angola et dans l'ensemble des colonies portugaises est actuellement l'objet de deux points séparés de l'ordre du jour de la présente session [points 29 et 54]. Le point de vue de ma délégation sur ces questions sera exprimé en temps voulu, au cours des débats qui auront lieu à leur propos. Je me contenterai maintenant de réaffirmer la nécessité urgente, pour l'Assemblée générale, de prendre des mesures effectives en prévision de l'accession des populations de ces territoires à l'autonomie et à l'indépendance.

87. En effet, la question qui se pose n'est pas de savoir si ces territoires deviendront ou ne deviendront pas indépendants; cette question est réglée d'une façon catégorique et irrésistible par le déterminisme de l'histoire. Il s'agit simplement de savoir si ces populations deviendront indépendantes dans la paix et dans l'harmonie ou, au contraire, au prix de guerres sanglantes et de pertes incalculables.

88. La situation de la Rhodésie du Sud a suscité et suscite encore des soucis et des inquiétudes. La Rhodésie du Sud est l'exemple même de la colonie de peuplement, où une minorité européenne de 200 000 âmes, composée de gens qui sont venus s'installer dans un pays pour s'y enrichir, s'est emparée des ressources économiques du pays et essaie par tous les moyens possibles de se maintenir dans une situation privilégiée par rapport aux 3 millions d'Africains de ces territoires.

89. La position de ma délégation au sujet de la Rhodésie du Sud est claire. Nous estimons que ce territoire est un territoire non autonome au sens du Chapitre XI de la Charte et que, par conséquent, le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni doit user de tous ses pouvoirs pour mettre en application les résolutions de l'Assemblée générale et pour faire respecter les droits des populations autochtones. Les 3 millions d'Africains de la Rhodésie du Sud n'ont jamais eu la possibilité de manifester librement leur volonté. La Constitution de 1923 et celle de 1961 ne peuvent être considérées que comme une émanation de la volonté de la minorité européenne; elles ne peuvent pas, par conséquent, déterminer le statut de ce territoire.

90. Tant que l'égalité des droits politiques et le suffrage universel sur la base du principe "à chacun une voix" — principe *sine qua non* de la démocratie — ne seront pas reconnus et accordés à la population de la Rhodésie du Sud, aucun progrès dans le sens de la décolonisation ne pourra être réalisé. Cependant, nous avons confiance dans le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni, qui, dans le passé, a toujours fait preuve de sagesse et de réalisme dans sa politique coloniale; nous espérons que, dans le cas de la Rhodésie du Sud et malgré les complications qu'il est impossible de ne pas reconnaître, une solution pacifique et satisfaisante sera trouvée.

91. Je voudrais maintenant faire connaître brièvement le point de vue de ma délégation en ce qui concerne l'avenir du Comité spécial. Il ne me semble

^{5/} Statut international du Sud-Ouest africain, avis consultatif; C.I.J., Recueil 1950, p. 128.

pas nécessaire de réaffirmer l'utilité et la nécessité de l'existence de ce comité, qui devient l'organe indispensable à la réalisation de l'un des buts fondamentaux de l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Comme le Secrétaire général par intérim l'a fait observer avec pertinence dans l'introduction à son rapport annuel [A/5201/Add.1], et partageant l'avis d'un grand nombre d'orateurs qui m'ont précédé, nous estimons que la coordination des efforts de l'Organisation dans le domaine de la décolonisation et la concentration de ces efforts dans un organe compétent et bien équipé s'avèrent indispensables.

92. Quatre comités et sous-comités créés par l'Assemblée générale — le Sous-Comité chargé d'examiner la situation en Angola, le Comité spécial pour les territoires administrés par le Portugal, le Comité spécial pour le Sud-Ouest africain et le Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes — s'occupent actuellement de questions coloniales. De ces quatre comités, il me semble juste et logique d'éliminer les trois premiers et de transférer leurs mandats au Comité spécial; car, même sans ce transfert de mandats, le Comité spécial, par application de la résolution 1654 (XVI), est parfaitement habilité à examiner la situation dans les territoires relevant de sa compétence.

93. Mais, en ce qui concerne le Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes, ma délégation n'est pas entièrement convaincue de l'utilité et de l'opportunité de son élimination; et cela, pour les raisons suivantes. En premier lieu, ce comité, qui a été créé par l'Assemblée générale, qui est chargé d'examiner les renseignements transmis par les autorités administrantes en vertu de l'Article 73 de la Charte, fonctionne régulièrement, sous des titres différents, depuis 1946 et a rendu incontestablement — et nous pensons qu'il pourra encore rendre — des services précieux sans pour autant occasionner des dépenses considérables. En second lieu, ma délégation doute fort que le Comité spécial, assumant déjà de lourdes responsabilités, puisse se charger encore de la tâche du Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes. En effet, compte tenu du fait que le mandat confié au Comité spécial doit être rempli de manière à atteindre les objectifs fixés dans la résolution 1654 (XVI) dans une période limitée, il ne faut pas charger ce comité de nouvelles activités qui risqueraient de ralentir son travail essentiel. Pour ces raisons, nous pensons que le Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes, loin de faire double emploi avec le Comité spécial, sera le complément utile, sinon indispensable, de celui-ci.

94. Je n'ai pas fait allusion au Conseil de tutelle, quoique sa composition actuelle soit loin de correspondre sinon à la lettre, du moins à l'esprit de la Charte, parce que, le Conseil de tutelle étant l'un des organes principaux de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, toute modification le concernant est inévitablement liée à la révision de la Charte.

95. La conséquence logique de la suppression des trois comités ou sous-comités que j'ai mentionnés sera l'élargissement de la composition actuelle du Comité spécial de façon à lui permettre de s'acquitter de ses lourdes tâches. Plusieurs idées et suggestions ont été avancées à ce sujet au cours du présent débat. Mais, en abordant cette question, il ne faut pas perdre de vue qu'un élargissement démesuré du Comité spécial aurait pour effet la prolongation

de ses débats et, par voie de conséquence, le ralentissement du rythme de ses travaux. L'adjonction de quatre nouveaux membres — suggestion qui a été faite pour la première fois, si je ne me trompe, par le représentant de la Guinée [11698^{me} séance] et qui porterait le nombre des membres actuels du Comité à 21 — nous paraît de nature à concilier ces deux points de vue et, par conséquent, reçoit l'appui de ma délégation.

96. Je conclus en souhaitant au Comité spécial plein succès dans sa tâche gigantesque et j'aime à espérer que l'Assemblée générale, à sa prochaine session, aura à enregistrer de grands progrès dans le domaine de l'application pratique de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance, que l'on a pris coutume d'appeler "la charte de la libération".

97. M. PALAR (Indonésie) [traduit de l'anglais]: Permettez-moi d'abord, Monsieur le Président, de présenter à la délégation néerlandaise nos sincères condoléances à l'occasion du décès de la princesse Wilhelmine, ex-reine des Pays-Bas. Ce fut une grande reine, comme j'ai pu le savoir personnellement, et son peuple la considérait et l'aimait comme une mère.

98. La tâche du Comité spécial constitué aux termes de la résolution 1654 (XVI) de l'Assemblée générale, connu sous le nom de Comité spécial des Dix-Sept, consistait à étudier l'application de la Déclaration de 1960 sur la décolonisation [résolution 1514 (XV)], à formuler des suggestions et des recommandations quant aux progrès réalisés et à la mesure dans laquelle la Déclaration est mise en œuvre, et à faire rapport à l'Assemblée lors de sa dix-septième session. Avant de présenter mes observations sur le rapport du Comité [A/5238], je tiens à souligner que j'ai grand plaisir à exprimer la satisfaction sans réserve qu'inspirent à ma délégation les suggestions et recommandations que contient ce document. J'adresse nos félicitations au Président, au Vice-Président, au Rapporteur et à tous les membres du Comité pour leur excellent travail.

99. De nombreux représentants ont déjà fort justement analysé, loué et critiqué la teneur du rapport, et je puis m'associer en particulier, au nom de ma délégation, aux déclarations faites par la plupart de mes collègues d'Asie et d'Afrique; je ne tenterai donc pas de porter un jugement sur telle ou telle suggestion ou recommandation du Comité. Je me bornerai à souligner brièvement la triste conclusion que l'on est bien obligé de tirer de l'ensemble des constatations du Comité: la plupart des injonctions expresses contenues dans la Déclaration sur la décolonisation sont enfreintes de façon flagrante par plusieurs puissances administrantes.

100. Par exemple, les faits prouvent de façon incontestable qu'en Angola, au Mozambique, en Afrique du Sud, en Rhodésie du Sud et dans d'autres pays dépendants diverses mesures de répression sont prises contre les peuples coloniaux, ce qui, les représentants des Etats Membres ne l'ignorent certainement pas, est contraire au paragraphe 4 de la Déclaration. De plus, des lois en vigueur en Angola et au Mozambique, ainsi que dans d'autres territoires, ont un caractère nettement discriminatoire envers l'immense majorité des peuples coloniaux alors qu'elles favorisent les petites minorités blanches. Dans les deux Rhodésies, le pouvoir est en fait transféré à une faible minorité contre la volonté

expresse de la population, contrairement au paragraphe 5 de la Déclaration. Le rapport du Comité prouve en outre amplement que les injonctions figurant au paragraphe 3 de la Déclaration sont généralement méconnues par les puissances administrantes; c'est un point sur lequel j'aurai l'occasion de revenir plus longuement dans la suite de mon intervention.

101. Ma délégation n'a que des louanges à adresser au Comité pour la tâche qu'il a accomplie jusqu'ici, mais nous ne croyons pas pouvoir passer sous silence le fait que, sur un total d'environ 62 territoires dépendants, 12 seulement ont été étudiés jusqu'à présent, quoique, je le reconnais, ce soient les plus vastes et les plus peuplés. En d'autres termes, il reste encore à évaluer les progrès réalisés dans l'application de la Déclaration pour une cinquantaine de territoires. Ma délégation est d'avis que nous demandions au Comité spécial de mener sa tâche à bonne fin en faisant rapport à la prochaine session de l'Assemblée générale. Ou, pour reprendre la phraséologie plus formelle de la résolution 1654 (XVI), l'Assemblée générale doit autoriser le Comité spécial à se servir de tous les moyens dont il disposera dans le cadre des procédures et des modalités qu'il adoptera pour bien s'acquitter de ses fonctions, afin de faire rapport sur tous les autres territoires à la dix-huitième session de l'Assemblée.

102. C'est une tâche bien lourde à accomplir en moins de huit mois et beaucoup considéreront que ce délai est trop court. Ma délégation pense donc que le Comité devrait également disposer de moyens propres à accélérer ses travaux. Nous songeons à un élargissement de la composition du Comité auquel pourraient venir s'adjoindre quatre nouveaux membres ou davantage. Cela permettrait aux membres du Comité de se diviser en cinq ou six groupes dont chacun, peut-être avec l'aide d'un rapporteur du Secrétariat, pourrait faire rapport au Comité réuni en séance plénière sur un certain nombre de territoires dépendants. Aux yeux de ma délégation, cette méthode devrait permettre au Comité de présenter à la dix-huitième session de l'Assemblée un rapport concernant tous les territoires restants. Nous avons l'intention de prévoir des dispositions en ce sens dans un projet de résolution qui pourra être considéré comme le projet d'une troisième résolution de l'Assemblée générale sur la décolonisation.

103. La première résolution sur la décolonisation qui contenait une déclaration de principes fondamentaux acceptés par tous a été adoptée à une écrasante majorité. Cependant, on s'est rendu compte l'année suivante que cette déclaration n'avait été mise en œuvre que dans une mesure très limitée. L'Assemblée générale a donc adopté une deuxième résolution sur la décolonisation, par laquelle elle a créé le Comité spécial des Dix-Sept pour étudier l'application de la déclaration de l'année précédente et faire des recommandations sur la mesure dans laquelle elle avait été mise en œuvre. Le Comité spécial des Dix-Sept a fait de l'excellent travail pour les territoires qu'il a examinés jusqu'ici, mais cela ne représente malheureusement qu'une faible part de ce qui reste encore à accomplir. Nous nous trouvons donc maintenant dans l'obligation de présenter un troisième projet de résolution pour hâter la mise en œuvre des dispositions de la résolution adoptée l'an dernier.

104. La délégation indonésienne est convaincue que la situation du monde d'aujourd'hui ne nous permet

pas de retarder davantage la décolonisation. De plus, nous sommes persuadés qu'une des responsabilités primordiales des Nations Unies est de faciliter cette évolution par tous les moyens en leur pouvoir. C'est pourquoi nous pensons que l'Assemblée générale devrait non seulement demander au Comité spécial de mener sa tâche à bonne fin en lui faisant rapport à sa prochaine session, mais envisager la possibilité de lui confier la mission de fournir une assistance active pour les étapes finales de la décolonisation.

105. Je viens de dire que la situation du monde d'aujourd'hui ne nous permettait pas de retarder davantage la décolonisation. J'insisterai sur ce point et je l'examinerai notamment à la lumière du paragraphe 3 de la Déclaration sur la décolonisation, dont je me permettrai de rappeler les termes exacts: "Le manque de préparation dans les domaines politique, économique ou social ou dans celui de l'enseignement ne doit jamais être pris comme prétexte pour retarder l'indépendance." Cela représente à mon sens beaucoup plus qu'un avertissement sérieux adressé aux puissances administrantes: c'est aussi une façon de reconnaître que l'octroi de l'indépendance ne dépend plus en premier lieu des mouvements de libération nés chez les peuples coloniaux intéressés. Certes, il ne faut pas sous-estimer la force des mouvements de libération. D'ailleurs, le troisième alinéa du préambule de la Déclaration, en reconnaissant le désir passionné de liberté de tous les peuples dépendants, reconnaît également leur rôle décisif dans l'accession de l'indépendance. Toutefois, il est devenu de plus en plus évident depuis quelques années que la situation mondiale est le véritable facteur qui décide du moment où un territoire dépendant recouvrera sa liberté, et force nous est de constater qu'en règle générale la tendance est à une décolonisation rapide.

106. En premier lieu, et peut-être au premier plan, il y a concurrence évidente entre les deux principales parties opposées dans la guerre froide, qui désirent s'attirer les faveurs des peuples dépendants et des nouvelles nations indépendantes. Il faut compter également, tant à l'intérieur qu'hors du cadre des Nations Unies, avec la forte pression anticolonialiste exercée par les pays communistes et reposant sur l'analyse marxiste du colonialisme considéré comme un produit du capitalisme et, comme tel, devant être écrasé. La lutte ardente et de plus en plus forte des pays d'Asie et d'Afrique en faveur de la décolonisation immédiate, telle que l'ont définie les deux résolutions célèbres de l'Assemblée générale, a aussi une influence décisive sur l'évolution des événements. Enfin, je crois qu'il est vrai de dire que parmi les gens du peuple, dans bien des pays occidentaux, il existe maintenant un courant réel de sympathie pour ces populations qui languissent encore sous la domination coloniale et le désir de voir adopter par leurs gouvernements une attitude plus réaliste. C'est peut-être en partie à cause de cet état d'esprit que la plupart des anciennes et actuelles puissances coloniales ont reconnu le droit des peuples à la libre détermination; n'oublions pas que c'est grâce à la nouvelle attitude coopérative des pays occidentaux que l'Assemblée a pu adopter à une écrasante majorité les deux résolutions sur la décolonisation.

107. Il semble ainsi que la situation mondiale concorde dans l'ensemble avec le désir des peuples coloniaux de voir hâter le processus de décolonisation. Il y a malheureusement plusieurs exemples de pays

qui restent en arrière. Ici je pense à ces puissances coloniales qui, tout en reconnaissant le droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes, n'en continuent pas moins à affirmer que certains territoires dépendants ne peuvent pas accéder immédiatement à l'indépendance, parce qu'ils sont peu étendus et qu'ils ne sont pas viables du point de vue économique. En d'autres termes, en dépit de l'injonction figurant au paragraphe 3 de la Déclaration, les déficiences des territoires sont continuellement présentées comme de bonnes raisons d'affirmer qu'ils ne peuvent s'attendre à accéder à une indépendance réelle.

108. A mon avis, il est temps de parler franchement et de voir cette question fondamentale dans sa vraie perspective. Arrêtons-nous un instant pour examiner les raisons qui justifient la présence du paragraphe 3 dans le texte de la Déclaration. Je viens de suggérer que cette mise en garde expresse adressée aux puissances coloniales est aussi, en fait, une façon de reconnaître implicitement la tendance actuelle de la situation mondiale quant à la décolonisation. Je ferai aussi remarquer qu'il y a plus: ce paragraphe revient à admettre que certains territoires ne sont en effet peut-être pas encore tout à fait prêts et qu'il y aura des difficultés réelles à surmonter. C'est précisément pour cela que le paragraphe 3 a été inséré dans la Déclaration, pour nous faire bien comprendre que l'existence dans les territoires dépendants de difficultés ou de déficiences, de quelque ordre que ce soit, ne doit pas nous empêcher de leur reconnaître le droit à la libre détermination. Il serait stérile que l'Assemblée se contente de reconnaître purement et simplement le droit à la souveraineté. Une fois que nous avons proclamé ce droit pour tous les territoires, nous sommes, par le fait même, obligés de faire respecter la Déclaration dans le délai le plus bref. C'est à cela que les peuples coloniaux eux-mêmes désirent aboutir et c'est de toute façon la voie que nous impose l'évolution de la situation mondiale.

109. Tel est donc le grand problème qui se pose à nous: comment accorder sans plus attendre aux peuples dépendants ce droit à la libre détermination que nous leur avons reconnu expressément, étant donné les difficultés certaines qu'il faudra surmonter par suite du manque de préparation de beaucoup de ces territoires? Ma délégation est convaincue que ce problème ne peut être résolu que si nous n'avons pas peur des idées neuves et hardies. Une chose est sûre, les Nations Unies doivent s'attendre à jouer un rôle important, voire décisif, dans le déroulement des derniers stades de la décolonisation. En fait, je l'ai déjà laissé entendre, l'Organisation doit être prête à assumer un rôle entièrement neuf.

110. Le cas de l'Irian occidental offre un exemple du genre de tâche que nous avons à l'esprit. Le rôle d'administrateur temporaire du territoire joué par l'Organisation lors du passage de l'administration des Pays-Bas à celle de l'Indonésie pourrait bien devenir un précédent historique de la façon dont l'Organisation pourrait aider de petits territoires dépendants à passer de leur état de dépendance à l'indépendance. Aussi proposerai-je que le Comité spécial fasse figurer dans son rapport sur chacun des territoires dépendants auquel la souveraineté devra être transférée des recommandations précises sur le type d'indépendance qui semblerait le mieux adapté au territoire considéré.

111. Une fois que les peuples coloniaux ont obtenu la souveraineté, c'est à eux de décider ce qu'ils désirent en faire: se joindre à un Etat déjà souverain, former une entité politique avec d'autres nouveaux Etats souverains pour être plus viables du point de vue économique et politique, ou essayer de réussir par eux-mêmes. De ce point de vue, il n'est peut-être pas inutile de rappeler que les régions orientale et occidentale du Pakistan sont à plus de 1 500 kilomètres l'une de l'autre, et que l'Alaska et Hawaï sont séparés l'un et l'autre par plusieurs milliers de kilomètres du reste des Etats-Unis. Aussi la distance ne peut-elle être considérée en aucune manière comme un obstacle à la formation d'entités politiques.

112. Il se pourra cependant qu'au moins pendant un certain temps certains territoires qui viennent d'accéder à l'indépendance préfèrent rester entièrement souverains, malgré les difficultés que cela suppose. J'insiste pour que dans de tels cas les nations plus anciennes et plus expérimentées, qui commencent à peine à se rendre compte elles-mêmes de la nécessité de former des entités politiques plus vastes, considèrent avec tolérance ce vœu bien compréhensible de petits peuples qui ont récemment accédé à l'indépendance. J'estime personnellement que nombre d'entre eux se rendront en fait rapidement compte de la nécessité de se joindre à des entités politiques plus vastes, plus rapidement que certains d'entre nous ne s'y attendent aujourd'hui. Il suffit de considérer le courant puissant de panafricanisme qui se manifeste parmi les nouvelles nations indépendantes d'Afrique pour voir les choses avec optimisme. De plus, je pense que les territoires dépendants sont prêts, pour la plupart, à tenir compte de toute recommandation que le Comité spécial pourrait formuler à cet égard.

113. Permettez-moi maintenant de souligner brièvement certains des aspects pratiques du nouveau rôle que ma délégation envisage pour les Nations Unies en matière de décolonisation. Essentiellement, nous estimons que le Comité spécial devrait être invité et autorisé à faire des recommandations sur deux points supplémentaires: le type d'indépendance qui conviendrait le mieux à tel ou tel territoire, selon ce que nous venons d'indiquer, et l'opportunité pour l'Organisation elle-même de jouer un rôle actif dans l'administration d'un territoire donné pendant une certaine période. Pour pouvoir s'acquitter de cette nouvelle tâche, nous pensons que le Comité spécial devra vraisemblablement pouvoir disposer d'un rapport préparatoire rédigé par les spécialistes du Secrétariat et analysant les différentes voies ouvertes aux territoires intéressés. Ce rapport préparatoire devrait également s'efforcer de déterminer si, pendant une certaine période, un territoire devrait considérer qu'il partage en fait sa souveraineté avec l'Organisation, ou si l'Organisation devrait se contenter d'aider à administrer le territoire jusqu'à ce qu'il soit parvenu au stade où il réussirait finalement à être viable du point de vue économique et politique, soit par ses propres moyens, soit en s'associant à une entité politique plus large.

114. A partir des conclusions du rapport préparatoire et de ses propres délibérations, le Comité spécial devrait ainsi être à même de formuler des recommandations judicieuses à l'intention de l'Assemblée qui pourrait à son tour décider de la marche à suivre qui conviendrait le mieux pour chaque territoire. Si l'on concluait, avec l'assentiment du territoire in-

troussé, qu'il est nécessaire de prévoir une assistance de l'Organisation pour l'administration, l'organe le plus indiqué pour entreprendre cette tâche pourrait bien être le Comité spécial lui-même.

115. J'ai commencé par demander simplement que le Comité spécial accélère ses travaux pour pouvoir faire rapport sur tous les territoires restants, à la prochaine session de l'Assemblée. Il semble maintenant que je doive conclure en suggérant que le Comité spécial aborde un nouveau sujet d'étude et que l'ensemble de l'Organisation envisage d'assumer un nouveau rôle afin de hâter le processus de décolonisation. Je puis vous l'assurer, je n'ai nullement l'intention d'accabler l'Organisation de nouvelles responsabilités. Notre rôle n'a cessé de croître d'année en année et à un rythme de plus en plus rapide, et l'Organisation est maintenant chargée d'un si grand nombre de tâches que sa situation financière risque d'en être déséquilibrée. Je pense cependant que les Etats Membres se rendent bien compte que les Nations Unies sont notre seul espoir de voir résoudre certains problèmes importants auxquels des groupes plus petits de nations ou des pays pris isolément seraient incapables de faire face. La solution du problème que pose la décolonisation dans les derniers territoires dépendants est très urgente, les peuples coloniaux l'exigent, la situation du monde l'exige. Il est indéniable que le domaine où l'action des Nations Unies a été la plus fructueuse est celui de la lutte contre le colonialisme. La victoire n'est néanmoins nullement acquise et ma délégation insiste donc très énergiquement pour que l'Assemblée donne à l'Organisation la possibilité de consolider le plus rapidement possible les résultats acquis.

M. Zafrulla Khan (Pakistan) reprend la présidence.

116. M. QUAISON-SACKKEY (Ghana) [traduit de l'anglais]: Il y a deux ans, à sa quinzième session, l'Assemblée adoptait la Déclaration historique sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, figurant dans la résolution 1514 (XV). Les Nations Unies réparaient ainsi l'injustice commise aux dépens des peuples et des territoires assujettis, dont le sort n'avait été régi, selon ce qu'avaient décidé les délégués réunis à San Francisco en 1945, que par les Chapitres XI et XII de la Charte.

117. Aux yeux de ma délégation, cette déclaration anticolonialiste a une importance et une portée comparables à celles de la Charte elle-même et doit être considérée comme modifiant l'esprit et le but des Chapitres XI et XII. La responsabilité de la communauté internationale envers les territoires et peuples coloniaux, déjà inscrite dans la Charte, a été confirmée par l'adoption de la résolution 1514 (XV), mais le but de cette résolution est de mettre fin immédiatement à cette responsabilité par l'octroi immédiat de l'indépendance aux territoires qui ne la possèdent pas encore. Selon la Déclaration de 1960, l'indépendance doit être complète, totale, définitive, inconditionnelle.

118. Le Gouvernement ghanéen a toujours affirmé que le colonialisme est un mal que l'humanité ne doit pas tolérer. C'est un mal qui provoque des conflits entre les nations et qui a même été à l'origine d'une guerre mondiale. Aux yeux de la délégation ghanéenne, le problème de la décolonisation occupe à l'ordre du jour de l'Assemblée une place aussi importante que le problème du désarmement général et complet. Il ne peut en être autrement puisque le dévelop-

pement d'une coopération pacifique entre les Etats sur la base de l'égalité, et le maintien même de la paix et de la sécurité internationales, dépendent de la libération complète des peuples courbés sous le joug du colonialisme et de l'impérialisme.

119. C'est pour cela que le Ghana est préoccupé par la façon dont est mise en œuvre la résolution 1514 (XV). Pourquoi l'Assemblée doit-elle être encore saisie du problème de la décolonisation, deux ans après l'adoption de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux? Le Gouvernement ghanéen ne peut accepter qu'un tel retard soit apporté à la liquidation du colonialisme sous tous ses aspects et dans toutes ses manifestations, car le Ghana ne peut tolérer qu'une puissance étrangère impose arbitrairement à un peuple, sans son consentement, un système politique et économique destiné à servir exclusivement ses propres intérêts. Le maintien du régime colonial suppose nécessairement que les intérêts et le développement des peuples coloniaux soient subordonnés à ceux de la puissance coloniale. Notre opposition au colonialisme sous tous ses aspects est totale, intransigeante et implacable. Elle n'est pas moins nette dans les cas où la puissance coloniale pratique la coercition derrière un masque de paternalisme ou tempère la force par le contrôle indirect. Nous devons exercer une vigilance et une résistance encore plus grandes quand la puissance coloniale recourt à des tactiques néo-colonialistes pour préserver sa suprématie, car c'est là un type de colonialisme plus dangereux et plus insidieux par lequel la puissance coloniale cherche à perpétuer son hégémonie en agissant par personne interposée, par l'intermédiaire d'un gouvernement local, et renforce sa position en ayant recours à tout un arsenal astucieux d'avantages et de moyens de pression économiques, militaires et idéologiques.

120. C'est compte tenu de toutes ces considérations que mon gouvernement s'est réjoui sans réserve de l'accession à l'indépendance, moins de deux ans après l'adoption de la Déclaration, de l'ancien Cameroun britannique qui fait maintenant partie de la République fédérale du Cameroun, du Samoa Occidental, du Sierra Leone et du Tanganyika. L'Algérie, dont la longue et héroïque lutte pour la liberté restera à jamais un symbole pour les autres peuples et territoires coloniaux, est également devenue une nation, et de même le Rwanda, le Burundi, la Jamaïque, la Trinité et Tobago, et l'Ouganda.

121. On ne peut cependant nier, même en tenant compte de tous ces résultats positifs, qu'il subsiste de nombreux territoires qui continuent à subir la domination coloniale et dans lesquels le processus de décolonisation n'a même pas encore été amorcé ou demeure désespérément lent et laborieux. Les puissances coloniales persistent à dresser de sérieux obstacles sur la voie de l'émancipation complète et de l'indépendance de tous les peuples coloniaux.

122. Consciente de ce fait, l'Assemblée générale a décidé l'an dernier qu'il fallait prendre des mesures énergiques pour que la Déclaration soit effectivement et rapidement mise en œuvre. Elle a donc adopté la résolution 1654 (XVI) par laquelle elle note que la Déclaration n'est pas appliquée et que:

"...tout nouveau retard dans l'application de la Déclaration est une source continue de conflits et de discorde sur le plan international, entrave

sérieusement la coopération internationale et crée, dans de nombreuses régions du monde, une situation de plus en plus dangereuse qui peut constituer une menace à la paix et à la sécurité internationales".

La résolution créée ensuite un Comité spécial chargé par l'Assemblée:

"...d'étudier l'application de la Déclaration, de formuler des suggestions et des recommandations quant aux progrès réalisés et à la mesure dans laquelle la Déclaration est mise en œuvre, et de faire rapport à l'Assemblée lors de sa dix-septième session".

123. Tel est donc le mandat du Comité spécial des Dix-Sept dont le rapport est maintenant soumis à l'Assemblée [A/5238]. Le Comité mérite des félicitations chaleureuses pour la tâche qu'il a su mener à bien dans le court laps de temps dont il disposait. Son rapport est un réquisitoire sévère contre le colonialisme, un réquisitoire qui a d'autant plus de poids qu'il a été rédigé avec un grand souci d'objectivité et beaucoup de sérieux. Certes, on est en droit de penser qu'il aurait pu être un peu moins volumineux et que ses conclusions générales auraient gagné à être plus étoffées, mais ma délégation approuve les méthodes de travail adoptées par le Comité. Félicitons-le particulièrement d'avoir pris la décision de donner priorité aux territoires non autonomes d'Afrique, car c'est sur ce continent que vit la majorité des peuples coloniaux et c'est là que le processus de décolonisation se heurte à la résistance impitoyable et inique des puissances coloniales. De l'avis de ma délégation, le Comité a agi sagement en allant s'informer sur place de la situation de territoires particuliers, car il a eu ainsi la possibilité de s'enquérir directement des aspirations des populations intéressées et de leur apporter en même temps le réconfort moral dont elles ont grand besoin dans leur lutte pour l'indépendance et la liberté. Ma délégation a également été heureuse de constater que le Comité a réellement pris conscience de ses responsabilités au lieu de se considérer comme un simple groupe d'étude. Du point de vue de la procédure, ma délégation est satisfaite des efforts déployés par les membres du Comité pour parvenir à s'entendre sans avoir recours à des votes, sauf quand cela était absolument nécessaire.

124. Le rapport du Comité constitue une condamnation formelle mais objective du régime colonial et représente un instrument précieux que l'Assemblée devrait utiliser pour accélérer le processus de décolonisation dans les territoires étudiés. Ma délégation ne s'étonne pas de relever à la lecture de ce rapport que, malgré leurs caractéristiques propres et les divergences entre les manifestations des régimes coloniaux dans ces divers territoires, ils ont bien des problèmes communs. Le principal d'entre eux est la subordination des intérêts des autochtones à ceux de la puissance coloniale qui les sauvegarde généralement, dans les pays où il existe des minorités blanches, en se servant d'une minorité de colons blancs qui ont en main le contrôle effectif de l'administration locale et de l'organisation économique du territoire.

125. Les moyens employés pour perpétuer cette suprématie sont la discrimination raciale, la ségrégation et le refus d'accorder les libertés civiles et politiques fondamentales. Le système tout entier repose sur l'exploitation — exploitation des ressources

locales minérales et agricoles dans l'intérêt des puissances coloniales, grâce à la main-d'œuvre autochtone à bon marché. Le peuple assujéti se voit refuser le droit d'évoluer et de progresser, et même le réconfort de l'éducation, sauf lorsqu'une telle évolution est nécessaire pour amener une situation de stagnation qui sauvegarde les intérêts des puissances coloniales et de leurs hommes de paille, les colons. Enfin, les puissances coloniales invoquent tous les prétextes possibles pour retarder l'accession à l'indépendance, cependant qu'elles renforcent leurs positions en créant des bases militaires et en développant ces installations avec l'aide de leurs alliés de l'Organisation du Traité de l'Atlantique nord.

126. Un bref aperçu de la situation qui règne dans les territoires étudiés par le Comité ne fera que confirmer ce que je viens de dire. En Rhodésie du Sud, une pseudo-constitution de caractère nettement discriminatoire pour la majorité africaine a été élaborée malgré l'opposition de cette majorité africaine et au mépris flagrant de l'exigence précise prévue dans la résolution 1747 (XVI). Des lois répressives ont été promulguées et les activités nationalistes sont toujours interdites. L'Assemblée a adopté deux autres résolutions, la résolution 1755 (XVII) qui demande la libération des chefs nationalistes actuellement en résidence surveillée, détenus ou emprisonnés, et la résolution 1760 (XVII) qui prie le Royaume-Uni de suspendre la Constitution actuelle, de convoquer une conférence en vue d'en élaborer une nouvelle et d'octroyer les droits politiques à tous les habitants du territoire.

127. Mais rien ne permet de penser que le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni ait l'intention de prendre les mesures réclamées par ces résolutions; il n'est pas certain non plus que la Fédération de la Rhodésie et du Nyassaland doive être démantelée, alors que la majorité des habitants de l'Afrique centrale n'en veulent pas. Entre-temps, les autorités locales ont renforcé leur structure policière et militaire, avec l'assistance ouvertement accordée par le Portugal et l'Afrique du Sud.

128. Il est encore temps pour le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni d'agir comme il en a le devoir, pour instaurer en Rhodésie du Sud des conditions qui permettront l'établissement de relations harmonieuses entre les races et l'organisation d'élections générales au suffrage universel des adultes. La majorité devrait gouverner en Rhodésie du Sud qui deviendrait immédiatement l'Etat africain indépendant de la Rhodésie du Sud.

129. Quant à la Rhodésie du Nord, on refuse toujours de faire droit au désir clairement exprimé de sa population en faveur de l'indépendance. Pas de suffrage universel, mais un système incroyablement complexe en vertu duquel 4 p. 100 seulement des Africains qui constituent la majorité de la population ont le droit de vote, contre 40 p. 100 pour la minorité européenne. Mus par un louable esprit de conciliation, les chefs nationalistes ont cependant consenti à participer aux élections, mais leurs aspirations à une indépendance immédiate ne doivent pas être méconnuées plus longtemps. Ma délégation appuie sans réserve le projet de résolution recommandé par le Comité spécial [A/5238, chap. III, par. 205], et nous prions instamment le Royaume-Uni de prendre immédiatement des dispositions pour transférer tous les pouvoirs aux habitants du territoire afin de permettre

à la Rhodésie du Nord de devenir un Etat vraiment africain.

130. En ce qui concerne le Nyassaland, je dois souligner une fois encore que la population africaine s'est prononcée à une majorité écrasante contre le maintien de la Fédération d'Afrique centrale. Il est heureux que les revendications de M. Hastings Banda, chef du Malawi Congress Party, relatives à l'indépendance des habitants du Nyassaland, aient été considérées favorablement par le Gouvernement britannique. Le Ghana espère fermement que le Nyassaland accèdera à l'indépendance d'ici la prochaine session de l'Assemblée générale. Il faut appliquer aussi bien à la Rhodésie du Nord qu'à la Rhodésie du Sud les leçons que l'on peut tirer de l'exemple du Nyassaland et il faut renoncer à vouloir imposer la prétendue Fédération d'Afrique centrale.

131. Les problèmes qui se posent pour les territoires dépendant du Haut Commissaire, le Bassoutoland, le Betchouanaland et le Souaziland, ont également été étudiés en détail dans le rapport du Comité spécial. Comme j'ai déjà eu l'occasion de le dire ailleurs, le colonialisme a laissé la population de ces trois territoires à un niveau relativement bas de développement économique et social. Nos frères de ces territoires vivent en outre dans la crainte constante d'être annexés par l'Afrique du Sud, malgré les dénégations du gouvernement de ce pays. Les dispositions constitutionnelles actuellement en vigueur ne sont pas satisfaisantes et encouragent la généralisation de la discrimination raciale. Nous faisons nôtres sans aucune réserve les recommandations du Comité spécial selon lesquelles les dispositions constitutionnelles actuelles devraient être suspendues et une conférence constitutionnelle devrait se réunir après l'intervention d'élections au suffrage universel des adultes. Cette conférence, à laquelle participeraient des représentants élus de la population, fixerait une date pour l'accession à l'indépendance dans un délai d'un an au maximum.

132. A Zanzibar, il y a malheureusement désaccord entre les deux grands partis politiques quant au type de régime électoral et à la date des nouvelles élections. On nous a dit cependant que les positions s'étaient rapprochées. Nous espérons que la population du territoire formera un front national afin de pouvoir désormais avancer sans délai dans la voie de l'indépendance.

133. Je passe maintenant au Kenya, où les colonialistes, appliquant le principe "diviser pour régner", ont semé la mésentente entre les tribus pour retarder l'indépendance. Là aussi, le grand problème qui se pose vient de la présence d'un groupe minoritaire de colons blancs qui se sont attribué toutes les terres fertiles et qui détiennent ainsi la clef de l'économie du pays. La Puissance administrante maintient que le Kenya pourrait accéder à l'indépendance dès demain s'il y avait vraiment unanimité entre les partis politiques du territoire. Le Ghana ne comprend pas un tel argument. Qu'on organise des élections générales au suffrage universel des adultes et l'on sera surpris du résultat. Nous espérons que des élections générales auront lieu bientôt dans le territoire afin que, guidés par ce grand défenseur de la liberté qu'est Jomo Kenyatta, la population accède sans retard à une pleine indépendance.

134. La question des territoires portugais est actuellement examinée à la Quatrième Commission et le

conflit de l'Angola doit être discuté ici même en séance plénière; ma délégation se réserve donc d'en parler en détail à un autre moment. Mais nous ne pouvons rester insensibles devant le fait que le Gouvernement portugais se refuse obstinément à respecter les dispositions de la Charte, tout comme celles de la Déclaration. En Angola, une guerre sans merci continue à opposer les nationalistes africains — qu'on les appelle des rebelles si l'on veut — aux autorités portugaises. Cette guerre insensée doit cesser et nous demandons au Portugal de répondre aux appels qui lui sont adressés de tous les points du monde et qui le supplient de renoncer à poursuivre cette guerre en Angola. Le Portugal lui-même, pour si obstiné qu'il soit, ne peut arrêter l'ouragan de changement qui balaye l'Afrique entière et il ferait bien de prendre des mesures immédiates pour remettre le pouvoir aux habitants de l'Angola après des élections générales sur la base du principe "à chacun une voix".

135. Il est temps que le Portugal et l'Espagne abandonnent les enclaves qu'ils possèdent encore en Afrique. Si ces deux Etats désirent voir s'établir entre eux et l'Afrique une coopération fructueuse, le moment est venu pour eux d'abandonner toutes leurs idées anachroniques sur l'Afrique. L'indépendance de l'Angola, l'indépendance du Mozambique, l'indépendance du Cabinda et l'association de la Guinée portugaise et du Cap-Vert aux Etats africains indépendants voisins ne pourraient que servir la gloire de tous les intéressés.

136. Il ne me reste plus qu'à parler de la Guyane britannique, dont on retarde l'indépendance en raison de divergences politiques intérieures. Nous déplorons vivement que la récente conférence constitutionnelle se soit soldée par un échec. Nous avons appris que le Premier Ministre de la Guyane britannique, M. Cheddi Jagan, était prêt à faire des concessions aux partis de l'opposition et qu'en tout état de cause tous les partis semblaient maintenant d'accord sur la nécessité d'organiser des élections avant l'indépendance. Il semblerait donc opportun à ce moment-là de former un groupe comprenant cinq ou six personnalités du Commonwealth qui offriraient leurs bons offices aux intéressés et les aideraient à sortir de l'impasse où les ont conduits leurs divergences. Cependant, ma délégation appuie le projet de résolution proposé par le Comité spécial, qui peut servir de point de départ à une action future.

137. De l'examen des grandes lignes du rapport, il semble se dégager deux grands types d'attitude chez les puissances coloniales qui combattent les efforts déployés par l'Organisation pour faire appliquer la Déclaration effectivement et rapidement.

138. D'un côté, nous trouvons l'attitude d'un groupe de puissances coloniales, en tête desquelles se trouve malheureusement le Royaume-Uni, qui invoquent le prétexte du manque de préparation dans les domaines politique ou économique ou dans celui de l'enseignement pour retarder l'indépendance de territoires soumis à leur administration. Il est évident que ce prétexte est indéfendable, car, pour reprendre les termes mêmes de la Déclaration, "le manque de préparation dans les domaines politique, économique ou social ou dans celui de l'enseignement ne doit jamais être pris comme prétexte pour retarder l'indépendance". Un tel argument ne peut davantage se défendre sous l'angle de la justice ou de la morale, car ce sont généralement ceux-là mêmes qui, jouant

le rôle d'arbitre de la situation, invoquent le manque de préparation comme excuse pour retarder l'indépendance qui ont tout à gagner au maintien du statu quo. Quoi qu'il en soit, le régime colonial a laissé invariablement derrière lui un tel héritage d'analphabétisme, de misère et de maladie, auquel on ne s'attaque avec détermination qu'après l'indépendance — comme dans le cas du Ghana — que cet argument est absolument insoutenable. En même temps, comme on l'a déjà souligné maintes fois, ce groupe de puissances coloniales est généralement d'intelligence avec tout un ensemble de plus en plus puissant de trusts financiers et industriels comme celui qui domine l'Afrique orientale, centrale et australe, dont ces puissances servent les intérêts.

139. D'un autre côté, nous trouvons l'attitude de plusieurs autres puissances coloniales, comprenant le Portugal, l'Espagne et l'Afrique du Sud, qui prétendent s'abriter derrière la fiction juridique selon laquelle les territoires soumis à leur administration feraient partie intégrante de la métropole. Ces puissances, notamment le Portugal, ont eu recours à la force armée pour étouffer les aspirations nationales des populations de leurs territoires. Pour commettre des massacres odieux et des atrocités contre le peuple angolais, le Portugal a reçu une assistance directe et indirecte de ses alliés de l'OTAN avec lesquels il est étroitement lié, car il est absurde de penser que le Portugal, l'un des pays les plus pauvres d'Europe, pourrait entretenir des forces militaires importantes et bien équipées sans l'aide active qu'il reçoit de l'Organisation du Traité de l'Atlantique nord.

140. Le problème pratique qui se pose à nous est le suivant. Que peut faire l'Assemblée, dans le cadre de l'examen général du rapport du Comité, pour hâter la disparition radicale de ces formes de colonialisme et faire en sorte que la Déclaration soit pleinement et immédiatement appliquée? Elle doit demander aux puissances coloniales de donner immédiatement leur plein effet à toutes les dispositions de la Déclaration contenue dans la résolution 1514 (XV), dispositions qui sont catégoriques et impératives. En ce qui nous concerne, toutes les puissances coloniales qui, d'ici au 31 décembre 1962, n'auront pas accordé l'indépendance aux pays africains encore dépendants seront considérées comme des agresseurs qui troublent la paix mondiale. Au-delà de cette date, les puissances coloniales présentes en Afrique seront considérées par le Ghana comme transgressant la Charte des Nations Unies et défiant la conscience de l'humanité.

141. Il va de soi que nous approuvons le point de vue, d'ailleurs conforme aux conclusions générales qui se dégagent du rapport du Comité spécial, selon lequel l'Assemblée générale doit inviter les intéressés à cesser de refuser aux peuples coloniaux leurs libertés civiles et politiques, à instaurer le suffrage universel sans aucune discrimination et à organiser des élections sur la base de ce principe, afin d'accorder immédiatement l'indépendance à ces peuples. L'Assemblée générale doit réclamer aussi non seulement qu'il soit mis fin à toutes mesures de répression, mais aussi que toutes les bases militaires étrangères soient supprimées des territoires coloniaux, et elle doit prier tous les Etats de cesser d'accorder aux puissances coloniales une assistance qu'elles risqueraient d'utiliser pour perpétuer leur domination.

142. N'oubliez pas que le monde considère l'Organisation comme le dernier espoir des peuples asservis et opprimés, et permettez-moi de me faire loi l'écho des paroles que le Président de la République du Ghana, l'Oseyefo Kwame Nkrumah, a adressées à l'Assemblée le 23 septembre 1960:

"Je considère les Nations Unies comme la seule organisation qui offre quelque espérance pour l'avenir de l'humanité. Que l'on jette un coup d'œil sur l'Afrique: les colonialistes et les impérialistes sont toujours là. En ce XXème siècle, siècle de lumière, certains pays persistent à exalter les vaines gloires du colonialisme et de l'impérialisme. Tant qu'un seul pouce de la terre d'Afrique restera sous la domination étrangère, le monde ne connaîtra pas de paix. Aussi l'Organisation des Nations Unies doit-elle faire face à ses responsabilités; ceux qui, telle l'autruche proverbiale, voudraient se cacher la tête dans le sable de leur impérialisme, qu'elle leur dise de sortir la tête et de regarder l'ardent soleil d'Afrique qui parcourt maintenant le firmament de la rédemption africaine. Qu'elle adjure toutes les nations qui ont des colonies d'accorder l'indépendance totale aux territoires qui relèvent encore d'elles. A mon avis, avoir des colonies et être Membre de l'Organisation des Nations Unies sont aujourd'hui incompatibles."

[869ème séance, par. 5.]

143. Pour terminer, je désire faire quelques observations sur les travaux futurs du Comité spécial et sur la nécessité de coordonner les activités des Nations Unies en matière coloniale, par suite de l'existence de quatre comités qui s'occupent de ces questions et dont les mandats chevauchent. Ma délégation approuve la suggestion avancée par le Secrétaire général [voir A/5201/Add.1], selon laquelle tous les travaux dans ce domaine devraient être confiés au Comité spécial, dont nous examinons actuellement le rapport. Il est évident qu'on éviterait ainsi des discussions pouvant faire double emploi et qu'on ferait des économies de personnel et d'argent, tout en parvenant à une plus grande efficacité.

144. En ce qui concerne le Conseil de tutelle, ma délégation se rend évidemment compte qu'il ne peut disparaître sans l'adoption préalable d'un amendement à la Charte. A notre avis, si, comme nous l'en prions instamment, l'Organisation elle-même applique aux territoires sous tutelle relevant directement de sa surveillance les mêmes principes qu'elle a insérés dans la Déclaration touchant les territoires coloniaux, le problème du maintien du Conseil en existence disparaîtra automatiquement. Dès que tous les territoires sous tutelle seront indépendants, le Conseil de tutelle, qui n'aura plus de raison d'être, cessera d'exister.

145. Quant au Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes, ma délégation pense elle aussi que ses responsabilités sont devenues plus réduites, du fait de l'accession à l'indépendance de bien des territoires dont elle s'occupait, ainsi que de la création du Comité spécial sur la décolonisation. C'est pourquoi ma délégation ne peut s'opposer à sa dissolution, mais nous espérons que les études et la documentation que le Secrétariat préparait jusqu'ici à son intention continueront à être à la disposition du Comité spécial.

146. A ce propos, je dois m'associer aux hommages qui ont été rendus aux fonctionnaires qui travaillent

pour le Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes depuis des années et je tiens à féliciter en particulier M. Arnold Kunst, avec qui j'ai eu le plaisir de collaborer lorsque j'ai présidé le Comité en 1960.

147. D'autre part, le Comité spécial pour les territoires administrés par le Portugal et le Comité spécial pour le Sud-Ouest africain ont des mandats qui sont remplacés en majeure partie par le mandat du Comité spécial sur la décolonisation. Dans le cas du deuxième, cette évolution est reconnue par la résolution que la Quatrième Commission a adoptée le 19 novembre 1962 et qui se a certainement approuvée par l'Assemblée générale; cette résolution prévoit que le Comité spécial sur la décolonisation sera chargé des tâches confiées jusqu'ici au Comité spécial pour le Sud-Ouest africain. Il devient donc inutile, à notre avis, de maintenir ces deux comités.

148. Le Sous-Comité chargé d'examiner la situation en Angola est dans une situation assez différente puisqu'il est chargé du double rôle de faire rapport au Conseil de sécurité, d'une part, sur la situation en Angola en tant que menace éventuelle à la paix et à la sécurité internationales, et de rendre compte à l'Assemblée générale, d'autre part, de l'évolution de la situation politique. Selon ma délégation, cette dernière fonction devrait être reprise par le Comité spécial sur la décolonisation, tandis que la première resterait intacte comme le représentant de l'Irak l'a suggéré.

149. Ces nouvelles responsabilités qui viennent s'ajouter aux tâches déjà énormes et urgentes qui lui ont été confiées exigent l'élargissement de la composition du Comité et nous appuyons la suggestion que le représentant de la Guinée a faite en ce sens, sans rompre, bien entendu, l'équilibre politique de cet organe. Le Comité pourrait ainsi créer des sous-comités qui s'occuperaient simultanément de plusieurs pays et étudieraient des questions particulières sans ralentir l'ensemble des travaux.

150. Il ne faudrait pas conclure des suggestions que j'ai présentées au sujet des travaux du Comité que le Ghana approuve en aucune façon la survivance de territoires coloniaux en Afrique ou ailleurs. A nos yeux, le Comité spécial est un comité temporaire; en fait, il doit disparaître le plus tôt possible. Il doit s'occuper des modalités de transfert des pouvoirs à tous les territoires qui ne sont pas encore indépendants. On s'est beaucoup préoccupé ici de l'ordre du jour surchargé des organes des Nations Unies. Le Ghana est convaincu que la seule façon d'alléger cet ordre du jour est que les puissances coloniales prennent des mesures immédiates pour transférer les pouvoirs et accorder l'indépendance aux territoires coloniaux. Ainsi les Nations Unies pourront économiser temps et argent et s'attaquer aux problèmes urgents de l'existence de l'homme sur la terre.

151. Le **PRESIDENT** (traduit de l'anglais): Je donne la parole au représentant de l'Union soviétique qui désire faire usage de son droit de réponse.

152. M. **GREN** (Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques) [traduit du russe]: Je ne voudrais pas abuser du temps si précieux de l'Assemblée; cependant, certains représentants des puissances coloniales m'ont obligé à prendre la parole pour répondre à leurs attaques calomnieuses à l'adresse de notre pays.

153. Face au front de la lutte contre le colonialisme qui va sans cesse s'élargissant, les puissances coloniales se voient contraintes à recourir à des manœuvres plus subtiles pour endormir l'opinion publique, duper les peuples et conserver leurs colonies le plus longtemps possible. Tous les moyens, y compris la calomnie, leur sont bons pour contre-carrer ceux qui se sont déclarés les partisans constants et résolus de l'anticolonialisme.

154. Les représentants du Royaume-Uni, des Etats-Unis, du Canada et de l'Australie ont décidé de s'occuper de l'histoire de notre pays; ils en donnent naturellement leur propre interprétation, en la falsifiant.

155. Mais l'histoire véritable de l'Union soviétique n'a rien de commun avec les falsifications et les calomnies dont M. Dean est un zéléateur fervent.

156. Permettez-moi de rétablir quelques faits de l'histoire de notre pays. Comme on le sait, dès que la grande révolution socialiste d'Octobre eut triomphé chez nous, les puissances occidentales entreprirent une intervention dans le dessein d'étouffer la jeune République soviétique. A cette intervention prirent part la Grande-Bretagne, les Etats-Unis et certains autres pays dont les représentants calomnient aujourd'hui notre régime, notre peuple.

157. A cette époque déjà, on camouflait cette intervention en affirmant à grands cris qu'on voulait sauver et libérer le peuple russe et les autres peuples de l'Union soviétique. Les buts réels de cette intervention sont bien connus. En tout cas, nous nous permettrons de rappeler qu'à la Conférence interalliée de Paris, le 23 décembre 1917, un accord a été conclu entre l'Angleterre et la France au sujet du partage des territoires soviétiques. Au paragraphe 3 de cet accord signé par le premier ministre français Clemenceau et par le ministre de la guerre britannique Milner, on lisait:

"Les zones d'influence attribuées à chacun des gouvernements sont les suivantes:

"Zone britannique: les régions kazakes, le Caucase, l'Arménie, la Géorgie, le Kurdistan; zone française: la Bessarabie, l'Ukraine, la Crimée."

158. Voilà le fond de l'affaire, semble-t-il. Certes, ce n'était pas pour libérer les peuples que les Britanniques débarquaient leurs forces au Nord et sur la mer Caspienne, les Etats-Unis d'Amérique en Extrême-Orient, la France sur la mer Noire, mais bien pour étouffer les jeunes républiques soviétiques qui, en une lutte acharnée, avaient conquis pour la première fois une véritable liberté; c'était pour établir leur domination sur ces territoires.

159. Le représentant de la RSS d'Ukraine a déjà dit [1177ème séance] que les interventionnistes britanniques avaient fusillé les représentants du premier gouvernement populaire de l'Azerbaïdjan pour se réserver les riches terrains pétrolifères de l'Azerbaïdjan. Mais c'est loin d'être le seul exemple et les peuples de l'Union soviétique le savent et se souviennent des multiples atrocités commises par les interventionnistes étrangers sur notre territoire, contre nos peuples.

160. Mais les rêves des interventionnistes ne devaient pas se réaliser. Tous les peuples de l'ancienne Russie tsariste, du plus petit au plus grand, prirent les armes pour défendre ce qu'ils avaient conquis.

A franchement parler, ce sont précisément les Etats-Unis, la Grande-Bretagne et la France qui, par leurs interventions, ont concouru eux-mêmes à la cohésion de l'Union soviétique, car les peuples de l'Union soviétique ont pu voir le danger que représentaient ces soi-disant "partisans de l'autodétermination et de la libération des autres peuples". En lieu et place de l'ancienne Russie tsariste, et grâce au consentement spontané de toutes les Républiques soviétiques, a été constituée l'Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques. Etant donné le paragraphe de l'accord précité, il semble que ce n'est pas par hasard que le représentant du Royaume-Uni s'inquiète de l'autodétermination de ces républiques soviétiques qui étaient précisément réservées à la zone d'influence britannique. Vaine inquiétude!

161. M. Dean a dit dans son intervention [1175^{ème} séance] que le représentant de l'URSS s'intitulait Ministre des affaires étrangères d'Estonie. Je peux déclarer que je n'en porte pas seulement le titre, mais que je suis vraiment le Ministre des affaires étrangères de la République soviétique estonienne et que je représente les intérêts de mon peuple. Mais je représente ici, avant tout, les intérêts de tous les peuples de la grande Union soviétique.

162. Quant à dire que je devrais connaître l'histoire de mon pays, je puis affirmer que je la connais. A ce propos, permettez-moi de citer quelques faits caractéristiques qui ressortent de cette histoire.

163. Le monde entier doit savoir que le peuple laborieux d'Estonie a participé activement, avec les travailleurs et les paysans de la Russie, à la grande révolution d'Octobre. Deux jours après le renversement du gouvernement provisoire à Pétrograd, le pouvoir soviétique fut établi à Tallinn. Il est vrai qu'il fut difficile à la jeune République soviétique estonienne de défendre son indépendance contre le camp de l'impérialisme mondial. Rappelons simplement qu'au début, avec l'aide des armées allemandes et plus tard des navires de guerre britanniques et des mercenaires d'autres pays occidentaux, la jeune République estonienne fut noyée dans le sang. M. Dean a rappelé dans son intervention que la République estonienne bourgeoise, créée de la main des impérialistes (c'est moi qui précise), était indépendante et même Membre de la Société des Nations. C'est vrai, elle fut Membre de la Société des Nations, mais ce qu'était cette indépendance, le peuple estonien le savait mieux que personne. Cette jeune République était criblée de dettes envers les puissances occidentales. Au cours de la guerre civile, la dette de l'Estonie aux Etats-Unis d'Amérique seulement, pour l'achat, par la bourgeoisie estonienne, de capotes tachées de sang, restes de la première guerre mondiale, et de pommes de terre séchées, s'élevait, en 1932, y compris les intérêts, à plus de 33 millions de dollars, à rembourser avant 1984.

164. Mais qui donc disposait de cette ressource naturelle du peuple estonien qu'est le schiste bitumineux? Les diplomates anglais et ceux d'autres pays occidentaux doivent bien le savoir, eux qui aiment tellement l'histoire. Le résultat de cette prétendue indépendance a été que, parmi les autres peuples d'Europe, l'Estonie avait le niveau de vie le plus bas, sans parler du chômage constant, de la réduction du nombre des écoles secondaires, etc. En 1940, au moment où le gouvernement profasciste estonien s'est trouvé isolé et ne pouvait plus s'appuyer sur l'aide de ses protecteurs impérialistes,

les travailleurs estoniens ont chassé ce gouvernement et rétabli le pouvoir soviétique qui lui a ouvert largement la voie du développement économique et social.

165. Je citerai quelques exemples de ce que représente l'Estonie d'aujourd'hui. En 1962, près de 90 p. 100 des écoliers qui ont terminé le cycle primaire de sept ans poursuivent leurs études dans les établissements secondaires. Dans aucun pays capitaliste il n'y a un pourcentage aussi élevé d'étudiants par rapport à l'ensemble de la population. Pour ce qui est de la production d'électricité par tête d'habitant, la République soviétique d'Estonie occupe la première place dans le monde. La production de lait et de beurre par tête d'habitant est supérieure à celle de la plupart des pays capitalistes, y compris les Etats-Unis d'Amérique. Ces données mettent en évidence les succès que peut obtenir même un petit peuple comme le peuple estonien, entouré des peuples frères qui ont choisi la voie socialiste du développement.

166. D'autre part, on peut encore ajouter que la révolution de 1917 n'a pas seulement apporté au peuple russe le droit à l'autonomie. Avec l'aide fraternelle du peuple russe, de nombreuses petites nations et nationalités ont atteint en cinq ou six lustres un degré de développement qui, dans d'autres conditions, aurait demandé des siècles. Dans les frontières de la Russie tsariste, on trouvait des peuples encore nomades et d'autres peuples condamnés à l'extinction. L'Union soviétique est le seul pays au monde qui ait sauvé de nombreuses nationalités en voie d'extinction. On sait que plus de 40 nationalités ont pu, après la révolution d'Octobre, connaître l'écriture, créer leur littérature nationale, leur musique, leur art. Il n'est pas superflu de rappeler cela aux représentants de l'Australie, de la Nouvelle-Zélande et du Canada, ainsi qu'à celui des Etats-Unis d'Amérique, au cas où ils s'intéresseraient au sort des populations autochtones de leurs propres territoires.

167. Permettez-moi, à cet égard, de déclarer une fois encore que le peuple soviétique, y compris le peuple estonien, n'a nul besoin de ces avocats mal venus qui essayent ici de se faire valoir comme représentants de certains pays occidentaux. Nous voudrions dire à ces messieurs: l'histoire ne parle pas en votre faveur; au contraire, elle devrait vous servir de leçon de choses, vous apprendre que, si les rêves des impérialistes n'ont pu se réaliser grâce à l'intervention armée, il ne sert absolument de rien de lancer les attaques calomnieuses auxquelles ont recours les représentants des puissances coloniales.

168. Pourquoi faire tout cela? Pour détourner l'attention de l'Assemblée générale des documents essentiels qui sont traités à la présente session. Le rapport du Comité spécial des Dix-Sept [A/5238] que nous examinons en ce moment montre la position et la politique véritables du Royaume-Uni et des autres puissances coloniales. D'ailleurs, je souligne que ce n'est pas la délégation soviétique qui avance ces données, mais qu'elles se trouvent dans le rapport du Comité spécial des Dix-Sept.

169. Je voudrais encore une fois citer un exemple. Au paragraphe 49 du chapitre II, le rapport dit:

"... la situation était explosive au plus haut point en Rhodésie du Sud et... la responsabilité en incombait au Royaume-Uni. Depuis 75 ans, les Afri-

oains, propriétaires légitimes du territoire, demandaient au Gouvernement britannique de leur transférer pacifiquement ses pouvoirs. A ces revendications, le Royaume-Uni n'avait répondu que par la répression armée et il avait finalement imposé en 1961 une Constitution qui faisait de la Rhodésie du Sud un Etat de colons blancs semblable à celui qui existait en Afrique du Sud depuis 1910..."

ou bien, par exemple, au paragraphe 99 du chapitre V:

"... Leur présence [des Britanniques] au Bassoutoland n'était pour eux qu'un moyen de conserver leurs positions politiques et économiques. Ils soumettaient les Basotho à des mesures répressives, employaient contre eux les gaz lacrymogènes et torturaient les détenus politiques..."

170. Est-ce par hasard que dans toutes les résolutions recommandées par le Comité à l'Assemblée générale, y compris celles qui ont déjà été adoptées par l'Assemblée, on exprime le regret que le Royaume-Uni n'ait pas encore pris de mesures pour transférer les pouvoirs aux populations autochtones de la Rhodésie du Nord, de la Rhodésie du Sud, du Betchouanaland, du Bassoutoland et du Swaziland, ainsi que l'exige la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale?

171. Voilà donc quelques brefs extraits du rapport du Comité spécial des Dix-Sept, et, à la lumière de ces quelques faits indéniables, que reste-t-il donc des belles paroles prononcées par le représentant du Royaume-Uni sur la démocratie, l'esprit humanitaire, etc.?

172. L'examen des résultats des travaux du Comité spécial des Dix-Sept, auquel nous venons de procéder, constitue une sorte de forum qui approuve le travail de ceux qui ont apporté une contribution constructive à l'adoption des résolutions présentées au sujet de 12 territoires coloniaux, en même temps qu'il condamne ceux qui s'y sont opposés. Les puissances coloniales, par la position qu'elles ont adoptée au Comité spécial des Dix-Sept, se sont placées parmi ces opposants. Ce jugement objectif fait bien voir quels sont ceux qui sont vraiment en faveur de la liquidation du colonialisme, et cette conclusion sera celle de tout observateur objectif qui aura suivi le débat sur les résultats des travaux du Comité spécial des Dix-Sept.

173. Néanmoins, en dépit des faits, les puissances coloniales et leurs amis n'en cherchent pas moins à dénigrer la participation de la délégation de l'Union soviétique au Comité spécial des Dix-Sept. On fait en même temps des allusions à une réorganisation des travaux du Comité spécial afin de transformer cet organe pratique des Nations Unies, appelé à traduire dans les faits l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, en un club de discussion dans lequel la question vitale de la libération des peuples assujettis serait noyée dans le flot des discours hypocrites des colonialistes et de leurs complices.

174. C'est très exactement la ligne politique que les Etats-Unis, le Royaume-Uni et certains de leurs alliés entendaient suivre au Comité spécial au début de ses travaux. Ils se sont opposés à ce que le Comité spécial prenne des décisions précises, puis à ce qu'on vote une résolution. Ils se sont opposés à l'audition des pétitionnaires qui, on le sait, ont fourni la matière de base pour les travaux du Comité spécial.

Enfin, ils se sont opposés au voyage d'information en Afrique du Comité et ce n'était pas par un souci particulier des finances de l'Organisation des Nations Unies.

175. Heureusement, ces pays n'ont pas pu détourner le Comité spécial des Dix-Sept de la bonne voie et notre délégation constate encore une fois avec satisfaction que la délégation soviétique a apporté une contribution positive qui lui a valu les attaques rageuses des puissances coloniales.

176. On essaie de nous accuser de ne pas avoir fait preuve au Comité des Dix-Sept d'un grand désir de collaborer, parce que nous insistions sur le vote de résolutions et que nous nous opposions à l'adoption de décisions concertées. Nous sommes toujours disposés à discuter patiemment toutes les questions, à condition que nos partenaires désirent sincèrement les voir résoudre conformément à la volonté de la majorité. Mais quand on découvre que les partenaires cherchent à écarter le Comité de la bonne voie, à retarder sine die l'adoption de décisions sur des questions déjà parvenues à maturité, il est certain qu'on doit en venir à la méthode la plus démocratique, c'est-à-dire au vote qui dégage la volonté de la majorité.

177. C'est ainsi qu'a travaillé le Comité spécial et nous ne sommes pas responsables de ce que les puissances occidentales qui en étaient membres se soient placées dans l'opposition, contre la volonté de la majorité des membres du Comité. Ainsi, on a pu prendre la mesure de leur sincérité et de leur bonne foi dans la mise en œuvre de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, déclaration qui reflète la volonté de toute l'humanité.

178. A en juger par les déclarations du représentant du Royaume-Uni et de quelques-uns de ses partisans, on pourrait croire que le mal le plus grave serait dû à la position prise par la délégation de l'Union soviétique au Comité spécial des Dix-Sept. En quoi? La délégation soviétique s'est toujours rangée du côté de la majorité des membres du Comité; elle n'a rien entrepris à l'encontre de l'exécution des tâches confiées au Comité par la résolution 1554 (XVI) adoptée par l'Assemblée générale à sa seizième session.

179. Notre pays n'a aucun intérêt en Afrique. Nous défendons les principes dont se font les champions tous les pays d'Afrique et d'Asie — les principes de la liquidation très rapide du colonialisme. Les déclarations des pays occidentaux ont, elles, précisément pour but de détourner l'attention de ce thème principal et essentiel. Ces déclarations, nous les rejetons comme indignes.

180. L'Union soviétique s'oppose et s'opposera toujours au colonialisme parce que c'est un système profondément étranger à notre structure sociale, à notre genre de vie, à notre conception du monde.

181. M. COULIBALY (Mali): Etant membre du Comité spécial de décolonisation, je n'ai pas l'intention, à ce stade de la discussion générale sur le rapport soumis à l'Assemblée (A/5238), de faire une longue déclaration. Au cours des travaux du Comité des Dix-Sept, ma délégation a eu en effet l'occasion de réaffirmer sans aucune ambiguïté la position du Gouvernement de la République du Mali face au problème que pose la liquidation sans délai du colo-

nalisme. Cette position est et demeure celle d'un peuple que des liens de fraternité unissent à d'autres peuples qui souffrent dans leur dignité et dans leur chair des humiliations et de la tyrannie de la domination étrangère. Je dis humiliations, car la domination imposée à un peuple faible par un peuple plus fort est une violation caractérisée de la dignité humaine.

182. Cette violation de la dignité, qui, à elle seule, est un acte des plus condamnables, est souvent doublée d'une véritable tyrannie, une barbarie sans nom, comme c'est le cas dans les territoires soumis à l'intolérable domination portugaise et sud-africaine.

183. Je ne veux pas évoquer, à ce stade avancé de la lutte de l'Organisation des Nations Unies contre le colonialisme, toutes les atrocités commises par les puissances coloniales, notamment par le Portugal en Angola, au Mozambique, en Guinée dite portugaise, ou par le gouvernement raciste de l'Afrique du Sud dans le Sud-Ouest africain, et en Afrique du Sud même, contre les Bantous. Je ne veux pas m'étendre non plus sur la répression brutale dont a été victime le mouvement nationaliste de libération au Kenya, répression qui n'avait pour but que de tuer la conscience nationale du peuple africain du Kenya, afin que les colons blancs puissent, en toute tranquillité, exploiter les terres volées aux populations autochtones. Je ne m'attarderai pas sur la situation dangereuse créée en Rhodésie du Sud, où la Puissance administrante prétend avoir accordé un régime d'autonomie, alors qu'une minorité raciale, formée de colons blancs, impose sa dictature à près de 3 millions d'Africains. Je ne répéterai pas également ici les nombreux témoignages qui nous ont été apportés par les pétitionnaires sur la situation à Zanzibar, en Rhodésie du Nord, au Betchouanaland, au Bassoutoland ou au Souaziland. Je ne citerai pas non plus les nombreux nationalistes africains torturés et encore en prison pour avoir engagé la lutte, d'ailleurs sous une forme pacifique, pour l'indépendance de leur patrie et pour le respect de leur dignité d'hommes.

184. Si j'ai évoqué ces faits en guise de préambule, ce n'est pas pour dresser un réquisitoire contre le colonialisme. Ma délégation considère en effet que le stade de l'accusation du colonialisme est déjà dépassé, car l'Assemblée a condamné à plusieurs reprises cette honteuse pratique, notamment au cours de sa quinzième session, en adoptant la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux [résolution 1514 (XV)].

185. J'ai fait ces brefs rappels pour que les puissances coloniales et les gouvernements qui les soutiennent puissent apprécier objectivement la portée de la retenue et de la modération des délégations qui ont connu le régime colonial et que des liens de tous ordres unissent à d'autres peuples encore sous domination coloniale. Malgré notre indignation et notre révolte morale devant l'obstination de certaines puissances coloniales à maintenir sous leur domination d'autres territoires et d'autres peuples, nous nous sommes fait violence afin de rechercher, dans un esprit de compréhension mutuelle, les voies et les moyens les plus pratiques pour l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux.

186. C'est ce sens du réalisme et cette volonté de coopération qui ont guidé la plupart des membres du Comité spécial. Je me dois ici de rendre un hommage bien mérité à la grande expérience et au souci

de conciliation dont ont fait preuve, au cours des travaux du Comité des Dix-Sept, M. Jha et M. Rifai, respectivement président et rapporteur du Comité. Il m'est agréable également, malgré les divergences de vues qui ont pu apparaître parfois, de féliciter tous les membres du Comité pour leur esprit de coopération, sentiment que j'ai pu apprécier particulièrement au cours du voyage en Afrique où j'ai eu l'honneur de présider les travaux du Comité.

187. Des délégations ont exprimé ici des réserves sur les méthodes de travail du Comité spécial. On a parlé du fait que la méthode dite du consensus n'a pas toujours prévalu. Je pense qu'il s'agit là d'un grief qui ne mérite pas d'être retenu. En effet, nous avons toujours pensé que l'unanimité est souhaitable dans les organes et comités des Nations Unies, en raison du fait que l'appartenance à l'Organisation est volontaire. Mais il ne nous a pas paru rationnel d'admettre que la recherche de cette unanimité se traduise par la confusion, le piétinement ou le renoncement à ce qui est juste et objectif.

188. La recherche de l'unanimité ne doit pas permettre à la minorité d'imposer ses vues à la majorité. Le Comité spécial n'a eu recours au vote qu'après avoir usé de toutes les possibilités de compromis et de conciliation. Les votes intervenus dans ces conditions, afin de permettre au Comité d'avancer dans ses travaux et de rester fidèle à son mandat, ne doivent pas être interprétés comme la volonté d'un groupe d'imposer ses vues à un autre groupe. Nous n'avons jamais considéré le Comité comme un forum de confrontation d'intérêts ou d'idéologies opposées, mais comme une commission chargée de dégager les voies et moyens d'appliquer une décision acceptée par tous les Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, à savoir la Déclaration sur l'indépendance, déclaration adoptée par l'Assemblée générale sans aucune opposition. Que des divergences soient apparues au cours des travaux du Comité, cela est normal, comme dans toute assemblée; mais cela ne suffit pas pour mettre en cause des méthodes et des procédures de travail qui ont donné des résultats positifs.

189. On a reproché également au Comité spécial d'avoir écouté des pétitionnaires. Ce grief ne me paraît pas sérieux non plus, en raison de la pratique existant aux Nations Unies en la matière. Sur un problème aussi important que celui de l'accession à l'indépendance, comment peut-on apprécier objectivement la situation dans un territoire sans écouter les représentants des populations autochtones afin de connaître leurs aspirations, leurs préoccupations et les difficultés qu'elles rencontrent? S'il est utile d'écouter les puissances administrantes, je crois qu'il est indispensable d'entendre ceux que nous voulons aider dans leur accession à l'indépendance. Le contraire serait anachronique et ne serait pas conforme au mandat du Comité.

190. On a reproché également au Comité spécial de s'être rendu en Afrique. Trois gouvernements africains — les Gouvernements du Maroc, de l'Éthiopie et du Tanganyika — ont voulu apporter une contribution louable à l'effort de décolonisation des Nations Unies et ont invité le Comité à venir siéger dans leurs capitales respectives. Nous pensons que le Comité, qui travaillait sur des territoires situés en Afrique, a été bien inspiré d'accepter ces invitations, et nous félicitons le Secrétariat d'avoir facilité la mission du Comité en Afrique. Des délé-

gations impartiales ont pu d'ailleurs apprécier le travail accompli par le Comité en Afrique. Les populations africaines encore soumises au régime colonial et qui ont pu s'entretenir avec le Comité en Afrique ont pu apprécier également l'intérêt que l'Organisation des Nations Unies attache à la liquidation de ce fléau que représente le colonialisme.

191. Après ces brèves observations, je dois confirmer que ma délégation approuve toutes les décisions du Comité spécial et apprécie les méthodes et les procédures de travail qu'il a adoptées.

192. Certes, le Comité spécial n'a pas pu examiner la situation dans tous les territoires visés par la Déclaration sur l'indépendance. Cela est dû au peu de temps dont il disposait et au sérieux avec lequel il a voulu s'acquitter de sa mission. Evidemment, il était possible au Comité de consacrer une ou deux séances de travail seulement à chaque territoire et d'adopter un projet de résolution demandant l'accession à l'indépendance. Une telle méthode de travail aurait relevé de la démagogie et aurait induit l'Assemblée générale en erreur. C'est cette attitude irresponsable que le Comité a voulu éviter en recherchant des solutions qui puissent être acceptées par les puissances administrantes et qui en même temps correspondent aux aspirations des populations opprimées. C'est ce souci d'objectivité qui a amené le Comité à envoyer un sous-comité à Londres pour s'entretenir avec le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni au sujet de la Rhodésie du Sud.

193. A notre sens, il faut plutôt regretter que les efforts déployés par le Comité spécial pour mettre en œuvre les dispositions de la Déclaration sur l'indépendance n'aient pas eu suffisamment d'écho auprès des puissances administrantes. En effet, si des puissances administrantes comme le Royaume-Uni et l'Australie ont fait des efforts certains pour coopérer avec le Comité, le Gouvernement portugais par contre, qui prétend contre le bon sens que les territoires qu'il administre en Afrique sont des provinces du Portugal, situé en Europe, a systématiquement refusé toute coopération avec le Comité.

194. Au terme de cette intervention, je voudrais insister sur le caractère irréversible de l'élan des peuples colonisés vers leur accession à l'indépendance. Un simple regard sur l'Assemblée aujourd'hui, pour ceux qui l'ont connue il y a 10 ans, suffit à démontrer l'absurdité du concept de domination éternelle des métropoles sur les colonies.

195. Nous reconnaissons que le Royaume-Uni, par exemple, a fait de gros efforts dans le domaine de la décolonisation. On nous a souvent cité ici les pays auxquels le Royaume-Uni a accordé l'indépendance dans l'amitié, chose que nous apprécions beaucoup et pour laquelle nous félicitons d'ailleurs le Gouvernement britannique. A ce propos, je voudrais citer un proverbe bambara qui dit: "Si vous transportez une vieille femme depuis le matin sur votre dos et que vous l'abandonniez le soir dans la forêt sans qu'elle atteigne sa destination, vos efforts de la journée ne peuvent être appréciés." C'est le cas de la Rhodésie du Sud pour le Royaume-Uni. En effet, le Royaume-Uni, qui est fier, peut-être non sans raison du reste, d'avoir conduit à l'indépendance 630 millions d'individus, semble vouloir abandonner les 3 millions d'Africains de la Rhodésie du Sud à la

merci du pouvoir raciste et policier institué par la minorité de colons blancs installés dans cette partie du continent africain. Ce scénario nous rappelle étrangement le processus de formation de l'Etat connu aujourd'hui sous le nom de République de l'Afrique du Sud, où un gouvernement ayant érigé l'apartheid en système social, ravale au rang d'êtres inférieurs des millions d'Africains bantous.

196. Nous souhaitons que le Royaume-Uni, pour lequel nous avons beaucoup de considération et dont nous avons, en d'autres circonstances, apprécié les efforts dans le domaine de la décolonisation, continue de coopérer avec le Comité spécial de manière à conduire à l'indépendance, et conformément aux dispositions de la résolution 1514 (XV), tous les territoires qu'il administre encore sous forme de colonies ou de protectorats. Cette coopération doit se traduire par la recherche constante et objective, dans un esprit de compréhension mutuelle, des moyens et mesures, y compris la fixation de dates, qui permettent aux territoires d'accéder à l'indépendance conformément aux vœux des populations autochtones. C'est ce genre de coopération que nous attendons de lui.

197. Quant au Portugal et à l'Afrique du Sud, qui se sont délibérément placés en marge de la légalité internationale, ma délégation pense que la communauté internationale doit utiliser tous les moyens dont elle dispose pour leur imposer le respect des décisions de l'Assemblée générale et des recommandations du Comité spécial.

198. Compte tenu de l'expérience de cette première année d'existence du Comité spécial, ma délégation pense que les pouvoirs du Comité doivent être renforcés. Celui-ci doit, à notre avis, s'occuper de l'ensemble des problèmes de décolonisation et s'intéresser à tous les territoires encore dépendants. Le Comité doit être habilité à faire rapport à l'Assemblée générale au moment opportun et même au Conseil de sécurité si la situation dans un territoire donné, au regard de la paix, nécessite un tel recours. Le Secrétariat doit, comme il l'a déjà fait, apporter tout son concours au Comité et faciliter les communications entre le Comité et les puissances administrantes. Le Comité ne doit pas être considéré comme une simple commission de renseignements ou un groupe de rédaction de projets de résolution. Il doit être un instrument efficace pour l'application intégrale et sans délai de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, déclaration qui constitue le complément indispensable de la Déclaration universelle des droits de l'homme. Il ne suffit pas, en effet, d'affirmer tout simplement que tous les hommes sont égaux; il faut permettre à tous les peuples de jouir de ce droit à l'égalité.

199. Pour permettre au Comité spécial de faire face aux nouvelles tâches qui pourraient lui être confiées, certaines délégations ont suggéré qu'il soit procédé à une augmentation du nombre de ses membres. Mais ma délégation souhaite que l'Assemblée générale, sur la base des différentes suggestions dont elle est saisie, adopte sur cette question une position qui sauvegardera à la fois l'efficacité et l'équilibre politique du Comité.

La séance est levée à 18 h 10.

Nations Unies ASSEMBLÉE GÉNÉRALE

DIX-SEPTIÈME SESSION

Documents officiels



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SÉANCE PLÉNIÈRE

Jeudi 29 novembre 1962,
à 20 h 30

NEW YORK

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Point 25 de l'ordre du jour:

La situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux: rapport du Comité spécial constitué aux termes de la résolution 1654 (XVI) de l'Assemblée générale (suite) 1007

Président: M. Muhammad ZAFRULLA KHAN
(Pakistan).

POINT 25 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

La situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux: rapport du Comité spécial constitué aux termes de la résolution 1654 (XVI) de l'Assemblée générale (suite)

1. M. ROSSIDES (Chypre) [traduit de l'anglais]: L'accélération du processus de l'accession à l'indépendance des peuples assujettis est un problème qui intéresse particulièrement ma délégation. L'aspiration à la liberté et la lutte pour l'indépendance sont des sujets chers au cœur des Chypriotes.

2. L'histoire de Chypre, depuis plus de trois millénaires, a été marquée par des luttes glorieuses et sans cesse renouvelées pour sauvegarder ou recouvrer la liberté, pour repousser l'invasion ou rejeter les dominations étrangères successives qui ont balayé en tous sens ce carrefour méditerranéen des nations entre l'Orient et l'Occident.

3. Le peuple de Chypre s'est récemment libéré du joug colonial après une lutte pour sa libération qui a duré des dizaines d'années, dont les Nations Unies ont eu à connaître et qui s'est terminée par une résistance armée de quatre ans; il est donc naturellement animé de sentiments de solidarité fraternelle envers tous ceux qui luttent pour acquérir la liberté et la dignité humaines auxquelles ils ont droit. C'est donc pour nous une source d'immense satisfaction que de constater que les Nations Unies sont enfin à même de prendre des mesures efficaces pour assurer dans la paix ce passage à la liberté et à l'indépendance, en favorisant activement des solutions justes et en éliminant autant que faire se peut la nécessité du recours à la violence et aux effusions de sang.

4. Depuis quelques années, le processus de décolonisation a été vraiment rapide et impressionnant, si on le compare au passé. La grande augmentation du nombre des Membres de l'Organisation, où sont entrés en 1960 beaucoup de nouveaux pays indépendants, tous profondément dévoués à la cause de la liberté et respectueux des principes de la Charte, a provoqué une modification considérable dans l'équilibre des votes à

l'Assemblée générale et a eu un effet vivifiant sur les Nations Unies, particulièrement lorsqu'il s'agit de questions où la liberté et la libre détermination entrent en jeu,

5. Ainsi, l'Assemblée générale a pu, à sa quinzième session, adopter à une majorité écrasante la Déclaration historique sur le colonialisme [résolution 1514 (XV)] qui a ouvert un chapitre nouveau dans l'histoire de l'humanité. La mise en œuvre de cette déclaration a une importance vitale pour toutes les nations et pour tous les peuples. C'est avant tout, sans aucun doute, un sujet de préoccupation pour les peuples assujettis eux-mêmes, dont les droits fondamentaux à la libre détermination et à l'indépendance doivent être rétablis; c'est aussi essentiellement une question de justice et de moralité fondamentales, car tous les peuples doivent pouvoir prendre la place qui leur revient de droit dans la communauté des nations, être libres de développer leur personnalité distincte et de réaliser leur destin par leur contribution au progrès mondial.

6. Aussi importants, toutefois, que puissent être ces aspects du problème, l'élimination rapide du colonialisme fait intervenir beaucoup d'autres éléments. Elle a des incidences de portée mondiale et demeure étroitement liée au problème d'ensemble de la paix mondiale dont dépend, en cette ère nucléaire, la survivance même de l'humanité.

7. En effet, la route qui mène à la paix mondiale passe par l'ordre mondial, et l'ordre mondial ne peut s'accomplir sans la liberté mondiale. Pour réaliser cette liberté, il faut d'abord se débarrasser du colonialisme dans toutes ses manifestations, car cet ordre mondial ne peut être fondé que sur la justice et sur l'équilibre, et il ne peut y avoir d'équilibre ou de justice tant que des nations cherchent à en dominer d'autres et que des millions d'êtres humains sont en révolte parce qu'ils sont forcés de vivre sous des régimes qu'ils n'ont pas choisis librement et qui n'expriment pas leur volonté démocratique.

8. La notion de la domination par la force doit être complètement éliminée. Pour cela, le colonialisme, système de domination qui a été sanctionné légalement pendant des siècles en tant que norme constitutionnelle, doit être aboli et cesser d'être une réalité toujours vivante dans le monde d'aujourd'hui. C'est pourquoi la mise en œuvre rapide de la Déclaration de 1960 est une nécessité vitale pour la paix mondiale. C'est alors seulement que l'humanité pourra envisager avec confiance la fin de toute domination par la force — qu'il s'agisse du colonialisme ou du néo-colonialisme —, la fin de toute injustice politique dans quelque partie du monde que ce soit et quelle que soit la forme que cette domination et cette injustice puissent encore prendre. En effet, un colonialisme périmé a, par son exemple, servi de bouclier à d'autres modes de domination qui entraînaient par conséquent d'autres formes de violation des droits de l'homme.

9. Cette marée montante de la liberté, une fois en mouvement, ne pourra jamais cesser d'aller de l'avant jusqu'à ce que la tâche soit achevée. Elle gagnera en impétuosité pendant que l'action systématique des Nations Unies la dirigera par des voies pacifiques vers la liberté universelle qui est le but désiré. Dans un tel climat où s'affirmerait de plus en plus l'esprit de coopération, l'ordre et la paix seront plus près d'être réalisés dans le monde.

10. L'œuvre de décolonisation qui progresse maintenant rapidement sous l'égide des Nations Unies peut constituer une étape beaucoup plus positive pour la réalisation des fins de la Charte et pour l'établissement d'une paix permanente que l'ensemble de tous les efforts en matière de désarmement.

11. Comme on peut le voir dans le Préambule de la Charte, les peuples des Nations Unies, "résolus à préserver les générations futures du fléau de la guerre", ont jugé nécessaire de "proclamer... [leur] foi dans les droits fondamentaux de l'homme, ... dans l'égalité de droits des hommes et des femmes, ainsi que des nations, grandes et petites" et de "créer les conditions nécessaires au maintien de la justice et du respect... du droit international"; ils ont proclamé aussi leur volonté de "favoriser le progrès social et instaurer de meilleures conditions de vie dans une liberté plus grande" et, à ces fins, se sont déclarés résolus "à unir [leurs] forces pour maintenir la paix et la sécurité internationales".

12. Tel est l'ensemble de principes qui constituent le fondement de la Charte et qui signifient que la paix ne se réalise pas seulement par les efforts déployés dans le domaine du désarmement, mais qu'elle doit être recherchée dans le respect de la justice, de la liberté et des droits de l'homme. C'est en ce sens que l'application de la Déclaration sur le colonialisme acquiert une importance essentielle, car le colonialisme, de même que toutes les formes de domination par la force, ne peut coexister avec les objectifs de la Charte ou avec un esprit de paix. Il est donc hautement encourageant que les Nations Unies aient enfin décidé d'éliminer systématiquement et énergiquement cet obstacle majeur qui entrave le progrès de l'Organisation vers l'établissement d'un monde pacifique "dans une liberté plus grande".

13. Toutes les nations et tous les peuples qui aspirent à la paix doivent contribuer de tout leur pouvoir à la suppression du colonialisme, poussés par un sentiment d'urgence et le sens de leurs responsabilités. Nous pourrions alors envisager avec plus de confiance des mesures plus importantes destinées à renforcer les Nations Unies et à affermir la sécurité et la paix internationales.

14. La création par l'Assemblée générale, à sa seizième session, d'un Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, ou Comité spécial des Dix-Sept, constitue avec le vaste mandat qui a été confié au Comité une mesure audacieuse, significative et révolutionnaire. La tâche que la Charte a confiée aux Nations Unies et qui consiste à promouvoir le droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes prend maintenant une forme concrète et systématique qui lui a longtemps fait défaut, en particulier en ce qui concerne les territoires non autonomes. En effet, pour les territoires sous tutelle, le Conseil de tutelle avait été institué pour traiter de leurs problèmes et pour

favoriser leur évolution progressive vers l'indépendance, mais aucun organe d'une autorité comparable n'avait été créé pour traiter des problèmes des territoires non autonomes ou pour aider leur évolution pacifique vers l'autodétermination et l'indépendance, car le Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes n'a que des fonctions limitées et une autorité restreinte et ne peut pas favoriser l'évolution des territoires non autonomes vers l'indépendance. La création du Comité spécial des Dix-Sept était donc particulièrement nécessaire puisque les derniers territoires sous domination coloniale font maintenant presque tous partie de la catégorie des territoires non autonomes.

15. Nous espérons et sommes persuadés que les puissances coloniales comprendront elles-mêmes pleinement la nécessité de collaborer avec le Comité spécial des Dix-Sept dans sa grande tâche de décolonisation. Elles doivent le faire non pas de mauvais gré, mais dans un véritable esprit de coopération et dans l'intérêt commun, car, en accordant la liberté, elles se trouveront elles-mêmes libérées des concepts démodés imposés par leur politique coloniale qui a inévitablement rétréci leur largeur de vues, diminué leur prestige international et porté atteinte à leur réputation morale. Délivrées du fardeau de leur colonialisme, elles seraient bien mieux à même d'apporter leur contribution précieuse à l'effort mondial pour le progrès pacifique dans la liberté.

16. Ma délégation tient à exprimer sa grande satisfaction des travaux dont le Comité spécial a réussi à s'acquitter en si peu de temps avec diligence, sérieux et persévérance. Nous voulons aussi le féliciter de son rapport détaillé [A/5238] et rendre hommage à la sagesse et au talent du Président du Comité, M. Jha, de l'Inde, ainsi qu'au travail remarquable du Rapporteur du Comité, M. Rifai.

17. Il est clair que le Comité a dû faire face à des problèmes ardues et compliqués. Les territoires coloniaux où la minorité européenne qui s'y est établie occupe une position dominante présentent les difficultés les plus considérables. Poussées dans leurs derniers retranchements et jouissant encore de leurs derniers pouvoirs, ces minorités ne peuvent pas facilement se soumettre à un changement radical dans leur manière de vivre et dans la conduite de leurs affaires politiques. Pourtant ce changement doit se produire. Nous ne méconnaissons pas les difficultés que comporte un tel changement lorsqu'il entraîne l'abandon de privilèges et d'avantages qui ont déterminé pendant des générations la manière de vivre des colonialistes. Toutefois, le caractère inévitable de ce changement est une réalité qui exige une adaptation et un ajustement aux besoins impérieux de notre temps. Plus tôt les communautés européennes d'Afrique s'en rendront compte, mieux cela vaudra pour tous les intéressés. Essayer d'arrêter par la force le cours de l'histoire est un vain effort qui n'aboutit à rien. Prendre une attitude de coopération devant l'inévitable s'est toujours avéré la voie la plus sage, en particulier lorsqu'une telle méthode est conforme aux principes. Il faudra donc, tôt ou tard, et le plus tôt sera le mieux, tenir compte du droit démocratique des majorités africaines, car sans la reconnaissance de ce droit il n'y aura pas d'équilibre, d'harmonie ou de paix.

18. Les minorités européennes en Afrique, de culture et de civilisation occidentales, doivent être capables de saisir cette occasion, de comprendre la vaste

portée et les ramifications de leur problème dans un monde d'interdépendance croissante, et d'avoir le courage moral d'entreprendre une action altruiste, tout autant dans leur propre intérêt largement conquis que dans l'intérêt de la communauté internationale. Il ne faut pas oublier en effet que c'est en donnant qu'on reçoit le plus.

19. Quoi qu'il en soit, les travaux du Comité spécial des Dix-Sept doivent être poursuivis régulièrement afin que ses objectifs soient atteints le plus tôt possible. La chose est urgente, mais il ne faut certainement pas agir avec hâte et précipitation. Partout où une période de transition raisonnablement brève est nécessaire pour obtenir des résultats plus satisfaisants dans l'ordre et la coopération, les peuples intéressés ne devraient pas refuser ce délai, mais devraient faire preuve d'un esprit de coopération et de compréhension mutuelle. C'est ainsi que la marche vers l'indépendance doit se dérouler, avec détermination et un sentiment profond des responsabilités, pour atteindre le but dans un proche avenir.

20. Ma délégation pense que les travaux du Comité doivent être continués aussi longtemps que le processus de décolonisation rendra nécessaires ses services. Son mandat pourrait être renouvelé d'année en année, ou sous une forme plus prolongée à déterminer. Il est vrai que les fonctions du Comité spécial des Dix-Sept ont, sous certains aspects, fait double emploi avec les activités d'autres comités chargés de s'occuper de certains territoires coloniaux, comme le Comité spécial pour les territoires administrés par le Portugal, le Sous-Comité chargé d'examiner la situation en Angola et le Comité spécial pour le Sud-Ouest africain, mais il ne faut pas oublier que le rapport du Comité spécial pour les territoires administrés par le Portugal [A/5160], que nous avons essayé de préparer en toute objectivité après un examen approfondi de la question, traite de tous les territoires administrés par le Portugal, tandis que le rapport du Comité spécial des Dix-Sept ne concerne que deux de ces territoires. Il faut admettre que le Comité spécial pour les territoires administrés par le Portugal a procédé à un examen plus étendu et plus détaillé des problèmes, et qu'il ne peut donc manquer d'être utile au Comité spécial des Dix-Sept.

21. Cependant, ma délégation croit que, pour éviter des doubles emplois et des dépenses supplémentaires, les travaux doivent être concentrés au Comité spécial des Dix-Sept qui pourra d'ailleurs constituer des sous-comités, s'il le juge nécessaire, pour étudier des territoires particuliers. En même temps, le nombre des membres du Comité pourrait être augmenté si l'on estime que les circonstances le justifient. Dans l'ensemble, nous estimons que les travaux du Comité spécial des Dix-Sept sont d'une importance capitale et qu'ils doivent être poursuivis résolument jusqu'au plein accomplissement de la tâche entreprise.

22. M. AKAKPO (Togo): Le 14 décembre 1960, au cours de sa quinzième session, l'Assemblée générale a proclamé, dans sa résolution 1514 (XV), le droit de tous les peuples à l'indépendance et a invité les puissances coloniales à "transférer tous pouvoirs aux peuples de ces territoires, sans aucune condition ni réserve".

23. Un an plus tard, lors de sa seizième session, devant le manque de coopération de certaines puissances coloniales, l'Assemblée générale a créé un

Comité spécial composé de 17 puissances et chargé de veiller à la mise en œuvre de la résolution 1514 (XV). Le Comité spécial des 17 puissances, créé en vertu du paragraphe 3 de la résolution 1854 (XVI) du 27 novembre 1961, a été chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. Il avait pour tâche, d'après le paragraphe 4 de ladite résolution, "d'étudier l'application de la Déclaration, de formuler des suggestions et des recommandations quant aux progrès réalisés et à la mesure dans laquelle la Déclaration était mise en œuvre, et de faire rapport à l'Assemblée générale lors de sa dix-septième session". Le Comité spécial était également chargé, selon le paragraphe 5, "d'accomplir sa tâche en se servant de tous les moyens dont il disposerait dans le cadre des procédures et des modalités qu'il adopterait pour bien s'acquitter de ses fonctions".

24. Le rapport (A/5238) présenté par le Comité spécial le 20 septembre 1962 traite exactement de toutes les tâches que l'Assemblée générale lui a confiées. Ma délégation rend hommage au Comité spécial pour la conscience, la minutie et le sérieux avec lesquels il a accompli son œuvre.

25. En ce qui concerne le programme de travail, ma délégation se félicite de ce que le Comité spécial ait décidé, au cours de sa 8ème séance, d'accorder la priorité à l'examen de la situation dans les territoires d'Afrique, où existent non seulement le plus grand nombre de pays et de peuples encore sous domination, mais aussi les situations les plus explosives. Sur les 12 pays faisant l'objet de ce rapport, 11 sont africains, et tous sont des foyers importants de lutte pour la libération du joug colonial.

26. Cette particularité de l'Afrique tient au fait que c'est sur ce continent que les droits de l'homme et la dignité humaine ont été le plus souvent foulés aux pieds à l'époque de l'esclavage. Des milliers d'Africains ont été emmenés comme esclaves sur d'autres continents, et, si nous lisons l'histoire de leurs souffrances, nous devinons combien elles ont été terribles. Lorsque, enfin, la conscience universelle s'est réveillée et s'est élevée contre cette pratique odieuse qui consistait à considérer des êtres humains comme des marchandises, comme des machines, et à bénéficier gratuitement de leur sueur, de leurs peines, de leurs souffrances, en un mot de leur travail, on a mis un terme à l'esclavage pour lui substituer aussitôt une exploitation de l'homme déraciné, arraché à son foyer, à sa patrie, exploitation colonialiste, plus subtile, plus raffinée et plus cruelle.

27. Il n'est pas nécessaire de parler longuement de tous les méfaits dont l'Afrique et l'Asie ont été victimes de la part des capitalistes. Arrêt de leur civilisation propre, perte des libertés, perte de la dignité, perte des droits de l'homme, ignorance, misère, faim, maladies, sous-développement, telle est la liste, bien incomplète d'ailleurs, de ces méfaits.

28. La résultante de tous les agissements du colonialisme a été l'absence de contribution, de la part du continent africain, à l'œuvre de progrès universel. De même qu'hier on a mis un terme à l'esclavage, il faut aujourd'hui mettre fin au colonialisme. Les peuples africains ont pris conscience de leur droit à l'indépendance; ce phénomène s'est d'ailleurs produit dans bien d'autres pays du monde.

29. C'est ce que l'Organisation des Nations Unies — qui représente la conscience mondiale — a exprimé dans sa résolution 1514 (XV), adoptée le 14 décembre 1960, contenant la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. Les principes énoncés dans cette déclaration revêtent un caractère sacré, tout comme ceux qui sont inscrits dans la Charte des Nations Unies. Ces principes doivent être mis en œuvre par tous les moyens et par tous les pays.

30. A ce stade de ma déclaration, je dois rendre hommage à deux grandes puissances auxquelles va la reconnaissance des Africains et des Asiatiques, à savoir la France et le Royaume-Uni.

31. La France a octroyé l'indépendance à presque toutes ses colonies. Le Royaume-Uni continue le processus de décolonisation de ses territoires. Par contre, nous constatons avec indignation que certains pays comme le Portugal et la République sud-africaine s'obstinent à tenir des millions d'Africains sous leur domination. Ils comptent sans doute sur les forces matérielles pour détruire la force morale qui anime les peuples d'Afrique en lutte pour leur indépendance. Ils continuent à tuer les Africains par milliers, et, pour soustraire les territoires administrés par eux au processus de décolonisation, ils recourent à des subterfuges comme celui qui consiste, pour le Portugal par exemple, à déclarer que les colonies portugaises sont devenues des provinces de ce pays par le seul fait que le Parlement portugais a voté une loi dans ce sens; ou bien, comme c'est le cas pour l'Afrique du Sud, à prétendre que, la Société des Nations étant morte, le Mandat qui lui avait été confié concernant le Territoire du Sud-Ouest africain est devenu un titre foncier sur une propriété privée.

32. La décolonisation est un problème international dont l'Organisation des Nations Unies mesure toute la gravité. Elle conditionne en effet, avec le désarmement et d'autres problèmes, le maintien de la paix et de la sécurité internationales.

33. Les efforts accomplis par l'ONU au moyen de ses divers organes — le Conseil de tutelle, la Quatrième Commission, le Conseil de sécurité, l'Assemblée générale elle-même et également la Cour internationale de Justice — pour libérer les peuples colonisés sont significatifs. Ainsi, au cours de cette année seulement, l'Afrique a reçu la visite de quatre organismes importants des Nations Unies: le Comité spécial des Dix-Sept, le Comité spécial pour le Sud-Ouest africain, le Sous-Comité chargé d'examiner la situation en Angola et le Comité spécial pour les territoires administrés par le Portugal.

34. Quelles sont les conclusions et recommandations auxquelles a abouti le Conseil spécial des Dix-Sept sur chacun des 12 territoires qui font l'objet de son rapport [A/5238]? Je me permettrai d'en faire une courte analyse.

35. Tout d'abord, en ce qui concerne la Rhodésie du Sud, après avoir considéré que la grande majorité de la population du pays avait rejeté la Constitution du 6 décembre 1961, l'Assemblée générale a adopté, le 28 juin 1962, une résolution [1747 (XVI)] où elle priait l'Autorité administrante d'élaborer une constitution démocratique pour remplacer celle du 6 décembre 1961, qui était antidémocratique et discriminatoire. L'Assemblée a demandé, pour la Rhodésie du Sud, l'application de la résolution 1514 (XV).

36. Pour la Rhodésie du Nord, le Comité spécial, dans les conclusions de son rapport, souligne la nécessité de prendre immédiatement des mesures pour mettre fin à la Fédération et a fait ressortir le caractère antidémocratique et discriminatoire de la nouvelle Constitution [voir par. 193 et 197 du chap. III]. Dans ses recommandations, le Comité spécial insiste sur l'importance et la nécessité d'appliquer immédiatement la résolution 1514 (XV) et, en conséquence, recommande la fixation d'une date aussi rapprochée que possible pour l'accession à l'indépendance de la Rhodésie du Nord [voir par. 203 du chap. III].

37. Les conclusions et recommandations du Comité spécial des Dix-Sept en ce qui concerne le Nyassaland sont les suivantes: il affirme le droit imprescriptible du peuple du Nyassaland à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance et note avec regret que la Puissance administrante n'a pas encore exécuté les dispositions du paragraphe 5 de la résolution 1514 (XV) aux termes duquel:

"Des mesures immédiates seront prises, dans les territoires sous tutelle, les territoires non autonomes et tous autres territoires qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance, pour transférer tous pouvoirs aux peuples de ces territoires, sans aucune condition ni réserve..."

Il exprime enfin l'espoir que la date de l'accession du Nyassaland à l'indépendance sera fixée au cours des pourparlers qui auront lieu entre M. Banda et le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni [voir par. 67 du chap. IV].

38. Quant aux territoires du Bassoutoland, du Betchouanaland et du Souaziland, le Comité spécial recommande à l'Assemblée générale de réaffirmer le droit inaliénable des peuples de ces territoires à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance. Dans le cadre de la résolution 1514 (XV), il recommande également à l'Assemblée générale de déclarer solennellement que toute tentative d'annexion de ces territoires sera considérée par l'Organisation comme un acte d'agression qui viole la Charte des Nations Unies [voir par. 214 du chap. V].

39. De même, en ce qui concerne Zanzibar, le Comité spécial recommande que l'Assemblée générale témoigne sa satisfaction des progrès politiques réalisés par la population, et invite la Puissance administrante à prendre des mesures immédiates pour l'application de la résolution 1514 (XV) et à ne négliger aucun effort pour permettre à Zanzibar d'accéder au plus tôt à l'indépendance [voir par. 154 du chap. VI].

40. Au sujet de la Guyane britannique, le Comité spécial prie les Gouvernements du Royaume-Uni et de la Guyane britannique de reprendre immédiatement les négociations en vue d'aboutir à un accord sur la date de l'indépendance de la Guyane britannique [voir par. 84 du chap. VII].

41. En ce qui concerne le Mozambique, le Comité spécial recommande que l'Assemblée générale réaffirme solennellement le droit inaliénable du peuple du Mozambique à la libre détermination et à l'indépendance, appuie les revendications du peuple du Mozambique en vue de son accession immédiate à l'indépendance, et, en outre, prie le Conseil de sécurité de prendre, en cas de non-coopération du Portugal avec les Nations Unies, des mesures pour que le Portugal se conforme à la résolution 1514 (XV) [voir par. 109 du chap. VIII].

42. A propos du Sud-Ouest africain, le Comité spécial des Dix-Sept a fait siennes les conclusions et recommandations figurant dans le rapport du Comité spécial pour le Sud-Ouest africain [A/5212 et Add.1 à 3]. Le Comité spécial croit que le moment est venu pour les Nations Unies de prendre d'urgence des décisions concrètes à l'encontre de l'Afrique du Sud, pour éviter l'annexion du Sud-Ouest africain par l'Afrique du Sud et pour assurer au plus tôt son accession à l'indépendance [voir par. 124 du chap. IX].

43. Pour ce qui est du Kenya, le Comité spécial recommande à l'Assemblée générale d'affirmer le droit inaliénable de ce territoire à la liberté et à l'indépendance et d'inviter la Puissance administrante et tous les intéressés à n'épargner aucun effort pour que le Kenya accède le plus tôt possible à l'indépendance [voir par. 38 du chap. X].

44. Enfin, pour l'Angola, le Comité spécial recommande que l'Assemblée générale réaffirme solennellement le droit inaliénable du peuple angolais à la libre détermination et à l'indépendance; condamne la guerre que le Portugal mène contre le peuple de l'Angola et invite les autorités portugaises à mettre un terme sur-le-champ aux actes de cruauté; demande au Gouvernement portugais de prendre des mesures politiques, économiques et sociales de vaste portée en vue d'assurer le transfert des pouvoirs au peuple de l'Angola, conformément à la résolution 1514 (XV); et, enfin, prie le Conseil de sécurité, au cas de non-coopération du Portugal avec l'ONU, de prendre des mesures appropriées pour obtenir que le Portugal se conforme à ses obligations [voir par. 44 du chap. XI].

45. L'idée qui se dégage de l'étude du rapport dans son ensemble est que, d'une part, la volonté d'indépendance a pénétré fortement, comme je l'ai dit plus haut, tous les peuples africains, à tel point que, si l'on y résiste, on risque de mettre en danger la paix et la sécurité internationales; et que, d'autre part, l'octroi de l'indépendance à ces peuples a un caractère d'urgence. Comme l'a bien relevé le représentant de la Guinée [1169ème séance], cette libération doit être, selon le territoire, immédiate, très rapide, accordée le plus tôt possible ou dans les plus brefs délais. Et toutes ces expressions traduisent la même idée d'urgence.

46. Les Nations Unies, afin d'accélérer le processus de décolonisation, doivent redoubler d'efforts et prendre les mesures que la situation exigera pour amener très rapidement des puissances comme le Portugal et l'Afrique du Sud à coopérer avec l'Organisation.

47. Enfin, ma délégation appuiera de toute sa force tout projet de résolution qui sera présenté pour sanctionner le rapport du Comité spécial des Dix-Sept et qui fixera un calendrier de dates d'indépendance pour les pays encore sous domination.

48. M. Taleb SLIM (Tunisie): Nous arrivons à la conclusion de notre débat sur le rapport [A/5238] du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux.

49. Nous avons écouté avec la plus grande attention les interventions des éminents représentants qui nous ont précédés et qui ont apporté une contribution très appréciable aux travaux de l'Assemblée. Nous sommes heureux de constater que la très grande majorité

des orateurs a tenu à souligner une fois de plus les dangers que présente pour le monde la persistance d'un système colonial périmé fondé sur l'exploitation de l'homme par l'homme, et par surcroît universellement condamné.

50. Nous avons toujours pensé, quant à nous, que la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, contenue dans l'historique résolution 1514 (XV), devait inaugurer l'ère de la libération des peuples et tracer le chemin de la réconciliation entre les peuples dans la paix, la justice et la dignité. Nous pensions que cette condamnation universelle du colonialisme, prononcée il y a deux ans, suffirait pour ouvrir les yeux aux puissances coloniales et les amènerait à renoncer à leur volonté de domination, à leurs rêves de dominions et d'empires, et à leurs manœuvres d'exploitation indignes des peuples. Nous pensions que la conscience universelle était suffisamment avertie pour tourner cette page douloureuse de l'histoire de l'humanité et mettre fin à l'humiliation et à l'indignité de l'homme colonisé, traqué par ses exploitants et privé des droits les plus élémentaires.

51. Un an après la proclamation de cette véritable charte de la décolonisation, l'Assemblée générale adoptait la résolution 1654 (XVI), qui créait un organe chargé de trouver des méthodes adéquates pour la mise en œuvre de ses dispositifs; ce faisant, l'Assemblée générale, tout en mettant sur pied cet organisme destiné à accélérer le processus de la décolonisation, voulait sauvegarder les chances d'entente et d'amitié entre les colonisateurs d'hier et les peuples libérés, et faisait appel à la coopération des puissances administrantes.

52. La Tunisie a eu le grand honneur d'être membre du Comité spécial des Dix-Sept et a eu l'avantage de participer à ses travaux. Guidée par sa propre expérience et inspirée par les leçons qui se dégageaient de la lutte des autres peuples d'Afrique pour leur indépendance, elle a apporté sa contribution à l'élaboration de cet important document que l'Assemblée est en train d'examiner. Ma délégation tient toutefois, tout en soulignant la position du Gouvernement tunisien sur le problème de la décolonisation, à faire quelques remarques qu'elle juge importantes.

53. La délégation tunisienne demeure convaincue que, pour réussir, ce processus de décolonisation doit être envisagé dans le contexte d'une coopération internationale réelle, dégagée de toutes sortes de conditions et de préalables. Pour nous, cela signifie une volonté expresse de la part des puissances administrantes d'apporter une contribution effective et en même temps une compréhension suffisante pour accepter les avis et les recommandations qui se dégagent des débats particuliers sur chaque territoire.

54. Tant qu'il demeure une réserve quelconque de la part de ceux qui ont la responsabilité du destin des peuples que la politique coloniale et les accidents de l'histoire ont placés sous leur domination, il est difficile d'entrevoir une libération rapide de ces peuples, conformément aux principes énoncés dans la résolution 1514 (XV).

55. Tant que les puissances administrantes restent décidées à défendre les intérêts égoïstes d'une classe de privilégiés dans les colonies et à les confondre avec les intérêts de leur gouvernement, tant que la mentalité du colon blanc attaché à sa prétendue

mission civilisatrice, imbu de sa supériorité raciale, décidé à imposer sa loi par la force, subsiste, nous serons incapables d'aider les peuples à s'émanciper et à se libérer dans l'entente et dans la paix.

56. Or, l'expérience des puissances coloniales qui ont su se dégager de cette mentalité et qui ont pu ainsi conduire les peuples à leur émancipation et à leur indépendance, tout en gardant et en renforçant les liens d'amitié et de coopération avec eux, cette expérience, telle que l'ont connue la France et la Belgique, ne semble point profiter aux autres puissances coloniales.

57. On nous a souvent parlé, au cours de ce débat, de la coopération des puissances administrantes au sein du Comité spécial des Dix-Sept; mais le fait est que nous avons constaté, à de rares exceptions près, une politique parfois faite de friction systématique et de faits accomplis et toujours entourée de réserves ou de solennelles déclarations paternalistes. Il nous faut exprimer des doutes sur la valeur d'une telle coopération.

58. Je ne m'attarderai pas sur ce point, car il suffit de se rappeler comment le problème de la Rhodésie du Sud a été finalement traité. Je me bornerai à dire que cette obstination à laisser transformer une partie de notre continent en une seconde Afrique du Sud est vouée à l'échec grâce à la vigilance des nationalistes de la ZAPU^{1/}. Une telle politique ne peut, par ailleurs, qu'engendrer des difficultés dans les rapports que le Royaume-Uni entretient avec les Etats africains et mettre en danger l'avenir même des blancs dans cette partie de l'Afrique. Le Gouvernement tunisien exprime ici sa solidarité agissante envers les nationalistes de la Rhodésie et tient à les assurer de son appui total dans leur lutte pour la libération.

59. Est-il besoin, en parlant de la nécessité de la coopération des puissances administrantes, de souligner l'absence totale de coopération de la part du Portugal et de la République sud-africaine? L'Assemblée tolérera-t-elle plus longtemps que les principes de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays, et aux peuples coloniaux continuent d'être ignorés, voire bafoués par les puissances coloniales? Il est important d'insister, à cet égard, sur la nécessité de renforcer le mandat du Comité des Dix-Sept et de rester vigilants pour déjouer les manœuvres continues des puissances coloniales.

60. Ma délégation n'a pas l'intention de s'arrêter de nouveau à chacun des territoires qui font l'objet du rapport; elle a eu l'occasion d'exposer longuement son point de vue au sein du Comité spécial sur tous les territoires étudiés, et le rapport en rend bien compte.

61. Ma délégation voudrait s'arrêter un moment sur les méthodes de travail et la procédure du Comité spécial. Je veux tout d'abord exprimer ici notre gratitude à toutes les délégations qui ont bien voulu aborder, dans leurs interventions, ce problème particulièrement important, car il est certain que l'efficacité et le sérieux des travaux du Comité spécial dépendent étroitement de ses méthodes et de sa procédure. La délégation tunisienne a donné à cet aspect de la question toute l'importance qu'il mérite et a déployé ses efforts afin que le Comité s'emploie à dégager les méthodes les plus aptes à lui permettre

de remplir sa tâche dans le cadre du mandat défini par la résolution 1654 (XVI).

62. Il est vrai qu'un malentendu fâcheux s'est produit, qui a détérioré, pendant une courte période, l'atmosphère de totale coopération que ma délégation aurait souhaité voir toujours régner au sein du Comité spécial. Comme nous avions accepté que le Président du Comité fût, en guise de conclusion, un résumé des débats relatifs à nos méthodes générales de travail, certains de nos collègues ont voulu comprendre que le Comité s'engageait par là même à renoncer à son droit de décision au profit du système du consensus. Cette procédure aurait permis de dégager de chaque débat des conclusions d'ordre général reprenant notamment les points sur lesquels il y avait eu accord. En un mot, le Comité devait se départir de la règle de la majorité pour adopter celle du plus petit dénominateur commun, et cela en dépit des termes du premier consensus établi par le Président et qui dit:

"Il a été entendu toutefois que le Comité procéderait à un vote si, dans un cas particulier, un représentant le jugeait nécessaire." [A/5238, par. 112, g, du chap. Ier.]

63. Je m'excuse d'insister sur ce point; mais il est, de l'avis de ma délégation, nécessaire d'éclaircir ce détail pour comprendre la genèse du rapport que le Comité des Dix-Sept soumet à l'Assemblée générale et l'évolution des travaux du Comité. De ce point de procédure dépendait, en effet, et dans une large mesure, la définition du Comité et du rôle qui lui a été assigné par l'Assemblée, car, si le Comité avait choisi la voie proposée du consensus, son rôle eût été tout autre. Nos travaux se seraient alors cantonnés dans l'analyse de documents abstraits et, à l'issue de débats quelque peu académiques, nous aurions tiré de vagues lignes générales destinées à inspirer l'action éventuelle de la Puissance administrante. Ce rôle était, à notre avis, contraire à l'esprit et à la lettre de la Déclaration sur l'indépendance et de la résolution 1764 (XVI).

64. Or, les premières situations qui se présentèrent au Comité spécial étaient urgentes et réclamaient des mesures qui, si elles n'étaient pas prises dans l'immédiat, risquaient de compromettre irrémédiablement l'application de la Déclaration dans ces territoires. C'était notamment le cas de la Rhodésie du Sud, qui était le premier territoire à être examiné. Il eût été impensable que le Comité aboutît à des conclusions descriptives d'ordre général, alors qu'un processus était déclenché, en Rhodésie, qui devait mener à la création dans ce territoire d'un statut en contradiction avec la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance.

65. C'est pour cela que les délégations du Mali et de la Tunisie, après avoir mûrement réfléchi, ont présenté le 21 mars 1962, à la 17ème séance du Comité spécial, un projet de résolution selon lequel le Comité — et c'est la disposition principale du projet

"Décide de créer un Sous-Comité de bons offices, composé de quatre membres, chargé de déterminer avec le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni les étapes futures que le Gouvernement britannique envisage de suivre en Rhodésie du Sud pour l'application de la résolution 1514 (XV) à ce territoire".

Rien, dans ce paragraphe, n'était en contradiction avec le mandat du Comité qui, selon la résolution 1654 (XVI),

^{1/} Zimbabwe African Peoples Union.

peut se servir "de tous les moyens dont il disposera dans le cadre des procédures et des modalités qu'il adoptera pour bien s'acquitter de ses fonctions". Incontestablement, l'un des moyens les plus rapides et les plus efficaces était la création de sous-comités chargés d'étudier les étapes que la puissance administrante envisage de suivre pour appliquer la Déclaration sur l'indépendance. Des réserves sur l'expression "bons offices" ayant été faites, nous nous préparions à réviser notre texte quand le Royaume-Uni, dans un geste de coopération fort apprécié, accepta l'idée principale de notre projet et invita, le 29 mars 1962, soit exactement huit jours après le dépôt de notre projet, le bureau du Comité à se rendre à Londres.

66. Ainsi, et sans vouloir tirer des conclusions définitives, les membres du Comité spécial ne pouvaient pas manquer de remarquer que le premier consensus avait abouti à un regrettable malentendu, alors que le premier projet de résolution avait conduit à une action rapide et mettait le Comité à même de disposer de renseignements de première main sur les intentions du Royaume-Uni quant à l'évolution de la Rhodésie du Sud vers l'indépendance.

67. Je ne veux pas m'étendre sur la valeur des résultats de la mission de six membres qui s'est rendue à Londres. Il ne fait pas de doute qu'une telle démarche constituait une mesure positive dans l'accomplissement de la tâche dévolue au Comité spécial par la résolution 1654 (XVI). S'il est vrai qu'on ne peut pas dire que cette mission du Sous-Comité pour la Rhodésie du Sud, à Londres, ait abouti à des résultats très tangibles, on ne peut pas nier qu'un précédent fort encourageant a été établi par le Comité et que tous ses membres ont été convaincus de la nécessité de recourir à des méthodes rapides afin de pouvoir étudier de plus près et de façon directe l'évolution des situations coloniales les plus urgentes.

68. Malheureusement, cela n'a apparemment pas suffi et le Comité spécial a dû consacrer, à deux ou trois reprises, encore beaucoup de temps à la question des résolutions. Nous devons toutefois dire aujourd'hui que le Comité a surmonté ces contradictions et que la procédure des résolutions est généralement reconnue comme la plus efficace. En ce qui concerne la procédure qui consiste à présenter des projets de résolution à l'Assemblée générale, ma délégation estime qu'elle n'est ni nécessaire ni même souhaitable. Mais, comme elle n'est certainement pas contraire aux règlements en vigueur, nous n'avons pas cru devoir nous y opposer.

69. Il est un autre point prévu par la résolution 1654 (XVI) sur lequel le Comité spécial n'a pas été en mesure d'atteindre les buts fixés par l'Assemblée générale: c'est l'envoi de missions de visite. L'opposition des puissances administrantes a été telle qu'il n'a pas été possible d'envisager sérieusement la question. Je crois, pour ma part, que c'est là une grande lacune et qu'il importe que nous fassions appel ici aux puissances intéressées pour qu'elles nous fournissent une coopération plus constructive dans ce domaine. Le Comité ne peut pas continuer à assumer ses responsabilités sans être à même de recueillir sur place le plus d'informations possible sur l'évolution de certains territoires vers les objectifs de la Déclaration relative à l'indépendance.

70. La résolution 1514 (XV), qui contient la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux

peuples coloniaux, énumère, à son paragraphe 5, les catégories de territoires qui entrent dans la compétence du Comité spécial. Elle énonce trois catégories: les territoires sous tutelle, les territoires non autonomes et tous les autres territoires qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance. Si la définition des territoires sous tutelle est encore aisée, celle des territoires non autonomes l'est moins, car plusieurs territoires colonisés n'ont pas été, pendant très longtemps, considérés par l'Assemblée générale comme territoires non autonomes. Ce fut le cas de l'Algérie et de la Rhodésie du Sud, dont personne ne peut dire aujourd'hui que ce n'étaient pas des territoires colonisés. Nous pensons que l'Assemblée générale doit elle-même établir une fois pour toutes la liste nominale des territoires colonisés, sans plus se restreindre à la notion d'autonomie, mais en s'inspirant purement et simplement de la résolution 1514 (XV) qui ne se réfère qu'au critère de l'indépendance. L'Assemblée générale pourrait, dès cette session, établir au moins une liste provisoire qui guiderait les travaux du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier l'application de la Déclaration sur l'indépendance.

71. J'aimerais examiner rapidement un autre point, soulevé par plusieurs des orateurs qui nous ont précédés; je veux évoquer les perspectives d'avenir du Comité des Dix-Sept. Quelques délégations ont suggéré un élargissement du Comité pour qu'il puisse faire face à la tâche plus grande créée par la dissolution d'autres organes chargés de questions coloniales. De l'avis de ma délégation, il importe de garder au Comité des Dix-Sept l'équilibre assez délicat de sa composition, que reflète la présente distribution des sièges entre les différents groupes régionaux représentés. Bien que nous n'ayons pas d'objection de principe à une éventuelle augmentation du nombre des membres du Comité, nous estimons qu'il serait extrêmement difficile, sinon risqué, d'entreprendre une redistribution qui pourrait rompre l'harmonie déjà réalisée. Nous ne sommes pas entièrement convaincus par les arguments avancés en faveur d'une telle augmentation. Le Comité pourrait très bien, par ailleurs, pour s'acquitter des tâches nouvelles qui lui sont dévolues et si des circonstances impératives l'exigeaient, constituer des sous-comités composés éventuellement de délégations choisies en dehors du Comité lui-même. Nous aurions ainsi suivi une pratique déjà établie par l'Organisation, et notamment par le Conseil économique et social.

72. Voilà les observations de ma délégation sur le rapport du Comité des Dix-Sept et sur le problème de la décolonisation en général.

73. Mon gouvernement continue à être préoccupé par la survivance du colonialisme, qui s'accroche désespérément à ses derniers bastions. Cette obstination est une source perpétuelle de conflits et d'effusion de sang. La tâche du Comité spécial consiste à éviter ces conflits et à accélérer la liquidation du colonialisme, qui constitue encore une menace réelle à la paix et à la sécurité internationales. Nous faisons appel aux puissances coloniales pour qu'elles contribuent, par une coopération loyale et sincère, à prévenir des conflits à l'égard desquels la Tunisie ne saurait rester neutre ni passive.

74. Je terminerai mon intervention par cette citation du discours qu'a prononcé le président Bourguiba à la Conférence de Belgrade^{2/}:

^{2/} Conférence des chefs d'Etat et de gouvernement des pays non-alignés réunie à Belgrade du 1^{er} au 6 septembre 1961.

"Dans son essence, le nationalisme a été pour nous tous, anciens colonisés, un combat pour la dignité de l'homme sous toutes les latitudes. Le colonialisme, par contre, foule aux pieds cet attribut fondamental de la personne humaine. Ce racisme tantôt hypocrite, tantôt insolent ou cynique, nous l'avons combattu et le combattons toujours, et nous ne ménagerons aucun de nos efforts pour venir en aide à ceux qu'il opprime. Notre profond espoir de toujours, tout au long de notre lutte pour la liberté, le progrès et la démocratie, est que l'ère coloniale fasse place à l'ère de libre coopération pour le développement des peuples et pour la paix du monde."

75. M. CHAKRAVARTY (Inde) [traduit de l'anglais]: Un des changements les plus révolutionnaires et les plus significatifs qui se soient produits dans le monde depuis la fin de la seconde guerre mondiale a été l'accession à l'indépendance et à la liberté de nombreux peuples et territoires coloniaux. La Charte des Nations Unies, signée à San Francisco le 25 juin 1945, a donné un nouvel encouragement aux peuples assujettis qui aspiraient à l'indépendance. Pendant les 15 premières années de l'existence de l'Organisation, de nombreux territoires sous tutelle et territoires non autonomes ont obtenu leur indépendance; ils sont devenus Membres de l'Organisation et l'ont ainsi renforcée. Bien que beaucoup de peuples soient devenus libres et qu'ils aient pris la place qui leur revenait dans la communauté mondiale, il en est encore un grand nombre qui demeurent sous une domination étrangère. Ceux d'entre nous qui ont récemment obtenu ou recouvré leur indépendance se sont naturellement inquiétés du maintien de la domination coloniale dans diverses régions du monde. Heureusement, ce sentiment a été partagé par la grande majorité des Etats Membres, de sorte que les Nations Unies se sont saisies de ce problème en tant que question urgente. Plusieurs résolutions ont été adoptées par l'Assemblée qui a invité les puissances administrantes à accélérer le processus de décolonisation. Ma délégation peut être fière du rôle qu'elle a joué dans cette lutte contre le colonialisme. Ayant connu nous-mêmes la domination coloniale, nous ne pouvions agir autrement et ce sera toujours pour nous un privilège que d'aider dans la mesure de nos modestes moyens ceux qui luttent encore pour leur liberté.

76. A la suite d'une déclaration faite par M. Nikita Khrouchtchev, président du Conseil des ministres de l'Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques, l'Assemblée générale a inscrit à l'ordre du jour de sa quinzième session une question intitulée "Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux". Le 14 décembre 1960, l'Assemblée a adopté la résolution 1514 (XV), dont le paragraphe 5 du dispositif stipulait:

"Des mesures immédiates seront prises, dans les territoires sous tutelle, les territoires non autonomes et tous autres territoires qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance, pour transférer tous pouvoirs aux peuples de ces territoires, sans aucune condition ni réserve, conformément à leur volonté et à leurs vœux librement exprimés, sans aucune distinction de race, de croyance ou de couleur, afin de leur permettre de jouir d'une indépendance et d'une liberté complètes."

Etant donné qu'il y a eu quelque retard dans la mise en œuvre de cette résolution et surtout de ce paragraphe 5, l'Assemblée générale a adopté une autre

résolution importante à sa seizième session en novembre 1961, la résolution 1654 (XVI). En vertu de cette résolution, un Comité spécial de 17 membres a été constitué. Il avait pour tâche d'examiner la mise en œuvre de la Déclaration maintenant célèbre qui figurait dans la résolution 1514 (XV) de décembre 1960. La délégation de l'Inde a été associée très étroitement aux travaux du Comité spécial des Dix-Sept. Mon pays a été désigné comme l'un de ses 17 membres et le Comité lui a fait le grand honneur d'élire à sa présidence mon prédécesseur. Je tiens à profiter de cette occasion pour remercier les délégations qui ont rendu hommage à l'œuvre accomplie par M. Jha. Je désire aussi remercier sincèrement, au nom de ma délégation, M. Coulibaly, du Mali, pour les services éminents qu'il a rendus au Comité comme membre et aussi en présidant une partie de ses délibérations, notamment lorsque le Comité s'est rendu en Afrique. Je me joins enfin aux autres délégations pour rendre hommage à M. Rifai, le distingué rapporteur du Comité, pour le travail ardu et méticuleux qu'il a accompli pour la préparation du rapport. Tant du point de vue qualitatif que quantitatif, ce document est un des rapports les plus complets que les Nations Unies aient publiés depuis plusieurs années.

77. Ayant pris part à la préparation de ce rapport, ma délégation est naturellement en faveur de la méthode de travail adoptée par le Comité, ainsi que des recommandations et conclusions inscrites dans les différents chapitres. Le Comité a sagement décidé de commencer par s'occuper des territoires du continent africain, où des millions d'hommes vivent encore sous la domination étrangère et où certaines des pires manifestations du colonialisme subsistent encore. La décision du Comité de se rendre en Afrique a été une sage décision, comme les résultats obtenus le montrent, bien qu'elle ait entraîné certaines dépenses. Pendant son voyage en Afrique, le Comité a pu se rendre compte directement des réalités de la situation africaine et entendre des pétitionnaires des territoires colonisés présenter leurs requêtes. Beaucoup de ces pétitionnaires étaient venus de régions lointaines du continent africain et ont exprimé leur reconnaissance au Comité pour leur avoir épargné les tracasseries et la dépense d'un long voyage à New York. Nous pensons également que les Nations Unies elles-mêmes ont profité de ce voyage, car c'était la première fois qu'un comité de cette importance siégeait sur le sol africain.

78. L'Assemblée se rend parfaitement compte de l'œuvre louable accomplie par le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni pour conduire ses nombreux territoires coloniaux à l'indépendance et à la liberté. Pour notre part, nous ne sommes jamais restés indifférents aux difficultés qu'il a pu rencontrer et nous n'avons jamais voulu sous-estimer ses efforts. Ma délégation apprécie à sa juste valeur l'attitude généreuse manifestée par le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni dans ce domaine. Parfois, comme dans le cas de la Rhodésie du Sud, les mesures qu'il a prises ne répondent pas aux nécessités de la situation. En de tels cas, il nous est arrivé de devoir le critiquer, mais nous nous sommes toujours efforcés de présenter des suggestions constructives et, je l'espère, utiles.

79. Toutefois, en ce qui concerne le territoire du Sud-Ouest africain ou les colonies portugaises, les choses sont entièrement différentes. Alors que le Royaume-Uni a coopéré avec le Comité, ma délé-

gation regrette profondément que le Gouvernement portugais et le Gouvernement sud-africain n'aient pas tenu compte de la Charte ni des résolutions de l'Assemblée générale. Il serait vraiment difficile de trouver quelque part des conditions aussi effroyables que celles qui sévissent en Angola et au Mozambique. Mais le flambeau de la liberté ne peut être éteint facilement, même au moyen des pires répressions. Au Mozambique et en Angola, les patriotes combattent pour la liberté tant sur leur territoire qu'au dehors: du profond de nos cœurs, notre sympathie va vers eux. Les Nations Unies doivent leur accorder sympathie et appui dans leur lutte contre un régime odieusement tyrannique.

80. Le Portugal doit se rendre compte qu'il n'est pas possible de renverser le cours de l'histoire et que, si l'on barre la route à ceux qui s'efforcent d'employer des méthodes pacifiques pour obtenir un changement, des conflits et des violences seront inévitables. Dans son propre intérêt bien compris, le Portugal doit accepter de transférer les pouvoirs aux habitants de ses territoires coloniaux sans plus de retard. Le temps presse, mais il n'est pas encore trop tard pour accorder d'une façon pacifique la liberté et l'indépendance aux populations du Mozambique et de l'Angola. Ainsi pourraient s'établir des relations cordiales et amicales entre le Portugal et ses colonies. Le choix d'une autre méthode provoquerait l'amertume, la haine et une révolution sanguinaire. C'est au Portugal qu'il appartient de faire son choix.

81. Ma délégation a écouté avec attention les suggestions présentées par plusieurs représentants au sujet des travaux futurs et de la composition du Comité spécial des Dix-Sept. Dans l'introduction à son rapport annuel, le Secrétaire général par intérim a déclaré:

"... dans le domaine des territoires non autonomes, il y a ... quatre comités et comités spéciaux qui traitent de questions que l'on pourrait utilement examiner ensemble, ce qui permettrait d'alléger la tâche des délégations intéressées et, en même temps, de réduire les frais et de diminuer les besoins en personnel. Peut-être serait-il possible de confier l'examen de toutes les questions qui relèvent de ce domaine au Comité spécial créé en application de la résolution 1654 (XVI)." [A/5201/Add.1, p. 5.]

Le Comité spécial a examiné attentivement cet aspect de la question et, au paragraphe 152 du chapitre premier de son rapport [A/5238], il a signalé le danger de doubles emplois et par conséquent d'un gaspillage d'efforts et d'argent si une coordination appropriée n'est pas réalisée.

82. Compte tenu des opinions exprimées par le Secrétaire général par intérim et par le Comité spécial, ma délégation estime nécessaire que l'Assemblée générale examine la situation qui résulte de l'existence de plusieurs organes chargés de l'étude de questions connexes. A ce sujet, j'attire votre attention sur la recommandation de la Quatrième Commission tendant à mettre fin aux activités du Comité spécial pour le Sud-Ouest africain et à confier les travaux dont il est chargé au Comité spécial des Dix-Sept [voir A/5310, par. 27]. Ma délégation ne ferait aucune objection à l'emploi de la même méthode, si on le jugeait possible, pour d'autres comités travaillant dans le domaine du colonialisme et elle accepterait que le nombre des membres du Comité spécial des Dix-Sept soit augmenté si on l'estimait

nécessaire pour cette raison. Quelle que soit la solution adoptée en définitive, nous affirmons avec force que l'Assemblée générale devra trouver à sa présente session le moyen d'éviter les doubles emplois et veiller à ce que tous les travaux entrepris dans le domaine du colonialisme soient bien coordonnés.

83. Dans le débat, des suggestions ont été faites sur la fixation d'une date limite par l'Assemblée générale pour l'indépendance des territoires encore soumis à une domination coloniale. L'Assemblée connaît parfaitement les vues de ma délégation à ce sujet. Nous considérons qu'il ne serait pas opportun que l'Assemblée générale ou le Comité spécial des Dix-Sept recommande une date ou des dates pour l'accession à l'indépendance des territoires intéressés. Ce n'est pas que nous soyons pour ou contre une date spéciale, mais nous ne croyons pas qu'il serait pratique de fixer une ou des dates. A notre avis, il ne convient pas qu'une institution étrangère dise au peuple d'un territoire non autonome quand il devra être libéré. C'est à ce peuple et à ses dirigeants qu'il appartient de régler leur destinée et de décider par eux-mêmes de la date la plus satisfaisante et la plus proche pour le transfert des pouvoirs. Les chefs éminents des peuples de ces territoires sont mieux placés pour en juger. Tout ce que nous pouvons faire, c'est exprimer aux peuples de ces territoires tous nos vœux pour leur avenir et demander aux puissances administrantes d'appliquer la Déclaration le plus tôt possible. Il n'est pas souhaitable que les Nations Unies fixent une date limite, car cette initiative risquerait de créer une situation embarrassante si le changement prévu n'avait pas lieu à cette date. La question de la fixation d'une date limite a été discutée très longuement en 1961 à la Conférence des chefs d'Etat ou de gouvernement des pays non alignés, à Belgrade. La Conférence est arrivée à la conclusion qu'il ne serait pas dans l'intérêt des peuples colonisés de fixer des dates limites, mais qu'il fallait réclamer que leur libération s'accomplisse au rythme des événements. On se rappellera que ces considérations très valables ont prévalu lors de la rédaction de notre grande déclaration qui figure dans la résolution 1514 (XV), qui ne fait aucune allusion à la fixation d'une date limite.

84. Il reste beaucoup de travail à accomplir et le Comité spécial doit continuer à fonctionner. Nous lui souhaitons de poursuivre ses travaux avec succès et nous espérons qu'il pourra s'occuper l'an prochain des derniers territoires coloniaux et faire des recommandations précises. Nous espérons aussi que le Comité obtiendra dans cette tâche difficile la coopération la plus complète, même de celles des puissances administrantes qui ont fort peu tenu compte jusqu'à présent des résolutions de l'Assemblée générale.

M. Auguste (Hafti), vice-président, prend la présidence.

85. Le PRESIDENT: Je donne la parole au représentant du Portugal, qui a demandé à exercer son droit de réponse.

86. M. DE MIRANDA (Portugal) [traduit de l'anglais]: Je regrette de devoir retarder de quelques minutes la clôture de cette discussion, mais je ne puis laisser passer sans les relever certaines observations que le représentant de l'Inde vient de faire. Le représentant de l'Inde est monté à cette tribune d'où il a lancé des paroles retentissantes, comme à son habitude. Ce n'est pas la première fois qu'un

représentant de l'Inde vient prêcher ici la moralité et prendre aux yeux du monde l'apparence de la sainteté. Aujourd'hui, il est trop tard. Il s'est passé l'an dernier un événement qui a enlevé à l'Union indienne toute autorité morale pour parler de la Charte, en raison de ce que l'Union indienne a fait en décembre de l'an 1961. Le représentant de l'Inde lui-même a averti le Conseil de sécurité que cet événement allait s'accomplir, qu'il y eût une Charte ou non, qu'il y eût un Conseil de sécurité ou non, et cependant le représentant de l'Inde vient ici aujourd'hui oter des résolutions des Nations Unies! Je voudrais bien savoir comment son propre pays a respecté les résolutions mêmes qu'il a citées ici. Était-ce par respect pour les résolutions des Nations Unies que l'Union indienne a envahi l'an dernier un territoire portugais? On aurait pu escompter qu'un petit reste, un tout petit reste de bon sens retiendrait le représentant de l'Inde de monter à cette tribune pour y calomnier mon pays.

87. M. RAMOS (Philippines) [traduit de l'anglais]: Je sollicite l'indulgence de l'Assemblée au moment où je me permets de prendre à nouveau la parole sur la question du Bornéo du Nord. Cette question préoccupe beaucoup le gouvernement et le peuple des Philippines parce qu'elle affecte au plus haut point notre intérêt national. En conséquence, je suis chargé de préciser brièvement notre position sur les questions de la souveraineté sur le Bornéo du Nord et du droit de libre détermination du peuple de ce territoire, à la suite des répliques faites à notre première déclaration, de cette même tribune, à la 1177^{ème} séance. A cette séance, le représentant du Royaume-Uni, exerçant son droit de réponse, a fait une brève déclaration sur la revendication des Philippines quant à la souveraineté sur le Bornéo du Nord. Les affirmations contenues dans cette déclaration étaient inacceptables pour ma délégation. Néanmoins, nous nous étions abstenus alors d'exercer notre droit de réponse parce que le représentant du Royaume-Uni avait laissé entendre qu'il pourrait faire une deuxième déclaration sur le même sujet dans le présent débat. Nous voulions éviter de prendre deux fois la parole pour lui répondre. Or la discussion est sur le point d'être close. Puisque le Royaume-Uni ne semble pas avoir l'intention de faire une nouvelle déclaration, j'ai demandé la parole pour présenter les observations ci-après.

88. Le représentant du Royaume-Uni a dit ici que la Constitution de 1946 et la résolution adoptée en 1961 par le Congrès des Philippines au sujet des eaux territoriales ont fixé les frontières des Philippines en laissant en dehors le Bornéo du Nord. Je répondrai ce qui suit: sans entrer dans l'analyse préalable des aspects juridiques du problème, je donne à l'Assemblée l'assurance que les points qui ont été soulevés ont été dûment pris en considération par mon gouvernement avant de formuler sa revendication quant à la souveraineté sur le Bornéo du Nord.

89. Le représentant du Royaume-Uni a dit encore que, parmi les habitants du Bornéo du Nord, pas un ne désirait entrer dans la République des Philippines. Cette allégation d'une portée plutôt générale est pour le moins contestable. Permettez-moi de lire un extrait d'une lettre publiée récemment qui émane d'un officier en retraite de l'armée britannique, qui a vécu à Java, en Thaïlande, en Birmanie et au Bornéo depuis 1925. Je cite:

"Il y a de nombreux Philippins à Sandakan et en d'autres endroits du Bornéo du Nord. Il y a beaucoup de Malais des Soulou au Bornéo oriental et il y règne une grande sympathie raciale pour votre beau pays. Je suis certain que, si la Grande-Bretagne abandonnait le Bornéo du Nord, la plupart des gens qui y vivent préféreraient la souveraineté philippine à la fusion artificielle qui est envisagée."

Il s'agit là de la Fédération projetée de Grande Malaisie et la lettre citée est caractéristique de beaucoup d'autres messages semblables sur ce sujet.

90. Voici une nouvelle qui intéressera probablement l'Assemblée générale. C'est une dépêche de presse internationale qui vient de m'être remise il y a quelques minutes. Je me permettrai d'en donner lecture afin qu'elle soit reproduite au procès-verbal de la séance, car il est bon que le monde en ait connaissance.

"Une mission du corps législatif du Brunéi a contesté jeudi la prétention de la Malaisie selon laquelle, dans le territoire britannique du Bornéo du Nord, pratiquement tout le monde accepterait que le territoire entre dans la Grande Malaisie dont la création est proposée.

"Zaini Haji Ahmad, membre du Conseil du Brunéi, a dit ici: "La déclaration faite aujourd'hui (jeudi) par l'ambassadeur de Malaisie (Dato' Ong Yoke Lin) devant l'Assemblée générale des Nations Unies est dénuée de fondement!"

"Dato' Ong Yoke Lin avait déclaré qu'au Bornéo du Nord il y avait dans la population "un désir très vif de réaliser l'indépendance par la fusion avec la Fédération de Grande Malaisie" et que "tous les partis politiques" du territoire appuyaient ce plan.

"Mais Zaini, qui est à Manille en qualité de membre d'une mission qui cherche à obtenir un appui en faveur d'une proposition nouvelle consistant à unir le Brunéi, le Sarawak et le Bornéo du Nord en un seul Etat, a qualifié l'affirmation de Ong de "dénuée de fondement" dans un télégramme qu'il a adressé à la délégation des Philippines auprès de l'Organisation des Nations Unies.

"Il a ajouté: "Le parti populaire du Brunéi qui est au pouvoir a mis formellement le Gouvernement britannique et le Gouvernement malais au défi d'accepter qu'un référendum soit tenu dans toute la nation sous le contrôle direct des Nations Unies et de permettre aux populations intéressées de choisir librement entre l'union avec la Fédération de Grande Malaisie et un Etat unifié indépendant du Bornéo du Nord."

"Zaini a soutenu que l'amendement de Londres concernant la formation d'une Grande Malaisie comprenant la Malaisie, Singapour, le Brunéi, le Sarawak et le Bornéo du Nord était conçu "pour nous enlever notre droit inaliénable à la libre détermination".

"Il a dit enfin que le parti populaire du Brunéi, qui a obtenu 16 sièges au Conseil législatif du Brunéi aux récentes élections, "représente les aspirations nationales dans tout le Bornéo du Nord britannique."

M. Zafrulla Khan (Pakistan) reprend la présidence.

91. Le transfert projeté de la souveraineté sur le Bornéo du Nord à la future Fédération de Grande

Malaisie affecterait d'une manière décisive le statut futur du peuple du Bornéo du Nord, non pour un jour ou pour une année, mais pour toujours. Si l'on a quelque doute sur les aspirations véritables de ce peuple au sujet d'une question qui est pour lui d'une importance suprême, il faut lui donner la possibilité d'exprimer ses vœux. A l'époque actuelle, alors que les Nations Unies ne cessent d'exprimer leur profonde préoccupation de voir respecter le droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes, le sort du peuple du Bornéo du Nord ne doit pas être réglé d'une manière précipitée et plutôt sommaire comme on l'envisage dans le calendrier établi pour la création de la future Fédération de Grande Malaisie.

92. Dans son rapport, la commission Cobbold admet elle-même qu'avant son arrivée il n'y avait pas eu un temps suffisant pour que tous les secteurs de la population aient pu étudier avec soin les incidences, pour le Bornéo du Nord, des propositions relatives à la Grande Malaisie^{3/}.

93. S'il en est ainsi, pourquoi tant se précipiter pour transférer la souveraineté sur le Bornéo du Nord et en opérer la fusion dans une Fédération de Grande Malaisie, avant même d'avoir déterminé d'une manière précise les droits du peuple du Bornéo du Nord? La Fédération projetée de Grande Malaisie n'a pas encore de structure organique. Par conséquent, prétendre que l'indépendance du Bornéo du Nord peut être réalisée par cette fusion est une affirmation pour le moins prématurée.

94. Tout ce que nous avons demandé au Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni, c'est de siéger avec nous à une table de conférence et de régler la question juridique de la souveraineté sur le Bornéo du Nord par des voies pacifiques, comme il sied en raison de nos relations d'amis, d'alliés et de Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Nous réitérons cette demande, surtout après la déclaration faite par le représentant de la Malaisie qui a dit que "cette revendication ne concerne actuellement que les Gouvernements du Royaume-Uni et des Philippines" [1178ème séance, par. 41].

95. Nous espérons que la tradition britannique de la justice, du fair play et du respect de la suprématie du droit incitera le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni à accéder sans réserve et sans équivoque à notre demande raisonnable de négociations bilatérales. Il existe un différend au sujet de cette question si importante de la souveraineté sur le Bornéo du Nord; il y a au moins un doute sérieux au sujet des aspirations véritables du peuple du Bornéo du Nord telles qu'elles apparaîtraient s'il pouvait exercer son droit d'auto-détermination.

96. Le Royaume-Uni ne voudra certainement pas ignorer ces questions graves et importantes, les écarter avec mépris comme s'il s'agissait de choses futiles et sans intérêt. Le Royaume-Uni ne voudra pas qu'il soit dit qu'il n'a pas fait en sorte que le transfert de la souveraineté sur le Bornéo du Nord fût opéré après l'établissement d'une situation nette.

97. Le **PRESIDENT** (traduit de l'anglais): Je donne la parole au représentant de l'Afrique du Sud qui a demandé à exercer son droit de réponse.

98. **M. BOTHA** (Afrique du Sud) [traduit de l'anglais]: Au cours du débat, plusieurs orateurs ont affirmé que

mon gouvernement avait l'intention d'annexer les territoires du Bassoutoland, du Betchouanaland et du Souaziland. Cette affirmation absolument dénuée de fondement est grave parce qu'elle peut faire naître des soupçons qui nuiraient à l'harmonie des bonnes relations si nécessaires entre pays voisins.

99. C'est pourquoi j'ai demandé la parole, car je tiens à exposer la situation telle qu'elle est véritablement et à faire consigner ma déclaration au procès-verbal. Le South Africa Act de 1909, adopté par le Parlement du Royaume-Uni et portant création de ce qui était alors l'Union sud-africaine, envisageait le transfert de ces territoires à l'Union sud-africaine sous certaines conditions. Toutefois, les négociations au sujet de ce transfert, qui ont duré pendant des années, n'ont pas abouti. Dans une déclaration faite au Parlement le 9 février 1961, notre premier ministre, M. Verwoerd, a déclaré que les protectorats ne seraient jamais incorporés à l'Afrique du Sud. Par la suite, à plusieurs reprises, le Premier Ministre a encore défini en termes très clairs la position du Gouvernement sud-africain à ce sujet. Tout récemment encore, le 4 septembre 1962, s'adressant au Congrès du Transvaal du parti nationaliste, il a souligné qu'il n'était pas possible d'incorporer les protectorats et que, pour sa part, la République sud-africaine était disposée à les considérer comme de bons voisins. Voilà quelle est la situation de fait.

100. Le **PRESIDENT** (traduit de l'anglais): Je donne la parole au représentant de l'Inde qui a demandé à exercer son droit de réponse.

101. **M. Natwar SINGH** (Inde) [traduit de l'anglais]: Ma délégation ne veut nullement engager une polémique avec la délégation du Portugal. L'histoire du Portugal est bien connue des Nations Unies. L'Organisation tout entière a condamné le Portugal. Notre attitude en ce qui concerne la décolonisation ne peut être mise en doute.

102. Pourtant, le représentant du Portugal a fait une certaine allusion à Goa. Cette allusion n'avait absolument aucun sens. Nous avons nettement établi notre position au sujet de Goa, à cette tribune même et dans d'autres organes des Nations Unies. Je veux simplement déclarer qu'il est inconcevable que l'Inde ait commis une agression contre l'Inde. Or Goa, c'est l'Inde.

103. Le **PRESIDENT** (traduit de l'anglais): Je donne la parole au représentant du Portugal qui a demandé à exercer son droit de réponse.

104. **M. DE MIRANDA** (Portugal) [traduit de l'anglais]: Je regrette de devoir prendre la parole à nouveau, mais, une fois de plus, je ne puis laisser sans réponse les observations du représentant de l'Inde. Le représentant de l'Inde dit que les actes du Portugal ont été condamnés par les Nations Unies. Je lui répondrai que les actes de l'Inde ont été condamnés par la conscience du monde. Quand il vient nous dire qu'il n'y a pas eu d'agression à Goa, il oublie que tout le monde sait que pendant 450 ans le drapeau qui flottait à Goa était le drapeau portugais et que l'Inde l'avait reconnu elle-même lorsqu'elle y avait installé un consulat. Il nous dit enfin qu'il a nettement établi la position de son pays. En effet! J'ai dit moi-même que le représentant de l'Inde avait nettement établi la position de son pays lorsqu'il avait dit: "Qu'il y ait une Charte ou non, qu'il y ait un Conseil de sécurité ou non". J'espère que le représentant de l'Inde ne m'obligera pas à revenir une fois de plus à la tribune.

^{3/} Report of the Commission of Enquiry, North Borneo and Sarawak, 1962, Cmd. 1794, par. 100.

105. Le **PRESIDENT** (traduit de l'anglais): Nous avons terminé la discussion générale sur le rapport du Comité spécial des Dix-Sept. Nous devons maintenant attendre qu'un ou des projets de résolution nous soient présentés pour pouvoir reprendre l'examen de

la question. Les dispositions concernant l'organisation de nos travaux à ce sujet seront annoncées en temps voulu.

La séance est levée à 22 h 15.

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à 10 h 30

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POINT 25 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

La situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux: rapport du Comité spécial constitué aux termes de la résolution 1654 (XVI) de l'Assemblée générale (suite*)

12. Le **PRESIDENT** (traduit de l'anglais): Je rappelle que la discussion générale sur cette question est terminée, sous réserve d'un droit de réponse. Il reste maintenant à l'Assemblée à examiner un projet de résolution présenté par 22 délégations [A/L.410]. Un rapport sur les incidences financières de ce projet de résolution a été distribué [A/5351].

13. Avant de donner la parole au premier orateur, j'attire l'attention des membres de l'Assemblée sur le document A/L.413 qui a été distribué ce matin. Comme le rapport du Comité spécial [A/5238] est un document volumineux, on a pensé qu'il serait commode pour les représentants d'avoir un document unique où seraient regroupés les divers projets de résolution présentés à l'examen de l'Assemblée générale par le Comité spécial. Les projets de résolution ont été reproduits sans changement, tels qu'ils figuraient dans le rapport du Comité spécial. Le document A/L.413 n'est donc pas un document nouveau; il sera sans doute plus facile de s'y reporter quand nous examinerons les divers projets de résolution recommandés par le Comité spécial.

14. Je donne maintenant la parole au représentant de l'Arabie Saoudite, qui a demandé à faire usage de son droit de réponse.

15. **M. SHUKAIRY** (Arabie Saoudite) [traduit de l'anglais]: J'ai demandé à prendre la parole pour user de mon droit de répondre à la déclaration faite par sir Patrick Dean, représentant du Royaume-Uni, le 26 novembre 1962 [1175^{ème} séance]. Auparavant, je me permets d'exprimer ma reconnaissance à la délégation du Royaume-Uni pour m'avoir procuré l'occasion de reprendre la parole sur la question du

colonialisme. Parler à nouveau sur cette question, c'est parler à nouveau en faveur de la cause de la liberté. C'est aussi parler à nouveau des dangers du colonialisme. Enfin, et surtout, c'est parler à nouveau des méfaits de l'impérialisme britannique.

16. En exposant à l'Assemblée le rôle que son gouvernement a joué dans la question du colonialisme, la délégation du Royaume-Uni a repris un argument déjà rebattu: le Royaume-Uni aurait accordé de bonne grâce l'indépendance à tant de millions de personnes, dans tant de pays. Cet argument est devenu une contrevérité tellement flagrante qu'il est à peine besoin de le réfuter. Que des millions de personnes qui se trouvaient sous la domination britannique soient devenues indépendantes, c'est là un fait historique indéniable. Mais que le Royaume-Uni leur ait accordé l'indépendance, c'est là un conte de fées bien britannique qui n'a ni queue ni tête.

17. Les Britanniques n'ont jamais accordé l'indépendance. C'est là un fait historique qu'il n'est guère besoin de prouver. Les peuples ont conquis leur indépendance sur les champs de bataille après des années et des années de lutte et au prix de la mort de milliers et de milliers de patriotes tombés au champ d'honneur. Je ne veux pas rouvrir les annales déjà closes des mouvements de libération en Asie et en Afrique. Tout au début de ce siècle, l'histoire de l'Egypte a été celle d'une lutte sanglante pour secouer le joug de la domination britannique. En Irak, peu après 1920, il a fallu pratiquement une guerre pour forcer les Britanniques à quitter le pays. En Inde, les restes de Gandhi peuvent porter témoignage de la brutalité avec laquelle les Britanniques ont réprimé le mouvement de libération. Il suffit de lire le livre de M. Nehru intitulé *The Discovery of India* pour comprendre tous les sacrifices consentis par le peuple indien pour conquérir son indépendance. A Chypre — et le cas de Chypre a été cité par le représentant du Royaume-Uni — le président Makarios peut parler à l'Assemblée de son exil et des souffrances de son peuple pendant son mouvement de libération. En Palestine, où s'est écrit le chapitre le plus sombre de l'histoire britannique, le Royaume-Uni avait reçu de la Société des Nations mandat de préparer le pays à l'indépendance, et les Nations Unies savent bien quel en a été le désastreux résultat: la Terre sainte partagée et son peuple déraciné, dépossédé et chassé de la patrie de ses ancêtres. Et le représentant du Royaume-Uni vient ici se vanter de l'évolution pacifique vers la liberté, le progrès et l'indépendance!

18. Ainsi, le passé du Royaume-Uni en matière de colonialisme mérite de subir un jugement portant condamnation et non pas qu'on en soit fier et qu'on s'en félicite. En aucun cas le Royaume-Uni n'a accordé l'indépendance. La libération a été imposée aux Britanniques par le feu et l'épée.

19. Il y a quelques cas très peu nombreux où, je le reconnais, le peuple intéressé a obtenu son indépendance sans coup férir. Mais il convient de rappeler que dans de tels cas les Britanniques n'avaient plus rien à retirer du pays, ou alors que le pays colonisé était devenu un fardeau pour le budget britannique. Pour la Grande-Bretagne, le colonialisme n'est ni la gloire ni la grandeur, ce n'est que pur intérêt et pur calcul. Lorsqu'un pays donné est utile aux intérêts britanniques, les Britanniques luttent jusqu'au dernier homme. Mais, lorsque la vache a été traitée jusqu'à la dernière goutte de lait ou qu'elle

*Reprise des débats de la 1181^{ème} séance.

coûte trop cher à nourrir, elle est mise en liberté. C'est pourquoi les Britanniques ont parfois résisté à l'indépendance et parfois simplement lâché prise.

20. Même après l'octroi de l'indépendance, le Royaume-Uni s'efforce de conserver ses intérêts coloniaux. L'indépendance récente de la Trinité et Tobago est précisément un de ces cas. Il y a quelques jours seulement, le Dr Eric Williams, premier ministre de la Trinité et Tobago, a annoncé qu'il avait refusé un prêt britannique s'élevant à 14 millions de dollars. En expliquant son refus, le Dr Williams a déclaré: "J'avais demandé un prêt afin de créer des emplois pour la population de la Trinité et Tobago et non afin de créer des emplois pour les travailleurs britanniques." S'adressant à l'Assemblée, le représentant du Royaume-Uni s'est demandé d'où je pouvais bien tenir de tels renseignements. Je lui conseille de ne pas se hâter de donner un démenti téméraire. Pour sa gouverne, je le renvoie au New York Times du 26 novembre 1962, où il pourra lire la déclaration du Premier Ministre de la Trinité et Tobago.

21. Néanmoins, pour mettre à nu le rôle joué par le Royaume-Uni en ce qui concerne le colonialisme, il n'est pas nécessaire d'exhumer les archives des XVIIIème, XIXème et XXème siècles. Le rapport du Comité spécial suffit à rendre nulles les prétentions du Royaume-Uni. En fait, n'eût été la politique coloniale du Royaume-Uni, les Nations Unies n'auraient pas proclamé la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, ni créé un comité chargé de mettre en œuvre cette déclaration. Joignant l'insulte aux torts qu'il cause, le Royaume-Uni a déploré que les dépenses afférentes à ce comité se soient élevées à 100 000 dollars, mais le Royaume-Uni semble oublier que c'est l'intransigeance britannique qui a coûté aux Nations Unies cette somme de labeur et d'argent. Au lieu d'exprimer sa vive préoccupation au sujet des fonds prélevés sur les ressources de l'Organisation, le Royaume-Uni ferait mieux de s'inquiéter des richesses et des trésors des peuples d'Asie et d'Afrique qui sont allés s'accumuler dans le Trésor britannique pendant d'innombrables générations.

22. Je passe maintenant à des questions particulières et je montrerai que le représentant du Royaume-Uni a nettement déformé les faits. Je prends d'abord la question du Nyassaland. Le représentant du Royaume-Uni a déclaré: "... le représentant de l'Arabie Saoudite a prétendu que les colons blancs du Nyassaland possédaient la plus grande partie des terres fertiles de ce territoire" [1175ème séance, par. 112]. Je dirai seulement qu'il a tronqué la déclaration que j'ai faite à l'Assemblée.

23. Qu'il me soit permis de citer toute cette partie de ma déclaration sur ce point:

"Au Nyassaland, les colons blancs possèdent un million d'acres des terres les plus fertiles, tandis que les noirs — je n'aime pas ce terme — ne sont que des ouvriers à gages. N'oublions pas qu'au Nyassaland il y a 600 fois plus de noirs que de blancs. Oui, au Nyassaland, les noirs sont 600 fois plus nombreux que les blancs et pourtant la plupart des terres fertiles appartiennent aux blancs." [1168ème séance, par. 130.]

On peut donc voir aisément à quel point le représentant du Royaume-Uni a déformé mes paroles en les citant.

24. Le représentant du Royaume-Uni a mis en doute mes sources d'information. J'en citerai deux. Je donnerai d'abord lecture d'un extrait du livre Inside Africa de Gunther:

"Il y a très peu de colons blancs au Nyassaland, mais ils possèdent environ un million d'acres des meilleures terres. Les Africains, comme au Kenya, se plaignent que les régions où ils vivent sont si surpeuplées que le bien-être économique y est impossible, alors que d'immenses étendues qui appartiennent aux blancs demeurent inoccupées et inexploitées. Environ 200 000 Africains travaillent dans les plantations européennes de thé et d'abracasins." /

M. Gunther, je tiens à le préciser, est un auteur, un voyageur et un journaliste américain très connu. Il n'est pas communiste et les renseignements qu'il a recueillis sur place au Nyassaland montrent suffisamment que les dénégations du représentant du Royaume-Uni ne sont qu'absurdes, irréfutables et irresponsables.

25. Ma deuxième source est l'Encyclopédie britannique. Je donnerai lecture d'un passage du volume 16 sur le Nyassaland:

"Le thé est cultivé dans les plantations européennes... Bien que les Africains soient avant tout des agriculteurs qui exploitent leurs propres terres, beaucoup d'entre eux sont devenus des salariés employés dans les plantations européennes ou l'Union sud-africaine et en Rhodésie du Sud..."

"En 1951, le nombre des Africains qui travaillaient hors du protectorat était de 148 000 2/."

Ainsi s'exprime l'Encyclopédie britannique et non pas l'Encyclopédie soviétique. J'espère que le représentant du Royaume-Uni n'ira pas jusqu'à dénoncer sa propre encyclopédie.

26. Le représentant du Royaume-Uni a parlé aussi des "exposés outrageusement inexacts qui ont été faits devant l'Assemblée par les représentants des délégations communistes et le porte-parole de la délégation de l'Arabie Saoudite" [1175ème séance, par. 111]. Je proteste contre cette insinuation du représentant du Royaume-Uni qui est insolente et sans fondement. En supposant que cette accusation soit vraie, il n'est pas outrageant de faire devant l'Assemblée des exposés inexacts. Ce qui est vraiment outrageant, c'est d'exercer une domination sur des millions d'êtres humains pendant des siècles, de les dépouiller de leurs richesses, d'exploiter leur sueur et leurs efforts, de leur acheter leurs matières premières au prix le plus bas et de leur vendre des produits finis au prix le plus haut. Voilà ce qui s'appelle agir, se comporter, se conduire de façon outrageante. Voilà ce qui est réellement outrageant, et c'est ce que les Britanniques ont perpétré dans le monde entier pendant des siècles.

27. Mes exposés ne sont pas outrageusement inexacts. J'ai cité l'Encyclopédie britannique, fruit du travail des plus grands esprits britanniques. Quant au fond, j'ai défendu la cause de la liberté des peuples d'Asie et d'Afrique. Cette tâche est une source de fierté et de satisfaction pour moi-même et pour tous les

1/ John Gunther, Inside Africa, New York, Harper and Brothers, 1953, p. 645.

2/ Encyclopaedia Britannica, vol. 16, p. 657.

représentants auprès de l'Organisation des Nations Unies qui défendent la cause de la liberté. Si quelqu'un ressent de la honte dans cette salle lorsque la question du colonialisme y est examinée, ce doit être la délégation du Royaume-Uni. Au lieu de parler de mes exposés outrageusement inexacts, les Britanniques feraient mieux de quitter la salle de l'Assemblée en signe de regret et de repentir, car ils ont été d'une cruauté sans pitié envers les peuples d'Asie et d'Afrique.

28. Que je me sois associé aux délégations communistes, c'est là encore une autre insinuation mensongère de la part de la délégation du Royaume-Uni. J'ai été le premier orateur à prendre la parole sur cette question, c'est un fait. C'est moi qui ai ouvert la discussion et par conséquent je ne me suis associé à personne. Le représentant du Royaume-Uni aurait pu insinuer que d'autres délégations se sont associées à moi, mais non que j'y ai suivi.

29. D'ailleurs, je m'enorgueillis de m'associer à toute délégation qui sert la cause de la liberté. Voilà quelle a été notre action à l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Nous avons défendu la liberté chaque fois qu'on s'est battu pour elle. Je me suis associé aux délégations des pays d'Asie chaque fois que la liberté était en jeu. Je m' suis associé aux délégations des pays d'Afrique chaque fois qu'il s'agissait de discrimination raciale. Je ne me suis jamais associé à la délégation britannique, car elle s'est toujours rangée du côté du colonialisme et n'a jamais pris parti pour la liberté. Si la délégation britannique, contrairement à sa tradition historique, devait soutenir, ne fût-ce qu'une fois, la cause de la liberté, je n'hésiterais pas à m'associer à la délégation britannique. Qu'elle essaie une fois et je serai présent.

30. Mais le représentant du Royaume-Uni semble avoir oublié que la Grande-Bretagne a été une alliée dévouée des États communistes pendant la seconde guerre mondiale. C'était plus qu'une association: c'était une véritable camaraderie des armes. Maintenant que leur fle est saine et sauve et qu'ils ont sauvé leur tête, les Britanniques condamnent toute association avec les délégations communistes sur la question du colonialisme. Pour les Britanniques, cette association est une vertu; pour les autres, elle est un vice. Telle est la logique britannique.

31. En vérité, je m'associe effectivement à toutes les luttes menées en faveur de l'indépendance et de la souveraineté nationales. Comme toutes les délégations éprises de liberté, nous sommes les associés de la liberté et les associés de tous les peuples qui luttent pour leur liberté. Nous sommes les associés de tous les chefs des peuples d'Afrique et d'Asie qui luttent pour leur libération.

32. Alors que le représentant du Royaume-Uni s'en prenait à ma déclaration à cette tribune, un grand chef de l'Afrique m'adressait le télégramme que voici:

"Mon parti et moi-même vous félicitons d'avoir réclamé récemment la suppression des bases militaires britanniques au Kenya et à Aden. La Kenya African National Union (KANU) s'oppose sans réserve à des bases militaires étrangères sur notre sol, sous quelque forme que ce soit. Sur ce point, il ne peut être question de négocier avec les Britanniques; quelle que soit l'importance ou la nature de leur base, elle doit disparaître.

"Jomo Kenyatta."

Je suis l'associé de ces chefs qui luttent pour une noble cause. Je suis fier de m'associer à eux, autant que je le suis de me dissocier des Britanniques.

33. Le représentant du Royaume-Uni, en parlant des trois territoires dépendant du Haut Commissaire, a déclaré ce qui suit:

"Au point de vue politique, ils sont entièrement indépendants de la République sud-africaine et, malgré les allégations inconsidérées du représentant de l'Arabie Saoudite, telle est toujours la politique de la Grande-Bretagne." [1175ème séance, par. 103.]

Voyons qui fait des allégations inconsidérées. Est-ce la délégation du Royaume-Uni ou est-ce la délégation de l'Arabie Saoudite? Cette réfutation est une déformation volontaire de ma déclaration. Dans ma déclaration à l'Assemblée, j'avais dit que, malgré ses dénégations, le Royaume-Uni entretenait l'intention d'annexer ces territoires à l'Union sud-africaine. Cette intention se trahit dans le témoignage même invoqué par le Royaume-Uni. Le 13 avril 1954, sir Winston Churchill s'exprimait sur ce point en ces termes: "Il ne peut être question que le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté puisse accepter actuellement le transfert." Or, cet "actuellement" est le nœud de toute la question. L'expression employée par sir Winston Churchill fait peser la menace d'une annexion à un autre moment, à tout moment.

34. Nous avons eu une autre preuve tout à fait récemment. Dans le rapport du Comité spécial, sous le titre "Observations de membres du Comité spécial", la position du représentant du Royaume-Uni est indiquée en ces termes:

"... les réalités géographiques et économiques entraînaient inévitablement en maints domaines des liens très étroits entre les territoires et l'Afrique du Sud. Ainsi, une union douanière existait entre eux depuis plus de 50 ans. En outre, un grand nombre d'habitants des territoires allaient travailler en Afrique du Sud..." [A/5238, chap. V, par. 130.]

35. Ensuite, dans sa déclaration à l'Assemblée, le représentant du Royaume-Uni a parlé du Basoutoland comme d'une "enclave située à l'intérieur de l'Afrique du Sud" [1175ème séance, par. 103]. Ces paroles ont pour but de préparer les esprits des Membres de l'Organisation à accepter l'annexion. J'espère que le représentant du Royaume-Uni ne condamnera pas le rapport des Nations Unies comme faux, ni sa propre déclaration devant l'Assemblée comme outrageusement inexacte.

36. Mais, si les dénégations du Royaume-Uni sur l'annexion sont sincères, comment se fait-il que le Royaume-Uni ait voté contre la résolution du Comité spécial qui a déclaré l'intégrité territoriale de ces territoires [A/5238, chap. V, par. 214]? Si le Royaume-Uni avait été sincère dans ses protestations, il n'aurait pu moins faire que de voter pour tous les paragraphes de la résolution du Comité spécial qui dénonçaient l'annexion et se prononçaient en faveur de la liberté et de l'indépendance. Le Royaume-Uni a fait l'inverse: il a voté contre la résolution et il est monté à cette tribune pour se disculper par un alibi.

37. La question de l'annexion n'a pas été seule déformée par les Britanniques. Toutes les prétendues réformes constitutionnelles dans cette région l'ont été aussi. D'après le rapport du Comité spécial,

la position du représentant du Royaume-Uni a été celle-ci:

"... l'un des [problèmes les] plus délicats avait trait à la place des chefs dans la nouvelle structure de la société africaine." [Ibid., par. 134.]

38. En lisant ces mots, on pourrait conclure que l'administration britannique est très progressiste. Mais voyons quelle est la véritable situation. Je ne puis mieux faire que de m'en remettre encore à l'Encyclopédie britannique. Je cite le volume où il est question du Betchouanaland. Voici ce que dit l'Encyclopédie britannique de l'administration britannique et de ses intentions en matière de progrès, ainsi que de la place que le chef de tribu doit occuper dans la société africaine:

"En 1948, Seretse, fils de Sekgoma II et petit-fils de Khama, héritier de la chefferie des Bamangwato, a épousé une Anglaise, Ruth Williams. Pour des raisons indiquées dans un Livre blanc..." — un Livre blanc a été publié par le Gouvernement britannique au sujet de la situation de cette personnalité, chef de sa tribu, qui avait épousé une Anglaise — "le Gouvernement britannique a refusé de le reconnaître comme chef et l'a expulsé du Betchouanaland."

Il a été chassé de son pays pour les raisons indiquées dans le Livre blanc du Gouvernement britannique. L'Encyclopédie britannique poursuit:

"Cela a suscité dans la tribu un ressentiment qui a abouti à des troubles et à des effusions de sang. La plupart des Bamangwato ont affirmé qu'ils restaient fidèles à Seretse et ont refusé d'accepter ou de désigner un autre chef. En 1956,..." — et voici maintenant la triste fin de l'histoire — "après avoir renoncé à tous ses droits à la chefferie pour lui et ses descendants, Seretse Khama a été autorisé à retourner au Betchouanaland^{3/}."

Il n'a été autorisé à retourner dans sa patrie qu'après avoir renoncé à tous ses droits, pour la seule raison qu'il avait épousé une Anglaise. Je ne fais pas de commentaire, je ne tire pas de conclusions. C'est là une condamnation bien méritée des Britanniques, prononcée par l'Encyclopédie britannique elle-même.

39. Il y a enfin la question des bases militaires à Aden. Dans sa déclaration à l'Assemblée, le représentant du Royaume-Uni a dit:

"Il est parfaitement exact que le Gouvernement britannique a dans ce secteur d'importantes obligations dans le domaine de la défense." [1175ème séance, par. 119.]

40. Ce prétexte invoqué par le Royaume-Uni qui se propose de se défendre lui-même est plus criminel que le crime même. Les obligations britanniques en matière de défense sont d'importance primordiale, paraît-il. Elles sont certainement sacrées, mais seulement pour la Grande-Bretagne et dans les îles Britanniques. De telles obligations en matière de défense sont, quand on les remplit sur nos terres, par définition, de l'agression. Nous ne voulons pas que nos terres soient des bases militaires ni le champ d'opérations militaires. Nous ne voulons pas non plus que nos patries subissent une guerre à laquelle nous ne sommes pas parties. Ces obligations britanniques en matière de défense n'ont pas leur place dans les pays arabes. Les terres arabes doivent être défen-

dues par les Arabes et les îles Britanniques par les Britanniques. Après tout, nous pourrions demander qui a investi le Royaume-Uni de ces obligations de défense en territoire arabe, dans la patrie arabe. Ce sont les Britanniques qui se sont donnés ces obligations eux-mêmes et pour eux-mêmes. Qu'ils se défendent dans les îles Britanniques s'ils le veulent, mais non pas sur nos terres et au prix du sacrifice de la vie des nôtres.

41. Pour terminer, j'exprimerai l'espoir que le Royaume-Uni saura à l'avenir comment traiter les déclarations d'autres délégations. Ici, à l'Organisation des Nations Unies, nous pouvons être en désaccord sur des interprétations, nous pouvons être en désaccord sur des conclusions, mais il est ignoble et dégradant pour n'importe quelle délégation de déformer les faits eux-mêmes et de les présenter de façon fausse. La délégation du Royaume-Uni, je le crains, n'a pas triomphé en cette épreuve. En Asie et en Afrique, les Britanniques pratiquent le colonialisme, et ici à l'Organisation des Nations Unies ils pratiquent l'art de déformer les faits. S'ils ne peuvent apporter une contribution en émancipant leurs peuples coloniaux, qu'ils ne viennent pas apporter une contribution en déformant les faits à l'Organisation.

42. Je compte que le représentant du Royaume-Uni ne montera pas une nouvelle fois à cette tribune pour déformer les faits et dire des contrevérités. On peut consulter l'Encyclopédie britannique, et la bibliothèque entière des Nations Unies est même accessible à tous.

43. M. PALAR (Indonésie) [traduit de l'anglais]: Nous sommes saisis de plusieurs projets de résolution parmi lesquels le projet de résolution des 22 puissances [A/L.410]. L'Indonésie a l'honneur d'en être un des auteurs et elle a participé activement à sa rédaction. J'ai donc le grand plaisir de pouvoir exposer d'une manière assez détaillée les points principaux de la résolution proposée.

44. J'en résumerai d'abord brièvement les trois points dominants: premièrement, réaffirmation solennelle des objectifs et principes bien connus énoncés dans les deux résolutions précédentes sur la décolonisation, la résolution 1514 (XV) et la résolution 1654 (XVI); deuxièmement, décision d'élargir la composition du Comité spécial en lui adjoignant sept nouveaux membres; troisièmement, invitation adressée au Comité spécial à faire des recommandations sur la fixation d'une date limite pour l'application intégrale de la Déclaration sur l'indépendance.

45. Le deuxième alinéa du préambule du projet de résolution fait ressortir que la Déclaration sur la décolonisation et la création du Comité spécial des Dix-Sept ont suscité de grands espoirs non seulement chez les peuples coloniaux, mais encore "partout". Le mot "partout" a été employé délibérément pour reconnaître le fait — car les auteurs estiment qu'il s'agit bien d'un fait — que les espoirs des peuples coloniaux sont de plus en plus partagés par la masse de la population des anciennes puissances coloniales comme des puissances coloniales qui subsistent encore. A mon avis, c'est en grande partie à cause de cette disposition d'esprit favorable et réaliste de la part de leur population que la plupart des pays occidentaux ont voté les deux résolutions précédentes sur la décolonisation, de sorte que l'une et l'autre ont été adoptées à une majorité écrasante à l'Assemblée générale.

^{3/} Ibid., vol. 3, p. 287.

46. Toutefois, le projet de résolution a malheureusement dû noter avec regret que, dans de nombreuses colonies, les dispositions de la Déclaration n'ont pas encore été appliquées intégralement et que dans certains cas des mesures préliminaires n'ont même pas été prises. Certaines puissances coloniales ont refusé de coopérer avec le Comité spécial ou ont adopté une attitude négative au lieu de coopérer avec lui et ont ainsi retardé considérablement la mise en œuvre de la Déclaration. Le projet de résolution exprime la profonde inquiétude qu'inspire cette attitude. Il affirme en outre la conviction que de tels agissements peuvent constituer sur le plan international une source de conflits et de mécontentements qui entravent sérieusement à leur tour la coopération internationale et créent des situations de plus en plus dangereuses qui risquent de menacer la paix et la sécurité dans le monde. C'est ainsi que le paragraphe 4 du dispositif du projet de résolution déplore le refus de certaines puissances administrantes de coopérer avec le Comité spécial. Les paragraphes 5 et 6 du dispositif invitent les puissances administrantes intéressées à mettre fin à toute action armée et répressive dirigée contre les peuples dépendants et à mettre en œuvre le paragraphe 5 de la Déclaration, pour permettre à tous les territoires et peuples coloniaux d'accéder sans retard à l'indépendance. Les membres de l'Assemblée se rappelleront que le paragraphe 5 du dispositif de la Déclaration [résolution 1514 (XV)] stipule :

"Des mesures immédiates seront prises, dans les territoires sous tutelle, les territoires non autonomes et tous autres territoires qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance, pour transférer tous pouvoirs aux peuples de ces territoires, sans aucune condition ni réserve, conformément à leur volonté et à leurs vœux librement exprimés, sans aucune distinction de race, de croyance ou de couleur, afin de leur permettre de jouir d'une indépendance et d'une liberté complètes."

Je rappellerai à l'Assemblée que cette résolution a été adoptée à une majorité écrasante.

47. Je passe maintenant au deuxième des trois points dominants du projet de résolution, la décision d'élargir la composition du Comité spécial créé par la résolution 1554 (XV), dont il est question au paragraphe 7 du dispositif. Cette décision a été prise parce qu'on a reconnu qu'il est urgent que le Comité spécial accélère ses travaux afin de pouvoir faire rapport à la dix-huitième session de l'Assemblée générale sur tous les territoires dont il ne s'est pas encore occupé. Sa composition élargie, le Comité spécial pourrait se scinder en cinq ou six groupes. Chaque groupe, peut-être avec l'assistance d'un fonctionnaire du Secrétariat, pourrait ensuite faire rapport au Comité spécial plénier sur un certain nombre de territoires dépendants qui n'ont pas encore été examinés ni visités. Le projet de résolution ne propose pas la reconstitution du Comité, car nous désirons sauvegarder les précieuses connaissances déjà acquises par les membres actuels.

48. En choisissant de proposer le nombre de sept nouveaux membres, on a tenu compte de la nécessité d'assurer une représentation appropriée des pays que la décolonisation intéresse profondément, tout en procédant comme il se doit à une répartition géographique convenable des sièges.

49. Le projet de résolution ne contient pas de recommandation précise quant à la répartition même des nouveaux sièges. Toutefois, ma délégation estime — et je tiens à souligner ici que je parle maintenant uniquement au nom de la délégation indonésienne — que quatre au moins des sept sièges devraient être attribués à des pays d'Asie et d'Afrique. En outre, puisque la plupart des territoires sur lesquels le Comité doit encore faire rapport sont situés dans la région de l'Asie et du Pacifique, l'Indonésie estime qu'il serait maintenant équitable de réserver deux des nouveaux sièges aux pays d'Asie. De l'avis de ma délégation, la meilleure répartition des sept sièges proposés serait la suivante: deux pour l'Asie, deux pour l'Afrique, un pour l'Europe orientale, un pour l'Europe occidentale et un pour l'Amérique latine. Je tiens à souligner encore que ce n'est là que l'avis de ma délégation.

50. Le reste de mon exposé sur notre projet de résolution sera consacré surtout à la nécessité de fixer une date limite pour l'abolition complète du colonialisme, ce qui est le troisième point dominant de la résolution proposée et qui a une importance cruciale pour la mise en œuvre de la Déclaration sur la décolonisation. Dans le projet de résolution, la Déclaration est visée au dernier alinéa du préambule et à l'alinéa b du paragraphe 8 du dispositif.

51. Il convient de rappeler que le paragraphe 5 du dispositif de la Déclaration sur la décolonisation invite les puissances coloniales à prendre des mesures immédiates pour transférer tous pouvoirs aux peuples des territoires dépendants. Personne ne s'étonnera d'apprendre que, lorsque nous avons ajouté, après le mot "mesures", le mot "immédiates", nous entendions y faire figurer expressément une injonction en ce qui concerne le moment où ces mesures devraient intervenir. On aurait pu penser que l'expression "mesures immédiates" était suffisamment simple, sans aucune ambiguïté et ne pouvait donner lieu à plusieurs interprétations différentes. Il semble toutefois que tel n'était pas le cas, car, depuis deux ans que la Déclaration a été adoptée, il est devenu trop évident que les deux mots "mesures immédiates" n'ont pas été interprétés nécessairement par les puissances coloniales comme on aurait pu s'y attendre d'après le sens que le dictionnaire leur donne, c'est-à-dire une action directe prise sans retard, tout de suite, sur-le-champ. Il est clair que certaines puissances coloniales, par exemple, accordent une valeur relative au mot "immédiates", lui donnant le sens de longue période de temps, puisque ces puissances n'ont pas même commencé à prendre les mesures les plus modestes en vue de la décolonisation. D'autres puissances semblent penser que le mot "immédiates" s'applique seulement à un certain minimum de mesures préliminaires — en d'autres termes, à la première ou aux deux premières mesures de toute une longue série de mesures qu'elles jugent nécessaire de prendre en vue d'effectuer comme il convient le transfert des pouvoirs. En vérité, les nations qui viennent d'obtenir leur liberté sont presque seules à interpréter l'expression "mesures immédiates" au sens littéral — ainsi que le stipule le paragraphe 5 — de mesures qui doivent être prises sans attendre, tout de suite, maintenant.

52. En conséquence, les auteurs du présent projet de résolution ont estimé devoir chercher à préciser le sens de cette disposition qui a été interprétée

de façon très lâche par la plupart des puissances coloniales. Il faut faire comprendre aux puissances coloniales la nécessité de l'urgence et de la rapidité. En même temps, les tenants de l'abolition rapide et complète du colonialisme doivent recevoir quelque assurance que la notion de mesures immédiates qui figurait dans la Déclaration sur la décolonisation allait plus loin qu'un simple geste dépourvu de sens. Nous avons donc jugé qu'il fallait absolument demander à l'Assemblée générale d'autoriser le Comité spécial à faire des recommandations concernant la fixation d'une date limite pour l'application intégrale de la Déclaration de 1960.

53. Il convient de noter que l'alinéa b du paragraphe 8 du dispositif du projet de résolution vise "des recommandations" sur la fixation d'une date limite et non pas "une recommandation". Cela est intentionnel. L'emploi du pluriel laisse au Comité spécial le champ libre pour présenter des recommandations diverses selon ce qui lui paraîtra approprié. Le Comité spécial aura ainsi la latitude de recommander, à son choix: 1) une date limite générale à laquelle tous les territoires non autonomes devront avoir accédé à l'indépendance; 2) une date limite particulière pour chaque territoire considéré; 3) une combinaison de 1 et 2, c'est-à-dire une combinaison d'une date limite générale et de dates limites particulières pour chaque territoire non autonome.

54. Il est clair que, contrairement à ce que beaucoup pensaient, notre projet de résolution n'habilite pas le Comité spécial à fixer lui-même une date limite. C'est l'Assemblée générale qui le fera et elle pourra soit accepter, soit rejeter la date limite ou les dates limites recommandées par le Comité spécial.

55. J'attirerai aussi l'attention de l'Assemblée sur le fait que le Comité spécial, aux termes de son mandat tel qu'il est stipulé au paragraphe 4 du dispositif de la résolution 1654 (XVI), est invité à formuler des recommandations quant aux progrès réalisés et à la mesure dans laquelle la Déclaration est mise en œuvre. Ainsi, même en dehors de la disposition prévue sur ce point dans le présent projet de résolution, le Comité spécial est habilité à faire, s'il le désire, des recommandations concernant une date limite. Afin d'éviter de longues discussions au Comité spécial pour savoir s'il convient de le faire et afin de souligner le caractère "immédiat" que la résolution a stipulé, mais qui est resté lettre morte en pratique, les auteurs du projet de résolution ont jugé essentiel que le Comité spécial soit maintenant invité expressément à faire des recommandations concernant une date limite ou des dates limites.

56. Nous savons tous bien de quelle façon le Comité spécial travaille. Ses recommandations sont fondées sur une étude approfondie des territoires, sur sa connaissance des besoins et des vœux de leurs peuples et sur le jugement qu'il s'est formé de l'opinion des puissances coloniales intéressées. Si, comme on peut raisonnablement le concevoir, le peuple d'un territoire particulier demande spécialement au Comité de ne pas fixer de date limite dans son cas ou d'y surseoir et s'il persuade le Comité spécial de la sagesse de sa demande, celui-ci en rendra naturellement compte à l'Assemblée générale. Les auteurs du projet de résolution sont convaincus que le Comité spécial a des connaissances et une expérience suffisantes pour pouvoir recommander des dates limites précises pour chacun des territoires qui n'ont pas

encore accédé à l'indépendance. Sur cette base, nous pensons par conséquent aussi qu'il ne doit pas être trop difficile pour le Comité de parvenir à recommander une date limite générale s'appliquant à tous les territoires considérés. La délégation indonésienne irait plus loin encore. Nous estimons — et il doit être bien entendu ici que je m'exprime sur ce point au nom de ma délégation seulement — que la date limite générale ne devrait pas en fait se situer à plus de deux ou trois ans, à partir de maintenant. Nous ne sommes nullement impressionnés par l'argument qu'on prétend convaincant selon lequel ce serait manquer au sens des responsabilités que de transférer la souveraineté à des territoires qui, en raison du peu d'importance de leur population ou de leur superficie, ne peuvent être considérés comme économiquement ou politiquement viables; dans la déclaration que j'ai faite en séance plénière le mois dernier, j'ai expliqué pourquoi ma délégation n'est pas impressionnée par cet argument. Si vous le permettez, je résumerai l'essentiel de ce que j'ai dit alors à ce sujet.

57. J'ai dit qu'un des problèmes majeurs auxquels nous devons faire face est de savoir comment faire respecter sans plus de retard le droit de libre détermination tel qu'il a été reconnu expressément, devant les difficultés qui sont à surmonter en raison du manque de préparation de plusieurs territoires. Ma délégation est convaincue que ce problème peut être résolu, mais à condition de ne pas avoir peur d'idées neuves et hardies. Une chose est certaine: les Nations Unies doivent s'attendre à jouer un rôle important, sinon décisif, dans la réalisation des dernières phases de la décolonisation. En vérité, comme je l'ai laissé entendre précédemment, l'Organisation devrait être prête à assumer une tâche toute nouvelle.

58. Un exemple du genre de tâche à laquelle ma délégation pense nous est fourni par le cas de l'Irian occidental. Le rôle de l'Organisation des Nations Unies qui est d'administrer provisoirement ce territoire pendant la période de transition entre l'administration néerlandaise et l'administration indonésienne pourrait devenir un précédent historique de la façon dont l'Organisation aiderait les petits territoires dépendants à passer à l'indépendance. C'est dans cet ordre d'idées que, je l'espère, le Comité spécial fera dans son rapport, sur chacun des territoires dépendants auxquels la souveraineté devra être transférée, des recommandations précises sur la forme d'indépendance qui semble la plus appropriée pour le territoire considéré.

59. Une fois que les peuples coloniaux, si petits soient-ils, auront conquis ou reçu leur souveraineté, il leur appartiendra de décider comment ils entendent exercer leur souveraineté nouvellement acquise, s'ils veulent s'associer à d'autres Etats souverains plus anciens, s'ils veulent s'unir à d'autres nouveaux Etats indépendants pour parvenir à une plus grande viabilité politique et économique, ou s'ils veulent voir s'il leur sera possible de réussir par leurs propres moyens. Il n'est peut-être pas superflu de rappeler ici aux Etats Membres que la partie orientale et la partie occidentale du Pakistan sont éloignées de plus de 1 600 kilomètres et que l'Alaska et Hawaï se trouvent l'un et l'autre à plusieurs milliers de kilomètres de la partie principale des Etats-Unis. La distance ne peut donc pas être considérée comme un obstacle à la formation d'entités politiques.

60. Toutefois, il peut se produire que, pour un certain temps tout au moins, certains des territoires qui auront accédé à l'indépendance récemment préfèrent rester entièrement souverains, malgré les difficultés que cela comporte. Personnellement, je suis convaincu que ces petites nations seront nombreuses à comprendre rapidement la nécessité de se joindre à des unités politiques plus importantes — et plus vite que certains d'entre nous ne le croient probable maintenant. De plus, je suis persuadé que la plupart des territoires dépendants seront disposés à tenir compte de toute recommandation que le Comité spécial pourra faire sur ce point.

61. Permettez-moi d'indiquer maintenant brièvement certains des aspects pratiques du nouveau rôle que ma délégation envisage pour l'Organisation en matière de décolonisation. Nous proposons, en substance, que le Comité spécial soit invité et autorisé à faire des recommandations sur deux autres questions: la forme d'indépendance qui semblerait le plus appropriée pour un territoire donné, conformément aux indications générales données ci-dessus; l'opportunité de confier à l'Organisation elle-même un rôle actif dans l'administration d'un territoire donné pendant un certain temps.

62. Nous estimons que le Comité spécial aura probablement besoin, pour exécuter cette nouvelle tâche, d'un rapport préparatoire établi par les experts du Secrétariat, où seraient étudiées les différentes possibilités applicables dans les territoires considérés. Ce rapport préparatoire devrait s'attacher particulièrement à rechercher si un territoire doit envisager de partager sa souveraineté pendant un certain temps avec les Nations Unies et non avec la puissance coloniale, ou si les Nations Unies doivent simplement apporter une assistance pour l'administration du territoire jusqu'à ce qu'il ait atteint un stade final de viabilité politique et économique assurée soit seul, soit rattaché à une unité politique plus importante.

63. Sur la base des conclusions du rapport préparatoire et de ses propres délibérations, le Comité spécial devrait alors être en mesure de faire des recommandations sérieusement réfléchies à l'Assemblée, qui, après les avoir examinées, pourrait décider quelle est la meilleure ligne de conduite à suivre pour chaque territoire. S'il était décidé, avec l'accord du territoire et du peuple intéressés, que l'assistance des Nations Unies est requise pour l'administration, l'organe le mieux à même d'entreprendre cette tâche serait peut-être le Comité spécial lui-même. Je suis d'avis qu'à cette fin il faudrait procéder à un remaniement considérable du Département de la tutelle et des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes. Cela explique, je crois, pourquoi ma délégation estime que le délai qui sera recommandé par le Comité spécial ne devra pas dépasser deux ou trois ans.

64. La tâche du Comité spécial élargi, telle qu'elle est envisagée aux alinéas a à d du paragraphe 8 du dispositif du projet de résolution, est claire. Le Comité est invité à rechercher les voies et moyens les mieux appropriés et à proposer des mesures concrètes en vue de l'application rapide et intégrale de la Déclaration et à faire rapport à l'Assemblée générale à ce sujet, au plus tard à sa dix-huitième session. En outre, et ceci est très important, le Comité est invité à informer le Conseil de sécurité de tous faits survenus dans les territoires dépendants qui

risquent de menacer la paix et la sécurité internationales.

65. J'ai presque fini maintenant de présenter le projet de résolution, car je suppose qu'il est à peine nécessaire d'expliquer pourquoi les auteurs ont exprimé au paragraphe 1 du dispositif la reconnaissance de l'Assemblée au Comité spécial pour ses travaux. De même, il n'est pas besoin d'expliquer le paragraphe 2 qui prend note avec satisfaction des méthodes et des procédures que le Comité spécial a adoptées pour s'acquitter de ses fonctions, telles qu'elles sont indiquées au chapitre premier de son rapport [A/5238], aux alinéas a, b, c, d et f du paragraphe 112. De même est évidente la nécessité des deux derniers paragraphes du dispositif du projet de résolution, l'un qui prie tous les Etats Membres, et notamment les puissances administrantes, de prêter leur entière coopération au Comité spécial, l'autre qui prie le Secrétaire général de continuer à fournir au Comité spécial tous les moyens et le personnel nécessaires à l'application du présent projet de résolution.

66. Il a fallu plus de trois semaines pour rédiger ce projet de résolution. Il représente un difficile mais heureux compromis entre deux points de vue très écartés. Les auteurs espèrent vivement que les membres de l'Assemblée générale lui apporteront leur appui comme ils l'ont fait si généreusement pour les deux précédentes résolutions [1514 (XV) et 1554 (XVI)] sur la décolonisation.

67. Le PRESIDENT (traduit de l'anglais): Je donne la parole au représentant du Royaume-Uni qui a demandé à faire usage de son droit de réponse.

68. Sir Patrick DEAN (Royaume-Uni) [traduit de l'anglais]: L'Assemblée générale est maintenant bien habituée aux méthodes oratoires dont le représentant de l'Arabie Saoudite se sert pour présenter ses allégations. Je n'ai pas l'intention de lui donner la réplique, ce qui ferait perdre du temps à l'Assemblée. Je suis certain que la plupart des membres de l'Assemblée traiteront les observations de ce représentant avec le mépris qu'elles méritent.

69. Je répondrai cependant à une des allégations que le représentant de l'Arabie Saoudite a jugé bon de faire et d'après laquelle mon gouvernement aurait l'intention de permettre l'incorporation des territoires du Betchoualand, du Bassoutoland et du Souaziland au territoire de l'Afrique du Sud. Lorsque j'ai pris la parole précédemment dans cette discussion, j'ai nié expressément toute intention de ce genre de la part de mon gouvernement. Je répète catégoriquement, au nom de mon gouvernement, que telle est sa position.

70. Il est vrai, c'est certain, que le South Africa Act de 1909 prévoyait comment ces territoires pourraient être incorporés à l'Union sud-africaine. Le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni a toujours soutenu que cela ne constituait pas et ne constitue pas une obligation quelconque de transférer ces territoires à l'Afrique du Sud. Le fait que le Gouvernement britannique n'a pas abrogé ladite loi ne signifie pas cependant que nous envisagions le transfert de ces territoires à l'Afrique du Sud, même comme une possibilité très lointaine. Si nous n'avons pas abrogé cette loi, c'est parce que nous estimons qu'elle a déjà cessé d'être en vigueur et que toutes dispositions qui n'auraient pas cessé d'être en vigueur ont cessé de l'être au moment où l'Afrique du Sud a quitté le Commonwealth.

71. Pour renforcer doublement l'assurance donnée, je citerai les paroles prononcées par le ministre compétent, M. Peter Thomas, le 26 février 1962, à la Chambre des communes. Il a répondu comme il suit à une question sur la loi de 1909:

"Nous estimons que cette loi a cessé d'être en vigueur lorsque l'Afrique du Sud a quitté le Commonwealth."

Peu après, le 29 mars 1962, répondant à une question posée pour avoir l'assurance que l'avenir des territoires relevant de la Haute Commission ne s'orienterait pas dans la direction apparemment prise par le Sud-Ouest africain, le ministre a déclaré:

"Je peux vous assurer qu'il n'en est pas question et qu'il n'en a jamais été question. Je ne voudrais pas que vos observations puissent faire croire en quoi que ce soit que les territoires relevant de la Haute Commission aient des raisons de craindre. Nous avons établi très nettement que nos responsabilités envers eux demeurent et qu'ils ne seront pas absorbés par l'Afrique du Sud."

J'espère qu'étant donné ces déclarations claires et catégoriques de ministres britanniques l'Assemblée conviendra que cette question ne prête plus à discussion.

72. Le **PRESIDENT** (traduit de l'anglais): Je donne la parole au représentant d'Haïti pour expliquer son vote avant le vote.

73. **M. DORSINVILLE** (Haïti): Ma délégation n'a pas pris part au débat général, pour éviter d'allonger les délibérations de l'Assemblée générale et faciliter ainsi la tâche du Président, qui essaie d'assurer que la session soit close à la date prévue. Mais, comme ma délégation est, et a toujours été, profondément intéressée par les questions de décolonisation et a toujours été à la pointe du combat contre le colonialisme, elle désire rappeler brièvement que ce combat a commencé dès les premiers jours de l'indépendance d'Haïti qui, bien que sortie littéralement ruinée économiquement d'une guerre âpre et longue de plus de 15 années, demeurerait riche de l'espoir que la voie qu'elle venait d'ouvrir serait bientôt suivie par tous les peuples colonisés. Le président, Toussaint Louverture, ne s'était-il pas écrié prophétiquement, en mettant le pied sur le vaisseau *Le Héros* qui l'emmenait en captivité: "En me renversant, on n'a fait qu'abattre le tronc de l'arbre de la liberté à Saint-Domingue; mais il repoussera, parce que ses racines sont profondes et nombreuses"?

M. Haseganu (Roumanie), vice-président, prend la présidence.

74. Haïti a tendu une main fraternelle à tous les peuples épris de liberté, que ce soit sur le continent américain, en Europe, en Asie ou en Afrique. Elle a lutté pour la reconnaissance de l'égalité de droits des peuples, petits et grands. Elle a marqué sa sympathie agissante dans les assises internationales, à la défunte Société des Nations ou au sein des Nations Unies. Maintes résolutions qui constituent autant de jalons sur la route difficile et longue de l'émancipation coloniale portent la signature d'Haïti. On voudra bien me pardonner de rappeler ici l'initiative qu'avaient prise, au cours de la sixième session de l'Assemblée générale, les délégations d'Haïti, de l'Inde, du Liban, des Philippines et du Yémen pour

présenter un projet de résolution^{4/} relatif à la réalisation de l'objectif d'autonomie ou d'indépendance dans les territoires sous tutelle. Il s'agissait, entre autres choses, de la fixation du délai dans lequel lesdits territoires devaient accéder à l'indépendance. Ce projet de résolution est devenu la résolution 558 (VI) de l'Assemblée générale, le 18 janvier 1952. En introduisant le projet de résolution, le représentant d'Haïti en expliquait ainsi l'économie:

"... ce que nous voulons... ce à quoi vise ce projet de résolution, c'est demander aux autorités administrantes de nous faire savoir quelles sont les mesures prises ou envisagées... qui ont pour but de mener, dans le minimum de temps possible, chacun des territoires sous tutelle au but ultime du système international de tutelle, c'est-à-dire le self-government ou l'indépendance.

"Nous désirerions aussi demander aux autorités administrantes de nous renseigner sur la façon dont les conditions particulières à chaque territoire et à ses populations, sur la façon dont les aspirations librement exprimées de celles-ci sont prises en considération.

"Nous voudrions encore demander aux autorités administrantes un autre renseignement: les dispositions actuelles des accords de tutelle sont-elles suffisantes pour tenir compte de tous les facteurs mentionnés plus haut?

"Nous voudrions enfin leur demander une dernière information relative à la période de temps que l'on estime nécessaire pour que chaque territoire sous tutelle atteigne au but final du système international de tutelle, c'est-à-dire à l'autonomie ou à l'indépendance^{5/}..."

75. Ceci date de la sixième session de l'Assemblée générale, il y a 10 ans. Il n'est pas vain de dire que la résolution 558 (VI) a été le premier coup de bélier porté au rempart soigneusement gardé par les puissances coloniales pour prévenir l'intervention des Nations Unies dans toute décision relative à la date de l'accession à l'indépendance des territoires colonisés. On ne s'y est guère trompé à l'époque. Il n'est que de consulter les comptes rendus de la Quatrième Commission pour s'en rendre compte et voir l'acharnement mis par les puissances coloniales à combattre cette résolution. La satisfaction que la délégation d'Haïti garde du vote de l'Assemblée générale peut se résumer dans l'opinion exprimée par la délégation amie du Guatemala qui, avec bien d'autres, avait soutenu la résolution, savoir que c'était l'une des propositions les plus constructives qui eussent été adoptées à cette date-là. La délégation d'Haïti est donc à l'aise pour faire connaître sa position à l'égard du projet de résolution [A/L.410] qui nous est actuellement soumis.

76. Quand la Charte des Nations Unies a été rédigée, ses auteurs ont concentré leur attention, en matière coloniale, sur l'idée que l'autodétermination et l'indépendance des peuples seraient favorisées en tout premier lieu par l'institution et le fonctionnement du régime de tutelle. C'est pourquoi le Conseil de tutelle a été conçu comme un des organes principaux de l'Organisation. Tous les anciens territoires sous

^{4/} Voir Documents officiels de l'Assemblée générale, sixième session, Annexes, point 12 de l'ordre du jour, document A/2061, par. 54.

^{5/} Déclaration prononcée à la 239ème séance de la Quatrième Commission dont les comptes rendus paraissent sous forme analytique.

mandat, à l'exception du Sud-Ouest africain, ont passé sous ce régime; et à cet égard le régime a plus ou moins atteint son but, puisque huit des 11 territoires sous tutelle sont maintenant indépendants, et que les trois qui restent sont les territoires les plus petits et les moins peuplés.

77. Par contre, l'espoir d'utiliser le régime de tutelle comme l'instrument de l'évolution de tous les territoires coloniaux ne s'est pas réalisé, aucune puissance administrante n'ayant accepté de mettre volontairement ses colonies sous ce régime. Les Nations Unies ont alors essayé de favoriser l'évolution et la libération des colonies en utilisant la déclaration contenue au Chapitre XI de la Charte et en établissant [résolution 146 (II)] un comité chargé d'étudier les renseignements reçus par les Nations Unies sur la base de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 dans les domaines économique, social et de l'éducation. Un travail intelligent et une interprétation progressivement plus large de son mandat ont fait de ce comité un instrument utile pour maintenir l'attention des Nations Unies sur les territoires non autonomes et exercer une certaine pression sur les puissances administrantes. Malgré tout, l'influence de ce comité a été restreinte, du fait que le développement politique était soustrait à son examen et que les territoires coloniaux où se posaient quelques-uns des problèmes les plus irritants, tels que les colonies portugaises et la Rhodésie du Sud, échappaient à son attention.

78. Depuis s'est accentué le développement révolutionnaire et heureux des dernières années, au cours desquelles les faits ont devancé la lente action des Nations Unies. Les territoires coloniaux se sont libérés les uns après les autres — parfois par des procédés pacifiques, parfois par la violence — et de nouveaux pays souverains sont venus par dizaines prendre leur place légitime dans l'Organisation. Cette tempête a évidemment révolutionné les conceptions et les méthodes de travail en ce qui concerne les territoires encore dépendants. Il ne s'agissait plus d'établir de minutieux questionnaires pour les territoires sous tutelle ou d'éplucher les statistiques scolaires des territoires non autonomes. Le principe sacro-saint de la parité des membres, administrants et non administrants, dans les organes de tutelle et d'information perdait toute raison d'être.

79. Ce dont il était question, désormais, c'était de parfaire l'œuvre de décolonisation au plus vite, là où elle n'était pas encore achevée. C'est ce qu'ont énoncé l'historique résolution 1514 (XV) du 14 décembre 1960, contenant la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux; qui marque un tournant dans l'évolution de la philosophie de l'anticolonialisme, et la résolution 1654 (XVI) du 27 novembre 1961, qui a ouvert la voie à une nouvelle action des Nations Unies. C'est à ce dernier stade que nous nous trouvons à présent et notre rôle est de mener à bonne fin et le plus rapidement possible la tâche nouvelle fixée par la Déclaration de 1960 sur la fin du colonialisme. Le but étant clair, il faut maintenant perfectionner les méthodes d'action.

80. Je voudrais ouvrir ici une petite parenthèse. Si les membres de l'Assemblée veulent bien se reporter à l'article 101 du règlement intérieur, ils y liront que, parmi les grandes commissions de l'Assemblée générale, la Quatrième Commission est connue sous le nom de "Commission de tutelle, y

compris les territoires non autonomes". Ceci traduit bien l'esprit de 1945; le régime de tutelle devait être la pierre angulaire des questions coloniales. Et puis, comme, dès le début, des doutes s'étaient élevés sur l'extension et l'efficacité de ce régime, on a ajouté au nom de la Quatrième Commission les mots "y compris les territoires non autonomes", au mépris d'ailleurs de la langue française.

81. Cette dénomination ne paraît plus correspondre à la réalité. Ce que fait la Quatrième Commission maintenant, quand elle s'occupe du Sud-Ouest africain, des territoires portugais, et même du rapport du Conseil de tutelle, c'est de la décolonisation. Je voudrais donc proposer que le nom de la Quatrième Commission soit modifié, que la Quatrième Commission s'appelle désormais "Commission de la décolonisation". Je crois à la valeur du symbolisme et j'estime que cette décision soulignerait et rendrait claire pour tous l'importance que les Nations Unies attachent à cette question. Je voudrais croire que la légère modification à apporter à l'article 101 du règlement intérieur de l'Assemblée générale ne soulèvera pas de difficulté.

82. La délégation d'Haïti serait obligée à toutes les délégations de faire connaître leur avis à cet égard et, dans le cas où il serait favorable, de bien vouloir indiquer la procédure qui leur semblerait la plus pratique pour amender l'article 101. J'espère que le Président voudra bien nous guider à ce sujet. Si besoin en est, la délégation d'Haïti est toute disposée, avec le concours de délégations amies, à déposer un projet de résolution formel, de façon que, dès la prochaine session de l'Assemblée générale, la Quatrième Commission porte le nouveau nom de "Commission de la décolonisation".

83. Je reviens au projet de résolution dont l'Assemblée est saisie. La délégation d'Haïti approuve la prorogation du Comité spécial établi en vertu de la résolution 1654 (XVI) et l'élargissement de sa composition, comme il est actuellement proposé. Ma délégation approuve sans réserve l'idée que cet organe soit confirmé comme l'organe central de la décolonisation sous toutes ses formes, directement responsables devant l'Assemblée générale.

84. Le projet de résolution ne le dit pas de façon expresse, mais il semble aller de soi que tous les autres organes subsidiaires de l'Assemblée générale qui s'occupent actuellement des questions de décolonisation devraient disparaître. Ceci a été clairement et brillamment démontré par plusieurs représentants au cours du débat général, notamment par ceux de la Guinée [1169^{ème} séance] et de l'Irak [1170^{ème} séance].

85. Seul le Conseil de tutelle, dont le rôle actuel est d'ailleurs bien réduit, peut continuer à subsister, à défaut d'une modification de la Charte, en attendant que, par la force même des choses, il soit amené à se faire hara-kiri. L'Assemblée générale a été saisie d'un projet de résolution de la Quatrième Commission [voir A/5310, par. 27, projet de résolution III] visant à mettre fin à l'existence du Comité spécial pour le Sud-Ouest africain; ainsi que d'un projet analogue [voir A/5349, par. 30, projet de résolution III] relatif au Comité spécial pour les territoires administrés par le Portugal. Ce sont là des décisions que la délégation d'Haïti trouve tout à fait judicieuses et qui sont dans la ligne même des mesures qui s'imposent si l'on veut rationaliser le fonctionnement de l'Organisation.

86. Il nous semble que l'on pourrait aller encore plus loin. L'Assemblée, nous semble-t-il, devrait aussi mettre fin à l'existence du Sous-Comité chargé d'examiner la situation en Angola. Il n'est évidemment pas souhaitable de perpétuer la situation actuelle, où le problème de l'Angola fait l'objet de quatre débats différents: un double débat en séance plénière, à l'occasion de l'examen du rapport du Comité spécial des Dix-Sept^{6/} [A/5238] et du rapport du Sous-Comité chargé d'examiner la situation en Angola [A/5286], et un double débat à la Quatrième Commission, à l'occasion de l'examen du rapport du Comité spécial pour les territoires administrés par le Portugal [A/5160] et du rapport du Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes [A/5215].

87. Cette dispersion des débats est non seulement une perte de temps, mais une source de confusion et de contradiction dont seule la puissance coloniale peut bénéficier. Le seul argument avancé pour maintenir en vie le Sous-Comité chargé d'examiner la situation en Angola est le besoin d'un organe de liaison avec le Conseil de sécurité. Cet argument n'a guère de poids. En effet, le Comité des Dix-Sept peut directement appeler l'attention du Conseil de sécurité sur toute situation qui fait l'objet de son examen et, d'ailleurs, ceci est prévu dans le projet de résolution dont nous sommes saisis.

88. D'autre part, le maintien d'un sous-comité pour l'Angola indépendamment du Comité élargi des Dix-Sept entraînerait nécessairement double emploi, même si le mandat de ce sous-comité était limité. Comment pourrait-il juger de la nécessité de saisir le Conseil de sécurité, si ce n'est sur la base d'un examen très étendu de la situation en Angola, de l'audition de pétitionnaires, de la visite des territoires limitrophes, voire d'une enquête en Angola même, c'est-à-dire toutes activités qui devraient être réservées au Comité élargi des Dix-Sept? Bien entendu, ce dernier comité pourrait désigner un sous-comité permanent pour l'Angola, s'il l'estimait nécessaire.

89. La délégation d'Haïti ne voit pas de logique à maintenir en vie le Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes. On pense justifier son maintien en le qualifiant de comité technique. Mais il ne remplit plus ce rôle. Si, dans le passé, il étudiait les questions sociales, économiques et celles intéressant l'éducation, le Comité des renseignements s'est donné pour tâche primordiale [voir par. 152 à 154 de son rapport (A/5215)] d'étudier le développement du pouvoir législatif et du pouvoir exécutif, l'introduction d'un système d'élections démocratiques, la liberté d'action des partis politiques, etc., c'est-à-dire les voies d'accès à l'indépendance que doit précisément surveiller le Comité des Dix-Sept.

90. Double emploi d'autant plus futile et désormais dangereux que le Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes ne dispose que de renseignements officiels reçus des puissances administrantes, qu'il n'a jamais accepté d'entendre des pétitionnaires et que, de plus, sa composition demeurerait paritaire (autant de membres non administrants que de membres administrants), alors que l'on a vu le Conseil de tutelle lui-même fonctionner

pendant quelque temps avec une majorité de membres non administrants. Cet usage, qui est calqué sur la règle suivie au Conseil de tutelle, et qui avait pu avoir jadis sa justification, est maintenant périmé.

91. La suppression du Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes préviendrait la répétition des procédures quelque peu absurdes qui ont été employées. En effet, si l'on a bien discuté en séance plénière du rapport du Comité des Dix-Sept, où il est fait état de la situation politique dans certains territoires comme le Bassoutoland, le Souaziland, la Guinée dite espagnole, etc., c'est devant la Quatrième Commission que les pétitionnaires en provenance de ces territoires se sont présentés pour exposer leurs points de vue sur cette même situation, mais dans le cadre artificiel et étroit de l'examen du rapport du Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes.

92. Puis on a assisté à un spectacle extraordinaire, qui a dû laisser perplexe le profane. Des appels réitérés, presque des supplications, ont été adressés aux membres de la Quatrième Commission par des personnes qui voulaient prendre part au débat général sur plusieurs points groupés de l'ordre du jour n'ayant aucune relation directe avec l'audition des pétitionnaires, et, ce qui est encore plus grave, qui voulaient présenter des projets de résolution dont la soumission était retardée parce qu'on était paralysé par le débat qui se poursuivait en séance plénière sur le rapport du Comité des Dix-Sept.

93. Bien entendu, la disparition éventuelle du Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes ne changerait rien à la procédure prévue à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte. Les renseignements continueraient d'être fournis au Secrétaire général par les puissances administrantes. Ils seraient analysés et résumés par le Secrétaire général comme par le passé, et cette documentation serait mise à la disposition du Comité élargi des Dix-Sept. Une fois toutes les activités sur la décolonisation centralisées entre les mains de ce dernier comité, rien n'empêcherait celui-ci d'organiser son travail par la voie de sous-comités spécialisés suivant les territoires étudiés, de manière à pouvoir examiner de pair, avec célérité et efficacité, un grand nombre de situations différentes.

94. La délégation d'Haïti ne verrait aucune objection à autoriser — si besoin en était — le Comité des Dix-Sept à désigner également dans ses sous-comités des Membres de l'ONU qui ne feraient pas partie du Comité élargi. L'essentiel est que le travail de tous les sous-comités soit coordonné et soit sous l'autorité directe et unique du Comité élargi qui deviendrait, pour ainsi dire, un nouvel organe principal des Nations Unies. Cela permettrait d'éviter à l'avenir les doubles et triples emplois, les rapports multiples et mal coordonnés, les discussions répétées et séparées sur les mêmes questions, génératrices d'une profonde apathie.

95. Telles sont les quelques idées qu'a désiré exposer la délégation d'Haïti, les quelques suggestions qu'elle a voulu livrer à l'appréciation bienveillante de l'Assemblée, à l'occasion de l'examen du projet de résolution [A/L.410] portant sur l'œuvre du Comité spécial chargé de veiller à l'application de la résolution 1514 (XV) du 14 décembre 1960. Elle les présente dans l'esprit de la collaboration franche et loyale qui a toujours guidé ses activités aux Nations Unies.

^{6/} Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux.

96. M. HELEN (Suède) [traduit de l'anglais]: Maintenant que nous sommes saisis du projet de résolution A/L.410 présenté par de nombreux Etats d'Afrique et d'Asie, il convient sans doute de l'examiner à la lumière de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux [résolution 1514 (XV)] présentée par les Etats d'Afrique et d'Asie qui étaient alors au nombre de 43 et que l'Assemblée a adoptée à une majorité écrasante il y a deux ans.

97. La délégation suédoise avait voté pour la Déclaration parce qu'elle avait trouvé que les idées fondamentales qui y étaient exprimées étaient saines et utiles et qu'elle les estimait conformes aux dispositions de la Charte relatives au principe du droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes. Ce principe n'est d'ailleurs pas une innovation, une invention des Nations Unies, car il est aussi ancien que l'histoire de l'homme civilisé. Toutefois, il a revêtu un caractère plus urgent encore depuis quelques années. Notre opinion sur cette grande question a été exprimée devant l'Assemblée générale le 14 décembre 1960 dans les termes suivants:

"Le gouvernement et le peuple suédois ont suivi avec un intérêt soutenu et avec la plus vive sympathie le processus historique grâce auquel la grande majorité des peuples autrefois non autonomes jouissent désormais de cet immense bienfait qu'est la liberté nationale. Si elle contribue à maintenir le désir de liberté vivace dans l'esprit des hommes du monde entier, la Déclaration aura servi un but utile." [946ème séance, par. 11.]

Il semble bien certain que cette cause a vraiment été servie par la Déclaration dans les deux années écoulées depuis son adoption, deux années de décolonisation intense qui ont amené plusieurs nouveaux Membres à l'Organisation des Nations Unies.

98. L'opinion publique en Suède, qui se manifeste par la voix des représentants de nos partis politiques et de nos grands syndicats ainsi que par celle de beaucoup de nos écrivains et journalistes les plus éminents, s'intéresse vraiment à ce qui se passe dans les territoires encore sous domination coloniale ainsi que dans ceux qui bénéficient maintenant du régime pour lequel ils ont lutté.

99. Cette opinion se reflète claire et vigoureuse dans l'attitude de la Suède en tant que nation et que Membre actif de l'Organisation. Nous sommes en faveur d'une décolonisation rapide, énergique et réaliste. La Suède est fière d'avoir soutenu la Déclaration dès le début. Aussi le Gouvernement suédois est-il toujours partisan des idées fondamentales qui y sont contenues et désireux de leur voir atteindre leur plein développement dans le projet de résolution A/L.410.

100. Néanmoins, ma délégation éprouve quelques doutes au sujet de certaines parties du projet de résolution, en particulier les paragraphes 2 et 8 du dispositif. Je soulignerai que c'est avant tout en raison de considérations d'ordre pratique.

101. Il est de l'intérêt de tous, c'est-à-dire des peuples non autonomes eux-mêmes, des puissances métropolitaines et des Nations Unies, que le passage de l'état de dépendance à celui de souveraineté s'effectue autant que possible dans l'ordre et la paix. La Déclaration contient un paragraphe affirmant que le manque de préparation dans les domaines politique, économique ou social ou dans celui de l'enseignement

ne doit jamais être pris comme prétexte pour retarder l'indépendance. Nous l'approuvons; rien ne doit être prétexte à refuser à des peuples la liberté qu'ils désirent.

102. Cependant, nous sommes convaincus que le processus de décolonisation sera favorisé le plus efficacement et que les nations nouvelles elles-mêmes tireront le plus grand profit si un certain équilibre est maintenu entre la volonté de liberté d'un pays neuf et la possibilité pratique d'exercer cette liberté sans qu'elle soit mise en danger. Cet équilibre n'est peut-être pas toujours réalisable, mais il vaut la peine d'essayer d'y parvenir.

103. Puisque telle est notre conviction, nous estimons nécessaire de souligner, comme nous l'avons fait auparavant et jusque-là sans être en contradiction avec l'opinion exprimée par de nombreux Etats africains eux-mêmes, qu'il n'est pas réaliste que l'Assemblée fixe une date limite générale établie sur une base théorique pour l'accession à l'indépendance de tous les territoires encore dépendants. Nous ne pouvons nous cacher que le passage trop rapide du statut colonial à l'indépendance peut entraîner de graves difficultés pour la population même du territoire intéressé.

104. La Charte des Nations Unies en tient compte elle-même tant au Chapitre XI qui traite des territoires non autonomes qu'au Chapitre XII qui traite des territoires sous tutelle. L'alinéa b de l'Article 73 fait aux puissances administrantes un devoir de développer la capacité des populations de ces territoires à s'administrer elles-mêmes et de les aider dans le développement progressif de leurs libres institutions "dans la mesure appropriée aux conditions particulières de chaque territoire et de ses populations et à leurs degrés variables de développement". La disposition correspondante pour les territoires sous tutelle est l'alinéa b de l'Article 76, selon lequel aussi il faut tenir compte des conditions particulières à chaque territoire et à ses populations.

105. La fixation d'une date limite ou de dates limites plus ou moins automatiquement valables pour les différents territoires, comme le représentant de l'Indonésie vient de l'envisager dans son intervention, ne semble pas permettre la grande souplesse que la Charte, à bon escient à notre avis, présuppose. Elle ne semble pas tenir compte non plus du fait que dans la plupart des cas le passage à l'indépendance a été l'heureux aboutissement de négociations entre la puissance métropolitaine et les chefs élus des partis politiques du territoire. Le projet de résolution invite, au paragraphe 5 du dispositif, les puissances administrantes à respecter les dirigeants légitimes des partis politiques des populations intéressées et leurs activités politiques. Serait-il alors vraiment sage que les Nations Unies, en fixant une date limite générale, restreignent la possibilité qu'ont ces dirigeants de choisir le moment où il leur semblera le plus avantageux d'entamer les négociations qui donneront le jour à leur nation?

106. L'Assemblée générale peut-elle être absolument sûre à sa dix-huitième session que, si elle fixe une fois pour toutes cette date limite pour l'application intégrale de la Déclaration, aucun territoire dépendant n'en concevra pas un espoir déraisonnable d'une prompte autodétermination?

107. Comment pouvons-nous être sûrs, d'autre part, qu'aucun territoire ne sera omis? Le projet de réso-

lution vise l'ensemble des territoires mentionnés au paragraphe 5 de la résolution 1514 (XV). Qui établira la liste définitive de ces territoires? La sagesse de l'Assemblée est certainement grande, mais l'est-elle assez pour une pareille tâche? J'en doute.

108. Les méthodes de travail du Comité spécial ont été controversées pendant la discussion générale sur la question. Néanmoins, les auteurs du projet de résolution ont décidé d'exprimer dans la résolution non seulement notre reconnaissance au Comité spécial, mais aussi leur propre opinion sur l'utilité des méthodes et des procédures que le Comité spécial a élaborées au cours de ses travaux. Je ne vois pas comment nous pourrions, à l'Assemblée générale, après avoir étudié le rapport et assisté à la discussion générale dont il a fait l'objet, avoir une opinion bien fondée et ferme sur un point qui est l'objet d'une controverse entre les membres du Comité eux-mêmes.

109. D'après un des alinéas du préambule du projet de résolution, l'Assemblée générale réaffirmerait sa conviction que tout retard dans l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance a créé ou créerait — la rédaction est un peu ambiguë — "des situations de plus en plus dangereuses qui risquent de menacer la paix et la sécurité internationales". Aux termes du paragraphe 8, l'Assemblée générale inviterait en outre le Comité élargi "à informer le Conseil de sécurité de tous faits survenus dans ces territoires, qui risquent de menacer la paix et la sécurité internationales".

110. Mon gouvernement ne peut qu'approuver le principe selon lequel des situations qui menacent ou qui risquent de menacer la paix et la sécurité internationales doivent être portées à l'attention du Conseil de sécurité, puisque c'est l'organe qui, en vertu de l'Article 24 de la Charte, a la responsabilité principale du maintien de la paix et de la sécurité, et qui en a en fait le pouvoir principal. Cependant, il faut se garder d'oublier que, quelle que soit la façon dont une situation puisse être caractérisée par l'Assemblée générale ou un de ses organes subsidiaires, c'est au Conseil de sécurité lui-même qu'il appartient de déterminer en toute indépendance la nature de la situation devant laquelle il se trouve et les mesures qu'il juge approprié et nécessaire de prendre.

111. Malgré les questions, les réserves et les observations qui viennent d'être exprimées, la délégation suédoise estime que le projet de résolution représente à beaucoup d'égards une utile contribution à l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. Nous estimons que les puissances métropolitaines qui vivent encore le drame de la décolonisation doivent être mises au fait de l'opinion mondiale telle qu'elle ressort des résolutions des Nations Unies. Cette opinion qui est la nôtre s'applique tout autant aux puissances métropolitaines dont le mécanisme démocratique est souvent critiqué au cours de débats publics dans notre pays qu'aux puissances dont les traditions et l'honnêteté des intentions sont depuis longtemps pour nous un sujet d'admiration. La délégation suédoise est fermement convaincue que certaines des puissances administrantes font de grands efforts en vue d'une décolonisation rapide et réaliste. Néanmoins, il serait bon à notre avis que toutes les puissances administrantes prennent conscience de l'opinion publique mondiale au sujet de la mise en œuvre de la Déclaration.

112. La délégation de la Suède émettra ses votes conformément aux opinions qu'elle vient d'énoncer dans sa délégation.

113. M. GREN (Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques) [traduit du russe]: La délégation de l'Union soviétique apprécie hautement le fait que le projet de résolution [A/L.410] soumis à notre examen est le résultat des longues discussions et du labeur d'un groupe important de signataires. Nous estimons devoir leur exprimer notre reconnaissance pour le travail accompli. Les auteurs de ce projet de résolution se sont fondés sur les objectifs et les principes de la Déclaration contenue dans la résolution 1514 (XV).

114. On le sait, la résolution 1514 (XV) a été adoptée à l'unanimité. Personne n'y a fait opposition. Cette résolution proclamait solennellement la nécessité absolue de mettre rapidement et inconditionnellement fin au colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations.

115. Depuis l'adoption de cette déclaration historique, deux années se sont écoulées. L'an dernier, lorsque a été adoptée la résolution 1654 (XVI) sur l'application de la Déclaration, de nombreuses délégations ont proposé, on le sait, de fixer des dates limites pour la liquidation du colonialisme. A la présente session, les exigences touchant la fixation de ces dates limites se sont faites plus pressantes et, comme on le sait, une proposition formelle a été présentée aux termes de laquelle la date limite pour la décolonisation serait fixée au 24 octobre 1963, date de la "Journée des Nations Unies".

116. La délégation soviétique attache une grande importance au règlement de cette question des dates limites. A notre avis, mieux vaudrait qu'elles soient plus explicitement énoncées dans le texte du projet de résolution et qu'une date définitive soit fixée pour la liquidation du colonialisme. Il en résulterait que le Comité spécial chargé d'étudier l'application de la Déclaration aurait des directives plus précises. Il serait plus juste que la date précise de la décolonisation soit fixée dans la résolution elle-même plutôt que de charger de cette tâche le Comité spécial des Dix-Sept.

117. La délégation soviétique estime qu'il serait juste que le projet de résolution soumis présentement à notre examen charge le Comité spécial de tenir le Conseil de sécurité au courant de tous faits survenant dans les territoires considérés, et qui risqueraient de menacer la paix et la sécurité internationales.

118. Il y a longtemps que la nécessité s'impose de donner ce pouvoir au Comité spécial car la situation dans divers territoires est telle qu'elle devient une réelle menace à la paix et à la sécurité internationales; c'est ce que reconnaissent plusieurs projets de résolution soumis à l'examen de l'Assemblée ou déjà adoptés par elle.

119. D'autre part, le projet de résolution des 22 puissances présente, quant à nous, un certain nombre de points faibles. Nous relevons d'abord que ce projet ne dit rien d'une obligation pour les puissances administrantes de retirer leurs forces et leurs missions militaires et d'éliminer leurs bases militaires des territoires dépendants.

120. Dans ce projet ne figure pas non plus un paragraphe invitant les Etats Membres de l'Organisation qui apportent une aide aux puissances coloniales à cesser immédiatement de fournir cette aide, laquelle

peut être utilisée à des fins militaires et à des mesures de répression contre les populations de ces territoires.

121. Au stade actuel, alors que les populations des territoires coloniaux exigent que leur soit transférée l'autorité complète, il importe au plus haut point de souligner dans ce projet de résolution la nécessité d'assurer à ces populations la possibilité de jouir en fait de toutes les libertés et droits démocratiques et d'organiser des élections au suffrage universel et direct.

122. De plus, il serait très utile de noter dans le projet de résolution la nécessité d'abroger tout accord avec lesdits territoires qui pourrait entraîner directement ou indirectement une limitation de la souveraineté des futurs Etats indépendants ou qui viserait à assurer des droits particuliers et des privilèges aux métropoles, à leurs citoyens et à leurs entreprises, la nécessité d'abroger tout acte législatif adopté précédemment qui aurait pour effet d'assurer l'intégration de tel ou tel territoire ou de telles parties de ces territoires aux pays de la métropole, et la nécessité du retour aux populations autochtones de toutes les terres dont, pour une raison ou pour une autre, elles auraient été dépossédées.

123. Etant donné les lacunes précitées, nous estimons que le projet de résolution des 22 puissances ne cadre pas entièrement avec les tâches qui incombent actuellement aux Nations Unies en ce qui concerne la liquidation du système colonial.

124. Nous avons déjà abordé l'étape d'extirpation des séquelles du honteux système colonial; plus vite nous y mettrons fin, moins les peuples coloniaux auront à souffrir et plus grandes seront les possibilités offertes pour affermir la paix dans le monde.

125. C'est pourquoi la délégation soviétique préférerait voir figurer dans le projet de résolution des 22 puissances les considérations que nous venons de mentionner; néanmoins, dans l'ensemble, nous approuvons le projet de résolution figurant dans le document A/L.410 et présenté par les 22 puissances, encore que nous le considérons comme insuffisant et incomplet.

126. Pour ce qui est des travaux du Comité spécial lui-même, la délégation soviétique voudrait faire observer, en tant qu'élément positif, que, d'après le projet de résolution, l'Assemblée générale exprime sa reconnaissance audit Comité pour le travail accompli en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, et prend note avec satisfaction des méthodes et des procédures que le Comité a adoptées pour s'acquitter de ses fonctions.

127. Une telle constatation reflète l'avis dominant qui a été exprimé au cours de la discussion du rapport du Comité spécial des Dix-Sept [A/5238].

128. Etant donné que l'ampleur et la complexité des travaux du Comité spécial s'accroissent, le projet de résolution prévoit l'élargissement de sa composition en lui adjoignant sept nouveaux membres. Nous voudrions souligner à ce sujet que, si l'Assemblée générale décide d'élargir la composition du Comité spécial, toute mesure de cette nature doit être effectuée sur la même base que celle qui a été adoptée lors de la création du Comité. Beaucoup d'orateurs qui sont intervenus dans la discussion ont exprimé le même souhait et cette nécessité a été largement reconnue.

129. Nous soulignons particulièrement ce point parce que le Comité spécial, comme on peut le voir dans le projet de résolution, aborde l'étape décisive des travaux qui lui sont confiés par la résolution 1654 (XVI) et par la présente résolution.

130. Dans ces conditions, il est très important de s'en tenir à la représentation équitable des régions géographiques déjà observée dans la composition du Comité spécial et de veiller à ce que soient représentés parmi les nouveaux membres tous les groupements existant à l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Compte tenu de ce principe, nous sommes disposés à appuyer les propositions des signataires du projet de résolution sur l'élargissement de la composition du Comité spécial.

131. Ces observations prises en considération, nous appuierons le projet de résolution des 22 puissances du groupe des pays d'Afrique et d'Asie et nous voterons en sa faveur.

M. Zafrulla Khan (Pakistan) reprend la présidence.

132. M. BELAUNDE (Pérou) [traduit de l'espagnol]: En diverses occasions, la délégation du Pérou a exprimé avec force et clarté sa sympathie pour toutes les mesures qui tendent à accélérer le mouvement d'émancipation des pays qui ont été soumis à la domination coloniale. Nous avons considéré ce mouvement d'émancipation comme une des caractéristiques de l'époque présente ainsi qu'une des tâches qui doivent être considérées avec le plus de sympathie et auxquelles les Nations Unies doivent apporter leur totale collaboration. Notre pensée peut se résumer en une formule: le fait le plus marquant du XIX^{ème} siècle a été l'accession à l'indépendance des pays d'Amérique; le fait le plus marquant du XX^{ème} siècle est l'accession à l'indépendance des nouveaux pays d'Asie et d'Afrique. C'est pour cette raison que nous voyons avec une profonde sympathie et avec un plein sentiment de solidarité l'indépendance des pays d'Afrique et d'Asie.

133. Il y a plus; il y a une tradition culturelle qui remonte aux commencements de notre vie spirituelle. Avec la découverte de l'Amérique apparaissent les principes du droit international formulés par Vitoria, et Vitoria est la première autorité philosophique et juridique qui ait énoncé de la manière la plus limpide le principe de la libre détermination, de l'autonomie, de l'intangibilité du droit de tous les peuples de la terre à se gouverner eux-mêmes. C'est dans cet esprit que la délégation du Pérou a envisagé l'œuvre confiée au Comité spécial des Dix-Sept et, naturellement, nous devons appuyer et applaudir la tâche accomplie.

134. En ce qui concerne ce grand mouvement d'émancipation, il n'est pas superflu d'établir un parallèle avec le nôtre. Le mouvement de libération de l'Amérique latine a connu d'énormes difficultés; il s'est consolidé à une époque où l'Angleterre, qui sympathisait avec notre indépendance, s'est vue entraînée par l'invasion napoléonienne de l'Espagne à prendre une position d'alliée de l'empire espagnol, et les Etats-Unis eux-mêmes, qui auraient pu avoir eux aussi une bienveillance platonique pour notre indépendance, ont été retenus par les négociations pour l'acquisition des deux Florides. Notre indépendance s'est faite, pour citer Bolivar, presque contre la volonté de l'univers.

135. Par bonheur pour nos frères d'Asie et d'Afrique, leur mouvement d'émancipation, bien qu'il ait été dans

de nombreux cas le résultat d'une lutte héroïque que nous admirons et que nous avons suivie avec une solidarité profonde, s'est effectué en grande partie avec la coopération des grandes puissances coloniales grâce à un changement d'attitude que l'humanité doit applaudir, changement qui leur impose précisément la continuation de leur œuvre et une coopération pleine et désintéressée avec les nouveaux pays. Mais il est une chose plus avantageuse encore pour le mouvement d'émancipation des pays d'Afrique et d'Asie, c'est l'existence des Nations Unies.

136. A notre époque se dessinait à peine une entente entre les Etats-Unis et l'Angleterre contre ce que nous pourrions appeler le noyau des puissances réactionnaires ou extrêmement conservatrices d'Europe, mais il n'y avait pas d'institution qui aurait pu encourager et aider les pays émancipés et accélérer le processus d'émancipation de ceux qui n'avaient pas encore atteint l'indépendance.

137. L'existence des Nations Unies est, en ce moment, le grand avantage de nos frères d'Afrique et d'Asie qui viennent d'accéder à l'indépendance et que nous avons reçus si cordialement comme Membres de cette institution, ainsi que de ceux qui sont à la veille d'y accéder et qui sont appelés à entrer à l'Organisation. C'est pourquoi la délégation du Pérou a pris dès le début un intérêt particulier à ce qu'en toute action et en toute circonstance les Nations Unies témoignent que l'universalité est leur élément essentiel. Cette universalité nous permet, comme elle nous a permis, d'intégrer à la communauté internationale, de plein droit, les nouveaux pays d'Afrique et d'Asie. Nous espérons sincèrement achever cette œuvre d'intégration par l'entrée des autres pays dont nous favorisons l'indépendance.

138. Telle étant l'attitude de la délégation péruvienne, pleinement solidaire des deux représentants du Pérou au Comité spécial des Dix-Sept, l'Assemblée comprendra que nous voyions avec sympathie l'œuvre qui a été accomplie et que nous approuvions d'une manière générale le projet de résolution A/L.410 dont nous sommes saisis.

139. Néanmoins, s'agissant de certains mots ou expressions figurant dans le projet de résolution, je dois dire en toute franchise que nous qui aimons les Nations Unies nous avons à cœur qu'aucune résolution ne puisse être l'objet de critiques faute d'employer le terme exact ou l'expression juste et adéquate. Il nous semble que nous devons éviter tout ce qui est ou implique une exagération, une imprécision ou une attitude que la prudence déconseillerait peut-être. C'est dans ce sens que, respectueusement et sans présenter d'amendement, je dois dire que ma délégation aurait préféré voir parler, par exemple, de tout retard dans l'indépendance comme "pouvant créer" et non comme "créant" des situations dangereuses, ce qui suppose l'affirmation catégorique de quelque chose qui est en cours de réalisation, tandis que les termes "pouvant créer" signifient que tout retard créerait éventuellement des situations dangereuses.

140. De même, parmi les pays d'Amérique latine, nous qui nous unissons si cordialement à nos frères d'Afrique et d'Asie dans leur mouvement d'émancipation, nous considérons que l'expression "une date limite appropriée", dans le préambule et dans le dispositif, est un peu vague et qu'il aurait mieux valu employer l'expression "des dates limites appro-

chées" ou peut-être ne pas fixer une date de façon automatique et mécanique lorsqu'il s'agit d'un processus qui peut exiger, disons-le, une assistance plus ou moins longue et dont le cours d'accomplissement et d'arrivée à maturité ne peut être fixé d'avance. Mais ces réserves que me fait faire, dans un esprit de sincérité absolue, mon souci de perfection et de critique constructive, ces réserves ne font dévier en rien mon adhésion enthousiaste à l'esprit et dans l'ensemble à la lettre du projet de résolution auquel le Pérou donnera son vote affirmatif.

141. Notre désir est que le mouvement d'émancipation se maintienne dans le cadre des dispositions de la Charte des Nations Unies, avec une fidélité absolue à l'esprit qui l'inspire et le meut, à l'abri de la guerre froide, avec ce caractère noble et désintéressé, comme la plus grande manifestation de cet esprit de liberté qui anime en réalité le progrès de l'homme. Je suis persuadé que mes paroles trouveront un écho dans tous les organes des Nations Unies parce qu'en réalité il ne suffit pas que les peuples accèdent à la liberté. Ils y viennent dans des situations économiques difficiles; ils y viennent souvent après avoir traversé des périodes de guerre qui ont laissé des plaies, des souffrances et des conséquences défavorables, et pour cela les Nations Unies ont, je l'affirme ici sincèrement, un champ d'action admirable pour contribuer par leur assistance technique et économique à la consolidation de l'indépendance des pays qui y ont accédé et à l'émancipation de ceux qui aspirent encore à atteindre la liberté. C'est la grande tâche des Nations Unies, à laquelle nous devons tous contribuer avec nos vœux et nos applaudissements.

142. M. LUQMAN (Mauritanie) [traduit de l'anglais]: Je vais parler du document A/L.410 dont nous sommes saisis.

143. Ce serait être très déloyal envers notre propre conscience que de retarder l'heure de la liberté des peuples et des nations. Essayons d'être à la hauteur des circonstances qui nous appellent à vivre dans un monde changeant, absolument différent de ce qu'il était hier.

144. Je rappelle la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux [résolution 1514 (XV)]. Il ressort du rapport du Comité spécial [A/5238] que certaines des puissances qui administrent encore des territoires dépendants n'ont pas encore été capables de considérer l'ensemble du problème comme elles l'auraient dû. Nous demandons à ces pays de changer leur attitude devant cette question et de coopérer avec nous à l'émancipation de la partie de l'humanité qui subit encore le joug colonial.

145. Le projet de résolution dont nous sommes saisis prouve clairement et complètement que nous avons encore beaucoup à faire pour mettre en œuvre les principes de la Charte, comme nous en avons le devoir. La portée du projet de résolution est double. Premièrement, la liberté des peuples intéressés doit être acquise par les efforts des Nations Unies. Deuxièmement, les mesures à cet effet doivent être prises rapidement, énergiquement et sans délai.

146. Le paragraphe 5 du dispositif du projet de résolution s'adresse aux puissances administrantes qui ont recours aux armes pour réprimer les mouvements de libération dans les territoires considérés et demande qu'il soit mis fin à l'emploi de la force.

Le paragraphe 6 prie les puissances intéressées de prendre des mesures immédiates pour préparer les territoires et peuples coloniaux à accéder sans retard à l'autonomie et à l'indépendance. Les auteurs du projet de résolution visent aussi à contribuer à accélérer le processus d'autodétermination et de décolonisation.

147. On a proposé d'adjoindre sept membres au Comité spécial. Nous pensons que la tâche du Comité spécial en sera très probablement facilitée, ainsi que l'application de la Déclaration sur l'émancipation des peuples et des territoires soumis au joug colonial.

148. Ma délégation est un des auteurs du projet de résolution et elle invite instamment tous les Membres à voter en sa faveur.

149. Le PRESIDENT (traduit de l'anglais): Je rappelle aux représentants qu'à l'ouverture de la séance de cet après-midi, à 15 heures, l'Assemblée entendra une allocution de S. E. le Président du Chili. En conséquence, je les prie d'être ponctuels.

La séance est levée à 13 h 5.

Nations Unies
ASSEMBLÉE
GÉNÉRALE

DIX-SEPTIÈME SESSION

Documents officiels



134 1194^e
SÉANCE PLÉNIÈRE

Vendredi 14 décembre 1962,
à 20 h 30

NEW YORK

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Président: M. Muhammad ZAFRULLA KHAN
(Pakistan).

En l'absence du Président, M. Rifa'i (Jordanie),
vice-président, prend la présidence.

Comité spécial des Dix-Sept, et, d'autre part, la fixation d'une date limite pour l'octroi de l'indépendance à tous les pays et à tous les peuples coloniaux.

45. Ma délégation est toujours en faveur de l'accélération des travaux du Comité spécial, car le gouvernement et le peuple cambodgiens désirent voir mettre fin, dans les plus brefs délais, à toutes les formes du colonialisme et de la domination étrangère. C'est dans ce sens qu'elle a présenté certaines observations au cours de son intervention du 27 novembre dernier [1177^{ème} séance]. Parlant du nombre des membres du Comité spécial, la délégation cambodgienne a exprimé la crainte qu'une augmentation trop considérable de ce nombre ne soit de nature à entraver l'accélération des travaux.

46. En ce qui concerne la fixation d'une date limite pour l'ensemble des territoires qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance, ma délégation avait dit qu'elle n'était pas contre ce principe, mais, ayant à l'esprit le paragraphe 5 de la résolution 1514 (XV), nous pensons qu'une date fixe pourrait être ou trop rapprochée ou trop éloignée étant donné le grand nombre de situations plus ou moins différentes.

47. Nous notons, cependant, que les paragraphes du projet de résolution qui correspondent à cet aspect de la question tiennent compte, d'une part, du désir de voir se terminer la complète application de la Déclaration sur la décolonisation et, d'autre part, de la nécessité de laisser au Comité spécial la possibilité d'examiner toutes les situations avant de présenter ses recommandations sur une date limite d'application générale.

48. Je voudrais signaler, par ailleurs, à propos du rapport du Secrétaire général [A/C.5/962] relatif aux incidences financières du projet de résolution, que des économies seront probablement réalisées du fait de la dissolution éventuelle du Comité spécial pour le Sud-Ouest africain et du Comité spécial pour les territoires administrés par le Portugal.

49. En conclusion, nonobstant les observations qu'elle vient de formuler en toute objectivité, ma délégation votera en faveur du projet de résolution dont l'Assemblée est saisie.

50. M. BINGHAM (Etats-Unis d'Amérique) [traduit de l'anglais]: Je désire d'abord exprimer, au nom de ma délégation, notre reconnaissance pour les grands efforts qu'ont faits, nous le savons, les rédacteurs du projet de résolution dont nous sommes saisis [A/L.410 et Add.1]. Nous savons que ce texte a exigé beaucoup de travail et d'esprit de compromis de la part des uns et des autres et nous félicitons particulièrement le Président d'avoir rapproché bien des avis divers et essayé de les concilier. Nous savons que dans cette tâche les négociateurs ont rencontré de nombreuses difficultés. Toutefois, je tiens à déclarer que ma délégation est déçue à certains égards par le projet de résolution. D'abord, aucun effort n'a été fait pour corriger ou pour tenter de corriger certains défauts des méthodes de travail du Comité spécial, dont nous avons parlé dans notre déclaration dans la discussion générale [1171^{ème} séance]. Aucun effort n'a été fait non plus pour essayer d'éliminer la tendance à la guerre froide au sein du Comité, ce dont nous avons parlé aussi dans la discussion générale.

51. La difficulté principale que nous voyons dans ce projet de résolution est la mention, au dernier alinéa du préambule et à l'alinéa b du paragraphe 8,

POINT 25 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

La situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux: rapport du Comité spécial constitué aux termes de la résolution 1654 (XVI) de l'Assemblée générale (suite*)

42. Le PRESIDENT (traduit de l'anglais): Nous allons reprendre l'examen du rapport du Comité spécial [A/5238]. L'Assemblée est saisie d'un projet de résolution présenté par 34 puissances [A/L.410 et Add.1].

43. Je donne la parole aux représentants qui désirent expliquer leurs votes.

44. M. SONN VOEUNSAI (Cambodge): Ma délégation se prononcera en faveur du projet qui nous est soumis [A/L.410 et Add.1], où les dispositions essentielles concernant l'œuvre de décolonisation entreprise par les Nations Unies se trouvent mentionnées. Mais elle ne peut s'empêcher de manifester ses regrets de ne pouvoir se joindre aux auteurs, comme elle l'avait fait deux années de suite pour les résolutions 1514 (XV) et 1654 (XVI). Cette non-participation, qui ne saurait être interprétée comme une réprobation tacite, est motivée par des considérations d'ordre pratique concernant, d'une part, le nombre des membres du

*Réprise des débats de la 1192^{ème} séance.

de la fixation d'une date limite pour l'application intégrale de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance à tous les territoires.

52. Il nous semble qu'il y a de nombreux arguments contre une telle idée et nous n'avons entendu aucun argument convaincant en sa faveur. J'y reviendrai dans un moment. Auparavant, je mentionnerai brièvement certains autres points du projet de résolution sur lesquels nous éprouvons quelques difficultés.

53. D'abord, au paragraphe 2, ma délégation suppose que les méthodes et les procédures mentionnées comme ayant été adoptées par le Comité sont celles qui sont décrites au paragraphe 112 du chapitre premier du rapport du Comité spécial [A/5238]. Nous aurions toutefois préféré que la résolution le dise explicitement.

54. De même, en ce qui concerne le paragraphe 6, nous interprétons ce paragraphe comme comprenant l'idée de l'exercice du droit à la libre détermination dans toutes ses diverses manifestations. Nous aurions souhaité que ce paragraphe fût aussi complet que la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance [résolution 1514 (XV)] l'est elle-même sur ce point.

55. Pour ce qui est du paragraphe 7, ma délégation estime qu'un élargissement de la composition du Comité spécial n'est pas nécessaire, ni même peut-être souhaitable. Nous craignons qu'il ne devienne ainsi trop nombreux et peu maniable. Toutefois, si l'on devait élargir sa composition, nous préfererions qu'on ne dépasse pas le chiffre de quatre nouveaux membres.

56. Quant à la répartition des sièges, s'il doit y avoir de nouveaux membres, nous nous en remettons volontiers au Président de l'Assemblée. Nous présumons, bien entendu, qu'il procédera à une sage et large consultation des membres de l'Assemblée générale. Je suis obligé de dire, cependant, que nous ne pourrions considérer comme équitable le genre de répartition des sièges qu'a suggéré le représentant de l'Indonésie lorsqu'il a présenté le projet de résolution au nom des auteurs.

57. En ce qui concerne l'alinéa c du paragraphe 8, ma délégation doute qu'il soit sage d'adopter un alinéa qui invite le Comité spécial à présenter à l'Assemblée générale l'an prochain un rapport complet contenant ses suggestions et ses recommandations sur l'ensemble des territoires mentionnés au paragraphe 5 de la Déclaration relative à l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. D'abord, nous craignons que, du fait qu'il y est question non de territoires déterminés mais de catégories de territoires, un temps précieux ne soit perdu au Comité spécial simplement pour déterminer quels territoires relèvent du paragraphe 5 de la Déclaration. Même si cette tâche pouvait être accomplie, nous pensons qu'il serait pratiquement impossible, étant donné le temps dont on disposera, de présenter à l'Assemblée un rapport suffisamment complet traitant de l'ensemble des territoires en question en les examinant un par un.

58. Je reviens maintenant à la question des dates limites, que nous considérons comme le défaut fondamental du projet de résolution tel qu'il nous est présenté. Je répéterai brièvement les considérations qui, à notre avis, militent contre l'idée d'une date limite générale.

59. Avant tout, il nous semble que cette idée représente une simplification excessive de ce qui est un

problème fondamentalement très complexe, dont les nombreux aspects varient dans chaque cas. Pour cette raison, il nous paraît impossible de fixer un délai ou une date limite qui puisse être applicable pour tous les territoires. En fait, nous estimons que toute tentative de fixer une telle date limite serait si dépourvue de réalisme qu'elle jetterait effectivement le discrédit sur les Nations Unies elles-mêmes et, particulièrement, sur les efforts généralement louables qu'elles accomplissent dans le domaine de la décolonisation.

60. Quelle date limite, je vous le demande, envisagerait-on que le Comité spécial puisse fixer? S'agirait-il d'un délai de plusieurs années? Je me rappelle qu'à la seizième session [1050ème séance] le Ministre des affaires étrangères de la Nigéria avait suggéré 1970 comme date limite pour l'accession à l'indépendance de tous les territoires d'Afrique. Mais, si je me souviens bien, cette suggestion n'a pas recueilli beaucoup d'approbations. Le sentiment général a été que la fixation d'une date aussi lointaine pourrait en fait servir d'excuse pour le retard apporté à l'octroi de la libre détermination et de l'indépendance. Inversement, envisagerait-on de fixer une date limite rapprochée, 1963 par exemple, comme l'a suggéré à cette tribune, plus tôt dans le cours de la session, un très distingué représentant? Selon moi, un tel délai serait absolument chimérique et il n'y aurait pas un seul représentant dans cette salle qui pourrait réellement supposer un seul instant que tous les territoires pourraient accéder à la libre détermination et à l'indépendance dès 1963 ou dans l'avenir immédiat. Tenter de fixer une date de ce genre, ou la fixer effectivement, reviendrait à induire tragiquement en erreur les populations des territoires intéressés et à susciter en elles des espoirs démesurés que ne justifieraient en aucune façon les possibilités d'aboutir à un tel résultat. Puis-je demander ce qui arriverait si la date fixée était dépassée sans que l'indépendance fût réalisée? Les Nations Unies fixeraient-elles une nouvelle date et, lorsque celle-ci serait passée, encore une autre date? Ce serait, à mon avis, couvrir l'Organisation de ridicule.

61. D'autre part, on a dit que la fixation d'une date limite accélérerait le processus de décolonisation, l'octroi de la libre détermination et de l'indépendance. Je poserai alors cette question: De quelle manière précise une telle date serait-elle utile? Dans quel territoire la fixation d'une date limite générale accélérerait-elle la réalisation de l'indépendance? Au contraire, la fixation d'une date limite générale pourrait fort bien entraver ce processus et, comme on dit, aller à l'encontre du but visé.

62. Peut-être fera-t-on observer que le projet de résolution ne charge pas le Comité spécial de fixer une telle date limite générale. Cependant, il me semble, lorsque je confronte le dernier alinéa du préambule et l'alinéa b du paragraphe 8, que le projet de résolution, pris dans son ensemble, doit être interprété comme donnant cette instruction au Comité spécial. Il est peut-être exact que, de ces deux dispositions, l'alinéa susvisé du préambule soit le plus regrettable. En tout cas, leur combinaison aboutit à un résultat tout à fait inacceptable pour ma délégation. Ce serait charger d'une tâche impossible le Comité spécial qui a des travaux si importants à accomplir. Le Comité spécial perdrait, je le crains, une bonne partie de son temps limité à disputer d'un problème réellement insoluble: celui de la fixation d'une date limite générale.

63. Pour ces motifs, ma délégation demande formellement un vote séparé sur le dernier alinéa du préambule ainsi que sur la dernière ligne de l'alinéa b du paragraphe 8: "y compris des recommandations sur la fixation d'une date limite appropriée".

64. Pour terminer, j'adresserai un appel aux membres de l'Assemblée. Quelques délégations peu nombreuses ont lutté très âprement pour faire introduire cette notion de date limite dans le projet de résolution; en disant cela, je pense à une certaine délégation en particulier. En agissant ainsi, ces délégations sont parfaitement dans leur droit et je tiens à rendre hommage au talent et à la ténacité qu'elles ont mis à lutter pour cette idée à chaque étape du processus d'élaboration et de présentation du projet de résolution. Les chefs de gouvernement ont toute raison d'être fiers du travail accompli sur ce point par leurs représentants. Ce n'est pas une raison cependant pour que ceux d'entre nous qui s'opposent à cette idée par conviction ne votent pas également selon cette conviction. Ce n'est certainement pas un manque de respect envers une délégation, un pays ou un groupe de pays que de voter contre une proposition émanant de l'un ou l'autre d'entre eux. Ces divergences d'opinion traduisent au contraire la vigueur et la santé de l'Organisation et ce serait un jour bien triste pour les Nations Unies que celui où il en irait autrement et où l'on considérerait comme un manque de respect envers une délégation ou un groupe de délégations le fait de s'opposer à une proposition qu'elles auraient présentée. Pour cette raison, j'adresse un appel aux délégations — je crois qu'elles sont la majorité — qui s'opposent à cette idée de date limite pour qu'elles votent contre ces deux dispositions de la résolution, c'est-à-dire le dernier alinéa du préambule et la dernière partie de l'alinéa b du paragraphe 8.

65. On ne peut supprimer d'un projet de résolution, par la simple abstention, des dispositions qu'on estime erronées. Pour cela, il faut des votes négatifs. Ma délégation serait très heureuse de pouvoir voter le projet de résolution dont nous sommes saisis. Je regrette de dire que nous ne pourrions le faire si le dernier alinéa du préambule et la dernière partie de l'alinéa b du paragraphe 8 sont maintenus. J'ai le regret d'ajouter que, si tel devait être le cas, toute notre attitude envers le Comité spécial en serait influencée.

66. M. OKAZAKI (Japon) [traduit de l'anglais]: Depuis novembre 1960, il est de tradition à l'Assemblée que de nombreux pays d'Asie et d'Afrique présentent conjointement une importante résolution sur les principes généraux de la politique des Nations Unies en ce qui concerne la question du colonialisme.

67. Je pense à la résolution 1514 (XV) qui a été présentée à l'origine par 43 pays d'Asie et d'Afrique, et à la résolution 1654 (XVI) qui a été présentée de même par 38 pays des mêmes continents.

68. Les pays en question sont vraiment ceux que le problème du colonialisme touche de plus près. Pour la grande majorité d'entre eux, ils ont fait, à tel ou tel moment de leur histoire récente, l'expérience de régimes coloniaux de différents genres. Il est indéniable que certains de ces pays ont beaucoup souffert, mais ils ont refusé de succomber à la tentation d'envisager avec passion la question du colonialisme. Au contraire, ils ont fait preuve de leur haute sagesse politique en choisissant résolument une attitude constructive fondée sur le respect de la réalité.

69. Les activités du Comité spécial des Dix-Sept, constitué en vertu de la résolution 1654 (XVI), ont prouvé amplement le bien-fondé de cette attitude. Une discussion franche et directe entre les membres de ce comité spécial, qui représente toutes les nuances d'opinion à l'Organisation, nous a aidés à mieux comprendre non seulement la situation réelle dans différentes parties du monde, mais aussi les opinions diverses et également importantes de différentes nations partageant les mêmes convictions. Ma délégation estime que toute l'Assemblée doit manifester par un vote chaleureux sa reconnaissance au Comité spécial pour l'esprit dans lequel il a abordé sa tâche et l'excellent travail qu'il a accompli.

70. Fidèles à cette tradition, nous, les pays d'Asie et d'Afrique, nous avons entrepris cette année encore la tâche de rédiger un projet de résolution [A/L.410 et Add.1]. Ma délégation a eu, une fois de plus, l'honneur de s'associer à toutes les étapes de cette entreprise commune. Je puis assurer l'Assemblée que tous ceux d'entre nous qui ont participé à cette tâche ont discuté le problème pendant plusieurs semaines de la façon la plus sérieuse durant de longues heures.

71. La principale difficulté, on le comprend aisément, a surtout porté sur la fixation d'une date limite pour l'application intégrale de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux [résolution 1514 (XV)]. Il ne fait aucun doute, comme cela a toujours été le cas dans nos discussions, qu'un grand esprit de conciliation était nécessaire de la part de toutes les délégations intéressées et qu'un accord a été réalisé dans une large mesure sur presque tous les points, à l'exception de cette question d'une date limite. Le projet de résolution dont l'Assemblée est maintenant saisie est le fruit de ce travail.

72. La délégation japonaise a toujours élevé une objection contre l'idée de fixer une date limite pour l'accomplissement du processus de décolonisation. Nous avons exposé notre point de vue sur ce sujet chaque fois que l'occasion l'exigeait. En bref, la position fondamentale de ma délégation est que la fixation d'une date limite par l'Assemblée est certainement en contradiction avec les hautes fonctions politiques propres à cet organe. En s'efforçant d'agir ainsi, l'Assemblée serait dangereusement entravée par les fluctuations de la politique intérieure rapidement changeante de tel ou tel territoire et laissée finalement à la merci de ces fluctuations. Certains de nos collègues semblent croire que la fixation d'une date limite pourrait exercer une pression politique puissante sur des puissances administrantes qui auraient tendance à retarder leur action. Je regrette de dire que je ne suis pas de cet avis. La constitution d'une nation et son accès à la libre détermination sont des affaires sérieuses. Nous pensons que nous ne pouvons pas nous permettre de poursuivre un gain politique incertain au risque d'exposer aux difficultés et aux dangers les plus graves tous les intéressés, y compris l'Organisation, ce qui serait très certainement le cas si nous fixions une date limite. Néanmoins, la délégation japonaise apprécie pleinement la sincérité des motifs qui ont amené certains de nos collègues à préconiser la fixation d'une date limite.

73. J'ai exposé les motifs des importantes réserves que ma délégation doit faire sur le septième alinéa du préambule et la dernière ligne de l'alinéa b du paragraphe 8 du projet de résolution. Si ces dispositions sont mises aux voix séparément, nous nous estimerons obligés de voter contre. Autrement, ce

document est le résultat d'un accord équitable et général entre de nombreuses délégations de pays d'Afrique et d'Asie. Bien que certains d'entre nous puissent ne pas être entièrement satisfaits de certains termes de la résolution, il ne devrait pas être difficile de souscrire, dans l'ensemble, à sa teneur générale.

74. Peut-être est-il superflu de souligner ici la nécessité d'une interprétation très attentive et raisonnable d'un document écrit, particulièrement d'une résolution de l'Assemblée générale traitant d'une question aussi importante que celle du colonialisme. Le fait que le Comité spécial s'est acquitté brillamment de sa tâche est largement dû, à mon sens, à la haute sagesse que tous ses membres ont montrée dans l'interprétation des deux résolutions 1514 (XV) et 1654 (XVI) et, en particulier, de l'étendue de la compétence du Comité spécial lui-même. Le projet de résolution dont nous sommes saisis constituera également, lorsqu'il sera adopté, un document de base important pour le Comité spécial. Certaines de ses dispositions exigent, de l'avis de ma délégation, qu'il soit interprété et mis en œuvre de la façon la plus minutieuse par tous les intéressés.

75. Je pense plus particulièrement ici aux alinéas a et c du paragraphe 8. En ce qui concerne l'alinéa c par exemple, je suis certain que nous sommes tous conscients ici des conséquences sérieuses que pourrait avoir très certainement une interprétation donnée à la légère d'un membre de phrase tel que "l'ensemble des territoires mentionnés au paragraphe 5 de la Déclaration".

76. Avant de terminer, je désire souligner que l'augmentation de 17 à 24 du nombre des membres du Comité spécial risque de créer de nouvelles difficultés. Toutefois, nous sommes persuadés que le Président de l'Assemblée, dont nous avons tous eu amplement l'occasion d'admirer la constante sagesse, saura réorganiser l'important Comité spécial de manière à maintenir et même à améliorer, si possible, ses bonnes conditions actuelles de fonctionnement.

77. M. Taïeb SLIM (Tunisie): La délégation tunisienne a déjà eu l'occasion d'exposer son point de vue sur le rapport soumis par le Comité spécial des Dix-Sept [A/5238] à l'Assemblée générale [1181ème séance] et ne reviendra donc pas sur tous les points que soulève le projet de résolution des 34 puissances [A/L.410 et Add.1]. Nous voulons simplement exprimer aux auteurs de ce projet notre reconnaissance pour l'effort accompli.

78. Sur l'ensemble, ma délégation, qui a eu l'occasion de participer aux consultations qui ont précédé l'élaboration du projet, est en faveur du texte proposé. Ce texte, nous le savons, est le résultat de plusieurs transactions et compromis, et nous ne pouvons nous attendre à ce qu'il coïncide parfaitement avec nos points de vue. C'est pour cela que, bien que ce projet n'évoque pas, entre autres, l'important problème de la liste des territoires qui relèvent de la compétence du Comité spécial, nous sommes disposés à voter en sa faveur.

79. Sur un autre point cependant, ma délégation, qui est membre du Comité spécial, a de sérieuses réserves à faire; il s'agit du paragraphe 7, qui vise à élargir la composition de ce comité par l'adjonction de sept nouveaux membres. Nous voulons attirer l'attention de l'Assemblée sur le danger de compromettre le très délicat équilibre établi par la compo-

sition actuelle que cette modification présente. Ce n'est pas que la répartition actuelle soit parfaite, mais elle s'est révélée à l'expérience proportionnellement bien représentative des tendances existant dans l'Organisation sur les problèmes du colonialisme et de la décolonisation. Nous comprenons toutefois que, devant l'augmentation du nombre des Membres de l'Organisation, il soit nécessaire d'apporter un petit ajustement à la composition du Comité spécial. A cet égard, il convient de rappeler que sur les six derniers nouveaux Membres de l'ONU quatre appartiennent à l'Afrique et deux à l'Amérique centrale et méridionale. Nous pensons que l'adjonction de deux membres eût été possible et utile dans le cadre de l'équilibre actuel. En effet, une rapide analyse montrerait que la composition actuelle du Comité spécial donne un léger avantage au continent africain, d'ailleurs très compréhensible si l'on songe que les territoires colonisés d'Afrique sont les plus importants, les plus peuplés de tous les territoires encore soumis au colonialisme. Tous ceux qui croient à la décolonisation ne peuvent envisager la représentation de l'Afrique que dans une perspective d'avenir.

80. Il ne fait pas de doute qu'au sein de l'Organisation les Etats africains sont ceux dont le nombre augmente le plus rapidement, au fur et à mesure que la décolonisation se poursuit. Nous restons donc convaincus que l'équilibre existant dans la composition actuelle du Comité spécial doit être maintenu. A notre avis, l'adjonction de deux, trois ou, à la rigueur, quatre membres pourrait être acceptée et réalisée sans détruire complètement l'équilibre actuel. Il n'en serait pas de même si l'on augmentait le nombre des membres de sept, comme le propose le projet de résolution, ce qui non seulement menacerait l'équilibre du Comité, mais risquerait également de compromettre dangereusement l'efficacité de ses travaux.

81. L'efficacité des travaux du Comité spécial est une chose à laquelle, j'en suis convaincu, les membres de l'Assemblée tiennent autant que nous. Par ailleurs, l'une des raisons le plus souvent avancées en faveur d'un tel élargissement du Comité spécial est la dissolution éventuelle des autres comités chargés de questions qui relèvent également du Comité. Or, aujourd'hui même, la Quatrième Commission vient de reconduire le principal organe dont la compétence s'étend à la plupart des territoires étudiés par le Comité spécial, ce qui détruit l'argument essentiel en faveur d'un élargissement aussi important.

82. C'est pourquoi ma délégation voterait en faveur d'un amendement tendant à réduire à quatre au plus le nombre proposé. Aucun amendement n'ayant été présenté à cet effet, nous demandons un vote séparé sur le paragraphe 7 du projet de résolution, et nous nous prononcerons contre ce paragraphe. Si ce paragraphe est maintenu, ma délégation votera cependant en faveur du projet dans son ensemble.

83. M. DEMETROPOULOS (Grèce): La délégation hellénique sera heureuse de voter en faveur du projet de résolution [A/L.410 et Add.1] dans son ensemble.

84. Une base constante de notre politique est le principe que tous les peuples non indépendants doivent exercer leur droit à l'autodétermination dans les plus brefs délais historiquement possibles. Depuis la fin de la seconde guerre mondiale, la nécessité d'atteindre cet objectif a été acceptée et réalisée par presque toutes les puissances coloniales, et depuis quelques

années l'Organisation des Nations Unies a contribué, par sa voix et par ses moyens, à accélérer ce processus.

85. Le Conseil de tutelle approchant du terme de sa mission, celle-ci a été reprise, dans un domaine plus vaste, par le Comité spécial des Dix-Sept.

86. Il ne nous est pas possible d'approuver sans réserve tous les points du rapport du Comité spécial des Dix-Sept [A/5238], ni même tous les paragraphes et alinéas du projet de résolution sur lequel nous sommes appelés à voter. Dans un domaine où se rencontrent tant de tendances et tant de préjugés, tant d'idéalismes et tant de résistances profondément ancrés, mais aussi tant de méprises sur les objectifs et sur les moyens les plus efficaces pour les atteindre, ce serait peut-être trop demander qu'une œuvre à laquelle tous les Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies ont voulu collaborer soit exempte de toute imperfection et puisse réunir tous les suffrages sans réserve. Mais nous voulons rendre hommage tant aux membres du Comité spécial des Dix-Sept qu'aux auteurs du projet de résolution pour leur esprit de réalisme, qui a permis d'aboutir, dans cette question si vaste et si complexe, à un document généralement acceptable.

87. Nous partageons la conviction des auteurs de ce texte que la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux [résolution 1514 (XV)] et la création du Comité spécial [résolution 1654 (XVI)] ont apporté une contribution morale inestimable à l'effort de décolonisation. Nous félicitons les auteurs du projet de résolution pour la modération avec laquelle ils ont tenu à redéfinir le mandat du Comité spécial. Nous sommes convaincus que les membres de ce comité, s'inspirant de l'esprit qui a présidé à l'élaboration dudit projet, sauront mener à bonne fin leur lourde tâche en interprétant leur mandat avec toute la retenue qui s'impose, étant donné la complexité et la variété des problèmes dont ils sont saisis et les limitations légales dont ils devront tenir compte.

88. Au moment où le régime de tutelle touche à sa fin et où l'on peut déjà entrevoir la fin du colonialisme, notre pensée se porte vers les peuples dont l'autodétermination ne se trouve pas encore à l'ordre du jour de l'Organisation, et vers tous ceux dont l'indépendance n'est encore que nominale, limitée qu'elle est par des régimes politiques autoritaires ou par des servitudes imposées par des volontés étrangères.

89. M. BOZOVIC (Yougoslavie) [traduit de l'anglais]: La délégation yougoslave votera pour le projet de résolution [A/L.410 et Add.1], ce vote étant conforme à la position bien connue de la Yougoslavie sur le problème de la décolonisation.

90. Le projet de résolution est, à notre avis, le résultat d'un travail acharné au cours duquel les auteurs se sont efforcés de concilier bien des points de vue différents. D'une manière générale, on peut dire qu'ils ont réussi, et il convient de les en féliciter.

91. Je ferai cependant une observation sur le paragraphe 7 du projet de résolution, qui prévoit l'élargissement de la composition du Comité spécial par l'adjonction de sept nouveaux membres qui seront désignés par le Président de l'Assemblée générale.

92. La délégation yougoslave n'a eu et n'a actuellement aucune objection majeure à opposer à cet élar-

gissement de la composition du Comité spécial, mais nous voulons nous déclarer convaincus que les désignations devraient être faites sur la même base que lors de la création de cet organe, afin de maintenir l'équilibre qui existe en son sein. Nous pensons qu'il est nécessaire de procéder à un choix très prudent afin de sauvegarder le délicat équilibre dont le représentant de la Tunisie vient de parler.

93. Bien entendu, nous voterons également en faveur de l'alinéa relatif à la fixation d'une date limite appropriée, parce que nous pensons qu'une date limite peut être fixée, à condition de consulter les populations des territoires non autonomes intéressés; c'est là, je crois, une des conditions essentielles. Les populations de ces territoires sont en effet les meilleurs juges du délai qui leur sera nécessaire pour accéder à l'indépendance. Ni les puissances coloniales ni l'Assemblée générale ne peuvent fixer une date sans s'informer des vœux exprimés des populations, et le Comité spécial, ou tout autre organe, devra mettre sur pied les moyens et procédures nécessaires pour s'assurer des vœux des populations. Ces vœux devront être pris en considération avant de prendre une décision au sujet d'une date limite. Toutefois, je soulignerai une fois de plus que l'idée d'une date limite est étroitement liée aux vœux exprimés des populations, dont il doit être tenu compte dans la dernière phase du processus de décolonisation.

94. Le PRESIDENT (traduit de l'anglais): Trois représentants ont demandé la parole pour faire usage de leur droit de réponse. Je donne d'abord la parole au représentant de la Guinée.

95. M. DIALLO Telli (Guinée): Le compromis qui est actuellement soumis à la sanction de l'Assemblée générale nous a donné tant de soucis, a exigé de nous tant d'efforts, et tant de sacrifices de la part de tous ceux qui ont contribué à son élaboration, que ma délégation était venue dans cette salle avec la ferme décision de ne point intervenir dans sa discussion. Cependant, un certain nombre d'interventions ont été faites à cette tribune qui exigent un minimum de mise au point de la part de la délégation guinéenne. Toutefois, malgré la légitimité que nous pourrions invoquer pour répondre comme il convient à une déclaration qui nous a énormément peiné, nous nous efforcerons de faire une mise au point extrêmement brève qui se résumera en deux appels.

96. Tout d'abord, le premier appel s'adressera à notre frère M. Taleb Slim de Tunisie, à notre frère Taleb Slim, qui sait parfaitement mieux que beaucoup de représentants dans quelles conditions les membres du Comité des Dix-Sept avaient été désignés l'année dernière, puisque aussi bien c'était le représentant de la Tunisie, lequel avait le privilège de présider l'Assemblée, qui avait nommé les membres de ce comité; à ce frère, nous disons que nous aurions souhaité, très sincèrement souhaité, que cette intervention vint d'une autre délégation.

97. Notre frère Slim, qui a pris part avec nous à l'élaboration du projet de résolution [A/L.410 et Add.1], sait tous les efforts qui ont été déployés de tous côtés, et il s'est plu à le reconnaître à cette tribune. Sachant parfaitement combien est délicat l'équilibre qui a été réalisé, sachant que le texte qui est soumis aujourd'hui à l'approbation de l'Assemblée ne représente la pensée intrinsèque de personne, nous voudrions simplement insister auprès de lui pour qu'il ne donne pas suite à sa proposition de vote séparé sur le paragraphe 7.

98. Nous ne voulons pas insister sur les mérites d'un élargissement du Comité des Dix-Sept; on en a suffisamment parlé ici et ailleurs. Nous voudrions seulement, au nom de la solidarité pour laquelle nous avons personnellement beaucoup sacrifié, au nom de cette solidarité qui est à la base de nos rapports, demander à M. Slim et, à travers lui, à tous nos frères d'Afrique et d'Asie de ne pas insister pour un vote séparé ou pour un amendement quel qu'il soit, car le texte qui est soumis actuellement est véritablement un texte de compromis, un compromis fragile dans lequel le moindre changement risquerait de détruire l'ensemble de l'édifice élaboré si difficilement.

99. De son côté, le représentant des Etats-Unis a fait une déclaration dont je suis obligé de dire, avec la franchise que justifient les relations d'amitié qui lient la République de Guinée aux Etats-Unis, qu'elle a été pour nous extrêmement pénible. Je dois dire très nettement et très clairement que nous aurions préféré avoir, en face de nous, le représentant authentique d'une puissance coloniale. De quoi s'agit-il? Il s'agit de la question de date limite.

100. Le problème a été soulevé à deux reprises, au cours de la dix-septième session, tout d'abord par notre propre ministre des affaires étrangères [1131ème séance] et ensuite par le chef de l'Etat guinéen [1148ème séance] que je crois, jusqu'à nouvel ordre, être un chef d'Etat ami du Gouvernement américain, et je suis sûr que le représentant des Etats-Unis le sait, lui qui a tant insisté ici sur la nécessité de n'insulter personne.

101. Le moins que je puisse dire, et je n'hésite pas à le faire, c'est que certaines de ces déclarations apparaissent comme une insulte flagrante à l'égard de la République de Guinée.

102. Qu'avons-nous dit? Que disons-nous et que sommes-nous décidés à continuer de dire? Dans la résolution 1514 (XV), l'Assemblée générale a décidé que des mesures immédiates — je dis bien immédiates — seront prises pour permettre à toutes les populations qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance, de l'obtenir sans aucune condition ni réserve.

103. Mieux encore, avant d'en arriver là, toutes les puissances coloniales, quelles qu'elles soient, ont toujours cherché à justifier le maintien de la colonisation par la nécessité d'assurer l'évolution des peuples intéressés. Or, la résolution 1514 (XV) a posé à nos yeux un principe qui est capital, qui est cardinal, qu'il ne faut pas oublier, en condamnant cette thèse de façon formelle et catégorique. Cette condamnation figure au paragraphe 3 de la résolution, et je ne le rappellerai que pour mémoire. Ce paragraphe se lit ainsi:

"Le manque de préparation dans les domaines politique, économique ou social ou dans celui de l'enseignement ne doit jamais être pris comme prétexte pour retarder l'indépendance."

104. Je pose donc à mon tour une question: pour quelle raison veut-on prolonger la colonisation puisque aussi bien l'Assemblée, à la quasi-unanimité, s'est prononcée pour que des mesures immédiates soient prises pour conférer cette indépendance en écartant automatiquement et d'office le manque de préparation, considéré comme un prétexte absolument fallacieux? Je voudrais savoir pourquoi l'on voudrait pouvoir poursuivre la colonisation.

105. Des mots durs ont été prononcés tout à l'heure; on a même parlé de manque de responsabilité, de

manque de réalisme. S'il s'agit du réalisme colonial, nous sommes d'accord, parce que nous ne nous plierons jamais à ce réalisme-là; mais je voudrais rappeler que nous ne parlons ici qu'au nom des populations qui nous ont mandatés, ou au nom de nos frères qui se trouvent encore sous le joug colonial, et il conviendrait d'informer ceux qui ne le savent pas que l'ensemble des forces vives du continent africain s'est déjà prononcé clairement et sans aucune équivoque pour l'indépendance en 1963. Qu'il s'agisse de réunions de chefs d'Etat, à quelque nuance politique qu'ils appartiennent, qu'il s'agisse des organisations politiques, de nos organisations de jeunesse, de nos organisations syndicales, de nos groupements féminins — et je ne veux pas lasser l'Assemblée à qui je ne veux pas énumérer les dates de ces réunions —, toutes les forces vives de l'Afrique ont déjà demandé l'indépendance pour 1963. Et l'on vient maintenant à cette tribune taxer ceux qui traduisent les sentiments, les aspirations et les idées de ces populations de manque de réalisme!

106. Nous aurions encore beaucoup de choses à dire, mais nous ne répondrons pas, du moins publiquement et de cette tribune, à ce que nous considérons comme une offense qui nous a été adressée ici. Bien mieux, notre réponse sera un appel, et cet appel s'adressera au représentant des Etats-Unis.

107. Nous avons été extrêmement frappés par la contradiction majeure existant dans la première partie de l'intervention du représentant des Etats-Unis dans laquelle il insistait sur le compromis extrêmement laborieux auquel on est arrivé au sein du comité de travail aussi bien que dans le groupe africano-asiatique. Je veux rappeler que, pour la Guinée, le texte qui est soumis actuellement est extrêmement éloigné de notre position originale, laquelle demandait que soit fixée au 24 octobre 1963, dix-huitième anniversaire de l'Organisation, la date limite à laquelle non pas tel ou tel territoire devrait avoir accédé à l'indépendance, mais à laquelle les puissances coloniales devraient être contraintes de remplir toutes les obligations découlant de l'adoption de la résolution 1514 (XV). C'est pourquoi, bien que ce document s'écarte très largement de notre position, nous l'avons accepté par solidarité, car nous avons toujours estimé — et nous continuons à le faire — que la solidarité, entre les peuples d'Afrique d'abord, et entre les peuples d'Afrique et d'Asie ensuite, est la condition fondamentale, la condition première de la libération de nos peuples. C'est au nom de cette solidarité que nous avons accepté tous ces sacrifices pour aboutir à un texte qui s'éloigne si sensiblement de notre position initiale.

108. Je voudrais donc — et c'est là mon appel au représentant des Etats-Unis — lui demander, au nom du réalisme des opprimés, au nom du réalisme des colonisés, au nom du réalisme des peuples africains dont son peuple se proclame l'ami, de ne pas insister. Nous avons réalisé un équilibre extrêmement fragile. Nous voudrions donc lui demander avec insistance de ne pas maintenir sa proposition de vote par division. Je le lui demande au nom de ma délégation, je le lui demande au nom de mon gouvernement, je le lui demande au nom des peuples africains encore asservis.

109. En ce qui concerne l'idée de date, toutes les discussions qui ont été amorcées à cette tribune n'auraient pas dû l'être; elles sont absolument prématurées. Au représentant des Etats-Unis et à ceux qui se frottent les mains et n'osent plus paraître à une

tribune officielle, ici ou ailleurs, nous disons qu'ils auront la dix-huitième session de l'Assemblée générale pour discuter de cette question. En effet, que demandons-nous? Nous prions le Comité des Dix-Sept d'étudier cette question, de rechercher tous les faits qui s'y rapportent et de faire des recommandations à la dix-huitième session de l'Assemblée générale, qui aura à prendre une décision en la matière. Et voilà ce que l'on qualifie d'absolument irréaliste!

110. A bien des égards, il semble qu'un progrès très net ait été accompli à la dix-septième session en ce qui concerne le problème de la décolonisation. Que l'on se rappelle les décisions déjà prises par les organes compétents — et plus particulièrement par la Quatrième Commission — sur le Sud-Ouest africain, sur la Rhodésie du Sud et, tout dernièrement, sur l'ensemble des territoires sous administration portugaise. Toutes ces décisions marquent un progrès très net. Or, l'idée de date est l'une des rares idées nouvelles contenues dans le projet de résolution. Le reste n'est qu'un rappel de ce qui a déjà été fait. Je suis prêt à discuter aussi longuement qu'il le faut, mais je tiens à dire — et ce sera ma conclusion — que l'Assemblée générale a déjà écarté le manque de préparation dans les domaines politique, économique et social comme prétexte pour retarder l'indépendance. L'Assemblée générale a décidé que des mesures immédiates devraient être prises par les puissances coloniales afin de transférer tous les pouvoirs aux peuples coloniaux. Tout le monde a reconnu ainsi ou bien que ce processus est lent ou, dans certains cas, qu'aucune mesure n'a été envisagée. Je dis mieux: certaines puissances coloniales n'ont même pas accepté d'appliquer la résolution 1514 (XV) à leurs colonies.

111. Les représentants présents dans cette salle se rappelleront certainement que les déclarations du représentant des Etats-Unis, ce soir, à cette tribune, ressemblent singulièrement à ces avertissements et à ces annonces de catastrophes que l'on lançait de cette même tribune lorsqu'en 1960 on a parlé pour la première fois de l'indépendance immédiate de tous les territoires coloniaux. Nous nous rappelons en tout cas le jour où, pour la première fois à cette tribune, en 1959, le président Sekou Touré a parlé de "libération immédiate". Nous nous souvenons des sarcasmes qui avaient accueilli cette proposition.

112. Au cours de la discussion de la proposition de l'Union soviétique tendant à l'octroi immédiat de l'indépendance à tous les pays et peuples coloniaux^{2/}, nous nous rappelons parfaitement les sarcasmes qui avaient accueilli, à l'époque, cette proposition que tout le monde qualifie maintenant comme étant une des œuvres maîtresses de l'Organisation des Nations Unies.

113. En ce qui concerne ce que l'on a dit aujourd'hui au sujet de la fixation d'une date limite, je suis persuadé — et c'est un espoir que j'exprime — que le représentant des Etats-Unis sera l'un des premiers à reconnaître, demain, que l'Assemblée générale, à sa dix-septième session, aura accompli une grande œuvre en adoptant les dispositions contenues dans le projet de résolution soumis à notre sanction.

114. Je renouvelle à mon frère Taleb Slim et au représentant des Etats-Unis mon appel pour qu'ils n'insistent pas sur leur demande de vote par division.

Si cet appel n'était pas entendu, je redemanderais la parole pour formuler une autre proposition concrète.

115. M. PALAR (Indonésie) [traduit de l'anglais]: J'ai demandé la parole pour ajouter quelques mots autres brillant plaider que mon collègue de la Guinée a prononcé en faveur de notre projet de résolution [A/L.410 et Add.1]. Je ferai d'abord quelques observations pour répondre aux opinions exprimées ici par le représentant des Etats-Unis. Je crains que ce qu'il a dit n'exerce une grande influence sur certains de nos collègues; c'est pourquoi je m'efforcerai de neutraliser son discours.

116. L'objection la plus importante qui ait été soulevée par le représentant des Etats-Unis concerne le dernier alinéa du préambule et l'alinéa b du paragraphe 8 de notre projet. Je vais en donner lecture. Le dernier alinéa du préambule est rédigé comme suit:

"Considérant que, pour accélérer le processus de décolonisation, il est nécessaire de fixer une date limite appropriée pour l'application intégrale des dispositions de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux" [A/L.410 et Add.1].

Je constate que la principale critique faite ici porte sur la fixation d'une date limite. On suppose que nous réclamons spécialement une date limite générale. Or il n'est pas question d'une date limite générale dans le dernier alinéa du préambule. Sinon, nous l'y aurions visée. Ce que nous avons demandé dans ce texte, c'est la fixation d'une date limite appropriée pour tout territoire particulier qui n'est pas encore indépendant. Nous avons développé cette idée à l'alinéa b du paragraphe 8. C'est donc là que l'Assemblée peut savoir ce que nous voulons exactement.

117. Nous avons rédigé délibérément cet alinéa dans les termes suivants:

"A proposer des mesures concrètes en vue de l'application intégrale de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, y compris des recommandations sur la fixation d'une date limite appropriée".

Comme je l'ai déclaré ce matin, le mot "recommandations" a été employé intentionnellement parce que nous voulons laisser la possibilité de fixer une date limite pour tout territoire dépendant et aussi la possibilité de fixer une date limite générale.

118. Mais qui va fixer la date limite ou les dates limites? Ce n'est pas le Comité spécial. Le Comité spécial fera des recommandations à l'Assemblée générale qui les acceptera ou les rejettera. Le Comité spécial doit étudier à fond la situation des territoires dépendants. Sur la base de cette étude qui, bien entendu, tiendra compte des désirs de la population et des dirigeants des mouvements politiques, et en prenant en considération d'autre part les vues des puissances coloniales, le Comité spécial fera des recommandations à l'Assemblée générale.

119. Si ces recommandations doivent être faites — et je pense qu'elles le seront —, il ne sera pas très difficile alors de fixer une date limite générale parce que ce sera très probablement la date limite prévue pour le territoire le plus en retard sur la voie de l'indépendance. Par conséquent, la crainte que cette date limite ne soit fixée, comme mon pays l'espère, à deux ou trois ans n'est pas nécessairement justifiée. En fait, connaissant le Comité spécial, où les

^{2/} Voir Documents officiels de l'Assemblée générale, quinzième session, Annexes, point 87 de l'ordre du jour, document A/4502.

puissances coloniales sont représentées, je crains que la date limite générale ne soit pas celle que ma délégation souhaiterait. J'espère néanmoins que le Comité spécial fera une recommandation répondant aux vœux de ma délégation. Quoi qu'il en soit, c'est au Comité spécial qu'il appartiendra même de décider s'il devra recommander une date limite générale ou non.

120. Sur cette base, par conséquent, il me semble que les craintes exprimées par le représentant des Etats-Unis ne sont pas justifiées. C'est pourquoi je lui adresse un appel pour qu'il veuille bien reconsidérer sa position. S'il ne le fait pas, je suivrai alors l'exemple que le représentant de la Guinée vient de nous donner, et je déclarerai que je ferai une autre proposition.

121. Enfin, j'adresserai un appel au représentant de la Tunisie. Nous savons qu'il a fait tout ce qu'il a pu pour faire accepter les idées de sa délégation par notre comité de rédaction. J'espère cependant que le représentant de la Tunisie, qui est un ami personnel, voudra bien reconsidérer sa proposition. S'il ne peut le faire, je serai obligé de prendre une position qui sera concrétisée dans une proposition que je pourrai présenter plus tard.

122. M. ADEYINKA (Nigéria) [traduit de l'anglais]: Ma délégation n'avait pas l'intention d'intervenir dans le débat sur ce projet de résolution [A/L.410 et Add.1] dont la Nigéria est un des auteurs. Mais, puisque le représentant des Etats-Unis a rappelé, dans son explication de vote, la déclaration faite par mon ministre des affaires étrangères à la seizième session sur la question d'une date limite, ma délégation croit devoir intervenir maintenant afin de mettre les choses au point et de dissiper tout malentendu dans l'esprit des membres de l'Assemblée.

123. Le représentant des Etats-Unis a dit que mon ministre des affaires étrangères avait proposé l'année dernière la date limite de 1970 pour la liquidation du colonialisme. Ce n'est là ni une citation exacte, ni une interprétation correcte. Cette déclaration peut donc créer un malentendu en laissant croire que la Nigéria n'appuie pas l'octroi de l'indépendance immédiate aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux et qu'elle adopte une position neutraliste sur cette question. C'est là une interprétation que nous rejetons entièrement. Au surplus, la Nigéria était un des auteurs de la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale.

124. La vérité est qu'à la seizième session mon ministre des affaires étrangères a soulevé pour la première fois [1050ème séance] l'idée d'une date limite en tant que stimulant et catalyseur de la décolonisation. Prenant en considération tous les facteurs et problèmes en cause, il a envisagé ensuite la date précise de 1970, date avant laquelle, à laquelle, mais non au-delà de laquelle, la tâche de la décolonisation devrait être terminée. Je tiens à répéter ces mots parce qu'ils sont extrêmement importants: date avant laquelle, à laquelle, mais non au-delà de laquelle, la tâche de la décolonisation devrait être terminée. Il ne s'agit pas là de quelque chose de statique. Il s'agit de quelque chose qui évolue.

125. Ayant soulevé la question d'une date limite, ma délégation se félicite sincèrement que l'idée ait gagné du terrain aux Nations Unies. Nous n'éprouvons donc pas les craintes et les inquiétudes qui ont été exprimées par la délégation des Etats-Unis. La fixation d'une date limite est destinée à donner une nouvelle

impulsion au mouvement de décolonisation, étant donné que le mot "immédiat" semble avoir perdu son sens pour les puissances coloniales.

126. Puisque j'ai la parole, je désire déclarer que ma délégation considère les vues exprimées par la délégation des Etats-Unis avec de très sérieuses appréhensions, notamment en ce qui concerne la demande de vote séparé qu'elle a faite sur cet important projet de résolution qui est le résultat d'un compromis délicat mais bien équilibré et qui devrait maintenant être adopté à l'unanimité. Ma délégation estime que, pour que le mouvement de décolonisation déjà lancé par les deux résolutions précédentes [1514 (XV) et 1654 (XVI)] continue à bénéficier de tout le prestige des Nations Unies, la troisième résolution sur ce sujet ne doit pas avoir une moindre envergure que les deux précédentes. A notre avis, les délégations devraient se contenter d'exprimer leurs réserves, qui seront entièrement consignées dans les procès-verbaux de l'Assemblée.

127. Pour ces raisons, ma délégation se voit obligée de résister à l'appel adressé par le représentant des Etats-Unis en faveur d'un vote séparé. Nous voyons là une tentative d'amenuiser l'importance et la signification de la troisième résolution sur la décolonisation. Aussi demandons-nous très instamment au représentant des Etats-Unis, ainsi qu'au représentant de la Tunisie, de ne pas insister sur leurs propositions de votes séparés.

128. En revanche, nous nous associons à l'appel adressé par le représentant de la Guinée. Je crois que les représentants ici présents auront accepté cet appel de bonne foi et qu'après avoir entendu les divers discours prononcés à cette tribune sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux peuples coloniaux et ayant compris que tous les peuples d'Afrique doivent être libérés ils se joindront également à nous pour voter le grand projet de résolution qui est actuellement soumis à l'Assemblée.

129. M. Taleb SLIM (Tunisie): Je tiens à remercier M. Diallo Telli, notre frère de Guinée, pour les brillantes paroles par lesquelles il m'a lancé un appel pour que je n'insiste pas sur ma demande de vote séparé sur le paragraphe 7 du projet de résolution. Je tiens à l'assurer que le représentant de la Tunisie ne saurait rester sourd à son appel s'il ne s'agissait que d'un petit détail. Je tiens à rappeler au représentant de la Guinée que, sur ce point particulier, il y a une divergence de vues assez importante pour ma délégation dont l'opinion est, d'ailleurs, partagée par plusieurs de nos amis, dans cette assemblée et dans nos différents groupes.

130. Je voudrais dire à mon frère de Guinée que l'équilibre du Comité des Dix-Sept est certainement plus important pour la décolonisation que l'équilibre du projet de résolution qui, d'après ma délégation, ne sera pas — je le répète, ne sera pas — compromis par le vote séparé que nous demandons. Par ailleurs, il y a dans ce texte plusieurs choses qui ne coïncident pas avec nos vues et, cependant, par solidarité, nous ayons déclaré que nous voterions pour le projet dans son ensemble.

131. C'est pour cela que j'ai dit et répète que si le paragraphe 7 était modifié de manière que "sept" soit remplacé par "quatre ou moins", cela constituerait un compromis qui pourrait assurer l'unanimité sur ce paragraphe. Je regrette de constater que notre propre appel pour un compromis de ce genre n'a pas

été entendu. C'est pourquoi je m'exouse auprès de mon frère Diallo Telli de devoir lui dire que je suis obligé d'insister pour que l'on vote séparément sur le paragraphe 7.

132. Le **PRESIDENT** (traduit de l'anglais): Je donne la parole au représentant de l'Afghanistan pour une motion d'ordre.

133. M. **PAZHAWAK** (Afghanistan) [traduit de l'anglais]: Ma délégation est un des auteurs du projet de résolution soumis actuellement à l'Assemblée [A/L.410 et Add.1] et cela suffit à expliquer notre position et nos idées à ce sujet. D'autre part, ma délégation a pour tradition, lorsque nous présentons une suggestion ou un projet de résolution, de le faire toujours avec un esprit libre et de réfléchir à la question en nous inspirant des débats qui se déroulent à l'Assemblée. Avec tout le respect qui est dû aux opinions qui seront exprimées par d'autres orateurs, je crois pouvoir dire qu'un débat très constructif s'est déroulé cet après-midi sur ce projet de résolution; aussi avons-nous écouté très attentivement les diverses opinions exposées à ce sujet. Actuellement, ma délégation désire simplement présenter une demande à l'Assemblée. En tant qu'un des auteurs du projet de résolution, et parlant uniquement au nom de ma délégation, je crois qu'il nous faut du temps pour réfléchir aux opinions exprimées sur le projet de résolution et je suis très heureux de constater que nous disposons effectivement du temps nécessaire après ce débat.

134. Je regrette d'avoir retardé le déroulement des travaux de l'Assemblée en présentant cette motion d'ordre, mais je propose formellement que tout vote ou toute procédure sur le fond soit ajourné jusqu'à lundi après-midi, au plus tard, afin que les auteurs du projet de résolution puissent se mettre en rapport avec d'autres délégations et revenir ensuite présenter les résultats de ces consultations. Telle est ma proposition et j'espère qu'elle sera considérée comme acceptable. J'espère que mes collègues seront d'accord avec moi.

135. Le **PRESIDENT** (traduit de l'anglais): L'Assemblée a entendu la proposition du représentant de l'Afghanistan. Je ne considère pas qu'il s'agisse d'une motion d'ajournement de la séance ou du débat. Le représentant de l'Afghanistan a proposé que le vote sur le projet de résolution soit renvoyé à lundi après-midi. Le Président s'en remet sur ce point à l'Assemblée.

136. M. **BINGHAM** (Etats-Unis d'Amérique) [traduit de l'anglais]: Je n'ai pas d'objection à faire à la motion et je sollicite l'indulgence de l'Assemblée pour répondre très brièvement au représentant de la Guinée. Je veux simplement dire que j'ai été profondément ému par la façon dont il a interprété mes précédentes observations. Je puis l'assurer que la dernière chose que j'aurais voulu faire aurait été de l'offenser ou d'offenser son pays qui est vraiment un ami du mien. Puisque mes paroles ont eu apparemment cet effet, je ne puis que dire au représentant de la Guinée, pour lequel j'ai une grande estime et que je considère comme un ami, que j'éprouve le plus vif regret de ce malentendu et lui présente toutes mes excuses.

137. M. **DIALLO Telli** (Guinée): Je prends acte avec satisfaction de la déclaration que vient de faire le représentant des Etats-Unis. Je suis heureux qu'il ait parfaitement interprété la réaction de la Guinée. A mon tour, je puis l'assurer que je le considère

comme un ami et, au nom de mon pays, que la République de Guinée considère son pays comme un pays ami.

138. Mais ce que nous voudrions par-dessus tout, c'est qu'à travers la Guinée les Etats-Unis soient l'ami de l'Afrique et des peuples africains aujourd'hui courbés sous le joug colonial. Je suis persuadé qu'il me comprend et que j'en ai pas besoin d'insister.

139. Je sais les bonnes intentions qui sont à la base de la proposition du représentant de l'Afghanistan, encore que ma délégation aurait préféré, les choses étant parfaitement claires, qu'on passât au vote ce soir. Par solidarité, par amitié et par estime spéciale pour le représentant de l'Afghanistan, je ne puis que déférer à la proposition qu'il vient de faire. Mais, par expérience, nous savons que, pour nous, les petits et les humbles, rarement le temps travaille pour nous. Je souhaite connaître une exception lundi.

140. Quoi qu'il en soit, l'Assemblée sait déjà — et je voudrais en tout cas, en tant que représentant de la Guinée, réaffirmer — que nous avons considéré l'adoption de la Déclaration sur l'indépendance comme une grande entreprise de paix pour le continent africain. Nous avons considéré l'établissement du Comité des Dix-Sept, chargé de l'application de cette déclaration, l'année dernière, comme un nouvel acte de paix dans le continent africain; et toutes les mesures que nous demandons aujourd'hui s'inscrivent dans le même sens. Les peuples africains sont décidés, quoi qu'il arrive, à se libérer. Le seul problème qui se pose est celui de savoir si cette libération sera pacifique — comme c'est notre vœu le plus cher, et nous savons que l'Organisation peut énormément aider dans cette voie — ou devra se faire contre notre gré, malgré nous, dans le sang. Je souhaite que chaque représentant, dans cette salle — et mon ami, le représentant des Etats-Unis, le premier —, fasse en sorte que la libération inévitable de l'Afrique s'effectue dans la paix.

141. Le **PRESIDENT** (traduit de l'anglais): Puisque aucune objection n'a été faite à la proposition du représentant de l'Afghanistan, nous procéderons au vote sur le projet de résolution [A/L.410 et Add.1] lundi après-midi, conformément à cette proposition.

Il en est ainsi décidé.

142. Le **PRESIDENT** (traduit de l'anglais): Nous sommes prêts maintenant à aborder les autres parties du rapport du Comité spécial. Avant de le faire, je donne la parole au représentant de la Syrie pour une déclaration sur la procédure de vote.

143. M. **RIFAI** (Syrie) [traduit de l'anglais]: Je remercie le Président de me donner la parole, mais je crois avoir déjà précisé que la déclaration que j'avais l'intention de faire au sujet de la procédure interviendrait lorsque l'Assemblée aurait statué sur le projet de résolution actuellement en discussion. Je ne pense pas que le moment soit venu pour moi de faire ces propositions sur la procédure à suivre au sujet des divers projets de résolution qui restent à examiner et qui figurent dans le rapport du Comité. Je crois que cela pourrait être renvoyé à lundi après-midi.

144. Le **PRESIDENT** (traduit de l'anglais): Dans ces conditions, je me propose de lever la séance. L'Assemblée générale se réunira demain matin pour examiner les questions qui font l'objet des rapports de la Quatrième Commission.

145. M. YOMEKPE (Ghana) [traduit de l'anglais]: Je regrette d'intervenir en ce moment, mais je voudrais soumettre la question suivante à l'attention du Président. Une séance de la Quatrième Commission est prévue pour demain matin. Nous espérons qu'il serait possible de procéder maintenant à l'examen des rapports de la Quatrième Commission. Je constate que le Rapporteur de la Commission est ici et je pense que les membres de la Commission qui sont également présents estimeront comme moi que nos travaux seraient facilités si l'Assemblée procédait maintenant à la discussion de ces rapports au lieu de la renvoyer à demain.

146. Le PRÉSIDENT (traduit de l'anglais): L'Assemblée a entendu la proposition du représentant du Ghana. S'il n'y a pas d'opposition, je considérerai que l'Assemblée est d'avis de poursuivre sa séance.

Il en est ainsi décidé.

Nations Unies ASSEMBLÉE GÉNÉRALE

DIX-SEPTIÈME SESSION

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POINT 25 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

La situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux: rapport du Comité spécial constitué aux termes de la résolution 1654 (XVI) de l'Assemblée générale (suite)

1. Le **PRESIDENT** (traduit de l'anglais): On se souviendra que vendredi dernier 14 décembre [1194^e séance], nous avons décidé, dans la soirée, d'ajourner à cet après-midi le vote sur le projet de résolution des 34 puissances (A/L.410 et Add.1). Nous allons donc maintenant procéder au vote. Je rappelle aux membres de l'Assemblée que les incidences financières de ce projet de résolution sont exposées dans le rapport de la Cinquième Commission (A/5354).

2. Des votes séparés ont été demandés: premièrement, par les Etats-Unis, sur le dernier alinéa du préambule, deuxièmement, par la Tunisie, sur le paragraphe 7 du dispositif; troisièmement, par les Etats-Unis, sur le dernier membre de phrase de l'alinéa b du paragraphe 8 qui se lit ainsi: "... compris des recommandations sur la fixation d'une date limite appropriée".

3. Je donne maintenant la parole aux représentants qui désirent expliquer leur vote.

4. M. JAKOBSEN (Danemark) [traduit de l'anglais]: La délégation danoise a des réserves à faire sur le projet de résolution A/L.410 et Add.1 dont nous sommes saisis. Par exemple, nous ne sommes pas sûrs que l'élargissement envisagé de la composition du Comité spécial présenterait un avantage. Selon notre expérience, plus la composition d'un organe administratif s'élargit, plus son efficacité tend à diminuer.

5. En outre, je pense à ce qui est prévu à l'alinéa d du paragraphe 8. Nous ne considérons pas comme de bonne pratique constitutionnelle qu'un comité de l'Assemblée puisse s'adresser directement au Conseil de sécurité. Une décision aussi importante doit être laissée à l'Assemblée générale tout entière.

6. Cependant, ces observations ne sont que des critiques secondaires, mais nous avons une objection déterminante à faire. Nous devons nous opposer directement à l'une des dispositions de ce projet; il s'agit de la fixation d'une date limite pour l'application intégrale de la Déclaration sur le colonialisme. Je désire que l'on me comprenne bien. Mon gouvernement a nettement exprimé son désir de voir liquider le plus vite possible tous les vestiges des empires coloniaux, mais nous ne pensons pas que la fixation d'une date limite précise procède d'une attitude réaliste. Nul n'est actuellement en mesure de nous dire quelle devrait être cette date. Si le moment est venu, nous n'avons pas à attendre une date déterminée; si le moment n'est pas venu, nous ne devons pas risquer d'amener des troubles dans un territoire parce que nous aurons fixé une date. En conséquence, la délégation danoise votera contre le dernier alinéa du préambule et aussi contre la disposition correspondante du dispositif, l'alinéa b du paragraphe 8.

7. Nous espérons donc sincèrement que les auteurs du projet de résolution ne s'opposeront pas à des votes séparés sur ces dispositions et peut-être sur certaines autres, comme l'a indiqué l'autre jour [1193^e séance] notre collègue de la Guinée. Nous regretterions vivement une telle attitude et nous voterions naturellement contre. Ce serait une méthode très peu démocratique et, à notre avis, il serait indigne de la part de l'Assemblée d'empêcher une délégation de manifester l'attitude qu'elle prend sur chaque partie d'une résolution importante. La manière la plus démocratique est de donner à tous les pays la possibilité de se prononcer "pour" ou "contre" quand ils le veulent.

8. J'adresse un appel à nos amis d'Asie et d'Afrique afin qu'ils n'abusent pas de la majorité qu'ils peuvent avoir. Je suis certain qu'en agissant ainsi ils perdraient à la longue plus de sympathie qu'ils ne gagneraient d'avantages en imposant de cette manière l'adoption d'une résolution.

9. Cela dit, je déclare que ma délégation, malgré ses réserves et ses objections, votera pour l'ensemble du projet de résolution.

10. La question du colonialisme a été au premier plan pendant cette dix-septième session de l'Assemblée générale. Elle est aujourd'hui au centre de la politique mondiale et elle y demeurera tant qu'elle n'aura pas été réglée définitivement. Les pays occidentaux, parmi lesquels le Danemark, ne peuvent que rechercher l'abolition du colonialisme le plus rapidement possible. De nos jours, la partie la plus grande du monde où la liberté est supprimée ne se situe pas dans les régions où subsistent des vestiges de l'ancien colonialisme. Il est manifeste que l'ère coloniale a pris fin. Nous sommes allés si loin qu'aucune nation d'Asie, d'Afrique ou d'Europe ne sera satisfaite tant qu'elle n'aura pas accédé à l'indépendance; et les arguments selon

lesquels certains pays vivraient mieux du point de vue social et du point de vue économique s'ils étaient dépendants sont bien faibles. L'homme ne vit pas que de pain.

11. Nous sommes souvent enclins à voir dans notre époque l'ère de la lutte entre la dictature communiste et la démocratie, et à considérer cette lutte comme son aspect le plus important. Je ne suis pas certain cependant que les historiens de l'avenir ne considéreront pas avant tout notre époque comme l'ère où la majorité des nations d'Asie et d'Afrique ont exigé leur indépendance et l'ont obtenue. L'Occident l'a reconnu. Voyez ce qui s'est passé en Asie et en Afrique depuis 15 ans. Le résultat n'est pas si mauvais. Il est vrai que certaines tâches sombres demeurent encore aujourd'hui, mais ce ne sont guère que les régions sous domination portugaise, dont nous avons tant discuté.

12. Nous comprenons l'impatience africaine et nous admirons la solidarité africaine, mais les pays d'Afrique peuvent être assurés que les vestiges du colonialisme ne sont pas considérés par la grande majorité des pays de l'Occident comme un actif, mais comme un lourd fardeau. Tant que ces vestiges n'auront pas disparu, nous n'aurons pas toute la force morale nécessaire pour protester contre le manque de liberté dans d'autres régions beaucoup plus vastes du monde. Plus vite nous y parviendrons, mieux cela vaudra.

13. Mon pays ne croit pas que l'impatience, si compréhensible soit-elle, si impatient qu'on soit à vouloir fixer des dates limites, nous aidera à atteindre ce noble objectif. Nous ne croyons pas non plus que l'intolérance nous servira, car elle empêchera certaines délégations d'exprimer leurs opinions devant l'Assemblée sur diverses parties de la résolution. Il importe qu'il n'y ait aucun doute sur l'attitude du Danemark: nous nous opposerons à toute tentative visant à maintenir les derniers vestiges du colonialisme et nous éprouvons un sentiment de solidarité devant tout effort réaliste destiné à mettre fin à cette regrettable situation; c'est pourquoi la délégation danoise votera en faveur du projet de résolution dont nous sommes saisis.

14. M. CARDUCCI-ARTENISIO (Italie) [traduit de l'anglais]: La délégation italienne n'a pas jugé nécessaire de prendre part à la discussion générale sur le rapport du Comité spécial constitué aux termes de la résolution 1654 (XVI) de l'Assemblée générale. En fait, nous pensons que notre conduite passée en matière coloniale et notre point de vue sur le problème de la colonisation sont bien connus de tous les Membres de l'Organisation.

15. Permettez-moi de résumer les principes sur lesquels l'Italie a fondé sa participation aux travaux du Comité spécial des Dix-Sept^{1/} en citant un passage pertinent du discours que le Ministre des affaires étrangères de mon pays a prononcé à cette tribune le 28 octobre 1962:

"a) Pleine acceptation et plein appui à la Déclaration de 1960;

"b) Recherche de tous les moyens propres à faciliter et à accélérer ce processus d'indépendance, en accord avec les puissances administrantes, non

seulement pour atteindre l'objectif final, mais encore pour mettre au point, comme il se doit, tous les instruments politiques, administratifs et économiques nécessaires;

"c) Appui à toutes les initiatives destinées à assurer l'accession à l'indépendance des pays par des méthodes appropriées et pacifiques, afin que les Etats de création nouvelle puissent être un élément de stabilité et de collaboration efficace avec tous les autres Etats." [1136ème séance, par. 189.]

Ces principes, de même que notre profonde conviction que le processus de décolonisation doit s'effectuer aussi rapidement que possible et que l'Assemblée générale doit se préoccuper de la responsabilité particulière conférée au Comité spécial, nous inciteront à voter en faveur du projet de résolution [A/L.410 et Add.1]. Ce sont les mêmes principes et la même conviction qui dicteront notre attitude en la matière.

16. Nous tenons toutefois à exprimer notre désaccord sur un point essentiel du projet de résolution: les dispositions concernant la fixation d'une date limite pour l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. Nous doutons aussi beaucoup qu'il soit opportun d'élargir la composition du Comité spécial. En fait, nous ne sommes nullement certains que l'adjonction de membres nouveaux, si qualifiés soient-ils pour cette tâche, permettra nécessairement d'accélérer les travaux du Comité et de les rendre plus efficaces. Les résultats pouvant être obtenus par le Comité ne dépendent pas nécessairement, selon nous, du nombre de ses membres.

17. Dans le même souci d'efficacité, la délégation italienne estime que l'idée de la fixation d'une date limite, à un certain moment, pour l'application intégrale de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux constituerait un inconvénient plus qu'un avantage pour les activités du Comité spécial. Nous ne devons pas oublier que nos travaux futurs seront extrêmement difficiles et que le Comité spécial devra s'attaquer à un certain nombre de problèmes non résolus que l'Organisation a déjà examinés, mais sans résultats concrets.

18. Nous devons imaginer toutes sortes de mesures, non seulement pour la conduite à tenir envers les puissances qui se sont montrées jusqu'à présent réticentes à coopérer avec les Nations Unies, mais aussi pour la protection des instruments politiques et administratifs nécessaires pour conduire à l'indépendance les populations encore soumises à un régime colonial. Je rappellerai à ce propos les suggestions très intéressantes faites par le représentant de l'Indonésie [1194ème séance] sur le rôle que les Nations Unies et le Comité spécial pourraient jouer. Ces problèmes et bien d'autres retiendront notre temps, nos énergies et notre imagination dans les prochains mois. C'est pourquoi, à notre avis, il serait peu judicieux de charger le Comité spécial de tâches donnant lieu à controverse qui ne pourraient que ralentir considérablement ses travaux. Pour ces raisons, la délégation italienne, tout en appuyant l'ensemble du projet de résolution, votera contre les dispositions relatives à la fixation d'une date limite si elles sont mises aux voix séparément.

19. M. SOLOMON (Trinité et Tobago) [traduit de l'anglais]: Ma délégation s'était inscrite vendredi soir

^{1/} Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux.

[1194ème séance] pour expliquer sa position après les votes, mais, à la suite des observations conciliantes et diplomatiques que le représentant de l'Indonésie a faites à cette même séance, nous croyons devoir plutôt exposer notre point de vue avant les votes.

20. Je voudrais en particulier dire quelques mots sur le septième alinéa du préambule et l'alinéa b du paragraphe 8 du dispositif du projet de résolution A/L.410 et Add.1. La délégation de la Trinité et Tobago est d'avis que le Comité spécial recommande une date limite pour l'accession à l'indépendance de chaque territoire non autonome. Nous estimons que les discussions sur l'état de développement des territoires non autonomes, discussions provoquées par exemple par les rapports du Comité spécial et du Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes, ont eu pour effet de détourner imperceptiblement l'attention de l'Assemblée et du monde vers la question non pertinente de l'état de développement des territoires intéressés. Je dis "non pertinente" parce que la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux exclut expressément cette considération comme critère pour l'octroi de l'indépendance.

21. La délégation de la Trinité et Tobago estime que la recommandation, par le Comité spécial, de dates limites pour l'octroi de l'indépendance corrigerait la situation et réaffirmerait l'obligation morale primordiale qu'ont les puissances administrantes d'accorder aussitôt que possible l'indépendance aux territoires qu'elles administrent. En effet, bien que les puissances administrantes aient l'obligation morale de favoriser le développement économique et social des territoires dont elles ont la charge, tant avant qu'après l'accession à l'indépendance, cette obligation est distincte de celle de l'octroi de l'indépendance. Cependant, ce que ma délégation considère comme non réaliste, c'est la proposition tendant à ce que le Comité spécial fixe une date unique pour l'accession de tous les territoires non autonomes à l'indépendance. La situation est différente pour chaque territoire et chacun a ses problèmes particuliers. Par exemple, dans certains territoires l'accession à l'indépendance ne dépend plus que de l'accord des représentants des populations elles-mêmes sur les formes constitutionnelles qu'elles veulent se donner.

22. Ma délégation estime donc qu'il serait tout à fait normal que le Comité spécial, après un examen approfondi de la situation politique de chaque territoire non autonome, fasse figurer dans son rapport des recommandations sur la date à laquelle chacun des territoires devrait accéder à l'indépendance. Une date limite unique pour tous les territoires serait nécessairement celle à laquelle le dernier territoire serait à même d'accéder à l'indépendance. Par conséquent, la fixation d'une pareille date aurait pour effet de fixer pour tous les autres territoires une date plus tardive qu'il ne serait nécessaire. Cela pourrait donc être un prétexte pour retarder le progrès des autres territoires vers l'autonomie. Donc, si les dispositions en question signifient, comme l'a dit le représentant de l'Indonésie, que le Comité spécial ne recommanderait pas une date générale, mais des dates particulières pour les divers territoires, ma délégation souhaiterait que ce soit dit explicitement. Sinon, ma délégation a l'intention de s'abstenir dans les votes sur le septième alinéa du préambule et l'alinéa b du paragraphe 8 du dispositif.

23. Le **PRESIDENT** (traduit de l'anglais): La parole est au représentant de la Guinée pour une motion d'ordre relative à la procédure de vote.

24. **M. DIALLO Telli** (Guinée): La délégation guinéenne, le 14 décembre [1194ème séance], a eu l'occasion, à cette tribune, de lancer deux appels pour demander aux auteurs de propositions de votes séparés sur le projet de résolution [A/L.410 et Add.1] de bien vouloir renoncer à ces propositions pour les raisons que nous avons alors expliquées longuement. Nous regrettons profondément que ces appels n'aient pas été entendus et, compte tenu de l'heure à laquelle ils ont été lancés, compte tenu de l'importance capitale de cette question, compte tenu des espoirs immenses placés par l'Afrique colonisée en les débats de l'Assemblée, nous avons pensé qu'il était de notre devoir de monter à nouveau à cette tribune non seulement pour nous opposer à ces votes séparés, mais, avant de le faire, pour lancer un suprême appel aux intéressés.

25. A nos frères d'Asie et d'Afrique, nous tenons à dire à nouveau que le document qui est soumis aujourd'hui à l'approbation de l'Assemblée est le fruit d'un compromis qui nous a coûté énormément d'efforts et qui a coûté à certaines délégations — comme la mienne — énormément de sacrifices.

26. Véritablement, on nous fait un procès d'intention. Nous avons écouté tous les orateurs qui sont montés à cette tribune pour s'élever contre la fixation d'une date limite. L'impression pénible que nous en avons retirée est que ces orateurs, dans leur quasi-totalité, n'ont pas pris la précaution de lire attentivement le texte qui leur était soumis.

27. Que demandons-nous, en effet? Que le Comité des Dix-Sept, ou ce comité remanié, étudie la question et fasse rapport à la dix-huitième session de l'Assemblée générale. Pour cette raison, nous pensons que tous les représentants qui ont avancé des arguments à cette tribune contre la fixation d'une date limite gagneraient à attendre le rapport du Comité, afin que le débat s'instaure normalement à la dix-huitième session de l'Assemblée générale.

28. A l'orateur qui m'a précédé à cette tribune — le représentant de la Trinité et Tobago — je voudrais dire qu'effectivement le représentant de l'Indonésie [1194ème séance] avait parfaitement interprété la pensée des auteurs du projet de résolution. Il n'a jamais été question, il n'est pas question dans notre esprit de fixer une date unique d'accession à l'indépendance pour tous les pays. Cela est clair et net. A cet égard, la position des auteurs du projet de résolution est celle qui est fixée au paragraphe 5 de la résolution 1514 (XV), à savoir la nécessité de l'octroi immédiat de l'indépendance à tous les pays et peuples coloniaux. Nous sommes, je dois l'avouer, véritablement renversés. Il y a deux ans que l'Assemblée générale a décidé, par cette résolution, que les puissances coloniales — les puissances administrantes — devaient prendre des mesures immédiates pour transférer tous les pouvoirs aux peuples colonisés. Compte tenu du fait patent non seulement que, dans certains cas, ces mesures n'ont pas été prises, mais que certaines puissances coloniales vont jusqu'à mettre en cause l'applicabilité de ladite résolution aux territoires qu'elles administrent, nous demandons au Comité chargé de sa mise en œuvre d'étudier cette question et de faire rapport à l'Assemblée générale à sa dix-huitième session. Je précise bien qu'il s'agit de faire des recomman-

dations. Je ne vois donc pas, sur le plan rationnel, ce qu'on peut invoquer contre l'attribution de cette tâche à un comité qui a la confiance totale de l'Assemblée. S'il y a des délégations qui ont peur de ce que pourrait faire le Comité, je dis que nous, nous n'avons pas peur, car, de toute façon, l'Assemblée générale a déjà décidé, d'une part, qu'aucun retard, sur les plans politique, économique ou social, ne saurait normalement justifier un délai quant à l'octroi de l'indépendance, et, d'autre part, que les puissances administrantes devaient prendre des mesures immédiates pour transférer tous pouvoirs aux peuples de ces territoires. De plus, aucun orateur ne nous a dit les raisons pour lesquelles il s'effrayait qu'une limite soit fixée aux tergiversations des puissances administrantes.

29. Pour cette raison, nous disons une fois de plus à nos frères d'Afrique et d'Asie que le document qui est actuellement soumis à l'approbation de l'Assemblée ne représente réellement la pensée intrinsèque de personne, que c'est le fruit d'un compromis extrêmement laborieux et, sur la base de la solidarité concrétisée à Bandoung en 1955 et dans toutes les réunions d'Afrique et d'Asie depuis lors, nous leur adressons un appel en soulignant que c'est le minimum acceptable. Nous avons réalisé un équilibre tellement fragile et tellement éloigné des positions doctrinales de chaque délégation que nous croyons que c'est notre devoir de demander à nos frères d'Afrique et d'Asie d'apporter leur appui à un document qui n'a d'autre objectif que de servir la cause de la libération des peuples d'Afrique, d'Asie et d'ailleurs.

30. Mais nous ne limiterons pas notre appel à nos frères d'Afrique et d'Asie. A nos amis d'Amérique latine, qui ont joué ici le rôle historique que tout le monde sait, au moment où l'Asie et l'Afrique étaient quasi absentes, nous disons: faites confiance au Comité des Dix-Sept, n'empêchez pas que ce comité puisse faire une étude objective qui puisse permettre à l'Assemblée générale de prendre une décision en toute connaissance de cause. En effet, à ceux qui soutiennent ici qu'il y aurait danger à imposer aux puissances coloniales une date limite pour exécuter les obligations nées pour elles de l'adoption de la résolution 1514 (XV), nous disons: attendez que notre comité puisse fournir, en toute objectivité, des éléments qui vous permettront de prendre une décision en toute connaissance de cause, parce que toute décision prise avant serait une décision passionnelle et, partant, indigne de l'Assemblée.

31. Nous ne limiterons pas davantage notre appel à nos amis d'Amérique latine, qui ont joué — nous sommes heureux de le constater et de le confirmer — avant notre apparition sur la scène internationale un rôle que nous n'avons cessé de louer en faveur de la décolonisation de l'Afrique et de l'Asie. Nous lancerons le même appel aux pays socialistes. Nous n'avons pas besoin d'insister. En effet, à cette tribune comme ailleurs, ils ont constamment soutenu toutes les thèses dont se réclament les forces vives de l'Afrique, qu'il s'agisse de gouvernements africains, de partis politiques, de mouvements de jeunesse et de femmes, ou de syndicats. Nous leur faisons néanmoins appel pour que, par leur vote, ils confirment leurs positions passées et permettent que le grand espoir des peuples colonisés puisse se réaliser à l'issue de la dix-septième session.

32. Mieux, nous voudrions nous adresser aux puissances de l'Europe occidentale, de l'Europe coloniale

et à leurs alliés, pour leur dire: vous êtes persuadés que le colonialisme est mort; mais il y a tous les problèmes de coopération qui se posent désormais; nous vous disons très franchement, très loyalement; aidez-nous à oublier un passé si lourd d'humiliations, de difficultés! aidez-nous à abréger les souffrances des peuples encore sous le joug colonial! aidez-nous à être nous-mêmes, car le moment est venu de cesser une politique si manifestement contraire à vos intérêts.

33. Nous disons donc à toutes les familles spirituelles de l'Assemblée que le document qui leur est soumis pour adoption, véritablement, ne tranche aucun problème de fond. Nous demandons que le problème de date limite — date limite sur laquelle toutes les forces vives de l'Afrique, une fois de plus, se sont prononcées — soit transmis au Comité des Dix-Sept, afin qu'il l'étudie avec tout le soin possible et fasse rapport à la dix-huitième session. Il sera temps, à ce moment-là, d'en discuter. Et à ceux qui invoquent ici des considérations de démocratie, nous disons: n'empêchez pas l'Assemblée d'étudier une question qui tient à cœur à tout un continent, peut-être même à plus d'un continent.

34. La délégation de Guinée, si les auteurs des propositions de votes séparés insistaient, se verrait dans l'obligation de s'opposer formellement au vote par division sur le septième considérant et sur l'alinéa b du paragraphe 8, concernant le problème de date limite. En effet, nous sommes en présence de deux propositions de votes séparés, émanant de deux délégations et portant, dans l'ensemble, sur trois paragraphes. Ma délégation demande qu'il y ait des votes distincts sur chacune de ces propositions, et notamment sur celles qui visent le septième considérant et l'alinéa b du paragraphe 8.

35. M. PACHACHI (Irak) [traduit de l'anglais]: Le représentant de la Guinée vient d'adresser un nouvel appel à tous les représentants et spécialement à ceux qui ont demandé des votes séparés sur le septième alinéa du préambule et l'alinéa b du paragraphe 8 du projet de résolution A/410 et Add.1. Il a ajouté que, si son appel n'était pas entendu, il invoquerait l'article 91 du règlement et s'opposerait à des votes séparés sur ces passages du projet de résolution. Nous appuyons la position prise par le représentant de la Guinée.

36. J'ai demandé la parole, toutefois, pour m'opposer à une autre demande de vote séparé qui a été faite vendredi soir [1194ème séance] par le représentant de la Tunisie. Il a demandé un vote séparé sur le paragraphe 7 relatif à l'élargissement de la composition du Comité spécial sur la question du colonialisme.

37. On se souviendra que dans la discussion générale l'écrasante majorité des Etats Membres a émis l'avis que cet élargissement était souhaitable dans les circonstances présentes pour de nombreuses raisons. Ma délégation a été parmi les premières à proposer [1170ème séance] cet élargissement. Nous avons indiqué nos raisons. Nous avons dit que pour pouvoir accomplir sa tâche dans le plus bref délai possible le Comité spécial devrait se diviser en sous-comités restreints. Avec ses 17 membres actuels, ce ne serait guère possible. Nous avons dit aussi qu'en égard à l'importance de la tâche du Comité il serait désirable que d'autres Membres de l'Organisation, appartenant aux diverses régions géographiques du monde, aient l'occasion de contribuer à cette tâche capitale des Nations Unies avec les 17 membres choisis par le Président de la seizième

session. Nous avons dit que l'adjonction de sept membres était peut-être préférable à l'adjonction de quatre membres parce qu'elle permettrait de mieux répartir les travaux au sein du Comité spécial et donnerait plus de souplesse au Président de l'Assemblée dans son choix de membres appartenant aux diverses régions géographiques.

38. Le représentant de la Tunisie a parlé de "l'équilibre" au sein du Comité spécial. Je ne sais pas ce qu'il a voulu dire par là. Le représentant de l'Indonésie, en présentant le projet de résolution [1194ème séance], a bien précisé qu'une composition élargie, loin de détruire l'équilibre actuel au sein du Comité spécial des Dix-Sept, favoriserait cet équilibre, voire l'améliorerait. On a dit aussi qu'un élargissement de la composition compromettrait l'efficacité des travaux du Comité. J'attends encore qu'on me démontre de façon valable pourquoi et en quoi l'efficacité des travaux du Comité spécial serait compromise avec l'adjonction de sept membres.

39. Le nombre 24 n'est pas trop élevé par rapport au nombre total des Membres de l'Organisation, qui est de 110. On se rappellera que, lorsque la Charte est entrée en vigueur, l'Organisation ne comprenait que 51 membres, mais qu'elle avait pourtant un conseil, comme le Conseil économique et social, comprenant 18 membres. Or 18 membres représentent plus du tiers des 51 membres que comprenait l'Organisation en 1945, alors qu'aujourd'hui nous proposons le nombre 24 pour 110 Membres, c'est-à-dire une proportion de moins du quart, s'approchant du cinquième. La proportion est donc beaucoup plus réduite que celle qui avait été prévue pour le Conseil économique et social au début de l'existence de l'Organisation.

40. Le représentant de la Tunisie a dit ensuite que, le Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes étant maintenu, il n'y aurait aucune raison d'accroître le nombre des membres du Comité spécial. Il est exact que le Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes sera maintenu, mais son mandat découle du Chapitre XI de la Charte et il s'occupe de la communication de renseignements en vertu de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73, et je suis sûr que le représentant de la Tunisie reconnaîtra que ce mandat est assez différent de celui du Comité spécial, qui a été établi par la résolution 1654 (XVI). Quoi qu'il en soit, la résolution 1700 (XVI), qui prévoit le maintien du Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes, contient un paragraphe demandant que le Comité soumette des rapports pertinents, de nature technique ou autre, au Comité spécial. Par conséquent, le fait que le Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes soit maintenu ne réduit en aucune manière les responsabilités du Comité spécial des Dix-Sept, et ce pour deux raisons: d'une part, leurs mandats sont différents; d'autre part, le Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes est invité à soumettre des rapports pertinents et des renseignements de nature technique au Comité spécial.

41. Le représentant de la Tunisie a dit:

"Aucun amendement n'ayant été présenté à cet effet" — c'est-à-dire pour que le chiffre 4 soit adopté au lieu du chiffre 7 — "nous demandons un vote séparé sur le paragraphe 7 du projet de résolution, et nous nous prononcerons contre ce paragraphe. Si ce paragraphe est maintenu, ma

délégation votera cependant en faveur du projet dans son ensemble." [1194ème séance, par. 82.]

Cela montre que le représentant de la Tunisie ne fait pas une objection majeure au maintien de ce paragraphe, puisque ce maintien n'influencera pas son vote sur l'ensemble du projet de résolution.

42. Le représentant de la Tunisie propose l'adjonction de quatre membres au lieu de sept. Y a-t-il là une si grande différence? En ajoutant trois membres de plus, cela influencera-t-il tellement l'efficacité des travaux du Comité spécial et cela affectera-t-il tellement son équilibre? Certainement pas.

43. Je dois donc dire que nous ne sommes pas convaincus par les arguments qu'avance le représentant de la Tunisie. S'il accepte quatre nouveaux membres, il peut certainement en accepter sept. Trois membres supplémentaires ne bouleverseront pas les choses.

44. Quel effet aurait un vote séparé sur le paragraphe 7? Cela risquerait de permettre à la minorité de mettre en échec la volonté de la majorité, telle qu'elle a été exprimée à maintes reprises dans la discussion générale. Trente-quatre délégations d'Asie et d'Afrique se sont associées pour présenter le projet de résolution et ont demandé que le Comité spécial soit augmenté de sept membres. C'est donc le désir de la grande majorité du groupe des pays d'Afrique et d'Asie, qui représente, après tout, la moitié des Membres de l'Organisation. Je pense que l'Assemblée reconnaîtra qu'ils sont particulièrement intéressés par la question du colonialisme.

45. Je suis certain que d'autres groupes encore appuient notre projet de résolution. Nous espérons même le voir adopté par l'Assemblée à une très forte majorité. Mais, s'il y a un vote séparé, le risque existe que la minorité puisse faire prévaloir son point de vue sur celui de la grande majorité. Il pourrait en résulter la suppression totale de ce paragraphe, ce qui signifierait que la composition du Comité spécial ne serait pas élargie.

46. Comme le représentant de la Guinée l'a dit, le projet de résolution est le résultat de consultations et d'efforts laborieux et difficiles. C'est parce qu'il résulte d'un compromis que nous avons pu en être cosignataires avec la majorité du groupe des pays d'Afrique et d'Asie. Je renouvelle donc mon appel au représentant de la Tunisie en lui demandant de ne pas insister pour demander un vote séparé. Il est membre du Comité spécial et je suis sûr qu'il n'a jamais voulu donner l'impression que certains membres de ce comité ne voudraient pas en voir d'autres se joindre à eux. Nous pourrions alors voter le projet de résolution en totalité et j'espère qu'il sera adopté à une majorité écrasante.

47. M. Taleb SLIM (Tunisie): Aucun élément nouveau n'étant intervenu, et le projet de résolution [A/L.410 et Add.1] étant demeuré tel qu'il était, la délégation de la Tunisie ne voit aucune raison de renoncer à son attitude première. Les motifs qui nous inspirent, nous l'avons dit, sont de principe. Le représentant de l'Irak, se référant à mon intervention du 14 décembre [1194ème séance], m'a demandé ce que la Tunisie entend par "équilibre". Je voudrais lui rappeler ce que j'ai dit alors:

"Nous voulons attirer l'attention de l'Assemblée sur le danger de compromettre le très délicat équilibre établi par la composition actuelle que cette

modification présente. Ce n'est pas que la répartition actuelle soit parfaite — et je répète que la répartition au sein du Comité des Dix-Sept n'est pas parfaite — "mais elle s'est révélée à l'expérience proportionnellement bien représentative des tendances existant dans l'Organisation sur les problèmes du colonialisme et de la décolonisation. Nous comprenons toutefois que, devant l'augmentation du nombre des Membres de l'Organisation, il soit nécessaire d'apporter un petit ajustement à la composition du Comité spécial. A cet égard, il convient de rappeler que, sur les six derniers nouveaux Membres de l'ONU, quatre appartiennent à l'Afrique et deux à l'Amérique centrale et méridionale. Nous pensons que l'adjonction de deux membres" — je n'ai jamais dit que j'étais d'accord pour quatre membres — "eût été possible et utile dans le cadre de l'équilibre actuel." [1194ème séance, par. 79.]

48. Je n'entends pas me livrer à une dissertation sur une question au regard de laquelle nous avons expliqué déjà abondamment notre position. Nous sommes très touchés par tous les appels qui nous ont été adressés, que ce soit par le représentant de la Guinée ou par celui de l'Irak, au nom de la solidarité africaine et africano-asiatique. Cette solidarité, nous nous en réclavons. C'est en son nom, nous l'avons dit, que nous nous disposons à voter en tout état de cause en faveur d'un projet qui, à nos yeux, est susceptible de plusieurs améliorations. Par solidarité, nous nous abstenons de présenter des amendements à ce projet. Mais je ne crois pas qu'il y ait ici quelqu'un qui puisse nous contester le droit — et le désir — de manifester une opposition sur un point déterminé du projet. C'est pour cela que nous insistons pour que l'on vote séparément sur le paragraphe 7, et, si l'on venait à s'y opposer, nous insisterions pour que l'Assemblée se prononce sur la motion de division.

49. Le **PRESIDENT** (traduit de l'anglais): Je vais maintenant inviter l'Assemblée à statuer sur les demandes de votes séparés. Deux demandes de votes séparés ont été présentées. L'une porte sur le dernier alinéa du préambule et sur le dernier membre de phrase de l'alinéa b du paragraphe 8, ainsi conçu: "... y compris des recommandations sur la fixation d'une date limite appropriée". Le premier vote portera sur la demande de vote séparé sur ces deux passages, à savoir le dernier alinéa du préambule et les derniers mots de l'alinéa b du paragraphe 8.

50. Je donne la parole au représentant de la Guinée pour une motion d'ordre.

51. M. **DIALLO Telli** (Guinée): Il est possible qu'une proposition guinéenne ait échappé à l'attention des membres de l'Assemblée, mais j'ai demandé expressément qu'il soit procédé à des votes distincts sur chacune des motions de division, et notamment sur celles qui se rapportent au septième considérant et à l'alinéa b du paragraphe 8, qui émanent toutes deux de la délégation des Etats-Unis.

52. Le **PRESIDENT** (traduit de l'anglais): Je mets aux voix la proposition tendant à un vote séparé sur le dernier alinéa du préambule. Le vote par appel nominal a été demandé.

Il est procédé au vote par appel nominal.

L'appel commence par le Maroc, dont le nom est tiré au sort par le Président.

Votent pour: Népal, Pays-Bas, Nouvelle-Zélande, Nicaragua, Norvège, Panama, Paraguay, Pérou, Portugal, Afrique du Sud, Espagne, Suède, Trinité et Tobago, Turquie, Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord, Etats-Unis d'Amérique, Uruguay, Venezuela, Argentine, Australie, Autriche, Belgique, Bolivie, Brésil, Birmanie, Cameroun, Canada, Ceylan, Chili, Chine, Colombie, Costa Rica, Chypre, Danemark, République Dominicaine, Equateur, Salvador, Fédération de Malaisie, Finlande, France, Grèce, Guatemala, Honduras, Islande, Inde, Irlande, Italie, Japon, Luxembourg, Mexique.

Votent contre: Maroc, Niger, Nigéria, Pakistan, Philippines, Pologne, Roumanie, Sénégal, Sierra Leone, Somalie, Soudan, Syrie, Tanganyika, Togo, Ouganda, République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine, Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques, République arabe unie, Haute-Volta, Yougoslavie, Afghanistan, Albanie, Algérie, Bulgarie, Burundi, République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie, République centrafricaine, Tchad, Congo (Léopoldville), Cuba, Tchécoslovaquie, Ethiopie, Gabon, Ghana, Guinée, Haïti, Hongrie, Indonésie, Irak, Côte-d'Ivoire, Jordanie, Libéria, Libye, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritanie, Mongolie.

S'abstiennent: Thaïlande, Tunisie, Cambodge, Iran, Jamaïque, Laos, Liban.

Par 50 voix contre 47, avec 7 abstentions, la proposition est adoptée.

53. Le **PRESIDENT** (traduit de l'anglais): Je vais maintenant mettre aux voix la dernière demande. Je le fais à dessein, parce que j'aurai quelque chose à dire au sujet de la demande de vote séparé sur le paragraphe 7 et, je le précise, non sur la question de fond, mais à titre d'observation.

54. Je mets aux voix maintenant la proposition tendant à un vote séparé sur les derniers mots de l'alinéa b du paragraphe 8, à savoir: "... y compris des recommandations sur la fixation d'une date limite appropriée". Le vote par appel nominal a été demandé.

Il est procédé au vote par appel nominal.

Le vote commence par Haïti, dont le nom est tiré au sort par le Président.

Votent pour: Honduras, Islande, Inde, Irlande, Italie, Japon, Luxembourg, Mexique, Népal, Pays-Bas, Nouvelle-Zélande, Nicaragua, Norvège, Panama, Paraguay, Pérou, Portugal, Afrique du Sud, Espagne, Suède, Trinité et Tobago, Tunisie, Turquie, Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord, Etats-Unis d'Amérique, Uruguay, Venezuela, Argentine, Australie, Autriche, Belgique, Bolivie, Brésil, Birmanie, Cameroun, Canada, Ceylan, Chili, Chine, Colombie, Costa Rica, Chypre, Danemark, République Dominicaine, Equateur, Salvador, Fédération de Malaisie, Finlande, France, Grèce, Guatemala.

Votent contre: Haïti, Hongrie, Indonésie, Irak, Côte-d'Ivoire, Jordanie, Libéria, Libye, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritanie, Mongolie, Maroc, Niger, Nigéria, Pakistan, Philippines, Pologne, Roumanie, Sénégal, Sierra Leone, Somalie, Soudan, Syrie, Tanganyika, Togo, Ouganda, République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine, Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques, République arabe unie, Haute-Volta, Yougoslavie, Afghanistan, Albanie, Algérie, Bulgarie, Burundi, République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie, République centrafricaine, Tchad, Congo

(Léopoldville), Cuba, Tchécoslovaquie, Ethiopie, Gabon, Ghana, Guinée.

S'abstiennent: Iran, Jamaïque, Laos, Liban, Thaïlande, Cambodge.

Par 51 voix contre 47, avec 6 abstentions, la proposition est adoptée.

55. Le **PRESIDENT** (traduit de l'anglais): Nous arrivons à la troisième demande de vote séparé. Comme je l'ai dit, j'ai une ou deux observations à faire avant de la mettre aux voix. Je constate d'abord que c'est une chose admise que le Président doit être au service de l'Assemblée générale. Il doit faire de son mieux pour s'acquitter de toute mission que l'Assemblée générale lui confie. Je pense que c'est aussi son devoir de soutenir le point de vue de la présidence.

56. Je peux dire, en toute conscience, que je suis absolument impartial au sujet de la teneur du paragraphe 7. Je serais parfaitement satisfait si le Comité spécial gardait sa composition actuelle. Je m'efforcerais de faire de mon mieux pour répondre au désir de l'Assemblée générale sur ce point, quelle que soit sa décision. Les auteurs du projet de résolution auraient pu ne proposer aucune augmentation du nombre des membres du Comité spécial; ils auraient pu proposer que de nouveaux membres soient élus par l'Assemblée générale; ils auraient pu encore désigner eux-mêmes les membres supplémentaires qu'ils voudraient voir faire partie du Comité spécial. Mais ils ont jugé bon d'en laisser le soin au Président. Dans la discussion sur la question d'un vote séparé, on a beaucoup insisté avec vigueur sur le fait que, de l'avis d'une certaine délégation ou de quelques délégations, tout élargissement de la composition du Comité spécial risquerait d'en rompre l'équilibre délicat. Si tel est l'avis de certaines délégations, cela signifie que charger le Président de ce devoir ou de cette responsabilité revient à lui confier une mission impossible à remplir. Si tel continue à être le cas, il se pourrait qu'il me soit impossible de donner suite à la demande de l'Assemblée.

57. Je mets maintenant aux voix la proposition tendant à un vote séparé sur le paragraphe 7. Le vote par appel nominal a été demandé.

Il est procédé au vote par appel nominal.

L'appel commence par la Thaïlande, dont le nom est tiré au sort par le Président.

Votent pour: Thaïlande, Trinité et Tobago, Tunisie, Turquie, Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord, Etats-Unis d'Amérique, Uruguay, Argentine, Australie, Autriche, Belgique, Cambodge, Cameroun, Canada, Chine, Costa Rica, Danemark, Fédération de Malaisie, Finlande, France, Grèce, Honduras, Islande, Inde, Irlande, Italie, Luxembourg, Mexique, Pays-Bas, Nouvelle-Zélande, Nicaragua, Norvège, Panama, Paraguay, Portugal, Afrique du Sud, Espagne, Suède.

Votent contre: Togo, Ouganda, République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine, Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques, République arabe unie, Haute-Volta, Afghanistan, Albanie, Algérie, Brésil, Bulgarie, Burundi, République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie, République centrafricaine, Tchad, Chili, Congo (Léopoldville), Cuba, Chypre, Tchécoslovaquie, Gabon, Ghana, Guinée, Haïti, Hongrie, Indonésie, Irak, Jordanie, Liban, Libye, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritanie, Mongolie, Maroc, Niger, Nigéria, Pakistan, Philip-

pines, Pologne, Roumanie, Sénégal, Sierra Leone, Somalie, Syrie, Tanganyika.

S'abstiennent: Venezuela, Yougoslavie, Bolivie, Birmanie, Ceylan, Colombie, République Dominicaine, Equateur, Salvador, Ethiopie, Guatemala, Iran, Côte-d'Ivoire, Jamaïque, Japon, Laos, Libéria, Népal, Pérou, Arabie Saoudite, Soudan.

Par 46 voix contre 38, avec 21 abstentions, la proposition est rejetée.

58. Le **PRESIDENT** (traduit de l'anglais): Nous allons maintenant procéder aux votes sur le projet de résolution. Je mets aux voix le dernier alinéa du préambule. Le vote par appel nominal a été demandé.

Il est procédé au vote par appel nominal.

L'appel commence par le Canada, dont le nom est tiré au sort par le Président.

Votent pour: République centrafricaine, Ceylan*, Tchad, Congo (Léopoldville), Cuba, Tchécoslovaquie, Dahomey, Ethiopie, Gabon, Ghana, Guinée, Haïti, Hongrie, Indonésie, Iran, Irak, Israël, Côte-d'Ivoire, Jordanie, Laos, Libéria, Libye, Mali, Mauritanie, Mongolie, Maroc, Niger, Nigéria, Pakistan, Philippines, Pologne, Roumanie, Arabie Saoudite, Sénégal, Sierra Leone, Somalie, Soudan, Syrie, Tanganyika, Thaïlande, Togo, Tunisie, Ouganda, République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine, Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques, République arabe unie, Haute-Volta, Yougoslavie, Afghanistan, Albanie, Algérie, Bulgarie, Burundi, République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie.

Votent contre: Canada, Chili, Colombie, Costa Rica, Danemark, République Dominicaine, Equateur, Salvador, Finlande, France, Grèce, Guatemala, Honduras, Islande, Irlande, Italie, Japon, Luxembourg, Mexique, Pays-Bas, Nouvelle-Zélande, Nicaragua, Norvège, Panama, Paraguay, Pérou, Afrique du Sud, Espagne, Suède, Turquie, Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord, Etats-Unis d'Amérique, Uruguay, Venezuela, Argentine, Australie, Autriche, Belgique, Bolivie, Brésil.

S'abstiennent: Chine, Chypre, Fédération de Malaisie, Inde, Jamaïque, Liban, Madagascar, Népal, Trinité et Tobago, Birmanie, Cambodge, Cameroun.

Le Portugal ne prend pas part au vote.

Il y a 54 voix pour, 40 voix contre et 12 abstentions.

N'ayant pas obtenu la majorité requise des deux tiers, l'alinéa n'est pas adopté.

59. M. DIALLO Telli (Guinée): Je vois, Monsieur le Président, que, dans votre interprétation de l'Article 18 de la Charte, vous avez estimé qu'il s'agissait là d'une question importante. Je ne voudrais absolument pas revenir sur une décision présidentielle, mais je me pose tout de même la question de savoir, en me fondant sur des précédents récents, si c'est là vraiment, aux termes de l'Article 18 de la Charte, une question que l'on peut qualifier d'importante et, de ce fait, requérant — d'après le paragraphe 2 de l'Article 18 de la Charte — la majorité des deux tiers.

60. Le **PRESIDENT** (traduit de l'anglais): La façon dont j'ai annoncé le résultat du vote a été correctement interprétée par le représentant de la Guinée comme

* Le représentant de Ceylan a demandé ultérieurement au Secrétaire général que son pays figure au nombre de ceux qui se sont abstenus.

signifiant que l'ensemble de la question, y compris certainement le présent projet de résolution, est une question importante au sens de l'Article 18 de la Charte. J'aurais pensé qu'il serait le dernier à prétendre le contraire. En tout état de cause, c'est ainsi que j'ai décidé. Si un représentant désire faire appel de la décision présidentielle, je soumettrai bien entendu cet appel à l'Assemblée; je tiens à rappeler à l'Assemblée que la décision présidentielle peut être renversée à la majorité simple.

61. M. DIALLO Telli (Guinée): Je croyais, Monsieur le Président, m'être exprimé clairement en disant que je n'entendais pas m'opposer à une décision présidentielle surtout venant d'un président tel que vous-même. Je ne m'oppose donc pas à votre décision, mais je note tout de même avec satisfaction que 54 délégations se sont prononcées en faveur de la thèse soutenue par les peuples africains.

62. Le PRESIDENT (traduit de l'anglais): Je mets aux voix maintenant le dernier membre de phrase de l'alinéa b du paragraphe 8. Ce membre de phrase est le suivant: "... y compris des recommandations sur la fixation d'une date limite appropriée". Le vote par appel nominal a été demandé.

Il est procédé au vote par appel nominal.

L'appel commence par la Nouvelle-Zélande, dont le nom est tiré au sort par le Président.

Votent pour: Niger, Nigéria, Pakistan, Philippines, Pologne, Roumanie, Arabie Saoudite, Sénégal, Sierra Leone, Somalie, Soudan, Syrie, Tanganyika, Thaïlande, Togo, Tunisie, Ouganda, République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine, Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques, République arabe unie, Haute-Volta, Yougoslavie, Afghanistan, Albanie, Algérie, Bulgarie, Burundi, République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie, Cambodge, République centrafricaine, Tchad, Congo (Léopoldville), Cuba, Tchécoslovaquie, Dahomey, Ethiopie, Gabon, Ghana, Guinée, Haïti, Hongrie, Indonésie, Iran, Irak, Israël, Côte-d'Ivoire, Jordanie, Laos, Libéria, Libye, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritanie, Mongolie, Maroc.

Votent contre: Nouvelle-Zélande, Nicaragua, Norvège, Panama, Paraguay, Pérou, Afrique du Sud, Espagne, Suède, Turquie, Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord, États-Unis d'Amérique, Venezuela, Argentine, Australie, Autriche, Belgique, Bolivie, Brésil, Canada, Chili, Colombie, Costa Rica, Danemark, République Dominicaine, Equateur, Salvador, Finlande, France, Guatemala, Honduras, Islande, Irlande, Italie, Japon, Luxembourg, Mexique, Pays-Bas.

S'abstiennent: Trinité et Tobago, Uruguay, Birmanie, Cameroun, Ceylan, Chine, Chypre, Fédération de Malaisie, Grèce, Inde, Jamaïque, Liban, Népal.

Le Portugal ne prend pas part au vote.

Il y a 55 voix pour, 38 voix contre et 13 abstentions.

N'ayant pas obtenu la majorité requise des deux tiers, le dernier membre de phrase de l'alinéa b du paragraphe 8 n'est pas adopté.

63. Le PRESIDENT (traduit de l'anglais): L'Assemblée va maintenant voter sur l'alinéa b du paragraphe 8, modifié.

Par 25 voix contre zéro, avec 5 abstentions, l'alinéa b du paragraphe 8, modifié, est adopté.

64. Le PRESIDENT (traduit de l'anglais): Je mets maintenant aux voix l'ensemble du projet de résolution des 34 puissances (A/L.410 et Add.1) tel qu'il a été modifié. Le vote par appel nominal a été demandé.

Il est procédé au vote par appel nominal.

Le vote commence par le Niger, dont le nom est tiré au sort par le Président.

Votent pour: Niger, Nigéria, Norvège, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Pérou, Philippines, Pologne, Roumanie, Arabie Saoudite, Sénégal, Sierra Leone, Somalie, Soudan, Suède, Syrie, Tanganyika, Thaïlande, Togo, Trinité et Tobago, Tunisie, Turquie, Ouganda, République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine, Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques, République arabe unie, États-Unis d'Amérique, Haute-Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yougoslavie, Afghanistan, Albanie, Algérie, Argentine, Australie, Autriche, Belgique, Bolivie, Brésil, Bulgarie, Birmanie, Burundi, République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie, Cambodge, Cameroun, Canada, République centrafricaine, Ceylan, Tchad, Chili, Chine, Colombie, Congo (Léopoldville), Costa Rica, Cuba, Chypre, Tchécoslovaquie, Dahomey, Danemark, République Dominicaine, Equateur, Salvador, Ethiopie, Fédération de Malaisie, Finlande, Gabon, Ghana, Grèce, Guatemala, Guinée, Haïti, Honduras, Hongrie, Islande, Inde, Indonésie, Iran, Irak, Irlande, Israël, Italie, Côte-d'Ivoire, Jamaïque, Japon, Jordanie, Laos, Liban, Libéria, Libye, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritanie, Mexique, Mongolie, Maroc, Népal, Pays-Bas, Nouvelle-Zélande.

Votent contre: néant.

S'abstiennent: Afrique du Sud, Espagne, Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord, France.

Le Portugal ne prend pas part au vote.

Par 101 voix contre zéro, avec quatre abstentions, l'ensemble du projet de résolution modifié est adopté.

65. Le PRESIDENT (traduit de l'anglais): Je donnerai maintenant la parole aux représentants qui désirent expliquer leurs votes. Je donne d'abord la parole au représentant de l'Afrique du Sud.

66. M. BOTHA (Afrique du Sud) [traduit de l'anglais]: La délégation de l'Afrique du Sud a suivi avec intérêt le débat sur le rapport du Comité spécial constitué aux termes de la résolution 1654 (XVI) de l'Assemblée générale. Nous avons espéré que, conformément aux déclarations faites par diverses délégations dans la discussion, l'attention voulue aurait également été accordée à un éventuel projet de résolution sur le sort misérable de centaines de millions de personnes qui ont perdu leur indépendance par la force armée et par la conquête et qui sont soumises au colonialisme depuis 1945. Cela ne s'est cependant pas produit. Ma délégation regrette cette manière d'aborder le problème du colonialisme sous un seul aspect, sans égard aux centaines de millions de gens qui vivent sous le joug impérialiste de la plus grande puissance coloniale de notre époque.

67. La délégation de l'Afrique du Sud, tout en appréciant l'esprit dans lequel la résolution avait été déposée, estime que certains de ses paragraphes contiennent des éléments qu'elle ne peut approuver et certaines dispositions qui, de l'avis de ma délégation, vont au-delà des stipulations de la Charte. C'est pourquoi ma délégation n'a pas pu voter en

faveur du projet de résolution et, en conséquence, s'est abstenue.

68. M. AGUIRRE (Uruguay) [traduit de l'espagnol]: Ma délégation, qui est membre du Comité spécial constitué aux termes de la résolution 1654 (XVI), estime nécessaire d'expliquer le sens du vote qu'elle vient d'émettre.

69. Elle ne peut pas dire qu'elle souscrit à tous les paragraphes de cette résolution ni, pour préciser davantage, à tous les termes employés dans son texte, mais elle s'associe avec enthousiasme au sens général et à l'objectif de la résolution que nous venons d'adopter.

70. Au cours des votes séparés, nous avons voté contre le septième alinéa du préambule parce que nous considérons que sa rédaction n'est adaptée ni aux réalités ni aux possibilités. Il est dit dans cet alinéa que, pour accélérer le processus de décolonisation, il est nécessaire de fixer une date limite appropriée pour l'application intégrale des dispositions de la résolution 1514 (XV). Ma délégation estime que ce critère de nécessité et la mention d'une date limite au singulier ne s'ajustent pas à la réalité. Nous n'avons pas en vue le fait que le Comité spécial a la faculté de juger opportune la fixation d'une date après étude d'un cas d'espèce. Cette possibilité est implicitement comprise parmi les facultés conférées au Comité par la résolution qui l'a créé et il peut en user quand il le juge bon.

71. Beaucoup d'éléments peuvent intervenir pour accélérer le processus de décolonisation: attitudes, efforts, dispositions — et ces éléments sont vraiment nécessaires. Toutefois, nous ne pouvons pas sanctionner de notre vote un texte qui attribue à la fixation d'une date une importance primordiale, un caractère de nécessité pour l'accélération du processus de décolonisation. Ce n'est pas le moment maintenant de nous étendre en arguments sur cette relation, mais, si cette nécessité avait vraiment un fondement, l'histoire de ces dernières années aurait été différente de ce qu'elle a été.

72. La rédaction de l'alinéa b du paragraphe 8 envisageait le même aspect sous une forme que nous trouvions plus proche de la réalité, plus proche des possibilités, en corrigeant comme il convient sa traduction en espagnol. Dans ledit alinéa, on lit dans le texte espagnol "en particular", alors que l'original en anglais emploie "including" et la version française "y compris". Il nous paraît évident que l'équivalent espagnol de "including" et "y compris" est assez différent de "en particular". Cela sera sans doute mis au point par le Secrétariat. Une fois la traduction rectifiée, le paragraphe autorisait, à notre avis, par sa mention de recommandations au pluriel, une interprétation sensiblement différente de l'interprétation qui s'imposait inévitablement pour le septième alinéa du préambule. De là notre abstention sur ce point.

73. Sir Patrick DEAN (Royaume-Uni) [traduit de l'anglais]: Ma délégation s'est abstenue dans le vote de la résolution qui vient d'être adoptée. Je voudrais en expliquer les raisons. La politique de mon gouvernement en ce qui concerne les territoires non autonomes soumis à notre administration est que les populations de ces territoires doivent progresser aussi rapidement que possible vers l'autonomie et l'indépendance. Cette politique est entièrement en harmonie avec l'esprit et la lettre du Chapitre XI

de la Charte et nous sommes certains que notre politique est la bonne.

74. Comme je l'ai dit dans la discussion générale sur la question, le 26 novembre 1962 [1175ème séance], nous n'avons besoin d'aucune déclaration, d'aucune résolution, d'aucun comité pour confirmer la justesse de notre politique. C'est pour cette raison que ma délégation s'est abstenue dans le vote de la résolution 1514 (XV) sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, et dans le vote de la résolution 1654 (XVI) qui a créé le Comité spécial des Dix-Sept.

75. En de nombreuses occasions, ma délégation a expliqué sa position en la matière. Nous ne pouvons accepter d'intervention de l'Assemblée dans l'administration des territoires dont nous demeurons responsables. Nous nous acquitterons de notre responsabilité pleinement et sans crainte. Nous ne pouvons la partager ou la transférer. Nous n'avons aucune intention de l'éluder. L'accession à l'indépendance d'un si grand nombre de nos anciens territoires depuis 15 ans est une preuve suffisante du succès de notre politique en ce domaine. Pour ces raisons, ma délégation n'a pas pu voter pour la résolution qui vient d'être adoptée.

76. Néanmoins, avec les réserves que je viens d'énoncer au nom de mon gouvernement, sous réserve également de la composition satisfaisante du Comité spécial élargi, mon gouvernement espère pouvoir rester membre du Comité spécial des Vingt-Quatre et continuer à participer à ses travaux pendant l'année qui vient. Si ma délégation peut en fait continuer à être membre du Comité spécial, nous nous attendons à ce que le Comité spécial examine en temps voulu, entre autres questions, celle des territoires d'Europe et d'Asie qui ont été occupés — certains d'entre eux au cours des 30 dernières années — par une puissance coloniale dont j'ai parlé assez longuement dans une intervention précédente.

77. M. POLDERMAN (Pays-Bas) [traduit de l'anglais]: Au nom de ma délégation, je voudrais expliquer très brièvement notre vote sur le septième alinéa du préambule et l'alinéa b du paragraphe 8 du projet de résolution qui vient d'être adopté. Ma délégation n'est pas opposée à la fixation de dates limites pour l'autodétermination, d'une façon générale, à condition toutefois que ces dates ne soient pas imposées aux puissances administrantes sans tenir compte des réalités de chaque cas d'espèce et des vœux des populations. C'est pourquoi nous étions d'avis de demander aux puissances administrantes de fixer des dates limites pour l'exercice de l'autodétermination ou l'accession à l'indépendance, en consultation avec les populations.

78. Toutefois, la fixation par les Nations Unies d'une date limite générale pour tous les territoires ou la fixation d'une date limite pour un territoire particulier nous semblent dénuées de réalisme et peu favorables à la coopération indispensable entre les puissances administrantes et les Nations Unies. Pour ces raisons, nous avons été obligés de voter contre le septième alinéa du préambule et l'alinéa b du paragraphe 8.

79. M. MARSH (Jamaïque) [traduit de l'anglais]: La délégation de la Jamaïque est particulièrement sensible au désir d'indépendance étant donné que nous-mêmes avons, pour la première fois, le privilège de jouir des droits que confère la souveraineté et

d'en exercer les responsabilités. Nous nous préoccupons particulièrement de ce problème du colonialisme, car la plupart des colonies qui restent sont en Afrique. L'humiliation de tout Africain est ressentie par tout citoyen de la Jamaïque, quelle que soit son origine.

80. Ma délégation s'est abstenue dans les votes sur les deux alinéas relatifs à une date limite. Certes, l'idée est séduisante et, en cet âge de planification, elle pourrait paraître, à première vue, logique. Nous croyons néanmoins que la souplesse est essentielle dans toute situation politique. Pendant le débat, un représentant a parlé de situations qui risquent d'être nuisibles pour "nous, les petits". C'est une situation rigide telle que celle qui existerait si des dates limites étaient fixées qui serait précisément défavorable à "nous, les petits". Dans une telle situation la force serait le facteur dominant et la possibilité d'examiner les exigences de chaque cas disparaîtrait. A ce moment-là, il pourrait se produire des retraits cyniques, au mépris des besoins d'ordre économique et sans tenir compte de la nécessité d'une préparation politique et de la création d'institutions parlementaires.

81. Ma délégation continuera d'appuyer toute proposition faite à l'Assemblée qui, à notre avis, aiderait de manière certaine les peuples qui luttent pour le droit à la libre détermination.

82. Le **PRESIDENT** (traduit de l'anglais): Deux des auteurs de la résolution que nous venons d'adopter ont demandé à exercer leur droit de réponse. Je regrette de ne pouvoir faire droit à cette demande, car le passage final de l'article 90 du règlement intérieur ne le permet pas.

83. Je donne la parole au représentant de la Guinée, non pour l'exercice du droit de réponse, mais pour une déclaration qu'il désire faire en tant qu'un des auteurs de la résolution.

84. **M. DIALLO Telli** (Guinée): La majorité des membres de l'Assemblée vient de se prononcer, par 55 voix contre 38, sur la nécessité de fixer une date limite aux puissances coloniales afin qu'elles exécutent la résolution [1514 (XV)] relative à l'indépendance des peuples et territoires colonisés. Comme le Président l'a dit tout à l'heure, la délégation guinéenne serait la dernière à estimer que ce n'est pas là une question importante. Mieux, nous avons soutenu et nous continuons de soutenir que la question de la décolonisation est de loin la plus importante à laquelle l'Assemblée générale ait à faire face.

85. Ma délégation voudrait transmettre sa gratitude à tous ceux qui ont soutenu cette idée, qui correspond exactement, quoi qu'on dise, aux aspirations profondes des peuples africains encore sous le joug et la domination de l'étranger. Notre satisfaction, notre réconfort sont de voir que, par 55 voix contre 38, la voix de l'Afrique souffrante, de l'Afrique humiliée, de l'Afrique sous domination coloniale a été entendue au sein de l'Assemblée. Qui plus est, nous sommes heureux de constater qu'aucune voix de pays non aligné ne figure parmi les 38, qu'aucune voix africaine n'y figure non plus. Nous sommes heureux de constater que deux voix seulement d'Asie figurent parmi les 38. C'est là certainement, pour les peuples africains, la meilleure consolation.

86. Quoi qu'il en soit, ces peuples sont décidés, quelles que soient les forces opposantes, à se libérer,

et ils se libéreront. Notre vœu a été et demeure que l'Assemblée soit un facteur de paix, pour faire en sorte que cette libération s'effectue de façon paisible.

87. Je voudrais redire notre gratitude à tous ceux qui, malgré les pressions, malgré tout ce qui a pu se passer dans l'ombre et durant le week-end, ont apporté à notre thèse, à celle des peuples africains, une si écrasante majorité. Je vous remercie au nom des peuples d'Afrique.

88. **M. BINDZI** (Cameroun): Ma délégation a participé au débat général sur la décolonisation, à l'occasion de l'examen du rapport soumis par le Comité des Dix-Sept [A/5238]. Elle a par conséquent exprimé et précisé sa position de la manière qu'il lui a paru nécessaire.

89. Nous venons d'entériner un texte très important. Comme l'a dit ici mon collègue de Guinée, ma délégation a patronné ce texte, avec d'autres pays d'Afrique et d'Asie. Malheureusement, ce texte, comme il l'a si bien dit, est le fruit d'un compromis particulièrement laborieux et il est normal, il est habituel que, dans une telle situation, les positions puissent être quelquefois divergentes.

90. Tout à l'heure, dans un vote de procédure, ma délégation, avec beaucoup d'autres, a estimé, en son âme et conscience, qu'il convenait de permettre à chacun (et pas seulement à ceux qui ne partagent pas avec nous l'honneur d'être africains, mais qui sont quand même des hommes, avec leurs opinions propres, car ma délégation respecte de façon absolue toutes les opinions, d'où qu'elles viennent) de libérer ses scrupules de conscience; c'est pourquoi elle s'est prononcée en faveur du vote par division. Ma délégation estime en effet qu'il n'y a pas, d'une part, des opinions sacrées et, d'autre part, des opinions qui ne le seraient pas.

91. Ensuite, cela va sans dire, ma délégation, en tant que coauteur, a voté en faveur du texte qui était soumis à l'Assemblée générale, avec la conviction que, quelles qu'aient été les attitudes des uns et des autres au départ, un texte important allait être adopté par l'Assemblée. Et, comme pour tout ce qui, ici, recueille l'approbation de l'Assemblée entière, je suis sûr que tous, même ceux qui n'ont pas apporté leur appui à ce texte, feront tout ce qui est en leur pouvoir pour s'y conformer et le mettre en application. Cela m'autorise à espérer que bientôt tous les peuples encore sous la domination coloniale verront venir le jour de leur libération.

92. Le **PRESIDENT** (traduit de l'anglais): Nous passons à l'examen des autres parties du rapport du Comité spécial des Dix-Sept.

93. Je donne la parole au représentant de la Syrie pour une déclaration sur le déroulement des votes.

94. **M. RIFAI** (Syrie) [traduit de l'anglais]: Maintenant que l'Assemblée générale a adopté la résolution concernant les travaux du Comité spécial, je voudrais attirer brièvement l'attention sur les recommandations particulières faites par le Comité spécial sur divers territoires et qui figurent dans son rapport [A/5238].

95. L'Assemblée générale a déjà pris des décisions sur le chapitre II, qui traite de la Rhodésie du Sud, sous la forme de deux résolutions, la résolution 1755 (XVII) adoptée le 12 octobre 1962 et la résolution 1760 (XVII) adoptée le 31 octobre 1962. Le chapitre III traite de la Rhodésie du Nord et contient un projet

de résolution dont l'adoption est recommandée à l'Assemblée générale. Le paragraphe 4 du dispositif de ce projet de résolution demande instamment au Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni de prendre certaines dispositions en vue des élections législatives. Etant donné que, dans l'intervalle, la constitution envisagée est entrée en vigueur, que les élections ont déjà eu lieu et qu'il y a même eu d'autres événements, comme nous l'apprenons dans les journaux, le projet de résolution devrait être modifié pour tenir compte de ces événements ultérieurs. Certaines délégations s'apprêtent donc à présenter à l'Assemblée générale un nouveau projet de résolution relatif à la Rhodésie du Nord.

96. Le chapitre IV traite du Nyassaland. Il contient les conclusions et recommandations du Comité spécial sur ce territoire. Depuis l'adoption de ces conclusions et recommandations par le Comité spécial, des entretiens portant sur une constitution ont eu lieu entre le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni et le Dr Banda. L'Assemblée générale voudra sans doute adopter aussi sur ce territoire une résolution prenant acte des conclusions et recommandations du Comité spécial et tenant compte des événements récents. Un projet de résolution relatif à ce territoire a été élaboré et il sera prochainement présenté pour examen à l'Assemblée générale.

97. Le chapitre V traite des territoires relevant du Haut Commissaire, le Bassoutoland, le Betchouanaland et le Souaziland. Il contient un projet de résolution adopté par le Comité spécial et présenté à l'Assemblée générale pour examen. Ce projet de résolution appelle lui aussi certaines modifications. La Quatrième Commission a entendu récemment des pétitionnaires de certains de ces territoires. Il conviendra sans doute aussi de tenir compte de ces déclarations dans la résolution que l'Assemblée générale adoptera au sujet de ces territoires. Un projet de résolution contenant quelques légères modifications a été préparé et sera bientôt présenté à l'Assemblée générale.

98. Le chapitre VI du rapport a trait à Zanzibar et contient un projet de résolution présenté à l'Assemblée générale pour examen. Ce projet de résolution, comme celui qui a été recommandé au sujet du Kenya, pourrait être examiné par l'Assemblée générale sans modification.

99. Le chapitre VII concerne la Guinée britannique. Il contient un projet de résolution adopté par le Comité spécial le 30 juillet 1962. Depuis lors, une conférence a eu lieu à Londres entre les dirigeants de la Guinée britannique et des représentants du Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni. Un rapport sur cette conférence a été présenté par le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni [A/5315]. Je crois savoir qu'un projet de résolution sur ce territoire, tenant compte des faits nouveaux les plus récents, est en cours de préparation et sera prochainement présenté par certaines délégations à l'examen de l'Assemblée générale.

100. Le chapitre VIII a trait au Mozambique et le chapitre XI à l'Angola. Ces chapitres contiennent deux projets de résolution, l'un sur le Mozambique, l'autre sur l'Angola, présentés à l'Assemblée générale pour examen. On sait que l'Assemblée a déjà adopté [1194ème séance] une résolution sur les territoires administrés par le Portugal. Pour cette raison et vu que les recommandations figurant dans la résolution de l'Assemblée sur les territoires administrés

par le Portugal reflètent essentiellement les recommandations faites au sujet du Mozambique par le Comité spécial, nous pensons qu'un vote sur le projet de résolution proposé par le Comité spécial sur le Mozambique ferait double emploi; on s'accorde à reconnaître qu'un vote sur ce projet de résolution est maintenant inutile. La question d'Angola, au contraire, se présente différemment. La situation dans ce territoire a été examinée non seulement par le Comité spécial et par le Comité spécial pour les territoires administrés par le Portugal, mais aussi par le Sous-Comité chargé d'examiner la situation en Angola. Il faut se rappeler aussi que la question d'Angola a été examinée par le Conseil de sécurité et que le Conseil en reste saisi. Pour toutes ces raisons, l'avis général est que la question d'Angola doit être traitée dans un projet de résolution séparé et plusieurs délégations sont en train de préparer un texte de projet pour le soumettre à l'Assemblée. Je crois qu'il sera présenté bientôt.

101. Le chapitre IX concerne le Sud-Ouest africain. Comme la Quatrième Commission a tenu compte de ce chapitre lorsqu'elle a examiné le rapport du Comité spécial pour le Sud-Ouest africain et comme une résolution sur ce projet a déjà été adoptée [1194ème séance], le sentiment général est qu'un vote sur le projet de résolution proposé par le Comité spécial à l'examen de l'Assemblée n'est pas nécessaire, maintenant.

102. Finalement, nous ne restons saisis que des projets de résolution sur le Kenya et sur Zanzibar [voir A/L.413] recommandés par le Comité spécial des Dix-Sept à l'Assemblée générale pour adoption. J'ai déjà dit que ces deux projets de résolution n'exigent pas de modification. L'Assemblée pourrait donc passer immédiatement à l'examen et à l'adoption des projets de résolution sur le Kenya et sur Zanzibar.

103. Le **PRESIDENT** (traduit de l'anglais): Les membres de l'Assemblée viennent d'entendre l'exposé fait par le représentant de la Syrie, rapporteur du Comité spécial des Dix-Sept. S'il n'y a pas d'opposition, je vais mettre aux voix les projets de résolution proposés sur Zanzibar et sur le Kenya par le Comité spécial des Dix-Sept.

104. Je mets aux voix le projet de résolution sur Zanzibar (A/L.413).

Par 84 voix contre zéro, avec 4 abstentions, le projet de résolution sur Zanzibar est adopté.

105. Le **PRESIDENT** (traduit de l'anglais): Je mets aux voix maintenant le projet de résolution sur le Kenya (A/L.413).

Par 88 voix contre zéro, avec 4 abstentions, le projet de résolution sur le Kenya est adopté.

106. Le **PRESIDENT** (traduit de l'anglais): Je donne la parole au représentant du Royaume-Uni pour une explication de vote.

107. Sir Douglas GLOVER (Royaume-Uni) [traduit de l'anglais]: Je désire expliquer les votes de ma délégation sur les résolutions que l'Assemblée générale vient d'adopter sur le Kenya et sur Zanzibar. Je répéterai d'abord quelle est la position de mon gouvernement sur l'adoption par l'Assemblée de recommandations relatives à des territoires non autonomes particuliers.

108. Ma délégation est d'avis que rien dans la Charte n'autorise l'Assemblée générale à adopter de telles recommandations. En fait, la Charte reconnaît expressément la responsabilité des puissances administrantes pour l'administration des territoires sur lesquels elles communiquent des renseignements. A notre avis, l'Assemblée n'a ni le pouvoir, ni le droit de chercher à usurper une responsabilité qui appartient nettement à la puissance administrante seule. Ma délégation est donc opposée en principe à des résolutions de ce genre; elle ne peut les considérer que comme des tentatives d'ingérence dans l'administration de nos territoires.

109. Cependant, ayant réaffirmé sa position de principe, ma délégation admet que certaines délégations membres du Comité spécial des Dix-Sept ont cherché sincèrement à reconnaître les mesures que mon gouvernement a prises et continue à prendre au Kenya et à Zanzibar pour conduire ces territoires à l'indépendance. Mon gouvernement n'épargne aucun effort pour favoriser l'harmonie et l'unité parmi les populations du Kenya et de Zanzibar et faire accéder ces deux territoires à l'indépendance le plus tôt possible. L'esprit de ces résolutions est donc parfaitement conforme à la politique effectivement suivie par mon gouvernement. En conséquence, et sans porter atteinte à la position de principe que je viens d'indiquer, ma délégation s'est abstenue dans les votes sur ces deux résolutions.

Déclaration du Président

110. Le **PRESIDENT** (traduit de l'anglais): Je rappelle que la Cinquième Commission siégera ce soir à 20 heures.

111. Nous sommes parvenus à la dernière semaine de la session, selon la décision prise par l'Assemblée générale sur recommandation du Bureau. Je ne suis pas en mesure de faire continuer la séance plénière de cet après-midi, aucune autre question n'étant prête pour examen par l'Assemblée générale. Bien que nous travaillions tous sous pression, il est regrettable de constater qu'il y a des retards et c'est particulièrement regrettable en ce qui concerne des questions sur lesquelles il ne s'agit que de légers amendements ou modifications de rédaction. Quoi qu'il en soit, je tiens à donner à l'Assemblée l'assurance que je travaillerai avec diligence à hâter les travaux de la session, que ce soit en commission ou en séance plénière, afin que la session puisse être close le vendredi 21 décembre à 18 heures. C'est ce que je m'efforcerai de faire, mais je ne puis garantir que j'y réussirai car tout dépendra de la diligence de ceux qui ont encore à travailler, soit en commission, soit ailleurs, et qu'il s'agisse de rédiger ou de voter des projets de résolution. Je suis persuadé que tous les représentants s'efforceront de faire de leur mieux.

112. Je tiens à déclarer néanmoins que, si les travaux de l'Assemblée ne sont pas achevés vendredi 21 décembre à 18 heures, la session devra être ajournée et il devra y avoir une reprise de la session.

La séance est levée à 17 h 40.

1956 (XVIII). La situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux

L'Assemblée générale,

Rappelant la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, qui figure dans sa résolution 1514 (XV) du 14 décembre 1960, et les résolutions 1654 (XVI) du 27 novembre 1961 et 1810 (XVII) du 17 décembre 1962 par lesquelles l'Assemblée générale a créé le Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux,

Ayant examiné le rapport du Comité spécial¹⁷,

Tenant compte des observations du Comité spécial relatives à la liste des territoires qu'il doit examiner¹⁸,

Notant avec un profond regret que, trois ans après l'adoption de la Déclaration, de nombreux territoires restent encore sous domination étrangère et que, dans certains cas, des mesures même préliminaires n'ont pas été prises en vue de l'application de la Déclaration,

Déplorant l'attitude négative de certaines puissances administrantes et leur refus partiel ou complet de coopérer avec le Comité spécial à l'application de la Déclaration,

Déplorant en outre l'assistance donnée à certaines puissances administrantes par certains États, assistance qui leur permet de persister dans leur refus d'appliquer la Déclaration,

Ayant adopté des résolutions sur la Rhodésie du Sud¹⁹, le Sud-Ouest africain²⁰, les territoires adminis-

trés par le Portugal²¹, Aden²², Malte²³, les îles Fidji²⁴, la Rhodésie du Nord²⁵, le Nyassaland²⁶, le Bassoutoland, le Betchouanaland et le Souaziland²⁷ et la Guyane britannique²⁸,

1. *Réaffirme* ses résolutions 1514 (XV), 1654 (XVI) et 1810 (XVII);

2. *Prend acte avec satisfaction* du travail accompli par le Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, et approuve ses méthodes et procédures;

3. *Approuve* le rapport du Comité spécial et invite les puissances administrantes à appliquer les conclusions et recommandations qui y figurent;

4. *Prie* le Comité spécial de continuer à rechercher les voies et moyens les meilleurs d'assurer l'application immédiate et intégrale de la Déclaration à tous les territoires qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance et de rendre compte à l'Assemblée générale, lors de sa dix-neuvième session au plus tard;

5. *Regrette profondément* le refus de certaines puissances administrantes de coopérer avec le Comité spécial et leur inobservation persistante des résolutions de l'Assemblée générale;

6. *Invite* le Comité spécial à porter à la connaissance du Conseil de sécurité tous faits, survenus dans l'un quelconque des territoires qu'il examine, qui risquent de menacer la paix et la sécurité internationales;

7. *Prie* tous les États de s'abstenir de tout acte pouvant gêner la mise en œuvre des résolutions adoptées par l'Assemblée générale et le Comité spécial en vue de l'application de la Déclaration;

8. *Prie en outre* les puissances administrantes de prêter leur entière coopération au Comité spécial et de faciliter la tâche des sous-comités et groupes de visite chargés par le Comité spécial de se rendre dans les territoires relevant de son mandat;

9. *Prie* le Secrétaire général de continuer à fournir au Comité spécial tous les moyens et le personnel nécessaires à l'application de la présente résolution.

*1277ème séance plénière,
11 décembre 1963.*

²¹ Résolution 1913 (XVIII) du 3 décembre 1963.

²² Résolution 1949 (XVIII) du 11 décembre 1963.

²³ Résolution 1950 (XVIII) du 11 décembre 1963.

²⁴ Résolution 1951 (XVIII) du 11 décembre 1963.

²⁵ Résolution 1952 (XVIII) du 11 décembre 1963.

²⁶ Résolution 1953 (XVIII) du 11 décembre 1963.

²⁷ Résolution 1954 (XVIII) du 11 décembre 1963.

²⁸ Résolution 1955 (XVIII) du 11 décembre 1963.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, document A/5446/Rev.1.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, chap. 1er, par. 27.

¹⁹ Résolutions 1883 (XVIII) du 14 octobre 1963 et 1889 (XVIII) du 6 novembre 1963.

²⁰ Résolutions 1899 (XVIII), 1900 (XVIII) et 1901 (XVIII) du 13 novembre 1963.

Nations Unies
**ASSEMBLÉE
GÉNÉRALE**

DIX-HUITIÈME SESSION

Documents officiels



137 1266^e
SÉANCE PLÉNIÈRE

*Jeudi 28 novembre 1963,
à 10 h 30*

NEW YORK

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la situation en ce qui concerne l'application
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pendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux
Discussion générale*

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*Président: M. Carlos SOSA RODRIGUEZ
(Venezuela).*

POINT 23 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

**Rapport du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation
en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration
sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux
peuples coloniaux**

DISCUSSION GÉNÉRALE

1. Le **PRESIDENT** (traduit de l'espagnol): Nous abordons l'examen du rapport du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux [A/5446/Rev.1].

2. Les membres de l'Assemblée se souviendront qu'au moment de l'adoption de l'ordre du jour de la dix-huitième session, l'Assemblée générale a approuvé une recommandation par laquelle le Bureau proposait que

"les parties du rapport du Comité spécial traitant de certains territoires particuliers soient examinées par la Quatrième Commission, étant entendu qu'aucune décision ne serait prise en séance plénière au sujet de ces territoires avant que les rapports pertinents de la Quatrième Commission aient été présentés" [1210^eme séance, par. 88].

Voici quels sont les territoires dont il s'agit: territoires sous administration portugaise, point 23 de l'ordre du jour; question du Sud-Ouest africain, point 55 de l'ordre du jour; question de la Rhodésie du Sud, point 75 de l'ordre du jour.

3. Le rapport de la Quatrième Commission concernant les territoires sous administration portugaise est, me dit-on, en voie d'élaboration et sera prêt la semaine prochaine. Nous avons déjà examiné d'urgence en séance plénière les rapports de la Quatrième Commission concernant la question du Sud-Ouest africain et la question de la Rhodésie du Sud. Toutefois, ces deux points figurent encore à notre ordre du jour car nous devons être saisis des rapports du Secrétaire général mentionnés dans les résolutions pertinentes adoptées au cours de la

présente session. Il s'agit d'abord de la résolution 1889 (XVIII) du 6 novembre 1963 sur la question de la Rhodésie du Sud. Au paragraphe 8 du dispositif, l'Assemblée générale:

"Prie le Secrétaire général de continuer à prêter ses bons offices pour favoriser la conciliation dans le territoire, comme il y a été invité par le paragraphe 4 de la résolution 1760 (XVII), et de faire rapport à l'Assemblée générale pendant la dix-huitième session, ainsi qu'au Comité spécial, sur les résultats de ses efforts."

4. Ensuite, sur la question du Sud-Ouest africain, nous avons la résolution 1899 (XVIII) du 13 novembre 1963. Au paragraphe 5 du dispositif, l'Assemblée générale prie le Secrétaire général:

"a) De poursuivre ses efforts afin d'atteindre les objectifs fixés aux paragraphes 5 et 6 de la résolution 1805 (XVII) de l'Assemblée générale;

"b) D'inviter le Gouvernement de l'Afrique du Sud à lui faire connaître sa décision à propos des dispositions de ces paragraphes, au plus tard le 30 novembre 1963;

"c) De faire rapport à l'Assemblée générale immédiatement après qu'il aura été saisi de la réponse du Gouvernement de l'Afrique du Sud."

5. Eu égard à la date spécifiée dans la résolution dont je viens de donner lecture, je propose de procéder de la façon suivante: l'Assemblée différerait l'examen des points concernant la Rhodésie du Sud et le Sud-Ouest africain jusqu'au moment où nous aurons reçu les deux rapports du Secrétaire général; elle passerait dès maintenant à l'examen du point 23 et les représentants seraient libres de discuter, dans le cadre du débat général, tous les problèmes relatifs à ce point.

6. Après la discussion générale, l'Assemblée étudierait les projets de résolution dont elle est saisie sur le point 23. Ceux des représentants qui désireraient prendre la parole et présenter des observations touchant tels ou tels territoires auront l'occasion de le faire avant que soit voté chacun des projets de résolution.

7. J'espère que cette procédure nous permettra de terminer l'examen général de ce point vers le milieu de la semaine prochaine. Il ne nous resterait plus alors que la Rhodésie du Sud et le Sud-Ouest africain dont nous pourrions nous occuper à la fin de la semaine. S'il n'y a pas d'objection, je me propose de suivre la procédure que je viens d'indiquer.

Il en est ainsi décidé.

8. Le **PRESIDENT** (traduit de l'espagnol): J'invite M. Natwar Singh (Inde), Rapporteur du Comité spécial, à présenter le rapport de ce comité [A/5446/Rev.1].

9. M. **NATWAR SINGH** (Inde) [Rapporteur du Comité spécial] (traduit de l'anglais): En ma qualité de rapporteur du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, j'ai l'honneur de présenter à l'Assemblée générale le rapport de ce Comité, concernant ses travaux en 1963. Ce rapport [A/5446/Rev.1] a déjà été distribué et comprend cinq parties [A/5446 et Add.1 à 4]. Le premier additif se rapporte aux territoires sous administration portugaise, le deuxième traite du Sud-Ouest africain et les additifs trois et quatre ont respectivement trait à la Rhodésie du Sud et à Aden. Le rapport contient au total un millier de pages et c'est avec anxiété que je voyais grossir son volume. Il faut cependant comprendre que ce document a une très grande importance puisqu'il traite de nombreux territoires coloniaux et touche donc à la vie de millions d'êtres humains qui n'ont pas encore obtenu la liberté et l'indépendance.

10. Tous ces territoires relèvent du mandat du Comité spécial et certains d'entre eux ont fait l'objet, pour la première fois, d'une discussion au sein d'un comité des Nations Unies. On se rappellera que le Comité spécial a été créé à l'origine, au cours de la seizième session de l'Assemblée générale [résolution 1654 (XVI)] avec un effectif de 17 membres, pour s'occuper de la mise en œuvre de la fameuse Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux adoptée par l'Assemblée générale à sa quinzième session [résolution 1514 (XV)].

11. A sa dix-septième session, l'Assemblée générale a adopté la résolution 1810 (XVII), qui portait le nombre des membres du Comité à 24, l'invitant à rechercher les moyens les mieux appropriés en vue de l'application rapide et intégrale de la Déclaration à tous les territoires qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance. Le Comité élargi, composé de 24 membres, était invité à soumettre à l'Assemblée générale, à sa dix-huitième session, un rapport complet sur l'ensemble des territoires visés par la déclaration de 1960.

12. Le Comité spécial a commencé ses travaux le 20 février 1963. Sa première séance a été inaugurée par le Secrétaire général et je tiens à saisir cette occasion pour dire combien le Comité a apprécié l'intérêt manifesté par le Secrétaire général à l'égard de ses travaux et également l'assistance qu'il lui a fournie en tout temps. La dernière séance du Comité spécial a eu lieu le 21 octobre 1963, et pendant cette période de février à octobre, le Comité a tenu 101 séances. En outre, le Sous-Comité des pétitions, le Groupe de travail et les Sous-Comités pour la Rhodésie du Sud, Aden et la Guyane britannique, créés par le Comité spécial, ont également tenu plusieurs séances, certaines même en dehors du Siège des Nations Unies.

13. Je traiterai maintenant brièvement de la teneur du rapport. Le chapitre premier porte sur la création, l'organisation et les travaux du Comité. Le chapitre II

concerne les territoires sous administration portugaise. La Rhodésie du Sud, le Sud-Ouest africain et Aden sont traités aux chapitres III, IV et V. On remarquera que ces quatre chapitres ont été distribués comme documents distincts. Le chapitre VI traite de Malte, le chapitre VII des Fidji, le chapitre VIII de la Rhodésie du Nord, du Nyassaland, du Kenya et de Zanzibar, le chapitre IX du Bassoutoland, du Betchouanaland et du Souaziland, le chapitre X de la Guyane britannique, le chapitre XI de la Gambie, le chapitre XII de Gibraltar et le chapitre XIII de Fernando Poo, d'Irni, de Rio Muni et du Sahara espagnol. Le dernier chapitre, chapitre XIV, porte sur les décisions prises par le Comité en exécution de la résolution 1850 (XVII) de l'Assemblée générale, relative au rapport sur la discrimination raciale dans les territoires non autonomes et donne la liste des pétitions concernant les territoires qui ont fait l'objet d'un examen au sein du Comité en 1963.

14. La plupart de ces chapitres sont divisés en trois sections principales: la section A donne des renseignements sur le territoire intéressé, la section B résume les discussions du Comité et la section C contient les décisions prises par le Comité.

15. J'aimerais faire observer que trois des chapitres du rapport, c'est-à-dire ceux qui traitent des territoires sous administration portugaise, de la Rhodésie du Sud et du Sud-Ouest africain, ont fait l'objet d'un examen à la Quatrième Commission au cours de l'actuelle session de l'Assemblée générale. Les rapports de la Quatrième Commission sur le Sud-Ouest africain et la Rhodésie du Sud ont déjà été examinés par l'Assemblée générale et le rapport sur les territoires sous administration portugaise lui sera soumis d'ici un jour ou deux.

16. Ainsi que l'explique la partie du chapitre premier [A/5446/Rev.1] du rapport consacrée à ses activités futures, le Comité spécial, malgré tous ses efforts, n'a pas été en mesure de terminer l'examen de tous les territoires relevant de son mandat. Cependant, comme le montre le paragraphe 50, chapitre premier, les territoires déjà examinés par le Comité comprennent la plupart des régions d'Afrique où de vastes colonies continuent d'exister et où l'on rencontre les problèmes coloniaux les plus délicats. Sous réserve de toute décision que l'Assemblée générale pourra prendre au terme du débat actuel, le Comité spécial espère pouvoir s'occuper au cours de l'année prochaine des territoires qui restent.

17. En ce qui concerne la méthode de travail et la procédure, le Comité spécial s'est mis d'accord pour suivre celles qui avaient été adoptées par cet organe en 1962 et approuvées par l'Assemblée générale dans sa résolution 1810 (XVII).

18. Le rapport du Comité, aux paragraphes 53 à 59, attire l'attention de l'Assemblée générale sur certaines difficultés qu'il a rencontrées en ce qui concerne la tâche des missions de visite et des sous-comités créés par ses soins pour étudier les problèmes dans certains territoires. Je voudrais ici attirer l'attention de l'Assemblée générale sur l'introduction du rapport annuel du Secrétaire général ayant trait aux travaux de l'Organisation pour la période allant du 16 juin

1962 au 15 juin 1963. Dans ce document, le Secrétaire général déclare ce qui suit:

"Quant aux territoires portugais et au Sud-Ouest africain, les Etats Membres responsables de leur administration ont refusé de coopérer avec l'Organisation des Nations Unies ou d'appliquer ses résolutions. Dans le cas de la Rhodésie du Sud, le Royaume-Uni a maintenu sa position constitutionnelle touchant ce territoire, mais il a coopéré avec le Comité spécial lorsque ce dernier a étudié la question et il a procédé à des échanges de vues avec un sous-comité du Comité spécial à Londres." [A/5501/Add.1, Section IX.]

19. Le Comité spécial espère que toutes les puissances administrantes coopéreront pleinement avec lui dans l'accomplissement de ses travaux futurs et permettront aux groupes de visite de se rendre dans les territoires lorsque le Comité spécial le jugera nécessaire et utile.

20. Avant de conclure, je tiens à exprimer la vive satisfaction du Comité des Vingt-Quatre pour le travail remarquable effectué par S.E. Najmudine Rifai, de Syrie, mon prédécesseur, en tant que rapporteur du Comité. Il a participé en cette qualité aux travaux du Comité depuis sa création; il a continué d'occuper son poste jusqu'au 9 septembre dernier, date à laquelle il a été désigné pour d'autres fonctions dans son pays. Une partie importante du rapport que je viens de présenter à l'Assemblée générale a été préparée par ses soins. Personnellement, je lui suis très reconnaissant d'avoir accompli la moitié de ma tâche de façon si efficace et si diligente.

21. C'est avec plaisir également que j'exprime la reconnaissance du Comité des Vingt-Quatre à son Président, l'ambassadeur Sori Coulibaly, du Mali, pour l'habileté avec laquelle il a dirigé les débats de l'année 1963. Sa patience, son amabilité, sa profonde compréhension du problème du colonialisme et son tact diplomatique lui ont gagné l'affection et le respect de tous les membres du Comité. S.E. Carlos María Velázquez, de l'Uruguay, et S.E. Sonn Voeunsai, du Cambodge, les deux vice-présidents du Comité, ont également contribué grandement à la réussite et à la bonne marche des travaux de cet organe. La grande expérience et les connaissances remarquables de M. Velázquez ont apporté au Comité une aide inappréciable. M. Sonn n'a jamais épargné aucun effort dans l'accomplissement de la tâche confiée au Comité par la Déclaration figurant dans la résolution 1514 (XV) et c'est souvent grâce à son initiative que le Comité a obtenu les résultats que l'on connaît. M. Sonn a présidé avec grande distinction aux travaux du Sous-Comité d'Aden et il a présenté un rapport très utile [A/5546/Rev.1, chap. V].

22. Le Comité spécial est également reconnaissant à M. Mahmoud Mestiri, représentant adjoint permanent de la Tunisie, pour la manière très efficace dont il a présidé le Sous-Comité des pétitions. Il a été aidé activement dans cette tâche par M. Leonardo Díaz González, du Venezuela, vice-président du Sous-Comité des pétitions.

23. Enfin, je tiens à rappeler les services dévoués et très précieux rendus au Comité par les membres du Secrétariat désignés par le Secrétaire général pour

y travailler. M. Protitchet, maintenant, M. Amachree, sous-secrétaire en fonctions, ont consacré leurs efforts et leur temps aux travaux du Comité spécial; celui-ci leur est reconnaissant de leur activité, de leur courtoisie et de leurs conseils précieux. Le Comité spécial a une dette de gratitude toute particulière à l'égard du secrétaire du Comité et de ses collègues, pour la façon excellente et très efficace dont ils ont travaillé. Je saisis maintenant officiellement l'Assemblée générale de ce rapport.

24. Le PRESIDENT (traduit de l'espagnol): Avant de donner la parole au premier orateur inscrit, je désire vous informer que j'ai l'intention de clore la liste des orateurs pour la discussion générale lundi prochain, 2 décembre, à 18 heures.

25. M. COULIBALY (Mali): Mon ami M. Natwar Singh, de la délégation de l'Inde, vient de présenter avec éloquence le rapport du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux.

26. En ma qualité de Président du Comité spécial, je voudrais renouveler ici mes remerciements à tous les membres du Comité pour le travail qu'ils ont accompli en siégeant pendant toute la période comprise entre les deux sessions. Je voudrais également dire mes remerciements au Secrétaire général U Thant pour les facilités mises à la disposition du Comité dans l'accomplissement de son mandat. Qu'il me soit permis aussi de renouveler à tous les membres du Secrétariat et aux interprètes mes remerciements pour la contribution appréciable qu'ils ont apportée au travail du Comité et à la préparation du rapport qui vient d'être présenté à notre assemblée [A/5446/Rev.1].

27. Le fait que le Conseil de sécurité, instance suprême de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, se soit réuni deux fois en l'espace de six mois pour examiner la politique coloniale du Portugal en Afrique, prouve, s'il en est encore besoin, que le colonialisme constitue non seulement la plus grande injustice à l'égard des peuples opprimés mais également une menace sérieuse à la paix et à la sécurité internationales.

28. En examinant la situation dans les territoires coloniaux, conformément aux résolutions 1514 (XV), 1654 (XVI) et 1810 (XVII) de l'Assemblée générale, le Comité spécial s'est toujours efforcé d'obtenir la coopération des puissances administrantes, afin que les peuples sous domination étrangère puissent accéder à l'indépendance complète, sans conditions ni réserves, et par des voies pacifiques. Malheureusement, cette volonté de coopération du Comité spécial n'a pas toujours rencontré un écho favorable auprès des puissances coloniales.

29. C'est ainsi que, malgré les efforts répétés du Comité spécial, le Gouvernement portugais a refusé toute coopération avec lui. En effet, le gouvernement réactionnaire et retardataire de Salazar a poussé le cynisme jusqu'à considérer les activités du Comité comme illégales du fait que le Portugal n'a pas voté en faveur de la Déclaration contenue dans la résolution 1514 (XV), ni en faveur de la résolution 1654 (XVI) créant le Comité spécial.

30. S'agissant du Sud-Ouest africain, le Gouvernement raciste de l'Afrique du Sud a également refusé de coopérer avec le Comité spécial, malgré l'invitation qui lui a été adressée à cet effet.

31. Le Royaume-Uni, qui est la puissance coloniale administrant le plus grand nombre de territoires encore non autonomes, est membre du Comité spécial et participe à ses délibérations et à ses décisions. Je voudrais dire à cette occasion que ma délégation a particulièrement apprécié le désir de coopération que le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni a manifesté en participant aux travaux du Comité spécial. Le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni a reçu deux fois à Londres un sous-comité sur la Rhodésie du Sud et a eu avec lui des entretiens assez approfondis sur la situation de ce territoire.

32. Du moment que la politique officielle annoncée par le Royaume-Uni en matière de décolonisation est d'accélérer le processus de l'autodétermination des populations qu'il administre, le Comité spécial espérait rencontrer une compréhension et une coopération plus dynamiques auprès du Gouvernement britannique. Malheureusement, tel n'a pas toujours été le cas. En effet, malgré deux visites du Sous-Comité à Londres, le Royaume-Uni n'a pas cru devoir épouser les thèses de l'Organisation des Nations Unies sur la question de la Rhodésie du Sud.

33. C'est ainsi que le Comité spécial a regretté également que le Gouvernement de Londres ait refusé l'accès des territoires d'Aden et de ses protectorats à un sous-comité du Comité spécial. Le Comité spécial, qui examinait la situation d'Aden pour la première fois, avait jugé indispensable de s'enquérir des vues des populations avant de formuler des recommandations à l'Assemblée générale afin de hâter l'accession de ces territoires à l'indépendance, conformément aux désirs des dirigeants politiques du pays et selon les formes qui leur conviennent.

34. Malheureusement, cette sincère volonté de coopération du Comité spécial a été interprétée par le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni comme une tentative du Comité en vue de s'ingérer dans l'administration du territoire et, à notre grand regret, la puissance administrante a pris toutes les mesures nécessaires pour empêcher l'entrée du Sous-Comité à Aden.

35. Au moment où le Comité spécial a abordé la question de la Guyane britannique, des troubles sociaux très graves avaient lieu dans ce territoire et, sur la demande des dirigeants politiques locaux, le Comité spécial a décidé l'envoi sur place d'un sous-comité de bons offices. Ce sous-comité avait pour mandat d'aider les dirigeants des deux principaux partis politiques à surmonter leurs divergences afin que le pays puisse accéder sans délai à l'indépendance.

36. Comme il l'a fait pour le Sous-Comité d'Aden, le Royaume-Uni a encore refusé l'entrée du Sous-Comité en Guyane britannique. Néanmoins, le Sous-Comité a pu s'entretenir à New York avec les dirigeants politiques de la Guyane britannique et a dégagé les recommandations qui figurent dans le rapport soumis à l'appréciation de l'Assemblée. Alors que les dirigeants politiques de la Guyane britannique étaient préoccupés de rechercher une

solution d'entente sur la base de leurs entretiens avec le Sous-Comité, afin que le territoire puisse accéder sans délai à l'indépendance, le Royaume-Uni a convoqué le mois dernier à Londres une conférence sur la Guyane britannique. Quand on sait que les divergences entre les deux principaux partis politiques de la Guyane britannique servent de prétexte au Royaume-Uni pour retarder l'accession du territoire à l'indépendance, on ne peut que regretter la décision du Gouvernement britannique de convoquer une conférence qui a eu pour résultat de faire s'opposer davantage l'un à l'autre les deux chefs politiques de la Guyane britannique, au moment même où ces derniers se préoccupent de trouver une solution d'entente.

37. Si j'ai insisté sur les difficultés rencontrées par le Comité spécial au sujet de l'envoi de sous-comités ou de groupes de visite, c'est pour que l'Assemblée générale soit bien informée des conditions dans lesquelles le Comité a travaillé. Le Comité a été en effet privé d'un de ses moyens les plus efficaces, ce qui l'a obligé à s'acquitter de son mandat selon les seules méthodes dont il disposait.

38. A la lumière de l'expérience des deux années d'existence du Comité spécial, je pense que l'Assemblée générale doit inviter à nouveau les puissances coloniales à coopérer plus efficacement avec le Comité. Je ne pense pas que le rôle du Comité spécial soit uniquement d'instaurer un débat général sur la situation de chaque territoire et de voter une résolution, comme cela se passe déjà à la Quatrième Commission ou en séances plénières de l'Assemblée générale. Le Comité spécial a utilisé cette méthode de travail pour les grands territoires coloniaux d'Afrique, où la lutte de libération avait besoin d'être connue et soutenue par l'opinion internationale, en raison des atrocités commises par les puissances coloniales, comme le Portugal. Par ailleurs, les débats que le Comité spécial a organisés sur la situation dans ces territoires — notamment les séances tenues en Afrique au cours de l'année 1962 sur l'invitation des Gouvernements du Maroc, de l'Ethiopie et du Tanganyika — ont contribué à faire connaître aux populations africaines sous domination étrangère l'intérêt que la communauté internationale porte à leur sort.

39. Il convient de souligner que les territoires africains sous domination étrangère constituent en fait, par leur superficie et leur population, des entités nationales, et que le seul problème qui se pose pour eux est leur accession à l'indépendance. A cet égard, les débats du Comité spécial ont contribué d'une part à battre en brèche les thèses des puissances coloniales, et d'autre part à élever le niveau de lutte des mouvements nationalistes.

40. Sur la base de mon expérience des deux années d'existence du Comité, et compte tenu du fait que le Comité a presque terminé maintenant l'examen des grands territoires d'Afrique et présenté des recommandations à l'Assemblée générale sur chacun de ces territoires, je pense qu'il pourrait aborder l'examen des territoires qui restent selon des méthodes appropriées.

41. Le Comité spécial étant chargé de proposer à l'Assemblée générale des recommandations et des suggestions en ce qui concerne l'application de la résolution 1514 (XV) à tous les territoires non autonomes, il serait éminemment souhaitable que toutes les puissances coloniales coopèrent avec lui de façon dynamique et avec une sincère conviction.

42. Evidemment, le Comité pourrait se passer de longues séances de travail et voter une résolution sur chaque territoire non autonome pour demander que ce territoire accède à l'indépendance, mais cela ne serait pas conforme à l'esprit de son mandat. Cela n'aurait pas non plus de sens, car la résolution 1514 (XV) reconnaît déjà à tous les territoires et peuples coloniaux le droit à l'indépendance sans condition ni réserve. Ce qui me paraît donc essentiel, c'est que les puissances coloniales acceptent de coopérer avec le Comité spécial afin de dégager avec lui les moyens et les méthodes les plus appropriés permettant à tous les peuples coloniaux d'accéder à l'indépendance. Je suis convaincu que dans beaucoup de cas l'Organisation des Nations Unies pourrait aider les puissances coloniales à résoudre certaines de leurs difficultés et contradictions, et hâter ainsi l'accession des territoires coloniaux à l'indépendance dans les meilleures conditions et sans manifestations de haine.

43. Les territoires que le Comité spécial doit examiner au cours de sa prochaine session sont généralement des petits territoires à faible population. Ils présentent de ce fait des particularités qu'il ne serait pas objectif d'ignorer. Dans l'examen de la situation de ces territoires, il serait indispensable que le Comité puisse bénéficier d'une loyale et sincère coopération de la puissance administrante. L'un des aspects les plus importants de cette coopération devra être de permettre au Comité d'avoir des contacts directs avec les représentants des populations de ces territoires, de manière à connaître le plus objectivement possible leurs vœux et leurs aspirations. Le Comité serait ainsi en mesure de présenter à l'Assemblée générale des propositions et des suggestions quant aux mesures à mettre en œuvre pour l'accession de ces territoires à l'autodétermination. Le Comité pourrait également attirer l'attention de l'Assemblée sur l'aide que la communauté internationale doit apporter à certains de ces territoires en vue de leur faciliter l'exercice de leurs droits à l'indépendance.

44. Je suis profondément convaincu que le sort des millions d'hommes encore soumis à la honteuse domination étrangère ne doit pas être laissé au seul pouvoir discrétionnaire des puissances coloniales. Les puissances coloniales doivent donc reviser leurs positions et ne pas considérer les activités du Comité spécial comme une ingérence dans l'administration des territoires qu'ils administrent. Je crois donc fermement que non seulement les puissances administrantes doivent accepter les sous-comités ou les groupes de visite du Comité spécial dans les territoires sous leur domination, mais qu'elles doivent également diffuser dans ces territoires la résolution 1514 (XV), ainsi que les efforts de l'Organisation des Nations Unies dans le domaine de la décolonisation. J'ai été informé en effet que, dans certains territoires

coloniaux, la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux était complètement ignorée des populations. Certains territoires non autonomes sont également dotés théoriquement d'un statut qui ne correspond à rien de positif au regard de l'autodétermination, mais ce statut théorique permet à la puissance administrante d'entretenir le concept selon lequel la résolution 1514 (XV) ne s'applique pas à ces territoires.

45. J'ai volontairement insisté sur ces détails afin que l'Assemblée générale soit bien informée des conditions dans lesquelles le Comité spécial a travaillé, de façon qu'elle puisse prendre en conséquence les dispositions nécessaires en vue de l'application rapide et efficace de la Déclaration.

46. Il est regrettable que les indécisions du Conseil de sécurité à prendre des mesures adéquates pour imposer aux puissances coloniales ses propres décisions et celles de l'Assemblée générale n'aient pas encore permis de fixer une date limite pour l'accession de tous les territoires à l'indépendance. Les résultats des récents débats du Conseil de sécurité sur les territoires administrés par le Portugal et sur la question de la Rhodésie du Sud sont assez significatifs à cet égard. Mais malgré cet état de choses, il est permis d'espérer que tous les territoires encore sous domination étrangère seront libérés d'ici la vingtième session de l'Assemblée, afin que tous les peuples puissent, sans haine et sans préjugés raciaux, célébrer ensemble le vingtième anniversaire de notre organisation, qui constitue pour toute l'humanité le garant le plus sûr du maintien de la paix et de la sécurité internationales.

47. L'accession du Kenya et de Zanzibar à l'indépendance le mois prochain, et celle, probable, de la Rhodésie du Nord et du Nyassaland au cours de l'année 1964, constituent à cet égard des facteurs assez encourageants. Fort de la confiance de l'Assemblée générale et conscient de l'espoir que placent en lui des millions d'hommes encore privés de leurs droits inaliénables, le Comité spécial doit à notre avis poursuivre sa tâche et harceler le colonialisme dans ses derniers retranchements.

48. M. ALAINI (Yémen): Ma délégation prend la parole pour la première fois depuis la perte douloureuse et tragique du président John F. Kennedy. Qu'il me soit permis, Monsieur le Président, d'adresser par votre entremise à Mme Kennedy, à la famille Kennedy, au président Johnson, au Gouvernement et au peuple de cette grande nation d'Amérique nos condoléances les plus sincères. Celles-ci vont également à la délégation des Etats-Unis auprès de l'Organisation des Nations Unies et à son chef éminent, M. Stevenson.

49. Le Comité de la décolonisation, dont le nom officiel est Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, nous présente un rapport sur son activité [A/5446/Rev.1]. Ma délégation trouve un intérêt tout particulier à le commenter.

50. De l'avis de la délégation de la République arabe du Yémen, ce rapport est un des plus sérieux et des plus consciencieux qu'un organe, créé par notre Organisation, ait jamais préparé. Complet à

tous les points de vue, ce document précieux et précis est digne de la considération attentive de l'Assemblée générale. Le Comité qui a veillé à sa composition et à sa rédaction mérite toute notre appréciation et nos remerciements.

51. Ce rapport, actuellement soumis à l'étude de l'Assemblée générale au cours de sa dix-huitième session, comprend plusieurs chapitres et traite du cas de nombreux pays et territoires où règne encore le régime colonial.

52. Ma délégation, qui a à cœur de s'occuper de l'intérêt de tous les pays coloniaux visés par la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, se trouve aujourd'hui dans l'obligation, pour des raisons de limitation de temps, de concentrer son attention, dans le débat général, sur l'étude et l'exposé du problème relatif à son territoire national arraché à la mère patrie par les colonialistes et réduit, hélas, au stade d'une possession ou d'une protection étrangère.

53. Ce territoire arraché au Yémen c'est, comme le savent les membres de l'Assemblée, Aden et les territoires qui entourent ce port, c'est-à-dire la partie du Yémen qui est désignée dans nos documents sous le titre: "Aden et les Protectorats d'Aden". Il est donc normal que ma délégation consacre son intervention actuelle, d'une façon toute spéciale, à ce territoire du patrimoine national occupé par l'étranger. D'ailleurs, le Comité spécial chargé d'étudier l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, constatant l'importance du problème colonial si particulier qui se pose dans ce territoire et son caractère inquiétant, a traité cette question dans un document spécial indépendant du rapport général. L'Assemblée générale comprendra notre légitime attitude à cet égard et excusera ma délégation d'être dans l'obligation de consacrer son exposé d'une façon toute particulière à ce problème colonial qui intéresse un territoire purement yéménite.

54. Le rapport sur Aden, présenté par le Comité spécial [A/5446/Rev.1, chap. V¹/], est un des documents les plus intéressants publiés par les soins de notre Organisation. Cet excellent travail, soigneusement conçu et clairement rédigé, relate consciencieusement les faits et la situation dans le port d'Aden ainsi que dans les autres régions sud du Yémen occupées par le Royaume-Uni.

55. Historiquement, depuis toujours et même au cours du premier millénaire avant la chrétienté, alors que les habitants du Yémen — ou du Youmnat comme on l'appelait jadis, ou le pays de Saba comme les historiens le qualifient maintenant — étaient, il y a 3 000 ans, les maîtres de la navigation et du commerce international; tant qu'ils avaient le monopole du commerce, depuis cette date aussi reculée de l'histoire jusqu'à nos jours, le commerce extérieur du sud du Yémen n'a jamais cessé de s'effectuer par le seul débouché naturel sur l'océan Indien.

56. Ce débouché, cette porte naturelle de tout le pays sur l'océan, est formé par un port idéal, bien

abrité et protégé par la nature, je veux parler du port d'Aden. Comme preuve évidente de l'identité de ce port avec l'intérieur du pays, il faut se rappeler ce qui suit: les Yéménites, qui furent les ingénieurs des premiers barrages du monde, ont érigé alors, dans les montagnes rocheuses d'Aden, des œuvres d'art et des aménagements destinés à conserver l'eau des pluies rares, tellement précieuse dans cette région. Ces aménagements hydrauliques de la plus haute importance ne pouvaient être que l'œuvre de tout un peuple, car ces réalisations constituent actuellement les travaux d'hydrologie les plus extraordinaires que le génie humain, il y a 30 siècles, a laissés au monde.

57. Chaque touriste passant par Aden peut admirer cette grande réalisation. C'est un témoignage éclatant et irréfutable que le peuple yéménite tout entier s'est occupé de ce port naturel sur l'océan Indien depuis des temps immémoriaux. En effet, les habitants du Yémen — qui ne peuvent former qu'une entité — avaient, dans les premiers millénaires avant la chrétienté, édifié des barrages dans la région montagneuse et à l'intérieur du pays, avec le barrage de Maarel comme œuvre témoin de ce génie exclusif de notre nation, réalisé à cette date aussi ancienne que l'histoire. Voici donc que les Yéménites, maîtres des mers et réalisateurs de grandes œuvres hydrauliques, utilisent leur port naturel d'Aden pour le commerce international qu'ils ont monopolisé, et construisent des barrages sur le modèle de ce qu'ils ont édifié à l'intérieur du pays.

58. Je m'excuse d'être remonté si loin dans la recherche historique pour démontrer l'identité d'Aden avec le Yémen, mais il est de mon devoir de couper court à toute prétention qui pourrait surgir. Faut-il expliquer davantage qu'Aden fut et demeure le seul port naturel de toute la région sud-ouest du Yémen, puisqu'il forme son seul débouché sur l'océan Indien? Il est donc normal que son existence et sa dépendance n'ont formé et ne forment actuellement encore qu'une unité inséparable de l'intérieur, une entité géographique, économique et ethnique avec le pays tout entier.

59. Comment ce port si naturel, si dépendant de la mère patrie, fut-il spolié par le colonialisme et comment fut-il possible à l'Empire britannique d'arracher à tout un peuple cette porte naturelle contre toutes les réalités historiques, ethniques et économiques? La réponse à cette question est simple. Jamais la puissance coloniale britannique n'a pu séparer effectivement ce port yéménite de l'intérieur du pays, et nous pouvons affirmer que depuis toujours, et maintenant encore, Aden était et reste notre premier port commercial. Ce fait reste vrai, bien que ce port soit sous la domination britannique, car, ainsi que le prouvent toutes les statistiques et que je peux l'affirmer sans crainte d'être contredit, 75 p. 100 du commerce yéménite s'effectue encore actuellement par l'intermédiaire d'Aden.

60. Il y a ainsi une situation qui découle de l'histoire aussi bien que de la géographie et de l'économie et qui fait d'Aden une partie intégrante et inséparable du Yémen à tous les points de vue. Quant à la population, dans sa très grande majorité, elle est restée

¹/ Distribué antérieurement sous la cote A/5446/Add.4 et Corr.1.

essentiellement yéménite, malgré les efforts considérables entrepris par la Grande-Bretagne, depuis plus d'un siècle, pour encourager l'établissement des étrangers à Aden.

61. L'histoire de la colonisation d'Aden, qui démontre comment l'Empire britannique a pu arracher administrativement ce port de sa mère patrie, est des plus intéressantes et quelquefois des plus drôles, bien que cette histoire soit souvent tragique.

62. Pendant la grande expansion de l'Empire britannique, au début du siècle dernier, l'Angleterre, alors maîtresse des mers, devait rechercher, sur la fameuse route des Indes, un port naturel bien abrité et facile à défendre qui servirait de point de ravitaillement pour la flotte de Sa Majesté.

63. Aden, dont les ancêtres avaient découvert les qualités exceptionnelles comme port et comme forteresse, avait été ainsi aménagé par eux depuis des temps immémoriaux. Ce port exceptionnel devait plaire à l'Amirauté britannique dès le début du siècle dernier. Il fallut pourtant attendre l'année 1839 avant que l'Angleterre ait eu l'occasion de l'occuper et d'en faire une possession britannique. A cette époque, la Compagnie des Indes, sachant que le Yémen était alors engagé dans sa lutte nationale contre un autre agresseur d'envergure, l'Empire ottoman, trouva le moment propice pour s'emparer par la force de ce bastion. Ce drame de l'amputation fut accompli, comme je viens de le dire, pendant que l'autorité centrale yéménite était, depuis déjà longtemps, surmenée par sa lutte à l'intérieur du pays.

64. Il faut peut-être rappeler que la guerre héroïque et glorieuse du Yémen contre l'Empire ottoman, qui se déroulait alors à l'intérieur, avait laissé les régions du sud sans protection aucune, ce qui a facilité la tâche de l'expédition britannique, laquelle fut envoyée de Bombay, dans l'Inde, pour accomplir une mission de colonisation au moment où le Yémen, ce brave combattant, était à bout de forces dans sa lutte contre les Ottomans.

65. C'est donc dans ces conditions malheureuses, et sans beaucoup de gloire, qu'Aden fut détachée de la mère patrie par la force des armes pour dépendre désormais du siège de la Compagnie des Indes, établi alors à Bombay.

66. Constatant avec le temps la valeur stratégique et économique grandissante d'Aden, les autorités britanniques ont commencé à s'occuper de la protection de cette nouvelle perle de la couronne impériale. La Grande-Bretagne savait bien que le territoire qu'elle venait de conquérir faisait partie d'un pays glorieux et elle se rendait compte pratiquement que, dès que le peuple de ce territoire occupé saurait que ses frères du Yémen libre seraient en mesure de reprendre son port et de récupérer son bien, ils le feraient grâce à l'union de ses enfants, si naturelle entre les citoyens d'un même pays. Il fallait donc profiter du chaos où les choses se trouvaient dans le sud du Yémen pendant que les grandes batailles de l'indépendance se déroulaient à l'intérieur pour créer une ceinture de sécurité autour d'Aden afin que le colonialisme puisse l'accaparer définitivement

en l'isolant du reste du pays par des régions soumises ou protégées. Profitant donc de ce vacuum, comme on l'appelle maintenant, le Ministère des colonies devait alors entrer en jeu et agir avec l'habileté qui lui est propre.

67. C'est ainsi que commence l'histoire du protectorat britannique dans le Yémen et c'est ainsi que des traités furent signés avec les chefs locaux, traités de protection ou d'amitié d'un caractère étrange et même fantastique. Ces fameux traités et documents furent multipliés et leur nombre actuel n'est pas inférieur à 90. Je parlerai plus tard de ces documents fantastiques. Quant à l'objet de ces traités, je laisse au lieutenant-colonel sir Bernard Reilly, gouverneur d'Aden, le soin de nous l'expliquer lui-même.

[L'orateur poursuit en anglais.]

"Les traités, qui accordent spécifiquement la protection britannique à certains Etats, sont tous rédigés à peu près sous la même forme. Cette forme est très simple car les dispositions sont limitées à quelques courtes clauses indiquant que la gracieuse faveur et protection du souverain britannique sera assurée au dirigeant intéressé qui, pour sa part, s'engage à n'avoir aucune relation avec une autre puissance étrangère quelle qu'elle soit. Il y a trente et un traités de protection et, à eux tous, ils couvrent à la fois les parties orientales et occidentales du Protectorat d'Aden. Collectivement, ils imposent au Gouvernement de Sa Majesté britannique l'obligation de défendre les Etats intéressés, ce qui signifie, en fait, l'ensemble du Protectorat, contre toute attaque extérieure et de les protéger contre toute agression ou ingérence de l'extérieur. Ils constituent donc, d'une certaine manière, la pierre angulaire de la structure du Protectorat et, tant pour les chefs que pour la population des Etats et pour la puissance protectrice, ce sont les plus importants de tous les traités qui gouvernent les rapports entre le Gouvernement britannique et ses associés arabes en Arabie du Sud^{2/}.

"...

"L'objet de ces traités était de créer, sur le continent, une région, derrière et près d'Aden, libre de toute ingérence et liée aux Anglais par une amitié et des intérêts mutuels^{3/}."

[L'orateur reprend en français.]

68. Voilà donc, clairement expliqué par le Gouverneur, l'objet de ces traités. Mais comment convaincre les chefs locaux — les émirs et les sultans — qui se trouvaient derrière et près d'Aden de la nécessité de signer ces traités? A cette fin, plusieurs tactiques ont été employées. Tout d'abord, ce fut la plus traditionnelle, celle de "diviser pour régner". C'est ainsi que les agents du Ministère des colonies devaient inciter les chefs locaux les uns contre les autres, flatter leur orgueil personnel et tribal, les soulevant les uns contre les autres; une fois qu'ils étaient bien engagés dans cette lutte fratricide, on les alimentait en armes et en argent, puis on leur

^{2/} Sir Bernard Reilly, *Aden and the Yemen*, Londres, Stationery Office, 1960, p. 16.

^{3/} *Ibid.*, p. 15.

présentait des traités de protection afin, prétendait-on, de les protéger. L'autre méthode est celle de l'utilisation de la force directe, ou celle de l'intimidation; ce fut surtout le cas dans les régions du littoral et dans les îles, et partout ailleurs où la marine britannique pouvait intervenir. La troisième tactique fut celle de l'argent et de l'intrigue.

69. Voyons maintenant quels sont ces protégés de Sa Majesté britannique. Ce sont de braves gens, de bons citoyens, des chefs honorables qui ont toujours été des leaders locaux, des chefs de tribus ou chefs de régions qui, se trouvant sans le soutien du Gouvernement central yéménite engagé lui-même, comme nous l'avons expliqué, dans sa lutte contre l'occupant ottoman, ont été, les uns après les autres, amenés à signer un traité qui garde les privilèges du chef, flatte ses sentiments d'orgueil et lui procure — il faut le dire — un peu d'argent. Quelquefois, le fait d'avoir à poser ses empreintes digitales sur un papier qu'il ne sait même pas lire et qu'on a appelé "traité" lui donne ou lui confirme le titre d'émir ou de sultan, et le droit d'être reçu à Aden avec plusieurs et parfois jusqu'à 11 coups de canon.

70. Ainsi, en 1959, il y avait, grâce à ces traités, 25 Etats protégés par le Royaume-Uni et déployés au-delà et autour d'Aden, réalisant la situation expliquée par le gouverneur, sir Bernard Reilly, qui a pour but d'isoler cette base stratégique de l'Empire. Notons qu'un seul continent — peut-être deux — compte autant d'Etats que le Yémen occupé. Des 25 Etats établis sur ce territoire, 20 constituent ce que l'on appelle le Protectorat d'Aden-Ouest, et cinq ce que l'on appelle le Protectorat d'Aden-Est.

71. Quelle est la nature de ces traités, et que sont ces Etats amis et protégés du Royaume-Uni? Le Gouverneur et commandant en chef d'Aden de 1932 à 1940, le lieutenant-colonel Reilly devenu plus tard sir Bernard Reilly, nous l'explique dans les passages de son ouvrage que je viens de citer (voir par. 67). Il était donc normal qu'en l'absence de l'autorité traditionnelle, chaque chef de tribu gérât ses propres affaires. De là à dire qu'il était indépendant, il y a une différence.

72. Toujours est-il que, profitant de ce chaos, les forces britanniques ont pu débarquer à Aden, le 10 janvier 1839, deux ans après la chute de Sana devant les attaques de l'Empire ottoman. Ainsi, pendant que le nord succombait en partie sous la pression militaire ottomane, Aden se rendait à l'Empire britannique, après un bombardement en bonne et due forme effectué en janvier 1839.

73. Il faut rappeler que, bien avant les Britanniques, les Portugais avaient essayé sans succès de couper cette porte et cette citadelle du Yémen. A ce moment, le pays n'était pas encore engagé dans sa guerre d'indépendance contre l'agression ottomane et pouvait ainsi facilement refouler l'agression portugaise. Il n'aurait pas été nécessaire de fournir une telle explication si les autorités britanniques n'avaient prétendu qu'à leur arrivée en 1839, les princes de la région étaient indépendants depuis déjà un siècle. Ce rappel historique est encore valable en réponse à la même thèse, présentée par un responsable et mentionnée dans le rapport, thèse d'après laquelle l'autorité cen-

trale aurait cessé dès 1728. A cet égard, je citerai le passage suivant du rapport:

"Après cette date [1728] rien ne permettait de dire qu'aucun chef yéménite eût exercé la moindre autorité sur la région et, lorsque les Britanniques avaient occupé Aden en 1839, le Yémen n'avait nullement protesté et il n'était pas davantage venu en aide au sultan de Lahedj. Or, à l'époque, le Yémen était pleinement indépendant et il n'aurait certainement pas permis aux Britanniques d'occuper Aden s'il avait considéré ce territoire comme sien." [A/5446/Rev.1, chap. V, par. 85.]

74. Est-ce que les auteurs de cette thèse peuvent nous expliquer comment un pays qui vient de perdre sa capitale, après une lutte acharnée de plusieurs siècles, peut s'opposer en même temps à un autre agresseur d'une puissance encore supérieure, surtout dans les zones côtières contrôlables par la marine britannique devenue alors maîtresse des mers? Nous réclamons donc un peu de respect pour les proportions des choses et la réalité historique.

75. Voyons maintenant quelle est la situation dans cette région du Yémen, après l'occupation d'Aden. Le port se trouve désormais sous le contrôle du Gouvernement britannique; il dépend administrativement de la base de l'Empire à Bombay et sert de station d'approvisionnement en charbon pour les bateaux de la Grande-Bretagne, plus spécialement de la fameuse Compagnie des Indes. Pour permettre à Aden de continuer à être le port par excellence sur l'océan Indien, la Compagnie des Indes le déclare, en 1853, port libre afin que les transactions commerciales yéménites traditionnelles continuent à s'effectuer dans la ville d'Aden et par l'entremise de son port. Plus tard, le percement du canal de Suez donne à Aden une importance encore plus grande; il fallait alors à tout prix activer la domination britannique sur les territoires avoisinants. Sir Bernard Reilly ne le cache pas quand il déclare:

[L'orateur poursuit en anglais.]

"L'intérêt que les Britanniques poursuivaient en établissant ces relations avec les Etats arabes, était d'assurer la sécurité d'Aden et surtout des routes maritimes de l'Inde et de l'Orient^{4/}."

[L'orateur reprend en français.]

Maintenant, sir Bernard Reilly réduit ces Etats à d'autres proportions et parle de tribus arabes.

76. Voyons aussi comment le colonialisme britannique s'y est pris pour étendre sa domination autour et au-delà d'Aden. C'est simplement le hasard de l'occupation qui a déterminé les limites de la domination britannique, domination confirmée, il faut le dire, par les fameux traités, plus drôles que réels, déjà mentionnés. Et voici que l'homme du Ministère des colonies nous avoue, dans son livre-document déjà cité, que "ces documents forment le noyau à partir duquel le Protectorat d'Aden s'est étendu progressivement"^{5/}.

77. Il est en conséquence aussi clair que l'eau pure que ce qu'on veut appeler Aden et les Protectorats

^{4/} Ibid.

^{5/} Ibid.

fut formé grâce à un grignotement du territoire yéménite par une action de colonisation de longue haleine. Le rôle d'Aden fut, dans ce sens, celui de la goutte d'huile qui fait tache et s'étend dans toutes les directions. C'est donc uniquement le hasard de l'occupation qui a fait de cette région sud du Yémen un territoire colonisé et séparé de la mère patrie; et cela, bien entendu, accompli sans aucune considération ni de la volonté des populations, ni des réalités historiques, géographiques, économiques, ethniques ou autres.

78. Dans tous les pays, il y a des régions qui ont un caractère spécial, avec un nom qui leur est propre. Au Royaume-Uni par exemple, il y a le pays de Galles, l'Ecosse. En France, il y a la Normandie, le Languedoc. En Italie, il y a la Lombardie, la Sicile. En Espagne, il y a l'Andalousie, la Catalogne. Et combien d'autres régions naturelles d'un même pays, à travers le monde, ont leur caractère particulier, avec un nom qui les distingue. Mais ces régions naturelles du Yémen occupé n'ont même pas un nom commun ou particulier. Leur nom vient de leur rôle par rapport à Aden — "Aden et les Protectorats d'Aden" — et ce nom en lui-même veut dire ce qu'il dit.

79. Il faut ajouter qu'au début de l'occupation britannique d'Aden et de l'expansion de cette occupation, on l'a appelé: "Aden et les neuf cantons". Depuis que les neuf cantons ou protectorats ont dépassé le nombre de neuf, pour atteindre celui de 25, ce nom n'a plus coïncidé avec la réalité; c'est alors qu'on a inventé deux noms: "Etats du Protectorat d'Aden-Ouest" et "Etats du Protectorat d'Aden-Est".

80. Dernièrement, peut-être pour atténuer le ridicule de maintenir 25 Etats, les autorités du Royaume-Uni ont essayé d'en faire un seul, voire deux; toujours, bien entendu, avec une entité différente afin de l'isoler du Yémen proprement dit. Je sais qu'il y a la Corée du Nord et la Corée du Sud. Mais là, pour les diviser, on s'est entendu sur le 38ème parallèle et le nom de Corée a été maintenu. Tandis qu'ici on ne veut même pas prononcer le mot Yémen. Tout citoyen de cette région sait pertinemment qu'il est avant tout yéménite; en conséquence, toute union est facile sous le nom réel de Yémen. Faut-il ajouter que tout Yéménite, qu'il habite le nord, le sud, l'est ou l'ouest, est fier d'appartenir à ce pays de vieille civilisation, le pays de Youmnat, le pays de la reine de Saba? Ces sultans, ces émirs, ces cheiks ou chefs locaux savent tous qu'ils sont avant tout et après tout des yéménites, qu'ils appartiennent à cette nation qui, il y a 20 ou 30 siècles, a édifié des barrages, des gratte-ciel de 20 étages, qui a réalisé des œuvres d'art, construit des routes, percé des tunnels, qui a été maîtresse des mers et a monopolisé pendant près de 15 siècles la route internationale de l'encens, que ce pays fut appelé l'Arabia felix, c'est-à-dire l'Arabie heureuse: Yémen.

81. Ce n'est pas en inventant des noms pour une région naturellement dépendante de tout un pays glorieux et uni qu'on arrive à consacrer une rupture artificielle entre ce pays et la région qu'on cherche à lui arracher pour la dominer.

82. Après avoir exposé les faits généraux qui ont conduit à détacher artificiellement le sud du Yémen

de la mère patrie, par la colonisation d'Aden et des régions avoisinantes, après avoir mis en relief l'identité historique de ce glorieux pays, après avoir relaté les manœuvres et les moyens qui ont amené les chefs locaux à signer des traités illégaux et souvent ridicules, engageant leurs signataires à rester à perpétuité sous la domination britannique, jusqu'à la fin du monde, après avoir démontré l'interdépendance d'Aden et de ses régions environnantes avec l'intérieur du pays, je vais m'attacher à démontrer l'identité ethnique d'Aden et des Protectorats d'Aden et du Yémen libre.

83. Partout dans le monde il y a des émigrés yéménites: en Indonésie, en Malaisie, dans les pays voisins et arabes, aussi bien qu'en Europe (en France, en Italie ou ailleurs). Au Royaume-Uni même, on trouve des colonies d'émigrés yéménites, à Londres, à South Shields, et plus particulièrement à Cardiff. Quiconque visite ces colonies d'émigrés, dispersés dans le monde, se rend compte de leur identité ethnique, se rend compte qu'ils sont les ressortissants d'un même pays, qu'ils professent la même religion, qu'ils ont les mêmes coutumes, qu'ils dégustent les mêmes plats, chantent les mêmes chansons. Quand vous leur demandez quelle est leur nationalité, tous sont fiers de dire: "Yéménites". Or, les uns viennent d'Aden, les autres des régions avoisinantes; ou bien ils viennent de Sana, de Taïz ou d'ailleurs. Bien que la plupart viennent de la région occupée, il ne vient à l'esprit d'aucun d'eux de dire qu'il n'est pas Yéménite et qu'il est de la région occupée. D'ailleurs, chacun d'eux est trop fier pour se souvenir volontiers qu'il vient de la partie du Yémen occupée par l'étranger.

84. Et dire, avec cela, que les autorités coloniales ont poussé la dispersion et la mutilation du Yémen jusqu'à vouloir créer une nationalité relative à Aden, une nationalité "adénaise", en rapport avec le port d'Aden.

85. C'est comme si on voulait créer une nationalité "cardiffienne" relative au port de Cardiff. Toutes ces finasseries ont été inventées par la puissance coloniale pour essayer de retarder autant que possible la restitution de cette région du Yémen et faire durer le régime colonial, ou perpétuer ce que l'on appelle actuellement le néo-colonialisme, c'est-à-dire la colonisation camouflée que l'on cherche à instaurer dans le pays.

86. Maintenant, le glas de la colonisation a sonné. Comment faire pour maintenir la domination britannique sur Aden et sur l'éventail de protection qu'on a déployé autour de cette base? Le glaive de la décolonisation est passé aux mains des Nations Unies. Un Comité spécial a été créé à cet effet et tient ce glaive d'un bras ferme et décidé.

87. Le Ministère des colonies se doit donc d'agir vite pour sauver Aden de la décolonisation et le soumettre au néo-colonialisme. Aden n'est plus simplement une base de ravitaillement sur la route des Indes. C'est maintenant quelque chose de beaucoup plus important: un bastion et un bouclier. C'est la seule base militaire britannique de toute la région et le siège du quartier général des forces navales britanniques dans le Moyen-Orient. C'est aussi une

base aérienne des plus importantes. On nous dit que plus de 10 000 hommes s'y trouvent stationnés. Le pétrole arabe indispensable à l'économie et à la machine de guerre impériale est à proximité. La raffinerie de pétrole d'Aden est une des plus importantes du Moyen-Orient. Depuis l'évacuation de Suez et du Kenya, c'est Aden qui est devenu le bastion britannique de tout le Moyen-Orient. La ceinture de protection autour de cette base impériale — ou impérialiste — doit donc être maintenue, n'en déplaise à la population locale yéménite, au Yémen, au monde arabe et même au Comité de la décolonisation.

88. Pour le maintien de la présence britannique, il faut parvenir à l'isolement total de cette région, et non seulement un isolement physique, mais aussi un isolement intellectuel et sentimental. Mieux, il faudrait créer un esprit d'hostilité avec les pays arabes, et plus particulièrement avec la République arabe du Yémen, pour l'en détacher définitivement et consacrer une division artificielle. Mais le peuple yéménite, que ce soit dans le nord ou dans le sud, a cessé de dormir. Des citoyens éveillés de plus en plus nombreux de ce grand peuple s'organisent. Ils forment des partis politiques, des organisations sociales, des syndicats. Ils envoient des délégations où il le faut pour défendre leur cause et exprimer leurs aspirations. Les représentants du peuple yéménite viennent ici aux Nations Unies poursuivre leurs revendications justes et claires. Ils cherchent à hâter la décolonisation de leur pays. Des pétitionnaires se sont fait entendre, qui ont fait circuler des mémorandums. Plusieurs mémoires vous ont été en particulier adressés, Monsieur le Président. Ainsi, les peuples et gouvernements soucieux, de par le monde, du droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes, de même que les puissances intéressées ou préoccupées par les questions qui concernent la sécurité et la stabilité dans cette partie du monde, commencent à s'alarmer. Les représentants de ces puissances discutent avec une anxiété manifeste cette brûlante question et ne cachent pas leur impatience au sein de cette grande organisation.

89. Et voici maintenant que le Comité spécial — appelé aussi Comité de la décolonisation, ou encore Comité des Vingt-Quatre — nous présente un rapport qui ne contient pas moins de 236 pages mimeographiées traitant uniquement de la question d'Aden. Ce rapport nous apprend qu'étant donné l'importance de cette question qui entre dans le cadre des problèmes de la décolonisation, le Comité spécial a jugé indispensable de créer à son tour, par une résolution en date du 3 mai 1963, un sous-comité auquel ladite résolution a fixé un mandat déterminé et précis. Le paragraphe 4 de cette résolution est ainsi libellé:

"Décide d'envoyer dans ces territoires un sous-comité dont les membres seront désignés par le Président" [voir A/5446/Rev.1, chap. V, appendice, par. 6].

90. Or, la puissance colonisatrice — en l'occurrence le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni —, qui pourtant s'élève contre ce que l'on appelle les "murs" ou "rideaux", érige autour de ces territoires un barrage pour arrêter le courant bienfaiteur des Nations Unies. En effet, les diplomates membres de ce sous-comité, et par conséquent d'un organe créé par les Nations

Unies, ne se sont pas vus autorisés à mettre le pied sur ces territoires et ils ne sont parvenus à trouver aucun moyen pour forcer ce barrage colonial. En vertu de cette mesure de défi consistant à interdire l'accès d'Aden aux membres du Sous-Comité et qu'ont prise les autorités du Royaume-Uni, les délégués de notre Organisation se sont vu traités comme des indésirables à Aden par le Ministère des colonies et son administration. A leur intention, le Département de l'immigration à Aden a fait circuler une lettre à cet effet (*ibid.*, appendice, annexe III). Permettez-moi de vous en donner lecture:

"Confidentiel	Département de l'immigration
"A toutes les	et des passeports
compagnies	Boîte postale 1178
aériennes et	Maalla (Aden)
maritimes	

"Circulaire

- "1) S.E. M. Sonn Voeunsai (Cambodge);
- "2) S.E. le Dr Adnan M. Pachachi (Irak);
- "3) M. Leonardo Díaz González (Venezuela);
- "4) S.E. Mišo Pavićević (Yougoslavie);
- "5) S.E. Louis Rakotomalala, ou M. Rémi Andriamaharo (Madagascar).

"Vous êtes informés que, si l'une des cinq personnes dont le nom figure ci-dessus arrive dans l'Etat d'Aden par l'un quelconque des aéronefs ou des navires de votre agence, elle ne sera pas autorisée à débarquer.

"Il est donc souhaitable que vous recommandiez aux compagnies aériennes et maritimes en relation avec votre agence de ne pas accepter de réserver des places pour lesdites personnes à destination d'Aden ou pour un voyage qui les obligerait à passer par Aden.

"Veuillez accuser réception de la présente circulaire.

"Le Contrôleur de l'immigration,
"(Signé) Illisible"

91. Ces honorables délégués, ambassadeurs et hauts dignitaires de plusieurs puissances représentant eux-mêmes l'autorité des Nations Unies avec tout son prestige, se trouvent ainsi traités tout simplement comme des indésirables par des autorités qui occupent le sud de notre pays. Je laisse au Président et aux membres du Sous-Comité le soin de nous expliquer eux-mêmes, de vive voix, leurs péripéties avec les autorités du Royaume-Uni. Je relève néanmoins à cet effet les passages suivants du rapport du Sous-Comité:

"Enfin, le Sous-Comité note avec regret que le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni considère la présence d'une mission de visite dans les territoires d'Aden comme une ingérence dans les affaires intérieures de ces territoires. C'est là méconnaître entièrement l'esprit de la visite envisagée, laquelle n'a pour but que de s'assurer des vues de la population de manière à appliquer la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux.

"Le Sous-Comité ne saurait trop marquer son profond regret et sa déception devant la position adoptée par le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni.

Cette décision n'a pas seulement empêché le Sous-Comité d'accomplir l'une des tâches concrètes dont l'avait chargé le Comité spécial, mais en lui refusant l'accès du territoire même dont il devait s'occuper, elle l'a privé de l'un des moyens les plus efficaces de s'acquitter des principales tâches qui lui étaient confiées." [Ibid., appendice, par. 31 et 32.]

92. Après cette description de l'accomplissement de sa mission, le Sous-Comité en arrive aux conclusions suivantes:

"Les pétitionnaires ont fait observer qu'à l'origine le Royaume-Uni avait occupé Aden pour servir ses propres intérêts et qu'aujourd'hui sa politique dans le territoire continuait à être orientée vers la défense de ses intérêts. Ils ont spécialement attiré l'attention sur la base militaire établie à Aden et se sont élevés contre son maintien parce qu'elle constituait un instrument de domination coloniale." [Ibid., par. 60.]

93. Le rapport continue de nous éclairer en disant:

"Les pétitionnaires ont été unanimes à rejeter les divers gouvernements établis à Aden et dans les Protectorats d'Aden, à savoir le Gouvernement de l'Etat d'Aden, les gouvernements des divers Etats protégés et le Gouvernement de la Fédération de l'Arabie du Sud. Ils ont déclaré que lesdits gouvernements étaient dominés par les Britanniques, soit directement, soit par l'intermédiaire d'hommes qui acceptaient de leur servir d'instrument. Il s'agissait donc de gouvernements fantoches qui ne représentaient pas le peuple et dont les lois étaient autant d'actes illégaux.

"Les opinions exprimées par les pétitionnaires concernant le statut constitutionnel d'Aden sont bien mises en lumière dans un mémoire présenté par le Peoples Socialist Party." [Ibid., par. 65 et 66.]

94. Il faut expliquer que le Peoples Socialist Party est le parti qui groupe toutes les forces actives et éclairées du Yémen occupé. C'est un parti soutenu par l'extraordinaire organisation puissante et disciplinée de l'Aden Trades Union Congress, aussi bien que par l'Arab Women's Association, l'Arab Youth Organization, le Graduates' Congress, ainsi que par les Sports Unions. Ce parti représente donc la grande majorité des forces organisées et constitue une organisation puissante et représentative. Voici ce que nous dit le mémoire publié dans le rapport et qui a été adressé par ce puissant parti politique au Président du Sous-Comité; je reprends le rapport:

"On y relève que si, aux termes de la nouvelle Constitution, Aden s'appelle désormais l'Etat d'Aden, son statut n'a pas été modifié. Malgré cette appellation fallacieuse, Aden reste une colonie. Le mémoire signale également les pouvoirs étendus exercés par le Royaume-Uni et par le Gouverneur, qui a pris le titre de Haut Commissaire. Le Gouverneur est nommé par le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni, et toute ordonnance doit recevoir son assentiment pour entrer en vigueur; s'il refuse sa sanction à une ordonnance, celle-ci est sans effet. Le Gouverneur peut également arrêter la discussion d'un

projet de loi au Conseil législatif. Il a le pouvoir de légiférer lui-même sans en référer au Conseil législatif, pour assurer "la paix, l'ordre et le bon gouvernement de la colonie". Le mémoire relève que cette dernière formule est si élastique qu'elle permet au Gouverneur de légiférer à son gré. En outre, le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni peut refuser de reconnaître la validité de toute ordonnance adoptée par le Conseil législatif d'Aden, auquel cas ce texte cesse immédiatement de s'appliquer. Enfin, le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni s'est réservé, tout comme le Gouverneur, le pouvoir de promulguer des lois pour assurer "la paix, l'ordre et le bon gouvernement de la colonie".

"Le mémoire appelle également l'attention sur les règlements ou textes d'application qui peuvent être promulgués par le Gouverneur, le Gouverneur en Conseil, un ministre ou même un fonctionnaire tel que le commissaire de police. Ces dispositions subsidiaires peuvent être de grande portée et modifier même la législation sur des points essentiels. Le pouvoir de prendre des règlements d'application est dans bien des cas un pouvoir discrétionnaire qui échappe au contrôle des tribunaux ou des institutions représentatives. En particulier, les règlements d'application ne sont jamais soumis au Conseil législatif.

"Les pétitionnaires ont également condamné le Conseil législatif actuel. Ils l'ont présenté comme dénué de tout caractère représentatif, ayant été élu en 1958 à un suffrage très restreint. Ils ont souligné qu'à cette époque la colonie comptait environ 200 000 habitants, mais que, par suite du cens électoral et, en particulier, de la disposition selon laquelle les habitants non originaires d'Aden ne pouvaient voter que s'ils étaient sujets britanniques, il n'y avait que 5 000 électeurs. Ce régime excluait du suffrage des milliers d'Arabes, alors que les étrangers qui se trouvaient être sujets britanniques, y compris les "expatriés" temporaires et les fonctionnaires britanniques, avaient le droit de vote. Pour cette raison, on a organisé un boycottage qui a eu pour résultat, d'après les chiffres officiels publiés par le gouvernement, l'abstention de 73 p. 100 des 5 000 électeurs.

"Les pétitionnaires ont également relevé que, bien que le mandat du Conseil législatif eût dû expirer à la fin de l'année 1962, il avait été prolongé d'un an sans nouvelles élections. Ils ont estimé que des élections auraient dû avoir lieu à cette époque, puisque le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni envisageait d'importants changements qui affecteraient le statut du territoire. D'une part, il y avait les propositions tendant à faire entrer Aden dans la Fédération de l'Arabie du Sud, propositions auxquelles, le gouvernement ne l'ignorait pas, une grande partie de la population était opposée. D'autre part, il y avait un plan dit d'"évolution constitutionnelle" qui prévoyait la mise en place d'un système semi-ministériel. Il y avait donc, comme le déclarait le mémoire du Peoples Socialist Party, "d'excellentes raisons pour organiser des élections générales et pour consulter le peuple avant de prendre des mesures aussi graves".

"Ce mémoire relevait également qu'en 1958 les 12 membres élus s'étaient présentés aux élections en leur propre nom et non en tant que représentants de partis politiques ayant un programme défini. Plusieurs partis politiques s'étant constitués depuis lors, on aurait dû, "selon la bonne pratique constitutionnelle", leur donner l'occasion, avant d'instituer un système de gouvernement semi-ministériel, de mesurer leur force au cours d'élections générales. Le parti qui aurait obtenu la majorité des sièges aurait alors formé le gouvernement et aurait pu "représenter réellement et démocratiquement le peuple lors de toute négociation concernant l'entrée dans une fédération" ou au cours de toute négociation intéressant le statut et l'avenir de l'ensemble du pays.

"Les pétitionnaires ont également appelé l'attention sur la manière dont les quatre nouveaux membres du Conseil législatif avaient été élus en 1962. Au lieu d'être élus par la population, ils l'avaient été par le Conseil législatif lui-même, constitué en collège électoral. Cette procédure a été critiquée comme n'étant ni démocratique ni constitutionnelle. M. Adhal a indiqué, dans une communication adressée au Sous-Comité, que ce système avait permis au gouvernement de faire élire ses propres candidats. Tous les membres élus dans ces conditions sont actuellement ministres. L'un d'eux, le Ministre de l'Instruction publique, avait été battu aux précédentes élections législatives en 1959. Un autre, le Ministre d'Etat, avait été battu quelques semaines plus tôt aux élections municipales.

"Le mémoire du Peoples Socialist Party conclut ainsi son exposé de la question des élections:

"Depuis 1958, le gouvernement craignait très fort d'affronter l'opinion dans des élections générales. Il a eu recours à tous les moyens imaginables pour éviter une consultation populaire, alors que mille raisons d'ordre constitutionnel et légal devraient l'engager à tenir des élections générales."

"Les pétitionnaires ont également dénoncé la corruption dont était entachée la vie politique à Aden. Ils ont déclaré que deux ministres, le Ministre des travaux publics et le Ministre d'Etat, avaient été reconnus coupables de corruption à la suite d'une enquête publique sur les affaires municipales décrétée par le Gouverneur en 1962. A ce propos, ils ont remis au Sous-Comité une copie du rapport de la commission d'enquête, en date du 16 juillet 1962 ..." [Ibid., par. 66 à 73.]

95. Voyons maintenant comment le rapport du Sous-Comité décrit, à son tour, l'attitude de ces pétitionnaires à l'égard de ce que l'on a appelé "la Fédération de l'Arabie du Sud":

"Les pétitionnaires se sont montrés particulièrement préoccupés par la Fédération de l'Arabie du Sud, créée en 1959, à laquelle Aden s'est joint au mois de janvier 1963. Ils l'ont qualifiée de "fausse fédération", de "fédération fictive" créée par les Britanniques pour servir leurs intérêts coloniaux et maintenir leur domination coloniale sur la région. L'un des pétitionnaires, M. Adhal, l'a dépeinte comme "un prétexte pour permettre aux

Britanniques de conserver leur autorité dans la région, d'y maintenir leurs bases militaires et de dominer ainsi les pays voisins". Un autre, M. Mohamed Aidaroos, sultan déposé du Bas-Yaef, a déclaré que, "depuis plus de 100 ans, la Grande-Bretagne a pour politique de diviser pour régner, politique d'arrestations et de meurtres, de menaces et de tyrannie, et, comme elle voit maintenant que le peuple n'en peut plus, elle crée une Fédération dans l'espoir qu'elle l'empêchera ainsi de faire valoir des droits".

"A l'appui de cette déclaration, les pétitionnaires ont déclaré que la Fédération avait été créée par les Britanniques sans que le peuple ait été consulté. A ce propos, M. Mohamed Aidaroos a déclaré: "La population du sud n'a jamais refusé et ne refusera jamais une véritable fédération pour elle-même, qui servirait ses propres intérêts, présents et futurs, parce qu'elle croit à l'unité de tout le peuple arabe; mais, si elle refuse cette fédération, c'est parce qu'elle est l'œuvre des Britanniques."

"En outre, les pétitionnaires ont déclaré que la Fédération était entièrement sous l'autorité des Britanniques. La Constitution déclare clairement qu'aucune de ces dispositions ne modifie les conditions des traités qui ont été imposés aux dirigeants de chacun des Etats qui la constituent et qui les ont placés sous la dépendance des Britanniques. Les dirigeants sont encore sous les ordres des conseillers britanniques. Enfin, conformément aux dispositions de la Constitution de la Fédération, tous les pouvoirs importants ont été confiés au Haut Commissaire ou au Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni." [Ibid., par. 76 à 78.]

96. Plus loin, le rapport nous parle de la législation limitant les activités politiques et les droits de l'homme, dans les termes suivants:

"Les pétitionnaires se sont beaucoup plaints de certaines lois en vigueur dans le territoire qui limitent les activités politiques et les droits de l'homme. Les paragraphes suivants sont fondés en grande partie sur l'examen minutieux de ces lois que contenait le mémoire présenté par le Peoples Socialist Party, mais presque tous les pétitionnaires ont mentionné les conséquences qu'elles avaient sur la vie politique du territoire. Ils ont tout particulièrement appelé l'attention sur la législation applicable à la presse, au mouvement ouvrier, aux sociétés et organisations, aux droits de la personne (notamment à la détention sans jugement et à la déportation sommaire) et aux réunions publiques, ainsi que sur la loi relative à la sédition." [Ibid., par. 88.]

97. Le rapport nous explique comment la section 334 de l'Aden Criminal Procedure Ordinance permet la détention sans jugement. Nous y lisons ce qui suit:

"On a attiré l'attention sur la section 334 de l'Aden Criminal Procedure Ordinance, qui stipule que "lorsqu'un individu accusé d'une infraction ne donnant pas droit à la mise en liberté provisoire et arrêté sans mandat par un commissaire de police comparaît ou est amené devant un tribunal, il pourra être remis en liberté provisoire par le commissaire ou le tribunal, sauf s'il y a des raisons

de croire qu'il s'est rendu coupable d'une infraction que les lois punissent de la peine de mort, ou qu'il est dans l'intérêt de l'ordre public qu'il ne soit pas remis en liberté provisoire".

"On a souligné que le membre de phrase "ou qu'il est dans l'intérêt de l'ordre public qu'il ne soit pas remis en liberté provisoire" a été conçu pour permettre au Gouvernement d'Aden d'emprisonner sans jugement ses adversaires politiques et que cette disposition a déjà été appliquée à cette fin et l'est encore. Parmi les personnes arrêtées et détenues sans jugement figurent les dirigeants de mouvements politiques et ouvriers dont les noms suivent:

"1) Abdulla Ali Murshed, dirigeant de syndicat;

"2) Idris Hambala, dirigeant de syndicat et membre du Peoples Socialist Party;

"3) Abdulla Al-Asnag, secrétaire général de l'Aden Trades Union Congress et président du Peoples Socialist Party;

"4) Abdulla Ali Obaid Wahti, agent de diffusion du journal de l'Aden Trades Union Congress.

"Tous ont demandé, lors de leur jugement, d'être mis en liberté provisoire, ce qui leur a été refusé à tous, la Couronne ayant objecté que c'était dans l'intérêt de l'ordre public qu'ils ne le soient pas." [Ibid., par. 100 et 101.]

98. Le rapport nous explique aussi comment et sur quelle base s'effectue la déportation sommaire et nous parle de l'interdiction des réunions publiques, de l'exposition des affiches ou des images sur les bâtiments. Voici ce qu'il déclare:

"On a appelé l'attention sur les vastes pouvoirs discrétionnaires que détient le Gouverneur en vertu de la section 4 de la Vagrants and Undesirables Ordinance. Conformément à ladite section, le Gouverneur peut ordonner à toute personne de quitter le territoire si l'intéressé, n'étant pas un sujet britannique né à Aden, est, entre autres, "une personne qui, pour des raisons politiques ou autres, ne lui semble pas devoir résider dans la colonie".

"Il a été déclaré que ce pouvoir avait été largement utilisé pour déporter des dirigeants politiques, des dirigeants de mouvements ouvriers et des travailleurs. Une simple grève d'une journée rend un travailleur passible de déportation sans jugement et, en fait, des déportations massives de centaines d'ouvriers ont eu lieu. Cette législation place "le travailleur, les simples citoyens et les dirigeants de mouvements politiques et ouvriers sous une menace constante. Tout individu dont les opinions politiques ne sont pas très appréciées par les autorités se voit déporté par les autorités s'il se trouve qu'il est né du mauvais côté de la frontière." On a également souligné les épreuves et les souffrances humaines que ces déportations massives causent non seulement aux individus intéressés mais aussi à leurs femmes et à leurs familles, qui restent souvent sans ressources." [Ibid., par. 102 et 103.]

99. Le rapport nous explique également la répression en disant ce qui suit:

"Presque tous les pétitionnaires ont parlé d'événements qui compromettent la paix et la sécurité dans la région. Ils ont décrit, parfois longuement, ce qu'ils ont appelé le régime de terreur et de répression dans les Protectorats. Ils ont déclaré que le monde ne savait rien ou presque rien des attaques constantes dirigées par les forces britanniques, en particulier la Royal Air Force contre les populations des Protectorats; on ne mentionnait guère les morts et les blessés, les villages détruits, les récoltes brûlées, le bétail perdu, les centaines de personnes emprisonnées et les réfugiés dispersés dans la montagne ou dans les pays voisins. Le monde n'était pas non plus au courant de la résistance farouche que le peuple opposait à la domination britannique pour défendre sa liberté. Aucune agence d'information n'avait envoyé de correspondant dans ces régions pour faire des reportages sur ces actions militaires, les destructions qu'elles laissaient derrière elles, et les dommages causés aux habitants. Chaque région avait résisté seule, sans pouvoir obtenir d'aide de l'extérieur. Le Sous-Comité a reçu un grand nombre de photographies prises dans diverses localités des Protectorats et montrant des maisons détruites par les bombes, des plantations incendiées, des réfugiés vivant dans des grottes et des combattants armés.

"Les paragraphes suivants donnent les récits de pétitionnaires qui semblent le mieux illustrer les événements survenus dans ces régions.

"M. Mohamed Abubaker ben Farid, qui est en exil au Caire, a déclaré que les forces britanniques n'avaient occupé son pays d'origine, le Haut-Aulaqui, qu'en 1951-1952. Jusqu'en 1959, la population avait lutté sur le plan politique contre les Britanniques en refusant de collaborer avec eux. Brusquement, en mai 1959, sans avertissement, des avions et des chars britanniques ont lancé une première attaque contre les villages et les foyers. Les gens des tribus ont organisé la résistance dans la montagne, mais, au mois de mai 1960, les Britanniques ont envoyé 4 000 soldats dans la région et des centaines de personnes ont été forcées de se réfugier au Yémen et en Arabie Saoudite. Environ 12 000 raids ont été effectués par la Royal Air Force contre les Aulaquis et les régions avoisinantes. Le pétitionnaire a présenté au Sous-Comité une liste partielle énumérant 40 maisons détruites, neuf femmes tuées par les bombes et neuf hommes emprisonnés, qu'il connaissait tous personnellement." [Ibid., par. 114 à 116.]

100. Le rapport reproduit les textes des avertissements des raids aériens et nous présente une liste des raids sans merci accomplis contre la population:

"Malgré nos avertissement répétés, Al-Mushi et d'autres auteurs de troubles poursuivent leurs activités subversives et leurs attentats contre l'ordre public. Il a été décidé de déclencher une action aérienne contre la maison d'Al-Mushi et les champs qui l'entourent.

"Nous vous engageons donc à évacuer immédiatement les femmes et les enfants dans un rayon d'un

mille autour de la maison d'Al-Mushi. Si vous ne le faites pas, vous en subirez les conséquences." [*Ibid.*, par. 119.]

101. Le rapport nous présente en outre les revendications de la population comme elles ont été expliquées par les pétitionnaires. Notons que la première de ces revendications, revendication à laquelle la délégation de la République arabe du Yémen se joint, bien entendu, sans aucune réserve, est "la cessation immédiate du régime colonial". Je suis persuadé que la presque totalité des délégations ici présentes soutiennent avec autant de chaleur, et je dirai autant de ferveur, cette revendication juste et équitable, et conforme à la déclaration des Nations Unies relative à la décolonisation. Dans la liste des revendications, on trouve aussi la dissolution de la Fédération ainsi que l'organisation des élections ou d'un plébiscite sous contrôle des Nations Unies.

102. En arrivant à la fin du rapport du Sous-Comité, on trouve, en résumé, les conclusions auxquelles il est finalement arrivé. Le Sous-Comité déclare ce qui suit:

"Le Sous-Comité, en se rendant dans des pays avoisinants, n'a fait qu'appliquer une des dispositions de la résolution du 3 mai 1963 du Comité spécial. Etant mis dans l'impossibilité de visiter les territoires intéressés, il s'est rendu là où des personnes en provenance d'Aden et des Protectorats d'Aden ont été en mesure de venir lui faire part de leurs vues sur la situation et l'avenir de leur pays.

"Effectivement, le Sous-Comité a pu entendre un grand nombre de gens appartenant à toutes sortes de catégories de la population: représentants et dirigeants de partis politiques, délégués syndicaux, représentants élus, anciens sultans ou chefs de tribus, civils et militaires, fonctionnaires, commerçants, agriculteurs, étudiants, hommes et femmes de diverses organisations.

"La présence du Sous-Comité dans des pays avoisinants d'Aden et des Protectorats d'Aden a permis à ces personnes de faire connaître leurs points de vue et de formuler leurs demandes quant à l'avenir de leur pays. C'est là un aspect positif du travail du Comité spécial dans la recherche des voies et moyens les mieux appropriés pour l'application rapide de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux.

"Un des résultats les plus réconfortants de cette action provient des nombreuses indications sur la foi ardente et l'espoir placés dans les Nations Unies comme un instrument de libération pacifique des peuples sous régime colonial.

"Le Sous-Comité a constaté un désir général de mettre fin à la domination coloniale. Les quelques différences de points de vue ne portent pas sur la fin recherchée mais plutôt sur les moyens et conditions d'atteindre ce but." [*Ibid.*, par. 158 à 162.]

103. A ce stade de la discussion générale sur le rapport du Comité de la décolonisation, ma délégation, qui s'est limitée aujourd'hui à traiter de la question d'Aden, se réserve le droit d'intervenir plus tard,

avec la permission de notre Président, pour discuter la question des autres territoires mentionnée dans le rapport général.

104. Ma délégation veut néanmoins mettre en relief son soutien de la revendication principale des pétitionnaires; je veux dire la cessation immédiate du régime colonial, revendication tellement juste et naturelle, et pour laquelle le Comité spécial a été créé.

105. M. ALEKSEEV (République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine) [traduit du russe]: Les dernières minutes du colonialisme s'égrènent inexorablement à l'horloge de l'histoire. Nous ne sommes pas seulement témoins de sa disparition infaillible, mais aussi participants à la lutte contre cet odieux anachronisme de portée internationale. Je parle de lutte parce que, sans lutte, le colonialisme ne capitulera pas. Le colonialisme est condamné mais n'abandonnera pas de lui-même l'arène de l'histoire. Cela est évident pour nous. Nous voyons que le colonialisme, ce phénomène honteux — second de l'esclavage, qui ne fait pas honneur au siècle de la civilisation — résiste avec acharnement. Comme dans tout combat, dans la lutte internationale contre le colonialisme, il se trouve des défenseurs de ce système qui, sous un prétexte ou sous un autre, recherchent des palliatifs politiques pour aider à subsister cette pieuvre que maudit l'humanité.

106. Nous vivons et luttons à une époque où les peuples qui gémissent encore sous le joug colonialiste ne veulent plus porter le fardeau de l'exploitation et de l'humiliation. Ils font impérieusement appel à la conscience mondiale. Jusqu'à quand subsistera ce colonialisme qui entretient l'inégalité entre les peuples? Ce colonialisme qui place les pays faibles dans un état de subordination politique, économique et sociale par rapport aux pays forts et dominateurs.

107. Les peuples des pays coloniaux et des pays dépendants ont levé bien haut l'étendard de la lutte de libération nationale, l'étendard de la lutte pour l'égalité complète avec les autres peuples, pour la liberté et l'indépendance. En même temps, ils mettent leurs espoirs dans l'Organisation des Nations Unies et font un pressant appel à son aide. Écoutant cet appel, l'Assemblée générale, à sa quinzième session en 1960, a adopté la Déclaration historique sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux [résolution 1514 (XV)]. Le projet^{6/} de cette déclaration, vous le savez, avait été déposé par le Gouvernement de l'Union soviétique; le Président du Conseil des ministres de l'Union soviétique, M. Nikita Serguéévitch Khrouchtchev, en avait saisi l'Assemblée à sa quinzième session.

108. Dans la déclaration qu'il a faite à la quinzième session, en septembre 1960, le président Khrouchtchev a souligné notamment que:

"... le moment est venu de poser la question de la suppression complète et définitive du régime colonial sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations, pour mettre fin à cette honte, à cette sauvagerie, à cette barbarie" [869^eme séance, par. 181].

^{6/} Documents officiels de l'Assemblée générale, seizième session, Annexes, point 87 de l'ordre du jour, document A/4502.

109. Trois années ont passé depuis que la Déclaration sert de directive à l'Organisation des Nations Unies et à ses organes. Ces trois années ont confirmé de la manière la plus éclatante la vérité indiscutable que le sort du colonialisme, c'est-à-dire l'heure de sa disparition définitive et irrévocable de l'arène de l'histoire, aussi bien en Rhodésie du Sud et dans le Sud-Ouest africain que dans les territoires sous administration portugaise, et dans tous les autres pays qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance, dépend de la façon dont les dispositions de la Déclaration seront mises en œuvre et observées.

110. Voilà pourquoi, au sein même et en dehors de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, on entend réclamer avec une telle insistance le respect absolu, la mise en œuvre immédiate de la Déclaration et condamner résolument le système colonial. D'ailleurs, le colonialisme est condamné non seulement par les noirs qui se trouvent encore sous son joug ou qui l'ont récemment secoué. Les jaunes et des blancs, autrement dit des personnes de toutes races éprises de liberté, d'égalité et d'indépendance, le condamnent et le stigmatisent également.

111. La délégation ukrainienne a étudié avec le plus grand soin le rapport du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux [A/5446/Rev.1]. Elle a ainsi pu constater l'œuvre importante accomplie par le Comité ainsi que les grands efforts que tous ses membres ont dû déployer pour préparer le rapport dont l'Assemblée est saisie. Sans l'aide que le Comité nous a apportés en recueillant tous les documents à ce sujet, en les collationnant, en les présentant sous une forme aussi convaincante et en les mettant à la portée de tous, il nous serait malaisé de nous acquitter de notre tâche.

112. Je me fais l'interprète de la délégation ukrainienne pour remercier sincèrement le Comité et son Président, l'ambassadeur Coulibaly, pour l'œuvre importante qu'ils ont accomplie.

113. Le rapport du Comité spécial confirme une fois de plus que, si chacun des pays coloniaux et des pays dépendants présente dans son évolution certaines particularités qui lui sont propres, pour aborder le problème de la liquidation du colonialisme dans tous ces pays, il y a des principes communs qui doivent servir de base à la politique de ceux qui luttent pour l'élimination définitive du système colonial.

114. Ces principes reposent sur la nécessité d'accorder l'indépendance à tous les pays et peuples coloniaux et dépendants, sans exception aucune.

115. S'inspirant de ces principes, l'Assemblée générale doit repousser et rejeter tout prétexte invoqué pour empêcher que tel ou tel territoire non autonome accède à l'indépendance; elle doit exiger de tous les Etats Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies qu'ils respectent très strictement à l'égard des peuples et des pays coloniaux et dépendants les dispositions de la Charte, de la Déclaration universelle des droits de l'homme [résolution 217 A (III)] et de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux.

116. De la lecture du rapport du Comité spécial aussi bien que de la discussion des problèmes coloniaux à la présente session, notamment à la Quatrième Commission, il ressort au fond deux positions.

117. D'un côté, on trouve les Etats qui, comme l'exige la Déclaration, se déclarent inconditionnellement en faveur de l'élimination immédiate du colonialisme. C'est la position de la grande majorité des pays.

118. De l'autre côté, on trouve une minorité d'Etats, parmi lesquels tout d'abord des puissances coloniales, dont dépend avant tout l'application des dispositions de la Déclaration et des résolutions pertinentes de l'Assemblée générale. En substance, ils invoquent divers prétextes pour ralentir l'élimination définitive du colonialisme, pour retarder le jour où ce honteux système disparaîtra à tout jamais.

119. Ce n'est ni aujourd'hui ni hier que se sont précisées les deux positions opposées que je viens de mentionner. Les problèmes du colonialisme figurent à l'ordre du jour de l'Assemblée générale littéralement depuis les premiers jours de l'existence de l'Organisation. Déjà en 1946, en effet, on avait discuté de la situation dans les possessions coloniales portugaises, à la première session de l'Assemblée générale.

120. L'Assemblée générale s'est aussi occupée d'autres questions concernant le colonialisme. Depuis, la lutte héroïque de nombreux peuples a été couronnée de succès. Sur le seul continent africain, des dizaines de pays ont accédé à l'indépendance. Il faut reconnaître qu'une certaine part du mérite en revient à l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Cependant, pour de nombreux pays et peuples coloniaux et dépendants, le cours du temps s'est comme arrêté.

121. Près de 70 territoires comptant au total 50 millions d'habitants se trouvent toujours sous le joug du colonialisme cependant que pour l'Organisation des Nations Unies le problème de leur libération reste pour ainsi dire perpétuellement en suspens.

122. En Rhodésie du Sud, dans les colonies portugaises, de nouvelles générations ont grandi depuis que la question de l'octroi de l'indépendance à ces territoires a été inscrite pour la première fois à l'ordre du jour de l'Assemblée générale.

123. L'Assemblée générale a déjà adopté plus de 65 résolutions sur le Sud-Ouest africain et voilà 17 ans qu'un pétitionnaire, le pasteur Michael Scott, vient présenter des plaintes à l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Mais, selon le dicton, "tirée à hue et à dia, la charrette reste là". Le Sud-Ouest africain est toujours, comme par le passé, écrasé sous la botte des colonialistes. Il y a là un paradoxe et un reproche vivant pour les Nations Unies.

124. Ainsi, une misérable poignée de puissances coloniales, par leur politique d'atarmoiements et de tergiversations quant à l'élimination du système colonial, ont réussi pendant ces longues années à méconnaître la volonté de l'immense majorité des pays qui, s'inspirant des décisions de l'Assemblée

générale et des dispositions de la Charte des Nations Unies, sont en faveur de l'élimination immédiate et inconditionnelle de tous les vestiges du colonialisme.

125. Nous avons déjà eu l'occasion à la Quatrième Commission d'attirer par exemple l'attention des représentants sur la façon dont trafique en longueur la solution d'un problème comme celui de la Rhodésie du Sud. Ce problème a été discuté à diverses sessions de l'Assemblée générale et étudié deux fois par le Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. Par deux fois, le problème a été confié à un sous-comité spécialement créé à cet effet, dont les membres se sont rendus à Londres en vue de pourparlers avec le Gouvernement britannique. Tout récemment encore, la question de la Rhodésie du Sud a été examinée par le Conseil de sécurité. Du reste, dans chaque résolution et dans chaque recommandation adoptées, on a souligné l'importance particulière que revêt le facteur temps pour une heureuse solution de cette question de la Rhodésie du Sud.

126. Je dois faire observer que de nombreuses résolutions de l'Assemblée générale des Nations Unies consacrées aux problèmes du colonialisme ainsi que les décisions de certaines conférences africaines insistent constamment sur la nécessité de donner sans tarder satisfaction aux aspirations légitimes des peuples coloniaux.

127. Si la première Conférence des peuples africains^{7/} qui s'est tenue à Accra en décembre 1958 a lancé le mot d'ordre "L'indépendance au cours de notre génération", un an plus tard, la deuxième Conférence des peuples africains^{8/} qui s'est réunie à Tunis lançait déjà le cri "Indépendance immédiate". La même exigence était formulée à la Conférence au sommet des 32 pays indépendants africains^{9/} à Addis-Abéba.

128. Prenant en considération les intérêts des peuples coloniaux et la nécessité de leur accorder immédiatement la liberté et le droit à l'autodétermination, la Déclaration a proclamé solennellement "la nécessité de mettre rapidement et inconditionnellement fin au colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations".

129. C'est précisément compte tenu de la réalité de la situation que l'Assemblée générale souligne chaque fois la nécessité d'accorder sans tarder l'indépendance aux peuples coloniaux, car de la date de l'indépendance dépend le caractère, pacifique ou non, des moyens utilisés pour la réaliser.

130. Prendre le parti de la minorité des puissances coloniales, adopter leur politique d'atavismes et de tergiversations, c'est suivre une voie lourde de conséquences dangereuses pour la paix et la sécurité internationales.

131. Néanmoins, les puissances coloniales ne veulent pas s'écarter de cette voie. A quelles manœuvres tactiques, à quels artifices n'ont-elles pas recours?

Elles mettent en branle tout leur appareil de propagande pour justifier aux yeux de l'opinion mondiale leurs desseins colonialistes pleins de rapacité.

132. Nous savons d'après le rapport du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en Rhodésie du Sud et du débat sur cette question à la Quatrième Commission que dans ledit pays sont interdits tous les partis politiques qui reflètent les aspirations de la population et qui, de l'avis des racistes de la Rhodésie du Sud, sont des partis "subversifs"

133. C'est à très juste titre que le représentant de la République du Congo (Brazzaville), dans la déclaration qu'il a faite à la Quatrième Commission (1482^e séance), le 15 novembre 1963, a souligné que l'argument le plus courant des colonialistes consiste à dire que les "nationalistes sont des communistes". Ils s'en servent pour justifier leur répression sanglante de la lutte de libération nationale.

134. Mais ce n'est pas seulement sous l'étendard de l'anticommunisme que les colonialistes dissimulent leurs honteux agissements. Sans aucun scrupule, ils osent faire croire qu'ils sont presque comme des bienfaiteurs des peuples coloniaux. En même temps, ils attribuent au colonialisme des traits qui seraient en somme étrangers à son essence même, qui est un dessein de l'exploitation. A les entendre, ces prétendus "amis" des peuples coloniaux n'ont de cesse d'apporter aux peuples asservis les bienfaits de la civilisation contemporaine. Mais ils se gardent de dire que cette initiation à la civilisation est incompatible avec l'oppression et que les chaînes de l'esclavage n'ont jamais été le symbole de la liberté et de l'indépendance.

135. Mais l'arsenal tactique des colonialistes n'en est pas épuisé pour autant. Ainsi, contre tout bon sens et en dépit des décisions de l'Assemblée générale, le Royaume-Uni persiste à affirmer que la Rhodésie du Sud n'est pas un territoire tombant sous le coup de l'Article 73 de la Charte. On a même inventé pour la Rhodésie du Sud la notion de "colonie autonome".

136. De son côté, pour justifier sa politique coloniale d'usurpation, le Gouvernement portugais veut se dissimuler — il faut bien le dire — derrière un autre écran: il prétend que les colonies portugaises ne sont pas des colonies mais des "provinces d'outre-mer" qui font partie intégrante de la métropole. Il s'efforce même de donner une base méthodologique et théorique à sa politique coloniale. Tout le monde connaît ces tentatives du Gouvernement portugais, puisqu'elles sont décrites dans le rapport du Secrétaire général^{10/} présenté en application de la résolution adoptée par le Conseil de sécurité à sa 1049^e séance, le 31 juillet 1963^{11/}. Faisant contre mauvaise fortune bon cœur, le Gouvernement portugais a mis au point sa propre doctrine de l'autodétermination et, se retranchant derrière elle, il cherche à faire passer le différend de principe au sujet des colonies portu-

^{7/} 5-13 décembre 1958.

^{8/} Deuxième Conférence des peuples africains (25-30 avril 1960).

^{9/} Conférence au sommet des pays indépendants africains, tenue du 22 au 25 mai 1963.

^{10/} Documents officiels du Conseil de sécurité, dix-huitième année, Supplément d'octobre, novembre et décembre 1963, documents S/5448 et Add.1 à 3.

^{11/} Ibid., Supplément de juillet, août et septembre 1963, document S/5380.

gaises pour une simple querelle sur l'interprétation à donner au mot "autodétermination".

137. Comme l'a déclaré récemment au nom de son gouvernement le Ministre des affaires étrangères du Portugal, il ne s'agirait pas tant d'autodétermination à proprement parler que de la définition à donner au mot "autodétermination". Il existe, affirme-t-il, différents types d'autodétermination, de même qu'il y a plusieurs systèmes de gouvernement.

138. De l'avis du Portugal, si la population autochtone participe à la direction des affaires d'une colonie, c'est donc qu'elle prend part également à l'adoption des décisions qui en déterminent l'orientation et de celles qui affectent sa vie.

139. Que de divagations, que de chicaneries évidentes dans tout cela! L'autodétermination, n'est-ce pas avant tout l'indépendance politique nationale, c'est-à-dire la direction des affaires des pays sans ingérence étrangère, ni hégémonie étrangère? Peut-on parler d'autodétermination en Angola, au Mozambique, en Guinée portugaise et dans les autres territoires portugais alors que ces territoires sont gouvernés de l'étranger et que la population autochtone y participe seulement à l'administration, mais sans en déterminer les formes ni les méthodes, alors que la population autochtone n'a qu'une toute petite part — encore peut-on en douter — dans la direction des affaires de son propre pays?

140. Même si, comme le déclare le Gouvernement portugais, la population autochtone participe aux élections aux conseils municipaux, aux conseils législatifs, etc., cette participation à la vie du pays est fondée sur l'inégalité; les étrangers ont la part du dictateur; les habitants autochtones ont la part de subordonnés qui n'ont qu'à exécuter la volonté des dictateurs étrangers, lesquels occupent tous les postes de commandement dans les colonies.

141. La promulgation même de la nouvelle loi organique qui, aux dires des autorités portugaises, doit permettre d'adopter de nouveaux statuts politiques et administratifs dans les prétendus "territoires d'outre-mer" est bien la preuve que, pour la population de ces territoires, ses droits politiques et autres étaient et sont encore rognés et amenuisés.

142. La nouvelle loi organique, les amendements apportés à la Constitution, les réformes introduites ont tous pour objet d'atténuer l'ardeur de la lutte de libération nationale menée dans les colonies portugaises et de créer l'illusion d'une autonomie dans ces territoires.

143. Ce n'est pas par hasard que le Comité spécial chargé des territoires administrés par le Portugal a qualifié comme suit toutes ces réformes et les précédentes:

"De l'avis du Comité, les réformes que le Portugal prétend avoir introduites non seulement ne satisfont pas les aspirations essentielles des peuples de ces territoires, mais n'ont même pas encore apporté jusqu'ici d'améliorations sensibles aux conditions politiques, économiques, sociales et de l'enseignement 12/."

144. En un mot, on aura beau jouer sur l'interprétation à donner au terme "autodétermination", on aura beau introduire des réformes partielles, on ne réussira pas pour autant à dissimuler la vérité au sujet du statut colonial des peuples des territoires administrés par le Portugal. Il ne s'agit pas là d'une discussion sur la notion d'autodétermination mais de bien autre chose, à savoir que les populations des colonies portugaises doivent obtenir et exercer le droit de se séparer du Portugal, de jouir de l'indépendance et de la liberté et de pouvoir les mettre en œuvre.

145. Les outrages et les humiliations que les asservisseurs font constamment subir aux peuples coloniaux, le verbiage employé pour prouver que les peuples coloniaux d'Afrique ne sont pas encore mûrs pour l'autonomie, ne sont pas prêts à vivre sans le joug colonial, sont les spasmes d'agonie du colonialisme et de son idéologie raciste, disons même fasciste, établissant une distinction entre races supérieures et races inférieures.

146. La politique des colonialistes confirme seulement que le colonialisme est une doctrine raciste, la doctrine de la domination des uns par les autres, des faibles par les forts, l'idéologie de l'exploitation politique, économique et sociale de certains pays par d'autres.

147. Mais une telle politique n'a pas résisté et ne résiste pas à l'épreuve du temps. Elle se targuait d'infailibilité tant que de nombreux pays, aujourd'hui Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, se trouvaient encore sous la domination étrangère. On répandait alors les mêmes fables au sujet des populations de ces pays qui ont aujourd'hui brisé les chaînes du colonialisme; on affirmait toujours plus haut qu'elles n'étaient pas mûres pour vivre dans l'égalité et la liberté ni capables d'un développement autonome. Mais quelqu'un pourrait-il me citer un seul exemple de pays auquel on se serait hâté d'accorder l'indépendance qui y aurait renoncé et aurait exprimé le vœu de porter à nouveau le joug du colonialisme? Il n'en est pas d'exemple et il ne peut y en avoir!

148. En revanche, on pourrait citer de nombreux cas où c'est seulement après l'éviction des colonialistes que les colonies de jadis se sont ouvertes au progrès et que leurs populations se sont trouvées en possession de forces et de magnifiques ressources pour se développer économiquement, socialement et politiquement.

149. C'est de l'efficacité avec laquelle les résolutions de l'Assemblée générale et la Déclaration sur la décolonisation seront mises en œuvre, c'est de l'instant où le colonialisme aura complètement disparu que dépendent non seulement les moyens employés pour y parvenir, mais aussi les délais dans lesquels les séquelles du colonialisme pourront être éliminées dans les pays qui en auront été libérés. L'élimination des séquelles de la domination coloniale est une question d'actualité qui revêt une énorme importance et sa solution dépend directement de la rapidité avec laquelle seront appliquées les résolutions et autres recommandations concrètes de l'Assemblée générale sur le colonialisme. En retarder

12/ Documents officiels de l'Assemblée générale, dix-septième session, Annexes, Supplément au point 54 de l'ordre du jour, document A/5160/Add.1 et 2, par. 407.

ou en faire échouer l'application revient à ajourner sine die la lutte contre les conséquences néfastes de la domination coloniale.

150. Dans le rapport du Comité spécial ainsi que dans les dossiers démographiques de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, on relève de nombreux faits qui caractérisent bien les graves conséquences du colonialisme dans les domaines politique, économique et social. Ainsi, selon les données dont dispose l'Organisation des Nations Unies pour 1960, dans le Sud-Ouest africain, la mortalité de la population de couleur est deux fois supérieure à celle de la population blanche; en "Guinée portugaise", on compte un médecin pour 23 000 habitants; et au Nyassaland, un pour 33 000 habitants.

151. On pourrait indéfiniment citer des chiffres de ce genre. De tels chiffres ne sont pas muets: ils parlent, ils crient. Si on avait diffusé comme documents officiels de l'Organisation des Nations Unies non seulement les résolutions de l'Assemblée générale, des comités de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, les rapports de comités, sous-comités et commissions qui se sont rendus sur place pour étudier la situation, les déclarations des pétitionnaires, des cartes et autres documents, mais aussi des documents photographiques, des films, nous aurions — n'en doutons pas — un tableau bien plus tragique encore du sort auquel le colonialisme condamne des millions d'innocents. Ce tableau serait plus effrayant encore — je m'en excuse, mais j'essaie de l'imaginer un instant — si la Quatrième Commission siégeait non à New York mais dans la colonie dont elle examine les problèmes, si l'Assemblée générale, en examinant la question de la mise en œuvre de la Déclaration sur la décolonisation se réunissait non au Siège mais quelque part en Afrique. Nous entendrions alors, sans nul doute, la protestation, vivante et puissante, de millions d'habitants contre les retards injustifiés qui sont apportés à l'octroi de la liberté et de l'indépendance.

152. Nous savons tous fort bien qu'il ne suffit pas d'adopter une résolution. Ce n'est pas ainsi que la solution s'acquiert; elle n'est qu'amorcée. Ce qui importe, c'est l'efficacité et la rapidité avec lesquelles sont mises en œuvre les dispositions de la résolution adoptée. De cela dépend non seulement l'autorité de ladite résolution, mais le prestige de l'Organisation elle-même aux yeux de l'opinion mondiale. On ne saurait prendre plus longtemps son parti qu'un seul paragraphe de la résolution sur les questions du colonialisme soit en somme scrupuleusement appliqué d'année en année, à savoir le paragraphe comme quoi la question de la Rhodésie du Sud, du Sud-Ouest africain, des colonies portugaises, etc., ne doit pas être retirée de l'ordre du jour de l'Assemblée générale.

153. Le moment est venu, enfin, de mettre les points sur les i. La voie des attermoissements et des tergiversations est celle des colonialistes, mais non pas celle de l'Organisation des Nations Unies. On ne saurait tolérer plus longtemps qu'une minorité de puissances coloniales continue de méconnaître la volonté de la majorité des Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies pour faire prévaloir ses propres intérêts économiques et stratégiques. Le moment est venu

de régler leurs comptes à ceux qui pratiquent une politique de discrimination à l'égard des résolutions de l'Assemblée générale et empêchent l'Organisation des Nations Unies de s'acquitter des tâches qui lui sont confiées.

154. La délégation de la République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine est profondément convaincue que la ruine du colonialisme est une nécessité historique inéluctable. Elle reconnaît en même temps que, pour que le colonialisme soit réellement défunt, les peuples et l'Organisation des Nations Unies ne doivent reculer devant aucun effort. Voilà pourquoi la délégation ukrainienne appuie résolument les mesures les plus décisives qui peuvent être prises pour assurer l'application immédiate de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. Nous sommes fermement en faveur de l'exécution immédiate des résolutions adoptées par l'Assemblée générale et le Conseil de sécurité sur les questions coloniales, car c'est ainsi seulement que les espoirs de liberté et d'indépendance que nourrissent les pays et les peuples coloniaux et dépendants pourront être pleinement satisfaits.

155. Le PRESIDENT (traduit de l'espagnol): Je donne la parole au représentant du Royaume-Uni, qui désire exercer son droit de réponse.

156. M. KING (Royaume-Uni) [traduit de l'anglais]: L'avant-dernier orateur a, si je l'ai bien compris, prétendu qu'Aden faisait partie du Yémen. Je suis autorisé à déclarer ici que le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté n'a aucun doute quant à sa souveraineté sur le territoire d'Aden et je réserve formellement ses droits en l'espèce.

157. S'agissant des nombreuses allégations concernant la politique de mon gouvernement au sujet d'Aden, il est répondu à la plupart d'entre elles aux paragraphes 162 à 179, 276 à 285 et 364 à 392 du chapitre V du rapport du Comité spécial des Vingt-Quatre [A/5446/Rev.1]. Toutefois, le cas échéant, ma délégation se réserve le droit de répondre plus tard en détail.

158. Le PRESIDENT (traduit de l'espagnol): Je donne la parole au représentant du Yémen pour exercer son droit de réponse.

159. M. TARCICI (Yémen): Ma délégation a eu l'avantage de parler pendant peut-être une heure et demie pour prouver qu'historiquement, économiquement, ethniquement et géographiquement Aden fait partie intégrante du Yémen; ma délégation l'a prouvé, documents en mains.

160. Après ce long exposé bien établi, le représentant du Royaume-Uni vient nous annoncer encore une fois que son gouvernement et sa délégation n'ont aucun doute sur l'autorité de son pays en ce qui concerne Aden. Si le représentant du Royaume-Uni, en prenant cette attitude, se réfère aux traités que le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté britannique a signés avec des chefs locaux, nous demandons à être autorisés à expliquer ce que sont ces traités, sur quelle base ils sont fondés, quelle est leur forme et leur durée. A cette heure tardive, je ne veux pas retenir l'Assemblée générale afin de donner des explications sur ces traités, sur l'attitude légale ou illégale du

Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni dans la partie sud occupée de notre pays. Mais je réserve, avec l'autorisation du Président, mon droit d'expliquer toute la situation lors de la séance de demain ou lors de celle qui suivra.

161. Néanmoins, j'attire l'attention de la délégation du Royaume-Uni sur le fait que ces traités ne peuvent pas avoir une valeur quelconque, puisqu'ils sont établis pour une durée qualifiée de perpétuelle. En effet, le Royaume-Uni a signé avec des chefs locaux des traités à perpétuité, c'est-à-dire jusqu'à la fin du monde. Parmi ces chefs locaux, il me vient à l'esprit l'un de nos bons citoyens, le cheik d'Al Aqrabi; il est le chef d'une localité de 1 500 personnes, dont la fortune est de 300 chèvres et quelques chameaux, en temps de prospérité. Le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni appelle cette localité l'Etat d'Al Aqrabi.

162. Si le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni n'a aucun doute quant à son autorité sur cette partie occupée

du Yémen et si son autorité relève de ce genre de traité, vous avez une idée de ce qu'est l'autorité britannique et le droit britannique sur notre partie occupée du Yémen.

163. Le PRESIDENT (traduit de l'espagnol): Avant de lever la séance, je désire vous informer que le Président de la Quatrième Commission m'a demandé d'aviser les membres de l'Assemblée que sa commission tiendra demain deux séances, une le matin et une l'après-midi.

164. Qu'il me soit permis de prier les orateurs de s'efforcer de limiter, dans la mesure du possible, la longueur de leurs interventions afin que nous puissions tous les entendre au cours des séances prévues pour l'examen du point 23.

La séance est levée à 13 h 30.



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Point 23 de l'ordre du jour:

Rapport du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux (suite)

Discussion générale (suite) 1

*Président: M. Carlos SOSA RODRIGUEZ
(Venezuela).*

POINT 23 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

Rapport du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux (suite)

DISCUSSION GÉNÉRALE (suite)

1. M. MOLINA ORANTES (Guatemala) [traduit de l'espagnol]: La délégation du Guatemala tient à exprimer ses félicitations et ses remerciements au Comité spécial pour l'excellent rapport [A/5446/Rev.1] qu'il a présenté à cette Assemblée. Il contient un examen approfondi et consciencieux des problèmes qui lui ont été soumis et recommande, en outre, les mesures qui permettraient le mieux de les résoudre.

2. Nous avons pu apprécier au cours de nos discussions à la Quatrième Commission que le rapport du Comité spécial a été l'un de ses auxiliaires les plus précieux, par la valeur des renseignements qu'il donne et par la pertinence des conclusions qu'il tire.

3. Néanmoins, ma délégation se voit dans l'obligation d'intervenir — brièvement d'ailleurs selon le vœu du Président — pour exprimer ses réserves au sujet de l'annexe I du rapport qui contient la liste préliminaire des territoires auxquels s'applique la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux.

4. La liste en question, élaborée sans aucun doute à partir des rapports d'Etats colonisateurs, mentionne le territoire de Belize que le Royaume-Uni a rebaptisé "Honduras britannique" et qui est cependant sous la souveraineté exclusive du Guatemala.

5. Le territoire de Belize, dont la possession a été usurpée par le Royaume-Uni, fait partie intégrante du sol guatémalien, non seulement pour des raisons géographiques mais, essentiellement, pour des raisons historiques et juridiques. Récupérer ce territoire constitue le désir suprême de toute la nation guaté-

malienne, qui est prête, pour ce faire, à consentir tous les sacrifices. Le tableau, vu du Royaume-Uni, se présente d'une façon radicalement différente. Pour le Gouvernement britannique, Belize n'est rien d'autre qu'un territoire lointain et isolé, qu'un des nombreux éléments de son empire colonial, dont il s'est emparé pour des raisons exclusivement économiques et stratégiques. Pour cette raison, il lui a semblé facile et commode de le cataloguer comme territoire non autonome.

6. Ma délégation ne peut accepter cette désignation unilatérale et proteste énergiquement contre le fait que le territoire de Belize ait été inclus dans la liste qui figure à l'annexe I du rapport.

7. La souveraineté sur Belize appartient uniquement et exclusivement au Guatemala et l'occupation britannique de son territoire est une gangrène qui ronge son intégrité territoriale. Le Guatemala ne cessera ses efforts que lorsqu'il aura réussi à se débarrasser de cette gangrène.

8. La résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale contient, à son paragraphe 6, une disposition formelle qui, de l'avis de ma délégation, est la seule applicable au territoire guatémaltèque de Belize, appelé à tort Honduras britannique. Dans ce paragraphe, il est stipulé ce qui suit:

"Toute tentative visant à détruire partiellement ou totalement l'unité nationale et l'intégrité territoriale d'un pays est incompatible avec les buts et les principes de la Charte des Nations Unies."

9. En maintenant un régime colonial anachronique dans un territoire appartenant au Guatemala, le Royaume-Uni non seulement viole de manière flagrante les termes du paragraphe précité, mais va résolument à l'encontre des principes fondamentaux honorés par les nations américaines, principes qui répudient le colonialisme et la nouvelle apparence sous laquelle il se déguise: le néo-colonialisme.

10. Je vous prie, Monsieur le Président, de bien vouloir faire consigner au procès-verbal la protestation catégorique et les réserves de ma délégation devant le fait que le territoire de Belize a été inclus dans la liste des territoires non autonomes du rapport A/5446/Rev.1 sous le nom trompeur et impropre de Honduras britannique.

11. Le PRÉSIDENT (traduit de l'espagnol): Compte tenu de la demande du représentant du Guatemala, je tiens à souligner que sa déclaration, comme celle de tous les représentants qui prennent la parole en séance plénière, sera enregistrée dans le procès-verbal de séance.

12. M. PINOCHET (Chili) [traduit de l'espagnol]: Le rapport [A/5446/Rev.1] du Comité spécial que nous examinons aujourd'hui est un des documents les plus importants dont l'Assemblée générale ait été saisie pendant cette dix-huitième session. Les problèmes examinés dans ce rapport présentent un intérêt vital pour des millions d'êtres humains qui ont placé leurs espérances dans l'Organisation des Nations Unies et savent que leur avenir repose en grande partie entre les mains de cet organisme international.

13. Il suffit de lire ce rapport du Comité spécial, appelé communément de "décolonisation", pour se faire une idée assez complète des derniers problèmes coloniaux qui sont aujourd'hui en voie d'être résolus.

14. La tâche confiée au Comité spécial par l'Assemblée générale aux termes de la résolution 1654 (XVI) consiste à étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. Le long titre de ce Comité correspond bien aux 400 pages de son important rapport.

15. L'autodétermination et l'indépendance des colonies sont notre objectif. Néanmoins, l'application de ces principes fondamentaux crée des situations diverses. Le Comité spécial a étudié ces situations dans douze groupes de territoires coloniaux composés, chacun, de territoires plus petits. Pour chaque situation, le Comité spécial a proposé la solution qui convenait le mieux. Dans les cas les plus graves qui risquent de menacer la paix et la sécurité internationales, il a fait rapport au Conseil de sécurité, conformément à l'alinéa d du paragraphe 8 du dispositif de la résolution 1810 (XVII) de l'Assemblée générale. Dans d'autres cas, le Comité a invité la puissance administrante à rédiger une nouvelle constitution permettant la libre expression de la volonté populaire, le transfert à la population des pouvoirs souverains et la proclamation de l'indépendance.

16. En ce qui concerne certains territoires non autonomes, il a recommandé de fixer une date aussi rapprochée que possible pour l'accession à l'indépendance. Dans d'autres cas, enfin, il a ajourné toute recommandation, faute de renseignements plus complets.

17. A plusieurs reprises, la délégation chilienne a précisé devant la Quatrième Commission son avis sur certaines questions examinées dans le rapport. Je songe aux territoires sous administration portugaise, à la Rhodésie du Sud et au Sud-Ouest africain. Plutôt que d'analyser maintenant la situation des derniers territoires coloniaux, je préfère aborder un problème qui préoccupe tout spécialement ma délégation et dont j'ai déjà parlé brièvement au moment de l'examen des territoires sous administration portugaise. Il s'agit de l'avenir qui attend les petits territoires coloniaux une fois qu'ils auront déclaré leur indépendance et des responsabilités qui incomberont à l'Organisation des Nations Unies à cet égard.

18. Le Chili estime être suffisamment autorisé pour exposer ses idées sur ce point avec clarté et sans détours. Sa position anticolonialiste est bien connue. Ce que nous désirons réellement, c'est que les petits

territoires coloniaux qui exerceront bientôt leur droit à l'autodétermination puissent bénéficier de l'aide et des conseils de l'Organisation des Nations Unies afin que l'indépendance représente réellement pour eux le début d'une étape vers des progrès effectifs dans tous les domaines.

19. Quand, voici 150 ans, les colonies espagnoles d'Amérique ont déclaré leur indépendance, elles n'ont pas trouvé les conseils et l'aide efficaces d'un organisme international comme celui dont nous disposons aujourd'hui. Ce qui aurait pu alors être obtenu relativement aisément pour l'union continentale nous coûte aujourd'hui d'énormes efforts et les progrès sont lents et difficiles. Je pense parfois que cette expérience latino-américaine ne profite pas suffisamment à nos frères africains.

20. Dire aujourd'hui que la colonisation touche à sa fin est presque un lieu commun. Les colonies les plus grandes et les plus importantes sont devenues des pays indépendants et, à l'exception de quelques territoires dont l'indépendance approche, le reste des colonies est constitué en grande partie par des territoires coloniaux peu étendus et à peine peuplés. Leurs habitants proclameront leur indépendance par l'exercice d'un droit que personne ne leur dénie, bien que cette indépendance risque souvent de n'être viable ni du point de vue politique ni du point de vue économique.

21. Dans la liste préliminaire des territoires qui figure dans le rapport du Comité spécial et auxquels s'applique la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale, on compte au moins de 12 à 15 cas de ce genre. Cette liste préliminaire n'inclut que les territoires sous tutelle et les territoires non autonomes. Le Comité spécial prépare maintenant, conformément à l'alinéa a du paragraphe 8 de la résolution 1810 (XVII) une liste complémentaire qui englobera "tous les territoires qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance". Je crains bien que, lorsque nous arriverons à ce que j'appellerai le "fond du panier", nous ne trouvions plus en fait que de petits territoires.

22. Dans la liste en question, qui figure à l'annexe I du rapport, on compte des territoires de 1 000 habitants ou même moins qui vivent sur des territoires si petits que leur superficie ne dépasse pas parfois cinq ou six kilomètres carrés — soit deux milles carrés — et qui sont cependant considérés dans cette liste comme des colonies ayant une personnalité propre. Que l'Assemblée générale des Nations Unies puisse ou non élargir demain cette salle de réunion pour recevoir 100 nouveaux Membres, que 100 nouveaux drapeaux nationaux flottent à l'extrémité de leur mât, le long de l'East River, que la Cinquième Commission ne trouve pas des moyens économiques suffisants pour faire face subitement à des dépenses deux fois plus élevées, telles ne sont pas les questions qui intéressent la délégation chilienne aujourd'hui. Ses préoccupations sont d'un autre ordre; son inquiétude est différente.

23. Dans un monde qui avance vers de grandes intégrations, que ce soit des économies ou des peuples en quête d'unité, il me semble rétrograde, anachronique et illogique de placer l'accent sur la division, sur le fractionnement et la désintégration tant poli-

tique et économique que culturelle et sociale. Cela nous conduirait fatalement au néo-colonialisme et les Etats non viables courraient le risque de tomber de nouveau sous l'influence intéressée et pernicieuse de grands Etats.

24. Notre but doit continuer d'être — et j'en souligne ici l'importance — l'indépendance pour tous les peuples et la disparition de toutes les colonies et de leur cortège d'abus, de pauvreté et d'exploitation économique éhontée. L'indépendance doit être accordée aux peuples qui ne connaissent pas encore les avantages de la liberté, du progrès et de la civilisation; mais l'indépendance doit être un point de départ vers une amélioration des conditions de vie des peuples asservis et, cela, nous ne devons pas l'oublier.

25. L'Organisation des Nations Unies, qui encourage le juste droit à l'indépendance, assume donc une responsabilité en ce qui concerne le destin de ces peuples, qui ont d'autant plus besoin d'aide que leurs économies sont plus faibles et leurs traditions politiques et institutionnelles plus instables. La délégation chilienne n'est pas la seule à se soucier de la viabilité politique et économique des membres les plus jeunes de la famille internationale. Nous savons que les autres délégations se soucient également de cette question, comme nous en avons eu plus d'une fois la preuve au cours des réunions du Comité spécial.

26. A mon avis, l'opinion exprimée à cet égard au cours de la séance plénière d'hier [1266ème séance] par le représentant du Mali est très importante. M. Coulibaly, Président du Comité spécial, a affirmé avec raison qu'il ne s'agissait pas uniquement de faire approuver des résolutions sur l'indépendance, notamment dans le cas de petites colonies; sa recommandation visant à ce que les populations de ces territoires aient la possibilité d'exposer elles-mêmes leurs plans à venir est une mesure pratique et pertinente que ma délégation appuie pleinement.

27. Ce problème n'est pas nouveau. Parmi les principes qui doivent guider les Etats Membres pour déterminer si l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements leur est applicable ou non, il en est qui prévoient des mesures telles qu'une association entre Etats ou l'intégration de deux Etats indépendants [résolution 1541 (XV), annexe]. L'association comme l'intégration doivent résulter d'un choix libre et c'est à ces mesures que se réfèrent les principes VI, VII, VIII et IX de ladite annexe.

28. Les solutions générales que je viens d'indiquer sont, certainement, utiles et ont été appliquées avec succès à plusieurs reprises. Mais ne pourraient-elles pas être complétées par d'autres éléments, nés au cours de ces dernières années de la décolonisation?

29. Chaque cas doit être examiné en lui-même. Je suppose que personne ici ne croit qu'il existe une recette convenant à tous les petits Etats à venir ni n'oserait proposer une fédération disparate de tous ces Etats.

30. La délégation chilienne estime qu'il convient de charger le Comité spécial d'étudier les moyens d'appliquer la résolution 1514 (XV) aux territoires coloniaux de faible superficie et de population limitée afin que l'Organisation des Nations Unies puisse leur

prêter aide et assistance pour que leur indépendance politique et économique devienne viable. Des recommandations concrètes sur cette étude devraient être présentées à l'Assemblée générale lors de sa dix-neuvième session.

31. Au cours des délibérations du Comité spécial en 1963, deux cas se sont présentés de nouveaux pays désireux de s'unir ou de former une confédération à leur avantage mutuel. L'un de ces deux cas porte sur la création possible d'une fédération de l'Afrique orientale comprenant le Tanganyika, l'Ouganda et le Kenya, une fois que le Kenya aura accédé à l'indépendance, fixée au 12 décembre 1963. Cette décision de former une fédération a été applaudie au sein du Comité spécial où on l'a considérée comme une nouvelle preuve du profond désir des Africains de travailler à la réunification et au développement de l'Afrique. Il est important de noter qu'aucun de ces trois pays ne pense que cette fédération pourrait mettre en danger l'exercice de leur souveraineté et de leur indépendance. Au contraire, les trois Etats essaient d'harmoniser et de conjuguer deux principes importants de l'époque contemporaine: l'indépendance et l'intégration.

32. A propos de cette fédération, le représentant du Chili au Comité spécial a déclaré ce qui suit:

"... (elle) résulterait du libre vœu des peuples intéressés, elle correspondrait à une réalité géographique et historique et elle donnerait aux trois territoires la possibilité de renforcer leur infrastructure et leur économie et, partant, d'élever le niveau de vie et la dignité des habitants" [A/5446/Rev.1, chap. VIII, par. 159].

La délégation chilienne se fait un devoir de féliciter de nouveau le Tanganyika, l'Ouganda et le Kenya pour l'initiative qu'ils ont prise.

33. Un autre cas significatif cité dans le rapport est l'association future entre la Gambie et le Sénégal actuellement à l'étude. Les raisons données par les deux gouvernements méritent considération. Dans un communiqué conjoint en date du 26 octobre 1962, les Gouvernements gambien et sénégalais ont affirmé que, par cette association, "... ils espèrent contribuer à la stabilité, au développement et à la prospérité de leurs deux pays et à la cause de l'unité africaine" [*ibid.*, chap. XI, par. 33].

34. Un communiqué de la Gambie daté du même jour va même plus loin dans son évaluation des avantages de l'association prévue:

"L'indépendance doit fournir un moyen efficace de donner au peuple gambien plus de prospérité et de bien-être, mais, pour des raisons d'ordre économique, la Gambie pourrait avoir de la difficulté à atteindre cet objectif isolément comme Etat indépendant et souverain." [*ibid.*, par. 34.]

Et je souligne le mot "isolément".

35. Afin de réaliser ces objectifs si souhaitables, la Gambie a demandé et obtenu du Secrétaire général des Nations Unies qu'il envoie une équipe d'experts en questions constitutionnelles, économiques et financières pour aider son gouvernement à décider de la forme à donner à ses relations futures avec le

Sénégal. Il va de soi que ces études ne doivent pas servir de prétexte pour retarder la date de l'indépendance absolue de la Gambie, comme on l'a prétendu. Les conversations sur l'association pourront se poursuivre efficacement après la date de l'indépendance.

36. Il convient d'insister sur le fait que, quelle que soit la décision prise en vue de renforcer la viabilité de l'indépendance, cette décision doit être volontaire, c'est-à-dire qu'elle doit être prise par le nouvel Etat exerçant pleinement sa souveraineté et son indépendance. L'Organisation des Nations Unies pourrait commencer à entreprendre les études prévues et à donner les conseils nécessaires avant même que les droits susmentionnés soient pleinement exercés.

37. Si dans le cas du Tanganyika, de l'Ouganda et du Kenya, du Sénégal et de la Gambie, pays qui représentant bien des milliers de kilomètres carrés de territoire et plusieurs millions d'habitants, on a estimé utile d'étudier et d'adopter des solutions destinées à garantir l'union et une étroite collaboration économique et politique, cette idée est à plus forte raison opportune en ce qui concerne les cas à venir de territoires de superficie limitée et de faible population.

38. Encourager l'indépendance des colonies et se désintéresser aussitôt après de l'avenir de ces populations est une solution aussi facile qu'irréfléchie. L'enthousiasme que provoque la naissance d'Etats nouveaux ne peut nous faire oublier la mission sacrée de décolonisation de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, mission qui ne s'achève pas avec les dernières réjouissances du premier jour de l'indépendance.

39. De toutes les missions de cet organisme international, aucun n'est plus respectable et plus lourde de sens que celle qui a pour but de libérer les peuples. Faisons en sorte que l'indépendance soit authentique et satisfasse pleinement à l'un des désirs les plus nobles du cœur humain: la liberté, non pas la liberté dans la pauvreté et l'incertitude, dans un monde de super-Etats toujours plein de dangers pour les petits territoires, mais la vraie liberté et la vraie indépendance qui s'affirment dans le progrès, dans l'amélioration du niveau de vie et dans la dignité de l'être humain.

40. La délégation du Chili espère que l'Assemblée générale adoptera, au cours de cette dix-huitième session, des mesures pratiques de nature à faciliter l'indépendance et à assurer la viabilité des petits territoires coloniaux.

41. M. COOMARASWAMY (Ceylan) [traduit de l'anglais]: Ma délégation prend la parole aujourd'hui pour faire une déclaration sur une question qui représente, peut-être, la réalisation la plus importante des Nations Unies depuis dix-huit ans qu'elles existent: la libération des peuples du colonialisme.

42. Au début du XX^{ème} siècle, les notions jumelles de colonialisme et de supériorité raciale étaient à leur zénith. Des impérialistes notoires pensaient que les blancs avaient une mission civilisatrice à remplir à l'égard des populations noires, jaunes et brunes d'Asie, d'Afrique et autres continents sous-développés. Ils assimilaient à un droit divin le droit des blancs à dominer les autres races et jugeaient que ces

dernières devaient s'estimer trop heureuses d'avoir des maîtres doués d'une telle supériorité. Les blancs étaient "civilisés", les autres ne l'étaient pas.

43. Il y a même encore aujourd'hui des nations qui estiment qu'elles ont une mission civilisatrice à remplir en des lieux comme l'Afrique et qui prétendent qu'il est de l'intérêt des peuples de ces régions de continuer à subir la loi de leurs maîtres blancs. L'exemple le plus frappant est, assurément, celui du Portugal. Mais il y a d'autres puissances qui ont des idées du même genre, encore qu'à un moindre degré, au sujet de certains territoires.

44. En dépit de ces déviations monstrueuses par rapport à la ligne générale de la pensée moderne sur cette question, la roue de l'histoire, depuis le début du siècle, a tourné inexorablement dans le sens opposé. Le Pacte de la Société des Nations et la Charte des Nations Unies ont tous deux souligné le droit de tous les peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes et ont cherché à briser le joug odieux du colonialisme et à mettre un terme à la servitude et aux souffrances que ce concept a toujours impliqué pour l'homme.

45. A ce propos, ma délégation tient à souligner que la "civilisation" n'est pas le propre de certaines nations, bien que l'article 38 du Statut de la Cour internationale de Justice mentionne les "nations civilisées". La notion de "civilisation" est toute relative et se conçoit différemment selon les normes auxquelles on se réfère et les comportements admis par les divers peuples. Un pays comme le mien, dont la civilisation est vieille de près de 2 500 ans et qui peut s'enorgueillir de sculptures antiques et d'ouvrages d'irrigation anciens qui se comparent favorablement aux réalisations modernes, a certes le droit de mettre en doute l'exactitude de cette distinction désobligeante.

46. Sans doute certaines puissances ont possédé des colonies dès le XVI^{ème} siècle, mais ce n'est qu'aux environs du siècle dernier que le colonialisme a pris une nouvelle importance économique et stratégique du fait de la révolution industrielle, qui a amené l'industrie de type moderne et le capitalisme financier à s'élancer vers des horizons nouveaux pour chercher des matières premières, des débouchés pour les produits finis et la possibilité de faire des investissements. La "ruée sur l'Afrique" et l'extension de tentacules coloniales sur de vastes et fécondes régions d'Afrique, d'Asie, du Pacifique et d'Amérique centrale ont été les conséquences logiques, sinon souhaitables, du jeu de toutes ces forces industrielles, capitalistes et impérialistes. Le colonialisme contemporain est un produit de la civilisation occidentale à l'époque du capitalisme privé, de l'individualisme bourgeois, de l'économie non planifiée, de la démocratie parlementaire et des menées démagogiques. Il a résulté du jeu subtil de plusieurs mobiles.

47. Mais, pour dissimuler leurs véritables raisons de vouloir des colonies, certaines puissances coloniales ont proclamé que leur "principal objectif" était de répandre la civilisation occidentale. C'est assurément une ironie de l'histoire que certains des pays qu'elles se mettaient en devoir de "civiliser" de cette façon aient été des pays qui pouvaient s'enorgueillir de cultures anciennes et de fières civilisations

qui existaient plusieurs milliers d'années avant ces nouvelles civilisations qui n'en étaient même pas au stade barbare de leur évolution à l'époque où ces anciennes civilisations avaient atteint un niveau élevé de progrès, bien que, par la suite, certaines d'entre elles aient subi un déclin.

48. Dans certains de ces pays, les puissances colonisatrices ont délibérément retardé la pendule du progrès de façon à conserver le plus longtemps possible ces domaines fertiles d'exploitation internationale. Un des arguments qui ont été invoqués pour justifier le maintien du joug colonial dans certains pays est l'idée que les peuples de ces territoires seraient incapables de se gouverner eux-mêmes et qu'ils auraient, par conséquent, tout intérêt à être sous la coupe de "nations avancées". Mais cet argument ne fait que mettre en valeur le principe d'une mission sacrée et justifie la perte pour la puissance coloniale de tout droit à se maintenir au pouvoir lorsqu'elle manque aux devoirs qu'elle a de rendre un tel peuple capable de se gouverner lui-même et de faire passer avant toute autre considération les intérêts des habitants du territoire. Cela donne aussi le droit à l'Organisation mondiale d'enlever à ces puissances l'administration de ces territoires pour s'en charger elle-même. L'Assemblée générale, dans sa résolution 1514 (XV), a déclaré que de tels arguments ne devaient pas être pris comme prétexte pour retarder l'indépendance.

49. Le principe de la mission sacrée a d'abord été énoncé en termes généraux pour justifier l'assujettissement de peuples, généralement de peuples de couleur, à des nations blanches étrangères. Pour tenter de justifier moralement cet état de choses monstrueux — où l'on voit des millions d'individus privés de leur droit inaliénable à se gouverner eux-mêmes sans avoir jamais volontairement renoncé à ce droit — on a affirmé que les puissances dominantes étaient tenues, du fait de leur mission sacrée, de gouverner les peuples arriérés, incapables de se gouverner eux-mêmes, dans l'intérêt même desdits peuples. En d'autres termes, les puissances dominantes sauvaient ces peuples d'eux-mêmes.

50. Selon cette thèse, cependant, il fallait que la prospérité des habitants du territoire l'emporte sur toute autre considération, et la mise en coupe réglée des territoires était une violation du principe de la mission sacrée. Combien y a-t-il de puissances administrantes qui puissent seulement prétendre qu'elles ont rempli cette mission avant la fondation de l'Organisation des Nations Unies? Combien n'y en a-t-il pas qui ont continué à exploiter les populations des territoires non autonomes uniquement ou principalement dans leur propre intérêt et ont négligé, d'une manière générale, l'intérêt des populations de ces territoires, même depuis que les Nations Unies existent? N'y en a-t-il pas qui exercent une pression économique, dans leur propre intérêt, sur certaines de leurs anciennes colonies, qui ont accédé à l'indépendance politique mais non à l'indépendance économique, et qui parviennent ainsi à leurs propres fins politiques et économiques dans ces territoires? Nous pouvons voir ces pressions s'exercer jusque dans les couloirs de l'Organisation des Nations Unies.

51. L'Article 73 de la Charte indique clairement, désormais, que l'administration de ces territoires par une puissance étrangère ne peut avoir qu'un caractère provisoire et que l'objectif ultime est de permettre auxdits territoires de s'administrer eux-mêmes. Cet Article souligne aussi que chacune des puissances administrantes doit rendre des comptes à la communauté internationale. A l'heure actuelle, le principe de la mission sacrée implique l'ultime transmission de tous les pouvoirs aux habitants de tous les territoires non autonomes, et je ne saurais trop souligner le mot "tous". Au cours des années 40, les Etats-Unis, sous la présidence de Franklin D. Roosevelt, ont fortement ressenti la nécessité de mettre un terme au colonialisme. Pour le président Roosevelt, le droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes faisait partie intégrante de la Charte de l'Atlantique. Il a vu "une véritable houle monter vers l'indépendance" et il a préconisé "une sorte de tutelle internationale" jusqu'à ce que ces territoires soient prêts pour l'indépendance dans un avenir prévisible.

52. Bon nombre de ces territoires se heurtent, en outre, au problème que pose l'existence de minorités non indigènes, lesquelles exercent souvent le pouvoir en raison de leurs liens étroits avec la puissance métropolitaine. Ces minorités ont généralement une meilleure situation économique, sociale et politique que les habitants autochtones. La Rhodésie du Sud et les territoires portugais de l'Angola et du Mozambique en sont des exemples classiques. La loi et la pratique reconnaissent aux personnes qui appartiennent à ces minorités un domicile local et un nom.

53. En 1946, dans la résolution 66 (I), 74 territoires étaient énumérés comme territoires non autonomes par huit Etats Membres qui les administraient. Quarante-trois territoires étaient énumérés par le Royaume-Uni et 16 par la France. Ces 74 territoires avaient une population globale de 215 millions d'habitants. A cette époque, il n'y avait en Afrique que quatre Etats indépendants alors qu'on y comptait 25 territoires non autonomes. A l'heure actuelle, il n'y a guère que 40 de ces 74 territoires qui ne soient pas encore indépendants, et leur population totale est de 50 millions; en outre, l'Organisation des Nations Unies compte aujourd'hui parmi ses Membres 32 Etats africains indépendants. Cela suffit à prouver l'ampleur de la réussite des Nations Unies dans ce domaine.

54. L'année 1960 a été une année de grandes réalisations pour notre organisation. C'est cette année-là que l'Assemblée, sur la proposition de M. Nikita Khrouchtchev, Président du Conseil des ministres de l'Union soviétique, a adopté, le 23 septembre 1960, la résolution 1514 (XV) qui contient la célèbre Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. Comme l'a dit notre Secrétaire général, l'adoption de cette Déclaration est considérée comme marquant un tournant décisif dans les efforts que déploie l'Organisation des Nations Unies pour réaliser les principes et buts nobles de la Charte.

55. Le soin d'appliquer cette Déclaration a été confié à un Comité spécial de dix-sept membres par la résolution 1654 (XVI) et le nombre des membres de ce comité a été porté à vingt-quatre par la résolution 1810 (XVII).

56. Le Comité spécial, dans l'annexe I à son rapport, a énuméré 64 territoires auxquels la Déclaration s'applique. Cette liste sera complétée l'an prochain. Le Comité spécial a déjà étudié le cas de 26 de ces territoires qui couvrent une superficie de 2,4 millions de milles carrés approximativement et ont une population totale de 37 millions d'habitants environ. Les autres territoires ne couvrent qu'une superficie de 200 000 milles carrés environ et leur population ne dépasse guère huit millions d'habitants. Le Comité spécial a droit à toute notre gratitude pour la manière diligente dont il s'est acquitté des tâches que lui avait confiées l'Assemblée générale. Il convient de souligner ici ce que le Comité spécial a fait observer, à savoir que c'est en Afrique que le plus grand nombre de gens vivent encore sous des régimes coloniaux, en Afrique que l'on trouve encore les plus vastes territoires coloniaux et que l'on se heurte à certains des problèmes coloniaux les plus difficiles à résoudre. La raison de ce phénomène est la volonté de certaines nations puissantes de continuer leur exploitation économique de ce malheureux continent.

57. Mais les forces organisées du nationalisme africain et asiatique ont exercé une influence considérable sur l'Organisation des Nations Unies en ce qui concerne l'application des déclarations incluses dans l'Article 73 de la Charte et dans la résolution 1514 (XV). Avant la dernière guerre, la culture occidentale et l'influence politique de l'Occident jouaient un rôle très important dans les pays d'Afrique et d'Asie. Mais avec l'apparition, peu de temps après la guerre, de nouvelles nations indépendantes, comme l'Inde, l'Indonésie, le Pakistan, la Birmanie, Ceylan, et l'apparition d'influences nouvelles, comme en Egypte, il y a eu un réveil des peuples assujettis et l'appel à l'indépendance s'est fait entendre dans ces deux grands continents.

58. Cette résurrection du nationalisme a été due à de nombreux facteurs parmi lesquels on peut citer, tout d'abord, l'accession à l'indépendance de certaines des nations les plus importantes; en second lieu, la contribution à l'effort de guerre qui avait été réclamée aux peuples des territoires dépendants et pour laquelle ils demandaient alors la récompense qui leur était due; troisièmement, le caractère inévitable, dans le contexte de la fierté nationale et du sentiment national, de la révolte contre le colonialisme, et enfin le fait que les peuples coloniaux exigeaient, à juste titre, une part plus grande des commodités de l'existence, surtout lorsque celles-ci étaient le produit de l'exploitation de ressources naturelles qui se trouvaient dans les territoires coloniaux et étaient mises en valeur principalement dans l'intérêt des maîtres coloniaux.

59. La Charte des Nations Unies a été signée par 50 Etats dont 12 étaient des Etats d'Asie et d'Afrique. Depuis lors, jusqu'à l'ouverture de la présente session, 61 autres Etats sont devenus Membres de l'Organisation, dont 44 sont des Etats africains et asiatiques. Les Etats d'Afrique et d'Asie soutiendront leurs frères qui vivent sous la domination coloniale en Afrique, en Asie et dans d'autres parties du monde pour toutes les questions relatives à leur progrès économique, social et politique et à leur accession à l'indépendance. Nous sommes reconnaissants au bloc socialiste et au groupe des Etats latino-américains

du concours précieux qu'ils nous apportent dans ce domaine. Les pays d'Afrique et d'Asie considèrent l'Ouest avec suspicion non seulement parce que leurs peuples ont su, il n'y a pas si longtemps, ce que c'était qu'être colonisés, mais aussi à cause des luttes héroïques qu'ils ont dû engager pour accéder à l'indépendance. La vaine résistance opposée par les puissances coloniales aux justes aspirations de ces peuples ne peut qu'engendrer chez ces derniers l'amertume et le mépris pour leurs anciens maîtres et les détourner, quel que soit leur désir de ne pas s'engager, de toute sympathie pour les puissances occidentales.

60. La délégation ceylanaise n'hésitera jamais à apporter son concours chaleureux et spontané aux peuples de tous les territoires non autonomes dans leur lutte pour acquérir le droit de se gouverner eux-mêmes. Ma délégation sait bien qu'il reste beaucoup de peuples à libérer de maux du colonialisme. Comme l'a dit, le 27 septembre 1961, M. Felix Dias-Bandaranaike, secrétaire du Parlement ceylanais:

"On nous a souvent expliqué, ces temps derniers, que le colonialisme aurait cessé d'être un vrai problème du fait qu'un nombre croissant de territoires dépendants parviennent au stade de l'indépendance.

"... Pourtant, l'idée que le colonialisme n'est plus un vrai problème parce que le pourcentage des gens qui vivent sous le régime colonialiste ne cesse de diminuer est tout simplement fausse... En fait, le colonialisme a le don de prendre des formes et des aspects nouveaux pour s'adapter à l'évolution de la situation." [1017ème séance, par. 175 et 176.]

61. Une grande majorité des territoires dont il est question dans le rapport du Comité spécial sont administrés par le Royaume-Uni. Ma délégation n'approuve certes pas les mesures prises par le Royaume-Uni dans certains de ces territoires en vue de mettre fin rapidement à l'administration coloniale et de permettre auxdits territoires de se gouverner eux-mêmes, mais elle tient cependant à rendre hommage au Royaume-Uni, qui a accordé l'indépendance à Ceylan sans qu'un seul coup de feu soit tiré, pour son attitude éclairée, d'une manière générale, à l'égard du colonialisme. En s'inclinant de bonne grâce, au cours des 20 dernières années, devant les revendications d'indépendance, le Royaume-Uni a réussi à maintenir ses anciennes colonies dans le Commonwealth. Dans la lettre du Royaume-Uni, en date du 10 septembre 1963, qui figure à l'annexe II du rapport [A/5446/Rev.1], nous relevons que des dates ont été fixées, dans les prochains mois, pour l'accession à l'indépendance de certains territoires, comme le Kenya, Zanzibar, Singapour et Malte.

62. Ma délégation regrette donc de constater en lisant le rapport du Comité spécial que la politique du Royaume-Uni à l'égard de certains des territoires dont il est question dans ce rapport comporte certains aspects fort peu satisfaisants.

63. Pour ma délégation, ce qu'il y a de moins satisfaisant dans le rapport, c'est la position prise par le Royaume-Uni en ce qui concerne la proposition du Comité spécial d'envoyer des missions de visite

en Guyane britannique et à Aden. Dans l'un et l'autre cas, le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni a refusé de prêter son concours au Comité et s'est opposé à l'envoi de ces missions de visite, de sorte que les membres du sous-comité ont dû se contenter de se rendre dans des territoires voisins d'Aden et d'entendre à New York les deux principaux dirigeants politiques de la Guyane britannique.

64. D'après le rapport [A/5446/Rev.1, chap. X], le représentant du Royaume-Uni a déclaré, à propos de l'envoi éventuel d'une mission de visite en Guyane britannique, que son gouvernement ne pouvait partager ses responsabilités avec l'Organisation des Nations Unies et ne pouvait donc autoriser cette visite, et que le Premier Ministre de Guyane britannique, M. Cheddi Jagan, n'avait pas le pouvoir d'autoriser une telle visite. Le représentant du Royaume-Uni a ajouté que l'envoi de telles missions de visite équivaldrait à une ingérence administrative.

65. De l'avis de ma délégation, adopter une telle attitude, ce n'est pas seulement faire un pas en arrière, c'est aussi marquer pour l'autorité de l'Assemblée générale un mépris qui n'est plus de mise, étant donné l'évolution de la situation, quand bien même il aurait pu être admis il y a dix ans. Dès 1950, le Gouvernement danois a autorisé une mission de visite à se rendre au Groënland. En 1954, dans sa résolution 850 (IX), l'Assemblée générale a considéré que, afin d'apprécier aussi justement que possible l'opinion de la population d'un territoire non autonome au sujet du statut ou du changement de statut qu'elle désire, une mission devrait, avec l'accord de la puissance administrante, et si l'Assemblée générale le juge souhaitable, se rendre dans le territoire non autonome avant ou pendant la période où la population est invitée à se prononcer sur son statut futur ou sur les modifications futures de son statut. Par sa résolution 1654 (XVI), l'Assemblée générale a autorisé le Comité spécial à se réunir en tout autre lieu que le Siège de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, lorsque cela pourrait être nécessaire pour lui permettre de s'acquitter efficacement de ses fonctions, en consultation avec les autorités compétentes, et elle a invité les autorités intéressées à assurer au Comité leur coopération la plus complète dans l'accomplissement de ses tâches. L'Assemblée a repris cette invitation dans sa résolution 1810 (XVII).

66. Ma délégation estime que des arguments et positions de ce genre sont tout à fait erronés et déplacés au moment où les puissances coloniales font entendre partout leur chant du cygne. Ma délégation ne voit pas comment une visite tendant à s'assurer de l'opinion de la population quant à son avenir pourrait constituer une ingérence dans les affaires intérieures d'un Etat ou pourrait équivaloir à un partage des responsabilités. La responsabilité des Nations Unies aux termes de l'Article 73 de la Charte et de la résolution 1514 (XV) est bien distincte de celle de la puissance administrante. Une visite de ce genre est un des moyens les plus efficaces de permettre au Comité d'accomplir ses tâches, comme il le fait observer dans son rapport. M. Jagan a souligné qu'une telle visite aurait aidé le Comité et

le sous-comité à se faire une idée plus claire de la situation.

67. Si le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni a pris une mauvaise position en ce qui concerne la visite que le sous-comité proposait de faire en Guyane britannique, il a adopté une attitude pire encore lorsqu'une demande identique a été présentée au sujet d'Aden. Dans ce cas, le Comité spécial avait adopté, le 3 mai 1963, une résolution dans laquelle il décidait, notamment, d'envoyer dans ces territoires un sous-comité dont les membres seraient désignés par le président et dans laquelle il exprimait l'espoir que la puissance administrante prêterait tout son concours au sous-comité. C'était la première décision de ce genre prise par le Comité spécial. Le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni a refusé de revenir sur sa position.

68. Mais il est même allé plus loin et il a commis un acte que ma délégation juge indigne d'une puissance qui est elle-même membre du Comité spécial, un acte qui témoignait du plus grand mépris pour le Comité spécial directement et l'Organisation des Nations Unies indirectement. Je veux parler de la lettre datée du 23 mai 1963 [A/5446/Rev.1, chap. V, annexe II] par laquelle l'inspecteur des services d'immigration d'Aden a informé toutes les lignes aériennes et maritimes qu'aucun des cinq membres du sous-comité dont les noms figuraient dans la lettre ne serait autorisé à débarquer s'il arrivait dans l'Etat d'Aden. Ma délégation déplore, comme le sous-comité, qu'une telle mesure ait été prise par un Membre permanent, qui est aussi membre du Comité spécial, à l'encontre des membres d'un organisme officiel de l'ONU et de représentants d'Etats Membres, d'autant qu'une telle mesure équivalait à mettre en doute la bonne foi desdits Membres.

69. Des actes de ce genre peuvent ébranler la confiance que d'autres délégations peuvent avoir en la bonne foi du Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni et lui aliéner leur sympathie. Une telle répugnance de sa part à autoriser des missions de visite à se rendre dans ces territoires peut aussi justifier l'idée que le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni souhaite dissimuler au reste du monde la réalité de la situation dans les territoires de la Guyane britannique et d'Aden, parce que cette réalité ne serait pas agréable ou conforme à ses propres objectifs. Ma délégation espère que le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni, à l'avenir tout au moins, ne persistera pas dans cette attitude déraisonnable, permettra au Comité spécial d'envoyer des missions de visite et leur prètera son concours.

70. Ma délégation voudrait, à ce stade, dire quelques mots des conclusions du Comité spécial concernant certains territoires. La Guyane britannique est un territoire qui a fait l'objet d'un rapport du sous-comité [A/5446/Rev.1, chap. X], approuvé par le Comité spécial. Les recommandations du sous-comité figurent dans les paragraphes 62 à 65 de l'appendice à son rapport. Le sous-comité reconnaît que ce territoire doit accéder à l'indépendance le plus tôt possible et qu'un groupe d'experts en matière constitutionnelle devrait être envoyé en Guyane britannique pour formuler des recommandations en vue de l'élaboration d'une constitution qui soit acceptable pour toutes les parties intéressées.

71. Ma délégation estime que le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni n'est pas fondé à prétendre que l'octroi de l'indépendance peut être retardé jusqu'à ce que les deux principaux partis politiques aient réglé leurs divergences de vues en ce qui concerne les principes sur lesquels doit reposer la nouvelle constitution. Ce n'est pas là un préalable indispensable. Il semble que ce soit un expédient commode qui a été utilisé aussi dans mon pays pendant cinq ans environ avant que nous accédions à l'indépendance en dépit des divergences qui nous divisaient. Ma délégation ne peut non plus approuver l'idée que le Gouvernement britannique imposerait une solution au peuple de la Guyane britannique, comme l'a proposé M. Sandys le 6 novembre 1962. L'obstacle n'est pas infranchissable et il peut être surmonté si le Royaume-Uni accepte véritablement de coopérer avec le Comité spécial et l'Organisation des Nations Unies dans ce domaine.

72. On peut citer encore un autre point peu satisfaisant en ce qui concerne ce territoire. En 1953, le People's Progressive Party, dirigé par M. Jagan et M. Burnham, l'a emporté aux élections générales. Après cela, la Constitution de 1953 a été suspendue sous le contrôle de la force armée et la Commission Robertson^{1/} a précisé dans son rapport de 1954 que la suspension de la Constitution était justifiée et que le People's Progressive Party était dominé par les communistes. Il semble que l'épouvantail du communisme soit un autre prétexte commode. M. Jagan est maintenant Premier Ministre et M. Burnham, chef de l'opposition. M. Jagan a pris la parole, il y a quelques semaines, devant le groupe des Etats africains et asiatiques et nous a dit qu'on l'accusait une fois de plus de communisme. Il nous a dit qu'il n'était pas communiste. Ma délégation a l'impression que l'on qualifie de communistes des socialistes progressifs afin de retarder l'indépendance de leurs territoires. De toute façon, c'est aux peuples des divers territoires et non à la puissance administrante ou à toute autre puissance étrangère qu'il appartient de décider si un pays doit avoir un gouvernement communiste, socialiste ou conservateur.

73. M. Jagan a fait observer que la puissance administrante avant eu recours à tous les moyens et à tous les procédés pour détruire le mouvement d'indépendance en Guyane britannique et qu'elle avait invoqué les divisions qu'elle avait elle-même suscitées comme prétexte pour retarder l'indépendance. Ma délégation regrette de découvrir que la politique qui consiste à "diviser pour régner" n'est pas encore reléguée dans le passé; elle espère qu'elle le sera très bientôt. La délégation ceylanaise partage l'opinion du sous-comité, qui estime que l'Organisation des Nations Unies devrait faire tout son possible pour aider les dirigeants de la Guyane britannique à créer un climat d'harmonie et d'unité dans lequel le territoire pourrait accéder rapidement à l'indépendance.

74. Je voudrais maintenant parler du territoire d'Aden. Le Comité spécial a adopté une résolution le 3 mai 1963. Cette résolution n'a pas été appliquée du fait que le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni ne s'est pas prêté à son application. Le Sous-Comité pour Aden a estimé que l'Organisation des Nations

Unies devait intervenir de toute urgence et que la population devait être consultée avant l'octroi de l'indépendance sur une base beaucoup plus large que par le passé et avec toutes les garanties nécessaires. Les recommandations du sous-comité qui figurent au paragraphe 176 de son rapport sont précises, nettes et propres à être mises en œuvre. La résolution adoptée par le Comité spécial le 19 juillet 1963 au paragraphe 478 du rapport [A/5446/Rev.1, chap. V] devrait être adoptée par l'Assemblée générale en son nom propre, avec les modifications nécessaires, et le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni devrait être invité à appliquer cette résolution, qui est éminemment juste et raisonnable et demande que la population d'Aden soit consultée par la voie du suffrage universel des adultes.

75. Ma délégation a étudié avec soin la position du représentant du Royaume-Uni au Comité, telle qu'elle est exposée dans les paragraphes 162 à 179 du chapitre V du rapport. Il ressort clairement de cette déclaration que le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni a reconnu le droit des populations d'Aden à l'indépendance mais a allégué la désunion qui règne dans le territoire ainsi que d'autres difficultés comme prétextes pour retarder le moment où ces populations disposeront d'elles-mêmes. Ma délégation estime donc que le meilleur moyen pour la puissance administrante, qui semble, en l'occurrence, être une partie intéressée, de surmonter ces difficultés serait de solliciter l'appui et le concours de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, au lieu d'entraver les travaux des comités spéciaux de l'Organisation en leur refusant son concours et en prenant même des mesures qui équivalent à faire fi de l'autorité de l'Organisation, ainsi qu'en témoigne la lettre adressée aux compagnies aériennes et maritimes que j'ai mentionnée tout à l'heure.

76. Le Comité spécial a aussi adopté des résolutions au sujet de Malte, des îles Fidji, de la Rhodésie du Nord et du Nyassaland, du Bassoutoland, du Betchouanaland et du Souaziland, et de la Gambie. Ma délégation appuiera sans réserve tout projet de résolution dont l'Assemblée générale sera saisie au sujet de ces territoires et elle espère que les puissances administrantes appliqueront les résolutions du Comité spécial et de l'Assemblée générale. Ma délégation tient à appeler tout spécialement l'attention sur le paragraphe 2 du dispositif de la résolution du Comité spécial sur le Bassoutoland, le Betchouanaland et le Souaziland [A/5446/Rev.1, chap. IX, par. 113], aux termes duquel la puissance administrante est priée à nouveau de prendre immédiatement des mesures pour restituer aux autochtones les terres qui leur ont été enlevées, sous quelque forme ou sous quelque prétexte qu'ait eu lieu cette aliénation. Ce paragraphe reprend le texte du paragraphe 5 du dispositif de la résolution que le Comité spécial a adoptée l'an dernier. Tout cela rappelle à ma délégation la manière dont, au cours du siècle dernier, les paysans pauvres des régions montagneuses et d'autres régions de mon pays se sont vu enlever leurs terres, en vertu des dispositions iniques d'une loi intitulée la Waste Lands Ordinance, sans recevoir aucune indemnité, et la manière dont ces terres ont été attribuées à des sociétés et à des particuliers britanniques pour en faire des plantations de thé et de caoutchouc. C'est

^{1/} Commission constitutionnelle de la Guyane britannique.

nous maintenant qui, selon la loi des "nations civilisées", devons indemniser les sociétés étrangères et individus étrangers pour ces mêmes terres et d'autres biens. C'est cette même loi des nations civilisées qui a privé nos paysans de leurs terres, il y a environ cent ans.

77. Il y a une autre question de quelque importance dont ma délégation voudrait parler maintenant. Il suffit de consulter l'annexe I du rapport du Comité spécial [A/5446/Rev.1] pour constater qu'il y a, dans la liste préliminaire des territoires auxquels s'applique la Déclaration faisant l'objet de la résolution 1514 (XV), un certain nombre de territoires qui, du fait de leur petite superficie ou de leur faible population ou pour ces deux raisons à la fois, pourraient être incapables de subsister seuls s'ils accèdent à l'indépendance ou à l'autonomie par le jeu normal des dispositions de l'Article 73 et de la résolution 1514 (XV). Ma délégation suggère donc que, dans tout projet de résolution qui pourrait être présenté sur cette question, le Comité spécial soit invité à étudier tout particulièrement l'application de la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale et des résolutions qui en ont découlé aux petits territoires coloniaux à population clairsemée, à étudier aussi la question de l'assistance que l'Organisation des Nations Unies pourrait leur fournir, afin que leur indépendance puisse être réelle politiquement et économiquement, et à présenter à l'Assemblée générale, à sa prochaine session, des recommandations concrètes sur cette étude. Ma délégation craint que ces territoires, si l'on ne procède pas ainsi, ne se heurtent à de graves difficultés politiques et économiques après leur accession à l'indépendance ou à l'autonomie. Ma délégation appuie à cet égard la suggestion faite aujourd'hui par la délégation chilienne.

78. J'en ai terminé avec les observations que ma délégation désirait présenter sur le rapport du Comité spécial. Nous suggérons aussi que, pour éviter tout double emploi, toutes les tâches qui étaient précédemment accomplies par d'autres organismes, tels que le Comité des renseignements sur les territoires non autonomes, soient confiées au Comité spécial, qui peut devenir le seul comité chargé d'assurer l'application du Chapitre XI de la Charte et de la résolution 1514 (XV). Telle est la suggestion que le Secrétaire général a faite dans l'introduction à son rapport annuel sur l'activité de l'Organisation, présenté à l'Assemblée générale à sa dix-septième session^{2/}.

79. L'abolition rapide et totale du colonialisme sous toutes ses formes, en dépit d'arguments de forme périmés fondés sur la compétence qu'invoquent certaines puissances coloniales, non seulement éliminerait un des principaux obstacles au maintien de la paix mais contribuerait aussi à inscrire dans la réalité les principes concernant l'égalité et le droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes qui sont consacrés par la Charte. Il n'y a pas de doute que l'Organisation des Nations Unies, depuis dix-huit ans qu'elle existe, a donné confiance et espoir aux peuples dépendants qui luttent pour leur libre détermination.

Mais il reste encore beaucoup à faire, car tous les peuples doivent être libres et il ne doit plus y avoir que des peuples libres politiquement et économiquement, avant que notre tâche soit terminée. Comme l'a écrit Clarence Day dans *This Simian World*^{3/}, "Nos télescopes nous révéleront peut-être un jour les collines d'Arcturus, mais à quoi cela nous servira-t-il si nous ne pouvons découvrir l'âme du monde?" Comment pouvons-nous découvrir l'âme du monde, quand des puissances administrantes continuent, en dépit du paragraphe 5 de la résolution 1810 (XVII), à intervenir par la force armée et à prendre des mesures répressives contre des peuples qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance, notamment contre les activités politiques de leurs dirigeants légitimes?

80. Je conclurai en citant une déclaration du président Kennedy, faite devant cette assemblée, le 20 septembre 1963:

"L'Organisation des Nations Unies ne peut survivre si elle reste statique. Ses obligations augmentent en même temps qu'elle prend plus d'ampleur. La Charte doit être modifiée, et la pratique des Nations Unies aussi. Les auteurs de la Charte n'ont pas voulu en faire quelque chose d'éternellement figé. La science des armes et de la guerre fait que nous sommes aujourd'hui, bien plus qu'il y a 18 ans à San Francisco, un même monde et une même race humaine, dont la destinée est commune." [1209ème séance, par. 74.]

81. Ce sont des pensées comme celles-là qui faisaient du président Kennedy un homme d'Etat de si grande valeur et d'une telle envergure et qui nous font maintenant ressentir sa mort tragique comme une perte pour tous les peuples du monde, sans distinction de race, de couleur ou de croyance, et pour la paix internationale. Les corps des hommes périssent et pourrissent, mais leur souvenir demeure vivant et continue à nous inspirer. Espérons que ses successeurs demeureront fidèles à ses idéaux nobles et élevés, dans l'intérêt du monde en général et des territoires coloniaux en particulier, puisque les Etats-Unis, de l'avis de ma délégation, ont le pouvoir et le devoir d'exercer une influence sur celles des puissances coloniales qui persistent dans l'intransigeance. Nous ne pouvons pas attendre moins d'un pays qui a produit d'aussi grands hommes qu'Abraham Lincoln et John F. Kennedy.

82. M. AZIMOV (Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques) [traduit du russe]: Trois années se sont écoulées depuis qu'ici même, dans la salle de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, a été adoptée la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux [résolution 1514 (XV)]. Nous sommes fiers que ce document historique ait été adopté sur l'initiative du Gouvernement soviétique et de son chef, N. S. Khrouchtchev^{4/}.

83. Les idées de la grande Révolution d'octobre sont des idées de paix, de bonheur, de fraternité et d'égalité sur toute la terre. Le peuple de l'Union

^{3/} Clarence Day, Jr., *This Simian World*, New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1920, p. 93.

^{4/} Documents officiels de l'Assemblée générale, quinzième session, Annexes, point 87 de l'ordre du jour, documents A/4501 et A/4502.

^{2/} Documents officiels de l'Assemblée générale, dix-septième session, Supplément No 1A, document A/5201/Add.1, section VII.

soviétique, par sa lutte héroïque, son labeur désintéressé en vue de l'édification d'une société socialiste humaniste apporte sa contribution active à la suppression définitive de la surface de la terre du mal, de l'oppression, de l'exploitation de l'homme par l'homme. Les buts du pays de la Révolution d'octobre, la politique et l'idéologie de l'Etat soviétique sont radicalement inconciliables avec le colonialisme, la tyrannie, l'oppression des peuples.

84. L'Union soviétique, fidèle à cette politique de paix et au soutien de la lutte des peuples opprimés pour l'indépendance nationale proclamés par le grand fondateur de l'Etat soviétique, V. I. Lénine, est toujours intervenue et continuera à le faire pour défendre la juste cause de la libération des peuples des colonies de la domination étrangère, en faveur de l'élimination totale du système colonial, en faveur de la liberté absolue et de l'indépendance de tous les peuples.

85. L'immense majorité des Etats Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies a accueilli avec satisfaction et approuvé la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. Seul un petit groupe de puissances coloniales s'est abstenu lors du vote sur cette déclaration. C'est là une grande victoire pour les pays et les peuples épris de paix et de liberté, et qui revêt une importance particulière pour les continents où le honteux système colonial subsiste encore dans maintes régions.

86. En adoptant cette Déclaration, l'Organisation des Nations Unies a reconnu comme légale et juste la lutte des peuples soumis à l'esclavage en faveur de l'indépendance et comme illégales et criminelles les actions visant à écraser ce mouvement. La Déclaration est apparue comme une source importante d'appui moral à la lutte des peuples coloniaux de la part de l'Organisation des Nations Unies et a déjà produit ses fruits. Elle a inspiré des forces nouvelles pour la lutte de libération des peuples et a créé de nouvelles conditions favorables pour leur victoire.

87. Cependant, tous les peuples ne sont pas encore libérés de l'esclavage colonial. Des territoires comptant au total 50 millions d'âmes sont encore sous le joug des colonialistes. Les peuples de l'Angola, du Mozambique, de la Guinée portugaise et d'autres territoires du continent africain gémissent sous le joug portugais. Les peuples des colonies espagnoles partagent encore le sort de leurs frères angolais. Plusieurs pays d'Asie subissent la domination de l'Angleterre, du Portugal, de l'Australie, soit directement, soit en tant que protectorats ou territoires sous tutelle. Les peuples de ces territoires mènent un combat héroïque pour la liberté et l'indépendance. Le Kenya, Zanzibar, le Nyassaland, la Rhodésie du Sud, Malte se trouvent au seuil de l'indépendance. Les peuples des colonies espagnoles luttent contre l'arbitraire policier et la terreur fasciste. Le peuple de Rhodésie du Sud mène une lutte acharnée pour sa libération. Les peuples du Bassoutoland, du Souaziland, du Betchouanaland se soulèvent. Les peuples de la Guyane britannique, d'Oman, d'Aden et d'autres colonies anglaises réclament la liberté et l'indépendance. Voilà plusieurs années déjà que le peuple du Viet-Nam défend son droit à une vie paisible et à un développement indépendant.

88. Le colonialisme ne dépose pas les armes. Il contre-attaque, regroupe ses forces, tente de se renforcer dans des zones déterminées et, si possible, de passer à la contre-attaque dans tel ou tel secteur du front de la lutte anticoloniale. Le sud de l'Afrique est l'un de ces secteurs. Et c'est précisément dans cette lumière qu'il convient d'examiner la nature internationale et politique des événements au Congo et au sud de ce pays. Ces événements reflètent l'intention de tout le bloc colonialiste de créer un barrage défensif aux points d'accès les plus proches des colonies au sud de l'Afrique, d'établir une sorte de "cordon sanitaire" et d'opposer la force des colonialistes à la volonté des Etats épris de paix.

89. Le sol brûle sous les pieds des colonisateurs portugais. Les colonialistes portent le fer et le feu dans les régions gagnées par le mouvement patriotique. Ils ne reculent pas devant les méthodes de répression les plus barbares. Dans leur fureur, les membres des expéditions punitives fusillent les femmes, les vieillards et les enfants, détruisent les récoltes et le bétail, brûlent les villages.

90. Les peuples des colonies continuent comme auparavant à vivre privés de leurs droits politiques et sociaux. Le travail forcé et l'esclavage existent jusqu'à maintenant dans les colonies portugaises et espagnoles. La population africaine en Afrique du Sud, dans le Sud-Ouest africain et en Rhodésie du Sud est soumise à des avaries inhumaines et à la discrimination raciale.

91. Comment peut-il se faire qu'à notre époque, à l'ère de l'énergie atomique et de la conquête de l'espace, des crimes aussi monstrueux soient encore perpétrés sur la terre? Il ne peut y avoir à cela qu'une réponse: la cause en est l'avidité et la cupidité d'une poignée infime mais puissante d'exploiteurs, leur soif de gain, leur volonté d'obtenir les profits les plus grands possibles.

92. La délégation de l'Union soviétique, à la Quatrième Commission, a déjà fourni des données sur la façon d'opérer des monopoles en Afrique.

93. D'après le journal londonien *Financial Times*, le bénéfice que retirent 21 sociétés pétrolières anglaises de leurs investissements à l'étranger s'élève à 438 millions de livres sterling, ce qui dépasse le bénéfice global de 456 firmes anglaises auxquelles appartiennent les entreprises de construction mécanique, les chantiers navals et la métallurgie en Angleterre même.

94. Le gigantesque consortium anglo-hollandais Unilever a été pendant des dizaines d'années un des monopolisateurs du commerce avec l'Afrique occidentale. Le salaire payé dans les entreprises et les concessions de sa filiale, l'United Africa Company est de 6 à 19 shillings par semaine tandis que le bénéfice prélevé dans le même temps sur chaque travailleur atteint en moyenne 4 livres sterling 6 shillings. D'après le témoignage de l'hebdomadaire français *France-Observateur* du 23 février 1963, la moyenne annuelle des bénéfices des compagnies étrangères opérant dans les colonies portugaises oscille entre 20 à 45 p. 100.

95. Les monopoles étrangers au Proche et au Moyen-Orient réalisent des bénéfices encore supérieurs.

Rien que par la vente du pétrole brut dans les ports d'expédition, les monopoles pétroliers américains, anglais, français et hollandais qui se sont emparés des concessions dans les pays du golfe Persique gagnent de 5 à 6 dollars par tonne, ce qui veut dire qu'ils font un bénéfice de 500 p. 100, car le prix du pétrole n'atteint pas un dollar. Au cours des 13 dernières années, de 1950 à 1962, l'extraction du pétrole, rien que dans les six principaux pays exportateurs de pétrole, l'Iran, l'Irak, le Koweït, l'Arabie Saoudite, Bahrein et Qatar, ont rapporté aux exploiters occidentaux environ 12 milliards de dollars de bénéfice net.

96. Comment ne pas se rappeler à ce sujet les paroles du grand fondateur du communisme, Karl Marx?

"Assurer un bénéfice de 10 p. 100 et le capital est prêt à toute entreprise; 20 p. 100, il s'enflamme; 50 p. 100, il est positivement prêt à se casser le cou à fond; pour 100 p. 100, il foule aux pieds toutes les lois humaines; pour 300 p. 100, il ne recule devant aucun crime, même si cela devait le conduire à la potence."

97. Les bénéfices qui affluent dans les coffres-forts américains, anglais, allemands, belges et autres ne proviennent pas seulement d'investissements.

98. L'impérialisme fait un large usage, dans son propre intérêt, du système qu'il a lui-même créé d'une division internationale inégale du travail dans le monde capitaliste. Les matières premières et les produits alimentaires représentent environ 80 p. 100 des exportations des Etats d'Afrique, du Proche-Orient et de l'Amérique latine. Les monopoles internationaux créent sur le marché mondial capitaliste des conditions de travail extrêmement défavorables pour les pays peu développés. Alors que les prix des produits manufacturés livrés aux pays en voie de développement et aux colonies par les pays capitalistes avancés ne cessent de s'élever, les prix des produits d'exportation de ces pays ne cessent de baisser.

99. Par suite de cette politique, des richesses immenses sont soutirées de l'Afrique tout comme d'autres régions du monde. Des économistes ont calculé que les revenus que l'Angleterre et d'autres pays développés retirent de l'Afrique par suite de ce que l'on est convenu d'appeler les "ciseaux des prix" — les termes de l'échange — sont évalués entre 170 et 200 millions de livres sterling, ce qui représente le quart du revenu national des Etats africains. Ce commerce à conditions inégales a procuré, en 1961, aux monopoles de l'Allemagne de l'Ouest un supplément de bénéfices de 1 500 millions de marks.

100. Le 10 janvier 1961, l'influent journal suisse Neue Zürcher Zeitung publiait des faits extrêmement intéressants, par exemple qu'en 1958 la valeur des matières premières exportées par les pays en voie de développement représentait environ 25 milliards de dollars. Cependant, la même année, les prix ont baissé d'environ 20 p. 100, si bien que les pays insuffisamment développés ont en réalité perdu 5 milliards de dollars. Le même journal remarque entre autres que, par suite de la baisse des prix et des fluctuations considérables des prix des matières

premières sur les marchés mondiaux, les pays insuffisamment développés ont subi des pertes qui ne sont pas compensées par l'assistance économique qu'ils reçoivent.

101. La propagande occidentale fait du battage autour de ce qu'il est convenu d'appeler l'"assistance" économique aux pays en voie de développement et aux colonies qui serait un bien pour les peuples de l'Asie, de l'Afrique, de l'Amérique latine et l'Océanie. En fait, la réalité réfute ces affirmations des apologistes du colonialisme. Les chiffres sont parfois plus éloquentes que toute parole. Ainsi, jusqu'en 1960, les Etats africains avaient reçu des Etats-Unis, sous forme d'"assistance" 936 millions de dollars. A première vue, il semble que ce soit là une somme non négligeable. Mais en réalité, les Etats-Unis n'ont pas fait le sacrifice d'un seul cent à l'Afrique, car, au cours des dernières années, les monopoles américains ont retiré d'Afrique pour plus d'un milliard et demi de dollars de bénéfice, et cela uniquement sur les investissements. Le montant des crédits alloués pour l'aide aux Etats arabes de 1945 à 1956 est près de deux fois inférieur au bénéfice de la société pétrolière Aramco pour une seule année, soit environ 300 millions de dollars.

102. Parlant à la Conférence au sommet des pays indépendants africains à Addis-Abéba, le Président du Ghana, M. Kwame Nkrumah^{5/}, déclarait que le continent africain est peut-être le continent le plus riche du monde, mais que toutes ces richesses s'en vont en Europe occidentale et au-delà des mers: 52 p. 100 de l'or déposé à Fort Knox, où les Etats-Unis conservent leur réserve d'or, provient de l'Afrique. Un vaste flot d'or, de diamants, d'uranium, de platine, de titane et d'autres richesses minérales part de l'Afrique pour venir irriguer le système économique de l'Occident.

103. Oui, les pays occidentaux s'efforcent de trouver des formes nouvelles leur permettant de continuer leur politique qui consiste à s'assurer des bénéfices maximaux dans les pays d'Asie, d'Afrique, d'Amérique latine et d'Océanie. Cette politique des grandes puissances occidentales est à ce point de vue particulièrement dangereuse pour les jeunes Etats, car grâce à elle les pays occidentaux cherchent à conserver leur position dans les pays insuffisamment développés au point de vue économique. Sur ce point, nous pourrions citer de nombreux exemples montrant comment ces grandes puissances essaient de maintenir les pays en voie de développement dans un état de perpétuelle dépendance économique, de les forcer à prendre leur parti de n'être que des fournisseurs de matières premières agricoles aux pays capitalistes hautement industrialisés. Les milieux des monopoles comprennent fort bien que l'industrialisation est la base même du progrès dans les pays en voie de développement ainsi que de la consolidation de leur indépendance. Voilà pourquoi la prétendue "assistance" des pays occidentaux aux pays en voie de développement s'applique, non pas à développer et à renforcer les branches essentielles de l'économie nationale de ces derniers mais à satisfaire les besoins de leur consommation; voilà pourquoi cette assistance s'ac-

^{5/} Conférence des pays indépendants africains, 22-25 mai 1963.

compagne, en règle générale, de toutes sortes de conditions politiques qui amenuisent la souveraineté de ces pays.

104. Tout cela permet d'apprécier correctement la politique des puissances coloniales et leur résistance tenace à la mise en œuvre de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux.

105. Leur exploitation rapace des richesses et des ressources naturelles de ces pays, le bon marché de la main-d'œuvre des esclaves coloniaux permettent aux monopoles de l'OTAN de retirer des bénéfices fabuleux. Pour conserver ces bénéfices, le capital est prêt à perpétrer n'importe quel crime, à faire couler le sang à torrents afin de conserver sa position, non seulement dans les colonies, mais dans d'autres pays encore. C'est pourquoi la nécessité se fait sentir de plus en plus instamment d'éliminer les conséquences économiques et sociales du colonialisme et de lutter contre le néo-colonialisme.

106. L'examen des questions coloniales à l'Organisation des Nations Unies depuis l'adoption de la Déclaration historique montre que la politique de brigandage et de pillage est sévèrement condamnée par la majorité écrasante des Etats Membres de l'Organisation. Elle est condamnée par tous les peuples épris de liberté. Néanmoins, de nombreuses décisions de l'Organisation des Nations Unies destinées à accélérer la mise en œuvre de la Déclaration sont restées jusqu'ici lettre morte. Le Portugal, l'Afrique du Sud, la Grande-Bretagne et d'autres puissances coloniales non seulement ne tiennent pas compte des décisions de l'Assemblée générale et du Conseil de sécurité, mais encore renforcent les mesures de répression contre les populations tombées sous leur domination.

107. Le Gouvernement du Portugal mène une guerre ouverte contre les peuples de l'Angola et de la Guinée portugaise. Il entretient sur le pied de guerre une armée afin de noyer dans le sang toutes les tentatives du peuple du Mozambique d'établir un système de gouvernement conforme à ses aspirations. Le Gouvernement raciste de l'Afrique du Sud déclare ouvertement ses visées annexionnistes sur le Sud-Ouest africain. Il rejette des regards de convoitise vers le Bassoutoland, le Souaziland et le Betchouanaland. Les racistes de Rhodésie du Sud, avec la bénédiction du Royaume-Uni, contractent avec l'Afrique du Sud et le Portugal une alliance pour lutter contre les peuples africains. Cette politique des colonialistes aggrave ainsi la situation et constitue une grave menace à la paix et à la sécurité non seulement dans cette partie du monde, mais également dans le monde entier.

108. Le Portugal, l'Afrique du Sud et la Rhodésie du Sud n'ont pu mener cette politique que grâce à l'appui moral et politique croissant qu'ils reçoivent des puissances principales de l'OTAN.

109. Lors de l'examen au Conseil de sécurité de questions concernant la situation en Afrique du Sud, en Rhodésie du Sud et dans les colonies portugaises, les représentants du Royaume-Uni, de la France et de certains autres pays non seulement déclarent se solidariser avec les colonialistes portugais et les

racistes d'Afrique du Sud et de Rhodésie du Sud, mais prennent effectivement des mesures qui empêchent le Conseil de sécurité d'adopter des décisions efficaces susceptibles de contribuer à la mise en œuvre de la Déclaration.

110. Mais, on le sait fort bien, il ne s'agit pas seulement d'un appui politique. Les Etats Membres de l'OTAN continuent à aider économiquement, financièrement et militairement les Gouvernements du Portugal, de l'Afrique du Sud et de la Rhodésie du Sud. Des avions à réaction et des bombes au napalm américains, des blindés anglais, des armes à feu pour l'infanterie et d'autres armes et matériels militaires d'Allemagne occidentale arrivent en flot ininterrompu aux gouvernements de Salazar, de Verwoerd et de Field, cela en dépit des décisions de l'Assemblée générale, et sont utilisés pour réprimer les mouvements de libération nationale dans les colonies. Selon une information publiée dans le journal anglais *The Observer*, les soldats portugais qui sont stationnés en Angola, en Guinée et au Mozambique ont reçu une formation militaire spéciale dans des unités de l'OTAN avant d'être envoyés en Angola, au Mozambique et en Guinée portugaise.

111. Sous le prétexte de conserver leurs positions, les pays membres de l'OTAN ont disséminé des bases militaires dans le monde entier. Les stratèges de l'OTAN usent leur salive à affirmer que ces bases serviraient à la défense du "monde dit libre". Par ailleurs, ils restent muets comme la tombe sur le fait que ces bases ont déjà été utilisées et continuent de l'être contre les peuples qui luttent pour leur liberté. On connaît le rôle honteux joué par l'OTAN dans la lutte contre les peuples d'Afrique, du Proche-Orient et du Moyen-Orient. Nous nous rappelons tous l'usage qui a été fait des bases militaires installées sur le continent africain, à Malte, à Chypre, des bases de Bizerte, d'Aden, de Singapour et d'autres bases contre les peuples d'Egypte, d'Algérie, du Liban, du Yémen, d'Oman et d'autres pays. L'utilisation des bases militaires de l'Angola et du Mozambique contre les mouvements de libération nationale de ces pays et à des fins de provocation à l'encontre d'autres pays africains témoigne de façon éclatante que ces bases sont devenues les points d'appui du colonialisme et des sources de menace latente en Afrique.

112. La présence d'un énorme réseau de bases militaires étrangères en Asie, en Afrique et en Amérique latine va à l'encontre des intérêts des pays et des peuples de ces continents, constitue une menace à leur développement normal indépendant et un obstacle sérieux à l'occasion à l'indépendance des peuples qui ne l'ont pas encore obtenue.

113. Se rendant compte de l'échec de la politique coloniale, les colonialistes s'unissent. Mais les peuples qui ont voulu mettre fin au système du colonialisme et du néo-colonialisme s'unissent eux aussi. Les colonialistes d'aujourd'hui sont des alchimistes qui, grâce à la "pierre philosophale" du néo-colonialisme, essaient d'arrêter le cours de l'histoire.

114. Les décisions prises à la Conférence au sommet des pays indépendants africains à Addis-Abéba ont une importance considérable pour la cause de la lutte

contre les régimes coloniaux. A cette conférence, est née l'unité des pays africains et des peuples d'Afrique sur la base de la lutte pour l'élimination rapide du colonialisme et du néo-colonialisme. La ferme détermination des pays indépendants africains d'accélérer l'affranchissement définitif du continent africain des régimes colonialistes a reçu l'appui de tous les peuples épris de liberté.

115. Le Gouvernement soviétique a salué la création de l'Organisation de l'unité africaine et l'adoption à l'unanimité de la Charte de cette organisation. Dans son message aux chefs d'Etat et de gouvernement des pays africains qui avaient participé à cette conférence, le Chef du Gouvernement soviétique, Nikita Serguéévitch Khrouchtchev, écrivait:

"Les peuples d'Afrique peuvent sans aucun doute compter sur l'appui du peuple et du Gouvernement soviétiques dans la mise en œuvre des décisions de la Conférence visant à la liquidation accélérée du colonialisme et sur une aide pratique aux combattants pour l'indépendance nationale. La lutte pour liquider complètement et définitivement le honteux système colonial et pour assurer à tous les peuples le droit à un développement libre et indépendant est une des directives principales de notre politique internationale. Le Gouvernement de l'Union soviétique a non seulement soumis à l'Organisation des Nations Unies le projet de la Déclaration historique sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, qui est à la base de la décision adoptée à l'Organisation des Nations Unies sur la liquidation du colonialisme, mais il a aussi accordé une aide matérielle à de nombreux peuples pour qu'ils accèdent à l'indépendance et la défendent contre les attaques des impérialistes. Nous nous associons à la demande unanime des participants à la Conférence d'arrêter toute aide aux gouvernements des puissances coloniales susceptibles d'être employée pour réprimer les mouvements de libération nationale en Afrique. Les alliés des puissances coloniales — comme il a été dit dans les décisions de la Conférence — doivent se rendre compte que le moment est vraiment venu de faire un choix: soit l'amitié avec les gouvernements et les peuples d'Afrique, soit l'appui accordé à ceux qui les oppriment."

116. Notre organisation, lorsqu'elle a adopté cette Déclaration historique, a non seulement accordé un appui moral aux peuples coloniaux, mais elle a assumé, en fait, une très grande responsabilité quant à leur libération et à la liquidation complète des régimes coloniaux. La mise en application de la Déclaration devait être contrôlée tout d'abord par le Comité des Dix-Sept, puis par le Comité des Vingt-Quatre, dont nous discutons actuellement le rapport [A/5446/Rev.1].

117. Le Comité spécial des Vingt-Quatre a accompli un travail considérable. Nous saluons les efforts sincères de la majorité des membres du Comité présidé par M. l'ambassadeur Coulibaly en vue de la mise en application aussi rapide que possible de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux.

118. Le devoir de l'Organisation des Nations Unies est de surmonter la résistance des puissances colo-

nialistes, de tracer la voie à la liquidation sans délai des régimes coloniaux qui subsistent dans plusieurs régions d'Asie, d'Afrique, d'Amérique latine et d'Océanie et d'accorder une aide de tout genre aux peuples qui luttent pour leur liberté et leur indépendance.

119. Nous estimons que 1965 doit être l'année de la suppression complète et définitive du système colonial.

"Il est du devoir de l'Assemblée" — a souligné le Ministre des affaires étrangères de l'URSS, Andreï Andreevitch Gromyko, dans sa déclaration au cours de la discussion générale — "d'élaborer et d'entériner, en s'appuyant sur la Déclaration, des solutions susceptibles de favoriser la liquidation sans délai des régimes coloniaux sur les territoires où ils subsistent encore ... C'est pour l'Organisation des Nations Unies un point d'honneur de faire tout pour qu'à la date de [son] anniversaire le honteux système du colonialisme ait entièrement disparu de la terre et que tous les peuples, grands ou petits, en Afrique, en Asie, ou en Amérique latine, soient libres et indépendants." [1208ème séance plénière, par. 189 et 191.]

120. Nous savons que les puissances colonialistes résisteront de façon opiniâtre à la mise en vigueur de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux.

121. Néanmoins, le Comité spécial doit, avant la dix-neuvième session, mener à bien les tâches qui lui ont été confiées par l'Assemblée générale. Il doit examiner la disposition concernant la mise en œuvre de la Déclaration dans tous les territoires coloniaux, notamment les petits territoires. Les petits territoires ne doivent pas être laissés de côté, car, à mesure que de nouveaux pays conquièrent leur indépendance, les colonialistes essaient de se retrancher sur des îles et des enclaves isolées.

122. En outre, le Comité spécial doit se livrer à une étude de l'influence des monopoles étrangers dans le sud de l'Afrique, et aussi dans les territoires coloniaux des pays arabes de l'Orient, du Sud-Est asiatique, de l'Amérique latine et de l'Océanie sur la mise en œuvre de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. Le Comité devra présenter à l'Assemblée générale un rapport sur cette question.

123. Nous savons que toutes les tentatives des colonialistes pour s'opposer au processus de liquidation du système colonial sont vouées à l'échec, mais cela ne diminue nullement l'énorme importance des tâches confiées au Comité.

124. Pour ce qui est de l'activité du Comité spécial au cours de l'année qui vient de s'écouler, il est juste que l'Assemblée générale l'approuve et appuie la recommandation aux termes de laquelle ses pouvoirs doivent être prolongés [A/5240/Rev.1, chap. I, par. 60].

125. Les mots "démembrement du système colonial" reviennent fréquemment à nos oreilles ces derniers temps, mais l'ampleur et les conséquences énormes de ce phénomène historique ne sont pas encore admises par tous. Il s'agit pourtant en fait d'une immense révolution dans l'histoire de l'humanité.

Une révolution anti-impérialiste sur le plan mondial se déroule actuellement sous nos yeux. L'impérialisme n'est plus à même de disposer du sort de centaines de millions d'êtres humains et il a perdu son pouvoir illimité sur les énormes ressources matérielles qui vont pouvoir être mises au service des intérêts nationaux des peuples eux-mêmes.

126. Sans vouloir en aucune façon diminuer les mérites des peuples afro-asiatiques, il faut dire que la première manifestation de notre époque de par son importance historique, c'est-à-dire l'apparition d'un système socialiste mondial, a créé les prémisses indispensables au développement couronné de succès du deuxième phénomène important de notre temps, le démembrement du système colonial.

127. La liquidation de la domination politique de l'impérialisme marque la fin d'une époque dans la vie des peuples de l'Asie et de l'Afrique. Jamais encore les peuples de ces colonies et semi-colonies n'avaient pu entrevoir des perspectives aussi vastes et encourageantes.

128. Il est du devoir de l'Organisation des Nations Unies et de chacun de nous de contribuer à la liquidation définitive du colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et sous toutes ses manifestations, à l'élimination de la guerre et au renforcement de la paix sur terre.

129. Mlle BROOKS (Libéria) [traduit de l'anglais]: En dehors de la demande que vous nous avez présentée, M. le Président, il se trouve que la délégation du Libéria a déjà eu l'occasion de traiter de questions relatives aux territoires sous administration portugaise, à la Rhodésie du Sud et au Sud-Ouest africain. Ainsi, et sauf par analogie, j'entends limiter exclusivement cette intervention à la situation qui règne dans les autres territoires dont il est question dans le rapport du Comité spécial, sur la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux [A/5446/Rev.1].

130. Je commencerai donc par le territoire de Malte et, pour éclairer la question, je me permettrai de rappeler brièvement les renseignements fournis par le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni en tant qu'autorité administrante et qui sont les suivants: en vertu d'une Constitution entrée en vigueur en mars 1962, Malte est devenue l'Etat de Malte, disposant d'un gouvernement représentatif et d'une assemblée législative de cinquante membres élus au suffrage universel des adultes. Le Gouvernement de Malte, à l'heure actuelle, est entre les mains d'un cabinet maltais élu, composé d'un Premier Ministre et de sept autres ministres. D'autre part, le Gouverneur de Malte doit agir conformément aux avis du cabinet sauf dans certaines circonstances exceptionnelles et le Gouvernement de Malte partage la responsabilité des décisions en ce qui concerne les affaires étrangères et la défense. En plus, le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni a fait part de sa volonté d'accorder l'indépendance à l'Etat de Malte.

131. L'Assemblée reconnaîtra que ces renseignements sont tout à l'honneur de l'autorité administrante. Toutefois, divers membres du Comité spécial ont soulevé des questions pertinentes, ainsi qu'il ressort

du rapport même, et que ma délégation considère d'une importance vitale pour la stabilité de Malte en tant que nation. Avec votre permission, M. le Président, je voudrais évoquer deux de ces questions.

132. En ce qui concerne la Constitution que mentionne le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni, le représentant de la Yougoslavie, comme il est indiqué au rapport du Comité spécial [A/5446/Rev.1, chap. VI, par. 64], a fait observer que les recommandations du Comité constitutionnel qui ont pris effet dans la nouvelle Constitution ont été rejetées par les partis maltais les plus importants, le Labour Party et le Nationalist Party, et que seul le Progressive Constitutional Party, qui n'a obtenu qu'un siège aux récentes élections, a approuvé ces recommandations. De plus, le chef du Nationalist Party a indiqué qu'à son avis la Constitution actuelle ne traduit pas les aspirations du peuple maltais.

133. Le représentant de la Tunisie a, de son côté (*ibid.*, par. 90), souligné le problème de la passation définitive des pouvoirs aux vrais représentants du peuple de Malte, qui, selon le représentant de la Tunisie, doit avoir lieu conformément à la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale et dans les meilleures conditions possibles. Ces deux représentants ont exprimé l'opinion — qui a été partagée par la majorité des membres du Comité — selon laquelle la convocation d'une conférence constitutionnelle bénéficiant d'une représentation adéquate des parties politiques, constituerait la meilleure façon d'atteindre ce but. Etant donné les objections soulevées par le Nationalist Party, les graves accusations du Labour Party à l'égard des méthodes de campagne électorale, de même que le fait qu'un parti politique tel que le Progressive Constitutional Party, ayant approuvé la recommandation, n'a pu obtenir qu'un seul siège, il apparaît vraisemblablement que les arguments en faveur d'une conférence constitutionnelle sont valables.

134. Passant maintenant de la question de Malte à celle du territoire des îles Fidji, je devrais peut-être mentionner quel enthousiasme qui s'est emparé de moi soudainement à l'idée que, dans un proche avenir, la résolution 1514 (XV) serait mise en application en ce qui concerne le peuple maltais, s'est évanoui. Ici, l'histoire est toute différente et bien triste en vérité. Il conviendrait peut-être de rappeler que le Royaume-Uni a colonisé ces îles et leur population en 1874. Près d'un siècle s'est écoulé depuis lors. Mais résumons ce qu'a dit le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni sur ce territoire: "L'un des problèmes les plus récents consiste à développer l'économie et les activités sociales". Je cite à nouveau le rapport:

"En vertu de l'Article 73 de la Charte, la tâche première de la puissance administrante devrait être d'encourager l'ensemble de la population à se proposer des fins communes d'ordre culturel, social, économique. Ces fins stimuleraient à leur tour des aspirations politiques qui seraient celles de la majorité des deux principaux groupes de la population. Ces aspirations détermineraient par suite l'époque et le résultat de l'application du principe d'autodétermination, l'un des buts de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, consacrés par la réso-

lution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale." [A/5446/Rev.1, chap. VII, par. 29.]

135. Ces arguments ont été soigneusement élaborés, à tel point que l'on a omis l'élément le plus essentiel, à savoir la question de l'indépendance. Mais ce qui est aussi grave, c'est l'attitude apparemment très satisfaite de l'autorité administrante qui croit pouvoir disposer d'un siècle encore pour mettre en œuvre ses programmes concernant le territoire des îles Fidji et ses habitants. Je constate, à la lecture du rapport, que le problème séculaire des échecs de la puissance administrante, qui n'entreprend aucune mesure pour supprimer les obstacles à l'intégration du territoire, reste entier. L'administration se divise entre des groupes raciaux et des communautés, ce qui est contraire à la Charte des Nations Unies.

136. La puissance administrante reconnaît elle-même l'insuffisance du développement dans les domaines social, économique, culturel et de l'enseignement. De plus, le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni n'a pas donné de renseignements suffisants sur le territoire. Ces problèmes ne sont pas nouveaux pour ma délégation. Au cours de neuf sessions consécutives de l'Assemblée générale, j'ai eu personnellement l'occasion de souligner ces mêmes difficultés. Je voudrais donc demander à la délégation du Royaume-Uni quelles déclarations lui paraissent justes et raisonnables elle attend en l'occurrence des membres de l'Assemblée. Je demanderai maintenant à la délégation du Royaume-Uni la permission de répondre à cette question de la façon suivante: le temps du contentement de soi est révolu. Le Royaume-Uni ne peut suspendre le développement politique des populations des îles Fidji sous prétexte d'un éventuel développement culturel, social et économique dans l'ensemble des îles. Je n'ai pas besoin de dire à la délégation du Royaume-Uni que ces questions sont si étroitement liées aux aspects politiques qu'il est impossible de les en dissocier. Mais, plus encore, je dois déclarer au Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni qu'après environ un siècle d'administration il n'a plus le droit de décider ou de faire quoi que ce soit qui retarde l'indépendance du territoire et de la population des îles Fidji. Cela découle clairement de la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale qui dit notamment: "Le manque de préparation dans les domaines politique, économique ou social ou dans celui de l'enseignement ne doit jamais être pris comme prétexte pour retarder l'indépendance".

137. Ma délégation se voit donc contrainte de déclarer que le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni devrait prendre des mesures immédiates en vue de:

a) éliminer tous les obstacles à l'intégration du territoire, y compris celui de la discrimination raciale;

b) mettre sur pied des institutions politiques valables;

c) accélérer le progrès social, économique et celui de l'enseignement des populations des îles Fidji;

d) orienter les tendances vers l'autodétermination de ces populations et entreprendre les mesures nécessaires à cet égard, et

e) accorder l'indépendance aux populations des îles Fidji.

138. Une fois de plus, je puise de courage dans la lecture du rapport qui m'apprend que le but poursuivi par cette assemblée à l'égard des peuples non autonomes sera atteint dans un avenir pas trop lointain, par les populations du Kenya, de la Rhodésie du Nord, du Nyassaland et de Zanzibar. En réaffirmant les droits inaliénables de ces peuples à l'indépendance et en souhaitant qu'aucun obstacle ne les empêche d'atteindre cet objectif ultime, je m'associe aux membres du Comité spécial et, au nom de ma délégation, je félicite à l'avance les populations de la grande lutte qu'elles ont menée pour leur libération et pour leur accession à l'indépendance. Je me rappelle la contribution apportée par le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni, en tant qu'autorité administrante, et sa volonté de se conformer à notre calendrier pour l'octroi de ce droit à l'indépendance. C'est pourquoi j'adresse également au Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni mes félicitations sincères. Je suis certain qu'après avoir accédé à l'indépendance, ces populations sauront vivre en paix avec le Royaume-Uni et qu'il existera entre elles des relations de bon voisinage.

139. Je ne m'étendrai pas plus longuement sur ces traits favorables de la situation, de crainte d'éclipser le sentiment d'inquiétude que nous cause la situation qui règne dans trois autres Etats non autonomes d'Afrique, le Bassoutoland, le Betchouanaland et le Souaziland. Au cours de sa précédente session, l'Assemblée générale a adopté la résolution 1817 (XVII), par laquelle elle invitait la puissance administrante:

"... à suspendre immédiatement les dispositions constitutionnelles actuelles et à procéder sans plus tarder, dans les trois territoires, à des élections au suffrage universel direct des adultes".

Ensuite, la résolution demande à l'autorité administrante:

"... d'abroger les dispositions constitutionnelles actuelles et de convoquer immédiatement une conférence constitutionnelle avec la participation des dirigeants politiques démocratiquement élus des trois territoires, afin de fixer selon leurs vœux la date d'accession à l'indépendance de chacun de ces territoires".

140. Du rapport du Comité spécial, il ressort ce qui suit:

a) Pour le Bassoutoland, une commission constitutionnelle a été créée, mais son rapport ne sera présenté qu'à la fin de 1963, après l'ajournement de la dix-huitième session de l'Assemblée générale;

b) La conférence constitutionnelle du Souaziland a mis fin à ses travaux sans parvenir à un accord;

c) En ce qui concerne le Betchouanaland, le Secrétaire d'Etat du Royaume-Uni pour les colonies a déclaré en avril 1963 que le moment était venu de revoir la Constitution de ce territoire et d'envisager un progrès plus important dans le domaine politique.

141. En ce moment toutefois, des négociations sont en cours au sujet de la convocation d'une telle conférence constitutionnelle. Ma délégation reconnaît que l'autorité administrante a pris certaines mesures en vue d'appliquer la résolution de l'Assemblée générale.

rale à cet égard, mais certaines circonstances soulignent l'urgence de la question. Tout d'abord, l'Assemblée a admis que les dispositions constitutionnelles envisagées pour ces territoires et la législation électorale en vigueur étaient discriminatoires et ne correspondaient pas aux désirs de la population et qu'elles n'étaient pas non plus conformes à la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. En second lieu, pour ce qui est du Souaziland, la nouvelle Constitution a été imposée aux représentants de la population directement intéressée plutôt qu'acceptée par eux. Je n'entreprendrai pas l'examen détaillée des défauts de cette Constitution. Il suffit de dire que ma délégation ne peut admettre qu'un double système de vote soit imposé à un peuple. Nous notons qu'au Bassoutoland, bien que le Congress Party ait obtenu 32 sièges sur 40, la puissance administrante a établi ce qu'elle a appelé un gouvernement de coalition, composé de membres nommés, fonctionnaires coloniaux et chefs de tribus. Ma délégation ne peut aucunement accepter cela.

142. Comme le représentant de l'Éthiopie l'a dit au Comité spécial [A/5446/Rev.1, chap. IX, par. 38], nous sommes en face de la situation sérieuse représentée par les territoires de la Haute Commission entièrement encerclés par un voisin hostile et infiniment plus puissant qui pratique une politique d'oppression contre ses propres habitants africains. Ce voisin, c'est la République sud-africaine dont la politique d'apartheid provoque un flot de réfugiés en direction des territoires de la Haute Commission. Comme l'a fait observer plus loin le représentant de l'Éthiopie, nous ne pouvons prendre à la légère l'avertissement adressé par le Gouvernement sud-africain au Gouvernement britannique concernant ce qu'il appelle des "représailles". Ce n'est pas sans une grave inquiétude que ma délégation prend note du refoulement en Afrique du Sud des réfugiés nationalistes africains par le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni alors qu'il savait, ou qu'il aurait dû savoir, que ces réfugiés encourent la peine de mort conformément à la législation du Gouvernement sud-africain. Ma délégation est tout aussi préoccupée du fait que l'administrateur de ces territoires doit résider en Afrique du Sud. Nous savons que le Gouvernement sud-africain souhaite annexer les territoires de la Haute Commission. Ma délégation lance donc un appel au Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni pour qu'il s'entienne résolument à sa décision d'empêcher l'Afrique du Sud d'annexer les territoires en question.

143. Je voudrais maintenant attirer l'attention de l'Assemblée et la vôtre, M. le Président, sur certains actes qui, au Bassoutoland, ont été considérés comme des crimes par l'autorité administrante, et pour lesquels des autochtones ont été arrêtés et jetés en prison.

144. Trente jeunes gens ont été arrêtés et incarcérés, sous l'inculpation d'avoir chanté des hymnes nationaux qui n'étaient pas du goût de la jeune police européenne. Ils ont été maintenus en prison pendant huit mois et ensuite poursuivis et condamnés à de courtes peines. Je me rappelle que je possède moi-même un disque sur lequel sont enregistrés les hymnes nationaux de tous les pays d'Amérique latine.

Mes amis d'Amérique latine peuvent-ils s'imaginer combien d'arrestations d'Africains auraient lieu si un tel disque parvenait au Bassoutoland ou s'il était découvert là-bas entre les mains d'Africains.

145. Dix jeunes gens ont été arrêtés, pour avoir organisé une cérémonie en l'honneur de l'anniversaire de la reine, et accusés de sédition. La police a expliqué que ces personnes auraient dû assister à la cérémonie officielle et que, ne l'ayant pas fait, elles avaient commis un acte séditieux. Telle est la définition succincte de la sédition donnée par les autorités au Bassoutoland. Des pétitionnaires nous ont rappelé l'alliance néfaste entre l'Afrique du Sud et le Royaume-Uni à l'égard des territoires de la Haute Commission. La police sud-africaine a le pouvoir de pénétrer au Bassoutoland pour y enlever de force les réfugiés qui ont cherché asile contre la répression en Afrique du Sud.

146. Il est évident qu'en ce qui concerne les territoires de la Haute Commission les populations de ces territoires ont un besoin extrêmement urgent d'obtenir immédiatement le droit à l'autonomie et à l'indépendance. Ma délégation lance donc un appel au Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni pour qu'il prenne immédiatement les mesures permettant aux populations des territoires de la Haute Commission d'atteindre ce but, afin d'éviter toutes les tensions et les querelles internationales dans cette partie du monde, de crainte qu'elles ne causent à la paix et à la sécurité internationales un danger auquel le monde entier ne pourrait échapper.

147. Ma délégation partage l'inquiétude du Comité spécial en ce qui concerne la situation en Guyane britannique, qui, particulièrement ces derniers temps, s'est détériorée de façon assez inquiétante. Ma délégation rappelle que la question restant en suspens concernant le développement de ce territoire est celle d'une conférence constitutionnelle chargée de fixer la date de l'indépendance. La politique coloniale "diviser pour régner" a produit son effet sur la population de la Guyane britannique et fomenté la désunion au sein de la population. Nous sommes d'avis que les influences étrangères de caractère économique ont également un effet sur la situation. Ma délégation lance un appel aux populations de la Guyane britannique pour qu'elles s'unissent et aplanissent leurs divergences, pour lutter ensemble contre l'ennemi commun ou contre les influences qui s'exercent contre leur indépendance. Ma délégation partage le point de vue du Comité spécial selon lequel, à titre de mesure intérimaire et sans préjudice d'une décision ultérieure, le sous-comité aurait dû avoir la possibilité de rechercher sur place, avec les parties intéressées, les voies et les moyens les plus propres à permettre au pays d'accéder sans délai à l'indépendance.

148. Comme on l'a vu généralement par le passé, les représentants du Yémen et du Royaume-Uni ont chacun réservé les droits de leurs gouvernements respectifs sur Aden et les protectorats d'Aden, l'un et l'autre prétendant avoir la souveraineté sur ces deux territoires. Ma délégation préférerait, dans cette intervention, ne pas étudier en détail le caractère juridique de la question de la souveraineté d'une puissance coloniale sur les territoires colonisés.

J'exprimai donc les regrets de ma délégation quant au refus du Royaume-Uni de permettre aux membres du sous-comité de pénétrer dans le territoire d'Aden pour y entendre les opinions de la population sur la question essentielle de son avenir politique, qui auraient toutes pu servir de base à des recommandations du Comité spécial à l'Assemblée générale pour accélérer l'octroi de l'autodétermination et de l'indépendance à Aden et à ses protectorats. Ma délégation voudrait également adresser un appel au Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni pour que celui-ci adopte les mesures permettant à la population d'Aden et de ses protectorats d'exercer aussitôt que possible leurs droits à l'autodétermination.

149. Le représentant du Chili a retracé l'histoire du développement d'Aden et de ses protectorats et des relations des territoires avec le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni. Ma délégation examinera ces renseignements ainsi que ceux fournis par l'autorité administrante et se réserve le droit de s'y référer dans les délibérations à venir concernant la question d'Aden et de ses protectorats.

150. Etant donné que le Comité spécial a différé l'examen des territoires de Gibraltar, Fernando Póo, Ifni, Rio Muni et du Sahara espagnol, et que ma délégation aura la possibilité d'examiner les renseignements disponibles sur ces territoires dans une des grandes commissions de l'Assemblée générale, je réserve le droit de ma délégation de faire plus tard des observations à ce sujet.

151. Enfin, au nom de la délégation du Libéria, j'adresse mes félicitations et mes remerciements sincères au Comité spécial pour le rapport qu'il a présenté à l'Assemblée.

152. M. CARSALES (Argentine) [traduit de l'espagnol]: La délégation argentine estime que le rapport du Comité spécial [A/5446/Rev.1] dont nous sommes saisis constitue l'un des documents les plus considérables présentés à cette session de l'Assemblée générale.

153. Il procède la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux qui, d'après le Comité spécial chargé d'examiner la situation en ce qui concerne son application, est une manifestation de foi, une source d'inspiration pour tous ceux qui vivaient encore sous le régime colonial et l'expression du désir universel d'accélérer le processus de libération.

154. L'écroulement du colonialisme est l'un des événements historiques les plus importants de notre siècle. Les Nations Unies, il est vrai, n'en ont pas pris l'initiative, qui est due aux efforts inlassables et glorieux des peuples soumis. La mission de notre organisation a été de confirmer, dans la Charte et dans de nombreuses résolutions de l'Assemblée générale qui ont culminé dans la résolution 1514 (XV), le droit des territoires coloniaux à la libre détermination et à l'indépendance, et de créer un mécanisme approprié pour l'accomplissement rapide, pacifique et juste de ce processus.

155. De là l'importance du travail du Comité spécial, chargé de la tâche difficile d'étudier la façon dont, dans la pratique, la Déclaration est mise en œuvre, de

formuler des suggestions et des recommandations sur les progrès accomplis et de proposer des mesures concrètes pour la pleine réalisation des objectifs fixés.

156. Une liste, qui n'est pas complète, des territoires qui sont visés par la Déclaration et, par conséquent, relèvent de la compétence du Comité, donne pour ceux-ci une superficie totale de 6 750 000 kilomètres carrés et une population de 45 millions d'habitants.

157. La seule mention de ces chiffres montre clairement quelles peuvent être l'ampleur et la complexité de la tâche du Comité. De la lecture du rapport se dégage l'impression qu'il l'a accomplie de façon active et consciencieuse et, à ce propos, la délégation argentine tient à féliciter les membres du Comité et le personnel du Secrétariat pour les efforts inlassables et efficaces qu'ils ont déployés en vue d'obtenir une meilleure application de la résolution 1514 (XV). Nous voudrions pouvoir adresser les mêmes compliments aux autorités administrantes, mais, malheureusement, ce n'est pas possible dans tous les cas. S'il est vrai que certaines d'entre elles ont plus ou moins coopéré avec le Comité — ce que nous nous plaisons à reconnaître — d'autres ont catégoriquement refusé toute collaboration. Pareille attitude ne saurait persister.

158. Ma délégation ne parlera pas de chacun des problèmes des différents territoires sur lesquels porte le rapport du Comité spécial. Cela prendrait un temps dont l'Assemblée générale ne dispose pas. De plus, certains chapitres du rapport — je ne dirai pas les plus importants, car la lutte d'un peuple pour sa libération a la même importance quelles que soient les circonstances et l'ampleur de cette lutte, mais qui présentent les plus grandes difficultés et la plus grande urgence —, ces chapitres donc ont déjà fait l'objet d'une étude à la Quatrième Commission, où la délégation de l'Argentine a expliqué sa position. Nous ne répéterons pas nos déclarations ici.

159. Le tableau d'ensemble que présente le rapport du Comité spécial comporte certains aspects négatifs, mais aussi des raisons d'espérer une solution rapide et favorable du problème. Nous appuyons pleinement la déclaration ci-après qui figure au paragraphe 45 du rapport du Comité:

"Tout en prenant note des progrès réalisés depuis, en matière de décolonisation, le Comité spécial a conscience que cette décolonisation, dans certaines parties de l'Afrique et ailleurs, ne s'effectue pas à un rythme satisfaisant. Il s'inquiète particulièrement des situations dangereuses existant dans les territoires sous administration portugaise, au Sud-Ouest africain et en Rhodésie du Sud." [A/5446/Rev.1, chap. premier, par. 45.]

160. Par contre, d'autres territoires sont sur le point d'accéder à l'indépendance, comme le Kenya et Zanzibar, que nous nous préparons à accueillir très bientôt dans cette Assemblée. Nous espérons que ces heureux événements se répéteront l'an prochain en ce qui concerne d'autres pays que leur évolution politique, économique et sociale a déjà amenés au seuil d'une indépendance pour laquelle ils ont si longtemps lutté.

161. Le Comité spécial, qui a déjà étudié une série de territoires — 26 exactement — de superficie et de population très variées, devra s'occuper, à mesure que ses travaux progressent, de territoires en général moins grands et dont la situation politique est, dans certains cas, assez mal connue. Chacun d'entre eux a ses caractéristiques et présente ses problèmes particuliers et, dans beaucoup de cas, il ne sera pas possible d'appliquer les solutions qui ont été adoptées pour des territoires plus vastes jouissant d'une autonomie économique. La délégation argentine espère que le Comité spécial continuera à étudier les territoires visés par la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale avec le réalisme dont il a fait preuve jusqu'ici et qu'il abordera l'examen de chaque cas en évitant les formules toutes faites, c'est-à-dire des formules qui ont été appliquées avec succès auparavant, mais qui pourraient ne pas être les plus indiquées et les plus équitables. A cet égard, nous avons entendu ce matin une déclaration intéressante et lucide du représentant du Chili.

162. Dans le même ordre d'idées, la délégation argentine a noté avec satisfaction, dans le rapport du Comité spécial, le recours fréquent à une procédure relativement nouvelle mais qui offre de grandes possibilités. Je veux parler de celle de l'accord général. Nous estimons que, dans certains cas, la situation n'a pas suffisamment évolué pour donner lieu à l'adoption de résolutions, car ces résolutions présentent, d'autre part, des difficultés de rédaction susceptibles de réduire les appuis qu'elles trouveraient. Dans ces conditions, il nous semble que la méthode de l'accord général est le plus propre à conduire à des résultats positifs.

163. Bien que la tentation d'exposer à nouveau la position de la République argentine au sujet du colonialisme et de ses conséquences soit pour nous très grande, nous y résisterons. Notre histoire politique et notre action dans l'Organisation des Nations Unies depuis sa création sont la meilleure preuve de nos idéaux et de nos objectifs. Pour le reste, l'horloge de l'histoire sonne les derniers instants de cette conception périmée de la vie politique internationale moderne, et il est inutile de débattre maintenant de questions déjà tranchées. Nous sommes en présence d'un processus irréversible qui échappe même à la volonté des puissances administrantes.

164. Rien n'est plus digne ni plus généreux que l'objectif que les Nations Unies se sont assignées: émanciper définitivement les territoires coloniaux et les incorporer, d'une manière ordonnée, rapide et pacifique, à la communauté des nations qui peuplent aujourd'hui notre planète. C'est à la réalisation de cet objectif, l'un des fondements de la Charte des Nations Unies, que la République argentine s'est engagée — je le réaffirme aujourd'hui — à consacrer tous ses efforts.

165. Nous sommes certains que le colonialisme finira par disparaître, sous toutes ses formes et manifestations, y compris dans les territoires de moindre dimension. La République argentine subit elle-même aujourd'hui les conséquences de la politique coloniale d'une grande puissance. L'occupation des îles Malouines — violation flagrante de notre souveraineté, à l'époque de l'expansion de l'impérialisme,

à un moment où notre pays lui-même accédait à peine à l'indépendance — est un acte de force qui n'a jamais été accepté par le Gouvernement ni par le peuple argentins.

166. A l'annexe I du rapport du Comité spécial que nous examinons en ce moment, nous trouvons sur la liste préliminaire des territoires auxquels s'applique la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale les îles Malouines. A plusieurs reprises, la délégation argentine a, par d'expresses réserves formulées devant cette organisation, notamment à la Quatrième Commission qui s'occupe des renseignements fournis sur les territoires non autonomes, affirmé la souveraineté de l'Argentine sur ce territoire; en réaffirmant aujourd'hui nos droits imprescriptibles et inaliénables sur les îles Malouines, qui ne sont ni une colonie ni une possession d'une nation quelle qu'elle soit, mais font partie intégrante du territoire national argentin et sont comprises dans son domaine et relèvent de sa souveraineté, nous tenons à souligner l'importance que nous accordons au paragraphe 6 du dispositif de la résolution 1514 (XV) ainsi conçu: "Toute tentative visant à détruire partiellement ou totalement l'unité nationale et l'intégrité territoriale d'un pays est incompatible avec les buts et les principes de la Charte des Nations Unies."

167. En cette ère de liberté, la présence anachronique du Royaume-Uni dans ces îles, très peu peuplées, n'a pas de sens et représente un phénomène de l'histoire qui ne peut continuer, sous peine de porter atteinte à la compréhension mutuelle et à l'amitié qui lient deux peuples unis déjà par tant d'autres liens. Je ne crois pas pécher par excès d'optimisme en exprimant l'espoir de voir le Royaume-Uni faire preuve, dans ce cas particulier, de cette compréhension des réalités du moment présent et de cette vision de l'avenir dont il a su témoigner à l'égard d'autres parties du monde.

168. Nous ne voulons pas conclure sans exprimer l'espoir que la mise en œuvre de la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale fera, au cours des mois à venir, des progrès positifs, se manifestant par l'entrée de nouveaux pays dans la communauté internationale et par une évolution nette et rapide d'autres pays vers le même objectif. Nous désirons aussi que ce processus se déroule dans une atmosphère de paix et sur des bases démocratiques, sans discriminations d'ordre racial, politique ou économique de quelque genre que ce soit. A cet effet, la coopération de tous les Etats Membres des Nations Unies — et plus spécialement des puissances administrantes — est une condition fondamentale et indispensable. L'organe le plus indiqué pour exprimer cette volonté de collaboration est sans aucun doute le Comité spécial, dans la capacité duquel nous avons confiance et où nous trouvons la garantie du respect constant des intérêts suprêmes des territoires et des peuples coloniaux.

169. Le PRESIDENT (traduit de l'espagnol): Tous les orateurs qui étaient inscrits pour ce matin ont pris la parole. Je donne maintenant la parole au représentant du Mexique qui désire exercer son droit de réponse.

170. M. PEON DEL VALLE (Mexique) [traduit de l'espagnol]: Le représentant du Guatemala a formulé,

au cours de cette séance, une protestation et des réserves quant au fait que Belize figure sous la dénomination de Honduras britannique à l'annexe I du rapport du Comité spécial [A/5446/Rev.1] que nous examinons en ce moment, et en particulier sur la liste des territoires non autonomes auxquels s'applique la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale. A cette occasion, le représentant du Guatemala a déclaré que la souveraineté sur le territoire de Belize appartient exclusivement à son pays, c'est-à-dire au Guatemala.

171. Tout d'abord, je voudrais que figure au procès-verbal à cette occasion — comme à diverses autres occasions passées — la déclaration faite par mon gouvernement et que l'on trouve dans la documentation officielle de diverses instances internationales, aussi bien mondiales que régionales et interaméricaines, ainsi que dans les divers autres moyens d'information du public, et aux termes de laquelle, s'il se produisait un changement dans le statut international de Belize, il serait impossible de ne pas tenir compte des droits historiques et juridiques du Mexique sur ce territoire. Mon gouvernement a également eu l'occasion de déclarer que, pour sa part, le Mexique ne méconnaît pas le droit du peuple de Belize à l'autodétermination et son droit, par voie de conséquence, de prétendre à une pleine indépendance, s'il le désire, par la libre affirmation de sa volonté.

172. Deuxièmement, je tiens également à préciser que le fait qu'un territoire figure sur la liste de ceux à propos desquels des renseignements sont transmis conformément à l'Article 73 e de la Charte ne saurait, par lui-même, affecter la souveraineté qui peut ou non appartenir aux autorités qui, étant en fait les seules responsables de la situation et du développement de ces territoires, doivent, à ce titre, informer les Nations Unies de la situation qui règne dans ces territoires.

173. Lorsque cette question de la signification à donner à l'introduction des noms des territoires non autonomes dans la liste des territoires au sujet desquels l'Assemblée générale devait recevoir des renseignements, conformément à l'Article 73, paragraphe e, de la Charte, fut soulevée pour la première fois devant la Quatrième Commission de l'Assemblée générale le 8 décembre 1946^{6/}, la délégation guatémaliennne déclara qu'elle s'abstiendrait lors du vote sur le projet de résolution, parce que le territoire de Belize figurait sur cette liste. La délégation du Mexique souligna alors que l'adoption du projet de résolution en question, où était pris acte de la liste des territoires sur lesquels des renseignements devaient être fournis, n'impliquait nullement la reconnaissance de la souveraineté d'un Etat quelconque sur un territoire déterminé. Ma délégation avait ajouté que cette résolution n'aurait qu'une signification pratique en ce sens qu'elle servirait à indiquer quelles étaient les autorités responsables, à un moment donné, de l'administration desdits territoires.

174. La délégation guatémaliennne avait souscrit à cette interprétation et avait ajouté que son intention

était d'éviter toute possibilité de doute ou d'incertitude dans l'avenir.

175. Au cours de la même séance, une autre délégation au moins s'était déclarée d'accord quant à l'interprétation donnée par la délégation mexicaine. Aucune autre délégation ne s'est opposée à cette interprétation.

176. J'ai rappelé ces faits en raison de leur rapport avec la situation qui nous occupe en ce moment.

177. Le PRESIDENT (traduit de l'espagnol): La parole est au représentant du Royaume-Uni pour l'exercice de son droit de réponse.

178. M. KING (Royaume-Uni) [traduit de l'anglais]: Je me réfère aux déclarations qu'ont faites aujourd'hui les représentants du Guatemala et de l'Argentine et au cours desquelles ils ont contesté la souveraineté sur le Honduras britannique et sur les îles Malouines du Gouvernement de Sa Majesté dans le Royaume-Uni. Le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté n'a aucun doute en ce qui concerne la souveraineté qu'il possède sur le Honduras britannique et sur les îles Malouines et je tiens à réserver formellement ses droits en la matière.

179. Le PRESIDENT (traduit de l'espagnol): Je donne la parole au représentant de l'Espagne pour lui permettre d'exercer son droit de réponse.

180. M. DE PINES (Espagne) [traduit de l'espagnol]: Ma délégation souhaite exercer son droit de réponse à l'égard des contre-vérités qu'a énoncées le représentant de l'Union soviétique et rappeler à l'Assemblée que nous avons déjà exposé en détail notre position au sujet du processus de décolonisation, ainsi que notre désir de collaborer avec l'Assemblée et tous les organes de l'ONU. L'accusation selon laquelle la terreur règne dans les territoires administrés par l'Espagne et qu'on y pratique les travaux forcés est absurde et fausse, de même que toute une série d'autres accusations dépourvues de fondement. Les conditions qu'a décrites le représentant de l'Union soviétique sont, sans aucun doute, celles qui règnent dans le vaste empire colonial qu'administre son pays.

181. Le PRESIDENT (traduit de l'espagnol): Je donne la parole au représentant du Guatemala pour lui permettre d'exercer son droit de réponse.

182. M. MOLINA ORANTES (Guatemala) [traduit de l'espagnol]: Etant donné l'heure avancée, mon intervention sera très brève, mais je me vois obligé de prendre la parole en raison des observations que vient de faire le représentant du Mexique. Il a dit que son pays se réservait de discuter des droits de souveraineté sur le territoire guatémaltèque de Belize, au cas où le statut juridique de ce territoire viendrait à être modifié. Ma délégation tient à déclarer dès maintenant qu'elle ne reconnaît à quiconque aucun droit sur le territoire de Belize, qui relève uniquement de la souveraineté du Guatemala. La déclaration du représentant du Mexique ne doit donc en aucune manière être interprétée comme impliquant une action conjointe avec mon gouvernement, dont la revendication a un caractère exclusif, comme il l'a déjà indiqué.

183. Le Mexique n'a jamais possédé de territoire au sud du fleuve Hondo, frontière nord du territoire

^{6/} Documents officiels de la seconde partie de la première session de l'Assemblée générale, Quatrième Commission, Première partie, 21ème séance.

de Belize, qu'on appelle à tort le Honduras britannique. D'une part, les cartes utilisées par les négociateurs espagnols et anglais qui ont signé le Traité de Versailles de 1783 — lequel traité concédait, aux sujets britanniques résidant dans la région comprise entre le fleuve Hondo et le fleuve Belize, certains droits de simple usufruit — et, d'autre part, beaucoup d'autres documents, parmi lesquels le Traité anglo-mexicain du 8 juillet 1893 relatif aux frontières^{1/}, démontrent sans aucun doute possible que la province du Yucatan ne s'étendait pas au sud du fleuve Hondo.

184. Je ne crois pas qu'il soit actuellement opportun d'examiner la question plus à fond. Je me bornerai simplement à citer ce qu'a dit, après la conclusion du Traité anglo-mexicain de juillet 1893 dont j'ai parlé, le Ministre des relations extérieures du Mexique, M. Ignacio Mariscal:

"Si l'on admet que l'Espagne possédait des droits de souveraineté sur Belize au moment où nous avons acquis l'indépendance, on ne peut prétendre que ces droits aient été transférés à notre République; en effet, nous n'avons pas acquis ce territoire pendant notre lutte pour la libération — lutte qui ne s'est jamais étendue au-delà du fleuve Hondo —, on ne nous a attribué la possession d'aucun territoire au sud de ce fleuve, ce territoire ne nous a pas non plus été cédé par l'Espagne en vertu du Traité de 1836, par lequel elle nous a

cédé ses droits sur d'autres territoires, non plus que l'Angleterre, par le Traité de 1826, ne nous a reconnus comme héritiers des droits de l'Espagne sur Belize; enfin, nous ne pouvons, en vertu du droit des gens, revendiquer aucun autre titre au territoire que l'on appelle aujourd'hui le Honduras britannique."

Voilà ce qu'a dit alors le Ministre des relations extérieures du Mexique. Il semble à ma délégation qu'on ne puisse rien ajouter à cette opinion.

185. Le PRESIDENT (traduit de l'espagnol): Je donne de nouveau la parole au représentant du Mexique pour lui permettre d'exercer son droit de réponse.

186. M. PEON DEL VALLE (Mexique) [traduit de l'espagnol]: Comme l'a dit le représentant du Guatemala, il ne convient pas aujourd'hui de discuter des droits de souveraineté sur Belize. Dans ces conditions, le Gouvernement mexicain et sa délégation à l'Assemblée continuent de réserver formellement leur position.

187. Le PRESIDENT (traduit de l'espagnol): Avant de lever la séance, je tiens à rappeler aux délégations que, comme je l'ai déjà annoncé, la liste des orateurs sera close lundi prochain, le 2 décembre, à 18 heures.

188. Je fais appel aux délégations pour que les représentants qui désirent intervenir dans le débat d'utiliser le temps qui reste disponible sur les séances prévues pour lundi et mardi, faute de quoi nous devons siéger de nuit mercredi, jeudi et vendredi, car l'examen du point en discussion doit être terminé au plus tard à la fin de la semaine prochaine, c'est-à-dire vendredi.

La séance est levée à 13 h 45.

^{1/} Traité relatif aux frontières entre le Yucatan et Belize, conclu entre les Gouvernements du Mexique et de la Grande-Bretagne et signé à Mexico le 8 juillet 1893.

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ASSEMBLÉE
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DIX-HUITIÈME SESSION

Documents officiels



139 1268^e
SÉANCE PLÉNIÈRE

Lundi 2 décembre 1963,
à 10 h 30

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Président: M. Carlos SOSA RODRIGUEZ
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POINT 23 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

Rapport du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux (suite)

DISCUSSION GÉNÉRALE (suite)

1. M. HSUEH (Chine) [traduit de l'anglais]: Le Comité spécial vient d'achever une deuxième année de travaux importants et fructueux. Nous sommes maintenant saisis de son rapport annuel d'activité [A/5446/Rev.1], qui comprend 14 chapitres, dont pratiquement chacun constitue un assez gros volume. En fait, même à l'Organisation des Nations Unies, où l'efficacité est à l'ordre du jour, il est rare qu'un comité accomplisse à lui seul une tâche aussi considérable dans des délais aussi brefs. Comme l'indique son rapport volumineux, le Comité spécial a pu examiner, au cours des 101 séances qu'il a tenues de février à octobre de cette année, la situation de 26 territoires, couvrant une superficie de près de 2 millions et demi de milles carrés et comptant une population de 37 millions d'habitants. Le Comité a droit à notre reconnaissance et à notre admiration à tous pour le travail utile qu'il a accompli. Je m'empresse d'associer ma délégation aux hommages chaleureux qui lui ont été rendus à l'Assemblée et à la Quatrième Commission.

2. La décolonisation, qui se poursuit sous la responsabilité du Conseil de tutelle et d'autres organes compétents des Nations Unies, a reçu un nouvel élan lorsque le Comité spécial a été créé le 27 novembre 1961. Il convient de noter que, depuis cette date, sept pays qui étaient auparavant des territoires coloniaux ont accédé à l'indépendance et ont été admis à l'ONU. Il ne fait aucun doute que d'autres territoires qui n'ont pas encore acquis leur indépendance les suivront dans cette voie.

3. Par l'intermédiaire de ce comité ainsi que du Conseil de tutelle et des autres organes intéressés, l'Organisation des Nations Unies accomplit l'une de ses missions sacrées, celle qui consiste à promouvoir et à encourager le respect des droits de l'homme et des libertés fondamentales pour tous les individus, sans distinction de race, de sexe, de langue ou de religion. Notre organisation exerce sa grande influence pour accélérer le processus d'émancipation visant à apporter l'égalité et la dignité à chaque être humain. Elle est maintenant le centre générateur de cette force irrésistible qui doit balayer toutes les notions médiévales de tyrannie, d'oppression et d'esclavage et ouvrir la voie lumineuse de la civilisation moderne.

4. Nous qui travaillons au sein de l'Organisation des Nations Unies en ce moment, si captivant de son histoire, nous avons tout lieu de nous féliciter de la bonne fortune qui nous permet non seulement d'assister, mais aussi de participer à cette évolution historique. Bien entendu, l'Organisation n'aurait pu s'acquitter de cette noble mission, tout comme de ses autres tâches, avec autant de succès, sans l'effort concerté de tous ses Membres et sans la coopération de ceux qui sont directement intéressés. A cet égard, il faut souligner le rôle important qu'ont joué d'anciennes puissances coloniales d'Europe occidentale, notamment le Royaume-Uni et la France. Il est significatif que la plupart des nouveaux Membres admis à l'ONU ces dernières années sont d'anciennes colonies des puissances de l'Europe occidentale. Ces puissances, s'inspirant des nobles idéaux de la Charte des Nations Unies et guidées par la tendance marquée des temps modernes, ont reconnu le principe de l'autodétermination et l'ont appliqué à leurs colonies. Cette évolution se poursuit, ainsi qu'en témoigne un exemple cité à l'Annexe II du rapport du Comité spécial. J'estime que nous pouvons tous puiser un encouragement dans la lecture de cette annexe, qui reproduit une lettre du représentant du Royaume-Uni ainsi qu'une liste chronologique des progrès constitutionnels réalisés dans les territoires non autonomes sous administration britannique. Certes, on ne saurait dire que l'évolution intervenue dans tous les territoires énumérés dans ce calendrier est satisfaisante, mais il n'en ressort pas moins clairement que des progrès appréciables ont été réalisés dans un grand nombre d'entre eux. Il est à noter que certains de ces territoires ont accédé à l'autonomie et que d'autres sont prêts à devenir indépendants dans un proche avenir.

5. Le chapitre XIII du rapport indique également que l'Espagne, dont les anciennes colonies d'Amérique latine ont accédé à l'indépendance bien avant la création de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, a réaffirmé son engagement de respecter le principe

de l'autodétermination en ce qui concerne les territoires d'Afrique sous administration espagnole. Nous devons reconnaître à chacun ses mérites et rendre hommage aux Gouvernements britannique et espagnol ainsi qu'à d'autres gouvernements qui ont adopté la même attitude à ce sujet.

6. Cela dit, je dois exprimer l'inquiétude ressentie par mon gouvernement du fait que d'autres territoires se trouvent encore sous la domination coloniale de pays d'Europe occidentale; il s'agit, notamment, des territoires d'Afrique auxquels le principe d'autodétermination n'a pas encore été appliqué et dont la situation est examinée dans le rapport du Comité spécial.

7. Comme vous nous l'avez rappelé à la 1266^{ème} séance, M. le Président, les chapitres du rapport portant sur des territoires déterminés ont été renvoyés par l'Assemblée générale, lors de sa 1210^{ème} séance, à l'examen de la Quatrième Commission. Je ne me propose donc pas d'en parler ici, mais je voudrais dire qu'il reste du devoir de cette assemblée, avec l'assistance du Comité spécial, de veiller à ce que cette œuvre inachevée soit menée à bonne fin. Nous espérons également que les gouvernements des puissances administrantes intéressées viendront s'associer aux efforts déployés par l'Organisation des Nations Unies pour participer à cette évolution historique.

8. L'Assemblée générale s'est jusqu'ici attachée à mettre fin au type de colonialisme pratiqué par l'Europe occidentale et, ce faisant, a donné la priorité aux territoires coloniaux d'Afrique. Ma délégation souscrit pleinement à cette manière d'agir. Nous pensons qu'elle est la seule façon correcte et logique de procéder, car nous reconnaissons tous que c'est en Afrique que la superficie la plus grande, toutes proportions gardées, a été sous domination coloniale pendant la période la plus longue.

9. Commençons par le commencement et concentrons nos efforts. Terminons-en d'abord avec le colonialisme en Afrique en y consacrant toute notre énergie et toute notre attention. Cela ne signifie pas, toutefois, qu'il faille fermer les yeux sur un autre genre de colonialisme. Tout en nous occupant du type de colonialisme pratiqué par les pays d'Europe occidentale, nous ne devons pas oublier qu'en Europe, en Asie et même en Amérique latine des peuples sont assujettis à un autre genre de colonialisme: le colonialisme russe ou soviétique.

10. L'an dernier, lorsque nous avons examiné cette même question, nombre de représentants ont rappelé à l'Assemblée le sort des peuples de l'Estonie, de la Lettonie, de la Lituanie, de l'Ukraine, de l'Allemagne de l'Est, de la Corée du Nord et d'autres territoires sous occupation soviétique, où le principe d'autodétermination n'a jamais été appliqué. Peut-être ne pourrions-nous pas apporter une aide immédiate à tous ces peuples qui connaissent la même infortune, mais nous devons leur faire savoir que nous ne les avons pas oubliés. Ne nous laissons pas obnubiler par l'argument fallacieux selon lequel il s'agirait d'un problème découlant de la guerre froide.

11. Je sais pertinemment que nous mécontenterons l'Union soviétique en discutant du colonialisme sovié-

tique, mais nous ne pouvons pas écarter, sous prétexte qu'il s'agit d'un problème de la guerre froide, tout ce qui déplaît à l'Union soviétique. Nous devons nous servir d'une seule et même aune pour appliquer la Charte. Le colonialisme reste le colonialisme, qu'il soit pratiqué par les puissances d'Europe occidentale ou par l'Union soviétique. On ne peut en faire une question de guerre froide et s'en désintéresser complètement, uniquement parce qu'il est pratiqué par l'Union soviétique.

12. Prenons, par exemple, le cas des nations européennes qui vivent sous la domination soviétique. Quelle est leur situation? Le représentant de l'Espagne y a fait brièvement allusion dans sa déclaration du 29 novembre 1963 [1267^{ème} séance]. Je me permets d'affirmer que ces nations ne sont ni autonomes ni indépendantes; elles sont soumises à des régimes d'oppression qui leur sont imposés par une puissance étrangère, et l'exercice du droit d'autodétermination est refusé à leur population. Quel que soit le critère choisi, leur situation n'est pas différente — si elle n'est pas pire — de celle des territoires coloniaux d'Afrique. Pour achever ce parallèle, les patriotes en exil de ces nations européennes se sont organisés de la même manière que les patriotes africains dans leur lutte pour la liberté et l'autodétermination. L'une de ces organisations, l'Assemblée des Nations européennes captives, nous rappelle quotidiennement, par des panneaux exposés de l'autre côté de la rue, la domination coloniale soviétique qui règne dans ces pays. Pouvons-nous de bonne foi exclure ces peuples infortunés, ainsi que d'autres en Europe, en Asie et en Amérique latine, de notre souci d'accomplir notre mission sacrée d'émancipation? Leur demande d'autodétermination et de libertés fondamentales fait également partie de cette œuvre que nous devons achever.

13. Par conséquent, l'Assemblée générale peut contribuer pour beaucoup à ce grand mouvement historique. Il est nécessaire que le Comité spécial continue à nous prêter son assistance, et je suis certain que l'Assemblée accédera à la demande formulée par le Comité spécial dans son rapport en vue de proroger son mandat. Ma délégation sera heureuse de voter en faveur d'un projet de résolution dans ce sens.

14. L'une des tâches dont le Comité spécial continuera à s'occuper l'an prochain, comme il est indiqué au paragraphe 47 du chapitre I de son rapport, est de compléter la liste des territoires qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance. Il s'agit certes d'une tâche importante, car cette liste montrera l'ampleur des activités que le Comité spécial est en mesure d'accomplir. Ma délégation espère sincèrement que cette liste, une fois complétée, comprendra tous les territoires qui se trouvent encore sous domination coloniale. Je suis persuadé que le Comité spécial, ayant déjà fourni un travail aussi excellent, n'épargnera aucun effort pour mettre fin au colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations.

15. Avant de conclure, je voudrais préciser un seul autre point. Le rapport du Comité spécial contient une liste préliminaire des territoires qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance. Cette liste sera sans aucun doute examinée lorsque le Comité spécial reprendra ses travaux l'an prochain. Je me permets d'appeler

votre attention sur la question de l'insertion de Hong-kong et de Macao dans cette liste. Je n'attache aucune espèce d'importance ni aucune valeur à ce que le soi-disant expert bulgare en affaires chinoises a pu déclarer à ce sujet au paragraphe 27 du chapitre I du rapport. Mais je tiens à préciser que Hong-kong et Macao et leurs dépendances ont toujours fait partie intégrante du territoire chinois jusqu'à l'entrée en vigueur des dispositions territoriales actuelles découlant de traités conclus par la Chine avec la Grande-Bretagne en 1842, 1860, 1898, et avec le Portugal en 1887. Toute question que pourrait poser le statut de ces territoires devrait être examinée entre les Etats intéressés conformément aux principes du droit international. Même sous leur statut actuel, ces territoires ne semblent pas entrer dans la même catégorie que les autres territoires non autonomes énumérés dans la liste préliminaire.

16. Je ferai observer que d'autres territoires chinois sont également tombés sous la domination de puissances étrangères, comme ceux dont la Russie s'est emparée en vertu du Traité d'Aigun de 1858, du Traité de Pékin de 1860 et du Traité de Saint-Petersbourg de 1881, conclus entre la Chine et la Russie. Ces territoires ne figurent pas dans la liste préliminaire et il convient d'espérer que le Comité spécial tiendra compte de ces faits historiques et qu'il adoptera une attitude cohérente à l'égard de tous ces groupes de territoires situés aux confins de la Chine.

17. Enfin, il me reste la tâche agréable de souhaiter au Comité spécial au nom de ma délégation une nouvelle année de travaux fructueux et couronnés de succès.

18. M. VELAZQUEZ (Uruguay) [traduit de l'espagnol]: Puisque c'est la première fois que ma délégation prend la parole depuis la mort du président Kennedy, je voudrais, si vous le permettez, Monsieur le Président, commencer par rendre hommage à la mémoire de cet homme illustre.

19. Quelqu'un a dit que la véritable expérience de la mort, que l'expérience de ce que mourir signifie, ne s'acquiert que par la mort d'un être qui nous est proche, d'un parent, d'un des nôtres, de quelqu'un qui est près de notre cœur. Cette loi de l'expérience s'est accomplie une fois de plus lorsque nous avons senti, comme nous l'avons fait ces jours derniers, que quelque chose était mort en nous en même temps que le président Kennedy; cette loi n'est d'ailleurs que l'expression de la solidarité et de la fraternité essentielles et profondes de tous les êtres humains qui participent d'une même nature et sont tous fils du même Père. Si la douleur et la peine que nous ressentons aujourd'hui sont si profondes, si elles touchent aux racines mêmes de notre sensibilité, c'est parce que le président Kennedy appartenait à cette catégorie d'hommes exceptionnels que nous pouvons tous reconnaître comme nos véritables parents, car il aurait pu être l'un des miens, l'un de mon peuple et de mon pays comme il aurait pu appartenir à d'autres peuples et à d'autres pays — en vérité, je crois, à tous les peuples de toute la terre.

20. Je ne sais si cette vérité peut être comprise à ce moment dans son propre pays aussi clairement que nous-mêmes la comprenons. La perspective exige toujours la distance, et peut-être nous-mêmes, les

hommes des Nations Unies, qui représentons d'autres continents, qui parlons d'autres langues, qui avons été formés par des cultures différentes, avons-nous aujourd'hui plus que d'autres le recul nécessaire pour concevoir la dimension universelle de cette figure et l'ampleur également universelle de cette tragédie.

21. Car, bien entendu, cette tragédie doit avoir un sens. Si un homme comme le président Kennedy a pu atteindre, dans la vie et jusque dans la mort, un tel sommet, c'est parce qu'il a su, en quelque sorte, incarner, comme seuls peuvent le faire les "grands" de l'histoire, non seulement les désirs de son peuple, non seulement les besoins de son époque, mais aussi les aspirations plus profondes de l'âme humaine et de la conscience universelle. Il n'est pas possible de concevoir cette dimension si celui qui a réussi à la posséder n'a pas aussi été un représentant authentique de la condition humaine qui nous est commune à tous et qui est la même chez les Américains, les Africains, les Européens et les Asiatiques, quelle que soit la couleur de leur peau et où qu'ils se situent sur le champ de bataille. C'est pour cela, c'est parce qu'il était, comme dit un vieux poème espagnol, "un homme essentiel" qu'il a été l'interprète accompli de concepts qui sont des concepts humains par excellence et qui donnent son sens à notre lutte sur cette terre: la paix, la justice, la liberté.

22. Peut-être est-il encore un peu trop tôt pour pouvoir apprécier à sa juste mesure la contribution qu'il a apportée à ces causes universelles, à ces idéaux permanents de la vie humaine. Mais nul ne peut nier que son courage, son imagination et sa dévotion sincère à ses idéaux, sa passion de la justice et surtout de l'égalité, sa lutte contre l'égoïsme et surtout contre les préjugés ont contribué de façon peut-être décisive à faire du monde d'aujourd'hui un monde qui n'est, en tout cas, pas pire que le monde d'hier et où commence à poindre l'aube d'un âge où, comme il le disait lui-même en des mots qui résonnaient d'un accent biblique, les forts seront justes, les faibles vivront en sécurité et la paix sera préservée.

23. Le gouvernement et le peuple uruguayens s'inclinent respectueusement devant la mémoire de cette illustre figure. A son épouse, à ses jeunes enfants, à son peuple, à ses représentants auprès de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, nous voulons dire que nous pleurons sa mort comme nous pleurerions celle d'un des nôtres. Car, devant la mort, tout ce que peut offrir la solidarité humaine, c'est cette faculté de partager spontanément la douleur d'autrui comme si c'était une douleur personnelle. Mais nous pouvons aussi les assurer que son exemple demeurera une source d'inspiration non seulement pour nous qui restons, mais pour les générations futures et particulièrement pour nos enfants, qui étaient si souvent présents dans ses pensées et dans ses décisions.

24. En peu de temps, deux hommes qui portaient tous deux le nom de Jean nous ont quittés, l'un presque immédiatement après l'autre. Tous deux avaient su se faire aimer du monde comme peu d'hommes ont su le faire. Et le souvenir qu'ils ont tous deux laissé, qui est plus fort que la mort, con-

tinuera de vivre pour toujours en nous-mêmes et en nos fils.

25. L'Uruguay étant membre du Comité spécial, dont j'ai l'honneur d'être l'un des vice-présidents, et comme j'ai participé à ses débats et approuvé ses recommandations, il serait peut-être plus indiqué de ma part de ne pas intervenir à nouveau au moment où c'est l'Assemblée générale qui doit porter un jugement sur nos travaux. Si je participe aux débats, ce n'est donc pas avec l'intention de plaider en faveur des recommandations du Comité spécial, mais avec le propos beaucoup plus modeste de formuler quelques observations de caractère général qui pourraient peut-être être utiles à l'Assemblée pour évaluer le rapport [S/5446/Rev.1] dans son ensemble.

26. Je veux cependant exprimer tout d'abord mon admiration et mes remerciements à M. Coulibaly pour la manière dont il a su accomplir une tâche qui n'a pas toujours été facile et qui a parfois été ingrate. Comme j'ai déjà eu l'occasion de le dire au sein du comité — et je me plais à le répéter aujourd'hui devant l'Assemblée —, c'est à son tact, à sa modération et à sa compréhension, à sa conception parfaite de la responsabilité qui lui incombait, qu'est dû, en grande partie, le succès, si l'on peut parler de succès, de la tâche accomplie par le Comité. Ce succès est également dû, dans une mesure égale, au vice-président, M. Sonn Voensai, du Cambodge, au rapporteur, M. Rifai, de la Syrie, qui a rempli avec beaucoup de talent ses fonctions pendant l'année passée et pendant une bonne partie de la deuxième session du comité, et à M. Natwar Singh, de l'Inde, qui a exécuté en peu de temps un travail excellent, témoignant ainsi des qualités que tous lui connaissaient déjà.

27. Si les efforts accomplis laissent un solde positif, en dehors de ce que représentent les recommandations et les mesures adoptées, c'est sans aucun doute l'esprit de collaboration et le sérieux qui ont toujours présidé à nos délibérations, même dans des circonstances qui auraient pu faire craindre qu'ils n'en fussent absents. Si le Comité spécial a remporté au cours de ses travaux une véritable victoire, c'est une victoire sur ce que nous pourrions appeler "l'esprit de la guerre froide". Et ce seul fait constitue, à mon avis, un succès remarquable, car c'est la preuve que la coopération internationale est possible, lorsque existe la volonté sincère de coexistence, et que, comme le dit l'Article premier de la Charte, les Nations Unies peuvent véritablement constituer un centre où s'harmonisent les efforts de toutes les nations vers des fins communes.

28. Le rapport dont nous sommes saisis contient un premier chapitre de caractère plutôt informatif et procédural et 13 chapitres où sont résumées les activités, que nous pourrions appeler de fond, entreprises par le Comité conformément aux termes de son mandat.

29. En ce qui concerne l'aspect procédural, je voudrais attirer l'attention de l'Assemblée sur trois points qui, à mon avis, revêtent une certaine importance.

30. Le premier a trait aux méthodes et procédures adoptées par le Comité spécial pour s'acquitter de ses fonctions. Comme on s'en souvient, l'Assemblée

générale, au paragraphe 2 du dispositif de la résolution 1810 (XVII), a pris note avec satisfaction de ces méthodes et procédures, c'est-à-dire de celles qu'avait appliquées le Comité pendant sa première session et qui étaient en partie décrites au paragraphe 112 de son premier rapport^{1/}. Je dis "en partie", car, si quelques délégations se sont expressément référées à ce paragraphe au cours des débats de la dix-septième session, ma délégation croit que l'expression "méthodes et procédures" doit porter également sur d'autres aspects du problème qui ne sont pas mentionnés dans le paragraphe en question, et en particulier sur la procédure qui consiste, pour le Comité, à adopter lui-même des résolutions visant des objectifs que j'appellerai "extérieurs", c'est-à-dire des résolutions dont on peut ou dont on entend faire valoir les effets à l'égard d'Etats tiers ou de parties intéressées. Si l'on examine les décisions qu'a adoptées le Comité spécial sous forme de "résolutions" — sans parler des décisions qui ont été approuvées par consensus —, on remarque que l'une d'elles seulement, celle qui a trait au Bassoutoland, au Betchouanaland et au Souaziland, contient une recommandation adressée à l'Assemblée générale et tendant à ce que celle-ci adopte des mesures déterminées à l'égard de ces territoires.

31. Les 10 autres sont des résolutions du Comité lui-même, qui s'adresse à la puissance administrante soit pour lui faire part d'une appréciation, soit pour préconiser certaines mesures qu'il estime indispensables pour la réalisation de ses objectifs. Pour autant que ma délégation s'en souvienne, cette procédure n'a jamais soulevé aucune objection, et, par conséquent, en approuvant les procédures du Comité spécial, comme elle l'a fait dans la résolution 1810 (XVII) et comme elle le fera peut-être dans le cadre des décisions qu'elle prendra à la fin du présent débat, l'Assemblée doit signifier clairement que ces procédures lui agréent et qu'elle les approuve une fois de plus.

32. La seconde question dont je veux parler a trait à l'envoi de missions ou de groupes de visite, procédure également approuvée par l'Assemblée générale, qui est mentionnée dans les paragraphes 53 à 56 du chapitre premier du rapport et dont l'emploi est clairement justifié au paragraphe 54.

33. Ma délégation ne peut, pour des motifs fondamentaux, accepter l'argument dit "de principe" selon lequel la présence d'une mission ou d'un groupe de visite constitue une ingérence dans l'administration du territoire. Les missions de visite n'ont en général pour objet que de s'assurer, plus directement que par l'intermédiaire de la puissance administrante, des aspirations ou des opinions de la population d'un territoire, ou de vérifier certains faits ou états de choses sur lesquels il est souhaitable d'obtenir des précisions. Les fonctions d'un groupe de visite ne peuvent donc, dans aucun de ces deux cas, être considérées comme des fonctions administratives, concept qui, en droit public, a un contenu bien précis et, à coup sûr, très différent.

34. D'autre part, aux termes du paragraphe 5 du dispositif de la résolution 1654 (XVI), l'Assemblée générale

^{1/} Documents officiels de l'Assemblée générale, dix-septième session, Annexes, point 25 de l'ordre du jour, document A/5238.

rale a autorisé le Comité spécial à se servir "de tous les moyens dont il [disposerait] dans le cadre des procédures et des modalités qu'il [adopterait] pour bien s'acquitter de ses fonctions", moyens parmi lesquels peuvent et doivent figurer les missions de visite dans les territoires non autonomes — et il a en fait été convenu en principe que c'était là l'une des bases des travaux du Comité. Sans qu'il soit même besoin de se référer à ces textes, l'utilisation de missions de visite serait conforme à la doctrine dite des pouvoirs implicites qu'a énoncée au début du siècle dernier le célèbre juge Marshall, des Etats-Unis, et que la Cour internationale de Justice a faite sienne il y a quelques années seulement dans un avis consultatif bien connu.

35. Il est, en tout cas, de notoriété publique qu'il y a deux mois à peine une mission qui, pour l'essentiel, appartenait à la catégorie de missions dont je parle a été reçue dans des territoires qui étaient encore sous l'administration du Royaume-Uni, avec le consentement de son gouvernement, ce qui ne peut qu'indiquer un changement, à notre avis favorable, de la position constitutionnelle que ce pays avait toujours soutenue. Ma délégation s'en félicite et elle est convaincue que cette attitude facilitera la tâche du Comité spécial et ne manquera pas de rendre plus fructueuse la collaboration que ce pays lui prête.

36. Enfin, toujours à propos des aspects procéduraux du rapport, on remarquera qu'au paragraphe 30 du chapitre premier, après avoir expliqué les raisons pour lesquelles il n'a pu terminer la liste de tous les territoires auxquels s'appliquent les dispositions du paragraphe 5 de la déclaration figurant dans la résolution 1514 (XV), le comité indique son intention de parachever cette tâche au cours de l'année qui vient.

37. En réalité, comme on le voit d'après le rapport, le comité a travaillé sur la base d'une liste préliminaire établie par le groupe de travail et qui comprend, outre le Sud-Ouest africain, les territoires sous tutelle et les territoires non autonomes, au sens du chapitre XI de la Charte, qui ou bien ont été reconnus comme tels par les puissances administrantes intéressées — qui fournissent des renseignements les concernant — ou bien ont été déclarés comme tels par l'Assemblée générale elle-même, comme c'est le cas pour les territoires sous administration portugaise et pour la Rhodésie du Sud.

38. Le paragraphe 5 de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux mentionne, comme on s'en souvient, non seulement les territoires dont j'ai parlé, mais aussi ceux "qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance" et l'emploi, dans ce paragraphe, de la conjonction "et" indique qu'il s'agit d'une troisième catégorie de territoires, bien que le texte ne fournisse malheureusement pas d'explication complémentaire propre à en faciliter l'interprétation. La lecture des comptes rendus des débats de la quinzième session n'éclaircit pas non plus la question, à l'exception de quelques observations isolées qui ne sont pas suffisamment précises pour servir de principes directeurs sur le sujet qui nous occupe.

39. A défaut d'antécédents concrets, la seule interprétation qu'on puisse donc fournir est celle qui

découle naturellement du texte même de la déclaration, encore qu'il faille le situer dans le cadre des autres résolutions de l'Assemblée générale. Peut-être ne serait-il pas difficile, à la lumière de ce que le droit international reconnaît comme droit des Etats à l'indépendance et de certaines indications formulées par l'Assemblée générale elle-même dans ses résolutions 567 (VI) et 742 (VIII), de décider que le paragraphe 5 de la déclaration sera applicable dans le cas de certains territoires ou Etats dont la situation juridique actuelle peut prêter au doute ou à la confusion. Peut-être conviendrait-il de n'en exclure que les territoires dépendants qui ont décidé de s'intégrer à la métropole. Si cette décision résulte de la volonté réelle de ces peuples, les territoires incorporés ou intégrés paraissent jouir, en réalité, du même statut juridique que l'Etat auquel ils se sont unis et dont ils sont maintenant une partie, quel que soit le degré d'autonomie ou de décentralisation qui leur a été accordé; ils doivent par conséquent bénéficier du droit à l'indépendance du pays auquel ils se sont unis.

40. En dehors de ces cas, ma délégation serait, en principe, en faveur d'une application la plus large possible de la déclaration. Les objectifs de la déclaration sont des objectifs moraux valables, que nous acceptons tous. Aucun inconvénient ne pourrait résulter de leur application la plus large possible.

41. Il nous reste maintenant à analyser de façon sommaire certains des aspects de fond du rapport.

42. Naturellement, je n'ai pas l'intention de faire porter cette analyse sur chacun des territoires mentionnés dans le rapport, ni d'examiner de façon concrète les résolutions adoptées. Le rapport est rédigé de façon claire et explicite. Il relate comme il convient — et le mérite en revient, à mon avis, au rapporteur et au personnel du Secrétariat — les positions adoptées par les différents membres du comité sur chacun des problèmes soulevés pour les divers territoires.

43. Nous croyons qu'il y aurait peut-être lieu d'extraire du contexte de ces résolutions certains principes de caractère général qu'elles sanctionnent et qui constituent ou constitueront dans l'avenir ce qu'on pourrait appeler "la jurisprudence de la résolution 1514 (XV)".

44. Dans l'immédiat, il est possible de faire observer qu'à deux exceptions près, qui ne représentent pas une doctrine contraire, les résolutions adoptées par le Comité spécial, affirmant les principes fondamentaux de la déclaration, se réfèrent expressément — et en général par la même clause — au "droit à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance".

45. Cette affirmation réitérée a, selon ma délégation, une signification importante. En effet, bien que le paragraphe 2 de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux réaffirme le droit de tous les peuples à l'autodétermination, il n'y a aucun doute que la déclaration met bien davantage l'accent sur l'idée d'indépendance qui est mentionnée trois fois dans le préambule de la résolution 1514 (XV) et également trois fois dans son dispositif. Cette prédominance — au moins dans

le texte — de la notion de l'indépendance sur celle de l'autodétermination a donné lieu, comme on se le rappellera, à des réserves formulées par certaines délégations et peut-être à des abstentions lors du vote.

46. Selon ma délégation, la tendance suivie par le Comité spécial, de même que par l'Assemblée dans ses nombreuses résolutions postérieures à la déclaration, constitue l'interprétation la plus correcte de la résolution 1514 (XV).

47. Tout d'abord, il convient de se rappeler que la déclaration fut adoptée à la même session que la résolution 1541 (XV) sur "les principes qui doivent guider les Etats Membres pour déterminer si l'obligation de communiquer les renseignements, prévue à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte, leur est applicable ou non", résolution qui établit, notamment, les principes relatifs à la façon dont un territoire non autonome peut atteindre la pleine autonomie. S'il est vrai que nous sommes en présence de deux résolutions différentes, l'une et l'autre ont été approuvées par le même organe et à peu d'heures d'écart, et par conséquent celui qui les interprète ou l'organe chargé de leur application est obligé d'appliquer certains critères pour éviter d'aboutir à des conclusions contradictoires.

48. Une interprétation de la déclaration qui exclurait le principe de l'autodétermination mettrait évidemment en conflit direct les résolutions 1514 (XV) et 1541 (XV), car cette dernière indique expressément que la pleine autonomie ne peut être atteinte que si l'Etat est souverain et indépendant ou si le territoire non autonome s'associe librement à un Etat indépendant ou est intégré librement à la métropole ou à un autre Etat quelconque. Ces mêmes critères ont déjà été consacrés, en réalité, par des résolutions très antérieures à la déclaration, telles que la résolution 742 (VIII). Bien que l'on considère que la façon dont les territoires auxquels se réfère le chapitre XI de la Charte peuvent accéder à la pleine autonomie "avant tout en accédant à l'indépendance" — et j'insiste sur les mots "avant tout" —, la résolution indique aussi que l'autonomie peut être atteinte par l'association à un "Etat ou à un groupe d'Etats, à condition que cette association soit effectuée librement et sur un pied d'égalité absolue".

49. Certains ont invoqué, certes, d'excellentes raisons pour affirmer que l'indépendance doit être au moins une étape préliminaire et indispensable après laquelle — et seulement après laquelle — le territoire devenu indépendant pourrait accéder à d'autres formes d'organisations politiques. Cette idée repose certainement sur l'hypothèse, qui nous paraît raisonnable, selon laquelle l'exercice de la libre détermination présuppose que celui qui doit exercer cette libre détermination doit posséder, ne fut-ce que pour un moment, la pleine souveraineté. En d'autres termes, la libre détermination ne peut être exercée que par celui qui est déjà libre.

50. Ma délégation ne verrait aucun inconvénient à s'associer à ce raisonnement, ne fût-ce que parce qu'il constitue précisément la doctrine juridique au nom de laquelle la révolution de l'Amérique espagnole a eu lieu, n'était que le processus de décolonisation,

tel que nous l'avons vu se dérouler et tel qu'il se déroulera certainement à l'avenir, montre précisément le contraire, à savoir que non seulement la libre détermination peut normalement être obtenue dans le cadre des structures coloniales, dans ce que l'on pourrait appeler "l'étape finale", mais aussi que le choix de régimes autres que celui de l'indépendance ou de la souveraineté totale s'est également effectué dans des territoires qui conservaient leur statut colonial, comme le prouvent les événements récents.

51. Ma délégation considère donc que le Comité spécial a suivi une sage politique, surtout si l'on tient compte de la nature des territoires qui seront examinés à la prochaine session et des problèmes qui se poseront inévitablement et imposeront une politique prudente et souple.

52. Néanmoins, je ne voudrais pas manquer de dire que, même si l'on accepte cette interprétation, il n'est pas douteux que la résolution 1514 (XV) exige, plus encore que les résolutions antérieures relatives au même problème, que l'acte d'autodétermination soit accompli en pleine et entière liberté; sans aucune possibilité de coercition et, avant tout, sans aucune réserve, condition ou exigence préalables, afin que, dans tous les cas, on soit sûr que la volonté de la population et son expression authentique ont été garanties, en ce qui concerne des solutions qu'elle aura véritablement choisies.

53. En ce sens, il nous semble que la résolution 1514 (XV) ouvre la porte à une intervention plus directe de l'Organisation des Nations Unies afin que celle-ci surveille la procédure des plébiscites qui pourront être organisés.

54. Par conséquent, je me permets de signaler l'importance qu'il y a lieu d'attribuer au paragraphe 9 du dispositif de la résolution adoptée par le Comité spécial sur Aden le 19 juillet 1963 (des dispositions analogues avaient déjà été adoptées dans l'Etat de Malte). Cette résolution recommande à l'Assemblée générale, en consultation avec la puissance administrante, d'adopter les mesures nécessaires pour assurer la présence effective de l'ONU avant et pendant les élections par lesquelles la population d'Aden exercera son droit de libre détermination. La possibilité d'une telle intervention est prévue, comme on le sait, par le principe IX qui figure en annexe à la résolution 1541 (XV), mais seulement dans l'hypothèse de l'intégration. Selon nous, le Comité a établi là un principe fort utile qui est parfaitement conforme à l'esprit de la déclaration et sur lequel il y a peut-être lieu de réfléchir profondément.

55. Un autre principe de ce que nous avons appelé la jurisprudence du Comité spécial est celui du suffrage universel des adultes — un homme, une voix — et de la création immédiate, pour établir les conditions dans lesquelles doit s'effectuer le transfert des pouvoirs, d'institutions représentatives. C'est à cela que se réfèrent beaucoup de résolutions, par exemple celles qui concernent le Bassoutoland, le Betchoualand et le Souaziland, Aden, les Iles Fidji et, plus tard, la Rhodésie du Sud.

56. Dans ces cas, et dans d'autres, le comité a préféré s'en tenir à des formules tout à fait générales,

pour éviter de compromettre, par des formules rigides, l'objectif recherché. Cela est parfaitement conforme à l'historique de la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale dont les auteurs ont cherché expressément à éviter de formuler des principes trop rigides. En particulier, selon nous, l'attitude du Comité a été très sage lorsqu'il a évité de prendre parti dans les cas où les intéressés ont exprimé leur préférence pour tel ou tel système électoral, comme ce fut le cas, en particulier cette année, pour la Guyane britannique. Cela m'amène à dire que ma délégation partage l'opinion générale du Comité sur le choix du système électoral, choix qui doit être fait directement par les intéressés, sans ingérence de l'Organisation, une telle ingérence ne pouvant manquer de constituer une violation du principe de non-intervention. En interprétant et en appliquant la résolution 1514 (XV), le Comité spécial a implicitement affirmé le principe qui correspond à l'historique de la résolution, à savoir que l'essentiel, en pareil cas, est la participation active de la population adulte, quel que soit le système électoral appliqué, à moins évidemment — et de là les expressions "institutions représentatives", "organes représentatifs", "secteurs représentatifs" qui figurent dans presque toutes les résolutions — qu'il ne s'agisse d'un système électoral qui, bien que fondé sur le suffrage universel, fausserait de façon évidente et flagrante l'expression de la volonté populaire.

57. Je crains de m'être un peu trop étendu, bien qu'en vérité j'aie cherché à être bref. Evidemment, il y a de nombreux autres facteurs que je pourrais analyser; je pense qu'ils le seront, peut-être avec une précision plus grande, par les orateurs qui prendront la parole après moi. Certaines questions dont l'examen n'a pas été achevé ont soulevé des problèmes d'une importance fondamentale qui, j'en suis certain, intéressent tous les membres de l'Assemblée. Je veux parler en particulier de la question de Gibraltar, où pour la première fois, tout au moins à la connaissance de ma délégation, on a discuté l'application du paragraphe 6 de la déclaration qui réaffirme le respect de l'intégrité territoriale et de l'unité nationale d'un pays en cas de conflit éventuel avec le principe de la libre détermination des peuples, également contenu dans la déclaration.

58. Ma délégation a déjà exprimé son point de vue, qui, à notre avis, est non seulement celui qui semble s'adapter le mieux au texte ainsi qu'à l'esprit de la déclaration, mais peut-être le seul qui soit susceptible de protéger les pays qui, en raison de leur petite superficie ou de leur faiblesse, ont été dépouillés au cours de l'histoire, soit par la force, soit par ce que les diplomates appellent la pression — qui n'est qu'une forme insidieuse de la force — d'une partie de leur territoire national. Nous sommes convaincus que la solution de cette question constituera une norme en conformité de laquelle d'autres situations analogues pourront être résolues. Malheureusement, nous trouvons encore de tels exemples en Amérique latine.

59. Cet idéal, comme tous les idéaux, paraît lointain, mais nous devons reconnaître que souvent, en collaboration avec les puissances administrantes et grâce aussi à l'action persévérante de notre organisation,

nous nous sommes beaucoup rapprochés de notre but. Nous voulons atteindre celui-ci aussi rapidement que possible par des cheminements pacifiques qui éviteront d'accroître encore les souffrances de ceux qui déjà ont supporté tant de malheur. Tel doit être notre objectif. Pour atteindre ce but, il y a de nombreuses voies et de nombreux instruments. Le Comité spécial est l'un de ceux-là, et l'Assemblée générale ferait certes bien de le renforcer et de lui donner les moyens d'achever sa tâche jusqu'au bout.

60. Je réserve le droit de ma délégation d'intervenir à nouveau dans le cas où un ou plusieurs projets de résolution seraient soumis à l'Assemblée sur cette question.

61. M. MOD (Hongrie): Aujourd'hui, trois ans après l'adoption par l'Assemblée générale de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux [résolution 1514 (XV)], nous pouvons tirer plusieurs enseignements de la manière dont elle a été appliquée. Trois ans, ce ne semble pas être beaucoup. Mais le caractère même de notre travail aux Nations Unies ne nous permet pas d'attendre indéfiniment. C'est pendant que nos travaux sont en cours qu'il faut tirer les enseignements ou trouver les solutions conformes à la situation changeante.

62. Nous pouvons nous rappeler quelle lutte a précédé l'adoption de cette déclaration, issue de nombreux compromis. Les principes y énoncés sont devenus, depuis 1960, une force matérielle pour les peuples vivant sous le joug colonial et luttant contre le colonialisme et pour les autres peuples du monde qui se solidarisent avec eux. Il est hors de doute que l'accélération du processus de décolonisation est en grande mesure attribuable au fait que, par l'adoption de la Déclaration, l'Organisation des Nations Unies s'est déclarée, elle aussi, sans équivoque, en faveur de l'égalité des peuples. La Charte même comprend le principe de l'égalité de droits des peuples. En 1960, lorsque la situation internationale le rendait possible, la Déclaration a énoncé l'idée de la liquidation définitive du système colonial.

63. Ce faisant, la Déclaration a sonné le glas d'un phénomène concomitant naturel d'une forme sociale historiquement déterminée, de la société capitaliste.

64. Il est un fait incontestable que, bien que la formation d'empires et l'oppression des peuples aient été des symptômes permanents au cours de l'histoire de l'humanité, la notion de l'empire colonial, toutefois, est, sur les plans historique et social, inséparable de celle de capitalisme. Permettez-moi de m'appuyer sur l'autorité de M. Kwame Nkrumah, qui est un des théoriciens éminents des peuples de l'Afrique libre — et je ne soulignerai, à cette occasion, que ce seul aspect de son activité étendue. Dans son livre intitulé *Towards Colonial Freedom*, il cite ce passage d'un discours d'Albert Sarraut, ministre des colonies du Gouvernement français au cours des années de 1920 à 1930: "L'origine de la colonisation n'est autre qu'une entreprise d'intérêt personnel, l'entreprise unilatérale, égoïste, du plus fort sur le plus faible." Et le président Nkrumah de constater: "Tel est le phénomène de l'agressivité capitaliste européenne, qui a été justement nommé "impérialisme colonial."

65. La Déclaration non seulement dénonce le colonialisme, mais elle dit qu'il est contraire à la Charte des Nations Unies, qu'il constitue une grave menace à la paix mondiale et empêche le développement de la coopération internationale. En d'autres termes, elle met hors la loi le colonialisme avec toute son idéologie. On pourrait croire que, trois ans après l'adoption de la Déclaration, ce principe n'est plus contesté. Mais la réalité détruit cette croyance. Ce n'est pas seulement en 1960 que les apologistes du colonialisme ont lutté pour le maintien de leur domination et de leurs droits à l'exploitation. Ils luttent toujours, mais — la situation étant changée — ils le font par des moyens beaucoup plus subtils. Voici trois citations, à titre documentaire, relevées dans la discussion de la présente session de l'Assemblée générale.

66. Le représentant de la République sud-africaine a cité le premier ministre Verwoerd en ces termes:

"L'Afrique du Sud s'efforcera, en toute honnêteté et équité, d'assurer la paix, la prospérité et la justice pour tous, au moyen de l'indépendance politique associée à l'interdépendance économique." [1236ème séance, par. 35.]

67. Le Ministre des affaires étrangères du Royaume-Uni a déclaré:

"Au Royaume-Uni, nous avons toujours considéré que nos colonies dépendantes devraient accéder à l'indépendance et que les territoires coloniaux devraient devenir maîtres de leur propre destinée." [1222ème séance, par. 77.]

Il a ajouté:

"La seule chose qui arrête le transfert des pouvoirs par le Royaume-Uni au gouvernement du pays intéressé, c'est le fait que nous voulons être sûrs que lorsque l'indépendance lui sera accordée ce pays pourra trouver son équilibre économique et qu'il acceptera une constitution qui, dès le jour de l'indépendance, assurera le bien-être de tous les secteurs de la population de ce pays." [Ibid., par. 81.]

68. Et, finalement, le représentant de l'Espagne de dire, au nom du Portugal, qui n'a pas participé à la discussion:

"Il faudrait plutôt rappeler ici l'effort prolongé, sincère, séculaire que le Portugal a accompli pour construire à l'intérieur de ses frontières métropolitaines et d'outre-mer, dans un esprit chrétien, une société multiraciale et égalitaire correspondant à la diversité humaine de ses peuples." [1213ème séance, par. 36.]

69. Vraiment, ce "meilleur des mondes" coloniaux ne vous rappelle-t-il pas le maître Pangloss, ce personnage du roman de Voltaire que je cite maintenant à mon tour. Voici ce qu'il disait:

"Il est démontré, disait-il, que les choses ne peuvent être autrement, car, tout étant fait pour une fin, tout est nécessairement pour la meilleure fin... Les pierres ont été formées pour être taillées et pour en faire des châteaux; aussi, Monseigneur a un très beau château. Le plus grand baron de la province doit être le mieux logé, et, les cochons

étant faits pour être mangés, nous mangeons du porc toute l'année. Par conséquent, ceux qui ont avancé que tout est bien ont dit une sottise: il fallait dire que tout est au mieux."

Je tiens à dire que nous autres, les délégations représentant la majorité anticolonialiste de l'Assemblée générale, non seulement nous ne sommes pas d'accord avec nos maîtres Pangloss, mais nous sommes en désaccord avec Candide également, qui estime que Pangloss est "le plus grand philosophe de la province et, par conséquent, de toute la terre". Nous luttons contre eux de façon conséquente, par tous moyens appropriés, pour les démasquer.

70. Pendant les trois ans qui se sont écoulés depuis l'adoption de la Déclaration de 1960, la carte politique du monde a beaucoup changé. Qu'il me soit permis d'ajouter: à son avantage. Chaque année, on a vu l'accession à l'indépendance de nouveaux pays et leur admission à notre organisation. Les progrès réalisés sont donc incontestables. Mais les résultats obtenus, en comparaison avec le but que nous nous sommes proposé, ne sont que des résultats partiels. Des colonies existent toujours en Asie, en Amérique et en Océanie, mais ce qui constitue le plus grand obstacle à la liquidation des vestiges du colonialisme c'est la situation qui règne au sud du continent africain. Les conditions dans lesquelles les peuples vivent là-bas et les luttes qu'ils soutiennent ont déjà été relatées en détail, ces dernières années et cette année également, par nombre de délégations, y compris celle de mon pays. Ce n'est pas la première fois que nous discutons ici la question de "l'alliance impie" internationale qui domine le bloc géographique contigu que forment les territoires de l'Angola, du Mozambique, de la Rhodésie du Sud et de l'Afrique du Sud.

71. Ce n'est pas la première fois, au cours de l'histoire de l'humanité, que l'opresseur, non content du mal qu'il fait à un peuple opprimé, ne se gêne pas pour s'efforcer d'expliquer pourquoi il est nécessaire qu'il le fasse. Le mal de nos jours, le colonialisme, emploie plus d'une méthode pour camoufler sa face répugnante. L'"explication" que donnent les colons blancs vivant au sud du continent africain — soit en Afrique du Sud, soit en Rhodésie, soit dans les colonies portugaises — est la discrimination raciale ou, plus précisément, la prétendue théorie de la supériorité de l'homme à la peau blanche.

72. Etant donné la profusion des informations qui ont déjà été fournies à ce propos, je désire avant tout en tirer quelques conclusions.

1) La discrimination raciale est l'un des aspects du colonialisme qui est, à son tour, un phénomène historique qui révèle le caractère d'exploitation du système capitaliste.

2) La base théorique des méthodes de la discrimination raciale pratiquée au sud de l'Afrique est identique à la théorie du génocide adoptée par l'Allemagne hitlérienne, théorie qui a déjà été réfutée historiquement, politiquement, ainsi que scientifiquement. Voici pourtant ce que The Sunday Tribune of Durban écrit dans un éditorial:

"En tant que Sud-Africains, nous nous opposons fermement à l'intégration raciale. Nous ne voyons

aucune justification biologique ou même morale pour suivre un telle voie et, de toute façon, en effet, nous ne la voulons pas."

3) Le maintien de la discrimination raciale pratiquée au sud du continent africain aurait déjà été depuis longtemps rendu impossible dans les conditions locales des forces opposées si les partisans de la discrimination raciale ne jouissaient pas de l'assistance politique, économique et militaire d'un groupe de pays qui, étant tous membres du bloc militaire de l'OTAN et vivant tous dans le cadre du mode de production capitaliste, estiment que le soutien de la discrimination raciale et leurs propres principes de politique extérieure sont compatibles.

4) Une des causes principales de ce fait réside dans la circonstance qu'il y a dans la plupart de ces pays — comme il a déjà été souligné dans les débats en commissions — des groupements économiques qui exercent une grande influence politique et qui sont matériellement intéressés à la possession des ressources en matières premières et à l'exploitation de la main-d'œuvre des territoires administrés dans le cadre de la discrimination raciale. Voici un autre exemple. Chester Bowles, dans son livre intitulé *Africa's Challenge to America*, écrit:

"Nous avons vu comment l'industrie américaine, en temps de guerre comme en temps de paix, est de plus en plus tributaire de certains minéraux clefs africains. Si le volcan sud-africain en ébullition faisait éruption, ou si l'équilibre instable des forces au Congo était rompu, notre position, à l'âge des fusées nucléaires, pourrait être irrémédiablement compromise^{2/}."

5) Pour éliminer la discrimination raciale, il ne suffit pas de changer la situation intenable qui règne au sud du continent africain; il faut encore modifier la politique extérieure des pays qui la soutiennent.

6) La théorie néfaste de la discrimination raciale est pire qu'une maladie épidémique des plus dangereuses. Elle empoisonne l'atmosphère à l'échelle nationale, ce qui est démontré par l'exemple de l'Allemagne d'avant la seconde guerre mondiale et, aujourd'hui aussi, par l'exemple de certains pays non africains. Elle empoisonne l'atmosphère sur le plan international également. Elle excite les méfiances entre les pays. Elle est une des causes qui ont entraîné la seconde guerre mondiale déclenchée en Europe, et elle peut amener le déclenchement d'une autre conflagration, en Afrique. Il faut comprendre, une fois pour toutes, que ni la couleur de la peau ni d'autres traits extérieurs n'assurent à un individu, à un groupe ou à un pays la supériorité sur les autres. L'espèce humaine tout entière forme un seul groupe racial.

73. Je veux enfin souligner que les crimes commis sur la base de l'idéologie de la discrimination raciale au sud du continent africain entraînent la responsabilité collective de l'OTAN entière, de tous les pays membres de l'OTAN, grands et petits également, responsabilité pour avoir permis que les facilités de leur organisation soient utilisées

comme moyens modernes d'oppression des peuples, d'oppression coloniale. De plus, la responsabilité collective retombera sur l'ensemble des Nations Unies si l'Organisation ne prend pas les mesures nécessaires pour mettre fin à cet état de choses.

74. La troisième question dont je désire m'occuper dans le cadre de la présente discussion est également au nombre des problèmes qui revêtent un caractère plus général. De nos jours, on reconnaît de plus en plus, même au sein de l'ONU, que la situation internationale actuelle est pertinemment caractérisée par la conception de la coexistence pacifique des différents régimes sociaux.

75. La question se pose donc de savoir quelle est l'interdépendance entre la coexistence pacifique et la décolonisation ou, en d'autres termes, l'application de la Déclaration, les questions relatives aux luttes de libération nationale, les travaux et les tâches du Comité des Vingt-Quatre. Le Ministre des affaires étrangères du Royaume-Uni, dans son discours du 1er octobre 1963, a donné à cette question la réponse suivante:

"J'espère qu'on me pardonnera de prononcer quelques paroles de mise en garde: très certainement, en envisageant des guerres de libération, soit pour modifier l'orientation de la politique coloniale portugaise, soit pour obliger le Gouvernement sud-africain à abandonner sa politique d'apartheid, certains risquent de tomber dans l'erreur qu'ils dénoncent si vigoureusement chez d'autres. La leçon du XXème siècle et de l'ère nucléaire, la même leçon pour les Africains, pour les Asiatiques et pour les Européens, est que la force ne peut jamais rien résoudre et qu'il faut résister aux emballements politiques, si puissants soient-ils, qui inspirent le désir de recourir à la force." [1222ème séance, par. 60.]

76. Il est vrai qu'au siècle nucléaire il appartient à tout le monde d'œuvrer pour éviter une guerre mondiale nucléaire, pour empêcher un suicide collectif. C'est l'un des piliers sur lesquels repose l'idée de la coexistence pacifique. Mais la coexistence pacifique n'est pas un moyen de perpétuer le système colonial, et ne pourra jamais être considérée comme tel.

77. La logique qui peut être dégagée du discours précité se présente un peu comme suit. Depuis des siècles déjà, le Portugal met au pillage et soumet à l'oppression les peuples de ses colonies. Jusqu'ici, les peuples opprimés n'ont pas mené de guerres de libération organisées. Voilà qui est juste et bien, ce statu quo pacifique. Le Portugal massacrait les fils de peuples étrangers "dans des conditions pacifiques". Ce n'est pas une agression, c'est le statu quo. Et si les peuples des colonies portugaises se sont soulevés maintenant pour chasser les occupants portugais ouvertement par la force, ce n'est pas bien, car cela modifie le statu quo prétendument pacifique et, par conséquent, constitue une guerre. La guerre de libération doit donc être abandonnée. Mais si les colons racistes massacrent les indigènes et leurs leaders et les enferment dans des ghettos en Afrique du Sud et en Rhodésie du Sud, si l'OTAN fournit pour ces mêmes colons blancs toutes les armes nécessaires

^{2/} Chester Bowles, *Africa's Challenge to America*, Berkeley et Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1956, p. 100.

à leur politique d'oppression sanguinaire, si l'OTAN met à la disposition du Portugal toutes sortes d'armes d'extermination, depuis les bombes au napalm jusqu'aux avions, aux fins de la guerre contre les Angolais, qui luttent pour la liberté, tout cela ne contredit pas "la leçon du XXème siècle", ce n'est que la défense du statu quo. Et il semble que la violation des accords conclus dans le cas de la Guyane britannique ne soit pas non plus en contradiction avec "la leçon du XXème siècle", puisque le manque de parole de la part du Royaume-Uni a eu pour but le maintien du statu quo, le maintien de la sujétion coloniale de la Guyane britannique.

78. En d'autres termes, la délégation du Royaume-Uni juge que les guerres pour l'oppression du peuple, visant à maintenir le statu quo par la force des armes, sont justifiées, ne sont pas des guerres et ne troublent pas la coexistence pacifique.

79. Nous ne pouvons pas être d'accord sur cette opinion, car cela signifierait la falsification pure et simple de l'idée même de la coexistence pacifique. La révolution n'est pas en effet un article d'exportation. Mais ce que les patriotes angolais veulent n'est pas une indépendance d'exportation; ils veulent recouvrer l'indépendance de leur propre peuple. C'est là leur droit pour autant que, par exemple, le peuple anglais ou le peuple portugais ont droit à leur propre indépendance. Et, par ailleurs, la contre-révolution n'est pas non plus un article d'exportation. Néanmoins, les forces armées portugaises engagées en Afrique s'efforcent précisément d'y exporter la contre-révolution, le colonialisme, avec l'aide matérielle et militaire de l'OTAN, s'appuyant sur les armes fournies par l'OTAN et sur les bases militaires de l'OTAN.

80. Si l'OTAN, y compris le Portugal, donnait effet aux résolutions de l'Assemblée générale et du Conseil de sécurité en abandonnant la guerre qu'il mène contre les peuples de l'Angola et de la Guinée dite portugaise, elle donnerait suite, par là même, à ce que le Ministre des affaires étrangères du Royaume-Uni a appelé "la leçon du XXème siècle". Nous sommes d'avis que dans la seconde moitié du XXème siècle, à l'époque de la coexistence pacifique, il est un principe fondamental qui veut que tous les peuples soient égaux, sans distinction de couleur ou de race, et qu'aucun peuple ne puisse être empêché par la force de se délivrer du joug colonial.

81. Si le Ministre des affaires étrangères du Royaume-Uni dit, dans l'esprit de la Déclaration: "Nous avons accepté sans réserve le principe de la libre détermination. Nous avons accepté que la majorité gouverne" (*ibid.*, par. 82), et s'il fournit lui-même en même temps des armes au Portugal, qui est l'agresseur de l'Angola, et à la minorité raciste des colons blancs de la Rhodésie du Sud, il est évident qu'il est le premier à violer le principe qu'il a lui-même formulé pour le XXème siècle en disant que "la force ne peut jamais rien résoudre". Et, qui plus est, qualifier d'agresseur le peuple angolais qui lutte contre l'agresseur portugais est, pour le moins, une logique à l'envers.

82. Enfin, et avant que les manœuvres de diversion ne soient commencées, je voudrais préciser à ce propos que le peuple hongrois, s'appuyant sur les principes du socialisme et sur ceux de la coexistence

pacifique, est solidaire des patriotes d'Angola et des autres pays africains qui luttent pour la liberté. Mais notre solidarité ne revient pas à dire que nous désirons soutenir la guerre froide, mettons, contre le Royaume-Uni. Nous reconnaissons le droit à l'indépendance du peuple angolais et des autres peuples coloniaux, tout comme du peuple britannique. Ce n'est donc pas la guerre froide, mais l'observation conséquente des principes de l'ONU. Si les colonisateurs en faisaient autant, il serait possible d'éviter la guerre chaude ou froide, et le principe de la coexistence pacifique pourrait remporter une nouvelle victoire importante.

83. Pour terminer, je voudrais encore faire quelques remarques sur les activités du Comité des Vingt-Quatre, que nous avons suivies avec une vive attention. Nous estimons que le Comité accomplit une tâche très importante. Se conformant à l'esprit de la Déclaration, il a fait beaucoup plus pour mettre un terme au colonialisme que n'importe quel organe de l'ONU jamais saisi de cette question et de questions similaires.

84. Ma délégation estime que l'Assemblée générale doit confirmer les décisions que le Comité a prises au sujet des territoires coloniaux. A notre avis, il faut encore adopter, tout comme ces dernières années, une résolution concernant les tâches générales du Comité. Cette résolution pourrait constater, notamment: "que le maintien du honteux système colonial, qui affecte toujours directement une cinquantaine de millions d'hommes, est inconciliable avec la Charte des Nations Unies et avec la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux; que le colonialisme constitue, dans toutes ses manifestations, une grave menace à la paix et à la sécurité internationales; que l'Assemblée générale condamne énergiquement l'attitude des puissances coloniales, qui sabotent l'exécution des résolutions des Nations Unies concernant la liquidation du colonialisme; qu'il faut accorder une attention particulière aux activités des sociétés minières étrangères et autres monopoles internationaux établis sur les territoires coloniaux, et qui sont des instruments importants de la continuation du système colonial.

85. Ma délégation suggère encore à l'Assemblée générale de lancer un appel exigeant des puissances coloniales la cessation immédiate de toute opération militaire contre les populations autochtones, le retrait de toutes leurs forces armées et de toutes leurs missions militaires, la liquidation des bases militaires établies sur les territoires coloniaux, la garantie aux populations locales du libre exercice des droits de l'homme et des droits civiques, l'abrogation immédiate de toutes les lois et ordonnances inspirées par la discrimination raciale, la mise en liberté immédiate de tous les prisonniers politiques et le transfert immédiat des pouvoirs aux représentants du peuple.

86. Ma délégation est d'avis que le Comité des Vingt-Quatre doit être chargé de suivre avec attention, à l'avenir, la situation qui existe dans les territoires coloniaux et, s'il y a nécessité, d'informer l'Assemblée générale et le Conseil de sécurité des événements. Enfin, le Comité devrait faire rapport à l'Assemblée générale, lors de la dix-neuvième session, sur la mise en œuvre de la Déclaration.

87. Après la longue domination de la honteuse exploitation coloniale, à l'époque où les sciences contribuent, avec des résultats sans précédent, au bien-être de l'humanité, il est grand temps de rayer le colonialisme, une fois pour toutes, des pages de l'histoire. Dans leur programme élaboré à la Conférence d'Addis-Abéba, les chefs d'Etat^{3/} de 32 pays indépendants africains ont exprimé leur volonté qu'il en soit ainsi.

88. Jusqu'à présent, l'Organisation des Nations Unies a, elle aussi, contribué notablement à la liquidation du colonialisme. Le devoir de tous les Etats Membres est de mettre tout en œuvre pour continuer et achever ce travail, dans l'esprit de la Déclaration. Et nous pouvons espérer obtenir le succès, d'autant plus que les forces de l'anticolonialisme augmentent d'année en année au sein de l'Organisation des Nations Unies également.

89. Au nom de ma délégation, je désire déclarer une fois de plus que, dans leur lutte contre le colonialisme, les nouveaux pays indépendants peuvent compter toujours sur l'appui effectif du peuple hongrois.

M. Thors (Islande), vice-président, prend la présidence.

90. M. Taïeb SLIM (Tunisie): Le 14 décembre 1960, au cours de sa quinzième session, l'Assemblée générale a adopté à l'unanimité la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux [résolution 1514 (XV)]. Un tournant décisif a été ainsi pris dans l'histoire des relations internationales, confirmant l'évolution de notre siècle vers la reconnaissance de la suprématie de l'homme et l'attachement aux principes de liberté et de dignité.

91. Cette déclaration posait un jalon nouveau dans l'histoire universelle et couronnait les efforts inlassables des pays épris de paix et de liberté et profondément attachés aux droits fondamentaux de l'homme, à la dignité, à la valeur de la personne humaine, à l'égalité de droits des peuples et des nations, grandes et petites.

92. Tout en mettant fin à un long chapitre de l'histoire, caractérisé par la domination, la subjugation et l'exploitation, la Déclaration ouvrait de nouvelles perspectives d'une ère de coopération, d'égalité, de détente internationale et laissait poindre, devant les peuples encore dépendants, une lueur d'espoir pour leur libération prochaine et la reconnaissance des droits inhérents à leur condition d'homme.

93. En adoptant la résolution 1514 (XV), l'Assemblée générale a été unanime à condamner le colonialisme sous toutes ses formes ainsi que toute domination étrangère. D'un coup, les principes traditionnels erronés qui étaient les fondements de l'expansionnisme européen se sont effondrés, les nouveaux rapports préconisés sont devenus plus humains parce que désormais fondés sur le droit à l'autodétermination, sur l'égalité et la solidarité internationale.

94. L'adoption à l'unanimité de la Déclaration a marqué la volonté de tous d'accepter cet ordre nouveau et a consacré le règne de la dignité humaine

et de la justice. Aussi, le processus de décolonisation ainsi amorcé devrait-il se trouver accéléré; les peuples dépendants, à la fois anxieux et optimistes, attendent l'application des nouveaux principes, reconnus unanimement et sans équivoque comme étant dorénavant la pierre angulaire des relations internationales.

95. Une fois ces principes établis, il restait à les appliquer et à nous débarrasser de toute autre doctrine qui serait en contradiction avec eux et à créer ainsi les conditions nécessaires à l'éclosion de cet ordre nouveau. Un comité spécial, dont le nombre des membres, de 17 à l'origine, est passé à 24 en 1962, a été formé pour promouvoir l'application de la Déclaration historique sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux.

96. Pendant l'année écoulée, le Comité spécial s'est réuni sans désespérer pour chercher les voies et moyens propres à faciliter la réalisation des objectifs de la résolution 1514 (XV). Le Comité spécial s'est attelé à cette tâche exaltante avec ardeur et avec une foi inébranlable dans les principes de la Charte et de la Déclaration.

97. Il serait vain de vous entretenir de ses travaux et inutile de dresser un inventaire de ses réalisations. Le rapport exhaustif qui est soumis à votre attention [A/5446/Rev.1] est explicite. Cependant, la délégation tunisienne, membre de ce comité depuis sa création, voudrait, avec la permission du Président, faire part de son opinion sur la somme de travail accompli.

98. Je dois avouer que les résultats sont bien en deçà de ce que nous laissait espérer l'adoption unanime de la résolution 1514 (XV) et ne sont pas à la mesure des efforts prodigieux déployés par les membres du Comité. Je préciserai tout de suite que le retard que constatera l'Assemblée dans l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance n'est nullement imputable à notre comité, car le colonialisme reste une force réelle que notre comité a, certes, ébranlée, mais qu'il n'a pas pu complètement neutraliser.

99. Des territoires sous administration coloniale étudiés par le Comité spécial, trois seulement ont vu la date de leur accession à l'indépendance fixée par la Puissance administrante: ce sont le Kenya et Zanzibar, qui doivent accéder à l'indépendance au début de ce mois, et Malte, au printemps de 1964.

100. La Rhodésie du Nord et le Nyassaland restent toujours dans l'expectative depuis la dissolution de la Fédération de l'Afrique centrale, et, d'atermolements en atermolements, la Puissance administrante ne se résout pas à fixer la date de leur accession à l'indépendance. Le problème de la Rhodésie du Sud reste entier malgré l'émotion de la conscience universelle. Le Bassoutoland, le Betchouanaland et le Souaziland demeurent victimes des hésitations de la puissance tutélaire et soumis aux caprices d'un voisin menaçant et par trop entreprenant. Le Sud-Ouest africain trafne toujours le boulet d'un mandat anachronique et diffus que le mandataire lui-même continue à contester pour des motifs expansionnistes connus. Le drame de l'Angola, du Mozambique, de la Guinée dite portugaise et des autres territoires sous domination portugaise ne

^{3/} Conférence au sommet des pays indépendants africains, réunie du 22 au 25 mai 1963.

saurait se dénouer pacifiquement tant que la puissance coloniale restera attachée à des concepts politiques erronés et à des fictions juridiques. En Guyane britannique, une solution est en vue. Elle n'est certainement pas parfaite, mais elle doit déboucher dans l'avenir le plus proche sur l'indépendance de ce territoire. La Gambie, qui a accédé à l'autonomie interne, voit son indépendance retardée pour des raisons étrangères aux dispositions de la résolution. Gibraltar reste soumis à un statut vieux de plus de deux siècles et que ne justifie que la raison du plus fort. Fernando Póo, Rio Muni ne voient pas de terme à leur exploitation et à leur subjugation. Les îles Fidji restent encore, sous prétexte du désaccord des communautés ethniques de ce territoire, sous domination coloniale. Ifni, Melilla, Ceuta, véritables enclaves à l'intérieur du territoire marocain, continuent à réclamer leur rattachement à la mère patrie. Nous souhaitons que l'Espagne réponde enfin à l'appel de la raison. Il en va de même du Sahara dit espagnol. Aden et les territoires de l'Arabie du Sud sont encore sous domination britannique, et il importe qu'ils accèdent à l'indépendance au plus tôt et puissent être en mesure de décider librement de leur sort.

101. Je n'ai parlé que de ceux des territoires colonisés que le Comité spécial a examinés. Il en existe d'autres qui restent soumis au joug de la colonisation et à l'exploitation étrangère. Leur nombre est important, et je ne citerai pour exemple que ceux qui sont mentionnés dans la liste préliminaire établie par le Comité spécial [A/5446/Rev.1 (annexe I)], liste qui, d'ailleurs, est loin d'être complète. Le nombre de ces territoires s'élève à 64. Le Royaume-Uni, le Portugal, l'Espagne, les Etats-Unis, la Nouvelle-Zélande, la France et l'Australie se les partagent. Il en est d'autres, enfin, non mentionnés dans la liste, qui méritent toute notre attention. Je ne citerai que certains territoires de la péninsule Arabique, tels Oman, Mascate et Hadramaout, ainsi que la Somalie dite française. L'état de ces territoires est d'autant plus désespéré que nous avons tendance à les oublier. Les conditions inhumaines et avilissantes qui sont les leurs sont une négation des droits de l'homme.

102. Cette énumération n'a pour objet que de permettre à l'Assemblée de mesurer l'ampleur du travail qui reste à effectuer et d'évaluer par comparaison les résultats — maigres hélas! — obtenus jusqu'ici. La cadence du processus de décolonisation est malheureusement lente, et des millions d'hommes encore soumis à la honte de la domination étrangère en pâtissent et continuent à se morfondre dans leurs souffrances et dans leur désespoir.

103. L'Assemblée générale, consciente de ses responsabilités, a adopté la résolution historique 1514 (XV) et a chargé un Comité spécial de l'application de cette résolution. La Tunisie faillirait à son devoir si elle n'éclairait l'Assemblée sur le déroulement de ce processus et ne l'informait des obstacles que les puissances coloniales opposent à l'application de la Déclaration. Les puissances administrantes non seulement refusent de coopérer avec le Comité spécial, mais en outre s'évertuent, par des manœuvres de toutes sortes, à le discréditer et à compromettre son travail. Elles ne se contentent pas

seulement d'interdire l'accès de ces territoires à tout organe émanant du Comité, mais elles refusent aussi de lui transmettre des renseignements complets les concernant. Le refus de la Puissance administrante de permettre l'entrée à Aden et en Guyane britannique des missions d'enquête et d'information en est un exemple.

104. Ce palmarès peu brillant — je le reconnais — pousse à quelque pessimisme. Les Membres de l'Organisation — j'entends ceux qui sont mis en cause aujourd'hui — considéreraient-ils que l'adoption de la Déclaration n'était qu'un acte symbolique? Les puissances administrantes, en s'obstinant à refuser leur coopération au Comité spécial, croyaient peut-être réussir à en faire un organe symbolique qui se scléroserait et sombrerait dans la stérilité. Pensaient-elles que leur participation passive aux travaux du Comité leur donnerait une meilleure conscience envers les populations administrées, tout en leur procurant un répit sur le plan colonial, et leur épargnerait la censure de la conscience universelle? Visent-elles au discrédit et à la déconfiture du Comité spécial, afin de persuader les populations dominées qu'elles ont tort d'avoir un espoir quelconque en l'action des Nations Unies?

105. De ces manœuvres, le colonialisme n'a rien à gagner, car il est condamné à disparaître. Soucieux de ménager leur susceptibilité et désireux d'obtenir leur coopération, le Comité spécial a voulu associer les puissances administrantes à l'œuvre de décolonisation. Il était en droit d'attendre d'elles une coopération loyale et sincère. Malheureusement, le Comité s'est heurté à un refus, parfois nuancé, mais toujours constant. Cette attitude peu réaliste ne changera rien au processus de décolonisation. Seuls les moyens d'y parvenir changeront. L'Assemblée générale saura, espérons-le, préconiser les moyens nouveaux susceptibles d'aider le Comité spécial — ou tout autre — à mettre en œuvre la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance d'une manière efficace.

106. L'Assemblée générale se doit de prendre de toute urgence des mesures fermes pour vaincre la réticence des puissances coloniales et éliminer le colonialisme, qui continue à causer beaucoup de souffrances, à sacrifier des milliers de vies humaines, à provoquer des conflits armés et à menacer la paix et la sécurité, non seulement dans des régions isolées du globe, mais dans le monde entier.

107. Les chefs d'Etat et de gouvernement africains, réunis à la Conférence d'Addis-Abéba, ont été sérieusement préoccupés par les problèmes soulevés par la décolonisation de l'Afrique et, convaincus de la nécessité d'accélérer l'accession inconditionnelle à l'indépendance nationale de tous les territoires africains encore sous domination étrangère, ils ont proclamé que la plus grande tâche qui reste à accomplir est la libération définitive de tous les Africains qui se trouvent encore sous le joug du colonialisme.

108. Ils ont été unanimes à reconnaître qu'il n'y aurait ni paix, ni bonheur, ni repos tant que d'autres Africains continueraient à geindre dans les chaînes de l'esclavage, et ils ont déclaré solennellement que l'occupation du territoire africain était une injure à leur propre liberté et une menace à leur indépendance.

Ils se sont engagés à tout mettre en œuvre pour mettre un terme à l'occupation étrangère en Afrique et pour aider les opprimés à recouvrer leur indépendance et leur dignité.

109. Ils ont invité, dans la résolution sur la décolonisation adoptée par la Conférence, les puissances coloniales "à prendre les mesures nécessaires pour assurer l'application immédiate de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, et ont insisté sur le fait que leur obstination à conserver en Afrique des colonies ou des semi-colonies constituait une menace pour la paix du continent".

110. Si les puissances coloniales restent sourdes à leur appel, ils n'hésiteront pas à recourir à tous les moyens pour en finir avec le colonialisme en terre d'Afrique.

111. Du haut de cette tribune, j'en appelle aux puissances coloniales pour qu'elles réalisent que cette situation, aussi dangereuse qu'elle soit, contient des possibilités de coopération. A cette fin, elles doivent fonder et développer leurs relations avec l'Afrique sur le principe fondamental et sacré selon lequel tous les peuples, sans exception, ont le droit inaliénable à l'indépendance complète, à l'exercice de leur souveraineté et à l'intégrité de leur territoire national. Elles doivent considérer une fois pour toutes que le mouvement général des peuples vers leur émancipation est un phénomène irréversible et irrésistible et que toute tentative directe ou indirecte de résistance à ce mouvement non seulement est immorale et contraire au droit des gens, mais est d'avance vouée à l'échec le plus certain.

112. Les puissances qui continuent d'assumer la responsabilité de l'administration des territoires coloniaux se doivent enfin de contribuer à assurer les meilleures chances de succès à ce mouvement historique dont dépendent en grande partie l'avenir et le bonheur de toute l'humanité.

113. Il serait grand dommage que le souci égoïste de préserver certains avantages politiques ou économiques à caractère immédiat et le maintien de certaines méthodes incompatibles avec la liberté des peuples viennent aggraver la situation et élargir ainsi le fossé existant. Par surcroît, cette situation acculerait les peuples geignant sous le joug colonialiste à recourir à l'usage de la force brutale, avec son cortège de malheurs et de misère, pour recouvrer leur droit à la liberté, à la dignité et à l'indépendance.

114. Je me réserve le droit d'intervenir au cours de ce débat sur d'autres points du rapport du Comité spécial.

115. M. SONN VOEUNSAI (Cambodge): Au moment où l'Assemblée générale va examiner le second rapport du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux (A/5446/Rev.1), la délégation cambodgienne, qui est membre de ce comité, voudrait faire part de ses considérations sur les problèmes de la décolonisation en général et sur les meilleures conditions à réaliser pour que l'œuvre entreprise par les Nations Unies soit couronnée de succès.

116. La décolonisation est une des plus grandes préoccupations de notre temps, au même titre que le désarmement et le développement économique. C'est un des objectifs de la Charte, qui a proclamé la foi de tous les peuples dans les droits fondamentaux de l'homme, dans la dignité et la valeur de la personne humaine, dans l'égalité de droits des hommes et des femmes, et qui a reconnu le droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes. L'Article 73 de la Charte a défini les règles essentielles que doivent suivre tous les Etats Membres qui ont ou qui assument la responsabilité d'administrer des territoires dont les populations ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes.

117. La Déclaration historique qui a fait l'objet de la résolution 1514 (XV), du 14 décembre 1960, a proclamé la nécessité de mettre rapidement et inconditionnellement fin au colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations. Elle exige que des mesures immédiates soient prises dans tous les territoires qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance pour transférer tous pouvoirs aux peuples de ces territoires, conformément à leur volonté et à leurs vœux librement exprimés.

118. Si ma délégation a cru devoir rappeler ces principes et ces règles, que nous avons tous adoptés, c'est parce qu'elle a toujours pensé que nous devrions arriver, comme a dit l'autre jour le Secrétaire général, à une solution par la force des arguments plutôt que par l'argument de la force. Pour nous, la décolonisation est une nécessité et un devoir. C'est donc pour nous un objectif qu'il faudrait atteindre à tout prix. De ce fait, elle doit concerner toutes les nations éprises de paix, de justice et de liberté. On a parlé, en matière de coopération internationale, d'unir tous les efforts pour lutter contre la haine, la faim, la maladie, l'ignorance et la misère. Mais nous devons aussi unir nos efforts pour lutter contre la privation de liberté, contre l'assujettissement et contre l'oppression.

119. Le gouvernement et le peuple cambodgiens, en ce qui les concerne, ne ménagent et ne ménageront jamais leurs forces pour aider les peuples subjugués à se libérer. Tant à la Conférence de Bandoung⁴/ qu'à celle de Belgrade⁵/, Son Altesse Royale le prince Norodom Sihanouk, chef de l'Etat du Cambodge, s'est prononcé sans équivoque. Ayant lui-même entrepris la croisade de l'indépendance pour son pays, il est intimement pénétré de l'idée de la libération des peuples assujettis. Dans un de ses récents articles, il a écrit: "Pour les peuples afro-asiatiques ou latino-américains, il est essentiel d'obtenir d'abord et avant tout la liberté pour leur pays." Il a parlé aussi de "la magie qui s'attache au mot indépendance" et il a affirmé que "pour les peuples colonisés, l'indépendance prime tout; tout, c'est-à-dire la démocratie, la richesse, le bien-être, et même l'ordre et la paix".

120. Mais en face de cette détermination, le prince Norodom Sihanouk a toujours préconisé la modération,

⁴/ Conférence des nations asiatiques et africaines, réunie du 18 au 24 avril 1955.

⁵/ Conférence des chefs d'Etat ou de gouvernement des pays non alignés, réunie du 1er au 6 septembre 1961.

la sagesse et la plus grande objectivité. Il a dit, et je le cite de nouveau:

"Notre force nouvelle, une force qui ne fera que s'accroître, s'exprimera d'autant mieux qu'elle refusera de se laisser entraîner par les rancœurs d'un passé douloureux. Et c'est pourquoi j'ai la conviction que notre voix sera plus impressionnante, mieux écoutée, si elle s'élève sans haine et sans passion."

121. Conformément à cette ligne de conduite, la délégation cambodgienne s'est toujours abstenue, au cours des travaux du Comité spécial, de revenir sur "un passé douloureux"; malgré les déceptions que suscite en elle l'attitude des puissances administrantes, elle a évité de formuler des critiques ou des accusations à leur encontre. Mais, avec obstination, elle n'a cessé de coopérer à la recherche des voies et moyens les plus appropriés en vue de l'application rapide et intégrale de la Déclaration à tous les territoires qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance.

122. Après huit mois de travail presque ininterrompu, le Comité spécial des Vingt-Quatre soumet maintenant à l'Assemblée le résultat de ses travaux, qui portent sur 26 territoires, grands et petits, lesquels totalisent une population de 37 millions d'habitants pour une superficie de plus de 6 millions de kilomètres carrés.

123. Avant de relater ces travaux et de faire état du point de vue de ma délégation sur chacun des territoires examinés, je voudrais attirer l'attention de l'Assemblée sur la constatation à laquelle le Comité est parvenu. On lit dans son rapport:

"Tout en prenant note des progrès réalisés depuis en matière de décolonisation, le Comité spécial a conscience que cette décolonisation, dans certaines parties de l'Afrique et ailleurs, ne s'effectue pas à un rythme satisfaisant." [A/5446/Rev.1, chap. 1er, par. 45.]

124. Il nous appartient donc de nous pencher sur les raisons qui ont motivé ce ralentissement injustifiable. De l'avis de ma délégation, la principale cause est l'insuffisance, pour ne pas dire le manque de coopération de la part des puissances administrantes. Déjà, l'année dernière, l'Assemblée générale avait constaté, dans sa résolution 1810 (XVII), l'attitude négative et le refus délibéré de certaines d'entre elles de coopérer avec le Comité spécial; elle a tenu à prier ces puissances administrantes de prêter leur entière coopération à cet organisme.

125. Voyons maintenant quels sont les arguments qui ont été avancés pour refuser cette pleine et entière coopération.

126. Certaines puissances administrantes ont essayé de contester la compétence du Comité spécial, et même de l'Organisation, en affirmant que les territoires qu'elles administrent leur appartiennent en propre. Or, l'Assemblée des Etats Membres a tenu, par sa résolution 1541 (XV), à définir les principes qui doivent guider ces derniers pour déterminer la nature de ces territoires; elle s'est, en outre, prononcée chaque fois à une très grande majorité sur des cas spécifiques comme celui des territoires sous administration du Portugal et celui du Sud-Ouest africain.

127. D'autres, tout en admettant le principe de la décolonisation, estiment que celle-ci doit être effectuée selon leur conception propre. De ce fait, elles méconnaissent complètement la résolution 1514 (XV), qui a précisé que les transferts de pouvoirs doivent être effectués "sans aucune condition ni réserve" et que "le manque de préparation dans les domaines politique, économique et social ou dans celui de l'enseignement ne doit jamais être pris comme prétexte pour retarder l'indépendance".

128. Pour les unes comme pour les autres, l'intervention des Nations Unies en général et celle du Comité spécial en particulier constituent une ingérence dans leurs affaires intérieures. A ce compte-là, même le règlement des questions de paix et de sécurité internationales, de celle du désarmement pourrait constituer une ingérence étrangère.

129. La coopération des puissances administrantes, le Comité spécial l'a constamment recherchée. Il avait érigé en règle l'invitation à ces puissances de participer à la discussion sur les territoires qu'elles administrent; dans la plupart des cas, il a suggéré l'envoi de sous-comités pour avoir les entretiens les plus approfondis avec les gouvernements intéressés. Mais il y a eu des fins de non-recevoir et des refus manifestes de coopérer de la part de certaines de ces puissances.

130. La deuxième cause réside dans le peu de considération pour les décisions qui ont été prises. Les résolutions qui ont été adoptées par l'Assemblée générale et le Conseil de sécurité — les plus hautes instances de l'Organisation — ne sont pas mises en application. Je sais qu'il ne s'agit en somme que de recommandations, mais il est évident que les recommandations ne sont formulées que pour être suivies; sinon, elles n'auraient aucune raison d'être.

131. Il y a aussi l'attitude hésitante, quelque peu équivoque, de certaines grandes puissances. J'ai vu dit qu'il faudrait que tous les Etats Membres unissent tous leurs efforts pour mettre fin à toute domination étrangère. Au stade actuel de nos travaux, il n'est plus possible de nous contenter de déclarations d'intentions, de professions de foi; il nous faut des actes et des prises de position claires et fermes. L'Assemblée générale avait demandé l'année dernière au Comité spécial [Résolution 1810 (XVII)] de ne lui proposer que des mesures concrètes en vue de l'application intégrale de la Déclaration; si ces mesures sont adoptées par elle au cours de la présente session, il faut qu'elles soient appliquées scrupuleusement.

132. Je voudrais signaler aussi que le Comité spécial a dû faire face à de nombreuses difficultés. Vous savez tous qu'il avait adopté certaines méthodes et procédures pour s'acquitter de ses fonctions. L'Assemblée générale en avait pris note avec satisfaction [ibid.]. Il s'agit, en plus des débats généraux au cours des réunions du Comité spécial, du recours à l'audition des pétitionnaires et à l'envoi des missions de visite ou des sous-comités.

133. Le Comité spécial a reçu un grand nombre de communications écrites et il a entendu de nombreux pétitionnaires. Je pense qu'il doit continuer à le faire et, à ce sujet, ma délégation est pleinement en faveur de la liberté et de la sécurité qui doivent être accor-

dées à tout pétitionnaire qui désire se rendre à New York pour se présenter devant un organisme des Nations Unies. La question qui a été soulevée au sein de la Quatrième Commission il y a quelques semaines doit être résolue dans ce sens.

134. En ce qui concerne les missions de visite, le rapport du Comité spécial mentionne notamment ce qui suit:

"Le Comité spécial tient à souligner que, en refusant à un groupe de membres du Comité spécial l'accès d'un territoire relevant de son mandat, la puissance administrante intéressée l'a privé de l'un des moyens les plus efficaces de s'acquitter de la tâche que lui a confiée l'Assemblée générale, à savoir l'examen de l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux." [A/5446/Rev.1, chap. Ier, par. 55.]

135. Dans le cas du Royaume-Uni, celui-ci a dit qu'une mission de visite dans un territoire "constituait une ingérence dans les affaires de ce territoire et qu'il ne pouvait partager ses responsabilités avec les Nations Unies" [*ibid.*, par. 54]. C'est là une fausse conception du rôle que jouent les Nations Unies dans la détermination des aspirations des peuples. En ce qui concerne le Sous-Comité d'Aden, on est allé jusqu'à dire qu'il était composé de personnes dont l'impartialité était contestable, et qu'il constituait un organe subversif. Or, je peux assurer l'Assemblée que ce sous-comité a accompli sa tâche en toute objectivité.

136. De l'avis de ma délégation, l'administration d'un territoire par un gouvernement étranger à ce territoire constitue, dans le cadre de la décolonisation, une mission de tutelle. Du moment qu'on a prévu des missions de visite pour les territoires sous tutelle, pourquoi ne pourrait-on pas admettre ces missions pour les territoires qui relèvent de la compétence du Comité spécial des Vingt-Quatre?

137. Le Comité spécial a éprouvé aussi des difficultés pour établir la liste complète des territoires qu'il devra examiner. Au paragraphe 5 de la résolution 1514 (XV), il est question des territoires sous tutelle, des territoires non autonomes et de tous autres territoires qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance. Le Comité spécial a décidé de s'occuper de cette liste lors de ses réunions en 1964, "sous réserve de toutes autres instructions qu'il l'Assemblée générale voudrait lui donner à sa dix-huitième session" [*ibid.*, par. 47]. Ma délégation souhaite que ces instructions puissent être effectivement données et qu'au besoin un comité *ad hoc* soit désigné à cet effet.

138. Il y a, enfin, le cas des territoires pour lesquels il y a eu des revendications multiples de souveraineté. En règle générale, ma délégation est en faveur des négociations directes entre les parties intéressées, et elle pense que, en cas d'échec, des commissions de conciliation ou même d'arbitrage seraient nécessaires.

139. J'ai évoqué les différents problèmes de la décolonisation. Il peut y en avoir d'autres qui se poseront à nous, en raison de l'attitude des puissances administrantes et celle de leurs amis ou alliés. Selon la délégation cambodgienne, les règles à suivre pour

obtenir une solution satisfaisante doivent découler du principe de la primauté des intérêts des habitants des territoires intéressés, avec, pour corollaire, le droit de libre détermination. Il s'agit pour nous de nous conformer à la volonté et aux vœux librement exprimés des peuples de ces territoires, sans aucune distinction de race, de croyance ou de couleur. Il nous importe donc de réaliser les conditions nécessaires pour que ces consultations s'effectuent selon les dispositions de la Charte, dans le respect des droits de l'homme et des libertés fondamentales pour tous.

140. Il me reste maintenant à vous faire part de la position de ma délégation concernant les différents territoires qui ont été examinés par le Comité spécial en 1963.

141. Tout de suite, je voudrais vous dire notre espoir et notre joie de voir que les territoires suivants vont accéder incessamment à l'indépendance: le Kenya le 12 décembre 1963, Zanzibar immédiatement après, la Rhodésie du Nord et le Nyassaland au début de l'année 1964, et Malte le 31 mai 1964.

142. D'ores et déjà, nous nous réjouissons de voir bientôt ces pays rejoindre la grande communauté des Etats libres et souverains. Egalement, nous voudrions adresser nos félicitations à la Puissance administrante, le Royaume-Uni, puisque cette puissance est finalement arrivée à mener à bien sa tâche de décolonisation dans ces territoires.

143. Pour Gibraltar et les territoires administrés par l'Espagne, le Comité spécial en reprendra l'étude l'année prochaine. Certaines négociations sont encore nécessaires; il est donc prématuré de se prononcer sur cette question.

144. En ce qui concerne les îles Fidji, la Gambie et les territoires dépendant du Haut-Commissariat — le Bassoutoland, le Betchouanaland et le Souaziland —, le Comité spécial avait prié la Puissance administrante de prendre certaines mesures en vue d'accélérer le processus de la décolonisation. Nous espérons que les efforts nécessaires seront effectués dans le sens demandé et nous réexaminerons la situation dans les mois à venir.

145. La délégation cambodgienne voudrait maintenant s'étendre plus longuement sur les autres territoires examinés.

146. Les questions relatives à la Rhodésie du Sud, au Sud-Ouest africain et aux territoires sous administration portugaise ont été discutées longuement par la Quatrième Commission au cours des deux mois passés. La délégation cambodgienne a défini clairement son attitude sur chacune d'elles.

147. Pour la Rhodésie du Sud, dont la population a pleinement droit à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance, il s'agit de réaliser les conditions qui permettent à tous les habitants sans exception, sans distinction de race, de couleur, de degré d'instruction ou de fortune, de se prononcer librement sur l'avenir de leur pays. Sans cette consultation populaire préalable, il n'est pas juste de transférer les pouvoirs à un gouvernement qui ne représente, en fait, que la minorité blanche de la population du territoire. La dissolution de la Fédération de l'Afrique centrale, décidée à Victoria Falls, est en elle-même une bonne

chose, car il ne faut jamais maintenir une association contre la volonté des populations intéressées; mais les conséquences qui découlent de cette dissolution doivent être examinées dans le contexte de l'autodétermination du peuple du Zimbabwe.

148. Pour le Sud-Ouest africain, la décolonisation est d'autant plus urgente que la situation dans ce territoire est aggravée par la politique d'apartheid qui y est pratiquée de tous temps et par les tentatives d'annexion d'une partie ou de la totalité du pays. Au stade actuel de la question — une question qui nous est soumise depuis 17 ans —, nous pensons que nous devons accroître la force de nos arguments par la prise de mesures de coercition appropriées. Le Gouvernement cambodgien, quant à lui, a déjà pris les dispositions nécessaires.

149. Pour les territoires sous administration portugaise, la parole appartient maintenant au Conseil de sécurité, qui va être saisi de cette question. La situation est grave, elle trouble la paix et la sécurité en Afrique et, par extension, elle constitue une menace sérieuse contre la paix et la sécurité internationales. L'attitude du Portugal n'autorise aucun espoir. L'Organisation des Nations Unies, et avec elle le Conseil de sécurité, est maintenant pleinement consciente de ses responsabilités.

150. La situation de la Guyane britannique est pour nous très préoccupante. Voilà un territoire qui aurait dû être indépendant depuis deux ans. Le principe en a été admis par la Puissance administrante, et des élections au suffrage universel ont été effectuées avec toute la régularité voulue. Nous ne pensons pas que l'existence d'une opposition, si forte soit-elle, puisse être considérée comme un obstacle à l'octroi de l'indépendance à ce territoire. Evidemment, la délégation cambodgienne souhaiterait la possibilité d'un accord ou d'un compromis entre les deux principaux partis de la Guyane britannique, et c'est pour cette raison qu'elle est en faveur de l'action du sous-comité de bons offices créé par le Comité spécial.

151. Je voudrais maintenant vous parler de la question d'Aden et des protectorats d'Aden, au sujet de laquelle le Comité spécial a décidé d'envoyer un sous-comité dans les territoires intéressés. Ce sous-comité, qui est chargé de s'informer des vues de la population et d'avoir des entretiens avec la Puissance administrante, n'a pas pu se rendre à Aden et dans les protectorats d'Aden, et n'a même pas pu avoir des conversations avec le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni. Etant autorisé par le Comité spécial à se rendre, si nécessaire, dans des pays avoisinants, le sous-comité est allé s'informer auprès de toutes les personnes en provenance des territoires intéressés, en République arabe unie, au Yémen, en Arabie Saoudite et en Irak. Il a accompli sa tâche en toute objectivité et il a rapporté fidèlement ce qu'il a vu et entendu.

152. Les recommandations que le sous-comité d'Aden a soumises au Comité spécial, et qui ont été par la suite adoptées par ce dernier [voir A/5446/Rev.1, chap. V, par. 478], découlent des principes suivants, qui ont été généralement admis: premièrement, la reconnaissance du droit de la population du territoire

d'Aden et des Protectorats d'Aden à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance; deuxièmement, la nécessité de donner prochainement à la population de ces territoires la possibilité de décider de son avenir. La délégation cambodgienne voudrait déclarer qu'elle est fermement en faveur des mesures qui ont été préconisées, et elle propose leur adoption par l'Assemblée générale.

153. Pour terminer ma déclaration, il me reste à parler des activités futures du Comité spécial chargé de l'étude de la mise en application de la Déclaration sur la décolonisation.

154. Ma délégation estime que nous avons encore une tâche immense à accomplir. Le Comité spécial pourrait la mener à bonne fin si les conditions requises que j'ai mentionnées sont réalisées, et si les méthodes de procédure adoptées peuvent être entièrement appliquées.

155. En ce qui concerne l'action qui pourrait être entreprise au cours de l'année qui vient, et qui se rapporte surtout aux petits territoires, j'approuve entièrement les vues et les suggestions du Président de notre comité spécial, M. Coulibaly; mais je pense aussi que la recherche des solutions aux problèmes de la Rhodésie du Sud, du Sud-Ouest africain et des territoires sous administration portugaise doit être confiée au Conseil de sécurité ou à l'Assemblée générale réunie en session extraordinaire.

156. Ma délégation estime par ailleurs que, modifié ou non, le Comité spécial doit s'en tenir à 24 membres, car une augmentation de ce chiffre pourrait nuire à l'accélération de ses travaux. Elle pense aussi qu'il n'est pas encore possible de fixer une date limite pour l'octroi de l'indépendance à tous les pays et peuples coloniaux. Nous pourrions toutefois souhaiter que cette date corresponde au vingtième anniversaire de notre organisation.

157. Pour conclure, je voudrais de nouveau citer Son Altesse royale le prince Norodom Sihanouk, qui a dit:

"Ma pensée va vers tous ceux qui par le monde versent leur sang pour leur liberté et leur indépendance. A ceux-là, je tiens à exprimer notre entière solidarité et notre conviction que le jour est proche où nous aurons la joie de les accueillir parmi nous."

Organisation des travaux

158. Le PRÉSIDENT (traduit de l'espagnol): Avant de lever la séance, et comme cela a déjà été annoncé, je dois rappeler aux représentants que la liste des orateurs concernant le point 23 de l'ordre du jour sera close ce soir à 18 heures.

159. La prochaine séance plénière de l'Assemblée générale aura lieu demain matin pour examiner le point 32 de l'ordre du jour. Dès que nous en aurons fini avec l'examen de cette question, nous poursuivrons la discussion générale du point 23. Mardi

après-midi, c'est-à-dire demain, nous tiendrons une séance plénière au cours de laquelle nous poursuivrons la discussion générale du point 23, et mercredi nous tiendrons trois séances plénières: une le

matin, une l'après-midi et une le soir, pour terminer le débat général sur ce même point.

La séance est levée à 13 heures.

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**ASSEMBLÉE
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DIX-HUITIÈME SESSION

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140 1269^e
SÉANCE PLÉNIÈRE

Mardi 3 décembre 1963,
à 10 h 30

NEW YORK

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POINT 23 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

Rapport du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux (suite)

DISCUSSION GENERALE (suite)

33. M. PUREVJAL (Mongolie): L'Assemblée générale, sur l'initiative de l'Union soviétique, a adopté, à sa quinzième session, la résolution 1514 (XV) intitulée "Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux". Cette déclaration, en tant que programme pour l'avenir immédiat, est devenue un document de base des Nations Unies et elle a servi d'inspiration aux peuples opprimés dans leur lutte pour la liberté et l'indépendance nationale. La question de la mise en œuvre immédiate de cette déclaration historique est l'un des problèmes fondamentaux dont les Nations Unies restent saisies. L'ignoble système colonial doit être liquidé définitivement, dans toutes ses formes et ses manifestations sur le globe terrestre.

34. Grâce à l'appui des pays socialistes et des peuples du monde, le mouvement de libération nationale des peuples opprimés remporte constamment de nouvelles victoires, faisant crouler le système colonial.

35. La délégation mongole est heureuse de noter que, depuis l'adoption de la Déclaration par l'Assemblée générale, la lutte des peuples pour la liquidation du colonialisme a remporté une série de succès dans nombre de pays. Durant cette période, la longue lutte héroïque du peuple algérien a été couronnée par une victoire éclatante sur les colonisateurs.

L'indépendance nationale a été acquise par plusieurs pays, notamment par le Tanganyika, l'Ouganda, le Rwanda, le Burundi, la Jamaïque, la Trinité et Tobago et d'autres. La République d'Indonésie a réussi à libérer une partie intégrante de son patrimoine national, l'Irian occidental, du joug colonial étranger. La longue et persévérante lutte du peuple du Kenya a enregistré un grand succès, grâce auquel ce pays va accéder à l'indépendance dans quelques jours.

36. Cependant, il faut noter avec regret que les puissances coloniales, en dépit de la Déclaration et des résolutions de l'Assemblée générale, tentent obstinément de maintenir leur domination coloniale sur les pays dépendants et refusent, sous des prétextes variés, de leur octroyer l'indépendance. C'est pourquoi, aujourd'hui encore, plus de 50 millions d'hommes languissent sous le joug colonial dans 60 pays et territoires d'Afrique, d'Asie, d'Océanie et d'Amérique latine.

37. C'est la politique colonisatrice du Gouvernement portugais qui fournit l'exemple le plus frappant de ce que peut être le sabotage de l'application de la Déclaration et des résolutions de l'Assemblée générale. Les colonisateurs portugais, forts du puissant appui de leurs alliés de l'OTAN, maintiennent obstinément dans l'esclavage 12 millions d'hommes en Afrique, ayant recours pour ce faire aux méthodes de répression les plus cruelles contre les peuples assoiffés de liberté de l'Angola, du Mozambique, de la Guinée dite portugaise et d'autres colonies. Les peuples des colonies portugaises ne veulent plus vivre en état d'esclavage et réclament résolument la liberté et l'indépendance nationales.

38. La lutte héroïque que le peuple angolais mène depuis plusieurs années déjà pour sa libération en fournit une illustration éclatante. Les expéditions punitives, les atrocités, l'extermination en masse d'une paisible population, tous ces crimes perpétrés par les agents de Salazar en Angola soulèvent la colère et l'indignation de toutes les honnêtes gens sur cette terre. La guerre imposée par les colonisateurs portugais en Angola coûte des milliers de vies angolaises. Selon le témoignage des pétitionnaires, plus de 50 000 habitants des villes et des villages de l'Angola auraient dernièrement perdu la vie à la suite des bombardements systématiques de l'aviation portugaise. Les forces de Salazar commettent, en Angola, les crimes les plus monstrueux contre l'humanité. La même situation existe en Guinée dite portugaise, dont le peuple est pareillement engagé dans une lutte sacrée pour sa libération et son indépendance nationales.

39. En dépit des appels des Nations Unies, les Etats-Unis d'Amérique, le Royaume-Uni, la République fédérale d'Allemagne et d'autres membres de l'OTAN soutiennent pleinement le Gouvernement portugais dans sa politique coloniale et lui fournissent sans relâche armes et munitions.

40. Aux séances du Conseil de sécurité, au mois de juillet dernier, les représentants des Etats africains ont dénoncé avec vigueur les atrocités des colonisateurs portugais et ont exigé le droit pour le Conseil de sécurité de prendre des mesures efficaces envers le Portugal. Ce faisant, ils ont souligné

le rôle décisif joué par les alliés du Portugal dans l'application de sa politique de colonisation. Lors de la discussion générale à l'Assemblée, plusieurs délégations ont également dans leurs interventions fait valoir que sans l'appui des pays de l'OTAN le Portugal ne serait pas à même de mener une guerre coloniale en Afrique. L'Espagne accorde un appui politique manifeste au Portugal. D'autre part, selon les informations de la presse, il existe entre Salazar, Verwoerd et Roy Welensky une alliance dirigée contre le mouvement de libération nationale des peuples d'Afrique.

41. L'attitude provocante du Gouvernement de Salazar, qui méprise les décisions des Nations Unies et les enfreint systématiquement, n'est pas compatible avec la qualité de Membre de l'Organisation internationale, qui a proclamé le droit de tous les peuples à l'autodétermination. Ma délégation estime que la nécessité s'impose aux Nations Unies de prendre les mesures les plus énergiques pour contraindre le Portugal à mettre en œuvre, à l'égard des colonies portugaises, la Déclaration de l'Assemblée générale sur la décolonisation. Aussi est-il nécessaire que les puissances occidentales cessent immédiatement toute aide matérielle et morale comparable à celle qu'elles ont accordée jusqu'ici au Portugal pour la conduite de sa guerre coloniale.

42. Un bon nombre de pays, dans les diverses parties du monde, se trouvent encore sous l'administration coloniale britannique. Ainsi, les peuples des deux Rhodésies, du Nyassaland, de Zanzibar, du Souaziland, du Bassoutoland, du Betchouanaland et de la Gambie, pour ne citer que les territoires d'Afrique, n'ont toujours pas acquis leur indépendance nationale. La domination coloniale britannique continue de s'exercer sur les peuples de l'Arabie méridionale ainsi que sur ceux de plusieurs îles dans diverses régions du monde. Le Gouvernement britannique diffère délibérément l'octroi de l'indépendance à la Guyane.

43. Le 17 juin 1963, le Premier Ministre de la Guyane, M. Cheddi Jagan, a envoyé au Comité des Vingt-Quatre un télégramme dans lequel il accusait ouvertement les compagnies pétrolières, sucrières et de navigation américaines et anglaises de vouloir renverser son gouvernement en attisant le jeu des partis politiques du pays.

44. Bien que le Gouvernement britannique se voie contraint de dissoudre la Fédération coloniale de la Rhodésie et du Nyassaland, on ne sait toujours pas clairement quand ce gouvernement accordera l'indépendance à la Rhodésie du Nord et au Nyassaland. A cet égard, la délégation mongole appuie la résolution adoptée le 27 juillet 1963 par le Comité des Vingt-Quatre, en vue de l'octroi immédiat de l'indépendance à ces deux territoires [A/5446/Rev.1, chap. VIII, par. 184].

45. Jusqu'ici, le Gouvernement britannique s'est refusé de faire justice aux demandes légitimes de la population de la Rhodésie du Sud, où sévit le régime raciste réactionnaire des colons blancs. Ignorant les résolutions pertinentes de l'Assemblée générale, le Gouvernement britannique refuse d'entreprendre quoi que ce soit pour l'abrogation de la

Constitution raciste de la Rhodésie du Sud de 1961 et pour l'élaboration d'une nouvelle constitution garantissant les droits de la population autochtone africaine.

46. Le Gouvernement britannique nie même la compétence de l'Assemblée générale pour examiner ce problème; il est même question que le gouvernement raciste de Winston Field exige l'indépendance, sans modification du régime existant, donc avec maintien de la domination absolue d'un groupe de colons blancs sur les 3 millions d'habitants autochtones africains. Le régime de la Rhodésie du Sud, ainsi que le régime de Verwoerd, s'est érigé en bastion du colonialisme en Afrique, en vue de l'exploitation des ressources inépuisables du continent, qui attirent les monopoles des puissances occidentales.

47. La situation en Rhodésie du Sud est devenue menaçante. Le Royaume-Uni tentant de transférer tous les pouvoirs et les forces armées au gouvernement de Winston Field, un danger réel surgit, à savoir l'avènement d'un Etat raciste, à l'instar de l'Afrique du Sud, où les Africains, la majorité absolue de la population, seraient soumis à l'oppression et à la discrimination raciale.

48. L'Assemblée générale, ayant examiné à la session en cours la question de la Rhodésie du Sud, a flétri la politique du Gouvernement britannique envers la Rhodésie du Sud et a adopté deux résolutions [1883 (XVIII) et 1884 (XVIII)] tendant à satisfaire les aspirations légitimes et les demandes de la population africaine de la Rhodésie du Sud. Les Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies et les peuples du monde entier attendent du Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni la réalisation des recommandations de l'Assemblée générale, qui a décidé de demeurer saisie de la question durant la session actuelle.

49. La politique du Gouvernement sud-africain suscite une indignation profonde des peuples épris de liberté. La population autochtone de l'Afrique du Sud et du Sud-Ouest africain gémit sous l'oppression cruelle du régime raciste de Verwoerd, qui jouit du soutien complet des puissances occidentales. Le Gouvernement de l'Afrique du Sud s'obstine à persévérer dans sa politique d'annexion envers le Sud-Ouest africain. Non seulement le Gouvernement de l'Afrique du Sud refuse d'exécuter les diverses résolutions de l'Assemblée générale au sujet du Sud-Ouest africain, mais il rejette la compétence des Nations Unies quant à ce territoire. Le régime raciste de l'Afrique du Sud, dont la politique et les activités contrastent ouvertement avec les buts et les principes des Nations Unies, est devenu une sérieuse menace à la paix et à la sécurité internationales.

50. Selon la liste établie par le Comité spécial des Vingt-Quatre [A/5446/Rev.1, annexe I], un nombre des puissances coloniales qui gouvernent des territoires non autonomes et sous tutelle se trouvent des puissances comme les Etats-Unis d'Amérique, la France et l'Espagne. Les Etats-Unis ont transformé en bases militaires les îles du Pacifique placées sous leur tutelle. Les colonisateurs français, afin de maintenir leur domination, ont recours à des mesures féroces de répression contre le peuple de la Somalie sous administration française. L'Espagne continue de maintenir sa domination coloniale dans quelques territoires africains.

51. Les faits que je viens de citer prouvent clairement que les puissances coloniales font acte de sabotage envers la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux et s'efforcent de maintenir l'ancien colonialisme là où il existe encore. En même temps, elles essaient de ressusciter le colonialisme sous des formes encore plus subtiles et voilées, dans d'autres pays. L'essence de ce néo-colonialisme est la même que celle de l'ancien colonialisme, à savoir: un système d'oppression, d'exploitation et de domination des peuples.

52. Le néo-colonialisme veut tout d'abord éterniser la dépendance économique des pays sous-développés. Les champions les plus actifs de la politique du néo-colonialisme sont les Etats-Unis d'Amérique et la République fédérale d'Allemagne, lesquels s'ingèrent de plus en plus dans l'économie des jeunes Etats, sous le couvert d'une "aide économique". Dans la mise en œuvre de la politique du néo-colonialisme, on a recours à toutes sortes de moyens, y compris l'intervention dans les affaires d'autrui, l'imposition d'accords militaires, la création de bases militaires sur des territoires étrangers, l'asservissement économique et la constitution de fédérations coloniales. La politique du Gouvernement des Etats-Unis d'Amérique envers la Corée du Sud et le Viet-Nam du Sud fournit un exemple spectaculaire de l'application du néo-colonialisme par l'usage des forces armées et l'intervention directe dans les affaires d'autrui. Au cours de la session actuelle, les représentants de certaines puissances occidentales ont tenté d'exercer un chantage envers les pays sous-développés qui critiquent le néo-colonialisme en les menaçant de suspendre leurs investissements, ce qui revient à une forme de pression. Pour mener à bonne fin la décolonisation, il faut intensifier la lutte contre ce mal, il faut raffermir l'indépendance politique et l'indépendance économique des jeunes Etats récemment affranchis.

53. Les pays épris de liberté ne sauraient accepter l'attitude des puissances coloniales qui se dérobent à la mise en œuvre de la Déclaration sur la liquidation du colonialisme, dans toutes ses formes et manifestations, ni leurs tentatives en vue de préserver les vestiges du colonialisme dans diverses parties du monde. Car, ainsi que l'a déclaré le représentant du Mali, M. Sori Coulibaly, dans son intervention à la présente session de l'Assemblée générale:

"... le régime colonial constitue une menace à la paix et à la sécurité internationales. Il s'inscrit en faux contre les principes fondamentaux de la Charte, à savoir le respect de la dignité humaine et le droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes. Il constitue également un acte de violence, car la puissance administrante et la minorité étrangère au pouvoir ne maintiennent leur domination sur le peuple opprimé que par l'usage de la force."
[1231ème séance, par. 108.]

54. D'après la Déclaration de l'Assemblée générale, il ne peut y avoir aucune raison ni motif valables pour refuser ou différer l'octroi de l'indépendance aux peuples des territoires non autonomes. Pourtant, il est bien connu que la politique d'attribution, dans le processus de décolonisation, suivie par les

puissances occidentales, est manifestement dictée par certains intérêts égoïstes de leurs monopoles. Une telle politique constitue une violation flagrante de la Déclaration de l'Assemblée générale.

55. La position de notre délégation sur la question de la décolonisation a été définie dans le discours prononcé par notre ministre des affaires étrangères devant l'Assemblée générale le 1er octobre 1963 [1223ème séance], ainsi que dans d'autres interventions de notre délégation au cours de la discussion des aspects concrets de la décolonisation.

56. La République populaire de Mongolie, qui reconnaît et respecte le droit de tout peuple à l'autodétermination, intervient de façon suivie en faveur de la mise en œuvre, sans plus de délai, de la Déclaration sur la liquidation du colonialisme. La position de notre pays s'est manifestée de façon marquante par sa participation active au mouvement anticolonialiste des peuples, notamment au mouvement de solidarité des peuples afro-asiatiques.

57. La République populaire de Mongolie salue les décisions prises par la Conférence des chefs d'Etat et de gouvernement d'Afrique, réunie à Addis-Abéba en mai 1963, quant à la liquidation sans retard du colonialisme en Afrique. Les Etats africains indépendants exigent, en toute justice, que les Nations Unies prennent des mesures décisives afin d'accélérer la libération complète de l'Afrique de la domination étrangère. A ce propos, ma délégation approuve le programme exposé par le Ministre des affaires étrangères de la Guinée, M. Louis Lansana Béavogui, dans son discours à la présente session de l'Assemblée générale [1220ème séance].

58. Le Comité spécial créé par l'Assemblée générale a accompli, en dépit de la résistance des représentants des puissances coloniales, un travail positif important dans la poursuite des tâches à lui confiées. Le Comité a mené à bien de vastes enquêtes et des études exhaustives sur la situation dans une série de pays colonisés. Le rapport [A/5446/Rev.1] présenté par ce comité à l'examen de la présente session de l'Assemblée générale contient des données importantes dévoilant les desseins des colonisateurs, ainsi que des conclusions et des recommandations de valeur pour l'accélération de la mise en œuvre de la Déclaration sur la liquidation du colonialisme.

59. Nous considérons que les recommandations du Comité spécial doivent être reflétées dans des résolutions de l'Assemblée générale. Nous estimons que l'Assemblée générale, à la session en cours, doit sérieusement examiner la question de la non-application, obstinée et délibérée, de la Déclaration sur la liquidation du colonialisme, par les puissances coloniales, en premier lieu par le Portugal et l'Afrique du Sud, ainsi que la question de leurs protecteurs. L'Assemblée doit prendre des décisions audacieuses, comportant des mesures concrètes d'action, afin de forcer les colonisateurs à exécuter les stipulations de la Déclaration. Pour parvenir à ces objectifs, il est de toute importance que soit fixée une date finale pour la liquidation complète du colonialisme dans le monde entier, comme cela avait été proposé à plusieurs reprises par certains Etats Membres de l'ONU. A cet égard, ma délégation salue chaleureusement

l'idée avancée par certaines délégations tendant à ce que le régime infâme du colonialisme soit entièrement liquidé, dans le monde, pour le vingtième anniversaire de l'Organisation des Nations Unies.

60. La délégation mongole estime nécessaire que l'Assemblée générale adopte à la présente session une résolution qui contiendrait des recommandations concrètes tendant à accélérer l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. Il est important que l'Assemblée générale, en approuvant le rapport du Comité spécial des Vingt-Quatre, autorise ce dernier à poursuivre ses activités afin d'aboutir à la liquidation complète du colonialisme, sous toutes ses formes et manifestations.

61. Compte tenu de l'influence négative qu'exercent les monopoles capitalistes ayant des intérêts dans les pays colonisés et de leur attitude en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur la décolonisation, il est indispensable que l'Assemblée générale recommande au Comité spécial des Vingt-Quatre d'étudier l'influence néfaste qu'exercent certaines compagnies internationales sur la mise en œuvre de la Déclaration, et de faire rapport à l'Assemblée générale sur ce sujet.

62. Il est également indispensable que les résolutions de l'Assemblée générale recommandent des mesures concrètes à prendre par les puissances administrantes afin d'octroyer l'indépendance aux pays colonisés. Les mesures suivantes doivent être prises en premier lieu: cessation immédiate de toute action militaire et de toute répression contre les peuples luttant pour la liberté et l'indépendance; retrait immédiat de toutes les forces armées des puissances administrantes; octroi aux peuples colonisés de la possibilité de jouir de tous les droits et libertés démocratiques; élections générales libres, afin de constituer des organes représentatifs, et transfert du pouvoir à ces organes.

63. Ma délégation est certaine que les décisions de la présente session de l'Assemblée générale marqueront un grand pas en avant dans la voie de la liquidation rapide du système colonial, dont l'existence est incompatible avec les objectifs suprêmes de l'Organisation des Nations Unies.

64. M. CORNER (Nouvelle-Zélande) [traduit de l'anglais]: La Déclaration sur le colonialisme [résolution 1514 (XV)] est à ce point devenue un élément de l'Organisation des Nations Unies et de son activité quotidienne qu'il est difficile d'admettre que trois ans seulement se sont écoulés depuis son adoption. Dans ce bref laps de temps, 15 pays, dont beaucoup sont des pays d'Afrique, ont accédé à l'indépendance. Cependant, ce qui donne à la Déclaration son caractère révolutionnaire, ce n'est pas tant les résultats acquis, si importants soient-ils, mais bien plutôt le fait que le processus se poursuit et que des territoires encore dépendants avancent progressivement vers les buts énoncés par la Déclaration.

65. Certes, ce n'est pas avec la Déclaration qu'a commencé le processus de décolonisation. En fait, il est probable qu'un plus grand nombre de pays

sont devenus indépendants avant qu'après 1960. Ce qui donne une telle importance à la Déclaration, c'est qu'elle a codifié les principes en vertu desquels tous les territoires doivent pouvoir exercer librement leur droit à l'autonomie et qu'elle a marqué ces principes du sceau de la communauté mondiale. Elle a ainsi établi le cadre de la décolonisation. Dorénavant, tous les pays sont liés par ces principes, même les quelques puissances administrantes réfractaires qui ne les reconnaissent pas. Dorénavant aussi, tous les territoires dépendants évolueront nécessairement selon les lignes fixées par l'Assemblée en 1960.

66. Si nous nous arrêtons parfois au cours du débat pour jeter un regard sur les résultats obtenus, c'est plus fréquemment encore que nous regardons en avant pour voir ce qu'il reste à faire. Les principes ayant été arrêtés, il s'agit maintenant de trouver les meilleurs moyens de les appliquer aux territoires qui se trouvent encore sous un régime colonial. C'est cette tâche qui fait, je pense, l'objet du présent débat.

67. Nous traitons actuellement de ce qu'on appelle fréquemment les séquelles du colonialisme. Mais, que peut-on dire de ces séquelles? Loin d'être dépourvues d'importance, elles se manifestent dans des territoires vastes et peuplés du sud de l'Afrique dont les problèmes complexes et particulièrement difficiles ont fait l'objet des débats de cette assemblée, ainsi que dans un très grand nombre de petits territoires à faible population. Si l'on étudie les territoires encore dépendants, on constate que, le sud de l'Afrique mis à part, il s'agit de territoires extrêmement différents et relativement peu étendus. Certains d'entre eux sont des nations à l'état embryonnaire qui, une fois les problèmes politiques réglés, évolueront en suivant la voie habituelle, vers l'indépendance. D'autres rechercheront peut-être l'indépendance en s'associant entre eux, comme certaines îles des Antilles; d'autres encore, tels les Etats de la Malaisie situés dans le Bornéo septentrional, en s'intégrant à un autre Etat.

68. Pour beaucoup de ces petits territoires, il n'y a toutefois pas de solution bien définie. Il existe pour eux toute une gamme de possibilités qui doivent encore être étudiées. Ce sont souvent des îles dont la population varie de quelques centaines à quelques milliers d'habitants. A cette échelle, la viabilité économique est à peine possible et la viabilité politique pose de sérieux problèmes. C'est là d'ailleurs une question d'ordre pratique et non une question de principe. En effet, les principes de la Déclaration et de la Charte s'appliquent aussi bien aux petites îles qu'aux territoires plus vastes et plus peuplés. Le droit à la libre disposition ne diminue pas avec la superficie, pas plus que l'exercice de responsabilités politiques ne peut être fonction de recensements. Il s'agit de garantir l'exercice de ces droits et de ces responsabilités à des territoires beaucoup plus petits que ceux dont nous avons eu à traiter jusqu'ici. Supposons qu'une île, dans le plein exercice de son droit à l'autodétermination, décide de ne pas choisir l'indépendance. Perdra-t-elle par là même la sympathie des Nations Unies, et notre organisation cessera-t-elle de s'intéresser à des ter-

ritoires qui, en raison de leur faible population et de leur superficie peu étendue, décideraient de renoncer à une indépendance séparée?

69. Si la réponse à cette question est évidente, le problème n'en subsiste pas moins. Dans un discours plein d'intérêt [1267ème séance], le représentant du Chili a fait appel à l'Organisation des Nations Unies pour qu'elle entreprenne des études concrètes sur les problèmes qui se posent aux petits territoires. Ces études, dont il serait difficile de contester la nécessité, présentent un intérêt que l'on ne saurait qualifier de théorique pour quiconque tient à appliquer les principes universels de notre organisation aux territoires dépendants très variés qui subsistent encore, et plus particulièrement pour les pays chargés d'administrer des petits territoires. La Nouvelle-Zélande, qui est un de ces pays, ne laisse pas de réfléchir profondément à ces questions depuis de nombreuses années.

70. Elle est actuellement responsable de l'administration de 19 petites îles du Pacifique du Sud. Ces 19 petites îles sont disséminées sur un million de miles carrés d'océan au nord de la Nouvelle-Zélande elle-même. Leur population totale s'élève à 25 000 personnes, et le nombre des habitants varie de 8 000 dans la plus grande île à quelques centaines seulement dans plusieurs des petites îles. La population est polynésienne, comme de nombreux habitants de la Nouvelle-Zélande. Les liens historiques et familiaux qui existent depuis longtemps entre ces îles et la Nouvelle-Zélande ont pris une nouvelle importance depuis que de nombreux habitants des îles, qui sont citoyens néo-zélandais, ont émigré en Nouvelle-Zélande et s'y sont installés. Certaines de ces îles ne sont que des atolls sur lesquels la population actuelle parvient tout juste à subsister; d'autres sont plus grandes et offrent, dans le domaine de l'agriculture et de l'industrie légère, certaines possibilités de développement que l'octroi de subventions importantes de la Nouvelle-Zélande permet de réaliser progressivement. Ces îles, quelles qu'elles soient, n'ont aucune ressource minérale ou autre que celles qui viennent de la mer et du sol.

71. Ce groupe d'îles dispersées se trouve maintenant au carrefour de son destin. En votant pour la Déclaration sur le colonialisme, il y a trois ans, la Nouvelle-Zélande entendait appliquer aussitôt que possible à ces îles les principes qui y sont énoncés. Depuis un an environ, les représentants de ces îles, avec l'aide de spécialistes en matière constitutionnelle, étudient le droit à l'autodétermination et se préparent à l'exercer. Déterminer son propre avenir à un moment précis de l'histoire constitue en soi un choix solennel, choix qui est particulièrement difficile pour les îles Cook et Niue, du fait de leur isolement et de leur faible superficie. Les habitants de ces îles sont conscients de l'importance de la question et décidés à faire le choix le plus sage possible.

72. L'autodétermination, pour qu'elle représente véritablement l'expression de la volonté populaire et qu'elle résulte d'un choix vraiment libre, exige une soigneuse préparation. La condition préalable essentielle à l'autodétermination, c'est l'évolution politique, évolution qui ait atteint le stade où le gouver-

nement et l'administration locale sont entièrement aux mains des autochtones. Cette évolution, qui a commencé il y a de nombreuses années dans les îles Cook et Niue, est maintenant très avancée. Les assemblées législatives, qui sont élues de façon démocratique, ne comptent pas de sièges réservés et il n'existe pas de privilèges électoraux. Ces assemblées sont entièrement libres de décider l'emploi des crédits budgétaires, y compris les crédits importants provenant de subventions de la Nouvelle-Zélande. On supprime peu à peu les quelques restrictions qui subsistent encore en matière de législation. Les assemblées législatives exercent déjà un contrôle sur l'administration, par l'intermédiaire de comités exécutifs formés de personnes élues parmi leurs propres membres. D'ici à 1965, le contrôle de la fonction publique sera aux mains des autochtones et, cette même année, on se propose d'instaurer pleinement dans les îles Cook le gouvernement par ministère. Ainsi, ces îles verront se parachever la structure de leur gouvernement autonome: un premier ministre et un ministère seront seuls responsables des affaires et ne devront de comptes qu'à l'assemblée qui les aura élus.

73. L'étape qui suivra l'autonomie est, bien entendu, l'autodétermination. Bien qu'ils soient absorbés par la tâche de mettre au point les détails de leur évolution politique, les chefs élus et le peuple qu'ils représentent songent à l'avenir de leurs îles et en discutent. L'année dernière, les assemblées législatives ont examiné quatre solutions possibles, à savoir: indépendance, association avec la Nouvelle-Zélande, fédération avec d'autres îles du Pacifique ou autonomie complète, accompagnée d'une association volontaire avec la Nouvelle-Zélande. Par un vote unanime, elles ont décidé que les plans pour l'avenir constitutionnel du territoire devraient tendre vers l'association autonome librement choisie et librement maintenue avec la Nouvelle-Zélande.

74. Cette décision n'oblige pas, mais elle constitue un point de départ pour la préparation de plans, et c'est à ce titre qu'elle a été acceptée par la Nouvelle-Zélande. Cependant, l'acte officiel d'autodétermination exigera davantage. Il faudra que tous les habitants des îles examinent à nouveau les diverses solutions possibles et confirment clairement leur volonté. Cet aspect de la question intéresse manifestement la communauté mondiale tout entière. Conformément à la déclaration, l'Organisation des Nations Unies sera, par conséquent, invitée à étudier la question et à s'assurer que le choix est fait librement.

75. Si j'ai décrit assez longuement l'évolution vers l'autodétermination des plus petits des territoires dépendants, c'est que je voulais montrer le caractère pragmatique de la solution en cours d'élaboration, laquelle est fondée sur les désirs de la population elle-même et mise au point par ses représentants élus. Il s'agit là d'une expérience dont le plan d'exécution est parfois modifié ou adapté selon les circonstances. Il s'en dégagera, de l'avis des habitants, une formule qui répondra à leurs besoins particuliers tout en étant fondée sur les principes universels de l'autodétermination. Mais ce n'est pas là la raison pour laquelle je vous ai entretenus si longuement de ces territoires; mon but était de souligner que

toute tentative d'application pratique des dispositions de la Déclaration sur le colonialisme exige nécessairement une entente tripartite entre la population du territoire, la puissance administrante et l'Organisation des Nations Unies elle-même.

76. C'est là un principe qui dépasse les territoires dont la Nouvelle-Zélande est responsable et concerne l'avenir des plus petits territoires. Peut-être l'idée la plus importante qui se dégage de la déclaration, c'est la nécessité d'une coopération — entre les populations intéressées, qui formulent leurs vœux, la puissance administrante, qui traduit ces vœux en réalités, et, enfin, les Nations Unies, qui aident et accélèrent ce processus. Nous avons confirmé par l'expérience l'utilité de cette collaboration; en effet, la facilité avec laquelle le Territoire sous tutelle du Samoa-Occidental a accédé à l'indépendance s'explique en grande partie par la tradition de coopération aisée et fructueuse avec notre organisation.

77. Peut-être prétendra-t-on que, en affirmant que la coopération est utile, on ne dit rien de neuf, sauf peut-être pour deux membres bien connus de notre organisation. Cela est vrai, sans aucun doute, mais il est également vrai que la coopération résulte d'un effort fait en commun. Il ne peut pas y avoir de coopération avec ceux qui refusent de reconnaître que l'indépendance est le but à atteindre, pas plus d'ailleurs qu'avec ceux pour qui seule compte l'indépendance immédiate. En ce qui nous concerne, l'expression "indépendance immédiate" pour tous les territoires ne veut pas dire grand-chose, pas plus que "développement immédiat" ou "désarmement immédiat". Ces expressions sont peut-être utiles comme slogans ou figures de style, mais il a bien fallu admettre qu'elles ne sauraient remplacer la préparation indispensable, aux Nations Unies comme ailleurs, pour obtenir des résultats valables. L'indépendance immédiate n'est pas conforme à la Déclaration, car cela sous-entendrait que les Nations Unies n'ont aucun rôle à jouer et qu'il n'y a pas de coopération possible.

78. La situation réelle a été fort bien résumée par le Président du Comité spécial des Vingt-Quatre, le représentant du Mali, à l'ouverture de ce débat [1266^eme séance], lorsqu'il a attiré l'attention sur le rôle utile que le Comité des Vingt-Quatre et l'ensemble des Nations Unies peuvent jouer, afin d'aider les territoires à accéder à l'indépendance, sans difficulté, et sans engendrer la haine, pour employer ses propres termes. Il a insisté sur l'action des Nations Unies en vue de créer les conditions voulues pour assurer une autodétermination véritable.

79. A mesure que nous concentrons davantage notre attention sur les plus petits territoires, nous constatons que cette action est toujours aussi nécessaire. Une coopération entre les puissances administrantes et les Nations Unies n'est peut-être pas le seul moyen de parvenir aux buts fixés par l'Organisation, mais, là où elle est possible, elle constitue certainement le moyen le plus efficace d'arriver à ces buts ainsi que l'a montré l'expérience acquise au cours de ces trois années.

80. M. PACHACHI (Irak) [traduit de l'anglais]: Au mois de décembre 1960, l'Assemblée générale a adopté

une déclaration extrêmement importante sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. Au cours de cette quinzième session historique, les débats qui se sont déroulés en séance plénière ont porté sur la question du colonialisme en général, sur sa place dans l'histoire et sur le rôle que les Nations Unies doivent jouer pour assurer sa liquidation définitive.

81. Cette année, l'Assemblée générale doit examiner les moyens les plus adéquats et les plus efficaces pour accélérer la mise en œuvre intégrale de la Déclaration, qui peut, à juste titre, être considérée comme l'un des succès les plus éclatants de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, un de ses jalons les plus lumineux.

82. Cette organisation a été créée pour répondre aux besoins désespérés de paix et de sécurité et pour satisfaire les aspirations éternelles de l'homme vers la liberté et la dignité. Nulle part, ce besoin ne s'est fait aussi nettement sentir que dans les colonies, car, parmi les nobles idéaux et les principes élevés inscrits dans la Charte des Nations Unies, aucun n'est plus caractéristique des tendances de notre époque que le droit à l'autodétermination et la notion de responsabilité internationale pour assurer le bien-être des populations non autonomes et leur évolution rapide vers la liberté et l'indépendance.

83. Tout d'abord, les Nations Unies ont adopté des mesures prudentes et mal assurées, en vue de mettre en œuvre ces dispositions de la Charte. Mais, au fur et à mesure que s'accroissait le nombre des Membres de l'Organisation et que s'intensifiaient dans le monde entier les mouvements de libération, l'Organisation des Nations Unies n'a plus pu s'en tenir aux mesures palliatives ni aux progrès prudents qui avaient marqué son activité des premières années. A cette époque, en effet, l'accession à l'indépendance était considérée comme un but lointain et même, dans certains cas, inaccessible. Maintenant, la nécessité d'atteindre ce but est devenue la préoccupation immédiate et la responsabilité des Nations Unies.

84. C'est en se fondant sur ces considérations que l'on doit envisager le travail du Comité des Vingt-Quatre. Son mandat est clair. Aux termes du paragraphe 8 de la résolution 1810 (XVII), il consiste:

"a) A continuer de rechercher les voies et les moyens les mieux appropriés, en vue de l'application rapide et intégrale de la Déclaration à tous les territoires qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance;

"b) A proposer des mesures concrètes en vue de l'application intégrale de la Déclaration;

"c) A présenter à l'Assemblée générale, en temps opportun, et au plus tard à sa dix-huitième session, un rapport complet contenant ses suggestions et ses recommandations sur l'ensemble des territoires mentionnés au paragraphe 5 de la Déclaration;

"d) A informer le Conseil de sécurité de tous les faits survenus dans ces territoires, qui risquent de menacer la paix et la sécurité internationales."

85. Il ressort des termes de cette résolution que le Comité spécial a une fonction bien déterminée, qui est de présenter des recommandations en vue de l'application rapide des dispositions de la Déclaration dans tous les territoires qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance. C'est en tenant compte de ce mandat bien défini qu'il convient d'examiner les recommandations du Comité spécial sur chaque territoire.

86. Malgré certains progrès accomplis depuis la création du Comité spécial, il y a deux ans, les travaux de cet organe sont loin d'être achevés. Dans certains territoires, la pleine mise en œuvre de la Déclaration continue de se heurter à de graves difficultés. Il y a des territoires dont le Comité ne s'est pas encore occupé et d'autres qui ne sont même pas inscrits à l'ordre du jour de ses délibérations. Etant donné que la Déclaration prévoit le transfert immédiat des pouvoirs aux peuples de tous les territoires qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance, il est évident que non seulement le Comité se trouve en présence d'une tâche fort lourde, mais qu'il doit s'en acquitter dans le plus bref délai.

87. C'est pourquoi il a besoin de la collaboration loyale et sans réserve des Puissances administrantes. Or, celles-ci n'ont pas toujours coopéré en la matière comme en témoignent les débats sur les quatre principaux problèmes dont le Comité a traité, à savoir la Rhodésie du Sud, le Sud-Ouest africain, les territoires portugais et Aden. Une telle coopération serait conforme aux obligations morales et juridiques que les Puissances administrantes ont assumées en tant que Membres des Nations Unies. Il est aussi de leur propre intérêt d'aider le Comité des Vingt-Quatre à s'acquitter rapidement et efficacement de ses fonctions, car la prolongation de situations aussi dangereuses risquerait à la longue de troubler la paix et de compromettre les intérêts mêmes que prétendent défendre les Puissances administrantes en cause.

88. Le Comité des Vingt-Quatre a estimé, à juste titre, que l'envoi de groupes de visite constituait l'un des moyens les plus efficaces d'accomplir sa tâche. Les tentatives faites par le Comité pour se renseigner sur la situation des territoires et sur les vues de leurs habitants se sont constamment heurtées au refus de certaines Puissances administrantes de coopérer en la matière. Le Comité spécial a très clairement défini le problème devant l'Assemblée générale, et, à cet égard, je me permets de citer un extrait du chapitre premier de son rapport:

"Il note cependant avec regret le refus du Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni de permettre à un groupe de membres du Comité spécial de se rendre à Aden et en Guyane britannique. Dans les deux cas, le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni a prétendu, pour expliquer son refus, que la présence d'une mission de visite dans un territoire constituait une ingérence dans les affaires de ce territoire et qu'il ne pouvait partager ses responsabilités avec les Nations Unies. La majorité des membres du Comité spécial n'ont pu admettre qu'une mission de visite, dont la fonction est de s'assurer des vues de la population quant à l'avenir d'un territoire ou d'offrir ses bons offices pour réunir

les divers éléments politiques et, ce faisant, les aider à accéder à l'indépendance, puisse représenter une ingérence dans les affaires intérieures d'un territoire. Cette majorité ne saurait admettre non plus que, en acceptant l'envoi d'une mission de visite, la Puissance administrante partage les responsabilités qui lui incombent dans l'administration interne du territoire. L'Organisation des Nations Unies a, à l'égard de territoires non autonomes, des responsabilités qui découlent des dispositions de la Charte concernant ces territoires ainsi que l'adoption, par l'Assemblée générale, de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux.

"Le Comité spécial tient à souligner que, en refusant à un groupe de membres du Comité spécial l'accès d'un territoire relevant de son mandat, la Puissance administrante intéressée l'a privé de l'un des moyens les plus efficaces de s'acquitter de la tâche que lui a confiée l'Assemblée générale, à savoir l'examen de l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux." [A/5446/Rev.1, par. 54 et 55.]

89. Nous espérons que l'Assemblée générale partagera les vues du Comité spécial sur cette importante question et que, par une résolution formelle, elle fera appel aux Puissances administrantes pour qu'elles collaborent pleinement avec le Comité spécial.

90. Avant de parler de certains territoires auxquels se réfère le rapport, je voudrais revenir sur le point qui a été soulevé, la semaine dernière [1267^{ème} séance], par les représentants du Chili et de Ceylan. Nous partageons entièrement leurs préoccupations à propos de la création de petits Etats qui ne seraient pas viables et estimons que le Comité spécial, dans ses efforts visant à accélérer la mise en œuvre de la Déclaration, doit encourager, chaque fois que cela est possible, la fusion de petits territoires. C'est en partie pour cette raison que nous nous félicitons de l'association proposée de la Gambie et du Sénégal et que nous préconisons l'unification d'Aden et du Yémen.

91. En tant que membre du Comité des Vingt-Quatre, ma délégation a exprimé ses vues sur les différents territoires, lesquelles se trouvent pleinement reflétées dans le rapport dont l'Assemblée générale est actuellement saisie, ainsi que dans les comptes rendus du Comité spécial. Je ne saurais donc reprendre le temps de l'Assemblée pour répéter ce que nous avons déjà dit et je me bornerai à faire des commentaires d'ordre général sur certains faits nouveaux qui sont intervenus depuis la dernière fois que le Comité spécial a étudié la situation de ces territoires.

92. La Quatrième Commission a déjà discuté les chapitres II, III et IV du rapport du Comité spécial [A/5446/Rev.1], concernant les territoires administrés par le Portugal, la Rhodésie du Sud, le Sud-Ouest africain et elle a présenté à l'Assemblée générale ses recommandations à ce sujet.

93. En ce qui concerne la Rhodésie du Sud, l'Assemblée générale a demandé une fois de plus au Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni de ne pas faire droit

à la requête du présent gouvernement minoritaire de la Rhodésie du Sud, en vue de l'indépendance avant que le pouvoir de la majorité fondé sur le suffrage universel ne soit établi dans ce territoire.

94. La question de l'indépendance de la Rhodésie du Sud présente à nouveau un problème grave et urgent. Bien que le Gouvernement britannique ait déclaré qu'il n'accorderait pas l'indépendance tant que des mesures concrètes n'auraient pas été prises pour étendre le droit de vote et assurer l'élection d'une majorité africaine à l'Assemblée législative, les porte-parole officiels du Gouvernement des colons de la Rhodésie du Sud soutiennent toujours que le Royaume-Uni ne diffèrera pas son consentement à l'indépendance. Vu les interprétations contradictoires qui existent au sujet des conditions auxquelles le Gouvernement britannique a subordonné l'octroi de l'indépendance à ce territoire, nous pensons qu'une déclaration nette et claire de la part du Royaume-Uni s'impose maintenant en la matière.

95. D'autre part, l'observation que nous avons faite à propos de la Rhodésie du Sud, en mars dernier, devant le Comité des Vingt-Quatre [136^{ème} séance], est toujours vraie:

"Pour lui (le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni), le choix semble être soit de prendre fermement position maintenant et d'exercer son influence morale, légale et matérielle, qui est considérable, pour empêcher un désastre en Rhodésie du Sud, soit de renoncer à ses responsabilités envers la collectivité internationale et la population africaine du territoire en permettant que se dresse une nouvelle citadelle de réaction et d'apartheid au cœur du continent africain."

96. La semaine dernière, la Quatrième Commission a achevé l'examen de la situation des territoires sous administration portugaise et adopté un projet de résolution dont l'Assemblée sera saisie cet après-midi, et qui tend à renvoyer la question au Conseil de sécurité. Nous espérons que le Conseil prendra les mesures nécessaires pour assurer l'application de la résolution qu'il a adoptée à sa 1049^{ème} séance, le 31 juillet 1963^{2/}. Les territoires portugais constituent, aujourd'hui, le groupe de colonies le plus nombreux et le plus ancien du monde. Depuis près de sept ans, en fait depuis que le Portugal a été admis à l'Organisation des Nations Unies, l'Assemblée générale se préoccupe de ce problème; mais aucun progrès appréciable n'a été enregistré à ce jour. Si les Nations Unies ont pu obtenir des résultats notables dans nombre d'autres questions coloniales, il leur reste encore à trouver le moyen de régler effectivement le problème des territoires portugais. Tous les efforts déployés en vue de persuader le Portugal de remplir les obligations que lui impose la Charte et d'appliquer les nombreuses résolutions pertinentes de l'Assemblée générale et du Conseil de sécurité sont, jusqu'à présent, demeurés vains.

97. Les Nations Unies ont le devoir de permettre à tous les peuples dépendants d'accéder rapidement et pacifiquement à l'indépendance et, nulle part, cette

^{2/} Documents officiels du Conseil de sécurité, dix-huitième année, supplément de juillet, août et septembre 1963, document S/5380.

tâche n'est plus impérieuse et plus urgente que dans les colonies portugaises.

98. La question du Sud-Ouest africain demeure l'un des problèmes coloniaux les plus graves et les plus épineux qui se posent aux Nations Unies. On a déjà adopté une résolution demandant instamment aux Etats Membres de prendre certaines mesures à l'encontre de l'Afrique du Sud^{3/}. Si cette résolution est appliquée loyalement par tous les Membres de l'ONU et si les mesures recommandées sont prises et exécutées fidèlement, il y aura peut-être moyen de sortir de l'impasse. Le Conseil de sécurité, dont l'attention a déjà été attirée sur ce problème, peut être appelé à décider des mesures qu'il conviendrait de prendre à l'égard d'un Etat qui viole continuellement la Charte et méconnaît la volonté de la communauté internationale.

99. Parmi les autres territoires ayant fait l'objet d'un examen du Comité spécial, Malte est au seuil de l'indépendance, mais de nombreux problèmes persistent encore dans l'île. Les partis politiques sont loin d'être d'accord sur la forme de la constitution qui entrera en vigueur lors de la proclamation de l'indépendance, le 31 mai 1964, et nous croyons savoir que de nouveaux pourparlers doivent s'ouvrir à Londres, aujourd'hui, afin de régler les difficultés qui subsistent à ce sujet. Eu égard aux territoires africains qui doivent bientôt accéder à l'indépendance: le Kenya et Zanzibar, nous tenons à exprimer notre satisfaction et à adresser nos félicitations aux peuples intéressés.

100. La dissolution de la Fédération centrafricaine a ouvert à la Rhodésie du Nord et au Nyassaland la voie de l'indépendance, laquelle, nous l'espérons, ne se fera pas attendre.

101. Dans les territoires relevant de la Haute Commission, Bassoutoland, Betchouanaland et Souaziland, la situation est encore sérieuse. L'Afrique du Sud poursuit activement ses desseins à l'égard de ces territoires. Ceux-ci ne progressent que lentement sur le plan constitutionnel, et les problèmes économiques auxquels ils doivent faire face sont aussi épineux que jamais.

102. En Guyane britannique, on est arrivé à une impasse dangereuse. Nous souscrivons entièrement aux recommandations du Sous-Comité de la Guyane britannique [A/5446/Rev.1, chap. X, par. 59]. Il a été proposé d'envoyer dans ce territoire une équipe d'experts en questions constitutionnelles, mais malheureusement le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni a unilatéralement décidé d'accepter la solution préconisée par l'un des partis, c'est-à-dire la représentation proportionnelle.

103. Un territoire auquel nous attachons naturellement une importance toute spéciale est Aden, dont la situation a été minutieusement examinée, cette année, par le Comité spécial des Vingt-Quatre. En effet, celui-ci a consacré 26 séances à l'étude de cet important problème colonial et créé un sous-comité qu'il a chargé de se rendre dans ce pays, afin de s'assurer des vues de la population et

d'engager des pourparlers avec la Puissance administrante. La décision du Gouvernement britannique de retirer sa coopération a obligé le Sous-Comité à limiter ses activités aux pays voisins, où il a entendu un grand nombre de pétitionnaires et reçu des centaines de pétitions. Le rapport du Sous-Comité au Comité spécial, qui figure au chapitre V du document, parle de lui-même. En tant que Membre du Sous-Comité, il ne m'appartient pas de commenter ses travaux et je laisserai aux autres le soin d'apprécier la contribution qu'il a apportée à la cause de la liberté dans cette partie du monde.

104. J'ai eu l'honneur d'ouvrir le débat sur la question d'Aden, au sein du Comité spécial, en avril dernier, et nos vues en la matière sont bien connues. Elles ont d'ailleurs été résumées dans non moins de 44 paragraphes du rapport rédigé par le Comité spécial.

105. La question d'Aden présente tous les éléments d'une situation coloniale classique. Le territoire est tombé sous le contrôle britannique, après avoir été conquis par les armes et l'on en a fait par la suite une colonie de la Couronne. Il constitue maintenant une base militaire importante qui sert à protéger les intérêts de la Puissance coloniale dans cette région. On y maintient un régime non représentatif, particulièrement docile aux conseils et aux directives britanniques, et le territoire continue d'être séparé arbitrairement du Yémen. Nous avons toujours affirmé que ce territoire fait partie intégrante du Yémen et nous estimons que l'on ne doit pas empêcher ni retarder sa réunification avec la mère patrie.

106. Le représentant du Yémen a fait devant l'Assemblée l'historique détaillé et exact du problème; je ne voudrais pas répéter ce qu'il a dit, mais je pense qu'il importe de souligner le caractère douteux du fondement juridique de l'autorité britannique dans cette région. Comme je l'ai indiqué dans le cas d'Aden lui-même, cette autorité résulte d'une véritable conquête militaire, alors que dans le cas des protectorats elle repose sur des traités illégaux et léonins de protection conclus au cours de la seconde moitié du XIX^e siècle. De nombreux traités de ce genre ont été conclus avec divers sultans, émirs et cheiks de la vaste région qui s'étend à l'est d'Aden jusqu'à Mascate. Ces traités, qui ont été soit imposés de force, soit obtenus grâce à des pots-de-vin, mais qui n'ont jamais été sollicités volontairement, ont été signés par des cheiks féodaux ignorants qui n'avaient aucune souveraineté légale sur les terres et les populations au nom desquelles ils acceptaient des obligations aussi lourdes de conséquences. En outre, il est manifeste que ces traités étaient absolument léonins, ayant été conclus entre les chefs de tribus faibles et impuissants et ce qui constituait à l'époque le plus grand empire colonial du monde.

107. A une époque récente, le Gouvernement britannique a renforcé son autorité sur ces sultanats et ces cheikats en les unifiant au sein d'une fédération avec laquelle le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni a conclu un traité en février 1959^{4/}. En vertu de ce

^{3/} Ibid., document S/5386.

^{4/} Traité d'amitié et de protection entre le Royaume-Uni et les Emirats arabes de la Fédération de l'Arabie du Sud.

traité, le Royaume-Uni conserve le contrôle complet et exclusif des affaires étrangères. Les traités de protection et d'autres accords consultatifs conclus antérieurement avec les cheiks doivent demeurer en vigueur, les forces britanniques obtenant la liberté absolue de se déplacer et de s'installer à tout moment.

108. Ces dispositions, si importantes soient-elles, ne donnent pas réellement une image exacte et complète de l'étendue du contrôle et de l'influence exercés par le Gouvernement britannique sur ces territoires. Cette influence ne découle pas uniquement d'engagements écrits. Elle repose plutôt sur les relations d'allégeance qui lient ces cheiks féodaux au Gouvernement britannique.

109. La colonie d'Aden elle-même a été intégrée dans la Fédération en janvier 1963 sans le consentement de sa population et les méthodes les plus inusitées ont été employées à cette fin. Je voudrais rappeler très brièvement ce que j'ai déclaré à ce sujet devant le Comité des Vingt-Quatre en avril dernier [149^{ème} séance], à savoir l'inclusion d'Aden dans la Fédération. J'ai déclaré notamment:

"La demande formulée par les partis de l'opposition que des élections aient lieu avant la fusion a été rejetée. Au lieu de cela, le plan fédéral a été adopté par le soi-disant Conseil législatif. C'est un conseil... qui a été élu d'une façon des moins démocratiques... Plus de 76 p. 100 de la population a boycotté les élections qui se sont tenues en 1959, et les membres élus n'ont pas obtenu plus de 2 p. 100 des voix de la population. La majorité des membres élus n'approuvaient pas la fusion qui n'a été adoptée que grâce aux voix des membres désignés du Conseil législatif. Ainsi, les destinées du peuple d'Aden ont été décidées pour une durée de 6 ans au moins par le vote minoritaire d'un conseil choisi sur une base électorale extrêmement restrictive et sélective, il y a quatre ans."

110. Il est maintenant clair que les principaux objectifs de la politique britannique à Aden et dans l'intérieur du pays sont les suivants: premièrement, séparer de façon permanente ces territoires du Yémen; deuxièmement, faciliter et renforcer le contrôle britannique sur cette région du monde arabe en vue de conserver la base militaire d'Aden pour la défense des intérêts pétroliers étrangers dans le golfe Persique.

111. Les représentants du Royaume-Uni ont déclaré devant le Comité spécial des Vingt-Quatre que la politique de leur gouvernement est d'amener la population du territoire à l'autonomie et à l'indépendance dans les plus brefs délais et dans des conditions favorables de stabilité. Nous serions les derniers à contester une telle politique si elle répondait vraiment aux vœux de la population intéressée. Mais nous avons des raisons de croire que l'indépendance, telle que le Gouvernement britannique l'envisage, ne sera pas conforme aux vœux de la population, et que, loin de rendre ce territoire fort et prospère, elle le maintiendra pour toujours sous la tutelle économique et politique du Royaume-Uni.

112. La tâche du Comité spécial consistait à trouver les meilleurs moyens d'assurer l'application rapide de la Déclaration de façon à traduire fidèlement

les aspirations de la population d'Aden et dans des conditions de liberté et de sécurité. L'indépendance que veut accorder — ou déclare vouloir accorder — le Royaume-Uni est entièrement différente. Elle vise à maintenir au pouvoir un régime social arriéré, à préserver et à perpétuer les privilèges dont le Gouvernement britannique jouit actuellement dans les domaines économique, politique ou militaire. La déclaration de 1960, par contre, envisage une indépendance exempte de toute entrave, une indépendance fondée uniquement sur le libre choix des populations.

113. C'est précisément dans cet esprit que le Sous-Comité a présenté ses conclusions et ses recommandations et que le Comité spécial a adopté son projet de résolution du 19 juillet 1963 [A/5446/Rev.1, chap. V, par. 478]. En fait, ce projet de résolution recommande essentiellement que la population du territoire soit consultée dans les conditions présentant les meilleures garanties et en toute liberté. Nous estimons que cette recommandation est des plus raisonnables. En fait, le Gouvernement britannique a accepté ce point de vue dans de nombreuses régions d'Afrique où des élections ont eu lieu dont sont issus des gouvernements nationaux traduisant fidèlement les opinions et les aspirations des populations intéressées. Tout ce que nous demandons, c'est que l'on procède de même pour Aden. Nous ne faisons pas de différence entre Aden et le Kenya, la Rhodésie du Nord et le Nyassaland.

114. Dans la résolution que le Comité spécial a adoptée le 19 juillet 1963, l'autorité administrante est invitée à effectuer:

"... les changements constitutionnels nécessaires en vue de créer un organe représentatif et de constituer un gouvernement pour tout le territoire... cet organe législatif et ce gouvernement devant être constitués à la suite d'élections générales qui auraient lieu au suffrage universel des adultes et dans le respect absolu des droits et des libertés fondamentales de l'homme".

On sera mieux à même d'apprécier et de comprendre l'importance du paragraphe 8 précité si on le rapproche du paragraphe 11 de cette même résolution, qui recommande que:

"... des pourparlers soient entrepris sans retard entre le gouvernement issu des élections... pour fixer la date de l'accession à l'indépendance".

115. La raison pour laquelle on a proposé qu'il y ait un seul organe législatif et un seul gouvernement pour tout le territoire et que, le moment de l'indépendance venu, les dispositions et les modalités de transfert des pouvoirs, ainsi que l'accord visant à fixer la date de l'accession à l'indépendance, seront conclus non pas avec divers gouvernements, cheiks ou sultans, mais avec un seul gouvernement représentant l'ensemble de la population, gouvernement émanant d'un organe législatif élu par la population tout entière au suffrage universel des adultes.

116. En outre, le projet de résolution du Comité spécial recommande à l'Assemblée générale:

"... de prendre les dispositions nécessaires, en consultation avec la Puissance administrante, pour assurer la présence effective des Nations Unies avant et pendant les élections".

117. Comme il ressort du rapport du Sous-Comité, les pétitionnaires qui ont été entendus par le Sous-Comité ont été unanimes à souhaiter que les Nations Unies interviennent sous une forme ou sous une autre, parce qu'ils ne se sentaient pas complètement en sécurité et ne pensaient pas que les élections pussent se dérouler librement et sincèrement si le soin de les organiser était laissé entièrement à l'autorité administrante ou aux gouvernements locaux actuellement au pouvoir. Il convient toutefois de noter que le Comité spécial n'a pas recommandé que les élections aient lieu sous la surveillance et la responsabilité directes des Nations Unies. Il a proposé d'assurer une présence effective des Nations Unies dans le territoire avant et pendant les élections. L'idée d'une présence des Nations Unies n'a rien de nouveau. Ces dernières années, de nombreux pays indépendants ont accepté la présence des Nations Unies sur leur territoire pour y accomplir certaines fonctions précises et à des fins déterminées. Si des pays indépendants acceptent cette procédure, l'autorité administrante ne devrait assurément faire aucune objection à ce qu'une présence des Nations Unies soit créée dans un territoire non autonome en vue d'appliquer la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance.

118. Nous espérons que l'Assemblée générale approuvera les recommandations formulées par le Comité spécial dans sa résolution du 19 juillet 1963, car elles constituent à notre avis le moyen le plus sûr et le plus raisonnable de résoudre la situation à Aden et dans les protectorats voisins. Il s'agit bien entendu d'un vaste territoire qui a été fortement négligé depuis plus d'un siècle, d'un territoire qui constitue actuellement l'un des derniers avant-postes coloniaux dans le monde arabe où la puissance coloniale cherche à se maintenir par divers moyens, en entretenant par exemple un régime tribal archaïque où des cheiks aux conceptions féodales nous sont présentés comme les véritables représentants de la population. Un tel régime n'a pas sa place de nos jours; il va à l'encontre de tous les progrès qui ont été accomplis dans tous les pays du monde dans la voie de la liberté et de la libération nationale. Alors que tous les peuples s'affranchissent du joug de la domination coloniale et se joignent au mouvement puissant et irrésistible de libération, nous constatons que l'Arabie du Sud continue de vivre dans les conditions médiévales les plus choquantes.

119. C'est dans cet esprit que nous demandons à l'Assemblée générale d'approuver le projet de résolution proposé par le Comité des Vingt-Quatre. Ma délégation appuiera naturellement tout projet de résolution qui serait présenté à l'Assemblée et qui contiendrait les dispositions essentielles du projet de résolution du Comité spécial des Vingt-Quatre.

120. M. GEORGESCU (Roumanie): L'Assemblée générale a de nouveau entamé la discussion d'un des problèmes politiques les plus importants que comporte son ordre du jour. Elle se fait ainsi l'écho de cet immense mouvement constitué par les millions et les millions d'hommes qui, aujourd'hui, dans le monde entier, luttent contre les dernières positions du colonialisme.

121. Trois ans se sont écoulés depuis l'adoption, par cette assemblée, de la Déclaration qui proclamait

la liquidation immédiate et sans condition du colonialisme, et le mérite qu'ont eu les Nations Unies d'agir conformément aux exigences de l'histoire se voit, aujourd'hui, entièrement confirmé. Le document soumis par l'Union soviétique à la quinzième session^{5/} a été un instrument utile au service du progrès de l'humanité. Il a stimulé la lutte pour la libération des peuples des colonies et il a mobilisé de nouvelles forces à l'appui de cette cause.

122. Les nombreux pays et les nombreux peuples qui ont obtenu leur indépendance, par les réalisations importantes à leur actif et par la contribution qu'ils ont apportée à la solution des grands problèmes de l'humanité, ont démontré que le processus de la liquidation du colonialisme met en branle des forces immenses qui, maintenues pendant des siècles dans les ténèbres, avaient été de ce fait empêchées de s'affirmer avant leur libération.

123. Dans la mythologie grecque, Andromède, la noire fille de Céphée, avait été enchaînée et mise à la torture par Poséidon, le dieu des mers. Mais, plus tard, elle devint reine parmi les étoiles, et on peut la voir scintiller pendant les claires nuits d'été. La légende a eu, ici, le mérite de prévoir l'avenir.

124. Toute l'humanité apprécie l'importante contribution que la liquidation du colonialisme apporte à l'épanouissement de la civilisation et du génie de l'homme. Les régimes coloniaux ont été définitivement condamnés par l'histoire, et les peuples du monde entier unissent leurs voix pour demander la libération immédiate et totale des territoires qui se trouvent sous la domination coloniale. Pourtant, il y a encore des dizaines de colonies en Afrique, en Asie et en Amérique latine.

125. Le racisme élevé au rang de politique d'Etat, les répressions et les expéditions armées menées contre ceux qui luttent pour leur liberté nationale, les lourdes peines auxquelles sont condamnés les leaders des mouvements révolutionnaires des colonies, la liquidation des cadres de certains peuples en voie d'accéder à leur libération, tout cela prouve que certaines forces du passé persistent encore dans leurs vains efforts pour arrêter l'histoire.

126. Certaines théories sont émises quant à l'effet bienfaisant de la continuité de la présence des puissances coloniales dans les différents territoires qui ont été sous leur domination pendant des décennies. Ces théories nouvelles ne font, en réalité, qu'en rééditer d'anciennes, qui alléguaient la prétendue mission civilisatrice des métropoles.

127. La réalité a été et continue d'être tout à fait différente. Des chercheurs assidus et honnêtes, des savants de grande renommée ont démontré que beaucoup de territoires sous le joug colonial se trouvaient, au moment de leur occupation, à un stade de développement et de prospérité nettement supérieur à celui d'aujourd'hui. Les peuples de ces territoires disposaient d'une organisation propre et ils avaient atteint un stade de développement matériel remarquable à cette époque. Les fouilles archéologiques de ces dernières années ont fait connaître des œuvres d'une réelle valeur artistique et culturelle.

^{5/} Documents officiels de l'Assemblée générale, quinzième session, Annexe, point 87 de l'ordre du jour, document A/4502.

128. Réhabiliter l'histoire de nombre de ces peuples est l'une des préoccupations constantes des historiens de bonne foi. C'est une œuvre qui s'enrichit toujours davantage chaque année et qui devrait mettre définitivement fin à toutes ces fausses théories, contraires à la vérité, qui persistent encore dans certains cercles politiques intéressés à la prolongation des régimes coloniaux.

129. La délégation roumaine pense que l'Assemblée générale, en examinant de nouveau le problème du colonialisme, doit tenir compte de cet élément d'une extrême importance: le colonialisme représente aujourd'hui ce qu'il y a de plus rétrograde dans le monde, sape la cause du progrès et constitue une source de tensions et de conflits qui met en danger la paix et la sécurité internationales.

130. La situation actuelle dans le monde colonial confirme la justesse des constatations inscrites dans la résolution 1514 (XV), ainsi que dans les résolutions ultérieures, c'est-à-dire que la prolongation de la domination coloniale ainsi que tout délai dans l'application de la Déclaration sont un danger toujours plus grand pour la paix et la sécurité internationales et entravent sérieusement la coopération entre Etats. Or, ce sont là les principes mêmes qui sont à la base de notre organisation; leur promotion constitue la principale tâche des Nations Unies.

131. Les débats qui ont eu lieu à cette session sur les problèmes coloniaux ont démontré l'inquiétude croissante que suscite dans le monde entier la situation de l'Afrique centrale et de l'Afrique du Sud, zones où les régimes coloniaux sont actuellement les plus concentrés, et prouvent que cette situation est devenue une source permanente de conflits internationaux. La politique des puissances coloniales dans cette région crée des situations particulièrement graves pour le continent; je veux parler du racisme de l'Afrique du Sud et du Sud-Ouest africain, de la guerre coloniale et des atrocités commises dans les territoires portugais, du danger imminent que la Rhodésie du Sud devienne le second Etat raciste d'Afrique. De la tribune de l'Assemblée générale, on a mentionné à maintes reprises qu'à la base de cette politique se trouvent les intérêts des monopoles internationaux qui, pendant longtemps, ont imposé au développement économique et social de la région tout entière ce profil monstrueux caractérisé par des pratiques inhumaines et des conceptions racistes. La situation de cette partie du continent africain et ses graves répercussions sont une preuve évidente de la menace que présente le colonialisme, surtout à notre époque, quant aux relations pacifiques entre les nations.

132. A l'occasion de sa visite aux Etats-Unis d'Amérique, en juillet 1963, le Président du Tanganyika, M. Julius Nyerere, a déclaré, dans le discours qu'il a prononcé au club de la presse, à Washington:

"Nous considérons donc, en tant que nationalistes, que la prolongation du colonialisme dans n'importe quelle partie du monde, mais surtout en Afrique, est un affront à ceux d'entre nous qui ont obtenu l'indépendance.

Le Tanganyika ne peut s'estimer satisfait tant que la domination étrangère continue d'exister au

sud de notre continent. Même si nous voulions ignorer les justes demandes de nos frères, notre propre intérêt nous obligerait à ne pas accepter cette situation. De nombreuses questions concernant le développement économique régional ne reçoivent pas de solution parce que les gouvernements coloniaux qui se trouvent sur nos frontières ne poursuivent pas les mêmes objectifs que nous dans le domaine du développement économique^{6/}."

133. La tranquillité et la sécurité de l'Afrique indépendante sont donc mises en péril et les nouveaux Etats sont privés d'un important levier pour leur développement économique et social, en l'espèce la coopération à l'échelon continental. L'Organisation des Nations Unies devra donc appuyer de la manière la plus efficace les efforts faits par les Etats africains en vue de consolider leur indépendance politique et économique, en mobilisant l'opinion internationale et en adoptant des mesures appropriées à la situation afin de décider les forces coloniales à libérer définitivement et complètement le continent africain.

134. La zone du sud de l'Afrique représente le noyau du colonialisme contemporain. Il y a aussi, en dehors du continent africain, un nombre considérable de territoires coloniaux qui se trouvent parsemés sur la surface du globe. Les puissances coloniales manifestent la même opposition à leur libération.

135. La politique poursuivie par les puissances administrantes fait l'objet d'une sérieuse inquiétude et suscite l'indignation surtout parce qu'aujourd'hui, au siècle de l'épanouissement du génie humain, l'oppression et l'exploitation continuent dans tous ces territoires, exactement comme un siècle ou deux siècles auparavant, et utilisent les formes et les méthodes propres au colonialisme classique. L'inquiétude manifestée par l'opinion internationale et par notre Organisation est on ne peut plus légitime si l'on prend en considération un autre facteur fondamental qui caractérise la politique coloniale contemporaine. Il faut remarquer la préoccupation particulière des puissances coloniales de garder, par l'intermédiaire de territoires dispersés dans les diverses parties du globe, un vrai réseau de points d'appui servant à maintenir le colonialisme en tant que système.

136. Comme on le sait, cette année même, ces puissances n'ont pas manqué d'utiliser à cet effet les bases militaires existantes de ce réseau pour assurer leur domination sur des territoires coloniaux; ce fut le cas, par exemple, de certains territoires qui se trouvent au sud du continent africain. La délégation roumaine accorde une attention particulière à ce genre de manifestations du colonialisme contemporain car de tels points de liaison coloniale, parsemés sur l'entière superficie du globe, constituent un sérieux danger pour les peuples récemment libérés comme pour la paix et la sécurité internationales.

137. L'Organisation des Nations Unies se voit en butte aux actions et aux méthodes les plus diverses, employées par les puissances administrantes pour prolonger leur domination sur les colonies. Lorsque

^{6/} Vol. 109, U. S. Congressional Record, p. 12057, 16 juillet 1963.

les vieilles formes d'oppression deviennent vulnérables, on cherche de nouvelles formes mieux adaptées aux conditions de l'époque. Dans cet ordre d'idées, il faut remarquer le nombre croissant des plaintes dont les populations des différents territoires que les puissances coloniales ont privés de la possibilité d'exercer réellement leur droit à l'autodétermination, saisissent les Nations Unies. L'Assemblée générale examine actuellement la question d'Oman. Les représentants d'Aden dévoilent le caractère fictif de la Fédération de l'Arabie du Sud; ils revendiquent le droit à une indépendance réelle, conforme aux aspirations de la population. De nombreux autres territoires coloniaux continuent à rester dans l'orbite politique et administrative de la métropole sous prétexte d'autonomie administrative interne.

138. Le danger d'une telle politique néo-coloniale plane tout particulièrement sur les petits territoires, qui, si l'on en croyait les puissances coloniales, ne pourraient exister par leurs propres moyens. A mesure que le processus de liquidation du colonialisme gagne cette catégorie de territoires, parsemés sur tous les continents — dans les régions du Pacifique, des Antilles ou de l'Atlantique —, l'Organisation des Nations Unies doit veiller à ce que leur accession à l'indépendance s'effectue en conformité avec les dispositions de la Déclaration, sans que l'esprit de celle-ci soit dénaturé. On doit tenir compte de la volonté librement exprimée des populations respectives pour qu'une véritable libération s'accomplisse et pour qu'intervienne la liquidation complète des positions du colonialisme dans le monde. Toute violation de ces principes mènerait à la perpétuation des régimes coloniaux et à la création de nouveaux foyers de tension et d'anxiété.

139. L'image de tous ces problèmes propres au colonialisme, au stade actuel, est présentée d'une manière saisissante par le rapport du Comité des Vingt-Quatre [A/5446/Rev.1], chargé d'examiner la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux.

140. La délégation roumaine salue l'activité déployée par ce comité, chargé d'accomplir une des plus nobles tâches de notre Organisation, et appuie ses recommandations. Nous soulignons, de même, le mérite du Comité d'avoir accordé, cette année aussi, la priorité aux problèmes urgents, tout particulièrement à ceux de l'Afrique; nous apprécions également que le Comité ait étendu son activité aux autres territoires dépendants. Le rapport soumis cette année par le Comité chargé d'examiner la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux ajoutera au dossier du colonialisme de nouveaux documents propres à démasquer ce dernier.

141. La grave situation du monde colonial, les implications qu'a cette situation pour la cause du

progrès, de la paix et de la coopération internationales, ainsi que tout ajournement de l'application de la Déclaration, confirment qu'il s'impose d'urgence d'extirper du monde contemporain le fléau du colonialisme. La responsabilité et la compétence de l'Organisation des Nations Unies dans ce domaine s'accroissent donc en proportion directe du manque de coopération des puissances administrantes en ce qui concerne la mise en œuvre des dispositions de la Déclaration.

142. L'indépendance des peuples colonisés est le problème de l'humanité entière. Ce problème n'a jamais relevé et ne pourra jamais relever de la compétence exclusive des puissances administrantes.

143. Dans ces conditions, les appels à la modération et aux débats "parlementaires" au sein de l'ONU, l'énoncé, au Comité des Vingt-Quatre, au Conseil de sécurité et lors des débats actuels, de théories ayant trait à une compétence limitée des Nations Unies ne sont que l'écho des forces qui s'opposent, par tous les moyens, à la liquidation définitive de l'oppression coloniale. Non seulement ces forces ont pour but d'affaiblir l'efficacité de notre organisation, mais elles visent, dans une égale mesure, à diminuer son autorité à l'égard des peuples des colonies, à désarmer politiquement ces derniers, en soutenant la thèse que l'indépendance ne pourrait être obtenue que par la bienveillance des puissances coloniales.

144. L'Assemblée générale a le devoir d'intervenir pour l'immédiate mise en œuvre des dispositions de la Déclaration relative à la liquidation du colonialisme, en adoptant des résolutions qui puissent donner aux peuples des colonies un moyen de plus dans leur lutte pour la libération, lorsqu'ils en ont le plus besoin. Bis dat, qui cito dat, dit un adage latin. Celui-là donne deux fois, qui donne vite. Le mandat que recevra cette année le Comité des Vingt-Quatre doit refléter cette situation. Les tâches nouvelles confiées au Comité doivent confirmer que les peuples des colonies trouvent un appui et un allié dans l'Organisation des Nations Unies.

145. La délégation roumaine, exprimant la solidarité que la Roumanie manifeste d'une manière conséquente dans la lutte menée pour la liquidation totale et immédiate du colonialisme, apportera, à cette session aussi, son entière contribution à l'adoption de mesures tendant à la mise en œuvre de la Déclaration adoptée il y a trois ans par l'Assemblée générale.

146. C'est la conviction de la délégation roumaine que, grâce aux efforts communs de toutes les forces anticoloniales, il est possible d'effectuer des pas décisifs pour écarter les obstacles qui continuent à se dresser sur la voie de la libération des peuples des colonies.

La séance est levée à 13 h 10.



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*Président: M. Carlos SOSA RODRIGUEZ
(Venezuela).*

POINT 23 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

Rapport du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation
en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration
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CHAPITRE RELATIF AUX TERRITOIRES SOUS AD-
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DISCUSSION GENERALE (suite)

32. Le PRESIDENT (traduit de l'espagnol): Nous poursuivons maintenant la discussion générale du point 23.

33. M. Mahmoud RIAD (République arabe unie) [traduit de l'anglais]: Il y a quelques jours à peine, l'Assemblée générale adoptait, à l'unanimité, une autre déclaration historique [1261^{ème} séance], à savoir la Déclaration des Nations Unies sur l'élimination de toutes les formes de discrimination raciale. Dans son action pour la justice et l'égalité envers toute l'humanité, cette organisation internationale, s'inspirant des principes mêmes de sa Charte, avait antérieurement adopté deux déclarations importantes. La première était la Déclaration universelle des droits de l'homme, qui proclamait que tous les êtres humains naissent libres et égaux en dignité et en droits et que chacun peut se prévaloir de tous les droits et de toutes les libertés proclamés dans ladite déclaration, sans distinction aucune, notamment de race, de couleur ou d'origine nationale.

34. La seconde était la Déclaration historique sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, par laquelle cette assemblée proclamait que la sujétion des peuples à une domination et à une exploitation étrangères constitue un déni des droits fondamentaux de l'homme, est contraire à la Charte des Nations Unies et compromet la cause de la paix et de la coopération mondiales. De plus, l'Assemblée déclarait que tous les peuples ont droit à la libre détermination et, en vertu de ce droit, doivent pouvoir déterminer librement leurs statuts politiques et poursuivre librement leur développement économique, social et culturel.

35. Il est réconfortant de noter les efforts accomplis par cette assemblée et son souci d'assurer l'application loyale de ces déclarations historiques. Inutile de préciser que le rétablissement des droits fondamentaux de l'homme, l'élimination de la discrimination raciale et la liquidation du colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations contribuent à redonner à la personne humaine sa dignité et sa valeur, à assurer les droits égaux des hommes et des femmes ainsi que des nations, grandes et

*Le représentant du Rwanda a fait savoir ultérieurement au Secrétariat que s'il avait été présent lors du vote il se serait prononcé en faveur du projet de résolution.

petites, et à promouvoir un progrès social et un niveau de vie meilleur dans une liberté plus grande. En outre, et c'est là peut-être le plus important, ces efforts tendent nécessairement à redresser l'injustice, à créer une base solide pour la coopération internationale et à maintenir l'idéal de paix universelle poursuivi par l'Organisation des Nations Unies.

36. Il n'est pas douteux que les efforts accomplis par l'Organisation dans les divers domaines que j'ai mentionnés ont permis d'obtenir des résultats tangibles qui doivent nous encourager à exiger la continuation d'une telle politique. Aujourd'hui, alors que le processus de décolonisation touche à sa fin, nous nous trouvons en face de situations nombreuses et variées. Dans certains cas, nous constatons que les colonialistes s'apprêtent à céder la place, mais qu'ils ont pris soin auparavant d'assurer le maintien de leur contrôle sur l'exploitation des ressources des territoires qu'ils occupent. Dans de nombreux autres cas, les colonialistes ont installé des colons étrangers en nombre important, leur ont octroyé le meilleur des terres et des autres ressources du pays qu'ils occupent, ont concentré le pouvoir entre leurs mains et, maintenant, ces mêmes colonialistes prétendent qu'ils ne sont pas en mesure d'assumer leurs responsabilités à l'égard de la population indigène et de la communauté internationale. Ailleurs, les colonialistes s'efforcent d'implanter des colonies d'émigrants venus de la métropole et de placer le monde en face du "fait accompli", comme c'est le cas pour les territoires portugais.

37. A quelques exceptions près, le refus des puissances coloniales de mettre en œuvre les dispositions de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux est motivé par leur désir de conserver les positions stratégiques qu'ils occupent dans les pays dépendants, ainsi que les monopoles étrangers grâce auxquels ils exploitent les ressources naturelles et humaines des pays placés sous leur domination.

38. Au mois de juillet de cette année, 32 gouvernements africains ont demandé au Conseil de sécurité d'étudier la situation dans les territoires administrés par le Portugal; le Conseil a décidé que la politique poursuivie par le Portugal, consistant à prétendre que les territoires placés sous son administration sont des possessions d'outre-mer et, en tant que telles, font partie intégrante de la métropole, va à l'encontre des principes de la Charte et des résolutions adoptées à cet égard par l'Assemblée générale et le Conseil de sécurité. De plus, le Conseil a déclaré que, dans ces territoires, la situation ainsi créée compromet gravement la paix et la sécurité en Afrique. Nous regrettons de constater que les efforts du Secrétaire général et de plusieurs gouvernements visant à persuader le Portugal de reconnaître aux habitants des territoires placés sous son administration le droit à l'autodétermination, tel que le conçoit l'Organisation des Nations Unies, n'ont pu aboutir à des résultats positifs.

39. Voilà pourquoi, aujourd'hui, après quatre mois, la résolution du Conseil de sécurité du 31 juillet 1963^{1/}

n'a toujours pas été mise en œuvre. C'est aussi la raison pour laquelle l'Assemblée générale vient d'adopter une résolution demandant au Conseil de sécurité de réexaminer immédiatement cette question et de prendre les mesures nécessaires pour donner effet à ses propres décisions, en particulier à celles qui se trouvent contenues dans sa résolution du 31 juillet.

40. Il convient de noter que les Etats indépendants d'Afrique sont également déterminés à appuyer les nationalistes des territoires africains dépendants pour que ces derniers recouvrent leur liberté. Les décisions prises le 25 mai 1963 à Addis-Abéba, lors de la Conférence au sommet des Etats indépendants d'Afrique, doivent être lues attentivement et bien comprises, car cette volonté d'aider les populations des territoires dépendants d'Afrique continuera à se manifester à tous les niveaux et par tous les moyens.

41. L'attitude du Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni au cours des débats du Conseil de sécurité sur la Rhodésie du Sud pendant le mois de septembre 1963 a constitué pour le moins une violation de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. Il est en vérité regrettable que le Royaume-Uni ait cru devoir faire usage de son droit de veto pour une question coloniale, essayant ainsi de saper l'autorité du Conseil.

42. Aujourd'hui seulement, nous avons reçu le rapport du Secrétaire général sur la question du Sud-Ouest africain, rapport présenté conformément à la résolution 1899 (XVIII) que l'Assemblée générale a adoptée au cours de la présente session. A notre grand regret, le Gouvernement sud-africain continue à refuser d'admettre la présence d'un représentant résident de l'Organisation des Nations Unies au Sud-Ouest africain, empêchant ainsi notre organisation d'adopter une assistance technique à la population de ce territoire.

43. Je me propose maintenant de présenter quelques observations sur la partie du rapport du Comité spécial traitant d'Aden et des protectorats de l'Arabie du Sud [A/5446/Rev.1, chap. V]. De l'avis de ma délégation, il convient de féliciter le Comité spécial des Vingt-Quatre pour sa décision d'envoyer dans cette région un sous-comité chargé de recueillir sur place des renseignements sur les conditions existant dans ce territoire. Nous pensons que cette décision a été sage, non seulement parce qu'elle a inauguré le système des missions de visite en tant que méthode à adopter par le Comité spécial, mais encore parce que son importance est considérable eu égard à la situation à Aden et dans les protectorats. Le rapport présenté par le Sous-Comité ne peut que justifier la satisfaction qu'à l'origine nous avons éprouvée de la décision du Comité spécial.

44. Autant nous nous félicitons de l'action rapide et énergique prise tant par le Comité spécial que par son Sous-Comité, autant nous regrettons l'attitude du Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni envers le Sous-Comité. Au lieu de coopérer avec le Sous-Comité, qui agissait au nom des Nations Unies dans leur ensemble, le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni a choisi de faire échec à sa tâche et à son mandat. Le refus par le Royaume-Uni de permettre aux membres du Sous-

^{1/} Documents officiels du Conseil de sécurité, Dix-huitième année, Supplément de juillet, août et septembre 1963, document S/5380.

Comité de se rendre dans le territoire ne peut que constituer une preuve supplémentaire des conditions déplorables qui existent à Aden et dans les protectorats sous administration coloniale britannique.

45. Le Sous-Comité d'Aden, ne pouvant pénétrer dans le territoire, a interrogé dans les capitales arabes avoisinantes de nombreux représentants et dirigeants de partis politiques et organisations diverses. Les pétitionnaires entendus ont été unanimes à exiger qu'une fin immédiate soit mise au colonialisme britannique, à réclamer l'organisation d'élections sur la base du suffrage universel des adultes, l'évacuation de la base militaire britannique d'Aden ainsi que des autres installations militaires, la réalisation de l'unité et la fin immédiate du règne de la terreur et de l'oppression à Aden et dans les protectorats. C'est sur la base de ces entretiens, et compte tenu de l'examen approfondi des conditions régnant dans le territoire, que le Sous-Comité a présenté au Comité spécial plusieurs recommandations concrètes, que ce dernier a adoptées à son tour. Parmi ces recommandations, la plus importante est celle qui demande que les populations d'Aden et des protectorats soient habilitées à exercer leur droit à l'autodétermination. Nous ne doutons pas que lorsque les populations d'Aden et des protectorats pourront se prononcer librement sur leur avenir elles décideront de s'unir au Yémen, leur mère patrie. Cela est d'autant plus certain qu'un grand mouvement se dessine, comme on le sait, en faveur d'une unité arabe plus grande, mouvement qui déjà façonne les événements et les tendances dans nos pays arabes.

46. Le Sous-Comité a également recommandé qu'un terme soit immédiatement mis à toutes les lois et règlements adoptés par les autorités coloniales pour empêcher la population d'exercer sa volonté. A cet égard, il est également de la plus haute importance que l'Assemblée générale fasse sienne la recommandation du Sous-Comité concernant les méthodes coloniales périmées telles que le bombardement de villes et de villages, l'emprisonnement et l'exil des dirigeants politiques et toutes mesures de répression mises en œuvre par la puissance coloniale à seule fin de renforcer sa domination sur la région.

47. A ce sujet, il convient également de parler de la base militaire d'Aden; le Royaume-Uni maintient cette base uniquement pour vaincre le mouvement nationaliste dans cette partie du monde. L'évacuation de cette base, demandée à l'unanimité par les pétitionnaires, devrait être également sanctionnée par l'Assemblée générale, étant donné notamment le paragraphe 5 du dispositif du projet de résolution adopté par le Comité spécial, selon lequel "... le maintien de la base militaire d'Aden ... compromet la sécurité de la région ..." [A/5446/Rev.1, chap. V, par. 478].

48. Ma délégation espère — et je suis sûr que cet espoir est partagé par de nombreuses autres délégations — que le Royaume-Uni réexaminera sa politique coloniale obstinée et permettra une accession rapide de ces territoires à la liberté et à la dignité nationale. Si on leur permet de faire un choix vraiment libre, sous la surveillance effective des Nations Unies, les populations d'Aden et des protectorats ne manqueront pas de jouer à nouveau leur rôle dans la

marque de la civilisation humaine, rôle qu'elles ont joué avec tant de fierté au cours de l'histoire.

49. Nous espérons pouvoir accueillir dans quelques jours les représentants d'un Kenya indépendant et d'un Zanzibar indépendant, et les voir occuper dans cette salle les sièges auxquels ils ont droit. La lutte du peuple du Kenya pour recouvrer sa liberté et sa dignité restera une source d'inspiration pour les peuples qui sont encore sous la domination de l'étranger. Nous voulons rendre hommage à la population et aux dirigeants du Kenya, dont nous avons admiré les qualités d'hommes d'Etat lorsqu'ils ont eu à affronter des situations difficiles et à fournir une réponse claire à tous les prétextes malveillants qui ont servi à retarder inutilement l'indépendance de ce pays.

50. Nous voulons également dire toute notre satisfaction de pouvoir saluer bientôt l'indépendance de Zanzibar, et cela malgré toutes les épreuves que la population et les chefs de Zanzibar ont dû supporter; leur lutte pour la liberté est maintenant couronnée de succès.

51. Il reste encore beaucoup à faire pour libérer la Rhodésie du Nord et le Nyassaland. Il importe, lorsqu'ils deviendront indépendants, que ces pays ne soient pas surchargés d'obligations ou d'engagements imposés par la puissance coloniale.

52. Nous espérons que, lorsque la Fédération de la Rhodésie et du Nyassaland sera dissoute, les dispositions à prendre en vue de l'indépendance de la Rhodésie du Nord et du Nyassaland ne souffriront plus aucun retard.

53. Je voudrais maintenant remercier sincèrement le Comité spécial, au nom de ma délégation, pour ses efforts. Qu'il me soit également permis d'exprimer à ce comité toute notre gratitude pour son œuvre, dont témoigne le rapport que nous examinons en ce moment.

54. Nous relevons notamment que le Comité spécial n'a été en mesure d'examiner que 26 territoires sur les 64 dont il aura finalement à s'occuper. Cependant, nous comprenons qu'il y a encore certains territoires qui ne figurent pas sur la liste soumise au Comité spécial. Il est nécessaire d'examiner le statut de ces territoires qui ne sont ni indépendants, ni autonomes.

55. Le présent rapport du Comité spécial traite des territoires suivants: le Bassoutoland, le Betchouanaland, le Souaziland, Malte, les îles Fidji, la Guyane britannique, la Gambie, Gibraltar et les territoires africains sous administration espagnole.

56. Bien que nous soyons entièrement d'accord sur les décisions du Comité spécial relatives à ces territoires, nous voudrions pourtant parler d'une ou deux situations. Compte tenu de la menace proférée par la République sud-africaine d'incorporer les trois territoires dépendant de la Haute Commission, il est indispensable de prendre toutes les mesures nécessaires pour en garantir l'indépendance et l'intégrité territoriales. L'Assemblée pourrait peut-être, au cours de la présente session, se mettre d'accord pour désigner un nombre restreint d'observateurs qui seraient placés dans chacun de ces territoires et

chargés d'étudier la situation de près ainsi que de faire rapport sur tout fait nouveau.

57. En ce qui concerne Gibraltar, nous ne doutons pas que ce territoire fasse partie intégrante de l'Espagne, tout comme Ceuta, Mellila, Ifni et le Sahara espagnol font partie intégrante du Maroc.

58. Le différend qui s'est élevé au sujet de la Guyane britannique a fait l'objet d'une décision arbitraire de la part du Colonial Office à Londres; nous espérons que les efforts de conciliation entre les divers partis politiques de ce pays seront intensifiés pour le plus grand bien de sa population.

59. Pour ce qui est des travaux futurs du Comité spécial, le refus de certaines puissances administrantes de recevoir les missions de visite nommées par le Comité nous préoccupe particulièrement. Nous aimerions que l'Assemblée générale adresse un appel urgent à ces pays pour qu'ils facilitent la tâche du Comité. Peut-être le Comité spécial devrait-il, s'il y est autorisé et s'il le désire, décider, dès le début de sa session de 1964, d'envoyer diverses missions de visite; chaque mission pourrait s'occuper de plusieurs territoires dans une région déterminée; les rapports que ces missions feraient au Comité spécial aideraient ce dernier à mieux apprécier la situation et épargnerait de longues discussions.

60. L'Assemblée générale pourrait donc juger utile de prendre au cours de cette session des mesures permettant de faciliter la tâche du Comité spécial dans son ensemble.

61. Au cours de cette session, le Comité spécial a reçu un mandat supplémentaire précis en vertu de la résolution adoptée le 14 novembre 1963 au sujet du Sud-Ouest africain [résolution 1899 (XVIII)]. Ce mandat consiste à étudier, en coopération avec le Secrétaire général et les organismes des Nations Unies, les implications des activités des industries minières et autres sociétés internationales possédant des intérêts au Sud-Ouest africain, afin d'évaluer leur influence économique et politique et leur mode d'opération.

62. Nous espérons et escomptons que ce sera une étude complète qui portera sur les activités en question, non seulement dans le Sud-Ouest africain, mais dans tous les territoires encore dépendants de l'Afrique centrale et de l'Afrique méridionale, car les opérations de ces sociétés internationales sont liées entre elles et intéressent de nombreux domaines dans plus d'un territoire.

63. Il a été dit, en toute bonne foi, que les Nations Unies ne devraient pas hâter l'accession à l'indépendance de certains pays et peuples coloniaux; l'argument à l'appui de cette thèse est qu'une accession prématurée à l'indépendance, d'un pays ou d'un peuple, peut le précipiter dans la chaos ou dans la guerre civile. Nous sommes persuadés que ce sont des événements récents qui ont inspiré ceux qui croient à cet argument et qui ont adressé cet avertissement; mais, en toute franchise, nous ne pensons pas que ces craintes soient justifiées. Car une comparaison objective entre la situation qui régnait dans un pays quelconque avant son accession à l'indépendance et celle existant après cette accession

ne fera que démontrer que de grands avantages ont découlé de ce nouvel état.

64. Les secousses qui peuvent accompagner l'accession à l'indépendance ne sauraient s'expliquer que par la transformation et le rajustement à des conditions nouvelles. Cela, joint aux tentatives faites pour maintenir des lacunes grâce auxquelles les colonisateurs peuvent conserver leur influence même après leur départ, suffit à expliquer les difficultés inhérentes à toute phase de rajustement.

65. La mise en œuvre de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux ne restaurerait pas seulement les droits et les libertés de ces peuples; elle contribuerait également à favoriser des relations amicales entre nations et à créer les conditions nécessaires au maintien de la paix et de la sécurité dans le monde.

66. M. SMIGANOWSKI (Pologne) [traduit de l'anglais]: Bien que trois ans se soient écoulés depuis l'adoption de la Déclaration historique sur la décolonisation [résolution 1514 (XV)], la plupart des organes des Nations Unies continuent à traiter de questions liées au colonialisme. Il est vrai que les affaires coloniales intéressent directement la Quatrième Commission de l'Assemblée générale, mais, si l'on examine de plus près les délibérations des autres commissions, on remarque qu'un certain nombre d'orateurs, au sein de la Première Commission, ont déclaré s'opposer à la présence de bases militaires appartenant à des puissances occidentales dans les territoires coloniaux et dans les Etats nouvellement libérés, sans parler des essais nucléaires qui sont effectués malgré les protestations énergiques des habitants de ces territoires.

67. A la Commission politique spéciale, nous avons longuement traité, et nous continuons de le faire, du problème de l'apartheid, qui n'est rien d'autre que la manifestation brutale d'une politique d'exploitation colonialiste de l'énorme majorité de la population, dans l'intérêt des colons européens.

68. La Deuxième Commission demande avec insistance la liquidation de la division périmée du travail, fondée sur l'exploitation des colonies par leur métropole.

69. La Troisième Commission a récemment approuvé un projet de Déclaration sur l'élimination de toutes les formes de discrimination raciale [voir A/5603 et Corr.1].

70. Comme nous le savons tous, la discrimination raciale est utilisée encore maintenant par les colonisateurs pour justifier la sujétion des peuples sous le prétexte, qui n'est plus valable, de les civiliser. N'est-il pas intéressant et significatif de noter que le Conseil de sécurité, principal organe de notre organisation, responsable du maintien de la paix et de la sécurité internationales, s'est occupé de plus en plus fréquemment de problèmes coloniaux?

71. L'Organisation des Nations Unies a joué un rôle important dans le processus de décolonisation, en se fondant sur les dispositions de la Déclaration de 1960. Il suffit de mentionner que 11 Etats Membres de notre organisation ont accédé à l'indépendance après cette date. De plus, nous attendons avec im-

patience l'imminente proclamation de l'indépendance de Zanzibar et du Kenya, dont les populations ont subi des pertes considérables au cours de la lutte menée pour leur libération. De même, nous nous félicitons de l'annonce de l'octroi de l'indépendance à Malte et au Nyassaland, l'année prochaine. Nous espérons que la Rhodésie du Nord viendra bientôt se joindre également à la famille des nations libres, et nous serons heureux d'accueillir tous ces Etats en qualité de nouveaux Membres de notre organisation.

72. Il est cependant regrettable que dans divers cas les puissances colonialistes continuent à refuser d'admettre que le processus d'émancipation des peuples colonisés est irréversible. Toutes ne sont pas disposées à tirer les conclusions qui s'imposent de la leçon donnée par le peuple algérien, à savoir que ni la répression ni la guerre menée même avec les moyens les plus modernes ne peuvent abattre une nation qui lutte pour son droit sacré à l'indépendance et que la victoire finale dans ce combat qui paraît inégal ne peut être que celle de cette nation même.

73. Bien que le domaine de la domination colonialiste se soit amenuisé au cours des dernières années, le danger inhérent à l'existence prolongée du colonialisme ne diminue en rien. Les peuples dépendants, avec une détermination sans cesse accrue, ont lutté pour secouer le joug colonial. Ils ne veulent pas vivre plus longtemps entravés par des liens coloniaux qui sont un anachronisme à une époque d'importantes transformations sociales et politiques et de grands progrès de la science et de la technique. Ils refusent, pour des raisons que l'on comprend, de vivre plus longtemps sous le joug colonial, alors que dans leur voisinage même les pays colonisés ont éliminé ce genre de régime et y ont substitué un statut indépendant.

74. Cependant, les puissances coloniales non seulement rejettent ces justes aspirations, mais s'efforcent même par la violence et par l'usage de la force de les anéantir.

75. Cette situation est lourde de dangers véritables, car à notre époque la paix est indivisible. C'est pourquoi la Pologne et, en fait, la communauté internationale tout entière s'intéressent tant à la liquidation rapide du colonialisme.

76. La situation qui menace le plus dangereusement la paix dans l'ensemble de l'Afrique est celle qui règne dans les colonies portugaises. Il y a plus: non seulement les troupes portugaises mènent la guerre contre la population autochtone, mais encore elles violent les frontières d'autres Etats africains. Elles ont bombardé le territoire du Sénégal, comme nous l'avons appris au Conseil de sécurité. Elles ont violé le territoire et l'espace aérien du Tanganyika et de la Guinée, comme l'ont indiqué les représentants de ces pays à la Quatrième Commission. Point n'est besoin de s'appesantir sur les dangers qui pourraient résulter de tels actes.

77. La position de l'Organisation des Nations Unies à l'égard des territoires portugais se trouve définie dans les résolutions de l'Assemblée générale et du Conseil de sécurité. La dernière résolution a été

adoptée en juillet 1962^{2/}. Aujourd'hui, en ce début du mois de décembre, il est clair que la résolution du Conseil de sécurité est restée lettre morte pour le Portugal, et cela comme toutes les résolutions antérieures sur les colonies portugaises. L'"interprétation" portugaise de l'autodétermination ne saurait tromper personne, et c'est à juste titre que notre organisation s'y oppose.

78. La délégation polonaise est absolument convaincue que le Conseil de sécurité, conformément à la résolution qui vient d'être adoptée par l'Assemblée générale, donnera effet à ses propres décisions de manière à obliger le Portugal à respecter le droit des peuples à l'indépendance.

79. Le rapport du Comité des Vingt-Quatre [A/5446/Rev.1] et les débats de la Quatrième Commission ont amplement prouvé que c'est grâce à l'assistance que lui procurent ses alliés que le Portugal parvient à poursuivre sa politique coloniale. L'armée portugaise, dans sa lutte contre les Africains, utilise de l'équipement militaire acquis par le canal de l'OTAN. Il est évident que sans l'assistance militaire, financière et économique des principales puissances de l'OTAN le Portugal ne parviendrait pas, avec ses ressources limitées, à maintenir sa domination en Afrique. De plus, la manière dont ces puissances ont voté à l'Assemblée générale comme au Conseil de sécurité — nous en avons eu un exemple tout récemment — n'est qu'une nouvelle manifestation de l'appui donné à la politique portugaise. Les représentants des pays d'Afrique ont eu raison, par conséquent, de déclarer que cette attitude des puissances occidentales engage leur responsabilité dans les actes des colonialistes portugais contre les populations de l'Angola, du Mozambique et de la Guinée portugaise et d'autres territoires.

80. Cet appui donné au Portugal par ses alliés doit être interprété à la lumière des intérêts qu'ont les grands monopoles occidentaux dans les territoires africains sous domination portugaise. Ainsi, par exemple, l'industrie du diamant en Angola est monopolisée par la Companhia de Diamantes de Angola, dont les principaux actionnaires sont l'Union minière du Haut-Katanga, la banque américaine Morgan et l'Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa. La Société belge Petrofina contrôle l'extraction du pétrole en Angola.

81. Ces grandes compagnies sont étroitement liées à d'autres groupes financiers occidentaux qui opèrent en Afrique du Sud, au Sud-Ouest africain, dans les Rhodésies et au Congo. Ce qu'on appelle la "ceinture dorée de l'Afrique", qui comprend les régions les plus riches du continent, a procuré au monde occidental, en 1961, 75 p. 100 de sa production de diamants industriels, 60 p. 100 de sa production de cobalt, 67 p. 100 de sa production d'or, 50 p. 100 de sa production de chrome, etc.

82. L'alliance *de facto* qui existe entre le Portugal et la République sud-africaine — qui refuse depuis des années au Sud-Ouest africain son indépendance — est significative. La question du Sud-Ouest africain a déjà été examinée au cours de cette session de

^{2/} Ibid.

l'Assemblée, et la délégation polonaise a donné son appui total à la résolution qui a été adoptée.

83. L'Assemblée, au cours de cette session, a également adopté deux résolutions [1883 (XVIII) et 1889 (XVIII)] sur la Rhodésie du Sud. Dans ce territoire, la situation continue de s'aggraver. Le gouvernement minoritaire des colons exerce une pression considérable pour obtenir l'indépendance de la Rhodésie du Sud. Ainsi, on risque qu'un nouvel Etat raciste naisse en Afrique. Dans ce contexte, on ne peut que s'alarmer d'avoir vu le Royaume-Uni opposer, au Conseil de sécurité, son veto à un projet de résolution³/ invitant l'autorité administrante à ne pas transférer à l'actuel Gouvernement de la Rhodésie du Sud les attributs de la souveraineté, et en particulier le contrôle des forces armées.

84. Nous continuons à espérer que le Royaume-Uni respectera la résolution de l'Assemblée générale réclamant l'octroi à la Rhodésie du Sud d'une nouvelle constitution fondée sur le système du droit de vote universel, qui doit permettre l'établissement de l'Etat africain indépendant de Zimbabwe.

85. La Pologne considère la libération des peuples colonisés comme un acte de simple justice historique, quel que soit le système politique et économique des Etats accédant à l'indépendance grâce au processus de la décolonisation. Notre attitude, à cet égard, est conforme à la lettre et à l'esprit de la Déclaration de 1960 [résolution 1514 (XV)], qui, dans le deuxième paragraphe du dispositif, stipule clairement que "tous les peuples ont le droit de libre détermination" et qu'en vertu de ce droit "ils déterminent librement leur statut politique et poursuivent librement leur développement économique, social et culturel".

86. Nous regrettons que les puissances coloniales ne respectent pas cette disposition si claire de la Déclaration et remettent constamment l'octroi de l'indépendance à leurs colonies en attendant l'établissement d'un gouvernement conforme à leurs vœux. C'est le cas de la Guyane britannique, un territoire qui a connu tous les stades du système britannique de développement constitutionnel. Il est autonome depuis 1961, mais il n'est pas encore parvenu à obtenir l'indépendance, et même la fixation d'une date pour cette indépendance est constamment remise sous les prétextes les plus divers. Je ne m'étendrai pas sur l'histoire des pressions extérieures exercées sur l'autorité administrante quant à la direction politique et au développement de la Guyane britannique. On sait que le Royaume-Uni ne coopère ni avec le Comité des Vingt-Quatre ni avec son sous-comité des bons offices et qu'il a choisi d'imposer plutôt à la Guyane britannique une décision que le Premier Ministre, M. Jagan, a qualifiée de manquement à la foi due au territoire et à son gouvernement élu.

87. Un autre moyen d'esquiver la mise en œuvre de la Déclaration sur la décolonisation, afin de préserver d'importantes positions stratégiques et économiques de la métropole, est la création de prétendues fédérations. La création de la Fédération de l'Arabie méridionale, dans laquelle Aden a été inclus, en constitue un exemple classique. Le rapport du Comité

spécial nous apprend que cette fédération a été créée contre la volonté et en dehors de toute consultation des populations intéressées. Le Royaume-Uni ne cherche même pas à cacher les raisons pour lesquelles il entend maintenir son contrôle sur Aden. Il désire simplement préserver les intérêts pétroliers de l'Occident dans cette région et maintenir sur place ses bases militaires.

88. Les puissances coloniales n'ayant pas respecté les résolutions adoptées par l'Assemblée générale lors de ses précédentes sessions, le Comité des Vingt-Quatre a été contraint de réexaminer les questions intéressant les territoires qui avaient fait l'objet de ces résolutions. Ainsi, malgré l'activité qu'il n'a cessé de déployer depuis la période de février à octobre 1963, le Comité n'est pas parvenu à étudier tous les territoires coloniaux que la résolution 1810 (XVII) de l'Assemblée générale l'invitait à examiner.

89. Le rapport du Comité contient de nombreux renseignements sur la manière dont les puissances coloniales, directement ou indirectement, entravent le processus de la décolonisation. Je voudrais, sur ce point, dire une fois de plus combien la délégation polonaise apprécie le travail considérable accompli par le Comité, de même que les efforts de son président, M. Coulibaly. En tant que membre du Comité spécial, la Pologne a apporté sa modeste contribution au travail du Comité et a eu l'occasion d'expliquer sa position à l'égard des divers problèmes dont traite le rapport.

90. La Pologne appuie les conclusions et les recommandations du Comité des Vingt-Quatre, dont les méthodes de travail se sont révélées particulièrement utiles pour l'accomplissement de la tâche qui lui a été confiée. Nous sommes en faveur de la prolongation de son mandat et nous appuyons la proposition selon laquelle le Comité, dans ses travaux futurs, devrait donner la priorité aux territoires qui n'ont pas encore été examinés jusqu'à présent. Cette priorité ne devrait cependant pas priver le Comité de la possibilité de réexaminer les territoires dont traite le rapport actuel, tant du point de vue de l'évolution qui pourrait s'y produire que sous l'angle de la mise en œuvre des résolutions adoptées ici même.

91. La Conférence historique des chefs d'Etat et de gouvernement africains, tenue à Addis-Abéba en mai 1963, a été un événement international important qui a favorisé l'accélération de la liquidation du colonialisme sur le continent africain et la consolidation de l'indépendance des Etats africains nouvellement libérés. La Pologne se félicite de la création de l'Organisation de l'unité africaine et elle appuie entièrement les résolutions adoptées à la Conférence d'Addis-Abéba.

92. Je voudrais citer à cet égard le Président du Ghana, M. Kwame Nkrumah, qui déclarait à Addis-Abéba, le 24 mai 1963:

"L'indépendance n'est que le prélude à une lutte nouvelle et plus engagée encore pour le droit à conduire nos propres affaires économiques et sociales, à édifier notre société selon nos aspirations, sans connaître les contraintes et l'ingérence écrasantes et humiliantes des néo-colonialistes ... (Notre progrès économique veut la fin de la domi-

³/ Documents officiels du Conseil de sécurité, dix-huitième année, 1969ème séance.

nation colonialiste et néo-colonialiste en Afrique... Tout montre que les impérialistes ne se sont pas retirés de nos affaires. Parfois, comme au Congo, leur ingérence est manifeste.)... Mais, généralement, elle se dissimule sous de nombreuses institutions qui se mêlent de nos affaires intérieures pour fomenter la dissension à l'intérieur de nos frontières et créer un climat de tension et d'instabilité politique."

93. Et il en est bien exactement ainsi. Malgré les déclarations entendues ici, le néo-colonialisme n'est pas un slogan creux. Il constitue une menace réelle dirigée contre l'indépendance économique et, partant, contre l'indépendance même des pays nouvellement libérés. La discussion générale, qui a eu lieu à la présente session, a confirmé que les Etats nouvellement libérés comprennent bien le danger du néo-colonialisme. Il faudra abandonner définitivement la philosophie du XIX^{ème} siècle formulée par Benjamin Disraeli, lord Beaconsfield, selon laquelle "les colonies ne cessent pas d'être des colonies du fait qu'elles sont indépendantes".

94. L'élimination du colonialisme et de ses séquelles et la défense des pays nouvellement libérés contre le néo-colonialisme sont étroitement liées à la question de la coexistence pacifique et au renforcement de la paix mondiale.

95. Le ralentissement du processus de décolonisation et le néo-colonialisme engendrent tous deux des tensions et créent des sources de conflits dangereux. La détente internationale, d'autre part, facilite l'émancipation des peuples colonisés et renforce les Etats nouvellement indépendants.

96. En effet, la coexistence pacifique ne peut signifier et ne signifie pas le maintien du *statu quo* colonial. La coexistence pacifique suppose entre les Etats des relations sur un pied d'égalité, tandis que le colonialisme, par sa nature même, contredit ce principe d'égalité des Etats et des nations.

97. La délégation polonaise est d'avis que l'Assemblée générale devrait recommander au Comité spécial de fixer des dates limites pour l'octroi de l'indépendance aux territoires coloniaux, en consultation avec les représentants de la population et, là où c'est possible, avec l'autorité administrante. Il est utile de se rappeler que la Déclaration de 1960 sur la décolonisation demandait déjà l'adoption de mesures immédiates pour le transfert, sans condition ni réserve, de tous les pouvoirs sur leurs territoires aux peuples colonisés. Nous croyons que le vingtième anniversaire de notre organisation, qui sera célébré en 1965, devrait être commémoré par la liquidation complète et définitive du colonialisme. Cette tâche est à la fois réaliste et digne d'être vigoureusement poursuivie par l'Assemblée générale.

98. M. SOW (Tchad): Il y a moins de trois mois, dans cette salle de l'Assemblée générale des Nations Unies, où déjà tant de voix se sont élevées pour défendre les libertés menacées du monde, un homme s'exprimait en ces termes:

"Notre conception du monde est différente... Une des différences essentielles tient à ce que le peuple américain croit à la libre détermination pour tous les peuples..."

"... nous croyons que dans le monde entier, en Europe orientale comme en Europe occidentale, dans le sud comme dans le nord de l'Afrique, dans les pays anciens comme dans les pays neufs, les peuples doivent être libres de choisir leur propre avenir sans discrimination ni solution imposée, sans contrainte ni subversion." [1209^{ème} séance, par. 44 et 45.]

99. Comme on l'a deviné, ces paroles, dont l'opportunité n'a jamais été plus évidente, sont extraites du discours prononcé, à cette même place, le 20 septembre 1963, par le regretté John Fitzgerald Kennedy. Depuis le jour fatal où une main criminelle a enlevé à la cause sacrée de la liberté un homme si universellement aimé, mon esprit aux abois se livre à toutes sortes de spéculations, car il n'est un secret pour personne qu'en conformité des décisions de la Conférence d'Addis-Abéba/ l'Afrique mène ces jours-ci une guerre sans trêve ni merci au colonialisme. Qui donc, dans une entreprise aussi colossale, pouvait mieux l'aider que le président Kennedy, dont le programme d'action était, en certains points, si pareil au sien? Et cette mort tragique qu'il vient de connaître, dans une région qui s'est toujours farouchement opposée à l'émancipation des noirs, ne suffit-elle pas à l'Afrique pour réclamer le président Kennedy comme l'un de ses plus grands et illustres martyrs? Si je dois considérer l'unanimité de l'hommage qui est chaque jour rendu à ce courageux leader prématurément enlevé à notre affection, je n'hésiterai pas à écrire que sa mort n'aura pas été vaine et que quelques-unes des idées pour lesquelles il a tant lutté et combattu feront rapidement leur chemin non seulement à travers le monde, mais aussi aux Nations Unies.

100. C'est dans cet esprit que ma délégation prie le Comité spécial sur la décolonisation de recevoir ses compliments les plus sincères pour l'important rapport [A/5446/Rev.1] qu'il vient de soumettre aux délibérations de l'Assemblée. Comme chacun le sait, il y a trois ans l'Assemblée générale, à sa quinzième session, adoptait à l'unanimité la déclaration historique sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux [résolution 1514 (XV)]. Cette déclaration avait pour but de créer des conditions plus favorables à l'élimination pacifique et sans heurt du vieux système colonial. Malheureusement, pour des raisons qui ont été maintes fois évoquées ici, les dispositions de la résolution 1514 (XV) n'ont jamais été appliquées. Il est même triste de rappeler que certains pays, comme le Portugal, l'Afrique du Sud, ont répondu à cette démarche si légitime des Nations Unies par des répressions sanglantes et barbares.

101. A sa seizième session, l'Assemblée générale, après avoir examiné la situation concernant l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, contenue dans la résolution 1514 (XV), adopta, le 27 novembre 1961, une nouvelle résolution [1654 (XVI)] par laquelle était créé un Comité spécial chargé de formuler des suggestions et des recommandations à l'Assemblée. En dépit de la bonne foi apportée par le Comité

^{4/} Conférence au sommet des pays indépendants africains, réunie à Addis-Abéba du 22 au 25 mai 1963.

spécial et de ses efforts pour mener à bien la tâche qui lui était confiée, les puissances colonialistes ont toujours refusé de coopérer. Voilà pourquoi le processus de décolonisation se déroule dans des convulsions atroces, avec des chocs parfois si violents qu'ils n'épargnent même pas le pays colonisateur.

102. Il est définitivement admis que l'abolition du colonialisme n'a jamais été l'affaire exclusive des peuples dépendants. A ce propos, ma délégation estime qu'il est juste de rendre hommage une fois de plus aux Nations Unies pour les efforts qu'elles ont déployés dans ce domaine et qui ont amené à l'indépendance plus d'une trentaine de pays, dont le mien. Je m'empresse de souligner, pour l'histoire, que ce vœu des Nations Unies d'éliminer le colonialisme de la surface de la terre a rencontré la totale adhésion de la France et du Royaume-Uni, qui ont conclu que le moment était venu pour les peuples de décider eux-mêmes leur destin. Ce geste plein de grandeur de leur part a porté des fruits, car, entre colonisateurs et colonisés d'hier, il ne subsiste maintenant aucun souvenir douloureux, mais plutôt une collaboration franche et loyale.

103. Cependant, comme je l'ai fait remarquer plus haut, l'action des Nations Unies n'a pas toujours été féconde. Elle rencontre également la résistance acharnée et opiniâtre de certaines puissances administrantes, qui ne se sont pas seulement contentées de refuser leur coopération au Comité spécial, mais ont manœuvré pour lui créer toutes sortes d'obstacles, dont l'accès aux territoires placés sous leur mandat est l'un des moindres.

104. Eu égard au succès déjà remporté par les Nations Unies dans le domaine de la décolonisation, l'Assemblée générale se doit de trouver, au cours de cette session, une formule plus efficace qui permettrait à des millions d'êtres humains qui gémissent encore sous le joug colonial de recouvrer leur indépendance, afin de pouvoir mener une vie plus conforme à leurs aspirations et à leur dignité d'homme.

105. Ma délégation est donc d'avis que l'Assemblée générale doit confirmer les décisions que le Comité spécial a prises au sujet des territoires coloniaux. Elle adresse un suprême appel aux autres Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies pour qu'ils mettent toute leur influence au service de cette cause sacrée qu'est la décolonisation, car, comme l'a écrit si justement le regretté président Kennedy:

"Ce dont nous nous préoccupons, c'est du droit de tous les hommes à l'égale protection de la loi; et, puisque les droits de l'homme sont indivisibles, l'Organisation ne peut se montrer indifférente quand ces droits sont violés et négligés par un Etat Membre quelconque." [1209ème séance, par. 66.]

De nouveaux efforts doivent par conséquent être faits pour que la Déclaration universelle des droits de l'homme, vieille de 15 ans, ait sa pleine signification.

106. M. CUEVAS CANCINO (Mexique) [traduit de l'espagnol]: Le Comité spécial, qui a été chargé de contribuer par ses travaux à la disparition du phénomène colonial, présente à l'Assemblée un deuxième rapport [A/5446/Rev.1]. La Déclaration capitale sur laquelle il s'appuie et qui figure dans la résolution

1514 (XV) date maintenant de trois ans. Il nous est donc possible d'analyser dans leur ensemble les travaux du Comité et de tracer avec une fermeté nouvelle et une vue plus large les voies que doit suivre notre organisation.

107. L'ampleur donnée au rapport du Comité spécial, ma délégation en est sérieusement persuadée, ne représentera pas une exception; le nombre des territoires étudiés; le nombre de ceux qu'il nous reste à examiner; le rythme du processus; le fait que l'on s'intéresse de plus en plus à mettre un terme à cette étape de la vie internationale qu'est le colonialisme, combattu à la base par notre Charte; les difficultés particulières rencontrées le long du chemin que chaque nouveau pays doit parcourir pour consolider son indépendance; les réactions diverses des pays métropolitains; il y a là autant de facteurs qui, étant donné leur complexité et celle des problèmes qui s'y rattachent, risquent fort de nous désorienter. En revanche, cela même nous oblige à préciser la valeur de l'expérience acquise, à examiner les méthodes suivies par le Comité et par l'Assemblée, à analyser les problèmes à venir et à modifier, s'il y a lieu, l'orientation des activités du Comité spécial. Notre organisation s'est enorgueillie de la souplesse plus grande dont elle a fait preuve devant les problèmes sans cesse changeants de la vie internationale. Il faut tirer parti une fois encore de cette faculté et faire de notre comité spécial l'instrument le plus adapté à la tâche de décolonisation.

108. Pour procéder à semblable analyse, il faut rappeler ce qui a précédé la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, ainsi que le Comité spécial lui-même. Comme on le sait, nous traitons d'un aspect de cette longue et fructueuse évolution qui s'est faite dans le cadre prévu par le Chapitre XI de la Charte. Les deux articles de ce chapitre, appelés déclaration étant donné qu'ils définissent certaines aspirations et tracent un vaste programme, nous servent de phares: l'Article 73 fixe de nettes limites aux pays métropolitains et énonce le principe du contrôle international; quant à l'Article 74, il fait appel aux grands principes de l'équité et de la coopération internationale, qui, par-delà les intérêts nationaux égoïstes, doivent triompher dans le monde où nous vivons.

109. Ces deux articles ont servi de règle aux efforts constants et décisifs que les Nations Unies ont déployés en faveur de la liberté des peuples auparavant enchaînés. Cependant, depuis 1945, on perçoit une évolution qui se poursuit depuis assez longtemps déjà pour que l'on puisse en découvrir les traits essentiels. C'est de ces caractéristiques, selon ma délégation, que nous pourrions déduire les principes qui guideront le Comité spécial dans ses futurs travaux.

110. L'Assemblée générale a tenu, pour commencer, à demander que, en accord avec les puissances coloniales, il soit établi une liste des territoires non autonomes. Cela fait, elle a demandé aux Etats responsables, conformément aux dispositions de l'alinéa g de l'Article 73, de l'informer du statut, de la situation et de l'évolution de ces colonies. A cet effet, elle a créé le Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes, qui est bientôt devenu

permanent et dont l'existence attestait une fois encore l'intérêt constant que l'Assemblée générale portait à ces territoires. Celle-ci a ainsi posé un premier jalon fort important sur la voie du contrôle international.

111. Il y eut, comme il fallait s'y attendre, des réactions diverses de la part des pays métropolitains; inquiets de voir apporter des restrictions à ce qui jusqu'alors relevait de leur compétence exclusive, ils se sont efforcés de faire dévier le courant. La première réaction a consisté à retirer de la liste primitive divers territoires non autonomes; on a eu généralement recours pour cela à des changements constitutionnels. La deuxième réaction a été de faire en sorte que dans des cas concrets l'Assemblée générale elle-même accepte de limiter sa compétence, c'est-à-dire qu'elle-même dise où s'arrête sa compétence au sujet d'un territoire antérieurement non autonome. La question fut étudiée en détail et l'étude aboutit à la résolution dite des "facteurs", à savoir la résolution 742 (VIII), d'importance capitale. Il s'agit, en effet, d'une acceptation générale de la compétence de l'Assemblée générale en matière d'intervention dans les questions coloniales. Si l'on se rappelle l'histoire de la Société des Nations, on conviendra que c'était là un immense pas en avant.

112. Là-dessus sont entrés à l'Organisation une multitude de nouveaux Etats; il y avait parmi eux des pays qui, semblait-il, avaient la charge de territoires non autonomes. Cependant, devant l'attitude négative persistante des puissances administrantes, il était indispensable de déterminer — toujours dans le cadre de la Charte — dans quel cas on avait affaire à des territoires coloniaux. Une fois encore, on examina à fond le problème et, avec l'approbation de représentants du groupe des puissances dites coloniales, l'Assemblée générale adopta la résolution 1541 (XV). Le principe III, qui figure dans l'annexe à cette résolution, synthétise toute une longue évolution; il constitue en effet le digne couronnement des efforts répétés de notre organisation. Par ce texte, les puissances métropolitaines et les autres puissances reconnaissent que la possession de colonies constitue un fait de caractère international duquel résultent certaines obligations juridiques. Par cette résolution, l'Assemblée s'érige en organe représentatif de la communauté, en tutrice des peuples soumis au joug colonial, capable d'intervenir en faveur de ceux qui ne peuvent pas encore disposer d'eux-mêmes.

113. Ceux-là formeront le noyau de ce qui sera bientôt la pléiade des nations, principalement africaines, dont la présence ici renforcera notre organisation. Le Conseil de tutelle enregistre de brillants résultats en ce sens qu'il s'élimine en quelque sorte lui-même, puisque la majeure partie des territoires soumis au régime de tutelle deviennent indépendants. Avec ces nouveaux pays, chez lesquels l'esprit anti-colonialiste se manifeste avec une vigueur nouvelle, on estime désormais possible de définir concrètement l'objectif, qui est d'en finir avec le colonialisme. C'est alors que l'Assemblée générale adopte la résolution 1514 (XV), dans laquelle figure la Déclaration.

114. La Déclaration, à tous égards, met fin à une étape et marque le début d'une nouvelle phase. On y trouve bon nombre des principes que, laborieusement,

l'Organisation a mis au point au cours de ses années d'existence: le rôle des Nations Unies y est mis en relief; le droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes jusqu'à l'indépendance totale y est proclamé sans équivoque, et il est prévu que tous les droits seront transférés immédiatement et intégralement aux peuples précédemment soumis.

115. L'idée d'une action immédiate était présente en 1960. Cependant, il s'agissait d'une idée politique qui ne s'exprimait pas de manière concrète. Passée la première année, l'Assemblée a été forcée de se rendre compte que l'on n'avait guère progressé, tout au moins pas assez si l'on considère l'esprit dans lequel avait été adoptée la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. En conséquence, l'Assemblée a créé le Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration [résolution 1654 (XVI)] et l'a prié d'étudier l'application de la Déclaration et de formuler des suggestions et recommandations quant aux progrès réalisés. Il s'agissait de la première année et, donc, inévitablement, d'une année de tâtonnement et d'expériences; les travaux de ce comité ont souvent fait double emploi avec ceux d'autres organes. Le Comité créé pour la mise en œuvre des dispositions de l'Article 73 e de la Charte existe jusqu'à ce jour. Les efforts visant à unifier les travaux des divers organes s'appuient sur des raisons valables. Une coordination plus poussée, grâce à une division des tâches ainsi qu'à une répartition des territoires eux-mêmes, semble opportune. En effet, un mécanisme mal conçu peut rendre inopérants les efforts les plus généreux et permettre aux puissances coloniales de jouer la carte qui leur conviendrait le mieux.

116. En 1962, le Comité spécial présente donc son premier et volumineux rapport^{5/}. Etant donné l'importance et l'arrière-plan historique de la question, on estime qu'il doit être examiné directement en séance plénière. On a fait de même, du reste, pour le deuxième rapport [A/5446/Rev.1]. Cependant, on a instauré en fait une pratique vicieuse. Les séances plénières, où se résument les travaux des diverses commissions, ne sont pas le lieu le plus indiqué pour un examen complet. En séance plénière, l'Assemblée générale ne peut pas non plus consacrer toute l'attention et tout le temps voulus à l'étude d'un rapport aussi vaste et aussi complet que celui du Comité spécial, qui mériterait beaucoup de soin et de réflexion. Nous avons entendu l'an dernier, et nous entendons cette année, une série de déclarations d'ordre général qui ne vont pas jusqu'au fond du problème, de sorte que le Comité ne reçoit pas les directives précises dont il a besoin. Il ne suffit pas que l'Assemblée générale prenne note avec satisfaction — comme elle le fait, par exemple, au paragraphe 2 du dispositif de la résolution 1810 (XVII) — des méthodes et des procédures adoptées par le Comité spécial; cela est à peine un commencement; il lui appartient de dire quelles sont les méthodes les plus indiquées pour éliminer les derniers vestiges du colonialisme; elle ne doit pas se contenter de demander au Comité spécial lui-même de continuer à rechercher les voies

^{5/} Documents officiels de l'Assemblée générale, dix-septième session, annexes, point 25 de l'ordre du jour, document A/5238.

et les moyens les mieux appropriés en vue de l'application rapide et intégrale de la Déclaration. Ma délégation formule expressément l'espoir que l'on n'aura plus recours à l'avenir à cette manière de procéder, qui, étant donné sa nature, doit demeurer tout à fait exceptionnelle. Notre Quatrième Commission a à son actif de longues et brillantes années d'expérience; il n'y a aucune raison pour qu'on ne lui confie pas à l'avenir l'étude attentive et détaillée des rapports du Comité spécial.

117. Cela paraît d'autant plus opportun que le Comité lui-même reconnaît que son travail n'a pas été aussi facile ni aussi efficace qu'on le souhaiterait. Au paragraphe 45 du chapitre premier de son rapport [A/5446/Rev.1], il faut observer que la "décolonisation, dans certaines parties de l'Afrique et ailleurs, ne s'effectue pas à un rythme satisfaisant". C'est une raison de plus pour que l'Assemblée se préoccupe des problèmes qui se posent à lui et pour qu'elle lui suggère de nouvelles voies.

118. Jetons maintenant un regard sur l'appareil dont dispose le Comité spécial. L'agencement en est varié et, par lui-même, témoigne de cette longue évolution dont j'ai parlé plus haut. Le Comité reçoit les rapports des puissances administrantes, soit directement — pour celles qui participent à ses travaux —, soit par l'intermédiaire du Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes. A défaut, le Comité est informé par le Secrétariat, ou même par certains organes dont les travaux touchent aux questions coloniales. Ajoutant à ces méthodes d'autres moyens auxquels on n'avait eu primitivement recours que pour les territoires sous tutelle, il s'est réservé la possibilité d'entendre des pétitionnaires et il a prévu, jusqu'ici sans succès, l'envoi de missions de visite. Ce sont là des méthodes utiles sans doute, et qui le seraient plus encore si elles pouvaient être appliquées intégralement; cependant, ce sont des méthodes dont l'origine est ancienne. Le Comité spécial n'a pas innové en la matière; on peut même affirmer que nous ne sommes pas sortis des limites existant antérieurement à l'adoption de la Déclaration.

119. En sa qualité d'organe récent et en sa qualité d'héritier de la longue tradition anticolonialiste de notre organisation, le Comité spécial a élaboré de nouvelles méthodes auxquelles la délégation mexicaine attribue une exceptionnelle importance. Il a innové dans deux secteurs fondamentaux, lesquels fournissent sans aucun doute les éléments propres à faire de lui cet organe exceptionnel qui mettra fin au colonialisme. Je veux parler des négociations directes et des bons offices. Nous avons là des méthodes totalement nouvelles en matière coloniale. Rien de semblable n'a été prévu à San Francisco; et il ne fait aucun doute que nos prédécesseurs de la Société des Nations n'en croiraient pas leurs yeux. Qu'un organe de notre assemblée négocie directement avec une puissance métropolitaine au sujet de l'avenir d'un territoire non autonome, qu'il puisse jouer le rôle de commission de bons offices en cas de difficultés internes propres à l'ancienne colonie, cela suppose sans aucun doute une très heureuse évolution des affaires internationales.

120. Les sceptiques nous diront que les négociations directes avec le Royaume-Uni au sujet de la Rhodésie du Sud n'ont pas eu de succès; ils diront aussi que les bons offices, en ce qui concerne la Guyane britannique, n'ont pas été non plus très fructueux. Cependant, je pense que nous devons envisager ces grandes innovations avec l'optimisme qu'autorise l'expérience passée de l'Assemblée en matière coloniale: on a déclenché un processus de grande envergure, et les nouveaux chemins que nous avons découverts ne seront pas détournés de leur but. Les négociations directes et les bons offices sont aux yeux de ma délégation de grandes innovations qui justifient à elles seules les travaux du Comité spécial, et la poursuite de ces activités offre des garanties de succès. Sur une multitude de questions, les grandes puissances se sont refusées en principe à écouter celles qui ne le sont pas; cependant, elles ont parfois reconnu que l'intervention des petites puissances est non seulement bénéfique, mais indispensable. La réaffirmation persistante de ces principes et le recours répété à ces méthodes nous conduira là aussi au succès. Il n'est ni bon ni indiqué de se décourager devant les premiers échecs, qui sont inévitables. La conviction que ces mêmes puissances coloniales ont déjà accepté l'internationalisation du problème colonial nous assure à la longue de la réussite.

121. Ces nouvelles méthodes, cela va de soi, doivent être appliquées avec circonspection. Il y a des territoires étendus et viables qui sont sur le point d'accéder à l'indépendance; en ce qui les concerne, le Comité spécial peut se borner à un rôle de vigilance. Dans d'autres cas, on a affaire à des territoires dont l'avenir apparaît comme singulièrement obscur: ce sont des Etats viables, mais les puissances administrantes ne veulent absolument pas prêter l'oreille à l'opinion mondiale. Les nouvelles méthodes ne paraissent pas applicables en l'occurrence; le Comité devra peut-être se borner à demander, comme par le passé, des rapports à l'intention du Conseil de sécurité.

122. Il en est tout autrement pour les territoires dont la situation interne fait apparaître des difficultés particulières; de graves crises internes, héritages et reliquats de l'ère coloniale, troublent et rendent difficile l'approche de l'indépendance. Comme on le voit également d'après les précédents, les nouvelles méthodes sont singulièrement bien adaptées au cas de ces territoires.

123. Les bons offices semblent particulièrement indiqués pour les problèmes intéressants des territoires qui sont indiscutablement des territoires coloniaux, mais qui sont nés à la suite d'une mainmise impérialiste sur des nations déjà constituées. Des différends existent touchant la souveraineté sur ces territoires. Le Comité spécial ne doit pas s'abstenir d'exercer sa compétence à cet égard; au contraire, il doit veiller à concilier les intérêts de la population jusque-là soumise et ceux d'autres Etats, et recommander aux intéressés — comme la délégation du Mexique l'a proposé en 1962 — de recourir à la Cour internationale de Justice ou aux moyens de règlement pacifique prévus à l'Article 33 de la Charte, en vue de régler définitivement le désaccord.

124. Cependant, il y a d'autres territoires: il s'agit de vestiges des grands ensembles coloniaux, non viables en eux-mêmes en tant que nations et dont il resterait à justifier l'existence, une fois disparues les grandes possessions dont ils étaient destinés à garantir la sécurité. C'est de cela qu'a parlé de manière particulièrement heureuse le représentant du Chili [1267ème séance]. Cet aspect de la question a également fait l'objet d'un projet de résolution que le Mexique a présenté jadis; ce texte concernait l'éventualité d'une administration conjointe des Nations Unies visant à permettre le plus rapidement possible et dans les meilleures conditions l'exercice du droit de libre détermination. L'existence de territoires de ce genre et les problèmes qu'elle pose commencent maintenant à apparaître. Une fois réglé le cas des grands territoires qui, progressant d'un pas sûr, en sont arrivés à se constituer en Etats, nous trouvons devant nous des horizons très divers. Les principes élaborés pour les grands territoires africains ne sont pas adaptables à ces cas-là. Nous notons aussi que, si l'Afrique s'intéresse au premier chef au processus de décolonisation, l'importance de ce fait s'estompe lorsqu'il s'agit de territoires dont l'avenir intéresse davantage d'autres régions. Dans son deuxième rapport [A/5446/Rev.1], le Comité spécial traite de quatre territoires non africains, alors qu'il ne s'était occupé que d'un seul de ces territoires lors de sa première session. Cet intérêt plus soutenu que des Etats non africains portent à la liquidation du colonialisme s'ajoute à l'authentique et brillant palmarès des pays latino-américains en la matière; c'est pourquoi ma délégation a été profondément étonnée des négociations prolongées qui se sont déroulées au début de l'année du fait qu'un groupe de pays s'opposaient à l'attribution d'un siège à un représentant latino-américain au bureau du Comité spécial.

125. Pour ces problèmes, le Comité spécial n'a pas encore mis au point de méthode adéquate. Il semble même enclin à les traiter comme s'ils étaient identiques aux problèmes traditionnels. Pour Malte, par exemple, on n'a pas accepté les amendements proposés par l'Italie en ce qui concerne le projet de résolution pertinent, amendements visant à accorder au pays une assistance technique avant que soit consolidée son indépendance. De même, dans le cas des îles Fidji, on a agi sans tenir compte de la distinction entre les territoires viables et ceux qui ne le sont pas, ainsi que l'ont fait observer les représentants de l'Australie et du Venezuela. Ma délégation a l'espoir que, tenant compte de l'orientation des déclarations faites en séance plénière, le Comité parviendra à faire appliquer le plus largement possible le principe fondamental de la libre détermination des peuples, et qu'aussi il fera en sorte que les autorités administrantes ne puissent alléguer des raisons sans fondement pour maintenir sous leur dépendance des territoires qui ne font pas partie de la métropole.

126. Le Comité spécial peut considérer avec satisfaction son action passée. Cependant, la délégation du Mexique estime qu'il ne doit pas s'arrêter sur un chemin qui s'annonce long et difficile. Les décisions précises en vertu desquelles on aidait à accéder à l'indépendance des nations historiquement intégrées et économiquement viables appartiennent au passé.

Nous entrons maintenant dans une zone de clair-obscur où il faut que l'indépendance, fin en soi, apparaisse en outre de manière probante comme le meilleur moyen de permettre aux peuples souverains de progresser dans le domaine économique et social. Jusqu'ici, il était naturel de déduire la deuxième notion de la première, considérée comme une prémisse. Or, pour l'avenir, cette formule ne peut être considérée comme la seule valable; les autres solutions prévues dans la résolution 1541 (XV) pour mettre fin à une situation coloniale retrouvent ici leur importance.

127. Il est dit au paragraphe 5 de la Déclaration qui figure dans la résolution 1514 (XV) que "des mesures immédiates seront prises... pour transférer tous pouvoirs aux peuples de [ces] territoires, sans aucune condition ni réserve..."; cependant, il y est également dit que ce transfert doit se faire conformément aux vœux librement exprimés de ces peuples "afin de leur permettre de jouir d'une indépendance et d'une liberté complète". Selon ma délégation, cette partie du paragraphe 5 de la Déclaration commande l'avenir des petits territoires, qui, comme les épaves d'un grand navire englouti dans la tourmente, arrivent en vue de la côte mais, faute d'être poussées assez fort, ne peuvent franchir la barre. A ce problème déjà difficile à résoudre, il s'en ajoute un autre non moins important; il s'agit en particulier, comme on l'a dit, du problème que posent les enclaves impériales en territoire étranger: l'existence de ces enclaves, qui sont des vestiges des grands ensembles impériaux, va jusqu'à affecter dans certains cas l'unité nationale et l'intégrité territoriale des Etats.

128. Des considérations semblables à celles que je viens d'exposer figuraient dans le projet de résolution que la délégation du Mexique avait présenté à l'Assemblée générale lors de sa seizième session^{6/}. Bon nombre d'idées qui n'apparaissaient pas alors se sont maintenant fait jour. Comme d'autres délégations d'Amérique latine, la délégation mexicaine se déclare confiante que l'Assemblée énoncera un certain nombre de règles qui orienteront avec succès les travaux ultérieurs du Comité spécial.

129. M. KANE (Sénégal): L'importance de la question examinée par l'Assemblée générale en ce moment n'est plus à démontrer. Déjà, les constituants de San Francisco en étaient conscients. La Charte des Nations Unies a donné aux peuples colonisés des raisons de lutter pour accéder à l'indépendance. Le préambule proclamait la "foi dans les droits fondamentaux de l'homme, dans la dignité et la valeur de la personne humaine, dans l'égalité de droits des hommes et des femmes, ainsi que des nations, grandes et petites". L'Article premier réaffirmait, en son alinéa 2, "le respect du principe de l'égalité de droits des peuples et de leur droit à disposer d'eux-mêmes". Enfin, en signant la Charte, les Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies qui ont la responsabilité des territoires dont les populations ne s'administrent pas elles-mêmes ont reconnu, selon l'Article 73, "le principe de la primauté des intérêts des habitants de ces territoires", accepté la mission "d'assurer... leur progrès politique, économique et social" et "de développer leur capacité de s'administrer [eux]-

^{6/} Ibid., seizième session, Annexes, points 88 et 22 a de l'ordre du jour, document A/L.369.

mêmes, de tenir compte des aspirations politiques des populations et de les aider dans le développement de leurs libres institutions politiques".

130. La Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, que l'Assemblée générale a adoptée le 14 décembre 1960 [résolution 1514 (XV)], est venue ensuite s'ajouter à cet édifice et donner aux peuples colonisés l'espoir légitime de voir leur condition améliorée par l'accélération du processus de décolonisation.

131. Voici 18 ans que la Charte a été signée et voici trois ans que cette déclaration a été adoptée, et des millions d'êtres humains se trouvent encore sous le joug colonial, sous la férule et sous la domination de profiteurs et d'aventuriers étrangers. Comment ne pas admettre en ce cas, comme beaucoup d'orateurs l'ont dit avant moi, que les progrès réalisés sont restés bien en deçà des professions de foi et des déclarations de principe? Les problèmes sont trop sérieux pour que les puissances coloniales puissent se tirer d'affaire en rusant, soit en avançant des arguties juridiques, soit en utilisant des méthodes dilatoires. C'est compte tenu de ces considérations que les chefs d'Etat africains, lors de la Conférence d'Addis-Abéba, ont réaffirmé sans équivoque leur ferme détermination de déployer tous leurs efforts pour que l'Afrique soit complètement libérée du colonialisme et de la domination sous toutes leurs formes.

132. Le deuxième rapport du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux [A/5446/Rev.1] constitue une étude d'ensemble, bien que l'examen de tous les territoires qui entrent dans la compétence du Comité ne soit pas entièrement achevé. La délégation du Sénégal tient, à ce stade, à féliciter le Comité des Vingt-Quatre pour les efforts qu'il a déployés dans l'accomplissement du mandat que l'Assemblée générale lui a confié en vertu des résolutions 1514 (XV), 1654 (XVI) et 1810 (XVII).

133. Puisque le rôle du Comité, aux termes de la résolution 1810 (XVII), est "de rechercher les voies et moyens les mieux appropriés en vue de l'application rapide et intégrale de la Déclaration à tous les territoires qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance" et "à proposer des mesures concrètes en vue de l'application intégrale de la Déclaration", nous pensons qu'il importe que le Comité adopte les méthodes de travail les plus efficaces pour parvenir à son objectif. Déjà, en deux années, il a acquis une expérience non négligeable. Ayant à examiner divers cas, parfois spécifiques, il n'est pas indiqué que la même méthode d'approche soit appliquée, *mutatis mutandis*, d'un territoire à l'autre. La création de sous-comités, l'organisation de missions de visite afin d'examiner la situation de certains territoires pour lesquels le Comité ne dispose que de peu de renseignements, nous semble une méthode à retenir parce qu'elle permet d'approcher de près la réalité.

134. Je suis d'accord avec le Président du Comité spécial, M. Sori Coulibaly, du Mali, pour dire que le rôle du Comité n'est pas d'ouvrir le débat sur la situation de chaque territoire et de voter une résolu-

tion, comme le font les commissions de l'Assemblée générale. Mais à part les cas très controversés — et c'est souvent celui des grands territoires —, il est recommandé que le Comité, au lieu de perdre une partie précieuse de son temps à ouvrir un débat pour ensuite voter un projet de résolution, cherche à parvenir à un consensus. La lecture du rapport nous montre d'ailleurs que, dans bien des cas, des résolutions ont été adoptées à l'unanimité, ce qui signifie donc que le consensus était réalisable et à réaliser.

135. Enfin — et c'est la dernière remarque que je vais faire sur les méthodes de travail du Comité —, il est important que soit recherchée l'application de la Déclaration non pas dans sa lettre, mais dans son esprit. Certains territoires, géographiquement minuscules et faiblement peuplés, présentent des particularités que l'on doit examiner avec objectivité. C'est le cas, notamment, du Territoire des Iles du Pacifique et de certains territoires de la mer des Caraïbes. Pour ces territoires, l'indépendance est-elle plus profitable aux yeux des populations intéressées qu'une autre forme d'accession à l'autonomie librement choisie par ces populations elles-mêmes? En cherchant la réponse à cette question, les membres du Comité feront preuve, je n'en doute pas, de prudence et de réalisme en ayant à l'esprit le principe VI de l'annexe à la résolution 1541 (XV).

136. L'Assemblée générale, en confiant au Comité spécial le mandat d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne la Déclaration, a par ailleurs invité les puissances qui administrent des territoires coloniaux à apporter au Comité "leur coopération la plus complète dans l'accomplissement de ses tâches". Il s'agit du paragraphe 7 de la résolution 1654 (XVI). Or, il ressort du rapport du Comité que, dans la plupart des cas, ces puissances ont refusé toute coopération. C'est le cas du Portugal et de l'Afrique du Sud. L'argument de l'incompétence de l'ONU quant à l'examen de la situation des territoires que ces pays administrent ne trouve plus d'écho qu'à Lisbonne et à Pretoria. La résolution 1514 (XV), de même que les nombreuses résolutions adoptées par l'Assemblée générale au sujet des territoires sous administration portugaise et du Sud-Ouest africain, ne suffit-elle pas à lever le moindre doute?

137. Dans le même ordre d'idées, l'argument d'ordre constitutionnel et l'argument fondé sur une prétendue ingérence des Nations Unies dans son administration coloniale, que le Royaume-Uni a soutenues au sein du Comité pour ce qui concerne la Rhodésie du Sud et Aden, ne peuvent convaincre que les défenseurs des colons qui n'osent pas ouvrir les yeux pour constater la réalité. Cela est d'autant plus regrettable à noter que le Comité des Vingt-Quatre attendait du Royaume-Uni, en tant que membre à part entière du Comité, autre chose que son opposition à l'envoi d'un sous-comité à Aden et son refus d'offrir ses bons offices pour aider les dirigeants des partis politiques de la Guyane britannique à résoudre leurs différends. Néanmoins, ma délégation, comme beaucoup d'autres d'ailleurs, nourrit l'espoir qu'à l'issue de ce débat, le Royaume-Uni fera un nouvel examen de conscience et entendra les nouveaux appels qui lui ont été lancés.

138. A l'heure actuelle, c'est le bilan de son action que l'Assemblée générale doit faire. Il ne servirait à rien, tout au moins pour les peuples opprimés qui attendent que l'étoile de la liberté brille enfin dans la nuit ténébreuse qu'ils traversent, il ne servirait à rien, dis-je, d'ouvrir à nouveau le dossier complet de la décolonisation devant cette tribune. Je sais que les représentants des pays anciennement colonisés sont tentés de le faire, parce qu'ils savent que certains de leurs frères vivent encore dans l'enfer du colonialisme, avec tout son cortège d'horreurs.

139. Au cours des trois dernières sessions, en séances plénières comme au sein des commissions de l'Assemblée, nous avons eu l'occasion de définir notre position sur le fond du problème. Nous n'y reviendrons pas. Qu'a-t-on fait? Que reste-t-il à faire? C'est à ces questions que l'Assemblée générale doit répondre et, de cette réponse, dépend l'orientation de son action future. La délégation du Sénégal essaiera, quant à elle, de répondre en toute objectivité à la question et de suggérer les mesures qu'elle estime que l'Assemblée générale doit prendre en vue d'appliquer intégralement la Déclaration.

140. Il est aisé, je crois, après avoir étudié le rapport du Comité des Vingt-Quatre, de savoir où nous en sommes. Le Kenya, Zanzibar et Malte sont à la veille de l'indépendance; les deux premiers territoires y accéderont au cours du présent mois, et le troisième dans le courant de l'année qui vient. La Gambie, la Rhodésie et le Nyassaland ont accédé à l'autonomie, et l'on peut espérer que la date de leur indépendance sera bientôt fixée par la Puissance administrante. C'est donc ici le moment de rendre hommage au Royaume-Uni pour les progrès constitutionnels, politiques et autres qu'il a fait accomplir à ces territoires, depuis l'adoption de la résolution 1810 (XVII). Nous nous félicitons, en tout cas, du fait que la dissolution de la Fédération de l'Afrique centrale ait été décidée lors de la Conférence de Victoria Falls^{7/}. Je rendrai aussi un hommage particulier aux chefs politiques de ces territoires pour tous les sacrifices qu'ils ont consentis dans le but de voir leurs peuples libres et indépendants.

141. Si, en ce qui concerne les pays ci-dessus mentionnés, des progrès sensibles ont été constatés, par contre, pour d'autres territoires, le processus de décolonisation est encore lent. Il s'agit de la Guyane britannique, qui attend toujours que soit fixée la date de son indépendance; il s'agit des îles Fidji, d'Aden; enfin, il s'agit des Territoires du Bassoutoland, du Betchouanaland et du Souaziland, convoités par l'Afrique du Sud. Au sujet de ces territoires, qui relèvent du Haut Commissariat, l'Assemblée générale doit prendre les mesures nécessaires pour prévenir une agression éventuelle de l'Afrique du Sud.

142. Et que dire du drame que traversent l'Angola, la Guinée portugaise, le Mozambique et tous les territoires administrés par le Portugal, la Rhodésie du Sud et le Sud-Ouest africain? Nous pensons que, tant que le Conseil de sécurité restera indécis et l'Assemblée générale incapable de faire appliquer

ses propres résolutions au sujet de ces territoires, ceux-ci doivent demeurer en permanence inscrits à l'ordre du jour du Conseil de sécurité et des sessions de l'Assemblée générale, car ils constituent une menace sérieuse à la paix et à la sécurité du continent africain.

143. Le Comité spécial, comme nous l'indiquait son Rapporteur le 28 novembre 1963 [1266ème séance], n'a pas achevé l'examen de la situation de tous les territoires auxquels s'applique la Déclaration. Je songe notamment aux territoires administrés par l'Espagne. A cet effet, l'Assemblée générale, en lui renouvelant le mandat qu'elle lui avait confié en vertu des résolutions 1654 (XVI) et 1810 (XVII), doit donner au Comité tous les moyens matériels et financiers qui lui permettront de remplir convenablement sa tâche.

144. Je voudrais terminer en précisant la position de mon pays à l'égard du problème de la Gambie. Les débats du Comité spécial consacrés à la Gambie ont porté sur deux questions, à savoir l'indépendance de ce pays et le problème de son association avec le Sénégal. A notre grand étonnement d'ailleurs, la résolution que le Comité a adoptée le 13 septembre 1963 [A/5446/Rev.1, chap. XI, par. 105] ne mentionne nulle part ces deux questions. C'est à croire vraiment qu'on cherche à créer des problèmes là où il n'en existe aucun. Voici pourquoi. Ici même, le 31 octobre 1961, le Président de la République du Sénégal déclarait: "... nous respecterons l'autodétermination du peuple gambien, qu'il veuille ou non s'unir à nous" [1045ème séance plénière, par. 32].

145. Par la suite, après des consultations qui ont eu lieu à Bathurst et à Dakar, dans une déclaration du 26 octobre 1962, les Gouvernements de la Gambie et du Sénégal sont convenus que "... si la Gambie accède à l'indépendance totale, un projet de coopération pourrait être étudié entre la Gambie et le Sénégal" [A/5446/Rev.1, chap. XI, par. 33].

146. A la demande du Gouvernement du Sénégal et de celui de la Gambie, avec l'accord du Gouvernement de Sa Majesté britannique, le Secrétaire général des Nations Unies a accepté de désigner un groupe d'experts des questions constitutionnelles, économiques, fiscales et financières. Aux termes de la déclaration du 26 octobre 1962, les conclusions du groupe d'experts seront étudiées par les deux gouvernements et formeront le sujet des négociations prochaines en vue d'une association amicale entre la Gambie et le Sénégal. Le groupe, composé de quatre experts, est en ce moment sur place; il y a d'ailleurs été précédé au mois de mai 1963 par une mission préliminaire de deux membres envoyés par les Nations Unies. Il est donc dans ce cas trop tôt, à notre avis, pour s'étendre sur la question de l'association, car les négociations à cette fin ne commenceront qu'après l'étude, par les deux gouvernements, du rapport des experts. A ce stade donc, nous ne pouvons que nous féliciter de l'accession de la Gambie à l'autonomie interne le 4 novembre 1963.

147. La résolution du Comité aurait dû, à notre avis, prendre au moins acte de cet événement important dans l'évolution harmonieuse du territoire vers l'indépendance, surtout si l'on sait que c'est seule-

^{7/} Conférence de l'Afrique centrale, réunie à Victoria Falls (Rhodésie du Sud), du 28 juin au 3 juillet 1963.

ment en juin 1963, après des entretiens qui ont eu lieu à Londres, que le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté britannique avait décidé d'accorder l'autonomie interne à ce pays.

148. J'en aurai fini quand j'aurai dit que c'est la géographie, l'ethnie, la langue et tout un faisceau de relations qui lient le Sénégal et la Gambie. L'intention clairement exprimée par les Gouvernements de la Gambie et du Sénégal de rechercher une formule d'association amicale entre les deux pays a une base réelle et réaliste. Elle est dans la nature des choses et des hommes.

149. C'est avec une Gambie indépendante comme lui que le Sénégal désire s'associer. Nous ne pensons pas que, ce faisant, il y ait quelque entrave que ce soit à l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux

adoptée le 14 décembre 1960 par l'Assemblée générale. Nous sommes certains, en tout cas, que, ce faisant, la Gambie et le Sénégal ajouteront ensemble une pierre à l'édifice de l'unité africaine, dont les bases ont été jetées au mois de mai dernier à Addis-Abéba.

150. Le **PRESIDENT** (traduit de l'espagnol): Je me permets de lancer à nouveau un appel aux délégations pour qu'elles soient présentes dans la salle à l'heure fixée pour le début des séances, afin que nous ne perdions pas de temps à attendre que le quorum soit atteint.

151. Je tiens également à lancer un appel pour que, dans la mesure du possible, les représentants limitent la durée de leurs interventions, car 35 orateurs sont inscrits pour les trois séances de demain.

La séance est levée à 17 h 35.

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142 1271^e
SÉANCE PLÉNIÈRE

Mercredi 4 décembre 1963,
à 10 h 30

NEW YORK

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Point 23 de l'ordre du jour:

Rapport du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux (suite)

Discussion générale (suite) 1

*Président: M. Carlos SOSA RODRIGUEZ
(Venezuela).*

POINT 23 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

Rapport du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux (suite)

DISCUSSION GÉNÉRALE (suite)

1. M. BENHIMA (Maroc): Le Comité spécial pour l'application de la résolution [1514 (XV)] relative à la fin du colonialisme nous soumet cette année encore un rapport [A/5446/Rev.1] dont les multiples qualités nous donnent l'occasion agréable de rendre hommage aux membres du Comité.

2. On se souviendra que lors de sa création des critiques sans indulgence, exprimant souvent une hostilité manifeste, ont été adressées à ce comité; elles faisaient étalage d'arguments pour prouver à l'avance à la fois son inopportunité et même son inutilité. Mais bien que cet organe ne fonctionne que depuis deux années à peine, la somme de travail qu'il a accomplie constitue, de l'avis unanime, un apport si considérable que les rapports qu'il nous a soumis depuis sont devenus des références particulièrement indiquées pour une connaissance complète et constamment mise à jour de tous les aspects de la vie des peuples encore colonisés, de leurs relations avec les puissances coloniales, de leurs luttes et des perspectives de leur développement politique, économique et social.

3. Il est par conséquent incontestable que notre organisation a trouvé dans l'existence de ce comité un esprit, une méthode de travail et une approche pacifique du problème de son assistance aux peuples en voie de libération et de la liquidation du colonialisme.

4. Ma délégation tient à rendre hommage, pour ce remarquable travail, en particulier à M. Coulbaly, dont la finesse et le tact lui ont valu une collaboration sans réserve de tous les membres du Comité. Ce dernier a également trouvé dans l'expérience de

M. Velázquez une assistance précieuse, comme il a trouvé dans l'intelligence et le talent de M. Singh les ressources appropriées qui font la qualité du rapport.

5. Lorsque l'Assemblée a voté, le 14 décembre 1960, la résolution 1514 (XV), tendant à assurer les conditions nécessaires pour mettre fin au colonialisme, certains esprits chagrins y ont vu un cri de guerre et ont accusé ses promoteurs des desseins les plus révolutionnaires. Bien sûr, et l'on en conviendra aisément, cette résolution devait être le point de départ d'une action sans faiblesse de notre organisation pour affronter, partout où il sévit encore, un colonialisme réticent au mouvement d'émancipation qui pourtant venait de secouer des bastions impérialistes apparemment imprenables.

6. La détermination de tous les membres de cette assemblée qui ont apporté, avec leur foi, tous les concours à l'élaboration et à l'adoption de cette résolution, était clairement exprimée et tendait sans équivoque à une disparition aussi rapide que possible, et de toute manière complète, du fait colonial. Sur cet objectif, l'unanimité était réelle et si elle pouvait admettre le compromis, elle rejetait catégoriquement les faiblesses, les demi-mesures ou les compromissions.

7. Mais on doit relever également que, en servant de base à la création du Comité spécial pour son application, la résolution 1514 (XV) a permis d'instituer une méthode de travail dont un des mérites est d'avoir rendu possible le dialogue qui s'est instauré au sein du Comité entre les représentants des puissances administrantes et ceux qui représentent les intérêts des peuples encore non autonomes. Sur un problème aussi légitimement passionnant, et malgré la pénible expérience de ceux qui ne se sont libérés qu'au prix du sang, l'instauration de ce dialogue, la confiance réciproque qui devait nécessairement en découler sont autant de preuves que notre organisation est en mesure d'infléchir le mouvement de libération dans le sens le plus pacifique et d'une façon qui épargne aux uns et aux autres la loi implacable d'une lutte où la rançon de la liberté d'un peuple est la vie de la moitié de ses enfants.

8. Par ailleurs, tous les peuples encore dépendants et qui avaient salué avec espoir l'adoption de la résolution 1514 (XV), ont pu avoir, depuis, de nouvelles raisons de penser que cet espoir n'est pas vain, car les nombreux exemples de résolutions restées sans effet pouvaient à juste titre inspirer le scepticisme à ceux dont le destin ne dépendait que d'un nouvel énoncé de principes souvent répétés.

9. Le Comité spécial constitue à leurs yeux un instrument réel pour transformer les principes d'une

résolution en actes et en situations chaque jour plus encourageants.

10. A l'occasion de ses différents déplacements, le Comité a constaté l'enthousiasme et la confiance des populations dans ce nouveau processus pacifique d'une évolution vers l'autodétermination et l'indépendance. Malgré des crises toujours déplorables, des problèmes de décolonisation ont été résolus ici ou là, dans le cadre de cet esprit et certains Etats, devenus, depuis lors, Membres de notre organisation, y sont arrivés avec moins de blessures et moins de rancœurs que certains autres.

11. Cependant, si certaines puissances colonisatrices ont parfois fait contre mauvaise fortune bon cœur et ont, avec souplesse, adapté leur comportement à cet esprit nouveau, elles ne l'ont peut-être pas toujours appliqué partout et quand il le fallait. On pourrait même penser qu'elles ont tenté dans certains cas d'invoquer un comportement satisfaisant comme un certificat moral de décolonisation pour mieux rejeter des revendications tout aussi légitimes dans certains territoires demeurés complètement soumis à une domination sans faille. Entre les résultats positifs déjà acquis et l'obstination systématique du colonialisme dans beaucoup de territoires, il faut que notre organisation n'abandonne ni son espoir, ni sa vigilance, ni sa détermination. Car la liste des pays qui demeurent sous la domination étrangère est malheureusement encore importante et, du reste, s'il n'y avait plus qu'un seul territoire privé de sa liberté, notre détermination devrait rester la même.

12. Comme la Quatrième Commission s'occupe particulièrement de la situation de ces territoires et comme, pour certains d'entre eux, des comités spéciaux sont chargés de veiller sur les transformations en cours et l'application de la résolution 1514 (XV) à ces territoires, je m'abstiendrai de me référer successivement à chacun d'entre eux. Mais il est profondément affligeant de constater que, depuis plusieurs années, telle ou telle commission, tel ou tel comité reviennent inlassablement sur la situation dans ces territoires, comme on revient, par une thérapeutique d'entretien, sur une maladie chronique. Je me suis laissé dire, par quelques-uns des derniers tenants du colonialisme, que leur pays est assez solide pour pouvoir faire face sans danger à tous les remous qui se produisent dans leurs colonies, comme un corps sain peut sans danger vivre avec ses rhumatismes. Il semble que ces puissances, au lieu de s'adapter à la transformation, pourtant lente, qui doit s'opérer partout, se soient plutôt accoutumées sans risque à écouter chaque année des discours qui ne les émeuvent plus et auxquels elles se contentent de répondre par des déclarations où il n'y a aucun rapport entre leur profession de foi et la manière dont elles exercent leurs responsabilités.

13. Ces puissances, bien qu'elles admettent les principes de cette évolution et les perspectives logiques des changements nécessaires, ne semblent vouloir prendre aucune mesure pour accélérer ou même assurer à terme l'avènement de l'autodétermination et de l'indépendance.

14. Le régime colonial sous lequel le Portugal maintient les peuples de trois territoires en Afrique ne donne malheureusement aucun signe sérieux per-

mettant de penser que soit cette transformation inéluctable, soit l'action des Nations Unies à l'égard du problème de la libération des peuples aient été prises en considération. L'armée portugaise s'est installée dans une guerre à outrance, avec les moyens modernes appropriés, et le Gouvernement de Lisbonne s'obstine à penser que son armée constituera éternellement un bouclier infranchissable s'opposant à la volonté des peuples de l'Angola, de la Guinée et du Mozambique.

15. Pourtant, au niveau de plusieurs de ses organes, notre organisation a inlassablement recherché les voies et moyens nécessaires pour amener le Gouvernement portugais à une compréhension plus réaliste du phénomène de l'autodétermination et du concept le plus sain de la sauvegarde de ses intérêts et de celui de ses ressortissants dans ces territoires. Bien plus, tous les efforts déployés à la Quatrième Commission, au Comité des Vingt-Quatre, au Sous-Comité chargé d'examiner la situation en Angola et au Conseil de sécurité, qui a examiné en avril 1963 les incidents provoqués par le Portugal à la frontière du Sénégal, et a consacré au mois de juillet plusieurs séances à la situation des territoires sous domination portugaise, semblent demeurer sans effet. Le Conseil s'apprête, dans les jours qui viennent, à reprendre de nouveau l'examen de la situation, et force nous est de constater que toutes les tentatives et toutes les méthodes d'approche, même les plus modérées, n'ont pu provoquer aucune réaction positive de la part du Gouvernement portugais.

16. Il est dès lors à craindre qu'en voulant échapper à une évolution, pourtant pacifique, pour laquelle les concours les plus qualifiés lui ont été offerts, le Portugal ne prépare des lendemains douloureux, aussi bien pour lui-même que pour les peuples dont il a la charge, et que les territoires que son armée s'acharne à soumettre ne demeurent un jour les derniers champs de bataille où l'Afrique serait acculée à achever sa libération au prix d'un sang qu'elle ne veut pourtant plus verser. Ni les injonctions des Nations Unies, ni les conseils des amis les plus proches, ni la valeur d'expériences nombreuses ne semblent entamer cette obstination et cette attitude d'entêtement qui ne peut conduire l'Afrique qu'à de nouvelles tragédies.

17. Par ailleurs, le Royaume-Uni nous a certes donné des raisons de penser qu'il s'oriente fermement vers la réalisation du principe de l'autodétermination dans de nombreux territoires soumis à son autorité. Cette année, en particulier, l'annonce de l'indépendance de Malte, la proclamation imminente de l'indépendance de Zanzibar et du Kenya ont apporté à l'Afrique et au monde entier la joie de l'avènement de la liberté dans ces pays. Cet exemple de coopération avec les Nations Unies et cette volonté de reconversion des rapports entre le Royaume-Uni et ses anciennes colonies sont l'objet d'une satisfaction légitime pour tous ceux qui, dans cet esprit de respect des peuples et de la sauvegarde des intérêts respectifs, ont contribué à faire prévaloir ce genre de solution dans des situations pourtant complexes. Mais cette action du Royaume-Uni se trouve quelque peu entachée de doutes quand on pense à la situation en Guyane, en Rhodésie du Sud, à Aden, à Oman, et dans le sud de la péninsule arabe.

18. Nous espérons fermement que les initiatives si heureusement prises à l'égard des trois anciennes colonies britanniques étendront sans trop de retard leur bienfaisante contagion aux autres territoires que je viens de nommer et qui continuent à lutter pour obtenir du même gouvernement un comportement identique.

19. Ma délégation a amplement exposé devant la Commission politique spéciale le drame de la Palestine, où un colonialisme d'inspiration et de méthode nouvelles a occupé, au moment même où les empires se démembraient, une terre géographiquement, historiquement et sociologiquement arabe. Les 2 millions d'immigrants venus de tous les points du monde — et qui n'ont aucun rapport avec la Palestine — pour expulser plus d'un million d'Arabes de leur patrie et de leurs foyers ne sont, malgré la diversité de leur origine, que les mercenaires d'une croisade moderne dont la philosophie sioniste ne cache en rien l'aspect strictement impérialiste.

20. Ma délégation a également exposé, il y a quelques jours, devant le Conseil de sécurité [1075ème séance], la politique du Gouvernement de l'Afrique du Sud à l'égard des 13 millions d'Africains de ce territoire. Là encore, le phénomène racial et la politique de ségrégation qu'il inspire viennent renforcer les origines et les objectifs colonialistes de la minorité blanche, qui a achevé la conquête de ce pays au début du siècle.

21. Le Comité des Vingt-Quatre a certes accompli, dans le bref délai qui s'est écoulé depuis le début de son mandat, un travail méritoire dont les résultats doivent s'inscrire parmi les plus heureux et les plus fructueux, puisque des millions d'être humains ont vu cesser le drame dans lequel la négation de leur liberté les avait plongés, pour certains d'entre eux pendant des siècles. Il mérite que l'on réinvestisse en lui un immense capital de confiance, car son action a redonné à notre organisation et à ses efforts pour la décolonisation une certitude nouvelle et fraîche dans sa mission, et ne peut que renforcer l'espérance dans son idéal. Non seulement les perspectives d'avenir en ce qui concerne la libération des peuples pourront apparaître plus proches et plus sûres, mais, ce qui n'est pas négligeable, la liberté semble devoir être reconquise et consolidée dans l'équilibre et l'harmonie du monde.

22. Au cours des dernières semaines de sa session d'été, le Comité des Vingt-Quatre a examiné le problème de certains territoires marocains qui n'ont pas encore été remis sous l'autorité marocaine depuis que notre indépendance a été proclamée en 1956. L'Assemblée sait en effet, parce qu'elle en a été régulièrement saisie depuis cette date, qu'au moment de la reconnaissance de notre souveraineté les anciennes puissances protectrices n'ont pas rendu certaines parties de notre territoire sur lesquelles elles ont continué, pour des raisons diverses et que le Maroc n'a jamais reconnues, à exercer leur autorité civile ou militaire. Chaque année, la délégation marocaine a exposé ce problème devant l'Assemblée générale, avec la fermeté des principes, avec une modération consciente, avec la conviction qui était constamment la sienne, que ces questions recevraient sans délai une solution appropriée. Il est fort regret-

table que, depuis sept ans que le Maroc consolide sa souveraineté intérieure et extérieure, il doive se trouver — presque le seul en Afrique actuellement — dans cette situation de quémendeur au sujet d'une partie de son territoire national. Sans doute, pour certaines de ces puissances, une guerre coloniale en Afrique du Nord avait imposé un modus vivendi de fait qui, en raison de cet état de guerre, a rendu les frontières provisoirement imprécises. Et sans que l'on ait réglé ce problème territorial quant au fond, on en reconnaissait l'existence et on admettait qu'il faudrait le régler à la première occasion. Mon pays, intimement associé à cette guerre, mais convaincu que ce problème recevrait, au lendemain de la guerre coloniale et sans délai, sa solution logique, s'est cependant trouvé exposé à certaines surprises sur ses frontières sud, et nous avons vu une partie importante de notre territoire amputée.

23. Je ne voudrais pas revenir sur un problème que l'Assemblée générale connaît depuis des années. Notre position quant à l'amputation de notre territoire national est identique à ce qu'elle a été dès le début, que ce fût ici ou ailleurs. Mais la persistance de cette dangereuse situation a révélé — et tout récemment encore — tous les dangers que ce modus vivendi dicté par la seule guerre coloniale comportait et toutes les difficultés qui pouvaient en résulter entre des voisins désireux pourtant de régler tous leurs problèmes pacifiquement et gardant, je l'espère, leur confiance en la solution logique qui s'impose et que la fraternité devra faire trouver.

24. Nous avons exposé également à plusieurs reprises le problème de nos territoires demeurés sous administration espagnole. Certes, le Gouvernement espagnol a montré, avant notre indépendance, son souci de notre intégrité territoriale et de notre souveraineté. Des actes concrets, des attitudes précises avaient démontré les dispositions du Gouvernement espagnol à mettre, en temps opportun, un terme à son protectorat et à tirer les conclusions logiques de cette fin du statut de protectorat, c'est-à-dire une reconnaissance intégrale de la souveraineté nationale sur un territoire intégralement replacé sous la souveraineté du Maroc.

25. Là encore, des exigences d'ordre militaire, imposées à la fois par la situation de faiblesse d'un pays qui vient d'accéder à l'indépendance et par ailleurs dictées par la conviction que les problèmes les plus délicats recevraient leur solution naturelle dans cet esprit de coopération fraîchement manifesté, nous ont laissé entendre que ce problème recevrait incessamment la solution qui convient. Il n'était pas le seul. Le contentieux avec l'Espagne ne comportait pas que des problèmes territoriaux. Il comportait des problèmes d'évacuation militaire. Il comportait d'autres problèmes d'adaptation administrative ou inhérents à plusieurs conventions d'assistance technique, judiciaire et culturelle. Nous nous sommes réjouis que l'esprit qui a animé nos rapports depuis l'indépendance ait permis de régler la plupart de ces problèmes dans un climat amical.

26. Mais le problème territorial demeure, pour le Maroc, non seulement un des aspects primordiaux de sa souveraineté, mais un des éléments vitaux de l'exercice de cette souveraineté. Quelle que soit la

compréhension du Gouvernement marocain, quel que soit l'investissement de confiance qu'il est prêt à renouveler, il ne saurait admettre de nouveaux retards ni accepter d'explications visant à reporter chaque jour à plus tard, je veux dire chaque année à l'année suivante, un problème dont la solution se révèle de plus en plus utile non seulement pour le Maroc, mais pour ses rapports avec ceux qui détiennent encore les clés de cette situation et pour une plus grande stabilité de l'Afrique, comme pour les rapports de l'Afrique avec les pays qui sont responsables de cette situation.

27. Nous avons pris acte des excellentes dispositions manifestées au cours de l'entretien que le généralissimo Franco et le Roi du Maroc ont eu, en juillet 1963, à Barajas. Ces entretiens ont renouvelé, de toute façon, l'esprit qui anime les deux pays pour régler le problème. Il y a là la reconnaissance claire que les rapports des deux pays ne pourront évoluer vers leur finalité normale, c'est-à-dire une finalité dictée par le bon voisinage, une finalité dictée par la coexistence à l'intérieur du pays d'une communauté espagnole importante, que par l'existence de rapports économiques, culturels et sociaux très développés, par l'existence aussi, sur le plan international, d'intérêts, dans la région, dont la sauvegarde est indispensable à l'avenir et à la stabilité de l'un et de l'autre.

28. Depuis cette déclaration, malheureusement — et je le dis sans amertume, mais sous forme d'appel —, aucun acte positif n'est venu concrétiser le renouvellement de ces dispositions. Ces territoires demeurent sous administration espagnole intégrale. Aucune démarche, aucun étape n'a été accomplie, qui puisse constituer une indication sérieuse que la solution constamment proclamée approche et que des contacts substantiels permettront d'amorcer des démarches concrètes pour approcher de la situation du problème.

29. Ceci n'entame nullement notre confiance. Mais l'on nous comprendra si je dis qu'au moment même où l'Espagne proclame ici, à la satisfaction de l'Assemblée générale, qu'elle apporte des modifications importantes au régime de certains territoires africains demeurés sous son autorité, il est impensable qu'un pays comme le Maroc, tout en entretenant les meilleures relations avec l'Espagne, continue à se heurter à l'incompréhension, à se heurter à une situation qui, dans la pratique, n'est nullement évolutive.

30. Je sais aussi — et nous avons appuyé cette revendication de la manière la plus claire — que l'Espagne demande le retour à son territoire national de l'enclave de Gibraltar. Aucun pays, plus que le Maroc, ne connaît l'histoire de cette enclave; aucun pays, plus que le mien, n'est disposé à soutenir une telle revendication légitime. Mais comme nous avons eu l'occasion de le dire devant le Comité des Vingt-Quatre, la valeur morale et juridique de cette revendication ne se trouverait nullement soutenue si le pays même qui se fonde sur le même principe, sur le même droit pour réclamer la restitution d'une partie de son territoire, maintenait sous son administration une partie importante du sol marocain, sans absolument traduire dans les faits et de façon précise qu'une étape prochaine est annoncée pour la transformation de cette situation.

31. Ifni, le Sahara dit espagnol, Ceuta et Melilla demeurent toujours sous l'administration de l'Espagne. Notre confiance, si elle n'a pas été entamée par cette attente, doit désormais pouvoir être expliquée aussi devant notre opinion publique, non seulement par les raisons qu'a invoquées l'Espagne depuis 1956 et qui, une à une, ont disparu, mais parce que l'Espagne elle-même, au moment de l'évacuation de ses troupes du Maroc, a reconnu le caractère non fondé de certains de ses arguments.

32. En revenant sur le problème de ces territoires, je voudrais renouveler à la fois le caractère permanent et ferme de notre revendication et l'espoir que l'Espagne, qui a donné par ailleurs les preuves d'une évolution extrêmement méritoire, ne laissera pas un pays avec lequel ses rapports peuvent être développés grâce à tant de liens historiques, à tant de perspectives d'avenir, dans cette situation d'attente; car ni l'opinion publique marocaine, ni l'Afrique, dont nous sommes partie intégrante, ni le monde ne pourraient comprendre les raisons de notre patience. Si cette patience devait encore, en ce moment, trouver une justification, elle ne la trouverait plus que dans la parole de l'Espagne. Et cette parole, nous souhaitons qu'elle se concrétise dans les meilleurs délais, pour le bien de nos deux peuples et pour l'avenir de nos rapports.

33. M. LEKIC (Yougoslavie) [traduit de l'anglais]: La dix-huitième session de l'Assemblée générale se déroule dans une ambiance internationale améliorée, qui devrait permettre de recourir plus fréquemment à la politique de négociation et de règlement pacifique des différends. Ce fait, qui impose à la session actuelle des tâches correspondantes, devrait, à notre avis, déterminer largement la nature et la portée des activités que nous entreprendrons, cette année, notamment dans le domaine de la décolonisation. Nous avons le devoir, dans ces nouvelles conditions, de faire en sorte que le processus de règlement pacifique des différends déjà commencé non seulement se poursuive, mais gagne en portée et en profondeur aussi bien qu'en substance, afin d'englober des secteurs de plus en plus larges de nos complexes relations internationales. Nous pensons que le moyen d'œuvrer efficacement dans ce sens serait de supprimer tous les obstacles qui entravent l'évolution positive de la situation internationale et de faire disparaître les causes de frictions entre nations ainsi que les conflits susceptibles de compromettre la réalisation des aspirations du monde quant à une paix durable.

34. Malheureusement, il existe encore, dans le secteur colonial, un grand nombre d'obstacles, de sources de conflits et de tensions. L'existence de ces difficultés et leurs conséquences éventuelles justifient l'anxiété de la communauté internationale, particulièrement si nous songeons que certaines puissances coloniales ne sont pas disposées à s'associer aux efforts communs qui tendent à instaurer des conditions de paix durable reposant sur la liberté et l'égalité de tous. L'existence de ces deux problèmes se trouve amplement confirmée dans le rapport du Comité sur la décolonisation, qui lance un appel pressant pour la liberté de l'indépendance des peuples colonisés et condamne énergiquement les tentatives dangereuses que font les puissances coloniales et les forces

colonialistes en général afin d'arrêter et de retarder la marche de l'histoire. Bien que vouées à l'échec — car l'expérience a montré que nulle puissance au monde ne peut empêcher un peuple d'obtenir sa liberté s'il le désire —, ces tentatives n'en constituent pas moins une menace à la paix mondiale. A l'époque actuelle, en effet, les distances ne se mesurent plus en milles, mais en heures et en minutes, de sorte que les tensions politiques et surtout les atteintes à la paix peuvent aisément se répercuter d'une partie du monde à l'autre.

35. Une analyse détaillée du rapport du Comité sur la décolonisation [A/5446/Rev.1] fait clairement ressortir que l'action des Nations Unies tendant à éliminer les relations anachroniques de domination et d'assujettissement qui vont à l'encontre de la Charte s'est heurtée à de sérieux obstacles à l'origine desquels se trouvent des forces puissantes. L'attitude et l'activité actuelles de ces forces montrent qu'afin de défendre leurs intérêts militaires, politiques et surtout économiques elles n'hésitent pas et n'hésiteront pas à prendre même des mesures qui menacent la paix et la sécurité du monde.

36. Grâce à l'aide considérable en armes et en matériel qu'il reçoit, dans le cadre de l'OTAN, de certains de ses alliés, le Portugal poursuit une guerre coloniale en Angola et dans la Guinée dite portugaise. En outre, ce pays prépare des opérations similaires au Mozambique.

37. On fournit actuellement au Gouvernement raciste de la Rhodésie du Sud des unités d'armée de l'air et d'armée de terre équipées de matériel moderne, et cela précisément à un moment où ce gouvernement se déclare prêt à régler ses comptes avec les forces qui demandent la reconnaissance de leur droit à l'autodétermination, et où des mesures sont prises sur la scène internationale pour mettre fin à la course aux armements.

38. Les peuples du Betchouanaland, du Souaziland et du Bassoutoland se voient refuser le droit à disposer d'eux-mêmes. En même temps, le Gouvernement de la République d'Afrique du Sud, recourant à certaines méthodes notoires de conquête coloniale — corruption, supercherie, ententes avec des individus représentant non pas le peuple mais les autorités coloniales, etc. —, s'efforce, impunément, d'obtenir un appui pour sa politique d'"Etats noirs indépendants" dans le cadre de la "république blanche". Dans le Sud-Ouest africain, la politique d'apartheid est actuellement appliquée. La population d'Aden, contrainte d'accepter un régime fédéral, se voit refuser le droit de libre détermination. Enfin, et ce n'est pas le moins important, le peuple de la Guyane britannique est à nouveau empêché d'accéder à l'indépendance et on lui dénie le droit exclusif de résoudre en toute liberté des problèmes qui, sans doute, n'existeraient pas sans ingérence extérieure.

39. En exposant la situation en matière de décolonisation, nous ne cherchons nullement à nier la réalité de certains progrès, qui se refléteront cette année dans l'accession à l'indépendance du Kenya et de Zanzibar et dans l'accroissement correspondant du nombre des Membres de notre organisation. Il s'agit là, certes, d'un événement important que nous ac-

cueillons tous avec joie, mais qui ne saurait et ne devrait pas nous faire oublier qu'au même moment nous nous heurtons, comme je viens de le mentionner, à de sérieuses difficultés. Nous apprécions le réalisme dont ont fait preuve certaines puissances coloniales en répondant aux vœux de celles de leurs colonies qui voulaient accéder à l'indépendance. Néanmoins, une politique réaliste à l'égard de certaines colonies ne saurait atténuer les effets d'une politique négative appliquée à d'autres territoires. Il est encore moins admissible d'invoquer un "bilan favorable" pour justifier des mesures visant à refuser le droit d'autodétermination aux populations de certains territoires, où les puissances coloniales et d'autres pays ont des intérêts particuliers. De toute façon, les deux arguments — celui d'une politique réaliste dans certains cas et celui du "bilan favorable" — militent en faveur de l'accélération et non pas d'un ralentissement du processus de décolonisation. Quoi qu'il en soit, lorsque nous voyons opposer ce "bilan favorable" aux demandes pressantes des peuples coloniaux, appuyées par les Nations Unies, en vue de l'octroi immédiat de l'indépendance, nous croyons utile de rappeler que, comme l'a dit Francis Bacon, la gloire ressemble à un marché où les prix baissent lorsqu'on y reste un peu trop longtemps.

40. La délégation yougoslave n'a nullement l'intention de commenter la situation de toutes les colonies qui subsistent encore, car elle l'a déjà fait au cours des délibérations du Comité des Vingt-Quatre, dont la Yougoslavie est membre. Nous n'entendons pas davantage entamer une polémique avec les auteurs des interprétations formalistes et conservatrices des dispositions de la Charte, dans lesquelles les puissances coloniales recherchent obstinément la source de leur prétendu droit de domination sur les autres peuples et non point la source de leur obligation d'appliquer les principes et les buts de la Charte à tous les peuples, quels que soient leur couleur et leur stade de développement.

41. Certains prétendent que les peuples coloniaux ne sont pas mûrs pour décider de leur propre destin ou pour assumer les responsabilités découlant de la liberté et de l'indépendance. Qu'il me soit permis de leur répondre que nous avons entendu de tels "arguments" lorsque nous avons discuté de la lutte pour l'indépendance de pays dont les représentants contribuent puissamment, au sein des Nations Unies comme en dehors de l'Organisation, à la cause de la paix et de la coopération internationale. Par conséquent, il serait superflu d'amorcer une discussion des concepts qui proviennent uniquement d'un système de théories sur la valeur plus ou moins grande des races et des êtres humains. En tout cas, on ne saurait dire d'un peuple qui lutte pour sa liberté, prêt à faire les sacrifices que cela entraîne inévitablement, qu'il manque de maturité.

42. Ce qui importe aujourd'hui, à notre avis, c'est le fait que les vestiges du colonialisme et le processus de la décolonisation se présentent sous un jour nouveau. D'après la liste incomplète dressée par le Comité des Vingt-Quatre, il reste encore 59 colonies, représentant une population de près de 40 millions d'habitants.

43. Etant donné les nombreux aspects nouveaux que revêt ce problème, nous n'insisterons que sur ceux qui nous paraissent fondamentaux et qui affectent directement les activités diverses et, notamment, les travaux concrets des Nations Unies dans ce domaine.

44. Le plus important est, sans contredit, la résistance accrue que les forces colonialistes opposent aux mouvements de libération nationale, surtout — et l'on pourrait même dire exclusivement à l'heure actuelle — en Afrique centrale et en Afrique du Sud. Riche en ressources naturelles, dont l'exploitation liée à une main-d'œuvre à bon marché assure d'énormes profits, habitée par un certain nombre d'étrangers qui ont imposé leur domination, cette région est devenue la base et le bastion d'intérêts et de groupes privilégiés qui ne veulent pas admettre que le monde a changé et qui sont résolus à s'opposer, par la force s'il le faut, à toute modification du statu quo. C'est ainsi que s'est constituée une alliance de groupes privilégiés qui se traduit, sur le plan politique, par la formation d'un front commun des forces coloniales à l'intérieur et à l'extérieur de cette zone et, sur le plan militaire, par l'accélération de la course aux armements.

45. Bien entendu, la situation est aggravée par le fait que les puissances coloniales et les éléments colonialistes en Afrique bénéficient de l'appui de certains autres pays et de groupes politico-militaires, qui se trouvent profondément engagés dans cette région, à divers points de vue, économiquement en particulier. Ainsi, le problème de l'élimination du colonialisme ne dépend plus uniquement des puissances coloniales; il semble qu'il relève aussi, de plus en plus, du groupe des pays qui ne sont pas disposés à soutenir avec assez d'efficacité les efforts des Nations Unies visant à supprimer, une fois pour toutes, ces causes de frictions et de conflits internationaux.

46. L'existence d'une telle situation, qui, à tout moment, peut dégénérer en un conflit aux conséquences imprévisibles pour la paix du monde, ne saurait laisser indifférents les pays africains indépendants. Profondément épris de paix, mais convaincus que leur propre indépendance sera menacée aussi longtemps qu'il existera des relations de domination et d'inégalité sur le sol africain et dans le monde en général, les Etats africains exigent que le droit à l'autodétermination soit accordé aux peuples des régions non libérées de ce continent. Divisées pendant des siècles par la colonisation, les populations africaines se sont unies dans la lutte pour la décolonisation. A la Conférence historique d'Addis-Abéba^{1/}, elles ont lancé un appel aux puissances coloniales afin que les problèmes découlant du colonialisme soient réglés par des moyens pacifiques, y compris la reconnaissance du droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes. Toutefois, les dirigeants africains ont déclaré, à la même occasion, qu'en l'absence d'une telle solution ils appuieraient sans réserve les mouvements de libération dont les drapeaux sont

déjà brandis — et c'est là un fait qui mérite réflexion — par les générations qui sont nées en même temps que l'Organisation et la Charte des Nations Unies.

47. C'est ainsi que les mouvements de libération dans les pays africains qui demeurent sous la domination coloniale ont acquis le caractère d'un mouvement panafricain général, tendant à une complète émancipation politique et économique, ce qui constitue la seule réponse logique et compréhensible à l'unité des puissances coloniales dans leur résistance à la décolonisation et à l'établissement de relations d'égalité. Ce serait faire preuve d'une dangereuse myopie, nous semble-t-il, que de ne pas prévoir les nombreuses et sérieuses répercussions internationales de la politique que poursuivent actuellement les puissances coloniales et leurs alliés. La discrimination et la ségrégation raciales, le déni des droits fondamentaux de l'homme à des millions de personnes, l'exploitation économique impitoyable et les guerres coloniales ne sont pas seulement contraires aux dispositions de la Charte concernant la protection de la dignité humaine et des intérêts des peuples coloniaux. Ces pratiques sont en outre les signes tangibles d'une politique qui constitue un constant défi aux pays africains directement menacés et à la conscience de l'humanité en général et qui risque de troubler la paix et la sécurité du monde. De plus, une telle politique a déjà causé — et menace de causer à nouveau — des malentendus plus graves encore entre les pays africains et autres qui luttent pour leur égalité, pour l'égalité des droits parmi les hommes, ainsi qu'entre les peuples et les Etats qui, d'une manière quelconque, s'efforcent de maintenir une situation d'où, plus d'une fois dans le passé, sont nés de vastes conflits. Enfin, il convient de souligner qu'une telle politique va directement à l'encontre des efforts tendant à placer les relations internationales sur une nouvelle base et à appliquer les principes de coexistence effective et pacifique — le seul autre choix étant une guerre de destruction totale. Devant la Quatrième Commission, l'un des pétitionnaires a signalé cette contradiction dans les termes suivants qui doivent retenir toute notre attention: "La coexistence pacifique ne s'étend pas à nous. Nous demeurons engagés dans un combat mené par un ennemi cruel et tenace. Pour nous, il n'existe pas d'accords."

48. On a tenté, dans certains milieux, de faire valoir que la lutte menée par les peuples coloniaux allait à l'encontre d'une politique active de coexistence ainsi que des efforts tendant à préserver la paix. On nous dit que "les guerres de libération n'en sont pas moins des guerres" et que les Etats se doivent d'éviter toutes les guerres, quelles qu'elles soient, tout comme les Nations Unies ont le devoir d'y mettre fin dans la mesure du possible. A cet égard, on oublie évidemment que les guerres de libération sont la conséquence directe du refus des puissances coloniales de mettre en pratique certains principes fondamentaux de la coexistence pacifique. Ces principes sont le droit à l'autodétermination et l'égalité de tous les peuples, aussi bien que le règlement pacifique des problèmes existants. D'autre part, la paix est non seulement l'antithèse de la guerre, mais également l'opposé de toutes ses causes. Combattre pour la paix signifie aussi combattre pour

^{1/} Conférence des chefs d'Etat et de gouvernement africains tenue à Addis-Abéba, du 22 au 25 mai 1963.

éliminer les causes de guerre, les foyers présents ou possibles de conflits, et tout ce qui peut empêcher l'établissement de relations fondées sur la liberté et l'égalité de tous les peuples. L'élimination du colonialisme est l'une des conditions préalables de la préservation de la paix — cela, nul ne saurait le nier.

49. C'est à la lumière de ces considérations que nous abordons l'examen de la situation actuelle des colonies, en espérant que le réalisme et la bonne volonté dont témoignent les peuples coloniaux et les pays directement menacés par l'existence continue du colonialisme seront mieux compris des puissances coloniales et de ceux qui les soutiennent. Il est encourageant de noter, cependant, que les forces anticoloniales, quoique suffisamment fortes pour atteindre leurs buts sans l'aide de notre organisation, se tournent vers les Nations Unies. Ce n'est pas là une manifestation de faiblesse, mais plutôt de force et de foi dans l'Organisation et dans la justice de la cause pour laquelle luttent les peuples coloniaux. Méconnaître cette attitude ne ferait qu'épuiser la patience des peuples coloniaux, qui se verraient contraints de prendre les armes en dernier recours.

50. Une telle perspective ne peut manquer de préoccuper tous les Membres des Nations Unies. Par conséquent, nous avons le devoir d'accéder pleinement et rapidement aux demandes des peuples coloniaux et des forces de paix dans le monde. Nous sommes également tenus de rechercher la solution du problème par des moyens pacifiques et notamment par voie de négociation entre les représentants des pays coloniaux et ceux des puissances coloniales. Notre organisation offre un cadre tout indiqué pour de telles négociations et de telles solutions. Si l'on considère ce que pourraient ainsi gagner les parties directement intéressées aussi bien que la communauté internationale, il semble irrationnel — et il pourrait même être nuisible en fin de compte — de perdre du temps à discuter la question de savoir si notre organisation est compétente pour intervenir dans les relations entre les peuples coloniaux et les puissances coloniales, si elle a le droit ou non d'envoyer des missions de visite chargées de s'enquérir de la situation véritable et de contribuer à la solution pacifique des graves différends qui existent actuellement. Nous devons accorder la plus grande attention à ces différends et laisser de côté, au présent stade, les considérations théoriques sur le point de savoir si un petit peuple peut accéder à l'indépendance, et dans quelles conditions.

51. La situation actuelle dans le domaine de la décolonisation montre les tâches qui s'imposent à notre organisation et au Comité des Vingt-Quatre, en tant qu'organe compétent pour rechercher des solutions aux problèmes coloniaux qui ne sont pas encore réglés. Par conséquent, il nous semble que la session de cette année devrait adresser un appel non seulement aux puissances coloniales, mais aussi aux pays qui ne se sont pas encore associés aux efforts communs tendant à éliminer le colonialisme, afin qu'ils prennent des mesures qui permettraient à la vingtième session de l'Assemblée générale de marquer à la fois la fin du colonialisme et le début d'une nouvelle ère où tous les peuples du monde pourront, en pleine

liberté et dans la paix, édifier un meilleur avenir pour eux-mêmes et pour le monde en général. A cette fin, il faudrait que les puissances coloniales profitent de la grande possibilité qui leur est offerte du fait que les peuples colonisés ont confiance en l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Ces Etats devraient permettre à l'Organisation d'aider à liquider les problèmes encore existants dans ce domaine de la façon la moins pénible et la plus appropriée, en autorisant des visites dans les divers territoires et en prêtant leurs bons offices. Le Comité des Vingt-Quatre devrait, de son côté, poursuivre ses efforts en vue de trouver des solutions pacifiques. Il devrait attirer l'attention du Conseil de sécurité sur tous les actes des puissances coloniales ou d'autres pays qui, à son avis, ne sont pas conformes à la Charte ou à la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. Le rôle que le Comité des Vingt-Quatre serait ainsi appelé à jouer requiert sans doute une adaptation à la nouvelle situation et aux exigences de l'évolution actuelle. D'après nous, le Comité devrait mettre au point des méthodes de travail et des procédures lui permettant de fonctionner dans le cadre de son mandat, non seulement comme organe étudiant l'évolution des différents territoires, mais aussi comme organe politique qui, le cas échéant, exercerait son influence pour accélérer la mise en œuvre de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux.

52. M. DIAZ GONZALEZ (Venezuela) [traduit de l'espagnol]: Le Venezuela a l'honneur de partager, avec 23 autres Etats membres, les responsabilités que l'Assemblée générale a confiées au Comité spécial chargé d'examiner la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux.

53. Par conséquent, il ne semblerait pas indiqué que ma délégation fasse des commentaires ou des observations sur le rapport A/5446/Rev.1, consignait les résultats d'un travail auquel elle a modestement contribué et qui, de ce fait, reflète notre position quant au problème colonial.

54. Qu'il me soit permis cependant de présenter quelques observations fondées sur l'expérience acquise pendant cette année de travail. Cela nous permettra de dégager certaines conclusions qui pourraient être utiles pour les activités futures du Comité.

55. Le rapport que le Comité spécial a soumis à l'Assemblée générale présente, de l'avis de la délégation du Venezuela, un bilan positif très important. Ce bilan n'est pas aussi encourageant que nous l'aurions souhaité. Mais, étant donné les circonstances dans lesquelles le Comité a dû travailler, il est évident qu'il est parvenu à des résultats grâce auxquels nous pouvons au moins avoir le sentiment du devoir accompli. Les obstacles que nous avons rencontrés n'ont pas été suffisants pour nous décourager. Bien au contraire, dans de nombreux cas, ils nous ont incité à persister dans notre effort pour empêcher qu'un organe, que l'Assemblée générale voulait vivant, ne s'ankylose. Il est inutile de chercher à arrêter la marche de l'histoire. La condamnation du colonialisme a été prononcée. Il nous reste maintenant à mener à chef son exécution. Un long chemin a été parcouru depuis que le principe, posé par le

président Wilson, du droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes a fait son apparition sur la scène internationale. La Déclaration historique sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, point culminant de ce processus, est l'acte de décès du colonialisme. Comme nous l'avons dit à une précédente occasion, la question n'est plus de savoir quelle est la meilleure façon d'administrer une colonie, mais bien de trouver le moyen le plus rapide de conduire ces territoires à l'autonomie et à l'indépendance.

56. Pour accélérer le processus de décolonisation, l'Assemblée générale, par un vote unanime, a estimé opportun de créer le Comité spécial. C'eût été chose inutile si, en même temps, elle ne l'avait doté des éléments nécessaires pour lui permettre d'agir. Dans sa sagesse, l'Assemblée générale, par la résolution 1654 (XVI) portant création du Comité, a déclaré au paragraphe 5 du dispositif:

"Charge le Comité spécial d'accomplir sa tâche en se servant de tous les moyens dont il disposera dans le cadre des procédures et des modalités qu'il adoptera pour bien s'acquitter de ses fonctions".

57. Conformément à cette décision, le Comité spécial a adopté, et l'Assemblée générale a approuvé, une série de méthodes et de procédures dont l'efficacité a été démontrée dans le travail effectué jusqu'à présent par le Comité. L'Assemblée a développé ces méthodes et ces procédures par sa résolution 1810 (XVII). Dans le même ordre, le Comité a jugé absolument nécessaire, dans certains cas, de créer des missions de visite afin d'obtenir sur place des renseignements directs auprès des populations des territoires qui ont fait l'objet de ses débats. Il est regrettable que les autorités administrantes se soient systématiquement opposées à l'admission de ces missions dans le territoire qu'elles administrent. Par ailleurs, ces missions de visite, comme nous le savons tous, ne sont pas la prérogative exclusive du Comité spécial. D'autres organes des Nations Unies en ont également créé. Le refus de la part des puissances administrantes d'admettre ces missions peut être seulement considéré comme une preuve d'intransigeance contraire à l'esprit de coopération qui doit invariablement animer les rapports entre les Etats Membres et l'Organisation des Nations Unies.

58. L'argument selon lequel la puissance administrante est seule responsable de l'administration d'un territoire et, par conséquent, ne peut partager cette responsabilité est inacceptable. Si nous admettons que la puissance administrante assume une importante responsabilité dans les territoires qu'elle administre, il n'est pas moins certain que c'est aux Nations Unies qu'incombent en tout premier lieu l'obligation et le droit de veiller au respect, dans les territoires coloniaux, des principes consacrés par la Charte et à l'application intégrale et sans réserve des résolutions de l'Assemblée, notamment de la résolution 1514 (XV).

59. La délégation du Venezuela espère qu'à l'avenir les puissances administrantes feront preuve de plus de souplesse et apporteront une plus large collaboration au Comité spécial. Sans la coopération effective des puissances administrantes, le travail du Comité devient plus difficile. En particulier dans les terri-

toires qui restent encore à l'étude, il serait peut-être indispensable d'envoyer des missions de visite. Le Comité devra être mis en mesure d'envoyer de telles missions, avec la collaboration de tous les intéressés, y compris la puissance administrante. Le fait que les missions de visite désignées par le Comité spécial au cours de l'année que nous examinons actuellement n'aient pu se rendre dans les territoires qu'elles avaient mandat de visiter ne signifie pas qu'elles n'ont pas accompli la tâche qui leur était confiée. Bien au contraire, elles ont fait un travail utile et, se voyant en même temps obligées de visiter le territoire d'Etats voisins, au prix souvent de grandes difficultés, comme ce fut le cas pour le Sous-Comité d'Aden, elles ont mené à bien un important travail de diffusion de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux et ravivé l'espoir que de nombreuses populations ont placé dans notre organisation, en tant que défenseur des droits des peuples à l'autodétermination et de la dignité humaine. Il y a lieu de tenir compte de l'œuvre qu'elles ont accomplie.

60. Depuis la création du Comité spécial, nombreux sont les peuples qui ont accédé à l'autonomie de gouvernement et à l'indépendance. Nous avons accueilli avec un plaisir tout particulier l'entrée dans le concert des nations libres de deux de ces pays situés dans notre hémisphère: je veux parler de la Jamaïque et de la Trinité et Tobago. Cependant, de nombreuses populations demeurent encore sous le joug colonial et, dans notre Amérique, d'immenses territoires restent encore occupés par des puissances étrangères. La tâche des Nations Unies, pour réaliser la suppression totale de ce mal, reste ardue.

61. Un examen attentif de la liste des territoires qui figurent au programme des travaux futurs du Comité spécial [A/5446/Rev.1, Annexe I] permet facilement de conclure qu'une révision des méthodes et des procédures employées jusqu'à ce jour s'impose pour donner plus de souplesse et les adapter aux réalités. Si l'on ne peut nier que le phénomène colonial est unique, il faut reconnaître qu'au contraire les divers territoires colonisés présentent des caractéristiques souvent très différentes tant du point de vue géographique que de la superficie et des conditions ethniques et démographiques. Il est évident que, en vertu des termes mêmes de la Déclaration, l'indépendance et la liberté complètes ne peuvent être soumises à aucune condition ni réserve. Mais les Nations Unies ont aussi le devoir de veiller à ce que cette indépendance soit acquise dans les meilleures conditions possibles par les peuples qui l'obtiennent, faute de quoi les populations qui parviennent à l'indépendance seraient condamnées au chaos et à la misère au moment précis où elles recouvreraient leur souveraineté.

62. Dans son intervention en séance plénière, le 21 novembre 1961, M. Sosa Rodriguez, s'adressant à l'Assemblée générale qui discutait alors la question relative à l'application des dispositions de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, a exposé dans les termes suivants la position du Venezuela à cet égard:

"La vocation à l'indépendance est égale pour tous les peuples, mais la jouissance de cette indépendance

doit être préparée soigneusement afin qu'il en découle bien-être et progrès. En conséquence, l'obligation qui incombe aux puissances coloniales ou administrantes ne consiste pas à donner immédiatement une indépendance nominale, mais à amorcer sans tarder le processus tendant à fournir aux pays et aux peuples soumis à leur domination les éléments indispensables à une vie indépendante. C'est là que l'Organisation des Nations Unies est appelée à jouer un rôle prépondérant pour ce qui est tant de l'orientation et de la surveillance de ce processus que de la mise en œuvre de ces différentes phases.

"Il a déjà été proclamé et reconnu qu'aucun pays ni peuple n'a le droit de maintenir un autre peuple sous le régime colonial. Ce principe ne doit pas se traduire dans la pratique par l'indépendance nominale immédiate de tous les peuples colonisés, ce qui impliquerait qu'ils se transformeraient du jour au lendemain en Etats abandonnés à leur propre sort, mais il doit signifier, au contraire, que les puissances coloniales ou administrantes doivent commencer immédiatement à investir les richesses de ces territoires coloniaux au profit de leurs habitants et à préparer promptement ces peuples colonisés à l'exercice de leur indépendance, afin que celle-ci puisse être accordée le plus rapidement possible dans des conditions qui assurent le bien-être à ces peuples. C'est de cette seule façon que les puissances coloniales pourront payer leurs dettes envers les peuples colonisés." [1059ème séance, par. 166 et 167.]

63. La délégation du Venezuela a le désir ardent de voir appliquer la Déclaration, rapidement et intégralement, à tous les territoires qui souffrent encore sous l'oppression coloniale. Cette même Déclaration énonce sans équivoque les principes qui doivent servir de guide et qui doivent être respectés dans son application. Les précautions nécessaires ont été prises pour envisager tous les cas possibles. Nous voulons insister sur ce point car il nous paraît d'une importance essentielle pour l'accomplissement des travaux futurs du Comité. Aux termes de l'alinéa a du paragraphe 8 du dispositif de la résolution 1810 (XVII), le Comité spécial est invité: "a) A continuer à rechercher les voies et moyens les mieux appropriés en vue de l'application rapide et intégrale de la Déclaration à tous les territoires qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance". Cependant, ainsi que nous l'avons répété en maintes circonstances, nous pensons que nous devons rechercher non seulement les moyens les plus appropriés mais encore les plus efficaces, en fonction de chaque cas particulier et, bien entendu, dans le cadre des dispositions de la résolution 1514 (XV). En disant cela, nous avons à l'esprit certains territoires tels que Gibraltar, en Europe, séparé artificiellement du territoire espagnol, dont, pour des raisons géographiques et historiques, il fait partie intégrante et indivisible. Nous songeons également à la Guyane, aux îles Maldives et autres, en Amérique, ainsi qu'à l'Infi au Sahara espagnol, en Afrique, pour ne citer que quelques exemples qui constituent des cas particuliers auxquels il convient d'appliquer des méthodes et des procédés particuliers. En conséquence, les cas que je viens de citer, comme tant d'autres, ont été prévus au

paragraphe 6 de la Déclaration qui figure dans la résolution 1514 (XV). Il y est dit en effet que "toute tentative visant à détruire partiellement ou totalement l'unité nationale et l'intégrité territoriale d'un pays est incompatible avec les buts et les principes de la Charte des Nations Unies".

64. Si l'on n'applique pas les termes de ce paragraphe de la Déclaration, cela reviendrait, comme nous l'avons dit au Comité spécial, à accepter le droit du plus fort comme base des relations internationales et à consacrer l'injustice commise à l'égard des petits pays ou des pays faibles qui ont été privés au cours de l'histoire de leurs droits légitimes sans autre raison que leurs propres faiblesses et la pression exercée par le plus fort. Ce serait en définitive mettre une entrave à l'action réparatrice de l'histoire.

65. Je ne veux pas m'étendre sur le contenu du rapport ni sur les cas précis dont il fait état, notamment parce que, comme je l'ai dit au début de mon intervention, nous avons l'honneur d'appartenir au Comité spécial et aussi, en partie, parce que les débats relatifs à ces cas nous ont donné l'occasion d'exprimer l'opinion de la délégation du Venezuela. Nous laissons à cette auguste assemblée le soin de juger les qualités ou les défauts de ce rapport, mais je tiens à dire que nous sommes persuadés que, dans un avenir rapproché, ce qui est aujourd'hui un simple rapport du Comité spécial deviendra un document historique fondamental, car il pose une jurisprudence, bonne ou mauvaise, mais unique en tout cas en matière coloniale. C'est un document dans lequel est condensé le témoignage de ceux qui ont vécu sous le régime de l'oppression coloniale et ont été les témoins et en même temps les protagonistes du processus irréversible de la décolonisation, et qui contiendra les résultats de l'une des entreprises les plus nobles auxquelles se soit consacré un organe des Nations Unies: la lutte pour faire respecter les principes fondamentaux consacrés par la Charte et la défense des droits inaliénables de tous les peuples, sans distinction de couleur, de race ou de religion, à se gouverner eux-mêmes, à déterminer librement leur sort, à l'indépendance et au respect de la dignité humaine dans le cadre de la liberté.

66. M. HAMDANI (Pakistan) [traduit de l'anglais]: Pour déférer à votre désir, M. le Président, je serai aussi bref que possible. Ma délégation a étudié avec toute l'attention nécessaire le rapport monumental et de grande conséquence soumis par le Comité spécial [A/5446/Rev.1] et qui contient des renseignements et une documentation extrêmement précieux. Elle a déjà fait connaître ses vues sur certaines parties de ce rapport, à savoir celles qui concernent le Sud-Ouest africain, la Rhodésie du Sud et les territoires sous administration portugaise, lorsqu'elles ont été examinées au sein de la Quatrième Commission. Je m'en tiendrai donc à quelques brèves observations sur d'autres chapitres du rapport.

67. Dans sa déclaration de politique générale au cours de la discussion générale, M. Bhutto, ministre des affaires étrangères du Pakistan, a dit ce qui suit:

"Dans le monde entier, on voit le colonialisme faire place à des relations internationales fondées

sur l'égalité et le respect mutuel. Nous espérons sincèrement que le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni et les autres autorités administrantes continueront à suivre la voie de la sagesse et répondront aux aspirations des peuples intéressés en accordant l'autonomie et l'indépendance aux territoires non autonomes qu'ils administrent encore." [1220ème séance, par. 33.]

68. Ma délégation a noté avec une vive satisfaction que certains de ces territoires accèderont bientôt à l'indépendance, à savoir le Kenya le 12 décembre 1963, Zanzibar peu après, la Rhodésie du Nord et le Nyassaland au début de l'an prochain et Malte le 31 mai 1964. Nous espérons que ces territoires seront admis avant peu comme Membres de plein droit de notre organisation mondiale. A cet égard, nous adressons nos sincères félicitations non seulement aux populations des territoires intéressés, pour leur patience et leurs efforts pacifiques, mais aussi au Gouvernement éclairé du Royaume-Uni, autorité administrante. Notre déception n'en est que plus grande de voir que ce même gouvernement a jugé nécessaire de refuser au sous-comité et aux missions de visite l'autorisation de se rendre dans des territoires qu'il administre — Aden et la Guyane britannique — alors que nous savons que la fonction naturelle des missions de visite est d'établir et de maintenir des rapports directs avec les peuples intéressés dans l'intention de s'informer de leurs opinions et d'étudier leurs aspirations, en vue de leur permettre d'exercer leur droit à l'indépendance. C'est pourquoi, de l'avis de ma délégation, de telles actions de retardement portent atteinte à la bonne réputation du Royaume-Uni.

69. La délégation pakistanaise est au courant des efforts déployés en vue de la convocation d'une conférence constitutionnelle intéressante les territoires de la Haute Commission, à savoir le Bassoutoland, le Betchouanaland et le Souaziland. Nous voudrions insister auprès de l'autorité administrante pour qu'elle accélère l'application des résolutions de l'Assemblée générale en la matière.

70. En même temps, ma délégation regrette l'absence de coopération de la part de certaines autres puissances administrantes et leur refus de mettre en œuvre les résolutions du Comité spécial, de l'Assemblée générale et du Conseil de sécurité. A cet égard, permettez-moi de citer encore la déclaration de mon ministre des affaires étrangères:

"Il est profondément regrettable que le Portugal persiste dans une attitude qui est contraire à la marche de l'histoire et qui n'est pas digne de son grand passé. Alors que les systèmes coloniaux des autres puissances européennes sont en voie de dissolution totale, il est contraire aux lois de la vie d'escompter une perpétuation de la domination portugaise en Afrique. Nous voulons espérer que les dirigeants du Portugal, qui ont dressé leur pays contre le monde entier, auront la lucidité de voir où réside leur véritable intérêt en Afrique et dans le monde." [Ibid., par. 34.]

71. Je voudrais maintenant présenter quelques observations sur l'avenir du Comité spécial, notamment parce que nous lisons dans son rapport qu'il a conscience que la décolonisation, dans certaines

parties de l'Afrique et ailleurs, ne s'effectue pas à un rythme satisfaisant [A/5446/Rev.1, chap. I, par. 44]. Le Président du Comité spécial, représentant du Mali, a attiré dans sa déclaration [1266ème séance] l'attention de l'Assemblée générale sur cet aspect du travail du Comité, et ce point a été discuté par la suite de façon assez détaillée par les représentants du Chili et du Mexique. Ma délégation éprouve également quelque appréhension au sujet de cet état de choses et elle serait disposée à approuver les suggestions du représentant du Chili sur l'avenir des petits territoires coloniaux une fois qu'ils auront déclaré leur indépendance. C'est au sujet de ces territoires coloniaux, peu étendus et faiblement peuplés, qui ne sont viables ni politiquement ni économiquement, que le Comité spécial pourrait envisager de mettre davantage l'accent sur les principes relatifs à l'association entre Etats ou à l'intégration de deux Etats indépendants, qui constituent les principes VI, VIII, IX de l'Annexe à la résolution 1541 (XV). A cet égard, ma délégation aurait souhaité qu'il soit fait mention de ces principes dans le projet de résolution du Comité spécial relatif à la Gambie [ibid., chap. XI, par. 105], comme l'avaient suggéré plusieurs membres du Comité spécial, notamment les représentants de l'Italie et des Etats-Unis.

72. Je voudrais également ajouter que ma délégation approuve le savant exposé du Vice-Président du Comité spécial, le représentant de l'Uruguay [1268ème séance], qui a discuté de la "jurisprudence de la résolution 1514 (XV)", en particulier en ce qui concerne la nécessité d'une présence effective des Nations Unies avant et pendant les élections par lesquelles les peuples des territoires dépendants, Aden par exemple, exerceront leur droit de libre détermination.

73. D'une manière générale, ma délégation est d'accord sur les conclusions et recommandations du Comité spécial ainsi que sur les projets de résolution qu'il a présentés dans son rapport. Au cours de sa deuxième année d'existence, le Comité spécial a encore accompli un excellent travail. La délégation pakistanaise tient à féliciter tous les membres du Comité des efforts inlassables déployés par cet organe pour que les fins de la résolution 1514 (XV) soient plus largement respectées. En dépit de son activité remarquable et de sa diligence, le Comité spécial a été obligé d'ajourner à plus tard l'étude de plusieurs territoires.

74. Nous souhaitons au Comité spécial bon succès dans les efforts et tentatives qu'il déploiera, en se servant des méthodes et procédures actuelles, quitte à modifier légèrement ces dernières pour tenir compte des discussions de l'Assemblée générale, et nous faisons nôtre l'espoir exprimé par M. Azimov, représentant de l'Union soviétique, dans les termes suivants:

"C'est pour l'Organisation des Nations Unies un point d'honneur de tout faire pour qu'à la date de son vingtième anniversaire le honteux système du colonialisme ait entièrement disparu de la terre et que tous les peuples, grands ou petits, en Afrique, en Asie, ou en Amérique latine, soient libres et indépendants." [1267ème séance, par. 119.]

M. Thors (Islande), vice-président, prend la présidence.

75. M. ASTAPENKO (République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie) [traduit du russe]: La délégation de la République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie tient avant tout à exprimer sa reconnaissance au Comité spécial des Vingt-Quatre pour le travail extrêmement important qu'il a accompli, ce dont témoigne le rapport qu'il a présenté à l'Assemblée générale [A/5446/Rev.1].

76. Près de trois années se sont écoulées depuis le jour où, sur l'initiative de l'Union soviétique^{2/}, notre organisation a adopté la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux [résolution 1514 (XV)]. La Déclaration est le drapeau autour duquel se sont groupées toutes les forces pacifiques dans leur lutte pour aboutir à la liquidation totale du colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations. Dans le bref moment de l'histoire écoulé depuis l'adoption de la Déclaration, les peuples de pays tels que l'Algérie, le Tanganyika, l'Ouganda, le Sierra Leone, le Rwanda, le Burundi, la Jamaïque, la Trinité et Tobago, le Samoa-Occidental ont accédé à l'indépendance et obtenu leur liberté. La lutte du peuple indien pour libérer ses territoires traditionnels de Goa, Diu et Damao a été couronnée de succès, de même que la lutte du peuple indonésien pour la libération de l'Irian occidental. Enfin, l'indépendance de pays coloniaux comme le Kenya, Zanzibar et Malte sera proclamée très prochainement.

77. La Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux a donné une vigueur nouvelle aux peuples qui luttent pour se libérer du joug colonial. Cette déclaration a été l'instrument du rassemblement de toutes les forces anticoloniales, parmi lesquelles le système mondial des pays socialistes, qui constitue un puissant appui et un bouclier pour les peuples qui luttent pour secouer le joug du colonialisme et pour leur libération nationale, puis les pays et les peuples opprimés par l'impérialisme, et enfin toutes les forces progressistes éprises de liberté. L'Organisation des Nations Unies a pour devoir de contribuer à la mise en œuvre, le plus rapidement possible, de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, afin que d'ici à un an ou deux il ne reste plus sur la terre aucune colonie ni aucun peuple asservi par l'impérialisme et le colonialisme. L'Organisation des Nations Unies peut et doit célébrer son vingtième anniversaire par la liquidation totale du colonialisme.

78. Cependant, 70 territoires restent encore sous le joug colonial. Leur superficie s'élève à près de 8 millions de kilomètres carrés et leur population à près de 50 millions d'habitants.

79. Les colonialistes, qui maintiennent sous leur domination des populations contre leur gré, ne veulent pas quitter d'eux-mêmes les colonies et s'opposent avec acharnement à l'application de la Déclaration.

80. Le sang et la sueur des peuples des colonies permettent aux colonialistes de réaliser des bénéfices fabuleux. Par exemple, la société coloniale britan-

nique intitulée British South Africa, qui exploite les ressources naturelles de l'Afrique méridionale et de l'Afrique centrale, a réalisé entre le 1er octobre 1961 et le 30 septembre 1962 — comme le montre son bilan pour cette période — un bénéfice net dépassant 8 millions et demi de livres sterling. Ce profit compense à lui seul presque entièrement les capitaux investis par cette société dans l'économie de la Rhodésie du Nord au cours des dix dernières années.

81. Prenons un autre exemple, celui du consortium minier anglo-américain et sud-africain intitulé Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa, qui opère surtout en Afrique méridionale et en Afrique centrale. D'après ses comptes rendus pour 1962, cette société a réalisé un bénéfice net de plus de 10 millions et demi de livres sterling. La portion de cette somme qui est tombée directement dans les poches des colonialistes sous forme de dividendes versés aux actionnaires représente un bénéfice de plus de 5 millions et demi de livres sterling. Le président de cette société, M. Harry Oppenheimer, dans une déclaration publiée par le *Times* de Londres du 6 juin 1963, parlant des buts que cette société cherche à atteindre, répétait les paroles de son père, président avant lui de cette société, à savoir que la société a pour but de "réaliser des bénéfices pour nos actionnaires".

82. Voilà donc le prétendu "souci des intérêts des peuples des colonies"! Voilà qui est dit assez carrément. Ce sont justement et seulement les bénéfices qui intéressent les colonialistes. La politique des colonialistes dans leurs colonies est déterminée par le culte "du veau d'or".

83. Pour assurer le maintien de leur domination dans les territoires coloniaux et continuer à "réaliser des bénéfices", les colonialistes ont recours à divers moyens et méthodes. Ils privent à dessein les peuples coloniaux de tous droits sociaux et politiques, les maintiennent dans un état d'arriération et d'ignorance, et n'hésitent pas à présenter le tout comme si c'était presque un bienfait dont ils gratifient les peuples coloniaux.

84. Le journal anglais *The Times* du 31 octobre 1962 dit, dans un éditorial de la rédaction, "qu'on peut sans aucun cynisme soutenir que l'analphabétisme n'est pas toujours un mal. Le chaos économique et politique dans lequel de nombreux pays en voie de développement se débattent encore serait infiniment plus grave si tous les citoyens de ces pays pouvaient lire ce que leurs journaux relatent à cet égard."

85. En s'efforçant de s'opposer au processus inévitable de libération des peuples coloniaux, les colonialistes ont recours à diverses ruses, répressions et guerres coloniales. Les colonialistes portugais, sud-africains et espagnols ont actuellement largement recours à la terreur et aux répressions sous la forme la plus féroce. C'est déjà la troisième année que le Portugal mène une cruelle guerre coloniale en Angola et pratique contre la population autochtone de ce pays la politique du génocide et de la "terre brûlée". Les méthodes de cette guerre honteuse débordent de plus en plus en Guinée portugaise, au Mozambique et dans les autres colonies portugaises.

^{2/} Documents officiels de l'Assemblée générale, quinzième session, Annexes, point 87 de l'ordre du jour, documents A/4501 et A/4502.

86. Les dirigeants de la République sud-africaine mènent une politique de cruelle répression contre la population autochtone du Sud-Ouest africain. Ils pratiquent par ailleurs dans leur propre pays une politique antihumaine d'apartheid, ils délogent la population africaine autochtone pour la refouler dans des réserves et des camps de concentration appelés "Bantoustans". Les colonialistes anglais continuent la guerre coloniale contre le peuple d'Oman, fusillant et emprisonnant les combattants nationaux d'Aden, du Souaziland, de Brunéi et d'autres colonies.

87. Les puissances colonialistes forment un front unique dans la lutte contre les mouvements de libération nationale. Le bloc militaire et colonial de l'OTAN joue un sinistre rôle dans ces efforts, d'ailleurs voués à l'échec, des puissances coloniales. Chacun sait que les puissances dirigeantes du bloc de l'Atlantique nord fournissent une aide économique et militaire appréciable au Portugal de Salazar, et aux régimes racistes de la République sud-africaine et de la Rhodésie du Sud.

88. Ces derniers pays utilisent en grand, à titre d'aide contre les mouvements de libération dans leurs colonies, des armements reçus des Etats-Unis, des chasseurs à réaction et des bombes au napalm de France et d'Angleterre, des véhicules blindés britanniques, des armes à feu d'infanterie provenant d'Allemagne occidentale et d'autres catégories d'armes et d'équipements militaires de la part des pays de l'OTAN.

89. Par exemple, dans son numéro du 1er avril 1963, le Times de Londres fait savoir qu'à lui seul le Portugal a reçu des Etats-Unis, dans le cadre de l'OTAN, une aide militaire dont le montant s'élève à 341,6 millions de dollars. On peut juger de la destination essentielle de ces fonds par le fait qu'actuellement 90 p. 100 environ des troupes de Salazar se trouvent en Angola, au Mozambique et en Guinée portugaise.

90. Les néo-colonialistes d'Allemagne de l'Ouest fournissent une aide active au Portugal, à la République sud-africaine et à d'autres puissances coloniales.

91. Les pays de l'OTAN sont directement complices des crimes commis dans les colonies par les colonialistes. Partout où se répand le sang des combattants nationaux — tant sur les territoires des colonies portugaises qu'en République sud-africaine, en Rhodésie du Sud, à Oman, à Aden, à Brunéi — ce n'est pas seulement le fait des colonialistes militants du Portugal, de la République sud-africaine, de la Rhodésie du Sud et d'autres pays, c'est également le fait de leurs alliés et protecteurs au sein de l'OTAN.

92. Le vieux colonialisme s'est effondré dans l'abîme. Aujourd'hui, les colonialistes se trouvent face à l'échec complet de leur domination politique en Asie et en Afrique. Ils ont soif de revanche. Ils veulent à tout prix conserver les profits qui leur échappent. Les colonialistes ont maintenant recours aux moyens et aux méthodes plus subtiles du néo-colonialisme.

93. M. Harry Oppenheimer, personnalité fort connue, contraint d'admettre le caractère inévitable du démembrement de la Fédération de la Rhodésie et du Nyassaland, proclame ouvertement et sans détour,

dans une déclaration sur les résultats de l'activité de la société Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa, pour l'année 1962:

"Nous sommes convaincus que nous pourrions nous adapter aux nouvelles circonstances et que nous continuerons de jouer le rôle principal dans le développement de l'Afrique centrale."

94. Cette déclaration montre bien que les Oppenheimer et autres colonialistes s'adaptent aux nouvelles circonstances afin de maintenir leur domination grâce à de nouvelles méthodes néo-colonialistes. L'une de ces méthodes néo-colonialistes consiste à organiser une sorte de sabotage économique contre les peuples des colonies, à savoir la "fuite des capitaux" et à employer d'autres méthodes conçues pour saper l'économie des colonies.

95. Le Kenya offre un exemple frappant en ce domaine. Les monopoles impérialistes qui opèrent dans ce pays et prévoient que le peuple du Kenya réalisera inévitablement la conquête de son indépendance ont organisé la fuite des capitaux de ce pays. Si en 1955 les avoirs de 18 sociétés au Kenya représentaient 20 millions de livres sterling, ils étaient tombés à 12 millions de 1962. Grâce à cette mesure et à d'autres encore, la situation économique du Kenya s'est sérieusement détériorée et le chômage s'est accru dans des proportions sensibles.

96. Tout cela les colonialistes le font de propos délibéré pour obliger l'Etat nouvellement indépendant à solliciter l'aide de la puissance qui le gouvernait auparavant, pour contraindre cet Etat à accepter des contrats léonins, et continuer la domination coloniale sous d'autres formes.

97. Le néo-colonialisme se révèle de façon frappante également dans les programmes occidentaux d'"aide" économique aux nouveaux Etats. Selon les données du Conseil économique et social des Nations Unies, l'aide économique des Etats-Unis aux pays d'Asie et d'Afrique s'élevait en 1960 à 1 milliard 460 millions de dollars. Cela signifie, premièrement, que cette somme représente 1 dollar par an par tête d'habitant. On conçoit facilement qu'avec cela on ne peut guère mener la grande vie.

98. Deuxièmement, cette "aide" est compensée, et avec usure, par les bénéfices que les monopoles des Etats-Unis et d'autres pays occidentaux retirent par suite de l'exportation de capitaux dans les pays sous-développés et des termes de l'échange dans le commerce avec ces pays. C'est ainsi par exemple que, d'après les données manifestement minimisées de la revue United States and World Report du 25 décembre 1961, les monopoles américains au cours de la seule année 1960 ont pillé les pays d'Asie et d'Afrique jusqu'à concurrence de 1 milliard 474 millions de dollars sous forme de bénéfices retirés des investissements dans ces mêmes pays, ce qui a entièrement compensé l'aide économique qui leur a été accordée.

99. Prenons un autre fait. Au cours de l'année fiscale 1962-1963, le Gouvernement britannique a donné à ses colonies, sous forme d'"aide", 19,5 millions de livres sterling conformément à la loi sur le développement et la promotion sociale des colonies.

Cela correspond cependant, par tête d'habitant des colonies, à moins d'une livre sterling par an. De plus, cette somme est compensée, et au-delà, par les profits nets réalisés au cours de la période précitée et qui sont exportés de ces colonies par trois monopoles coloniaux anglais: l'Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa, la British South Africa Corporation et la Rhodesia Selection Trust. Et de tels monopoles se comptent par dizaines.

100. Cette "aide" permet en même temps aux puissances impérialistes d'attacher les nouveaux Etats au char de leur économie, en qualité d'auxiliaires fournisseurs de matières premières agricoles, et de conserver les leviers de leur domination économique, politique et militaire dans ces territoires.

101. Les colonialistes s'efforcent par tous les moyens possibles de conserver et même d'étendre leur domination et leur influence dans les pays coloniaux et dépendants; ils continuent d'exploiter avec rapacité les ressources nationales et la main-d'œuvre à bon marché et de piller les peuples de ces pays.

102. Dans le monde entier, les peuples épris de paix exigent la liquidation totale et complète du honteux système colonial et l'application dans les plus brefs délais de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. Cette volonté des peuples est reflétée dans de nombreuses décisions de l'Organisation des Nations Unies qui tendent à faire appliquer immédiatement les dispositions de cette Déclaration.

103. Les peuples indépendants d'Afrique, reflétant les aspirations et les efforts de tous les peuples du continent africain à la Conférence au sommet d'Addis-Abéba, en mai 1963, ont exprimé leur détermination de faire accélérer la liquidation du colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et manifestations en Afrique. Cette conférence marque une nouvelle étape dans le renforcement de la lutte des peuples des pays colonisés et dépendants pour leur libération nationale.

104. L'Organisation des Nations Unies a le devoir, dans ces conditions, de prendre des mesures efficaces pour satisfaire les exigences légitimes des peuples coloniaux, pour faire échec aux colonialistes et pour mettre en œuvre, le plus rapidement possible, la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux.

105. La République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie, pour sa part, comme les autres pays socialistes, non seulement sympathise avec le mouvement de libération nationale des peuples des pays coloniaux et dépendants, mais leur accorde aussi une aide amicale. La République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie lutte énergiquement contre l'ingérence de l'impérialisme dans les affaires intérieures des pays qui se sont libérés. Elle appuie par tous les moyens les peuples de ces pays et s'élève contre toutes les formes de néo-colonialisme.

106. Tablant sur ces principes, notre délégation se félicite des efforts de la majorité des Etats membres du Comité spécial des Vingt-Quatre en vue de l'application au plus vite de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. Nous appuyons les conclusions et les recommandations

contenues dans le rapport du Comité et nous estimons que l'Assemblée générale doit approuver l'activité du Comité spécial des Vingt-Quatre et prolonger son mandat en vue de parvenir à ce que soient appliquées dans les plus brefs délais les dispositions de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux.

107. M. TARABANOV (Bulgarie): L'examen, par l'Assemblée générale, du rapport du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux [A/5446/Rev.I] représente une étape importante du travail de la dix-huitième session. Cet examen permet, en effet, de discuter et de prendre des décisions sur toutes les questions particulières qui y sont incluses, ainsi que sur toutes celles dont le Comité n'a pas eu la possibilité de s'occuper.

108. Le Comité des Vingt-Quatre, créé en vue de rechercher les voies et moyens les mieux appropriés en vue de l'application rapide et intégrale de la Déclaration à tous les territoires qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance, en même temps que de proposer des mesures concrètes en vue de cette application, a dû accomplir une tâche noble et extrêmement difficile.

109. Le processus de décolonisation des empires coloniaux, commencé dès la fin de la seconde guerre mondiale, a suscité des remous profonds et des changements durables pendant la période de l'après-guerre. Les puissances coloniales ont essayé, par tous les moyens à leur disposition — surtout par la répression des mouvements de libération nationale et par de véritables guerres menées contre les peuples colonisés —, d'enrayer ce processus. Nous ne voudrions pas nous étendre ici sur les trop nombreux cas de guerre et de répression des mouvements de libération nationale qui ont eu lieu durant cette période en vue d'arriver à cette fin. Nous voudrions cependant souligner que ces guerres ont mis en péril, dans de nombreux cas, la paix et la sécurité. Elles n'ont pas réussi, cependant, à briser la volonté des peuples subjugués de libérer leurs pays du joug colonial.

110. Durant cette période, les puissances coloniales ont non seulement essayé de mater l'élan vers la liberté par des moyens de coercition et par la répression la plus brutale, elles ont également employé des méthodes extrêmement raffinées afin d'essayer de transformer certaines institutions des Nations Unies en instruments au service de leur politique. Elles ont essayé d'utiliser aussi bien le Conseil de tutelle, dans le passé, que les autres institutions traitant des questions coloniales, et elles ont cherché à en faire les instruments de leur politique, alors qu'en réalité ces organes ont été créés pour servir, d'après la Charte, à préparer les peuples à l'indépendance.

111. La Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, adoptée par l'Assemblée générale en 1960 [résolution 1514 (XV)] sur l'initiative de l'Union soviétique^{3/}, marque une nouvelle étape dans la politique des Nations Unies à l'égard des problèmes coloniaux. Par cette décl-

^{3/} Ibid.

ration, la politique des Nations Unies a été orientée vers l'adoption de mesures ayant pour effet de transférer immédiatement le pouvoir aux peuples des territoires qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance. Cette politique vise à la liquidation immédiate du joug colonial. Pour appliquer cette nouvelle politique des Nations Unies dans le domaine de la décolonisation, il fallait créer de nouvelles institutions répondant aux exigences nouvelles. C'est d'ailleurs la principale raison qui a été à la base de la création du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux.

112. Ce comité, composé d'abord de 17 puis, ensuite, de 24 membres, appelé à contribuer à la recherche des moyens permettant l'application rapide de la Déclaration sur la décolonisation, a travaillé de façon patiente et continue à rechercher les moyens permettant d'exécuter les tâches définies par la Déclaration de 1960 ainsi que par les résolutions [1654 (XVI) et 1810 (XVII)] votées ultérieurement dans ce domaine par l'Assemblée générale.

113. L'impression générale qui se dégage de notre discussion est que le Comité des Vingt-Quatre a joué un rôle positif dans la mise en pratique de la décolonisation.

114. Représentant un pays membre du Comité spécial pour la décolonisation, notre délégation ne peut manquer d'apprécier à sa juste valeur le travail de ce dernier. L'Assemblée générale a déjà été informée par le Président du Comité spécial, M. Coulibaly, représentant du Mali, et par le rapporteur des résultats obtenus, des difficultés rencontrées et des méthodes de travail appliquées.

115. Il est réconfortant sans doute de constater que, pendant la période écoulée, nous avons pu nous féliciter de certains résultats positifs dans le domaine de la décolonisation. Ces résultats sont dus à la lutte héroïque des peuples coloniaux pour leur libération nationale, à l'appui que cette cause a trouvé dans l'opinion publique internationale et aux efforts déployés par la majorité des Etats Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Il faut cependant relever, avec regret, que de nombreux pays et territoires languissent encore sous le joug colonial le plus féroce.

116. S'il n'a pas été possible d'annoncer à la dix-huitième session de l'Assemblée générale l'accession à l'indépendance de tous les pays et territoires sous domination coloniale, c'est parce que, au cours de cette période, de nombreux obstacles ont été érigés sur la voie de la décolonisation par les puissances coloniales et leurs partenaires. Ces puissances se sont efforcées, par tous les moyens, de faire échouer les efforts des peuples coloniaux désireux de rejeter l'oppression impérialiste. Il n'a même pas été permis aux sous-comités créés par le Comité spécial d'enquêter sur les conditions dans les différents territoires. Il ne s'agissait sans doute là que d'une tracasserie administrative, mais c'est déjà une indication très significative de l'attitude hostile des puissances coloniales à l'égard de la liquidation du joug colonial. Les puissances coloniales, mêmes celles qui, après

l'adoption de la Déclaration sur la liquidation du colonialisme, ont fait semblant d'accepter cette déclaration, n'ont pas mis fin à leur opposition farouche à la décolonisation et poursuivent les guerres et les répressions sanglantes contre les populations qui luttent pour la libération de leurs pays.

117. Il est à peine nécessaire de s'étendre ici sur l'atroce oppression que font subir les colonialistes portugais aux populations de l'Angola, du Mozambique, de la Guinée dite portugaise et des autres territoires pour illustrer l'attitude négative du Portugal à l'égard de la politique de décolonisation des Nations Unies. Il n'est pas nécessaire non plus de faire le procès de la politique esclavagiste des racistes sud-africains envers les populations du Sud-Ouest africain et de l'Afrique du Sud elle-même. Un grand nombre de délégations africaines ont apporté à cet égard des détails édifiants aussi bien durant ce débat qu'aux séances du Conseil de sécurité, de sorte qu'il est inutile d'y revenir.

118. Or, ni le Portugal, petit pays de l'Europe méridionale, ni les racistes de l'Afrique du Sud ne pourraient avoir le courage et la force nécessaires de se dresser face à la vague montante de l'opinion publique mondiale qui appuie la lutte de libération nationale de ces territoires s'ils ne pouvaient compter sur leurs alliés et partenaires de l'OTAN, qui leur fournissent les armes et les munitions nécessaires, des fusils des plus ordinaires jusqu'aux avions les plus modernes. En dépit des nombreuses résolutions de l'Assemblée générale et du Conseil de sécurité réclamant la suppression de toute aide et assistance aux gouvernements de ces deux pays et demandant d'autres mesures parallèles, les pays membres de l'OTAN — à quelques exceptions près — font la sourde oreille à ces appels pressants et continuent de développer leurs relations commerciales et financières avec ces deux Etats, auxquels ils prêtent toute l'assistance nécessaire pour leur permettre de continuer à opprimer les peuples colonisés. Il semble difficile pour certains milieux occidentaux de renoncer aux fabuleux profits qu'ils tirent de leur commerce avec les territoires coloniaux sous la domination du Portugal et de l'Afrique du Sud, ainsi que des investissements qu'ils y ont faits.

119. Dans ces conditions, les puissances occidentales membres de l'OTAN devraient au moins, aujourd'hui, cesser de prétendre passer pour les champions des peuples opprimés. Aucun pays et aucun peuple du continent africain n'oubliera jamais, nous en sommes persuadés, cette attitude des puissances occidentales membres de l'OTAN, ainsi que de leurs partenaires. Ce n'est pas par hasard que les pays africains, réunis à la Conférence d'Addis-Abéba, ont adressé un appel aux "alliés des puissances coloniales" pour les inviter à "choisir entre leur amitié pour les peuples africains" et leurs amies, les puissances coloniales, qui oppriment les peuples africains.

120. D'autres puissances coloniales, comme le Royaume-Uni, comprenant qu'il n'est plus possible de s'opposer par les seuls moyens de la force brutale et de la terreur à l'élan irrésistible des peuples coloniaux luttant pour leur libération, s'emploient à chercher des méthodes plus raffinées et mieux adaptées aux conditions de la situation inter-

nationale actuelle. C'est ainsi qu'elles tentent de semer la division, comme on le voit par exemple dans le cas de la Guyane britannique. Elles affirment ne vouloir retarder que temporairement le processus de libération nationale, en prétextant rechercher des formes spécifiques pour la mise en œuvre de la Déclaration de 1960, et ce dans l'intérêt, disent-elles, et pour le bien-être des peuples colonisés. On retrouve ici la vieille formule employée par tous les colonialistes qui, dans le passé, sont allés imposer leur domination coloniale sous le prétexte d'apporter les bienfaits de la civilisation aux peuples arriérés. Les milieux coloniaux s'accrochent de toutes leurs forces à leurs proies et refusent de lâcher prise. Tout en cherchant à retarder le plus possible le processus de décolonisation, ces milieux s'efforcent de gagner du temps pour préparer de nouvelles formes d'oppression coloniale dans les pays qui luttent pour leur libération nationale.

121. Dans leur opposition à la décolonisation, les puissances colonialistes font preuve d'une belle ingéniosité pour ce qui est des justifications qu'elles prétendent avancer. Les colonialistes portugais, par exemple, affirment que dans leurs "provinces d'outre-mer" une prétendue nation multiraciale serait en train de se former, alors que ceux du Royaume-Uni et d'autres puissances coloniales s'ingénient à présenter les choses comme s'il ne s'agissait nullement de préserver de fabuleux profits, mais bien plutôt de déterminer quand et de quelle manière le processus de décolonisation doit parvenir à son achèvement.

122. L'histoire du colonialisme fourmille de justifications. Cependant, toutes reviennent à la formule de Kipling quant au "fardeau de l'homme blanc", chargé par la Providence de contribuer à la civilisation des peuples colonisés. Les vraies intentions du colonialisme ont pourtant toujours été celles que formulait en 1885 Jules Ferry, alors président du Conseil des ministres de France, lorsqu'il disait:

"Les nations d'Europe recherchent les colonies pour les trois raisons suivantes: premièrement, pour se procurer des matières premières des colonies; deuxièmement, pour assurer un débouché aux produits manufacturés de la métropole; troisièmement, pour trouver un terrain favorable à l'investissement des surplus de capitaux."

123. Il est aujourd'hui difficile de faire des dupes avec des affirmations du genre de celle selon laquelle il s'agit seulement de retarder temporairement le processus de décolonisation, sous le prétexte de chercher des modalités déterminées d'application de la Déclaration, ceci dans l'intérêt des peuples colonisés. La vérité est tout autre. Au moment où la vieille structure du colonialisme classique croule, les milieux colonialistes sont en quête de formes nouvelles qui leur permettraient de conserver l'essence même de leur politique colonialiste, définie de façon si précise par un expert comme Jules Ferry. Autrefois, les milieux colonialistes accaparaient, à leur profit, les matières premières et les marchés, dans les colonies, et investissaient. Maintenant, c'est à travers les investissements faits dans les colonies qu'ils cherchent à dominer les sources de matières premières dans leurs anciennes colonies et à s'assurer des marchés pour leurs produits manufacturés.

124. Mais, dans la recherche fébrile de formes nouvelles de leur vieille politique à l'égard de leurs anciennes colonies, afin de préserver leurs intérêts égoïstes ainsi que leurs positions économiques, politiques et stratégiques dans les milieux où ils sont encore maîtres, une politique, appelée ces derniers temps néo-colonialisme, ne pourrait en aucune manière servir de prétexte pour retarder le processus de décolonisation. Cette attitude est d'autant plus néfaste et condamnable qu'elle est adoptée dans le but de rechercher de nouvelles formes qui permettraient de continuer l'exploitation des colonies.

125. Dans leur tentative en vue d'arrêter le processus de décolonisation, les puissances coloniales s'ingénient à trouver des arguments, pour leur mauvaise cause, là où ils n'existent pas. Elles s'emploient même à tirer parti de la politique de coexistence pacifique, acceptée de plus en plus comme norme de conduite dans la vie internationale. Cette politique, qui exclut la guerre entre Etats en tant que moyen de régler les différends, a été invoquée par le représentant du Royaume-Uni, durant la discussion générale, lors de la dix-huitième session, quand il a déclaré:

"Les guerres de libération n'en sont pas moins des guerres. Or, les pays ont le devoir d'éviter les guerres, comme les Nations Unies ont le devoir d'empêcher les guerres si elles le peuvent, les guerres de toutes sortes." [1222ème séance, par. 60.]

126. Par des déclarations de cette sorte, qui ne sont pas une nouveauté, des efforts sont faits pour embrouiller la question, pour assimiler les guerres d'agression et les guerres entre Etats indépendants à la juste lutte que mènent les peuples pour se libérer de leurs oppresseurs. Mais de telles manœuvres sont vouées à l'échec. Par contre, les peuples opprimés des colonies ne sont pas partisans de la guerre. Ils n'en sont que les victimes. Ces peuples n'aspirent qu'à la mise en œuvre de la Déclaration relative à l'octroi de l'indépendance, qu'à l'adoption de mesures immédiates pour leur transférer le pouvoir, sans aucune condition ni réserve, conformément à leur volonté librement exprimée. Ils n'aspirent qu'à jouir d'une indépendance complète, pour se borner à l'expression contenue dans la Déclaration même. Ce sont les puissances coloniales qui exercent une répression féroce contre les populations de ces pays, qui entreprennent des guerres et s'efforcent d'étouffer toute idée d'indépendance et de liberté dans ces territoires. Vouloir assimiler la lutte des peuples colonisés pour leur libération nationale, vouloir assimiler leurs aspirations à la mise en œuvre de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance à des guerres entre Etats pour régler des différends, c'est travestir la vérité, pour user d'une expression très modérée.

127. Cependant, malgré toutes les difficultés et tous les obstacles érigés par les puissances coloniales sur la voie de la mise en œuvre de la Déclaration relative à la décolonisation, il ne fait aucun doute que la lutte pour la liquidation du colonialisme continuera et que la victoire finale appartiendra aux peuples opprimés. Ces derniers ne pourront jamais se résigner au sort que leur ont préparé les colonialistes. Dans cette lutte, les Nations Unies ne peuvent qu'être aux côtés des peuples. Elles ne devront

ménager aucun effort pour en finir une fois pour toutes et le plus tôt possible avec le joug colonial, honte de notre époque. Le Comité spécial des Vingt-Quatre aura à jouer un rôle important dans ces efforts de l'ONU, en cherchant des voies et des moyens adaptés à chaque pays afin de hâter le processus de décolonisation. C'est pourquoi son travail devrait être poursuivi et intensifié pour faciliter la lourde tâche que les Nations Unies se sont fixées: en finir le plus vite possible avec ce phénomène honteux qui continue de troubler les relations internationales et la paix.

M. Sosa Rodríguez (Venezuela) reprend la présidence.

128. Le **PRESIDENT** (traduit de l'espagnol): Tous les orateurs inscrits pour la séance de ce matin ont pris la parole. Je donne la parole, pour exercer son droit de réponse, au représentant de la Mauritanie.

129. M. DADDAH (Mauritanie): Avant de répondre à certaines paroles qu'a eues M. Benhima à l'adresse de mon pays, je voudrais présenter les félicitations de la délégation mauritanienne au Comité des Vingt-Quatre pour le travail sérieux qu'il vient d'effectuer, ainsi que pour son rapport [A/5446/Rev.1], qui constitue à notre avis une contribution positive à la libération de toutes les parties de l'Afrique qui se trouvent encore sous la domination étrangère.

130. Je voudrais d'abord relever avec satisfaction, dans la longue intervention qu'a faite M. Benhima ce matin, une phrase dans laquelle il nous a dit que le Maroc voulait arriver à la satisfaction de ses revendications, cela pour le maintien de la paix et de la stabilité en Afrique. Ce sont des paroles qui, si elles sont prises isolément, peuvent à juste titre donner satisfaction à tous les Africains et spécialement aux Mauritaniens. Cependant, nous pensons que les actes ne sont malheureusement pas toujours conformes aux paroles. Des exemples douloureux et récents démontrent que si ce désir de maintien de la paix et de la stabilité a été exprimé ici, aux Nations Unies, il se peut qu'à Rabat la Royauté et ses agents les plus immédiats ne l'entendent pas de la même façon que M. Benhima.

131. En effet, nous avons vu l'armée marocaine envahir, dans une agression caractérisée, les frontières d'un pays frère voisin du Maroc ...

132. Le **PRESIDENT** (traduit de l'espagnol): Je voudrais rappeler au représentant de la Mauritanie que je lui ai donné la parole uniquement pour lui permettre d'exercer son droit de réponse aux discours qui ont été prononcés ici même, mais qu'il ne doit pas s'écarter de la question à l'ordre du jour pour aborder des problèmes différents que l'Assemblée générale n'est pas actuellement en train de discuter.

133. M. DADDAH (Mauritanie): Je suivrai les directives présidentielles. J'ajoute cependant que, dans la mesure où l'exercice du droit de réponse m'a été accordé, si je rappelle certains faits, ce n'est pas par plaisir, mais parce qu'ils sont étroitement liés aux points auxquels je voulais répondre, et parce qu'ils méritent d'être signalés. Si je peux continuer à faire usage de mon droit de réponse, je poursuivrai.

134. Le **PRESIDENT** (traduit de l'espagnol): Le représentant de la Mauritanie a la parole. Je le prie tout d'abord de limiter sa réponse à ce qui se débat ici et de ne pas traiter d'autres problèmes qui ne sont pas à l'heure actuelle en discussion.

135. M. DADDAH (Mauritanie): Je disais que la façon dont le Maroc et ses chefs posent les problèmes du droit international était inquiétante et n'était pas en conformité avec ce que M. Benhima a rappelé ce matin.

136. Le peuple mauritanien souhaite vivement convaincre ceux qui étaient hier ses ennemis de la véracité de sa thèse et voudrait les voir devenir ses amis. Ceux qui persistent à se présenter comme des adversaires de la Mauritanie le font en partie parce que la République islamique de Mauritanie rejette avec énergie et indignation des revendications périmees et absurdes auxquelles eux-mêmes — y compris, j'en suis pour ma part profondément convaincu, M. Benhima, qui a pris la parole ce matin — ne croient pas.

137. Ceux qui se considèrent comme les adversaires de la Mauritanie recourent à une méthode, pour le règlement des différends territoriaux, qui nous semble, à nous tout au moins, moyenâgeuse, et qui est contraire à l'esprit de notre organisation et en contradiction flagrante avec la Charte des Nations Unies.

138. Voulant me conformer aux directives présidentielles, je ne reviendrai pas sur ce que je disais tout à l'heure, mais je crois que l'Assemblée comprend fort bien ce à quoi je pense. Je voudrais aussi rappeler aux Etats Membres que l'agression dont a été victime l'Algérie n'est pas la première: en 1959 et en 1960, l'armée marocaine et ceux qui se réclamaient de l'armée de libération nationale, financés et téléguidés par l'Istiqlal et par les autorités de Rabat, ont essayé — et d'ailleurs essaient encore — d'envahir la Mauritanie et d'y maintenir la subversion. Ces remarques, je voulais les faire, et je voulais en faire part à l'Assemblée.

139. Pour ce qui est du Rio de Oro, sans vouloir invoquer des arguments historiques et religieux que nous ne souhaitons pas développer ici car nous n'y croyons pas, nous pensons que ce territoire peuplé de Mauritaniens, que cette partie de la Mauritanie encore sous domination espagnole fait partie intégrante de notre pays, et tout vient appuyer notre thèse, que nous exposerons à l'avenir. En effet, le Rio de Oro est habité par des Maures et ces Maures ont, d'après notre expression à nous, nomades de la Mauritanie, la même zone de nomadisation que les autres Mauritaniens; des familles habitant dans cette partie de l'Afrique, dans cette partie de la Mauritanie, comprennent des membres qui se trouvent de l'autre côté de la frontière artificielle que l'administration occupante continue de maintenir.

140. Ainsi, la revendication que le représentant du Royaume du Maroc vient de formuler ici, fort éloquentement je dois le dire, est en contradiction avec ce que nous considérons — et qui a été considéré ici — comme un document officiel, un document important que le Maroc a fait publier en 1960 par son Ministère des affaires étrangères. Pour nous, ce document n'a pas de valeur réelle, mais pour le gouvernement qui l'a

publié il doit quand même être l'expression de sa pensée. Il s'agit du Livre blanc sur la Mauritanie^{4/}. D'après ce texte, le Maroc ne revendique le Rio de Oro — et c'est écrit noir sur blanc — que parce que ce territoire fait partie de la Mauritanie, elle-même revendiquée par le Royaume du Maroc.

141. A ce propos, je me bornerai à rappeler que le Ministre des affaires étrangères de la République islamique de Mauritanie a fait une déclaration devant le Comité des Vingt-Quatre, dans laquelle il a exposé en détail ce que je viens de résumer ici. En outre, le Président de la République islamique de Mauritanie, parlant à cette même tribune, le 14 octobre 1963, a affirmé, à propos du Rio de Oro:

"C'est ... parce que nous avons toujours cru aux vertus du dialogue franc que nous espérons exercer, par la négociation dans l'amitié, notre souveraineté sur une vaste partie de notre territoire national non encore libérée." [1241ème séance, par. 29.]

142. Je peux comprendre l'impatience, l'impatience d'un roi, qui est redoutable pour ses sujets, et dont a parlé tout à l'heure aussi M. Benhima. Mais lui faisait allusion à l'Espagne, qui veut rentrer le plus rapidement possible en possession d'une partie de son territoire. Or, cette impatience, elle existe aussi en Mauritanie; mais nous ne voulons pas en parler ici, nous ne voulons menacer personne. Nos forces armées ne seront utilisées qu'en cas de légitime défense, et de légitime défense véritable. Mais nous voulons que l'Espagne elle aussi, l'Espagne que nous souhaitons pour amie malgré les différends qui peuvent nous opposer, comprenne que, pour nous, le Rio de Oro fait partie intégrante de la Mauritanie. Notre détermination est grande et nous sommes absolument décidés à faire d'abord tout ce qui est possible dans l'amitié pour que cette partie de notre sol national soit rattachée à notre pays. Nous ne reculons pas et nous voulons que nos droits soient respectés.

143. Le **PRESIDENT** (traduit de l'espagnol): Je donne la parole au représentant de l'Espagne pour l'exercice de son droit de réponse.

144. M. de PINIES (Espagne) [traduit de l'espagnol]: Exerçant son droit de réponse, ma délégation voudrait que l'Assemblée prenne acte du fait que mon pays ne doute pas des titres qu'il invoque sur les territoires auxquels le représentant du Maroc et plus tard le représentant de la Mauritanie ont fait allusion. Ces titres sont clairs, et nous les avons exposés en ce qui concerne Ifni et le Sahara espagnol, au Comité spécial, et au sujet de tous les territoires précédemment évoqués devant la Quatrième Commission et l'Assemblée générale.

145. Néanmoins, ma délégation tient à rappeler ce qu'a dit son chef, le Ministre des affaires étrangères d'Espagne, devant l'Assemblée, au cours du débat général:

"Du fait de cette solidarité profonde et de longue date, la question de nos relations avec le Maroc se pose d'une manière très particulière. Ces relations peuvent se heurter parfois à certaines

difficultés, comme il arrive toujours entre pays voisins, mais il y a peu de questions qu'on ne puisse résoudre par le dialogue et dans la sérénité. Le lien historique cordial qui nous unit aux peuples arabes et la façon scrupuleuse dont nous remplissons nos obligations internationales ont fait que l'Espagne a été récemment une des principales collaboratrices de l'indépendance du Maroc et garantissent qu'à l'avenir nous saurons toujours aborder les problèmes communs en toute amitié et animés du désir d'une entente parfaite.

"C'est cet esprit qui a présidé à la récente entrevue cordiale et encourageante de Barajas entre Sa Majesté le roi Hassan du Maroc et Son Excellence le chef de l'Etat espagnol, entrevue qui a marqué un point de départ pour de prochaines conversations qui, nous en sommes convaincus, seront fécondes." [1213ème séance, par. 19 et 20.]

146. D'autres part, ma délégation ne s'estime pas autorisée à présenter des commentaires sur ces conversations. Etant donné que les questions concernant Ifni et le Sahara espagnol n'ont pas encore été étudiées de façon appropriée, de même que la question de Gibraltar, territoire qui appartient à l'Espagne et à propos duquel le Ministre des affaires étrangères a clairement précisé notre position, il semble logique que les parties intéressées s'abstiennent à présent de mentionner ce fait.

147. En conséquence, ma délégation rappelle ce que nous avons déjà dit dans nos interventions devant le Comité spécial; je m'en remets à ses comptes rendus qui reflètent la position espagnole avec plus d'exactitude que ne le fait le rapport dudit Comité [A/5446/Rev.1]. Aussi, à notre avis, ce qui importe, au sujet de ce rapport, c'est que nous n'avons pas eu suffisamment de temps pour terminer la discussion. Ma délégation se réserve le droit d'intervenir de nouveau si elle le juge nécessaire lorsqu'elle aura eu la possibilité de lire les procès-verbaux.

148. A la suite de ce qu'a dit le représentant de la Mauritanie, je ne puis que signaler les bonnes relations entretenues par nos deux pays. Je n'ai rien d'autre à ajouter, si ce n'est pour rappeler, une fois de plus, que le Comité spécial n'a pas encore achevé ses travaux.

149. Le **PRESIDENT** (traduit de l'espagnol): Je donne la parole au représentant du Maroc pour l'exercice de son droit de réponse.

150. M. BENHIMA (Maroc): Il n'est pas dans les habitudes de la délégation marocaine d'entamer un dialogue avec l'orateur qui vient de précéder le représentant de l'Espagne. Je m'étais inscrit non pour déroger à cette habitude, mais pour faire les remarques rendues nécessaires par des écarts de langage. De plus, et surtout, l'allusion à un problème que l'orateur en cause a évoqué sans le connaître et alors qu'il ne le concerne pas m'oblige à apporter, du haut de cette tribune, quelques rectifications. Cependant, ma délégation est particulièrement satisfaite, Monsieur le Président, de la façon remarquable et pertinente dont vous avez bien voulu, tout en nous réservant notre droit, rappeler vous-même l'orateur au sein.

^{4/} Publié en 1960 par le Ministère des affaires étrangères du Maroc.

151. Toutefois, l'orateur a cru trouver, grâce à un esprit beaucoup plus aigu, dans ma déclaration très brève des choses que je n'y avais pas mises et il s'est livré, sur la base de certaines spéculations, à des développements aussi longs que nébuleux dont lui seul, je crois, a pu se gargariser quant à leur importance.

152. En ce qui concerne l'allusion à la revendication marocaine sur le Rio de Oro et l'ensemble du Sahara dit espagnol, ce n'est pas la première fois que mon pays présente une revendication solennelle à cette tribune ou devant des commissions qui examinent de tels problèmes. J'estime que le représentant de l'Espagne s'est très facilement abrité derrière le simple fait que les deux pays veulent entamer des négociations pour nier l'authenticité d'une telle revendication. Je prends cependant acte, une fois de plus, qu'il s'est référé à la déclaration de son Ministre des affaires étrangères ici même, en mentionnant le caractère spécial des rapports existant entre le Maroc et l'Espagne, rapports qui, entre autres, portent sur un contentieux dont la partie territoriale a bien été reconnue par le représentant de l'Espagne lui-même dans ses déclarations devant le Comité des Vingt-Quatre.

153. Je voudrais, moi aussi, saisir cette occasion pour demander à l'Assemblée de se référer à la déclaration, ou plus exactement aux deux déclarations successives, de la délégation marocaine devant le Comité des Vingt-Quatre, et aux deux réponses que le représentant de l'Espagne a faites à cette occasion.

154. En ce qui concerne la revendication du représentant des autorités de Nouakchott sur des droits éventuels en ce qui concerne cette partie du Sahara, je suis bien obligé — et je ne l'avais pas voulu en prenant la parole ni tout à l'heure, ni maintenant — de faire tout simplement remarquer une chose qui n'a ni une valeur juridique ni une valeur de référence historique, mais qui correspond à une situation de fait que tout le monde connaît. La Mauritanie ayant été créée en 1960 par la dislocation du territoire national marocain, selon la volonté de la puissance colonisatrice de l'époque, si la France, que je nomme, avait cru que le territoire mauritanien qu'elle créait avait encore certaines parties de son sol dépendant d'une autre puissance protectrice, la France dis-je, se serait fait un devoir — et elle aurait eu raison de le faire — de demander à l'Espagne de céder à la Mauritanie tout territoire que celle-ci n'aurait pas encore recouvré.

155. Je ne voudrais pas m'étendre plus longuement sur ce sujet, mais j'estime que cette mise au point pourrait inciter le représentant de Nouakchott — qui a parlé de la royauté marocaine et a voulu se mêler de ce qui est beaucoup plus important que lui, c'est-à-dire les rapports entre l'Algérie et le Maroc, qui seront beaucoup plus durables que son existence — à réfléchir un peu au caractère inconsistant de ses

pensées la prochaine fois qu'il osera prendre la parole sur cette question.

156. Le PRESIDENT (traduit de l'espagnol): Je donne la parole au représentant de la Mauritanie pour l'exercice de son droit de réponse.

157. M. DADDAH (Mauritanie): Je m'excuse de revenir une fois encore à la tribune et de retenir l'Assemblée à une heure aussi tardive. Cependant, ce que vient de dire M. Benhima ne peut pas rester sans réponse de la part du représentant du Gouvernement de la République islamique de Mauritanie.

158. M. Benhima a dit, entre autres choses, que la Mauritanie a été créée de toutes pièces en 1960. C'est là une déformation caractérisée et qui montre ce qu'est M. Benhima et ce qu'il représente. Il y a là une déformation de la vérité comme il y en a eu d'autres. C'est le fait d'un esprit de démagogie dont la diplomatie chérifienne, depuis plusieurs années — depuis au moins trois ans —, n'a cessé de faire preuve, dans ce cas simple et dans d'autres, pour tromper l'opinion publique sur la Mauritanie et sur ce qu'elle considère comme la chair mauritanienne.

159. La Mauritanie existe depuis bien longtemps. Elle a existé tout d'abord en tant que territoire qui a été le dernier à être pacifié par les troupes françaises, en 1900. Depuis lors, la Mauritanie a existé comme colonie distincte, à côté des autres colonies qui constituaient ce que l'on appelait alors les colonies de l'Afrique occidentale et, en même temps que ces autres colonies, avec lesquelles elle était administrée par le Haut Commissariat français installé à Dakar, lorsque le processus d'indépendance a été amorcé en 1958, elle a eu droit à l'autonomie pour accéder finalement à l'indépendance en 1960. Cela, je pense que toutes les personnes qui sont ici le savent. Cependant, après ce que vient de dire M. Benhima, j'ai dû le rappeler pour montrer que, si le représentant de la Mauritanie doit réfléchir à ce qu'il dit et à ce qui est plus important que lui — pour citer les paroles mêmes de M. Benhima —, il doit aussi attirer l'attention sur les déformations permanentes de la vérité auxquelles se livre le représentant du Maroc.

160. M. Benhima a dit aussi que le représentant de la Mauritanie s'occupe de questions qui sont beaucoup plus importantes que son existence. La Charte des Nations Unies déclare que les Etats, qu'ils soient petits ou grands, sont égaux. Je le rappelle uniquement pour montrer au représentant du Maroc que, en disant cela, il s'est écarté une fois de plus de ce qui est le principe même de notre organisation et des textes qui la régissent. Je crois connaître ces textes et je crois les respecter. Je souhaiterais tout simplement que le représentant du Maroc les respecte et les comprenne autant que le représentant de Nouakchott.

La séance est levée à 13 h 25.

Nations Unies ASSEMBLÉE GÉNÉRALE

DIX-HUITIÈME SESSION

Documents officiels



1431272
SÉANCE PLÉNIÈRE

Mercredi 4 décembre 1963,
à 15 heures

NEW YORK

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(Venezuela).

POINT 23 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

Rapport du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux (suite)

DISCUSSION GÉNÉRALE (suite)

1. M. YATES (Etats-Unis d'Amérique) [traduit de l'anglais]: Dans l'hommage émouvant et délicat qu'elle a rendu la semaine dernière, du haut de cette tribune, à la mémoire du très regretté président John F. Kennedy [1264^{ème} séance], Mme Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit a déclaré que le président Kennedy "était devenu le symbole des valeurs qu'il défendait de manière si inébranlable".

2. La vitalité et les qualités hors de pair des valeurs que le président Kennedy faisait siennes n'apparaissent nulle part plus nettement que dans le discours célèbre qu'il a prononcé en qualité de sénateur au Sénat des Etats-Unis le 2 juillet 1957, deux jours avant l'anniversaire de l'indépendance des Etats-Unis du Royaume-Uni. Il a déclaré notamment:

"La force la plus puissante dans le monde d'aujourd'hui, ce n'est ni le communisme, ni le capitalisme, ni la bombe à l'hydrogène, ni la fusée téléguidée: c'est l'aspiration éternelle de l'homme à la liberté et à l'indépendance!/"

Le président Kennedy a poursuivi en disant que le plus important critère de la politique étrangère des Etats-Unis, à présent, est ce que nous faisons pour satisfaire le désir de liberté de l'homme.

3. En 1960, le peuple des Etats-Unis a élu M. Kennedy à la présidence de son pays et lui a donné l'occasion de modeler la politique extérieure de la nation. La politique étrangère des Etats-Unis reflète aujourd'hui les idéaux énoncés par M. Kennedy dans le passage que je viens de citer. Elle vise à aider à mettre un terme à l'ère coloniale en remplaçant sa domi-

nation paternaliste par des relations politiques fondées sur le consentement mutuel. Les Etats-Unis sont résolus à agir pour que le droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes soit exercé dans les dernières régions coloniales du monde.

4. En Afrique, la décolonisation s'est effectuée rapidement. L'époque de ce que l'on a appelé "le fardeau de l'homme blanc" prend fin pour les Africains, qui ne veulent plus de la discrimination, de l'asservissement et de l'exploitation dont la colonisation était si souvent un élément. Ils exigent à juste titre le droit de se gouverner eux-mêmes et d'être maîtres de leur destin.

5. Il n'y a guère plus de 10 ans, on ne comptait en Afrique que quatre Etats indépendants: l'Egypte, l'Ethiopie, le Libéria et l'Afrique du Sud. Aujourd'hui, il y a 33 Etats indépendants en Afrique, dont 24 existent depuis moins de six ans. Quatre autres pays, la Rhodésie du Nord, le Nyassaland, le Kenya et Zanzibar, rejoindront les rangs des nations indépendantes dans quelques mois seulement.

6. L'Organisation des Nations Unies comptait à sa naissance 51 Membres. Il y en aura bientôt 115. Ainsi, dans un laps de temps incroyablement court, et d'une manière relativement pacifique, près d'un milliard d'êtres humains ont obtenu leur indépendance. Moins de 2 p. 100 de tous les peuples jadis placés sous la domination coloniale se trouvent encore dans la même situation.

7. Les Nations Unies peuvent être fières du résultat remarquable qu'elles ont obtenu en aidant tant de nations à accéder à l'indépendance; elles peuvent également s'enorgueillir des efforts qu'elles déploient à l'heure présente pour mettre fin à l'ère du colonialisme.

8. La délégation des Etats-Unis est prête à appuyer le maintien en fonctions du Comité spécial, dont nous examinons maintenant le rapport [A/5446/Rev.1]. Ce comité a un rôle utile à jouer, car dans un certain nombre de territoires africains dont nous examinons la situation il y a beaucoup d'agitation, du mécontentement, ainsi que des éléments susceptibles de provoquer une explosion. Malheureusement, dans certains cas, il n'y a que peu ou pas de communication effective entre les Africains, qui revendiquent le droit de disposer d'eux-mêmes, et les autorités coloniales, qui résistent à cette exigence.

9. Les Etats-Unis ont déjà attiré l'attention sur les résultats néfastes de ce manque de communication et sur les conséquences du cycle qu'il tend à créer, cycle de répression provoquant une réaction violente, qui, par contrecoup, entraîne une répression plus sévère encore. Avec le temps, ce cycle peut devenir

/ U. S. Congressional Record, vol. 103, p. 10 780.

irréversible si l'intransigeance des parties intéressées persiste. La délégation des Etats-Unis espère que les parties en présence sauront, dans un esprit de bonne volonté, engager un dialogue sérieux et utile.

10. Il est très regrettable que des questions étrangères au problème aient été introduites dans ce débat. Dans son intervention devant l'Assemblée générale, la semaine dernière, le représentant de l'Union soviétique [1267ème séance] a malheureusement cherché à transformer le débat en un nouveau champ de bataille de la guerre froide. C'est l'élimination du colonialisme qui devrait retenir ici toute notre attention, non la propagande ni les invectives soviétiques. Nous repoussons énergiquement la tentative soviétique de qualifier les Etats-Unis de pays impérialiste. Il y a un paradoxe intéressant: c'est que l'Union soviétique, qui déclame avec tant de véhémence contre l'impérialisme, est devenue la plus grande puissance impérialiste du monde. L'étendue de l'empire soviétique a été montrée avec beaucoup de force dans un récent article du professeur Carrington, du Royal Institute of International Affairs. Celui-ci relate que, lorsqu'il était écolier, il apprenait ses leçons de géographie en dessinant des cartes du monde où l'empire colonial britannique était coloré en rouge; ces cartes montraient que presque toutes les régions stratégiques du monde étaient aux mains des Britanniques et que ceux-ci tenaient sous leur dépendance un cinquième de la surface des terres du globe. Aujourd'hui, écrit le professeur Carrington, se référant à l'Union soviétique, "le dernier survivant des puissances impérialistes d'Europe a coloré en rouge des territoires aussi vastes que ceux de la reine Victoire ou de l'empereur Charles Quint".

11. Heureusement pour le reste du monde et peut-être aussi pour l'Union soviétique elle-même, en fin de compte, ce nouvel empire tend à éclater. Le fait est qu'à notre époque les empires ne constituent pas la condition naturelle de l'humanité. Peut-être nos amis soviétiques finiront-ils par tirer la leçon de leur propre expérience et par reconnaître avec nous que l'impérialisme n'a pas d'avenir dans un monde où la diversité doit pouvoir trouver place en toute sécurité. Le Royaume-Uni, la France et d'autres puissances coloniales ont abdiqué leur autorité sur leurs territoires coloniaux. L'Union soviétique peut-elle nous citer un seul territoire auquel elle ait renoncé? Elle ne le peut pas. Au contraire, cette même force qui a étendu la mainmise soviétique sur ses voisins est à la recherche, dans le monde entier, d'autres régions à dominer. Cet état de choses a été mis en évidence dans le débat du Conseil de tutelle qui a eu lieu au début de cette année, débat au cours duquel un représentant a fait ressortir le contraste que présente le sort des territoires repris au Japon après la guerre. Dans un cas, la population intéressée a été placée sous la protection du régime de tutelle des Nations Unies. Dans l'autre cas, près d'un demi-million d'êtres humains ont disparu dans ce que ce même représentant au Conseil de tutelle appelle les limbes de l'annexion; c'est-à-dire que le territoire n'a été ni placé sous tutelle ni même reconnu comme territoire non autonome, et que sa population n'a le droit ni de disposer d'elle-même ni de s'administrer elle-même.

12. J'estime que pour examiner l'œuvre du Comité spécial l'Union soviétique pourrait faire mieux que de lancer des attaques furieuses contre les Etats-Unis; je suggérerai à son représentant de relire le discours prononcé par le regretté président Kennedy le 10 juin 1963 devant l'American University; je lui suggérerai aussi de lire la déclaration du président Khrouchtchev rapportée dans les journaux de ce matin, dans laquelle il se prononce en faveur du relâchement de la tension internationale. Nous accueillons avec satisfaction des paroles de ce genre. Nous voudrions en trouver la confirmation en entendant le représentant de l'Union soviétique discuter sérieusement les problèmes dont le Comité spécial est saisi au lieu d'introduire la guerre froide dans notre débat.

13. Revenons maintenant à l'examen des travaux du Comité spécial. La délégation des Etats-Unis reconnaît l'existence du problème mis en lumière par les représentants qui ont estimé qu'il y a encore un vaste no man's land constitutionnel se situant entre l'indépendance souveraine et la dépendance coloniale qui n'a guère été exploré. C'est le problème des îles éloignées, des petites enclaves et des possessions exiguës, derniers vestiges de l'époque coloniale. Il est évident que dans ce cas l'indépendance classique peut ne pas être réalisable. Dans sa résolution 1541 (XV), l'Assemblée générale a déclaré qu'un peuple peut valablement atteindre la pleine autonomie envisagée par l'Article 73 de la Charte soit quand il devient Etat indépendant et souverain, soit quand il s'associe librement à un Etat indépendant, soit encore quand il s'intègre à un Etat indépendant. Un certain nombre de territoires ont opté pour l'association au lieu de l'indépendance lorsqu'ils ont fait connaître le genre de gouvernement qu'ils désiraient pour eux-mêmes. Nous estimons que le Comité spécial pourrait jouer un rôle très important dans ce domaine en étudiant les idées nouvelles et en suggérant des solutions équitables fondées sur tous les faits pertinents.

14. La délégation des Etats-Unis est entièrement d'accord avec le représentant du Chili, qui a déclaré avec tant d'éloquence ce qui suit:

"... Faisons en sorte que l'indépendance soit authentique et satisfasse pleinement à l'un des désirs les plus nobles du cœur humain: la liberté, non pas la liberté dans la pauvreté et l'incertitude, dans un monde de super-Etats toujours plein de dangers pour les petits territoires, mais la vraie liberté et la vraie indépendance, qui s'affirment dans le progrès, dans l'amélioration du niveau de vie et dans la dignité de l'être humain." [1267ème séance, par. 39.]

15. Que notre but soit de faire en sorte que tous les peuples qui se trouvent maintenant sous la domination coloniale se voient donner l'occasion d'exercer le droit de disposer d'eux-mêmes et l'exercent sous sa forme parfaite, et qu'ils jouissent réellement des "droits fondamentaux de l'homme", du "progrès social" et des "meilleures conditions de vie dans une liberté plus grande", qui sont les promesses de la Charte des Nations Unies pour tous les peuples.

16. M. DIALLO Telli (Guinée): La délégation guinéenne a examiné très attentivement les cinq documents et leurs annexes qui constituent l'important rapport [A/5446/Rev.1] de 950 pages mimeographiées soumis à notre examen par le Comité spécial de décolonisation sur la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. En outre, elle a écouté avec toute l'attention qu'il mérite le discours de présentation de ce rapport [1266ème séance] prononcé par M. Natwar Singh, représentant de l'Inde et Rapporteur du Comité de décolonisation. Par ailleurs, l'intervention de notre ami, M. Coulibaly, président du Comité de décolonisation [*ibid*], a tout naturellement retenu notre attention.

17. L'importance et la qualité du travail fourni par le Comité de décolonisation méritent l'appréciation et les éloges de tous ceux qui se penchent avec anxiété sur ce problème qui non seulement constitue le souci dominant des peuples africains et de leurs Etats, mais qui demeure également l'une des préoccupations centrales de notre organisation. Que tous les membres du Comité de décolonisation, et particulièrement son bureau et son président, trouvent ici l'expression de notre sincère gratitude pour le travail important qu'ils ont soumis à notre examen.

18. Ce volumineux travail, qui a été effectué au cours de 101 séances s'étalant du 19 février au 21 octobre 1963, comporte des études complètes et des suggestions appropriées sur 20 territoires coloniaux, et de nombreux renseignements sur cinq autres territoires pour lesquels, faute de temps, les recommandations adéquates ne seront formulées par le Comité qu'ultérieurement, au cours de l'année 1964.

19. Une des initiatives les plus heureuses prises par le Comité spécial au cours de la deuxième année de son existence est sans doute la décision de préparer la liste de tous les territoires auxquels s'applique la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux.

20. Il est bien dommage, à cet égard, que le Sous-Comité chargé de ce travail important n'ait pu mener à bonne fin sa tâche, qu'il conviendra donc de reprendre en 1964. Mais d'ores et déjà 64 territoires ont été dénombrés dans tous les continents, territoires administrés respectivement par l'Australie, les Etats-Unis d'Amérique, l'Afrique du Sud, le Portugal, le Royaume-Uni, la France, la Nouvelle-Zélande et l'Espagne. Bien que très incomplète, cette liste montre néanmoins l'immensité de la tâche de décolonisation qui reste à accomplir et, par voie de conséquence, la nécessité de repenser l'action future du Comité de décolonisation et, vraisemblablement, le mandat de ce comité et ses méthodes de travail, pour conférer plus d'efficacité et de dynamisme à son action.

21. Qu'il nous soit permis, à cette occasion, de rappeler ici les paroles du Ministre des affaires étrangères de la République de Guinée qui, dans son intervention au cours de la discussion générale, le 30 septembre 1963, disait:

"Par ailleurs, la Déclaration sur l'indépendance ayant rendu caducs à nos yeux le Chapitre XI de la Charte et, par voie de conséquence, la fourniture de renseignements sur les territoires coloniaux,

tous les organismes des Nations Unies fonctionnant dans ce domaine devraient être supprimés purement et simplement. Il en est ainsi principalement du Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes, dont nous devrions décider, au cours de la dix-huitième session, de la dissolution, faute d'attributions valables.

"Par contre, le Comité de décolonisation devrait, dans le même sens, être doté de pouvoirs suffisants et suffisamment précis, et munis de moyens adéquats pour lui permettre de parachever l'œuvre de décolonisation pacifique menée sous les auspices des Nations Unies." [1220ème séance, par. 147 et 148.]

22. C'est à la lumière des indications précises et des dispositions non équivoques contenues dans la Déclaration que nous allons à présent nous livrer à un examen critique du rapport du Comité de décolonisation en examinant successivement le mandat du Comité, ses méthodes de travail, et le cas particulier des petits territoires qui posent, selon certains, au regard de la décolonisation, des difficultés spéciales.

23. Tout d'abord, en ce qui concerne le mandat de ce comité dont la tâche essentielle est de veiller à l'exécution rapide et correcte de la Déclaration sur l'indépendance, nous constatons avec satisfaction l'heureuse évolution de l'opinion de l'Assemblée générale en la matière. En effet, si, au cours de la seizième session, la résolution 1654 (XVI) ne chargeait le Comité que d'étudier l'application de la Déclaration et de formuler des suggestions et des recommandations quant aux progrès réalisés et à la mesure dans laquelle la Déclaration était mise en œuvre, la dix-septième session faisait, dans ce domaine, un pas important qui ne semble pas toujours avoir été perçu nettement. La résolution 1810 (XVII) élargissait singulièrement, à nos yeux, le mandat du Comité spécial, en invitant ce dernier:

"a) A continuer de rechercher les voies et moyens les mieux appropriés en vue de l'application rapide et intégrale de la Déclaration à tous les territoires qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance;

"b) A proposer des mesures concrètes en vue de l'application intégrale de la Déclaration;

"c) A présenter à l'Assemblée générale... un rapport complet contenant ses suggestions et ses recommandations sur l'ensemble des territoires mentionnés au paragraphe 5 de la Déclaration" — c'est-à-dire l'ensemble des territoires encore dépendants;

"d) A informer le Conseil de sécurité de tous faits, survenus dans ces territoires, qui risquent de menacer la paix et la sécurité internationales."

24. L'accroissement substantiel des prérogatives du Comité spécial, grâce à la résolution 1810 (XVII) précitée, est manifeste. Il est heureux, à certains égards du moins, que le Comité spécial ait fait pleinement usage de ses nouvelles prérogatives, en particulier en saisissant le Conseil de sécurité tant au sujet du colonialisme portugais que de celui qui

règne en Rhodésie du Sud et dans le Sud-Ouest africain.

25. On pourrait maintenant se poser la question de savoir dans quelle mesure il serait possible, à nouveau, de renforcer le mandat du Comité spécial au cours de la dix-huitième session.

26. Nous pensons tout d'abord que, en supprimant le Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes institué dans le cadre du Chapitre XI de la Charte, le Comité de décolonisation doit être doté de moyens nouveaux susceptibles de lui permettre d'exiger des puissances administrantes qu'elles s'acquittent de la responsabilité internationale découlant pour elles des dispositions non caduques du Chapitre XI de la Charte des Nations Unies. Ensuite, nous pensons que le Conseil de sécurité devrait investir le Comité de décolonisation de pouvoirs d'enquête suffisants dans tous les territoires coloniaux où existe une situation de nature à menacer la paix et la sécurité internationales. Finalement, l'Assemblée générale devrait prévoir, dans sa résolution de cette année, des moyens financiers suffisants pour permettre aux missions de visite et aux sous-comités spéciaux de mener à bonne fin la tâche à eux confiée par le Comité de décolonisation.

27. Certes, ces différentes mesures, destinées à renforcer le mandat du Comité, doivent être complétées par des mesures concernant la méthode de travail du Comité spécial. A cet égard, il convient de ne jamais perdre de vue que le stade de fourniture de renseignements sur les territoires coloniaux est définitivement révolu et que les informations, quelles qu'elles soient, recueillies par le Comité de décolonisation, ne devraient être prises en considération que dans la mesure où elles concernent ou facilitent la mise en œuvre de la Déclaration sur l'indépendance. Ainsi, à notre point de vue, ces informations devraient être beaucoup plus brèves et toutes exclusivement axées sur l'exécution de la Déclaration sur l'indépendance.

28. La délégation guinéenne est heureuse, à cet égard, de constater que le Président du Comité spécial exprimait le même souci lorsqu'il a déclaré dans son intervention du 28 novembre 1963:

"... Je ne pense pas que le rôle du Comité spécial soit uniquement d'instaurer un débat général sur la situation de chaque territoire et de voter une résolution, comme cela se passe déjà à la Quatrième Commission ou en séances plénières de l'Assemblée générale." [1266ème séance, par. 38.]

En conclusion de son analyse des méthodes de travail du Comité, il a dit:

"... je pense qu'il [le Comité] pourrait aborder l'examen des territoires qui restent selon des méthodes appropriées" [*ibid.*, par. 40].

C'est exactement ce que nous suggérons pour éviter de transformer le Comité de décolonisation soit en comité de renseignements, soit en une Quatrième Commission permanente en dehors des sessions, pour reprendre les termes judicieux du Président du Comité spécial.

29. L'une des méthodes les plus positives utilisées jusqu'ici par le Comité étant indiscutablement celle des missions de visite, nous voudrions suggérer la constitution de plusieurs sous-comités qui se rendraient dans les principales régions intéressées du monde, non pas certes pour recueillir des renseignements, mais pour prendre contact, dans toute la mesure du possible, avec les représentants des populations dont le destin est en jeu et discuter concrètement avec eux des modalités d'accession à l'indépendance.

30. Cette méthode, qui avait été saluée en Afrique, en 1962, avec joie et réconfort par toutes les populations africaines, s'avère encore plus indispensable ailleurs, en raison des caractéristiques particulières et des problèmes spéciaux que soulève la décolonisation dans ces parties du monde. Par-dessus tout, nous espérons que cette méthode permettra enfin au Comité de décolonisation de s'acquitter intégralement du mandat précisé par la résolution 1810 (XVII) concernant l'application totale de la Déclaration sur l'indépendance à l'ensemble des territoires encore dépendants.

31. Une des caractéristiques communes de la quasi-totalité des territoires sur lesquels le Comité de décolonisation portera son attention au cours de sa prochaine session, c'est le fait que tous ces territoires ou presque tous sont des territoires à la fois petits par la superficie et comportant une population relativement très faible et des données économiques qui les rendent relativement peu viables, abandonnés à eux-mêmes dans l'arène internationale. A l'égard de ces pays, dont les particularités sont manifestes, de nombreuses voix se sont élevées ici et ailleurs et ont été largement répercutées par la presse, pour mettre l'Organisation des Nations Unies en garde contre l'application pure et simple de la Déclaration sur l'indépendance. A ce sujet, nous voulons dire très clairement que telle n'est pas notre manière de voir. Nous ne pensons point qu'une exception quelconque à l'application de la Déclaration sur l'indépendance soit justifiée à l'égard de tout territoire, quelles que soient sa superficie, sa population et ses données économiques ou autres. Pour nous, de même qu'aucune tare ni aucun handicap ne saurait justifier l'esclavage au niveau de l'individu, de même aucune particularité, de quelque nature qu'elle soit, ne saurait légitimer l'esclavage d'un peuple, c'est-à-dire sa domination par un peuple étranger.

32. Cependant, nous n'avons jamais voulu identifier l'indépendance à l'isolement. C'est pourquoi nous avons dit, et nous continuons à dire, que les petits territoires, comme les grands, doivent, sur la base du principe de l'autodétermination, accéder à l'indépendance et choisir librement, sans pression extérieure d'aucune sorte, le régime politique et la forme de gouvernement qu'ils préfèrent.

33. Les populations de ces petits territoires auront naturellement toute liberté de s'associer entre eux ou avec d'autres, ou de s'intégrer à des Etats déjà existants, à des conditions et selon des modalités qu'ils discuteront librement avec les partenaires qu'ils auront choisis. Certes, nous reconnaissons

que, à l'égard de ces petits territoires, la communauté internationale peut avoir quelquefois des obligations particulières d'assistance et de protection, pour leur permettre de combler leur handicap et de négocier librement et en toute connaissance de cause les conditions et modalités de leur coopération institutionnelle avec d'autres territoires ou d'autres Etats.

34. A notre avis, ce devoir d'assistance spéciale des Nations Unies, c'est au Comité de décolonisation qu'il incombe de l'accomplir au nom de la communauté internationale en offrant, à la requête des populations intéressées, ses conseils et son assistance. Mais, nous le répétons, il n'y a là, à notre avis, rien qui puisse justifier le retard apporté à l'application de la Déclaration sur l'indépendance; à plus forte raison, rien, à nos yeux, qui puisse justifier une exception, si légère soit-elle, à la liberté totale et inconditionnelle des peuples de ces petits territoires.

35. Il y a bientôt trois ans que la Déclaration historique sur l'indépendance de tous les pays et de tous les peuples coloniaux a été adoptée par cette assemblée [résolution 1514 (XV)]. Si, depuis lors, quelques Etats, dont le processus d'indépendance était généralement en cours, ont réussi ou sont sur le point de réussir, grâce aux efforts de leurs peuples et dans le contexte international favorisé par les décisions des Nations Unies, à se débarrasser de la domination étrangère et à prendre leur place normale parmi nous, il reste que ce progrès ne doit point masquer l'entêtement criminel et la lenteur coupable qui caractérisent l'attitude de nombre de puissances coloniales face aux impératifs de la décolonisation.

36. A ceux qui nous crient constamment: "Patience!", nous répondrons comme toujours que toute libération d'un peuple ne peut que renforcer davantage l'amertume et la volonté d'émancipation de ceux qui sont encore sous le joug de la domination étrangère et qui, de ce fait, risquent de perdre patience en face de l'insolence, de la mauvaise foi ou de la répression de leurs maîtres provisoires. Notre avis unanime à tous, nous autres Africains, est que le rythme de décolonisation est lent, trop lent et qu'il convient, pour l'honneur et l'autorité morale de notre organisation, que tout soit fait pour hâter la mise en œuvre de la Déclaration sur l'indépendance.

37. Le Président du Comité spécial a souligné à plusieurs reprises dans son intervention [1266ème séance], pour s'en plaindre, le manque de coopération de la plupart des puissances coloniales à l'égard du Comité de décolonisation. Cela est fort regrettable. De leur côté, tous les chefs d'Etat africains, lors de la Conférence d'Addis-Abéba, ont exprimé la grande préoccupation de leurs peuples à cet égard et lancé un appel solennel aux alliés des puissances coloniales pour qu'ils choisissent clairement entre leur amitié pour les peuples africains, d'une part, et leur soutien aux gouvernements qui oppriment ces peuples, d'autre part.

38. Nous devons constater que les débats qui ont eu lieu récemment au Conseil de sécurité, à la demande de tous les gouvernements africains, sur le colonialisme portugais, nous ont laissé une impression bien pénible. Les alliés des puissances coloniales,

qu'il s'agisse du colonialisme portugais ou de la forme pernicieuse de colonialisme que constitue l'apartheid, ces alliés ont fait des déclarations et ont pris des positions qui semblent indiquer un choix délibéré en faveur des oppresseurs des peuples africains. Il y a là une situation grave, très grave, qui mérite d'être éclaircie et, en tout cas, que les Africains ne pourront pas ne pas examiner très attentivement lors de leurs prochaines assises.

39. Pour ce qui nous concerne, c'est en raison des lenteurs, des réticences, du manque de coopération et de la mauvaise foi qui caractérisent très souvent l'attitude des puissances coloniales que nous avons suggéré l'année dernière [voir 1131ème séance, par. 53] à l'Assemblée générale de fixer un délai limite à la mise en application de la Déclaration sur l'indépendance. Cette initiative, bien qu'appuyée par la quasi-unanimité des Etats d'Afrique et d'Asie, n'a pas, pour les raisons que tout le monde connaît, obtenu à l'Assemblée la majorité requise des deux tiers [voir 1195ème séance, par. 62].

40. Dans la discussion générale de la présente session, de nombreuses délégations ont exprimé à nouveau le souhait de voir s'effectuer la décolonisation intégrale avant le vingtième anniversaire de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, en 1965. C'est une idée que le Président du Comité de décolonisation, entre autres, a reprise dans son intervention précitée du 28 novembre 1963.

41. Mais si le Conseil de sécurité continue à esquiver ses responsabilités principales, si l'Assemblée générale elle-même hésite à adopter les mesures qui s'imposent, bientôt, très bientôt, la nécessité apparaîtra clairement à tous de s'engager plus à fond contre la colonisation, facteur d'injustice, d'instabilité et de guerre. Si les moyens pacifiques que nous préconisons au niveau des Nations Unies ne devaient pas prévaloir très rapidement, alors rien ne pourrait empêcher que les colonisés, usant de leur droit de légitime défense, s'efforcent de conclure partout, çà et là, le genre d'accord que le valeureux peuple de Goa et le peuple indien ont imposé au colonialisme portugais au cours de l'année 1962.

42. La délégation de Guinée est heureuse d'apporter son appui total aux recommandations formulées par le Comité de décolonisation concernant les 20 territoires sur lesquels ont porté ses investigations au cours de l'année écoulée. Elle regrette que la méthode utilisée n'ait pas permis au Comité — en dépit d'un travail intensif et très méritoire — de formuler des recommandations d'ensemble susceptibles de fournir les éléments d'une résolution qui soit la suite logique des résolutions 1514 (XV), 1654 (XVI) et 1810 (XVII) de l'Assemblée générale. Néanmoins, des diverses recommandations formulées sur chaque territoire individuellement, il est aisé d'extraire les éléments d'une résolution d'ensemble à laquelle la délégation guinéenne, comme par le passé, apportera tout son concours.

43. D'ailleurs, certaines des recommandations parmi les plus importantes, spécialement celles qui ont trait au Sud-Ouest africain, à la Rhodésie du Sud et aux territoires sous domination portugaise, ont déjà fait devant les organismes appropriés de l'Assemblée générale l'objet de discussions complètes et de

décisions définitives à l'élaboration desquelles notre délégation a été étroitement associée. Notre espoir est que les recommandations qui n'ont fait l'objet d'aucun examen particulier soient adoptées à la très grande majorité des membres de l'Assemblée générale.

44. Il convient, concernant les territoires coloniaux où la situation constitue une menace à la paix et à la sécurité internationales, d'exposer clairement notre position.

45. Si le Conseil de sécurité a le devoir, à l'égard de ces territoires, de veiller, en les gardant à son ordre du jour, à prévenir toute aggravation de situation, l'Assemblée générale et, par voie de conséquence, le Comité de la décolonisation doivent, de leur côté, conserver toute liberté d'assumer les responsabilités qui sont les leurs à l'égard de ces territoires et de leurs populations. Mieux, le Comité de la décolonisation devrait être associé très étroitement, pensons-nous, au travail que doit effectuer le Conseil de sécurité dans ce domaine. La meilleure solution consisterait, pour le Conseil, à doter le Comité de la décolonisation d'un mandat d'investigation permanent, avec pouvoirs élargis.

46. La délégation de la Guinée se prononce clairement pour le maintien du Comité de la décolonisation, pour un renforcement substantiel de son mandat, pour une adaptation judicieuse de ses méthodes de travail, le tout en vue d'une accélération très marquée du processus de la décolonisation.

47. Ce sont là les propositions concrètes que nous avons cru devoir formuler aux seules fins de conférer, au cours de l'année 1964, une efficacité plus grande au travail du Comité de la décolonisation, qui est chargé d'une des missions les plus décisives des Nations Unies: celle d'assurer l'indépendance effective à tous les peuples encore asservis.

48. La dix-huitième session a soulevé partout dans le monde, et en particulier en Afrique, d'immenses espoirs. Session de détente entre l'Est et l'Ouest; session de l'année de l'unité africaine. Nous sommes néanmoins de ceux qui se posent la grave question de savoir ce qui restera de tout cela. Autrement dit: quel sera le bilan effectif de la dix-huitième session? Nous l'avons déjà dit — et c'est par là que nous voulons conclure: c'est dans le domaine capital de la décolonisation que ce bilan pourra le mieux être apprécié.

49. Il est malheureusement acquis d'ores et déjà que la dix-huitième session ne passera pas dans les annales des Nations Unies comme une grande session de décolonisation. La responsabilité de cette situation regrettable incombe entièrement aux puissances coloniales et à leurs alliés. Cependant, il n'est peut-être pas trop tard pour espérer que, dans un dernier sursaut de conscience, de foi et d'énergie, chaque représentant aura à cœur de faire tout ce qui dépend de lui pour ne point décevoir les immenses espoirs que la dix-huitième session avait suscités de par le monde, et plus particulièrement parmi les peuples colonisés d'Afrique, d'Asie et d'ailleurs. C'est en tout cas le vœu le plus cher de la délégation guinéenne.

50. M. BAYONA (Colombie) [traduit de l'espagnol]: Un des buts fondamentaux des Nations Unies est de favoriser des relations d'amitié entre toutes les nations, fondées sur deux des grands principes qui régissent l'ordre international actuel: l'égalité des droits et le droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes. Il faut reconnaître que les efforts tendant à consolider et à maintenir la paix et la sécurité internationales doivent s'inspirer de ces deux principes. On peut affirmer que, sans eux, les réalisations des Nations Unies ne sauraient être efficaces, stables et durables.

51. Si l'on est de cet avis, on doit admettre que, dans l'ensemble, les résultats obtenus par les Nations Unies montrent que l'Organisation s'est engagée dans la bonne voie pour atteindre les fins qu'elle s'est proposées. Il est certain qu'elle exécute d'excellents programmes concernant les aspects les plus variés de la vie internationale. Elle accomplit un travail efficace de coopération en faveur du développement économique, social et culturel de tous les Etats Membres. On ne saurait nier que plus d'une fois les Nations Unies ont réussi à écarter le péril d'une nouvelle conflagration mondiale. Tous ces résultats justifieraient à eux seuls l'œuvre de la Conférence de San Francisco.

52. Mais il y a encore autre chose qui a plus de valeur et une portée plus grande. Il s'agit précisément du zèle extraordinaire dont les Nations Unies ont fait preuve en tout ce qui concerne les droits fondamentaux de l'homme ainsi que la liberté et l'indépendance des peuples. C'est là une tâche d'une portée supérieure, parce qu'elle va au cœur même de tous les problèmes, puisque de la reconnaissance et du respect de ces droits et principes dépend l'avenir du genre humain. Tout cela confirme la théorie selon laquelle l'Organisation internationale, comme l'Etat même, est au service de la personne humaine. On a dit avec juste raison que la compétence de l'Etat et celle de la société internationale s'harmonisent du fait même que l'une et l'autre ont en dernière analyse pour fin et pour principe le bien de la personne humaine.

53. Les Nations Unies étaient appelées à devenir la plus grande puissance anticolonialiste, répondant en cela aux exigences imposées par les profondes transformations que la communauté internationale devait subir à la suite de la seconde guerre mondiale. Le nouvel ordre ne pouvait s'édifier sur des structures caduques considérées dans bien des cas, non sans raison, comme des symboles d'oppression et d'exploitation.

54. Le point soumis à l'examen de l'Assemblée générale se rapporte à ces questions. Le rapport détaillé présenté par le Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux [A/5446/Rev.1] est un document d'une importance manifeste. La haute qualité de ce travail a pu être appréciée durant les délibérations du Conseil de sécurité ainsi qu'au cours des débats qui ont lieu à la Quatrième Commission.

55. Sur le plan positif, le rapport annonce l'apparition de nouveaux Etats. Le Kenya et Zanzibar

deviendront libres et indépendants cette année même, tandis que Malte accédera à l'indépendance au début de 1964. Au contraire, l'impasse où se trouvent les négociations en ce qui concerne par exemple la Rhodésie du Sud, le Sud-Ouest africain et les territoires sous administration portugaise est une circonstance que la Colombie déplore vivement et pour laquelle elle ne peut admettre aucune justification. A la Quatrième Commission, au cours du débat portant sur chacun de ces territoires, la Colombie a exposé en détail son point de vue, affirmant de nouveau sa ferme intention d'appuyer les efforts visant à étendre à tous les peuples le bénéfice de la Déclaration universelle des droits de l'homme et de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux [résolution 1514 (XV)]. Pour cette raison, ma délégation n'a pas hésité à voter pour les projets de résolution présentés; elle le fera encore à l'avenir, dans la mesure où les circonstances et les principes de la Charte le conseillent et le permettent.

56. La délégation colombienne a toujours manifesté le désir le plus vif de voir la liquidation du système colonial s'accomplir par des moyens pacifiques. De plus, c'est avec un optimisme croissant et persuadé qu'il est bon que tous les peuples des Nations Unies soient résolus à "vivre en paix l'un avec l'autre dans un esprit de bon voisinage" que la Colombie a plaidé pour que le passage de l'état de dépendance à celui d'indépendance se réalise sans détruire les liens d'amitié qui ont pu exister entre la puissance administrante et les peuples qui se trouvaient sous son contrôle ou sa domination.

57. Sans penser à des pratiques que l'on pourrait qualifier de néo-colonialistes, il est tout naturel que les relations les meilleures et les plus étroites s'établissent entre l'ancienne métropole et les nouveaux Etats, du moment qu'elles s'inspirent du respect sincère et total des droits qui reviennent aux nouveaux membres de la collectivité en tant que sujets de droit international. Cependant, malgré les enseignements de l'histoire, certaines puissances méconnaissent des faits irréfutables et prétendent en vain maintenir des situations incompatibles avec l'évolution récente de la communauté internationale en raison des défauts et des erreurs qu'elles comportent. Cette façon d'agir, éminemment négative, non seulement affecte les intérêts des peuples sur le point d'accéder à l'indépendance, mais nuit aussi à ceux mêmes des puissances administrantes et risque en définitive de créer des foyers de trouble et de désordre dans le monde.

58. La délégation colombienne ne peut dissimuler l'inquiétude que lui cause le manque de coopération de certaines puissances administrantes à l'égard des programmes que les Nations Unies poursuivent avec un si noble zèle. Il n'y a rien de bon à attendre de cette attitude négative. Elle ne sert qu'à différer la fin inexorable du système colonialiste. Ce sont là de vains attermolements, car, au lieu d'apaiser ou d'affaiblir les aspirations à l'indépendance, ils les renforcent et les subliment au point de précipiter les peuples dans des aventures héroïques, lourdes de sacrifices et de souffrances, qui ne cesseront qu'avec la victoire finale.

59. Pourquoi cette attitude inflexible, pourquoi cette méconnaissance permanente du droit inaliénable de tous les peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes et à l'indépendance? Le mépris des principes fondamentaux de la Charte et des résolutions pertinentes des organes des Nations Unies impose l'adoption de mesures extrêmes dont l'application n'est à souhaiter pour aucun Etat Membre. Sous cette forme, la concorde internationale s'affaiblit et le prestige de l'Organisation entre en jeu, tout cela sans avantages réels ni apparents pour les Etats récalcitrants, puisque l'expérience démontre qu'en définitive les causes justes finissent toujours par s'imposer.

60. Lorsque la délégation colombienne est intervenue à la Quatrième Commission dans les débats relatifs aux territoires sous administration portugaise, elle a défendu, comme elle l'a fait en d'autres occasions, le caractère universel du processus de décolonisation et, par conséquent, la reconnaissance à tous les peuples du globe de leur droit à disposer librement d'eux-mêmes. L'idéal d'un monde meilleur ne commencera vraiment à se réaliser que lorsque disparaîtront tous les systèmes impliquant la subordination d'un peuple à un autre. En aucun cas ni pour aucune raison ne doivent subsister des pratiques et des institutions qui portent atteinte au caractère et à la dignité des peuples et qui entravent leur libre développement.

61. Pour cette raison, il convient de rappeler, comme un impératif à observer, une phrase du dernier discours prononcé dans cette enceinte par celui qui est entré dans l'histoire comme le défenseur résolu de la liberté des peuples. Le président Kennedy s'est exprimé comme suit:

"... nous croyons que dans le monde entier, en Europe orientale comme en Europe occidentale, dans le sud comme dans le nord de l'Afrique, dans les pays anciens comme dans les pays neufs, les peuples doivent être libres de choisir leur propre avenir sans discrimination ni solution imposée, sans contrainte ni subversion" [1209ème séance, par. 45].

62. Cette déclaration permet de mesurer l'immensité de la tâche restant à accomplir par le Comité spécial. Si, pour des raisons bien connues et fort explicables, les efforts de cet organe se sont surtout portés jusqu'à présent sur le continent africain, il lui appartiendra à l'avenir d'examiner la situation de beaucoup d'autres peuples d'autres continents qui n'ont jamais joui du droit à disposer d'eux-mêmes ou qui, l'ayant eu, l'ont perdu par suite de l'intervention injustifiée de régimes despotiques et expansionnistes.

63. D'après les paragraphes 29 et 30 du chapitre I du rapport, le Comité spécial a l'intention de compléter la liste de tous les territoires auxquels doit s'appliquer la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance. Cette tâche présente un intérêt primordial, parce qu'elle permettra d'apprécier le problème dans son ensemble et d'établir un programme satisfaisant des activités que les Nations Unies devront mener à bien par l'intermédiaire de leurs organes compétents pour réaliser la collaboration indispensable qui assurera à tous les peuples les conditions nécessaires au plein exercice de leurs droits.

64. Dans l'esprit de collaboration le plus large, la délégation de la Colombie tient à rappeler que, en ce qui concerne le continent américain, l'organisation régionale a entrepris, il y a déjà un certain temps, l'examen des colonies et territoires dépendants qui existent en Amérique. La neuvième Conférence internationale américaine, qui s'est tenue à Bogota du 30 mars au 2 mai 1948, a créé la Commission américaine des territoires non autonomes. Cet organisme a présenté un rapport à la dixième Conférence interaméricaine qui s'est réunie à Caracas du 1er au 28 mars 1954; à cette conférence furent approuvées au moins trois résolutions dictées par l'intention de mettre fin au régime colonial sur le continent. Une de ces résolutions indiquait par exemple "que l'amour de la liberté commun à tous les peuples d'Amérique prend sa source dans l'acte émancipateur et que la solidarité interaméricaine n'atteindra point son ampleur et sa profondeur véritables tant que subsisteront sur le continent des territoires occupés par les pays extracontinentaux et des peuples privés du droit de se gouverner eux-mêmes" 2/.

65. Les Etats américains défenseurs résolus du recours aux moyens pacifiques pour résoudre les questions internationales et désireux de pouvoir compter sur l'aide et la collaboration des puissances extracontinentales intéressées ont instamment prié ces dernières d'adopter des mesures qui permettraient aux peuples d'exercer pleinement leur droit à disposer d'eux-mêmes et qui mettraient fin à l'occupation de territoires américains.

66. La dixième Conférence interaméricaine réunie à Caracas a décidé alors de transmettre aux Nations Unies les documents relatifs à cette question. Ces précédents, qui ont une valeur singulière en ce sens qu'ils reflètent la pensée de la communauté américaine, seront d'une grande utilité pour les travaux que devra accomplir le Comité spécial.

67. Ma délégation ne saurait donc manquer d'exprimer la satisfaction que lui causent les derniers résultats de l'action de décolonisation entreprise en Amérique et le vif espoir qu'elle conserve de voir cette tâche menée à bien de façon pacifique, méthodique et amicale. Lorsque les puissances engagées dans le processus de décolonisation collaborent résolument, on évite des ingérences extérieures parfois nuisibles du fait qu'elles ne s'inspirent pas toujours des nobles buts qu'elles prétendent servir.

68. Au cours du présent débat, plusieurs délégations, dont celle du Chili [1267ème séance], ont mentionné tout particulièrement le problème que pose l'application de la résolution 1514 (XV) aux petits territoires qui, du fait de leur superficie restreinte et de leur faible population, ne réunissent pas les conditions propres à leur faciliter une existence autonome en tant qu'Etats libres et indépendants. Ma délégation est également d'avis que le Comité spécial doit procéder à un examen attentif de ces situations afin d'assurer la stricte application du droit des intéressés à disposer d'eux-mêmes et à l'indépendance selon des formules qui respectent la personnalité propre et la volonté de ces populations.

2/ Résolution XCVI de l'Acte final de la dixième Conférence interaméricaine.

L'association ou la fédération des petites entités pourrait constituer un moyen de les faire bénéficier dans la liberté et l'indépendance, du droit à s'administrer elles-mêmes.

69. La Colombie comprend fort bien l'agitation, la désespérance et l'impatience des peuples qui entendent bien voir tous leurs droits justement reconnus. C'est une réaction naturelle dont nous avons aussi fait l'expérience en Amérique latine et qui, en l'absence d'une instance internationale comme les Nations Unies, nous a conduits à l'épopée de l'émancipation. Voilà pourquoi nous nous rangeons, dans cette enceinte, aux côtés des peuples qui luttent pour la liberté et l'indépendance.

70. M. CHAKRAVARTY (Inde) [traduit de l'anglais]: Nous avons suivi avec un vif intérêt la discussion qui a eu lieu dans cette assemblée sur l'important rapport du Comité spécial [A/5446/Rev.1].

71. L'un des faits caractéristiques remarquables et d'une très grande portée de la période qui a suivi la seconde guerre mondiale est l'accession à l'indépendance et à la liberté d'un grand nombre de peuples et de territoires coloniaux. Presque immédiatement après la fin de cette guerre, un certain nombre de pays d'Asie, notamment l'Inde, ont obtenu leur liberté. La Charte des Nations Unies a encore stimulé la revendication de l'indépendance par de nombreux autres territoires coloniaux. Les principes du droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes et à s'administrer eux-mêmes qui sont inscrits dans la Charte ont donné de nouvelles forces aux combattants de la liberté dans de nombreux pays coloniaux. Le nombre des Membres de notre organisation a presque doublé et 32 Etats africains indépendants siègent aujourd'hui à cette assemblée. Cette modification remarquable de la composition des Nations Unies a contribué en elle-même à faciliter le processus de décolonisation. La délégation indienne peut être fière du rôle qu'elle a joué dans la lutte contre le colonialisme et la discrimination raciale. Ayant subi nous-mêmes la domination coloniale, nous n'aurions pu agir autrement. Conformément à sa politique anticolonialiste, l'Inde n'a cessé de donner tout l'appui possible, au sein de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, à ceux qui voulaient se libérer du joug colonial ou de la discrimination raciale. Comme l'a déclaré le Premier Ministre de mon pays, M. Nehru, dans un discours prononcé en 1948 devant l'Assemblée générale:

"Nous qui, en Asie, avons connu tous ces maux du colonialisme et de la domination impérialiste, nous nous sommes engagés fatalement au service de la cause de la libération de tous les autres pays coloniaux 3/."

Dans le cas de l'Inde, la lutte pour l'indépendance avait été une révolte à la fois contre le racisme et contre le colonialisme. La sauvegarde de l'indépendance même de l'Inde et l'opposition aux principes du colonialisme et du racisme sont donc deux éléments d'une même politique.

72. Le colonialisme sous certaines de ses pires formes sévit encore dans plusieurs régions du monde, notamment dans certaines parties de l'Afrique. C'est

3/ Déclaration faite à la 154ème séance plénière; il n'existe qu'un compte rendu analytique des débats de cette séance.

là une question qui nous préoccupe gravement, et, si l'on devait laisser cette situation se perpétuer, elle risquerait de mettre en danger la paix et la sécurité de ces régions.

73. Ma délégation a eu l'honneur d'être associée à la Déclaration, maintenant célèbre, sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux que l'Assemblée a adoptée en décembre 1960 [Résolution 1514 (XV)]. A la suite d'un discours fait devant l'Assemblée générale par M. Khrouchtchev, président du Conseil des ministres de l'Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques, un point intitulé "Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux" a été inscrit à l'ordre du jour de la quinzième session de l'Assemblée générale, et, le 14 décembre 1960, l'Assemblée adoptait cette résolution. Un comité de 17 membres était créé et se voyait confier la tâche de s'assurer que cette résolution était mise en œuvre, et mise en œuvre sans délai. Par la résolution 1810 (XVII) de l'Assemblée générale, le Comité des Dix-Sept a été élargi pour devenir le Comité des Vingt-Quatre, et il a été invité à continuer de rechercher les voies et les moyens les mieux appropriés en vue de l'application rapide et intégrale de la Déclaration à tous les territoires. L'Inde a eu l'honneur et le privilège de présider le Comité des Dix-Sept, et, cette année, nous avons fourni un rapporteur au Comité des Vingt-Quatre.

74. Ayant été partie au Rapport, ma délégation est naturellement d'accord sur les méthodes et procédures de travail adoptées par le Comité ainsi que sur les recommandations et conclusions contenues dans différents chapitres de ce rapport. Nous ne pouvons accepter l'argument invoqué par certaines puissances administrantes selon lequel l'envoi d'une mission de visite dans un territoire colonial équivaldrait à intervenir dans ses affaires intérieures ou le fait d'accepter une telle visite reviendrait pour la puissance administrante à partager sa responsabilité de l'administration interne du territoire. Nous aurions pensé que la fonction d'une mission de visite était de s'assurer des vues de la population sur l'avenir d'un territoire et que, pour cette raison, la mission de visite devait être bien accueillie des puissances administrantes dans la mesure où elle pourrait utiliser ses bons offices pour rapprocher les différents éléments politiques d'un territoire colonial, aidant ainsi la puissance administrante à s'acquitter de la tâche difficile consistant à éliminer les divergences de vues susceptibles de retarder l'accession du territoire à l'indépendance. Il ne saurait être question que la mission de visite intervienne en rien dans l'administration intérieure du territoire. Comme le dit le Rapport du Comité spécial:

"L'Organisation des Nations Unies a à l'égard des territoires non autonomes des responsabilités qui découlent des dispositions de la Charte concernant ces territoires, ainsi que de l'adoption, par l'Assemblée générale, de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux." [A/5446/Rev.1, chapitre I, par. 54.]

En refusant l'accès des territoires aux missions de visite, les puissances administrantes vont peut-être à l'encontre de l'esprit de la Charte et dressent des

obstacles qui entravent la mise en œuvre de la Déclaration. C'est dans ce contexte que nous regrettons la décision du Royaume-Uni de ne pas permettre à des groupes de visite d'entrer en Guyane britannique et à Aden. Nous espérons sincèrement que, au cours de l'année qui vient, les puissances administrantes qui n'ont pas été en mesure de coopérer avec le Comité spécial à cet égard reconsidéreront leur attitude et aideront par là même à mettre fin au colonialisme sans plus de retard.

75. L'Assemblée a pleinement conscience de l'œuvre méritoire accomplie par le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni en menant à l'indépendance et à la liberté de nombreux territoires coloniaux. Ma délégation n'a jamais manqué d'exprimer publiquement notre profonde estime pour la politique coloniale du Royaume-Uni. C'est pour nous une grande satisfaction de penser que la sagesse combinée de l'Autorité administrante et des hommes d'Etat du Kenya et de Zanzibar a permis de trouver une solution au problème qui, en un temps, paraissait insoluble dans cette partie du monde. Nous adressons nos félicitations les plus chaleureuses aux vaillants combattants de la liberté du Kenya et de Zanzibar et nous nous félicitons de ce qu'ils vont se joindre à nous dans quelques jours au sein de cette assemblée. Lorsque M. Kenyatta a pris la tête du Gouvernement du Kenya, il y a quelques mois, le Premier Ministre de l'Inde lui a adressé le message suivant:

"Je suis heureux de vous adresser, en mon nom et au nom de mes collègues du Gouvernement de l'Inde, nos félicitations les plus chaleureuses et nos souhaits les plus sincères au moment où, le premier, vous assumez les fonctions de Premier Ministre du Kenya autonome. C'est là, en vérité, un événement historique, et c'est un pas important dans la marche pacifique du Kenya vers la pleine souveraineté et l'indépendance. Nous avons observé avec grand intérêt et sympathie les progrès du Kenya sur la route de son destin et nous sommes convaincus que, sous votre direction sage et éclairée, le peuple du Kenya, quelles que soient sa race et ses croyances, prospérera et progressera, et que le Kenya deviendra une force de paix et d'entente en Afrique et dans le monde."

76. Les événements qui se sont déroulés en Rhodésie du Nord et au Nyassaland ont également pris un tour positif et encourageant et, sous la direction de M. Banda et de M. Kaunda, le Nyassaland et la Rhodésie du Nord doivent également accéder à l'indépendance dans un avenir très proche. Lorsque le Comité des Dix-Sept s'est rendu en Afrique, l'année dernière, il a consacré un temps considérable à étudier les problèmes de la Rhodésie du Nord, du Nyassaland, du Kenya et de Zanzibar et il a essayé d'élaborer des méthodes rapides et convenables qui permettraient de leur appliquer les dispositions contenues dans la résolution 1514 (XV). Nous sommes donc très heureux, nous qui sommes membres du Comité des Vingt-Quatre, que la Rhodésie du Nord et le Nyassaland soient maintenant eux aussi très avancés sur la voie de l'indépendance.

77. La situation dans les trois territoires de la Haute Commission, le Betchouanaland, le Bassoutoland et le Souaziland, continue, toutefois, à être peu

satisfaisante et à susciter des inquiétudes. Jusqu'à présent, les résolutions de la Commission et de l'Assemblée n'ont pas produit le résultat désiré. Nous n'ignorons pas les problèmes qui se posent au gouvernement du Royaume-Uni dans les territoires coloniaux qui lui restent dans différentes parties du monde, encore qu'à certains moments on se demande si quelques-uns de ces problèmes ne sont pas créés par ce gouvernement lui-même, comme cela semble être le cas en Rhodésie du Sud, où le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni a adopté une attitude qui est juridiquement indéfendable et politiquement mal avisée.

78. Dans le discours prononcé le 1er octobre 1963 au cours de la discussion générale, le Premier Ministre du Royaume-Uni, sir Alec Douglas-Home, qui était alors ministre des affaires étrangères, avait dit:

"Nous avons accepté que la majorité gouverne. Nous insistons, dans la mesure où nous pouvons le faire avant l'indépendance, pour que les minorités soient protégées. Je ne pense pas qu'aucun d'entre vous puisse nous critiquer sur ce point. Néanmoins, si, après avoir établi le gouvernement de la majorité et après avoir pris grand soin de sauvegarder l'intérêt des minorités, ce qui est, après tout, le principe essentiel de la démocratie, on devait nous accuser, alors moi-même ou le représentant de mon gouvernement garderions la tête haute au banc des accusés." [1222ème séance, par. 82.]

79. Le drame de la politique britannique en Rhodésie du Sud semble résulter de l'inobservation du principe selon lequel la règle de la majorité est instaurée une fois que les intérêts de la minorité sont sauvegardés. Nous espérons que le Kenya pourra peut-être servir de modèle aux autorités britanniques pour résoudre les problèmes similaires qui se présentent en Rhodésie du Sud. Alors que le Royaume-Uni s'est montré disposé et prêt à adopter une position ferme au Kenya afin de pouvoir maîtriser les forces centrifuges et favoriser l'éveil d'un sentiment national, il n'a pas montré la même hardiesse et les mêmes qualités politiques dans le cas de la Rhodésie du Sud. Dans ce cas également, la règle de la majorité devrait être instituée après que les intérêts des minorités auraient été scrupuleusement sauvegardés.

80. Nous trouvons une autre contradiction en Guyane britannique, où un gouvernement majoritaire, élu au suffrage universel des adultes, s'est vu refuser le droit à l'indépendance. Jusqu'à présent, la puissance administrante a refusé de fixer une date pour l'accession à l'indépendance, bien que tous les partis politiques de ce territoire l'aient demandé.

81. Tandis qu'un progrès peut être noté en ce qui concerne les colonies britanniques — même si, dans certains cas, ce progrès est assez lent —, le tableau est plus sombre que jamais lorsque nous nous tournons vers le territoire du Sud-Ouest africain ou vers les colonies portugaises. Le Conseil de sécurité s'est déjà occupé des territoires coloniaux du Portugal et la question a été également discutée de façon très détaillée à la Quatrième Commission. Les Etats africains, réunis à la Conférence tenue cette

année à Addis-Abéba^{4/}, ont déclaré très nettement que les Portugais doivent accorder l'indépendance à l'Angola, au Mozambique, à la Guinée portugaise et aux autres territoires portugais sans nouveau retard ou accepter les conséquences de leur refus. Si la voie de l'évolution pacifique est fermée et si l'on s'oppose absolument à des négociations pacifiques, il semble inévitable que le changement s'opère à la suite d'un conflit et du recours à la violence. Il y va de l'intérêt bien compris du Portugal qu'il accepte de transférer le pouvoir aux populations de ses territoires coloniaux sans retard et par des méthodes pacifiques.

82. Le Secrétaire général a établi un rapport^{5/} conformément à la résolution adoptée par le Conseil de sécurité le 21 juillet 1963. La délégation indienne trouve peu ou pas de satisfaction à la lecture de ce rapport. Les représentants des délégations africaines, qui ont discuté la question avec les représentants du Gouvernement portugais, ont déclaré que "le groupe africain regrette profondément qu'il n'y ait, de la part du Portugal, aucun élément nouveau dans les principes fondamentaux qui guident sa politique coloniale" [A/C.4/620 du 13 novembre 1963].

83. La situation dans le Sud-Ouest africain continue de nous inquiéter et le Comité spécial a attiré l'attention du Conseil de sécurité sur ce point. La Quatrième Commission, à la suite de ses discussions des dernières semaines, a également adopté un projet de résolution. A la suite de cette résolution [1899 (XVII)], le Secrétaire général est entré en rapport avec le Gouvernement de l'Afrique du Sud. La réponse de ce gouvernement, en date du 2 décembre 1963, est maintenant parvenue [A/5634]. Cette réponse est toujours aussi négative. Le Gouvernement sud-africain a déclaré qu'il n'était pas disposé à demander l'avis d'experts de l'extérieur, du moins pour le moment.

84. Les représentants du Chili et de Ceylan, dans leurs interventions à l'Assemblée, le 29 novembre 1963 [1267ème séance], ont attiré l'attention des délégations sur une question importante qui mérite que nous l'examinions tous très attentivement. Il s'agit de l'avenir des petits Etats ou de petits territoires que la nature a isolés et qui ne disposent pas de ressources naturelles suffisantes pour se suffire économiquement. Ce sont des territoires non autonomes, et nous avons le devoir de rechercher comment les résolutions 1514 (XV), 1654 (XVI) et 1810 (XVII) peuvent être efficacement et rapidement appliquées à ces territoires. Nous estimons que l'Assemblée devrait inviter le Comité spécial à étudier la mise en œuvre de la résolution 1514 (XV) et des résolutions ultérieures à ces territoires coloniaux qui sont peu peuplés et isolés. Le Comité spécial devrait également examiner comment l'aide des Nations Unies pourrait leur être fournie afin que leur indépendance soit politiquement et économiquement viable. Le Comité spécial devrait s'assurer de l'opinion de la population de ces territoires

^{4/} Conférence au sommet des pays indépendants africains, qui a eu lieu à Addis-Abéba du 22 au 25 mai 1963.

^{5/} Documents officiels du Conseil de sécurité, dix-huitième année, Supplément d'octobre, novembre et décembre 1963 (S/5448).

et faire connaître les résultats de son enquête à la dix-neuvième session de l'Assemblée générale. Nous estimons que, si une telle étude n'est pas entreprise rapidement, ces petits territoires coloniaux pourraient se trouver perpétuellement menacés d'effondrement économique après leur accession à l'indépendance.

85. Pour terminer, je tiens à exprimer notre profonde satisfaction du travail du Comité spécial des Vingt-Quatre et de son président, M. Coulibaly. Le Comité a accompli un travail précieux, digne d'éloges, et il a acquis une expérience très utile qui sera d'une immense valeur pour ses travaux futurs.

M. Nur Elmi (Somalie), vice-président, prend la présidence.

86. M. OKEKE (Nigéria) [traduit de l'anglais]: Ma délégation tient à remercier le Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux pour son rapport très complet [A/5446/Rev.1] et son analyse détaillée des multiples problèmes qui se posent dans les territoires dont il a examiné la situation. Le caractère détaillé et complet du rapport du Comité reflète l'importance que l'Assemblée continue d'accorder au problème de la décolonisation malgré les progrès substantiels réalisés dans l'affranchissement des peuples coloniaux depuis la fin de la guerre. Il est, en effet, hors de doute que des progrès ont été accomplis au cours de ces dernières années; néanmoins, le fait que quelque 50 millions d'hommes de par le monde continuent de subir les humiliations du joug colonial nous met en garde contre la suffisance.

87. L'Assemblée devra se montrer encore plus vigilante et plus décidée au cours des années à venir en ce qui concerne la décolonisation de certaines parties du monde que l'intransigeance des puissances coloniales intéressées a transformées en volcans susceptibles d'entrer en éruption, quand la patience des peuples opprimés sera lassée. C'est le cas du Sud-Ouest africain, où le Gouvernement de l'Afrique du Sud applique toujours une politique brutale, honteuse et indigne d'apartheid. Il en est de même des territoires sous administration portugaise, où la puissance coloniale s'accroche avec ténacité à la théorie périmée des provinces d'outre-mer, c'est-à-dire à un expédient servant à perpétuer un régime d'oppression; c'est aussi le cas de la Rhodésie du Sud, où le Royaume-Uni envisage le transfert des pleins pouvoirs à un gouvernement représentant une minorité, suivant le principe antidémocratique de la discrimination raciale qui engendre l'injustice, aidant ainsi à créer une nouvelle Afrique du Sud; Aden et ses protectorats, où la population aspire à un gouvernement de son choix, se trouvent dans le même cas. Nous ne pouvons que demeurer vigilants tant que ces enclaves coloniales ne seront pas devenues vraiment libres.

88. Cette session s'est ouverte dans une atmosphère plus favorable à la paix créée par la signature du Traité de Moscou sur l'interdiction partielle des essais nucléaires^{6/}. Nous avons espéré que l'attitude

de toutes les puissances coloniales à l'égard des questions coloniales serait dictée par ce nouvel esprit, mais les événements qui se sont déroulés depuis le début des délibérations de cette assemblée et de ses commissions ont montré qu'il n'en était rien. Dans les territoires que je viens de citer la situation des peuples coloniaux s'est aggravée, et dans certaines régions la détérioration des conditions générales a été si sérieuse qu'elle est devenue une menace pour la paix et la sécurité internationales. Ma délégation tient à faire ressortir que nos efforts pour rechercher la paix par le désarmement échoueront si certains peuples du globe continuent d'être opprimés et humiliés, car il ne saurait y avoir de paix durable sans la justice.

89. La délégation nigérienne a constaté avec un profond regret et une vive indignation que les puissances de l'OTAN n'ont pas encore jugé bon de cesser de fournir des armes à l'Afrique du Sud et au Portugal, qui, tous deux, s'en servent pour opprimer brutalement des Africains sans défense. A la conférence historique d'Addis-Abéba qui s'est tenue au début de cette année, les Etats africains ont demandé aux puissances occidentales de choisir entre leur amitié avec l'Afrique et les forces d'oppression et d'avilissement. Les pays nordiques ont indiqué clairement qu'ils se rangeaient du côté de la justice et du fair play; mais, jusqu'à présent, les prises de position des principales puissances ont été très décevantes.

90. Après ces remarques préliminaires, ma délégation voudrait présenter des observations au sujet d'un certain nombre de territoires pris individuellement dont la situation a été examinée cette année par le Comité spécial.

91. Nous notons dans le rapport du Comité spécial que Malte a obtenu l'autonomie interne, mais nous sommes un peu préoccupés par les déclarations figurant au paragraphe 66 du chapitre VI, aux termes duquel les deux partis politiques les plus influents du pays, c'est-à-dire le Nationalist Party et le Labour Party, avaient estimé nécessaire de rejeter les recommandations de la Commission constitutionnelle qui ont inspiré la rédaction de la Constitution actuelle. Cependant, il est réconfortant de voir que les dirigeants nationalistes de Malte, faisant preuve d'un grand sens politique, se sont mis d'accord pour tenter d'appliquer cette constitution. Ce faisant, ils montrent nettement leur maturité et leur aptitude à l'indépendance. Nous espérons que le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni, tenant compte de l'opinion publique maltaise, élaborera une constitution acceptable qui aura pour résultat de faire entrer Malte dans la communauté des nations libres, conformément aux dispositions de la résolution 1514 (XV).

92. Nous remarquons que la situation particulière qui règne à Fidji du fait que les immigrants sont plus nombreux que les autochtones pose un problème spécial, mais nous sommes heureux de constater que, ainsi qu'il est précisé au chapitre VII, les immigrants "... reconnaissent le droit des Fidjiens d'être propriétaires de leurs terres et s'étaient déclarés prêts à satisfaire aux autres conditions principales proposées par les Fidjiens pour la sauvegarde de leurs intérêts" [A/5446/Rev.1, chap. VII,

^{6/} Traité interdisant les essais d'armes nucléaires dans l'atmosphère, l'espace extra-atmosphérique et sous l'eau, signé à Moscou le 5 août 1963.

par. 107]. Le fait que les immigrants sont prêts à reconnaître les droits des Fidjiens sur leurs terres devrait permettre à tous les habitants de Fidji d'unir leurs efforts pour créer une nation viable et indépendante. Il incombe à la Puissance administrante de renforcer les institutions qui contribuent à unir la société fidjienne et de transformer l'enseignement de manière à permettre à chacun des différents groupes d'apprécier la culture des autres et de se rendre compte qu'ils ont tous besoin les uns des autres dans un Fidji uni, prospère et libre. Les forces du colonialisme n'ont que trop souvent tendance à exagérer les divisions superficielles des sociétés afin de perpétuer le régime colonial. Etant donné que les divers groupes de la population fidjienne sont prêts à travailler ensemble, il est clair qu'aucun doute ne saurait subsister quant à la nécessité d'accorder l'indépendance à ce territoire dès que la Puissance administrante et ces divers groupements fidjiens seront convenus d'une constitution démocratique et acceptable pour tous.

93. La délégation de la Nigéria constate avec un plaisir particulier que, à la suite de la pression exercée par l'opinion publique mondiale et de l'opposition soutenue manifestée par les nationalistes africains, le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni a consenti à mettre fin à des abus dont les Africains ont souffert pendant 10 ans, c'est-à-dire à dissoudre la Fédération d'Afrique centrale. Ainsi, le Nyassaland et la Rhodésie du Nord deviendront des entités distinctes d'ici à la fin de ce mois, après règlement des problèmes pendants relatifs à la ventilation de l'actif et du passif de la défunte Fédération. Ma délégation tient à féliciter les dirigeants africains de la Rhodésie du Sud et du Nyassaland de la fermeté avec laquelle ils ont maintenu leurs revendications et l'opinion publique mondiale de l'appui qu'elle leur a apporté. Nous espérons que la ventilation de l'actif et du passif entre les Etats qui faisaient partie de la défunte Fédération s'opérera sans retard et sur une base équitable et que la Rhodésie du Nord et le Nyassaland deviendront sans nouveau délai pleinement indépendants.

94. Par une ironie du sort, l'ancien détenu, le prétendu chef africain de l'ombre et de la mort, est maintenant devenu Premier Ministre du Gouvernement autonome du Kenya. Nous félicitons la population du Kenya et nous saluons son grand dirigeant, en qui l'on voit maintenant "le chef africain de la lumière et de l'espoir". Nous sommes impatients de le voir, à la tête de sa délégation, prendre sa place dans cette assemblée avant que ne s'achève la présente session. Nous tendrons également une main accueillante à nos frères de Zanzibar lorsqu'ils viendront, au même moment, occuper les places qui leur reviennent.

95. Nous tenons à féliciter les dirigeants du Tanganyika, de l'Ouganda et du Kenya pour les efforts qu'ils déploient en faveur de la création d'une fédération d'Afrique orientale. En étant une elle-même, la Nigéria a une expérience directe des problèmes que posent l'établissement et le maintien d'une fédération. Nous souhaitons aux dirigeants de l'Afrique orientale une réussite complète.

96. Ma délégation regrette profondément qu'aucun progrès appréciable n'ait été réalisé en ce qui

concerne l'évolution économique et constitutionnelle des territoires du Bassoutoland, du Betchouanaland et du Souaziland. A l'encontre des vœux de la population, des constitutions antidémocratiques ont été imposées dans ces territoires afin de perpétuer la domination de la minorité. Il est indispensable d'octroyer à ces territoires l'indépendance immédiate, fondée sur des principes démocratiques, si l'on veut qu'ils ne soient pas absorbés par l'Afrique du Sud, dont l'effort d'armement ne peut pas ne pas être lié à un secret dessein d'annexion de ces territoires par la force. Je tiens à ce que soit consignée au procès-verbal l'indignation qu'éprouve ma délégation devant les actes cruels commis dans ces territoires par les autorités britanniques, qui livrent au Gouvernement de l'Afrique du Sud les réfugiés fuyant l'oppression qu'il fait régner.

97. En ce qui concerne la Guyane britannique, ma délégation adjure les deux principaux partis politiques guyanais de régler leur différend au sujet du système électoral que le pays devrait avoir, ce qui leur permettrait de guider pacifiquement la Guyane vers l'indépendance.

98. C'est avec grand intérêt que ma délégation a pris note du désir de la Gambie de s'associer au Sénégal après son accession à l'indépendance, ainsi que du fait qu'une mission constitutionnelle économique et financière des Nations Unies examine actuellement les problèmes posés par une telle association. C'est là, de la part des Africains, une nouvelle démonstration de leur désir d'éliminer les barrières artificielles créées entre eux par des frontières dont l'origine remonte au Congrès de Berlin de 1884. Les problèmes liés à l'association de la Gambie avec le Sénégal ne devraient pas retarder l'octroi de l'indépendance à ce pays. C'est une Gambie indépendante et un Sénégal indépendant qui sont le mieux placés pour les résoudre.

99. En ce qui concerne Aden et ses protectorats, les renseignements dont nous disposons montrent que les habitants de ces régions ne voient dans la Fédération de l'Arabie du Sud qu'une supercherie imposée pour perpétuer le régime colonial. Ma délégation regrette profondément que, comme dans le cas de la Guyane britannique, le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni n'ait pas autorisé la mission d'enquête du Comité spécial à se rendre à Aden. Le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni, loin de s'en tenir là, est allé jusqu'à autoriser son contrôleur de l'immigration à donner des instructions visant à interdire à la mission l'accès du territoire d'Aden. Une telle mesure malencontreuse ne peut que rendre suspects les mobiles et les intentions du Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni. Une telle décision est regrettable et malavisée de la part d'un pays qui a libéré tant de peuples coloniaux au cours de la dernière décennie et se proclame très désireux de se débarrasser le plus tôt possible de ceux dont il a encore la responsabilité. Par ses actes imprudents, par ses hésitations dans le cas de la Rhodésie du Sud et des territoires du Bassoutoland, du Souaziland et du Betchouanaland, par son assistance à l'Afrique du Sud et au Portugal, le Royaume-Uni s'écarte de la conduite qu'il a suivie dans le passé et suscite de vives craintes parmi les Etats membres du Common-

wealth. En sa qualité de membre du Commonwealth, la Nigéria demande instamment au Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni de modifier sa ligne de conduite en ces matières.

100. Enfin, nous lançons un appel à toutes les puissances coloniales pour qu'elles collaborent avec l'Assemblée générale et le Comité spécial en mettant en œuvre les recommandations du Comité et en s'associant aux efforts qu'il sera amené à déployer à propos des territoires qui sont encore sous une domination étrangère.

101. M. HAJEK (Tchécoslovaquie): De nombreux orateurs qui m'ont précédé à cette tribune ont rappelé le fait que trois années se seront écoulées bientôt depuis le moment solennel où l'Assemblée générale, à sa quinzième session, a adopté, sur l'initiative de l'Union soviétique^{2/}, comme nous le savons bien, la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux [résolution 1514 (XV)].

102. La valeur historique de ce document important réside dans le fait que, par cette déclaration, l'Organisation des Nations Unies a reconnu et affirmé le processus révolutionnaire de la décolonisation, de la destruction du colonialisme comme phénomène périmé et monstrueux indigne de notre époque. Par sa Déclaration, notre organisation a entrepris la tâche de créer des conditions permettant que le processus de la décolonisation se poursuive de façon paisible, sans effusion de sang, à la condition, bien entendu, que les puissances colonialistes reconnaissent les réalités et nécessités historiques.

103. En proclamant la nécessité de mettre rapidement et inconditionnellement fin au colonialisme dans toutes ses formes et manifestations, l'Organisation des Nations Unies a en même temps mis hors la loi toutes formes de répression coloniale et sanctionné, légalisé la lutte des peuples coloniaux pour l'indépendance. Elle s'est même proclamée la promotrice de cette lutte historique.

104. Dans l'atmosphère d'enthousiasme qui régnait lors de l'adoption de la Déclaration du 14 décembre 1960, bien des représentants ne s'imaginaient sans doute pas que le processus de décolonisation ainsi sanctionné par l'Organisation des Nations Unies se heurterait à tant d'obstacles de la part de certains Etats Membres de notre organisation. En effet, bien que depuis lors un certain nombre de nouveaux Membres aient été accueillis ici — résultat heureux de la mise en œuvre des principes de la Déclaration — et alors que nous aurons bientôt le privilège de saluer l'arrivée parmi nous cette année du Kenya et de Zanzibar, il reste néanmoins le fait grave et déplorable que le colonialisme se maintient et survit dans de vastes régions de l'Afrique, en certains endroits de l'Arabie et des Antilles, ainsi que dans les espaces de l'Océanie.

105. En outre, les conséquences néfastes de la domination coloniale se font encore sentir sur l'économie et d'autres aspects de la vie de beaucoup de pays d'Asie, d'Afrique et d'Amérique latine. Mettre fin au colonialisme et à ses conséquences est donc pour l'Organisation des Nations Unies

une tâche primordiale. Même trois ans après l'adoption de la Déclaration, c'est une tâche importante, complexe et difficile. La responsabilité de cette assemblée à l'égard de cette tâche est grande et grave.

106. Cette tâche ne devrait pas être minimisée par l'affirmation que le colonialisme est pratiquement mort et qu'il ne s'agit que d'une survivance limitée à une petite fraction de la superficie de notre planète et à une minorité insignifiante de l'humanité, aux territoires les moins importants et, dans de nombreux cas, dispersés et souvent, dit-on, incapables d'une vie économique et politique autonome.

107. La réalité, c'est qu'il s'agit d'un ensemble de territoires très vaste. Il a été rappelé que l'étendue de ces territoires est supérieure à 6 millions de kilomètres carrés et qu'ils comptent une population de 50 millions d'êtres humains soumis au régime colonialiste. La plupart d'entre eux se trouvent en Afrique; aussi bien dans le cas des colonies portugaises que dans celui des pays dominés par des minorités racistes de colons étrangers sous la protection britannique ou sud-africaine, ou des pays menacés par une emprise de ces minorités, il s'agit de régions riches, pleinement capables de vivre et de se développer en pays indépendants, suivant l'exemple d'autres nations africaines déjà libérées. Dans d'autres cas, nous nous trouvons en face de territoires séparés, par la force, de pays dont ils font partie géographiquement et ethniquement et auxquels ils s'uniraient si, en vertu de la Déclaration, leurs peuples obtenaient le droit et la possibilité physique de l'autodétermination.

108. D'ailleurs, rien au monde n'autorise quiconque à maintenir des êtres humains dans l'esclavage colonialiste, ni à transformer leur patrie en base de guerre.

109. Quelles sont donc les raisons qui empêchent que la Déclaration ne soit appliquée pleinement, inconditionnellement et instantanément à ces territoires? Il ne peut s'agir de raisons géographiques, économiques et ethniques, bref: de raisons qualifiées d'objectives ou d'inhérentes à ces peuples et à ces territoires. On ne peut pas non plus prétendre que la population de ces pays soit tellement heureuse sous la domination étrangère ou tellement peu mûre qu'elle ne désire pas déterminer elle-même son propre sort.

110. La lutte courageuse et héroïque du peuple d'Angola, du Mozambique, de Rhodésie du Sud, d'Arabie du Sud ou de la Guyane britannique est par elle-même un démenti formel de telles affirmations. L'élément fondamental et décisif du maintien des survivances colonialistes dans le monde consiste dans les pressions étrangères, qui, du point de vue et aux termes de la Déclaration, peuvent et doivent être considérées comme illégales.

111. Il s'agit, tout d'abord, de toute une catégorie de pressions économiques. Qu'il me soit permis de rappeler quelques noms, hélas! trop familiers à quiconque étudie les racines du colonialisme et surtout à quiconque combat pour sa liquidation: l'Union minière du Haut-Katanga, avec la Société générale belge et ses dépendances; l'Anglo-American

^{2/} Documents officiels de l'Assemblée générale, quinzième session, Annexes, point 87 de l'ordre du jour, documents A/4501 et 4502.

Corporation of South Africa, la British South Africa Company, la De Beers Consolidated Mines, Ltd., ou bien, si l'on veut, la Vacuum Oil, l'Aluminium Ltd., ou encore la Bauxite du Midi, l'Unilever, et de nombreuses compagnies pétrolières, pour ne citer que quelques-uns des monopoles coloniaux. Il s'agit là d'un réseau de liens et de connexions mutuels par lesquels le capital américain, britannique, français, belge, allemand de l'Ouest ou sud-africain maintient en sa possession les richesses de ces pays. Il est bien connu que les profits tirés de ces richesses sont plusieurs fois supérieurs à ceux des capitaux investis dans les territoires européens ou américains, que les salaires des travailleurs africains ne représentent qu'une petite fraction des salaires européens ou américains, faisant tomber le revenu annuel moyen par habitant des pays coloniaux bien au-dessous du minimum vital.

112. De même est bien connu le rôle sinistre de ces monopoles dans la récente histoire du Congo, dans le processus d'émancipation des divers pays comme dans l'histoire du Congo ou de la Rhodésie et de tout ce qui entre dans ce que l'on nomme la Fédération centrafricaine, ainsi que dans l'histoire récente de l'Afrique du Sud-Ouest ou de l'Arabie du Sud. Ce sont les monopoles qui ont organisé et financé les dernières tentatives des colonialistes pour maintenir les formes périmées et brutales de l'oppression; ce sont les monopoles qui s'efforcent, une fois obligés de faire tomber les instruments de cette oppression, d'empêcher les peuples libérés de devenir maîtres chez eux, en sabotant leur économie, en sapant l'unité nationale, en appuyant les scissions et sécessions ou finalement en tâchant de soumettre l'économie des pays libérés à des formes de dépendance néo-colonialiste.

113. L'autre catégorie d'obstacles à la mise en pratique des principes et stipulations de la Déclaration — autre catégorie qui est souvent alliée à ces pressions économiques —, ce sont les méthodes de répression brutale. Il est significatif que, sur une grande échelle, ces formes et méthodes tellement discréditées et qui ont souvent échoué dans le passé, ainsi que le démontre l'exemple des nombreuses victoires des peuples africains, ne sont employées ouvertement que par les régimes les plus réactionnaires, tels que le colonialisme portugais, ou, comme en Afrique du Sud, les régimes racistes des minorités blanches privilégiées, ou, encore, comme en Rhodésie du Sud, les régimes des minorités blanches créés par les colonialistes, pourvus de terres et d'autres possessions aux dépens de la population autochtone et finalement investis de pouvoirs sur ces populations.

114. Cette répression armée, tout en causant des souffrances aux populations des colonies, représente en même temps un grave danger pour la paix, comme l'ont souligné maintes fois les orateurs, notamment les représentants des pays africains, ici, à la tribune de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, et comme l'a démontré le Conseil de sécurité, qui s'est occupé à plusieurs reprises de la question de ces vestiges du colonialisme. Il est significatif que les grandes puissances colonialistes ou ex-colonialistes, bien entendu à de nombreuses exceptions

près, cherchent à se servir des formes plus raffinées mais non moins dangereuses du néo-colonialisme. Ce qui ne les empêche pas de prêter leur plein appui, ici aux Nations Unies, et plus encore en Afrique et ailleurs, aux colonialistes réactionnaires de la vieille école, et, comme nous l'avons vu en étudiant l'excellent rapport du Comité spécial [A/5446/Rev.1], de recourir même, de temps en temps, à ces méthodes périmées et brutales.

115. A ce propos, notre délégation croit devoir rappeler le rôle que jouent, dans le maintien de ces derniers réduits du colonialisme aussi bien que dans les tentatives visant à créer de nouvelles formes et de nouvelles méthodes néo-colonialistes, les alliances militaires dirigées par les puissances occidentales. Il faut souligner ici, de même qu'à la Quatrième Commission, que le colonialisme portugais, par exemple, ne pourrait pas exercer ses répressions contre le mouvement de libération nationale sans appui économique, politique et militaire de la part de ses alliés.

116. Il suffit aussi de rappeler d'autres guerres de répression colonialiste, dans un passé très récent, pour se rendre compte que l'Alliance atlantique, pendant toute sa durée, a démontré son efficacité pratique surtout dans ce domaine d'appui au colonialisme. Les armes et autres moyens matériels pour massacrer les populations des pays coloniaux s'opposant à l'oppression étrangère dans toutes les parties du monde ont été produits et livrés dans le cadre de l'Alliance atlantique, que ses auteurs et promoteurs ont si souvent tenté de glorifier et de dépendre comme une alliance pour la défense du prétendu monde libre. Les armes fabriquées et payées par les contribuables de nombreux pays occidentaux pour la prétendue défense de la liberté et de la démocratie n'ont pratiquement été employées que dans les guerres coloniales, précisément contre la liberté et la démocratie de ceux qui les demandent en Afrique et ailleurs.

117. C'est en général l'atmosphère de l'anti-communisme, de la guerre froide, des préparatifs de guerre, de la course aux armements qui constitue un facteur très important dans le maintien des derniers bastions du colonialisme. Cela est évident dans le cas de la Guyane britannique, dont le peuple courageux a donné dans ce pays, depuis de longues années, la preuve de sa maturité politique en édifiant un régime constitutionnel et politique formellement modelé sur l'exemple britannique. Ce peuple continue d'être privé de l'indépendance qui lui avait été promise depuis longtemps par la puissance coloniale, qui, sous divers prétextes, n'a pas honoré ses obligations. Cela est également vrai, sous d'autres formes, pour les territoires coloniaux transformés en base de guerre dans diverses parties du monde, que les puissances occidentales se refusent obstinément à quitter.

118. Il s'agit vraiment d'une interdépendance du colonialisme et de la politique de guerre froide pratiquée par les puissances occidentales. Elle a été constatée et caractérisée, à juste titre, au cours des débats du Comité spécial, de même qu'à la Quatrième Commission et en séance plénière de l'Assemblée générale. Nous regrettons que certains représentants

de pays occidentaux se refusent à constater et à admettre cette interdépendance et cette fonction de leurs groupements et de leurs alliances militaires. Au lieu d'étudier les conséquences déplorables que cette interdépendance peut entraîner, ces représentants s'efforcent de détourner l'attention de ces faits en formulant des invectives et en se livrant à des insinuations sans fondement dirigées contre les liens d'amitié et de coopération fondés sur l'égalité, l'identité de vues et le respect mutuel pour l'indépendance et la souveraineté qui existent entre les pays socialistes. Ces pays sont, par principe, opposés à toute oppression nationale et raciale et ont démontré leur anticolonialisme par des actes concrets, par la solution de problèmes nationaux à l'intérieur de leurs frontières, ainsi que par l'appui inconditionnel qu'ils prêtent à la lutte anti-impérialiste des peuples coloniaux dans les diverses régions du globe.

119. Cette interdépendance du colonialisme et de la politique de guerre froide est visée par la résolution anticolonialiste de la Conférence des chefs d'Etat africains, tenue à Addis-Abéba au mois de mai 1963, que vient de citer le représentant de la Nigéria, qui m'a immédiatement précédé à cette tribune. Cette résolution avertit les alliés des puissances coloniales d'avoir à choisir entre l'amitié des peuples africains et l'appui qu'ils prêtent aux puissances qui oppriment les peuples d'Afrique. Nous venons d'entendre le même avertissement, sous une autre forme, dans le discours éloquent du représentant de la Guinée.

120. La Conférence des chefs d'Etat africains, ainsi que d'autres initiatives et d'autres mesures prises par les nations africaines, a démontré le degré de maturité de ces Etats ainsi que le rôle actif qu'ils jouent et ont à jouer dans le processus de décolonisation, en les considérant comme des facteurs très importants. La position prise par la Conférence d'Addis-Abéba à l'égard des questions du désarmement et de la guerre froide témoigne de la part très importante que les nations libérées du joug colonial peuvent prendre dans les efforts déployés en vue de la détente internationale et de la victoire des idées et principes de coexistence pacifique. C'est ainsi que nous voyons que la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux n'a pas seulement appuyé et renforcé la lutte des peuples contre le colonialisme, mais a aussi aidé ces derniers à secouer le joug de l'oppression, à augmenter les forces de paix et à appuyer les principes de la Charte.

121. Dans le processus de décolonisation, un rôle très important a été assumé par les peuples du monde arabe, et c'est à bon droit que ceux-ci demandent que des parties intégrantes de la péninsule arabe telles que l'Arabie du Sud et Aden, ou Oman, soient libérées, réunies et associées aux nations auxquelles elles appartiennent du point de vue géographique et ethnique.

122. Dans ce processus de décolonisation, la région de la mer des Caraïbes, elle aussi, est devenue, par les efforts et grâce à la lutte de ses populations, un facteur très significatif dont il faut tenir compte.

123. Ma délégation ne saurait partager les doutes et les préoccupations de certains de nos collègues — si bien intentionnés soient-ils — qui se sont exprimés contre l'octroi, prétendument prématuré, du droit d'autodétermination à certains peuples ou à certains territoires trop petits, disent les auteurs de ces observations, pour résister dans un monde où les grandes puissances jouent un rôle tellement important. Ma délégation — comme on l'a déjà souligné — ne peut accepter aucune excuse pour justifier un retard dans l'application des dispositions prévoyant le droit de ces peuples et de ces territoires à disposer d'eux-mêmes. C'est à ces peuples eux-mêmes qu'il appartient de choisir librement leur régime, soit dans l'indépendance, soit dans l'association avec le ou les pays de leur choix. Notre organisation doit s'efforcer de leur garantir cette liberté et non point de les en priver.

124. Le peuple et le gouvernement de la Tchécoslovaquie sont, par tradition historique ainsi que par le caractère de leurs institutions socialistes, adversaires par principe de toute oppression colonialiste. Avec tous les autres pays socialistes, la République socialiste tchécoslovaque affirme sa position anticolonialiste, en toute occasion, aux Nations Unies aussi bien qu'en dehors de notre organisation, par ses déclarations sans équivoque aussi bien que par ses actions pratiques.

125. C'est sur cette base que nous apprécions pleinement le rapport excellent du Comité des Vingt-Quatre. Grâce aux efforts incessants des partisans décidés de la décolonisation, ce comité a contribué de façon importante à l'étude approfondie et objective des véritables conditions de la lutte anticolonialiste et a fait entendre la voix de ceux qui sont à la tête de cette lutte, là où elle est menée, aux endroits les plus brûlants. Au cours des délibérations du Comité, on a pu découvrir et identifier les obstacles opposés à cette lutte de libération par les forces de la réaction colonialiste et l'on a aussi indiqué les voies et les méthodes pour supprimer ces obstacles. Donc, nous sommes d'avis que le Comité a fait un bon travail et qu'il mérite l'appui de l'Assemblée générale pour la tâche qu'il lui reste encore à accomplir.

126. Cet appui devrait s'exprimer par l'approbation du rapport et des recommandations et solutions proposées par le Comité, ainsi que par l'extension de son mandat. L'Assemblée générale devrait également réaffirmer les principes de la Déclaration. Elle devrait condamner la résistance obstinée des colonialistes à la mise en œuvre de la Déclaration, en attirant, entre autres, l'attention sur l'activité des monopoles coloniaux. Il faut notamment demander d'urgence qu'il soit mis fin à la répression coloniale armée; il faut retirer les unités armées colonialistes de ces territoires; il faut réitérer la nécessité de l'octroi des libertés et des droits démocratiques à la population des pays coloniaux pour leur faciliter l'institution d'organes représentatifs capables d'assumer le pouvoir. Il faut empêcher toutes les manœuvres tendant à rompre l'union nationale et à porter atteinte à l'intégrité du territoire national des pays en voie de libération du joug colonialiste. Enfin, il faut penser à restituer aux peuples colonisés la terre et les autres richesses naturelles dont ils

ont été privés par des actes arbitraires des colonialistes. Le Comité spécial devrait assumer le contrôle sur la mise en œuvre de toutes ces stipulations en se servant des méthodes qu'il a si heureusement établies et appliquées dans son activité au cours de l'année qui vient de s'écouler.

127. L'Assemblée générale, à la session actuelle, a été témoin de certains phénomènes nouveaux qui ont contribué à la détente internationale et au renforcement des éléments de coexistence pacifique dans les relations internationales. Nous ne pouvons que nous associer à ceux qui se sont félicités de ces phénomènes, en demandant que ceux-ci soient suivis d'autres actes positifs auxquels notre assemblée pourrait apporter sa contribution. Tout récemment, l'Assemblée délibérait sur les possibilités de célébrer dignement le vingtième anniversaire de la fondation de notre organisation. Notre délégation est d'avis que tous ces phénomènes et toutes ces mesures positives seraient incomplets sans un achèvement accéléré du processus de décolonisation. Nous ne pouvons que répéter la suggestion de notre gouvernement: il serait digne de notre organisation de marquer son vingtième anniversaire par la suppression définitive du régime honteux du colonialisme, qui, ainsi, disparaîtrait pour toujours de la société contemporaine, permettant à des millions d'êtres humains de participer activement à une coopération internationale fructueuse, permettant en même temps à notre organisation de consacrer tout son temps et toute son énergie aux débats et aux activités tendant à renforcer les bases d'une paix stable et durable.

128. M. CAYCO (Philippines) [traduit de l'anglais]: Ma délégation tient à exprimer sa satisfaction du travail accompli par le Comité spécial sur la décolonisation et à rendre hommage au zèle et à la conscience avec lesquels tous les membres du Comité ont accompli la tâche qui leur a été confiée. Il n'est peut-être pas exagéré de dire que le rapport du Comité [A/5446/Rev.1] sera l'un des documents les plus précieux dans le domaine de la décolonisation.

129. Les progrès de la décolonisation, depuis la fin de la dernière guerre, sont extrêmement encourageants. Parmi les vingtaines de pays dépendants d'Afrique et d'Asie, plus de 40 ont accédé à l'indépendance au cours des 18 dernières années, tandis que deux autres, le Kenya et Zanzibar, se joindront à la famille des nations, en se suivant de très près, au cours des semaines à venir.

130. La libération rapide des peuples colonisés et la liquidation des empires qu'elle a entraînées sont des phénomènes remarquables de la période d'après-guerre. Quand on y verra plus clair, on s'apercevra peut-être que la colonisation aura été le plus brillant chapitre de l'histoire de notre temps. Néanmoins, comme le présent rapport ne nous le rappelle que trop, il subsiste des citadelles du colonialisme qui refusent obstinément de disparaître. Elles concernent environ 50 millions d'hommes et constituent, ainsi que des exemples frappants nous l'ont montré, le plus ardu des problèmes coloniaux.

131. Rien ne milite en faveur du maintien de l'impasse actuelle. L'Assemblée est nettement résolue à ce

que l'on progresse dans la voie de l'élimination du colonialisme jusqu'à ce que la dernière poche d'infection soit résorbée.

132. Deux observations s'imposent au sujet des colonies subsistantes. Tout d'abord, on peut dire que l'introduction de réformes dans une colonie, si libérales soient-elles, ne peut plus remplir son objet. Les colonies n'accepteront rien de moins que l'autonomie et la liberté. Le vrai problème est par conséquent de savoir comment, après l'octroi de l'indépendance, l'ancienne colonie et l'ancien colonisateur pourront poursuivre leur association sur la base des intérêts stables communs.

133. On peut observer, d'autre part, que, dans le cas des sociétés multiraciales, il ne s'agit pas seulement d'octroyer aux populations en cause le droit de s'administrer elles-mêmes ou de disposer de leur sort, mais il faut aussi octroyer ces droits de manière que le pouvoir politique appartienne à ceux auxquels il revient, c'est-à-dire à la majorité plutôt qu'à la minorité. Il n'y a aucune autre solution viable, selon nous, et nous ne pouvons nous contenter de moins si les principes démocratiques doivent garder un sens.

134. Avant d'aller plus loin, je voudrais m'arrêter sur les annexes I et II du rapport dont l'Assemblée est saisie et à l'égard duquel la délégation des Philippines tient à exprimer certaines réserves. L'annexe I, qui contient une liste préliminaire des territoires auxquels s'applique la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, mentionne le Bornéo du Nord. L'annexe II est une lettre adressée par le représentant du Royaume-Uni au Président du Comité spécial qui contient un calendrier des progrès constitutionnels réalisés de septembre 1962 à août 1963. La lettre et le calendrier mentionnent tous deux le Bornéo du Nord.

135. Se fondant sur des textes juridiques et des documents historiques incontestables, les Philippines considèrent qu'elles peuvent prétendre à juste titre à la souveraineté sur le Bornéo du Nord, connu aussi sous le nom de Sabah. Les Philippines ont déjà formulé leurs réserves au sujet de ce problème à l'Assemblée générale ainsi qu'à la Quatrième Commission et au Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes. Je ne voudrais donc pas lasser la patience de l'Assemblée en définissant de nouveau la position de mon gouvernement, que nous avons déjà eu l'occasion d'exposer en détail. Qu'il me suffise de dire dans les présentes circonstances que ces réserves restent valables et le demeureront jusqu'à ce que la question que nous avons soulevée soit tranchée par les moyens prévus dans la Charte des Nations Unies.

136. L'Accord de Manille, auquel a abouti, le 11 juin 1963, la Conférence des Ministres des affaires étrangères de l'Inde, de la Malaisie et des Philippines, contient le passage suivant:

"Paragraphe 12. Les Philippines ont clairement indiqué que leur position quant à l'inclusion du Bornéo du Nord dans la Fédération de Malaisie dépendait du sort final de la revendication des Philippines concernant le Bornéo du Nord. Les

ministres ont pris note de cette revendication des Philippines et du droit de ce pays à poursuivre l'affaire en question conformément au droit international et aux principes de règlement pacifique des différends. Ils ont reconnu que l'inclusion du Bornéo du Nord dans la Fédération de Malaisie ne devait pas préjuger cette revendication ou tout droit y afférant. De plus, eu égard à leur étroite association, les trois pays sont convenus de déployer tous leurs efforts pour parvenir à une solution juste et rapide au sujet de cette revendication par des moyens pacifiques tels que la négociation, la conciliation, l'arbitrage ou le règlement judiciaire, de même que par tous autres moyens pacifiques arrêtés par les parties qui seraient conformes à la Charte des Nations Unies et à la Déclaration de Bandoung."

137. En outre, dans la déclaration commune faite le 5 août 1963 par le Président de l'Indonésie, le Premier Ministre de la Fédération de Malaisie et le Président des Philippines à la Conférence historique au sommet de Manille, il était dit:

"Paragraphe 8. Conformément au paragraphe 12 de l'Accord de Manille, les trois chefs de gouvernement ont décidé de demander au Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni d'accepter de rechercher une solution équitable et rapide au différend existant entre lui et le Gouvernement des Philippines concernant le Sabah (Bornéo du Nord) par la voie de la négociation, de la conciliation, de l'arbitrage, du règlement judiciaire ou par tous autres moyens pacifiques conformes à la Charte des Nations Unies que choisiraient les parties. Les trois chefs de gouvernement prennent acte de la situation de la revendication des Philippines au sujet du Sabah (Bornéo du Nord) après la constitution de la Fédération de Malaisie, telle qu'elle ressort des dispositions du paragraphe 12 de l'Accord de Manille, à savoir que l'inclusion du Sabah (Bornéo du Nord) dans la Fédération de Malaisie ne préjuge en rien cette revendication ou tout droit y afférant."

138. Le Gouvernement des Philippines continue de rechercher activement un règlement équitable de notre revendication concernant le Sabah "conformément au droit international et aux principes de règlement pacifique des différends", pour reprendre les termes de l'Accord de Manille. Dans cette tentative, nous avons tout lieu de compter sur la coopération de la partie ou des parties directement intéressées.

139. Cette réserve faite, je reviens à la question dont nous sommes saisis. La position de ma délégation sur les questions de la Rhodésie du Sud, des territoires sous administration portugaise et du Sud-Ouest africain a été clairement exposée au cours des débats de la Quatrième Commission, et la délégation des Philippines a été au nombre des auteurs des résolutions qui ont été adoptées au sujet de ces questions. En outre, mon pays a eu l'occasion d'exposer en détail sa position sur les deux premières questions devant le Conseil de sécurité et de montrer l'intérêt sincère qu'il portait au bien-être et aux aspirations des peuples coloniaux en s'associant aux projets de résolution dont le Conseil de sécurité a été saisi au sujet des questions dont il s'agit.

140. Je ne m'étendrai donc pas davantage sur ces questions et me contenterai d'assurer une nouvelle fois les peuples coloniaux intéressés qu'ils peuvent compter, dans leur lutte légitime pour conquérir le droit à disposer d'eux-mêmes, sur le ferme appui de mon pays.

141. La délégation des Philippines attache une grande importance au droit du Comité spécial de se rendre dans les territoires coloniaux pour observer les conditions qui y règnent actuellement. Il va de soi que le meilleur moyen d'apprécier la valeur des renseignements communiqués par les puissances administrantes ou fournis oralement ou par écrit, par les signataires de pétitions, est l'observation directe. De surcroît, ceux qui peuvent avoir des renseignements utiles à soumettre au Comité spécial ne pensent pas toujours se présenter devant le Comité ou communiquer leurs renseignements par écrit.

142. Mais l'importance du droit de se rendre dans les territoires en cause que possède le Comité ne réside pas seulement dans le fait qu'il permet d'obtenir de plus amples et plus complets renseignements, si précieux que cela soit. Plus important encore est l'effet psychologique et moral produit sur l'esprit et le cœur des gens tenus depuis longtemps dans la servitude et qui, dans leur profonde frustration, peuvent avoir renoncé à l'espoir de voir leur peuple accéder à la liberté. Pour eux, la seule présence d'un comité des Nations Unies, ayant expressément pour but de les aider à accéder à la liberté le plus tôt et dans les meilleures conditions possibles, renforcera leur volonté et réveillera leur résolution.

143. Aussi, ma délégation a-t-elle été très déçue par le refus du Royaume-Uni, qui administre le plus grand nombre de colonies qui subsistent, de coopérer avec le Comité spécial en autorisant ses sous-comités à se rendre à Aden et en Guyane britannique. A notre déception s'ajoute la considération que, si le Royaume-Uni persiste dans cette attitude, les efforts ultérieurs du Comité spécial en vue d'envoyer des missions dans les autres colonies britanniques seront d'emblée compromis.

144. Comme beaucoup d'autres délégations, nous estimons qu'il est difficile d'admettre le point de vue du Royaume-Uni selon lequel une visite d'observations dans ses colonies équivaldrait à une ingérence dans ses affaires intérieures et à partager ses responsabilités de Puissance administrante. Cette position nous paraît trop rigoureusement juridique. Elle ne correspond pas aux réalités de la situation internationale actuelle; elle est contraire à l'esprit de la Déclaration sur le colonialisme et aux buts pour lesquels le Comité spécial a été créé. En fait, cette position du Royaume-Uni ne vaut pas mieux que l'affirmation du Portugal selon laquelle ses colonies sont des "provinces d'outre-mer".

145. Ma délégation prie donc instamment le Royaume-Uni de bien vouloir reconsidérer son attitude dans cet esprit de coopération dont il a si souvent fait preuve.

146. Le Président du Comité spécial, M. Coulibaly, du Mali, dans sa déclaration du 28 novembre 1963 [1266ème séance], et le représentant du Chili, dans sa déclaration du jour suivant [1267ème séance],

ont fait observer à juste titre que de nombreux territoires dont la situation sera examinée par le Comité spécial sont de petits territoires, avec une population restreinte. Ma délégation convient que les caractères particuliers de ces territoires devraient être pleinement pris en considération lorsqu'ils s'agira de formuler les recommandations appropriées concernant leur avenir. Nous estimons cependant que dans la recherche d'une solution il faut, comme dans le cas des territoires plus importants, tenir compte avant tout des vœux et des aspirations des populations intéressées.

147. La tâche qui attend le Comité spécial en ce qui concerne les petits territoires sera sans doute difficile, et la coopération des puissances administrantes est indispensable pour son accomplissement. Le Comité spécial devrait se voir donner toutes facilités pour se rendre dans ces territoires, pour s'entretenir avec les populations et les dirigeants afin de s'informer exactement de leurs vues et de leur exposer les diverses solutions susceptibles de garantir un avenir stable. Il pourrait aussi consulter avec profit les pays voisins, amis et indépendants. Dans certains cas, le Comité spécial pourra juger nécessaire de rechercher un heureux compromis entre les vœux de la population et les mesures que les Nations Unies croiraient les meilleures pour elle.

148. J'en viens à un autre aspect du problème concernant certains territoires dont s'occupera le Comité spécial à sa prochaine session. J'ai une brève observation à faire au sujet d'une question dont mon pays a une expérience non négligeable. Je veux parler de certains territoires mentionnés dans la liste préliminaire figurant à l'annexe I du rapport, à propos de laquelle des réserves et contre-réserves ont été formulées par diverses délégations.

149. Les efforts déployés par les Nations Unies pour assurer la liberté à tous les peuples vivant encore sous la domination coloniale s'exercent parallèlement à leur mission, qui est d'aider à maintenir et à favoriser des relations amicales entre les nations. Les questions non réglées, concernant la souveraineté sur certains territoires, sont une source constante de friction. A notre avis, si le Comité spécial examinait la situation de certains de ces territoires avant que ces divergences ne soient réglées, une telle initiative pourrait exacerber ces divergences au lieu de les atténuer. Le Comité spécial pourrait donc juger utile de différer l'examen de la situation de certains de ces territoires litigieux jusqu'à ce que les parties intéressées soient parvenues à un règlement mutuellement acceptable.

150. Entre-temps, l'Assemblée générale pourrait inviter et encourager les parties directement intéressées à régler leurs différends au moyen des procédures prévues par la Charte des Nations Unies ou par tout autre moyen pacifique qui aurait leur agrément. Ma délégation est prête à appuyer toute initiative qui pourrait être prise dans ce sens.

151. Pour terminer, la délégation des Philippines tient à déclarer qu'elle souscrit, pour l'essentiel, au projet de résolution adopté par le Comité spécial et qui figure dans son rapport. Nous appuyons fermement les recommandations tendant à accroître l'ef-

ficacité du Comité spécial dans l'accomplissement de la tâche qui lui a été confiée.

M. Sosa Rodríguez (Venezuela) assume à nouveau la présidence.

152. M. AL-RASHID (Koweït) [traduit de l'anglais]: L'Assemblée générale ainsi que d'autres organes des Nations Unies se sont occupés de la question de la décolonisation depuis la création même de l'Organisation. C'est, toutefois, en 1960 que cette question a été considérée dans une perspective nouvelle pouvant être mieux définie. Cette année-là, l'Assemblée générale a adopté la résolution 1514 (XV), qui stipulait, au paragraphe 2 de son dispositif, que "tous les peuples ont le droit de libre-détermination". Il est également dit au paragraphe 5 de ce dispositif:

"Des mesures immédiates seront prises, dans les territoires sous tutelle, les territoires non autonomes et tous autres territoires qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance, pour transférer tous pouvoirs aux peuples de ces territoires, sans aucune condition ni réserve, conformément à leur volonté et à leur vœu librement exprimés..."

153. Depuis l'adoption de cette résolution, la libération des colonies a cessé de faire l'objet unique de vœux pieux pour entrer dans le domaine des réalisations. C'est pour cela qu'a été créé le Comité spécial des Vingt-Quatre, chargé par l'Assemblée de s'occuper de cette question. Il a réussi à procéder à un examen complet de 25 questions sur les 64 qui lui avaient été confiées à l'origine.

154. Nous ne pouvons manquer de nous déclarer satisfaits de la nouvelle attitude conciliante des puissances administrantes dans de nombreux cas. C'est toutefois surtout grâce aux efforts incessants et à la persévérance du Comité spécial des Vingt-Quatre que tout cela a été obtenu. L'œuvre accomplie par ce comité marquera une page brillante dans les annales de l'Organisation. Nous félicitons son président, son bureau et ses membres.

155. Permettez-moi maintenant, Monsieur le Président, de présenter de brèves observations au sujet du rapport soumis par le Comité spécial [A/5446/Rev.1]. Du fait des renseignements précieux qu'il contient et des importantes conclusions qu'il formule, ce rapport a permis à ma délégation de se faire une idée juste de la question du colonialisme dans son ensemble. Nous sommes particulièrement satisfaits de la façon dont le Comité spécial a abordé son travail, traitant chaque question en soi.

156. Un problème auquel le Comité se heurtera de plus en plus est celui de l'octroi de l'indépendance à une multitude de petits territoires. Non que la grandeur d'un territoire donné doive constituer un facteur déterminant dans l'application du principe de l'autodétermination, mais, du fait même de ce principe, nous devons dûment tenir compte des vœux des habitants de telle ou telle région qui pourraient souhaiter se fondre ou s'associer avec la population d'une autre zone. Cela impliquerait, outre le facteur de la viabilité économique, des liens historiques, une communauté de tradition et de culture. Nous serions particulièrement heureux que le Comité accorde une attention croissante à ce problème et

fasse rapport à ce sujet à l'Assemblée générale au cours de sa prochaine session.

157. Le travail du Comité, toutefois, ne pourra s'achever rapidement et avec fruit sans la collaboration sincère des puissances administrantes. La libération des colonies n'est pas seulement dans l'intérêt des puissances administrantes et des territoires administrés, elle doit être considérée aussi comme l'un des aspects du principe de la responsabilité collective qui est à la base de notre organisation.

158. Les puissances administrantes ont le devoir de respecter et de remplir leurs obligations découlant de la Charte, obligations réaffirmées dans de nombreuses résolutions des Nations Unies, notamment dans la résolution 1514 (XV).

159. Je passe maintenant à la question d'Aden et du Protectorat britannique dans la partie sud de la péninsule Arabique. Il s'agit là, nettement, d'un problème colonial. Les preuves historiques abondent, et point n'est besoin de les exposer à ce stade de notre débat. Néanmoins, les assertions du Royaume-Uni quant à la légitimité de sa domination doivent être rejetées une fois pour toutes, car la domination britannique a été imposée aux populations par la force et sans tenir compte des vœux et des aspirations des intéressés. Ces revendications britanniques sont en réalité bien fragiles, comme le prouve le boycottage par le Royaume-Uni du Sous-Comité du Comité spécial des Vingt-Quatre créé pour enquêter sur ce point.

160. Nous sommes déçus, à vrai dire, par l'attitude du Royaume-Uni, qui diffère de la politique plus réaliste et libérale qu'elle a suivie au sujet de bon nombre d'autres questions coloniales. Nous regrettons d'en conclure, par conséquent, que le maintien de la domination du Royaume-Uni dans la région a pour objet de servir principalement les intérêts britanniques. Il est clair que les intérêts véritables de la population de ce territoire ne sont pas entrés en ligne de compte.

161. La Fédération que la Puissance administrante a instituée dans cette région était absolument à l'opposé des vœux de la population, qui n'a pas eu la possibilité de faire connaître son opinion en la matière. Cette mesure est en contradiction flagrante avec le paragraphe 6 du dispositif de la résolution 1514 (XV), où il est dit:

"Toute tentative visant à détruire partiellement ou totalement l'unité nationale et l'intégrité territoriale d'un pays est incompatible avec les buts et les principes de la Charte des Nations Unies."

162. Pour combattre toute résistance de la part de la population, comme nous l'apprend le rapport du Sous-Comité, les autorités britanniques ont eu recours à des actes antidémocratiques et inhumains à l'encontre des dirigeants et des organisations nationalistes. Nous sommes reconnaissants au Sous-Comité des renseignements qu'il nous a fournis à cet égard. En fait, son œuvre doit être applaudie et doit amener d'autant plus les autorités britanniques à réfléchir sur la question de leurs rapports futurs avec le Comité.

163. En ce qui concerne les recommandations contenues dans le rapport du Sous-Comité, ma délégation tient à affirmer son adhésion au principe de l'auto-détermination, dont l'application, dans le cas du Sud de la péninsule arabique, implique nécessairement des élections libres et démocratiques sous la surveillance des Nations Unies. Des élections impartiales de ce genre permettraient une représentation véritable de la population, qui, seule, peut déterminer sa destinée nationale.

164. A moins d'une procédure aussi démocratique, aucun gouvernement ne peut valablement prétendre représenter le peuple. En fait, les gouvernements locaux actuels sont conçus de manière à perpétuer la domination coloniale et à sauvegarder leurs propres intérêts individuels, ce qui n'aura pour résultat que d'aggraver la crise dans l'ensemble de la région et d'entraîner des répercussions néfastes dans tout le monde arabe.

165. Puisque j'ai la parole sur la question du colonialisme, j'ajoute que ma délégation ne perd pas de vue les autres problèmes de ce genre qui se posent dans d'autres parties du monde. Hier, nous avons adopté une résolution [1913 (XVIII)] sur la question des territoires portugais d'Afrique. Il existe aussi en Afrique des territoires espagnols, et nous espérons sincèrement que le processus de la décolonisation jouera dans ce cas également.

166. Pour conclure, la question de la décolonisation dans son ensemble est l'une des préoccupations majeures de notre organisation. Aussi pouvons-nous espérer avec confiance une solution définitive et heureuse de cette question qui nous permettra de chasser tout sentiment de rancœur et d'éliminer de notre vocabulaire toute accusation acrimonieuse. Ainsi, notre organisation pourra réellement devenir une organisation de paix, de sécurité et de fraternité pour tous les peuples.

167. Nous comptons que, pour atteindre ce but, les puissances administrantes accorderont aux Nations Unies, et en particulier au Comité spécial des Vingt-Quatre, libre accès dans les territoires qu'elles administrent et qu'elles leur fourniront des renseignements directs à ce sujet.

168. Dato 'ONG (Malaisie) [traduit de l'anglais]: C'est l'une des hontes du monde contemporain que, en un temps où les fruits de la civilisation moderne permettent à l'homme de projeter la conquête et l'exploration des régions lointaines de l'espace extra-atmosphérique, il y ait encore des millions de nos frères qui languissent dans l'avilissement humiliant où les maintient la domination coloniale. La persistance du colonialisme pose un problème qui exige une solution rapide et auquel nous devons nous attaquer avec toutes nos ressources afin que cette institution surannée et diabolique de la domination de l'homme par l'homme disparaisse définitivement et rapidement.

169. Une tendance inévitable n'est toutefois déjà que trop évidente. Le désir ardent qu'a l'homme de la liberté et du respect de sa dignité ne peut être éternellement étouffé par la domination et la tyrannie. Pendant la première moitié du siècle, et en particulier au cours des décennies qui ont suivi la

seconde guerre mondiale, le monde a été témoin de ce mouvement spectaculaire vers la liberté, dont le résultat a été l'apparition de vingtaines d'Etats indépendants et la libération de centaines de millions d'êtres humains après des siècles de domination étrangère. Ce mouvement continuera jusqu'à ce que tous les hommes soient libres.

170. Sans parler de son aversion pour le concept du respect des droits fondamentaux de l'homme, de la dignité et de la valeur de la personne humaine et de l'égalité des droits des hommes et des femmes et des nations grandes et petites, le colonialisme est un obstacle à la réalisation de l'un des principaux buts des Nations Unies, à savoir le développement de relations amicales entre les nations, fondées sur le respect du principe de l'égalité des droits des peuples et de leur droit à disposer d'eux-mêmes.

171. Son existence est une source constante de frictions entre les peuples, et ce qui se passe actuellement, en particulier en Afrique, montre déjà que sa résistance tenace aux forces de libération trouble sérieusement la paix et l'harmonie internationales.

172. Ainsi, de l'avis de ma délégation, la reconnaissance par la Charte du droit inaliénable des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes n'est pas simplement l'expression d'un idéal noble et élevé, c'est aussi la compréhension d'une réalité fondamentale, à savoir qu'une paix juste et durable ne peut être assurée que dans le cadre de la liberté et de l'égalité pour tous les peuples et pour toutes les nations. Ces aspects et d'autres encore des maux du colonialisme sont définis avec précision dans la célèbre Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, contenue dans la résolution 1514 (XV), adoptée par l'Assemblée générale à sa quinzième session, il y a trois ans.

173. Cette déclaration historique marque, de l'avis de ma délégation, une étape importante dans les progrès des Nations Unies vers la réalisation d'un ordre mondial pacifique, fondé sur le respect de la liberté et de l'égalité de tous les peuples et de toutes les nations. En ce qui concerne le rôle actif de l'Organisation des Nations Unies dans le domaine de la décolonisation, cette déclaration a ouvert la voie à un examen constant, systématique par les Nations Unies, du progrès vers l'autonomie dans tous les territoires qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance.

174. La tâche de l'Assemblée générale concernant le problème important et complexe de la décolonisation a été considérablement facilitée par le travail initial accompli par le Comité spécial créé à la seizième session par la résolution 1654 (XVI), comité qui a été reconduit et élargi par la résolution 1810 (XVII), qui a porté le nombre de ses membres de 17 à 24.

175. C'est la seconde fois que l'Assemblée générale a la bonne fortune d'examiner le problème colonial avec l'aide d'un rapport d'une grande clarté présenté par le Comité spécial. Le Comité a droit à notre profonde gratitude pour le travail opiniâtre qu'il a accompli au cours de l'année et pour le rapport monumental en cinq volumes dont l'Assemblée est actuellement saisie [A/5446/Rev.1].

176. Siégeant presque continuellement tout au long de l'année, le Comité a tenu en tout 101 réunions, au cours desquelles il a examiné le cas de 26 territoires, situés pour la plupart en Afrique, couvrant une superficie totale de près de 6 475 000 kilomètres carrés et représentant une population de près de 37 millions de personnes.

177. Le volumineux rapport du Comité spécial contient une abondance de chiffres, d'analyses et de commentaires, d'observations et de recommandations d'une valeur inappréciable pour guider l'Assemblée dans l'examen du problème. Les délibérations de la Quatrième Commission ont été grandement facilitées cette année par les rapports que le Comité spécial a soumis sur la Rhodésie du Sud, sur les territoires portugais et sur le Sud-Ouest africain. Ma délégation saisit cette occasion pour s'associer à ceux qui ont exprimé leurs remerciements et leur gratitude au Comité spécial, qui, sous la présidence de M. Coulibaly, du Mali, et avec le précieux concours de M. Sonn, du Cambodge, et de M. Velazquez, de l'Uruguay, ses vice-présidents, a accompli une tâche difficile en couvrant tant de terrain au cours de la période relativement courte dont il disposait.

178. Ma délégation tient aussi à féliciter tout particulièrement le Rapporteur du Comité, M. Natwar Singh, de l'Inde, et son prédécesseur, M. Najmudine Rifai, de la Syrie, pour la présentation intelligente et ordonnée du rapport du Comité.

179. S'il est vrai que des progrès ont été constatés en ce qui concerne certains territoires et que les autorités administrantes ont offert une certaine coopération néanmoins, le rapport du Comité spécial signale encore une fois, à notre grand regret, que certaines puissances coloniales, en particulier le Portugal, continuent d'adopter une attitude absolument négative. Je ne me propose pas en ce moment de discuter le problème que posent certains territoires africains, où le dernier bastion du colonialisme oppose encore une résistance obstinée. Le cas de ces territoires a été examiné à fond par la Quatrième Commission, et ma délégation a déjà eu l'occasion de faire connaître en détail sa position au sujet de chacun d'eux. S'appesantir de nouveau sur ces problèmes serait une simple répétition et une perte de temps.

180. Ma délégation tient toutefois à souligner l'importance et l'urgence des problèmes relatifs à ces territoires. Le refus persistant du Portugal de reconnaître le droit à la libre détermination du peuple de l'Angola, du Mozambique et d'autres territoires sous son administration est non seulement dénué de réalisme dans son principe, mais dangereux par ses répercussions sur la paix internationale et sur l'harmonie en Afrique. Ma délégation ne peut, dans ces conditions, qu'exprimer sa condamnation de la déplorable attitude de défi adoptée par le Portugal à l'égard des efforts des Nations Unies pour s'assurer de sa coopération pour la mise en œuvre de la résolution 1514 (XV).

181. De même, le Sud-Ouest africain pose un grave problème. Ici encore, le refus du Gouvernement de l'Afrique du Sud de coopérer avec les Nations Unies

au sujet de ce territoire est absolument déplorable et appelle la condamnation la plus sévère de la part de la communauté internationale.

182. Quant au Royaume-Uni, bien que l'on soit encore fondé à formuler des critiques au sujet de certains de ses territoires coloniaux, il a cependant poursuivi la tâche louable de préparer ses territoires à l'indépendance. Le calendrier des progrès constitutionnels, présenté par le Royaume-Uni et qui figure à l'annexe II du rapport du Comité spécial [A/5446/Rev.1], montre que la date d'accession à l'indépendance d'un grand nombre de territoires a été fixée. Ma délégation se réjouit tout particulièrement de l'accession à l'indépendance, au cours des prochains jours, de Zanzibar et du Kenya, et de leur prochaine admission comme Membres des Nations Unies. Nous espérons aussi que Malte sera indépendante le 31 mai 1964, comme il est prévu.

183. Ma délégation est particulièrement heureuse que les territoires de Singapour, du Sabah et du Sarawak, mentionnés dans le calendrier des progrès constitutionnels, aient en fait accédé à l'indépendance le 16 septembre 1963, en fusionnant avec la Fédération de Malaisie dans une fédération agrandie. Comme je l'ai dit dans ma déclaration au cours du débat général à la présente session [1228ème séance], lorsque j'ai exposé en détail le processus constitutionnel et démocratique qui a précédé la création de la Grande-Malaisie, celle-ci constitue un acte important de décolonisation, entièrement conforme au principe du droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes tel qu'il est inscrit dans diverses résolutions de l'Assemblée générale. L'union de ces trois territoires à la Malaisie dans une fédération élargie, conformément aux vœux librement exprimés des populations intéressées, a apporté l'indépendance et la liberté à plus de trois millions de personnes.

184. Au cours de l'année prochaine, le Comité spécial des Vingt-Quatre étudiera pour la première fois le cas d'un certain nombre de territoires pour lesquels des problèmes particuliers se posent. Certains de ceux-ci ont une petite superficie et une population clairsemée; plusieurs délégations ont déjà indiqué certaines des difficultés les plus évidentes qui résultent de cette situation. Ma délégation ne doute pas que, grâce à sa profonde expérience et à ses connaissances approfondies, le Comité spécial n'aborde ces problèmes avec le plus grand soin et l'objectivité la plus absolue. De l'avis de ma délégation, le facteur essentiel doit rester les vœux des populations intéressées. En effet, quel que soit le problème, le principe du droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes doit être pleinement respecté.

185. Pour terminer, je tiens à exprimer au nom de ma délégation le ferme espoir que le Comité spécial, qui a accompli un travail de grande valeur cette année, continuera à faire de même l'année prochaine. Bien que certaines puissances coloniales opposent une résistance énergique, de dernière heure, le processus de décolonisation est irréversible. Tôt ou tard, les peuples encore assujettis seront libérés. Espérons que cette liberté sera obtenue dans la paix et l'amitié et non pas dans l'effusion de sang et l'inimitié.

186. Il y a quelques instants, le représentant des Philippines a de nouveau soulevé la question des revendications de son gouvernement au sujet du Sabah. La position de mon gouvernement à cet égard a été exposée dans la déclaration faite par ma délégation au cours de la discussion générale, le 10 octobre 1963, à la 1237ème séance plénière, en réponse à la déclaration du Ministre des affaires étrangères des Philippines; les membres ici présents pourront s'y reporter.

187. M. SYLLA (Madagascar): Je suis heureux de faire connaître aujourd'hui le point de vue du Gouvernement malgache sur le rapport du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux [A/5446/Rev.1].

188. Madagascar fait partie de ce comité depuis sa création, qui, je le rappelle, découle des résolutions 1654 (XVI) du 27 novembre 1961 et 1810 (XVII) du 17 décembre 1962. Elle a, en 1963, été désignée comme membre du Sous-Comité des pétitions et du Sous-Comité d'Aden. A ce dernier titre, son représentant a participé à un voyage d'étude dans les pays proches d'Aden, le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni ayant refusé l'accès du territoire au Sous-Comité.

189. Ma délégation est entièrement solidaire des conclusions auxquelles le Comité spécial a abouti et demande à l'Assemblée générale de les entériner. Elle se doit de souligner, en passant, l'objectivité totale des constatations faites par le Comité ainsi que le caractère réaliste des mesures proposées pour chaque territoire. Les travaux ont été menés dans un esprit constructif en vue de l'objectif final: le bien-être des habitants des territoires auxquels s'applique la Déclaration. Qu'il soit permis à la délégation de rendre hommage à tout le Comité pour les précieux services rendus à l'humanité, et notamment à son président, M. Sori Coulibaly, et aux rapporteurs, MM. Rifai et Natwar Singh, pour leur rare compétence et leur dévouement.

190. Les résolutions 1514 (XV) et 1654 (XVI), qui sont à la base des travaux du Comité spécial, constituent pour tous les Etats Membres une doctrine permanente qui ne laisse place à aucun compromis, car il s'agit d'égalité, de liberté, de justice et de dignité de l'homme. Tous les pays, tous les peuples encore dépendants ont droit à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance. Ce droit est indivisible, absolu, et ne saurait faire l'objet de discussion ni de marchandage. Mais l'application n'en est pas toujours aisée. Les puissances administrantes ne se sont pas montrées dans tous les cas compréhensives et coopératives. Certaines, comme le Portugal, font état de fictions juridiques pour essayer de faire accroire que les territoires sous leur administration, devenus des provinces, font partie intégrante de la métropole. Pour la Rhodésie du Sud, le Royaume-Uni prétend qu'il s'agit d'un territoire autonome, libre de gérer ses propres affaires et sur lequel il n'a plus juridiction.

191. Les rapports qui vous sont soumis font justice de ces manœuvres dilatoires et posent le problème de chaque territoire en termes nets et précis, défi-

nissant son statut au regard de la résolution 1514 (XV) et suggérant les méthodes les plus appropriées pour aboutir, d'une façon pacifique, à la mise en vigueur des principes de cette résolution. A aucun endroit on n'y trouve trace d'une hâte injustifiée ni d'une quelconque tendance à la démagogie, qui, en fin de compte, se retournerait contre les populations elles-mêmes.

192. Si le Comité spécial s'est surtout penché sur l'Afrique, c'est que c'est dans cette partie du monde que se trouvent le plus grand nombre de pays et de peuples encore sous domination étrangère. C'est là aussi que le monde a constaté, au cours des dernières années, les efforts constructifs et généreux de deux grandes puissances, la France et le Royaume-Uni, qui ont accordé l'indépendance, par des voies pacifiques et dans l'amitié, à la plus grande partie des territoires qu'elles y administraient. C'est dans cette même voie que nous leur demandons de poursuivre leur politique.

193. Me limitant, dans ce propos, aux territoires examinés par le Comité spécial, je lance un appel au Royaume-Uni pour qu'il continue de collaborer avec notre comité pour la mise en application des résolutions concernant notamment Malte, les îles Fidji, la Guyane britannique, la Rhodésie du Nord, la Rhodésie du Sud, le Nyassaland, le Bassoutoland, le Betchouanaland, le Souaziland et la Gambie.

194. Les territoires sous administration portugaise, le Sud-Ouest africain et les territoires soumis par le Gouvernement de l'Afrique du Sud à l'odieux régime de l'apartheid doivent faire l'objet, de la part de notre assemblée et du Conseil de sécurité, de résolutions et de décisions énergiques, car il n'est plus possible que notre organisation tolère que ses recommandations les plus solennelles soient continuellement bafouées. Il y va non seulement de son audience et de son prestige, mais de sa survie.

195. On a parlé, au cours de la discussion générale, de petits territoires dont la situation démographique ou économique ne permet pas, dans l'immédiat, l'accession à l'indépendance. De l'avis de ma délégation, il faut laisser aux habitants de ces territoires leur droit à l'autodétermination et la faculté de choisir la forme d'association qu'ils préfèrent, ou le degré d'autonomie dont ils veulent jouir. Ces territoires tombent incontestablement sous la juridiction du Comité spécial, mais celui-ci aura à examiner attentivement leur cas en liaison avec les puissances administrantes, à qui nous demandons de lui apporter une franche collaboration. Le Comité aura à s'informer, par des études faites sur place, de la situation économique et sociale de ces territoires, du libre choix des populations et, éventuellement, de l'assistance à leur fournir par notre organisation.

196. Ce sont là les très brèves observations que la délégation malgache voulait soumettre aux membres de l'Assemblée.

197. Mon pays, qui a conquis son indépendance par de libres négociations avec la France, et qui a ensuite gardé avec elle des liens d'amitié et de collaboration, pense que ce même processus peut s'appliquer à tous les pays entrant dans le cadre des

études entreprises par le Comité spécial. Le problème racial ne peut pas et ne doit pas être un obstacle à la création d'Etats indépendants, où les droits des minorités doivent être sauvegardés. Mon pays, pour sa part, a résolu ce problème, car 19 tribus, d'origine variée, y vivent en paix et en harmonie.

198. Mais lorsqu'une puissance administrante refuse de s'incliner devant les principes de la Charte et les décisions de notre organisation, nous avons tous le devoir d'exprimer avec fermeté notre désapprobation et d'envisager des mesures pour l'amener à se conformer à ses obligations de Membre.

199. Ma délégation compte que l'Assemblée renouvellera au Comité spécial sa confiance et l'autorisera à poursuivre, en 1964, l'œuvre importante dont elle l'a chargé, et qui doit aboutir, dans un avenir que je souhaite aussi proche que possible, à l'exercice de l'autodétermination pour tous les peuples et pays encore dépendants.

200. M. TABIBI (Afghanistan) [traduit de l'anglais]: Nous avons la chance de vivre à une époque que l'on qualifie d'ère de l'émancipation des peuples et des nations et de liquidation du colonialisme. En très peu de temps, le nombre des nations libres, du fait de la lutte pour la libération et l'indépendance menée partout dans le monde, a augmenté rapidement, et cette heureuse évolution se poursuit. Avant la fin de la présente session de l'Assemblée, nous espérons que le Kenya et Zanzibar seront présents parmi nous.

201. A notre époque, nul ne croit plus aux races supérieures ou inférieures ni aux missions civilisatrices des pays européens dans les continents d'Asie, d'Afrique et d'Amérique latine.

202. Le Pacte de la Société des Nations, les Chartes de l'Atlantique et des Nations Unies et, enfin, la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux reconnaissent formellement à tous les peuples et à toutes les nations le droit à la liberté et à la libre détermination. L'Afghanistan, fort de son propre passé de lutte contre le colonialisme, appuie fermement la lutte des peuples pour l'indépendance. Tant à la Conférence de Bandoung de 1955^{8/} qu'à celle de Belgrade en 1961^{9/}, nous avons chaleureusement appuyé la lutte menée par les peuples d'Asie et d'Afrique pour obtenir leur indépendance, car nous estimons que le colonialisme est la pire des injustices que l'on puisse faire à l'humanité; tant qu'il subsistera, il faudra le considérer comme une menace permanente à la paix et à la dignité de la personne humaine.

203. Nous n'admettons pas que l'on invoque un prétexte quelconque, qu'il soit d'ordre politique, juridique ou économique, pour retarder l'accession à l'indépendance des peuples qui luttent pour s'affranchir du joug du colonialisme. C'est pour cette raison que nous accordons toute notre sympathie aux nationalistes de la Rhodésie du Sud, des colonies portugaises, du Sud-Ouest africain et à tous les autres peuples

^{8/} Conférence des nations asiatiques et africaines, tenue à Bandoung du 18 au 24 avril 1955.

^{9/} Conférence des chefs d'Etat ou de gouvernement des pays non alignés, tenue à Belgrade du 1er au 6 septembre 1961.

soumis à un régime d'occupation dans une partie quelconque du monde.

204. Nous rejetons l'argument selon lequel les peuples qui sont sous domination coloniale n'ont pas encore acquis la maturité nécessaire pour être libres. A notre avis, la maturité et la liberté vont de pair et aucun pays n'est mûr pour l'autonomie à moins qu'il ne soit libre de diriger ses propres affaires.

205. Il est vraiment regrettable de constater que plus de 70 territoires comptant plus de 50 millions d'habitants sont encore assujettis et attendent impatiemment le jour où ils pourront se joindre à la communauté libre des nations sur un pied d'égalité.

206. Ma délégation a étudié le volumineux mais important rapport du Comité spécial des Vingt-Quatre et l'a jugé extrêmement utile tant pour la compréhension des populations et des régions colonisées que pour les futurs historiens qui décriront la fin du régime colonial.

207. L'annexe I du rapport du Comité spécial énumère 64 territoires auxquels s'applique la Déclaration des Nations Unies, mais, de l'avis mûrement réfléchi de ma délégation, cette liste est incomplète et ne comprend pas d'autres territoires également visés par la Déclaration. En dépit de tous ses efforts, le Comité spécial n'a malheureusement pas pu terminer l'examen de tous les territoires relevant de son mandat, mais, comme il est indiqué au paragraphe 50 du chapitre I du rapport, le Comité s'est dûment occupé de la plupart des territoires coloniaux d'Afrique, qui sont les plus vastes et dont les problèmes sont plus complexes.

208. Nous déplorons que, en dépit des louables efforts déployés par le Comité des Vingt-Quatre, les Gouvernements du Portugal et de l'Union sud-africaine n'aient pas coopéré aux travaux du Comité spécial. Le Royaume-Uni a fait preuve d'une certaine coopération, mais il est vraiment regrettable qu'il ait refusé d'autoriser les missions de visite des Nations Unies à se rendre à Aden et dans ses protectorats ainsi qu'en Guyane britannique.

209. Ma délégation estime que, sans la coopération étroite et sincère de la Puissance administrante, les buts de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, comme ceux de l'Article 73 de la Charte, ne pourront être atteints.

210. Nous ne partageons pas l'opinion des puissances administrantes selon laquelle les activités du Comité spécial des Vingt-Quatre constituent une ingérence dans l'administration de leurs territoires; nous les considérons plutôt comme des efforts utiles qui visent non seulement à affirmer la dignité de la personne humaine dans tous les pays, mais aussi à aider les puissances coloniales elles-mêmes à résoudre leurs problèmes.

211. Nous estimons que, en dépit de multiples difficultés le Comité spécial a accompli une tâche extrêmement utile; en un court laps de temps, il a examiné 26 territoires couvrant une superficie de près de 2 400 000 de milles carrés, soit 6 475 000 kilomètres carrés, avec une population de 37 millions d'habitants. Nous avons tout lieu d'espérer que le rapport concernant les autres territoires qui relèvent

de son mandat fournira, l'an prochain, un tableau plus satisfaisant de la situation.

212. Nous espérons qu'il sera mis fin au colonialisme et que le sort de millions d'êtres humains ne dépendra plus du bon vouloir des puissances coloniales. Celles-ci auraient intérêt à réviser leur attitude intransigeante actuelle et à coopérer avec les Nations Unies dans leur noble tâche d'émancipation des peuples du monde entier. Ma délégation nourrit l'espoir que lors du vingtième anniversaire de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, qui coïncidera avec l'Année de la coopération internationale, les derniers vestiges du colonialisme auront disparu et qu'un monde de peuples et de nations libres s'unira pour œuvrer en commun à l'amélioration des conditions d'existence actuelles et futures.

213. M. BUDO (Albanie): La question de l'élimination de l'asservissement colonial sous toutes ses formes qu'examine à présent l'Assemblée générale est l'un des problèmes les plus importants de notre époque; c'est un problème d'intérêt vital pour tous les peuples qui se trouvent encore sous la dépendance coloniale de l'impérialisme; il concerne leurs droits inaliénables et imprescriptibles à la liberté, à l'indépendance et à l'égalité; il touche à la cause de la liberté, de la paix et du progrès de l'humanité tout entière.

214. Le rapport volumineux présenté par le Comité spécial [A/5446/Rev.1], les problèmes dont il traite, concernant des millions d'êtres humains, en particulier les difficultés auxquelles s'est heurté le Comité dans l'accomplissement du mandat que lui a confié l'Assemblée générale, tout cela témoigne aussi à nos yeux de la portée et de la nature du problème. Le rapport met en évidence la tâche qui, conformément à la Charte, s'impose en la matière à l'Organisation des Nations Unies, les efforts que doivent déployer les Etats Membres, tous ceux qui ont à cœur la cause de l'indépendance et de la paix des peuples, pour apporter une contribution efficace à la lutte héroïque de libération nationale que mènent les peuples subissant encore le jour odieux du colonialisme.

215. L'humanité a assisté au cours de ces dernières années aux victoires historiques remportées par les peuples dans leur lutte héroïque pour se délivrer des chaînes du colonialisme. Des dizaines de pays d'Afrique et d'Asie ont accédé à l'indépendance. La vague de la lutte révolutionnaire de libération des peuples d'Afrique, d'Asie et d'Amérique latine a secoué les fondements mêmes du système de domination et d'exploitation inhumaine de l'impérialisme. Le système abhorré du colonialisme se désagrège et sa fin inéluctable approche.

216. On ne saurait pourtant ne pas souligner qu'il reste encore beaucoup à faire dans la lutte contre le colonialisme pour parvenir à la liquidation totale et sous toutes ses formes de ce système. Des dizaines de millions d'êtres humains souffrent encore sous le joug de la domination étrangère, et dans divers points du globe les peuples mènent une lutte résolue contre les envahisseurs colonialistes, et même des combats armés sont imposés par ces derniers. Des milliers d'hommes tombent au champ de bataille,

comme au Viet-Nam du Sud, en Angola et ailleurs, ou sont victimes de mesures de répression atroces du fait de leur lutte patriotique pour la liberté et l'indépendance. Nombreux sont les pays qui sont actuellement l'objet de l'exploitation et de l'agression impérialistes ou qui sont transformés en champs de conflits entre les anciens et les nouveaux colonialistes. Dans maints pays, l'ancien système colonial est remplacé par le néo-colonialisme, les puissances colonialistes cherchant par diverses manœuvres, y compris les mesures législatives, les prétendus changements constitutionnels et autres, à maintenir leur exploitation inhumaine sous des formes nouvelles; dans d'autres cas, les anciens colonialistes sont remplacés par les néo-colonialistes des Etats-Unis d'Amérique, pays colonialiste le plus puissant et le plus dangereux.

217. De l'avis de la délégation albanaise, une attention particulière doit être attachée à ce nouveau phénomène de notre temps, le néo-colonialisme, qui vise à perpétuer la subjugation des peuples sous des formes mieux adaptées aux nouvelles conditions historiques du monde d'aujourd'hui. Par des voies et moyens variés, y compris "l'assistance économique", les impérialistes s'efforcent de leur mieux de maintenir encore sous leur férule certains pays récemment devenus indépendants ou qui sont en train de le devenir. Les faits de la réalité internationale nous montrent à l'évidence que les puissances coloniales, les Etats-Unis en tête, en vue de s'assurer des sources de matières premières et des marchés pour l'exportation de leurs produits industriels et de leurs capitaux, et conformément à leurs plans agressifs, ne reculent devant aucun moyen. Ils s'efforcent de grouper certains pays en fédérations ou en communautés et même de les organiser dans des blocs militaires, avec toutes les conséquences que cela comporte pour la sécurité et la paix internationales, aggravant ainsi encore davantage le danger d'une nouvelle guerre mondiale. Le néo-colonialisme est devenu aujourd'hui la forme la plus dangereuse de la domination et de l'exploitation impérialistes des peuples.

218. Un examen objectif du rapport du Comité spécial, qui concerne un grand nombre de territoires, et une comparaison de ce rapport avec celui présenté à la session précédente par ce même comité ^{10/} nous prouvent à l'évidence, en particulier, que, malgré les efforts du Comité en vue d'accomplir sa tâche conformément à son mandat, il se heurte toujours aux mêmes difficultés qui résultent notamment du refus tenace des puissances administrantes de coopérer avec lui, conformément aux obligations qui leur incombent en vertu de la Charte et des résolutions adoptées en la matière par les Nations Unies.

219. Le Comité spécial exprime encore dans le présent rapport sa préoccupation à cet égard et nous met en garde contre l'attitude généralement négative des puissances administrantes qui élèvent des obstacles de toutes sortes pour empêcher l'accession à l'indépendance des territoires placés sous leur administration.

220. Les obstacles élevés par les puissances colonialistes et les prétextes dont elles font état pour retarder l'accession des peuples à l'indépendance sont bien connus. Nous en avons parlé en maintes occasions, et de nombreux représentants qui m'ont précédé dans ce débat les ont mentionnés ici. La résolution 1514 (XV) a rejeté de telles prétentions et exige l'indépendance et la liberté complètes et sans retard des territoires dépendants.

221. Il est bien connu que les Nations Unies ont adopté, avant et après la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, un très grand nombre de résolutions concernant l'élimination du système colonial. Cependant, les puissances colonialistes non seulement n'ont pas tenu compte de ces résolutions, mais, au contraire, ont eu recours à tous les moyens possibles à leur disposition, allant des supercheries, des intrigues et des pressions jusqu'aux arrestations, aux assassinats, aux massacres atroces d'êtres innocents, aux complots et aux coups d'Etat, y compris les agressions armées, attachées qu'elles sont à la mise en œuvre de leur politique visant à perpétuer, sous une forme ou sous une autre, la domination et l'exploitation des pays et des peuples coloniaux et dépendants.

222. Les puissances coloniales se cramponnent aux territoires qu'elles dominent et s'empressent, pour y demeurer, d'avoir recours à toutes les voies. Le Portugal, suivant une politique absurde, intolérable et criminelle, et jouissant de l'aide de ses alliés de l'OTAN, s'est lancé dans une guerre meurtrière contre les peuples d'Angola, de la Guinée dite portugaise et des autres colonies portugaises en Afrique. Les Etats-Unis ont accordé au Gouvernement de Salazar une aide militaire de près de 340 millions de dollars, que celui-ci emploie pour réprimer la lutte de libération nationale des peuples des colonies portugaises. Des crimes atroces, commis par les forces portugaises contre les populations autochtones dans le continent africain, ont été mis en évidence en détail et non pour la première fois par de nombreux orateurs. Je ne considère pas nécessaire d'y revenir; mais je voudrais souligner que les peuples de l'Afrique tout entière et tous les peuples épris de liberté sont profondément indignés et élèvent une ferme accusation contre les puissances impérialistes de l'OTAN, en premier lieu contre les Etats-Unis, qui sont à la tête de ce bloc agressif, pour l'aide fournie au Portugal, et en l'absence de laquelle ce pays se serait trouvé, depuis longtemps déjà, dans l'impossibilité de continuer la guerre dévastatrice qu'il mène dans ses colonies. La voix des peuples de l'Afrique et de l'Asie contre les puissances impérialistes qui arment le Portugal pour massacrer le peuple angolais s'est fait également entendre à la troisième Conférence de la solidarité des peuples afro-asiatiques à Moshi ^{11/}, ainsi qu'à la Conférence des chefs d'Etat africains à Addis-Abéba.

223. Depuis 18 ans, on entend parler ici de la possibilité d'amener la République sud-africaine à changer le cours de sa politique criminelle d'apartheid

^{10/} Documents officiels de l'Assemblée générale, dix-septième session, Annexes, additif au point 25 de l'ordre du jour (document A/5238).

^{11/} Conférence réunie du 4 au 10 février 1963.

et de ségrégation raciale et d'accorder au territoire du Sud-Ouest africain son indépendance. Depuis 18 ans, le Gouvernement raciste de l'Afrique du Sud, foulant aux pieds des dizaines de résolutions adoptées par notre organisation et ne tenant aucun compte de l'opinion publique mondiale, n'a pas montré la moindre volonté en ce sens; en particulier, il s'efforce, contre toute logique et toute justice, d'annexer le territoire du Sud-Ouest africain, recourant à ces fins à la répression la plus sauvage contre le peuple de ce territoire.

224. Des résolutions comportant des mesures importantes et des sanctions ont été adoptées par notre organisation et appliquées par de nombreux pays. Mais l'Afrique du Sud ne renonce pas pour autant à sa politique d'apartheid et d'annexion, encouragée qu'elle est en cela par les autres puissances impérialistes qui font cause commune avec elle et lui fournissent une aide considérable. C'est un fait bien connu que les puissances colonialistes coordonnent leurs actions contre les mouvements de libération nationale des peuples. Ainsi, en Angola, au Mozambique, en Oman, en Rhodésie du Sud, au Sud-Ouest africain et dans les autres pays où les peuples luttent pour la liberté, les troupes portugaises, britanniques et de l'Afrique du Sud sont équipées d'armes provenant directement ou indirectement de l'OTAN et bénéficient de l'aide multilatérale des Etats-Unis d'Amérique.

225. Le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni, sous la pression croissante du mouvement de libération nationale dans les territoires sous son administration, poursuit une tactique qui a pour but de voiler ses visées colonialistes. Les plans de création de fédérations comme celle de la Rhodésie du Nord et du Nyassaland, ainsi que celle de l'Arabie du Sud, les tactiques de la prétendue indépendance de la Rhodésie du Sud, où un gouvernement de racistes blancs répond aux objectifs des colonialistes britanniques, sont des méthodes caractéristiques de ces derniers.

226. C'est conformément à cette ligne politique que Winston Field prêche actuellement la prétendue indépendance de la Rhodésie du Sud, en vue d'imposer à ce pays la loi raciste fondée sur la Constitution, de sinistre renommée, qui nie à la population africaine tout droit de participation à la vie politique. Un autre raciste blanc, Roy Welensky, le Président du Conseil de la prétendue Fédération de l'Afrique centrale, ne trouve pas d'autre voie pour prolonger l'exploitation inhumaine de la population africaine et garder les privilèges colonialistes que de se rapprocher de ses amis de l'Afrique du Sud et de la Rhodésie du Sud.

227. Ainsi, les politiciens blancs des colonies britanniques d'Afrique centrale ne renoncent pas à l'idée de la création d'une "Afrique blanche". A cette fin, un accord militaire secret fut signé l'année dernière entre la République sud-africaine, la Fédération de la Rhodésie et du Nyassaland et les autorités des colonies portugaises. Cette alliance, connue sous le nom d'"Alliance impie", fut créée pour entreprendre une action commune contre les mouvements de libération nationale des peuples africains de l'Afrique du Sud et de l'Afrique centrale. Dans

le dessein de créer un Etat policier en Rhodésie du Sud, Winston Field a demandé au Gouvernement sud-africain une aide militaire et l'intervention de la police sud-africaine dans le territoire de la Rhodésie.

228. Il n'y a aucun doute que tous ces complots et toutes ces machinations contre les peuples africains des colonies britanniques ont l'approbation du Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni. Mais les desseins des racistes blancs de l'Afrique et de leurs patrons se heurtent à la résistance des peuples de ces colonies et de tous les peuples africains. Lors de sa visite en Rhodésie du Nord au mois de janvier de 1963, le Vice-Premier Ministre britannique, R. A. Butler, a été accueilli par des cris des masses demandant la liquidation de la Fédération détestée et une nouvelle constitution pour la Rhodésie du Nord.

229. Le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni ne ménage rien pour présenter sous un faux aspect la situation dans les territoires se trouvant sous son administration. En Guyane britannique, le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni a eu recours à tous les moyens pour étouffer le mouvement de libération nationale et retarder l'accession de ce pays à l'indépendance, en se servant des divergences qu'il avait lui-même créées entre les groupes politiques.

230. Les mêmes méthodes sont utilisées par ce pays à Aden, où il vise à diviser les tribus et à les pousser les unes contre les autres en vue d'empêcher la réalisation des aspirations légitimes du peuple d'Aden et de supprimer sa juste lutte pour l'indépendance. Le peuple d'Aden demande qu'il soit mis fin sans délai au régime colonial. C'est à juste titre qu'il considère la Fédération de l'Arabie du Sud comme une création des colonialistes britanniques visant à empêcher l'indépendance d'Aden et à perpétuer la séparation de ce territoire du Yémen. Les colonialistes britanniques, poussés par leurs intérêts égoïstes et par leurs plans de stratégie militaire concernant la chaîne des bases militaires qu'ils ont construites au Moyen-Orient, foulent aux pieds les droits légitimes du peuple d'Aden et s'efforcent par tous les moyens de consolider leur domination coloniale dans ce pays.

231. Depuis déjà huit années, les forces armées du Royaume-Uni mènent une guerre sans merci contre le peuple d'Oman, qui lutte héroïquement pour son indépendance et pour son droit légitime de jouir des richesses de son pays. Le peuple d'Oman s'est engagé résolument dans sa lutte de libération nationale. Les colonialistes britanniques mènent dans ce pays une guerre d'extermination pour s'assurer la possession du pétrole et la position stratégique d'Oman. En exprimant la sympathie et la solidarité du peuple albanais pour la lutte héroïque des peuples d'Oman et d'Aden pour leur liberté, nous exprimons en même temps notre conviction que le jour n'est pas loin où l'on verra cette lutte couronnée de succès et les peuples devenir libres et maîtres dans leur propre pays.

232. Bien conscients des desseins et des plans diaboliques des colonialistes et des impérialistes, les peuples qui subissent le joug colonial et l'oppression impérialiste en Afrique et ailleurs renforcent leur solidarité d'armes, continuent leur lutte et leurs efforts pour la libération nationale et pour la conso-

liquidation de l'indépendance contre les menées des néo-colonialistes.

233. Pour ce qui est de la ferme résolution des peuples africains et de leur solidarité pour rejeter une fois pour toutes le joug colonial et barrer la voie à toute entreprise impérialiste qui, sous une forme ou sous une autre, vise à perpétuer la domination et l'exploitation des peuples d'Afrique, permettez-moi de citer ici le Président de la République du Ghana, M. Nkrumah, qui, dans une déclaration publiée dans la revue française France nouvelle en mars 1963, a dit notamment:

"En ce qui concerne la révolution africaine, nous ne pouvons pas parler d'équilibre de force ni même de coexistence pacifique tant que le colonialisme et l'impérialisme ne seront pas entièrement liquidés sur notre continent. Ainsi donc, la révolution africaine ne peut coexister avec l'impérialisme."

234. Certes, les peuples asservis n'attendent pas des colonialistes qu'ils abandonnent volontairement leurs positions et qu'ils accordent l'indépendance. Ils savent que la liberté ne s'offre pas, mais qu'elle se conquiert; ils savent, par leur propre expérience et par celle de leurs frères qui ont déjà remporté la victoire, que c'est par leur lutte résolue qu'ils parviendront à expulser de leur terre nationale les envahisseurs étrangers et à mettre fin à l'exploitation coloniale. C'est grâce à leur lutte héroïque et parce qu'ils ont joui de la solidarité et de l'appui de tous les pays et de tous les peuples épris de paix et de liberté que les peuples d'un grand nombre de pays d'Afrique et d'Asie ont pu se délivrer des chaînes de la subjugation étrangère et accéder à l'indépendance.

235. La composition actuelle de notre organisation et la part active que prennent les représentants des pays devenus récemment indépendants à la défense des droits inaliénables des peuples à la liberté, à l'égalité et à la justice sont un témoignage éclatant des succès remportés par le puissant mouvement historique de libération de la servitude coloniale, ainsi que de l'importance et de la portée que revêtent les transformations actuelles de la société humaine.

236. Plus que jamais la situation internationale évolue en faveur des peuples. Le puissant mouvement révolutionnaire de libération nationale, qui est caractéristique de notre époque, continue et va de l'avant et finira, certes, par triompher totalement et définitivement de l'impérialisme, malgré les efforts désespérés déployés pour maintenir le régime esclavagiste. C'est là le processus irréversible de l'histoire de la société humaine. L'élimination totale et définitive du colonialisme, sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations, est inéluctable.

237. Le colonialisme et le néo-colonialisme ne sont pas seulement la négation des droits inaliénables de l'homme à la liberté, à l'égalité et à la dignité; ils constituent en même temps des sources de guerres d'agression et de tension internationale. La lutte que mènent les peuples pour la liquidation de cette séquelle hideuse de notre siècle est étroitement liée au mouvement mondial pour la défense de la paix. La liberté et la paix des peuples sont insé-

parables l'une de l'autre. Chaque victoire remportée par les peuples dans leur lutte pour leur indépendance nationale constitue un coup porté aux forces de guerre impérialistes et, partant, une contribution à la consolidation de la paix.

238. L'une des tâches primordiales de l'Organisation des Nations Unies est, conformément à la Charte, d'apporter sa contribution efficace à ce mouvement grandiose de libération nationale. Très nombreuses, certes, sont les résolutions adoptées par les Nations Unies visant à la délivrance des peuples du joug colonial. Mais la déclaration et les résolutions de notre organisation ne valent que dans la mesure où elles servent à la réalisation de l'objectif que l'on se propose. L'expérience de longues années nous montre que les puissances coloniales, à cause du caractère même de leur système, ne tiennent pas compte de ces résolutions et ne sont pas disposées à renoncer à leurs intérêts égoïstes et inhumains. Devant un tel état de choses, l'Assemblée générale se doit de prendre des mesures adéquates et énergiques afin d'apporter une aide réelle à la lutte des peuples et de rendre possible la mise en œuvre de ses propres résolutions pour l'élimination du système de servitude coloniale dans toutes ses manifestations.

239. L'histoire des longs débats sur le colonialisme qui se sont déroulés à l'ONU au cours des années, depuis sa création, nous révèle l'existence de deux courants opposés au sein de notre organisation. D'une part, la majorité écrasante des Etats Membres qui luttent pour l'élimination sans délai du régime colonial, ancien et nouveau, et, d'autre part, une minorité de Membres, principalement composée de puissances impérialistes, qui s'efforce par tous les moyens possibles, y compris les pressions, de perpétuer ce régime ou tout au moins d'en prolonger autant que possible l'existence. Il incombe aux Etats Membres qui ont à cœur la cause sacrée de la liberté des peuples d'agir en conséquence et d'apporter à la lutte de ces derniers une aide réelle afin de ne plus retarder la liquidation de ce régime esclavagiste. Dans les conditions présentes, des mesures concrètes et efficaces doivent être adoptées par l'Assemblée générale en vue de couper court à toutes les manœuvres dilatoires des puissances colonialistes et de forcer la mise en œuvre des résolutions précédemment adoptées, en fixant à cet effet une date limite aussi rapprochée que possible.

240. Le peuple albanais, qui a connu lui-même la domination et l'exploitation étrangères, comprend parfaitement les aspirations légitimes des peuples opprimés et dépendants; il est entièrement solidaire de leur lutte héroïque de libération nationale. Le peuple albanais et son gouvernement ont fermement appuyé les droits fondamentaux des peuples à l'autodétermination, à la liberté et à la souveraineté. Nous considérons qu'il ne peut y avoir de paix durable ni de coopération saine tant qu'existera la subjugation étrangère des peuples. Nous saluons et nous soutenons de tout cœur la lutte héroïque et lourde de sacrifices des peuples d'Oman, d'Aden, de Zanzibar, d'Angola, du Mozambique, de la Guinée dite portugaise, du Sud-Ouest africain, de la Rhodésie du Sud et de tous les peuples qui combattent contre l'oppression féroce des puissances coloniales. Nous

soutenons fermement le droit légitime de la Guyane britannique à l'indépendance entière et immédiate.

241. La délégation de la République populaire d'Albanie estime que la tâche la plus élevée de l'Organisation des Nations Unies consiste à appuyer la lutte sacrée de libération des peuples. Nous considérons qu'il est grand temps d'adopter des mesures énergiques en vue de contribuer efficacement à cette lutte pour liquider définitivement et dans le plus bref délai le système de servitude coloniale et pour barrer la route au néo-colonialisme sous toutes ses formes.

242. La délégation albanaise appuiera toutes les mesures susceptibles d'apporter une contribution réelle à la réalisation de cet objectif.

243. Le PRESIDENT (traduit de l'espagnol): Comme on l'a déjà annoncé, la prochaine séance aura lieu ce soir à 20 h 30 précises. Nous finirons la discussion générale du point 23 de l'ordre du jour. Je demande aux délégations de bien vouloir se présenter ponctuellement à 20 h 30 ce soir.

La séance est levée à 18 h 55.

Nations Unies
**ASSEMBLÉE
GÉNÉRALE**

DIX-HUITIÈME SESSION

Documents officiels



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SÉANCE PLÉNIÈRE

Mercredi 4 décembre 1963,
à 20 h 30

NEW YORK

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Président: M. Carlos SOSA RODRIGUEZ
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POINT 23 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

Rapport du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux (suite)

DISCUSSION GÉNÉRALE (fin)

1. M. RIFA'I (Jordanie) [traduit de l'anglais]: L'examen du rapport du Comité spécial sur la décolonisation incite ma délégation à formuler quelques observations d'ordre général sur les travaux du Comité, sans entrer nécessairement dans le détail de chacune des questions et de chacun des problèmes particuliers qui sont abordés dans le rapport ou des situations qui y sont exposées.

2. Nous estimons que l'Assemblée générale a déjà dépassé le stade qui consiste à reconnaître la nécessité de mettre définitivement fin au régime colonial où qu'il sévise et quelle que soit la forme qu'il présente. Sans aucun doute, l'une des pages les plus exaltantes de l'histoire de la civilisation sera celle qui relatera comment l'Organisation des Nations Unies, dans sa jeunesse, s'est consacrée avec le plus grand dévouement et avec la plus grande diligence à la noble tâche qui consiste à élever chaque nation et chaque territoire qui se trouvait dans une situation d'infériorité par rapport aux nations libres et indépendantes au niveau de toutes les autres nations souveraines. Nous devons donc attendre avec confiance le jour où l'étendard de l'indépendance et de la liberté flottera en chaque point de la surface du globe.

3. Dans cette perspective, je suis amené à aborder deux des principales questions qui nous concernent et qui sont étroitement liées : il s'agit de savoir quels sont les territoires qui ne jouissent pas encore de l'indépendance et combien de temps il faudra pour qu'ils puissent y accéder.

4. Le Comité spécial sur la décolonisation accomplit une œuvre vraiment remarquable en s'efforçant d'assurer l'application rapide de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance et il a contribué pour beaucoup à faire naître le désir d'indépendance et à encourager l'espoir de celle-ci dans l'esprit et le cœur de tous les peuples coloniaux. L'important rapport du Comité traduit fidèlement les efforts magnifiques déployés par le Comité pour mettre en œuvre la Déclaration et la contribution précieuse qu'il a apportée à cette fin. L'exposé que le Président du Comité a fait devant l'Assemblée le 28 novembre 1963 [1266^e séance] nous apprend qu'il y a dans le monde certains territoires qui ignorent encore l'existence de la célèbre Déclaration. On peut en conclure qu'une solide barrière coloniale sépare du reste du monde les habitants de ces territoires qui vivent dans l'ignorance. L'Assemblée générale devrait donc fournir au Comité spécial tout l'appui nécessaire pour lui permettre de diffuser la portée de la Déclaration dans tous les territoires isolés et d'aider tous les peuples non autonomes à réaliser leurs aspirations nationales légitimes et à retrouver leur dignité en tant qu'individus et que nations libres, comme Dieu les a créés.

5. Il est regrettable de constater que les puissances coloniales ne sont pas disposées à aider le Comité spécial à remplir les conditions indispensables à l'accomplissement de sa tâche. L'attitude déplorable du gouvernement raciste de l'Afrique du Sud et du Gouvernement portugais à cet égard devrait être examinée le plus sérieusement possible par l'Assemblée générale.

6. En outre, la délégation jordanienne se joint à d'autres délégations pour inviter instamment le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni à collaborer de façon plus satisfaisante aux travaux du Comité spécial en facilitant aux missions de visite du Comité l'accès au territoire d'Aden et en Rhodésie du Sud pour y examiner la situation. En agissant autrement, le Royaume-Uni adopterait une ligne de conduite contraire au vent de changement qui souffle dans la direction indiquée par les résolutions et les méthodes de l'Organisation des Nations Unies qui reflètent l'esprit d'aujourd'hui.

7. Nous constatons avec satisfaction que certains pays d'Afrique viendront bientôt s'ajouter à la liste des Etats indépendants et nous sommes heureux d'apprendre que le Kenya et Zanzibar accèderont ce mois-ci à l'indépendance et que la Rhodésie du Nord et le Nyassaland obtiendront peut-être la leur au cours de l'année prochaine.

8. Cependant, il existe encore une longue liste d'attente de colonies et de territoires non autonomes;

certain d'entre eux sont mentionnés dans le rapport, d'autres pas. On nous dit que le Comité spécial doit encore examiner la situation de 38 territoires coloniaux auxquels d'autres viendront s'ajouter plus tard. Nous devrions réfléchir à cela quand nous envisageons le temps nécessaire à l'application intégrale de la résolution sur l'indépendance.

9. Une région ayant une importance particulière dans le Moyen-Orient est celle d'Aden et des protectorats du Sud de la péninsule Arabique. Lorsque l'on regarde la carte de la côte méridionale, on ne peut manquer d'y voir les nombreux sultanats, émirats et cheikats égrenés les uns à côté des autres et groupés en un seul système colonial, qui a pour but le maintien des intérêts et de l'influence de la puissance coloniale et prive les populations de leur indépendance et du droit à disposer d'elles-mêmes. Mon pays, que les liens nationaux les plus étroits attachent à cette terre arabe et à ses habitants, appuie sans réserve le mouvement vigoureux d'indépendance qui se manifeste à Aden et dans les protectorats, ainsi que les aspirations des peuples de cette région à l'unité nationale et territoriale. Nous demandons instamment au Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni de créer à Aden et dans la région des protectorats les conditions qui permettront aux habitants de réaliser l'unité de leur territoire national, quelle que soit l'étendue que ce territoire puisse avoir, selon qu'il ira au nord s'unir à la mère patrie, le Yémen, ou qu'il englobera à l'est la région du Hadramaout. Cette évolution devrait avoir lieu dans le cadre d'un régime national entièrement indépendant, issu de la volonté librement exprimée de la population. La délégation jordanienne appuiera donc les recommandations du Comité spécial du 19 juillet 1963 concernant Aden et les protectorats. De plus, nous croyons sincèrement que le maintien d'une base militaire britannique à Aden menace la paix et la sécurité dans toute la région arabe.

10. L'éveil national des peuples de l'Arabie du Sud, inspiré par leur propre ambition et par la vague de nationalisme qui déferle sur la patrie arabe et renforcé par les progrès constants accomplis dans la voie de la liberté et de l'indépendance dans le monde entier, exige que l'on mette immédiatement et définitivement un terme au colonialisme dans le territoire d'Aden et dans les protectorats. A cet égard, la délégation jordanienne se joint à d'autres pour préconiser la nécessité de l'unité territoriale des territoires qui appartiennent à la même terre natale et des peuples qui sont de même souche et ont une histoire et un avenir communs. Cette unification offrira aux petits Etats indépendants, d'une part, la possibilité de vivre, et, d'autre part, la sécurité.

11. En entreprenant la lourde tâche de la mise en œuvre intégrale de la résolution sur l'indépendance, le Comité des Vingt-Quatre a assumé une énorme responsabilité. Nous espérons sincèrement et ardemment qu'il pourra s'acquitter de cette tâche le plus rapidement possible. Cela dépendra de l'attitude des puissances coloniales, qui, nous l'espérons, feront toujours preuve de coopération, de la réaction des peuples colonisés, qui, nous le souhaitons, se montreront toujours capables de répondre d'une manière énergique mais pacifique aux espérances suscitées

par la Déclaration, ainsi que des mesures que prendront les Nations Unies, qui, nous l'espérons, s'avèreront toujours efficaces. Mais, si nos calculs quant à la durée du mandat du Comité spécial se révélaient faux pour une raison ou pour une autre, la question de la constitution de ce comité et des critères qui doivent être adoptés pour sa composition pourrait alors se poser.

12. M. PALAR (Indonésie) [traduit de l'anglais]: Le Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux a droit à nos félicitations pour le travail qu'il a accompli. Le rapport du Comité [A/5446/Rev.1] fournit amplement la preuve que la situation des 26 territoires considérés a été examinée avec la plus grande compétence et il est en soi un hommage à l'efficacité des méthodes de travail et des façons de procéder adoptées.

13. Les diverses propositions, recommandations et suggestions formulées par le Comité pour chacun des territoires ont l'appui entier de la délégation indonésienne. Elles sont solidement fondées sur les principes et les objectifs inscrits dans la résolution initiale 1514 (XV) qui contient la célèbre déclaration de l'Assemblée sur la décolonisation. Nous sommes particulièrement heureux de constater que le Comité a toujours gardé présent à l'esprit le très important paragraphe 3 du dispositif de cette résolution, qui déclare que "le manque de préparation dans les domaines politique, économique ou social ou dans celui de l'enseignement ne doit jamais être pris comme prétexte pour retarder l'indépendance". Ce principe fondamental du droit inaliénable des peuples dépendants à la libre détermination immédiate figure dans toutes les recommandations et, dans un esprit louable de réalisme politique, le Comité a souligné à plusieurs reprises la nécessité urgente de l'appliquer dans tous les cas, tant dans l'intérêt du territoire lui-même que dans l'intérêt de la paix et de la sécurité internationales.

14. Faute de temps, le Comité est malheureusement très loin d'avoir terminé ses travaux. Vingt-six seulement des 64 territoires considérés comme territoires sous tutelle et territoires non autonomes ont été examinés et cette liste ne comprend pas "tous les autres territoires qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance" visés par le paragraphe 5 du dispositif de la Déclaration. Il est vrai que ces 26 territoires sont les plus vastes et les plus importants de la liste; mais les événements survenus en Rhodésie du Sud, au Sud-Ouest africain, à Aden, en Guyane britannique et dans les territoires sous administration portugaise indiquent que ces régions continueront d'exiger toute l'attention du Comité. En outre, celui-ci doit encore examiner une quarantaine d'autres territoires. Ainsi, il lui reste à accomplir une grande partie de sa tâche, qui est également celle que s'est fixée notre organisation, et qui est de mettre fin rapidement à toutes les formes de colonialisme. Le Comité a fait un excellent travail en 1963 et l'Assemblée devrait proroger son mandat jusqu'en 1964.

15. La majorité des territoires que le Comité doit encore examiner sont peu peuplés. C'est précisément

pour cette raison qu'un certain nombre de représentants ont émis des doutes quant à la possibilité de leur appliquer la Déclaration. Certains ont exprimé la crainte que ces territoires, s'ils accèdent à l'indépendance, ne puissent se suffire à eux-mêmes sur les plans politique et économique. Nous pensons que ces craintes sont nées en grande partie d'un sincère souci du bien-être des populations intéressées. Nous respectons naturellement un tel sentiment mais nous ne partageons pas ces doutes, car nous estimons qu'une étude plus approfondie de l'ensemble du problème des petits territoires montrera que ce pessimisme n'est pas réellement justifié.

16. Tâchons d'abord de définir ces expressions. Qu'est-ce exactement qu'un petit territoire? L'une des premières questions que le Comité des Vingt-Quatre devra certainement régler lorsqu'il abordera les autres territoires dont il doit examiner la situation sera de décider quels sont ceux qui doivent être considérés comme de petits territoires. Ce faisant, il devra également s'efforcer de découvrir si les populations intéressées sont désireuses de voir leur pays classé dans cette catégorie. Par exemple, bien que le reste du monde puisse ne pas être d'accord, les 25 000 habitants du Sahara espagnol qui vivent dans une région relativement vaste de 102 703 milles carrés (soit environ 266 000 kilomètres carrés) pourraient fort bien s'offenser de ce que leur territoire soit considéré comme petit. Réciproquement, il serait difficile de considérer comme un petit territoire l'île de Hong-kong, dont la superficie n'est que de 390 milles carrés (soit environ 1 010 kilomètres carrés) mais qui compte 3 millions et demi d'habitants, même si la population le désirait. La délégation indonésienne estime que, en ce qui concerne l'examen des problèmes liés à la décolonisation, un territoire peut être considéré comme petit lorsque sa population est d'environ 100 000 habitants ou moins et que ses ressources naturelles ne suffisent pas pour assurer à la population une autonomie économique satisfaisante. Un autre élément défavorable, bien que secondaire, est peut-être qu'un grand nombre de ces territoires sont mal situés du fait qu'il s'agit d'îles très éloignées des continents.

17. Si l'on admet comme hypothèse de travail cette définition commode de la notion de "petit territoire", on peut estimer qu'une trentaine de peuples n'ayant pas encore accédé à l'indépendance appartiennent à un pays entrant dans cette catégorie. De même, si nous acceptons cette définition, nous constatons que la non-viabilité économique en est un élément inévitable. Cependant, malgré les sérieux obstacles économiques dont l'existence est reconnue, cette trentaine de territoires devra accéder à l'indépendance dans un proche avenir si nous voulons faire pleinement honneur à l'engagement contenu dans notre déclaration solennelle de la quinzième session. Aucun de ces territoires, fût-ce le plus petit, ne devrait être exclu. Je pense plus particulièrement à ces îles minuscules qui ne figurent guère que comme des points sur la carte et dont la population est inférieure à 5 000 habitants — voire, dans le cas des îles Pitcairn, inférieure à 1 000 habitants.

18. Que faut-il penser du prétendu manque de préparation de ces territoires dans les domaines politique,

social ou dans celui de l'enseignement? La délégation indonésienne ne reconnaît aucunement l'existence d'un problème quelconque de viabilité politique impliquant qu'un peuple puisse être considéré comme trop arriéré pour s'administrer lui-même. Peut-être certains peuples n'ont-ils pas acquis une formation ou une expérience suffisante dans le domaine de l'administration, telle que nous la concevons aujourd'hui. Peut-être ignorent-ils les méthodes administratives modernes et peut-être ont-ils trop longtemps laissé à d'autres le soin de diriger leurs propres affaires. Mais il est bon de rappeler que, avant l'arrivée des colonisateurs, qui ont assumé cette charge, la plupart de ces peuples s'étaient organisés d'une manière toute pacifique et avec beaucoup d'efficacité en fonction de leur isolement économique. Nous estimons que la plupart des peuples, à quelque région du globe qu'ils appartiennent, possèdent suffisamment de bon sens et de jugement et ont un instinct de conservation assez développé pour se rendre compte de ce qui leur est profitable et de ce qui leur est nuisible, et pour s'organiser en conséquence. En outre, chaque peuple recèle des aptitudes latentes que seule l'expérience permet de développer, s'il est vrai, comme on le dit souvent, que l'expérience est le meilleur des maîtres.

19. Aussi, tenant compte du bon sens inné qu'ont les peuples, la délégation indonésienne est-elle fermement convaincue que les peuples dépendants dont nous examinons la situation ne manqueront pas de faire un choix raisonnable lorsqu'ils pourront exercer leur droit à la libre détermination. D'après le principe VI de l'annexe à la résolution 1541 (XV):

"On peut dire qu'un territoire non autonome a atteint la pleine autonomie:

"a) Quand il est devenu Etat indépendant et souverain;

"b) Quand il s'est librement associé à un Etat indépendant; ou

"c) Quand il s'est intégré à un Etat indépendant."

Les principes VII, VIII et IX expliquent comment cette libre association ou cette intégration à un autre Etat peuvent résulter du désir librement exprimé des populations du territoire intéressé.

20. Ainsi, lorsque la population d'un territoire exercera son droit de libre détermination, elle aura le choix entre trois formes d'indépendance. Lorsqu'il s'agit d'un territoire relativement riche, on peut imaginer que la population exprimera le désir de s'efforcer de vivre en toute indépendance. Dans les autres cas, il est permis de supposer qu'elle aura la plupart du temps la sagesse d'adopter l'une des deux autres possibilités qui lui sont offertes.

21. En ce qui concerne les îles minuscules dont je viens de parler, il est évident qu'elles sont absolument incapables de pourvoir elles-mêmes à leurs besoins dans le monde moderne. Selon toutes probabilités, elles s'efforceront donc de s'unir à leurs voisins, voire aux anciennes puissances coloniales qui les administraient. On ne peut toutefois écarter l'éventualité dans laquelle aucun pays ne voudrait d'elles. Dans ce cas, la délégation indonésienne envisage pour elles la création d'un statut entièrement

nouveau, grâce auquel ces fies minuscules pourraient jouir d'une existence libre, avec la coopération et l'appui de l'Organisation des Nations Unies et de ses institutions spécialisées. On aurait tort, selon moi, de craindre que des dépenses considérables n'en résultent pour l'Organisation déjà aux prises avec des difficultés financières: les territoires dont il s'agit sont si exigus et si peu nombreux que les dépenses qu'ils entraîneraient ne seraient pas importantes, que ce soit sous forme d'assistance administrative ou d'aide économique.

22. Ainsi, aux yeux de la délégation indonésienne, une partie importante de la tâche du Comité, lorsqu'il passera en revue les petits territoires figurant sur sa liste, sera de formuler des recommandations précises sur la forme d'indépendance qui serait le mieux appropriée pour chacun d'eux. Pour ce faire, le Comité devra, naturellement, se familiariser complètement avec les nombreux problèmes économiques et politiques en jeu. J'ajoute, en passant, que nous avons remarqué avec satisfaction, dans le rapport du Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes [A/5514], que le Secrétariat préparait actuellement un document sur les diverses difficultés qui se présenteront lors de l'examen de la situation de ces territoires. Une fois adoptées par l'Assemblée, les recommandations du Comité pourront être utilisées pour l'orientation des populations des petits territoires qui sont sur le point de se voir accorder leur droit à la libre détermination. Pour moi, il ne fait pas de doute que ces peuples seront généralement enclins à prêter attention aux conclusions du Comité pour ce qui est de la forme d'indépendance jugée la plus appropriée pour eux. Si, comme j'y compte fermement, il en est ainsi, le spectre de la non-viabilité économique des petits territoires cessera d'être un véritable souci.

23. En raison des considérations qui précèdent, la délégation indonésienne estime qu'il serait malséant de trop insister sur l'insuffisance de ressources économiques. Il ne devrait pas y avoir de véritables raisons d'inquiétude à cet égard. En tout état de cause, l'insuffisance reconnue des ressources économiques de ces territoires, dans leur situation actuelle, ne saurait être tenue pour une raison valable de retarder l'indépendance, car ce serait aller directement à l'encontre de l'un des principes fondamentaux de notre déclaration sur la décolonisation. Comme je l'ai souligné dans mon intervention de l'an passé sur ce point, l'inclusion dans la Déclaration du paragraphe 3 du dispositif était en elle-même une façon d'admettre que certains territoires non autonomes pourraient ne pas être économiquement prêts à l'indépendance. Or, c'est essentiellement pour cela que ce paragraphe a été inclus: pour nous rappeler notre obligation de respecter le droit de libre détermination quelles que soient les difficultés à surmonter.

24. Il ne faut pas supposer que la délégation indonésienne essaie de minimiser ces difficultés, mais nous ne doutons pas qu'elles puissent être surmontées de façon satisfaisante si nous nous y attaquons courageusement et en faisant preuve d'ingéniosité. Un problème, cependant, nous inquiète: c'est celui de s'assurer que les petits territoires seront réellement en mesure d'exercer librement leurs droits à l'auto-

détermination au moment où la possibilité leur en sera donnée. En d'autres termes, il s'agit de faire en sorte qu'ils soient à même de choisir en toute liberté entre les diverses formes d'indépendance.

25. Ceux d'entre nous qui appartiennent à des pays précédemment colonisés peuvent naturellement craindre — et cette préoccupation est partagée par d'autres membres — qu'il ne soit pas facile, pour de petits territoires, de faire un choix vraiment libre tant qu'ils sont encore sous un régime colonial. La délégation indonésienne est convaincue que les Nations Unies ont un rôle à jouer en mettant ces territoires à même d'exercer un libre choix. Le fait même de la part du Comité des Vingt-Quatre de formuler des recommandations quant à la forme d'indépendance qui leur conviendra le mieux sera, pour ces peuples, une aide précieuse. Toutefois, dans certains cas, de simples recommandations pourraient être insuffisantes et il faudra peut-être fixer une période transitoire pendant laquelle l'Organisation des Nations Unies serait présente dans le territoire même. Toutefois, je tiens à souligner que l'éventualité de la présence des Nations Unies dans un territoire non autonome ne devrait être envisagée qu'à la demande directe de la population du territoire intéressé.

26. En résumant les suggestions de la délégation indonésienne en ce qui concerne l'action future du Comité à l'égard des petits territoires, je tiens à rappeler les termes de la résolution 1810 (XVII) adoptée à la dernière session. Le paragraphe 8 a et b du dispositif de cette résolution stipulait que le Comité spécial devait "continuer de rechercher les voies et les moyens les mieux appropriés en vue de l'application rapide et intégrale de la Déclaration à tous les territoires qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance", et devrait proposer "des mesures concrètes en vue de l'application intégrale de la Déclaration".

27. En ce qui concerne les petits territoires, la délégation indonésienne estime que le Comité aura une triple tâche à remplir pour exécuter les instructions de l'Assemblée. Tout d'abord, il lui faudra passer en revue tous les autres territoires figurant sur sa liste, afin de déterminer une fois pour toutes, quels sont ceux qui doivent être considérés comme des petits territoires, suivant une interprétation sensée du terme, c'est-à-dire dans la ligne de l'interprétation que j'ai présentée à titre indicatif il y a quelques minutes. En second lieu, le Comité devra formuler des recommandations concrètes et détaillées sur la base d'un examen approfondi des problèmes inhérents à chaque territoire, quant à la forme d'indépendance jugée dans chaque cas la plus appropriée. Enfin, le Comité devrait être prêt à se rendre dans un territoire non autonome, s'il en est prié par la population, et à aider activement cette population à exercer librement son droit à l'auto-détermination.

28. Dans mon intervention de l'an dernier sur ce point [1192ème séance], je me suis surtout étendu sur le problème des petits territoires. J'ai fait de même cette année. Cela montre combien la délégation indonésienne se préoccupe de cet aspect de la décolonisation. Nous ne songeons pas à nous en excuser,

au contraire, et il n'est pas exclu que nous présentions, s'il est nécessaire, un projet de résolution mettant en lumière le rôle du Comité en ce qui concerne les petits territoires.

29. Notre insistance sur cet aspect de la décolonisation ne tient pas au simple fait que les petits territoires constituent la majorité des territoires encore dépendants dont le Comité devra s'occuper. Nous estimons que c'est surtout dans le cas de ces petits territoires que la mise en œuvre du paragraphe 3 du dispositif de la Déclaration, qui est le paragraphe essentiel, sera nécessairement le plus malaisée.

30. En outre, nous estimons que ce sont ces petits territoires qui ont le plus besoin de l'Organisation des Nations Unies. En effet, ils ne sont pas assez grands pour que leurs mouvements intérieurs de libération créent une force suffisamment efficace pour obliger les puissances coloniales intéressées à leur octroyer l'indépendance à une date rapprochée, comme ce fut le cas pour nombre des grandes colonies. C'est précisément parce qu'ils sont petits qu'ils ont besoin d'une aide extérieure désintéressée.

31. Permettez-moi d'illustrer cet argument par deux exemples. Malte est un petit territoire, maintenant sur le point d'accéder à l'indépendance, mais il n'aurait probablement jamais acquis si vite cette indépendance, n'eût été la pression exercée en sa faveur par certains Membres des Nations Unies agissant dans le cadre des trois grandes résolutions sur la décolonisation.

32. Un petit Etat a déjà accédé à l'indépendance par suite de la coopération au sein des Nations Unies; c'est le Samoa-Occidental. Ce petit pays, qui ne compte que 120 000 habitants vivant sur une superficie à peine supérieure à 1 130 milles carrés (soit environ 2 900 kilomètres carrés) jouit maintenant de l'indépendance complète avec tous les droits, devoirs et obligations que cela comporte, bien qu'il n'ait pas encore été admis à l'Organisation des Nations Unies. C'est un exemple qui doit dissiper nos craintes et inspirer nos décisions futures en nous incitant à aider d'autres petits territoires à acquérir la souveraineté.

33. La tâche du Comité spécial des Vingt-Quatre consistant à aider les petits territoires à être en mesure d'assurer leur droit à l'autodétermination sera difficile et stimulante et ce sera aussi, j'en suis sûr, l'une des tâches les plus utiles que le Comité aura accomplies. C'est seulement si cette tâche est menée à bien que l'Organisation atteindra l'un des principaux buts qu'elle s'est elle-même fixés lors de l'élaboration de la Charte.

34. M. GEBRE-EGZY (Ethiopie) [traduit de l'anglais]: Permettez-moi tout d'abord de dire que ma délégation est profondément peignée de la mort prématurée du Président des Etats-Unis, M. John Fitzgerald Kennedy. Je tiens à offrir nos condoléances aux membres de la délégation des Etats-Unis et, par son intermédiaire, aux membres de la famille du regretté Président, comme au peuple entier des Etats-Unis. Le président Kennedy était un champion de la liberté et il aimait la paix. Il était profondément attaché aux idéaux et aux principes de la Charte des Nations Unies.

Le monde a perdu en lui un grand chef dont la clairvoyance et le courage étaient une inspiration et une raison d'espérer pour toute l'humanité.

35. La délégation éthiopienne faisant partie du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, elle a eu maintes occasions d'exposer au sein de cet organe sa position au sujet de chacun des territoires se trouvant encore sous une domination coloniale. Elle a participé aux discussions et donné son avis sur les conclusions et recommandations contenues dans le rapport et en fait sur l'ensemble du rapport dont l'Assemblée est actuellement saisie. Cela étant, et pour répondre à l'appel du Président, notre intervention ce soir sera brève. Nos observations porteront sur l'ensemble du problème du colonialisme, sur les efforts déjà faits par le Comité spécial et sur son programme futur. Mais, auparavant, qu'il me soit permis d'exprimer la grande satisfaction de la délégation éthiopienne pour la manière dont le Président du Comité, M. Coulibaly, s'est acquitté de sa lourde tâche. Malgré les obstacles et les difficultés auxquels s'est heurté le Comité dans ses efforts pour mettre en œuvre la Déclaration qui figure dans la résolution 1514 (XV), le Président s'est acquitté de son devoir d'une façon remarquable et il a contribué à l'élaboration d'un rapport très complet, qui expose parfaitement la situation de chacun des territoires non autonomes.

36. Je voudrais également adresser les félicitations de ma délégation aux Vice-Présidents du Comité, M. Carlos Maria Velazquez, d'Uruguay, et M. Sonn Voeunsai, du Cambodge. Tous deux ont contribué pour une large part aux travaux du Comité. Leur dévouement sincère à la tâche confiée au Comité et leur compréhension de la situation qui règne dans les territoires étudiés ont été un stimulant pour ceux d'entre nous qui ont travaillé avec eux. Le précédent Rapporteur du Comité, M. Rifai, de Syrie, qui a quitté New York l'été dernier pour accomplir une mission spéciale, et son successeur, M. Natwar Singh, de l'Inde, méritent également des félicitations spéciales pour s'être si bien acquittés de leur tâche. Je n'entrerai pas dans le détail de leurs réalisations, car l'excellent rapport soumis à l'Assemblée en rend compte éloquemment.

37. Le droit des pays et des peuples coloniaux à l'autonomie et à l'indépendance a été inscrit et proclamé dans la Charte des Nations Unies, il y a près de 20 ans, comme l'un des principes fondamentaux de notre organisation. Depuis l'adoption de la Charte, plusieurs pays d'Asie, d'Afrique et d'autres parties du monde ont successivement accédé à l'indépendance, et tous, sans exception, sont aujourd'hui des Membres actifs de l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Beaucoup d'autres les suivront. Cependant, notre organisation, consciente des conflits toujours plus nombreux qui résultent du refus d'accorder la liberté à ces populations ou des obstacles à leur indépendance, consciente aussi du désir passionné de liberté de tous les peuples non autonomes et de leur rôle décisif dans leur accession à l'indépendance, a proclamé la nécessité de mettre fin rapidement et sans condition au colonialisme sous toutes ses

formes et dans toutes ses manifestations. Trois années se sont écoulées depuis l'adoption de cette déclaration historique sur l'octroi de l'indépendance, mais le processus de la décolonisation, malheureusement, traîne en longueur de façon décourageante, contrairement aux vœux de l'écrasante majorité des Membres des Nations Unies qui ont voté pour la résolution contenant la Déclaration.

38. Le Portugal continue sans désenrayer sa guerre coloniale, au Mozambique et dans ses autres colonies. Il a refusé de coopérer avec le Comité spécial pour l'exécution du mandat confié à ce dernier par la résolution 1514 (XV). Ainsi, le problème des colonies portugaises demeure une menace sérieuse pour la paix et la sécurité en Afrique et dans le monde entier.

39. En Rhodésie du Sud, la situation reste sans solution malgré les efforts renouvelés du Comité spécial ainsi que des deux principaux organes des Nations Unies. Le Gouvernement minoritaire blanc de ce pays continue d'opprimer impitoyablement la majorité africaine, politique qui n'a d'égal que l'apartheid pratiqué par le Gouvernement de l'Afrique du Sud. La situation du Sud-Ouest africain a empiré, et les violations des dispositions des obligations contenues dans le mandat ne font qu'augmenter.

40. La situation dans les trois territoires de la Haute Commission, le Bassoutoland, le Betchouanaland et le Souaziland, ainsi que les progrès de ces territoires vers l'indépendance sont loin d'être satisfaisants. Le processus du transfert des pouvoirs à la population est extrêmement lent et ne se fait pas conformément aux dispositions de la Déclaration. La délégation éthiopienne éprouve de vives préoccupations et déplore le refus persistant de la puissance administrante de coopérer pleinement avec le Comité spécial dans l'accomplissement des responsabilités qui lui incombent en ce qui concerne l'accession à l'indépendance de ces trois territoires. Nous avons mis le Comité spécial en garde et nous tenons à répéter ici que l'augmentation dangereuse de la tension dans les territoires de la Haute Commission provoquée par la connaissance des intentions avouées de la République sud-africaine rend nécessaire l'examen de la question à bref délai par l'Assemblée.

41. Les territoires dépendants situés à l'extrémité sud de l'Arabie Saoudite et autour d'elle sont encore sous le joug cruel du colonialisme et leur espoir et leur désir d'accéder à l'autonomie et à l'indépendance conformément à la Déclaration des Nations Unies n'ont pas encore été satisfaits. Le retard apporté à l'indépendance de la Guyane britannique nous préoccupe aussi beaucoup. Le manque de coopération de l'autorité administrante avec le Comité spécial à propos de ce territoire ainsi que les difficultés politiques internes du pays rendent nécessaire l'adoption sans tarder de mesures positives par l'Assemblée.

42. Après une longue lutte qui a fait verser beaucoup de sang, le Kenya a réussi à faire valoir son droit à l'indépendance et il viendra occuper sa place parmi nous dans une dizaine de jours. Je profite de l'occasion qui m'est offerte pour exprimer notre profonde satisfaction et notre grande joie. Le peuple du Kenya a conquis son indépendance en dépit des

efforts de l'autorité administrante. Zanzibar accédera à l'indépendance complète plus tôt encore. Tout cela est pour nous une source de satisfaction, mais nous sommes vraiment préoccupés par la lenteur de l'évolution vers l'indépendance de la Rhodésie du Nord et du Nyassaland et par le fait qu'il n'ait pas été fixé de date précise pour l'accession à l'indépendance de la population de ces territoires. Nous avions espéré que ces deux pays africains entreraient dans la communauté mondiale avant la fin de cette année.

43. En fait, l'avenir de la majorité des territoires africains actuellement sous domination coloniale est encore très sombre. La population de ces territoires n'a qu'un espoir et c'est bien entendu l'aide que peuvent lui apporter ceux qui se sont montrés fermement résolus à veiller à l'application des décisions des Nations Unies les concernant. A ce propos, les dirigeants africains, au cours de leur conférence au sommet, ont décidé à l'unanimité cette année de se consulter et de coordonner leurs efforts et leur action dans le domaine de la décolonisation et ils ont à cette fin arrêté plusieurs mesures qui, sans aucun doute, porteront des fruits à mesure qu'elles seront appliquées.

44. Je voudrais, pour terminer, exprimer, au nom de la délégation éthiopienne, l'espoir que le rapport et les recommandations du Comité spécial seront adoptés à l'unanimité par l'Assemblée. Nous tenons à souligner qu'une adoption des recommandations et des résolutions qui ne serait pas suivie d'une application générale, en particulier de leur application par ceux qui sont en position d'intervenir efficacement, serait dénuée de tout sens. En conséquence, le Gouvernement éthiopien est sincèrement convaincu que, à ce stade ultime, tous les Etats Membres qui, jusqu'à présent, se sont montrés circonspects et réservés à l'égard des efforts croissants déployés par les Nations Unies pour éliminer le colonialisme, se joindront maintenant à nous pour mettre un terme à la domination coloniale.

45. Enfin, je déclare au nom de ma délégation que nous comptons avec confiance sur l'entière coopération des puissances administrantes, en particulier sur celle du Royaume-Uni, aux efforts du Comité spécial pour l'application intégrale des résolutions de l'Assemblée générale relatives aux territoires coloniaux. En ce qui concerne le Portugal et l'Afrique du Sud, qui ont obstinément refusé d'une manière provocante de coopérer avec les Nations Unies, il faudrait demander instamment à leurs alliés et à leurs partisans de mettre un terme à toute assistance à ces pays, ainsi que le prévoient les résolutions antérieures, et d'intervenir pour que les décisions des Nations Unies soient appliquées.

M. Rossides (Chypre), vice-président, prend la présidence.

46. M. YOMEKPE (Ghana) [traduit de l'anglais]: Je me permets de rappeler que, le 29 novembre 1962, à une séance plénière de la dix-septième session de l'Assemblée générale, M. Quaison-Sackey a déclaré ce qui suit:

"... En ce qui nous concerne, toutes les puissances coloniales qui, d'ici au 31 décembre 1962,

n'auront pas accordé l'indépendance aux pays africains encore dépendants seront considérées comme des agresseurs qui troublent la paix mondiale. Au-delà de cette date, les puissances coloniales présentes en Afrique seront considérées par le Ghana comme transgressant la Charte des Nations Unies et défiant la conscience de l'humanité." [1180ème séance, par. 140.]

Cette position du Ghana est confirmée par la Déclaration historique de l'Assemblée générale de 1960, contenue dans la résolution 1514 (XV), qui dit entre autres:

"La sujétion des peuples à une subjugation, à une domination et à une exploitation étrangères constitue un déni des droits fondamentaux de l'homme, est contraire à la Charte des Nations Unies et compromet la cause de la paix et de la coopération mondiales."

47. Aujourd'hui, donc, nous tendons un doigt accusateur vers les puissances coloniales, parce qu'elles ont transgressé la Charte des Nations Unies et la Déclaration des droits de l'homme. Elles sont condamnées par le monde entier.

48. La délégation du Ghana a étudié avec grand intérêt le volumineux rapport du Comité des Vingt-Quatre, le second depuis l'adoption de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. La longueur de ce rapport démontre clairement que le monde colonial n'a connu que peu ou pas de changements depuis le premier rapport présenté par le Comité l'an dernier. Avant de faire quelques brèves observations sur les travaux du Comité spécial, ma délégation voudrait exprimer sa satisfaction au Président du Comité, M. Sory Coulibaly, du Mali, aux deux Vice-Présidents, M. Velazquez, d'Uruguay, et M. Sonn Voeunsai, du Cambodge, au Rapporteur du Comité, M. Natwar Singh, de l'Inde, ainsi qu'aux autres membres du Comité pour la diligence avec laquelle ils ont rempli les tâches qui leur étaient assignées par la résolution 1810 (XVII) du 17 décembre 1962. Nous exprimons également notre satisfaction au Secrétaire général et aux autres membres du Secrétariat qui ont assisté le Comité dans sa tâche.

49. La délégation ghanéenne regrette que, en dépit des efforts opiniâtres du Comité spécial, les résultats obtenus jusqu'ici aient été négligeables. Cela résulte du fait que certaines puissances coloniales, en particulier le Portugal, ont obstinément refusé de coopérer avec le Comité et que d'autres, qui ont coopéré avec le Comité, n'ont pas accepté ses décisions.

50. Ma délégation déplore le fait que le Royaume-Uni, membre du Comité, ait réduit l'efficacité de celui-ci en refusant de permettre à ses représentants de se rendre dans quelques-uns ou dans tous les territoires sous administration britannique. A notre avis, ces visites sont nécessaires pour que le Comité spécial s'acquitte de son mandat, qui est de s'assurer des désirs des peuples de ces territoires. Nous espérons donc que le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni revisera sa position à cet égard et coopérera pleinement avec le Comité.

51. Etant donné que le cas de la majorité des territoires faisant l'objet du rapport du Comité a été

ou est actuellement examiné dans d'autres commissions et organes des Nations Unies, je me bornerai à faire quelques brèves observations sur un ou deux territoires.

52. Tout d'abord, je parlerai des territoires de la Haute Commission, le Betchoualand, le Bassoutoland et le Souaziland. Dans son intervention dans la discussion générale, le vendredi 27 septembre 1963, le Ministre des affaires étrangères du Ghana, M. Betsio, a fait au sujet de ces territoires, la déclaration suivante:

"Les ouvertures inquiétantes récemment faites par le Gouvernement sud-africain au sujet du statut futur du Bassoutoland, du Betchoualand et du Souaziland ont mis nettement en évidence les anomalies politiques et économiques déplorables qui existent dans ces territoires. Malgré les dispositions de la résolution 1817 (XVII) de l'Assemblée générale, le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni n'a pas encore pris de mesures en vue de créer des institutions démocratiques après la réunion d'une conférence constitutionnelle, avec la pleine participation de tous les chefs politiques régulièrement élus, afin de préparer la voie à l'obtention de l'indépendance complète. Au lieu d'appliquer cette résolution, le Royaume-Uni a imposé au Souaziland une constitution contre la volonté de la majorité, et il en est résulté une grève générale qui a été réprimée par la force armée. Par ailleurs, la composition des conférences constitutionnelles pour le Betchoualand et le Bassoutoland était absolument insatisfaisante, étant donné qu'il y avait prépondérance des fonctionnaires et des chefs traditionnels. L'autorité administrante a nettement tendance à dresser le peuple de ces territoires contre ses chefs traditionnels. Ma délégation espère que le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni se rendra compte des dangers inhérents à la vieille pratique qui consiste à diviser pour régner." [1219ème séance, par. 34]

53. La délégation du Ghana fait entièrement siennes les recommandations du Comité spécial tendant à ce que des observateurs des Nations Unies soient envoyés dans ces trois territoires afin d'empêcher tout empiètement de la part de l'Afrique du Sud et en vue de garantir leur intégrité territoriale. Ma délégation souscrit également aux recommandations du Comité spécial concernant la fourniture d'une assistance technique des Nations Unies aux trois territoires de la Haute Commission. Les populations de ces territoires devraient être autorisées à exercer sans nouveau retard leur droit à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance, sur la base du suffrage universel des adultes.

54. J'en viens à la question de la Guyane britannique, ce malheureux pays qui est devenu un pion sur l'échiquier diplomatique du Royaume-Uni et des Etats-Unis d'Amérique. Les tentatives qui seraient faites par les Etats-Unis pour retarder l'indépendance de la Guyane britannique sous prétexte que ce pays va vers le communisme préoccupent vivement ma délégation. Nous nous sentons obligés de faire à ce sujet quelques observations sur la déclaration faite récemment devant le Congrès par les dirigeants du parti républicain des Etats-Unis d'Amérique, telle

qu'elle a été rapportée par la presse. Ces dirigeants auraient dit que:

"... La mainmise du communisme sur un nouveau pays d'Amérique latine est imminente et seule la diplomatie la plus persuasive, de la part des États-Unis, peut l'empêcher. Le pays en cause est la Guyane britannique, colonie de la Couronne à laquelle la Grande-Bretagne doit accorder la pleine indépendance d'ici à la fin de l'année en cours. Nous estimons que la situation actuelle dans ce pays nous oblige à adopter cette ligne de conduite."

55. Seuls les habitants de la Guyane ont le droit de choisir la forme de gouvernement qui convient à leur pays. C'est un droit divin, en vertu duquel cette population peut prétendre choisir la forme de gouvernement, capitaliste ou communiste, ou tout autre forme d'administration, qu'elle estime, et elle seule, lui convenir. Nous espérons que cette ingérence flagrante dans les affaires intérieures de la Guyane britannique cessera.

56. La délégation du Ghana veut croire et espérer que la décision d'imposer une constitution au peuple de la Guyane prise dernièrement par le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni n'a aucun rapport avec les craintes exprimées aux États-Unis au sujet de la forme de gouvernement de ce territoire. Cependant, ma délégation a été très déçue du fait que le système de la représentation proportionnelle ait été imposé au corps électoral guyanais. Le Ghana s'est toujours élevé contre l'imposition de la volonté d'une minorité à la majorité des intéressés. Il a toujours été en faveur d'un gouvernement majoritaire issu du suffrage universel des adultes, chaque électeur disposant d'une voix. Quelles que soient les raisons invoquées pour imposer le nouveau système électoral en Guyane, ma délégation ne pense pas que ce soit la réponse appropriée aux problèmes qui se posent dans ce pays. Nous sommes convaincus que ce système ne peut avoir pour résultat que de raviver les excès de l'intolérance, du racisme et du sectarisme. En outre, il étendra la ligne de démarcation raciale actuelle au régime politique du pays. Le Secrétaire britannique aux colonies s'est-il absolument assuré qu'il n'y a pas d'autre méthode pour faire régner l'harmonie raciale en Guyane britannique que la représentation proportionnelle? Par exemple, a-t-il envisagé de faire appel aux bons offices du Commonwealth pour concilier les oppositions au sein de la population de la Guyane britannique? Nous estimons, nous, qu'il existe d'autres méthodes, et l'expérience a montré qu'une solution meilleure et plus acceptable aurait pu être trouvée.

57. La Guyane britannique est située dans la zone des Antilles, de même que la Jamaïque et la Trinité et Tobago. La population de ces trois pays est composée de groupes raciaux différents. A la Jamaïque, l'unité totale des diverses races est réalisée. Elle est symbolisée par la devise nationale "Out of many, one people" (La diversité compose l'unité). A la Trinité et Tobago, la même unité des races a été réalisée, en dépit des difficultés qui existaient sous le régime colonial. Cette unité est également symbolisée par la devise nationale: "Ensemble nous voulons, ensemble nous accomplissons". Si l'unité est possible à la Jamaïque et à

la Trinité et Tobago, sans aucun doute, il pourra être de même en Guyane britannique. Je sais que le Président de la République du Ghana, M. Kwame Nkrumah, s'est efforcé de rapprocher les dirigeants de la Guyane britannique et je crois qu'il poursuivra son action dans ce sens.

58. En conséquence, nous espérons fermement que le grand peuple de la Guyane britannique oubliera ce qui le divise et s'unira pour édifier une nation. Il ne doit pas perdre de vue que l'indépendance n'est pas une fin en soi mais un moyen de parvenir à un but. Il incombera à ce peuple, au lendemain de son indépendance, de faire les sacrifices nécessaires pour effacer toute considération d'ordre racial et pour construire son pays.

59. La délégation du Ghana ne voit pas pourquoi le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni n'a pas annoncé la date de l'indépendance de la Guyane britannique lorsqu'il a proclamé la nouvelle constitution qu'il a imposée à la population de ce pays. Nous avons appris que l'une des conditions — en fait, la plus importante — sur lesquelles les dirigeants de la Guyane britannique étaient tombés d'accord pour accepter l'arbitrage du Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni était que la date de l'indépendance serait annoncée en même temps que toute modification constitutionnelle.

60. La constitution a été modifiée sous l'autorité du Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni, mais aucune date n'a été fixée pour l'octroi de l'indépendance. Si ce que l'on nous a dit est exact, il y a manifestement de la part du Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni manquement à un engagement quant à la fixation de la date de l'indépendance de la Guyane britannique. Le chef de l'opposition, M. Burnham, et le premier ministre, M. Cheddi Jagan, ont publié, au sujet des modifications constitutionnelles intervenues, des déclarations dans lesquelles ils ont exprimé leur déception qu'aucune date n'ait été fixée pour la proclamation de l'indépendance de la Guyane britannique. Il s'ensuit donc que la question de la date de l'indépendance n'est pas le point principal de désaccord entre les dirigeants. C'est pourquoi nous demandons instamment au Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni qu'il fixe sans plus tarder la date de l'indépendance de ce pays.

61. Avant de conclure, je voudrais dire une fois de plus que la délégation du Ghana attend avec joie l'indépendance du Kenya et de Zanzibar; nous espérons que ces deux États s'associeront à nous dans cette communauté mondiale. Nous attendons également avec plaisir l'indépendance prochaine du Nyassaland et de la Rhodésie du Nord, et, en fait, celle de tous les autres territoires d'Afrique. Les puissances coloniales ont été maintes fois invitées à quitter l'Afrique. Loin de coopérer avec les Nations Unies, ces puissances font fi de l'esprit comme de la lettre, des décisions de l'Organisation, en s'enracinant plus profondément encore en Afrique centrale et méridionale et en se préparant à combattre les forces de la liberté et de la démocratie, au risque d'encourir la réprobation de l'opinion publique mondiale.

62. Je dirai toutefois que leurs jours sont comptés; ces puissances ne sauraient continuer à résister à l'indignation universelle que provoquent leurs pratiques inhumaines de sujétion et de domination. Nous

savons que bientôt elles devront rendre des comptes au monde; nous savons que les deux plus grandes et plus puissantes nations du monde se sont engagées à lutter pour la liberté de l'humanité. Nous rendons hommage au Premier Ministre de l'URSS, M. Nikita Khrouchtchev et au peuple soviétique pour le rôle qu'ils ont joué dans le combat pour la liberté des peuples non encore libérés; nous rendons également hommage à la mémoire du président Kennedy, qui, durant sa présidence brève mais si bien remplie, a agi sans crainte, en faveur de l'émancipation du genre humain. C'est pour nous un motif de satisfaction que le président Lyndon B. Johnson ait réaffirmé les principes de liberté qui étaient ceux de ses grands prédécesseurs, le président Roosevelt et le président Kennedy.

63. Dans un message adressé récemment au Président du Ghana, le président Johnson déclarait: "Soyez assuré, M. le Président, de nos efforts continus pour consolider les fondements de l'indépendance des Etats africains et pour permettre à tous les peuples d'Afrique qui ne sont pas encore libres d'accéder à la liberté."

64. Nous avons bon espoir que ces magnifiques paroles se traduiront par une action résolue et une ferme conviction et que nous nous unissons tous pour éliminer du monde le racisme, le sectarisme, la haine et l'esprit de domination.

M. Sosa Rodríguez (Venezuela) reprend la présidence.

65. M. TARAIZI (Syrie): L'Assemblée générale a, le 14 décembre 1960, adopté sa résolution historique, la résolution 1514 (XV) sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. Cette résolution était due à l'initiative de l'Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques.

66. En dépit de son adoption et malgré le fait que trois années se sont déjà écoulées depuis cette date, nous avons le regret de constater que la plupart des territoires que cette résolution visait n'ont pas encore atteint leur indépendance ou leur autonomie.

67. Bien plus, l'Assemblée générale a décidé en 1961 [résolution 1654 (XVI)] la création d'un comité spécial chargé de mettre en œuvre la résolution précitée. Ce comité s'est réuni au cours de l'année 1962 et il a présenté son rapport à l'Assemblée générale au cours de sa dix-septième session^{1/}; l'Assemblée a chargé le Comité spécial, tout en l'élargissant, de continuer ses travaux [résolution 1810 (XVII)]. Le Comité spécial a présenté un rapport à la présente session de l'Assemblée générale [A/5446/Rev.1] et malgré cela, nous avons le regret de constater deux choses:

1) En dépit des efforts continus poursuivis par le Comité spécial, les puissances administrantes n'ont pas voulu répondre à l'appel qu'il leur a fait et, de ce fait, lesdites puissances n'ont pas entendu coopérer avec le Comité et n'ont pas entendu donner suite aux dispositions de la résolution du 14 décembre 1960.

2) Le Royaume-Uni a refusé de recevoir deux missions de visite ou deux sous-comités que le Comité spécial avait chargés de se rendre dans le Royaume-Uni et dans les territoires en question afin d'y étudier la situation. Cette attitude du Royaume-Uni est, c'est le moins qu'on puisse dire, déconcertante.

68. En effet, la raison qui a été avancée du refus de coopérer avec les sous-comités en question n'est pas concluante et les arguments que le Royaume-Uni apporte ne sauraient nous convaincre, pour la raison que les territoires en question sont des territoires soumis à l'autorité des Nations Unies; ce sont des territoires qui tombent sous le coup des dispositions de la Charte et des dispositions de la résolution du 14 décembre 1960.

69. Par conséquent, le fait par le Royaume-Uni de prétendre qu'en envoyant des missions de visite le Comité spécial s'ingère dans les affaires intérieures du Royaume-Uni ne constitue ni plus ni moins qu'une prétention qui relève des dispositions du droit international public colonial.

70. Ce droit et les dispositions qu'il comporte ont complètement disparu. Nous sommes en présence aujourd'hui de dispositions nouvelles qui reposent sur les données de la Charte. Les dispositions dont veut arguer le Royaume-Uni relèvent en fait d'une époque qui est dépassée, l'époque coloniale. Aujourd'hui, après l'adoption de la Charte des Nations Unies et la création de l'Organisation mondiale, nous avons accédé à une époque nouvelle dans les relations internationales: c'est l'époque de la libération complète des colonies, et, par conséquent, les dispositions du droit international que les puissances coloniales invoquent ne sont pas valables et ne sont pas vérifiées par les faits nouveaux.

71. En ce qui concerne les progrès réalisés par les puissances administrantes, je tiens à dire que le Portugal et la République sud-africaine ont complètement déçu le Comité spécial, et que ma délégation est parfaitement d'accord avec les conclusions de ce dernier à cet effet.

72. En ce qui concerne la question brûlante d'Aden et du sud du Yémen, ma délégation partage entièrement les points de vue qui ont été exprimés en la matière, et notamment l'opinion du représentant du Yémen [1266ème séance]. Nous estimons qu'Aden et les protectorats qui font partie aujourd'hui de ce qu'on appelle la Fédération de l'Arabie du Sud ne sont, en fait et historiquement parlant, que des territoires devant relever de la juridiction et de la souveraineté du Yémen. Les prescriptions et les dispositions historiques dont a fait état le représentant du Yémen sont, à cet égard, tout à fait valables. Ma délégation les approuve entièrement.

73. Mais je dois dire que l'attitude du Royaume-Uni, en ce qui concerne Aden et les protectorats qui aujourd'hui font partie de ce que l'on appelle la Fédération du sud du Yémen, repose sur une base qui n'est pas juste et ne se fonde pas sur des arguments bien établis. En effet, les traités qui ont permis la souveraineté du Royaume-Uni dans toutes les affaires qui concernent Aden et les territoires faisant partie du sud du Yémen ont été arrachés illégalement aux chefs locaux. On ne peut plus parler

^{1/} Documents officiels de l'Assemblée générale, dix-septième session, Annexes, additif au point 25 de l'ordre du jour, document A/5238.

aujourd'hui de la validité de ces traités parce que les conditions dans lesquelles ils ont été conclus sont dépassées. Parler de ces traités équivaudrait, par exemple, à parler de la guerre de l'opium, qui a créé une situation qui, à l'heure actuelle, nous semble tout à fait injuste et résulte de dispositions également injustes. Par conséquent, ma délégation considère qu'Aden et les protectorats qui font partie aujourd'hui du sud du Yémen doivent revenir à leur mère patrie. Mais, en attendant, le Royaume-Uni devrait prendre les dispositions nécessaires pour permettre à ces territoires d'accéder à leur pleine indépendance, de réaliser leur souveraineté entière, et ce en accomplissant la volonté de leurs populations.

74. Aussi ma délégation voit-elle avec faveur les conclusions que le Comité spécial a voulu adopter à cet effet [A/5446/Rev.1, chap. V, par. 478]. Elle est parfaitement d'accord avec ces dernières et souhaite que les dispositions prévues par le Comité spécial soient mises en œuvre par la Puissance administrante, à savoir le Royaume-Uni.

75. Ma délégation regrette également le traitement accordé par le Royaume-Uni au Sous-Comité d'Aden que l'on a empêché de se rendre dans ce territoire. J'ai eu déjà l'occasion de me prononcer à ce sujet [1233^{ème} séance] et je ne voudrais pas y revenir. Je me bornerai à rappeler au représentant du Royaume-Uni que les membres de ce sous-comité ne sont pas des malfaiteurs et que, par conséquent, les autorités de l'immigration, à Aden, n'auraient pas dû prendre de dispositions leur interdisant l'accès du territoire d'Aden car, en fait, ils représentent leurs pays à l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Cette disposition prise par les autorités de l'immigration à Aden ne constitue ni plus ni moins qu'une insulte aux Nations Unies, et je crois que la Puissance administrante, qui n'est sans doute pas au courant de ce que font les autorités locales — il s'agit peut-être de leur part d'un excès de zèle —, devrait veiller tout au moins à ce que les Nations Unies soient respectées dans les territoires qu'elle administre.

76. En second lieu, il ressort du rapport du Sous-Comité qui avait été chargé d'étudier la situation à Aden et dans les protectorats que les conditions de vie et de travail de toutes les forces qui luttent contre les autorités d'occupation à Aden sont tout à fait précaires et que le régime que subissent ces organisations et les personnes qui en font partie a un caractère policier auquel il faut remédier.

77. En troisième lieu, ma délégation estime qu'une partie du sud du Yémen, à savoir Hadramaout, devrait également être intégrée au reste, pour revenir définitivement au Yémen. Surtout en ce qui concerne Aden, ma délégation ne voit pas, pour le maintien de la Puissance administrante dans ce territoire, de raisons autres que des considérations d'ordre stratégique ou d'ordre pétrolier. Cependant, les intérêts de la stratégie sont aujourd'hui quelque peu dépassés et les intérêts du pétrole devraient se combiner avec ceux de la population. Faut-il rappeler que des négociations secrètes ont été engagées récemment par le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni avec les autorités d'Aden et les ministres de ce qu'on a appelé la Fédération de l'Arabie du Sud, négociations au terme

desquelles ces autorités concéderaient au Royaume-Uni un bail sur Aden?

78. Cela nous rappelle également la politique dite de la canonnière, en usage au XIX^{ème} siècle, politique qui ne peut plus exister aujourd'hui et grâce à laquelle des territoires comme Hong-kong et Kowloon — on peut en trouver la preuve dans l'histoire, même dans des livres écrits par des Britanniques — ont été arrachés à la Chine. J'espère que cette époque est complètement révolue; aussi est-il nécessaire que la question relative à ces territoires soit envisagée avec plus de lucidité et conformément aux directives du Comité spécial, qui, je l'espère, seront entièrement approuvées par l'Assemblée générale.

79. Pour ce qui est des autres dispositions du rapport du Comité spécial, ma délégation est parfaitement d'accord avec les conclusions qu'il contient, notamment en ce qui concerne les travaux futurs de ce comité, et elle espère qu'au cours de l'année 1964 le Comité spécial sera en mesure d'achever la mission qui lui a été confiée par l'Assemblée générale, il y a deux ans, c'est-à-dire que les territoires qui sont encore non autonomes pourront accéder à l'indépendance au cours de 1964 ou que des dispositions seront prises pour que cette dernière leur soit accordée le plus vite possible. En raison de l'urgence en la matière, ma délégation est convaincue que l'Assemblée générale prendra toutes mesures nécessaires à cet égard.

80. M. HESSELUNG JENSEN (Danemark) [traduit de l'anglais]: Le Danemark a été nommé membre du Comité des Vingt-Quatre au début de l'année 1963, en vertu de la résolution 1810 (XVII) de l'Assemblée générale. Il a ainsi siégé à ce comité pendant environ un an.

81. Les observations qui suivent sont donc faites à la lumière de l'expérience que nous avons acquise pendant cette période. En tant que pays n'ayant ni territoire ni intérêts coloniaux et opposé à toute discrimination raciale, le Danemark a estimé qu'il avait un rôle à jouer dans ce comité et mon gouvernement s'est avant tout attaché à aider à trouver des solutions pragmatiques pour la mise en œuvre de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. Nous estimons que, au cours de l'année écoulée, le Comité des Vingt-Quatre a fait beaucoup de bon travail et que des progrès notables ont été réalisés. A ce sujet, je voudrais citer quelques extraits de la déclaration faite par le Ministre des affaires étrangères du Danemark devant l'Assemblée, lors de la discussion générale, en septembre dernier. Notre ministre des affaires étrangères a dit notamment:

"... Nous comptons accueillir bientôt le Kenya en tant que nouveau Membre de l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Nous espérons que Zanzibar ne tardera pas à le suivre. L'évolution qui aboutira à l'indépendance de la Rhodésie du Nord et du Nyassaland est déjà très avancée. En Extrême-Orient, trois territoires — Singapour, le Bornéo du Nord et le Sarawak — se sont récemment unis à la Malaisie pour former avec elle une fédération indépendante.

"Cependant, plus il y aura de progrès en la matière, plus nous nous retrouverons devant des situations soulevant de sérieux problèmes, soit à cause des conditions propres aux territoires considérés, soit à cause de l'attitude du pays administrant, soit encore à cause de ces deux facteurs à la fois. C'est ainsi qu'à l'Assemblée et dans ses commissions on a pu observer une certaine tendance à laisser des considérations et des principes théoriques prendre le pas sur l'examen des conditions locales et le souci du bien-être des populations intéressées. Chaque fois que la puissance administrante se montre disposée à accorder l'indépendance aussitôt que possible et à collaborer avec l'Organisation des Nations Unies, nous devrions, à mon avis, tenir largement compte des vues de cette puissance sur les problèmes locaux et nous garder de préconiser des mesures précises d'une utilité contestable.

"Une précipitation excessive ne peut en pareil cas que contribuer à diminuer notre influence et à détourner l'attention des problèmes sur lesquels devraient se concentrer nos efforts, à savoir ceux à propos desquels le pays ou le gouvernement administrant ne manifeste aucune bonne volonté. L'Organisation des Nations Unies ne devrait intervenir énergiquement que dans ce dernier cas et nous ne devrions alors pas hésiter à employer, le cas échéant, tous les moyens que la Charte met à notre disposition, pourvu que ceux-ci se révèlent propres à opérer les transformations que nous souhaitons et qu'ils puissent obtenir une adhésion suffisante pour produire cet effet."

[1215ème séance, par. 64, 65 et 66.]

82. Il semble naturel de soulever la question de l'action future à entreprendre par les Nations Unies dans ce domaine qui intéresse au premier chef les pays et les peuples coloniaux qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance. Je suis convaincu que la grande majorité des membres de l'Assemblée sera d'accord avec moi pour constater que le Comité des Vingt-Quatre a fait un excellent travail et pour déclarer qu'étant donné qu'il y a encore un certain nombre de territoires dont la situation n'a pas été examinée par le Comité il est tout à fait justifié que celui-ci continue ses travaux. A en juger par l'expérience que nous avons acquise au cours de l'année passée, nous estimons que le mandat du Comité ne devrait pas être modifié. Le Comité a encore un grand nombre de territoires à étudier. Tout élargissement du champ des travaux du Comité, par exemple l'inclusion des activités actuellement exercées par le Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes, devrait à notre avis être différé, tout au moins jusqu'au moment où le Comité aura traité les problèmes plus immédiats dont l'étude et l'examen lui ont été assignés.

83. Comme d'autres représentants l'ont déjà dit, le Comité des Vingt-Quatre se trouvera en présence d'un problème spécial l'an prochain, celui des petits territoires à faible population. De l'avis de la délégation danoise, la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux doit s'appliquer à tous les territoires grands et petits, mais nous sommes

entièrement d'accord avec les suggestions qui ont été faites par plusieurs représentants et suivant lesquelles le Comité des Vingt-Quatre devrait entreprendre l'étude de la mise en œuvre de la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale dans ces territoires pour que les Nations Unies puissent leur apporter l'aide nécessaire et leur donner des conseils afin que leur indépendance soit viable du double point de vue politique et économique. A ce sujet, nous sommes heureux d'apprendre que, conformément au communiqué commun du Gouvernement du Sénégal et de celui de Gambie, le Secrétaire général constitue un groupe d'experts pour l'étude des problèmes soulevés par une association éventuelle de ces deux pays.

84. Enfin, je tiens à répéter que mon pays est chaudement partisan d'un processus de décolonisation rapide. Nous constatons avec satisfaction que cette année verra l'accession à la liberté et à l'indépendance de différents territoires non autonomes, de sorte que l'ampleur du problème colonial continuera de diminuer. Nous nous rendons cependant compte du fait que les problèmes qui restent à résoudre ne sont pas les moins complexes; mais les difficultés ne devraient pas être insurmontables. Au sein de l'Organisation et à l'extérieur, ma délégation apportera son appui pour la mise en œuvre rapide de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux.

85. M. KOIRALA (Népal) [traduit de l'anglais]: Nous sommes saisis du rapport du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux [A/5446/Rev.1].

86. Les chapitres II à V contiennent les rapports du Comité des Vingt-Quatre concernant les territoires sous administration portugaise, la Rhodésie du Sud, le Sud-Ouest africain et Aden. Dans sa totalité, le rapport du Comité spécial comprend plus d'un millier de pages dactylographiées. Vingt-six territoires sont traités dans le rapport et le Comité y présente des recommandations au sujet de la plupart d'entre eux.

87. Il va sans dire que le Comité des Vingt-Quatre s'est acquitté de sa tâche parfaitement et avec diligence. L'excellent rapport qu'il a établi tiendra, sans aucun doute, une place importante dans la documentation relative à la question dont il s'agit et il exercera une profonde influence sur le processus de décolonisation. La délégation du Népal félicite donc le Comité des Vingt-Quatre de ce travail si utile. Nos remerciements s'adressent particulièrement à M. Coulibaly, du Mali, président du Comité, à M. Velazquez, d'Uruguay, et à M. Sonn Voeunsai, du Cambodge, tous deux vice-présidents, ainsi qu'à M. Rifai, de Syrie, rapporteur, et à son successeur, M. Natwar Singh, de l'Inde.

88. Sur les 26 territoires dont traite le rapport neuf, à savoir les sept territoires sous administration portugaise, la Rhodésie du Sud et le Sud-Ouest africain, ont déjà été examinés par la Quatrième Commission et la délégation népalaise a eu l'occasion de formuler des observations au sujet de chacune de ces questions difficiles et très complexes. Quant aux 17 autres territoires, le Comité spécial a remis à

plus tard l'examen approfondi de la situation de cinq d'entre eux, à savoir Gibraltar et Fernando Poo, Ifni, Rio Muni et le Sahara espagnol. Tant que le Comité spécial n'aura pas examiné le cas de ces derniers territoires et présenté des recommandations, il serait prématuré de la part de ma délégation de formuler à la hâte des observations sur la situation qui règne dans les territoires en question. Nos observations porteront donc seulement sur les 12 territoires dont il est question dans le rapport et au sujet desquels, après une étude attentive et détaillée des divers aspects de la situation, le Comité spécial a formulé des recommandations adoptées à l'unanimité indiquant à l'Assemblée générale certaines lignes de conduite à suivre.

89. Ma délégation constate avec satisfaction que le représentant du Royaume-Uni, dans une lettre du 10 septembre 1963, adressée au Président du Comité spécial, et qui est reproduite dans le rapport, a communiqué un calendrier des progrès constitutionnels dans lequel il est dit:

"La Conférence de l'indépendance de Malte a eu lieu et l'on annonce que le Gouvernement britannique a décidé que Malte accèderait à l'indépendance au plus tard le 31 mai 1964." [A/5446/Rev.7, Annexe II.]

90. En ce qui concerne le territoire des îles Fidji, les perspectives sont toutefois moins brillantes. Le demi-million d'habitants de ce territoire est sous la domination du Royaume-Uni depuis 90 ans. Le calendrier des progrès constitutionnels inclus dans la lettre du 10 septembre 1963 du représentant du Royaume-Uni montre qu'une nouvelle constitution a été mise en vigueur dans les îles Fidji en février 1963 et que, deux mois plus tard, les élections générales ont eu lieu conformément à la nouvelle constitution. Toutefois, cette constitution n'offre pas grand chose aux habitants en fait de pouvoirs réels ou substantiels leur permettant de décider de leur propre avenir, et le représentant du Royaume-Uni, dans sa déclaration devant le Comité spécial, n'a même pas exprimé la volonté de son gouvernement d'octroyer à la population son droit inaliénable à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance. La délégation népalaise estime que la puissance administrante ne peut maintenant invoquer aucun prétexte, après un siècle ou presque de domination sur ces îles, pour retarder l'autonomie et l'indépendance. Elle souscrit par conséquent sans réserve au projet de résolution adopté le 19 juillet 1963 par le Comité spécial [A/5446/Rev.1, chapitre VII, par. 135], qui invite la puissance administrante à rédiger une nouvelle constitution prévoyant des élections libres, à prendre des mesures immédiates pour transférer tous les pouvoirs à la population du territoire, conformément à ses désirs et à sa volonté, et à s'efforcer, avec la coopération de la population du territoire, de mener à bien l'intégration sociale, économique et politique des diverses communautés.

91. J'en viens maintenant à la question du Kenya, de Zanzibar, de la Rhodésie du Nord et du Nyassaland, où l'on constate de nouveau d'heureux progrès. Les dates de l'indépendance pour le Kenya et Zanzibar sont fixées pour ce mois-ci et nous aurons sous peu l'honneur d'accueillir ces deux territoires dans la

communauté des nations. Nous adressons nos félicitations aux vaillantes populations du Kenya et de Zanzibar à l'occasion de leur indépendance imminente. Nous félicitons également le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni d'avoir rendu cette évolution possible.

92. En ce qui concerne la Rhodésie du Nord et le Nyassaland, il est encourageant de constater que le Nyassaland a accédé à l'autonomie interne et que l'accord a été réalisé sur la dissolution de la Fédération centrafricaine, conformément aux vœux de la population. La Rhodésie du Nord ne jouit pas encore d'une autonomie suffisante, mais d'importants changements constitutionnels indiquent que de nouveaux progrès sont imminents. Réaffirmant les droits inaliénables des populations de la Rhodésie du Nord et du Nyassaland, le projet de résolution adopté par le Comité des Vingt-Quatre [A/5446/Rev.1, chapitre VII, par. 184] exprime notamment l'espoir que la dissolution de la Fédération ne sera pas retardée et que ces territoires accèderont à l'indépendance immédiatement; elle demande en outre à la puissance administrante de fixer, en consultation avec les gouvernements élus, la date la plus rapprochée pour l'accession à l'indépendance de la Rhodésie du Nord et du Nyassaland. Ma délégation approuve entièrement ce projet de résolution et espère que la décision de l'Assemblée à cet égard suivra les suggestions du Comité spécial.

93. La situation dans les trois territoires de la Haute Commission, le Bassoutoland, le Betchouanaland et le Souaziland, est vraiment critique. Les grands espoirs et l'optimisme suscités par les événements du Kenya et de Zanzibar sont bien compromis lorsqu'on pense aux problèmes raciaux et coloniaux qui existent dans le continent africain au sud du Congo. Dans ces territoires de la Haute Commission, l'autorité administrante a, sans aucun doute, pris certaines mesures pour favoriser le progrès constitutionnel et elle envisage d'autres améliorations; mais les progrès constitutionnels dont le représentant du Royaume-Uni a fait état dans le calendrier dont j'ai parlé, au sujet du Souaziland et du Betchouanaland, ne répondent pas aux exigences de la résolution 1817 (XVII) de l'Assemblée générale, en date du 18 décembre 1962; ils ont un caractère discriminatoire et sont très loin de répondre aux modestes aspirations politiques des populations de ces territoires. Par conséquent, conformément à la résolution adoptée le 26 juillet 1963 par le Comité spécial, nous voudrions demander à la puissance administrante de prendre immédiatement les mesures nécessaires pour convoquer, dans chacun des territoires, une conférence constitutionnelle qui conduira à des élections générales fondées sur le suffrage universel des adultes et qui sera le prélude de l'indépendance; nous demandons également que de sérieux efforts soient faits pour fournir l'aide nécessaire dans le cadre des programmes d'assistance technique de l'Organisation des Nations Unies et des institutions spécialisées.

94. Ces trois territoires sont encerclés par l'Afrique du Sud, dont le Gouvernement est hostile, extrêmement puissant et pratique la discrimination raciale. En outre, il a quasiment déclaré son intention d'annexer ces territoires. Aussi l'Assemblée doit-elle proclamer une fois de plus que toute tentative d'annexer

ces territoires constituera un acte d'agression en violation de la Charte des Nations Unies, et demander à la puissance administrante de s'en tenir fermement à sa décision selon laquelle l'Afrique du Sud ne pourra annexer aucun des trois territoires de la Haute Commission.

95. La situation en Guyane britannique a préoccupé tout particulièrement le Comité spécial, car le seul problème à résoudre en ce qui concerne ce territoire est celui de la fixation d'une date pour l'indépendance. D'une part, nous regrettons que l'action du Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni nous donne à penser que ce gouvernement poursuit la même politique périmée consistant à "diviser pour régner"; d'autre part, nous ne sommes pas très satisfaits de constater que les dirigeants de la Guyane britannique n'ont pas encore pu concilier les divergences qui les séparent, d'autant plus que ces divergences servent maintenant de prétexte pour retarder l'indépendance. Nous approuvons entièrement le principe établi par le paragraphe 5 du dispositif de la résolution 1514 (XV), selon lequel aucune condition ne doit être attachée à l'octroi de l'indépendance, mais nous constatons que les divergences qui séparent les dirigeants guyanais sont telles qu'elles ont amené le Sous-Comité de la Guyane britannique à insister sur la responsabilité incombant aux dirigeants politiques de la Guyane britannique, ceux-ci ne devant pas permettre à des considérations personnelles ou autres de faire obstacle à l'unité nationale et à l'accession immédiate du pays à l'indépendance. La délégation népalaise approuve les conclusions et recommandations du Sous-Comité, adoptées ultérieurement par le Comité spécial, dans lesquelles notre attention est attirée sur la nécessité de faire tout notre possible pour que la Guyane britannique accède immédiatement à l'indépendance, sans aucune condition ni réserve.

96. Je reviens maintenant au continent africain. C'est un motif de satisfaction de constater que, grâce à la bonne volonté de la puissance administrante, c'est-à-dire du Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni, l'autonomie interne a été instaurée en novembre dernier en Gambie, territoire ayant une superficie de 4 000 milles carrés (soit 10 360 kilomètres carrés) et une population d'environ 300 000 habitants. Ce qui cause encore plus de satisfaction, c'est l'accord intervenu entre les Gouvernements du Sénégal et de la Gambie en vue d'une association économique et politique des deux pays, dont les grandes lignes sont indiquées dans le communiqué conjoint publié par ces deux gouvernements et dans la déclaration faite en octobre 1962 par le Gouvernement de la Gambie. Celui-ci a obtenu de l'Organisation des Nations Unies qu'un groupe d'experts en matière constitutionnelle, économique et fiscale soit chargé de rassembler les données de fait nécessaires sur lesquelles les deux gouvernements espèrent fonder l'association envisagée de leurs pays. Cette association doit constituer une importante contribution à la stabilité, au développement et à la prospérité des deux pays et à la cause de l'unité africaine. Ma délégation accueille avec sympathie toute évolution de ce genre et félicite ces deux pays de leur initiative qui, en dehors de l'effet considérable qu'elle ne manquera pas d'avoir sur la cause de l'unité, fera peut-être aussi appa-

raître les voies et moyens de donner une solution pratique aux problèmes que soulève l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays de faible superficie et n'ayant que de maigres ressources économiques. Cependant, ma délégation estime que, ni l'étude des experts des Nations Unies, ni aucune sorte de condition préalable ne doit être un obstacle sur la voie de l'octroi immédiat de l'indépendance au peuple de la Gambie.

97. A ce stade, ma délégation voudrait rendre hommage aux dirigeants du Tanganyika, de l'Ouganda et du Kenya, qui ont proposé la formation d'une fédération de l'Est africain par leurs pays, conformément aux désirs des populations, après l'accession du Kenya à l'indépendance, la semaine prochaine. Cette initiative tendant à harmoniser les grands principes de l'indépendance et de l'intégration est vraiment louable. Ma délégation considère cette décision d'une grande portée comme une manifestation profonde du désir croissant de solidarité et d'unité des peuples africains.

98. Enfin, je voudrais dire quelques mots d'Aden. En dépit de l'attitude et des actes du Gouvernement britannique qui s'est montré peu disposé à coopérer à cet égard, le projet de résolution adopté par le Comité spécial sur la base de l'étude par son sous-comité d'Aden [A/5446/Rev.1, chap. V, par. 478] répond dans l'ensemble aux exigences de la situation. Le droit du peuple d'Aden à l'indépendance immédiate a été réaffirmé et l'accent a été mis comme il se devait sur la nécessité absolue de permettre au peuple de cette région "d'exercer son droit de libre détermination en ce qui concerne son avenir, l'exercice de ce droit de libre détermination devant se traduire par une consultation de toute la population dans le plus bref délai au suffrage universel des adultes". Ma délégation estime que l'Assemblée peut adopter, avec les modifications qui s'imposent, le projet de résolution adopté par le Comité spécial.

99. Cela m'amène à la fin de mon intervention, mais, avant de terminer, je voudrais réaffirmer l'appui sans réserve du Gouvernement népalais à la cause de la lutte contre le colonialisme et aux principes dont s'inspire la Déclaration historique sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, parce que, quels qu'aient été les progrès accomplis dans le domaine de la décolonisation depuis 1945 ou depuis l'adoption de cette déclaration historique, le problème du colonialisme est loin d'avoir disparu. Il y a encore, dispersés sur toute la surface de la terre, des peuples assujettis et tant que les derniers vestiges du colonialisme n'auront pas été éliminés, les efforts des Nations Unies dans ce sens ne devraient nullement se ralentir. Nous considérons le colonialisme, dans toutes ses manifestations, comme un mal absolu dont il faut se débarrasser le plus rapidement possible. Le Comité spécial, qui existe depuis deux ans, a accompli un travail remarquable dans l'élimination du colonialisme, et ma délégation invite instamment l'Assemblée à renouveler le mandat de ce comité en lui manifestant toute la confiance qu'il mérite.

100. Je tiens aussi à rendre hommage au Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni pour le sens politique et la clairvoyance dont il a fait preuve en reconnaissant

le droit des peuples sous sa domination à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance. Nous n'approuvons peut-être pas toujours les méthodes qu'il a adoptées pour mettre en œuvre ce principe de l'autodétermination et de l'indépendance des peuples. En fait, nous sommes parfois exaspérés par ses procédés dilatoires et par son manque de coopération comme, par exemple, son refus de permettre aux sous-comités du Comité des Vingt-Quatre de se rendre en Guyane britannique et à Aden. Mais un pays comme le Royaume-Uni, ainsi que l'a dit le roi Mahendra, "ayant compris que les jours du colonialisme sont comptés, a su agir de telle sorte, dans l'ensemble, qu'il a recueilli l'approbation de nombreux pays... Alors qu'il avait pris la tête du mouvement d'assujettissement de grandes masses de populations, il a aussi su prendre la tête du mouvement de libération." Nous espérons simplement qu'il adoptera une cadence plus rapide et que son exemple sera suivi par d'autres pays qui, eux aussi, libéreront les territoires qu'ils dominent.

101. M. ROSSIDES (Chypre) [traduit de l'anglais]: Ma délégation tient tout d'abord à féliciter le Président, les membres du Bureau ainsi que les membres du Comité spécial des efforts diligents qu'ils ont accomplis pour exécuter le mandat qui leur a été assigné par les résolutions pertinentes de l'Assemblée générale. Le rapport du Comité spécial, que l'on peut à juste titre qualifier de monumental, contient une grande diversité de renseignements sur les territoires examinés et, avec les observations et décisions du Comité, on a là un document précieux et extrêmement instructif qui présente une importance majeure pour l'Assemblée. Ma délégation appuie le maintien du Comité et est en faveur de la prorogation de son mandat.

102. La Déclaration sur le colonialisme, contenue dans la résolution 1514 (XV), a peu à peu acquis, grâce à sa force morale croissante, l'autorité d'un instrument juridique dans les relations entre Etats concernant les questions qu'elle traite. Il est réconfortant de constater que, depuis l'adoption de cette déclaration, 13 territoires ont accédé à l'indépendance, et qu'au cours de la présente session le Kenya et Zanzibar également deviendront indépendants. Nous nous réjouissons à l'avance d'accueillir leurs représentants au sein de cette assemblée.

103. Il est toutefois décevant de voir qu'aucun progrès n'a été réalisé jusqu'à présent dans le cas de certains territoires, malgré les efforts persistants et méritoires du Comité spécial. Nous regrettons profondément cette situation, de même que nous regrettons que certaines puissances administrantes aient refusé de recevoir des missions de visite déléguées par le Comité. Nous tenons à nous joindre à l'appel adressé à ces puissances pour qu'elles cherchent à faciliter le travail du Comité dans l'exécution de son mandat et ce conformément au paragraphe 7 de la résolution 1654 (XVI), qui invite les puissances administrantes à "assurer au Comité spécial leur coopération la plus complète dans l'accomplissement de ses tâches".

104. Nous déplorons profondément, je l'ai dit, le fait qu'un nombre considérable de territoires, habités par des millions d'hommes, n'aient pas encore acquis

l'indépendance. Il n'y a là, cependant, aucune raison de se décourager. Ainsi que la Déclaration l'a relevé à si juste titre, le processus de libération est irrésistible et irréversible. Nous pensons par conséquent que l'heure n'est pas loin de sonner où ces pays viendront occuper la place qui leur revient dans la communauté des nations libres.

105. Le rapport fait ressortir que le Comité spécial doit encore examiner le cas d'un nombre impressionnant de territoires non autonomes en ce qui concerne leur indépendance. Nombre d'entre eux sont très petits et le problème de leur indépendance propre soulève des questions difficiles. Ma délégation est en faveur de l'unité territoriale partout où elle est raisonnablement possible, et nous sommes dans tous les cas pour l'unité des peuples. La cause de la liberté et de l'indépendance pour tous les peuples est chère au cœur des Chypriotes. Le peuple de Chypre a désiré si ardemment la liberté et l'indépendance pendant des siècles de vicissitudes et de domination étrangère qu'il est instinctivement et chaleureusement partisan de tous les peuples qui luttent pour leur droit à une vie libre et indépendante. Que cette lutte soit physique ou mentale, que les territoires en question soient situés en Afrique ou dans n'importe quelle autre partie du monde, c'est une lutte que le peuple chypriote comprend et appuie.

106. Au-delà de la notion de liberté, il y a celle de la paix qui est impliquée dans le problème de la décolonisation comme dans celui, plus général, de l'indépendance. La liberté du monde est en effet la condition préalable de la paix mondiale. Tant que dans une région quelconque les peuples seront en rébellion parce que la liberté leur est refusée, on ne pourra parler de paix sur la terre. Il faut donc libérer le monde de toutes les sortes de colonialisme, du totalitarisme ou de toutes autres formes de domination par la force, afin que nous puissions trouver le moyen de coopérer dans la liberté et dans la paix.

107. Le représentant du Chili, expliquant le processus de la décolonisation et traitant des problèmes qui se posent au sujet des nombreuses petites entités, a montré de façon très pertinente le contraste entre, d'une part, la marche contemporaine "vers de grandes intégrations, que ce soit des économies ou des peuples en quête d'unité", et, d'autre part, ce qu'il a appelé la "marche à reculons" que représente "une attitude rétrograde et illogique" qui "met l'accent sur la division, sur le fractionnement et la désintégration, tant politique et économique que culturelle et sociale". Il a ajouté:

"Notre but doit continuer d'être... l'indépendance pour tous les peuples et la disparition de toutes les colonies et de leur cortège d'abus..." [1267ème-séance, par. 24.]

108. La division est un legs du colonialisme, qu'elle ait revêtu la forme d'un découpage de zones entre les puissances coloniales ayant souvent pour effet de rompre des entités territoriales, ou qu'elle se soit traduite de façon plus significative par la création de dissensions au sein de la population d'un territoire quelconque conformément à la règle classique "diviser pour régner"; la division est toujours allée

de pair avec le colonialisme. Le fait qu'un groupe de la population avait une religion ou une origine ethnique différentes de celles de la majorité a dans certains cas été utilisé pour créer des droits électoraux distincts et introduire d'autres séparations qui maintenaient à part certains éléments de la population et créaient des antagonismes de nature à retarder l'indépendance. Cet héritage de division et l'esprit d'antagonisme qui l'accompagne constituent des séquelles du colonialisme et ont créé des dissensions et entraîné des frictions qu'il eût été possible d'éviter là où aucune autre différence fondamentale ou essentielle n'existait entre les éléments de la population: toutes ces personnes avaient œuvré ensemble et auraient dû continuer de le faire comme un seul peuple que l'intérêt commun de leur bien-être aurait naturellement uni si l'esprit de division n'avait pas été systématisé et perpétué par la constitution.

109. Il incombe donc à l'Organisation des Nations Unies de veiller non seulement à ce que l'indépendance soit accordée, mais aussi à ce qu'elle soit positive et réelle et à ce que l'unité de la population et l'intégrité du territoire soient maintenues. A cet égard, l'Organisation des Nations Unies a agi avec sagesse et efficacité au Congo où son intervention a permis de surmonter les divisions de la population, d'éviter le morcellement du pays, de rétablir la coopération et de maintenir l'intégrité du territoire. En fait, la Déclaration contient un mandat précis à cet égard; elle souligne, tant dans son préambule que dans son dispositif, que l'indépendance doit être complète et l'intégrité du territoire respectée. Le préambule contient notamment la phrase suivante:

"Convaincue que tous les peuples ont un droit inaliénable à la pleine liberté, à l'exercice de leur souveraineté et à l'intégrité de leur territoire national";

ce qui veut dire que le droit naturel des peuples à leur complète indépendance et au plein exercice de la souveraineté est inaliénable. Un pays qui devient indépendant et Membre de l'Organisation des Nations Unies ne peut donc être privé de la substance de son indépendance et de sa souveraineté par aucune disposition constitutionnelle propre à le diviser, imposée au moment de l'octroi officiel de l'indépendance. Tout instrument contenant des dispositions de ce genre et impliquant une intervention dans les affaires intérieures d'un Etat Membre irait à l'encontre de la notion même d'indépendance telle qu'elle ressort de la Charte des Nations Unies et serait contraire aux normes fondamentales du droit international.

110. La Déclaration précise également, au deuxième alinéa du préambule, la nécessité de droits égaux pour tous, sans distinction de race, de langue ou de religion, afin de créer des conditions de stabilité et de bien-être et de favoriser des relations pacifiques et amicales.

111. Il convient donc que l'indépendance accordée dans tous les cas dont s'occupe le Comité spécial soit réelle et non compromise par des conditions qui l'annihilent; il faut que règnent, avec la compréhension et le respect mutuels, l'esprit de bonne

volonté afin que les habitants de tous les territoires écartent ce qui les divise et s'attachent aux problèmes plus importants qui devraient les unir dans une marche vers le progrès et vers ce grand objectif de l'humanité qu'est la paix dans un monde de justice et de liberté. La liberté exige toutefois un sens égal de la responsabilité tant à l'égard des autres personnes que des autres pays; elle exige le respect de la justice et des droits légitimes d'autrui et surtout un souci réel du bien public joint à un sens véritable du devoir de contribuer au progrès moral de l'humanité, qui est si nécessaire à notre époque pour sa survie et pour la paix.

112. M. CARDUCCI ARTENISIO (Italie) [traduit de l'anglais]: La délégation italienne ne se propose pas à cette heure tardive de présenter des observations sur le rapport du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. L'Assemblée générale dira le moment venu si le Comité spécial s'est montré digne de la confiance placée en lui. Nous pouvons seulement témoigner de la bonne volonté, des efforts et des contributions précieuses de toutes les délégations qui ont participé à ses activités.

113. En outre, c'est pour nous un devoir et un plaisir que de rendre hommage à la sagesse, au tact et à la compétence avec lesquels son président, M. Sory Coulibaly, a dirigé les travaux. Il a été habilement secondé par les deux vice-présidents, M. Velazquez, dont nous avons tous tant apprécié la profonde culture juridique et l'esprit pénétrant, et M. Sonn Voensai, dont l'enthousiasme et le dévouement n'ont pas peu contribué au succès des travaux du Comité.

114. Nous tenons également à mentionner M. Rifai, de Syrie, et notre ami M. Natwar Singh, qui, tour à tour, se sont acquittés avec tant de compétence de leurs fonctions de Rapporteur.

115. Nous voudrions mentionner également les deux sous-secrétaires, M. Protitch et M. Amachree, ainsi que tous les membres du Secrétariat qui ont travaillé assidûment pour le Comité.

116. La délégation italienne n'entend pas davantage donner un aperçu des règles et des principes qui l'ont guidée au cours de l'examen des problèmes de la décolonisation. Celles des délégations que cela peut intéresser n'auront aucune difficulté, j'en suis sûr, à consulter le texte du rapport pour voir quelle a été notre attitude au sujet de chacun des points examinés.

117. La délégation italienne tient seulement à dire qu'elle a été heureuse et s'est estimée privilégiée d'être associée, en tant que membre du Comité des Dix-Sept, puis du Comité des Vingt-Quatre, au processus de décolonisation, et d'avoir pu apporter sa propre contribution d'idées et d'initiatives.

118. Nous ne sommes pas de ceux qui pensent que les grands événements historiques peuvent se ramener entièrement aux activités d'un seul organe, si représentatif ou autorisé qu'il soit. Nous croyons au contraire à l'impulsion des grandes forces spirituelles qui se créent au cours des siècles, qui

acquissent de l'élan avec les années et qui, à un moment donné de l'histoire mondiale, conduisent le monde vers son destin. Il est cependant indéniable que, parfois, comme dans le cas de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, ces forces peuvent être canalisées et, pour ainsi dire, mises en œuvre dans le cadre d'une organisation politique et juridique de sorte que leur action devient de plus en plus efficace.

119. Ce qu'il faut nous demander au stade actuel, ce n'est pas ce que l'Organisation des Nations Unies a fait jusqu'ici pour faciliter la réalisation de ces idéaux, mais bien le rôle que l'Organisation mondiale, et en particulier le Comité spécial de la décolonisation, peut être appelée à jouer à l'avenir. Nous sommes parfois enclins à envisager ce phénomène historique d'un point de vue trop distant. Nous pouvons nous féliciter des résultats acquis. Nous pouvons fixer de nouveaux objectifs pour l'avenir, mais ce faisant nous oublions parfois que chaque acte de décolonisation est, dans la plupart des cas, tant pour la puissance administrante que pour le territoire colonial intéressé, le résultat d'un effort extraordinaire et la source de problèmes très graves.

120. Lorsque nous parlons de décolonisation, il s'agit surtout des problèmes de ces nouveaux Etats indépendants qui parfois, du jour au lendemain, se trouvent en présence de tâches politiques et économiques effrayantes et se voient dans l'obligation de s'adapter aux réalités d'un monde impitoyable et de créer une nouvelle économie capable de survivre et d'entrer en concurrence avec des structures plus anciennes et plus solides. Cependant, nous ne devons pas oublier les problèmes que la puissance administrante doit résoudre pour assurer la décolonisation de ses possessions d'outre-mer, que ce soit dans le domaine politique, économique ou simplement psychologique. Nous sommes convaincus que l'Organisation des Nations Unies peut continuer à jouer un rôle très utile dans la solution de ces problèmes. Nous estimons d'autre part que la condition nécessaire à leur solution est de reconnaître qu'ils existent dans toute leur complexité politique, économique, sociale, culturelle, etc.

121. Nous avons constaté, au cours des séances du Comité spécial, et parfois au cours de celles de l'Assemblée générale, qu'on a souvent tendance à simplifier à l'excès les problèmes, à soutenir que certaines situations sont dues uniquement à la mauvaise foi de quelques hommes malveillants qui détiennent le pouvoir, et à affirmer que l'adoption par un organe des Nations Unies d'une résolution rédigée en termes énergiques suffira pour apporter une solution à tous les problèmes fondamentaux. La délégation italienne estime que, loin d'être de nature à donner de bons résultats, de telles méthodes ont au contraire pour effet de décourager la coopération et de porter préjudice, dans l'opinion publique mondiale, à la réputation de l'Organisation des Nations Unies en tant qu'instrument capable d'obtenir des résultats concrets.

122. L'une des pensées les plus profondes et les plus stimulantes que nous ayons entendues au cours de la présente discussion — et qui va dans le sens de notre opinion en la matière — a été exprimée par le Président du Comité spécial, M. Coulibaly, qui

a dit dans son intervention sur ce point de l'ordre du jour:

"Je suis convaincu que dans beaucoup de cas l'Organisation des Nations Unies pourrait aider les puissances coloniales à résoudre certaines de leurs difficultés..." [1266ème séance, par. 42.]

Nous estimons que ces paroles contiennent beaucoup de vérité et de sagesse. Nous devrions nous en souvenir et les méditer pendant les travaux futurs du Comité spécial.

123. Nous croyons fermement en la valeur des méthodes telles que les pourparlers, la négociation, la conciliation et le compromis, non pas sur les principes, mais dans la pratique. Nous pensons qu'il est bon d'attirer l'attention du public mondial sur un problème donné afin d'exercer toute la pression morale convenable sur la partie non consentante. Nous comptons beaucoup sur le rôle de plus en plus grand que le Secrétaire général peut jouer pour faciliter la solution des différends internationaux. Nous avons été témoins, au cours des deux dernières années, d'exemples très encourageants de la façon dont le Secrétaire général et ses représentants peuvent favoriser les négociations entre les parties à un conflit colonial ou obtenir la mise en œuvre des dispositions d'un accord. Nous ne pensons pas — pour ne citer qu'un seul exemple — que les efforts faits par le Secrétaire général pour établir des contacts entre le Gouvernement portugais et les représentants des Etats africains en vue d'assurer la mise en œuvre des décisions des Nations Unies doivent être abandonnés.

124. Le peuple italien est optimiste par nature. Aussi, sommes-nous sincèrement convaincus que les problèmes les plus difficiles dans le domaine de la décolonisation tout comme dans les autres domaines de la vie internationale trouveront eux aussi, le moment venu, une solution juste, pacifique et durable. Nous n'en disons pas moins: que ces problèmes et les émotions qu'ils suscitent ne troublent ou n'affaiblissent pas l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Qu'ils ne créent pas de divisions entre les peuples d'Europe et ceux d'Afrique alors que l'avenir même du monde entier dépend de leur coopération et de leur intégration. N'évoquons même pas l'image de l'horrible tragédie que pourrait connaître l'humanité: un conflit entre deux races. Maîtrisons nos émotions. Efforçons-nous de sacrifier certains de nos intérêts et travaillons ensemble.

125. Avant de conclure ces brèves observations, nous voudrions dire également quelques mots d'une question qui a déjà été soulevée au cours du débat. Nous sommes reconnaissants aux représentants du Chili et de Ceylan d'avoir très opportunément soumis à l'Assemblée générale le problème des petits territoires et des territoires peu peuplés. Il ne s'agit pas d'un problème nouveau. Le Comité spécial a eu à examiner, à sa dernière session, la situation de deux territoires qui entrent apparemment dans cette catégorie. Les débats du Comité spécial ont toutefois révélé une grande incertitude quant à la façon d'envisager le problème. Dans un cas par exemple, la majorité des membres du Comité s'est vigoureusement opposée à ce qu'il soit fait mention de certains

accords qui étaient sur le point d'être conclus par le gouvernement d'un territoire et un Etat voisin, concernant l'association future des deux pays. Dans un autre cas, des objections analogues ont été élevées, contre un appel aux institutions spécialisées des Nations Unies les invitant à étudier la situation économique du territoire lorsque celui-ci aurait accédé à l'indépendance.

126. Dans les deux cas, on a fait valoir qu'aussi bien la mention des accords en question que l'appel aux institutions spécialisées pouvaient être interprétés comme portant atteinte à la souveraineté future du territoire en question. Après avoir entendu les déclarations faites ici au cours du débat, nous avons l'impression que la tendance a été renversée et que le sentiment général est en faveur d'une action ferme des Nations Unies pour rendre viable, du point de vue politique et économique, l'indépendance des petits territoires. Nous sommes heureux que ces idées aient été exprimées au cours du débat et nous les appuyons sans réserve.

127. Nous sommes, bien entendu, tout disposés à reconnaître que ce problème est extrêmement complexe et qu'il exige des recherches sérieuses et approfondies. Tout en nous en tenant aux principes énoncés dans la résolution 1514 (XV) selon laquelle l'indépendance doit être accordée à tous les territoires qui ne l'ont pas encore obtenue, nous ne pouvons nous dissimuler que l'octroi de l'indépendance sic et simpliciter à des vingtaines de territoires — ce qui pourrait fort bien doubler le nombre des Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies — n'irait pas sans inconvénients et risques sérieux.

128. Le représentant du Chili, exprimant une idée largement partagée au sein de l'Organisation, a déclaré, il y a quelques jours à cette tribune:

"Dans un monde qui avance vers de grandes intégrations, que ce soit des économies ou des peuples en quête d'unité, il me semble rétrograde, anachronique et illogique de placer l'accent sur la division, sur le fractionnement et la désintégration, tant politique et économique que culturelle et sociale." [1267ème séance, par. 23.]

129. En vue d'éviter de s'engager dans une voie qui ne pourrait manquer de mener à une situation aussi indésirable et qui serait la source d'une instabilité très nette pour la société internationale, on a suggéré divers remèdes, tels que les fédérations, l'association libre à des Etats indépendants existants et d'autres méthodes déjà envisagées dans la résolution 1514 (XV).

130. La délégation italienne estime que chacune de ces suggestions a de la valeur et devrait être attentivement étudiée. Cependant, nous estimons aussi que, en vue d'éviter l'adoption de solutions hâtives, pour des raisons de facilité politique ou sous la pression de certains intérêts, le Comité spécial devrait s'abstenir d'aborder l'examen de ces petits territoires de façon fragmentaire. A notre avis, l'Organisation des Nations Unies devrait proclamer sa responsabilité particulière à l'égard de ces territoires. Nous pourrions même essayer de poser les fondements d'un nouveau mécanisme qui permettrait à l'Organisation des Nations Unies de se charger, directement ou

indirectement, d'amener ces territoires à l'indépendance.

131. Nous estimons aussi que l'Organisation des Nations Unies pourrait mettre à profit dans ce domaine — bien entendu mutatis mutandis — l'expérience infiniment précieuse qu'elle a acquise dans le domaine de l'administration de la tutelle.

132. Nous savons tous que l'imagination est l'un des principaux moyens de la politique. Nous espérons que les Nations Unies sauront en faire preuve pour amener à une conclusion satisfaisante le processus de décolonisation. Nous espérons qu'elles ne resteront pas prisonnières de vieilles formules qui étaient applicables à la décolonisation classique, mais qui peuvent avoir moins de valeur dans ces cas marginaux.

133. Nous sommes persuadés que le Comité spécial n'épargnera aucun effort pour s'acquitter de ses responsabilités; pour notre part, nous nous engageons à participer sincèrement et activement à ses efforts.

134. M. KING (Royaume-Uni) [traduit de l'anglais]: Le Royaume-Uni est membre du Comité spécial et, comme nos vues sur les diverses questions étudiées par cet organe ont été exposées de façon détaillée dans le rapport, ma délégation n'a pas jugé opportun d'intervenir à un stade antérieur du débat et a préféré attendre que les autres délégations aient eu la possibilité de présenter leurs observations sur le rapport. Comme vous êtes désireux, Monsieur le Président, de terminer ce débat le plus rapidement possible, mes observations porteront principalement sur les points soulevés au cours du débat par les orateurs qui m'ont précédé et je n'aborderai pas la question des territoires qui ont fait l'objet d'un examen spécial à la Quatrième Commission.

135. Tout d'abord, je voudrais faire connaître la position de mon gouvernement sur la question de la décolonisation. Les buts et objectifs de la politique du Royaume-Uni à l'égard des territoires non autonomes sous administration britannique ont été fréquemment exposés devant cette assemblée et tout récemment encore ils ont été énoncés par lord Home — qui était alors Ministre des affaires étrangères du Royaume-Uni — dans un discours prononcé à cette tribune le 1er octobre 1963 [1222ème séance].

136. En bref, nous sommes convaincus que les peuples de ces territoires devraient parvenir le plus rapidement possible à l'autonomie et à l'indépendance, et nous nous efforçons systématiquement de faire en sorte que ces nouvelles nations aient la force, la stabilité et les moyens nécessaires pour jouer un rôle utile dans les affaires mondiales et dans le progrès économique et social. Fort heureusement, les preuves de la sincérité de nos intentions et de notre détermination à poursuivre cette politique sont faciles à trouver.

137. A chaque nouvelle session de l'Assemblée générale, nous sommes accoutumés à voir un plus grand nombre de représentants d'anciens territoires dépendants siéger en tant que membres indépendants du Commonwealth et de l'Organisation des Nations Unies. L'an dernier a vu l'indépendance de la Jamaïque, de l'Ouganda et de la Trinité et Tobago, trois pays dont

la population totale atteint plus de 9 millions d'habitants. En 1963 déjà, nous avons été témoins de l'indépendance du Sabah — qui constituait autrefois le Bornéo du Nord —, du Sarawak et de Singapour, qui groupent au total environ 3 millions d'habitants et dont les représentants siègent maintenant à cette assemblée en tant que membres de la délégation de la Malaisie. Au cours de la présente session, nous assisterons à l'admission de Zanzibar et du Kenya, qui comptent à eux deux plus de 8 millions d'habitants. Ces deux pays deviendront en effet indépendants les 10 et 12 décembre 1963 respectivement.

138. Ma délégation exprime sa reconnaissance aux nombreux orateurs, parmi lesquels je tiens à citer tout spécialement les représentants de l'Argentine, du Cambodge, de la Colombie, du Libéria, de Madagascar, du Sénégal et du Tchad, qui ont généreusement rendu hommage au rôle joué par mon gouvernement dans l'accession de ces pays à l'indépendance.

139. Outre le Kenya et Zanzibar, j'ai le plaisir d'informer l'Assemblée — et tout spécialement les représentants du Libéria et de l'Éthiopie qui ont parlé respectivement de Malte et du Nyassaland — que la date d'accession à l'indépendance de ces deux territoires dont la population totale dépasse 3 millions d'habitants a déjà été fixée. Malte deviendra indépendante le 31 mai 1964 et le Nyassaland le 6 juillet 1964. Ainsi, depuis que l'Assemblée a discuté pour la dernière fois du rapport du Comité spécial il y a un peu plus d'un an, sept territoires, dont la population totale dépasse 14 millions d'habitants, ont acquis leur indépendance ou sont sur le point de l'obtenir au cours des mois à venir.

140. Cependant, le succès qu'a rencontré la politique de décolonisation de mon gouvernement au cours des dernières années ne signifie pas que nous ayons l'intention de nous reposer sur nos lauriers ni de permettre au rythme du progrès constitutionnel et politique de se ralentir. Il y a encore nombre de problèmes et de difficultés à résoudre avant que les territoires que nous administrons encore puissent atteindre l'autonomie et l'indépendance. Par exemple, six de ces territoires ont une population de moins de 10 000 habitants. Un certain nombre de représentants ont parlé de cette question des petits territoires. Les représentants du Chili et du Mexique [1267^{ème} séance], par exemple, ont relevé le fait que certains d'entre eux pouvaient difficilement être viables du point de vue politique ou économique, en raison de leur petite superficie ou de leur faible population.

141. A cet égard, ma délégation partage l'avis des représentants du Chili et du Sénégal, selon lequel il faut considérer chaque cas séparément, aucune solution simple ne pouvant s'appliquer à tous. Mon gouvernement a cependant confiance que l'on trouvera pour ces territoires des solutions qui pourront, conformément aux termes de l'Article 73 de la Charte, tenir compte des "conditions particulières de chaque territoire et de ses populations et [de] leurs degrés variables de développement".

142. En vertu du Chapitre XI de la Charte, c'est à la puissance administrante qu'il incombe de trouver des solutions à ces problèmes, et mon gouvernement

n'a nullement l'intention de se soustraire à ses responsabilités à cet égard.

143. J'en viens maintenant au rapport du Comité spécial des Vingt-Quatre et voudrais dire quelques mots des méthodes de travail et de la façon de procéder de cet organe. La base de la participation de ma délégation aux travaux du Comité au cours de l'année écoulée a été exposée en maintes occasions et peut se résumer comme suit. Nous nous sommes montrés disposés à collaborer avec le Comité, à lui communiquer des renseignements et à participer à ses discussions. En revanche, étant donné que nous sommes sûrs que notre politique est la bonne, nous devons également prendre l'entière responsabilité de sa mise en œuvre.

144. Je tiens à déclarer à ce sujet que la position de mon gouvernement en ce qui concerne sa participation future aux travaux du Comité dépendra des conclusions auxquelles l'Assemblée parviendra quant à la composition et au mandat de cet organe.

145. Le rapport du Comité spécial [A/5446/Rev.1] montre clairement que ma délégation a joué un rôle très actif dans les travaux du Comité. En particulier, un certain nombre de délégations ont félicité mon gouvernement d'avoir reçu à Londres pour la deuxième année consécutive un sous-comité du Comité spécial. Le représentant du Mexique a souligné l'importance de l'acceptation par mon gouvernement d'une telle procédure. Cependant, la question entièrement distincte de l'envoi de missions de visite dans les territoires administrés par le Royaume-Uni soulève des questions de principe fondamentales pour mon gouvernement. Étant donné qu'un grand nombre de représentants ont abordé cette question, je voudrais maintenant exposer de façon plus détaillée la position de mon gouvernement à ce sujet.

146. Cette position est fort simple. Mon gouvernement estime que l'envoi de missions de visite dans les territoires britanniques constitue une intervention dans leur administration. Je dois souligner que mon gouvernement ne prétend pas que ces missions de visite accompliraient une fonction administrative, comme l'a déclaré le représentant de l'Uruguay. Mais il est absolument convaincu que la présence de missions de visite constituerait une interruption du processus normal de progrès politique et constitutionnel dans les territoires et compliquerait le dialogue permanent qui a lieu entre la puissance administrante et les dirigeants des territoires et qui se traduit soit par des conférences constitutionnelles soit par d'autres formes de consultation; cette présence aurait donc pour effet de retarder l'accession des territoires à l'indépendance au lieu de l'accélérer.

147. Cela ne veut pas dire que mon gouvernement soit opposé à toutes les visites faites au nom des Nations Unies. A ce sujet, l'exemple de la mission de visite qui s'est rendue au Groenland en 1950, exemple auquel le représentant de Ceylan a fait allusion [1267^{ème} séance], est tout à fait pertinent. Cette mission était composée non de représentants des États Membres mais de deux fonctionnaires du Secrétariat des Nations Unies.

148. Les représentants de l'Uruguay [1268^{ème} séance] et du Sénégal [1270^{ème} séance] ont parlé de

visites faites récemment, avec le consentement du Royaume-Uni, par des missions analogues dans des territoires sous administration britannique. Il ressort clairement de cela que mon gouvernement est disposé à coopérer avec les Nations Unies dans ce domaine, en toutes circonstances opportunes, et par tous les moyens appropriés.

149. J'en viens maintenant à certaines questions soulevées au cours du débat au sujet de certains territoires administrés par le Royaume-Uni, cela étant particulièrement nécessaire, étant donné que la politique de mon gouvernement a été présentée, dans certains cas, de façon inexacte. Je parlerai tout d'abord d'Aden et des protectorats de l'Arabie du Sud.

150. Pendant bien des années, les souverains des divers Etats du Protectorat ont été peu disposés à s'unir; cependant, à mesure que le temps passait, ils ont pris de plus en plus conscience de la nécessité de s'unir d'une façon ou d'une autre pour former un seul Etat assez important pour avoir une existence autonome et pour accéder à l'indépendance. Au début de 1959, six souverains ont, de leur propre initiative, décidé de former une fédération pour assurer mutuellement leur défense et pour favoriser le développement politique, économique et social dans l'intérêt de leur pays et de leur peuple. Pendant les quatre années qui ont suivi, cinq autres Etats se sont joints à leur Fédération qui, au début de 1963, comprenait 11 membres.

151. Pendant la même période, une série de réunions a eu lieu entre les ministres de la Fédération et les ministres d'Aden, qui sont convenus d'agir en faveur de l'entrée d'Aden dans la Fédération de façon à mettre fin à la division artificielle qui existait entre Aden et l'arrière pays dont les habitants étaient principalement de race arabe et de religion musulmane, parlaient la même langue et se considéraient comme formant un seul peuple.

152. L'entrée d'Aden dans la Fédération a été discutée au Parlement britannique et aux assemblées législatives de la Fédération et d'Aden pendant l'automne de 1962 et approuvée par eux. Le 18 janvier 1963, Aden est devenu le douzième membre de la Fédération. En mars 1963, deux autres Etats se sont joints à la Fédération qui comprend maintenant la majorité des Etats de l'Arabie du Sud.

153. Le cours des événements en Arabie du Sud depuis l'entrée d'Aden dans la Fédération est encourageant. En particulier, l'harmonie a été beaucoup plus grande à Aden depuis la fusion. On peut citer à titre d'exemple le fait que deux membres de l'assemblée législative d'Aden qui avaient voté contre la fusion en 1962 sont maintenant ministres du Gouvernement de l'Etat d'Aden.

154. Je voudrais appeler tout particulièrement l'attention du représentant de l'Irak sur ce fait, car ce qu'il a dit de l'attitude d'Aden à l'égard de la fusion semblait reposer sur des renseignements qui n'étaient pas à jour. La situation en ce qui concerne les questions ouvrières qui ont parfois donné lieu à des différends dans le passé s'est améliorée grâce à l'institution, en août 1963, d'un conseil consultatif commun comprenant six représentants des

employeurs et six représentants désignés par le Congrès des syndicats d'Aden.

155. L'Etat d'Aden et le Gouvernement fédéral ont nommé des comités qui ont pour tâche d'accélérer le rythme et d'étendre l'application de l'arabisation de la fonction publique. Enfin, une commission d'enquête a été chargée par le Ministre principal d'Aden, en août 1963, d'examiner l'importante question des conditions à remplir pour obtenir le droit de vote et pour être éligible au Conseil législatif. Cette commission, qui était composée entièrement d'autochtones, et où toutes les nuances politiques étaient représentées, a achevé ses travaux dernièrement. Son avenir sera discuté prochainement entre le Gouvernement britannique et les ministres d'Aden.

156. En ce qui concerne les autres Etats de la Fédération, leurs dirigeants et leurs Conseils d'Etat comprennent qu'ils auront intérêt à aligner leur régime électoral sur la pratique suivie dans d'autres pays, dès que les conditions locales le permettront. Des progrès appréciables ont été accomplis dans ce sens au cours de l'année écoulée; c'est ainsi que le Conseil de l'Etat de Shaib compte maintenant huit membres élus; des élections ont eu lieu dans l'Etat de Fadhl en novembre dernier et des élections municipales se tiendront à Lahej à la fin de 1963. Ainsi, 1963 a été une année de progrès en Arabie du Sud et l'adhésion d'Aden à la Fédération a entraîné d'importantes modifications d'ordre administratif, politique, économique et social.

157. Il faut encore du temps pour évaluer les conséquences de tous ces changements. Le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni espère que les Etats qui n'ont pas encore adhéré à la Fédération décideront d'en faire partie, mais c'est d'eux que doit venir la décision. De même, il appartient aux membres de la Fédération de décider de la forme précise qu'elle prendra. Ce qui importe, c'est que l'Arabie du Sud avance vers l'indépendance le plus rapidement possible, conformément aux vœux de ses habitants et à la politique que suit le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni.

158. Je voudrais maintenant dire quelques mots au sujet des derniers événements survenus en Guyane britannique et auxquels plusieurs représentants ont fait allusion. Le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni a annoncé le 17 juillet 1963 que si les dirigeants des partis politiques n'arrivaient pas à se mettre d'accord il convoquerait de nouveau la conférence constitutionnelle en octobre 1963 au plus tard. Cette déclaration est consignée au chapitre X du rapport du Comité des Vingt-Quatre [A/5446/Rev.1, annexe III]. Ainsi, la décision de convoquer de nouveau la conférence a été prise avant que les deux dirigeants aient été entendus par le Sous-Comité du Comité des Vingt-Quatre en septembre 1963 et, lorsque les dirigeants se sont réunis à Londres en octobre, ils n'étaient pas encore parvenus à un accord.

159. En fait, ils ont écrit une lettre au ministre responsable, M. Sandys, l'informant de cet état de choses et demandant au Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni de régler de sa propre autorité toutes les questions constitutionnelles en suspens. Ils se sont engagés à accepter la décision que prendrait le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni. Il n'est donc pas vrai, comme l'a

prétendu le représentant de la Pologne, que la décision que M. Sandys a fait connaître le 31 octobre ait été "imposée" à la Guyane britannique. Ce sont les dirigeants politiques eux-mêmes qui ont demandé à M. Sandys de régler les différends d'ordre constitutionnel subsistant.

160. Il n'est pas exact non plus de dire, comme certains représentants l'ont affirmé, que le Royaume-Uni pratique une politique consistant à diviser pour régner. M. Sandys a souligné que le but de la solution qu'il proposait était de parvenir à un degré raisonnable de confiance et de coopération entre les races. De nouvelles élections vont avoir lieu prochainement, après quoi le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni convoquera une autre conférence pour régler tous les problèmes constitutionnels en suspens et fixer une date pour l'indépendance. Mon gouvernement désire vivement voir la Guyane britannique accéder à l'indépendance le plus tôt possible et notre objectif est toujours d'éliminer les obstacles à l'indépendance et de mettre sur pied une constitution qui recueille l'appui de toutes les races.

161. Un certain nombre de représentants ont parlé de la situation en Rhodésie du Nord. La situation actuelle est la suivante: une nouvelle constitution a été annoncée le 5 novembre 1963. En vertu de ses dispositions, le Conseil exécutif sera remplacé par un cabinet composé d'un premier ministre et de 13 autres ministres au maximum, tandis que le Conseil législatif comptera au total 75 membres, dont 65 seront élus sur la liste électorale principale, c'est-à-dire celle des circonscriptions africaines et 10 sur la liste réservée, en d'autres termes, celle des circonscriptions européennes.

162. Cette constitution fait suite à l'accord intervenu dans une large mesure entre les divers dirigeants politiques lors des récentes discussions dirigées par le Gouverneur. Les élections au nouveau Conseil législatif auront lieu en janvier 1964 et la constitution entrera en vigueur après ces élections. La Rhodésie du Nord jouira alors d'une pleine autonomie interne, comparable à celle qui existe actuellement au Nyassaland.

163. Je voudrais maintenant parler de l'évolution de la situation aux îles Fidji, qui semble avoir préoccupé quelque peu le représentant du Libéria [1267ème séance] et le représentant du Népal. Je tiens à assurer le représentant du Libéria que l'attitude de mon gouvernement n'a rien qui dénote la suffisance et que nous n'avons pas l'intention d'interrompre l'évolution politique des îles Fidji. Une nouvelle constitution est entrée en vigueur en avril 1963 et des élections ont eu lieu au mois de mai sur la base du suffrage élargi. Le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni propose maintenant la convocation d'une conférence à laquelle lui-même et les représentants de l'opinion des îles Fidji s'efforceront d'arrêter de concert des propositions concrètes en vue de stimuler les progrès politiques. Le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni a également suggéré l'adoption en 1964 de mesures provisoires qui feraient progresser les territoires vers l'autonomie interne. J'espère que ces précisions rassureront le représentant du Libéria.

164. Un certain nombre de représentants ont évoqué la situation existant dans les territoires du Bassouto-

land, du Betchouanaland et du Souaziland. Je tiens à leur dire que le rapport de la Commission constitutionnelle du Bassoutoland est maintenant terminé et qu'il en est de même des consultations relatives à la révision de la Constitution de 1960 qui ont eu lieu entre le Commissaire de Sa Majesté au Betchouanaland et les représentants de la population de ce territoire. Ces questions sont maintenant examinées au Conseil national du Bassoutoland et au Conseil législatif du Betchouanaland.

165. En ce qui concerne le Souaziland, nous espérons organiser des élections dans ce territoire au début de 1964, en vertu des dispositions de la nouvelle constitution qui représente un compromis équitable entre les vues de toutes les parties intéressées de ce territoire.

166. Je voudrais maintenant dire quelques mots au sujet de la Gambie. Ma délégation note avec reconnaissance la réaction favorable des représentants du Chili [1267ème séance], du Népal et de l'Irak [1269ème séance] devant la possibilité d'une association entre la Gambie et le Sénégal; tout comme la délégation sénégalaise, ma délégation regrette que le Comité des Vingt-Quatre n'ait mentionné ni l'accèsion de la Gambie à l'autonomie interne en octobre, ni la visite du groupe d'experts que le Secrétaire général avait chargé de formuler un avis au sujet de la forme des relations futures entre la Gambie et le Sénégal. Le rapport de ce groupe d'experts est attendu avec le plus vif intérêt par les gouvernements intéressés.

167. Ces observations sur l'évolution des territoires sous administration britannique montreront à l'Assemblée que nous accélérons le plus possible les progrès constitutionnels. C'est donc avec surprise et regret que j'ai écouté le discours du représentant de la Hongrie [1268ème séance]; celui-ci a non seulement passé sous silence les réalisations à l'actif de mon gouvernement en matière de décolonisation, mais il a, semble-t-il, recherché toutes les occasions d'attaquer mon pays et de déformer les paroles de notre ministre des affaires étrangères, afin de les faire cadrer avec sa thèse. Lorsque notre ministre a dit que, en cet âge nucléaire, nous devons tous apprendre à résister à la tentation de résoudre nos problèmes par la force, il n'entendait pas par là, comme le représentant de la Hongrie l'a soutenu, que le statu quo devait être maintenu partout. Ce qu'il a voulu dire — et il l'a d'ailleurs dit — c'est qu'il fallait modifier le statu quo par des négociations et non par la force des armes. Le représentant de la Hongrie a cru bon, pour des raisons qui lui sont propres, de s'arrêter au milieu de la citation, mais si les représentants se reportent au procès-verbal, ils verront que lord Home avait poursuivi en ces termes:

"Il est vrai, bien entendu, que toute nation a le droit de légitime défense et ce droit est nécessaire pour le cas où un de ses voisins serait pris d'une folie meurtrière, mais l'exemple et la négociation, la patience et la persévérance sont les seuls moyens légitimes de modifier le statu quo. C'est là une vérité que toutes les nations, grandes et petites, doivent admettre parce que, je le répète, une bombe nucléaire peut exploser en Europe, en Union

soviétique ou en Amérique, mais la poussière nucléaire ne connaît pas de frontières et, si cette vérité n'est pas admise, tous les hommes périront." [1222ème séance, par. 61.]

Lord Home a également exprimé l'avis que l'Union soviétique, les Etats-Unis et les pays d'Europe devaient "donner cet exemple de changement pacifique". Vous constaterez que l'accent est mis non pas sur le maintien rigide du statu quo mais sur un changement pacifique. Il n'est guère nécessaire de rappeler à l'Assemblée que le but principal de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, tel qu'il est énoncé à l'Article 1 de notre charte, est de "... réaliser par des moyens pacifiques, conformément aux principes de la justice et du droit international, l'ajustement ou le règlement de différends ou de situations, de caractère international, susceptibles de mener à une rupture de la paix". Quiconque ne croit pas en la solution des problèmes par la voie de négociations n'a pas sa place dans notre organisation.

168. Avant de terminer, je voudrais également parler d'une question générale — les accusations de néo-colonialisme que l'on prodigue à l'adresse de mon pays et d'autres pays toutes les fois que les territoires dépendants ou les problèmes que rencontrent les territoires nouvellement indépendants sont discutés. Il est temps de reconnaître la vraie nature de ces accusations: une tactique de guerre froide des communistes qui va à l'encontre des faits. Autrefois, l'un des mythes communistes consistait à affirmer qu'une société capitaliste avancée avait besoin de colonies pour rester prospère et que sans colonies elle s'effondrerait. Lorsque, mis en présence d'un fait évident, les communistes ont dû constater que le Royaume-Uni est plus prospère que jamais bien qu'il ait accordé l'autonomie ou l'indépendance à la plupart de ses colonies, ils ont changé de tactique et ont inventé l'argument selon lequel notre prospérité se fonderait sur l'exploitation économique de nos anciennes colonies, et même de tous les pays en voie de développement. Il semble que par "exploitation" on entende non seulement le commerce avec ces pays mais aussi l'aide qui leur est fournie sous forme d'investissements de capitaux, de source publique ou privée. En d'autres termes, tous les pays qui acceptent l'aide ou qui encouragent les investissements privés étrangers en provenance du monde libre se trouvent être des néo-colonies et ne sont nullement des Etats indépendants.

169. Mon gouvernement rejette la thèse d'après laquelle les relations des pays en voie de développement avec le reste du monde doivent se fonder sur l'absorption ou l'exploitation. Nous reconnaissons pleinement l'existence des pays en voie de développement en tant qu'Etats ayant des droits, des besoins et un avenir qui leur sont propres. Nous ne les considérons pas comme des phénomènes temporaires devant être utilisés au profit du monde libre ou absorbés par l'empire communiste. Nous ne contestons le droit d'aucun pays d'arrêter sa propre politique, intérieure ou extérieure. Dans le domaine économique, nous reconnaissons sans réserve le droit qu'ont tous les pays, y compris les pays en voie de développement, d'établir des relations commerciales ou de recevoir une aide s'ils jugent que c'est dans leur

intérêt bien compris. Une déclaration de principe de cet ordre serait entièrement superflue sans les accusations de néo-colonialisme qui ont été lancées si souvent contre mon gouvernement. Nous rejetons énergiquement ces accusations. Permettez-moi de citer les paroles du Premier Ministre du Royaume-Uni lorsqu'il s'est adressé à l'Assemblée le 1er octobre 1963. Il a dit alors ce qui suit:

"Les pays nouvellement indépendants ont-ils besoin de capitaux pour leur développement ou non? Le plus grand problème qui se pose actuellement au monde est celui de l'écart qui grandit entre les revenus des pays riches et ceux des pays pauvres. N'en est-il pas ainsi?"

"... Notre gouvernement souhaite ardemment consacrer une partie du revenu national aux investissements dans les pays sous-développés.

"... J'espère donc... que nous entendrons moins parler de néo-colonialisme. Le mieux que l'on en puisse dire, à mon avis, c'est qu'il s'agit là d'un grief inventé de toutes pièces, et le pire, c'est qu'il est dangereux parce qu'il encourage la pauvreté et le racisme." [1222ème séance, par. 84 à 86.]

170. Ma délégation n'a nullement l'intention de faire renaître la guerre froide à l'Organisation, mais si cette campagne artificielle se poursuit nous n'hésiterons pas à puiser dans le dossier volumineux d'informations dont nous disposons pour montrer qu'en réalité les rôles sont renversés.

171. On peut voir la preuve de l'absurdité de cette propagande dans le fait que les gouvernements du monde entier reconnaissent la contribution importante que les investissements en provenance de l'extérieur peuvent apporter au développement de leur économie. Les prospections fructueuses de pétrole dans la Nigéria par la Shell Oil Company et la construction du complexe sidérurgique de Durgapur en Inde ne sont que deux exemples des réalisations remarquables obtenues récemment avec l'aide de sociétés ou de capitaux britanniques. Les hommes d'Etat de toute l'Afrique ont répété que leurs gouvernements poursuivaient une politique consistant à encourager les investissements en provenance de l'extérieur.

172. Lorsqu'il a pris la parole à Londres le 17 septembre 1963, M. Kawawa, premier ministre du Tanganyika, a réaffirmé que la politique de son gouvernement était de créer des conditions favorables aux investissements étrangers. Le Gouvernement du Congo (Léopoldville) a promulgué, en septembre dernier, une nouvelle loi garantissant les investissements étrangers et nationaux dans son pays. Des lois analogues ont été adoptées dans d'autres pays. Le président Nkrumah, parlant à Tema, le 24 août 1963, lors de l'inauguration d'une fabrique de savon de la Lever Brothers, a déclaré: "Le climat favorable aux investissements créé par le Gouvernement ghanéen permet des réalisations industrielles telles que cette fabrique de savon... qui a été construite par l'une des sociétés les plus sérieuses opérant en Afrique... les capitaux que les sociétés du monde entier investissent dans l'unité africaine présentent aujourd'hui autant d'importance pour elles que pour tous les Africains."

173. Ce ne sont pas des paroles ou des actes de personnes dupes de l'exploitation étrangère. Au contraire, ils témoignent de la reconnaissance du fait que l'indépendance politique ne présuppose pas automatiquement un développement économique, que les pays nouvellement indépendants continuent d'avoir besoin de l'aide et du concours des pays industrialisés. Le commerce avec des pays amis et l'aide de ces derniers, loin de constituer une forme de néo-colonialisme sont des facteurs vitaux dans la réalisation du progrès économique et dans la création et la répartition des richesses souhaitées par tous les peuples. Maints pays nouvellement indépendants ont accepté des investissements de capitaux de pays appartenant au bloc soviétique et ont noué des relations commerciales avec ces pays. Le commerce des pays du bloc soviétique est aux mains de l'Etat et les investissements relèvent directement du gouvernement et non des sociétés privées. Le commerce de l'Etat et les investissements contrôlés par l'Etat semblent offrir de meilleures occasions à la mainmise du gouvernement et au néo-colonialisme que le commerce et les investissements privés. Il appartient aux pays en voie de développement de faire en sorte qu'il n'y ait aucune mainmise étrangère quelle qu'elle soit sur leur territoire.

174. Je termine mon intervention comme je l'ai commencée en parlant de l'accession prochaine à l'indépendance du Kenya, de Zanzibar, de Malte et du Nyassaland, qui sont autant de preuves tangibles de la sincérité de notre politique. On en trouvera d'autres preuves à l'annexe II du rapport du Comité des Vingt-Quatre [A/5446/Rev.1] qui consigne un fait remarquable, à savoir qu'au cours de chaque mois de l'année écoulée des progrès considérables ont été réalisés dans nos territoires. Nous ne pouvons récrire l'histoire ni modifier les données de la géographie: nous devons faire face à la situation telle qu'elle existe et nous nous tournons vers l'Assemblée en lui demandant de comprendre les dif-

ficultés que nous rencontrons et d'apprécier avec réalisme la politique que nous appliquons. Quoi que puissent dire ceux qui nous critiquent au Comité des Vingt-Quatre ou à l'Assemblée, nous menons à bien notre tâche et nous ne ralentirons pas nos efforts tant que tous nos territoires n'auront pas accédé à l'autonomie et à l'indépendance conformément à la Charte.

Organisation des travaux

175. Le PRESIDENT (traduit de l'espagnol): Nous avons terminé la discussion générale du point 23. Etant donné que les délégations qui préparent les projets de résolution relatifs à ce point n'ont pas encore fini leur travail, et afin de leur permettre d'achever la préparation de ces documents et de les soumettre au Secrétariat, nous ne tiendrons pas de séance plénière demain matin. Nous reprendrons demain après-midi, à la séance plénière, l'examen du point 12 de l'ordre du jour, c'est-à-dire le chapitre du rapport du Conseil économique et social concernant la composition du Comité intergouvernemental Nations Unies/FAO pour le Programme alimentaire mondial, au sujet duquel la Deuxième Commission a présenté un rapport, ainsi que les chapitres relatifs aux questions sociales et aux droits de l'homme sur lesquels l'Assemblée a reçu un rapport de la Troisième Commission, et enfin un rapport de la Cinquième Commission relatif aux incidences financières du projet de résolution, recommandé par la Troisième Commission, concernant la convocation en 1964 d'une réunion de la Commission des droits de l'homme.

176. Il y aura deux séances plénières, vendredi 6 décembre, pour l'examen des projets de résolution relatifs au point 23 qui auront été soumis et pour le vote sur ces projets. J'espère que nous pourrons ainsi terminer vendredi l'examen de ce point.

La séance est levée à 23 h 35.



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POINT 23 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

Rapport du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux (suite**)

EXAMEN DES PROJETS DE RESOLUTION

14. Le PRESIDENT (traduit de l'espagnol): L'Assemblée va maintenant passer au deuxième point de son ordre du jour: l'examen du rapport du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux [A/5446/Rev.1] et des huit projets de résolution qui concernent cette question. Comme vous le savez, la discussion générale de cette question est terminée. L'Assemblée doit donc maintenant prendre une décision sur les projets de résolution dont elle est saisie.

15. Je donne la parole au représentant des Etats-Unis.

16. M. ATTWOOD (Etats-Unis d'Amérique) [traduit de l'anglais]: En déposant l'amendement A/L.445 et Add.1, ma délégation a pour but de dissiper toute interprétation erronée du cinquième alinéa du préambule et d'harmoniser le style de cet alinéa avec celui du sixième alinéa du préambule et celui du paragraphe 1. Nous espérons que les auteurs examineront cet amendement avec bienveillance et l'accepteront.

17. Le PRESIDENT (traduit de l'espagnol): L'Assemblée doit maintenant examiner le projet de résolution relatif à Aden [A/L.436 et Add.1]; le projet relatif à Malte [A/L.437 et Add.1 et 2]; le projet relatif aux îles Fidji [A/L.438 et Add.1]; le projet relatif à la Rhodésie du Nord [A/L.439 et Add.1]; le projet

*Après le scrutin, le représentant de l'Islande a fait connaître au Président que, s'il avait été présent lors du vote, il se serait abstenu.

**Reprise des travaux de la 1273ème séance.

relatif au Nyassaland [A/L.440 et Add.1 et 2]; le projet relatif au Bassoutoland, au Betchouanaland et au Soudan [A/L.441 et Add.1 et 2]; le projet relatif à la Guyane britannique [A/L.442 et Add.1]; le projet relatif à la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux [A/L.443 et Add.1 et 2], et un amendement à ce dernier projet, amendement déposé par les Etats-Unis et l'Australie [A/L.443 et Add.1].

18. Je donnerai tout d'abord la parole aux orateurs qui, avant de voter, désirent expliquer leur vote sur tel ou tel des projets de résolution dont nous sommes saisis. Nous procéderons ensuite au vote sur les projets de résolution l'un après l'autre. Après le scrutin, je donnerai la parole aux autres orateurs qui souhaiteraient expliquer leur vote.

19. Je rappelle aux membres de l'Assemblée que, selon l'article 90 du règlement intérieur, le Président ne peut pas autoriser l'auteur d'une proposition ou d'un amendement à expliquer son vote sur sa proposition ou sur son amendement.

20. Je donne la parole aux représentants qui voudraient expliquer leur vote avant le scrutin.

21. M. CHANDERLI (Algérie): Nous célébrons cette semaine, avec des sentiments partagés, deux anniversaires particulièrement importants. Il y a trois ans, notre Assemblée adoptait ce que nous considérons comme la charte de la décolonisation, la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux.

22. D'autre part, peuples et gouvernements viennent de célébrer avec éclat le quinzième anniversaire de la Déclaration universelle des droits de l'homme.

23. C'est dans ce contexte que ma délégation souhaite proposer quelques observations sur ce qui a été accompli et sur ce qui devrait être fait. Le Comité spécial, dont nous avons examiné le rapport [A/5446/Rev.1], a été certainement un instrument efficace dont l'activité ne pouvait que contribuer à accélérer la mise en œuvre intégrale des dispositions de la Déclaration contenue dans la résolution 1514 (XV).

24. Cependant, malgré son activité, malgré l'importance et l'objectivité des rapports qu'il nous a soumis, il apparaît que, dans le monde où nous vivons, il y a encore trop de peuples et de territoires dépendants.

25. Il nous appartient d'œuvrer pour que le colonialisme, condamné par la Charte et l'histoire, disparaisse le plus rapidement possible. C'est dans cet esprit que ma délégation appuie la prolongation de la mission du Comité des Vingt-Quatre et souhaite même renforcer son autorité.

26. Je ne reviendrai pas sur ce qui a été dit quant aux difficultés rencontrées par le Comité spécial pour accomplir sa mission. Une tâche considérable l'attend encore et il ne pourra la remplir qu'avec la coopération franche et totale des puissances administrantes. Or, dans quatre cas au moins, il y a réellement menace à la paix et à la sécurité internationales, et dans ces quatre cas, les puissances administrantes se refusent à collaborer avec le Comité spécial et, donc, à appliquer les termes de la résolution 1514 (XV).

Il s'agit de la situation en Rhodésie du Sud, du problème du Sud-Ouest africain, du conflit dans les territoires portugais et de la question d'Aden. Nous espérons vivement que dans ces quatre cas particuliers, comme dans d'autres, l'intérêt bien compris des Etats comme le respect des décisions de l'Assemblée amèneront les puissances coloniales à adapter leur politique aux impératifs d'un monde qui refuse de permettre que le colonialisme puisse exister plus longtemps.

27. A ce propos, ma délégation regrette que, dans le souci respectable d'éviter que des situations difficiles et parfois chaotiques soient engendrées par l'octroi trop rapide de l'indépendance à certains territoires, quelques délégations aient suggéré que l'indépendance devrait être envisagée à plus long terme. Ma délégation craint que la générosité manifestée de bonne foi à l'égard des puissances coloniales ne soit pas payée de retour. Lorsqu'une puissance administrante s'est évertuée parfois pendant des siècles à ne pas préparer à l'indépendance les peuples sous sa domination, nous pouvons légitimement douter de sa volonté de modifier brusquement une attitude séculaire. Nous pensons donc que nous devons nous en tenir aux termes de la résolution 1514 (XV), qui prévoit que l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux doit être immédiat. Autrement dit, si la bonne volonté des puissances administrantes et leur assistance doivent être demandées dans cette conjoncture, c'est dans le cadre de cette résolution et surtout une fois qu'elles l'auront appliquée. Qu'elles octroient l'indépendance d'abord et qu'elles assistent par la suite, s'il y a lieu, les territoires nouvellement indépendants. La crainte qui a été manifestée ici concernant de nouvelles formes de dépendance qui pourraient surgir d'une situation où un pays nouvellement indépendant demeurerait sous le contrôle indirect de telle ou telle puissance, n'est pas à nos yeux un argument suffisant pour retarder l'accession de ce pays à la souveraineté internationale. Il appartiendra à la communauté internationale, aux Nations Unies et aux peuples de ces territoires eux-mêmes de veiller à ce que leur indépendance soit réelle.

28. Dans un autre ordre d'idées, il a été suggéré ici que parfois les indépendances nouvelles acquises pouvaient poser des problèmes territoriaux. Nous savons tous que des problèmes de cette nature se sont posés au cours des âges à tous les Etats du monde. Nous savons que si, dans le passé, des litiges de cette sorte ont été réglés par les armes, il ne peut plus en être ainsi de nos jours. Bien plus, la Charte des Nations Unies, comme celles des grandes organisations internationales, telles que l'Organisation des Etats américains ou l'Organisation de l'unité africaine, recommandent la recherche de solutions pacifiques et négociées à ces problèmes, tout en précisant que l'intégrité territoriale des Etats et le respect de leurs frontières devraient, en principe, demeurer intangibles. S'il fallait remettre en question les frontières des Etats jeunes comme celles des Etats plus anciens sur la base de thèses géographiques ou historiques, c'est toute la carte politique du monde qu'il faudrait reconsidérer. La société moderne à laquelle nous appartenons se doit de tenir compte du caractère explosif que peuvent représenter des revendications territoriales à l'heure des grands en-

sement, à l'heure de l'interdépendance économique, à l'heure de l'unité et de la paix.

29. Ces problèmes, qui se posent à beaucoup d'autres d'entre nous, devront recevoir leur solution dans la compréhension mutuelle, dans l'intérêt des peuples et des Etats, dans le refus d'imposer par la force des formules qui ne peuvent être viables qu'à la suite d'accords librement consentis. Bien plus, à l'heure où les jeunes Etats veulent apporter une contribution efficace à la décolonisation, nous serions malvenus et nous donnerions au monde un spectacle pénible en étalant des querelles que nous pouvons régler fraternellement, hors de cette enceinte et dans l'application des recommandations de la Charte qui mettent l'accent sur l'intérêt et l'utilité des solutions négociées, dans le cadre bilatéral ou dans celui des organisations régionales.

30. En adoptant le rapport du Comité spécial, nous avons voulu exprimer notre volonté de participer activement à la libération des territoires dépendants. Nous avons voulu également manifester notre confiance à ce comité et, en même temps, en appeler à la raison des puissances administrantes pour qu'elles comprennent que le colonialisme a été une tare de l'humanité, et qu'elles comprennent aussi que les problèmes coloniaux, qui ont souvent été résolus par la violence, peuvent trouver leur solution par la coopération et le bon sens. Nous croyons que les enclaves conservées ici ou là par les grands empires du temps passé doivent disparaître pour faire place à des rapports nouveaux entre peuples, rapports fondés sur l'intérêt mutuel et sur la nécessité de construire un monde d'où seraient éliminées les causes de tension. C'est le sens que nous donnons au soutien que nous apportons aux travaux du Comité des Vingt-Quatre, en ajoutant que toute tentative en vue de freiner le mouvement de l'histoire dans ce domaine est non seulement vouée à l'échec mais peut donner lieu à de nouveaux conflits qui seraient indignes des grands courants contemporains, tels qu'ils sont contenus dans les textes qui nous lient et qui s'appellent: Charte des Nations Unies, Déclaration universelle des droits de l'homme et Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux.

31. Mon gouvernement n'a pas à faire la preuve de son anticolonialisme et n'a pas cru devoir infliger à l'Assemblée un long discours à cet effet. Il importait cependant de faire entendre notre voix dans ce concert des peuples qui expriment du fond des âges leur besoin éternel de liberté et de dignité.

32. M. YOMEKPE (Ghana) [traduit de l'anglais]: Je voudrais tout d'abord annoncer que la délégation ghanéenne est co-auteur du projet de résolution A/L.442 et Add.1, qui concerne la Guyane britannique. Je crois comprendre que le nom du Ghana a été omis par erreur dans la liste primitive des auteurs.

33. Ma délégation a déjà fait connaître ses idées sur le travail du Comité des Vingt-Quatre. Nous avons grande confiance dans le travail du Comité; nous estimons que ses méthodes et ses procédés sont conformes à l'esprit des résolutions 1514 (XV) et 1654 (XVI) de l'Assemblée générale.

34. Nous voudrions pourtant faire consigner au procès-verbal la façon dont nous interprétons la création de ce comité. Par sa résolution 1654 (XVI), l'Assemblée générale avait décidé de créer un comité spécial de 17 membres, désignés par son Président, en vue de la mise en œuvre de sa résolution 1514 (XV).

35. Au cours de sa dix-septième session, l'Assemblée générale a élargi la composition de ce comité, qui compte maintenant 24 membres. Nous avons cru comprendre alors que la composition du comité reposerait sur un système de roulement, analogue à celui qui s'applique au Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes. Nous comprenons bien qu'il est actuellement un peu tard pour faire des propositions concrètes sur le système de roulement qu'il faudrait adopter pour le Comité des Vingt-Quatre, mais nous souhaiterions vivement que l'on tienne compte de cette possibilité à la dix-neuvième session de l'Assemblée générale, et nous pensons que le Secrétaire général devrait peut-être étudier les moyens de parvenir à ce résultat.

36. Voici en quelques mots notre position, telle que nous voudrions la voir consignée au procès-verbal: la délégation ghanéenne estime que la composition du Comité des Vingt-Quatre ne devrait pas être fixe, mais obéir à un roulement. Nous ne voudrions pas faire des propositions expresses pour la durée du mandat des membres du Comité, mais chaque membre, à notre avis, devrait y siéger au moins deux ans.

37. A ce propos, je désire rappeler que la Quatrième Commission est actuellement saisie d'un projet de résolution sur la dissolution du Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes [A/5673, par. 28]. Si elle adopte ce projet et si l'Assemblée le vote par la suite en séance plénière, il faudra peut-être se demander ce que deviendront les puissances administrantes qui sont actuellement membres de ce Comité et ne font pas partie du Comité des Vingt-Quatre. C'est une question qu'il faudrait également étudier, compte tenu des idées que nous venons d'exposer.

38. M. LICHTVELD (Pays-Bas) [traduit de l'anglais]: Ma délégation désire parler du projet de résolution relatif à la Guyane britannique [A/L.442 et Add.1].

39. La Guyane britannique est un territoire voisin et ami du Surinam, lequel est une des trois parties autonomes du Royaume des Pays-Bas. C'est pourquoi ma délégation s'intéresse tout spécialement au développement politique et au bien-être de ce pays et souhaite appuyer au maximum l'exercice de son droit à l'autodétermination. Il y a plusieurs années, le Surinam et les Antilles néerlandaises ont exercé ce droit; s'ils désiraient aujourd'hui modifier leur statut politique, il leur serait parfaitement loisible de le faire; nous pensons en effet que le droit à l'autonomie est un droit permanent et dynamique, et non un droit statique, lié à un moment donné ou prédéterminé. C'est pourquoi nous appuyons sans réserve le paragraphe 1 du projet de résolution qui va être mis aux voix. Ce paragraphe réaffirme un droit imprescriptible du peuple de la Guyane britannique, un droit qui appartient à tous les peuples du monde. Or, un élément intrinsèque de ce droit est le droit qu'a le peuple de déterminer lui-même quand, où et comment certains changements transitionnels

doivent intervenir dans son statut. Le peuple, et lui seul, doit fixer la date de ces transitions, leur échelonnement ainsi que les modalités et la forme de son indépendance. Il est évident que cela ne peut et ne doit se faire — si tel est le but souhaité — que de concert avec la puissance administrante, s'il y en a une, chaque fois que cette puissance se montre passablement disposée à favoriser les transitions que réclame la population. A cet égard, les Membres des Nations Unies — n'y en aurait-il qu'un, ou seraient-ils tous d'accord — n'ont pas le droit de demander plus de célérité ou des changements immédiats, sans tenir compte des vœux des parties intéressées.

40. En ce qui concerne le cas dont traite le projet de résolution sur lequel nous allons voter, le peuple de la Guyane britannique et le Royaume-Uni sont les seuls auxquels il incombe de déterminer la cadence à laquelle seront appliquées les décisions prises de concert. C'est pourquoi le paragraphe 2, qui demande que l'on fixe sans délai de la date de l'indépendance pour nos amis de la Guyane britannique, nous paraît inacceptable. Nous voterons donc contre ce paragraphe. Il s'agit d'une question de principe, d'un corollaire de ce même droit à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance, au cas où l'indépendance est le but souhaité, que nous appuyons avec la dernière énergie.

41. En conséquence, ma délégation sera obligée de s'abstenir lors du vote sur l'ensemble du projet de résolution. Le même principe nous guidera lors du vote des autres projets dont nous sommes saisis.

42. M. KING (Royaume-Uni) [traduit de l'anglais]: Ma délégation demande que l'Assemblée vote sur les projets de résolution relatifs à Aden, aux îles Fidji, au Bassoutoland, au Betchouanaland et au Souaziland, à la Guyane britannique et au maintien en fonctions du Comité des Vingt-Quatre [A/L.436 et Add.1, A/L.438 et Add.1, A/L.441 et Add.1 et Add.2, A/L.442 et A/L.443 et Add.1 et 2]. Je voudrais expliquer mon vote sur ces projets de résolution.

43. Le projet de résolution relatif à Aden [A/L.436] est pratiquement identique à celui que le Comité des Vingt-Quatre a adopté le 19 juillet 1963; et les idées de ma délégation sur cette résolution sont pleinement exposées aux paragraphes 472 à 476 du chapitre V du rapport du Comité des Vingt-Quatre [A/5446/Rev.1]. Ma délégation a également consacré à la question d'Aden une grande partie de la déclaration qu'elle a faite lors de la discussion générale en séance plénière, le 4 décembre 1963 [1273ème séance]; je ne pense pas qu'il soit besoin de redéfinir maintenant la position de mon gouvernement. Bref, ma délégation est opposée au projet de résolution parce qu'il reprend les conclusions et les recommandations du Sous-Comité d'Aden, conclusions et recommandations que mon gouvernement a jugées inacceptables. Ma délégation votera donc contre le projet de résolution.

44. Je passe maintenant au projet de résolution relatif aux îles Fidji [A/L.438 et Add.1]. Ce que ma délégation pense des progrès politiques et constitutionnels des îles Fidji est amplement indiqué au chapitre VII du rapport du Comité des Vingt-Quatre, en particulier aux paragraphes 105 à 109. Ma délégation reste naturellement fidèle aux idées qu'elle a exprimées et à l'attitude qu'elle a prise lors de la discussion de ce point au comité.

45. Le projet de résolution dont nous sommes saisis, et qui est à peu près identique à celui qu'avait adopté le Comité spécial, s'appuie sur une conception entièrement erronée de la situation qui règne aux îles Fidji et sur ce que désirent actuellement les Fidjiens. La Constitution actuelle, qui est entrée en vigueur cette année, a été adoptée avec le plein accord des représentants du peuple fidjien et elle prévoit déjà des élections libres et la mise en place d'institutions représentatives sur une base conforme aux vœux de la population.

46. Mon gouvernement a pour politique de s'acquitter, aux îles Fidji, de l'obligation que lui fait la Charte, de conduire ce territoire vers l'autonomie, en tenant compte des circonstances particulières à ce territoire et aux désirs exprimés par sa population. Au Comité spécial, ma délégation a exposé les circonstances particulières à ce territoire et a également précisé que mon gouvernement n'empêchera en aucune manière les îles Fidji d'accéder un jour à l'indépendance si tel est le vœu de la population. Mais la population a indiqué clairement que le problème de l'indépendance ne la préoccupait pas pour le moment. Conformément à la politique que je viens de rappeler, les pouvoirs passent à la population locale selon les circonstances et selon ses vœux, et les mesures intérimaires dans le sens de l'autonomie interne, mesures dont ma délégation a parlé en séance plénière au cours de la discussion générale, le 4 décembre 1963 [1273ème séance], marquent la dernière en date des étapes franchies dans cette direction.

47. De plus, depuis que le Comité spécial a adopté son projet de résolution sur les îles Fidji, le Gouvernement britannique a proposé de réunir une conférence, d'ici un an environ, en vue d'élaborer un nouveau système constitutionnel qui maintiendra une association continue avec le Royaume-Uni et qui favorisera de nouveaux progrès vers l'autonomie interne. Cette conférence examinera tous les aspects de la Constitution fidjienne que les représentants de la population de ces îles souhaiteront discuter, y compris la question du droit de vote et celle de la composition du Conseil législatif et du Conseil exécutif.

48. Mon gouvernement s'étant prononcé pour cette conférence, ma délégation s'abstiendra lors du vote sur le projet de résolution A/L.438 et Add.1. Il ne faut pourtant pas interpréter cette abstention comme signifiant que mon gouvernement a choisi telle ou telle solution pour la constitution des îles Fidji. Il appartiendra aux représentants de la population fidjienne de prendre eux-mêmes une décision à ce sujet, en consultation avec le Gouvernement britannique, et c'est précisément à cette fin que la conférence doit se réunir.

49. Quant au projet de résolution relatif au Bassoutoland, au Betchouanaland et au Souaziland [A/L.441 et Add.1 et 2], ma délégation a signalé dans son intervention dans la discussion générale, la semaine dernière, qu'une conférence constituante s'est tenue cette année au sujet du Souaziland et que le Gouvernement britannique a proposé une nouvelle constitution, qui tente de concilier les diverses thèses qui se sont fait jour à cette conférence. Les élections prévues en vertu des dispositions de la nouvelle Constitution auront lieu au premier semestre de 1964. Au Bassou-

toland et au Betchoualand, la constitution a fait l'objet d'un examen local, et les représentants de tous les partis politiques ont pris part à ces consultations. Des propositions qui visent à remanier les deux constitutions sont actuellement débattues au Parlement du Bassoutoland et à celui du Betchoualand; le Gouvernement britannique pense recevoir bientôt les recommandations de ces deux Parlements.

50. Ces trois territoires sont actuellement plus ou moins proches de l'autonomie; une fois ce stade atteint, leur peuple disposera de moyens constitutionnels pour faire connaître ses vœux quant à son futur statut. Le Gouvernement britannique reconnaît que l'accession à l'indépendance est une aspiration naturelle et légitime du peuple de ces territoires. Il n'a nullement l'intention d'imposer une solution arrêtée d'avance et n'a aucun intérêt à agir ainsi. Comme dans d'autres territoires, il appartiendra aux habitants de chacun de ces trois territoires de décider en pleine connaissance de cause de la forme de statut définitif qui leur conviendrait le mieux. Si un de ces territoires souhaite demeurer associé au Royaume-Uni sous une force ou sous une autre, cette question fera l'objet de négociations.

51. Ainsi mon gouvernement fait tout le nécessaire pour favoriser le progrès politique et constitutionnel du Bassoutoland, du Betchoualand et du Souaziland, et n'entend nullement le retarder. Or, le projet de résolution ne tient pas compte de la situation qui règne actuellement dans les trois territoires ni des événements survenus au cours des derniers mois. C'est pourquoi ma délégation votera contre ce texte.

52. Je voudrais maintenant parler du projet de résolution relatif à la Guyane britannique [A/L.442 et Add.1]. Comme ma délégation l'a signalé au cours de son intervention dans la discussion générale, le 4 décembre 1963, les dirigeants des partis politiques de la Guyane britannique ont demandé à mon gouvernement de régler de sa propre autorité toutes les questions de constitution qui demeureraient pendantes et se sont engagés à accepter la décision que prendrait le Gouvernement britannique. En réponse à cette demande, mon gouvernement a proposé une solution dont le but est de créer un degré passable de confiance et de coopération entre les races. De nouvelles élections vont avoir lieu incessamment, après quoi le Gouvernement britannique réunira une nouvelle conférence pour résoudre toutes les questions de constitution qui continueraient à se poser et fixer une date pour l'indépendance. Comme il ne saurait être question de fixer cette date avant que ces diverses étapes ne soient franchies, ma délégation s'abstiendra lors du vote sur le projet de résolution relatif à la Guyane britannique. Toutefois, je voudrais souligner que le Royaume-Uni souhaite vivement que la Guyane britannique devienne indépendante le plus tôt possible et que notre objectif reste d'écarter les obstacles sur le chemin de l'indépendance et de faire voir le jour à une constitution qui ait l'appui de toutes les races.

53. Enfin, je voudrais expliquer la position de ma délégation au sujet du projet de résolution relatif à la reconduction du mandat du Comité spécial des Vingt-Quatre [A/L.443 et Add.1 et 2] ainsi que sur l'amendement que les Etats-Unis et l'Australie proposent [A/L.445 et Add.1] d'apporter à ce texte.

54. En de nombreuses occasions, ma délégation a exposé au Comité spécial sa position. Nous ne pouvons pas accepter l'intervention de l'Assemblée, de ses comités ou de ses sous-comités dans l'administration des territoires dont nous demeurons responsables. En particulier, les idées de ma délégation sur la question des missions de visite dans les territoires sous administration britannique ont été pleinement exposées dans l'intervention que ma délégation a faite au cours de la discussion générale, le 4 décembre 1963. Nous estimons en somme que ces missions interrompraient le processus normal du progrès politique et auraient pour effet de compliquer le dialogue constant qui se tient entre la puissance administrante et les dirigeants des territoires et retarderaient ainsi l'heure de l'indépendance au lieu de l'avancer.

55. Nous nous acquitterons de nos responsabilités pleinement et sans crainte, et les réalisations des quinze dernières années témoignent amplement du succès de notre politique à cet égard. L'accession de Zanzibar à l'indépendance hier, et celle du Kenya demain, en sont de nouvelles preuves.

56. Les termes du projet de résolution [A/L.443 et Add.1 et 2] ne tiennent pas, aux yeux de ma délégation, suffisamment compte des progrès réalisés dans le passé et ne sont pas non plus en harmonie avec la position prise par mon gouvernement sur certaines questions fondamentales. En particulier, ma délégation ne saurait convenir que le cinquième alinéa du préambule s'applique à mon gouvernement. Ma délégation appuiera donc l'amendement des Etats-Unis d'Amérique et de l'Australie [A/L.445 et Add.1]. Mais l'adoption de cet amendement ne supprimera pas toutes les objections que ma délégation fait au projet de résolution; nous nous abstiendrons donc lors du vote sur l'ensemble du projet de résolution.

57. M. CHIBA (Japon) [traduit de l'anglais]: Pour expliquer notre vote sur la série de huit projets de résolution qui nous est soumise [A/L.436 et Add.1, A/L.437 et Add.1, A/L.438 et Add.1, L.439 et Add.1, A/L.440 et Add.1 et 2, A/L.441 et Add.1 et 2, A/L.442 et Add.1, A/L.443 et Add.1 et 2], je voudrais faire une brève déclaration.

58. Tout d'abord, comme la délégation japonaise l'a dit bien souvent dans le passé, nous sommes fermement opposés au colonialisme, et nous espérons que l'anachronisme et l'injustice qu'il représente disparaîtront bientôt. Comme notre Ministre des affaires étrangères, M. Ohira, l'a dit dans la déclaration qu'il a faite à cette tribune le 20 septembre 1963, au début de la session:

"Le colonialisme existe toujours et doit être dénoncé comme étant contraire au progrès humain."
[1209ème séance, par. 18.]

Nous éprouvons des sentiments de vive sympathie pour les peuples qui subissent encore le joug colonial et nous sommes profondément solidaires de leurs aspirations à la liberté et à l'indépendance. Il faut, à notre avis, faire tous nos efforts pour les aider à atteindre leurs buts aussi rapidement que possible.

59. Fidèle à sa position fondamentale d'opposition au colonialisme, ma délégation a très soigneusement étudié les huit projets de résolution. Il nous semble,

je dois le dire, que certains de ces textes, que je n'examinerai pas en détail, cherchent à aller trop loin et trop vite pour l'instant. Nous estimons qu'ils risquent de ralentir la décolonisation des territoires en cause au lieu de l'accélérer. Nous serons donc obligés de nous abstenir sur ces projets de résolution.

60. Je voudrais en particulier commenter brièvement le projet de résolution [A/L.443 et Add.1 et 2] relatif à la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. Le paragraphe 3 de ce texte nous cause quelque souci. Nous souscrivons entièrement à beaucoup d'éléments du rapport du Comité spécial des Vingt-Quatre [A/5446/Rev.1], mais il s'en trouve d'autres que nous ne pouvons pas approuver. Pour cette raison, nous ne pouvons pas nous rallier à l'approbation sans réserve exprimée au paragraphe 3 du rapport du Comité spécial.

61. De plus, certains passages du projet de résolution nous paraissent trop catégoriques ou trop vagues et nous ne pouvons pas y souscrire pleinement.

62. Sous réserve des observations que je viens de faire, ma délégation pense que, dans son ensemble, le projet de résolution s'efforce, de façon constructive, de trouver des solutions aux problèmes qui nous sont posés; nous voterons donc pour l'ensemble de ce dernier projet de résolution.

63. M. GONZALEZ (Costa Rica) [traduit de l'espagnol]: Mon pays votera pour le projet de résolution relatif à la question de l'indépendance de la Guyane britannique [A/L.442 et Add.1]. Il désire ainsi affirmer sa politique anticolonialiste, d'autant plus qu'il s'agit d'une colonie située au cœur du continent latino-américain.

64. La délégation costaricienne voudrait déclarer très nettement qu'elle ne considère pas ce projet de résolution comme un obstacle au processus constitutionnel qui se déroule en Guyane britannique, mais au contraire comme un élément constructif de ce processus qui conduira le territoire, en temps voulu, vers la complète indépendance, dans des conditions qui permettront d'assurer le bien-être de la population grâce à des institutions démocratiques fermement établies.

65. M. HAY (Australie) [traduit de l'anglais]: Je voudrais expliquer la position de ma délégation à l'égard du projet de résolution A/L.443 et Add.1 et 2. Je n'expliquerai pas notre vote sur les autres projets de résolution, car ma délégation a déjà fait connaître sa position à ce sujet au cours des débats du Comité spécial des Vingt-Quatre.

66. En ce qui concerne le projet de résolution A/L.443 et Add.1 et 2, ma délégation a bon nombre d'importantes réserves à faire. La première a trait à l'alinéa du préambule qui fait l'objet d'un amendement. Sans m'attarder sur ce point, je dirai simplement que, si cet amendement n'est pas adopté par l'Assemblée, nous serons obligés de nous abstenir lors du vote sur l'ensemble du projet. En effet, nous estimons que cet alinéa porte sur les responsabilités, le rôle et l'attitude des puissances administrantes, un jugement très sommaire qui, selon nous, ne correspond ni aux faits ni à l'esprit des débats du Comité spécial des Vingt-Quatre.

67. J'espère, toutefois, que l'amendement sera adopté et qu'en conséquence, notre réserve tombera. Si l'amendement est adopté, ma délégation votera pour l'ensemble du projet de résolution, car elle estime que, dans son esprit, ce texte est satisfaisant et répond aux vœux de l'Assemblée, comme c'était le cas des résolutions antérieures, qu'il est conforme à la Charte de façon générale et qu'il permettra à la coopération de se poursuivre entre les puissances administrantes et les autres membres du Comité des Vingt-Quatre. Notre approbation s'accompagne cependant de certaines réserves. Tout d'abord, le paragraphe 3 nous invite à approuver dans sa totalité le rapport du Comité spécial [A/5446/Rev.1], comme l'a fait observer le représentant du Japon. Or, il y a dans le rapport du Comité spécial beaucoup de passages que nous approuvons, mais il y en a aussi beaucoup auxquels nous n'avons donné notre approbation ni au cours des débats du Comité ni au cours de ses votes. C'est pourquoi notre vote en faveur de l'ensemble du projet de résolution ne saurait être interprété comme une entière approbation du rapport du Comité spécial.

68. Le paragraphe 7 appelle de notre part une réserve, au sujet du statut des projets de résolution qu'adopte le Comité spécial. De l'avis de ma délégation, les résolutions du Comité spécial, pour importantes qu'elles soient, n'ont pas le même statut que celles de l'Assemblée générale, et ce serait une erreur que de mettre les résolutions du Comité sur le même plan que les résolutions de l'Assemblée générale, comme fait le paragraphe 7.

69. Nous avons, enfin, une réserve à faire au sujet du paragraphe 8, qui envisage que des groupes de visite pourraient se rendre dans les territoires qui sont sous administration des puissances intéressées. La position prise par ma délégation sur la question des groupes de visite a été clairement exposée au Comité des Vingt-Quatre. A notre avis, chaque visite éventuelle doit être considérée comme un cas d'espèces. Il ne serait pas prudent d'accepter ou de refuser indistinctement toutes les visites. Il y a des circonstances, particulières à chaque cas, que le Comité des Vingt-Quatre doit prendre en considération avant de recommander l'envoi d'une mission de visite. Selon ces circonstances, une telle décision pourra être sage ou inopportune. Un des facteurs à prendre en considération à propos des groupes de visite prévus dans le paragraphe 8 est l'attitude des autorités administrantes. De l'avis de ma délégation, il faut absolument, pour le bon fonctionnement du Comité des Vingt-Quatre, qu'une coopération s'établisse entre les membres qui ont des responsabilités administratives et ceux qui n'en ont pas. La coopération implique, par définition, des obligations réciproques. Les obligations des puissances administrantes sont clairement définies. Celles des autres pays le sont beaucoup moins, mais elles vont, de l'avis de ma délégation, jusqu'à des consultations suivies avec les puissances administrantes intéressées au sujet de toute question qui touche à l'administration d'un de leurs territoires. C'est un principe que l'Assemblée a admis dans le passé et qui est énoncé au paragraphe 6 de la résolution 1654 (XVI), par laquelle

l'Assemblée générale a créé le Comité spécial. Par cette résolution, l'Assemblée générale:

"Autorise le Comité spécial à se réunir en tout autre lieu que le Siège de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, lorsque cela pourrait être nécessaire pour lui permettre de s'acquitter efficacement de ses fonctions, en consultation avec les autorités compétentes".

Ma délégation considère que le paragraphe 6 de la résolution 1654 (XVI) est toujours applicable, et qu'au cas où les membres du Comité spécial jugeraient nécessaire de constituer un groupe de visite ils devraient, pour cela, entrer en consultation avec les autorités compétentes. Ce qui me confirme dans cette opinion, c'est que le rapport du Comité des Vingt-Quatre [A/5446/Rev.1] traite au paragraphe 54 de son chapitre premier de ce problème particulier. Il est affirmé dans ce paragraphe que des consultations doivent avoir lieu avec les puissances administrantes et que la création d'un groupe de visite ne saurait impliquer une ingérence dans les affaires intérieures d'un territoire, non plus que l'intention de conférer au Comité spécial des responsabilités en matière d'administration, ces responsabilités incombant uniquement à la puissance administrante. En conséquence, ma délégation interprète le paragraphe 8 du projet de résolution [A/L.443 et Add.1 et 2] comme ne portant pas atteinte à ce principe, antérieurement admis, que toute intention de créer un groupe de visite ou toute tentative en ce sens doit faire l'objet de consultations avec les autorités compétentes.

70. J'ai exposé dans les détails les réserves de ma délégation, mais je ne voudrais pas laisser l'impression que, selon nous, le Comité n'aurait pas dans l'ensemble joué un rôle utile et conforme aux résolutions de l'Assemblée générale, et qu'à condition de respecter les obligations de la coopération, obligations qui sont à la charge des deux parties associées, il ne continuerait pas à jouer ce rôle.

71. M. PALAR (Indonésie) [traduit de l'anglais]: Ma délégation figurait parmi les auteurs des trois résolutions que l'Assemblée générale a adoptées sur la décolonisation, en 1960 [1514 (XV)], en 1961 [1654 (XVI)] et en 1962 [1810 (XVII)]. On pourrait se demander pourquoi nous ne nous sommes pas portés également co-auteurs de la quatrième résolution. En voici la raison. La déclaration que la délégation indonésienne a faite sur la question dont nous sommes saisis était presque exclusivement consacrée à la nécessité d'appliquer les résolutions sur la décolonisation aux petits et aux très petits territoires qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance; or, nous regrettons vivement que cette idée n'ait pas été expressément formulée dans le projet de résolution sur la décolonisation [A/L.443 et Add.1 et 2]. Cela ne veut pas dire que nous ne voterons pas pour le projet de résolution. En effet, au paragraphe 4 de ce projet, l'Assemblée générale:

"Prie le Comité spécial de continuer de rechercher les voies et moyens les meilleurs d'assurer l'application immédiate et intégrale de la Déclaration à tous les territoires qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance et de rendre compte à l'Assemblée générale à sa dix-neuvième session au plus tard".

72. Les membres africains et asiatiques du Comité des Vingt-Quatre nous ont assuré que la question des petits et des très petits territoires recevrait évidemment du Comité toute l'attention qu'elle mérite. Ils y veilleront. C'est pourquoi nous pouvons appuyer sans réserve le projet de résolution.

73. Nous appuierons également, bien entendu, tous les autres projets de résolution dont la délégation indonésienne s'est portée coauteur. Toutefois, nous insistons tout particulièrement sur la nécessité d'adopter le projet relatif à la question d'Aden. Pour convaincre de cette nécessité les membres du Conseil, je vais donner lecture du télégramme que nous venons de recevoir du People's Socialist Party d'Aden, et qui est ainsi rédigé:

"Les Britanniques ont arrêté et incarcéré environ 500 membres du PSP et de l'ATUC. Lieu de détention inconnu. Les Britanniques ont arrêté Abdullah Asnage, président de l'Arab Labour Federation et du People's Socialist Party, ainsi que Abdo, Khlin, Souleiman, Mohammed Salem Ali, Fouad Ibrahim, Araf Khan et Saïd Sobhi, membres du Conseil présidentiel. Nous faisons appel à vous et à la conscience du monde pour obtenir leur libération. Nous demandons que la justice soit dûment rendue. Nous voulons l'abolition du régime policier et de l'état d'urgence. (Signé: People's Socialist Party.)"

74. Cela montre bien, je l'espère, que le projet relatif à la question d'Aden [A/L.436 et Add.1] devrait, autant que possible, bénéficier de l'appui de tous les Membres de l'Assemblée.

75. M. BOZOVIC (Yougoslavie) [traduit de l'anglais]: Je n'ai qu'un mot à dire au sujet du télégramme dont le représentant de l'Indonésie vient de vous donner lecture et dans lequel nous apprenons que 500 membres du People's Socialist Party ont été arrêtés à Aden. Je souhaite vivement que la délégation britannique nous donne quelques éclaircissements à ce sujet avant la fin de la présente session.

76. M. COULIBALY (Mali): Parlant au nom des auteurs, je ne ferai pas de commentaires sur les sept premiers projets de résolution dont nous sommes saisis. En effet, en dehors des réserves habituelles de la puissance administrante, ces projets n'ont fait l'objet d'aucune objection ni d'aucune réserve. Je vais donc exprimer brièvement le sentiment des auteurs sur le huitième projet de résolution [A/L.443 et Add.1 et 2] auquel un amendement a été proposé [A/L.445 et Add.1], encore que ce projet, lui non plus, ne soulève aucune objection majeure en raison de la modération et de l'objectivité dont les auteurs ont fait preuve.

77. Les auteurs du projet de résolution A/L.443 et Add.1 et 2 ont tenu compte des différents sentiments exprimés sur le rapport du Comité spécial [A/5446/Rev.1] lors de la discussion générale. La préoccupation dominante qui se dégage de ce projet de résolution est la volonté de notre organisation de mettre rapidement fin au colonialisme, conformément aux dispositions de la résolution 1514 (XV). Pour atteindre pacifiquement cet objectif, la coopération des puissances coloniales constitue un facteur déterminant. C'est pour cette raison que les auteurs du projet de résolution

insistent particulièrement sur le peu de coopération dont les puissances coloniales ont fait preuve jusqu'ici.

78. En effet, trois ans après l'adoption de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, de nombreux pays restent encore sous la domination étrangère. Les auteurs pensent que, par un vote unanime, l'Assemblée générale invitera de nouveau les puissances coloniales à tout mettre en œuvre pour appliquer sans retard la résolution 1514 (XV).

79. C'est pour obtenir ce vote unanime que les auteurs ont dégagé le projet de résolution de tout facteur émotionnel, encore que le ressentiment qu'ils éprouvent à la suite de l'obstination de certaines puissances coloniales à maintenir leur domination sur d'autres peuples aurait pu les pousser à proposer un projet de résolution rédigé en des termes beaucoup plus dynamiques.

80. C'est compte tenu du même souci que les auteurs acceptent l'amendement proposé par la délégation des Etats-Unis et appuyé par la délégation de l'Australie [A/L.445 et Add.1]. Les auteurs du projet de résolution, en acceptant cet amendement, ont tenu à réaffirmer leur objectivité en faisant une distinction entre les attitudes des puissances coloniales. Ce souci se reflète d'ailleurs dans le paragraphe 5.

81. A la suite de certaines consultations, les auteurs se sont mis d'accord pour supprimer la dernière partie du paragraphe 2. Il s'agit du membre de phrase ainsi libellé: "ainsi que son programme de travail futur". Ce membre de phrase n'est pas indispensable si l'Assemblée approuve le rapport du Comité spécial dans son ensemble.

82. Je voudrais, au nom des membres du Comité spécial, remercier toutes les délégations qui ont exprimé leur satisfaction du travail accompli par le Comité spécial. Au nom des auteurs, je voudrais également remercier toutes les délégations qui ont exprimé leur soutien aux projets de résolution dont l'Assemblée générale est saisie. J'exprime l'espoir que les puissances coloniales tiendront compte du vote que notre Assemblée émettra tout à l'heure et qu'elles seront en mesure d'apporter, à l'avenir, leur coopération loyale au Comité, afin de lui permettre de s'acquitter de son mandat.

83. Si les Etats africains sentent plus que d'autres toutes les horreurs du colonialisme, il n'en demeure pas moins que le maintien de ce fléau constitue une menace réelle à la paix et à la sécurité internationales. Nous pensons donc qu'après le vote unanime que nous souhaitons et qui aura lieu dans un moment, tous les Etats Membres de notre Organisation auront à cœur la libération des peuples encore sous domination étrangère et qu'au-delà des coalitions d'intérêts, ils œuvreront pour le respect de la justice et des dispositions fondamentales de la Charte.

84. On a beaucoup parlé des missions de visite et on a essayé d'y voir une ingérence du Comité spécial dans les attributions des puissances coloniales. Si je peux donner un apaisement à ces puissances sur cette question, je dirai que l'objectif des missions de visite est de prendre contact avec les populations intéressées afin de connaître leurs vues et de per-

mettre ainsi au Comité spécial de faire des propositions à l'Assemblée générale quant aux voies et moyens les plus appropriés en ce qui concerne l'accession de ces territoires à l'indépendance. Il n'y a donc pas de dualité entre la compétence des puissances coloniales et les objectifs poursuivis par les missions et les groupes de visite.

85. Je pense que cet apaisement sera de nature à faire reconsidérer, par les puissances coloniales, la possibilité pour elles de coopérer avec les missions de visite et les groupes que le Comité spécial pourrait être amené à envoyer dans les territoires.

86. Sur la base de ces apaisements et compte tenu des réserves qui ont été exprimées tout à l'heure par certaines délégations, je pense que notre assemblée, unanime, apportera son soutien au projet de résolution A/L.443 et Add.1 et 2.

87. M. ROSSIDES (Chypre) [traduit de l'anglais]: Je n'interviens pas ici pour discourir au sujet du colonialisme. Je veux simplement rappeler que ma délégation a parrainé les trois résolutions précédemment adoptées par l'Assemblée à ce sujet: la résolution 1514 (XV), la résolution 1654 (XVI) et la résolution 1810 (XVII).

88. Ma délégation et mon pays se sont toujours tenus aux côtés de tous les peuples qui luttent pour leur liberté. Nous appuyons donc le projet de résolution A/L.443 et Add.1 et 2 ainsi que toutes les résolutions dont l'Assemblée générale est saisie au sujet de l'indépendance de différents pays.

89. Le PRESIDENT (traduit de l'espagnol): Je donne maintenant la parole au représentant du Royaume-Uni, sur un point d'ordre.

90. M. KING (Royaume-Uni) [traduit de l'anglais]: Permettez-moi, Monsieur le Président, de simplement signaler une erreur dans le projet de résolution relatif au Nyassaland [A/L.440 et Add.1 et 2]. Au paragraphe 1, il faut lire "6 juillet 1964" et non "5 juillet 1964". C'est une erreur qui provient d'une faute de frappe, sans doute commise par ma délégation à un moment donné. La date fixée pour l'indépendance du Nyassaland, d'accord avec M. Hastings Banda, est le 6 juillet 1964, et non le 5. J'espère que les auteurs du projet de résolution accepteront cette correction.

91. Le PRESIDENT (traduit de l'espagnol): Nous allons maintenant mettre séparément aux voix chacun des différents projets de résolution. J'invite l'Assemblée à se prononcer sur le projet relatif à Aden (A/L.436 et Add.1 et 2) et déposé par 20 pays.

Par 77 voix contre 10, avec 11 abstentions, le projet de résolution est adopté.

92. Le PRESIDENT (traduit de l'espagnol): Nous passons maintenant au projet relatif à Malte [A/L.437 et Add.1 et 2] et déposé par 27 Etats Membres.

93. Ce projet de résolution n'a pas soulevé d'objection; s'il n'y a pas d'opposition, je considérerai donc, vu la déclaration de la puissance administrante, que l'Assemblée souhaite adopter ce texte à l'unanimité.

Le projet de résolution est adopté à l'unanimité.

94. Le **PRESIDENT** (traduit de l'espagnol): Nous passons maintenant au projet relatif aux Fidsji [A/L.438 et Add.1] et déposé par 25 Etats Membres.

Par 78 voix contre zéro, avec 21 abstentions, le projet de résolution est adopté.

95. Le **PRESIDENT** (traduit de l'espagnol): Nous en venons maintenant au projet relatif à la Rhodésie du Nord [A/L.439 et Add.1] et déposé par 25 Etats Membres.

96. Ce projet de résolution n'a pas non plus suscité d'objection; s'il n'y a pas d'opposition, je considérerai donc, vu la déclaration de la puissance administrante, que l'Assemblée générale souhaite adopter ce texte à l'unanimité.

Le projet de résolution est adopté à l'unanimité.

97. Le **PRESIDENT** (traduit de l'espagnol): Nous passons maintenant au projet relatif au Nyassaland [A/L.440 et Add.1 et 2] et déposé par 26 Etats Membres.

98. Avant de mettre ce projet aux voix, je rappelle que le représentant du Royaume-Uni a précisé que le Nyassaland doit accéder à l'indépendance le 6 juillet et non le 5 juillet 1964 comme l'indique le paragraphe 1 du projet. S'il n'y a pas d'objection, je considérerai que l'Assemblée accepte cette rectification et que c'est "6 juillet" et non "5 juillet" qu'il convient de lire.

Il en est ainsi décidé.

99. Le **PRESIDENT** (traduit de l'espagnol): Etant donné que ce projet de résolution n'a pas, lui non plus, soulevé d'objection et que la puissance administrante a fait connaître son accord à son sujet, je considérerai, s'il n'y a pas d'opposition, que l'Assemblée souhaite l'adopter à l'unanimité.

Le projet de résolution est adopté à l'unanimité.

100. Le **PRESIDENT** (traduit de l'espagnol): Nous passerons maintenant au projet relatif au Bassoutoland, au Betchouanaland et au Souaziland [A/L.441 et Add.1 et 2] et déposé par 27 Etats Membres.

Par 78 voix contre 3, avec 16 abstentions, le projet de résolution est adopté.

101. Le **PRESIDENT** (traduit de l'espagnol): Passons maintenant au projet relatif à la Guyane britannique [A/L.442 et Add.1] et déposé par 16 Etats Membres.

Par 78 voix contre zéro, avec 21 abstentions, le projet de résolution est adopté.

102. Le **PRESIDENT** (traduit de l'espagnol): Nous passons à l'examen du projet relatif à la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux [A/L.443 et Add.1 et 2] et déposé par 33 Etats Membres.

103. Avant d'ouvrir le scrutin, je dois préciser que le représentant du Mali, au nom de tous les auteurs du projet de résolution, a accepté l'amendement déposé par la délégation des Etats-Unis [A/L.445], à laquelle s'était jointe la délégation australienne [A/L.445 et Add.1]. Cet amendement ayant été accepté par les auteurs du projet de résolution, il y a lieu, au cinquième alinéa du préambule, de remplacer les

mots "des puissances administrantes" par "de certaines puissances administrantes".

104. Le texte espagnol étant correct, il n'y a donc lieu de modifier que le texte anglais et les autres textes où ce mot ne figure pas. Pour plus de clarté, je vais donner lecture du paragraphe entier, une fois modifié. Voici donc ce nouveau texte:

"Déplorant l'attitude négative de certaines puissances administrantes et leur refus partiel ou complet de coopérer avec le Comité spécial à l'application de la Déclaration".

105. Le deuxième point que je voudrais préciser, c'est que les auteurs du projet de résolution, comme l'a dit le représentant du Mali, pensent qu'il convient de supprimer la fin du paragraphe 2, c'est-à-dire les mots "ainsi que son programme de travail futur".

106. Les auteurs du projet de résolution l'ont donc amendé en supprimant les mots que je viens de lire. Nous allons voter maintenant sur le projet de résolution A/L.443 et Add.1 et 2, compte tenu du changement apporté au cinquième alinéa du préambule et de la suppression des mots "ainsi que son programme de travail futur", à la fin du paragraphe 2.

107. Le vote par appel nominal est demandé; mais, avant de passer au scrutin, je voudrais encore signaler à l'Assemblée que les incidences financières de la prolongation des travaux du Comité spécial en 1964 figurent dans le rapport de la Cinquième Commission [A/5639].

Il est procédé au vote par appel nominal.

L'appel commence par le Sierra Leone, dont le nom est tiré au sort par le Président.

Votent pour: Sierra Leone, Somalie, Soudan, Suède, Syrie, Tanganyika, Thaïlande, Trinité et Tobago, Tunisie, Turquie, Ouganda, République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine, Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques, République arabe unie, Haute-Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yémen, Yougoslavie, Afghanistan, Albanie, Algérie, Argentine, Australie, Autriche, Bolivie, Brésil, Bulgarie, Birmanie, Burundi, République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie, Cambodge, Cameroun, Canada, Ceylan, Tchad, Chili, Chine, Colombie, Congo (Léopoldville), Costa Rica, Cuba, Chypre, Tchécoslovaquie, Dahomey, Danemark, République Dominicaine, Equateur, Ethiopie, Finlande, Ghana, Grèce, Guinée, Hongrie, Islande, Inde, Indonésie, Iran, Irak, Irlande, Israël, Italie, Côte-d'Ivoire, Jamaïque, Japon, Jordanie, Koweït, Laos, Liban, Libéria, Libye, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malaisie, Mali, Mauritanie, Mexique, Mongolie, Maroc, Népal, Pays-Bas, Nouvelle-Zélande, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigéria, Norvège, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Pérou, Philippines, Pologne, Roumanie, Rwanda, Sénégal.

Votent contre: Néant.

S'abstiennent: Afrique du Sud, Espagne, Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord, Etats-Unis d'Amérique, Belgique, France.

Par 95 voix contre zéro, avec 6 abstentions, le projet de résolution, modifié, est adopté.

108. Le **PRESIDENT** (traduit de l'espagnol): En vertu des projets de résolution adoptés cet après-midi

et conformément à la note qui figure dans le projet de résolution A/L.443 et Add.1 et 2, nous ajouterons au dernier alinéa du préambule Aden, Malte, les îles Fidji, la Rhodésie du Nord, le Nyassaland, le Bassoutoland, le Betchouanaland, le Souaziland et la Guyane britannique après les territoires sous administration portugaise.

109. Je donne maintenant la parole à ceux des représentants qui désirent expliquer leur vote.

110. M. JOOSTE (Afrique du Sud) [traduit de l'anglais]: Ma déclaration sera très brève. Comme par le passé, la délégation sud-africaine s'est abstenue de participer à la discussion générale relative à la question dont l'Assemblée est saisie. Si je prends la parole cet après-midi, c'est pour expliquer pourquoi nous avons voté comme nous l'avons fait sur les deux résolutions présentées sous la cote A/L.443 et Add.1 et 2 et A/L.441 et Add.1 et 2.

111. Ma délégation déplore que, comme à ses trois sessions précédentes, l'Assemblée générale ait, cette fois encore, fait preuve de partialité en n'étudiant qu'un seul type de colonialisme. C'est ainsi qu'elle laisse délibérément de côté le cas des peuples qui étaient des nations indépendantes avant la seconde guerre mondiale et qui ont depuis été soumis à la domination coloniale.

112. La délégation sud-africaine n'a pas pu voter pour la principale résolution en raison de cette partialité et parce que dans cette résolution figurent des dispositions qui, selon nous, vont au-delà des obligations prévues par la Charte.

113. J'en viens maintenant à la résolution qui a trait aux territoires du Bassoutoland, du Betchouanaland et du Souaziland. Elle est le résultat d'un débat qui s'est déroulé cette année, au sujet de ces trois territoires, au Comité spécial des Vingt-Quatre, débat au cours duquel, malgré les démentis du Gouvernement sud-africain, on a réitéré certaines accusations de façon à avoir un prétexte pour insérer dans le projet de résolution des dispositions hostiles et outrageantes à l'égard de l'Afrique du Sud. Par exemple, cette résolution se fait l'écho de l'accusation, adressée à mon Gouvernement, d'avoir l'intention d'annexer ces territoires.

114. Au sujet de cette allégation que le Gouvernement sud-africain désirerait annexer les territoires de la Haute Commission, permettez-moi de rappeler, une fois de plus, ce que notre premier ministre, M. Verwoerd, a encore dit le 3 septembre 1963:

"Je répète catégoriquement que nous n'avons pas recherché l'incorporation, parce que l'incorporation serait contraire à la politique de mon gouvernement à sa politique d'évolution séparée dont l'objectif est l'indépendance politique des nations bantoues."

Je crois pouvoir en rester là. De toute façon, il doit maintenant être évident pour les Membres de l'Assemblée que la répétition de cette accusation au paragraphe 4 du dispositif de la résolution, après le démenti opposé par mon gouvernement, rentre dans le cadre de la campagne politique à laquelle nous sommes maintenant accoutumés. Ceux qui connaissent les faits pourront témoigner des bonnes relations qui existent entre l'Afrique du Sud et ces territoires

et des avantages considérables que ces relations présentent pour les habitants.

115. C'est pourquoi la délégation sud-africaine a voté contre la résolution.

116. M. ALAINI (Yémen): Ma délégation n'a pas été en mesure d'appuyer la résolution sur Aden, qui vient d'être mise aux voix, parce que nous croyons fermement que la libération réelle et totale de notre pays, maintenant sous occupation étrangère, ne sera obtenue que si on réalise l'unité fondamentale du Yémen dans ses frontières naturelles, unité qui rassemblera notre peuple divisé par le colonialisme. Nous sommes persuadés que seule cette unité de notre pays et de notre peuple pourra mettre véritablement fin au colonialisme sous toutes ses formes. Cette unité, conforme aux aspirations naturelles de notre peuple tout entier, n'implique nullement le rattachement du Sud au Nord ou du Nord au Sud. Ces aspirations sont nationales et sont en faveur de la réalisation de l'unité du peuple yéménite. Elles émanent de toutes les catégories de la nation et proviennent de toutes les régions, occupées ou libres. La fragmentation de ce peuple le réduit à l'incapacité de se défendre et présente un handicap pour son développement et son progrès.

117. Le peuple du Yémen, dans la partie occupée du territoire, est totalement conscient de cette vérité. Ce sont les représentants du peuple du territoire occupé qui réclament l'union. Cela est clairement exprimé dans le rapport du Comité spécial, et plus particulièrement dans les conclusions qui font désormais partie de la résolution qui vient d'être votée. Notre peuple réalise que la division empêche l'émancipation réelle et maintient le colonialisme qui favorise et même protège la division.

118. Le régime progressiste qui a été instauré avec l'avènement de la République arabe du Yémen est le fruit des efforts conjugués des Yéménites qui habitent la partie occupée du territoire et de ceux qui vivent dans la partie du territoire placée sous le régime anachronique de l'Iman. En outre, nous n'avons pas jugé utile de voter contre une résolution qui a pour but de mettre fin à la colonisation. Le chemin tracé par cette résolution n'est pourtant pas le plus court, mais il est le seul possible dans les circonstances actuelles. Nous n'avons pas voulu essayer de le barrer par un vote négatif.

119. Nous voulons que la liquidation du colonialisme soit réalisée sans retard. Nous pouvons assurer la puissance coloniale occupante que ni la fragmentation, ni le démembrement de notre pays occupé, ni l'union fédérée de cet amalgame ne seront acceptés par le peuple occupé. Tous les pétitionnaires ont condamné la fédération factice qui a été créée par la puissance occupante sans le consentement du peuple. Cette vérité a été clairement enregistrée dans le rapport établi par le Comité spécial. Il est donc inutile que la puissance occupante poursuive avec insistance ses manœuvres qui consistent à maintenir une forme de gouvernement factice et totalement inacceptable; elle représente en effet l'autorité du colonialisme, dissimulée derrière un gouvernement fantôme.

120. Eclairée par la situation que je viens d'expliquer, ma délégation s'est trouvée devant le dilemme suivant: accepter le chemin tortueux prévu par la

résolution, ou ne pas nous y associer, sans prendre de décision. Ma délégation sait parfaitement que la lutte de notre peuple en territoire occupé n'est pas terminée, car elle doit inévitablement passer par plusieurs phases. La confiance que nous portons à notre peuple est grande, et nous savons, comme lui, que sa libération réelle et totale doit passer par plusieurs stades.

121. C'est pour toutes ces raisons que ma délégation a préféré ne pas participer au vote sur la résolution qui vient d'être adoptée. Nous espérons néanmoins que cette résolution sera respectée dans son esprit, qui est celui de mettre réellement fin à la colonisation de la partie sud du Yémen ou, tout au moins, conduira à abrégier son existence, qui n'a été que trop longue.

122. M. ATTWOOD (Etats-Unis d'Amérique) [traduit de l'anglais]: Il n'entre pas dans mes intentions, en prenant la parole pour une explication de vote, de discuter toutes les résolutions que nous venons d'adopter. La position des Etats-Unis sur chacune de ces questions est consignée dans le rapport du Comité des Vingt-Quatre. Nous l'avons également exposée à d'autres tribunes. Je désire simplement faire tout d'abord quelques observations sur le projet de résolution qui concerne les territoires de la Haute Commission. Il faut se garder d'interpréter l'abstention des Etats-Unis sur ce projet comme marquant un revirement d'opinion quant à l'emploi de l'expression "un acte d'agression" pour définir une situation qui ne s'est pas encore produite. Nos idées sur ce point sont, je crois, bien connues des Membres de l'Assemblée; elles demeurent inchangées.

123. Ma délégation s'est sentie obligée de s'abstenir sur la résolution relative à l'importante question de la situation en ce qui concerne la mise en œuvre de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. Encore qu'il y ait dans la résolution certains autres points dont la rédaction n'emporte pas notre totale adhésion, nos principales objections concernent le paragraphe 3. Comme l'Assemblée le sait, la délégation des Etats-Unis n'a pas appuyé certaines des conclusions et des recommandations adoptées par le Comité des Vingt-Quatre. Nous ne pouvions donc pas approuver ce paragraphe; nous nous sommes donc abstenus sur l'ensemble de la résolution.

124. En conclusion, je tiens à dire aux auteurs combien ma délégation apprécie l'esprit positif et constructif dans lequel ils ont rédigé ces projets. Nous leur sommes également reconnaissants d'avoir accepté notre amendement. Que nous n'ayons pas pu voter pour tout ce que les auteurs avaient proposé ne signifie pas que nous ne soyons pas d'accord avec l'esprit qui les animait; nous sommes d'accord, et je crois qu'ils le savent. Qu'il me soit également permis de souligner que les Etats-Unis ont l'intention de persévérer dans leur détermination de travailler à la mise en œuvre des principes de la résolution 1514 (XV) dans la mesure où elle nous concerne, et d'appuyer sa réalisation partout où il conviendra.

125. M. HESSELLUND-JENSEN (Danemark) [traduit de l'anglais]: Je voudrais expliquer brièvement le vote des cinq pays nordiques: Danemark, Finlande, Islande, Norvège et Suède. On notera que nous avons tous voté pour le projet A/L.443 et Add.1 et 2, qui

vient d'être adopté, car nous sommes d'accord avec les objectifs et la portée du texte proposé par le groupe afro-asiatique. Ces votes affirmatifs ne signifient pas toutefois que les pays nordiques donnent leur entière adhésion à tous les paragraphes, dont certains semblent quelque peu ambigus. Il ne nous semble pas, par exemple, que l'on ait assez tenu compte, au quatrième alinéa du préambule, des notables progrès accomplis en trois ans, depuis l'adoption de la résolution 1514 (XV). En ce qui concerne notre interprétation du paragraphe 7, nous ne perdons pas de vue que le Comité des Vingt-Quatre est un organe créé par l'Assemblée générale. A part cela, je n'entrerai pas dans les détails au moment où nos débats touchent à leur fin, mais bornerai mes observations aux paragraphes 3 et 8.

126. Pour les pays nordiques, il convient d'envisager l'approbation du rapport en fonction de l'attitude adoptée sur des points précis. Le paragraphe 3 ne saurait être interprété comme signifiant que nous adhérons à des résolutions de l'Assemblée générale que nous n'avons pas appuyées. Ce qui confirme notre interprétation du paragraphe 3, c'est qu'on vient nous soumettre aujourd'hui des résolutions précises, rédigées exactement dans les mêmes termes que celles qu'a adoptées le Comité des Vingt-Quatre.

127. D'autre part, il n'est pas inutile de parler de l'impasse que représente, quant aux groupes de visite, le paragraphe 8, dont le libellé nous paraît aller bien loin. Ces missions peuvent être utiles quand il s'agit de se procurer des renseignements objectifs sur un territoire en discussion. Mais, d'un autre côté, l'envoi de groupes de visite ne saurait être une panacée quand on traite d'affaires relatives aux territoires coloniaux. Il faut, dans chaque cas, envisager l'opportunité de créer des groupes en fonction de la possibilité d'aboutir à l'objectif que nous avons en vue.

128. M. ARCHIBALD (Trinité et Tobago) [traduit de l'anglais]: Ma délégation désire expliquer son vote sur le projet relatif à la question de la Guyane britannique. Elle a estimé nécessaire de s'abstenir sur cette résolution; car, dans les circonstances actuelles, fixer une date pour l'indépendance de la Guyane britannique n'aiderait en rien, de l'avis de ma délégation, à augmenter les chances de solution de ce très urgent problème. Qui plus est, nous nous demandons même si, dans les conditions actuelles, fixer la date de l'indépendance ne reviendrait pas à fixer la date de la guerre civile.

129. Trinité et Tobago s'est montrée opposée à ce que la Rhodésie du Sud devienne indépendante; elle ne peut pas non plus contribuer à fixer une date pour l'indépendance d'un pays dont la population n'a pas pu se mettre d'accord, sans contrainte, sur les conditions de l'indépendance.

130. Trinité et Tobago s'est efforcée de proposer une solution viable pour la Guyane britannique. Elle a échoué. La résolution que nous venons d'adopter ne tient pas compte, à notre avis, des réalités de la situation qui règne en Guyane britannique, c'est-à-dire de la nécessité inéluctable que les partis et la population de la Guyane britannique s'unissent pour le bien de leur pays.

131. M. CARSALES (Argentine) [traduit de l'espagnol]: La délégation argentine a voté pour tous les projets de résolution examinés cet après-midi. Néanmoins, nous estimons nécessaire d'apporter une petite précision au sujet du projet relatif à la question d'Aden.

132. Nous voudrions que l'Assemblée note que, si l'on avait voté séparément sur le paragraphe 5 du dispositif, la délégation argentine se serait abstenue, parce qu'elle considère, comme d'autres délégations latino-américaines l'ont déclaré au sein du Comité spécial, que le problème des bases militaires dans les territoires coloniaux doit être résolu par les populations directement intéressées, une fois qu'elles auront obtenu leur indépendance, et qu'il n'appartient pas à l'Assemblée générale de préjuger leur décision.

133. Malgré cela et malgré certaines imperfections dans la rédaction de ce projet de résolution, la délégation argentine a voté en sa faveur, parce qu'elle considère que l'adoption de ce projet représente un pas en avant vers l'objectif final: la mise en œuvre intégrale de la résolution 1514 (XV), objectif que mon pays appuie entièrement.

134. M. JABRI (Syrie) [traduit de l'anglais]: Ma délégation a voté pour toutes les résolutions issues des délibérations du Comité des Vingt-Quatre, car nous croyons fermement au droit des pays coloniaux de faire usage de leur droit à l'autodétermination et de réaliser en fin de compte leur indépendance et leur autonomie.

135. Monsieur le Président, ma délégation est coauteur de la plupart des résolutions sur lesquelles nous avons voté, mais de nouveaux événements se sont produits. Ils ont rapport à la résolution que nous venons d'adopter sur Aden et nous obligent à faire ces quelques brèves observations supplémentaires. Nous sommes persuadés que vous aurez l'amabilité de nous le permettre.

136. A la suite des troubles qui ont eu lieu hier à Aden, ma délégation a appris de source sûre que les autorités britanniques y avaient arrêté 500 membres du People's Socialist Party et de l'Aden Trade Union Congress. Leur lieu de détention est inconnu. De plus, le président du People's Socialist Party et du Trade Union Congress, M. Abdullah Alasnage, a également été arrêté ainsi que de hauts responsables de ces deux organisations, M. A. F. Souleiman, M. Ali Fouad Ibrahim, M. Ashraf Khan et M. Saïd Sobhi, qui, il n'y a guère longtemps, s'est présenté devant le Comité des Vingt-Quatre en qualité de pétitionnaire d'Aden. Les autorités ont procédé à ces arrestations sous prétexte qu'un terroriste avait lancé une grenade dans la ville d'Aden. L'identité du terroriste n'est pas connue, et il n'est pas établi qu'il ait eu des liens avec le People's Socialist Party ou l'Aden Trade Union Congress.

137. Malgré cela, les autorités britanniques ont appliqué leurs brutales méthodes policières et ont arrêté arbitrairement les chefs éminents que j'ai cités il y a un instant. Ces actes brutaux de répression et l'arrestation de dirigeants politiques se produisent à un moment où, réunis ici en Assemblée générale des Nations Unies, nous venons d'inviter le Gouvernement

britannique, aux termes du paragraphe 7 du dispositif de la résolution relatif à la question d'Aden:

"a) A abroger toutes les lois qui restreignent les libertés publiques;

"b) A libérer tous les prisonniers et détenus politiques et les personnes condamnées à la suite d'actes ayant une signification politique;

"c) A réadmettre dans le territoire les personnes qui ont été exilées ou qui sont interdites de séjour pour activités politiques;

"d) A cesser immédiatement toutes les actions répressives à l'égard de la population du territoire, en particulier les expéditions militaires et les bombardements de villages."

138. Ma délégation n'aurait pas choisi de prendre maintenant la parole si elle n'avait pas estimé essentiel d'appeler l'attention de l'Assemblée générale sur ces actes odieux que le Gouvernement britannique commet contre le peuple d'Aden. Dans ces circonstances, ma délégation n'est guère surprise — je suis sûr que les autres délégations ne le sont pas non plus — que le Royaume-Uni n'ait pas voulu permettre au Sous-Comité d'Aden du Comité spécial des Vingt-Quatre de visiter Aden et soit, en fait, allé très loin, sans aucun vergogne, pour empêcher tel ou tel membre du Comité d'entrer à Aden.

139. Il est évident que le Gouvernement britannique doit avoir bien des choses à vouloir cacher aux yeux et aux oreilles du monde. La nécessité d'user de l'oppression politique et de se livrer fréquemment à des arrestations massives injustifiées pour appuyer le gouvernement au pouvoir, ne peut signifier que ceci: en premier lieu, les Britanniques sont à Aden contre la volonté et le désir exprès de la population d'Aden; en second lieu, le gouvernement qu'ils ont instauré est un gouvernement fantoche, qui ne représente pas le peuple d'Aden; enfin, il semble évident que la création d'une fédération d'Aden est une invention purement britannique, qui ne peut tenir sans la réunion de cette partie du territoire avec sa métropole historique, la République arabe du Yémen.

140. Ma délégation tient à protester contre les actes iniques auxquels les autorités britanniques se livrent contre la population d'Aden, et demande la libération immédiate de tous les prisonniers politiques, ainsi que la cessation de ces actes illégaux à l'encontre du peuple pacifique d'Aden.

141. M. MIRANDA (Portugal) [traduit de l'anglais]: Ma délégation n'a pas participé au vote sur la résolution [1654 (XVI)] qui a créé le Comité spécial sur la situation en ce qui concerne la mise en œuvre de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. Les raisons pour lesquelles nous n'avons participé au vote en cette occasion ont été exposées à l'époque et figurent dans les archives. Je ne les répéterai pas maintenant.

142. Conséquents dans notre attitude, nous tenons à ce qu'il soit maintenant précisé au procès-verbal que nous n'avons pas participé au vote sur la résolution qui vient d'être adoptée et sur tous les autres projets de résolution précédemment votés cet après-midi.

143. M. LORIDAN (Belgique): La délégation belge aurait souhaité pouvoir voter pour le projet de résolution concernant le rapport du Comité spécial. Elle n'a pu le faire principalement en raison de la formulation du paragraphe 3 de ce projet. Ce paragraphe porte approbation, en effet, du rapport du Comité spécial. Or, il s'agit d'un rapport extrêmement volumineux, comme les représentants le savent — quelque 850 pages minéographiées — et il n'a pas été possible à la délégation belge d'approuver chacune des parties de ce rapport. Mais le paragraphe 3 va plus loin: on y invite les puissances administrantes à appliquer les conclusions et recommandations qui figurent dans le rapport. Or, au sujet de ces recommandations, il y a eu des votes séparés et, sur certaines d'entre elles, la délégation belge a dû s'abstenir, voire voter contre. Dans ces conditions, il lui semblait illogique de voter pour un projet de résolution qui faisait appel aux puissances administrantes pour qu'elles appliquent en bloc toutes les recommandations figurant dans le rapport du Comité spécial.

144. Telles sont les raisons qui ont obligé la délégation belge à s'abstenir lors du vote sur le projet de résolution A/L.443 et Add.1 et 2.

145. M. GUDENUS (Autriche) [traduit de l'anglais]: Je désire expliquer le vote de la délégation autrichienne au sujet de la résolution qui vient d'être adoptée. La délégation autrichienne a voté pour cette résolution parce que nous sommes d'accord sur sa teneur d'une façon générale et, surtout, parce que nous appuyons le principe de l'autodétermination et de l'indépendance pour les peuples coloniaux. Je ne veux pas entrer dans certains détails du texte. Nous aurions parfois préféré un libellé légèrement différent. Toutefois, ma délégation souhaite souligner qu'elle s'est abstenue sur certaines des résolutions mentionnées au dernier alinéa du préambule de cette résolution, et que les raisons qui nous ont amenés à adopter cette attitude ont également déterminé notre attitude à l'égard du paragraphe 3 de cette résolution.

146. Le PRESIDENT (traduit de l'espagnol): Nous avons épuisé la liste des orateurs inscrits pour des explications de vote. Je donne maintenant la parole au représentant du Maroc, qui désire exercer son droit de réponse.

147. M. SIDI BABA (Maroc): Au début de cette séance, au moment où nous commençons à examiner les projets de résolution qui nous étaient soumis par les membres du Comité des Vingt-Quatre, le représentant de l'Algérie a fait une déclaration particulièrement importante, et à laquelle j'ai attaché une attention toute spéciale.

148. Je tiens tout d'abord à dire que j'approuve entièrement toutes les idées qu'il a émises en ce qui concerne la nécessité de mettre fin à toutes les formes de la domination coloniale. Mon pays, qui est l'un de ceux qui ont joué un rôle de premier plan en Afrique dans le domaine de la libération, est d'autant plus à l'aise pour dire, en son nom, que nous approuvons entièrement toutes les idées émises par le représentant de l'Algérie en ce qui concerne le problème colonial.

149. Le représentant de l'Algérie a, d'autre part, évoqué un certain nombre de principes, et plus particulièrement celui qui a trait au respect des frontières coloniales héritées des puissances administrantes. Je pense que ce principe est valable en soi. Mon pays a toujours respecté l'indépendance et l'intégrité territoriale de tous les Etats, et nous espérons que cela est la règle générale admise par tous les pays.

150. Mais il se trouve que ce principe du respect des frontières coloniales, qui demeure pour le moment un principe vague, est dans certaines circonstances utilisé en opposition à des accords qui lient les Etats, en opposition également à un droit international généralement admis. Nous espérons que ce principe, même s'il est un jour codifié, soit par une charte, soit par des accords entre Etats, ne sera pas utilisé pour détruire le sens des principes qui régissent les accords internationaux entre les Etats.

151. Je dois également dire que le devoir moral aussi bien que les obligations internationales de tous les Etats font que les accords qui lient les Etats et qui ont été librement signés par eux doivent être respectés dans la lettre aussi bien que dans l'esprit.

152. J'ajoute également que le colonialisme, en quittant certaines régions d'Afrique ou d'ailleurs, s'est contenté de ne pas laisser de frontières du tout. Il est tout à fait normal qu'entre Etats indépendants soient établies — c'est la moindre des choses — des frontières définitives qui puissent être la ligne de démarcation entre les différentes souverainetés, en attendant que nous puissions un jour réaliser la suppression de toutes ces frontières qui, je l'espère, seront provisoires.

153. C'est tout ce que j'ai à dire en ce qui concerne ce principe. Je répète que, si les circonstances actuelles n'avaient pas été évoquées, ma délégation aurait pu s'abstenir de parler de cette question en ce moment.

154. Le PRESIDENT (traduit de l'espagnol): La parole est au représentant de l'Algérie, qui désire faire usage de son droit de réponse.

155. M. CHANDERLI (Algérie): Je suis très reconnaissant au Président d'avoir bien voulu me donner la parole dans l'exercice de mon droit de réponse. Je me serais très certainement passé de revenir devant vous en cette occasion.

156. Tout à l'heure ma délégation, dans une déclaration brève et de caractère très général, a été amenée, dans le cadre du point à l'ordre du jour qui nous concernait, à savoir la discussion sur le rapport du Comité spécial sur la Déclaration relative à l'accèsion des pays et des peuples coloniaux à l'indépendance, à aborder un certain nombre de questions, et plus particulièrement celles qui avaient été soulevées par d'autres délégations et qui avaient spécialement retenu notre attention.

157. C'est ainsi que j'ai été amené à faire quelques observations sur ce qui a été considéré comme les dangers de l'accèsion trop rapide à l'indépendance, et j'ai présenté quelques remarques à ce sujet.

158. J'ai été également appelé à parler de problèmes concernant les territoires et les questions frontalières

qui pouvaient se poser. Je l'ai fait sans mentionner particulièrement une délégation ou une autre, simplement parce qu'une délégation, dans sa déclaration générale, avait elle-même pris l'initiative de soulever ce problème, et particulièrement de faire une allusion extrêmement claire à une guerre coloniale qui avait eu lieu à ses frontières. Cette allusion concernait très évidemment l'Algérie et la guerre d'Algérie, dont nous avons eu beaucoup à débattre ici pendant de nombreuses années.

159. Pour toutes ces raisons, j'ai cru devoir, uniquement sur le plan des principes, présenter également quelques observations. J'ajoute, pour qu'il en soit tenu compte, qu'à aucun moment je n'ai indiqué que je traitais, dans ces observations d'ordre général, de frontières issues du colonialisme, ou d'autre provenance. En vérité, si je devais vous imposer la lecture des termes exacts que j'ai employés, vous vous apercevriez que ma déclaration dans ce domaine aurait pu tout aussi bien s'appliquer — et je m'en excuse par avance auprès des représentants de l'Italie et de l'Autriche — à la situation qui a existé — et qui existe encore, je crois, mais dans des conditions relativement harmonieuses — dans ce qu'il est convenu d'appeler, d'une part, le Sud-Tyrol et, d'autre part, le Haut-Adige.

160. A aucun moment je n'ai spécifié quoi que ce soit, de manière à éviter, justement, qu'un droit de réponse soit utilisé à mon endroit, et je regrette que cela ait dû être fait. Il n'en reste pas moins que je voudrais dire au représentant du Maroc toute ma reconnaissance pour les commentaires trop flatteurs qu'il a bien voulu exprimer ici sur l'ensemble des idées incluses dans ma très brève déclaration.

161. Dans la mesure où il y aurait d'autres droits de réponse, ma délégation, d'ores et déjà, voudrait indiquer qu'elle n'a aucune intention d'y répondre.

162. Le PRESIDENT (traduit de l'espagnol): Je donne de nouveau la parole au représentant du Maroc, qui a demandé à exercer son droit de réponse.

163. M. SIDI BABA (Maroc): Je m'excuse, à ce stade du débat, de prendre une deuxième fois la parole sur cette question. J'ai dit et je répète que ma délégation approuve entièrement les idées qui ont été évoquées par le représentant de l'Algérie en ce qui concerne la nécessité de mettre fin à toutes les formes de domination coloniale. Je me suis volontairement abstenu de dire quoi que ce soit en ce qui concerne la question particulière qui touche actuellement un certain nombre de pays africains. J'ai tenu à me cantonner dans des règles et principes généraux,

comme le représentant de l'Algérie a bien voulu le faire, lui aussi. J'ai voulu mentionner que, si les frontières coloniales héritées des anciennes puissances administrantes doivent être respectées, il faut également qu'on respecte les accords internationaux qui régissent les rapports entre les Etats ainsi que les accords signés librement entre Etats souverains dans leur action et dans leur comportement.

164. Le PRESIDENT (traduit de l'espagnol): Nous avons ainsi terminé l'examen du point 23 de l'ordre du jour de la dix-huitième session, y compris la question des territoires sous administration portugaise, qui avait été attribuée à la Quatrième Commission.

165. En approuvant les résolutions de l'Assemblée sur la Rhodésie du Sud et le Sud-Ouest africain, territoires qui figurent dans la résolution A/L.443 et Add.1 et 2, nous avons également terminé l'examen des points 55 et 75 de l'ordre du jour.

La séance est levée à 18 h 5.

2066 (XX). Question de l'île Maurice

L'Assemblée générale,

Ayant examiné la question de l'île Maurice et des autres îles qui composent le territoire de l'île Maurice,

Ayant étudié les chapitres des rapports du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux relatifs au territoire de l'île Maurice¹⁶,

Rappelant sa résolution 1514 (XV) du 14 décembre 1960 contenant la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux,

Regrettant que la Puissance administrante n'ait pas appliqué complètement la résolution 1514 (XV) en ce qui concerne ce territoire,

Notant avec une profonde inquiétude que toute mesure prise par la Puissance administrante pour détacher certaines îles du territoire de l'île Maurice afin d'y établir une base militaire constituerait une violation de ladite déclaration et en particulier du paragraphe 6 de celle-ci,

1. *Approuve* les chapitres des rapports du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux relatifs au territoire de l'île Maurice et fait siennes les conclusions et les recommandations du Comité spécial qui y figurent;

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, dix-neuvième session, Annexes, annexe n° 8 (1^{re} partie) [A/5800/Rev.1], chap. XIV; *ibid.*, vingtième session, Annexes, additif au point 23 de l'ordre du jour (A/6000/Rev.1), chap. XIII.

2. *Réaffirme* le droit inaliénable du peuple du territoire de l'île Maurice à la liberté et à l'indépendance, conformément à la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale;

3. *Invite* le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord à prendre des mesures efficaces en vue de la mise en œuvre immédiate et complète de la résolution 1514 (XV);

4. *Invite* la Puissance administrante à ne prendre aucune mesure qui démembretrait le territoire de l'île Maurice et violerait son intégrité territoriale;

5. *Invite en outre* la Puissance administrante à faire rapport au Comité spécial et à l'Assemblée générale sur l'application de la présente résolution;

6. *Prie* le Comité spécial de maintenir à l'étude la question du territoire de l'île Maurice et de faire rapport à ce sujet à l'Assemblée générale lors de sa vingt et unième session.

*1398^e séance plénière,
16 décembre 1965.*



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Président: M. Amintore FANFANI (Italie).

POINT 23 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

Application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux: rapports du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration

sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux (suite)

53. M. TARABANOV (Bulgarie): Il y a bientôt cinq ans que la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, proclamant solennellement la nécessité d'une liquidation rapide et sans condition aucune du colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et manifestations, a été adoptée. Dans une perspective historique, cinq années ne sont pas une période assez longue pour apprécier à sa juste valeur ce document historique. Dès maintenant, cependant, il est facile de comprendre le rôle important qu'il a joué aussi bien dans l'action entreprise par l'Organisation des Nations Unies que dans les luttes menées par les peuples coloniaux pour l'accélération du processus de liquidation du système colonialiste. Elaborée sur l'initiative de l'Union soviétique^{3/}, appuyée avec enthousiasme par les pays socialistes et les pays afro-asiatiques Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, la Déclaration s'est cependant heurtée à l'hostilité des Etats colonialistes et d'une partie de leurs alliés. Incapables d'empêcher son adoption, les forces du colonialisme et de l'impérialisme ont essayé de faire en sorte que la Déclaration reste lettre morte, allant jusqu'à cacher par tous les moyens son existence même aux peuples asservis.

54. Aujourd'hui, pourtant, alors que les mouvements de libération nationale dans les différentes parties du monde, à Aden et en Guyane britannique, dans les colonies portugaises et en Rhodésie du Sud, élèvent des revendications fondées sur la Déclaration et sur les résolutions du Comité des Vingt-Quatre, les auteurs de ce document peuvent et doivent, à juste titre, être fiers de leur œuvre. Il a été démontré dans la pratique quotidienne que la Déclaration peut servir et qu'elle a servi la cause de la lutte des peuples pour leur libération.

55. Le colonialisme craque à toutes ses jointures, et de nouveaux chaînons se détachent chaque année du système colonialiste. Cependant, bien que l'on parle actuellement, dans le langage courant, des séquelles du colonialisme, la terre compte plus de 60 territoires dépendants peuplés de dizaines de millions d'êtres humains qui restent soumis aux souffrances et aux vexations du régime colonial et à son esclavage.

56. L'année qui vient de s'écouler a marqué un certain ralentissement dans le processus de décolonisation. Les forces les plus agressives du colonialisme et du racisme, en Afrique centrale et en Afrique du Sud, opposent une résistance farouche à ce processus de libération des peuples, afin de conserver à tout prix leur domination dans cette partie du monde. Les guerres coloniales criminelles menées par le Portugal en Angola et dans le Mozambique, le système inhumain d'apartheid imposé par la force en Afrique du Sud, le nouveau régime raciste instauré en Rhodésie du Sud ne sont que des manifestations nouvelles de la politique concertée des partenaires de ce qu'on appelle "l'alliance impie", dont le but est de dresser une

barrière sur le chemin de la liberté au sud du Zambèze.

57. Avec l'aide économique et financière de l'Occident et les armes fournies par l'OTAN, en particulier par certains de ses membres, les forces du colonialisme essaient — et, dans une certaine mesure, y réussissent — d'ériger une forteresse de haine et d'exploitation coloniale dans cette partie de l'Afrique, forteresse qui doit garantir à l'avenir une exploitation sans scrupule des immenses richesses et du labeur de la population africaine par les monopoles étrangers.

58. Si, dans une certaine partie des territoires dépendants, le processus de décolonisation est retardé, c'est parce que les Etats colonialistes essaient, avec l'aide des monopoles financiers — et, dans certains cas, y réussissent —, de créer des conditions qui leur permettraient de continuer leur domination après la proclamation de l'indépendance.

59. La haine raciale allumée en Guyane britannique et le renversement du gouvernement de Cheddi Jagan, l'établissement d'un régime féodal et colonialiste en Arabie du Sud en sont des exemples frappants. D'un autre côté, on s'aperçoit que le retard dans le processus de décolonisation de ce que l'on appelle les petits territoires coloniaux est, dans la plupart des cas, imposé par certaines grandes puissances pour des raisons stratégiques. Convaincus que, dorénavant, ils ne peuvent plus compter sur des bases militaires installées par eux dans des pays nouvellement libérés ou même sur les territoires des grandes colonies du continent africain et des autres continents, certains pays occidentaux s'orientent de plus en plus vers une politique qui peut leur permettre de conserver leurs bases militaires dans certaines petites îles et même d'en installer de nouvelles à des endroits où ils espèrent pouvoir continuer à rester pour une longue période encore.

60. A cet égard, l'exemple le plus récent est celui de la nouvelle colonie anglaise dans l'océan Indien, détachée de l'archipel de l'île Maurice avec l'intention d'y installer une base militaire anglo-américaine. En outre, nombreux sont les cas — par exemple dans les Iles Vierges — où les puissances administrantes commencent à procéder à l'intégration directe des petits territoires aux métropoles.

61. Le retard apporté à la libération des peuples coloniaux ne peut que provoquer une très grande inquiétude chez tous les peuples qui s'intéressent au maintien de la paix et de la sécurité internationales; ce retard peut causer des torts sérieux et faire planer de graves dangers sur le monde d'aujourd'hui.

62. En Afrique, les peuples nouvellement libérés ont un grand besoin de paix, mais d'une paix durable, afin de guérir les plaies provoquées par le colonialisme et afin de consolider leur souveraineté et leur indépendance.

63. Cependant, la politique criminelle des colonisateurs et des racistes entretient une tension constante qui, en fin de compte, peut mener à la guerre et à la catastrophe. Les forces et les ressources des peuples nouvellement libérés, tellement nécessaires à leur développement économique, seront, dans une

^{3/} Ibid., point 87 de l'ordre du jour, document A/4501.

telle éventualité, mobilisées pour faire face aux menaces racistes et néo-colonialistes venant du sud du continent africain. Or, la paix en danger en Afrique signifie que la paix et la sécurité internationales sont menacées partout. Dans le monde d'aujourd'hui, avec ses armes atomiques et nucléaires, avec ses fusées, la continuation du colonialisme et du racisme peut avoir des conséquences réellement dangereuses pour l'humanité entière.

64. De nombreuses bases militaires, maintenues sur les territoires coloniaux et utilisées principalement pour écraser les mouvements de libération nationale et exercer des pressions sur les pays nouvellement libérés en Afrique, en Asie et en Amérique du Sud, représentent un danger réel et imminent pour la paix. La dernière agression contre le Congo n'a-t-elle pas été perpétrée à partir de la base anglaise de l'île de l'Ascension? N'est-ce pas de la base américaine de l'île de Guam que des avions prennent leur vol pour participer à la guerre d'agression contre le peuple du Viet-Nam?

65. C'est pourquoi la voix des Nations Unies doit s'élever bien haut en faveur de la liquidation de toutes les bases militaires installées en territoires coloniaux.

66. Il y a cinq ans, l'Assemblée générale, exprimant la volonté de la plus grande partie de l'humanité, a proclamé solennellement que des mesures devaient être prises dans tous les territoires coloniaux afin d'accélérer le processus de la transmission de tous les pouvoirs à tous les peuples, afin que ces derniers puissent jouir pleinement de leur indépendance et de leur liberté. A une époque aussi dynamique que la nôtre, cinq années constituent une période relativement longue et suffisante pour permettre d'appliquer pleinement la Déclaration. Dans ces conditions, nous pouvons nous demander comment l'Organisation des Nations Unies, dont la pierre angulaire est le droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes, la défense des droits et de la liberté de l'homme ainsi que la préservation de la paix et de la sécurité internationales, peut tolérer, ne fût-ce qu'un jour de plus, la perpétuation du système colonialiste et, avec lui, de la discrimination raciale et de la ségrégation.

67. Nous nous associons aux délégations qui ont déclaré à cette tribune qu'il est grandement temps de considérer comme un crime envers l'humanité la continuation d'un système indigne et inhumain qui existe encore dans le monde.

68. La légalité de la lutte des peuples coloniaux pour la liberté et l'indépendance a été consacrée dans de nombreuses résolutions et décisions du Comité des Vingt-Quatre et de l'Assemblée générale, ce qui signifie que les régimes coloniaux sont, dans les territoires respectifs, dorénavant considérés non seulement comme inhumains mais aussi comme illégaux. Si telle est l'opinion générale — et nous sommes certains qu'il en est ainsi — il est nécessaire d'agir en conséquence.

69. La délégation bulgare est d'avis non seulement que les dispositions contenues dans les résolutions de l'Organisation des Nations Unies concernant la légalité de la lutte des peuples doivent maintenant

être de nouveau confirmées, mais encore qu'il est nécessaire d'en tirer les conséquences qui s'imposent.

70. A juste titre, il faut donc avant tout que l'ONU apporte une aide efficace aux peuples coloniaux avec tous les moyens dont elle dispose. L'Organisation et les institutions internationales qui en dépendent, de même que chacun de leurs Membres, doivent apporter à ces peuples l'aide morale et matérielle dont ils ont tellement besoin pour rétablir leurs droits foulés.

71. Les Etats qui refusent de renoncer à leur politique de domination coloniale doivent être privés de toute aide et assistance, surtout de l'aide militaire qui leur est apportée par voie bilatérale ou par l'intermédiaire des alliances militaires, comme par exemple l'OTAN.

72. Contre les Etats et régimes dont la politique crée des dangers pour la paix et la sécurité des peuples, comme la République sud-africaine, le Portugal et l'actuel régime raciste de la Rhodésie du Sud, le Conseil de sécurité doit prendre en outre les mesures coercitives prévues par la Charte. Ces mesures et les décisions que l'Assemblée générale prendra maintenant doivent, d'après nous, assurer l'application intégrale de la Déclaration, et ce dans le plus bref délai.

73. Le Comité des Vingt-Quatre poursuit ses travaux depuis plus de quatre ans. Nous aurions bien souhaité que la situation soit telle à l'heure actuelle que l'Assemblée générale puisse lui dire: "Vous avez terminé votre tâche, nous n'avons plus besoin de vous." Malheureusement, tel n'est pas le cas, et le mandat du Comité des Vingt-Quatre doit être de nouveau prolongé. Ce comité devra cependant être maintenant armé de moyens plus efficaces qui rendront son travail plus facile. L'expérience de l'année dernière et surtout la visite du Comité en Afrique ont suggéré certaines idées et fait penser à certaines méthodes qui peuvent garantir une plus grande efficacité dans son travail.

74. Ce qui importe le plus, c'est que le Comité des Vingt-Quatre soit en mesure d'établir un contact étroit avec les peuples des territoires dépendants et de préparer ses recommandations en coopération étroite avec eux. Dans ce sens, nous appuyons les propositions qui figurent à la section I du chapitre Ier du rapport du Comité [A/6000/Rev.1], ainsi que les propositions faites par son président, M. Sori Coulibaly.

75. Nous sommes profondément convaincus que, avec l'aide effective de tous les pays et peuples intéressés au maintien de la paix et de la sécurité internationales, les peuples coloniaux sortiront vainqueurs de la juste lutte qu'ils ont entreprise et mènent pour la liberté et l'indépendance contre le système colonial honteux, qui doit définitivement disparaître.

76. Le Gouvernement de la République populaire de Bulgarie et le peuple bulgare ont toujours fait preuve de solidarité envers les peuples soumis à l'esclavage colonial. La délégation de la République populaire de Bulgarie est autorisée à déclarer qu'à l'avenir aussi son gouvernement et son peuple sont prêts à apporter

leur contribution pour le triomphe de la juste cause des peuples coloniaux et pour leur libération du joug colonial.

77. M. Taïeb SLIM (Tunisie): L'Assemblée générale examine aujourd'hui les travaux du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, tels qu'ils apparaissent dans les rapports du Comité pour les deux années écoulées [A/5800/Rev.1⁴ et A/6000/Rev.1].

78. La délégation tunisienne, qui a écouté avec la plus grande attention les interventions faites sur ce point par les éminents orateurs qui l'ont précédée, se félicite de l'intérêt suscité par cet important débat et aimerait se contenter de faire à ce stade de nos travaux quelques brèves remarques.

79. Mais, auparavant, elle tient à exprimer son appréciation et sa gratitude à l'éminent Président du Comité spécial, M. Sori Coulibaly, du Mali, pour le dévouement et la distinction avec lesquels il a su diriger les travaux du Comité. Elle aimerait également exprimer ses remerciements et sa vive appréciation au rapporteur, M. Natwar Singh, de l'Inde, qui a travaillé avec une ardeur exemplaire pour nous présenter les documents de travail les plus complets sur les travaux du Comité pendant les deux dernières années.

80. Nos félicitations s'adressent également à nos deux éminents vice-présidents, M. Carlos Marfa Velázquez, de l'Uruguay, et M. Sonn Voeunsai, du Cambodge, pour la contribution très importante qu'ils ont apportée au Comité. Appelés par leurs gouvernements respectifs à d'autres fonctions dans d'autres capitales, nos deux distingués collègues nous ont maintenant quittés. Ils ont toutefois laissé dans nos mémoires le souvenir toujours vivant de diplomates dévoués à la tâche exaltante de la décolonisation pacifique.

81. La délégation tunisienne ferait montre d'un oubli impardonnable si elle ne rendait hommage à la collaboration très étroite et à l'extrême dévouement du secrétariat de notre comité, ainsi qu'à M. Chacko et à M. Dadzie. Elle tient à remercier particulièrement le Sous-Secrétaire, M. Amachree, et tous les fonctionnaires et interprètes qui nous ont constamment assistés dans la conduite de nos travaux.

82. En abordant l'examen du rapport du Comité spécial, nous tenons à rappeler que cinq années se sont écoulées depuis la proclamation, à la quinzième session de l'Assemblée générale, de l'historique Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. Depuis 1960, un nombre assez important de pays se sont libérés du colonialisme et sont venus se joindre à nous comme Etats souverains Membres de l'Organisation, à laquelle ils apportent une contribution de plus en plus appréciable dans tous les domaines, et enrichir la grande famille humaine de l'apport de leur génie et de leurs traditions. Ils ont apporté aux Nations Unies des idées nouvelles et un enthousiasme continu pour

le renforcement des relations amicales entre les nations et pour le développement de la coopération internationale. Leur présence parmi nous, que nous saluons avec la plus grande satisfaction, œuvre pour la consolidation des principes de la Charte, de l'Organisation et l'épanouissement de son esprit d'universalité. Toutefois, nous sommes bien obligés de convenir que ces cinq années ont été assez dures pour d'autres millions d'êtres humains qui continuent à souffrir de l'oppression et de la domination étrangères.

83. En effet, si nous avons fait des progrès appréciables dans le processus d'émancipation humaine, il n'en reste pas moins vrai que certaines puissances administrantes — par réaction peut-être ou par dépit de voir leur grand empire d'antan s'amoinrir et s'amenuiser — ont un peu raidi leur position et ne montrent qu'un semblant de coopération envers l'Organisation. Dans ce domaine, loin de hâter le processus de décolonisation et de permettre ainsi une reconversion saine et bénéfique des liens de sujétion en rapports de coopération dans l'amitié et l'égalité, elles s'efforcent à imaginer toutes sortes d'obstacles pour retarder l'émancipation et la libération des peuples placés sous leur tutelle. Elles ignorent les injonctions pourtant impératives de la Déclaration contenue dans la résolution 1514 (XV) et font fi des nombreuses résolutions adoptées sur ces problèmes. Il y a lieu de rappeler le paragraphe 5 de ladite Déclaration, qui dit d'une façon très précise, ne permettant aucune équivoque, ce qui suit:

"Des mesures immédiates seront prises dans les territoires sous tutelle, les territoires non autonomes et tous autres territoires qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance, pour transférer tous pouvoirs aux peuples de ces territoires, sans aucune condition ni réserve, conformément à leur volonté et à leurs vœux librement exprimés, sans aucune distinction de race, de croyance ou de couleur, afin de leur permettre de jouir d'une indépendance et d'une liberté complètes."

84. D'année en année l'Assemblée générale a adopté et réaffirmé toutes les résolutions pertinentes sur les différents territoires qui ont été examinés par le Comité spécial, faisant des appels de plus en plus urgents aux puissances administrantes pour hâter l'émancipation des peuples placés sous leur domination et appliquer la résolution 1514 (XV) dans les délais les plus brefs. A tous nos appels, les puissances coloniales semblent faire la sourde oreille, invoquant toutes sortes de difficultés qui ne sont en réalité qu'un prétexte pour sauvegarder les intérêts matériels de leurs colons et des monopoles économiques qu'ils ont installés dans leurs colonies. Il est regrettable que les colons anglais, portugais, sud-africains refusent d'abandonner cet esprit et cette mentalité colonialistes et qu'ils continuent à pratiquer une politique égoïste et aveugle, sans se préoccuper de l'avenir. Il est encore plus regrettable que les puissances coloniales qui les protègent n'arrivent pas non plus à se débarrasser de ce complexe de conquérant et continuent à confondre l'intérêt bien compris de leurs relations avec les peuples qu'ils ont assujettis par la force avec les intérêts de leurs nationaux et de leurs colons dans ces territoires. Cet état de

⁴ Ibid., dix-neuvième session, Annexes, annexe No 8, 1ère partie.

choses n'a malheureusement que trop duré, et l'Organisation se doit de rappeler aux puissances administrantes de respecter leurs obligations envers la Charte.

M. Khampan (Laos), vice-président, prend la présidence.

85. Le Royaume-Uni, par exemple, s'est obstinément refusé à coopérer avec le Comité spécial pour faciliter la recherche d'une solution juste et satisfaisante au problème de la Rhodésie du Sud. Depuis 1962, le Comité a tracé la voie et indiqué les lignes générales qui pourraient servir de cadre à une solution à ce problème, rendu si complexe par la politique désastreuse pratiquée par la Puissance administrante depuis 1923. L'Assemblée générale confirma dès 1962 le point de vue du Comité et adopta une résolution par laquelle elle demandait au Royaume-Uni de ne pas procéder aux élections qui étaient prévues par la Constitution de décembre 1961, et d'abroger ou de suspendre cette constitution tout en prenant les mesures nécessaires pour la convocation d'une conférence constitutionnelle à laquelle participeraient tous les chefs nationalistes des partis politiques du territoire.

86. Nous avons à ce moment-là attiré l'attention de la Puissance administrante sur le fait que tout délai apporté à l'application de cette résolution ne pouvait qu'encourager les colons racistes de la Rhodésie du Sud à consolider leur pouvoir et leur autorité dans la colonie. Le Gouvernement britannique savait parfaitement bien que c'était la seule voie à suivre et que toute autre politique ne pouvait que créer les germes d'un conflit entre les Africains du Zimbabwe et la minorité de colons blancs. Il était évident alors que l'imposition de la Constitution de 1961 — Constitution rejetée déjà par la totalité des Africains rhodésiens — ouvrait le chemin à l'établissement d'un Etat copié sur celui de l'Afrique du Sud et précipitait une catastrophe en élargissant le fossé dangereux qui séparait les deux éléments de la population.

87. S'il persistait quelque doute dans l'esprit des responsables britanniques à ce sujet, l'exemple algérien était là pour le dissiper. Nous avons nous-mêmes, membres du Sous-Comité de la Rhodésie du Sud, prié les responsables britanniques, lors de conversations que nous avons eues avec eux à Londres, de suivre l'exemple de la France, qui, ayant à faire face à plus d'un million de colons français en Algérie, n'avait pas hésité à tenir en échec leur rébellion et à mater les agitateurs pour rétablir la situation et reconnaître aux Algériens leur droit à l'indépendance. Le courage et la clairvoyance de la France, ainsi que la détermination de son président, le général de Gaulle, qui leur ont valu toute notre reconnaissance et notre gratitude, pouvaient, à notre avis, indiquer la voie de la raison, de la sagesse, et aider les colonialistes anglais à se dégager de la confusion de la politique traditionnelle qu'ils suivaient en Rhodésie du Sud pour retrouver la solution positive et réaliste, la seule qui était de nature à sauvegarder leurs intérêts en Afrique.

88. Il est regrettable que la Puissance administrante n'ait pas jugé bon de choisir la voie de la fermeté

lorsque le Ministère de M. Whitehead était encore au pouvoir à Salisbury. Se dérochant à ses obligations envers l'Organisation sous le paravent des précédents constitutionnels et des traditions parlementaires, la Puissance administrante a cru bon, au contraire, de pratiquer envers le peuple dont elle assurait la tutelle une politique qui ne fit que renforcer l'autorité des extrémistes racistes en Rhodésie du Sud en les dotant de tous les moyens, militaires et autres, d'exercer le pouvoir. Rassurés par les propres déclarations du Premier Ministre du Royaume-Uni, selon lesquelles la force ne serait pas utilisée contre eux au cas où ils déclareraient unilatéralement leur indépendance, les Blancs de Rhodésie se mirent en rébellion ouverte contre leurs propres tuteurs. La situation en Rhodésie du Sud se détériore dangereusement et constitue une véritable menace à la paix et à la sécurité dans toute la région méridionale de l'Afrique. La Puissance administrante doit en assumer toute la responsabilité devant l'Organisation.

89. En effet, même au point extrêmement dangereux où en est arrivée la situation en Rhodésie du Sud, à cause du défi lancé par Ian Smith, même devant cette agression caractérisée perpétrée par les usurpateurs du pouvoir contre les 4 millions d'Africains, la Puissance administrante hésite encore à prendre toutes les mesures nécessaires pour mater la rébellion et transférer les pouvoirs aux représentants authentiques du peuple du Zimbabwe. La Puissance administrante a pris, il est vrai, certaines sanctions économiques et financières. Il est toutefois évident que ces mesures n'auront qu'une efficacité relative tant qu'un embargo total et complet ne sera pas imposé et tant que ces mesures ne seront pas renforcées par une action militaire. Par ailleurs, même limité aux quelques sanctions annoncées par le Royaume-Uni, le boycottage proposé par celui-ci ne sera pas respecté puisque, comme nous le savons tous, les produits nécessaires au gouvernement rebelle d'Ian Smith seront acheminés par ses deux alliés, le Portugal et l'Afrique du Sud.

90. Le New York Times du 5 décembre 1965 a publié une information de l'agence Reuter, de Londres, datée du 4 décembre 1965, qui explique bien comment les sanctions prises par l'Organisation contre la Rhodésie du Sud sont défaites par les grandes compagnies pétrolières:

"Un pétrolier de la British Petroleum Company — qui appartient plus qu'à moitié au Gouvernement britannique — est en route ce soir pour l'Afrique avec 12 000 tonnes de pétrole destiné à la colonie dissidente de Rhodésie.

"Le pétrolier arrivera à Beira, en Afrique-Orientale portugaise, dans 10 jours. Le pétrole sera conduit par oléoduc jusqu'à une raffinerie à Umtali, en Rhodésie, qui est la propriété conjointe de la British Petroleum Company et de six autres compagnies pétrolières.

"Cet envoi de pétrole en Rhodésie est le premier depuis que le premier ministre Ian Smith a déclaré l'indépendance, le 11 novembre. Le pétrole a été chargé dans l'Etat d'Abu Dhabi, dans le golfe Persique, qui n'a pas suivi la recommandation des Nations Unies d'imposer un embargo sur le pé-

trole à destination de la Rhodésie. Le Royaume-Uni a voté en faveur de la recommandation, mais n'a pas imposé d'embargo sur le pétrole.

"Un porte-parole de la compagnie pétrolière a dit que le pétrole d'Abu Dhabi était utilisé parce que l'Iran et la Libye appliquaient l'embargo*."

Voilà comment les sanctions sont respectées!

91. De l'avis de la délégation tunisienne, seule une action militaire engagée immédiatement pourrait ouvrir la voie à une solution satisfaisante de ce problème et ferait par là même l'économie d'une guérilla qui risque d'être autrement plus coûteuse.

92. Les derniers événements en Rhodésie ont prouvé de façon éclatante qu'un gouvernement formé par la minorité de colons racistes en Rhodésie du Sud a déjà créé une menace réelle contre l'indépendance et l'intégrité territoriale d'un pays voisin: la Zambie.

93. L'Organisation ne peut rester impassible devant la situation explosive qui règne en Rhodésie du Sud; elle ne peut demeurer muette devant l'agression perpétrée par Ian Smith et son gouvernement raciste contre la sécurité de tout un peuple de 4 millions d'Africains dont les droits les plus sacrés sont foulés aux pieds. Elle doit intervenir pour arrêter cette agression et la menace qui en découle pour les autres pays voisins. L'Organisation se doit d'adopter des mesures énergiques pour mettre un terme au complot fomenté par les rebelles blancs de la Rhodésie du Sud, aidés et soutenus par leurs alliés portugais et sud-africains. L'Assemblée générale doit inviter la Puissance administrante à prendre les dispositions économiques et militaires nécessaires pour restituer au peuple zimbabwe tous ses droits inaliénables tels qu'ils sont reconnus par la Charte, et en particulier son droit à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance, conformément à la résolution 1514 (XV).

94. J'ai parlé de la Rhodésie du Sud, qui est le cas le plus typique où la complaisance de la Puissance administrante a créé de toutes pièces une situation anormale qui constitue aujourd'hui une menace à la paix et à la sécurité en Afrique. Si cette situation existe aujourd'hui, c'est parce que le Royaume-Uni s'est refusé à accorder au Comité spécial et à l'Organisation une coopération effective en vue de hâter le processus de la décolonisation par des moyens pacifiques.

95. La même attitude négative a été observée par le Portugal en ce qui concerne les grands territoires africains qu'il continue à dominer. Malgré les condamnations successives de l'Organisation et malgré les nombreuses résolutions de l'Assemblée générale et du Conseil de sécurité, le Portugal continue à défier la conscience internationale et à exploiter de la façon la plus indigne et la plus honteuse les millions d'Africains de l'Angola, du Mozambique et de la Guinée dite portugaise.

96. Nous constatons que dans la poursuite de son odieuse politique, le Portugal se trouve encouragé par la complaisance de ses partenaires commerciaux. Malgré les appels répétés de tous les Etats africains, les alliés du Portugal continuent de lui

fournir les investissements financiers et les équipements militaires qui lui permettent de poursuivre sa guerre et sa répression contre les nationalistes africains et de consolider sa puissance en Afrique pour faire échec aux mesures économiques décidées contre lui par les Nations Unies et par l'Organisation de l'unité africaine. Nous ne pouvons accepter cette attitude de la part de ces Etats qui, indirectement peut-être, ne font qu'aider la répression effroyable qui s'abat sur les Angolais et les habitants du Mozambique et de la Guinée dite portugaise, et renforcer le colonialisme portugais chez nous. Nous comprenons mal que cette attitude inamicale soit celle de certains membres permanents du Conseil de sécurité. Encore une fois, nous faisons appel aux Etats-Unis, au Royaume-Uni, à la France et à leurs alliés — l'Italie, la Belgique, le Japon — pour qu'ils mettent fin à cette assistance et à cette aide à ceux qui persistent à ignorer leurs obligations d'Etats Membres de l'Organisation et qui continuent à violer les droits inaliénables de millions d'Africains en Angola, au Mozambique et en Guinée dite portugaise, contrairement aux principes de la Charte.

97. La situation dans les autres territoires africains demeure aussi tragique. Au Sud-Ouest africain et en Afrique du Sud, nos frères africains continuent à souffrir la honte des lois racistes de la politique d'apartheid. Ce sont leurs droits les plus élémentaires d'êtres humains qui sont quotidiennement violés et méconnus. Cette situation révoltante et répugnante continue et réduit à l'état dégradant d'êtres inférieurs près de 14 millions d'Africains. La politique et la philosophie d'apartheid, fondées sur le concept de la supériorité d'une race, ont été universellement condamnées; mais nous sommes réduits à l'impuissance lorsqu'il s'agit de redresser cette situation, parce que les grandes puissances commerciales ont refusé jusqu'à maintenant d'appliquer des sanctions économiques totales, seules capables d'amener le gouvernement de Pretoria à renoncer à sa politique inhumaine d'apartheid. L'Organisation doit prendre d'urgence les mesures nécessaires pour persuader les partenaires commerciaux de l'Afrique du Sud de coopérer avec elle pour prendre toutes les mesures coercitives nécessaires, y compris la rupture des relations diplomatiques ou commerciales et l'embargo sur les armes, le pétrole et les produits pétroliers.

98. Dans d'autres territoires d'Afrique, comme les protectorats anglais, ou d'Asie, comme Aden et le Sud arabe, la Puissance administrante n'a pas réalisé non plus les progrès attendus pour hâter l'indépendance de ces pays. Le recours à la force et les mesures de répression sont encore trop souvent utilisés contre les nationalistes.

99. Un autre ensemble de problèmes concerne les îles et petits territoires éparpillés dans les océans et pour lesquels le Comité spécial doit trouver des solutions fondées sur l'intérêt des habitants et leur développement. En ce qui concerne des petits territoires et des îles encore sous domination étrangère, la délégation tunisienne estime qu'il y a un travail assez sérieux à entreprendre pour évaluer avec la Puissance administrante les meilleurs procédés et moyens qui permettront une libre consultation des habitants afin de déterminer leur avenir.

*Cité en anglais par l'orateur.

Une étude poussée doit comprendre tous les aspects humains, géographiques et économiques, afin d'assurer à ces peuples un développement social et culturel rapide. Les Nations Unies ont là un nouveau domaine où la coopération internationale doit être encouragée.

100. La délégation tunisienne estime que l'exemple donné par la Nouvelle-Zélande dans les îles Cook est extrêmement important et pourrait constituer une expérience et un précédent heureux. La présence d'un représentant des Nations Unies, M. Omar Adeel — à qui ma délégation se plaît à rendre ici un hommage bien mérité —, a donné à la coopération de la Puissance administrante avec les Nations Unies un sens nouveau et une direction nouvelle qui devraient inspirer d'autres administrations.

101. Enfin, d'autres territoires dont la souveraineté demeure contestée devraient être examinés par le Comité spécial pour hâter la recherche d'une solution satisfaisante aux problèmes qu'ils continuent de poser. Cette solution doit être recherchée dans le cadre des négociations entre les parties directement intéressées. Ceci est particulièrement important pour Gibraltar et les îles Malouines.

102. Nous avons noté avec satisfaction que le représentant de l'Espagne, dans la déclaration qu'il a faite hier [1389ème séance], a clairement affirmé que son pays était prêt à engager des négociations avec le Royaume-Uni sur le problème de Gibraltar. L'esprit de coopération manifesté par l'Espagne pour régler cette question mérite d'être encouragé par l'Assemblée. Ma délégation serait heureuse de le voir prévaloir aussi dans le cas d'autres territoires en Afrique, comme Ifni et le Sahara espagnol.

103. Telles sont les quelques remarques que ma délégation a cru bon de faire sur les territoires les plus importants dont l'examen a été entrepris par notre comité spécial.

104. Le bilan rapide des quatre années de travail du Comité spécial démontre que les progrès réalisés dans la liquidation du colonialisme sont encore loin d'être appréciables et continuent d'être freinés par le manque de coopération de la part des puissances administrantes, et particulièrement de celles dont les efforts tendent à renforcer le bastion des minorités dominantes en Afrique méridionale.

105. Les intérêts financiers considérables investis par les grandes puissances commerciales et par les alliés de l'Afrique du Sud, du Portugal et de la Rhodésie du Sud constituent de plus en plus un obstacle sérieux à la réalisation des aspirations légitimes des peuples colonisés et renforcent la résistance des dirigeants blancs à tout effort de décolonisation pacifique. Nous nous joignons à ceux qui ont déjà lancé un appel aux grandes puissances coloniales pour qu'elles renoncent à cette attitude négative envers les nationalistes africains et pour qu'elles abandonnent cette politique de complaisance envers les racistes et les colonialistes d'Afrique méridionale. Il est en effet évident que toutes les résolutions de l'Assemblée générale et du Conseil de sécurité ont été ignorées par le Royaume-Uni, l'Afrique du Sud et le Portugal. L'Assemblée générale devrait tenir compte de l'évolution des mouvements nationalistes

dans tous les territoires encore sous domination étrangère. Une conscience nouvelle anime nos frères qui luttent pour leur indépendance.

106. Nous saluons les efforts de tous ceux qui s'organisent et luttent avec acharnement et détermination pour le triomphe de leurs droits. Les Nations Unies ont, à maintes reprises, reconnu le mérite de ceux qui luttent et ont admis le caractère juste de leur combat.

107. Aussi l'Assemblée générale devrait-elle rechercher tous les moyens propres à soutenir et renforcer les mouvements de libération nationale. Une aide directe concrète ne serait que l'illustration de la ferme volonté des Nations Unies de débarrasser l'humanité du colonialisme. Il est grand temps, pour les puissances coloniales, de prendre en considération les principes sacrés de la Charte. Nous leur adressons un appel pressant pour qu'elles coopèrent avec sincérité à l'application rapide de la résolution 1514 (XV) à chacun des territoires sous leur administration. Le refus d'une telle coopération nuirait au prestige de l'Organisation, forçant ceux qui luttent pour leur indépendance à recourir à toutes les solutions de désespoir, et les inciterait à ne compter que sur eux-mêmes.

108. La Tunisie croit fermement au triomphe de la raison et de la justice; mais, si les puissances coloniales continuent encore à défier l'Organisation en refusant d'appliquer ses résolutions pertinentes, il ne restera plus d'autre voie ouverte aux mouvements de libération que celle de la résistance armée pour la défense de leur dignité et de leur droit à l'autodétermination.

109. M. DE CASTRO (Philippines) [traduit de l'anglais]: La délégation des Philippines est heureuse de participer à cette discussion générale sur l'œuvre réalisée pendant les deux dernières années par le Comité des Vingt-Quatre. Ce débat permet à l'Organisation de s'arrêter un instant pour considérer ce qui a été fait jusqu'à présent et ce qui reste à faire. Nous devons pour ainsi dire faire un bilan et voir où nous en sommes. Nous devons nous demander: Que ferons-nous maintenant?

110. Quand les Membres fondateurs ont créé l'Organisation des Nations Unies, ils ont promis solennellement que, dans le monde entier, les peuples assujettis recouvreraient leurs droits fondamentaux à la liberté et à l'indépendance. En même temps, les puissances administrantes ont librement et solennellement accepté, comme un devoir sacré, l'obligation de travailler au maximum à améliorer la condition des habitants de ces territoires et, en particulier, de leur accorder progressivement l'autonomie, de tenir compte de leurs aspirations politiques et de les aider à développer peu à peu leurs libres institutions selon les conditions particulières à chaque territoire et aux peuples qui l'habitent ainsi que de leurs stades divers de développement.

111. La République des Philippines, ancienne colonie devenue une nation libre et souveraine peu après la seconde guerre mondiale, a été l'un des Membres fondateurs de l'Organisation. Elle a joué un rôle, à vrai dire modeste, en faveur de l'inclusion dans

la Charte de la Déclaration sur les territoires non autonomes.

112. Quinze années plus tard, en 1960, l'Organisation des Nations Unies, dans sa résolution 1514 (XV), a réaffirmé sa détermination de mettre fin à toutes les formes du colonialisme. Elle a déclaré en termes non équivoques que:

"La sujétion des peuples à une subjugation, à une domination et à une exploitation étrangères constitue un déni des droits fondamentaux de l'humanité",

et que:

"des mesures immédiates seront prises... pour transférer tous pouvoirs aux peuples de ces territoires, sans aucune condition ni réserve, conformément à leur volonté et à leur vœu librement exprimés...".

Les Philippines ont eu également l'honneur de figurer parmi les auteurs de cette résolution et d'appuyer son adoption.

113. Maintenant que la Charte a 20 ans et cette déclaration cinq ans, on est en droit de demander: Quel est le bilan à la date d'aujourd'hui? Combien de colonies ont obtenu la liberté et combien d'autres restent à libérer?

114. En 1946, il y avait 74 territoires, peuplés de 215 millions d'hommes, auxquels s'appliquait le chapitre XI de la Charte. Ils étaient de tailles différentes, s'échelonnant d'une centaine d'habitants pour la petite île de Pitcairn à plus de 70 millions aux Indes néerlandaises. Près de la moitié de l'effectif des hommes colonisés se trouvait sur le continent africain. Il y en avait un très grand nombre dans la région importante du littoral méditerranéen.

115. Depuis ce sombre début, avons-nous fait des progrès? Certainement. Voyons les chiffres.

116. Les territoires non autonomes ayant obtenu leur autonomie sous une forme ou sous une autre à la fin de 1954 étaient: la Guyane française, la Guadeloupe, la Martinique, la Réunion et Saint-Pierre et Miquelon, qui sont des départements d'outre-mer ou ont un statut analogue dans le cadre de la République française; l'Indonésie et les Etats d'Indochine, qui ont alors acquis leur indépendance; Porto Rico, qui est devenue un commonwealth associé aux Etats-Unis; le Groenland, qui s'est uni au royaume du Danemark sur un pied d'égalité avec les autres parties du royaume; les Antilles néerlandaises et Surinam, qui se sont associés au royaume des Pays-Bas.

117. Depuis 1955, les territoires sous mandat et les territoires non autonomes, surtout ceux d'Afrique, ont fait des progrès de plus en plus rapides vers l'indépendance. En 1956, le Maroc, la Tunisie et le Soudan sont devenus indépendants. Les anciens territoires français de l'Afrique occidentale et de l'Afrique équatoriale, Madagascar, l'archipel des Comores et la Côte française des Somalis étaient en train d'obtenir leur indépendance. La Côte-de-l'Or devenait l'Etat indépendant du Ghana. En 1958, l'ancienne Guinée française devenait indépendante sous le nom de République de Guinée.

118. En même temps, dans d'autres parties du monde, le mouvement des peuples dépendants vers l'indépendance ou l'autonomie s'accélérait également: la Fédération de Malaisie obtenait son indépendance en 1957 et, en 1959, l'Alaska et Hawaii obtenaient le statut d'Etat au sein des Etats-Unis d'Amérique.

119. Au cours de l'année 1960, il n'y eut pas moins de 18 pays nouveaux qui accédèrent à l'indépendance: 17 en Afrique et un dans le bassin méditerranéen. En 1961 et 1962, deux pays d'Afrique et deux pays des Caraïbes devinrent indépendants. Cette année, en 1965, deux autres sont devenus libres et ont été admis comme Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Les îles Cook sont devenues autonomes et elles ont le droit de choisir l'indépendance si leur peuple le désire. Enfin, il a été annoncé que la Guyane britannique deviendrait indépendante en 1966.

120. Ainsi, sur les 215 millions d'hommes qui n'étaient pas libres, il n'en reste environ que 25 millions à libérer. L'Organisation des Nations Unies peut se féliciter, à juste titre, des progrès considérables réalisés dans ce domaine.

121. Certes, la liste des territoires qui restent à libérer est encore longue; mais, sauf quelques-uns, à savoir la Rhodésie du Sud, le Sud-Ouest africain et les territoires sous administration portugaise, la grande majorité (et je n'entends pas minimiser leur importance) est constituée de petites îles ou de territoires peu peuplés. Ces petits territoires pourront à l'avenir être le principal objet des travaux du Comité spécial. Les modalités et méthodes qui ont réussi dans le cas des grands territoires à population indigène nombreuse ne conviendront peut-être pas pour eux. Il faudra sans doute que le Comité spécial traite le problème d'une façon nouvelle en tenant compte des conditions particulières à ces îles, sans jamais oublier que le but final est la liberté et l'indépendance ou l'autonomie, selon ce que voudront les populations.

122. J'ai dit que les trois questions principales qui se posent au Comité des Vingt-Quatre, comme à l'Organisation des Nations Unies, sont celles de la Rhodésie du Sud, du Sud-Ouest africain et des territoires portugais. Ces trois cas constituent sans aucun doute aujourd'hui le problème majeur de la décolonisation. Ce qui complique encore les choses, c'est la présence dans ces pays de minorités racistes intransigeantes.

123. La position de mon gouvernement sur ces questions est parfaitement claire et bien connue. Il n'est pas nécessaire que j'abuse de la patience de l'Assemblée pour la définir à nouveau. Qu'il me suffise de dire que ma délégation appuiera toutes les mesures que l'Organisation des Nations Unies estimera nécessaire de prendre dans chacun de ces territoires pour y faire prévaloir les droits inaliénables de la population à la liberté, à l'indépendance et à la dignité humaine. Nous ne pouvons pas admettre que les puissances administrantes refusent d'appliquer les prescriptions de la Charte et les résolutions de l'Assemblée générale.

124. Permettez-moi de revenir au cas des petits territoires. Les problèmes qu'ils posent devront sans doute retenir particulièrement l'attention du Comité

spécial à partir de maintenant. Ma délégation se permet par conséquent de suggérer que ce comité se fixe comme tâche particulière de mettre au point une méthode que les puissances administrantes pourraient appliquer pour que ces petits territoires avancent vers l'autonomie complète, l'indépendance et la liberté. Cette suggestion est conforme à la lettre et à l'esprit de la résolution 1514 (XV), qui garantit à tous les peuples le droit à l'autodétermination, grâce à laquelle ils peuvent déterminer librement leur statut politique et poursuivre librement leur développement économique, social et culturel.

125. Avant de conclure, permettez-moi de définir clairement la position de ma délégation au sujet de l'utilité des visites effectuées dans les territoires en question par des membres du Comité des Vingt-Quatre. Jusqu'à présent, les puissances administrantes ont toujours refusé ces visites. Ma délégation y attache beaucoup d'importance et demande instamment aux puissances administrantes de reconsidérer leur position. Les informations fournies par les puissances administrantes et les dépositions de signataires de pétitions, verbales ou écrites, gagnent à être évaluées par l'observation directe.

126. Je l'ai dit au début de mon intervention, ma délégation est heureuse d'avoir cette occasion de participer à la discussion du point 23. Sous certaines réserves, exprimées au cours des discussions de la Quatrième Commission, au sujet de quelques conclusions et recommandations du Comité spécial s'appliquant à quelques chapitres précis des rapports, ma délégation votera l'approbation des rapports du Comité spécial. Elle ajoute ses félicitations à celles, nombreuses, que le Comité a déjà reçues pour les travaux excellents, précieux et considérables qu'il nous a soumis. Ma délégation votera aussi tout projet de résolution visant à prolonger le mandat du Comité spécial.

127. Je voudrais dire un mot pour finir. L'Organisation des Nations Unies a fait beaucoup pour la libération des peuples assujettis. Mais elle ne peut pas relâcher ses efforts tant que le dernier territoire colonisé n'aura pas été libéré ou rendu autonome.

128. M. DACHTSEREN (République populaire mongole) [traduit du russe]: Il y a juste cinq ans, les Nations Unies adoptaient la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. Ce document historique, qui exprimait l'ardente volonté de tous les peuples épris de liberté de mettre fin au honteux système colonial, a insufflé l'espoir aux peuples opprimés des colonies et les a inspirés dans la lutte qu'ils mènent pour se libérer de l'esclavage colonial.

129. Pendant les cinq années écoulées, la lutte des peuples coloniaux n'a cessé de s'intensifier et a revêtu différentes formes — de la formation de partis politiques au soulèvement armé contre des régimes coloniaux abhorrés. Voici plus de quatre ans que le peuple angolais mène une lutte courageuse contre les colonialistes portugais. A sa suite, les peuples du Mozambique et de la Guinée dite portugaise se sont soulevés. Le peuple de l'Arabie du Sud lutte tout aussi résolument pour libérer son pays des

colonialistes britanniques. Et nous avons encore présente à l'esprit la longue lutte que le peuple algérien a dû soutenir avant de reconstituer la nation algérienne.

130. Grâce à l'intensification de la lutte des peuples coloniaux et à l'action de toutes les forces pacifiques au cours de ces cinq années, plusieurs pays, autrefois soumis à la domination coloniale, ont accédé à l'indépendance nationale et sont venus se joindre à la famille des nations souveraines; ces pays mènent désormais le combat aux côtés de toute l'humanité progressiste pour aider leurs frères à se libérer de la domination coloniale.

131. Les peuples ont désormais le désir passionné d'en finir au plus vite avec le colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations, car la survivance d'empires coloniaux est en flagrante contradiction avec la volonté et la conscience de l'humanité, avec les principes et les objectifs des Nations Unies. Il est donc naturel que dans le monde entier, tant à l'Organisation des Nations Unies qu'au-dehors, les forces de progrès déploient d'immenses efforts pour accélérer le processus de liquidation complète du système colonial et donner effet à la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux.

132. A cet égard, nous nous devons de relever le rôle considérable que les jeunes Etats indépendants d'Afrique et d'Asie et les Etats socialistes ont joué et continuent à jouer dans la lutte générale contre l'impérialisme et le colonialisme. Les pays socialistes et les pays non alignés d'Asie et d'Afrique ont condamné et condamnent d'un commun accord l'impérialisme et le colonialisme, dont ils dénoncent les intrigues et les manœuvres de toutes sortes destinées à perpétuer les régimes coloniaux.

133. La Conférence des chefs d'Etats indépendants d'Afrique, tenue en 1963 à Addis-Abéba, a marqué une étape nouvelle dans la lutte des peuples contre l'impérialisme et le colonialisme. L'Organisation de l'unité africaine, qui a été créée à cette conférence, contribue efficacement à consolider l'indépendance politique et économique des peuples africains et joue un rôle important dans la progression des mouvements de libération nationale des peuples coloniaux et dépendants.

134. Comme nous le savons tous, la Conférence des chefs d'Etats indépendants d'Afrique qui s'est tenue à Addis-Abéba et les réunions africaines au sommet dont elle fut suivie, ainsi que la Conférence des chefs d'Etat ou de gouvernement des pays non alignés qui a eu lieu pendant la période considérée, ont élaboré un programme d'action et indiqué des mesures concrètes propres à accélérer le processus de décolonisation et de libération des peuples coloniaux et dépendants du joug colonial et raciste. L'Organisation de l'unité africaine et tous les pays afro-asiatiques aident considérablement l'Organisation des Nations Unies à s'acquitter de la tâche qui lui a été confiée par la Charte et la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux.

135. Quand l'Assemblée générale a décidé, par la résolution 1907 (XVIII), de désigner l'année 1965 comme Année de la coopération internationale, de nombreux Etats Membres ont exprimé le vœu que

cette année verrait la liquidation définitive et complète des vestiges du système colonial. Mais, hélas, des dizaines de millions d'êtres humains, et près de 60 territoires répartis dans les différentes parties du monde restent soumis aujourd'hui encore à l'esclavage colonial. Ainsi, l'espoir des peuples a été déçu et les dispositions de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux n'ont pas été appliquées. La raison de cette situation funeste, c'est que quelques puissances colonialistes et leurs alliés du bloc agressif de l'OTAN refusent obstinément de donner effet aux dispositions de la Déclaration et des diverses résolutions de l'Assemblée générale et du Conseil de sécurité.

136. C'est ainsi que le Portugal agit sans tenir aucun compte des résolutions de l'ONU relatives aux colonies portugaises. Salazar lui-même a déclaré que le Portugal "est résolu à maintenir sa domination sur l'Angola et tous les autres territoires, sans se soucier des appels de l'ONU touchant l'octroi de l'indépendance à ces territoires".

137. A cette fin, les colonialistes portugais intensifient les opérations punitives destinées à réprimer la lutte légitime des peuples d'Angola, du Mozambique et de la Guinée dite portugaise pour leur liberté et leur indépendance. Les atrocités et la cruauté des colonialistes portugais ne peuvent se comparer qu'aux méthodes les plus barbares du fascisme. Nul n'ignore qu'un pays comme le Portugal serait incapable, sans soutien extérieur, de conserver des possessions coloniales situées sur un autre continent et 10 fois plus étendues que son propre territoire. Le Portugal partage la responsabilité de tous les forfaits perpétrés par les colonialistes aux ordres de Salazar avec les puissances occidentales comme les Etats-Unis, la République fédérale d'Allemagne et autres qui, au mépris des nombreuses résolutions de l'Assemblée générale et du Conseil de sécurité, financent une guerre sanglante sur le continent africain et fournissent des armes à cet effet.

138. Quant à la situation dans les colonies britanniques d'Aden, d'Oman, de la Guyane britannique, du Betchouanaland, du Bassoutoland et du Souaziland, elle s'aggrave sans cesse. Le Gouvernement britannique, tout en promettant officiellement d'accorder l'indépendance à ces territoires, continue sous divers prétextes de les maintenir sous la domination coloniale. Dans son intervention du 1er décembre dernier devant l'Assemblée générale [1386ème séance], le représentant du Royaume-Uni a tenté de justifier par divers arguments d'ordre social et économique le retard apporté à l'octroi de l'indépendance à ces territoires. Je voudrais à cet égard citer la disposition pertinente de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. Aux termes du paragraphe 3 du dispositif de la résolution 1514 (XV):

"Le manque de préparation dans les domaines politique, économique ou social ou dans celui de l'enseignement ne doit jamais être pris comme prétexte pour retarder l'indépendance."

139. Le racisme, qui est une forme particulière du colonialisme, demeure un danger pour la paix et la sécurité internationales.

140. Le régime raciste d'Afrique du Sud, fort de l'aide économique et militaire des puissances occidentales, continue d'appliquer intensivement l'odieuse politique d'apartheid, étendant ce système de ségrégation raciale à un territoire limitrophe: le Sud-Ouest africain. La population autochtone du Sud-Ouest africain est ainsi soumise par les racistes de la République sud-africaine à une impitoyable oppression.

141. Les racistes sud-africains sont en train d'ourdir des plans criminels en vue de démembrer et d'annexer le territoire et d'y étendre le système de l'apartheid. Dans cette infâme entreprise d'asservissement de la population autochtone, les monopoles étrangers agissent la main dans la main avec le régime raciste de Verwoerd.

142. L'examen de la question du Sud-Ouest africain et l'analyse de l'activité des monopoles étrangers dans ce territoire, auxquels a récemment procédé le Comité spécial des Vingt-Quatre, ont pleinement confirmé ce que nous venons de dire.

143. En Rhodésie du Sud, la proclamation illégale par le régime raciste d'Ian Smith d'indépendance est un nouvel acte criminel commis par les racistes et leurs complices. Malgré les nombreuses mises en garde contre le danger que présenterait la création d'un nouvel Etat raciste sur le modèle de la République sud-africaine et malgré l'opinion pacifique mondiale qui réclame l'adoption des mesures nécessaires pour couper court à toute aventure de ce genre, les puissances occidentales, en particulier le Royaume-Uni, ont favorisé cette proclamation illégale de l'indépendance de la Rhodésie du Sud. C'est ainsi qu'un nouveau foyer de tension est apparu au centre de l'Afrique.

144. La position du Gouvernement de la République populaire mongole sur la question de la Rhodésie du Sud est claire. Dans sa déclaration du 16 novembre 1965, le gouvernement de mon pays a catégoriquement condamné cet acte criminel et déclaré qu'il "ne reconnaîtra pas l'indépendance de la Rhodésie du Sud, proclamée illégalement par la dictature raciste de la minorité blanche aux dépens des intérêts du peuple du Zimbabwe" et qu'"il invite tous les Etats à prendre au plus tôt toutes les mesures nécessaires"^{5/}.

145. Dans plusieurs autres territoires sous tutelle, le comportement des puissances administrantes est loin d'être conforme aux dispositions de la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale. Les Etats-Unis d'Amérique, en particulier, transforment en bases militaires les îles du Pacifique placées sous leur tutelle; or, ces bases représentent une grave menace pour la paix et la sécurité des peuples d'Asie et d'Extrême-Orient.

146. Tout cela montre que les forces de progrès qui luttent pour éliminer aussi rapidement que possible le honteux système colonial doivent redoubler d'efforts, à la fois dans le cadre de l'Organisation des Nations Unies et en dehors.

147. A côté des vestiges du colonialisme qui en

^{5/} Documents officiels du Conseil de sécurité, vingtième année, Supplément d'octobre, novembre et décembre 1965, document S/6943.

incarnent les anciennes formes classiques, le néo-colonialisme ne représente pas un moindre danger, car il est devenu pour les puissances impérialistes un moyen de maintenir les anciens régimes coloniaux et d'asservir les jeunes Etats indépendants qui manquent encore de force. Les Etats-Unis d'Amérique et la République fédérale d'Allemagne sont à l'avant-garde de ceux qui pratiquent une politique colonialiste. Les monopoles américains et ceux d'Allemagne occidentale occupent une position prépondérante dans de nombreux territoires non autonomes.

148. C'est ainsi que la revue United States News and World Report écrivait le 1er juin 1965: "Les grandes firmes américaines estiment que les entreprises à l'étranger sont d'un excellent rapport. C'est là un des principaux facteurs de la vie économique dans la seconde moitié du XXème siècle."

149. La République fédérale d'Allemagne ne se borne pas à étendre son influence économique dans les colonies africaines du Portugal, en République sud-africaine et dans le Sud-Ouest africain. Elle fournit des armes au Portugal et à l'Afrique du Sud, établit des bases militaires, y compris des bases pour le lancement de fusées en Afrique australe.

150. Parallèlement à cette expansion économique qui vise à perpétuer l'asservissement des pays coloniaux et des jeunes Etats indépendants, les colonialistes et leurs alliés néo-colonialistes, dans le dessein de maintenir leurs positions économiques et stratégiques, interviennent ouvertement dans les affaires intérieures d'Etats souverains qui se sont déjà libérés du régime colonial.

151. Les exemples les plus frappants sont à cet égard l'intervention des puissances impérialistes au Congo, avec la participation des Etats-Unis, de la Belgique et du Royaume-Uni, l'intervention armée des Etats-Unis d'Amérique dans les affaires intérieures de la République Dominicaine, l'agression américaine au Viet-Nam ainsi que les bombardements barbares auxquels est soumis le territoire de la République démocratique du Viet-Nam.

152. Il est clair que dans ces actions collectives des puissances impérialistes, qui ont pour seul but le maintien du colonialisme, le rôle principal revient aux impérialistes américains. La revue américaine de politique extérieure Foreign Affairs écrivait à ce sujet, dans son numéro d'octobre 1965: "Pour autant que les circonstances l'ont permis, nous avons encouragé l'ancienne puissance coloniale à demeurer sur place ou à revenir sur scène."

153. Les bases militaires des puissances impérialistes à l'étranger servent à protéger leurs positions économiques et politiques, elles servent aussi à écraser les mouvements de libération nationale des peuples coloniaux. Les impérialistes américains et britanniques ont entouré la surface du globe d'un réseau de bases militaires à partir desquelles ils se livrent à l'agression ouverte, à l'intervention armée dans les affaires intérieures d'Etats souverains, à des opérations punitives contre les peuples des territoires non autonomes.

154. La plupart des bases militaires du Royaume-Uni sont situées dans ses possessions coloniales et

dans ses anciennes colonies, qui ont récemment conquis l'indépendance nationale. Parlant devant l'Assemblée générale [1386ème séance], lord Caradon, représentant du Royaume-Uni, a dit que son pays n'avait besoin de bases que pour exécuter ses obligations touchant le maintien de la paix et à l'égard de ses amis pour leur venir en aide et honorer ses engagements à leur égard découlant des traités.

155. Si l'on songe aux circonstances dans lesquelles ces bases ont été utilisées, il est facile de déterminer leur véritable rôle. Chacun sait que le Royaume-Uni est venu en aide à ses alliés en mettant à leur disposition sa base de l'île de l'Ascension, pour faciliter l'intervention américano-belge au Congo.

156. Notre délégation estime que la lutte des peuples pour la suppression des bases étrangères et le retrait des forces armées étrangères sont inséparables de la lutte contre l'impérialisme, pour la libération nationale et la paix dans le monde entier.

157. Notre délégation partage pleinement l'opinion de ceux qui estiment que le moment est venu de prendre des mesures concrètes et effectives pour l'application inconditionnelle de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. Notre délégation est d'avis que, tout en prenant les mesures les plus vigoureuses contre les puissances coloniales, il faut également condamner énergiquement l'activité de celles des puissances occidentales qui continuent, sans tenir compte des décisions de l'ONU, de fournir aux régimes coloniaux et racistes une aide politique, militaire et économique, leur comportement constituant le principal obstacle à l'application de la Déclaration des Nations Unies.

158. Il faut que l'Assemblée générale réaffirme le droit des peuples coloniaux à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance, reconnaisse la légitimité de la lutte que mènent ces peuples pour accéder à ce droit, invite tous les Etats à leur venir en aide.

159. L'Assemblée générale doit également adresser un avertissement sévère, tant aux puissances coloniales qu'aux puissances qui leur prêtent assistance, en déclarant que les unes et les autres violent de manière flagrante la Charte et la Déclaration de l'ONU et assument de ce fait une lourde responsabilité internationale devant l'ensemble des peuples.

160. Pour conclure, je voudrais dire quelques mots de l'activité du Comité spécial des Vingt-Quatre. Au cours de la période écoulée, le Comité spécial des Vingt-Quatre a accompli un travail considérable et utile qui mérite toute notre reconnaissance.

161. Le Comité a présenté à l'Assemblée générale un rapport substantiel qui abonde en éléments d'information concrets et qui reflète la situation réelle existant dans les territoires qu'il a étudiés.

162. La décision du Comité d'envoyer une mission de visite a été pleinement justifiée. Bien que le Comité n'ait pu se rendre directement dans les territoires coloniaux en raison du refus des puissances administrantes, il a pu établir, à l'occasion de ses travaux dans les capitales de trois Etats africains, des contacts étroits avec les peuples en lutte pour l'indépendance nationale.

163. Au cours de son voyage, le Comité a examiné les graves problèmes coloniaux que sont les questions de la Rhodésie du Sud, des territoires administrés par le Portugal et du Sud-Ouest africain, et il a divulgué de nombreux faits concrets qui révèlent l'action funeste des monopoles étrangers et le rôle des puissances occidentales membres du bloc militaire de l'OTAN dans la politique aventureuse des colonialistes portugais et du régime raciste de la République sud-africaine.

164. La session que le Comité a tenue en Afrique a donc marqué une nouvelle étape de son activité. C'est là une méthode de travail féconde à laquelle le Comité devra encore recourir à l'avenir.

165. Considérant le travail fécond accompli par le Comité au cours de ses quatre années d'existence et la tâche qui l'attend s'il doit poursuivre l'étude de la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration, la délégation mongole estime utile et souhaitable de proroger le mandat du Comité des Vingt-Quatre.

166. Le peuple mongol, qui a autrefois subi la domination féodale et coloniale, a toujours été aux côtés des peuples qui combattent pour la liberté et l'indépendance nationale.

167. Le peuple mongol et son gouvernement condamnent sévèrement, comme étant un crime très grave contre l'humanité, le colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations.

168. La République populaire mongole est prête à appuyer toute mesure effective qui viserait à éliminer au plus tôt les vestiges du honteux système colonial; elle est prête, dans la mesure de ses moyens, à apporter sa contribution à cette entreprise.

169. M. LEKIC (Yougoslavie) [traduit de l'anglais]: Le rapport du Comité des Vingt-Quatre, les déclarations de nombreux signataires de pétitions et surtout ce qui se passe dans le centre et le sud de l'Afrique nous ont confirmé dans notre conviction que la communauté mondiale est en présence d'une situation grave dans le domaine de la décolonisation. Bien que des progrès aient été réalisés depuis 1963, nous sommes encore loin d'avoir atteint les buts fixés par la Charte et par la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. Ce n'est pas seulement parce qu'un tiers du territoire de l'Afrique est encore soumis aux formes les plus brutales de l'exploitation et de l'oppression, contrairement à l'esprit de la Charte et aux exigences de la civilisation moderne. Il s'agit en fait de politiques qui mettent en jeu la vie de millions d'Africains ainsi que la paix et la sécurité de l'Afrique, donc la paix et la sécurité mondiales. Profitant de tous les avantages qu'offre aux tenants du racisme et de l'hégémonie la crise des relations internationales, les racistes de Rhodésie du Sud, du Sud-Ouest africain et de l'Afrique du Sud, comme les forces colonialistes et néo-colonialistes en général, appliquent une politique qui aura sans doute de vastes conséquences. Profitant de ce que les nations éprises de paix sont occupées par des événements qui se produisent dans d'autres parties du monde et qui menacent directement la paix et la sécurité de l'humanité, les racistes de la Rhodésie du Sud ont réduit totale-

ment à l'esclavage les quatre millions d'habitants de ce territoire. En cela, ils ont l'appui total des partisans de la théorie de l'*Uebermensch* en Afrique du Sud, lesquels, de leur côté, prennent des mesures pour enlever aux peuples du Sud-Ouest africain même le plus faible espoir de se libérer de la condition d'esclaves dans laquelle ils sont maintenus depuis plus de 40 ans par les racistes de l'Afrique du Sud.

170. Les colonialistes portugais s'apprêtent également à intensifier, dans des conditions nouvelles, la guerre coloniale qu'ils mènent contre les habitants des territoires placés sous leur domination et à leur imposer, par le fer et par le feu, les bienfaits de ce qu'ils appellent la civilisation portugaise.

171. Ce ne sont là, bien entendu, que les manifestations les plus spectaculaires de l'action coordonnée des forces du colonialisme et du néo-colonialisme, qui s'exerce également dans d'autres territoires. Dans certains d'entre eux, on abroge la Constitution, on renvoie le gouvernement, on procède à l'état d'urgence, on procède par la force à des "consultations" et l'on prend des mesures propres à faire "accepter" des solutions, que les habitants rejettent pour la raison bien simple que ces solutions ne sont pas conformes à leurs aspirations et à leurs vœux.

172. Le fait que la crise des relations internationales a gêné la décolonisation prouve une fois de plus que la politique qui consiste à aggraver les tensions, à employer la force pour le règlement des différends internationaux et à ne pas hésiter à risquer la guerre a une influence défavorable sur la lutte pour la liberté, l'indépendance et l'égalité des droits des peuples, ainsi que sur l'établissement d'une paix durable dans le monde. Quels que soient les prétextes invoqués pour mener cette politique d'intensification des tensions et d'intervention extérieure, quelles que soient les raisons données pour la justifier, il n'en reste pas moins que ses protagonistes ne s'intéressent pas vraiment à la liberté et à l'émancipation des peuples et des Etats. En fait, ce qui est en jeu, ce sont des intérêts mesquins et égoïstes qui les poussent à poursuivre des buts précis dans les domaines politique, militaire, stratégique et économique en aggravant les causes existantes de conflit et en en créant de nouvelles.

173. Nous voyons se manifester maintenant une tendance qui vise à étendre les privilèges existants et à en extorquer de nouveaux, à imposer des relations internationales basées sur la domination et l'hégémonie et à empêcher, ou tout au moins à gêner, les progrès dans le monde. Considérée sous cet angle, la régression observée actuellement dans le domaine de la décolonisation est étroitement liée à la crise des relations internationales, elle est dans une large mesure la conséquence directe de cette crise.

174. La situation créée par les événements du Vietnam et d'autres parties du monde a sans aucun doute encouragé M. Smith à choisir précisément ce moment pour commettre un acte de trahison envers le Royaume-Uni et un crime contre les 4 millions d'Africains de Rhodésie du Sud. Inversement, l'existence du colonialisme, en tant que système de relations basé sur la domination et l'inégalité, convient aux protagonistes de la politique d'aggravation des

relations et d'ingérence dans les affaires des autres peuples et des autres Etats.

175. Cette évolution dans le domaine de la décolonisation n'est pas due seulement au refus de quelques puissances coloniales de faire honneur à leurs obligations et de coopérer activement à l'élimination du colonialisme et à l'application des principes et prescriptions de la Charte. Les rapports du Comité spécial [A/5800/Rev.1 et A/6000/Rev.1] font nettement ressortir qu'une grande part de responsabilité, maintenant peut-être la plus grande, revient à des pays qui, tout en condamnant verbalement les actes des racistes et des colonialistes, leur donnent en réalité tout leur appui. Cet appui, nous le savons, ne se limite pas à un accroissement des relations commerciales et économiques. Il comporte aussi des fournitures d'armes, directes ou passant par des pays tiers.

176. Vu sous cet angle, le problème colonial n'est plus une affaire à régler seulement entre une puissance coloniale donnée et l'Organisation des Nations Unies qui personnifie la communauté mondiale. Les conditions ont changé et les méthodes aussi. Il y a maintenant davantage de pays directement intéressés à maintenir des avant-postes à partir desquels ils pourront exercer une influence sur les événements qui se déroulent dans les diverses parties du monde et menacer ainsi l'indépendance chèrement acquise des pays récemment émancipés. C'est pourquoi l'élimination du colonialisme doit être considérée aujourd'hui comme un problème de relations entre l'Organisation des Nations Unies et les Etats qui, sous un prétexte quelconque, idéologique, militaire ou économique, aident le colonialisme à se maintenir ou gênent son élimination.

177. Les pays africains, intéressés à la liquidation immédiate du colonialisme et à l'élimination de la discrimination raciale du sol de l'Afrique (car cette question, pour eux comme pour nous, met en jeu la paix et la sécurité), ont tenté d'achever le processus de la décolonisation par des moyens pacifiques. Les chefs d'Etat africains et les dirigeants politiques des pays encore colonisés ont, à maintes reprises, déclaré qu'ils étaient prêts à rechercher par la négociation des solutions qui garantiraient l'égalité de traitement et l'égalité des droits aux membres des autres races en Afrique.

178. Les racistes et ceux qui les soutiennent n'ont pas montré le même attachement à la paix et au principe du règlement pacifique des différends que les pays et les peuples africains. Ils n'ont pas pris la main que ces derniers leur tendaient et ils ont répondu à ce geste d'amitié et à cette offre de coopération par des mesures de répression brutale et par la guerre. Les tentatives faites pour rechercher par des moyens pacifiques les solutions qui garantiraient l'égalité de tous n'ont provoqué de la part des colonialistes que des actes qui violent les droits et la dignité humaine des Africains.

179. Il y a donc un affrontement entre les conceptions nouvelles et les conceptions anciennes, entre les idées progressistes et les idées réactionnaires, entre les sentiments humains et les sentiments inhumains, entre le droit et la force, entre la justice

et l'illégalité, entre l'amitié et la haine, entre la foi dans l'humanité et dans un avenir meilleur et la peur d'un avenir incertain. Il n'y a qu'une issue possible à cet affrontement, et c'est le triomphe de la justice sur le refus de la loi, la victoire du droit sur la force. Dans un conflit de cette nature, cette issue n'est jamais douteuse. La question est seulement de savoir si nous voulons faire ce qui est nécessaire (et ensemble nous pouvons le faire) pour mettre fin à ce conflit avec un minimum de souffrances et de sacrifices.

180. Conformément à sa politique de coexistence active et pacifique (dont l'un des principes fondamentaux est le respect du droit de tous les peuples à l'égalité et à la liberté), le Gouvernement yougoslave a appuyé et continue à appuyer les efforts déployés par l'Organisation de l'unité africaine et par les mouvements de libération dans les colonies dans le but de faire prévaloir ce droit par des moyens pacifiques si c'est possible, par la force si les peuples coloniaux sont obligés d'y recourir.

181. C'est pour des raisons évidentes que nous avons parlé longuement des faits dangereux qui se sont produits dans les colonies, faits qui témoignent du rôle précis que les colonialistes et néo-colonialistes ont fixé aux colonies dans le cadre d'une stratégie globale visant à préserver les privilèges existants, à en acquérir de nouveaux et à imposer, sous des apparences nouvelles, des formes de relations qui sont en réalité celles d'autrefois, basées sur la domination et sur la subordination.

182. Cependant, il existe ce qu'on appelle des petites colonies, c'est-à-dire celles dont la faible superficie, la population peu nombreuse et le sous-développement économique servent d'arguments pour justifier le maintien d'une domination étrangère. Ces facteurs compliquent probablement, dans certains cas, le processus d'émancipation de ces territoires, mais ils ne sont pas les seuls à donner au problème son véritable caractère. La plupart de ces territoires sont situés à une distance plus ou moins grande des côtes et des continents qui ont été récemment libérés ou qui luttent actuellement pour leur émancipation politique et économique. C'est pour cette raison que ces territoires intéressent particulièrement les puissances qui ne peuvent s'adapter aux changements qui ont eu lieu dans le monde et désirent conserver des positions à partir desquelles elles puissent entraver le développement de pays récemment émancipés et déclencher des actions visant à rétablir des sphères d'influence.

183. Le caractère particulier et la complexité des conditions dans lesquelles ces territoires se développent, la nécessité de trouver des solutions qui tiennent compte des intérêts des habitants et de ceux de la paix obligent l'Organisation des Nations Unies à prendre une part active au processus de leur décolonisation. Le Comité des Vingt-Quatre, qui s'en est déjà beaucoup occupé, devrait exposer en détail les moyens grâce auxquels l'Organisation peut participer directement à la solution du problème de ce qu'on appelle les petits territoires.

184. A ce sujet, je tiens à souligner que la variété des procédés et méthodes employés par les forces

du colonialisme et du néo-colonialisme pour atteindre leurs buts nous oblige à modifier constamment les modalités de l'action de l'Organisation des Nations Unies dans le processus de décolonisation. Nous croyons qu'il est nécessaire d'adopter des méthodes de travail qui permettent à l'Organisation de jouer son rôle dans la phase actuelle de cette opération. Les Nations Unies doivent contrecarrer les actions des puissances coloniales, principalement les actions militaires qui empêchent d'atteindre l'un des buts fondamentaux de la Charte, à savoir le droit des peuples à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance, et qui imposent une lutte armée aux peuples coloniaux. Elles peuvent le faire en accordant leur appui politique, moral et matériel aux peuples coloniaux qui luttent pour leur libération.

185. D'autre part, pour obtenir une décolonisation pacifique là où c'est encore possible, l'Organisation des Nations Unies devrait s'engager directement et de bonne heure, en envoyant des missions itinérantes ou en affirmant la présence de l'Organisation par l'envoi d'observateurs ou de résidents, dans le seul but d'élaborer des programmes et d'accélérer l'application de mesures visant à transmettre le pouvoir à des représentants des populations et à garantir l'indépendance de celles-ci.

186. En dernière analyse, ce serait aussi l'intérêt bien compris des puissances coloniales, qui doivent se résigner à l'inévitable. Il faudrait qu'elles renoncent à se retrancher derrière la fiction juridique de leur compétence exclusive et qu'au moins dans la phase actuelle elles montrent de la bonne volonté ainsi que le désir d'aider à atteindre les buts et à appliquer les principes qui sont ceux de l'Organisation.

187. Profitant de l'expérience qu'il a acquise pendant son séjour d'un mois en Afrique, où il a accompli un travail considérable et précieux, le Comité des Vingt-Quatre pourrait, en adoptant des méthodes de travail appropriées et en les adaptant constamment aux conditions changeantes, insister encore davantage sur son rôle politique, sur l'action qu'on attend de lui. Cette action comporte l'initiative et la mise au point de mesures concrètes pour accélérer le processus de décolonisation. En plus du travail des sous-comités et des séances tenues à proximité des colonies (lesquelles ont prouvé leur utilité politique), il faudrait constituer des missions itinérantes ou désigner des membres individuels du Comité, et demander aux puissances administrantes de permettre à ces missions ou à ces membres de visiter des territoires encore coloniaux pour se rendre compte de la situation et s'entendre avec les puissances administrantes sur les mesures à prendre. Il serait utile également de tenir des sessions courtes mais fréquentes consacrées à l'étude de la situation dans certains territoires, uniquement en vue d'une action politique urgente à entreprendre soit par le Comité lui-même, soit, à la demande de celui-ci, par le Conseil de sécurité. Cela permettrait d'attirer en temps voulu l'attention de l'Organisation des Nations Unies et donc de la communauté internationale sur des problèmes qui mettent directement en danger la paix mondiale. Cela fournirait également un soutien moral et politique plus grand et permanent aux peuples qui com-

battent pour leur libération. Pour ces peuples, les manifestations de présence et de sollicitude constante de l'Organisation mondiale ont une importance exceptionnelle.

188. La relation étroite qui existe entre la crise des relations internationales — la guerre du Viet-Nam en particulier — et l'évolution négative de la décolonisation de l'Afrique, l'interdépendance et les répercussions réciproques de ces deux ordres de faits montrent clairement que la lutte pour la paix ne peut être dissociée de la lutte pour la liberté et l'égalité de tous les peuples. Cela doit déterminer, à notre avis, l'orientation et l'activité des forces de paix et de démocratie. Il faut que ces forces, particulièrement en ce moment, s'emploient énergiquement et de façon concertée à éliminer le danger immédiat pour la paix et la sécurité mondiales que présente la guerre du Viet-Nam. Cela facilitera toute action visant à prévenir des événements qui, si l'on ne prend pas à temps les mesures qui s'imposent, ont risque d'aboutir à des effusions de sang, non seulement en Afrique mais dans d'autres régions.

189. Le vingtième anniversaire de l'Organisation des Nations Unies nous fournit une occasion favorable pour dresser un bilan et examiner ce qui a déjà été fait et ce qui reste à faire. A la lumière de cette analyse et de l'évolution la plus récente de la décolonisation, il faut prendre des mesures ayant pour objet de faire appliquer immédiatement la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. L'Assemblée générale devrait réaffirmer cette déclaration, exiger son application immédiate, fixer une date limite pour l'élimination du colonialisme partout dans le monde et sous toutes ses formes et inviter les puissances administrantes à coopérer pleinement à la mise en œuvre d'un programme à élaborer en coopération avec les représentants des peuples coloniaux et destiné à achever le processus de décolonisation dans un délai déterminé.

190. La délégation yougoslave donnera tout son appui, comme elle l'a fait dans le passé, à la lutte des peuples qui sont encore colonisés et aux efforts déployés par les forces de paix et de progrès pour l'élimination immédiate du colonialisme.

191. M. EASTMAN (Libéria) [traduit de l'anglais]: Quant l'Assemblée générale a adopté sa résolution historique 1514 (XV), on espérait que, par l'application de cette résolution, le monde se libérerait des derniers vestiges du colonialisme et éliminerait à jamais le système horrible de pillage, d'exploitation et de refus du droit fondamental qu'ont les peuples à choisir leur propre destin. Il est regrettable que nous soyons réunis ici pour discuter de l'octroi de la liberté et de l'indépendance à plus de 50 territoires éparpillés sur toute la surface du globe. Nous discutons encore du point de savoir si ces peuples ont le droit que nous leur avons déjà reconnu. Nous aurions cru que les puissances administrantes seraient maintenant convaincues que nous ne pouvons pas supporter plus longtemps le système du colonialisme et qu'elles auraient pris toutes les mesures nécessaires pour accorder la liberté à la population des territoires placés sous leur domination. Nous savons en effet que la forme la plus libérale du colonialisme ne se compare pas à la

forme la moins élevée de liberté et d'indépendance. Aucun peuple ne peut réellement accomplir son destin sous une domination étrangère. Nous admettons qu'il existe des formes diverses de colonialisme, mais mon gouvernement réprovoque ce système sous quelque forme que ce soit.

192. Toutefois, la forme la plus diabolique est celle qui est employée par les gouvernements du Portugal et de l'Afrique du Sud. Nous n'avons pas l'intention de récapituler devant l'Assemblée les atrocités perpétrées sur les peuples de l'Angola, du Mozambique et de la Guinée dite portugaise par le régime de Salazar. Il est cependant extrêmement difficile d'oublier les souffrances, le génocide et l'oppression infligés aux populations de ces territoires par la domination portugaise. L'Assemblée générale et le Conseil de sécurité se sont prononcés sur cette question à maintes reprises et ont demandé au Portugal de reconnaître les droits fondamentaux des peuples placés sous son administration. Tout le monde connaît la réponse. Le Portugal n'hésite pas à se moquer de nos décisions et il a adopté des mesures encore plus énergiques pour continuer à opprimer la population de ses colonies.

193. L'Organisation des Nations Unies ne peut compter atteindre les objectifs qu'elle s'est fixés tant que des hommes souffriront dans le monde, parce que la paix et la sécurité seront toujours en danger s'il en est à qui l'on refuse le droit à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance. Le continent africain restera dans un état de tension, d'insécurité et d'agitation aussi longtemps que certains de nos frères n'auront pas la liberté. Si nous jouissons de la liberté et de l'indépendance dans notre propre pays, cela ne nous suffit pas. Cela ne nous suffira pas tant que le continent ne sera pas entièrement libre. Alors, notre propre indépendance nous paraîtra meilleure.

194. En ce qui concerne l'Afrique du Sud et sa politique d'apartheid dans le Sud-Ouest africain, mon gouvernement a clairement défini sa position. Nous nous bornerons à répéter que nous sommes fermement convaincus que l'Afrique du Sud a failli à son mandat dans le territoire du Sud-Ouest africain. Nous sommes opposés au partage de ce territoire; nous sommes également opposés à l'aliénation des terres telle qu'elle y est pratiquée.

195. Nous tenons à assurer à l'Assemblée que le gouvernement et le peuple du Libéria persisteront sans relâche dans leurs efforts pour obtenir que le peuple du Sud-Ouest africain puisse à nouveau vivre libre. Le gouvernement du Libéria condamne sans réserve les actes criminels perpétrés par le régime minoritaire de la Rhodésie du Sud. Il appelle toutes les nations éprises de paix à conjuguer leurs efforts avec les siens pour empêcher que cette autorité illégale se maintienne en Rhodésie du Sud.

196. En ce qui concerne les territoires de la Haute Commission, ceux du Bassoutoland, du Betchouanaland et du Swaziland, le Gouvernement du Libéria condamne toute tentative du Gouvernement sud-africain pour annexer ces trois territoires ou porter atteinte à leur intégrité territoriale. Toute action, directe ou indirecte, entreprise dans ce but par l'Afrique du

Sud doit être considérée par l'Assemblée générale comme agression.

197. Ma délégation approuve la résolution du Comité des Vingt-Quatre [voir A/5800/Rev.1, chap. VIII] demandant la réunion d'une assemblée constituante dans chacun des trois territoires, où il n'y en a pas eu, pour recueillir les avis de tous les groupes de population et prendre ensuite des dispositions démocratiques d'ordre constitutionnel conduisant à des élections générales basées sur le suffrage universel des adultes et à la réaffirmation du droit inaliénable du peuple de chacun de ces territoires à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance.

198. Il ressort des rapports qui nous sont présentés qu'au sujet de certains des territoires non encore libérés des différends territoriaux se sont élevés entre des Etats Membres des Nations Unies et que des négociations sont en cours ou vont commencer à ce sujet. Bien que ma délégation s'abstienne de prendre une position ferme sur cette question à la présente session, nous tenons à déclarer que, jusqu'à ce que la question des différends territoriaux puisse être définitivement réglée, nous considérons que tous les peuples ont le droit absolu de choisir leur propre destin. Nous demandons que, dans toute négociation, on prenne en considération les intérêts des habitants.

199. La délégation du Libéria salue avec joie l'annonce faite par le gouvernement du Royaume-Uni, que la Guyane britannique accédera à l'indépendance sous le nom de Guyane le 26 mai 1966. Nous demandons au peuple de la Guyane tout entier de coopérer pour réaliser les conditions les plus favorables à son indépendance. Le gouvernement et le peuple du Libéria saisissent cette occasion pour adresser au peuple de la Guyane leurs meilleurs vœux de paix, d'harmonie, de progrès et de stabilité au moment de leur accession à l'indépendance.

200. Ma délégation est stupéfaite du refus de l'Australie de dire franchement si elle a l'intention d'accorder l'indépendance à la population de Nauru. En 1965, les dirigeants de Nauru ont déclaré à la mission itinérante et à la précédente session du Conseil de tutelle qu'ils désiraient accéder à l'indépendance en 1968. C'est une prétention légitime; c'est un droit. C'est pourquoi nous invitons le gouvernement de l'Australie à dire devant cette assemblée s'il reconnaît le droit du peuple de Nauru et, dans l'affirmative, à dire catégoriquement si ce peuple verra ses désirs se réaliser.

201. Pour conclure, je veux rappeler que les espoirs des peuples non encore libérés reposent sur l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Ce qu'ils demandent est simple: c'est d'être libres de s'occuper de leurs propres affaires; d'avoir droit à leur terre et à ses ressources naturelles; de gérer eux-mêmes leur commerce et leur industrie de sorte que le but des investissements et du travail soit le bien-être de tous et non l'enrichissement de quelques-uns. Le développement de l'Afrique, et d'ailleurs de toute autre région du monde, doit se faire au bénéfice de ses habitants et non au seul profit des capitalistes et des exploiters étrangers. En un mot, ils

veulent vivre égaux aux autres hommes. Est-ce trop demander?

202. Enfin, je me permets de saisir cette occasion pour adresser les félicitations de ma délégation au Président et aux membres du Comité des Vingt-Quatre pour les rapports contenus dans les documents A/5800/Rev.1 et A/6000/Rev.1. Connaissant les difficultés que le Comité spécial a rencontrées pour remplir efficacement son mandat conformément au paragraphe 4 du dispositif de la résolution 1956 (XVIII), nous le félicitons de tout cœur pour le travail qu'il a accompli.

203. Le PRESIDENT: Un certain nombre de représentants ayant demandé à exercer le droit de réponse, je vais leur donner successivement la parole.

204. M. McCARTHY (Australie) [traduit de l'anglais]: En exerçant mon droit de réponse, je tiens à expliquer que si ma délégation n'a rien dit au cours de la discussion générale sur les sujets qui font l'objet du rapport du Comité spécial, c'est que nous en avons parlé longuement et fréquemment pendant les quatre années où nous avons été membres du Comité des Vingt-Quatre, et auparavant comme membre du Comité des Dix-Sept. Nous nous sommes efforcés alors de définir clairement nos vues sur les nombreux sujets traités dans ces rapports. En outre, nous avons donné le plus possible de renseignements, pour satisfaire entièrement le Comité, sur les régions dont celui-ci s'occupait et dont l'Australie est responsable.

205. Me référant au rapport dans son ensemble, je voudrais dire à cette séance plénière toute l'estime que nous éprouvons pour la dignité et la compétence du Président du Comité, M. Coulibaly, du Mali, et pour le travail considérable qu'a fourni notre collègue, M. Natwar Singh, de l'Inde, le très distingué Rapporteur du Comité. Je voudrais aussi rendre hommage à l'efficacité dont ont toujours fait preuve M. Godfrey Amachree, M. Chacko et leurs collègues du Secrétariat, qui ont mis en forme les résultats des travaux du Comité spécial et qui, à vrai dire, nous ont fourni les moyens de réaliser ces travaux.

206. Au sujet d'un autre aspect des travaux du Comité, je voudrais rendre hommage également à M. Adeel qui, en remplissant d'une façon objective ses fonctions d'observateur et de rapporteur aux élections des îles Cook, a, j'en suis persuadé, fait grand honneur non seulement à lui-même mais aussi à son pays et à l'Organisation des Nations Unies.

207. En préparant cette réponse, je me suis souvenu que les représentants de 50 nations s'étaient réunis à San Francisco, d'avril à juin 1945, et ils s'étaient mis d'accord sur la Charte des Nations Unies, qui est entrée en vigueur la même année et qui vraiment depuis cette date nous a éclairés et a servi de base à tous nos travaux.

208. Les Membres originels des Nations Unies, ceux qui ont signé et ratifié la Charte, étaient au nombre de 51, et mon pays, l'Australie, était l'un d'eux. Ce qui unissait ces pays, c'était avant tout un fond commun de souffrances, et aussi d'espoir et de volonté engendrés par ces souffrances.

209. C'est en partant de cette base et parce qu'ils se rendaient compte que leur condition humaine leur était commune qu'ils ont voulu travailler ensemble, sans considération d'idéologie politique, de race, de culture ou de situation géographique, à atteindre des objectifs qui étaient les mêmes pour tous. Je crois juste de rappeler que, dans les séances où la Charte a été conçue, mon pays, l'Australie, n'a pas joué un rôle obscur.

210. A ce sujet, et pour répondre en partie à certaines observations faites au cours de ce débat par les représentants du Ghana et de la République-Unie de Tanzanie, je rappelle une phrase prononcée par le représentant de Ceylan dans un savant discours prononcé il y a deux ans devant la Quatrième Commission:

"Je manquerais à mon devoir si je n'ajoutais pas maintenant que le monde ainsi que tous les peuples coloniaux et ceux qui ne le sont plus sont redevables à l'Australie de l'initiative qu'elle a prise à la Conférence de San Francisco et qui a fait d'elle l'un des principaux auteurs de la Déclaration contenue dans l'article 73, déclaration qui, si on se réfère au passé, a fourni le mécanisme grâce auquel il a été possible d'émanciper de nombreux peuples coloniaux au cours des 17 dernières années^{6/}."

211. Moi, qui suis australien, je n'oublierai pas cette phrase. Je connais l'histoire de la Conférence de San Francisco, et je sais que cet hommage est mérité. Je demande à cette assemblée plénière de bien noter ces mots du représentant de Ceylan:

"... qui, si on se réfère au passé, a fourni le mécanisme grâce auquel il a été possible d'émanciper de nombreux peuples coloniaux au cours des 17 dernières années."

212. C'est avec une conscience aiguë des valeurs qui se dégageaient de leurs épreuves communes et tragiques que les pays qui ont rédigé la Charte, au nombre de 51, ont abordé les problèmes coloniaux de l'époque. Les éléments fondamentaux du colonialisme, au sens où l'on emploie généralement ce mot, existaient encore dans un certain nombre d'endroits où l'on pouvait les déceler. C'étaient sans doute essentiellement l'occupation par la force des terres d'autres peuples, l'exploitation, le refus de la liberté d'expression, le préjugé racial et la discrimination raciale. Mais, maintenant, je me demande jusqu'à quel point on peut encore déceler ces éléments dans certaines situations que nous qualifions de coloniales, peut-être même dans beaucoup d'entre elles.

213. Il est possible — et je crois, pour ma part, qu'il en est ainsi — que très souvent, quand nous parlons maintenant de situations coloniales, il ne s'agit pas de celles que nous avions en l'esprit à San Francisco; je crois plutôt que les choses sont rendues confuses, sinon même déformées par l'emploi de mots qui menacent de devenir nos maîtres.

214. Je crois, par exemple, que nous comprenons fort mal, du moins certains d'entre nous, le sens très élevé de leur responsabilité personnelle qui anime

^{6/} Document A/C.4/608, p. 4.

beaucoup de ceux auxquels a été confiée la tâche de guider, de faciliter de d'animer les phases essentielles du développement d'autres peuples, un sens des responsabilités puisé dans l'histoire, dans la connaissance des erreurs et des insuffisances du passé, dans les épreuves partagées en paix comme en guerre, dans le rejet des notions raciales, dans la lutte commune, dans nos efforts vers des buts communs ici à l'Organisation des Nations Unies, dans les influences spirituelles réciproques qui s'exercent ici et ailleurs grâce aux moyens de communication dont dispose le monde à l'heure actuelle, dans le simple fait que nous nous connaissons les uns les autres et que nous connaissons nos problèmes et, surtout, dans ce sens très développé de la responsabilité de l'homme à l'égard de son prochain, sans considération de race ni de religion.

215. En ce qui concerne mes concitoyens, je ne puis que repousser les observations faites ici par les représentants du Ghana et de la République-Unie de Tanzanie au sujet de l'administration australienne en Nouvelle-Guinée. Je crois que ces derniers sont si occupés — et c'est compréhensible — par les problèmes de l'Afrique qu'ils n'ont pu acquérir une connaissance et une compréhension approfondies de notre partie du monde, qui est très éloignée de l'Afrique. Mais je ne veux pas m'étendre sur ce sujet. Je n'ai pas non plus l'intention de réfuter en détail ce qu'ils ont dit.

216. Je rappelle, cependant, que le représentant du Ghana a dit hier [1389ème séance] qu'en Papouasie et en Nouvelle-Guinée, au lieu de rapprocher les hommes les uns des autres, le Gouvernement australien introduit dans leur esprit des distinctions raciales et ethniques pour retarder l'acceptation de leur demande d'indépendance. C'est juste le contraire. J'ai expliqué patiemment, à maintes reprises, dans beaucoup d'organes des Nations Unies, et les représentants des populations indigènes l'ont expliqué aussi eux-mêmes, que la Papouasie et la Nouvelle-Guinée ne sont pas de petits territoires, comme notre collègue l'a dit hier; ils comptent deux millions d'indigènes, deux millions d'indigènes intelligents, qui cherchent leur voie et formeront l'une des nations de l'avenir.

217. Il y a, pour commencer, 700 langues différentes pour ces 2 millions d'habitants. Jusqu'à l'arrivée des Australiens, les populations de Papouasie et de Mélanésie étaient coupées les unes des autres par cette multiplicité des langues. Il n'y avait pas de communications. Ils étaient, d'autre part, séparés les uns des autres par des barrières naturelles si formidables que, même à l'heure actuelle, le pays n'a pas livré tous ses secrets géographiques, topographiques et humains, bien que nous ayons utilisé très largement les moyens de communication et de découverte les plus modernes, comme les avions et les hélicoptères. Ils étaient séparés aussi par des coutumes différentes et comme enfermés dans un millier au moins de groupements de tribus différents, exclusifs et mutuellement hostiles. Pour la plupart, ils ignoraient même l'existence des autres groupements, sauf de ceux qui étaient leurs voisins. Quand les Australiens arrivèrent dans ce pays, il n'était pas unifié, il n'existait pas un peuple unique,

il n'existait aucun gouvernement pouvant prétendre exercer son pouvoir sur plus d'une portion infime de ce grand pays. La première tâche de mon peuple, et je me permets de dire que je peux en parler avec quelque autorité, car cela a fait partie de ma tâche personnelle il y a plusieurs années, fut de créer une entité nationale pour qu'elle se gouverne elle-même. Il n'y avait pas d'entité nationale en Nouvelle-Guinée, et notre tâche était d'en créer une. Le Gouvernement australien s'est attaché à cette œuvre avec une vigueur opiniâtre, en répandant l'instruction, les soins médicaux et en développant la conscience d'une identité commune au pays tout entier. Je dirai à un moment plus approprié comment nous nous y prenons.

218. Le représentant du Ghana a dit aussi: "Les ressources de la Nouvelle-Guinée sont exploitées impunément par le Gouvernement australien." [1389ème séance, par. 175.] Il devrait cependant savoir, et je regrette fort qu'il ne soit pas ici pour l'apprendre, que jamais dans l'histoire de ce qu'on appelle la colonisation autant d'argent n'a été dépensé par une métropole dans un territoire administré par elle, sans songer à en tirer quelque profit. Quel est le chiffre annuel? La subvention australienne à la Papouasie et à la Nouvelle-Guinée — sans intérêt, non remboursable, un véritable don — est cette année de quelque 30 millions de livres australiennes, c'est-à-dire de 70 à 80 millions de dollars. Encore faut-il y ajouter quelques millions supplémentaires inscrits au budget du Gouvernement australien lui-même, pour des matières telles que le développement de l'aviation civile. Le chiffre total annuel, qui a augmenté tous les ans depuis la guerre, approche de 100 millions de dollars. Voilà le pays que notre collègue prétend que nous exploitons!

219. Le représentant du Ghana a parlé aussi de problèmes fonciers en Nouvelle-Guinée. Je doute que, dans l'histoire de ce qu'on appelle la colonisation, la terre ait été nulle part aussi jalousement réservée pour le bien-être et l'usage de la population indigène. De la superficie totale de ces vastes terres, moins de 3 p. 100 ont été achetés aux indigènes, dont une bonne partie à des fins de colonisation agraire selon les méthodes modernes, dont bénéficient les populations indigènes elles-mêmes.

220. Mais laissons de côté ces questions de détail. J'y reviendrai plus tard et j'en parlerai d'une façon plus détaillée. J'ai quelque chose à dire, particulièrement aux représentants de la Tanzanie et du Ghana. Je le dis en pensant à la situation qui existe dans d'autres régions où nous cherchons à réaliser ce que nous croyons être bon et nécessaire (en fait, ce que nous croyons être le meilleur), et surtout en pensant à ce qui est le fond du problème de la Rhodésie du Sud qui retient tant notre attention. Je demande à l'Assemblée de bien comparer ce que je vais dire à ce qui a été dit ici, à l'Organisation des Nations Unies, au sujet de la Rhodésie du Sud et d'autres pays coloniaux du monde. Mais je voudrais d'abord faire une courte digression pour souligner qu'après la récente déclaration unilatérale d'indépendance de ce malheureux pays de Rhodésie du Sud le parlement australien a été l'un des premiers du monde à annoncer et à appliquer les mesures

nécessaires pour renforcer l'action entreprise par le Royaume-Uni et celles qui étaient réclamées par les Nations Unies elles-mêmes, à savoir le refus de reconnaître le gouvernement de Rhodésie du Sud, l'interdiction du commerce avec ce pays et l'application de mesures d'ordre monétaire. Tout ceci a été fait au parlement australien dans les quelques jours qui ont suivi la déclaration d'indépendance. Mais, pour en revenir à la comparaison que je veux faire avec la question essentielle qui se pose en Rhodésie du Sud et qui est celle du droit de vote et de la représentation de la majorité, voici ce que j'ai à dire. Il y a en Nouvelle-Guinée 2 millions d'indigènes et quelque 27 000 Australiens. Nous appliquons dans ce pays le suffrage universel. Le système électoral garantit une voix à chaque homme et à chaque femme, sur la base d'une liste électorale unique, sans distinction de race, de religion ou de couleur. Ce système a donné naissance à un parlement où la majorité est indigène.

221. Bref, la solution que nous avons recherchée et que nous recherchons encore à tous les problèmes en Rhodésie du Sud, qui vaut pour d'autres régions d'Afrique et pour d'autres parties du monde, est un fait accompli en Nouvelle-Guinée: le suffrage universel, une liste électorale unique et une majorité indigène élue.

222. Parlons aussi de toute la gamme des libertés dont mon pays, l'autorité administrante, a hérité: libération du besoin, libération de la peur et toutes autres libertés que l'humanité s'efforce de faire prévaloir. Elles existent en Papouasie et en Nouvelle-Guinée. Il n'y a pas de prisonniers politiques dans ces pays, ni en Australie même. Dans toute l'Australie métropolitaine et dans tous les territoires australiens, il n'y a pas un seul prisonnier politique. La liberté d'association, la liberté de réunion, la liberté de la presse et la liberté d'expression sont assurées. La discrimination raciale est bannie. Les partis politiques, les syndicats et toutes autres organisations indigènes échappent à tout contrôle et sont même encouragés. Dans notre pays, nous considérons ces choses comme normales. Or, la plupart des problèmes qui se posent à l'Organisation des Nations Unies dans le domaine colonial ne sont des problèmes que parce que ces libertés y sont refusées. Alors que nous avons à nous préoccuper de tant de régions où il existe des conflits, graves ou bénins, je fais remarquer à l'Assemblée que la paix règne dans les territoires australiens. Elle y règne partout. Il n'y a pas de conflit armé. Cette atmosphère de paix permet le progrès. Personne n'y meurt pour obtenir un droit qui lui a été refusé.

223. En conclusion, je dis très respectueusement à mes collègues de la Tanzanie et du Ghana, que ces libertés, le suffrage universel, la liste électorale unique, un parlement à majorité indigène montrent comment nous comprenons nos responsabilités en Nouvelle-Guinée. Nous en avons là-bas. Nous voulons nous en acquitter, nous en acquitter à la lettre. De même, nous avons des droits ici, à l'Organisation des Nations Unies, et ailleurs. Nous les protégerons.

224. M. DE MIRANDA (Portugal) [traduit de l'anglais]: On a beaucoup parlé de mon pays au cours de ces débats. Bien que ma délégation ait écouté atten-

tivement tous les orateurs et qu'elle ait attendu jusqu'à maintenant pour exercer son droit de réponse, nous n'avons rien découvert de nouveau dans ce qui a été dit. Tout ce que nous avons entendu ne constitue qu'une répétition de ce que nous entendons depuis un certain temps déjà.

225. Comme chacun sait, notre position a été définie très clairement à de nombreuses occasions, tant au point de vue juridique qu'au point de vue politique, dans tous les organes compétents des Nations Unies. Il ne semble pas nécessaire de la préciser à nouveau. C'est pourquoi je ne ferai pas perdre de temps à l'Assemblée en répétant ce que nous avons déjà dit.

226. Je veux cependant répondre à ceux qui nous critiquent que les opinions préconçues, les allégations sans fondement, l'altération des faits, les demi-vérités et les mensonges, même si on les répète souvent, n'arrivent pas à faire une vérité. En fait, ces répétitions ne servent qu'à souligner la nature irréaliste et artificielle des débats en ce qui concerne mon pays. Mais ce n'est point là l'objet de mon intervention. Si ma délégation vient maintenant à cette tribune, c'est seulement pour rectifier certaines affirmations précises faites au cours de ces débats. Je le ferai brièvement, sans aucun esprit de polémique.

227. A la 1389^{ème} séance plénière, la délégation de la Guinée, en portant contre nous certaines accusations dans son style habituel, a prétendu que l'espace aérien de son pays était constamment violé par des avions portugais. Cette allégation est aussi tendancieuse que sans fondement. Ma délégation la rejette et y voit une tentative faite pour justifier certaines activités illicites qui s'exercent dans la République de Guinée et dont nous sommes les victimes.

228. De même, à la 1387^{ème} séance, la délégation sénégalaise a parlé de ses plaintes au Conseil de sécurité contre le Portugal en ces termes:

"Lorsque le Sénégal s'est plaint au Conseil de sécurité en février 1965, le Portugal n'a pas contesté les faits relatifs aux incidents allégués, mais il a cherché à justifier les violations perpétrées." [1387^{ème} séance, par. 22.]

Cette déclaration n'est pas conforme à la réponse portugaise au Sénégal, comme on peut le constater dans les documents correspondants du Conseil de sécurité. Dans une autre phrase, la délégation du Sénégal dit que le Portugal "s'est contenté de tout réfuter" [*ibid.*].

229. Ma délégation n'arrive pas à comprendre ce que veut dire cette phrase puisque la délégation sénégalaise admet elle-même: 1) que nous avons exprimé le désir de maintenir des relations amicales avec le Sénégal; 2) que nous avons proposé une discussion avec participation du Sénégal. Ma délégation estime que ces deux faits démontrent par eux-mêmes que le Portugal ne s'est pas "contenté de tout réfuter". En fait, nous avons proposé qu'une enquête tripartite soit faite sur les allégations du Sénégal, mais celui-ci ne voulait pas d'une enquête impartiale; tout ce qu'il voulait, c'était une résolution, basée, bien entendu, sur ses propres allégations.

230. En raison de ce qui précède, je crois que je suis en droit de dire, en reprenant les propres termes de la délégation du Sénégal:

"Je laisse l'Assemblée juge de tant d'ambiguïté, de tant de cynisme, d'un tel manque de bon sens."
[Ibid.]

231. La délégation du Sénégal fait maintenant état de nouveaux incidents et elle cherche à nous en attribuer la responsabilité. Nous remarquons, et nous voudrions que l'Assemblée remarque, que le Sénégal fait preuve de beaucoup d'ardeur pour répandre ses allégations, tandis qu'il se dérobe à nos propositions de les faire examiner par une commission d'enquête impartiale. Nous notons aussi que le Sénégal déclare que "la question est ailleurs" [ibid., par. 23]. C'est tout à fait significatif, et ma délégation est entièrement de cet avis. Nous savons parfaitement que la question n'est pas dans ces prétendus incidents, mais dans les objectifs plus vastes du Sénégal. Si celui-ci invoque des incidents de frontière, c'est uniquement pour tenter de créer un climat favorable à la poursuite de ces objectifs.

232. Mais le Sénégal ne peut pas prétendre cacher la réalité. Le monde entier sait qu'il héberge, aide et encourage des bandes armées destinées à troubler l'ordre dans notre territoire. Je ne serais pas étonné que sa délégation revienne à cette tribune pour dire qu'elle continuera à donner son appui à ces bandes armées. On ne peut nier que le territoire portugais soit constamment violé par des perturbateurs armés venant du Sénégal. Alors que nous sommes toujours disposés à faire enquêter sur les allégations des Sénégalais, bien que nous les considérions comme non fondées, ceux-ci préfèrent les annoncer à cor et à cri. Alors que nous respectons soigneusement le territoire et l'espace aérien du Sénégal, nous devons signaler que ce pays n'agit pas de même pour notre territoire. Nous ne pouvons en conclure qu'une chose, c'est que les accusations que le Sénégal porte contre nous ne sont que des tentatives, d'ailleurs bien faibles, pour camoufler ses propres activités illicites et échapper aux responsabilités qu'il encourt.

233. M. EASTMAN (Libéria) [traduit de l'anglais]: Je suis au regret de devoir faire appel à votre indulgence, Monsieur le Président, si je prolonge un peu cette séance plénière.

234. Le représentant de l'Australie, mon ami, je puis le dire, a essayé de convaincre l'Assemblée que les observations faites par les représentants de la Tanzanie et du Ghana étaient sans fondement. Je n'ai pas le temps d'exposer la vérité en détail, mais je peux parler brièvement de ce qu'il a dit.

235. Il doit y avoir longtemps que le représentant de l'Australie n'est allé en Nouvelle-Guinée. Moi, qui en reviens depuis peu, je peux lui dire que la discrimination raciale est pratiquée ouvertement en Nouvelle-Guinée, dans les écoles, le logement, les salaires, les services médicaux, pour ne citer que ces quelques exemples.

236. Il nous a dit aussi qu'il s'élevait contre l'affirmation que l'Australie exploitait impunément ce

pays. Je me demande si l'on sait en Australie que, à Boggabilla, où l'on extrait l'or par millions, quand les indigènes revendiquent leur part, leurs redevances, leurs droits de propriétaires, on leur dit que tout ce qui se trouve au-dessus du sol appartient au peuple de la Nouvelle-Guinée, mais que tout ce qui est en dessous est la propriété de l'Australie ou, comme on dit d'habitude, de la Couronne. Il nous a parlé des millions que le Gouvernement australien dépense en Nouvelle-Guinée au bénéfice de la population. Il ne nous a rien dit du Rio Tinto ni de Burns Philp, une société de Nouvelle-Guinée (pour ne citer que quelques-uns des monopoles), ni des nombreux millions que ces monopoles emportent chaque jour du pays.

237. Le représentant de l'Australie a parlé aussi de la terre. Je dois lui dire que ce dont on se plaint le plus fréquemment en Nouvelle-Guinée, c'est de ce que les meilleures terres sont enlevées aux indigènes ou aliénées d'une façon ou d'une autre (je ne sais comment) et qu'elles appartiennent maintenant à des Australiens et à des Néo-Zélandais. Je voudrais que le représentant australien réfute le fait que, depuis plusieurs années, le peuple de Nauru demande à entrer en possession de son île, mais qu'on le lui refuse. On lui a dit à plusieurs reprises qu'il n'était pas propriétaire de l'île et que c'était l'Australie qui l'était. On lui a dit qu'il ne possédait que ce qui était à la surface de l'île. C'est à cela que pensaient mes amis, les représentants du Ghana et de la Tanzanie, quand ils ont dit qu'ils étaient mécontents de l'administration australienne en Nouvelle-Guinée, et, à beaucoup d'égards, je suis tout à fait d'accord avec eux.

238. M. McCARTHY (Australie) [traduit de l'anglais]: Je crois qu'il arrive rarement à l'Organisation des Nations Unies que le représentant d'un pays s'estime obligé d'exercer le droit de réponse pour le compte d'autres pays. Quand j'ai exercé le mien il y a un moment, c'était au sujet d'observations faites par les représentants de la Tanzanie et du Ghana au cours de ces débats. Mon collègue et ami, M. Eastman, du Libéria, s'est chargé de les défendre.

239. Le représentant du Libéria a parlé de discrimination raciale en Nouvelle-Guinée et de certaines questions relatives à Nauru. Je répondrai à ce qu'il a dit au cours de la discussion en séance plénière du rapport du Conseil de tutelle et devant la Quatrième Commission, quand j'exposerai devant l'ensemble des Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies — ce qui n'a pas encore été fait — tous les détails des derniers événements survenus en Nouvelle-Guinée et à Nauru.

240. M. Eastman a dit que la discrimination raciale était ouvertement pratiquée en Nouvelle-Guinée. M. Eastman, je l'admets, est allé là-bas récemment comme notre invité d'honneur et nous lui avons donné toutes les facilités possibles. Il est parfaitement exact qu'on peut trouver des preuves de discrimination raciale et de toute espèce de discrimination dans tous les pays du monde, si l'on en cherche. Ce que j'ai dit, c'est que la discrimination raciale était proscrite en Nouvelle-Guinée. Elle l'est effectivement. Ce que j'ai dit, et ce que j'ai voulu dire, c'est qu'en Nouvelle-Guinée tous les hommes sont libres devant la loi, sans considération de race, de

religion ou de couleur. Ce que j'ai dit, c'est qu'en Nouvelle-Guinée tous les hommes et toutes les femmes, sans considération de race, de religion ou de couleur, ont le droit de vote et élisent les membres du parlement. Ce que j'ai dit, c'est que tous les hommes et toutes les femmes de Nouvelle-Guinée, sans considération de race, de religion ou de couleur, sont libres d'élever la voix contre tout abus, où qu'ils le découvrent, sans entrave, sans que cela soit contraire à la loi ou les expose à des persécutions quelconques.

241. Quant au problème de Nauru, il est compliqué. Nauru est une île du genre de celles dont beaucoup de représentants ont parlé en séance plénière et à la Quatrième Commission. Je n'ai pas l'intention de traiter maintenant ce sujet. Je le ferai un peu plus tard. Nauru est une île lointaine du Pacifique. Je rappelle à mon ami que, bien que je travaille à l'Organisation des Nations Unies depuis deux ans et demi et que je ne sois pas retourné dans ces territoires pendant cette période, je travaille dans ces territoires, et pour ces territoires, depuis 33 ans et que j'y retournerai très prochainement. Je les connais mieux que mon collègue du Libéria ne peut les connaître après une seule visite au cours de laquelle il était l'invité d'honneur de mon gouvernement.

242. Ce que je veux dire, c'est que Nauru est une île lointaine du Pacifique, si lointaine que, lors de ma dernière visite il y a trois ans, juste avant que je vienne ici, j'ai navigué pendant huit jours en partant de Nouvelle-Zélande, sans voir aucune terre, avant

d'arriver à cette île. Elle n'a qu'une vingtaine de kilomètres de pourtour. La terre la plus proche est une île encore plus petite, située à quelque 280 kilomètres de là. Nauru a une seule ressource économique, le phosphate. Il n'en a pas d'autre. Les habitants sont au nombre de 2 600 et ils ont un niveau de vie plus élevé que celui de n'importe quel autre peuple du Pacifique; plus élevé je pense que celui de beaucoup de peuples représentés ici, à l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Grâce aux redevances payées pour le phosphate, Nauru a un revenu, à répartir entre les 2 600 habitants, qui s'élève à l'heure actuelle à environ un million et demi de livres sterling par an et qui est en augmentation. Nauru vient de terminer avec le Gouvernement australien une série de discussions qui ont eu pour résultat d'ouvrir une nouvelle étape de son avenir politique, quel qu'il puisse être. Il se pose à Nauru tous les problèmes que l'indépendance soulève pour de petites îles.

243. Cela dit, je me réserve le droit de répondre à mon ami et collègue quand la Quatrième Commission et l'Assemblée en séance plénière discuteront le rapport du Conseil de tutelle et le rapport de la mission itinérante des Nations Unies qui s'est rendue à Nauru, en Papouasie et en Nouvelle-Guinée au cours des derniers mois. Cette mission a eu toute l'aide que nous pouvions lui donner et, je l'ai dit, a été l'invitée d'honneur de mon gouvernement.

La séance est levée à 18 h 50.

Nations Unies
**ASSEMBLÉE
 GÉNÉRALE**

VINGTIÈME SESSION

Documents officiels



1398^e
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 à 15 heures*

NEW YORK

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Rapport de la Quatrième Commission . . .

Président: M. Amintore FANFANI (Italie).

108. Le PRESIDENT: L'Assemblée va maintenant voter sur les huit projets de résolution relatifs aux territoires qui n'ont pas été examinés séparément (point 23) [A/6160, par. 50].

Le projet de résolution est adopté.

110. Le PRESIDENT: Je mets aux voix le projet de résolution II.

Par 89 voix contre zéro, avec 18 abstentions, le projet de résolution II est adopté.

NATIONS UNIES

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GENERALE


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Vingtième session

Point 23 de l'ordre du jour

APPLICATION DE LA DECLARATION SUR L'OCTROI DE L'INDEPENDANCE AUX PAYS
ET AUX PEUPLES COLONIAUX : RAPPORTS DU COMITE SPECIAL CHARGE D'ETUDIER
LA SITUATION EN CE QUI CONCERNE L'APPLICATION DE LA DECLARATION SUR
L'OCTROI DE L'INDEPENDANCE AUX PAYS ET AUX PEUPLES COLONIAUX

CHAPITRES RELATIFS AUX TERRITOIRES N'AYANT PAS ETE EXAMINES SEPAREMENT

Rapport de la Quatrième Commission
Rapporteur : M. K. NATWAR SINGH (Inde)

1. A sa 159ème séance, le 22 septembre 1965, le Bureau a décidé de recommander à l'Assemblée générale l'inscription à l'ordre du jour d'une question intitulée : "Application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux : rapports du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux". A la même séance, le Bureau a décidé de recommander à l'Assemblée générale de renvoyer à la Quatrième Commission tous les chapitres des rapports du Comité spécial concernant les territoires déterminés.
2. A sa 1336ème séance plénière, le 24 septembre 1965, l'Assemblée générale a adopté les recommandations du Bureau, inscrit la question à son ordre du jour et renvoyé à la Quatrième Commission ceux des chapitres des rapports du Comité spécial qui intéressaient des territoires déterminés.
3. A sa 1517ème séance, le 28 septembre 1965, la Quatrième Commission a décidé d'examiner, en en faisant un seul point de son ordre du jour, les chapitres des rapports du Comité spécial touchant les territoires qu'elle n'étudierait pas séparément. On trouvera ci-après la liste des territoires intéressés, avec l'indication des chapitres correspondants des rapports du Comité spécial :

Guyane britannique	(A/5800/Add.5, chapitre VII; A/6000/Add.7, chapitre IX)
Fernando Póo, Río Muni, Sahara espagnol et Ifni	(A/5800/Add.5, chapitre IX; A/6000/Add.7, chapitre X)
Gibraltar	(A/5800/Add.5, chapitre X; A/6000/Add.7, chapitre XI)
Iles Fidji	(A/5800/Add.5, chapitre XIII; A/6000/Add.7, chapitre XII)
Ile Maurice, îles Seychelles et Sainte-Hélène	(A/5800/Add.6, chapitre XIV; A/6000/Add.7, chapitre XIII)
Iles Nioué et Tokélaou	(A/5800/Add.6, chapitre XV; A/6000/Add.7, chapitre XIV)
Samoa américaines	(A/5800/Add.6, chapitre XVI; A/6000/Add.7, chapitre XV)
Guam	(A/5800/Add.6, chapitre XVII; A/6000/Add.7, chapitre XVI)
Territoire sous tutelle des Iles du Pacifique	(A/5800/Add.6, chapitre XVIII; A/6000/Add.7, chapitre XVII)
Territoire sous tutelle de Nauru, Papua et Territoire sous tutelle de la Nouvelle-Guinée et îles Cocos (Keeling)	(A/5800/Add.6, chapitre XIX; A/6000/Add.7, chapitre XVIII)
Nouvelles-Hébrides, îles Gilbert-et-Ellice, île Pitcairn et îles Salomon	(A/5800/Add.6, chapitre XX; A/6000/Add.7, chapitre XIX)
Brunéi	(A/5800/Add.6, chapitre XXI; A/6000/Add.7, chapitre XX)
Hong-kong	(A/5800/Add.6, chapitre XXII; A/6000/Add.7, chapitre XXI)
Iles Falkland (Malvinas)	(A/5800/Add.7, chapitre XXIII; A/6000/Add.7, chapitre XXII)
Bermudes, Bahamas, îles Turks et Caïques et îles Caïmanes	(A/5800/Add.7, chapitre XXIV; A/6000/Add.7, chapitre XXIII)
Iles Vierges américaines, îles Vierges britanniques, Antigua, Dominique, Grenade, Montserrat, Saint-Christophe-et-Nièves et Anguilla, Sainte-Lucie, Saint-Vincent et Barbade	(A/5800/Add.7, chapitre XXV; A/6000/Add.7, chapitre XXIV)
Honduras britannique	(A/5800/Add.7, chapitre XXVI; A/6000/Add.7, chapitre XXV). /...

4. La Commission a examiné la question à ses 1549^{ème} à 1554^{ème} séances, du 8 au 11 novembre, à ses 1556^{ème} à 1560^{ème} séances, du 15 au 17 novembre, à ses 1566^{ème}, 1567^{ème} et 1570^{ème} séances, du 24 au 26 novembre, à ses 1576^{ème} à 1580^{ème} séances, les 6 et 7 décembre, et à sa 1583^{ème} séance, le 10 décembre.
5. A la 1549^{ème} séance, le 8 novembre, le Rapporteur du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux a présenté les chapitres des rapports du Comité intéressant cette question (voir liste ci-dessus).
6. La Quatrième Commission était également saisie de trois communications concernant Gibraltar, adressées au Secrétaire général :
- a) Lettre du représentant permanent de l'Espagne, en date du 30 août 1965 (A/5959);
 - b) Lettre du représentant permanent du Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord, en date du 27 octobre 1965 (A/6084);
 - c) Lettre du représentant permanent de l'Espagne, en date du 5 novembre 1965 (A/6094).
7. En rapport avec l'examen de cette question, la Commission a fait droit aux demandes d'audition suivantes :

<u>Pétitionnaires</u>	<u>Territoires intéressés</u>	<u>Séance au cours de laquelle l'audition a été accordée</u>
M. Felix A. Cummings, directeur des relations publiques et de l'information, <u>People's Progressive Party</u> de la Guyane britannique (A/C.4/655)	Guyane britannique	1548 ^{ème}
MM. Atanasie N'Dong Niyone, Adolfo Obiang Bike et Rafael Evita, <u>Movimiento Nacional de Liberacion de la Guinea Ecuatorial</u> (MNLGE) (A/C.4/L.657)	Guinée équatoriale (Fernando Póo et Río Muni)	1557 ^{ème}

8. A la 1549^{ème} séance, le 8 novembre, M. Felix A. Cummings a fait une déclaration concernant la situation en Guyane britannique et a répondu aux questions que lui ont posées des membres de la Commission.

9. A la 1557ème séance, le 16 novembre, M. Atanasie N'Dong Niyone a fait une déclaration concernant la Guinée équatoriale (Fernando Póo et Río Muni). A la même séance, MM. Atanasie N'Dong Niyone et Rafael Evita ont répondu aux questions que leur ont posées des membres de la Commission. Il a été décidé que le texte de la déclaration faite par M. N'Dong, à la 1557ème séance, serait distribué en tant que document de la Commission (A/C.4/659).

10. La discussion générale sur la question a eu lieu aux 1550ème à 1554ème séances, du 8 au 11 novembre, et aux 1556ème à 1560ème séances, du 15 au 17 novembre.

11. Il a été décidé de faire distribuer comme document de la Commission (A/C.4/658) le texte de la déclaration concernant la Guinée équatoriale (Fernando Póo et Río Muni), faite à la 1557ème séance, le 16 novembre, par M. Bonifacio Ondo Edu, président du Conseil de gouvernement de la Guinée équatoriale, qui parlait en sa qualité de membre de la délégation espagnole.

12. A ses 1556ème à 1560ème séances, du 15 au 17 novembre, à ses 1566ème, 1567ème et 1570ème séances, les 25 et 26 novembre, à ses 1576ème à 1580ème séances, les 6 et 7 décembre, et à sa 1583ème séance, le 10 décembre, la Commission a examiné les projets de résolution sur la question. Ces textes intéressaient les territoires ci-après :

- I. Iles Falkland (Malvinas)
- II. Ile Maurice
- III. Guinée équatoriale (Fernando Póo et Río Muni)
- IV. Iles Fidji
- V. Samoa américaines, Antigua, Bahamas, Barbade, Bermudes, îles Vierges britanniques, îles Caïmanes, îles Cocos (Keeling), Dominique, îles Gilbert-et-Ellice, Grenade, Guam, Montserrat, Nouvelles-Hébrides, Nioué, Papua, île Pitcairn, Sainte-Hélène, Saint-Christophe-et-Nièves et Anguilla, Sainte-Lucie, Saint-Vincent, îles Seychelles, îles Salomon, îles Tokélaou, îles Turks et Caïques et îles Vierges américaines
- VI. Gibraltar
- VII. Guyane britannique
- VIII. Ifni et Sahara espagnol.

13. Les sections I à VIII ci-après rendent compte de la discussion à laquelle ces projets de résolution ont donné lieu et des modifications qui ont été apportées aux textes.

II. ILE MAURICE

20. A la 1566ème séance, le 24 novembre, les représentants de la République-Unie de Tanzanie et de l'Inde ont présenté un projet de résolution concernant l'île Maurice; la liste définitive des auteurs était la suivante : Algérie, Arabie Saoudite, Cameroun, Ceylan, Chypre, Dahomey, Ethiopie, Ghana, Inde, Irak, Jordanie, Kenya, Liban, Libéria, Libye, Mali, Maroc, Mauritanie, Népal, Niger, Nigéria, Ouganda, République arabe unie, République-Unie de Tanzanie, Sierra Leone, Somalie, Soudan, Syrie, Togo, Tunisie, Yémen, Yougoslavie et Zambie (A/C.4/L.806/Rev.1 et Add.1).

21. La Commission a examiné le projet de résolution à ses 1566ème et 1570ème séances, les 24 et 26 novembre.

22. Le projet de résolution (A/C.4/L.806/Rev.1 et Add.1) a été adopté par la Commission à la 1570ème séance, le 26 novembre, par 77 voix contre zéro, avec 17 abstentions. Le vote a eu lieu par appel nominal et les voix se sont réparties comme suit :

Ont voté pour : Afghanistan, Algérie, Arabie Saoudite, Argentine, Birmanie, Brésil, Bulgarie, Cameroun, Ceylan, Chili, Chine, Chypre, Colombie, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (République démocratique du), Costa Rica, Cuba, Dahomey, Danemark, Espagne, Ethiopie, Gabon, Ghana, Grèce, Guatemala, Guinée, Haïti, Honduras, Hongrie, Inde, Irak, Iran, Israël, Japon, Jordanie, Kenya, Koweït, Libéria, Libye, Malaisie, Malawi, Mali, Maroc, Mauritanie, Mexique, Mongolie, Niger, Nigéria, Ouganda, Pakistan, Panama, Pérou, Philippines, Pologne, République arabe unie, République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie, République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine, République-Unie de Tanzanie, Roumanie, Rwanda, Sénégal, Sierra Leone, Somalie, Soudan, Syrie, Tchad, Tchécoslovaquie, Thaïlande, Togo, Trinité et Tobago, Tunisie, Turquie, Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yougoslavie, Zambie.

Ont voté contre : Néant.

Se sont abstenus : Afrique du Sud, Australie, Autriche, Belgique, Canada, Etats-Unis d'Amérique, Finlande, France, Irlande, Italie, Jamaïque, Norvège, Nouvelle-Zélande, Pays-Bas, Portugal, Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord, Suède.

23. Le texte du projet de résolution figure au paragraphe 50 du présent rapport en tant que projet de résolution II.

RECOMMANDATIONS DE LA QUATRIEME COMMISSION

50. La Quatrième Commission recommande à l'Assemblée générale d'adopter le projet de résolution ci-après :

PROJET DE RESOLUTION II

Question de l'île Maurice

L'Assemblée générale,

Ayant examiné la question de l'île Maurice et des autres îles qui composent le territoire de l'île Maurice,

Ayant étudié les chapitres des rapports du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux relatifs au territoire de l'île Maurice^{1/},

Rappelant la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale, en date du 14 décembre 1960,

Regrettant que la Puissance administrante n'ait pas appliqué complètement la résolution 1514 (XV) en ce qui concerne ce territoire,

Notant avec une profonde inquiétude que toute mesure prise par la Puissance administrante pour détacher certaines îles du territoire de l'île Maurice afin d'y établir une base militaire, constituerait une violation de la Déclaration figurant dans la résolution 1514 (XV), et en particulier du paragraphe 6,

1. Approuve les chapitres des rapports du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux relatifs au territoire de l'île Maurice et fait siennes les conclusions et les recommandations du Comité spécial qui y figurent;

2. Réaffirme le droit inaliénable du peuple du territoire de l'île Maurice à la liberté et à l'indépendance, conformément à la résolution 1514 (XV);

3. Invite le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord à prendre des mesures efficaces en vue de la mise en oeuvre immédiate et complète de la résolution 1514 (XV);

^{1/} A/5800/Add.6, chapitre XIV, A/6000/Add.7, chapitre XIII.

4. Invite en outre la Puissance administrante à ne prendre aucune mesure qui démembrerait le territoire de l'île Maurice et violerait son intégrité territoriale;
5. Invite la Puissance administrante à faire rapport au Comité spécial et à l'Assemblée générale sur l'application de la présente résolution;
6. Prie le Comité spécial de maintenir à l'étude la question du territoire de l'île Maurice et de faire rapport à ce sujet à l'Assemblée générale, lors de sa vingt et unième session.

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DISCUSSION GENERALE (suite)

43. M. SANGHO (Mali) dit que, pour son gouvernement, il importe avant tout de libérer complètement l'homme de toutes les formes de discrimination et d'exploitation. La délégation malienne réaffirme, en s'inspirant de l'Article 73 de la Charte des Nations Unies et de la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale, sa conviction que tous les peuples ont les mêmes droits à la liberté pleine et entière, sans considération de race ni de couleur.

44. D'après le représentant du Mali, il ressort des études effectuées par le Comité spécial que la situa-

tion dans l'île Maurice, à Sainte-Hélène, dans les Seychelles, Guam, les îles du Pacifique et autres territoires présente des caractéristiques typiquement coloniales.

45. Dans l'île Maurice, par exemple, l'Assemblée législative, élue, il est vrai, au suffrage universel, n'exerce pas les prérogatives dévolues normalement à une assemblée souveraine et c'est à un conseil de gouvernement qu'il appartient de prendre les décisions qui sont ensuite soumises pour approbation au gouverneur qui représente la Puissance administrante. Tous les partis politiques ne partageant pas les vues du Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni sur l'évolution future des institutions de l'île, il importe de donner à la population la possibilité de se prononcer clairement sur le régime qu'elle souhaite. Sur le plan économique et social, les progrès sont lents et la Puissance administrante ne fait aucun effort pour diversifier l'économie du territoire, laquelle dépend pour 90 p. 100 de l'industrie sucrière, alors que le territoire doit importer la plupart des vivres qu'il consomme. Le système d'enseignement doit être révisé de manière à assurer la scolarisation de tous les enfants et à accélérer la formation des cadres. Enfin, il importe d'abroger les lois discriminatoires et de favoriser la constitution d'organisations populaires telles que syndicats, mouvements de jeunesse, etc.

46. Le représentant du Mali constate ensuite que la situation politique en Guyane britannique reste préoccupante. Comme les observateurs du Commonwealth l'ont reconnu, l'attitude du gouvernement lors des élections de 1964 n'a pas été impartiale. Après les élections, le Gouverneur s'est servi de ses pouvoirs discrétionnaires pour écarter du pouvoir le parti ayant recueilli 45,8 p. 100 des suffrages au profit d'un parti n'en ayant recueilli que 40,5 p. 100. Cette décision, conforme à la politique britannique qui consiste à diviser pour régner en entretenant au besoin les antagonismes raciaux, a abouti à l'instauration de l'état d'urgence et à l'arrestation de tous les partisans de l'indépendance complète de la Guyane. M. Sangho a l'impression que le Gouverneur n'a jugé bon d'exercer ses pouvoirs discrétionnaires que lorsqu'il s'est aperçu que M. Jagan, chef du parti majoritaire, se prononçait pour la libération totale de son pays, le développement indépendant de l'économie et la lutte contre toutes les formes de discrimination et qu'il n'était ni anticommuniste ni anticastriste. Le représentant du Mali estime que la question de l'avenir constitutionnel de la Guyane ne saurait être réglée qu'en respectant la volonté de la majorité de la population. M. Sangho déplore que la Puissance administrante ait empêché le Comité de bons offices pour la Guyane créé par le Comité

spécial de s'acquitter de sa tâche, et il espère que l'Assemblée générale prendra les mesures qui s'imposent pour venir en aide aux Guyanais opprimés.

47. En ce qui concerne Gibraltar, le Mali appuie le consensus proposé en 1964 par le Président du Comité spécial et adopté par ce comité (A/5800/Rev.1, chap. X, par. 309), et qui a été approuvé par le Royaume-Uni et l'Espagne.

48. M. Sangho estime qu'il appartient aux populations autochtones d'Irni de décider librement de leur statut futur.

49. Quant à Fernando Pô et au Rfo Muni, la délégation malienne estime que la naissance de l'Etat autonome de Guinée équatoriale constitue un fait positif, mais elle constate que le nouvel Etat demeure placé sous le joug colonial et que l'Espagne y détient toujours les attributs de la souveraineté. La Puissance administrante doit permettre aux populations de la Guinée équatoriale d'accéder dans un proche avenir à la liberté et à l'indépendance complète.

50. La délégation du Mali partage entièrement l'opinion du Comité spécial sur l'avenir des populations des îles du Pacifique et estime qu'il est du devoir des Nations Unies et de la Puissance administrante intéressée d'envisager les mesures propres à assurer l'émancipation rapide de ces îles.

51. La délégation malienne remarque que, dans de nombreux cas, la question de l'avenir des territoires non autonomes est compliquée par l'existence de bases militaires. Le Mali préconise le démantèlement de toutes ces bases qui constituent une menace à la paix et à la sécurité, dans la mesure où toutes les agressions qui se perpètrent actuellement avec le silence coupable de certaines puissances partent des bases établies sur des territoires coloniaux. Il demande aux puissances intéressées de supprimer leurs bases à Aden, à Guam, aux îles Vierges et dans les îles du Pacifique.

52. La délégation du Mali fait siennes les conclusions et recommandations du Comité spécial et fait appel aux puissances administrantes pour qu'elles appliquent immédiatement les dispositions de la Charte des Nations Unies et de la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale, pour qu'elles organisent, sous le contrôle de l'ONU, des consultations permettant aux populations de choisir la forme de gouvernement qui leur convient et de se prononcer sur leur association éventuelle avec d'autres pays et territoires, et enfin pour qu'elles hâtent le transfert du pouvoir aux populations autochtones, quels que soient leur nombre et leur degré de culture.

La séance est levée à 12 h 20.

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Demandes d'audience (suite)

**DEMANDES CONCERNANT FERNANDO POO ET RIO
MUNI (POINT 23 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR) [suite]
(A/C.4/657)**

1. Le **PRESIDENT** demande à la Commission d'examiner la demande d'audience contenue dans le document A/C.4/657.

2. **M. DE PINIES** (Espagne) rappelle que la Charte des Nations Unies autorise expressément l'audition de pétitionnaires des territoires relevant du Chapitre XIII et non pas de ceux du Chapitre XI. Cette réserve faite, il ne s'oppose pas à ce que les pétitionnaires soient entendus.

3. Le **PRESIDENT** déclare que, s'il n'y a pas d'objection, il considérera que la Commission désire faire droit à cette demande.

Il en est ainsi décidé.

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considérés sont examinés en bloc ne minimise en aucune façon l'importance de chacun.

45. En tant que membre du Comité spécial, la délégation tanzanienne n'a cessé de répéter que les dispositions de la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale sont pleinement applicables à tous les territoires et à tous les peuples qui subissent encore le joug colonial et elle est heureuse que les conclusions contenues dans le rapport du Comité spécial et les recommandations de ce dernier reflètent et appuient son point de vue. Elle espère donc que ces conclusions et ces recommandations recevront l'appui le plus large possible des membres de la Commission. Ce serait là un moyen concret d'aider tous les peuples du monde qui luttent encore pour leur émancipation nationale contre les forces de la régression et de l'exploitation coloniales et cette initiative porterait son coup de grâce au colonialisme.

46. A cet égard, l'expérience a montré que certaines puissances coloniales interprètent à leur façon les principes de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, et que les prétendues réformes constitutionnelles introduites dans certains territoires vont directement à l'encontre des principes qui sont à la base de la décolonisation. C'est le cas notamment au Papua et en Nouvelle-Guinée, où la Chambre d'assemblée créée par la Puissance administrante n'a aucun pouvoir législatif réel puisque ses décisions doivent être approuvées par les autorités coloniales. La liberté étant indivisible, et devant être inconditionnelle, les réformes constitutionnelles au Papua et en Nouvelle-Guinée ne sont en fait que des remaniements décidés par l'Australie pour des questions de commodité.

47. La situation est analogue dans les îles Vierges américaines, où, en vertu d'une loi promulguée par les Etats-Unis, les droits naturels de la population sont réduits à l'association avec les Etats-Unis. Le représentant de la puissance coloniale a dit que son gouvernement avait cherché à mettre au point pour le territoire un avenir qui prévoyait notamment l'envoi d'un représentant au Congrès des Etats-Unis. Il est évident, dans ces conditions, que la Puissance administrante a déjà prévu quel serait l'avenir du territoire.

48. Il est extrêmement important que la Commission suive de près l'évolution de la situation des petits territoires en raison de leur importance stratégique et militaire pour la mise en œuvre de la politique mondiale des puissances coloniales. Ainsi, l'île de Guam, qui subit l'occupation coloniale des Etats-Unis d'Amérique, est devenue une grande et dangereuse base militaire dont la puissance coloniale se sert actuellement pour poursuivre une guerre qui n'intéresse qu'elle. La presse a annoncé à plusieurs reprises, en effet, que des avions militaires américains décollaient d'aérodromes construits sur le territoire non autonome de Guam pour accomplir des missions militaires dans le cadre d'une guerre menée par les Etats-Unis. Si ces aérodromes étaient bombardés à titre de légitime défense, la population du territoire colonial de Guam se trouverait mêlée à une guerre simplement parce qu'elle se trouve sous la domination coloniale. On ne peut que se féliciter que le pays victime des bombardements américains ne soit pas

44. M. FOUM (République-Unie de Tanzanie) dit que, dans son examen des chapitres des rapports du Comité spécial dont elle est saisie, la Quatrième Commission doit se prononcer sur la question du colonialisme dans son ensemble. D'autre part, le fait que les territoires

une nation agressive et n'ait pas décidé de bombarder en retour les populations opprimées du territoire de Guam.

49. Une situation analogue menace l'île Maurice et les Seychelles, au sujet desquelles on s'étonne d'apprendre que cinq ans après l'adoption de la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale, certaines puissances coloniales pensent encore à créer de nouvelles colonies. Ainsi, le *Times* de Londres du 11 novembre 1965 et le *New York Times* de la même date ont annoncé que le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni avait décidé de créer une nouvelle colonie, qui se composerait de l'archipel des Chagos, jusqu'ici rattaché à l'île Maurice, et des îles Aldabra, Farquhar et Desroches, précédemment rattachées aux Seychelles. Ces îles sont habitées par 1 384 personnes, et la création de la nouvelle colonie a pour objet de permettre l'installation de bases militaires et navales par les Gouvernements du Royaume-Uni et des Etats-Unis.

50. Ce projet anglo-américain vise à renverser le cours de l'histoire; il va à l'encontre non seulement de la résolution 1514 (XV), mais encore d'autres résolutions adoptées par divers organes de l'ONU et concernant des problèmes coloniaux précis et l'application du principe de l'autodétermination, qui doit être considéré comme un principe général de droit international. Ce principe serait vidé de son sens s'il pouvait être tourné et si, par le paiement de compensations à la majorité des habitants d'une colonie une puissance coloniale pouvait garder à perpétuité une partie du territoire de cette colonie, habitée par une minorité. Le droit des peuples coloniaux à l'autodétermination ne peut aucunement faire l'objet de tractations financières, lesquelles sont particulièrement condamnables lorsqu'elles visent l'installation de bases étrangères dans un territoire colonial. A cet égard, la délégation tanzanienne rappelle que la deuxième Conférence des chefs d'Etat ou de gouvernement des pays non alignés a affirmé dans sa déclaration du Caire, le 10 octobre 1964, que le maintien ou la création de bases militaires, ou le stationnement de troupes sur le territoire d'autres pays contre la volonté expresse desdits pays, constitue une violation flagrante de la souveraineté des Etats et une menace à la liberté et à la paix internationale. La Conférence a déclaré en outre qu'elle considérerait comme particulièrement inacceptable l'existence ou le maintien, dans des territoires dépendants, de bases pouvant servir à perpétuer le colonialisme ou à d'autres fins.

51. Il ne faut pas perdre de vue que la nature du colonialisme et de l'impérialisme demeure constante, et que seule leur tactique change. Les colonialistes recourent à toutes les manœuvres pour s'accrocher aux positions et aux privilèges qu'ils ont acquis dans le passé et pour empêcher les populations qui sont encore sous leur coupe de jouir de la liberté et de l'indépendance. L'une de ces manœuvres consiste à diviser pour régner. Ainsi, en Guyane britannique, le Royaume-Uni emploie toutes sortes de procédés pour retarder l'accession de la colonie à l'indépendance; il est vraiment très regrettable que des tensions raciales se soient manifestées et aient pu être mises à profit pour justifier les délais apportés à l'émanci-

pation de ce territoire. Le peuple de la Guyane britannique a montré qu'il ne veut pas rester sous la domination étrangère, et la délégation tanzanienne espère que la communauté internationale l'aidera à accéder plus rapidement à la liberté et à l'indépendance.

52. D'un autre côté, il faut tenir compte des différences existant entre les divers territoires coloniaux. Parfois, le vrai problème consiste à rechercher un accord par la négociation entre deux ou plusieurs Etats. C'est pourquoi la délégation tanzanienne accueille avec satisfaction la suggestion des délégations latino-américaines d'inviter deux Etats Membres à entamer des pourparlers au sujet des îles Falkland ou Malouines.

53. Parfois également, la Puissance administrante se maintient solidement en place dans une colonie sous prétexte que l'économie de cette colonie ne lui permet pas d'exister en tant que nation indépendante. Ce prétexte est invoqué pour refuser à la population autochtone la jouissance des droits naturels qui lui sont reconnus par la Charte des Nations Unies et par la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. La délégation tanzanienne estime que les droits de ces peuples et de ces territoires à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance ne doivent pas être lésés par l'action des forces qui en refusent l'exercice à la population. En fait, c'est l'économie des colonies qui renforce celle des pays métropolitains car l'exploitation économique est l'essence du colonialisme. La délégation tanzanienne répète que la liberté est indivisible. Les puissances coloniales doivent d'abord fournir aux peuples des territoires considérés tout ce dont ils ont besoin pour exercer leurs droits à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance. Lorsque l'économie d'un territoire n'est pas assez solide, les membres libres de la communauté internationale doivent faire tout ce qui est en leur pouvoir pour apporter aux populations intéressées l'aide matérielle qui doit leur permettre de suivre la voie qu'elles ont choisie.

54. La délégation tanzanienne s'estime moralement tenue de réaffirmer le droit inaliénable de tous les peuples et de tous les territoires, grands ou petits, à l'autodétermination, à la liberté et à l'indépendance. Elle considère qu'il faut donner aux populations des territoires que la Commission examine actuellement, les moyens d'obtenir la jouissance de leurs droits naturels. La mise en place d'institutions qui provoquent ou encouragent les conflits raciaux ou l'identification ethnique est un obstacle à la prise de conscience nationale; il convient donc de l'éviter afin que les populations actuellement sous le joug colonial puissent accéder à la liberté démocratique. D'autre part, l'utilisation des territoires coloniaux à des fins militaires ou stratégiques nuit à leurs intérêts et à ceux de leurs habitants, et retarde leur accession à l'indépendance. C'est pourquoi les bases militaires doivent être éliminées.

55. La délégation tanzanienne est prête à se joindre à toutes les délégations qui se sont prononcées pour une solution fondée sur les principes que M. Fom a énoncés. Ceux qui luttent dans l'honneur pour l'émancipation doivent recevoir l'appui moral et matériel de tous ceux à qui la liberté est chère et à

qui le système colonial et l'exploitation de l'homme par l'homme font horreur.

Organisation des travaux de la Commission

56. Le PRESIDENT donne lecture d'un tableau de travail révisé^{2/} pour l'examen du reste des points

de l'ordre du jour dont la Commission est saisie. S'il n'y a pas d'objection, il propose que ce tableau révisé soit adopté.

Il en est ainsi décidé.

^{2/} Distribué ultérieurement sous la cote A/C.4/L.805.

La séance est levée à 13 h 25.

Nations Unies
**ASSEMBLÉE
GÉNÉRALE**

L'INGTIÈME SESSION

Documents officiels



QUATRIÈME COMMISSION, 1558^e
SÉANCE

Mardi 16 novembre 1965,
à 15 heures

NEW YORK

SOMMAIRE

Point 23 de l'ordre du jour:

Application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux: rapports du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux: A/5800/Rev.1, chap. VII, IX, X et XIII à XXVI; A/6000/Rev.1, chap. IX à XXV (suite)

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Président: M. Majid RAHNEMA (Iran).

POINT 23 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

Application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux: rapports du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux: A/5800/Rev.1, chap. VII, IX, X et XIII à XXVI; A/6000/Rev.1, chap. IX à XXV (suite) [A/5959, A/6084, A/6094; A/C.4/L.802]

DISCUSSION GÉNÉRALE ET EXAMEN DE PROJETS DE RÉSOLUTION (suite) [A/C.4/L.802]

1. Mme MENESES DE ALBIZU CAMPOS (Cuba) rappelle que l'Assemblée générale a décidé de créer le Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux parce que, un an après l'adoption de la Déclaration en question, aucune mesure, ou presque, n'avait été prise pour donner suite à ses dispositions; même, dans certaines régions, des mesures militaires ou de répression avaient été prises pour empêcher des peuples dépendants d'exercer leur droit à l'indépendance complète. Dans sa résolution 1654 (XVI), qui entérine cette décision, l'Assemblée générale a constaté que des actes visant à détruire l'unité nationale et l'intégrité territoriale étaient encore perpétrés dans certains pays en voie de décolonisation, et a exprimé la conviction que tout retard dans l'application de la Déclaration pourrait constituer une menace à la paix et à la sécurité internationales. Il est affligeant de constater que cinq ans après l'adoption de la Déclaration, les puissances coloniales essaient toujours d'entraver les efforts déployés par l'ONU en vue de la décolonisation; ces puissances n'ont cependant pas réussi à empêcher le

Comité spécial de servir utilement la cause des populations opprimées.

2. Cuba et de nombreuses autres délégations s'inquiètent de la situation qui règne en Guyane dite britannique. Bien que la Guyane britannique se soit prononcée pour l'indépendance, dès 1953, sous la conduite du parti de M. Cheddi Jagan, et bien que ce parti ait remporté plusieurs élections successives, le territoire est toujours sous le régime colonial, des mesures de répression y sont appliquées, de nombreux patriotes éminents y sont emprisonnés, le parti majoritaire favorable à l'indépendance y est empêché de gouverner et un conflit racial y a été artificiellement créé. A vrai dire, les impérialistes ont tenté de transformer en guerre civile la lutte du peuple contre la domination étrangère. Washington et Londres ont mis au pouvoir, à la place du parti de M. Jagan, un gouvernement docile qu'ils ont créé de toutes pièces.

3. Plusieurs conférences ont eu lieu sans résultat à Londres et l'on continue de vouloir tromper ainsi l'opinion publique mondiale. La Puissance administrante persiste à ignorer les résolutions de l'ONU, tout comme elle l'a fait en Rhodésie du Sud où les colons colonialistes se sont retournés contre leurs propres maîtres. L'Assemblée générale a signalé à plusieurs reprises aux Puissances administrantes que, pour éviter une catastrophe, il convenait de fixer une date rapprochée pour l'indépendance. On ne résoudra pas le problème en créant des gouvernements dociles, avec la bénédiction des impérialistes. Cette bénédiction n'est pas seulement spirituelle: le Wall Street Journal a rapporté le 11 novembre 1965 que, pour cette année, les Etats-Unis envoyaient à la Guyane britannique 14 millions de dollars sous forme de prêts et de subventions, alors qu'ils n'avaient accordé au gouvernement de M. Jagan, en 1964, qu'une assistance de 200 000 dollars. Le même journal indique que la production des compagnies sucrières britanniques est supérieure de 50 p. 100 cette année à celle de l'année précédente, que les installations des compagnies d'aluminium pour l'exploitation de la bauxite sont en voie d'expansion et que la production de diamants a doublé par rapport à 1964.

4. Dans d'autres territoires, la résistance des colonialistes se poursuit également pour des raisons d'ordre économique, politique ou stratégique. Les projets d'installation de nouvelles bases militaires dans les territoires menacent de plus en plus la paix des peuples opprimés. Les bases militaires de tous les territoires qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance doivent être liquidées rapidement et sans condition, avant l'indépendance et non après. Cuba sait par expérience ce que signifie la présence sur un territoire d'une base militaire étrangère imposée

à l'époque où les impérialistes s'y trouvaient. Ces bases sont aussi une menace constante pour les peuples voisins et pour leur indépendance. Selon le New York Times du 11 novembre 1965, le Royaume-Uni a enlevé aux îles Maurice et Seychelles une partie de leur territoire et en a fait un nouveau territoire où sera créée une base militaire. Le Times de Londres du même jour cite une déclaration du Secrétaire d'Etat du Royaume-Uni aux colonies selon lequel les îles pourraient être utilisées pour la construction d'installations de défense par le Royaume-Uni et les Etats-Unis. Le fait que des compensations seraient versées en échange des îles n'est pas de nature à rassurer la délégation cubaine. La résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale demande aux Etats de respecter l'intégrité du territoire national des peuples dépendants. La délégation cubaine ne peut accepter que l'on prétende que les îles en question ont été achetées; aucun Etat souverain ne permettrait l'aliénation d'une quelconque partie de son territoire.

5. Vu le principe de l'égalité des nations, grandes et petites, inscrit dans la Charte, il ne saurait être question de mettre en doute le droit d'un pays à l'indépendance, en invoquant la faiblesse de sa population et l'exiguïté de ses dimensions. Il ne saurait être question non plus de s'appuyer sur des arguments d'ordre économique pour montrer qu'un peuple n'est pas capable d'accéder à l'indépendance. Ces prétextes servent à perpétuer les bastions du colonialisme, sous le couvert de fédérations artificielles, d'association ou d'intégration avec d'autres Etats. Toute mesure constitutionnelle qui ne rend pas un peuple pleinement maître de son destin ou qui maintient un régime impérialiste déguisé en prétendue association est inadmissible.

cielles entre les dirigeants locaux et le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni; dans certains territoires, des consultations purement locales ont eu lieu en vue d'accord sur des propositions qui seraient discutées avec le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni. Dans un certain nombre de territoires, on a enregistré d'importantes modifications constitutionnelles, dont les détails sont consignés dans les rapports du Comité spécial. Dans plusieurs autres, des élections importantes ont eu lieu.

77. Ainsi, dans un nombre considérable de territoires, on a enregistré un progrès continu dans la voie de l'autonomie et de l'autodétermination et, dans chaque cas, le sens et la rapidité de ce progrès ont été déterminés en accord étroit et permanent avec l'opinion locale, exprimée par les partis politiques et les autres moyens d'expression que possède normalement une société démocratique libre.

78. Les territoires sur lesquels la Quatrième Commission a le plus fait porter son intérêt se divisent en deux groupes. Tout d'abord, il y a les territoires qui ont fait l'objet d'observations à propos de questions constitutionnelles et où l'on a noté récemment une évolution importante, sur laquelle il se peut que la Commission désire obtenir de plus amples précisions, à savoir l'île Maurice, les îles Fidji et la Guyane britannique. En second lieu, il y a un groupe de territoires — Gibraltar et les îles Falkland — à propos desquels le centre d'intérêt n'est pas dans les questions normales de progrès constitutionnel dont s'occupent généralement la Quatrième Commission et le Comité spécial, mais dans le fait que la souveraineté sur un territoire britannique est revendiquée par un autre pays.

79. M. Brown traitera d'abord des aspects constitutionnels de l'île Maurice, des îles Fidji, et de la Guyane britannique. Le rapport du Comité spécial sur l'île Maurice (A/6000/Rev.1, chap. XIII) a été terminé avant que ne s'achève la Conférence constitutionnelle de l'île Maurice, tenue à Londres en septembre. Tous les partis représentés à la législature de l'île Maurice étaient représentés à cette conférence. A la fin de la Conférence, le Secrétaire d'Etat aux colonies a annoncé que le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni jugeait approprié que l'île Maurice aille de l'avant vers l'indépendance totale. Il sera procédé de la façon suivante: comme la Conférence n'a pu parvenir à un accord complet sur un nouveau système électoral, le secrétaire aux colonies doit nommer une commission chargée de faire des recommandations concernant le nouveau système et le découpage des circonscriptions électorales, afin de sauvegarder les intérêts de tous les groupes ethniques. Lorsque cette commission aura présenté son rapport, le Secrétaire aux colonies décidera du nouveau système électoral; des élections générales auront lieu et un nouveau gouvernement sera formé. L'indépendance sera accordée après six mois d'autonomie interne complète, si la nouvelle Assemblée législative adopte une résolution, à la majorité simple, demandant l'indépendance. Ce processus peut être terminé avant la fin de 1966. La nouvelle constitution, sur laquelle l'accord s'est fait à la Conférence, prévoira des garanties pour les intérêts des minorités, un chapitre sur les droits de l'homme, la nomination d'un

75. M. BROWN (Royaume-Uni) dit que, parmi la quarantaine de territoires dont s'occupe la Commission au titre du point 23 de l'ordre du jour, une vingtaine sont sous l'administration du Royaume-Uni.

76. Comme le montrent les rapports du Comité spécial pour 1964 et 1965, les deux dernières années ont été marquées par un progrès continu dans ces territoires. Un certain nombre sont devenus pleinement indépendants et sont maintenant membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Il y a eu une série de conférences constitutionnelles concernant certains des territoires; le progrès constitutionnel d'autres territoires a fait l'objet de consultations moins offi-

ombudsman, et des dispositions établissant que les éléments principaux de la Constitution ne pourront être modifiés qu'avec l'accord des trois quarts au moins des membres de l'Assemblée législative.

80. Certaines questions ont été soulevées au sujet des plans du Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni quant à certaines îles de l'océan Indien. Les faits sont les suivants. Les îles en question sont toutes petites, sont très dispersées dans l'océan Indien, et ont une population de moins de 1 500 habitants, laquelle, hormis quelques fonctionnaires et régisseurs de domaines, se compose de travailleurs originaires de l'île Maurice et des Seychelles, accompagnés de leur famille et employés dans les plantations de coprah, à l'extraction du guano et à la pêche aux tortues. Ces îles étaient inhabitées lors de leur acquisition par le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni. Elles avaient été rattachées à l'île Maurice ou aux Seychelles pour de simples raisons de commodité administrative. Après consultation des gouvernements de l'île Maurice et des Seychelles, y compris les membres élus de ces derniers et avec leur accord, de nouvelles dispositions pour l'administration de ces îles considérées ont été prises le 8 novembre. Ces îles ne seront plus administrées par les gouvernements précités, mais par un commissaire. Une indemnisation appropriée sera versée non seulement aux Gouvernements de l'île Maurice et des Seychelles, mais aussi à toute personne privée ou entreprise commerciale dont les intérêts seront affectés. On prendra grand soin du bien-être des quelques habitants de ces îles et des dispositions adéquates à leur intention seront discutées avec les Gouvernements de l'île Maurice et des Seychelles. Il ne s'agit donc nullement du démembrement d'unités territoriales naturelles, mais d'une simple réorganisation administrative librement mise au point avec les gouvernements et les représentants élus des populations intéressées.

81. Les îles Fidji sont un autre territoire sur l'avenir duquel une importante conférence constitutionnelle a eu lieu depuis qu'a été terminé le rapport du Comité spécial. Les 18 membres non fonctionnaires du Conseil législatif des îles Fidji ont tous assisté à cette conférence, qui s'est tenue à Londres en juillet et août. Le but convenu de la conférence était d'établir un cadre constitutionnel permettant au territoire de progresser vers l'autonomie interne et maintenant un lien permanent avec le Royaume-Uni. La conférence a décidé que, pour la première fois, il devrait y avoir au Conseil législatif une majorité élue. Il n'y aura pas de membres non fonctionnaires nommés, et le nombre des membres fonctionnaires nommés ne dépassera pas quatre. La conférence a également décidé que tous les groupes minoritaires qui jusqu'ici ne possédaient pas le droit de vote seront électeurs et éligibles: cela concerne les habitants des îles Rotuma et de certaines autres îles du Pacifique, et la communauté chinoise. Les îles Fidji parviendront ainsi au suffrage universel des adultes, ce qui satisfera à l'un des points principaux mentionnés au cours du débat sur les îles Fidji qui a eu lieu au Comité spécial en 1964. Les habitants des îles Rotuma et des autres îles voteront sur les mêmes listes que les Fidjiens, et les autres avec le groupe européen. En raison des conséquences qu'aura l'octroi du droit de vote à ces groupes sur la représentation des

trois communautés principales, il a été décidé que la proportion des membres européens de la législature serait réduite et passerait d'un chiffre égal au nombre des représentants des deux autres communautés au chiffre de 10. Les Fidjiens auront maintenant 14 sièges, une légère augmentation — aux dépens du groupe européen — compte tenu du fait que les habitants des îles Rotuma et des autres îles du Pacifique voteront maintenant eux. La représentation indienne demeure proportionnellement inchangée, à la fois globalement et en tant que fraction du nombre des représentants élus sur les listes de chaque communauté. Il a également été décidé qu'à l'avenir neuf membres du Conseil législatif seraient élus par toutes les communautés sans distinction. Enfin, la Constitution prévoira l'évolution de l'actuel système "des membres", selon lequel des membres du Conseil exécutif rendent compte devant le Conseil exécutif et la législature de l'activité de divers départements sans en être les chefs, vers un véritable système ministériel où les membres non fonctionnaires seront des ministres.

82. Les représentants indiens à la conférence n'ont pu accepter certaines de ces mesures, en particulier la nouvelle représentation des communautés ethniques à la législature et le maintien du système du vote par communauté pour certains des membres du Conseil législatif. Ils ont estimé également que l'autonomie interne complète devait être accordée immédiatement. Toutefois, après un long débat, il est apparu que les propositions indiennes n'étaient pas acceptées par certains des autres représentants et les décisions mentionnées ont été adoptées dans l'espoir qu'elles aideraient à créer, dans toute la mesure du possible, une situation acceptable pour toutes les principales communautés ethniques des îles Fidji. En particulier, on espère que l'institution du vote en commun pour l'élection de certains membres de la législature contribuera à éliminer les divisions politiques entre les différentes communautés des îles Fidji. Un passage sans transition à une liste électorale unique et l'abolition dès maintenant du vote par communauté auraient pu conduire au résultat opposé et accentuer les divisions politiques entre les différentes communautés ethniques. Cela aurait également été jugé totalement inacceptable par la communauté fidjienne.

83. Le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni espère que le nouveau système encouragera la coopération politique, ce qui devrait faciliter de nouveaux progrès vers une attitude nationale au lieu du particularisme des communautés. Cela est en parfait accord avec les objectifs des résolutions de l'Assemblée générale et du Comité spécial relatives aux îles Fidji et constitue un grand pas en avant dans la bonne direction. Rien ne permet de prétendre que le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni encourage ou exploite les divisions entre communautés ou assure une protection spéciale aux Européens, dont la situation n'est d'ailleurs guère en cause. Sa politique est d'assurer un progrès régulier vers l'unité et l'abolition de toute conscience raciale. Il faut bien reconnaître qu'en cherchant trop vite à transformer des attitudes profondément enracinées, on risquerait d'interrompre, plutôt que de favoriser, le processus visant à instaurer un climat de confiance réciproque et à

instituer la coopération politique entre les communautés des îles Fidji.

84. Passant au problème de la Guyane britannique, M. Brown rappelle qu'une conférence constitutionnelle relative à ce territoire se tient en ce moment même à Londres. Elle a pour objet de régler les questions constitutionnelles en suspens et de fixer une date pour l'accession à l'indépendance, et l'on espère qu'elle mènera rapidement à bien ses travaux. Le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni a publiquement déploré que l'un des deux principaux partis de la Guyane britannique, le People's Progressive Party, n'ait pas cru devoir participer à cette conférence. Bon nombre des idées défendues à la 1549^{ème} séance par le représentant du People's Progressive Party que le Comité spécial a récemment entendu comme pétitionnaire auraient été plus efficacement et plus opportunément soutenues devant la Conférence de Londres.

85. Le pétitionnaire et certains orateurs qui sont intervenus dans le débat ont parlé de l'état d'urgence en Guyane britannique et d'une douzaine de personnes qui ont été arrêtées et maintenues en détention préventive. M. Brown tient à préciser que les problèmes de sécurité intérieure relèvent de la compétence des ministres de la Guyane britannique, et non de la compétence du Royaume-Uni. Il appartient aux habitants de la Guyane britannique de régler entre eux ces problèmes et de créer les conditions de la confiance et de la compréhension.

86. On a parlé de l'opportunité d'une médiation des Nations Unies en Guyane britannique, sous une forme ou sous une autre, pour favoriser la réconciliation des deux principaux partis politiques. La délégation du Royaume-Uni comprend fort bien l'esprit dans lequel ces suggestions ont été faites. Il faut cependant tenir compte d'un certain nombre de circonstances qui semblent recommander une méthode opposée. La Guyane britannique a bénéficié au cours de l'année écoulée d'une plus grande stabilité qu'en d'autres périodes. Une conférence qui a pour objet de fixer la date de l'accession à l'indépendance est actuellement en cours. Toute intervention extérieure — et c'est ainsi que serait interprétée une proposition de médiation des Nations Unies — pourrait avoir les plus fâcheuses conséquences et même contribuer à aggraver les divisions raciales et politiques. La Commission internationale des juristes vient d'effectuer une étude complète des tensions raciales en Guyane britannique, et le gouvernement du territoire s'emploie actuellement à donner effet à ses recommandations. Au moment où la Guyane britannique est si proche de l'indépendance, une tentative extérieure de médiation serait certainement considérée dans le territoire comme dépourvue de toute justification. Les ministres de la Guyane britannique ont été consultés et leurs vues concordent généralement avec celles que M. Brown vient d'exposer. M. Burnham, premier ministre de la Guyane britannique, compte d'ailleurs venir à New York après la Conférence de Londres, et il serait certainement heureux d'avoir à cette occasion des conversations officieuses sur la situation actuelle avec les délégations intéressées.

87. En confiant aux Nations Unies une mission en Guyane britannique, on entraverait donc le progrès pacifique et rapide de ce territoire vers l'indépendance, au lieu de le faciliter. Comme le Secrétaire aux colonies du Royaume-Uni l'a dit en ouvrant la Conférence de Londres, l'avenir de la Guyane sera bientôt entre les mains de la population guyanaise et la solution de ses problèmes nationaux sera le résultat de ses propres efforts.

88. M. Brown passe ensuite au deuxième groupe de territoires, à propos desquels le problème dont s'occupe la Commission ne concerne pas tant le progrès constitutionnel vers l'indépendance et l'autodétermination qu'une situation résultant des revendications de souveraineté d'autres pays sur ces territoires — les îles Falkland et Gibraltar.

89. La délégation du Royaume-Uni a écouté attentivement les arguments mis en avant par le représentant de l'Argentine à l'appui de la revendication de son pays sur les îles Falkland. Elle n'a pas l'intention de présenter à ce sujet des arguments détaillés, vu que la Commission n'entend sans doute pas juger du fond de la question, mais tient à dire que le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni n'accepte pas les arguments du représentant de l'Argentine et continue de n'avoir aucun doute quant à sa souveraineté sur ce territoire. On ne peut donc parler, en l'occurrence, d'une violation quelconque de l'intégrité territoriale de l'Argentine. Il y a, pourtant, une question importante à laquelle le représentant de l'Argentine n'a pas accordé suffisamment d'attention: les intérêts et aspirations (les deux étant inséparables) des habitants. Comme la délégation du Royaume-Uni en a fourni la preuve dans ses déclarations au Comité spécial, les habitants des îles Falkland en sont des habitants authentiques et permanents qui n'ont pas d'autre foyer. Ils ont montré, dans leurs messages au Comité spécial et dans la déclaration officielle de leurs représentants élus, qu'ils souhaitent entretenir avec l'Argentine des relations normales d'amitié, mais n'entendaient pas rompre leurs liens avec le Royaume-Uni. Il n'y a aucune raison de proposer qu'il ne soit pas tenu compte de leurs aspirations, et tel est pourtant le sens de quelques-unes des interventions qui ont eu lieu au cours du débat.

90. On a laissé entendre que la population n'entrerait pas en ligne de compte, en alléguant que les habitants ne faisaient que passer, qu'il n'y avait dans l'archipel ni naissances ni décès, que la population se composait d'habitants transplantés par le Royaume-Uni plutôt que d'habitants de souche autochtone, et que bon nombre d'entre eux étaient des employés de la Falkland Island Company. La population des Falkland ne doit donner lieu à aucun malentendu. Elle compte un peu plus de 2 000 habitants, dont 80 p. 100 sont nés dans l'archipel. Bon nombre d'entre eux pourraient prouver que leurs ancêtres étaient déjà établis dans les Falkland il y a plus d'un siècle. Certes, les habitants sont les descendants d'une communauté d'immigrants, mais on peut en dire autant de la population de l'Amérique du Nord et de l'Amérique du Sud, et même de celle de l'Europe et de l'Afrique. Il serait insensé de restreindre l'application du principe de l'autodétermination aux quelques per-

sonnes qui peuvent en toute certitude se prétendre les descendants d'autochtones. Rien dans la Charte ou dans la résolution 1514 (XV) n'autorise une limitation d'une telle portée. En tout cas, il est tout à fait faux de dire que la population des Falkland se compose de gens de passage et qu'aucune naissance et qu'aucun décès ne sont enregistrés dans l'archipel. Les taux de natalité et de mortalité sont publiés; ils sont légèrement supérieurs aux taux enregistrés au Royaume-Uni et cela seul contredit absolument la notion d'une espèce de garnison, sans racine dans le territoire et périodiquement remplacée ou relevée.

91. Les représentants du Venezuela et de l'Italie ont dit que le problème des Falkland était celui d'un territoire colonial plutôt que d'un peuple colonial, celui d'une terre plutôt que d'êtres humains. C'est là, à coup sûr, une façon de voir que la Quatrième Commission ne saurait approuver. Comme l'a dit le président Woodrow Wilson, les peuples ne sont pas des objets ou pions pouvant être troqués et passer d'une souveraineté à une autre. On a dit que le paragraphe 6 du dispositif de la résolution 1514 (XV) devait être interprété comme privant du bénéfice de l'autodétermination les habitants de territoires faisant l'objet d'une revendication territoriale de la part d'un autre pays. La délégation du Royaume-Uni et d'autres ont déjà montré de manière concluante, devant le Comité spécial, que ce paragraphe n'avait pas été conçu pour restreindre en quoi que ce soit la portée du principe de l'autodétermination. M. Brown se réfère à ce sujet aux paragraphes 94 à 98 et 146 à 151 du chapitre X du document A/5800/Rev.1, et au paragraphe 109 de l'annexe au chapitre XXIII du même document. Rien de ce qui a été dit au cours du présent débat n'est venu infirmer ces arguments.

92. Les intérêts et aspirations des habitants des îles Falkland sont au centre des préoccupations qui dictent au Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni son attitude à l'égard de ce territoire. Le représentant de l'Argentine a soutenu que les intérêts de la population seraient mieux servis si la souveraineté sur ce territoire était transférée à l'Argentine. Cela peut se discuter, mais le fait capital est que le Gouvernement argentin ne peut en décider pour les habitants, pas plus que le Royaume-Uni ou l'Organisation des Nations Unies. C'est aux habitants eux-mêmes de juger où se trouve leur intérêt.

93. Le représentant de l'Argentine a parlé des recommandations du Comité spécial et de la communication que son gouvernement a adressée au Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni pour suggérer que des conversations aient lieu conformément à ces recommandations. La position du Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni à l'égard de ces recommandations est exposée en détail dans le rapport du Comité spécial pour 1964 (A/5800/Rev.1, chap. XXIII, par. 29 et 30). Comme l'avenir des habitants des îles Falkland ne peut être réglé sans eux, il s'ensuit que le problème de la souveraineté ne peut faire l'objet de négociations. Cependant, le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni est toujours prêt à étudier avec le Gouvernement argentin les moyens d'éviter que des dommages ne soient causés aux bonnes relations entre les deux pays. C'est pourquoi le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni a répondu à l'invitation de l'Argentine en se déclarant

prêt à engager des discussions par la voie diplomatique et a prié le Gouvernement argentin d'indiquer à cet effet des sujets de discussion appropriés, compte tenu des réserves du Royaume-Uni sur la souveraineté et sur la nécessité de respecter les aspirations et intérêts des habitants des îles Falkland. La délégation du Royaume-Uni espère que ces discussions auront lieu et qu'elles permettront d'améliorer les relations déjà cordiales entre les deux pays.

94. Le projet de résolution sur les îles Falkland (A/C.4/L.802) semble laisser entendre que la question de la souveraineté devrait faire l'objet de négociations. De plus, il ne tient aucun compte des vœux des habitants. C'est pourquoi la délégation du Royaume-Uni a des réserves à faire à son sujet. En outre, la résolution semble superflue. Il vaudrait mieux laisser le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni et le Gouvernement argentin poursuivre des discussions entre eux. Le projet de résolution n'a pas de rôle essentiel ou utile à jouer dans ce processus et, s'il est mis aux voix, la délégation du Royaume-Uni s'abstiendra. M. Brown tient, par ailleurs, à relever l'emploi abusif qui est fait, dans ce projet de résolution, du mot "Malvinas". Un tel emploi n'est pas reconnu par la Puissance administrante — le Royaume-Uni — ni conforme à l'usage de l'Organisation des Nations Unies. M. Brown demande donc une fois de plus que le texte anglais du projet de résolution soit corrigé. L'emploi du terme "Malvinas" ne saurait affecter en aucun cas la souveraineté du Royaume-Uni sur ces îles.

95. Une grande partie de ce que M. Brown vient de dire vaut également pour Gibraltar. Comme sa délégation l'a déjà précisé, le Royaume-Uni n'a aucun doute quant à sa souveraineté sur Gibraltar. A la 1556ème séance, le représentant de l'Espagne a prétendu que le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni répugnait à engager des pourparlers et cherchait à dissimuler son mauvais vouloir en prétextant que les restrictions frontalières, dont il s'est d'ailleurs efforcé de minimiser l'importance et les conséquences néfastes tant pour les habitants de Gibraltar que pour leurs amis et voisins espagnols, constituaient une contrainte. Afin de montrer la véritable nature des obstacles qui s'opposent aux négociations demandées par le consensus, M. Brown attire l'attention de la Commission sur une lettre que le Ministre des affaires étrangères d'Espagne a adressée le 18 novembre 1964 à l'ambassadeur du Royaume-Uni à Madrid. Dans cette lettre, reproduite en annexe I au document A/AC.109/L.235, le Ministre déclarait:

"Faute d'une solution négociée, telle que la prévoit le consensus du Comité spécial [A/5800/Rev.1, chap. X, par. 209], le Gouvernement espagnol se verrait obligé, n'ayant d'autre choix pour défendre ses intérêts, de reconsidérer sa politique à l'égard de Gibraltar."

Vu les restrictions qu'on avait commencé à appliquer un mois plus tôt, le lendemain même du consensus, il est manifeste que les termes de cette lettre constituent une menace à laquelle aucun Etat ne saurait se soumettre. C'est cette menace et sa mise à exécution contre Gibraltar qui constituent le véritable obstacle aux négociations.

96. Le 16 octobre 1964, le Comité spécial a adopté un consensus relatif à Gibraltar, invitant le Royaume-Uni et l'Espagne à engager des négociations. Dans les 24 heures suivantes, le Gouvernement espagnol a commencé à imposer, le long de la frontière séparant l'Espagne de Gibraltar, toute une série de restrictions manifestement destinées à influencer sur la situation du territoire. Premièrement, tous les véhicules entrant à Gibraltar ou en sortant ont été soumis à des délais d'attente excessifs; de ce fait, le nombre de voitures de tourisme qui sont entrées à Gibraltar au cours des neuf premiers mois de 1965 a été de 5 153, contre 75 041 pour la période correspondante de 1964. Deuxièmement, les touristes ne sont plus autorisés à introduire en Espagne des articles provenant de Gibraltar sans acquitter des droits de douane excessivement élevés. Troisièmement, toutes les exportations espagnoles vers Gibraltar ont été interdites, à l'exception du poisson, des fruits et des légumes. Aussi bien les retards imposés aux touristes que les droits de douane excessifs qui frappent les importations constituent une violation des engagements contractés par les membres de l'Union internationale des organismes officiels de tourisme, dont fait partie le Ministère espagnol de l'information et du tourisme.

97. Depuis l'offre de négociations faite par l'Espagne le 18 novembre 1964, ces restrictions et ces atteintes au *statu quo* se sont encore accentuées, ainsi qu'on va le voir. Premièrement, quelque 1 000 personnes, dont la plupart étaient des ressortissants britanniques habitant dans les villes proches de Gibraltar, ont été obligées de quitter leurs foyers à très bref délai; certaines d'entre elles n'avaient jamais eu d'autre domicile. Deuxièmement, il a été interdit aux travailleurs espagnols, sur l'ordre de leur gouvernement, de dépenser à Gibraltar une partie quelconque de leurs salaires encaissés à Gibraltar pour l'achat de denrées alimentaires, etc., qu'ils consommeraient en Espagne. Troisièmement, certains passeports délivrés à Gibraltar n'ont pas été reconnus valables pour l'Espagne. En outre, le Gouvernement espagnol a manifesté son hostilité à l'égard de la population de Gibraltar en refusant l'entrée en Espagne à une certaine catégorie de personnes. Dans cette catégorie figurent les pétitionnaires qui ont été entendus par le Comité spécial et tous les autres membres élus du Conseil législatif de Gibraltar, certains journalistes et d'autres personnes. Tout cela n'a pas empêché le représentant de l'Espagne, au cours de son intervention devant la Commission, de chercher à minimiser la portée et l'effet de ces restrictions et de laisser entendre que seul le Royaume-Uni avait refusé d'appliquer le consensus. Il est bien évident qu'il n'en est rien.

98. Une importante question de principe est en jeu. Si l'on invite deux parties à un différend à rechercher par voie de négociations une solution pacifique, il est inadmissible que l'une d'entre elles s'efforce d'influencer le résultat de ces négociations en exerçant par avance des pressions de caractère politique ou économique. Les pressions exercées par l'Espagne ont commencé après que le consensus a été adopté par le Comité; autrement dit, le consensus tenait

compte d'un ensemble de circonstances particulières que l'Espagne a modifiées de façon unilatérale dans les 24 heures qui ont suivi son adoption. Attendre du Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni qu'il réponde, dans ces conditions, à des propositions de conversations équivaldrait à admettre qu'il est légitime de chercher à influencer, par la contrainte politique ou économique, la situation d'un territoire qui a fait l'objet d'un consensus — principe auquel ni l'Organisation des Nations Unies ni aucun de ses Membres ne saurait souscrire.

99. Il y a lieu aussi de considérer les effets pratiques des restrictions imposées par le Gouvernement espagnol. Du point de vue économique, les effets qu'elles ont sur Gibraltar et sur les villes espagnoles voisines sont graves. Elles constituent un véritable blocus économique, qui s'accompagne d'une campagne de dénigrement menée par la presse et la radio espagnoles et vise à porter préjudice à la population de Gibraltar et à influencer ainsi sur la situation d'une façon que l'Espagne estime conforme à ses intérêts. Le Gouvernement espagnol a prétendu qu'en adoptant ces mesures, il ne faisait qu'exercer les droits de souveraineté de l'Espagne sur son propre territoire, mais ceci n'a rien à voir avec la question. Le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni n'a jamais prétendu que le Gouvernement espagnol agissait de façon illégale en imposant ces restrictions. Il a simplement déclaré qu'elles constituaient une tentative pour influencer la situation et qu'elles étaient anormales.

100. Le représentant de l'Espagne a également laissé entendre que ces mesures visaient à réprimer la contrebande. Dans le passé, les représentants de l'Espagne sont allés jusqu'à prétendre que toute la vie économique de Gibraltar reposait sur la contrebande. Comme l'on sait, l'économie de Gibraltar repose surtout sur les dépenses faites par divers services du Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni, sur l'industrie touristique et sur le commerce d'entrepôt. Le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni a, à maintes reprises, offert au Gouvernement espagnol la possibilité d'aborder la question de la contrebande et l'a engagé à fournir des preuves; si l'Espagne a des griefs fondés, le Royaume-Uni est toujours prêt à en discuter. Mais la faiblesse de ces accusations ressort à l'évidence du fait qu'aucune des communications adressées par le Gouvernement espagnol au Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni depuis l'adoption du consensus ne fait la moindre allusion à la contrebande.

101. Pour toutes ces raisons, le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni ne peut accepter de donner suite aux propositions de discussions tant que la situation ne sera pas redevenue normale. Cela ne signifie pas que le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni n'ait pas l'intention d'accepter des pourparlers, comme en témoigne sa réaction favorable à la proposition de l'Argentine. Si le Gouvernement espagnol désire sincèrement engager des négociations, il doit rétablir la situation telle qu'elle était lorsque l'Organisation des Nations Unies les a suggérées. En attendant, M. Brown réaffirme que le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni accepte, comme ses obligations le lui ordonnent, de défendre les intérêts de la population de Gibraltar et qu'il s'acquittera de cette obligation par tous les

moyens nécessaires. La population de Gibraltar est la véritable communauté permanente de ce territoire et a les mêmes droits que toute autre population coloniale, où qu'elle se trouve. Le principe de l'auto-détermination s'applique autant à elle qu'à tout autre peuple. Les habitants ne désirent pas passer sous la souveraineté espagnole, car ils ne croient pas que ce soit là leur véritable intérêt et ils ne laisseront à personne le soin de décider pour eux ce qui est leur véritable intérêt.

102. En terminant, M. Brown s'élève de nouveau contre la conclusion selon laquelle ce serait le Royaume-Uni qui se serait refusé à négocier, et il réaffirme que son gouvernement est tout disposé à donner suite à des propositions de conversations dès que la situation le long de la frontière sera redevenue normale. Plus vite l'obstacle aux pourparlers sera éliminé, mieux cela vaudra pour tous les intéressés.

La séance est levée à 19 h 30.

Nations Unies
**ASSEMBLÉE
GÉNÉRALE**

VINGTIÈME SESSION

Documents officiels



**QUATRIÈME COMMISSION, 1566^e
SÉANCE**

Mercredi 24 novembre 1965,
à 11 heures

NEW YORK

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POINT 23 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

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EXAMEN DE PROJETS DE RESOLUTION (suite)
[A/C.4/L.806/REV.1 ET ADD.1, A/C.4/L.807 ET ADD.1 ET 2]

1. M. FOUM (République-Unie de Tanzanie), présentant le projet de résolution A/C.4/L.806/Rev.1 et Add.1 concernant le territoire de l'île Maurice, dit que la discussion générale sur les petits territoires coloniaux a montré que les membres de la Commission se préoccupent tout autant de ces territoires que des autres.

2. Le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni a déclaré que des plans ont été préparés en vue d'accorder l'indépendance au territoire de l'île Maurice au plus tard en 1966. C'est peut-être exact, mais ces plans ne se sont pas encore concrétisés et la situation reste

confuse. C'est pourquoi, après avoir réaffirmé le droit inaliénable du peuple de l'île Maurice à la liberté et à l'indépendance, les auteurs du projet de résolution ont invité la Puissance administrante à prendre des mesures efficaces en vue de la mise en œuvre immédiate et complète de la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale. De sérieux doutes demeurent quant aux modalités d'octroi de l'indépendance. La liberté est indivisible et ce serait la nier que d'accorder l'indépendance tout en l'assortissant d'obligations ou de conditions qui auraient pour effet d'annuler cette indépendance.

3. Le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni a fait état des droits qu'il possède dans certaines des îles du territoire et a parlé de partage des responsabilités administratives et autres. Le paragraphe 6 du dispositif de la résolution 1514 (XV) contient une déclaration très claire sur l'intégrité territoriale des territoires coloniaux et l'interprétation de ce paragraphe ne doit donner lieu à aucune équivoque ni à des querelles d'ordre juridique. La situation dans d'autres pays a montré que le maintien de bases étrangères est un des plus grands maux qui puissent frapper un peuple indépendant. La base que l'on envisage d'installer sur le territoire de l'île Maurice constituerait une menace à la liberté non seulement de ce territoire mais également des pays voisins d'Asie et d'Afrique. Du fait qu'elle servirait les intérêts stratégiques de la Puissance administrante et de ses alliés, elle entraînerait toute la région dans la guerre froide et introduirait des sous-marins nucléaires et des navires porteurs de missiles dans l'océan Indien, sacrifiant ainsi la neutralité de la région. Comme il est indiqué dans la Déclaration de la deuxième Conférence des chefs d'Etat ou de gouvernement des pays non alignés qui s'est tenue au Caire en octobre 1964, le maintien ou la création possible de bases militaires étrangères et le stationnement de troupes étrangères sur les territoires d'autres pays contre la volonté expresse de ces pays sont une violation flagrante de la souveraineté des Etats et une menace à la liberté et à la paix internationales; en particulier l'existence ou l'établissement futur sur des territoires dépendants de bases qui pourraient être utilisées en vue du maintien du colonialisme sont indéfendables. Le fait de démembrer le territoire de l'île Maurice et de constituer une nouvelle entité coloniale où serait installée une base militaire aurait pour effet de créer un point de tension et serait préjudiciable à l'accession pacifique d'un territoire colonial et de son peuple à la liberté et à l'indépendance.

4. Les auteurs espèrent que la Commission saura apprécier comme il convient le projet de résolution et que celui-ci recevra le plus large appui.

*Reprise des débats de la 1560^{ème} séance.

5. M. NATWAR SINGH (Inde) s'associe, comme coauteur du projet de résolution, aux observations du représentant de la République-Unie de Tanzanie. La Quatrième Commission est saisie pour la première fois d'un projet de résolution sur l'île Maurice. La question a été examinée au printemps de 1964 par le Sous-Comité du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux et par le Comité spécial lui-même en novembre 1964. L'île Maurice est prête pour l'indépendance et la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale doit lui être appliquée sans autre délai. Il a été tenu compte des mesures prises par la Puissance administrante au sujet de l'avenir constitutionnel du territoire. M. Natwar Singh signale en particulier le dernier alinéa du préambule du projet de résolution qui s'inspire du paragraphe 6 de la résolution 1514 (XV). Le paragraphe 4 du dispositif invite la Puissance administrante à ne prendre aucune mesure qui serait contraire à cette disposition. A aucun point de vue, militaire ou économique, le démembrement n'est souhaitable, et il est contraire aux dispositions de la résolution 1514 (XV).

6. Lors d'une intervention récente au Parlement indien, le Premier Ministre de l'Inde a fait allusion à une nouvelle selon laquelle le Secrétaire d'Etat aux colonies du Royaume-Uni a déclaré que le Royaume-Uni disposerait d'un nouveau territoire dans l'océan Indien, le territoire britannique de l'océan Indien, dans lequel les gouvernements du Royaume-Uni et des Etats-Unis pourraient construire des installations de caractère défensif, bien qu'aucun plan n'ait encore été élaboré. Quelques jours plus tard, la position de l'Inde sur cette question a été précisée devant le Parlement indien: l'Inde est hostile à l'idée qu'une puissance coloniale démembre un territoire à de telles fins et estime que cet acte serait contraire à la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale. L'Inde, qui a signé au Caire la Déclaration de la deuxième Conférence des chefs d'Etat ou de gouvernement des pays non alignés, est fermement opposée à toute tentative de démembrement d'un territoire, quelle qu'en soit la raison, par une Puissance administrante.

7. M. Natwar Singh exprime l'espoir que la Commission appréciera le projet de résolution et l'appuiera largement.

8. M. ANDRE (Dahomey) présente au nom des auteurs le projet de résolution A/C.4/L.807 et Add.1 et 2 relatif à Fernando Pôo et Rfo Muni. Ce projet tient compte des déclarations qui ont été faites à la Commission et des récentes mesures administratives prises par la Puissance administrante. Il est essentiel que ce territoire soit totalement libéré et la Commission s'est accordée à reconnaître qu'il fallait trouver une solution. Le projet de résolution en propose une et M. André espère que la Commission l'adoptera à l'unanimité.

9. M. THIAM (Mali) souligne que le projet de résolution reconnaît le droit inaliénable du peuple de Fernando Pôo et de Rfo Muni à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance et demande à la Puissance administrante de fixer la date la plus rapprochée possible pour l'indépendance après consultation popu-

laire au suffrage universel sous le contrôle de l'Organisation des Nations Unies; il invite le Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux à suivre l'évolution de la situation et à faire rapport à l'Assemblée générale à sa vingt et unième session. Les auteurs du projet de résolution estiment qu'il conduira à un règlement du problème et que l'Espagne ne se contentera pas de demi-mesures. M. Thiam exprime l'espoir que le projet de résolution sera largement appuyé par la Commission.

Nations Unies

ASSEMBLÉE GÉNÉRALE

VINGTIÈME SESSION

Documents officiels



QUATRIÈME COMMISSION, 1570^e
SÉANCE

Vendredi 26 novembre 1965,
à 15 h 20

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Organisation des travaux de la Commission

1. Le PRÉSIDENT informe la Commission que plusieurs délégations ont suggéré qu'avant de poursuivre la discussion générale sur le Sud-Ouest africain, la Commission se prononce sur les trois projets de résolution dont elle est saisie et qui concernent respectivement l'île Maurice (A/C.4/L.806/Rev.1 et Add.1), Fernando Pô et le Rfo Muni (A/C.4/L.807 et Add.1 à 3), et les îles Fidji (A/C.4/L.808 et Add.1). S'il n'y a pas d'objection, il considérera que la Commission désire procéder ainsi.

Il en est ainsi décidé.

POINT 23 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

Application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux: rapports du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays

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EXAMEN DE PROJETS DE RÉSOLUTION (suite)
[A/C.4/L.806/REV.1 ET ADD.1, L.807 ET ADD.1 A 3, L.808 ET ADD.1]

2. M. GIMENEZ MELO (Argentine) félicite les auteurs du projet de résolution A/C.4/L.806/Rev.1 et Add.1, relatif à l'île Maurice, de s'être montrés soucieux de sauvegarder les droits de la population du territoire et d'avoir tenu compte de ses aspirations à l'indépendance et du droit des habitants à conserver leur intégrité territoriale, reconnaissant ainsi un principe profondément enraciné dans la conscience des pays d'Amérique latine et consacré au paragraphe 6 de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux contenue dans la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale. A l'égard du cinquième alinéa du préambule, M. Gimenez Melo a une objection à formuler: cet alinéa semble limiter la violation de la Déclaration, et notamment de son paragraphe 6, à l'établissement d'une base militaire. De l'avis de la délégation argentine, il peut y avoir violation de ce paragraphe 6 qu'il s'agisse ou non de bases militaires; par exemple, la violation peut résulter des activités d'une entreprise industrielle. Néanmoins, la délégation argentine votera en faveur du projet de résolution.

3. Quant au projet de résolution relatif aux îles Fidji (A/C.4/L.808 et Add.1), la délégation argentine votera également en sa faveur, car il reflète fidèlement la situation dans le territoire, telle qu'elle a été analysée par le Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux.

4. Quant au projet de résolution relatif à la Guinée équatoriale (A/C.4/L.807 et Add.1 à 3) la délégation argentine éprouve des préoccupations en ce qui concerne certains éléments du dispositif, en particulier le paragraphe 2, qui ne semblent pas en harmonie avec la situation réelle dans le territoire, ni avec les attributions que possède actuellement la Puissance administrante. Elle aurait également préféré que le projet de résolution rende hommage, d'une manière ou d'une autre, à l'Espagne pour la manière dont elle s'acquitte de sa tâche de décolonisation, avec cette sagesse politique dont elle a donné tant de preuves. Malgré ces objections, la délégation argentine votera également pour ce texte.

*Reprise des débats de la 1567^{ème} séance.

5. M. MELLBIN (Danemark) déclare que, de l'avis de sa délégation, le dernier alinéa du préambule du projet de résolution relatif aux îles Fidji (A/C.4/L.808 et Add.1) ne devrait pas se borner à déclarer que les changements d'ordre constitutionnel envisagés par la Puissance administrante susciteraient des tendances séparatistes et feraient obstacle à l'intégration de l'ensemble de la population dans les domaines politique, économique et social. Sans doute, cette intégration est l'objectif final et les changements constitutionnels ne l'ont pas encore réalisée, mais on ne peut nier qu'un pas ait été fait dans cette direction. Le paragraphe 2 du dispositif réaffirme le droit du peuple des îles Fidji à la liberté et à l'indépendance. Or, à la Conférence constitutionnelle de Londres, les trois groupes principaux de la population ont reconnu que la question de l'indépendance ne se posait pas actuellement et M. Mellbin pense que, de façon générale, les membres de la Commission estiment eux aussi que l'indépendance n'est pas la solution unique et que la décision appartient à la population. Le paragraphe 4 du dispositif demande l'institution d'un système inconditionnel de représentation démocratique fondé sur le suffrage universel. La délégation danoise espère que ce système serait assorti des garanties voulues pour les groupes minoritaires. Sous ces réserves, la délégation danoise votera en faveur du texte proposé.

6. Quant au projet de résolution relatif à l'île Maurice (A/C.4/L.806/Rev.1 et Add.1), il est regrettable qu'aucune mention n'y soit faite du fait qu'une date a été fixée pour l'indépendance. D'autre part, la délégation danoise n'est pas convaincue que les mesures envisagées par la Puissance administrante, en complet accord avec le Gouvernement de l'île Maurice, en ce qui concerne certaines petites îles de l'océan Indien soient en contradiction avec la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale. Sous ces réserves, la délégation danoise votera en faveur du texte proposé.

7. M. DE PINIES (Espagne) regrette que le projet de résolution A/C.4/L.807 et Add.1 à 3 ne tienne pas compte des déclarations faites devant la Commission par le Président du Conseil de gouvernement de la Guinée équatoriale, M. Odó Edú, et par les membres de nombreuses délégations, qui ont eu des paroles élogieuses pour la politique suivie par l'Espagne à l'égard de ce territoire. L'Espagne aborde le problème de la décolonisation dans un esprit de sincérité absolue, ainsi qu'il sied à un pays qui a sur son propre sol une question coloniale pour la solution de laquelle il espère pouvoir compter sur l'appui de l'Organisation des Nations Unies.

8. Nul n'ignore que l'Espagne prépare le peuple de la Guinée équatoriale à décider librement de son avenir. Le thème de l'indépendance a été maintes fois traité, non pas seulement par le Président du Conseil de gouvernement de la Guinée équatoriale, mais aussi par les plus hautes autorités espagnoles. Dans ces conditions, demander de fixer une date pour l'indépendance est une exigence déplacée, puisque l'Espagne est disposée à accorder cette indépendance à tout moment. Le principe de l'autodétermination suppose que c'est au peuple de la Guinée équatoriale qu'il appartient de décider du moment à choisir. Le

processus qui doit aboutir à l'indépendance est déjà très avancé et la population du territoire tient déjà son destin entre ses mains. M. Ondó Edú, président du gouvernement autonome, a déclaré qu'une étape de préparation à l'indépendance complète était nécessaire, mais qu'il fallait au territoire la paix, l'ordre et beaucoup de travail.

9. Si la délégation espagnole se prononçait au sujet de ce projet de résolution, elle enfreindrait le droit de la population du territoire à l'autodétermination. La délégation espagnole réserve donc sa position en ce qui concerne la portée et la signification du projet de résolution et ne participera pas au vote. Elle tient néanmoins à assurer la Commission que l'Espagne est toujours disposée à collaborer au développement du continent africain dans tout ce qui sert les intérêts véritables de ses habitants.

10. M. ORANTES LUNA (Guatemala) indique que sa délégation votera en faveur du projet de résolution A/C.4/L.807 et Add.1 à 3. Elle eût cependant préféré que l'on ne demande pas à la Puissance administrante de fixer la date la plus rapprochée possible pour l'indépendance après consultation populaire sous le contrôle des Nations Unies, car la Puissance administrante a déjà déclaré qu'elle était prête à accorder l'indépendance dès que la population du territoire la demanderait, et que c'est à la population qu'appartient l'initiative en ce domaine. Il eût, d'autre part, été juste de remercier l'Espagne de l'œuvre qu'elle a accomplie dans l'intérêt du territoire de la Guinée équatoriale confié à son administration.

11. M. DE CASTRO (Philippines) dit que sa délégation votera pour le projet de résolution relatif aux îles Fidji (A/C.4/L.808 et Add.1), qui reprend les conclusions du Comité spécial et est empreint de l'esprit de la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale. Le paragraphe 5 de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux demande que des mesures immédiates soient prises pour transférer tous pouvoirs aux peuples des territoires qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance, afin de leur permettre de jouir d'une indépendance et d'une liberté complètes. En rappelant les termes de ce paragraphe la résolution 1951 (XVIII) de l'Assemblée générale a invité la Puissance administrante à élaborer une nouvelle constitution prévoyant des élections libres selon le principe "à chacun une voix" et à prendre sans délai des mesures pour transférer tous les pouvoirs aux peuples du territoire. Or, le nombre de membres non fonctionnaires du Conseil législatif est demeuré inchangé et sa composition actuelle n'est certes pas représentative; quant aux membres désignés, ils n'ont pas de comptes à rendre à la population. Le paragraphe 4 du projet de résolution prie la Puissance administrante de prendre d'urgence des mesures pour abroger toutes les lois de caractère discriminatoire et pour instituer un système inconditionnel de représentation démocratique. Certaines objections ont été formulées au sujet de ce texte et il a été dit qu'il y avait aux îles Fidji plus d'Indiens que de Mélanésiens, mais ceux qu'on appelle "Indiens" habitent les îles depuis des générations, n'ont plus de foyer en Inde et doivent donc être considérés comme de vrais habitants des Fidji.

12. La délégation philippine votera également pour le projet de résolution A/C.4/L.807 et Add.1 à 3, relatif à Fernando Pôo et au Rfo Muni. Elle aurait néanmoins apprécié un rappel de la loi fondamentale qui a accordé au territoire une certaine autonomie interne et a été librement acceptée par la population lors d'un plébiscite démocratique. Le territoire est donc engagé dans la voie de l'autodétermination et il possède un gouvernement provisoire qui, on peut légitimement l'espérer, conduira le territoire à l'indépendance complète. Cela étant, il était inutile de demander à la Puissance administrante de fixer "la date la plus rapprochée possible" pour l'indépendance.

13. Mme KONANTZ (Canada) dit que sa délégation ne pourra pas appuyer le projet de résolution relatif aux îles Fidji (A/C.4/L.808 et Add.1), parce qu'il ne reconnaît pas que de nouveaux progrès ont été accomplis, dans le cadre de la nouvelle constitution, vers l'autonomie interne. Le projet de résolution ne tient pas compte du fait que, dans un pays comme les îles Fidji où diverses communautés ethniques cohabitent, il est essentiel que l'évolution constitutionnelle soit conforme aux vœux de la population; il ne tient pas non plus compte du désir qu'a la population de continuer pour l'instant son association avec la Puissance administrante. La délégation canadienne s'abstiendra donc au moment du vote.

14. M. BROWN (Royaume-Uni) tient à remercier les représentants de Ceylan et du Libéria pour l'esprit de modération et de sympathie dont ils ont fait preuve en présentant à la 1567ème séance le projet de résolution A/C.4/L.808 et Add.1, relatif aux îles Fidji. La délégation du Royaume-Uni approuve sans réserve un grand nombre des observations alors formulées par le représentant de Ceylan au sujet de la nécessité de rompre les barrières entre les groupes. Elle ne peut cependant partager le point de vue selon lequel les changements constitutionnels qui doivent être inaugurés par la Puissance administrante provoqueraient des divisions dans la vie politique du territoire. Ce point de vue est reflété par le projet de résolution et, sur ce point, la délégation du Royaume-Uni est d'un avis complètement différent.

15. Dans sa déclaration de la 1558ème séance, M. Brown a indiqué les grandes lignes des changements constitutionnels annoncés: suffrage universel des adultes; conseil législatif comptant 36 membres élus et seulement 4 membres fonctionnaires; système ministériel. Quant à la représentation proportionnelle des groupes ethniques, les Fidjiens auront quelques sièges supplémentaires, les Européens en auront un peu moins, et le nombre de ceux dont disposent les Indiens demeurera inchangé. Il doit également y avoir un système de candidatures soumises à l'ensemble de l'électorat, selon lequel trois représentants de chaque groupe ethnique seront élus par l'ensemble des électeurs, ce qui constituera un progrès très important, destiné à favoriser l'apparition de dirigeants politiques représentant les intérêts de l'ensemble de la population et non plus seulement d'un groupe. C'est donc un pas dans la voie de l'intégration politique et de la disparition des barrières entre groupes.

16. Les modifications étant ainsi conformes aux principes et objectifs fondamentaux acceptés par tous, la question est de savoir quel est le rythme à adopter.

A cet égard, le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni a été guidé par les vœux des habitants, à quelque groupe qu'ils appartiennent. Aller plus vite que l'un des groupes principaux ne consent à le faire, ce serait s'exposer à un désastre et encourager les suspensions et divisions raciales que la politique britannique s'efforce précisément de faire disparaître.

17. Le sixième alinéa du préambule et le paragraphe 4 du dispositif du projet de résolution semblent donc mal conçus. Les changements constitutionnels qui doivent être introduits visent à rapprocher les groupes du territoire et il est contraire à la vraisemblance de prétendre qu'ils susciteront des tendances séparatistes. La première partie du paragraphe 4 fait allusion à l'existence de lois de caractère discriminatoire. Ces lois, telles qu'elles sont, sont en fait destinées à protéger les intérêts légitimes des diverses collectivités dans une situation où des craintes réciproques ne peuvent être dissipées que par la protection des lois. Ces craintes existent, et la protection des lois sera donc nécessaire jusqu'au moment où le développement de l'unité et de la coopération nationales, que la politique du Royaume-Uni a pour objet de favoriser, la rendront superflue. La deuxième partie de ce paragraphe semble réclamer l'abolition immédiate de tout système de vote par groupe et l'abandon du projet de la Puissance administrante relatif au système de candidatures soumises à l'ensemble de l'électorat. Cela reviendrait à imposer une révolution politique qui ne pourrait qu'accroître l'opposition et les suspensions entre les divers groupes raciaux. Le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni n'est pas disposé à le faire, et la délégation du Royaume-Uni ne pense pas que la Quatrième Commission ou l'Assemblée générale doivent le demander. Elle votera donc contre le projet de résolution A/C.4/L.808 et Add.1.

18. Passant au projet de résolution relatif à l'île Maurice (A/C.4/L.806/Rev.1 et Add.1), M. Brown rappelle qu'il a décrit en détail, à la 1558ème séance, les résultats de la conférence constitutionnelle de Londres. Il a expliqué qu'il y aurait une commission électorale, des élections générales et six mois d'autonomie interne, au bout desquels, si la nouvelle assemblée demandait l'indépendance, celle-ci serait accordée. Tout ceci pourra probablement être accompli avant la fin de 1966. Or le projet de résolution regrette que la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale n'ait pas été complètement appliquée, comme si la perspective de l'indépendance ne s'ouvrirait pas à brève échéance pour le territoire. Une telle méconnaissance des réalités de la situation ne peut que diminuer l'autorité des résolutions de l'Assemblée générale, et la délégation du Royaume-Uni ne pourra donc voter en faveur du projet de résolution. Elle ne peut davantage approuver le passage du projet de résolution selon lequel toute mesure prise pour détacher certaines îles du territoire constituerait une violation de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. Elle peut encore moins y voir une mesure qui démembrerait le territoire et violerait son intégrité territoriale. La question de l'intégrité territoriale de l'île Maurice, M. Brown le répète, ne se pose pas dans un tel contexte. La délégation du Royaume-Uni s'abstiendra donc au moment du vote sur ce projet de résolution.

19. La délégation du Royaume-Uni votera, en revanche, pour le projet de résolution sur Fernando Pôo et le Rio Muni (A/C.4/L.807 et Add.1 à 3), dont elle approuve l'esprit et les objectifs. M. Brown désire cependant formuler une réserve en ce qui concerne le "droit" à l'autodétermination mentionné dans ce texte et réaffirmer à ce propos l'opinion bien connue de sa délégation quant à la distinction à faire entre un "droit" et un "principe". En outre, de l'avis de sa délégation, la base de toute consultation populaire et de toute participation éventuelle de l'Organisation des Nations Unies à une consultation de cet ordre sont des questions qui relèvent de la Puissance administrante.

20. M. McCARTHY (Australie) dit que sa délégation rend hommage aux intentions du projet de résolution sur les îles Fidji (A/C.4/L.808 et Add.1) qui cherche la solution des problèmes du territoire dans le principe de suffrage universel avec liste électorale unique, principe que, pour sa part, la délégation australienne approuve entièrement. Cependant, selon l'Article 73 de la Charte des Nations Unies, l'objectif recherché est le développement progressif des institutions politiques des territoires, "dans la mesure appropriée aux conditions particulières de chaque territoire et de ses populations". Or il y a, aux îles Fidji, 206 000 Indiens, 175 000 Mélanésien et 36 000 personnes appartenant à des ethnies diverses. Les Mélanésien ont conservé leurs qualités et leurs traditions, leur cohésion sociale. Les Indiens sont des immigrants qui ont commencé d'arriver il y a une quarantaine d'années. Ils considèrent les îles Fidji comme leur patrie; ils vivent en harmonie auprès des autochtones, mais non pas avec eux, car les deux groupes restent séparés, et cette séparation n'est pas le fait de la Puissance administrante.

21. Aussi la délégation australienne pense-t-elle, compte tenu des conditions particulières des îles Fidji, que l'application des résolutions mentionnées créerait précisément les difficultés que le cinquième alinéa du préambule vise à empêcher. Quant au sixième alinéa du préambule, loin de croire que les changements constitutionnels envisagés susciteraient des tendances séparatistes et feraient obstacle à l'intégration, la délégation australienne est persuadée qu'ils constituent un début qui pourrait graduellement aboutir à l'intégration des deux principaux groupes de la communauté fidjienne.

22. La pièce maîtresse du texte, à savoir le paragraphe 4 du dispositif, réclame un système inconditionnel de représentation démocratique fondé sur le principe "à chacun une voix". Ce principe est en lui-même excellent, mais les réalités de la situation actuelle sont telles qu'il vaut beaucoup mieux pour l'instant se contenter d'un début, d'une tête de pont qui sera élargie par la suite. Le Royaume-Uni cherche à frayer un chemin dans une situation extrêmement difficile, en s'efforçant de tenir compte des intérêts des deux principaux groupes du territoire, et non de l'intérêt exclusif de tel ou tel groupe. Le texte proposé ne paraissant pas opportun à la délégation australienne, elle se verra dans l'obligation de voter contre.

23. M. ZOHRAB (Nouvelle-Zélande) dit que sa délégation s'abstiendra au moment du vote sur le projet

de résolution relatif aux îles Fidji (A/C.4/L.808 et Add.1). Bien qu'elle appuie pleinement l'idée fondamentale du projet, elle ne peut en effet partager les vues reflétées au sixième alinéa du préambule et au paragraphe 4 du dispositif.

24. Selon cet alinéa, les changements constitutionnels envisagés susciteraient des tendances séparatistes et feraient obstacle à l'intégration, ce qui ne semble pas exact. Les mesures proposées ne sont qu'un commencement, mais un commencement indiscutable. Les modifications du système électoral tendront à donner une législature reflétant plus fidèlement l'importance relative des trois principaux groupes ethniques; par ailleurs, le premier pas sera fait vers un vote ne suivant pas une formule purement communautaire. En outre, l'établissement d'un système ministériel, l'octroi du droit de vote aux groupes minoritaires et l'élaboration d'une Déclaration des droits sont autant de progrès sensibles.

25. D'autre part, abroger toutes les lois de caractère discriminatoire et instituer un système inconditionnel de représentation démocratique est un idéal auquel bien peu de membres de la Commission refuseraient de souscrire. Mais inviter la Puissance administrante, comme le fait le paragraphe 4 du dispositif, à prendre d'urgence de telles mesures, c'est ne pas tenir suffisamment compte de la situation existant actuellement aux îles Fidji. La notion de lois discriminatoires est odieuse, mais les lois en question, adoptées il y a de nombreuses années, ont visé à empêcher une aliénation excessive des terres au profit des éléments immigrants. Le principe "à chacun une voix" est lui aussi inattaquable mais, aux îles Fidji, la situation exige que l'on tienne particulièrement compte des intérêts de tous les groupes de la population. L'absence relative de violence raciale est à l'honneur des deux grands groupes ethniques, qui ont fait preuve de tolérance, mais les méthodes progressives adoptées par le Royaume-Uni n'ont pas été étrangères à cette modération.

26. Estimant qu'il faut éviter de compromettre un équilibre, encore fragile, de coopération entre les groupes ethniques, la délégation néo-zélandaise, bien qu'approuvant l'objet fondamental du projet de résolution, se verra forcée de s'abstenir au moment du vote.

27. M. GRINBERG (Bulgarie) dit que sa délégation approuve d'une manière générale les trois projets de résolution dont la Commission est saisie. En ce qui concerne le projet de résolution A/C.4/L.806/Rev.1 et Add.1, la délégation bulgare attache une importance particulière au dernier alinéa du préambule et au paragraphe 4 du dispositif. En effet, le peuple de l'île Maurice est inquiet de constater que la Puissance administrante envisage de détacher certaines îles du territoire afin d'y établir une base militaire; deux pétitions (A/AC.109/PET.420 et A/AC.109/PET.378/Add.1) adressées au Comité spécial faisaient état de ces craintes. Le Gouvernement bulgare se félicite que la deuxième Conférence des chefs d'Etat ou de gouvernement des pays non alignés, tenue au Caire en octobre 1964, ait inclus dans sa Déclaration une condamnation du maintien ou de la création de bases dans les territoires non autonomes. La délégation bulgare appuie

donc pleinement le dernier paragraphe du préambule et le paragraphe 4 du dispositif du projet de résolution concernant l'île Maurice.

28. M. FORTIN (Honduras) dit que sa délégation votera pour le projet de résolution A/C.4/L.807 et Add.1 à 3, mais estime que le paragraphe 2 du dispositif n'était pas nécessaire.

29. M. MARIN VANEGAS (Colombie) pense que c'est au peuple de la Guinée équatoriale lui-même qu'il appartient de fixer la date de l'indépendance. La délégation colombienne demande qu'il soit procédé à un vote séparé sur le paragraphe 2 du dispositif du projet de résolution A/C.4/L.807 et Add.1 à 3. Elle votera en faveur des trois projets de résolution.

30. Le PRESIDENT met aux voix le projet de résolution A/C.4/L.806/Rev.1 et Add.1.

A la demande de l'Inde, il est procédé au vote par appel nominal.

L'appel commence par la Somalie, dont le nom est tiré au sort par le Président.

Votent pour: Somalie, Espagne, Soudan, Syrie, Thaïlande, Togo, Trinité et Tobago, Tunisie, Turquie, Ouganda, République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine, Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques, République arabe unie, République-Unie de Tanzanie, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yougoslavie, Zambie, Afghanistan, Algérie, Argentine, Brésil, Bulgarie, Birmanie, République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie, Cameroun, Ceylan, Tchad, Chili, Chine, Colombie, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (République démocratique du), Costa Rica, Cuba, Chypre, Tchécoslovaquie, Dahomey, Danemark, Ethiopie, Gabon, Ghana, Grèce, Guatemala, Guinée, Haïti, Honduras, Hongrie, Inde, Iran, Irak, Israël, Japon, Jordanie, Kenya, Koweït, Libéria, Libye, Malawi, Malaisie, Mali, Mauritanie, Mexique, Mongolie, Maroc, Niger, Nigéria, Pakistan, Panama, Pérou, Philippines, Pologne, Roumanie, Rwanda, Arabie Saoudite, Sénégal, Sierra Leone.

Votent contre: néant.

S'abstiennent: Afrique du Sud, Suède, Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord, États-Unis d'Amérique, Australie, Autriche, Belgique, Canada, Finlande, France, Irlande, Italie, Jamaïque, Pays-Bas, Nouvelle-Zélande, Norvège, Portugal.

Par 77 voix contre zéro, avec 17 abstentions, le projet de résolution A/C.4/L.806/Rev.1 et Add.1 est adopté.

36. M. DIAZ GONZALEZ (Venezuela) dit que sa délégation a voté pour le projet de résolution A/C.4/L.806/Rev.1 et Add.1 bien qu'elle ne soit pas entièrement satisfaite de la rédaction du cinquième alinéa du préambule, qu'elle considère comme n'étant pas complet. La délégation vénézuélienne estime, en effet, que le démembrement d'une partie d'un territoire en vue d'aménager une base militaire constitue non seulement une violation de la Déclaration figurant

dans la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale et notamment du paragraphe 6 de ladite Déclaration, mais également des principes consacrés par la Charte des Nations Unies.

37. En ce qui concerne le projet de résolution A/C.4/L.807 et Add.1 à 3, la délégation vénézuélienne a voté en sa faveur parce qu'il reflète non seulement les préoccupations de ses auteurs, mais aussi de tous ceux qui luttent pour que le colonialisme disparaisse définitivement sous toutes les latitudes et sous toutes ses formes. Il est regrettable, cependant, qu'il n'ait pas été tenu compte des efforts constructifs déployés par l'Espagne dans le territoire en vue d'appliquer la résolution 1514 (XV) et de la coopération dont elle a fait preuve avec l'Organisation des Nations Unies pour la liquidation du colonialisme en Afrique. Pour ce qui est du paragraphe 2 du dispositif de ce projet, M. Díaz Gonzales rappelle que la Puissance administrante a dit à plusieurs reprises que la date de l'accession à l'indépendance serait fixée par la population elle-même; le Président du Conseil de gouvernement lui-même l'a confirmé devant la Commission. La délégation vénézuélienne estime donc que le paragraphe 2 ne limite en aucune façon la volonté du peuple de la Guinée équatoriale, qui est seul habilité à décider de son propre destin.

38. M. O'HARA (Etats-Unis d'Amérique) dit que sa délégation a voté contre le projet de résolution A/C.4/L.808 et Add.1 parce qu'elle estime que son texte manque de réalisme. Il se pose, en effet, aux îles Fidji, des problèmes bien particuliers qui ne peuvent être résolus par l'application automatique de résolutions et qui nécessitent non pas des solutions toutes faites, mais du tact, de l'ingéniosité et de la patience. La tâche de la Puissance administrante est d'apporter aux problèmes fondamentaux des solutions que puissent accepter tous les groupes du territoire. Il ne faut donc pas que la Quatrième Commission vienne compliquer sa tâche.

39. La délégation des Etats-Unis a voté en faveur du projet de résolution A/C.4/L.807 et Add.1 à 3 tout en estimant qu'on aurait dû prendre note des progrès déjà réalisés dans le territoire de la Guinée équatoriale. En ce qui concerne le paragraphe 2 du dispositif, la délégation des Etats-Unis estime que c'est bien à la population du territoire qu'il appartient de fixer la date de l'indépendance.

Rappelant également ses résolutions 1805 (XVII) du 14 décembre 1962 et 1899 (XVIII) du 13 novembre 1963, par lesquelles elle a confié des tâches concernant le Sud-Ouest africain au Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, ainsi que sa résolution 1970 (XVIII) du 16 décembre 1963 par laquelle elle a confié au Comité spécial des fonctions nouvelles au sujet des renseignements communiqués en vertu de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte des Nations Unies,

Ayant examiné les rapports établis par le Comité spécial pour les années 1964¹² et 1965¹³.

Notant avec un profond regret que, cinq ans après l'adoption de la Déclaration, de nombreux territoires sont encore sous domination coloniale,

Déplorant l'attitude négative de certaines puissances coloniales, et en particulier l'attitude inadmissible des Gouvernements portugais et sud-africain, qui refusent de reconnaître aux peuples coloniaux le droit à l'indépendance,

Préoccupée par la politique des puissances coloniales qui font échec aux droits des peuples coloniaux en favorisant l'afflux systématique d'immigrants étrangers et en dispersant, déportant et transférant les autochtones,

Notant les mesures prises et envisagées par le Comité spécial au sujet de la liste des territoires auxquels s'applique la Déclaration,

Déplorant également l'attitude de certains Etats qui continuent, malgré les résolutions de l'Assemblée générale et du Comité spécial, à coopérer avec les Gouvernements portugais et sud-africain et même à leur apporter une assistance que ces deux gouvernements utilisent pour intensifier la répression contre les populations africaines opprimées,

Pleinement consciente du fait que la persistance du régime colonial et de la pratique de l'*apartheid*, ainsi que de toutes les formes de discrimination raciale, constitue une menace à la paix et à la sécurité internationales et un crime contre l'humanité,

Ayant adopté des résolutions au sujet de certains territoires examinés par le Comité spécial,

1. *Réaffirme* ses résolutions 1514 (XV), 1654 (XVI), 1810 (XVII) et 1956 (XVIII);

2. *Prend note avec satisfaction* du travail accompli par le Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux et le félicite des efforts qu'il a déployés pour mettre en œuvre la Déclaration;

3. *Approuve* les rapports du Comité spécial et invite à nouveau les puissances administrantes à appliquer les recommandations qui y figurent;

4. *Regrette profondément* le refus de certaines puissances coloniales de coopérer avec le Comité spécial et leur inobservation persistante des résolutions de l'Assemblée générale;

5. *Fait appel* aux puissances coloniales pour qu'elles mettent fin à leur politique qui viole les droits des peuples coloniaux par l'afflux systématique d'immigrants étrangers et par la dispersion, la déportation et le transfert des autochtones;

6. *Demande* au Comité spécial de poursuivre sa tâche et de continuer à rechercher les meilleurs moyens d'as-

2105 (XX). Application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux

L'Assemblée générale,

Rappelant la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux figurant dans sa résolution 1514 (XV) du 14 décembre 1960, ainsi que ses résolutions 1654 (XVI) du 27 novembre 1961, 1810 (XVII) du 17 décembre 1962 et 1956 (XVIII) du 11 décembre 1963,

¹² *Ibid.*, dix-neuvième session, Annexes, annexe n° 8 (1ère partie) [A/5800/Rev.1].

¹³ *Ibid.*, vingtième session, Annexes, additif au point 23 de de l'ordre du jour (A/6000/Rev.1).

sur l'application immédiate et complète de la résolution 1514 (XV) à tous les territoires qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance;

7. *Approuve* le programme de travail envisagé par le Comité spécial pour 1966, notamment la possibilité d'organiser une série de réunions en Afrique et l'envoi de groupes de visite dans les territoires, en particulier dans les régions de l'Atlantique, de l'océan Indien et du Pacifique;

8. *Prie* le Comité spécial de porter une attention particulière aux petits territoires et de recommander à l'Assemblée générale les moyens les plus appropriés, ainsi que les mesures à prendre, pour permettre éventuellement aux populations de ces territoires d'exercer pleinement leur droit à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance;

9. *Prie* le Comité spécial, chaque fois qu'il le jugera opportun, de recommander une date limite pour l'accession à l'indépendance de chaque territoire considéré, conformément au désir de la population;

10. *Reconnait* la légitimité de la lutte que les peuples sous domination coloniale mènent pour l'exercice de leur droit à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance et invite tous les Etats à apporter une aide matérielle et morale aux mouvements de libération nationale dans les territoires coloniaux;

11. *Prie* tous les Etats et les institutions internationales, y compris les institutions spécialisées des Nations Unies, de refuser toute assistance, quelle qu'elle soit, aux Gouvernements portugais et sud-africain tant qu'ils n'auront pas renoncé à leur politique de domination coloniale et de discrimination raciale;

12. *Prie* les puissances coloniales de démanteler les bases militaires installées dans les territoires coloniaux et de s'abstenir d'en établir de nouvelles;

13. *Demande* au Comité spécial de porter à la connaissance du Conseil de sécurité les faits nouveaux survenus dans l'un quelconque des territoires qu'il examine, qui risquent de menacer la paix et la sécurité internationales, et de formuler des suggestions dont le Conseil pourrait s'inspirer en étudiant les mesures qu'il convient de prendre conformément à la Charte des Nations Unies;

14. *Prie* le Secrétaire général de prendre toutes les mesures nécessaires pour favoriser une large diffusion de la Déclaration et faire largement connaître les travaux du Comité spécial, afin que l'opinion mondiale puisse être suffisamment informée de la grave menace à la paix que constituent le colonialisme et l'*apartheid*, et invite toutes les puissances administrantes à coopérer avec le Secrétaire général dans l'exécution de sa tâche;

15. *Prie* le Secrétaire général de continuer à fournir au Comité spécial tous les moyens et le personnel nécessaires à l'accomplissement de son mandat.

1405^e séance plénière,
20 décembre 1965.

Nations Unies
**ASSEMBLÉE
GÉNÉRALE**

VINGTIÈME SESSION

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Président: M. Amintore FANFANI (Italie).

POINT 23 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

Application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux: rapports du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux (suite)

1. Le **PRESIDENT**: Les membres de l'Assemblée se souviendront qu'il a été décidé d'examiner la question en séance plénière afin de permettre à l'Assemblée de discuter de cette question dans son ensemble. Tous les chapitres des rapports du Comité spécial qui ont trait à des territoires particuliers ont été soumis à la Quatrième Commission. Jusqu'à présent, les rapports de la Quatrième Commission sur la Rhodésie du Sud [A/6041 et Add.1 et 2] et Aden [A/6029] ont été examinés en séance plénière comme questions urgentes. L'Assemblée générale examinera dans quelques jours les rapports de la Quatrième Commission sur d'autres territoires.

2. Pour le moment, l'Assemblée va entreprendre l'examen de la question dans son ensemble. Tous les problèmes qui se posent à propos de cette question peuvent être traités, mais il serait préférable pour la bonne marche des débats que les représentants qui désirent ne faire porter leurs observations que sur certains territoires particuliers expriment ces observations avant le vote sur chacun des projets de résolution intéressant des territoires donnés.

M. Natwar Singh (Inde), rapporteur du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, présente les rapports de ce Comité et poursuit en ces termes:

3. M. Natwar SINGH (Inde) [Rapporteur du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux]

*Reprise des débats de la 1375^{ème} séance.

(traduit de l'anglais): J'ai l'honneur, en tant que Rapporteur du Comité spécial, de présenter à l'Assemblée générale les rapports de ce Comité pour les années 1964 [A/5800/Rev.1]^{1/} et 1965 [A/6000/Rev.1].

4. Nous présentons ces rapports conformément au paragraphe 4 du dispositif de la résolution 1956 (XVIII) du 11 décembre 1963 qui priait le Comité spécial de "continuer à rechercher les voies et les moyens les meilleurs d'assurer l'application immédiate et intégrale de la Déclaration à tous les territoires qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance et de rendre compte à l'Assemblée générale, lors de sa dix-neuvième session au plus tard".

5. En 1965, le Comité spécial a continué de remplir son mandat dans l'esprit de la déclaration du Président de l'Assemblée lors de sa dix-neuvième session [1350^{ème} séance plénière], déclaration selon laquelle l'Assemblée générale devait noter, aux fins d'inscription au procès-verbal, que certains rapports traitant, *inter alia*, de l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux lui avaient été présentés et que les organes dont le mandat n'était pas terminé, dont le Comité spécial, devaient poursuivre leur travail, compte tenu des limites budgétaires fixées pour 1965.

6. Les rapports pour les deux années écoulées comptent 3 500 pages miméographiées. Ils sont nécessairement longs car ils traitent de la situation de quelque soixante territoires et contiennent 2 études spéciales, l'une (de 255 pages) sur le Sud-Ouest Africain et l'autre (de 350 pages) sur les territoires administrés par le Portugal; en outre, c'est la première fois qu'un organe des Nations Unies a examiné en détail la situation des territoires non autonomes.

7. En effet, depuis les décisions prises par l'Assemblée à sa dix-huitième session, le Comité spécial a été le seul organe des Nations Unies, à part le Conseil de tutelle, qui ait été chargé par les Nations Unies de s'occuper des territoires non autonomes.

8. Vous vous souviendrez que l'Assemblée générale, à sa 1336^{ème} séance plénière, avait décidé que la question générale de l'application de la Déclaration devrait être examinée en séance plénière, les chapitres des rapports du Comité spécial se référant à des territoires particuliers devant être examinés par la Quatrième Commission. La Quatrième Commission a déjà présenté ses rapports sur la Rhodésie du Sud [A/6041 et Add.1 et 2] et sur Aden [A/6089]. Les rapports de la Quatrième Commission sur les autres territoires mentionnés dans les rapports du Comité spécial seront présentés sous peu à l'Assemblée.

^{1/} Voir Documents officiels de l'Assemblée générale, dix-neuvième session, Annexes, annexe No 8, 1^{ère} partie.

9. En 1964 et 1965, le Comité spécial a pu examiner tous les territoires figurant sur sa liste préliminaire, à l'exception de trois. Pour tous ces territoires, le Comité spécial a adopté des résolutions ou déposé des recommandations et conclusions qui figurent dans ses rapports. Ceux-ci contiennent également des renseignements sur les 3 territoires que le Comité spécial n'a pu examiner.

10. Le Comité spécial a continué d'étudier la liste des territoires auxquels la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux est applicable. Le 27 mai 1965, adoptant un rapport de son Groupe de travail [A/AC.109/L/203/Rev.1], le Comité spécial a décidé d'ajouter un territoire à sa liste: la Somalie française. Sous réserve des décisions que l'Assemblée générale pourrait prendre lors de la présente session pour l'application rapide de la Déclaration, le Comité spécial a l'intention de poursuivre l'étude de la liste des territoires auxquels la Déclaration est applicable.

11. Pendant les deux années écoulées, le Comité spécial a entrepris deux études spéciales de grande importance sur l'activité d'intérêts étrangers, économiques et autres, dans certains de ces territoires. Le rapport du Comité spécial contenant ses recommandations et conclusions concernant les "incidences des activités de l'industrie minière et des autres sociétés internationales possédant des intérêts au Sud-Ouest Africain"^{2/}, a été préparé en 1964, conformément au paragraphe 8 de la résolution 1899 (XVIII) du 13 novembre 1963. La Quatrième Commission examine actuellement ce rapport.

12. Le Comité spécial, dans sa résolution sur les territoires administrés par le Portugal, qu'il a adoptée le 3 juillet 1964 [A/5800, chap. V, para. 352], a prié son Sous-Comité I "d'étudier les activités des intérêts étrangers, économiques et autres, qui font obstacle à l'application de la Déclaration dans les territoires administrés par le Portugal". Cette étude et son examen par le Comité spécial [A/6000/Rev.1, chap. V, 2ème partie] seront également étudiés par la Quatrième Commission pendant la présente session.

13. En plus des 2 études déjà mentionnées, le Comité spécial a décidé, dans sa résolution du 22 avril 1965 sur la question de la Rhodésie du Sud [*ibid.*, chap. III, par. 292], d'étudier les incidences des activités des intérêts étrangers, économiques et autres, dans ce territoire, ainsi que la façon dont ces intérêts opèrent, afin d'évaluer leur influence économique et politique. Les travaux préparatoires nécessaires à cette étude sont en cours et le Comité spécial espère présenter un rapport à l'Assemblée générale en 1966.

14. Je désirerais également attirer votre attention sur le rapport du Secrétaire général sur le Bassoutoland, le Betchouanaland et le Souaziland [A/5958]. Ce rapport, ainsi que les recommandations du Comité spécial sur cette question [A/6000/Rev.1, chap. VIII] ont été examinés par la Quatrième Commission lors de la présente session. Le rapport de la Quatrième Commission [A/6106], contenant ses recommandations à l'Assemblée générale, sera présenté bientôt à l'Assemblée.

15. L'une des plus importantes activités du Comité spécial en 1965 a été sa visite en Afrique. Aux termes de la résolution 1654 (XVII) du 27 novembre 1961 qui "autorise le Comité spécial à se réunir en tout autre lieu que le Siège de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, lorsque cela pourrait être nécessaire pour lui permettre de s'acquitter efficacement de ses fonctions" et pour répondre aux invitations des Gouvernements de l'Ethiopie, de la République Unie de Tanzanie et de la Zambie, le Comité spécial a tenu 35 séances plénières à Lusaka, Dar es-Salam et Addis-Abeba en mai et juin 1965. Après avoir examiné en Afrique les points de son ordre du jour, il a adopté 7 résolutions [voir A/6000/Rev.1, chap. II].

16. L'Assemblée générale, par sa résolution 1970 (XVIII) du 16 décembre 1963, avait "décidé de dissoudre le Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes" et avait confié ses fonctions au Comité spécial. Le Comité spécial a donc examiné, pendant les deux années dont nous nous occupons, "les renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes communiqués en vertu de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte" [voir A/5800/Rev.1, chap. II et A/6000/Rev.1, chap. XXVI]. Ces rapports seront également examinés par la Quatrième Commission lors de la présente session.

17. L'Assemblée générale, par sa résolution 2005 (XIX) du 18 février 1965, avait autorisé "la surveillance par l'Organisation des Nations Unies des élections [devant] avoir lieu aux îles Cook au mois d'avril 1965" et avait autorisé le Secrétaire général "à nommer un représentant de l'Organisation des Nations Unies qui surveillera[it] des élections avec l'assistance des observateurs et du personnel requis et qui suivra[it] les débats que l'assemblée législative issue de ces élections consacra[it] à la constitution". Aux termes de cette résolution, le représentant de l'Organisation des Nations Unies a adressé ses rapports au Comité spécial et à l'Assemblée générale. La Quatrième Commission rendra compte sous peu à l'Assemblée générale de son examen des chapitres des rapports du Comité spécial qui concernent les îles Cook [A/5800/Rev.1, chap. XV et A/6000/Rev.1, chap. VIII], ainsi que des rapports du représentant des Nations Unies chargé de la surveillance des élections aux îles Cook [A/5962].

18. Aux termes de la résolution 1956 (XVIII) du 11 décembre 1963, par laquelle l'Assemblée générale avait "invité le Comité spécial à porter à la connaissance du Conseil de sécurité tous faits, survenus dans l'un quelconque des territoires qu'il examine, qui risquent de menacer la paix et la sécurité internationales", le Comité spécial a attiré l'attention du Conseil de sécurité sur les conditions existant dans de nombreux territoires qu'il a examinés [voir A/5800/Rev.1, chap. I, par. 143 à 149 et A/6000/Rev.1, chap. I, par. 67 à 87].

19. Finalement, puis-je attirer votre attention sur les recommandations du Comité spécial sur ses travaux futurs [A/6000/Rev.1, chap. I, par. 108 à 112]. Comme il y a encore de nombreux territoires où la Déclaration n'est pas encore appliquée, le Comité spécial conclut une nouvelle fois qu'il serait souhaitable que son mandat fût renouvelé.

^{2/} *Ibid.*, annexe No 15, document A/5840.

20. Le Comité spécial a également recommandé que les moyens nécessaires à faciliter ses travaux fussent prévus, en particulier pour en couvrir les dépenses. En outre, il est possible, vu le travail important que sa récente visite en Afrique lui a permis d'accomplir, que le Comité spécial tienne d'autres réunions en Afrique l'année prochaine. Il recommande donc que les dispositions prises pour lui permettre de continuer son œuvre en 1966 comportent les moyens financiers nécessaires.

21. Le Comité spécial juge en outre que les puissances administrantes devraient à nouveau être priées de lui prêter leur entière coopération. Il recommande également à l'Assemblée générale d'insister auprès des puissances administrantes pour qu'elles facilitent la présence de l'Organisation des Nations Unies dans le Sud-Ouest Africain et à Aden, ainsi que dans tout autre territoire où l'Assemblée générale le jugerait nécessaire et souhaitable.

22. Le Comité spécial juge nécessaire d'accroître les efforts tendant à répandre parmi les peuples coloniaux la connaissance de la Déclaration et des travaux du Comité spécial. Il estime qu'à cette fin l'Assemblée générale devrait inviter une fois encore les Etats Membres administrants à aider le Secrétaire général de façon plus efficace à diffuser des informations sur la Déclaration.

23. En ma qualité de Rapporteur du Comité, je voudrais en terminant remercier le Président du Comité, M. Coulibaly, du Mali, de l'aide qu'il m'a donnée dans la préparation des rapports. Le Vice-Président du Comité et les Présidents des Sous-Comités, M. Velázquez de l'Uruguay, Sonn Voeunoai et Huot Sambath du Cambodge et M. Gebre-Egzy d'Ethiopie, m'ont aussi très généreusement aidé et conseillé. Je désire également exprimer ma sincère gratitude aux Rapporteurs des divers Sous-Comités. Enfin, le Secrétaire général et tous les membres si compétents du secrétariat ont toujours prêté leur concours de bonne grâce au Comité et à moi-même.

24. Sans la coopération de toutes ces personnes, il n'aurait pas été possible au Comité ni à moi-même de présenter ces rapports, ni de s'acquitter du mandat que l'Assemblée générale avait confié au Comité.

25. M. COULIBALY (Mali): Par l'intermédiaire de son distingué rapporteur, M. Natwar Singh, le Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, vient de présenter à l'Assemblée générale son quatrième rapport [A/6000/Rev.1]. Le rapporteur, M. Singh, mérite toutes nos félicitations car il a sacrifié ses heures de loisir pour pouvoir nous présenter un document de travail et de méditation fort utile.

26. Le volume et la substance de ce rapport prouvent que les membres du Comité spécial, loin de se laisser décourager par l'attitude souvent décevante de certaines puissances coloniales, sont au contraire décidés à continuer de harceler le colonialisme jusqu'à sa disparition complète.

27. En ma qualité de Président du Comité spécial, je tiens à renouveler ici mes remerciements à tous

les membres de celui-ci pour le travail qu'ils ont accompli avec dévouement et conviction. Je voudrais, en particulier, rendre un hommage bien mérité à M. Velázquez, de l'Uruguay, qui a assumé avec distinction et droiture la vice-présidence du Comité. Il est aujourd'hui absent parce qu'il a été appelé à d'autres fonctions par son gouvernement; mais il a laissé au Comité le souvenir d'un juriste éminent et d'un ardent défenseur du droit des peuples opprimés.

28. Je suis heureux d'adresser également au Secrétaire général, U Thant, mes remerciements pour la compréhension et l'intérêt qu'il a toujours témoignés à l'égard du travail du Comité spécial. Mes remerciements vont aussi au secrétariat du Comité, notamment au Sous-Secrétaire, M. Amachree, à M. Chacko et M. Dadzie, ainsi qu'aux interprètes et à tous les fonctionnaires qui ont assisté le Comité avec beaucoup de dévouement et de compétence.

29. Il y a maintenant cinq ans que l'Assemblée générale a adopté la résolution 1514 (XV) contenant la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. Il y a quatre ans que le Comité spécial étudie l'application de cette déclaration. Le bilan de ces quatre années de travail du Comité n'est certainement pas négatif; mais il révèle l'obstination aveugle des puissances coloniales. En effet, parmi les 67 territoires dont la situation a été examinée par le Comité depuis sa création, neuf seulement ont accédé à l'indépendance et sont maintenant Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Par son action, le Comité a attiré l'attention de la communauté internationale sur les grands territoires coloniaux où la répression sauvage, entreprise par les forces colonialistes contre les mouvements de libération nationale, constitue une menace réelle à la paix et à la sécurité internationales. Le travail du Comité a permis également de porter à l'attention des Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies des petits territoires coloniaux, généralement des îles éparpillées dans la mer des Caraïbes, dans l'océan Atlantique, dans l'océan Indien et dans l'océan Pacifique, sur les côtes du golfe Persique et dans la mer d'Oman. L'examen de la situation de ces petites îles caractérisées par leur faible peuplement et leur superficie réduite, pose à l'Organisation des Nations Unies de nouveaux problèmes dans le domaine de la décolonisation.

30. Il est évident que le processus de décolonisation de ces petites îles doit être considéré avec beaucoup de courage et de prudence. L'existence de ces petits territoires et la nécessité de sauvegarder les intérêts des populations qui les habitent donnent au problème de la décolonisation de nouvelles dimensions. Le sort des populations coloniales de ces petites îles ne peut trouver de solutions appropriées que dans le cadre d'une coopération loyale entre les puissances administrantes, d'une part, l'Organisation des Nations Unies et les peuples intéressés, d'autre part. La méthode de coopération inaugurée par la Nouvelle-Zélande en ce qui concerne les îles Cook pourrait servir d'exemple pour d'autres petites îles et inciter certaines puissances coloniales à abandonner leurs réserves à l'égard de l'Organisation des Nations Unies en matière de décolonisation. L'objectif à

atteindre devrait être de permettre aux populations de ces îles de déterminer librement leur avenir, sans aucune contrainte ni pression provenant de la puissance administrante ou des Etats voisins. Des témoignages dignes de foi ont révélé que les populations de certains petits territoires ignoraient encore l'existence de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. Compte tenu de l'expérience acquise pendant les quatre années de session du Comité spécial, je reste convaincu que le problème de la décolonisation, pour les petits territoires, doit être examiné avec un sens profond des responsabilités. Les puissances administrantes devraient permettre aux Nations Unies d'envoyer des missions de visite afin que les populations intéressées soient non seulement informées de leur droit à l'autodétermination, mais mises effectivement en mesure d'exercer ce droit. A notre avis, la possibilité, pour ces petits territoires, de s'unir librement à des Etats indépendants voisins, devrait être encouragée partout où les bases d'une telle union existent.

31. J'ai dit, il y a un instant, que le bilan des quatre années de travail du Comité spécial n'était pas négatif. Je voudrais cependant souligner que le processus de décolonisation a été dangereusement freiné en ce qui concerne les grands territoires tels que l'Angola, le Mozambique, le Sud-Ouest africain, la Guinée dite portugaise, la Rhodésie du Sud et le Sud arabe (Aden et les Protectorats d'Aden).

32. En ce qui concerne ces territoires, il n'est plus nécessaire de faire des études pour déterminer s'ils doivent accéder à l'indépendance immédiatement ou comment ils doivent y accéder. Les peuples de ces territoires sont mobilisés pour la conquête de leur indépendance, et l'Organisation des Nations Unies doit simplement les aider de façon concrète. La volonté des puissances coloniales de maintenir ces territoires sous leur domination constitue une menace permanente à la paix et à la sécurité internationales.

33. Ce sentiment a été maintes fois exprimé par le Comité spécial. Tout récemment encore, à l'issue de son voyage en Afrique, le Comité a adopté, le 18 juin 1965, à Addis-Abéba une résolution au sujet de la situation dans les territoires suivants: Rhodésie du Sud, territoires sous administration portugaise, Sud-Ouest africain, Bassoutoland, Betchouanaland et Souaziland. Les paragraphes 1 et 2 de cette résolution étaient ainsi rédigés:

"Le Comité spécial

"...

"1. Attire l'attention de l'Assemblée générale et du Conseil de sécurité sur la situation explosive qui existe dans cette région d'Afrique à cause du comportement intolérable des Gouvernements du Portugal, de l'Afrique du Sud, et du régime minoritaire des colons de la Rhodésie du Sud;

"2. Recommande à l'Assemblée générale et au Conseil de sécurité de prendre, chacun dans le cadre de leurs compétences respectives, les mesures concrètes prévues par la Charte et destinées:

"a) A assurer le respect des droits des populations africaines de la région, en particulier leurs droits à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance et

à mettre fin aux activités dangereuses des Gouvernements du Portugal, de l'Afrique du Sud et du régime minoritaire des colons de la Rhodésie du Sud;

"b) A renforcer la confiance que les peuples sous domination coloniale placent en l'Organisation des Nations Unies." [A/6000/Rev.1, chap. II, par. 463.]

34. Malheureusement, les appels du Comité spécial n'ont pas été pris en considération par les puissances administrantes, en l'occurrence le Royaume-Uni, le Portugal et l'Afrique du Sud. Malgré les efforts du Comité spécial, le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni a continué à minimiser la situation en Rhodésie du Sud et à manifester une complaisance coupable à l'égard des colons blancs. Et, depuis 20 jours, les colons ont proclamé unilatéralement l'indépendance du territoire parce que le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni leur a donné l'assurance qu'il n'utilisera pas la force contre eux. Smith et sa clique n'attendaient pas, de la part du Royaume-Uni, un plus grand encouragement pour commettre leur folie.

35. Aujourd'hui, c'est le peuple du Zimbabwe qui est soumis à la tyrannie de racistes comme Smith, c'est le peuple de Zambie qui est menacé de sabotage économique par les colons de Rhodésie, et enfin, c'est tout le continent africain qui court le risque d'un conflit armé. Tout cela du fait que la Puissance administrante, le Royaume-Uni, et les Nations Unies n'ont pas su prendre à temps leurs responsabilités. Aujourd'hui, le Gouvernement du Portugal est encouragé par l'absence de sanctions énergiques contre les colons de Rhodésie. L'Afrique du Sud, de son côté, renforce sa répression contre les populations du Sud-Ouest africain.

36. Nous pensons que pour arrêter l'aggravation de la situation explosive qui règne dans la partie de l'Afrique soumise à la domination coloniale, les Nations Unies doivent reviser leur méthode d'approche du problème colonial. La situation créée par le colonialisme en Afrique est extrêmement grave et, pour y faire face efficacement, l'Assemblée générale et le Conseil de sécurité ne doivent plus se contenter de réaffirmer platoniquement le droit des peuples à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance. L'Assemblée générale et le Conseil de sécurité ne doivent pas se contenter non plus de rappeler aux puissances coloniales sous forme d'appel leurs obligations découlant du Chapitre XI de la Charte. Nous pensons que tout cela a été suffisamment affirmé et réaffirmé dans la Charte de l'Organisation, dans la Déclaration universelle des droits de l'homme et dans la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux.

37. Les événements qui se déroulent actuellement en Rhodésie du Sud, à Aden, dans les territoires portugais et au Sud-Ouest africain, démontrent, de façon évidente, que la persistance du régime colonial menace sérieusement et effectivement la paix et la sécurité internationales. L'ONU doit donc se préparer à faire face à la situation grave ainsi créée et ne pas se contenter de paraphraser ses résolutions antérieures. Les colonialistes qui violent les droits de l'homme en Afrique du Sud, au Sud-Ouest africain, en Angola, au Mozambique, en Rhodésie du Sud, en Guinée dite portugaise, à Aden et ailleurs, ont fait

tellement preuve de mauvaise foi et ont méprisé avec un tel cynisme les résolutions des Nations Unies, qu'il n'est plus permis d'hésiter à employer contre eux les moyens les plus énergiques. Le colonialisme constituant désormais une menace réelle à la paix et à la sécurité internationales, l'Organisation des Nations Unies doit procéder à une modification de sa tactique à l'égard des puissances coloniales, et cela dans le sens d'une orientation plus ferme. Nous pensons que cela est dans l'intérêt de l'Organisation, car elle y gagnerait en prestige et en soutien de la part du tiers monde.

38. J'ai dit que le continent africain court actuellement le risque d'un conflit armé. C'est là une réalité qu'il ne convient pas de sous-estimer car ce conflit pourrait dépasser le cadre du continent africain. Le Royaume-Uni a suspendu le Gouvernement de la Rhodésie du Sud et il a considéré ce gouvernement comme étant en état de rébellion; mais il a refusé d'envoyer des forces dans le territoire pour assurer la protection du peuple rhodésien contre les abus des colons rebelles. Pourtant, ce même Royaume-Uni a envoyé récemment des forces à Aden pour déposer un gouvernement légal qui, au surplus, jouissait de l'estime populaire. Le Royaume-Uni a envoyé également des troupes en Guyane britannique pour aboutir à la déposition d'un gouvernement accusé de communisme. Mais, en Rhodésie du Sud, malgré l'affront que les colons rebelles ont fait subir à la Couronne britannique en déposant et en séquestrant presque le Gouverneur, M. Humphrey Gibbs, représentant de la Reine, le gouvernement travailliste de Londres fait comme Ponce Pilate, c'est-à-dire qu'il regarde et laisse faire les colons. Tout au plus, pour tromper l'opinion internationale, le Gouvernement britannique s'est-il hâté d'envoyer son Ministre des affaires étrangères pour demander au Conseil de sécurité d'envisager contre les colons de Rhodésie des sanctions économiques dont l'efficacité est des plus aléatoires.

39. Le fait que le Royaume-Uni trahisse les populations africaines de Rhodésie du Sud n'est guère surprenant pour ceux qui ont suivi de près l'évolution du colonialisme britannique. La tentative faite aujourd'hui en Rhodésie et qui consiste à laisser pourrir la situation, dans la perspective que les colons se tireront d'affaire et continueront à gouverner ce territoire, n'est qu'une récidive. En effet, dans toutes ses colonies de peuplement, le Royaume-Uni a sacrifié les populations africaines au profit des colons blancs. Ce fut le cas pour les colonies anglaises du Cap, du Natal, de l'Orange et du Transvaal, dont les populations africaines sont soumises aujourd'hui à l'odieuse politique de l'apartheid, érigée en système de gouvernement par la clique de Verwoerd.

40. Mais ce qui s'est passé en 1910 pour ces anciennes colonies britanniques ne pourra pas se passer en 1965 pour la Rhodésie du Sud. En effet, dans trois jours, les Ministres des affaires étrangères des gouvernements indépendants d'Afrique se réuniront à Addis-Abéba et prendront les mesures nécessaires pour assumer les responsabilités historiques qui leur incombent désormais par le fait que le Royaume-Uni a choisi la voie qui consiste à sacrifier 4 millions d'Africains pour sauvegarder les intérêts illégitimes

de 220 000 colons blancs, sujets britanniques. Quels qu'en soient le prix et les sacrifices, le colonialisme disparaîtra du continent africain. J'ai parfois entendu ici des personnes recommander avec cynisme de la patience aux Africains pour que vive le régime colonial. Je ne peux m'empêcher de comparer ces "philosophes" à des personnes qui, au lieu d'aider à arrêter un assassin ou un malfaiteur, conseillent plutôt à la victime d'accepter et de subir avec bonne humeur les crimes et les abus du malfaiteur.

41. J'ai été surpris également d'entendre dire ici que le colonialisme relevait de la compétence interne des puissances coloniales. Mais, en droit, qui dit compétence interne introduit la notion de l'Etat. Est-ce que ces personnes sont convaincues que l'Angola, le Mozambique et la Guinée Bissau, par exemple, font partie de l'Etat portugais? Je ne le pense pas. Par ailleurs, je voudrais demander à ces personnes qui veulent résoudre le problème colonial sous le seul angle juridique, ce qu'elles font du droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes. Je voudrais que ces personnes nous expliquent quels sont le contenu et la portée du droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes.

42. Les principes philosophiques et moraux qui ont été avancés pendant les siècles précédents pour justifier le colonialisme apparaissent maintenant sous leur aspect le plus hideux et le plus détestable. Le contenu du colonialisme se ramène à une conception principale, c'est-à-dire la prétendue supériorité d'une race ou d'un peuple et son prétendu droit de dominer et d'exploiter d'autres peuples. Ceux qui soutiennent le Gouvernement du Portugal et celui de l'Afrique du Sud et qui commercent avec eux sont complices de tous les crimes commis par ces deux gouvernements. Les gouvernements qui entretiennent des relations avec ces deux pays le font uniquement pour des intérêts égoïstes, pour assurer la prospérité de certaines sociétés de type capitaliste et monopoliste; mais que ces gouvernements sachent que chaque franc, chaque livre ou chaque dollar de bénéfice réalisé dans les conditions actuelles en Angola, au Mozambique, au Sud-Ouest africain, en Rhodésie et en Afrique du Sud est taché du sang d'un Africain affamé, privé de liberté, torturé ou assassiné froidement par un colon blanc qui veut garder ce qu'il a arraché par la force et la violence.

43. Le colonialisme est un crime qu'il faut combattre tout comme l'humanité a combattu l'esclavage et le nazisme. L'Organisation des Nations Unies doit être sinon le fer de lance de la bataille contre le colonialisme et l'apartheid, tout au moins un protecteur sûr des peuples opprimés. C'est pourquoi nous pensons que les tâches futures du Comité spécial de décolonisation ne devraient plus consister à voter de nouvelles résolutions. Le Comité spécial devra être en mesure de prendre contact directement avec les populations sous domination coloniale et de connaître de la façon la plus objective leurs vues quant à la manière d'accéder à l'indépendance et quant à la date de cette accession. Sur la base des sondages d'opinions effectués auprès des dirigeants des mouvements de libération nationale, le Comité spécial devra soumettre à l'Assemblée générale et éventuellement au Conseil de sécurité un rapport comportant essentiellement des recommandations en ce qui concerne la date d'accession à l'indépendance pour chaque territoire ainsi que

les mesures à prendre pour parvenir à cette fin. Une fois que l'Assemblée générale et le Conseil de sécurité auront approuvé les recommandations du Comité spécial, il leur appartiendra de prendre, dans le cadre de leurs compétences respectives, les dispositions nécessaires pour l'aboutissement de ces recommandations.

44. Les puissances coloniales qui refuseraient alors d'appliquer les résolutions de l'Assemblée générale et du Conseil de sécurité devraient être considérées comme des agresseurs. Je sais que le mot "agression" soulève beaucoup de controverses au sein de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, mais je n'hésite pas à l'utiliser car je ne peux qualifier autrement un gouvernement qui impose sa domination à d'autres peuples par la force et par la violence.

45. A notre avis, l'Organisation des Nations Unies doit être une organisation révolutionnaire afin de s'adapter aux nouvelles dimensions de ses responsabilités, faute de quoi le monde connaîtra de nouvelles tragédies.

46. Tels sont les commentaires qu'au nom du Gouvernement de la République du Mali je voulais faire à la suite de l'examen du rapport du Comité spécial.

47. Maintenant, avec la permission du Président, je voudrais, avant de quitter cette tribune, adresser mes vifs remerciements aux Gouvernements de l'Ethiopie, de la Tanzanie et de la Zambie, qui ont invité le Comité à se réunir dans leurs capitales respectives pendant les mois de mai et juin 1965. Ce voyage a été très utile car il a permis aux membres du Comité de mieux comprendre la lutte des populations opprimées et de mieux saisir les incidences du régime colonial sur la paix et la sécurité internationales.

48. Grâce à ce voyage, le Comité spécial a pu apprécier la légitimité de la lutte menée par les peuples sous domination coloniale. C'est cela qui a déterminé également le Comité à lancer un appel à tous les Etats afin qu'ils apportent aux combattants de la liberté une aide matérielle et morale. Et nous souhaitons que cet appel soit entendu et suivi d'effet.

49. M. AZYMOV (Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques) [traduit du russe]: Nous avons abordé l'examen de l'un des points les plus importants de l'ordre du jour de la vingtième session de l'Assemblée générale de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, intitulé "Rapports du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux" [A/6000/Rev.1].

50. Il y aura cinq ans cette année, l'Assemblée générale, à sa quinzième session, adoptait cette Déclaration historique. Du point de vue de l'histoire, cinq années représentent une période relativement brève. Et c'est justement au cours de cette période que le colonialisme s'est vu contraint de reculer sur tout le front.

51. Mais si l'on songe que pendant ces cinq années, des dizaines de millions d'hommes et de femmes, sur cette terre, ont été maintenus dans un état de servitude coloniale et qu'ils continuent de l'être, il est facile de comprendre quelle souffrance et quel fardeau cette période a représenté pour eux.

52. Près de cinq ans après l'adoption de la Déclaration, nous avons le devoir de dire à ces millions d'opprimés ce qui a été fait pratiquement, pour rapprocher le jour de leur libération, de leur dire si le moment est proche où les justes principes affirmés dans la Déclaration de l'ONU auront définitivement triomphé. Oui, l'adoption de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux a été un événement d'une immense portée politique, elle a été un grand appui moral pour le mouvement de libération nationale des peuples, un coup mortel porté au colonialisme.

53. La Déclaration a solennellement proclamé la nécessité de mettre rapidement et inconditionnellement fin au colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations. L'Organisation des Nations Unies a déclaré, dans ce document, que "la sujétion des peuples à une subjugation, à une domination et à une exploitation étrangères constitue un déni des droits fondamentaux de l'homme, est contraire à la Charte des Nations Unies et compromet la cause de la paix et de la coopération mondiales". Donc, en adoptant la Déclaration, l'Organisation des Nations Unies a reconnu comme étant légitime et juste la lutte des peuples pour leur liberté et leur indépendance, et comme étant criminelle et dépourvue de tout fondement légitime la politique impérialiste et colonialiste d'oppression et d'asservissement des peuples coloniaux.

54. Comme il fallait s'y attendre, l'application des dispositions de la Déclaration s'est heurtée à la résistance obstinée des colonialistes qui ont choisi de méconnaître et de saboter les résolutions anti-colonialistes de l'Assemblée générale, du Conseil de sécurité et du Comité des Vingt-Quatre. C'est une des raisons pour lesquelles la libération de tout territoire colonial est d'abord le résultat d'une lutte opiniâtre de la population contre les colonialistes. Dans cette lutte, on voit se renforcer encore l'unité de toutes les forces anticoloniales, s'affermir leur détermination d'imposer l'élimination universelle du colonialisme et du racisme.

55. Les résolutions de la Conférence de chefs d'Etat et de gouvernement des pays africains tenue à Addis-Abéba en mai 1963 et de la Conférence des Etats non alignés tenue au Caire en 1964 expriment avec force la volonté des peuples d'Asie, d'Afrique et de l'Amérique latine d'en finir une fois pour toutes et par tous les moyens avec les odieux régimes coloniaux et racistes.

56. Depuis l'adoption de la Déclaration, il a été mis fin dans plusieurs territoires au régime d'administration coloniale ou de tutelle. De nouveaux Etats indépendants ont ainsi vu le jour, à la place d'anciennes possessions coloniales. Mais ces succès ne nous autorisent nullement à nous contenter de ce qui a été obtenu. Plus de 85 territoires groupant une population de quelque 37 millions d'habitants continuent à subir le joug colonial. Et ce chiffre est en fait de 50 millions, si l'on y ajoute la population africaine soumise à la domination des colons racistes de la République sud-africaine.

57. Il est d'autant plus urgent de redoubler d'efforts pour faire appliquer la Déclaration que l'on observe ces derniers temps une tendance des colonialistes et

des néo-colonialistes à passer à l'attaque ouverte non seulement contre le mouvement de libération nationale dans tel ou tel territoire, mais aussi contre les jeunes Etats indépendants, afin de leur imposer leur volonté, la volonté impérialiste. C'est ce que montre, en particulier, la résolution de la Chambre des représentants des Etats-Unis, où l'on tente d'affirmer les "droits" de ce pays à recourir à la force armée pour intervenir dans les affaires intérieures de n'importe quel pays de l'Amérique latine.

58. L'ingérence armée dans les affaires du Congo, les bombardements barbares de la République démocratique du Viet-Nam, l'intervention militaire dans la République Dominicaine, les opérations punitives du Royaume-Uni en Arabie du Sud et à Oman, toutes ces entreprises ne sont pas autre chose que des actes agressifs des puissances impérialistes contre le mouvement national de libération ou contre des Etats indépendants. Encouragés par ces mesures, les racistes de la République sud-africaine et de la Rhodésie du Sud ont relevé la tête. Les colonialistes ont perpétré un nouveau crime contre les peuples d'Afrique en proclamant l'"indépendance" en Rhodésie du Sud. Avec l'appui du bloc militaire de l'OTAN, les Gouvernements de la Rhodésie du Sud, de la République sud-africaine et du Portugal mettent sur pied une alliance militaire et politique que l'on qualifie en Afrique d'alliance "diabolique" ou "impie". Le but de cette alliance, c'est de perpétuer à jamais un système esclavagiste en Afrique australe et de dresser un barrage contre les mouvements révolutionnaires de libération des peuples.

59. La situation dans les territoires sous domination portugaise se caractérise par une tension particulièrement aiguë. Voici plusieurs années que le Portugal conduit de sanglantes guerres coloniales en Angola, au Mozambique et dans la Guinée dite portugaise. Les colonialistes portugais ont envoyé de puissantes forces régulières dans ces territoires. Ils ont à l'heure actuelle la plus forte armée de tous les pays situés au sud du Sahara, avec des effectifs supérieurs à 80 000 hommes. Ces troupes sont équipées du matériel le plus moderne que le Portugal reçoit de ses alliés de l'OTAN.

60. Par la terreur et par des représailles massives, les bourreaux portugais tentent de briser la résistance des habitants de l'Angola, du Mozambique et de la Guinée dite portugaise qui se sont soulevés pour la liberté. Rien qu'en Angola, plus de 100 000 Africains ont été exterminés en quatre ans de guerre et 350 000 personnes, fuyant la répression, ont abandonné leurs foyers et émigré dans les pays voisins.

61. L'Assemblée générale, le Conseil de sécurité et le Comité des Vingt-Quatre ont à différentes sessions examiné à maintes reprises la situation dans les territoires portugais. C'est ainsi qu'ont été adoptées des résolutions et des décisions invitant le Portugal à mettre fin à la répression, à retirer ses forces armées et à prendre des mesures immédiates pour appliquer la Déclaration à l'égard de ces territoires.

62. Mais tous ces appels et toutes ces injonctions restent sans effet. Le Gouvernement Salazar continue de s'obstiner aveuglément dans sa politique colonialiste. Qui plus est, il déclare qu'il défendra ces

territoires, en d'autres termes, sa domination coloniale, "jusqu'à la limite de ses ressources humaines et matérielles".

63. Bien entendu, les colonialistes portugais n'oseraient jamais pratiquer une politique à ce point cynique et cruelle s'ils ne bénéficiaient du soutien du bloc militaire de l'OTAN dont le Portugal est membre. Les insurgés de l'Angola, du Mozambique et de la Guinée dite portugaise ont maintes fois saisi entre les mains des bourreaux portugais des fusils d'Allemagne occidentale, des mitrailleuses italiennes ou des bazookas anglais, ils ont abattu des avions américains. Cela représente tout un arsenal de l'OTAN. Pour mener ces guerres coloniales en Afrique, le Portugal, d'après une dépêche du correspondant de l'Agence Associated Press à Lisbonne, dépense quelque 150 millions de dollars par an. D'où le Portugal tient-il ces ressources?

64. "Sans l'aide financière et militaire de ses alliés de l'OTAN", a déclaré M. Eduardo Mondlane, Président du Front de libération du Mozambique, à une séance du Comité des Vingt-Quatre, "le Portugal ne pourrait pas tenir un mois, obligé qu'il est de faire la guerre en Angola, au Mozambique et en Guinée".

65. Outre les importantes quantités d'armes à feu déjà fournies, la République fédérale d'Allemagne a acheté 60 avions au Canada afin de les livrer au Portugal. De même, la République fédérale d'Allemagne a consenti au régime de Salazar, en 1963 et en 1964, des prêts très importants. Des instructeurs d'Allemagne occidentale, aux côtés de leurs collègues de l'OTAN venus d'autres pays, enseignent aux troupes portugaises les méthodes de lutte à employer contre ceux qui combattent pour la libération des peuples.

66. Ces faits et d'autres encore montrent que les membres de l'OTAN violent de manière flagrante les nombreuses résolutions de l'ONU demandant que l'on cesse de fournir des armes au Portugal. Par une résolution en date du 18 décembre 1962, l'Assemblée générale, à sa dix-septième session, priait "tous les Etats Membres de refuser au Portugal tout appui ou toute assistance qu'il pourrait employer à des fins de répression contre le peuple angolais et, en particulier de mettre fin à l'approvisionnement du Portugal en armes". Cette résolution est restée lettre morte. A sa vingtième session, l'Assemblée générale doit enfin exiger fermement que les pays de l'OTAN se soumettent à la volonté de l'ONU, à la volonté de la majorité des peuples du monde.

67. C'est une cruelle ironie que certaines institutions spécialisées des Nations Unies continuent aussi d'apporter au Portugal une aide financière et économique. Le Comité des Vingt-Quatre, par sa résolution du 10 juin 1965, a fait tout particulièrement appel à ces institutions en leur demandant "de s'abstenir d'accorder au Portugal toute assistance financière, économique ou technique, tant que ce gouvernement ne renoncera pas à sa politique coloniale qui constitue une violation flagrante des dispositions de la Charte des Nations Unies". Qui ne comprend pas, dans ces conditions, qu'il faut mettre immédiatement fin à l'aide fournie au Portugal par ces institutions spécialisées?

68. En apportant au Portugal une aide financière et économique importante, les pays de l'OTAN poursuivent leurs objectifs intéressés. En échange de cette

aide, le Portugal a livré à l'encan au capital international les richesses de ses territoires coloniaux. Les deux tiers des capitaux investis au Portugal et dans les colonies portugaises se trouvent directement ou indirectement sous le contrôle de monopoles étrangers. La banque britannique Midland Bank, les groupes américains Morgan et Rockefeller, la Société générale de Belgique, firme franco-belge, ont profondément pénétré par tous les pores de l'économie des colonies portugaises. Par exemple, l'industrie angolaise du diamant est monopolisée par l'Angola Diamond, société groupant des capitaux américains, britanniques et belges. Cette société possède un droit exclusif touchant la prospection et l'exploitation du diamant sur le territoire angolais. Depuis 1960, les quantités annuelles de diamants extraites par cette compagnie ont été supérieures à un million de carats, ce qui représente des bénéfices de plus de 100 millions d'escudos.

69. Le Comité des Vingt-Quatre lors des réunions qu'il a tenues en Afrique, et, à son tour, le Conseil de sécurité ont de nouveau accordé une grande attention au problème des territoires administrés par le Portugal et ils ont de nouveau demandé à tous les Etats, notamment aux alliés militaires du Portugal dans le cadre de l'OTAN de s'abstenir de fournir des armes et munitions ainsi que toutes autres formes d'assistance à ce pays.

70. La délégation soviétique appuie cet appel et estime, pour sa part, que le temps des paroles et des résolutions est depuis longtemps révolu vis-à-vis des colonialistes portugais. Le moment d'agir est maintenant venu. L'Union soviétique préconise l'adoption des mesures les plus regoureuses et les plus radicales contre le colonialisme portugais, de façon à le contraindre à quitter à jamais la terre africaine.

71. La situation se complique chaque jour davantage en Rhodésie du Sud. Aujourd'hui, la presse occidentale elle-même reconnaît de plus en plus fréquemment que la situation dans ce pays porte en germe un "drame sanglant". En faisant de la Rhodésie du Sud un Etat "indépendant" à l'usage des Blancs, le colonialisme, comme le Gouvernement soviétique l'a souligné dans sa déclaration, a ouvertement lancé un défi au peuple de ce pays qui mène depuis de longues années une lutte courageuse pour sa liberté et son indépendance, un défi aux peuples d'Afrique et du monde entier.

72. Cette fois encore, les colonialistes ont passé outre à la volonté des peuples, exprimée dans la Déclaration historique de l'ONU et dans de nombreuses résolutions par lesquelles les Nations Unies ont condamné les agissements des racistes de Rhodésie du Sud et préconisé l'octroi d'une indépendance véritable au peuple du Zimbabwe.

73. Chacun se rend compte aujourd'hui que les racistes de la Rhodésie du Sud n'auraient pas osé mettre à exécution leurs plans criminels s'ils n'avaient pu agir en collusion avec les colonialistes, qui ont permis au régime raciste de Salisbury de se renforcer au cours des dernières années sur le plan économique et militaire. Ce forfait n'aurait pu être accompli sans la bénédiction des gouvernements des Etats membres de l'OTAN, avant tout du Royaume-Uni et des Etats-Unis d'Amérique, qui veulent créer un

nouveau foyer de racisme, cette fois-ci en Rhodésie du Sud, et faire ainsi obstacle au mouvement national de libération des peuples africains.

74. Conformément à sa position de principe touchant l'élimination du colonialisme, le Gouvernement soviétique a condamné résolument ce nouveau crime perpétré contre les peuples d'Afrique et a déclaré qu'il ne reconnaissait pas le régime raciste qui a usurpé le pouvoir en Rhodésie du Sud. Le Gouvernement soviétique appuie sans réserve les résolutions adoptées par le Conseil de sécurité et l'Assemblée générale au sujet de la situation en Rhodésie du Sud et les appliquera sans défaillance.

75. Fidèle à sa politique d'appui constant aux mouvements nationaux de libération des peuples, le Gouvernement soviétique se déclare entièrement solidaire du peuple du Zimbabwe; il affirme à nouveau son désir de coopérer avec les pays africains et de les aider par tous les moyens dans la lutte légitime qu'ils mènent pour conquérir une indépendance nationale véritable.

76. Le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni, auquel incombe l'entière responsabilité de la situation qui s'est créée, ne cherche qu'en apparence à calmer le raciste Smith. La résolution que le Conseil de sécurité a adoptée au sujet de la Rhodésie du Sud ne sera fructueuse que si elle permet d'intensifier la lutte menée pour l'indépendance véritable de la Rhodésie du Sud et la liberté du peuple zimbabwe.

77. On peut voir un exemple classique des manœuvres de cette puissance coloniale dans le comportement du Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni à l'égard de ses possessions dans la péninsule arabique. Durant près de 130 années d'hégémonie dans cette région, le Royaume-Uni a utilisé le vaste arsenal des tactiques colonialistes pour garder sous sa coupe les peuples d'Aden, de l'Arabie du Sud, de l'Oman et des îles Bahrein. Le Royaume-Uni a imposé séparément à chaque sultanat et à chaque cheikat des accords colonialistes de protectorat, puis il a mis sur pied tant bien que mal la trop célèbre Fédération d'Arabie du Sud. Les années passaient, les méthodes changeaient, mais le but demeurait le même: garder la mainmise sur les gisements pétroliers du Proche-Orient, conserver les bases militaires.

78. Or les peuples de cette région ne veulent pas du maintien de la domination britannique sur la péninsule arabique. Le sol brûle sous les pas des colonialistes: des combats acharnés se déroulent en Arabie du Sud et à Oman; des troubles éclatent à Bahrein, des explosions se font entendre à Aden. Le Royaume-Uni mène des opérations de représailles contre la population de ces régions. Les soldats et les officiers britanniques brûlent des villages pacifiques en y lançant des bombes au napalm, ils mitraillent du haut de leurs avions des habitants pacifiques, ils torturent les patriotes.

79. A l'heure actuelle, les colonialistes britanniques cherchent à imposer leurs plans en visant à créer un Etat unitaire en Arabie du Sud. Conformément à ces plans, non seulement le Royaume-Uni n'a pas l'intention de quitter la région et supprimer ses bases militaires, mais il compte au contraire renforcer encore davantage ses positions dans la péninsule.

80. L'Assemblée générale avait, en 1963 déjà, adopté une résolution [1949 (XVIII)] dans laquelle elle exigeait catégoriquement que le Royaume-Uni supprime sa base militaire d'Aden et permette au peuple de l'Arabie du Sud d'exercer son droit de libre détermination. Jusqu'ici ces exigences n'ont pas été suivies d'effet. Non seulement le Royaume-Uni méconnaît la résolution que l'Assemblée générale a adoptée en 1963 au sujet d'Aden, mais il n'a même pas autorisé les représentants du Sous-Comité d'Aden à se rendre dans ce territoire.

81. L'Assemblée générale doit prendre des mesures efficaces pour que le Royaume-Uni applique enfin les résolutions des Nations Unies.

82. Les problèmes relatifs à l'apartheid et à la discrimination raciale dans la République sud-africaine font l'objet d'un point distinct de l'ordre du jour. Pour le moment nous ne parlerons que de l'annexion, par la République sud-africaine, du Sud-Ouest africain, qui compte 1 million d'habitants. Les racistes de l'Afrique du Sud ont instauré, dans ce pays, un régime à l'image et à l'exemple de la République sud-africaine. Les Africains, qui constituent 90 p. 100 de la population du Sud-Ouest africain, sont parqués dans des réserves dont la superficie représente un quart du territoire. Ils manquent d'eau, de logements, de terres arables et de pâturages. En fait, les zones attribuées aux Africains ne sont autre chose que des camps de concentration. Comme le disait un Africain éminent: "Ce sont des cimetières peuplés de vivants".

83. Pour la délégation soviétique, il ne fait pas de doute que la responsabilité de la situation qui existe dans le Sud-Ouest africain incombe à la fois à la République sud-africaine et aux puissances impérialistes. Jugez-en vous-mêmes: dans le Sud-Ouest africain les monopoles étrangers, notamment les monopoles britanniques, américains et belges, sont entièrement libres d'agir à leur guise.

84. Voyons par exemple quels sont les investissements britanniques dans le Sud-Ouest africain. Sur les cinquante principales sociétés industrielles, commerciales et de transports maritimes du Royaume-Uni, 27 au moins ont des filiales en Afrique du Sud et dans le Sud-Ouest africain. Les précisions suivantes donnent une idée des bénéfices de ces sociétés. D'après les comptes de la société Consolidated Mines of South West Africa, le capital initial de cette société ne dépassait pas 4 millions et demi de livres sterling; or pour 1959 seulement, les bénéfices nets se sont montés à près de 11 millions de livres sterling.

85. C'est dans la domination des monopoles étrangers qu'il faut rechercher les motifs de l'intérêt que portent les puissances occidentales au maintien de la situation actuelle dans la République sud-africaine et dans le Sud-Ouest africain.

86. La question du Sud-Ouest africain a maintes fois été examinée à l'ONU. A sa dix-huitième session, le 13 novembre 1963, l'Assemblée générale a adopté une résolution [1899 (XVIII)] dans laquelle elle a réaffirmé le droit inaliénable du peuple du Sud-Ouest africain à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance. Dans cette résolution, l'Assemblée générale déclarait que "toute tentative d'annexion d'une partie ou de la totalité du

Territoire du Sud-Ouest africain" constituerait "un acte d'agression".

87. Pendant la série de réunions qu'il a tenues en Afrique, le Comité spécial des Vingt-Quatre a adopté, le 17 juin 1965, une résolution [A/6000/Rev.1, chap. IV, par. 285] où il a réaffirmé le droit du peuple du Sud-Ouest africain à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance et a recommandé à l'Assemblée générale et au Conseil de sécurité de prendre les dispositions appropriées pour sauvegarder la souveraineté du peuple du Sud-Ouest africain ainsi que l'intégrité du Territoire et de prendre à cette fin les mesures concrètes et adéquates nécessaires en coopération avec l'Organisation de l'unité africaine.

88. La délégation soviétique appuie cette recommandation et estime que l'heure est venue de mettre au point ces dispositions de manière à envisager les mesures de coercition que prévoit la Charte des Nations Unies.

89. La délégation soviétique tient à appeler l'attention de l'Assemblée générale sur le danger extrêmement grave que créent pour la paix les bases militaires établies dans les territoires coloniaux. Ces bases militaires des puissances coloniales sont dirigées contre les mouvements nationaux de libération, comme le montrent d'abondants témoignages. On sait par exemple que la base militaire aérienne du Royaume-Uni située dans l'île de l'Ascension a été utilisée par les Etats-Unis d'Amérique et la Belgique pour exécuter au Congo la honteuse "opération de Stanleyville".

90. C'est ainsi que des aérodromes d'Aden on voit s'envoler des avions vers les monts du Radfan, vers les sultanats d'El-Haushabi et d'El-Fadli ainsi que vers d'autres régions où les troupes britanniques et leurs fantoches luttent contre le mouvement national de libération du sud de la péninsule Arabique. Aden, centre des forces armées britanniques au Proche-Orient, est utilisé pour réprimer les mouvements nationaux de libération dans de nombreuses régions du monde. C'est d'Aden que des troupes ont été envoyées au Kenya, à Zanzibar, en Ouganda et dans d'autres régions.

91. La République sud-africaine a été transformée en un bastion militaire dirigé contre les mouvements de libération en Afrique. Les Etats-Unis et la République fédérale d'Allemagne ont déployé, à cet égard, une activité particulièrement intense. A l'aide de ces Etats, on construit des bases militaires aériennes, des voies de communication militaires stratégiques ainsi que des polygones d'essai pour de nouveaux types d'armes.

92. Le Comité des Vingt-Quatre, dans sa résolution du 17 juin 1965, a demandé au Gouvernement de la République sud-africaine de retirer sans délai toutes les bases et autres installations militaires situées sur le Territoire du Sud-Ouest africain et de s'abstenir d'utiliser le Territoire comme base de concentration d'armes ou de forces armées.

93. La délégation soviétique espère que l'Assemblée générale fera siennes cette résolution et invitera les puissances occidentales à l'observer scrupuleusement.

94. L'Organisation des Nations Unies agirait d'une manière tout à fait justifiée si elle exigeait résoluement des colonialistes et de leurs alliés qu'ils suppriment toutes leurs bases militaires et retirent les troupes étrangères des territoires coloniaux.

95. La délégation soviétique juge indispensable d'appeler également l'attention de l'Assemblée générale sur la subsistance d'une forme masquée de colonialisme — le régime de tutelle — qui prive les peuples de la Nouvelle-Guinée, du Papua, de Nauru et des Iles du Pacifique de la possibilité d'exercer leur droit à la libre détermination et à l'indépendance. Qui plus est, les événements ont montré que les Etats-Unis cherchent à annexer les Iles du Pacifique. L'Organisation des Nations Unies se doit de faire obstacle à ces plans d'annexion.

96. Pour conclure, la délégation soviétique voudrait formuler quelques considérations générales sur l'activité du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. De l'avis de la délégation soviétique, le Comité des Vingt-Quatre et son Président, M. Coulibaly, ont accompli une œuvre fort utile: ils ont permis de démasquer la politique des puissances impérialistes et les activités des monopoles capitalistes dans les colonies, facilitant ainsi l'élaboration de toute une série de mesures concrètes en vue de l'application de la Déclaration.

97. Il convient de noter tout particulièrement l'expérience très utile acquise par le Comité spécial lors de la série de réunions qu'il a tenues en Afrique, à proximité immédiate des territoires coloniaux. Il ne fait pas de doute que les séances que le Comité a tenues dans les capitales de la Zambie, de la Tanzanie et de l'Ethiopie ont insufflé une vie nouvelle aux activités du Comité et ont aidé à intensifier ses travaux.

98. Cette série de réunions a porté tout particulièrement sur les questions les plus urgentes et d'actualité brûlante, celles de la lutte contre le colonialisme: la situation en Rhodésie du Sud, dans les colonies portugaises, dans le Sud-Ouest africain, au Bassoutoland, au Souaziland et au Betchouanaland. De nombreux dirigeants d'organisations nationales et patriotiques de ces territoires sont montés à la tribune du Comité pour y faire des déclarations. C'est ainsi que le monde a pu apprendre des faits nouveaux sur les crimes des colonialistes en Afrique, et que l'on a pu noter le rôle prépondérant que jouent les Etats-Unis dans la politique des puissances colonialistes. Les activités criminelles et dangereuses de l'OTAN, ce bloc militaire dirigé contre le mouvement de libération africain, ont fait l'objet d'une condamnation générale.

99. Les membres du Comité et les représentants des mouvements nationalistes et patriotiques des colonies ont révélé les motifs véritables de la survie du colonialisme sur le sol africain. Aux côtés des puissances colonialistes on a vu, au banc des accusés, les monopoles impérialistes, les Etats membres du bloc militaire de l'OTAN qui accordent une aide militaire et autre aux colonialistes portugais et aux racistes de l'Afrique du Sud. On a condamné très sévèrement l'alliance "diabolique" des ennemis de l'Afrique — les

gouvernements de la République sud-africaine, du Portugal et de la Rhodésie du Sud.

100. La délégation soviétique estime que la décision prise par le Comité de tenir une série de réunions en Afrique a porté ses fruits. Elle a permis de renforcer la cohésion et l'union des pays qui préconisent la suppression, dans les plus brefs délais, des régimes coloniaux.

101. Un aspect positif du travail du Comité, en Afrique, est qu'il a pu se mettre directement en contact avec l'Organisation de l'unité africaine. Nous pensons qu'à l'avenir ces liens devraient être renforcés par tous les moyens. Ces contacts ouvrent de vastes perspectives à la coopération entre le Comité spécial et l'Organisation de l'unité africaine dans la lutte pour la mise en œuvre de la Déclaration. On est parfaitement fondé à croire qu'à l'avenir le Comité devrait se réunir régulièrement en dehors du siège.

102. La délégation soviétique estime que l'Assemblée a le devoir de réaffirmer une fois de plus que la lutte des peuples coloniaux pour leur libération est légitime et que l'Assemblée devrait engager tous les Etats à leur prêter, dans cette lutte, l'aide morale et tous les types d'aide dont ils ont besoin. Il faut répondre à l'appel de M. Kenneth Kaunda, le Président de la Zambie, qui a dit: "Trêve de paroles, passons à l'action!"

103. On doit aussi entretenir, autour des colonialistes, un climat de réprobation et d'opposition générales. Il y aurait intérêt à ce que l'Organisation des Nations Unies déclare, une fois de plus, que la persistance du colonialisme, sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations, de même que le régime d'apartheid et de discrimination raciale, constituent un crime contre l'humanité et la civilisation.

104. De l'avis de la délégation soviétique, il faut maintenir en fonction le Comité des Vingt-Quatre, qui devrait devenir encore plus actif et plus énergique. Le Comité doit faire preuve d'une fermeté et d'une persévérance plus grandes lors de l'élaboration de mesures concrètes tendant à assurer dans les plus brefs délais la mise en œuvre de la Déclaration. Le Comité pourrait s'adresser au Conseil de sécurité pour lui proposer l'adoption de mesures efficaces destinées à couper court aux tentatives que font les colonialistes pour réprimer par la force les mouvements des peuples de territoires coloniaux qui luttent pour conquérir leur liberté et leur indépendance.

105. Il serait utile notamment qu'à l'exemple du Comité des Vingt-Quatre, le Conseil de sécurité tienne plusieurs réunions en Afrique, à proximité immédiate des territoires qui subissent encore le joug colonial.

106. Le Comité devrait jouer un rôle beaucoup plus grand dans l'exécution des décisions qu'il adopte. Il faudrait tout d'abord que le Comité fasse porter son attention sur les grands territoires coloniaux. Le Gouvernement soviétique estime en effet que les peuples de ces territoires supportent actuellement la plus lourde part du fardeau de la lutte politique et militaire menée contre les colonialistes et qu'il faut leur prêter en premier lieu une aide immédiate. On ne doit pas oublier que les opérations militaires entreprises par les colonialistes contre les patriotes de

l'Angola, du Mozambique, de la Guinée dite portugaise et de l'Arabie du Sud créent une menace réelle à la paix et à la sécurité du monde entier.

107. De plus, le Gouvernement soviétique considère que le Comité des Vingt-Quatre doit continuer à s'occuper des petits territoires coloniaux qui ne figurent pas encore tous à l'ordre du jour du Comité et ne sont donc pas examinés par celui-ci. Tous les peuples, grands et petits, ont droit à la liberté et le Comité comme l'Assemblée générale ont pour tâche d'aider à assurer l'exercice de ce droit par tous les peuples coloniaux — sans exception. En outre, de grands efforts doivent être déployés pour élaborer des mesures visant à garantir aux populations autochtones l'exercice réel et sans entraves de leur droit à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance, lors du règlement du statut des petits territoires coloniaux, afin de contrecarrer les machinations des puissances coloniales qui entendent annexer ces territoires.

108. Le Comité des Vingt-Quatre ne peut se désintéresser non plus la lutte contre les nouvelles formes du colonialisme — l'ensemble des mesures militaires, politiques et économiques que prennent les colonialistes pour conserver leur emprise sur les peuples qui se sont déjà libérés. La Conférence de Genève de l'ONU sur le commerce et le développement a mis en lumière le degré d'acuité que revêtent ces problèmes dans le monde. L'Union soviétique appuie pleinement le mouvement irrésistible des peuples en faveur d'une indépendance économique véritable et du renforcement de leur indépendance politique. Ce mouvement doit recevoir l'appui sans réserve de tous ceux qui défendent la liberté des peuples contre l'op-

pression. Dans cette lutte l'Organisation des Nations Unies doit prendre la place qui lui revient.

109. L'année 1965 est celle qui a marqué le vingtième anniversaire de l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Nous manquerions à notre devoir devant l'histoire et devant tous les peuples, devant les peuples du monde entier si nous n'apportions une contribution nouvelle et importante à l'élimination immédiate des régimes coloniaux. Il ne saurait non plus y avoir de doute que la fin inéluctable et définitive du régime colonialiste approche sur notre planète.

110. Nous autres, habitants du grand pays des Soviets, avons la conviction que les plans agressifs des colonialistes, des néo-colonialistes et des impérialistes sont irrémédiablement voués à l'échec; nous sommes persuadés que les peuples du monde sont à même d'éliminer sans tarder les régimes coloniaux, quelles que soient les formes sous lesquelles ceux-ci se présentent. La conviction des citoyens soviétiques repose sur le fait que la cause de la liberté des peuples est défendue aujourd'hui par les forces les plus puissantes du monde — par les pays socialistes et les Etats pacifiques d'Asie, d'Afrique et d'Amérique latine, qui poursuivent une politique anticolonialiste et anti-impérialiste et qui forment, avec les pays socialistes, le front puissant et invincible de la libération.

111. Le PRESIDENT: Je demande une fois de plus aux représentants qui désirent prendre la parole de bien vouloir s'inscrire sur la liste des orateurs, qu'il pourrait être opportun de clore demain 1er décembre à 17 heures.

La séance est levée à 16 h 55.

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VINGTIÈME SESSION

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SÉANCE PLÉNIÈRE

*Mercredi 1er décembre 1965,
à 15 heures*

NEW YORK

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*Président: M. Abdul Rahman PAZHWAK
(Afghanistan).*

POINT 23 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

Application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux: rapports du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux (suite)

27. Le **PRESIDENT**: Avant de donner la parole au premier orateur inscrit, je voudrais avertir les membres de l'Assemblée que la liste des orateurs sera close aujourd'hui à 18 heures.

28. **Lord CARADON** (Royaume-Uni) [traduit de l'anglais]: Au moment où le débat ouvert à cette session sur le colonialisme touche à sa fin, il n'est peut-être pas inutile de se demander jusqu'à quel point le colonialisme lui-même a pris fin. Nous nous réjouissons tous du long chemin parcouru et sommes heureux de constater que la fin du colonialisme est maintenant en vue. Il est des gens qui jugent assez objectivement les choses pour dire que l'ère du colonialisme a apporté aux peuples colonisés certaines compensations et certains avantages. Cela est vrai en ce qui concerne le maintien de l'ordre, le développement économique, l'expérience des méthodes démocratiques, l'éducation. Mais nous reconnaissons tous que ces compensations et ces avantages, si réels soient-ils, ne sauraient en aucun cas servir de prétexte à un pays, à un peuple ou à une race pour perpétuer sa domination sur un autre pays, un autre peuple ou une autre race.

29. C'est devenu un lieu commun de dire qu'un bon gouvernement imposé à un peuple ne saurait remplacer un gouvernement choisi par lui et il est universellement reconnu que chaque nation doit être libre de façonner son propre destin. Oui, chaque nation doit être libre de forger elle-même sa destinée, même si la route de l'indépendance est dure et pénible. Et de peur que certaines des vieilles nations ne soient tentées d'afficher une supériorité lorsqu'elles assistent aux premiers tâtonnements des nations nouvelles, il est peut-être bon de nous rappeler que, parmi ces nations anciennes, il en est très peu s'il en est qui aient poursuivi leur marche vers l'unité nationale et aient pu réaliser cette unité sans passer par de dures épreuves, de longues luttes et d'amers conflits.

30. Mais, bien que l'ère du colonialisme soit heureusement presque close, un autre mal, né en partie du colonialisme, subsiste encore aujourd'hui. Peut-

être ne fait-il que commencer. C'est le risque de conflits raciaux. Ce risque, nous le voyons apparaître dans de nombreuses parties du monde, en particulier en Afrique du Sud. A coup sûr l'une des tâches majeures qui s'imposent à notre génération est de faire à temps un suprême effort pour que soient adoptées en Afrique du Sud des mesures de justice permettant d'éviter et de prévenir les conflits raciaux.

31. Mais il n'entre pas dans mes intentions d'examiner ici aujourd'hui la situation de l'Afrique du Sud avec ses problèmes et ses dangers. Nous avons déjà eu et nous aurons encore l'occasion de le faire. Ces problèmes, à mon avis, ne sont pas essentiellement des problèmes coloniaux. Ils sont plus graves et plus dangereux que ceux-ci. Ce sont des problèmes raciaux et ce serait une grave erreur que de ne pas les reconnaître et de ne pas les traiter comme tels.

32. Ce dont je veux parler aujourd'hui, c'est de questions strictement coloniales: comment les quelque 50 territoires coloniaux qui subsistent çà et là dans le monde, peuvent-ils mettre fin à leur condition actuelle et repartir sur de nouvelles bases et comment cette opération pourra-t-elle se faire rapidement dans la paix, dans l'ordre et dans l'espoir en l'avenir?

33. Cet effort concerne au premier chef mon pays. Car si nous écartons du présent débat la question des territoires d'Afrique du Sud et aussi la question des pays qui sont dominés par d'autres mais qui ne sont pas encore reconnus ici comme colonies, il ne reste plus dans le monde que cinquante territoires coloniaux et 31 de ceux-ci sont administrés par mon pays. Nous envisageons de réduire ce nombre de quatre unités au moins au cours de l'année prochaine, car le Betchoualand, le Bassoutoland, la Guinée britannique et l'île Maurice doivent, au cours de cette période, accéder à l'indépendance, bientôt suivis dans cette voie par le Souaziland et l'Arabie du Sud.

34. Puis-je me permettre de rappeler, au sujet de ces trente et un territoires, trois faits principaux.

35. Le premier, c'est que la plupart d'entre eux sont petits par la superficie et par la population. La population totale de tous les territoires encore sous administration britannique ne dépasse pas 9 millions, dont la moitié est répartie sur 29 territoires. Nous avons déjà parcouru la plus grande partie du chemin que nous nous sommes tracé et nous sommes heureux et fiers, nous qui appartenons au Commonwealth, de pouvoir dire que sur les 750 millions d'hommes que compte, au total, ce Commonwealth, la proportion de ceux qui vivent dans des territoires non autonomes et dépendants ne dépasse guère un pour cent.

36. Le second fait, c'est que chacun de ces trente et un territoires est différent des autres. Des îles Cayman dans la mer des Caraïbes aux îles Salomon dans le Pacifique et d'Aden au Bassoutoland, ils présentent la plus grande variété imaginable par leurs caractères géographiques, leurs ressources ou leur manque de ressources, et leurs besoins. Ils ont chacun des caractères et des besoins différents mais ils ont les mêmes titres à notre compréhension et à notre sollicitude. On ne peut pas régler leur sort en bloc par une mesure générale faisant fi des particularités.

37. Le troisième fait concernant ces territoires, c'est que, en évoluant vers une condition nouvelle et librement choisie, chacun d'eux se heurte à une difficulté particulière, distincte et propre à lui. La difficulté peut venir des dimensions du territoire. Beaucoup d'entre eux sont trop petits pour se tirer d'affaire tout seuls dans le monde. Ou bien elle est provoquée par l'éloignement des marchés et l'insuffisance des voies de communication. Dans d'autres cas la difficulté provient du manque de ressources qui ne leur permet pas de subsister par eux-mêmes. D'autres fois, il s'agit de faire vivre ensemble au sein d'une même communauté des gens d'origine, de religions ou de races différentes. Chaque cas a son problème. Et la solution n'est pas aisée. S'il en était autrement, tous ces territoires dispersés ne seraient plus des colonies à l'heure actuelle.

38. J'ai déjà dit que, étant donné la diversité des conditions et des problèmes, on ne peut régler en bloc le sort de ces pays par quelque mesure générale faisant fi des particularités. Il n'y a pas une solution unique. Il n'y a pas de consigne unique, pas de mot de passe unique qui puisse faire obtenir la clé du problème dans chaque cas particulier. Il est vain d'espérer renverser les obstacles physiques en réclamant à cor et à cri l'indépendance immédiate. Il y a néanmoins certains principes de base à appliquer sur lesquels, je pense, nous pourrions tous nous mettre d'accord. Quels sont-ils?

39. D'abord les vœux et les intérêts du peuple doivent l'emporter sur toute autre considération. C'est là un principe absolu dont nous devons faire notre règle. La voix du peuple doit être entendue et respectée. Lorsqu'il y a désaccord au sein du peuple lui-même, on doit négocier patiemment, inlassablement, concilier, dialoguer. Le principe de la consultation est pour nous de la plus haute importance. Nous ne devons pas chercher à imposer — pas même chercher à imposer à la minorité la volonté de la majorité. Les minorités elles aussi doivent être consultées. Nous avons envers elles des obligations, des obligations spéciales qui nous font un devoir de défendre de notre mieux leurs justes revendications et leurs intérêts essentiels.

40. Nous avons appliqué en toute bonne foi ces principes et ces méthodes; pourtant je sais que nous avons été parfois critiqués et que nos intentions et nos motifs ont été parfois mal interprétés. Il y a des gens qui appellent impatiemment de leurs vœux l'indépendance immédiate sans vouloir tenir compte des difficultés spéciales, des divergences et des désaccords particuliers qui subsistent. Il en est d'autres qui disent que tous ces peuples doivent tout de suite, bon gré mal gré, et quelles qu'en soient les conséquences, faire le plongeon dans les eaux de l'indépendance. Et l'on vote des motions sans nuances, on brise les liens, on répudie les obligations, on méconnaît les droits des minorités, on oublie les impératifs économiques. Advienne que pourra. Que tout sombre pourvu que la théorie reste intacte et que la thèse triomphe.

41. J'espère que pareille insensibilité, pareille arrogance ne sauraient prévaloir désormais. Et j'ose croire que l'on se rendra compte de plus en plus que la solution des problèmes coloniaux qui restent en-

core à résoudre ne peut être ni dictée ni imposée par voie autoritaire mais doit être recherchée en se référant aux vœux et aux besoins de la population elle-même. Ce sont les intérêts de celle-ci qui doivent prévaloir. La politique et la méthode à adopter — et ici je prie instamment l'Assemblée de m'écouter — doivent être fondées sur deux principes vitaux, la consultation et le consentement.

42. Ce sont là les deux buts inséparables que nous poursuivons et que nous continuerons à poursuivre. Consulter les populations. Agir avec leur consentement. Ces deux obligations sont fondamentales. Nous nous y conformerons sans nous en écarter. Agir autrement serait renier nos responsabilités et nos obligations.

43. Je répète une fois de plus que nous sommes fiers d'avoir transformé un empire formé d'Etats dépendants en une communauté de peuples libres. Mais nous ne sommes pas disposés à clore ce chapitre en sacrifiant honteusement les intérêts de certains peuples, si petits et si lointains soient-ils, et en passant outre à leurs vœux. En appliquant les principes de consultation et de consentement, nous avons en moins de vingt ans conduit à l'indépendance vingt-six nations dont la population représente plus du cinquième de la population du monde. Nous sommes résolus à mener cette tâche à son terme, et à suivre jusqu'au bout les voies de la consultation et du consentement.

44. Quelques-uns d'entre nous se rappellent le remarquable discours prononcé ici même l'année dernière par M. Walter Lippman, discours dans lequel il évoquait

"le principe moderne et révolutionnaire selon lequel le pouvoir légitime est issu de la volonté du peuple, laquelle implique le droit de choisir et l'aptitude à faire un choix"^{2/}.

45. Nous faisons nôtre ce principe révolutionnaire. Nous voulons que tous les peuples que nous sommes encore chargés de diriger aient le droit de choisir, car où il n'y a pas de choix, il n'y a pas de liberté. Nous voulons que leur avenir soit orienté et modelé d'après leur propre choix et leur propre consentement.

46. Il y a peut-être des gens qui doutent de notre sincérité, qui croient que nous voulons continuer à dominer les territoires coloniaux qui nous restent. Notre passé dément ces accusations. Les territoires coloniaux qui nous restent ne sont pas pour nous, croyez-moi, un avantage matériel. Ils sont plutôt, financièrement parlant, une lourde charge. D'un point de vue étroitement égoïste, notre intérêt serait de rompre dès demain tous nos liens avec eux. Mais nous nous refusons à ce parjure. Nous voulons les voir libres, et libres de choisir leur destinée. Nous ne manquerons pas de tenir compte de leurs vœux et de leurs intérêts.

47. Nous voulons que leur accession à la liberté résulte de leur volonté exprimée — non pas de la volonté d'une minorité ou d'un parti ou même d'une majorité —, mais de la volonté — dans la mesure

^{2/} Allocution intitulée "La grande révolution". Pour le texte de cette allocution, se reporter à la Chronique mensuelle des Nations Unies, vol. II, No 4, p. 70 à 76.

où c'est humainement possible — de la population tout entière.

48. Je ne puis espérer traiter aujourd'hui toutes les questions soulevées dans les rapports du Comité des Vingt-Quatre [A/5800/Rev.13/ et A/6000/Rev.1], mais permettez-moi de prendre quelques exemples pour vous montrer comment nous mettons en pratique ces principes de consultation et de consentement.

49. Je parlerai d'abord de l'Arabie du Sud. Nous nous consacrons là-bas à une tâche peu commune: aider les populations de cette région à réaliser l'opération complexe qui consiste à fondre une vingtaine de petits Etats en un seul Etat unifié et indépendant. Le but n'est pas douteux. Il a été proclamé et confirmé par les représentants de tous les Etats intéressés. Mais sa poursuite a présenté et présente encore des difficultés particulières. La principale est que l'Etat d'Aden, avec une population de deux cent cinquante mille personnes a une économie urbaine et commerciale alors que les autres Etats de l'Arabie du Sud ont une population clairsemée d'un million d'hommes vivant dans un régime d'économie tribale, pastorale et agricole. Unifier tant d'intérêts divers est une tâche qui ne peut être réussie que par des méthodes de conciliation, de coopération et de consultation; de tels efforts ont malheureusement, j'ai le regret de le dire, été retardés et provisoirement contrecarrés par des actes de violence inspirés du dehors.

50. Néanmoins, les consultations se poursuivent faisant suite à des conférences, à des visites à Aden par le Secrétaire d'Etat pour les colonies et à des négociations compliquées portant sur des problèmes constitutionnels. Nous avons pris mainte et mainte initiative dans chacune de ces voies. Et nous avons bien précisé, chaque fois, que le but proclamé par tous les représentants des Etats intéressés, qui est d'accéder à l'indépendance en 1968 au plus tard, a notre complet appui. On ne saurait trouver meilleur exemple du fait qu'un règlement et une solution doivent être trouvés non par la force ou la violence mais par l'élaboration d'un plan d'accès à l'indépendance établi en consultation avec les intéressés et avec leur accord.

51. Le deuxième exemple que je citerai sera celui de la Guyane britannique. Il s'agit ici de créer un Etat indépendant d'une population de 638 000 habitants, dont la moitié est d'origine indienne, un tiers d'origine africaine, le reste étant un métissage d'Européens, de Chinois et d'Indiens d'Amérique. Les principales difficultés et les principaux dangers ont pour origine les divisions politiques et raciales qui, à plusieurs reprises déjà, ont provoqué des explosions de violence. Ici encore, à la faveur d'une série de conférences, des efforts ont été accomplis, en consultation avec les représentants élus de la population, afin de trouver une base acceptable pour un accès rapide à l'indépendance. Et à la conférence, qui vient de s'achever à Londres, des décisions finales ont été prises non seulement sur la forme de la Constitution — qui comprendra des dispositions spéciales pour la protection des minorités, ainsi

qu'une Déclaration des droits et une solennelle déclaration d'intention visant à mettre un terme aux dissensions communales —, mais aussi sur la date où sera célébrée l'indépendance de la nouvelle nation guyanaise qui est fixée au 26 mai de l'année prochaine.

52. Mon troisième exemple sera celui des îles Fidji qui ont une population d'un peu moins de 500 000 habitants. Cette population est composée pour une moitié d'Indiens et pour un peu plus de 40 p. 100 de Fidjiens. Le problème particulier des îles Fidji est posé par les doutes, les appréhensions et la méfiance que chacune des deux communautés nourrit à l'égard de l'autre, chacune voulant être assurée qu'elle ne sera pas dominée par l'autre.

53. L'été dernier a eu lieu à Londres une conférence où toutes les parties de la population fidjienne étaient représentées. Tous les représentants se sont trouvés d'accord pour estimer que le premier objectif est de faire de nouveaux progrès dans la voie de l'autonomie interne. Une déclaration des droits comprenant des garanties contre les discriminations raciales arbitraires a été adoptée. L'élaboration de la Constitution a fait aussi quelques progrès et l'on s'est mis d'accord sur le principe d'une majorité non officielle au Conseil législatif, sur un système ministériel et sur quelques ajustements concernant l'équilibre de la représentation des communautés au sein du Conseil législatif. Les Indiens insistaient pour que l'on adopte dès maintenant le principe de la liste électorale commune. Les Fidjiens et les Européens souhaitaient le maintien de listes électorales par communautés. L'accord n'ayant pu se faire, le Royaume-Uni a présenté un système nouveau d'élections "transversales" selon lequel, pour la première fois, neuf conseillers législatifs seront élus par les électeurs des trois listes communautaires.

54. Les îles Fidji offrent un nouvel exemple du fait que, sans consultations et sans consentement préalables, on ne peut espérer faire des progrès utiles, dans l'ordre et la paix. Faire fi des vœux de l'une quelconque des différentes communautés et chercher à imposer une solution serait détruire l'espoir d'arriver entre les races à l'entente et à la coopération dont dépendent, c'est bien évident, la prospérité et l'unité futures des îles Fidji.

55. Je voudrais maintenant aborder deux questions qui ont été mentionnées spécialement au Comité des Vingt-Quatre et à la Quatrième Commission.

56. La première de ces questions est celle des revendications territoriales à l'égard de quelques-uns des territoires sur lesquels s'exerce notre souveraineté — par exemple les îles Falkland et Gibraltar. Nous sommes toujours prêts à discuter ces questions dans un esprit amical et constructif mais sans renoncer à nos principes de consultation et de consentement. Il ne peut être question de négocier ces problèmes de souveraineté et de signer, en dehors d'eux et par-dessus leur tête, des traités engageant l'avenir de peuples entiers. Les populations de ces territoires ne doivent pas être trahies ou devenir un objet de troc. Leurs vœux et leurs intérêts priment tout et nous ferons notre devoir pour les protéger.

3/ Voir Documents officiels de l'Assemblée générale, dix-neuvième session, Annexes, Annexe No 8, 1ère partie.

57. La deuxième question est celle des bases. Nous n'avons plus, nulle part dans le monde, besoin de bases pour assurer la défense de nos intérêts impériaux. Nous n'en avons besoin que pour nous acquitter des obligations que nous imposent le maintien de la paix, l'aide à nos amis et les engagements contractés envers eux par des traités. Ici encore, nous appliquons les principes de la consultation et du consentement. C'est l'avis déclaré de mon gouvernement que l'existence d'aucune base n'est justifiée, ni militairement ni moralement, si elle n'est approuvée par la population du territoire sur lequel elle se trouve. Nous mettons ces principes en pratique en Arabie du Sud par exemple, où nous avons déjà déclaré que le sort à réserver aux installations britanniques de défense est une affaire à négocier entre nous et le gouvernement du nouvel Etat au moment de l'indépendance.

58. Je reviens à la proposition dont j'ai parlé. J'ai, pour ma part, passé plus de trente ans de ma vie à travailler avec les peuples coloniaux, sur la base de la consultation et du consentement, pour les faire avancer sur la voie de l'autogouvernement et de l'indépendance. En Arabie, en Afrique et aux Antilles, ma carrière a été consacrée à cette œuvre. Je peux apporter ici mon témoignage personnel sur les méthodes de consultation que nous avons suivies et je suis fier de dire que tous les pays dans lesquels j'ai servi sont aujourd'hui indépendants.

59. Mon pays, plus que tout autre, a l'expérience des processus d'affranchissement et de libération. Ceux qui ont œuvré avec nous en Asie, en Afrique et ailleurs dans le monde savent que je dis la vérité. Ceux qui nous critiquent sont surtout ceux qui ne savent rien de ces méthodes ou qui les connaissent mal. Certains d'entre eux préconisent pour les autres des élections libres, la liberté d'association, la liberté de parole, mais ils ne semblent pas pressés d'instaurer dans leurs propres pays des pratiques aussi radicales. Quelques-uns sont des experts, non pas en matière d'affranchissement et de libération, mais en matière de répression et de totalitarisme. Nous ne voulons pas leur chercher querelle mais nous n'avons pas la moindre envie de les imiter. Nous ne pouvons, quant à nous, enseigner que ce que nous savons. Nous continuerons à suivre les méthodes dans lesquelles nous avons foi. Nous n'abandonnerons pas les populations qui comptent sur nous. Nous continuerons à appliquer les principes de consultation et de consentement.

60. Sans doute commettrons-nous des erreurs comme nous en avons déjà commises. Sans doute serons-nous l'objet de critiques, parfois justifiées, mais parfois inspirées seulement par la malveillance et même par la méchanceté. Mais ce qui importe, c'est l'intention et les résultats pratiques. Les résultats pratiques sont bien connus. Quant à l'intention, ce que nous voulons, c'est de faire pour le 1 p. 100 qui reste ce que nous avons fait pour les 99 p. 100 qui sont déjà libres — c'est-à-dire traiter les problèmes de ces populations avec équité et avec courage, en respectant toujours leurs vœux et leurs intérêts. Nous serons heureux de participer à toute discussion, à tout débat public. Nous continuerons à expliquer et à justifier nos actions et notre politique. En même temps, nous agissons avec confiance; nous irons de l'avant, sachant que nos intentions sont pures et que nos méthodes

ont été éprouvées et jugées acceptables, efficaces et bénéfiques par ceux dont le jugement nous importe, à savoir les peuples des pays intéressés.

61. M. MALECELA (République-Unie de Tanzanie) [traduit de l'anglais]: Quiconque aura écouté l'allocution que vient de prononcer le représentant du Royaume-Uni aura été tenté de croire à sa sincérité. Pourtant je voudrais rappeler aux membres de cette Assemblée que le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni est celui-là même qui a livré 13 millions d'Africains à la minorité raciste d'Afrique du Sud. Je me demande si c'est là ce que le représentant du Royaume-Uni entend par "consultation". Ce même gouvernement abandonne en ce moment 4 millions de nos frères africains à une minorité composée d'une poignée de racistes. Je me demande si c'est là ce que notre collègue appelle méthode de "consultation". Mais je ne veux pas m'écarter de ce que j'avais l'intention de dire à cette Assemblée.

62. Le fait que celle-ci soit appelée une fois de plus à examiner la question du colonialisme projette une ombre immense et lourde sur notre Organisation. Car l'adoption en 1960 de la résolution 1514 (XV) où figurait la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, avait fait naître dans certains milieux, le grand espoir que le hideux colonialisme allait bientôt disparaître autour de nous et qu'il ne serait plus dans notre histoire qu'un amer souvenir. Voilà l'espoir qui s'élevait il y a cinq ans. Mais il est évident que nous prenions nos désirs pour des réalités et que nos espoirs étaient illusoires.

63. Je dis qu'ils se sont révélés illusoires parce que les faits se sont chargés, hélas, de nous l'apprendre. Illusoires, ils l'étaient en effet, puisque, depuis plusieurs semaines, à cette Quatrième Commission, les orateurs qui se sont succédés, les plaintes qui ont été exprimées, les documents qui ont été présentés, ont tous montré que le fléau du colonialisme existe toujours, qu'il affecte des millions d'hommes qui en sont directement victimes et qu'il défie l'ensemble de l'humanité puisque celle-ci l'a condamné et est bien résolu à le détruire par tous les moyens.

64. Comme je viens de le dire, le colonialisme, l'exploitation de l'homme par l'homme est un défi à l'humanité civilisée et une menace pour la paix et la sécurité internationales. Ma délégation et, avec elle, tout le peuple africain, est convaincue de ce fait parce que c'est en Afrique que les forces de l'impérialisme international ont déchaîné, et, ensemble, continuent à déchaîner leur fureur agressive pour étouffer, coloniser, exploiter les Africains et les ressources naturelles de l'Afrique.

65. Il y a à peine quelques semaines, l'atmosphère dans cette salle était électrisée alors que nous condamnions cette minorité de rebelles qui a usurpé le territoire de la Rhodésie du Sud, en se fondant — notons bien ceci — sur l'infâme Constitution de 1961 élaborée par le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni "après consultations", va-t-on sans doute nous dire. Pendant des années, nous avons à maintes reprises demandé au Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni d'abroger cette Constitution réactionnaire et discriminatoire et chaque fois ce gouvernement nous a répondu avec hauteur que cette affaire ne nous concernait pas. Il se trouve

que la question de la Rhodésie du Sud nous concernait et nous concerne toujours, non pas simplement parce que c'est un problème africain mais aussi parce qu'il s'agit d'une population qui fait partie intégrante de la communauté humaine et qui subit l'oppression coloniale. Le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni a préparé et mis en application la Constitution discriminatoire de 1961. Smith et sa bande de hors-la-loi s'en sont emparé et ont bâti sur elle leur déclaration dite d'indépendance. Pour ma délégation, pour tous les peuples épris de liberté, le problème de la Rhodésie du Sud sous sa forme actuelle, c'est la continuation du colonialisme et le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni en porte la responsabilité.

66. Lorsque, il y a quelques semaines, nous sommes venus protester devant cette Assemblée contre les pratiques du Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni à l'égard de la Rhodésie du Sud, c'est parce que nous savions ce qui allait se passer. Nous avons expliqué que les sanctions économiques étaient une mesure inefficace. Nous avons exposé à cette Assemblée les brutalités qui se déclencheraient si nous ne prenions contre Smith d'autres mesures que les fameuses sanctions économiques.

67. La suite des événements nous a donné raison. Depuis la déclaration unilatérale d'indépendance, nous avons vu comment Smith et sa bande ont donné libre cours aux formes les plus primitives de répression à l'égard de notre peuple en Rhodésie du Sud. Nous avons appris que des gens sans défense sont abattus dans les rues simplement parce qu'ils désapprouvent cette bande de racistes. Ce qui est plus surprenant, c'est que le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni ait commencé à employer, devant cette Assemblée et devant d'autres organes des Nations Unies, le mot "si". Ses représentants disent maintenant, par exemple, que les sanctions n'auront d'effet que si tout le monde, que si tous les Etats coopèrent. Nous savions bien que l'Afrique du Sud et le Portugal ne coopéreraient pas. Nous savions que quelques autres gouvernements ne coopéreraient pas non plus. C'est pourquoi nous avons déclaré catégoriquement devant cette Assemblée que les sanctions économiques seraient sans effet. Nous le répétons aujourd'hui en termes catégoriques. Ma délégation a éprouvé une vive déception en apprenant que le Gouvernement espagnol, alors même que la résolution du Conseil de sécurité était votée, a passé une commande de minerai de fer à la minorité raciste de Rhodésie du Sud. Nous adressons un appel au Gouvernement et au peuple espagnols pour qu'ils renoncent à cela, car leur attitude constitue un encouragement ouvert à la rébellion raciste. Ma délégation, toutefois, se réserve le droit de présenter un autre projet de résolution sur la Rhodésie du Sud, étant donné ce qui se passe dans ce malheureux pays. Nous espérons que cette résolution recevra un large appui de tous les membres de l'Assemblée.

68. La question de la Rhodésie du Sud ne s'arrête pas là; elle est nettement liée à la question de la répression colonialiste en Angola, au Mozambique et au Sud-Ouest africain, ainsi qu'en Afrique du Sud où les Africains sont victimes des fameuses mesures d'apartheid prises par le régime de Pretoria. Chacun sait aujourd'hui que les forces de réaction et de répression ont usurpé le pouvoir dans ces pays et

mènent une action agressive et répressive contre la résistance héroïque des Africains.

69. Je me sens tenu de déclarer ici, comme ma délégation l'a souligné au sein d'autres organismes, que, si ces régimes minoritaires racistes et réactionnaires peuvent durer et poursuivre leur action contre la population africaine, c'est seulement parce qu'ils bénéficient du soutien actif des grandes puissances occidentales.

70. Lorsque le Comité des Vingt-Quatre s'est rendu en Afrique dans le courant de cette année-ci, les plaignants qu'il a entendus et qui lui ont exposé la situation qui règne dans les colonies portugaises ont témoigné du fait que les colonialistes portugais utilisaient pour mener leur guerre d'agression contre les populations africaines une quantité considérable d'armes fournies par certains pays occidentaux.

71. Le Portugal, à notre connaissance, n'a pas à se défendre contre quiconque en Europe. Son seul ennemi, c'est sa politique de massacre brutal des populations africaines, suite du colonialisme. C'est pourquoi, si les puissances occidentales livrent au Portugal des armes de l'OTAN pour qu'il puisse se défendre contre son ennemi, cet ennemi était sa propre politique colonialiste, il en résulte que ces armes sont utilisées effectivement contre les populations africaines. Ainsi peut-on dire que les pays qui fournissent ces armes les utilisent, avec le Portugal, contre nos frères africains. Il est évident que le Portugal est l'un des pays les plus arriérés et les plus pauvres d'Europe. Chacun sait qu'il dépend pour une large part des riches ressources des territoires soumis à l'heure actuelle à son régime colonial. Nous sommes convaincus que le Portugal ne peut continuer sa politique d'agression que grâce à l'appui de ses alliés occidentaux. Ce qui est le plus choquant c'est que si ces pays occidentaux sont prêts à coopérer avec le Portugal et à l'encourager, c'est en raison des capitaux énormes qu'ils ont investis dans ses territoires en vertu des privilèges que ce pays leur a consentis au titre de sa législation coloniale.

72. La délégation de la République-Unie de Tanzanie appuie sans réserve la lutte héroïque que mènent les peuples de l'Angola, du Mozambique et de la Guinée dite portugaise contre les colonialistes portugais et ceux qui les soutiennent. Nous sommes convaincus qu'ils se battent pour la justice et pour l'honneur et qu'ils servent le noble idéal des peuples africains qui veulent libérer leur continent de la néfaste exploitation colonialiste.

73. Au cours de son voyage en Afrique, le Comité des Vingt-Quatre a constaté que la cause de ces peuples était juste et, dans diverses résolutions, il a moralement reconnu que, puisque ces luttes sont menées pour une bonne cause, elles devraient avoir l'appui moral et matériel de tous ceux qui sont attachés à la liberté et recevoir une aide de leur part sous quelque forme que ce soit. Notre délégation estime que, puisque ce sont des luttes contre le colonialisme et l'exploitation de l'homme par l'homme et qu'elles visent en fait à réaliser et à promouvoir les principes contenus dans la résolution 1514 (XV) — qui contient la Déclaration — elles défendent les principes fondamentaux de la Charte et, à ce titre et de ce fait, elles doivent être soutenues avec éclat.

74. Comme je l'ai déjà dit, il apparaît au grand jour que les forces de la réaction internationale en Afrique du Sud ont fait un pacte avec le diable pour perpétuer l'exploitation coloniale. Donc, puisque j'ai exprimé nos vues sur la question de la Rhodésie du Sud et sur celle des colonies portugaises, je dois dire aussi ce que nous pensons de la situation dans le Sud-Ouest africain. Et, à ce propos, je voudrais dire au représentant du Japon que s'il est exact, comme il nous l'a dit il y a quelques jours, que le Japon ait retiré tous ses investissements du Sud-Ouest africain, son pays a fait là un geste que nous autres Africains apprécions et nous espérons qu'il en fera de même à l'égard de l'Afrique du Sud.

75. L'abondance même des écrits et publications qui ont paru sur la question du Sud-Ouest africain montre que, s'il est bien vrai que ce territoire est, selon l'expression du *Times* dans un de ses éditoriaux un "mandat dérobé" soumis à la loi de l'apartheid sud-africain, il y a aussi, là-bas, d'autres forces internationales en jeu. Ces forces sont constituées par le gigantesque consortium financier qui groupe un certain nombre de sociétés des Etats-Unis, du Royaume-Uni et d'autres pays occidentaux. Les faits cités devant la Quatrième Commission ont montré que les activités de ces sociétés, conformes aux lois d'apartheid de l'Afrique du Sud, sont nuisibles aux intérêts nationaux de la population africaine du Sud-Ouest africain. Certes, nous n'avons pas été surpris lorsque le représentant des Etats-Unis a essayé d'éluder la question en mettant en cause le communisme et en essayant de démontrer que le rapport dont je parle est imprégné de dogme communiste. Nous savons aussi que, ici, aux Etats-Unis, le meilleur moyen de combattre un homme est de le qualifier de communiste. Mais nous sommes, je crois, à l'Assemblée générale et, ici, ce sont des faits qu'il faut fournir.

76. Ma délégation estime que les activités de ces monopoles financiers étrangers sont non seulement contraires aux intérêts de la population africaine de ce territoire, mais qu'elles retardent effectivement l'heure où cette population pourra exercer son droit légitime à la liberté et à l'indépendance. En outre, les semeurs d'apartheid d'Afrique du Sud, outre qu'ils y ont installé un puissant appareil militaire, sont assurés de la coopération active de ces mêmes puissances occidentales qui se disent nos amis.

77. Faut-il en déduire que ces puissances dont l'influence est grande sont prêtes à sacrifier les grands principes énoncés dans la Déclaration contenue dans la résolution 1514 (XV) pour mieux servir leurs propres intérêts économiques dans ces territoires?

78. Le rapport du Comité spécial sur la situation dans ces régions est clair et pertinent. Les forces agressives d'oppression coloniale représentées en Rhodésie du Sud par le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni et la bande de hors-la-loi de Ian Smith, au Mozambique, en Angola, en Guinée dite portugaise, par les Portugais, dans le Sud-Ouest africain, par les semeurs d'apartheid, soutenus tous par l'active coopération des grandes puissances occidentales, agissent donc en violation des diverses résolutions de cette Organisation et en violation de la Charte, entretenant ainsi une tension qui constitue une menace pour la paix et la sécurité internationales.

79. Si j'ai parlé longuement de la situation en Afrique, c'est seulement parce que ces régions sont très proches de nous, parce que la lutte qui s'y déroule est un aspect de la grande lutte pour la libération complète de l'Afrique et que nous tous, individuellement et collectivement, en tant que membres de l'Organisation de l'unité africaine, sommes résolus à poursuivre cette lutte jusqu'au bout. Là-dessus, aucun compromis n'est possible. Mais cela ne veut pas dire que nous nous désintéressons du colonialisme dans les autres parties du monde.

80. Ma délégation estime que la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux est un document important et que les principes qu'il pose définissent les aspirations profondes des peuples épris de liberté vers le développement et les progrès de l'humanité et leur hostilité aux forces réactionnaires du colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et en tout lieu. C'est pourquoi ma délégation s'étonne de constater qu'aujourd'hui, cinq ans après l'adoption de la résolution 1514 (XV), et bien que plusieurs autres résolutions aient été adoptées depuis lors, les puissances coloniales restent retranschées avec arrogance dans leurs anciennes positions et continuent à jouir de privilèges usurpés au détriment des peuples dépendants.

81. Pour la même raison, nous regrettons que le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis persiste à maintenir sous sa domination coloniale les Iles Vierges. Ce gouvernement nous a informés qu'il avait déjà préparé les voies de l'avenir pour ces Iles. Nous voulons bien le croire; mais ce que nous savons en tout cas, c'est que précisément dans un avenir ainsi préparé, nous trouvons matière à inquiétude. Le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis peut-il nous montrer ce qu'il y a de changé dans la situation des Iles Vierges? Jusqu'à quel point les principes de la Charte et les dispositions de la résolution 1514 (XV) ont-elles été appliquées?

M. Ramani (Malaisie), vice-président, prend la présidence.

82. De même, et toujours à ce propos, nous constatons que le colonialisme sévit encore dans ces territoires lointains mais importants de Papouasie et de Nouvelle-Guinée qui sont soumis à l'administration coloniale du Gouvernement de l'Australie. Sourdes aux nombreux appels qui leur ont été adressés, les autorités australiennes n'ont fait aucun effort pour se conformer aux principes de la Déclaration et leur attitude vis-à-vis de l'octroi de l'indépendance est restée passive. Dans les territoires de Papouasie et de Nouvelle-Guinée, les pratiques coloniales sont toujours en vigueur et l'on voit les maîtres coloniaux étouffer les droits légitimes du peuple colonisé. En outre, nous avons appris la nouvelle inquiétante que les colonisateurs sont à l'heure actuelle en train d'exproprier des terres et d'autres richesses dans ces territoires. Par exemple, dans certaines régions de la Nouvelle-Guinée, ils se sont appropriés des terres pour l'exploitation forestière, à des prix dérisoires. Il en est de même de terrains destinés à l'exploitation minière, dont ils ont pratiquement dépossédé les autochtones. Cette Assemblée doit se prononcer sur ces pratiques abominables. Je dis "abominables" parce que nous autres Africains savons d'amère expérience comment les bienfaits de ce que l'on

appelle la mission civilisatrice se retournent finalement contre la population indigène.

83. Nous avons vu paraître devant la Quatrième Commission nombre de plaignants qui, tous, nous ont dit combien de gens dans les colonies ont été dépouillés de leurs terres par l'effet de telles pratiques. Pourtant ces pratiques ont cours encore aujourd'hui et il est fort probable qu'elles conduiront en Nouvelle-Guinée aux mêmes résultats que dans d'autres territoires, tels que le Sud-Ouest africain, les colonies portugaises et autres. Nous savons que c'est par de telles pratiques que les colonisateurs aboutissent à créer, pour la population indigène, des problèmes tels que celui de la minorité régnante en Rhodésie du Sud.

84. Ma délégation condamne sans réserve ces pratiques malhonnêtes du Gouvernement australien. Devant de tels actes, cette Assemblée ne doit pas rester muette. Ma délégation pense que le premier tort fut peut-être de confier ces territoires sous tutelle à un pays comme l'Australie; en vérité, nous pensons qu'il faut dès maintenant les soustraire à l'administration australienne. Après tout, si un gouvernement comme celui de l'Australie administre de cette manière des territoires qui lui ont été confiés par les Nations Unies, c'est aux Nations Unies maintenant de les lui reprendre. Ma délégation est sûre que les peuples de la Nouvelle-Guinée, de l'île Nauru et des autres territoires sont capables aujourd'hui de se gouverner eux-mêmes.

85. La seule erreur terrible que nous commettons aux Nations Unies est d'attendre que la puissance administrante nous dise que tel et tel pays peut accéder à l'indépendance; nous oublions en effet que les puissances coloniales cherchent toujours à prolonger leur pouvoir aussi longtemps qu'elles le peuvent et que cela peut leur être profitable. Nous faisons appel aux Nations Unies pour qu'elles envoient une nouvelle — et dernière — commission qui proposera des dates précises pour l'accession à l'indépendance, dans les plus brefs délais, de ces territoires sous tutelle. Ces dates en effet devraient être fixées par les Nations Unies et non par la puissance administrante. Il est choquant, en vérité, de constater que, depuis que le système de tutelle a été institué et que certains territoires ont été, en vertu de ce système, confiés à l'Australie, aucun d'eux n'est devenu indépendant. Je le répète: aucun d'eux, jusqu'à présent, n'est devenu indépendant. Plus longtemps nous laisserons ces peuples à la merci de la puissance administrante, plus longtemps ils seront livrés, eux et leurs territoires, à l'exploitation impitoyable des colonisateurs. Que les populations autochtones des territoires sous mandat sachent bien que nous autres, citoyens de la République-Unie de Tanzanie, sommes de cœur avec eux dans leur lutte et que nous serons avec eux jusqu'à ce qu'ils aient recouvré leur indépendance.

86. Nous avons déjà dit, et nous tenons à le répéter, que la nature du colonialisme ne change pas; c'est seulement la tactique des colonialistes qui change quand ils essaient de prolonger la vie de leur système condamné et moribond.

87. Ce sont là des facteurs qui sont longuement analysés dans le rapport que nous discutons en ce

moment. Ce sont eux qui portent ma délégation à penser qu'il est grand temps que cette Organisation envisage des mesures plus concrètes pour amener les forces colonialistes à s'incliner devant les justes et légitimes aspirations des peuples coloniaux.

88. Je dis qu'il est grand temps, parce que nous constatons que dans plusieurs de ces colonies — en particulier dans celles que l'on appelle aujourd'hui "petites" colonies — les puissances colonialistes ont installé des bases militaires pour servir leur stratégie militaire globale. Nous le demandons: pourquoi les forces colonialistes installent-elles des bases militaires dans ces territoires? On en a donné deux explications: d'une part, on nous dit que ces bases sont destinées à être utilisées contre de prétendus terroristes et agitateurs; je suppose que c'est la raison invoquée dans le cas d'Aden. Une autre explication est celle que j'ai déjà donnée moi-même, à savoir que ces bases sont destinées à servir la stratégie militaire globale des puissances coloniales.

89. C'est pourquoi, si cet appareil militaire est utilisé, en ce moment sur un plan local, c'est l'aveu patent qu'il est là pour perpétuer l'injustice actuelle, c'est-à-dire pour empêcher les gens de réaliser leur désir légitime de liberté et d'indépendance. Nous ne pouvons accepter ni laisser dire que les héroïques nationalistes qui combattent pour leur indépendance sont des terroristes. Aux yeux de ma délégation, ce sont les forces colonialistes et tout leur attirail de guerre et de massacre qui sèment la terreur. Ce sont elles qui ont usurpé et colonisé les terres, déniaient aux gens leurs droits naturels, les intimidant par leur puissance militaire agressive et, d'une façon générale, terrorisant les peuples coloniaux. Et ainsi, comme l'expérience l'a montré, l'emploi de la force militaire, ou de la force sous quelque forme que ce soit, appelle l'emploi de la force par les peuples colonisés qui veulent se libérer.

90. C'est pourquoi le fait colonial qui a été condamné comme étant une honte pour l'humanité constitue une menace pour la paix et la sécurité internationales. Or ce fait colonial existe. Il existe dans les colonies occupées par le Portugal où une guerre d'agression est menée contre les peuples de l'Angola, du Mozambique et de la Guinée dite portugaise.

91. Je crois que je ne ferai qu'accomplir le devoir qui m'incombe, du fait que mon pays fait partie intégrante des forces anticolonialistes, si je dis que nous devons appeler l'attention du Conseil de sécurité sur ces faits et le prier de faire ce qu'il faut pour éliminer ces menaces à la paix et à la sécurité internationales.

92. A propos du second point, à savoir que le maintien ou l'installation de bases militaires sert à des fins de stratégie militaire globale, je voudrais rappeler la Déclaration faite l'an dernier au Caire par les pays non engagés. En voici un passage:

"La Conférence considère la présence actuelle ou l'établissement ultérieur de bases militaires étrangères ou le stationnement de troupes étrangères sur le territoire d'autres pays contre la volonté expresse de ceux-ci, comme une violation flagrante de la souveraineté des Etats et comme une menace à la liberté et à la paix internationales.

Elle estime également que l'existence ou l'installation future dans des territoires non autonomes de bases qui pourraient être utilisées pour maintenir le colonialisme ou à d'autres fins est particulièrement injustifiable^{4/}."

93. Cette déclaration a été faite parce que nos peuples sont tous résolus à défendre les nobles idéaux de liberté et d'indépendance pour le progrès et le développement humains. Elle a été faite parce que nous savons que le maintien ou l'installation de ces bases est contraire à la paix et à la sécurité internationales.

94. Nous voudrions adresser un nouvel appel aux Gouvernements du Royaume-Uni et des Etats-Unis pour qu'ils renoncent à installer une base militaire sur certaines îles qui font à l'heure actuelle partie des îles Maurice.

95. Notre allocution a été longue parce que le problème colonial est encore une question brûlante dans le monde. Le colonialisme est, à l'heure actuelle, en mauvaise posture. Je pense aux événements qui se sont déroulés dans les territoires portugais et à la cruauté avec laquelle des hommes sont tués tous les jours en Rhodésie du Sud et dans le Sud-Ouest africain. La situation de ces pays est, en vérité, un cauchemar pour tous les hommes qui, dans tous les pays du monde, sont attachés aux idéaux de liberté et d'indépendance. Ma délégation espère que, au cours de cette vingtième session de l'Assemblée, nous verrons celle-ci adopter quelques mesures plus positives contre le colonialisme. Enfin, ma délégation espère que d'ici peu cette Organisation aura fait en sorte que chaque homme sur notre planète puisse respirer l'air de la liberté.

96. M. KULAGA (Pologne) [traduit de l'anglais]: Cette année, notre examen des problèmes que pose la colonisation a commencé sous de sombres auspices. La question de la Rhodésie du Sud a éclaté brusquement lorsque nous avons vu ce qui paraissait inimaginable — l'instauration d'un régime fasciste des plus rétrogrades — devenir une affreuse réalité. Cet événement a soulevé une tempête de protestations et de demandes exigeant qu'à l'acte de Ian Smith il soit répondu par une riposte sévère, rapide et efficace. Il a concentré l'attention du monde entier sur la menace persistante que le colonialisme fait peser sur les droits des hommes et des peuples, sur la menace persistante qu'il constitue pour la paix et la sécurité internationales.

97. Il y a cinq ans, presque jour pour jour, l'Assemblée votait une résolution qui devait rapidement prendre place parmi les textes les plus remarquables dus à l'initiative des Nations Unies. La résolution 1514 (XV), la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, doit l'importance qu'elle s'est acquise au fait qu'elle répondait aux aspirations des peuples encore dépendants, qu'elle reflétait la juste cause et la lutte active de ces peuples pour leur indépendance et qu'elle y faisait écho. Constituant le plus grand dénominateur commun des appuis que les peuples dépendants peuvent trouver auprès de tous les éléments progressistes de l'humanité, cette Déclaration, en même temps, favorisait et encourageait la lutte de ces peuples. On en trouvera maintes

preuves dans les rapports du Comité des Vingt-Quatre [A/5800/Rev.1 et A/6000/Rev.1], dans les nombreuses déclarations faites par des plaignants aux réunions tenues par ce Comité en Afrique et dans les dépositions de plaignants devant la Quatrième Commission. A bien des égards, cette Déclaration est devenue la Magna Carta des peuples dépendants.

98. Ces cinq années ont vu accéder à l'indépendance un certain nombre d'Etats que nous avons été heureux d'accueillir dans cette Assemblée comme Membres majeurs de notre Organisation. Elles ont vu s'intensifier la lutte pour l'indépendance dans la plupart des territoires sous domination coloniale. Le "désir passionné de liberté de tous les peuples dépendants", pour citer les termes mêmes du troisième paragraphe du préambule de la Déclaration, s'est manifesté avec plus de force que jamais.

99. Pourtant c'est précisément à ce moment que la menace latente qui couvait en Rhodésie du Sud a éclaté. Nous n'avons pas l'intention de rouvrir cette question, si ce n'est, pour souligner une fois de plus que notre délégation en a ressenti profondément le choc et qu'elle condamne sans réserve ce foyer de racisme, d'asservissement et d'exploitation que le régime de Salisbury a allumé en Rhodésie du Sud. Nous avons déjà connu sous l'occupation par l'Allemagne nazie les théories du Herrenvolk — la supériorité raciale — et nous ne pouvons qu'éprouver une vive inquiétude en voyant cet Herrenvolk tenter de s'installer sur un nouveau domaine, du Cap au Zambèze.

100. Mon gouvernement a dénoncé l'acte criminel accompli par le régime de la minorité de colons en Rhodésie du Sud et il a donné son appui le plus complet à la position juste prise sur cette question par l'Organisation de l'unité africaine et aux résolutions adoptées par les Nations Unies. Nous avons également proclamé notre totale solidarité envers les 4 millions de Rhodésiens dans la juste lutte qu'ils mènent pour leur liberté et leur indépendance et avons joint notre voix à toutes celles qui se sont élevées pour exiger l'abrogation de la législation raciste de la Rhodésie et la formation d'un gouvernement représentatif de la population de ce pays.

101. Après une longue évolution — marquée par l'application progressive, par la minorité de colons de Salisbury, de leurs plans de suprématie raciale, par la coupable indulgence montrée par les Britanniques malgré les résolutions des Nations Unies appuyées totalement par la Pologne et malgré les avertissements donnés à temps par les Etats africains et assorties de propositions pertinentes — voilà qu'une nouvelle structure d'apartheid essaie maintenant de s'implanter en Rhodésie du Sud. Un bloc raciste a pris forme dans le Sud de l'Afrique. Son armature économique et militaire est constituée, avec l'appui ouvert ou déguisé de certaines puissances occidentales, par la République sud-africaine qui lui fournit aussi les mobiles "idéologiques". La population autochtone africaine d'Afrique du Sud et du Sud-Ouest africain, des colonies portugaises et de Rhodésie du Sud constitue une sorte de réserve de main-d'œuvre esclavagiste. Tout ceci se passe dans l'harmonie complète — pas trop ouvertement affirmée, bien sûr, pour des raisons faciles à com-

^{4/} Voir document A/5763, sect. VIII.

prendre — des intérêts entremêlés de l'Afrique du Sud, du Portugal et de certaines puissances occidentales de l'OTAN, qui, de ce fait, portent une lourde part de responsabilité dans la menace envers la paix qui va s'aggravant en Afrique du Sud.

102. Une étude attentive de tous les rapports, consciencieux et fort utiles, présentés à l'Assemblée par le Comité des Vingt-Quatre, montre clairement les formes multiples que prend le colonialisme, les tactiques variées dont il use, l'élasticité qu'il déploie pour s'adapter aux situations nouvelles dans ce que j'appellerai la guerre d'usure qu'il mène contre les vœux des peuples dépendants, et contre les buts et objectifs définis dans la Déclaration des Nations Unies sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux.

103. Cette lutte destinée à contenir ou même à refouler — pour reprendre ici certains termes employés pour définir des politiques qui ont déjà fait faillite — les forces anticolonialistes, cette lutte, dis-je, peut prendre la forme d'un rejet pur et simple des principes des Nations Unies comme c'est le cas dans le Sud-Ouest africain et dans les colonies portugaises. Elle peut prendre la forme d'une intervention militaire comme à Aden. Elle peut aussi prendre un aspect plus subtil en faisant préparer l'indépendance par des autorités qui ne sont pas représentatives de la population. Elle s'implante toujours en s'assurant sur les peuples dépendants une emprise économique aussi forte que possible tout en réduisant au strict minimum leur progrès en matière de bien-être social et d'éducation. Dans bien des cas, elle s'accompagne de l'installation de bases militaires et d'efforts pour intégrer ces bases à la structure du pays colonisé, de manière à les faire apparaître comme un élément indispensable du développement futur du pays quand il sera parvenu à l'indépendance.

104. Mais dans tous les cas, le dénominateur commun est le même: on va toujours à l'encontre des dispositions de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, on crée les conditions propres à maintenir en sujétion, directement ou indirectement, les peuples dépendants.

105. Ma délégation voudrait évoquer certaines de ces manifestations du colonialisme depuis le vote de la Déclaration. Nous voudrions pour commencer nous référer aux paragraphes suivants de cette Déclaration (résolution 1514 (XV)):

"Des mesures immédiates seront prises ... pour transférer tous pouvoirs aux peuples de ces territoires, sans aucune condition ni réserve, conformément à leur volonté et à leurs vœux librement exprimés ..."

et

"Le manque de préparation dans les domaines politique, économique ou social ou dans celui de l'éducation ne doit jamais être pris comme prétexte pour retarder l'indépendance."

106. C'est un fait que, dans la plupart des résolutions adoptées par l'Assemblée et par le Comité des Vingt-Quatre, il a fallu inclure une disposition déplorant la non-application de la Déclaration dans les

territoires visés. Je voudrais citer ici la résolution 2023 (XX) sur Aden, le projet de résolution sur le Bassoutoland, le Betchouanaland et le Souaziland [voir A/6106, par. 11], ainsi que les projets de résolution sur l'île Maurice [voir A/6160, par. 50, projet de résolution II] et sur les îles Fidji [*ibid.*, projet de résolution IV].

107. Si nous prenons maintenant quelques exemples concrets, voici ce que nous constatons: à Aden, la situation évolue nettement vers la création d'une structure politique qui aurait pour effet d'accorder l'indépendance en confiant le pouvoir à des autorités non représentatives de la population, après des délais qui permettraient de marquer ces autorités du sceau de la respectabilité. La chose a été dite au cours du débat auquel la question d'Aden a donné lieu. La résolution adoptée par l'Assemblée fait état de cette tendance, au paragraphe 4 du dispositif dont je crois inutile de vous donner lecture une nouvelle fois.

108. La situation au Betchouanaland, au Bassoutoland et au Souaziland fait apparaître une tendance analogue, comme on peut s'en rendre compte d'après les témoignages apportés devant le Comité des Vingt-Quatre, en particulier lors de ses réunions en Afrique.

109. En Guinée, l'octroi de l'indépendance est depuis des années remis à plus tard en vertu du principe "diviser pour régner".

110. Les autorités d'Afrique du Sud elles-mêmes, comme il apparaît dans le rapport du Comité des Vingt-Quatre, essaient à l'heure actuelle de calquer leur action sur ces tendances en mobilisant des chefs de tribu ou de villages pour soutenir une politique contraire aux intérêts de l'ensemble de la population du Sud-Ouest de l'Afrique.

111. Ces plans visant à instituer une indépendance que j'appellerai de type "indaba" semblent désormais constituer le schéma exemplaire sur lequel les puissances coloniales, depuis le vote de la Déclaration, règlent leur action: schéma qui va à l'encontre de la résolution 1514 (XV), et que les Nations Unies doivent condamner et corriger.

112. Et je ne parle pas, bien entendu, des colonies portugaises et du Sud-Ouest africain, où la seule perspective offerte aux populations est l'annexion pure et simple et l'asservissement au sein des structures politiques et sociales créées par le Portugal et l'Afrique du Sud.

113. Un autre problème d'importance capitale pour les peuples dépendants est la tendance croissante des puissances administrantes à convertir en bases militaires un certain nombre de territoires dépendants. Cette question a déjà été soulevée par le représentant de la Tanzanie.

114. Guam, Aden et l'île de l'Ascension sont par exemple des bases militaires. Les plaintes et les rapports dont la Quatrième Commission a été saisie, les débats qui s'y sont déroulés indiquent que l'on installe ou que l'on envisage d'installer des bases dans bien d'autres territoires: aux îles Seychelles, dans l'archipel Tchagos, aux îles Aldabra, aux îles Farquhar, à l'île Desroches et dans le Sud-Ouest africain.

115. Est-il besoin de rappeler, dans cette enceinte, l'usage que l'on fait de l'île de Guam? Est-il besoin

de mentionner le rôle que joue cette île dans la guerre d'agression menée contre le peuple vietnamien? Est-ce besoin de rappeler le rôle joué par la base de l'île de l'Ascension? Nous avons déjà adopté une résolution [2023 (XX)] condamnant la base d'Aden comme constituant un obstacle important à l'autodétermination des populations de l'Arabie du Sud et une menace à la paix et à la sécurité de cette région. Faut-il rappeler que le Chapitre XI de la Charte fait aux puissances administrantes l'obligation sacrée de favoriser la prospérité des habitants de ces territoires et, à cette fin, d'affermir la paix et la sécurité internationales?

116. Le maintien et l'utilisation des bases existantes, comme l'installation de bases nouvelles met en cause, en ce qui concerne les peuples dépendants, une série de principes absolument essentiels. Tout d'abord, ces bases sont un empêchement sérieux à l'accès de ces peuples à l'indépendance puisqu'elles constituent un puissant moyen de pression contre eux, par leur existence même et par la puissance virtuelle de répression qu'elles représentent. Deuxièmement, elles faussent la structure économique du territoire sur lequel elles sont situées en soumettant celui-ci aux besoins de la base et en créant par là-même des déséquilibres durables dans la vie économique ultérieure du territoire, et en préparant les esprits au maintien de la base pour des raisons qualifiées d'économiques. Troisièmement, elles mettent les peuples dépendants en première ligne en cas de conflit, étant donné que les bases installées sur leurs territoires auraient toutes chances de recevoir des coups terribles en cas de guerre. Ainsi, les peuples dépendants sont exposés à de graves dangers virtuels sans qu'ils aient rien à dire à cet égard et sans qu'ils aient été le moins du monde consultés. Quatrièmement, posséder des bases dans des territoires dépendants, surtout dans des îles isolées où ne peut s'exercer la pression de l'opinion publique, est un moyen, pour certains pays, d'atteindre des buts stratégiques tout en faisant échec à la résistance croissante des peuples à la course aux armements et en particulier à la présence de bases militaires sur leur territoire.

117. Une autre conséquence grave de l'existence de ces bases est la menace qu'elles font peser sur l'intégrité territoriale. Ceci est confirmé par les projets de partition des îles Seychelles et des îles Maurice — projets condamnés par la Quatrième Commission [voir A/6160, par. 50, projet de résolution II]. C'est là un exemple vivant du mépris dans lequel certaines puissances tiennent la notion d'autodétermination et du peu de cas qu'elles font de l'injonction impérative contenue dans le paragraphe 4 du dispositif de la résolution 1514 (XV), à savoir que l'intégrité territoriale du territoire d'un peuple dépendant doit être respectée, chaque fois qu'entrent en jeu les intérêts stratégiques de ces puissances.

118. Tous ces éléments réunis montrent à quel point l'existence de bases dans les territoires non autonomes est contraire à la Charte et à la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. Ils montrent dans quel cercle vicieux ces territoires se trouvent entraînés: de l'installation d'une base, avec l'influence directe qu'elle permet d'exercer sur l'évolution de la population du territoire

et sur la création d'une économie axée sur cette base, à une autodétermination conçue comme le terme d'un processus qui se déroule selon le schéma et dans le cadre voulus par l'autorité administrante. Et l'on ne saurait être surpris si des îles sur lesquelles sont installées des bases stratégiques se laissent persuader "de choisir" l'association avec l'autorité administrante.

119. A ce stade de la lutte des Nations Unies contre le colonialisme, nous nous sommes, à juste titre, consacrés surtout aux problèmes les plus importants que posent les dernières colonies d'Afrique et d'Arabie du Sud. C'est notre souci primordial et cela continuera à l'être tant que le Sud-Ouest africain et les colonies portugaises resteront soumises aux conditions de la servitude coloniale, tant que 4 millions de Zimbabwe en Rhodésie du Sud et bien d'autres millions de Sud-Africains soumis au régime cruel de l'apartheid n'exerceront pas les droits qui sont les leurs et tant que le colonialisme continuera à refuser la liberté véritable aux peuples de l'Arabie du Sud et autres territoires non autonomes.

120. Nous ne devons donc, en aucun cas, relâcher nos efforts. Nous devons poursuivre notre campagne pour aider ces peuples dans leur lutte pour l'indépendance. En même temps, la tactique nouvelle adoptée par les puissances colonisatrices depuis cinq ans, c'est-à-dire depuis le vote de la Déclaration, demande — c'est l'avis de ma délégation — à être étudiée de près.

121. Ce néo-colonialisme appelle de la part des Nations Unies une réaction appropriée. D'abord et avant tout, il y a la question de la légitimité de la lutte des peuples non autonomes pour l'indépendance. Nous devons être reconnaissants au Comité des Vingt-Quatre d'avoir, si je puis dire, codifié cette disposition essentielle, comblant ainsi le vide qui existait entre le processus de décolonisation et l'action des Nations Unies dans ce domaine. L'Assemblée doit maintenant bien préciser que la lutte des peuples non autonomes pour l'indépendance est une lutte légitime, qu'elle est parfaitement conforme à l'esprit de la Charte et de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. Une déclaration nette de l'Assemblée générale dans ce sens, est une nécessité à la fois juridique et politique. Le principe de la légitimité de la lutte d'un peuple colonial pour l'indépendance implique la reconnaissance de la légitimité de l'action de chacun des participants à cette lutte, qui ont droit, par conséquent, à l'assistance morale et matérielle de tous les Etats et des Nations Unies. Les mesures répressives contre le mouvement de libération nationale dans son ensemble et contre les individus qui y prennent part doivent, en conséquence, être considérées comme contraires aux dispositions de la Déclaration.

122. Le principe de l'accès démocratique et libre des peuples non autonomes à une vie indépendante doit être la pierre angulaire de l'application de la Déclaration contenue dans la résolution 1514 (XV). Dans ce principe, nous incluons la notion de consultation du peuple tout entier, si heureusement résumée dans la formule "un homme, un suffrage" et la notion de suffrage librement exprimé en dehors de toute contrainte, deux notions que nous jugeons contenues

dans le paragraphe 5 du dispositif de la résolution 1514 (XV).

123. Le principe essentiel de l'indépendance économique a été reconnu par le Comité des Vingt-Quatre et nous approuvons hautement les premiers rapports de ce Comité sur l'influence des monopoles étrangers dans les territoires non autonomes. Etant donné que l'examen de ces rapports est inscrit à l'ordre du jour de la Quatrième Commission, ma délégation ne veut pas aborder ici le fond de ce problème. Nous voulons simplement montrer la valeur de ces documents, utiles surtout parce qu'ils illustrent le rapport directement proportionnel qui existe entre les intérêts économiques coloniaux et la domination coloniale. Il est donc de la plus haute importance que le Comité des Vingt-Quatre poursuive et élargisse son œuvre dans ce domaine, conformément aux termes du huitième paragraphe du préambule de la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale.

124. Les mesures sur lesquelles j'ai appelé l'attention et les nombreuses autres qui ont été proposées au cours de nos débats — je pense en particulier aux suggestions émises par les représentants du Mali, de l'URSS et de la République-Unie de Tanzanie — sont des mesures qu'il convient de prendre au point où en sont arrivés nos efforts, depuis le vote de la Déclaration, en vue de supprimer radicalement les dernières forteresses du colonialisme. Nous serions heureux de voir toutes ces mesures codifiées.

125. J'en arrive à ma conclusion que je voudrais consacrer au Comité des Vingt-Quatre. Nous tenons à exprimer à ses membres nos très sincères félicitations pour le dévouement, la compétence et la conscience avec lesquels ils se sont acquittés de leur tâche. Nous félicitons en particulier le Président du Comité, M. Coulibaly, du Mali, le bureau du Comité et ses sous-comités. Nous sommes convaincus que le Comité continuera, comme il l'a fait jusqu'ici, à être à la pointe du combat des Nations Unies pour la suppression immédiate et définitive du colonialisme. Nous espérons que, pour cette action, le Comité tiendra compte de tous les éléments nouveaux qui se sont manifestés depuis le vote de la Déclaration.

126. M. PARTHASARATHI (Inde) [traduit de l'anglais]: L'Assemblée générale discute en ce moment les rapports du Comité spécial pour les années 1964 et 1965. Ces rapports représentent 3 500 pages et ma délégation a suivi avec un grand intérêt les débats auxquels ils ont donné lieu, tant à la Quatrième Commission qu'en séance plénière. Ayant nous-mêmes subi la domination coloniale, nous ne pouvons qu'être profondément soucieux de l'avenir des peuples et territoires qui n'ont pas encore acquis l'indépendance.

127. Il y a cinq ans que l'Assemblée générale a adopté la Déclaration historique sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. L'année suivante, l'Assemblée générale créait le Comité spécial. La délégation de l'Inde a été étroitement associée aux travaux du Comité des Dix-Sept et à ceux du Comité des Vingt-Quatre. Je voudrais profiter de l'occasion qui m'est offerte aujourd'hui pour rendre un hommage particulier au Président du Comité des Vingt-Quatre, M. Coulibaly, du Mali, dont le dévouement à la cause de la décolonisation est digne de tous

les éloges. Il est heureux pour le Comité d'avoir, pour présider ses délibérations, un homme d'une telle énergie, d'une telle patience, d'une telle courtoisie et d'une telle bonne volonté.

128. Les rapports du Comité portent sur une soixantaine de territoires et contiennent deux études spéciales, l'une sur le Sud-Ouest africain et l'autre sur les territoires portugais. C'est la première fois qu'un organe des Nations Unies entreprend une étude détaillée de la situation dans tous les territoires non autonomes. Ces rapports spéciaux sont tous deux extrêmement utiles car ils révèlent les conditions effroyables qui règnent dans le Sud-Ouest africain et dans les colonies portugaises.

129. Depuis la création du Comité spécial, plusieurs pays en Afrique et ailleurs ont accédé à l'indépendance. Mais le noyau le plus dur du colonialisme et du racisme demeure retranché en Rhodésie du Sud, en Angola, au Mozambique et dans la Guinée dite portugaise, enfin en Afrique du Sud et du Sud-Ouest. La moitié sud de l'Afrique est la dernière citadelle du colonialisme et du racisme dans ce continent, et l'Assemblée générale doit faire face aux problèmes résultant de cette situation. Ma délégation souhaite ardemment que ces territoires accèdent à l'indépendance et à la liberté par des voies pacifiques. Mais ceci n'est guère probable. La politique déclarée des régimes du Portugal, de la Rhodésie et de l'Afrique du Sud va à l'encontre de l'esprit de la Charte, de la Déclaration des droits de l'homme, de la Déclaration sur la décolonisation et d'autres résolutions de l'Assemblée générale.

130. Non seulement ma délégation est l'une de celles qui ont présenté les résolutions pertinentes sur l'Afrique du Sud, la Rhodésie du Sud, le Sud-Ouest africain et les colonies portugaises, mais mon pays a pris des mesures contre le colonialisme portugais et applique les dispositions des résolutions en ce qui concerne l'Afrique du Sud, le Sud-Ouest africain et la Rhodésie du Sud. Malheureusement, il y a encore certains membres de cette Assemblée qui continuent à aider, directement ou indirectement, ces régimes racistes d'oppression. Si elle n'avait pu compter sur cette assistance, il est peu probable que la faction menée par Smith eût osé usurper le pouvoir en Rhodésie du Sud.

131. Si la situation dans la partie sud de l'Afrique est sombre et dangereuse, ma délégation note que dans d'autres parties du monde, le processus de décolonisation se poursuit dans la bonne voie, quoiqu'à lentement. A cet égard, ma délégation est heureuse de la décision prise à la Conférence constitutionnelle pour la Guyane britannique, tenue à Londres, et selon laquelle la Guyane britannique deviendrait indépendante le 26 mai 1966. Il est regrettable que la puissance administrante n'ait pu créer les conditions qui auraient permis à l'un des partis importants de Guyane britannique d'assister à la Conférence constitutionnelle. Comme l'a déjà dit ma délégation, la Guyane britannique aurait pu accéder beaucoup plus tôt à l'indépendance si la puissance administrante avait adopté une politique plus éclairée. Quoi qu'il en soit, ma délégation espère ardemment que le peuple de la Guyane britannique saura surmonter ses dissensions et évoluer vers l'unité nationale, le progrès

et la prospérité. Toutefois, ma délégation voudrait ici faire une mise en garde: si la puissance administrante devait retarder ou entraver l'accès à l'indépendance totale de la Guyane britannique, les conséquences d'une telle attitude pourraient être graves.

132. La situation aux îles Fidji où, sous un prétexte ou sous un autre, la puissance administrante répugne à se dessaisir de son pouvoir, inquiète beaucoup les Nations Unies. Cette inquiétude a déjà été exprimée par la Quatrième Commission qui a adopté un projet de résolution à ce sujet la semaine dernière [voir A/6160, par. 50, projet de résolution IV]. Il est regrettable que le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni se persuade que, dans la seconde moitié du XXème siècle, il doit commencer par créer des conditions qui, comme le montre clairement la résolution adoptée par la Quatrième Commission, aboutissent à fomentier des tendances séparatistes et à retarder la marche des îles Fidji vers la qualité de nation et l'indépendance. Il est bien connu que le colonialisme a toujours entraîné dans son sillage la discrimination raciale et la dissension entre communautés différentes.

133. Ma délégation ne veut pas s'étendre longuement sur cette question étant donné que le représentant de Ceylan, en présentant le projet de résolution à la Quatrième Commission [1567ème séance], a exposé la cause du peuple des îles Fidji avec beaucoup de clarté et d'éloquence. Je voudrais seulement faire appel au Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni pour qu'il agisse aux îles Fidji comme il l'a fait à l'île Maurice, c'est-à-dire qu'il fixe dès maintenant une date pour l'accès à l'indépendance sur la base d'institutions démocratiques et d'élections où serait appliqué, sans restrictions, le principe "un homme, un suffrage". Toutefois, ma délégation regrette que certains pays, qui eux-mêmes sont nés d'une fusion de races, essaient d'attirer l'attention sur les différences raciales et ethniques plutôt que sur la nationalité commune.

134. Je passe maintenant — et je le fais avec plaisir — à la question des îles Cook. La Nouvelle-Zélande, naguère puissance administrante, a toujours eu une position d'avant-garde en matière coloniale. Ce qu'elle a fait dans le domaine de la décolonisation est digne d'éloges. La Nouvelle-Zélande a été la seule puissance administrante à voter la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale, qui contient la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. C'est aussi à l'honneur du Gouvernement de la Nouvelle-Zélande d'avoir toujours cherché à édifier des sociétés multiraciales d'où soient bannies la discrimination raciale et les différends fondés sur les caractères ethniques. Un autre exemple de la politique progressive du Gouvernement de la Nouvelle-Zélande est l'accession des îles Cook à l'autonomie complète.

135. La délégation de la Nouvelle-Zélande a coopéré avec le Comité des Vingt-Quatre et avec l'Assemblée générale et a invité les Nations Unies à observer le déroulement des élections aux îles Cook ainsi que les débats de l'Assemblée législative issue de ces élections.

136. A cet égard, ma délégation tient à rendre un hommage bien mérité à M. Azeel qui, en tant que représentant des Nations Unies aux îles Cook, s'est

acquitté avec compétence et impartialité d'une tâche difficile et lourde de responsabilités.

137. L'évolution de la situation aux îles Cook et le fait que leur indépendance ait été acquise dans l'esprit de l'Article 73 de la Charte, nous donne espoir que les populations de ce territoire ont choisi et choisiront toujours leur destinée en toute liberté, sans intervention extérieure.

138. Le Comité des Vingt-Quatre et ses sous-comités ont fait œuvre de pionniers en allant jusque dans les plus petites îles étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration. Les conclusions et les recommandations présentées par le Comité spécial ont une grande importance, car les puissances administrantes pourront s'en inspirer dans l'accomplissement des devoirs qui leur incombent pour appliquer la Déclaration. Il est regrettable toutefois que certaines puissances administrantes n'aient pas donné l'entière coopération que le Comité des Vingt-Quatre et les Nations Unies attendaient d'elles en tant qu'Etats Membres.

139. La preuve indubitable a été faite — et ceci est apparu clairement dans le cas des îles Cook — que des missions itinérantes des Nations Unies peuvent être d'un grand secours aux peuples de ces territoires et aux puissances administrantes en les aidant à atteindre les objectifs fixés dans la résolution 1514 (XV). Il faut donc espérer que les autres puissances administrantes donneront à toutes les missions que le Comité spécial et l'Assemblée générale jugeraient utile et nécessaire d'envoyer sur place, toutes les facilités voulues pour accomplir leur tâche. On a prétendu que l'envoi de ces missions des Nations Unies dans les territoires non autonomes équivaldrait à une ingérence dans les affaires intérieures de la puissance administrante. Cette thèse a été rejetée par l'Assemblée générale. Qui plus est, les Nations Unies ont certains devoirs envers les peuples non autonomes, et les puissances administrantes ont l'obligation de coopérer avec les Nations Unies de toutes les manières possibles.

140. A propos des travaux du Comité spécial, ma délégation voudrait mentionner l'œuvre importante accomplie par ce Comité au cours du voyage qu'il a fait en Afrique, en mai et juin 1965, pour répondre à l'invitation des Gouvernements d'Ethiopie, de la République-Unie de Tanzanie et de la Zambie. Ce voyage a permis aux Nations Unies de reprendre contact directement avec des peuples d'Afrique sous administration coloniale et de mieux connaître leur condition actuelle et leurs aspirations. L'œuvre accomplie par le Comité spécial en Afrique aura montré plus clairement combien les Nations Unies s'intéressent au sort des peuples dépendants et aura permis d'accélérer pour de nombreux pays le passage de la sujétion à la liberté.

141. L'Inde a toujours été à l'avant-garde de la lutte contre le colonialisme, à la fois aux Nations Unies et ailleurs. Si nous nous reportons à 1945 et si nous regardons autour de nous, nous constatons les succès étonnants obtenus dans cette lutte contre le colonialisme et l'impérialisme. Mais notre Organisation ne peut s'endormir sur ses lauriers. Beaucoup a été fait, mais il reste beaucoup plus à faire en Angola, au Mozambique, dans le Sud-Ouest africain, en Rho-

désie, à Aden et dans bien d'autres territoires qui ne sont pas encore indépendants.

142. L'Inde est passionnément vouée à la noble tâche qui consiste à extirper radicalement le colonialisme et le racisme. Tant que colonialisme et racisme existeront, il ne pourra pas y avoir de paix véritable, de progrès véritable ni de compréhension véritable entre les peuples. L'Inde donnera toujours son appui total à tous les peuples en lutte pour leur liberté et leur indépendance.

143. Je n'ai pas essayé de traiter en détail toutes les questions que font apparaître les rapports du Comité spécial, car ma délégation a déjà eu l'occasion d'exprimer ses vues à la fois au Comité des Vingt-Quatre et à la Quatrième Commission. Elle se réserve le droit d'intervenir au cours du débat quand le projet de résolution portant sur ce point viendra en discussion.

144. M. BUSNIAK (Tchécoslovaquie) [traduit du russe]: Comme plusieurs délégations qui sont intervenues avant nous l'ont déjà souligné, cinq ans ont passé depuis que l'ONU a adopté la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. Ce faisant, notre Organisation a apporté son appui à la lutte des peuples coloniaux qui combattent pour l'indépendance et en a élargi la portée. Du même coup, elle a souligné la nécessité de mettre rapidement et inconditionnellement fin au colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations.

145. A l'époque où la Déclaration a été adoptée, des transformations révolutionnaires s'étaient opérées dans le monde à la suite de la seconde guerre mondiale et la désagrégation du système colonial était déjà fort avancée. En adoptant la Déclaration et en y soulignant la nécessité d'éliminer rapidement le système colonial, notre Organisation a montré avec une insistance particulière qu'il s'agissait là d'un aspect capital de ce processus révolutionnaire. Ce document mémorable a été un grand appui moral et un grand encouragement moral pour les peuples coloniaux qui luttent pour conquérir leur indépendance.

146. C'est bien cette lutte des peuples opprimés, activement soutenue par toutes les forces de progrès, qui a conduit le système colonial à son stade actuel de désagrégation. Depuis qu'a été adoptée la Déclaration, la Tchécoslovaquie, Etat socialiste qui ignore, interdit et condamne toute forme d'exploitation de l'homme par l'homme, a fait plus que manifester son entière compréhension et son entière sympathie au mouvement de libération des territoires coloniaux: elle a apporté à ce mouvement, dans la mesure de ses moyens, toute l'aide possible.

147. On ne peut nier que le colonialisme, au cours des cinq dernières années, s'est vu contraint de reculer et d'abandonner ses anciennes positions. Néanmoins, nous continuons à nous heurter à une triste réalité: le colonialisme, sous ses formes les plus brutales qui plus est, subsiste sur une superficie d'environ 6 millions de kilomètres carrés où vit une population de plus de 40 millions d'habitants. Ce fait est d'autant plus tragique qu'il nous faut le constater 20 ans après la création de notre Orga-

nisation qui a pour tâche essentielle de favoriser le progrès de la coopération pacifique internationale sur la base de l'égalité de tous les peuples.

148. Il pourrait sembler à première vue qu'il ne subsiste que quelques colonies. De quoi devons-nous alors nous inquiéter? De ce que le colonialisme existe encore, qu'il est encore là, dans ses formes brutales, violant impudemment les droits de l'homme les plus élémentaires. Les bastions que conserve le colonialisme font dangereusement obstacle à l'établissement de régimes stables dans d'immenses territoires, surtout en Afrique, mais aussi en Asie et en Amérique latine. Ils sont une grave menace à la paix et à la sécurité internationales et ils ne peuvent que susciter les appréhensions de tous les peuples épris de paix. Tout cela met en lumière l'urgence d'une décolonisation complète et rapide. Que l'on manque à cette tâche, et les objectifs fondamentaux de la Charte des Nations Unies, de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux et de la Déclaration universelle des droits de l'homme resteront lettre morte.

149. Les colonialistes ne reculent devant aucun crime. C'est ce que montrent à l'évidence des faits comme l'assassinat en 1960 du grand patriote congolais et africain, Patrice Lumumba, ou la création en Afrique d'un nouvel Etat raciste sur le territoire de la Rhodésie du Sud. C'est tout simplement tourner en dérision les principes de la Déclaration, au moment où l'on s'apprête à en célébrer le cinquième anniversaire, que de créer un deuxième Etat raciste sur le sol africain. Il est parfaitement clair, comme on l'a déjà souligné ici, que les Etats impérialistes et coloniaux sont en train de mettre sur pied en Afrique australe une coalition groupant la Rhodésie du Sud, la République sud-africaine et les colonies portugaises, dans le dessein, non seulement d'implanter le colonialisme et le racisme dans cette partie de l'Afrique et de les y renforcer, mais aussi de créer une place forte d'où ils opéreront contre les Etats indépendants d'Afrique. En fin de compte, ce n'est pas à une tentative isolée que nous avons affaire, mais à une vaste contre-offensive de l'impérialisme et du colonialisme dans différentes régions du monde.

150. Là où les impérialistes et les colonialistes ne disposent pas d'autres moyens, ils n'hésitent pas à recourir à la violence, sous ses formes les plus brutales, et aux guerres coloniales. Hélas, les exemples ne manquent pas!

151. Les colonialistes britanniques conduisent des guerres coloniales à Aden et en Oman, les colonialistes portugais mènent de cruelles guerres coloniales en Angola, au Mozambique et dans la Guinée dite portugaise. Les Etats-Unis n'hésitent pas à utiliser le territoire colonial de Guam pour effectuer des raids barbares contre le Viet-Nam.

152. Les impérialistes et les colonialistes n'hésitent même pas à intervenir dans les affaires intérieures des Etats indépendants, comme on a pu le voir au Congo, dans la République Dominicaine, à Cuba et ailleurs.

153. On entend souvent dire, et cette opinion a été exprimée au cours de la présente session, que l'existence de bases militaires est un problème que les

peuples des pays coloniaux ne doivent résoudre qu'après leur accession à l'indépendance. Nous ne pouvons accepter ce point de vue et nous le rejetons avec force. L'exemple de la base américaine de Guantanamo, à Cuba, montre clairement que même un Etat indépendant peut se voir imposer, contre son gré, la présence d'une base militaire étrangère sur son territoire souverain. Et ce n'est pas là un exemple isolé. Les bases militaires installées dans les territoires coloniaux, outre qu'elles sont l'instrument redoutable dont se sert le colonialisme pour s'y maintenir et s'y renforcer, sont une menace pour la paix et la sécurité internationales. C'est donc aussi sous cet angle que notre Organisation doit envisager la question de l'existence de ces bases, et elle doit exiger une fois de plus leur suppression immédiate.

154. On entend souvent les colonialistes et leurs amis dire que les puissances coloniales sont obligées de recourir à la violence armée dans les colonies, parce qu'elles y sont forcées par les "rebelles" et les "complotteurs" qui perturbent l'ordre public. Il est inutile de démontrer la faiblesse de cet argument. La Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance prévoit un processus de décolonisation pacifique réalisant le droit des peuples coloniaux à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance. Elle demande aux puissances coloniales d'octroyer volontairement et le plus rapidement possible l'indépendance complète aux pays et aux peuples encore dépendants. Mais que doivent faire les peuples coloniaux dans les cas fréquents où les puissances coloniales refusent obstinément de s'acquitter de leurs obligations et s'opposent par tous les moyens à l'accession à l'indépendance? Dans ce cas, forts de leur droit de légitime défense, de leur droit de résister à l'agression coloniale, ces peuples ont le droit absolu de recourir à toutes les formes de lutte pour leur libération, y compris à la lutte armée. Le devoir sacré des Membres des Nations Unies et de l'Organisation elle-même est d'apporter un appui total à leur juste combat pour la libération nationale.

155. Il ressort du présent débat que la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux n'est pas appliquée de manière satisfaisante. Quelles en sont les raisons?

156. Cinq années d'expérience ont clairement montré que, si la Déclaration n'est pas appliquée de manière satisfaisante, cela ne tient nullement au fait que les peuples des territoires en cause ne seraient pas "prêts" pour l'indépendance ou qu'ils seraient "indifférents" à l'exercice du droit à l'autodétermination, comme voudraient le faire croire les colonialistes et leurs alliés. Ces arguments, et autres raisonnements analogues, ne sont qu'un paravent bien transparent derrière lequel se dissimule la politique colonialiste, un paravent qui ne trompe plus personne aujourd'hui.

157. Ce que les cinq dernières années ont montré de manière irréfutable, bien que ce fut là un fait connu avant l'adoption de la Déclaration, c'est que le principal obstacle qui empêche de mener la décolonisation à son terme — donc la principale raison pour laquelle la Déclaration de 1960 n'a pu être appliquée de manière satisfaisante — consiste dans les intérêts politiques, économiques et financiers d'Etats impé-

rialistes comme les Etats-Unis d'Amérique, le Royaume-Uni, la République fédérale d'Allemagne et d'autres encore, ainsi que dans ceux des monopoles internationaux qui exploitent les richesses des territoires coloniaux. Il suffit de citer quelques noms: la Consolidated Diamond Mines of South West Africa et la Tsumeb Corporation au Sud-Ouest africain; l'Angola Diamond Company, la Mozambique Gulf Oil et la Mozambique Pan American Oil en Angola et au Mozambique; la British Petroleum en Oman et la Pan American Hadraman Oil Company en Oman et à Aden; la Demeraza Bauxite Company, filiale de l'Aluminium Ltd., en Guyane britannique; la Barns Philip et l'Australia New Guinea Corporation Ltd., en Nouvelle-Guinée, etc. Ce qui explique les énormes bénéfices de ces monopoles, c'est justement le système colonial qui leur octroie la prérogative de pouvoir piller les richesses naturelles et la discrimination raciale qui leur donne la possibilité d'exploiter cruellement la main-d'œuvre locale affectée aux travaux les plus pénibles pour les salaires les plus bas. En outre, ces bénéfices fabuleux ne sont possibles qu'avec un régime foncier qui permet aux planteurs européens d'accaparer les terres les plus fertiles et les plus vastes.

158. Ce système d'exploitation économique des colonies fonctionne avec l'appui total de l'alliance militaire et politique de l'OTAN. A l'ONU et ailleurs, bien des faits ont été cités qui prouvent que le Portugal ne pourrait mener une guerre aussi longue et coûteuse dans ses colonies d'Afrique s'il ne continuait de bénéficier de l'aide économique, financière et militaire des Etats impérialistes — Etats-Unis d'Amérique, Royaume-Uni, République fédérale d'Allemagne, etc. — en d'autres termes des Etats de l'OTAN. Sans cette aide, la République sud-africaine ne pourrait appliquer sa politique d'apartheid et de terreur effrénée à l'égard de la population africaine de ce pays et du Sud-Ouest africain. Sans cette aide, un deuxième Etat raciste, la Rhodésie du Sud, n'aurait jamais pu voir le jour sur le sol africain.

159. Comme l'a souligné la déclaration finale de la Conférence des chefs d'Etat ou de gouvernement des pays non alignés tenue au Caire en octobre 1964:

"L'impérialisme, le colonialisme et le néo-colonialisme sont des causes essentielles de la tension et des conflits internationaux parce qu'ils compromettent la paix et la sécurité mondiales 5/."

160. La République socialiste tchécoslovaque approuve sans réserve ce jugement porté par la Conférence du Caire. Quant à l'attitude de la Tchécoslovaquie à l'égard du colonialisme, c'est un fait bien connu que la République socialiste tchécoslovaque condamne l'existence du colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations et que, aux côtés de toutes les forces anticolonialistes, elle ne ménage ni ne ménagera aucun effort pour déjouer la provocation colonialiste et éliminer le plus rapidement possible les vestiges du honteux système colonial.

161. La délégation tchécoslovaque partage sans réserve les vues exprimées au cours du présent débat par plusieurs délégations qui ont déclaré nécessaire, étant donné qu'il s'agit de prendre des mesures propres

à éliminer aussi rapidement que possible les vestiges du colonialisme, que l'Organisation des Nations Unies ait recours à des moyens plus énergiques parmi ceux dont elle dispose. Si l'on tardait à le faire, on aboutirait fatalement à des situations dont les néo-colonialistes et tous ceux qui les aident à reculer le moment où il sera définitivement mis fin au honteux système colonial porteraient l'entière responsabilité.

162. S'agissant de l'activité du Comité spécial des Nations Unies chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, la délégation tchécoslovaque estime que ce Comité, malgré les difficultés d'ordre interne et externe qu'il a dû surmonter et qui ont nui à son efficacité, a fait œuvre utile. Incontestablement, le principal obstacle tient au fait que les colonialistes continuent de s'opposer à toute coopération effective avec ce Comité.

163. Ce que nous apprécions dans l'activité du Comité, ce sont notamment les séances qu'il a tenues en Afrique et qui ont donné une nouvelle impulsion à ses travaux. A notre avis, le Comité devrait à l'avenir tenir d'autres séances dans des régions proches des territoires dont il a à s'occuper.

164. Nous estimons également que le Comité doit à l'avenir demander plus instamment à l'Assemblée générale et au Conseil de sécurité qu'ils aient recours, pour hâter la liquidation du système colonial, aux moyens et aux mesures les plus énergiques dont dispose notre Organisation.

165. Notre Organisation doit prendre des mesures propres à assurer l'application immédiate et inconditionnelle de la Déclaration de 1960.

166. L'Assemblée générale doit réaffirmer le droit des peuples coloniaux à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance sans égard à l'importance de la population et au niveau de développement et, ce faisant, la population de chaque territoire doit être assurée de pouvoir choisir en toute liberté son propre avenir, cette liberté s'exerçant en dehors de toute discrimination nationale et raciale et de toute pression extérieure.

167. L'Assemblée générale doit exiger qu'il soit immédiatement mis fin à toutes les mesures de répression et à toutes les opérations militaires dirigées contre les peuples qui luttent pour la liberté; en même temps, elle doit exiger la suppression de toutes les bases étrangères, ainsi que le retrait de toutes les troupes coloniales et de tout le personnel militaire étranger. Tout en condamnant l'activité des monopoles internationaux, il faut exiger l'abrogation des accords et concessions qui limitent, directement ou indirectement, la souveraineté des futurs Etats indépendants. Les mesures adoptées doivent comprendre notamment l'interdiction de toute aide aux colonialistes, en particulier de l'aide militaire fournie directement ou par l'intermédiaire de blocs militaires. L'Assemblée générale doit inviter les Etats Membres à aider par tous les moyens les peuples des territoires non autonomes dans leur lutte pour la conquête de la liberté et de l'indépendance.

168. Nous estimons également qu'il convient de rappeler avec force l'obligation qui incombe aux puissances administrantes et à l'Organisation des Nations

Unies de diffuser plus largement les renseignements relatifs à l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux et à l'activité du Comité des Vingt-Quatre.

169. Dans un esprit d'entière solidarité avec les peuples coloniaux, la délégation tchécoslovaque appuiera toutes mesures qui permettront à notre Organisation de franchir la dernière étape et d'achever sans retard le processus de décolonisation, afin de donner à tous les peuples la possibilité de jouir pleinement de la liberté et d'exercer pleinement leur souveraineté sur leur territoire et afin d'écarter définitivement, une fois pour toutes, la menace que l'existence du colonialisme représente pour la paix et la sécurité internationales.

170. Le PRESIDENT (traduit de l'anglais): Il n'y a plus d'orateurs inscrits pour cet après-midi. J'ai reçu deux demandes de membres de l'Assemblée qui désirent exercer leur droit de réponse. Je donne d'abord la parole au représentant de la République argentine.

171. M. JIMENEZ MELO (Argentine) [traduit de l'espagnol]: Au cours de son intervention de cet après-midi au sujet des îles Malouines, le représentant du Royaume-Uni est revenu une fois de plus sur les arguments connus qui ne facilitent pas l'ouverture, entre mon pays et le sien, des négociations bilatérales que le Comité spécial des Vingt-Quatre et la Quatrième Commission ont recommandées dans le projet de résolution approuvé ces jours derniers [A/6160, par. 50, projet de résolution I], en vue de résoudre le problème de la souveraineté des îles Malouines par les moyens pacifiques que spécifie la Charte des Nations Unies.

172. Ma délégation le répète: elle ne saurait accepter que l'on invoque l'autodétermination dans le cas des 2 000 Anglais qui habitent les îles Malouines, pour avaliser le coup de force qui a expulsé la population argentine aborigène et qui, à la fois, fait obstacle à la décolonisation de ce territoire, décolonisation qu'impose la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale et que régit le paragraphe 6 du dispositif de cette résolution.

173. Comme nous l'avons démontré à diverses reprises, la question de la population des îles Malouines revêt des caractères différents de ceux que présentent les problèmes de même nature, propres aux territoires où il existe une population autochtone possédant le droit inaliénable à la libre détermination.

174. Enfin, il y a lieu de rappeler ce que ma délégation a maintes fois exprimé, à savoir que mon pays est disposé à tenir compte tout spécialement des intérêts des habitants des îles Malouines dans les négociations qu'il espère pouvoir engager et poursuivre avec le Royaume-Uni et auxquelles il s'apprête dans le plus large esprit de conciliation.

175. Le PRESIDENT (traduit de l'anglais): Je donne la parole au représentant de l'Espagne qui désire exercer son droit de réponse.

176. M. DE PINIES (Espagne) [traduit de l'espagnol]: Sans préjudice de la réponse que nous ferons, quand nous aurons pris connaissance du texte exact, à une allusion qui concerne très directement mon pays — je

parle de la question de Gibraltar, évoquée par le représentant du Royaume-Uni, et à cet égard, je réserve les droits de ma délégation — je voudrais dès à présent répondre à l'appel que le représentant de Tanzanie adressait à mon gouvernement.

177. Que ce représentant n'ait pas la moindre inquiétude. Le 26 novembre de cette année, le communiqué suivant a été publié:

"Le Ministère espagnol des affaires étrangères a démenti une nouvelle diffusée par plusieurs agences et organes d'information de l'étranger, d'après

laquelle une entreprise espagnole aurait acheté 20 000 tonnes d'acier provenant de Rhodésie. Le Ministère a ajouté qu'aucune transaction de cet ordre n'a été effectuée, bien qu'avant la déclaration d'indépendance de la Rhodésie, des négociations auraient pu avoir lieu entre des sociétés espagnoles et des sociétés de Rhodésie en vue d'arriver à un accord de ce genre. Le Gouvernement espagnol n'a accordé aucune licence d'importation pour une opération de ce genre."

La séance est levée à 17 h 55.

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VINGTIÈME SESSION

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1387^e
SÉANCE PLÉNIÈRE

Jeudi 2 décembre 1965,
à 15 heures

NEW YORK

SOMMAIRE

Point 23 et l'ordre du jour:

Application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux: rapports du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux (suite) 1

Président: M. Amintore FANFANI (Italie).

POINT 23 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

Application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux: rapports du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux (suite)

1. Le **PRESIDENT**: La liste des orateurs est maintenant close. Vingt-sept orateurs sont inscrits pour prendre part à la discussion. Je propose de tenir une séance plénière lundi 6 décembre 1965 pour terminer la discussion générale de cette question. J'espère que le projet de résolution de caractère général que plusieurs représentants, à ce que je crois savoir, sont en train de mettre au point sera distribué prochainement et pourra être examiné lundi.

2. **M. ALJUBOURI (Irak)** [traduit de l'anglais]: Lorsque la Déclaration historique sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux fut adoptée il y a près de cinq ans, le 14 décembre 1960, elle avait pour but de mettre fin au colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations. La Déclaration affirmait que la domination coloniale était contraire à la Charte des Nations Unies et aux droits fondamentaux de l'homme et qu'elle constituait un obstacle sérieux à la coopération et à la fraternité internationales.

3. Un an plus tard, le 27 novembre 1961, pour tenir compte des observations de trente-huit Etats d'Asie et d'Afrique, selon lesquelles, sauf quelques exceptions, les dispositions de la Déclaration n'avaient pas été pleinement appliquées, l'Assemblée générale créa un Comité spécial de 17 membres, chargé d'étudier les progrès réalisés dans la mise en œuvre de la Déclaration et de faire les recommandations nécessaires à ce sujet.

4. A sa dix-septième session, l'Assemblée générale a décidé [résolution 1810 (XVII)] de porter à vingt-quatre le nombre des membres du Comité spécial et elle a invité le Comité ainsi remanié: 1) à continuer

de rechercher les voies et moyens les mieux appropriés en vue de l'application rapide et intégrale de la Déclaration à tous les territoires qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance; 2) à proposer des mesures concrètes en vue de l'application intégrale de la Déclaration; 3) à présenter un rapport contenant ses suggestions et ses recommandations sur l'ensemble des territoires mentionnés au paragraphe 5 de la Déclaration; 4) à informer le Conseil de sécurité de tous faits survenus dans ces territoires qui risquent de menacer la paix et la sécurité internationales.

5. Le mandat du Comité spécial a été encore élargi quand l'Assemblée a décidé [résolution 1970 (XVIII)] de dissoudre le Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes et de transférer ses fonctions au Comité spécial, ce dernier devenant ainsi le seul organe des Nations Unies chargé de traiter les problèmes coloniaux.

6. Cinq ans se sont maintenant écoulés depuis l'adoption de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux et nous constatons cependant que beaucoup de territoires sont encore soumis à la domination coloniale. Le colonialisme, bien qu'il recule dans certaines régions par suite des efforts résolus et de la lutte constante des peuples assujettis, résiste encore obstinément pour conserver ses privilèges et ses avantages dans d'autres régions du monde, bafouant ainsi la Charte des Nations Unies, méprisant les résolutions de l'Assemblée générale et du Conseil de sécurité et méconnaissant les recommandations du Comité spécial.

7. L'Assemblée générale a souvent demandé aux puissances administrantes de hâter le processus de la décolonisation et de coopérer pleinement avec le Comité spécial pour l'accomplissement des missions qui lui étaient confiées. Quelques-unes des puissances coloniales n'ont pas toujours fait preuve vis-à-vis du Comité de bonne volonté ni d'esprit de coopération. En fait, à maintes occasions, les puissances administrantes ont refusé, non seulement d'appliquer les résolutions de l'Assemblée générale et du Comité spécial concernant les territoires placés sous leur administration, mais aussi d'autoriser des missions itinérantes à recueillir sur place les renseignements nécessaires et à interroger des éléments représentatifs de la population du pays qui faisait l'objet de l'enquête. A ce sujet, il faut rappeler que le Comité spécial avait été autorisé, pour s'acquitter pleinement de ses missions, à se réunir en tout autre lieu que le Siège de l'Organisation "lorsque cela pourrait lui être nécessaire pour lui permettre de s'acquitter efficacement de ses fonctions, en consultation avec les autorités compétentes" [résolution 1654 (XVI)].

8. L'utilité de ces missions itinérantes a été nettement démontrée quand le Comité spécial a tenu environ 38 séances en Afrique en mai et juin 1965. Pendant qu'il était sur le continent africain, le Comité a pu entendre les habitants de beaucoup de territoires coloniaux ayant présenté des pétitions (Angola, Mozambique, Guinée portugaise, Rhodésie du Sud et les trois territoires de la Haute Commission), donnant ainsi un soutien moral et une raison d'espérer aux nombreux peuples qui souffrent encore sous domination étrangère. Se trouvant à proximité immédiate des territoires coloniaux, le Comité a pu se faire une idée plus précise des souffrances des peuples assujettis et apprécier par lui-même l'ampleur des problèmes qui se posent. Le Comité peut estimer nécessaire de tenir à nouveau l'année prochaine quelques réunions hors du siège de l'Organisation. Ma délégation approuve toutes les mesures qui seraient prises dans ce but. Elle tient aussi à renouveler les appels qu'elle a déjà lancés aux puissances administrantes pour que celles-ci autorisent des missions itinérantes à visiter les territoires placés sous leur administration et pour qu'elles leur accordent l'aide et la coopération nécessaires à l'accomplissement de leur tâche. Ma délégation est persuadée qu'en coopérant avec le Comité spécial, les puissances administrantes en tireront en fait un bénéfice pour elles-mêmes parce que le Comité jouit de la confiance des peuples coloniaux et qu'il peut par conséquent rendre des services inestimables en aidant à atteindre les objectifs fixés par la Déclaration d'une manière pacifique et ordonnée.

9. La lenteur du processus de la décolonisation ne doit pas faire mésestimer l'œuvre du Comité ni l'aide qu'il a apportée à beaucoup de peuples coloniaux. Bien que le mérite d'avoir obtenu l'indépendance revienne en premier lieu à la volonté des peuples assujettis, à leur lutte et à leur sacrifice, le Comité peut prétendre avoir pris une petite part à l'émancipation de certains territoires. Les Etats indépendants de la Zambie, du Malawi et du Kenya, par exemple, sont des pays auxquels le Comité a consacré son attention et a accordé son soutien moral. Le cas des îles Cook illustre bien le genre d'assistance que l'Organisation des Nations Unies, et plus particulièrement le Comité spécial, peuvent donner dans ce domaine.

10. Il reste néanmoins beaucoup de régions où le colonialisme continue à se cramponner obstinément aux territoires placés sous son administration, en défiant toutes les normes admises de décence et de moralité. Nous ne pouvons pas ne pas citer les cas de la Rhodésie du Sud, des territoires portugais, du Sud-Ouest africain, de l'Arabie du Sud et d'Oman. Il y a aussi beaucoup de petits territoires où la solution des problèmes coloniaux exigera toute l'habileté et toute l'imagination du Comité spécial. Le rôle que celui-ci peut jouer pour conduire tous ces territoires vers l'indépendance et la liberté ne saurait être trop mis en valeur.

11. A ce sujet, ma délégation tient à souligner que les puissances coloniales ont le devoir, à la fois moral et juridique, de coopérer totalement avec lui pour trouver des solutions pacifiques aux problèmes qui subsistent. La Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indé-

pendance. Elle spécifie que "le manque de préparation l'insuffisance d'instruction et l'absence d'une économie viable ne peuvent faire obstacle à l'indépendance. Elle spécifie que "le manque de préparation dans les domaines politique, économique ou social ou dans celui de l'enseignement ne doit jamais être pris comme prétexte pour retarder l'indépendance" [résolution 1514 (XV)]. Le Comité spécial peut donc jouer un rôle très important, en coopération avec les autres organes des Nations Unies, et contribuer ainsi à la paix et à la sécurité internationales.

12. C'est pour ces raisons que nous croyons fermement qu'il faut maintenir en fonctions le Comité spécial pour qu'il puisse achever de remplir les nobles missions qui lui sont confiées. En outre, il doit pouvoir tenir autant de séances qu'il est nécessaire à proximité des territoires coloniaux (puisque'il lui est souvent impossible de siéger à l'intérieur même de ces territoires) pour qu'il ait la possibilité de s'acquitter de ses tâches aussi complètement et aussi objectivement que possible.

13. M. MALICK FALL (Sénégal): La Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, dont le texte constitue la fameuse résolution 1514 (XV) du 14 décembre 1960, tend, si l'on n'y prend garde, à devenir une pièce de musée que tout le monde admire, mais que chacun évite avec soin de consacrer par un acte de foi digne des responsables que nous sommes. Je suis même enclin à me demander si des délégations comme celles du Portugal ou de l'Afrique du Sud, par exemple, ont jamais pénétré le sens profond du préambule et du dispositif de la résolution 1514 (XV). Sinon, comment comprendre que nous en soyons, aujourd'hui encore, à redéfinir la tâche normalement dévolue aux puissances coloniales? Comment comprendre qu'il faille, cinq ans après la Déclaration, gaspiller un temps précieux à élaborer, à défendre, à adopter des résolutions qui, toutes sans exception, se heurtent à la cécité morale d'Etats dont le cheval de bataille est précisément de brandir le panache de la civilisation chrétienne? On demeure confondu devant ce qui se passe sous nos yeux d'atrocités, de barbarie, quand on songe à la portée des idées contenues dans la Déclaration.

14. Je voudrais profiter de l'occasion pour citer quelques paragraphes de cette déclaration dont tout le monde parle mais que personne ne suit avec l'attention désirée:

"La sujétion des peuples à une subjugation, à une domination et à une exploitation étrangères constitue un déni des droits fondamentaux de l'homme, est contraire à la Charte des Nations Unies et compromet la cause de la paix et de la coopération mondiales (par. 1).

"Tous les peuples ont le droit de libre détermination; en vertu de ce droit, ils déterminent librement leur statut politique et poursuivent librement leur développement économique, social et culturel (par. 2).

"Il sera mis fin à toute action armée et à toutes mesures de répression, de quelque sorte qu'elles soient, dirigées contre les peuples dépendants, pour permettre à ces peuples d'exercer pacifiquement et

librement leur droit à l'indépendance complète, et l'intégrité de leur territoire national sera respectée (par. 4).

"Tous les Etats doivent observer fidèlement et strictement les dispositions de la Charte des Nations Unies, de la Déclaration universelle des droits de l'homme et de la présente Déclaration sur la base de l'égalité, de la non-ingérence dans les affaires intérieures des Etats et du respect des droits souverains et de l'intégrité territoriale de tous les peuples (par. 7)."

15. Se peut-il dès lors qu'il y ait une nation, une seule, qui ose se lever ici et bafouer ce monument qui rend digne et respectable notre Organisation? Se peut-il qu'il y ait une délégation, une seule, qui ne ne fasse — officiellement du moins — sienne cette déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux? Apparemment non. Même les puissances administrantes qui ne l'ont pas votée reconnaissent que la Déclaration correspond à l'idéal que nous poursuivons tous ici. Et pourtant, des foyers de tension se sont embrasés de par le monde. Et pourtant, sept puissances, Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, subjuguent encore une soixantaine de territoires dont le droit à l'autodétermination est plus ou moins contesté, l'indépendance plus ou moins reportée sine die, si elle n'est purement et simplement refusée.

16. Mais si les barrières n'étaient que juridiques, si elles n'étaient que formelles, nous en serions à présent à des querelles d'opportunité. Hélas, le sang coule un peu partout; les affrontements ont atteint des proportions catastrophiques; de véritables guerres se nouent et se propagent; des populations entières sont réduites à l'esclavage. L'Afrique, mon continent, supporte actuellement l'un des plus lourds tributs qu'on ait payé à la liberté.

17. Voici la Rhodésie du Sud, qui vient de basculer dans le giron des racistes, et ce malgré nos cris d'alarme, malgré nos démarches, malgré l'action concertée de tous les Etats africains. Si l'on nous avait suivis, nous n'en serions pas là. Quatre millions de Noirs ne seraient pas la pâture de 200 000 surexcités, minés par des théories historiquement condamnées il y a seulement 20 ans. Nous l'avions dit: ce ne sont pas des sanctions économiques, par nature inapplicables, qui amèneront Ian Smith et ses acolytes à résipiscence. Des brutes de cette espèce ne font pas volontiers le voyage à Canossa. Et c'est pourquoi l'Organisation de l'unité africaine se réunira demain à Addis-Abéba. Elle tirera, elle, des faits leurs conséquences extrêmes.

18. Mais voici le Portugal, fidèle à lui-même, louchant à contre-courant des événements, à contre-courant de l'histoire. Il voit partout des provinces d'outre-mer; il s'empêtre dans ses cauchemars, dans ses idées médiévales; il crie famine; il crôle sous le poids de la misère intérieure. Le Portugal, Messieurs, se désagrège. Et pourtant, le Portugal rêve encore, rêve à de blanches caravelles, à de l'or partout, rêve à des épices, rêve au bois d'ébène. Si encore il se confinait dans ses anachronismes, nous aurions pitié, sans plus. Mais, et vous le savez, ce pays sous-développé — je ne dis pas: en voie de

développement — ce Portugal, donc, s'est mis dans la tête de conserver, contre toute raison, un immense empire colonial dont il compte bien tirer de quoi nourrir sa population misérable. Ne disposant ni de cadres techniques, ni de moyens financiers, ni même d'imagination, il a bradé les territoires aux grandes sociétés industrielles et commerciales, se contentant de rentes viagères et, à l'occasion, de défolements répressifs et sanglants.

19. C'est ici le lieu de noter qu'à lui seul le régime de Salazar ne tiendrait pas un jour de plus en Afrique. Tout le monde en convient. Mais quelles sont donc les éminences grises qui donnent et l'armement et l'équipement, et les subsides? De quelle nationalité sont-ils, les pilotes qui entraînent la soldatesque portugaise? De quelles origines les fusils, les mitrailleuses, les bazookas, les canons, les munitions? Il faudra bien une réponse plus satisfaisante que les dérobades dont on nous rebat les oreilles. Le Portugal a des alliés, directs ou indirects, en Guinée, en Angola, au Mozambique, aux îles du Cap-Vert.

20. Mon propre pays, dont le pacifisme est connu, n'a pas été épargné par la furie meurtrière des bandes portugaises aux abois. Le 7 mai 1965, notre représentant permanent a déclaré, dans une lettre adressée au Président du Conseil de sécurité^{1/}, que les autorités portugaises avaient à diverses reprises violé l'espace aérien et le territoire sénégalais, que ces violations allaient se multipliant et que des villages sénégalais et des récoltes avaient été incendiés. Depuis l'adoption de la résolution du Conseil de sécurité concernant la plainte du Sénégal — résolution [178 (1963)] datée du 24 avril 1963 — le Gouvernement sénégalais avait eu à déplorer 13 violations de son territoire, dont certaines avaient été portées à l'attention du Conseil de sécurité en 1965. Devant les actes des autorités portugaises, le Sénégal demandait que le Conseil de sécurité soit convoqué pour inviter à nouveau le Portugal à mettre un terme aux violations du territoire national sénégalais.

21. Comme on le sait, le Conseil a examiné la question au cours de cinq séances échelonnées entre le 12 et le 19 mai 1965. On se souviendra qu'ouvrant le débat, le représentant du Sénégal a déclaré devant le Conseil [1205ème séance] qu'au cours des deux années écoulées depuis le bombardement d'un village sénégalais par quatre avions portugais, il y avait eu 16 violations de l'espace aérien et du territoire sénégalais par les autorités portugaises. Ces 16 nouvelles violations avaient été perpétrées malgré la résolution du 24 avril 1963 du Conseil de sécurité, où le Conseil déplorait les incursions des forces militaires portugaises en territoire sénégalais, ainsi que l'incident survenu au village de Bouniak. C'est ainsi que des soldats portugais, des unités portugaises, avaient franchi la frontière sénégalaise sept fois, tiré des coups de feu sur deux villages près de la frontière, et attaqué ou envahi deux autres villages. A cinq reprises, les avions portugais avaient survolé des villages sénégalais. On avait trouvé sur les lieux où ces incidents étaient survenus des balles, des cartouches, des bombes lacrymogènes et des grenades à main.

^{1/} Voir Documents officiels du Conseil de sécurité, vingtième année, Supplément d'avril, mai et juin 1965, document S/6338.

Le représentant du Sénégal a également déclaré qu'en plus de ces pièces à conviction, le Gouvernement sénégalais pouvait étayer ses allégations par d'autres griefs: entrepôts de céréales et cases incendies; deux soldats et un agent de renseignements portugais avaient été arrêtés.

22. Lorsque le Sénégal s'est plaint au Conseil de sécurité, en février 1965; le Portugal n'a pas contesté les faits relatifs aux incidents allégués, mais il a cherché à justifier les violations perpétrées. Le Sénégal demandait au Conseil de sécurité de condamner le Portugal pour la série de nouvelles violations du territoire national et de l'inviter immédiatement à respecter scrupuleusement la souveraineté du Sénégal ainsi que l'intégrité de son territoire et de son espace aérien. On sait que le Portugal, malgré les preuves matérielles administrées, s'est contenté de tout réfuter, prétendant même qu'il désirait entretenir avec mon pays des relations amicales. Nous constatons qu'il souhaitait une table ronde avec la participation de nos autorités. Le Portugal, en même temps, accusait le Sénégal de servir de base aux troupes nationalistes guinéennes. Je laisse l'Assemblée juge de tant d'ambiguïté, de tant de cynisme, d'un tel manque de bon sens. Comment concevoir, en effet, que le Portugal, qui refuse d'appliquer les résolutions de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, qui refuse une table ronde avec les combattants de la Guinée, du Mozambique et de l'Angola, vienne nous proposer à nous, Sénégalais, des négociations pour mettre fin à ses propres provocations? Du reste, la question n'est pas là: elle est ailleurs. Elle est dans la mise en œuvre des résolutions, notamment du Conseil de sécurité: 24 avril 1963 [173 (1963)], 19 mai 1965 [204 (1965)], en ce qui concerne le différend sénégaloportugais.

23. Mais la question est ailleurs en ce qui concerne l'ensemble des autres problèmes. Elle se trouve dans la résolution [218 (1965)] du 23 novembre 1965.

24. Et de nous demander: qu'attend donc Salazar pour mettre un terme à son refus persistant de prendre les mesures nécessaires en vue d'appliquer les recommandations et les décisions que l'on sait? Par exemple, qu'attend-il pour reconnaître immédiatement le droit des peuples administrés par le Portugal à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance? Qu'attend-il pour cesser immédiatement tous actes de répression et pour retirer toutes les forces militaires et autres qu'il emploie actuellement à ces fins? Qu'attend-il pour promulguer une amnistie politique inconditionnelle et pour établir une situation qui permette le fonctionnement des partis politiques? Qu'attend-il pour engager les négociations sur la base de la reconnaissance du droit à l'autodétermination avec les représentants qualifiés des partis politiques existant à l'intérieur ou à l'extérieur du territoire? Mais qu'attend-il donc pour accorder, immédiatement après l'indépendance, à tous les territoires qu'il administre contrairement aux aspirations des populations, la liberté de choix? Qu'attend le Portugal? Simplement d'être bouté hors d'Afrique. Mais qu'il soit assuré qu'il ne perd rien à attendre. Il sera balayé comme fêtu de paille et confiné dans ses limites géographiques naturelles, c'est-à-dire ses limites européennes.

25. Et voici l'Afrique du Sud provisoirement occupée; car, à la dimension de l'histoire, il s'agit d'un fait divers, d'une éclipse malheureuse mais nécessairement éphémère, même si les maîtres de l'heure sont armés jusqu'aux dents, même s'ils nient tout bonnement tout dénominateur commun avec les propriétaires du sol car, pour eux, il n'y a d'hommes que les Blancs, pour eux il n'y a de demi-hommes que les Métis, pour eux il n'y a d'esclaves que les Noirs. Un monde concentrationnaire a surgi dans la partie de notre continent la plus bénie de la nature. Des Hitlériens rescapés des purges européennes y distillent le venin du racisme; des affairistes déshumanisés y amoncellent des fortunes sur l'échine des Noirs. Ici des bêtes de somme, là-bas des dompteurs; ici des esclaves, là-bas des seigneurs; une terre qui se fend, qui prodigue des richesses pour les uns et qui ensevelit ses propres fils.

26. Je voudrais ici me permettre d'ouvrir une parenthèse. "Bien que l'ère du colonialisme soit heureusement presque close, un autre mal, né en partie du colonialisme, subsiste encore aujourd'hui. Peut-être ne fait-il que commencer. C'est le risque de conflits raciaux. Ce risque, nous le voyons apparaître dans de nombreuses parties du monde, en particulier en Afrique du Sud." [1386ème séance, par. 30.] Ainsi parlait hier, à cette même tribune, le représentant du Royaume-Uni. Je voudrais très respectueusement prendre acte d'une telle déclaration. Cependant, il me plaît de dire que les solutions justes sont connues et archiconnues.

27. Etablissez partout, Messieurs, des gouvernements issus de la majorité des populations. Eduquez ces populations et ramenez-les vers l'univers des hommes. Retirez les armes meurtrières que vous avez mises entre des mains irresponsables. Faites comprendre clairement que vous n'appuierez plus jamais les Etats qui ont tourné le dos à nos noirs. Osez avoir recours aux moyens extrêmes pour réduire les bastions du racisme. Croyez vous-mêmes qu'un homme en vaut un autre, quels que soient sa couleur, ses conceptions philosophiques, ses coutumes, son pays. Ne tolérez pas en Afrique, par exemple, ce qui serait banni dans vos propres patries. Que tous, ici ou ailleurs, et voilà qu'un grand pas sera fait vers la réduction des conflits raciaux qui, du reste, se révèlent souvent n'être que les épiphénomènes des contradictions économiques. Rendez à César ce qui appartient à César et rendez l'Afrique à elle-même. Je me permets maintenant de fermer cette parenthèse.

28. Le Comité spécial avait du pain amer sur la planche, quoique je n'aie pas mentionné le Bassoutoland, le Betchouanaland, le Souaziland ni le Sud-Ouest africain, proies fragiles, points de mire de Pretoria. Je n'ai pas mentionné non plus le Rio Muni, Fernando Poo, Ifni, le Sahara espagnol, Gibraltar, et que sais-je encore? Nous nous sommes arrêtés à l'Afrique.

29. Nous voici loin des généreux principes de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. C'est que, en effet, l'histoire nous enseigne que les puissances coloniales, à quelques exceptions près, n'ont adhéré que du bout des lèvres au grand mouvement d'émancipation qui a secoué et marqué les temps que nous vivons. Peu de puissances coloniales ont décolonisé sous l'empire

de la raison. Beaucoup l'ont fait à contrecœur, sous la pression des événements. D'autres même demeurent imperméables à toute idée d'autodétermination ou d'indépendance et, croyons-nous, à la limite d'une question de vie ou de mort pour les moins nanties et les plus frustrés d'entre elles. D'autres, enfin, non seulement pratiquent l'apartheid mais nourrissent des idées aberrantes de tutelle sans fin ou d'annexion pure et simple.

30. Il était bon que les objectifs contre nature, comme ceux que nous venons d'évoquer, fussent stigmatisés, qu'un terme fût mis à leur prolifération, que le droit fût exposé et appliqué. Rien d'autre que cela ne constituait la mission confiée au Comité spécial, lequel disposait, comme première arme, de la persuasion, et, comme ultime recours, de la coercition qu'il avait la possibilité de recommander au Conseil de sécurité, de préférence par l'entremise de l'Assemblée générale.

31. Pour plus de précisions, rappelons que le mandat du Comité spécial a été nettement défini par la résolution 1956 (XVIII) du 11 décembre 1963, ainsi que par d'autres résolutions pertinentes ultérieurement adoptées. C'est dire que les Etats Membres qui ont fait acte d'indiscipline et de non-coopération méritent, outre les reproches, des sanctions appropriées. Le Comité spécial, entre autres consignes, avait celle d'agir avec célérité et efficacité, en tenant compte du sabotage alors prévisible de certaines puissances coloniales, d'autant plus que de sérieuses inquiétudes se manifestaient dans quelques territoires où la violation de la Charte était évidente, évidente aussi la collusion de certaines forces rétrogrades.

32. Le rapport qui nous est soumis [A/6000/Rev.1] montre que nos mandants se sont acquittés de leur mission avec bonheur et avec honneur. Soixante-quatorze séances de travail ont été tenues en 1965, sans compter toutes les autres réunions des sous-comités. La situation a été examinée dans plusieurs territoires, dont la Rhodésie du Sud, Aden, les territoires sous administration portugaise, le Sud-Ouest africain, le Bassoutoland, le Betchouanaland, le Souaziland, les îles Cook, la Guyane britannique. Et ce n'est pas tout. D'autres territoires ont été également l'objet d'examen minutieux, surtout en ce qui concerne les incidences des activités d'intérêts étrangers, économiques et autres, qui font obstacle à la Déclaration contenue dans la résolution du 14 décembre 1960.

33. Est-ce à dire que tant d'efforts aient abouti à des résultats spectaculaires? Que non pas. Nos délibérations en témoignent, car la décolonisation est une œuvre de longue haleine; comme toutes les maladies, la colonisation vient au galop mais elle s'en va au pas. D'où tant d'espoirs déçus par la mauvaise volonté, la lente progression dans l'évolution constitutionnelle, l'aggravation de la situation en quelques points névralgiques du globe, les contradictions parfois fatales aux mouvements de libération nationale.

34. Retenons, cependant, que nous n'avons pas le droit de dresser ici un procès-verbal de carence; tout au contraire, tout ce qui était humainement possible a été, selon nous, accompli. Ma délégation

est particulièrement heureuse de constater que le Comité spécial, après avoir fait tout son devoir, a pris l'initiative louable de dégager l'étape future et de montrer la voie à suivre. Nous ne lui marchanderons pas notre sincère appui. Quant à son vœu de conserver sa composition actuelle, nous devons à la vérité de dire que, sans mettre en cause l'efficacité d'une équipe homogène et expérimentée, nous pensons sincèrement qu'un peu de sang neuf ne nuit généralement pas aux organismes les plus rodés, précisément parce que rodés et prisonniers de leurs habitudes, fussent-elles, comme c'est le cas aujourd'hui, des plus respectables.

35. Après le bref tour d'horizon que je viens de faire, et après avoir parcouru le volumineux et si intéressant rapport du Comité spécial, je me surprends à me demander de quoi demain sera fait. Les nuages continuent de s'accumuler à l'horizon; les rêves d'intégration politico-économiques hantent certains Etats colonisateurs; les libertés élémentaires de la personne humaine demeurent supprimées; les affres de la guerre tourmentent des réfugiés par dizaines de milliers; nos territoires nationaux, nos espaces aériens sont violés, en dépit de nos protestations et de nos accusations; des exécutions sommaires sont perpétrées; les barbelés électrifiés et les bombes au napalm sont apparues sur des terres qui étaient faites pour la réconciliation des hommes.

36. Ma délégation est particulièrement préoccupée par l'avenir des pays encore placés sous domination étrangère; mais elle espère. Elle espère que tôt ou tard nous vivrons ensemble la victoire du bon droit, acquise par les voies pacifiques du dialogue. Ma délégation espère que les puissances administrantes, jalouses de leur indépendance et de leur intégrité territoriale, réaliseront un jour très prochain que, ni l'entêtement aveugle, ni les professions de foi à résonance bassement mercantile, ni la prétendue défense de la civilisation occidentale, ni la politique dit de développement séparé, ne saurait en endiguer la vague d'indépendance qui, fatalement, balayera les derniers vestiges des inégalités, de l'exploitation et du racisme.

37. En tout cas, si les voies et moyens actuellement utilisés s'avéraient inefficaces, qu'il soit entendu que l'Afrique, elle, n'a pas encore épuisé la gamme des ripostes dont elle dispose. L'Afrique n'aura de cesse que le jour où le dernier soldat du colonialisme aura déposé les armes. Ce sera alors, croyez-moi, le triomphe des idéaux au nom desquels nous sommes réunis dans cette enceinte.

38. M. DMITROUK (République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie) [traduit du russe]: Cinq années se sont écoulées depuis l'adoption de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux par l'Assemblée générale des Nations Unies. Aujourd'hui, nous avons plaisir à constater que ce document a joué, et continue de jouer, un rôle très important dans la lutte des forces de paix et de progrès contre les forces de guerre et de la réaction en vue d'assurer la liberté et l'indépendance des pays et des peuples et d'éliminer complètement le colonialisme.

39. Au cours des cinq années qui se sont écoulées, le mouvement de libération nationale a remporté d'énormes succès. Les peuples de 17 pays d'Asie, d'Afrique, d'Amérique latine et d'Océanie se sont libérés du joug colonial et se sont engagés dans la voie du développement indépendant.

40. On a plaisir à noter qu'un grand nombre des pays qui se sont libérés au cours de cette période ont réalisé des progrès considérables dans la voie du développement économique, politique et culturel. Ils ont ainsi accédé à un niveau plus élevé du progrès social. Cela montre bien toute la justesse des idées et des principes proclamés dans la Déclaration; cela montre aussi que le mouvement de libération nationale va s'élargissant et s'approfondissant inexorablement, nous rapprochant de l'effondrement inéluctable du système colonial de l'impérialisme.

41. Mais la conscience de l'humanité ne pourra trouver la paix tant qu'il subsistera une seule colonie, un seul peuple asservi par l'impérialisme. En attendant, les régimes coloniaux continuent de dominer quelque 60 territoires et 40 millions de personnes se trouvent toujours sous le joug colonial.

42. Le maintien de la domination coloniale constitue une violation flagrante de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux qui proclame que tous les pouvoirs doivent être transférés aux populations des colonies afin de leur permettre de jouir pleinement de leur indépendance et de leurs libertés.

43. Cependant, le Royaume-Uni, le Portugal, l'Australie, l'Espagne et les autres puissances coloniales cherchent par tous les moyens à s'opposer à la mise en œuvre des principes de la Déclaration. Considérant leurs colonies comme des sources de matières premières à bon marché, comme des débouchés pour écouler leurs produits, comme des centres d'investissements, comme des points d'appui militaires et stratégiques, ils continuent d'exploiter les populations et à tirer de leur travail d'énormes bénéfices. Les monopoles internationaux, qui bénéficient de l'appui de leurs gouvernements respectifs, sont les principaux coupables du maintien de la domination et de l'asservissement colonial.

44. Les monopoles accordent une importance particulière à leurs possessions d'Afrique australe, c'est-à-dire de République sud-africaine, de Rhodésie du Sud, du Sud-Ouest africain, d'Angola, du Mozambique, etc. Ils tirent des bénéfices fabuleux de l'extraction de l'or, du diamant, de l'uranium, du cuivre, du zinc, du plomb, du chrome, du manganèse et d'autres minéraux. Ainsi, les bénéfices nets — après prélèvement des impôts — de l'Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa, société minière anglo-américaine, se sont élevés en 1964 à 13,8 millions de livres sterling contre 11,9 millions en 1963. Les revenus nets de la société diamantifère De Beers Consolidated Mines sont passés de 25 millions de livres sterling en 1963 à 34,8 millions de livres sterling en 1964 et ceux de la société minière anglaise Rio Tinto Zinc ont représenté en 1964 près de 9 millions de livres sterling, soit une augmentation de 38 p. 100 par rapport à 1963. Les bénéfices de la société minière anglo-américaine Rhodesian Selection

Trust se sont élevés pour l'exercice qui s'est terminé au 30 juin 1964 à 17,4 millions de livres sterling, soit 3,8 millions de plus que l'exercice précédent. Selon le Times de Londres du 30 septembre 1964, les monopoles ont "pompé" plus de 15 millions de livres sterling de bénéfices nets uniquement de la Rhodésie du Sud. La situation est analogue dans les autres colonies.

45. Les monopoles étrangers s'efforcent par tous les moyens de maintenir et de perpétuer leur mainmise sur cette région du monde aussi bien que sur les autres. Ils influencent directement la politique des gouvernements des puissances coloniales qu'ils contrôlent. Pour confirmer ce que j'avance, je citerai quelques exemples.

46. Le Président de l'Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa et de la De Beers Consolidated Mines, dont il a déjà été question, M. H. Oppenheimer, dans une déclaration publiée dans le Times de Londres le 4 juin 1964, chantait les louanges du régime raciste d'Ian Smith, affirmant que celui-ci cherchait à atteindre des "objectifs tout à fait raisonnables". M. Oppenheimer tient des propos tout aussi enthousiastes sur les racistes sud-africains. C'est ainsi, que prenant la parole le 24 juin 1964 à Pietermaritzburg, en Afrique du Sud, il déclarait que le mouvement mondial contre la politique d'apartheid de la République sud-africaine constituait "une menace à la paix" et il cherchait à apeurer les puissances occidentales en affirmant que si ce mouvement devait réussir, il déclencherait "la révolution et la guerre". Il faut dire que les gouvernements des puissances occidentales font preuve d'indulgence à l'égard de la politique d'apartheid, qu'ils continuent à maintenir une étroite coopération avec le régime raciste de Verwoerd, qu'ils ne tiennent pas compte des décisions des Nations Unies sur la question de l'apartheid et qu'ils refusent d'appliquer contre l'Afrique du Sud des sanctions efficaces qui, si elles étaient mises en œuvre, obligeraient les racistes de l'Afrique du Sud et de la Rhodésie du Sud à capituler.

47. Les exemples que je viens de donner montrent bien que les grands monopoles impérialistes, dont l'action et la politique bénéficient de l'appui et des encouragements des gouvernements des puissances occidentales, font obstacle à la décolonisation des peuples et des pays. A ce propos, je voudrais rappeler une fois de plus qu'aussi longtemps que les leviers économiques et les richesses naturelles des peuples non autonomes se trouvent aux mains des colonialistes, agissant par l'intermédiaire de leurs monopoles, toutes déclarations qu'ils pourront faire sur la liberté, l'indépendance et le progrès social resteront lettre morte.

48. En plus, de leurs "intérêts" économiques égoïstes, les puissances coloniales poursuivent des objectifs politiques, militaires et stratégiques tout aussi égoïstes. Elles ont installé sur le territoire de nombreuses colonies des points d'appui militaires et stratégiques pour lutter contre le mouvement de libération nationale. L'existence de ces bases militaires constitue une menace grave contre la paix et la sécurité des peuples.

49. C'est à partir de ces bases que sont organisées des agressions contre les Etats et les peuples pacifiques qui luttent pour la liberté et l'indépendance. C'est ainsi que la base militaire d'Aden est utilisée par les colonialistes anglais pour écraser la lutte de libération en Arabie du Sud, ainsi que pour entreprendre des agressions contre la République arabe du Yémen. L'aviation américaine basée à Guam porte presque quotidiennement la mort et la destruction au peuple du Viet-Nam.

50. Les puissances coloniales cherchent à étendre le réseau de leurs bases militaires contre la volonté des peuples. Tout récemment, le 10 novembre dernier, le Gouvernement britannique a fait connaître son intention d'installer des bases militaires mixtes anglo-américaines dans l'archipel Tchagos, administrativement rattaché à l'île Maurice, ainsi que sur certaines des îles Seychelles.

51. Parlant de l'importance que ces bases présentent pour les Etats-Unis et la Grande-Bretagne, le Times de Londres écrivait dès le 20 avril 1965:

"Des sous-marins nucléaires, dotés de fusées Polaris, dont le rayon d'action serait de 2 500 miles au moins, pourraient, en jouant le rôle d'une artillerie lourde de longue portée, protéger les approches de l'Inde, du Viet-Nam, de la Malaisie ou même toute la région du CENTO, au nord du golfe Persique."

52. Obéissant à leurs intérêts économiques, militaires et stratégiques égoïstes, les colonialistes cherchent à écraser le mouvement irrésistible des peuples des pays coloniaux et non autonomes vers la liberté et l'indépendance. Pour ce faire, ils emploient la force brutale, la répression, la terreur, etc., n'hésitant pas à créer des situations qui constituent une lourde menace contre la paix et la sécurité internationales.

53. Cela est vrai en Angola, au Mozambique, en Guinée dite portugaise où les colonialistes portugais mènent de sales guerres coloniales contre les populations autochtones. Le sang des combattants populaires coule dans les colonies anglaises d'Aden et d'Oman. La terreur et la répression règnent en Rhodésie du Sud, dans le Sud-Ouest africain et d'autres colonies.

54. Dans leur lutte contre le mouvement de libération nationale, les puissances coloniales unissent leurs efforts. Le principal centre de coordination en est le bloc militaire d'agression de l'OTAN, incarnation du colonialisme collectif moderne.

55. Les Etats-Unis, le Royaume-Uni, l'Allemagne occidentale apportent une aide économique et militaire importante au Portugal pour que ce pays puisse poursuivre ses sales guerres coloniales en Angola, au Mozambique et en Guinée dite portugaise. Tout homme de bon sens comprend que, sans l'aide de ces puissances, le Portugal aurait perdu depuis longtemps ses colonies. C'est pourquoi le Portugal n'est pas seul à porter la responsabilité de chaque victime angolaise, mozambiquaise et guinéenne qui tombe sous les balles ou les bombes ennemies.

56. Grâce à la complaisance de certaines puissances occidentales, le régime raciste de Smith a transformé

la Rhodésie du Sud en une geôle pour la population autochtone; il a illégalement proclamé "l'indépendance", ce qui revient, en fait, à créer sur le continent africain un deuxième Etat raciste à l'image de la République sud-africaine.

57. C'est de propos délibéré que les colonialistes maintiennent leurs colonies dans un état d'arriération économique et laissent leurs habitants dans l'ignorance afin d'exploiter leur travail et de piller leurs richesses nationales. Même lorsque les puissances colonialistes, sous la pression du mouvement de libération nationale, leur accordent l'indépendance, elles utilisent leur retard économique pour chercher à les maintenir sous leur contrôle économique et financier. Elles le font d'ailleurs sous le prétexte spécieux de défendre les intérêts des pays en voie de développement.

58. Ainsi ceux qui font l'apologie du colonialisme affirment que l'apport de capitaux étrangers dans les pays coloniaux et les pays qui ont emprunté la voie d'un développement indépendant exerce un effet favorable sur le développement économique. En fait, l'importation par les monopoles de capitaux dans ces pays constitue une sorte de pillage et a un effet paralysant. On a calculé qu'entre 1875 et 1912 le Royaume-Uni a exporté 2 milliards de livres sterling et a retiré dans le même temps des capitaux placés à l'étranger 3,3 milliards de livres sterling. Selon l'Annual Abstract of Statistics, annuaire anglais, pendant la période 1958-1962, les investissements anglais à l'étranger ont rapporté plus de 3,5 milliards de livres sterling.

59. Les pays en voie de développement subissent de lourdes pertes du fait de termes de l'échange défavorables. Les monopoles internationaux imposent leurs prix pour les matières premières qu'ils importent de ces pays et pour les produits finis qu'ils y exportent. Ils fixent, sans justification aucune, des prix extrêmement bas pour les matières premières et des prix extrêmement élevés, des prix de monopole, pour les articles manufacturés. Il s'ensuit que les pays d'Asie, d'Afrique et d'Amérique latine perdent annuellement de 14 à 16 milliards de dollars.

60. Le pillage monstrueux des pays dont l'économie dépend des monopoles internationaux les maintient dans un état de retard économique, social et culturel. Un grand nombre de faits viennent réfuter la thèse non fondée des "bienfaits" que les colonialistes apporteraient aux colonies et aux pays qui dépendent économiquement d'eux.

61. Les représentants officiels des puissances occidentales parlent beaucoup de l'aide économique que celles-ci fournissent aux colonies et aux pays en voie de développement. Mais aucune publicité, aucune belle parole ne saurait dissimuler le fait que cette prétendue aide ne compense pas, ne serait-ce même que dans une faible mesure, les richesses que les puissances coloniales ont volées à ces pays.

62. Le Premier Ministre du Kenya, M. Jomo Kenyatta, a parfaitement raison de dire, ainsi qu'il l'a fait le 21 juin 1964, que l'"aide" anglaise n'est jamais que l'intérêt versé pour le "sang que l'on nous a sucé". Ses paroles s'appliquent aussi bien à toute l'"aide" apportée par les puissances occidentales.

63. De plus, cette aide est plus que compensée par le revenu des placements effectués par les puissances occidentales dans les pays en voie de développement et par des termes de l'échange défavorables. Ainsi, l'"aide" britannique aux pays en voie de développement s'élève à 150 millions de livres sterling par an et le revenu des investissements dans les pays d'Asie, d'Afrique, d'Amérique latine et d'Océanie s'est élevé en 1963, selon le Times du 2 avril 1965, à 290,5 millions de livres sterling, soit 140,5 millions de livres sterling de plus que cette prétendue aide.

64. Les pays occidentaux utilisent cette aide pour s'attacher les colonies et les nouveaux pays en voie de développement et les réduire dans un état de dépendance complète. C'est l'une des principales méthodes du colonialisme et du néo-colonialisme contemporain.

65. A l'heure où les colonialistes éprouvent des difficultés de plus en plus grandes à arriver à leurs fins en recourant à la violence pure et simple, ils cherchent à mettre au point de nouveaux moyens, de nouvelles méthodes. C'est ainsi que l'on entend souvent les théoriciens de l'impérialisme en appeler aux leurs pour qu'ils s'adaptent à une situation changeante.

66. Se faisant l'interprète de ce genre d'aspirations, un des théoriciens du néo-colonialisme américain, "spécialiste" de l'Afrique, M. Vernon McKay, dans son livre intitulé Africa in World Politics publié en 1963 dit franchement: "Nous devons nous adapter à cet esprit révolutionnaire qui règne en Asie et en Afrique; autant que possible, nous devons le considérer avec sympathie et compréhension. Si nous n'y parvenons pas, notre système de sécurité internationale commencera, au cours de la décennie à venir, à s'effondrer partout dans le monde 2/."

67. Il semble que ce soit le sort des blocs militaires d'agression qui préoccupe surtout l'auteur de ce célèbre ouvrage. Utilisant des méthodes plus souples de lutte contre le mouvement de libération nationale, les colonialistes n'hésitent pas aussi à écraser ce mouvement par des moyens militaires comme ils le font au Viet-Nam, au Congo, en République Dominicaine.

68. S'agissant de l'élimination du colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations, on ne saurait passer sous silence la menace de plus en plus grande que le néo-colonialisme de l'Allemagne de l'Ouest représente pour les pays qui viennent d'accéder à l'indépendance, ainsi que pour les peuples qui luttent pour leur libération nationale.

69. Ne possédant pas de colonies en propre, la République fédérale d'Allemagne a réussi à s'infiltrer dans ces pays sur les plans économique, politique et militaire en y exportant des capitaux, en développant les échanges commerciaux, en leur accordant une "aide" économique et militaire et en utilisant les autres méthodes employées par les néo-colonialistes.

70. L'expansion économique de l'Allemagne de l'Ouest est particulièrement notable en Afrique. L'Allemagne fédérale participe directement à la lutte

contre le mouvement de libération nationale des peuples des colonies. Non seulement elle apporte son aide économique au Portugal et à la République sud-africaine, mais elle leur fournit des armements, les aidant ainsi à mettre en œuvre leur monstrueuse politique coloniale.

71. Les peuples des pays coloniaux et non autonomes luttent pour obtenir une indépendance et une liberté authentiques. L'heure qui marque la fin du colonialisme a sonné. Ni la force brutale, ni les méthodes subtiles du néo-colonialisme n'aideront les colonialistes à s'opposer à l'effondrement du colonialisme. Le mouvement de libération nationale des peuples est irrésistible et aucune force ne réussira à l'arrêter et à le faire revenir en arrière.

72. La délégation de la RSS de Biélorussie a étudié attentivement les rapports [A/5800/Rev.1 et A/6000/Rev.1] du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux.

73. A notre avis, le Comité a accompli une œuvre importante et utile. Nous notons avec satisfaction qu'il a examiné la situation dans la grande majorité des territoires coloniaux. C'est également avec satisfaction que nous constatons qu'il a abordé l'examen des activités des monopoles internationaux. Il a étudié leur activité dans le Sud-Ouest africain, en Angola, au Mozambique et, l'année prochaine, il a l'intention de le faire pour la Rhodésie du Sud. Nous considérons avec faveur les résolutions que le Comité a adoptées sur la situation dans les colonies.

74. Mais on ne peut se reposer sur ses lauriers. L'Organisation des Nations Unies a le devoir de contribuer à éliminer sans tarder les régimes coloniaux. L'Assemblée générale doit exiger des puissances coloniales qu'elles mettent en œuvre immédiatement la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux et elle doit les prévenir en termes catégoriques que le fait de maintenir leur domination coloniale sur les territoires qu'elles administrent ne saurait être considéré autrement que comme un crime contre l'humanité.

75. Il convient de déclarer en termes clairs et non équivoques que la lutte que les peuples des territoires coloniaux mènent pour conquérir leur liberté et leur indépendance est juste et légitime et d'adresser un appel à tous les Etats pour qu'ils apportent leur aide et leur assistance morale et matérielle aux peuples qui luttent pour affirmer leurs droits.

76. L'Assemblée générale des Nations Unies doit exiger des puissances coloniales qu'elles mettent fin immédiatement à toutes activités militaires et à tout acte de répression contre les peuples qui luttent pour leur liberté et leur indépendance et qu'elles retirent toutes leurs forces armées du territoire des colonies et y suppriment leurs bases militaires.

77. La situation dans certains territoires coloniaux est une menace pour la paix et elle devrait par conséquent être examinée par le Conseil de sécurité, lequel doit prendre des mesures énergiques, jusqu'à l'adoption de sanctions obligatoires afin de contraindre les puissances occidentales à mettre fin aux activités

2/ Vernon McKay, Africa in World Politics (New York, Harper et Rowe, 1960), p. 425.

militaires et à la répression contre les populations des colonies.

78. Selon la délégation de la RSS de Biélorussie, le Comité spécial doit redoubler d'attention lorsqu'il examine la mise en œuvre, par les puissances coloniales, des décisions de l'Assemblée générale et du Conseil de sécurité relatives à l'octroi de l'indépendance aux diverses colonies.

79. Pour ce qui est de la RSS de Biélorussie, je tiens à déclarer que, fidèle aux principes léninistes sur la politique des nationalités, elle a toujours appuyé et continuera d'appuyer la cause des peuples qui luttent pour leur liberté et leur indépendance.

80. M. ABU BAKAR (Singapour) [traduit de l'anglais]: La question de l'indépendance et du colonialisme se rapporte à celle de l'exploitation de l'homme par l'homme. L'histoire nous parle des grands empires qui ont existé autrefois, non seulement en Asie, mais aussi dans des pays méditerranéens et plus tard en Europe où des empires immenses ont été fondés et maintenus par la force des armes. Presque tous ces empires ont été détruits aussi par la force des armes.

81. Dans l'antiquité, l'histoire nous cite l'empire chinois, l'empire égyptien, l'empire romain et beaucoup de grands empires de ce genre. Plus récemment, il y a eu les empires fondés par le Royaume-Uni, par la France, par l'Allemagne, par l'Espagne, par le Portugal, par la Belgique, par les Pays-Bas, par le Japon et par quelques autres pays moins connus. La plupart se sont écroulés parce qu'ils avaient été créés et maintenus par la force des armes de la métropole. Ils n'ont pas tous disparu et la plupart de ceux qui subsistent encore sont de création relativement récente.

82. Au cours des deux ou trois derniers siècles, et surtout juste avant le début et au commencement du siècle dernier, il y eut une compétition serrée entre les pays européens pour s'emparer de grandes étendues de terrain en Asie, en Amérique du Sud et en Afrique. D'abord, ils ont agi effrontément, prétendant qu'ils venaient pour faire du commerce, mais ils avaient en réalité des intentions politiques. Les puissances se sont taillé des territoires aussi grands que possible, sans se soucier de savoir si, en agissant ainsi, elles démembraient un pays ou elles divisaient un peuple. Elles ne s'occupaient que du butin et des richesses à piller. Elles opprimaient les populations pour en tirer le plus possible de biens à expédier dans la métropole. Quand un territoire était riche, mais peu peuplé, elles y amenaient des hommes d'autres pays.

83. Dans certains cas, quand ceux-ci n'étaient pas disposés à émigrer volontairement, elles employaient la force. C'est ce qu'on a appelé l'esclavage. La preuve en est encore visible. Dans d'autres cas, quand la population ne voulait pas aider les envahisseurs à piller le pays, ces derniers n'avaient aucune pitié et beaucoup de malheureux peuples ont été décimés.

84. De tous les colonialistes, les Britanniques, bien entendu, avaient l'empire le plus vaste. On disait que le soleil ne s'y couchait jamais. Mais cet empire était trop vaste pour être gouverné de Londres et, comme dans l'ancien empire romain, la centralisation

montra finalement son point faible. Le mécanisme d'exploitation commença finalement à donner des signes de décrépitude. Il est assez étrange que le premier maillon de la chaîne ait été rompu au cours d'un thé à Boston. Il en résulta la création des Etats-Unis d'Amérique, issus du colonialisme britannique.

85. Depuis que ce vent révolutionnaire a soufflé pour la première fois, les peuples n'ont cessé d'aspirer à la liberté. Leurs aspirations ont été réprimées temporairement à maintes reprises mais la flamme de l'indépendance et de la liberté ne pouvait pas être éteinte. Cette flamme a continué à embraser le cœur des hommes dans la grande lutte qu'ils ont menée pour leur libération. L'un après l'autre, les pays ont conquis leur indépendance, certains assez facilement, d'autres après de durs combats et de grandes effusions de sang. La moralité à tirer de ces événements est qu'un pays ne reçoit pas son indépendance sur un plateau doré. Il faut faire pression sur les colonialistes. Il faut combattre pour la liberté. C'est le seul moyen pour un pays de l'obtenir. On n'a rien pour rien.

86. La seule exception est peut-être constituée par le comportement de la Nouvelle-Zélande vis-à-vis des îles Cook, territoire sous mandat. La Nouvelle-Zélande a fait tout son possible pour aider l'Organisation des Nations Unies à permettre à la population de ces îles d'obtenir son indépendance d'une manière ordonnée.

87. Parmi tant de puissances coloniales, seule la Nouvelle-Zélande a réellement coopéré avec l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Dans tous les autres cas, chaque fois que l'Organisation a voulu aider les peuples des territoires non autonomes à obtenir leur indépendance par l'intermédiaire des puissances coloniales, ces puissances, l'une après l'autre, ont dit que c'était à elles de s'en occuper et qu'elles ne voulaient pas partager leurs responsabilités administratives. Ce n'est là qu'un subterfuge juridique pour remettre à plus tard le droit légitime d'un peuple à recouvrer sa liberté.

88. J'ai parlé jusqu'ici en termes généraux du colonialisme, des puissances coloniales et des efforts de l'Organisation des Nations Unies pour aider les peuples malheureux à obtenir leur indépendance. Je pourrais continuer longtemps en citant le cas de puissances coloniales comme la Grande-Bretagne, la France, la Belgique, les Pays-Bas, le Portugal, l'Allemagne et le Japon, qui ont toujours appliqué ouvertement la politique qui consiste à diviser pour régner. Cette politique a toujours été efficace et ce n'est que depuis la fin de la dernière guerre, en 1945, que le vent de la révolution est réellement devenu un tempête et que l'homme ne veut plus transiger avec sa dignité. Cet état d'esprit nouveau s'est renforcé d'année en année, malgré la répression exercée par les puissances colonialistes, de sorte que nous n'avons plus maintenant que quelques territoires qui ne soient pas encore indépendants. Cependant, même à ce stade avancé de la décolonisation, il subsiste des problèmes comme ceux qui se posent non seulement en Rhodésie du Sud mais dans les autres territoires coloniaux qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance.

89. Dans le cas de la Rhodésie du Sud, nous sommes de cœur, bien entendu, avec les Africains qui, au moment même où nous siégeons dans cette Assemblée des Nations Unies, sont persécutés et tués par centaines. Le gouvernement illégal d'Ian Smith a non seulement pris le pouvoir par une déclaration unilatérale d'indépendance, par un acte de rébellion contre la Grande-Bretagne, mais il a aussi refusé d'accorder le droit de vote aux quatre millions d'Africains de son pays.

90. J'ai déjà dit, quand j'ai parlé de la question de la Rhodésie du Sud le mois dernier, que le Gouvernement de Singapour ne reconnaissait pas celui de la Rhodésie du Sud. Nous maintenons cette attitude. Nous avons également annoncé hier que Singapour interdisait immédiatement tout commerce avec la Rhodésie du Sud et qu'en outre nous ne considérons plus la Rhodésie du Sud comme faisant partie de la zone sterling en ce qui concerne le contrôle des changes. De plus, nous partageons les vues exprimées par l'Organisation de l'unité africaine qui siège actuellement à Addis-Abéba et nous l'aiderons dans toutes les mesures qu'elle prendra pour assurer l'arrivée au pouvoir d'un gouvernement de majorité en Rhodésie du Sud.

91. Je veux saisir cette occasion pour redire une fois de plus que Singapour est disposée à faire tout son possible, même s'il est bien tard, pour aider le Gouvernement britannique à rétablir son autorité constitutionnelle sur la Rhodésie du Sud, si la Grande-Bretagne désire le faire. Nous avons appris ce matin que le Premier ministre britannique prenait des mesures économiques plus strictes contre la Rhodésie du Sud. Cependant, depuis ce qui s'est passé récemment au Conseil de sécurité, où nous avons entendu nos frères africains adresser des reproches au représentant de la Grande-Bretagne à ce Conseil et lui rappeler que les événements qui s'étaient produits étaient ceux qu'ils avaient prédits, nous ne sommes pas convaincus que la Grande-Bretagne ait pris des mesures adéquates pour empêcher le gouvernement illégal d'Ian Smith de s'emparer du pouvoir au moyen d'une déclaration unilatérale d'indépendance. Avant même que le gouvernement d'Ian Smith fasse ce geste, le Gouvernement britannique a pris peur et a déclaré qu'il n'emploierait pas la force au cas où ce gouvernement prendrait le pouvoir d'une façon illégale. C'était sûrement pour celui-ci une invitation à aller de l'avant et à s'emparer du pouvoir.

92. Nous voyons tout de suite par là comment les Britanniques traitent différemment leurs peuples coloniaux. Les Rhodésiens blancs sont de la famille et il ne faut donc pas employer la force contre eux. Le représentant du Ghana a déjà exposé ce point assez longuement devant le Conseil de sécurité et je ne veux pas y insister davantage, sauf pour dire qu'il faut que nous appuyions tout ce que feront les gouvernements nationalistes africains pour défendre les droits fondamentaux de l'écrasante majorité africaine de la Rhodésie du Sud.

93. Depuis que le Gouvernement d'Ian Smith a pris le pouvoir d'une façon illégale, M. Harold Wilson a fait preuve d'une grande énergie et d'une grande résolution en prenant des sanctions contre la Rhodésie du Sud. Cependant, M. Wilson lui-même sait sûrement

que les sanctions sont tout à fait inefficaces. On l'a vu en 1936, quand la Société des Nations en a appliqué à l'Italie pour son agression contre l'Ethiopie. Il y a trop d'échappatoires à l'application des sanctions et celles-ci ne sont jamais réellement effectives, car les trafiquants peuvent toujours tourner les règlements et les lois. De même que les sanctions se sont révélées inefficaces contre l'Italie en 1936, elles le seront en 1965 dans le cas de la Rhodésie du Sud. Bien entendu, le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni le sait. Nous sommes heureux, certes, que les Etats-Unis d'Amérique, par la voix de leur Ambassadeur, M. Goldberg, aient déclaré en termes non équivoques qu'ils allaient prendre des mesures énergiques pour aider la Grande-Bretagne à appliquer ses sanctions contre la Rhodésie du Sud. L'Ambassadeur des Etats-Unis a déclaré que son pays n'aiderait la Rhodésie du Sud ni financièrement ni en commerçant avec elle. Mais que découvrons-nous si nous analysons ces déclarations politiques pompeuses? Que leur effet pratique est nul. On se demande pourquoi monsieur Goldberg les a faites alors qu'il sait fort bien, sans aucun doute, qu'elles ne sont guère que des paroles retentissantes et menaçantes. Une fois de plus, la Grande-Bretagne s'est montrée très habile en obtenant l'aide de son ancienne colonie.

94. On ne peut parler du colonialisme sans mentionner le malheureux peuple du Viet-Nam du Sud. Ce pays s'était à peine libéré du colonialisme français qu'il fut plongé dans une guerre civile qui aboutit à son partage. Depuis que les Français ont quitté le pays, le Viet-Nam du Sud se trouve aux prises avec des difficultés incessantes. Quand nous croyions que ses efforts pour rétablir son équilibre allaient être couronnés de succès, le président Ngo-Dinh-Diem a été assassiné. Ce crime a marqué un tournant dans l'histoire de ce malheureux pays parce que, depuis lors, la situation s'est dégradée sous l'effet d'une lutte brutale entre deux blocs puissants. Ils prétendent tous deux agir au nom de la liberté. Nous savons cependant que ce qui se passe là-bas n'est pas conforme à la justice. Que les communistes réussissent à s'implanter dans le Sud ou que les Sud-Vietnamiens et les Américains puissent les en empêcher, une chose est claire: le petit peuple du Viet-Nam du Sud est bombardé, chassé de ses terres, de ses maisons, de tout ce qui lui est cher. Il est illusoire de bombarder les Nord-Vietnamiens dans l'espoir de les amener à une table de conférence. Aucun peuple tant soit peu fier et conscient de sa dignité ne peut accepter une telle invitation. Il faut que les Européens comprennent la mentalité asiatique. Juger les autres d'après soi-même n'est pas le meilleur moyen de les comprendre, surtout quand on veut les réduire à merci par des bombardements. Ici même aux Etats-Unis des critiques se sont élevées au cours des derniers mois contre ces bombardements.

95. La violence au Viet-Nam du Sud est telle qu'il y a des centaines de milliers de réfugiés qui souffrent, alors qu'ils sont innocents. Nous avons déjà le problème des réfugiés de Palestine que, depuis près de dix-huit ans, nous sommes incapables de résoudre. Nous en aurons bientôt un autre au Viet-Nam du Sud.

96. Les colonialistes possèdent des bases dans beaucoup de pays pour maintenir leur domination.

Il faut examiner cette question aussi clairement que possible pour nous en faire une idée exacte. Hier, le représentant du Royaume-Uni a dit:

"Nous n'avons plus nulle part dans le monde besoin de bases pour assurer la défense de nos intérêts impériaux. Nous n'en avons besoin que pour nous acquitter des obligations que nous imposent le maintien de la paix, l'aide à nos amis et les engagements contractés envers eux par des traités. Ici encore, nous appliquons les principes de la consultation et du consentement. C'est l'avis déclaré de mon gouvernement que l'existence d'aucune base n'est justifiée, ni militairement ni moralement, si elle n'est approuvée par la population du territoire sur lequel elle se trouve. Nous mettons ces principes en pratique dans l'Arabie du Sud, par exemple, où nous avons déjà déclaré que le sort à réserver aux installations britanniques de défense est une affaire à négocier entre nous et le gouvernement du nouvel Etat au moment de l'indépendance."
[1386ème séance, par. 57.]

97. Ma délégation approuve cette déclaration sans aucune réticence. Il s'agit d'un sujet très délicat et les paroles très nettes de la délégation britannique nous sont fort agréables. Tout le monde sait que Singapour est opposée aux bases étrangères. Celles-ci menacent les racines mêmes de l'indépendance; elles nuisent également à la paix et à la sécurité de la région et il faut, par conséquent, examiner la question sous tous ses aspects.

98. Nous avons une grande base britannique à Singapour et mon gouvernement a déjà dit à plusieurs reprises qu'il ne fallait pas y toucher. Nous avons conclu nous-mêmes un accord avec les Britanniques et ils sont là avec notre consentement. Notre ligne de conduite est conforme à la décision prise à la Conférence des chefs d'Etat ou de gouvernement des pays non alignés qui s'est tenue au Caire en octobre 1964. Voici cette décision:

"La Conférence considère la présence actuelle ou l'établissement ultérieur de bases militaires étrangères ou le stationnement de troupes étrangères sur le territoire d'autres pays contre la volonté expresse de ceux-ci comme une violation flagrante de la souveraineté des Etats et comme une menace à la liberté et à la paix internationale. Elle estime également que l'existence ou l'installation future dans des territoires non autonomes de bases qui pourraient être utilisées pour maintenir le colonialisme ou à d'autres fins est particulièrement injustifiable 3/."

99. En principe, les bases militaires étrangères sont détestables. Elles constituent une menace et un moyen de pression contre les petits pays. Quand il en est ainsi, des accords doivent être conclus pour que, quand une base est enfin remise au gouvernement du pays sur le territoire duquel elle est située, aucun vide ne soit créé et aucun problème ne soit soulevé par ce changement. L'affaire est très claire: aucune base étrangère ne doit subsister contre la volonté expresse de la population sur le territoire duquel elle est située.

100. Je voudrais parler d'une autre question qui résulte directement du colonialisme: la situation économique si grave de l'Asie et l'Afrique à l'heure actuelle. Quand les pays de ces continents étaient des colonies, leurs produits étaient destinés à alimenter les usines des puissances coloniales. Aucune industrie n'était autorisée dans les territoires coloniaux, car ceux-ci devaient servir de marchés pour les produits de leur maître. Nous avons encore à supporter les conséquences de cette politique coloniale. Les très grands efforts qu'ont faits les territoires anciennement coloniaux, après avoir obtenu leur indépendance, pour produire des marchandises dans leur propre pays témoignent du caractère néfaste de cette politique. Dans ce domaine aussi, l'Organisation des Nations Unies, par l'intermédiaire de ses diverses institutions spécialisées, fait beaucoup pour aider ces pays à se suffire à eux-mêmes.

101. En ce qui concerne Singapour, nous sommes favorisés. Notre Etat insulaire ne couvre que 560 kilomètres carrés et il a une population de près de 2 millions d'habitants. Comme il n'a pas de ressources naturelles, il avait bien fallu l'autoriser, quoique dans une mesure limitée, à avoir de petites industries. Celles-ci ont constitué une base suffisante pour nous permettre une véritable industrialisation et grâce à notre dur labeur et à notre persévérance, nous y avons réussi dans le court espace de temps de quatre ans et demi. Nous y avons même si bien réussi que nos anciens maîtres ont fixé un contingent pour l'exportation de nos cotonnades vers le Royaume-Uni.

102. Je voudrais revenir maintenant à la politique de "diviser pour régner", en ce qui concerne particulièrement la Malaisie et Singapour. Nos deux territoires forment un tout indivisible; cependant, quand l'indépendance a été octroyée à la Malaisie en 1957, Singapour en fut exclue, surtout à cause de sa base militaire. Nos liens d'amitié et de parenté étaient pourtant trop forts pour qu'on puisse nous maintenir séparés et c'est pourquoi, en septembre 1963, nous nous sommes unis à la Fédération de Malaisie et avons enfin obtenu notre complète indépendance. Toutefois les germes du colonialisme et des intérêts privés étaient trop solidement enracinés, de sorte que, le 9 août de cette année, nous avons dû, avec beaucoup de tristesse, nous séparer de la Malaisie. Nous l'avons fait dans des conditions très amicales, comme on l'a vu à l'Assemblée générale quand le représentant de la Malaisie a patronné l'admission de Singapour à l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Nous l'avons remercié à ce moment-là et nous le remercions à nouveau. Notre amitié est réelle et, bien que nous ne puissions pas être unis maintenant, nous espérons que dans les dix années qui viennent nos deux Etats fusionneront à nouveau. Singapour veut être l'amie de tous ses voisins en Asie, surtout de la Malaisie, mais aussi de l'Indonésie.

103. Je voudrais parler enfin de l'excellent rapport présenté par le Comité spécial. Il faut en féliciter particulièrement le président et le rapporteur du Comité, ainsi que tous ses membres qui ont consacré énormément de temps et de travail à sa préparation. Il y a cependant une note discordante. Je veux parler de la lettre au Secrétaire général du 20 septembre 1965, par laquelle le représentant permanent du

Cambodge à l'Organisation des Nations Unies a annoncé, conformément aux instructions de son gouvernement, que le Cambodge avait décidé de se retirer du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. Les raisons invoquées par le Gouvernement du Cambodge sont: "...dictées par la constatation de l'inefficacité de toutes les recommandations déposées par ledit Comité sur la situation des peuples africains qui, malgré les résolutions de l'Assemblée générale des Nations Unies et du Conseil de sécurité, n'ont pu se libérer de la sujétion coloniale. Il apparaît, d'autre part, ainsi que le soulignait notre chef d'Etat, Son Altesse Royale le prince Norodom Sihanouk, que l'Organisation des Nations Unies est tragiquement impuissante à imposer les règles les plus élémentaires du droit international aux grandes puissances qui maintiennent ou qui étendent leur domination politique et économique sur d'autres pays et sur d'autres peuples." [A/5983.] Il va de soi que nous regrettons beaucoup la décision annoncée par le représentant permanent du Cambodge.

104. Je voudrais maintenant faire une proposition à l'Assemblée. Tout projet sérieux doit comporter une date d'achèvement. Dans le cas qui nous occupe, je recommande à l'Assemblée d'examiner la possibilité de fixer un délai à la libération de tous les pays coloniaux de toutes formes et manifestations du colonialisme. Je propose un délai de cinq ans à partir d'aujourd'hui. L'expiration de ce délai coïnciderait avec le vingt-cinquième anniversaire de l'Organisation des Nations Unies et avec le dixième anniversaire de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. Comme gage de son sérieux et de sa sincérité, Singapour se déclare disposée à assumer toute responsabilité que l'Assemblée voudra bien lui confier. Mon pays sait ce que c'est que d'être une colonie et désire sincèrement œuvrer pour la liberté d'autres peuples moins favorisés.

105. Avant de conclure, je voudrais recommander à l'Assemblée d'examiner la proposition suivante: si les moyens actuels du Comité spécial sont insuffisants ou si on estime qu'il est inefficace en quoi que ce soit, il faut prendre immédiatement des mesures, non seulement pour renforcer ses moyens si c'est nécessaire, mais aussi pour le revivifier de telle sorte qu'il puisse cette fois, sans aucun doute et dans le nouveau délai fixé, remplir sa mission complètement et parfaitement. Je me permets aussi de suggérer que cette proposition soit insérée dans toute résolution sur le colonialisme qui sera adoptée à la vingtième session de l'Assemblée générale, de façon que, quand nous nous réunirons dans cinq ans, cette question ait disparu de l'ordre du jour.

106. M. BOSCO (Italie): En prenant aujourd'hui la parole sur le point 23 de l'ordre du jour de l'Assemblée générale, je désire tout d'abord exprimer les remerciements de la délégation italienne à M. Sori Coulibaly, qui a dirigé avec beaucoup d'intelligence et de sagesse les travaux du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux au cours des deux dernières années. Je désire également adresser des

remerciements particuliers aux deux Vice-Présidents, M. Velázquez et M. Huot Sambath, ainsi qu'au Rapporteur, M. Natwar Singh, et à tous ceux qui ont contribué, par leurs efforts, au succès des travaux de ce comité.

107. L'Italie, qui a participé aux travaux du Comité des Vingt-Quatre et à la fructueuse mission qu'il a accomplie en Afrique, est heureuse d'avoir contribué au progrès de la décolonisation en offrant sa part d'idées et d'initiatives pour la réalisation des principes et des objectifs des Nations Unies dans ce domaine.

108. En l'année 1965, nous ne célébrons pas seulement le vingtième anniversaire de la fondation des Nations Unies, mais aussi le cinquième anniversaire de l'adoption par l'Assemblée générale de la résolution 1514 (XV), intitulée Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. Cette importante déclaration, adoptée sans aucun vote contraire, a marqué une étape décisive dans l'histoire des relations internationales, car elle a codifié et inclus parmi les normes fondamentales du droit international le principe de l'égalité de droits des peuples et de leur droit à accéder à l'indépendance politique sans discrimination d'aucune sorte.

109. L'histoire a démontré que la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux n'était pas une conception abstraite, et encore moins une théorie destinée à renverser l'ordre préexistant. En effet, nous avons tous pu constater avec satisfaction que, dans ces dernières années, plusieurs pays ont atteint leur indépendance d'une manière ordonnée et pacifique. Ils sont entrés dans la communauté des peuples libres et ils ont apporté aux Nations Unies des idées et des énergies nouvelles, ainsi qu'un enthousiasme renouvelé pour les idées qui favorisent le développement de relations amicales entre les nations. Il ne fait aucun doute que ceci représente un résultat positif de la politique de décolonisation, mais il me semble que cette politique doit encore être complétée sous deux aspects différents, notamment sous l'aspect politique et sous l'aspect économique et social.

110. Il faut constater que, même du point de vue politique, le processus de la décolonisation est encore inachevé. Dans une vaste région de l'Afrique existent encore des situations statiques qui ne semblent pas favorables aux aspirations à la liberté et à l'indépendance qui triomphent aujourd'hui dans le monde. Dans d'autres parties du monde, il y a des territoires où une évolution complète vers l'autodétermination et l'indépendance n'a pas encore eu lieu, bien que des développements prometteurs aient déjà été constatés.

111. L'Assemblée générale connaît bien ces problèmes et je ne crois pas qu'il soit nécessaire, à ce stade, de les exposer à nouveau dans leurs détails. Je saisis toutefois cette occasion pour confirmer l'adhésion du Gouvernement italien aux résolutions adoptées par l'Assemblée générale et aux décisions prises par le Conseil de sécurité au sujet de certains territoires dont la situation préoccupe profondément la conscience des peuples. Je me réfère aux territoires africains qui n'ont pas encore été mis en mesure d'exercer librement leur droit à l'indé-

pendance, et en particulier à ceux d'entre eux, comme le Sud-Ouest africain, où l'on applique la politique de l'apartheid, qui est incompatible avec les principes de la Charte et qui a été sévèrement condamnée par l'opinion publique mondiale.

112. Quant à la Rhodésie du Sud, après avoir déclaré ici, il y a quelques jours [1368ème séance], que la délégation italienne déplorait l'intolérable régime de privilège créé par l'initiative unilatérale d'une minorité insensible jusqu'ici aux appels des Nations Unies, je désire assurer l'Assemblée que mon gouvernement a immédiatement donné suite aux décisions adoptées par le Conseil de sécurité.

113. Pour ce qui est des territoires sous administration portugaise en Afrique, je tiens à réaffirmer que nous sommes favorables au libre choix des populations intéressées et que, partant, nous souhaitons une solution appropriée et conforme aux principes visés dans la résolution 1514 (XV) sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux.

114. En ce qui concerne les autres territoires qui sont encore sous le régime colonial, je voudrais adresser, au nom du Gouvernement italien, mes salutations les plus vives à trois pays qui sont à la veille de devenir indépendants: la Guyane britannique, le Betchouanaland et le Bassoutoland.

115. Je voudrais aussi attirer l'attention de l'Assemblée générale sur un problème qui a déjà été soulevé dans le passé et qui, au cours de cette session, a fait l'objet d'observations de la part de plusieurs délégations, y compris la délégation italienne, à la Quatrième Commission. Je me réfère au problème des "petits territoires" sous régime colonial, au sujet desquels les Nations Unies devraient formuler, à notre avis, une doctrine quant à leur avenir constitutionnel. L'étude de ce problème, soulevé aussi par le Secrétaire général dans l'introduction à son rapport annuel à l'Assemblée générale [A/6001/Add.1], devrait, tout en s'inspirant du principe de l'indépendance, prévoir la possibilité de grouper les petits territoires afin d'éviter une fragmentation excessive de la communauté internationale. L'examen préliminaire de cette question et des incidences politiques, économiques et constitutionnelles qu'elle soulève, pourrait être confié au Comité des Vingt-Quatre, car il est de sa compétence d'examiner toute question politique relative à la décolonisation.

116. En réalité, le problème de la décolonisation, qui a fait de grands progrès dans le domaine politique, se présente aujourd'hui sous une forme différente: celle de l'indépendance économique et financière des pays en question. Ce problème doit être résolu dans le cadre des principes de la solidarité internationale, qui sont à la base des relations entre les membres de la communauté internationale. Il s'agit, en fait, de dépasser le stade qui a été défini par le terme — inapproprié, peut-être, mais certainement significatif — de "néo-colonialisme"; il s'agit de "libérer du besoin" les pays qui ont récemment acquis l'indépendance et tous les peuples en voie de développement, ce qui constitue l'un des buts essentiels des Nations Unies. C'est pourquoi il faut rationaliser les formes d'assistance et améliorer le

niveau actuel de l'aide économique aux pays en voie de développement. Il deviendra toujours plus difficile d'empêcher, à l'avenir, le recours à la violence soit à l'intérieur des Etats, soit dans les relations internationales, si l'on ne réussit pas à renverser la tendance actuelle qui fait que le fossé existant entre les pays industrialisés et les pays en voie de développement s'approfondit de plus en plus.

117. Il faudrait donc intensifier les efforts des Nations Unies pour réaliser une politique d'assistance toujours plus concrète, efficace et constructive, qui fasse disparaître partout le spectre de la faim et de la misère. La tâche à confier aux Nations Unies est difficile et complexe; mais elle est néanmoins essentielle pour le prestige et pour l'existence même de l'Organisation, car le maintien de la paix ne peut être assuré si l'on ne parvient pas à favoriser le progrès économique et à instaurer de meilleures conditions de vie. Il faut donc poursuivre la décolonisation non seulement jusqu'à ce que le colonialisme politique ait disparu, mais aussi jusqu'à ce que le colonialisme économique ait cessé d'exister. Le jour où cet objectif aura été atteint, le monde sera plus proche de la paix que si tous les stocks d'armes nucléaires étaient détruits.

118. Le renforcement de la sécurité internationale dû au relèvement du niveau de vie des peuples qui sont encore soumis aux fléaux de la faim, de la misère et des épidémies permettra d'arriver plus facilement à la conclusion d'accords sur le désarmement, qui pourront permettre de consacrer des ressources toujours plus considérables aux peuples en voie de développement.

119. C'est pour ces raisons que la délégation italienne recommande instamment à tous les Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies d'intensifier tous leurs efforts afin que la décolonisation économique suive de près la décolonisation politique et que l'indépendance des nouveaux pays soit une réalité effective et fructueuse pour le bien-être de la société humaine tout entière.

120. M. CARRANCO AVILA (Mexique) [traduit de l'espagnol]: Par la Déclaration qui figure dans la résolution 1514 (XV), l'Assemblée générale réaffirmait sa conviction que tous les peuples ont un droit inaliénable à la liberté absolue, à l'exercice de leur souveraineté et à l'intégrité de leur territoire national, et elle reconnaissait que cette aspiration à la liberté est commune aux peuples de tous les territoires non autonomes.

121. Le Mexique, du haut de cette tribune, a soutenu depuis des années que la persistance de noyaux humains considérables, toujours privés du droit fondamental à l'autodétermination politique, ne peut que peser lourdement et d'une manière inquiétante sur les destins, de plus en plus solidaires, de tous les Etats, et particulièrement engager la responsabilité morale des Nations Unies. Aucune considération juridique, aucun argument fondé sur des contingences politiques ne pourront persuader les peuples, qui se sentent aptes à exercer leur droit à la souveraineté, qu'ils doivent renoncer à leurs aspirations ou accepter que la réalisation en soit différée.

122. Tout comme par le passé, nous restons fermement partisans de la liquidation du système colonial et nous croyons, à plus forte raison, que, dans ce processus d'une importance incalculable, dont dépendent le bien-être et le bonheur de millions d'êtres humains, l'Assemblée générale a pour devoir d'agir sans perdre de vue que l'indépendance, outre qu'elle constitue une fin en soi, est le moyen qui doit permettre aux peuples, grâce à l'exercice de la souveraineté, d'élever leur niveau politique, économique et social.

123. Pour accomplir cette œuvre immense, avec ordre et efficacité, un effort authentique est indispensable en vue d'assurer, conformément à la volonté librement exprimée par les peuples dépendants et avec la coopération sincère des Autorités administrantes, l'accession à bref délai des colonies et territoires sous tutelle à la vie indépendante, en tant qu'Etats souverains, capables de forger leur propre destin en toute liberté et de veiller à leur intégrité et à leur évolution future.

124. Les volumineux rapports que le Comité spécial chargé d'examiner la situation quant à l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et peuples coloniaux a consacrés aux travaux réalisés en 1964 et en 1965 nous présentent une étude portant sur quelque 60 territoires. Il y est tenu compte des derniers événements et des conditions particulières à chacun de ces territoires, l'objet étant d'y mettre pratiquement en vigueur la résolution 1514 (XV) et d'éviter les situations chaotiques, grâce à des mesures, règlements ou procédés à rechercher qui permettraient d'éliminer effectivement, dans chaque cas, le colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations.

125. La délégation du Mexique constate que des résultats encourageants ont été obtenus dans plusieurs territoires qui sont devenus, ces deux dernières années, Membres de notre Organisation, ainsi que dans certains autres qui sont sur le point d'accéder à la souveraineté et à l'indépendance. Mais nous partageons également les préoccupations du Comité lui-même lorsqu'il observe que la décolonisation n'avance pas, dans certaines régions, à un rythme satisfaisant.

126. La délégation du Mexique croit en outre opportun, et indispensable, de rappeler l'inquiétude qu'elle a manifestée à l'égard des méthodes que devait appliquer le Comité spécial: au cours de la dix-huitième session, le représentant du Mexique, qui participait au débat général sur cette question, demandait à l'Assemblée (1210ème séance, par. 119) de se préoccuper des problèmes dont le Comité était

saisi et de lui suggérer de nouvelles orientations pour ses activités. Maintenant que la Quatrième Commission a examiné, par une étude attentive et détaillée, certains chapitres des rapports du Comité, nous pouvons constater avec satisfaction que les nouvelles méthodes, auxquelles la délégation du Mexique attachait une importance considérable — à savoir la négociation directe et les bons offices —, sont régulièrement employées. Dans le cas des territoires dont l'avenir semble particulièrement sombre — territoires considérés comme Etats viables, mais dont les Puissances administrantes contestent la condition et se montrent obstinément réfractaires à l'opinion mondiale, le Comité reçoit des rapports utiles à l'information du Conseil de sécurité.

127. Le Comité peut être satisfait de son activité passée, mais la délégation du Mexique estime qu'il ne peut s'arrêter en un chemin qui sera long et difficile. Nous espérons que, dans ses travaux futurs, le Comité spécial gardera présente à l'esprit la résolution 1541 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale et poursuivra l'examen, entamé déjà, de la liste des territoires auxquels s'applique la Déclaration, ainsi que du problème important que le Secrétaire général consignait dans l'introduction à son rapport annuel pour 1964^{4/}. Il s'agit de l'avenir des petits territoires, ainsi dits, qui tombent sous le coup du paragraphe 5 de la Déclaration, lequel stipule: "... Des mesures immédiates seront prises ... pour transférer tous pouvoirs aux peuples de ces territoires sans aucune condition ni réserve ..."; il est précisé, néanmoins, que ce transfert doit se faire conformément aux vœux librement exprimés de ces peuples afin de "... leur permettre de jouir d'une liberté et d'une indépendance complètes".

128. A ce problème, délicat par lui-même, s'en ajoute un autre, non moins important. Il s'agit, on l'a dit, de celui que posent les enclaves d'empires en territoires étrangers. Ces enclaves sont les résidus des grands systèmes impériaux et elles affectent jusqu'à l'unité nationale ou l'intégrité territoriale de tel ou tel Etat.

129. La délégation du Mexique fait confiance, une fois de plus, à l'Assemblée générale pour donner les directives qui permettront au Comité spécial de mener à bien ses tâches futures.

La séance est levée à 15 h 25.

^{4/} Documents officiels de l'Assemblée générale, dix-neuvième session, Supplément No 1A (A/5801/Add.1), sect. XII.

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GÉNÉRALE**

VINGTIÈME SESSION

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107. M. BHUIYA (Pakistan) [traduit de l'anglais]: C'est avec des sentiments mêlés que ma délégation a étudié le rapport du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation coloniale. Certes nous nous réjouissons de voir que le mouvement historique de décolonisation se poursuit sans interruption vers ce but qu'est l'existence d'un monde libéré de toute trace de colonialisme, mais nous devons constater que ce but n'est pas encore atteint. Au Pakistan, nous ressentons de l'impatience à voir le rythme auquel se fait cette décolonisation.

108. Nous savons que l'Organisation des Nations Unies a joué un rôle important dans ce mouvement. Nous avons soutenu les efforts des Nations Unies, et nous avons contribué de toutes nos forces à cette action. Mais le fait de savoir qu'il y a, aujourd'hui encore, des territoires et des peuples qui attendent leur liberté complète pèse lourdement sur notre conscience. Le Pakistan a demandé à maintes reprises que ce processus de décolonisation soit accéléré et que l'Organisation des Nations Unies y joue un rôle des plus actifs. En conscience, nous sommes contraints d'exprimer notre mécontentement à constater que beaucoup de choses n'ont pas été faites qui pouvaient l'être, que de nombreuses mesures qui auraient pu être adoptées ou bien ne l'ont pas été au moment où il aurait fallu, ou bien ne l'ont pas été dans l'esprit qui aurait dû présider à leur adoption.

109. Sans cesse, devant cette Assemblée ou en dehors d'elle, le Pakistan a affirmé que la responsabilité de la communauté internationale ne cessera que le jour où les peuples en état de dépendance auront été libérés. Les puissances coloniales ont engagé dans ces pays des intérêts qu'elles trouvent difficile d'abandonner de bonne grâce. C'est pourquoi, très souvent, elles ont recours à toutes sortes de manœuvres pour conserver l'essentiel de leur domination tout en abandonnant l'apparence du pouvoir. On a nommé ce phénomène, d'une manière imagée, le néo-colonialisme. Nous nous réjouissons de savoir que l'existence de ces regrets réactionnaires d'un statu quo qui disparaît est en général connue des peuples dont les intérêts sont en jeu. Nous sommes prêts à lutter aux côtés de ces peuples pour, nous y opposer. Le néo-colonialisme n'est pas seulement l'ennemi des peuples qui viennent d'accéder à l'indépendance. C'est l'ennemi de tous les peuples aimant la liberté.

110. Le Pakistan veut faire en sorte que le mal qu'entraînerait cette méprisable conspiration soit épargné aux peuples encore privés de liberté. C'est pour cette raison que non seulement nous avons insisté pour que leur situation de dépendance cesse aussi rapidement que possible, mais encore pour que leur liberté, une fois obtenue, soit authentique. Nous ne voudrions pas que ces malheureux peuples passassent d'un état dans lequel ils sont ouvertement dominés à un autre dans lequel ils seront insidieusement exploités. L'étude du rapport a fait naître en nous

l'appréhension qu'il pourrait en être ainsi, quelque improbable que cette possibilité paraisse aujourd'hui. Il nous semble donc nécessaire d'en tenir compte dans nos débats sur la situation coloniale. Si nous ne nous occupons pas de ces tendances tout de suite, avant qu'elles aient pris le temps de s'affirmer, nous risquons de nous trouver devant des situations fort graves dans toutes les parties du monde. Une bonne méthode pour éviter cet écueil consiste, à notre avis, à accueillir avec scepticisme l'excuse habituelle présentée par les puissances coloniales, affirmant que tel territoire n'est pas prêt pour l'indépendance. Nous devons insister pour que, dans les quelques années qui viennent, toute trace de présence coloniale disparaisse complètement. Le représentant de Singapour, parlant hier de cet état de choses [1387ème séance], a suggéré de fixer une limite de temps. Le Pakistan approuverait lui aussi l'adoption d'une telle limite.

111. En ce qui concerne le Sud-Ouest africain et les autres bastions du colonialisme en Afrique, la position de ma délégation est claire et sans ambiguïté. Nous souhaitons que les Nations Unies, en tant qu'organisation, mettent en jeu les moyens de pression dont elles disposent, et prennent au besoin des mesures de coercition de nature extrême, pour mettre fin à cette situation intolérable. Nous estimons que l'état de choses qui règne dans ces territoires représente une agression permanente contre les peuples autochtones. De plus, à notre avis, cette agression constitue une menace grave pour la paix et la sécurité internationales car, à moins que l'on n'y porte rapidement remède, les peuples qui en sont victimes n'ont d'autre recours que la lutte armée et massive. Nous comprendrions parfaitement les raisons d'une telle lutte si elle devait éclater demain. C'est pourquoi nous avons insisté, et nous insistons encore, pour que l'Organisation des Nations Unies se montre à la hauteur de ses responsabilités et fournisse le remède aux peuples africains victimes de cette situation, les amenant à l'indépendance en application du principe fondamental de l'autodétermination.

112. La domination politique prend ses racines dans l'exploitation économique du peuple. Notre étude de la situation dans de nombreux territoires sous tutelle nous a donné des raisons de penser que les ressources naturelles de ces territoires étaient exploitées à un rythme alarmant. Nous ne croyons pas que le régime de tutelle ait été créé pour satisfaire la cupidité des puissances coloniales.

113. Conformément à la résolution 1803 (XVII) de l'Assemblée générale sur la souveraineté permanente sur les ressources naturelles, les propriétaires légitimes des richesses naturelles des territoires sous tutelle en sont les habitants. Nous sommes inquiets du rythme auquel ces richesses s'épuisent. La situation de dépendance dans laquelle se trouve un peuple ne donne à aucune puissance le droit de s'approprier ses ressources. Le fait même qu'à l'heure actuelle ces peuples soient incapables de se lever pour réclamer ce qui leur appartient impose à la communauté internationale l'obligation de sauvegarder leurs droits. Nous ne pouvons nous contenter de la situation actuelle de nombreux territoires. Le rapport du Comité spécial a eu le grand mérite d'attirer notre attention sur ce point.

114. Au vu de la situation révélée par le rapport, la délégation du Pakistan a présenté quelques propositions au cours des débats de la Quatrième Commission. Nous avons demandé que dans les renseignements relatifs à chacun des territoires sous tutelle figurent les statistiques portant sur l'exploitation des ressources naturelles et sur l'importance des avantages qu'en tirent effectivement les habitants de ces territoires. Nous avons clairement exposé que nous soutiendrons les demandes d'un peuple actuellement en état de dépendance et dépouillé de ses richesses si, à une époque quelconque, il demandait qu'on lui restituât ses richesses naturelles. Que l'on soit sûr que le Pakistan soutiendra ces réclamations sans réserve, et qu'il insistera pour qu'une indemnité convenable soit rapidement versée, y compris des dédommagements pour les torts précédemment subis. Nous pensons que ces demandes d'indemnisation devraient porter sur toute spoliation de ressources, et ne pas être nécessairement limitées à l'internationalisation des avoirs.

115. M. MOD (Hongrie): Il y a cinq ans — ou cinq sessions de l'Assemblée générale, si nous mesurons le temps au chronomètre des Nations Unies — se produisait dans le travail de l'Organisation des Nations Unies et dans la détermination de sa tâche le changement décisif grâce auquel l'Organisation s'est transformée d'un office chargé d'enregistrer les activités des puissances coloniales en un facteur international prenant une part active à la lutte contre ces activités.

116. L'histoire de l'adoption de la résolution 1514 (XV), les débats sur les résolutions adoptées depuis lors et sur leur application, tout cela montre que l'alliance des forces qui, au sein de l'Organisation, luttent contre le colonialisme est solide, parce qu'elle repose sur une base commune de principes. Elle gagne en vigueur d'année en année et étend sa lutte contre toutes les formes du colonialisme.

117. La lutte contre le colonialisme est une sphère d'activité où l'Organisation des Nations Unies a pu obtenir relativement de bons résultats. C'est précisément en considération de ce succès qu'il y a lieu de rappeler ce que le Ministre des affaires étrangères de mon pays, lors de la discussion générale de cette année, a précisé en ces termes:

"Depuis l'adoption, en 1960, de la Déclaration sur la liquidation du système colonial, on a maintes et maintes fois affirmé dans cette salle que tous les territoires coloniaux devraient avoir recouvré leur indépendance et leur souveraineté au moment de la vingtième session. Or, quelle est la situation actuelle? Non seulement on n'a pas liquidé toutes les survivances de l'ère coloniale, mais on a porté la guerre — une guerre coloniale par excellence — dans la péninsule indochinoise." [1350ème séance, par. 3.]

118. Il est un fait incontestable — et la preuve la plus simple en est que le nombre des Membres de l'ONU augmente d'année en année — que l'étendue géographique du colonialisme va diminuant. Malheureusement, on ne saurait en dire autant de tous ses autres aspects. Pendant les cinq années de luttes anticolonialistes et en ce qui concerne les différentes formes, ouvertes et déguisées, du colonialisme, les

Nations Unies ont amassé une quantité importante d'expériences dont l'analyse est l'une des conditions premières de la détermination des tâches ultérieures.

119. La première et la plus générale des questions auxquelles nous cherchons une réponse a été posée par le passage précité du discours du Ministre des affaires étrangères de la République populaire hongroise. La question pourrait être formulée d'une autre façon aussi: pourquoi, tout comme pour la question du désarmement, la lutte contre le colonialisme n'obtient-elle que des résultats partiels tandis qu'elle marque le pas autour des principaux objectifs?

120. Je voudrais essayer de répondre d'abord sur la base d'une analyse des différentes formes du colonialisme. Je commencerai par examiner la situation actuelle en ce qui concerne la forme dite classique de la colonisation. Nous pouvons examiner par exemple la situation soit en Angola ou au Mozambique, soit à Aden ou dans n'importe quelle autre colonie anglaise. Tous les éléments répugnants et révoltants de la colonisation classique y existent invariablement.

121. Voici quelques faits concernant les colonies portugaises: 99 p. 100 de la population autochtone est analphabète; dans certaines régions, la mortalité infantile atteint 60 p. 100; en Angola, 3,3 p. 100 seulement des enfants africains d'âge scolaire fréquentent l'école, et les cultivateurs de coton — dont le nombre est d'environ un million — ont un revenu moyen de 11,17 dollars par an et par personne. Un spécialiste occidental des plus qualifiés, bien au courant de la situation dans les colonies portugaises, a ceci à dire à ce sujet:

"... Le motif de la politique du Portugal en Afrique est resté à peu près le même: la conception de l'Africain comme pupille de l'Etat dont les pouvoirs tribaux et les valeurs doivent être remplacés par le pouvoir et les valeurs du Portugal; l'emploi sans discernement et même abusif des travailleurs africains; une indifférence apparente pour le bien-être physique et social des populations africaines; une indifférence égale pour leurs besoins dans le domaine de l'enseignement; l'exploitation de l'agriculture africaine et la promotion de l'agriculture des propriétaires blancs au détriment des droits fonciers et des intérêts des Africains; l'encouragement de l'immigration blanche, et la répression de l'insatisfaction africaine, réelle ou imaginaire, par l'emprisonnement, l'exil, les coups, la torture et même le meurtre. Ceci s'est fait dans le passé, se fait maintenant et les Portugais aimeraient le faire dans l'avenir^{2/}."

122. A la question de savoir pourquoi le Portugal veut continuer à régner par la force sur ses colonies africaines, une réponse partielle est donnée par le correspondant en Angola du Washington Post dans le numéro du 11 novembre 1965:

"On dit que le Portugal dépense jusqu'à 100 millions de dollars par an pour continuer la répression des rebelles dans ses colonies africaines. Mais cela semble payer ... Le Portugal, à l'aide d'une gestion rusée, a transformé une colonie dont les exportations

^{2/} James Duffy, Portugal's African Territories: Present Realities, New York, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1962, p. 12.

consistaient en huile de baleine depuis 55 ans en une abondante source d'argent et en un débouché de réserves pour les produits portugais."

123. Comme il ressort des débats du Comité spécial, les bénéfices commerciaux que le Portugal tire de ses colonies sont estimés à 150 millions de dollars par an. Selon le New York Times du 23 août 1965, "la guerre en Afrique s'est avérée une véritable bénédiction économique pour le Portugal métropolitain". Et qu'il me soit permis de citer une autre constatation dans le même sens: "Nous n'aimons pas y penser, mais la guerre a profité à l'économie et assuré à certains une grande prospérité." Cette dernière constatation a été faite par James Reston à propos de l'agression américaine au Viet-Nam du Sud, dans le New York Times du 24 novembre 1965.

124. Le motif essentiel des colonisateurs est donc resté le bénéfice matériel et l'exploitation des populations autochtones. Dans le monde actuel, cependant, un pays colonisateur ne peut et ne veut plus accomplir cette tâche à lui seul. Les intérêts des monopoles et des Etats s'entrelacent tellement qu'ils forment une brousse impénétrable de l'exploitation.

125. Pour éviter d'être accusé de parti pris, je vais maintenant citer un exemple relatif au Sud-Ouest africain. Dans son rapport appuyé d'un long répertoire de renseignements, le Comité spécial a constaté que le capital étranger occupait une place dominante dans l'économie du Sud-Ouest africain, que les compagnies étrangères n'avaient pas intérêt à ce que l'économie du territoire fût équilibrée et que les compagnies internationales soutenaient la politique annexionniste du Gouvernement sud-africain. Le rapport du Comité spécial précise que ces monopoles internationaux se préoccupent avant tout du profit et que, par conséquent, les bénéfices passent à l'étranger et ne sont pas investis là où ils ont été réalisés. Le paragraphe 172 du rapport indique que les sociétés minières et les établissements industriels appartiennent à des groupes financiers des Etats-Unis, du Royaume-Uni et de l'Afrique du Sud. Le Comité spécial constate enfin:

"De l'étude qui précède, on peut conclure que les activités des sociétés internationales au Sud-Ouest africain sont un des principaux obstacles à l'évolution du pays vers l'indépendance^{3/}."

126. Dans les colonies portugaises également, l'industrie, les transports et l'exploitation minière appartiennent à des groupes financiers des Etats-Unis, du Royaume-Uni, de la Belgique et du Portugal. Ces derniers temps, la participation du capital privé d'Allemagne de l'Ouest aussi monte en flèche.

127. Ces activités sont mises en lumière par les quelques chiffres suivants. Selon les données publiées dans le numéro d'août 1964 de Survey of Current Business^{4/}, le capital privé américain a réalisé et rapatrié, en 1963, 5,1 p. 100 de bénéfices sur ses investissements dans les pays du Marché commun européen, et 10,6 p. 100 sur ses investissements

en Amérique du Sud; selon les renseignements fournis par le numéro du 9 mars 1963 de France Observateur, les chiffres correspondants allaient de 20 p. 100 à 45 p. 100 pour l'Afrique méridionale.

128. Bien entendu, les groupes de capitaux d'Afrique du Sud ne se tiennent pas non plus à l'écart de l'exploitation des colonies portugaises. En conséquence, les deux gouvernements ont déjà entamé des négociations sur l'extraction et l'achat du pétrole angolais. Selon le Johannesburg Star du 1er août 1964:

"Si le bloc afro-asiatique réussissait à couper l'approvisionnement en pétrole de l'Afrique du Sud, qui est pour celle-ci d'une importance vitale, l'Angola pourrait la sauver... En cas d'embargo total, l'Angola pourrait fournir à l'industrie et à la défense sud-africaines suffisamment de pétrole pour leur permettre de survivre."

129. Il est notoire que le travail forcé est également répandu dans les colonies portugaises. En conséquence, les populations autochtones du Mozambique sont contraintes de travailler comme esclaves non seulement dans les colonies portugaises mais aussi dans le pays voisin de l'Afrique du Sud. Selon les renseignements fournis par le Front de libération du Mozambique, le Portugal envoie chaque année 100 000 ouvriers du Mozambique aux mines d'or du Transvaal. En échange, 45 p. 100 des produits du Transvaal sont transportés à travers Lourenço Marques. Comme les pétitionnaires l'ont relaté, l'Afrique du Sud paie au Gouvernement portugais 6 dollars par ouvrier et la moitié du salaire de chaque forçat pour les quatre premiers mois. Environ 200 000 autres ouvriers du Mozambique sont employés comme ouvriers industriels ou agricoles et comme domestiques en Afrique du Sud et en Rhodésie du Sud.

130. Des quelques exemples cités ci-dessus, on peut déjà conclure qu'un groupe de pays occidentaux a un intérêt, que l'on peut évaluer à plusieurs milliards, à ce que le statu quo ne change pas dans les territoires coloniaux. C'est dans ce but qu'ils s'unissent dans ce qui est connu, de par le monde, sous le nom d'Alliance impie. Sous quelque angle que nous examinons la question, nous rencontrons toujours le même groupe de pays, qui était à l'origine, à l'époque de la colonisation classique, le groupe des puissances coloniales, et qui, aujourd'hui, peut être symbolisé très brièvement par le nom de l'OTAN. En effet, il s'agit aujourd'hui d'une activité colonisatrice collective, plus précisément de l'activité colonisatrice de l'OTAN.

131. Dans cet empire commun de plusieurs milliards de dollars, des intérêts communs s'attachent au statu quo, et pour cette raison des efforts communs sont faits pour le maintenir. Comme le journal ouest-allemand Frankfurter Allgemeine l'écrivait:

"En dernière analyse, les Etats occidentaux doivent être en mesure de défendre leurs intérêts économiques et leurs investissements en Afrique."

Et en fait ils font tout pour les défendre.

132. Selon une information du New York Times du 3 mai 1965, l'Allemagne de l'Ouest a vendu au Portugal un grand nombre de fusils automatiques et 60 avions F-86 achetés au Canada. Le Gouverne-

^{3/} Voir Documents officiels de l'Assemblée générale, dix-neuvième session, Annexes, annexe No 15, document A/5840, par. 176.

^{4/} Revue publiée par le United States Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, Washington [D.C.].

ment canadien ayant élevé une protestation, Bonn lui a répondu en ces termes, d'après le Tagesspiegel, de Berlin-Ouest, en date du 17 février 1965:

"L'opinion prévaut à Bonn qu'il ne pourrait y avoir d'objection à la vente des avions, puisque le Portugal, tout comme la République fédérale d'Allemagne et le Canada, est un Etat membre de l'OTAN."

133. Pour compléter le tableau, citons encore une opinion portugaise tirée du journal Der Kurier-Der Tag, de Berlin-Ouest, en date du 18 février 1965:

"On a reçu du Ministère des affaires étrangères du Portugal l'information que l'Angola n'était pas une colonie mais faisait partie du Portugal. Le gouvernement ne pourrait donc pas accepter des règlements qui limiteraient l'utilisation des avions de combat à réaction."

134. Voilà ce que vaut la promesse des puissances occidentales selon laquelle leurs livraisons d'armes au Portugal ne seront pas utilisées contre les peuples d'Afrique.

135. La coopération militaire a aussi continué de se renforcer entre l'Afrique du Sud, la Rhodésie du Sud et le Portugal. Des négociations systématiques se poursuivent en la matière, et nombre de sources occidentales se réfèrent à l'existence d'un accord militaire secret. Les armes fournies au Portugal font d'ailleurs parfois un détour étonnant avant de parvenir à destination. Selon l'information déjà citée du Washington Post, par exemple, "l'équipement se compose, pour la plupart, de vieux excédents américains achetés au Brésil".

136. Voilà les faits. Mais leur importance dépasse de loin les frontières géographiques. Ils prouvent, par la force d'une logique irréfutable, que les principaux auteurs des guerres dites locales sont les puissances coloniales qui, en vue de consolider leurs intérêts matériels et leur pouvoir, ne se gênent pas pour livrer les pays éloignés aux flammes de la guerre et mettre en danger la paix et la sécurité internationales. C'est ce que le Portugal fait en Angola, le Royaume-Uni en Arabie du Sud, et c'est aussi ce que le Royaume-Uni, du fait de son indécision apparente, a rendu possible en Rhodésie du Sud. A vrai dire, c'est en conséquence de cette politique que les Etats-Unis, comme nouvelle puissance colonisatrice, sont entrés en scène au Viet-Nam du Sud, pour ne pas parler de l'Amérique latine.

137. La colonisation, poursuivie à l'aide de la force brute de la puissance militairement plus forte, a produit d'étranges excès au cours des temps. On peut citer, par exemple, le fait que le colonisateur ou l'ex-colonisateur revendique un droit aux ressources naturelles, à la terre labourée ou à l'usine bâtie grâce à la sueur et au sang des peuples coloniaux. Un autre exemple est l'idée absolument fausse que les colons blancs en Afrique méridionale ont plus de droits, aussi bien quantitativement que qualitativement, que les populations autochtones. C'est de cette idée fausse (qui, dans l'intérêt de l'humanité, doit être extirpée le plus tôt possible) qu'a procédé la présomption, le soi-disant droit, que la puissance en question peut, quand et où cela lui plaît, intervenir dans les affaires intérieures d'autres pays. Et pour cette raison même,

ce qui se passe au Sud-Est asiatique est une guerre coloniale par excellence.

138. Cette prétention illégitime du "propriétaire" colonisateur peut seule expliquer l'attitude que les Etats-Unis ont adoptée à la récente Conférence tenue à Rio de Janeiro^{5/} et que le New York Herald Tribune du 23 novembre 1965 décrivait, succinctement et pertinemment, de la façon suivante: "Nous disons à l'Organisation des Etats américains: combattez le communisme ou nous intervenons." Là comme au Sud-Est asiatique, nous nous heurtons à la manière de voir qui fait qu'une puissance prend toutes les autres pour ses propres colonies.

139. La vérité fondamentale est que, pour la liquidation du système colonial, la question de l'admissibilité de l'intervention dans les affaires intérieures des Etats est d'une grande actualité. Or, cette question, sur la proposition de l'Union soviétique, a été inscrite à l'ordre du jour [voir A/5977]. En vue de la liquidation de toutes les formes du colonialisme, il est nécessaire que l'Assemblée générale déclare, selon les termes du paragraphe 1 du projet de déclaration présenté par l'URSS [A/C.1/L.343], "que chaque Etat souverain, chaque peuple, a un droit inaliénable à la liberté et à l'indépendance et à la protection de sa souveraineté, et que ce droit doit être pleinement protégé".

140. Il s'agit là, en substance, du fait que certaines puissances essaient d'empêcher militairement et à l'échelle mondiale la liquidation du système colonial ainsi que le progrès social. On pouvait lire, dans un éditorial du New York Times du 3 juillet 1965:

"Les Etats-Unis aussi ont une réputation, qu'ils ont parfois méritée, de défenseurs du statu quo, du capitalisme tel que nous l'interprétons, de la démocratie sous sa forme bien de chez nous, de l'opposition aux réformes sociales qui viennent de la gauche, et de l'acceptation complaisante des coups d'Etat venant de la droite."

141. Cette attitude des Etats-Unis, qu'on la prenne comme un tout ou dans les détails, est diamétralement opposée non seulement à la Charte des Nations Unies, mais aussi aux principes fondamentaux de la lutte anticolonialiste, en vertu desquels les Nations Unies reconnaissent la légitimité de toutes les formes du combat que mènent les peuples coloniaux pour leur indépendance nationale.

142. Je pense qu'il est déjà possible d'essayer de définir la place qui revient au colonialisme dans la politique "globale".

143. Premièrement, le colonialisme a pour objet de procurer à bon marché des matières premières et des ressources en êtres humains.

144. Deuxièmement, le colonialisme vise à fournir à certains des "porte-avions" virtuels, pour qu'ils s'en servent comme l'ont fait la Belgique, le Royaume-Uni et les Etats-Unis avec l'île de l'Ascension, comme le Royaume-Uni le fait à Aden ou encore quand il installe une base militaire sur l'île Maurice, ou de la manière dont les Etats-Unis utilisent l'île de Guam

^{5/} Deuxième Conférence interaméricaine extraordinaire de l'Organisation des Etats américains, réunie du 17 au 30 novembre 1965.

comme base d'attaque pour les avions B-52 contre le Viet-Nam. Ces exemples, et d'autres que je m'abstendrai de mentionner, ont une caractéristique commune, à savoir que le colonisateur agit soit au mépris des vigoureuses protestations de la population, soit sans même consulter cette dernière.

145. Troisièmement, les colonisateurs tournent les notions d'intervention et de non-intervention, ce qui rappelle le manteau de la fable. C'est ainsi que la population de Porto Rico est devenue partie des Etats-Unis sans s'en apercevoir; c'est ainsi que le Royaume-Uni est intervenu en Guyane britannique parce que le gouvernement élu par le peuple ne convenait pas au vrai colonisateur, à savoir les Etats-Unis; c'est ainsi que le Royaume-Uni, encore, est intervenu à Aden, parce que, là-bas, c'est à lui que le gouvernement ne plaisait pas; par contre, en Rhodésie du Sud, le Royaume-Uni n'intervient pas, parce que la poignée de colons racistes et fascistes plaît à l'Alliance impie.

146. Avec le temps, l'activité des colonisateurs a subi certains changements. A l'heure actuelle, alors que la lutte se poursuit pour la liquidation complète du colonialisme, celui-ci, tout en maintenant ses formes classiques, s'est enrichi d'éléments nouveaux. Les puissances coloniales, qui avaient lutté les unes contre les autres, ont formé depuis lors l'Alliance impie des colonisateurs, poursuivant des objectifs communs, utilisant des moyens collectifs et ayant une autorité militaire collective: l'OTAN. A la présence physique s'est ajoutée — ou substituée — l'oppression économique par l'intermédiaire des monopoles internationaux. La discrimination raciale, qui est l'une des armes de la répression au service de la société capitaliste, remplit de nouveau, comme elle le faisait à l'époque hitlérienne, un rôle important, avec l'aide des colons blancs et de la politique d'apartheid. Le réseau de bases militaires enveloppant le globe entier, de Guam jusqu'à Gibraltar, est appelé à soutenir et maintenir le vieux système qui craque de toutes parts. Lorsque cela ne suffit pas, on procède au changement de gouvernement par la violence, on recourt à l'intervention militaire ou à la "guerre locale", comme cela s'est passé ou se passe encore en Guyane, à Aden, au Viet-Nam, en Angola ou en République Dominicaine; ou bien on recourt au sabotage des mesures effectives, comme dans le cas de la Rhodésie du Sud.

147. Voilà donc quelques caractéristiques du système colonial actuel. Que la méthode soit ancienne ou nouvelle, elle s'inspire toujours des mêmes motifs. Les faits le prouvent, en dépit de toutes les tentatives faites pour jeter de la poudre aux yeux du monde.

148. Il est facile de comprendre, après tout ce que je viens de dire, que ma délégation est en faveur de l'adoption d'une résolution condamnant toutes les formes du colonialisme et faisant un devoir aux Nations Unies de lutter contre elles.

149. Dans la situation actuelle, cependant, nous jugeons qu'il est particulièrement important d'attirer brièvement l'attention de l'Assemblée sur deux aspects de la question.

150. Le premier se rapporte au travail du Conseil de sécurité. Au cours de ces quelques dernières

années, le gros du travail du Conseil lui a été imposé par les tensions internationales dues à l'opposition manifestée à la liquidation du système colonial. Dans les résolutions qu'elle a adoptées sur les questions de l'Afrique du Sud, du Sud-Ouest africain, des colonies portugaises, de la Rhodésie du Sud et d'Aden, l'Assemblée générale constate formellement que la situation qui règne dans ces territoires est une menace à la paix et à la sécurité internationales. On peut en dire autant des bases militaires installées sur des territoires qui sont encore réduits par la violence à l'état de colonies, comme par exemple Aden ou Guam. Il serait donc bon que l'Assemblée générale recommande au Conseil de sécurité de s'occuper le plus tôt possible de cette question en général, étant donné que le maintien même du colonialisme constitue une menace à la paix et à la sécurité internationales.

151. L'autre aspect de la question a trait à l'une des activités les plus importantes de l'Assemblée générale: la protection des droits de l'homme. Les Nations Unies se fondent sur l'égalité souveraine des Etats Membres. Nous avons déjà reconnu que tout peuple, en tant que tel, a droit à l'indépendance nationale; mais nous n'avons pas, jusqu'ici, agi de façon assez conséquente pour assurer la protection des droits de l'homme sur les territoires coloniaux. En 1960, la Belgique commettait une agression au Congo en prétextant la nécessité de défendre les droits de ses ressortissants. On pourrait citer de nombreux autres exemples analogues qui montrent que les puissances occidentales commettent toute une série d'actes d'agression en prétextant de la nécessité de défendre les droits de leurs ressortissants à l'étranger. Mais, en même temps, les puissances coloniales foulent aux pieds, dans leurs propres colonies, les dispositions les plus élémentaires des déclarations et conventions adoptées par les Nations Unies sur les droits de l'homme. Pour ne citer qu'un exemple, l'encre n'a pas encore séché sur le texte final des premiers articles du projet de convention internationale sur l'élimination de toutes les formes de discrimination raciale qu'on en enfonce déjà, en Afrique, les dispositions pertinentes. En effet, les alinéas b et d de l'article 2 [A/C.3/L.1239] disposent que:

"Chaque Etat partie s'engage à ne pas encourager, défendre ou appuyer la discrimination raciale pratiquée par une personne ou une organisation quelconque;

"Chaque Etat partie doit, par tous les moyens appropriés, y compris, si les circonstances l'exigent, des mesures législatives, interdire la discrimination raciale pratiquée par des personnes, des groupes ou des organisations et y mettre fin."

152. Comme je viens de le démontrer, les sociétés capitalistes monopolisatrices des Etats-Unis, du Royaume-Uni, de la Belgique, de l'Allemagne de l'Ouest et du Portugal foulent aux pieds toutes ces dispositions. Les Nations Unies doivent contraindre les gouvernements en cause à faire respecter ces dispositions par leurs groupes financiers aussi, car elles les concernent également. On ne peut parler de réaliser les idéaux de la dignité humaine, de la liberté individuelle ou des droits de l'homme tant qu'ils ne seront pas mis également au service des populations autochtones des territoires colonisés.

Il n'est pas tolérable que les sublimes principes de la Déclaration universelle des droits de l'homme soient réduits à une rhétorique de propagande.

153. En terminant, je tiens à présenter au Comité spécial les félicitations de ma délégation pour le bon travail qu'il a accompli, et en particulier pour le succès des réunions qu'il a tenues en Afrique et pour les résolutions pertinentes et pleines de bon sens qu'il a adoptées.

154. M. BATCHI (Congo-Brazzaville): L'Organisation des Nations Unies vient de célébrer, tout récemment encore, son vingtième anniversaire, sans doute dans une certaine liesse, encore que les obligations contenues dans la Charte — cette charte qui est une œuvre à laquelle tous les peuples du monde ont apporté leur contribution — continuent d'être bafouées. L'Organisation des Nations Unies glisse lentement mais sûrement vers les mêmes profondeurs que la Société des Nations, cette organisation défunte qui a été incapable d'assumer ses hautes fonctions de garante de la liberté des peuples, de la paix et de la sécurité internationales.

155. A la lumière des événements qui secouent maintenant le monde, la déception semble de plus en plus grande chez les peuples d'Afrique qui, ayant souffert de la barbarie coloniale, de l'aliénation de leur personnalité, de l'exploitation scandaleuse des richesses de leur continent, de la politique d'extermination de leurs populations, étaient convaincus que l'Organisation des Nations Unies, après la vague d'indépendance de 1960, qui a été appelée l'année de l'Afrique, pourrait rétablir le règne de la vraie coopération internationale.

156. Aujourd'hui, tous les peuples d'Afrique s'inquiètent de la tournure des événements qui viennent de se produire, ce qui risque de détourner l'Organisation de ses responsabilités devant les ambitions de certains de ses Etats Membres dont les agissements deviennent contraires aux principes auxquels ils ont solennellement souscrit en ratifiant la Charte des Nations Unies. Les contradictions qui font échec à l'application des principes énoncés dans la Charte émanent tout d'abord des puissances qui manipulent l'Organisation des Nations Unies pour satisfaire leurs ambitions sanguinaires. Parmi ces puissances figure le Royaume-Uni, dont les doctrinaires des épopées coloniales comptent parmi les plus érudits que l'humanité ait connus. Le souvenir des grandes conquêtes de la colonisation britannique anime encore les esprits des dirigeants de Londres, qui rêvent de donner à leur puissance en voie d'effondrement une physionomie nouvelle.

157. En effet, le meilleur tableau de la colonisation britannique, la meilleure définition de l'orientation nouvelle de la politique coloniale de Londres, style XX^e siècle, nous ont été donnés ici par l'éminent représentant du Royaume-Uni en des termes très éloquents. Le Royaume-Uni, pour répondre aux recommandations de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, se félicite d'endosser encore la responsabilité de plus de 31 territoires non autonomes sur les quelque 67 qui ont été inventoriés. Le représentant du Royaume-Uni est fier de porter à la connaissance de l'Assemblée géné-

rale les mesures prises par son gouvernement afin de conduire les peuples qu'il subjugue encore à l'indépendance suivant, nous dit-il, un noble principe de la Grande-Bretagne: le principe du consentement du gouverné, ce principe étant le plus révolutionnaire — il voulait dire le plus démocratique en matière de décolonisation.

158. De telles déclarations à l'Assemblée générale font douter de la bonne foi des Anglais et de la volonté du Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni de consentir aux exigences d'un phénomène irréversible: la libération et l'octroi de l'indépendance aux peuples sous domination étrangère, principe inscrit en lettres d'or dans la Charte de l'Organisation.

159. Ma délégation a été très choquée par les paroles du représentant du Royaume-Uni et tient à déclarer que l'action du Royaume-Uni en matière de décolonisation est la plus confuse qui soit, parce que dépourvue de programme. Ainsi, la déclaration de lord Caradon [1386^e séance] ne saurait convaincre personne, en tout cas pas dans cette salle, si ce n'est lui-même et son gouvernement.

160. Par ces révélations du représentant du Royaume-Uni, l'opinion africaine aux Nations Unies a été informée à la source même, ce qui lui a permis de mieux saisir la politique que cette puissance entend suivre en se gardant d'exécuter les recommandations de la Déclaration, qui font l'objet du rapport du Comité des Vingt-Quatre [A/6000/Rev.1] actuellement en discussion.

161. Dès lors, nous pouvons comprendre comment, avec minutie, défiant la communauté internationale, le Royaume-Uni a préparé la Rhodésie à proclamer son indépendance, après l'Afrique du Sud, qui est aussi un "produit britannique". Le consentement des gouvernés ayant correspondu aux intérêts de la Puissance administrante, ces deux pays, à des dates différentes, ont accédé à l'indépendance sans coup férir. Londres se réjouit d'avoir ainsi accompli sa mission civilisatrice.

162. La responsabilité du Royaume-Uni, dans ce qu'on appelle en jargon diplomatique la "déclaration unilatérale d'indépendance de la Rhodésie", est illimitée. Le meilleur appui de Smith et des autres 230 000 cow-boys rhodésiens d'origine européenne se trouve avant tout à Londres et notamment au Parlement britannique, où des voix ne cessent de s'élever pour invectiver le gouvernement Wilson en ce qui concerne l'embargo contre la Rhodésie, donnant ainsi la meilleure preuve que les sanctions économiques préconisées par Londres — et que le chef de la diplomatie britannique s'est employé à grand fracas à étaler au Conseil de sécurité pour le convaincre — ne sont que du "bluff à l'anglaise". Le Royaume-Uni est le seul à s'honorer d'avoir atteint son objectif dans sa politique rhodésienne. Les préparatifs remontent à 1923 pour s'achever en 1961, date de la Constitution accordant l'exercice du pouvoir à la minorité raciste du capitaine Smith.

163. Par conséquent, la visite de M. Stewart à New York ne s'inscrit que dans le cadre des tournées habituelles qu'un homme d'affaires doit effectuer pour s'entretenir avec ses partenaires et donner toute assurance à ces derniers que le chiffre d'affaires

des compagnies étrangères installées en Rhodésie ne sera pour autant perturbé, malgré la déclaration d'indépendance des autorités investies par la Constitution de 1961, constitution elle-même renouvée le 11 novembre 1965.

164. Un autre argument avancé par le Royaume-Uni et qui porte sur la non-utilisation des mesures militaires pour réduire la rébellion, si celle-ci constitue réellement un affront à la Couronne, est qu'Ian Smith est un héros de la dernière guerre et que, par conséquent, les troupes britanniques ne peuvent pas être utilisées pour s'opposer à d'autres troupes britanniques, celles basées en Rhodésie. En termes plus clairs, le Royaume-Uni reconnaît de facto le gouvernement Smith et les problèmes entre les différentes communautés rhodésiennes relèvent "des affaires intérieures de la Rhodésie". Voilà l'application littérale du principe du consentement des gouvernés tel qu'il nous a été expliqué par le représentant du Royaume-Uni, ce pays, pourtant, au noble passé démocratique.

165. Tout en se gardant de faire allusion à l'organisation des armées de la seconde guerre mondiale, les pays coloniaux, en tout cas, se souviendront très certainement que les troupes d'outre-mer ont joué un rôle digne d'éloges dans la liquidation du fascisme et du nazisme en Europe, une Europe déchirée par une guerre atroce dont certains épisodes émouvants demeurent encore dans les mémoires des mêmes puissances qui, hier victimes et implorant l'aide des soldats africains, préparent à présent l'opinion internationale à d'autres rêves d'hégémonie militaire et économique, faisant ainsi courir à l'humanité le risque d'une autre conflagration, plus effroyable puisque atomique.

166. Pour une cause qui n'était pas la leur — et ici je ne fais pas de distinction entre les troupes coloniales —, les contingents africains ont sauvé, grâce à leurs armées respectives, ce qui hier encore s'appelait dans la littérature coloniale "la mère patrie". Les anciens combattants, parmi lesquels plusieurs blessés de guerre même s'ils n'ont pas, comme Smith, piloté d'avions militaires, témoignent bien de leur valeur aux combats, surtout quand on pense que, très souvent, ces soldats luttent dans des conditions de climat impossibles, servant de chair à canon aux armées hitlériennes et autres.

167. La contribution de l'Afrique à la paix honore ce continent contre lequel l'Occident, aujourd'hui, braque ses mitraillettes les plus meurtrières en récompense des services rendus à la libération d'une Europe ensanglantée.

168. Ainsi, en signe de reconnaissance à l'Afrique, Londres a offert le cadeau rhodésien, qui a été envoyé au moment même de la célébration du cinquième anniversaire de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, adoptée par l'Assemblée générale le 14 décembre 1960 [résolution 1514 (XV)].

169. L'OTAN, où figurent la plupart des puissances colonialistes et impérialistes, constitue une force contre le progrès, notamment le progrès des pays d'Afrique, d'Asie et d'Amérique latine. Dans le cadre du présent débat, il est à déplorer que les pays mem-

bres de l'OTAN s'évertuent encore à subjuguer plus de 67 territoires non autonomes représentant environ 45 millions d'habitants.

170. Une analyse, aussi brève soit-elle, permet de déterminer que, dans l'histoire des peuples, chaque membre de l'OTAN a été directement ou indirectement à l'origine d'un conflit armé, en Europe, surtout, et même ailleurs. Cette union des agresseurs donne évidemment une situation géographique précise des foyers d'agression dans le monde. Si le lieu géométrique de toutes ces agressions est constitué par l'océan qui a donné son nom à ladite organisation, on peut comparer l'OTAN à un monstre hideux, aux élucubrations humanitaires et "altruistes", mais dont les tentacules sèment la mort et le désordre en Afrique, en Amérique latine et en Asie.

171. Dès lors, on comprend plus aisément le rôle des bases militaires installées dans les régions stratégiques: Guam, Aden, Ascension, Gibraltar et autres. Il est évident que chacune de ces bases a déjà joué son rôle soit pour des entreprises communes ou individuelles, soit pour des opérations dites humanitaires du genre de l'exploit anglo-américano-belge de Stanleyville, de la suspension de la Constitution en Guyane britannique et à Aden, ou de la guerre coloniale au Viet-Nam.

172. Fidèle à la tradition anti-impérialiste du pays que j'ai l'honneur de représenter, ma délégation tient à réaffirmer devant toutes les autres délégations directement intéressées d'Asie et d'Amérique latine que le Congo (Brazzaville) soutient et soutiendra tous les mouvements de libération, où qu'ils aient lieu. Mais une vue d'ensemble de la situation en ce qui concerne les territoires non autonomes nous montre que, parmi les territoires recensés et figurant dans le rapport du Comité des Vingt-Quatre, ceux d'Afrique comptent malheureusement pour une très grosse part et que, par conséquent, la résolution sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux revêt une importance particulière pour l'intégrité de ce continent.

173. Les délégations du Mali et de la Tanzanie ont défini très clairement la politique à appliquer aux territoires petits tant du point de vue de l'étendue que de celui de l'importance démographique. Ma délégation voudrait s'associer aux paroles des représentants de ces deux délégations à propos des petits territoires, tout en faisant également siennes les remarques et conclusions du rapport du Comité des Vingt-Quatre ayant trait à l'avenir de ces territoires.

174. A ce stade de la discussion sur les territoires non autonomes, tournons-nous vers l'Afrique où, après la Rhodésie, au sujet de laquelle j'ai déjà donné il y a un instant le point de vue de ma délégation, les territoires sous administration portugaise et le Sud-Ouest africain sont le point de mire de la presse internationale, et où des événements sanglants endeuillent ce continent, alors qu'aux Nations Unies on disserte sur le principe de l'autodétermination des peuples, volontairement accepté par le Portugal et l'Afrique du Sud, qui s'arrogent le privilège d'appartenir à l'Organisation.

175. Quant au Portugal, ce petit territoire de 90 000 kilomètres carrés, sans doute l'un des plus pauvres d'Europe, en tout cas le plus pauvre des pays membres de l'OTAN, il contrôle encore en Afrique un vaste empire colonial de 2 110 000 kilomètres carrés et de plus de 12 millions d'habitants. Ses provinces dites portugaises de l'Angola, du Mozambique et de la Guinée Bissau contribuent pour plus de 80 p. 100 à son économie.

176. Cette situation anachronique, à cette étape de l'histoire des Nations Unies, inquiète au plus haut point les Africains en général, en particulier ceux dont les frontières voisinent avec les territoires sous administration portugaise. Et comment ne pas s'alarmer quand on pense que qui dit "Portugal" dit "OTAN", et qu'"OTAN" fait immédiatement songer à une agression et à une menace dangereuse pour la paix en Afrique?

177. De ces territoires, deux: l'Angola et le Mozambique, sont situés dans une région qui passe pour être une chasse gardée et où les derniers soubresauts de l'impérialisme entraînent parfois des situations complexes, dangereuses pour l'indépendance et la sécurité des pays souverains limitrophes.

178. Les richesses considérables qui inondent cette partie du continent africain aiguissent les visées tentaculaires des milieux économiques capitalistes et monopolistes qui sont choqués de constater que l'Afrique pourrait, grâce à une utilisation plus rationnelle de ses propres richesses, par ses propres moyens, se soustraire à l'exploitation à laquelle se livrent les sociétés internationales implantées dans ces régions.

179. Dans tous les pays d'une région allant du golfe de Guinée au canal de Mozambique, l'action des monopoles étrangers, le rôle prépondérant des compagnies minières internationales constituent le principal obstacle à l'indépendance des pays qui s'y trouvent.

180. Le Portugal, assuré du soutien militaire de ses partenaires de l'OTAN, n'a cessé de défier l'Organisation des Nations Unies, la rendant ainsi inapte à appliquer les mesures prévues par la Charte pour faire face à de telles situations. Le comportement du Portugal, en violation flagrante de la Charte, ne saurait être interprété autrement qu'une agression contre l'Organisation des Nations Unies, ce qui implique nécessairement la prise de sanctions, comme il est indiqué au Chapitre VII de la Charte. La moindre de ces mesures, en tout cas, de l'avis de ma délégation, pourrait consister par exemple en l'exclusion du Portugal de l'ONU. Le Portugal, doté de moyens économiques très réduits, pays dont les principales ressources sont le vin et le liège, consacre plus de 200 millions de dollars pour entretenir un corps expéditionnaire en Angola, au Mozambique et en Guinée dite portugaise. Aux yeux du monde entier, il semble qu'une telle aventure dépasse les possibilités réelles d'un pays incapable de résoudre les graves problèmes relatifs au développement de son propre territoire. Toutes ces constatations nous obligent donc à admettre que sans l'aide militaire et financière de ses partenaires de l'OTAN, le Portugal aurait été contraint à appliquer les résolutions que les Nations Unies ne cessent d'adopter

et qui ont trait aux territoires dont il assume encore l'administration.

181. Il y a plus: l'existence d'une triple alliance militaire dans cette partie du continent africain avec comme partenaires réels le Portugal, l'Afrique du Sud et la Rhodésie révèle la situation explosive que ces forces aux visées expansionnistes s'efforcent de faire régner sous le fallacieux prétexte de l'anti-communisme, tout en préparant et perpétrant le génocide.

182. Les déclarations des représentants des Etats-Unis et du Royaume-Uni dénotent la complicité de ces Etats dans leur soutien de la politique rétrograde du Portugal et de ses deux alliés, et nul n'ignore à présent que les programmes de Smith, Salazar et Verwoerd, dans cette partie méridionale du continent, visent: premièrement, l'expropriation systématique des territoires aux mains des Africains; deuxièmement, l'extermination des populations autochtones, comme cela s'est produit d'ailleurs dans certaines parties devenues aujourd'hui les plus développées du monde sur le plan économique; troisièmement, l'implantation de compagnies minières très prospères, à gestion et administration extérieures au continent.

183. En ce qui concerne la situation dans le Sud-Ouest africain, ma délégation déplore l'inefficacité des Nations Unies qu'indique l'abondance des résolutions adoptées, et se prononce pour une solution concrète devant mener immédiatement le peuple zimbabwe à l'indépendance et à la souveraineté internationale.

184. Etant donné la prudence des puissances dont les intérêts économiques dans le Sud-Ouest africain semblent le seul obstacle aux mesures préconisées par les Nations Unies pour la libération complète de ce territoire, il importe que les Nations Unies fassent preuve de plus de réalisme devant la situation qui y existe. Les mesures à prendre consisteraient en: 1) la suppression du Mandat pour le Sud-Ouest africain; 2) l'élaboration d'une constitution tenant compte des aspirations et des désirs profonds des populations du territoire dans leur ensemble; 3) l'installation d'un gouvernement de transition; 4) l'organisation d'élections sur la base du suffrage universel, en vue de l'établissement définitif des institutions dont le Sud-Ouest africain sera doté; 5) la fixation de la date de l'indépendance de ce territoire.

185. La délégation du Congo (Brazzaville) rend hommage au Comité des Vingt-Quatre pour le précieux travail qu'il a réalisé, conformément au mandat qui lui avait été confié par l'Assemblée générale. Les conclusions de son rapport sur chacun des territoires visés par la résolution 1514 (XV) constituent une base de solution à tous les problèmes relatifs à l'indépendance de ces territoires.

186. L'Assemblée générale, en examinant le rapport du Comité des Vingt-Quatre, devrait sans trop tarder concevoir une politique nouvelle de décolonisation pour faire admettre les principes de la Charte par les puissances ayant encore sous leur administration un certain nombre de territoires.

187. Dans l'ensemble, il appartient à l'Organisation des Nations Unies de créer une commission spéciale

qui serait chargée de fixer la date de l'accession à l'indépendance des territoires qui font l'objet de la présente discussion.

188. Avant de terminer, ma délégation voudrait lancer un vibrant appel à l'Organisation des Nations Unies et au Conseil de sécurité pour les inviter à sortir de leur immobilisme fatal. Selon un article, daté du 24 novembre 1965, paru dans le Monde du 25 novembre:

"Trois jours seulement après leur échec dans l'affaire rhodésienne, les Africains viennent d'en subir un second, au Conseil de sécurité, sur la question des sanctions économiques contre le Portugal."

Nous lisons plus loin dans le même journal:

"Les Africains ne doivent compter que sur eux-mêmes. Il faut reconnaître en revanche qu'en refusant de voter toute mesure de sanction contre le Portugal, y compris l'embargo sur les envois d'armes, les puissances occidentales ont agi pour une fois avec plus de franchise qu'elles n'ont l'habitude de le faire. Leur vote d'hier" — il s'agit évidemment du vote sur les territoires sous administration portugaise — "caractérise fort bien l'état d'esprit qui règne en Occident au sujet des derniers problèmes de décolonisation qui se posent toujours en Afrique. Il se peut qu'on sympathise avec les demandes africaines, qu'on condamne le principe de l'apartheid et le régime de M. Ian Smith, qu'on trouve ridicule que le Portugal, pauvre et arriéré, soit le seul pays à s'obstiner à vouloir conserver des colonies en Afrique ... il n'en reste pas moins

que l'immense majorité des Américains et des Européens ne sont pas du tout désireux de voir leurs pays engagés dans des opérations aussi compliquées et délicates que le seraient un boycottage économique du Portugal ou un blocus de la Rhodésie, opérations qui poseraient l'une et l'autre d'innombrables problèmes juridiques, économiques et politiques.

"La politique menée depuis plusieurs années à l'ONU par les pays africains en vue de contraindre les pays occidentaux à prendre des mesures contre "les vestiges du colonialisme" en Afrique — parce qu'ils n'étaient pas en mesure de le faire eux-mêmes — n'a pas donné de résultats positifs. Certes, ils peuvent se vanter d'avoir obtenu certains succès contre le colonialisme français ou anglais ...

"En revanche, contre les dictatures du type portugais ou sud-africain, l'ONU se révèle impuissante. Pour achever la décolonisation de leur continent, les Africains ne devront compter dorénavant que sur leurs propres forces. Telle est la conclusion qu'il leur faut tirer du double échec qu'ils viennent de subir à l'occasion des votes de samedi dernier sur la question rhodésienne et d'hier mardi sur les colonies portugaises."

189. C'est pour cette raison que ma délégation invite tous les pays épris de liberté et de paix à apporter une aide très efficace aux Etats africains afin de mettre en application les décisions qui sont en train d'être prises à Addis-Abéba à l'heure où nous nous égosillons dans cette salle.

La séance est levée à 18 h 15.

Nations Unies ASSEMBLÉE GÉNÉRALE

VINGTIÈME SESSION

Documents officiels



1389^e
SÉANCE PLÉNIÈRE

Lundi 6 décembre 1965,
à 15 heures

NEW YORK

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Application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux: rapports du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux (suite).

1

Président: M. Amintore FANFANI (Italie).

POINT 23 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

Application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux: rapports du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux (suite)

1. Le PRÉSIDENT: Je voudrais attirer l'attention de l'Assemblée sur le rapport de la Cinquième Commission [A/6134] qui concerne les incidences financières des recommandations du Comité spécial telles qu'elles apparaissent au paragraphe 109 du chapitre premier du rapport du Comité [A/6000/Rev.1].

2. M. MAGHERU (Roumanie): Il y a 20 ans, les participants au cinquième Congrès panafricain déclaraient:

"Nous sommes décidés à être libres... Nous allons obliger le monde à écouter la relation de notre condition. Nous allons lutter en employant tous les moyens dont nous disposons pour la liberté, pour la démocratie et pour l'amélioration sociale 1/."

3. Cette déclaration fut suivie d'actions courageuses et les peuples d'Afrique, de même que ceux des autres continents qui ont accédé à l'indépendance avec l'appui de toutes les forces anticolonialistes, ont mis fin au joug colonial, faisant de la sorte entrevoir le moment où, dans un proche avenir, le colonialisme sera complètement aboli.

4. L'Organisation des Nations Unies s'est située du côté des peuples colonisés en adoptant, il y a cinq ans, la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. L'activité ultérieure de l'Organisation et l'adoption de recommandations ayant trait à l'application de la Déclaration ont provoqué un grand écho parmi les peuples des colonies, qui y ont trouvé un appui dans leur lutte pour l'abolition de la domination étrangère.

5. Cinq ans ont passé, disions-nous, depuis l'adoption de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. Cependant, près de 50 millions d'hommes continuent à vivre dans un grand nombre de territoires dépendants. La situation actuelle de ces territoires confirme une fois de plus les méfaits de la domination coloniale, qui prive les peuples dépendants de leurs droits les plus élémentaires.

6. L'exploitation des richesses naturelles et des ressources humaines des territoires coloniaux, l'application d'une législation discriminatoire, les mesures répressives prises contre ceux qui luttent pour la libération nationale, les guerres menées contre les peuples qui demandent l'octroi de leurs droits légitimes, tout cela entrave encore leur progrès économique, politique, social et culturel, et ce sont autant d'éléments de profonde inquiétude pour la communauté internationale.

7. La situation de l'Angola, du Mozambique, de la Guinée dite portugaise, de la Rhodésie du Sud, d'Aden et du Sud-Ouest africain fait depuis plusieurs années l'objet des principales discussions au sein de l'Organisation, tant à l'Assemblée générale qu'au Conseil de sécurité. La détérioration continue de la situation de ces territoires a engendré des dangers réels pour la paix et la sécurité internationales.

8. En ce qui concerne les petits territoires habités par des populations peu nombreuses, le fait que les puissances administrantes n'appliquent pas les dispositions de la Déclaration sur la décolonisation constitue également un danger en germe qui peut donner lieu à des complications internationales. Au cours de cette année, certaines puissances coloniales ont rendu publiques leurs intentions de renforcer leurs positions dans ces territoires, pour pouvoir les utiliser tout particulièrement à des fins stratégiques. Par exemple, M. Cooper, membre de la Chambre des communes britannique, a exprimé les idées suivantes, qui ne sont certes pas isolées:

"Nos bases de l'Extrême-Orient sont vulnérables... De concert avec les Etats-Unis, l'Australie et la Nouvelle-Zélande, il faudrait créer une ou des bases réelles qui ne soient pas vulnérables et dont nous ne puissions être rejetés. De telles bases devraient probablement se situer dans le nord de l'Australie ou de la Nouvelle-Zélande, ou dans toutes autres fies en régions qu'on estimerait appropriées 2/."

9. Les nouvelles tentatives s'ajoutent aux arrangements déjà existants pour l'utilisation des petits territoires coloniaux à des fins stratégiques. Il nous suffit

1/ H. Kohn et W. Sokolsky, *African Nationalism in the Twentieth Century*, Princeton (New Jersey), D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1965, p. 29.

2/ Voir *Parliamentary Debates (Hansard)*, House of Commons, Official Report, vol. 716, Londres, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, col. 1389.

de donner deux exemples. Conformément à la déclaration du 11 février 1965, faite par le Secrétaire d'Etat aux colonies du Royaume-Uni, les Etats-Unis ont le droit de maintenir des bases aériennes et navales dans les sept territoires anglais suivants de la région des Antilles: Antigua, Barbade, Sainte-Lucie, îles Turques et Caïques, Bermudes, Bahamas et la Guyane dite anglaise. Tout récemment, l'Assemblée générale a été saisie du problème de la constitution de bases à l'île Maurice.

10. L'existence de bases militaires dans les territoires coloniaux est, pour les populations de ces territoires, un sérieux obstacle à la libre expression de leur volonté concernant leur statut politique. Les plans qui envisagent la création de nouvelles bases dressent des obstacles supplémentaires à la mise en œuvre de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux et engendrent de nouveaux dangers pour la souveraineté des pays déjà indépendants.

11. Le refus des puissances administrantes de prendre des mesures immédiates pour transmettre le pouvoir aux populations des colonies s'explique également par le désir de ces puissances coloniales de continuer l'exploitation des richesses de leurs colonies. Le Sous-Comité I du Comité des Vingt-Quatre, qui a étudié les incidences de l'activité des compagnies étrangères dans les territoires se trouvant sous administration portugaise, est arrivé à la conclusion suivante:

"b) Les intérêts étrangers, économiques et autres, appuient directement ou indirectement le colonialisme portugais, qui leur permet d'exploiter les ressources humaines et naturelles de ces territoires et d'en tirer bénéfice;

"c) Les intérêts étrangers, économiques et autres, qui exercent leur activité dans les territoires administrés par le Portugal en Afrique, ainsi que le Gouvernement portugais, portent la responsabilité des souffrances de la population de ces territoires." [A/6000/Rev.1, chap. V (2ème partie), par. 275.]

12. Le Comité spécial est arrivé à une conclusion similaire en ce qui concerne l'étude portant sur l'activité des monopoles étrangers au Sud-Ouest africain. L'étude, ainsi qu'il ressort du rapport du Comité à ce sujet, "nous permet de conclure que l'activité des compagnies internationales dans le Sud-Ouest africain constitue l'un des principaux obstacles à l'acheminement du pays vers l'indépendance"^{3/}.

13. L'ensemble de ces intérêts complexes des puissances coloniales est à la base de l'appui que ces puissances s'accordent mutuellement pour maintenir leurs positions dans les territoires coloniaux.

14. Dans l'étude intitulée "L'ascension et la chute du colonialisme occidental", on montrait que:

"Il est maintenant absolument évident que le colonialisme approche à pas rapides de sa fin. Quelques problèmes doivent encore être résolus, notamment ceux soulevés par les colonies qui ont été sous la domination des colons blancs. Mais il est

peu probable que les colonies encore existantes, peut-être même les colonies portugaises d'outre-mer, survivent à la fin de cette décennie^{4/}."

15. En effet, l'écroulement du système colonial est arrivé à son dernier stade. Les peuples rejettent la domination coloniale sur les territoires où la résistance des colonialistes se manifeste de la manière la plus acharnée.

16. Il nous est possible, à cette étape, d'avoir une vue d'ensemble des caractéristiques et de la situation des territoires dépendants. Les principaux centres de la résistance à la décolonisation se trouvent, en premier lieu, en Afrique, où un bastion de la domination raciste blanche est en voie d'être institué. Une sorte de cordon sanitaire à domination européenne, comprenant les colonies portugaises de l'Angola et du Mozambique, a été complété par l'instauration du régime raciste de la Rhodésie du Sud, auquel le Royaume-Uni a livré graduellement tout le pouvoir, y compris les forces armées.

17. Le régime de l'Afrique du Sud, promoteur de l'apartheid, donne tout son appui à cette barrière colonialiste sur le continent africain et en constitue même le noyau.

18. Ce n'est pas un hasard que ces pays sont riches en gisements de minerais précieux: or, diamants et autres, qui trouvent leurs principaux acheteurs à Londres et à New York.

19. Ce bastion de fanatiques blancs bien armés constitue une véritable menace pour les pays africains libres. Cette menace est actuelle et est clairement visée par les dispositions du Chapitre VII de la Charte. L'expérience des 30 dernières années nous apprend que ces centres de résistance raciste mènent tôt ou tard à l'agression. Mais là n'est pas le seul danger pour les pays africains libres. Les colonies anglaises, portugaises et autres, parsemées sur les côtes africaines, constituent des avant-postes des colonialistes qui complètent le bastion sud-africain.

20. En second lieu, les colonies d'Arabie du Sud, des Antilles, et la Guyane britannique, ainsi que les îles du Pacifique, de l'océan Indien et de l'Atlantique, constituent des bases, des ports d'attache qui enserreraient tous les continents et complètent les bases que les pays impérialistes ont réussi à obtenir, à une époque troublée, sur le territoire des pays indépendants. L'histoire de ces dernières années a prouvé que ces bases constituent aussi des points d'appui pour des actes d'agression impérialiste contre les pays indépendants, telle l'agression des Etats-Unis contre l'Etat libre du Viet-Nam.

21. L'Organisation des Nations Unies doit intervenir d'une manière ferme et efficace pour appuyer les peuples qui continuent d'être privés du droit sacré de disposer de leur sort. Partant de cette notion, la délégation roumaine estime que le présent débat pourrait aboutir à l'élaboration de certaines recommandations qui viendraient soutenir la lutte menée par les peuples colonisés.

^{3/} Voir Documents officiels de l'Assemblée générale, dix-neuvième session, Annexes, annexe No 15, document A/5480, par. 176.

^{4/} S. C. Easton, *The Rise and Fall of Western Colonialism*, New York, Frederick A. Praeger, 1964.

22. Il faudra que l'Assemblée générale formule des recommandations qui correspondent à la volonté librement exprimée de la population de chaque territoire ou y souscrive. A cet effet, il faudra de nouveau recommander aux puissances coloniales de créer des conditions qui permettent aux populations des territoires colonisés d'exprimer librement leur volonté.

23. La délégation roumaine est également d'avis qu'il faut examiner avec toute l'attention qui s'impose la suggestion faite au cours de la présente session par le représentant de la République du Mali [1385ème séance] au sujet de l'opportunité d'établir des relations directes entre le Comité des Vingt-Quatre et les populations des territoires colonisés. D'ailleurs, des propositions similaires ont été présentées par d'autres délégations.

24. Le second point, qui devrait être examiné dans le cadre de ce débat, est l'urgence de l'application des dispositions de la Déclaration. La résolution [1514 (XV)] adoptée en 1960 et les résolutions ultérieures de l'Assemblée générale, de même que d'importants documents adoptés dans d'autres conférences internationales, par exemple les réunions de l'Organisation de l'unité africaine et la Conférence du Caire des pays non alignés tenue en octobre 1964, ont souligné l'urgence de l'abolition du système colonial. Il est évident que les Nations Unies, qui examinent chaque année le stade atteint dans la mise en vigueur de la Déclaration, devront préciser plus explicitement le terme "urgent", lui donnant une acception plus concrète.

25. De même, nous considérons que la préoccupation de l'Organisation des Nations Unies à l'égard des cadres nationaux des territoires dépendants devrait être plus intense. Nous nous référons à la nécessité de se préoccuper davantage de la sauvegarde des dirigeants et des membres du mouvement de la libération nationale, qui pourront devenir demain les chefs et les cadres des nouveaux Etats indépendants.

26. Au fond, si l'ONU a demandé aux puissances administrantes de prendre des mesures pour transmettre immédiatement le pouvoir aux populations des territoires coloniaux, et si ces puissances font tout ce qui est en leur pouvoir pour entraver l'activité des mouvements nationaux et usent de représailles à l'égard des leaders de ces mouvements, il n'est guère possible que cette organisation ne prenne promptement position contre des agissements qui mènent, non à l'octroi du droit des peuples à décider de leur sort, mais au maintien des régimes coloniaux. Ecarter de la vie politique les chefs des populations des territoires coloniaux et attirer et soutenir certains éléments qui, en fait, ne représentent pas ces populations mais sont prêts à défendre les intérêts des puissances coloniales, cela constitue des violations des dispositions de la Déclaration de 1960 et crée une source grave de conflits et d'inquiétudes dans ces territoires.

27. L'abolition du système colonial a été, depuis longtemps, considérée comme une tâche importante et urgente. A la session actuelle, l'Assemblée générale devra, de l'avis de ma délégation, donner une nouvelle impulsion à ce processus dont la signification historique est évidente. La lutte pour l'abolition de la domination coloniale trouve son complément naturel dans les efforts déployés aujourd'hui par la plupart

des peuples pour asseoir leur indépendance politique sur de solides bases économiques, pour progresser et pour élever leur niveau de vie.

28. Le lien étroit et indissoluble qui existe entre les deux étapes du même processus met en lumière la nécessité d'octroyer une indépendance politique réelle qui permette aux nouveaux pays souverains de s'occuper, sans entrave, de l'accomplissement des tâches complexes que leur impose la réalisation du progrès économique et social.

29. Les limites que certaines puissances coloniales imposent aux pays indépendants, avant ou au moment de transmettre le pouvoir aux peuples coloniaux, constituent une violation de la Déclaration sur le colonialisme et de la Charte des Nations Unies, et influencent d'une manière négative la réalisation des objectifs que les nouveaux pays doivent atteindre après s'être vu octroyer l'indépendance. Par exemple, la création de bases militaires, ou la signature d'accords inéquitables avant l'indépendance afin de pouvoir maintenir les bases militaires déjà existantes, l'octroi de concessions pour l'exploitation des ressources naturelles de ces pays par les monopoles étrangers, créant des obligations dès avant l'indépendance, constituent autant d'entraves à l'indépendance même et au privilège de la souveraineté nationale.

30. Il est du devoir de l'Organisation de se prononcer fermement et d'une manière conséquente contre toute tentative faite pour enfreindre le droit des peuples à jouir des conditions optimums pour transformer leur indépendance politique en indépendance complète. L'Organisation doit aussi prendre des mesures efficaces pour déterminer quelles puissances bénéficient, directement ou indirectement, de l'exploitation des territoires coloniaux, et pour appliquer les recommandations du Conseil de sécurité et de l'Assemblée générale.

31. La tâche de l'Assemblée générale ne saurait être menée à bonne fin sans l'activité du Comité des Vingt-Quatre. Le travail déjà accompli par les membres de ce comité, sous l'autorité compétente de son Président, laisse présager des résultats encore meilleurs pour l'avenir. C'est pourquoi la délégation roumaine se prononce pour la prolongation du mandat du Comité des Vingt-Quatre.

32. C'est pour l'Organisation un point d'honneur que de rechercher les moyens les meilleurs pour aider les peuples coloniaux à mettre fin, une fois pour toutes et le plus tôt possible, au honteux système colonial, tare de la civilisation de notre siècle. Nous devons nous rendre compte que l'Organisation faillirait à sa tâche et compromettrait gravement son prestige si elle ne prenait pas des mesures urgentes dans ce sens.

33. Les peuples, quant à eux, continueront, nous le savons tous, leur lutte pour la liberté, l'indépendance et la pleine souveraineté et obtiendront la reconnaissance de leurs droits légitimes malgré et contre l'opposition acharnée des puissances coloniales et des monopoles.

34. Faisons en sorte qu'une fois encore l'Organisation des Nations Unies se situe du côté du droit et du progrès. Le Gouvernement et le peuple roumains, notre délégation tient à le déclarer du haut de cette

tribune, ne failliront pas à leur devoir et seront fidèles au profond sentiment de solidarité et de justice qui les attache à la noble lutte des peuples coloniaux.

35. La délégation de la République socialiste de Roumanie se prononcera pour l'adoption de mesures efficaces qui puissent aboutir à la mise en œuvre, sans retard, des dispositions de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, qui a été adoptée il y a cinq ans par l'Assemblée générale.

36. M. BUDO (Albanie): La liquidation totale du colonialisme sous toutes ses formes est, sans conteste, l'une des tâches les plus urgentes qui incombent à l'heure actuelle aux peuples et aux nations épris de paix et de liberté. L'élan impétueux qu'a pris, dans la période d'après-guerre, la lutte de libération nationale, ainsi que les victoires historiques remportées jusqu'à présent par de nombreuses nations qui ont accédé à l'indépendance, témoignent de l'évidente envergure et de la profondeur de ce grand mouvement révolutionnaire contre l'impérialisme et le colonialisme. Plus que jamais, les peuples sont conscients de leurs droits inaliénables et sont résolus à lutter jusqu'au bout pour la reconnaissance de leur droit sacré à la libre disposition d'eux-mêmes pour la conquête de la liberté et de l'indépendance.

37. Le tableau qu'offre aujourd'hui la lutte de libération nationale des peuples nous convainc de la fin imminente du régime abhorré de la subjugation coloniale. Mais, les faits patents de la situation qui règne actuellement dans les nombreux territoires dépendants d'Afrique et d'autres continents, les répressions féroces des puissances coloniales contre les peuples soulevés de ces territoires, ainsi que les informations importantes du rapport du Comité spécial [A/6000/Rev.1] sont un témoignage de l'acharnement avec lequel les impérialistes et les colonialistes se cramponnent à ce régime hideux de domination et d'exploitation étrangères. Le rapport nous révèle, en particulier, les difficultés auxquelles s'est heurté le Comité spécial dans l'accomplissement de sa tâche par suite de l'attitude d'obstruction et des manœuvres diverses des puissances administrantes.

38. Tout cela met en évidence l'importance de la tâche incombant aux Etats Membres qui ont à cœur la cause de l'indépendance des peuples et de la paix mondiale, l'ampleur des efforts à déployer contre les visées des puissances impérialistes — en premier lieu contre les Etats-Unis d'Amérique, principaux responsables dans ce domaine —, en vue d'apporter une contribution efficace à la lutte héroïque pour l'indépendance que mènent les peuples qui subissent encore le joug odieux du colonialisme.

39. La lutte des peuples contre l'impérialisme et le colonialisme, qui jouit de la solidarité et de l'appui de toute l'humanité progressiste, domine aujourd'hui la scène mondiale. L'un des événements les plus récents qui a soulevé une vague d'indignation parmi les peuples d'Afrique et des autres continents est la situation créée en Rhodésie du Sud, avec la proclamation arbitraire de la prétendue indépendance de ce territoire par la minorité de colons blancs, encouragée et appuyée par l'impérialisme britannique et par les autres puissances coloniales.

40. Ce nouveau pas constitue un autre acte colonialiste, une attaque grave contre le peuple africain de la Rhodésie du Sud, une menace sérieuse contre les peuples d'Afrique et un défi aux pays et aux peuples épris de paix du monde entier. Le but des impérialistes britanniques et des autres impérialistes qui ont de grands intérêts en Rhodésie du Sud est de transformer ce pays en une tête de pont colonialiste contre les peuples africains luttant pour leur libération, et contre les Etats indépendants d'Afrique.

41. Après avoir échoué dans ces tentatives bien connues visant à créer la prétendue Fédération de l'Afrique centrale ou d'imposer à la Rhodésie du Sud la Constitution, de triste renommée, visant à assurer la domination de 200 000 colons blancs sur le peuple zimbabwe de 4 millions, les colonialistes britanniques, en collusion avec leurs suppôts blancs de ce territoire africain, ont eu recours à la dernière tactique frauduleuse: la proclamation unilatérale, par les autorités racistes d'Ian Smith, de la prétendue indépendance de la Rhodésie du Sud.

42. A ce nouveau crime contre le peuple zimbabwe sont mêlées diverses puissances impérialistes et colonialistes avec, en tête, les Etats-Unis d'Amérique, qui sont la plus grande puissance colonialiste et raciste, le pire ennemi de la liberté des peuples d'Afrique et du monde entier et qui ont de grands intérêts en Rhodésie du Sud, où les monopoles américains se sont infiltrés depuis longtemps et d'où ils tirent des bénéfices importants. Naturellement, les propos démagogiques des Etats-Unis à l'égard de la situation en Rhodésie du Sud ne trompent personne. Tout le monde sait comment les Etats-Unis soutiennent les racistes blancs de la Rhodésie du Sud et le Gouvernement britannique.

43. Le peuple africain de la Rhodésie du Sud connaît bien ses ennemis séculaires, les impérialistes et les colonialistes; il n'attend pas le salut de leur part et ne se fait pas d'illusions quant à leurs déclarations fallacieuses sur les sanctions contre le régime raciste d'Ian Smith.

44. Nous estimons aussi que ni les impérialistes ni leurs forces armées, sous n'importe quelle étiquette qu'elles se présentent, fût-ce même sous le nom de "forces des Nations Unies", ne peuvent aider à la libération des peuples subissant la servitude coloniale. L'expérience même de la période toute récente, y compris le cas d'un autre pays africain, le Congo (Léopoldville), nous prouve que de telles forces ne servent que d'instrument de suppression de la lutte de libération des peuples, et cela en vue de perpétuer le régime honteux du colonialisme et du néo-colonialisme.

45. Nous avons la conviction que le peuple zimbabwe, comptant en premier lieu sur ses propres forces et sur la solidarité active des peuples d'Afrique et des autres continents, affrontera résolument la nouvelle situation, infligera des coups irrésistibles à la clique d'Ian Smith et à tous les colonialistes qui l'appuient et sortira vainqueur de sa juste lutte pour l'indépendance.

46. Le peuple albanais et son gouvernement, qui ont toujours suivi avec sympathie et qui ont soutenu sans réserve la juste lutte pour l'indépendance du peuple

de la Rhodésie du Sud, ont fermement condamné les plans et les intrigues des puissances colonialistes et de leurs suppôts, les racistes blancs de ce territoire africain. Ils ont protesté énergiquement et avec indignation contre la proclamation unilatérale de la prétendue indépendance par une poignée de racistes blancs encouragés et soutenus principalement par le Gouvernement britannique, qui porte la responsabilité première du régime de persécution et de terreur fascistes qui sévit depuis des années contre le vaillant peuple zimbabwe.

47. Dans sa déclaration du 16 novembre 1965 sur cette question, dont le texte a été distribué aux Etats Membres de l'Organisation, le Gouvernement albanais s'exprimait notamment en ces termes:

"Le Gouvernement de la République populaire d'Albanie condamne avec la plus grande énergie cet acte arbitraire et de provocation du groupe raciste d'Ian Smith et des impérialistes anglais qui cherchent ainsi à perpétuer le joug colonialiste sur la malheureuse population africaine de la Rhodésie du Sud (Zimbabwe) 5/."

48. Nous exprimons encore une fois notre confiance nébranlable en la juste cause du peuple zimbabwe. Nous exprimons la conviction que toutes les tentatives des colonialistes en Rhodésie du Sud sont vouées à l'échec et que la dernière manœuvre frauduleuse consistant à proclamer une fausse indépendance ne fera que susciter une résistance encore plus résolue du peuple zimbabwe et accélérera ainsi la fin inéluctable de la domination colonialiste en Rhodésie du Sud.

49. Pendant qu'il met en œuvre, sous le masque des colons blancs de la Rhodésie du Sud, le complot colonialiste ourdi de longue date contre le peuple zimbabwe, le Gouvernement britannique n'hésite pas à mener directement une répression des plus féroces contre le mouvement de libération du peuple d'Aden et des Protectorats, et du peuple d'Oman.

50. Le Royaume-Uni, foulant aux pieds les résolutions de l'Assemblée générale, se lance dans une campagne de terreur et dans des opérations militaires dans le territoire d'Aden et des Protectorats d'Aden, bombardant les populations civiles pacifiques et forçant des dizaines de milliers de personnes à se réfugier au Yémen. La base militaire d'Aden, qui est de plus en plus renforcée, est un instrument de la politique britannique d'agression et menace gravement la paix dans cette région. La récente suspension de la Constitution d'Aden et le renversement du gouvernement nationaliste ont créé une situation explosive qui risque d'embraser toute la région de l'Arabie du Sud.

51. Les colonialistes britanniques mènent en même temps contre les combattants de la liberté et contre le peuple d'Oman tout entier une politique de répression féroce et de violation des droits civiques les plus élémentaires. Le rapport du Comité spécial de l'Oman 6/ fait état d'arrestations, d'emprisonnements en masse et de tortures des patriotes omanais. D'autre part, les villages et la population rurale subissent les

attaques de la Royal Air Force ainsi que les opérations punitives des forces armées et des mercenaires du Royaume-Uni. Toutes ces mesures de répression et de terreur ont créé dans le pays une situation intolérable.

52. Dans ces conditions, il incombe aux Etats Membres pacifiques d'exiger l'adoption, par l'Organisation, de mesures susceptibles de contribuer à la lutte des peuples d'Aden et d'Oman pour contraindre le Royaume-Uni à mettre fin à sa politique d'agression et à sa domination coloniale dans cette région.

53. Les colonialistes portugais mènent une guerre sauvage d'extermination contre les peuples de l'Angola, du Mozambique et de la Guinée dite portugaise, persistant toujours dans leur refus délibéré de mettre en application les mesures préconisées dans les nombreuses résolutions de l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Le Portugal ne cesse de nourrir son rêve insensé de s'annexer ces trois colonies qu'il considère, ni plus ni moins, comme des provinces portugaises, des prolongements du territoire portugais.

54. En dépit des appels lancés par l'Organisation, les puissances impérialistes ne cessent de faire bénéficier les colonialistes portugais de leur assistance militaire, économique et financière et de leur appui politique et moral. Encouragé et soutenu par ses alliés, le Portugal s'obstine dans son refus de reconnaître le droit à l'indépendance des peuples de ses colonies. Les troupes portugaises sont équipées des armes les plus modernes, fournies par les Etats-Unis et d'autres alliés, qu'elles utilisent pour massacrer et exterminer les populations africaines se trouvant sous leur domination. Les engagements entre les forces patriotes et les forces colonialistes portugaises deviennent de plus en plus fréquents. Fuyant la répression barbare des colonialistes portugais, des milliers de familles africaines ont quitté leurs foyers pour se réfugier dans les pays limitrophes.

55. Il convient de souligner que les puissances impérialistes, en fournissant leur assistance au Portugal, n'agissent pas seulement en tant que défenseurs du système colonialiste, comme tel; elles sont aussi directement intéressées à protéger, dans les colonies portugaises, les bénéfices énormes que leurs monopoles retirent des richesses de ces colonies où ils ont investi des capitaux très supérieurs à ceux des colonialistes portugais.

56. Les Nations Unies se doivent, en vertu de la Charte, de prendre leurs responsabilités pour adopter les mesures qui s'imposent en vue d'apporter une contribution réelle à la lutte de libération des populations africaines sous domination portugaise. Les Etats attachés à la cause de la liberté et de la paix doivent faire face à une épreuve grave dans le cas des colonies portugaises. Les Nations Unies doivent en particulier exiger des puissances impérialistes qu'elles respectent les résolutions leur enjoignant de cesser toute assistance au Portugal et d'adopter les mesures appropriées, nettes et radicales, susceptibles de contribuer efficacement à contraindre le Portugal à quitter sans retard les territoires africains.

57. Depuis déjà 20 ans, les Etats pacifiques s'efforcent de faire pression sur le Gouvernement raciste de l'Afrique du Sud, dans le but de l'amener à renoncer

5/ Voir Documents officiels du Conseil de sécurité, vingtième année, Supplément d'octobre, novembre et décembre 1965, document S/6972.

6/ Voir Documents officiels de l'Assemblée générale, dix-neuvième session, Annexes, annexe No 16, document A/5864.

à sa politique d'apartheid et de domination coloniale sur les peuples africains. En dépit de dizaines de résolutions de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, le Gouvernement de Pretoria, ne tenant aucun compte de l'opinion publique mondiale, s'obstine dans sa politique criminelle de ségrégation raciale contre la population de couleur de l'Afrique du Sud et redouble d'efforts en vue d'annexer le territoire du Sud-Ouest africain et même les trois territoires du Bassoutoland, du Betchouanaland et du Souaziland.

58. Il est bien connu de tous que le Gouvernement sud-africain est encouragé et soutenu dans sa politique raciste et dans ses visées colonialistes par d'autres puissances impérialistes. Les derniers événements de la Rhodésie du Sud, œuvre commune des impérialistes et des colonialistes, ont encouragé davantage le gouvernement de Verwoerd, qui cherche à tirer parti de la nouvelle situation ainsi créée dans la région. La collusion entre ce gouvernement et les Etats-Unis, le Royaume-Uni, l'Allemagne de l'Ouest, en particulier, est de notoriété publique. Ces puissances fournissent leur assistance au Gouvernement de l'Afrique du Sud dans le dessein de sauvegarder les bénéfices de leurs monopoles dans ce pays et de continuer de s'en servir comme bases pour leurs plans d'agression, ce qui constitue une menace directe à la paix en Afrique et dans le monde.

59. Le cas de l'Afrique du Sud est parmi les exemples typiques qui montrent où se trouve la source de la survivance du système colonialiste et raciste, et dans quel sens doivent être déployés les efforts et la lutte pour l'élimination totale et définitive de ce régime abhorré d'oppression et d'exploitation des peuples.

60. Nous avons parlé plus haut, à propos de quelques pays coloniaux, de la coopération et de la communauté d'intérêts qui existent entre les puissances colonialistes, préoccupées comme elles le sont de sauvegarder leurs possessions coloniales tant pour les bénéfices énormes qu'elles tirent des territoires dépendants que dans le but de se servir de ceux-ci comme base pour leurs plans agressifs.

61. Sans aucun doute, c'est grâce à leur solidarité et surtout à l'appui et à l'aide fournis par les Etats-Unis, première puissance impérialiste et colonialiste, que le colonialisme a pu se maintenir en vie jusqu'à présent. Les Etats-Unis représentent aujourd'hui le principal bastion du colonialisme et du néo-colonialisme. Ils encouragent et aident les anciens colonialistes à maintenir leurs possessions coloniales, tout en s'évertuant à les supplanter et à élargir leur domination dans toutes les régions du globe. Les Etats-Unis, qui représentent l'impérialisme le plus agressif, recourent, dans ce but, à tous les moyens, y compris l'emploi de la force armée.

62. Ils maintiennent sous leur joug colonial nombre de territoires étrangers, tels que Porto Rico, Guam, les îles Vierges. Il convient de rappeler à cette occasion que malgré les demandes réitérées tendant à l'examen de la question de Porto Rico, le Comité spécial, sous la pression des Etats-Unis et en butte à diverses manœuvres de leur part, a remis cet examen d'une session à l'autre, ce qui ne peut manquer de porter préjudice aux droits légitimes du peuple de Porto Rico à la liberté et à l'indépendance de ce pays.

63. Ayant occupé par la force des armes des régions comme le Congo (Léopoldville), la Corée du Sud, Taiwan et d'autres territoires, les impérialistes américains ont transformé ceux-ci en de véritables colonies. Un cas typique qui illustre leur politique d'agression et de conquête est celui du Viet-Nam, où les agresseurs américains mènent une guerre barbare contre l'héroïque peuple vietnamien qui lutte pour ses droits à la libre détermination et à l'indépendance.

64. En un moment où la lutte de libération nationale a pris un essor sans précédent, les Etats-Unis et d'autres puissances impérialistes, conscients de la difficulté de réduire actuellement les peuples à une subjugation ouverte et directe, ont recours à une nouvelle forme plus voilée de domination et d'exploitation étrangères, à savoir le néo-colonialisme. Certainement, dans cette nouvelle forme d'exploitation des peuples, les Etats-Unis sont le principal concurrent. L'impérialisme américain est devenu aujourd'hui l'ennemi primordial des peuples qui luttent pour la liberté et l'indépendance.

65. Sous les coups foudroyants des mouvements de libération nationale, le régime colonial est en état de désagrégation irrémédiable et approche inéluctablement de sa fin. Mais le colonialisme n'est pas liquidé, comme le prétendent les avocats de l'impérialisme. Des dizaines de territoires et des dizaines de millions d'êtres humains sont encore sous la domination coloniale dans diverses régions du globe; Les impérialistes américains et autres continuent d'exercer leur oppression sanglante et de piller les richesses des peuples dépendants.

66. Nous ne pouvons accepter, par ailleurs, le point de vue de ceux qui, sous prétexte d'un danger de guerre et d'une prétendue évolution qu'aurait subi l'impérialisme qui, selon eux, serait devenu raisonnable et pacifique, s'opposent à la lutte des peuples dépendants et préconisent leur capitulation devant l'impérialisme et le colonialisme.

67. Nous avons maintes fois soutenu ici aux Nations Unies — et nous le maintenons — que la lutte de libération nationale des peuples revêt un caractère juste, irréprochable. Cette lutte est imposée par les impérialistes et les colonialistes qui ne veulent pas renoncer à leurs intérêts égoïstes et criminels, à leurs privilèges découlant de l'exploitation féroce des peuples sous leur domination. Les impérialistes et les colonialistes n'abandonnent pas volontiers leurs positions; ils n'octroient pas l'indépendance par suite des demandes et des prières qui leur sont adressées.

68. Un exemple frappant dans ce sens, pour nous, représentants aux Nations Unies, est fourni par la position profondément négative constamment adoptée par les colonialistes à l'égard de centaines de résolutions de l'Organisation sur le colonialisme et la discrimination raciale. Cet exemple, et surtout les guerres de répression et d'agression que mènent les impérialistes contre les peuples épris de paix, constituent la meilleure réponse à ceux qui s'opposent à notre point de vue.

69. Comme nous venons de le souligner, l'indépendance n'est pas offerte par les colonialistes; elle est conquise par la lutte sous toutes ses formes que mènent les peuples asservis, jouissant de la solidarité

et de l'appui des peuples et des nations progressistes du monde entier. La lutte des peuples pour l'indépendance est une lutte de légitime défense, elle est sacrée. Des chefs d'Etat d'Afrique et d'Asie, en particulier, qui ont connus les colonialistes par leur propre expérience, ont rejeté publiquement les prétentions de ceux qui préconisent la coexistence pacifique entre l'impérialisme et le colonialisme, d'une part, et les peuples colonisés et dépendants, d'autre part.

70. Il importe de souligner en même temps que, contrairement aux prétentions que je viens de mentionner plus haut, la lutte des peuples pour l'indépendance, et les victoires remportées dans ce domaine, servent directement la cause de la paix. Chaque victoire remportée par les peuples dans leur lutte pour l'indépendance nationale est un coup porté aux forces de guerre impérialistes et, partant, un apport en faveur de la paix.

71. Les grandes victoires successives, en particulier, remportées depuis la seconde guerre mondiale par les peuples d'Asie, d'Afrique et d'Amérique latine qui ont accédé à l'indépendance ont porté des coups sévères aux fondements de la domination de l'impérialisme et du colonialisme et les ont sérieusement affaiblis. Les peuples qui ont secoué le joug étranger sont devenus les éléments d'une force progressive, résolument engagée dans la grande œuvre d'édification d'un monde meilleur où tous les peuples seront libres et maîtres de leur destin.

72. Mais que font les Nations Unies en matière de décolonisation, et quel devrait être leur rôle en ce domaine? Vouloir en juger par le grand nombre d'anciennes colonies qui ont accédé à l'indépendance au cours des 20 dernières années, et attribuer aux Nations Unies la responsabilité des changements intervenus dans le monde au cours de cette période en ce qui concerne la décolonisation, serait commettre une grave erreur. Il y a lieu de réaffirmer d'emblée le fait indéniable que les victoires remportées dans ce domaine sont dues à l'action et à la lutte des peuples coloniaux eux-mêmes, jouissant de la solidarité et de l'appui de tous les peuples et de toutes les nations épris de paix et de liberté. Il serait illogique et absurde de minimiser l'importance de ce facteur primordial qu'est la lutte de libération nationale des peuples. Ceux qui soutiennent une thèse inverse visent des objectifs contraires aux aspirations des peuples opprimés.

73. Par ailleurs, nul ne peut nier le fait que des efforts ont été déployés au sein des Nations Unies pour appuyer les peuples coloniaux et les aider à se libérer du joug colonial. De nombreux pays pacifiques se sont efforcés d'apporter, par l'entremise des Nations Unies, une contribution efficace aux peuples opprimés pour qu'il soit mis fin à leurs souffrances le plus tôt possible. Mais les Nations Unies n'ont pas été en mesure d'accomplir cette tâche à cause de l'attitude obstructionniste des puissances colonialistes et surtout à cause de l'influence néfaste que les Etats-Unis exercent sur l'Organisation des Nations Unies qui est manipulée par cette puissance impérialiste qui s'efforce par tous les moyens d'employer l'Organisation comme un instrument au service de sa politique d'hégémonie et d'agression.

74. Certes, les Etats Membres pacifiques se doivent de ne pas relâcher leurs efforts. Il leur incombe de consolider leur coopération afin de mener une action concertée plus efficace pour libérer en premier lieu l'Organisation de l'emprise des Etats-Unis, cause principale de tous ses défauts et méfaits, et qui, non seulement a gravement affaibli son autorité, mais l'a en même temps rendue incapable de remplir, conformément à la Charte, les tâches afférentes aux grands problèmes de notre époque.

75. En ce qui concerne proprement le problème de la décolonisation, nous estimons que l'ère des informations et des résolutions, qui depuis 20 ans se répètent sans aucun résultat, est d'ores et déjà dépassée. Les Etats Membres attachés à la cause de la liberté et de l'indépendance des peuples doivent agir en conséquence, compte tenu de la situation existante, et exiger l'adoption par l'Assemblée générale de mesures énergiques, nettes et radicales, en prévoyant de très courts délais pour leur mise en œuvre et, le cas échéant, l'application des sanctions prévues au Chapitre VII de la Charte contre les puissances colonialistes réfractaires qui s'obstinent à maintenir leur système odieux de domination colonialiste des peuples, source de souffrances et de guerres d'agression. C'est là l'unique voie susceptible d'apporter une aide réelle à la lutte des peuples pour l'indépendance nationale.

76. L'adoption et la mise en application de telles mesures non seulement serviront la cause des peuples dépendants et la paix, mais constitueront aussi un pas important en faveur de la sauvegarde et de la consolidation de l'Organisation. La délégation albanaise est prête à appuyer toutes mesures susceptibles d'atteindre ces objectifs.

M. Nyankiye (Burundi), vice-président, prend la présidence.

77. M. ACHKAR (Guinée): Il y a cinq ans, l'Assemblée générale adoptait l'historique Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, sous la poussée irrésistible des forces de paix et de progrès coalisées à cette occasion pour imposer aux forces rétrogrades de l'impérialisme ce monument à la liberté par l'autodétermination, cette véritable charte des peuples opprimés et méprisés, la charte des peuples prolétaires. Un vent nouveau balayait alors les enceintes de l'Assemblée, les habitudes périmées, les préjugés, le comportement archaïque et insufflait à nos efforts communs, une vigueur et une détermination sans précédent, en vue de mettre fin à l'aventure coloniale, qui s'affirmait de plus en plus comme une source permanente de frictions et de conflits de nature à mettre en danger la paix et la sécurité internationales.

78. L'aube de la liberté pour tous les peuples, sans distinction de race, de couleur ou de religion, pointait au firmament universel alors que les chefs responsables, les dirigeants engagés des peuples récemment surgis de la nuit de l'esclavage colonial se succédaient à cette même tribune pour affirmer les revendications de leurs frères toujours ployés sous le joug féroce du colonialisme portugais, anglais, espagnol, français, belge et hollandais. Ces dirigeants et ces responsables engagés réitéraient la volonté de paix, de progrès et de fraternité de leurs peuples.

79. Chaque année, l'Assemblée dresse le bilan des résultats obtenus sur le chemin de la réalisation des objectifs de la résolution 1514 (XV) en examinant les rapports soumis par le comité anticolonialiste créé conformément à la résolution: Comité des Dix-Sept naguère, aujourd'hui Comité des Vingt-Quatre. L'Assemblée a envers ce comité, dirigé avec tant de talent et de lucidité par mon frère malien, M. Sory Coulibaly, une dette de reconnaissance au nom des pays dont ce comité n'a cessé de défendre la cause, et aussi au nom de tous les hommes conscients du fait que le maintien du colonialisme empêche le développement de la coopération économique internationale, entra le développement social, culturel et économique des peuples dépendants et va à l'encontre de l'idéal de paix universelle des Nations Unies. Ce sont les mots mêmes de la résolution 1514 (XV).

80. Cette année encore le Comité ne s'est pas départi de sa déjà longue et, devrais-je ajouter, heureuse tradition, qui consiste à exposer clairement et sans ambages ses vues sur l'avenir — si j'ose employer ce mot — du colonialisme et les dangers de toutes sortes qu'il recèle. Et cela, il l'a fait malgré les protestations de plus en plus surnoises et du frein, aujourd'hui peu puissant, des forces réactionnaires représentées par certains de ses membres qui réclament sans cesse des compromis avec les colonialistes parce qu'ils se sont eux-mêmes compromis en s'associant à la besogne méprisante du Portugal, de l'Afrique du Sud, du Royaume-Uni et d'autres puissances accrochées aux mythes dépassés et absurdes, leurs doigts crochus toujours enfoncés dans le flanc des peuples de l'Afrique méridionale dont ils veulent faire des remparts pour préserver leurs privilèges abusifs et leurs propriétés mal acquises et démesurées.

81. On voit dès lors la nécessité de rendre un vibrant hommage à la majorité anticolonialiste du Comité des Vingt-Quatre pour ses efforts remarquables au cours des deux dernières années et en particulier pour les initiatives et les innovations qui ont marqué ses récentes réunions à New York et, surtout, celles qu'il a tenues dans le continent africain. Car pour l'Afrique, la liquidation du colonialisme sous toutes ses formes, y compris le colonialisme économique et culturel, ou néocolonialisme, l'intervention directe et indirecte dans les affaires de jeunes Etats indépendants souvent victimes d'efforts de subversion par procuration, constitue la condition sine qua non d'un développement rapide et pacifique dans la stabilité et la responsabilité internationales. Le voyage effectué dans ce continent a été un facteur positif tout à la fois pour les peuples colonisés et pour l'ONU. Aux premiers, ce voyage a donné la mesure du grand intérêt que les Nations Unies portent à leur cause, qui est un préalable à la réalisation des objectifs de l'Organisation. A la seconde, il a permis d'affirmer son caractère sérieux en la grandissant aux yeux des peuples africains sérieusement ébranlés par la carence de nos organes principaux lorsqu'il s'agit d'aider à extirper du continent les mercenaires de Salazar à Bissau, à Luanda et à Lorenzo Marques, ceux du Royaume-Uni à Salisbury, ceux de Pretoria à Windhoek, etc.

82. La Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux proclamait sans ambages, dans son paragraphe 5:

"Des mesures immédiates seront prises, dans les territoires sous tutelle, les territoires non autonomes et tous autres territoires qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance" — cette disposition s'appliquait naturellement à ce que le Royaume-Uni avait qualifié à l'époque de "cas particulier de la Rhodésie", depuis lors entrée en rébellion contre la communauté internationale et le Royaume-Uni — "pour transférer tous pouvoirs aux peuples de ces territoires, sans aucune condition ni réserve, conformément à leur volonté et à leurs vœux librement exprimés, sans aucune distinction de race, de croyance ou de couleur, afin de leur permettre de jouir d'une indépendance et d'une liberté complètes."

83. Cinq ans après l'adoption de cette déclaration, qui honore ses auteurs et ceux qui l'ont votée, 85 pays d'une population totale de près de 50 millions d'habitants sont encore ployés sous le joug de la domination étrangère. Il est vrai que le plus grand nombre de ces pays est constitué par ce qu'il est convenu d'appeler des petits pays, des fies pour la plupart, et des enclaves plus ou moins économiquement viables prises séparément et souvent proies faciles du néo-colonialisme, ce dernier stade de l'impérialisme — comme l'appelle le Président Kwame Nkrumah — toujours impatient de revenir sur les lieux de ses crimes sous le couvert d'une assistance dite technique ou financière ou à la faveur d'une base militaire dite défensive.

84. Bien sûr, le gros des effectifs des masses soumise à l'arbitraire colonial se trouve encore dans les importants territoires de l'Afrique méridionale, où les forces nazies et fascistes, chassées d'Europe après la seconde guerre mondiale, se sont réfugiées et prétendent défendre je ne sais quelle civilisation blanche et chrétienne au détriment des droits les plus élémentaires des populations autochtones, par des procédés qui ne font honneur ni à la chrétienté ni à la race blanche.

85. Ces impérialistes et colonialistes impénitents de Lisbonne, de Salisbury et de Pretoria sont soutenus par des alliances militaires comme l'OTAN, ou des alliances économiques, et tiennent encore sous leurs bottes sanglantes la Guinée dite portugaise, l'Angola, le Mozambique et d'autres dépendances, où le sang n'a cessé de couler depuis que Salazar et ses conquistadores se sont installés dans une sale guerre coloniale du plus pur style français de triste mémoire; ils tiennent sous leurs bottes sanglantes la Rhodésie du Sud, ce péché capital du Royaume-Uni, où 250 000 colons sont pris de transes et de convulsions racistes contre 4 millions de nos frères. Ils tiennent sous leurs bottes sanglantes le Sud-Ouest africain, ce territoire au statut international que les néo-nazis de Pretoria s'efforcent, avec arrogance et le plus grand mépris pour les droits de la communauté internationale, d'annexer à l'empire de l'apartheid. Voilà ce qu'il reste encore à libérer, cinq ans après l'adoption par l'Assemblée générale de la résolution 1514 (XV).

86. Au sujet du premier groupe de pays à libérer, à savoir les petites entités territoriales, la délégation guinéenne estime que nous devons aborder leur cas

avec un profond sens de nos responsabilités et dans le souci permanent des intérêts majeurs de leurs populations. En effet, s'il est impérieux de libérer ces peuples en assurant le libre exercice de leur droit à l'autodétermination, il n'en est pas moins vital d'éviter de les lancer dans des aventures qui ne pourraient aboutir qu'à la perpétuation du colonialisme déguisé et internationalement reconnu, sinon garanti. C'est pourquoi nous considérons essentiel pour l'Organisation des Nations Unies d'user de toute son expérience et de sa solidarité désintéressée pour aider les pays en question à faire les choix les plus conformes à leur désir de liberté et de progrès, en utilisant toutes les ressources et méthodes stipulées dans la résolution 1541 (XV), et notamment au principe VI, qui vont de l'indépendance pure et simple à la libre association à un Etat indépendant ou à l'intégration à un Etat indépendant.

87. Il ne faut pas nourrir de faux scrupules quand il s'agit d'assurer l'avenir des peuples. En fait, la réalisation d'ensembles unitaires ou fédérés répond à notre souci de stabilité et d'équilibre international. Le Comité des Vingt-Quatre se doit de se pencher très sérieusement et sans passion sur le cas de ces pays. Nous estimons que la résolution 1541 (XV), dont j'aimerais rappeler certains principes, est une source d'inspiration pour le Comité des Vingt-Quatre et qu'elle pourrait largement aider les populations des petits territoires à exercer leur droit de libre détermination.

88. Je voudrais citer, tout d'abord, le principe VII, relatif à la libre association auquel je viens de faire allusion; le texte de ce principe est ainsi conçu:

"a) La libre association doit résulter d'un choix libre et volontaire des populations du territoire en question, exprimé selon des méthodes démocratiques et largement diffusées. Elle doit respecter l'individualité et les caractéristiques culturelles du territoire et de ses populations, et conserver aux populations du territoire qui s'associe à un Etat indépendant la liberté de modifier le statut de ce territoire en exprimant leur volonté par des moyens démocratiques et selon des méthodes constitutionnelles.

"b) Le territoire associé doit avoir le droit de déterminer sa constitution intérieure, sans ingérence extérieure, conformément aux méthodes constitutionnelles régulières et aux vœux librement exprimés de ses populations. Cela n'exclut pas les consultations que pourraient appeler ou exiger les clauses de la libre association."

A notre avis, c'est un principe de cette nature qui a inspiré récemment l'association prévue entre la Nouvelle-Zélande et les îles Cook.

89. Le principe VIII est le suivant:

"L'intégration à un Etat indépendant doit se faire sur la base de l'égalité complète entre le peuple du territoire antérieurement non autonome et celui de l'Etat indépendant auquel il s'intègre. Les deux peuples doivent avoir, sans distinction ni discrimination, un statut et des droits de citoyenneté égaux ainsi que des garanties égales pour ce qui est des libertés et droits fondamentaux; ils doivent tous deux avoir des droits égaux et des possibilités égales

de représentation et de participation effective, à tous les échelons, dans les organes exécutifs, législatifs et judiciaires de l'Etat."

90. Enfin, selon le principe IX, l'intégration devra se faire dans les conditions suivantes:

"a) Le territoire intégré devra avoir atteint un stade avancé d'autonomie, avec des institutions politiques libres, de telle sorte que ses populations aient la capacité de choisir en pleine connaissance de cause, selon des méthodes démocratiques et largement diffusées;

"b) L'intégration doit résulter du désir librement exprimé des populations du territoire, pleinement conscientes du changement de leur statut, la consultation se faisant selon des méthodes démocratiques et largement diffusées, impartialement appliquées et fondées sur le suffrage universel des adultes. L'Organisation des Nations Unies pourra, quand elle le jugera nécessaire, contrôler l'application de ces méthodes."

91. De l'avis de la délégation guinéenne, il y a là des principes qui devraient largement aider le Comité des Vingt-Quatre dans sa recherche en vue d'assister les populations des petits territoires à exercer leur droit à l'autodétermination. Car nous concevons très mal qu'un rocher, par exemple, puisse accéder à l'indépendance et vivre par ses propres moyens à moins, naturellement, qu'il ne survive grâce à une base militaire ou grâce à des subsides qui vident de son contenu la souveraineté à laquelle nous voulons entièrement souscrire et pour laquelle nous voulons une caution des Nations Unies, une caution qui ne se borne pas à accorder ici un fauteuil, une hampe servant à hisser un drapeau, mais la caution d'une indépendance véritable qui pourrait s'avérer viable.

92. Par conséquent, nous estimons que le Comité des Vingt-Quatre doit largement tenir compte de ces principes et nous faire les recommandations qui s'imposent dans le cas de ce qu'il est convenu d'appeler les petits territoires. Les recommandations qui nous sont déjà soumises recueillent notre adhésion entière.

93. S'agissant du deuxième groupe de pays qui relèvent de la prétendue souveraineté du Portugal, du Royaume-Uni et de l'Afrique du Sud, pour ne citer que ceux-là, nous ne nous répéterons pas. Le cas de ces pays relève désormais de la question de la menace à la paix et à la sécurité internationales.

94. Déjà, dans les colonies portugaises, les armes ont remplacé le dialogue faute d'interlocuteurs, face aux revendications légitimes des populations asservies. La guerre fait rage dans ces pays, en attendant qu'elle s'étende à la Rhodésie et au Sud-Ouest africain si, par manque de conviction et de détermination, la communauté internationale ne réussit pas à sortir ces deux territoires des griffes acérées et sanglantes de l'impérialisme anglais et sud-africain.

95. S'agissant plus particulièrement de la Guinée dite portugaise, pays où le PAIGC (parti africain de l'indépendance de la Guinée et du Cap-Vert) inflige chaque jour des coups mortels aux mercenaires portugais, mon pays accorde la plus grande attention aux agissements de Salazar et de ses tortionnaires et observe à leur égard la plus grande vigilance. Com-

ment donc goûter aux fruits de l'indépendance quand nos frères que le hasard de l'histoire coloniale a séparés de nous, des frères parlant la même langue, ayant les mêmes coutumes, la même histoire, sont traqués et pourchassés chaque jour? Comment rester insensibles quand nos villages sont constamment réveillés en sursaut, quand, à l'aube, nos populations doivent accueillir des femmes, des enfants, des vieillards harcelés et poursuivis parce que leurs frères et leurs maris sont dans le maquis et n'ont pas répondu à l'appel du gendarme portugais?

96. Chaque jour des Africains tombent, tués par les armes fournies au Portugal par l'Organisation du Traité de l'Atlantique nord, l'OTAN. Chaque jour, les paisibles populations des villages africains sont bombardées par des avions fournis au Portugal par des pays membres de l'OTAN. L'espace aérien de mon pays est constamment violé par les avions portugais. La République de Guinée a pris les mesures qui s'imposent, en vertu de notre droit de légitime défense, devant de tels actes de piraterie internationale. Pourquoi, en vertu de la défense de je ne sais quel monde libre, ces membres de l'OTAN acceptent-ils de se faire les complices de crimes odieux en Angola, au Mozambique, en Guinée dite portugaise? Nous disons tout haut pour qu'on nous entende très bien: vers vous, pays membres de l'OTAN, nous pointons des doigts accusateurs; des millions de doigts africains vous désignent et vous accusent. De petites mains de bébés tués par vos armes vous accusent et vous désignent. Des doigts crispés de vieillards vous désignent et vous maudissent dans leur agonie. Des doigts de femmes, se cachant le visage devant le crime et le viol, vous désignent. Les mains des nationalistes, dans leurs dernières convulsions, vous désignent et vous accusent.

97. Et quels sont ces pays de l'OTAN? J'ai ici un article de presse qui est révélateur à cet égard et dont je voudrais citer en anglais quelques passages. Il est extrait d'un journal londonien, The Daily Telegraph, du 16 novembre 1965, et intitulé "Rhodesia, Headache for Salazar" (La Rhodésie, migraine pour Salazar).

"Il semble que les divergences qu'il a avec la Grande-Bretagne gênent considérablement M. Salazar. L'ambassade britannique de Lisbonne a la tâche difficile de maintenir avec le Portugal de bonnes relations tout en adhérant aux résolutions des Nations Unies visant à mettre fin au pouvoir portugais à l'étranger.

"Nous n'aurions jamais pensé jadis à acheter quoi que ce soit, sinon un navire de guerre, à la Grande-Bretagne" a dit M. Salazar. Il a ajouté: "Le Portugal achète maintenant quatre frégates et quatre sous-marins à la France. Il s'agit là d'une commande représentant un certain nombre de millions de livres sterling; d'autres suivront."

"Je crois savoir que la Grande-Bretagne a perdu cette commande en vertu d'une disposition contenue dans les résolutions des Nations Unies aux termes de laquelle les frégates ne pouvaient pas être utilisées dans les eaux africaines. Elles auraient été fournies avec des munitions au seul titre d'exercices dans le cadre de l'OTAN. Pour les mêmes raisons,

le Portugal est dans l'impossibilité d'acheter des avions militaires britanniques.

"...

"La Grande-Bretagne est toujours le meilleur client du Portugal pour les biens de consommation, mais, sur le plan général des exportations, elle ne vient plus qu'au second rang, après l'Allemagne qui, elle aussi, fournit sans réserve des armes au Portugal*."

98. Des membres de cette alliance, et notamment l'Angleterre impérialiste, s'inclinent devant les décisions librement prises au Conseil de sécurité; d'autres puissances de cette même alliance, dont la France et la République fédérale d'Allemagne, remplacent le Royaume-Uni dans la tâche qui consiste à fournir des armes de toutes sortes au Gouvernement portugais en vue d'écraser la révolution africaine. La politique coloniale du Gouvernement de Lisbonne ne se limite pas aux seuls territoires asservis par le Portugal; elle s'intègre dans une stratégie créée à dessein pour saper les bases de l'indépendance de l'Afrique, contre la dignité africaine, le progrès et la stabilité du continent africain.

99. La situation qui existe aujourd'hui au Sud-Ouest africain et en Rhodésie mérite une attention particulière de la part de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, car elle est le résultat du refus portugais de décoloniser. En d'autres termes, le premier criminel dans cette affaire est bien le Portugal. Dans cette partie de l'Afrique méridionale et à l'instar de la République Sud-africaine, un régime bâti sur la suprématie raciale est né, ce qui a aggravé dangereusement la situation et met en cause la stabilité et la paix mondiales.

100. Récemment, le Conseil de sécurité a été saisi de la question de la Rhodésie, après ce qu'on a appelé pompeusement la déclaration unilatérale d'indépendance faite par les dirigeants et responsables de ce pays. Les décisions prises à l'issue de ces assises ne semblent pas pour l'instant avoir changé le cours de l'évolution catastrophique de ce pays vers un conflit armé entre les races, conflit qui est le monstre des temps modernes. L'Afrique, quant à elle, a pris ses responsabilités: responsabilités politiques, diplomatiques, économiques et militaires. Elle ne faillira pas à son devoir malgré les prophètes de malheur en mal de sujets de dissertation dans leur presse aveuglée par la suffisance d'une pensée déformée par je ne sais quel complexe de supériorité culturelle, sinon raciale.

101. Il reste au Royaume-Uni à prendre ses responsabilités, responsabilités que lui imposent son entêtement de naguère et son refus de collaboration avec l'ONU, sinon sa complicité de fait avec les aventuriers de Salisbury.

102. Quant au Sud-Ouest africain, nous devons constater que les délibérations de la Cour de La Haye n'en finissent plus de traîner. Quoi qu'il en soit, nous restons vigilants pour que, dès que sera rendu public le jugement de la Cour, le Conseil de sécurité, ou peut-être une session extraordinaire de l'Assemblée

* Cité en anglais par l'orateur.

générale, s'en saisisse pour en tirer les conclusions appropriées et appliquer les recommandations qui s'imposent.

103. Pour l'instant, nous sommes saisis des recommandations du Comité des Vingt-Quatre et de la Quatrième Commission sur chacune et sur l'ensemble de ces questions. Il va de soi que nous appuyons fermement toutes ces recommandations en attendant que nous convainquions les membres du Conseil de sécurité de la nécessité de comprendre que le colonialisme sous toutes ses formes est l'un des plus grands dangers menaçant la paix et la sécurité internationales et que plus tôt nous y mettrons fin, par tous les moyens, plus tôt nous assurerons le maintien de la paix, la survie et la consolidation des Nations Unies pour une coopération internationale féconde et fraternelle.

104. Il reste maintenant à ma délégation à inviter l'ONU à réévaluer son action en matière de décolonisation. C'est que nous pensons qu'il est opportun de revoir le mandat du Comité des Vingt-Quatre — qui, pour le moment, ne comprend que 23 membres en raison du retrait volontaire du Cambodge pour des motifs au demeurant fort justifiés et, qui lui font honneur — en tenant compte des formes spectaculaires et tragiques que revêt l'aventure coloniale dans ses derniers soubresauts.

105. On sait que le Comité spécial, lors de ses réunions en Afrique, a défendu la juste cause du combat pour la décolonisation et déclaré dans ses résolutions qu'à cause de la justesse et de la légitimité de ce combat, cette lutte devait recevoir un appui moral et matériel de tous les Etats du monde.

106. La République de Guinée est d'avis que puisque ce combat est fonction de l'obstination des colonialistes agresseurs et est dirigé contre l'exploitation de l'homme, qu'il vise à appliquer les principes de notre Charte et de la Déclaration contenue dans la résolution 1514 (XV), il doit être soutenu avec vigueur par toute la communauté internationale.

107. Dans le domaine de la décolonisation, il ne s'agit plus d'adopter des résolutions, fortes ou faibles; il s'agit maintenant de demander à ceux qui sont les gardiens conscients de la paix et de la sécurité internationales: Ferez-vous appliquer la Déclaration historique contenue dans la résolution 1514 (XV) que vous avez adoptée le 14 décembre 1960? Comment et quand?

108. Le Comité des Vingt-Quatre devrait répondre à ces questions en limitant désormais ses décisions à la définition des voies et moyens pratiques à utiliser pour que tous les territoires encore dépendants accèdent à l'indépendance. Pour ce faire, ma délégation considère qu'il est impératif que l'Assemblée générale fixe l'année 1967 comme date ultime de l'élimination du colonialisme dans le monde. Au-delà de cette date, il conviendra de considérer toute puissance coloniale en état d'agression contre le ou les territoires qu'elle occupe encore, d'agression contre l'ONU et contre l'humanité. Le Conseil de sécurité devra alors en tirer les conséquences voulues, conformément aux dispositions pertinentes du Chapitre VII de la Charte.

109. L'Organisation faillirait à son devoir sacré si elle ne trouvait une solution rapide aux crises colo-

niales. Il y va de son prestige. Il y va aussi de sa survie et de son crédit, qui ont subi récemment des coups dangereux. Il y va encore de la vie de millions d'êtres humains qui souffrent, qui espèrent et qui ont les regards tournés vers nous afin que nous les aidions à sortir de la nuit hantée du colonialisme. Le continent africain, pour sa part, n'a ni la volonté ni le droit d'attendre encore longtemps la fin dénuée de toute gloire de l'hydre coloniale, qui hypothèque tout son devenir.

110. Faisons ce que nous avons considéré juste et indispensable il y a cinq ans en proclamant notre Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. Faisons-le maintenant, car le temps en cette matière est notre ennemi. Plus le temps passe plus violente sera la lutte et plus sanglante la mise à mort du colonialisme.

111. M. CHEVTCHENKO (République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine) [traduit du russe]: Dans quelques jours nous célébrerons le cinquième anniversaire de l'adoption, par notre Organisation, de la Déclaration historique sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. Toute l'humanité progressiste a accueilli avec de grandes espérances l'adoption de ce document si important de notre époque qui reconnaît le droit des peuples à l'autodétermination, à la liberté et à l'indépendance.

112. Au cours des dernières années, le monde a connu de profondes transformations; on a vu apparaître, sur la carte, de nouveaux Etats dont les peuples ont conquis leur liberté au cours d'une lutte héroïque.

113. L'admission, à l'Organisation des Nations Unies, de plusieurs dizaines de jeunes Etats indépendants a créé une nouvelle ambiance pour les travaux de notre Organisation, on a pu constater, pour employer une expression imagée, un certain "rajeunissement" de l'ONU. Celle-ci est devenue plus universelle, plus représentative et son autorité s'est accrue.

114. La période de cinq ans qui s'est écoulée depuis l'adoption de la Déclaration offrait suffisamment de temps pour mettre les principes qu'elle proclamait en application. Or la liquidation du colonialisme s'effectue beaucoup trop lentement — on peut dire qu'elle se fait à pas de tortue; nous n'avons donc pas lieu de chanter des hymnes de victoire en frappant des cymbales.

115. A notre ère cosmique, où l'homme, se libérant de l'attraction terrestre, s'est élevé dans l'espace extra-atmosphérique, on ne saurait accepter que, sur terre, les hommes demeurent rivés par les chaînes de l'esclavage, on ne saurait se résigner à l'oppression, à la dégradation et à l'exploitation de l'homme par l'homme.

116. Il est désormais difficile de trouver au monde un homme qui aille jusqu'à défendre ouvertement les régimes coloniaux. Même les colonialistes les plus acharnés ne se hasardent plus à agir de la sorte. Néanmoins le colonialisme subsiste en Afrique où l'on compte encore près de 20 colonies, protectorats et autres territoires dépendants où vivent, plus exactement, où végètent environ 20 millions d'êtres humains. On trouve aussi des colonies et des territoires dépendants dans d'autres régions du monde où les

hommes n'ont encore jamais vu briller le soleil de la liberté.

117. Le devoir le plus sacré de notre Organisation est d'en finir immédiatement avec ces vestiges du passé, d'effacer cette souillure de notre planète. Les considérations et les arguments qu'avancent les représentants des puissances colonialistes, à savoir que certains peuples ne sont pas encore "prêts pour l'indépendance" sont dénués de tout fondement. Les puissances colonialistes avaient suffisamment de temps pour préparer leurs colonies et, d'ailleurs, pour se préparer elles-mêmes à ce processus inéluctable.

118. La déclaration que le représentant du Royaume-Uni a faite le 1er décembre dernier dans cette salle, à la 1386ème séance, a particulièrement retenu l'attention de la déclaration ukrainienne. A notre avis, cette déclaration est très caractéristique; elle jette la lumière sur la façon dont les puissances colonialistes entendent mettre en œuvre cette déclaration universellement connue ou plutôt sur la façon dont elles cherchent à l'éluder.

119. Dans la mesure de ses moyens, le représentant du Royaume-Uni a tenté ici de défendre la politique colonialiste de son gouvernement, en présentant son pays sous un jour favorable, celui de défenseur de la liberté, et en essayant de le faire passer pour le champion de la liberté et de l'indépendance des peuples. L'intervention de ce représentant met en évidence une donnée irréfutable: 31 territoires où vivent des millions d'êtres humains subissent encore la domination coloniale du Royaume-Uni.

120. Devant ce fait, il est difficile pour quiconque de croire que le Gouvernement britannique a le désir sincère d'appliquer réellement la Déclaration. C'est en vain que le représentant du Royaume-Uni a essayé de nous prouver que les colonies sont un fardeau pour son pays. Il a dit, et je cite: "D'un point de vue étroitement égoïste, notre intérêt serait de rompre dès demain tous nos liens avec eux. Mais nous nous refusons à ce parjure." [A/PC.1386, par. 46.]

121. Nous serions en droit de demander au représentant du Royaume-Uni de quelles obligations il s'agit. Nous avons déjà été témoins de la manière dont le Royaume-Uni s'est acquitté de "ses obligations" envers le peuple de la Rhodésie du Sud. Il a purement et simplement livré les 4 millions d'habitants de ce territoire à la merci de ce raciste invétéré, Ian Smith.

122. Nous n'agissons qu'avec l'assentiment du peuple, qu'en consultation avec lui, a dit le représentant du Royaume-Uni. Mais de quelles "consultations" peut-il s'agir quand on voit le rôle actif qu'y tiennent le canon et les mitrailleuses, les tanks et les avions britanniques? Nous songeons avant tout aux opérations militaires que mène le Royaume-Uni contre le mouvement national de libération en Arabie du Sud, à Oman et dans d'autres régions du monde.

123. Non, ce n'est pas ce genre "d'obligations et de consultations" qu'attendent de vous les peuples qui subissent encore la domination coloniale. Tout ceci va à l'encontre de la Déclaration que nous avons adoptée.

124. Dans cette Déclaration, il est dit sans équivoque que "le manque de préparation dans les domaines politique, économique ou social ou dans celui de l'enseignement ne doit jamais être pris comme prétexte pour retarder l'indépendance".

125. La Déclaration souligne aussi que dans tous les territoires qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance "des mesures immédiates seront prises... pour transférer tous pouvoirs aux peuples de ces territoires, sans aucune condition ni réserve, conformément à leur volonté et leurs vœux librement exprimés, sans aucune distinction de race, de croyance ou de couleur, afin de leur permettre de jouir d'une indépendance et d'une liberté complètes" [par. 5].

126. La vie montre que les colonialistes ne font pas don de l'indépendance, mais que les peuples la conquièrent au cours d'une lutte acharnée où ils utilisent aussi bien les armes que d'autres moyens et méthodes. Il faut donc chercher les raisons du maintien du joug colonial dans les conditions et les facteurs qui freinent l'essor du mouvement national de libération, qui font obstacle à sa victoire.

127. La lutte nationale de libération des peuples est rendue beaucoup plus difficile du fait que ceux-ci se trouvent aujourd'hui aux prises non pas avec une seule puissance coloniale mais très souvent avec toute une alliance d'États impérialistes qui, dans un but de rapine, unissent leurs efforts pour prolonger l'agonie du colonialisme.

128. Les impérialistes utilisent leur supériorité, ils ne reculent devant rien pour conserver leur emprise sur des régions qui présentent pour eux un intérêt particulier sur le plan économique, militaire et stratégique.

129. Prenons l'exemple des colonies du Portugal. On a déjà fait valoir ici que le Portugal, pays faible et arriéré, disposant d'un potentiel militaire et industriel négligeable, n'aurait pu, sans une aide étrangère, maintenir sa domination sur ses colonies africaines dont la superficie est plus de vingt fois supérieure à la sienne et la population une fois et demie plus nombreuse que la sienne.

130. Si le Portugal jette un défi insolent à toute la communauté mondiale, c'est avant tout parce qu'il se sent soutenu par certains États membres de l'OTAN. Nul n'ignore en effet que les recettes publiques du Portugal et son arsenal militaire sont alimentés par les États membres de l'OTAN, que les armes employées contre les patriotes qui se soulèvent dans ses colonies viennent, pour une très large part, de l'OTAN.

131. En échange de cette aide, le Gouvernement Salazar donne aux monopoles étrangers, notamment aux monopoles des pays membres de l'OTAN, le droit de drainer les richesses des "provinces portugaises" d'Afrique. C'est ainsi que l'extraction des diamants de l'Angola et leur vente sont le monopole de la société Diamang, filiale de l'Anglo-American Diamond Corporation. L'extraction du minerai de fer, et, en partie, celle du manganèse et de l'or, en Angola, a été cédée à Krupp en échange de ses livraisons d'armements militaires.

132. Les renseignements qui figurent dans le rapport du Comité spécial, les déclarations des pétitionnaires

et les articles publiés dans la presse mondiale font ressortir clairement l'arbitraire colonialiste, le pillage éhonté et le banditisme effréné qui caractérisent toute l'histoire de la prétendue mission civilisatrice du Portugal.

133. En 500 ans de domination, le Portugal a apporté aux peuples de l'Angola, du Mozambique, de la Guinée dite portugaise et à d'autres peuples des malheurs sans nombre: la misère, la faim, l'ignorance, le travail forcé et une exploitation cruelle; il a retardé le développement de ces peuples d'au moins cent ans.

134. L'oppression et le genre de régime colonial qu'ils subissent sont sans précédent dans l'histoire contemporaine. Le nom des colonialistes portugais est désormais maudit dans toute l'Afrique, il est devenu le symbole du colonialisme le plus barbare et le plus exécrationnel.

135. Ces dernières années, le Portugal mène une guerre criminelle contre les peuples de ses colonies. L'armée portugaise, la plus importante et la plus puissante du continent africain, se livre à des opérations militaires contre les patriotes et la population pacifique. Le Portugal dépense chaque année 100 millions pour cette guerre — 100 millions — tout en retirant de ses colonies une somme cinq fois supérieure par an. Il se crée une situation vraiment tragique: on oblige des gens à payer leur propre extermination. Or, pour le Portugal et pour les puissances occidentales qui lui fournissent des armes, cette guerre est une affaire profitable, qui procure aux monopoles des bénéfices fabuleux.

136. Nous considérons que le moment est venu d'appliquer, à l'égard des colonialistes portugais, les mesures les plus énergiques et les plus efficaces pour les contraindre à mettre en œuvre les résolutions de l'Assemblée générale et du Conseil de sécurité et à accorder aux peuples de ces territoires une liberté et une indépendance véritables.

137. La situation est assez semblable dans le Sud-Ouest africain. Là aussi le gouvernement raciste de Verwoerd, encouragé et soutenu par les Etats occidentaux, en premier lieu par les Etats-Unis d'Amérique et le Royaume-Uni, cherche à perpétuer le régime colonial dans ce territoire.

138. La question du Sud-Ouest africain figure à l'ordre du jour de l'Assemblée générale depuis vingt ans, mais la situation dans ce territoire, loin de s'améliorer, s'aggrave chaque année. L'examen de la situation dans le Sud-Ouest africain à la Quatrième Commission, à la présente session, a montré qu'en dépit des résolutions et des recommandations de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, les racistes sud-africains continuent à y pratiquer la monstrueuse politique d'apartheid et à y implanter un régime raciste médiéval. La politique des racistes blancs vise à exterminer la population autochtone ou bien à la transformer en esclaves éternels des colons blancs.

139. Il ressort du rapport du Comité spécial que les monopoles étrangers jouent un rôle particulièrement funeste dans l'asservissement et l'oppression de la population autochtone de l'Afrique du Sud et du Sud-Ouest africain.

140. Quelles sont ces sociétés et de quels gouvernements elles relèvent? Le rapport que je viens de citer apporte à cette question une réponse très nette. Ce sont, avant tout, les monopoles du Royaume-Uni, ceux des Etats-Unis d'Amérique, de la République sud-africaine et d'autres Etats occidentaux. Certains de ces monopoles sont par exemple "purement" américains. D'autres, uniquement britanniques, les troisièmes mixtes; les uns disposent de capitaux considérables, d'autres de capitaux moins élevés, mais ils ont tous le même objectif: le pillage éhonté des richesses nationales du Sud-Ouest africain et de sa population, l'obtention, par l'exploitation la plus cruelle de la population autochtone, de bénéfices fabuleux.

141. La délégation ukrainienne estime que le moment est venu de mettre un terme immédiatement et pour toujours aux activités de ces monopoles étrangers dans le Sud-Ouest africain. La Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux doit être appliquée dans les plus brefs délais à l'égard du Sud-Ouest africain et toutes les mesures, même les plus énergiques, que prendront les Etats et les peuples ne sauront manquer de recueillir l'approbation de l'histoire.

142. La situation qui règne dans ce qu'on est convenu d'appeler "les petits territoires coloniaux" ne peut manquer non plus de susciter de vives inquiétudes. On sait que les dispositions de la Déclaration s'appliquent dans la même mesure à tous les territoires coloniaux, grands ou petits, que tous les peuples ont un droit égal à la liberté et à l'indépendance, qu'ils ont le droit de décider eux-mêmes de leur organisation interne.

143. Nous considérons que lorsqu'il s'agit de liquider le colonialisme il ne saurait y avoir de petits ou de grands problèmes, de petits ou de grands territoires. Tous les peuples coloniaux sans exception doivent obtenir la liberté et l'indépendance, quelle que soit leur superficie ou l'importance numérique de la population du territoire colonial, quel que soit le degré de développement ou de retard de tel ou tel territoire.

144. La question du statut gouvernemental futur d'un territoire, de sa structure gouvernementale et des voies qu'empruntera son développement doit être réglée par le peuple lui-même, sans la moindre pression extérieure.

145. Pour que les populations des petits territoires coloniaux puissent faire connaître leurs vœux librement et sans entraves, il est indispensable que l'on donne une liberté d'action complète et sans limites à tous les partis ou organisations démocratiques de ces territoires. On doit garantir à tous les éléments démocratiques la liberté de réunion et d'association, la liberté de parole, la liberté de la presse, etc. Tous les prisonniers politiques doivent être libérés sans délai. Sans l'application de ces mesures, les déclarations des représentants de certaines puissances coloniales qui affirment que leurs gouvernements sont prêts à mettre en œuvre la Déclaration restent entièrement vides de sens.

146. Cependant là aussi les puissances coloniales, avançant divers arguments tels que "le manque de préparation", "le manque de capacité" ou "l'économie

non viable" refusent d'accorder l'indépendance aux petits territoires coloniaux. Utilisant ces territoires pour y établir des bases militaires, les impérialistes ont, en fait, transformé bon nombre d'entre eux en des bases militaires et en des points d'appui du colonialisme; non seulement ils élèvent ainsi de sérieux obstacles à l'indépendance de ces colonies mais ils créent encore un danger extrêmement grave pour beaucoup d'Etats souverains voisins.

147. Pour ainsi dire à toutes les sessions de l'Assemblée nous revenons à des questions que nous avons déjà examinées à des sessions antérieures et nous adoptons toujours de nouvelles résolutions.

148. On dit que la répétition est la meilleure méthode d'enseignement. Il semblerait pourtant que d'aucuns cherchent à réfuter cette vérité universellement connue. Ou bien nous ne cherchons pas à faire comprendre cette vérité de façon suffisamment claire et précise à ceux auxquels nous nous adressons ou bien nos interlocuteurs, je songe aux colonialistes, refusent consciemment et délibérément de reconnaître cette vérité première, dont l'essence est que nous vivons dans la deuxième moitié du XX^{ème} siècle et non au Moyen-Âge.

149. La délégation ukrainienne pense que le temps des admonestations et des vœux pieux est révolu. L'Assemblée générale doit exiger résolument et sans équivoque des puissances colonialistes qu'elles appliquent les décisions contenues dans la Déclaration historique, qu'elles octroient sans délai la liberté et l'indépendance à tous les peuples, grands et petits, à tous les territoires, grands et petits.

150. A notre avis, l'Assemblée générale doit à la présente session tracer de nouvelles voies et élaborer de nouveaux principes en vue de la liquidation du colonialisme. Tous les Etats qui préconisent la liquidation du colonialisme doivent prendre les mesures les plus énergiques et les plus efficaces pour s'assurer que la Déclaration soit appliquée immédiatement et partout.

151. Les peuples du monde qui gémissent encore sous le joug colonial attendent de notre Organisation des mesures décisives et concrètes.

152. La délégation de la République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine déclare résolument et en pleine conscience de ses responsabilités qu'elle appuiera les mesures efficaces destinées à liquider une fois pour toutes ce honteux legs du passé qu'est le colonialisme. L'Organisation des Nations Unies a le devoir d'aider les peuples des colonies par tous les moyens et d'effacer ainsi de notre planète l'opprobre du colonialisme.

153. M. GBEHO (Ghana) [traduit de l'anglais]: C'est avec un sentiment de responsabilité solennelle envers tous les peuples coloniaux que la délégation du Ghana participe à ce débat sur les rapports du Comité spécial relatifs à la période 1964-1965 [A/5800/Rev.12/ et A/600/Rev.1]. Nous désirons donc exprimer d'abord nos sincères remerciements à tous les membres du Comité des Vingt-Quatre pour leur remarquable travail. A ce sujet, nous ne saurions trop rendre hommage aux services inappréciables de M. Coulibaly, du Mali,

sous l'experte direction de qui le Comité spécial a tant fait en si peu de temps pour les peuples assujettis du monde entier.

154. Bien que des progrès aient pu être enregistrés dans le problème de la décolonisation, il n'en demeure pas moins qu'un grand nombre de territoires, comprenant des millions d'hommes, attendent encore leur libération et que, par conséquent, l'engagement pris par les Nations Unies de faire progresser la décolonisation est loin d'être rempli. Cette tâche est actuellement rendu plus rude encore par l'intransigeance de certaines puissances coloniales, telles l'Afrique du Sud et le Portugal, et par le fait que ces puissances récalcitrantes continuent de recevoir un soutien matériel et moral de leurs alliés, dont certains sont, paradoxalement, Membres fondateurs de l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Le problème de la libération des colonies qui existent encore a donc pris un caractère d'urgence et d'immenses proportions, et les Nations Unies doivent tendre leurs efforts pour relever le défi que représente cette intransigeance.

155. Depuis la création des Nations Unies, il y a environ vingt ans, les Etats Membres ont toujours proclamé leur foi dans la Charte de l'Organisation, mais, dans l'application des principes énoncés par celle-ci, certains de ces Etats ont agi en complète contradiction avec ce qu'ils avaient passionnément affirmé à l'Assemblée. Nous qui faisons partie du monde afro-asiatique, nous n'avons pas le moindre doute maintenant quant à la duplicité de ces puissances, et nous sommes convaincus qu'elles ne protestent de leur attachement aux nobles idéaux de la Charte que pour mieux faire passer à la ronde, derrière la scène, le calice empoisonné. Un exemple classique de ce que j'avance nous est fourni par le cas de la Rhodésie du Sud, qui a plongé l'Afrique et le monde dans une crise aux conséquences imprévisibles.

156. Il y a environ cinq ans, le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni envoya ses représentants ici pour convaincre l'Assemblée qu'il serait sage d'adopter la Constitution de 1961 qu'il négociait à cette époque pour son territoire de la Rhodésie du Sud. Bien qu'il fût alors clair à nous tous que les principes démocratiques seraient violés par la promulgation de cette Constitution et que le sort de millions d'Africains serait remis aux mains d'une minorité blanche raciste et avide, appliquant des méthodes fascistes impitoyables, et bien que nous eussions plaidé très fermement contre cette Constitution de la Rhodésie du Sud, le Gouvernement britannique négligea nos arguments et décida de la sanctionner. Le temps a montré depuis combien nous avions raison, mais malheureusement la situation ne s'est en aucune façon améliorée.

157. Cette année, les pays africains ont de nouveau montré de la façon la plus nette, individuellement et collectivement, l'injustice qui serait commise si la Rhodésie du Sud était livrée à Ian Smith et à sa minorité raciste, et nous avons fait tous nos efforts pour convaincre la Grande-Bretagne de ne pas tolérer une déclaration unilatérale d'indépendance. Une nouvelle fois, nos supplications et nos arguments ne furent pas entendus et la Grande-Bretagne est restée impassible tandis que les criminels racistes s'emparaient du pouvoir et tournaient en dérision l'autorité de Sa Majesté en Rhodésie du Sud. Aujourd'hui, quatre mil-

lions d'Africains, en Rhodésie du Sud, sont à la merci d'une minorité raciste ivre de pouvoir et dont les antécédents sordides, qu'il s'agisse de discrimination raciale, d'intolérance fasciste ou de brutalités policières, défilent la description.

158. Depuis cette déclaration illégale, des hommes et des femmes ont été tués dans les rues, des gens sans défense ont été jetés en prison, et des soldats sud-africains et des spécialistes de l'apartheid ont été introduits en Rhodésie du Sud pour accroître l'autorité d'Ian Smith sur les populations autochtones de ce territoire.

159. La délégation du Ghana ne peut cependant admettre que la Grande-Bretagne n'a plus désormais de responsabilités en Rhodésie du Sud. Il se peut que les Blancs de Rhodésie du Sud soient les cousins du peuple britannique, mais nous estimons que si la Grande-Bretagne veut conserver sa dignité et un minimum d'influence aux Nations Unies et dans le monde afro-asiatique, elle doit immédiatement mettre fin à la situation intolérable qui règne en Rhodésie du Sud. Nous ne sommes pas des bellicistes et nous détestons voir verser le sang inutilement, mais quand une situation monstrueuse comme celle où se trouve maintenant la Rhodésie du Sud crève les yeux du monde entier et continue de dresser une barrière devant le droit et l'indépendance des hommes, il est certain que la Grande-Bretagne ne peut se dérober à l'emploi de la force pour rétablir une situation normale. A ce sujet, ma délégation est de tout cœur d'accord avec l'archevêque de Cantorbery, qui a déclaré récemment à Oxford:

"Dans notre monde moderne, je pense que l'emploi de la force n'est légitime que dans un dessein de justice et d'ordre et que de telles occasions se présentent quelquefois. Le maintien de la loi et de l'ordre a requis et requiert encore l'emploi de la force, bien qu'il ne faille jamais avoir recours à celle-ci avec ressentiment. Je pense qu'un Etat ou un groupe d'Etats est en droit d'utiliser la force pour maintenir la loi et l'ordre lorsqu'il existe une chance réelle que la force assure la loi et l'ordre."

160. Si je me suis attardé sur la question de la Rhodésie du Sud, c'est parce que le Ghana réagit fortement contre le crime qui y est commis actuellement avec la connivence secrète du Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni. Au moment où la Grande-Bretagne a suggéré l'application de sanctions économiques à la Rhodésie du Sud, elle savait bien que des pays comme le Portugal et l'Afrique du Sud ne prendraient pas part à cette action. Elle n'en a pas moins émis cette suggestion avant de faire volte-face pour nous dire que des difficultés seraient éprouvées s'il n'y avait pas coopération de la part de tous les Etats.

161. Nous croyons que des sanctions économiques ne seraient efficaces que si elles étaient appliquées immédiatement et énergiquement à la Rhodésie du Sud. L'affirmation de la Grande-Bretagne est à coup sûr hypocrite et fait injure à l'intelligence britannique. Le Royaume-Uni prétendra-t-il maintenant qu'il ignorait cette circonstance quand il menaçait la Rhodésie du Sud de sanctions économiques l'année dernière? Prétendra-t-il maintenant qu'il ignorait que l'Afrique du Sud et le Portugal ne participeraient à aucune

sorte de sanctions contre la Rhodésie du Sud? La Grande-Bretagne n'a pas agi loyalement envers la communauté internationale et seul le renversement immédiat de la situation en Rhodésie du Sud lui rendra son prestige, surtout aux yeux de la communauté africaine. Nous devons rappeler à la Grande-Bretagne que si elle manque à ce devoir, elle affaiblira elle-même l'édifice du Commonwealth qu'elle a construit et elle en hâtera la désintégration.

162. Ce qui s'est passé en Rhodésie du Sud n'est qu'une partie du vaste plan de l'"alliance impie" de l'Afrique du Sud et du Portugal visant à créer et à entretenir en Afrique méridionale une puissante hégémonie raciale au service de leurs intérêts égoïstes. Nous autres Africains, nous ne pouvons accepter cela et nous continuerons à lutter au coude à coude contre ces racistes. Un gouvernement qui se fonde sur les principes de l'apartheid ne pourra jamais être reconnu par nous. Il va sans dire, par conséquent, que le régime Verwoerd en Afrique du Sud ne peut s'attendre à ce que nous le reconnaissons ni à ce que nous coopérons avec lui tant que la majorité de la population sera privée de ses droits humains élémentaires et considérée en République sud-africaine comme n'étant bonne qu'à abattre des arbres et tirer de l'eau.

163. La menace d'apartheid en Afrique est beaucoup plus grave que la plupart des Etats Membres ne l'imaginent, car elle n'est pas limitée à cette république immorale. Aujourd'hui, les racistes, en collaboration avec le Portugal et les alliés de l'OTAN, déploient leurs efforts diaboliques pour étendre ce régime au Sud-Ouest africain, au Betchouanaland, au Bassoutoland, au Souaziland, à l'Angola, au Mozambique et à la Guinée dite portugaise. Les rapports du Comité spécial sont formels à cet égard et ont été confirmés par les pétitionnaires qui ont été entendus par la Quatrième Commission. C'est là assurément une situation intolérable, parce qu'elle est en contradiction avec les principes de la Charte des Nations Unies, qu'elle outrepassse le mandat des puissances métropolitaines et qu'elle ne signifie rien d'autre que la souffrance et la misère pour des millions d'individus qui attendent de l'Organisation des Nations Unies protection et liberté.

164. Puisqu'il en est ainsi, pourquoi nous montrons-nous pusillanimes devant des situations qui exigent que nous agissions avec fermeté? Est-il vraiment normal que les Nations Unies ne soient capables d'agir qu'en cas de crise? Ce n'est pas pour cela que de petits pays, tels, du moins, le Ghana, ont décidé d'adhérer aux Nations Unies. Nous lançons donc un appel aux pays occidentaux qui suivent aveuglément leurs maîtres financiers en perpétrant l'injustice raciale pour qu'ils s'abstiennent d'apporter un soutien aussi immoral à des méthodes pernicieuses. Les faits de domination dans ces colonies sont clairs et tous les efforts des Etats Membres doivent être mobilisés pour faire face à chaque situation.

165. Le Comité spécial a indiqué clairement^{8/} que l'intérêt des compagnies étrangères dans le Sud-Ouest africain est une entrave à l'indépendance du peuple de ce territoire. Bien que l'Afrique du Sud, le Royaume-Uni, les Etats-Unis et l'Allemagne occidentale réali-

^{8/} Ibid., annexe No 15, document A/5840.

sent chaque année d'énormes bénéfices au Sud-Ouest africain, le peuple africain de ce territoire colonial n'a aucune possibilité de profiter, grâce aux richesses de son propre pays, d'un niveau de vie plus élevé, ni d'améliorations en matière sociale et d'éducation. La plupart des habitants connaissent la faim ou parviennent tout juste à survivre. En guise de sympathie, les recommandations extravagantes de la Commission Odendaal sont mises en application pour les maintenir dans leur condition inférieure. Ils doivent être répartis dans des réserves tandis que l'étranger s'engraisse sur leurs ressources. Cela ne devrait pas exister. C'est immoral et contraire aux principes humanitaires.

166. Il ne fait pas de doute qu'une grossière erreur a été commise sur le plan international quand le territoire du Sud-Ouest africain a été confié à l'Afrique du Sud, pays qui ajoute l'apartheid aux nombreux autres problèmes difficiles à résoudre de notre monde. De même, les territoires de l'Angola, du Mozambique et de la Guinée dite portugaise n'auraient pas dû être laissés aux mains du Portugal, parce que ce pays a une politique coloniale à courte vue et opposée au progrès. Ma délégation estime que les Nations Unies ont l'obligation de faire en sorte que ces territoires soient libérés immédiatement, conformément aux dispositions de la Charte des Nations Unies et de la résolution 1514 (XV).

167. Ce qui se passe dans les territoires sous administration portugaise constitue une menace pour la paix. Il n'y a été fait aucun progrès politique, économique, social ou culturel, et le respect des droits de l'homme et des libertés fondamentales de tous y est totalement inconnu. Nous proposons donc que ces territoires ne soient plus désormais administrés par le Portugal, puisque ce pays n'a pas respecté toutes les dispositions du Chapitre XII de la Charte concernant le régime international de tutelle.

168. Si ma délégation a parlé longuement des problèmes coloniaux qui intéressent l'Afrique, c'est simplement parce que, en tant qu'Africains, nous ne pouvons faire autrement. Il ne faudrait pas cependant que l'on croie que nous ne portons pas notre attention sur des problèmes semblables qui se posent dans les territoires plus petits du Pacifique et des Caraïbes. Nous n'avons pas cessé de mettre en lumière les méfaits du colonialisme dans ces territoires chaque fois que ceux-ci ont fait l'objet d'un examen approfondi, et nous continuerons de condamner la politique de domination coloniale jusqu'à ce que ces territoires soient libres eux aussi.

169. La délégation du Ghana salue avec une grande satisfaction l'annonce que le 26 mai 1966 sera la date de l'indépendance de la Guyane britannique. Nous estimons toutefois que le Gouvernement britannique serait bien avisé d'empêcher ses autorités en Guyane britannique de se livrer à de nouveaux actes capables d'exacerber les différends dans ce territoire et, par là, de retarder l'indépendance.

170. Tout le poids de la tâche consistant à unir les différentes communautés raciales appelées à former une nationalité repose sur les épaules des Guyanais eux-mêmes. Nous espérons que M. Burnham et le Dr Jagan oublieront leurs divergences et travailleront

ensemble en harmonie pour le bien de leur nation. A ce sujet, nous appuyons la proposition de conférence des divers partis politiques de Guyane britannique à l'effet de trouver une solution à leurs différends pour permettre à la Guyane de commencer son existence indépendante dans un calme et une harmonie qui donneront plus de prix à sa présence dans la communauté internationale.

171. Au sujet des îles Cook, le Comité spécial a établi un rapport [A/6000/Rev.1, chap. VIII] qui, pendant longtemps, fera honneur, non seulement aux Nations Unies, mais aussi à un digne fils d'Afrique qui s'est acquitté avec distinction de la délicate et onéreuse mission qui lui avait été confiée, j'ai nommé M. Omar Adeel, du Soudan. Nous ne pouvons méconnaître non plus le fait que le Gouvernement de la Nouvelle-Zélande a fait un geste bienvenu, sans précédent dans l'histoire coloniale, en invitant les Nations Unies à veiller sur les élections dans les îles Cook. Ma délégation désire exprimer la satisfaction que ce geste lui inspire. Nous espérons que les autres puissances coloniales s'inspireront de l'exemple marqué de l'esprit de progrès donné par le Gouvernement de la Nouvelle-Zélande.

172. Tout en reconnaissant ces actes louables, nous ne pouvons nous empêcher de remarquer que, bien qu'il puisse être décrit comme une mesure d'autodétermination, le statut constitutionnel actuel des îles Cook ne peut être considéré comme répondant à toutes les conditions de la résolution 1514 (XV). Ainsi que l'ambassadeur de Nouvelle-Zélande l'a lui-même qualifié, le statut actuel des îles Cook n'est "ni chair ni poisson". La Constitution des îles Cook n'est pas parfaite et l'association libre avec la Nouvelle-Zélande n'est pas établie entièrement sur la base de l'égalité. Nous reconnaissons cependant que les habitants des îles Cook conservent le droit de changer à l'avenir leur statut actuel. Nous espérons aussi qu'il n'y aura pas ultérieurement de difficultés dans l'éventualité — mentionnée par M. Albert Henry, Premier Ministre des îles Cook, au Comité des Vingt-Quatre — où ils décideraient de devenir totalement indépendants après avoir accompli un certain progrès économique. A cet égard, nous croyons que les Nations Unies devraient se tenir prêtes à offrir leurs services et leurs conseils aux habitants des îles Cook si ceux-ci devaient en manifester le désir.

173. Très souvent, le sort des populations assujetties vivant sur de petits territoires comme les îles Vierges, la Papouasie, la Nouvelle-Guinée et les îles Fidji tend à rester ignoré du fait de leur isolement par rapport aux zones principales d'activité. Mais il ne devrait pas en être ainsi. En réalité, les puissances métropolitaines responsables de ces territoires sont aussi imperméables les unes que les autres aux idées de progrès et ce sont les mêmes monopoles capitalistes internationaux qui exploitent les ressources limitées des territoires en question. Aussi longtemps que ceux-ci resteront des colonies, les Nations Unies devront leur accorder une attention suffisante. Nous ne pouvons accepter l'argument des Etats-Unis selon lequel la question des îles Vierges n'est pas du ressort des Nations Unies.

174. Ma délégation voudrait inviter le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis à revoir sa position sur la question

des îles Vierges. Il nous paraît invraisemblable qu'en notre vingtième siècle, les descendants des auteurs de la Déclaration d'Indépendance américaine persévèrent dans une politique coloniale archaïque. Il a été question du désir de favoriser le progrès économique dans ces îles avant de leur accorder l'indépendance, mais le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis lui-même est le premier à se rendre compte que cet argument n'est pas valable. Les problèmes économiques des îles Vierges peuvent être résolus par le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis en quelques mois s'il le désire, mais au lieu de cela, l'autodétermination et l'indépendance sont refusées aux populations de ces îles.

175. La Papouasie et la Nouvelle-Guinée connaissent des difficultés semblables, à cela près que le Gouvernement australien est encore plus intransigeant dans son refus d'accorder aux populations de ces îles leurs droits inaliénables. Au lieu d'unir ces populations, on introduit dans leurs esprits des divergences raciales et ethniques afin de retarder le moment où leur seront accordées la liberté et l'indépendance qu'elles réclament. Entre temps, les ressources de la Nouvelle-Guinée sont exploitées impunément par le Gouvernement australien, ce qui lui est d'autant plus facile que la plupart des gens n'ont pas facilement connaissance de ces actes détestables.

176. Récemment, le Gouvernement australien a promulgué des lois extravagantes qui admettent que les indigènes de ces îles peuvent vivre sur leur propre territoire, mais selon lesquelles les ressources de ce territoire appartiennent au Gouvernement australien et non pas aux habitants. Je dois dire que cette sorte de logique est difficile à comprendre. Les Nations Unies devraient donc intervenir dans cette situation et aider à libérer ces populations le plus rapidement possible, et en tout cas avant que ce pillage, n'aille trop loin.

177. La constitution préparée par la Grande-Bretagne pour le peuple des îles Fidji dans l'intention d'y susciter des différences raciales dans ce territoire est déplorable et devrait être désapprouvée par l'Assemblée. Cette dérogation au principe du suffrage universel pour des raisons raciales ne créera pas l'atmosphère de paix et d'harmonie que les Fidjiens désirent et les plongera avant peu dans les ténèbres d'un conflit racial où ils risquent de rester à jamais. Les paroles équivoques prononcées par l'ambassadeur de Ceylan sur cette question lorsqu'il présenta le projet de résolution sur les îles Fidji à la Quatrième Commission voici quelques jours [1567ème séance] ont été si éloquentes que je n'ai rien à y ajouter. Son analyse de la constitution a dévoilé les intentions secrètes du Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni dans ce territoire et je ne veux pas faire perdre davantage de temps à l'Assemblée en répétant ses paroles. Ma délégation tient simplement à déclarer que nous appuyons sans réserve l'analyse si claire faite par le représentant de Ceylan.

178. Avant de conclure, qu'il me soit permis d'exprimer une fois de plus notre opposition à la pratique de l'établissement de bases militaires dans les territoires dépendants. Si nous regardons attentivement la liste des territoires encore assujettis, il apparaît clairement que c'est dans ceux où se trouvent des bases ou des installations militaires que des méthodes colo-

niales sont pratiquées et que la paix et la sécurité sont mises en danger. A Aden, au Sud-Ouest africain, en Angola, en Mozambique, en Afrique du Sud et dans de nombreux autres territoires, ce misérable état de choses ne pourra prendre fin tant que les puissances étrangères maintiendront des bases et des installations contre la volonté des populations. Ma délégation appuie donc les conclusions du Comité spécial déplorant le maintien de ces bases et s'associe à la Déclaration des gouvernements des pays non alignés, formulée au Caire en octobre 1964 et dans laquelle il est dit:

"Notant avec inquiétude que les bases militaires étrangères constituent, dans la pratique, un moyen de pression contre les nations et freinent leur émancipation et leur développement selon leurs concepts idéologiques, politiques, économiques et culturels propres, la Conférence déclare accorder son appui sans réserve aux pays qui s'efforcent d'obtenir l'évacuation de bases étrangères installées sur leur territoire et elle invite tous les Etats qui ont des troupes et des bases dans d'autres pays à les en retirer sans délai^{9/}."

Telle est l'opinion du monde non aligné, à laquelle nous sommes fiers de nous associer.

179. Voilà environ 20 ans que l'Assemblée discute du problème du colonialisme. Le nombre des territoires coloniaux, dont le nôtre, qui ont accédé à l'indépendance au cours de la dernière décennie fait honneur à l'excellent travail accompli par les Etats Membres des Nations Unies. Mais la lutte est loin d'être terminée, étant donné la farouche opposition à laquelle se heurte maintenant l'Organisation. Notre tâche est peut-être encore plus difficile maintenant qu'auparavant. C'est pourquoi la délégation du Ghana invite tous les Etats Membres à venir au secours des peuples coloniaux. Nous ne doutons pas que vous, les descendants de ceux qui ont combattu pour les nobles principes de la Grande Charte et de la Déclaration d'Indépendance américaine, vous saurez vous montrer dignes de la réputation de vos ancêtres en vous joignant à nous pour mener une lutte implacable contre le colonialisme et l'impérialisme.

180. M. EL-KONY (République arabe unie) [traduit de l'anglais]: La présente session de l'Assemblée générale n'est pas une simple réunion annuelle des représentants des Nations Unies. Elle marque la fin des deux premières décennies de l'Organisation; elle marque aussi la fin d'une période de cinq années depuis l'adoption de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. En de telles occasions, il est particulièrement indiqué de se demander si l'Organisation répond aux espérances placées en elle, met en œuvre et traduit dans la réalité les résolutions qu'elle a adoptées, et si ses Membres remplissent fidèlement les obligations qu'ils ont contractées selon la Charte. L'Organisation des Nations Unies a pris une place de plus en plus grande dans les esprits et les cœurs de millions d'hommes en Asie, en Afrique et en Amérique latine du fait de ses grands efforts en faveur de la décolonisation. Ces efforts se sont concrétisés dans l'adoption de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux qui en a été le couronnement.

^{9/} Voir document A/5763, sect. VIII.

Par cette Déclaration, les peuples du monde ont, dans leur immense majorité, affirmé par la voix de leurs représentants aux Nations Unies leur détermination de mettre fin au colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations et d'aider les peuples qui subissent encore le joug colonial à se débarrasser des vestiges du colonialisme.

181. L'adoption de cette historique Déclaration a fait naître l'espoir chez des millions d'individus privés de leurs droits fondamentaux, privés du droit de vivre comme des êtres humains. Par cette Déclaration, l'Assemblée générale a renouvelé aux millions d'hommes qui n'avaient pas encore retrouvé leur droit naturel à l'autodétermination et à la souveraineté nationale l'assurance que l'Organisation se préoccupait de leurs aspirations et était déterminée à mettre fin au problème colonial, qui a causé et cause encore des souffrances humaines et qui fait obstacle à une compréhension vraiment internationale et aux relations amicales entre les nations.

182. Aujourd'hui, au stade de développement et de réalisations, d'instruction et de compréhension où l'homme est parvenu, des millions d'êtres sont encore soumis à l'humiliation, à la servitude et à des atrocités qui rappellent l'âge des ténèbres.

183. Il est exact que, depuis la création des Nations Unies, des millions d'hommes ont recouvré leur liberté et leur indépendance, mais il est non moins exact que des millions d'autres sont encore sous la domination coloniale malgré tout ce qui a été dit et fait, malgré toutes les résolutions adoptées par l'Assemblée. On continue de noter dans les manifestations du colonialisme des signes qui ne laissent pas de nous causer un profond regret et une profonde inquiétude. Le précieux rapport qui nous a été soumis par le Comité spécial en fait clairement état. D'après ce rapport, nous constatons avec regret que certaines puissances coloniales continuent de refuser à coopérer avec les Nations Unies, dont elle ne reconnaissent même pas l'autorité. D'autres, qui sont des Membres fondateurs des Nations Unies, ne reconnaissent pas le droit des peuples à l'autodétermination, droit qui fait l'objet d'une des dispositions fondamentales de la Charte.

184. Il est d'autre part des Etats qui refusent de mettre en application les résolutions de l'Assemblée générale et de laisser les missions itinérantes pénétrer dans les territoires qu'ils administrent. Ils recourent en général à toutes sortes d'arguments juridiques pour fuir leurs obligations et échapper au contrôle des Nations Unies. Je me permets de dire à ces Etats que l'administration des territoires dépendants n'est plus du ressort exclusif des puissances administrantes. Elle est l'affaire de la communauté internationale tout entière. Les Nations Unies ont l'obligation et le devoir de veiller à ce que les dispositions de la Charte, ainsi que celles de la Déclaration, soient respectées et appliquées comme il convient, que l'administration soit exercée de façon à favoriser le plus possible le bien-être des habitants des territoires dépendants et que ces habitants soient protégés contre les abus. Sinon, le principe de l'obligation internationale de rendre compte de sa gestion restera lettre morte.

185. L'intention des auteurs de la résolution 1654 (XVI) était de faire du Comité spécial un organisme d'action et non un club de discussion. Comment le Comité spécial pourrait-il remplir sa mission historique et sa noble tâche sans la coopération des puissances administrantes?

186. Contrairement à ce qui avait été fait précédemment dans l'histoire des organisations internationales, les auteurs de la Charte des Nations Unies ont conçu le problème de la paix et de la sécurité internationales d'une manière positive et constructive. Ils l'ont envisagé non pas sous un aspect négatif, mais sous l'aspect positif de la création de conditions de stabilité favorables à la paix et à la sécurité. Parmi les plus importantes de ces conditions figure l'exercice de droits égaux par tous les peuples et tous les pays, grands et petits, l'émancipation des peuples dépendants et leur droit de prendre place avec dignité dans la communauté des nations. C'est ce qu'a confirmé la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, où il est dit:

"L'Assemblée générale,

"...

"Consciente des conflits croissants qu'entraîne le fait de refuser la liberté à ces peuples ou d'y faire obstacle, qui constituent une grave menace à la paix mondiale,

"...

"Déclare ce qui suit:

"1. La sujétion des peuples à une subjugation, à une domination et à une exploitation étrangères ... compromet la cause de la paix et de la coopération mondiales."

187. Il faut qu'il y ait coopération entre le Conseil de sécurité et l'Assemblée générale à l'effet de mettre fin au colonialisme, c'est essentiel. Nous exprimons l'espoir que les membres du Conseil de sécurité, et notamment les membres permanents, prêteront aide et assistance au Comité spécial dans l'exécution de sa noble tâche. Il est inquiétant de constater l'attitude des puissances administrantes qui refusent d'appliquer les résolutions de l'Assemblée générale. Le Conseil de sécurité pourrait être d'une grande utilité à cet égard.

188. Je n'ai pas l'intention de faire perdre du temps à l'Assemblée en traitant de tous les problèmes et de tous les points soulevés dans les rapports du Comité spécial. Ma délégation a eu l'occasion d'exprimer, au sein de la Quatrième Commission, son opinion sur ces problèmes, spécialement sur la question de la Rhodésie du Sud qui est d'une importance extrême pour les Africains et le monde entier. Je voudrais toutefois faire quelques remarques générales.

189. Premièrement, certaines puissances coloniales tentent, par des actes unilatéraux ou des traités imposés, de donner un statut nominal à leurs colonies afin de se dérober aux responsabilités qui leur incombent en vertu de la Charte. Nous pensons fermement que les dispositions de la Charte et la Déclaration s'appliquent à tous les cas où le peuple ne jouit pas de son entière indépendance, n'a pas pleine souveraineté et n'exerce pas entièrement l'autorité sur ses

affaires. Les traités imposés qui limitent et restreignent la souveraineté d'un peuple le laissent sous un véritable statut colonial. Nous connaissons bien, dans notre partie du monde, ce genre de traités, tels que les traités consultatifs et les traités de protection imposés aux peuples d'Oman, de Mascate et des protectorats d'Aden et du golfe Persique.

190. Deuxièmement, il est inquiétant de voir que les puissances coloniales s'attachent de plus en plus à établir et maintenir des bases militaires dans les territoires dépendants. Nous estimons que le maintien de ces bases militaires constitue une menace pour la paix et la sécurité internationales ainsi qu'une menace pour la liberté des peuples. Le représentant du Royaume-Uni a déclaré:

"Nous n'avons plus, nulle part dans le monde, besoin de bases pour assurer la défense de nos intérêts impériaux. Nous n'en avons besoin que pour nous acquitter des obligations que nous impose le maintien de la paix et l'aide à nos amis." [1386ème séance, par. 57.]

191. Les faits contredisent cette déclaration. On nous demande de reconnaître que ces bases sont maintenues avec le consentement des peuples intéressés. Mais les événements ont montré qu'elles servent à réprimer les mouvements de libération et à briser la résistance des peuples qui luttent pour leur indépendance. Les opérations militaires brutales menées contre les populations d'Aden et d'Oman en sont une preuve manifeste. Les événements ont également montré que ces bases ne sont utilisées que dans des desseins agressifs contre des Etats indépendants. L'agression commise par les forces du Royaume-Uni contre mon pays en 1956 et l'agression contre la République du Yémen le prouvent clairement.

192. En conséquence, les puissances coloniales devraient être invitées à liquider leurs bases militaires dans les territoires dépendants.

193. Troisièmement, le but principal des puissances coloniales administrant les territoires dépendants est toujours d'augmenter leurs propres avantages économiques. L'exploitation des ressources naturelles de ces territoires reste le principal objectif des puissances coloniales. Comme l'a déclaré un des dirigeants des puissances coloniales:

"Les nations européennes ont voulu posséder des colonies pour les trois raisons suivantes:

"1. Créer des débouchés pour les produits manufacturés de la métropole.

"2. Avoir accès aux matières premières de ces colonies.

"3. Disposer d'un champ d'investissement pour leurs capitaux excédentaires."

194. Les rapports du Comité spécial sur l'industrie minière et les investissements étrangers dans les territoires sous administration portugaise [A/6000/Rev.1, chap. 3] et dans le Sud-Ouest africain^{10/} démontrent de façon indiscutable que cette politique a toujours cours.

^{10/} Documents officiels de l'Assemblée générale, dix-neuvième session, Annexes, annexe No 15, document A/5840.

195. A ce sujet, nous estimons que la politique et les méthodes de ceux qui tirent profit de l'exploitation des peuples de la partie méridionale de l'Afrique, c'est-à-dire de l'Angola, du Mozambique, du Sud-Ouest africain et de la Rhodésie du Sud, sont les boucliers qui protègent le régime colonialiste et d'apartheid, car les puissances qui ont des colonies dans cette partie de l'Afrique ne peuvent résister aux puissants courants des aspirations humaines et de l'opinion mondiale que grâce à la protection des puissances qui ont des intérêts financiers en Afrique méridionale.

196. Quatrièmement, certaines puissances coloniales tentent d'accorder l'indépendance à des conditions, assorties de traités imposés, ayant pour but de perpétuer leur domination, ce qui est contraire à la Charte des Nations Unies et à la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. Le désir des peuples doit être respecté. Les peuples ont le droit absolu de décider de leur destin.

197. Le représentant du Royaume-Uni a déclaré que la politique de son gouvernement en ce qui concerne ses territoires coloniaux était fondée sur deux principes: la consultation et le consentement. Il est permis de se demander si la population africaine de l'Afrique du Sud avait été consultée en 1910 quand le Royaume-Uni remit l'Afrique du Sud aux colons étrangers; si la population africaine de la Rhodésie du Sud a approuvé les constitutions de 1923 et de 1961; si la population arabe de Palestine avait été consultée sur son sort futur quand le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni a remis son territoire à des aventuriers et des colons; si la population d'Aden et des protectorats avait été consultée sur la Fédération dite d'Arabie du Sud ou l'avait approuvée; si les populations d'Oman et de Mascate avaient approuvé les traités illégaux et créateurs d'illégalités qui leur ont été imposés.

198. Telles sont nos remarques d'ordre général sur le rapport du Comité spécial chargé de suivre l'application de la Déclaration. Nous espérons que les puissances qui refusent de coopérer avec le Comité spécial écouteront la voix de la raison. Nous espérons aussi que le Conseil de sécurité prendra des mesures efficaces pour aider le Comité dans sa noble tâche.

199. En conclusion, permettez-moi de rendre hommage aux membres du Comité spécial et à son Président, M. Coulibaly, pour le précieux rapport qu'ils nous ont soumis.

200. M. COMAY (Israël) [traduit de l'anglais]: Il y a seulement une génération, tous les atlas scolaires représentaient la majeure partie de l'Afrique et de l'Asie, ainsi que des îles de l'océan Pacifique, de l'océan Indien, de l'océan Atlantique et de la région des Caraïbes sous les différentes couleurs des grands empires coloniaux. Au cours des deux décennies qui se sont écoulées depuis la guerre, ces couleurs ont presque disparu de la carte du monde. Une des transformations les plus spectaculaires dont l'histoire de l'humanité a été le témoin est sur le point de s'achever. Aujourd'hui, plus de 90 p. cent des peuples du monde vivent, indépendants, dans des Etats souverains.

201. Les Nations Unies ont joué un rôle influent dans ce processus de décolonisation, ainsi qu'en témoignent la résolution 1514 (XV) de 1960, désormais historique, l'œuvre importante accomplie par le Comité des Vingt-

Quatre et les pressions anticoloniales constamment exercées au sein de l'Organisation par les Etats Membres nouvellement libérés de la domination coloniale.

202. Reconnaissons aussi, en toute justice, le rôle joué volontairement par presque toutes les puissances coloniales elles-mêmes. En particulier, les deux principales puissances intéressées, la Grande-Bretagne et la France, ont reconnu le fait que le régime colonial était périmé et moralement indéfendable et ont poursuivi une politique destinée à transférer, dans l'ordre et la liberté, le pouvoir aux peuples assujettis. Dans sa remarquable déclaration, faite du haut de cette tribune mercredi dernier [1386ème séance], lord Caradon a insisté sur les principes de consultation et de consentement grâce à l'application desquels son pays a, en moins de 20 ans, fait accéder à l'indépendance vingt-six nations habitées par le cinquième de la population du globe. Nous sommes heureux qu'il nous ait donné l'assurance que les mêmes principes seront appliqués pour décider de l'avenir des trente et une colonies qui sont encore sous l'autorité britannique — tout en prenant acte de ses commentaires sur les problèmes particuliers qui se posent lorsqu'il s'agit d'acheminer vers l'indépendance de petites unités territoriales disséminées et non économiquement viables. Ma délégation ne doute pas que le Comité des Vingt-Quatre étudiera séparément chaque cas selon les besoins et les vœux des habitants, sans perdre de vue l'objectif général qui reste de liquider dans le plus bref délai possible les vestiges de la domination coloniale.

203. Mon gouvernement et mon peuple ont soutenu de tout cœur la lutte contre le colonialisme. Le principe de l'indépendance nationale ravive nos souvenirs les plus vénérables remontant par-delà des milliers d'années à la période de l'Ancien Testament, alors que nos ancêtres luttaient pour leur indépendance contre les grands empires coloniaux de l'époque. Maintenant que nous vivons de nouveau en hommes libres, nous éprouvons une grande satisfaction à maintenir d'étroits liens d'amitié et de coopération pratique avec tant de nouveaux Etats Membres. Ceux qui dirigent ces Etats ont à guider le destin de populations qui, au sortir de la domination étrangère, étaient accablées par la pauvreté, la maladie, l'ignorance et leur retard économique. L'indépendance politique n'est pas suffisante en soi; elle est l'instrument qui sert à développer le bien-être et le progrès. Israël est heureux de pouvoir faire partager à ces Etats frères sa propre expérience de l'édification d'une nation.

204. Lorsque la résolution 1514 (XV) a été adoptée, elle n'exigeait pas seulement que cesse la domination étrangère, mais aussi qu'il soit mis fin à toutes les pratiques de ségrégation et de discrimination. C'est là un but que le peuple d'Israël considère avec une profonde émotion, née de notre propre expérience amère en tant que victimes de telles pratiques au cours de l'histoire. Nous rejetons tous les concepts de supériorité ou d'infériorité raciale et nous croyons que le statut politique et social des individus et des nations ainsi que leurs possibilités économiques n'ont rien à voir avec la race ou la couleur. Cette conviction passionnée continuera de guider notre politique et nos prises de position comme ce fut le cas, tout récemment, à l'égard de la Rhodésie du Sud.

205. Alors que nous approchons de la fin de l'ère coloniale, nous n'avons nullement à oublier les injustices du passé. Mais appliquons-nous à édifier un avenir meilleur, où toutes les nations vivront dans la liberté et l'égalité et, par-dessus tout, dans la paix.

206. M. ALARCON QUESADA (Cuba) [traduit de l'espagnol]: Dans huit jours seulement, nous célébrerons le cinquième anniversaire de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux [résolution 1514 (XV)], qui proclamait solennellement la nécessité de mettre rapidement et inconditionnellement fin au colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations. Il est certain que, depuis lors, de nombreux pays ont obtenu la liberté et l'indépendance, grâce surtout aux efforts au sacrifice de leurs peuples. Mais des dizaines de millions d'êtres humains endurent encore le joug colonial en Amérique latine, en Afrique et en Asie.

207. Il y a quatre ans que l'Assemblée générale a créé le Comité spécial [résolution 1654 (XVI)] dénommé aujourd'hui Comité des Vingt-Quatre, chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. La délégation de Cuba se plaît à rendre hommage au travail accompli par le Comité des Vingt-Quatre, dont les rapports sont soumis à notre examen, et, en particulier, à son Président, M. Coulibaly, du Mali, et à son Rapporteur, M. Natwar Singh, de l'Inde. En manifestant notre reconnaissance au Comité des Vingt-Quatre, nous croyons devoir signaler aussi le travail de sabotage et de résistance auquel se sont livrés, au sein de ce Comité, les représentants des Etats colonialistes de tous les continents.

208. Au travail constructif du Comité spécial s'opposent la survivance destructrice du colonialisme et les efforts tenaces et souvent conjugués des puissances colonialistes pour maintenir leur régime de domination et d'exploitation, en violation de la Charte des Nations Unies et de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. Cette tentative que fait pour survivre un système en désintégration se caractérise par l'acharnement à combattre par tous les moyens les mouvements nationaux de libération. L'emploi de la force militaire dans ce vain effort des colonialistes crée des zones de conflits internationaux qui menacent la paix et la sécurité du monde. Non seulement l'impérialisme ignore ainsi la Charte et la Déclaration, mais il va aussi, dans son défi aux Nations Unies, jusqu'à créer de nouveaux territoires coloniaux dans le dessein immédiat d'y établir des bases militaires. Ces bases, qui apparaissent dans de nombreux territoires, font obstacle au mouvement de libération des peuples.

209. Les études du Comité des Vingt-Quatre sur les agissements des intérêts étrangers, économiques et autres, dans les territoires portugais et au Sud-Ouest africain, ainsi que les informations fournies en cette matière par les délégations et pétitionnaires, montrent comment ces intérêts constituent l'obstacle principal dans la lutte des peuples pour leur indépendance, en empêchant la mise en œuvre de la Déclaration. Ces études et informations font apparaître comment se manifeste sur le plan économique l'internationale impérialiste et comment les intérêts économiques

communs conduisent les puissances coloniales à des alliances militaires et à des ententes politiques dirigées spécialement contre les peuples dépendants.

210. Un des cas les plus détestables de ce genre est l'alliance dite "impie", dans la partie méridionale de l'Afrique, qui a enregistré un succès éphémère avec la déclaration d'indépendance proclamée par le régime usurpateur et raciste de Rhodésie du Sud devant la passivité éloquente de l'autorité administrante. Cette alliance impie est l'instrument des puissances occidentales qui, organisées dans l'OTAN et dirigées par les Etats-Unis, ont aujourd'hui la prétention de consolider un bastion colonialiste dans le sud du continent africain.

211. Au sujet de la situation alarmante qui règne en Rhodésie du Sud, le Ministre des relations extérieures de Cuba, le Dr. Raúl Roa García, a fait la déclaration suivante:

"La solution véritable et durable au conflit ainsi créé serait l'indépendance du peuple noir, opprimé et spolié, de la Rhodésie du Sud; le Gouvernement cubain reconnaît pleinement le droit inaliénable de ce peuple de la conquérir par la force des armes, de même qu'il encourage et entérine, les mesures solidaires que prennent les Etats africains en ce sens.

"Le Gouvernement révolutionnaire cubain réitère son refus total de reconnaître le régime raciste mis en place par la minorité blanche sous la direction d'Ian Smith et se déclare résolu à apporter au peuple subjugué, exploité et victime de discrimination de la Rhodésie du Sud l'aide nécessaire, sous quelque forme que ce soit, dont il aura besoin pour combattre l'impérialisme et ses agents." [A/6112.]

212. Tandis que l'internationale impérialiste développe en Afrique sa manœuvre centrée sur la Rhodésie du Sud, elle en exécute une autre avec quelques variantes en Amérique, plus précisément en Guyane dite britannique, où elle abat par la violence le parti indépendant majoritaire pour remettre le pouvoir, à la veille de l'indépendance, à des groupes dévoués à ses ordres.

213. Les colonialistes manifestent leur indifférence de la grave responsabilité qui leur incombe envers tous les peuples du monde en s'obstinant à perpétuer le régime d'exploitation et d'humiliation qu'ils font subir à des millions d'hommes à seule fin d'obtenir des avantages économiques faciles, mais rouges de sang. Les fructueuses sessions du Comité des Vingt-Quatre en Afrique, qui doivent, pense notre délégation, se répéter sur ce continent, ont abouti à la recommandation d'apporter une aide non seulement morale mais aussi matérielle à la lutte des peuples pour leur liberté et leur indépendance. En ce cinquième anniversaire de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, il est encourageant de noter, d'une part, combien s'est renforcé le sentiment que les Nations Unies ont le devoir d'aider les mouvements de libération de tous les peuples qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance et, d'autre part, comme l'immense majorité des Etats Membres des Nations Unies se montre déterminée à contribuer, dans toute la mesure possible, à la libération rapide et inconditionnelle des peuples assujettis.

214. Il est également encourageant, en présence de la résistance des colonialistes, de voir une organisation régionale de première importance comme l'Organisation de l'unité africaine serrer les rangs dans sa ferme détermination de débarrasser, rapidement et totalement, son continent de toute zone coloniale.

215. Cet exemple contraste avec l'indifférence manifestée par certains Etats américains envers le cas irritant de Porto Rico, qui est toujours sous le régime colonial d'un membre permanent du Conseil de sécurité. L'attitude de l'Organisation de l'unité africaine contribuera sans nul doute à accélérer le processus de décolonisation établi par la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale. Cette attitude réaffirme en fait le droit que la Charte, la Déclaration et les résolutions des Nations Unies reconnaissent aux peuples des territoires sous tutelle, des territoires non autonomes et de tous les autres territoires qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance, à jouir de leur pleine souveraineté.

216. Il est, dans le processus de décolonisation, un autre facteur encourageant et décisif qui n'est pas l'œuvre de l'Assemblée, à savoir le soulèvement des peuples, dans l'exercice de leur droit inaliénable et imprescriptible à la liberté et à l'indépendance — de ces peuples que l'on a privés de tous les moyens pacifiques de résoudre le problème de la domination coloniale reposant sur la force des intérêts économiques et la puissance militaire impérialiste. Ce soulèvement se produit aujourd'hui parmi les peuples de territoires comme l'Angola, le Mozambique et la Guinée dite portugaise, et l'on en entendra bientôt parler en Rhodésie du Sud, en Afrique occidentale et dans d'autres territoires si les puissances coloniales persistent dans leur grossière erreur de croire que, contrairement à maints exemples historiques, il est possible de maintenir indéfiniment les hommes dans la servitude.

217. Non seulement la Charte, la Déclaration et les résolutions des Nations Unies mais aussi le soulèvement des peuples condamnent l'obstination à maintenir le colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations, avec ses séquelles de ségrégation et de discrimination raciale, comme un crime contre l'humanité. C'est pourquoi les Nations Unies reconnaissent la légitimité de la lutte des peuples contre le colonialisme. Mais l'Organisation n'exerce pas encore l'action plus efficace qui la hausserait au niveau de l'effort héroïque poursuivi par les peuples pour obtenir leur liberté et leur indépendance. Il appartient spécialement au Conseil de sécurité, responsable du maintien de la paix et de la sécurité internationales, d'utiliser toutes les ressources qui lui offre la Charte pour débarrasser le monde des zones coloniales où la situation s'aggrave, accroissant ainsi la menace qu'elles font peser sur la paix et la sécurité internationales.

218. Voilà déjà trois ans que dure la guerre coloniale en Angola. On peut qualifier de déjà ancienne la guerre libératrice en Guinée dite portugaise, et de nombreux patriotes ont perdu la vie dans la lutte armée en Mozambique ainsi que dans celle que mènent contre l'agression les populations d'Aden et d'Oman. Il est du devoir non seulement des Nations Unies mais aussi de toutes les organisations et institutions inter-

nationales intéressées de prêter assistance aux peuples coloniaux et dépendants qui endurent l'action répressive ou militaire des puissances coloniales. Rien ne justifie que des Etats quelconques, et spécialement des Etats Membres des Nations Unies, apportent une aide, surtout militaire, directement ou indirectement, aux puissances qui persistent à maintenir des peuples sous le régime colonial inhumain et dégradant et qui vont jusqu'à pratiquer ouvertement le génocide en déchaînant des guerres coloniales. Devant ce tableau, où la force brutale, disposant des armes les plus modernes, massacre les peuples qui ne se résignent pas à être exploités et humiliés, il serait inadmissible que des institutions internationales, y compris des institutions des Nations Unies, contribuent à renforcer des gouvernements qui ne renoncent pas encore à la politique coloniale et qui n'hésitent pas à attenter à l'unité nationale et à l'intégrité territoriale des peuples coloniaux et dépendants.

219. Les puissances coloniales ne sont pas sûres de pouvoir maintenir leur régime pendant longtemps encore, et cela fait plusieurs années qu'elles intensifient leur politique néo-colonialiste afin de prolonger leur exploitation. C'est dans le même dessein qu'elles imposent maintenant des bases militaires et des accords qui lient militairement et économiquement les peuples, même après leur accession à l'indépendance.

220. Que le Président veuille bien me permettre de citer un extrait de ce que Cuba a exprimé sur le néo-colonialisme devant le second séminaire économique de la Solidarité Afro-Asiatique par la voix du Commandant Ernesto Guevara:

"Le néo-colonialisme s'est développé d'abord en Amérique du Sud, sur tout un continent, et on le voit aujourd'hui se manifester de plus en plus en Afrique et en Asie. Sa pénétration et son développement prennent des formes diverses: une de celles-ci est la brutalité que nous avons connue au Congo; la force brutale sans ménagement ni dissimulation d'aucune sorte est son arme extrême. Une autre de ces formes est plus subtile: c'est la pénétration dans les pays qui se libèrent politiquement, les liens avec les bourgeoisies autochtones naissantes, le développement d'une classe bourgeoise parasite étroitement alliée aux intérêts métropolitains. La manœuvre prend appui sur un certain bien-être ou une élévation provisoire du niveau de vie des populations résultant de ce que, dans beaucoup de pays très arriérés, le simple passage des relations féodales aux relations capitalistes se traduit par un progrès, nonobstant les conséquences néfastes qui en découlent à la longue pour les travailleurs."

221. Les bases militaires doivent être liquidées dans les territoires coloniaux et dépendants avant même l'indépendance, immédiatement. Le peuple cubain est témoin de ce que signifie la présence sur son territoire d'une base militaire établie par une puissance coloniale quand Cuba n'était pas encore libre de façonner son propre destin. Aujourd'hui encore, cette base entretenue par les Etats-Unis constitue une menace pour notre république et un point de départ pour les opérations de l'ennemi étranger qui cherche à saper le régime que le peuple cubain s'est donné en exerçant son droit de libre détermination et de souveraineté.

222. Il appartient à l'Organisation des Nations Unies de veiller à ce que les territoires coloniaux et dépendants ne soient pas dépouillés de leurs ressources naturelles et à ce que leur soient rendues celles qui leur ont été arrachées. Nous affirmons en outre que les peuples ont le droit d'exiger d'être indemnisés de l'exploitation et des autres dommages subis par eux-mêmes et leurs territoires du fait de la présence coloniale. Nous ajouterons que toute mesure prise par une puissance coloniale pour limiter, directement ou indirectement, l'exercice de la souveraineté par les peuples assujettis est nulle et sans valeur.

223. Il convient de faire spécialement remarquer, compte tenu de certains événements récents, que toute tentative de proclamation d'indépendance aux fins de remettre le gouvernement aux mains d'autorités ne représentant pas la majorité de la population est contraire à la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux.

224. Ardue est la tâche que le Comité des Vingt-Quatre doit accomplir pour venir à bout de la confusion juridique que les colonialistes ont créée par précaution, même au sein des Nations Unies, pour prolonger leur domination. Nous voyons ainsi un cas où un territoire est soumis au contrôle exécutif, législatif et judiciaire de la puissance impériale; où le peuple n'a pas de pouvoirs en matière de citoyenneté, d'affaires étrangères, de défense, d'émigration et d'immigration, de commerce extérieur, de monnaie, de postes, de radiocommunications et de télévision, de transport aérien et maritime; un cas où le peuple n'est pas maître de son économie et est même contraint de servir dans les armées de la puissance impériale; un cas où le peuple est traité comme un objet par la législation et la jurisprudence impériales et dans les déclarations des représentants les plus haut placés du pouvoir colonial. Et, cependant, dissimulant les informations dignes de foi et travestissant la réalité, on prétend, jusque devant les Nations Unies, présenter ce peuple comme ayant son propre gouvernement. Je veux parler, naturellement, du cas anglo-saxon de Porto Rico.

225. Le paragraphe 65 du rapport [A/6000/Rev.1] du Comité des Vingt-Quatre se réfère à la lettre du 1er octobre 1965 adressée à ce Comité par le Ministre des relations extérieures de Cuba. Cette lettre mentionnait le communiqué final de la Conférence des chefs d'Etat ou de gouvernement des pays non alignés, tenue au Caire en octobre 1964, et demandait que la question de Porto Rico fût comprise dans le programme du Comité spécial. Elle a été distribuée comme document du Comité [A/AC.109/144]. Comme l'on pouvait s'y attendre, la puissance coloniale intéressée a fait objection à la distribution de cette lettre, en se réclamant de la résolution 748 (VIII) de l'Assemblée générale. C'est-à-dire que la puissance coloniale s'est opposée à la distribution d'une lettre ayant pour but de confier au Comité spécial l'étude du cas de Porto Rico.

226. Il y a lieu de rappeler que les Etats-Unis se sont opposés à l'adoption d'une résolution anticoloniale à la neuvième Conférence internationale américaine qui s'est tenue à Bogota (Colombie) en 1948, de crainte que l'étude des problèmes coloniaux en Amérique ne révèle clairement leur occupation illégale de Porto

Rico depuis 1898. La résolution en question fut néanmoins adoptée.

227. L'abstention des Etats-Unis n'a pas empêché la constitution de la Commission américaine des territoires dépendants, qui a tenu deux sessions à La Havane. Les Etats-Unis tentèrent de saboter la création de cette Commission et finalement ne prirent pas part à ses séances, où fut étudié le problème colonial en Amérique. Les Etats-Unis s'opposèrent également à cette étude, alors que la résolution 748 (VIII) n'existait pas encore. Maintenant, ils vont jusqu'à s'opposer à la distribution d'une lettre adressée par un Etat Membre à un organe des Nations Unies, et cela malgré l'adoption, il y a cinq ans, de la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale.

228. A l'objection formulée par le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis, ma délégation tient à opposer à son tour ses propres objections. En premier lieu, nous devons expliquer ici que la résolution 748 (VIII) a été adoptée sans que l'Assemblée eût une connaissance réelle et approfondie de la situation régnant à Porto Rico. Les Etats-Unis, puissance coloniale administrante, ont déclaré qu'ils avaient organisé à Porto Rico un référendum par lequel le peuple avait choisi librement son destin. Ils ont omis de préciser un simple détail: ce référendum n'offrait pas l'option en faveur de l'indépendance. Ils ont omis un autre détail: c'est que le nombre de personnes qui votèrent contre le régime néo-colonial porto-ricain et de celles qui s'abstinrent représente au total 60 p. 100 de l'électorat de cette nation. Ils ont omis de dire que, à ce moment-là, les geôles de Porto Rico étaient pleines de patriotes emprisonnés à cause de leur lutte pour la libération nationale. Ils ont omis aussi, et ils omettent encore, de dire que, lorsque l'Assemblée générale a adopté cette résolution, la moitié de ses membres actuels ne pouvaient participer à ses débats, pour la simple raison qu'ils étaient encore soumis au régime colonial et que la résolution 1514 (XV) n'avait pas encore été adoptée. Et les Etats-Unis ne disent pas maintenant, quand ils s'opposent à la distribution de la lettre de Cuba, qu'en ce moment précis, leur gouvernement constitue ce qu'ils nomment la "Commission du statut", laquelle est composée en majorité de représentants du pouvoir colonial et de ses partis satellites de l'île et a pour objet d'étudier le statut légal de Porto Rico.

229. Au nom de ma délégation, je demande: Comment le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis peut-il dire que le cas de Porto Rico est clos et que l'Assemblée n'a pas à en discuter, alors qu'il constitue dans le même temps une Commission du statut pour Porto Rico? Il n'appartient pas à la puissance coloniale de déterminer le statut de sa colonie. C'est aux Nations Unies, c'est à l'opinion publique mondiale, c'est à tous les peuples qu'il appartient de faire en sorte que soit appliquée également dans cette île sœur la résolution qui veut que l'indépendance soit accordée à tous les peuples.

230. Le PRESIDENT: Je donne la parole au représentant des Etats-Unis pour une motion d'ordre.

231. M. DICKINSON (Etats-Unis d'Amérique) [traduit de l'anglais]: Porto Rico est un "commonwealth" autonome associé aux Etats-Unis, ainsi que l'a reconnu la résolution 748 (VIII) de l'Assemblée générale adoptée le 27 novembre 1953. Ce n'est une colonie en aucun

sens du terme. Il est donc absolument inadmissible que l'Assemblée discute de Porto Rico à l'occasion de ce débat sur la décolonisation. Je vous serais reconnaissant, Monsieur le Président, de bien vouloir prier l'orateur de borner ses observations à la question inscrite à l'ordre du jour.

232. Le PRESIDENT: Je prie le représentant de Cuba de continuer son discours.

233. M. ALARCON QUESADA (Cuba) [traduit de l'espagnol]: Après cette interruption, après cette motion de désordre, je reprends la parole pour préciser, avant tout, que je me réfère au paragraphe 65 du rapport du Comité spécial [A/6000/Rev.1]. Je pense que tous les représentants l'ont en main et qu'ils auront constaté que je n'ai rien dit qui soit étranger à ce paragraphe.

234. Tout cela illustre une fois de plus l'arrogance des puissances colonialistes, leur cynisme et leurs machinations tortueuses qui les poussent jusqu'à prétendre se dérober aux travaux des Nations Unies et à saboter l'Organisation, violant ainsi les engagements qu'elles ont contractés en signant la Charte.

235. On se demandera peut-être quel intérêt spécial peut avoir Cuba en cette affaire et pour quelle raison particulière a été rédigée la lettre mentionnée au paragraphe 65 du rapport en question. Nous répondrons que Cuba est particulièrement intéressée à l'affaire, et qu'il s'agit même de plus que cela: d'un engagement historique de notre peuple, d'un engagement presque constitutionnel. La République de Cuba est née de l'action du parti révolutionnaire cubain, qui a été constitué, comme il est stipulé à l'article premier de ses statuts, "pour obtenir, grâce aux efforts concertés de tous les hommes de bonne volonté, l'indépendance complète de l'île de Cuba et pour favoriser et aider la libération de Porto Rico". C'est José Martí, notre héros national, qui a rédigé ces principes d'action.

236. Le paragraphe 65 du rapport du Comité des Vingt-Quatre mentionne, comme nous l'avons dit, la Conférence des chefs d'Etat ou de gouvernement des pays non alignés qui s'est tenue au Caire en octobre 1964, Conférence qui a appelé l'attention du Comité spécial sur le cas de Porto Rico. Cette Conférence était constituée, je le répète, par les représentants de 47 Etats, soit environ la moitié des Etats Membres des Nations Unies.

237. Pour conclure, la délégation de Cuba tient à déclarer qu'elle appuiera toute initiative prise sur la question qui nous occupe et qui refléterait la position indiquée dans cette déclaration. Elle se réserve le droit d'intervenir de nouveau si elle le juge nécessaire.

238. Le PRESIDENT: Je donne la parole au représentant des Etats-Unis pour une motion d'ordre.

239. M. DICKINSON (Etats-Unis d'Amérique) [traduit de l'anglais]: Bien que l'orateur semble avoir terminé ses observations, je voudrais répéter que la question qu'il a soulevée ne figure pas à l'ordre du jour du Comité des Vingt-Quatre et qu'elle n'est pas actuellement soumise à l'examen de l'Assemblée. Le paragraphe 65 du chapitre I du document A/6000/Rev.1 a trait à la distribution d'une lettre et aux objections formulées alors par ma délégation. C'est tout ce que l'on trouve dans ce paragraphe 65. Lors de la discus-

sion et de l'adoption de ce paragraphe, le Comité des Vingt-Quatre a pris soin de ne pas procéder à l'examen de la question de Porto Rico. Il s'y est refusé et il est en fait indiqué au paragraphe 65 que:

"Faute de temps, le Comité spécial n'a pu examiner la demande contenue dans le document A/AC.109/144."

240. Cela signifie que le Comité ne s'est pas occupé de la question. Il s'est contenté de faire distribuer la lettre et de prendre acte de la protestation de ma délégation. Il ne s'est pas saisi de l'affaire et il ne s'est même pas demandé s'il devait l'examiner.

241. Il résulte de ces faits que la question que le dernier orateur a voulu discuter ne peut faire actuellement l'objet d'un débat à l'Assemblée, à l'ordre du jour de laquelle elle n'est pas inscrite.

242. Le **PRESIDENT**: Je donne la parole au représentant de l'Espagne, qui a demandé à exercer son droit de réponse.

243. M. **AZNAR** (Espagne) [traduit de l'espagnol]: Il a été fait plusieurs fois allusion à mon pays du haut de cette tribune au cours du présent débat. De même, divers territoires qui nous intéressent directement et qui sont en voie de décolonisation ont été mentionnés. C'est pourquoi, usant de son droit de réponse, ma délégation désire faire certaines observations et répondre à ces interventions.

244. Pendant près de trois semaines, en cette vingtième session de l'Assemblée générale des Nations Unies, la Quatrième Commission a examiné les travaux accomplis par le Comité des Vingt-Quatre au cours des années 1964 et 1965.

245. Ces jours-ci, l'Assemblée examine non seulement le résultat des études effectuées par le Comité des Vingt-Quatre pendant les années en question, mais aussi les opinions et décisions que ses travaux ont motivées au sein de la Quatrième Commission. La dix-neuvième session n'ayant pu le faire, c'est à cette vingtième session de l'Assemblée générale qu'il échoit d'exprimer ses félicitations et d'apporter ses encouragements au Comité spécial.

246. L'Espagne, qui a suivi de près les efforts du Comité spécial pour engager la décolonisation dans une juste voie et qui, en certaines occasions, a pris part à ses délibérations, ne pouvait rester silencieuse en ce moment sans tomber dans le grave péché d'indifférence politique, beaucoup plus grave parfois que celui d'ingratitude.

247. Peu de fois dans le passé, vingt-quatre délégations, agissant au nom de tous, ont été placées devant une responsabilité si lourde, à savoir mettre fin dans l'ordre, la justice et la paix à une doctrine politique qui a pris naissance voilà des siècles dans la guerre et la conquête. La façon dont le Comité spécial s'est acquitté de sa tâche, sous l'experte présidence de M. Coulibaly et avec la remarquable collaboration de MM. Sonn et Velázquez — et je les cite spécialement parce qu'ils ne se trouvent plus parmi nous — mérite toutes nos félicitations. C'est pour moi un plaisir de féliciter publiquement ici le Comité spécial au nom de mon pays.

248. L'Espagne est directement intéressée à la décolonisation. J'irai même jusqu'à affirmer que le problème principal soumis en ce moment par mon pays à l'Organisation a trait essentiellement à cette évolution, parce que l'histoire nous a placés dans une situation que je me permettrai de qualifier d'unique. Si, d'une part, l'Espagne possède des territoires compris dans la liste des territoires non autonomes, d'autre part, elle subit une situation coloniale sur son propre sol. Cette réalité ressort clairement du rapport du Comité spécial [A/6000/Rev.1] que vient d'examiner la Quatrième Commission et dont est maintenant saisie l'Assemblée générale.

249. Je ne veux pas entrer dans des détails ni faire perdre du temps en traitant de questions amplement discutées déjà en d'autres temps et d'autres lieux. Je veux seulement parler de la conduite politique qu'une situation aussi singulière impose à l'Espagne. Je pense que le rapport du Comité spécial et l'examen qu'en a fait la Quatrième Commission ont donné sur cette conduite des éclaircissements suffisants.

250. La présence d'un drapeau étranger flottant sur le sol de notre patrie, avec toutes les conséquences que cela implique, a amené le peuple espagnol à placer tout ses espoirs dans la justice du processus de décolonisation dès l'instant où nous a touchés le message qu'il comportait.

251. A ces espoirs, le Gouvernement espagnol a adapté son attitude modérée, en tout point conforme à l'honnêteté. Nous n'avons rien demandé et ne demandons rien que nous ne soyons disposés à donner. Nous n'avons pas voulu que soient annulées d'un trait de plume des réalités historiques, pour mauvaises qu'aient été leurs origines, vu qu'il s'en est dégagé des éléments positifs et des intérêts privés qui ne doivent pas être éliminés sans que l'on ait tenté de les assainir et de les mettre au service de relations futures de coopération et de compréhension entre les peuples. Nous avons collaboré loyalement avec le Comité des Vingt-Quatre pour que celui-ci puisse examiner chaque cas et chaque territoire en connaissance de cause.

252. Quel a été le résultat de ce comportement politique de l'Espagne? A ce jour, il n'en est qu'un de visible: la naissance de la Guinée Equatoriale, dont nous avons connu ici le Président du Conseil, qui a d'autre part été entendu par la Quatrième Commission. Nous voyons ainsi que l'Espagne a commencé d'exécuter l'ordre de décolonisation. Or, que fait-on d'un autre côté pour l'Espagne?

253. Dans son intervention du 1er décembre [1386ème séance], le représentant du Royaume-Uni a parlé de Gibraltar. Il a exposé de façon non équivoque la politique future de son gouvernement relativement au Rocher, et il l'a fait en des termes tels que j'ai préféré ne pas exercer immédiatement mon droit de réponse. Une déclaration d'intention comme celle qui a été faite par le Royaume-Uni, si contraire à l'esprit de la Charte et d'un caractère si impérialiste, méritait, plus qu'une réaction polémique de ma part, une petite réflexion que je me permettrai de qualifier de philosophique.

254. Les faits sont, dois-je préciser, les suivants: en 1704, la Grande-Bretagne a conquis par la force

une parcelle de territoire espagnol. En 1713, elle a signé avec l'Espagne un traité par lequel les deux pays fixaient le statut du territoire où fut établie une base militaire britannique qui a servi de point d'appui à l'expansion impériale et coloniale anglaise. La population espagnole expulsée de Gibraltar fut remplacée par une autre que la Grande-Bretagne y amena et a continué d'y amener. Ces premiers pas ayant été faits, la Grande-Bretagne a qualifié Gibraltar — la base de Gibraltar et la population importée qui vit à l'ombre de la base — de "colonie de la Couronne". Quand a commencé le processus de décolonisation, le Royaume-Uni déclara que le Rocher était un territoire non autonome et invoqua le droit à l'autodétermination pour sa population. Après deux années d'étude, le Comité spécial a décidé que le problème de Gibraltar devait être résolu par le moyen de négociations hispano-britanniques tenant compte des intérêts des habitants actuels du Rocher.

255. L'Espagne a toujours été prête à négocier et à respecter ces intérêts. En revanche, le Royaume-Uni s'est refusé à une négociation en invoquant des prétextes divers. Maintenant, il affirme que la base militaire de Gibraltar est au service de la paix et des engagements militaires britanniques. Et il dit plus encore, à savoir que l'Angleterre est disposée à maintenir la base en faisant intervenir la "consultation et le consentement" de la population civile que le Gouvernement britannique y a installée.

256. Quand il s'agissait de conserver un empire, on justifiait l'existence de bases contre la volonté des pays où elles étaient établies en invoquant purement et simplement les besoins de l'empire. Aujourd'hui, on tente de la justifier en falsifiant le principe d'autodétermination, ce qui a été mis en évidence au cours des longs et minutieux débats du Comité des Vingt-Quatre.

257. Voilà ce que la Grande-Bretagne prétend faire à l'égard de l'Espagne. Je me demande si les Nations Unies toléreront sans réagir que se poursuive une politique qui contraste à ce point avec le comportement correct de l'Espagne.

258. Une crise de confiance en notre Organisation ne peut naître que de ce que l'on a deux poids et deux mesures pour régler les mêmes problèmes. Pour mon pays, Gibraltar est la pierre de touche, car, quand nous parlons de Gibraltar comme d'une colonie établie sur notre sol, nous n'exagérons pas.

259. Pour qu'aucun doute ne puisse subsister quant à la politique suivie en cette affaire à l'égard de mon pays pendant deux siècles et demi, je me suis permis, en cette occasion solennelle, de soumettre officiellement à l'Assemblée une série de documents sur Gibraltar que mon gouvernement a adressés au Parlement espagnol.

260. J'ai fait parvenir un exemplaire de ces documents au Secrétaire général des Nations Unies et un autre au Président de l'Assemblée afin qu'il soit pris acte officiellement du désir du gouvernement de mon pays de porter cette série de documents à la connaissance de l'Organisation des Nations Unies.

261. Le PRESIDENT: Je donne la parole au représentant de l'Australie, qui désire exercer son droit de réponse.

262. M. McCARTHY (Australie) [traduit de l'anglais]: A cette heure tardive, je désire simplement réserver le droit de ma délégation de répondre lors d'une prochaine séance à certaines observations formulées au cours de ce débat au sujet de l'administration par l'Australie du Papua et de la Nouvelle-Guinée.

La séance est levée à 18 h 35.

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POINT 23 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

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sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux (suite)

53. M. TARABANOV (Bulgarie): Il y a bientôt cinq ans que la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, proclamant solennellement la nécessité d'une liquidation rapide et sans condition aucune du colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et manifestations, a été adoptée. Dans une perspective historique, cinq années ne sont pas une période assez longue pour apprécier à sa juste valeur ce document historique. Dès maintenant, cependant, il est facile de comprendre le rôle important qu'il a joué aussi bien dans l'action entreprise par l'Organisation des Nations Unies que dans les luttes menées par les peuples coloniaux pour l'accélération du processus de liquidation du système colonialiste. Elaborée sur l'initiative de l'Union soviétique^{3/}, appuyée avec enthousiasme par les pays socialistes et les pays afro-asiatiques Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, la Déclaration s'est cependant heurtée à l'hostilité des Etats colonialistes et d'une partie de leurs alliés. Incapables d'empêcher son adoption, les forces du colonialisme et de l'impérialisme ont essayé de faire en sorte que la Déclaration reste lettre morte, allant jusqu'à cacher par tous les moyens son existence même aux peuples asservis.

54. Aujourd'hui, pourtant, alors que les mouvements de libération nationale dans les différentes parties du monde, à Aden et en Guyane britannique, dans les colonies portugaises et en Rhodésie du Sud, élèvent des revendications fondées sur la Déclaration et sur les résolutions du Comité des Vingt-Quatre, les auteurs de ce document peuvent et doivent, à juste titre, être fiers de leur œuvre. Il a été démontré dans la pratique quotidienne que la Déclaration peut servir et qu'elle a servi la cause de la lutte des peuples pour leur libération.

55. Le colonialisme craque à toutes ses jointures, et de nouveaux chaînons se détachent chaque année du système colonialiste. Cependant, bien que l'on parle actuellement, dans le langage courant, des séquelles du colonialisme, la terre compte plus de 60 territoires dépendants peuplés de dizaines de millions d'êtres humains qui restent soumis aux souffrances et aux vexations du régime colonial et à son esclavage.

56. L'année qui vient de s'écouler a marqué un certain ralentissement dans le processus de décolonisation. Les forces les plus agressives du colonialisme et du racisme, en Afrique centrale et en Afrique du Sud, opposent une résistance farouche à ce processus de libération des peuples, afin de conserver à tout prix leur domination dans cette partie du monde. Les guerres coloniales criminelles menées par le Portugal en Angola et dans le Mozambique, le système inhumain d'apartheid imposé par la force en Afrique du Sud, le nouveau régime raciste instauré en Rhodésie du Sud ne sont que des manifestations nouvelles de la politique concertée des partenaires de ce qu'on appelle "l'alliance impie", dont le but est de dresser une

barrière sur le chemin de la liberté au sud du Zambèze.

57. Avec l'aide économique et financière de l'Occident et les armes fournies par l'OTAN, en particulier par certains de ses membres, les forces du colonialisme essaient — et, dans une certaine mesure, y réussissent — d'ériger une forteresse de haine et d'exploitation coloniale dans cette partie de l'Afrique, forteresse qui doit garantir à l'avenir une exploitation sans scrupule des immenses richesses et du labeur de la population africaine par les monopoles étrangers.

58. Si, dans une certaine partie des territoires dépendants, le processus de décolonisation est retardé, c'est parce que les Etats colonialistes essaient, avec l'aide des monopoles financiers — et, dans certains cas, y réussissent —, de créer des conditions qui leur permettraient de continuer leur domination après la proclamation de l'indépendance.

59. La haine raciale allumée en Guyane britannique et le renversement du gouvernement de Cheddi Jagan, l'établissement d'un régime féodal et colonialiste en Arabie du Sud en sont des exemples frappants. D'un autre côté, on s'aperçoit que le retard dans le processus de décolonisation de ce que l'on appelle les petits territoires coloniaux est, dans la plupart des cas, imposé par certaines grandes puissances pour des raisons stratégiques. Convaincus que, dorénavant, ils ne peuvent plus compter sur des bases militaires installées par eux dans des pays nouvellement libérés ou même sur les territoires des grandes colonies du continent africain et des autres continents, certains pays occidentaux s'orientent de plus en plus vers une politique qui peut leur permettre de conserver leurs bases militaires dans certaines petites îles et même d'en installer de nouvelles à des endroits où ils espèrent pouvoir continuer à rester pour une longue période encore.

60. A cet égard, l'exemple le plus récent est celui de la nouvelle colonie anglaise dans l'océan Indien, détachée de l'archipel de l'île Maurice avec l'intention d'y installer une base militaire anglo-américaine. En outre, nombreux sont les cas — par exemple dans les Iles Vierges — où les puissances administrantes commencent à procéder à l'intégration directe des petits territoires aux métropoles.

61. Le retard apporté à la libération des peuples coloniaux ne peut que provoquer une très grande inquiétude chez tous les peuples qui s'intéressent au maintien de la paix et de la sécurité internationales; ce retard peut causer des torts sérieux et faire planer de graves dangers sur le monde d'aujourd'hui.

62. En Afrique, les peuples nouvellement libérés ont un grand besoin de paix, mais d'une paix durable, afin de guérir les plaies provoquées par le colonialisme et afin de consolider leur souveraineté et leur indépendance.

63. Cependant, la politique criminelle des colonisateurs et des racistes entretient une tension constante qui, en fin de compte, peut mener à la guerre et à la catastrophe. Les forces et les ressources des peuples nouvellement libérés, tellement nécessaires à leur développement économique, seront, dans une

^{3/} Ibid., point 87 de l'ordre du jour, document A/4501.

telle éventualité, mobilisées pour faire face aux menaces racistes et néo-colonialistes venant du sud du continent africain. Or, la paix en danger en Afrique signifie que la paix et la sécurité internationales sont menacées partout. Dans le monde d'aujourd'hui, avec ses armes atomiques et nucléaires, avec ses fusées, la continuation du colonialisme et du racisme peut avoir des conséquences réellement dangereuses pour l'humanité entière.

64. De nombreuses bases militaires, maintenues sur les territoires coloniaux et utilisées principalement pour écraser les mouvements de libération nationale et exercer des pressions sur les pays nouvellement libérés en Afrique, en Asie et en Amérique du Sud, représentent un danger réel et imminent pour la paix. La dernière agression contre le Congo n'a-t-elle pas été perpétrée à partir de la base anglaise de l'île de l'Ascension? N'est-ce pas de la base américaine de l'île de Guam que des avions prennent leur vol pour participer à la guerre d'agression contre le peuple du Viet-Nam?

65. C'est pourquoi la voix des Nations Unies doit s'élever bien haut en faveur de la liquidation de toutes les bases militaires installées en territoires coloniaux.

66. Il y a cinq ans, l'Assemblée générale, exprimant la volonté de la plus grande partie de l'humanité, a proclamé solennellement que des mesures devaient être prises dans tous les territoires coloniaux afin d'accélérer le processus de la transmission de tous les pouvoirs à tous les peuples, afin que ces derniers puissent jouir pleinement de leur indépendance et de leur liberté. A une époque aussi dynamique que la nôtre, cinq années constituent une période relativement longue et suffisante pour permettre d'appliquer pleinement la Déclaration. Dans ces conditions, nous pouvons nous demander comment l'Organisation des Nations Unies, dont la pierre angulaire est le droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes, la défense des droits et de la liberté de l'homme ainsi que la préservation de la paix et de la sécurité internationales, peut tolérer, ne fût-ce qu'un jour de plus, la perpétuation du système colonialiste et, avec lui, de la discrimination raciale et de la ségrégation.

67. Nous nous associons aux délégations qui ont déclaré à cette tribune qu'il est grandement temps de considérer comme un crime envers l'humanité la continuation d'un système indigne et inhumain qui existe encore dans le monde.

68. La légalité de la lutte des peuples coloniaux pour la liberté et l'indépendance a été consacrée dans de nombreuses résolutions et décisions du Comité des Vingt-Quatre et de l'Assemblée générale, ce qui signifie que les régimes coloniaux sont, dans les territoires respectifs, dorénavant considérés non seulement comme inhumains mais aussi comme illégaux. Si telle est l'opinion générale — et nous sommes certains qu'il en est ainsi — il est nécessaire d'agir en conséquence.

69. La délégation bulgare est d'avis non seulement que les dispositions contenues dans les résolutions de l'Organisation des Nations Unies concernant la légalité de la lutte des peuples doivent maintenant

être de nouveau confirmées, mais encore qu'il est nécessaire d'en tirer les conséquences qui s'imposent.

70. A juste titre, il faut donc avant tout que l'ONU apporte une aide efficace aux peuples coloniaux avec tous les moyens dont elle dispose. L'Organisation et les institutions internationales qui en dépendent, de même que chacun de leurs Membres, doivent apporter à ces peuples l'aide morale et matérielle dont ils ont tellement besoin pour rétablir leurs droits foulés.

71. Les Etats qui refusent de renoncer à leur politique de domination coloniale doivent être privés de toute aide et assistance, surtout de l'aide militaire qui leur est apportée par voie bilatérale ou par l'intermédiaire des alliances militaires, comme par exemple l'OTAN.

72. Contre les Etats et régimes dont la politique crée des dangers pour la paix et la sécurité des peuples, comme la République sud-africaine, le Portugal et l'actuel régime raciste de la Rhodésie du Sud, le Conseil de sécurité doit prendre en outre les mesures coercitives prévues par la Charte. Ces mesures et les décisions que l'Assemblée générale prendra maintenant doivent, d'après nous, assurer l'application intégrale de la Déclaration, et ce dans le plus bref délai.

73. Le Comité des Vingt-Quatre poursuit ses travaux depuis plus de quatre ans. Nous aurions bien souhaité que la situation soit telle à l'heure actuelle que l'Assemblée générale puisse lui dire: "Vous avez terminé votre tâche, nous n'avons plus besoin de vous." Malheureusement, tel n'est pas le cas, et le mandat du Comité des Vingt-Quatre doit être de nouveau prolongé. Ce comité devra cependant être maintenant armé de moyens plus efficaces qui rendront son travail plus facile. L'expérience de l'année dernière et surtout la visite du Comité en Afrique ont suggéré certaines idées et fait penser à certaines méthodes qui peuvent garantir une plus grande efficacité dans son travail.

74. Ce qui importe le plus, c'est que le Comité des Vingt-Quatre soit en mesure d'établir un contact étroit avec les peuples des territoires dépendants et de préparer ses recommandations en coopération étroite avec eux. Dans ce sens, nous appuyons les propositions qui figurent à la section I du chapitre Ier du rapport du Comité [A/6000/Rev.1], ainsi que les propositions faites par son président, M. Sori Coulibaly.

75. Nous sommes profondément convaincus que, avec l'aide effective de tous les pays et peuples intéressés au maintien de la paix et de la sécurité internationales, les peuples coloniaux sortiront vainqueurs de la juste lutte qu'ils ont entreprise et mènent pour la liberté et l'indépendance contre le système colonial honteux, qui doit définitivement disparaître.

76. Le Gouvernement de la République populaire de Bulgarie et le peuple bulgare ont toujours fait preuve de solidarité envers les peuples soumis à l'esclavage colonial. La délégation de la République populaire de Bulgarie est autorisée à déclarer qu'à l'avenir aussi son gouvernement et son peuple sont prêts à apporter

leur contribution pour le triomphe de la juste cause des peuples coloniaux et pour leur libération du joug colonial.

77. M. Taïeb SLIM (Tunisie): L'Assemblée générale examine aujourd'hui les travaux du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, tels qu'ils apparaissent dans les rapports du Comité pour les deux années écoulées [A/5800/Rev.1⁴ et A/6000/Rev.1].

78. La délégation tunisienne, qui a écouté avec la plus grande attention les interventions faites sur ce point par les éminents orateurs qui l'ont précédée, se félicite de l'intérêt suscité par cet important débat et aimerait se contenter de faire à ce stade de nos travaux quelques brèves remarques.

79. Mais, auparavant, elle tient à exprimer son appréciation et sa gratitude à l'éminent Président du Comité spécial, M. Sori Coulibaly, du Mali, pour le dévouement et la distinction avec lesquels il a su diriger les travaux du Comité. Elle aimerait également exprimer ses remerciements et sa vive appréciation au rapporteur, M. Natwar Singh, de l'Inde, qui a travaillé avec une ardeur exemplaire pour nous présenter les documents de travail les plus complets sur les travaux du Comité pendant les deux dernières années.

80. Nos félicitations s'adressent également à nos deux éminents vice-présidents, M. Carlos Marfa Velázquez, de l'Uruguay, et M. Sonn Voeunsai, du Cambodge, pour la contribution très importante qu'ils ont apportée au Comité. Appelés par leurs gouvernements respectifs à d'autres fonctions dans d'autres capitales, nos deux distingués collègues nous ont maintenant quittés. Ils ont toutefois laissé dans nos mémoires le souvenir toujours vivant de diplomates dévoués à la tâche exaltante de la décolonisation pacifique.

81. La délégation tunisienne ferait montre d'un oubli impardonnable si elle ne rendait hommage à la collaboration très étroite et à l'extrême dévouement du secrétariat de notre comité, ainsi qu'à M. Chacko et à M. Dadzie. Elle tient à remercier particulièrement le Sous-Secrétaire, M. Amachree, et tous les fonctionnaires et interprètes qui nous ont constamment assistés dans la conduite de nos travaux.

82. En abordant l'examen du rapport du Comité spécial, nous tenons à rappeler que cinq années se sont écoulées depuis la proclamation, à la quinzième session de l'Assemblée générale, de l'historique Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. Depuis 1960, un nombre assez important de pays se sont libérés du colonialisme et sont venus se joindre à nous comme Etats souverains Membres de l'Organisation, à laquelle ils apportent une contribution de plus en plus appréciable dans tous les domaines, et enrichir la grande famille humaine de l'apport de leur génie et de leurs traditions. Ils ont apporté aux Nations Unies des idées nouvelles et un enthousiasme continu pour

le renforcement des relations amicales entre les nations et pour le développement de la coopération internationale. Leur présence parmi nous, que nous saluons avec la plus grande satisfaction, œuvre pour la consolidation des principes de la Charte, de l'Organisation et l'épanouissement de son esprit d'universalité. Toutefois, nous sommes bien obligés de convenir que ces cinq années ont été assez dures pour d'autres millions d'êtres humains qui continuent à souffrir de l'oppression et de la domination étrangères.

83. En effet, si nous avons fait des progrès appréciables dans le processus d'émancipation humaine, il n'en reste pas moins vrai que certaines puissances administrantes — par réaction peut-être ou par dépit de voir leur grand empire d'antan s'amoinrir et s'amenuiser — ont un peu raidi leur position et ne montrent qu'un semblant de coopération envers l'Organisation. Dans ce domaine, loin de hâter le processus de décolonisation et de permettre ainsi une reconversion saine et bénéfique des liens de sujétion en rapports de coopération dans l'amitié et l'égalité, elles s'évertuent à imaginer toutes sortes d'obstacles pour retarder l'émancipation et la libération des peuples placés sous leur tutelle. Elles ignorent les injonctions pourtant impératives de la Déclaration contenue dans la résolution 1514 (XV) et font fi des nombreuses résolutions adoptées sur ces problèmes. Il y a lieu de rappeler le paragraphe 5 de ladite Déclaration, qui dit d'une façon très précise, ne permettant aucune équivoque, ce qui suit:

"Des mesures immédiates seront prises dans les territoires sous tutelle, les territoires non autonomes et tous autres territoires qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance, pour transférer tous pouvoirs aux peuples de ces territoires, sans aucune condition ni réserve, conformément à leur volonté et à leurs vœux librement exprimés, sans aucune distinction de race, de croyance ou de couleur, afin de leur permettre de jouir d'une indépendance et d'une liberté complètes."

84. D'année en année l'Assemblée générale a adopté et réaffirmé toutes les résolutions pertinentes sur les différents territoires qui ont été examinés par le Comité spécial, faisant des appels de plus en plus urgents aux puissances administrantes pour hâter l'émancipation des peuples placés sous leur domination et appliquer la résolution 1514 (XV) dans les délais les plus brefs. A tous nos appels, les puissances coloniales semblent faire la sourde oreille, invoquant toutes sortes de difficultés qui ne sont en réalité qu'un prétexte pour sauvegarder les intérêts matériels de leurs colons et des monopoles économiques qu'ils ont installés dans leurs colonies. Il est regrettable que les colons anglais, portugais, sud-africains refusent d'abandonner cet esprit et cette mentalité colonialistes et qu'ils continuent à pratiquer une politique égoïste et aveugle, sans se préoccuper de l'avenir. Il est encore plus regrettable que les puissances coloniales qui les protègent n'arrivent pas non plus à se débarrasser de ce complexe de conquérant et continuent à confondre l'intérêt bien compris de leurs relations avec les peuples qu'ils ont assujettis par la force avec les intérêts de leurs nationaux et de leurs colons dans ces territoires. Cet état de

⁴ Ibid., dix-neuvième session, Annexes, annexe No 8, 1ère partie.

choses n'a malheureusement que trop duré, et l'Organisation se doit de rappeler aux puissances administrantes de respecter leurs obligations envers la Charte.

M. Khampan (Laos), vice-président, prend la présidence.

85. Le Royaume-Uni, par exemple, s'est obstinément refusé à coopérer avec le Comité spécial pour faciliter la recherche d'une solution juste et satisfaisante au problème de la Rhodésie du Sud. Depuis 1962, le Comité a tracé la voie et indiqué les lignes générales qui pourraient servir de cadre à une solution à ce problème, rendu si complexe par la politique désastreuse pratiquée par la Puissance administrante depuis 1923. L'Assemblée générale confirma dès 1962 le point de vue du Comité et adopta une résolution par laquelle elle demandait au Royaume-Uni de ne pas procéder aux élections qui étaient prévues par la Constitution de décembre 1961, et d'abroger ou de suspendre cette constitution tout en prenant les mesures nécessaires pour la convocation d'une conférence constitutionnelle à laquelle participeraient tous les chefs nationalistes des partis politiques du territoire.

86. Nous avons à ce moment-là attiré l'attention de la Puissance administrante sur le fait que tout délai apporté à l'application de cette résolution ne pouvait qu'encourager les colons racistes de la Rhodésie du Sud à consolider leur pouvoir et leur autorité dans la colonie. Le Gouvernement britannique savait parfaitement bien que c'était la seule voie à suivre et que toute autre politique ne pouvait que créer les germes d'un conflit entre les Africains du Zimbabwe et la minorité de colons blancs. Il était évident alors que l'imposition de la Constitution de 1961 — Constitution rejetée déjà par la totalité des Africains rhodésiens — ouvrait le chemin à l'établissement d'un Etat copié sur celui de l'Afrique du Sud et précipitait une catastrophe en élargissant le fossé dangereux qui séparait les deux éléments de la population.

87. S'il persistait quelque doute dans l'esprit des responsables britanniques à ce sujet, l'exemple algérien était là pour le dissiper. Nous avons nous-mêmes, membres du Sous-Comité de la Rhodésie du Sud, prié les responsables britanniques, lors de conversations que nous avons eues avec eux à Londres, de suivre l'exemple de la France, qui, ayant à faire face à plus d'un million de colons français en Algérie, n'avait pas hésité à tenir en échec leur rébellion et à mater les agitateurs pour rétablir la situation et reconnaître aux Algériens leur droit à l'indépendance. Le courage et la clairvoyance de la France, ainsi que la détermination de son président, le général de Gaulle, qui leur ont valu toute notre reconnaissance et notre gratitude, pouvaient, à notre avis, indiquer la voie de la raison, de la sagesse, et aider les colonialistes anglais à se dégager de la confusion de la politique traditionnelle qu'ils suivaient en Rhodésie du Sud pour retrouver la solution positive et réaliste, la seule qui était de nature à sauvegarder leurs intérêts en Afrique.

88. Il est regrettable que la Puissance administrante n'ait pas jugé bon de choisir la voie de la fermeté

lorsque le Ministère de M. Whitehead était encore au pouvoir à Salisbury. Se dérochant à ses obligations envers l'Organisation sous le paravent des précédents constitutionnels et des traditions parlementaires, la Puissance administrante a cru bon, au contraire, de pratiquer envers le peuple dont elle assurait la tutelle une politique qui ne fit que renforcer l'autorité des extrémistes racistes en Rhodésie du Sud en les dotant de tous les moyens, militaires et autres, d'exercer le pouvoir. Rassurés par les propres déclarations du Premier Ministre du Royaume-Uni, selon lesquelles la force ne serait pas utilisée contre eux au cas où ils déclareraient unilatéralement leur indépendance, les Blancs de Rhodésie se mirent en rébellion ouverte contre leurs propres tuteurs. La situation en Rhodésie du Sud se détériore dangereusement et constitue une véritable menace à la paix et à la sécurité dans toute la région méridionale de l'Afrique. La Puissance administrante doit en assumer toute la responsabilité devant l'Organisation.

89. En effet, même au point extrêmement dangereux où en est arrivée la situation en Rhodésie du Sud, à cause du défi lancé par Ian Smith, même devant cette agression caractérisée perpétrée par les usurpateurs du pouvoir contre les 4 millions d'Africains, la Puissance administrante hésite encore à prendre toutes les mesures nécessaires pour mater la rébellion et transférer les pouvoirs aux représentants authentiques du peuple du Zimbabwe. La Puissance administrante a pris, il est vrai, certaines sanctions économiques et financières. Il est toutefois évident que ces mesures n'auront qu'une efficacité relative tant qu'un embargo total et complet ne sera pas imposé et tant que ces mesures ne seront pas renforcées par une action militaire. Par ailleurs, même limité aux quelques sanctions annoncées par le Royaume-Uni, le boycottage proposé par celui-ci ne sera pas respecté puisque, comme nous le savons tous, les produits nécessaires au gouvernement rebelle d'Ian Smith seront acheminés par ses deux alliés, le Portugal et l'Afrique du Sud.

90. Le New York Times du 5 décembre 1965 a publié une information de l'agence Reuter, de Londres, datée du 4 décembre 1965, qui explique bien comment les sanctions prises par l'Organisation contre la Rhodésie du Sud sont défaites par les grandes compagnies pétrolières:

"Un pétrolier de la British Petroleum Company — qui appartient plus qu'à moitié au Gouvernement britannique — est en route ce soir pour l'Afrique avec 12 000 tonnes de pétrole destiné à la colonie dissidente de Rhodésie.

"Le pétrolier arrivera à Beira, en Afrique-Orientale portugaise, dans 10 jours. Le pétrole sera conduit par oléoduc jusqu'à une raffinerie à Umtali, en Rhodésie, qui est la propriété conjointe de la British Petroleum Company et de six autres compagnies pétrolières.

"Cet envoi de pétrole en Rhodésie est le premier depuis que le premier ministre Ian Smith a déclaré l'indépendance, le 11 novembre. Le pétrole a été chargé dans l'Etat d'Abu Dhabi, dans le golfe Persique, qui n'a pas suivi la recommandation des Nations Unies d'imposer un embargo sur le pé-

trole à destination de la Rhodésie. Le Royaume-Uni a voté en faveur de la recommandation, mais n'a pas imposé d'embargo sur le pétrole.

"Un porte-parole de la compagnie pétrolière a dit que le pétrole d'Abu Dhabi était utilisé parce que l'Iran et la Libye appliquaient l'embargo*."

Voilà comment les sanctions sont respectées!

91. De l'avis de la délégation tunisienne, seule une action militaire engagée immédiatement pourrait ouvrir la voie à une solution satisfaisante de ce problème et ferait par là même l'économie d'une guérilla qui risque d'être autrement plus coûteuse.

92. Les derniers événements en Rhodésie ont prouvé de façon éclatante qu'un gouvernement formé par la minorité de colons racistes en Rhodésie du Sud a déjà créé une menace réelle contre l'indépendance et l'intégrité territoriale d'un pays voisin: la Zambie.

93. L'Organisation ne peut rester impassible devant la situation explosive qui règne en Rhodésie du Sud; elle ne peut demeurer muette devant l'agression perpétrée par Ian Smith et son gouvernement raciste contre la sécurité de tout un peuple de 4 millions d'Africains dont les droits les plus sacrés sont foulés aux pieds. Elle doit intervenir pour arrêter cette agression et la menace qui en découle pour les autres pays voisins. L'Organisation se doit d'adopter des mesures énergiques pour mettre un terme au complot fomenté par les rebelles blancs de la Rhodésie du Sud, aidés et soutenus par leurs alliés portugais et sud-africains. L'Assemblée générale doit inviter la Puissance administrante à prendre les dispositions économiques et militaires nécessaires pour restituer au peuple zimbabwe tous ses droits inaliénables tels qu'ils sont reconnus par la Charte, et en particulier son droit à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance, conformément à la résolution 1514 (XV).

94. J'ai parlé de la Rhodésie du Sud, qui est le cas le plus typique où la complaisance de la Puissance administrante a créé de toutes pièces une situation anormale qui constitue aujourd'hui une menace à la paix et à la sécurité en Afrique. Si cette situation existe aujourd'hui, c'est parce que le Royaume-Uni s'est refusé à accorder au Comité spécial et à l'Organisation une coopération effective en vue de hâter le processus de la décolonisation par des moyens pacifiques.

95. La même attitude négative a été observée par le Portugal en ce qui concerne les grands territoires africains qu'il continue à dominer. Malgré les condamnations successives de l'Organisation et malgré les nombreuses résolutions de l'Assemblée générale et du Conseil de sécurité, le Portugal continue à défier la conscience internationale et à exploiter de la façon la plus indigne et la plus honteuse les millions d'Africains de l'Angola, du Mozambique et de la Guinée dite portugaise.

96. Nous constatons que dans la poursuite de son odieuse politique, le Portugal se trouve encouragé par la complaisance de ses partenaires commerciaux. Malgré les appels répétés de tous les Etats africains, les alliés du Portugal continuent de lui

fournir les investissements financiers et les équipements militaires qui lui permettent de poursuivre sa guerre et sa répression contre les nationalistes africains et de consolider sa puissance en Afrique pour faire échec aux mesures économiques décidées contre lui par les Nations Unies et par l'Organisation de l'unité africaine. Nous ne pouvons accepter cette attitude de la part de ces Etats qui, indirectement peut-être, ne font qu'aider la répression effroyable qui s'abat sur les Angolais et les habitants du Mozambique et de la Guinée dite portugaise, et renforcer le colonialisme portugais chez nous. Nous comprenons mal que cette attitude inamicale soit celle de certains membres permanents du Conseil de sécurité. Encore une fois, nous faisons appel aux Etats-Unis, au Royaume-Uni, à la France et à leurs alliés — l'Italie, la Belgique, le Japon — pour qu'ils mettent fin à cette assistance et à cette aide à ceux qui persistent à ignorer leurs obligations d'Etats Membres de l'Organisation et qui continuent à violer les droits inaliénables de millions d'Africains en Angola, au Mozambique et en Guinée dite portugaise, contrairement aux principes de la Charte.

97. La situation dans les autres territoires africains demeure aussi tragique. Au Sud-Ouest africain et en Afrique du Sud, nos frères africains continuent à souffrir la honte des lois racistes de la politique d'apartheid. Ce sont leurs droits les plus élémentaires d'êtres humains qui sont quotidiennement violés et méconnus. Cette situation révoltante et répugnante continue et réduit à l'état dégradant d'êtres inférieurs près de 14 millions d'Africains. La politique et la philosophie d'apartheid, fondées sur le concept de la supériorité d'une race, ont été universellement condamnées; mais nous sommes réduits à l'impuissance lorsqu'il s'agit de redresser cette situation, parce que les grandes puissances commerciales ont refusé jusqu'à maintenant d'appliquer des sanctions économiques totales, seules capables d'amener le gouvernement de Pretoria à renoncer à sa politique inhumaine d'apartheid. L'Organisation doit prendre d'urgence les mesures nécessaires pour persuader les partenaires commerciaux de l'Afrique du Sud de coopérer avec elle pour prendre toutes les mesures coercitives nécessaires, y compris la rupture des relations diplomatiques ou commerciales et l'embargo sur les armes, le pétrole et les produits pétroliers.

98. Dans d'autres territoires d'Afrique, comme les protectorats anglais, ou d'Asie, comme Aden et le Sud arabe, la Puissance administrante n'a pas réalisé non plus les progrès attendus pour hâter l'indépendance de ces pays. Le recours à la force et les mesures de répression sont encore trop souvent utilisés contre les nationalistes.

99. Un autre ensemble de problèmes concerne les îles et petits territoires éparpillés dans les océans et pour lesquels le Comité spécial doit trouver des solutions fondées sur l'intérêt des habitants et leur développement. En ce qui concerne des petits territoires et des îles encore sous domination étrangère, la délégation tunisienne estime qu'il y a un travail assez sérieux à entreprendre pour évaluer avec la Puissance administrante les meilleurs procédés et moyens qui permettront une libre consultation des habitants afin de déterminer leur avenir.

*Cité en anglais par l'orateur.

Une étude poussée doit comprendre tous les aspects humains, géographiques et économiques, afin d'assurer à ces peuples un développement social et culturel rapide. Les Nations Unies ont là un nouveau domaine où la coopération internationale doit être encouragée.

100. La délégation tunisienne estime que l'exemple donné par la Nouvelle-Zélande dans les îles Cook est extrêmement important et pourrait constituer une expérience et un précédent heureux. La présence d'un représentant des Nations Unies, M. Omar Adeel — à qui ma délégation se plaît à rendre ici un hommage bien mérité —, a donné à la coopération de la Puissance administrante avec les Nations Unies un sens nouveau et une direction nouvelle qui devraient inspirer d'autres administrations.

101. Enfin, d'autres territoires dont la souveraineté demeure contestée devraient être examinés par le Comité spécial pour hâter la recherche d'une solution satisfaisante aux problèmes qu'ils continuent de poser. Cette solution doit être recherchée dans le cadre des négociations entre les parties directement intéressées. Ceci est particulièrement important pour Gibraltar et les îles Malouines.

102. Nous avons noté avec satisfaction que le représentant de l'Espagne, dans la déclaration qu'il a faite hier [1389ème séance], a clairement affirmé que son pays était prêt à engager des négociations avec le Royaume-Uni sur le problème de Gibraltar. L'esprit de coopération manifesté par l'Espagne pour régler cette question mérite d'être encouragé par l'Assemblée. Ma délégation serait heureuse de le voir prévaloir aussi dans le cas d'autres territoires en Afrique, comme Ifni et le Sahara espagnol.

103. Telles sont les quelques remarques que ma délégation a cru bon de faire sur les territoires les plus importants dont l'examen a été entrepris par notre comité spécial.

104. Le bilan rapide des quatre années de travail du Comité spécial démontre que les progrès réalisés dans la liquidation du colonialisme sont encore loin d'être appréciables et continuent d'être freinés par le manque de coopération de la part des puissances administrantes, et particulièrement de celles dont les efforts tendent à renforcer le bastion des minorités dominantes en Afrique méridionale.

105. Les intérêts financiers considérables investis par les grandes puissances commerciales et par les alliés de l'Afrique du Sud, du Portugal et de la Rhodésie du Sud constituent de plus en plus un obstacle sérieux à la réalisation des aspirations légitimes des peuples colonisés et renforcent la résistance des dirigeants blancs à tout effort de décolonisation pacifique. Nous nous joignons à ceux qui ont déjà lancé un appel aux grandes puissances coloniales pour qu'elles renoncent à cette attitude négative envers les nationalistes africains et pour qu'elles abandonnent cette politique de complaisance envers les racistes et les colonialistes d'Afrique méridionale. Il est en effet évident que toutes les résolutions de l'Assemblée générale et du Conseil de sécurité ont été ignorées par le Royaume-Uni, l'Afrique du Sud et le Portugal. L'Assemblée générale devrait tenir compte de l'évolution des mouvements nationalistes

dans tous les territoires encore sous domination étrangère. Une conscience nouvelle anime nos frères qui luttent pour leur indépendance.

106. Nous saluons les efforts de tous ceux qui s'organisent et luttent avec acharnement et détermination pour le triomphe de leurs droits. Les Nations Unies ont, à maintes reprises, reconnu le mérite de ceux qui luttent et ont admis le caractère juste de leur combat.

107. Aussi l'Assemblée générale devrait-elle rechercher tous les moyens propres à soutenir et renforcer les mouvements de libération nationale. Une aide directe concrète ne serait que l'illustration de la ferme volonté des Nations Unies de débarrasser l'humanité du colonialisme. Il est grand temps, pour les puissances coloniales, de prendre en considération les principes sacrés de la Charte. Nous leur adressons un appel pressant pour qu'elles coopèrent avec sincérité à l'application rapide de la résolution 1514 (XV) à chacun des territoires sous leur administration. Le refus d'une telle coopération nuirait au prestige de l'Organisation, forçant ceux qui luttent pour leur indépendance à recourir à toutes les solutions de désespoir, et les inciterait à ne compter que sur eux-mêmes.

108. La Tunisie croit fermement au triomphe de la raison et de la justice; mais, si les puissances coloniales continuent encore à défier l'Organisation en refusant d'appliquer ses résolutions pertinentes, il ne restera plus d'autre voie ouverte aux mouvements de libération que celle de la résistance armée pour la défense de leur dignité et de leur droit à l'autodétermination.

109. M. DE CASTRO (Philippines) [traduit de l'anglais]: La délégation des Philippines est heureuse de participer à cette discussion générale sur l'œuvre réalisée pendant les deux dernières années par le Comité des Vingt-Quatre. Ce débat permet à l'Organisation de s'arrêter un instant pour considérer ce qui a été fait jusqu'à présent et ce qui reste à faire. Nous devons pour ainsi dire faire un bilan et voir où nous en sommes. Nous devons nous demander: Que ferons-nous maintenant?

110. Quand les Membres fondateurs ont créé l'Organisation des Nations Unies, ils ont promis solennellement que, dans le monde entier, les peuples assujettis recouvreraient leurs droits fondamentaux à la liberté et à l'indépendance. En même temps, les puissances administrantes ont librement et solennellement accepté, comme un devoir sacré, l'obligation de travailler au maximum à améliorer la condition des habitants de ces territoires et, en particulier, de leur accorder progressivement l'autonomie, de tenir compte de leurs aspirations politiques et de les aider à développer peu à peu leurs libres institutions selon les conditions particulières à chaque territoire et aux peuples qui l'habitent ainsi que de leurs stades divers de développement.

111. La République des Philippines, ancienne colonie devenue une nation libre et souveraine peu après la seconde guerre mondiale, a été l'un des Membres fondateurs de l'Organisation. Elle a joué un rôle, à vrai dire modeste, en faveur de l'inclusion dans

la Charte de la Déclaration sur les territoires non autonomes.

112. Quinze années plus tard, en 1960, l'Organisation des Nations Unies, dans sa résolution 1514 (XV), a réaffirmé sa détermination de mettre fin à toutes les formes du colonialisme. Elle a déclaré en termes non équivoques que:

"La sujétion des peuples à une subjugation, à une domination et à une exploitation étrangères constitue un déni des droits fondamentaux de l'humanité",

et que:

"des mesures immédiates seront prises... pour transférer tous pouvoirs aux peuples de ces territoires, sans aucune condition ni réserve, conformément à leur volonté et à leur vœu librement exprimés...".

Les Philippines ont eu également l'honneur de figurer parmi les auteurs de cette résolution et d'appuyer son adoption.

113. Maintenant que la Charte a 20 ans et cette déclaration cinq ans, on est en droit de demander: Quel est le bilan à la date d'aujourd'hui? Combien de colonies ont obtenu la liberté et combien d'autres restent à libérer?

114. En 1946, il y avait 74 territoires, peuplés de 215 millions d'hommes, auxquels s'appliquait le chapitre XI de la Charte. Ils étaient de tailles différentes, s'échelonnant d'une centaine d'habitants pour la petite île de Pitcairn à plus de 70 millions aux Indes néerlandaises. Près de la moitié de l'effectif des hommes colonisés se trouvait sur le continent africain. Il y en avait un très grand nombre dans la région importante du littoral méditerranéen.

115. Depuis ce sombre début, avons-nous fait des progrès? Certainement. Voyons les chiffres.

116. Les territoires non autonomes ayant obtenu leur autonomie sous une forme ou sous une autre à la fin de 1954 étaient: la Guyane française, la Guadeloupe, la Martinique, la Réunion et Saint-Pierre et Miquelon, qui sont des départements d'outre-mer ou ont un statut analogue dans le cadre de la République française; l'Indonésie et les Etats d'Indochine, qui ont alors acquis leur indépendance; Porto Rico, qui est devenue un commonwealth associé aux Etats-Unis; le Groenland, qui s'est uni au royaume du Danemark sur un pied d'égalité avec les autres parties du royaume; les Antilles néerlandaises et Surinam, qui se sont associés au royaume des Pays-Bas.

117. Depuis 1955, les territoires sous mandat et les territoires non autonomes, surtout ceux d'Afrique, ont fait des progrès de plus en plus rapides vers l'indépendance. En 1956, le Maroc, la Tunisie et le Soudan sont devenus indépendants. Les anciens territoires français de l'Afrique occidentale et de l'Afrique équatoriale, Madagascar, l'archipel des Comores et la Côte française des Somalis étaient en train d'obtenir leur indépendance. La Côte-de-l'Or devenait l'Etat indépendant du Ghana. En 1958, l'ancienne Guinée française devenait indépendante sous le nom de République de Guinée.

118. En même temps, dans d'autres parties du monde, le mouvement des peuples dépendants vers l'indépendance ou l'autonomie s'accélérait également: la Fédération de Malaisie obtenait son indépendance en 1957 et, en 1959, l'Alaska et Hawaii obtenaient le statut d'Etat au sein des Etats-Unis d'Amérique.

119. Au cours de l'année 1960, il n'y eut pas moins de 18 pays nouveaux qui accédèrent à l'indépendance: 17 en Afrique et un dans le bassin méditerranéen. En 1961 et 1962, deux pays d'Afrique et deux pays des Caraïbes devinrent indépendants. Cette année, en 1965, deux autres sont devenus libres et ont été admis comme Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Les îles Cook sont devenues autonomes et elles ont le droit de choisir l'indépendance si leur peuple le désire. Enfin, il a été annoncé que la Guyane britannique deviendrait indépendante en 1966.

120. Ainsi, sur les 215 millions d'hommes qui n'étaient pas libres, il n'en reste environ que 25 millions à libérer. L'Organisation des Nations Unies peut se féliciter, à juste titre, des progrès considérables réalisés dans ce domaine.

121. Certes, la liste des territoires qui restent à libérer est encore longue; mais, sauf quelques-uns, à savoir la Rhodésie du Sud, le Sud-Ouest africain et les territoires sous administration portugaise, la grande majorité (et je n'entends pas minimiser leur importance) est constituée de petites îles ou de territoires peu peuplés. Ces petits territoires pourront à l'avenir être le principal objet des travaux du Comité spécial. Les modalités et méthodes qui ont réussi dans le cas des grands territoires à population indigène nombreuse ne conviendront peut-être pas pour eux. Il faudra sans doute que le Comité spécial traite le problème d'une façon nouvelle en tenant compte des conditions particulières à ces îles, sans jamais oublier que le but final est la liberté et l'indépendance ou l'autonomie, selon ce que voudront les populations.

122. J'ai dit que les trois questions principales qui se posent au Comité des Vingt-Quatre, comme à l'Organisation des Nations Unies, sont celles de la Rhodésie du Sud, du Sud-Ouest africain et des territoires portugais. Ces trois cas constituent sans aucun doute aujourd'hui le problème majeur de la décolonisation. Ce qui complique encore les choses, c'est la présence dans ces pays de minorités racistes intransigeantes.

123. La position de mon gouvernement sur ces questions est parfaitement claire et bien connue. Il n'est pas nécessaire que j'abuse de la patience de l'Assemblée pour la définir à nouveau. Qu'il me suffise de dire que ma délégation appuiera toutes les mesures que l'Organisation des Nations Unies estimera nécessaire de prendre dans chacun de ces territoires pour y faire prévaloir les droits inaliénables de la population à la liberté, à l'indépendance et à la dignité humaine. Nous ne pouvons pas admettre que les puissances administrantes refusent d'appliquer les prescriptions de la Charte et les résolutions de l'Assemblée générale.

124. Permettez-moi de revenir au cas des petits territoires. Les problèmes qu'ils posent devront sans doute retenir particulièrement l'attention du Comité

spécial à partir de maintenant. Ma délégation se permet par conséquent de suggérer que ce comité se fixe comme tâche particulière de mettre au point une méthode que les puissances administrantes pourraient appliquer pour que ces petits territoires avancent vers l'autonomie complète, l'indépendance et la liberté. Cette suggestion est conforme à la lettre et à l'esprit de la résolution 1514 (XV), qui garantit à tous les peuples le droit à l'autodétermination, grâce à laquelle ils peuvent déterminer librement leur statut politique et poursuivre librement leur développement économique, social et culturel.

125. Avant de conclure, permettez-moi de définir clairement la position de ma délégation au sujet de l'utilité des visites effectuées dans les territoires en question par des membres du Comité des Vingt-Quatre. Jusqu'à présent, les puissances administrantes ont toujours refusé ces visites. Ma délégation y attache beaucoup d'importance et demande instamment aux puissances administrantes de reconsidérer leur position. Les informations fournies par les puissances administrantes et les dépositions de signataires de pétitions, verbales ou écrites, gagnent à être évaluées par l'observation directe.

126. Je l'ai dit au début de mon intervention, ma délégation est heureuse d'avoir cette occasion de participer à la discussion du point 23. Sous certaines réserves, exprimées au cours des discussions de la Quatrième Commission, au sujet de quelques conclusions et recommandations du Comité spécial s'appliquant à quelques chapitres précis des rapports, ma délégation votera l'approbation des rapports du Comité spécial. Elle ajoute ses félicitations à celles, nombreuses, que le Comité a déjà reçues pour les travaux excellents, précieux et considérables qu'il nous a soumis. Ma délégation votera aussi tout projet de résolution visant à prolonger le mandat du Comité spécial.

127. Je voudrais dire un mot pour finir. L'Organisation des Nations Unies a fait beaucoup pour la libération des peuples assujettis. Mais elle ne peut pas relâcher ses efforts tant que le dernier territoire colonisé n'aura pas été libéré ou rendu autonome.

128. M. DACHTSEREN (République populaire mongole) [traduit du russe]: Il y a juste cinq ans, les Nations Unies adoptaient la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. Ce document historique, qui exprimait l'ardente volonté de tous les peuples épris de liberté de mettre fin au honteux système colonial, a insufflé l'espoir aux peuples opprimés des colonies et les a inspirés dans la lutte qu'ils mènent pour se libérer de l'esclavage colonial.

129. Pendant les cinq années écoulées, la lutte des peuples coloniaux n'a cessé de s'intensifier et a revêtu différentes formes — de la formation de partis politiques au soulèvement armé contre des régimes coloniaux abhorrés. Voici plus de quatre ans que le peuple angolais mène une lutte courageuse contre les colonialistes portugais. A sa suite, les peuples du Mozambique et de la Guinée dite portugaise se sont soulevés. Le peuple de l'Arabie du Sud lutte tout aussi résolument pour libérer son pays des

colonialistes britanniques. Et nous avons encore présente à l'esprit la longue lutte que le peuple algérien a dû soutenir avant de reconstituer la nation algérienne.

130. Grâce à l'intensification de la lutte des peuples coloniaux et à l'action de toutes les forces pacifiques au cours de ces cinq années, plusieurs pays, autrefois soumis à la domination coloniale, ont accédé à l'indépendance nationale et sont venus se joindre à la famille des nations souveraines; ces pays mènent désormais le combat aux côtés de toute l'humanité progressiste pour aider leurs frères à se libérer de la domination coloniale.

131. Les peuples ont désormais le désir passionné d'en finir au plus vite avec le colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations, car la survivance d'empires coloniaux est en flagrante contradiction avec la volonté et la conscience de l'humanité, avec les principes et les objectifs des Nations Unies. Il est donc naturel que dans le monde entier, tant à l'Organisation des Nations Unies qu'au-dehors, les forces de progrès déploient d'immenses efforts pour accélérer le processus de liquidation complète du système colonial et donner effet à la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux.

132. A cet égard, nous nous devons de relever le rôle considérable que les jeunes Etats indépendants d'Afrique et d'Asie et les Etats socialistes ont joué et continuent à jouer dans la lutte générale contre l'impérialisme et le colonialisme. Les pays socialistes et les pays non alignés d'Asie et d'Afrique ont condamné et condamnent d'un commun accord l'impérialisme et le colonialisme, dont ils dénoncent les intrigues et les manœuvres de toutes sortes destinées à perpétuer les régimes coloniaux.

133. La Conférence des chefs d'Etats indépendants d'Afrique, tenue en 1963 à Addis-Abéba, a marqué une étape nouvelle dans la lutte des peuples contre l'impérialisme et le colonialisme. L'Organisation de l'unité africaine, qui a été créée à cette conférence, contribue efficacement à consolider l'indépendance politique et économique des peuples africains et joue un rôle important dans la progression des mouvements de libération nationale des peuples coloniaux et dépendants.

134. Comme nous le savons tous, la Conférence des chefs d'Etats indépendants d'Afrique qui s'est tenue à Addis-Abéba et les réunions africaines au sommet dont elle fut suivie, ainsi que la Conférence des chefs d'Etat ou de gouvernement des pays non alignés qui a eu lieu pendant la période considérée, ont élaboré un programme d'action et indiqué des mesures concrètes propres à accélérer le processus de décolonisation et de libération des peuples coloniaux et dépendants du joug colonial et raciste. L'Organisation de l'unité africaine et tous les pays afro-asiatiques aident considérablement l'Organisation des Nations Unies à s'acquitter de la tâche qui lui a été confiée par la Charte et la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux.

135. Quand l'Assemblée générale a décidé, par la résolution 1907 (XVIII), de désigner l'année 1965 comme Année de la coopération internationale, de nombreux Etats Membres ont exprimé le vœu que

cette année verrait la liquidation définitive et complète des vestiges du système colonial. Mais, hélas, des dizaines de millions d'êtres humains, et près de 60 territoires répartis dans les différentes parties du monde restent soumis aujourd'hui encore à l'esclavage colonial. Ainsi, l'espoir des peuples a été déçu et les dispositions de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux n'ont pas été appliquées. La raison de cette situation funeste, c'est que quelques puissances colonialistes et leurs alliés du bloc agressif de l'OTAN refusent obstinément de donner effet aux dispositions de la Déclaration et des diverses résolutions de l'Assemblée générale et du Conseil de sécurité.

136. C'est ainsi que le Portugal agit sans tenir aucun compte des résolutions de l'ONU relatives aux colonies portugaises. Salazar lui-même a déclaré que le Portugal "est résolu à maintenir sa domination sur l'Angola et tous les autres territoires, sans se soucier des appels de l'ONU touchant l'octroi de l'indépendance à ces territoires".

137. A cette fin, les colonialistes portugais intensifient les opérations punitives destinées à réprimer la lutte légitime des peuples d'Angola, du Mozambique et de la Guinée dite portugaise pour leur liberté et leur indépendance. Les atrocités et la cruauté des colonialistes portugais ne peuvent se comparer qu'aux méthodes les plus barbares du fascisme. Nul n'ignore qu'un pays comme le Portugal serait incapable, sans soutien extérieur, de conserver des possessions coloniales situées sur un autre continent et 10 fois plus étendues que son propre territoire. Le Portugal partage la responsabilité de tous les forfaits perpétrés par les colonialistes aux ordres de Salazar avec les puissances occidentales comme les Etats-Unis, la République fédérale d'Allemagne et autres qui, au mépris des nombreuses résolutions de l'Assemblée générale et du Conseil de sécurité, financent une guerre sanglante sur le continent africain et fournissent des armes à cet effet.

138. Quant à la situation dans les colonies britanniques d'Aden, d'Oman, de la Guyane britannique, du Betchouanaland, du Bassoutoland et du Souaziland, elle s'aggrave sans cesse. Le Gouvernement britannique, tout en promettant officiellement d'accorder l'indépendance à ces territoires, continue sous divers prétextes de les maintenir sous la domination coloniale. Dans son intervention du 1er décembre dernier devant l'Assemblée générale [1386ème séance], le représentant du Royaume-Uni a tenté de justifier par divers arguments d'ordre social et économique le retard apporté à l'octroi de l'indépendance à ces territoires. Je voudrais à cet égard citer la disposition pertinente de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. Aux termes du paragraphe 3 du dispositif de la résolution 1514 (XV):

"Le manque de préparation dans les domaines politique, économique ou social ou dans celui de l'enseignement ne doit jamais être pris comme prétexte pour retarder l'indépendance."

139. Le racisme, qui est une forme particulière du colonialisme, demeure un danger pour la paix et la sécurité internationales.

140. Le régime raciste d'Afrique du Sud, fort de l'aide économique et militaire des puissances occidentales, continue d'appliquer intensivement l'odieuse politique d'apartheid, étendant ce système de ségrégation raciale à un territoire limitrophe: le Sud-Ouest africain. La population autochtone du Sud-Ouest africain est ainsi soumise par les racistes de la République sud-africaine à une impitoyable oppression.

141. Les racistes sud-africains sont en train d'ourdir des plans criminels en vue de démembrer et d'annexer le territoire et d'y étendre le système de l'apartheid. Dans cette infâme entreprise d'asservissement de la population autochtone, les monopoles étrangers agissent la main dans la main avec le régime raciste de Verwoerd.

142. L'examen de la question du Sud-Ouest africain et l'analyse de l'activité des monopoles étrangers dans ce territoire, auxquels a récemment procédé le Comité spécial des Vingt-Quatre, ont pleinement confirmé ce que nous venons de dire.

143. En Rhodésie du Sud, la proclamation illégale par le régime raciste d'Ian Smith d'indépendance est un nouvel acte criminel commis par les racistes et leurs complices. Malgré les nombreuses mises en garde contre le danger que présenterait la création d'un nouvel Etat raciste sur le modèle de la République sud-africaine et malgré l'opinion pacifique mondiale qui réclame l'adoption des mesures nécessaires pour couper court à toute aventure de ce genre, les puissances occidentales, en particulier le Royaume-Uni, ont favorisé cette proclamation illégale de l'indépendance de la Rhodésie du Sud. C'est ainsi qu'un nouveau foyer de tension est apparu au centre de l'Afrique.

144. La position du Gouvernement de la République populaire mongole sur la question de la Rhodésie du Sud est claire. Dans sa déclaration du 16 novembre 1965, le gouvernement de mon pays a catégoriquement condamné cet acte criminel et déclaré qu'il "ne reconnaîtra pas l'indépendance de la Rhodésie du Sud, proclamée illégalement par la dictature raciste de la minorité blanche aux dépens des intérêts du peuple du Zimbabwe" et qu'"il invite tous les Etats à prendre au plus tôt toutes les mesures nécessaires"^{5/}.

145. Dans plusieurs autres territoires sous tutelle, le comportement des puissances administrantes est loin d'être conforme aux dispositions de la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale. Les Etats-Unis d'Amérique, en particulier, transforment en bases militaires les îles du Pacifique placées sous leur tutelle; or, ces bases représentent une grave menace pour la paix et la sécurité des peuples d'Asie et d'Extrême-Orient.

146. Tout cela montre que les forces de progrès qui luttent pour éliminer aussi rapidement que possible le honteux système colonial doivent redoubler d'efforts, à la fois dans le cadre de l'Organisation des Nations Unies et en dehors.

147. A côté des vestiges du colonialisme qui en

^{5/} Documents officiels du Conseil de sécurité, vingtième année, Supplément d'octobre, novembre et décembre 1965, document S/6943.

incarnent les anciennes formes classiques, le néo-colonialisme ne représente pas un moindre danger, car il est devenu pour les puissances impérialistes un moyen de maintenir les anciens régimes coloniaux et d'asservir les jeunes Etats indépendants qui manquent encore de force. Les Etats-Unis d'Amérique et la République fédérale d'Allemagne sont à l'avant-garde de ceux qui pratiquent une politique colonialiste. Les monopoles américains et ceux d'Allemagne occidentale occupent une position prépondérante dans de nombreux territoires non autonomes.

148. C'est ainsi que la revue United States News and World Report écrivait le 1er juin 1965: "Les grandes firmes américaines estiment que les entreprises à l'étranger sont d'un excellent rapport. C'est là un des principaux facteurs de la vie économique dans la seconde moitié du XXème siècle."

149. La République fédérale d'Allemagne ne se borne pas à étendre son influence économique dans les colonies africaines du Portugal, en République sud-africaine et dans le Sud-Ouest africain. Elle fournit des armes au Portugal et à l'Afrique du Sud, établit des bases militaires, y compris des bases pour le lancement de fusées en Afrique australe.

150. Parallèlement à cette expansion économique qui vise à perpétuer l'asservissement des pays coloniaux et des jeunes Etats indépendants, les colonialistes et leurs alliés néo-colonialistes, dans le dessein de maintenir leurs positions économiques et stratégiques, interviennent ouvertement dans les affaires intérieures d'Etats souverains qui se sont déjà libérés du régime colonial.

151. Les exemples les plus frappants sont à cet égard l'intervention des puissances impérialistes au Congo, avec la participation des Etats-Unis, de la Belgique et du Royaume-Uni, l'intervention armée des Etats-Unis d'Amérique dans les affaires intérieures de la République Dominicaine, l'agression américaine au Viet-Nam ainsi que les bombardements barbares auxquels est soumis le territoire de la République démocratique du Viet-Nam.

152. Il est clair que dans ces actions collectives des puissances impérialistes, qui ont pour seul but le maintien du colonialisme, le rôle principal revient aux impérialistes américains. La revue américaine de politique extérieure Foreign Affairs écrivait à ce sujet, dans son numéro d'octobre 1965: "Pour autant que les circonstances l'ont permis, nous avons encouragé l'ancienne puissance coloniale à demeurer sur place ou à revenir sur scène."

153. Les bases militaires des puissances impérialistes à l'étranger servent à protéger leurs positions économiques et politiques, elles servent aussi à écraser les mouvements de libération nationale des peuples coloniaux. Les impérialistes américains et britanniques ont entouré la surface du globe d'un réseau de bases militaires à partir desquelles ils se livrent à l'agression ouverte, à l'intervention armée dans les affaires intérieures d'Etats souverains, à des opérations punitives contre les peuples des territoires non autonomes.

154. La plupart des bases militaires du Royaume-Uni sont situées dans ses possessions coloniales et

dans ses anciennes colonies, qui ont récemment conquis l'indépendance nationale. Parlant devant l'Assemblée générale [1386ème séance], lord Caradon, représentant du Royaume-Uni, a dit que son pays n'avait besoin de bases que pour exécuter ses obligations touchant le maintien de la paix et à l'égard de ses amis pour leur venir en aide et honorer ses engagements à leur égard découlant des traités.

155. Si l'on songe aux circonstances dans lesquelles ces bases ont été utilisées, il est facile de déterminer leur véritable rôle. Chacun sait que le Royaume-Uni est venu en aide à ses alliés en mettant à leur disposition sa base de l'île de l'Ascension, pour faciliter l'intervention américano-belge au Congo.

156. Notre délégation estime que la lutte des peuples pour la suppression des bases étrangères et le retrait des forces armées étrangères sont inséparables de la lutte contre l'impérialisme, pour la libération nationale et la paix dans le monde entier.

157. Notre délégation partage pleinement l'opinion de ceux qui estiment que le moment est venu de prendre des mesures concrètes et effectives pour l'application inconditionnelle de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. Notre délégation est d'avis que, tout en prenant les mesures les plus vigoureuses contre les puissances coloniales, il faut également condamner énergiquement l'activité de celles des puissances occidentales qui continuent, sans tenir compte des décisions de l'ONU, de fournir aux régimes coloniaux et racistes une aide politique, militaire et économique, leur comportement constituant le principal obstacle à l'application de la Déclaration des Nations Unies.

158. Il faut que l'Assemblée générale réaffirme le droit des peuples coloniaux à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance, reconnaisse la légitimité de la lutte que mènent ces peuples pour accéder à ce droit, invite tous les Etats à leur venir en aide.

159. L'Assemblée générale doit également adresser un avertissement sévère, tant aux puissances coloniales qu'aux puissances qui leur prêtent assistance, en déclarant que les unes et les autres violent de manière flagrante la Charte et la Déclaration de l'ONU et assument de ce fait une lourde responsabilité internationale devant l'ensemble des peuples.

160. Pour conclure, je voudrais dire quelques mots de l'activité du Comité spécial des Vingt-Quatre. Au cours de la période écoulée, le Comité spécial des Vingt-Quatre a accompli un travail considérable et utile qui mérite toute notre reconnaissance.

161. Le Comité a présenté à l'Assemblée générale un rapport substantiel qui abonde en éléments d'information concrets et qui reflète la situation réelle existant dans les territoires qu'il a étudiés.

162. La décision du Comité d'envoyer une mission de visite a été pleinement justifiée. Bien que le Comité n'ait pu se rendre directement dans les territoires coloniaux en raison du refus des puissances administrantes, il a pu établir, à l'occasion de ses travaux dans les capitales de trois Etats africains, des contacts étroits avec les peuples en lutte pour l'indépendance nationale.

163. Au cours de son voyage, le Comité a examiné les graves problèmes coloniaux que sont les questions de la Rhodésie du Sud, des territoires administrés par le Portugal et du Sud-Ouest africain, et il a divulgué de nombreux faits concrets qui révèlent l'action funeste des monopoles étrangers et le rôle des puissances occidentales membres du bloc militaire de l'OTAN dans la politique aventureuse des colonialistes portugais et du régime raciste de la République sud-africaine.

164. La session que le Comité a tenue en Afrique a donc marqué une nouvelle étape de son activité. C'est là une méthode de travail féconde à laquelle le Comité devra encore recourir à l'avenir.

165. Considérant le travail fécond accompli par le Comité au cours de ses quatre années d'existence et la tâche qui l'attend s'il doit poursuivre l'étude de la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration, la délégation mongole estime utile et souhaitable de proroger le mandat du Comité des Vingt-Quatre.

166. Le peuple mongol, qui a autrefois subi la domination féodale et coloniale, a toujours été aux côtés des peuples qui combattent pour la liberté et l'indépendance nationale.

167. Le peuple mongol et son gouvernement condamnent sévèrement, comme étant un crime très grave contre l'humanité, le colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations.

168. La République populaire mongole est prête à appuyer toute mesure effective qui viserait à éliminer au plus tôt les vestiges du honteux système colonial; elle est prête, dans la mesure de ses moyens, à apporter sa contribution à cette entreprise.

169. M. LEKIC (Yougoslavie) [traduit de l'anglais]: Le rapport du Comité des Vingt-Quatre, les déclarations de nombreux signataires de pétitions et surtout ce qui se passe dans le centre et le sud de l'Afrique nous ont confirmé dans notre conviction que la communauté mondiale est en présence d'une situation grave dans le domaine de la décolonisation. Bien que des progrès aient été réalisés depuis 1963, nous sommes encore loin d'avoir atteint les buts fixés par la Charte et par la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. Ce n'est pas seulement parce qu'un tiers du territoire de l'Afrique est encore soumis aux formes les plus brutales de l'exploitation et de l'oppression, contrairement à l'esprit de la Charte et aux exigences de la civilisation moderne. Il s'agit en fait de politiques qui mettent en jeu la vie de millions d'Africains ainsi que la paix et la sécurité de l'Afrique, donc la paix et la sécurité mondiales. Profitant de tous les avantages qu'offre aux tenants du racisme et de l'hégémonie la crise des relations internationales, les racistes de Rhodésie du Sud, du Sud-Ouest africain et de l'Afrique du Sud, comme les forces colonialistes et néo-colonialistes en général, appliquent une politique qui aura sans doute de vastes conséquences. Profitant de ce que les nations éprises de paix sont occupées par des événements qui se produisent dans d'autres parties du monde et qui menacent directement la paix et la sécurité de l'humanité, les racistes de la Rhodésie du Sud ont réduit totale-

ment à l'esclavage les quatre millions d'habitants de ce territoire. En cela, ils ont l'appui total des partisans de la théorie de l'*Uebermensch* en Afrique du Sud, lesquels, de leur côté, prennent des mesures pour enlever aux peuples du Sud-Ouest africain même le plus faible espoir de se libérer de la condition d'esclaves dans laquelle ils sont maintenus depuis plus de 40 ans par les racistes de l'Afrique du Sud.

170. Les colonialistes portugais s'apprêtent également à intensifier, dans des conditions nouvelles, la guerre coloniale qu'ils mènent contre les habitants des territoires placés sous leur domination et à leur imposer, par le fer et par le feu, les bienfaits de ce qu'ils appellent la civilisation portugaise.

171. Ce ne sont là, bien entendu, que les manifestations les plus spectaculaires de l'action coordonnée des forces du colonialisme et du néo-colonialisme, qui s'exerce également dans d'autres territoires. Dans certains d'entre eux, on abroge la Constitution, on renvoie le gouvernement, on procède à des "consultations" et l'on prend des mesures propres à faire "accepter" des solutions, que les habitants rejettent pour la raison bien simple que ces solutions ne sont pas conformes à leurs aspirations et à leurs vœux.

172. Le fait que la crise des relations internationales a gêné la décolonisation prouve une fois de plus que la politique qui consiste à aggraver les tensions, à employer la force pour le règlement des différends internationaux et à ne pas hésiter à risquer la guerre a une influence défavorable sur la lutte pour la liberté, l'indépendance et l'égalité des droits des peuples, ainsi que sur l'établissement d'une paix durable dans le monde. Quels que soient les prétextes invoqués pour mener cette politique d'intensification des tensions et d'intervention extérieure, quelles que soient les raisons données pour la justifier, il n'en reste pas moins que ses protagonistes ne s'intéressent pas vraiment à la liberté et à l'émancipation des peuples et des Etats. En fait, ce qui est en jeu, ce sont des intérêts mesquins et égoïstes qui les poussent à poursuivre des buts précis dans les domaines politique, militaire, stratégique et économique en aggravant les causes existantes de conflit et en en créant de nouvelles.

173. Nous voyons se manifester maintenant une tendance qui vise à étendre les privilèges existants et à en extorquer de nouveaux, à imposer des relations internationales basées sur la domination et l'hégémonie et à empêcher, ou tout au moins à gêner, les progrès dans le monde. Considérée sous cet angle, la régression observée actuellement dans le domaine de la décolonisation est étroitement liée à la crise des relations internationales, elle est dans une large mesure la conséquence directe de cette crise.

174. La situation créée par les événements du Vietnam et d'autres parties du monde a sans aucun doute encouragé M. Smith à choisir précisément ce moment pour commettre un acte de trahison envers le Royaume-Uni et un crime contre les 4 millions d'Africains de Rhodésie du Sud. Inversement, l'existence du colonialisme, en tant que système de relations basé sur la domination et l'inégalité, convient aux protagonistes de la politique d'aggravation des

relations et d'ingérence dans les affaires des autres peuples et des autres Etats.

175. Cette évolution dans le domaine de la décolonisation n'est pas due seulement au refus de quelques puissances coloniales de faire honneur à leurs obligations et de coopérer activement à l'élimination du colonialisme et à l'application des principes et prescriptions de la Charte. Les rapports du Comité spécial [A/5800/Rev.1 et A/6000/Rev.1] font nettement ressortir qu'une grande part de responsabilité, maintenant peut-être la plus grande, revient à des pays qui, tout en condamnant verbalement les actes des racistes et des colonialistes, leur donnent en réalité tout leur appui. Cet appui, nous le savons, ne se limite pas à un accroissement des relations commerciales et économiques. Il comporte aussi des fournitures d'armes, directes ou passant par des pays tiers.

176. Vu sous cet angle, le problème colonial n'est plus une affaire à régler seulement entre une puissance coloniale donnée et l'Organisation des Nations Unies qui personnifie la communauté mondiale. Les conditions ont changé et les méthodes aussi. Il y a maintenant davantage de pays directement intéressés à maintenir des avant-postes à partir desquels ils pourront exercer une influence sur les événements qui se déroulent dans les diverses parties du monde et menacer ainsi l'indépendance chèrement acquise des pays récemment émancipés. C'est pourquoi l'élimination du colonialisme doit être considérée aujourd'hui comme un problème de relations entre l'Organisation des Nations Unies et les Etats qui, sous un prétexte quelconque, idéologique, militaire ou économique, aident le colonialisme à se maintenir ou gênent son élimination.

177. Les pays africains, intéressés à la liquidation immédiate du colonialisme et à l'élimination de la discrimination raciale du sol de l'Afrique (car cette question, pour eux comme pour nous, met en jeu la paix et la sécurité), ont tenté d'achever le processus de la décolonisation par des moyens pacifiques. Les chefs d'Etat africains et les dirigeants politiques des pays encore colonisés ont, à maintes reprises, déclaré qu'ils étaient prêts à rechercher par la négociation des solutions qui garantiraient l'égalité de traitement et l'égalité des droits aux membres des autres races en Afrique.

178. Les racistes et ceux qui les soutiennent n'ont pas montré le même attachement à la paix et au principe du règlement pacifique des différends que les pays et les peuples africains. Ils n'ont pas pris la main que ces derniers leur tendaient et ils ont répondu à ce geste d'amitié et à cette offre de coopération par des mesures de répression brutale et par la guerre. Les tentatives faites pour rechercher par des moyens pacifiques les solutions qui garantiraient l'égalité de tous n'ont provoqué de la part des colonialistes que des actes qui violent les droits et la dignité humaine des Africains.

179. Il y a donc un affrontement entre les conceptions nouvelles et les conceptions anciennes, entre les idées progressistes et les idées réactionnaires, entre les sentiments humains et les sentiments inhumains, entre le droit et la force, entre la justice

et l'illégalité, entre l'amitié et la haine, entre la foi dans l'humanité et dans un avenir meilleur et la peur d'un avenir incertain. Il n'y a qu'une issue possible à cet affrontement, et c'est le triomphe de la justice sur le refus de la loi, la victoire du droit sur la force. Dans un conflit de cette nature, cette issue n'est jamais douteuse. La question est seulement de savoir si nous voulons faire ce qui est nécessaire (et ensemble nous pouvons le faire) pour mettre fin à ce conflit avec un minimum de souffrances et de sacrifices.

180. Conformément à sa politique de coexistence active et pacifique (dont l'un des principes fondamentaux est le respect du droit de tous les peuples à l'égalité et à la liberté), le Gouvernement yougoslave a appuyé et continue à appuyer les efforts déployés par l'Organisation de l'unité africaine et par les mouvements de libération dans les colonies dans le but de faire prévaloir ce droit par des moyens pacifiques si c'est possible, par la force si les peuples coloniaux sont obligés d'y recourir.

181. C'est pour des raisons évidentes que nous avons parlé longuement des faits dangereux qui se sont produits dans les colonies, faits qui témoignent du rôle précis que les colonialistes et néo-colonialistes ont fixé aux colonies dans le cadre d'une stratégie globale visant à préserver les privilèges existants, à en acquérir de nouveaux et à imposer, sous des apparences nouvelles, des formes de relations qui sont en réalité celles d'autrefois, basées sur la domination et sur la subordination.

182. Cependant, il existe ce qu'on appelle des petites colonies, c'est-à-dire celles dont la faible superficie, la population peu nombreuse et le sous-développement économique servent d'arguments pour justifier le maintien d'une domination étrangère. Ces facteurs compliquent probablement, dans certains cas, le processus d'émancipation de ces territoires, mais ils ne sont pas les seuls à donner au problème son véritable caractère. La plupart de ces territoires sont situés à une distance plus ou moins grande des côtes et des continents qui ont été récemment libérés ou qui luttent actuellement pour leur émancipation politique et économique. C'est pour cette raison que ces territoires intéressent particulièrement les puissances qui ne peuvent s'adapter aux changements qui ont eu lieu dans le monde et désirent conserver des positions à partir desquelles elles puissent entraver le développement de pays récemment émancipés et déclencher des actions visant à rétablir des sphères d'influence.

183. Le caractère particulier et la complexité des conditions dans lesquelles ces territoires se développent, la nécessité de trouver des solutions qui tiennent compte des intérêts des habitants et de ceux de la paix obligent l'Organisation des Nations Unies à prendre une part active au processus de leur décolonisation. Le Comité des Vingt-Quatre, qui s'en est déjà beaucoup occupé, devrait exposer en détail les moyens grâce auxquels l'Organisation peut participer directement à la solution du problème de ce qu'on appelle les petits territoires.

184. A ce sujet, je tiens à souligner que la variété des procédés et méthodes employés par les forces

du colonialisme et du néo-colonialisme pour atteindre leurs buts nous oblige à modifier constamment les modalités de l'action de l'Organisation des Nations Unies dans le processus de décolonisation. Nous croyons qu'il est nécessaire d'adopter des méthodes de travail qui permettent à l'Organisation de jouer son rôle dans la phase actuelle de cette opération. Les Nations Unies doivent contrecarrer les actions des puissances coloniales, principalement les actions militaires qui empêchent d'atteindre l'un des buts fondamentaux de la Charte, à savoir le droit des peuples à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance, et qui imposent une lutte armée aux peuples coloniaux. Elles peuvent le faire en accordant leur appui politique, moral et matériel aux peuples coloniaux qui luttent pour leur libération.

185. D'autre part, pour obtenir une décolonisation pacifique là où c'est encore possible, l'Organisation des Nations Unies devrait s'engager directement et de bonne heure, en envoyant des missions itinérantes ou en affirmant la présence de l'Organisation par l'envoi d'observateurs ou de résidents, dans le seul but d'élaborer des programmes et d'accélérer l'application de mesures visant à transmettre le pouvoir à des représentants des populations et à garantir l'indépendance de celles-ci.

186. En dernière analyse, ce serait aussi l'intérêt bien compris des puissances coloniales, qui doivent se résigner à l'inévitable. Il faudrait qu'elles renoncent à se retrancher derrière la fiction juridique de leur compétence exclusive et qu'au moins dans la phase actuelle elles montrent de la bonne volonté ainsi que le désir d'aider à atteindre les buts et à appliquer les principes qui sont ceux de l'Organisation.

187. Profitant de l'expérience qu'il a acquise pendant son séjour d'un mois en Afrique, où il a accompli un travail considérable et précieux, le Comité des Vingt-Quatre pourrait, en adoptant des méthodes de travail appropriées et en les adaptant constamment aux conditions changeantes, insister encore davantage sur son rôle politique, sur l'action qu'on attend de lui. Cette action comporte l'initiative et la mise au point de mesures concrètes pour accélérer le processus de décolonisation. En plus du travail des sous-comités et des séances tenues à proximité des colonies (lesquelles ont prouvé leur utilité politique), il faudrait constituer des missions itinérantes ou désigner des membres individuels du Comité, et demander aux puissances administrantes de permettre à ces missions ou à ces membres de visiter des territoires encore coloniaux pour se rendre compte de la situation et s'entendre avec les puissances administrantes sur les mesures à prendre. Il serait utile également de tenir des sessions courtes mais fréquentes consacrées à l'étude de la situation dans certains territoires, uniquement en vue d'une action politique urgente à entreprendre soit par le Comité lui-même, soit, à la demande de celui-ci, par le Conseil de sécurité. Cela permettrait d'attirer en temps voulu l'attention de l'Organisation des Nations Unies et donc de la communauté internationale sur des problèmes qui mettent directement en danger la paix mondiale. Cela fournirait également un soutien moral et politique plus grand et permanent aux peuples qui com-

battent pour leur libération. Pour ces peuples, les manifestations de présence et de sollicitude constante de l'Organisation mondiale ont une importance exceptionnelle.

188. La relation étroite qui existe entre la crise des relations internationales — la guerre du Viet-Nam en particulier — et l'évolution négative de la décolonisation de l'Afrique, l'interdépendance et les répercussions réciproques de ces deux ordres de faits montrent clairement que la lutte pour la paix ne peut être dissociée de la lutte pour la liberté et l'égalité de tous les peuples. Cela doit déterminer, à notre avis, l'orientation et l'activité des forces de paix et de démocratie. Il faut que ces forces, particulièrement en ce moment, s'emploient énergiquement et de façon concertée à éliminer le danger immédiat pour la paix et la sécurité mondiales que présente la guerre du Viet-Nam. Cela facilitera toute action visant à prévenir des événements qui, si l'on ne prend pas à temps les mesures qui s'imposent, ont risque d'aboutir à des effusions de sang, non seulement en Afrique mais dans d'autres régions.

189. Le vingtième anniversaire de l'Organisation des Nations Unies nous fournit une occasion favorable pour dresser un bilan et examiner ce qui a déjà été fait et ce qui reste à faire. À la lumière de cette analyse et de l'évolution la plus récente de la décolonisation, il faut prendre des mesures ayant pour objet de faire appliquer immédiatement la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. L'Assemblée générale devrait réaffirmer cette déclaration, exiger son application immédiate, fixer une date limite pour l'élimination du colonialisme partout dans le monde et sous toutes ses formes et inviter les puissances administrantes à coopérer pleinement à la mise en œuvre d'un programme à élaborer en coopération avec les représentants des peuples coloniaux et destiné à achever le processus de décolonisation dans un délai déterminé.

190. La délégation yougoslave donnera tout son appui, comme elle l'a fait dans le passé, à la lutte des peuples qui sont encore colonisés et aux efforts déployés par les forces de paix et de progrès pour l'élimination immédiate du colonialisme.

191. M. EASTMAN (Libéria) [traduit de l'anglais]: Quant l'Assemblée générale a adopté sa résolution historique 1514 (XV), on espérait que, par l'application de cette résolution, le monde se libérerait des derniers vestiges du colonialisme et éliminerait à jamais le système horrible de pillage, d'exploitation et de refus du droit fondamental qu'ont les peuples à choisir leur propre destin. Il est regrettable que nous soyons réunis ici pour discuter de l'octroi de la liberté et de l'indépendance à plus de 50 territoires éparpillés sur toute la surface du globe. Nous discutons encore du point de savoir si ces peuples ont le droit que nous leur avons déjà reconnu. Nous aurions cru que les puissances administrantes seraient maintenant convaincues que nous ne pouvons pas supporter plus longtemps le système du colonialisme et qu'elles auraient pris toutes les mesures nécessaires pour accorder la liberté à la population des territoires placés sous leur domination. Nous savons en effet que la forme la plus libérale du colonialisme ne se compare pas à la

forme la moins élevée de liberté et d'indépendance. Aucun peuple ne peut réellement accomplir son destin sous une domination étrangère. Nous admettons qu'il existe des formes diverses de colonialisme, mais mon gouvernement réprovoque ce système sous quelque forme que ce soit.

192. Toutefois, la forme la plus diabolique est celle qui est employée par les gouvernements du Portugal et de l'Afrique du Sud. Nous n'avons pas l'intention de récapituler devant l'Assemblée les atrocités perpétrées sur les peuples de l'Angola, du Mozambique et de la Guinée dite portugaise par le régime de Salazar. Il est cependant extrêmement difficile d'oublier les souffrances, le génocide et l'oppression infligés aux populations de ces territoires par la domination portugaise. L'Assemblée générale et le Conseil de sécurité se sont prononcés sur cette question à maintes reprises et ont demandé au Portugal de reconnaître les droits fondamentaux des peuples placés sous son administration. Tout le monde connaît la réponse. Le Portugal n'hésite pas à se moquer de nos décisions et il a adopté des mesures encore plus énergiques pour continuer à opprimer la population de ses colonies.

193. L'Organisation des Nations Unies ne peut compter atteindre les objectifs qu'elle s'est fixés tant que des hommes souffriront dans le monde, parce que la paix et la sécurité seront toujours en danger s'il en est à qui l'on refuse le droit à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance. Le continent africain restera dans un état de tension, d'insécurité et d'agitation aussi longtemps que certains de nos frères n'auront pas la liberté. Si nous jouissons de la liberté et de l'indépendance dans notre propre pays, cela ne nous suffit pas. Cela ne nous suffira pas tant que le continent ne sera pas entièrement libre. Alors, notre propre indépendance nous paraîtra meilleure.

194. En ce qui concerne l'Afrique du Sud et sa politique d'apartheid dans le Sud-Ouest africain, mon gouvernement a clairement défini sa position. Nous nous bornerons à répéter que nous sommes fermement convaincus que l'Afrique du Sud a failli à son mandat dans le territoire du Sud-Ouest africain. Nous sommes opposés au partage de ce territoire; nous sommes également opposés à l'aliénation des terres telle qu'elle y est pratiquée.

195. Nous tenons à assurer à l'Assemblée que le gouvernement et le peuple du Libéria persisteront sans relâche dans leurs efforts pour obtenir que le peuple du Sud-Ouest africain puisse à nouveau vivre libre. Le gouvernement du Libéria condamne sans réserve les actes criminels perpétrés par le régime minoritaire de la Rhodésie du Sud. Il appelle toutes les nations éprises de paix à conjuguer leurs efforts avec les siens pour empêcher que cette autorité illégale se maintienne en Rhodésie du Sud.

196. En ce qui concerne les territoires de la Haute Commission, ceux du Bassoutoland, du Betchouanaland et du Swaziland, le Gouvernement du Libéria condamne toute tentative du Gouvernement sud-africain pour annexer ces trois territoires ou porter atteinte à leur intégrité territoriale. Toute action, directe ou indirecte, entreprise dans ce but par l'Afrique du

Sud doit être considérée par l'Assemblée générale comme agression.

197. Ma délégation approuve la résolution du Comité des Vingt-Quatre [voir A/5800/Rev.1, chap. VIII] demandant la réunion d'une assemblée constituante dans chacun des trois territoires, où il n'y en a pas eu, pour recueillir les avis de tous les groupes de population et prendre ensuite des dispositions démocratiques d'ordre constitutionnel conduisant à des élections générales basées sur le suffrage universel des adultes et à la réaffirmation du droit inaliénable du peuple de chacun de ces territoires à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance.

198. Il ressort des rapports qui nous sont présentés qu'au sujet de certains des territoires non encore libérés des différends territoriaux se sont élevés entre des Etats Membres des Nations Unies et que des négociations sont en cours ou vont commencer à ce sujet. Bien que ma délégation s'abstienne de prendre une position ferme sur cette question à la présente session, nous tenons à déclarer que, jusqu'à ce que la question des différends territoriaux puisse être définitivement réglée, nous considérons que tous les peuples ont le droit absolu de choisir leur propre destin. Nous demandons que, dans toute négociation, on prenne en considération les intérêts des habitants.

199. La délégation du Libéria salue avec joie l'annonce faite par le gouvernement du Royaume-Uni, que la Guyane britannique accédera à l'indépendance sous le nom de Guyane le 26 mai 1966. Nous demandons au peuple de la Guyane tout entier de coopérer pour réaliser les conditions les plus favorables à son indépendance. Le gouvernement et le peuple du Libéria saisissent cette occasion pour adresser au peuple de la Guyane leurs meilleurs vœux de paix, d'harmonie, de progrès et de stabilité au moment de leur accession à l'indépendance.

200. Ma délégation est stupéfaite du refus de l'Australie de dire franchement si elle a l'intention d'accorder l'indépendance à la population de Nauru. En 1965, les dirigeants de Nauru ont déclaré à la mission itinérante et à la précédente session du Conseil de tutelle qu'ils désiraient accéder à l'indépendance en 1968. C'est une prétention légitime; c'est un droit. C'est pourquoi nous invitons le gouvernement de l'Australie à dire devant cette assemblée s'il reconnaît le droit du peuple de Nauru et, dans l'affirmative, à dire catégoriquement si ce peuple verra ses désirs se réaliser.

201. Pour conclure, je veux rappeler que les espoirs des peuples non encore libérés reposent sur l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Ce qu'ils demandent est simple: c'est d'être libres de s'occuper de leurs propres affaires; d'avoir droit à leur terre et à ses ressources naturelles; de gérer eux-mêmes leur commerce et leur industrie de sorte que le but des investissements et du travail soit le bien-être de tous et non l'enrichissement de quelques-uns. Le développement de l'Afrique, et d'ailleurs de toute autre région du monde, doit se faire au bénéfice de ses habitants et non au seul profit des capitalistes et des exploiters étrangers. En un mot, ils

veulent vivre égaux aux autres hommes. Est-ce trop demander?

202. Enfin, je me permets de saisir cette occasion pour adresser les félicitations de ma délégation au Président et aux membres du Comité des Vingt-Quatre pour les rapports contenus dans les documents A/5800/Rev.1 et A/6000/Rev.1. Connaissant les difficultés que le Comité spécial a rencontrées pour remplir efficacement son mandat conformément au paragraphe 4 du dispositif de la résolution 1956 (XVIII), nous le félicitons de tout cœur pour le travail qu'il a accompli.

203. Le PRESIDENT: Un certain nombre de représentants ayant demandé à exercer le droit de réponse, je vais leur donner successivement la parole.

204. M. McCARTHY (Australie) [traduit de l'anglais]: En exerçant mon droit de réponse, je tiens à expliquer que si ma délégation n'a rien dit au cours de la discussion générale sur les sujets qui font l'objet du rapport du Comité spécial, c'est que nous en avons parlé longuement et fréquemment pendant les quatre années où nous avons été membres du Comité des Vingt-Quatre, et auparavant comme membre du Comité des Dix-Sept. Nous nous sommes efforcés alors de définir clairement nos vues sur les nombreux sujets traités dans ces rapports. En outre, nous avons donné le plus possible de renseignements, pour satisfaire entièrement le Comité, sur les régions dont celui-ci s'occupait et dont l'Australie est responsable.

205. Me référant au rapport dans son ensemble, je voudrais dire à cette séance plénière toute l'estime que nous éprouvons pour la dignité et la compétence du Président du Comité, M. Coulibaly, du Mali, et pour le travail considérable qu'a fourni notre collègue, M. Natwar Singh, de l'Inde, le très distingué Rapporteur du Comité. Je voudrais aussi rendre hommage à l'efficacité dont ont toujours fait preuve M. Godfrey Amachree, M. Chacko et leurs collègues du Secrétariat, qui ont mis en forme les résultats des travaux du Comité spécial et qui, à vrai dire, nous ont fourni les moyens de réaliser ces travaux.

206. Au sujet d'un autre aspect des travaux du Comité, je voudrais rendre hommage également à M. Adeel qui, en remplissant d'une façon objective ses fonctions d'observateur et de rapporteur aux élections des îles Cook, a, j'en suis persuadé, fait grand honneur non seulement à lui-même mais aussi à son pays et à l'Organisation des Nations Unies.

207. En préparant cette réponse, je me suis souvenu que les représentants de 50 nations s'étaient réunis à San Francisco, d'avril à juin 1945, et ils s'étaient mis d'accord sur la Charte des Nations Unies, qui est entrée en vigueur la même année et qui vraiment depuis cette date nous a éclairés et a servi de base à tous nos travaux.

208. Les Membres originels des Nations Unies, ceux qui ont signé et ratifié la Charte, étaient au nombre de 51, et mon pays, l'Australie, était l'un d'eux. Ce qui unissait ces pays, c'était avant tout un fond commun de souffrances, et aussi d'espoir et de volonté engendrés par ces souffrances.

209. C'est en partant de cette base et parce qu'ils se rendaient compte que leur condition humaine leur était commune qu'ils ont voulu travailler ensemble, sans considération d'idéologie politique, de race, de culture ou de situation géographique, à atteindre des objectifs qui étaient les mêmes pour tous. Je crois juste de rappeler que, dans les séances où la Charte a été conçue, mon pays, l'Australie, n'a pas joué un rôle obscur.

210. A ce sujet, et pour répondre en partie à certaines observations faites au cours de ce débat par les représentants du Ghana et de la République-Unie de Tanzanie, je rappelle une phrase prononcée par le représentant de Ceylan dans un savant discours prononcé il y a deux ans devant la Quatrième Commission:

"Je manquerais à mon devoir si je n'ajoutais pas maintenant que le monde ainsi que tous les peuples coloniaux et ceux qui ne le sont plus sont redevables à l'Australie de l'initiative qu'elle a prise à la Conférence de San Francisco et qui a fait d'elle l'un des principaux auteurs de la Déclaration contenue dans l'article 73, déclaration qui, si on se réfère au passé, a fourni le mécanisme grâce auquel il a été possible d'émanciper de nombreux peuples coloniaux au cours des 17 dernières années^{6/}."

211. Moi, qui suis australien, je n'oublierai pas cette phrase. Je connais l'histoire de la Conférence de San Francisco, et je sais que cet hommage est mérité. Je demande à cette assemblée plénière de bien noter ces mots du représentant de Ceylan:

"... qui, si on se réfère au passé, a fourni le mécanisme grâce auquel il a été possible d'émanciper de nombreux peuples coloniaux au cours des 17 dernières années."

212. C'est avec une conscience aiguë des valeurs qui se dégageaient de leurs épreuves communes et tragiques que les pays qui ont rédigé la Charte, au nombre de 51, ont abordé les problèmes coloniaux de l'époque. Les éléments fondamentaux du colonialisme, au sens où l'on emploie généralement ce mot, existaient encore dans un certain nombre d'endroits où l'on pouvait les déceler. C'étaient sans doute essentiellement l'occupation par la force des terres d'autres peuples, l'exploitation, le refus de la liberté d'expression, le préjugé racial et la discrimination raciale. Mais, maintenant, je me demande jusqu'à quel point on peut encore déceler ces éléments dans certaines situations que nous qualifions de coloniales, peut-être même dans beaucoup d'entre elles.

213. Il est possible — et je crois, pour ma part, qu'il en est ainsi — que très souvent, quand nous parlons maintenant de situations coloniales, il ne s'agit pas de celles que nous avions en l'esprit à San Francisco; je crois plutôt que les choses sont rendues confuses, sinon même déformées par l'emploi de mots qui menacent de devenir nos maîtres.

214. Je crois, par exemple, que nous comprenons fort mal, du moins certains d'entre nous, le sens très élevé de leur responsabilité personnelle qui anime

^{6/} Document A/C.4/608, p. 4.

beaucoup de ceux auxquels a été confiée la tâche de guider, de faciliter de d'animer les phases essentielles du développement d'autres peuples, un sens des responsabilités puisé dans l'histoire, dans la connaissance des erreurs et des insuffisances du passé, dans les épreuves partagées en paix comme en guerre, dans le rejet des notions raciales, dans la lutte commune, dans nos efforts vers des buts communs ici à l'Organisation des Nations Unies, dans les influences spirituelles réciproques qui s'exercent ici et ailleurs grâce aux moyens de communication dont dispose le monde à l'heure actuelle, dans le simple fait que nous nous connaissons les uns les autres et que nous connaissons nos problèmes et, surtout, dans ce sens très développé de la responsabilité de l'homme à l'égard de son prochain, sans considération de race ni de religion.

215. En ce qui concerne mes concitoyens, je ne puis que repousser les observations faites ici par les représentants du Ghana et de la République-Unie de Tanzanie au sujet de l'administration australienne en Nouvelle-Guinée. Je crois que ces derniers sont si occupés — et c'est compréhensible — par les problèmes de l'Afrique qu'ils n'ont pu acquérir une connaissance et une compréhension approfondies de notre partie du monde, qui est très éloignée de l'Afrique. Mais je ne veux pas m'étendre sur ce sujet. Je n'ai pas non plus l'intention de réfuter en détail ce qu'ils ont dit.

216. Je rappelle, cependant, que le représentant du Ghana a dit hier [1389ème séance] qu'en Papouasie et en Nouvelle-Guinée, au lieu de rapprocher les hommes les uns des autres, le Gouvernement australien introduit dans leur esprit des distinctions raciales et ethniques pour retarder l'acceptation de leur demande d'indépendance. C'est juste le contraire. J'ai expliqué patiemment, à maintes reprises, dans beaucoup d'organes des Nations Unies, et les représentants des populations indigènes l'ont expliqué aussi eux-mêmes, que la Papouasie et la Nouvelle-Guinée ne sont pas de petits territoires, comme notre collègue l'a dit hier; ils comptent deux millions d'indigènes, deux millions d'indigènes intelligents, qui cherchent leur voie et formeront l'une des nations de l'avenir.

217. Il y a, pour commencer, 700 langues différentes pour ces 2 millions d'habitants. Jusqu'à l'arrivée des Australiens, les populations de Papouasie et de Mélanésie étaient coupées les unes des autres par cette multiplicité des langues. Il n'y avait pas de communications. Ils étaient, d'autre part, séparés les uns des autres par des barrières naturelles si formidables que, même à l'heure actuelle, le pays n'a pas livré tous ses secrets géographiques, topographiques et humains, bien que nous ayons utilisé très largement les moyens de communication et de découverte les plus modernes, comme les avions et les hélicoptères. Ils étaient séparés aussi par des coutumes différentes et comme enfermés dans un millier au moins de groupements de tribus différents, exclusifs et mutuellement hostiles. Pour la plupart, ils ignoraient même l'existence des autres groupements, sauf de ceux qui étaient leurs voisins. Quand les Australiens arrivèrent dans ce pays, il n'était pas unifié, il n'existait pas un peuple unique,

il n'existait aucun gouvernement pouvant prétendre exercer son pouvoir sur plus d'une portion infime de ce grand pays. La première tâche de mon peuple, et je me permets de dire que je peux en parler avec quelque autorité, car cela a fait partie de ma tâche personnelle il y a plusieurs années, fut de créer une entité nationale pour qu'elle se gouverne elle-même. Il n'y avait pas d'entité nationale en Nouvelle-Guinée, et notre tâche était d'en créer une. Le Gouvernement australien s'est attaché à cette œuvre avec une vigueur opiniâtre, en répandant l'instruction, les soins médicaux et en développant la conscience d'une identité commune au pays tout entier. Je dirai à un moment plus approprié comment nous nous y prenons.

218. Le représentant du Ghana a dit aussi: "Les ressources de la Nouvelle-Guinée sont exploitées impunément par le Gouvernement australien." [1389ème séance, par. 175.] Il devrait cependant savoir, et je regrette fort qu'il ne soit pas ici pour l'apprendre, que jamais dans l'histoire de ce qu'on appelle la colonisation autant d'argent n'a été dépensé par une métropole dans un territoire administré par elle, sans songer à en tirer quelque profit. Quel est le chiffre annuel? La subvention australienne à la Papouasie et à la Nouvelle-Guinée — sans intérêt, non remboursable, un véritable don — est cette année de quelque 30 millions de livres australiennes, c'est-à-dire de 70 à 80 millions de dollars. Encore faut-il y ajouter quelques millions supplémentaires inscrits au budget du Gouvernement australien lui-même, pour des matières telles que le développement de l'aviation civile. Le chiffre total annuel, qui a augmenté tous les ans depuis la guerre, approche de 100 millions de dollars. Voilà le pays que notre collègue prétend que nous exploitons!

219. Le représentant du Ghana a parlé aussi de problèmes fonciers en Nouvelle-Guinée. Je doute que, dans l'histoire de ce qu'on appelle la colonisation, la terre ait été nulle part aussi jalousement réservée pour le bien-être et l'usage de la population indigène. De la superficie totale de ces vastes terres, moins de 3 p. 100 ont été achetés aux indigènes, dont une bonne partie à des fins de colonisation agraire selon les méthodes modernes, dont bénéficient les populations indigènes elles-mêmes.

220. Mais laissons de côté ces questions de détail. J'y reviendrai plus tard et j'en parlerai d'une façon plus détaillée. J'ai quelque chose à dire, particulièrement aux représentants de la Tanzanie et du Ghana. Je le dis en pensant à la situation qui existe dans d'autres régions où nous cherchons à réaliser ce que nous croyons être bon et nécessaire (en fait, ce que nous croyons être le meilleur), et surtout en pensant à ce qui est le fond du problème de la Rhodésie du Sud qui retient tant notre attention. Je demande à l'Assemblée de bien comparer ce que je vais dire à ce qui a été dit ici, à l'Organisation des Nations Unies, au sujet de la Rhodésie du Sud et d'autres pays coloniaux du monde. Mais je voudrais d'abord faire une courte digression pour souligner qu'après la récente déclaration unilatérale d'indépendance de ce malheureux pays de Rhodésie du Sud le parlement australien a été l'un des premiers du monde à annoncer et à appliquer les mesures

nécessaires pour renforcer l'action entreprise par le Royaume-Uni et celles qui étaient réclamées par les Nations Unies elles-mêmes, à savoir le refus de reconnaître le gouvernement de Rhodésie du Sud, l'interdiction du commerce avec ce pays et l'application de mesures d'ordre monétaire. Tout ceci a été fait au parlement australien dans les quelques jours qui ont suivi la déclaration d'indépendance. Mais, pour en revenir à la comparaison que je veux faire avec la question essentielle qui se pose en Rhodésie du Sud et qui est celle du droit de vote et de la représentation de la majorité, voici ce que j'ai à dire. Il y a en Nouvelle-Guinée 2 millions d'indigènes et quelque 27 000 Australiens. Nous appliquons dans ce pays le suffrage universel. Le système électoral garantit une voix à chaque homme et à chaque femme, sur la base d'une liste électorale unique, sans distinction de race, de religion ou de couleur. Ce système a donné naissance à un parlement où la majorité est indigène.

221. Bref, la solution que nous avons recherchée et que nous recherchons encore à tous les problèmes en Rhodésie du Sud, qui vaut pour d'autres régions d'Afrique et pour d'autres parties du monde, est un fait accompli en Nouvelle-Guinée: le suffrage universel, une liste électorale unique et une majorité indigène élue.

222. Parlons aussi de toute la gamme des libertés dont mon pays, l'autorité administrante, a hérité: libération du besoin, libération de la peur et toutes autres libertés que l'humanité s'efforce de faire prévaloir. Elles existent en Papouasie et en Nouvelle-Guinée. Il n'y a pas de prisonniers politiques dans ces pays, ni en Australie même. Dans toute l'Australie métropolitaine et dans tous les territoires australiens, il n'y a pas un seul prisonnier politique. La liberté d'association, la liberté de réunion, la liberté de la presse et la liberté d'expression sont assurées. La discrimination raciale est bannie. Les partis politiques, les syndicats et toutes autres organisations indigènes échappent à tout contrôle et sont même encouragés. Dans notre pays, nous considérons ces choses comme normales. Or, la plupart des problèmes qui se posent à l'Organisation des Nations Unies dans le domaine colonial ne sont des problèmes que parce que ces libertés y sont refusées. Alors que nous avons à nous préoccuper de tant de régions où il existe des conflits, graves ou bénins, je fais remarquer à l'Assemblée que la paix règne dans les territoires australiens. Elle y règne partout. Il n'y a pas de conflit armé. Cette atmosphère de paix permet le progrès. Personne n'y meurt pour obtenir un droit qui lui a été refusé.

223. En conclusion, je dis très respectueusement à mes collègues de la Tanzanie et du Ghana, que ces libertés, le suffrage universel, la liste électorale unique, un parlement à majorité indigène montrent comment nous comprenons nos responsabilités en Nouvelle-Guinée. Nous en avons là-bas. Nous voulons nous en acquitter, nous en acquitter à la lettre. De même, nous avons des droits ici, à l'Organisation des Nations Unies, et ailleurs. Nous les protégerons.

224. M. DE MIRANDA (Portugal) [traduit de l'anglais]: On a beaucoup parlé de mon pays au cours de ces débats. Bien que ma délégation ait écouté atten-

tivement tous les orateurs et qu'elle ait attendu jusqu'à maintenant pour exercer son droit de réponse, nous n'avons rien découvert de nouveau dans ce qui a été dit. Tout ce que nous avons entendu ne constitue qu'une répétition de ce que nous entendons depuis un certain temps déjà.

225. Comme chacun sait, notre position a été définie très clairement à de nombreuses occasions, tant au point de vue juridique qu'au point de vue politique, dans tous les organes compétents des Nations Unies. Il ne semble pas nécessaire de la préciser à nouveau. C'est pourquoi je ne ferai pas perdre de temps à l'Assemblée en répétant ce que nous avons déjà dit.

226. Je veux cependant répondre à ceux qui nous critiquent que les opinions préconçues, les allégations sans fondement, l'altération des faits, les demi-vérités et les mensonges, même si on les répète souvent, n'arrivent pas à faire une vérité. En fait, ces répétitions ne servent qu'à souligner la nature irréaliste et artificielle des débats en ce qui concerne mon pays. Mais ce n'est point là l'objet de mon intervention. Si ma délégation vient maintenant à cette tribune, c'est seulement pour rectifier certaines affirmations précises faites au cours de ces débats. Je le ferai brièvement, sans aucun esprit de polémique.

227. A la 1389^{ème} séance plénière, la délégation de la Guinée, en portant contre nous certaines accusations dans son style habituel, a prétendu que l'espace aérien de son pays était constamment violé par des avions portugais. Cette allégation est aussi tendancieuse que sans fondement. Ma délégation la rejette et y voit une tentative faite pour justifier certaines activités illicites qui s'exercent dans la République de Guinée et dont nous sommes les victimes.

228. De même, à la 1387^{ème} séance, la délégation sénégalaise a parlé de ses plaintes au Conseil de sécurité contre le Portugal en ces termes:

"Lorsque le Sénégal s'est plaint au Conseil de sécurité en février 1965, le Portugal n'a pas contesté les faits relatifs aux incidents allégués, mais il a cherché à justifier les violations perpétrées." [1387^{ème} séance, par. 22.]

Cette déclaration n'est pas conforme à la réponse portugaise au Sénégal, comme on peut le constater dans les documents correspondants du Conseil de sécurité. Dans une autre phrase, la délégation du Sénégal dit que le Portugal "s'est contenté de tout réfuter" [*ibid.*].

229. Ma délégation n'arrive pas à comprendre ce que veut dire cette phrase puisque la délégation sénégalaise admet elle-même: 1) que nous avons exprimé le désir de maintenir des relations amicales avec le Sénégal; 2) que nous avons proposé une discussion avec participation du Sénégal. Ma délégation estime que ces deux faits démontrent par eux-mêmes que le Portugal ne s'est pas "contenté de tout réfuter". En fait, nous avons proposé qu'une enquête tripartite soit faite sur les allégations du Sénégal, mais celui-ci ne voulait pas d'une enquête impartiale; tout ce qu'il voulait, c'était une résolution, basée, bien entendu, sur ses propres allégations.

230. En raison de ce qui précède, je crois que je suis en droit de dire, en reprenant les propres termes de la délégation du Sénégal:

"Je laisse l'Assemblée juge de tant d'ambiguïté, de tant de cynisme, d'un tel manque de bon sens."
[Ibid.]

231. La délégation du Sénégal fait maintenant état de nouveaux incidents et elle cherche à nous en attribuer la responsabilité. Nous remarquons, et nous voudrions que l'Assemblée remarque, que le Sénégal fait preuve de beaucoup d'ardeur pour répandre ses allégations, tandis qu'il se dérobe à nos propositions de les faire examiner par une commission d'enquête impartiale. Nous notons aussi que le Sénégal déclare que "la question est ailleurs" [ibid., par. 23]. C'est tout à fait significatif, et ma délégation est entièrement de cet avis. Nous savons parfaitement que la question n'est pas dans ces prétendus incidents, mais dans les objectifs plus vastes du Sénégal. Si celui-ci invoque des incidents de frontière, c'est uniquement pour tenter de créer un climat favorable à la poursuite de ces objectifs.

232. Mais le Sénégal ne peut pas prétendre cacher la réalité. Le monde entier sait qu'il héberge, aide et encourage des bandes armées destinées à troubler l'ordre dans notre territoire. Je ne serais pas étonné que sa délégation revienne à cette tribune pour dire qu'elle continuera à donner son appui à ces bandes armées. On ne peut nier que le territoire portugais soit constamment violé par des perturbateurs armés venant du Sénégal. Alors que nous sommes toujours disposés à faire enquêter sur les allégations des Sénégalais, bien que nous les considérons comme non fondées, ceux-ci préfèrent les annoncer à cor et à cri. Alors que nous respectons soigneusement le territoire et l'espace aérien du Sénégal, nous devons signaler que ce pays n'agit pas de même pour notre territoire. Nous ne pouvons en conclure qu'une chose, c'est que les accusations que le Sénégal porte contre nous ne sont que des tentatives, d'ailleurs bien faibles, pour camoufler ses propres activités illicites et échapper aux responsabilités qu'il encourt.

233. M. EASTMAN (Libéria) [traduit de l'anglais]: Je suis au regret de devoir faire appel à votre indulgence, Monsieur le Président, si je prolonge un peu cette séance plénière.

234. Le représentant de l'Australie, mon ami, je puis le dire, a essayé de convaincre l'Assemblée que les observations faites par les représentants de la Tanzanie et du Ghana étaient sans fondement. Je n'ai pas le temps d'exposer la vérité en détail, mais je peux parler brièvement de ce qu'il a dit.

235. Il doit y avoir longtemps que le représentant de l'Australie n'est allé en Nouvelle-Guinée. Moi, qui en reviens depuis peu, je peux lui dire que la discrimination raciale est pratiquée ouvertement en Nouvelle-Guinée, dans les écoles, le logement, les salaires, les services médicaux, pour ne citer que ces quelques exemples.

236. Il nous a dit aussi qu'il s'élevait contre l'affirmation que l'Australie exploitait impunément ce

pays. Je me demande si l'on sait en Australie que, à Boggabilla, où l'on extrait l'or par millions, quand les indigènes revendiquent leur part, leurs redevances, leurs droits de propriétaires, on leur dit que tout ce qui se trouve au-dessus du sol appartient au peuple de la Nouvelle-Guinée, mais que tout ce qui est en dessous est la propriété de l'Australie ou, comme on dit d'habitude, de la Couronne. Il nous a parlé des millions que le Gouvernement australien dépense en Nouvelle-Guinée au bénéfice de la population. Il ne nous a rien dit du Rio Tinto ni de Burns Philp, une société de Nouvelle-Guinée (pour ne citer que quelques-uns des monopoles), ni des nombreux millions que ces monopoles emportent chaque jour du pays.

237. Le représentant de l'Australie a parlé aussi de la terre. Je dois lui dire que ce dont on se plaint le plus fréquemment en Nouvelle-Guinée, c'est de ce que les meilleures terres sont enlevées aux indigènes ou aliénées d'une façon ou d'une autre (je ne sais comment) et qu'elles appartiennent maintenant à des Australiens et à des Néo-Zélandais. Je voudrais que le représentant australien réfute le fait que, depuis plusieurs années, le peuple de Nauru demande à entrer en possession de son île, mais qu'on le lui refuse. On lui a dit à plusieurs reprises qu'il n'était pas propriétaire de l'île et que c'était l'Australie qui l'était. On lui a dit qu'il ne possédait que ce qui était à la surface de l'île. C'est à cela que pensaient mes amis, les représentants du Ghana et de la Tanzanie, quand ils ont dit qu'ils étaient mécontents de l'administration australienne en Nouvelle-Guinée, et, à beaucoup d'égards, je suis tout à fait d'accord avec eux.

238. M. McCARTHY (Australie) [traduit de l'anglais]: Je crois qu'il arrive rarement à l'Organisation des Nations Unies que le représentant d'un pays s'estime obligé d'exercer le droit de réponse pour le compte d'autres pays. Quand j'ai exercé le mien il y a un moment, c'était au sujet d'observations faites par les représentants de la Tanzanie et du Ghana au cours de ces débats. Mon collègue et ami, M. Eastman, du Libéria, s'est chargé de les défendre.

239. Le représentant du Libéria a parlé de discrimination raciale en Nouvelle-Guinée et de certaines questions relatives à Nauru. Je répondrai à ce qu'il a dit au cours de la discussion en séance plénière du rapport du Conseil de tutelle et devant la Quatrième Commission, quand j'exposerai devant l'ensemble des Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies — ce qui n'a pas encore été fait — tous les détails des derniers événements survenus en Nouvelle-Guinée et à Nauru.

240. M. Eastman a dit que la discrimination raciale était ouvertement pratiquée en Nouvelle-Guinée. M. Eastman, je l'admets, est allé là-bas récemment comme notre invité d'honneur et nous lui avons donné toutes les facilités possibles. Il est parfaitement exact qu'on peut trouver des preuves de discrimination raciale et de toute espèce de discrimination dans tous les pays du monde, si l'on en cherche. Ce que j'ai dit, c'est que la discrimination raciale était proscrite en Nouvelle-Guinée. Elle l'est effectivement. Ce que j'ai dit, et ce que j'ai voulu dire, c'est qu'en Nouvelle-Guinée tous les hommes sont libres devant la loi, sans considération de race, de

religion ou de couleur. Ce que j'ai dit, c'est qu'en Nouvelle-Guinée tous les hommes et toutes les femmes, sans considération de race, de religion ou de couleur, ont le droit de vote et élisent les membres du parlement. Ce que j'ai dit, c'est que tous les hommes et toutes les femmes de Nouvelle-Guinée, sans considération de race, de religion ou de couleur, sont libres d'élever la voix contre tout abus, où qu'ils le découvrent, sans entrave, sans que cela soit contraire à la loi ou les expose à des persécutions quelconques.

241. Quant au problème de Nauru, il est compliqué. Nauru est une île du genre de celles dont beaucoup de représentants ont parlé en séance plénière et à la Quatrième Commission. Je n'ai pas l'intention de traiter maintenant ce sujet. Je le ferai un peu plus tard. Nauru est une île lointaine du Pacifique. Je rappelle à mon ami que, bien que je travaille à l'Organisation des Nations Unies depuis deux ans et demi et que je ne sois pas retourné dans ces territoires pendant cette période, je travaille dans ces territoires, et pour ces territoires, depuis 33 ans et que j'y retournerai très prochainement. Je les connais mieux que mon collègue du Libéria ne peut les connaître après une seule visite au cours de laquelle il était l'invité d'honneur de mon gouvernement.

242. Ce que je veux dire, c'est que Nauru est une île lointaine du Pacifique, si lointaine que, lors de ma dernière visite il y a trois ans, juste avant que je vienne ici, j'ai navigué pendant huit jours en partant de Nouvelle-Zélande, sans voir aucune terre, avant

d'arriver à cette île. Elle n'a qu'une vingtaine de kilomètres de pourtour. La terre la plus proche est une île encore plus petite, située à quelque 280 kilomètres de là. Nauru a une seule ressource économique, le phosphate. Il n'en a pas d'autre. Les habitants sont au nombre de 2 600 et ils ont un niveau de vie plus élevé que celui de n'importe quel autre peuple du Pacifique; plus élevé je pense que celui de beaucoup de peuples représentés ici, à l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Grâce aux redevances payées pour le phosphate, Nauru a un revenu, à répartir entre les 2 600 habitants, qui s'élève à l'heure actuelle à environ un million et demi de livres sterling par an et qui est en augmentation. Nauru vient de terminer avec le Gouvernement australien une série de discussions qui ont eu pour résultat d'ouvrir une nouvelle étape de son avenir politique, quel qu'il puisse être. Il se pose à Nauru tous les problèmes que l'indépendance soulève pour de petites îles.

243. Cela dit, je me réserve le droit de répondre à mon ami et collègue quand la Quatrième Commission et l'Assemblée en séance plénière discuteront le rapport du Conseil de tutelle et le rapport de la mission itinérante des Nations Unies qui s'est rendue à Nauru, en Papouasie et en Nouvelle-Guinée au cours des derniers mois. Cette mission a eu toute l'aide que nous pouvions lui donner et, je l'ai dit, a été l'invitée d'honneur de mon gouvernement.

La séance est levée à 18 h 50.

Nations Unies
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VINGTIÈME SESSION

Documents officiels



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1405^e
SÉANCE PLÉNIÈRE

Lundi 20 décembre 1965,
à 15 heures

NEW YORK

SOMMAIRE

Point 23 de l'ordre du jour:

Application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux: rapports du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux (suite)

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Président: M. Amintore FANFANI (Italie).

POINT 23 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

Application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux: rapports du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux (suite)

1. Le **PRESIDENT**: Nous poursuivons l'examen du point 23 de l'ordre du jour. Je signale à l'Assemblée que la Nigéria s'est jointe aux auteurs du projet de résolution commun [A/L.476/Rev.1].

2. Le document A/L.478 contient une motion présentée par les Etats-Unis d'Amérique. C'est elle que je soumets d'abord à l'Assemblée. Elle est ainsi conçue:

"L'Assemblée générale estime que le projet de résolution distribué sous la cote A/L.476/Rev.1 contient des recommandations relatives au maintien de la paix et de la sécurité internationales; le paragraphe 2 de l'Article 18 de la Charte est en conséquence applicable."

3. **Miss BROOKS (Libéria)** [traduit de l'anglais]: Je voudrais seulement demander une précision: à la fin de la séance de vendredi [1400^{ème} séance], je crois que nous avons été saisis d'une motion du représentant du Mali relative à la procédure à adopter pour le vote sur ce projet de résolution. J'aimerais savoir où en est la situation en ce qui concerne la motion du représentant du Mali.

4. **M. COULIBALY (Mali)**: On se rappellera qu'au cours de notre réunion de vendredi après-midi [1400^{ème} séance], en présentant le projet de résolution des 19 puissances [A/L.476 et Add.1], j'ai conclu par une motion de procédure relative au vote, par laquelle j'ai proposé que le projet de résolution fasse l'objet d'un vote à la majorité simple. J'ai déposé cette motion en présentant le projet de résolution parce que nous avons assisté, la semaine der-

nière, à des manœuvres tendant à interpréter de façon abusive la Charte des Nations Unies et le règlement intérieur de l'Assemblée générale.

5. Si le besoin s'en fait sentir, j'exprimerai le point de vue de ma délégation sur la motion du représentant des Etats-Unis d'Amérique [A/L.478]. J'ai d'ailleurs été très surpris de constater que cette motion figure à l'ordre du jour de la séance comme un point distinct. Il est vrai que, dans cette maison, on acquiert chaque jour de l'expérience; mais je dois avouer que c'est la première fois que je vois une motion figurer à l'ordre du jour d'une séance comme un point spécial. Je pensais, en effet, que la motion des Etats-Unis était liée à la question plus générale que nous discutons actuellement. Mais, à ce stade — et sans préjuger le point de vue de ma délégation sur le fond de la motion du représentant des Etats-Unis — je voudrais rappeler que ma motion a été enregistrée avant la sienne. Par voie de conséquence, et conformément au règlement intérieur de l'Assemblée générale, ma motion a la priorité, c'est-à-dire que les membres de l'Assemblée doivent se prononcer par priorité sur ma motion, qui a été déposée avant celle du représentant des Etats-Unis.

6. Avant de quitter la tribune, je voudrais réfuter certains arguments avancés par le représentant des Etats-Unis lorsqu'il a présenté sa motion [1400^{ème} séance]. Le représentant des Etats-Unis a dit que certains paragraphes de notre projet de résolution constituaient des recommandations touchant la paix et la sécurité internationales. Or, nulle part dans notre projet, je ne vois de recommandations, au sens généralement admis par la Charte, qui soient adressées au Conseil de sécurité. Je ne pense pas que le fait d'attirer l'attention du Conseil de sécurité puisse constituer une recommandation relative au maintien de la paix et de la sécurité internationales au sens de l'Article 18 de la Charte. Le projet de résolution ne recommande rien au Conseil de sécurité, mais se borne à attirer l'attention du Conseil sur une situation. Les auteurs du projet de résolution sont très conscients du fait que c'est au Conseil de sécurité qu'il appartient de prendre des mesures en ce qui concerne le maintien de la paix et de la sécurité internationales. Ils se sont donc abstenus de faire des recommandations.

7. Par conséquent, en demandant que le projet de résolution soit adopté à la majorité des deux tiers, on a voulu exploiter de façon abusive le règlement intérieur de l'Assemblée générale. D'ailleurs, puisque les orateurs qui ont proposé cela se sont réclamés du droit, je ne pense pas qu'il soit juste de prendre, dans un texte, un paragraphe donné, de le sortir de son contexte et de le présenter dans un autre contexte afin de pouvoir lui donner une signification juridique

autre que celle qu'il a dans le contexte où il a été présenté.

8. Le projet de résolution que nous avons soumis traite du problème de la décolonisation, c'est-à-dire du droit des peuples à l'autodétermination, et les différentes parties de ce projet doivent être comprises et acceptées dans ce contexte.

9. Revenant sur la question de procédure, je rappelle que ma motion a été déposée avant celle de la délégation des Etats-Unis et que, à ce titre, elle a la priorité. Lorsque j'ai présenté le projet de résolution, j'ai terminé ainsi:

"En ce qui concerne la procédure de vote, je propose, au nom des auteurs, que le projet de résolution des 19 puissances fasse l'objet d'un vote à la majorité simple, comme ce fut le cas ce matin pour le projet de résolution sur l'Oman [A/6168, par. 13]."
[1400ème séance, par. 114.]

10. Il s'agit donc bien d'une motion de procédure, comme je viens de le dire, et cette motion a été déposée avant celle du représentant des Etats-Unis. Je pense donc que, conformément à la pratique et au règlement intérieur, l'Assemblée générale devra d'abord se prononcer sur ma motion.

11. M. GOLDBERG (Etats-Unis) [traduit de l'anglais]: Vendredi dernier [1400ème séance], lorsque j'ai présenté la motion A/L.478 dont vient de parler le représentant du Mali, j'ai accepté volontiers, à la demande des représentants du Ghana et du Mali, d'en différer jusqu'à aujourd'hui l'examen afin que l'Assemblée puisse étudier cette importante question quand toutes les délégations seraient présentes et pourraient participer au vote. Si j'avais voulu tirer avantage d'une modalité de procédure, j'aurais pu insister pour que la motion fût mise aux voix hier. Je ne l'ai pas fait parce que j'estime qu'il importe au plus haut point que tous les membres de l'Assemblée puissent participer à l'examen de ce que je considère comme une question fondamentale touchant l'intégrité de la Charte que nous sommes tous tenus de respecter.

12. Le représentant du Mali soulève maintenant une question de procédure, alléguant que sa motion aurait priorité sur la mienne. A mon avis, cecin'a pas d'importance. La question essentielle dont l'Assemblée est saisie, que ce soit aux termes du projet de résolution présenté par le représentant du Mali (A/L.476/Rev.1) ou aux termes de ma motion, demeure en substance la même. Le représentant du Mali demande formellement, au nom des auteurs du projet de résolution, que celui-ci soit adopté à la majorité simple.

13. Il ressort donc nécessairement de cette motion que le projet de résolution ne se rapporte pas à des questions touchant la paix et la sécurité internationales et, par conséquent, à des questions importantes au sens du paragraphe 2 de l'Article 18 de la Charte. Mais, de quelque façon qu'on la pose, que l'on adopte les termes employés par le représentant du Mali ou les miens, la question demeure la même. Si les membres de l'Assemblée votent pour la motion soumise par le représentant du Mali, c'est qu'ils considèrent que la question posée dans le projet de résolution n'est pas une question importante au sens du

paragraphe 2 de l'Article 18 de la Charte. La question que je soulève est la même et par conséquent je dirai très franchement et très simplement que je ne veux pas faire perdre de temps à l'Assemblée en essayant de prouver par des arguties que telle ou telle motion a la priorité sur l'autre.

14. Je consens volontiers à ce que l'on mette d'abord aux voix le projet de résolution du Mali. La question que je soulève est la même. J'ai présenté ma motion pour que tous les membres de l'Assemblée comprennent la signification et les conséquences de la décision que prendra l'Assemblée et je ne puis que répéter ce que j'ai dit vendredi dernier, à savoir que ce n'est pas, pour moi ou pour ma délégation, la substance de la résolution qui est en cause. On peut voter sur la substance de la résolution. Elle sera adoptée ou non, selon ce que l'Assemblée en pensera. La question dont nous sommes saisis maintenant est beaucoup plus importante, elle est fondamentale, il s'agit de savoir si les membres de l'Assemblée doivent respecter la Charte, même si cela, parfois, les gêne.

15. Je voudrais rappeler aux membres de l'Assemblée que la Charte est une obligation conventionnelle solennellement acceptée par les gouvernements des Etats Membres. Je voudrais rappeler aux membres de l'Assemblée qu'on ne peut modifier la Charte qu'en se conformant à une procédure également acceptée par tous les Etats Membres aux termes de l'Article 108 de ladite Charte. L'Article 108 stipule:

"Les amendements à la présente Charte entreront en vigueur pour tous les Membres des Nations Unies quand ils auront été adoptés à la majorité des deux tiers des membres de l'Assemblée générale et ratifiés, conformément à leurs règles constitutionnelles respectives, par les deux tiers des Membres de l'Organisation, y compris tous les membres permanents du Conseil de sécurité."

16. Permettez-moi de dire très simplement qu'il suffit de lire le projet de résolution pour constater qu'il se rapporte à des questions touchant la paix et la sécurité internationales. A vrai dire, je suis incapable de comprendre le raisonnement du représentant du Mali. Contrairement à ce qu'il prétend, le neuvième considérant fait expressément mention de la paix et de la sécurité internationales qui, dit-il, sont menacées par la persistance du régime colonial et la pratique de l'apartheid. On retrouve le même langage au chapitre VII de la Charte sur lequel se fonde l'action obligatoire du Conseil de sécurité pour le maintien de la paix et de la sécurité internationales.

17. Je l'ai dit vendredi [1400ème séance] et je le répète aujourd'hui, nous ne pouvons pas tout avoir. Nous ne pouvons pas d'une part demander au Conseil de sécurité d'agir parce que la paix et la sécurité internationales sont menacées et d'autre part prétendre que l'Article 18 de la Charte ne s'applique pas à l'examen de la question par l'Assemblée générale.

18. Le paragraphe 12 du dispositif du projet de résolution qui demande le démantèlement des bases militaires et invite les Etats à s'abstenir d'en établir de nouvelles dans les territoires coloniaux est incontestablement une recommandation concernant le maintien de la paix et de la sécurité internationales. Les

bases militaires, nous le savons tous, car c'est une simple question de bon sens, sont étroitement liées au maintien de la paix et de la sécurité et c'est si vrai que le 16 décembre [1398ème séance] l'Assemblée a reconnu par 56 voix contre 30 que des paragraphes analogues au paragraphe en question se rapportaient à des questions importantes et qu'ils ne pouvaient être adoptés qu'à la majorité des deux tiers des membres présents et représentés.

19. Le paragraphe 13 du dispositif du projet de résolution [A/L.476/Rev.1]:

"Demande au Comité spécial de porter à la connaissance du Conseil de sécurité les faits nouveaux ... qui risquent de menacer la paix et la sécurité internationales, et de formuler des suggestions dont le Conseil pourrait s'inspirer en étudiant les mesures qu'il convient de prendre conformément à la Charte".

20. Un autre paragraphe du projet de résolution, le paragraphe 14 du dispositif:

"Prie le Secrétaire général de prendre toutes les mesures nécessaires ... afin que l'opinion mondiale puisse être suffisamment informée de la grave menace à la paix que constituent le colonialisme et l'apartheid ...".

21. En bref, un paragraphe du préambule et trois paragraphes du dispositif, les plus importants peut-être, de ce projet de résolution, établissent un lien direct entre la résolution et le maintien de la paix et de la sécurité et contiennent des recommandations à ce sujet. La Charte est très claire à cet égard. Le paragraphe 2 de l'Article 18 dispose que:

"Les décisions de l'Assemblée générale sur les questions importantes sont prises à la majorité des deux tiers des membres présents et votants. Sont considérées comme questions importantes: les recommandations relatives au maintien de la paix et de la sécurité internationales ...".

22. Il mentionne ensuite d'autres questions et laisse à l'Assemblée le soin de décider celles qui devront être comprises dans la catégorie des questions importantes au sens du paragraphe 3 de l'Article 18.

23. Ma conviction est très ferme sur ce point et je tiens à la souligner. Il s'agit là d'une question de procédure, mais un organe parlementaire, comme un Etat, ne peut vivre qu'en respectant ses procédures. Les procédures sont l'âme de nos libertés à tous. Si nous ne respectons pas les règles qui nous protègent tous — car elles peuvent jouer en faveur des uns aujourd'hui et des autres demain — nous mettrons en danger les droits de tous les Etats membres. La longue, la très longue histoire de l'humanité le révèle. En fait, de nombreux spécialistes du droit constitutionnel ont dit — et je l'ai fait valoir longtemps avant de siéger à l'Assemblée, dans des décisions que j'ai rédigées pour notre Cour Suprême — que les procédures sont la base sur laquelle se fondent la liberté individuelle et le droit de la minorité. C'est la question que nous devons trancher ici aujourd'hui. Comme je l'ai dit, elle va au-delà de la question de l'adoption du projet de résolution car elle met en cause l'intégrité de l'Assemblée. L'Assemblée respecte-t-elle la Charte? Si l'Assemblée ne la respecte pas, quelle

garantie peut-elle offrir aux nations qui y sont représentées? L'Assemblée n'a pas le droit de modifier la Charte. L'Assemblée est tenue, comme tout organe des Nations Unies, d'obéir à la Charte et de respecter ses dispositions. L'une des dispositions de la Charte, que nous avons tous acceptée, est que les décisions sur les questions importantes touchant la paix et la sécurité internationales doivent être prises non pas à la majorité simple mais à la majorité des deux tiers. Ceci a été inscrit dans la Charte parce que l'on a reconnu le rapport étroit qui existait entre une recommandation en la matière et les mesures vraisemblablement très énergiques que le Conseil de sécurité serait appelé à prendre en vertu des Chapitres VII et VIII de la Charte.

24. Je suis donc tout à fait disposé à ne pas insister pour que l'on mette ma motion aux voix. Tel n'était pas mon propos quand je l'ai présentée. Mon intention était alors de faire ressortir avec la plus grande netteté possible que la décision sur le projet de résolution devrait être prise à la majorité des deux tiers. Si l'Assemblée adoptait la motion présentée par le représentant du Mali, demandant que la décision sur le projet de résolution soit prise à la majorité simple, elle reconnaîtrait, ce faisant, que la question n'est pas une question importante touchant la paix et la sécurité. J'estime, pour ma part, que c'est une question importante touchant la paix et la sécurité parce que le projet de résolution le dit et en raison de la nature même du problème qu'il évoque.

25. Je voudrais rappeler une fois de plus à l'Assemblée que si elle vote pour la motion présentée par le représentant du Mali, elle exprimera ainsi l'avis que cette question n'est pas une question importante au sens de l'Article 18 de la Charte. Je suis disposé à ne pas insister pour que ma motion soit mise aux voix et à accepter que l'on vote sur la motion présentée par le représentant du Mali, en sachant, dans ce cas, qu'un vote affirmatif signifiera que la question considérée n'est pas une question importante au sens de l'Article 18 de la Charte.

26. M. MOROZOV (Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques) [traduit du russe]: En écoutant le représentant des Etats-Unis, nous nous sommes frotté les yeux à différentes reprises, doutant que, du haut de cette tribune, il puisse défendre avec une telle chaleur l'intangibilité des dispositions de la Charte et nous demandant s'il s'agissait bien du représentant de la délégation qui prend fait et cause bien souvent pour des décisions visant à tourner la Charte et notamment à passer outre à la compétence du Conseil de sécurité.

27. Nous n'en croyions pas nos yeux de voir le représentant d'un Etat dont le gouvernement se rend coupable de violations invraisemblables dans de nombreuses régions du monde, coupable d'actes d'agression et d'intervention dans les affaires intérieures des autres peuples adopter soudain une position aussi orthodoxe et chercher à nous convaincre que ce ne sont pas les Etats-Unis d'Amérique mais les représentants des pays d'Afrique et d'Asie qui sapent la Charte des Nations Unies. Voilà donc que le représentant des Etats-Unis monte à cette tribune pour se faire le champion, le défenseur du strict respect de la Charte des Nations Unies!

28. Allons donc! L'orateur croyait-il lui-même sincèrement ce qu'il nous affirmait?

29. Telle a été notre première réaction devant le discours que vient de nous tenir le représentant des Etats-Unis.

30. Avant de passer à l'analyse juridique du document présenté par les Etats-Unis, j'ajouterai que, au cours des vingt années d'existence des Nations Unies, la délégation soviétique s'est toujours prononcée, tant au sein de l'Organisation qu'au dehors, pour le respect le plus strict de l'esprit et de la lettre de la Charte, je dis bien "de l'esprit et de la lettre de la Charte". Il nous faut maintenant non nous préoccuper des déclarations pathétiques que l'on vient nous faire pour nous convaincre que la procédure proposée par le représentant du Mali [A/L.476/Rev.1] porte atteinte aux fondements mêmes de notre organisation mais nous demander plus modestement, mais en termes concrets, si la proposition du représentant du Mali, qui a été faite avant que la délégation des Etats-Unis ne présente officiellement sa motion [A/L.478], s'écarte en quoi que ce soit de la Charte, notamment des procédures qui y sont prévues.

31. Si nous en concluons que cette proposition est contraire aux dispositions de la Charte, alors, quelles que soient nos sympathies et nos antipathies politiques, nous devons adopter une attitude objective fondée sur la seule interprétation correcte de la Charte. Aussi nous faut-il examiner en détail les arguments qui viennent d'être présentés.

32. Pour commencer, regardons le titre du projet de résolution qui est soumis à notre examen. Il est intitulé "Application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux".

33. Nous avons déjà eu l'honneur, à l'une des dernières séances de l'Assemblée générale, de prouver, du haut de cette tribune, que l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux est une des obligations les plus importantes que la Charte impose à l'Organisation des Nations Unies.

34. Même si cette Déclaration, adoptée voici cinq ans, n'existait pas, l'élimination du colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations n'en serait pas moins une des principales obligations de notre organisation, inscrite dans sa Charte.

35. Outre les dispositions de la Charte sur lesquelles repose cette obligation de l'Organisation — je parle de l'élimination du colonialisme et de ses séquelles — nous disposons d'un document historique qui a été adopté par l'Assemblée générale il y a cinq ans. Il s'agit de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. Cette Déclaration — contre laquelle, soit dit en passant, les Etats-Unis d'Amérique n'ont pas voté — correspond pleinement aux dispositions de la Charte.

36. Ainsi, je répète, outre les importantes dispositions de la Charte, nous avons une Déclaration qui a été adoptée en conformité de la Charte à la majorité des deux tiers et de l'application de laquelle nous nous occupons maintenant. Je tiens à préciser à ce propos que, bien que chaque question qui a trait à l'application de la Déclaration soit au sens le plus large du

terme — du point de vue de la Charte, du point de vue juridique, du point de vue du règlement intérieur — une question importante, toutes les résolutions qui peuvent être adoptées sur la question de l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux — c'est-à-dire sur un document qui a été adopté à la majorité de deux tiers — peuvent l'être à la majorité simple. Que ceux auxquels le contenu de ce document n'a pas l'heur de plaire, s'ils ne cherchent pas sciemment à nous induire en erreur et à nous jeter dans l'embarras, votent pour ou contre ce document, ou s'abstiennent. Nous n'acceptons de personne des conseils sur la façon dont nous devons examiner certaines questions et les voter, et nous n'avons nulle intention d'en donner aux autres. Si nous avons évoqué cette question, c'est uniquement parce que nous voulons montrer ici que, sous couleur de faire des propositions de procédure, sous couleur de se référer au règlement intérieur et à la Charte, on cherche à empêcher, d'une façon ou de l'autre, l'Assemblée générale à adopter la recommandation parfaitement fondée et justifiée qui a été adoptée par la Quatrième Commission.

37. Passons maintenant en revue les différentes dispositions auxquelles s'est référé le représentant des Etats-Unis. Il a évoqué l'alinéa du préambule selon lequel "l'Assemblée générale est pleinement consciente du fait que la persistance du régime colonial et de la pratique de l'apartheid, ainsi que de toutes les formes de discrimination raciale, constituent une menace à la paix et à la sécurité internationales et un crime contre l'humanité". C'est là une constatation qui est entièrement fondée sur les dispositions de la Déclaration et sur celles de la Charte. On ne peut considérer cet alinéa comme une recommandation que l'Assemblée formulerait si elle examinait cette question dans l'exécution des obligations que lui impose la Charte en ce qui concerne le maintien de la paix et de la sécurité internationales.

38. On ne saurait considérer cet alinéa sous cet angle; on ne peut en effet jouer sur les mots "menace à la paix et à la sécurité internationales" qui figurent effectivement dans cet alinéa du préambule pour l'envisager du point de vue de la procédure, d'un point de vue strictement juridique et le placer dans une fausse perspective. Il s'agit là d'une tentative vouée à l'échec.

39. Au paragraphe 12 du dispositif les puissances coloniales sont priées de démanteler les bases militaires installées dans les territoires coloniaux et de s'abstenir d'en établir de nouvelles. Mais si les Etats-Unis et d'autres puissances estiment que la présence de leurs bases militaires dans les territoires coloniaux a pour but le maintien de la paix et de la sécurité internationales, comme on pourrait le croire à entendre le représentant des Etats-Unis, ce n'est pas là une raison pour que nous souscrivions à cette thèse. Ce n'est pas là une raison non plus pour que nous considérions le paragraphe 12 comme entrant dans la catégorie des questions qui exigent une majorité des deux tiers du moins dans le contexte actuel, c'est-à-dire dans le cadre de l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. En effet, de quelle indépen-

dance peut-il s'agir pour les pays et les peuples coloniaux sur les territoires desquels continueront de stationner des forces armées étrangères, ne manquera-t-on pas de se demander? De quelle indépendance peut-il être question? Nous comprenons donc parfaitement cette exigence des pays d'Asie et d'Afrique, soutenus par certains pays d'Amérique latine, qui figure au paragraphe 12 du projet de résolution. Elle relève pleinement de la mise en œuvre de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux.

40. Le paragraphe 13 du dispositif du projet de résolution n'a pas non plus l'heur de plaire au représentant des Etats-Unis qui l'a cité pour justifier la procédure qu'il préconise. De quoi est-il question au paragraphe 13? Il y est demandé en tout et pour tout au Comité spécial de porter à la connaissance du Conseil de sécurité les faits nouveaux survenus dans l'un quelconque des territoires qu'il examine, qui risquent de menacer la paix et la sécurité internationales; j'attire votre attention sur les mots: "qui risquent de menacer la paix et la sécurité internationales". Qu'y est-il demandé au Comité spécial, disais-je? D'examiner ces questions à la place du Conseil de sécurité peut-être? De formuler à leur sujet des recommandations à la place du Conseil de sécurité? De quoi s'agit-il au fait?

41. Je lis la suite de ce paragraphe: "et de formuler des suggestions dont le Conseil pourrait s'inspirer en étudiant les mesures qu'il convient de prendre conformément à la Charte".

42. On vient ensuite nous dire, à cette tribune, en partant d'une interprétation complètement fausse du règlement intérieur et de la Charte, que nous n'avons pas le droit d'adopter ce paragraphe 13 — lequel repose sur la Charte — à la majorité simple. Il est inutile, je crois, Messieurs, d'insister davantage. J'ai suffisamment démontré qu'en nous présentant les choses comme il vient de le faire, le représentant des Etats-Unis cherche à empêcher l'Assemblée générale d'adopter le projet de résolution en question et espère qu'il pourrait (j'ignore ce qui arrivera dans la réalité) ne pas recueillir les deux tiers des voix, conformément aux vœux que d'aucuns semblent former. Or, et c'est par là que je terminerai, nous avons déjà recueilli les deux tiers des voix voici cinq ans lorsque nous avons solennellement adopté ce document historique et je rappellerai qu'alors les Etats-Unis d'Amérique n'avaient pas voté contre la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. Nous ne sommes pas disposés à tolérer que de mauvaises plaisanteries et l'ironie malveillante d'une fausse interprétation du règlement intérieur et de la Charte, ainsi que les appels pathétiques que l'on a pu entendre ici, empêchent l'Assemblée générale de proclamer sa volonté et de prendre des décisions qui soient dignes de cette organisation, conformes à la Charte et fondées sur le document historique que constitue la Déclaration que j'ai mentionnée dans mon intervention.

43. M. ACHKAR (Guinée): Prendre la parole après deux éminents juristes tels que M. Goldberg et M. Morozov est une tâche ardue, et même hasardeuse. Néanmoins, je vais essayer, moi aussi, d'apporter ma contribution à cette discussion. Car la

conviction de notre délégation est que nous possédons des éléments essentiels à l'interprétation de la Charte et de notre projet de résolution [A/L.476/Rev.1] et qu'il ne convient pas de prendre une décision dans la confusion et dans l'équivoque. Il ne faudrait pas, d'ores et déjà, fournir des prétextes à des délégations qui se proposent de s'abstenir demain au Conseil de sécurité lors du vote sur les importants problèmes de décolonisation, en ne disant pas ici clairement dès maintenant ce que nous pensons de cette situation.

44. Il est vrai que parler en faveur de la motion du Mali équivaut à s'opposer à la motion des Etats-Unis. Je vais donc m'opposer à la motion des Etats-Unis, afin que l'on comprenne pourquoi ma délégation est en faveur de la manière de voir de la délégation du Mali en ce qui concerne le projet de résolution dont je suis coauteur.

45. Premièrement, nous ne sommes pas d'accord sur l'interprétation que le représentant des Etats-Unis a donnée de certains paragraphes de notre projet de résolution. En effet, les questions qui exigent la majorité des deux tiers — et M. Goldberg a eu l'amabilité de nous citer tout à l'heure la Charte — sont énumérées à l'Article 18 de ce document, où il est parlé de recommandations relatives au maintien de la paix et de la sécurité internationales. Or, les auteurs font une constatation — et nous espérons que l'Assemblée fera la même: il n'y a pas de recommandations dans notre projet de résolution, qui dit dans son préambule que "la persistance du régime colonial et de la pratique de l'apartheid ainsi que de toutes les formes de discrimination raciale constituent une menace à la paix et à la sécurité internationales et un crime contre l'humanité". Ce n'est pas une recommandation, c'est une constatation. Lorsque l'Assemblée aura fait cette constatation, et au moment où des recommandations devront être faites, peut-être alors la délégation américaine pourra-t-elle déposer sa motion. Pour l'instant, nous croyons que cette motion est prématurée et est injustifiable. Si, dans le dispositif de notre projet de résolution, nous avons recommandé que des mesures soient prises maintenant pour telle ou telle raison, si nous nous étions référés à n'importe quelle autre disposition de la Charte demandant l'application de mesures coercitives, on aurait pu alors parler de recommandations. Mais nous prétendons que, pour l'instant — et cela vaut non seulement pour le préambule mais également pour le dispositif — il n'y a que des constatations et nous ne faisons que demander au Comité des Vingt-Quatre d'étudier les problèmes. Lorsque le Comité des Vingt-Quatre aura constaté qu'il existe des situations constituant une menace à la paix et à la sécurité internationales, nous lui demanderons alors de faire des recommandations au Conseil de sécurité. Il ne s'agit donc pas encore d'une recommandation. Cela, c'est le premier point que je voulais préciser.

46. Deuxièmement, je voudrais dire qu'il existe beaucoup de précédents. Je pense que ces précédents devraient actuellement faire jurisprudence dans nos discussions puisque, jusqu'à présent, personne n'a estimé que nous avions violé la Charte ou même le règlement intérieur. Je voudrais rappeler les précédents les plus récents.

47. A la dix-huitième session, j'ai eu personnellement l'honneur de présider la Quatrième Commission, qui a fait nombre de recommandations sur les questions coloniales, et je voudrais citer deux seulement de ces recommandations, l'une qui portait sur la Rhodésie du Sud, question qui, si j'ose ainsi dire, est très à la mode en ce moment, et l'autre qui traitait de la question du Sud-Ouest africain. Dans la première résolution visée, la résolution 1889 (XVIII), qui porte sur la question de la Rhodésie du Sud, nous lisons, au huitième considérant:

"Consciente de l'aggravation de la situation en Rhodésie du Sud, qui constitue une menace à la paix et à la sécurité internationale".

48. La résolution a été adoptée par l'Assemblée générale sans qu'une demande ait été faite pour que le scrutin ait lieu à la majorité des deux tiers. Je ne vais pas m'étendre sur la question de la Rhodésie du Sud. On voit d'ailleurs que cette constatation se justifie de plus en plus. Mais le point que je tiens à souligner est qu'à l'époque aucune délégation, y compris la délégation américaine, n'avait estimé qu'il fallait voter à la majorité des deux tiers. Il est vrai que nous n'avions pas un juriste aussi éminent que M. Goldberg, mais je crois qu'il y a d'autres raisons encore.

49. Je voudrais également rappeler la résolution 1899 (XVIII), qui porte sur la question du Sud-Ouest africain. L'avant-dernier considérant dit:

"Profondément préoccupée par la situation critique existant au Sud-Ouest africain, dont la prolongation constitue une grave menace à la paix et à la sécurité internationales".

50. Je pourrais citer plusieurs autres précédents comme cela mais je me contenterai de rappeler que récemment également, il y a eu un projet de résolution adopté sur la question de l'apartheid.

51. Que signifierait actuellement une décision de l'Assemblée générale tendant à ce que les paragraphes de notre projet de résolution qui font allusion à une menace à la paix et à la sécurité internationales soient mis aux voix selon le principe de la majorité des deux tiers? Cela signifierait, à notre avis, que nous rejetons toutes les décisions antérieures, c'est-à-dire que nous déclarons tous les précédents implicitement illégaux. Je ne crois pas que ce soit là l'intention de la délégation américaine parce que, si c'était cela, alors la délégation américaine remettrait en cause aujourd'hui toutes les décisions prises par l'Assemblée depuis longtemps, décisions auxquelles elle a elle-même participé.

52. Nous disons donc que nous différons profondément, d'abord sur l'interprétation de notre projet de résolution, ensuite sur l'interprétation qu'il faut donner à l'Article 18 de la Charte. Nous pensons qu'il serait regrettable que l'Assemblée se prononçât sur le projet de résolution en donnant l'impression que nous estimons que les questions coloniales ne sont pas importantes. En fait, il faut ici bien comprendre le mot "importantes". Il ne s'agit pas de la définition que donne le dictionnaire. Il s'agit de la définition que donne la Charte. Nous disons que cette définition-là ne s'applique pas à des projets de résolution de cette

nature. Nous ne disons pas que les questions de maintien de la paix et de la sécurité internationales ne sont pas importantes. Elles le sont. Mais nous disons aussi que notre projet de résolution tel qu'il est conçu, dont les allusions à la question du maintien de la paix ne sont pas encore des recommandations, ne peut être placé dans la catégorie des projets visant des questions importantes au sens de la Charte, qui ne saurait être invoquée en l'occurrence. De la même manière, nous avons soutenu que la question du rétablissement des droits légitimes de la Chine à l'Organisation des Nations Unies n'était pas, aux termes de la Charte, une question importante, alors que les Etats-Unis ont donné une autre interprétation selon laquelle cette question est importante.

53. Nous différons donc en ce qui concerne nos interprétations, mais il ne serait pas tout à fait franc de dire que parce que nous différons dans nos interprétations, nous sommes en train de violer la Charte. Nous ne pensons pas que si l'adoption de notre projet de résolution, tel qu'il est et même si des votes séparés étaient demandés, avait lieu à la majorité simple, ce serait une violation de la Charte. Nous disons qu'il y a des précédents pour justifier cette façon de faire; nous disons que l'interprétation de l'Article 18 est là pour la justifier et nous disons également que le contenu réel de notre projet est là pour la justifier.

54. Par conséquent, ma délégation a noté avec intérêt que la délégation des Etats-Unis n'insiste pas sur sa motion. Evidemment, une décision prise sur la motion du Mali équivaldrait à une décision prise sur la motion américaine, et nous demandons aux Etats-Unis de ne pas insister pour que leur interprétation soit retenue par l'Assemblée, interprétation selon laquelle l'Assemblée déciderait d'ores et déjà que les questions de maintien de la paix et de la sécurité ne sont pas, à son avis, des questions importantes. Nous pensons que l'argumentation de la délégation des Etats-Unis ne s'applique pas à notre projet de résolution et nous demandons que cette interprétation soit sinon revue, du moins que la délégation américaine ne cherche pas à amener l'Assemblée à prendre une décision sur la base d'une appréciation que nous considérons comme erronée.

55. Nous souhaitons que la motion du Mali et surtout le projet de résolution soient adoptés à une majorité écrasante car nous savons tous que les questions coloniales ne devraient plus, de nos jours, faire l'objet de trop longues discussions au sein de notre assemblée. Je croyais que toutes les délégations s'étaient prononcées en faveur de l'anticolonialisme, qu'elles s'étaient proclamées anticolonialistes, et je ne crois pas que ce soit le moment de chercher des raisons ou des prétextes pour ne pas combattre franchement et loyalement le colonialisme. Que le Portugal et l'Afrique du Sud, et éventuellement le Royaume-Uni avec la question de la Rhodésie du Sud, s'élèvent ici contre des questions comme celles-là, nous pouvons le comprendre si nous ne le pardonnons pas. Mais que des délégations qui se prétendent anticolonialistes ne viennent pas nous créer des difficultés de procédure pour justifier de leur part des oppositions ou des abstentions ultérieures.

56. M. BHABHA (Pakistan) [traduit de l'anglais]: Ma délégation a découvert certaines erreurs dans le projet de résolution A/L.476/Rev.1 distribué cet après-midi à l'Assemblée.

57. Vendredi, le représentant de la Somalie a soumis certains amendements [A/L.477] au projet de résolution. Le premier amendement prévoyait l'introduction, dans le préambule, du nouveau paragraphe ci-après:

"Concerned about the policy of colonial Powers to circumvent the rights of colonial peoples through the promotion of the systematic influx of foreign immigrants and the dislocation, deportation and transfer of the indigenous inhabitants".

Cet amendement a été adopté à l'unanimité et il constitue maintenant, dans le document A/L.476/Rev.1, le sixième considérant. Mais, bien que le représentant de la Somalie ait présenté son amendement en anglais, je constate qu'il y a une erreur dans le texte du sixième considérant tel qu'il figure dans le document A/L.476/Rev.1. Le texte reproduit dans ce document est le suivant:

"Concerned about the policy of the colonial Powers, which are circumventing the rights of the colonial peoples by encouraging the systematic influx of foreign immigrants and by scattering, deporting and transferring the indigenous inhabitants".

Ni le mot "encouraging" ni le mot "scattering" ne figure dans l'amendement présenté par la délégation de la Somalie.

58. On peut relever une erreur analogue dans le nouveau paragraphe 5 du dispositif. Dans le document A/L.476/Rev.1 le texte de ce paragraphe est le suivant:

"Calls upon the colonial Powers to put an end to their policy, which violates the rights of colonial peoples through the systematic influx of foreign immigrants and through the scattering, deportation and transfer of the indigenous inhabitants".

59. Dans l'amendement figurant dans le document A/L.477, qui a été adopté à l'unanimité par l'Assemblée, le texte du nouveau paragraphe 5 du dispositif est le suivant:

"Calls upon the colonial Powers to discontinue their policy of violating the rights of colonial peoples through the systematic influx of foreign immigrants and the dislocation, deportation and transfer of the indigenous inhabitants".

60. Avant de demander la parole pour faire cette déclaration, ma délégation a porté cette question à la connaissance des fonctionnaires compétents du Secrétariat et un rectificatif [A/L.476/Rev.1/Corr.1] contenant le texte correct des amendements adoptés vendredi par l'Assemblée a été publié.

61. Je demande que les corrections voulues soient également apportées aux textes du projet de résolution publiés dans les autres langues.

62. Le PRESIDENT: Je précise que le texte anglais du document A/L.476/Rev.1 contient une erreur. La rectification fait l'objet du document A/L.476/Rev.1/Corr.1.

63. M. BOZOVIC (Yougoslavie) [traduit de l'anglais]: Dans ses interventions de vendredi [1400ème séance] et d'aujourd'hui, le représentant des Etats-Unis a déclaré que l'Assemblée générale n'avait pas compétence pour décider qu'un projet de résolution portant sur la paix et la sécurité ne constitue pas une question importante. Il a voulu dire, je suppose, que l'Assemblée générale n'est pas compétente pour décider qu'une question énumérée au paragraphe 2 de l'Article 18 de la Charte n'est pas importante.

64. A ce propos, je dois rendre hommage à la langue française qui, en la matière, est plus précise que l'anglais. Le texte français du paragraphe 2 de l'Article 18 est rédigé comme suit:

"Les décisions de l'Assemblée générale sur les questions importantes sont prises à la majorité des deux tiers des membres présents et votants. Sont considérées comme des questions importantes: ...".

65. Le texte anglais dit: "These questions shall include: ...", alors que le texte français dit: "Sont considérées comme questions importantes: ...". Le texte français est donc plus précis et il fait certainement foi tout aussi bien que le texte anglais. Les mots "Sont considérées comme questions importantes" signifient que l'Assemblée a déjà pris une décision en la matière et qu'on ne peut rien modifier sans réviser la Charte.

66. Si le représentant des Etats-Unis a voulu dire que l'Assemblée n'a pas le droit d'éliminer l'une des questions énumérées au paragraphe 2 de l'Article 18 de la Charte sans réviser la Charte, je suis entièrement d'accord avec lui. Mais si nous reconnaissons que l'Assemblée ne peut pas, sans réviser la Charte, éliminer une des questions énumérées au paragraphe 2 de l'Article 18 et décréter qu'il ne s'agit pas d'une question importante, nous devons en même temps reconnaître que l'Assemblée ne peut pas, sans réviser la Charte, ajouter des questions à celles qui sont énumérées au paragraphe 2 de l'Article 18 ou, en d'autres termes, décider qu'une autre question doit être considérée comme une question importante au sens dudit Article.

67. C'est précisément à cela que pensaient les auteurs de la Charte lorsqu'ils ont rédigé le paragraphe 3 de l'Article 18. Aux termes de ce paragraphe, si l'Assemblée ne souhaite pas réviser la Charte et modifier la liste qui figure au paragraphe 2, elle peut seulement déterminer quelles sont les décisions qui seront prises à la majorité des deux tiers et celles qui seront prises à la majorité simple.

68. Il en découle que les décisions que l'Assemblée peut prendre sur le point de savoir si une question sera soumise à la règle de la majorité des deux tiers ou à celle de la majorité simple n'a rien à voir avec l'opinion de l'Assemblée sur l'importance de la question. Cela ne signifie pas, et à notre avis cela ne peut pas signifier, que la décision d'appliquer la règle de la majorité simple ou celle de la majorité des deux tiers indique que l'Assemblée considère que la question mise aux voix est importante ou ne l'est pas. Les questions importantes sont énumérées dans la Charte et l'Assemblée ne peut prendre de décision que sur la majorité requise dans les autres cas.

69. Toutes les questions que nous examinons ici se rapportent d'une façon ou d'une autre aux buts essentiels de la Charte dont l'un est le maintien de la paix et de la sécurité. Toutes les questions que nous examinons sont très étroitement liées aux efforts que nous déployons pour atteindre les buts définis par la Charte. Même dans la Déclaration relative aux territoires non autonomes, qui constitue le Chapitre XI de la Charte, nous trouvons les mots "paix et sécurité internationales". C'est naturellement compte tenu de la paix et de la sécurité internationales, en vue de promouvoir la paix et la sécurité internationales que les puissances coloniales doivent prendre des mesures permettant aux peuples coloniaux d'accéder aussitôt que possible à l'indépendance.

70. Les recommandations faites aux puissances coloniales d'adapter leur politique à un monde en évolution et de respecter les aspirations des peuples des territoires non autonomes devraient, si l'interprétation de certaines délégations est juste, figurer parmi les questions énumérées au paragraphe 2 de l'Article 18 de la Charte. Mais les auteurs de la Charte ne les y ont pas fait figurer.

71. Des propositions tendant à soumettre certaines résolutions à la règle de la majorité des deux tiers ont été présentées, et toujours dans une intention très précise — comme dans le cas qui nous occupe où certains des paragraphes qui soulèvent des objections sont ceux qui invitent les puissances coloniales à supprimer les bases militaires parce que leur existence rend plus difficile aux peuples coloniaux l'accession à l'indépendance. Toutefois, il ne s'agit pas d'une recommandation visant des mesures concrètes que devrait prendre un organe des Nations Unies dans le domaine de la paix et de la sécurité; or seules ces recommandations sont visées dans le paragraphe 2 de l'Article 18.

72. Dans sa déclaration, le représentant des Etats-Unis a fait observer qu'il est dit dans le neuvième considérant que le régime colonial et la pratique de l'apartheid menacent la paix et la sécurité internationales et il a déclaré qu'il s'agissait là d'une constatation précise faite en vue d'invoquer le Chapitre VII de la Charte. Toutefois, telle qu'elle est exprimée, il ne s'agit de rien d'autre que d'une constatation, il ne s'agit pas d'une recommandation concrète.

73. Se fondant sur cette interprétation de la Charte, la délégation yougoslave, dans ce cas comme toujours depuis vingt ans, s'en tiendra à la procédure prévue par la Charte: cette résolution, comme toutes les autres résolutions se rapportant aux territoires non autonomes, doit être soumise à la règle de la majorité simple et c'est dans ce sens que votera la délégation yougoslave. Nous ne nions naturellement pas qu'il s'agisse d'une question ayant trait à la paix et à la sécurité internationales. Mais la résolution ne contient pas, à cet égard, de recommandation concrète aux organes compétents des Nations Unies.

74. M. COLLIER (Sierra Leone) [traduit de l'anglais]: Le moment venu, ma délégation votera pour la motion présentée par le représentant du Mali, estimant que cette question doit faire l'objet d'un vote à la majorité simple et ne constitue pas une question importante au sens de la Charte. Nous ne partageons

pas l'avis du représentant des Etats-Unis et nous n'appuierons certainement pas sa proposition. Le représentant des Etats-Unis a appelé notre attention sur le paragraphe 2 de l'Article 18 de la Charte, qui fait mention des "décisions de l'Assemblée générale sur des questions importantes". Comme on l'a déjà dit ici, cet après-midi, ce paragraphe énumère ensuite les cas dans lesquels l'article est applicable.

75. En exposant son point de vue, le représentant des Etats-Unis s'est référé spécialement au paragraphe du préambule, où il est dit:

"Pleinement consciente du fait que la persistance du régime colonial et de la pratique de l'apartheid ainsi que de toutes les formes de discrimination raciale constituent une menace à la paix et à la sécurité internationales et un crime contre l'humanité".

Ma délégation n'estime pas qu'il s'agisse là d'une recommandation. En fait, ce texte invite l'Assemblée à approuver ce qu'elle a déjà approuvé auparavant; il dit que l'Assemblée est "pleinement consciente" de la situation.

76. Samedi encore [1403ème séance], l'Assemblée a adopté la résolution 2079 (XX) sur le Tibet, résolution qui, nous a-t-on dit, requerrait seulement un vote à la majorité simple parce qu'elle avait trait à la question des droits de l'homme. La résolution dont nous sommes saisis a également trait aux droits de l'homme: elle a trait à la discrimination raciale, partout où elle s'exerce; ce n'est donc pas, comme voudrait le faire croire le représentant des Etats-Unis, une question touchant la paix et la sécurité internationales en tant que telles, au sens du paragraphe 2 de l'Article 18 de la Charte.

77. Je ne comprends pas comment certaines délégations, parmi celles-là mêmes qui ont parlé de façon si convaincante, si persuasive de la résolution relative au Tibet et décidé qu'elle devait faire l'objet d'un vote à la majorité simple peuvent venir maintenant nous demander de considérer une question analogue comme une question "importante".

78. Le représentant de la Guinée a fait observer à juste titre que quand la Charte fait mention d'une question "importante", ce mot est employé dans un sens particulier et non pas dans son sens usuel tel que le définit le dictionnaire. Nous ne pouvons considérer une question comme "importante" que lorsqu'elle correspond à la définition précise qui en est donnée et entre dans le cadre du paragraphe 2 de l'Article 18.

79. D'autres parties de cette résolution ont soulevé des objections: les paragraphes 12 et 13 du dispositif. Ma délégation estime que le contenu du paragraphe 12 du dispositif a trait, bien entendu, à la non-intervention, mais surtout, ce qui est beaucoup plus important, à la décolonisation, question sur laquelle l'Assemblée s'est prononcée et qui ne peut certainement pas donner lieu à une rupture éventuelle de la paix internationale dans le sens usuel de ces mots. C'est une question de décolonisation et ce n'est pas une recommandation au Conseil de sécurité; c'est une exhortation aux peuples qui auraient encore

une politique colonialiste à renoncer à cette politique.

80. Le paragraphe 13 du dispositif invite le Comité spécial à prendre, à l'avenir, certaines mesures. Là encore, il s'agit d'une question de décolonisation et l'Assemblée a chargé le Comité spécial d'en suivre constamment l'évolution. En conséquence, nous ne pensons pas qu'il s'agisse d'une question exigeant un vote à la majorité des deux tiers, nous estimons que la majorité simple suffit. Comme je l'ai déjà dit, on nous a persuadés, pas plus tard que samedi, dans un cas analogue, que seule la majorité simple était requise et effectivement nous avons voté sur la question du Tibet à la majorité simple. Nous ne comprenons pas comment d'autres critères pourraient prévaloir dans le cas présent. En conséquence, ma délégation votera contre la proposition des Etats-Unis. En fait, nous espérons que la délégation des Etats-Unis comprendra qu'elle devrait retirer sa proposition.

81. M. GOLDBERG (Etats-Unis) [traduit de l'anglais]: J'ai suivi avec la plus grande attention le débat constructif au cours duquel le grave problème qui nous occupe a été traité très sérieusement. Je voudrais seulement faire quelques observations à ce propos.

82. Au sujet des observations de M. Morozov, représentant de l'Union soviétique, je voudrais simplement déclarer que nous ne le cédon à personne pour ce qui est du respect de la Charte. Nous croyons en elle. Nous ne l'avons jamais tournée dans le passé. Nous continuons à croire en elle et nous ne la tournerons pas à l'avenir.

83. Je ne comprends pas l'argumentation du représentant de l'URSS selon laquelle puisque l'Assemblée a adopté à la majorité des deux tiers une déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, tout projet de résolution ayant pour objet la mise en œuvre de la Déclaration peut être adopté à la majorité simple. Il me semble que, de toute évidence, c'est le contraire qui est vrai et que ce qu'il a dit ne peut pas être considéré comme une proposition sérieuse car on en arriverait alors, peu à peu, à adopter n'importe quel genre de déclaration se rapportant à la question au mépris total des principes de la Charte.

84. Pour en terminer avec les observations du représentant de l'Union soviétique, je voudrais simplement corriger ce qui n'était manifestement qu'une simple erreur. Nous ne cherchons pas à rendre nulle une décision de la Quatrième Commission. Le projet de résolution [A/L.476/Rev.1 et Corr.1] dont nous sommes saisis n'a jamais été soumis à la Quatrième Commission. Il a été présenté à l'Assemblée en séance plénière.

85. J'ai également écouté très attentivement la déclaration de M. Marof Achkar, représentant de la Guinée. Je voudrais appeler votre attention sur un point qui me semble très important en ce qui concerne les faits qu'il a présentés. Il a mentionné trois résolutions qui, dit-il, ont été adoptées, et qui en effet ont été adoptées, par l'Assemblée: la résolution sur la Rhodésie du Sud, la résolution sur le Sud-Ouest africain et la résolution sur l'apartheid. Toutefois, je voudrais faire remarquer que la résolution sur la Rhodésie du Sud [1889 (XVIII)] a été adoptée par 73 voix contre 2,

avec 19 abstentions, soit à une majorité beaucoup plus forte que la majorité des deux tiers; la résolution sur le Sud-Ouest africain [1889 (XVIII)] par 84 voix contre 6, avec 17 abstentions, soit à une majorité beaucoup plus forte que la majorité des deux tiers; la récente résolution sur l'apartheid [2054 (XX)] par 80 voix, contre 2, avec 16 abstentions, soit à une majorité beaucoup plus forte que la majorité des deux tiers. Dans ces trois cas, nul n'a fait valoir avant le vote que seule la majorité simple était requise et après le vote une motion de ce genre eut été sans objet puisque chacune des résolutions a été adoptée à une majorité de plus des deux tiers.

86. A vrai dire, on pourrait invoquer d'autres précédents, qui ont un rapport encore plus direct avec le problème. Le 30 janvier 1962, le paragraphe 7 du dispositif du projet de résolution relatif à l'Angola, adopté ultérieurement en tant que résolution 1742 (XVI), sous une forme modifiée, éliminant le paragraphe 7, avait été rejeté parce qu'il n'avait pas recueilli la majorité des deux tiers. Le texte de ce paragraphe était simplement le suivant:

"Prie le Comité spécial de dix-sept membres constitué aux termes de la résolution 1654 (XVI) de l'Assemblée générale d'examiner de toute urgence la question de l'Angola de sorte que le peuple angolais puisse parvenir rapidement à l'indépendance" ^{1/}.

87. On a dit ici que les références à la paix et à la sécurité internationales ne peuvent être considérées comme un élément significatif du projet de résolution où elles apparaissent seulement sous forme de constatations. Ce n'est sûrement pas l'avis des auteurs. Il est dit au neuvième paragraphe du préambule:

"Pleinement consciente du fait que la persistance du régime colonial et de la pratique de l'apartheid ainsi que de toutes les formes de discrimination raciale constituent une menace à la paix et à la sécurité internationales et un crime contre l'humanité".

Se fondant sur ce considérant, que propose le projet de résolution? Il propose une recommandation selon la tradition de l'Assemblée. Je lis au paragraphe 5 du dispositif: "Fait appel aux puissances coloniales pour qu'elles mettent fin à leur politique". De quelle politique s'agit-il? Du maintien du régime colonial et de la pratique de l'apartheid, ainsi que de toute forme de discrimination raciale que le projet de résolution condamne incontestablement.

88. Le représentant du Sierra Leone a déclaré que l'Assemblée avait adopté à la majorité simple une motion relative au Tibet. En effet, toutefois, cette résolution, qui se rapporte aux droits de l'homme, ne fait pas la moindre allusion à la question de la paix et de la sécurité internationales. Bien que l'Assemblée examine des questions ayant trait à la paix et à la sécurité internationales, il est évident, et chacun s'en rend sûrement compte, qu'on ne saurait considérer chacun des graves abus dont elle traite, chaque violation des droits dont elle parle, comme une menace à la

^{1/} Documents officiels de l'Assemblée générale, seizième session, Annexes, point 27 de l'ordre du jour, document A/L.384/Rev.1 et Rev.1/Add.1.

paix et à la sécurité au sens des dispositions de la Charte.

89. Enfin, je dois dire, avec tout le respect qui lui est dû, que le représentant de la Yougoslavie n'a nullement saisi toute la portée de l'Article 18 de la Charte. L'Article 18 de la Charte définit, au paragraphe 2, les questions qui doivent faire l'objet d'un vote à la majorité des deux tiers. Il précise que ces questions comprennent: "les recommandations relatives au maintien de la paix et de la sécurité internationales". Or, les clauses du projet de résolution contenant une invitation — et j'aurais pu les lire toutes —, y compris celles qui sont essentielles, entrent de toute évidence dans cette catégorie.

90. Les décisions sur d'autres questions que l'Assemblée peut considérer comme importantes en dehors de celles qui sont énumérées au paragraphe 2 de l'Article 18 peuvent effectivement être prises à la majorité simple. Mais certainement nul ne saurait prétendre, par exemple, que l'élection des membres non permanents du Conseil de sécurité peut faire l'objet d'un vote à la majorité simple uniquement parce que l'Assemblée décide par un vote à la majorité simple qu'il en sera ainsi.

91. Je tiens à répéter, très simplement, que nous sommes saisis d'une question fondamentale. Il me semble évident, compte tenu des précédents, y compris la décision prise il y a quelques jours par l'Assemblée, que la question examinée est une question importante au sens de la Charte. La fidélité à la Charte exige le respect de ses dispositions. Faute de quoi nos décisions ne sont pas valables. Nous sommes ici, nul n'en peut douter, pour faire des recommandations valables et non pas pour faire des recommandations qui peuvent être adoptées à la majorité simple et qui violent la Charte.

92. M. COULIBALY (Mali): Dans sa première déclaration, le représentant des Etats-Unis d'Amérique a cherché à créer l'impression que la délégation du Mali, en soumettant sa motion de procédure vendredi dernier [1400^{ème} séance], avait voulu par là violer la Charte des Nations Unies.

93. Je suis convaincu que les délégations ici présentes et qui ont écouté le représentant des Etats-Unis jugent autrement l'attitude constante de la délégation du Mali en ce qui concerne, notamment, la défense des dispositions de la Charte. S'il y a une délégation qui viole la Charte des Nations Unies, ce n'est certainement pas celle du Mali: les annales de l'Assemblée générale et du Conseil de sécurité sont largement édifiantes à cet égard, et montrent quelles sont les puissances, ici, qui violent constamment la Charte des Nations Unies.

94. Au contraire, la délégation du Mali, en déposant sa motion de procédure, a voulu empêcher une violation de la Charte des Nations Unies. En effet, qu'avons-nous demandé? Nous avons demandé que le projet de résolution sur l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux fasse l'objet d'un vote à la majorité simple. Ce faisant, nous sommes en parfait accord avec la Charte des Nations Unies, notamment avec l'Article 18, auquel le représentant des Etats-Unis s'est référé. En effet, dans l'Article 18, il n'est pas

question des problèmes de la décolonisation. Son paragraphe 2 est ainsi libellé:

"Les décisions de l'Assemblée générale sur les questions importantes sont prises à la majorité des deux tiers des membres présents et votants. Sont considérées comme questions importantes: les recommandations relatives au maintien de la paix et de la sécurité internationales, l'élection des membres non permanents du Conseil de sécurité, l'élection des membres du Conseil économique et social, l'élection des membres du Conseil de tutelle conformément au paragraphe 1, c, de l'Article 86, l'admission de nouveaux Membres dans l'Organisation, la suspension des droits et privilèges de Membres, l'exclusion de Membres, les questions relatives au fonctionnement du régime de tutelle et les questions budgétaires."

95. Je ne vois rien ici qui ait trait aux problèmes de la décolonisation. Cependant, au moment de l'élaboration de la Charte, les problèmes de la décolonisation existaient. La Charte a même consacré un chapitre aux territoires non autonomes. Mais à l'Article 18 il n'est pas fait mention des problèmes de décolonisation comme questions importantes. Pourtant, le même Article 18 continue en stipulant:

"Les décisions sur d'autres questions, y compris la détermination de nouvelles catégories de questions à trancher à la majorité des deux tiers, sont prises à la majorité des membres présents et votants."

Or, à ma connaissance, l'Assemblée générale n'a pas défini une nouvelle ou de nouvelles catégories de questions devant être tranchées à la majorité des deux tiers comportant les problèmes de la décolonisation.

96. Nous avons fait notre proposition, le vendredi soir, parce que le vendredi matin il y avait ici des tendances, des manœuvres qui visaient à induire l'Assemblée en erreur, à manipuler le règlement intérieur et la Charte de manière à imposer un vote à la majorité des deux tiers pour toutes les questions touchant la décolonisation. On a voulu interpréter de façon abusive l'Article 18 en disant que les problèmes de décolonisation sont des questions importantes au titre de cet article. Nous disons que les problèmes de décolonisation sont des questions importantes. Je vais même plus loin: toutes les questions que nous discutons aux Nations Unies sont des questions importantes; si elles n'étaient pas importantes, nous n'aurions pas à nous prononcer sur ces questions. Mais dans les questions importantes que nous discutons ici, la Charte des Nations Unies en a énoncé un certain nombre qui requièrent un vote à la majorité des deux tiers. C'est parce que la question que nous discutons actuellement n'est pas énumérée dans la série des questions importantes prévues par la Charte que nous avons voulu arrêter les manœuvres des personnes qui veulent induire en erreur les membres de l'Assemblée, de manière à faire obstacle au processus de décolonisation.

97. Le représentant des Etats-Unis a dit que notre projet de résolution comportait des recommandations relatives au maintien de la paix et de la sécurité internationales au sens de l'Article 18 de la Charte.

Je ne pense pas que cela soit exact. En effet, je ne vois nulle part, dans notre projet de résolution, de recommandation au sens de cet article. L'un des passages incriminés par le représentant des Etats-Unis est le considérant qui dit:

"Pleinement consciente du fait que la persistance du régime colonial et de la pratique de l'apartheid ainsi que de toutes les formes de discrimination raciale constituent une menace à la paix et à la sécurité internationales et un crime contre l'humanité".

98. Est-ce que ce passage constitue une recommandation concernant les mesures que l'Assemblée générale ou le Conseil de sécurité doivent prendre en vue du maintien de la paix et de la sécurité internationales? Je ne le pense pas. Il s'agit d'une simple constatation. Nous sommes conscients — personne, ici, ne peut le nier — que le maintien du colonialisme et de l'apartheid constitue une menace contre la paix et la sécurité internationales. Personne ne peut nier non plus que ces deux pratiques constituent un crime contre l'humanité. Est-ce que le fait de constater ce qui existe peut être considéré comme une recommandation au Conseil de sécurité ou à l'Assemblée générale concernant les mesures d'ordre pratique à prendre pour sauvegarder la paix et la sécurité internationales? Je dis: non.

99. Il y a ensuite le paragraphe 12 du projet de résolution, où nous disons:

"Prie les puissances coloniales de démanteler les bases militaires installées dans les territoires coloniaux et de s'abstenir d'en établir de nouvelles".

Est-ce là une recommandation comportant des mesures pratiques à prendre pour le maintien de l'ordre et de la sécurité internationaux au titre de la Charte? Je ne le crois pas. Je sais, évidemment, qu'il y a ici des puissances qui veulent entretenir des bases militaires hors de leur territoire national. Mais nous pensons que, dans le contexte d'un tel projet de résolution, il s'agit de défendre le droit des peuples à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance, de défendre leur souveraineté. Or, les bases militaires ont été précisément installées dans les territoires coloniaux sans consulter les peuples. Ceux-ci n'ont pas donné leur accord à l'installation de bases militaires sur leur territoire parce que ces bases militaires sont précisément utilisées pour porter atteinte à leur liberté, à leurs droits les plus élémentaires. Quand nous demandons, dans un projet de résolution, que ces bases militaires soient démantelées, il s'agit de défendre les droits de ces peuples, leur droit à l'autodétermination, leur souveraineté. Encore une fois, ce paragraphe ne peut pas être considéré comme une recommandation concernant les mesures à prendre pour le maintien de la paix et de la sécurité au titre de l'Article 18 de la Charte.

100. C'est compte tenu de toutes ces raisons et pour barrer la route à toutes les manœuvres qui ont été tentées ici depuis le début de la semaine dernière pour arrêter le processus de décolonisation que nous avons demandé que l'Assemblée générale se prononce sur le projet de résolution à la majorité simple. Mais il n'a jamais été dans notre intention de dire que les

problèmes de décolonisation ne sont pas des questions importantes. Ces questions sont très importantes, puisque nous nous en occupons. Mais nous disons que ces questions ne sont pas incluses dans les catégories de questions qui, selon l'Article 18 de la Charte, exigent un vote à la majorité des deux tiers. Les problèmes de décolonisation sont importants; mais ils ne sont pas énumérés à l'Article 18 parmi les catégories de questions qui exigent un vote à la majorité des deux tiers. C'est ce que nous avons voulu démontrer. C'est ce que nous avons voulu faire respecter par l'Assemblée générale quand nous avons déposé notre motion de procédure.

101. M. ESFANDIARY (Iran) [traduit de l'anglais]: Le paragraphe 12 du dispositif du projet de résolution [A/L.476/Rev.1 et Corr.1] qui prie les puissances administrantes de démanteler les bases militaires déborde — à notre avis — le cadre des questions coloniales. Il touche des questions qui peuvent avoir des prolongements intéressant le maintien de la paix et de la sécurité internationales. En conséquence, à notre avis, les dispositions du paragraphe 2 de l'Article 18 sont applicables au paragraphe 12 du dispositif du projet de résolution.

102. Il va s'en dire que, selon nous, le projet de résolution dans son ensemble, quelle que soit son importance, traite de questions coloniales et conformément aux dispositions énoncées dans ledit paragraphe et au précédent établi par l'Assemblée générale, il devrait être adopté à la majorité simple.

103. Je voudrais ajouter, en ce qui concerne la substance du projet de résolution que, pour les raisons que nous avons indiquées, ma délégation s'abstiendra lors du vote sur le paragraphe 12 du dispositif et votera pour le projet de résolution dans son ensemble.

104. M. LOPEZ VILLAMIL (Honduras) [traduit de l'espagnol]: De nombreux orateurs ont défilé cet après-midi à la tribune au moment où la vingtième session de l'Assemblée générale des Nations Unies va se clore, session qui, de façon générale, s'est révélée féconde puisqu'elle a permis de résoudre nombre de problèmes très importants pour l'Organisation. Pourtant, au dernier moment, on soulève des questions qui sèment la confusion et nuisent ainsi à l'idée que l'opinion publique du monde entier se fait de l'Organisation.

105. Le projet de résolution qui nous est soumis [A/L.476/Rev.1] se rapporte précisément à une question étroitement liée à la juste interprétation de la Charte des Nations Unies et, après avoir entendu tous les arguments présentés cet après-midi, il nous semble que si les Nations Unies en viennent à contester le texte même de la Charte et à l'interpréter chacun à son gré, le jour viendra où nous verrons le diable monter à cette tribune pour nous lire la Bible.

106. Et les petites discussions de ce genre risquent de faire perdre son prestige à l'Organisation des Nations Unies dans toutes les régions du monde. On a fait valoir une série d'arguments et l'un des orateurs en est venu à dire que les auteurs de la Charte ne constituaient et ne représentaient pas la majorité des Etats qui forment aujourd'hui l'Organisation des Nations Unies.

107. C'est un bien mauvais argument car la Charte énonce une série de principes de caractère universel sans tenir compte du fait qu'une région du monde pouvait, dans la conjoncture politique du moment, imposer des conditions particulières aux autres régions uniquement en faisant valoir certains aspects de l'émancipation moderne. C'est un argument d'autant plus mauvais que les auteurs de la Charte sont ici présents, notamment le représentant de l'Union soviétique, et qu'ils ne s'étaient pas, que je sache, opposés au texte que l'on cherche aujourd'hui à interpréter contre tout sens logique, grammatical, juridique ou autre.

108. Si nous voulons vraiment faire de l'Organisation des Nations Unies une institution respectée de tous les Etats et non pas seulement d'un groupe d'entre eux, si nous voulons édifier un monde où règnent la compréhension et l'aide mutuelle, ne nous moquons pas de la Charte des Nations Unies dont le sens est clair comme le jour. En outre, dans le passé, vous avez déjà été appelé, Monsieur le Président, à prendre au sujet de cas semblables des décisions qui constituent des précédents très nets.

109. L'article dont on s'efforce de déformer le sens aujourd'hui est précisément l'Article 18, qui se rapporte aux décisions de l'Assemblée générale sur les questions importantes. "Sont considérées comme questions importantes: les recommandations relatives au maintien de la paix et de la sécurité internationales..."

110. On nous dit que le projet de résolution soumis à l'Assemblée ne se rapporte pas à ces questions; que ce projet de résolution très habilement rédigé et présenté à la dernière heure ne traite que d'un aspect de l'anticolonialisme et ne contient donc pas de questions importantes. Depuis le début, et tout au long de l'existence de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, ma délégation a prouvé son attachement à tous ces principes, elle a soutenu l'anticolonialisme à la Quatrième Commission et les actes de toute une série de sessions témoignent de la position prise par mon pays et par les autres pays d'Amérique latine qui croient à ces principes. Mais nous ne pensons pas qu'on puisse aujourd'hui, sous la bannière de l'anticolonialisme, introduire le cheval de Troie de la guerre froide, de la propagande et d'une prétendue défense de principes qui ne sont qu'un masque sous lequel on cherche à imposer une politique déterminée à certaines régions.

111. L'anticolonialisme est une bannière très noble que nous respectons tous; il se fonde sur le respect de l'indépendance des Etats. Mais rien dans la Charte de l'Organisation des Nations Unies ne s'oppose à l'interdépendance, au commerce extérieur, à la signature de traités internationaux puisque jusqu'à présent les Etats n'ont pas perdu leurs droits de contracter ni même de signer des accords de défense mutuelle, quelle que soit leur nature, économique, sociale ou politique.

112. En Europe de l'Est, en Europe occidentale, en Asie et en Afrique, de nombreux Etats ont conclu des traités que ni la Charte ni les résolutions de l'Assemblée générale ne peuvent réussir à éliminer uniquement grâce au vote d'une majorité qui aura réussi à se constituer pour imposer une certaine politique.

113. Si tous les Etats veulent faire respecter les résolutions de l'Assemblée générale et la Charte, il faut que leurs décisions se fondent sur le texte même de celle-ci.

114. Les arguments invoqués pour démontrer que l'article 18 ne dit pas réellement ce qu'il dit sont absolument fallacieux. Si nous demandions à un tribunal quelconque ou même à la Cour internationale de Justice de La Haye, organe des Nations Unies, comment il convient d'interpréter cet article et le projet de résolution dont nous sommes saisis, je suis sûr que personne ne mettrait en doute qu'il s'agit bien là de questions touchant le maintien de la paix. Ainsi, par exemple, les paragraphes 12 et 13 du dispositif, qui paraissent susciter le plus d'inquiétude et qui, plus que l'anticolonialisme semblent constituer la pierre angulaire de ce projet de résolution, prient les puissances coloniales de démanteler les bases militaires installées dans les territoires coloniaux et de s'abstenir d'en établir de nouvelles; en outre, il prie le Comité spécial de porter à la connaissance du Conseil de sécurité les faits nouveaux survenus dans l'un quelconque des territoires qu'il examine qui risquent de menacer la paix et la sécurité internationales et de formuler des suggestions dont le Conseil pourrait s'inspirer en étudiant les mesures qu'il convient de prendre conformément à la Charte.

115. Je voudrais leur demander de quoi il s'agit quand on parle de démantèlement de bases. Ne s'agit-il pas de désarmement? Ne s'agit-il pas du maintien de la paix? S'agirait-il simplement d'une manifestation sportive? N'est-ce pas là une question importante?

116. Je crois que nous ne devons pas nous leurrer ni chercher à nous persuader de ce que nous voulons faire croire aux autres et à l'opinion publique internationale. Ma délégation a défendu le principe du droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes; elle s'est prononcée en faveur de toutes les résolutions relatives aux droits de l'homme et de celles qui visent à éliminer le colonialisme. Mais dans ce projet de résolution, on introduit à dessein des éléments politiques très éloignés des nobles desseins que poursuit l'anticolonialisme, l'anticolonialisme authentique, né dans la conscience de l'homme, du respect de l'indépendance totale à laquelle les Etats aspirent dans leurs relations internationales et dans le cadre de la mission qui est la leur dans l'histoire, à leurs yeux et aux yeux de leurs voisins. Mais, de l'avis de ma délégation, le projet de résolution qui nous est soumis se rapporte à une question importante et exige la majorité prévue par la Charte et non la majorité proposée par certains délégués qui ont décidé à l'avance d'aller à l'encontre de ce que prévoit la Charte.

117. C'est pourquoi ma délégation a pris la position que je viens d'exposer et votera contre les paragraphes 12 et 13 du dispositif qui semblent contenir l'essentiel du projet de résolution.

118. M. MOROZOV (Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques) [traduit du russe]: C'est avec beaucoup d'hésitation que nous prenons à nouveau la parole non que notre position soit ébranlée mais parce que nous sommes partagés entre deux désirs. D'une part, nous voudrions être polis et courtois

à l'égard du représentant des Etats-Unis qui nous a demandé de préciser la logique de notre position et, d'autre part, certaines considérations comme l'heure et la date à laquelle nous siégeons ne nous encourageant évidemment pas à mobiliser l'attention de l'Assemblée générale une seconde fois. Mais nous n'avons pas pu résister à la tentation de préciser une nouvelle fois notre position à l'intention du représentant des Etats-Unis d'autant que celui-ci nous a pratiquement prié de le faire.

119. Nous n'avons malheureusement pas sous les yeux le texte russe de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance. Aussi citerai-je le texte anglais et j'en ferai autant pour le projet de résolution que nous examinons pour étayer ma thèse. Comme je l'ai déjà dit, la Déclaration adoptée il y a cinq ans par 89 voix contre zéro, avec neuf abstentions — dont les Etats-Unis d'Amérique qui, malgré tout, n'ont pas voté contre elle —, justifie que l'on approuve aujourd'hui, en vue de son application, le projet de résolution dont nous sommes saisis à la majorité simple. Je me permettrai de rappeler à nouveau les différents points que le représentant des Etats-Unis, M. Goldberg, a évoqués pour étayer sa thèse.

120. Je vous lirai pour commencer l'alinéa du préambule de la résolution adoptée il y a cinq ans [1514 (XV)]:

"Consciente des conflits croissants qu'entraîne le fait de refuser la liberté à ces peuples ou d'y faire obstacle, qui constituent une grave menace à la paix mondiale".

121. Ce texte a été adopté par 89 voix et tout ce que l'on nous propose aujourd'hui c'est de remplacer dans ce préambule qui a été si vivement critiqué les mots "consciente" par "pleinement consciente" et "qui constituent une grave menace à la paix mondiale" par "constitue une menace à la paix et à la sécurité internationales". Aussi suis-je fort tenté de demander si l'on doute toujours vraiment que nous avons déjà adopté il y a cinq ans à la majorité des deux tiers cet alinéa qui est reproduit aujourd'hui dans le préambule du projet de résolution et que l'on nous propose d'adopter à la majorité simple? Veut-on nous faire passer pour un organe qui, après avoir adopté il y a cinq ans à la majorité des deux tiers la partie du préambule que je viens de citer, repousserait aujourd'hui — à la suite, je le pense, de quelques manœuvres, d'un vote par division, etc. — ce même texte qui figure dans un projet de résolution que nous considérons comme un moyen de mise en œuvre de la Déclaration. Il serait intéressant alors de voir dans quelle situation se trouverait l'Assemblée générale si elle devait suivre les conseils que vient de lui prodiguer le représentant des Etats-Unis, appuyé avec une énergie digne d'une meilleure cause par le représentant du Honduras.

122. Nous ne sommes pas un organe qui, asservi à des fins politiques, doit suivre aveuglément la procédure que l'on cherche ici à nous imposer. Nous sommes une réunion pacifique qui a l'habitude de respecter la Charte des Nations Unies et les décisions qui ont été prises. C'est pourquoi, lorsqu'on vient nous dire qu'après avoir adopté il y a cinq ans la Déclaration, nous n'avons pas le droit d'adopter aujourd'hui cet alinéa qui répète les termes de cette

Déclaration en les atténuant, dirai-je, tout en leur conservant leur signification politique, j'ai envie de répondre que l'on nous traite avec un tel irrespect que l'on nous imagine incapables de procéder à l'analyse juridique nécessaire. Je parle de l'analyse juridique, si chère au cœur du représentant des Etats-Unis, à laquelle les autres orateurs se sont référés. D'un point de vue juridique, nous avons le droit d'adopter, conformément au règlement intérieur et à la Charte, cette disposition du projet de résolution dont nous sommes saisis à la majorité simple car nous n'avons pas à adopter indéfiniment à la majorité des deux tiers les mêmes textes se rapportant à la même question alors qu'il s'agit de mettre en œuvre une décision politique de principe qui a déjà été adoptée sur une question extrêmement importante — je ne dis pas importante mais extrêmement importante —, celle de l'élimination du colonialisme et que nous l'avons déjà fait dans la Déclaration adoptée il y a cinq ans.

123. Je vous donnerai lecture maintenant du paragraphe 4 du dispositif de la Déclaration:

"Il sera mis fin à toute action armée et à toutes mesures de répression, de quelque sorte qu'elles soient, dirigées contre les peuples dépendants, pour permettre à ces peuples d'exercer pacifiquement et librement leur droit à l'indépendance complète, et l'intégrité de leur territoire national sera respectée".

124. On vient nous dire maintenant que la mention qui fait l'objet du paragraphe 12 du projet de résolution ne découle pas de la Déclaration, ne repose pas sur elle, ne saurait être considérée comme une mesure d'application d'une décision politique déjà adoptée par 89 voix par l'Assemblée sans, je le répète, opposition aucune. Nous ne pouvons pas bien sûr nous prêter à ce jeu et nous ne pouvons pas quitter cette tribune sans insister à nouveau pour que la proposition du représentant du Mali soit mise aux voix. J'ajouterai en conclusion que nous n'obéissons pas ici à nos sympathies politiques ni aux tendances dont il a été question aujourd'hui à cette tribune, toutefois dans des circonstances différentes, et que nous nous en tenons scrupuleusement aux dispositions de la Charte des Nations Unies, au règlement intérieur et aux décisions adoptées antérieurement sous la forme de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux.

125. M. ACHKAR (Guinée): Je regrette vivement de devoir revenir à cette tribune. Je serai extrêmement bref. Si j'ai redemandé la parole, c'est parce que, tout à l'heure, le représentant des Etats-Unis a interprété mes exemples dans un sens que je n'ai pas voulu leur donner. Il a rappelé les précédents, c'est-à-dire les résolutions adoptées antérieurement, et il a bien voulu indiquer que ces résolutions avaient été adoptées à une majorité écrasante et qu'il aurait été absurde de parler à ce moment-là de majorité des deux tiers. Je suis entièrement d'accord.

126. Je n'ai jamais dit que ces résolutions n'avaient pas été adoptées à une majorité dépassant de loin les deux tiers. Ce que j'ai dit, c'est qu'à l'occasion de l'adoption de ces résolutions, il n'y avait pas eu de question préalable telle que celle que vient de poser le représentant des Etats-Unis.

127. Je ne doute pas que le projet de résolution qui est actuellement soumis à notre sanction sera adopté à une majorité substantielle qui dépassera probablement les deux tiers, à moins que la majorité anticolonialiste de l'Assemblée, à la suite de certains phénomènes que nous ignorons, n'ait changé d'avis. Mais si cette majorité est la même, je ne doute pas qu'elle adoptera à une majorité de plus des deux tiers le projet de résolution dont nous sommes saisis.

128. Mais ce dont nous discutons, c'est le préalable qui est posé. Avant que nous ne nous prononcions sur le projet de résolution, il faut que nous reconnaissons qu'il ne saurait être adopté à la majorité des deux tiers pour des raisons que nous réfutons. Par conséquent, si certaines résolutions ont été adoptées à une majorité dépassant de loin les deux tiers, cela ne justifie pas le fait qu'au début, on n'a pas invoqué ce préalable et que maintenant on veuille l'invoquer.

129. Parmi tous les exemples que j'ai donnés, il y en a un qui pourrait nous être extrêmement utile, c'est la résolution adoptée à la dix-huitième session de l'Assemblée générale sur la question même dont nous discutons en ce moment, à savoir la résolution 1956 (XVIII) concernant la situation quant à l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. Lors de l'adoption de cette résolution, la délégation des Etats-Unis — et aucune autre délégation ne l'a fait — avait soulevé le préalable des deux tiers. Dans cette résolution, le paragraphe 6 se lit ainsi:

"Invite le Comité spécial à porter à la connaissance du Conseil de sécurité tous faits, survenus dans l'un quelconque des territoires qu'il examine, qui risquent de menacer la paix et la sécurité internationales".

130. Ce texte se retrouve dans notre projet actuel, et le représentant des Etats-Unis ainsi que celui du Honduras, me semble-t-il, s'élèvent contre cela, ce qui équivaut à rejeter une décision déjà prise au cours de la dix-huitième session, sans compter les décisions de même nature qui ont été prises antérieurement. Si tel est le cas, ce n'est pas nous qui aurions besoin de la majorité des deux tiers, c'est le représentant des Etats-Unis, pour remettre en cause une décision déjà prise par l'Assemblée générale.

131. Je voudrais préciser ce que j'ai dit tout à l'heure, à savoir que dans notre projet de résolution il n'y a pas de recommandations aux termes des Chapitres VI et VII de la Charte, qui traitent de la question du maintien de la paix et de la sécurité internationales. Puisque c'est dans ce cadre que le représentant des Etats-Unis veut placer sa motion des deux tiers, il aurait dû alors chercher dans le projet une recommandation qui se fonde soit sur le Chapitre VI, soit sur le Chapitre VII. La recommandation qui découle de notre constatation, c'est la libération des territoires. Cette recommandation s'inspire de la résolution 1514 (XV), et non pas du Chapitre VI ou du Chapitre VII.

132. Alors, que ceux qui ont parlé de guerre froide — je fais allusion à mon collègue du Honduras — n'en parlent plus, parce que c'est introduire la guerre froide dans ce débat qui se veut exclusivement consacré à la question de la libération des peuples dépendants.

Il est loin de nos intentions d'introduire dans cette discussion quelque notion de guerre froide que ce soit, car cela faciliterait bien trop la tâche des puissances coloniales, qui se sont trop longtemps réfugiées derrière des considérations de cette nature pour justifier leur politique obtuse et aveugle.

133. Quand mon collègue du Honduras parle de traités internationaux, je pense qu'il ne fait pas allusion au paragraphe dans lequel nous demandons que les puissances coloniales démantèlent les bases militaires installées dans les territoires coloniaux et s'abstiennent d'en établir de nouvelles car entre puissances coloniales et colonies, il ne saurait y avoir d'accord international. D'une part, il existe une entité souveraine qui est la puissance coloniale, mais d'autre part, il n'y a rien. Toutes les bases militaires installées dans les colonies l'ont été en vertu d'un "package deal". La puissance coloniale déclare qu'elle se retire et demande qu'on lui donne telle et telle chose en contrepartie. Bien entendu, les territoires que l'on prétend ainsi libérer héritent de ces bases militaires et deviennent indépendants, c'est évident. Mais les bases militaires demeurent et constituent alors soit une source de répression pour certains régimes, soit une source de revenus. Mais nous disons qu'aussi longtemps que les territoires seront des colonies, il ne faut pas y conserver des bases militaires. Il ne s'agit donc pas d'accords internationaux.

134. Je voudrais insister auprès de la délégation des Etats-Unis et de certaines autres qui l'appuient pour qu'elles ne mettent pas trop l'accent sur cet aspect qu'elles veulent juridique et qui, à mon avis, est hautement politique, de la question dont nous discutons. Car il existe un risque sérieux: en insistant, je crains que les représentants auxquels je fais allusion ne se fassent passer pour les avocats militants du colonialisme. Or, ceux-ci sont parmi nous et ils se taisent bien sagement. J'espère que cet appel sera entendu. En tout cas, si nous passons au vote, je souhaite vivement — j'en ai d'ailleurs presque la conviction — que non seulement la motion du représentant du Mali soit adoptée à une majorité qui dépasse de loin les deux tiers, mais que le projet de résolution lui-même soit adopté à une majorité écrasante, dépassant de loin les deux tiers puisque parmi nous, il y a beaucoup moins d'un tiers de procolonialistes. En tout cas, c'est ce que nous avons pensé jusqu'à présent, et je ne crois pas que les événements actuels aient amené un changement dans la situation. Bien au contraire, quand on voit ce qui se passe aujourd'hui dans le monde, on peut s'attendre à ce que les forces anticolonialistes soient plus nombreuses parce qu'on sait ce que la colonisation peut amener contre la paix et la sécurité internationales et contre l'Organisation.

135. M. MARRACHE (Syrie): Ma délégation voudrait intervenir dans le débat en faveur de l'interprétation de la Charte selon laquelle la règle des deux tiers ne joue pas pour les problèmes coloniaux. Les raisons juridiques pertinentes qui plaident en faveur de cette interprétation ont déjà été exprimées par nombre de délégations. Ma délégation voudrait ajouter à ce qui a déjà été dit les observations suivantes.

136. Tout d'abord, l'Article 18, autour duquel tourne le débat, constitue une stipulation, une réglementation

d'exception, qui n'est pas d'ordre commun, qui n'est pas la règle générale. En effet, dans toutes les assemblées démocratiques, la règle générale, c'est celle de la majorité simple. Elle s'applique à tous les cas, sauf exception. Quand il s'agit d'une législation d'exception, elle doit être interprétée de façon restrictive et toute énumération contenue dans une réglementation d'exception doit être limitative. On ne peut faire entrer de nouvelles catégories dans cette législation d'exception. Nous en avons une preuve très nette dans la coutume démocratique elle-même, qui est en général de voter à la majorité simple. Cela découle également du paragraphe 3 du même Article 18, qui dit que les décisions sur les autres questions sont prises à la majorité simple. Il ne s'agit donc pas d'une énumération ou d'une limitation; il s'agit de toutes les autres questions.

137. Comme les problèmes coloniaux sont d'une nature différente de celle des problèmes qui rentrent dans le cadre des "recommandations relatives au maintien de la paix et de la sécurité internationales", il est clair et évident qu'un problème colonial ne peut pas être inclus dans ces recommandations.

138. On pourrait démontrer cela de plusieurs façons, on pourrait invoquer plusieurs arguments, mais il me suffira de dire que la paix et la guerre que vise ce membre de phrase supposent au moins deux belligérants alors que, dans le problème colonial, il n'y a qu'un partenaire, le colonisateur. On ne pourrait pas dire, par exemple, que le Mozambique a déclaré la guerre au Portugal, ou que l'Angola a signé la paix avec le Portugal. Il faudrait qu'il y ait d'abord eu la libération de ces territoires. Après cela, une paix pourrait être signée ou une guerre engagée, et elles pourraient être considérées comme telles par les deux pays en cause.

139. Je vous dis cela pour vous démontrer le caractère très spécial du problème colonial où l'indépendance du colonisé n'est pas reconnue et où celui-ci ne peut, par conséquent, être considéré comme belligérant en droit. On parle de "lutte de libération", on parle de "révolution" mais, en droit, on ne peut parler d'une guerre internationale entre deux belligérants. Or, c'est ce dernier cas que vise l'Article 18.

140. Lorsqu'il s'agit d'une législation d'exception, les précédents eux-mêmes doivent être interprétés restrictivement, ce qui signifie que si, à un moment donné, l'Assemblée générale a décidé d'adopter une résolution sur un sujet déterminé à une majorité des deux tiers, cette décision ne s'applique qu'à ce sujet déterminé, à l'année où elle a été prise, à une session déterminée. En effet, on ne peut pas interpréter de façon large l'application d'une législation ou d'une stipulation d'exception.

141. Enfin, la majorité des deux tiers, ou des trois quarts quelquefois — car on sait que dans certaines constitutions on exige une majorité des trois quarts pour amender ou remanier la constitution — enfin, toute majorité autre que la majorité simple est faite précisément pour protéger le statu quo légal, le statu quo constitutionnel, l'état présent, pour empêcher les changements. Cela est tout à fait évident.

142. Or, la résolution 1514 (XV) nous fait un devoir de favoriser la décolonisation. La Charte elle-même,

dans le premier paragraphe de l'Article 73, nous impose l'obligation de favoriser le processus de décolonisation, et non pas d'y faire obstacle. Or, exiger une majorité des deux tiers pour l'adoption de projets de résolution sur les sujets coloniaux augmente les obstacles, retarde l'évolution vers la libération, empêche un processus rapide de décolonisation. La majorité des deux tiers protège le statu quo existant. Or, le statu quo existant, c'est le statu quo colonial, et il s'agit de décoloniser. Personne, je crois, ne peut imaginer que l'Assemblée pourrait être saisie d'un projet de résolution prévoyant d'établir une colonie nouvelle. Cela est impensable. Quelqu'un peut-il imaginer qu'on pourrait établir une colonie nouvelle? Pour l'adoption d'un tel projet, il serait bon d'avoir la majorité des deux tiers, non de protéger le peuple de la colonie éventuelle et d'éviter qu'il ne subisse pas un nouveau colonialisme. Cette majorité est une majorité d'exception, de protection contre certaines innovations. Mais quand l'innovation va dans le sens de la décolonisation, tous les membres de l'Assemblée ont l'obligation de la favoriser, de la faciliter.

143. Ces considérations, venant s'ajouter à celles que d'autres délégations ont déjà exprimées, devraient nous aider à renforcer l'interprétation de la Charte qui est la plus conforme aux intérêts et à la libération des peuples.

144. M. De PINIES (Espagne) [traduit de l'espagnol]: Je dois avouer que ma délégation se trouve dans une situation particulière. Je ne nierai pas que toute ma sympathie va à la demande présentée par les représentants du Mali et de la Guinée appuyés par un grand nombre de pays.

145. Je ne vous cacherai pas non plus que ma délégation s'est trouvée dans une situation assez embarrassante lorsqu'elle a pris connaissance de la motion présentée par les Etats-Unis d'Amérique [A/L.478]. Elle pense toutefois que, dans les circonstances actuelles et eu égard aux problèmes qui se posent à l'Assemblée, nous ne pouvons pas contester le précédent sur lequel nous nous sommes appuyés tout au long de cette session au cours de laquelle nous avons travaillé avec une intensité qui est presque sans égale.

146. En fait, ma délégation se trouve devant le problème suivant: le neuvième considérant de la résolution A/L.476/Rev.1 fait état des problèmes qui "constituent une menace à la paix et à la sécurité internationales". Le paragraphe 12 du dispositif mentionne, en particulier, le démantèlement des bases militaires. Le paragraphe 13 du même dispositif fait à nouveau mention d'une menace à la paix et à la sécurité internationales.

147. Si ma mémoire ne me trompe pas, nous avons examiné, il y a quelques jours [1398ème séance, par. 116 et 117] une question aussi importante que celle des 26 territoires à propos de laquelle le projet de résolution V [A/6160, par. 50] a été soumis à l'Assemblée; or, il était dit dans ce projet de résolution que l'existence de bases militaires constituait un obstacle à l'indépendance de ces peuples et, au paragraphe suivant, on en demandait le démantèlement et l'Assemblée a procédé à un vote pour confirmer la

décision de la présidence en vertu de laquelle ces deux paragraphes devaient être supprimés.

148. Malgré la suppression de ces deux paragraphes, un nombre important, extrêmement important même, de délégations a voté pour le projet de résolution en question. Et les délégations qui ont voté pour ce projet de résolution représentaient notamment l'un des secteurs le plus important du monde; je ne dirai pas le plus important, mais probablement l'un des principaux. Cela ne les a pas empêchés de s'abstenir lors du vote sur le projet de résolution suivant qui ne faisait pas mention de bases militaires; c'est probablement la raison pour laquelle elles ont décidé de s'abstenir.

149. Les questions qui constituent une menace à la paix et à la sécurité internationales et les problèmes relatifs aux bases militaires suscitent une certaine méfiance et une certaine crainte parmi de nombreuses délégations. Ceci est probablement dû — et ma délégation n'hésite pas à l'affirmer — au fait que nous n'en sommes pas encore, en matière de désarmement, au point où il serait possible de démanteler les bases et au fait qu'un certain nombre de pays croit qu'il n'est pas possible de faire droit à des demandes de cette nature tant que le désarmement général et complet n'aura pas fait davantage de progrès. Sans juger nécessaire d'accepter la proposition formulée par les Etats-Unis qui voudraient que tout le projet de résolution, sans discrimination, fasse l'objet d'un vote à la majorité des deux tiers, ma délégation pense que l'on pourrait voter par division, à la majorité des deux tiers, sur le neuvième considérant, qui dit:

"Pleinement consciente du fait que la persistance du régime colonial et de la pratique de l'apartheid ainsi que de toutes les formes de discrimination raciale constitue une menace à la paix et à la sécurité internationales et un crime contre l'humanité".

Après avoir voté sur ce paragraphe, on pourrait, toujours à la majorité des deux tiers, voter sur les paragraphes 12 et 13.

150. Mon pays croit sincèrement que l'on ne saurait tolérer l'existence de bases militaires imposées. Il croit d'autre part que la politique d'apartheid est absolument inacceptable. Mais la session touche à sa fin, et je ne crois pas que ce soit le moment d'engager une discussion interminable. C'est pourquoi je me permets de suggérer, dans l'espoir que les délégations des Etats-Unis et du Mali pourront l'accepter, que seuls ces paragraphes — le neuvième considérant ainsi que le douzième et le treizième paragraphe du dispositif — fassent l'objet d'un vote par division à la majorité des deux tiers, l'ensemble du projet de résolution étant ensuite soumis à un vote à la majorité simple, selon la règle qui a toujours été appliquée aux décisions de l'Assemblée sur les problèmes de décolonisation. Ma délégation fait cette suggestion en vue d'abrégier le débat. J'espère que les membres de l'Assemblée comprendront la situation unique dans laquelle se trouve la délégation espagnole: notre pays est anticolonialiste et il est en même temps puissance administrante. Je crois qu'il n'y a pas de cas semblable au sein des Nations Unies. Dans ces conditions,

ma délégation soumet cette suggestion à la bienveillante attention des représentants.

151. Le PRESIDENT: Les Etats-Unis ont renoncé à leur motion. Par conséquent, la question de priorité entre la motion du Mali et celle des Etats-Unis ne se pose plus. Je vais mettre aux voix la motion soumise par le Mali.

152. M. GOLDBERG (Etats-Unis d'Amérique) [traduit de l'anglais]: Je ne veux pas prolonger le débat. Le représentant de l'Espagne a fait une suggestion. Etant donné les observations du représentant de la Guinée, je tiens à préciser très nettement, avant que nous passions au vote, que j'aurais accepté cette suggestion. Notre intention n'est pas de demander que les questions coloniales fassent l'objet d'un vote à la majorité des deux tiers. Notre intention est de souligner que certains paragraphes de la résolution ont trait à la paix et à la sécurité internationales au sens de la Charte, c'est pourquoi j'avais soulevé la question. C'est pour nous une question de principe non pas de politique.

153. Je voudrais faire observer qu'en 1961, un projet de résolution a été soumis par le Cameroun, la République centrafricaine, le Tchad, le Congo (Brazzaville), le Dahomey, le Gabon, la Côte d'Ivoire, Madagascar, la Mauritanie, le Niger, le Sénégal, le Togo et la Haute-Volta. Il a été mis aux voix le 27 novembre 1961 [1065ème séance]. Il avait pour titre: "Situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux". Il se rapportait, comme les paragraphes en cause, à la paix et à la sécurité internationales. Ceci, je pense, répond pleinement à l'allégation du représentant de l'Union soviétique selon laquelle lorsqu'une résolution a été adoptée dans ce domaine, les résolutions de mise en œuvre n'exigent pas la majorité des deux tiers.

154. Nous avons voté pour ce projet de résolution, comme beaucoup d'autres pays — Nigéria, Norvège, Panama, Paraguay, Pérou, Cameroun, République centrafricaine, Tchad, Chili, Colombie, Congo (Brazzaville), Dahomey, etc. —, d'autres ont voté contre. Le résultat du vote a été le suivant: 53 voix pour, 41 contre, avec 9 abstentions. La décision a été la suivante: "N'ayant pas obtenu la majorité des deux tiers requise, le projet de résolution n'est pas adopté." Nous faisons partie de la majorité, de la majorité simple, mais nous ne nous sommes pas élevés contre cette décision.

155. Je tiens à préciser que nous n'avons pas retiré notre motion. J'ai dit que nous n'insisterions pas pour qu'elle soit mise aux voix en priorité, le représentant du Mali ayant fait observer qu'il avait déposé sa motion avant nous.

156. Enfin, je souligne que ce n'est pas nous qui avons soulevé la question. Elle a été soulevée par la motion du représentant du Mali. Nous aurions été pleinement satisfaits si l'on avait procédé au vote et déterminé ensuite, de la façon normale — comme on l'a fait lors du vote dont je viens de faire mention —, la règle qu'il convenait d'appliquer.

157. M. COULIBALY (Mali): A la suite des suggestions et des propositions qui ont été faites après ma

dernière intervention, je voudrais réaffirmer que, pour des questions de principe, ma délégation ainsi que les coauteurs du projet de résolution maintiennent la motion que j'ai présentée, c'est-à-dire que nous persistons dans notre motion demandant que le projet de résolution, dans son ensemble, fasse l'objet d'un vote à la majorité simple. Nous ne pensons pas qu'il soit juste de soumettre certains paragraphes de ce projet de résolution à la règle de majorité simple et d'autres à celle de la majorité des deux tiers.

158. On a généralisé le problème des bases ici pour créer de la confusion; on a parlé du désarmement. Mais, dans le projet de résolution, il ne s'agit pas des bases militaires situées dans des pays indépendants. Nous continuons à croire que les bases militaires installées dans les pays indépendants l'ont été parce que les gouvernements et les peuples de ces pays le veulent très certainement.

159. Cependant, en ce qui concerne l'Angola, le Mozambique ou la Guinée dite portugaise, il s'agit de bases colonialistes qui n'ont pas été installées à la demande d'un gouvernement ou d'un peuple, de bases militaires qui serviront à opprimer la population de ces pays. Ce sont précisément ces bases militaires que nous voulons voir démanteler.

160. Il ne faut pas créer la confusion en parlant du désarmement général ou en parlant du problème des bases dans son ensemble.

161. Nous demandons que les bases qui se trouvent dans les territoires coloniaux, qui ont été installés sans la consultation ni l'accord des populations et qui, par conséquent, constituent une entrave, une violation du droit de ces populations, nous voulons, dis-je, que ces bases soient démantelées. Mais il ne s'agit pas des bases se trouvant dans des pays indépendants, qui ne rentrent pas dans le contexte de la discussion actuelle.

162. J'ai tenu à apporter cette précision pour éviter toute confusion en ce qui concerne nos intentions. Nous n'entendons nullement nous mêler des affaires intérieures des pays souverains, des pays indépendants qui, dans le cadre des alliances qu'ils ont contractées, ont des bases militaires installées dans leurs pays. Il s'agit ici des bases militaires qui se trouvent en Angola, au Mozambique, et je ne pense pas que, dans cette assemblée, il y ait des délégations qui veuillent que ces bases soient maintenues dans ces pays pour, chaque jour, y tuer des populations innocentes. C'est le démantèlement de ces bases que nous demandons.

163. M. MOROZOV (Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques) [traduit du russe]: Je voudrais préciser la situation en ce qui concerne la procédure que nous allons suivre. Comme nous avons fait la semaine dernière une expérience assez pénible, sur laquelle nous ne voulons pas revenir, ni au propre ni au figuré, j'aimerais apporter les précisions suivantes.

164. Si nous adoptons la motion présentée par le représentant du Mali, cela signifiera que le projet de résolution dans son ensemble aussi bien que chacune de ses parties, chacune de ses virgules — si un vote séparé est demandé sur une virgule —, sera adopté à la majorité simple.

165. Je répète: si nous adoptons la proposition du Mali, cela signifiera, selon l'interprétation que lui donnent l'Assemblée et son Président — et j'espère que j'interprète correctement l'intention de la délégation du Mali —, si donc cette proposition est adoptée, cela signifiera que le projet de résolution dont nous sommes saisis fera l'objet, dans sa totalité aussi bien que pour chacune des parties qui pourront être mises aux voix séparément, d'un vote à la majorité simple.

166. Si je me trompais, j'aimerais que la question soit tirée au clair avant le vote. Mais je pense que ce que je viens de dire est évident; si je l'ai cependant fait, c'est pour éviter tout malentendu après le vote, comme cela s'est produit la semaine dernière.

167. Le PRESIDENT: Le représentant des Etats-Unis n'insiste pas pour que l'on vote sur sa motion en priorité. En conséquence, je vais mettre aux voix la motion du représentant du Mali. Il est bien entendu que si cette motion est adoptée, la question sera réglée à la majorité simple.

168. M. MOROZOV (Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques) [traduit du russe]: Je vous demanderai, Monsieur le Président, de m'excuser mais vous parlez magnifiquement une langue dont j'ai récemment seulement abordé l'étude. Aussi suis-je obligé de vérifier parfois si j'ai bien compris ce que vous venez de dire. Dans l'interprétation qui a été faite en langue russe de votre dernière intervention, je ne vous ai pas entendu confirmer que, au cas où la proposition du représentant du Mali serait adoptée, cela signifiera que le projet de résolution dans son ensemble ainsi que n'importe laquelle de ses parties qui fera l'objet d'un vote séparé seront adoptés à la majorité simple.

169. Je n'ai malheureusement pas d'écouteurs pour vérifier maintenant comment ma propre intervention vous est interprétée en français. S'il n'existe pas de divergence de vues entre nous, je vous prierai de m'excuser et je m'excuserai en même temps auprès de l'Assemblée d'avoir pris à nouveau la parole.

170. Le PRESIDENT: Le représentant de l'Union soviétique a exactement compris ce que j'ai dit. J'invite maintenant l'Assemblée à voter sur la motion soumise par le représentant du Mali, visant à ce que, lors du vote sur le projet de résolution A/L.476/Rev.1 et Add.1 — et sur tous les éléments de ce projet —, le principe de la majorité simple soit appliqué. On a demandé le vote par appel nominal.

Il est procédé au vote par appel nominal.

L'appel commence par la Syrie, dont le nom est tiré au sort par le Président.

Votent pour: Syrie, Tunisie, République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine, Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques, République arabe unie, République-Unie de Tanzanie, Haute-Volta, Yémen, Yougoslavie, Zambie, Afghanistan, Albanie, Algérie, Bulgarie, Birmanie, Burundi, République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie, République centrafricaine, Ceylan, Tchad, Congo (Brazzaville), Cuba, Chypre, Tchécoslovaquie, Ethiopie, Gabon, Ghana, Grèce, Guinée, Hongrie, Inde, Irak, Côte d'Ivoire, Jamaïque, Jordanie, Kenya, Koweït, Liban, Libéria, Libye, Malawi,

Mali, Mauritanie, Mongolie, Maroc, Népal, Niger, Nigéria, Pakistan, Philippines, Pologne, Roumanie, Rwanda, Arabie Saoudite, Sénégal, Sierra Leone, Singapour, Somalie, Soudan.

Votent contre: Thaïlande, Turquie, Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord, Etats-Unis d'Amérique, Uruguay, Venezuela, Argentine, Australie, Autriche, Belgique, Bolivie, Brésil, Canada, Chili, Chine, Colombie, Costa Rica, Danemark, République Dominicaine, Equateur, El Salvador, Finlande, France, Guatemala, Honduras, Islande, Iran, Irlande, Israël, Italie, Japon, Laos, Luxembourg, Mexique, Pays-Bas, Nouvelle-Zélande, Nicaragua, Norvège, Panama, Paraguay, Pérou, Portugal, Afrique du Sud, Espagne, Suède.

S'abstiennent: Trinité-et-Tobago, Haïti, Madagascar, Malaisie.

Par 59 voix contre 45, avec 4 abstentions, la motion est adoptée.

171. Le **PRESIDENT**: Avant de passer au vote sur le projet de résolution qui figure au document A/L.476/Rev.1 et Add.1, j'aimerais attirer l'attention des membres de l'Assemblée sur le rapport de la Cinquième Commission [A/6134], qui expose les incidences financières des recommandations du Comité spécial figurant au paragraphe 109 du chapitre 1er de son rapport [A/6000/Rev.1], recommandations qui, à ce que je crois savoir, sont reprises dans le projet de résolution. D'autre part, certains représentants ayant demandé à expliquer leur vote avant le scrutin, je vais leur donner la parole.

172. M. EDWARDSSEN (Norvège) [traduit de l'anglais]: Je voudrais exposer brièvement notre position à l'égard du projet de résolution dont nous sommes saisis [A/L.476/Rev.1 et Corr.1 et Rev.1/Add.1]. Mais auparavant je tiens à déclarer que nous avons voté contre la motion qui vient d'être adoptée parce que nous considérons que le projet de résolution sur lequel nous allons voter est très important. L'Assemblée vient de décider qu'il ne s'agissait pas d'une question "importante" au sens que la Charte donne à ce mot et je ne sais pas quelles conclusions mon Gouvernement tirera de cette décision.

173. Nous aurions voulu voter pour le projet de résolution car nous approuvons les objectifs proposés par les auteurs qui aspirent à mettre fin au colonialisme. Dans le passé, la délégation norvégienne a voté pour la principale résolution relative à l'application de la déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, résolution qui demande notamment au Comité spécial de poursuivre son importante mission. Toutefois, nous regrettons de devoir dire que, cette année, le projet de résolution présente certains aspects que nous ne pouvons pas accepter.

174. Tout d'abord, l'avant-dernier paragraphe du préambule contient une affirmation générale qui reflète le Chapitre VII de la Charte dans la mesure où il est dit que "la persistance du régime colonial ... constitue(nt) une menace à la paix et à la sécurité internationales". La position de la Norvège à cet égard est bien connue. Elle estime que, conformément à l'Article 39 de la Charte, c'est au Conseil de sécurité qu'il appartient de déterminer qu'il existe une menace à la paix.

175. En outre, certains paragraphes du dispositif présentent des difficultés pour ma délégation. Il semble ressortir du paragraphe 11 que les Etats Membres sont invités à appliquer des sanctions économiques à certains pays. Mon Gouvernement soutient que c'est là encore une prérogative du Conseil de sécurité.

176. Enfin, dans la demande faite, de façon générale, aux puissances coloniales de "démanteler les bases militaires installées dans les territoires coloniaux et de s'abstenir d'en établir de nouvelles", on ne tient pas compte de l'opinion et de l'attitude des habitants des territoires intéressés. En conséquence, ma délégation ne peut pas l'accepter.

177. La Norvège devra donc s'abstenir lors du vote sur le projet de résolution soumis à l'Assemblée.

178. M. MELLBIN (Danemark) [traduit de l'anglais]: La position du Danemark à l'égard des problèmes de décolonisation a toujours été celle d'un pays épris de progrès et nous sommes fermement convaincus que l'Organisation des Nations Unies a un rôle extrêmement important à jouer dans le processus de décolonisation. C'est pourquoi, nous avons appuyé le projet de création du Comité spécial et toutes les résolutions visant à proroger son mandat ainsi que celles qui déterminaient les grandes lignes de la politique de l'Organisation des Nations Unies en ce qui concerne les problèmes coloniaux. En outre, nous avons eu le privilège de siéger au sein de ce Comité pendant quelques années et nous espérons qu'en participant à ses importants travaux, nous avons également apporté une contribution positive, bien que modeste, à son œuvre. Nous estimons nous aussi que le Comité doit poursuivre sa tâche.

179. C'est donc avec le plus profond regret que ma délégation ne pourra pas se prononcer en faveur du projet de résolution tel qu'il nous est présenté dans le document A/L.476/Rev.1 et Corr.1, et Rev.1/Add.1. Ce projet va beaucoup plus loin que toutes les résolutions antérieures relatives à la question générale de la décolonisation et il soulève de nombreuses questions offrant matière à controverse. Il y a naturellement dans ce projet un certain nombre de paragraphes que nous sommes en mesure d'appuyer, comme le prouve nettement notre vote sur les résolutions des sessions précédentes relatives au problème général du colonialisme. Mais nous ne pouvons pas appuyer le présent projet de résolution. Je ne mentionnerai que nous principales objections.

180. Nous ne pouvons pas accepter la constatation trop générale de l'existence d'une menace à la paix et à la sécurité qui ressort du neuvième considérant. Nous pensons que le paragraphe 11 du dispositif n'est pas de la compétence de l'Assemblée générale. Nous ne pouvons pas appuyer la demande faite aux puissances coloniales aux termes du paragraphe 12 du dispositif — notamment parce que nous croyons qu'elle a pour but non pas la décolonisation mais quelque chose de tout à fait différent. Nous ne pensons pas que l'Assemblée générale puisse ou doive, comme il est suggéré au paragraphe 13 du dispositif, déléguer son pouvoir de faire des recommandations au Conseil de sécurité.

181. Telles sont les raisons qui détermineront aujourd'hui le vote du Danemark — lequel n'indique nullement un changement d'attitude du gouvernement qui appuiera toujours sincèrement le processus de décolonisation.

182. M. ZOHRAB (Nouvelle-Zélande) [traduit de l'anglais]: La délégation néo-zélandaise regrette de devoir dire qu'elle votera contre le projet de résolution [A/L.476/Rev.1 et Corr.1 et Rev.1/Add.1] relatif à l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. Je ne parlerai pas de la question de principe et de procédure qui vient de faire l'objet d'un long débat.

183. Notre vote contre la proposition du Mali indique nettement quelle est notre position et il est je crois conforme aux dispositions de la Charte. Nous n'avons jamais, dans le passé, voté contre les projets de résolution qui visaient à mettre la Déclaration en œuvre — notamment celui qui prorogeait le mandat du Comité spécial des Vingt-Quatre. La Nouvelle-Zélande a constamment défendu la Déclaration, elle s'est efforcée sincèrement de la mettre en œuvre dans les quelques îles qu'elle administre encore et elle a apprécié dans une large mesure le travail accompli par les membres du Comité spécial de décolonisation. Le Comité s'est, je crois, réuni plus souvent au cours de l'année dernière ou de ces dix-huit derniers mois que n'importe quel autre organe politique des Nations Unies et ses membres, sous la présidence de l'éminent représentant du Mali, ont dû prendre connaissance d'une multitude de documents sur des dizaines de territoires. Si l'on ne peut toujours se rallier à leurs conclusions, on ne peut qu'admirer leur dévouement et c'est pourquoi la délégation néo-zélandaise leur rend hommage.

184. Bref, l'opposition de la Nouvelle-Zélande à ce projet de résolution n'est pas une opposition à la mise en œuvre de la Déclaration ou à la prorogation du mandat du Comité spécial — nous les appuyons l'un et l'autre. Notre opposition doit être interprétée comme une protestation que nous élevons parce que l'on n'a pas su établir une distinction entre les diverses situations coloniales — et ceci est plus sensible ici, nous semble-t-il, que dans les résolutions analogues adoptées dans le passé. On le constate particulièrement dans le neuvième considérant, mais également dans d'autres paragraphes. La délégation néo-zélandaise ne conteste pas qu'il y ait lieu d'appliquer, par exemple, une grande partie de ce qui est dit du colonialisme dans ce projet de résolution à la situation au Sud-Ouest africain, pour ne citer qu'un exemple, elle conteste qu'il en soit de même pour les îles Tokélaou placées sous administration néo-zélandaise.

185. Ce cas particulier nous servira d'exemple pour faire mieux comprendre la question. Les îles Tokelau sont un archipel constitué par trois petits anneaux de sable de corail situés dans le Pacifique à quelque cinq cents kilomètres au nord de Samoa. La surface totale des terres est d'environ dix kilomètres carrés. La population compte à peu près deux mille âmes. En aucun point, les flots ne s'élèvent à plus de cinq mètres au-dessus du niveau de la mer, si bien qu'ils risquent à tout moment d'être submergés par des vagues sismiques. Ces îles ont peu de possibilité de

développement économique et leur économie est subventionnée par la Nouvelle-Zélande. Il n'y a pas de présence "coloniale" permanente en tant que telle dans les îles, et la plupart du temps la population administre ses affaires au moyen de conseils locaux. La seule présence militaire est celle d'un hydravion de la Royal New Zealand Air Force venant de temps à autre chercher des malades qui ont besoin de soins ou d'un navire de la Marine chargé de faire sauter un récif afin d'ouvrir un passage aux bateaux des insulaires.

186. Les 2 000 habitants des îles ont, bien entendu, le droit de décider de leur sort, y compris le droit d'accéder à l'indépendance — aussi irréalisable que cela puisse être dans la pratique — et le droit de devenir membre de l'Organisation des Nations Unies tout aussi bien que n'importe quel groupe d'habitants de la région. La population aussi bien que les gouvernements intéressés ont rejeté toute idée d'association sous quelque forme que ce soit — même s'ils recevaient une subvention de la Nouvelle-Zélande — avec leurs voisins, le Samoa occidental et les îles Cook. Leur sort est donc toujours incertain. Nombre d'habitants des Tokelau semblent rêver au jour où ils pourront s'installer dans d'autres archipels ou en Nouvelle-Zélande. Les auteurs de la résolution dont nous sommes saisis peuvent-ils nous demander de voter pour un texte qui affirme, aux termes de son neuvième considérant, que l'existence de cette situation constitue une menace à la paix et à la sécurité internationales et un crime contre l'humanité? Nous pensons que telle n'était pas l'intention des auteurs du projet de résolution. Ils se préoccupent, à juste titre, de la situation en Afrique du Sud, et c'est en tenant compte de cette situation que les spécialistes lisent ce projet de résolution. Mais, hors de l'Assemblée, on pensera que des constatations générales telles que celles qui figurent dans le neuvième considérant, sans aucune phrase explicative, s'appliquent à toutes les colonies, y compris par exemple les îles Tokelau. On peut naturellement voter pour une résolution en faisant des réserves mentales ou sans la prendre au sérieux. Mais ce n'est ni honnête ni utile pour les peuples intéressés ou pour l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Ma délégation estime que si l'Assemblée n'est pas disposée à établir des distinctions, si elle recourt aux formules toutes faites et aux généralisations, elle jettera le discrédit sur son œuvre et le mandat qu'elle a reçu de contribuer à la décolonisation, aux derniers stades du processus, sera remis en question.

187. La Nouvelle-Zélande se félicite tout particulièrement de constater, au paragraphe 8 du dispositif, que le Comité spécial sera prié de porter une attention particulière aux petits territoires. Mais nous ne pensons pas que les divers paragraphes du projet de résolution, qui ne savent pas établir de distinction, soient, pour cette demande, un contexte satisfaisant. En conséquence, nous ne pouvons pas appuyer le projet de résolution tel qu'il est rédigé.

188. Le PRESIDENT: J'invite l'Assemblée à voter sur le projet de résolution des 33 puissances [A/L.476/Rev.1 et Add.1]. On a demandé le vote par division pour le neuvième considérant et pour les paragraphes 12 et 13.

189. S'il n'y a pas d'objections, je mettrai successivement aux voix les parties du projet pour lesquelles on a demandé un vote séparé.

Par 63 voix contre 16, avec 22 abstentions, le neuvième considérant est adopté.

Par 49 voix contre 37, avec 18 abstentions, le paragraphe 12 est adopté.

Par 66 voix contre 15, avec 24 abstentions, le paragraphe 13 est adopté.

190. Le PRESIDENT: Je mets aux voix l'ensemble du projet de résolution. On a demandé le vote par appel nominal.

Il est procédé au vote par appel nominal.

L'appel commence par la République centrafricaine, dont le nom est tiré au sort par le Président.

Votent pour: République centrafricaine, Tchad, Chili, Colombie, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (République démocratique du), Cuba, Chypre, Tchécoslovaquie, Ethiopie, Gabon, Ghana, Grèce, Guinée, Haïti, Hongrie, Inde, Iran, Irak, Israël, Côte d'Ivoire, Jamaïque, Jordanie, Kenya, Laos, Liban, Libéria, Libye, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaisie, Mali, Mauritanie, Mexique, Mongolie, Maroc, Népal, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Pérou, Pologne, Roumanie, Rwanda, Arabie Saoudite, Sénégal, Sierra Leone, Singapour, Somalie, Soudan, Syrie, Thaïlande, Tunisie, Turquie, République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine, Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques, République arabe unie, République-Unie de Tanzanie, Haute-Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yémen, Yougoslavie, Zambie, Afghanistan, Albanie, Algérie, Argentine, Bolivie, Bulgarie, Birmanie, Burundi, République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie, Cameroun.

Votent contre: Nouvelle-Zélande, Portugal, Afrique du Sud, Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord, Etats-Unis d'Amérique, Australie.

S'abstiennent: Chine, Costa Rica, Danemark, République Dominicaine, El Salvador, Finlande, France, Guatemala, Honduras, Islande, Irlande, Italie, Japon, Luxembourg, Pays-Bas, Nicaragua, Norvège, Panama, Paraguay, Philippines, Espagne, Suède, Trinité-et-Tobago, Autriche, Belgique, Brésil, Canada.

Par 74 voix contre 6, avec 27 abstentions, l'ensemble du projet de résolution est adopté.

191. Le PRESIDENT: Je vais donner successivement la parole aux représentants qui désirent expliquer leur vote.

192. M. DIAZ GONZALEZ (Venezuela) [traduit de l'espagnol]: Nous considérons que le paragraphe 10 du projet de résolution A/L.476/Rev.1 et Add.1 que nous venons de voter se rapporte à l'aide prévue par les dispositions de la Charte des Nations Unies. Si l'on avait voté par division sur ce paragraphe, nous nous serions abstenus.

193. Nous nous serions également abstenus sur le paragraphe 11 parce que nous considérons, comme nous l'avons dit à d'autres occasions, que la décision de prendre des sanctions contre un Etat Membre ne peut être prise que par le Conseil de sécurité conformément aux dispositions de la Charte.

194. Nous avons voté contre le paragraphe 12 pour des raisons qui sont bien connues de tous. Notre position n'a pas changé, nous l'avons exposée à maintes reprises. Nous ne pouvons pas admettre que, sous prétexte d'anticolonialisme, on introduise, dans un projet de résolution relatif à des questions coloniales, des questions marginales ou même totalement étrangères à ce domaine afin d'obliger les Etats qui sont anticolonialistes par essence et non pour de simples raisons politiques ou de propagande à voter des mesures qui favorisent d'autres Etats et non les peuples colonisés.

195. Nous avons voté pour le projet de résolution dans son ensemble parce qu'il contient des principes que nous avons toujours défendus et parce qu'il apporte de nouveaux éléments qui nous paraissent justes, notamment le paragraphe 5 du dispositif. Il y est fait appel aux puissances coloniales pour qu'elles mettent fin à leur politique qui viole les droits des peuples coloniaux par l'afflux systématique d'immigrants étrangers et par la dispersion, la déportation et le transfert des autochtones.

196. Nous interprétons ce paragraphe comme s'appliquant à toutes les catégories d'immigrants étrangers quelle que soit leur origine. Il faut, à notre avis, que l'Organisation des Nations Unies se préoccupe du sort des populations autochtones de certaines colonies. Son devoir fondamental est de protéger ces populations. L'indépendance seule ne suffit pas. Si nous laissons ces populations à la merci d'un nouveau colonialisme reposant sur une société où règnent un système de castes et le racisme, au lendemain même de leur accession à l'indépendance, ces populations autochtones seront soumises à l'autorité de la majorité étrangère.

197. L'Organisation des Nations Unies doit donc penser à assurer la protection des populations autochtones contre ces communautés étrangères qui désirent allier la domination politique à la supériorité économique dont elles jouissent déjà grâce à la connivence des puissances coloniales, sous prétexte d'appliquer le principe "un homme, une voix". Ces communautés ont même pris les armes pour soutenir le colonisateur contre les populations autochtones d'Afrique, comme le prouvent les comptes rendus des séances que le Comité spécial des Vingt-Quatre a tenues dans cette région et en particulier les déclarations des pétitionnaires qu'il a entendus.

198. Je demande, en terminant, que mon explication de vote figure in extenso dans le compte rendu de la présente séance et à cette fin j'en remettrai le texte au Secrétariat.

199. M. PATRICIO (Portugal) [traduit de l'anglais]: Ma délégation a voté contre le projet de résolution A/L.476/Rev.1 et Corr.1 et Rev.1/Add.1 pour des raisons qui ressortent du texte même de la résolution. Cette résolution fait mention de mon pays d'une façon discriminatoire injustifiée et absolument inadmissible. Elle contient en outre des paragraphes que ma délégation ne peut pas accepter parce qu'ils constituent une violation flagrante des principes énoncés par la Charte. Ma délégation proteste énergiquement contre les tentatives réitérées d'ingérence dans les affaires qui concernent la structure constitutionnelle

de mon pays et contre l'obstination que l'on met à nous accuser de porter atteinte à la paix et à la sécurité internationales, malgré les conclusions du Conseil de sécurité.

200. A ce propos, dans un souci d'exactitude, ma délégation souhaite préciser nettement qu'il n'y a nulle part de bases militaires dans nos provinces portugaises d'Angola, de Mozambique ou de Guinée portugaise, comme on l'a prétendu dans cette enceinte. Les forces portugaises de sécurité que l'on peut trouver dans ces provinces sont là afin de protéger les populations contre les actes de violence auxquels ils peuvent être soumis par des éléments de l'extérieur.

201. Chacun connaît l'opinion de ma délégation sur la question de la décolonisation; elle est malheureusement souvent mal interprétée. Il ne serait donc pas déplacé de rappeler à l'Assemblée que ma délégation a toujours favorisé la décolonisation dans les régions où le colonialisme sévit vraiment. Mais ma délégation regrette que l'Organisation n'examine jamais les situations vraiment coloniales qui existent aujourd'hui dans le monde. Ma délégation a le regret de constater que l'on ferme les yeux sur de nombreux cas d'injustice flagrante, qui réclament réparation et remède, uniquement parce que certaines puissances veulent camoufler les objectifs politiques de leur politique étrangère.

202. Il n'est peut-être pas trop tard pour espérer que l'on comblera cette lacune dans un proche avenir.

203. M. GIMENEZ MELO (Argentine) [traduit de l'espagnol]: L'Argentine a adopté une ligne de conduite sans équivoque en appuyant toujours l'action décolonisatrice de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, action fondée sur les principes essentiels de la Charte et consacrée par la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale. C'est pourquoi elle a voté pour le projet de résolution A/L.476/Rev.1 et Add.1 qui approuve, en termes généralement mesurés et justes, l'action du Comité spécial et appuie les efforts qu'il pourra déployer à l'avenir pour mettre fin au colonialisme en tant lieu et sous toutes ses formes.

204. Toutefois, si elle avait eu la possibilité de se prononcer séparément sur d'autres paragraphes, ma délégation se serait abstenue sur le paragraphe 10, parce qu'il prête à confusion entre les prétendus mouvements de libération nationale généralement fomentés de l'étranger dans une intention qui n'est pas toujours de promouvoir l'indépendance et les véritables mouvements révolutionnaires des peuples, et sur le paragraphe 11 parce qu'il enlève aux peuples des petits pays, qui ne sont pas responsables de la politique de leurs gouvernements, la possibilité de bénéficier de l'aide au développement économique et social.

205. Sur le paragraphe 12, la délégation argentine s'est abstenue parce que, comme elle l'a dit à maintes reprises, elle considère que, bien que l'existence de bases militaires puisse, dans certains cas, constituer un obstacle au processus normal d'accès à l'indépendance d'un territoire, c'est aux futures autorités de ce territoire que revient le droit souverain de prendre une décision en la matière.

206. Avec ces réserves qui impliquent une abstention sur les paragraphes 10 et 11, ma délégation a appuyé avec satisfaction un projet qui réaffirme la décision de la majorité des Etats Membres de poursuivre sans relâche la tâche qui doit leur permettre de liquider le colonialisme.

207. Lord CARADON (Royaume-Uni) [traduit de l'anglais]: Je voudrais tout d'abord dire un mot du vote auquel nous avons procédé au début de l'après-midi sur la proposition dont les auteurs prétendent que la résolution que nous venons d'adopter ne constitue pas une question importante au sens de la Charte. C'est ce qui découle de la décision de ne pas appliquer au vote sur la résolution la règle de la majorité des deux tiers. Je dois avouer que j'ai été étonné de voir tant de représentants appuyer cette proposition. Quant à moi, il me semble évident, comme le penseront beaucoup d'autres, hors de cette enceinte et ici même, que la question qui fait l'objet de nos débats est une question importante et le nier est à mon avis diminuer de valeur des résolutions adoptées par l'Assemblée.

208. Pour des raisons que nous avons souvent exposées par ailleurs, nous ne pouvons pas approuver certaines parties de la résolution et en conséquence nous avons voté contre le projet dans son ensemble.

209. Je ne veux pas en rester là. Je ne voudrais pas que l'on puisse croire que, dans un domaine aussi important, qui intéresse mon pays autant qu'aucun autre pays au monde, nous avons adopté une attitude et une politique négatives. Bien au contraire. Nos principes et nos objectifs sont clairs et ils sont tout à fait positifs; partout où nous avons eu à porter le fardeau de la responsabilité, nous les avons poursuivis opiniâtement.

210. Nous croyons qu'aucune nation, aucun peuple, aucune race ne doit se laisser dominer par une autre nation, un autre peuple, une autre race.

211. Nous croyons que toutes les nations doivent pouvoir librement forger leur destin.

212. Nous croyons qu'il faut mettre fin au colonialisme aussi rapidement que possible.

213. Nous croyons que ce processus devrait être mis en œuvre en consultation avec les peuples des pays intéressés.

214. Nous croyons que les besoins et les aspirations de ces peuples devraient passer avant tout.

215. Nous croyons qu'il faut leur donner les moyens de prendre un nouveau départ, dans les meilleures perspectives de progrès économique, avec un système satisfaisant de gouvernement représentatif.

216. Nous croyons que, dans les petits territoires coloniaux dispersés qui existent encore, il faut appliquer les principes et les méthodes dans lesquels nous avons confiance, eux et nous.

217. Grâce à cette politique, nous avons, en moins de 20 ans, mené 26 nations à l'indépendance, nations dont la population représente plus d'un cinquième de la population mondiale. Et aujourd'hui, à peine plus de 1 p. 100 de la population totale du Commonwealth, qui compte 750 millions d'habitants, vit dans des territoires non autonomes et dépendants.

218. Nous sommes résolus à traiter ce 1 p. 100 comme les 99 p. 100 qui sont déjà libres, à aborder honnêtement et sans crainte, dans le respect de leurs aspirations et de leurs intérêts, les problèmes qui se posent à ces populations. Nous achèverons notre tâche comme nous l'avons commencée et comme nous l'avons accomplie jusqu'à présent.

219. Voilà ce que j'avais à dire des résultats obtenus dans le passé. Permettez-moi d'ajouter quatre observations en ce qui concerne l'avenir.

220. Tout d'abord, je respecte les sentiments très vifs qui sont exprimés dans cette résolution, particulièrement par les représentants des pays qui ont réussi à se libérer honorablement du statut colonial. Nous sommes quelquefois en désaccord avec eux sur les méthodes, mais nous sommes en plein accord avec eux sur les objectifs. Ils ne mettront pas en doute, j'espère, que nous partageons leur haine intense de toutes les formes de discrimination raciale et de domination raciale.

221. Deuxièmement, je suis certain que ceux qui expriment ces vifs sentiments comprendront que dans les territoires coloniaux qui existent encore, il subsiste des difficultés réelles, variées et d'un caractère particulier que les grandes déclarations ou les séparations brutales ne réussiront pas à éliminer. Il existe des difficultés réelles et il faut poursuivre les consultations et les entretiens avec les peuples de ces territoires si l'on veut éviter toute injustice et si l'on veut que leur avenir soit un avenir fécond, un avenir de progrès pacifique et de coopération économique.

222. Troisièmement, nous rejetons en grande partie les critiques formulées qui parfois, comme celles, que font régulièrement les états totalitaires, vont à l'encontre des intérêts et des aspirations des peuples intéressés. Cependant, nous avons toujours patiemment tenté d'expliquer et de justifier nos actions et notre politique. Nous continuerons de le faire.

223. Quatrièmement, nous reconnaissons volontiers que ce n'est pas par des mots mais par des actes qu'il faut prouver ce que nous disons et ce que nous prétendons. Mon pays est fier, à juste titre, de ce qu'il a fait en matière d'affranchissement et de libération. Mais bien que nous ayons déjà parcouru la plus grande partie du chemin que nous nous sommes assigné, nous y trouverons encore certaines des plus sérieuses pierres d'achoppement et quelques-uns des problèmes les plus difficiles à résoudre. Nous avons montré, et nous continuerons de montrer, par nos actes que nous pensons tout ce que nous disons. Il va falloir surmonter les dernières épreuves. Nous sommes résolus à les surmonter car nous savons, pour reprendre des paroles célèbres, que ce qui importe ce n'est pas d'entreprendre de grandes choses mais "que c'est en persévérant dans l'accomplissement d'une tâche jusqu'à ce qu'elle ait été menée à bien que l'on connaît la véritable gloire".

224. Que ce soit en Rhodésie, en Guyane britannique, à Aden ou dans plus d'une vingtaine de petits pays disséminés dans le monde entier, partout on s'attend à juste titre à nous voir prouver que nous poursuivons fidèlement la politique que nous préconisons — poli-

tique qui a été mise à l'épreuve et qui s'est révélée sûre et juste.

225. Nous avons l'obligation de prouver par une action positive et urgente que justice sera faite à tous, que la liberté de choix sera donnée à tous et qu'il en sera fait selon les vœux des populations.

226. Nous n'ignorons pas les difficultés que nous avons encore à vaincre. Nous savons fort bien que la tâche ne sera pas facile et nous connaissons les obstacles et les dangers qu'il nous faudra surmonter. Nous sommes résolus à y faire face et nous sommes résolus à les surmonter. Nous n'esquivons pas nos responsabilités et nous le prouverons dans la pratique, je vous en donne l'assurance. Nous mènerons à bien la tâche qui nous reste à accomplir pour atteindre les objectifs qui nous sont, je crois, communs à tous.

227. M. LOPEZ VILLAMIL (Honduras) [traduit de l'espagnol]: Si le neuvième considérant du projet de résolution A/L.476/Rev.1 et Add.1 ainsi que les paragraphes 12 et 13 de son dispositif avaient été rejetés, ma délégation aurait été disposée à voter pour le projet de résolution dont le texte aurait alors eu un caractère absolument et authentiquement anticolonialiste. Telle est la position que ma délégation a toujours adoptée au sein des Nations Unies, et telle sera sa position à l'avenir.

228. On a tenté d'insinuer, à propos de ce que nous avons dit de l'intégrité de la Charte, que nous nous faisons en quelque sorte les avocats du colonialisme. Cela non plus nous ne pourrions jamais l'accepter. Je ne voudrais pas mentionner la phrase qui dit que "le diable paie bien ceux qui le servent bien", mais la politique étrangère de tous les pays, quand elle est fondée sur des principes, ne peut pas être mal interprétée par ceux qui refusent de respecter l'intégrité avec laquelle certains ont appuyé honnêtement pendant plus de 20 ans, au sein de l'Organisation, des projets de résolution présentés sous une forme pertinente.

229. Nous sommes contre le colonialisme quand il s'agit de véritable colonialisme et non lorsque l'anticolonialisme cherche à dissimuler d'autres intentions et quand ceux qui ont ces intentions ne sont pas précisément les pays qui ont subi le colonialisme sous quelque forme que ce soit mais ceux qui l'imposent à l'aide de forces d'occupation ou de doctrines totalitaires très éloignées des principes de la Charte.

230. M. McCARTHY (Australie) [traduit de l'anglais]: En expliquant le vote de ma délégation sur le projet de résolution contenu dans le document A/L.476/Rev.1 et Corr.1 et Rev.1/Add.1, je voudrais tout d'abord déclarer que nous approuvons les vues exprimées par le représentant des Etats-Unis à propos des principes sur lesquels se fonde sa position en ce qui concerne le vote. Il serait présomptueux de ma part de vouloir développer les arguments présentés par ce juriste de réputation mondiale, la réputation dont il jouit donne à ses observations une valeur toute particulière. En dehors de ce que l'on pourrait appeler les aspects de l'avis juridique sur les diverses questions en cause, on sent dans tout ce qu'il dit une compréhension et une connaissance personnelle et profonde des principes et du cheminement de la pensée dans l'esprit des hommes libres qui ont abouti

à l'élaboration des concepts juridiques et des concepts d'ordre et de progrès qui sont le fondement des grands jugements. De plus, naturellement, M. Goldberg est pour nous un homme profondément attaché à l'Organisation des Nations Unies et le représentant d'un pays qui se consacre non seulement à la défense des idéaux et des objectifs de l'Organisation et de la Charte, mais au maintien, à tout prix, de l'idée que représente l'Organisation.

231. Cette idée constitue l'essence même de ce que je voudrais dire brièvement aujourd'hui. Née, comme je l'ai déjà dit et comme nous le savons tous, de la souffrance commune de l'humanité pour répondre à l'espoir commun de tous les hommes, quels que soient la couleur de leur peau, leurs croyances religieuses, le cours de l'histoire qui les a faits ce qu'ils sont, l'Organisation des Nations Unies doit avant tout défendre la suprématie du droit, la modération, la paix et la subordination, chaque fois qu'elle est nécessaire, de toutes nos étroites aspirations individuelles, locales et nationales aux idéaux qui appartiennent à tous les hommes et qui sont représentés ici.

232. Tout ceci ne saurait changer, mais 20 ans se sont écoulés depuis la signature de la Charte, 20 ans au cours desquels nous avons pensé d'une certaine façon et en certains termes, nous rapprochant ainsi de nos objectifs. Ces façons de penser et les termes dans lesquels elles ont été formulées nous ont été très utiles, mais le monde a évolué depuis lors et l'Organisation des Nations Unies a reflété certains de ses changements. Dans quelle mesure l'ont-elles vraiment fait, cela est affaire d'opinion et de conjecture. Mais je crois qu'aujourd'hui on paralyserait autant le progrès en restant fidèle aux attitudes et aux devises qui nous ont été si utiles autrefois qu'on l'aurait paralysé autrefois en ne les adoptant pas.

233. En premier lieu, dans la résolution que nous venons d'adopter, on aborde de la même façon toutes les situations qui peuvent se présenter dans le monde leur donnant ainsi, malgré la diversité fondamentale de leur nature, une seule et même apparence. Or, cette apparence unique n'existe pas. Il n'y a pas une situation, coloniale ou autre — en l'occurrence coloniale —, exactement semblable à une autre situation. Il est vrai que certaines situations ont des éléments communs. Il est également vrai qu'il y a des situations, visées implicitement, du moins, dans la résolution, qui n'ont aucun point commun avec d'autres situations visées, implicitement elles aussi, et qui en sont à vrai dire aussi différentes que le jour de la nuit.

234. Ne vous méprenez pas sur ce que je vais vous dire brièvement. C'est le fruit des longues réflexions de ma délégation et, permettez-moi de le dire, d'une expérience en la matière qui n'est pas négligeable. Cela vient également de la conviction profonde et constante que tous les hommes sont frères. Cela vient également de l'importance capitale que nous attachons à la dignité de l'homme, à la vie de l'homme et à la liberté de l'homme, et ces convictions sont aussi inséparables de la conception que le peuple australien se fait de la vie et du monde que le soleil l'est de la lumière. Cela vient d'un rejet absolu des concepts racistes. Cela vient d'une absence totale du désir d'imposer notre volonté aux autres peuples,

je dirai même de la volonté de ne pas le faire. Cela vient d'une absence totale de velléités expansionnistes quelles qu'elles soient, de la volonté bien arrêtée non seulement de défendre le droit que nous avons de vivre notre vie comme nous voulons la vivre dans ces circonstances, mais aussi, dans toute la mesure du possible, de défendre ces droits pour les autres peuples quels qu'ils soient et où qu'ils soient.

235. Ceci étant exposé, je vais maintenant prononcer le mot qui est au cœur même de nos débats, le mot "colonial". Ce mot signifie-t-il, à propos de toutes les associations entre pays — telle que l'association qui existe entre mon pays et certains territoires dont il a la responsabilité —, ce qu'il représentait pour nous tous dans son sens classique il y a encore quelques années? Si tel est le cas, alors, au nom de mon pays, je dois rejeter ce mot. S'il est incontestable que certains pays demeurent sous le "régime colonial", il est également incontestable que l'Australie, mentionnée implicitement, je suppose, dans la résolution parmi les "puissances coloniales", n'impose ce régime à aucun peuple.

236. On trouve dans cette résolution, comme dans les très très nombreuses autres résolutions relatives à cette question générale, des allusions à "la lutte que les peuples sous domination coloniale mènent pour l'exercice de leur droit à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance". Il n'y a rien de semblable dans les territoires australiens. Ces luttes ne sont pas nécessaires. Il y a, en revanche, des efforts déployés en commun pour atteindre des objectifs communs: l'autodétermination, l'indépendance, l'association sur un pied d'égalité entre mon Gouvernement, puissance administrante, et le peuple qu'il gouverne. Je répète: il n'y a pas de lutte parce que la lutte n'est pas nécessaire. Il y a un effort déployé en commun par deux groupes de populations qui s'efforcent, dans le respect mutuel, d'atteindre des objectifs communs.

237. Et ceci m'amène à réfléchir un instant au sens du mot "indépendance". Ce mot nous a été très utile. Ce fut pour nous la phrase qui nous a guidés. Mais l'indépendance peut revêtir bien des formes. Elle n'a pas une forme unique, immuable. Elle n'a pas un moyen unique d'expression. Elle n'est pas non plus nécessairement synonyme de la liberté individuelle telle que nous la connaissons. S'il est vrai, je pense, qu'en tant qu'idée l'indépendance peut être considérée comme la manifestation ultime de la liberté, dans la pratique beaucoup de peuples dont le pays n'a pas encore reçu ce don suprême peuvent aller et venir dans la plus grande liberté. Et il en est ainsi dans les territoires australiens. Dans ces territoires, comme je l'ai expliqué, la liberté existe et elle insufflé la vie à toute action.

238. Maintenant que je vous ai livré ces quelques sujets de méditation, je ne voudrais pas que nos amis, d'Afrique en particulier, et d'Asie également, emportent d'ici l'idée que ma délégation n'apprécie pas à leur juste valeur leurs objectifs et leurs sentiments. Ce n'est nullement le cas. En fait, si j'étais africain, je partagerai leurs sentiments sur toutes ces questions. Leur histoire suffit à me faire comprendre leurs sentiments et leurs émotions, aussi bien que leurs luttes souvent si louables. Mais je leur demande de comprendre eux aussi les conditions différentes

qui règnent dans la partie du monde où je vis, c'est-à-dire dans le Pacifique. Ici, comme je l'ai expliqué, l'histoire, différente pour tous les pays, a déterminé et continue de déterminer toute la situation. En tant que puissance coloniale, si la majorité des membres insiste pour qu'on emploie ce terme — et, comme je l'ai donné à entendre, mon pays ne se considère ni comme une puissance ni comme colonial —, nous étant libérés nous-mêmes du statut colonial, nous sommes entrés dans ce domaine presque par accident et certainement pas animés du désir de nous emparer du bien d'autrui. Nous n'avons pas eu à faire à des luttes pour l'indépendance pour la simple raison que nous reconnaissons que les aspirations des peuples priment tout et que nous ne refusons pas de leur accorder le droit ou la possibilité d'agir selon leurs vœux soit dans ce domaine, soit dans d'autres domaines où ils cherchent à s'exprimer, bien au contraire.

239. Mais quels que soient les événements de l'histoire qui aient pu nous presser à agir dans le passé, la raison pour laquelle nous restons maintenant où nous sommes est simplement que nous nous sommes engagés à accomplir une tâche envers le monde, envers l'Organisation des Nations Unies, envers nous-mêmes et, ce qui est beaucoup plus important, envers le peuple d'un pays qui, tant que cette tâche n'aura pas été menée à bien ou tant qu'il ne manifestera pas lui-même le désir qu'il en soit autrement, restera notre peuple.

240. Ce que je demande, très simplement, c'est que l'on comprenne le sens profond de nos responsabilités qui, j'en suis sincèrement convaincu, plus que tout détermine notre action en matière d'administration des territoires australiens. Ceci n'est suscité en rien par un sentiment de condescendance. Ceci n'est en rien un fardeau. Ceci est une expression de notre conviction que tous les hommes sont frères. Ceci se manifeste de façon plus personnelle dans les sentiments que nous éprouvons envers des gens que pour ma part je considère comme des amis dans le sens le plus profond de ce mot.

241. Tout en approuvant en grande partie cette résolution, tout en appréciant les grands efforts déployés par le Comité spécial au sein duquel nous poursuivons nous-mêmes nos efforts, tout en comprenant et en partageant l'inquiétude, l'angoisse même de nos amis africains devant les événements du Sud-Ouest africain, l'apartheid et la politique du Portugal, nous avons dû voter contre la résolution et ceci en partie à cause du caractère général de ses observations et recommandations, qui visent tous les cas sans distinction et dont nous devons, pour notre part, comme je l'ai exposé nettement, entièrement rejeter les aspects qui nous concernent, en partie, comme l'a fait observer le représentant des Etats-Unis, parce qu'elle est contraire à la Charte et à ce que nous estimons être les méthodes et les pratiques sans lesquelles on ne saurait mettre en œuvre l'idée même que l'Organisation des Nations Unies représente et incarne; en partie parce qu'elle contient certaines dispositions que nous désapprouvons foncièrement.

242. M. DONALDSON (Trinité-et-Tobago) [traduit de l'anglais]: La situation particulière qui existe dans mon pays explique le vote de la délégation de la

Trinité-et-Tobago. Avant notre accession à l'indépendance, il y avait à la Trinité-et-Tobago une base militaire et pourtant mon Gouvernement a été en mesure de négocier avec succès les conditions dans lesquelles cette base serait maintenue. Naturellement, ma délégation appuie la résolution dans son ensemble, mais compte tenu de notre expérience, nous avons dû faire des réserves en ce qui concerne le paragraphe 12 du dispositif. C'est pour cette raison et pour cette raison seulement que ma délégation a estimé nécessaire de s'abstenir.

243. M. BOTHA (Afrique du Sud) [traduit de l'anglais]: Ma délégation a voté contre les paragraphes qui ont fait l'objet d'un vote par division et contre la résolution dans son ensemble. Les auteurs du projet de résolution ont jugé bon de choisir mon pays comme cible ainsi que le montrent le cinquième, le huitième et le neuvième considérants et les paragraphes 11 et 14 du dispositif. Ma délégation s'élève contre l'allégation contenue dans ces paragraphes selon laquelle l'Afrique du Sud opprimerait ces minorités et particulièrement contre l'accusation formulée dans le neuvième considérant et paragraphe 14 du dispositif selon laquelle sa politique intérieure de développement séparé menacerait la paix et la sécurité internationales et constituerait un crime contre l'humanité. Quoi qu'il en soit, les questions relatives à la paix et à la sécurité internationales relèvent de la compétence exclusive du Conseil de sécurité et par conséquent ne sont pas de la compétence de l'Assemblée.

244. Ma délégation s'élève également contre le paragraphe 11 du dispositif qui invite l'Assemblée à agir en violation des constitutions des institutions spécialisées. En outre, je tiens à déclarer, si l'on veut faire allusion à l'assistance technique et économique, que l'Afrique du Sud ne bénéficie pas de ce genre d'assistance mais qu'elle l'octroie. La mention faite à ce paragraphe de l'Afrique du Sud est donc dénuée de sens.

245. Enfin, pour ce qui est du paragraphe 3 du dispositif, ma délégation n'est pas en mesure d'approuver toutes les recommandations figurant dans le rapport du Comité spécial.

246. C'est notamment pour les raisons que je viens d'exposer que la délégation sud-africaine n'a pas été en mesure de voter pour le projet de résolution A/L.476/Rev.1 et Corr.1 et Rev.1/Add.1.

247. M. MALECELA (République-Unie de Tanzanie) [traduit de l'anglais]: Avant d'expliquer le vote de ma délégation, je voudrais souligner que, comme nous considérons que le représentant de l'Afrique du Sud est immoralement présent dans cette enceinte, nous en sommes nous-mêmes moralement absents. Nous voudrions qu'il comprenne que pendant qu'il parlait, nous étions moralement complètement absents. Nous n'étions physiquement présents que parce que notre délégation était inscrite sur la liste des orateurs juste après l'Afrique du Sud. Nous considérons que le soit-disant représentant de l'Afrique du Sud ne représente pas réellement le peuple d'Afrique du Sud mais uniquement une minorité raciste, et en conséquence nous considérons comme absolument immoral que l'Organisation autorise ce soit-disant représentant du peuple à siéger à l'Assemblée.

248. Ma délégation a voté pour la résolution contenue dans le document A/L.476/Rev.1. Nous savons que le colonialisme qui est actuellement en voie de disparition est dans une situation très difficile. Nous le savons car nous voyons en ce moment les puissances coloniales s'efforcer de dissimuler leurs intentions sous divers prétextes; elles vont parfois jusqu'à utiliser la Charte même des Nations Unies pour dissimuler leurs iniquités. Nous voyons les puissances coloniales monter à la tribune et s'efforcer de nous citer un certain nombre d'exemples qui n'ont en fait aucun rapport avec la situation actuelle. A cet égard, je voudrais parler de l'un des orateurs qui m'a précédé, un orateur qui, à diverses reprises, nous a, de cette tribune, exhorté à ce qu'il appelait la patience et qui nous rappelait aujourd'hui que son Gouvernement a octroyé l'indépendance à tant ou tant de personnes. Nous voulons qu'il sache que si son pays a donné l'indépendance à 700 millions de personnes, cela ne signifie rien pour le peuple de Zimbabwe. Si son pays a donné l'indépendance à 700 millions de personnes, cela ne signifie rien du tout pour ceux qui l'attendent encore. Ce qu'ils veulent, c'est leur indépendance.

249. Nous voulons que les puissances coloniales comprennent tout d'abord qu'elles n'auraient jamais dû avoir de colonies. Par conséquent, quand elles viennent à cette tribune et qu'elles nous parlent des pays auxquels elles ont accordé l'indépendance, cela ne nous impressionne guère. Et quant à la patience qu'elles nous demandent toujours d'avoir, nous savons naturellement ce qu'est la patience. Mais s'ils se servent de patience à leur profit, afin de pouvoir agir de connivence, comme ils le font avec Smith en Rhodésie du Sud, où nous savons les efforts que le Gouvernement britannique déploie à cette fin, alors, nous leur disons très franchement de cette tribune qu'on fait un très mauvais usage de mot "patience".

250. Ma délégation a voté pour cette résolution parce qu'elle lui paraît riche de conséquences. Certains orateurs ont essayé de démontrer que nous devons comprendre que le colonialisme en Afrique et le colonialisme en Extrême-Orient sont différents. Je voudrais que le représentant de l'Australie comprenne qu'en Afrique, en Asie, n'importe où, le colonialisme est toujours le colonialisme. Et puisqu'il s'adresse particulièrement aux Africains pour leur demander de faire un effort de compréhension, nous lui demandons aussi de comprendre une chose: nous lui demandons de comprendre que nous avons souffert du colonialisme et que c'est pour cela que nous devons parler et agir contre le colonialisme.

251. En outre, de cette tribune, j'ai posé au représentant de l'Australie une simple question qui, jusqu'à présent, n'a pas reçu de réponse. J'ai dit que les territoires qui avaient été placés sous tutelle avaient tous accédé à l'indépendance sauf — et je le répète — sauf les territoires placés sous administration australienne. Nous nous demandons évidemment pourquoi? Serait-ce que l'Australie dispense lentement son enseignement? Si l'Australie ne peut pas mener les peuples de ces territoires à l'indépendance aussi rapidement que possible, nous devons certainement dire de cette tribune qu'elle n'est pas apte à administrer les territoires sous tutelle. Nous aurions été

certainement très heureux si l'Australie était venue à la tribune, au cours de la vingtième session, déclarer qu'à la suite de consultations et négociations, elle accordait l'indépendance à tel ou tel territoire. Mais tout ce que nous l'entendons dire sans cesse, c'est "patience, patience, patience". Ce que nous voulons c'est l'indépendance des peuples du monde, qu'ils soient en Nouvelle-Guinée ou dans tout autre pays.

252. Telles sont les vues de l'Afrique et je voudrais que le représentant de l'Australie les comprenne bien. Certes, de nombreuses délégations nous ont dit de cette tribune quelle sympathie elles éprouvaient pour notre cause. Je tiens toutefois à donner aux représentants l'assurance que l'Afrique ne peut plus se contenter de mots de sympathie. Nous sommes las des grands mots de sympathie qui sonnent creux. Ce que nous voulons, ce sont des actes de façon que les peuples du monde en Afrique, en Australie, en Nouvelle-Guinée ou dans quelque pays qu'ils se trouvent puissent enfin accéder à l'indépendance tout comme d'autres pays qui sont maintenant membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies.

253. Telles sont, en bref, les raisons pour lesquelles ma délégation a voté en faveur de la résolution, et elle espère sincèrement que les mesures qui y sont prévues seront mises en œuvre et que l'on ne maintiendra pas de bases militaires sous prétexte de nécessité ou sous tout autre prétexte. Nous espérons que la résolution sera mise à exécution, particulièrement par les puissances coloniales.

254. Le PRESIDENT: Je donne la parole au représentant de la Somalie, qui désire faire une brève déclaration.

255. M. ADAN (Somalie) [traduit de l'anglais]: Je tiens avant tout à dire brièvement que j'appuie tout ce qu'a dit le représentant de la Tanzanie au sujet de l'intervention du représentant du Gouvernement raciste sud-africain de la minorité blanche. La politique criminelle du Gouvernement sud-africain n'est que trop connue des membres de l'Assemblée et du monde entier et son intervention n'a donc été qu'un cri dans le désert.

256. Je voudrais tout d'abord saisir cette occasion pour féliciter le Comité spécial des recommandations extrêmement utiles qu'il a présentées dans son rapport adopté aux termes de la résolution qui a été mise aux voix tout à l'heure. L'adoption par l'Assemblée du rapport du Comité spécial est un jalon important, pour de nombreux territoires non autonomes, dans leur lutte pour l'autodétermination et l'indépendance.

257. Nous savons qu'elle apportera un espoir et un encouragement non seulement aux grands territoires coloniaux comme l'Angola, le Mozambique et la Guinée dite portugaise mais aussi à d'autres territoires tels que la Côte française des Somalis, qui continue à ronger son frein sous le régime colonialiste, et où les aspirations des peuples intéressés ne sont certes pas moins intenses que celles de leurs frères africains des autres pays.

258. Depuis qu'elle a accédé à l'indépendance, la République Somalie a demandé constamment que le peuple de la Côte française des Somalis soit autorisé à décider de son sort politique au moyen d'élections

libres organisées sous les auspices des Nations Unies. Ses représentants ont soulevé la question de la Côte française des Somalis à presque toutes les conférences politiques internationales auxquelles ils ont assisté depuis 1960. La Déclaration publiée à la fin de la Conférence des chefs d'Etat et de gouvernement des pays non alignés, tenue au Caire l'année dernière, précise nettement que les habitants de ces territoires ont le droit de disposer d'eux-mêmes et de se libérer du régime colonial. Il y est dit:

"Des participants à la Conférence invitent le Gouvernement français à prendre les mesures nécessaires pour que la Côte française des Somalis devienne libre et indépendante, conformément au paragraphe 5 de la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale des Nations Unies^{2/}."

259. Ma délégation estime que la situation est telle dans la Côte française des Somalis que la question de sa libération du régime colonial doit être inscrite par priorité à l'ordre du jour du Comité des Vingt-Quatre. A la consternation des habitants de la Côte française des Somalis, le Gouvernement français a déclaré très nettement qu'il entend rester indéfiniment dans ce territoire pour des raisons politiques et économiques ainsi que pour des raisons qu'il appelle "humanitaires". Il est certainement commode pour la France de pouvoir utiliser ce territoire comme base militaire et d'en disposer pour y installer, comme elle se le propose, un émetteur radio à grande puissance qui transmettra la voix de la France. Mais les aspirations du peuple de ce territoire ne devraient pas être sacrifiées aux convenances de la puissance coloniale.

260. Dans plusieurs communications adressées au Comité spécial, le Gouvernement somali a appelé l'attention du Comité sur les graves restrictions apportées à l'exercice de la vie politique des habitants de ce territoire non autonome et sur le refus du Gouvernement français d'appliquer au territoire les dispositions de la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale. Eu égard à la politique libérale suivie par la France dans d'autres parties de son ancien empire colonial, nous trouvons ces aspects de la question de la Côte française des Somalis extrêmement inquiétants et difficiles à comprendre.

261. Le Gouvernement somali a déjà fait connaître ses vues sur la question dans un mémorandum adressé au Comité spécial qui a été distribué à tous les Etats Membres sous la cote A/AC.109/121. Je n'ai pas l'intention de rappeler le contenu de ce mémorandum et je me contenterai de dire que mon Gouvernement estime que le peuple de la Côte française des Somalis devrait pouvoir exercer son droit à l'autodétermination conformément au vœu qu'il en a librement exprimé. Ma délégation se félicite de constater que, en comprenant la Côte française des Somalis dans la liste des territoires non autonomes auxquels s'applique la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale, l'Assemblée a reconnu ce droit.

262. Ma délégation espère que le Comité spécial accordera désormais à la question de la Côte française des Somalis la priorité qu'elle mérite.

263. En concluant, je demande que ma déclaration figure dans le compte rendu in extenso des séances de l'Assemblée et qu'elle soit portée à la connaissance du Comité spécial.

264. Le PRESIDENT: Je donne la parole au représentant de l'Australie, qui a demandé à exercer le droit de réponse.

265. M. McCARTHY (Australie) [traduit de l'anglais]: Je serai bref, car je ne désire pas entamer une polémique avec le distingué représentant de la Tanzanie. Je regrette — et ceci n'est pas un reproche — qu'il n'ait pas été présent quand j'ai répondu à ses observations précédentes. Je crois savoir que ses devoirs officiels l'avaient appelé ailleurs. Je suis donc obligé non pas de reprendre ce que j'ai dit tout à l'heure, mais de rappeler brièvement une ou deux questions que j'ai invoquées tout à l'heure.

266. Ce faisant, je rappellerai que, à la Quatrième Commission, il y a quelques semaines, il a parlé des "prétendus progrès constitutionnels faits par la Nouvelle-Guinée grâce à l'Australie". J'ai longuement expliqué, ici, que ces "prétendus" progrès constitutionnels — et nous savons tous ce que signifient ces mots aux Nations Unies — étaient, en fait, le suffrage universel exercé sans distinction de race, de croyance et de couleur, une liste commune et une majorité autochtone élue. Et quand on parle de "prétendus progrès constitutionnels", je crois qu'on emploie ce terme mal à propos. Je crois également que la population de la Nouvelle-Guinée n'aimerait pas que l'on applique les mots "prétendus progrès constitutionnels" aux progrès qui caractérisent sa situation politique dont l'évolution est très rapide.

267. Mais ce que je tiens à souligner c'est que nous avons là-bas ce qu'un de nos très éminents collègues a réclamé pour la Rhodésie du Sud et d'autres régions d'Afrique — dont il se préoccupe à juste titre — comme représentant la panacée, ce qui par-dessus tout garantit l'ultime liberté des peuples. Nous avons dans ce territoire qu'il a critiqué — et je ne cherche nullement la polémique — une force qui ne permet pas de revenir en arrière, comme je l'ai dit l'autre jour encore à la Quatrième Commission [1588ème séance]. Nous avons mis en mouvement une force qui ne permet pas de revenir en arrière. Nous avons donné à la population une voix qu'on ne peut pas étouffer. Nous avons donné à la population une voix qui lui permet d'exprimer les opinions qu'elle veut exprimer, quand elle veut les exprimer.

268. Le représentant de la Tanzanie a dit qu'il était las de ce qu'il a appelé je crois, en parlant de la situation africaine, des "mots de sympathie qui sonnent creux". Ce ne sont pas des mots creux. Avant tout, ce que j'ai dit ici, je le pense sincèrement.

269. Ensuite, c'est à l'œuvre que l'on juge l'ouvrier. Nous sommes loin de l'Afrique — et l'Afrique est loin de nous — mais ceci ne signifie pas que les problèmes africains ne nous touchent pas. De tous les parlements du monde, l'un des premiers à prendre des mesures positives — en fait, toutes les mesures qu'il pouvait prendre — contre le prétendu Gouvernement de la minorité rebelle en Rhodésie du Sud a été le Parlement australien. Dans les quatre ou cinq

jours qui ont suivi la Déclaration unilatérale d'indépendance, il a proclamé qu'il ne reconnaissait pas le gouvernement rebelle et il a pris toutes les mesures qui étaient alors en son pouvoir, et qu'il a, depuis, intensifiées.

270. J'ajouterai également que, comme je l'ai déjà dit dans le passé, les Africains sont les bienvenus dans mon pays. Il y a actuellement beaucoup d'Africains dans mon pays et ils y sont respectés. Comme je l'ai déjà dit, ils nous apportent beaucoup et nous espérons que, lorsqu'ils partiront, nous leur aurons également apporté quelque chose.

271. Le PRESIDENT: Je donne la parole au représentant de la France, qui a demandé à exercer le droit de réponse.

272. M. GASCHIGNARD (France): En réponse à l'intervention du représentant de la Somalie, je voudrais faire connaître brièvement le point de vue du Gouvernement français sur la question de la Côte française des Somalis.

273. Lors du référendum qui s'est tenu le 28 septembre 1958, au suffrage universel, dans tous les départements et territoires français, la population de la Côte française des Somalis, en approuvant la Constitution à une majorité de 75 p. 100 des suffrages exprimés, a manifesté sa volonté de demeurer au sein de la Communauté française.

274. Le 11 décembre 1958, son Assemblée territoriale elle-même, élue librement au suffrage universel, s'est prononcée en faveur du maintien du *statu quo*, c'est-à-dire du statut des territoires français d'outre-mer.

275. Lors de la première de ces consultations, le 28 septembre 1958, la Côte française des Somalis aurait pu voter "non" lors du référendum sur la Constitution et devenir immédiatement indépendante. Lors du vote intervenu le 11 décembre suivant, son Assemblée territoriale aurait pu choisir le statut d'Etat membre de la Communauté, comme l'ont fait les autres territoires français d'Afrique au sud du Sahara, lesquels sont devenus indépendants deux ans plus tard et siègent aujourd'hui parmi nous.

276. Mais la Côte française des Somalis ne l'a pas voulu. Elle a préféré suivre une autre voie, celle de l'intégration à la France. C'est dire qu'elle a exercé son droit à l'autodétermination et qu'elle a fixé son destin, exactement dans les mêmes conditions que les autres territoires français d'Afrique. Au lieu de choisir soit l'indépendance immédiate, soit l'autonomie suivie de l'indépendance, elle a librement opté pour le statut, qui était déjà le sien, de collectivité territoriale de la République française dont elle fait désormais partie intégrante.

277. Dans ces conditions, toute contestation sur le statut de ce territoire nous apparaît en contradiction avec la volonté librement exprimée des populations de la Côte française des Somalis, comme une immixtion dans les affaires intérieures d'un Etat Membre, immixtion qu'interdit formellement le paragraphe 7 de l'Article 2 de la Charte.

278. Le PRESIDENT: Je donne la parole au représentant de la Somalie, qui a demandé à exercer le droit de réponse.

279. M. ADAN (Somalie) [traduit de l'anglais]: Je regrette de devoir reprendre la parole à cette heure tardive mais la réponse que vient de faire le représentant de la France m'y oblige.

280. Le Gouvernement somali a demandé l'inscription de la question de la Côte française des Somalis à l'ordre du jour du Comité spécial et après les observations du représentant de la France, je dois exposer les considérations qui ont incité mon Gouvernement à prendre cette mesure.

281. On se rappellera que le Gouvernement français avait reconnu que le territoire de la Côte française des Somalis était un territoire non autonome au sens du Chapitre XI de la Charte. Cependant, dans sa lettre en date du 23 mars 1959^{3/}, le Gouvernement français a prétendu que ce territoire était pleinement autonome et qu'en conséquence la France n'avait plus à communiquer de renseignements à son sujet conformément à l'Article 73, e, de la Charte.

282. Le changement constitutionnel qui, selon le Gouvernement français, transformait radicalement le statut de ce territoire et auquel le représentant de la France vient de faire allusion, est la loi-cadre du 23 juin 1956, suivie, en 1958, de la nouvelle Constitution de la Communauté française. Le référendum de 1958, organisé dans des conditions douteuses et truqué par le Gouvernement français, n'a rien changé. La Constitution demeure celle qui était fixée par la loi-cadre de 1956 et le référendum a été soigneusement organisé de façon que les résultats soient favorables à la France. En fait d'expression de la libre volonté de la population de la Côte française des Somalis, nous ne voyons qu'un simulacre et une plaisanterie.

283. Les membres de l'Assemblée se rappelleront que les débats de la Quatrième Commission ont révélé une opposition considérable à la position française. En effet, le représentant de l'Inde a fait, le 2 décembre 1959, à la 981ème séance de la Quatrième Commission, une analyse très détaillée des dispositions de la loi-cadre qui ont prouvé que le territoire demeurerait à tous égards un territoire non autonome. Les représentants de la Tchécoslovaquie et de la Pologne ont été du même avis.

284. Je ne veux pas répéter tous les arguments si bien présentés à cette occasion par le représentant de l'Inde, chacun peut les retrouver dans les comptes rendus. Mais les représentants se rappelleront que, précisément parce que l'Assemblée générale commençait à prendre conscience de la possibilité que des pays comme le Portugal et la France modifient leurs constitutions respectives afin d'éliminer toute possibilité d'intervention de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, elle a adopté, le 15 décembre 1960, la résolution 1541 (XV). Cette résolution est assortie d'une annexe intitulée "Principes qui doivent guider les Etats Membres pour déterminer si l'obligation de communiquer des renseignements prévue à l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte leur est applicable ou non". Il suffira aux membres de lire ces principes ainsi que les commentaires sur les effets de la loi-cadre du 3 juin 1956 pour conclure, inévitablement,

^{3/} Voir Documents officiels de l'Assemblée générale, quatorzième session, Annexes, point 36 de l'ordre du jour, document A/4096.

que la Côte française des Somalis demeure un territoire non autonome auquel s'applique l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 et qui relève de la compétence du Comité spécial. Le rapport du Comité sur ce point a été adopté aujourd'hui par l'Assemblée.

285. Le Gouvernement somali a présenté au Comité des Vingt-Quatre un mémorandum sur la Côte française des Somalis dont la deuxième section est entièrement consacrée au statut constitutionnel actuel du territoire. Nous y démontrons que l'autonomie accordée au territoire est extrêmement limitée: elle ne s'étend pas, par exemple, aux relations étrangères, à la défense nationale, à la justice, à l'inspection des travaux, aux communications avec l'étranger, à l'enseignement supérieur, aux finances, au change et à bien d'autres domaines. A vrai dire, l'autonomie interne est très inférieure à celle dont jouissent nombre de colonies britanniques auxquelles, comme le reconnaît le Royaume-Uni, s'applique l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte.

286. Le Gouvernement somali a étayé sa thèse de citations empruntées à des spécialistes français du droit administratif et constitutionnel. Il n'est donc pas étonnant que le Gouvernement somali ait été convaincu que le Comité des Vingt-Quatre approuverait cette thèse et rejetterait l'argument français de la modification constitutionnelle comme fallacieux. Il n'est pas étonnant non plus que la Conférence des chefs d'Etat et de gouvernement des pays non alignés, qui s'est réunie au Caire en 1964, ait réaffirmé catégoriquement que la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, contenue dans la résolution 1514 (XV) adoptée par l'Assemblée générale, le 14 décembre 1960, s'appliquait à la Côte française des Somalis. J'ai eu le plaisir d'en faire état il y a peu de temps.

287. Le Gouvernement somali estime donc que les Etats et même les juristes français se sont prononcés contre le Gouvernement français. Il ne s'agit pas là d'une question compliquée d'interprétation juridique; il s'agit simplement de considérer les faits. Permettez-moi de poser quelques questions au représentant de la France, qui a cherché à dénier ses droits au peuple de la Côte française des Somalis et nous verrons si, devant les faits, ses réponses sont convaincantes.

288. Le Gouvernement français prétend-il que le territoire n'est pas géographiquement séparé de la France et qu'il n'en est pas ethniquement ou culturellement distinct? Je pose cette question en pensant au quatrième des principes adoptés par l'Assemblée générale en 1960 aux termes de la résolution 1541 (XV). Le Gouvernement français veut-il faire croire que le territoire n'est pas "dans une position ou état de subordination" par rapport à la France? Les termes que j'emploie ici sont ceux du Principe V de l'Annexe à cette résolution. Le Gouvernement français prétend-il que la situation actuelle correspond au "choix libre et volontaire des populations du territoire", conformément au Principe VII?

289. Les faits montrent maintenant combien il est absurde de vouloir prouver que la Côte française des Somalis est un territoire entièrement autonome. Veut-on réellement nous faire croire que le simple

fait d'envoyer un député et un sénateur à Paris mettra ces Somalis dits français sur un pied d'égalité avec la France? Veut-on réellement nous faire croire que tous les habitants du territoire participent librement et dans des conditions d'égalité aux élections? Il serait intéressant de comparer les résultats du recensement et la liste des électeurs? Que fait l'armée française, en force, à Djibouti? Faut-il comprendre que nous nous trouvons en face des Somalis dits français, vêtus d'uniformes français et prêts à défendre leur soit-disant autonomie contre tout acte d'agression venu de la méchante Somalie?

290. Tous les membres de l'Assemblée ne comprendront que trop bien, j'en suis persuadé, combien tout ceci est absurde. Nous savons qu'au moment du référendum on a fait taire le peuple du territoire, le Premier Ministre somali a été exilé avec son Cabinet et l'Assemblée législative a été dissoute uniquement pour avoir osé faire campagne contre la position du Gouvernement français qui demandait un "oui" au référendum. Chacun le sait. Ceci est déjà de l'histoire.

291. A vrai dire, je devrais m'excuser auprès de l'Assemblée pour lui avoir fait perdre du temps en lui démontrant ce qui était évident. J'espère toutefois qu'elle n'hésitera pas à rejeter les allégations du représentant de la France.

292. Je me réserve de revenir sur cette question si cela est nécessaire.

293. Le PRESIDENT: Je donne la parole au représentant de la Tanzanie, qui a demandé à exercer le droit de réponse.

294. M. MALECELA (République-Unie de Tanzanie) [traduit de l'anglais]: Je dois, à mon tour, m'excuser auprès des délégations si je prolonge encore le débat. Je n'avais nullement l'intention de revenir à cette tribune. Je voulais simplement expliquer mon vote mais maintenant que le représentant de l'Australie a cru devoir me répondre, je crois devoir lui répondre à mon tour.

295. Tout d'abord, il a dit que ma délégation en parlant des modifications constitutionnelles les avaient qualifiées de "prétendues" modifications constitutionnelles. Ce sont bien en effet les mots que nous avons employés pour la simple raison qu'aujourd'hui, 20 ans après que ces territoires ont été placés sous tutelle, l'Australie nous dit encore qu'elle procède à des modifications constitutionnelles. Nous commençons vraiment à nous demander s'il s'agit bien de modifications constitutionnelles ou de manœuvres visant à retarder le moment où ces pays accéderont à l'indépendance.

296. En second lieu, le représentant de l'Australie a dit que son pays avait été le premier à prendre des mesures contre Smith. Or, avant même que Smith ait déclaré son indépendance, l'Afrique, je voudrais que le représentant de l'Australie le comprenne, avait déjà fait savoir au monde que les mesures prises par le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni — et par l'Australie — n'étaient pas suffisantes. Je voudrais donc que l'on comprenne bien que la Tanzanie n'a guère à savoir gré à l'Australie d'avoir pris ces mesures.

297. Enfin, le représentant de l'Australie a tenu à faire ressortir que quelques Africains font leurs études en Australie. Je reconnais, certes, qu'un certain nombre d'étudiants de Tanzanie poursuivent leurs études en Australie, non seulement en Australie mais dans d'autres parties du monde, mais le lien qui peut exister entre le colonialisme et les étudiants tanzaniens qui se trouvent en Australie m'échappe. J'ose espérer que le représentant de l'Australie ne pense pas que la Tanzanie appuiera le colonialisme australien en Nouvelle-Guinée uniquement parce qu'une poignée d'étudiants tanzaniens se trouve actuellement en Australie. Nous espérons que lorsque nos étudiants vont dans d'autres parties du monde, ils y vont pour poursuivre leurs études et qu'ils reviennent dans leur pays pour y utiliser les connaissances acquises. Je tiens à donner au représentant de l'Australie l'assurance que nous avons aussi un certain nombre de citoyens australiens en Tanzanie. Mais nous n'essayons jamais de tirer de ce fait d'autres conclusions que celles de l'existence de relations amicales entre l'Australie et la Tanzanie. J'espère donc que le représentant de l'Australie comprendra, lui aussi, que nos étudiants sont dans son pays parce que l'Australie et la Tanzanie entretiennent des relations amicales. Mais il faut aussi que le représentant de l'Australie comprenne que nous sommes opposés au colonialisme et à la prolongation de l'administration australienne. Le jour où l'Australie octroiera l'indépendance à la Nouvelle-Guinée et aux autres territoires sous tutelle, la Tanzanie n'aura plus de sujet de discorde

avec l'Australie. Mais aussi longtemps que ces territoires demeureront sous l'autorité de l'Australie, la Tanzanie devra s'élever contre la politique colonialiste de l'Australie.

298. Une fois de plus, je m'excuse auprès des membres de l'Assemblée d'avoir à nouveau demandé la parole. J'espère que je ne serai plus obligé de le faire, de moins à propos de cette question.

299. Le **PRESIDENT**: Je donne la parole au représentant de la France, qui a demandé à exercer le droit de réponse.

300. **M. GASCHIGNARD (France)**: Je serai très bref, parce que je n'ai pas l'intention d'engager une polémique à cette heure très tardive avec le représentant de la Somalie. Mais je voudrais tout de même démentir formellement ses affirmations selon lesquelles le référendum de 1958 et les élections qui se sont tenues en Côte française des Somalis ont été, si j'ai bien compris, truqués et constituaient une cruelle plaisanterie. En réalité, ce référendum et ces élections ont été organisés, comme je l'ai dit tout à l'heure, exactement dans les mêmes conditions que dans tous les autres territoires de la France d'outre-mer à l'époque, et les résultats, dans ces territoires dont les représentants siègent aujourd'hui parmi nous, sont là pour témoigner que les populations ont voté librement.

La séance est levée à 19 h 40.

2189 (XXI). Application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux

L'Assemblée générale,

Rappelant la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux figurant dans sa résolution 1514 (XV) du 14 décembre 1960,

Rappelant ses résolutions 1654 (XVI) du 27 novembre 1961, 1810 (XVII) du 17 décembre 1962, 1956 (XVIII) du 11 décembre 1963 et 2105 (XX) du 20 décembre 1965,

Rappelant également ses résolutions 1805 (XVII) du 14 décembre 1962 et 1899 (XVIII) du 13 novembre 1963, par lesquelles elle a confié des tâches concernant le Sud-Ouest africain au Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, ainsi que sa résolution 1970 (XVIII) du 16 décembre 1963 par laquelle elle a confié au Comité spécial des fonctions nouvelles au sujet des renseignements communiqués en vertu de l'alinéa e de l'Article 73 de la Charte des Nations Unies,

Ayant examiné le rapport du Comité spécial sur ses travaux de 1966²²,

Notant avec un profond regret que, six ans après l'adoption de la Déclaration, de nombreux territoires sont encore sous domination coloniale, et déplorant

l'attitude négative de certaines puissances coloniales, en particulier l'attitude intransigeante des Gouvernements portugais et sud-africain, qui refusent de reconnaître aux peuples coloniaux le droit à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance,

Préoccupée par la politique suivie par les puissances coloniales qui font échec aux droits des peuples coloniaux en favorisant l'afflux systématique d'immigrants étrangers et en déplaçant, déportant ou transférant les autochtones,

Considérant que la survivance du colonialisme et de ses manifestations, y compris le racisme et l'apartheid, et les efforts déployés par certaines puissances coloniales pour enrayer les mouvements de libération nationale par des activités répressives et l'emploi de la force armée contre les peuples sont incompatibles avec la Charte et la Déclaration,

Déplorant l'attitude de certains Etats qui persistent, malgré les résolutions de l'Assemblée générale et du Comité spécial, à coopérer avec les Gouvernements portugais et sud-africain et avec le régime minoritaire raciste illégal de la Rhodésie du Sud qui continuent à opprimer les populations africaines,

Ayant examiné les sections du rapport du Comité spécial qui ont trait aux activités des intérêts étrangers économiques et autres intérêts financiers au Sud-Ouest africain, dans les territoires sous domination portugaise et en Rhodésie du Sud, ainsi que les conclusions et les recommandations qui y figurent,

Convaincue que tout nouveau retard dans l'application intégrale et universelle de la Déclaration constitue une source de différends et de conflits internationaux qui entravent sérieusement la coopération internationale et compromettent la paix et la sécurité mondiales,

Prenant note des mesures prises ou envisagées par le Comité spécial au sujet de la liste des territoires auxquels s'applique la Déclaration,

Ayant adopté des résolutions au sujet de certains territoires examinés par le Comité spécial,

1. *Réaffirme* ses résolutions 1514 (XV), 1654 (XVI), 1810 (XVII), 1956 (XVIII) et 2105 (XX);

2. *Prend note avec satisfaction* du travail accompli par le Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux et le félicite des efforts qu'il a déployés pour assurer l'application de la Déclaration;

3. *Approuve* le rapport du Comité spécial sur ses travaux de 1966 et invite à nouveau les puissances administrantes à appliquer les recommandations qui y figurent;

4. *Approuve* les mesures prises ou envisagées par le Comité spécial pour l'année 1967 au sujet de la liste des territoires auxquels s'applique la Déclaration;

5. *Approuve* le programme de travail envisagé par le Comité spécial pour 1967, y compris l'envoi de missions de visite et la possibilité de tenir une série de réunions en dehors du Siège, et prie les puissances administrantes d'autoriser l'envoi de missions de visite dans les territoires placés sous leur administration;

6. *Déclare* que la persistance du régime colonial met en danger la paix et la sécurité internationales et que la pratique de l'apartheid, ainsi que de toute forme de discrimination raciale, est un crime contre l'humanité;

7. *Réaffirme* la légitimité de la lutte que les peuples sous domination coloniale mènent pour l'exercice de leur droit à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance et

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, point 24 de l'ordre du jour, document A/6227 et Add.1.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, point 20 de l'ordre du jour, document A/6559.

²¹ A/6545. Pour le texte imprimé de ce document, voir *Documents officiels du Conseil de sécurité, vingt et unième année, Supplément d'octobre, novembre et décembre 1966*, document S/7607.

²² *Documents officiels de l'Assemblée générale, vingt et unième session, Annexes*, additif au point 23 de l'ordre du jour (A/6300/Rev.1).

prie instamment tous les Etats d'apporter une aide matérielle et morale aux mouvements de libération nationale dans les territoires coloniaux;

8. *Prie* le Haut Commissaire des Nations Unies pour les réfugiés et autres organisations internationales de secours, ainsi que les institutions spécialisées intéressées, d'accroître leur assistance économique, sociale et humanitaire aux réfugiés de ces territoires;

9. *Prie* tous les Etats, agissant soit directement soit par l'intermédiaire des institutions internationales dont ils sont membres, y compris les institutions spécialisées, de s'abstenir de fournir une assistance quelconque aux Gouvernements portugais et sud-africain et au régime minoritaire raciste illégal de la Rhodésie du Sud tant que ces gouvernements et que ce régime n'auront pas renoncé à leur politique de discrimination raciale et de domination coloniale;

10. *Appelle l'attention* de tous les Etats sur les graves conséquences résultant de la formation en Afrique australe d'une entente entre les Gouvernements sud-africain et portugais et le régime minoritaire raciste illégal de la Rhodésie du Sud et demande à tous les Etats de refuser tout appui ou toute assistance à cette entente, dont l'existence et les activités sont contraires aux intérêts de la paix et de la sécurité internationales;

11. *Prie* les puissances coloniales de démanteler leurs bases et installations militaires dans les territoires coloniaux ainsi que de s'abstenir d'en établir de nouvelles et d'utiliser celles qui existent encore pour entraver la libération des peuples des territoires coloniaux dans l'exercice de leurs droits légitimes à la liberté et à l'indépendance;

12. *Condamne* les activités de ceux des intérêts économiques et financiers étrangers qui, dans les territoires coloniaux, en particulier au Sud-Ouest africain, en Rhodésie du Sud et dans les territoires sous domination portugaise, appuient les régimes coloniaux et constituent, de ce fait, un sérieux obstacle à l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, et demande aux gouvernements intéressés de prendre les mesures nécessaires pour mettre fin à ces activités;

13. *Condamne* la politique suivie par certaines puissances administrantes dans les territoires se trouvant sous leur domination, qui consiste à imposer des régimes non représentatifs et des constitutions, à renforcer la position des intérêts étrangers financiers et économiques, à abuser l'opinion publique mondiale et à encourager l'afflux systématique d'immigrants étrangers tout en déplaçant, déportant et transférant les autochtones vers d'autres régions, et leur demande de renoncer à ces manœuvres;

14. *Prie* le Comité spécial de porter à la connaissance du Conseil de sécurité les faits nouveaux, survenus dans l'un quelconque des territoires que le Comité examine, qui risquent de menacer la paix et la sécurité internationales, et de formuler toute suggestion concrète dont le Conseil pourrait s'inspirer en étudiant les mesures qu'il convient de prendre conformément à la Charte des Nations Unies;

15. *Invite* le Comité spécial, chaque fois qu'il le jugera pertinent et opportun, à recommander une date limite pour l'accession à l'indépendance de chaque territoire considéré, conformément au désir de la population et aux dispositions de la Déclaration;

16. *Invite* le Comité spécial à accorder une attention particulière aux petits territoires et à recommander à

l'Assemblée générale les moyens les plus appropriés, ainsi que les mesures à prendre, pour permettre aux populations de ces territoires d'exercer pleinement leur droit à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance;

17. *Prie* le Comité spécial de poursuivre sa tâche et de continuer à rechercher les moyens appropriés en vue d'assurer l'application immédiate et intégrale de la Déclaration dans tous les territoires qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance;

18. *Prie* le Secrétaire général de favoriser, par l'intermédiaire des divers organes et institutions des Nations Unies, la diffusion générale et suivie de la Déclaration et de faire largement connaître les travaux du Comité spécial, afin que l'opinion mondiale puisse être suffisamment informée de la situation dans les territoires coloniaux et de la lutte constante menée par les peuples coloniaux pour leur libération;

19. *Prie* le Secrétaire général de continuer à fournir au Comité spécial les fonds et les moyens nécessaires à l'accomplissement de son mandat;

20. *Décide* d'inscrire à l'ordre du jour de sa vingt-deuxième session une question intitulée "Activités des intérêts étrangers, économiques et autres, qui font obstacle à l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux en Rhodésie du Sud, au Sud-Ouest africain et dans les territoires sous domination portugaise, ainsi que dans tous les autres territoires se trouvant sous domination coloniale".

1492^e séance plénière,
13 décembre 1966.

Nations Unies
**ASSEMBLÉE
GÉNÉRALE**

VINGT ET UNIÈME SESSION

Documents officiels



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SÉANCE PLÉNIÈRE

Mardi 6 décembre 1966,
à 15 heures

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Application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux: rapport du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux (suite*)

72. Le PRESIDENT (traduit de l'anglais): Les membres de l'Assemblée se souviendront qu'il a été décidé d'examiner ce point de l'ordre du jour en séance plénière pour permettre à l'Assemblée générale de traiter de la question de l'application de la Déclaration en général. Tous les chapitres du rapport du Comité spécial concernant des territoires déterminés ont été renvoyés à la Quatrième Commission. Nous

*Reprise des débats de la 1468ème séance.

avons jusqu'ici examiné en plénière les rapports de cette Commission sur le Bassoutoland, le Betchouanaland et le Souaziland et sur la Rhodésie du Sud; nous examinerons dans les quelques jours qui viennent les rapports de la Quatrième Commission sur Aden, sur les îles Fidji et sur les territoires administrés par le Portugal.

73. Aujourd'hui, l'Assemblée va passer à la discussion d'ensemble de la question. Tous les problèmes qu'elle comporte peuvent être mentionnés mais, pour le bon ordre de nos débats, il serait préférable que les représentants qui ne désirent faire des observations que sur certains territoires donnés formulent celles-ci avant le vote sur les projets de résolution concernant chacun des territoires en particulier.

M. Al-Jubouri (Irak), rapporteur du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, présente le rapport de ce Comité et poursuit en ces termes.

74. M. AL-JUBOURI (Irak) [Rapporteur du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux] (traduit de l'anglais): Le rapport du Comité spécial sur ses travaux pendant l'année 1966 porte la cote A/6300/Rev.1. Il comporte près de 2 500 pages. Il ne saurait être court puisqu'il relate l'examen par le Comité de la situation dans quelque 60 territoires et qu'il contient deux études spéciales, l'une sur la Rhodésie du Sud et l'autre sur les territoires administrés par le Portugal.

75. Les membres de l'Assemblée générale se souviendront qu'elle a décidé, à sa 1415^{ème} séance plénière, le 24 septembre 1966, d'examiner en séance plénière la question de l'application de la Déclaration en général et de renvoyer à la Quatrième Commission, pour examen et rapport, les chapitres du rapport du Comité spécial concernant des territoires déterminés.

76. La Quatrième Commission a déjà soumis ses rapports sur le Bassoutoland, le Betchouanaland et le Souaziland [A/6448], sur l'audition des pétitionnaires au sujet de la question du Sud-Ouest africain [A/6458 et Add.1] et sur la Rhodésie du Sud [A/6482 et Add.1] et elle a adopté ses rapports sur Aden [A/6557] et sur les territoires administrés par le Portugal [A/6554]. Les rapports de la Quatrième Commission sur les autres territoires étudiés dans le rapport du Comité spécial seront soumis à mesure qu'ils seront publiés.

77. En 1966, le Comité spécial a étudié la situation dans tous les territoires inscrits sur la liste de ceux auxquels s'applique la Déclaration, à l'exception de trois, et au sujet de presque tous ces territoires, le Comité spécial a, soit adopté des résolutions, soit soumis des recommandations et des conclusions qui figurent dans les chapitres pertinents de son rapport. Le rapport du Comité spécial contient également des renseignements sur les trois territoires dont il n'a pas été en mesure d'étudier la situation. En outre, des faits nouveaux survenus dans le cas de certains

territoires ont obligé le Comité à étudier ceux-ci à plusieurs reprises.

78. Le Comité spécial a aussi achevé des études sur les intérêts étrangers, économiques et autres, dans les territoires administrés par le Portugal et en Rhodésie du Sud. L'étude concernant la Rhodésie du Sud et les observations du Comité spécial à son égard figurent dans le document A/6300/Rev.1, chapitre III (deuxième partie). La Quatrième Commission a déjà soumis à l'Assemblée son rapport sur l'étude de cette question dans la deuxième partie du rapport sur la Rhodésie du Sud [A/6482 et Add.1]. L'étude concernant les territoires administrés par le Portugal, qui complète celle que le Comité spécial avait entreprise en 1965, ainsi que les observations du Comité à son sujet, figurent dans le document A/6300/Rev.1, chapitre V (deuxième partie). La Quatrième Commission en a discuté à la présente session lorsqu'elle a examiné la question des territoires administrés par le Portugal.

79. Dans le cadre de la résolution 1654 (XVI) de l'Assemblée générale, en date du 27 novembre 1961, et en particulier aux termes du paragraphe 7 du dispositif de la résolution 2105 (XX) de l'Assemblée générale, le Comité spécial, répondant aux invitations que lui avaient adressées les Gouvernements de l'Algérie, de l'Éthiopie, de la République arabe unie, de la République-Unie de Tanzanie et de la Somalie, a tenu, en mai et juin 1966, une nouvelle série de réunions en Afrique dans les capitales de ces pays. Le Comité spécial a particulièrement souligné l'importance des résultats obtenus par ces réunions en Afrique qui ont non seulement témoigné de la préoccupation croissante de l'ONU à l'égard de la situation des peuples coloniaux mais qui ont aussi mis le Comité mieux à même d'aider ces peuples dans leur lutte pour la liberté et l'indépendance. Le Comité spécial a été profondément reconnaissant aux cinq gouvernements de leur invitation et il a adopté à l'unanimité une résolution à cet effet, le 22 juin 1966. Le Comité spécial a rendu compte de ses travaux en Afrique dans la deuxième partie du chapitre II de son rapport [A/6300/Rev.1], ainsi que dans les chapitres relatifs à chacun des territoires qu'il a étudiés lors de ses réunions en Afrique. A cet égard, j'attirerai également votre attention sur la résolution générale que le Comité spécial a adoptée le 22 juin 1966 au sujet de l'application de la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale aux territoires coloniaux qu'il a étudiés au cours de ses réunions en Afrique.

80. L'Assemblée générale, par sa résolution 1970 (XVIII) en date du 16 décembre 1963, a décidé de dissoudre le Comité des renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes et elle a confié ses fonctions au Comité spécial. Celui-ci a par conséquent examiné en 1966 les renseignements relatifs aux territoires non autonomes transmis en application de l'Article 73, e, de la Charte. Cet examen est relaté en détail au chapitre XXIII du rapport du Comité spécial et la Quatrième Commission l'étudiera à la présente session.

81. En application des dispositions de la résolution 2105 (XX), par laquelle l'Assemblée générale a demandé au Comité spécial "de porter à la connaissance

du Conseil de sécurité les faits nouveaux survenus dans l'un quelconque des territoires qu'il [examinerait] qui [risqueraient] de menacer la paix et la sécurité internationales, et de formuler des suggestions dont le Conseil pourrait s'inspirer en étudiant les mesures qu'il [convenait] de prendre conformément à la Charte des Nations Unies", ce Comité a, en 1966, attiré l'attention du Conseil de sécurité sur la situation régnant dans un certain nombre des territoires qu'il avait étudiés, et notamment en Rhodésie du Sud, dans le Sud-Ouest africain, à Aden et dans les territoires administrés par le Portugal. Le Comité spécial a rendu compte des mesures qu'il avait prises à cet égard dans les paragraphes 296 à 302 du chapitre premier de son rapport.

82. En 1966, le Comité spécial a pris note de l'accession à l'indépendance de trois des territoires dont la situation avait fait l'objet d'un examen approfondi de l'Assemblée générale et du Comité, à savoir: la Guyane britannique, devenue la Guyane; le Betchoualand, devenu le Botswana; le Bassoutoland, devenu le Lesotho. Avant l'accession à l'indépendance du Betchoualand et du Bassoutoland, le Comité a porté toute son attention sur les mesures nécessaires pour leur permettre de jouir d'une complète indépendance et d'assurer leur intégrité territoriale et leur souveraineté. L'examen auquel s'est livré le Comité spécial et les mesures qu'il a prises au sujet de ces territoires sont relatés au chapitre VII de son rapport. La Quatrième Commission a déjà étudié ce chapitre et, sur sa recommandation, l'Assemblée générale a adopté, le 29 septembre 1966, la résolution 2134 (XXI).

83. Au paragraphe 8 du dispositif de la résolution 2105 (XX), du 20 décembre 1965, l'Assemblée générale a prié "le Comité spécial de porter une attention particulière aux petits territoires et de recommander à l'Assemblée générale les moyens les plus appropriés, ainsi que les mesures à prendre pour permettre éventuellement aux populations de ces territoires d'exercer pleinement leur droit à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance". En formulant ses conclusions et recommandations au sujet des petits territoires, qui sont exposées en détail dans les chapitres pertinents de son rapport, le Comité spécial a tenu compte de cette disposition.

84. Au paragraphe 9 de la même résolution, l'Assemblée générale a prié "le Comité spécial, chaque fois qu'il le [jugerait] opportun, de recommander une date limite pour l'accession à l'indépendance de chaque territoire considéré, conformément au désir de la population". Lorsqu'il a étudié la situation de certains territoires, le Comité spécial a pris cette disposition en considération.

85. Sous réserve des directives que l'Assemblée générale pourrait vouloir donner lors de sa vingt et unième session au sujet des petits territoires et des dates limites pour l'accession de territoires à l'indépendance, le Comité spécial continuera de s'inspirer de ces dispositions et des autres dispositions de la résolution 2105 (XX).

86. Aux paragraphes 184 à 223 du chapitre premier de son rapport et dans nombre d'autres chapitres relatifs à des territoires déterminés, le Comité

spécial a énoncé des recommandations au sujet des missions de visite. Le Comité continue à accorder une grande valeur à ces missions qui permettent de recueillir des renseignements de première main sur la situation dans les territoires visités et sur les vœux de leurs populations, afin de les aider à appliquer la Déclaration. Le Comité spécial a donc l'intention de mettre ses recommandations en pratique avec la plus grande énergie et de continuer à rechercher le concours des puissances administrantes pour permettre l'envoi de missions de cette nature au cours de la prochaine session.

87. Dans son rapport à l'Assemblée générale lors de sa vingtième session, le Comité spécial a déclaré que,

"sous réserve de toutes instructions que l'Assemblée générale pourrait vouloir donner, lors de sa vingtième session, pour assurer l'application rapide de la Déclaration, le Comité spécial se [proposait] de poursuivre l'examen de la question de la liste des territoires auxquels s'applique la Déclaration"^{5/}.

88. Au septième alinéa du préambule de la résolution 2105 (XX), l'Assemblée générale a noté "les mesures prises et envisagées par le Comité spécial au sujet de la liste des territoires auxquels s'applique la Déclaration". En 1966, le Comité spécial a examiné un rapport du groupe de travail chargé d'étudier cette question et a approuvé les propositions qu'il contenait. Les travaux du Comité spécial à cet égard sont relatés aux paragraphes 263 à 269 du chapitre premier de son rapport.

89. Au cours de l'année, le Comité spécial a également examiné la question de l'application des résolutions 2105 (XX) et 2107 (XX) de l'Assemblée générale et des résolutions pertinentes du Comité spécial en ce qui concerne les demandes et appels qu'elles contiennent à l'intention des institutions internationales, y compris les institutions spécialisées. Cet examen est relaté en détail aux paragraphes 224 à 261 du rapport du Comité spécial.

90. Enfin, le Comité spécial a formulé un certain nombre de recommandations destinées à l'aider à poursuivre sa tâche en 1967 et que l'Assemblée générale souhaitera peut-être examiner en étudiant l'application de la Déclaration. Ces recommandations sont énoncées à la section XII du chapitre premier du rapport. En voici quelques-unes.

91. Le Comité spécial estime que l'Assemblée générale devrait renouveler l'appel qu'elle a adressé aux puissances administrantes pour qu'elles appliquent sans délai la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux territoires coloniaux qu'elles administrent. L'Assemblée devrait adresser à nouveau un appel aux puissances administrantes pour qu'elles coopèrent avec le Comité spécial en facilitant les visites dans les territoires, conformément aux demandes figurant dans les résolutions et décisions déjà adoptées par le Comité spécial. L'Assemblée devrait à nouveau prier les puissances administrantes

^{5/} Documents officiels de l'Assemblée générale, vingtième session, Annexes, additif au point 23 de l'ordre du jour, chap. 1er, par. 66.

de coopérer avec le Secrétaire général pour permettre une large diffusion de la Déclaration et des renseignements concernant les activités entreprises par les Nations Unies et en particulier par le Comité spécial pour la mise en œuvre de la Déclaration.

92. Le Comité spécial recommande à l'Assemblée d'adopter le programme de travail exposé dans la section du rapport que j'ai mentionné et de prendre les dispositions financières appropriées pour couvrir les dépenses relatives aux activités du Comité spécial, y compris les dépenses des groupes de visite. De plus, dans le cadre du paragraphe 6 du dispositif de la résolution 1654 (XVI) de l'Assemblée générale, le Comité spécial pourrait décider de tenir une nouvelle série de réunions en Afrique en 1967.

93. Je recommande à l'Assemblée générale d'approuver le rapport du Comité spécial.

94. Le PRESIDENT (traduit de l'anglais): Je donne maintenant la parole au Président du Comité spécial, M. Collier, ambassadeur du Sierra Leone.

95. M. COLLIER (Sierra Leone) [traduit de l'anglais]: Une fois encore, l'Assemblée générale est saisie de la question de l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. La question du colonialisme a pris, dans l'histoire récente des Nations Unies, une importance toujours plus grande. La Charte des Nations Unies consacre, en la réaffirmant, la foi dans les droits fondamentaux de l'homme, dans la dignité et la valeur de la personne humaine, dans l'égalité des droits des hommes et des femmes et des nations, grandes et petites, et dans la justice universelle. Après l'effrayante leçon de la Seconde Guerre mondiale, la communauté internationale avait à cœur d'épargner le fléau de la guerre aux générations suivantes et, pleinement consciente du fait que le mépris flagrant de la dignité et de la valeur de la personne humaine avait été l'un des principaux facteurs de cette guerre, elle a créé une organisation dont les objectifs étaient clairement orientés vers la création d'une communauté internationale où régnerait la justice pour tous les hommes.

96. Il était donc naturel que, peu après la naissance de l'Organisation, les questions de colonialisme y prennent une place importante. L'attention accordée à ces questions a pris toute son ampleur en 1960, lors de l'adoption de la fameuse Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. Comme on l'a souvent dit, à l'ONU et ailleurs, ce document est devenu, pour ainsi dire, la Grande Charte du processus de décolonisation.

97. Depuis lors, le mouvement de décolonisation s'est accéléré et il est encourageant de constater que beaucoup de pays ont, depuis cette date, accédé à l'indépendance et pris leur place légitime dans les conseils des nations. Malheureusement, en dépit des nombreuses résolutions des Nations Unies, malgré la naissance, à l'échelon international, d'un sentiment général contre le colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et bien que le colonialisme soit presque unanimement condamné comme un phénomène odieux, intolérable et pathologique, des affaires en suspens demeurent encore inscrites à notre ordre du jour sous la rubrique du colonialisme.

98. Il n'est sans doute pas inutile que, dès l'ouverture du présent débat, je rappelle la satisfaction qu'inspire à ma délégation, et d'ailleurs à tous les membres du Comité spécial de la décolonisation, le fait que, depuis que la question a été examinée pour la dernière fois, plusieurs pays ont accédé à l'indépendance et occupent maintenant le siège qui leur revient à l'Organisation des Nations Unies. La Guyane, qui a souffert de longues années sous le joug du colonialisme, en dépit de la lutte vaillamment menée par le peuple héroïque de ce pays, et dont la question est demeurée inscrite pendant plusieurs années à l'ordre du jour du Comité spécial, a finalement accédé à l'indépendance et c'est avec fierté que nous l'avons accueillie au début de la présente session, en qualité de Membre de l'Organisation des Nations Unies.

99. Il est peut-être significatif que la Guyane ait fêté son indépendance au moment où le Comité spécial était en Afrique, poursuivant ses efforts pour donner la chasse au colonialisme et pour l'abattre partout où il montre son horrible face, et que nous ayons salué l'indépendance de ce pays dans la belle ville de Dar-es-Salaam, capitale de la République de Tanzanie, cité que l'on en est venu depuis peu à considérer comme le havre des combattants de la libération de toute cette Afrique en proie aux troubles.

100. Le Botswana et le Lesotho ont également accédé à l'indépendance et sont fiers de siéger aujourd'hui parmi nous. Ces pays sont nés des douleurs où se débattent tous les territoires africains proches de cette chaudière de racisme qu'est l'Afrique du Sud.

101. Au cours des dernières semaines, nous avons salué avec fierté l'indépendance de la Barbade et accueilli ce merveilleux pays, si riche en ressources humaines, au sein de la communauté internationale. Nous avons toutes raisons de croire que tous les pays qui sont devenus indépendants depuis notre dernier débat joueront un rôle utile dans les affaires internationales et que le progrès de leurs peuples, sous la propre direction de ceux-ci, leur assurera une réelle prospérité dans le respect de la dignité humaine.

102. Le Comité spécial est heureux d'éliminer ces questions de son ordre du jour et s'impatiente d'y voir demeurer obstinément tant d'autres questions. Certaines puissances coloniales restent inflexibles et récalcitrantes. Elles ont refusé d'appliquer la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. Certaines d'entre elles ont même bravé les résolutions des Nations Unies sur cette question; leur position est farouchement intransigeante.

103. Notre débat sur l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance commence précisément le jour où la survivance d'un colonialisme impénitent vient de nous être rappelée de façon choquante. Je veux parler de la situation en Rhodésie du Sud. M. Ian Smith, grâce aux erreurs commises par le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni dans le traitement de cette affaire, a de nouveau défié l'opinion mondiale en annonçant son intention de maintenir son régime illégal. Ce régime est abominable, raciste, intolérable et rappelle fâcheusement les odieux excès du régime nazi dans l'Allemagne hitlérienne. Ce parallèle est

justifié car le racisme est le racisme, quelque forme qu'il prenne. Il repose sur une doctrine d'intolérance arrogante, fondée sur la prétendue supériorité d'une certaine pigmentation de la peau. C'est en vertu de cette fausse hypothèse que M. Smith et ses collaborateurs ont revendiqué le pouvoir et prétendu imposer leur règle à la vie et au sort de millions d'individus noirs. Que cette façon de penser ait cours au milieu du XXème siècle, c'est en vérité la honte de notre temps et le scandale de la civilisation dite blanche, dont M. Ian Smith se proclame le champion.

104. Grâce aux hésitations et aux encouragements de M. Harold Wilson, le Premier Ministre du Royaume-Uni — car, ne vous y trompez pas, c'était, de la part de M. Wilson, un encouragement que de déclarer, quelques jours avant la déclaration unilatérale d'indépendance de M. Smith, que la force ne serait jamais employée, alors que M. Smith avait clairement indiqué ses intentions — la question de la Rhodésie va maintenant dépendre en grande partie de la résolution avec laquelle les Nations Unies relèveront le défi que constitue cette situation nouvelle.

105. On nous a dit que le Gouvernement britannique chercherait à obtenir du Conseil de sécurité le vote de sanctions obligatoires partielles.

106. Lors de la dernière conférence des Premiers Ministres du Commonwealth à laquelle participait le Sierra Leone, sir Albert Margai, le Premier Ministre de mon pays, a énoncé très clairement les conditions dans lesquelles cette affaire devait être portée devant l'Organisation des Nations Unies. En fait, ce point de vue était mentionné dans le communiqué conjoint que le représentant permanent du Royaume-Uni a bien voulu présenter au cours du débat sur cette question à la Quatrième Commission. Les mesures que nous envisageons devraient être prises aux termes des Articles 41 et 42 de la Charte et la force devrait, s'il le faut, être employée pour mettre fin à une situation qui, selon le Royaume-Uni lui-même, est illégale et relève de la trahison. Des sanctions obligatoires partielles ne peuvent guère être utiles si elles s'appliquent à des produits choisis de manière à ce que le régime puisse survivre. Elles n'aboutiraient qu'à reproduire la situation ridicule que le Royaume-Uni a créée lorsqu'il a donné au monde l'assurance que les sanctions qu'il imposait, au moment où M. Smith est entré dans l'illégalité, allaient mettre fin à ce régime en quelques semaines et non en plusieurs mois. Nous en avons assez de ce genre d'assurances.

107. Le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni a là une responsabilité incontestable. Qu'il s'en acquitte; qu'il montre qu'il s'intéresse réellement aux dispositions de la Charte des Nations Unies qui exigent l'égalité des droits des hommes et des femmes, quelles que soient leur couleur, leurs croyances ou leur religion. Qu'il fasse cette fois la preuve qu'il est décidé à mettre rapidement fin au colonialisme et à appliquer ainsi la Déclaration dans une région qui, il nous l'a rappelé assez souvent, relève de sa seule et entière responsabilité.

108. La question du Sud-Ouest africain ayant déjà fait l'objet d'un débat complet en séance plénière, je

me contenterai de rappeler aujourd'hui qu'elle figure toujours à l'ordre du jour du Comité spécial et que nous espérons l'y maintenir et suivre de très près les travaux du Comité du Sud-Ouest africain qui a été créé à la suite de ce débat.

109. Je me dois d'exprimer la satisfaction de ma délégation et celle du Comité spécial de la décolonisation à l'égard du louable exemple de coopération avec l'ONU que le Gouvernement espagnol a donné dans la région au cours de l'année écoulée. Quoi qu'on puisse dire de l'Espagne, il ne faut pas oublier que ce pays a été la première puissance coloniale qui ait autorisé une mission de visite des Nations Unies à se rendre dans un territoire, conformément au vœu exprimé par l'ONU.

110. Ce que nous avons trouvé dans ce territoire est une tout autre question, mais il faut reconnaître que le Gouvernement espagnol a coopéré sans réserve avec la mission des Nations Unies, lui a offert une hospitalité des plus généreuses et, pour autant que nous ayons pu voir, n'a fait en rien obstacle aux travaux du Comité lorsque nous nous sommes rendus dans les territoires espagnols de Fernando Poo et de Rio Muni en Guinée équatoriale. Cette mission a soumis un rapport qui sera examiné en détail. Je tiens seulement aujourd'hui à exprimer l'espoir de ma délégation que le Gouvernement espagnol sera en mesure d'accepter les recommandations de la mission et d'appliquer ainsi rapidement la Déclaration en octroyant l'indépendance aux peuples de ce territoire.

111. A ce propos, je voudrais exprimer la déception du Comité spécial de voir que certaines puissances coloniales — et en particulier le Royaume-Uni — ne sont pas prêtes à admettre des missions de visite des Nations Unies dans les territoires coloniaux. Bien que ces puissances coloniales aient souvent exprimé le désir de coopérer aux travaux de l'ONU, elles n'ont jusqu'ici, malgré les nombreuses résolutions de l'ONU en la matière, donné aucune preuve de ce désir de coopération dans la région qui leur en offrait précisément la meilleure occasion. D'autres puissances, comme la Nouvelle-Zélande, n'ont soumis qu'avec beaucoup de retard les renseignements requis par l'ONU au sujet des territoires qu'elles administrent.

112. Ma délégation espère que ces puissances coloniales et impérialistes envisageront sérieusement de coopérer avec plus de sincérité à la tâche de décolonisation entreprise par l'ONU. Cette coopération est particulièrement souhaitable dans le cas des petits territoires où il importe que le Comité spécial de l'ONU se rende sur place pour observer lui-même les conditions qui y règnent, afin d'être en mesure d'étudier les recommandations qu'il convient de faire, en fonction de ces conditions spéciales, pour assurer l'application rapide de la Déclaration.

113. Le colonialisme, malheureusement, n'est pas limité au continent africain. L'un des problèmes les plus irritants qui soient inscrits à l'ordre du jour du Comité spécial est celui d'Aden. L'ONU s'efforce depuis des années de convaincre le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni de la nécessité, pour elle, d'inter-

venir. Depuis des années, le Royaume-Uni a refusé de coopérer avec l'ONU et s'est réfugié derrière la déclaration habituelle, selon laquelle Aden relève de sa propre responsabilité.

114. Malgré l'absence de coopération du Royaume-Uni, le Comité spécial a adopté, pendant ses réunions en Afrique, une résolution par laquelle il a demandé au Secrétaire général de l'ONU de désigner, en consultation avec le Comité spécial et la Puissance administrante, une commission qui se rendrait à Aden pour formuler des recommandations susceptibles d'aboutir à l'indépendance.

115. C'était en juin. La réponse de la délégation du Royaume-Uni à la lettre par laquelle le Secrétaire général l'informait de cette demande contenait certains termes qui équivalaient, selon une décision ultérieure du Comité spécial, à des conditions préalables et le Comité a expressément décidé, si le Royaume-Uni ne retirait pas ces conditions, de considérer que celui-ci n'avait pas pleinement accepté la demande.

116. Après un délai inutile et entièrement dû à la répugnance de la délégation du Royaume-Uni à retirer sans équivoque ces conditions préalables, la Quatrième Commission a finalement adopté, à la presque unanimité, une résolution demandant que la mission parte sans plus tarder pour Aden. Ma délégation espère que le Royaume-Uni ne va pas maintenant recourir à ses tactiques habituelles de retards, de tergiversations et d'hésitations pour rendre inutilement ardue la tâche de la mission. Nous espérons également que le Royaume-Uni ne va pas susciter de nouveaux obstacles pour empêcher le Secrétaire général de faire droit à la requête des Nations Unies selon laquelle les membres de cette mission doivent être désignés en consultation avec le Comité spécial et l'Autorité administrante.

117. A l'ordre du jour du Comité spécial figure encore la question de nombreux petits territoires, dont le sort reste à déterminer. Le principe clé est ici, sans aucun doute, celui de l'autodétermination. Ce principe est inviolable et ma délégation croit qu'il recueille aujourd'hui l'adhésion de l'ensemble de la communauté internationale. Sans doute, de nouvelles idées devront être mises à l'épreuve afin de fixer la ligne d'action la plus appropriée pour assurer l'avenir de certains petits territoires, mais ces considérations ne peuvent être valables et pertinentes que dans le cadre du principe de l'autodétermination et c'est aux populations de ces territoires qu'il appartient, dans l'exercice libre et sans entraves de leur volonté, de fixer elles-mêmes l'avenir politique qu'elles préfèrent.

118. L'événement le plus important pour le Comité spécial au cours de l'année écoulée a sans doute été sa visite en Afrique. Une fois encore le Comité spécial des Nations Unies pour la décolonisation a pu se rendre dans des capitales africaines. Nous avons pris cette décision car nous estimons que l'ONU doit entrer directement en contact, de façon concrète, avec les problèmes inscrits à son ordre du jour. C'est parfait de siéger à New York et d'adopter des résolutions mais il importe peut-être plus encore que l'ONU soit prête à participer directement, dans la

pratique, à la solution des problèmes en suspens. Dans le cas du colonialisme, il s'agit de combattants de la liberté, engagés dans une lutte acharnée, à la vie ou à la mort, pour sauvegarder les idéaux qui sont chers à la communauté mondiale moderne. Il importe d'encourager ces combattants de la liberté en se rapprochant du lieu de leur combat pour stimuler leurs efforts et les assurer de l'intérêt que leur porte notre organisme mondial.

119. Cette visite en Afrique a aussi été importante dans la mesure où elle a permis aux délégations de beaucoup de pays auxquels l'oppression du colonialisme n'est pas familière de ressentir de près l'atmosphère qui s'en dégage.

120. Ces visites du Comité ont également donné à de nombreux pétitionnaires qui, sans elles, n'auraient jamais pu se présenter devant lui en raison de la dépense, l'occasion d'exposer leur cas. Le Comité spécial s'est rendu cette année dans cinq capitales: Dar-es-Salaam (Tanzanie), Mogadiscio (Somalie), Addis-Abéba (Ethiopie), Le Caire (République arabe unie) et Alger (Algérie).

121. Dans toutes ces villes, nous avons été reçus avec chaleur, bonne volonté, amabilité et hospitalité. Les gouvernements intéressés n'ont épargné aucun effort pour mettre à notre disposition tous les services et installations nécessaires à nos travaux. Je tiens, une fois encore, à remercier les gouvernements et les peuples de ces pays, au nom de l'ONU et, en particulier, au nom des Etats membres du Comité spécial, de la peine qu'ils ont prise pour faire de notre visite dans leurs capitales une expérience si riche et mémorable.

122. Notre voyage nous a permis de donner une expression concrète au rôle que joue l'ONU dans la recherche de solutions pratiques pour les problèmes du colonialisme. Nous sommes fermement convaincus que notre voyage a contribué de façon vitale à la compréhension des problèmes qui sont inscrits à notre ordre du jour et a beaucoup aidé à faire connaître dans ces pays le sens profond de l'ONU.

123. Après avoir étudié pendant une année encore le problème du colonialisme, nous constatons que celui-ci est encore bien vivant. Le colonialisme se porte bien en raison non seulement de la politique pernicieuse suivie sciemment par les puissances coloniales en cause mais aussi, en grande partie, en raison des activités des monopoles et intérêts étrangers, financiers et économiques, dans ces pays, et notamment dans le Sud-Ouest africain, en Rhodésie du Sud, en Angola, au Mozambique et à Bissao, en Guinée. Il est de toute évidence que, du fait de ces monopoles et intérêts financiers et économiques, beaucoup de gouvernements n'ont pas pu donner leur pleine coopération à l'application des résolutions pertinentes de l'ONU.

124. Il leur est certes aisé de voter les résolutions mais ils ne font guère ensuite pour mettre obstacle aux activités commerciales et financières de leurs ressortissants et ils coopèrent même parfois activement à ces activités qui ont pour résultat l'exploitation et l'asservissement des populations des territoires en cause. Nul n'ignore que, pour que ces territoires continuent d'assurer des revenus si abon-

dants aux capitaux qui y affluent des pays occidentaux capitalistes, il faut qu'ils soient dépourvus d'une législation adéquate du travail. Ces capitalistes veulent que le coût de la main-d'œuvre demeure aussi bas que possible pour renforcer leur marge de bénéfice et c'est là ce qui, pour des raisons égoïstes, avides et mercenaires, perpétue le fléau du colonialisme.

125. Si le colonialisme se perpétue de nos jours c'est aussi, et beaucoup, à cause de la prétendue nécessité de sauvegarder les intérêts militaires dans le monde entier. Nous trouvons encore des bases militaires dans les territoires coloniaux, bases dont les puissances colonialistes veulent croire qu'elles favorisent leur stratégie d'ensemble dans la prétendue "confrontation Est-Ouest", à laquelle les populations de ces territoires ne sont en rien intéressées.

126. Cette situation, regrettable en soi, s'aggrave encore si l'on considère que ces bases militaires peuvent servir d'arsenaux et de tremplins pour une agression contre les peuples eux-mêmes de ces territoires à l'occasion de leur lutte légitime pour l'indépendance. L'existence de bases militaires dans les territoires coloniaux fait donc directement obstacle à l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance.

127. Face à ce problème persistant du colonialisme, il nous faut continuer de légitimer les luttes de libération nationale. Ce sont des guerres justes. Ce sont des guerres que les populations des territoires coloniaux mènent pour défendre leurs droits et leur liberté. La communauté internationale devrait cristalliser le sentiment général en faveur de ces principes inaliénables. Ces principes devraient comprendre l'autodétermination des peuples et l'appui des luttes légitimes des peuples qui vivent encore sous le joug du colonialisme.

128. Nous avons atteint, dans l'évolution de la pensée internationale, le point où les nations devraient être prêtes à reconnaître que les actes de répression à l'encontre des peuples dépendants qui luttent pour leur indépendance, tels que les actes actuellement perpétrés dans les territoires dits portugais, l'Afrique du Sud, le Sud-Ouest africain et la Rhodésie du Sud, devraient être châtiés en tant que crimes contre l'humanité. Le monde ne doit pas demeurer passif et attendre que les événements aboutissent à un désastre de proportions inimaginables pour proclamer ensuite, dans un tribunal international, que des crimes ont été commis contre l'humanité.

129. Nous nous souvenons tous que, lors des procès de Nuremberg qui ont suivi la dernière guerre, les chefs de l'Allemagne nazie ont été poursuivis pour ce que l'on a appelé des "crimes contre l'humanité". La définition donnée des crimes comportait:

"... l'assassinat, l'extermination, la réduction en esclavage, la déportation et tout autre acte inhumain commis contre toutes populations civiles, avant ou pendant la guerre, ou bien les persécutions pour des motifs politiques, raciaux ou religieux lorsque ces actes ou persécutions, qu'ils aient constitué ou non une violation du droit interne [du pays où ils ont été perpétrés] ont été commis à la suite de

tout crime rentrant dans la compétence du Tribunal, ou en liaison avec ce crime"^{6/}.

130. Dans les pratiques du colonialisme, nous trouvons aujourd'hui présents tous ces éléments — l'assassinat, l'extermination, la réduction en esclavage et la persécution. Ces crimes sont perpétrés aujourd'hui dans les territoires coloniaux. Il est grand temps que le colonialisme commence à être défini en ces termes. C'est à la communauté internationale qu'il appartient d'envisager cette question dans une perspective plus vaste, d'autant plus que l'on soulève souvent des points de droit pour la défense de la prétendue souveraineté des Etats. Il est important de reconnaître maintenant que certaines violations des droits fondamentaux de l'homme transcendent l'inviolabilité de la souveraineté des Etats. Il importe même que nous reconnaissons la légalité de ces interventions dans des termes très analogues aux arguments si persuasifs présentés au procès de Nuremberg.

131. Il me semble que le moment est venu d'élever la discussion du colonialisme à ce niveau plus élevé. Nous ne devons plus nous contenter de réprimander, ou même de condamner, les auteurs de ces actes lâches. Nous devons nous orienter vers la création d'une entente internationale générale sur la question des droits de l'homme.

132. L'argument contestable selon lequel certaines affaires relèvent de la juridiction interne d'Etats souverains nous est familier. Mais, dès l'époque de Grotius, il était entendu que, dans certaines circonstances, la communauté internationale pouvait prendre position sur une question relative aux droits de l'homme et même intervenir, s'il le fallait, dans la juridiction interne d'un Etat. Les procès de Nuremberg nous ont enseigné que des crimes contre l'humanité peuvent être commis sur la base d'une violation fondamentale des droits de l'homme de nature si énorme qu'elle vise à l'extermination d'un peuple.

133. Montrons-nous donc, à cette vingt et unième session de l'Assemblée générale, à la hauteur de cette nouvelle tâche et adoptons une résolution énergique par laquelle nous définirons le colonialisme sous son vrai jour, en tant que crime contre l'humanité, et nous jetterons les bases d'un accord international qui permettrait à l'ONU de jouer un rôle plus positif dans l'éradication de ce mal. Il se pourrait bien que nous puissions ainsi assurer l'application rapide de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux et satisfaire par conséquent au principe fondamental de la Charte qui reconnaît l'égalité de tous les peuples, quelle que soit leur couleur, leur race ou leur croyance.

134. Le PRESIDENT (traduit de l'anglais): Avant de donner la parole au prochain orateur, je voudrais informer l'Assemblée générale que je me propose de clore la liste des orateurs désirant participer au débat général 24 heures après le début de l'examen de la question en discussion. La liste sera donc close demain, le 7 décembre, à 18 heures.

^{6/} Le statut et le jugement du Tribunal de Nuremberg (publication des Nations Unies, numéro de vente: 1949.V.7); p. 65.

135. M. RUDA (Argentine) [traduit de l'espagnol]: L'examen en séance plénière du point 23 de l'ordre du jour de l'Assemblée offre à ma délégation l'occasion, qu'elle apprécie tout particulièrement, d'exposer en termes généraux sa position au sujet de l'état actuel des problèmes coloniaux dans le monde, question à l'étude de laquelle la délégation argentine a toujours consacré l'attention la plus soutenue.

136. Tout d'abord, nous tenons à exprimer notre reconnaissance au Comité spécial des Vingt-Quatre, dont les travaux constituent l'épine dorsale de l'action que poursuit l'Assemblée générale pour accomplir la mission à laquelle elle ne saurait renoncer et qui consiste à assurer la pleine application du principe consacré par la Charte en matière de libre détermination.

137. En pensant à cette tâche, nous ne saurions manquer de noter, en une brève analyse rétrospective, l'évolution sensible qu'a subi depuis 1945 le traitement des problèmes coloniaux au sein de l'Organisation. Les pas que l'ONU a franchis vers la pleine reconnaissance des aspirations des peuples à la libération et à l'indépendance ont suivi un rythme hésitant et peut-être parfois d'une lenteur excessive mais la tâche se poursuit, incontestablement avec succès.

138. Ce processus est jalonné d'étapes mémorables: tout d'abord, l'élaboration du Chapitre XI de la Charte sur la Déclaration relative aux territoires non autonomes, qui fut approuvée par les fondateurs de l'ONU, puis la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale et sa mise en œuvre ultérieure par la résolution 1654 (XVI) aux termes de laquelle fut créé le Comité spécial. Ces trois piliers constituent l'armature sur laquelle repose actuellement l'action moderne et dynamique des Nations Unies en matière de décolonisation.

139. A cette œuvre de l'ONU qui est venue étayer la lutte des peuples décidés à diriger leurs propres destinées, la délégation argentine a toujours participé en apportant un concours enthousiaste à la recherche de la solution juste et appropriée.

140. Au cours de la présente session de l'Assemblée générale, nous avons eu la satisfaction de saluer l'accession à l'indépendance de nouveaux Etats qui sont devenus Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies. En accédant à l'indépendance, la Guyane, le Lesotho, le Botswana et la Barbade ont clos en 1966 de nouveaux chapitres de l'histoire de la lutte menée contre le colonialisme grâce au courage des peuples et à l'action des Nations Unies.

141. Cependant, de vastes territoires et des populations nombreuses restent encore soumis à des régimes colonialistes et leur progrès vers l'indépendance complète n'offre pas pour le moment de perspectives très prometteuses, comme l'a montré l'exposé détaillé que vient de faire le représentant du Sierra Leone, président du Comité spécial des Vingt-Quatre. Nous pensons, en particulier, à la situation des territoires et des populations de la partie méridionale du continent africain.

142. D'un côté, l'on a pu, au cours de la présente session de l'Assemblée générale, mettre en marche un mécanisme visant à la solution du problème du

Sud-Ouest africain. C'est là un pas dans la bonne direction et nous souhaitons ardemment que les étapes suivantes, dont il faut élaborer le plan, ne se heurtent à aucun obstacle afin que le peuple du Sud-Ouest africain puisse bientôt accéder à l'indépendance.

143. D'un autre côté, certaines situations, dans le sud du continent africain, demeurent statiques et n'offrent aucune perspective encourageante. Les territoires administrés par le Portugal posent à la communauté internationale un grave problème qui devient chaque jour plus aigu du fait que la Puissance administrante ne se résout pas à appliquer le principe de libre détermination que consacre la Charte.

144. De même, ma délégation est extrêmement préoccupée de la situation de la Rhodésie du Sud que le Conseil de sécurité doit examiner incessamment. Nous avons le désir le plus profond de voir cette situation trouver une prompt solution fondée sur le respect des droits de la majorité de la population de la Rhodésie du Sud et, à cet égard, la délégation argentine au Conseil de sécurité engagera dans ce prochain débat toute son énergie et sa détermination.

145. C'est ainsi que six ans ont passé depuis l'adoption de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux et que, malgré tout, plus de cinquante territoires se trouvent encore sous une administration coloniale. C'est là, à notre avis, un indice précis et décisif de l'ampleur de la tâche que l'ONU doit encore accomplir pour aider ces peuples à réaliser leurs aspirations légitimes.

146. La résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale constitue indiscutablement un ensemble de règles adéquat pour assurer la réalisation complète de ce noble idéal. L'application de cette résolution doit mener au terme souhaité le processus de décolonisation dans les zones où persistent encore des formes de colonialisme.

147. Non pays est très bien placé pour apprécier les souffrances qu'imposent les politiques coloniales non seulement parce qu'il a dû, au XIX^{ème} siècle, mener une lutte sanglante pour obtenir son indépendance et celle de peuples frères mais aussi parce qu'aujourd'hui même les îles Malouines — qui font partie de son territoire — subissent une domination étrangère qui est un relent des pratiques coloniales si fréquentes dans les relations internationales du siècle dernier et d'une partie du siècle présent.

148. L'Assemblée générale, en adoptant à sa vingtième session la résolution 2065 (XX), a expressément reconnu le différend qui oppose mon pays au Royaume-Uni au sujet des îles Malouines. Cette décision de l'Assemblée générale a renforcé la certitude de mon pays que l'exercice de ses droits lui sera restitué sans délai.

149. La résolution 2065 (XX) est ainsi venue couronner de succès un processus qui a comporté des études approfondies et des débats tenus successivement par le Sous-Comité III, puis par le Comité spécial des Vingt-Quatre et enfin par la Quatrième Commission.

150. C'est ainsi que l'Assemblée, après avoir placé le cas des îles Malouines dans le cadre des dispositions de la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée géné-

rale, a invité le Gouvernement de mon pays et celui du Royaume-Uni à entamer des négociations.

151. En réponse à cette invitation, ont commencé des négociations dont mon gouvernement, conjointement avec celui du Royaume-Uni, a informé l'ONU. Ces négociations se poursuivent actuellement à Londres et mon gouvernement a l'espoir de pouvoir transmettre très prochainement, dès la présente session de l'Assemblée, de nouveaux renseignements sur leur résultat, conformément au paragraphe 2 du dispositif de la résolution 2065 (XX).

152. Je ne veux pas terminer cet exposé sans exprimer à nouveau la gratitude de mon pays pour la compréhension et l'accueil favorable qu'ont reçus ses points de vue auprès de la plupart des délégations dans une affaire qui fait de mon pays une partie directement intéressée au processus de décolonisation en raison de la spoliation que lui a fait subir l'action armée du Royaume-Uni.

La séance est levée à 17 h 25.

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**ASSEMBLÉE
GÉNÉRALE**

VINGT ET UNIÈME SESSION

Documents officiels



165
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SÉANCE PLÉNIÈRE

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Président: M. Abdul Rahman PAZHWAK
(Afghanistan).

POINT 23 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

Application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux: rapport du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux (suite)

90. Le PRESIDENT (traduit de l'anglais): L'Assemblée va maintenant reprendre l'examen du point 23 de l'ordre du jour.

91. Avant de donner la parole au premier orateur inscrit, je voudrais vous informer qu'à moins que l'Assemblée n'en décide autrement, nous adopterons la procédure que je vais exposer. Plus de 20 orateurs sont inscrits pour participer au débat général et un projet de résolution sera, par ailleurs, déposé en plénière cet après-midi.

92. Les représentants qui souhaitent intervenir dans le débat général lorsque l'Assemblée sera saisie du projet de résolution pourront faciliter notre tâche en formulant en même temps les observations qu'ils désireraient faire sur le projet. Après consultations avec les délégations et en raison, particulièrement, de l'importance du point 23, j'ai convenu que les représentants qui parleront du projet de résolution pourront également, s'ils le désirent, formuler quelques observations générales sur l'ensemble de la question.

93. Lorsque nous aurons ainsi entendu tous les orateurs, nous entendrons les délégations qui souhaiteront expliquer leur vote avant la mise aux voix du projet de résolution.

94. Je voudrais toutefois, pour le moment, suggérer que la date limite pour la soumission de nouvelles propositions ou d'amendements concernant la question en discussion soit fixée au lundi 12 décembre, à midi.

95. Si la procédure que je viens d'exposer ne soulève pas d'objection, je considérerai que l'Assemblée générale approuve mes suggestions.

Il en est ainsi décidé.

96. M. MOD (Hongrie): Il est devenu de tradition, et ce n'est non seulement juste mais très utile, que l'Assemblée générale, après toute une année de travail ardu du Comité spécial et deux mois de débats à la Quatrième Commission, se réunisse en séance plénière pour examiner la situation en ce qui concerne la réalisation des objectifs fixés par la Déclaration de 1960, confirmés et développés d'année en année par de nouvelles résolutions.

97. La première question dont je désire m'occuper concerne le bilan de l'année qui s'est écoulée depuis la dernière session de l'Assemblée générale. En effet, c'est ce bilan qui doit servir de base pour évaluer le travail accompli et déterminer ce qui nous reste à faire.

98. Le tableau de la situation présente un double aspect. D'une part, nous devons accepter comme un résultat indéniable le fait que nous avons analysé plus à fond et dénoncé à l'Organisation des Nations Unies la nature et les pratiques du colonialisme et du néo-colonialisme. Nous avons soumis à une analyse dé-

taillée les activités des monopoles internationaux dans trois territoires d'importance capitale: le Sud-Ouest africain, la Rhodésie du Sud et les colonies portugaises. Nous en avons tiré la conclusion logique que les activités de ces intérêts étrangers constituent l'un des plus grands obstacles qui empêchent les peuples de ces territoires de faire valoir leur droit inaliénable à l'indépendance nationale. Nous avons signalé de nombreuses connexions de "l'Alliance impie" ainsi que d'autres aspects du néo-colonialisme. Nous les avons condamnés, et nous avons invité certaines puissances qui s'opposent à la liquidation du système colonial à mettre fin à leurs activités néfastes et à donner effet aux résolutions de l'Assemblée générale.

M. Khalaf (Irak), vice-président, prend la présidence.

99. D'autre part, il faut constater qu'après l'élan vigoureux des premières années, au cours desquelles un grand nombre de peuples coloniaux ont acquis l'indépendance et sont entrés dans nos rangs, le processus d'indépendance s'est ralenti jusqu'à l'immobilité. Nous lisons dans la partie générale du rapport du Comité spécial:

"Nombreux ont été les membres du Comité spécial qui, à l'ouverture des travaux de 1966, ont exprimé l'opinion que les progrès réalisés en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux étaient loin de répondre aux espoirs qu'avait fait naître son adoption il y avait de cela près de six ans." [A/6300/Rev.1, chap. I, par. 310.]

100. C'est un fait regrettable et indéniable que, dans les territoires d'importance capitale, dans le sud de l'Afrique, outre l'absence de progrès, l'année passée accuse une détérioration réelle de la situation, par exemple, en Rhodésie du Sud. Autrement dit, le passif dépasse l'actif dans le bilan. Ce bilan passif n'est ici qu'une grave constatation, mais il a coûté la vie à des centaines de milliers de gens innocents — femmes, enfants et vieillards — qui, si la situation avait pris une différente tournure, auraient pu vivre encore, et dont certains se seraient éventuellement trouvés parmi nous en tant que représentants de quelque nouvel Etat.

101. Lorsque nous cherchons les causes de l'arrêt du progrès, nous ne sommes pas seulement guidés par une curiosité scientifique ou politique abstraite. Le sang de millions de gens innocents retombe sur ceux que l'opinion publique mondiale montre d'un doigt accusateur.

102. Les causes du maintien à tout prix du système colonial peuvent être classées en trois groupes.

103. Premièrement, les rapports du Comité spécial ont analysé les activités des monopoles étrangers dans trois territoires d'importance décisive. Les trois rapports indiquent la même conclusion: les monopoles internationaux traduisent la sueur et le sang des peuples coloniaux dans "la langue" de milliards de dollars, de livres sterling, de marks ouest-allemands. Certains pays ont un intérêt pécuniaire à maintenir les conditions coloniales. Le premier groupe de causes est donc d'ordre économique.

104. Deuxièmement, le second groupe d'arguments apportés en faveur du maintien des conditions coloniales revêt un caractère politique: "Nous sommes une nation intégrale avec des provinces d'outre-mer", affirme le Portugal. "Nous sommes prédestinés à diriger la race inférieure des Noirs", déclarent les fascistes de l'Afrique du Sud et, avec l'aide tacite mais efficace des Britanniques, le rebelle fasciste de Rhodésie du Sud, Ian Smith. "C'est dans l'intérêt du peuple de l'Arabie du Sud que nous soutenons le gouvernement de la Fédération" annonce au monde le Royaume-Uni. "La souveraineté des îles Maurice et Seychelles ne souffre aucune atteinte du fait que nous en ayons détaché le "British Indian Ocean Territory" à des fins militaires anglo-américaines", nous explique encore le Royaume-Uni. "A la longue, nous préparons la population de l'île de Guam à la nationalité américaine", a déclaré à la dernière session un sénateur américain au sujet de l'île transformée en port-avions aux fins de l'agression américaine au Viet-Nam.

105. Toutes ces allégations, et je n'en ai cité que quelques-unes, reposent sur des bases politiques et ont pour but de présenter comme un "droit inaliénable" des colonisateurs la violation du droit souverain d'autres peuples ou d'une majorité, et visent à déclarer le droit politique du maintien du *statu quo*. Le deuxième groupe de causes est, on le voit, d'ordre politique.

106. Enfin, le troisième groupe de causes est d'ordre stratégique, militaire. Une des caractéristiques importantes du monde d'aujourd'hui est qu'il se trouve rétréci par suite du développement des transports et communications et de la technique militaire; c'est pourquoi les territoires coloniaux sont partie intégrante de la politique militaire "globale" des puissances coloniales.

107. L'Afrique du Sud, le Sud-Ouest africain et les colonies portugaises en Afrique australe sont à juste titre comparables à une forteresse militaire internationale; les petites îles et les territoires coloniaux de moindre importance sont une véritable superstructure de la stratégie globale anglo-américaine. Voici quelques exemples, pris au hasard, de l'usage fait de quelques territoires: Ascension: attaque en 1964 contre la République démocratique du Congo; Guam: agression contre le Viet-Nam; Aden: agression contre les pays arabes; Angola et Mozambique: nombreuses agressions contre les pays africains indépendants voisins (Tanzanie, Zambie, République démocratique du Congo, Malawi).

108. Avant d'en tirer une conclusion, je désire faire remarquer qu'afin d'éviter toute controverse, je n'ai cité que des exemples qui se rapportent à des événements passés réels, pour ne pas être accusé d'évoquer des dangers "théoriques". Bien plus, je ne revendique pas le droit d'auteur et je laisse le soin de formuler la conclusion à l'auteur d'une brochure du British Strategic Studies Institute datée du 26 mars 1966:

"Les bases et les engagements britanniques en Arabie du Sud et dans le golfe Persique continuent à favoriser l'influence occidentale au Moyen-Orient et à décourager toute manifestation de belligérance locale... Elles défendent la route stratégique menant

aux positions britanniques dans l'océan Indien et dans l'Asie du Sud-Est et peuvent ainsi être considérées comme contribuant à contenir toute progression d'une puissance communiste dans ces régions. Mais leur objectif essentiel est de défendre le flux du pétrole du Moyen-Orient, d'empêcher ou d'arrêter tout conflit dans leur propre voisinage immédiat et de constituer une base pour des interventions militaires britanniques dans d'autres régions proches." [A/6300/Rev.1, chap. II, par. 323.]

Le troisième motif est donc le maintien de la domination militaire, de la stratégie "globale" d'agression contre le tiers monde et les pays socialistes.

109. Les trois motifs que je viens d'exposer constituent la principale caractéristique des forces qui empêchent la liquidation du système colonial.

110. De quelque côté que l'on examine le colonialisme, on trouve les intérêts étrangers qui empêchent les profits, les régimes racistes et ceux qui en profitent politiquement, le système de travail forcé dans les colonies portugaises et ceux qui ont intérêt à le maintenir, le réseau agressif de bases militaires et ceux dont les forces armées utilisent ces bases.

111. Voici les trois conclusions qui sautent aux yeux: tout cela a été créé contre l'indépendance nationale et le progrès, pour assurer le maintien du statu quo; tout cela sert décidément à maintenir les intérêts matériels, politiques ou militaires d'un groupe de pays industriellement développés; et, enfin, cet état de choses est dépourvu de toute base en droit international et se fonde sur l'usage de la force brutale.

112. Les membres du groupe qui lutte pour le maintien du colonialisme ont deux caractères communs importants: ils sont, d'une façon ou de l'autre, individuellement ou collectivement, alliés militairement aux Etats-Unis. Ils vivent dans le système social du capitalisme, qui est, historiquement parlant, le créateur et, aujourd'hui, le bastion du colonialisme. Voilà les faits.

113. Si la distribution des rôles, la dramatis personae est restée la même au cours des temps, les méthodes employées dans l'intérêt du maintien de la domination sont devenues plus variées et nuancées. Je pense qu'avant d'aborder la question des tâches à accomplir, il faut également parler brièvement des méthodes employées.

114. A présent, les territoires qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance sont constitués par le bloc d'Afrique australe ainsi que par de nombreuses îles dispersées dans les océans et par quelques territoires de moindre importance. D'autre part, ces derniers temps, les forces anticolonialistes se sont étendues bien au-delà des frontières géographiques des territoires coloniaux actuels. Je pense aux pays indépendants d'Asie, d'Afrique et d'Amérique latine et aux pays socialistes, ainsi qu'aux organisations régionales, aux conférences internationales et à leurs organes permanents. Une grande personnalité du continent africain d'autorité internationale, le Président de la République de Zambie, a dit le 15 novembre 1966 dans son allocution à l'Assemblée générale:

"Mon gouvernement et mon peuple ne se sont pas seulement souciés de la stabilité et du progrès

de la seule Zambie. Nous sommes conscients de nos obligations internationales, non seulement en tant que Membre de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, mais aussi en tant que participant à d'autres organisations internationales et régionales qui, à notre avis, constituent dans leur ensemble un dispositif immense et complexe pour préserver la stabilité, la paix et la sécurité dans le monde entier et pour favoriser une compréhension, une coopération et un progrès authentiques dans la communauté internationale." [1464ème séance, par. 6.]

115. Un important progrès analogue a eu lieu, à l'intérieur des territoires coloniaux par le développement des mouvements et des fronts de libération nationale. Le droit international s'enrichit continuellement par la reconnaissance de la légalité de la lutte pour l'indépendance et par la reconnaissance de la légalité de l'assistance morale et matérielle donnée à cette lutte — pour ne mentionner que ces fonctions essentielles quasi législatives de l'Assemblée générale.

116. C'est à ce milieu changé que doit s'adapter la nouvelle stratégie des forces du colonialisme. Je ne vais me référer qu'à quelques-uns de ses éléments, aux plus typiques. Je les classe selon un seul critère commun, à savoir les droits et intérêts fondamentaux des peuples coloniaux que les puissances coloniales attaquent par ce moyen. Dans cette énumération, j'irai du particulier au général.

117. L'offensive, elle-même, est dirigée contre les conditions d'existence individuelle de la majorité des habitants du territoire colonial, comme il ressort, par exemple, du système de production forcée de café et du sucre dans les colonies portugaises. Elle est dirigée, au mépris de la Charte, de la Déclaration universelle des droits de l'homme et de tout instrument international concernant les droits de l'homme, contre les droits et la dignité humaine de chacun des habitants des colonies. C'est à juste raison que, dans son discours déjà cité, l'honorable Président de la Zambie a posé la question:

"En Rhodésie, un petit groupe de fous s'est saisi de l'administration, et plus de 4 millions de personnes sont gardées comme otages; le régime de Smith peut imposer aux Africains n'importe quelles mesures, les détenir, limiter leurs mouvements, les emprisonner impunément. La réaction mondiale, celle en particulier de certaines puissances occidentales, témoigne de peu de compréhension, ou même pas du tout. Si elles comprennent, elles ne montrent guère le désir d'adopter une attitude aussi nette que celle prise au moment de l'incident de Kisangani en 1964. Les 200 000 Blancs sont-ils de meilleurs citoyens de la Rhodésie que les 4 millions de Noirs?"

"Devons-nous maintenant croire que les droits de l'homme sont indivisibles, excepté en Afrique méridionale? Devons-nous accepter que l'égalité des êtres humains devant la loi est vraie, excepté en Afrique du Sud?" [Ibid., par. 52 et 53.]

118. L'offensive est dirigée contre la majorité à l'intérieur du pays et ses intérêts collectifs; elle peut prendre la forme de l'oppression ouverte, comme en Afrique du Sud ou en Rhodésie du Sud, ou consister en l'imposition à la population d'un gouvernement fantoche

qui n'est point représentatif, comme à Aden, par exemple. Elle est dirigée, en conséquence, contre l'indépendance politique et économique du territoire colonial.

119. Elle est dirigée contre l'indépendance militaire du territoire colonial, soit par l'installation forcée de bases militaires, comme à Guam, à Aden, etc., soit par le démembrement d'un territoire national, comme dans le cas des îles Maurice et Seychelles. Elle est dirigée, par conséquent, contre l'unité du territoire colonial.

120. Enfin, elle est dirigée — songeons à "l'Alliance impie" — contre l'unité de l'Afrique en tant que continent. Et cela se fait — comme j'ai déjà signalé, et je pourrais encore citer Salazar lui-même — en adoptant la devise que le fascisme a discréditée dans la seconde guerre mondiale: en défense de la civilisation occidentale, ou comme le président Kaunda a dit si pertinemment:

"L'appel à la supériorité raciale, le concept de maître et d'esclave, celui de chrétien et de païen, celui de la civilisation occidentale face à une autre notion assez mal définie, voilà les points de ralliement qui ont permis le maintien du statu quo dans cette région." [1464ème séance, par. 27.]

C'est ce que font les colonialistes — individuellement si cela semble plus opportun, ou en coopération ouverte ou clandestine si cela leur semble plus convenable — comme en témoignent notamment les relations de Smith avec l'Afrique du Sud et le Portugal.

121. C'est l'OTAN qui est l'organe militaire et le symbole de cette activité riche en nuances nouvelles qui s'appelle le néo-colonialisme.

122. A mon sincère regret, les événements de ces derniers jours m'obligent à faire une pause dans l'exposé de mes pensées. Nous sommes tous au courant de ce qui se déroule maintenant en Rhodésie du Sud et autour de ce territoire. Il est regrettable mais en somme logique que les événements de ces derniers jours fournissent la preuve de toutes les constatations énumérées dans mon intervention. Le Premier Ministre du Royaume-Uni, M. Wilson, a assuré à Smith, par avance, qu'il n'aurait pas recours à la force contre lui. Fort de cette assurance et sûr de l'appui de l'Afrique du Sud et du Portugal, Smith défie le Gouvernement britannique qui, d'une part, est empêché de prendre des mesures énergiques par les puissants monopoles du Royaume-Uni et, d'autre part, ne veut rien faire qui puisse irriter l'un des plus importants de ses partenaires économiques et commerciaux, la République sud-africaine. Voilà une preuve frappante, de fraîche date, contre le néo-colonialisme, et une réfutation par excellence de toute fausse indignation.

123. Ce n'est pas le respect des droits de l'homme, des idéaux nobles des résolutions de l'Assemblée générale ou de l'opinion mondiale, mais la soif inextinguible du profit et de la domination politique et militaire sur les autres peuples qui est le mobile des forces qui agissent dans les coulisses.

124. Je crois que nous sommes tous d'accord pour admettre que le processus de décolonisation est parvenu à une phase très difficile et fort compliquée. Pensons aux territoires moins étendus; l'application

des principes fondamentaux n'est pas tout à fait la même en Rhodésie du Sud, qui compte 4 millions d'habitants, que dans une île dont la population ne s'élève qu'à quelques milliers et qui, en même temps, fait partie d'un archipel.

125. D'autre part, une situation relativement nouvelle est aussi survenue au sein de l'Organisation mondiale. Depuis l'adoption de la Déclaration de 1960, l'Assemblée générale a accompli un travail immense. Qu'il me soit permis d'ajouter que cela n'est pas simplement dû à la composition changée de l'Assemblée, bien qu'elle ait été la condition première pour l'adoption de résolutions justes. Qu'il me soit permis de faire remarquer à ce sujet que nous sommes heureux de voir ces changements se poursuivre aujourd'hui même, en accueillant la Barbade dans nos rangs. Cela dit, je crois que la grande majorité de l'Assemblée générale est d'accord avec moi pour constater que le Comité spécial lui aussi mérite les plus grands éloges tant au sein de l'ONU qu'en dehors de l'Organisation.

126. Toutefois, nous devons accepter la situation telle qu'elle est, car ce n'est que dans ce cas que nous pouvons trouver des solutions justes. Pour tracer un tableau complet, cependant, il ne faut pas oublier ce que j'ai dit dès le début, à savoir que le processus de décolonisation a subi un coup d'arrêt. Dans mon intervention, j'ai essayé de relever certaines des causes les plus importantes de cette stagnation.

127. Avant de formuler mes propositions pour quelques tâches qui nous attendent, je voudrais caractériser brièvement la situation qui existe. D'abord, la situation au sein des Nations Unies. Elle comporte deux éléments fondamentaux.

128. D'une part, l'Assemblée générale. L'Assemblée adopte d'année en année des résolutions justes concernant chaque question particulière. Les résolutions, séparément, fournissent d'année en année une analyse de la situation dans les territoires coloniaux particuliers et fixent les tâches à accomplir. Par la suite, cependant, les parties les plus directement intéressées, dont dépend le succès de l'exécution, sabotent, également d'année en année, l'application des résolutions, arguant que les résolutions de l'Assemblée générale ont le caractère de recommandations.

129. L'autre élément du travail de l'ONU est le Conseil de sécurité. Le nombre des questions coloniales discutées par le Conseil de sécurité augmente d'année en année. Le ton des résolutions devient plus fort d'année en année. Dans l'affaire de la Rhodésie du Sud, par exemple, nous en sommes déjà au niveau de l'embargo partiel.

130. En dehors de l'ONU, cependant, grâce à une immense pression morale, les colonialistes se voient obligés, dans certains domaines, de poursuivre des activités quasi clandestines. Néanmoins, nous n'avons pas encore été à même d'aller à la racine du mal dans les territoires "difficiles".

131. Dans cette situation, et à cause des nombreuses incidences de la question, je pense qu'il est bon d'affirmer en principe qu'il faut commencer par discuter d'urgence les aspects les plus importants du problème. Sur la base de ce qui précède, ma délégation

gation est de l'opinion que l'Assemblée générale devrait tenir compte des considérations suivantes.

132. Premièrement, il existe en Afrique méridionale un complexe qui, pour le moment, résiste à la pression de l'époque et qui, il y a plusieurs années, recevait le nom d'"Alliance impie". Il est temps d'examiner, d'un point de vue tant politique que militaire et économique, non seulement ses membres pris séparément, mais aussi le complexe entier avec toutes ses caractéristiques. Dans ce but, il serait opportun d'inviter le Comité spécial à examiner ce complexe, aussi bien du point de vue de ses relations intérieures, politiques, économiques et militaires, que du point de vue de ses relations extérieures.

133. Lorsqu'il s'agit de la question la plus importante, les membres de cette alliance agissent toujours de concert. Nous devons, nous aussi, les examiner de ce côté également. Il serait bon de prier le Secrétaire de procéder sans délai à la préparation de la documentation nécessaire à cet examen.

134. Deuxièmement, le Comité spécial a déjà examiné les activités des monopoles internationaux dans trois territoires. Les résultats de l'examen sont à notre disposition. Je crois qu'en allant, sous ce rapport également, du particulier vers le général — comme nous le ferons certainement, sur la base des recommandations du Comité spécial —, nous pourrions découvrir nombre d'éléments nouveaux qui faciliteront notre travail ultérieur. L'examen des activités générales des monopoles internationaux dans les colonies sera donc une mesure juste et nécessaire.

135. Troisièmement, toujours sur la base des considérations mentionnées, et au sujet de l'examen des tâches relatives à un autre domaine, je voudrais citer le paragraphe 14 du dispositif de la résolution 2105 (XX) adoptée à la session dernière de l'Assemblée générale:

"L'Assemblée générale

"...

"Prie le Secrétaire général de prendre toutes les mesures nécessaires pour favoriser une large diffusion de la Déclaration et faire largement connaître les travaux du Comité spécial, afin que l'opinion mondiale puisse être suffisamment informée de la grave menace à la paix que constituent le colonialisme et l'apartheid et invite toutes les puissances administrantes à coopérer avec le Secrétaire général dans l'exécution de sa tâche."

136. Je pense que la résolution est assez claire. En conséquence, je voudrais, d'une part, faire une constatation et, d'autre part, présenter une requête.

137. D'abord la constatation: l'une des caractéristiques importantes de l'ONU est qu'elle est un forum international de manière générale et, du point de vue de l'ordre du jour, le forum international le plus important de la lutte anticolonialiste. Cela signifie, en d'autres termes, qu'elle fournit un immense forum international, par exemple, aux représentants des mouvements de libération nationale. Ce qui fait l'importance de ce forum, c'est que la presse mondiale assure une vaste publicité aux travaux de l'ONU et que, d'autre part, les résolutions adoptées de-

viennent d'importantes armes d'assistance morale aux luttes de libération nationale. Enfin — et c'est le dernier élément de la constatation — l'ONU remplit sa tâche seulement si elle fait, elle aussi, tout son possible pour que — comme la résolution stipule — l'opinion mondiale soit suffisamment informée des aspects importants de ses travaux. De plus, le paragraphe précité de la résolution s'adresse aussi au service compétent de l'Organisation, bien entendu par l'intermédiaire du Secrétaire général.

138. Ma requête — que ma délégation a une fois soumise, en partie, à la Quatrième Commission, mais qui est restée sans réponse — est la suivante: ma délégation prie officiellement et formellement le Secrétaire général d'ordonner au Service de l'information de présenter à l'Assemblée générale, le plus tôt possible au cours de la discussion, un rapport détaillé sur l'application du paragraphe 14 de la résolution 2105 (XX) et sur les moyens qu'il envisage à ce propos.

139. Quatrièmement, ma dernière proposition a trait au travail du Conseil de sécurité. Je pense, d'abord, qu'il ne suffit pas qu'il poursuive le travail de l'Assemblée générale. Je suis convaincu que la majorité de l'Assemblée générale est d'accord pour constater que, dans le sud du continent africain, ce ne sont pas seulement les membres individuels de l'Alliance impie, mais aussi le complexe entier qui menace la paix du continent africain, donc la paix et la sécurité internationales. De plus, cet état de choses mènera tôt ou tard au point où non seulement certains domaines ou aspects du système colonial, mais aussi l'existence même du colonialisme, menaceront la paix et la sécurité. On peut constater en même temps que l'Assemblée générale, à elle seule, ne vient pas à bout des colonialistes. Il faut que le Conseil de sécurité, cet organe de l'ONU qui est seul habilité à recourir à la force, s'associe plus activement que jusqu'ici à la lutte anticolonialiste. Je recommande donc de proposer au Conseil de sécurité, d'une part, d'examiner, non seulement du point de vue des questions d'actualité soulevées en des occasions particulières, mais d'une manière générale et systématique, la situation dans les territoires où la paix et la sécurité sont menacées et, d'autre part, de tirer des conclusions, en allant du particulier vers le général, par exemple dans le cas de l'Alliance impie. Un examen juste et complet peut donner naissance à une série de mesures coercitives bien réfléchies pouvant briser la résistance des derniers bastions du colonialisme.

140. Pour conclure, je désire exprimer la plus haute appréciation de ma délégation au Comité spécial, à ses sous-comités et à tous ceux qui les ont assistés dans leur travail. Pour notre part, nous approuvons les conclusions et les recommandations du Comité spécial sur les territoires particuliers et sur les questions générales.

141. Nous sommes convaincus que, se basant sur les résolutions justes de l'Assemblée générale, le Comité spécial accomplira l'année prochaine un travail encore plus efficace. De notre côté, nous nous sommes efforcés, dans la présente intervention, de proposer quelques idées pour contribuer au succès de son travail futur.

142. M. BUSNIAK (République socialiste tchécoslovaque) [traduit du russe]: La Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux que l'Assemblée générale a adoptée à sa quinzième session et dont elle examine aujourd'hui l'application est sans aucun doute l'un des documents les plus importants des Nations Unies. La Déclaration procède du fait que le colonialisme, qui est la forme la plus grossière d'exploitation de peuples entiers, est une des réalités les plus honteuses, les plus anachroniques du XXème siècle au cours duquel des perspectives jusqu'alors inconnues se sont ouvertes devant l'humanité — révolution technique, exploration de l'espace extra-atmosphérique, bouleversements socio-culturels et instauration de relations nouvelles entre les pays et entre les peuples.

143. Le régime colonial est complètement compromis et condamné par l'opinion mondiale et tous les peuples; c'est ce que confirme le fait qu'aucune puissance coloniale n'a cru pouvoir élever la voix contre l'adoption de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, et qu'à l'exclusion du seul Portugal, toutes les métropoles ont jugé nécessaire non seulement en théorie, mais aussi dans la pratique, de reconnaître le droit légitime des peuples à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance.

144. Il y a lieu de s'inquiéter, toutefois, que, malgré les dispositions de la Déclaration qui exigent qu'il soit mis rapidement et inconditionnellement fin au colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations, la vingt et unième session de l'Assemblée générale est contrainte, six ans après l'adoption de la Déclaration, d'examiner le problème de la décolonisation avec encore plus d'insistance que précédemment.

145. C'est un fait dont nous sommes tous témoins que sur notre planète vivent des millions d'hommes qui n'ont jamais connu la liberté et l'indépendance et qui n'ont jamais eu la possibilité d'exercer leur droit à l'autodétermination. Et cela en dépit du fait que la communauté internationale tout entière est imprégnée, pour employer une métaphore, des engagements solennels et des plus nobles déclarations sur la liberté et la dignité de l'homme, et cela en dépit de l'existence de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, de la Charte des Nations Unies et de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux.

146. La Rhodésie du Sud, la politique d'apartheid du Gouvernement de la République sud-africaine, le Sud-Ouest africain, l'Angola, le Mozambique, la Guinée dite portugaise, Aden et Oman, pour ne citer que ces territoires sont des exemples classiques du colonialisme et nos délibérations sur le problème de la décolonisation traduisent toute la profondeur et toute l'horreur de la brutale exploitation et de l'asservissement colonial.

147. Surtout dans le sud de l'Afrique, les régimes racistes et coloniaux qui contrôlent de vastes territoires peuplés de millions d'Africains intensifient leur opposition au processus de décolonisation. Leur attitude envers la Déclaration, envers les efforts que fait l'Organisation et envers les décisions que nous

adoptons ici ne fait que traduire leur mépris de l'Organisation, de ses buts, de son programme. L'année dernière, ces régimes ont renforcé les liens qui les unissaient et se sont aidés mutuellement en boycottant ouvertement les mesures de décolonisation de l'ONU. Le resserrement des liens économiques et politiques en Afrique australe ne fait qu'accroître le danger d'une alliance des régimes coloniaux et racistes qui sont prêts à lutter non seulement pour enrayer la décolonisation de l'Afrique, mais aussi pour recoloniser les anciens territoires dépendants.

148. L'Assemblée générale dispose d'une documentation suffisante qui corrobore cette conclusion. A la présente session, le Portugal a réaffirmé qu'il ne comptait pas accorder l'indépendance aux territoires africains qui se trouvaient sous sa domination et qu'il refusait d'appliquer la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale. Ian Smith a rappelé récemment que son régime raciste lutterait jusqu'au bout pour son existence et la République sud-africaine a refusé d'une façon tout aussi brutale de mettre fin à sa politique d'apartheid et à ses tentatives d'annexer le Sud-Ouest africain.

149. On sait qu'il ne s'agit pas ici seulement de déclarations vides de sens puisque ces régimes mettent en œuvre leur politique dans la pratique en prenant des mesures concrètes d'oppression, des mesures d'exception, en renforçant la terreur coloniale et en développant le système de discrimination raciale. En Afrique, il est en train de se créer un front des forces de la réaction, du colonialisme et du racisme dont le programme consiste en fait à employer la force pour écraser le mouvement de libération nationale, ce qui crée une menace permanente à la paix et à la sécurité internationales.

150. L'Organisation des Nations Unies a le devoir d'accorder toute son attention à cette question si importante. Si elle veut faire face à la situation qui s'est créée dans cette région du monde, que l'on a appelée à juste titre "l'Afrique au sud du Zambèze", avec réalisme, elle doit multiplier ses efforts pour mettre en œuvre des mesures concertées qui permettraient d'en finir avec cette situation insupportable. Le Conseil de sécurité en particulier peut et doit jouer le rôle important qui lui revient dans ce domaine.

151. Si l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux a marqué un ralentissement, cela tient au fait que les métropoles ne sont pas seules à s'opposer de toutes leurs forces à l'élimination du colonialisme; d'autres puissances, qui apparaissent à l'arrière-plan, apportent un appui plein et entier à la politique coloniale, sans leur soutien, cette politique ainsi que les séquelles du colonialisme auraient été depuis longtemps balayées. La vaste alliance des Etats occidentaux, qui a un caractère agressif, constitue pour les régimes coloniaux et racistes un point d'appui sur lequel ceux-ci comptent sans réserve lorsqu'ils élaborent leurs plans militaires et stratégiques.

152. La décolonisation fait partie intégrante de l'évolution de l'humanité vers le progrès, vers l'égalité, vers l'établissement de relations amicales entre les peuples et elle est une condition de leur liberté,

comme le proclame le préambule de la Déclaration. C'est de ce point de vue qu'il faut envisager la politique des colonialistes et de tous ceux qui les soutiennent.

153. Permettez-moi, à l'aide de quelques exemples, d'attirer votre attention sur les groupements qui ici même, dans notre Organisation, se constituent lors de l'examen des questions liées à l'élimination du colonialisme.

154. Les pays ci-après ont voté contre la résolution 2105 (XX) dans laquelle l'Assemblée générale a pris position sur la question qui nous occupe et dont les auteurs étaient presque exclusivement des Etats ayant l'expérience la plus amère de l'assujettissement colonial: Australie, Nouvelle-Zélande, Portugal, République sud-africaine, Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord et Etats-Unis d'Amérique. Un autre épisode où cette coalition s'est manifestée au grand jour s'est déroulé le 23 mai 1966 lorsque le projet de résolution des Etats africains sur la Rhodésie du Sud a été mis aux voix. A cette occasion, l'alliance occidentale a empêché l'adoption de l'important projet de résolution du Mali, du Nigéria et de l'Ouganda^{2/}. Il est caractéristique qu'au cours de la session africaine du Comité des Vingt-Quatre, la délégation des Etats-Unis d'Amérique n'ait voté que pour un seul des sept projets de résolution adoptés et encore s'agissait-il d'un projet sur lequel la Puissance administrante elle-même était d'accord.

155. C'est là précisément qu'il faut chercher la raison pour laquelle la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux n'est pas appliquée. Je voudrais souligner à ce propos qu'il n'est pas seulement question ici de la position prise par ces puissances lors des votes qui interviennent dans notre Organisation, ou de l'expression de certains points de vue déterminés, mais bien d'une coalition entre les colonialistes et ceux qui les protègent, coalition qui se traduit par la fourniture de quantités importantes d'armes très variées ainsi que d'une assistance économique et financière par des investissements, par des fournitures de matériel et surtout, malheureusement, par les souffrances indicibles des peuples coloniaux qui sont asservis.

156. A ce propos, je ne saurais passer sous silence des preuves et les renseignements qui ont été fournis au Comité des Vingt-Quatre lors des séances qu'il a tenues à Alger par les pétitionnaires venant des colonies portugaises et par un ancien officier de l'armée coloniale portugaise qui n'ont pu que susciter l'horreur devant le cynisme qui caractérise les guerres coloniales actuelles. C'est en vérité un témoignage bouleversant sur notre temps.

157. De nombreuses guerres coloniales et guerres d'agression ont bénéficié du plein appui de l'OTAN. Ce pacte se fonde de façon tout arbitraire sur la doctrine selon laquelle tout succès du mouvement de libération nationale constitue une menace pour les positions militaires et stratégiques de ce bloc et considère les colonies comme une sorte de base d'appui pour les actes d'intervention et d'agression

dirigés contre les peuples qui luttent pour leur libération.

158. On ne peut manquer de souligner que les Etats-Unis d'Amérique, par exemple, utilisent leurs territoires coloniaux du Pacifique pour mener leur guerre d'agression au Viet-Nam.

159. La Déclaration n'est pas non plus mise en œuvre dans la mesure où les puissances coloniales refusent de donner effet aux mesures prévues dans les diverses résolutions que notre Organisation a adoptées au sujet de l'application de la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale ou au sujet de diverses questions coloniales. Le Royaume-Uni qui, par ses manœuvres et ses entorses systématiques à l'application des résolutions de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, a en fait contribué directement à la création d'un deuxième régime raciste en Afrique, porte une lourde responsabilité à l'égard de l'ONU et du monde entier.

160. Une autre circonstance grave est la non-exécution par certains pays, notamment par les Etats-Unis d'Amérique, le Royaume-Uni et la République fédérale d'Allemagne, des mesures adoptées par l'ONU à l'égard de l'Afrique du Sud, de la Rhodésie du Sud et du Portugal. Le renforcement de la coopération économique et militaire entre la République fédérale d'Allemagne et les régimes racistes de l'Afrique du Sud et de la Rhodésie du Sud, ainsi que celui de Salazar au Portugal, fait peser une lourde menace sur l'avenir de l'Afrique. Les puissances occidentales incitent même la République fédérale d'Allemagne à mener cette politique qui perpétue les traditions du colonialisme allemand en pensant que la RFA, Etat non membre des Nations Unies, pourra échapper aux critiques et aux mesures que pourra prendre contre elle l'Organisation.

161. Les Etats que j'ai mentionnés aident les monopoles à augmenter leurs investissements dans les colonies, à s'emparer des richesses naturelles et à exploiter la main-d'œuvre locale de la façon la plus grossière. Il est manifeste que les intérêts économiques et financiers sont la base de l'intérêt que les Etats-Unis, le Royaume-Uni, la République fédérale d'Allemagne et d'autres puissances occidentales portent au maintien du système colonial en Afrique, dans le sud de la Péninsule arabique et ailleurs. L'activité des monopoles étrangers dans les pays coloniaux est devenue le principal obstacle au progrès des peuples dans la voie de la liberté et de l'indépendance.

162. Une des conditions essentielles d'une véritable décolonisation est le démantèlement de toutes les bases militaires installées dans les territoires coloniaux. Il ne semble plus nécessaire de prouver ici à quel point cette exigence est fondée. La question ne fait pas de doute; cela a été confirmé par la vingtième session de l'Assemblée générale aussi bien que par le Comité des Vingt-Quatre. Il est inutile de préciser en détail à quelle fin les bases militaires établies à Aden, à Guam et dans d'autres territoires ont été et sont encore utilisées ou de quelle manière s'est déroulée l'intervention au Congo.

163. La thèse selon laquelle le colonialisme est inconcevable sans armée coloniale et sans bases mili-

^{2/} Documents officiels du Conseil de sécurité, vingt et unième année, Supplément d'avril, mai et juin 1966, document S/7285/Add.1.

taires est entièrement justifiée. Voilà pourquoi il est d'autant plus inquiétant d'apprendre que le nombre des bases militaires installées dans les territoires coloniaux, loin de diminuer, augmente dans certaines régions et que ces bases y sont élargies.

164. Il est particulièrement dangereux de voir les puissances occidentales s'efforcer de plus en plus souvent de s'assurer, après l'octroi d'une indépendance de pure forme, le maintien des bases qu'elles possédaient, en vertu "d'accords de défense", c'est-à-dire d'accords inégaux conclus encore sous l'ère coloniale.

165. A sa vingt et unième session, l'Assemblée générale doit condamner résolument les tentatives de ce genre qui visent à imposer une volonté étrangère aux peuples qui n'ont pas encore acquis une pleine indépendance et recommander au Comité des Vingt-Quatre d'étudier de façon approfondie la question des bases militaires établies dans les territoires coloniaux et de mettre au point des mesures destinées à mettre en œuvre le plus rapidement possible le paragraphe 12 de la résolution 2105 (XX) de l'Assemblée générale.

166. Je juge aussi indispensable d'attirer l'attention sur le fait que, depuis quelque temps, les métropoles ont de plus en plus tendance à créer dans les territoires coloniaux, sous le couvert des formes les plus variées d'autonomie et de semi-autonomie, des régimes non représentatifs en vue de conserver ces territoires dans leur dépendance même après avoir été contraints de leur accorder une indépendance formelle.

167. Les déclarations que le Royaume-Uni a faites récemment à la Quatrième Commission à propos d'Aden n'ont pu dissiper les doutes et les craintes que nous éprouvions de voir la Puissance administrante aller de l'avant dans la réalisation de ses plans visant à transformer Aden et les autres parties de l'Arabie du Sud en une formation néo-colonialiste qui leur permettrait de conserver sa position de domination politique et militaire.

168. Les discussions qui se sont déroulées à la Quatrième Commission en 1966 ont fait ressortir la nécessité de consacrer une attention toute particulière aux différentes manœuvres néo-colonialistes, qu'il s'agisse de leur volonté de tourner la résolution 1514 (XV) en établissant des régimes indépendants ou autonomes de pure forme, des activités des monopoles, et des capitaux étrangers qui constituent la base matérielle de la dépendance et de l'assujettissement néo-colonialiste, de la création et du maintien de bases militaires ou de la violation au moyen de la force de l'intégrité territoriale des pays coloniaux.

169. L'Assemblée générale des Nations Unies, qui a considéré le colonialisme, l'apartheid et toutes les manifestations de discrimination raciale comme une menace à la paix et à la sécurité internationales et comme des crimes contre l'humanité, a tiré une leçon importante des événements en reconnaissant la légitimité de la lutte des peuples qui souffrent sous la domination coloniale, pour l'autodétermination et l'indépendance et en invitant les Etats à apporter toute l'assistance matérielle et morale possible au mouvement de libération nationale.

170. Le fait que l'existence même du colonialisme repose sur le recours constant à la force et à l'agression contre les peuples opprimés des colonies, donne à ces peuples un droit inconditionnel à la légitime défense, et ce par tous les moyens, y compris l'attaque armée, qui doivent leur garantir le droit à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance.

171. Ce droit des peuples qui vivent encore sous la domination coloniale a été de nouveau exprimé dans une résolution de la présente session sur l'interdiction de recourir à la force dans les relations internationales et le respect du droit à l'autodétermination des peuples, dans laquelle il est directement fait état de la Charte des Nations Unies.

172. La résolution 2160 (XXI), à laquelle je viens de faire allusion, a de nouveau confirmé le droit des peuples qui se trouvent sous la domination coloniale à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance ainsi que le droit de chaque nation, petite ou grande, à choisir, sans aucune intervention extérieure, son système politique, social et économique.

173. C'est sur cette base, et en se référant à la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux ainsi qu'à la Déclaration sur l'inadmissibilité de l'intervention que l'Assemblée générale, lors de sa présente session, a formulé une thèse importante selon laquelle toute action coercitive, directe ou indirecte, qui prive les peuples placés sous la domination étrangère de leur droit à l'autodétermination, à la liberté et à l'indépendance, ainsi que le droit de choisir librement leur propre statut politique et de réaliser leur développement économique, social et culturel, constitue une violation de la Charte des Nations Unies. C'est à la lumière de ce que je viens de dire qu'il faudra, à l'avenir, analyser de façon très concrète tous les agissements des colonialistes et de ceux qui les soutiennent.

174. La délégation tchécoslovaque estime de son devoir de dire, pour conclure, quelques mots à propos du Comité des Vingt-Quatre. Nous estimons que c'est un organe vraiment efficace qui s'est acquitté d'une tâche importante et utile. Au cours de sa session d'Afrique notamment, qui s'est tenue en mai-juin 1966, il a adopté tout un ensemble de décisions importantes qu'il convient d'appuyer par tous les moyens dont on dispose [A/6300, chap. V (première partie), par. 649-616]. Bien que la République socialiste tchécoslovaque ne soit pas membre du Comité des Vingt-Quatre, elle compte à l'avenir suivre de près ses travaux et, dans la mesure de ses possibilités, participer à son activité.

175. En conclusion, je tiens à assurer l'Assemblée générale que la lutte pour l'élimination rapide et complète du colonialisme restera un des aspects essentiels de la politique étrangère de la Tchécoslovaquie et que notre pays continuera, avec toute la diligence voulue, à appuyer de tous ses moyens la lutte que mènent tous les peuples opprimés pour se libérer du joug colonial et pour assurer le respect du droit des peuples à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance.

La séance est levée à 12 h 55.

Nations Unies
ASSEMBLÉE
GÉNÉRALE

VINGT ET UNIÈME SESSION

Documents officiels



1488^e
SÉANCE PLÉNIÈRE

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23. Le PRESIDENT (traduit de l'anglais): Avant de donner la parole aux représentants inscrits sur la liste, je la donne au représentant du Sierra Leone qui désire présenter un projet de résolution.

24. M. COLLIER (Sierra Leone) [traduit de l'anglais]: Il m'a été demandé de formuler, au nom des auteurs du projet de résolution contenu dans le document A/L.506, quelques observations en guise d'introduction. Auparavant, je voudrais toutefois faire remarquer que l'Irak figure maintenant sur la liste des auteurs du projet de résolution. Je suis sûr que de nombreuses autres délégations auront désiré s'y faire inscrire également quand nous aurons terminé l'examen de cette question. Le projet de résolution a maintenant pour auteurs les pays suivants: Afghanistan, Algérie, Côte d'Ivoire, Ethiopie, Inde, Irak,

*Voir également par. 79 ci-après.

Koweït, Libéria, Mauritanie, République-Unie de Tanzanie, Sierra Leone, Syrie et Yougoslavie.

25. Ce projet de résolution couvre à peu près l'ensemble de la question au point où en est parvenu ce débat sur le colonialisme. Ainsi qu'il ressort clairement des paragraphes du préambule, de nombreuses résolutions ont été adoptées sur ce sujet, et ces paragraphes rappellent certaines résolutions qui ont été adoptées relativement à divers aspects du problème. Mais ce projet de résolution tire essentiellement sa force du rapport du Comité spécial [A/6300/Rev.1] dont nous sommes saisis. Ce rapport concerne les travaux accomplis par le Comité spécial au cours de l'année écoulée. Il est exact que l'Assemblée générale sera saisie de projets de résolution concernant spécifiquement divers points de l'ordre du jour du Comité spécial sur la fin du colonialisme, mais le présent projet est un document complet qui embrasse toute l'étendue de la question, et j'estime qu'il est important parce qu'il traite de certains principes fondamentaux liés à ce problème et appelle l'attention de l'Assemblée générale sur les difficultés auxquelles se heurte la tâche de la décolonisation et sur les solutions qui, à notre avis, mettront un terme à ces difficultés.

26. Le facteur le plus important, sur lequel nous avons insisté dans le préambule, est que, six ans après l'adoption de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, nous constatons que le colonialisme continue de sévir. C'est sur cette constatation que nous nous sommes appuyés, dans le projet de résolution, pour faire ressortir les causes de cette situation. Cela a été fait particulièrement dans les paragraphes du dispositif, et je voudrais citer à ce propos le paragraphe 6:

"Déclare que la persistance du régime colonial met en danger la paix et la sécurité internationales et que la pratique de l'apartheid, ainsi que de toute forme de discrimination raciale, est un crime contre l'humanité".

27. Il s'agit là d'un élément nouveau et important que nous mettons en évidence, parce que, ainsi qu'il a été déclaré au cours des débats, le colonialisme a atteint des proportions dont notre organisation internationale doit prendre dûment note. Le moment est venu où l'unanimité devrait se faire au sein de la communauté internationale pour définir le colonialisme comme il convient, c'est-à-dire comme un crime contre l'humanité. Cela est particulièrement important alors que l'ONU traite, en un autre lieu, de la question de la Rhodésie, autre expression du colonialisme, qui ne revêt pas là seulement son caractère traditionnel, mais comporte aussi une part de racisme. C'est pourquoi nous avons mentionné cet aspect du problème au paragraphe 6.

28. Nous avons introduit un nouvel élément, que l'on trouve au paragraphe 15 du dispositif et qui est ainsi exprimé:

"Invite le Comité spécial, chaque fois qu'il le jugera pertinent et opportun, à recommander une date limite pour l'accession à l'indépendance de chaque territoire considéré...".

Nous estimons que, dans le contexte général de la persistance du colonialisme, le moment est venu où

le Comité spécial devrait être en mesure de recommander des dates limites d'accession à l'indépendance. Nous croyons que cela peut se faire et nous pensons que c'est une tâche à laquelle le Comité spécial devrait s'employer.

29. Le projet de résolution contient de nombreuses propositions que nous avons déjà adoptées, aussi devrait-il être relativement facile à l'Assemblée d'adopter ces recommandations maintenant. Nous avons, par exemple, insisté sur le fait que, dans le sud de l'Afrique, nous voyons aujourd'hui l'"alliance impie" du Portugal, de l'Afrique du Sud et de la Rhodésie du Sud établir une sorte de rempart contre le progrès dans cette partie du continent et, par ce comportement, mettre en danger la paix internationale. Cet aspect de la question a été mentionné dans des résolutions antérieures et nous l'avons rappelé en insistant davantage cette fois-ci.

30. Un autre élément d'une extrême importance, mentionné dans ce projet de résolution, est le rôle joué par des intérêts financiers et des monopoles. Nous voyons avec regret de nombreux pays, en particulier des pays capitalistes, appuyer des résolutions contre le colonialisme, mais faire très peu d'efforts pour empêcher leurs ressortissants de se livrer aux activités qui ont rendu possible le colonialisme et lui ont permis de se développer à notre époque.

31. Nous avons donc fait figurer dans les paragraphes du dispositif d'importantes dispositions destinées à empêcher ces pratiques. Nous avons également souligné le rôle utile que le Haut Commissaire des Nations Unies pour les réfugiés pourrait jouer en allégeant les souffrances des réfugiés qui ont fui leur pays pour échapper à l'oppression et aux conditions déplorables créées par le colonialisme dans ces territoires.

32. Nous avons aussi rappelé qu'il existe dans les territoires coloniaux des bases militaires qui devraient être démantelées. Ainsi qu'on l'a déjà fait remarquer, ces bases militaires, parfois établies dans des territoires coloniaux au nom des intérêts militaires et prétendument mondiaux des grandes puissances — intérêts qui, très souvent, soit dit en passant, ne jouent pas un grand rôle dans la vie des territoires où ces bases ont été établies —, ont fréquemment servi de tremplins pour des attaques contre les citoyens de ces territoires qui cherchent légitimement à se débarrasser du colonialisme. Nous avons insisté sur cela dans le paragraphe 11 du dispositif et nous prions effectivement les puissances coloniales de démanteler ces bases militaires.

33. Nous avons aussi inclus dans ce projet l'important principe, approuvé l'année dernière, selon lequel les luttes des peuples pour leur libération sont légitimes et doivent être encouragées de toutes les manières possibles, et selon lequel, toujours, ceux qui y prennent part doivent être considérés comme des citoyens respectables et des patriotes travaillant légitimement à liquider le colonialisme et à libérer leur pays de la contrainte et de l'oppression.

34. Nous recherchons également, par ce projet de résolution, le renouvellement du mandat du Comité spécial. Nous estimons que l'existence du Comité spécial sur la fin du colonialisme a fortement contribué

au processus de décolonisation. Le Comité s'est ré-vélé un organisme très utile qui a exercé une étroite surveillance sur ce qui s'est passé dans ces terri-toires.

35. Nous avons également souligné l'importance des missions de visite. Nous sommes d'avis que ces vi-sites servent très utilement à mettre en relief les efforts déployés par l'Organisation des Nations Unies pour trouver des solutions pratiques aux problèmes internationaux. Il est excellent d'adopter des réso-lutions. Malheureusement, un grand nombre d'entre elles ont peu de chance d'être mises en pratique. Mais dans le domaine du colonialisme, beaucoup peut être fait et, en vérité, beaucoup a déjà été fait. Nous croyons que cette intervention directe dans les régions où subsiste le colonialisme est une source d'inspiration pour ceux qui sont engagés dans la lutte. Nous pensons que ces visites ont fait la preuve de leur utilité, aussi recommandons-nous qu'elles continuent et que des dispositions soient prises à cet effet.

36. En définitive, ce projet de résolution ne contient rien de réellement nouveau. Il vise uniquement à exposer en une seule résolution les problèmes qui, selon nous, restent posés et les solutions qui peuvent être recommandées. Nous croyons que, au stade où en est parvenu le débat aux Nations Unies, nous devrions pouvoir rechercher de nouvelles mesures pour résoudre ces problèmes malheureusement an-ciens. Nous devrions par exemple, ainsi que je l'ai déjà dit, reconnaître que le colonialisme sous toutes ses formes entre véritablement dans la catégorie des crimes contre l'humanité. Nous croyons que la légi-timité des luttes actuelles comme celles que mènent les patriotes et les combattants de la libération devrait être reconnue.

37. Nous insistons aussi sur le fait que le colo-nialisme, dans ses odieuses manifestations actuelles, est très fortement teinté de racisme. Nous voyons cette clique, cette alliance, cette entente, fortement implantée dans la partie méridionale de l'Afrique, en Afrique du Sud, au Portugal et en Rhodésie du Sud. Cette alliance doit être reconnue pour ce qu'elle est et des mesures énergiques doivent être prises pour la briser.

38. Nous reconnaissons aussi le fait que, n'étaient les pratiques et les activités des monopoles, ainsi que les agissements de certains nationaux de territoires coloniaux qui prétendent le combattre, le colonialisme cesserait d'être un cancer dans la communauté inter-nationale.

39. Nous avons exposé tous ces faits et nous espé-rons que toutes les délégations qui ont affirmé en maintes occasions leur horreur du colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et déclaré combien elles tenaient à tout faire pour éliminer le colonialisme de l'his-toire de notre temps n'auront aucune difficulté à appuyer ce projet de résolution.

40. Le PRESIDENT (traduit de l'anglais): Le projet de résolution a été présenté par le représentant du Sierra Leone au nom de ses auteurs. Je tiens à remercier les auteurs du projet de résolution d'avoir présenté celui-ci au commencement du débat. C'est là, à mon avis, un effort de coopération très construc-tif, parce que les orateurs qui désireront intervenir

dans le débat général sur le projet de résolution à mesure qu'il se déroulera auront en main le docu-ment au sujet duquel l'Assemblée pourra prendre une décision. Je leur suis reconnaissant d'avoir présenté ce projet de résolution dès maintenant et d'en avoir expliqué les buts.

41. Je donne la parole au représentant de la Répu-blique-Unie de Tanzanie, un des auteurs du projet de résolution, pour un complément d'explications sur les buts visés par les dispositions de ce projet.

42. M. MALECELA (République-Unie de Tanzanie) [traduit de l'anglais]: La Tanzanie désire formuler quelques observations au sujet du projet de réso-lution [A/L.506] présenté par le représentant du Sierra Leone et dont elle est un des auteurs. Ma délégation a pris note avec satisfaction de la possi-bilité que nous aurons, ainsi que vous nous en avez informés ce matin, Monsieur le Président, de faire au fur et à mesure du débat des observations géné-rales sur le projet de résolution, et telle est précisé-ment l'intention de ma délégation. Il me semble que si je devais commenter ce projet paragraphe par paragraphe, je ne ferais que répéter ce qui a déjà été dit par le représentant du Sierra Leone. Néanmoins, afin de ne laisser dans l'ombre aucun point du projet, je vais m'efforcer d'en tracer un tableau fidèle dans la mesure où le permettra ma courte déclaration.

43. Il y a maintenant six ans qu'a été adoptée par l'Assemblée générale la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, et cependant nous en sommes encore aujourd'hui à dis-cuter la question du colonialisme pour la seule raison que certaines puissances ont refusé d'observer les dispositions de cette résolution. Et comme l'a fait justement remarquer le représentant du Sierra Leone, nous prenons note de ce fait dans un des paragraphes du préambule.

44. Ma délégation désire souligner la nécessité ur-gente de l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. C'est là de toute évidence une tâche dont il est extrêmement urgent de s'acquitter en Afrique et dans le monde entier. Si nous voulons que nous soient épargnées les explosions qui pourraient conduire à une autre guerre mondiale, la décolonisation doit être menée à son terme maintenant.

45. Pendant des siècles, l'Afrique a souffert de la domination et de l'exploitation étrangères. Aujourd'hui, le tiers environ du continent languit encore sous le colonialisme, l'impérialisme et l'humiliation ra-ciale. L'asservissement de l'Afrique et des Africains et les abus commis à leur égard par les colonialistes, les impérialistes et les régimes racistes sont intolérables et sont une insulte à l'humanité tout entière.

46. Mais qu'il me soit permis de souligner une fois de plus que les peuples d'Afrique ont pris une déci-sion solennelle. L'Organisation de l'unité africaine et les combattants de la liberté de ces colonies ont résolu de faire cesser immédiatement l'humiliation dont n'a cessé de souffrir l'Afrique, et j'ajoute que ce ferme désir se trouve fortement appuyé par la résolution 1514 (XV) adoptée par l'Assemblée géné-rale et rappelée dans un des paragraphes du disposi-tif de notre projet de résolution. Il n'est pas surpre-nant que certaines puissances coloniales redoutent

le mouvement de libération, mais elles doivent bien se persuader qu'elles n'abusent qu'elles-mêmes en pratiquant la politique de l'autruche.

47. Elles ne parviendront jamais à dissimuler au monde les pratiques criminelles perpétrées dans les colonies et que dénoncent les honnêtes gens et les Nations Unies par la voix du Comité des Vingt-Quatre. Permettez-moi cependant d'ajouter qu'il est tout à fait déplorable que, encore à l'heure actuelle, une petite, mais puissante, minorité de Membres de notre organisation continue de pratiquer le colonialisme et d'apporter un soutien moral, économique, militaire et autre à des régimes aussi inhumains et promis à la ruine que ceux de Salazar, Vorster et Smith. Aussi bien, ce point a-t-il été mentionné également dans notre projet de résolution. Ces puissances, est-il besoin de le dire, continuent de fournir à Salazar, Vorster et Smith une assistance économique et militaire pour combattre les principes de liberté et de dignité humaines. Permettez-moi d'insister ici sur le rôle joué par les puissances occidentales. Je sais que certaines délégations ici présentes nous diront que nous faisons preuve de partialité en mentionnant ces faits, mais le Comité des Vingt-Quatre n'en a pas moins recueilli d'abondants témoignages qui prouvent le bien-fondé de notre cause. C'est pourquoi nous avons inclus cet aspect de la question dans notre projet de résolution.

48. Les puissances occidentales doivent comprendre qu'en soutenant le colonialisme elles affaiblissent l'autorité même de l'Organisation des Nations Unies. De simples déclarations d'intention de notre part ne sont plus suffisantes; nous ne pouvons continuer de parler des droits de l'homme; nous ne pouvons continuer d'adopter des conventions sur les droits de l'homme et prétendre que nous apportons le progrès à l'humanité si nous ne sommes pas capables de vaincre le colonialisme. Celui-ci est actuellement le principal défi à la dignité et à la liberté de l'homme.

49. Je me permets d'assurer certaines puissances occidentales qu'il est indiscutablement de leur intérêt que la décolonisation soit menée à son terme. Si elle ne l'est pas, il peut en résulter une de ces catastrophes que la Charte des Nations Unies tend précisément à éviter. Je ne pense pas exagérer en disant que les nuées annonciatrices d'une telle catastrophe sont maintenant visibles en Rhodésie du Sud.

50. Cependant, avant d'aborder certains aspects essentiels de la question de la décolonisation, je voudrais souligner une fois encore ce que nous avons si souvent déclaré, à savoir que le colonialisme est véritablement un crime contre l'humanité. Je n'ai pas besoin d'ajouter que l'on retrouvera très souvent cette expression dans nos projets de résolution. Nous avons vu comment les régimes coloniaux ont commis ces crimes depuis l'origine du colonialisme en Afrique et dans le monde entier. C'est ainsi que, au Congo, le roi Léopold a fait massacrer plus d'un million d'Africains; au Sud-Ouest africain, les Allemands ont fait des centaines de milliers de victimes parmi l'héroïque peuple herero; au Tanganyika — devenu la Tanzanie —, en 1895, les Allemands firent périr plus de 150 000 personnes; au Soudan, le valeureux peuple soulevé sous la conduite du Mahdi a été impitoyablement massacré.

51. Tous ces crimes sont imputables aux aventures coloniales et continuent d'être commis dans les territoires coloniaux qui subsistent en Afrique et dans le reste du monde. Il n'est que de se souvenir, par exemple, que plus de 300 000 personnes, pour la plupart des femmes et des enfants sans défense, ont été sauvagement massacrées en Angola en 1961 et que des milliers de femmes et d'enfants incapables de se défendre sont chaque jour assassinés par les colonisateurs portugais en Angola, au Mozambique et en Guinée dite portugaise.

52. Puis-je rappeler aux Membres de l'Organisation que des milliers de personnes en Rhodésie du Sud, au Sud-Ouest africain, en Afrique du Sud et dans les colonies portugaises languissent dans des cachots pour la seule raison qu'elles défendent la cause de la liberté. Si tous ces crimes ne peuvent être qualifiés de crimes contre l'humanité, comme nous les avons qualifiés dans notre projet de résolution, ma délégation serait en droit de se demander ce que les créateurs de cette expression ont voulu entendre par là. Si nous reconnaissons au contraire que ces crimes commis par certaines puissances coloniales sont des crimes contre l'humanité, je me demanderai pourquoi l'Organisation internationale ne peut prendre de mesures pour les faire cesser.

53. Si l'on veut que l'Organisation internationale fasse honneur à ses responsabilités envers l'humanité, des mesures doivent être prises au sujet de ces crimes. En fait, j'irai jusqu'à déclarer qu'il est grand temps pour nous de créer aux Nations Unies un organisme chargé d'enquêter sur ces crimes et de se préoccuper de la meilleure manière d'en châtier les auteurs.

54. L'Organisation des Nations Unies renoncerait à sa mission si elle se contentait d'observer tandis qu'une partie de la race humaine est soumise à d'aussi barbares tourments. Faisons honneur à nos responsabilités si nous ne voulons pas que les générations à venir nous accusent d'avoir montré de l'indulgence pour ces crimes.

55. Je voudrais en venir maintenant à quelques-uns des problèmes les plus pressants en matière de décolonisation. Je parlerai d'abord de la question de la Rhodésie. Je sais que ce sujet est actuellement débattu dans un autre organe de l'Organisation. Néanmoins, je tiens à faire remarquer que l'entière responsabilité de l'état de choses actuel incombe sans conteste au Gouvernement britannique qui, à notre avis, et j'insiste là-dessus, a traité toute la question de la Rhodésie du Sud d'un point de vue raciste. Nous avons été également très déçus par la position prise par certaines puissances occidentales relativement à cette question. De belles paroles nous ont été prodiguées, mais ces puissances ont prouvé par leurs actes qu'elles en faisaient peu de cas.

56. En ce qui concerne le Royaume-Uni, nous ne pouvons nous empêcher de douter de sa sincérité, simplement parce que chaque fois qu'il a envisagé d'entreprendre une certaine action, il a annoncé à l'avance en quoi elle consisterait, afin de donner à Smith le temps de se préparer à y faire face. C'est ainsi que, alors que nous parlions de sanctions volontaires, Smith se préparait à faire face à des sanctions volontaires, et que, alors que nous faisons beaucoup

de bruit à propos des sanctions dites sélectives, actuellement en discussion au Conseil de sécurité et qui, de toute façon, ont été annoncées en septembre, Smith se trouve avoir disposé de trois mois pour se préparer.

57. Smith fait actuellement des plans pour surmonter un blocus. Si ces sanctions sélectives échouent, et je suis sûr qu'elles échoueront, la Grande-Bretagne se trouvera dans l'obligation de s'adresser de nouveau aux Nations Unies pour demander ce blocus.

58. Pourquoi nos amis occidentaux ne veulent-ils pas entendre raison et comprendre que, pour vaincre Smith, il n'est qu'un moyen: la force? Quand nous avons émis cette opinion en décembre dernier, toutes sortes d'invectives ont été lancées contre nous. Certains ont laissé entendre que les Africains étaient des extrémistes; d'autres qu'ils faisaient simplement des déclarations creuses; d'autres encore sont même allés jusqu'à mettre en doute nos motifs. Mais maintenant qu'on a échoué les sanctions dites volontaires du Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni, qui avaient été si fortement appuyées par certaines puissances occidentales à l'Assemblée, nous ne voyons pas condamner semblablement le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni.

59. Je tiens à répéter que l'emploi de la force constitue le seul moyen de vaincre Smith, et je crois que le temps est notre allié et qu'il pourra prouver que nous voyons juste. Smith est un égoïste qui dirige un groupe d'égoïstes. C'est un homme borné qui dirige un groupe de gens bornés, un homme tyrannique qui dirige un groupe de gens tyranniques dont le but est de conserver pour eux la Rhodésie en en dépossédant 4 millions d'Africains. Le seul argument que ce genre de personne ou de groupe de personnes puisse entendre est la force. Le traitement qui a été appliqué à Smith et à son groupe en tant que rebelles entrera dans l'histoire comme un des actes de racisme les plus flagrants que la Grande-Bretagne ait jamais couverts, simplement parce que Smith et son groupe sont des Blancs.

60. En passant à la question du Sud-Ouest africain, je tiens à déclarer que nous espérons que le Comité ad hoc sur le Sud-Ouest africain présentera des propositions qui conduiront ce territoire à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance sans intervention de l'Afrique du Sud. Nous espérons qu'aucun Membre des Nations Unies ne cherchera à contrecarrer la convocation d'une session extraordinaire de l'Assemblée générale, ainsi que l'envisage la résolution 2145 (XXI) sur le Sud-Ouest africain.

61. Pour ce qui est de la question des colonies portugaises, on ne peut que regretter que le Portugal n'ait pas, jusqu'ici, fait preuve de suffisamment de bon sens pour décoloniser. Nous avons déclaré à plusieurs reprises que le colonialisme constitue en soi une forme d'agression, et le colonialisme portugais est bien en lui-même une agression contre le peuple africain. Je n'ai pas besoin de rappeler les nombreuses occasions où des Etats africains indépendants ont eu à se plaindre des actes d'agression dirigés contre eux par le Portugal. Le plus récent de ces actes a été l'agression commise par le Portugal contre la Tanzanie le 29 novembre 1966. Nous connaissons les

motifs de ces agressions portugaises. Elles visent en premier lieu à détourner l'attention mondiale des meurtres commis par le Portugal dans ses colonies africaines et en second lieu à faire croire hypocritement au monde qu'il n'y a pas de combattants de la liberté dans les colonies portugaises, mais seulement des infiltrations en provenance des Etats indépendants voisins.

62. Ces manœuvres, toutefois, ne mèneront pas le Portugal très loin, car nous connaissons fort bien le jeu que le Portugal colonial cherche à jouer. Je désire justement saisir cette occasion pour prévenir solennellement une nouvelle fois le Portugal que le Gouvernement et le peuple de la Tanzanie ne toléreront plus ces provocations. Et je voudrais ajouter que les autres Etats indépendants d'Afrique ne le toléreront plus pour leur part.

63. Je dois maintenant réaffirmer l'engagement du Gouvernement et du peuple de la Tanzanie à soutenir ceux qui se battent contre ce colonialisme en Afrique. Cet engagement renouvelé s'exprime dans notre projet de résolution lorsque nous déclarons reconnaître la légitimité de la lutte des peuples sous domination coloniale et prions les gouvernements d'apporter une aide matérielle et morale à ces peuples. La Tanzanie ne reculera devant aucun sacrifice pour chasser d'Afrique les colonisateurs portugais. Leurs desseins agressifs semblent dirigés aussi contre la Zambie, la République démocratique du Congo, le Congo (Brazzaville), la Guinée et le Sénégal. Je crois sincèrement qu'il est grand temps que ces pays entreprennent une action commune pour convaincre le Portugal que ces provocations ne seront plus tolérées.

64. Je voudrais à présent en venir à la question de l'aide apportée par certains pays au Portugal colonial, en particulier de l'aide militaire, et, là, je veux distinguer le cas des Etats-Unis. Il est assurément honteux que ce grand pays démocratique se fasse, en notre siècle, le principal fournisseur d'armes d'une puissance coloniale, sachant que ces armes seront utilisées contre nos peuples en lutte pour leur indépendance. Les Etats-Unis ne s'en tireront pas par un simple démenti public. Que nos peuples soient tués par des armes provenant des Etats-Unis, nos cœurs, en Afrique, en sont profondément meurtris. Il s'agit d'une accusation très grave. Nous faisons appel aux hommes de bonne volonté aux Etats-Unis et à leur gouvernement pour qu'ils portent remède à nos blessures. En réalité, le peuple démocratique des Etats-Unis devrait combattre à nos côtés pour vaincre le fascisme en Afrique, car, si la liberté doit avoir un sens, elle doit avoir en Afrique celui-là même que le peuple des Etats-Unis voudrait qu'elle eût pour lui.

65. J'aimerais parler brièvement de la question des petits territoires, dont il est également fait mention dans notre projet de résolution. A vrai dire, on ne peut plus aborder le sujet des petits territoires sans évoquer celui des bases militaires, car ces petits territoires ou petites îles sont peu à peu transformés en hideuses forteresses de destruction. Mais j'ai l'intention de parler de ces bases militaires par la suite.

66. Ma délégation estime qu'il convient d'envisager sérieusement les problèmes de ces petits territoires et de leur consacrer une étude approfondie. Actuelle-

ment, les puissances coloniales exercent sur certains d'entre eux une lente coercition en vue de les absorber. On donne à ces manœuvres quantité de raisons, la question de la viabilité économique étant invariablement invoquée, comme si l'indépendance et la liberté étaient des produits échangeables contre de l'argent. Ma délégation exprime avec force l'opinion que les Nations Unies doivent procéder à une étude de ce problème, afin de trouver des solutions pour ces territoires, et que les puissances coloniales doivent présenter aux peuples de ces territoires des mesures à cet effet. Ce qui se passe dans ces petits territoires est la prolongation du système colonial, à tel point que des îles distantes seulement de 15 kilomètres sont encouragées à se sentir différentes les unes des autres. De cela, nous avons un excellent exemple dans les Caraïbes. J'estime que les Caraïbes devraient être encouragées à coopérer plutôt qu'à rechercher des affiliations avec les puissances coloniales. Cela est également vrai dans l'océan Indien et en Extrême-Orient. Il arrive qu'une île soit divisée entre deux puissances coloniales.

67. Ma délégation est d'avis que des mesures hâtives tendant à l'absorption de ces territoires sont inacceptables aussi bien pour nous-mêmes que pour les peuples qu'elles concernent, surtout quand elles sont élaborées sans que l'Organisation des Nations Unies en ait connaissance. A ce sujet, il est essentiel qu'une attention particulière soit accordée par les Nations Unies à la façon dont les peuples coloniaux ont continuellement à participer à des référendums brusqués, organisés par certaines puissances administrantes. Car l'expérience a montré que, dans plusieurs cas, des puissances administrantes ont astucieusement organisé des référendums offrant aux peuples colonisés soit de s'associer intégralement avec la métropole, soit de demeurer sous la dépendance de la puissance coloniale comme entité qualifiée d' "autonome" par celle-ci. Dans un cas comme dans l'autre, il s'agit de la continuation de la domination coloniale. En outre, étant donné que les colonialistes s'arrogent le droit de fixer les règles d'organisation de ces référendums, les incompatibilités que cela comporte n'ont pas besoin d'une analyse approfondie. Nous sommes donc catégoriquement opposés à cette manière d'agir arbitraire des colonialistes et à l'escamotage par lequel ils procèdent à l'annexion de peuples et de territoires.

68. Il s'ensuit tout à fait naturellement que, afin de jouer un rôle concret, l'Organisation des Nations Unies ne doit pas se contenter de faire office de simple observateur invité par une puissance administrante à assister à de telles manœuvres, mais qu'elle doit participer à l'élaboration et à l'organisation de tout référendum propre à donner aux peuples coloniaux l'occasion claire et nette d'exercer leur droit à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance.

69. J'aborderai maintenant la question des bases militaires qui, je me permets de le répéter, est mentionnée dans notre projet de résolution.

70. Nous sommes, en Tanzanie, tout à fait opposés à l'installation de bases militaires dans les territoires coloniaux. Nous ne leur voyons aucune utilité, surtout lorsque ces bases sont utilisées dans des desseins qui n'ont rien à voir avec les habitants d'un territoire. On nous dit parfois que ces bases font l'objet d'un

contrat entre les parties intéressées. Nous avons de sérieux doutes quant à la valeur d'un contrat conclu avec un peuple asservi. Dans de tels cas, les puissances coloniales sont en quelque sorte des fidéicommissaires; c'est pourquoi ces contrats ne peuvent être considérés comme légalement constitués et ayant véritablement une valeur obligatoire. Je sais que dans d'autres organes des Nations Unies nous nous efforçons de résoudre le problème du désarmement. Afin, par conséquent, que puisse être réalisé ce louable dessein, les puissances coloniales doivent démanteler leurs bases dans les territoires coloniaux.

71. Nous avons le ferme espoir que cet appel sera entendu. Nous ne voulons pas qu'un voile définitif soit jeté sur le sort des peuples colonisés parce que certaines puissances sont engagées dans une lutte égoïste pour la domination du monde.

72. Je passerai enfin à la question du Comité des Vingt-Quatre. Nous sommes d'avis que ce comité doit poursuivre sa tâche, ainsi qu'il est d'ailleurs indiqué dans notre projet de résolution. En réalité, quand on considère le nombre de pays qui ont accédé à l'indépendance depuis 1960, on voit quel excellent travail a été accompli par ce comité. Et l'admission de la Barbade comme Membre de l'Organisation ce matin-même [1487^{ème} séance] en est la preuve. Nous estimons donc qu'il serait juste que le mandat du Comité soit prorogé. Cependant, nous pensons qu'il devrait continuer de tenir des réunions hors de New York, afin de travailler dans des conditions qui lui permettraient de bénéficier de la présence de pétitionnaires qui ne peuvent venir à New York. Cela aussi est mentionné dans notre projet de résolution.

73. Nous prions les puissances coloniales d'autoriser l'envoi de missions de visite dans leurs territoires. De cette manière, l'Organisation des Nations Unies pourrait jouer un rôle utile dans la décolonisation des territoires restants. Nous avons été informés en plusieurs occasions des difficultés rencontrées par les puissances coloniales dans ces territoires. Nous espérons que ces puissances autoriseront l'ONU à aller s'en rendre compte elle-même.

74. Permettez-moi de parler maintenant de la question des monopoles. Il ne paraît guère nécessaire de rappeler ici le rapport du Comité des Vingt-Quatre sur cette question. Néanmoins, je désirerais faire remarquer aux Membres de l'Organisation que, dans le dernier paragraphe du dispositif de notre projet, nous demandons à l'Assemblée générale d'inscrire cette question à son ordre du jour, et nous espérons qu'il lui sera possible d'examiner tous les aspects de ce problème au cours de sa vingt-deuxième session.

75. Point n'est besoin d'ajouter quelque chose à ce que contient ce rapport quant à la façon dont les monopoles ont contribué à entraver la marche des peuples colonisés vers l'indépendance. Je dirai simplement que nous avons constaté que non seulement ces monopoles pratiquent l'apartheid, non seulement ils pratiquent la discrimination, mais encore qu'ils vont jusqu'à verser des contributions — de l'argent — aux puissances coloniales, argent qui sert ensuite à financer des activités criminelles dirigées contre les combattants de la liberté. Nous ne pouvons nous empêcher de conclure, nous autres Africains, que ces monopoles

retardent la marche des peuples d'Afrique vers l'autodétermination et l'indépendance. C'est en tenant compte de ce fait que nous avons rédigé le paragraphe 20 de notre projet de résolution de façon que l'Assemblée puisse étudier cette question à fond au cours de sa vingt-deuxième session et faire des propositions destinées à la régler.

76. Pour conclure, j'insisterai encore une fois sur l'urgence de la décolonisation. Le temps presse, et ce qui est nécessaire, ce sont les actes plus que les paroles. En Afrique particulièrement, la lutte que nous menons pour recouvrer notre dignité a atteint le stade où ceux qui ne sont pas avec nous sont contre nous. Unissons-nous contre le fléau et hâtons ainsi le moment où l'humanité tout entière pourra vivre dans la liberté et la fraternité.

77. Je désire réaffirmer le soutien du Gouvernement et du peuple de la Tanzanie à tous ceux qui luttent pour leur liberté. Je saisis cette occasion pour remercier toutes les délégations qui ont soutenu cette cause aux Nations Unies. Nous considérons leur appui comme un acte de solidarité et d'amitié dans lequel nous pouvons placer notre confiance. Et je voudrais mentionner particulièrement à cet égard les pays de l'Amérique latine et les pays socialistes pour l'appui précieux qu'ils nous ont prêté dans ce domaine de la décolonisation.

78. Permettez-moi d'exprimer une fois encore l'espoir que ce projet de résolution pourra être adopté à l'unanimité. Je sais que certaines puissances coloniales prendront la parole pour essayer de démontrer que ce projet de résolution est absurde. Je sais qu'elles interviendront pour chercher à l'interpréter comme un acte de guerre froide. Mais comme je l'ai dit en un autre lieu, l'époque où la question de la guerre froide pouvait être exploitée est révolue; l'époque où l'opinion publique mondiale pouvait être abusée avec de tels arguments est révolue. Le moment de la décolonisation est venu; le moment de faire cause commune afin d'apporter la liberté à ceux qui connaissent la servitude est venu. J'espère donc que l'unanimité pourra se faire sur ce projet de résolution. Je dois dire, évidemment, que je connais deux délégations — celles du Portugal et de l'Afrique du Sud — qui ne pourront pas appuyer ce projet de résolution. A vrai dire, s'il devait se faire qu'elles l'appuient, nous aurions à examiner si ce projet n'aurait pas par hasard quelque chose d'anormal.

Lundi 12 décembre 1966,
à 10 h 30

NEW YORK

Nations Unies
**ASSEMBLÉE
GÉNÉRALE**

VINGT ET UNIÈME SESSION

Documents officiels



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*Président: M. Abdul Rahman PAZHWAK
(Afghanistan).*

27. M. TILINCA (Roumanie) [traduit de l'anglais]: Le représentant de la Roumanie inscrit pour prendre la parole sur cette question n'est pas prêt et demande à intervenir plus tard.

28. Le PRESIDENT (traduit de l'anglais): Je voudrais rappeler une fois de plus ce qui a été déclaré, et pratiqué, au cours de cette session de l'Assemblée générale, à savoir que, si un représentant n'est pas prêt à prendre la parole à son tour, la parole lui sera donnée à la fin de la séance.

29. M. CHEVTCHENKO (République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine) [traduit du russe]: Près de six ans ont passé depuis le jour mémorable où, dans cette salle, sur l'initiative de l'Union soviétique, nous avons adopté un document ayant une importance historique: la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. Ce fut une grande victoire des forces modernes qui luttent pour la paix et la liberté. L'utilité de ce document et son importance ont été confirmées par tous les événements ultérieurs, qui ont montré d'une façon convaincante que le sort du colonialisme dans l'histoire est prédéterminé et qu'il ne saurait y avoir de retour en arrière.

30. En adoptant la Déclaration, notre Organisation a établi des principes bien définis de droit international s'appliquant aux problèmes coloniaux. En particulier, elle a précisé que "la sujétion des peuples à une subjugation, à une domination et à une exploitation étrangères constitue un déni des droits fondamentaux de l'homme, est contraire à la Charte des Nations Unies et compromet la cause de la paix et de la coopération mondiales". Ainsi, notre Organisation a reconnu la légalité et la justice de la lutte des peuples coloniaux pour conquérir leur liberté et leur indépendance.

31. Nous estimons qu'il est opportun et approprié de rappeler cela maintenant, à un moment où certains Etats, tout en multipliant les déclarations verbales sur leur "fidélité à la Charte des Nations Unies", "la responsabilité collective pour le sort de l'Organisation", etc., boycottent la mise en œuvre de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux et ne contribuent ainsi en rien à consolider l'Organisation, ni à élever son prestige.

32. La délégation de la RSS d'Ukraine estime qu'il est essentiel, maintenant que l'Assemblée générale examine l'évolution de la décolonisation à la lumière du rapport du Comité des Vingt-Quatre [A/6300/Rev.1], d'exiger des puissances coloniales une réponse claire et détaillée à la question demandant ce qu'ils ont fait, d'une façon concrète, pour mettre en œuvre la Déclaration. En particulier, comment ont-ils appliqué le paragraphe 5 de ce document, spécifiant que "des mesures immédiates (je souligne "immédiates") seront prises, dans les territoires sous tutelle, les territoires non autonomes et tous autres territoires qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance, pour transférer tous pouvoirs aux peuples de ces territoires, sans aucune condition ni réserve, conformément à leur volonté et à leurs vœux librement exprimés, sans aucune distinction de race, de croyance ou de couleur, afin de leur permettre de jouir d'une indépendance et d'une liberté complètes"?

33. Il est notoire, comme le montrent les résultats des travaux du Comité des Vingt-Quatre cette année,

POINT 23 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

Application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux: rapport du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux (suite)

26. Le PRESIDENT (traduit de l'anglais): L'orateur suivant inscrit pour le débat général sur cette question est le représentant de la Roumanie.

que les puissances coloniales, maintenant comme auparavant, cherchent à saboter la mise en œuvre de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, ainsi que celle des multiples résolutions adoptées par le Comité des Vingt-Quatre, l'Assemblée générale et le Conseil de sécurité.

34. S'il n'en était pas ainsi, trouverions-nous maintenant dans le monde, six ans après l'adoption de la Déclaration, plus de 85 territoires coloniaux englobant une population de quelque 50 millions de personnes?

35. Grâce à la lutte obstinée et opiniâtre des peuples, avec l'appui de toutes les forces anticoloniales et le soutien de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, les régimes d'oppression coloniale ont été éliminés dans de nombreux territoires.

36. Mais en même temps, on ne peut manquer de noter qu'en ce moment, l'activité des mouvements de libération des peuples s'est sensiblement ralentie. A la session précédente, ainsi qu'à la présente session de l'Assemblée générale, de nombreuses délégations ont exprimé à ce sujet une inquiétude légitime.

37. Les événements de ces derniers temps indiquent que les puissances coloniales ont intensifié leur opposition à la lutte des peuples d'Asie, d'Afrique et d'Océanie pour leur libération finale et, dans certains secteurs, passent même à la contre-attaque.

38. Ce renouveau d'activité des forces du colonialisme a été rendu possible par une agressivité accrue de l'impérialisme contemporain et, avant tout, de l'impérialisme américain, coupable d'agression contre le peuple vietnamien. Les Etats-Unis cherchent à transformer le Viet-Nam en une base de contre-attaque contre les autres pays des continents asiatique et africain, et à semer la crainte parmi les peuples qui luttent pour la liberté et l'indépendance. En fin de compte, cela signifie que l'agression des Etats-Unis d'Amérique au Viet-Nam représente un sérieux défi lancé au mouvement mondial de libération nationale.

39. L'agression des Etats-Unis au Viet-Nam, leur ingérence et leurs activités subversives contre les pays africains, les opérations punitives du Royaume-Uni en Arabie du Sud, tout cela représente des maillons d'une chaîne unique d'actions agressives du colonialisme.

40. Les colonialistes et les néo-colonialistes tirent avantage de tout pour maintenir leurs positions: les difficultés économiques, les dissensions internes, les discordes religieuses et ethniques, etc.

41. Les événements de ces derniers temps montrent d'une façon convaincante qu'il est nécessaire d'opposer au colonialisme collectif un front puissant d'anti-colonialisme collectif. Jamais il n'a été aussi évident qu'il est maintenant nécessaire de consolider la cohésion de toutes les forces qui s'opposent à l'agression et au colonialisme. C'est grâce à l'unité d'action de toutes les forces anticolonialistes que des victoires décisives ont pu être remportées dans la lutte pour la libération nationale de centaines de millions d'êtres humains.

42. Si l'on considère le continent africain, les principaux bastions du colonialisme y sont: la République sud-africaine, le Sud-Ouest africain, l'empire colonial

portugais — comprenant l'Angola, le Mozambique et la Guinée dite portugaise — et enfin la Rhodésie du Sud, avec son régime raciste de minorité blanche. La lutte pour la libération de ces territoires aborde une étape vraiment décisive. La vague de libération nationale se rapproche de plus en plus des frontières de la République sud-africaine. Les progrès ultérieurs de la décolonisation dans la partie sud de l'Afrique dépendent beaucoup de l'évolution des événements en Rhodésie du Sud.

43. On peut dire que la solution du problème de la Rhodésie du Sud est devenue une épreuve sérieuse imposée à notre Organisation, car les colonialistes font fi des décisions du Conseil de sécurité et de l'Assemblée générale. On sait que le Royaume-Uni a posé les bases du régime raciste actuel, en lui transmettant le contrôle des forces armées, en créant des conditions économiques et politiques favorables pour l'accession au pouvoir du régime Smith et la proclamation ultérieure par ce régime de la prétendue indépendance. C'est bien le Royaume-Uni qui a déclaré, juste avant cette "proclamation d'indépendance", qu'il n'avait pas l'intention de recourir à la force. Les prétendues sanctions annoncées par le Royaume-Uni avaient pour but, non pas de mettre fin au régime raciste, mais de temporiser pour lui permettre de consolider ses forces. Tel était aussi le but des longs pourparlers du Gouvernement britannique avec Smith, qui ont été à juste titre condamnés à la présente session de l'Assemblée générale [résolution 2138 (XXI)].

44. Maintenant que Smith a repoussé les dernières propositions britanniques, il semble que l'on commence un nouveau jeu ayant pour but de tromper l'Afrique, notre Organisation et l'opinion publique mondiale. Le programme britannique de "sanctions sélectives obligatoires", exposé au Conseil de sécurité [1331ème séance], est insuffisant. En effet, la portée des mesures proposées est extrêmement limitée. La déclaration du Ministre des affaires étrangères du Royaume-Uni au Conseil de sécurité, selon laquelle le Gouvernement britannique consentirait à l'interdiction des livraisons de pétrole à la Rhodésie du Sud, à condition que cette proposition soit rédigée "sous une forme acceptable" [1332ème séance] donne simplement, à première vue, l'impression d'être encore un stratagème.

45. Le Gouvernement britannique a annoncé, avant la proclamation de l'"indépendance", qu'il n'avait pas l'intention d'utiliser la force, et cette attitude n'a pas changé. En outre, en annonçant le 5 décembre à la Chambre des communes le projet de sanctions susmentionné, le gouvernement Wilson s'est hâté de déclarer que ces sanctions ne devaient pas provoquer "un affrontement économique ou militaire dans lequel serait entraîné tout le sud de l'Afrique". Quel est le sens de tout cela?

46. Cela signifie qu'avec l'aide du Conseil de sécurité, on voudrait exercer une certaine pression sur Smith pour qu'il donne son accord à l'arrangement colonialiste qui avait été proposé par le Royaume-Uni lors de la dernière rencontre entre Wilson et Smith.

47. Il est incontestable que le Royaume-Uni est le principal responsable du drame qui se joue en Rhodésie du Sud. A notre avis, le Royaume-Uni ne peut éluder

l'obligation qui lui incombe d'en finir avec le régime minoritaire raciste illégal de Rhodésie du Sud. Pour cela, les actions les plus décisives s'imposent. A ce sujet, la délégation ukrainienne partage le point de vue de plusieurs délégations africaines qui, au cours du débat général et pendant la discussion à la Quatrième Commission, et maintenant encore, ont préconisé que le Conseil de sécurité décide d'appliquer les mesures de coercition prévues par le Chapitre VII de la Charte de notre Organisation.

48. Les racistes et les colonialistes de la Rhodésie du Sud, du Portugal et de la République sud-africaine sont liés par une caution solidaire. Il s'agit de l'existence d'une base coloniale unique englobant le sud de l'Afrique. Jusqu'ici, notre Organisation s'est occupée de la Rhodésie du Sud, des territoires portugais, de l'apartheid dans la République sud-africaine et au Sud-Ouest africain en tant que problèmes distincts, bien que l'on reconnût leur interdépendance. Ne serait-il pas temps, pour le Conseil de sécurité et l'Assemblée générale, d'examiner ce problème colonial comme un tout indivisible? Nous estimons que dès la présente session, l'Assemblée générale doit attirer l'attention de tous les Etats sur les conséquences dangereuses de la formation, dans le Sud du continent africain, de l'alliance tripartite que nous avons mentionnée, et doit lancer un appel à tous les Etats pour qu'ils refusent tout soutien, toute aide, toute assistance à cette alliance dont le but est le maintien de l'esclavage colonial, dirigé contre les peuples d'Afrique. L'aide à l'un des participants doit être considérée comme une aide à l'ensemble de cette alliance coloniale.

49. Il est d'autant plus justifié de considérer les problèmes coloniaux du Sud de l'Afrique comme un tout indivisible que l'activité des monopoles étrangers, financiers et économiques, est la seule force motrice de ce colonialisme collectif. Le régime Smith, les dirigeants de la République sud-africaine et les colonialistes portugais ne sont qu'une arme entre les mains des monopoles internationaux et de leurs fondés de pouvoirs.

50. Notre délégation appuie la condamnation de l'activité des monopoles étrangers dans les territoires africains qui est contenue dans la résolution adoptée par le Comité des Vingt-Quatre le 22 juin 1966 [A/6300/Rev.1, chap. II, par. 619]. A notre avis, l'Assemblée doit confirmer cette condamnation de l'activité des monopoles économico-financiers étrangers dans le Sud-Ouest africain, en Rhodésie du Sud, en Angola, au Mozambique, en Guinée (Bissau) et dans tous les autres territoires coloniaux, qui tend à perpétuer les régimes coloniaux; elle doit demander aux gouvernements des pays intéressés de prendre toutes les mesures nécessaires pour mettre fin à cette activité.

51. Si l'on fait le bilan du travail du Comité des Vingt-Quatre en 1966, on doit constater que le Comité a indubitablement fait œuvre utile en contribuant à démasquer la politique des puissances coloniales et l'activité des monopoles étrangers, et en élaborant des mesures utiles et concrètes tendant à mettre en œuvre la Déclaration sur la décolonisation.

52. Les travaux du Comité en Afrique ont été particulièrement fructueux et couronnés de succès, comme

d'autres délégations l'ont déjà souligné. L'Assemblée générale doit, à notre avis, proposer au Comité de poursuivre ses efforts en vue de la mise en œuvre de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux et approuver le programme de travail que le Comité s'est fixé pour 1967, y compris la possibilité d'organiser une série de réunions en Afrique et d'envoyer des groupes de visite dans divers territoires, en particulier dans les régions de l'Atlantique, de l'océan Indien et du Pacifique.

53. Au cours de la période de presque six ans qui s'est écoulée depuis l'adoption de la Déclaration historique sur la décolonisation, l'Assemblée générale a pris de nombreuses décisions utiles et constructives tendant à mettre en œuvre cette Déclaration. Mais les puissances coloniales ont méconnu et continuent à méconnaître ces décisions. Telle a été et continue d'être l'attitude du Royaume-Uni en ce qui concerne Aden et la Rhodésie du Sud; telle a été et continue d'être l'attitude des colonialistes portugais et des racistes de la République sud-africaine. Les raisons pour lesquelles ils se refusent à se soumettre à la volonté de cette Assemblée internationale sont bien connues: pour appliquer leur politique coloniale, ils continuent à s'appuyer sur l'aide et le soutien des amis et alliés qu'ils ont parmi les pays faisant partie de l'OTAN.

54. De l'avis de notre délégation, des mesures décisives et énergiques doivent être prises contre les colonialistes. Ces mesures doivent émaner de l'organe qui, d'après la Charte, a la responsabilité principale du maintien de la paix et de la sécurité internationales, le Conseil de sécurité. C'est l'organe qui doit examiner à fond et directement les problèmes coloniaux qui menacent la paix et la sécurité, ou qui y portent atteinte. Et l'une des tâches prioritaires du Conseil à cet égard est d'appliquer les mesures coercitives prévues par la Chapitre VII de la Charte des Nations Unies contre le Portugal et la République sud-africaine, ainsi que contre les Etats qui continuent à accorder leur aide au régime raciste illégal de Rhodésie du Sud, régime dont l'élimination doit être réalisée par le Gouvernement britannique conformément à la résolution 2151 (XXI) de l'Assemblée générale.

55. C'est au Conseil de sécurité lui-même qu'il incombe essentiellement de veiller à l'application de ses propres résolutions, ainsi que de celles de l'Assemblée générale; avant tout, il doit prendre des mesures sévères et radicales contre l'"alliance impie" des colonialistes d'Afrique afin de les forcer à quitter pour toujours ce continent meurtri.

56. Notre Organisation doit créer et entretenir autour des colonialistes une atmosphère de réprobation et d'impatience, comme l'a déclaré M. Belokolos, Ministre des affaires étrangères de la RSS d'Ukraine au cours de la discussion générale, à la présente session de l'Assemblée générale: "A sa présente session, l'Assemblée générale se doit de déclarer en termes clairs et non équivoques que la perpétuation du colonialisme est la négation des nobles idéaux et des fins élevées pour la réalisation desquels l'ONU a été créée et que la politique du colonialisme est contraire à l'esprit et aux buts des Nations Unies et constitue de

ce fait une violation flagrante de la Charte des Nations Unies" [1436ème séance, par. 121].

57. Au cours de la présente session, l'Assemblée générale doit déclarer solennellement, dans sa résolution sur le rapport du Comité des Vingt-Quatre, que la perpétuation des régimes coloniaux, de l'apartheid et de la discrimination raciale constitue un crime contre l'humanité.

58. Notre délégation note avec satisfaction que plusieurs délégations partagent ce point de vue. En particulier, il a été présenté ici [1485ème séance] d'une façon convaincante par le président du Comité des Vingt-Quatre, l'ambassadeur Collier, qui a fait remarquer à juste titre que les crimes commis aujourd'hui par les colonialistes sont semblables à ceux qu'ont commis les nazis et qui ont été définis dans le statut du tribunal de Nuremberg.

59. De l'avis de notre délégation, une déclaration officielle de la part de notre Organisation, affirmant que la politique du colonialisme est contraire à la Charte et est un crime de droit international d'une telle gravité qu'il constitue un crime contre l'humanité, offrirait de nouvelles possibilités pour appliquer aux colonialistes les mesures coercitives prévues par le Chapitre VII de la Charte de notre Organisation.

60. A notre avis, ces crimes contre l'humanité perpétrés par les colonialistes doivent être largement portés à la connaissance des peuples et, à cette fin, l'Assemblée générale, à sa présente session, doit prier le Secrétaire général d'organiser, par l'intermédiaire des services compétents de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, la diffusion régulière de renseignements complets sur la mise en œuvre de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, de sorte que l'opinion publique mondiale soit adéquatement informée des crimes contre l'humanité commis par les colonialistes.

61. A notre avis, l'Assemblée générale devrait aussi, à sa présente session, adopter une recommandation sur l'établissement de délais limites pour l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, afin que l'année prochaine, 1967, soit la dernière année d'existence du honteux système colonial.

62. Notre Organisation a reconnu la légitimité de la lutte des peuples coloniaux pour réaliser leur droit à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance. Elle a aussi proposé à tous les Etats d'apporter une aide matérielle et morale aux mouvements de libération nationale. Cet appel doit recevoir l'appui sans réserve de ceux qui sont réellement en faveur de la liberté des peuples et de leur indépendance.

63. En ce qui concerne la République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine, elle a constamment appuyé et continue d'appuyer la détermination des peuples à obtenir la liquidation totale et définitive de tous les régimes coloniaux et racistes, ainsi que l'abolition totale et définitive du honteux système de l'oppression coloniale.

M. Mod (Hongrie), vice-président, prend la présidence.

64. M. PARTHASARATHI (Inde) [traduit de l'anglais]: L'Assemblée générale est maintenant saisie du rap-

port du Comité spécial sur les travaux accomplis par ce comité en 1966 [A/6400/Rev.1], qui est un document très important. Le Comité spécial a entrepris de vastes études concernant une soixantaine de territoires non autonomes, allant de territoires sur lesquels se concentre aujourd'hui l'attention mondiale jusqu'à de petites îles lointaines dont les problèmes ne sont guère connus du reste du monde. Le Comité spécial a également entrepris deux études spécialisées très utiles sur les activités des intérêts étrangers économiques et autres qui font obstacle à l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux dans les territoires sous administration portugaise et en Rhodésie du Sud. En tant que membre du Comité spécial depuis sa création en 1961, ma délégation a participé activement et avec un vif intérêt aux travaux du Comité. A ce sujet, ma délégation tient à dire sa grande admiration pour le dynamisme et l'esprit constructif avec lesquels ceux-ci ont été dirigés par l'ambassadeur Collier, du Sierra Leone, président du Comité spécial. Ma délégation remercie sincèrement le Président de ses efforts inlassables et les autres membres du Comité de leur coopération très active, ce qui nous a permis d'effectuer nos travaux avec la plus grande efficacité.

65. L'intérêt témoigné par notre gouvernement et notre peuple au processus historique de la décolonisation résulte de ce que l'Inde n'est une nation indépendante et souveraine que depuis une vingtaine d'années. Si ma délégation éprouve une grande satisfaction à voir de nombreuses nations devenues maîtresses de leur propre destin au cours des dernières décennies, elle n'en est pas moins profondément inquiète de constater que de vastes régions d'Afrique et d'ailleurs sont encore sous la domination coloniale. Ainsi que l'a déclaré notre premier ministre, Mme Indira Gandhi, devant le groupe afro-asiatique aux Nations Unies, le 1er avril 1966:

"... nous qui avons récemment conquis l'indépendance en nous libérant du régime colonial, nous ne pouvons oublier un instant la triste condition et l'angoisse de nos frères et sœurs d'Aden, d'Angola, de Mozambique, de Rhodésie du Sud, d'Afrique du Sud et du Sud-Ouest africain".

66. La situation, surtout dans la partie méridionale du continent africain, demeure critique et n'offre pas de perspective de solution pacifique prochaine. Les colonialistes irréductibles qui ont formé une alliance infâme contre toutes les forces de raison et de justice continuent de prospérer aux dépens de la sueur et du sang des Africains. De l'avis de ma délégation — avis partagé, j'en suis sûr, par beaucoup d'autres — ces vestiges pervers du colonialisme ne parviennent à survivre, en partie du moins, que grâce à l'aide directe et indirecte que leur apportent certains de leurs puissants amis. Ma délégation regrette profondément cette attitude et renouvelle son appel à ces pays pour qu'ils prennent les mesures efficaces qui, nous n'en doutons pas, sont en leur pouvoir pour détruire ces bastions du colonialisme.

67. Ma délégation n'a pas l'intention de commenter en détail la situation qui règne actuellement dans la partie méridionale de l'Afrique, car nous l'avons déjà fait en de précédentes occasions, à la Quatrième Commission comme devant l'Assemblée générale. Je tiens

toutefois à réaffirmer notre satisfaction devant la décision de l'Assemblée de mettre fin au mandat de l'Afrique du Sud sur le Sud-ouest africain. Ma délégation, qui a toujours été profondément inquiète de la condition misérable du peuple du Sud-ouest africain, dont elle a soutenu la cause aux Nations Unies dès le début, attend avec impatience les recommandations du Comité *ad hoc* nommé par l'Assemblée générale dans sa résolution 2145 (XXI) concernant les moyens pratiques d'administration de ce territoire. Qu'il me soit permis de réaffirmer une fois de plus l'appui total et sans réserve de ma délégation en ce qui touche les droits inaliénables du peuple du Sud-ouest africain à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance.

68. En ce qui concerne les colonies portugaises d'Afrique, nous constatons que la politique du Portugal devient de plus en plus intolérable. Avec ses alliés racistes et colonialistes, l'Afrique du Sud et la Rhodésie du Sud, le Portugal est parvenu à déjouer toutes les tentatives faites par notre Organisation mondiale pour libérer les peuples depuis longtemps opprimés de ses colonies. A cet égard, ma délégation est également d'avis que, comme l'indique l'étude des activités des intérêts étrangers économiques et financiers dans les colonies portugaises, les grands monopoles étrangers opérant dans ces colonies exploitent depuis longtemps la population indigène afin de réaliser pour eux-mêmes de rapides bénéfices. C'est pour ces raisons que ma délégation a été un des auteurs d'un projet de résolution présenté à la Quatrième Commission [A/6554, par. 14] demandant que soient prises des sanctions économiques obligatoires contre le Portugal. Ma délégation est persuadée que seule une telle mesure aura un effet sur l'attitude intransigeante du Portugal.

69. La Rhodésie du Sud constitue à l'heure actuelle le problème le plus critique et le plus explosif auquel notre Organisation ait à faire face. Les événements récents qui ont amené le Ministre des affaires étrangères du Royaume-Uni à s'adresser au Conseil de sécurité pour lui demander de prendre des sanctions économiques sélectives obligatoires contre la Rhodésie du Sud n'ont fait que corroborer l'opinion de ma délégation, souvent exprimée ici, selon laquelle le régime minoritaire raciste de ce pays ne peut être renversé par les mesures hésitantes et inefficaces appliquées jusqu'ici. L'opinion de ma délégation à ce sujet est entièrement exprimée dans la résolution 2151 (XXI), qui recherche l'application par le Conseil de sécurité des mesures coercitives nécessaires prévues au Chapitre VII de la Charte des Nations Unies et demande au Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni de prendre toutes les mesures nécessaires, y compris le recours à la force, pour mettre fin au régime minoritaire raciste illégal en Rhodésie du Sud.

70. L'étude approfondie effectuée sur la Rhodésie du Sud par le Comité des Vingt-Quatre a montré très clairement que l'application de sanctions économiques volontaires à la Rhodésie du Sud ne suffira pas à elle seule à produire l'effet désiré sur l'économie de ce pays tant que l'Afrique du Sud et le Portugal refuseront leur coopération. Ma délégation s'abstiendra toutefois de commenter davantage le fait que ces sanctions sont impuissantes à provoquer les résultats

désirés, car nous aurons prochainement l'occasion de développer notre point de vue.

71. Beaucoup de temps et d'attention ont été consacrés cette année à la question d'Aden par le Comité des Vingt-Quatre et par la Quatrième Commission. Ma délégation a enregistré avec satisfaction l'assurance donnée par le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni qu'il quitterait le territoire en 1968 et que la base militaire d'Aden serait supprimée. Cependant, il ressort des déclarations faites par la Puissance administrante ainsi que par les pétitionnaires d'Aden que la situation à Aden a considérablement empiré et qu'il règne dans ce territoire une atmosphère de crainte et de violence. Avec d'autres membres du Comité spécial, ma délégation a estimé que la meilleure manière pour les Nations Unies de venir en aide à la population d'Aden était d'envoyer dans ce territoire une mission spéciale pourvue d'un mandat approprié. Nous voulons croire que cette mission, qui sera désignée par le Secrétaire général, pourra accomplir sa tâche avec la coopération de tous les intéressés.

72. J'en viens maintenant au cas des îles Fidji, fort éloignées dans le Pacifique, où le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni s'est toujours refusé à tenir compte des résolutions pertinentes des Nations Unies. La Puissance administrante y a poursuivi avec vigueur une politique ayant pour but de diviser les communautés et de les tenir à l'écart les unes des autres afin de maintenir les intérêts de la minorité européenne dans ces îles. Il est heureux, cependant, que la Quatrième Commission ait adopté récemment un projet de résolution [A/6572, par. 13] réaffirmant le principe démocratique universellement reconnu énoncé par la formule "à chaque homme sa voix" et demandant son application aux îles Fidji. Ma délégation n'a jamais admis le vote communal et a soutenu le principe de l'égalité de représentation de tous les citoyens, sans considération de race ni de religion, principe qu'elle considère comme juste et inviolable. Ma délégation espère que la Puissance administrante acceptera l'envoi d'une mission de visite dans ce territoire, comme elle l'a accepté pour Aden.

73. Peut-être convient-il de formuler, à ce point de mon intervention, quelques observations sur la question générale de l'envoi de missions de visite des Nations Unies dans les territoires non autonomes. Ma délégation pense que ces missions offrent des avantages multiples. Outre qu'elles aident l'Organisation à étudier les problèmes d'un territoire dans leur véritable perspective, elles permettent aux peuples des régions intéressées de prendre pleinement conscience de leurs possibilités d'avenir. L'utilité pratique de ces missions pour aider à la préparation indispensable d'élections ou de référendums et de toutes autres dispositions semblables avant l'obtention de l'autonomie interne ou de l'indépendance ne saurait être exagérée. Le cas des îles Cook et celui, plus récent, d'une mission de visite en Guinée équatoriale sont deux des nombreux exemples qui illustrent l'utilité de ces missions. Il va sans dire que ces dernières servent aussi à mettre en relief le rôle important joué par les Nations Unies dans le processus de décolonisation.

74. Le Comité des Vingt-Quatre a procédé, par l'entremise de ses sous-comités, à une étude louable et

inédite des nombreux territoires insulaires dispersés dans l'océan Pacifique, l'océan Indien et l'océan Atlantique. Ma délégation est d'avis que les études de ce genre sont d'une très grande utilité, car, outre qu'elles fournissent des lignes directrices aux puissances administrantes, elles incitent celles-ci à prendre des mesures lorsque rien n'a été fait dans le sens désiré. Il n'est pas exagéré d'affirmer, comme le fait ma délégation, que, sans l'attention accordée à ces petits territoires par le Comité spécial, aucun d'entre eux n'aurait atteint le degré relatif d'autonomie et de développement économique et social qu'ils possèdent aujourd'hui.

75. Le Comité spécial s'est rendu en Afrique, où il a séjourné en mai et juin 1966, sur l'invitation des Gouvernements de la République-Unie de Tanzanie, de l'Algérie, de la République arabe unie, de la Somalie et de l'Éthiopie. Ce séjour a permis aux membres du Comité d'entrer en contact plus étroit avec les populations des territoires dépendants et de mieux comprendre les aspects complexes de la situation. De nombreux dirigeants nationalistes de ces colonies, qui n'auraient pu venir exposer leurs griefs au Siège des Nations Unies, en raison de la distance et du coût du voyage, ont pu facilement entrer en rapport avec le Comité en Afrique.

76. Je voudrais saisir cette occasion pour exprimer les remerciements et la gratitude de ma délégation aux pays qui ont accueilli le Comité en Afrique et dont l'hospitalité et la coopération ont été remarquables. A ce propos, ma délégation ne peut s'empêcher de dire l'intense déception que lui ont causée certaines puissances administrantes dont le manque de coopération et l'attitude négative ont empêché le Comité de se rendre dans plusieurs pays coloniaux pour y prendre directement connaissance des faits.

77. Je voudrais maintenant citer avec satisfaction et fierté le nom de la Barbade, qui a accédé à l'indépendance voilà quelques jours seulement. Ma délégation a suivi avec grand intérêt et avec préoccupation, dans les divers organismes des Nations Unies, les épreuves et les tribulations de la Barbade avant son indépendance. Après avoir longtemps lutté pour pouvoir jouir de ses droits inhérents, le peuple de cette nouvelle et jeune nation vient de s'engager dans sa grande et exaltante entreprise de reconstruction nationale et de progrès. Ma délégation ne doute pas que, malgré les problèmes communs à toutes les nations depuis peu indépendantes et les difficultés résultant de situations particulières, ce peuple courageux sera capable, sous l'habile direction de son premier ministre Errol Barrow, de forger son destin dans la paix et la prospérité. Nous adressons nos félicitations les plus sincères au Gouvernement et au peuple de la Barbade et ma délégation se félicite par avance de travailler avec ses représentants au sein de notre Organisation.

78. En tant que nation ayant souffert de tous les maux du colonialisme et de la domination impériale, notre engagement au service de la cause de l'octroi de la liberté dans toutes les colonies sans exception est irrévocable. Le colonialisme et la paix sont irrécconciliables, et c'est pourquoi, quelles que soient leurs convictions idéologiques, toutes les nations qui

sont attachées à la paix doivent lutter pour éliminer rapidement les derniers vestiges du colonialisme.

79. Enfin, qu'il me soit permis d'affirmer, au nom de mon gouvernement et de mon peuple, que ma délégation envisage avec plaisir une nouvelle année de rudes, mais très utiles, travaux comme membre du Comité spécial, dans le cadre de nos efforts pour apporter la liberté et l'indépendance aux millions d'êtres humains qui en sont encore privés.

80. Ma délégation est un des auteurs du projet de résolution [A/L.506] sur la question que l'Assemblée examine actuellement. Nous avons en effet la conviction que l'application des dispositions de ce projet accélérerait grandement le processus de la décolonisation, ce qui, par voie de conséquence, contribuerait à apaiser les tensions existant dans le monde aujourd'hui. Ma délégation espère que ce projet de résolution sera adopté par l'Assemblée à une écrasante majorité.

81. M. WAZIRI (Afghanistan): Je tiens tout d'abord à exprimer la gratitude de ma délégation au Président du Comité spécial pour les efforts qu'il a déployés afin de nous présenter son admirable travail.

82. A sa quinzième session, par sa résolution 1514 (XV) du 14 décembre 1960, l'Assemblée générale a adopté la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. Depuis ce mémorable événement, l'Assemblée générale a examiné chaque année la situation quant à l'application de cette déclaration, et après avoir examiné le rapport du Comité spécial, elle a prié ce dernier de continuer à rechercher les voies et moyens d'assurer l'application immédiate et intégrale de la Déclaration à tous les territoires qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance.

83. L'adoption en 1960 de la Déclaration des Nations Unies sur l'octroi de l'indépendance et les décisions prises par l'Assemblée générale reconnaissant la légalité de la lutte des peuples pour la liberté et l'indépendance, l'appel lancé par l'Assemblée générale à tous les Etats pour qu'ils apportent une aide matérielle et morale à cette lutte, et la condamnation du colonialisme dans toutes ses manifestations, ont apporté un appui politique à tous les peuples qui luttent contre le colonialisme.

84. Au cours de la présente session de l'Assemblée générale, nous avons eu l'agréable occasion de saluer l'accession à l'indépendance de nouveaux Etats qui sont devenus Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies. La Guyane, le Lesotho, le Botswana et la Barbade sont des Etats qui, en devenant indépendants au cours de cette année, ont réalisé la lutte contre le colonialisme menée par les peuples et par les Nations Unies.

85. D'autre part, la décolonisation progresse lentement, non pas parce que les Nations Unies ne font pas tout ce qu'elles peuvent, mais parce qu'il y a encore des hommes et des gouvernements qui ne croient pas à l'égalité des peuples et continuent à violer les principes de la Charte.

86. La délégation afghane est profondément inquiète du fait qu'après plus de 20 ans de discussions et de débats, nous sommes encore en face de questions

coloniales qui n'ont pas trouvé de solution, et que les résolutions des Nations Unies, pendant ces années écoulées, se sont heurtées constamment à l'attitude et au refus injustifiés des puissances administrantes.

87. Ma délégation estime que la situation dans laquelle se trouvent engagés les territoires coloniaux met sérieusement en cause la responsabilité des Nations Unies. Nous constatons avec regret que ces territoires sont plongés dans un désordre inquiétant et que leurs populations sont privées de leurs droits fondamentaux.

88. La délégation afghane condamne non seulement le colonialisme classique dit colonialisme occidental, mais toute sorte d'expansionnisme ayant pour but l'exploitation et l'oppression d'êtres humains et la domination de l'homme par l'homme, car ces pratiques sont fondées sur la force, l'isolement et la division.

89. D'année en année, la situation s'aggrave en Rhodésie du Sud. Le gouvernement rebelle continue de fouler aux pieds le principe sacré du respect de la dignité humaine et du droit inaliénable de chaque peuple à la liberté, à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance.

90. Dans de telles conditions, nous pensons que les Nations Unies doivent faire preuve de vigilance pour rechercher les moyens de mettre rapidement fin à la rébellion dans le territoire de la Rhodésie du Sud et d'aider le peuple sud-rhodésien à instituer un gouvernement majoritaire et une société équitable, libérée de la discrimination. Nous espérons que des progrès rapides seront enregistrés à cet égard et que, comme le prévoient les résolutions pertinentes des Nations Unies, le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni prendra sans délai des mesures propres à permettre au peuple de la Rhodésie du Sud de déterminer son propre avenir conformément aux objectifs de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux.

91. En ce qui concerne les territoires sous administration portugaise, le Gouvernement du Portugal persiste à ne pas tenir compte des résolutions pertinentes des Nations Unies. De même, ce gouvernement foule aux pieds les principes sacrés du respect de la dignité humaine et repousse le droit inaliénable des peuples à l'autodétermination, réaffirmé dans lesdites résolutions, et rien n'indique qu'il a renoncé à ses objectifs d'intégration politique et économique desdits territoires à la métropole.

92. Dans de telles conditions, les Nations Unies doivent prendre toutes les mesures qui s'imposent afin d'assurer l'accession rapide de ces pays à l'indépendance.

93. D'autre part, le Gouvernement sud-africain persiste à refuser l'application des résolutions de l'Assemblée générale concernant le Sud-Ouest africain. Par ses arguments non fondés, le Gouvernement de l'Afrique du Sud continue de s'opposer à la mise en œuvre des résolutions de l'Assemblée générale. D'année en année, la situation s'aggrave et le Gouvernement sud-africain nie le droit inaliénable des peuples à la liberté, à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance.

94. La politique d'apartheid, appliquée dans le territoire du Sud-Ouest africain, est considérée par ma délégation comme une violation flagrante des droits de

l'homme. La délégation afghane, comme la majorité écrasante des autres délégations dans cette Assemblée, condamne la discrimination raciale et la politique d'apartheid; elle estime que les Nations Unies devraient intervenir au Sud-Ouest africain selon les dispositions de la résolution [2145 (XXI)] récemment adoptée par l'Assemblée générale.

95. La délégation afghane pense que l'Assemblée générale doit consacrer une attention particulière à la question d'Aden et de la péninsule de l'Arabie du Sud, à Oman et aux autres territoires coloniaux. Elle appuie pleinement les dispositions du projet de résolution A/L.506, sûre qu'elle est qu'à l'heure actuelle l'essentiel est de mettre fin, aussi rapidement que possible, à l'anachronisme que constitue la persistance du colonialisme en plein XX^{ème} siècle.

96. Ma délégation considère comme un privilège et un honneur de faire partie du Comité spécial. L'Afghanistan, qui a appuyé sans réserve la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance, a toujours approuvé pleinement les recommandations du Comité spécial. C'est pourquoi nous sommes convaincus que tant que des hommes continueront d'être opprimés par leurs frères, la paix et la sécurité internationales seront toujours menacées.

97. M. JOVEJATI (Syrie) [traduit de l'anglais]: Rarement une question examinée par l'Assemblée générale aura eu autant de portée et de pertinence que le point 23 de l'ordre du jour, ou mieux incarné les problèmes internationaux les plus importants. Rarement une question aura illustré aussi clairement la signification des principes fondamentaux de la Charte et montré à quel point ces principes sont aujourd'hui mis en cause par de puissantes forces de réaction.

98. Le cadre dans lequel s'exercent les efforts des Nations Unies en vue de libérer les peuples et les sociétés des chaînes de la domination et de l'exploitation coloniales a été créé par la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux contenue dans la résolution 1514 (XV). En donnant un caractère d'institution au droit à l'autodétermination des peuples dépendants et en créant le mécanisme permettant de l'exercer, les auteurs de la Déclaration ont cherché à concrétiser davantage les importants progrès réalisés par la grande révolution contemporaine déclenchée contre l'injustice et l'inégalité; et la création du Comité spécial a fourni l'instrument de mise en pratique des principes de la Déclaration et de surveillance de leur application adéquate. Ainsi, les principes, le cadre et l'organisme ont-ils été mis à notre disposition. Ce qui a manqué jusqu'ici et doit maintenant s'affirmer pour que la tâche de la décolonisation soit couronnée de succès, c'est la volonté de mettre les idéaux en pratique. En ce qui concerne ce dernier point, qui est capital, l'usage de passer en revue l'évolution de la situation chaque année à l'Assemblée acquiert une importance particulière. On peut ainsi évaluer l'étendue des progrès accomplis, analyser les points faibles et faire apparaître les flots de résistance aux changements. Mais ce qui est encore plus important, c'est de rechercher les méthodes les plus efficaces grâce auxquelles la communauté internationale pourrait mener à bonne fin, quelles que soient les circonstances,

cette noble tâche d'émancipation qu'elle s'est engagée à réaliser.

99. A ce sujet, les rapports pertinents du Comité spécial nous dépeignent fidèlement la situation et nous donnent des indications claires quant aux succès obtenus, aux espérances permises et aux déceptions éprouvées.

100. On ne saurait douter que le Comité spécial est déterminé à poursuivre sa tâche avec persévérance sous la direction de ses présidents futurs comme il l'a menée sous la haute compétence de ses présidents passés et de son président actuel, et à accepter à cet effet tous les inconvénients et tous les sacrifices. Les membres qui connaissent bien ses travaux et son programme chargé peuvent témoigner de son dévouement à la cause qu'il défend, avec l'aide de notre distingué Secrétaire général et du personnel très capable que ce dernier a mis à sa disposition.

101. Mais la solution des problèmes dépend souvent des puissances administrantes et, à cet égard, le seul pouvoir du Comité spécial est un pouvoir de persuasion. Quand celui-ci reste sans effet, le Comité spécial ne peut que faire des recommandations et dénoncer la partie responsable de l'échec.

102. Du côté positif du bilan, l'accession à l'indépendance de la Guyane, du Botswana, du Lesotho et de la Barbade est un sujet de satisfaction, et un juste hommage doit être rendu aux peuples de ces pays pour les sacrifices qu'ils ont consentis afin de recouvrer leur droit à la dignité et à la liberté.

103. L'année prochaine, 1967, sera marquée par l'espoir que le dialogue déjà engagé sur la préparation de l'indépendance de la Guinée équatoriale, et celui qui est sur le point de l'être au sujet d'Ifni et du Sahara, conduiront à la décolonisation de ces territoires au plus tard en 1968.

104. L'année 1968 est aussi celle qui a été définitivement fixée pour l'accession d'Aden au rang d'Etat. La présence de l'Organisation des Nations Unies dans ce territoire, enfin acceptée par la Puissance administrante sous la pression matérielle du mouvement de libération nationale et la pression morale des Nations Unies, devrait y normaliser le climat politique et adoucir les profondes blessures infligées à ce vaillant peuple arabe au cours de 130 années d'une domination impitoyable.

105. Pourtant, malgré cette amélioration partielle, l'inquiétude causée par les aspects de la politique coloniale menée dans cette région par la même puissance administrante n'a pas diminué. En fait, cette puissance est engagée dans une triple action qui donne lieu aux appréhensions les plus vives et qui perpétue les germes de conflits et de tensions. Le renforcement et l'extension des installations militaires se poursuivent; l'isolement de la région par rapport au monde arabe est imposé avec une telle rigueur que même la modeste assistance financière, culturelle et technique accordée par la Ligue des Etats arabes aux populations de ces territoires est entravée.

106. Enfin, et ce n'est pas le moins important, on achète des allégeances permanentes, par l'intermédiaire de régimes non représentatifs et archaïques, en exploitant à fond les dissensions tribales et l'ignorance

primitive. On favorise l'analphabétisme, quand on devrait instruire. On laisse s'accumuler les retards, quand on devrait moderniser. On craint la prise de conscience des masses et on l'étouffe au moindre signe.

107. Les Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies auront trouvé à ce sujet de stupéfiantes révélations dans la déclaration faite au mois de juin dernier par le Secrétaire général adjoint de la Ligue arabe devant le Comité spécial lors des réunions du Caire [A/6300/Rev.1, chap. II, par. 314 à 344].

108. Dans d'autres cas, et toujours dans la même région, la fiction des cheiks et des sultans, prétendument souverains, indépendants et populaires au plus haut point, mais qui laissent délibérément à leurs bienveillants amis britanniques le soin de s'occuper de tout ce qui concerne la défense, les affaires étrangères, la sécurité, les ressources et le potentiel économique, est une tentative cynique visant à égarer l'opinion publique mondiale, en plein XXème siècle, à l'ère des Nations Unies et de leurs principes.

109. Cependant, les milieux libéraux des puissances colonialistes elles-mêmes réclament que cesse ce déguisement de la vérité. Ils soutiennent que, si les gouvernements colonialistes veulent faire une politique opposée à la souveraineté et à l'indépendance des peuples, qu'ils le fassent du moins honnêtement; qu'ils déclarent franchement que ce qu'ils veulent, c'est le monopole sur de vastes ressources, l'imposition de contrats inéquitables pour l'exploitation de ces ressources, et l'établissement de bases militaires d'où ils puissent constamment menacer d'étouffer sur-le-champ toute voix s'élevant en faveur de l'émancipation et de la liberté et toute tentative en vue de faire régner l'unité, le socialisme et la justice.

110. La politique coloniale qui a provoqué souffrances et effusions de sang dans cette région se retrouve dans d'autres territoires. Seuls les prétextes et les méthodes varient. Comment pourrait-on expliquer autrement la suppression par une minorité de fanatiques des droits élémentaires de quatre millions d'Africains sur leur sol vénéré du Zimbabwe? N'est-ce pas sur l'initiative de la même puissance colonialiste que des terres ont été ici aliénées, là froidement usurpées, ici distribuées à des colons, là tout simplement annexées à la Couronne, ici cédées à des sociétés, là — où elles sont le plus arides — utilisées pour y parquer la population africaine innocente, légitime propriétaire? Le Conseil de sécurité est de nouveau saisi de la question, mais qui est responsable, du fait de ses atermoiements, de l'aggravation de la situation?

111. De même, comment la persistance et le renforcement de la pratique de l'apartheid et la conquête de fait du Sud-ouest africain peuvent-ils s'expliquer autrement que parce que ceux qui violent la Charte et la volonté de l'humanité étaient assurés que des sanctions ne leur seraient pas universellement appliquées, que l'on ne permettrait pas aux pays africains voisins de s'armer suffisamment pour menacer leurs acquisitions illégitimes, et que le formidable commerce et les profits illicites réalisés au prix de la sueur et du sang des Africains sont considérés comme trop précieux pour ne pas l'emporter sur n'importe quelles considérations morales?

112. Comment expliquer la politique coloniale du Portugal, qui supprime l'identité, la personnalité africaine et les droits naturels de millions d'habitants du Mozambique, de la Guinée et de l'Angola, sans le bouclier défensif que son appartenance à l'Alliance atlantique lui fournit si opportunément? Ce n'est pas la défunte théorie de l'assimilation, mais sa position dans une alliance si puissante qui permet au Portugal de s'opposer au courant de l'histoire et à l'évolution des relations humaines. L'argument selon lequel certaines puissances peuvent rester les partenaires du Portugal dans une alliance défensive tout en condamnant sa politique est un artifice dialectique pour refuser de reconnaître la vérité et tenter de justifier une position moralement indéfendable. Les porte-parole de l'Alliance atlantique ne cessent d'insister sur la communauté de vues, de culture, de civilisation et d'idéaux qui les unit. Ce n'est que lorsqu'ils sont mis en face des réalités de la politique coloniale du Portugal qu'ils isolent les liens purement défensifs qui les unissent au Portugal dans ce qu'ils affirment être uniquement un domaine restreint.

113. Il existe une autre alliance concrète d'intérêts entre les forces de réaction qui oppriment le peuple africain dans les colonies sous domination portugaise, en Afrique du Sud, au Sud-ouest africain et en Rhodésie du Sud. Aucune assurance qu'il n'existe pas d'"alliance officielle" ne saurait rien changer à cette réalité, car il s'agit d'une alliance d'esprit réactionnaire fondée sur la prétendue supériorité de la race blanche et d'une alliance d'intérêts fondée sur l'exploitation inhumaine de la race africaine. Quand les privilèges illégitimes des colons sont menacés dans une de ces régions, les autres régions réagissent et organisent aussitôt un soutien fanatique en faveur de ceux qui sont menacés et une résistance fanatique à tout changement.

114. Derrière cette alliance d'intérêts et cet effort de sauvegarde des privilèges, on trouve la puissance des monopoles et de la finance internationale. Leur comportement dans les territoires africains usurpés repose malheureusement sur la discrimination contre les Africains, dont ils exploitent les propres ressources sans bénéfice aucun pour ceux-ci.

115. Alors que toute législation industrielle reflète la tendance universelle à payer au travailleur la part qui lui revient, le travailleur africain est insuffisamment rétribué et se voit refuser toute possibilité de formation professionnelle et de promotion. Par ces moyens, le taux de plus-value atteint un indice phénoménal et les bénéfices triplent. Mais ces pratiques n'ont été rendues possibles dès le début que par la puissance dominatrice, qui les a tolérées et s'est acquis de la sorte la gratitude de ces sociétés et leur appui pour poursuivre sa politique d'oppression. Ces sociétés en sont venues à associer la permanence de leurs bénéfices à celle de la puissance opprimante. Elles soutiennent donc celle-ci par tous les moyens afin d'assurer cette permanence. Non seulement des contributions sont versées sous couleur d'impôts anodins, mais encore un traitement préférentiel est accordé à la métropole en ce qui concerne le prix des produits. Parfois, ces sociétés possèdent même leurs petites armées dans les limites de leur exploitation, afin d'aider l'oppression et d'étouffer dès le début

tout mouvement d'émancipation. C'est ainsi que l'identité d'intérêts devient l'identité de buts.

116. Certaines délégations prétendent encore ne pas voir comment ces monopoles mettent obstacle à l'indépendance des pays coloniaux. Elles demandent: "N'offrent-ils pas du travail aux Africains? N'aident-ils pas à accroître le revenu national? S'ils se retiraient, la situation des Africains ne serait-elle pas encore plus sombre?" Par ces arguments délibérément naïfs, ces délégations veulent paraître innocentes. Cependant, l'histoire de ces sociétés constitue une suite parfaitement cohérente.

117. Les pays auxquels appartiennent ces sociétés par leur nationalité gardent le silence. Quand ils sont libéraux, ils réservent leur position au lieu de voter contre une condamnation de ces intérêts. Ils déclarent que ces nationaux échappent à leur juridiction, et ils se dérobent ainsi à toute action, grâce à un mythe juridique, comme si la loi avait été créée pour faire obstacle à la justice et comme si elle pouvait sérieusement être appelée la loi quand elle permet à l'injustice de se perpétuer.

118. Ces violations de la Charte menacent clairement la paix et la sécurité internationales, car on ne peut s'attendre que les peuples d'Afrique et d'ailleurs cessent leur lutte et abandonnent leurs droits à une vie digne et à l'indépendance. On ne peut s'attendre que les jeunes pays africains, dont la situation et la force s'affermissent, acceptent ce déni de justice envers leurs frères. Et la suggestion du représentant de la Hongrie [1487ème séance] de faire jouer à cet égard au Conseil de sécurité son rôle constitutionnel est le premier remède qui vient à l'esprit de ceux qui sont attachés au prestige et à l'efficacité de notre Organisation internationale. Mais en même temps, le Comité spécial doit être encouragé à poursuivre sa tâche, à envoyer ses sous-comités dans divers territoires, grands et petits, et à continuer de se rendre dans les capitales africaines pour établir ce lien organique indispensable entre les idéaux intellectuels et la lutte active et pour faire connaître à l'Assemblée générale les détails de l'alliance des forces de réaction et des monopoles internationaux.

119. Mais d'abord et avant tout, le sens de solidarité qui unit la majorité des Etats Membres impose que l'appui donné aux combattants de la liberté soit concret et non pas seulement moral. Les liens entre les organisations régionales et l'ONU doivent se développer dans la mesure requise par la gravité des problèmes. Enfin, on doit faire comprendre aux tenants des forces de réaction que, au niveau même du commerce, des échanges et des intérêts matériels, l'Afrique peut avoir soit des amis, soit des ennemis, mais qu'il n'y a pas de place pour les indécis.

120. La richesse des ressources intellectuelles qui a permis la rédaction d'une résolution telle que la résolution 1514 (XV) n'est pas incapable de rendre concrets ces points théoriques au stade où nous en sommes, pour en faire une charte d'action, une charte qui couronnera en fin de compte les efforts déployés avec tant d'ardeur pour assurer la primauté de la justice et de l'équité.

121. M. RODRIGUEZ ASTIAZARAIN (Cuba) [traduit de l'espagnol]: Voilà six ans que l'Assemblée générale

a adopté l'historique Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. Chaque année, nous nous réunissons pour examiner les résultats obtenus par le Comité spécial anticolonialiste, dénommé des Vingt-Quatre, créé pour réaliser les objectifs de la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale.

122. Ma délégation désire exprimer une fois de plus sa reconnaissance pour les efforts accomplis par le Comité spécial en vue de faire triompher ces buts si justes, malgré la résistance tenace opposée par les puissances coloniales au processus de décolonisation dans le monde. L'opiniâtreté avec laquelle ces puissances cherchent à maintenir leur domination politique et économique sur les territoires coloniaux constitue une violation flagrante de la Charte des Nations Unies, qui proclame le droit des peuples à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance.

123. Nous comprenons que les travaux du Comité spécial se heurtent aux intérêts de grandes puissances colonialistes qui utilisent toutes leurs ressources au sein de cet organisme pour entraver, freiner et empêcher toute mesure efficace visant à l'application de la résolution 1514 (XV).

124. C'est pourquoi les progrès sont lents et pourquoi nous sommes obligés de redoubler d'efforts dans la lutte contre le colonialisme et le néo-colonialisme, inséparable de la lutte contre l'impérialisme à la tête duquel se trouve le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis d'Amérique, principal exploiteur et oppresseur du monde contemporain.

125. Les impérialistes oublient tout principe humanitaire et dénie aux peuples les droits les plus élémentaires afin de poursuivre l'exploitation lucrative de leurs richesses. Pour les impérialistes, la sueur, le sacrifice et le sang des peuples représentent de simples facteurs traduisibles en chiffres de bilan. C'est pourquoi, nous le répétons, les travaux dont est chargé le Comité spécial sont constamment contrariés par les représentants de tous les Etats colonialistes et leurs partisans.

126. Les résolutions adoptées par la dernière Assemblée générale en ce qui concerne la légalité de la lutte des peuples pour leur liberté et leur indépendance, l'appel lancé à tous les Etats pour qu'ils apportent une assistance morale et matérielle à cette lutte, et la condamnation du colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et manifestations en tant que crime contre l'humanité, doivent nous encourager à poursuivre la réalisation de ces objectifs. Mais où notre appui peut se révéler le plus utile, c'est là où se déroule la lutte émancipatrice des peuples exploités. Augmentons notre aide à ces mouvements de libération et nous éliminerons définitivement ce cancer de l'humanité que constituent le colonialisme et le néo-colonialisme.

127. Les impérialistes font de vains efforts pour étouffer les mouvements de libération et maintenir leur régime de domination et d'exploitation coloniales, appliquant à cet effet des méthodes brutales de répression, se livrant à des agressions criminelles et à des interventions armées, et pratiquant la ségrégation et la discrimination raciale.

128. Cuba pourrait relater ici les expériences combien amères qui jalonnent son histoire, car, à cause de

l'intervention armée du Gouvernement des Etats-Unis, l'indépendance véritable nous fut escamotée et nous nous vîmes imposer des gouvernements dociles, acquis à la politique de domination coloniale nord-américaine. Dans le domaine économique, les impérialistes nous imposèrent le rôle de producteurs de matières premières pour l'industrie nord-américaine et d'acheteurs pour leurs produits manufacturés.

129. Malgré la révolution victorieuse, et bien que nous en ayons fini une fois pour toutes avec les conséquences de la politique coloniale yankee, nous avons toujours sur notre territoire la base militaire que les Etats-Unis y maintiennent avec arrogance et sans justification légale contre la volonté de notre peuple et de son gouvernement. Nous devons appeler l'attention de l'Assemblée sur le danger que constituent les bases militaires étrangères qui font partie de l'arsenal agressif des impérialistes et sont utilisées pour tenter d'étouffer les mouvements travaillant à l'indépendance dans les territoires coloniaux et néo-coloniaux.

130. Une des manifestations les plus élevées de la solidarité existant entre les peuples du monde entier victimes d'agression a été sans aucun doute la Conférence tricontinentale qui s'est tenue à La Havane, capitale de la République de Cuba, au début de 1966^{3/} et qui réunissait les représentants des mouvements de libération nationale et d'autres forces progressistes de trois continents. Puisqu'il s'agit d'un événement historique d'importance majeure dans la lutte contre les forces impérialistes et colonialistes, qu'il me soit permis de citer un paragraphe de la résolution générale de la commission politique sur le colonialisme et le néo-colonialisme, paragraphe qui exprime énergiquement ce que doit être la réponse des peuples et des gouvernements progressistes du monde à la violence déchaînée par les impérialistes?

"Proclamer que face à la violence armée que l'impérialisme, et au premier chef l'impérialisme nord-américain, emploie pour étouffer la lutte de libération qui ne cesse de s'intensifier, les peuples victimes de l'agression ont à la fois le droit et le devoir de recourir à la violence révolutionnaire. Etre solidaire de la lutte que mène chaque peuple à cette fin et insister auprès de tous les pays des trois continents pour qu'ils apportent aux mouvements révolutionnaires qui luttent par les armes ou sur le plan politique l'appui moral, et aussi matériel, politique et diplomatique qui est nécessaire pour garantir la victoire sur l'impérialisme, le colonialisme et le néo-colonialisme dans les trois continents, et qui est également un droit et un devoir pour tous les peuples." [A/6611/Add.1, p. 36 (par. 4).]

131. Ces dernières années, de nouveaux Etats sont nés, dont les peuples ont obtenu leur indépendance grâce à leur lutte héroïque. Cependant, en Afrique, au Moyen-Orient et en Amérique latine, des peuples restent soumis au pouvoir colonial. Une des populations soumises à la plus brutale des répressions est, sans aucun doute, celle de la partie méridionale de l'Afrique, où les pires forces racistes et réactionnaires du monde, protégées et encouragées par les impérialistes nord-américains, se sont unies pour

^{3/} Première conférence de solidarité des peuples d'Afrique, d'Asie et d'Amérique latine, tenue à La Havane en janvier 1966.

exercer leur domination criminelle et bénéficient de l'aide économique de ces impérialistes et du soutien d'alliances militaires telles que l'OTAN. Grâce à ces appuis, ces forces maintiennent dans la sujétion les peuples du Sud-ouest africain, de la Rhodésie du Sud, de l'Angola, du Mozambique et de la Guinée dite portugaise. A Pretoria et en Rhodésie, ces produits de l'impérialisme s'efforcent, au mépris de la volonté de la communauté internationale, de poursuivre leur politique inhumaine d'apartheid. L'alliance de ces forces colonialistes se manifeste par la répression constante du mouvement d'indépendance et constitue une menace pour les Etats indépendants d'Afrique et un danger pour la paix et la sécurité internationales.

132. En intervenant dans le débat sur la question du Sud-ouest africain (1454ème séance), ma délégation a exprimé clairement sa condamnation du Gouvernement de l'Afrique du Sud, qui poursuit et aggrave sa politique d'oppression à l'égard de la population africaine et étend ses pratiques discriminatoires inhumaines au territoire du Sud-ouest africain. Nous avons accordé notre appui à toutes mesures que les Etats africains pourraient considérer comme nécessaires pour favoriser l'indépendance de ce territoire ou révoquer le mandat de l'Afrique du Sud sur le Sud-ouest africain. C'est pourquoi nous nous sommes prononcés en faveur du projet de résolution A/L.483 et Add.1 à 3. A nos yeux, le seul mandataire du Sud-Ouest africain est son propre peuple, que nous nous réaffirmons déterminés à appuyer moralement et matériellement dans sa juste lutte pour l'indépendance. Cependant, le refus du régime de l'Afrique du Sud et de ceux qui le soutiennent de respecter les résolutions de l'Assemblée générale et du Comité spécial est une preuve de plus de la résistance des puissances coloniales qui veulent empêcher l'Organisation des Nations Unies de réaliser les objectifs de la résolution 1514 (XV).

133. La situation en Rhodésie mérite une attention particulière. Voilà plus d'un an que la déclaration unilatérale d'indépendance a été proclamée par une minorité blanche de colons fascistes qui continuent d'opprimer la population africaine du Zimbabwe malgré les résolutions adoptées par les Nations Unies. Or, qu'ont fait les impérialistes? Comment ont-ils répondu à l'appel de la communauté internationale? Voyons quelques simples chiffres qui ont été publiés, non certes par un journal de mon pays, mais par le New York Times d'hier, dimanche 11 décembre, à la section 4, page 1. L'article indique que les exportations de la Rhodésie du Sud vers les Etats-Unis sont passées de 15 400 000 dollars en 1965 à un chiffre estimé à 19 millions de dollars en 1966. En direction de l'Allemagne fédérale, elles sont passées dans le même temps de 25 200 000 à 25 800 000 dollars, et en direction de l'Afrique du Sud de 36 400 000 à 42 millions de dollars. Voilà ce que nous offrent les impérialistes, les colonialistes et les racistes en réponse aux efforts du Comité spécial.

134. Mon pays se solidarise avec le peuple du Zimbabwe qui mène une lutte héroïque, et il réaffirme sa détermination de lui apporter l'aide morale et matérielle dont il pourra avoir besoin pour obtenir son indépendance.

135. Ma délégation est préoccupée par la situation qui règne dans les territoires sous domination portugaise. En Guinée dite portugaise, aux îles du Cap-Vert, de même qu'en Angola, au Mozambique et aux îles Saint-Thomas et du Prince, les populations subissent une constante répression destinée à étouffer leurs justes aspirations à l'indépendance.

136. Cuba salue une nouvelle fois du haut de cette tribune les progrès victorieux du mouvement de libération nationale de la Guinée dite portugaise et renouvelle l'assurance de son plein appui à tous les peuples qui luttent pour se libérer du joug étranger.

137. En Amérique latine reste posée l'irritante question de Porto Rico, qui continue de subir la domination coloniale du Gouvernement des Etats-Unis. Le 18 octobre dernier, dans son intervention au cours du débat général, M. Raúl Roa, Ministre des affaires étrangères de mon pays, a fait la déclaration suivante au sujet de la situation de Porto Rico:

"Avec la caution d'une politique anticolonialiste sans duplicité ni faille, la délégation cubaine demande l'appui de tous les Etats indépendants en faveur de l'île sœur de Porto Rico. Faisant appel à tous les recours et à tous les stratagèmes, le Gouvernement nord-américain a essayé de soustraire cette question à l'examen de l'Assemblée générale. Il ne suffit pas de réclamer l'abolition des séquelles du colonialisme européen en Amérique latine. Si l'on est anticolonialiste et logique avec soi-même, il faut réclamer avant tout l'abolition de la domination coloniale qu'imposent les Etats-Unis à Porto Rico, dont le peuple, de même langue que nous, de mêmes traditions et de même culture, et dont l'indépendance a été favorisée par José Martí, en même temps que celle de Cuba, complète ainsi l'entreprise libératrice de Simon Bolivar en élevant une digue à l'expansion économique et politique des Etats-Unis vers le sud du continent.

"La délégation cubaine estime que, conformément aux principes de la Charte et aux résolutions anticolonialistes qu'elle a adoptées, l'Assemblée générale doit se prononcer sur cette question. Le Gouvernement révolutionnaire de Cuba a demandé l'an dernier, par ma lettre en date du 1er octobre 1965, l'inscription de la question de Porto Rico au programme du Comité spécial de décolonisation. Le document reprenait la demande de 47 chefs d'Etat ou de gouvernements réunis à la deuxième Conférence des pays non alignés et se faisait l'écho de demandes de toutes les organisations patriotiques de Porto Rico. Le groupe de travail dudit Comité a recommandé que l'on procède à une étude afin de déterminer si Porto Rico peut être inscrit sur la liste des territoires qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance, renvoyant l'examen de la question à la prochaine session du Comité spécial.

"La délégation cubaine renouvelle à l'Assemblée générale sa demande pour que l'on prenne immédiatement en considération le problème de Porto Rico. Il convient de souligner que nous ne le faisons pas seulement en tant que Membre de l'Organisation, mais aussi au nom et en tant que représentant d'un peuple héroïque et plein d'abnégation qui, depuis un siècle, lutte pour sa totale émancipation. Il appar-

tiendra aux Etats Membres de choisir et de dire s'ils appuient l'indépendance de ce peuple ou le renforcement de ses chaînes." [1446ème séance, par. 113 à 115.]

138. La question de l'inscription de Porto Rico au programme du Comité des Vingt-Quatre a été discutée de nouveau cette année. Le groupe de travail a pensé qu'une nouvelle étude détaillée était nécessaire et a déclaré que cette étude devrait être effectuée le plus rapidement possible au cours de la prochaine session du Comité spécial.

139. Ma délégation réaffirme que le Comité spécial est parfaitement compétent pour étudier la question de Porto Rico, territoire dépendant auquel s'applique pleinement la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale.

140. Les impérialistes nord-américains font d'inutiles efforts pour tenter de dissimuler la situation réelle de Porto Rico. Aux Nations Unies, ils invoquent la résolution 748 (VIII) de l'Assemblée générale. Or, cette résolution a été adoptée sans que l'Assemblée ait eu exactement connaissance de la situation qui régnait à Porto Rico. Les Etats-Unis ont parlé d'un plébiscite par lequel le peuple aurait — paraît-il — choisi son destin. Cependant, ils n'ont pas mentionné que ce plébiscite n'offrait pas la solution de l'indépendance et que 60 p. 100 des électeurs inscrits s'abstinrent d'y participer ou manifestèrent leur opposition à l'occupation coloniale yankee. Les Etats-Unis invoquent, je le répète, la résolution 748 (VIII), mais à la neuvième Conférence internationale américaine, tenue à Bogota en 1948, ils se sont opposés à l'adoption d'une résolution anticolonialiste, de crainte que des études sur le colonialisme en Amérique ne viennent à porter sur leur occupation illégale de Porto Rico. A ce moment-là, la résolution 748 (VIII) n'avait pas encore été adoptée.

141. Nous avons la ferme intention d'empêcher les impérialistes, quoi qu'ils fassent, de dissimuler une vérité aveuglante. Porto Rico est soumis au pouvoir législatif, exécutif et judiciaire des Etats-Unis. Sa population n'a aucune juridiction sur les questions de citoyenneté, d'affaires étrangères, de défense, d'immigration et d'émigration, de commerce extérieur, de monnaie, de postes, de radiocommunications, de télévision, etc. Le seul droit que les Etats-Unis ont accordé à la population portoricaine est celui de mourir pour défendre les intérêts impérialistes, comme en Corée et au Viet-Nam. En cela, oui, il faut reconnaître la générosité des Etats-Unis!

142. Pour terminer, je tiens à déclarer que mon pays se prononcera en faveur de toutes mesures que pourra proposer le Comité des Vingt-Quatre pour permettre aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux d'accéder à l'indépendance.

143. M. GEORGESCU (Roumanie): La délégation de la République socialiste de Roumanie participe à la discussion des problèmes relatifs à l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux avec la conviction que l'ONU doit jouer un rôle plus efficace dans la liquidation définitive des derniers vestiges du colonialisme. La liberté et l'indépendance sont évidemment le résultat de la lutte des peuples soumis à la domination coloniale,

mais par les moyens qui lui sont propres notre Organisation peut contribuer elle aussi d'une manière substantielle au succès de cette lutte et à la liquidation définitive du système colonial anachronique.

144. Le rapport annuel du Secrétaire général sur l'activité de l'Organisation des Nations Unies accorde une place importante aux problèmes de la décolonisation.

"Il faut admettre" — déclare le Secrétaire général dans l'introduction à son rapport annuel — "que si l'ONU a été à la pointe de l'action en faveur du principe de l'autodétermination, et si elle a beaucoup fait pour encourager et parfois aider l'émancipation de peuples dépendants, elle n'a pas réussi jusqu'ici à apporter ou à faciliter des solutions efficaces aux divers problèmes coloniaux, fort graves et difficiles, qui subsistent encore." [A/6301/Add.1, p. 12.]

C'est à ce stade-là qu'ont commencé, à la présente session, les travaux de la Quatrième Commission et de l'Assemblée générale.

145. Bien que l'Assemblée générale et le Conseil de sécurité aient adopté des recommandations et des décisions adéquates au sujet de la proclamation de l'indépendance des territoires non autonomes, d'importants problèmes coloniaux, comme ceux du Sud-Ouest africain, de la Rhodésie du Sud et des territoires portugais, restent particulièrement graves, du fait que les puissances administrantes se refusent obstinément à mettre en application les nombreuses résolutions adoptées et continuent à recourir à l'utilisation de la force policière et armée pour le maintien de leur domination.

146. Quelques-unes des résolutions adoptées par l'Assemblée générale lors de la présente session constituent, à notre avis, un pas en avant en ce qui concerne le processus de la décolonisation.

147. Ainsi, le retrait du Mandat de l'Afrique du Sud sur le Sud-Ouest africain et l'institution du Comité des Quatorze^{4/} chargé de présenter, pour avril 1967 au plus tard, des recommandations sur la préparation du territoire en vue de l'indépendance [voir résolution 2145 (XXI)] placent l'Organisation des Nations Unies devant une responsabilité directe. Les 14 gouvernements, ainsi que notre Organisation dans son ensemble, ne pourront plus se limiter à des études et à des recommandations générales, mais devront prendre des mesures pratiques efficaces qui puissent aboutir à brève échéance à l'indépendance du Sud-Ouest africain.

148. Par sa résolution 2151 (XXI) du 17 novembre 1966, l'Assemblée générale ne se contente pas de reconnaître aux peuples le droit de lutter contre les puissances coloniales; elle fait aussi appel à tous les Etats pour qu'ils accordent leur appui moral et matériel à ceux qui mènent une dure lutte pour acquérir leur indépendance nationale ou, dans le cas de la Rhodésie du Sud, au peuple du Zimbabwe le gouvernement raciste illégal de Smith.

149. La politique menée par le Portugal dans les territoires placés sous son administration est, aux termes du projet de résolution adopté par la Quatrième

^{4/} Comité spécial pour le Sud-Ouest africain.

Commission [A/6554, par. 14], condamnée comme "crime contre l'humanité".

150. Aussi, étant donné le refus persistant des puissances administrantes, les répressions et les guerres coloniales déchaînées par elle, le forum international ne se limite-t-il pas à ses propres mesures et décisions. Il juge également nécessaire d'encourager les peuples à poursuivre leur lutte sacrée pour l'indépendance et fait appel à tous les Etats pour appuyer moralement et matériellement cette lutte qui constitue le facteur décisif dans la liquidation de l'odieux régime de domination coloniale, l'esclavagisme des temps modernes. Dans le cas de la Rhodésie, l'appel vise au renversement du gouvernement raciste et illégal de Smith.

151. La domination coloniale a constitué, des siècles durant, une véritable calamité pour des continents entiers et pour l'humanité. Le continent africain, qui a eu le plus à souffrir du fait des occupations étrangères, peut s'enorgueillir de civilisations et de cultures millénaires célèbres et autres civilisations remarquables en plein développement, que les colonialistes ont trouvées en Afrique et essayé de détruire pendant leur domination. Le festival de l'art noir de Dakar a constitué pour certains une "découverte" de l'Afrique. Les trésors artistiques africains ont mis en lumière un monde nouveau grandiose. L'histoire de l'Afrique ne commence pas, comme le prétendent les apologistes du colonialisme, avec la colonisation de ce continent. Le colonialisme a constitué au contraire l'interruption du développement de l'Afrique et parfois même la destruction des civilisations florissantes de cet immense territoire.

152. Le processus de la décolonisation est loin d'être achevé. Bien que cette salle nous offre un cadre magnifique où la moitié des délégations représentent de jeunes Etats récemment libérés, il n'en reste pas moins que plus de 50 territoires, plus ou moins grands, se trouvent encore sous domination coloniale.

153. Des voix se font encore entendre, à la tribune de l'ONU, qui parlent de l'incapacité pour certains territoires de devenir indépendants soit parce qu'ils seraient dépourvus des cadres et des conditions nécessaires pour se développer, soit parce qu'ils ne pourraient pas exister comme Etats indépendants en raison de l'exiguïté de leur territoire. Mais qui donc est responsable de la pénurie des cadres et des conditions, sinon les puissances coloniales, qui n'ont rien négligé pour empêcher la création de pareilles conditions? Les faits sont trop connus pour qu'il soit nécessaire de les rappeler ici. Une simple comparaison entre l'effectif des cadres qui existait sur ces territoires au moment de la proclamation de l'indépendance et celui qui existe à présent est suffisante pour démontrer que ces jeunes Etats ont formé, en quelques années seulement, plus de cadres qu'il n'en fut formé pendant toute la période de domination coloniale.

154. Il est impérieusement nécessaire que tous les territoires encore sous domination étrangère, quels que soient leur étendue et leur population, le lieu où ils se trouvent ou le fait d'être considérés comme des "territoires stratégiques", obtiennent sans délai leur indépendance. Une fois libres et indépendants, c'est aux peuples de décider eux-mêmes de leur sort.

Ils seront alors en mesure de choisir seuls une éventuelle et libre association avec de petits territoires voisins, conformément à leurs propres intérêts.

155. Un simple coup d'œil sur la carte suffit pour se rendre compte que les territoires n'ayant pas encore acquis leur indépendance sont dispersés dans presque tous les continents, sur les océans et les mers les plus importants. Dans beaucoup de ces territoires, il existe soit une situation explosive due à la dure oppression coloniale, soit des bases militaires étrangères de différentes puissances. Tout cela rend impérieux que soit octroyée au plus vite et sans aucune condition l'indépendance totale à tous les peuples qui habitent ces territoires, au nombre de plus de 50.

156. Selon la Charte de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, les rapports entre les puissances administrantes et les territoires dépendants ont un caractère international, du fait qu'ils sont sous l'égide et la surveillance de l'ONU et qu'ils doivent contribuer à ce que les peuples en question parviennent à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance. Vingt ans après l'institution du régime de tutelle, on discute encore à l'ONU sur la nature de ces territoires, on émet de nombreuses théories rétrogrades et colonialistes. Selon l'esprit et la lettre de la Charte de l'ONU, le régime international de tutelle ayant un caractère de transition vers l'indépendance, il ne saurait être restraint par aucune discrimination ou limitation en ce qui concerne les mesures visant la décolonisation des territoires encore dépendants.

157. Les événements ont montré que la décolonisation représente un processus complexe auquel les puissances coloniales s'opposent avec acharnement, en recourant à toute une gamme de moyens allant jusqu'aux répressions militaires de grande ampleur, à de véritables guerres non déclarées contre les populations autochtones.

158. La période qui a suivi la seconde guerre mondiale restera dans l'histoire comme celle de la grande décolonisation politique. La grande majorité de la population des colonies a obtenu l'indépendance et plus de 50 nouveaux Etats indépendants, qui occupent une place d'honneur dans cette Assemblée, ont été créés pendant cette même période.

159. L'immense matériel accumulé dans les archives du Conseil de tutelle et de la Quatrième Commission contient d'innombrables exemples d'attribution ou d'opposition aux actions de décolonisation, mais surtout des nombreux moyens et méthodes utilisés par les puissances administrantes pour maintenir encore, dans les Etats nouvellement créés, leur position et leurs privilèges économiques antérieurs. Dans la lutte qu'il mène pour prolonger son existence, le colonialisme essaie de revêtir l'habit du néo-colonialisme.

160. Récemment, à la Quatrième Commission, de nombreuses délégations se sont élevées contre les tentatives de la puissance administrante en vue de former un gouvernement fédéral pour la proclamation de l'indépendance d'Aden, dont le but serait notamment de maintenir les intérêts économiques étrangers. Le néo-colonialisme, dont le caractère est essentiellement économique, cherche par conséquent à se substituer au colonialisme.

161. Dans le cadre de la Deuxième Commission et de l'Assemblée générale on discute depuis plusieurs années de la souveraineté nationale sur toutes les ressources naturelles des pays. Il s'agit évidemment des suites du colonialisme dans les nouveaux Etats indépendants, de la récupération du droit légitime des peuples sur toutes les richesses nationales, du libre exercice de la souveraineté, dans le domaine non seulement politique, mais aussi économique.

162. Les réalités de ces pays, la vie même exigent que la décolonisation soit accomplie dans tous les domaines.

163. Dans le discours qu'il a prononcé le 23 septembre 1966 devant l'Assemblée générale, le Ministre des affaires étrangères du Sénégal, M. Thiam, déclarait:

"On sait que le rapport entre les revenus du monde développé et du monde sous-développé était de 15 à 1 en 1938. Il est maintenant de 35 à 1." [1414ème séance, par. 214.]

Cette situation concerne l'ensemble du tiers monde et particulièrement les 50 pays qui ont rejeté la domination coloniale.

164. Les monopoles des anciennes métropoles et d'autres monopoles internationaux détiennent d'importantes ressources économiques, mettent insuffisamment en valeur ces richesses, surtout lorsqu'il s'agit de matières premières qu'ils échangent souvent à des prix non rémunérateurs, ce qui fait que le processus de développement économique est incomplet et très lent. Ils maintiennent ainsi pour eux-mêmes d'importants leviers économiques dans de nombreux territoires.

165. L'écart économique entre les pays développés et les Etats en voie de développement a tendance à devenir un précipice dangereux pour le progrès de l'humanité, pour la sécurité du monde entier. Quelques données illustreront davantage cette situation inquiétante.

166. Parlant des pays en voie de développement, l'Etude sur l'économie mondiale, 1965, précisait en effet:

"En 1964, la dette totale était de l'ordre de 40 milliards de dollars (soit nettement plus que les recettes d'exportation de la même année), et les sorties de capitaux pour le service de l'intérêt et de l'amortissement s'élevaient à 5 milliards de dollars (soit bien plus de la moitié des entrées nettes de nouveaux capitaux à long terme et de dons).

"Près des trois quarts de cette dette consistaient en dette publique ou garantie par l'Etat. Entre 1956 et 1964, la dette garantie par l'Etat avait augmenté au rythme d'environ 15 p. 100 par an^{5/}."

167. Dans une étude publiée par la Dotation Carnegie pour la paix internationale^{6/}, on fait ressortir que les pays développés, représentant environ 20 p. 100 de la

population du globe, détiennent presque 60 p. 100 du produit social total du monde, tandis que les pays en voie de développement, soit environ 46 p. 100 de la population du globe, ne possèdent guère que près de 18 p. 100 de ce produit mondial.

168. Les hommes d'Etat et les hommes de science objectifs sont d'accord pour considérer que cet état de choses est dû, notamment dans les pays récemment libérés, aux suites néfastes du colonialisme qui persiste encore sous l'habit du néo-colonialisme. De nombreuses voix autorisées se sont élevées ici, à l'Assemblée générale, contre cette situation pour demander que soient prises des mesures capables d'y remédier. D'autre part, l'ONU a entrepris certaines mesures destinées à contribuer au développement économique des pays de cette catégorie, mesures qui sont toutefois loin d'éliminer les séquelles économiques de la domination coloniale.

169. Il est tout à fait clair que si le colonialisme était jusqu'à une période récente le principal danger pour la grande majorité des pays du tiers monde, c'est maintenant le néo-colonialisme qui est devenu une menace grave pour ces mêmes vastes régions. Il est fort probable que notre Organisation sera bientôt appelée à s'occuper, en tout esprit de responsabilité, des moyens de remédier aux obstacles dressés par le néo-colonialisme sur la voie du développement normal, équilibré, de tous les pays.

170. Les Etats récemment libérés se trouvent dans une période de renaissance nationale, d'efforts constructifs pour la réalisation complète des aspirations nationales de leurs peuples.

171. Nous venons de mentionner quelques données fondamentales sur la situation économique actuelle du tiers monde. La décolonisation étant un phénomène complexe, les peuples s'efforcent de réaliser une indépendance réelle, entière, en achevant la décolonisation économique après la libération politique.

172. La délégation roumaine est convaincue que les peuples récemment libérés parachèveront leur indépendance nationale dans tous les domaines, y compris le domaine culturel et spirituel. Parmi ces peuples, certains ont de belles traditions culturelles, d'autres furent interrompus dans leur développement lorsqu'ils furent précipités dans la brume du colonialisme. Ils sont tous animés par les nobles idéaux du progrès matériel et spirituel sur la base de la pleine souveraineté, de la coopération mutuellement avantageuse et de la paix. Ce n'est qu'après avoir conquis leur indépendance que les nations pourront consacrer tous leurs efforts au développement de leur entité nationale et fournir, dans toute la mesure de leur capacité, la contribution dont la société a besoin dans son évolution. Loin d'être périmée, la nation est une réalité vivante, et lui créer les moyens de se manifester c'est répondre à un besoin impérieux de normalisation de la situation internationale et du progrès général.

173. Le colonialisme constitue encore une source majeure de menaces à la paix, de conflits et de guerres. Tout observateur impartial peut constater que c'est précisément pendant la période de décolonisation qui a suivi la seconde guerre mondiale que les menaces à la paix, les conflits et les guerres se sont

^{5/} Etude sur l'économie mondiale, 1965, Première partie — Financement du développement économique (publication des Nations Unies, numéro de vente: 66.II.C.1), chap. III, 6ème sect. (Le problème de la dette extérieure).

^{6/} Voir Dotation Carnegie pour la paix internationale, International Conciliation, numéro de mai 1964; Robert M. Stern, "Policies for Trade and Development", p. 6 et 7.

produits, surtout dans des territoires sous domination étrangère et principalement pour des raisons de maintien des pratiques coloniales.

174. Sans doute, les territoires encore colonisés dispersés dans tout le globe terrestre — et qui dépassent le nombre de 50 — constituent-ils une source réelle et active de conflits armés. La situation extrêmement grave qui règne dans la partie méridionale du continent africain peut dépasser rapidement, par son caractère et son intensité, ses limites actuelles. Elle constitue une menace réelle pour les pays africains indépendants des régions avoisinantes. Une grande responsabilité incombe, à cet égard, à notre Organisation.

175. Réaffirmant le droit sacré de tous les peuples à une indépendance nationale totale, la délégation roumaine demande instamment que les Nations Unies prennent, en application de la résolution 1514 (XV), les mesures nécessaires en vue d'une décolonisation complète et urgente, de sorte que chaque territoire et chaque peuple encore soumis à la domination coloniale puissent obtenir une indépendance nationale réelle.

176. A cet effet, il est nécessaire que notre Organisation envisage et prenne des mesures pratiques afin d'empêcher que l'œuvre de la décolonisation ne soit confiée à des personnes ou à des groupes de personnes liés aux milieux colonialistes et que les pratiques coloniales ne soient perpétuées par le truchement du néo-colonialisme. Les gouvernements provisoires

appelés à assurer le passage des territoires de l'état colonial à celui de l'indépendance peuvent parfois porter un grave préjudice aux intérêts fondamentaux des peuples. Il faut donc créer toutes les conditions nécessaires pour que les peuples qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance puissent exprimer librement leur volonté d'indépendance et de liberté et prendre leur destinée dans leurs propres mains.

177. Le Comité des Vingt-Quatre a procédé à des études et a élaboré des rapports bien documentés sur de nombreux territoires. Il a fait des suggestions et des propositions judicieuses et utiles qui peuvent être mises en application.

178. L'Organisation des Nations Unies est appelée à prendre, dans les plus brefs délais, des mesures énergiques pour que la situation intolérable qui règne dans le Sud-Ouest africain, en Rhodésie du Sud, en Angola et au Mozambique, soit complètement liquidée. Elle doit mettre en application sans retard les recommandations et les sanctions décidées par l'Assemblée générale et par le Conseil de sécurité. Les peuples asservis, la paix et la sécurité du monde l'exigent impérieusement. Agir autrement serait encourager les colonialistes à poursuivre impunément leurs dangereuses actions.

179. Le PRESIDENT: Avant de lever la séance, je rappelle que le délai prévu pour le dépôt de propositions concernant le point 23 de l'ordre du jour a expiré aujourd'hui à midi.

La séance est levée à 13 h 5.

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VINGT ET UNIÈME SESSION

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1490^e
SÉANCE PLÉNIÈRE

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 à 15 heures

NEW YORK

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Président: M. Abdul Rahman PAZHWAK
 (Afghanistan).

ils comptaient plus de 660 millions d'habitants. Aujourd'hui, ces chiffres ont été ramenés à environ 8 millions de kilomètres carrés et 37 millions d'habitants. La superficie des territoires encore soumis à la domination des colonialistes a diminué de quatre fois, et ces territoires sont peuplés par des habitants 18 fois moins nombreux.

M. Tinoco (Costa Rica), vice-président, prend la présidence.

77. Ceux qui sont engagés dans la lutte pour l'élimination du système colonial se comptent par centaines de milliers, par millions. Les principaux fronts se trouvent dans les territoires coloniaux mêmes. La liberté des peuples, grands et petits, qui ont jeté bas les chaînes du colonialisme, des 400 millions d'Indiens aux 250 000 habitants de la Barbade, a été arrachée aux colonialistes de haute lutte car ceux-ci ne leur en ont pas fait don.

78. On sait fort bien que dans leur combat difficile pour la liberté et l'indépendance, les peuples des colonies ont un adversaire puissant. Les colonialistes disposent d'armées dotées de matériel et d'équipement techniques les plus modernes, de ressources économiques et financières immenses; ils sont unis au sein de blocs militaires, l'OTAN, le CENTO, l'OTASE; ils se prêtent main-forte grâce aux livraisons d'armes, aux prêts et à toutes sortes de manœuvres politiques dans l'arène internationale. Ils ont derrière eux l'expérience séculaire de l'oppression des peuples, la stratégie du "diviser pour régner", mise au point par plusieurs générations d'administrateurs coloniaux, qui est appliquée aussi bien à l'échelle de continents entiers qu'à l'intérieur de différents pays coloniaux, surtout lorsque les peuples ne font pas preuve d'assez de vigilance.

79. Les peuples des colonies n'ont, quant à eux, ni les armements modernes, ni les moyens financiers, ni la base économique nécessaires, ni, parfois même, l'expérience historique. Mais ils sont prêts à se battre pour la liberté et décidés à triompher. Et ils ont des amis.

80. Les peuples coloniaux qui luttent pour leur libération sont soutenus fermement et sans défaillance par l'Union soviétique et les autres pays socialistes qui leur fourniront, comme par le passé, une aide matérielle et morale. De nombreux pays d'Asie et d'Afrique qui ont conquis leur liberté et leur indépendance dans un combat difficile se tiennent résolument aux côtés de leurs frères en lutte. Leur combat trouve un écho de plus en plus puissant auprès des pays d'Amérique latine qui, par suite de certaines circonstances historiques, ont réussi à se soustraire au joug colonial il y a un siècle et demi déjà et dont les peuples se transmettent de père en fils des récits sur leur lutte héroïque pour l'indépendance.

81. Telle est, dans le monde, la répartition des forces en présence dans la lutte pour la liquidation du système colonial, pour l'élimination des derniers régimes coloniaux. L'Organisation des Nations Unies y occupe une place particulière et importante. Née pendant la dernière phase de la guerre contre le fascisme, l'ONU a inscrit dans sa Charte en tant que principe essentiel, l'égalité de droits entre les nations,

POINT 23 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

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75. M. MENDELEVITCH (Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques) [traduit du russe]: La libération des peuples coloniaux est l'un des aspects les plus progressistes de l'évolution qui marque notre époque. L'un après l'autre, les régimes coloniaux s'effondrent en Afrique, en Asie, en Amérique, en Océanie et on voit apparaître à leur place des Etats indépendants qui entrent dans la communauté internationale comme membres à part entière.

76. En 1945, les empires coloniaux couvraient une superficie de 36,9 millions de kilomètres carrés et

grandes et petites, et a pris nettement position en faveur de l'indépendance de tous les peuples coloniaux.

82. Elle a à son actif des décisions utiles et des mesures pratiques visant à appuyer les peuples qui aspirent à se défaire du joug colonial. L'énumération même la plus succincte de ces décisions et mesures ne laisse pas d'impressionner.

83. La Déclaration des Nations Unies sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, la reconnaissance, par l'Organisation, du caractère légitime et juste des mouvements de libération nationale, les appels lancés par l'ONU pour qu'une aide et un soutien, de caractère moral et matériel, soient apportés aux peuples en lutte, ont renforcé la base juridique et politique internationale de toutes les mesures anticolonialistes prises à l'échelle mondiale.

84. L'examen systématique, lors des sessions de l'Assemblée générale, au Conseil de sécurité, au Comité spécial pour la décolonisation et dans d'autres organes des Nations Unies, de la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, aussi bien dans son ensemble que pour chaque territoire colonial en particulier, a accru considérablement les moyens de prendre des mesures politiques en faveur des peuples qui n'ont pas encore obtenu l'indépendance et permis à l'opinion mondiale de faire davantage sentir le poids de son influence à l'appui de cette lutte.

85. Les sessions que le Comité spécial des Nations Unies sur la décolonisation a tenues dans des pays d'Afrique, le travail qu'il a accompli à proximité immédiate des territoires coloniaux ainsi que l'envoi dans plusieurs territoires coloniaux de missions de visite et de groupes de l'ONU ont créé des conditions favorables à l'établissement, par l'Organisation, de contacts directs avec les mouvements de libération nationale, et lui ont permis de mieux comprendre et d'aider davantage les peuples coloniaux dans leur juste cause.

86. Les appels réitérés de l'ONU aux institutions spécialisées, notamment à l'UNESCO, à la FAO et à l'Organisation mondiale de la santé, ont contribué à appeler l'attention de ces institutions sur la nécessité de cesser de fournir toute aide, financière ou autre, aux colonialistes et à envisager de quelle façon elles pourraient prêter assistance aux peuples combattant pour leur liberté. Parmi les institutions spécialisées seule la Banque internationale pour la reconstruction et le développement est jusqu'ici demeurée sourde à la voix de l'Organisation des Nations Unies et, en dépit de sa volonté clairement exprimée, continue à aider le Portugal qui mène des guerres coloniales contre trois peuples africains. Elle continue également à prêter une aide à la République sud-africaine qui, par sa politique d'apartheid, a lancé un défi à l'humanité civilisée.

87. Ces dernières années l'Organisation a fourni une contribution importante à la lutte anticolonialiste par les rapports judicieux et bien documentés du Comité spécial de la décolonisation sur le rôle des monopoles capitalistes dans les colonies portugaises, au Sud-Ouest africain et en Rhodésie du Sud. Ces rapports ont révélé tous les rouages du colonialisme contem-

porain. Dans le langage dépouillé des faits, ces rapports ont montré comment le sang et la sueur des peuples colonisés sont transformés par l'action des monopoles en bénéfices que se répartissent les consortiums gigantesques des États-Unis d'Amérique, du Royaume-Uni, de l'Allemagne occidentale, de l'Afrique du Sud et de certains autres pays.

88. Il y a 100 ans, un grand économiste britannique, Danning, s'exprimait en ces termes: "Le capital craint le manque de bénéfices ou les bénéfices trop faibles comme la nature craint le vide. Mais quand le bénéfice est suffisant, le capital s'enhardit. Assurez-lui 10 p. 100 et le capital accepte n'importe quel investissement; pour 20 p. 100 il s'anime; pour 50 p. 100 il est littéralement prêt à prendre tous les risques; pour 100 p. 100 il foule au pied toutes les lois humaines; pour 300 p. 100 de bénéfice, il n'y a pas de crime devant lequel il reculera, même si ce crime doit lui valoir la potence." Je viens de citer un ouvrage de l'économiste anglais Danning, publié en 1860, il y a 100 ans.

89. Le rapport du Comité spécial des Nations Unies sur la décolonisation (A/6300/Rev.1) concernant les activités des monopoles étrangers dans les territoires coloniaux prouve qu'au cours du siècle dernier le capital est devenu encore plus avide, encore plus impitoyable, encore plus prêt à tous les crimes.

90. Les décisions anticolonialistes de l'ONU sont accueillies favorablement par les peuples en lutte. Les dirigeants des organisations nationalistes de l'Angola et du Mozambique, de la Guinée (Bissau) et d'Aden, du Sud-Ouest africain et de la Rhodésie du Sud viennent ici, à l'Assemblée générale, ou s'adressent au Comité spécial des Nations Unies sur la décolonisation pour décrire la situation dans ces territoires et demander à l'ONU de les appuyer et de les aider dans leur lutte.

91. Dans l'ensemble, il n'est pas exagéré de dire que l'action politique de l'ONU a assurément contribué au fait que, depuis 1960, année de l'adoption de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, 26 territoires coloniaux d'une superficie totale de plus de 5 millions de kilomètres carrés et comptant près de 50 millions d'habitants ont brisé les chaînes coloniales et fondé plus de 20 nouveaux États indépendants.

92. Qu'il soit permis à la délégation soviétique de souhaiter encore une fois la bienvenue de cette tribune, au nom du peuple soviétique, aux jeunes États indépendants d'Asie, d'Afrique, d'Amérique et d'Océanie maintenant représentés en si grand nombre au sein de notre Organisation.

93. Pourtant, si importants que soient les succès remportés, la lutte pour la liquidation des régimes coloniaux est loin d'être terminée. Elle se poursuit dans les jungles de l'Angola, dans les savanes du Mozambique, dans les rues d'Aden, dans les steppes du Sud-Ouest africain, dans les îles des océans Pacifique, Indien et Atlantique.

94. Si l'Organisation des Nations Unies veut demeurer à la hauteur de sa tâche consistant à apporter une aide à la lutte anticolonialiste légitime des peuples, elle doit encore faire beaucoup, bien plus que ce qu'elle n'a fait jusqu'ici.

95. Il convient de tenir compte des caractéristiques de la phase actuelle du combat mené pour la liquidation des vestiges du système colonial de l'impérialisme. En effet, il reste à libérer 37 millions d'êtres humains et si l'on y ajoute la population africaine de l'Afrique du Sud qui, de l'aveu de tous, est réduite à la situation de peuple colonial, on voit que le système colonial de l'impérialisme maintient toujours en esclavage 54 millions d'êtres humains.

96. Ce chiffre est naturellement beaucoup moins élevé qu'il y a 10 ans et à plus forte raison qu'il y a 20 ans: tout de même 54 millions d'êtres humains, c'est-à-dire de 12 à 15 millions de familles — hommes, femmes, enfants, vieillards — dont chacun a, à la naissance, le même droit légitime à la liberté et à la dignité humaine que les citoyens de n'importe quel peuple représenté à l'Organisation des Nations Unies, sont les seuls à être privés de la possibilité d'exercer ce droit.

97. Or, non seulement une portion considérable des territoires coloniaux échappe encore à la décolonisation, mais de surcroît les colonialistes s'accrochent avec une obstination particulière à ce qui leur reste.

98. Regardons de plus près quels sont les territoires qui demeurent encore sous la domination coloniale et pourquoi les colonisateurs s'accrochent ainsi à eux.

99. Le principal secteur du colonialisme reste de nos jours un vaste bloc de territoires d'Afrique, tout un sous-continent englobant les colonies portugaises, le Sud-Ouest africain, la Rhodésie du Sud et, en fait, l'Afrique du Sud. Par ailleurs, des dizaines de possessions coloniales de superficie relativement restreinte sont éparpillées sur presque tous les continents et océans.

100. Le sous-continent colonial en Afrique est une vaste région qu'exploitent impitoyablement — et avec le plus grand profit — les monopoles des Etats-Unis, du Royaume-Uni, de l'Allemagne occidentale, de l'Afrique du Sud, de la France, de la Belgique et de l'Italie, peuplée de quelques dizaines de millions d'Africains, auxquels les monopoles font subir une exploitation qu'ils cherchent à étendre également aux peuples des Etats africains indépendants voisins, notamment au Malawi, au Botswana et au Lesotho. C'est une des principales régions d'où les plus grands Etats capitalistes tirent de l'or, des diamants, du platine, de l'uranium, du chrome et de nombreuses autres matières premières de la plus grande valeur.

101. C'est à partir de ce dernier bastion important du colonialisme que se prépare la contre-offensive de l'impérialisme contre l'Afrique libre. Les représentants des Etats africains ont entièrement raison lorsqu'ils déclarent qu'aucun pays africain ne pourra se sentir entièrement libre tant que les peuples du sud du continent ne seront pas libérés.

102. Les provocations systématiques auxquelles se livrent les colonialistes portugais contre la Tanzanie, la Zambie, le Sénégal et le Congo ne sont que des opérations de reconnaissance, des sondages destinés à mesurer la capacité de défense des Etats africains indépendants en vue de déceler ses faiblesses éventuelles pour leur porter un coup plus dur. Le défi que le régime raciste de la Rhodésie du Sud lance à

toute l'Afrique n'est aussi qu'une opération de reconnaissance visant à déterminer si les conditions sont mûres pour tenter d'imposer à nouveau aux peuples africains qui se sont libérés la loi coloniale du fouet.

103. Il serait peu réaliste de s'imaginer que les colonialistes seront disposés à abandonner pacifiquement leur dernier grand bastion en Afrique. Non, ils s'y accrocheront et s'y cramponneront de toutes leurs forces: ils y mènent des guerres coloniales, renforcent la répression et consolident tout l'appareil de la contrainte. C'est là que les forces du progrès et de la liberté et les forces de la réaction et de l'asservissement sont aux prises. Bien des choses dépendent de l'issue de cette lutte pour les deux parties.

104. Les colonialistes ne se retireront pas non plus pacifiquement des nombreux petits territoires situés sur les différents continents et océans où flotte encore leur drapeau. Aden et Porto Rico, les îles Chagos et Guam, Okinawa et les îles Canaries, telle est l'infrastructure géographique du réseau de bases militaires dirigées contre des Etats et des peuples pacifiques. Les bases militaires installées dans ces enclaves et sur ces îles sont utilisées actuellement à des fins d'agression plus intensivement que jamais et, de toute évidence, ce réseau va en s'élargissant. L'île de Guam est devenue l'un des principaux points d'appui de l'agression des Etats-Unis au Viet-Nam. La menace des bases nucléaires des Etats-Unis dans l'île de Porto Rico pèse sur l'Amérique latine. On construit et on envisage de construire dans l'océan Indien de nouvelles bases militaires toujours plus nombreuses qui mettront en danger la sécurité des pays du sud de l'Asie et de l'Afrique orientale. Les colonialistes britanniques, chassés de Suez il y a 10 ans, ont longtemps opéré dans les bases militaires d'Aden d'où ils menaçaient les Etats arabes indépendants; maintenant, ils ne peuvent plus se maintenir à Aden, mais, avant de l'évacuer, ils créent de nouvelles bases militaires en Oman et dans les îles Bahrein. Ailleurs, dans ce que l'on appelle les petits territoires coloniaux, la lutte pour la libération, pour la liquidation des régimes coloniaux et des bases militaires se poursuit aussi avec acharnement. Les peuples de ces territoires ont également besoin d'une aide et d'un soutien.

105. Dans les circonstances actuelles, que peut faire l'Organisation des Nations Unies? Que doit-elle faire à l'étape actuelle de la lutte pour la liquidation définitive des régimes coloniaux, au moment où la résistance des colonialistes est devenue particulièrement opiniâtre et où ils cherchent, tantôt dans un endroit, tantôt dans un autre, à passer à la contre-offensive sans ménager leurs ressources?

106. La délégation soviétique estime qu'avant tout l'évolution de la situation exige que l'Organisation des Nations Unies donne maintenant une appréciation plus précise et plus concrète de ce que représente la survivance des régimes coloniaux. Nous soutenons l'idée, exprimée à cette tribune par le Président du Comité spécial des Nations Unies sur la décolonisation, l'ambassadeur G. Collier, représentant du Sierra Leone, suivant laquelle l'Assemblée générale devrait déclarer que le maintien des régimes coloniaux constitue un crime contre l'humanité [1485ème séance].

107. Oui, le maintien des régimes coloniaux est un crime contre l'humanité parce que les peuples coloniaux sont soumis à l'oppression, à l'asservissement, à la discrimination raciale pour que les monopoles capitalistes puissent en tirer des superbénéfices.

108. Oui, le maintien des régimes coloniaux est un crime contre l'humanité parce que les colonialistes, cherchant à maintenir leur domination, commettent des massacres, exterminent des groupes entiers de population, mènent des guerres coloniales et recourent à la répression et à la torture contre les combattants de la liberté.

109. Le maintien des régimes coloniaux est aussi un crime contre l'humanité parce qu'il a pour corollaire la déportation systématique des habitants autochtones, leur expulsion des terres les plus fertiles et l'installation sur ces terres de colons blancs.

110. Le maintien des régimes coloniaux est encore un crime contre l'humanité parce que dans les territoires coloniaux on crée des bases militaires, on entraîne des contingents de mercenaires pour intervenir dans les affaires intérieures d'Etats indépendants occupés à édifier leur propre vie nationale.

111. Le maintien des régimes coloniaux, c'est un crime contre l'humanité au sens même de la Charte et du jugement rendu par le Tribunal militaire international à l'issue du procès des principaux criminels de guerre nazis.

112. Si le maintien de régimes coloniaux à notre époque est devenu dans l'ensemble un crime contre l'humanité, les actes des colonialistes portugais et des racistes sud-africains et sud-rhodésiens sont d'autant plus criminels et passibles des sanctions les plus sévères.

113. La délégation soviétique demande qu'à sa vingt et unième session l'Assemblée générale des Nations Unies souligne tous ces points dans la résolution qu'elle adoptera sur la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux.

114. Mais ce n'est pas tout. Il ne suffit pas de dénoncer un crime et de proclamer son désir d'y voir mettre un terme. Il est indispensable de réfléchir aux moyens efficaces de lutter contre ce crime. Et nous voulons dire à ce propos que c'est précisément parce que les colonialistes font preuve d'une telle obstination et menacent par leurs actes la paix et la sécurité internationales que le moment est venu de faire participer plus activement au règlement des problèmes de décolonisation le Conseil de sécurité, organe des Nations Unies auquel la Charte de l'Organisation a confié la responsabilité principale du maintien de la paix dans le monde et qui, conformément à l'Article 25 de la Charte, est habilité à prendre des décisions obligatoires pour tous les Etats Membres de l'ONU.

115. Pour mettre un terme aux crimes des colonialistes et, au premier chef, des colonialistes portugais et sud-africains, le moment est venu d'appliquer les dispositions du Chapitre VII de la Charte, c'est-à-dire l'Article 41, qui prévoit des mesures de coercition de caractère non militaire, mais si cela se révèle insuffisant, il faudra appliquer l'Article 42 prévoyant

le recours, par l'Organisation des Nations Unies, à la force contre ceux qui portent atteinte à la paix et la sécurité internationales. L'application des Articles 41 et 42 de la Charte est du ressort du Conseil de sécurité. Il est donc naturel qu'une participation plus active du Conseil de sécurité à la solution des problèmes de la décolonisation confère une responsabilité particulière aux membres permanents du Conseil de sécurité, car c'est de leur unanimité que dépend l'efficacité des mesures prises par le Conseil.

116. L'Union soviétique, membre permanent du Conseil de sécurité, est prête, ainsi que l'a déclaré à plusieurs reprises le Gouvernement soviétique, à suivre sans défaillance la ligne de conduite qu'elle s'est fixée et à contribuer à l'adoption par le Conseil de sécurité de décisions efficaces, de nature à écarter les menaces à la paix et à la sécurité résultant de la résistance qu'opposent les colonialistes à la libération des peuples coloniaux. La parole est aux autres membres permanents du Conseil de sécurité, les Etats-Unis d'Amérique, le Royaume-Uni et la France. L'examen, pendant de nombreuses années, des questions coloniales à l'ONU nous ayant montré à l'évidence le peu d'empressement manifesté par certains de contribuer non pas en paroles mais en actes à la liquidation du colonialisme, nous jugerions logique qu'ici, à l'Assemblée générale, on les invite expressément à ne pas faire obstacle à l'adoption, par le Conseil de sécurité, de décisions qui apporteront aux peuples des colonies une aide tangible dans leur lutte. L'Assemblée générale doit lancer un avertissement aux termes duquel, si l'un ou l'autre des Etats Membres de l'ONU également membre du Conseil de sécurité cherche malgré cela à faire obstacle à l'adoption, par le Conseil, de décisions efficaces sur ces questions, le monde entier les considérera comme des complices de ce crime contre l'humanité.

117. Un tel avertissement adressé à certaines puissances alliées du Portugal au sein de l'OTAN est particulièrement nécessaire à l'heure actuelle où leur coopération militaire avec le Portugal se renforce encore davantage.

118. S'il en faut des preuves, voici l'un des faits, le dernier en date, que nous pouvons citer comme exemple. Il y a une semaine seulement que la Quatrième Commission de l'Assemblée générale a adopté à une majorité écrasante une résolution sur la question des colonies portugaises — nous l'avons approuvée aujourd'hui en séance plénière — qui contient un appel adressé aux pays membres de l'OTAN pour qu'ils cessent de fournir au Portugal des armes et du matériel militaire quels qu'ils soient.

119. Il y a une semaine de cela, dis-je, et les Etats-Unis d'Amérique et le Royaume-Uni ont conclu, dans le cadre de l'OTAN, un nouvel accord militaire avec le Portugal portant sur la création d'un commandement unifié américano-anglo-portugais pour la région de la péninsule ibérique située, faut-il le rappeler, tout près de l'Afrique. Telle est l'attitude à l'égard des résolutions de l'ONU de ceux pour qui l'alliance avec le Portugal est plus chère et plus précieuse que la liberté des peuples africains. L'Assemblée générale doit, nous semble-t-il, avoir son mot à dire à ce sujet. C'est là un fait que l'on ne saurait méconnaître.

120. Mais ce ne sera pas suffisant non plus et on ne réglera pas ainsi, nous semble-t-il, les problèmes qui se posent à l'Organisation des Nations Unies au stade actuel de la lutte pour la liquidation des régimes coloniaux. A notre avis, l'Assemblée générale devrait exiger avec plus de fermeté que jamais que l'on apporte une aide morale et matérielle aux peuples des colonies qui cherchent à se libérer. Cet appel doit être adressé particulièrement à toutes les institutions spécialisées des Nations Unies qui s'occupent de questions de développement économique, d'aide financière, de coopération dans les domaines de la culture, de l'enseignement, de la santé publique, etc. Ces institutions peuvent faire beaucoup pour ceux qui luttent avec abnégation pour la liberté.

121. Il y a encore un principe que l'Assemblée générale doit souligner dans la résolution qu'elle adoptera sur la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux: le moment est venu d'avertir sérieusement les colonialistes que l'Organisation des Nations Unies estime contraires à la Charte, à la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, à la Déclaration universelle des droits de l'homme, non seulement des actes tels que le déclenchement des guerres coloniales, la répression qui frappe les combattants de la liberté, mais aussi l'utilisation de toutes sortes de méthodes néo-colonialistes telles que l'installation de régimes fantoches dans les territoires coloniaux, l'expansion dans ces territoires des activités des monopoles économiques et financiers étrangers, l'établissement de bases militaires, le démembrement du territoire national, ainsi que toutes les manœuvres destinées à masquer le colonialisme, à induire en erreur l'opinion publique et à empêcher les peuples coloniaux d'accéder à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance.

122. Il y a deux ans, la Conférence des Etats non alignés du Caire a prononcé des paroles de poids contre le colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations. Nous estimons que dans l'intérêt de tous les peuples, dans l'intérêt des générations futures, il est du devoir de l'Assemblée générale de l'ONU d'en faire de même dès maintenant. Ce sera d'autant plus opportun que les colonialistes recourent, ces derniers temps, de plus en plus souvent à des méthodes néo-colonialistes et misent toujours davantage sur ces méthodes. A cet égard, il suffit de rappeler la politique du Royaume-Uni à Aden et en Rhodésie du Sud.

123. Telles sont les tendances fondamentales des décisions qui, de l'avis de la délégation soviétique, devront être prises à la vingt et unième session de l'Assemblée générale. Adopter ces décisions, c'est fournir un apport politique nouveau, répondant aux exigences de notre époque, à la lutte des peuples pour la liquidation du colonialisme et faire tout ce que l'Organisation des Nations Unies peut et doit faire pour que l'année 1967 soit marquée par la liquidation complète et définitive des régimes coloniaux.

124. Nous estimons que le renforcement du soutien de tous types prêté aux peuples dans le dur combat qu'ils mènent pour éliminer définitivement les régimes coloniaux est du devoir de chaque Etat Membre de

l'Organisation des Nations Unies, une affaire d'honneur pour toute l'Organisation.

125. M. KATENGA (Malawi) [traduit de l'anglais]: Ma délégation a lu avec beaucoup d'attention le rapport du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux [A/6300/Rev.1].

126. Comme beaucoup d'autres pays d'Afrique et d'Asie, mon pays a eu un long passé colonial avant d'accéder à l'indépendance et à la souveraineté. Nos dirigeants, y compris notre Président, ont connu la prison sous le régime colonial. C'est pourquoi mon gouvernement et le peuple du Malawi sont opposés à tout système d'administration coloniale imposé par le gouvernement d'une minorité ou d'un pays étranger aux populations autochtones de certaines régions de l'Afrique et de l'Asie et de certaines îles dispersées à travers le monde. Mon gouvernement croit au droit des peuples d'être maîtres de leur propre destin.

127. Je tiens donc à déclarer catégoriquement que le Malawi s'est toujours opposé et continuera toujours à s'opposer à ce qu'un système quelconque de gouvernement soit imposé par un pays à un autre ou par un groupe de pays à un autre.

128. Je rappelle à l'Assemblée que le Malawi est signataire de la Charte de l'Organisation de l'unité africaine. Cette charte, en particulier, exhorte tous les membres de l'Organisation à travailler pour la liquidation du colonialisme et de l'impérialisme sur le continent africain. Je tiens à faire savoir qu'en ce qui concerne mon gouvernement, son opposition au colonialisme est absolue. Nous sommes opposés au colonialisme d'où qu'il vienne. Pour nous, la liberté et l'indépendance sont des choses si sacrées que nous ne nous tournons pas dans une seule direction pour rechercher les méfaits du colonialisme, mais dans toutes les directions où nous les voyons se manifester.

129. Nous soutenons les peuples d'Afrique qui sont encore dans les chaînes du régime colonial et qui luttent pour leur indépendance. Notre situation géographique nous place sur la ligne de démarcation entre l'Afrique indépendante et l'Afrique encore soumise à la domination coloniale ou à des gouvernements de minorité. Comme on peut le voir, ce n'est pas la situation la plus favorable pour un pays dont l'effort principal vise à édifier une structure nationale qui permette d'élever le niveau de vie de sa population. En dépit de toutes ces conditions défavorables, le Malawi continue à réaliser des progrès dans l'exécution de ses programmes économiques et sociaux.

130. L'intérêt que nous portons à notre propre prospérité ne diminue cependant pas les soucis que nous éprouvons pour ceux de nos frères et de nos sœurs qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance et qui luttent pour l'obtenir. Ils peuvent compter sur toute notre sympathie et sur notre appui moral le plus sincère.

131. Les enquêtes menées par le Comité des Vingt-Quatre ont mis en lumière, en ce qui concerne la situation existant dans les pays coloniaux, certains aspects qui avaient échappé à mon gouvernement. Nous espérons que les groupes d'enquête continueront

à fournir à l'Organisation les renseignements qui lui sont nécessaires et sans lesquels aucune décision équitable ou constructive ne peut être prise. A ce propos, ma délégation tient à attirer l'attention de l'Organisation sur le fait qu'elle doit s'efforcer, en vue de trouver un règlement juste et équitable des questions coloniales, d'entendre et de noter les points de vue de pétitionnaires représentant une gamme d'opinions aussi étendue que possible. C'est la conciliation de toutes ces opinions qui mettra les pays coloniaux sur la voie de la stabilité lors de leur accession à l'indépendance.

132. Je dois souligner que c'est de la stabilité politique que dépendront dans une large mesure les progrès futurs des nations nouvelles. Nous savons tous qu'une des raisons principales d'instabilité dans les jeunes nations est que les pays colonisateurs ont négligé de donner aux peuples autochtones les connaissances nécessaires pour gérer leurs propres affaires.

133. Nous espérons que les territoires qui sont encore sous administration coloniale sont préparés avec la plus grande bonne volonté à accéder à l'autonomie, qui doit leur être accordée, de l'avis de mon pays, dès que la situation politique le permettra. A cette fin, il est nécessaire de procéder à des modifications constitutionnelles dans les territoires placés sous administration étrangère, de façon à permettre à la population autochtone de participer au gouvernement du pays et à faciliter ainsi le transfert du pouvoir et de l'autorité sans à-coups et dans des délais aussi courts que possible. Nous trouvons à cet égard un encouragement dans les progrès d'ordre constitutionnel réalisés dans des territoires qui ont été admis récemment dans l'Organisation des Nations Unies.

134. Nous nous inquiétons également du déséquilibre qui existe entre les recettes provenant des exportations et les dépenses occasionnées par les importations. Si elle n'est pas comblée par des mesures rigoureuses, la vaste marge défavorable entre les exportations et les importations constituera un lourd handicap pour la balance des paiements des territoires lorsqu'ils entreront dans la famille des nations souveraines.

135. Si vous le permettez, je voudrais lire maintenant deux courts paragraphes du rapport: "La situation des réfugiés au Malawi était désespérée. Depuis plus d'un an, c'est-à-dire depuis l'arrivée du premier groupe de réfugiés, le problème ne faisait que s'aggraver. Le FRELIMO (Frente de Libertação de Moçambique) avait fait tout ce qu'il pouvait pour faire connaître au Gouvernement du Malawi la triste situation des réfugiés, et si ce gouvernement faisait ce qu'il pouvait, aucun plan n'avait été nettement établi pour améliorer la situation. La plupart des réfugiés s'étaient établis dans les îles du lac de Malawi, dont les eaux étaient officiellement considérées comme appartenant au Mozambique, bien que les îles elles-mêmes fassent partie du territoire du Malawi. On comptait aujourd'hui plus de 8 000 réfugiés dont la plupart vivaient encore sur les deux îles et quelques-uns dans la région frontalière du sud du Malawi. En ce qui concernait une aide possible du Haut Commissaire des Nations Unies pour les réfugiés, le Comité spécial lui-même devait demander au Haut Commissaire quels contacts avaient été pris par le Gouvernement du Malawi, quels étaient

les rapports qui s'étaient établis entre eux, si tant était qu'il y en eût, et quelles raisons avaient empêché les réfugiés vivant au Malawi de recevoir la même assistance que ceux qui se trouvaient par exemple en Tanzanie. Les organisations religieuses et humanitaires ne bénéficiaient pas au Malawi des mêmes facilités pour aider les réfugiés que dans les autres pays. Les pétitionnaires ont fait appel au Comité spécial pour qu'il veille à ce qu'on donne les moyens nécessaires à ces organismes." [A/6300/Rev.1, chap. V, par. 397-398.]

136. Le premier paragraphe traite de la situation des réfugiés provenant du Mozambique et se trouvant dans mon pays. Les deux îles mentionnées dans ce paragraphe, celles de Likoma et de Chisumulu, appartiennent effectivement au Malawi et elles ont reçu au cours des derniers mois un flot assez important de réfugiés provenant du Mozambique. Quelques-uns de ceux-ci sont entrés chez nous en traversant la frontière qui nous sépare au sud-est de ce dernier pays. Je voudrais cependant signaler une inexactitude dans ce rapport. Je le fais pour que les représentants ici présents puissent se faire une idée exacte de la situation effroyable qui a obligé des familles entières, avec femmes et enfants, à fuir leurs foyers du Mozambique.

137. Dans la seule île de Likoma, nous avons environ 2 000 réfugiés, hommes, femmes et enfants, qui ont tous traversé notre frontière de l'est avec le Mozambique. Le chiffre de 8 000 qui figure dans le rapport est donc exagéré. D'ailleurs, l'île a des dimensions telles qu'elle ne pourrait pas accueillir les 8 000 personnes qui selon le rapport s'y trouveraient. La population de Likoma elle-même ne dépasse pas 5 000 habitants au plus.

138. Comme toujours en pareil cas, ces personnes sont arrivées dépourvues de nourriture, d'abris et de tout ce qui est indispensable pour vivre. Indépendamment du camp construit sur l'île par mon gouvernement pour héberger les réfugiés, la population de Likoma a ouvert ses portes toutes grandes à ses amis moins fortunés et les a traités comme ses propres frères, qu'ils sont en effet.

139. Mon gouvernement a envoyé dans l'île de Likoma des équipes de personnel médical avec du matériel, des denrées alimentaires, des vêtements et d'autres fournitures, qui ont coûté au total plus de 11 000 livres sterling en moins de 11 mois, pour aider à réinstaller et à reconverter les malheureuses victimes de la crise politique au Mozambique. Vous voyez que cela représente une somme d'argent importante prélevée sur nos maigres ressources.

140. En outre, mon gouvernement a pris des mesures pour recevoir certains des enfants de ces réfugiés dans les écoles locales existantes, dirigées tant par des missionnaires de l'île que par le Gouvernement du Malawi.

141. Quant aux autres réfugiés qui ont traversé la frontière sud-est du Malawi, leur nombre est plus difficile à évaluer parce que la ligne conventionnelle tracée par les puissances coloniales entre le Malawi et le Mozambique ne tient pas compte du fait que des deux côtés de la ligne les familles sont apparentées et parlent les mêmes langues. Celles qui se trouvaient

dans une situation difficile en Mozambique ont simplement franchi la frontière conventionnelle et ont trouvé refuge auprès des familles alliées du Malawi.

142. Le Président de mon pays, M. Hastings Kamuzu Banda, s'adressant au Parlement national du Malawi le 18 mai 1966, a déclaré très nettement que les Africains du Mozambique qui étaient venus volontairement au Malawi et qui désiraient s'y installer n'auraient pas à passer par le processus ridicule de la naturalisation, mais qu'ils pourraient, en se faisant simplement inscrire, obtenir la citoyenneté pleine et entière avec tous les droits et toutes les responsabilités qu'elle comporte. Ils ne seraient pas non plus incités à rester au Malawi s'ils changeaient d'avis par la suite. Pour être précis, le Président a dit notamment ce jour-là :

"Dorénavant, tous les Africains du Mozambique... ont le droit, s'ils vivent dans notre pays ou s'ils font partie d'une famille séparée par la frontière, de devenir citoyens du Malawi par une simple inscription, sans naturalisation."

143. Pour notre part, nous estimons qu'il est de notre devoir de faire tout ce que nous pouvons pour les réfugiés du Mozambique et jusqu'à présent nous ne le cédons à personne au point de vue de l'aide apportée. Nous continuerons à agir par nous-mêmes tant que nous nous en estimerons capables, ce qui a été le cas jusqu'à présent. Si la tâche prend une ampleur telle qu'elle dépasse nos possibilités, nous envisagerons, bien entendu, de demander de l'aide.

144. Je tiens à dire, en terminant, que ma délégation approuve et appuie la plus grande partie du rapport. Je veux cependant souligner et faire consigner au procès-verbal que le chiffre qui figure dans le rapport et qui concerne les réfugiés du Mozambique qui se trouvent dans l'île de Likoma, appartenant au Malawi, est inexact. J'ai voulu aussi informer l'Assemblée des mesures importantes que mon gouvernement a prises pour améliorer le sort des réfugiés du Mozambique. A ce sujet, je déplore que les paragraphes du rapport dont j'ai déjà parlé nous attribuent une attitude négative. Mon gouvernement s'attendait à être félicité pour les efforts qu'il a faits en vue d'héberger les réfugiés malgré la faiblesse de ses ressources.

145. Quant au projet de résolution qui nous est soumis [A/L.506] ma délégation en appuie le principe général. Il contient quelques phrases au sujet desquelles ma délégation formule des réserves, indépendamment de la partie du rapport dont je viens de parler et qui n'a pas notre appui. Etant donné que le projet de résolution spécifie dans le paragraphe 3 de son dispositif que le rapport du Comité spécial est approuvé, ma délégation n'a pas d'autre choix que de s'abstenir lors du vote du projet, pour les raisons que j'ai indiquées.

146. M. KULAGA (Pologne) [traduit de l'anglais]: A beaucoup d'égards, l'année 1965 a sans doute marqué la transition entre une phase très importante de la lutte contre le colonialisme et ce que nous aimerions considérer comme la phase finale de cette période tragique de l'histoire qu'on appelle ainsi.

147. La phase que nous venons de traverser a commencé par une flambée sans précédent des luttes de

libération nationale. Ses faits marquants ont été la Déclaration de 1960 sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux et, depuis 1960, l'accès à l'indépendance de 39 Etats, tous anciens territoires coloniaux.

148. Si on jette un coup d'œil rétrospectif sur ces quelques années on ne peut pas manquer de constater les progrès accomplis. Ils sont évidents, en premier lieu, dans le nombre des personnes et des régions libérées du colonialisme. Ils sont évidents aussi dans le travail approfondi qui a été fait pour codifier, en quelque sorte, les principes de la décolonisation: réaffirmation de son caractère inconditionnel, reconnaissance de sa légitimité, formulation du droit des peuples coloniaux à rechercher et à recevoir un appui moral, politique et matériel dans leur lutte. Ces progrès sont tangibles dans les efforts faits pour rétrécir le champ de l'autorité arbitraire assumée par les puissances coloniales qui se servent des territoires sous leur dépendance à leurs propres fins égoïstes: politiquement, en combattant non seulement le colonialisme, mais aussi les méthodes néo-colonialistes; économiquement, en s'attaquant aux racines du colonialisme, aux intérêts des monopoles des puissances coloniales; et militairement, en condamnant l'utilisation de plus en plus large des territoires non autonomes pour la mise en œuvre des plans militaires et stratégiques d'agression des puissances coloniales.

149. Il faut reconnaître que le mérite de ces progrès revient au Comité spécial, qui s'est acquitté de son mandat avec un dévouement inlassable et un dynamisme soutenu. En ce qui nous concerne, nous félicitons chaleureusement le Comité du travail qu'il a accompli.

150. Cependant, dans le même temps, de nouveaux problèmes ont surgi et des problèmes anciens ont pris des proportions nouvelles. Une autre phase s'est ouverte, marquée par l'agressivité croissante des forces colonialistes, par l'emploi généralisé de méthodes néo-colonialistes et même par des tentatives de reconquête coloniale. Tout cela a inévitablement accru la tension. L'ordre du jour de la présente session de l'Assemblée ainsi que celui du Conseil de sécurité en constituent des preuves éloquentes.

151. Il semble donc que le bilan annuel de la situation en ce qui concerne la décolonisation, qu'il est de tradition d'établir en examinant le point de l'ordre du jour relatif à l'application de la Déclaration de 1960, doive être remplacé cette année par une réévaluation générale de la situation ainsi que des méthodes que nous devons employer à l'avenir pour y faire face.

152. La gravité de cette situation exige que nous procédions à une telle réévaluation. La révolte de plus en plus violente contre le colonialisme persistant confère à cette question une priorité absolue. Les principes que nous avons dégagés au cours de ces dernières années et l'expérience que nous avons acquise nous permettent de procéder à cette réévaluation.

153. Je n'essaierai pas de traiter de tous les problèmes qui se posent à nous dans le domaine de la décolonisation. De nombreux orateurs qui m'ont précédé ont fait des déclarations extrêmement intéressantes et ont soulevé des points que je ne reprendrai pas. Je me limiterai à rappeler seulement quelques faits.

154. Le premier fait, ou plutôt le premier défi à relever, est constitué par la situation qui existe dans le sud de l'Afrique: Afrique du Sud, Sud-Ouest africain, colonies portugaises et Rhodésie du Sud. Nous en sommes venus — et, de l'avis de ma délégation, à juste titre — à considérer la situation dans cette partie de l'Afrique comme une entité. Chaque événement qui renforce l'une des composantes de cette entité colonialiste et raciste les renforce toutes et renforce l'entité elle-même. Chaque événement qui affaiblit l'une des composantes affaiblit l'ensemble. Cependant, pour nous, le problème n'est pas d'affaiblir, mais d'éliminer complètement le système de domination raciale et d'exploitation qui constitue l'essence même de cette entité.

155. Il est maintenant évident que le régime colonialiste et raciste qui s'est solidement installé au pouvoir dans cette partie du monde est ferme et impitoyable. A beaucoup d'égards, son acharnement procède du désespoir, car aucun être humain doué d'intelligence ne saurait, en cette seconde moitié du XX^{ème} siècle, escompter qu'un système qui repose sur la négation absolue et agressive de toutes les valeurs que défend actuellement l'humanité progressiste puisse être imposé indéfiniment.

156. Le caractère implacable de ce régime ne résulte pas seulement d'une haine raciale aveugle. Il résulte aussi, semble-t-il, d'un froid calcul, d'une analyse de tous les éléments politiques, économiques et stratégiques qui déterminent l'attitude de beaucoup de pays à l'égard de l'Afrique méridionale. Dans bien des cas, il est fait appel au sentiment de "parenté", dénué de tout contenu politique ou social, comme l'a si bien rappelé dans son discours sur la question de la Rhodésie du Sud, le Ministre des affaires étrangères de la Zambie.

157. Ces calculs reposent pour une très large part sur la crainte, que prétendent éprouver certains pays, qu'il se produise un "vide du pouvoir" dans cette partie de l'Afrique. Cette crainte est dénuée de tout fondement, car elle résulte de la méconnaissance du fait, d'importance capitale, qu'il ne peut y avoir de vide là où se trouvent des peuples que nous reconnaissons comme souverains dans leur pays. Ces calculs sont fondés aussi sur une communauté d'intérêts dans la stratégie mondiale et africaine. "L'anticommunisme" et l'opposition aux mouvements de libération sont les bases jumelles de cette stratégie.

158. Parmi les nombreuses déclarations des dirigeants et de la presse d'Afrique du Sud, on peut rappeler cette profession de foi de Die Burger, un journal progouvernemental:

"Les intérêts vitaux de la Grande-Bretagne et de l'Afrique du Sud sont intimement liés à de trop nombreux égards pour qu'il soit possible de les dissocier sur l'ordre des persécuteurs de l'Afrique du Sud^{3/}..."

159. On peut trouver un son de cloche analogue dans une déclaration du Ministre des affaires étrangères du Portugal, M. Nogueira, qui, parlant de l'attitude

des puissances occidentales envers les pays colonialistes a écrit ce qui suit:

"L'équilibre se rompra définitivement en leur défaveur et alors les grandes questions mondiales, qui n'ont rien à voir avec le colonialisme, seront résolues par l'arbitrage et sous la dictée de la zone grise^{4/}."

160. Si nous comparons ces déclarations avec les faits, n'est-ce pas l'assistance militaire et économique de plusieurs pays occidentaux membres de l'OTAN qui permet au Portugal de continuer sa guerre coloniale sur trois fronts? Il suffit de se rappeler la résolution que l'Assemblée générale vient d'adopter. N'est-ce pas la Grande-Bretagne qui a remis les forces armées de la Fédération de l'Afrique centrale au régime raciste de minorité de Salisbury, lui donnant ainsi les moyens militaires d'imposer sa doctrine et même de défier la politique officiellement proclamée du Royaume-Uni?

161. Cependant, le facteur fondamental de ces calculs est d'ordre économique, car les investissements occidentaux en Afrique du Sud, qui se montent à 4 500 millions de dollars augmentent sans cesse et donnent des bénéfices doubles de ceux des investissements dans d'autres pays [voir A/AC.115/L.56/Rev.2]; les mines du Sud-Ouest africain sont pour 95 p. 100 entre les mains de sociétés étrangères et de nouvelles concessions sont sans cesse accordées à des monopoles occidentaux, comme le signale le rapport du Comité spécial qui traite des activités des monopoles étrangers au Sud-Ouest africain et dans les colonies portugaises. Les intérêts étrangers font preuve d'une activité commerciale toujours croissante et nous en avons été convaincus par l'exemple des prétendues sanctions contre la Rhodésie du Sud, basées sur le principe des vases communicants.

162. Il en résulte que les conditions existantes sont considérées par certains comme très satisfaisantes, ainsi que l'a dit éloquemment, entre autres, M. Hermann J. Abs, un grand financier d'Allemagne occidentale, qui était à l'époque Directeur de la Deutsche Bank:

"L'Allemagne occidentale considère l'Afrique du Sud comme un des pays d'investissement les plus sûrs. Il n'est guère besoin d'encourager beaucoup les investisseurs pour les en persuader. Il faut, naturellement, tenir compte de la question politique... Je suis enclin à penser qu'il faut poursuivre les échanges normalement^{5/}."

163. Il est donc compréhensible que les dirigeants racistes de l'Afrique du Sud ne soient pas très inquiets de l'action de l'Organisation des Nations Unies. C'est M. Eric Louw qui, en 1963, disait:

"qu'il était évident que des pays comme le Royaume-Uni et les Etats-Unis d'Amérique, qui font avec l'Afrique du Sud un commerce profitable, entretiennent avec elle des liaisons aériennes et maritimes et y ont effectué des investissements importants, n'étaient pas prêts à appuyer des propositions

^{4/} Franco Nogueira, Les Nations Unies et le Portugal (Paris, Librairie Arthème Fayard, 1963, p. 56).

^{5/} Voir Documents officiels de l'Assemblée générale, vingtième session, Annexes, point 36 de l'ordre du jour, document A/5932, par. 214.

^{3/} Voir Documents officiels de l'Assemblée générale, vingtième session, Annexes, point 36 de l'ordre du jour, document A/5932, par. 88.

de sanctions. Il a ajouté que l'énorme quantité d'or produite par la République sud-africaine était un facteur dont ces pays tenaient compte^{6/}.

164. Le Comité spécial avait donc parfaitement raison de formuler la conclusion évidente que les activités des monopoles constituaient un obstacle majeur à l'obtention, par les peuples de la partie méridionale de l'Afrique, de leur droit inaliénable à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance.

165. Voici donc la situation devant laquelle nous nous trouvons: un bloc raciste, couvrant presque la moitié d'un continent, appuyé effectivement par un certain nombre de pays occidentaux et engendrant dans la région une tension grave et une menace pour la paix et pour la sécurité.

166. Ce défi doit être relevé et il doit l'être avec des moyens appropriés. Un premier pas a été fait par la révocation du mandat de l'Afrique du Sud sur le Sud-Ouest africain. Il doit être suivi maintenant de mesures s'attaquant au fond du problème. Les débats, les appels et les recommandations de l'Assemblée générale ont eu un effet politique et psychologique. Ils ont alerté l'opinion publique, circonscrit le problème et recommandé les moyens de le résoudre. Il appartient maintenant au Conseil de sécurité d'agir. Sans même se poser la question de savoir si la situation actuelle dans le sud de l'Afrique constitue une menace pour la paix et pour la sécurité mondiales (et pour notre part nous estimons qu'une telle menace existe) il est maintenant parfaitement évident qu'en ce qui concerne l'Organisation des Nations Unies, c'est de l'attitude des puissances occidentales que dépend tout progrès vers une solution du problème: en Rhodésie, c'est du consentement de la Grande-Bretagne à employer la force contre le régime Smith; dans les colonies portugaises, c'est de l'aide apportée par certains pays occidentaux à cette mini-puissance coloniale; en Afrique du Sud, c'est des intérêts économiques britanniques, américains et ouest-allemands; au Conseil de sécurité, c'est de la bonne volonté des puissances occidentales à prendre les mesures prévues au Chapitre VII de la Charte.

167. Un problème qui, jusqu'en 1965, n'a pas beaucoup retenu l'attention de cette Commission occupe maintenant un rang élevé dans l'ordre de priorité. C'est celui des petits territoires. Deux considérations principales militent en faveur d'un surcroît d'intérêt pour ces territoires. Tout d'abord, quelles que soient leur taille et leur situation économique ou géographique, leurs habitants ont le droit de se prononcer, en toute liberté et en toute connaissance de leurs droits, sur leur statut futur. En second lieu, ces territoires ne peuvent être considérés comme de simples pions sur l'échiquier politique et stratégique des puissances administrantes, comme des pièces de terre qui peuvent être découpées, démembrées et regroupées d'après les nécessités stratégiques de ces puissances et dont les habitants peuvent être déplacés comme s'ils n'étaient pas des êtres humains. Les responsabilités de l'Organisation des Nations Unies ne sont pas et ne peuvent pas être plus limitées du fait qu'un territoire dépendant donné est de faible dimension. En fait, selon

la résolution 2105 (XX), l'Organisation doit accorder une attention particulière aux petits territoires et, en vérité, il est nécessaire qu'il en soit ainsi.

168. Tous les renseignements dont nous disposons nous montrent que les puissances administrantes ont une tendance très nette à utiliser les petits territoires en tant que maillons d'une chaîne d'installations et de bases militaires. De l'île de l'Ascension à celle de Guam, en passant par le nouveau territoire colonial de l'océan Indien et par les frontières nord du bloc raciste de l'Afrique méridionale, un cercle de bases est en cours d'établissement.

169. Ce faisant, les puissances administrantes violent un certain nombre de principes et de résolutions de l'Organisation des Nations Unies: le Chapitre XI de la Charte, les résolutions 1514 (XV), 2023 (XX), 2066 (XX) et enfin la résolution 2105 (XX) qui condamne l'installation de bases dans les territoires dépendants et demande aux puissances administrantes de les démanteler et de s'abstenir d'en établir de nouvelles.

170. Les puissances administrantes créent ainsi de nouvelles zones de tension, car ces bases ne sont pas seulement des relais pour des opérations d'agression — comme cela a été prouvé et l'est chaque jour dans les cas de Guam, de l'île de l'Ascension et d'Aden — mais aussi des bases de départ pour des agressions contre des petits pays luttant pour consolider leur indépendance. En effet, à quoi peuvent servir des bases comme celles qui sont situées dans les îles Seychelles et Maurice?

171. Que savons-nous de plus au sujet des petits territoires? Sans doute les prospectus touristiques nous en apprennent-ils davantage que les renseignements reçus au titre de l'Article 73, e, de la Charte. Que fait-on pour développer le potentiel économique de ces territoires? Que fait-on de leurs ressources naturelles qui, conformément à la résolution 1514 (XV), doivent être à la libre disposition des habitants pour leurs propres besoins?

172. Il faut poser toutes ces questions et il faut aussi y répondre. Les moyens d'obtenir ces réponses, dans le cadre de l'intérêt particulier que nous devons porter à ces territoires sont définis dans la résolution 2105 (XX). Ce sont des groupes d'enquêtes du Comité spécial, chargés d'étudier la situation sur place. Il est temps de mettre cette clause à exécution. En même temps, il faut réaliser les meilleures conditions possibles pour le libre développement de ces territoires et pour permettre à leurs habitants de décider librement de leur avenir, sans qu'aucun engagement d'aucune sorte limitant d'une façon quelconque cette liberté de choix soit pris en leur nom.

173. Nous avons récemment terminé notre débat sur Aden. Notre préoccupation essentielle au cours de ce débat a été de déjouer les tentatives de la Puissance administrante qui visaient à imposer une solution néo-colonialiste du problème, à transférer le pouvoir à un régime servile et à sauvegarder ses propres intérêts sans avoir à assumer la responsabilité de plus en plus lourde et de plus en plus onéreuse de l'administration directe et de l'oppression. Nous nous sommes efforcés de faire adopter une solution conforme aux vœux des populations ainsi qu'aux intérêts de la paix et de la sécurité dans la région.

^{6/} Ibid., dix-neuvième session, Annexes, annexe 12, document A/5825, par. 560.

174. Nous avons vu la stratégie coloniale à l'œuvre sous trois formes: la concentration dans des régions considérées comme importantes du point de vue économique; c'est le cas de l'Afrique méridionale; le choix des territoires ayant une importance du point de vue stratégique; c'est le cas, en particulier, pour les petits territoires; la projection de la suzeraineté dans l'avenir, dans la mesure où des intérêts politiques sont en jeu; c'est le cas du néo-colonialisme, dont l'exemple le plus récent nous a été donné par la question d'Aden.

175. Tous ces cas ont un dénominateur commun, à savoir l'oppression des peuples colonisés, dont on contrarie les aspirations, ce qui conduit à l'agression ouverte et à la répression armée, toutes choses qu'on en vient maintenant à considérer et à dénoncer à juste titre comme des crimes contre l'humanité.

176. C'est pourquoi nous avons pensé qu'il était très nécessaire de procéder à une réévaluation de nos activités en matière de décolonisation, d'adapter ces activités à la situation actuelle et d'utiliser tous les moyens à notre disposition pour poursuivre l'objectif que la majorité de cette Assemblée n'a cessé de chercher à atteindre: l'élimination définitive du colonialisme.

177. Voilà pourquoi ma délégation, dans les discussions qui ont porté au cours de cette session sur les questions coloniales, a cherché à apporter sa modeste contribution à cette tâche de réévaluation.

178. C'est dans cet esprit que nous prendrons position sur le projet de résolution qui nous est soumis.

179. M. BOZOVIC (Yougoslavie) [traduit de l'anglais]: Le rapport du Comité des Vingt-Quatre et l'examen du problème du colonialisme au cours de la présente session montrent que le processus de la décolonisation se poursuit dans des conditions extrêmement difficiles, en particulier en Afrique centrale et méridionale. Dans le combat qu'elles mènent pour la mise en application des principes et des prescriptions de la Charte des Nations Unies concernant le droit de tous les peuples à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance, les populations vivant dans des régions qui sont encore sous administration coloniale se heurtent, de même que l'Organisation des Nations Unies, à la résistance concertée de forces puissantes qui se sont fixé pour but de retarder le processus d'émancipation politique et économique des peuples et des Etats et de restreindre leur liberté de choix quant au genre de vie et au mode de développement qui conviennent le mieux à leurs intérêts et qui répondent à leurs aspirations. Ces forces, employant leur supériorité matérielle comme moyen de chantage, de pression et d'intervention, recourant même à l'usage des armes, sont directement engagées, par le truchement d'une assistance politique, économique et militaire, dans les opérations armées et dans les activités de répression que le Gouvernement du Portugal et les racistes de la Rhodésie du Sud et de l'Afrique du Sud mènent dans les territoires placés sous leur domination.

180. Les faits cités dans le rapport du Comité des Vingt-Quatre prouvent sans aucun doute que ce sont les mêmes forces qui appuient Salazar, Smith et Vorster, que les armes utilisées contre les populations dans cette partie de l'Afrique sont de la même origine et

proviennent des mêmes sources et que les guerres coloniales et les mesures de répression contre les populations africaines entrent dans le cadre d'un plan plus vaste établi par les forces coloniales et néo-coloniales visant à sauvegarder des intérêts politiques et économiques étrangers, à conserver les points d'appui qui sont utilisés pour menacer l'indépendance chèrement acquise des Etats africains et à maintenir les positions privilégiées et l'influence de certaines puissances.

181. A ce point de vue, il existe un lien incontestable entre, d'une part, ce qui se passe au Viet-Nam et dans d'autres parties du monde où la politique suivie s'appuie sur la force, et, d'autre part, l'action des colonisateurs portugais et des racistes blancs en Afrique. Encouragés par l'attitude de quelques autres défenseurs d'un système de relations sociales qui implique l'exploitation des ressources humaines et matérielles des autres peuples, les colonisateurs portugais et les racistes de l'Afrique méridionale sont parvenus à la conclusion qu'ils peuvent, eux aussi, s'engager dans des guerres impérialistes, menées sur une échelle plus réduite mais qui ne sont pas moins dangereuses, pour priver des peuples de leurs droits inaliénables. Comptant sur la force de leurs alliés, ils sont convaincus qu'ils peuvent atteindre leurs buts. Aussi traitent-ils de naïfs ceux qui prétendent qu'aucune force au monde ne peut empêcher un peuple de se libérer s'il est décidé à ne plus accepter la condition d'esclave qui lui est imposée par les intérêts politiques et économiques étrangers.

182. L'histoire de la lutte menée dans le passé par de nombreux peuples, dont le mien, prouve combien ont été et sont encore naïfs ceux qui ne croient pas à la force d'un peuple bien décidé à se libérer. Des succès temporaires et apparents remportés dans la lutte contre des peuples qui combattent pour leur liberté ne doivent par conséquent tromper personne. Il ne faut pas non plus en tirer une conclusion erronée qui, dans un monde où les armes de destruction pullulent, pourrait conduire à des erreurs catastrophiques, aux conséquences imprévisibles.

183. Les forces qui appuient les puissances coloniales et les racistes d'Afrique ne se bornent pas à prendre une part active à la lutte contre les peuples coloniaux. Conscientes du fait que l'émancipation complète, politique et économique, des Etats africains et leur unité d'action rendraient impossible le maintien de la domination étrangère sur le sol africain, des puissances étrangères s'efforcent, en ayant recours à des pressions de toute sorte, économiques et autres, d'influencer l'orientation de la politique intérieure et extérieure des Etats africains récemment libérés. Des obstacles sans nombre sont dressés sur la voie que s'efforcent de suivre ces pays pour se développer à un rythme rapide, pour créer les bases matérielles qui leur permettraient de préserver et de renforcer leur indépendance politique, et pour devenir aptes à apporter dès que possible leur pleine contribution à la lutte pour la paix et l'égalité des peuples. Les pays récemment libérés, qui viennent seulement de se débarrasser des liens coloniaux classiques et qui constituent aujourd'hui la majorité dans la communauté mondiale, sont en butte, surtout en Afrique, à des tentatives répétées visant à les soumettre aux

intérêts et à la politique de puissances étrangères. Les résultats immédiats de ces activités des puissances coloniales et néo-coloniales sur le sol africain, facilitées par l'existence de bastions coloniaux dans cette partie du monde, sont les crises que connaissent aujourd'hui les pays qui viennent d'accéder à l'indépendance: crises tant dans leur relations mutuelles que dans leurs relations avec les pays situés hors du continent africain. Il en découle une situation telle que la sécurité de ces Etats et la paix en Afrique sont constamment menacées. C'est ainsi que des pays qui, en vertu de la logique même de leur développement et des aspirations de leur peuple, ont le désir de constituer un facteur de paix, de développement progressif et de coopération internationale fondée sur l'égalité, sont transformés en zones de conflits d'intérêts étrangers, de pression économique et politique et d'emploi de la force.

184. Ces activités, qui sont nettement opposées au sens de l'histoire et qui sont dangereuses tant par les troubles qu'elles occasionnent que par l'influence néfaste qu'elles ont sur les relations internationales et sur la paix mondiale, appellent de la part de l'Organisation internationale une action politique de grande envergure. De l'avis de ma délégation, l'Assemblée générale ne saurait s'acquitter de ses obligations envers les peuples qui sont encore colonisés, ni servir les intérêts de la paix mondiale, si elle ne prenait pas pleinement conscience des réalités, si elle n'attirait pas, avec suffisamment de force, l'attention des peuples sur les causes véritables de la situation alarmante qui règne dans le domaine de la décolonisation ainsi que dans celui des relations internationales en général et si elle ne recommandait pas des mesures destinées à contribuer à l'élimination des dangers qui planent à l'heure actuelle sur l'humanité. Il nous semble qu'il est nécessaire d'envisager la possibilité d'adopter un document qui, prenant comme préambule l'évolution défavorable des relations internationales et reconnaissant que la suppression des rapports de caractère colonial entre les peuples constitue une condition essentielle de l'instauration de la coopération et de la paix dans le monde, recommanderait des mesures concrètes pour la libération des territoires encore placés sous domination coloniale et appuierait les efforts déployés par les pays nouvellement libérés en vue de renforcer leur indépendance et de préserver leur souveraineté.

185. Le rapport du Comité spécial nous présente des faits irréfutables qui montrent l'influence néfaste qu'exercent les intérêts économiques étrangers dans les territoires dominés par le Portugal, ainsi qu'en Rhodésie du Sud et en Afrique du Sud.

186. Le rapport souligne une fois de plus que les forces armées du Portugal utilisent dans leurs colonies des armes qu'elles ont obtenues au titre de l'OTAN ou en vertu d'accords bilatéraux conclus avec certains de leurs alliés. Il souligne également que les bases militaires étrangères dans les colonies constituent un des plus gros obstacles à la libération des peuples coloniaux, ainsi qu'un instrument de pression et d'intervention dans les affaires des Etats voisins. En outre, ces bases sont utilisées pour des actions agressives contre d'autres Etats. Consolent du fait que de telles activités de la part de puissances

étrangères et d'intérêts économiques étrangers constituent l'obstacle principal (on peut même dire aujourd'hui "le seul obstacle") que rencontrent dans leur lutte pour la liberté les peuples encore placés sous la domination coloniale, le Comité spécial recommande à l'Assemblée générale d'inviter tous les Etats intéressés à mettre un frein aux activités des sociétés ayant leur siège sur leur territoire et à cesser de commettre des actes qui constituent à la fois des violations des obligations contractées aux termes de la Charte et une participation directe à la lutte menée par le Portugal et les racistes dans la partie méridionale de l'Afrique contre la population des territoires placés sous leur domination.

187. A propos de ce qui précède, je tiens à dire un mot des tentatives que font certains pour masquer la nature et le caractère véritables des activités exercées par quelques pays et par certains intérêts économiques en Afrique centrale et méridionale, en utilisant des arguments qui ne tiennent pas compte du statut particulier conféré aux populations coloniales par la Charte des Nations Unies. Nous entendons souvent parler de l'utilité des investissements étrangers et, à ce sujet, on cite en exemple certains Etats indépendants. A notre avis, il suffit de dire que les intérêts économiques étrangers opèrent dans les pays indépendants à la suite de négociations au cours desquelles ces pays ont eu la possibilité de décider des conditions de l'entrée des capitaux et des activités des sociétés étrangères. Cependant, les peuples coloniaux n'ont pas les moyens d'influer sur la prise des décisions, et en conséquence, ils sont dans une certaine mesure l'objet d'un marchandage entre les puissances coloniales et les intérêts étrangers. C'est pourquoi la thèse selon laquelle, dans ces conditions et en particulier dans les conditions particulières des guerres coloniales menées dans les territoires sous domination portugaise et des mesures de répression en vigueur en Rhodésie du Sud et en Afrique du Sud, les activités des intérêts économiques étrangers contribuent effectivement à élever le niveau de vie de ces peuples ne saurait résister à un examen honnête. Ce qui est plus important, que l'on oublie souvent, et non sans intention, c'est qu'au moyen des investissements étrangers dans ces territoires, particulièrement à l'heure actuelle, les populations sont soumises encore davantage à l'oppression et aux spoliations. Les miettes des tables des riches, qui s'enrichissent par l'exploitation de la main-d'œuvre à bon marché et des richesses matérielles de ces pays, ne sauraient compenser toutes les souffrances et toutes les privations auxquelles ces peuples sont quotidiennement soumis. Ce n'est que dans une atmosphère de liberté complète et véritable que ces peuples peuvent bénéficier d'une activité économique étrangère, avantageuse pour tous les participants.

188. En ce qui concerne les bases militaires, il est juridiquement indéfendable et politiquement erroné de les comparer à des bases étrangères situées sur le territoire d'Etats indépendants qui les ont acceptées et qui ont le droit d'en demander le retrait quand ils le jugent bon. Dans le cas des territoires coloniaux, dont les populations sont privées de toute possibilité de décision en la matière, l'Organisation des Nations Unies, protectrice des peuples colonisés, a le droit et le devoir, pour faire appliquer les dispositions de

la Charte et pour sauvegarder la paix, d'exiger que ces bases soient démantelées.

189. L'analyse objective de la situation actuelle montre qu'il existe une contradiction flagrante entre les paroles et les actes de certains Etats en ce qui concerne le processus de la décolonisation en Afrique centrale et méridionale. Il est grand temps de cesser de tromper le monde par des condamnations verbales de la politique pratiquée par les colonialistes portugais et les racistes blancs en Afrique, par des déclarations désapprouvant cette politique, par des expressions de sympathie à l'égard des victimes des mesures de répression et des opérations armées punitives, qui ne sont rendues possibles que grâce à l'aide massive, sous forme d'armes et sous d'autres formes, qui est accordée à Salazar, à Smith et à Vorster. L'appui verbal, si fort soit-il, que donnent certains pays à la lutte des peuples coloniaux pour leur libération ne peut pas racheter la faute qu'ils commettent en contribuant à la prolongation des souffrances de ces peuples. A l'heure actuelle, la politique d'un pays est jugée davantage par ses actes que par ses paroles.

190. Bien entendu, nous ne sommes pas idéalistes au point d'escompter que les pays qui sont favorables au maintien de la domination étrangère et du colonialisme aideront les peuples coloniaux dans leur lutte pour leur libération. Cependant, dans l'intérêt de la paix et de la sécurité de tous, nous avons le droit d'exiger que ces pays cessent d'apporter aux colonialistes et aux racistes une aide qui permet à ceux-ci d'entreprendre, en s'abritant derrière le bouclier de leurs puissants alliés, des opérations militaires et des expéditions punitives causant aux peuples qui luttent pour leur liberté et leur indépendance des dommages matériels considérables et d'énormes pertes en vies humaines.

191. La stabilité de la paix en Afrique et dans le monde entier dépend aujourd'hui, pour une large part, de la liquidation immédiate des bastions colonialistes et racistes sur ce continent et sur les autres. En conséquence, notre devoir commun est de nous attaquer de façon décisive aux causes véritables de l'inquiétude qui règne dans cette partie du monde et de faire connaître nos exigences en premier lieu à ceux de l'action desquels dépend, en dernière analyse, la solution pacifique des problèmes. Si nous laissons ces derniers sans solution immédiate, il peut s'ensuivre pour une population innocente des effusions de sang dont les conséquences seraient de la plus extrême gravité, étant donné le caractère racial du conflit dans cette partie de l'Afrique.

192. C'est guidée par ces considérations, que la délégation de la Yougoslavie, animée du désir d'éliminer dès que possible les foyers de conflit, a appuyé le projet de résolution que l'Assemblée examine en ce moment.

193. Je me suis attaché aux problèmes qui sont généralement considérés aujourd'hui comme les plus aigus et les plus dangereux et qui, par conséquent, requièrent une étude immédiate de la part de l'Assemblée générale. Il y a aussi le problème de ce qu'on appelle les petits territoires, lequel exige en raison de circonstances particulières, l'adoption en temps opportun de

mesures en vue de trouver les solutions les plus appropriées.

194. A cet égard, je me permets de suggérer au Comité des Vingt-Quatre d'envisager la possibilité de réunir, sous les auspices de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, une conférence des représentants de ces petits territoires. Une telle conférence permettrait à ces représentants d'exposer leurs problèmes, d'exprimer leurs désirs et de proposer des solutions pertinentes. Sur cette base, l'Organisation des Nations Unies pourrait élaborer un vaste programme d'action en vue de contribuer à résoudre les problèmes posés par l'existence de ce qu'on appelle les petits territoires, dont la population a droit également à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance.

195. Le PRESIDENT (traduit de l'espagnol): Je donne la parole au représentant des Etats-Unis d'Amérique afin qu'il puisse exercer son droit de réponse.

196. Mme ANDERSON (Etats-Unis d'Amérique) [traduit de l'anglais]: Je désire exercer mon droit de réponse à propos des déclarations qui ont été faites aujourd'hui au sujet de Porto Rico.

197. Le Commonwealth de Porto Rico constitue une entité absolument autonome ainsi que l'a confirmé l'Assemblée générale des Nations Unies. Il a été créé après l'approbation par un vote, à une majorité écrasante, de la population de Porto Rico, en 1952. Il a été reconnu en tant que gouvernement autonome par la résolution 748 (VIII) adoptée le 27 novembre 1953 par l'Assemblée générale, qui a dit que le peuple de Porto Rico avait "effectivement exercé son droit de disposer de lui-même" et que ce territoire n'était plus dépendant.

198. Depuis que Porto Rico est devenu un Commonwealth autonome, la population, au cours d'élections régulières, a eu amplement l'occasion de manifester son point de vue à ce sujet. Lors des dernières élections, qui ont eu lieu en novembre 1964, environ 60 p. 100 de la population ont voté en faveur du parti qui se prononce pour le maintien du statut de Commonwealth et 35 p. 100 ont voté pour celui qui demande que Porto Rico devienne un Etat des Etats-Unis. Moins de 3 p. 100 ont voté pour le parti de l'indépendance.

199. Il est tout à fait déplacé de parler à l'heure actuelle de Porto Rico comme d'un territoire non autonome, en raison du fait que les Portoricains ont eu, à de nombreuses occasions, toute liberté pour décider de leur statut politique. Des votes tels que ceux qui ont été exprimés lors des élections de 1964 prouvent sans erreur possible que Porto Rico ne trouve aucun intérêt à devenir indépendant des Etats-Unis. Cette solution a été offerte clairement à maintes reprises à la population de l'île, qui l'a toujours repoussée d'une façon retentissante. Soulever la question aujourd'hui dans cette enceinte, c'est mettre en doute la validité d'une décision que l'Assemblée générale des Nations Unies a dûment prise, et créer un précédent qui, de l'avis de ma délégation, pourrait avoir des répercussions extrêmement dangereuses. Les Etats-Unis s'opposent de la façon la plus formelle à une telle manœuvre.

La séance est levée à 18 heures.

Nations Unies
**ASSEMBLÉE
GÉNÉRALE**

VINGT ET UNIÈME SESSION

Documents officiels



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1491^e
SÉANCE PLÉNIÈRE

Lundi 13 décembre 1966,
à 10 h 30

NEW YORK

SOMMAIRE

Point 23 de l'ordre du jour:

Application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux: rapport du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux (suite).....

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Président: M. Abdul Rahman PAZHWAQ
(Afghanistan).

POINT 23 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

Application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux: rapport du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux (suite)

1. M. DACHTSEREN (République populaire mongole) [traduit du russe]: L'Assemblée générale examine l'un des problèmes les plus importants de notre époque, celui de l'élimination totale et définitive du honteux système du colonialisme, ainsi que le bilan des activités de l'ONU pendant la période écoulée en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux.

2. Nous notons avec satisfaction que, depuis l'adoption de ce document historique, plus de 20 pays d'Afrique, d'Asie et d'Amérique latine se sont libérés, après des siècles de domination coloniale, et se sont joints à la famille des nations souveraines. Nous avons été heureux de souhaiter la bienvenue, au cours de cette session, à quatre nouveaux Etats d'Afrique et d'Amérique latine.

3. Bien que six ans se soient déjà écoulés depuis l'adoption de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, déclaration dont le but était d'éliminer le colonialisme, définitivement et totalement, sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations, plus de 30 millions d'êtres humains souffrent encore sous le joug colonial et raciste dans les diverses parties du monde.

4. Les peuples de l'Angola, du Mozambique, de la Guinée dite portugaise et de l'Arabie du Sud poursuivent leur lutte courageuse pour la liberté et l'indépendance nationales, contre les envahisseurs étrangers que sont les colonialistes portugais et britanniques. Il ne fait pas de doute que la lutte des peuples de ces territoires se terminera par une vic-

toire totale sur les colonialistes, et que ces peuples viendront occuper la place qui leur revient de droit dans notre Organisation en tant que nations souveraines et à part entière.

5. L'Organisation des Nations Unies est appelée à jouer un rôle important dans l'émancipation des peuples coloniaux qui tournent leurs regards vers elle, placent en elle de grands espoirs et attendent de sa part un soutien efficace. Les représentants des mouvements de libération nationale des territoires coloniaux, qui ont été entendus par les Nations Unies à titre de pétitionnaires, ont fait appel à notre Organisation pour qu'elle leur accorde un appui total en vue de libérer rapidement leurs pays du joug des colonialistes étrangers. Il est du devoir sacré de l'ONU d'aider ces peuples, conformément aux buts et aux principes de la Charte.

6. La reconnaissance par l'Organisation des Nations Unies du droit imprescriptible des peuples coloniaux à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance, de la légitimité de la lutte qu'ils mènent pour la réalisation de ces droits, ainsi que de la nécessité de leur accorder une aide matérielle et morale, est un résultat important dans le combat pour l'élimination définitive du système colonial de l'impérialisme.

7. La politique anticolonialiste de principe suivie par les jeunes Etats d'Afrique et d'Asie ainsi que par les pays socialistes Membres de l'ONU, tant à l'intérieur qu'à l'extérieur de l'Organisation, a permis d'adopter, sur les questions coloniales, une attitude ferme et sans défaillance et de prendre des mesures réalistes pour l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux.

8. Or, malheureusement, tous les Membres de l'ONU ne s'efforcent pas sincèrement de mettre en œuvre cette importante Déclaration. Tout d'abord, les puissances impérialistes et colonialistes de l'Occident refusent obstinément de renoncer à leur politique colonialiste et néo-colonialiste. C'est précisément par suite de l'opposition de ces puissances que le colonialisme et ses pires manifestations, le racisme et l'apartheid, ont pu se maintenir dans le sud de l'Afrique, transformant cette région en une source permanente de conflits internationaux qui constituent une menace grave à la paix et à la sécurité internationales.

9. Au cours de ces dernières années, on a pu constater non seulement une certaine stagnation dans le processus de décolonisation, mais aussi une aggravation marquée de la situation dans les territoires coloniaux, tout particulièrement en Afrique australe.

10. L'apparition du régime raciste de la minorité blanche en Rhodésie du Sud, l'intensification des me-

sures le répression prises par les colonialistes portugais et britanniques contre les populations des territoires coloniaux, la conclusion d'une alliance tripartite entre les régimes racistes de la Rhodésie du Sud, de la République sud-africaine et du Portugal fasciste, posent à l'ONU un problème grave et exigent l'adoption de nouvelles méthodes en vue du règlement des problèmes coloniaux.

11. On sait que la politique d'assentiment tacite suivie par le Royaume-Uni à l'égard de la Rhodésie du Sud a conduit à la renaissance, dans ce territoire, d'un régime raciste et que les prétendues sanctions économiques se sont révélées inefficaces pour résoudre ce problème.

12. Notre délégation condamne la politique du Gouvernement britannique, qui se refuse à aller au-delà des prétendues "sanctions sélectives" et continue, en fait, à agir de connivence avec les racistes.

13. L'apparition dans le sud de l'Afrique d'un bloc de racistes et de colonialistes zélés, patronnés par des alliés puissants, les Etats impérialistes occidentaux, ayant à leur tête les Etats-Unis d'Amérique, le Royaume-Uni et la République fédérale d'Allemagne, devrait être considérée dans son ensemble comme un plan à long terme des colonialistes et des impérialistes, visant à perpétuer les régimes colonialistes et racistes dans cette partie du continent africain pour faire de cette région un point d'appui en vue d'une offensive contre la liberté et l'indépendance des peuples africains.

14. Notre délégation souscrit entièrement à l'opinion exprimée ici, selon laquelle la politique des régimes racistes de Ian Smith, de la République sud-africaine et du Portugal doit être considérée comme un tout indivisible, et qu'une attention particulière doit être accordée à la situation dans le sud de l'Afrique, car c'est là que se trouvent concentrés tous les problèmes coloniaux fondamentaux qui, s'ils ne sont pas rapidement résolus, risquent de menacer directement la paix.

15. Le moment est venu de prendre des mesures efficaces contre le Portugal et la République sud-africaine qui, méconnaissant les résolutions successives du Conseil de sécurité et de l'Assemblée générale, s'obstinent à pratiquer une politique coloniale cruelle d'oppression des populations autochtones des territoires coloniaux — politique de ségrégation raciste et d'apartheid, constituant un crime contre l'humanité. L'Assemblée générale doit recommander au Conseil de sécurité de prendre contre le Portugal, l'Afrique du Sud et les Etats qui continuent à leur prêter assistance les mesures de coercition, prévues au Chapitre VII de la Charte des Nations Unies.

16. La situation critique en Afrique australe n'est pas le seul problème. Les puissances coloniales maintiennent dans l'esclavage colonial des dizaines de petits territoires et y font ce que bon leur semble.

17. Les puissances administrantes, au mépris des buts et des principes de la Charte et des dispositions de la Déclaration, appliquent dans certains territoires une politique de démembrement, de désagrégation de l'unité nationale, de violation de l'intégrité territoriale, qui mène à l'absorption graduelle de ces territoires. Le danger le plus grand réside dans la

transformation des petits territoires en bases militaires. C'est ainsi que les Etats-Unis d'Amérique ont transformé en bases militaires les territoires placés sous leur tutelle. Des faits nombreux montrent que les bases militaires établies dans l'île de Guam et dans d'autres territoires sont utilisées par les impérialistes américains pour des attaques aériennes pirates contre la République démocratique du Vietnam.

18. Nous nous souvenons qu'autrefois les représentants des puissances coloniales soutenaient ici que les conditions n'étaient pas encore mûres pour l'octroi de l'indépendance à tel ou tel territoire colonial et que cette mesure demanderait encore des dizaines d'années. L'histoire a montré à quel point cet argument est indéfendable. Les pays qui, de l'avis des impérialistes, n'auraient pas été à même de mener une vie indépendante, non seulement édifient aujourd'hui avec succès leur vie nationale, mais participent aussi activement aux travaux des Nations Unies, fournissant un apport précieux à la réalisation des buts et des principes de l'Organisation.

19. C'est pourquoi notre délégation réaffirme la disposition de la résolution 1514 (XV), paragraphe 3, selon laquelle "le manque de préparation dans les domaines politique, économique ou social ou dans celui de l'enseignement ne doit jamais être pris comme prétexte pour retarder l'indépendance" et estime que, si tous les Etats Membres de l'ONU font preuve de bonne volonté, il est possible d'éliminer entièrement et définitivement le colonialisme dans les délais les plus brefs. Notre délégation appuie l'idée exprimée ici, à savoir que le processus de décolonisation doit être terminé le plus rapidement possible, car la survivance du colonialisme et du racisme est un crime contre l'humanité, incompatible avec les buts, les idéaux et les principes de la Charte des Nations Unies et de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux.

20. Si le processus de décolonisation traîne en longueur, c'est parce qu'une poignée de puissances colonialistes et leurs alliés, les puissances impérialistes, se refusent obstinément à mettre en œuvre les dispositions de la Déclaration des Nations Unies et d'autres décisions importantes de l'Assemblée générale et du Conseil de sécurité. La politique de ces Etats, tendant à conserver à tout prix l'ordre colonial, est dictée par leurs intérêts économiques, financiers et stratégiques. Les monopoles des puissances impérialistes et, au premier chef, ceux des Etats-Unis, de la République fédérale d'Allemagne, du Royaume-Uni, de la Belgique et d'autres pays, amassent des bénéfices fabuleux en exploitant sans pitié les ressources humaines et matérielles des territoires coloniaux.

21. On comprend donc aisément pourquoi les puissances occidentales financent la guerre coloniale sanglante menée par les colonialistes portugais en Afrique, pourquoi elles leur fournissent des armes et aident par tous les moyens les régimes racistes de la Rhodésie du Sud et de la République sud-africaine. Ainsi, l'un des principaux obstacles à l'accession à l'indépendance des peuples coloniaux est l'activité des monopoles étrangers dans les territoires coloniaux. A cet égard, je voudrais souligner que le Comité spécial des Vingt-Quatre a accompli un travail très

utile en étudiant les intérêts étrangers, économiques et financiers, en Rhodésie du Sud, au Sud-Ouest africain ainsi que dans les territoires sous domination portugaise, et en présentant sur ce sujet un rapport des plus pertinents.

22. Notre délégation souscrit pleinement aux recommandations du Comité spécial sur cette question et appuie la proposition tendant à inscrire à l'ordre du jour provisoire de la vingt-deuxième session le point intitulé: "Activités des intérêts étrangers, économiques et autres, qui font obstacle à l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux en Rhodésie du Sud, au Sud-Ouest africain et dans les territoires sous domination portugaise, ainsi que dans tous les autres territoires se trouvant sous domination coloniale...".

23. Un autre obstacle important à l'application de la Déclaration est le maintien, dans les territoires coloniaux, de bases militaires des puissances impérialistes et colonialistes. Les bases militaires des puissances impérialistes servent à protéger les intérêts économiques et financiers de ces pays qui les utilisent souvent pour écraser les mouvements de libération nationale des peuples coloniaux.

24. La délégation mongole estime que la lutte des peuples pour l'élimination des bases militaires et le retrait des troupes étrangères est indissolublement liée au combat général mené contre l'impérialisme, pour la libération des peuples coloniaux et pour la paix mondiale.

25. De l'avis de notre délégation, l'Assemblée générale doit exiger la liquidation immédiate de toutes les bases militaires établies dans les territoires coloniaux et la cessation, dans ces territoires, de la construction de nouvelles bases et d'autres installations militaires.

26. Au moment où les colonialistes et les néo-colonialistes font tout ce qui est en leur pouvoir pour conserver l'ordre colonial qui leur est profitable, il devient particulièrement important de créer les conditions nécessaires à l'octroi d'une indépendance réelle aux peuples coloniaux et à la protection de ces peuples contre l'expansion néo-colonialiste.

27. L'expansion économique, la division des territoires et des populations des possessions coloniales, l'établissement de bases militaires, l'installation de régimes non représentatifs, l'octroi d'une indépendance de pure forme, ce sont là les méthodes néo-colonialistes grâce auxquelles les impérialistes et les colonialistes s'efforcent de maintenir la domination qu'ils ont imposée dans le passé aux peuples coloniaux et à ceux qui ont conquis leur indépendance nationale. Comme l'écrivait un Africain: "Le colonialisme s'en va par la grande porte mais revient par la porte de service."

28. Non contents de réduire les peuples coloniaux à l'esclavage économique, les néo-colonialistes s'ingèrent ouvertement dans les affaires intérieures d'Etats souverains qui se sont déjà libérés de la domination coloniale, cherchant ainsi à maintenir leurs positions économiques et stratégiques dans ces pays. L'exemple le plus éclatant de cet état de choses est l'agression des Etats-Unis au Viet-Nam qui est la plus authentique des guerres coloniales.

29. Etant donné que la survivance du colonialisme et du racisme non seulement est incompatible avec les buts et les principes élevés de la Charte des Nations Unies, mais constitue aussi une menace grave à la paix et à la sécurité internationales, le Conseil de sécurité devrait consacrer une attention plus grande aux questions coloniales afin de prendre des mesures efficaces et appropriées contre les colonialistes et contre ceux qui leur prêtent aide et assistance en dépit des décisions répétées de notre Organisation.

30. Pour conclure, la délégation mongole tient à remercier le Comité spécial des Vingt-Quatre pour le travail fructueux qu'il a accompli au cours de la période écoulée et pour son rapport si utile, qui contient un grand nombre de renseignements ainsi qu'une analyse objective de la situation dans les territoires coloniaux. Notre délégation souscrit sans réserve aux recommandations du Comité spécial et à son programme de travail pour 1967.

31. Le peuple de la Mongolie et son gouvernement condamnent sévèrement le colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations, qu'ils considèrent comme le plus grand crime contre l'humanité et soutiennent fermement les peuples en lutte pour leur liberté et leur indépendance nationale. La République populaire mongole, fidèle à sa politique qui est, par principe, anti-impérialiste et anti-colonialiste, est prête à appuyer toute mesure efficace tendant à accélérer au maximum l'élimination du système honteux du colonialisme.

32. M. TCHERNOUCHTENKO (République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie) [traduit du russe]: La délégation de la République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie voudrait tout d'abord souligner que l'écroulement du système colonial de l'impérialisme et l'apparition dans l'arène mondiale de nouveaux Etats indépendants sont des caractéristiques de notre temps. De gigantesques empires coloniaux, dont leurs fondateurs comptaient bien qu'ils dureraient de longs siècles, ont disparu dans les flammes des mouvements de libération nationale.

33. La majorité écrasante des pays qui subissaient le joug colonial ont accédé à l'indépendance politique. Ils y sont parvenus grâce aux mesures décisives prises de concert par les forces progressistes des mouvements de libération nationale qu'appuyaient tous les peuples épris de paix et, au premier chef, les pays du groupe socialiste. Le jour est proche où les derniers foyers du colonialisme — déjà condamné irrévocablement par l'histoire — seront éteints à jamais.

M. Ortiz Sanz (Bolivie), vice-président, prend la présidence.

34. Il y aura cette année six ans que, sur l'initiative de l'Union soviétique, a été adoptée la Déclaration historique sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, devenue depuis lors un appui moral solide pour tous ceux qui luttent pour l'élimination de la domination coloniale, pour la liberté et l'indépendance des peuples.

35. La tempête purifiante du mouvement de libération nationale, à laquelle l'adoption de la Déclaration a donné un nouvel élan, a apporté à de nombreux peuples d'Afrique, d'Asie et d'Amérique latine l'indépendance et la liberté tant attendues.

36. Cependant, les forces du colonialisme poursuivent leurs combats d'arrière-garde. Des bastions du colonialisme subsistent dans diverses régions du monde. Les populations de l'Afrique du Sud, de la Rhodésie du Sud, de l'Angola, du Mozambique, de la Guinée dite portugaise, du Sud-Ouest africain, d'Aden, de l'Oman et d'autres colonies doivent encore vivre et lutter dans des conditions d'esclavage colonial.

37. Les colonialistes résistent avec l'énergie du désespoir à la poussée croissante des mouvements de libération. Par tous les moyens possibles, le Royaume-Uni, le Portugal, l'Australie, les Etats-Unis d'Amérique et d'autres puissances colonialistes essaient d'empêcher l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. Considérant les colonies comme des sources de matières premières bon marché, des débouchés avantageux pour leurs produits, des zones d'investissements de capitaux, des points d'appui militaires et stratégiques, les puissances impérialistes continuent à piller les populations des colonies et à tirer de cette exploitation des bénéfices énormes. Les monopoles internationaux que soutiennent les gouvernements des pays occidentaux sont les principaux coupables de la continuation de l'esclavage colonial.

38. Les renseignements fournis par le Comité spécial des Vingt-Quatre au sujet des activités des monopoles dans le Sud-Ouest africain, dans les colonies portugaises et en Rhodésie du Sud montrent que les monopoles impérialistes qui opèrent dans le sud de l'Afrique s'enrichissent de manière fabuleuse en exploitant impitoyablement les populations autochtones de ces territoires. On pourrait en dire autant des monopoles à l'œuvre dans d'autres possessions coloniales. On voit donc aisément pourquoi les monopoles internationaux soutiennent les régimes réactionnaires racistes en Afrique australe ainsi que dans d'autres colonies. Les monopoles sont directement responsables de répression cruelle des mouvements de libération nationale. Ils exercent une influence décisive sur la politique des régimes racistes en Afrique du Sud et en Rhodésie du Sud, sur la politique des colonialistes portugais et celle des régimes réactionnaires fantoches en Arabie du Sud, dans l'Oman et dans d'autres colonies.

39. Outre leurs intérêts économiques, les puissances coloniales ont également dans les colonies d'importants intérêts politiques, militaires et stratégiques. Elles ont établi, dans les territoires coloniaux, de nombreuses bases militaires pour servir la politique anticomuniste et combattre les mouvements de libération nationale.

40. Dans sa résolution 2105 (XX), l'Assemblée générale des Nations Unies a prié les puissances coloniales de démanteler les bases militaires installées dans les territoires coloniaux et de s'abstenir d'en établir de nouvelles. Mais cette injonction reste méconnue. La base militaire britannique d'Aden et d'autres bases au Moyen-Orient continuent d'être utilisées par le Royaume-Uni pour écraser le mouvement de libération nationale en Arabie du Sud. A partir de ces bases, les colonialistes britanniques commettent divers actes de provocation et d'agression contre les Etats voisins indépendants, surtout contre la République arabe du Yémen.

41. La base militaire des Etats-Unis à Guam ainsi que leurs bases situées dans le Territoire sous tutelle des Iles du Pacifique servent en quelque sorte de tremplin pour l'agression dirigée contre le mouvement de libération nationale en Asie du Sud-Est. Les éléments des forces aériennes des Etats-Unis stationnés à Guam bombardent systématiquement le territoire de la République démocratique du Viet-Nam, semant la mort et les destructions parmi la population du Viet-Nam.

42. Au mépris de la volonté des peuples, les puissances coloniales étendent le réseau de leurs bases militaires et stratégiques dans les colonies au lieu de les supprimer.

43. Comme il ressort des documents de l'Organisation des Nations Unies et des déclarations officielles du Gouvernement britannique, la création de ce qu'on appelle les territoires britanniques de l'océan Indien vise au premier chef à mettre en place un système de bases militaires qui seront utilisées conjointement par le Royaume-Uni et les Etats-Unis d'Amérique. D'après le *Times* de Londres du 19 mai 1966, on a l'intention d'utiliser ces bases pour les sous-marins atomiques équipés de fusées "Polaris".

44. Il est parfaitement évident que le Royaume-Uni et les Etats-Unis d'Amérique veulent faire de l'océan Indien une zone nucléaire placée sous leur contrôle, un tremplin militaire, pour lutter contre le mouvement de libération nationale.

45. Les milieux dirigeants des Etats-Unis d'Amérique encouragent les colonialistes britanniques à s'acquitter de leurs prétendues obligations dans la région à l'est de Suez — ils les poussent à jouer le rôle de "gendarme dans cet hémisphère".

46. Les Etats-Unis et leurs alliés du bloc militaire et colonial de l'OTAN sont à l'heure actuelle le rempart le plus solide du colonialisme contemporain. Dans toutes les régions où sévit la terreur coloniale et où coule le sang des patriotes, que ce soit en Afrique du Sud, au Sud-Ouest africain ou en Rhodésie du Sud, en Angola ou au Mozambique, les responsables ne sont pas uniquement les racistes belliqueux qui ont usurpé le pouvoir dans ce pays ou le régime colonial du Portugal, mais aussi leurs protecteurs: les Gouvernements des Etats-Unis d'Amérique, du Royaume-Uni et d'autres pays membres de l'OTAN.

47. On sait que, dans sa résolution 2105 (XX), l'Assemblée générale des Nations Unies a déclaré que le colonialisme, la politique raciste d'apartheid et toutes les formes de discrimination raciale constituaient une "menace à la paix et à la sécurité internationales" et "un crime contre l'humanité".

48. Or, les Etats-Unis d'Amérique et d'autres puissances occidentales continuent à investir des capitaux en Afrique du Sud, à développer leurs échanges commerciaux avec ce pays et à méconnaître les résolutions des Nations Unies, leur demandant de rompre les relations politiques, économiques et militaires avec la République sud-africaine.

49. Ce n'est pas un hasard si les Etats-Unis d'Amérique, le Royaume-Uni, la République fédérale d'Allemagne et d'autres puissances occidentales ne prennent aucune mesure efficace contre le régime raciste de

Rhodésie du Sud. Il ne fait de doute pour personne que le régime de Smith, qui a proclamé "l'indépendance" de la Rhodésie du Sud, n'aurait pu commettre ce crime contre les populations africaines si les puissances occidentales ne lui avaient pas permis de consolider sa position économique et militaire en l'aidant par tous les moyens dans ces domaines.

50. C'est précisément grâce à cet appui des Etats-Unis, du Royaume-Uni, de la République fédérale d'Allemagne et d'autres Etats membres de l'OTAN que le Portugal peut mener une guerre coloniale sordide en Angola, au Mozambique et dans la Guinée dite portugaise. C'est cet appui qui permet au Portugal, l'un des pays les plus pauvres et les plus arriérés d'Europe, de maintenir dans ses colonies une armée de 120 000 hommes, abondamment pourvue d'armes et de matériel que lui fournissent libéralement ses alliés de l'OTAN. Au cours de ces dernières années, les Etats-Unis à eux seuls ont prêté sous diverses formes au régime Salazar une aide financière et militaire se montant à des centaines de millions de dollars.

51. Le Gouvernement de l'Allemagne occidentale appuie de plus en plus activement les colonialistes. Ne possédant pas de colonies, l'Allemagne occidentale cherche à accroître son expansion économique en Asie, en Afrique et en Amérique latine et à augmenter sa part du pillage de ces continents en imposant des échanges commerciaux inégaux et en soutirant des bénéfices grâce aux sorties de capitaux. Ce pays participe directement à la lutte contre les mouvements de libération nationale des peuples coloniaux. Le Gouvernement de la République fédérale d'Allemagne prête une assistance économique et livre des armes au Portugal et à la République sud-africaine, les aidant ainsi à poursuivre leur politique coloniale.

52. Avec l'appui direct et l'accord tacite des Etats-Unis d'Amérique, du Royaume-Uni, de la République fédérale d'Allemagne et d'autres Etats membres de l'OTAN, les éléments les plus réactionnaires du colonialisme et du racisme continuent à consolider leurs positions sur le continent africain. Des faits toujours plus nombreux témoignent de l'activité criminelle du bloc des colonialistes et des racistes, connu sous le nom d'"alliance impie", qui unit les racistes d'Afrique du Sud et de la Rhodésie du Sud aux colonisateurs portugais. C'est ce bloc qui doit servir de force de frappe principale dans la lutte contre le mouvement de libération nationale en Afrique, qui doit mener l'offensive contre les pays indépendants de ce continent.

53. Le colonialisme contemporain est perfide et dangereux. Il revêt aujourd'hui des formes nouvelles, des aspects nouveaux et plus subtils, ceux du néo-colonialisme. Les néo-colonialistes, s'adaptant à l'esprit du temps, vont souvent jusqu'à accorder l'indépendance politique aux colonies. Mais ils n'en conservent pas moins les positions clefs, dans le domaine économique comme dans d'autres domaines, installent au pouvoir des gens acquis à leurs idées et poursuivent une politique tout à l'avantage des colonialistes.

54. L'arsenal du colonialisme contemporain comporte toutes sortes de procédés et d'artifices. Agissant selon le principe traditionnel "diviser pour régner", les néo-colonialistes attisent les dissensions

entre tribus, encouragent les tendances séparatistes et créent des problèmes là où il n'y en a pas. Ils envainement les différends territoriaux et les litiges frontaliers — legs de leurs anciens maîtres coloniaux — entre des pays qui se sont récemment libérés du joug colonial. Ces différends et ces litiges détournent l'attention des peuples des pays libérés du règlement des problèmes économiques, politiques et sociaux urgents qui se posent à eux pendant que les colonialistes s'engraissent à leurs dépens.

55. On a recours, pour parvenir aux mêmes fins, aux formes les plus diverses d'asservissement économique et politique des peuples: l'exportation des capitaux, les échanges commerciaux inégaux, l'assistance assortie de conditions politiques bien précises, la participation des pays à des blocs agressifs, la création sur leur territoire de bases militaires, l'installation de régimes fantoches.

56. Lorsque le peuple d'un pays engage la lutte pour défendre ses droits inaliénables, les Etats-Unis d'Amérique, qui se sont arrogé le rôle de gendarme mondial, recourent à la force brutale et à la terreur sanglante pour maintenir leur domination. L'agression des Etats-Unis qui se poursuit au Viet-Nam en offre un témoignage éclatant et on peut citer comme autres exemples l'intervention armée des Etats-Unis dans la République Dominicaine et dans d'autres pays.

57. Mais il ne faut pas que les colonialistes et les néo-colonialistes se leurrent d'espairs chimériques. Ni les complots, ni les intrigues, ni la corruption, ni les actes directs d'agression armée ne pourront arrêter le cours irréversible de l'histoire et étouffer la volonté des peuples qui aspirent à la liberté et à l'indépendance.

58. La délégation de la République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie a étudié attentivement le rapport du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, publié sous la cote A/6300/Rev.1.

59. A notre avis, le Comité spécial a accompli, au cours de l'année 1966, une œuvre importante et utile. Un nouvel apport à la lutte pour la libération des peuples de l'esclavage colonial a été fourni par la session que le Comité spécial a tenue en Afrique, où il a pu étudier sur place la situation et prendre des décisions dont l'application marquerait une étape importante dans l'élimination complète des vestiges du système colonial. Nous notons avec satisfaction que le Comité a poursuivi le travail important qu'il avait entrepris en 1964 — l'étude des activités des monopoles étrangers dans le sud de l'Afrique — et qu'il a présenté des renseignements abondants sur l'action néfaste des monopoles en Rhodésie du Sud et dans les colonies portugaises. Nous approuvons la plupart des résolutions adoptées par le Comité.

60. Mais il ne faut pas se contenter des résultats obtenus. L'Organisation des Nations Unies doit faire en sorte qu'en 1967 déjà il ne reste plus sur terre une seule colonie, un seul peuple qui subisse l'esclavage de l'impérialisme. Les Nations Unies ont le devoir d'appuyer par tous les moyens la lutte des peuples pour leur libération et de leur apporter tout leur soutien matériel et moral.

61. Il est indispensable de s'employer à assurer l'application de la résolution que l'Assemblée générale a adoptée à sa vingtième session en ce qui concerne l'élimination des bases militaires installées dans les territoires coloniaux [résolution 2105 (XX)]. Il convient de condamner résolument l'utilisation de ces bases par les puissances impérialistes, contre les peuples d'Asie, d'Afrique et d'Amérique latine, et leur utilisation pour des guerres d'agression dirigées contre les peuples en lutte pour leur liberté et leur indépendance.

62. A notre avis, l'Assemblée générale doit en outre recommander au Conseil de sécurité d'appliquer les sanctions obligatoires prévues au Chapitre VII de la Charte des Nations Unies contre le Portugal, l'Afrique du Sud et les Etats qui continuent à aider le régime illégal raciste en Rhodésie du Sud.

63. Il est indispensable de condamner résolument les activités des monopoles internationaux au Sud-Ouest africain, en Rhodésie du Sud, en Angola, au Mozambique, dans la Guinée dite portugaise et dans tous les autres territoires coloniaux — car c'est là le principal obstacle à l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux — et inviter les gouvernements des Etats intéressés à prendre les mesures voulues pour mettre un terme à ces activités.

64. Selon la délégation biélorussienne, le Comité spécial doit poursuivre sa tâche en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux à tous les territoires qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance.

65. Il est nécessaire par ailleurs de rappeler à l'ordre certaines institutions spécialisées des Nations Unies et, au premier chef, la Banque internationale pour la reconstruction et le développement qui, en violation des décisions de l'ONU, continue à fournir une aide financière au Portugal et à la République sud-africaine.

66. La République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie demeurera toujours aux côtés des peuples en lutte contre l'oppression coloniale. Elle préconise comme par le passé une entière coopération avec tous les Etats et tous les peuples qui combattent contre le colonialisme, le néo-colonialisme et la politique impérialiste d'asservissement d'autres peuples.

67. M. Amjad ALI (Pakistan) [traduit de l'anglais]: L'Assemblée générale est saisie une fois de plus en séance plénière de la question de l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. Six ans se sont écoulés depuis que l'Assemblée générale a adopté par sa résolution 1514 (XV) la Déclaration historique sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux et a créé un Comité spécial chargé d'examiner les questions coloniales et de lui faire rapport à ce sujet. Avant de dire quelques mots sur la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration, je tiens à féliciter le Comité spécial de l'excellent travail qu'il a réalisé en nous tenant au courant, par ses rapports très complets, de la situation existante dans les territoires coloniaux.

68. Il est très agréable de constater qu'un certain nombre d'anciens territoires coloniaux ont accédé à l'indépendance et à la souveraineté — et qu'il me soit permis à cette occasion de rappeler que ma délégation, avec celles des autres membres de l'Assemblée, a eu l'honneur d'accueillir la Guyane, le Lesotho, le Botswana et la Barbade dans l'Organisation — il est regrettable que des territoires comme la Rhodésie du Sud, le Sud-Ouest africain, l'Angola, le Mozambique, Aden et beaucoup d'autres dans différentes régions du monde continuent de vivre sous la domination étrangère.

69. Certaines puissances coloniales refusent obstinément d'appliquer la Déclaration, sous un prétexte ou sous un autre. Non seulement elles ont recours à la force pour réprimer les mouvements de libération et refusent de reconnaître aux peuples en cause leur droit inaliénable à l'autodétermination, mais elles violent ouvertement les droits fondamentaux de l'homme. L'attitude intransigeante des gouvernements de l'Afrique du Sud et du Portugal est trop connue pour qu'il soit nécessaire de la rappeler. Les volumineux rapports du Comité spécial nous apprennent comment ces puissances coloniales continuent de défier l'opinion publique mondiale et de violer la résolution de l'Organisation des Nations Unies sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. Ma délégation déplore l'attitude rebelle de ces deux gouvernements.

70. La situation en Rhodésie est, nous le savons tous, des plus explosive. Le régime raciste illégal de Ian Smith est comme un cancer dans le corps politique de l'Afrique. Si la Puissance administrante a refusé, à la grande satisfaction de tous les hommes de bonne volonté et épris de paix, de reconnaître le régime existant en Rhodésie, les mesures qu'elle a préconisées pour le renverser sont, de l'avis de ma délégation, insuffisantes. Nous espérons néanmoins que l'on n'hésitera pas à recourir à des mesures décisives en vue d'établir en Rhodésie un gouvernement démocratique véritablement représentatif de l'opinion et des aspirations de la majorité de la population du pays.

71. Ma délégation ne peut accepter la thèse du Gouvernement portugais selon laquelle l'Angola et le Mozambique feraient partie intégrante du Portugal. Si la communauté mondiale admettait des prétentions analogues à celles que soutiennent des pays comme le Portugal qui occupent par la force le territoire d'autres peuples et s'efforcent ensuite de l'intégrer à leur propre territoire, les principes fondamentaux du droit international et des relations pacifiques entre Etats seraient violés. Nous suivons avec sympathie et nous appuyons la lutte des peuples de l'Angola et du Mozambique contre la domination portugaise et nous espérons que dans un avenir assez rapproché notre Organisation aura le plaisir de les accueillir en son sein.

72. Nous vivons à une époque où l'humanité accomplit de grands progrès dans tous les domaines. Nous sommes à l'âge des vastes espoirs et de l'accomplissement victorieux des aspirations fondamentales des peuples. Espérons donc que l'Assemblée générale adoptera, au cours de cette vingt et unième session, une résolution invitant fermement les puissances coloniales à abandonner leur contrôle sur des terri-

toires étrangers et à accorder à ceux-ci l'indépendance.

73. Ma délégation, fermement convaincue de la primauté du droit à l'autodétermination des peuples encore soumis à la domination étrangère, figure parmi celles qui présentent le projet de résolution A/L.506 et Add.1. Persuadés que notre conviction est partagée par l'écrasante majorité de cette Assemblée, nous lui recommandons d'adopter ce projet de résolution.

74. M. BUDO (Albanie): Permettez-moi tout d'abord de m'associer, au nom de la délégation de la République populaire d'Albanie, aux autres délégations pour saluer la naissance du nouvel Etat de la Barbade et lui souhaiter la bienvenue parmi nous à l'occasion de son admission à l'Organisation des Nations Unies.

75. Face à l'élan sans précédent du mouvement de libération nationale des peuples, aux victoires historiques qu'il a remportées dans la dernière période et aux défaites foudroyantes qu'il a infligées à un colonialisme qui est maintenant ébranlé dans ses fondements et en voie de désagrégation, les impérialistes et les colonialistes font des efforts redoublés et se cramponnent avec acharnement à leur politique d'asservissement des peuples et de discrimination raciale.

76. C'est ainsi que plus de 50 territoires, représentant de vastes régions habitées par des dizaines de millions de personnes, se trouvent encore soumis au joug colonial. Les peuples de la Rhodésie du Sud, de l'Afrique du Sud, du Sud-Ouest africain, de l'Angola, du Mozambique, de la Guinée dite portugaise, d'Aden, d'Oman, de Porto Rico, des Iles du Pacifique et d'autres territoires, qui subissent encore ce régime odieux et intolérable, luttent résolument pour la réalisation de leur droit inaliénable à la liberté et à l'indépendance. Leur lutte jouit de l'appui de tous les peuples et de tous les pays épris de liberté, et leur victoire est certaine et imminente.

77. Mais les puissances coloniales, défiant l'opinion mondiale et ne tenant pas compte des nombreuses résolutions des Nations Unies sur la décolonisation, s'emploient de toutes leurs forces, en ayant recours à tous les moyens à leur disposition, y compris la force armée, à maintenir et à perpétuer le système abominable de subjugation coloniale.

78. Le rapport du Comité spécial (A/6300/Rev.1) fait état de cette situation et des méthodes et moyens utilisés à cette fin par les colonialistes. Il nous renseigne en particulier sur les difficultés auxquelles le Comité se heurte dans l'accomplissement de sa tâche par suite de la persistance des puissances administrantes à refuser de respecter les résolutions pertinentes de notre Organisation. Cette situation provoque de sérieuses préoccupations chez les Etats Membres épris de paix et de liberté, qui se rendent fort bien compte des efforts qu'il leur faut déployer pour surmonter toutes les difficultés et tous les obstacles élevés par les impérialistes s'ils veulent apporter une contribution efficace à la lutte des peuples pour la conquête de la liberté et de leur souveraineté nationale.

79. Des faits patents nous prouvent à l'évidence que les puissances coloniales s'efforcent, dans diverses

régions, de regrouper leurs forces et de regagner les positions perdues. L'une des régions typiques à cet égard, où s'étendent de vastes territoires des plus riches et où sévit un système d'esclavage colonial et de ségrégation raciale des plus féroces, est l'Afrique méridionale. Les colonialistes portugais et les racistes de l'Afrique du Sud et de la Rhodésie du Sud, en collusion avec d'autres puissances colonialistes — et en premier lieu les Etats-Unis d'Amérique et la Grande-Bretagne — s'évertuent à transformer cette région en un vaste bastion militaire destiné à étouffer la lutte de libération nationale des peuples opprimés d'Afrique et à servir de point de départ dans la mise en œuvre des plans agressifs dirigés contre les autres peuples de ce continent.

80. Pendant qu'il complotait avec les autres colonialistes en Afrique méridionale et qu'en collusion avec la clique de racistes blancs de la Rhodésie du Sud il met en application son sinistre plan contre le peuple du Zimbabwe, le Gouvernement britannique déploie tous ses efforts pour consolider ses positions dans une autre région du globe — l'Arabie du Sud — en vue de s'en servir comme d'une base militaire importante pour la protection de ses intérêts coloniaux contre le mouvement de libération nationale des peuples arabes, ainsi que pour la réalisation de ses plans stratégiques dans cette zone. La base d'Aden, qui est constamment renforcée, représente en particulier un instrument important de la politique aggressive britannique et constitue une grave menace pour la paix et la sécurité dans ce secteur.

81. Par suite du développement rapide et impétueux du mouvement de libération nationale en Asie, les Etats-Unis d'Amérique et leurs alliés accordent une importance primordiale à la zone du Pacifique. D'où les efforts redoublés des impérialistes et des colonialistes pour consolider et perpétuer leur domination sur les nombreux territoires et îles dépendant de cette zone. Les puissances administrantes se mettent en quatre pour dissimuler à l'opinion mondiale la situation réelle régnant dans ces territoires, qui sont progressivement transformés en forteresses devant servir de têtes de pont dans la mise en application des plans de guerre contre la République populaire de Chine et les peuples asiatiques épris de liberté, et ce conformément à la stratégie globale américaine. La preuve la plus évidente de cette politique belliciste et de ces plans dangereux nous est fournie par le réseau de nombreuses bases militaires établi dans la région du Pacifique, ainsi que par l'usage que les Etats-Unis font actuellement de ces bases dans leur guerre d'agression contre l'héroïque peuple vietnamien.

82. Les divers moyens et subterfuges auxquels les colonialistes ont recours pour le maintien de leur système abhorré d'exploitation des peuples étrangers sont bien connus. Ils vont des supercheries constitutionnelles, de la corruption, de la conspiration et des pressions à la persécution, la terreur et l'emploi de la force armée.

83. Un exemple caractéristique dans ce sens et qui a attiré l'attention de toute l'humanité progressiste nous est fourni par le cas de la Rhodésie du Sud. La proclamation illégale, il y a une année, de la prétendue indépendance de ce territoire par une minorité de

colons blancs, encouragés et appuyés par l'impérialisme britannique et par d'autres puissances coloniales, a soulevé une vague d'indignation parmi les peuples de l'Afrique et de tous les continents.

84. Après avoir échoué dans leurs manœuvres précédentes bien connues, les colonialistes britanniques, en collusion avec leurs suppôts blancs de ce territoire, ont eu recours à cette dernière tactique frauduleuse condamnée par tous les peuples du monde. A ce crime infâme contre le peuple du Zimbabwe sont mêlées d'autres puissances impérialistes et colonialistes avec, en tête, les Etats-Unis d'Amérique, qui sont la plus grande puissance colonialiste et raciste et dont les monopoles ont de grands intérêts en Rhodésie du Sud d'où ils tirent des bénéfices considérables.

85. Poursuivant son jeu sinistre, le Gouvernement britannique, après ses dernières manigances avec le raciste Ian Smith, vient de proposer au Conseil de sécurité de prétendues sanctions obligatoires et partielles^{1/}. Naturellement de telles manœuvres fallacieuses ne peuvent qu'être rejetées. Nous estimons quant à nous que ni les impérialistes, ni leurs forces armées ne peuvent aider à la libération des peuples subissant encore la servitude coloniale et raciale. La possibilité de venir vraiment en aide au peuple du Zimbabwe, qui lutte pour la réalisation de ses droits sacrés à la libre détermination et à l'indépendance, dépend de la mesure dans laquelle les Nations Unies feront preuve de résolution et de fermeté pour relever le défi de la collusion des colonialistes et des racistes.

86. Un autre exemple, tout récent, qui met en évidence la diversité des stratagèmes utilisés par les impérialistes pour le maintien de l'asservissement colonial et raciste, est le cas de l'arrêt scandaleux de la Cour internationale de Justice, en date du 18 juillet 1966, concernant le Sud-Ouest africain^{2/}.

87. Ces deux exemples suffisent à prouver de quoi sont capables les impérialistes et les colonialistes, comment ils se soutiennent l'un l'autre et comment ils agissent de concert, foulant aux pieds les normes incontestées du droit international, les dispositions de la Charte et les résolutions des Nations Unies, et défiant sans scrupule l'opinion publique mondiale. En permettant de dissiper certaines illusions quant aux objectifs réels des puissances coloniales, de tels cas servent à aider les Etats Membres pacifiques à mieux réaliser les voies et mesures uniques qui s'imposent en vue de venir réellement en aide aux peuples coloniaux.

88. Les méthodes d'exploitation inhumaine utilisées par les puissances colonialistes dans les territoires se trouvant sous leur dépendance sont bien connues aux Nations Unies. Le dernier rapport du Comité spécial et les déclarations des pétitionnaires devant la Quatrième Commission sont bien édifiants à cet égard. Ils nous montrent encore une fois qu'en Rhodésie du Sud, au Sud-Ouest africain, en Angola, au

Mozambique et ailleurs, les populations autochtones sont dépossédées de leurs terres les plus riches en faveur des colons blancs, que la main-d'œuvre africaine est extrêmement mal payée, que les richesses du sous-sol, l'industrie, le commerce intérieur et extérieur sont entre les mains des colons blancs et des monopoles étrangers. L'exploitation féroce et la discrimination raciale s'étendent à tous les domaines de la vie politique, économique, culturelle et sociale.

89. Les études du Comité spécial quant aux activités des monopoles et des intérêts financiers étrangers dans des territoires comme le Sud-Ouest africain, la Rhodésie du Sud, l'Angola, la Guinée dite portugaise, etc., mettent en évidence les graves conséquences économiques et politiques qu'amène pour les populations africaines la continuation du fléau du colonialisme dans ces territoires. Selon ces études, l'économie de ces territoires se trouve entre les mains des monopoles où prédominent surtout les intérêts britanniques et américains. L'exploitation des richesses de ces territoires apporte aux monopoles étrangers des bénéfices énormes. Dans la plupart des cas, les revenus des capitaux investis sont au-dessus de 25 p. 100.

90. C'est pour la sauvegarde de leurs intérêts cupides et abominables et conformément à leurs plans agressifs que les impérialistes et les colonialistes déploient tous leurs efforts et ont recours à tous les moyens possibles en vue de maintenir et de perpétuer l'esclavage colonial. Ils mènent contre les combattants de la liberté une politique de répression sauvage et de violation des droits civiques les plus élémentaires. Les arrestations et les emprisonnements en masse, les tortures, la terreur la plus féroce, les exécutions et jusqu'aux exterminations en masse sont des traits caractéristiques des conséquences du maintien de la domination coloniale.

91. Faisant état des méthodes de répression sauvage et de terreur employées par les colonialistes portugais, le rapport du Comité spécial nous parle des prisons de l'Angola et d'autres colonies portugaises remplies de patriotes, des tortures et des méthodes spéciales atroces dont les patriotes sont l'objet de la part des fascistes portugais, de l'assassinat systématique de populations innocentes, des bombardements aériens de villages isolés, de l'emploi de gaz toxiques, etc. De même, le rapport décrit les lois oppressives en vigueur en Rhodésie du Sud et dans d'autres territoires, la privation de la population autochtone des droits civiques les plus élémentaires, les arrestations et les emprisonnements arbitraires et sans procès de dizaines de milliers de combattants. Les impérialistes et les colonialistes ne s'embarassent d'aucun scrupule dans l'application de leurs méthodes fascistes destinées à étouffer et à réprimer la lutte de libération des peuples subjugués.

92. L'essor sans précédent de la lutte de libération nationale des peuples et les coups écrasants qu'elle a assénés au colonialisme ont obligé les puissances impérialistes, les Etats-Unis d'Amérique en tête, à recourir à de nouvelles formes plus camouflées d'exploitation et d'assujettissement des peuples. Les méthodes néo-colonialistes de pénétration économique et d'emprise politique dans les pays faibles et petits,

^{1/} Voir document S/7621, remplacé ultérieurement par S/7621/Rev.1 (Documents officiels du Conseil de sécurité, vingt et unième année, Supplément d'octobre, novembre et décembre 1966).

^{2/} Sud-Ouest africain, deuxième phase, arrêt, C.I.J., Recueil 1966, p. 6.

de la part des Etats-Unis et d'autres puissances impérialistes, revêtent actuellement un caractère de plus en plus sérieux. Les peuples et les pays épris de paix et de liberté se rendent fort bien compte du danger que représentent ces nouvelles formes de domination impérialiste et font preuve de résolution et de fermeté pour combattre le néo-colonialisme avec la même force que la forme classique du colonialisme.

93. Dans la mise en œuvre de leur politique néo-colonialiste, les Etats-Unis utilisent toute une série de méthodes et de moyens très variés, allant du chantage économique, politique et militaire, de l'espionnage, de la subversion et de la corruption aux prétendus "corps de paix" qui sont destinés à jouer le rôle de cinquième colonne dans les pays où ils sont envoyés. Les impérialistes américains déploient tous leurs efforts en vue de s'ingérer toujours davantage dans les affaires intérieures d'autres Etats; ils ont imposé des accords militaires à de nombreux pays, créé des blocs agressifs et, dans diverses régions du globe, un réseau de bases militaires qui portent atteinte à la souveraineté des pays où elles sont établies et mettent gravement en danger leur sécurité.

94. Ayant occupé militairement des territoires comme la Corée du Sud, Taïwan et d'autres territoires, ils ont transformé ceux-ci en de véritables colonies. Un cas typique qui illustre le mieux leur politique de conquête et d'agression est celui du Viet-Nam, où les Etats-Unis mènent une guerre d'agression des plus barbares contre l'héroïque peuple vietnamien qui lutte héroïquement contre les envahisseurs américains pour le salut de la patrie.

95. Les Etats-Unis sont aujourd'hui la première puissance colonialiste et ils représentent la principale forteresse du colonialisme; c'est grâce à eux que le régime hideux de l'asservissement des peuples a pu se maintenir et survivre jusqu'à présent. Leur politique d'hégémonie mondiale et d'agression s'est attiré la haine de toute l'humanité progressiste. La lutte des peuples et des pays épris de liberté est principalement dirigée contre les Etats-Unis d'Amérique, qui sont de plus en plus isolés et de plus en plus serrés dans l'étau implacable des contradictions insolubles.

96. Le mouvement de libération nationale des peuples a pris un essor sans précédent. Les peuples se trouvant encore sous le joug colonial mènent une lutte résolue pour leur libération, sans reculer devant les sacrifices que leur imposent les répressions féroces et les massacres des puissances coloniales, et indépendamment de la solidarité de ces dernières. Ils avancent à pas assurés vers la conquête de la liberté et de l'indépendance, et le jour n'est pas loin de l'effondrement total de ce système abhorré de subjugation coloniale. Leur lutte jouit du soutien de toute l'humanité progressiste.

97. Le peuple albanais et son gouvernement se sont constamment solidarisés avec la juste lutte des peuples coloniaux et dépendants. Nous avons toujours fermement rejeté les prétentions de ceux qui, sous le prétexte d'un danger de guerre, et usant du slogan de la coexistence pacifique entre impérialistes et peuples dépendants, ont préconisé la capitulation de ces derniers devant leurs oppresseurs. Nous avons toujours

soutenu que la lutte de libération nationale est une lutte juste et sacrée, qu'elle sert au mieux la cause de la paix et de la sécurité internationales et que c'est un devoir, pour tout pays épris de liberté, de lui apporter l'aide matérielle et morale. Nous sommes heureux de constater que, depuis la dernière session, ce concept incontestable est consacré dans les résolutions de l'Assemblée générale.

98. L'élimination du colonialisme sous toutes ses manifestations est primordiale et revêt un caractère très urgent. Elle touche à la grande cause de la liberté, de la libre détermination et de l'indépendance des peuples; elle concerne la paix et l'avenir de l'humanité. Les Nations Unies ne peuvent se permettre de tolérer davantage le refus des colonialistes et des racistes de reconnaître et d'appliquer les résolutions sur l'élimination du colonialisme, de la discrimination raciale et de l'apartheid. Ce serait contraire aux obligations qui leur incombent en vertu de la Charte.

99. Les Etats Membres épris de liberté ont le devoir d'assumer fermement leurs responsabilités, en cette vingt et unième session, et de relever le défi des colonialistes qui persistent à ne pas tenir compte des résolutions de l'Assemblée générale. Le moment est venu d'agir en conséquence et d'adopter des mesures radicales et nettes, en prévoyant de très courts délais pour leur mise en œuvre et, le cas échéant, l'application, contre les puissances colonialistes récalcitrantes, des sanctions prévues au Chapitre VII de la Charte. C'est là, compte tenu de la situation existante, l'unique voie pour venir réellement en aide aux peuples luttant pour l'indépendance.

100. En adoptant de telles mesures, l'Assemblée générale aura agi conformément aux buts et aux principes fondamentaux de la Charte, ainsi qu'aux vœux des peuples et des pays progressistes du monde entier; elle aura servi au mieux la cause des peuples dépendants et de la paix.

101. Pour sa part, la délégation albanaise est prête, ainsi que par le passé, à appuyer toutes mesures susceptibles de répondre réellement à ces objectifs.

102. M. TARABANOV (Bulgarie): Le rapport [A/6300/Rev.1] présenté cette année par le Comité des Vingt-Quatre à l'Assemblée générale démontre que la lutte des peuples contre les derniers remparts du colonialisme est entrée dans une phase décisive.

103. Cette conclusion s'impose en ce qui concerne surtout l'Afrique australe où se situe, à l'heure actuelle, le front principal de libération nationale. La lutte armée des peuples de cette région d'Afrique, infligeant de lourdes pertes aux forces coloniales et racistes, a marqué de nouveaux succès. Le mouvement de libération nationale au Mozambique, en Angola et en Guinée dite portugaise, non seulement tient tête à l'armée coloniale, mais a déjà libéré de vastes régions du joug colonial. Les forces patriotiques organisent la vie libre et démocratique pour les populations de ces régions et posent les bases solides des futurs Etats indépendants.

104. Les peuples luttant pour leur liberté et leur indépendance ont remporté des succès importants dans un autre secteur de la lutte anti-impérialiste,

le Sud arabe. Le peuple d'Aden et de l'Arabie du Sud, déterminé à se débarrasser du joug colonial, a contraint le Royaume-Uni à céder la place. En effet, ce dernier a été obligé de fixer une date pour l'indépendance de ce pays. A l'heure actuelle, le mouvement patriotique dans ce pays est entré dans une nouvelle étape. Sa tâche maintenant est de déjouer les visées du Royaume-Uni, qui cherche à imposer au peuple de l'Arabie du Sud un régime réactionnaire non représentatif.

105. Le trait caractéristique de la période que vise le rapport du Comité des Vingt-Quatre est la solidarité toujours croissante témoignée aux peuples en lutte contre le colonialisme par les forces anti-impérialistes. Ces forces, et en premier lieu les pays afro-asiatiques et socialistes, ont multiplié leur assistance, aussi bien morale que matérielle, aux mouvements de libération nationale. Les représentants de ces mouvements ont souvent exprimé leur appréciation pour cette solidarité et cette assistance. En même temps, ils ont rendu hommage aux Nations Unies pour la contribution importante qu'elles ont apportée à la lutte anticolonialiste.

106. L'accession de la Guyane à l'indépendance, l'admission de la Barbade à l'Organisation des Nations Unies il y a quelques jours à peine ainsi que de deux Etats africains, le Botswana et le Lesotho, ont pu être réalisées grâce à l'appui actif et aux efforts de décolonisation fournis au sein des Nations Unies; ces dernières ont témoigné un intérêt particulier envers le Botswana et le Lesotho, étant donné leur voisinage dangereux avec le régime de l'apartheid en Afrique du Sud. L'Assemblée générale a d'ailleurs pris la décision, ainsi que nous le savons, de prévenir le régime de Pretoria que chaque violation de la souveraineté et de l'intégrité territoriale du Botswana et du Lesotho serait considérée comme un acte d'agression [voir résolution 2134 (XXI), par. 2].

107. La décision prise au cours de la vingt et unième session de l'Assemblée générale de liquider, une fois pour toutes, le mandat de l'Afrique du Sud sur le Sud-Ouest africain [voir résolution 2145 (XXI)] a constitué un acte positif. Cette décision a mis fin à 20 années de manœuvres impérialistes et ouvert la voie à l'application intégrale, à l'égard du Sud-Ouest africain, des dispositions de la résolution 1514 (XV).

108. Ces succès de la décolonisation, de même que le développement de la lutte des mouvements de libération nationale en Afrique et en Arabie du Sud, ne devraient cependant pas nous faire oublier qu'une grande partie de l'Afrique et d'autres territoires dispersés dans les différentes parties du monde demeurent encore soumis au joug colonial qui persiste, six ans après l'adoption de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux.

109. En Rhodésie du Sud, le régime illégal de la minorité raciste continue d'exister et a même célébré, il y a quelques jours, son premier anniversaire. Une discussion parallèle, qui se déroule maintenant au Conseil de sécurité, fait ressortir la responsabilité des gouvernements successifs du Royaume-Uni dans l'installation de ce régime criminel en Rhodésie du Sud. Le refus du Royaume-Uni d'appliquer des me-

sures effectives -- y compris l'utilisation de la force -- est la raison principale qui a permis à ce régime de se maintenir et de défier les Nations Unies ainsi que l'opinion publique mondiale. Malgré les condamnations les plus résolues de notre Organisation, malgré les déclarations solennelles du Premier Ministre du Royaume-Uni selon lesquelles il n'entrerait pas en pourparlers avec ce régime illégal, le Gouvernement britannique a cependant jugé nécessaire d'entreprendre des négociations officielles avec celui-ci et de rechercher un moyen de préserver ses intérêts.

110. Quant à nous, nous appuyons la position des pays africains, telle qu'elle a été réitérée ces jours derniers par leurs représentants qualifiés au Conseil de sécurité, à savoir que l'accord proposé par le Royaume-Uni ne saurait restaurer les droits inaliénables du peuple du Zimbabwe. Au lieu d'assurer la libération de ce peuple, un tel accord aurait pour résultat, en effet, de légaliser l'usurpation du pouvoir par la minorité blanche et de laisser pour toujours 4 millions d'autochtones à la merci de ce régime raciste. Il n'est pas étonnant qu'Ian Smith ait exprimé sa satisfaction du nouveau compromis britannique et ait accepté les propositions de M. Wilson sur le fond du problème. Etant donné l'empressement montré par la Grande-Bretagne dans la recherche d'un compromis avec Ian Smith, celui-ci s'attend maintenant à de nouvelles concessions.

111. Les événements de l'année écoulée, ainsi que le rapport du Comité des Vingt-Quatre, montrent que l'on ne peut dissocier le problème de la Rhodésie du Sud des autres problèmes coloniaux qui se posent en Afrique, à savoir celui des colonies portugaises, celui du Sud-Ouest africain et l'existence du régime d'apartheid. C'est un fait indéniable que le Portugal, l'Afrique du Sud et le régime d'Ian Smith sont liés intimement par l'identité de leurs intérêts et de leurs visées en Afrique. L'alliance impie entre ces trois régimes colonialistes et racistes est une réalité dangereuse pour l'Afrique. Les événements de Rhodésie du Sud ont révélé au monde la façon dont cette alliance fonctionne et dont est organisée l'entraide entre ces régimes, rempart du colonialisme en Afrique. L'incident des trois pétroliers qui, en son temps, a servi de tremplin de propagande au Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni, a mis en évidence le rôle néfaste que jouent les ports du Mozambique et de l'Afrique du Sud dans l'approvisionnement en pétrole de la Rhodésie du Sud.

112. Dans sa résolution sur les colonies portugaises, l'Assemblée générale a dénoncé l'exportation de la population des colonies portugaises en Afrique du Sud comme crime contre l'humanité [voir résolution 2184 (XXI)]. Cette exportation forcée de la main-d'œuvre, nouvelle forme moderne d'esclavagisme, est un élément important de la coopération entre le Portugal et l'Afrique du Sud.

113. Ces derniers jours, dans la presse américaine, on a pu trouver des informations supplémentaires sur les actions coordonnées du Portugal et de l'Afrique du Sud contre les patriotes du Sud-Ouest africain. L'existence d'une alliance politique, économique et militaire entre les trois régimes colonialistes et racistes représente un grave danger pour la paix et la sécurité des nations africaines et, par là même, pour la paix mondiale.

114. Les actes agressifs commis par ces trois régimes contre les États indépendants limitrophes et, tout récemment, les provocations contre la Tanzanie, devraient servir d'avertissement et montrer que cette alliance impie a des visées au-delà du Zambèze. Le débat récent qui s'est déroulé au Conseil de sécurité sur la plainte de la République démocratique du Congo contre le Portugal ^{3/} fut une démonstration que le Portugal et ses alliés mènent une activité organisée en vue de la restauration du colonialisme. Il est plus que nécessaire de considérer ce nouvel aspect du danger que représentent les régimes colonialistes et racistes en Afrique. L'Assemblée générale devrait être pleinement consciente de ce problème et le prendre en considération dans ses recommandations au Conseil de sécurité.

115. Le débat sur les colonies portugaises et la Rhodésie du Sud à la Quatrième Commission, et sur la politique d'apartheid à la Commission politique spéciale, a fourni une nouvelle évidence du rôle néfaste de la collaboration politique, économique et militaire de certaines grandes puissances occidentales avec les régimes colonialistes et racistes en Afrique. Les pétitionnaires des colonies portugaises ont fourni, en effet, des preuves indéniables que sans l'aide de l'OTAN un pays arriéré tel que le Portugal n'aurait pas pu résister à la montée du mouvement de libération nationale en Afrique. Le rapport du Comité des Vingt-Quatre constitue un véritable acte d'accusation sur l'activité néfaste des monopoles et de la haute finance des pays occidentaux en Rhodésie du Sud, dans les colonies portugaises et dans le Sud-Ouest africain.

116. Devant ces faits, quelle est la valeur, peut-on se demander, des déclarations de sympathie exprimées par les États-Unis et par d'autres puissances occidentales à l'égard des peuples subjugués? Leurs gouvernements ne tolèrent-ils pas la participation de leurs ressortissants à l'exploitation esclavagiste en Afrique? L'établissement des monopoles et des intérêts financiers dans les colonies ne crée-t-il pas des bases d'ingérence dans les futures affaires des États indépendants par les méthodes néo-colonialistes?

117. Il est hors de doute que la coopération des puissances occidentales, de leurs monopoles ainsi que leur alliance militaire avec le Portugal, l'Afrique du Sud et Ian Smith en Rhodésie du Sud, sont la colonne vertébrale des régimes colonialistes et racistes. Si l'on ne met pas fin à cette coopération dans l'immédiat, elle va coûter d'innombrables souffrances et des milliers de morts; elle exacerbera la haine raciale en Afrique, ce qui aura des conséquences catastrophiques.

118. Le fait que, par l'intermédiaire du Comité des Vingt-Quatre et de la Quatrième Commission ainsi que, dernièrement, par les institutions spécialisées et les organisations internationales affiliées aux Nations Unies, notre Organisation suit de près l'application de la résolution 1514 (XV) et des autres résolutions relatives aux problèmes coloniaux, est certainement réconfortant. A plusieurs reprises, le Comité des Vingt-Quatre a ouvert un débat sur le

rôle que peuvent jouer les institutions spécialisées auprès des Nations Unies. Il a même voté une résolution [A/6300/Rev.1, chap. premier, par. 261] par laquelle il a exprimé, comme on le sait, sa satisfaction de l'activité de certaines institutions spécialisées, telles que le Haut Commissariat des Nations Unies pour les réfugiés, l'UNESCO, l'OIT et autres, pour leur empressement à aider le processus de décolonisation.

119. Les représentants des mouvements de libération apprécient, en effet, l'aide accordée par les institutions respectives aux réfugiés et à ceux qui souffrent de l'oppression coloniale. Les représentants des mouvements de libération nationale dans les colonies portugaises ont demandé que cette aide soit étendue dans les zones libérées où ils édifient des services médicaux, s'occupent de l'éducation et de l'enseignement. C'est un champ fructueux pour que l'activité humanitaire des institutions spécialisées puisse se manifester; cela pourrait devenir un apport précieux à l'œuvre de la décolonisation.

120. Dans sa résolution sur l'activité des institutions spécialisées et des organisations internationales, le Comité spécial désapprouve l'activité de la Banque internationale pour la reconstruction et le développement et du Fonds monétaire international, qui continuent à octroyer des prêts au Portugal et à l'Afrique du Sud. La discussion qui a eu lieu en Quatrième Commission sur cette question a démontré que cette activité est incompatible avec toute affiliation à l'Organisation des Nations Unies et qu'elle doit cesser immédiatement. Il est tout à fait justifié de demander à ces deux institutions d'annuler les prêts qu'elles ont accordés au Portugal et à l'Afrique du Sud et de prendre les mesures nécessaires pour que des faits pareils ne se reproduisent plus.

121. Etant donné que l'activité des institutions spécialisées et des organisations internationales liée à l'application de la résolution 1514 (XV) a soulevé un intérêt particulier, peut-être serait-il opportun que l'Assemblée générale et la Quatrième Commission aient la possibilité de discuter plus amplement de ce problème.

122. Un autre problème lié à l'application de la résolution 1514 (XV) est celui de l'information de l'opinion publique mondiale sur la lutte des peuples pour la libération nationale, et de la contribution des Nations Unies au processus de décolonisation. Nous avons entendu des demandes de pétitionnaires pour une plus large diffusion de la vérité sur la situation dans les territoires intéressés, sur leur lutte et sur le travail de reconstruction effectué dans les zones libérées. Ce problème mérite d'être étudié de plus près par le Comité des Vingt-Quatre et la Quatrième Commission, à la suite de quoi des décisions devraient être prises.

123. A mesure que se déploie cette lutte des peuples pour la libération nationale et à la suite des succès que cette lutte a enregistrés dernièrement, une réaction opiniâtre s'est manifestée dans les cercles colonialistes, et une résistance farouche s'est élevée contre l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et peuples coloniaux. Cependant, nous sommes certains que les forces anti-impérialistes sont immenses et qu'elles sont à même

^{3/} Documents officiels du Conseil de sécurité, vingt et unième année, Supplément de juillet, août et septembre 1966, document S/7503.

de liquider les derniers remparts de l'impérialisme. En effet, le moment est venu de faire entendre définitivement aux forces colonialistes que l'époque du colonialisme sous toutes ses manifestations odieuses et honteuses — la pratique de l'apartheid et de la discrimination raciale — est révolue. Le moment est venu de mobiliser toutes les forces, y compris celle des Nations Unies, pour aider les peuples subjugués à briser leurs chaînes et pour éliminer une des menaces les plus graves à la paix du monde d'aujourd'hui.

124. M. EL KONY (République arabe unie) [traduit de l'anglais]: Il y a six ans, l'Assemblée générale adoptait l'une des déclarations les plus importantes de l'histoire de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. Dans ce document, tous les Membres de l'Organisation déclaraient solennellement que tous les peuples avaient le droit de libre détermination et que la sujétion des peuples à une subjugation, à une domination et à une exploitation étrangères compromettait la cause de la paix et de la coopération mondiales. Pourtant, des millions d'êtres humains demeurent encore sous le joug colonial.

125. Au lieu de prendre immédiatement des mesures pour transmettre le pouvoir aux peuples intéressés, les puissances coloniales mènent une guerre sans merci contre ceux qui luttent pour leur liberté et leur indépendance, espérant briser leur résistance et leur imposer la domination coloniale. Elles ont eu recours jusqu'à présent à toutes sortes de méthodes visant non seulement à faire échec aux diverses résolutions adoptées par l'Organisation, mais aussi à étouffer par la force les aspirations légitimes des peuples et à mettre fin à leur noble lutte. Les rapports du Comité des Vingt-Quatre, comme ceux de ses sous-comités, contiennent une foule de renseignements sur ces méthodes.

126. Aujourd'hui, alors que nous examinons ici le problème du colonialisme, un autre organe important des Nations Unies discute de la tragédie de la Rhodésie du Sud, résultat de la politique coloniale systématique menée par le Royaume-Uni. Par une manifestation typique des qualités manœuvrières des Britanniques, le Gouvernement de Londres s'efforce de créer l'impression qu'il fait de son mieux pour renverser le régime raciste de Ian Smith. Alors qu'il lui a passé le pouvoir dans le territoire au moyen des constitutions illégales de 1923 et de 1961, il tente maintenant de nous faire croire qu'il change de politique et qu'il le condamne.

127. Le Gouvernement britannique sait fort bien que, si on n'emploie pas la force contre le régime raciste de minorité de Rhodésie du Sud, celui-ci continuera à se maintenir. L'expérience a prouvé que les sanctions économiques ne permettent pas d'obtenir les résultats recherchés, à moins que tous les Etats, et en particulier l'Afrique du Sud et le Portugal, ne coopèrent à leur application. Or, le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni parle de sanctions obligatoires sélectives d'une portée très limitée.

128. Dans les territoires sous administration portugaise, nous constatons que, non content de nier le droit des peuples de ces territoires à l'autodétermination, le Portugal mène une guerre coloniale sans merci

contre les populations. Il ne tient aucun compte de toutes les résolutions de l'Organisation des Nations Unies.

129. Quant au Sud-Ouest africain, le régime raciste de Pretoria a étendu sa politique d'apartheid à ce territoire sous mandat et persiste à refuser de reconnaître l'autorité de l'Organisation des Nations Unies.

130. A Aden, l'intensification des opérations militaires montre jusqu'où peut aller la brutalité de la politique coloniale britannique dans ce territoire. En outre, la violation systématique et quotidienne des droits de l'homme, comme les atrocités commises par les autorités militaires contre le peuple combattant d'Aden, témoignent de la gravité de la situation dans ce territoire. Hier, l'Assemblée générale a adopté une résolution sur la question d'Aden, aux termes de laquelle le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni est prié de lever l'état d'urgence et de libérer tous les prisonniers et détenus politiques afin que la mission de l'Organisation des Nations Unies puisse s'acquitter des responsabilités dont elle a été chargée. Le porte-parole britannique a déclaré que son gouvernement était disposé à coopérer avec l'Organisation à l'application intégrale des résolutions de l'Assemblée générale relatives à Aden.

131. Le moment est venu pour le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni de faire la preuve de sa bonne volonté et de sa sincérité en levant immédiatement l'état d'urgence et toutes les mesures qui l'accompagnent.

132. Jusqu'à maintenant le Gouvernement britannique a refusé d'appliquer la résolution relative à Oman qui a été adoptée par l'Assemblée générale à sa dernière session. Il continue à priver le peuple d'Oman de ses droits légitimes à l'autodétermination et à la liberté.

133. Tout au long de la discussion qui s'est déroulée en Quatrième Commission, des faits indiscutables et d'importance capitale concernant la politique coloniale ont été révélés. Le premier est que les puissances coloniales maintiennent des bases militaires et en créent même de nouvelles sur les territoires qu'elles administrent. L'expérience prouve que ces bases sont utilisées et maintenues pour intimider et réprimer les mouvements nationalistes de ces territoires. Elles ne sont destinées ni à la défense des territoires ni à la protection des intérêts de leur population.

134. Le deuxième fait est que les puissances coloniales s'efforcent de créer dans les territoires dépendants des régimes non représentatifs, étrangers aux intérêts et aux aspirations des populations en lutte, et d'imposer des institutions non démocratiques à seule fin de perpétuer leur influence et leur contrôle. Nous sommes convaincus que, seuls, les véritables représentants de la population ont le droit de rédiger la Constitution de leur pays.

135. Le troisième fait est que les intérêts financiers et les monopoles étrangers implantés dans les territoires dépendants jouent un rôle de premier plan dans la détermination de la politique qu'adoptent certains Etats, tels que le Royaume-Uni, les Etats-Unis d'Amérique et d'autres, à l'égard de la colonisation. Cela explique les tentatives faites par ces Etats pour contrecarrer les efforts de l'Organisation des Nations Unies tendant à mettre un terme au régime colonial

dans certains territoires comme la Rhodésie du Sud, le Sud-Ouest africain, l'Angola et le Mozambique. Cela met aussi en lumière le rôle que jouent ces Etats dans le maintien de la situation intolérable qui règne actuellement dans ces territoires.

136. Le quatrième fait est que les puissances coloniales encouragent l'afflux systématique d'immigrants étrangers, tout en déplaçant, en déportant et en transférant les autochtones hors de leur patrie. Elles espèrent qu'ainsi les immigrants deviendront plus nombreux que les autochtones et qu'elles pourront perpétuer leur domination. Nous avons déjà vu cela en Palestine. Des immigrants et des aventuriers, en provenance de tous les pays d'Europe, sont venus dans ce pays pour y remplacer les autochtones en employant la terreur. Le résultat est qu'une minorité d'immigrants européens a usurpé le pouvoir en Palestine, tandis que les autochtones vivent dans des camps, hors de leur patrie.

137. Compte tenu des faits que je viens de citer, ma délégation estime que le projet de résolution A/L.506 et Add.1 constitue une mesure positive et que c'est le minimum que puisse faire notre Organisation pour promouvoir la cause de la liberté, de la paix et de la justice.

138. En conclusion, qu'il me soit permis de saisir cette occasion pour rendre hommage aux membres du Comité des Vingt-Quatre pour leurs efforts inlassables et pour la contribution précieuse qu'ils ont apportée à l'étude de ces problèmes. Je tiens également à rappeler la part importante qu'a prise à ces travaux le Président du Comité, l'ambassadeur Collier, du Sierra Leone.

139. Mlle BROOKS (Libéria) [traduit de l'anglais]: Le monde dans lequel nous vivons est un monde dur et sinistre où une moitié de la population est libre et l'autre moitié en esclavage. Vingt et un ans se sont écoulés depuis la signature de la Charte des Nations Unies qui proclamait la foi dans les droits fondamentaux de l'homme, dans la dignité et la valeur de la personne humaine, dans l'égalité des droits des hommes et des femmes ainsi que des nations, grandes et petites. Six années ont passé depuis l'adoption de la charte de la décolonisation, c'est-à-dire de la résolution 1514 (XV) sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. Pourtant, des millions d'êtres dans le monde vivent encore sous la domination coloniale.

140. Les tensions sont devenues très fortes et la situation dans certaines parties de l'Afrique en est venue à constituer une menace pour la paix et la sécurité mondiales. Cela ne doit pas surprendre les gouvernements coloniaux qui administrent ces territoires, car les délégations africaines et asiatiques, d'année en année, ont attiré l'attention de ces gouvernements sur la situation et ont demandé que des mesures adéquates soient prises pour assurer le développement progressif, pacifique et ordonné des populations dans la voie de l'autodétermination et de l'indépendance. Au lieu de nous écouter, on a repoussé nos demandes et on nous a accusés de déformer les faits. On aurait dû savoir que lorsqu'on encourage et qu'on appuie, dans l'administration des peuples, une politique contraire aux normes les plus élémentaires de la justice, le résultat en est un accroissement de

la tension, une explosion de violence et finalement la guerre.

141. Le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni ne peut pas dégager sa responsabilité en ce qui concerne la situation qui existe aujourd'hui en Rhodésie et qui est un défi à son prestige et à la conscience du monde. Le régime illégal de Ian Smith n'existait pas en 1961 lorsque les délégations africaines et asiatiques se sont fortement opposées à la Constitution de cette année-là pour la Rhodésie en soulignant les injustices qu'elle engendrerait pour la majorité de la population africaine. Ces délégations ont alors demandé que le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni rejette cette Constitution et convoque une conférence de la table ronde réunissant tous les partis politiques et les dirigeants du territoire pour qu'ils se mettent d'accord sur des conditions et qu'ils rédigent une nouvelle Constitution. La Grande-Bretagne a repoussé cette suggestion et a continué d'accorder une protection injustifiée à la population blanche minoritaire.

142. A la suite des élections qui ont eu lieu en 1962, dans le cadre du système électoral qui avait été sévèrement critiqué par la Quatrième Commission et par l'Assemblée générale, c'est le parti le plus réactionnaire qui est venu au pouvoir; le gouvernement n'a montré nullement l'intention de porter remède à l'inégalité dont souffraient les Africains, mais il l'a maintenue en adoptant une législation répressive. On ne peut pas oublier que, lors de la dissolution de la Fédération de la Rhodésie et du Nyassaland, le contrôle de la plus grande partie des forces armées de l'ancienne Fédération a été transféré à la Rhodésie, ce qui a renforcé la puissance militaire du régime illégal actuel. La Grande-Bretagne a été mise en garde par les délégations africaines et asiatiques contre l'alliance impie de la Rhodésie, de l'Afrique du Sud et du Portugal, dont les objectifs principaux sont de renverser le cours de l'histoire en ce qui concerne les mouvements de libération du continent africain et de perpétuer la théorie diabolique de la supériorité raciale. La Grande-Bretagne a fait la sourde oreille et n'a pas voulu voir ce qui se passait.

143. Aujourd'hui, non seulement notre Organisation et le monde entier sont placés devant le fait accompli d'une déclaration unilatérale d'indépendance émanant d'un régime raciste, mais Ian Smith, employant tous les moyens pour renforcer son emprise sur le territoire, met en vigueur contre les Africains des lois de sécurité encore plus rigoureuses que celles de l'Afrique du Sud, applique un accord d'extradition passé avec ce dernier pays (de sorte que les combattants de la liberté qui traversent la frontière sont renvoyés dans leur territoire d'origine) et restreint les activités politiques et la liberté d'expression. Il a également signé avec l'Afrique du Sud un accord militaire de coopération contre les soulèvements africains, et, tranquillement mais méthodiquement, il introduit en Rhodésie un système du "Bantoustan" analogue à celui de l'Afrique du Sud. Nous savons aussi que le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni a manifesté l'intention de ne pas recourir aux seuls moyens efficaces pour renverser le régime illégal de Ian Smith.

144. On se demande si la Grande-Bretagne ne perpétue pas le racisme quand elle refuse de renverser le régime illégal de Ian Smith, alors qu'elle n'avait

éprouvé aucune difficulté à recourir à l'usage de la force, sous prétexte de maintenir l'ordre, contre les Africains et les Asiatiques qui se soulevaient au Kenya, en Nigéria, en Inde et en Guyane britannique pour défendre leurs aspirations à la liberté et à l'indépendance.

145. Le Conseil de sécurité avait averti le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni que les sanctions partielles préconisées par ce dernier ne seraient pas efficaces; il est arrivé ce qui avait été prévu. Le Royaume-Uni demande maintenant une extension de ces mesures, mais sous forme de sanctions sélectives. Très franchement, nous autres Africains, nous estimons que seules des sanctions obligatoires et généralisées méritent d'être prises sérieusement en considération. Toutefois, le Royaume-Uni reste prudent et Ian Smith inflexible.

146. Il faut que je parle, même très brièvement, du Sud-Ouest africain. Je ne puis m'empêcher de rappeler les paroles du Dr Swatzenberger, qui était mon conseiller en droit international à l'University College Law School, de Londres. A la fin de sa série de conférences de l'année scolaire 1953, il a exhorté ses élèves à ne pas oublier que "le droit international est au service de la politique de force". J'étais imbu d'un idéal d'équité et je croyais fermement que la justice devait être rendue à tous les hommes et j'ai quitté la salle de cours sans bien comprendre ce que voulait dire cette phrase "le droit international est au service de la politique de force". Cependant, tous ceux qui ont participé aussi longtemps que moi aux travaux de l'Organisation des Nations Unies ont certainement été amenés à comprendre parfaitement cette pensée subtile. En manière de plaisanterie, quelques mois avant l'arrêt de la Cour, un représentant de l'Afrique du Sud m'avait laissé entendre que le Libéria et l'Ethiopie perdraient leur procès contre son pays. Si je considère, d'une part, le bien-fondé de la cause, le mépris manifesté par l'Afrique du Sud pour ses obligations découlant du mandat sur le Sud-Ouest africain, le fait que ce pays a rejeté la compétence de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, qu'il ne tient manifestement aucun compte des résolutions de l'Assemblée sur le Sud-Ouest africain, qu'il a apporté lui-même des témoignages à l'appui de l'accusation d'apartheid formulée par le Libéria et l'Ethiopie, et, d'autre part, qu'une Cour internationale de justice refuse de se prononcer sur la question de l'apartheid, je n'ai aucune peine à comprendre parfaitement le sens de la phrase: "Le droit international est au service de la politique de force".

147. Toutefois, étant donné que la politique de force peut être employée dans un but constructif pour défendre le règne du droit, pour administrer la justice et pour assurer la stabilité de l'ordre social dans le monde, je tiens à dire que les portes ont été largement ouvertes à l'accomplissement de ces desseins constructifs par la résolution sur le Sud-Ouest africain adoptée par l'Assemblée générale au cours de la présente session [résolution 2145 (XXI)]. J'adresse donc un appel aux grandes puissances et je leur demande de saisir cette occasion de venir en aide à l'Organisation des Nations Unies dans ses efforts pour amener le peuple du Sud-Ouest africain à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance.

148. Je ne crois pas que l'Afrique du Sud puisse continuer à violer son mandat et à méconnaître les principes de la Charte si ses puissants alliés modifient leur politique de soutien direct ou indirect. Je suis persuadée que le Libéria et l'Ethiopie ont eu raison d'agir comme ils l'ont fait en portant l'affaire devant la Cour. D'ailleurs, c'était à l'époque la seule voie qui leur était ouverte. Bien qu'ils n'aient pas obtenu de décision sur ce point, je suis convaincue que le monde est plus conscient que jamais que la position prise par l'Afrique du Sud ne repose sur aucune base juridique; si ce pays peut considérer que l'arrêt de la Cour constitue une victoire pour lui, ce n'est en fait que le début d'une évolution qui aboutira inévitablement à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance du peuple du Sud-Ouest africain.

149. Le Portugal estime qu'il lui est possible non seulement d'opprimer les Africains du Mozambique, de l'Angola et de la Guinée dite portugaise, mais encore de violer dans l'administration de ces territoires le principe de l'Article 2, paragraphe 4 qui dit:

"Les Membres de l'Organisation s'abstiennent, dans leurs relations internationales, de recourir à la menace ou à l'emploi de la force, soit contre l'intégrité territoriale ou l'indépendance politique de tout Etat, soit de toute autre manière incompatible avec les buts des Nations Unies."

150. Le Gouvernement de Tanzanie a récemment élevé une protestation contre le fait que des soldats portugais ont traversé la frontière, pénétré en territoire tanzanien et tué des ressortissants de ce pays. Est-ce réellement une question de vie ou de mort pour le Portugal que de maintenir ces territoires sous sa domination coloniale? Le Portugal méconnaît impunément les résolutions adoptées par le Conseil de sécurité au sujet du Mozambique et de l'Angola, tout en ayant de plus en plus recours à l'emploi de la force contre les mouvements de libération nationale de ces pays. Les alliés du Portugal feraient bien de cesser de lui accorder une aide qui lui permet de commettre des actes de répression contre les Africains et de s'opposer à la marche de ces peuples sur la voie de l'autodétermination et de l'indépendance. Nous estimons que ses partenaires de l'OTAN devraient prendre toutes les mesures voulues pour garantir que le Portugal ne détournera pas les matériels de guerre destinés à la défense de la zone de l'Atlantique nord pour s'en servir contre la vie et les biens des Africains qu'il administre.

151. C'est avec un regret sincère que nous constatons que le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni s'est opposé à l'envoi d'une mission de l'Organisation des Nations Unies aux îles Fidji. J'estime qu'il a plus à gagner qu'à perdre à la présence d'une telle mission dans ces îles. La même remarque s'applique à la France qui s'est opposée à l'envoi d'une commission en Côte française des Somalis.

152. Je voudrais maintenant dire quelques mots au sujet des territoires sous tutelle, qui relèvent également de ce rapport. Je tiens, en particulier, en ce qui concerne la question de Nauru, à inviter le Gouvernement australien à appliquer sa propre doctrine, telle qu'il l'a énoncée, dans sa politique à l'égard des territoires qu'il administre. Le Gouvernement austra-

lien a dit qu'il n'appartenait ni au Conseil de tutelle, ni à l'Assemblée générale, ni à lui-même de décider de l'avenir des populations des territoires placés sous son administration. Cependant, l'Australie n'applique pas ce principe en ce qui concerne Nauru, dont la population a déclaré qu'il n'y avait pour elle d'autre choix que l'indépendance et que celle-ci devrait lui être accordée le 31 janvier 1968 au plus tard. Nous demandons au Gouvernement australien de faire la preuve de sa bonne foi en appliquant sa propre politique à l'égard des territoires qu'il administre. Je voudrais attirer l'attention de l'Assemblée sur un autre point. Jamais dans l'histoire de l'humanité il n'a été admis que les gisements minéraux d'un Etat ou d'un territoire appartenaient à un autre Etat. Or, cela semble être la position du Gouvernement australien dans le cas de Nauru, quand il prétend que les gisements de phosphate n'appartiennent pas à la population de l'île, mais à la Compagnie britannique qui les exploite. Nous invitons les représentants de l'Australie à se reporter aux lois de leur pays sur la question des ressources naturelles et aux idées généralement admises partout dans le monde à cet égard. Nous recommandons au Gouvernement australien d'appliquer la résolution 1803 (XVII), qu'il connaît parfaitement, au sujet de la souveraineté permanente sur les ressources naturelles.

153. Le Comité spécial a appelé l'attention de l'Assemblée générale [A/6300/Rev.1, chap. I, par. 325] sur le fait qu'il existe encore un grand nombre de territoires coloniaux qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance. Ma délégation est persuadée, comme le Comité spécial, que jusqu'à ce que ces territoires puissent exercer leur droit à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance conformément à la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale, le Comité spécial devra continuer d'examiner la situation qui prévaut dans ces territoires en vue de contribuer à faire assurer le plus vite possible l'application de la Déclaration. Au nom de ma délégation, je tiens à remercier les membres du Comité spécial et à leur exprimer ma gratitude pour la tâche qu'ils ont accomplie au cours de ces dernières années ainsi que pour l'excellent rapport qu'ils ont présenté à l'Assemblée générale sur cette question particulière.

154. M. ARKHURST (Ghana) [traduit de l'anglais]: Ma délégation tient à définir une fois de plus sa position sur l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux.

155. Le rôle que joue le Comité spécial dans la tâche de décolonisation est d'une importance vitale et la délégation du Ghana a suivi avec un très vif intérêt les activités de cet organisme au cours de l'année passée. Le rôle du Comité spécial nous semble capital parce qu'il consiste en particulier à rechercher dans la pratique une solution aux problèmes difficiles que pose le colonialisme. Bien que le rythme de la décolonisation ne soit pas aussi rapide que beaucoup d'entre nous l'avaient souhaité, les succès obtenus par le Comité spécial et par l'Organisation des Nations Unies en général sont très importants et il faut en rendre hommage au Comité et à son éminent Président, M. Gershon Collier, du Sierra Leone. Nous espérons que ce comité, animé de la même détermination, redoublera d'efforts pour s'acquitter de la tâche

encore plus difficile de faire libérer sans retard les dernières colonies.

156. Etant donné que c'est la première fois que la délégation du Ghana a l'occasion d'exprimer son point de vue sur la question du colonialisme depuis l'admission de la Barbade à l'Organisation des Nations Unies, je tiens à souhaiter la bienvenue à la délégation de ce pays et à lui dire que nous espérons coopérer très étroitement avec elle.

157. Bien que, dans l'examen de ce point de l'ordre du jour, nous ayons surtout porté notre attention sur les territoires coloniaux qui font l'objet d'une controverse politique internationale, nous n'en sommes pas moins soucieux de ce que tous les autres territoires coloniaux soient traités avec le même soin par le Comité des Vingt-Quatre, ce qui a d'ailleurs été le cas.

158. Notre conception de l'indépendance et notre propre passé colonial nous donnent la conviction que la liberté doit être universelle et indivisible. Il n'est plus possible de mettre en doute le droit de chaque individu ou de chaque groupe d'individus de jouir d'une liberté totale dans les domaines économique, social et politique; en conséquence, l'Organisation des Nations Unies doit condamner, de façon catégorique et décisive, l'attitude et l'activité de certaines puissances administrantes qui s'obstinent à empêcher l'accession à l'indépendance des populations soumises à leur domination coloniale.

159. A cet égard, la situation actuelle dans le sud de l'Afrique nous rend de plus en plus anxieux au sujet du sort de ceux qui vivent sous le joug colonial et de la possibilité de réaliser l'harmonie entre les races et la coexistence dans cette région. Le Ghana, en raison de la doctrine qui lui est propre et des principes qu'il défend, ne peut demeurer indifférent alors que les deux puissances colonialistes et racistes les plus intransigeantes de notre époque fomentent des troubles raciaux et politiques dont les conséquences se font sentir au-delà des frontières de la Rhodésie du Sud, du Sud-Ouest africain, de l'Afrique du Sud, de l'Angola et du Mozambique. C'est dans l'intérêt général, pour prévenir les conséquences fâcheuses de la domination coloniale et raciale, que la délégation du Ghana a été heureuse de donner son appui à la mesure justifiée et opportune prise par l'Assemblée générale, il y a quelques semaines à peine, en tant que première étape vers la solution du problème difficile du Sud-Ouest africain.

160. En Rhodésie du Sud, nous avons encore le spectacle affreux d'un régime raciste illégal auquel le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni, plus que quiconque, a permis de se maintenir. Les attermoiements continus de la Puissance administrante et son refus intransigeant de se rallier à l'opinion internationale quant à la manière dont le problème de la Rhodésie du Sud devait être résolu, ont obligé l'Organisation des Nations Unies à tolérer pendant trop longtemps ce défi à sa Charte et à ses principes. Nous n'avons pas l'intention de nous laisser aller ici à des récriminations, mais, puisque l'erreur d'un seul nous a causé à tous une anxiété inutile, nous estimons qu'il faut souligner fortement cette erreur pour éviter qu'elle se reproduise à l'avenir.

161. Aujourd'hui, le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni recherche l'appui de l'Organisation des Nations Unies pour mater une rébellion et pour décoloniser la Rhodésie du Sud. Nous ne devons pas manquer de faire ressortir que les mesures qu'il préconise maintenant viennent au moins un an trop tard. Le Ghana, pour sa part, fera connaître son point de vue sur les propositions détaillées du Gouvernement britannique au cours de l'examen de ce problème par l'organe approprié. Qu'il me suffise de dire que le Royaume-Uni doit maintenant tenir compte de l'opinion publique mondiale, qui, en l'occurrence, a vu si juste.

162. La tâche de décoloniser les territoires sous administration portugaise prend d'énormes proportions et, du fait de la brutalité du Portugal, les Etats Membres et le Comité des Vingt-Quatre doivent assumer leurs responsabilités avec plus de dévouement et d'énergie que jamais. Pour ce qui est des divers territoires portugais, nous avons fait connaître notre opinion à la Quatrième Commission. Nous aurions préféré que le projet de résolution dont nous sommes saisis aujourd'hui [A/L.506 et Add.1] condamne le Portugal avec plus de vigueur, mais nous sommes disposés à respecter l'opinion de ceux dont la sensibilité serait froissée par une condamnation catégorique. Il faut que ceux-ci, à leur tour, soient disposés à jouer leur rôle pour amener le Portugal à accepter les principes de notre Organisation.

163. Le Comité des Vingt-Quatre a accompli cette année un travail inestimable en étudiant l'activité des intérêts financiers étrangers dans les territoires coloniaux sous administration portugaise et en Rhodésie du Sud. Dans la mesure où cette activité entrave l'accession à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance des territoires en cause, la délégation du Ghana est moralement tenue de la déplorer. Outre notre responsabilité collective en ce qui concerne ces territoires, chaque Etat Membre en particulier doit empêcher ses ressortissants non seulement de prendre part à leur exploitation économique, mais aussi de donner un appui moral et matériel à la puissance administrante pour qu'elle puisse maintenir sa domination sur les peuples coloniaux.

164. Je passe maintenant à l'attitude de l'Afrique du Sud et du Portugal, que les auteurs du projet de résolution dont l'Assemblée est saisie n'ont pas voulu condamner catégoriquement. Les progrès accomplis par l'Organisation des Nations Unies dans l'œuvre de décolonisation sont fort louables, mais de graves difficultés n'ont cessé de surgir du fait que le Portugal et l'Afrique du Sud pensent pouvoir imposer leurs conceptions fausses à notre Organisation et s'opposer à l'application des dispositions de la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée dans les territoires placés sous leur administration. Ces pays ont maintenu leur attitude arrogante parce que l'Organisation des Nations Unies n'a pas eu la volonté d'exercer toute la pression dont elle était capable pour ramener à la raison le Portugal et l'Afrique du Sud. C'est un état de

choses regrettable que nous ne pouvons nous empêcher de déplorer.

165. Nous sommes forcés de regretter également que certains Etats Membres accordent leur appui et leur assistance aux gouvernements de ces pays pour perpétuer le colonialisme et le racisme et qu'ils soient assez impudents pour nous dire ici, à l'Organisation des Nations Unies, combien leur cœur saigne pour les populations de l'Angola, du Mozambique, de la Guinée portugaise et du Sud-Ouest africain. Le sentiment de sympathie qui règne dans ces salles serait suffisamment fort pour gagner aux peuples coloniaux leur indépendance si la sympathie était l'unique facteur déterminant de leur libération. Malheureusement, ce n'est pas le cas. Nous nous adressons donc à ces amis des peuples subjugués pour les prier de cesser leur appui matériel qui permet au Portugal et à l'Afrique du Sud de se moquer des décisions de l'Organisation des Nations Unies.

166. Nous lançons cet appel très sérieusement parce que le prestige de l'Organisation est maintenant en jeu. Contrairement à ce que pensent certains, la baisse de ce prestige n'est pas due à ceux qui essaient de trouver des solutions fermes et progressistes, mais bien à ceux qui refusent d'appliquer les décisions adoptées par l'Assemblée générale pour des raisons particulières d'intérêt personnel qui, à longue échéance, sont illusoires.

167. Permettez-moi maintenant de dire quelques mots de la question des bases militaires telle qu'elle est traitée dans le projet de résolution dont nous sommes saisis. Conformément aux résolutions de l'Organisation de l'unité africaine et fidèles à notre propre foi dans la coexistence pacifique, nous partageons les vues exprimées dans ce projet de résolution selon lesquelles des bases militaires étrangères ne peuvent être tolérées en Afrique, surtout quand elles sont utilisées pour étouffer les aspirations légitimes des peuples de territoires dépendants. L'existence de bases militaires dans les territoires coloniaux est indéfendable, particulièrement lorsqu'elles sont utilisées contre la volonté de la population et pour entraver leur lutte pour l'autodétermination, la liberté et l'indépendance. A cet égard, nous appuyons pleinement le paragraphe 11 du dispositif du projet de résolution.

168. Pour conclure, la délégation du Ghana tient à féliciter le Comité du travail qu'il effectue dans l'intérêt des peuples coloniaux. Nous appuyons ses efforts, comme nous l'avons toujours fait et nous nous associons aux buts du projet de résolution. A ce propos, j'ai l'honneur de vous informer, Monsieur le Président, que le Ghana voudrait être ajouté à la liste des Etats coauteurs du projet de résolution A/L.506 et Add.1.

La séance est levée à 12 h 55.

Nations Unies
**ASSEMBLÉE
GÉNÉRALE**

VINGT ET UNIÈME SESSION

Documents officiels



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SÉANCE PLÉNIÈRE

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à 15 heures

NEW YORK

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POINT 23 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

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112. M. TAMANO (Philippines) [traduit de l'anglais]: Il y a six ans, presque jour pour jour, nous avons adopté la résolution 1514 (XV) contenant la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. Depuis lors, 20 pays se sont émancipés, abandonnant le statut de colonie pour devenir des Etats libres et souverains Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Dans un grand nombre de cas, l'émancipation de ces pays était due aux efforts inlassables et à l'influence du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, dont nous étudions maintenant le rapport à l'Assemblée générale [A/6300/Rev.1].

113. Cependant, si l'on pense aux grands espoirs qu'avait fait naître l'adoption de la Déclaration il y a six ans, les progrès réalisés en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux sont "loin de répondre" à ces espoirs. Le Comité spécial ajoute:

"Le Comité spécial a constaté qu'en général la violation constante du droit des pays et des peuples coloniaux à l'autodétermination par les puissances intéressées et les mesures qu'elles prenaient, de connivence avec les intérêts économiques et autres, pour réprimer la lutte que menaient les mouvements de libération nationale ne s'étaient pas relâchées... par suite de l'opposition délibérée des puissances administrantes intéressées ou de leur refus de coopérer, un certain nombre de problèmes coloniaux, graves et ardues, n'avaient marqué aucun progrès perceptible vers une solution pacifique dans le contexte de la Déclaration et avaient même pris des proportions alarmantes, lourdes de dangers." [A/6300/Rev.1, chap. I, par. 310.]

114. Si cet état de choses se maintient malgré les efforts du Comité spécial et malgré tout ce que l'on a fait pour souligner quelle grave menace constituent pour la paix le colonialisme et l'apartheid, je frémis de penser à ce qui se serait passé si nous n'avions pris aucune mesure dans cette direction.

115. Il est vraiment regrettable que tant de territoires aient encore le statut de colonie et que si peu d'entre eux aient l'espoir d'accéder à l'indépendance au cours des deux années à venir.

116. Pourtant, il est spécifié dans la Déclaration que "le manque de préparation dans les domaines politique, économique ou social ou dans celui de l'enseignement ne doit jamais être pris comme prétexte pour retarder l'indépendance."

117. Si l'on admet que les puissances coloniales ont apprécié avec justesse les conditions qui s'opposent à l'octroi immédiat de l'indépendance aux territoires qu'elles administrent, on doit alors reconnaître

qu'elles ont manqué aux obligations qui leur incombaient en vertu de la Charte, aux termes de laquelle elles avaient accepté comme une mission sacrée l'obligation de favoriser dans toute la mesure possible la prospérité des habitants de ces territoires et, à cette fin, d'assurer leur progrès politique, économique et social ainsi que le développement de leur instruction, de développer leur capacité de s'administrer eux-mêmes et d'affermir la paix et la sécurité internationales. Ce dernier objectif n'avait pas été mentionné pour la forme. Les auteurs de la Charte avaient fort justement prévu que le refus de l'autonomie et l'oppression des peuples de ces territoires créerait un état de tension internationale et menacerait la paix et la sécurité du monde.

118. Deux décennies — soit une génération — se sont maintenant écoulées depuis que les puissances administrantes ont assumé cette obligation. Si elles s'étaient acquittées consciencieusement de leurs devoirs, on peut raisonnablement penser qu'il existerait maintenant, dans ces colonies, une génération de jeunes hommes et de jeunes femmes évolués, prêts à participer plus activement à l'élaboration de la destinée de leur pays.

119. Les Philippines, attachées à leur idéal de paix universelle et de bien-être général, estiment qu'il importe au plus haut point que le Comité spécial puisse mener à bien la tâche qui lui a été confiée, c'est-à-dire assurer la prompte application de la Déclaration. Ayant elles-mêmes subi le régime colonialiste pendant près de quatre siècles, les Philippines savent dans quelle misère profonde les pays et les peuples coloniaux sont encore plongés. S'étant échappé de ces profondeurs pour atteindre la lumière et l'air pur de la liberté et de l'autonomie l'année même de la création de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, mon pays estime qu'il est de son devoir de tendre une main secourable et ferme pour aider les autres pays à sortir de l'abîme du colonialisme.

120. C'est bien volontiers que mon pays s'est attelé à cette tâche. Je ne veux pas entrer dans les détails mais on trouvera dans le discours que notre président, S. E. M. Ferdinand E. Marcos, a fait à l'Assemblée générale le 22 septembre 1966, et dont je citerai ici un passage pertinent, l'indication très nette de notre intérêt:

"... l'un des problèmes les plus graves que les Nations Unies, et, en fait tous les pays du monde, devront bientôt affronter est le vaste problème de la division du monde en pays riches et pays pauvres sous l'effet du colonialisme, car les pays riches sont les anciens colonisateurs et les pays pauvres les anciennes colonies." [1411ème séance, par. 24.]

121. Le Président ajoutait:

"Nous demandons aux grandes puissances ... d'achever de liquider le colonialisme et d'en faire disparaître les derniers vestiges dans un monde où il n'a plus aucune place ni aucune raison d'être." [Ibid., par. 39.]

122. Nous nous joignons donc aux représentants qui ont déjà pris la parole à propos de cette question pour remercier le Comité des Vingt-Quatre des progrès significatifs qu'il a enregistrés l'an dernier en aidant l'Assemblée générale à appliquer la Déclaration. Ma

délégation tient également à remercier les Gouvernements de l'Algérie, de l'Éthiopie, de la Somalie, de la République arabe unie et de la République-Unie de Tanzanie de la générosité qu'ils ont manifestée en accueillant le Comité spécial en mai et juin 1966. Cela a permis au Comité spécial d'observer de près les méthodes d'oppression qui caractérisent le colonialisme, et aux victimes du colonialisme d'exposer personnellement leur cas devant le Comité spécial — ce qu'elles n'auraient pu faire autrement. La possibilité qui leur a été ainsi donnée les a sans aucun doute encouragés à redoubler d'efforts pour atteindre leur objectif, qui est la liberté.

M. Waldheim (Australie), vice-président, prend la présidence.

123. La délégation des Philippines a tout spécialement remarqué la déclaration faite par l'ambassadeur Collier, président du Comité spécial, lors de son intervention du 6 décembre lorsqu'il a exprimé la satisfaction de sa délégation:

"... et du Comité spécial de l'exemple fort louable donné par le Gouvernement espagnol dans le domaine de la coopération avec les Nations Unies au cours de l'année dernière. Quoi qu'on puisse dire de l'Espagne, il faut rappeler qu'elle a été la première puissance coloniale à permettre à une mission de visite des Nations Unies de se rendre sur un territoire conformément aux vœux de l'Organisation, ... a offert une hospitalité somptueuse et ... n'a nullement entravé le travail du Comité." [1485ème séance, par. 109 et 110.]

124. Ma délégation tient à se joindre à la délégation du Sierra Leone et au Comité spécial pour féliciter le Gouvernement espagnol de cette attitude.

125. Aujourd'hui, la situation en Rhodésie du Sud retient notre attention à tous. C'est avec regret que ma délégation constate le nouveau défi lancé par le régime illégal de la minorité raciste qui refuse de reconnaître le droit inaliénable de la majorité autochtone à choisir les représentants qui doivent les gouverner. Il est attristant aussi de remarquer que, comme il est indiqué dans le rapport du Comité spécial, "les mesures prises par la majorité des Etats Membres en application des résolutions pertinentes de l'ONU [n'ont] eu qu'une portée limitée sur le régime, la raison principale en étant que les Gouvernements de l'Afrique du Sud et du Portugal [ont] refusé d'agir de même [A/6300/Rev.1, chap. I, par. 315].

126. En ce qui concerne la question du Sud-Ouest africain nous espérons que le Comité spécial des Quatorze sera en mesure de présenter des recommandations à l'Assemblée générale au plus tard en avril 1967.

127. Ma délégation tient à dire combien elle est satisfaite que le Royaume-Uni et les parties directement intéressées aient pu parvenir à un accord en ce qui concerne l'envoi d'une mission des Nations Unies dans le territoire d'Aden. Nous souhaitons à cette mission de réussir dans sa tâche.

128. Je ne retiendrai pas davantage l'Assemblée par des commentaires sur le statut des autres territoires; les vues de ma délégation sur les questions qui les concernent ont été amplement exposées à la

Quatrième Commission. Toutefois, il semble à ma délégation que, dans tous ces territoires, l'accession à l'indépendance se heurte au même obstacle: l'intérêt égoïste des puissances administrantes ou des régimes minoritaires au pouvoir, ainsi que leur désir de réaliser rapidement de gros bénéfices sur leurs investissements financiers et des profits excessifs aux dépens des travailleurs autochtones exploités et insuffisamment rémunérés. Nous demandons instamment à ces puissances et à ces régimes de se retirer de bonne grâce pendant qu'il en est encore temps et que leur geste peut encore être apprécié.

129. Le projet de résolution dont nous sommes saisis [A/L.506 et Add.1 et 2] est d'une précision digne d'éloges. La plupart de ses dispositions pourront être utiles au progrès de notre œuvre de décolonisation. Cependant, nous pensons, comme certains membres du Comité des Vingt-Quatre, que le paragraphe 11 du dispositif n'a pas sa place dans un projet de résolution par ailleurs bien rédigé.

130. Nous estimons que le Comité spécial est compétent pour examiner cette question uniquement lorsque, de toute évidence, l'utilisation d'une base militaire donnée ou l'installation d'une nouvelle base dans un territoire colonial donné entraverait la libération de la population du territoire en question. Autrement dit, il faut distinguer, selon qu'une base militaire donnée est utilisée ou non comme instrument de répression à l'encontre des habitants du territoire. Il faut pouvoir prouver cela, sinon il serait dangereux de généraliser.

131. En conséquence, ma délégation ne peut voter en faveur du paragraphe 11 et demande un vote séparé sur ce paragraphe.

132. En même temps, ma délégation souhaite rester fidèle à la position ferme qu'elle a adoptée en ce qui concerne la décolonisation, et qu'elle a défendue depuis la toute première session de l'Assemblée générale. Nous pensons que les autres dispositions du projet de résolution qui favorisent nos efforts communs pour la cause de la décolonisation compensent de loin les dispositions du paragraphe 11 du dispositif contre lesquelles nous nous élevons. En conséquence, nous voterons en faveur du projet de résolution dans son ensemble, étant entendu que notre position au sujet du paragraphe 11 du dispositif est suffisamment réservée par le vote négatif que nous exprimerons à propos de ce paragraphe.

133. Nous souscrivons également à l'opinion du Comité spécial selon laquelle les petits territoires méritent de bénéficier de l'application de la Déclaration mais, compte tenu des facteurs qui leur sont propres, nous recommandons que l'on fasse preuve de prudence en ce qui concerne les modalités et les procédures d'application. Le Comité spécial devra peut-être rechercher une nouvelle façon d'aborder le problème, mais il doit garder sans cesse à l'esprit que l'objectif final est la liberté et l'indépendance ou l'autonomie, selon les désirs librement exprimés de la population considérée.

134. L'envoi de missions de visite permettrait, à notre avis, de régler plus rapidement les problèmes que posent ces facteurs particuliers. Nous lançons un appel aux puissances administrantes pour qu'elles

adoptent, en recevant ces missions de visite, une attitude positive et compréhensive, de façon que les missions obtiennent des renseignements exacts et que tous les intéressés soient traités de façon équitable. La chicane et l'équivoque ne feraient que prolonger les maux dont nous souffrons déjà sans éviter entièrement l'inéluctable solution du problème.

135. Le rythme auquel les territoires coloniaux accèdent actuellement à l'indépendance est décourageant. Si nous devons prendre le chiffre des trois ou quatre accessions par an, comme moyenne, il faudra encore au moins 20 ans pour que les quelque 50 territoires restants deviennent autonomes. De ce fait, la proposition tendant à fixer une date limite pour l'accession à l'indépendance de chaque territoire considéré, conformément au désir de la population, nous semble pertinente et parfaitement juste.

136. La délégation des Philippines appuie pleinement la proposition de réitérer l'appel de l'Assemblée générale aux puissances administrantes pour que celles-ci appliquent sans plus tarder la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux qu'elles administrent et pour qu'elles coopèrent avec le Secrétaire général en vue de favoriser le plus possible la diffusion de la Déclaration et des renseignements sur l'activité des Nations Unies dans ce domaine. Ma délégation appuie le programme de travail indiqué à la section XII du chapitre premier du rapport du Comité spécial sur ses travaux de 1966 et approuve les dispositions financières proposées pour couvrir les dépenses de fonctionnement du Comité, y compris les frais afférents aux groupes de visite.

137. M. NKAMA (Zambie) [traduit de l'anglais]: Ma délégation a l'honneur, au nom des délégations du Burundi, de Ceylan, de la Guinée, du Kenya, du Pakistan, de la République arabe unie, de la Somalie, du Yémen et de la Zambie, de présenter certains amendements [A/L.507] au projet de résolution A/L.506 et Add.1 et 2. Ces amendements, s'ils sont mineurs, n'en sont pas pour autant négligeables.

138. Les membres de l'Assemblée verront certainement que, si le projet de résolution A/L.506 et Add.1 et 2 est adopté avec les quelques amendements que nous nous proposons de lui apporter, la résolution définitive constituera un jalon important dans l'histoire de l'humanité.

139. Nul n'ignore que l'événement le plus significatif de notre époque a incontestablement été la lutte menée pour leur émancipation par les peuples d'Asie et d'Afrique, si longtemps écrasés par le joug colonial. Cela dit, nous avons pris conscience de ce que l'accession des anciennes colonies à l'indépendance politique n'est pas une fin en soi mais un moyen d'accomplir des tâches plus grandes et de résoudre des problèmes plus graves. Nous, peuples libérés, commettrions une grave erreur en nous imaginant que l'émancipation politique constitue la solution de tous nos problèmes et met définitivement fin au colonialisme. C'est bien plutôt le contraire qui est vrai.

140. En effet, lorsque l'impérialisme s'aperçoit qu'il lui est difficile de survivre dans ses formes et manifestations classiques bien connues, il dresse sa tête hideuse de manière plus rusée et plus subtile. Le

colonialisme se dissimule alors dans l'exploitation économique sous diverses formes de chantage militaire direct, notamment l'implantation de bases militaires étrangères dans les territoires non autonomes. Bien souvent, ces bases servent de tremplin aux interventions et aux agressions impérialistes, soit, comme nous le savons tous, contre des Etats libres et indépendants, soit contre ceux qui luttent encore pour leur autonomie et leur liberté.

141. Le souvenir que nous gardons de l'intervention militaire tripartite — cette prétendue "mission humanitaire" contre la République démocratique du Congo, qui s'est terminée par un massacre général de civils congolais sans défense — n'est encore que trop frais dans nos mémoires. Aucun de nous n'ignore que l'Australie est sur le point de construire, dans les territoires sous tutelle de Nouvelle-Guinée et du Papua, une gigantesque base militaire que ses troupes ne manqueront pas d'utiliser à des fins agressives. Quant à la base britannique d'Aden, elle est trop connue de cette assemblée pour qu'il me soit nécessaire d'entrer dans le détail des aventures guerrières britanniques auxquelles elle a servi de point de départ.

142. Une autre forme subtile de colonialisme consiste à imposer des constitutions habilement mises au point: je pense par exemple à la Rhodésie du Sud et aux nombreux autres cas qu'il est superflu de mentionner puisque nous les connaissons tous.

143. Pour toutes ces raisons, et aussi pour bon nombre de raisons que j'ai passées sous silence, ma délégation est heureuse, au nom des délégations que j'ai citées, de présenter les amendements suivants au projet de résolution A/L.506 et Add.1 et 2. Premièrement: à la troisième ligne du paragraphe 11 du dispositif, remplacer "qui existent" par "qui existent encore". Deuxièmement: à la deuxième ligne du paragraphe 13, ajouter "et des constitutions" après le mot "régimes".

144. Il nous a été signalé qu'une erreur s'est glissée dans les traductions française et espagnole de ces amendements. Dans ces traductions, le paragraphe 13 du dispositif contient en effet l'expression: "à imposer des constitutions et des régimes non représentatifs". Il convient en fait de lire: "à imposer des régimes et des constitutions non représentatifs".

145. Qu'il me soit permis pour conclure, au nom des délégations que je représente, de dire qu'il s'agit là d'un projet de résolution de la plus haute importance qui exige de l'Assemblée qu'elle se prononce à l'unanimité. C'est dans cet esprit de compréhension, de coopération et de solidarité que les délégations du Burundi, de Ceylan, de la Guinée, du Kenya, du Pakistan, de la République arabe unie, de la Somalie, du Yémen et de la Zambie ont proposé les quelques amendements que je viens de présenter. Nous espérons que les délégations des pays frères qui ont parrainé le projet de résolution A/L.506 et Add.1 et 2 accepteront ces amendements.

146. Lord CARADON (Royaume-Uni) [traduit de l'anglais]: Il me paraît superflu de revenir sur les raisons qui empêchent ma délégation d'appuyer le projet de résolution A/L.506 et Add.1 et 2. Certains passages de ce texte sont tout à fait inacceptables à nos yeux.

Nos réserves ayant été exprimées très clairement et à maintes occasions par le passé, il est inutile d'y revenir pour expliquer notre vote.

147. Cependant que d'aucuns se lancent dans des généralisations hâtives et des accusations sans fondement, mon pays poursuit sa politique positive et constructive de décolonisation. Cette politique, qui a pour objet de transformer un empire colonial en une communauté indépendante, nous l'avons toujours suivie fidèlement. Nulle déformation des faits ne peut donc changer quoi que ce soit à des résultats effectifs autrement éloquentes que des discours. Les graves problèmes raciaux de l'Afrique méridionale, et, plus particulièrement, la résolution du Gouvernement britannique de faire respecter les vœux de la majorité en Rhodésie, sont examinés séparément et le Gouvernement britannique a de nouveau porté le problème pressant de la Rhodésie devant le Conseil de sécurité. Je me bornerai donc aujourd'hui à répéter, à ce sujet, ce que j'ai déjà eu l'occasion de déclarer à maintes reprises, à savoir que la politique du Gouvernement britannique, en Afrique méridionale comme ailleurs, part de la conviction inébranlable qu'aucune nation, aucune population, aucune race ne doit être dominée par une autre. Tels sont les principes qui ont inspiré notre politique de décolonisation, et c'est une voie dans laquelle nul autre pays au monde ne s'est engagé plus que le mien.

148. Depuis que je suis ici, j'ai vu hisser aux Nations Unies les drapeaux de 12 nations nouvelles qui étaient précédemment sous administration britannique; nous venons en outre d'accueillir cette année la Guyane, le Botswana, le Lesotho et la Barbade. Plus de 700 millions d'hommes, soit environ le quart de la population du monde, qui étaient auparavant sous administration britannique, ont donc accédé à l'indépendance au cours des 21 dernières années. Nous reconnaissons et respectons bien entendu le rôle fondamental joué dans ce processus par les populations elles-mêmes, mais nous sommes pour notre part décidés à poursuivre jusqu'au bout notre entreprise de décolonisation, en employant pour ce faire des méthodes qui ont depuis longtemps fait leurs preuves, et en tenant toujours compte avant tout des intérêts et des vœux des populations intéressées.

149. L'Arabie du Sud accédera à l'indépendance dans un peu plus d'un an. L'île Maurice, nous l'espérons, la suivra bientôt sur cette voie. Le Souaziland, quant à lui, doit obtenir son indépendance au plus tard en 1969. Les progrès se poursuivent donc, sans interruption et sans retard, en se fondant toujours sur cette base solide que constituent les consultations des populations intéressées, sans l'assentiment desquelles nulle décision n'est prise. Certes, des problèmes particuliers se posent aux divers territoires éparpillés un peu partout dans le monde dont nous assumons encore la responsabilité: s'il en était autrement, tous ces territoires seraient déjà indépendants. Ces difficultés particulières, nous nous efforcerons pourtant de les résoudre avec autant de patience que de célérité, en ayant toujours pour objectifs ceux qui ne cessent d'être les nôtres depuis plusieurs dizaines d'années: respecter les vœux et les besoins des populations intéressées et aider chaque nation nouvelle à prendre son départ dans

l'indépendance dans les meilleures conditions possibles. Nous sommes fiers de ces accomplissements. Nous sommes fermement décidés à leur conserver jusqu'au bout ce caractère d'honorabilité.

150. Le **PRESIDENT** (traduit de l'anglais): Avant de passer aux explications de vote, je donne la parole à la représentante des Etats-Unis pour une motion d'ordre.

151. Mme **ANDERSON** (Etats-Unis d'Amérique) [traduit de l'anglais]: Avant de passer au vote, je voudrais appuyer la demande de vote séparé sur le paragraphe 11 du dispositif du projet de résolution A/L.506 et Add.1 et 2 dont nous sommes saisis. Ce paragraphe, entre autres choses, prie les "puissances coloniales" de démanteler leurs bases et installations militaires dans les "territoires coloniaux" et de "s'abstenir d'en établir de nouvelles".

152. Bien que les Etats-Unis ne se considèrent pas comme une puissance coloniale, nous estimons que ce paragraphe soulève d'importantes questions constitutionnelles. Comme chacun sait, le paragraphe 2 de l'Article 18 de la Charte énumère un certain nombre de "questions importantes" à propos desquelles les décisions de l'Assemblée générale doivent être prises à la majorité des deux tiers des membres présents et votants. Parmi ces "questions importantes" figurent les "recommandations relatives au maintien de la paix et de la sécurité internationales". Cette disposition de la Charte ne peut être modifiée que par la procédure d'amendement prévue au Chapitre XVIII; elle ne peut pas être modifiée par un simple vote de l'Assemblée.

153. Le paragraphe 11 du dispositif du projet de résolution sur lequel nous sommes sur le point de voter constitue, aux termes de la Charte, une recommandation "relative au maintien de la paix et de la sécurité internationales". Je vois mal comment on pourrait soutenir le contraire car l'établissement, le retrait ou l'utilisation des bases militaires paraissent être, aux yeux de mon gouvernement, aussi directement liés au maintien de la paix et de la sécurité internationales que cela est possible. De l'avis de la délégation des Etats-Unis, ce paragraphe du projet de résolution constitue donc incontestablement une question importante, au sens technique que donne à cette expression l'Article 18, et son adoption requiert donc la majorité des deux tiers.

154. En conséquence, je voudrais demander officiellement que ce paragraphe fasse l'objet d'un vote séparé et qu'il ne soit considéré comme adopté que s'il reçoit la majorité requise des deux tiers.

155. Je ne doute pas que toutes les délégations pensent, avec la mienne, qu'il est indispensable de respecter la Charte de l'Organisation et de protéger les droits et les privilèges de tous en nous en tenant strictement à la procédure prévue. Je pense en conséquence que ma motion ne manquera pas de recevoir un très large appui.

156. Le **PRESIDENT** (traduit de l'anglais): Le représentant de la République-Unie de Tanzanie a également demandé à être entendu pour une motion d'ordre. Je lui donne la parole.

157. M. **MALECELA** (République-Unie de Tanzanie) [traduit de l'anglais]: Ma délégation a demandé la parole pour une motion d'ordre. Il n'entrait pas dans ses intentions de le faire, mais l'intervention de la représentante des Etats-Unis ne lui laisse guère de choix.

158. Point n'est besoin de rappeler que nous nous sommes trouvés l'année dernière dans une situation analogue et que la même question a été tranchée à la majorité simple. La représentante des Etats-Unis a invoqué les Articles 11 et 18 de la Charte pour tenter de démontrer que le problème des bases militaires étrangères relève de la question du maintien de la paix et de la sécurité internationales. A ce propos, ma délégation doit dire qu'elle est fort surprise de voir que, sur cet aspect de la décolonisation, elle se heurte constamment à des pays qui ne sont pas des puissances coloniales au sens habituel du terme. En tout premier lieu, rappelons une fois encore que le colonialisme constitue en soi une agression. C'est donc un argument inacceptable que de prétendre que l'installation d'une base militaire sur un territoire colonial soulève le problème du maintien de la paix et de la sécurité internationales. De quelle paix et de quelle sécurité s'agit-il en effet? Ma délégation aurait pu accepter cet argument s'il était appliqué aux bases militaires établies dans des pays souverains, en vertu d'accords entre la puissance qui demande à installer de telles bases et le pays qui les accepte sur son territoire. En revanche, pour ce qui est des pays colonisés, les bases militaires qui s'y trouvent ont été installées contre les vœux des populations. Ma délégation voit donc très difficilement comment on peut prétendre que l'existence de ces bases sert la cause du maintien de la paix et de la sécurité internationales. S'il s'agissait de maintenir la paix et la sécurité internationales, les intérêts de ces populations n'auraient-ils pas dû être pris en considération? Or, nous constatons que cela n'a pas été le cas des bases militaires qui ont été installées dans les territoires coloniaux. En fait, dans la plupart des cas, ces bases ont été installées contre les vœux de la population intéressée.

159. Dans ces conditions, il me paraît évident que ces bases constituent un danger. Nous avons parlé de désarmement: comment l'idée de désarmement pourra-t-elle avoir un sens tant que ces bases n'auront pas été démantelées? Bien au contraire, si une puissance coloniale était entraînée dans une guerre mondiale, les victimes en seraient certainement les populations colonisées et cela non pas pour avoir commis quelque faute, mais du seul fait de l'égoïsme d'une puissance qui aspire à dominer le monde.

160. Par conséquent, Monsieur le Président, je ne pense pas que cette question demande une majorité des deux tiers. Je ne pense pas que le maintien d'une base militaire dans un pays colonisé doive être considéré comme une question qui intéresse le maintien de la paix et de la sécurité internationales. Ces bases ont été implantées contre les vœux des populations, pour lesquelles leur présence constitue une menace. C'est pour défendre ces populations colonisées qui ne peuvent elles-mêmes venir à cette tribune déclarer qu'elles n'ont nul besoin de bases militaires que nous soulevons, au paragraphe 11 du projet de résolution,

la question de leur démantèlement. S'il arrivait en revanche, lorsque les territoires en question seront devenus des pays indépendants, que quelqu'un désire négocier avec eux, les choses seraient alors totalement différentes.

161. J'ose espérer que, pour la simple raison qu'il a été statué sur cette question, la délégation des Etats-Unis ne va pas faire renaître la querelle qui s'était élevée au cours de la dernière session et que l'Assemblée avait réglée à l'amiable. Néanmoins, au cas où les Etats-Unis maintiendraient leur position, je ne doute pas que l'Assemblée s'en tiendra à sa décision de l'an dernier et déclarera que l'adoption du paragraphe 11 du dispositif ne nécessite qu'une majorité simple. Cette question relevant après tout de la mise en œuvre de la décolonisation, il serait inapproprié de traiter isolément un paragraphe particulier: c'est dans son ensemble que doit être traité ce problème de mise en œuvre.

162. Le PRESIDENT (traduit de l'anglais): Je donne la parole au représentant de la Zambie pour une motion d'ordre.

163. M. NKAMA (Zambie) [traduit de l'anglais]: Ma délégation a estimé devoir demander la parole pour une motion d'ordre afin d'appuyer ce que vient de déclarer le représentant de la République-Unie de Tanzanie. Nous pensons comme lui qu'aucun des paragraphes du projet de résolution A/L.506 et Add.1 et 2 ne doit être isolé de l'ensemble. Nous sommes d'avis que les délégations intéressées par ce document doivent lire et considérer chaque paragraphe dans son contexte et ne point en faire des entités distinctes.

164. En second lieu, ma délégation voudrait déclarer très clairement — et sans crainte — qu'elle commence à être passablement désabusée par l'attitude de certaines délégations qui, lorsque l'Assemblée discute de problèmes de cette nature, recourent systématiquement à ce que je crois pouvoir appeler des manœuvres dilatoires ou des stratagèmes de procédure. Il ne fait aucun doute que, comme l'a remarqué le représentant de la Tanzanie, lorsque des bases militaires sont implantées dans des territoires coloniaux, les populations de ces territoires ne sont pas invitées à exprimer leur opinion, leurs sentiments ou leurs désirs: ces bases sont établies contre les vœux des populations autochtones des territoires intéressés. Telle est, à notre sens, la raison pour laquelle elles doivent être supprimées. Ce sont les peuples colonisés eux-mêmes qui le désirent.

165. A quoi sert-il d'employer des tactiques dilatoires ou de se livrer à des manœuvres de procédure? Regardons les choses bien en face: nous sommes en présence d'une question coloniale. Nous voulons que les bases militaires disparaissent parce que c'est là le vœu des peuples colonisés eux-mêmes. On a soutenu que ces bases avaient pour objet de maintenir la paix et la sécurité: c'est manifestement faux. Elles ont été créées pour que les puissances coloniales elles-mêmes puissent continuer à protéger leurs intérêts économiques, financiers, politiques et autres. Ce sont leurs intérêts, et non pas ceux des populations des territoires en question que ces bases militaires protègent. C'est là un fait connu de tous.

166. Permettez-moi, pour illustrer mon propos, de reprendre l'exemple de la base britannique d'Aden, à laquelle j'ai déjà fait allusion tout à l'heure. Qui peut prétendre que cette base a été établie en ayant en vue les intérêts de la population d'Aden et des territoires avoisinants? Elle a été créée pour que la Grande-Bretagne puisse perpétuer sa domination coloniale sur la région. Les habitants d'Aden disent: "Nous ne voulons plus de cette base britannique." Toute manœuvre ou stratagème de procédure est dès lors inutile car les termes du problème sont parfaitement clairs: que le Royaume-Uni supprime cette base et la population d'Aden sera satisfaite.

167. Avant de terminer, je voudrais en appeler au représentant de la République libre, souveraine et indépendante des Philippines qui a demandé un vote séparé sur le paragraphe 11 du dispositif du projet de résolution A/L.506 et Add.1 et 2. Comme l'a déclaré il y a quelques instants le représentant de la République-Unie de Tanzanie, ce projet n'a rien à voir avec les Etats souverains, libres et indépendants du monde. Nous nous occupons ici des territoires coloniaux. En fait, je tiens à dire en toute sincérité combien nous apprécions tous la contribution du peuple et du Gouvernement philippins à la cause de la libération des peuples. Nous connaissons tous le rôle de premier plan que le peuple philippin, qui appartient à la famille des nations afro-asiatiques, a joué non seulement dans la libération des peuples d'Asie, mais dans celle des peuples d'Afrique. Aussi est-ce à cet esprit et à ce sentiment de fraternité que ma délégation fait appel lorsqu'elle demande à la délégation philippine de retirer sa demande de vote séparé sur le paragraphe 11 du projet de résolution. Je suis certain qu'elle entendra notre appel.

168. Le PRESIDENT (traduit de l'anglais): Je donne la parole au représentant de la Yougoslavie pour une motion d'ordre.

169. M. BOZOVIC (Yougoslavie) [traduit de l'anglais]: Ma délégation a été quelque peu surprise de voir la délégation des Etats-Unis agir comme par le passé et demander à nouveau l'application de la règle de la majorité des deux tiers. Pour notre part, lorsque nous avons été battus par trois fois sur ce point à propos des territoires sous administration portugaise, nous avons accepté sportivement cette défaite. Aussi avais-je espéré que la délégation des Etats-Unis ne nous placerait pas derechef dans une situation analogue à celle que nous avons connue l'an dernier.

170. Je pourrais bien sûr analyser les raisons qui ont incité la délégation des Etats-Unis à demander l'application de la règle de la majorité des deux tiers à propos du paragraphe 11 du dispositif du projet de résolution A/L.506 et Add.1 et 2: je me contenterai de rappeler que les Etats-Unis figurent au nombre de ces membres de l'Organisation qui assument la responsabilité d'administrer des territoires dont la population n'a pas encore atteint sa pleine autonomie. On peut certes appeler ces puissances des puissances administrantes, mais on peut également les appeler des puissances coloniales.

171. Je ne me propose pas de chercher à savoir si la question qui nous intéresse est ou non une "question importante". Toutes les questions dont nous

sommes saisis sont importantes car la Charte en a ainsi statué. Je ne me propose pas non plus de chercher à savoir si la recommandation contenue dans le paragraphe en question entre ou non dans la catégorie des recommandations qui se rattachent au maintien de la paix et de la sécurité internationales: il est bien évident que toutes nos recommandations entrent, d'une manière ou d'une autre, dans cette catégorie.

172. Je partage jusqu'à un certain point l'opinion de la représentante des Etats-Unis, mais j'estime qu'il serait plus exact de dire que l'installation des bases militaires ou leur suppression sont directement liées au maintien du colonialisme et de la domination étrangère sur les peuples colonisés. Et c'est précisément la raison pour laquelle l'Assemblée générale, qui tient compte du fait que les populations coloniales n'ont pas été consultées sur l'établissement ou l'utilisation de ces bases, est parfaitement en droit d'en demander le démantèlement afin que le processus de décolonisation puisse se poursuivre.

173. Quant au respect qu'il convient d'accorder à la Charte, il me semble que nombreux sont les domaines dans lesquels la contribution de la délégation des Etats-Unis, comme d'ailleurs celle de toutes les délégations ici présentes, pourrait être nettement plus substantielle.

174. Pour toutes ces raisons, et aussi parce que les objectifs des deux parties sont parfaitement clairs — les uns, c'est-à-dire les puissances coloniales, désirant conserver leurs bases, les autres, qui ont foi dans le droit des peuples à la liberté, estimant que ces bases doivent être démantelées —, la délégation yougoslave s'élève contre la motion déposée par la délégation des Etats-Unis.

175. Le PRESIDENT (traduit de l'anglais): Je donne la parole au représentant de l'Irak pour une motion d'ordre.

176. M. ALJUBOURI (Irak) [traduit de l'anglais]: Je suis heureux de pouvoir annoncer que les auteurs du projet de résolution A/L.506 et Add.1 et 2 ont accepté les amendements [A/L.507] proposés par le représentant de la Zambie.

M. Pazhwak (Afghanistan) reprend la présidence.

177. Les délégations suivantes doivent donc être considérées comme cosignataires de l'ensemble du projet de résolution: Afghanistan, Algérie, Burundi, Ceylan, Côte d'Ivoire, Ethiopie, Ghana, Guinée, Inde, Irak, Kenya, Koweït, Libéria, Mali, Mauritanie, Nigéria, Pakistan, République arabe unie, République-Unie de Tanzanie, Sierra Leone, Somalie, Soudan, Syrie, Yémen, Yougoslavie et Zambie.

178. Le PRESIDENT (traduit de l'anglais): L'orateur suivant est le représentant de l'Union soviétique qui a demandé la parole pour une motion d'ordre.

179. M. MENDELEVITCH (Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques) [traduit du russe]: Je vous remercie, Monsieur le Président, de me donner la parole pour une motion d'ordre. C'est en effet sur une motion d'ordre que je me propose de dire quelques mots à la suite de l'intervention de la délégation des Etats-Unis.

180. Comme l'an passé, la délégation des Etats-Unis s'est efforcée de trouver le moyen d'édulcorer le projet de résolution [A/L.506 et Add.1 et 2] visant à la liquidation du colonialisme, dans l'un de ses aspects les plus importants pour les peuples colonisés, celui qui a trait à la présence de bases militaires dans les colonies. Il n'y a là, de toute évidence, rien de nouveau. Déjà, l'an dernier, la délégation des Etats-Unis avait tenté de parvenir à ce but. D'une façon générale, toutes les délégations ici présentes comprennent le sens politique de cette intervention, qu'ont d'ailleurs suffisamment mis en lumière les orateurs qui m'ont précédé.

181. A ceci, je me permettrai seulement d'ajouter que les motifs qui poussent les Etats-Unis à édulcorer un projet de résolution tendant à la liquidation du colonialisme, et, en particulier, à l'évacuation des bases militaires installées dans les territoires coloniaux, ne sont un secret pour personne. S'ils se comportent de la sorte, c'est parce qu'ils utilisent ces bases pour servir leur politique, dont je n'ai pas l'intention de donner une appréciation au stade actuel de notre discussion, bien que l'on puisse en dire long sur les objectifs concrets de l'utilisation, par des opérations menées par les Etats-Unis, de bases militaires dans certaines colonies, par exemple à Guam. Cependant, nous aurons l'occasion d'y revenir.

182. La délégation soviétique tient à s'associer, je le répète, aux arguments d'ordre politique qui ont été avancés par certains orateurs qui m'ont précédé: les représentants de la Tanzanie, de la Zambie et de la Yougoslavie. Par ailleurs, elle souhaiterait dire quelques mots de l'aspect juridique de la question. Les décisions que nous prenons ici, à l'Assemblée générale, et, d'ailleurs, au sein de tous les organes des Nations Unies, doivent être juridiquement fondées. A cet égard, afin de démontrer le caractère insoutenable de la proposition des Etats-Unis, je voudrais rappeler tout d'abord, comme l'ont d'ailleurs fait de nombreux orateurs au cours de la discussion, qu'il y a six ans l'Assemblée générale a adopté la résolution 1514 (XV), c'est-à-dire la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, à une majorité écrasante — neuf délégations seulement s'étant abstenues. Cette déclaration est devenue l'assise même des décisions de l'Organisation des Nations Unies sur le problème de la liquidation du colonialisme. Pendant toutes les années qui ont suivi, à tous les stades ultérieurs de l'examen de cette question, les organes des Nations Unies se sont occupés de l'application, de la mise en pratique de cette déclaration fondamentale. Certes, divers aspects de cette mise en œuvre sont très importants pour les peuples coloniaux. Mais aucun de ces aspects, aucune des caractéristiques du problème de la liquidation du colonialisme ne nécessite aucune nouvelle décision de principe touchant l'essence même du problème.

183. En effet, dans la Déclaration, l'Assemblée a proclamé solennellement la nécessité de mettre rapidement et inconditionnellement fin au colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations.

184. J'aimerais attirer l'attention de la délégation des Etats-Unis sur ces mots: "... mettre fin au

colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations". Sous quelles formes se présente donc le colonialisme dans le monde et quelles en sont les manifestations? En premier lieu, le colonialisme peut revêtir une forme politique: c'est la domination politique d'un Etat sur le peuple d'un autre pays. Telle est la forme politique du colonialisme. Viennent ensuite les formes et les manifestations économiques du colonialisme, à savoir la mainmise d'un Etat sur l'économie d'un autre pays qui ne lui appartient pas et ne fait pas partie intégrante de son territoire. Voilà comment se manifeste le colonialisme économique. Il est également une forme sociale — une manifestation sociale du colonialisme. Quelles sont-elles? Dans les territoires coloniaux, on interdit par exemple l'usage de leur langue maternelle aux autochtones qui subissent par ailleurs des limitations dans les domaines de l'enseignement, de la santé publique et dans maints autres domaines. Enfin, il faut citer la discrimination raciale sous toutes ses formes ainsi que l'apartheid. C'est là encore une manifestation du colonialisme.

185. Enfin, il y a la forme militaire du colonialisme: l'aménagement, dans les territoires coloniaux, de bases ou installations militaires, le déploiement dans ces territoires de forces armées, à quelque fin que ce soit. Peu importe les fins, ce n'est pas sur elles que porte la discussion. Je ne veux pas entamer actuellement une polémique avec la délégation des Etats-Unis sur ce point et je tiens à souligner que, pour le moment, je me contente d'examiner l'aspect juridique de la question. En tout état de cause, le déploiement de forces armées et la construction de bases militaires sur le territoire d'une colonie est une manifestation militaire du colonialisme, une forme militaire de colonialisme.

186. A une majorité écrasante, l'Assemblée générale a décidé de proclamer solennellement "la nécessité de mettre rapidement et inconditionnellement fin au colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations". Il faut entendre par là ses formes et manifestations de caractère politique, économique, social et militaire. C'est là un fait irréfutable. Aucun juriste, aucun juge conscient de ses devoirs, n'oserait contester ce point.

187. Mais, s'il en est ainsi — et il en est bien ainsi —, il découle de l'adoption de cette déclaration par l'Assemblée générale que toutes les décisions ultérieures touchant les aspects concrets de la liquidation du colonialisme, notamment sur le plan militaire, ne peuvent être considérées que comme de simples modalités d'application de la Déclaration. Or, la majorité des deux tiers n'est jamais requise pour l'adoption d'une décision concrète sur la mise en œuvre d'une décision de principe quelconque. La majorité simple suffit. Je fais donc appel à la délégation des Etats-Unis pour qu'elle retire sa motion, tendant à ce que le vote ait lieu à la majorité des deux tiers, puisque cette motion ne se justifie en rien, ni sur le plan politique, ni sur le plan juridique.

188. Le PRESIDENT (traduit de l'anglais): Il n'y a plus d'autres orateurs désirant prendre la parole sur ce point de procédure. Avant de passer au vote, je vais donner la parole aux représentants qui souhaitent expliquer leur vote.

189. M. DIALLO SEYDOU (Guinée): Quelques amendements apportés au projet de résolution [A/L.506 et Add.1 et 2] ont déterminé la délégation de Guinée à se porter coauteur de cet important projet parce qu'il explique dans le détail les formes les plus subtiles de la colonisation et les moyens les plus pratiques pour y remédier.

190. En expliquant mon vote, je voudrais préciser que, après 20 ans, nous voici à nouveau discutant des divers aspects du colonialisme. Etait-ce par une euphorie passagère que les puissances qui, en 1945, ont créé les Nations Unies ont inscrit dans la Charte, en toute conscience, que le colonialisme était condamné par l'histoire, que les peuples avaient le droit de vivre librement et de choisir le régime qui leur convient?

191. Il a fallu 10 ans pour qu'un projet de résolution soit à nouveau mis en discussion ici et adopté par l'Assemblée générale [résolution 1514 (XV)]. Je répète: il a fallu 10 ans. Faudra-t-il encore 10 ans pour que les puissances colonialistes considèrent qu'il est trop tard pour revenir sur cette décision et avancent résolument vers la voie de la décolonisation intégrale?

192. Telles sont les réflexions qui ont conduit ma délégation, à la suite des amendements apportés au projet de résolution, à s'inscrire comme coauteur et à expliquer ici, en toute franchise, sa position.

193. Le paragraphe 11 tel qu'amendé explique effectivement que le système colonial ne peut demeurer dans certains pays sans l'installation et le renforcement des bases militaires; c'est une réalité — personne n'ose la contester — que le Portugal sous-développé ne peut soutenir la lutte sur tous fronts, se battant en Angola, en Guinée dite portugaise, au Mozambique, que parce que ce pays, colonisateur impénitent, bénéficie des bases de l'OTAN, qui l'aident dans son exploitation et dans son opposition, qui constituent une honte pour la conscience universelle. C'est pourquoi le paragraphe 11 s'explique avec toute la force qu'il revêt.

194. Nous n'avons pas besoin de gendarmes aux portes de la Guinée. Ce n'est pas là-bas qu'il faut défendre la liberté, il faut la défendre chez soi, sans entraves, en toute conscience. Ce paragraphe 11 nous a donc incités à nous porter coauteur du projet de résolution et nous lui donnons notre appui le plus total.

195. Les derniers aspects du colonialisme sont des plus hideux car ils empêchent l'affirmation de la personnalité des Etats qui ont un gendarme à leur porte, muni d'un sifflet et un revolver en main.

196. Nous arrivons maintenant au paragraphe 12 du projet de résolution concernant les activités des intérêts et des monopoles. La délégation guinéenne avait insisté pour que les grandes puissances en question soient indiquées par leur nom, par leur drapeau et la couleur de celui-ci, afin que l'on sache que ce sont bien ces puissances qui donnent leur appui à ces monopoles, qui empêchent la décolonisation intégrale. Le rapport du Comité des Vingt-Quatre [A/6300/Rev.1], lui, n'a pas transigé: il les a citées. Elles n'ont qu'à consulter ce rapport, elles verront que nous les y avons désignées du doigt. Ainsi, ce para-

graphe ne cite pas les intérêts étrangers et les monopoles, mais il indique précisément les perspectives d'avenir pour mieux les situer, pour cerner leurs responsabilités collectives, afin de savoir qui s'oppose à la décolonisation intégrale.

197. C'est pour cette raison que la délégation guinéenne s'est portée coauteur du projet de résolution parce que, dans le paragraphe 20 du dispositif, le dernier, il est bien spécifié:

"L'Assemblée générale,

"...

"Décide d'inscrire à l'ordre du jour de sa vingt-deuxième session une question intitulée "Activités des intérêts étrangers, économiques et autres, qui font obstacle à l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux ..."

198. Nous sommes satisfaits parce qu'on verra plus clair. Les déclarations d'intention, les droits de l'homme proclamés partout ne sont plus des instruments aptes à tromper notre vigilance et à fausser nos espoirs. Nous sommes satisfaits parce que ce projet de résolution tire sa force des 20 années d'expérience que nous avons vécues ensemble et nous ouvre des perspectives bien meilleures en situant les responsabilités. Car, vous, puissances coloniales, puissances occidentales, êtes responsables de l'arrêt de la décolonisation, du retard apporté au processus normal de décolonisation; vous êtes responsables devant l'humanité d'avoir violé les engagements que vous avez pris en 1945; vous êtes responsables parce que vous ne parvenez pas à renoncer à vos intérêts sordides pour laisser les peuples vivre heureux et suivre leur chemin.

199. Nous sommes satisfaits de ce paragraphe qui indiquera, en réalité, ce qu'aura été l'histoire de notre siècle. Cette histoire, elle sera très belle, si ce siècle accepte le combat pour la liberté et la dignité chères à la délégation guinéenne. Cependant, l'histoire de notre fin de siècle sera une histoire sombre si elle ne doit être qu'une lutte d'influence et d'intérêts économiques et financiers. Si cette histoire est dominée seulement par les industriels et les banquiers, elle ne sera qu'une histoire vile, sans morale, et nous conduira peut-être à un précipice que nul ici ne peut même imaginer.

200. Allons-nous nous diriger vers ce processus, allons-nous accepter la décolonisation dans le massacre ou allons-nous nous réunir autour de la table ronde pour une discussion fraternelle et harmonieuse, afin de trouver la solution à nos crimes de conscience, allons-nous — vous et nous — rechercher un terrain d'entente?

201. Pour un temps encore, que nous, nous croyons très bref, notre monde devra affronter ces problèmes. Les méthodes que nous adopterons pour les résoudre devront être à la mesure des espoirs que les peuples colonisés placent, depuis 20 ans, en l'Organisation des Nations Unies.

202. La délégation guinéenne appuie par conséquent le projet de résolution et est convaincue que la majorité des délégations intéressées à la décolonisation agiront de même. Nous avons, les uns et les autres,

la responsabilité d'aborder avec plus de franchise et plus de détermination la décolonisation. Ce faisant, nous aiderons tous cette organisation internationale à atteindre un de ses objectifs fondamentaux: l'élimination du colonialisme sur notre globe. Nous contribuerons à renforcer le potentiel moral des Nations Unies à travers le monde et à augmenter le capital de confiance et d'espoir que l'Organisation des Nations Unies a suscité à travers l'Afrique. Nous sommes convaincus que, cette année plus que jamais, ce projet de résolution aura un écho favorable dans cette assemblée.

203. Le PRESIDENT (traduit de l'anglais): Avant de donner la parole à l'orateur suivant, je voudrais attirer l'attention des membres de l'Assemblée sur le fait que la discussion générale sur ce point de l'ordre du jour est terminée et que tous les représentants qui désiraient prendre la parole sur le projet de résolution ont eu la possibilité de le faire. Ayant passé ce stade, nous nous en tiendrons, avec l'approbation de l'Assemblée, aux explications de vote.

204. Je donne la parole au représentant de l'Afrique du Sud pour qu'il explique son vote.

205. M. MATTHYS BOTHA (Afrique du Sud) [traduit de l'anglais]: Ma délégation ne peut appuyer le projet de résolution [A/L.506 et Add.1 et 2] en raison de son caractère tendancieux qui déforme à bien des égards les objectifs et la politique de mon gouvernement au Sud-Ouest africain. Avant de parler brièvement de certains des éléments contestables du projet de résolution, permettez-moi de rappeler qu'au début de la présente session l'Assemblée a examiné longuement et à fond la question du Sud-Ouest africain et a terminé l'examen de ce point. Ma délégation a donc eu l'occasion d'exposer quels sont les véritables motifs et les objectifs de la politique du Gouvernement sud-africain; le procès-verbal en fait état. Malgré cela, au cinquième alinéa du préambule du projet de résolution, nous voyons que l'on accuse l'Afrique du Sud de refuser de reconnaître aux peuples coloniaux le droit à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance et, au huitième alinéa, il est indiqué, notamment, que mon gouvernement continue "à opprimer les populations africaines". Pourtant, le Ministre des affaires étrangères d'Afrique du Sud a exposé clairement, dans sa déclaration du 12 octobre 1966, les méthodes que nous appliquons et les mesures que nous prenons pour favoriser le progrès des habitants du Sud-Ouest africain et les préparer à l'autodétermination. Comme l'a déclaré notre ministre des affaires étrangères:

"Nous serions nous aussi très satisfaits de les voir atteindre cet objectif au plus tôt, mais nous ne pouvons pas accélérer ce mouvement outre mesure. Nous devons garder la préoccupation constante de savoir si les différents groupes ethniques en sont réellement arrivés au stade où ils sont capables de se diriger eux-mêmes — pour employer l'expression utilisée dans le Mandat; or les opinions et les désirs des populations elles-mêmes constituent le facteur primordial en l'espèce. Alors qu'ils ont encore besoin de nos conseils et de notre aide, nous ne pouvons pas mettre fin à notre tutelle en leur accordant pour seule consolation l'indépendance politique. Ce serait renoncer à notre mission sacrée." [1439ème séance, par. 183.]

206. Comme l'a déclaré notre ministre, notre politique a pour but de mettre fin progressivement au contrôle des tuteurs et à émanciper le pupille [ibid., par. 194]. Le programme appliqué par le Gouvernement sud-africain ne vise pas à coloniser, mais à favoriser l'émancipation de divers peuples.

207. Au paragraphe 6 du dispositif du projet de résolution dont nous sommes saisis, il est stipulé que "la pratique de l'apartheid, ainsi que de toute forme de discrimination raciale, est un crime contre l'humanité"; dans la mesure où cette allégation est peut-être dirigée contre la politique de mon gouvernement, je tiens à la rejeter catégoriquement car elle est dénuée de tout fondement juridique ou moral. Qualifier la politique de mon gouvernement de crime contre l'humanité, c'est travestir la vérité et méconnaître totalement les exposés qui ont été faits fréquemment à cette tribune par les représentants de l'Afrique du Sud.

208. Au cours de la discussion générale sur la question du Sud-Ouest africain, nous avons de nouveau souligné qu'en ce qui concerne la façon dont nous administrons ce territoire le Gouvernement sud-africain entend accorder à tous les peuples placés sous sa tutelle, quelle que soit leur origine raciale ou ethnique, le droit de déterminer et de construire eux-mêmes leur avenir, afin qu'ils puissent vivre dans la paix et l'harmonie sur un pied d'égalité dans la dignité humaine.

209. Le paragraphe 9 du dispositif du projet de résolution prie tous les Etats agissant soit directement, soit par l'intermédiaire des institutions internationales dont ils sont membres, y compris les institutions spécialisées, de s'abstenir de fournir une assistance quelconque au Gouvernement sud-africain. Je préciserai à ce propos que l'Afrique du Sud fournit, plutôt qu'elle ne reçoit, une assistance technique et qu'elle est non seulement en mesure, mais encore désireuse d'accorder cette assistance à ceux qui voudront bien la demander. Cependant, je tiens à répéter ce que ma délégation a déjà eu l'occasion de déclarer à la Quatrième Commission [1654ème séance] lors de l'examen d'un autre projet de résolution, au sujet des arrangements conclus par l'Afrique du Sud avec la Banque internationale pour la reconstruction et le développement et le Fonds monétaire international du fait qu'elle est membre de ces deux organismes. Ma délégation avait alors mis l'Assemblée générale en garde contre toute décision invitant les institutions spécialisées à passer outre aux dispositions de leurs statuts respectifs. Nous avons souligné qu'une telle façon d'agir non seulement violerait des accords formels, mais encore créerait un précédent susceptible de nuire aux pays qui bénéficieraient le plus de l'aide des institutions techniques et spécialisées, c'est-à-dire aux pays en voie de développement. Ces pays pourraient un jour s'apercevoir que le fait de soumettre les activités des institutions techniques et spécialisées à des critères politiques est contraire à leurs intérêts.

210. Au paragraphe 10 du dispositif, les auteurs du projet de résolution prétendent qu'il existe une entente entre les Gouvernements sud-africain, portugais et rhodésien et invitent les Etats, en conséquence, à refuser "tout appui ou toute assistance à

cette entente, dont l'existence et les activités sont contraires aux intérêts de la paix et de la sécurité internationales". Outre que l'Afrique du Sud n'a conclu aucun accord avec ses voisins, ce paragraphe introduit, semble-t-il, une nouvelle conception de la politique internationale, selon laquelle des Etats voisins ne doivent pas s'entraider, bien que la coopération entre voisins soit l'un des principes fondamentaux de la Charte des Nations Unies qui, dans son préambule, nous invite tous à "pratiquer la tolérance, à vivre en paix l'un avec l'autre dans un esprit de bon voisinage". Mais cette coopération est condamnée lorsqu'elle concerne l'Afrique du Sud et ses voisins.

211. Mon gouvernement répond à ce genre de sophisme en rappelant que sa politique est de coopérer étroitement avec les Etats voisins sur la base de la coexistence pacifique et de la non-ingérence dans les affaires intérieures de ces Etats. Telles sont les relations que l'Afrique du Sud a établies avec tous les Etats qui touchent son territoire; elle est prête d'ailleurs à étendre sa coopération au-delà de ses frontières et à la pratiquer avec tous les Etats qui le souhaitent.

212. Le paragraphe 12 du dispositif condamne les activités de ceux des intérêts économiques et financiers étrangers, qui opèrent dans divers territoires, y compris au Sud-Ouest africain, et demande aux gouvernements intéressés de prendre les mesures nécessaires pour mettre fin à ces activités.

213. A ce propos, on peut se demander si les coauteurs souhaitent freiner le développement de l'économie dans ces territoires et empêcher l'amélioration du niveau de vie des habitants que les entreprises privées favorisent parce qu'elles disposent des moyens et des compétences les plus avancés de la technique et de la science moderne ainsi que d'une organisation et d'une gestion rationnelles qui sont indispensables au développement de l'économie. Entraver ce développement ne pourrait que nuire aux peuples de ces territoires. De toute évidence, ce paragraphe du projet de résolution obéit à des motifs politiques et la particularité avec laquelle il a été défendu à grand renfort de slogans au cours du débat le prouve bien.

214. Telles sont quelques-unes des raisons pour lesquelles ma délégation votera contre le projet de résolution.

215. M. AZNAR (Espagne) [traduit de l'espagnol]: Ma délégation souscrit entièrement à l'esprit du projet de résolution [A/L.506 et Add.1 et 2] dont l'Assemblée est saisie: les idées qui s'y trouvent énoncées coïncident avec les thèses espagnoles sur la décolonisation. Comme j'ai eu l'occasion de le dire devant d'autres instances de l'Organisation, l'Espagne est pour une décolonisation complète, sincère et réelle fondée sur cette liberté et cette dignité dont vient de parler le représentant de la Guinée. Pour ce qui est de nous, nous avons proclamé — et nous voulons proclamer encore — que nous veillerons à ce que soit appliqué le principe de l'autodétermination là où les résolutions de l'Assemblée générale ont décidé qu'il devait s'appliquer, que nous négocierons là où l'Assemblée nous conseille ou nous recommande de négocier, en tenant compte des intérêts de la popu-

lation, et, en fin de compte, que nous décoloniserons. De cela l'Assemblée peut être absolument assurée.

216. Je ne puis, en toute conscience, cacher que nous aurions préféré voir rédiger en d'autres termes plusieurs des paragraphes de ce projet de résolution, que nous aurions souhaité pour ce texte une formulation plus pratique et plus réaliste qui convienne mieux à tous. Ma délégation a des réserves à formuler en ce qui concerne le huitième alinéa du préambule et les paragraphes 7, 9, 10, 12 et 13 du dispositif et elle tient en fait à réserver entièrement sa position à leur sujet.

217. Encore une fois nous aurions préféré voir éliminer quelques-unes des phrases de ces paragraphes et remplacer certains de leurs termes par d'autres d'une portée plus pratique. Certaines des idées que renferment quelques-uns des paragraphes du projet de résolution viennent d'être exprimées par le représentant de la Guinée, mais dans des termes différents et, à notre avis, mieux que ne le fait le projet de résolution.

218. Le paragraphe 11 du dispositif qui a trait aux bases militaires revêt pour nous une très grande importance. Sur ce point, ma délégation souscrit pratiquement à toutes les idées développées par le représentant de la Tanzanie dans son intervention d'il y a quelques instants. Une des raisons qui font que nous sommes pour le projet de résolution à l'étude est justement ce paragraphe 11, qui traite des bases militaires.

219. En un mot, nous souhaiterions qu'il y ait un vote séparé sur les paragraphes que j'ai mentionnés car alors nous pourrions ne pas voter en leur faveur. S'il n'est pas possible de procéder à un vote séparé sur les divers paragraphes du texte, la délégation espagnole souhaiterait tout au moins qu'il soit indiqué dans le compte rendu des débats que l'Espagne réserve rigoureusement sa position sur lesdits paragraphes. C'est à cette condition qu'elle votera pour l'ensemble du projet de résolution.

220. Il me faut ajouter que ce vote final s'inscrit dans le cadre d'une politique générale de décolonisation que l'Espagne même et entend poursuivre à l'avenir, d'une politique en vertu de laquelle ce pays a invité il y a quelques mois les Nations Unies à envoyer une mission de visite dans un territoire relevant de sa compétence et les invite aujourd'hui dans un autre territoire. De plus, le Gouvernement espagnol annonce que dans un certain territoire — et je n'entrerai pas dans les détails, la question étant examinée en ce moment par la Quatrième Commission — il prévoit de convoquer dans les premiers mois de 1967 une conférence constitutionnelle au cours de laquelle les représentants des diverses tendances de l'opinion qui participeront à ses travaux seront appelés à décider de l'avenir de ce territoire.

221. Puisque telle est la politique de l'Espagne, il n'est pas exagéré de notre part de vouloir que la même politique soit suivie en notre faveur, et, puisque, dans notre propre territoire il nous est infligé une situation coloniale, il n'est pas exagéré de vouloir que l'on nous donne loyalement ce que nous donnons nous-mêmes, que l'on nous demande ce que nous demandons nous-mêmes; il n'est pas exagéré de

vouloir que l'on fasse une politique loyale et sincère, fondée sur la dignité et sur le respect des résolutions des Nations Unies, comme nous sommes prêts à le faire nous-mêmes dans les territoires que nous administrons.

222. Pour toutes les raisons que je viens d'évoquer rapidement et vu l'esprit et l'orientation générale du projet de résolution, nous appuierons ce texte étant entendu, comme nous l'avons déjà dit, que l'Espagne réserve sa position au sujet des paragraphes que j'ai mentionnés.

223. M. QUARLES VAN UFFORD (Pays-Bas) [traduit de l'anglais]: Il y aura six ans demain, au moment où la résolution sur la décolonisation allait être mise aux voix, ma délégation a eu l'occasion de déclarer, du haut de cette tribune, qu'elle voterait pour le projet qui est devenu depuis la résolution fondamentale sur la décolonisation. Sur les questions touchant l'octroi de l'indépendance, la position de ma délégation a toujours été conforme à la Déclaration qui figure dans ce qui est devenu la résolution 1514 (XV).

224. C'est donc à son grand regret que ma délégation se voit dans l'impossibilité de voter pour le projet de résolution [A/L.506 et Add.1 et 2] dont est maintenant saisie l'Assemblée générale.

225. Chaque année l'Assemblée générale consacre un certain nombre de jours à étudier la situation dans le domaine de la décolonisation puis elle résume ses conclusions, ses recommandations et ses vœux dans une résolution. Tout en réaffirmant que ma délégation reste fidèle au principe de la décolonisation, je tiens à déclarer qu'à son avis l'actuel projet de résolution ne reflète pas la situation telle qu'elle se présente maintenant et ne tient pas le compte qu'il faudrait des progrès accomplis dans le domaine de la décolonisation.

226. Qui plus est, ce texte outrepassa la déclaration originelle, par la lettre et par l'esprit, et c'est pour cela que, tout en continuant d'adhérer aux mêmes principes directeurs quant à la manière de guider les peuples dépendants vers la libre détermination, ma délégation ne pourra donner son appui à un certain nombre de paragraphes et s'abstiendra lors du vote sur le projet de résolution dans son ensemble.

227. M. APPIAH (Ghana) [traduit de l'anglais]: Je tiens d'abord à préciser, Monsieur le Président, que je prends la parole pour une motion d'ordre. Je n'oublie pas ce que vous avez dit avant de donner la parole aux orateurs précédents, mais je m'étais inscrit auprès du bureau pour une motion d'ordre, non pour une explication de vote. Par erreur, sans doute, ce message n'a pas été transmis au Président. Ayant procédé à une vérification, ma délégation a appris cette erreur et a reçu l'assurance que le Président en serait informé.

228. Le PRÉSIDENT (traduit de l'anglais): Je dois dire au représentant du Ghana que j'ignorais qu'il avait demandé à parler. C'est pourquoi, en lui donnant la parole maintenant, après tous les orateurs qui souhaitaient expliquer leur vote, je n'ai pas dit qu'il ne pourrait parler que pour expliquer son vote; il peut donc dire ce qu'il veut.

229. M. APPIAH (Ghana) [traduit de l'anglais]: Je vous en remercie.

230. La distinguée et gracieuse représentante des Etats-Unis a, il y a quelques instants, cherché à étayer sa thèse sur les Articles 11 et 12 de la Charte. Puis-je renvoyer les membres de l'Assemblée à l'Article 11 où il est déclaré:

"L'Assemblée générale peut discuter toutes questions se rattachant au maintien de la paix et de la sécurité internationales."

231. Au paragraphe 2 de l'Article 18 de la Charte, on lit ce qui suit:

"Les décisions de l'Assemblée générale sur les questions importantes sont prises à la majorité des deux tiers des membres présents et votants. Sont considérées comme questions importantes: les recommandations relatives au maintien de la paix et de la sécurité internationales..."

232. A mon humble avis, l'expression "les recommandations relatives au maintien de la paix et de la sécurité internationales", à l'Article 18, doit être lue en fonction de l'Article 11 qui en donne une description complète où figurent notamment "les principes généraux de coopération pour le maintien de la paix et de la sécurité internationales". Donc, à l'Article 18 il faut lire en fait: "Sont considérés comme questions importantes les principes généraux de coopération pour le maintien de la paix et de la sécurité internationales", parce que c'est seulement en se référant à l'Article 11 que l'on obtient une définition complète des "recommandations relatives au maintien de la paix et de la sécurité internationales". Une fois cette interprétation ou explication admise, on peut aussitôt poser la question suivante: qu'envisage l'Article 18?

233. Selon moi, il résulte de ce que je viens d'énoncer que l'Article 18 envisage une coopération internationale entre partenaires égaux; en d'autres termes, lorsqu'il s'agit de formuler des principes de coopération en vue du maintien de la paix et de la sécurité, les parties contractantes doivent être libres et égales et le pays qui fournit le terrain pour l'installation d'une base doit être lui-même sur un pied de coopération à titre d'associé.

234. Quelqu'un peut-il dire, même avec beaucoup d'imagination, que les peuples colonisés peuvent coopérer? Sachant comment les choses se passent communément peut-on vraiment dire qu'un peuple colonisé est consulté lorsque des bases sont installées? Il est certain que non.

235. Je voudrais faire bien comprendre aux membres de l'Assemblée que, s'ils n'interprètent pas comme je l'ai dit le libellé des Articles 11 et 18 que je viens de citer comme je l'ai indiqué, ils trahiront complètement la pensée des rédacteurs de la Charte. C'est pour cette raison, et seulement pour cette raison, que nous disons qu'il ne s'agit pas pour nous, dans ce projet de résolution, des bases militaires installées dans des territoires indépendants car nous savons qu'elles ont été installées là de par la volonté de partenaires égaux. Les bases auxquelles nous sommes opposés sont celles qui ont été installées sur le territoire de nations dépendantes, dont les populations ont vu leurs droits foulés aux pieds par les puissances

administrantes et qui, en fait, n'ont jamais été consultées sur ces questions.

236. Nul n'ignore d'ailleurs que ces bases sont souvent utilisées pour étouffer les aspirations politiques légitimes des populations des territoires dépendants. Nous en avons un exemple précis avec la Rhodésie du Sud. Si les Britanniques n'avaient pas installé une base sur ce territoire, Smith aurait-il osé, tout téméraire qu'il soit, lancer un défi non seulement à la puissance de la Grande-Bretagne, mais à la conscience de l'humanité civilisée tout entière?

237. Nous affirmons donc qu'aucun argument ne peut être fourni en faveur du maintien des bases militaires sur un territoire dont les propriétaires légitimes n'ont jamais été consultés avant que ces bases y soient installées.

238. Je voudrais humblement mais très sincèrement, en y mettant toute ma conviction, engager les représentants à relire les Articles 11 et 18 de la Charte. S'ils le font, ils ne pourront pas ne pas conclure que l'Article 18 ne peut s'interpréter avec exactitude que rapproché de l'Article 11, lequel précise en effet très clairement qu'il s'agit en fait "des principes généraux de coopération pour le maintien de la paix et de la sécurité internationales".

239. Ceux d'entre vous qui, dans l'exercice de leurs fonctions, ont eu l'occasion de rédiger des statuts, règlements et autres textes juridiques admettront aisément que cela est clair comme le jour. En effet, une fois que l'on a exposé nettement sa position dans le premier chapitre, il n'est pas toujours nécessaire de tout répéter dans les paragraphes ou les subdivisions qui suivent. Il suffit de mentionner le point principal et de renvoyer au début du texte, qui, comme ici l'Article 11, énonce clairement l'intention et la portée du statut, ou de la loi, ou de la résolution, ou du règlement, selon le cas.

240. Le PRESIDENT (traduit de l'anglais): Avant de passer au vote sur la proposition dont nous sommes saisis dans le cadre de la question à l'ordre du jour, je vais mettre aux voix la motion des Etats-Unis d'Amérique tendant à ce que la décision relative au paragraphe 11 du dispositif du projet de résolution [A/L.506 et Add.1 et 2] soit prise à la majorité des deux tiers. Le vote par appel nominal a été demandé.

Il est procédé au vote par appel nominal.

Le vote commence par l'Ethiopie, dont le nom est tiré au sort par le Président.

Votent pour: Finlande, France, Grèce, Islande, Iran, Irlande, Israël, Italie, Japon, Luxembourg, Malaisie, Malte, Pays-Bas, Nouvelle-Zélande, Nicaragua, Norvège, Paraguay, Pérou, Portugal, Afrique du Sud, Suède, Thaïlande, Turquie, Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord, Etats-Unis d'Amérique, Uruguay, Venezuela, Argentine, Australie, Autriche, Belgique, Bolivie, Brésil, Canada, Chine, Colombie, Danemark, El Salvador.

Votent contre: Ethiopie, Ghana, Guatemala, Guinée, Guyane, Hongrie, Inde, Indonésie, Irak, Jamaïque, Jordanie, Kenya, Koweït, Libéria, Libye, Mali, Mauritanie, Mongolie, Maroc, Nigéria, Pakistan, Philippines, Pologne, Roumanie, Rwanda, Arabie Saoudite, Sénégal, Sierra Leone, Singapour, Somalie, Espagne,

Soudan, Syrie, Togo, Tunisie, République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine, Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques, République arabe unie, République-Unie de Tanzanie, Haute-Volta, Yémen, Yougoslavie, Zambie, Afghanistan, Albanie, Algérie, Bulgarie, Birmanie, République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie, Cameroun, Ceylan, Congo (République démocratique du), Cuba, Tchécoslovaquie, République Dominicaine.

S'abstiennent: Gabon, Côte d'Ivoire, Madagascar, Malawi, Mexique, Niger, République centrafricaine, Chili, Dahomey.

Par 55 voix contre 38, avec 9 abstentions, la motion est rejetée.

241. Le PRESIDENT (traduit de l'anglais): J'invite maintenant les membres de l'Assemblée à examiner le projet de résolution A/L.506 et Add.1 et 2, tel qu'il a été modifié par les auteurs qui ont accepté les amendements figurant dans le document A/L.507.

242. Le rapport de la Cinquième Commission [A/6573] indique les incidences financières des recommandations formulées par le Comité spécial aux paragraphes 325 à 336 du chapitre I de son rapport [A/6300/Rev.1] qui, il me semble, sont incorporées au projet de résolution. On a demandé pour le paragraphe 11 du dispositif du projet de résolution un vote séparé par appel nominal.

Il est procédé au vote par appel nominal.

L'appel commence par la Guinée, dont le nom est tiré au sort par le Président.

Votent pour: Guinée, Guyane, Hongrie, Inde, Indonésie, Irak, Côte d'Ivoire, Jamaïque, Jordanie, Kenya, Koweït, Libéria, Libye, Mali, Mauritanie, Mongolie, Maroc, Niger, Nigéria, Pakistan, Pologne, Roumanie, Rwanda, Arabie Saoudite, Sénégal, Sierra Leone, Singapour, Somalie, Espagne, Soudan, Syrie, Togo, Tunisie, République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine, Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques, République arabe unie, République-Unie de Tanzanie, Haute-Volta, Yémen, Yougoslavie, Zambie, Afghanistan, Albanie, Algérie, Bulgarie, Birmanie, République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie, Cameroun, Ceylan, Chili, Congo (République démocratique du), Cuba, Tchécoslovaquie, Dahomey, République Dominicaine, Ethiopie, Ghana, Guatemala.

Votent contre: Islande, Italie, Japon, Luxembourg, Malte, Pays-Bas, Nouvelle-Zélande, Nicaragua, Norvège, Philippines, Portugal, Afrique du Sud, Suède, Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord, Etats-Unis d'Amérique, Australie, Belgique, Brésil, Canada, Chine, Danemark, France, Grèce.

S'abstiennent: Iran, Irlande, Israël, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaisie, Mexique, Paraguay, Pérou, Thaïlande, Turquie, Uruguay, Venezuela, Argentine, Autriche, Bolivie, République centrafricaine, Colombie, El Salvador, Finlande, Gabon.

Par 58 voix contre 23, avec 21 abstentions, le paragraphe 11 est adopté.

243. Le PRESIDENT (traduit de l'anglais): Le représentant de l'Uruguay a demandé un vote séparé sur les paragraphes 6 et 9 du dispositif. J'invite les membres de l'Assemblée générale à voter sur le paragraphe 6.

Par 69 voix contre 12, avec 16 abstentions, le paragraphe 6 est adopté.

244. Le PRESIDENT (traduit de l'anglais): J'invite maintenant les membres de l'Assemblée à voter sur le paragraphe 9.

Par 71 voix contre 6, avec 25 abstentions, le paragraphe 9 est adopté.

245. Le PRESIDENT (traduit de l'anglais): Je vais maintenant mettre aux voix l'ensemble du projet de résolution [A/L.506 et Add.1 et 2] tel qu'il a été modifié par l'adoption des amendements [A/L.507]. Un vote par appel nominal a été demandé.

Il est procédé au vote par appel nominal.

Le vote commence par le Libéria, dont le nom est tiré au sort par le Président.

Votent pour: Libéria, Libye, Madagascar, Malaisie, Mali, Mauritanie, Mongolie, Maroc, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigéria, Pakistan, Paraguay, Pérou, Philippines, Pologne, Roumanie, Rwanda, Arabie Saoudite, Sénégal, Sierra Leone, Singapour, Somalie, Espagne, Soudan, Syrie, Thaïlande, Togo, Tunisie, Turquie, République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine, Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques, République arabe unie, République-Unie de Tanzanie, Haute-Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yémen, Yougoslavie, Zambie, Afghanistan, Albanie, Algérie, Argentine, Bolivie, Bulgarie, Birmanie, République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie, Cameroun, République centrafricaine, Ceylan, Chili, Colombie, Congo (République démocratique du), Cuba, Tchécoslovaquie, Dahomey, République Dominicaine, Ethiopie, Gabon, Ghana, Grèce, Guatemala, Guinée, Guyane, Haïti, Hongrie, Inde, Indonésie, Iran, Irak, Côte d'Ivoire, Jamaïque, Jordanie, Kenya, Koweït.

Votent contre: Malte, Nouvelle-Zélande, Portugal, Afrique du Sud, Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord, Etats-Unis d'Amérique, Australie.

S'abstiennent: Luxembourg, Malawi, Mexique, Pays-Bas, Norvège, Suède, Autriche, Belgique, Brésil, Canada, Chine, Danemark, El Salvador, Finlande, France, Islande, Irlande, Israël^{5/}, Italie, Japon.

Par 76 voix contre 7, avec 20 abstentions, le projet de résolution dans son ensemble, tel qu'il a été modifié, est adopté.

246. Le PRESIDENT (traduit de l'anglais): Avant que nous ne levions la séance, un certain nombre de représentants ont demandé la parole, l'un pour exercer son droit à la réponse, les autres pour expliquer leur vote. Je donnerai tout d'abord la parole aux représentants qui désirent expliquer leur vote.

247. M. PEON DEL VALLE (Mexique) [traduit de l'espagnol]: Il est incontestable que le projet de résolution que vient d'adopter l'Assemblée générale [A/L.506 et Add.1 et 2] contient divers éléments qui sont d'une grande valeur et qui vont dans le sens de l'action remarquable que depuis les premiers jours de leur existence les Nations Unies mènent, souvent

^{5/} La délégation d'Israël a par la suite fait savoir au Secrétariat qu'elle désire que l'on consigne son vote comme ayant été en faveur du projet de résolution dans son ensemble, tel qu'il a été modifié.

avec un succès réel, pour la liberté des peuples soumis au régime d'administration coloniale.

248. Si l'on met à part la mission fondamentale qu'elle remplit pour tout ce qui touche directement les problèmes de la guerre et de la paix, on constate qu'il n'est pas d'entreprise plus édifiante et plus pleine de promesses que celle à laquelle se consacre notre organisation pour l'émancipation des peuples qui ne se gouvernent pas encore eux-mêmes. Avec le principe de la non-intervention, le principe de la reconnaissance du droit des peuples à l'émancipation est, et a toujours été, un des principes fondamentaux de la politique extérieure du Mexique.

249. C'est pourquoi, la délégation mexicaine, malgré les réserves que lui inspirent certains paragraphes, non seulement n'a pas voté contre le projet de résolution, mais elle tient maintenant à exprimer toute l'estime que lui inspire ce texte dont l'intention évidente est de défendre les hautes valeurs de la collectivité humaine; elle tient également à féliciter le Comité spécial pour le travail remarquable qu'il a accompli dans l'exercice de ses fonctions ainsi que le Rapporteur de cet important organe des Nations Unies pour les rapports qu'il a préparés.

250. Si elle n'a pas voté contre ce texte, la délégation mexicaine n'a toutefois pas eu le plaisir de voter pour lui, comme elle l'aurait fait n'étaient-ce les réserves et les doutes que lui inspirent divers paragraphes de la résolution.

251. Ainsi, elle craint qu'en demandant, comme le fait le paragraphe 9 du dispositif, que l'on s'abstienne de fournir une assistance "quelconque", par exemple au Gouvernement portugais, on ne sorte des objectifs anticolonialistes que l'on cherche à atteindre dans le cadre de la question à l'étude, perdant de vue en même temps que toute nation, tout peuple, peut à n'importe quel moment avoir besoin d'aide, et qu'en lui donnant cette aide on ne fait qu'obéir aux lois de la solidarité humaine en faveur de la paix et de la santé, voire du progrès, lorsque celui-ci est légitime.

252. Quant au paragraphe 10 du dispositif, il y est question d'une "entente" dont l'existence, tout au moins dans l'acception internationale classique de ce terme, n'est ni constatée ni établie dans les textes qui régissent le fonctionnement de notre organisation.

253. Pour ce qui est du paragraphe 11 du dispositif, la délégation mexicaine ne le juge pas opportun en ce moment, estimant qu'il vaut mieux ne rien décider avant de connaître les conclusions de la Conférence du Comité des dix-huit puissances sur le désarmement au sujet de la question des bases militaires que l'Assemblée générale, sur la recommandation de la Première Commission, lui a renvoyée aux fins d'examen et de rapport.

254. Tels sont, en quelques mots et dans les grandes lignes, quelques-uns des doutes et des réserves qui expliquent que nous n'ayons pas pu voter pour cette résolution, et cela bien que nous souscrivions pleinement, aujourd'hui comme de tout temps, aux objectifs qu'elle poursuit, et qui sont ceux que vise l'action des Nations Unies, je veux parler de la défense du droit de chaque individu à la liberté et du droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes.

255. M. PATRICIO (Portugal) [traduit de l'anglais]: Ma délégation voudrait expliquer brièvement pour quelles raisons elle a émis un vote négatif sur le projet de résolution qui vient d'être adopté. Nous ne nous proposons pas d'étudier en détail cette longue résolution. On peut formuler à son égard de nombreuses objections.

256. Elle ne tient aucun compte de certaines situations coloniales véritables existant dans le monde actuellement alors qu'elle considère comme coloniales d'autres situations qui ne le sont pas. Cette résolution est ainsi entachée d'un esprit partisan qui est contraire aux intentions et aux buts attribués à la teneur des recommandations. Celles-ci sont dirigées contre les intérêts et les droits de certaines puissances et feignent d'ignorer par ailleurs qu'il se trouve des puissances qui ne sont pas mentionnées dans la résolution et qui se rendent coupables en cet instant même d'impérialisme et de colonialisme sous leurs formes les plus brutales. Ces autres puissances sont complètement passées sous silence dans la résolution et apparaissent en fait comme ses partisans, l'une d'entre elles figurant même parmi les auteurs.

257. Cette résolution, en outre, porte gravement atteinte à la Charte de différentes façons. Pour ne donner qu'un exemple, les recommandations concernant la Rhodésie sont une violation flagrante de l'Article 12 de la Charte, qui interdit manifestement à l'Assemblée générale de faire des recommandations sur toute question que le Conseil de sécurité est en train d'examiner. Il ne peut y avoir deux avis sur ce point, tant le mépris de la Charte est évident. La Charte est devenue aujourd'hui une sorte de chiffon de papier entre les mains d'un groupe d'Etats Membres dont la politique arbitraire est maintenant devenue la loi de l'ONU.

258. En outre, ma délégation déplore les termes exagérés dans lesquels le texte tout entier est rédigé et les profonds préjugés qu'il fait apparaître. Ces préjugés sont particulièrement apparents dans la mention qui est faite de mon pays aux cinquième, huitième et neuvième alinéas du préambule ainsi qu'aux paragraphes 9, 10 et 20 du dispositif. Ces passages sont fondés uniquement sur des suppositions fausses et ma délégation les rejette catégoriquement, ainsi que toutes leurs implications.

259. Cela ne signifie pas que nous ne formulons pas d'objection à l'égard des autres paragraphes. Dans ce texte mal conçu, il ne se trouve guère de disposition qui puisse résister à l'épreuve de la vérité, de la justice et même d'un jugement dépourvu de passion. Ma délégation souhaite donc que l'on sache qu'elle proteste énergiquement contre l'emploi des mots "les territoires sous domination portugaise". Ce n'est là rien d'autre qu'un slogan démagogique, qui n'est conforme ni à la vérité, ni à la dignité que l'on attendrait d'une résolution de l'organisation mondiale où nous nous trouvons.

260. Si la majorité des membres de l'Organisation continuent à ne pas tenir compte de la réalité portugaise, cette majorité ne devra pas alors s'étonner que le Portugal ne la suive pas. Ma délégation ne peut qu'exprimer ses réserves les plus formelles au sujet de la résolution qui vient d'être adoptée.

261. M. KAYUKWA (République démocratique du Congo): Ma délégation n'a pas eu l'occasion d'expliquer son vote avant et elle estime devoir le faire maintenant. Nous avons voté en faveur du projet de résolution dans son ensemble et en faveur de chacun de ses paragraphes. La raison en est très simple: ma délégation est profondément convaincue, avant tout, que le phénomène colonial est révolu et doit être éliminé jusqu'à ses séquelles contemporaines. Dès lors, il est aisé de comprendre que ma délégation combattrait toute puissance qui, comme le Portugal, se refuse à notre époque à décoloniser les territoires sous sa domination, ou qui exerce à leur endroit un chantage inadmissible. Nul n'ignore en effet que non seulement le Portugal tue les gens qui vivent sous sa domination, mais aussi qu'il les exporte comme de la marchandise. C'est là un phénomène inacceptable dans notre monde actuel.

262. C'est dans cet ordre d'idées que ma délégation estime que la présence de bases ou de troupes étrangères dans les territoires colonisés constitue un honteux chantage, de sorte que nous ne pouvons l'accepter. Car ces bases non seulement sont installées contre le gré des peuples colonisés, mais en outre répondent à un souci qui va bien souvent au-delà de celui des intérêts réels des territoires intéressés. C'est ainsi que le Portugal, entre autres, utilise l'équipement et les armes fournies par l'OTAN non seulement pour massacrer les habitants de l'Angola et du Mozambique, mais aussi pour accomplir des actes d'agression contre les pays indépendants voisins de ces territoires.

263. Pour les mêmes raisons, ma délégation considère également que les activités de certains intérêts économiques et financiers constituent de sérieuses entraves et un grave handicap au droit des peuples à recouvrer leur dignité d'hommes libres.

264. Ma délégation s'est donc associée aux autres pour condamner les activités de ces intérêts.

265. Voilà, en très peu de mots, quelques raisons parmi tant d'autres qui ont amené ma délégation à voter en faveur du projet de résolution.

266. M. SOLANO LOPEZ (Paraguay) [traduit de l'espagnol]: Ma délégation éprouvait et éprouve encore des réserves et des doutes sérieux au sujet du libellé de certains paragraphes du projet de résolution que l'Assemblée vient d'approuver [A/L.506 et Add.1 et 2] et plus particulièrement au sujet des paragraphes 9 et 11 du dispositif, ce dernier mettant en jeu, à notre avis, les problèmes de la paix et de la sécurité en général.

267. En dépit de ces réserves et de ces doutes, ma délégation a voté pour le projet de résolution dans son ensemble, jugeant qu'il était nécessaire de ne rien faire qui puisse retarder le moment où les peuples dépendants pourront exercer leurs droits imprescriptibles à l'autodétermination et accéder à l'indépendance et à la souveraineté totales. Ma délégation, malgré les réserves qu'elle a mentionnées, estime que la résolution adoptée représente une mesure constructive dans ce sens.

268. Le PRESIDENT (traduit de l'anglais): Je donne maintenant la parole au représentant de Cuba, qui souhaite exercer son droit de réponse.

269. M. RODRIGUEZ ASTIAZARAIN (Cuba) [traduit de l'espagnol]: Au cours de la séance d'hier après-midi [1490ème séance], la représentante de la puissance coloniale qui occupe le territoire de Porto Rico a exercé son droit de réponse, essayant, mais en vain, de réfuter les arguments que ma délégation avait invoqués à la séance précédente [1489ème séance] au sujet de la situation à Porto Rico.

270. Comme nous l'avons vu, la délégation des Etats-Unis n'a rien apporté de nouveau, s'en tenant aux arguments rebattus que l'on ne connaît que trop. Etant donné qu'elle n'a pas pu réfuter les arguments de fond avancés par ma délégation, il n'est pas nécessaire que je revienne sur les considérations que ma délégation a formulées sur la question.

271. Les déclarations de la représentante des Etats-Unis peuvent se ramener aux trois affirmations suivantes: premièrement, Porto Rico est un pays autonome et la résolution 748 (VIII) de l'Assemblée générale le reconnaît; deuxièmement, lors des élections de 1952, le peuple porto-ricain s'est déclaré pour cette prétendue autonomie; troisièmement, en 1964, les Porto-Ricains, lors de nouvelles élections, ont réaffirmé leur volonté de conserver leur statut actuel.

272. Il ressort de ces déclarations que dans cette affaire les Etats-Unis veulent laisser les Nations Unies dans l'erreur; c'est pourquoi Cuba estime de son devoir de faire en quelques mots la lumière sur cette volonté de la puissance occupante de continuer à cacher la situation réelle dans laquelle se trouve le peuple frère de Porto Rico.

273. Il faut dire tout d'abord que c'est essentiellement sur la base des données et informations présentées par la puissance coloniale elle-même que la résolution 748 (VIII) de l'Assemblée générale a été adoptée. Quant à la thèse selon laquelle Porto Rico serait une entité politique autonome, tout semble indiquer que la représentante des Etats-Unis n'accorde pas ses idées avec celles qui ressortent des dispositions de la loi No 600, adoptée à la deuxième session du 81ème Congrès des Etats-Unis, en vertu de laquelle ledit changement politique est intervenu à Porto Rico.

274. Dans un rapport à la Chambre des représentants sur le projet de loi S/3336, qui est devenu par la suite la loi No 600, la commission de la Chambre des représentants qui s'occupe des questions intéressant le domaine public a fait observer que les articles de la charte organique de Porto Rico qui régissaient les relations entre les Etats-Unis et Porto-Rico — il s'agit des relations d'ordre politique, social et économique des Etats-Unis avec Porto Rico — demeuraient en vigueur; en d'autres termes, ces sections ne subissaient aucune modification et la loi No 600 n'empêcherait pas le Congrès des Etats-Unis d'intervenir éventuellement pour déterminer le statut politique définitif de Porto Rico.

275. Nous invitons la représentante des Etats-Unis à se reporter, pour se rafraîchir la mémoire, au rapport de la Chambre des représentants No 2275 (House Report No 2275)^{6/}, dans lequel se trouvent ces données officielles.

^{6/} U.S. Code Congressional Service, 81st Congress, Second Session, 1950, p. 2681 à 2684.

276. Il faut ajouter que les auteurs du projet de loi No 600, s'exprimant par l'intermédiaire du sénateur O'Mahoney, ont déclaré: "Aux termes du projet de loi, les rapports entre Porto Rico et le Gouvernement fédéral seraient virtuellement les mêmes."

277. M. Edward G. Miller, sous-secrétaire d'Etat des Etats-Unis qui était alors chargé des affaires intéressant l'Amérique latine, a révélé l'objectif fondamental de la loi No 600 dans une lettre adressée à ladite commission du domaine public, lorsqu'il a déclaré: "Il s'agit d'obtenir l'assentiment officiel des Porto-Ricains en ce qui concerne leurs rapports actuels avec les Etats-Unis."

278. Par ailleurs, pour ce qui est de la question des élections, nous rappellerons que, lorsque la loi No 600 a été soumise à la population porto-ricaine qui, lors du référendum qui a eu lieu le 3 juin 1951, devait l'accepter ou la rejeter, 505 753 personnes seulement, sur un corps électoral de 1 150 000 personnes, se sont rendues aux urnes, 386 812 ayant voté pour la loi et 118 941 ayant voté contre. On constate donc que 644 247 personnes se sont abstenues de voter, soit près de 60 p. 100 du corps électoral, et que 34 p. 100 seulement ont voté pour la loi tandis que 66 p. 100 se sont abstenues ou ont voté contre.

279. Lors des élections de 1952, la population étant invitée à se prononcer non pas sur la question de l'indépendance, mais sur quelques petites modifications sans importance à apporter au statut colonial, 39 p. 100 seulement des électeurs ont voté.

280. Quant aux élections de 1964, nous avons été surpris d'entendre la délégation des Etats-Unis en parler; il s'agissait d'élections normales, celles qui ont lieu tous les quatre ans pour élire des fonctionnaires coloniaux, et elles ne portaient nullement sur la question de l'indépendance.

281. Quoi qu'il en soit, que l'on se fonde sur les faits, la loi, la jurisprudence ou les déclarations des hauts fonctionnaires du Gouvernement des Etats-Unis, on doit constater qu'après avoir subi une occupation militaire pendant 68 ans Porto Rico reste une simple possession des Etats-Unis.

282. Le PRESIDENT (traduit de l'anglais): Je donne maintenant la parole à la représentante des Etats-Unis d'Amérique en vertu du droit de réponse.

283. Mme ANDERSON (Etats-Unis d'Amérique) [traduit de l'anglais]: Je voudrais répondre à la déclaration qui vient d'être faite. Comme je ne veux pas retarder la levée de la séance de l'Assemblée, je serai très brève. Je rappellerai seulement, au sujet de la déclaration que nous venons d'entendre, déclaration qui déforme complètement les faits, que ma délégation a exposé ici même hier la véritable situation en ce qui concerne le statut autonome de Porto Rico, lequel a été reconnu par l'Assemblée générale et est en vigueur à ce jour.

284. Je voudrais donc inviter les membres de l'Assemblée à se reporter à la déclaration que j'ai faite hier [1491ème séance].

La séance est levée à 19 h 35.

2232 (XXI). Question d'Antigua, des Bahamas, des Bermudes, de la Dominique, de la Grenade, de Guam, des îles Caïmanes, des îles Cocos (Keeling), des îles Gilbert-et-Ellice, de l'île Maurice, des îles Salomon, des îles Samoa américaines, des îles Seychelles, des îles Tokélaou, des îles Turks et Caïques, des îles Vierges américaines, des îles Vierges britanniques, de Montserrat, de Nioué, des Nouvelles-Hébrides, de Pitcairn, de Saint-

²⁹ *Ibid.*, dix-neuvième session, *Annexes*, annexe n° 8 (1^{re} partie) [A/5800/Rev.1], chap. X, par. 209.

Christophe-et-Nièves et Anguilla, de Sainte-Hélène, de Sainte-Lucie et de Saint-Vincent*L'Assemblée générale,*

Ayant étudié la question des territoires suivants: Antigua, Bahamas, Bermudes, Dominique, Grenade, Guam, îles Caïmanes, îles Cocos (Keeling), îles Gilbert-et-Ellice, île Maurice, îles Salomon, îles Samoa américaines, îles Seychelles, îles Tokélaou, îles Turks et Caïques, îles Vierges américaines, îles Vierges britanniques, Montserrat, Nioué, Nouvelles-Hébrides, Pitcairn, Saint-Christophe-et-Nièves et Anguilla, Sainte-Hélène, Sainte-Lucie et Saint-Vincent,

Ayant examiné les chapitres du rapport du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux relatifs à ces territoires³⁰,

Rappelant ses résolutions 1514 (XV) du 14 décembre 1960, 1654 (XVI) du 27 novembre 1961, 1810 (XVII) du 17 décembre 1962, 1956 (XVIII) du 11 décembre 1963, 2066 (XX) du 16 décembre 1965, 2069 (XX) du 16 décembre 1965 et 2189 (XXI) du 13 décembre 1966,

Profondément préoccupée par les renseignements contenus dans le rapport du Comité spécial concernant la persistance de politiques visant notamment à la destruction de l'intégrité territoriale de certains de ces territoires et à l'établissement, par les puissances administrantes, de bases et d'installations militaires en violation des résolutions pertinentes de l'Assemblée générale,

Déplorant le refus de certaines puissances administrantes d'autoriser des missions de visite de l'Organisation des Nations Unies à se rendre dans ces territoires,

Sachant que, dans ces conditions, l'attention soutenue et l'assistance de l'Organisation des Nations Unies sont nécessaires si l'on veut que les peuples de ces territoires atteignent leurs objectifs, énoncés dans la Charte des Nations Unies et dans la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux,

Consciente de la situation géographique et des conditions économiques particulières de certains de ces territoires,

1. *Approuve* les chapitres du rapport du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux relatifs à ces territoires;

2. *Réaffirme* le droit inaliénable des peuples de ces territoires à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance;

3. *Invite* les puissances administrantes à appliquer sans retard les résolutions pertinentes de l'Assemblée générale;

4. *Réitère* sa déclaration selon laquelle toute tentative visant à détruire partiellement ou totalement l'unité nationale et l'intégrité territoriale des territoires coloniaux et à établir des bases et des installations militaires dans ces territoires est incompatible avec les buts et les principes de la Charte des Nations Unies et de la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale;

5. *Demande instamment* aux puissances administrantes d'autoriser les missions de visite de l'Organisation des Nations Unies à se rendre dans les territoires

et de leur offrir toute leur coopération et toute leur assistance;

6. *Décide* que l'Organisation des Nations Unies devra prêter toute l'aide nécessaire aux peuples de ces territoires dans les efforts qu'ils déploient pour décider librement de leur statut futur;

7. *Prie* le Comité spécial de continuer à accorder une attention spéciale à ces territoires et de faire rapport à l'Assemblée générale, lors de sa vingt-deuxième session, sur l'application de la présente résolution;

8. *Prie* le Secrétaire général de continuer à prêter toute son assistance dans l'application de la présente résolution.

*1500^e séance plénière,
20 décembre 1966.*

³⁰ *Ibid.*, vingt et unième session, Annexes, additif au point 23 de l'ordre du jour (A/6300/Rev.1), chap. XIV à XIX, XXII.

Nations Unies
**ASSEMBLÉE
 GÉNÉRALE**

VINGT ET UNIÈME SESSION

Documents officiels



172
1500^e
SÉANCE PLÉNIÈRE

Mardi 20 décembre 1966,
 à 10 h 30

NEW YORK

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*La version révisée du compte rendu incorpore le document A/PV. 1500/Add.1 (explications de vote additionnelles).

35. Le PRÉSIDENT (traduit de l'anglais): Nous passons maintenant au point 23 de l'ordre du jour et au rapport du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. La discussion générale sur le point 23 s'est terminée le 13 décembre par l'adoption de la résolution 2189 (XXI).

36. Par conséquent, il appartient maintenant à l'Assemblée générale de se prononcer sur le projet de résolution de la Quatrième Commission concernant la Côte française des Somalis [A/6583, par. 11]; sur les projets de résolution concernant Ifni, le Sahara espagnol et la Guinée équatoriale [A/6623, par. 20]; enfin sur les projets de résolution concernant les territoires qui n'ont pas été examinés séparément [A/6628, par. 19].

37. Je donnerai tout d'abord la parole aux représentants qui désirent expliquer leur vote avant que nous mettions aux voix les divers projets de résolution concernant le point que nous examinons actuellement. L'Assemblée votera sur les projets de résolution dans l'ordre où ils ont été présentés par la Commission. Une fois ces opérations terminées, je donnerai la parole aux représentants qui après coup désireront expliquer leur vote.

38. Ces questions ayant été examinées en détail par la Commission et, étant donné le peu de temps dont l'Assemblée dispose pour mener à bien les travaux de sa vingt et unième session, je demanderai aux représentants de faire en sorte que leurs interventions soient aussi brèves que possible.

39. M. KAYUKWA (République démocratique du Congo): Aux 1664ème et 1666ème séances de la Quatrième Commission, ma délégation avait eu l'occasion d'expliquer très largement son vote et sa position sur le projet de résolution [A/6583, par. 11] que nous examinons en ce moment. Elle avait dit notamment qu'elle se réservait sur le paragraphe 4 du dispositif, bien qu'elle eût l'intention de voter en faveur du projet de résolution dans son ensemble. En toute logique, son vote aurait donc dû être émis ainsi. Or, il s'est fait que, par inadvertance, pensant que le vote portait sur l'ensemble du projet de résolution alors qu'il portait sur le paragraphe 4, ma délégation a émis un vote favorable sur ce paragraphe. Aussi s'était-elle réservée le droit de signaler cette erreur et de la faire corriger en Assemblée générale. C'est ce qu'elle fait. Elle tient, ce faisant, à s'excuser si elle a créé pour certaines délégations de faux espoirs ou une satisfaction erronée en leur laissant croire qu'elle avait pu appuyer le paragraphe 4.

40. Cela dit, qu'il me soit permis, très brièvement, comme le Président l'a souhaité, de préciser encore davantage la position de ma délégation sur le projet de résolution que nous examinons. L'attitude de ma délégation lors du vote procédera de deux sentiments, à savoir le souci de considérer les faits et le souci de respecter les principes.

41. Quelles sont les données du problème de la Somalie dite française? Ces données sont les suivantes.

42. Premièrement, nous nous trouvons en face d'un pays dont la situation géographique et la composition ethnique soulèvent, à tort ou à raison, des revendications et des controverses de la part des pays voisins.

43. Deuxièmement, nous nous trouvons en face d'une puissance administrante dont les vues sur la décolonisation sont basées sur le respect total du principe de l'autodétermination, et dont le courage, s'agissant du respect de ces principes, au cours de toute l'histoire de la décolonisation, pourrait difficilement être mis en doute.

44. Troisièmement, nous nous trouvons devant le fait que la Puissance administrante s'est déjà engagée dans le processus de la décolonisation et de l'autodétermination en décrétant, pour l'année prochaine, un référendum sur l'avenir politique du territoire.

45. Enfin, nous nous trouvons aussi devant le fait qu'une certaine inquiétude semble se manifester à propos des conditions politiques présentes, en raison notamment de l'agitation, et en tenant compte de ce que, pour les besoins du maintien de l'ordre public, certaines personnes se sont vues privées de liberté, ou même, il faut le dire, obligées de quitter le territoire.

46. Prenant en considération tous ces facteurs, ma délégation pense qu'elle ne pouvait pas se soustraire à la nécessité, tout d'abord, d'affirmer avec vigueur le principe de l'autodétermination pour ce territoire, aux fins de se conformer à la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale et de reconnaître par la même occasion la compétence de l'Organisation des Nations Unies en la matière, ensuite, d'apprécier en stricte justice les efforts de la France dans l'application de

ladite résolution en ce qui concerne la Côte dite française des Somalis.

47. En outre, ma délégation ne veut pas se soustraire à la nécessité de signaler également à l'attention de la Puissance administrante l'inquiétude de certains Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies à la suite de l'hypothèque que les conditions politiques présentes pourraient faire peser sur la liberté d'expression lors du référendum.

48. Enfin, ma délégation tient à souligner qu'elle souhaite grandement, dans la mesure du possible et dans l'intérêt de la cause de la décolonisation de ce territoire, une libre coopération de la Puissance administrante avec l'Organisation des Nations Unies et, à défaut, avec l'Organisation de l'unité africaine, dans la conviction sincère que cette coopération ne ferait que rehausser davantage le prestige de la Puissance administrante.

49. Concernant les principes de l'autodétermination et de la compétence des Nations Unies, ma délégation a estimé qu'il était nécessaire de les affirmer, en même temps qu'elle estimait utile de porter à la connaissance de la Puissance administrante le souci de tous les Etats Membres — souci partagé d'ailleurs par la Puissance administrante elle-même — de réaliser cette autodétermination dans les meilleurs délais possible.

50. C'est pour ces raisons que, dans le projet de résolution, les clauses ayant trait à ces vues ont eu l'approbation de ma délégation, même si elle eût souhaité, pour certaines d'entre elles, quelques changements de forme qui auraient pu améliorer le texte.

51. En ce qui concerne la présence des Nations Unies, ma délégation a indiqué qu'elle aurait souhaité une libre coopération de la Puissance administrante. Force nous est de constater que la clause relative à cette présence n'épouse pas la forme de cette libre coopération que nous souhaitons tous, mais plutôt celle d'une sorte d'imposition, attitude qui n'a pas été nécessaire pour l'accession à l'indépendance de beaucoup des Membres ici présents et qui heurte d'une manière compréhensible l'honneur d'une délégation dont le pays, à l'encontre de certains autres — qui se refusent à prendre leurs pleines responsabilités pour certains territoires sous leur domination ou refusent de reconnaître aux populations sous leur responsabilité le droit à l'autodétermination —, peut plutôt s'honorer de son passé en matière de décolonisation.

52. Dès lors, cette coopération, parce que imposée, a été refusée par la Puissance administrante elle-même, et ma délégation, par conséquent, a considéré comme inutile la clause en question puisque irréalisable, sans pour autant cesser de croire que cette coopération reste malgré tout souhaitable, sans pour autant être convaincue que l'absence de l'ONU compromettrait nécessairement le déroulement normal du référendum.

53. C'est pour cela que ma délégation s'est abstenue lors du vote sur le paragraphe 4 du projet de résolution en question à la Quatrième Commission et qu'elle compte également s'abstenir en Assemblée générale si un vote séparé est demandé sur ce paragraphe.

54. Je voudrais terminer en rappelant encore une fois que c'est par erreur que ma délégation a voté en commission pour le paragraphe 4 de ce projet de résolution.

55. Le PRÉSIDENT (traduit de l'anglais): Avant de donner la parole à l'orateur suivant, j'aimerais rappeler que ces points ont été examinés en détail à la Quatrième Commission, que le temps dont dispose l'Assemblée est très limité et que déjà 11 orateurs sont inscrits. A ce point des débats, les déclarations devraient se limiter à des explications de vote. Peut-être y a-t-il quelque difficulté à définir de façon satisfaisante pour tous ce qu'est une explication de vote, encore que l'objet d'une explication de vote soit très clair. Je fais donc appel à l'esprit de collaboration des représentants pour que leurs déclarations se bornent à des explications de vote, conformément à leurs décisions mêmes.

56. M. AZNAR (Espagne) [traduit de l'espagnol]: En séance plénière, l'Assemblée générale va voter trois projets de résolution qui intéressent directement l'Espagne. Ils émanent de la Quatrième Commission, qui les a adoptés, et traitent des problèmes de la décolonisation qui se posent en Guinée équatoriale, au Sahara espagnol, à Ifni et à Gibraltar.

57. J'ai maintenant à expliquer et à justifier mon vote en ce qui concerne les deux premiers projets [A/6623, par. 20]. Je vous prie, Monsieur le Président, d'en tenir compte, étant donné que je vais expliquer non pas un seul vote mais deux. J'ai en outre le sentiment que, comme représentant officiel de l'Espagne et vu la responsabilité espagnole quant aux points mentionnés, il est peut-être intéressant ici que nous fassions connaître les motifs de notre vote. Je le ferai le plus clairement possible.

58. Je commencerai par le territoire de la Guinée équatoriale, formé politiquement des anciennes provinces de Río Muni et de Fernando Póo. Comme tous les représentants s'en souviendront, l'été dernier, une mission des Nations Unies, invitée à cet effet par l'Espagne, s'est rendue en Guinée équatoriale.

59. De cette tribune même, M. Collier, président du Comité des Vingt-Quatre, a fait voici quelques jours un éloge chaleureux de l'attitude espagnole, vanté l'hospitalité réservée aux visiteurs et la liberté absolue dont ils ont joui pour accomplir leur mission. Cette visite a donné lieu à un rapport assurément très minutieux [A/6300/Rev.1, chap. IX et X] dont le Comité spécial a pris connaissance et qu'il a adopté en temps utile.

60. Selon ma délégation, dans ce document d'information, qui comprend — je me permets de le dire sincèrement mais respectueusement — des choses vraies et des erreurs, comme toute œuvre humaine, il y a plus particulièrement une suggestion, une initiative politique d'importance spéciale et probablement — ou sûrement pourrions-nous dire — riche de possibilités. Cette initiative consiste à proposer la convocation d'une conférence constitutionnelle, à laquelle seraient représentés tous les secteurs de l'opinion publique guinéenne. Cette conférence discuterait avec la plus grande liberté et la plus grande responsabilité tous les problèmes ayant trait à la décolonisation de la Guinée équatoriale.

61. Aussitôt après avoir pris connaissance du rapport du Sous-Comité, le Gouvernement espagnol a fait sienne cette idée d'une conférence, et le 10 décembre, le représentant de l'Espagne, M. Pinies, en vertu d'instructions que, comme chef de la délégation espagnole, je lui avais moi-même données, a déclaré devant le Comité spécial que notre gouvernement avait décidé de convoquer dans les premiers mois de 1967 une conférence constitutionnelle à laquelle tous les secteurs de l'opinion publique du territoire pourraient et devraient envoyer des représentants, librement désignés.

62. Dans notre esprit, on s'est acheminé vers la décolonisation de la Guinée équatoriale, dans des conditions irréprochables et sûres. Ainsi était donnée au peuple guinéen l'occasion décisive de se sentir maître de son destin, artisan unique de son avenir, à la fois pour les grands problèmes de l'autodétermination et pour les problèmes moins importants et secondaires.

63. Il a semblé à ma délégation qu'au moment de voter sur le projet de résolution II dont je parle, la réaction logique devant les projets très concrets du Gouvernement espagnol devait être de ne rien faire qui, de près ou de loin, directement ou indirectement, signifie interférence, limitation, orientation de la faculté éminemment libre que doit avoir le peuple de la Guinée équatoriale de décider ce qui lui convient, ce qu'il croit devoir le mieux aider à réaliser ses idéaux.

64. En résumé, ce peuple doit conserver sa volonté absolument libre à travers les débats et les accords de la conférence constitutionnelle. Or, comme nous estimions et continuons d'estimer que le projet de résolution ne tient pas suffisamment compte de ce principe fondamental de la conférence souveraine, nous avons choisi de nous abstenir au moment du vote.

65. Vous me ferez, j'espère, la justice de penser que notre abstention s'accompagne de rectitude dans le jugement et d'honnêteté dans la conduite.

66. Je dois ajouter quelques mots au sujet de la Guinée équatoriale, parce que j'ai le sentiment qu'ils peuvent présenter un certain intérêt. Pour le Gouvernement espagnol — et j'attacherais du prix à ce que tous les représentants en prennent acte —, tout ce qui constituerait une ingérence vis-à-vis de la conférence constitutionnelle, tout ce qui préjugerait ou prédéterminerait les résolutions de ladite conférence est, comme je l'ai déjà dit, inopportun, parce que cela reviendrait à diminuer les facultés multiples des forces politiques et sociales du peuple guinéen. C'est à ce peuple et à lui seul qu'il appartient de dire oui à ceci et non à cela, et peut-être à d'autres choses encore. C'est là ce que signifie le mot "autodétermination".

67. Vous savez maintenant que si ce peuple de Guinée, par le truchement de la conférence, dans la plus libre des décisions, décide de se prononcer pour l'indépendance, l'Espagne appliquera strictement les recommandations formulées par les Nations Unies d'accélérer la préparation spéciale du pays afin que cette indépendance devienne réalité dans le plus bref délai possible.

68. A cet effet, et conformément à l'offre que ma délégation a faite devant la Quatrième Commission, l'Espagne, je le répète, convoquera dans les premiers mois de l'année 1967 la conférence constitutionnelle à laquelle j'ai fait allusion. A cette conférence seront représentés les autorités autonomes et les différents groupes politiques et sociaux qui constituent la communauté de la Guinée équatoriale, et les résolutions qui y seront adoptées seront communiquées au Secrétaire général des Nations Unies.

69. La conférence constitutionnelle tant de fois citée entraînera — du moins peut-on le prévoir — des modifications de structure politique, lesquelles permettront au peuple de la Guinée équatoriale, et à lui seul, sans ingérence d'aucune sorte, d'accéder par lui-même à l'indépendance. L'Espagne offre toute l'assistance nécessaire pour que ce processus puisse se dérouler et que la Guinée obtienne la confirmation de sa personnalité internationale complète, couronnée, le moment venu, par son admission comme Membre de plein droit aux Nations Unies, lesquelles seraient dès lors, et conformément à la Charte et de la manière la plus efficace, garantes de son intégrité territoriale.

70. Voilà, ni plus ni moins, ce que je tenais à dire au sujet du projet de résolution II adopté par la Quatrième Commission, en ce qui concerne la Guinée équatoriale. Je tenais à faire ces quelques remarques sur le mécanisme et les mesures recommandées par ce projet, solutions qui, nous le croyons en toute conscience, ne sont pas de nature à aider à la décolonisation du territoire. Telle est la raison pour laquelle ma délégation s'est abstenue lors du vote sur ce projet.

71. J'aimerais maintenant expliquer notre vote sur le projet de résolution I qui concerne l'Ifni et le Sahara espagnol. Là encore, comme pour le problème de la Guinée équatoriale, je dirai, avec votre permission, que tous — c'est-à-dire ceux qui ont présenté ce projet, ceux qui ont voté pour et la délégation de l'Espagne, qui a voté contre — nous interprétons la même mélodie, mais sur des instruments différents. Ainsi que l'écrivait un homme politique espagnol éminent du temps de ma jeunesse, je dirai que nous sommes d'accord quant aux critères essentiels, mais que nos opinions diffèrent sur les moyens.

72. Le critère essentiel est que le Sahara espagnol doit être décolonisé par la voie de l'autodétermination. Quant aux moyens, il s'agit de savoir quelle est la voie ou quelles sont les voies que nous devons suivre pour parvenir à ce but.

73. Mon gouvernement a pensé que les tâches et les formalités qu'implique la décolonisation future pourraient être précédées d'une visite officielle des Nations Unies en territoire saharien, comme cela s'est produit à Fernando Póo et au Rio Muni. C'est ce que le représentant permanent adjoint de l'Espagne avait déclaré devant la Quatrième Commission dans les termes ci-après:

"La délégation espagnole est prête à engager des consultations avec le Secrétaire général en vue de désigner un comité qui se rendrait au Sahara espagnol. Ce comité ferait lui-même, sur place, une étude objective de la situation dans le territoire et se ferait une opinion à ce sujet, confirmant la sin-

cérité de l'Espagne en matière de décolonisation. Un groupe de personnes impartiales et désintéressées, ne représentant pas les pays qui ont manifesté un intérêt direct pour le Sahara espagnol ou qui ont des ambitions territoriales à son endroit, déterminerait quelle est la vraie situation dans le territoire et quels en sont les aspects essentiels. Cela permettrait à la Commission de se faire une idée de ce que l'Espagne a accompli jusqu'ici, de se procurer des renseignements précis, de connaître les plans envisagés et de savoir ce que désire la population autochtone sur son avenir, désir qui se réalisera, en temps utile, par le processus d'autodétermination^{2/}."

74. Nous pensons sincèrement que, à propos du vote, nous nous trouvons dans une situation analogue à celle que j'ai décrite au sujet de la Guinée équatoriale. Pour la seconde fois, je répète — et je crois que l'Assemblée donnera à mes paroles leur portée exacte — que l'Espagne a de nouveau invité les Nations Unies à se rendre dans un territoire non autonome qu'elle administre. Comment mieux prouver notre sincérité et notre désir de collaboration? N'était-il pas raisonnable d'attendre qu'ait été effectuée cette visite, afin que l'Organisation puisse, elle-même, sans préjugés et sans parti pris, recueillir les renseignements indispensables sur le Sahara espagnol et sur tout ce que sa situation a de particulier? Ne fallait-il pas attendre que le sous-comité qui se rendra dans ce territoire ait rédigé son rapport et que celui-ci ait fait l'objet d'un débat devant permettre d'apporter à chacun les renseignements nécessaires?

75. Vous voudrez bien admettre qu'un Etat qui ouvre toutes grandes les portes de ses territoires non autonomes aux Nations Unies pour que l'Organisation puisse observer la situation et procéder aux études indispensables a lieu d'être douloureusement surpris de constater que l'on a répondu à la cordialité et à l'ampleur de cette initiative par une résolution où nous croyons discerner des craintes et les signes d'une méfiance manifeste. La dignité des Nations Unies n'est pas une notion vaine. Si l'Espagne n'était pas résolue à décoloniser la Guinée équatoriale, aurait-elle invité les Nations Unies à se rendre dans ce territoire? Si l'Espagne n'avait pas également le désir d'appliquer le principe d'autodétermination au Sahara en vue de sa décolonisation, aurait-elle proposé aux Nations Unies d'aller constater elles-mêmes et sur place les réalités sahariennes? Nul ne peut le croire. Telles sont les vraies raisons et telle est l'authentique signification du vote négatif que nous avons émis à la Quatrième Commission.

76. Ce vote ne signifie nullement que nous revenons le moins du monde sur nos décisions de décolonisation; il maintient au contraire et confirme les assurances que nous avons données que le principe d'autodétermination sera, dans la liberté, dans la justice et dans la dignité, appliqué au Sahara espagnol. Précisément parce que c'est cela que nous voulons, nous avons demandé de ne pas introduire dans ce processus des éléments de trouble, de confusion, voire même de tension.

77. La visite des Nations Unies devait avoir lieu sans condition d'aucune sorte. Mais il est bien entendu qu'aucune condition ne devait être dictée à quiconque, ni aux Nations Unies ni à la Puissance invitante. Autrement dit, la visite devait avoir lieu dans une atmosphère exempte de passion et dans un cadre exempt de préjugé ou d'idée préconçue. Je crois donc que notre position est claire, que notre vote est expliqué et sa portée véritable définie. Je le répète une fois encore, nous sommes pleinement d'accord avec les auteurs du projet de résolution sur l'essentiel, et nos opinions ne divergent que sur les modalités d'application.

78. Du territoire d'Ifni, que dirai-je qui ne fasse que répéter ce que vous savez déjà? Une négociation bilatérale peut parfaitement résoudre le problème, compte tenu des intérêts de la population. La méthode recommandée dans le projet de résolution dont il est question est selon nous beaucoup plus confuse et moins efficace.

79. Je n'insisterai pas sur ce point parce que l'Assemblée brûle du désir de clore sa session et que, je crois, toutes les délégations partagent cet espoir avec vous, Monsieur le Président. Avant de quitter cette tribune, je demande que, lorsque le projet de résolution I sur la question d'Ifni et du Sahara espagnol sera mis aux voix, les mots "En consultation avec les Gouvernements du Maroc et de la Mauritanie", qui figurent au paragraphe 4 du dispositif, fassent l'objet d'un vote séparé. Nous le demandons parce que ce texte introduit aux Nations Unies une notion sans précédent qui, si elle devait être retenue, entraînerait des complications inouïes, comme le savent tous ceux qui ont étudié le problème.

80. Nous venons d'adopter le projet de résolution concernant la Côte française des Somalis [A/6583, par. 11], ce qui est admirable. Dans ce projet concernant un territoire auquel les voisins, la Somalie et l'Ethiopie, déclarent s'intéresser si vivement, il n'est pas question de la nécessité de les consulter. Ce projet, nous venons de l'adopter. Or, dans le projet concernant le Sahara espagnol, il en est question. Il y a donc là deux poids et deux mesures, ce qui nous paraît injuste; par conséquent, aux arguments que j'ai déjà invoqués, et qui sont les plus profonds, s'ajoute cette raison technique, qui vient à l'appui des considérations précédentes.

M. Solomon (Trinité-et-Tobago), vice-président, prend la présidence.

81. M. NSANZE (Burundi): Mon pays est appelé, bien que benjamin des républiques qu'a déjà connues le monde, à se classer dans la catégorie des Etats que l'histoire peut qualifier de champions de l'indépendance totale et de la rupture complète de liens fondés sur la force.

82. La nature, qui a situé le Burundi à l'intersection des quatre points cardinaux de l'Afrique; l'histoire, qui l'a englobé dans la communauté humaine dominée; l'espèce humaine, qui l'a accueilli dans son sein, nécessitent l'appui par ma délégation de toutes les résolutions plaidant pour la libération des peuples encore soumis à la domination coloniale. En conséquence, mon intervention se réfère aux huit premiers points figurant à notre ordre du jour.

^{2/} Cette déclaration a été faite à la 1660ème séance de la Quatrième Commission, dont le compte rendu officiel est publié sous forme résumée.

83. Les raisons invoquées ci-dessus montrent clairement que la République dernière née ne peut se dérober à sa vocation libératrice. Le droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes découle de l'essence même de l'homme. En d'autres termes, l'existence humaine d'un peuple quelconque s'identifie à une nécessité automatique de la jouissance de l'indépendance politique. Le seul fait qu'un peuple est là justifie ses revendications naturelles de ses droits politiques et ses aspirations fondamentales à la souveraineté. Peu importe son niveau de formation intellectuelle, peu importe ses dimensions géographiques, peu importe même son importance numérique.

84. Le droit économique est également inhérent à la nature humaine. Les visées de la domination coloniale se ramènent à la formule suivante: "Coloniser, c'est se mettre en rapport avec des pays neufs, pour profiter des ressources de toute nature de ces pays, les mettre en valeur dans l'intérêt national..."^{3/} Il s'agit bien entendu de l'intérêt national de la puissance colonisatrice. Je cite Mérignhac, dans son Précis de législation et d'économie coloniales.

85. En conséquence, maintenir le système colonial sur un peuple quelconque équivaut à réclamer et à renier tout à la fois la condition humaine. Voilà la contradiction explosive, caractéristique principale du dogme colonial.

86. Toute frustration de ce droit radical à l'indépendance est à rayer de l'histoire humaine, que cette frustration soit perpétuée par d'autres puissances, ou qu'elle le soit par le trio dominateur de l'Afrique centrale, bastion de la colonisation en Afrique: je veux parler de Lisbonne, qui pratique une colonisation de type classique avec sa propre rhétorique; de Pretoria, avec son recours à des formules rituelles de déshumanisation systématisée incarnée dans l'apartheid; de Salisbury, avec son culte de l'avatar colonial caractérisé par la collusion Londres-Salisbury dans une malice politique inextricable.

87. Voilà les raisons pour lesquelles mon pays ne peut se désolidariser de ceux qui œuvrent pour le triomphe du droit et de la liberté des peuples.

88. Je remercie le Président pour sa patience et sa bienveillance et l'Assemblée pour son attention.

89. M. OWONO (Cameroun): La délégation camerounaise votera en faveur de tous les projets de résolution contenus dans les rapports de la Quatrième Commission sur le point 23 de l'ordre du jour.

90. Nous avons déjà expliqué clairement nos positions à l'égard de ces projets de résolution, que nous avons adoptés dans leur ensemble, et nous voulons les réaffirmer également en séance plénière. J'aurais voulu arrêter mes remarques après avoir fait cette déclaration, mais j'estime que l'exposé que vient de faire le représentant de l'Espagne nécessite qu'à cette occasion nous apportions les précisions que nous avons déjà données en Quatrième Commission [1665ème séance] concernant la Guinée équatoriale.

91. J'ai noté à ce sujet également avec plaisir que l'Espagne se conformera à la recommandation du Co-

mité spécial tendant à tenir une conférence avant l'indépendance, conférence qui portera sur les modalités de transfert de souveraineté à la population locale de ce territoire.

92. Evidemment, il est naturel que le Gouvernement espagnol, comme l'a souligné tout à l'heure le représentant de l'Espagne, émette des réserves sur certaines recommandations. Nous pensons qu'un choix sélectif de ces recommandations n'est pas, à notre avis, conforme à toute la bonne volonté dont l'Espagne a fait preuve en ce qui concerne l'envoi de représentants du Comité spécial dans le territoire. Si elle retient quelques-unes de ces recommandations et n'approuve pas les autres — ce qui a motivé son abstention en Quatrième Commission, abstention qu'elle renouvellera également tout à l'heure —, ma délégation voudrait en ce moment demander des éclaircissements sur ce que nous avons considéré comme étant la base même de la politique espagnole, politique qui a valu à l'Espagne les félicitations du Comité spécial, de la Quatrième Commission, des représentants du Cameroun et des gouvernements africains pour la compréhension dont elle a fait preuve en cette manière.

93. En Quatrième Commission, la délégation camerounaise avait exprimé son appréhension et sa crainte que l'attitude du Gouvernement espagnol remette en cause les résultats de la Loi fondamentale de 1963, approuvée par un référendum et qui a consacré l'unité du territoire. Je suis heureux d'apprendre que le Gouvernement espagnol acceptera le verdict populaire qui sera le fruit de la conférence, mais nos doutes sont justifiés du fait que la demande d'éclaircissements que nous avons formulée, à savoir que les résultats de la conférence n'aient pas comme conséquence de remettre en cause un fait acquis, c'est-à-dire l'intégrité territoriale, n'a pas été satisfaite. Nos craintes étaient justifiées par le fait que, à Madrid même, le Président du gouvernement autonome local avait déjà signalé, comme l'avait fait le Comité spécial, qu'il existait une minorité agissante qui interprétait les intérêts des résidents espagnols dans le territoire. Nous ne sommes pas spécialement inquiets lorsqu'il s'agit de cette interprétation des intérêts espagnols des résidents parce que nous tenons compte de l'appui du Gouvernement espagnol, appui qui a été consacré dans une loi fondamentale qui a reconnu l'unité du territoire.

94. Mais si ces assurances ne sont pas données en Quatrième Commission et si l'on nous dit ici qu'il faudra simplement accepter toutes les décisions de la conférence, nous sommes encore en droit, en assemblée plénière, de nous demander si nos doutes ne sont pas fondés et si la position des Bubis de Fernando Póo et du colonat espagnol dans l'île — ce que le Comité spécial a appelé les intérêts étrangers — ne serait pas, comme l'a dit le Président du Conseil du gouvernement à Madrid, de nature à modifier l'objet même de la Loi fondamentale et la raison pour laquelle toutes les délégations ont félicité le Gouvernement espagnol.

95. Je ne m'attends pas à d'autres précisions sur ce point. J'estime que si la conférence constitutionnelle traduit simplement le désir du peuple, uniquement du peuple, en vue de son intérêt, nul doute que

^{3/} A. Mérignhac, Précis de législation et d'économie coloniales, Paris, Société du Recueil Sirey, édit., 1912, p. 205.

ce sera dans le cadre de l'unité du territoire. Les réserves que je fais actuellement et le doute que j'emporte de cette tribune viennent du fait que je n'ai pas entendu une réponse affirmative selon laquelle aucune éventualité de cette nature ne résultera de la conférence.

96. Ma délégation se réserve le droit de soumettre à nouveau cette question lors de la vingt-deuxième session, si nos doutes actuels sont fondés.

97. Je voudrais terminer en félicitant également l'Espagne, comme nous l'avons toujours fait. Ce pays entretient de bonnes relations avec le mien; la délégation camerounaise est en droit de dire ici à l'Espagne que nous avons salué avec un vif plaisir toutes les initiatives qui ont été prises pour la décolonisation de ses territoires voisins, mais que nous serons en mesure de dire — chaque fois que nous pensons qu'une initiative n'est pas suffisamment poussée ou suffisamment objective, précisément à cause de l'amitié qui lie nos deux pays — que la notion d'intégrité territoriale est l'une de celles qui doivent conditionner justement toutes les autres démarches vers l'indépendance.

98. Lorsque, tout à l'heure, le représentant de l'Espagne a dit que c'est au moment où la Guinée équatoriale sera admise à l'Organisation des Nations Unies qu'elle pourra elle-même préserver son intégrité territoriale, nous ne pensons pas que l'unité du territoire ait été mise en cause; au contraire, nous supposons que cela signifie que ce territoire est indépendant en tant qu'unité et que c'est parce que ce territoire sera Membre de l'Organisation des Nations Unies que, ipso facto, le Gouvernement espagnol cessera d'assurer la sauvegarde de son intégrité et de sa souveraineté. Telle est la conception que nous avons dégagée des conclusions du représentant de l'Espagne sur ce sujet. J'ose espérer que nous n'avons pas mal compris, que c'est exactement cela qu'il a voulu dire.

99. Le PRESIDENT (traduit de l'anglais): L'Assemblée va maintenant voter sur les projets de résolution dont elle est saisie. Des votes enregistrés ont été demandés sur toutes les propositions qui vont être soumises à l'Assemblée générale, au titre du point 23 de l'ordre du jour.

Trinité-et-Tobago, Tunisie, Ouganda, République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine, Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques, République arabe unie, République-Unie de Tanzanie, Haute-Volta, Yémen, Yougoslavie, Zambie.

Votent contre: Australie, Belgique, Canada, Danemark, France, Grèce, Islande, Japon, Luxembourg, Pays-Bas, Nouvelle-Zélande, Norvège, Philippines, Portugal, Afrique du Sud, Suède, Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord, États-Unis d'Amérique.

S'abstiennent: Argentine, Autriche, Bolivie, Brésil, Chine, Costa Rica, République Dominicaine, Equateur, El Salvador, Finlande, Guatemala, Haïti, Iran, Irlande, Israël, Italie, Côte d'Ivoire, Laos, Madagascar, Îles Maldives, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Pérou, Thaïlande, Turquie, Uruguay, Venezuela.

Par 72 voix contre 18, avec 27 abstentions, le paragraphe 4 du dispositif du projet de résolution II est adopté.

110. Le PRESIDENT (traduit de l'anglais): Je mets maintenant aux voix le projet de résolution dans son ensemble.

Le vote est enregistré électroniquement.

Votent pour: Afghanistan, Albanie, Algérie, Argentine, Bolivie, Brésil, Bulgarie, Birmanie, Burundi, République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie, Cambodge, Cameroun, République centrafricaine, Ceylan, Tchad, Chili, Chine, Colombie, Congo (Brazzaville), République démocratique du Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Chypre, Tchécoslovaquie, Dahomey, Equateur, El Salvador, Ethiopie, Gabon, Ghana, Guatemala, Guinée, Haïti, Honduras, Hongrie, Inde, Indonésie, Iran, Irak, Irlande, Israël, Côte d'Ivoire, Jamaïque, Jordanie, Kenya, Koweït, Laos, Liban, Lesotho, Libéria, Libye, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaisie, Mali, Mauritanie, Mexique, Mongolie, Maroc, Népal, Niger, Nigéria, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Pérou, Philippines, Pologne, Roumanie, Rwanda, Arabie saoudite, Sénégal, Sierra Leone, Singapour, Somalie, Espagne, Soudan, Syrie, Togo, Trinité-et-Tobago, Tunisie, Turquie, Ouganda, République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine, Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques, République arabe unie, République-Unie de Tanzanie, Haute-Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yémen, Yougoslavie, Zambie.

Votent contre: néant.

S'abstiennent: Australie, Autriche, Belgique, Canada, Danemark, République Dominicaine, Finlande, France, Grèce, Islande, Italie, Japon, Luxembourg, Îles Maldives, Pays-Bas, Nouvelle-Zélande, Nicaragua, Norvège, Portugal, Afrique du Sud, Suède, Thaïlande, Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord, États-Unis d'Amérique.

Par 93 voix contre 0, avec 24 abstentions, le projet de résolution II dans son ensemble est adopté.

109. Le PRESIDENT (traduit de l'anglais): Je mets maintenant aux voix le projet de résolution II. Il a été demandé un vote enregistré séparé sur le paragraphe 4 du dispositif et, sauf obligation, nous voterons d'abord sur ce paragraphe.

Le vote est enregistré électroniquement.

Votent pour: Afghanistan, Albanie, Algérie, Bulgarie, Birmanie, Burundi, République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie, Cambodge, Cameroun, République centrafricaine, Ceylan, Tchad, Chili, Colombie, Congo (Brazzaville), République démocratique du Congo, Cuba, Chypre, Tchécoslovaquie, Dahomey, Ethiopie, Gabon, Ghana, Guinée, Honduras, Hongrie, Inde, Indonésie, Irak, Jamaïque, Jordanie, Kenya, Koweït, Liban, Lesotho, Libéria, Libye, Malawi, Malaisie, Mali, Mauritanie, Mexique, Mongolie, Maroc, Népal, Niger, Nigéria, Pakistan, Panama, Pologne, Roumanie, Rwanda, Arabie saoudite, Sénégal, Sierra Leone, Singapour, Somalie, Espagne, Soudan, Syrie, Togo,

^{6/} Après coup, la délégation de Belgique a fait connaître au Président qu'elle demandait qu'il soit pris acte du fait qu'elle avait voté pour le projet de résolution.

M. Pazhwak (Afghanistan) reprend la présidence.

112. Le **PRESIDENT** (traduit de l'anglais): Certains représentants ont demandé à fournir après coup des explications de vote. Dix orateurs sont inscrits pour des explications de vote. J'ai déjà appelé l'attention des Membres sur le temps limité qui nous est imparti. Je tiens, à ce propos, à exprimer ma gratitude aux représentants de la Somalie, de l'Ethiopie, du Maroc et de la Mauritanie, qui ont accepté de ne pas prendre la parole bien qu'ils figurent sur la liste des orateurs pour explication de vote; il est bien entendu que leurs déclarations apparaîtront in extenso dans le compte rendu, telles qu'elles seront remises par écrit au Secrétariat. Ceci m'encourage à faire appel à tous les autres Membres dont les noms figurent sur la liste des orateurs pour qu'ils s'efforcent d'accepter également cette solution. Au cas où certains d'entre eux s'y refuseraient, je leur demanderais, comme l'Assemblée en a décidé, de bien vouloir limiter leur intervention à une explication de vote et de renoncer à présenter des observations autres que des explications de vote, qui pourraient entraîner d'autres représentants à exercer leur droit de réponse.

113. Compte tenu donc des explications que je viens de fournir et s'il n'y a aucune objection, je conclurai que les autres représentants sont d'accord, à savoir qu'ils ne prendront pas la parole, mais que le texte de leur déclaration sera remis au Secrétariat pour être inséré en entier dans le compte rendu sténographique.

114. Si, comme je crois le comprendre, le représentant de l'Espagne n'accepte pas cette solution, je lui demanderai de bien vouloir se limiter à expliquer son vote.

115. Si d'autres orateurs adoptent la même attitude, je leur adresse le même appel. Je tiens d'ores et déjà à exprimer ma gratitude aux quatre délégations qui ont accepté cet arrangement, et je serais reconnaissant à ceux qui eux aussi renonceraient à prendre la parole.

116. Je donne la parole au représentant de l'Espagne pour une explication de vote.

117. **M. AZNAR** (Espagne) [traduit de l'espagnol]: Je regrette très vivement de devoir encore retenir l'attention de l'Assemblée, mais je ne puis empêcher qu'au cours de la même séance trois projets de résolution ont fait l'objet d'un scrutin qui intéressent directement l'Espagne. C'est la raison pour laquelle j'ai jugé nécessaire de dire quelques mots pour expliquer mon vote.

118. L'Espagne a voté en faveur du projet de résolution adopté par la Quatrième Commission au sujet de Gibraltar [A/6628, par. 20] et a voté dans le même sens à l'Assemblée générale parce qu'elle estime que cette résolution contient des éléments constructifs. En effet, elle demande l'accélération de la décolonisation de Gibraltar en collaboration avec l'Espagne, et rappelle les termes de l'accord général du 16 octobre 1964, adopté par le Comité des Vingt-Quatre et ratifié lors de sa vingtième session par l'Assemblée générale dans la résolution 2070 (XX).

119. Cet accord invitait l'Espagne et le Royaume-Uni à rechercher une solution négociée du problème en tenant compte de la résolution 1514 (XV). Comme les représentants s'en souviendront, le paragraphe 6 de cette résolution stipule que toute tentative visant à détruire partiellement ou totalement l'unité nationale et l'intégrité territoriale d'un pays est incompatible avec les buts et les principes de la Charte des Nations Unies.

120. La résolution sur laquelle nous venons de voter demande également que le processus de décolonisation de Gibraltar ne soit ni retardé ni entravé et affirme que l'Assemblée générale a toute compétence en la matière, réaffirmant ainsi le caractère politique et l'aspect colonial du problème et excluant la possibilité de faire sortir la question Gibraltar du cadre politique et de la renvoyer à une instance juridique internationale.

121. La résolution recommande enfin à l'Espagne et au Royaume-Uni, au cours de leurs négociations, de tenir compte des intérêts de la population, ce que mon pays avait déjà demandé au Comité des Vingt-Quatre en 1963 et qui fut repris, dans les mêmes termes que maintenant, dans les conclusions du Comité des Vingt-Quatre qui datent de 1964.

122. Aux yeux de l'Espagne, les habitants de Gibraltar ont certains intérêts que l'Espagne respecte entièrement. A cet effet, ma délégation, au sein de la Quatrième Commission s'est exprimée dans ces termes:

"a) Que les deux pays entament sans retard des négociations sur le statut destiné à protéger les intérêts des résidents du territoire de Gibraltar lorsque la situation coloniale qui y existe aura disparu, ce statut devant être enregistré par les Nations Unies; b) au cas où l'Espagne et le Royaume-Uni n'arriveraient pas à se mettre d'accord sur un tel statut, le Gouvernement espagnol serait disposé à soumettre un projet de statut à l'intention des habitants de Gibraltar à l'examen et à l'approbation éventuels du Secrétaire général de l'ONU; ce statut reconnaîtrait aux habitants de Gibraltar tous les droits dont un groupement humain quelconque peut disposer, à l'exception de la possession d'une partie du territoire espagnol, qui est d'ailleurs contraire à la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale, qui préconise au paragraphe 6 de son dispositif le respect de l'intégrité territoriale et de l'unité nationale des pays colonisés^{7/}."

123. Je ne dissimulerai pas, et la délégation espagnole s'en est expliquée à la Quatrième Commission, qu'au cours des six mois de négociations hispano-britanniques, le Royaume-Uni n'a dit mot à l'Espagne des intérêts des habitants de Gibraltar qui devront être protégés une fois le rocher décolonisé. Le Royaume-Uni s'est borné à discuter avec nous de titres juridiques remontant à 1713, ainsi que d'autres prétendus titres acquis, selon la Grande-Bretagne, à la fin du siècle dernier sur un territoire espagnol contigu à Gibraltar.

124. La première fois que nous avons entendu parler concrètement et spécifiquement des intérêts des habi-

^{7/} Documents officiels de l'Assemblée générale, vingt et unième session, Quatrième Commission, 1671ème séance, par. 27.

tants de Gibraltar, et de ce que pourraient être ces intérêts, c'est samedi dernier, devant la Quatrième Commission [1679ème séance], de la bouche d'un pétitionnaire de Gibraltar. En exposant les revendications de ceux qu'il représente, le pétitionnaire a donné l'impression qu'il n'avait confiance qu'en la protection offerte par la Grande-Bretagne et qu'il n'en avait pas la moindre en la garantie des Nations Unies, offerte par l'Espagne pour que les intérêts des habitants de Gibraltar soient connus et protégés. En réalité, ledit pétitionnaire ne défendait pas uniquement ses intérêts, ce qui eût été logique et acceptable; il défendait aussi le maintien du contrôle souverain de la Grande-Bretagne sur la base militaire de Gibraltar.

125. J'espère que les négociations fondées sur le consensus du Comité des Vingt-Quatre, sur la résolution 2070 (XX) de l'Assemblée générale et sur celle que nous venons d'adopter permettront à l'Espagne et au Royaume-Uni, conformément aux propositions de l'Espagne, dans les délais que prévoit cette dernière résolution et avec l'aide du Secrétaire général, de trouver une solution négociée qui mettra un terme à la situation coloniale de Gibraltar, ce que nous demandent les Nations Unies depuis 1964.

126. Avant de quitter cette tribune, je voudrais ajouter que je forme les vœux les plus enthousiastes pour que soit bientôt résolu le problème des îles Malouines, à propos duquel le peuple argentin, qui possède un grand nombre de titres historiques, d'arguments juridiques et humains, attend une décision qui rétablisse l'empire de la justice dans ce territoire dont la souveraineté doit lui revenir sans délais injustifiables.

127. Le PRESIDENT (traduit de l'anglais): Les représentants de l'Italie, des Etats-Unis d'Amérique, de l'Equateur et du Mexique m'ont fait savoir qu'ils acceptent ma proposition, comme l'ont fait les autres délégations dont j'ai annoncé qu'elles avaient accédé à ma requête.

128. Le seul orateur qui demeure inscrit est le représentant du Royaume-Uni à qui je donne la parole.

129. Lord CARADON (Royaume-Uni) [traduit de l'anglais]: J'aurais été heureux, Monsieur le Président, de répondre à l'appel que vous nous avez adressé, mais le représentant de l'Espagne vient de parler de cette question qui intéresse directement mon pays. Je voudrais donc très brièvement expliquer les raisons pour lesquelles ma délégation a voté ce matin en faveur du projet de résolution.

130. Au cours du débat remarquable qui s'est déroulé en Quatrième Commission au sujet de Gibraltar, il y a eu une question et une conclusion d'importance fondamentale. Cette conclusion a permis à ma délégation de voter en faveur de la résolution; car elle dit simplement qu'il est essentiel de tenir compte des vœux de la population.

131. Nous nous réjouissons vivement de la quasi-unanimité de la Quatrième Commission en faveur de ce principe fondamental et de l'unanimité que nous constatons aujourd'hui. Nous sommes heureux que la délégation espagnole ait accepté d'inscrire ce principe dans la résolution. Il était nécessaire et juste d'insister pour que ce principe fondamental fût re-

connu et respecté, car l'Article 73 de la Charte pose le principe de la primauté des intérêts des habitants. Ayant ce principe en l'esprit, je n'ai que trois autres choses à dire très brièvement.

132. Premièrement, nous sommes ravis que cet amendement ait été proposé et accepté, car jamais nous ne pourrions accepter que décolonisation veuille dire incorporation de Gibraltar à l'Espagne contre le gré de la population. Avec l'amendement, la résolution est sur ce point sans équivoque.

133. Deuxièmement, rien ne saurait en quoi que ce soit préjuger du type de décolonisation le mieux adapté à la situation de Gibraltar. La résolution elle-même n'en préjuge pas.

134. Troisièmement, je déclare que nous sommes disposés à poursuivre les négociations, avec l'espoir et l'intention d'arriver à une conclusion satisfaisante.

135. Pour ces raisons, il nous a été agréable de voter en faveur de la résolution.

136. Le PRESIDENT (traduit de l'anglais): Avant de passer au point suivant de l'ordre du jour, je donne la parole au représentant de la Côte d'Ivoire.

137. M. AKE (Côte d'Ivoire): J'ai demandé la parole au nom de ma délégation pour rectifier le vote que ma délégation a émis sur le projet de résolution concernant la Côte française des Somalis. Comme on peut le remarquer facilement dans le rapport [A/6583, par. 10], en Quatrième Commission ma délégation s'était abstenue sur le paragraphe 4 du dispositif et sur l'ensemble du texte. Or, il s'est trouvé qu'ici même, la délégation de la Côte d'Ivoire n'a pas pris part au vote sur le paragraphe 4 et a voté pour l'ensemble du texte. Je voudrais dire — comme nous l'avons déclaré à la Quatrième Commission [1666ème séance] — qu'à notre avis, dans cette affaire, l'intervention des Nations Unies est inopportune et qu'une telle résolution est inutile.

138. Par conséquent, ma délégation voudrait qu'il soit consigné au compte rendu que la délégation de la Côte d'Ivoire s'abstient sur le paragraphe 4 du dispositif et s'abstient également sur l'ensemble du texte.



Vingt et unième session
Point 23 de l'ordre du jour

APPLICATION DE LA DECLARATION SUR L'OCTROI DE L'INDEPENDANCE
AUX PAYS ET AUX PEUPLES COLONIAUX

TERRITOIRES N'AYANT PAS ETE EXAMINES SEPEAREMENT

Rapport de la Quatrième Commission

Rapporteur : M. Mohsen Sadigh ESFANDIARY (Iran)

1. A sa 162ème séance, le 21 septembre 1966, le Bureau a décidé de recommander à l'Assemblée générale l'inscription à l'ordre du jour d'une question intitulée "Application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux : rapport du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux". A sa 163ème séance, le 22 septembre, le Bureau a décidé de recommander à l'Assemblée générale de renvoyer à la Quatrième Commission tous les chapitres du rapport du Comité spécial relatifs à des territoires déterminés.
2. A sa 1415ème séance plénière, le 24 septembre, l'Assemblée générale a, conformément aux recommandations du Bureau, inscrit la question à son ordre du jour et renvoyé à la Quatrième Commission les chapitres du rapport du Comité spécial relatifs à des territoires déterminés.
3. A sa 1633ème séance, le 10 novembre, la Quatrième Commission a décidé d'examiner, en en faisant un seul point de son ordre du jour, les chapitres du rapport du Comité spécial concernant les territoires qu'elle n'étudierait pas séparément. On trouvera ci-après la liste des territoires intéressés, avec l'indication des chapitres correspondants du rapport du Comité spécial :

Gibraltar	(A/6300/Add.8, chapitre XI)
Ile Maurice, îles Seychelles et Sainte-Hélène	(A/6300/Add.9, chapitre XIV)

Iles Gilbert et Ellice, île Pitcairn et îles Salomon	(A/6300/Add.9, chapitre XV)
Iles Nioué et Tokélaou	(A/6300/Add.9, chapitre XVI)
Nouvelles-Hébrides	(A/6300/Add.9, chapitre XVII)
Iles Samoa américaines, Guam et Territoire sous tutelle des Iles du Pacifique	(A/6300/Add.9, chapitre XVIII)
Territoire sous tutelle de Nauru, Papua et Territoire sous tutelle de la Nouvelle Guinée, et îles Cocos (Keeling)	(A/6300/Add.9, chapitre XIX)
Brunéi	(A/6300/Add.9, chapitre XX)
Hong-kong	(A/6300/Add.9, chapitre XXI)
Iles Vierges américaines, îles Vierges britanniques, Antigua, Dominique, Grenade, Montserrat, Saint-Christophe- et Nièves et Anguilla, Sainte-Lucie, Saint-Vincent, Barbade, Bermudes, Bahamas, îles Turks et Caïques, îles Caïmanes, îles Falkland (Malvinas) et Honduras britannique	(A/6300/Add.10, chapitre XXII)

4. La Commission a examiné cette question à ses 1669ème, 1671ème, 1672ème, 1674ème, 1675ème, 1677ème, 1678ème et 1679ème séances, entre le 13 et le 17 décembre.

5. A la 1669ème séance, le 13 décembre, le Rapporteur du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux a présenté les chapitres du rapport du Comité relatifs à la question examinée, dont la liste figure plus haut.

6. La Quatrième Commission était saisie des communications ci-après adressées au Secrétaire général :

a) Lettres datées du 20 janvier 1966 et du 2 mars 1966 envoyées par le représentant permanent de l'Espagne au sujet de Gibraltar (A/6242 et A/6277):

b) Lettres datées du 9 février 1966, du 22 août 1966 et du 15 décembre 1966 envoyées par le représentant permanent de l'Argentine au sujet des îles Falkland (Malvinas) (A/6261 et Add.1; A/C.4/682);

c) Lettres datées du 9 février 1966, du 22 août 1966, du 8 décembre 1966 et du 15 décembre 1966 envoyées par le représentant permanent du Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord au sujet des îles Falkland (Malvinas) (A/6262 et Add.1; A/6568; A/C.4/683);

d) Lettre datée du 2 mars 1966 envoyée par le représentant permanent adjoint du Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord au sujet de Gibraltar (A/6278).

7. A l'occasion de l'examen de cette question, la Commission a fait droit aux demandes d'audition suivantes :

<u>Pétitionnaires</u>	<u>Territoires intéressés</u>	<u>Séance au cours de laquelle l'audition a été accordée</u>
M. Milton Cato, chef politique du parti travailliste de Saint-Vincent (A/C.4/680)	Saint-Vincent	1664ème
M. A. Hodgson, coprésident adjoint du <u>Progressive Labour Party des Bermudes</u> (A/C.4/681)	Bermudes	1669ème
M. Joshua Hassan, premier ministre, et M. Peter J. Isola, premier ministre adjoint de Gibraltar (A/C.4/684)	Gibraltar	1676ème
M. Salvador Costa Vizosa, Mlle Mercedes López Clavijo, M. Francisco Dieguez Natera, membres du <u>Sindicato de los Trabajadores españoles en Gibraltar</u> (A/C.4/684/Add.1)	Gibraltar	1677ème

8. A la 1672ème séance, le 15 décembre, M. A. Hodgson a prononcé devant la Commission une déclaration concernant les Bermudes et a répondu aux questions que lui ont posées les membres de la Commission.
9. A la 1679ème séance, le 17 décembre, M. Joshua Hassan et M. Peter J. Isola ont prononcé devant la Commission des déclarations concernant Gibraltar et ont répondu aux questions que leur ont posées les membres de la Commission.
M. Salvador Costa Vizosa, Mlle Mercedes López Clavijo et M. Francisco Dieguez Natera ne se sont pas présentés devant la Commission. M. Milton Cato ne s'est pas non plus présenté devant la Commission.
10. La discussion générale sur la question a eu lieu aux 1669ème, 1671ème, 1674ème et 1675ème séances, entre les 13 et 16 décembre.
11. De sa 1677ème à sa 1679ème séance, les 16 et 17 décembre, la Commission a examiné deux projets de résolution sur la question, concernant, l'un, Gibraltar (A/C.4/L.863 et Add.1) et l'autre les territoires suivants : Antigua, Bahamas, Bermudes, Dominique, Grenade, Guam, îles Caïmanes, îles Cocos (Keeling), îles Gilbert et Ellice, île Maurice, îles Salomon, îles Samoa américaines, îles Seychelles, îles Tokélaou, îles Turks et Caïques, îles Vierges américaines, îles Vierges britanniques, Montserrat, Nioué, Nouvelles-Hébrides, Pitcairn, Saint-Christophe-et-Nièves et Anguilla, Sainte-Hélène, Sainte-Lucie, Saint-Vincent et Territoires sous tutelle des Iles du Pacifique (A/C.4/L.866). La Commission a également prié le Président de dégager le consensus de la Commission en ce qui concerne les îles Falkland (Malvinas). On trouvera dans les sections I à III ci-dessous un compte rendu des débats de la Commission sur le projet de consensus présenté par le Président, ainsi que le texte des projets de résolution.

III. ANTIGUA, BAHAMAS, BERMUDES, DOMINIQUE, GRENAD, GUAM, ILES CAIMANES, ILES CCCOS (KEELING), ILES GILBERT-ET-ELICE, ILE MAURICE, ILES SALOMON, ILES SAMOA AMERICAINES, ILES SEYCHELLES, ILES TOKELACU, ILES TURKS ET CAIQUES, ILES VIERGES AMERICAINES, ILES VIERGES BRITANNIQUES, MONTSEERRAT, NICUE, NOUVELLES-HEBRIDES, PITCAIRN, SAINT-CHRISTOPHE-ET-NIEVES ET ANGUILLA, SAINTE-HELENE, SAINTE-LUCIE ET SAINT-VINCENT, TERRITOIRE SOUS TUTELLE DES ILES DU PACIFIQUE

17. A la 1679ème séance, le 17 décembre, le représentant de l'Inde a présenté un projet de résolution au nom de l'Algérie, de l'Arabie Saoudite, du Burundi, du Congo (République démocratique du), de l'Ethiopie, du Ghana, de l'Inde, de l'Indonésie, de l'Irak, du Kenya, du Koweït, de la Libye, du Mali, de la Mauritanie, de l'Ouganda, du Pakistan, de la République arabe unie, de la République-Unie de Tanzanie, du Sierra Leone, de la Somalie, du Soudan, de la Syrie, du Yémen, de la Yougoslavie et de la Zambie (A/C.4/L.866).

18. A la même séance, la Commission a voté sur le projet de résolution. Sur la demande des Philippines, le membre de phrase "et à l'établissement, par les puissances administrantes, de bases et d'installations militaires" au quatrième alinéa du préambule a fait l'objet d'un vote séparé. Ce membre de phrase a été adopté par 48 voix contre 11, avec 23 abstentions. Le vote a eu lieu par appel nominal et les voix se sont réparties comme suit :

<u>Ont voté pour :</u>	Algérie, Arabie Saoudite, Birmanie, Bulgarie, Cameroun, Ceylan, Chili, Chypre, Congo (République démocratique du), Cuba, Espagne, Ethiopie, Ghana, Guinée, Hongrie, Inde, Indonésie, Irak, Jamaïque, Jordanie, Koweït, Libéria, Libye, Mali, Maroc, Mauritanie, Mongolie, Niger, Nigéria, Pakistan, Pologne, République arabe unie, République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie, République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine, République-Unie de Tanzanie, Roumanie, Sénégal, Sierra Leone, Soudan, Syrie, Tchécoslovaquie, Togo, Trinité et Tobago, Tunisie, Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques, Yémen, Yougoslavie, Zambie.
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Ont voté contre : Australie, Belgique, Canada, Etats-Unis d'Amérique, France, Grèce, Nouvelle-Zélande, Pays-Bas, Philippines, Portugal, Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord.

Se sont abstenus : Argentine, Autriche, Brésil, Chine, Colombie, Danemark, Finlande, Guatemala, Iles Maldives, Iran, Irlande, Israël, Italie, Japon, Madagascar, Malaisie, Mexique, Norvège, Suède, Thaïlande, Turquie, Uruguay, Venezuela.

L'ensemble du projet de résolution a été adopté par 62 voix contre zéro, avec 21 abstentions (voir plus loin par. 20, projet de résolution II). Le vote a eu lieu par appel nominal et les voix se sont réparties comme suit :

Ont voté pour : Algérie, Arabie Saoudite, Argentine, Birmanie, Brésil, Bulgarie, Cameroun, Ceylan, Chili, Chine, Chypre, Colombie, Congo (République démocratique du), Cuba, Equateur, Espagne, Ethiopie, Ghana, Guatemala, Guinée, Hongrie, Inde, Indonésie, Irak, Iran, Irlande, Israël, Jamaïque, Jordanie, Koweït, Libéria, Libye, Madagascar, Mali, Maroc, Mauritanie, Mexique, Mongolie, Niger, Nigéria, Pakistan, Philippines, Pologne, République arabe unie, République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie, République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine, République-Unie de Tanzanie, Roumanie, Sénégal, Sierra Leone, Soudan, Syrie, Tchécoslovaquie, Togo, Trinité et Tobago, Tunisie, Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yémen, Yougoslavie, Zambie.

Ont voté contre : Néant.

Se sont abstenus : Australie, Autriche, Belgique, Canada, Danemark, Etats-Unis d'Amérique, Finlande, France, Grèce, Iles Maldives, Italie, Japon, Malaisie, Norvège, Nouvelle-Zélande, Pays-Bas, Portugal, Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord, Suède, Thaïlande, Turquie.

RECOMMANDATIONS DE LA QUATRIEME COMMISSION

19. La Quatrième Commission recommande à l'Assemblée générale d'adopter les projets de résolution suivants :

/...

PROJET DE RESOLUTION II

Question d'Antigua, des Bahamas, des Bermudes, de la Dominique, de la Grenade, de Guam, des îles Caïmanes, des îles Cocos (Keeling), des îles Gilbert et Ellice, de l'île Maurice, des îles Salomon, des îles Samoa américaines, des îles Seychelles, des îles Tokélaou, des îles Turks et Caïques, des îles Vierges américaines, des îles Vierges britanniques, de Montserrat, de Nioué, des Nouvelles-Hébrides, de Pitcairn, de Saint-Christophe-et-Nièves et Anguilla, de Sainte-Hélène, de Sainte-Lucie et de Saint-Vincent et du Territoire sous tutelle des
Iles du Pacifique

L'Assemblée générale,

Ayant étudié la question des territoires suivants :

Antigua, Bahamas, Bermudes, Dominique, Grenade, Guam, îles Caïmanes, îles Cocos (Keeling), îles Gilbert et Ellice, île Maurice, îles Salomon, îles Samoa américaines, îles Seychelles, îles Tokélaou, îles Turks et Caïques, îles Vierges américaines, îles Vierges britanniques, Montserrat, Nioué, Nouvelles-Hébrides, Pitcairn, Saint-Christophe-et-Nièves et Anguilla, Sainte-Hélène, Sainte-Lucie, Saint-Vincent et Territoire sous tutelle des Iles du Pacifique,

Ayant examiné les chapitres du rapport du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux relatifs à ces territoires^{1/},

Rappelant ses résolutions 1514 (XV) du 14 décembre 1960, 1654 (XVI) du 27 novembre 1961, 1810 (XVII) du 17 décembre 1962, 1956 (XVIII) du 11 décembre 1963, 2066 (XX) du 16 décembre 1965, 2069 (XX) du 16 décembre 1965 et 2189 (XXI) du 13 décembre 1966,

Profondément préoccupée par les renseignements contenus dans le rapport du Comité spécial concernant la persistance de politiques visant notamment à la destruction de l'intégrité territoriale de certains de ces territoires et à l'établissement, par les puissances administrantes, de bases et d'installations militaires en violation des résolutions pertinentes de l'Assemblée générale,

Déplorant le refus de certaines puissances administrantes d'autoriser des missions de visite de l'Organisation des Nations Unies à se rendre dans ces territoires,

^{1/} A/6300/Add.9, chap. XIV à XIX, A/6300/Add.10, chap. XXII.

Sachant que, dans ces conditions, l'attention soutenue et l'assistance de l'Organisation des Nations Unies sont nécessaires si l'on veut que les peuples de ces territoires atteignent leurs objectifs, énoncés dans la Charte des Nations Unies et dans la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux,

Consciente de la situation géographique et des conditions économiques particulières de certains de ces territoires,

1. Approuve les chapitres du rapport du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux relatifs à ces territoires;

2. Réaffirme le droit inaliénable des peuples de ces territoires à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance;

3. Invite les puissances administrantes à appliquer sans retard les résolutions pertinentes de l'Assemblée générale;

4. Réitère sa déclaration selon laquelle toute tentative visant à détruire partiellement ou totalement l'unité nationale et l'intégrité territoriale des territoires coloniaux et à établir des bases et des installations militaires dans ces territoires est incompatible avec les buts et les principes de la Charte des Nations Unies et de la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale;

5. Demande instamment aux puissances administrantes d'autoriser les missions de visite de l'Organisation des Nations Unies à se rendre dans les territoires et de leur offrir toute leur coopération et toute leur assistance;

6. Décide que l'Organisation des Nations Unies devra prêter toute l'aide nécessaire aux peuples de ces territoires dans les efforts qu'ils déploient pour décider librement de leur statut futur;

7. Prie le Comité spécial de continuer à prêter une attention spéciale à ces territoires et de faire rapport à l'Assemblée générale, à sa vingt-deuxième session, sur l'application de la présente résolution;

8. Prie le Secrétaire général de continuer à prêter toute son assistance dans l'application de la présente résolution.

Nations Unies
**ASSEMBLÉE
 GÉNÉRALE**

VINGT ET UNIÈME SESSION

Documents officiels



**QUATRIÈME COMMISSION, 1669^e
 SÉANCE**

Mardi 13 décembre 1966,
 à 15 h 40

NEW YORK

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Président: M. FAKHREDDINE Mohamed
 (Soudan).

POINT 23 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

Application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux: rapport du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux: territoires n'ayant pas été examinés séparément (A/6242, A/6261 et Add.1, A/6262 et Add.1, A/6277, A/6278, A/6300/Rev.1, chap. XI et XIV à XXII; A/C.4/680)

DISCUSSION GENERALE

14. Le PRESIDENT rappelle que la Commission a décidé (1633ème séance) que tous les autres territoires non énumérés séparément au paragraphe 5 du document A/C.4/669 seront examinés conjointement à l'exception des chapitres du rapport du Comité spécial relatifs à la Côte française des Somalis, à Ifni, au Sahara espagnol et à la Guinée équatoriale.

15. M. ALJUBOURI (Irak), en qualité de rapporteur du Comité spécial, présente les chapitres du rapport du Comité spécial (A/6300/Rev.1) relatifs aux territoires n'ayant pas été examinés séparément. Les chapitres XI, XIV à XIX et XXII contiennent un compte rendu de l'examen, par le Comité spécial, des territoires suivants: Gibraltar; île Maurice, îles Seychelles et Sainte-Hélène; îles Gilbert et Ellice, Pitcairn et îles Salomon; Nioué et îles Tokélaou; Nouvelles-Hébrides; Samoa américaines, Guam et Territoire sous tutelle des îles du Pacifique; Territoire sous tutelle de Nauru, Papua et Territoire sous tutelle de la Nouvelle-Guinée et îles Cocos (Keeling); îles Vierges américaines, îles Vierges britanniques, Antigua, Dominique, Grenade, Montserrat, Saint-Christophe-et-Nièves et Anguilla, Sainte-Lucie, Saint-Vincent, Barbade, Bermudes, Bahamas, îles Turks et Caïques, îles Caïmanes et îles Falkland (Malvinas).

16. Le chapitre relatif au Territoire sous tutelle de Nauru, au Papua et au Territoire sous tutelle de la Nouvelle-Guinée (*ibid.*, chap. XIX) demeure également en rapport avec le point 13 de l'ordre du jour (Rapport du Conseil de tutelle). Aux chapitres XX, XXI et XXII figurent des renseignements sur trois territoires: le Brunéi, Hong-kong et le Honduras britannique, que le Comité spécial n'a pas pu examiner durant l'année 1966.

17. M. HOPE (Royaume-Uni) rappelle qu'au cours de l'année qui vient de s'écouler quatre territoires (la Guyane, le Botswana, le Lesotho et la Barbade) ont cessé d'être sous administration britannique pour

devenir indépendants et que l'on a fixé une date prochaine pour l'accession à l'indépendance de l'Arabie du Sud et du Souaziland. Il décrit ensuite la situation dans les petits territoires qui restent encore sous administration du Royaume-Uni.

18. Dans l'île Maurice, on a établi un nouveau système électoral, en consultation avec le peuple et en parfait accord avec tous les partis politiques. On prépare actuellement les élections et il convient de rappeler que, si le nouvel organe législatif élu le demande, l'indépendance sera octroyée à l'île après une période de six mois de pleine autonomie interne.

19. Aux îles Seychelles, le Secrétaire aux colonies du Royaume-Uni a proposé d'adopter le suffrage universel des adultes. De plus, on a nommé un commissaire constitutionnel chargé de visiter le territoire, de consulter tous les secteurs de l'opinion et de recommander les étapes nécessaires à l'évolution constitutionnelle future des îles. Tant le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni que les partis politiques du territoire ont accepté la proposition du Commissaire, à savoir l'instauration immédiate du suffrage universel des adultes et la création d'un conseil unique chargé de fonctions exécutives et législatives.

20. A Sainte-Hélène, le Gouverneur a procédé à des consultations et a recommandé qu'une grande partie des pouvoirs soit transférée aux habitants autochtones. Selon ce nouveau système, le Conseil consultatif serait un conseil législatif comprenant seulement deux membres fonctionnaires et 12 membres élus. Il sera créé un conseil exécutif qui comprendra les présidents de chacun des comités du Conseil législatif. Ces propositions, acceptées par le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni et introduites dans une nouvelle constitution qui est entrée en vigueur il y a un mois, ont été fondées sur l'accord quasi unanime de la population du territoire.

21. Le Comité spécial a mentionné dans son rapport (*ibid.*, chap. XIV) quelques atolls de l'océan indien qui étaient administrés auparavant par l'île Maurice et les îles Seychelles. La délégation du Royaume-Uni a déjà exposé sa position sur la question et se bornera à répéter que les nouvelles dispositions relatives à ces atolls dans lesquels il n'y a pas d'habitants autochtones et où pratiquement personne ne réside en permanence, ont été arrêtées en consultation avec les Gouvernements de l'île Maurice et des îles Seychelles et avec leur accord et celui de leurs membres élus. Le 16 novembre 1966, le Secrétaire à la défense du Royaume-Uni a déclaré sans équivoque que le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni n'avait nullement formé le projet de créer des bases militaires dans ces atolls.

22. Dans les îles Salomon, le Conseil législatif a examiné et adopté formellement des propositions tendant à augmenter le nombre de membres élus et, sous réserve des limitations administratives imposées par le climat et la géographie, à organiser des élections au suffrage direct. Ces propositions doivent être soumises prochainement au Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni pour approbation, afin qu'elles puissent être réalisées en 1967.

23. De la même manière ont été publiées au cours de l'année, dans les îles Gilbert et Ellice, des proposi-

tions visant à supprimer le Conseil consultatif, qui serait remplacé par une Chambre des représentants dont la grande majorité serait élue au suffrage universel des adultes. La moitié des membres du Conseil exécutif serait choisie parmi ces membres élus. Toutes ces propositions ont été examinées et approuvées par les membres du gouvernement local et soumises au Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni pour examen.

24. Les consultations entre le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni et le Gouvernement français sur l'évolution des Nouvelles-Hébrides se sont également poursuivies. Il faut reviser et moderniser divers aspects de l'administration interne du territoire qui font obstacle au progrès et, à cette fin, ont eu lieu divers entretiens à l'échelon ministériel et à l'échelon des hauts fonctionnaires.

25. Même à Pitcairn, qui est une île minuscule comptant seulement 88 habitants, ont été apportées des modifications considérables au système d'administration, et les habitants dirigent leurs propres affaires sous un régime pleinement électif.

26. En ce qui concerne la région des Caraïbes, le représentant du Royaume-Uni rappelle que l'on peut trouver une analyse détaillée des nouvelles propositions formulées concernant Antigua, Saint-Christophe, la Dominique, la Grenade, Sainte-Lucie et Saint-Vincent, dans le rapport du Sous-Comité III du Comité spécial (*ibid.*, chap. XXII, annexe).

27. En octobre 1966, a eu lieu une conférence constitutionnelle sur les îles Vierges britanniques au cours de laquelle on est parvenu à un parfait accord sur les diverses nouvelles mesures constitutionnelles à prendre, notamment, l'établissement du poste de ministre principal et d'un système ministériel.

28. En raison de la superficie extrêmement réduite de son territoire, les propositions concernant les autres îles n'ont pas porté sur Montserrat, où le gouvernement élu concentre ses efforts sur le développement économique. Le Gouvernement britannique est disposé à réunir une conférence pour discuter de l'avenir constitutionnel de Montserrat quand les partis politiques locaux seront prêts à entamer une telle discussion.

29. En novembre, une conférence constitutionnelle sur les Bermudes s'est réunie à Londres, au cours de laquelle il a été décidé, à la suite d'un débat prolongé avec les représentants de tous les partis de l'organe législatif élu, qu'il serait établi une constitution écrite, instauré un système ministériel et créé une chambre basse élue et qu'il serait procédé à la revision des systèmes électoraux. Deux groupes minoritaires ont formulé des réserves. Il y a lieu d'observer également que l'on a abaissé à 21 ans l'âge minimum des électeurs et que l'on a supprimé la voix supplémentaire accordée aux propriétaires, de manière que, désormais, les Bermudes seront dotées d'un système de suffrage universel des adultes fondé sur le principe "à chacun une voix".

30. Aux Bahamas, le Gouverneur, sur les conseils du Premier Ministre, a dissous l'Assemblée, et le 10 janvier 1967 doivent avoir lieu des élections générales au suffrage universel des adultes fondées sur

le principe "à chacun une voix" dans des circonscriptions électorales délimitées par une commission indépendante.

31. Aux îles Caïmanes, un comité de l'Assemblée législative récemment élue prépare actuellement un rapport sur les réformes constitutionnelles qu'il convient de proposer au Secrétaire aux colonies du Royaume-Uni. Les représentants des îles Turks et Caïques ont proposé d'établir un lien administratif avec l'extérieur et il a été convenu que le Gouverneur des Bahamas serait également Gouverneur des îles Turks et Caïques.

32. Enfin, ont eu lieu des entretiens entre le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni et le Gouvernement espagnol sur la question de Gibraltar, conformément à la résolution adoptée par le Comité spécial le 17 novembre 1966 (*ibid.*, chap. XI, par. 66). Le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni est disposé à poursuivre ces entretiens bilatéraux, desquels les Nations Unies seront tenues informées. M. Hope n'indiquera la position de son gouvernement sur le fond de la question que si d'autres délégations jugent nécessaire d'agir de même. Des entretiens ont lieu également avec le Gouvernement argentin concernant les îles Falkland, conformément à la résolution 2065 (XX) de l'Assemblée générale et les Nations Unies seront également informées de ces entretiens. En ce qui concerne le Honduras britannique, un médiateur nommé par le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis, comme suite à une demande du Royaume-Uni et du Guatemala, continue à s'acquitter de ses fonctions.

33. Le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni a déclaré qu'il est disposé à accorder l'indépendance aux territoires qui la désirent et peuvent la conserver. Dans les autres territoires, où l'ensemble de la population exprime le vœu d'obtenir rapidement l'indépendance, les préparatifs faits pour l'octroyer ont déjà considérablement progressé. Cependant, dans un grand nombre de petits territoires, il s'agit principalement de favoriser un progrès immédiat sur la voie d'une plus large autonomie interne, sans préjudice des décisions qui pourraient être prises ultérieurement au sujet de leur statut définitif. De toute manière, tant le rythme que l'orientation du progrès doivent dépendre, avant tout, des désirs de la population elle-même et, sur cette base, comme l'indiquent tous les renseignements, les progrès sont rapides et sûrs.

34. M. CAMPORA (Argentine) souligne que, dans sa résolution 2065 (XX), l'Assemblée générale a reconnu expressément l'existence d'un différend entre les Gouvernements de la République argentine et du Royaume-Uni sur la question des îles Malvinas. Ces îles, qui font indiscutablement partie du territoire argentin, ont été soumises par la force à la domination coloniale du Royaume-Uni au moyen d'une action armée qui a été déclenchée en 1833 et à la suite de laquelle a été supplantée l'autorité de l'Argentine qui exerçait dans les îles ses droits légitimes de souveraineté. Plus tard a été installée dans les îles, par l'intermédiaire de la puissance colonisatrice, une population adventive n'accusant aucun accroissement naturel et dont le chiffre est actuellement de 2 079 personnes seulement.

35. L'Assemblée générale, dans sa résolution 2065 (XX), a classé le cas des îles Malvinas dans la catégorie des cas caractéristiques de colonialisme auxquels s'applique la résolution 1514 (XV). C'est pour appliquer les dispositions de cette résolution ou pour mettre un terme au statut colonial dont souffrent les îles Malvinas que l'Assemblée générale a invité les Gouvernements de la République argentine et du Royaume-Uni à poursuivre les négociations en vue de trouver une solution pacifique au problème. Par les mots: mettre fin au statut colonial dont souffrent ces îles, on ne peut entendre que leur restitution à la République argentine car, de cette manière, seront réalisés avec équité et objectivité les buts de la résolution 2065 (XX).

36. Dans ce sens, et répondant à l'invitation qui leur était adressé dans cette résolution, les Gouvernements de l'Argentine et du Royaume-Uni ont publié, en janvier 1966, un communiqué commun selon lequel ils étaient d'accord pour poursuivre sans délai les entretiens. Par la suite, ont eu lieu à Londres des entretiens tendant à trouver une solution et ils se poursuivent actuellement. Le Secrétaire général a été informé de tous ces faits, afin de tenir le Comité spécial dûment au courant du déroulement des négociations. De son côté, le Comité spécial a pris acte des faits en question dans son présent rapport à l'Assemblée générale.

37. Le représentant de l'Argentine exprime sa reconnaissance au Comité spécial et en particulier à son Sous-Comité III pour le travail qu'ils ont accompli en ce qui concerne les situations coloniales dans les pays d'Amérique. Il se réserve également le droit, le cas échéant, d'intervenir ultérieurement dans le débat.

38. M. APPIAH (Ghana) demande au représentant du Royaume-Uni combien de fonctionnaires britanniques sont compris dans les 88 habitants de Pitcairn. Il voudrait savoir en outre quelles autres catégories de personnel britannique se trouvent dans l'île et à combien s'élèvent le revenu national et les dépenses annuelles de l'administration.

39. M. MALECELA (République-Unie de Tanzanie) traitant de la question de l'île Maurice, tient à faire observer que le système de vote existant dans ce territoire est un des plus compliqués du monde, comme l'a reconnu le Comité spécial lui-même.

40. En ce qui concerne les atolls administrés antérieurement par l'île Maurice et les îles Seychelles, le représentant de la République-Unie de Tanzanie rappelle que lorsque le Comité spécial a examiné cette question et a demandé au Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni de ne pas y établir de base militaire, cette demande était due à ce que le *New York Times* avait mentionné la possibilité de l'installation d'une base militaire du Royaume-Uni et des Etats-Unis dans cette région. M. Malecela serait reconnaissant à la délégation du Royaume-Uni de confirmer à nouveau qu'elle n'a aucune intention d'établir une base dans ces atolls.

41. M. ZOHRAB (Nouvelle-Zélande) déplore qu'il reste seulement à la Quatrième Commission si peu de temps pour étudier les petits territoires, dont les populations, lorsqu'il s'agit de décider de leur propre avenir, se heurtent à des problèmes qui exigent une

étude approfondie et une grande compréhension. Dans les grandes colonies, la solution classique de l'indépendance souveraine s'est révélée l'aboutissement logique et souhaité de la libre détermination. En revanche, pour bon nombre de petits territoires, la solution est beaucoup moins évidente. Sans que soit nié leur droit de libre détermination, les populations doivent s'attacher à concilier le désir naturel qu'a toute communauté humaine de s'administrer elle-même avec les exigences que comporte la souveraineté absolue, notamment celle de disposer de certaines ressources. Tout pays souverain moderne doit posséder un certain appareil étatique, même simplifié, être capable de sauvegarder son intégrité et faire face par ses propres moyens à une proportion raisonnable de ses dépenses de fonctionnement. S'il ne peut satisfaire à ces exigences, il s'expose alors à certains risques. Dans certains petits territoires, où les droits des populations ne sont pas moindres que ceux des collectivités plus importantes mais qui n'ont pas le minimum de ressources humaines et matérielles nécessaires, la réponse peut être trouvée dans des solutions autres que l'indépendance souveraine — par exemple l'association avec un autre pays auquel ces territoires sont unis par des liens historiques, culturels ou ethniques. Cependant, c'est aux populations du territoire lui-même qu'il appartient de décider de leur propre avenir et on ne peut résoudre leurs problèmes en prétendant leur appliquer simplement certaines formules, même si elles ont sans aucun doute fait leurs preuves dans d'autres cas.

42. Le dilemme devant lequel se trouvent les petits territoires apparaît plus clairement lorsque l'on examine des cas précis. La Nouvelle-Zélande, par exemple, est encore responsable de la destinée de l'île Nioué, qui a 5 000 habitants, et de celle des îles Tokélaou, qui en comptent moins de 2 000, territoires dont les ressources naturelles sont extrêmement limitées.

43. Pour faire connaître la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale, la Nouvelle-Zélande, agissant en collaboration avec le Département de la tutelle et des territoires non autonomes, a fait traduire cette résolution dans les langues vernaculaires, en a fait diffuser le texte dans les îles et a organisé des réunions pour que les populations puissent faire connaître leurs vues. Les habitants des îles ont conscience de leurs droits et savent que la Nouvelle-Zélande est favorable à l'abrogation du statut colonial. Cependant, ils souhaitent que l'association avec la Nouvelle-Zélande se poursuive et paraissent désirer pour le moment qu'elle dure indéfiniment.

44. Les possibilités qui s'offrent aux habitants des îles sont théoriquement illimitées mais c'est à eux qu'il appartient de dire quelles sont les possibilités réelles. Même lorsque la Nouvelle-Zélande, jugeant possible et logique que les habitants des îles Tokélaou souhaitent constituer une association avec l'un ou l'autre des archipels voisins, s'est engagée à supporter pendant de nombreuses années les dépenses relatives à l'administration de ce nouveau territoire pour le cas où les habitants des îles Tokélaou décideraient d'en faire partie, ces derniers ont préféré conserver leurs liens avec la Nouvelle-Zélande. Ils souhaitent apparemment conserver les droits qui leur

sont garanties actuellement, à savoir celui d'entrer sans restriction en Nouvelle-Zélande et celui d'obtenir des subventions financières directes et une assistance technique, et ils estiment que l'économie de la Nouvelle-Zélande est la seule économie stable de la région qui puisse leur fournir une telle aide.

45. Quant aux 5 000 habitants de Nioué, eux aussi semblent, du moins pour le moment, vouloir conserver des liens directs avec la Nouvelle-Zélande. En 1962, quatre possibilités leur ont été offertes: l'indépendance, l'intégration à un Etat indépendant, l'appartenance à une éventuelle fédération polynésienne, et enfin l'autonomie dans l'association avec un autre Etat. L'Assemblée de Nioué a repoussé les trois premières possibilités et a déclaré à l'époque ce qu'elle a depuis répété à plusieurs occasions, à savoir qu'à ce stade elle n'était disposée qu'à progresser sur la voie de l'autonomie. Le premier pas dans cette direction a été accompli lorsqu'on a mis en place un régime ministériel embryonnaire. De plus, on sait que depuis 1962 l'Assemblée législative exerce son contrôle financier sur toutes les recettes, y compris les subventions accordées par la Nouvelle-Zélande.

46. Les populations des groupes d'îles considérés n'ont jusqu'à présent pris aucune décision définitive quant à leur avenir, mais apparemment elles ne veulent pas de la solution classique de l'indépendance souveraine et entendent envisager d'autres possibilités. Elles peuvent prendre une décision définitive lorsqu'elles le désirent: la Nouvelle-Zélande, quant à elle, continuera, quelle que soit cette décision, à leur fournir son assistance. La tâche principale de la Commission dans les cas de ce genre est de veiller non pas à ce que les populations intéressées se prononcent pour tel ou tel statut, mais à ce qu'elles puissent exercer librement leur droit de libre détermination au moment où elles le voudront et comme elles le voudront.

47. M. BARDER (Royaume-Uni), exerçant son droit de réponse, se loue que le représentant de l'Argentine ait fait allusion en termes cordiaux aux entretiens qui ont lieu entre le Gouvernement argentin et le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni au sujet des îles Falkland et exprime l'espoir que ces entretiens aboutiront à une solution du problème qui soit pacifique et acceptable pour tous. Cependant, la délégation britannique ne peut accepter les affirmations du représentant de l'Argentine qui contestent la souveraineté du Royaume-Uni sur les îles Falkland, point sur lequel son gouvernement n'a pas de doutes, et elle n'accepte pas non plus une grande partie de la déclaration du représentant de l'Argentine sur le problème et ses origines. Le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni désire, cependant, que le différend concernant les îles Falkland ne porte pas atteinte aux bons rapports qui existent entre le Royaume-Uni et l'Argentine.

48. En ce qui concerne les observations qu'a formulées le représentant de la République-Unie de Tanzanie sur le système électoral compliqué de l'île Maurice, le représentant du Royaume-Uni note que l'unique critère sur lequel on doit se fonder pour juger ce système est la question de savoir s'il est ou non acceptable pour le peuple de l'île Maurice et si celui-ci l'accepte en fait. Etant donné que tout le peuple et

tous les partis de l'île Maurice l'acceptent, il est relativement moins important que le Comité spécial le juge difficile à comprendre.

49. Répondant à la première question posée par le représentant du Ghana, le représentant du Royaume-Uni indique qu'il n'y a pas de fonctionnaires britanniques à Pitcairn. La délégation du Royaume-Uni examinera immédiatement les autres questions qui ont été soulevées.

50. M. MALECELA (République-Unie de Tanzanie), exerçant son droit de réponse, déplore que la délégation du Royaume-Uni juge d'importance mineure la question du système électoral compliqué qui existe dans l'île Maurice; il semble qu'elle essaie de minimiser le droit du peuple de cette île à déterminer son propre avenir. En disant que la situation constitutionnelle complexe est une question qui relève exclusivement du peuple, il ne tient pas compte du fait que les Nations Unies doivent être informées des options éventuelles qui sont offertes au peuple. A ce sujet, le représentant de la Tanzanie rappelle que le peuple du Tanganyika a accepté, parce qu'il n'avait pas d'autre choix, une constitution en vertu de laquelle les 22 000 habitants européens avaient autant de

représentants que les millions d'autochtones du territoire. Il est possible que le peuple de l'île Maurice se trouve dans une situation analogue et M. Malecela note qu'il est toujours opportun de pouvoir faire un choix.

Nations Unies ASSEMBLÉE GÉNÉRALE

VINGT ET UNIÈME SESSION

Documents officiels



QUATRIÈME COMMISSION, 1671^e
SÉANCE

Mercredi 14 décembre 1966,
à 15 h 35

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(Soudan).

En l'absence du Président, M. Kanakarathne (Ceylan),
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POINT 23 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

Application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux: rapport du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux: territoires n'ayant pas été examinés séparément (suite) [A/6242, A/6261 et Add.1, A/6262 et Add.1, A/6277, A/6278, A/6300/Rev.1, chap. XI et XIV à XXII; A/6568, A/C.4/680, A/C.4/681]

DISCUSSION GÉNÉRALE (suite)

1. M. GROS ESPIELL (Uruguay) signale que la délégation de son pays a déjà eu l'occasion de préciser sa position à propos de chacun des nombreux territoires, groupés sous ce point, au sein du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. Le représentant de l'Uruguay déclare vouloir réitérer cette position et réaffirmer l'applicabilité de la résolution

1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale à tous ces territoires ainsi que le devoir qui incombe aux Nations Unies d'en assurer la décolonisation rapide et totale. M. Gros Espiell tient en outre à souligner de nouveau l'utilité de l'envoi de missions de visite des Nations Unies dans de petits territoires où existent des problèmes particuliers afin que leurs peuples parviennent à une autodétermination et à une indépendance authentiques, en pleine connaissance de cause.

2. En ce qui concerne la question des îles Falkland (Malvinas), M. Gros Espiell rappelle que, dès l'année 1964, où le Sous-Comité III du Comité spécial a analysé ce problème, le représentant de l'Uruguay a exposé en détail l'opinion de son pays et a réaffirmé la compétence du Comité pour connaître de cette question, expliquant l'impossibilité juridique de l'existence de colonies étrangères en Amérique, la non-reconnaissance d'acquisitions territoriales fondées sur la force et l'applicabilité, à ce cas précis, du paragraphe 6 de la résolution 1514 (XV). Cette thèse a trouvé son écho dans les conclusions et recommandations adoptées par le Sous-Comité en date du 18 septembre 1964^{1/}, et, un an après, l'Assemblée générale a adopté la résolution 2065 (XX) par laquelle elle invitait les Gouvernements de l'Argentine et du Royaume-Uni à poursuivre les négociations recommandées par le Comité spécial en vue de trouver une solution pacifique au problème, en tenant dûment compte des dispositions et des objectifs de la Charte des Nations Unies et de la résolution 1514 (XV), ainsi que des intérêts de la population des îles Falkland (Malvinas). L'Uruguay a été l'un des auteurs du projet de résolution, et son représentant a déclaré (1558^e séance) qu'il ne s'agissait pas de discuter de la question des droits de possession, mais de mettre un terme à un état de fait dépourvu de tout fondement juridique.

3. Le représentant de l'Uruguay juge regrettable que l'on ne soit pas parvenu à une solution et souligne qu'étant donné son caractère colonial le problème présente un intérêt non seulement bilatéral, mais multilatéral. Il estime indispensable d'insister auprès des parties intéressées pour qu'elles activent leurs pourparlers et informent d'urgence l'Assemblée générale des résultats. Cette position pourrait être adoptée en tant que consensus par la Commission.

4. En ce qui concerne la question de Gibraltar, M. Gros Espiell réitère la position de son pays: le Rocher de Gibraltar est terre espagnole usurpée par le Royaume-Uni qui doit faire retour à l'Espagne. La délégation uruguayenne a d'ailleurs été l'un des

^{1/} Voir Documents officiels de l'Assemblée générale, dix-neuvième session, Annexes, annexe No 8 (1ère partie), document A/5800/Rev.1, chap. XXIII, annexe, par. 121.

auteurs du projet de résolution approuvé par le Comité spécial le 17 novembre 1966 (voir A/6300/Rev.1, chap. XI, par. 66). Il est indispensable de poursuivre les négociations afin d'obtenir l'application de la résolution 1514 (XV). La situation n'est pas sans issue si l'on reconnaît le droit qu'a l'Espagne de recouvrer une partie de son territoire, car le Royaume-Uni est tenu de respecter le Traité d'Utrecht, sans modification, pour ce qui a trait aux limites et à la nature de la cession, à la suite de ratifications ultérieures. La résolution approuvée par le Comité spécial, avec quelques amendements de nature à l'améliorer, peut permettre un progrès sensible dans la question de Gibraltar.

5. M. DE PINIES (Espagne) rappelle que le 17 novembre 1966 le Comité spécial a approuvé une résolution sur Gibraltar sur laquelle l'Espagne, n'appartenant pas à ce comité, n'a pu voter, bien qu'elle soit intervenue dans le débat antérieur auquel elle avait été invitée à participer. Cette résolution a, d'ores et déjà, été communiquée officiellement au Gouvernement espagnol, par une lettre datée du 12 novembre émanant du fonctionnaire chargé du Département de la tutelle et des territoires non autonomes. Dans cette lettre, on rappelle la nécessité d'appliquer à Gibraltar les résolutions 1514 (XV) et 2070 (XX) ainsi que le consensus du Comité spécial du 16 octobre 1964^{2/} par lequel, après avoir constaté l'existence d'un différend hispano-britannique au sujet de Gibraltar, on recommandait la décolonisation de ce territoire au moyen d'une solution négociée entre l'Espagne et le Royaume-Uni dans le sens de la résolution 1514 (XV) et en tenant compte des intérêts des habitants de Gibraltar. La résolution du 17 novembre 1966 non seulement rappelle le mandat de décolonisation adopté en 1964 et ratifié en 1965, en vertu duquel l'Espagne et le Royaume-Uni ont entamé des négociations le 18 mai 1966, mais regrette en outre le retard apporté à la décolonisation de Gibraltar, invite les deux parties à poursuivre les négociations et à faire rapport le plus tôt possible au Comité spécial et, enfin, demande au Secrétaire général d'aider à la mise en œuvre du processus de décolonisation de Gibraltar.

6. La délégation espagnole tient à préciser sa position quant à la phase du processus de décolonisation où se trouve Gibraltar. Elle se fonde, en premier lieu, sur le texte même de la résolution du Comité spécial, dont le premier paragraphe du dispositif invite les deux parties à s'abstenir de tout acte qui compromettrait le succès de ces négociations. Personne ne pourra, à coup sûr, supposer que l'Espagne ait intérêt à entraver ou à faire échouer une négociation qu'elle a dû réclamer neuf fois avant que le Royaume-Uni ne l'accepte et en laquelle l'Espagne place son espoir de voir un jour prochain s'abolir une situation coloniale sur son propre sol. La délégation espagnole est, en outre, portée à intervenir en raison de la déclaration que le représentant de la République-Unie de Tanzanie a faite lors du débat du Comité spécial qui a précédé l'approbation de la résolution mentionnée. A la 480ème séance du Comité spécial, le représentant de la Tanzanie a exprimé ses réserves sur ce qui se passerait réellement entre l'Espagne

et le Royaume-Uni depuis le début des négociations recommandées par la résolution 2070 (XX) et s'est déclaré insatisfait que l'Espagne ou le Royaume-Uni informe séparément le Comité spécial de certains aspects desdites négociations, donnant à entendre que, si cette procédure se poursuivait, le Comité spécial ne pourrait se faire une idée exacte de la tournure qu'avaient pris les pourparlers entre l'Espagne et le Royaume-Uni depuis le 18 mai 1966. Ces doutes sont compréhensibles étant donné le manque de renseignements dont l'Espagne ne se sent pas responsable. L'Espagne n'a pas fait l'historique détaillé des négociations devant le Comité spécial parce que, peut-être par un excès de scrupule, elle se croyait obligée de les garder secrètes — c'est ce qu'avait demandé le Royaume-Uni — jusqu'à ce que les deux pays aient pu communiquer conjointement au Comité spécial ou à l'Assemblée générale que l'on était parvenu ou en passe de parvenir à une solution ou à la solution négociée demandée par le consensus du Comité spécial. Les doutes qui pouvaient exister quant à l'attitude de l'Espagne durant les négociations ainsi que la publication, au mois de novembre, d'un livre blanc britannique^{3/} où ont été reproduits presque tous les documents échangés entre l'Espagne et le Royaume-Uni depuis le 18 mai, libèrent l'Espagne de tout engagement de garder le silence. Cependant, l'invitation faite aux deux pays de s'abstenir d'entraver la négociation oblige la délégation espagnole à en retracer l'historique véritable.

7. Dans une note verbale en date du 17 janvier 1966 (A/6242, annexe I), l'Espagne a, une fois de plus, demandé au Royaume-Uni d'entamer les négociations au sujet de Gibraltar recommandées dans la résolution 2070 (XX), et, dans une note verbale en date du 14 février 1966 (voir A/6278), le Gouvernement britannique a accepté la proposition espagnole. Le 18 mai, les Ministres des affaires étrangères de l'Espagne et du Royaume-Uni se sont réunis à Londres. Le Ministre espagnol a remis à son homologue anglais un mémoire où l'Espagne exposait sa proposition à l'égard du problème de Gibraltar, position mûrie depuis deux siècles. En effet, Gibraltar constituait un problème pour l'Espagne bien avant que le processus de décolonisation ne commence. Le mémoire présenté par l'Espagne respectait les directives de l'Organisation des Nations Unies relatives à la décolonisation de Gibraltar et contenues dans le consensus du Comité spécial ainsi que dans la résolution 2070 (XX) de l'Assemblée générale. Conformément à ces directives, l'Espagne a proposé une solution constructive pour résoudre le problème de Gibraltar consistant en un accord entre l'Espagne et le Royaume-Uni, dont l'article premier prévoyait l'abrogation de l'article X du Traité d'Utrecht de 1713 et le rétablissement de l'unité nationale et de l'intégrité territoriale espagnoles. Dans un deuxième article, l'Espagne se montrait disposée à respecter les intérêts particuliers du Royaume-Uni à Gibraltar, qui feraient l'objet d'un accord spécial en annexe de l'accord envisagé. Dans le troisième article relatif à la protection des intérêts des ressortissants britanniques de Gibraltar, il était proposé au Royaume-

^{2/} Ibid., chap. X, par. 209.

^{3/} Gibraltar: Talks with Spain, Cmnd. 3131 (Londres, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1966).

Uni de négocier et de signer un deuxième accord supplémentaire qui viendrait s'ajouter à l'accord initial proposé par l'Espagne et aux termes duquel les deux pays établiraient un régime juridique qui protégerait les droits des habitants de Gibraltar, à savoir: la liberté de religion, leur nationalité britannique, leur droit de résidence, le libre exercice de leurs activités légitimes, la garantie de leurs emplois, etc. En outre, l'Espagne s'engageait à faciliter leur participation au développement économique de la baie d'Algésiras, qui est l'un des objectifs fondamentaux de la politique espagnole de développement économique. Autrement dit, cet accord reconnaissait aux habitants de Gibraltar les droits maximaux dont n'importe quel groupement humain peut jouir, à l'exception de celui de disposer d'une partie du territoire espagnol. Dans un quatrième et dernier article, il était précisé que la convention qui contenait la formule espagnole pour la décolonisation de Gibraltar n'entrerait en vigueur que lorsque l'Espagne et le Royaume-Uni auraient négocié et souscrit les deux accords supplémentaires prévus aux articles 2 et 3, et lorsqu'ils auraient été enregistrés par l'Organisation des Nations Unies. L'Espagne proposait donc une formule qui allait bien plus loin que ce qu'exigeait l'ONU. Le consensus du Comité spécial se contentait de demander que l'on tienne compte des intérêts des habitants de Gibraltar. Or, l'Espagne était disposée à prendre en considération et à respecter les intérêts particuliers de la Grande-Bretagne qui sont de nature essentiellement militaire. L'Espagne espère que les bases militaires situées sur des territoires étrangers disparaîtront, et que la tension qui existe dans le monde depuis la seconde guerre mondiale ferait place progressivement à une véritable coexistence pacifique fondée sur le désarmement général et complet. Entre-temps, l'établissement de bases aux termes de pactes entre les divers Etats pour des raisons de sécurité mutuelle ne saurait faire l'objet de reproches, mais l'existence de bases imposées par un pays fort à un pays faible en vertu d'un passé impérialiste et colonial et qui, de ce fait, servent exclusivement les intérêts de l'Etat colonisateur et constituent un danger constant pour l'Etat colonisé, est intolérable. Le représentant permanent de l'Espagne auprès de l'Organisation des Nations Unies a récemment exposé la position de l'Espagne à cet égard, et M. de Piniés se contente de la rappeler pour expliquer qu'en respectant les intérêts militaires britanniques à Gibraltar, l'Espagne espérait transformer une base coloniale qui lui avait été imposée par la force des armes, en une base militaire établie en vertu d'un pacte, ayant un caractère temporaire et dont l'avenir serait lié au sort général de toutes les bases militaires à l'étranger.

8. Lorsque le Ministre des affaires étrangères du Royaume-Uni a pris connaissance du mémoire espagnol, il a réservé la position politique britannique au sujet de Gibraltar, après avoir cependant déclaré que les propositions espagnoles méritaient d'être étudiées attentivement par le Royaume-Uni. Cet examen s'est terminé le 20 mai au cours d'une réunion entre les délégations espagnole et britannique durant laquelle la délégation britannique s'est contentée de demander toutes sortes d'éclaircissements, qui lui ont été fournis, au sujet de l'accord proposé par

l'Espagne. Tout semblait indiquer que les négociations hispano-britanniques pourraient se poursuivre sur la base de la formule proposée par l'Espagne, qui respecte scrupuleusement les directives des Nations Unies et permettrait de mettre fin à la situation coloniale de Gibraltar. Toutefois, le 23 mai, lorsque le Ministre des affaires étrangères du Royaume-Uni a répondu, à la Chambre des Communes, à des questions relatives à la proposition espagnole du 18 mai, il a déclaré que les négociations qui venaient d'être entamées avaient pour objet d'établir des rapports civilisés entre l'Espagne et Gibraltar. Apparemment, la véritable décolonisation de Gibraltar n'entraîne pas dans les vues des dirigeants britanniques, comme nous avons pu nous en rendre compte le 12 juillet 1966, lors de la troisième réunion de ces négociations hispano-britanniques. Cette réunion, qui s'est également tenue à Londres, marque un tournant dans le déroulement des négociations: en effet, à cette réunion, le Royaume-Uni n'a nullement tenu compte de la proposition espagnole. Il ne l'a ni approuvée, ni rejetée, ni modifiée, ni même commentée. Il l'a tout simplement laissée de côté. En outre, à ce moment-là, la Grande-Bretagne a remis à l'Espagne un long document exposant ses droits juridiques sur Gibraltar et dans lequel elle essayait de nier purement et simplement que l'Espagne eût des raisons de demander que le Rocher lui fût restitué, pour rétablir ainsi l'intégrité territoriale et l'unité nationale de l'Espagne. Le Royaume-Uni a même essayé de démontrer que la formule de décolonisation suggérée par l'Espagne ne respectait pas les directives des Nations Unies. Dans ce document, le Royaume-Uni s'accrochait à ses titres coloniaux sur Gibraltar précisément au moment où elle prenait place avec l'Espagne à la table des négociations pour essayer de trouver une solution définitive à la situation coloniale qui existe à Gibraltar. En outre, le Royaume-Uni a soumis à l'Espagne des "mini-propositions" ayant trait à la suppression de la contrebande en provenance de Gibraltar, au rabaissement au niveau municipal du prétendu Gouvernement de Gibraltar et à la nomination d'un commissaire espagnol sur le Rocher, etc. Ces propositions n'avaient rien à voir avec la décolonisation de Gibraltar et ne contribuaient d'aucune façon constructive à la solution négociée préconisée par la résolution 2070 (XX).

9. Puis, il s'est produit quelque chose de bien plus grave encore: le Gouvernement britannique s'est déclaré souverain, sans pour autant justifier, en aucune façon, cette prétendue souveraineté d'un kilomètre carré de territoire espagnol contigu à Gibraltar qui n'a jamais été cédé par l'Espagne par le Traité d'Utrecht, mais sur lequel le Royaume-Uni s'était installé vers le milieu du XIX^{ème} siècle, en ayant recours à la force et à la duplicité et en ignorant les protestations continuelles et réitérées de l'Espagne. Ainsi le Royaume-Uni profitait de négociations pour la décolonisation de Gibraltar pour arracher à l'Espagne la souveraineté d'une partie supplémentaire de son territoire. Ce dernier acte britannique qui constitue pratiquement une agression contre l'intégrité territoriale de l'Espagne est le seul dont la délégation espagnole ait parlé le 11 novembre 1966 devant le Comité spécial (voir A/6300/Rev.1, chap. XI, par. 28 et 29). Les scrupules de l'Espagne, qui l'ont conduite

à garder le silence sur ce que les Anglais avaient demandé, ont empêché la délégation espagnole d'expliquer en détail la façon dont cette agression s'est produite. A présent, s'estimant libérée de cet engagement au silence, l'Espagne désire exposer les faits.

10. En 1713, l'Espagne a été obligée de céder à la Grande-Bretagne, avec certaines limitations, la place forte de Gibraltar, dont la frontière nord était constituée par ses murailles. Une escadre anglo-hollandaise venue appuyer un candidat au trône d'Espagne a conquis le rocher dont la garnison défendait les droits d'un autre candidat qui régnait déjà à Madrid depuis cinq ans. Une fois que le rocher a été occupé, les Anglais se sont empressés, avec une mauvaise foi que l'Encyclopédie britannique elle-même reconnaît, de proclamer la souveraineté de la reine de la Grande-Bretagne expulsant la population civile espagnole, d'abord, et leurs alliés hollandais ensuite, et ignorant les soi-disant droits du prétendant à la couronne d'Espagne, alors qu'ils avaient pris pied dans la forteresse de Gibraltar précisément pour les défendre. En 1815, après les campagnes napoléoniennes, les autorités militaires de Gibraltar ont établi des camps sanitaires en dehors des murailles, en territoire espagnol, que l'Espagne avait démilitarisé en gage du maintien de bonnes relations entre l'Espagne et le Royaume-Uni. Ces camps, qui accueillaient les soldats de la garnison qui avaient survécu aux épidémies de fièvre qui ont ravagé Gibraltar au début du XIX^{ème} siècle, se sont peu à peu étendus au territoire espagnol jusqu'à ce qu'ils occupent le kilomètre carré dont il a été question. En 1909, le Gouvernement britannique a élevé une grille de fer qui sépare ce morceau de territoire usurpé de l'Espagne et plus tard, au cours de la guerre civile espagnole — alors qu'aucun des deux partis adverses n'était en condition de protester —, le Gouvernement britannique a construit sur cette zone un aéroport qu'il a agrandi au cours de la seconde guerre mondiale. Le Gouvernement britannique actuel prétend que l'Espagne n'a pas protesté lors de cet agrandissement, ce qui serait, dit-il, une preuve tacite du consentement de l'Espagne à l'existence de l'aéroport. Mais en lisant le Livre blanc britannique de novembre 1966, il est évident que les protestations espagnoles, compte tenu des circonstances, étaient alors allées aussi loin qu'elles le pouvaient, à savoir jusqu'à abattre des avions militaires qui, à partir de Gibraltar, violaient l'espace aérien espagnol. L'Espagne a élevé des protestations répétées et constantes au sujet de la présence anglaise en dehors des frontières du territoire cédé au Traité d'Utrecht. Après chaque protestation, la Grande-Bretagne s'empressait de fournir toutes sortes d'explications et de prétendre que l'installation britannique en territoire espagnol n'altérerait pas la frontière. Ce n'est que le 12 juillet 1966 que le Royaume-Uni a officiellement employé les mots "souveraineté britannique" pour justifier sa présence sur ledit territoire.

11. Le Gouvernement actuel du Royaume-Uni a voulu repousser l'accusation espagnole en déclarant que ce n'est pas le 12 juillet 1966 que le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni a proclamé pour la première fois sa souveraineté sur la partie sud de l'isthme. Le Gouvernement travailliste a tenté de mettre sur le

compte de l'ancien Gouvernement conservateur la responsabilité de cette agression commise contre la souveraineté espagnole, en affirmant qu'en 1909 sir Edward Grey, alors secrétaire d'Etat aux affaires étrangères, avait fait savoir à l'ambassadeur d'Espagne à Londres que le terrain situé au sud de la grille édiflée par les Anglais était déjà territoire britannique. Cette excuse, laborieusement présentée trois mois après le 12 juillet, vise uniquement à dégager la responsabilité de l'actuel Gouvernement britannique en la faisant endosser par un gouvernement antérieur. M. de Piniés affirme, et il met quiconque au défi de prouver le contraire, qu'avant le 12 juillet 1966 aucun gouvernement britannique n'a osé déclarer officiellement à l'Espagne qu'il était souverain sur la partie sud de l'isthme. Même sir Edward Grey, aux temps glorieux de l'impérialisme britannique, n'a osé avancer une telle affirmation. La simple lecture du Livre blanc publié par le Gouvernement de Londres suffit à prouver que seul l'actuel Gouvernement travailliste anglais s'est permis le luxe de déclarer en 1966 qu'il est souverain sur le territoire espagnol qui jouxte Gibraltar et que cette souveraineté se fonde purement et simplement sur l'occupation britannique de ce territoire. Il s'agit, au contraire, d'une occupation entreprise par la ruse et maintenue par la force, qui fait fi des protestations continues de l'Espagne.

12. Lorsque les négociations hispano-britanniques sur la décolonisation de Gibraltar ont été entamées, le Gouvernement espagnol était tout à fait convaincu qu'alors même que le Royaume-Uni occupait illégalement une portion de son sol, la souveraineté espagnole sur celle-ci n'était pas caduque et était encore reconnue par le Royaume-Uni. D'où l'étonnement et la déception de l'Espagne devant l'attitude du Royaume-Uni, qui, en opposant délibérément cet obstacle aux négociations, prouvait combien il était peu désireux d'arriver à une décolonisation véritable de Gibraltar. Pour sauver la négociation, comme cela est et a toujours été le désir de l'Espagne, il n'y avait d'autre solution que d'essayer de convaincre le Royaume-Uni de la nécessité de reconsidérer cette déclaration de souveraineté et de la retirer du cadre des négociations, étant donné que le succès de celle-ci aurait permis de résoudre non seulement le problème de Gibraltar, mais aussi celui de la zone située au nord de ce territoire. Le Gouvernement espagnol a donc demandé au Gouvernement britannique, par une note verbale du 21 juillet 1966, de reconsidérer sa déclaration de souveraineté sur la partie sud de l'isthme. Le Royaume-Uni s'y est refusé carrément, et il s'est produit entre les deux pays un échange de notes au cours duquel le Royaume-Uni, de plus en plus arrogant, a affirmé sa souveraineté sur la zone espagnole usurpée, a dérogé unilatéralement au caractère neutre que l'Espagne lui avait donné au XVIII^{ème} siècle et a réaffirmé que l'aéroport qui y est situé continuerait d'être utilisé par ses forces aériennes et celles de ses alliés, ne tenant aucun compte du fait que les avions militaires qui l'utilisent violent l'espace aérien espagnol autour de Gibraltar, comme cela a été le cas dernièrement à 26 reprises, que le Gouvernement espagnol a prouvées et que le Gouvernement britannique a essayé de nier. La délégation espagnole a l'intention de distribuer un document

qui fait état de toutes les communications échangées entre son pays et le Royaume-Uni au sujet de l'agression britannique commise le 12 juillet.

13. L'Espagne ne pouvait demeurer indifférente devant les conséquences de cette agression. Pendant trois mois, elle a demandé à plusieurs reprises au Royaume-Uni de reconsidérer son attitude, ne recevant que des réponses négatives de plus en plus hautaines. Au cours de ces trois mois, l'Espagne s'est armée de patience. Elle s'est limitée à protester par écrit en exposant et en défendant ses droits. Elle n'a pas abattu d'avions britanniques. Elle n'a pas ouvert le feu contre ces avions lorsqu'ils survolaient ses eaux et son territoire. Elle a autorisé l'aviation civile à continuer d'utiliser l'aérodrome. Elle n'a pris aucune mesure contre celui-ci. Elle n'a pas élevé de tours qui empêchent de l'utiliser. Elle ne l'a pas entouré de barrières de ballons captifs qui en rendent l'accès difficile pour les avions. Elle n'a pas refusé de communiquer des renseignements météorologiques ni d'accorder les autres facilités dont un aérodrome isolé, à des milliers de kilomètres de sa métropole, a besoin pour garantir la sécurité du vol et de la vie humaine. Le représentant de l'Espagne exprime l'espoir que cette attitude patiente, constructive et humanitaire de l'Espagne aura été prise en considération par le Comité spécial lorsque l'agression britannique lui a été exposée, ou qu'elle le sera maintenant par la Quatrième Commission. En revanche, lorsque l'Espagne a interrompu le 5 octobre 1966 le transit de véhicules et de marchandises qui s'effectuait par la douane de la ville de La Línea de la Concepción aux portes mêmes de cet aérodrome, foyer de menaces contre l'Espagne, les services d'information britanniques ont organisé un scandale considérable. Toutes les agences de presse ont recueilli les expressions "blocus de Gibraltar" et "politique de coups d'épingle", qui ont été prononcées à Londres. Le Royaume-Uni tentait de dissimuler la gravité de son implantation militaire dans le territoire espagnol et les violations de l'espace aérien espagnol commises par des avions militaires derrière une campagne où l'Espagne apparaissait comme l'agresseur. On prétendait comparer l'agression militaire britannique à la réduction des facilités espagnoles, de nature purement administrative, par laquelle l'Espagne voulait contrer l'agression dont elle était l'objet.

14. Pour toutes ces raisons, et aussi parce que les violations britanniques de l'espace aérien espagnol ont été condamnées le 11 et le 17 novembre 1966 devant le Comité spécial par les représentants de la Syrie, de l'Uruguay, du Venezuela, de la Tunisie et de la République-Unie de Tanzanie, la délégation espagnole estime que la demande qui a été faite aux deux parties, dans la résolution du Comité spécial, de s'abstenir de mettre obstacle aux négociations n'implique absolument pas que le Comité spécial interdit à l'Espagne de se défendre contre les agressions colonialistes commises par le Royaume-Uni. Le représentant de la Syrie a fait remarquer le mois dernier qu'il n'y a aucune raison que l'aérodrome de Gibraltar soit utilisé à des fins militaires alors que le Royaume-Uni n'est en guerre contre personne. Le représentant de l'Uruguay a ajouté que cette utilisation militaire est la cause des incidents dénoncés

par l'Espagne, et le représentant de la Tunisie s'est joint au représentant de la Syrie pour demander au Royaume-Uni de mettre un terme aux incidents — les violations de l'espace aérien — dont la délégation espagnole avait fait état devant le Comité spécial. Le représentant du Venezuela a condamné le 17 novembre les violations de l'espace aérien espagnol, auxquelles le représentant de la République-Unie de Tanzanie a également fait allusion. Naturellement, le représentant du Royaume-Uni a tenté de comparer ces agressions militaires aux mesures administratives de nature fiscale prises par l'Espagne sur son propre territoire, c'est-à-dire à la douane de La Línea de la Concepción. Le fait d'admettre cette comparaison constituerait une injustice grave, mais il serait en outre surprenant que le Comité spécial interdise à un pays colonisé sur une partie de son territoire de se défendre contre les agressions du colonialisme.

15. Les Nations Unies pourraient efficacement faciliter les négociations et les accélérer si la Quatrième Commission, en adoptant une résolution sur ce point, recommandait que cet aérodrome ne soit pas utilisé à des fins militaires qui sont à l'origine de ces agressions colonialistes. Tout comme le représentant de la République-Unie de Tanzanie dans son intervention du 17 novembre, la délégation espagnole estime regrettable que l'invitation qui a été faite aux deux parties de ne pas mettre d'obstacle aux négociations n'ait pas été précisée davantage, ce qu'elle tentera de faire maintenant en précisant les mesures qui doivent être mentionnées concrètement. Elle ne comprend pas, en effet, comment on peut mettre sur le même pied le pays colonisé, l'Espagne, qui a constamment demandé au Royaume-Uni d'ouvrir des négociations — encouragée qu'elle était par la résolution 2070 (XX) — et le pays colonisateur, le Royaume-Uni, qui a toujours refusé le dialogue avec l'Espagne, même après le consensus de 1964, et dont le Secrétaire d'Etat a affirmé le 10 novembre 1966 devant la Chambre des communes qu'il n'existe aucun problème colonial à Gibraltar. L'esprit constructif et la patience illimitée dont a fait preuve le Gouvernement espagnol ne sauraient être plus évidents, comme l'a prouvé le fait que les négociations se sont poursuivies malgré l'agression britannique du 12 juillet 1966.

16. L'historique de ces négociations montrera l'absence d'une volonté décolonisatrice sincère du Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni. Le 10 septembre 1966, au cours d'une nouvelle réunion à Londres, le Gouvernement espagnol, prouvant son désir de négociation, a accepté les "mini-propositions" anglaises du 12 juillet dans la mesure où elles pouvaient constituer un pas vers la solution définitive recommandée par la résolution 2070 (XX). Le seul point que l'Espagne n'acceptait pas dans ces propositions était l'offre anglaise que la marine de guerre et l'aviation militaire espagnoles utilisent le port et l'aérodrome de Gibraltar sous contrôle britannique. L'Espagne n'a nul besoin d'une base militaire dans la baie d'Algésiras. L'Espagne ne peut davantage accepter que la démolition possible de la grille — ce mur de la honte construit par le Royaume-Uni en 1909 — dépende de l'approbation par l'Espagne de la supposée souveraineté anglaise sur la zone contiguë à Gibraltar et usurpée par le Royaume-Uni.

En tout cas, le Gouvernement britannique, voyant que l'Espagne acceptait en principe ses propositions comme un pas vers la solution définitive, les a retirées le 10 octobre 1966 en les remplaçant par une nouvelle proposition, celle de saisir la Cour internationale de Justice de la discussion des titres coloniaux sur Gibraltar, avant de poursuivre les négociations pour décoloniser le territoire. Le 14 décembre, le Gouvernement espagnol, s'en tenant à la résolution du Comité spécial du 17 novembre 1966, a répondu officiellement au Gouvernement britannique que l'Espagne ne peut accepter la proposition de soumettre le cas de Gibraltar à la Cour internationale de Justice.

17. M. de Piniés donne lecture de cette réponse, dans laquelle l'Espagne dit que les questions que le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni désire soumettre à la décision de la Cour internationale de Justice ont pour but d'obtenir le jugement de celle-ci sur deux affaires: premièrement, déterminer lequel des deux pays a la souveraineté sur le territoire cédé à la Grande-Bretagne par l'Espagne en vertu de l'article X du Traité d'Utrecht du 13 juillet 1713, et la portée et la validité actuelles des limites que cet article impose au Royaume-Uni; deuxièmement, déterminer lequel des deux pays a la souveraineté sur ce que le Royaume-Uni appelle "zone neutre britannique", contiguë à Gibraltar, qui n'a pas été cédée à Utrecht, comme le reconnaît lui-même le Gouvernement britannique, mais sur laquelle il invoque un titre de souveraineté acquis par une prétendue prescription au détriment de la souveraineté espagnole, et déterminer également quelles nouvelles servitudes éventuelles l'aérodrome construit dans cette zone imposera à l'Espagne. La Cour internationale de Justice serait donc appelée à se prononcer sur la question de savoir si le Royaume-Uni est souverain ou non et, dans l'affirmative, sur la portée de sa souveraineté, dans un territoire que la Grande-Bretagne a usurpé et que l'Espagne a cédé par la force des armes à la couronne britannique en 1713, ainsi que sur la question de savoir si l'Espagne est souveraine ou non et, dans l'affirmative, sur la portée de cette souveraineté sur un kilomètre carré de territoire espagnol contigu à Gibraltar, dans lequel le Royaume-Uni s'est installé de facto au milieu du XIX^{ème} siècle, prétendant actuellement qu'en vertu de cette occupation il lui appartient "à titre de souverain". La réponse de l'Espagne déclare ensuite que la Charte des Nations Unies recommande aux Etats Membres de résoudre pacifiquement les conflits qui peuvent les diviser, en soumettant leurs différends à une instance juridique internationale. L'Espagne est d'accord avec cette recommandation, qui protège les Etats faibles contre l'arbitraire des Etats forts, dans le cadre d'un ordre juridique international commun. L'Espagne reste fidèle à la conception des fondateurs du droit des gens moderne, d'un droit international efficace et juste. C'est pourquoi elle ne peut que préconiser qu'en cas de conflit il soit fait appel à la Cour internationale de Justice, et elle regrette que le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni n'ait pas proposé, avant les décisions de l'ONU relatives à la décolonisation, qu'une instance internationale soit saisie, conformément au droit, des différends juridiques existant entre l'Espa-

gne et le Royaume-Uni au sujet du problème de Gibraltar. Ces différends ont donné lieu à des conflits continuels entre les deux pays au cours des deux derniers siècles, notamment à cause des usurpations de territoire et des eaux territoriales espagnoles; et, en dernier lieu, depuis 1950, lorsque le Royaume-Uni a décidé de modifier le régime juridique intérieur de la colonie sous une forme que l'Espagne considère comme portant atteinte à l'article X du Traité d'Utrecht. Connaissant les droits que lui réservait l'article X et entièrement sûre de sa souveraineté sur la partie de territoire espagnol voisine de Gibraltar que le Royaume-Uni a occupé illégalement au siècle dernier, l'Espagne n'aurait pas hésité un moment à accepter que la Cour internationale de Justice examine les droits et les limitations que le Traité d'Utrecht imposait aux deux pays. Pour l'Espagne, recourir à une instance internationale et notamment à la Cour internationale de Justice aurait signifié la possibilité de mettre un frein à l'expansionnisme colonial anglais à Gibraltar.

18. Aujourd'hui, la question a changé de nature et de signe. Il ne s'agit pas de mettre un frein au colonialisme, il s'agit de décoloniser. C'est pourquoi la proposition du Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni est arrivée à un moment où ce recours est dépassé, puisque le Comité spécial avait décidé, deux ans avant que cette proposition ne soit formulée, que Gibraltar devait être décolonisé, recommandant à l'Espagne et au Royaume-Uni la recherche d'une solution négociée qui mette fin à la situation coloniale existant à Gibraltar. Cette décision de l'ONU, acceptée en son temps par l'Espagne et par le Royaume-Uni et en vertu de laquelle ont commencé les négociations hispano-britanniques, doit être bien prise en considération pour apprécier l'actuelle proposition britannique de soumettre à la Cour internationale de Justice certains différends juridiques sur la situation coloniale à Gibraltar. Il est évident que l'Organisation des Nations Unies, connaissant les différends juridiques et de toute nature qui divisent l'Espagne et le Royaume-Uni sur Gibraltar, a décidé et recommandé — en insistant de nouveau sur ce point — qu'il soit mis fin à la situation coloniale de Gibraltar. Il est évident également que cette situation coloniale a son origine dans l'article X du Traité d'Utrecht et dans les conséquences qui découlent de son application. C'est pourquoi, pour appliquer loyalement les résolutions des Nations Unies, il faut partir de l'inefficacité actuelle dudit article à régir une situation qui doit disparaître.

19. Négligeant le principe qui condamne cet article comme l'expression d'une situation coloniale à laquelle il faut mettre fin, le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni propose à l'Espagne de saisir la Cour de la question de savoir lequel des deux pays est souverain sur Gibraltar, en vertu précisément de ce traité. Le Gouvernement espagnol ne peut accepter cette proposition du Royaume-Uni, qui implique que dans n'importe quel cas de décolonisation il faudrait remonter à l'examen préalable des titres juridiques de la puissance coloniale et accepter que ces titres pré-déterminent en quelque sorte la solution définitive de l'affaire. Dans le cas de Gibraltar, cette procédure serait en contradiction avec le mandat de l'ONU et plus précisément avec la résolution approuvée le

17 novembre 1966 par le Comité spécial, qui déclare que la décolonisation de Gibraltar ne doit pas être différée. Au cours de la discussion qui a précédé l'adoption de cette résolution, aucun membre du Comité n'a préconisé que la Cour internationale de Justice intervienne dans le processus de décolonisation de Gibraltar.

20. L'Espagne pense que les titres en litige, les seuls qu'aurait pu examiner la Cour internationale de Justice, ne sont pas pertinents pour le processus de décolonisation à Gibraltar, ni pour les négociations hispano-britanniques par lesquelles ce processus a été engagé puisque le Gouvernement espagnol a ouvert ces négociations en offrant de respecter au maximum tous les intérêts, tant britanniques que des habitants de Gibraltar, qui seraient affectés par le changement de souveraineté, formulant avec précision les garanties suffisantes pour la protection future de ces intérêts. Par conséquent, tout délai employé à examiner les titres juridiques britanniques sur Gibraltar — titres qui sont contraires à la Charte de l'Organisation des Nations Unies et dont le caractère précaire est apparu tout au long des négociations — constituerait un retard injustifié dans ce processus. Le Gouvernement espagnol s'en tient donc à ce qui a été décidé par l'Assemblée générale et par le Comité spécial et ne peut, en conséquence, approuver des initiatives que les Nations Unies n'ont pas recommandées. Pour la même raison, le Gouvernement espagnol ne peut davantage accepter de saisir la Cour internationale de Justice de la question de savoir lequel des deux pays est souverain et quelle est la portée de cette souveraineté sur le territoire contigu à Gibraltar, qui s'étend jusqu'à la grille construite en 1909 et qui a été usurpé par le Royaume-Uni par la ruse et par la force. Cette usurpation est le symbole le plus scandaleux et le plus frappant de la situation coloniale à Gibraltar, et le Gouvernement espagnol ne peut cacher son étonnement devant la conduite du Gouvernement britannique qui s'est décidé — en 1966, lorsque le colonialisme est en cours de liquidation — à invoquer un titre souverain sur la partie méridionale de la zone neutre espagnole.

21. La réponse du Gouvernement espagnol conclut que celui-ci considère que le mandat décolonisateur de l'Assemblée générale de l'ONU, lorsqu'elle recommande la liquidation de la situation coloniale à Gibraltar dans la forme où elle l'a fait, constitue la seule base à considérer pour la solution des différends juridiques et de toute autre nature qui existent entre l'Espagne et le Royaume-Uni au sujet de Gibraltar, et que le Gouvernement espagnol reste disposé, avec le même esprit constructif, à poursuivre les négociations pour mettre fin à cette situation coloniale.

22. Il est évident que l'Espagne estime que les discussions sur les titres juridiques britanniques à Gibraltar, tant sur le plan bilatéral des négociations que sur celui de la Cour internationale de Justice, ne sont absolument pas pertinents. En vérité, l'heure de décoloniser est arrivée dans tous les pays et également à Gibraltar.

23. M. de Piniés rappelle que le représentant de l'Union soviétique a dit, à la 480ème séance du Comité spécial, que l'Espagne n'avait présenté aucune proposition constructive relative à la décolonisation

de Gibraltar. Le représentant de l'Espagne espère que l'explication qu'il vient de donner aura convaincu le représentant de l'Union soviétique du contraire et, dans ce dessein, la délégation espagnole distribuera un second document reproduisant simplement les propositions espagnoles du 18 mai 1966, les "mini-propositions" anglaises du 12 juillet 1966, la réponse espagnole à celles-ci, la réponse britannique proposant de soumettre le problème à la Cour internationale de Justice et la réponse espagnole à cette dernière proposition. Le représentant de l'Union soviétique a fait observer, à la même séance, que l'Espagne et le Royaume-Uni concluaient un accord sur la base militaire de Gibraltar, que le Gouvernement de Londres avait mise au service de l'OTAN avec le consentement de l'Espagne. Il est à espérer que le représentant de l'Union soviétique s'est maintenant aperçu que l'Espagne — qui ne fait pas partie de l'OTAN — n'a aucun intérêt à ce que les Britanniques placent Gibraltar au service de cette organisation, que l'Espagne ne s'intéresse pas à une base dans la baie d'Algésiras et que, si elle s'est décidée à respecter l'existence de la base britannique, c'est parce que l'ONU ne l'a pas interdit et que c'est aux Britanniques, et non à l'Union soviétique, de rendre le territoire à l'Espagne. Si le représentant de l'Union soviétique est prêt à obtenir que l'ONU recommande au Royaume-Uni de démanteler les installations militaires à Gibraltar et qu'elle interdise à l'Espagne de respecter les intérêts militaires britanniques à Gibraltar, la délégation espagnole n'aura rien à objecter à ces recommandations, que l'Espagne appliquerait scrupuleusement.

24. Venant ensuite à la situation actuelle dans laquelle se trouve le processus de décolonisation de Gibraltar, M. de Piniés déclare que les réunions qui se déroulent entre les délégations espagnole et britannique depuis le 18 mai, ont au moins permis de s'assurer que le Royaume-Uni ne veut pas décoloniser, car il n'a tenu aucun compte des solutions proposées par l'Espagne pas plus que de celles plus limitées que lui-même avait avancées et qu'il a ensuite retirées pour finir par se retrancher derrière la Cour internationale de Justice afin de tenir Gibraltar hors du processus de décolonisation. Dans le Livre blanc britannique publié en novembre 1966, il apparaît clairement que le Royaume-Uni, au lieu de décoloniser, a préféré entamer des pourparlers avec l'Espagne au sujet des titres coloniaux sur Gibraltar et le territoire espagnol usurpé situé au nord de Gibraltar. Ces pourparlers ont mis en évidence la nature très précaire de ces titres. Du 18 mai jusqu'à présent, on a également pu noter la persistance d'un colonialisme actif à Gibraltar qui s'est manifesté par une politique expansionniste dirigée contre l'Espagne. L'usurpation de la partie sud de l'isthme, sa militarisation et l'intention déclarée du Gouvernement britannique d'imposer à l'Espagne des servitudes militaires pour que l'aérodrome de Gibraltar puisse fonctionner plus efficacement, sont des aspects pertinents de cet expansionnisme colonialiste. Après l'entrevue de Gibraltar entre M. Wilson et Ian Smith, qui a eu lieu du 1er au 4 décembre, il semble difficile de cacher ou de dissimuler l'atmosphère coloniale qui enveloppe toute l'affaire de Gibraltar. L'hebdomadaire de Gibraltar, Vox, signalait le 2 décembre au sujet de la rencontre

qu'il y avait peu d'endroits au monde où Ian Smith pouvait aujourd'hui se rendre en étant assuré de pouvoir rentrer à Salisburys; l'un d'eux est Gibraltar.

25. Il ressort tout aussi clairement des négociations qui ont commencé en mai que le Royaume-Uni n'a pas le moindre désir de décoloniser le Rocher et que pour retarder la fin inévitable d'une situation coloniale il se retranche derrière les prétextes les plus divers: tantôt il s'agit des vœux de certains habitants de Gibraltar qui n'auraient pas été suffisamment informés de l'attitude espagnole, et que le Royaume-Uni lui-même est disposé à sacrifier pour défendre ses véritables intérêts, comme le montrent les "mini-propositions" britanniques du 12 juillet, et tantôt de la nécessité de porter la question devant la Cour internationale de Justice.

26. En dernier lieu, les pourparlers ont mis en évidence la véritable raison de l'obstination britannique en ce qui concerne Gibraltar, à savoir: la base militaire, dont le port et l'aéroport sont tous deux situés sur un terrain volé à l'Espagne, et qui n'a jamais été cédé. Si ces négociations ont permis de faire la lumière sur toutes ces circonstances, elles n'auront pas été tout à fait vaines. On aura pu voir une fois de plus le fond même du problème: qu'il faut accepter le principe de la décolonisation de Gibraltar, en accord avec l'Espagne et compte tenu des intérêts des habitants du Rocher.

27. Cette nécessité présente à l'esprit et en vue d'accélérer le processus de décolonisation, l'Espagne a soumis au Royaume-Uni les propositions suivantes: a) que les deux pays entament sans retard des négociations sur le statut destiné à protéger les intérêts des résidents du territoire de Gibraltar lorsque la situation coloniale qui y existe aura disparu, ce statut devant être enregistré par les Nations Unies; b) au cas où l'Espagne et le Royaume-Uni n'arriveraient pas à se mettre d'accord sur un tel statut, le Gouvernement espagnol serait disposé à soumettre un projet de statut à l'intention des habitants de Gibraltar à l'examen et à l'approbation éventuelle du Secrétaire général de l'ONU; ce statut reconnaîtrait aux habitants de Gibraltar tous les droits dont un groupement humain quelconque peut disposer à l'exception de la possession d'une partie du territoire espagnol qui est d'ailleurs contraire à la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale, qui préconise au paragraphe 6 de son dispositif le respect de l'intégrité territoriale et de l'unité nationale des pays colonisés; c) le Gouvernement espagnol, désireux d'arriver à trouver une solution constructive au problème de Gibraltar, est disposé à négocier avec le Royaume-Uni un régime temporaire qui ferait l'objet d'un accord sauvegardant les intérêts britanniques à Gibraltar que le Royaume-Uni désire protéger, dans la mesure où le maintien de ces intérêts n'est pas en contradiction avec la Charte des Nations Unies et les résolutions qui ont été ou seront adoptées par l'Assemblée générale.

28. Le Gouvernement espagnol réitère une fois de plus sa volonté de poursuivre les négociations avec le Royaume-Uni, conformément à la résolution 2070 (XX) ainsi qu'à celle que le Comité spécial a adoptée le 17 novembre 1966, en vue de mettre fin à la situation actuelle de Gibraltar.

29. M. HOPE (Royaume-Uni) déclare que sa délégation désire commencer par quelques remarques préliminaires au sujet de la déclaration du représentant de l'Espagne sur la question de Gibraltar. Il ne manquera pas, d'ailleurs, d'étudier attentivement cette déclaration. Les négociations entre les deux gouvernements se poursuivent en ce moment, mais comme, malgré cela, la délégation espagnole vient de faire une longue déclaration sur cette question, le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni est obligé d'exposer sa position plus en détail qu'il ne l'avait prévu.

30. Une autre raison encore motive le caractère purement préliminaire des remarques de M. Hope. Le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni a aujourd'hui même reçu la réponse du Gouvernement espagnol à la proposition britannique visant à soumettre à la Cour internationale de Justice les questions juridiques sujettes à controverse. Cette réponse n'a pas encore été examinée comme il convient et, en conséquence, M. Hope ne peut donner à ses remarques un caractère définitif. Néanmoins, il apparaît d'ores et déjà que l'Espagne déclare qu'elle n'est pas disposée à accepter la proposition du Royaume-Uni de saisir la Cour de la question parce qu'elle estime que cette décision serait contraire aux résolutions des Nations Unies.

31. A cet égard, il convient d'emblée de faire trois observations. En premier lieu, la proposition britannique de porter les controverses juridiques entre les deux pays devant la Cour internationale de Justice n'est aucunement contraire aux recommandations de l'Assemblée générale dans la résolution 2070 (XX); en effet, cette proposition ne vise pas à remplacer les pourparlers bilatéraux recommandés par l'Assemblée générale et par le Comité spécial; bien au contraire, son but est de contribuer à une conclusion positive de ces négociations en faisant la lumière sur la position en ce qui concerne les nombreux arguments juridiques mis en avant par le Gouvernement espagnol. La revendication espagnole ne se fonde pas sur le principe de la décolonisation, comme l'affirme le Gouvernement espagnol, mais sur des questions de droit international complexes et difficiles; par conséquent, le meilleur moyen d'arriver à un accord serait de résoudre ces questions en les portant devant la plus haute instance impartiale qui, au surplus, est un organe principal des Nations Unies. Cela n'est en aucune manière incompatible avec ce que stipulent les résolutions de l'Assemblée générale ou du Comité spécial.

32. En deuxième lieu, il faut noter que le Gouvernement espagnol a mis deux mois à étudier la proposition britannique. Il est à penser que ses conseillers juridiques ont étudié la question et qu'ils ont envisagé toutes les conséquences possibles d'un recours éventuel à la Cour internationale de Justice. Il est maintenant évident que le Gouvernement espagnol n'est pas disposé à accepter cette proposition. Si c'est là sa décision définitive, il est clair qu'il ne se fie guère au bien-fondé de sa cause. Le Gouvernement britannique est prêt à soumettre cette question à la Cour, et il se conformerait évidemment à sa décision. Cela contraste avec l'attitude de l'Espagne. Il doit être bien entendu que si la réclamation espagnole n'a pas de valeur juridique elle n'a pas de valeur du tout.

33. En troisième lieu, le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni note, après un premier examen de la réponse du Gouvernement espagnol, que celle-ci contient en outre certaines propositions au sujet des négociations futures. Le Gouvernement britannique étudiera ces suggestions et y répondra lorsqu'il les aura examinées. Il est donc impossible de prévoir aujourd'hui la suite qui y sera donnée.

34. Il faut maintenant passer à deux aspects du différend. Il y a d'abord les nombreuses questions de nature essentiellement juridique qui font l'objet de la discussion et qui concernent la souveraineté sur l'isthme, l'utilisation de l'aéroport, les prétendus vols des avions britanniques au-dessus du territoire espagnol et, surtout, la souveraineté sur Gibraltar lui-même. Vient ensuite l'affirmation fondamentale de l'Espagne selon laquelle Gibraltar sera décolonisé s'il est fait droit à ses exigences.

35. Il faut avant tout rappeler à la Commission que le Traité d'Utrecht a indiscutablement concédé à perpétuité le Rocher de Gibraltar au roi d'Angleterre.

36. Dans sa déclaration devant le Comité spécial, le représentant de l'Espagne a longuement parlé de la partie sud de l'isthme qui sépare Gibraltar de l'Espagne. Il est surprenant que le Gouvernement espagnol proteste maintenant parce que le Gouvernement britannique a déclaré que la partie sud de cet isthme fait partie du territoire de Gibraltar et qu'elle est, en conséquence, sous souveraineté britannique. Cette réclamation pourrait faire croire que le Royaume-Uni aurait récemment attaqué de quelque façon le territoire espagnol ou qu'il aurait avancé une nouvelle revendication territoriale aux dépens de l'Espagne. Rien n'est plus faux. La situation n'est nullement nouvelle; au contraire, cette région, fréquemment désignée sous le nom de "sol neutre britannique", fait partie intégrante du territoire de Gibraltar et a été administrée en tant que territoire britannique depuis 1838 en tout cas et depuis plus longtemps même, car dès le siècle précédent une grande partie de territoire située immédiatement au nord de Gibraltar était utilisée à diverses fins, et notamment à la protection du Rocher, et pendant les premières années du XIX^{ème} siècle ce territoire était déjà administré à divers égards comme une partie de Gibraltar. Les lignes de démarcation britanniques ont été fermement établies en 1838 sans protestation de la part du Gouvernement espagnol, et le Royaume-Uni exerce depuis lors sa juridiction sur cette zone. Il est donc évident que, quelles que soient les limites territoriales de la cession originelle, qui d'ailleurs n'ont pas été définies par le Traité d'Utrecht, le Royaume-Uni a, par prescription, un titre valable sur tout le territoire de Gibraltar dans les limites de la frontière actuelle.

37. Il résulte néanmoins des conversations qui ont eu lieu jusqu'à présent que le Gouvernement espagnol est d'un avis différent sur cette question et sur d'autres points de droit; le Gouvernement britannique, loin d'adopter une attitude agressive pour défendre sa cause, propose donc que ce différend ainsi que les autres sujets de litige soient soumis à la Cour internationale de Justice. Si l'Espagne croit vraiment que le Royaume-Uni agit illégalement dans cette affaire,

elle devrait accepter sans hésitation la proposition britannique.

38. Le Gouvernement espagnol affirme que le Royaume-Uni a proclamé sa souveraineté sur la partie sud de l'isthme pour la première fois le 12 juillet 1966. A l'appui de cette assertion, il a introduit une distinction entre l'expression "territoire britannique" utilisée pour décrire cette zone dans les communications hispano-britanniques de 1909 et l'expression "territoire sous souveraineté britannique". Il résulte clairement de cette correspondance de 1909, que le Gouvernement espagnol entendait par cette expression que le Royaume-Uni proclamait sa souveraineté sur cette zone que le Royaume-Uni occupe depuis 130 ans. Le droit du Royaume-Uni sur cette zone n'a jamais été discuté depuis lors, soit par le Gouvernement espagnol, soit à l'époque par le Gouvernement d'Algésiras, et maintenant le Royaume-Uni est accusé d'agression bien qu'il n'y ait eu aucune attaque, aucun recours à la force, ni aucune prise de position.

39. Le Gouvernement espagnol s'est également plaint que le Gouvernement britannique utilise l'aéroport situé dans la partie sud de l'isthme, en qualifiant cette utilisation "d'acte d'agression" contre l'Espagne. Cet aéroport a été établi en territoire britannique, et l'aviation militaire l'utilise depuis 1935, au sud du Gouvernement espagnol, sans qu'il y ait eu de protestation de ce gouvernement dans l'un ou l'autre cas. En 1939 et en 1940, le Gouvernement espagnol a exprimé son inquiétude devant la possibilité que l'utilisation de l'aéroport de Gibraltar entraîne des survols de son territoire, mais il n'a pas protesté contre l'existence même de l'aéroport comme d'un acte de force ou d'une violation de sa souveraineté. D'ailleurs, dans un échange de lettres en 1950, le Gouvernement espagnol a déclaré en substance "reconnaître que Gibraltar... est un aéroport militaire". En outre, le Royaume-Uni a installé les appareils techniques les plus modernes en vue d'éliminer, autant que possible, les risques de violation de l'espace aérien espagnol. Le Royaume-Uni ne fait que se conformer à la pratique établie depuis 25 ans sans soulever de protestation. Le représentant de l'Espagne a accusé de nouveau les aviateurs britanniques d'avoir violé la souveraineté espagnole en survolant le territoire espagnol. Ainsi que le Gouvernement espagnol en a été avisé directement par la voie diplomatique, ces allégations ont été soumises à une enquête serrée, et il est apparu qu'il n'y a eu qu'une seule violation, non intentionnelle, de sa souveraineté, au sujet de laquelle le Gouvernement britannique a présenté ses excuses. Il s'est agi d'une erreur d'un pilote novice au cours de son premier vol vers Gibraltar, et cet incident s'est produit parce que ce pilote n'a pas suivi les instructions précises données au personnel navigant. Le Gouvernement britannique a informé le Gouvernement espagnol que le radar et les enregistrements faits, à ce moment-là, avaient prouvé que les autres allégations étaient sans fondement. D'autre part, le représentant de l'Espagne doit se souvenir que le 30 juillet 1965 un avion des forces aériennes espagnoles a tourné au-dessus de Gibraltar pendant 10 minutes et qu'il est passé dangereusement près d'un avion britannique qui essayait d'atterrir. Le Gouvernement espagnol a présenté ses excuses, en soulignant que les incidents de nature technique

doivent être ramenés à leurs justes proportions et qu'ils ne doivent pas devenir l'objet de controverses politiques. C'est aussi l'avis de la délégation du Royaume-Uni, qui regrette, en conséquence, que l'on ait fait tant de publicité à ces accusations d'avoir survolé le territoire espagnol et qu'elles aient fait l'objet d'une controverse politique au moment même où les deux gouvernements ont des conversations. Puisque l'Espagne s'oppose pour des arguments juridiques invoqués bien tardivement à ce que le Royaume-Uni utilise l'aéroport de Gibraltar, cette dernière suggère que cette question soit également soumise à la Cour internationale de Justice.

40. On a aussi parlé d'obstruction aux conversations entre le Gouvernement espagnol et le Gouvernement britannique. La délégation du Royaume-Uni estime de son devoir de signaler que, si obstruction il y a, elle provient des allégations soudaines et nullement provoquées que le Gouvernement espagnol a lancées contre le Gouvernement britannique — qui se sont avérées dénuées de fondement — et des mesures qu'il a prises à la frontière entre Gibraltar et La Línea. Le Gouvernement espagnol a imposé, à l'improviste, une restriction après l'autre pour retarder et finalement suspendre presque complètement le trafic normal qui existe depuis longtemps des deux côtés de la frontière. Les premières restrictions ont été imposées un jour après la décision du Comité spécial d'octobre 1964, qui demandait que des entretiens aient lieu. La dernière restriction, et la plus sévère, a été imposée cinq jours avant les dernières conversations, qui ont eu lieu à Londres le 10 octobre 1966. Chaque nouvelle restriction a été prévue de manière à précéder chaque série d'entretiens. Il est évident que des négociations de cet ordre exigent un esprit de bonne volonté et de compréhension mutuelle, et ne peuvent être poursuivies sous la menace ou la pression, quelles qu'elles soient. Ces restrictions espagnoles ne peuvent avoir d'autre but que d'influencer par un biais le Gouvernement britannique durant les conversations en faisant pression sur le peuple de Gibraltar. Si, malgré leurs conséquences pour les habitants de Gibraltar, le Gouvernement espagnol maintient ces restrictions, il ébranlera sérieusement la confiance dans les bonnes intentions qu'il affirme avoir concernant les intérêts de cette population. La délégation britannique demande donc au Gouvernement espagnol, s'il souhaite réellement résoudre le problème et faire aboutir les négociations, d'abroger la fermeture de la frontière.

41. La Commission sait que le Royaume-Uni a présenté le 12 juillet 1966 au Gouvernement espagnol des propositions de collaboration relatives à Gibraltar. Il ne s'agissait pas seulement de la base navale ou de l'aéroport, mais de propositions constructives, plus précisément de supprimer la grille frontalière qualifiée ce soir, de manière quelque peu insultante, de "mur de la honte". Cette grille sera supprimée si, de son côté, l'Espagne accepte de lever les restrictions spéciales au poste frontière de La Línea et de rétablir des conditions normales. Le représentant de l'Espagne n'a pas mentionné l'offre britannique faite à son pays d'établir à Gibraltar un commissaire espagnol qui remplirait le rôle de représentant spécial et d'agent consulaire et aurait le droit de faire flotter le drapeau espagnol sur ses

bureaux et sa demeure. Cette offre reconnaissait également les intérêts spéciaux de l'Espagne dans l'évolution constitutionnelle de la colonie et comportait la promesse de donner au Gouvernement espagnol la possibilité d'exprimer son point de vue avant tout changement. Ces propositions n'ont pas été retirées, contrairement à ce qu'a laissé entendre le représentant de l'Espagne, et elles constituent une base utile pour de nouveaux progrès dans les conversations bilatérales. Dans sa réponse à ces propositions, le Gouvernement espagnol exigeait que le Royaume-Uni concède le principe de la souveraineté espagnole sur tout le territoire comme condition préalable. Le Royaume-Uni a commenté en détail les propositions espagnoles, mais ne pouvait accepter une condition préalable équivalente à une reddition totale. Comme la revendication espagnole se fonde sur des arguments juridiques que le Royaume-Uni, de son côté, n'accepte pas, le Gouvernement britannique a proposé que cette question ainsi que les autres soit, elle aussi, posée à la Cour internationale de Justice.

42. Les bases juridiques sur lesquelles l'Espagne fonde sa demande sont, en premier lieu, le fait que Gibraltar est une terre espagnole parce que le Rocher est uni à la péninsule ibérique. Mais, par contre, elle ne prétend pas par ailleurs que le Portugal fasse partie de l'Espagne, bien qu'il occupe une autre partie de la même péninsule. La Malaisie occupe une péninsule et, néanmoins, elle ne fait pas partie de la Thaïlande, pas plus que Singapour, à son tour, ne fait partie de la Malaisie. Cet argument géographique n'est pas valable en matière de décolonisation et fait abstraction de la population du territoire. Il est certainement dépourvu de valeur juridique.

43. La deuxième thèse sur laquelle se fonde la revendication espagnole est d'ordre historique. L'Espagne affirme qu'avant 1713 Gibraltar était espagnol. C'est bien vrai, mais jusqu'où faut-il remonter dans l'histoire pour déterminer la souveraineté. Gibraltar est anglais depuis 250 ans, il a été précédemment espagnol pendant un peu plus de 200 ans, arabe auparavant pendant 700 ans, et ainsi de suite. On pourrait remonter jusqu'aux Romains et aux Carthaginois. En réalité, l'histoire à elle seule ne donne pas une orientation valable pour le présent. Un autre aspect de la revendication espagnole se fonde sur les dispositions du Traité d'Utrecht de 1713. Peut-être, lorsque ce traité a été signé était-il impossible de prévoir les circonstances actuelles, mais tant le Gouvernement britannique que le Gouvernement espagnol se sont toujours efforcés de respecter leurs obligations internationales, et il est incontestable que, par le Traité d'Utrecht, la souveraineté de Gibraltar a été cédée au Gouvernement britannique (selon les termes du Traité) "pour toujours et avec tous les droits sans exception ou limitation d'aucune sorte". L'Espagne ne le nie pas, mais elle insiste sur la nécessité d'accepter aussi les conséquences d'autres dispositions, particulièrement de celle qui a trait à la séparation de Gibraltar et du territoire espagnol. Il semble que le Gouvernement espagnol soutienne que la frontière entre Gibraltar et l'Espagne doit être fermée, sans qu'il soit tenu compte des usages normaux et de la coutume internationale et des habitants de Gibraltar. La fermeture de la frontière ne

favoriserait guère non plus les intérêts des habitants du territoire espagnol. Le Gouvernement britannique estime, au contraire, que la fermeture de la frontière est un acte inamical, qui a pour but d'exercer une influence injuste sur les conversations entre les deux pays, en créant des difficultés à la population de Gibraltar. Le Gouvernement espagnol estime également, semble-t-il, qu'en vertu du Traité il n'est pas possible de donner aux habitants de Gibraltar un rôle plus décisif dans l'administration du territoire. Cela est aussi un point de droit qu'il faudrait examiner et qu'il conviendrait de soumettre à une instance légale.

44. Toutes ces raisons expliquent pourquoi le Gouvernement britannique a proposé au Gouvernement espagnol de soumettre à la Cour internationale de Justice tous les points de désaccord entre les deux pays, notamment la question de la souveraineté et de l'interprétation du Traité d'Utrecht et toutes les autres questions juridiques qui se posent dans le cadre du différend opposant l'Espagne et le Royaume-Uni. Malheureusement, la première réaction de l'Espagne à cette offre a été aussi négative que tardive. La Commission en tirera sans aucun doute ses propres conclusions. Si ses arguments reposent sur un fondement légal, pourquoi l'Espagne hésite-t-elle à porter le différend devant la plus haute instance internationale? La thèse espagnole n'est pas véritablement fondée sur la décolonisation; l'Espagne n'affirme pas que le passage de 25 000 Gibraltariens sous la souveraineté espagnole les libérera ou élargira leurs libertés, ce qui est certainement l'essence de la décolonisation; elle n'affirme pas davantage que les Gibraltariens soient espagnols ou désirent s'unir à l'Espagne; la déclaration de l'Espagne se fonde sur des raisonnements juridiques et sur l'interprétation du Traité; c'est une prétention juridique de souveraineté sur un morceau de territoire, et, en conséquence, la Cour internationale de Justice est sans aucun doute l'instance appropriée pour examiner ces problèmes comme le prévoit la Charte.

45. L'Espagne affirme que lorsqu'elle demande que Gibraltar soit replacé sous la souveraineté espagnole elle le fait conformément au paragraphe 6 du dispositif de la résolution 1514 (XV), qui condamne toute tentative visant à détruire partiellement ou totalement l'unité nationale et l'intégrité territoriale d'un pays. Mais cette affirmation est fondée sur l'hypothèse que Gibraltar appartient à l'Espagne, argument juridique que le Royaume-Uni a rejeté et que l'Espagne est peu disposée à soumettre au jugement d'une cour impartiale. Or, Gibraltar est un territoire placé sous la souveraineté britannique en droit et en vertu d'un traité et ne fait pas partie de l'Espagne; par conséquent, l'unité nationale et l'intégrité territoriale de l'Espagne n'est aucunement en jeu, et le paragraphe 6 de la résolution 1514 (XV) est donc inapplicable. Affirmer le contraire revient à accepter la revendication de l'Espagne, que le Royaume-Uni rejette catégoriquement tant que la Cour internationale n'aura pas statué en la matière.

46. La question de Gibraltar mérite d'être étudiée attentivement, car elle n'intéresse pas uniquement le Royaume-Uni et l'Espagne; en tant que foyer du peuple de Gibraltar, elle revêt pour ce dernier le

plus grand intérêt. Il faut examiner de plus près l'assertion du représentant de l'Espagne, que l'Espagne propose de décoloniser Gibraltar. On entend habituellement par décolonisation la libre détermination ou l'octroi de l'indépendance à la population d'un territoire sous domination étrangère. Tel ne semble pas être le cas en ce qui concerne les propositions de l'Espagne au sujet de Gibraltar. Au cours des conversations qui se sont déroulées à Londres, la délégation espagnole a déclaré le 12 juillet que [en ce qui concerne la solution internationale du problème] le consentement ou l'absence de consentement des habitants de Gibraltar aux propositions espagnoles est inutile tant du point de vue juridique que politique et que l'Espagne ne peut accepter que la solution finale du problème de Gibraltar soit entravée par l'obstination de ses habitants. Il faut donc examiner avec une attention spéciale les promesses de l'Espagne de tenir compte des intérêts des habitants de Gibraltar. Il n'est donc pas surprenant que le Secrétaire aux affaires étrangères britannique ait qualifié à juste titre de "fantastique" la façon dont l'Espagne baptise du nom de "décolonisation" sa revendication territoriale. Il a souligné que l'Espagne cherche nettement à s'emparer de Gibraltar contre le gré des habitants. On ne saurait dire que ce serait faire là œuvre de décolonisation. Ceux qui ont entendu, il y a déjà deux ans, les déclarations des pétitionnaires de Gibraltar devant le Comité spécial se rappelleront qu'ils avaient catégoriquement rejeté l'union avec l'Espagne et exposé leur désir de maintenir leur association avec le Royaume-Uni. Il est indéniable que la population de Gibraltar n'est pas en faveur des propositions espagnoles visant à réunir Gibraltar à l'Espagne. Il ne s'agit pas ici de réunification d'un peuple divisé arbitrairement par des frontières internationales ni du retour à la mère patrie d'un peuple qui en avait été séparé. Les habitants du territoire constituent un peuple méditerranéen d'origine mélangée qui ne sont ni Espagnols ni Anglais, mais sont fiers d'être à la fois Gibraltariens et Britanniques. L'Espagne a qualifié la population de Gibraltar de groupe de peuplement "artificiel". C'est aller un peu loin pour parler d'un peuple qui vit depuis 250 ans à Gibraltar, depuis plus longtemps, par exemple, que la population actuelle de la Californie n'est établie dans cet Etat.

47. L'Espagne affirme que ce morceau de terre appartient à son territoire. Le Gouvernement britannique rejette cette revendication ainsi que celle qui porte sur la partie sud de l'isthme et sur l'aéroport, ou même les plaintes relatives à la violation de l'espace aérien espagnol. Il déplore en outre que l'Espagne ait recours à cette tactique à des fins de propagande pour exciter l'opinion publique et demande au Gouvernement espagnol de supprimer les restrictions — qui ne sont justifiées ni par un traité ni par l'usage international — qu'il a imposées à la frontière. L'Espagne défend cette thèse non pas à des fins de décolonisation, mais parce qu'elle revendique un territoire britannique. Le Gouvernement britannique est disposé à porter toutes ces questions juridiques faisant l'objet d'un différend devant la plus haute instance juridique des Nations Unies, ce qui serait la première démarche essentielle à faire en vue d'aboutir à un règlement, et, si le Gouvernement

espagnol rejette cette proposition, le Gouvernement britannique tirera ses propres conclusions.

48. Le représentant de l'Espagne a fait savoir qu'il avait l'intention de faire distribuer aux membres de la Commission plusieurs documents ayant trait à la question de Gibraltar. La délégation britannique a mis à la disposition des membres de la Commission une petite brochure intitulée *Gibraltar — les faits*, où il est dit que les arguments britanniques reposent sur deux principes fondamentaux: a) le droit légitime de la Grande-Bretagne sur tout le territoire de Gibraltar; b) le facteur humain, à savoir les habitants de Gibraltar eux-mêmes. En effet, aux termes de l'Article 73 de la Charte des Nations Unies, les intérêts des habitants des territoires non autonomes l'emportent sur toute autre préoccupation. Il faut se féliciter que dans ses déclarations, l'Espagne accepte à présent, semble-t-il, le principe qu'il faut tenir compte des intérêts des habitants de Gibraltar, conformément à la résolution 2070 (XX) de l'Assemblée générale. Néanmoins, les actes espagnols à la frontière sont principalement dirigés contre cette population et, par conséquent, n'inspirent pas confiance aux Gibraltariens, en particulier dans les bonnes dispositions de l'Espagne à leur égard.

49. Le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni est disposé à poursuivre des négociations amicales et pacifiques en vue de trouver une solution constructive qui respecte les intérêts des habitants de Gibraltar. Le maintien de l'offre faite le 12 juillet le prouve. Le Gouvernement britannique donnera suite aux réponses du Gouvernement espagnol dès qu'elles auront été traitées et examinées comme il convient.

50. Mme HOLGUIN (Colombie) se réfère à la question des îles Falkland (Malvinas) dont traite la résolution 2065 (XX) de l'Assemblée générale. Il convient de se féliciter que tant le Royaume-Uni que la République argentine aient commencé à donner suite à la demande contenue dans cette résolution et aient entamé des négociations pour résoudre pacifiquement ce problème. Cela constitue un pas en avant dans la voie de la liquidation de tous les vestiges du colonialisme sur le continent américain. Le problème de la liquidation du colonialisme a été étudié à maintes reprises par les pays membres du système interaméricain et à toujours eu l'appui de la Colombie ainsi que celui des pays d'Amérique latine.

51. En ce qui concerne les îles Falkland (Malvinas), il s'agit d'un cas de colonialisme; par conséquent, la résolution 1514 (XV) leur est applicable, en particulier le paragraphe 6 de cette résolution. Il faut regretter, toutefois, que les deux gouvernements parties se contentent de signaler que les négociations se poursuivent et n'aient pas, conformément à la résolution 2065 (XX), informé la Commission des résultats des entretiens. La représentante de la Colombie prie instamment le Royaume-Uni et l'Argentine d'intensifier leurs négociations pour arriver le plus tôt possible à une solution pacifique de ce problème qui affecte depuis plus d'un siècle le continent américain.

M. Fakhreddine (Soudan) prend la présidence.

52. M. MENDELEVITCH (Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques) déclare que le problème dont

la Quatrième Commission est actuellement saisie porte sur ce que l'on nomme les petits territoires. Cette notion de petits territoires peut prêter à équivoque parce qu'elle semble amoindrir l'importance du problème. Ces territoires sont petits par leur superficie, qui parfois ne se chiffre pas en milliers, mais en centaines ou même en dizaines de kilomètres carrés, et par leur population qui parfois ne dépasse pas quelques milliers ou même quelques centaines d'habitants. Cependant, du point de vue de la Quatrième Commission, leur importance ne réside pas dans leur dimension, mais dans le fait qu'il s'agit de territoires coloniaux.

53. La lecture du rapport du Comité spécial relatif à ces territoires montre qu'entre ces derniers et les autres territoires que la Commission a déjà examinés il n'existe aucune différence de principe quant à l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, contenue dans la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale. Ces territoires sont des colonies, ce sont des terres qui n'appartiennent pas à ceux qui les possèdent actuellement. Ils ont été conquis par des pays plus puissants au moment où les grands pays capitalistes se partageaient le monde. Leur population est soumise aux colonisateurs. Leurs richesses, leurs ressources naturelles et humaines sont exploitées par les grands monopoles qui exploitent également les ressources de l'Angola, du Mozambique et d'autres territoires.

54. Les colonialistes sont les mêmes aussi: le Royaume-Uni, l'Australie et la Nouvelle-Zélande et, dans le cas qui nous occupe, une autre puissance coloniale, les Etats-Unis. En ce qui concerne les autres colonies, les Etats-Unis restent au deuxième plan, ils fournissent des armes et du matériel militaire aux colonialistes, ils les défendent et leur apportent leur appui dans les organisations internationales et à l'Organisation des Nations Unies en s'abstenant de voter en faveur des résolutions dirigées contre le colonialisme. Toutefois, dans le cas des petits territoires, les Etats-Unis pratiquent directement le colonialisme et sont donc une puissance coloniale au sens strict du terme. Le Royaume-Uni, la Nouvelle-Zélande, l'Australie et les Etats-Unis, colonialistes invétérés, se prêtent mutuellement appui au sein des alliances militaires et à l'ONU.

55. Le représentant de l'Union soviétique est convaincu que, en ce qui concerne les territoires administrés par le Portugal, les Etats-Unis appuieront le Portugal et que ce dernier à son tour appuiera les Etats-Unis lorsque la question de Guam et des territoires du Pacifique sera examinée. Si l'on ajoute l'Afrique du Sud, le groupe des colonialistes est au complet.

56. Les petits territoires sont des colonies, et la résolution 1514 (XV) leur est pleinement applicable. Toutefois, il existe une différence entre ces territoires et les territoires coloniaux qui ont déjà été examinés. Cette différence n'est pas géographique, mais politique. Les petits territoires peuvent avoir pour les colonialistes une importance stratégique et militaire considérables et encore plus actuellement que par le passé. C'est là une caracté-

ristique permanente qui n'est due ni au hasard ni à la conjoncture. Il y a toujours eu des bases militaires dans les territoires coloniaux. Il existait une base à Suez jusqu'à ce que le peuple égyptien expulse les Britanniques. A Tunis, ce sont les Français qui se sont fait expulser.

57. Dans les colonies importantes les colonialistes se voient obligés, bien malgré eux, à abandonner petit à petit leurs bases militaires. Ils se réfugient alors dans les petites îles disséminées dans les océans où il leur est plus facile de maintenir des bases militaires. Le contrôle des colonialistes y est plus sûr et plus ferme puisque la population étant peu nombreuse, en général il ne se produit pas de protestations de masse. Le Premier Ministre du Royaume-Uni le reconnaît lui-même puisque selon le rapport du Comité spécial (voir A/6300/Rev.1, chap. XIV, par. 53), il a affirmé sans ambages au cours d'une réunion parlementaire du Parti travailliste qui s'est déroulée le 15 juin 1966, que le Royaume-Uni cherchait à éliminer, partout où il serait possible de le faire, le système de grandes bases situées dans des zones peuplées. M. Wilson a d'ailleurs ajouté que ce dont on avait véritablement besoin, c'était des postes de surveillance comme ceux dont dispose le Royaume-Uni dans l'océan Indien, qui n'ont pratiquement pas de population locale et qui, par contre, permettent aux forces britanniques de se rendre rapidement à un coût minime, partout où elles doivent aller.

58. Ces territoires sont éparpillés dans l'océan Indien, dans l'océan Pacifique ou constituent des enclaves dans les continents. Leur ensemble forme l'infrastructure des bases de l'OTAN. L'étude du Comité spécial met en évidence le fait qu'il s'agit de bases stratégiques dont le but est de servir de point de départ à des opérations militaires de grande envergure; ils ont d'ailleurs été fréquemment utilisés à cette fin au cours de ces dernières années.

59. Le représentant de l'Union soviétique cite l'exemple de l'île de Guam, où est installée une base militaire très importante. Selon la presse des Etats-Unis elle-même, les bombardiers B-52, qui sont parmi les plus puissants du monde, en décollent quotidiennement pour bombarder les héroïques guerilleros luttant pour la liberté du Viet-Nam du Sud. Et les bombardiers B-52 ne s'en tiennent pas là, mais ils bombardent également le territoire d'un Etat indépendant et souverain, la République démocratique du Viet-Nam.

60. Le représentant de l'Union soviétique espère que le représentant des Etats-Unis n'a pas l'intention d'affirmer, comme il l'a fait au Comité spécial, que la question de l'utilisation de forces aériennes à partir de la base de Guam n'a aucun rapport avec la décolonisation. Ce rapport est évident: Guam est une colonie, les Etats-Unis y ont une base militaire et le paragraphe 11 de la résolution 2189 (XXI) relatif à l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, que l'Assemblée générale a adoptée le 13 décembre 1966, prie les puissances coloniales de démanteler leurs bases et installations militaires situées dans les territoires coloniaux et de s'abstenir d'en établir de nouvelles et d'utiliser celles qui existent encore

pour entraver la libération des peuples des territoires coloniaux dans l'exercice de leurs droits légitimes à la liberté et à l'indépendance. La délégation des Etats-Unis a fait tout ce qui lui était possible, bien que sans grande habileté, pour empêcher l'approbation de ce paragraphe 11. Néanmoins, la thèse des Etats-Unis a été rejetée par la grande majorité des membres de l'Assemblée générale. Il est à espérer que cela servira de leçon pour l'avenir au Gouvernement des Etats-Unis. Il est donc parfaitement démontré que la question de l'utilisation de l'île de Guam comme base militaire contre le peuple du Viet-Nam reste en relation directe avec le problème de l'élimination du colonialisme.

61. Devant le Comité spécial, la représentante des Etats-Unis a affirmé (*ibid.*, chap. XVIII, par. 53) que la question des installations militaires de Guam n'offrait guère de rapport avec le mandat du Comité spécial. Cette position est indéfendable. L'élimination des bases militaires est un aspect capital du processus de décolonisation. Si Guam n'était pas une colonie, il est absolument certain qu'il n'y aurait pas de base militaire dans l'île.

62. A la même occasion, la représentante des Etats-Unis a déclaré que la base ne faisait courir aucun danger au peuple de Guam et ne constituait aucun obstacle à son progrès. Cette affirmation est assez hasardeuse, car il n'existe aucun traité qui fasse de Guam un sanctuaire à respecter en cas de guerre. La base militaire de Guam est une menace manifeste pour la population civile de l'île.

63. M. Mendelevitch mentionne également le cas de l'île d'Ascension, dans l'océan Indien, d'où a été lancée en 1964 contre le Congo une agression à laquelle ont participé conjointement les forces du Royaume-Uni, des Etats-Unis et de la Belgique. Une fois de plus, l'alliance des colonialistes a utilisé pour ses desseins agressifs une base située dans un petit territoire colonial.

64. L'Union soviétique considère avec inquiétude la tendance à l'extension du réseau des bases militaires colonialistes. Le rapport du Comité spécial (*ibid.*, chap. XIV, par. 43 et 44) mentionne l'intention du Royaume-Uni d'utiliser Diego Garcia, la plus grande des îles de l'archipel des Chagos, comme centre de communications et dépôt de carburants; les installations de l'île pourraient être aménagées pour la transformer en poste-relais. Il semble que plusieurs autres pays, parmi lesquels l'Australie et la Nouvelle-Zélande, s'intéresseraient à la création de postes-relais pour les transports aériens et maritimes dans l'océan Indien, entre la mer Rouge et les îles Coco (Keeling). Diego Garcia deviendra une base stratégique du système de sécurité du Royaume-Uni à l'est de Suez. Le représentant de l'Union soviétique signale que la même observation a été faite pour Aden. Mais il semble qu'il existe un projet d'installer à Diego Garcia une base navale pour sous-marins atomiques, armés de fusées nucléaires Polaris. L'île serait ainsi un maillon de plus dans la chaîne de bases nucléaires des Etats-Unis, qui n'ont d'ailleurs pas besoin d'être très nombreuses. Une ou deux bases par océan sont suffisantes: Guam et Diego Garcia dans le Pacifique, Scapa Flow en Ecosse et Rota à l'entrée de la Méditerranée.

65. Ces projets des colonialistes constituent un danger pour bien des Etats. Il est temps d'agir, et l'Organisation des Nations Unies doit jouer un rôle actif dans le processus de décolonisation. Que peut faire l'ONU pour aider les peuples des petits territoires coloniaux à obtenir leur liberté et leur indépendance? Elle doit réaffirmer que la résolution 1514 (XV) s'applique entièrement à ces territoires. Elle doit exiger que les bases militaires soient supprimées et que les peuples des territoires ne soient pas obligés de participer aux activités militaires des puissances coloniales, comme c'est le cas à Guam.

66. En ce qui concerne Gibraltar, la base militaire qui y est installée doit être supprimée sans retard. Il paraît que des négociations sont en cours entre le Royaume-Uni et l'Espagne; l'Union soviétique ne veut pas s'y immiscer, mais elle insiste sur la nécessité de démilitariser Gibraltar et de supprimer la base. Le projet de résolution A/L.506 et Add.1 et 2, approuvé par l'Assemblée générale [résolution 2189 (XXI)], et plus précisément son paragraphe 11, s'applique également à Gibraltar; néanmoins, la déclaration du Royaume-Uni ne mentionne pas la suppression de la base militaire. Si le Royaume-Uni ne veut pas appliquer les décisions de l'ONU et refuse de supprimer la base, il doit le dire clairement.

67. L'Assemblée générale devrait exiger que les puissances coloniales renoncent à toute manœuvre colonialiste et néo-colonialiste dans les petits territoires. Récemment, le Royaume-Uni a assuré que l'île d'Antigua serait indépendante et il a néanmoins déclaré ensuite que les relations extérieures et la sécurité, attributs fondamentaux de la souveraineté, continueraient à être la responsabilité du Royaume-Uni. Il doit être mis fin à ces manœuvres, et l'Assemblée générale doit l'exiger. Elle doit également exiger qu'il soit mis fin au pillage dont sont victimes ces territoires.

68. La délégation soviétique juge très positive la proposition du Comité spécial concernant l'envoi de missions de l'ONU dans les petits territoires. Cette pratique doit se généraliser, et l'Union soviétique soutient l'envoi de missions aux îles Fidji, ainsi qu'au Sahara espagnol et en Guinée équatoriale. Il convient également d'envoyer une mission de visite dans d'autres petits territoires, parmi lesquels le représentant de l'Union soviétique mentionne le Territoire britannique de l'océan Indien, car il voit avec inquiétude les manœuvres tendant à séparer les îles Chagos de l'île Maurice et des îles Seychelles, ainsi que le projet de construction d'une base militaire. Il conviendrait qu'une mission des Nations Unies étudie sur place la situation, notamment en ce qui concerne la base militaire projetée. Il faudrait également envoyer une mission des Nations Unies à Guam, où il existe une importante base militaire qui présente un grave danger. L'Organisation des Nations Unies doit s'assurer elle-même de cette réalité. Dans son rapport sur les Samoa américaines, Guam et le Territoire sous tutelle des îles du Pacifique, le Sous-Comité II du Comité spécial estime qu'une visite de ces territoires par le Comité spécial est nécessaire et serait de la plus grande utilité, car, outre qu'elle permettrait aux Etats Membres de

mieux se rendre compte des besoins et des aspirations de la population, elle permettrait également à cette dernière de prendre davantage conscience de ses droits qui lui ont été garantis par l'Organisation des Nations Unies (*ibid.*, chap. XVIII, annexe, par. 31, g). L'Union soviétique fait sienne sans réserves cette proposition d'envoyer une mission aux Samoa américaines, à Guam et dans le Territoire sous tutelle des îles du Pacifique. En particulier, elle estime important d'étudier le cas de Guam. Les Etats-Unis déclarent constamment leur désir de coopérer avec l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Le représentant de l'Union soviétique demande aux Etats-Unis de ne pas s'opposer à l'envoi d'une mission et de démontrer ainsi qu'ils sont réellement disposés à coopérer avec l'Organisation.

69. L'Union soviétique insiste sur le fait que tout territoire, grand ou petit, doit être décolonisé. Pas un mètre carré de terre, pas un seul être humain ne doit rester soumis au colonialisme, qui doit être éliminé sans retard et pour toujours.

70. M. WITMAN (Etats-Unis d'Amérique) fait observer que le représentant de l'Union soviétique a parlé du problème des bases militaires, bien que la Commission examine la question de la décolonisation. Le problème des bases a été discuté à la Première Commission, qui a décidé d'en saisir la Commission du désarmement. En ce qui concerne Guam, la délégation des Etats-Unis se réserve le droit d'intervenir au moment qu'elle jugera opportun.

71. Enfin, au sujet de l'allusion au Viet-Nam faite par le représentant de l'Union soviétique, le représentant des Etats-Unis fait observer que son gouvernement a fait tout ce qui était possible pour que cette question soit examinée par un organe adéquat des Nations Unies.

72. M. LOLEKA (République démocratique du Congo) propose que la déclaration du représentant de l'Union soviétique soit reproduite in extenso dans le compte rendu de la séance.

73. M. GROS ESPIELL (Uruguay) propose que la déclaration du représentant de l'Espagne soit reproduite in extenso dans le compte rendu de la séance.

74. Le PRESIDENT dit qu'en l'absence d'objections il considérera que la Commission accepte que les déclarations des représentants de l'Union soviétique et de l'Espagne soient reproduites in extenso.

Il en est ainsi décidé.

75. M. KANAKARATNE (Ceylan) dit que, si la déclaration du représentant de l'Espagne est reproduite in extenso, l'équité impose qu'il en soit de même pour celle du représentant du Royaume-Uni.

76. M. OULD DADDAH (Mauritanie) déclare que le représentant du Royaume-Uni s'est borné à expliquer le texte d'une brochure déjà distribuée. Tous les membres de la Commission ayant reçu ce document, il n'est pas nécessaire de reproduire in extenso la déclaration de ce représentant.

77. M. MALECELA (République-Unie de Tanzanie) fait observer que le document distribué par la délégation du Royaume-Uni n'a pas de caractère officiel, à la différence des comptes rendus de la Commission.

C'est pourquoi il demande que la déclaration du représentant du Royaume-Uni soit reproduite in extenso.

78. Le PRESIDENT dit qu'en l'absence d'objections il considérera que la majorité de la Commission est d'accord pour que la déclaration du représentant du Royaume-Uni soit reproduite in extenso dans le compte rendu.

Il en est ainsi décidé.

79. M. TIKHONOV (République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie) note que la question des territoires n'ayant pas été examinés séparément concerne surtout les petits territoires. La délégation de la RSS de Biélorussie est fermement persuadée que la résolution 1514 (XV) est applicable à ces territoires, comme l'a confirmé l'Assemblée générale dans sa résolution 2066 (XX) et dans d'autres résolutions où est réaffirmé le droit inaliénable des peuples à la libre détermination. Mais les puissances coloniales invoquent des difficultés particulières pour ne pas appliquer ces résolutions. Dans sa résolution 2105 (XX), l'Assemblée générale prie les puissances coloniales de démanteler les bases militaires installées dans les territoires coloniaux et de s'abstenir d'en établir de nouvelles; la même disposition figure dans la résolution 2189 (XXI) adoptée par l'Assemblée générale le 13 décembre 1966, sur la base du projet de résolution A/L.506 et Add.1 et 2. Le représentant de la RSS de Biélorussie cite les déclarations du représentant de l'Union soviétique, d'où il ressort que des bombardiers B-52 partent de la base de Guam pour semer la mort au Viet-Nam et remarque qu'il ne semble pas que les Etats-Unis soient près de démanteler cette base. Plusieurs délégations éprouvent des inquiétudes à l'idée que les puissances coloniales se consacrent au développement de leurs bases, développement que favorise actuellement le Royaume-Uni dans l'océan Indien en soustrayant diverses îles à l'administration de l'île Maurice et des îles Seychelles, et en créant une nouvelle base dans le territoire qu'il a rebaptisé du nom de Territoire britannique de l'océan Indien; mais ces bases servent, soi-disant, à des fins défensives. Ce fait est confirmé par la presse occidentale qui, au cours des deux dernières années, a annoncé que des experts venus d'Australie, du Royaume-Uni et des Etats-Unis, étudient l'utilisation de bases dans l'océan Indien. Tous les alliés occidentaux se sont mis d'accord à ce sujet, et, dans la pratique, les Etats-Unis encouragent le Royaume-Uni à leur laisser jouer le rôle de gendarmes dans cette zone et à s'y charger de la responsabilité des questions nucléaires. Selon le correspondant militaire du New York Times, Hanson Baldwin, le Royaume-Uni, pour éviter l'établissement de bases dans des zones éventuellement dangereuses, du fait que leurs habitants pourraient s'opposer à ses agissements, a installé des bases dans l'océan Indien et créé une nouvelle colonie dans laquelle il pourra poster ses forces militaires colonialistes expulsées de zones ayant une plus forte densité de population. Comme le Royaume-Uni se trouve dans l'obligation d'abandonner Aden au plus tard en 1968, il crée, dans l'océan Indien, une nouvelle base pour combler ce vide. Mais il sera fait échec à ces intrigues. Le colonialisme est en très mauvaise posture, et sa défaite se trouvera accé-

lérée par la conscience politique des peuples, qui ne cesse de se développer.

80. La délégation de la RSS de Biélorussie juge très précieux le travail accompli par le Comité spécial et appuie les conclusions et les recommandations formulées aux chapitres XIV à XXIII du document A/6300/Rev.1, mais elle considère que celles-ci sont insuffisantes, car elles ne traitent pas la question de l'élimination des bases dans les petits territoires. L'Assemblée générale doit réaffirmer le droit des peuples de ces territoires à la libre détermination et à la souveraineté sur leurs richesses naturelles. Elle doit exiger l'élimination des bases, conformément aux dispositions contenues dans ses résolutions 2105 (XX) et 2189 (XXI). Elle doit exiger également que l'on ne forme pas des groupements artificiels de territoires, en violation des résolutions des Nations Unies. D'autre part, on dispose de peu de renseignements sur ces territoires et, par conséquent, il faut qu'il s'y rende des missions de visite des Nations Unies qui détermineront quelle est la véritable situation. Ces missions doivent comprendre des représentants de pays qui aient démontré, par leurs actes, leur volonté d'appliquer la résolution 1514 (XV), et les puissances coloniales doivent donner des preuves de leur disposition à coopérer.

81. M. JOUEJATI (Syrie) dit que la position de sa délégation concernant les petits territoires est la suivante: la résolution 1514 (XV) leur est applicable et la puissance coloniale ne doit pas se servir des problèmes qui découlent de leur superficie comme prétexte pour leur refuser le droit à la libre détermination. De même, l'établissement de bases militaires dans ces territoires constitue une violation du principe de la libre détermination et de l'intégrité des territoires, ainsi qu'une menace à la paix et à la sécurité internationales; en effet, bien que les puissances administrantes soutiennent que les bases sont créées à des fins défensives, l'histoire a prouvé qu'elles ne laissaient pas d'avoir des fins offensives et qu'elles servaient uniquement à défendre des intérêts qui n'étaient pas ceux des territoires.

82. Quant à Gibraltar, le représentant de la Syrie estime que, du point de vue juridique, la position du Royaume-Uni est celle d'un usurpateur, comme l'a dit le représentant de l'Uruguay. Le Traité d'Utrecht a imposé des limitations au Royaume-Uni, et celui-ci ne peut étendre unilatéralement la cession du Rocher à tout l'isthme. La délégation espagnole vient de proposer que les négociations se poursuivent avec l'aide du Secrétaire général. Le représentant du Royaume-Uni, par contre, n'a pas affirmé clairement, dans son intervention, que l'objectif de ces négociations était, en définitive, la décolonisation. Au contraire, il semble vouloir recourir à toutes espèces de prétextes juridiques et à des exceptions dilatoires tels que, par exemple, la thèse selon laquelle la Cour internationale de Justice est l'organe compétent pour déterminer la validité de ses droits. C'est là une suggestion étrange si l'on se souvient que l'ONU comprend un organe chargé des questions de décolonisation. La thèse du Royaume-Uni est fondée sur l'argument selon lequel ses droits sur Gibraltar découlent du fait que leur titulaire légitime ne les a

pas revendiqués. C'est ainsi que le Royaume-Uni remercie l'Espagne de l'assistance que lui a prêtée ce pays au cours d'une période de crise. Le représentant de la Syrie approuve la protestation du Gouvernement espagnol, car il y a lieu de se demander jusqu'où serait allée, sans ce pays, l'expansion progressive du Royaume-Uni sur le territoire espagnol. Le Royaume-Uni a conclu l'exposé de sa thèse en affirmant que le Rocher de Gibraltar était britannique. Il y a donc lieu de se demander ce que peuvent permettre d'obtenir les négociations. A l'heure actuelle, il est évident que c'est le Royaume-Uni qui fait obstacle aux négociations, et le représentant de la Syrie estime que la résolution du Comité spécial du 17 novembre 1966 dans laquelle les deux parties étaient invitées à s'abstenir d'actes qui fassent obstacle au succès de ces négociations doit être modifiée afin que cet appel ne soit adressé qu'au Royaume-Uni.

83. Il ne faut pas oublier que, dans la résolution 2065 (XX) concernant les îles Falkland (Malvinas), les Gouvernements de l'Argentine et du Royaume-Uni ont été invités à poursuivre les négociations en vue de trouver une solution pacifique au problème, en tenant dûment compte des dispositions et des objectifs de la Charte et de la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale, ainsi que des intérêts de la population des îles. On a déjà entamé les négociations, mais l'essentiel est de parvenir à une solution le plus rapidement possible. Les Nations Unies peuvent jouer un rôle très utile en suivant de près les négociations pour s'assurer que la décolonisation se réalise. Le représentant de la Syrie prend note des déclarations de la délégation argentine selon lesquelles le Gouvernement argentin accueillerait avec satisfaction la participation de l'Organisation des Nations Unies. A son avis, c'est là l'élément le plus positif de tout le problème.

84. M. SIDI BABA (Maroc) estime que l'accusation portée par l'Espagne contre le Maroc, qui a prouvé qu'il était un ferme défenseur de l'anticolonialisme, selon laquelle ce pays est de connivence avec les colonialistes britanniques à Gibraltar, revêt un caractère de gravité particulière. Pour ce qui est de la présence d'ouvriers marocains sur le Rocher, leur nombre ne justifie pas l'emploi du terme "connivence", et, qui plus est, le Gouvernement marocain n'organise pas l'envoi de travailleurs à Gibraltar et n'a aucune autorité sur eux. Il se trouve, en Europe, des centaines de milliers d'ouvriers marocains, et il n'y a rien d'étrange à ce qu'il y en ait également à Gibraltar qui n'est qu'à quelques kilomètres de la côte marocaine. En outre, ces ouvriers ne sont pas les seuls étrangers qui se trouvent à Gibraltar, car on y compte également des Indiens, des Pakistanais, des Nord-Africains, des Maltais, des Italiens et des Espagnols; par conséquent, le fait de conclure que le Maroc appuie le colonialisme britannique à Gibraltar, en raison uniquement de la présence de quelques-uns de ses ressortissants dans le territoire, reflète un esprit que le représentant du Maroc préfère ne pas qualifier. Les rapports existant entre Tanger et Gibraltar remontent à une époque très reculée, et le fait que l'Espagne ait décidé de couper ou d'interrompre ses communications aériennes et maritimes avec Gibraltar et de lui

imposer un blocus n'oblige pas le Maroc à faire de même. Mais accuser pour cette raison le Maroc de suivre une politique procoloniale constitue une affirmation totalement inadmissible et dénuée de fondement. En outre, la délégation marocaine se demande si ce problème colonial préoccupe vraiment le Gouvernement espagnol autant que la persistance des autres problèmes coloniaux auxquels il doit faire face en qualité de Puissance administrante.

85. La délégation marocaine a toujours soutenu que Gibraltar devrait être restitué à l'Espagne et, l'année précédente, fidèle au principe de la décolonisation, elle s'est trouvée au nombre des auteurs d'un projet de résolution sur la question que l'Assemblée générale a adopté en tant que résolution 2070 (XX). En outre, la décolonisation de Gibraltar est favorable au Maroc, car le cas du Rocher est identique à celui de deux villes situées en territoire marocain, et la restitution de Gibraltar permettrait au Maroc d'utiliser les arguments irréfutables qu'invoque le Gouvernement espagnol dans l'affaire de Gibraltar.

86. M. Sidi Baba précise que la délégation espagnole, au cours de la présente session, a pris plusieurs fois la liberté de faire allusion à la délégation marocaine en des termes qu'il considère comme contraires à l'esprit de bonne volonté et de bon voisinage qu'ont toujours prônés les dirigeants responsables des deux pays. Par exemple, lorsque le représentant du Maroc, parlant à la Quatrième Commission d'un problème colonial, a fait allusion, entre autres formes de colonialisme en Afrique, au colonialisme espagnol, le représentant de l'Espagne a taxé le représentant du Maroc d'irresponsabilité. La délégation marocaine, au contraire, considère ce représentant comme parfaitement responsable.

87. On a accusé récemment le Maroc d'être de connivence avec le colonialisme britannique, tout cela parce que le Maroc est un pays qui se consacre à la décolonisation. Il convient de faire observer que, dans ce domaine, le Maroc n'a à recevoir de leçons de personne. Son peuple s'est soulevé contre les forces combinées d'occupation étrangère, sans armes, sans ressources, sans industries et a forgé sa propre gloire. Il n'a pas reçu son indépendance, mais il l'a gagnée par sa ténacité et il ne doit rien à personne pour son émancipation. Il a toujours lutté contre le colonialisme, l'expansionnisme et l'exploitation, et, si c'est ce que l'Espagne lui reproche, M. Sidi Baba répète que son pays continuera à s'opposer au colonialisme avec toute l'énergie nécessaire.

88. De plus, le Maroc et l'Espagne sont en relations et ont divers intérêts communs, et l'ambassadeur d'Espagne au Maroc, qui assiste aux débats de la Quatrième Commission, aurait pu faire en sorte que la délégation espagnole s'abstienne de traiter la délégation marocaine de la manière dont elle l'a fait systématiquement pendant toute la session.

89. Le Maroc poursuivra sa lutte contre le colonialisme dans le cadre de la politique des Nations Unies, en collaboration avec les pays d'Afrique et d'Asie et avec tous les pays épris de paix et de liberté. Face aux graves accusations portées par la délégation espagnole, le représentant du Maroc a maîtrisé son émotion par respect à l'égard du

peuple espagnol et de tous les pays qui sont unis par des liens d'amitié ou d'affection à ce peuple, mais il tient à réfuter catégoriquement toutes ces accusations sans fondement.

90. M. FORTIN PINEL (Honduras) s'associe aux déclarations faites par le représentant de l'Uruguay au sujet de la question des îles Falkland (Malvinas) et de Gibraltar. Il demande au Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni d'adopter, conjointement avec les Gouvernements espagnol et argentin, des mesures en vue de résoudre le problème de Gibraltar et des îles Falkland (Malvinas). D'autre part, le représentant du Honduras prend note avec satisfaction de la bonne foi dont l'Espagne a fait preuve en respectant les résolutions des Nations Unies.

M. Kanakarathne (Ceylan), vice-président, reprend la présidence.

91. M. DE PINIES (Espagne), exerçant son droit de réponse, rappelle qu'il a recommandé lui-même à la Quatrième Commission d'examiner le texte du Livre blanc du Royaume-Uni. Il rappelle également qu'à la demande des délégations bulgare et cambodgienne la question de Gibraltar a été inscrite, en 1963, à l'ordre du jour du Comité spécial, en tant que question relative à un territoire non autonome. On a exposé alors les origines du problème, ainsi que les manœuvres ultérieures tendant à remplacer la population originaire du territoire par des immigrants.

92. Lorsque le Royaume-Uni affirme ses droits sur le Rocher, il oublie que les arguments mêmes sur lesquels il fonde ses droits peuvent être invoqués pour couper les communications terrestres. Dans le cas présent, il n'y a lieu de parler que de la suppression des moyens que l'Espagne fournissait jusqu'à présent, dans le plein exercice de sa souveraineté.

93. Répondant au représentant du Maroc, M. de Piniés affirme qu'il est déplacé de parler de blocus pour les raisons qu'il vient d'exposer. En outre, les communications maritimes demeurent libres. En ce qui concerne la présence des Marocains à Gibraltar, le représentant de l'Espagne voulait uniquement signaler qu'avant que son pays ne commence à supprimer les moyens qu'il fournissait, il n'y avait pas d'ouvriers marocains à Gibraltar et qu'à l'heure actuelle l'on en compte plus de 2 800, dont certains jouissent de privilèges dont sont privés les ouvriers espagnols. Quant aux communications aériennes et maritimes entre Tanger et Gibraltar, M. de Piniés évoque l'inauguration d'une ligne aérienne entre Gibraltar, Tanger et Casablanca, et, tout en précisant qu'il n'a aucune critique à formuler sur le fait qu'un pays entretienne des relations avec un autre pays, il observe que l'on ne saurait priver la délégation espagnole du droit de signaler tous ces faits à l'attention de la Commission.

94. M. SIDI BABA (Maroc), exerçant son droit de réponse, précise qu'il existe depuis longtemps des lignes aériennes et maritimes qui unissent Gibraltar à Tanger et que l'inauguration d'une nouvelle ligne ne constitue pas une action dirigée contre les objectifs de l'Espagne à Gibraltar. Il tient à préciser également que souvent les travailleurs marocains quittent le pays sans que les autorités puissent

exercer le moindre contrôle sur les villes qu'utilisent ces ouvriers comme point de départ pour se rendre dans un pays quelconque, y compris Gibraltar. Il formule également des réserves sur le nombre de travailleurs marocains qui, selon les déclarations qui ont été faites, se trouvent à Gibraltar.

95. M. HOPE (Royaume-Uni), exerçant son droit de réponse, veut simplement poser deux questions: en premier lieu, s'il y a deux parties à un litige et si l'une d'entre elles est disposée à soumettre l'affaire à un tribunal impartial et que l'autre refuse, quelle est celle dont la cause est la meilleure? En second lieu, si l'objectif de la décolonisation est la liberté, les 25 000 habitants de Gibraltar seraient-ils plus libres une fois qu'ils seraient transférés à l'Espagne?

96. M. MALECELA (République-Unie de Tanzanie) réserve le droit de sa délégation de revenir à la question de Gibraltar et, en particulier, à la suggestion du Royaume-Uni tendant à soumettre l'affaire à la Cour internationale de Justice.

97. Le Royaume-Uni doit tenir compte du fait que, lorsque, pour la première fois, la question de Gibraltar a été comprise dans le problème de la décolonisation, elle l'a été sous réserve que les deux parties entameraient des négociations. La Quatrième Commission, qui a le droit de s'informer de la marche de ces négociations, espérait que l'Espagne et le Royaume-Uni lui communiqueraient des renseignements à ce sujet. Il est nécessaire d'être au courant des faits pour savoir si l'on peut prolonger la durée des négociations ou examiner à nouveau la question au sein de la Quatrième Commission.

98. Il en va de même pour les îles Falkland (Malvinas), car il a été adopté une résolution dans laquelle les parties intéressées étaient priées d'entamer des négociations, mais la Quatrième Commission n'est pas encore informée des résultats de ces négociations qui n'ont été entamées qu'en septembre 1966, bien que la résolution en question ait été adoptée à la vingtième session.

99. Le représentant de la Tanzanie répète que, lorsque l'Assemblée générale adopte une résolution dans laquelle elle demande que diverses parties intéressées entament des négociations, elle a le droit d'être informée de la marche de ces négociations. Il réserve également le droit de sa délégation de traiter à nouveau de la question.

100. M. DE PINIES (Espagne), exerçant son droit de réponse, déclare qu'il aurait été préférable que le Royaume-Uni ait attendu de prendre connaissance du texte de sa déclaration, parce que la garantie d'un statut spécial qu'offre l'Espagne aux habitants de Gibraltar, qui serait soumis au Secrétaire général pour approbation et déposé à l'ONU, ne permet pas de mettre en doute les perspectives qui s'ouvrent aux habitants de Gibraltar. Au sujet des observations formulées par le représentant de la République-Unie de Tanzanie, le représentant de l'Espagne note que, si celui-ci étudie le texte de son intervention, il pourra se rendre compte des difficultés et des obstacles auxquels on s'est heurté au cours des négociations.

101. M. CAHEN (Belgique) note que le représentant de l'Union soviétique a fait mention de la participation

de la Belgique à l'expédition au Congo organisée de l'île d'Ascension. Comme l'a déjà expliqué M. Spaak, alors ministre des affaires étrangères de Belgique, il ne s'agissait pas d'une expédition coloniale, parce que cette expédition avait obtenu l'accord du Gouvernement congolais et du général Mobutu.

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SÉANCE

Jeudi 15 décembre 1966,
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NEW YORK

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Président: M. FAKHREDDINE Mohamed
 (Soudan).

En l'absence du Président, M. Kanakaratne (Ceylan),
 vice-président, prend la présidence.

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Application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux: rapport du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux: territoires n'ayant pas été examinés séparément (suite) [A/6242, A/6261 et Add.1, A/6262 et Add.1, A/6277, A/6278, A/6300/Rev.1, chap. XI et XIV à XXII; A/6568, A/C.4/680]

DISCUSSION GENERALE (suite)

65. M. STEFL (Tchécoslovaquie) rappelle tout d'abord les difficultés que présente la solution des problèmes posés par le cas des petits territoires coloniaux. Cependant, bien que ces territoires se trouvent dans une situation particulière en raison de leur faible superficie et de leur population peu nombreuse, il n'en est pas moins vrai qu'il s'agit de territoires coloniaux et que par conséquent la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux leur est également applicable. C'est cette conclusion qui figure expressément dans le rapport du Comité spécial qui est consacré à ces territoires (A/6300/Rev.1, chap. XI et XIV à XXII).

66. Il ressort également de ce rapport que les puissances coloniales n'ont pas encore pris de mesures efficaces pour que la décolonisation s'accomplisse dans les petits territoires aussi rapidement que possible et conformément aux principes de la Déclaration. Les institutions politiques qui ont été mises en place notamment aux îles Gilbert et Ellice, aux îles Salomon et aux Samoa américaines n'ont pas un caractère représentatif, et les puissances administrantes détiennent encore des pouvoirs considérables dans les domaines exécutif et législatif. On ne peut nier que certaines réformes constitutionnelles aient été accomplies dans ces territoires, mais l'on peut souvent se demander si elles vont assez loin et si elles sont conformes aux dispositions de la Déclaration. Trop souvent, les puissances coloniales utilisent les petits territoires coloniaux dans leur propre intérêt, lequel ne coïncide guère avec les intérêts des populations locales. On sait que bon nombre de petits territoires ont une grande importance militaire et stratégique et que la présence de bases militaires dans ces territoires est un grave obstacle au développement de ces pays. Il faut donc demander aux puissances coloniales de supprimer toutes les bases militaires qu'elles possèdent dans les petits territoires et de s'abstenir d'en construire de nouvelles.

67. Les missions de visite des Nations Unies sont particulièrement utiles dans le cas des petits ter-

ritoires. Nul n'ignore en effet que les renseignements qui sont communiqués par les puissances coloniales en vertu de l'Article 73 de la Charte sont incomplets et ne permettent pas de s'assurer des volontés de tous les secteurs des populations intéressées. Souvent, les puissances coloniales refusent d'accepter les missions de visite en alléguant que la situation dans les territoires où ces missions doivent être envoyées est des plus satisfaisantes. Il y a dans cette attitude une contradiction flagrante, car si tel est le cas, elles ne peuvent avoir qu'intérêt à faire constater la réalité de leurs affirmations par des représentants des Nations Unies. La délégation tchécoslovaque estime que les missions doivent être envoyées dans les territoires coloniaux sans que les puissances coloniales aient à imposer la moindre condition préalable.

68. M. CAMPORA (Argentine) déclare que sa délégation aurait voulu formuler certaines observations en réponse à celles qui ont été faites par diverses délégations au sujet des îles Malvinas. Comme certaines délégations auxquelles il voulait s'adresser ont dû s'absenter, il se réserve la possibilité de prendre la parole à ce sujet lors d'une séance ultérieure.

69. M. GHAREKAN (Inde) déclare qu'en étudiant en dernier les petits territoires non autonomes, la Commission ne leur fait pas pleinement justice. Il exprime l'espoir qu'à la session suivante la Commission mettra au point une formule qui lui permette d'examiner le cas de ces territoires suffisamment tôt pour que cet examen soit véritablement fructueux. Sur la soixantaine de territoires qui demeurent inscrits sur la liste du Comité spécial, quatre seulement, à savoir le Lesotho, le Botswana, la Guyane et la Barbade, sont devenus indépendants depuis l'année précédente. Il y a donc là une situation qui laisse beaucoup à désirer et qui résulte essentiellement du fait que les puissances administrantes ne tiennent guère compte des appels répétés qui leur sont adressés par les Nations Unies.

70. Le Royaume-Uni, par exemple, détient encore un grand nombre de territoires de par le monde. La délégation indienne a eu l'occasion de faire de nombreuses observations au sujet des petits territoires au cours des travaux du Comité spécial dont elle fait partie. Elle s'attachera donc seulement au cas de certains d'entre eux, notamment l'île Maurice et les îles Falkland (Malvinas).

71. En ce qui concerne l'île Maurice, la délégation indienne continue de penser que le Royaume-Uni a mis au point un système électoral par trop complexe. Elle exprime néanmoins l'espoir que le Royaume-Uni

ne retardera pas l'accession au stade final de l'indépendance. L'Inde était un des auteurs, à la vingtième session, de la résolution 2066 (XX), dans laquelle l'Assemblée générale a fait observer que toute mesure prise par la Puissance administrante pour détacher certaines îles du territoire de l'île Maurice afin d'y établir une base militaire constituerait une violation de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, et en particulier du paragraphe 6 de cette Déclaration. Dans la même résolution, le Royaume-Uni a été invité à ne prendre aucune mesure qui démembrerait le territoire de l'île Maurice et pourrait violer son intégrité territoriale. Cependant, malgré cette résolution, le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni a procédé à l'établissement du territoire britannique de l'océan Indien. La délégation indienne a déjà défini sa position sur ce point à la Quatrième Commission (1566ème séance), à la session précédente de l'Assemblée générale. Elle ajoutera seulement que le Gouvernement indien est hostile à l'établissement de bases militaires étrangères où que ce soit.

72. En ce qui concerne les îles Falkland (Malvinas), qui ont fait l'objet de la résolution 2065 (XX) de l'Assemblée générale, on constate que les deux parties intéressées ont procédé aux négociations qui étaient préconisées dans ladite résolution. Cependant, il ne suffit pas que les deux parties poursuivent à loisir leurs conversations, et il y aurait lieu de leur demander instamment d'accorder à la question des îles Falkland (Malvinas) toute l'attention qu'elle mérite.

73. La délégation indienne voudrait présenter certaines observations au sujet des missions de visite des Nations Unies. Cette délégation a toujours jugé essentiel l'envoi de missions dans tous les territoires, quels qu'ils soient. On constate à cet égard une évolution très encourageante chez les puissances administrantes. C'est ainsi que la Nouvelle-Zélande a pris récemment l'initiative d'inviter les Nations Unies à envoyer une mission aux îles Cook. Dans le cas d'un autre territoire, cette même puissance administrante a fait une invitation analogue, mais en l'assortissant de certaines réserves. Selon la délégation indienne, celles-ci ne sont pas justifiées, et il faut espérer que la Nouvelle-Zélande n'insistera pas pour qu'il en soit tenu compte. L'Inde se réjouit également que le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni, de son côté, ait accepté l'envoi d'une mission dans le territoire d'Aden. Il faut espérer qu'il y a là le signe d'une heureuse évolution de la part de ce gouvernement.

La séance est levée à 23 h 50.

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QUATRIÈME COMMISSION, 1675^e
SÉANCE

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à 11 heures

NEW YORK

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Président: M. FAKHREDDINE Mohamed (Soudan).

En l'absence du Président, M. Kanakaratne (Ceylan), vice-président, prend la présidence.

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DISCUSSION GÉNÉRALE (fin)

1. M. CAMPORA (Argentine) appelle l'attention de la Commission sur une lettre, en date du 15 décembre 1966, adressée au Secrétaire général par le représentant permanent adjoint de l'Argentine (A/C.4/682), transmettant le texte d'un communiqué commun ayant trait aux négociations qui se déroulent entre l'Argentine et le Royaume-Uni sur la question des îles Falkland (Malvinas). La délégation argentine est également d'avis que l'Organisation des Nations Unies doit être tenue au courant de l'évolution des négociations et reconnaît qu'il est légitime pour l'Organisation de s'intéresser à toutes les questions coloniales. L'Argentine s'efforcera de fournir un rapport circonstancié au Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, ainsi qu'à l'Assemblée générale à sa vingt-deuxième session. La délégation argentine est désireuse de voir les négociations aboutir à bref délai à la solution du problème, conformément à la résolution 2065 (XX) de l'Assemblée

générale. Toutefois, le problème est complexe et l'Argentine éprouve des difficultés à faire accepter une formule qui ferait valoir ses droits, comme l'exige la stricte application de la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale à la question des îles Malvinas.

2. M. CARRASQUERO (Venezuela) dit que l'attitude de la délégation vénézuélienne à l'égard des divers territoires à l'examen figure dans les chapitres pertinents du rapport du Comité spécial (A/6300/Rev.1). Toutefois, M. Carrasquero relève d'une façon générale que, dans quelques territoires, certains progrès dans le domaine politique ont été réalisés, ou sont sur le point de l'être, mais que ces progrès sont loin de satisfaire les aspirations des populations ou les vœux exprimés par l'Assemblée générale. La délégation vénézuélienne s'inquiète de la lenteur des progrès de ces territoires en matière d'autodétermination et continue d'insister pour que les puissances administrantes appliquent sans délai les dispositions de la résolution 1514 (XV). Aucune raison d'ordre politique, économique ou stratégique ne peut être invoquée pour retarder l'application de cette résolution. Cependant, il est vrai que la viabilité politique est fonction de la viabilité économique, et certains petits territoires qui ne disposent que de maigres ressources risquent lors de leur accession à l'indépendance de dépendre d'une autre puissance, de sorte que leur autodétermination serait fictive. La délégation vénézuélienne a souvent insisté sur la nécessité pour les petits territoires situés dans une zone géographique donnée d'envisager la possibilité d'une forme d'autodétermination qui leur assure le plus haut degré d'indépendance réelle. Ils pourraient s'inspirer des tendances intégrationnistes qui existent dans le monde. Il est regrettable que l'idée d'une fédération de certains des territoires intéressés ait soulevé des difficultés; il faut espérer que ces difficultés seront aplanies.

3. Le représentant du Venezuela désire faire quelques observations sur deux territoires au sujet desquels des résolutions de l'Assemblée générale ont engagé les parties intéressées à entamer des négociations directes, à savoir les îles Falkland (Malvinas) et Gibraltar. En ce qui concerne les îles Falkland (Malvinas), les parties intéressées sont l'Argentine et le Royaume-Uni. Il est logique de supposer que, lorsque l'Assemblée générale, dans sa résolution 2065 (XX), a engagé les deux parties à entreprendre des négociations, il était entendu qu'elles devaient rechercher la formule convenant le mieux pour l'application de la résolution 1514 (XV) et que toute solution envisagée devait être compatible avec le paragraphe 6 de cette résolution. Il est regrettable qu'au bout d'un an les parties intéressées aient été dans l'impossibilité

de signaler un progrès quelconque dans les négociations. Il ressort de la déclaration du représentant de l'Argentine que les propositions présentées par le Royaume-Uni au cours de ces négociations ne satisferaient même pas partiellement les justes revendications de l'Argentine. Il faut insister auprès de l'Argentine et du Royaume-Uni pour qu'ils s'efforcent de résoudre le problème sans délai. Le Royaume-Uni devrait se rendre compte que tout vestige de colonialisme sur le continent américain ne saurait être toléré plus longtemps. On ne peut pas arrêter la marche de l'histoire.

4. En ce qui concerne Gibraltar, l'Assemblée générale, par sa résolution 2070 (XX), a invité l'Espagne et le Royaume-Uni à entamer des négociations. Les déclarations des représentants de l'Espagne et du Royaume-Uni montrent que certains actes de la Puissance administrante ont fait obstacle à ces négociations. Des incidents tels que la violation de l'espace aérien espagnol ne contribuent pas à hâter la solution du problème. Il est tout aussi difficile d'accepter l'affirmation selon laquelle l'Espagne a l'obligation d'octroyer des droits de passage à la colonie. Le Venezuela s'inquiète tout particulièrement du fait que Gibraltar a servi de lieu de rencontre lors des récentes conversations entre Ian Smith et le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni. Cela met en évidence le rôle stratégique de Gibraltar dans la politique coloniale du Royaume-Uni en Afrique, ce qui explique la volonté du Royaume-Uni de garder le territoire en sa possession malgré les revendications légitimes de l'Espagne.

5. La délégation vénézuélienne est convaincue que la résolution 1514 (XV) est applicable à Gibraltar et que le paragraphe 6 de cette résolution intéresse ce territoire au même titre que le principe du respect de l'intégrité territoriale des Etats Membres énoncé dans la Charte.

6. La délégation vénézuélienne a toujours défendu le principe du règlement pacifique des différends et considère que les négociations sont la procédure la plus appropriée à cet effet. Toutefois, elle estime que l'Assemblée générale a le devoir de se tenir au courant du progrès de ces négociations dans le contexte du processus de décolonisation. L'Assemblée générale devrait être prête, le cas échéant, à prendre des mesures pour assurer l'application rapide de la résolution 1514 (XV).

7. M. Carrasquero espère que l'Assemblée générale continuera d'étudier les questions de Gibraltar et des îles Falkland (Malvinas) jusqu'à ce que les négociations y ayant trait aient eu des résultats satisfaisants et qu'elle exprimera son désir de voir appliquer les résolutions 2065 (XX) et 2070 (XX).

8. M. JANEVSKI (Yougoslavie) dit que la pratique habituelle de la Quatrième Commission consistant à examiner la situation des petits territoires à la fin de la session ne doit pas laisser croire que leurs problèmes sont moins importants ou qu'en ce qui les concerne l'autodétermination et l'indépendance sont moins urgents que pour les autres territoires. La délégation yougoslave estime que les Nations Unies ont une obligation particulière à l'égard de ces territoires, étant donné qu'il n'est pas facile

pour une population peu nombreuse de faire valoir ses droits sans aide.

9. Dans certains des petits territoires, il y a des bases et des installations militaires, dont certaines sont utilisées pour lancer des attaques contre l'Etat indépendant du Viet-Nam du Nord. On projette en outre de construire de nouvelles bases dans certains d'entre eux. Les petits territoires risquent de créer des problèmes majeurs pour l'ensemble du monde puisque le maintien des bases est lié à la continuation du système et des privilèges coloniaux dans diverses parties du monde. Dans ces conditions et compte tenu du fait que des bases militaires ont été installées dans des territoires non autonomes sans le consentement des populations, la délégation yougoslave tient à souligner que l'existence de ces bases est contraire aux intérêts des populations des territoires en question et à ceux de la paix. Il importe de démanteler ces bases et de ne pas en construire de nouvelles. Récemment, l'Assemblée générale a une fois de plus exprimé son opinion [résolution 2189 (XXI)] sur la question des bases situées dans des territoires non autonomes.

10. Dans sa résolution 2069 (XX), l'Assemblée générale a décidé que l'Organisation des Nations Unies devra prêter toute l'aide nécessaire aux peuples de ces territoires dans les efforts qu'ils déploient pour décider librement de leur statut futur. L'Organisation des Nations Unies ne pourra pas accomplir cette tâche sans la collaboration des puissances administrantes, notamment si elles ne lui permettent pas d'envoyer des missions de visite dans les territoires. Les rapports de ces missions permettraient à l'Organisation de se faire une idée précise de la situation dans les territoires et de connaître les vœux de la population. Si les puissances administrantes ont véritablement l'intention d'accorder le droit à l'autodétermination aux peuples des territoires en question, il n'y a pas de raison pour qu'elles fassent obstacle à l'envoi de ces missions de visite.

11. M. ALJUBOURI (Irak) dit qu'en examinant la question des îles Falkland (Malvinas), la Commission doit avant tout avoir présent à l'esprit le fait qu'il s'agit d'un problème intéressant deux pays qui ont eu pendant longtemps des rapports amicaux. Un dialogue s'est engagé entre ces deux pays. Les gouvernements de l'Argentine et du Royaume-Uni ont fourni des renseignements à ce sujet dans des lettres en date du 15 décembre 1966 (A/C.4/682 et A/C.4/683). L'élément le plus important de ces lettres est la déclaration selon laquelle les deux gouvernements poursuivront les négociations afin d'essayer de résoudre le problème et présenteront en temps voulu un rapport plus détaillé au Comité spécial et à l'Assemblée générale.

12. Il est vrai que peu de progrès ont été réalisés jusqu'ici dans ces négociations. Mais l'Organisation des Nations Unies est en droit de demander à être renseignée sur la marche des négociations. La délégation irakienne engage les deux gouvernements à continuer de rechercher un règlement à l'amiable de cette question et espère que les pourparlers aboutiront dans un proche avenir à des résultats positifs.

13. M. SICLAIT (Haïti) déclare que son pays appuie sans réserve la lutte de libération des habitants des petits territoires et espère que la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale sera mise en œuvre rapidement. M. Siclait voudrait parler en particulier de la situation de deux territoires: les îles Falkland (Malvinas) et Gibraltar. Les négociations engagées à leur sujet conformément aux résolutions pertinentes de l'Assemblée générale se poursuivent dans un climat de compréhension mutuelle. En ce qui concerne les îles Falkland (Malvinas), M. Siclait a noté l'engagement pris par le représentant de l'Argentine de mettre, en temps voulu, l'Organisation des Nations Unies au courant des progrès réalisés dans les négociations. Pour ce qui est des pourparlers au sujet de Gibraltar, il ressort de la déclaration faite par le représentant de l'Espagne (1671ème séance) que ces pourparlers se heurteraient à certains obstacles. La délégation haïtienne pense, comme la délégation espagnole, qu'un recours à la Cour internationale de Justice ne serait pas indiqué dans le cas de Gibraltar, car cela équivaldrait à renvoyer sine die toute solution du problème. D'autre part, on ne saurait considérer que le Royaume-Uni a acquis, du fait de sa longue occupation, des droits sur une partie du territoire espagnol. Le Gouvernement espagnol a fait preuve de bonne volonté en acceptant d'examiner les dispositions à prendre afin de protéger les intérêts britanniques dans le territoire. Quoi qu'il en soit, la situation coloniale existant à Gibraltar ne saurait se prolonger indéfiniment.

14. Mme ANDERSON (Etats-Unis d'Amérique) tient à donner un aperçu de l'évolution de la situation dans les Samoa américaines, à Guam et dans les îles Vierges; cet aperçu sera bref, puisque les Etats-Unis ont déjà fourni des renseignements détaillés au cours de l'examen de la situation dans ces territoires par les Sous-Comités II et III du Comité spécial (voir A/6300/Rev.1, chap. XVIII, annexe, et chap. XXII, annexe). Mme Anderson voudrait tout d'abord dire que le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis demeure convaincu que dans les résolutions et les rapports relatifs à des territoires aussi exigus, il faudrait se référer non seulement à la résolution 1514 (XV), mais aussi à la résolution 1541 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale. La délégation des Etats-Unis regrette que le Comité spécial ait supprimé, dans le rapport des sous-comités, toute mention de cette dernière résolution; en effet, pour présenter d'une manière réaliste les diverses possibilités entre lesquelles ces territoires auront à choisir, il est indispensable de citer les dispositions de la résolution 1541 (XV). Au cours des débats à l'Organisation des Nations Unies, ces possibilités ont été généralement reconnues, comme, par exemple, dans le cas des formules fédératives proposées dans la région des Antilles.

15. Un certain nombre de faits politiques importants se sont produits récemment dans les Samoa américaines. On se souviendra que la Constitution de 1960 des Samoa américaines contenait des dispositions relatives à sa révision automatique au bout de cinq ans. Un comité chargé de réviser la Constitution samoane vient d'achever ses travaux. Beaucoup de ses propositions visent à accorder des pouvoirs plus étendus à la législature samoane — et Mme Anderson tient à souligner tout particulièrement ce fait étant

donné qu'il a été affirmé au cours du débat que les pouvoirs de la législature samoane étaient nettement limités. Le Comité a notamment proposé d'accorder à la législature un droit de regard sur la partie du projet de budget devant être financée par Washington avant que les recommandations ne soient soumises au gouvernement fédéral. Il a également proposé que le Gouverneur présente la partie de budget pour laquelle les Etats-Unis ne versent pas de subvention spéciale — abstraction faite des fonds normalement accordés à tous les Etats et territoires au titre de la législation générale des Etats-Unis — à la législature, qui serait habilitée à ouvrir les crédits nécessaires. Le Comité a également formulé des propositions tendant à modifier les conditions requises pour pouvoir être élu à l'Assemblée législative, de manière à rendre celle-ci plus représentative et à prolonger la durée maximum de ses sessions. D'autres recommandations ont trait à de nouvelles restrictions aux prérogatives du Gouverneur concernant les propositions de loi. Ces recommandations et d'autres encore ont été examinées à une conférence constitutionnelle qui s'est réunie aux îles Samoa en octobre 1966. Les électeurs samoans viennent d'approuver les recommandations du Comité chargé de réviser la Constitution. Le texte de la nouvelle constitution sera soumis à Washington dans un proche avenir.

16. Dans le domaine économique, on s'est efforcé surtout de diversifier l'économie du territoire et de la rendre plus viable. Dans le cadre de ces efforts, on a cherché non seulement à développer le secteur touristique, mais aussi à accroître les investissements industriels, notamment par l'implantation de conserveries de poisson et d'installations pour la transformation des noix de coco.

17. Dans le domaine de l'enseignement, l'événement le plus récent qui mérite d'être mentionné est l'introduction d'émissions de télévision éducatives sur une large échelle afin de permettre aux enfants des régions les plus éloignées de recevoir le meilleur enseignement possible.

18. En ce qui concerne Guam, le territoire jouit déjà d'une assez grande autonomie; en effet, sa législature monocamérale, pleinement représentative, jouit de pouvoirs étendus, notamment en ce qui concerne les impôts et l'ouverture des crédits nécessaires à l'administration locale. A la dernière session du Congrès des Etats-Unis, le gouvernement fédéral a présenté un projet de loi tendant à donner à Guam un chef élu de l'exécutif. Le Gouverneur actuel de Guam est né dans le territoire et y a vécu toute sa vie, mais cela n'a pas été jugé suffisant; d'autre part, l'adoption du système d'un chef élu de l'exécutif mettrait fin au droit de veto du gouvernement fédéral. Les deux Chambres du Congrès ont déjà approuvé la législation nécessaire à cet effet, mais celle-ci n'a pas encore été officiellement promulguée faute de temps pour régler certains détails de procédure. Le gouvernement ne manquera pas de soumettre à nouveau ces propositions au Congrès à ses prochaines sessions.

19. A Guam également, la politique économique a été axée sur la diversification. Une commission commune fédérale et territoriale vient de formuler certaines recommandations tendant à promouvoir le développement économique, et notamment à construire des

usines de fabrication et d'assemblage de produits soumis à des droits de douane élevés, tels que les montres, à diversifier la production agricole et à donner de l'extension au tourisme. Une agence de développement économique dotée de larges pouvoirs a été instituée de manière à attirer les capitaux extérieurs et à favoriser ainsi le commerce, l'agriculture et l'industrie du territoire. On espère que ces efforts, ainsi que la construction projetée d'un nouveau port de commerce, permettront à l'île de jouer un rôle important comme centre d'entreposage, d'entretien et de transformation.

20. Parlant de Guam, le représentant de l'Union soviétique a souligné l'existence d'une base militaire bien qu'il n'ait pas parlé des progrès accomplis dans le sens de l'autonomie et de la libre détermination. Les habitants de Guam ne considèrent pas la base comme un obstacle au progrès politique. La représentante des Etats-Unis elle-même s'est rendue dans l'île en 1965 et a eu des entretiens avec de nombreux membres du corps législatif de Guam qui lui ont assuré que celui-ci — élu suivant le principe "à chacun une voix" — a donné son appui total au maintien de la base. Cette dernière existe depuis des années, et, pourtant, le progrès vers l'autodétermination a été continu. D'ailleurs, la Charte des Nations Unies ne restreint nullement le droit des différents pays de posséder des installations de défense contre l'agression, et tel est l'objectif de la base en question.

21. Au sujet des îles Vierges américaines, la représentante des Etats-Unis dit qu'une évolution constitutionnelle intéressante y a eu lieu dernièrement. Récemment, ce territoire a fait l'objet d'un examen constitutionnel complet. Une convention constitutionnelle a fait un rapport en 1965 et a proposé d'amender l'Organic Act actuel, de façon à donner au peuple des îles un rôle accru dans les affaires politiques et financières locales. Il existe déjà aux îles Vierges un corps législatif élu au suffrage universel et disposant de larges pouvoirs. Les îles peuvent compter presque complètement sur des ressources financières d'origine locale, et le corps législatif a une autonomie complète en ce qui concerne la perception et la gestion de ces ressources. La Convention constitutionnelle a également recommandé de donner aux îles le droit d'élire leur propre gouverneur et leur lieutenant-gouverneur, ainsi que de supprimer le droit de veto du gouvernement fédéral. Cette proposition a été pleinement approuvée par le Gouverneur actuel, qui a demandé que le Congrès des Etats-Unis donne toute son attention aux recommandations de la Convention constitutionnelle. Celles-ci ont reçu l'appui total du gouvernement fédéral et l'approbation générale des deux Chambres du Congrès, mais, malheureusement, le Congrès n'a pas pris de mesure à ce sujet avant la fin de sa récente session. Le gouvernement fédéral compte demander l'adoption des recommandations en question à la prochaine session du Congrès. Certaines autres recommandations de la Convention constitutionnelle des îles Vierges, y compris une modification de la répartition des sièges du corps législatif, ont déjà été adoptées et ont force de loi.

22. La plupart des membres de la Commission connaissent la prospérité économique du territoire,

due dans une large mesure à l'expansion du tourisme. En 1965, plus d'un demi-million de personnes ont visité les îles Vierges et y ont dépensé 54 millions de dollars. A la suite de cette expansion et de l'augmentation d'autres recettes, le revenu par habitant du territoire, dont la population est d'environ 50 000 habitants, a dépassé 2 000 dollars. Les dépenses d'enseignement, de logement, de santé et de travaux publics par habitant sont élevées. C'est ainsi que 5 millions de dollars ont été affectés à l'amélioration de l'enseignement; d'autre part, 5 000 logements pour personnes à faibles revenus sont en construction et 1 000 nouveaux logements doivent être construits chaque année.

23. Deux autres faits nouveaux reflètent quelques-unes des orientations fondamentales de la politique économique actuelle. Une grande usine d'aluminium, qui formera un ensemble avec une raffinerie de pétrole, est en cours d'achèvement. Cette entreprise symbolise la tendance à la diversification de l'économie de l'île, l'objectif étant d'éviter une dépendance excessive à l'égard du tourisme et de rompre avec l'ancienne organisation économique fondée sur la culture de la canne et la production de sucre. De plus, le Gouvernement des îles Vierges a acheté la presque totalité des installations de la Virgin Islands Corporation, institution du Gouvernement fédéral créée en 1930 pour favoriser la stabilisation de l'économie de l'île. Cette mesure reflète l'idée que, dans la mesure du possible, les services publics doivent être financés par les ressources de l'île elle-même plutôt que de l'extérieur.

24. La délégation des Etats-Unis note avec satisfaction que des négociations sont en cours entre les gouvernements argentin et britannique en vue de régler le conflit qui les oppose depuis longtemps au sujet des îles Falkland (Malvinas), et elle leur souhaite tout le succès possible dans cette entreprise méritoire.

25. M. NUTI (Italie) dit que le fait que, six ans après l'adoption de la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale, de nombreux petits territoires sont encore sous administration coloniale ou sous tutelle, a été présenté comme le résultat d'une conspiration internationale visant à priver une large fraction de la population coloniale de son droit à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance. Ayant siégé pendant cinq ans au Comité spécial, la délégation italienne sait que cette façon de présenter les choses n'est pas entièrement exacte et que, nonobstant les vœux des puissances administrantes, la décolonisation a été ralentie par des circonstances telles que la dimension limitée des territoires, leur faible population, les mauvaises conditions économiques, les prétentions rivales à la souveraineté, les difficultés intérieures, les problèmes posés par la diversité des origines ethniques de la population, etc. De l'avis de la délégation italienne, l'Organisation des Nations Unies devrait guider ces territoires vers la libre détermination en tenant compte des meilleurs moyens de parvenir à la véritable liberté et à la viabilité économique, et s'abstenir d'accusations stériles. Il serait injuste de ne pas reconnaître que chaque année l'Organisation des Nations Unies peut noter avec satisfaction l'accession à l'indépendance de plusieurs anciens

territoires coloniaux, y compris de petits territoires tels que la Barbade.

26. La délégation italienne se félicite de constater que l'avenir d'autres petits territoires fait l'objet de négociations continues et amicales entre les gouvernements particulièrement intéressés. Elle relève que les négociations qui ont lieu entre la République argentine et le Royaume-Uni au sujet des îles Falkland (Malvinas) seront prochainement reprises, et elle espère que ces deux pays, avec lesquels l'Italie entretient des relations amicales, trouveront en temps voulu une solution raisonnable au problème, conformément aux dispositions et aux objectifs de la Charte.

27. M. KARASIMEONOV (Bulgarie) dit que le rapport du Comité spécial montre que la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux est pleinement applicable aux territoires dont il est question et que l'Organisation des Nations Unies devrait donc les aider à recouvrer leur droit inaliénable à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance. Bien que ces territoires se trouvent situés dans diverses parties du monde, les problèmes et les difficultés qui se posent à eux sont très semblables. Beaucoup d'entre eux ont une population peu nombreuse et sont de dimensions réduites et, du fait qu'ils ont toujours servi les intérêts des colonisateurs, il leur est difficile d'organiser une structure économique saine. Comme l'a fait observer le pétitionnaire des Bermudes à la 1672ème séance, leur économie est tout entière entre les mains des anciens colonisateurs et des anciens propriétaires d'esclaves. Cette oligarchie a des liens étroits avec la métropole, sert les intérêts des puissances coloniales et cherche à maintenir des systèmes politiques et constitutionnels qui privent la population de ses droits démocratiques les plus élémentaires. Le système actuellement en vigueur aux Bermudes date de 1821. Aucune personne de moins de 30 ans révolus n'a le droit de vote, et les propriétaires fonciers ont une voix supplémentaire.

28. Une autre caractéristique de ces territoires est qu'ils servent les plans militaires et stratégiques des pays métropolitains. Les puissances coloniales y établissent des bases militaires ou permettent à d'autres puissances de le faire, sans consulter la population; ainsi, elles engagent les pays qui sont sous leur administration dans des entreprises politiques et militaires qui sont contraires aux intérêts de leurs habitants et à ceux des nations voisines. Un des exemples qui illustrent le mieux l'utilisation de ces bases par les puissances impérialistes à des fins stratégiques est celui de la base américaine de Guam, d'où décollent jour après jour les appareils américains qui vont bombarder sauvagement la population de la République démocratique du Viet-Nam.

29. Dans la zone des Caraïbes également, les Etats-Unis ont établi dans des territoires coloniaux sous administration britannique des bases militaires, telles que celle des Bahamas, connue sous le nom de Atlantic Underwater Test and Evaluation Centre (AUTC). D'après le rapport du Comité spécial, lorsque cette base sera en pleine activité, elle se composera de trois zones: une zone d'essais d'armes, une zone d'essais acoustiques et une zone d'essais sonores. Elle servira de terrain final d'essais pour

tous les nouveaux systèmes de détection (voir A/6300/Rev.1, chap. XXII, par. 259). Cela montre que les bases militaires des puissances coloniales établies dans de petits territoires coloniaux ne sont pas moins préjudiciables à l'indépendance et à la sécurité des peuples que les bases établies dans de vastes territoires, et l'ONU devrait exercer la plus grande vigilance à cet égard. Il devient sans doute de plus en plus difficile pour les puissances coloniales et impérialistes d'installer des bases militaires dans des Etats souverains. Etant donné que les peuples sont hostiles à leurs visées agressives, ces puissances se voient de plus en plus contraintes à chercher de nouveaux sites pour leurs installations militaires; dès lors, les petits territoires et les îles isolées jouent un rôle important dans leurs plans impérialistes. Le débat sur Gibraltar est un excellent exemple; il montre que l'existence de bases militaires, outre qu'elle est préjudiciable aux intérêts des peuples se trouvant sous la domination coloniale, complique la recherche d'une solution équitable aux problèmes coloniaux. Il n'y a aucun doute que l'évacuation par le Royaume-Uni de sa base militaire de Gibraltar faciliterait considérablement la solution du problème de ce territoire colonial.

30. Le Comité spécial a à maintes reprises demandé aux puissances coloniales de se conformer à la décision de l'Assemblée générale et d'accepter de recevoir des missions de visite dans les petits territoires. En refusant d'accéder à cette demande, le Royaume-Uni, les Etats-Unis et d'autres puissances coloniales ont montré qu'elles n'avaient aucun désir de coopérer avec l'Organisation des Nations Unies pour favoriser les progrès de ces territoires vers l'indépendance.

31. En sa qualité de membre du Comité spécial et du Sous-Comité III, qui s'occupe des territoires situés dans l'Atlantique et dans la région des Caraïbes, la délégation bulgare tient à exprimer son inquiétude devant le fait que ces organismes n'ont pas été en mesure d'examiner en détail la situation d'un certain nombre de territoires situés dans cette région; la question des îles Falkland (Malvinas) n'a pas été étudiée d'une manière approfondie depuis 1964. Il est vrai que des négociations à ce sujet sont en cours entre l'Argentine et le Royaume-Uni, mais M. Karasimeonov estime que le moment est venu de communiquer à l'Organisation des Nations Unies et au Comité spécial des informations détaillées sur ces pourparlers.

32. La délégation bulgare estime que la Commission devrait recommander à l'Assemblée générale d'adopter une résolution dans laquelle seraient exposés les problèmes spéciaux auxquels doivent faire face les petits territoires. L'Assemblée devrait une fois encore adresser un appel urgent aux puissances coloniales afin qu'elles acceptent que des missions de visite se rendent dans les territoires qui se trouvent sous leur administration. Ce serait là la meilleure preuve que ces puissances sont prêtes à coopérer avec l'Organisation des Nations Unies pour donner suite à la résolution 1514 (XV).

33. M. ESFANDIARY (Iran) voudrait parler de la question des petits territoires et des territoires à propos desquels se pose un problème de souveraineté. Il convient de noter que, dans le cas des territoires

qui ont été séparés de la métropole, l'Assemblée générale a toujours recommandé que des négociations aient lieu entre la puissance administrante et la métropole intéressée. Pour ce qui est des îles Falkland (Malvinas) et de Gibraltar, l'Assemblée générale a invité le Royaume-Uni à ouvrir des négociations avec les pays dont les droits souverains se trouvent en jeu, à savoir l'Argentine et l'Espagne. Ce faisant, elle a correctement interprété et appliqué sa résolution 1514 (XV). A ceux qui prétendent que les vœux des peuples en cause devraient jouer un rôle décisif dans le processus de décolonisation, M. Esfandiary fait observer que la négociation est encore le meilleur moyen de protéger les intérêts de ces peuples. Lorsque ces territoires ont été séparés de leurs métropoles par suite du colonialisme, leurs habitants n'ont pas été consultés. Maintenant que la situation se trouve renversée et que la décolonisation est en cours, la justice exige qu'on tienne compte des vœux du pays qui a subi une amputation. C'est pourquoi, dans le cas de Gibraltar et des îles Falkland (Malvinas), il est essentiel de prendre en considération non seulement les vœux du peuple des territoires, mais aussi celles du peuple des pays métropolitains, c'est-à-dire l'Espagne et l'Argentine. On ne peut tenir compte des vœux de la population des Etats indépendants que lors de négociations avec les représentants officiels de ces pays. M. Esfandiary rend hommage au Royaume-Uni pour la bonne volonté dont il a témoigné en ouvrant des négociations tant avec l'Espagne qu'avec l'Argentine, et il exprime l'espoir que des progrès importants seront réalisés pendant l'année à venir, de manière que la décolonisation puisse être menée à bonne fin dans les meilleurs délais.

34. En règle générale, l'indépendance est le seul objectif de la décolonisation, mais étant donné les circonstances particulières dans lesquelles se trouvent les petits territoires (leur situation économique, leur faible population et leurs dimensions réduites), l'indépendance peut ne pas être la solution indiquée, et il est essentiel que la population de ces territoires puisse exprimer librement ses vœux en ce qui concerne son statut futur, en toute connaissance des solutions qui s'offrent à elle, telles que l'intégration, la libre association et la fédération. En pareil cas, la surveillance de l'Organisation des Nations Unies est essentielle, étant donné que ces territoires sont vulnérables aux pressions extérieures. En qualité de membre du Sous-Comité III, la délégation iranienne a toujours estimé que des missions de visite devraient se rendre dans les territoires afin de sonder l'opinion de la population et que la présence de l'Organisation des Nations Unies devrait être assurée au moment où s'exerce le droit d'autodétermination.

35. M. ARAVENA (Chili) dit qu'à sa session précédente l'Assemblée générale, par sa résolution 2105 (XX), a prié le Comité spécial de porter une attention particulière aux petits territoires et de recommander à l'Assemblée générale les moyens les plus appropriés pour permettre aux populations de ces territoires d'exercer pleinement leur droit à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance. Si l'on peut constater certains progrès dans nombre de ces territoires, il en est d'autres où il n'y a eu que peu ou pas de changement. Dans l'île Maurice, aux Seychelles et

à Sainte-Hélène les progrès sont lents. De plus, la création du territoire britannique de l'océan Indien est contraire à l'esprit de la résolution 2066 (XX) de l'Assemblée générale. La délégation chilienne ne peut que déplorer cette création, comme le fait qu'au milieu du XXème siècle la population des Seychelles se voit toujours refuser le droit au suffrage universel.

36. La délégation chilienne note les grands progrès réalisés dans les territoires du Pacifique administrés par le Royaume-Uni. Les changements constitutionnels ont été nombreux et profiteront sans aucun doute à la population autochtone; en revanche, le progrès économique est resté lent.

37. Nioué et les îles Tokélaou, sous administration néo-zélandaise, sont de petits territoires isolés aux ressources naturelles limitées. On ne peut nier que la Puissance administrante ait grandement contribué au progrès de ces îles et le représentant du Chili note que, d'après la déclaration du représentant de la Nouvelle-Zélande, le gouvernement de ce pays est prêt à accepter qu'une mission se rende dans le territoire, pour autant que la visite soit étendue à d'autres parties de la région. La délégation chilienne espère qu'une mission des Nations Unies sera bientôt envoyée dans cette partie du monde pour examiner la situation des autochtones.

38. Si le progrès économique des territoires administrés par les Etats-Unis a été remarquable, leur évolution politique reste lente. Il faut accélérer le développement politique de ces territoires de sorte que les populations des Samoa américaines, de Guam et du Territoire sous tutelle des îles du Pacifique puissent jouir de leurs droits inaliénables.

39. Il y a encore un grand nombre de colonies sur le continent américain, et les peuples d'Amérique latine et des Antilles n'auront de cesse que ces territoires ne soient libérés de la domination étrangère. Le représentant du Chili réaffirme l'opinion de sa délégation, à savoir que les îles Falkland (Malvinas) doivent être décolonisées. Il a plaisir à constater que l'Argentine et le Royaume-Uni ont engagé des négociations, à la suite de l'invitation contenue dans la résolution 2065 (XX) de l'Assemblée générale, en vue de trouver une solution pacifique à ce problème. Une fois de plus, le Chili exprime sa solidarité avec la population argentine dans son juste combat pour recouvrer ses droits légitimes sur les îles Falkland (Malvinas).

40. Les dispositions de la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale n'ont pas été appliquées dans certaines îles des Antilles qui sont encore sous domination étrangère et dont la population doit être autorisée à exercer son droit à la libre détermination et à l'indépendance. L'ONU est à même de prendre des mesures propres à assurer que l'on donnera à ces populations l'occasion de décider librement de leur statut futur.

41. Dans certains territoires, tels que les îles Vierges britanniques, on constate un progrès constitutionnel remarquable. On ne dispose pas de renseignements suffisants en ce qui concerne d'autres îles comme les Bermudes, les Bahamas, Antigua, la Dominique et la Grenade; c'est une des raisons pour

lesquelles la délégation chilienne pense qu'il serait utile d'envoyer une mission dans les Antilles.

42. La délégation chilienne est heureuse d'enregistrer un certain progrès constitutionnel dans les îles Vierges américaines; la Puissance administrante n'a toutefois pas encore appliqué la résolution 1514 (XV). M. Aravena pense qu'il faudrait qu'une mission se trouve dans le territoire au moment où la population exercera son droit à la libre détermination.

43. Enfin, la délégation chilienne tient à parler du problème de Gibraltar, territoire espagnol qui doit faire retour à ses propriétaires légitimes. Malheureusement, ce n'est pas à la Quatrième Commission d'examiner la situation de fait qui règne dans le territoire, ni de discuter des incidents de frontière qui s'y sont produits. L'ONU doit prier instamment les parties intéressées de faire tous leurs efforts pour parvenir à un accord permettant à la Puissance administrante d'accélérer le processus de décolonisation et de transférer les pouvoirs au Gouvernement espagnol, conformément à la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale et aux intérêts de la population du territoire. Bien que les entretiens entre l'Espagne et le Royaume-Uni aient jusqu'à ce jour été ardues, la délégation chilienne espère qu'avec de la bonne volonté des deux côtés on pourra éviter un conflit et décoloniser le territoire. La délégation chilienne invite les deux parties à résoudre ce problème aussi rapidement que possible. En particulier, elle demande à la Puissance administrante de procéder au transfert des pouvoirs en tenant compte de l'intérêt de la population du territoire et conformément aux résolutions des Nations Unies, puis de faire rapport au Comité spécial dès que possible, mais au plus tard à la vingt-deuxième session de l'Assemblée générale.

44. M. EL MASRY (République arabe unie) dit que, comme tout autre peuple, celui des petits territoires a le droit à la libre détermination et à l'indépendance. Ni la Charte des Nations Unies ni la résolution 1514 (XV) ne font de distinction entre les peuples des petits territoires et ceux des grands territoires; en fait, l'ONU a une responsabilité toute spéciale à l'égard des premiers et doit faire tout ce qui est possible pour les aider à obtenir la liberté et l'indépendance. La délégation de la République arabe unie conteste que certains territoires ne puissent parvenir à l'indépendance à cause de leur situation économique ou de leur isolement géographique; ces problèmes ne doivent pas servir de prétexte pour retarder leur indépendance. L'ONU et les institutions spécialisées ont un rôle important à jouer dans l'évolution économique de ces territoires.

45. Il est fort regrettable que certaines puissances administrantes maintiennent ou installent de nouvelles bases militaires, principalement à des fins d'agression. Ces bases devraient être démantelées immédiatement.

46. La délégation de la République arabe unie a également le regret de noter qu'il y a parmi les puissances administrantes une tendance à annexer de petits territoires au moyen d'élections qui n'en ont que le nom. L'ONU doit prendre toutes les mesures possibles pour assurer que les populations de ces territoires puissent s'exprimer librement et en pleine connaissance de leurs droits sur le statut futur qu'elles

souhaitent avoir. L'ONU doit être présente dans les territoires pendant l'exercice du droit de libre détermination et doit pouvoir y envoyer des missions.

47. On ne constate pas de progrès importants dans l'application de la résolution 1514 (XV). Dans le cas de Gibraltar, le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni bloque les négociations avec l'Espagne afin de retarder la décolonisation et de maintenir sa base militaire, qu'il a souvent utilisée pour des agressions contre des Etats souverains. Il faut prier le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni de démanteler sa base militaire, conformément au paragraphe 12 du dispositif de la résolution 2105 (XX) et à la résolution 2189 (XXI), et de ne pas faire obstacle aux négociations. Il s'agit d'un problème colonial, non juridique; les intéressés sont les autochtones, non pas les fonctionnaires et employés britanniques.

48. La question des îles Falkland (Malvinas) est également une question coloniale et c'est comme telle que l'ONU doit continuer à s'en occuper. Le représentant de la République arabe unie espère que les Gouvernements du Royaume-Uni et de l'Argentine vont poursuivre les négociations et faire rapport à l'Assemblée générale.

49. En ce qui concerne l'île Maurice, les Seychelles et Sainte-Hélène, la Commission doit recommander à l'Assemblée générale une résolution s'inspirant de la résolution 1514 (XV) pour dire que les populations de ces territoires ont un droit inaliénable à la libre détermination et à l'indépendance, qu'il faut prendre des mesures immédiates pour transférer sans condition tous les pouvoirs à la population, conformément à leur vœu librement exprimé, et que les bases militaires étrangères doivent être démantelées. M. El Masry déplore que la Puissance administrante cherche à violer l'intégrité territoriale de l'île Maurice et des Seychelles en créant le territoire britannique de l'océan Indien, qu'elle a l'intention d'utiliser à ses fins militaires propres et à celles des Etats-Unis. Selon le rapport du Comité spécial (voir A/6300/Rev.1, chap. XIV, par. 46 et 47), trois ministres ont démissionné du Gouvernement de l'île Maurice pour protester contre le plan du Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni et le mécontentement grandit parmi les habitants. La Puissance administrante doit être avertie qu'il lui faut abandonner ses desseins militaires et se conformer à la Charte et aux résolutions des Nations Unies.

50. M. LAALA (Algérie) dit qu'à la session précédente (1556ème séance), sa délégation s'était félicitée de constater que les Gouvernements du Royaume-Uni et de l'Argentine étaient disposés à entreprendre des négociations sur la question des îles Falkland (Malvinas) afin de trouver, en conformité avec la résolution 1514 (XV), une solution juste et définitive. Toutefois, les espoirs de sa délégation ont été déçus. Malgré l'appel adressé par l'Assemblée générale dans sa résolution 2065 (XX), la situation demeure inchangée. Un dialogue s'est bien établi entre les Gouvernements du Royaume-Uni et de l'Argentine sans toutefois aboutir à un règlement définitif. M. Laala espère que les deux gouvernements poursuivront leurs négociations et en feront connaître les résultats. Le représentant de l'Argentine a promis de le faire et il espère que le représentant du

Royaume-Uni en fera autant. Quant à la question de Gibraltar, la délégation algérienne est à la fois surprise et déçue par la lenteur des négociations, qui n'ont jusqu'ici abouti à aucun résultat concret, et par les atermoiements répétés du Royaume-Uni pour maintenir Gibraltar sous sa domination. Le retour du territoire à la mère patrie, en l'occurrence l'Espagne, est la seule solution. La Puissance administrante essaie de défendre ce qu'elle appelle ses droits sur Gibraltar, tout en agrandissant sa base militaire et en renforçant son emprise sur le territoire. Elle s'est servie de Gibraltar pour organiser une rencontre entre le Premier Ministre du Royaume-Uni et Ian Smith. La délégation algérienne ne saurait accepter la nouvelle thèse du Royaume-Uni tendant à soumettre la question de Gibraltar à la Cour internationale de Justice. Il s'agit d'un problème colonial qui doit être réglé par l'application de la résolution 1514 (XV). A cet égard Gibraltar constitue un cas particulier en ce sens que la question posée est celle de son retour à la mère patrie afin de rétablir son intégrité territoriale; la situation est comparable à celle d'Ifni, dont la population autochtone doit voir ses vœux exaucés.

51. M. MENDELEVITCH (Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques), répondant à la représentante des Etats-Unis, qui avait exprimé son désaccord sur certains points de la déclaration qu'il avait faite au sujet de Guam à la 1671ème séance de la Commission, fait remarquer qu'elle n'a pas apporté la preuve que le peuple de Guam ne s'oppose pas à l'existence d'une base militaire américaine sur son territoire ni à son utilisation contre le peuple du Viet-Nam. La déclaration qu'elle a faite à ce sujet est basée sur sa visite à Guam l'année précédente mais en tant que représentant de la Puissance administrante elle n'aurait pu être aussi objective qu'un représentant de l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Les puissances coloniales qui ont intérêt à conserver leurs colonies ne voient naturellement pas les choses sous le même jour que les autres Etats. En outre, la représentante des Etats-Unis a visité Guam à une époque où les bombardiers B-52 qui s'y trouvaient n'avaient pas encore été utilisés contre le Viet-Nam, comme c'est le cas maintenant, et elle ne peut avoir aucune idée de l'attitude du peuple de Guam à l'égard des opérations militaires dans lesquelles il a été entraîné.

52. La représentante des Etats-Unis l'a également pris à partie pour avoir suggéré que la base de Guam constituait l'aspect le plus important de la question. M. Mendelevitch pense qu'il était inutile qu'elle fasse état de sa déclaration à ce propos, étant donné que non seulement l'Union soviétique mais la grande majorité des Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies ont exigé, par la résolution 2105 (XX) et par la résolution 2189 (XXI), que les bases militaires existant dans les territoires coloniaux soient démantelées. C'est l'ONU qui estime que la suppression des bases militaires est l'un des éléments les plus importants de la décolonisation.

53. La représentante des Etats-Unis a parlé de l'intérêt que son pays porte au peuple de Guam, mais s'il désirait réellement en faire la preuve, il devrait démanteler la base militaire qui constitue une menace directe contre la sécurité du peuple de Guam.

54. M. Mendelevitch attire alors l'attention sur le paragraphe 14 de l'Organic Act de 1960 qui stipule que chaque membre de la législature de Guam et tous les membres du Gouvernement de Guam doivent s'engager à respecter la Constitution des Etats-Unis, les lois de ce pays applicables à Guam et les lois de Guam. Il est révélateur que les lois de Guam soient mentionnées en dernier lieu. Quand la représentante des Etats-Unis parle de l'intérêt que la Puissance coloniale porte au peuple de Guam, on en est amené à se rappeler la récente manœuvre d'une autre puissance coloniale, l'Espagne, dont le représentant avait assuré la Commission que son pays préparait la décolonisation de ses colonies et était prêt à coopérer avec l'Organisation des Nations Unies, ce qui ne l'a pas empêché ensuite de voter contre la résolution touchant Ifni et le Sahara espagnol, que la Commission a adoptée à la séance précédente. Cela donne une idée de l'intérêt que les puissances coloniales portent à l'Organisation des Nations Unies. La délégation soviétique partage les vues exprimées par le représentant du Chili. La résolution 1514 (XV) doit être pleinement appliquée dans toutes les colonies. Il est urgent qu'une mission de visite se rende à Guam pour faire le point de la situation dans ce territoire, surtout après la déclaration qui vient d'être faite par la représentante des Etats-Unis.

55. Mme ANDERSON (Etats-Unis d'Amérique), exerçant son droit de réponse, signale que ce n'est qu'incidemment qu'elle a mentionné dans sa déclaration la visite qu'elle avait faite à Guam l'année précédente. Elle a voulu signaler que depuis que la base existe, des membres régulièrement élus de la législature se sont exprimés en sa faveur car elle constitue à leur avis un élément important de la défense de leur pays contre l'agression. La presse locale, qui est entièrement libre, a également donné son appui à ces bases. Les Etats-Unis continueront à remplir leurs obligations pour la défense de la liberté du peuple de Guam et de la région du Pacifique.

56. Le représentant de l'Union soviétique a également fait état du serment prêté par les fonctionnaires de Guam. Mme Anderson signale que les fonctionnaires de Guam sont des citoyens américains, fait dont ils sont fiers, et qu'il est donc parfaitement normal et naturel qu'ils s'engagent à respecter la Constitution et les lois des Etats-Unis. Les fonctionnaires sont élus suivant le principe "un homme, une voix" et la liberté politique absolue règne dans ce territoire.

57. M. DE PINIES (Espagne), répondant à la remarque du représentant de l'Union soviétique concernant le vote négatif de la délégation espagnole sur la résolution touchant Ifni et le Sahara espagnol, adoptée à la séance précédente, rappelle qu'il y a un certain nombre d'années, on avait discuté la question de savoir si l'Espagne fournirait ou non des renseignements sur les territoires administrés par elle, en tant que première étape vers la décolonisation. On discute à l'heure actuelle de la manière dont la décolonisation devrait s'effectuer mais, l'Espagne étant en désaccord avec la méthode suggérée, c'est pour cette raison, et pour cette raison uniquement, que la délégation espagnole a voté contre la résolution en question. L'Espagne a très certainement l'intention de décoloniser les territoires sous son administration.

58. M. MENDELEVITCH (Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques) dit que la dernière déclaration de la représentante des Etats-Unis n'a fait que confirmer l'opinion de la délégation soviétique. Les membres de la législature de Guam s'engagent à respecter les lois des Etats-Unis; comme l'installation de la base de Guam a pour fondement les lois

des Etats-Unis, ils sont obligés de parler en sa faveur. Pour que ce cercle vicieux soit rompu, il faut qu'une mission des Nations Unies se rende à Guam et prenne connaissance de la situation véritable.

La séance est levée à 13 h 15.

Nations Unies
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VINGT ET UNIÈME SESSION

Documents officiels



QUATRIÈME COMMISSION, 1679^e

SÉANCE

(Séance de clôture)

Samedi 17 décembre 1966,
à 15 h 20

NEW YORK

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EXAMEN DE PROJETS DE RESOLUTION (suite)
[A/C.4/L.863 ET ADD.1, A/C.4/L.866]

5. M. GHAREKHAN (Inde) présente, au nom de ses auteurs, le projet de résolution A/C.4/L.866, qui concerne tous les territoires n'ayant pas fait l'objet d'une résolution distincte. La délégation de l'Inde et la majorité des auteurs du projet de résolution déplorent que ces territoires ne soient étudiés qu'au moment où la Commission est sur le point d'achever ses travaux. Les auteurs estiment donc qu'à la session suivante il faudra assigner à l'étude de ces territoires un rang assez élevé dans l'ordre de priorité.

6. Le projet de résolution se passe de commentaires étant donné que ses dispositions apparaissent déjà dans d'autres résolutions adoptées par l'Assemblée générale sur la même question. D'autre part, il est équilibré et rédigé en termes modérés. Les trois premiers alinéas du préambule ne concernent pas le fond de la question. Le quatrième alinéa a pour but de mettre l'accent sur les informations aussi inquiétantes que précieuses qui figurent dans le rapport du Comité spécial (A/6300/Rev.1), selon lequel des tentatives sont faites actuellement pour porter atteinte à l'intégrité territoriale de certains des territoires considérés et pour y établir des bases militaires. Au cinquième alinéa, les auteurs déplorent l'attitude négative de certaines puissances administrantes en ce qui concerne l'envoi de missions de visite des Nations Unies. La même formule est répétée dans les projets de résolution chaque année et elle le sera tant que les puissances administrantes ne changeront pas d'attitude. On constate déjà un changement, qui est dû sans aucun doute aux efforts de la Commission, et on sait

en particulier que l'envoi d'une mission à Aden, de même qu'à Ifni et au Sahara espagnol, a déjà été décidé avec la coopération des puissances administrantes intéressées. Enfin, aux sixième et septième alinéas du préambule, les auteurs insistent sur le fait qu'ils n'ignorent pas la situation particulière des territoires considérés, qui ont une faible superficie et dont l'économie n'est pas viable.

7. Au dispositif, c'est le paragraphe 2 qui revêt la plus grande importance, car on y réaffirme le droit des peuples à la libre détermination et à l'indépendance. Au paragraphe 3, il est de nouveau demandé aux puissances administrantes d'appliquer les résolutions pertinentes de l'Assemblée générale, demande qui a déjà été adressée à ces puissances lors de la session antérieure mais qui n'a pas été suivie des effets voulus. Des auteurs estiment que ce paragraphe ne contient rien qui puisse empêcher quiconque, y compris les puissances administrantes, d'en appuyer les termes, et ils espèrent que la situation se sera améliorée l'année suivante. Au paragraphe 4, les auteurs rappellent la déclaration de l'Assemblée selon laquelle toute atteinte à l'intégrité territoriale des territoires coloniaux, ainsi que l'établissement de bases militaires dans ces territoires, sont incompatibles avec la Charte des Nations Unies. Cette déclaration est importante si l'on tient compte de ce que dit à cet égard le Comité spécial dans son rapport. La question de l'île Maurice est un cas d'espèce: au mépris des décisions de l'Assemblée générale, on a créé, avec certaines îles de ce groupe, un autre territoire sur lequel on installera une base militaire. Le paragraphe 5 concerne les missions de visite, question dont le représentant de l'Inde a déjà parlé, tandis que les termes du paragraphe 6 se fondent sur la conviction que depuis la création des Nations Unies la reconnaissance du droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes s'affirme chaque jour davantage. Enfin, les paragraphes 7 et 8 concernent uniquement la procédure.

8. Le représentant de l'Inde recommande avec la plus grande insistance à la Commission le projet de résolution qu'il a présenté.

9. M. CALINGASAN (Philippines), qui voudrait fournir une explication de vote avant que le vote de la Commission n'ait lieu, déclare que sa délégation fait sien l'intention principale de ce projet de résolution (A/C.4/L.866), qui est d'obtenir la libre détermination et l'indépendance pour les 25 territoires intéressés, mais qu'elle fait des réserves au sujet de la question des bases militaires. La position des Philippines sur cette question, position qui a été exposée en détail à la 1492ème séance plénière de l'Assemblée générale, est que l'existence des bases militaires dans un territoire non autonome ne doit être condamnée que lorsqu'il existe des preuves irréfutables de l'utilisation de ces bases pour étouffer les volontés légitimes des habitants du territoire intéressé, mais que lorsqu'il n'existe aucune preuve de ce genre, il n'y a pas lieu d'évoquer cette question. C'est dans la logique de cette position que la délégation des Philippines a voté au cours de la même session pour la suppression de la base établie en Oman, de même qu'elle avait voté précédemment pour la suppression des bases situées à Aden, au Sud-Ouest

africain et dans les territoires administrés par le Portugal. En revanche, le projet de résolution qui va être mis aux voix concerne 25 territoires bien définis pour lesquels rien ne prouve que les bases pouvant s'y trouver soient utilisées contre les populations intéressées. Le représentant des Philippines demande donc que le quatrième alinéa du préambule et le quatrième paragraphe du dispositif du projet de résolution soient mis aux voix séparément.

10. M. Calingasan fait également des réserves sur les paragraphes 1 et 3 du dispositif du projet de résolution A/C.4/L.866 en déclarant qu'il en approuve les termes dans la mesure où ils ne concernent pas la question des bases militaires. Quoi qu'il en soit, la délégation des Philippines votera pour le projet de résolution dans son ensemble, car elle est un ferme partisan du droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes et de l'indépendance.

11. M. McCARTHY (Australie) déclare que, n'ayant pas reçu d'instructions de son gouvernement au sujet du projet de résolution, il s'abstiendra sur ce texte.

12. Le PRESIDENT invite la Commission à se prononcer sur le projet de résolution A/C.4/L.866, concernant les territoires n'ayant pas été examinés séparément.

13. M. CALINGASAN (Philippines) précise que ses réserves portent sur les mots "et à l'établissement, par les puissances administrantes, de bases et d'installations militaires en violation des résolutions pertinentes de l'Assemblée générale", qui figurent au quatrième alinéa du préambule, et il demande qu'un vote distinct ait lieu sur cette partie du texte.

14. Le PRESIDENT met aux voix le membre de phrase du quatrième alinéa du préambule du projet de résolution A/C.4/L.866, cité par le représentant des Philippines.

Sur la demande du représentant des Philippines, il est procédé au vote par appel nominal.

Le vote commence par le Cambodge, dont le nom a été tiré au sort par le Président.

Votent pour: Cameroun, Ceylan, Chili, République démocratique du Congo, Cuba, Chypre, Tchécoslovaquie, Ethiopie, Ghana, Guinée, Hongrie, Inde, Indonésie, Irak, Jamaïque, Jordanie, Koweït, Libéria, Libye, Mali, Mauritanie, Mongolie, Maroc, Niger, Nigéria, Pakistan, Pologne, Roumanie, Arabie Saoudite, Sénégal, Sierra Leone, Espagne, Soudan, Syrie, Togo, Trinité et Tobago, Tunisie, République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine, Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques, République arabe unie, République-Unie de Tanzanie, Yémen, Yougoslavie, Zambie, Algérie, Bulgarie, Birmanie, République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie.

Votent contre: Canada, France, Grèce, Pays-Bas, Nouvelle-Zélande, Philippines, Portugal, Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord, Etats-Unis d'Amérique, Australie, Belgique.

S'abstiennent: Chine, Colombie, Danemark, Finlande, Guatemala, Iran, Irlande, Israël, Italie, Japon, Madagascar, Malaisie, Iles Maldives, Mexique, Norvège, Suède, Thaïlande, Turquie, Uruguay, Venezuela, Argentine, Autriche, Brésil.

Par 48 voix contre 11, avec 23 abstentions, le membre de phrase est adopté.

15. Le PRESIDENT demande au représentant des Philippines si, vu les résultats du vote qui vient d'avoir lieu, il souhaite encore un vote distinct sur le paragraphe 4 du dispositif, où figure un membre de phrase similaire à celui qu'il a cité précédemment.

16. M. CALINGASAN (Philippines) déclare qu'il ne demande pas un vote distinct sur ce paragraphe, mais qu'il désire que la nette opposition de sa délégation à l'égard de cette partie du texte soit consignée dans le compte rendu de la séance.

17. Le PRESIDENT met aux voix le projet de résolution A/C.4/L.866 dans son ensemble.

Sur la demande du représentant des Philippines, il est procédé au vote par appel nominal.

Le vote commence par Singapour, dont le nom a été tiré au sort par le Président.

Votent pour: Espagne, Soudan, Syrie, Togo, Trinité et Tobago, Tunisie, République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine, Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques, République arabe unie, République-Unie de Tanzanie, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yémen, Yougoslavie, Zambie, Algérie, Argentine, Brésil, Bulgarie, Birmanie, République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie, Cameroun, Ceylan, Chili, Chine, Colombie, République démocratique du Congo, Cuba, Chypre, Tchécoslovaquie, Equateur, Ethiopie, Ghana, Guatemala, Guinée, Hongrie, Inde, Indonésie, Iran, Irak, Irlande, Israël, Jamaïque, Jordanie, Koweït, Libéria, Libye, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritanie, Mexique, Mongolie, Maroc, Niger, Nigéria, Pakistan, Philippines, Pologne, Roumanie, Arabie Saoudite, Sénégal, Sierra Leone.

Votent contre: néant.

S'abstiennent: Suède, Thaïlande, Turquie, Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord, Etats-Unis d'Amérique, Australie, Autriche, Belgique, Canada, Danemark, Finlande, France, Grèce, Italie, Japon, Malaisie, Iles Maldives, Pays-Bas, Nouvelle-Zélande, Norvège, Portugal.

Par 62 voix contre zéro, avec 21 abstentions, le projet de résolution A/C.4/L.866 dans son ensemble est adopté.

18. M. BARDER (Royaume-Uni) dit que certains passages de la résolution sont inacceptables mais qu'il s'est abstenu en raison du manque de temps pour étudier le projet et de l'absence d'instructions à son sujet.

19. M. SOYLEMEZ (Turquie) explique que ses réserves concernant le dispositif l'ont poussé à s'abstenir.

20. M. ESFANDIARY (Iran) déclare qu'il appuie la résolution dans son ensemble, y compris le paragraphe 4 du dispositif au sujet duquel il s'est abstenu. Ce paragraphe contient une mention de bases militaires étrangères conforme à la politique et à la pratique du Gouvernement iranien, qui a interdit très clairement et catégoriquement l'installation de toute base militaire étrangère sur son territoire. L'unique réserve qu'il a formulée au sujet de la mention de

bases militaires dans la résolution est due à ce qu'il s'agit là d'une question de sécurité qui ne relève pas de la compétence de la Quatrième Commission.

21. M. CAMPORA (Argentine) s'associe aux préoccupations qu'ont exprimées d'autres délégations au sujet du fait que la question des territoires, n'ayant pas été examinée séparément, ait été réservée pour la dernière partie des travaux de la Commission parce que l'on a manqué de temps pour en discuter comme il se doit. Il estime qu'il conviendra d'accorder à la question un rang de priorité plus élevé lorsqu'on la réexaminera.

2288 (XXII). Activités des intérêts étrangers, économiques et autres, qui font obstacle à l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux en Rhodésie du Sud, au Sud-Ouest africain et dans les territoires sous domination portugaise, ainsi que dans tous les autres territoires se trouvant sous domination coloniale, et aux efforts tendant à éliminer le colonialisme, l'apartheid et la discrimination raciale dans le sud de l'Afrique

L'Assemblée générale,

Ayant examiné le point de l'ordre du jour intitulé "Activités des intérêts étrangers, économiques et autres, qui font obstacle à l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux en Rhodésie du Sud, au Sud-Ouest africain et dans les territoires sous domination portugaise, ainsi que dans tous les autres territoires se trouvant sous domination coloniale, et aux efforts tendant à éliminer le colonialisme, l'apartheid et la discrimination raciale dans le sud de l'Afrique",

*Ayant examiné le rapport du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux relatif aux activités des intérêts étrangers, économiques et autres, qui font obstacle à l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux en Rhodésie du Sud, au Sud-Ouest africain et dans les territoires sous domination portugaise, ainsi que dans tous les autres territoires se trouvant sous domination coloniale*⁴,

⁴*Ibid.*, point 24 de l'ordre du jour, documents A/6868 et Add.1.

Ayant entendu la déclaration du pétitionnaire ⁵,

Rappelant sa résolution 1514 (XV) du 14 décembre 1960, et en particulier le huitième considérant de ladite résolution,

Rappelant également ses résolutions 2105 (XX) du 20 décembre 1965 et 2189 (XXI) du 13 décembre 1966, ainsi que toutes autres résolutions pertinentes,

Considérant que les puissances coloniales se sont engagées à assurer le progrès politique, économique, social et culturel des habitants des territoires qu'elles administrent et à protéger les populations et les ressources naturelles de ces territoires contre les abus, conformément aux Chapitres XI et XII de la Charte des Nations Unies,

Convaincue que toutes activités économiques ou autres qui font obstacle à l'application de la résolution 1514 (XV) sont incompatibles avec les buts et principes de la Charte,

1. *Approuve* en général le rapport du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux relatif aux activités des intérêts étrangers, économiques et autres, qui font obstacle à l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux en Rhodésie du Sud, au Sud-Ouest africain et dans les territoires sous domination portugaise, ainsi que dans tous les autres territoires se trouvant sous domination coloniale;

2. *Réaffirme* le droit inaliénable des peuples coloniaux à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance et à la possession des ressources naturelles de leurs territoires, ainsi que leur droit à disposer de ces ressources au mieux de leurs intérêts;

3. *Déclare* que les puissances coloniales qui privent les peuples coloniaux de l'exercice et de la pleine jouissance de ces droits ou font passer les intérêts économiques ou financiers de leurs ressortissants ou des ressortissants d'autres pays avant ceux des autochtones violent les obligations qui leur incombent en vertu des Chapitres XI et XII de la Charte des Nations Unies et font obstacle à l'application intégrale et rapide de la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale;

4. *Condamne énergiquement* l'exploitation des pays et des peuples coloniaux ainsi que les méthodes pratiquées dans les territoires sous domination coloniale par les intérêts étrangers, financiers, économiques et autres, qui visent à perpétuer les régimes coloniaux contrairement aux principes énoncés dans la résolution 1514 (XV);

5. *Déplore* la politique des puissances coloniales qui permet l'exploitation des ressources naturelles des territoires sous leur administration au détriment des intérêts de la population autochtone et qui encourage ou tolère les régimes de travail et autres pratiques injustes et discriminatoires;

6. *Prie* tous les Etats intéressés de s'acquitter de l'obligation fondamentale qu'ils ont de veiller à ce que les concessions qui sont octroyées à leurs nationaux ainsi que les exploitations qui leur sont consenties et les investissements qu'ils sont autorisés à faire dans les territoires sous domination coloniale n'aillent pas à l'encontre des intérêts présents ou futurs des habitants autochtones desdits territoires;

7. *Prie en outre* les puissances coloniales d'interdire les pratiques ci-après qui vont à l'encontre des principes

de la Charte et, en violant les droits économiques et sociaux des peuples des territoires sous domination coloniale, font obstacle à la mise en œuvre rapide de la résolution 1514 (XV), pratiques consistant à:

a) Exploiter la main-d'œuvre et les ressources naturelles au détriment des intérêts des habitants autochtones;

b) Entraver l'accès des habitants autochtones à ces ressources;

c) Tolérer et encourager l'injustice et la discrimination dans la rémunération de la main-d'œuvre et dans l'établissement des conditions de travail;

8. *Exhorte* les puissances coloniales à reconsidérer, en tenant compte des dispositions de la présente résolution, tous les privilèges et toutes les concessions qui sont contraires aux intérêts des habitants autochtones;

9. *Prie* le Conseil des Nations Unies pour le Sud-Ouest africain de prendre d'urgence les mesures propres à mettre fin, dans le Territoire du Sud-Ouest africain, aux lois et aux pratiques établies par le Gouvernement sud-africain qui sont contraires aux buts et principes de la Charte;

10. *Invite* les puissances coloniales à cesser immédiatement de déposséder la population autochtone de ses terres et à prendre des mesures immédiates pour lui restituer toutes les terres dont elle a été expropriée;

11. *Engage* tous les Etats intéressés à coopérer pleinement avec l'Organisation des Nations Unies en vue de l'application rapide et effective de la résolution 1514 (XV), afin de garantir aux peuples l'exercice de leur droit à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance, ainsi que la jouissance des ressources naturelles de leurs propres territoires;

12. *Prie* le Comité spécial de poursuivre l'étude du problème et de faire rapport à ce sujet à l'Assemblée générale lors de sa vingt-troisième session;

13. *Décide* de maintenir cette question à son ordre du jour.

1622^e séance plénière,
7 décembre 1967.

⁵ A/C.4/700.

Nations Unies
**ASSEMBLÉE
GÉNÉRALE**

VINGT-DEUXIÈME SESSION

Documents officiels



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1622^e
SÉANCE PLÉNIÈRE

Jeudi 7 décembre 1967,
à 15 heures

NEW YORK

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Point 24 de l'ordre du jour:

Activités des intérêts étrangers, économiques et autres, qui font obstacle à l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux en Rhodésie du Sud, au Sud-Ouest africain et dans les territoires sous domination portugaise, ainsi que dans tous les autres territoires se trouvant sous domination coloniale, et aux efforts tendant à éliminer le colonialisme, l'apartheid et la discrimination raciale dans le sud de l'Afrique

Rapport de la Quatrième Commission 1

Président: M. Corneliu MANESCU (Roumanie).

POINT 24 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

Activités des intérêts étrangers, économiques et autres, qui font obstacle à l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux en Rhodésie du Sud, au Sud-Ouest africain et dans les territoires sous domination portugaise, ainsi que dans tous les autres territoires se trouvant sous domination coloniale, et aux efforts tendant à éliminer le colonialisme, l'apartheid et la discrimination raciale dans le sud de l'Afrique:

RAPPORT DE LA QUATRIÈME COMMISSION (A/6939)

M. Dashtseren (Mongolie), rapporteur de la Quatrième Commission, présente le rapport de cette commission et déclare ce qui suit.

1. M. DASHTSEREN (Mongolie) [Rapporteur de la Quatrième Commission] (traduit de l'anglais): La Commission s'est saisie de la question pour la première fois en tant que problème particulier au titre du point 24 de l'ordre du jour. La plupart des délégations qui ont participé aux discussions ont réaffirmé le droit inaliénable des peuples des territoires coloniaux à l'autodétermination, à l'indépendance et aux ressources naturelles de leur territoire, ainsi que leur droit de disposer de ces ressources au mieux de leurs intérêts.

2. De nombreux membres ont condamné l'exploitation des territoires et des peuples coloniaux par des monopoles étrangers, notamment en Rhodésie du Sud, au Sud-Ouest africain et dans les territoires sous domination portugaise, parce que cette exploitation épuise les ressources humaines et naturelles de ces territoires et fait obstacle à l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. A ce sujet, ils ont adressé un appel aux

Etats dont les ressortissants ou les entreprises ont des intérêts économiques, financiers ou autres dans les territoires coloniaux pour qu'ils prennent des mesures en vue de mettre fin aux activités de ces intérêts.

3. Un grand nombre de délégations ont condamné également la politique des puissances coloniales, qui crée des conditions favorables à l'exploitation des ressources naturelles des territoires sous leur domination au détriment des intérêts des populations autochtones, qui dépossède de leurs terres les habitants autochtones et qui encourage un régime de travail discriminatoire. Elles ont invité ces Etats à mettre fin à ces pratiques injustes, qui vont à l'encontre des principes de la Charte des Nations Unies. Elles ont fait remarquer que les puissances coloniales, en agissant ainsi, violaient les obligations qui leur incombent au titre des Chapitres XI et XII de la Charte. En raison de ces considérations, tous les Etats intéressés, en particulier les puissances coloniales, ont été exhortés à reconsidérer tous les privilèges et toutes les concessions accordées pour l'exploitation des territoires sous domination coloniale.

4. En outre, le Comité des vingt-quatre puissances a été prié de poursuivre son étude du problème et de faire rapport à ce sujet à l'Assemblée générale à sa vingt-troisième session.

5. Ces considérations figurent dans le projet de résolution qui fait l'objet du paragraphe 11 du rapport [A/6939] que la Commission recommande à l'Assemblée générale d'adopter. Ce projet de résolution, présenté par 60 puissances, a été adopté par la Quatrième Commission, à l'issue d'un vote par appel nominal, par 86 voix contre 2, avec 17 abstentions. J'espère que le projet de résolution que nous vous présentons recevra un large appui de l'Assemblée générale.

Conformément à l'article 68 du règlement intérieur, il est décidé de ne pas discuter le rapport de la Quatrième Commission.

6. Le PRÉSIDENT: En vertu de la décision que l'Assemblée vient de prendre, les interventions seront limitées à des explications de vote.

7. M. MBEKEANI (Malawi) [traduit de l'anglais]: Pour expliquer son vote sur le projet de résolution qui figure dans le rapport de la Quatrième Commission [A/6939, par. 11] sur les activités des intérêts étrangers, économiques et autres, qui font obstacle à l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux en Rhodésie du Sud, au Sud-Ouest africain et dans les territoires se trouvant sous domination portugaise, et aux efforts tendant à éliminer le colonialisme, l'apartheid et la discrimination raciale dans le sud de l'Afrique, ma délégation tient à souligner qu'elle est fermement opposée au colonialisme et qu'elle désapprouve la poli-

tique d'apartheid et de discrimination raciale sous quelque forme qu'elle se manifeste. Mon gouvernement et ma délégation ont déclaré en termes non équivoques, à maintes reprises, que mon pays ne tolère pas et ne tolérera jamais cette politique. Nous déplorons profondément qu'elle continue à être pratiquée, où que ce soit. Nous avons déjà affirmé cette position dans le passé et nous la maintenons.

8. Pourtant, ma délégation ne croit pas que le problème de l'apartheid puisse être résolu par des insultes ou par le vote, par l'Organisation des Nations Unies, de résolutions rédigées en termes énergiques; il ne peut pas l'être non plus par l'emploi de la force armée contre ceux qui pratiquent cette politique. On nous a dit ici à maintes reprises que les temps étaient révolus où on pouvait résoudre les problèmes coloniaux par l'envoi de canonnières. Ma délégation est convaincue que, si nous voulons commencer — au moins commencer — à chercher à résoudre ce problème, il faut penser sérieusement à entamer un dialogue avec ces gens-là. Discutons. Ma délégation croit que si on pouvait commencer, on pourrait arriver à un résultat.

9. Ma délégation s'intéresse vivement à la question dont nous sommes saisis et elle a examiné avec attention le rapport du Comité des vingt-quatre puissances [A/6868] et le rapport du Sous-Comité I [A/6868/Add.1]. Tout en rendant hommage au Sous-Comité I pour l'abondance des renseignements et des faits contenus dans son rapport, elle peut difficilement admettre ou approuver certaines des conclusions et des recommandations que ce sous-comité tire de la masse des faits. Aussi bien dans les rapports que dans la discussion générale, on a remplacé des études véritables par des généralisations et cela n'a pas contribué à faire avancer la question aussi rapidement qu'il convenait.

10. Ce n'est un secret pour personne que la plupart des pays en voie de développement d'Asie et d'Afrique qui ont accédé à l'indépendance au cours des 20 dernières années comptent, pour la plus grande partie de leur économie nationale, sur les anciennes activités économiques coloniales. Dans la plupart des cas également, ces mêmes activités ont été maintenues après l'indépendance, volontairement, bien entendu, par les gouvernements nationaux intéressés. Même maintenant — ce n'est pas non plus un secret — nous voyons de nombreux ministres des affaires étrangères et chefs d'Etat courir les capitales des pays développés à la recherche d'aide étrangère, offrant même pour cette aide et pour des investissements étrangers des conditions plus favorables que celles qu'offraient les gouvernements coloniaux à l'époque où ces intérêts étrangers exerçaient une activité dans les colonies.

11. De l'avis de ma délégation, il n'a pas été répondu à la question importante de savoir dans quelle mesure — si même c'est le cas — les intérêts économiques étrangers, en tant que distincts des intérêts d'un gouvernement colonial, font vraiment obstacle à la réalisation de l'autodétermination et de l'indépendance des pays et des peuples coloniaux; on n'a pas non plus essayé d'examiner ce que serait réellement la situation économique et politique des territoires coloniaux si on supprimait dans ces territoires toute

activité des intérêts économiques étrangers, comme le rapport le recommande.

12. Ma délégation se souvient de certaines déclarations qui ont été faites au cours des débats sur cette question à la Quatrième Commission par des représentants qui semblaient vivement désireux de démasquer complètement les ennemis de l'indépendance africaine, ceux qui s'opposent aux combattants de la liberté et même les délégations qui trouvent facile et commode de s'empresse d'affirmer devant l'Organisation que leur pays ou leur gouvernement est partisan de la décolonisation et de nier toute coopération de leur part avec les régimes minoritaires d'Afrique australe. Ce sont des assertions de ce genre, venant de pays ou de délégations que nous savons incapables de rompre avec les pays mêmes qu'ils prétendent boycotter, qui rendent dérisoires nos importantes délibérations.

13. Ce n'est pas, pour un pays indépendant, coopérer avec un gouvernement colonial que de négocier avec celui-ci au sujet d'installations ferroviaires spéciales ou d'avoir des représentants de ses travailleurs dans un pays qui pratique la discrimination, ou même de bénéficier dans ses mines de main-d'œuvre et de capitaux provenant du pays condamné. Les représentants ici présents qui connaissent d'autres pays d'Afrique producteurs de diamants ou d'or savent fort bien que ces pays ne pourraient pas vendre leurs diamants et leur or s'ils ne coopéraient pas avec ces régimes. Je ne désigne aucune délégation en particulier. Je dis simplement: "A bon entendeur, salut!". Un pays ne va-t-il pas à l'encontre de la résolution du Conseil de sécurité sur la Rhodésie [232 (1966)] en autorisant un de ses ressortissants à ouvrir à Salisbury, bien qu'en secret, un bureau pour l'achat de tabac rhodésien? Encore une fois, à bon entendeur, salut!

14. Est-il honnête pour un représentant de se laisser aller à prononcer dans cette salle une condamnation facile et générale, alors que cette condamnation restera sans effet dans son propre pays? On ne peut pas s'empêcher de se demander si un tel comportement ne contribue pas à nous empêcher d'avancer vers nos objectifs et ne compromet pas les résultats que nous nous efforçons sérieusement d'obtenir par nos délibérations. Ma délégation n'est pas étonnée — et l'Organisation ne doit pas l'être non plus — que, faute de propositions constructives et de prises de position honnêtes, ces questions traînent indéfiniment, malgré nos efforts répétés. Nous devrions, au point où nous en sommes, commencer à nous demander quels sont les véritables ennemis de l'indépendance africaine.

15. En raison de ce que je viens de dire, ma délégation tient à réserver sa position en ce qui concerne le projet de résolution qui figure dans le rapport de la Quatrième Commission.

16. M. SZYMANOWSKI (Pologne) [traduit de l'anglais]: Au cours du débat à la Quatrième Commission sur la question dont nous sommes saisis, la délégation de la Pologne, comme beaucoup d'autres, a exprimé sa satisfaction de ce que ce problème fasse l'objet pour la première fois d'un point particulier de l'ordre du jour de l'Assemblée générale. Nous considérons cette décision comme très importante pour l'accomplissement de la tâche difficile et lourde qui incombe

à l'Organisation des Nations Unies, à savoir d'identifier, de démasquer et de supprimer un très gros obstacle qui barre aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux la route de l'indépendance.

17. Les faits relatifs aux activités des intérêts étrangers qui sont énumérés dans les documents et rapports pertinents, ainsi que ceux qui ont été cités au cours du débat, constituent un acte d'accusation très grave contre les monopoles étrangers, les régimes coloniaux responsables de l'administration des divers territoires et les puissances qui favorisent et encouragent ces activités. A ce sujet, je tiens à appeler l'attention de l'Assemblée sur un document important qui, malheureusement, ne nous est parvenu qu'après la fin du débat à la Quatrième Commission. Il s'agit du document A/6941 qui contient un exposé d'ensemble fait par le Gouvernement de la République démocratique allemande. Dans cet exposé sont relatés des faits très pertinents qui concernent le rôle joué par des intérêts de l'Allemagne occidentale en Afrique australe et qui étayaient solidement les arguments que nous avons présentés à la Quatrième Commission.

18. Cette conjuration infâme des intérêts des monopoles et des puissances coloniales désireuses de maintenir le régime colonial afin que les pratiques d'exploitation, d'oppression et de discrimination puissent persister constitue aujourd'hui l'essence même du problème colonial. Nous croyons donc que l'Assemblée générale devrait adopter une résolution particulièrement claire, formulée en termes énergiques, et ne laissant subsister aucune excuse ni aucune échappatoire aux forces qui constituent le principal obstacle à la décolonisation.

19. Dans l'ensemble, le projet de résolution qui nous est présenté [A/6939, par. 11] répond à ces conditions. Le fait qu'il est présenté par un très grand nombre de pays est par lui-même encourageant et significatif. Nous le saluons comme une première étape importante, mais, en même temps, nous tenons à déclarer, pour qu'il en soit fait mention au procès-verbal, que nous ne sommes pas entièrement satisfaits de la rédaction de certains de ses paragraphes. C'est la raison principale pour laquelle nous prenons la parole maintenant.

20. Nous sommes d'autant plus désireux de faire connaître nos observations qu'un certain nombre de délégations des différentes parties du monde en ont présenté d'analogues à la Quatrième Commission. Je me limiterai à deux points seulement.

21. Le premier est que ma délégation n'approuve pas le libellé du premier paragraphe du dispositif, où on a ajouté l'expression "en général" pour limiter la portée de l'approbation que l'Assemblée donne au rapport du Comité des vingt-quatre puissances. La Pologne est membre de ce comité. Nous estimons qu'il a contribué pour une large part à cerner le problème et à l'approfondir. Nous approuvons entièrement le rapport et ses conclusions et nous aurions préféré que l'Assemblée fît de même. C'est plus qu'une question de mots. Le fait que l'Assemblée générale fasse manifestement des réserves sur certains passages du rapport ne peut qu'apporter un réconfort et un encouragement aux forces que nous cherchons à démasquer et à condamner.

22. Le deuxième point est que d'autres paragraphes du dispositif, notamment les paragraphes 6 et 8, devraient à notre avis être plus clairs et sans équivoque. Nos débats ont fait apparaître très nettement que la plupart des concessions, des privilèges, des contrats, etc., accordés à des ressortissants ou à des entreprises de pays étrangers ou conclus avec eux sont, en fait, préjudiciables aux intérêts des habitants autochtones des territoires coloniaux et que ces actes de caractère juridique constituent réellement un instrument essentiel de l'exploitation coloniale.

23. Nous croyons donc que notre projet de résolution devrait les dénoncer très clairement et, dans certains cas, les déclarer nuls et non avenue. C'est particulièrement le cas des actes promulgués ou signés par le régime illégal de la Rhodésie et par l'administration sud-africaine en ce qui concerne le Sud-Ouest africain.

24. L'invitation contenue dans le paragraphe 6 est bien plus une recommandation anodine qu'une estimation réelle de la situation, et celle qui fait l'objet du paragraphe 8 ne nous paraît pas assez pressante. Ce que nous attendons des puissances coloniales, ce n'est pas qu'elles reconsidèrent les privilèges et les concessions qui existent, c'est qu'elles renoncent aux pratiques actuelles en la matière.

25. En résumé, nous croyons que le projet de résolution aurait pu et aurait dû être plus précis et plus ferme sur certains points, car il traite d'une question de la plus haute importance. Cependant, tel qu'il est, il constitue un document très précieux et il marque une étape prometteuse dans la voie de la décolonisation. La délégation polonaise l'appuie très sincèrement et elle est prête à voter pour lui.

26. Le **PRESIDENT**: L'Assemblée est appelée à se prononcer sur le projet de résolution dont la Quatrième Commission recommande l'adoption et qui figure dans son rapport [A/6939, par. 11]. Un vote séparé et par appel nominal a été demandé pour le paragraphe 1. Je mets ce paragraphe aux voix.

Il est procédé au vote par appel nominal.

L'appel commence par le Guatemala, dont le nom est tiré au sort par le Président.

Votent pour: Guatemala, Guinée, Guyane, Honduras, Hongrie, Inde, Indonésie, Iran, Irak, Israël, Jamaïque, Kenya, Koweït, Laos, Liban, Libéria, Libye, Madagascar, Malaisie, Iles Maldives, Mali, Mauritanie, Mexique, Mongolie, Maroc, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigéria, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Pérou, Philippines, Pologne, Roumanie, Rwanda, Arabie Saoudite, Sénégal, Sierra Leone, Singapour, Somalie, Espagne, Soudan, Syrie, Thaïlande, Togo, Trinité-et-Tobago, Tunisie, Turquie, Ouganda, République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine, Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques, République arabe unie, Haute-Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yémen, Zambie, Afghanistan, Algérie, Argentine, Barbade, Bolivie, Brésil, Bulgarie, Birmanie, République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie, Cambodge, Cameroun, République centrafricaine, Ceylan, Tchad, Chili, Chine, Colombie, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (République démocratique du), Cuba, Tchécoslovaquie, Dahomey, République Dominicaine, Equateur, El Salvador, Ethiopie, Gabon, Gambie, Ghana.

Votent contre: Portugal, Afrique du Sud, Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord, États-Unis d'Amérique, Australie.

S'abstiennent: Islande, Irlande, Italie, Japon, Luxembourg, Malawi, Pays-Bas, Nouvelle-Zélande, Norvège, Suède, Autriche, Canada, Danemark, Finlande, France, Grèce.

Par 87 voix contre 5, avec 16 abstentions, le paragraphe 1 est adopté.*

27. Le **PRESIDENT**: Je mets aux voix l'ensemble du projet de résolution. On a demandé le vote par appel nominal.

Il est procédé au vote par appel nominal.

L'appel commence par le Pérou, dont le nom est tiré au sort par le Président.

Votent pour: Pérou, Philippines, Pologne, Roumanie, Rwanda, Arabie Saoudite, Sénégal, Sierra Leone, Singapour, Somalie, Espagne, Soudan, Syrie, Thaïlande, Togo, Trinité-et-Tobago, Tunisie, Turquie, Ouganda, République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine, Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques, République arabe unie, République Unie de Tanzanie, Haute-Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yémen, Zambie, Afghanistan, Algérie, Argentine, Barbade, Bolivie, Brésil, Bulgarie, Birmanie, République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie, Cambodge, Cameroun, République centrafricaine, Ceylan, Tchad, Chili, Chine, Colombie, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (République démocratique du), Tchécoslovaquie, Dahomey, République Dominicaine, Equateur, El Salvador, Ethiopie, Gabon, Gambie, Ghana, Grèce, Guatemala, Guinée, Guyane, Honduras, Hongrie, Inde, Indonésie, Iran, Irak, Irlande, Israël, Jamaïque, Japon, Kenya, Koweït, Laos, Liban, Libéria, Libye, Madagascar, Malaisie, Iles Maldives, Mali, Mauritanie, Mexique, Mongolie, Maroc, Népal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigéria, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay.

Votent contre: Portugal, Afrique du Sud.

S'abstiennent: Suède, Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord, États-Unis d'Amérique, Australie, Autriche, Canada, Cuba, Danemark, Finlande, France, Islande, Italie, Luxembourg, Malawi, Pays-Bas, Nouvelle-Zélande, Norvège.

Par 91 voix contre 2, avec 17 abstentions, le projet de résolution est adopté [résolution 2288 (XXII)].

28. Le **PRESIDENT**: Je vais maintenant donner la parole aux représentants qui ont demandé à expliquer leur vote.

29. Lord **CARADON** (Royaume-Uni) [traduit de l'anglais]: Je me suis abstenu lors du vote qui vient d'avoir lieu et je voudrais en expliquer les raisons.

30. Aucun gouvernement n'a davantage que le mien le droit de condamner l'exploitation des peuples coloniaux. Aucun n'a davantage que lui le droit de condamner tout retard apporté à leur accession à l'indépendance. Aucun n'a davantage que lui le droit de condamner la discrimination. En moins d'un quart de siècle, un quart de la population du monde, qui était

sous administration britannique, a accédé à l'indépendance. Dans presque toutes les nations nouvelles ainsi créées, l'indépendance a été réalisée sur la base du suffrage universel des adultes, de l'autonomie du pouvoir judiciaire et d'institutions pleinement démocratiques. Dans aucun de ces pays, il n'a été permis aux intérêts économiques ou autres de contrarier la politique délibérée et heureuse d'évolution vers l'indépendance politique et économique. Telle a toujours été la politique de mon gouvernement. Nous pouvons appuyer ce que dit à ce sujet la résolution.

31. Cependant, celle-ci, dans le paragraphe 1 de son dispositif, approuve un rapport [A/6868 et Add.1] qu'il nous est impossible d'accepter. Nous avons voté contre ce paragraphe en Quatrième Commission et nous avons fait de même aujourd'hui. C'est surtout parce que nous ne pouvons en aucune façon accepter ce qui est dit dans ce rapport, base de la résolution, que nous nous sommes abstenus lors du vote sur l'ensemble de celle-ci.

32. Le rapport en question part d'une conception fausse. Il repose sur une erreur et même, pis que cela, sur une théorie néfaste qui, si elle était admise, pourrait faire le plus grand mal aux nations en voie de développement. Quelle est-elle? C'est celle — que vient de rejeter le représentant de la Pologne — qui affirme que les investissements privés constituent une menace, qu'il faut les décourager, que dans les territoires coloniaux ils conduisent obligatoirement à l'exploitation et qu'ils empêchent l'évolution vers l'indépendance. C'est cette erreur qui déforme le rapport.

33. De nombreux pays en voie de développement n'ont que peu ou point de capitaux qui leur soient propres. Ils aspirent ardemment au développement. Mais sans capitaux, il ne peut y avoir de développement. D'où doivent venir les capitaux? Certains peuvent avoir pour origine la Banque mondiale ou des banques régionales ou, en ce qui concerne le capital humain, sous forme de préinvestissements et d'assistance technique, le Programme des Nations Unies pour le développement. D'autres peuvent avoir comme source une aide bilatérale accordée par un gouvernement à un autre, encore qu'il soit bon de dire en passant que par comparaison le bloc oriental ne donne qu'une aide bien faible aux pays en voie de développement. Mais tous ceux qui, comme je l'ai fait moi-même pendant la plus grande partie de ma vie, ont travaillé dans des territoires dépendants en voie de développement, qui sont maintenant tous indépendants, savent fort bien que l'aide multilatérale ou bilatérale ne suffit pas. Les investissements privés sont d'une importance vitale. Les pays qui attirent ces investissements progressent, alors que ceux qui ne le font pas stagnent dans la pauvreté.

34. Je ne parle pas aujourd'hui des pays de l'Afrique australe. Là, le problème est racial bien plus que colonial et nous avons nettement affirmé en de nombreuses occasions que nous n'admettions pas la politique suivie dans cette région. Mais décourager, condamner et refuser les investissements privés dans les pays en voie de développement, c'est commettre un crime contre les peuples de ces pays — des peuples qui ont besoin de sortir de leur état actuel de dégradation économique.

*Le représentant de la République-Unie de Tanzanie a ultérieurement informé le Secrétariat que s'il avait été présent il aurait voté en faveur du paragraphe 1.

35. Bien entendu, il est nécessaire de contrôler les activités des investissements privés. Bien entendu, il est nécessaire d'imposer leurs bénéfices. Bien entendu, il est nécessaire de garantir, par une législation sociale raisonnable, que ces investissements servent l'intérêt public. C'est exactement ce que les Parlements élus longtemps avant l'indépendance au suffrage universel des adultes dans les territoires coloniaux britanniques font depuis bien des années. Ils n'ont pas manqué à leur devoir envers les peuples qui les ont élus. Mais décrier les investissements privés et nier leur contribution au développement, comme le fait le rapport aveugle et partial dont nous sommes saisis, c'est rendre un très mauvais service aux peuples des nations en voie de développement.

36. Loin d'attaquer les investissements privés, notre devoir est de les encourager et de les faciliter. Tous les pays en voie de développement peuvent tirer profit

d'investissements privés sagement contrôlés. Aucun ne peut prospérer sans eux. En fait, je le répète, tous les ministres des pays en voie de développement savent qu'il en est ainsi.

37. C'est surtout parce que le rapport auquel se réfère cette résolution déforme et conteste cette vérité économique évidente et essentielle que je me suis abstenu lors du vote sur l'ensemble du projet.

38. M. DE MIRANDA (Portugal) [traduit de l'anglais]: Ma délégation a voté contre le projet de résolution contenu dans le rapport de la Quatrième Commission. Elle a expliqué très clairement en temps opportun à cette commission les raisons de son vote. Elle demande que les déclarations qu'elle a faites à cette occasion soient considérées comme renouvelées pour le procès-verbal de la séance plénière.

La séance est levée à 16 h 10.



Vingt-deuxième session
Point 24 de l'ordre du jour

ACTIVITES DES INTERETS ETRANGERS, ECONOMIQUES ET AUTRES, QUI FONT OBSTACLE A L'APPLICATION DE LA DECLARATION SUR L'OCTROI DE L'INDEPENDANCE AUX PAYS ET AUX PEUPLES COLONIAUX EN RHODESIE DU SUD, AU SUD-OUEST AFRICAIN ET DANS LES TERRITOIRES SOUS DOMINATION PORTUGAISE, AINSI QUE DANS TOUS LES AUTRES TERRITOIRES SE TROUVANT SOUS DOMINATION COLONIALE, ET AUX EFFORTS TENDANT A ELIMINER LE COLONIALISME, L'APARTHEID ET LA DISCRIMINATION RACIALE DANS LE SUD DE L'AFRIQUE

Rapport de la Quatrième Commission

Rapporteur : M. Buyantyn DASHTSEREN (Mongolie)

1. Conformément à la décision prise par l'Assemblée générale au paragraphe 20 de la résolution 2189 (XXI), du 13 décembre 1966, le Secrétaire général a inscrit à l'ordre du jour provisoire de la vingt-deuxième session (A/6680/Rev.1) une question intitulée "Activités des intérêts étrangers, économiques et autres, qui font obstacle à l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux en Rhodésie du Sud, au Sud-Ouest africain et dans les territoires sous domination portugaise ainsi que dans tous les autres territoires se trouvant sous domination coloniale".
2. A sa 166ème séance, le 21 septembre 1967, le Bureau de l'Assemblée a décidé de recommander l'inscription de cette question à l'ordre du jour sous un nouveau libellé, à savoir : "Activités des intérêts étrangers, économiques et autres, qui font obstacle à l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux en Rhodésie du Sud, au Sud-Ouest africain et dans les territoires sous domination portugaise, ainsi que dans tous les autres territoires se trouvant sous domination coloniale, et aux efforts tendant à éliminer le colonialisme, l'apartheid et la discrimination raciale dans le sud de l'Afrique".

A sa 167ème séance, le 22 septembre, le Bureau a décidé également de recommander à l'Assemblée générale de renvoyer l'examen de ce point à la Quatrième Commission.

3. A sa 1564ème séance plénière, le 23 septembre, l'Assemblée générale, en adoptant les recommandations du Bureau (A/6840), a inscrit la question à son ordre du jour et l'a renvoyée à la Quatrième Commission pour examen et rapport (A/6851/Rev.1).

4. La Quatrième Commission a examiné cette question de sa 1718ème à sa 1725ème séance et à ses 1730ème, 1732ème, 1735ème et 1736ème séances, tenues entre le 14 novembre et le 4 décembre.

5. A la 1718ème séance, le 14 novembre, le Rapporteur du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux a présenté le rapport de ce Comité concernant les activités des intérêts étrangers, économiques et autres, qui font obstacle à l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux en Rhodésie du Sud, au Sud-Ouest africain et dans les territoires sous domination portugaise ainsi que dans tous les autres territoires se trouvant sous domination coloniale (A/6868 et Add.1).

6. A la 1719ème séance, le 15 novembre, le Président a informé la Quatrième Commission qu'il avait reçu une lettre datée du 13 novembre 1967 qui lui avait été adressée par le Président de la Commission politique spéciale et dans laquelle celui-ci lui transmettait une lettre datée du 2 novembre 1967 émanant de M. James Forman, représentant du Student Non violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), qui contenait une demande d'audition concernant le point 24 de l'ordre du jour (A/C.4/699). A sa 1720ème séance, le 16 novembre, la Commission a décidé de faire droit à cette demande.

7. A la 1721ème séance, le 17 novembre, M. James Forman a fait une déclaration et a répondu aux questions qui lui ont été posées par un membre de la Commission. Au cours de la même séance, il a été décidé de faire distribuer la déclaration faite par le pétitionnaire comme document de la Commission (A/C.4/700).

8. La discussion générale consacrée à la question s'est déroulée de la 1718ème à la 1725ème séance, du 14 au 21 novembre.

9. A la 1730ème séance, le 29 novembre, les représentants du Sénégal et de l'Argentine ont présenté un projet de résolution au nom des Etats Membres suivants : Algérie, Arabie Saoudite, Argentine, Barbade, Cameroun, Ceylan, Chili, Colombie, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (République démocratique du), Côte d'Ivoire, Dahomey, Equateur, Ethiopie, Ghana, Guatemala, Guinée, Guyane, Haute-Volta, Inde, Indonésie, Irak, Jamaïque, Kenya, Koweït, Libéria, Libye, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritanie, Mexique, Népal, Niger, Nigéria, Ouganda, Pakistan, République arabe unie, République centrafricaine, République-Unie de Tanzanie, Rwanda, Sénégal, Sierra Leone, Somalie, Soudan, Syrie, Tchad, Togo, Trinité et Tobago, Tunisie, Venezuela, Yémen, Yougoslavie, Zambie (A/C.4/L.875/Rev.1). Par la suite, les Etats Membres suivants se sont joints aux auteurs : Burundi, Jordanie, Maroc, Nicaragua, Philippines, République Dominicaine et Uruguay (A/C.4/L.875/Rev.1/Add.1 et 2).

10. A sa 1735ème séance, le 1er décembre, la Quatrième Commission s'est prononcée comme suit sur le projet de résolution (A/C.4/L.875/Rev.1 et Add.1 et 2) :

Le paragraphe 1 du dispositif a été adopté par 84 voix contre 5, avec 16 abstentions. Le vote a eu lieu par appel nominal et les voix se sont réparties comme suit :

Ont voté pour :

Afghanistan, Algérie, Arabie Saoudite, Argentine, Barbade, Birmanie, Bolivie, Brésil, Bulgarie, Burundi, Cameroun, Ceylan, Chili, Chine, Congo (République démocratique du), Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Dahomey, Equateur, Espagne, Ethiopie, Gambie, Ghana, Guatemala, Guinée, Guyane, Haute-Volta, Honduras, Hongrie, Iles Maldives, Inde, Indonésie, Irak, Iran, Israël, Jamaïque, Jordanie, Kenya, Koweït, Liban, Libéria, Libye, Madagascar, Malaisie, Mali, Maroc, Mauritanie, Mexique, Mongolie, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigéria, Ouganda, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Pérou, Philippines, Pologne, République arabe unie, République Dominicaine, République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie, République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine, République-Unie de Tanzanie, Roumanie, Rwanda, Sénégal, Sierra Leone, Somalie, Soudan, Syrie, Tchad, Tchécoslovaquie, Thaïlande, Togo, Trinité et Tobago, Tunisie, Turquie, Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yémen, Yougoslavie, Zambie.

Ont voté contre : Afrique du Sud, Australie, Etats-Unis d'Amérique, Portugal, Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord.

Se sont abstenus : Autriche, Belgique, Canada, Danemark, Finlande, France, Grèce, Irlande, Islande, Italie, Japon, Malawi, Norvège, Nouvelle-Zélande, Pays-Bas, Suède.

L'ensemble du projet de résolution a été adopté par 86 voix contre 2, avec 17 abstentions. Le vote a eu lieu par appel nominal et les voix se sont réparties comme suit :

Ont voté pour : Afghanistan, Algérie, Arabie Saoudite, Argentine, Barbade, Birmanie, Bolivie, Brésil, Bulgarie, Burundi, Cameroun, Ceylan, Chili, Chine, Congo (République démocratique du), Côte d'Ivoire, Dahomey, Equateur, Espagne, Ethiopie, Gambie, Ghana, Grèce, Guatemala, Guinée, Guyane, Haute-Volta, Honduras, Hongrie, Iles Maldives, Inde, Indonésie, Irak, Iran, Irlande, Israël, Jamaïque, Japon, Jordanie, Kenya, Koweït, Liban, Libéria, Libye, Madagascar, Malaisie, Mali, Maroc, Mauritanie, Mexique, Mongolie, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigéria, Ouganda, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Pérou, Philippines, Pologne, République arabe unie, République Dominicaine, République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie, République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine, République-Unie de Tanzanie, Roumanie, Rwanda, Sénégal, Sierra Leone, Somalie, Soudan, Syrie, Tchad, Tchécoslovaquie, Thaïlande, Togo, Trinité et Tobago, Tunisie, Turquie, Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yémen, Yougoslavie, Zambie.

Ont voté contre : Afrique du Sud, Portugal.

Se sont abstenus : Australie, Autriche, Belgique, Canada, Cuba, Danemark, Etats-Unis d'Amérique, Finlande, France, Islande, Italie, Malawi, Norvège, Nouvelle-Zélande, Pays-Bas, Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord, Suède.

RECOMMANDATION DE LA QUATRIEME COMMISSION

11. En conséquence, la Quatrième Commission recommande à l'Assemblée générale d'adopter le projet de résolution ci-après :

Activités des intérêts étrangers, économiques et autres, qui font obstacle à l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux en Rhodésie du Sud, au Sud-Ouest africain et dans les territoires sous domination portugaise, ainsi que dans tous les autres territoires se trouvant sous domination coloniale, et aux efforts tendant à éliminer le colonialisme, l'apartheid et la discrimination raciale dans le sud de l'Afrique

L'Assemblée générale,

Ayant examiné le point de l'ordre du jour intitulé "Activités des intérêts étrangers, économiques et autres, qui font obstacle à l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux en Rhodésie du Sud, au Sud-Ouest africain et dans les territoires sous domination portugaise, ainsi que dans tous les autres territoires se trouvant sous domination coloniale, et aux efforts tendant à éliminer le colonialisme, l'apartheid et la discrimination raciale dans le sud de l'Afrique",

Ayant examiné le rapport du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux relatif aux activités des intérêts étrangers, économiques et autres, qui font obstacle à l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux en Rhodésie du Sud, au Sud-Ouest africain et dans les autres territoires sous domination portugaise, ainsi que dans tous les autres territoires se trouvant sous domination coloniale

Ayant entendu la déclaration du pétitionnaire^{2/},

Rappelant sa résolution 1514 (XV) du 14 décembre 1960, et en particulier le huitième alinéa du préambule de ladite résolution,

Rappelant également ses résolutions 2105 (XX) du 20 décembre 1965 et 2189 (XXI) du 13 décembre 1966, ainsi que toutes autres résolutions pertinentes,

^{1/} A/6868 et Add.1.

^{2/} A/C.4/700.

Considérant que les puissances coloniales se sont engagées à assurer le progrès politique, économique, social et culturel des habitants des territoires qu'elles administrent et à protéger les populations et les ressources naturelles de ces territoires contre les abus, conformément aux Chapitres XI et XII de la Charte des Nations Unies,

Convaincue que toutes activités économiques ou autres qui font obstacle à l'application de la résolution 1514 (XV) sont incompatibles avec les buts et principes de la Charte des Nations Unies,

1. Approuve en général le rapport du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux relatif aux activités des intérêts étrangers, économiques et autres, qui font obstacle à l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux en Rhodésie du Sud, au Sud-Ouest africain et dans les territoires sous domination portugaise, ainsi que dans tous les autres territoires se trouvant sous domination coloniale;

2. Réaffirme le droit inaliénable des peuples coloniaux à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance et à la possession des ressources naturelles de leurs territoires ainsi que de leur droit à disposer de ces ressources au mieux de leurs intérêts;

3. Déclare que les puissances coloniales qui privent les peuples coloniaux de l'exercice et de la pleine jouissance de ces droits ou font passer les intérêts économiques ou financiers de leurs ressortissants ou des ressortissants d'autres pays avant ceux des autochtones violent les obligations qui leur incombent en vertu des Chapitres XI et XII de la Charte des Nations Unies et font obstacle à l'application intégrale et rapide de la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale;

4. Condamne énergiquement l'exploitation des pays et des peuples coloniaux ainsi que les méthodes pratiquées dans les territoires sous domination coloniale par les intérêts étrangers, financiers, économiques et autres, qui visent à perpétuer les régimes coloniaux contrairement aux principes énoncés dans la résolution 1514 (XV);

5. Déplore la politique des puissances coloniales qui permet l'exploitation des ressources naturelles des territoires sous leur administration au détriment des intérêts de la population autochtone et qui encourage ou tolère des régimes de travail et autres pratiques injustes et discriminatoires;

6. Prie tous les Etats intéressés de s'acquitter de l'obligation fondamentale qu'ils ont de veiller à ce que les concessions qui sont octroyées à leurs nationaux ainsi que les exploitations qui leur sont consenties et les investissements qu'ils sont autorisés à faire dans les territoires sous domination coloniale n'aillent pas à l'encontre des intérêts présents ou futurs des habitants autochtones desdits territoires;

7. Prie en outre les puissances coloniales d'interdire les pratiques ci-après qui vont à l'encontre des principes de la Charte des Nations Unies et en violant les droits économiques et sociaux des peuples des territoires soumis à la domination coloniale, font obstacle à la mise en oeuvre de la résolution 1514 (XV), pratiques conçues pour :

- a) Exploiter la main-d'oeuvre et les ressources naturelles au détriment des intérêts des habitants autochtones;
- b) Entraver l'accès des habitants autochtones à ces ressources;
- c) Tolérer et encourager l'injustice et la discrimination dans la rémunération de la main-d'oeuvre et dans l'établissement des conditions de travail;

8. Exhorte les puissances coloniales à reconsidérer, en tenant compte des dispositions de la présente résolution, tous les privilèges et concessions qui sont contraires aux intérêts des habitants autochtones;

9. Prie le Conseil des Nations Unies pour le Sud-Ouest africain de prendre d'urgence les mesures propres à mettre fin, dans le territoire, aux lois et aux pratiques établies par le Gouvernement de l'Afrique du Sud et qui sont contraires aux buts et principes de la Charte des Nations Unies;

10. Invite les puissances coloniales à cesser immédiatement de déposséder la population autochtone de ses terres et à prendre des mesures immédiates pour lui restituer toutes les terres dont elle a été expropriée;

11. Engage tous les Etats intéressés à coopérer pleinement avec l'Organisation en vue de l'application rapide et effective de la résolution 1514 (XV), afin de garantir aux peuples l'exercice de leur droit à l'auto-détermination et à l'indépendance, ainsi que la jouissance des ressources naturelles de leurs propres territoires;

12. Prie le Comité spécial de poursuivre l'étude du problème et de faire rapport à ce sujet à l'Assemblée générale à sa vingt-troisième session;

13. Décide de maintenir cette question à son ordre du jour.

Nations Unies
ASSEMBLÉE
GÉNÉRALE

VINGT-DEUXIÈME SESSION

Documents officiels



QUATRIÈME COMMISSION, 1718^e
SÉANCE

Mardi 14 novembre 1967,
à 15 h 25

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POINT 24 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

Activités des intérêts étrangers, économiques et autres, qui font obstacle à l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux en Rhodésie du Sud, au Sud-Ouest africain et dans les territoires sous domination portugaise, ainsi que dans tous les autres territoires se trouvant sous domination coloniale, et aux efforts tendant à éliminer le colonialisme, l'apartheid et la discrimination raciale dans le Sud de l'Afrique (A/6868 et Add.1)

DISCUSSION GÉNÉRALE

1. M. ESFANDIARY (Iran) [Rapporteur du Comité spécial] présente à la Quatrième Commission le rapport du Comité spécial concernant les activités des intérêts étrangers, économiques et autres, qui font obstacle à l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux en Rhodésie du Sud, au Sud-Ouest africain et dans les territoires sous domination portugaise, ainsi que dans tous les autres territoires se trouvant sous domination coloniale, et aux efforts tendant à éliminer le colonialisme, l'apartheid et la discrimination raciale dans le sud de l'Afrique (A/6868 et Add.1).

2. En adoptant les recommandations du Comité spécial, l'Assemblée générale a décidé, au paragraphe 20 du dispositif de la résolution 2189 (XXI) du 13 décembre 1966, d'inscrire cette question à l'ordre du jour provisoire de la vingt-deuxième session. Au début de sa session de 1967, en vue d'aider l'Assemblée

générale à examiner la question, le Comité spécial en a confié l'étude au Sous-Comité I. Le Comité spécial a adopté le rapport du Sous-Comité I (A/6868/Add.1), et approuvé ses conclusions et recommandations qui figurent dans les paragraphes 81 à 133 de ce document.

3. Le Rapporteur indique également qu'au cours de l'année le Comité spécial a accordé une attention particulière à cette question lorsqu'il a procédé à l'examen du cas des territoires de l'Afrique australe lors des réunions tenues hors du Siège. Une résolution a été adoptée le 20 juin 1967 au sujet de ces territoires; le texte de cette résolution figure au paragraphe 744 du rapport du Comité spécial (A/6700, Rev.1, chap. II).

4. M. MALECELA (République-Unie de Tanzanie) note que le rôle des intérêts étrangers, économiques et autres, dans les territoires sous domination coloniale a déjà été étudié par le Comité spécial et son sous-comité I. Le fait que la Quatrième Commission soit appelée à poursuivre l'examen de la question montre combien elle est importante et directement liée à la lutte menée pour obtenir l'application intégrale de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux.

5. A la suite des études faites au sujet du territoire du Sud-Ouest africain, des territoires administrés par le Portugal et de la Rhodésie du Sud, le Sous-Comité I, puis le Comité spécial et l'Assemblée générale ont conclu que les activités des intérêts étrangers font effectivement obstacle à la libération et à l'indépendance des populations intéressées. Il est, certes, légitime de faire ressortir le bon côté des investissements économiques, mais, en considérant la situation de l'Afrique australe, on s'aperçoit que, si certaines puissances occidentales n'y possédaient pas d'importants intérêts, il serait plus facile pour ces territoires d'accéder à l'indépendance. Il est indéniable également que c'est l'exploitation qui a abouti au colonialisme, dont le but initial était d'assurer des marchés aux puissances métropolitaines.

6. En ce qui concerne la Rhodésie du Sud, M. Malecela a déjà eu l'occasion de souligner que, sans l'assistance financière des monopoles capitalistes, le régime de Smith n'aurait pu survivre aussi longtemps. C'est pourquoi l'échec des sanctions économiques était prévisible du fait des activités dans ce territoire de certaines puissances occidentales qui sont Membres de l'Organisation.

7. Les renseignements fournis par le Secrétariat au Sous-Comité I ont mis en évidence le rôle négatif des monopoles étrangers en Rhodésie du Sud. Le document établi par le Secrétariat (A/6868/Add.1, appendice I) indique qu'une société américaine la Continental Ore Corporation, qui achète de la fonte

brute à la Rhodésie du Sud, a importé en 1966 une plus grande quantité de produits qu'en 1965. D'après ce même document, le régime raciste minoritaire comptait augmenter de 5,5 millions de dollars chaque année ses ressources en devises étrangères en exploitant les dépôts de nickel. Il est, d'ailleurs, intéressant de noter que 85 p. 100 des intérêts de la Trojan Mine, qui extrait ce nickel, ont été achetés par l'Anglo-American Corporation.

8. La société britannique Turner and Newall, Ltd., qui représente 63 p. 100 de la production totale d'amiante, a fait savoir en septembre 1966 que ses ventes d'amiante avaient augmenté et s'élevaient à quelque 94,8 millions de livres. Le pétrole, si important en l'occurrence, continue de parvenir en quantités suffisantes à la Rhodésie du Sud en dépit des prétendues sanctions. Nul n'ignore en fait que les principaux fournisseurs de ce produit sont des sociétés britanniques et américaines comme la British Petroleum, Mobil, Caltex, etc. Une étude plus complète des activités des monopoles étrangers en Rhodésie du Sud ayant déjà été faite, M. Malecela ne veut pas prolonger son exposé et se bornera à formuler sa conclusion qui est que les activités de ces sociétés qui sont originaires d'Etats membres du Conseil de sécurité, sont principalement responsables de l'échec des sanctions modérées imposées par le Conseil. Les monopoles en question contribuent et participent directement à l'exploitation des ressources naturelles et des ressources en main-d'œuvre de la Rhodésie du Sud. Dans son écrasante majorité, la population de la Rhodésie du Sud, s'exprimant par l'intermédiaire du mouvement de libération nationale, s'est élevée contre les activités des monopoles étrangers et contre leur association avec les forces du colonialisme. La Commission ne peut que condamner l'attitude négative des divers éléments qui s'opposent à la libération du peuple africain du Zimbabwe.

9. Il n'est guère besoin de rappeler que les salaires payés par les monopoles aux travailleurs africains dans les territoires colonisés correspondent à un dixième environ de ceux que perçoivent les travailleurs européens. Cela explique en partie les énormes bénéfices de ces sociétés et le fait que les Africains ne progressent pas dans la même mesure que les Européens. Etant donné que, dans beaucoup de territoires colonisés d'Afrique, il faut pour pouvoir voter justifier d'un certain revenu, si cette inégalité de salaire persiste, les Africains seront pendant longtemps encore privés du droit de vote à cause de ces monopoles. On voit donc concrètement comment les sociétés étrangères empêchent les populations africaines d'accéder à la liberté et à l'indépendance.

10. Quant aux territoires sous domination portugaise, M. Malecela rappelle qu'il a déjà donné de nombreuses précisions sur les activités de certaines sociétés exerçant leurs activités dans ces territoires. La Gulf Oil Corporation, qui a dépensé l'année précédente 22 millions de dollars pour l'exploitation du pétrole en Angola, y consacrera 28 millions de dollars en 1967 et 76 millions en 1968. Ces investissements rendent le Portugal intransigeant et l'amènent évidemment à intensifier la lutte armée contre les mouvements de libération. Les exemples de l'exploitation à laquelle est soumis l'Angola abondent dans le docu-

ment de travail du Secrétariat (A/6868/Add.1, appendice III). On y constate que l'Angola Diamond Company, à laquelle a été accordée une concession portant sur 1 025 700 km², a contribué pour 195 millions d'escudos au budget du Portugal pour ce territoire. D'après un article de la South African Financial Gazette de Johannesburg du 18 mars 1966, la production du pétrole en Angola devra atteindre 2 millions de tonnes par an au cours des deux prochaines années pour répondre aux besoins croissants de l'Afrique du Sud, de la Rhodésie du Sud, de l'Angola et du Mozambique. D'énormes investissements vont être faits en vertu d'un accord conclu entre la Petrangol et le Gouvernement portugais; cet accord permet à la Petrangol de procéder à l'extraction du pétrole avec huit autres compagnies, deux étant sud-africaines et les autres françaises, italiennes et portugaises. Lorsque la production de pétrole de l'Angola atteindra 2 millions de tonnes par an, elle pourra satisfaire un quart environ des besoins de l'Afrique australe.

11. La même situation existe au Sud-Ouest africain et, selon l'ouvrage de Ruth First intitulé *South West Africa*, la Consolidated Diamond Mines de l'énorme empire de la compagnie De Beers-Anglo-American réalise des bénéfices annuels au Sud-Ouest africain qui correspondent à près du double du budget de ce territoire. La Tsumeb Corporation, compagnie américaine qui exploite la mine de plomb la plus importante du continent africain, ne cache pas son attachement au Gouvernement sud-africain.

12. Tous ces renseignements révèlent que les intérêts et les droits des populations africaines sont bafoués dans tous les territoires. On a dit en certaines occasions qu'il fallait donner aux colonialistes le temps de s'adapter à une situation nouvelle; or ils ne sauraient profiter de ce répit que pour investir davantage et maintenir ainsi leur emprise.

13. La délégation tanzanienne espère que l'examen de la question à l'ordre du jour permettra de faire la lumière sur tout ce qui fait obstacle à l'application de la résolution 1514 (XV). Il est, d'ores et déjà, évident que l'oppression coloniale se perpétue dans les territoires coloniaux en raison des énormes intérêts économiques en jeu. La délégation tanzanienne est prête à collaborer à l'élaboration d'un projet de résolution reflétant les vues de la Commission sur cette question.

14. Mlle IMRU (Ethiopie) déclare que la question à l'examen est très importante, car elle permet de comprendre une des causes principales du maintien du régime colonial dans certains territoires, et de trouver des solutions à cet état de choses.

15. Les immenses richesses de la Rhodésie, des territoires administrés par le Portugal et du Sud-Ouest africain ne sont pas exploitées dans l'intérêt des autochtones; elles sont au contraire la cause de l'oppression qu'ils endurent. Les Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies condamnent cette oppression, mais ils sont incapables d'y mettre fin, et le Portugal et l'Afrique du Sud les défient impunément. Le rapport du Sous-Comité I du Comité spécial (A/6868/Add.1) montre quelles sont les raisons profondes de cette impuissance. Au paragraphe 108,

il est dit qu'un groupe d'intérêts sud-africains, britanniques et américains étroitement liés les uns aux autres joue un rôle prépondérant dans l'économie de toute l'Afrique australe; le noyau de ce groupe est formé par quatre grandes sociétés qui possèdent ensemble un capital d'environ 450 millions de livres sterling. On note également dans le rapport que le volume des investissements privés des Etats-Unis en Afrique du Sud est passé de 286 millions de dollars en 1960 à 528 millions de dollars en 1965, tandis que les investissements directs du Royaume-Uni dans ce même pays atteignent actuellement 900 millions de dollars.

16. Le rapport révèle aussi l'influence politique considérable que les monopoles internationaux ont sur les gouvernements de certaines puissances occidentales; leurs pressions amènent ces puissances, et notamment les Etats-Unis d'Amérique et le Royaume-Uni, à favoriser directement le maintien du statut colonial des territoires d'Afrique australe. Quels espoirs les peuples peuvent-ils placer dans l'Organisation des Nations Unies si deux membres permanents du Conseil de sécurité agissent ainsi, tandis que d'autres membres de l'Organisation, à des degrés divers, entretiennent eux aussi d'étroites relations commerciales avec les puissances coloniales?

17. Le paragraphe 116 du rapport fait apparaître les inégalités de la répartition des terres entre les minorités blanches et les populations autochtones en Rhodésie du Sud, au Sud-Ouest africain, en Angola, au Mozambique et dans d'autres territoires. Les meilleures terres vont aux étrangers, et une vaste majorité d'agriculteurs autochtones sont contraints de travailler sur les propriétés des Européens dans des conditions qui évoquent le servage. Les colons blancs et les intérêts étrangers ont la haute main sur la production marchande destinée à l'exportation, alors que les autochtones sont réduits à une agriculture de subsistance. La séparation maintenue entre ces deux secteurs constitue un sérieux obstacle au développement économique.

18. Les sociétés étrangères poursuivent des buts matériels étroits et n'ont aucun souci du progrès humain. Les travailleurs autochtones qu'elles emploient sont réduits au rôle d'une main-d'œuvre à bon marché, et aucune possibilité d'émancipation économique et sociale ne leur est offerte. Ils sont payés 5 à 15 fois moins que les blancs; la législation en vigueur leur interdit de former des syndicats ou de faire grève, et il n'existe aucun système de sécurité sociale pour les travailleurs âgés ou handicapés.

19. Dans les territoires portugais, il a été décrété que le sous-sol est la propriété de l'Etat, et des concessions minières sont accordées sans que les autochtones qui possèdent le sol soient consultés. Aux paragraphes 101 et 102 du rapport, il est dit que "de vastes territoires sont attribués" à des sociétés qui "disposent de leurs propres forces de police ou de sécurité et même de leur armée". Ces sociétés "aux termes des accords qu'elles ont conclus avec le Gouvernement portugais, sont tenues d'aider ce dernier à maintenir la paix et l'ordre".

20. Une situation comparable existe dans les territoires du Pacifique et des Antilles. Au paragraphe 97

du rapport, il est noté qu'en Nouvelle-Guinée et au Papua les intérêts étrangers contrôlent les secteurs principaux de l'économie (cultures marchandes et ressources minérales). Aux îles Fidji les plantations de sucre et les mines d'or, principales entreprises du territoire, sont également contrôlées par des étrangers. Aux Bahamas, le tourisme, qui est la seule industrie, est entièrement contrôlé par des capitaux américains et européens.

21. De manière générale, on constate que, dans les territoires coloniaux, les moyens de production (terres, mines, usines, transports) sont aux mains de monopoles étrangers qui font d'immenses bénéfices, tandis que les populations autochtones, loin de participer réellement à la vie économique, sont constamment humiliées par des lois discriminatoires. Les gouvernements des pays coloniaux tolèrent et encouragent ces pratiques, en raison des profits qu'ils en tirent eux-mêmes. La délégation éthiopienne espère que les pays coloniaux et ceux qui encouragent le colonialisme feront enfin un examen de conscience, afin de ne pas faire leur philosophie de la suprématie raciale qu'ils ont combattue au cours de la deuxième guerre mondiale, et d'être réellement à la hauteur de leurs responsabilités.

22. M. BURTICA (Roumanie) déclare que les peuples ne peuvent constituer des nations libres et indépendantes si leur progrès économique et social n'est pas assuré; sans cela ils sont incapables de se libérer réellement du joug colonial.

23. Or, les rapports du Comité spécial montrent que ces dernières années les capitaux étrangers ont joué un rôle toujours croissant dans les territoires soumis à la domination coloniale. C'est là une situation très inquiétante, car, bien qu'on cherche à faire croire que les activités des intérêts étrangers favorisent l'émancipation économique et sociale des colonies, les faits montrent bien quelle est la nature de la mission "civilisatrice" des monopoles internationaux et des "bienfaits" que des intérêts étrangers apportent aux populations autochtones.

24. Des études effectuées par l'ONU et par les institutions spécialisées, il ressort que la population des territoires coloniaux est en grande majorité analphabète et que le nombre des cadres qui ont reçu une formation universitaire est insignifiant. Les autochtones sont délibérément maintenus dans un état retardataire, pour être plus facilement exploités. Ce n'est pas le manque de ressources matérielles et humaines qui est la cause de ce retard, mais bien le régime colonial et l'exploitation du capital étranger.

25. Les monopoles étrangers ne sont animés que par la recherche du profit. Ce qui les intéresse dans les territoires coloniaux, ce sont les bénéfices possibles, bénéfices nettement supérieurs à ceux qu'ils pourraient réaliser dans leurs propres pays, étant donné les bas salaires versés aux travailleurs autochtones. De plus, ils créent une économie déformée, orientée artificiellement vers la production de matières premières agricoles et industrielles destinées à l'exportation, et non vers la satisfaction des besoins des populations. C'est là une politique qui, à long

terme, compromet gravement le développement et l'indépendance économique des territoires coloniaux.

26. Cette politique de pillage des richesses naturelles, poursuivie des décennies et des siècles durant par les puissances coloniales, a empêché les peuples de vastes régions du globe de développer leurs forces de production, leur industrie, leur agriculture, leurs connaissances scientifiques, en un mot d'accéder à un niveau de vie matériel et spirituel plus élevé. Elle est à l'origine de la grave inégalité économique et sociale qui va s'accroissant dans le monde et qui crée un des problèmes les plus brûlants de la vie internationale actuelle.

27. Il faut ajouter que les monopoles aident directement les puissances coloniales à maintenir un système d'oppression nécessaire à l'exercice de leurs activités. Ils ont permis à l'Afrique du Sud, au Portugal et à la Rhodésie du Sud d'accroître sensiblement leurs budgets militaires en dépit des sanctions économiques imposées par la communauté internationale. Ils ont été jusqu'à créer des alliances économiques qui constituent en fait, en Afrique australe, la base d'alliances politico-militaires. En Rhodésie du Sud, par exemple, où 65 p. 100 des investissements proviennent de l'étranger, ce sont eux qui contrôlent l'économie, plus que les colons.

28. Le colonialisme, depuis son commencement, il y a plusieurs siècles, a toujours été animé par certains intérêts économiques des métropoles. Ces intérêts ont, au cours de l'histoire récente, freiné le processus de décolonisation et contraint les peuples coloniaux à prendre les armes pour se libérer. La décolonisation a beaucoup progressé, mais les colonialistes veulent encore sauver ce qu'il leur reste de privilèges, et même reconquérir les positions perdues. Il n'est donc pas surprenant que les peuples coloniaux se heurtent à une résistance accrue des monopoles étrangers. Dans leur lutte, les peuples coloniaux peuvent compter sur l'appui du peuple roumain, et M. Burtica souhaite que l'ONU, pour sa part, agisse de manière plus énergique pour mettre fin à la situation intolérable qui existe en Afrique australe et en d'autres lieux du monde.

29. M. JOUEJATI (Syrie) déclare que la résistance acharnée que les dernières puissances coloniales opposent à l'évolution irréversible des peuples colonisés vers l'indépendance était, encore récemment, difficile à expliquer. Pourquoi tant d'argent dépensé pour les armements, tant de sacrifices, tant de haines créées? En un mot, on voyait mal si, véritablement, "le jeu en valait la chandelle". Ce n'est que peu à peu que la logique profonde de cet état de choses est apparue. Aujourd'hui, grâce aux efforts du Comité spécial et à ceux du Secrétariat de l'ONU, on se rend mieux compte de toute l'ampleur du rôle joué dans les territoires coloniaux par de puissants intérêts qui se cachent derrière la façade de sociétés privées apparemment innocentes.

30. La révélation essentielle à laquelle les études effectuées ont permis d'aboutir est que ces intérêts ont des caractéristiques et des buts communs; ils sont interdépendants et s'associent pour se donner une influence et des moyens de pression considérables. Dans certains cas, cette coordination est facile,

certaines intérêts n'étant que les ramifications d'une société qui a son siège dans une capitale du monde capitaliste. Dans d'autres cas, ils se sont consolidés en s'associant aux colons étrangers. Mais, le plus souvent, on est en présence d'une forme de coopération encore plus solide: une coopération directe avec les puissances coloniales, si étroite que les objectifs des sociétés privées et ceux des gouvernements de ces pays finissent par se confondre.

31. Cette coordination une fois assurée, les activités des intérêts étrangers dans les pays coloniaux se développent selon un processus facile à comprendre, et particulièrement évident dans les territoires africains. En premier lieu, la puissance coloniale met en vigueur une législation qui permet aux intérêts étrangers d'acquérir des terres dans des conditions avantageuses. Il ne s'agit pas de terres abandonnées ou stériles, mais bien de terres d'une fertilité exceptionnelle, ou riches en ressources minérales. Les autochtones, propriétaires légitimes, sont dépossédés sans scrupules. Dans certains cas les concessions accordées aux sociétés étrangères atteignent des proportions gigantesques: par exemple, l'Angola Diamond Company a à elle seule, en Angola, une concession exclusive pour la prospection et l'exploitation qui couvre une superficie de 1 025 700 km carrés.

32. En deuxième lieu, les intérêts étrangers exploitent les ressources auxquelles ils ont ainsi accès de la manière la plus intensive, dans les conditions les moins onéreuses, afin de réaliser les bénéfices les plus élevés possibles. On peut arguer que ce sont là les conditions normales de l'exploitation capitaliste, et le représentant d'un pays de l'Ouest a fait observer au Comité spécial que toutes les entreprises capitalistes agissent ainsi; cependant, dans les territoires coloniaux, une situation particulière existe. La main-d'œuvre autochtone n'est pas traitée de la même manière qu'une autre main-d'œuvre, les sociétés en usent comme il leur plaît, et aucune protection ne lui est assurée. Certains défenseurs de ce système d'exploitation ont cherché à le justifier en faisant appel à des notions démodées telles que celles du marché libre et de la loi de l'offre et de la demande; mais on sait que, dans les pays capitalistes eux-mêmes, les conséquences du système capitaliste sont limitées par des mesures de protection sociale telles que le salaire minimum garanti, la sécurité sociale, l'assurance médicale, etc. Les défenseurs de la libre entreprise devraient se demander s'il est admissible qu'une société minière verse à un travailleur africain un salaire journalier de 8 escudos, soit environ 20 cents des Etats-Unis, étant entendu qu'avec ce salaire il doit nourrir sa famille, qui vit souvent à plus de 500 miles de son lieu de travail et payer l'équivalent d'au moins 8 cents d'impôts et de taxes diverses. La société qui traite ainsi ce travailleur africain s'est excusée auprès de ses actionnaires de ce que la production nette ait atteint seulement 928 millions d'escudos en 1965 — soit 24 millions de dollars environ. Le sort pénible des travailleurs africains aurait peut-être un sens s'ils pouvaient compter sur un avenir meilleur, mais on sait malheureusement qu'ils sont délibérément maintenus dans une position subalterne qui ne leur laisse aucun espoir.

33. Les défenseurs de la libre entreprise savent combien cette situation est tragiquement vraie, mais ils prétendent que les investissements étrangers permettent d'accroître le revenu national des territoires. Or, quelle signification peut-on attribuer à cette notion de revenu national, ou de revenu par tête d'habitant, lorsqu'on sait que le revenu des Européens est 10 ou 12 fois supérieur à celui des Africains? De plus, l'accroissement du revenu profite essentiellement à la métropole, tandis que les peuples colonisés n'en tirent que des bienfaits imaginaires. L'objectif premier des colonialistes est en fait d'accroître le bien-être de la métropole, en lui assurant des importations à bon marché, un approvisionnement en matières premières régulier et peu coûteux, des devises fortes et un marché colonial pour son industrie.

34. Après avoir recueilli des renseignements sur les activités des intérêts étrangers pendant deux ans, le Sous-Comité I, chargé de l'étude de cette question, a abouti à la conclusion que ces intérêts ne font que contribuer au renforcement du régime colonial. Les recommandations du Sous-Comité (A/6868/Add.1, par. 133), que le Comité spécial a adoptées, lui ont été dictées par les faits. Il faut absolument qu'elles soient adoptées par la Commission si l'on veut que la communauté des nations ne reste pas passive alors que l'on cherche à perpétuer le régime colonial pour maintenir les privilèges des minorités aux dépens des majorités autochtones.

35. Maintenant que l'ONU a compris la situation réelle qui existe dans les territoires coloniaux, il faut qu'elle agisse rapidement.

36. M. MOROZOV (Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques/) note que les représentants de l'Ethiopie, de la Roumanie, de la Syrie et de la République-Unie de Tanzanie ont à juste titre accordé une importance considérable à la question examinée et il exprime l'espoir qu'eux et d'autres représentants qui interviendront dans les débats en feront de même par la suite. L'activité des monopoles impérialistes étrangers dans les pays coloniaux a en vérité un caractère particulièrement sinistre. L'exploitation de l'homme par l'homme, l'appropriation du produit du travail de la majorité écrasante de la population par une petite poignée de capitalistes qui se sont assurés la mainmise sur les moyens de production, ce principe clef du capitalisme et de l'impérialisme prend des proportions et revêt des formes monstrueuses à l'égard des pays et des peuples coloniaux.

37. Si l'on replace la question à l'étude dans un contexte plus large, il apparaît que le point de l'ordre du jour que la Commission vient d'aborder n'est qu'un élément du problème général de la lutte entre le travail et le capital, un élément de la lutte pour l'élimination de l'exploitation de l'homme par l'homme, un élément du problème lié au combat contre le pillage des travailleurs par une poignée de monopoles dont l'activité se manifeste non seulement dans les pays coloniaux, mais aussi dans les pays

dont l'économie est fondée sur les principes du capitalisme et de l'impérialisme.

38. M. Morozov ne s'étendra pas sur ce sujet à ce stade, encore qu'il soit sans doute parfaitement opportun de développer l'idée qu'il vient d'exprimer, et qu'il doive revenir par la suite sur les liens communs et les causes communes qui incitent les monopoles étrangers à opérer dans les pays coloniaux pour en piller les richesses naturelles et exploiter dans des proportions monstrueuses la population laborieuse; ces monopoles agissent ainsi non seulement à l'égard des pays coloniaux, mais aussi de nombreux autres pays qui, après la seconde guerre mondiale, ont jeté bas les chaînes de l'esclavage colonialiste. Toutefois, la question dont la Commission s'occupe est inscrite à l'ordre du jour en des termes bien précis; c'est pourquoi, dans le cadre de cette question et sans perdre de vue les liens déjà mentionnés, la délégation soviétique voudrait souligner que toute l'histoire de l'édification du système colonial n'est qu'une suite ininterrompue de crimes sanglants perpétrés contre les populations autochtones. Comme l'a noté le fondateur de l'Etat soviétique V. I. Lénine, la domination des puissances européennes "sur des centaines de millions d'habitants des colonies n'a pu être réalisée qu'à la suite de guerres permanentes, ininterrompues et toujours renouvelées". La domination des colonialistes a été consolidée par le massacre et l'extermination impitoyables de peuples sans défense.

39. Les guerres coloniales, la traite des esclaves, l'extermination systématique de populations pacifiques par les colonialistes, la famine et les maladies ont fait périr des millions d'habitants autochtones d'Asie, d'Afrique, d'Amérique du Nord et du Sud, d'Australie et d'autres régions du monde.

40. Près de 30 millions d'Indiens ont été exterminés au cours de la prétendue mise en valeur du continent américain par les colonialistes européens. En s'emparant du continent africain, les colonialistes britanniques, espagnols, portugais, belges, allemands et autres ont fait périr plus de 60 millions d'êtres humains. Des tribus et des peuples entiers ont été anéantis. Des dizaines de millions d'esclaves ont été exportés en Amérique seule. De 1884 à 1960, la population de l'ancien Congo belge a diminué, passant de 30 à 14 millions. Les colonialistes allemands ont exterminé des centaines de milliers d'êtres humains dans leurs colonies africaines. A l'époque de la répression du mouvement populaire aux Philippines, à la fin du XIXème siècle, les Etats-Unis ont exterminé plus de 600 000 autochtones.

41. Des dizaines de millions d'habitants de l'Inde, de l'Indochine, de l'Indonésie et d'autres anciennes colonies d'Asie ont péri, fauchés par les guerres incessantes, la famine et la maladie.

42. La nature criminelle du capitalisme et de l'impérialisme montre qu'il a enfanté demeure inchangée. Contraint de manœuvrer sous la pression irrésistible du mouvement de libération nationale, l'impérialisme tente de dissimuler sa nature d'exploiteur, bat parfois en retraite et change de forme et de méthodes pour maintenir sa domination. Mais il n'en demeure pas moins que l'impérialisme recourt comme par le passé

/ Initialement, cette déclaration a été publiée à titre provisoire sous la cote A/C.4/SR.1718/Add.1.

aux mêmes méthodes cruelles et brutales de répression et de pillage, à la guerre et à l'agression, pour maintenir sa domination et perpétuer l'exploitation colonialiste des peuples. Cela se manifeste avec une violence particulière dans les territoires coloniaux.

43. Dans ces territoires, le mouvement de libération nationale se heurte aujourd'hui à une résistance toujours plus opiniâtre des monopoles impérialistes. Ils ne reculent devant aucun moyen, même les plus cruels, pour maintenir les régimes coloniaux et racistes. S'ils agissent ainsi, c'est parce que ces régimes leur permettent de poursuivre l'exploitation éhontée des ressources naturelles et humaines des colonies et d'en tirer des profits excessivement élevés.

44. Comme on l'a déjà fait observer à la Commission, c'est sur l'alliance des autorités colonialistes et des monopoles étrangers que reposent aujourd'hui les régimes colonialistes qui subsistent encore, c'est dans cette alliance qu'ils trouvent leur appui principal. Comme il a déjà été démontré au cours de l'examen des questions de la Rhodésie du Sud, des colonies portugaises, du Sud-Ouest africain et d'autres territoires coloniaux, c'est précisément cette alliance qui fait obstacle à l'élimination totale du capitalisme, à l'application de la Déclaration historique sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux.

45. Voilà pourquoi la délégation soviétique, de même que des délégations d'autres pays, estime que la question du caractère criminel des activités des monopoles impérialistes étrangers dans les colonies est un des éléments les plus importants du problème général de l'élimination définitive du colonialisme et de ses conséquences funestes — la discrimination raciale et l'apartheid.

46. La délégation soviétique a déjà fait remarquer que les activités des monopoles impérialistes dans les colonies ne constituent qu'un aspect de la lutte que ces monopoles mènent sur les nombreux continents en soutenant les régimes antipopulaires pourris du Viet-Nam du Sud, de la Corée du Sud et de nombreuses autres régions du monde par l'intermédiaire des milieux dirigeants dociles de nombreux pays impérialistes.

47. Lors de l'examen de la question à l'étude, on ne doit pas oublier que les monopoles des Etats-Unis d'Amérique opérant dans les territoires coloniaux sont en même temps les inspirateurs et les organisateurs de la guerre d'agression infâme menée au Viet-Nam. C'est avec la participation et l'appui direct des monopoles impérialistes que l'on déclenche à notre époque des guerres dites locales et que l'on organise des expéditions punitives contre les forces des mouvements de libération nationale dans de nombreux pays, notamment au Proche-Orient, comme l'ont montré les événements des jours derniers. Là aussi, le mobile principal est la volonté de renforcer à tout prix l'influence de l'impérialisme, de s'opposer au mouvement irrésistible des peuples contre l'esclavage capitaliste, au mouvement irrésistible des peuples pour la paix, la liberté, l'indépendance nationale et le socialisme.

48. Pour souligner l'ampleur qu'a pris le processus de concentration des moyens de production et des capitaux, il est bon de rappeler que, d'après les chiffres de l'année 1964, le monde capitaliste comptait 76 entreprises industrielles dont chacune réalisait un bénéfice annuel supérieur à un milliard de dollars. D'après des données dignes de foi fournies par les experts, le chiffre des ventes pour 1963 de la seule General Motors était égal au budget de la République fédérale d'Allemagne et dépassait de 10 p. 100 le revenu national des Pays-Bas.

49. On pourrait allonger la liste de ces exemples, mais il ressort déjà clairement de ce qui précède qu'à l'heure actuelle les groupes monopolistes financiers et industriels ne sont pas des empires personnels mais des alliances entre les millionnaires et les milliardaires les plus puissants qu'unissent des intérêts communs. Parmi les objectifs des accords conclus dans le cadre de ces alliances on compte la lutte commune qu'ils mènent pour s'emparer de marchés extérieurs, une expansion économique commune vers l'extérieur et l'exploitation des territoires coloniaux.

50. La chasse aux surprofits, qui est devenue la loi fondamentale du développement et de l'activité des monopoles impérialistes, entrave, en dernière analyse, l'élimination du colonialisme et la libération nationale des peuples et enfin menace la paix et la sécurité dans le monde entier. Ces agissements vont directement à l'encontre des dispositions et des buts de la Charte des Nations Unies et de plusieurs décisions importantes déjà adoptées par l'Organisation, en particulier des dispositions et des principes fondamentaux proclamés par l'ONU dans la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux.

51. Si l'on observe attentivement les activités des monopoles dans les territoires coloniaux, on voit clairement que le capital monopoliste représente la réaction sous tous ses aspects. Le joug des monopoles est particulièrement pesant pour les peuples coloniaux. Dans le domaine économique, il se manifeste par le pillage des ressources nationales du pays, qui ralentit de plusieurs dizaines d'années le développement de l'économie des territoires coloniaux. C'est là un retard économique considérable, un développement unilatéral de la structure économique et un état de dépendance économique par rapport aux pays impérialistes.

52. Sur le plan politique et social, on trouve l'arbitraire absolu qui se caractérise par le système honteux de discrimination raciale et d'apartheid, l'abaissement des habitants autochtones des territoires coloniaux au niveau d'esclaves, à qui tout droit est refusé de lutter pour améliorer leur vie, par la famine, la misère, les maladies, la mort lente, et par le retard dans les domaines de l'enseignement et de la culture.

53. La délégation soviétique fait entièrement sienne la conclusion légitime du Sous-Comité I du Comité spécial, à savoir que les monopoles étrangers dans les pays coloniaux ont joué et continuent d'avoir "des effets réactionnaires sur le développement économique, politique et social" (A/6868/Add.1, par. 90).

Le rôle funeste des monopoles impérialistes se manifeste également dans les activités qu'ils mènent dans le sud du continent africain, où subsiste à l'heure actuelle le bastion le plus puissant des régimes coloniaux et racistes. Ce bastion ne pourrait se maintenir tant soit peu longtemps sans l'appui du capital monopoliste international. C'est la raison pour laquelle le Comité spécial s'inquiète profondément et à bon droit de la pénétration continue du capital étranger et du renforcement de ses positions en Rhodésie du Sud, en Angola, au Mozambique, dans le Sud-Ouest africain et dans la République sud-africaine.

54. Il est opportun de rappeler que, selon les données dont on dispose, le volume total des investissements étrangers dans les pays de l'Afrique australe est supérieur à l'heure actuelle à 10 milliards de dollars. Il s'agit là d'une somme considérable si l'on songe qu'elle dépasse le budget national de nombreux pays indépendants en voie de développement. La majeure partie de cette somme revient au capital monopoliste du Royaume-Uni et des Etats-Unis d'Amérique, ainsi que d'un certain nombre d'autres pays membres de l'OTAN, notamment de la République fédérale d'Allemagne.

55. Les monopoles étrangers possèdent plus des deux tiers de tous les investissements effectués en Angola et au Mozambique et plus de 80 p. 100 des investissements en Rhodésie du Sud. En ce qui concerne la République sud-africaine, qui est l'entité économique la plus puissante de la région, les seuls investissements effectués par les Etats-Unis et le Royaume-Uni représentent environ 5 milliards de dollars.

56. La délégation soviétique estime que l'opinion publique mondiale doit savoir quels sont les monopoles qui constituent dans les colonies les ennemis les plus dangereux de l'indépendance des peuples africains. Il ne suffit pas de mentionner, comme l'ont déjà fait à juste titre un certain nombre de représentants, un certain capital étranger anonyme qui cause un tort incalculable aux peuples des territoires coloniaux; il faut s'efforcer de suivre la voie qu'ont montrée dans leurs interventions un certain nombre de représentants, en d'autres termes, il faut connaître et désigner par leur nom ces monopoles.

57. La délégation soviétique tient à signaler en premier lieu l'Anglo American Corporation of South Africa et la Charter Consolidated, qui possèdent avec leurs filiales des investissements dépassant 1 milliard de dollars E.U. et qui contrôlent les secteurs clefs de l'économie de l'ensemble de la région en question.

58. En ce qui concerne l'Angola, il faut mentionner avant tout l'Angola Diamond Company, spécialisée dans l'extraction de diamants, ainsi que les sociétés minières Lobito et Lombige, les compagnies pétrolières Petrofina et Cabinda Gulf Oil Company. Les monopoles des Etats-Unis, de la République fédérale d'Allemagne et de la Belgique jouent un rôle important dans ces sociétés.

59. En ce qui concerne le Mozambique, on doit citer au premier chef la Mozambique Gulf Oil Company, la Mozambique Pan-American Oil Company et la Companhia Carbonifera do Moçambique. Là encore, le capital des monopoles américains et belges prédomine dans ces sociétés.

60. En Rhodésie du Sud, il convient de mentionner surtout la Lonrho Ltd., la Selection Trust, Ltd., les trois filiales de la société américaine Union Carbide Company, la Rhodesia Vanadium Corporation et certaines autres sociétés. De nouveau, comme cela a déjà été reconnu lors de l'examen de la question de la Rhodésie du Sud, ce sont les monopoles anglais et américains qui jouent un rôle fondamental.

61. Au Sud-Ouest africain, il y a lieu de signaler principalement la Tsumeb Corporation, la Consolidated Diamond Mines of South-West Africa, Ltd. et la Marine Diamond Corporation, Ltd., où l'influence prédominante est celle des monopoles sud-africains, anglais et américains.

62. La délégation soviétique n'énumère pas ces sociétés et ces monopoles étrangers pour le plaisir de faire une analyse économique en tant que telle, encore que ce genre d'analyse soit toujours utile si l'on veut montrer et définir les ressorts et les raisons véritables de telle ou telle politique, qui s'oppose aux principes et aux intérêts des peuples progressistes. Comme elle l'a déjà souligné, la délégation soviétique est convaincue que la responsabilité des crimes commis contre l'humanité et contre la liberté et l'indépendance des peuples doit revenir à des monopoles étrangers bien réels, qui se livrent directement à leurs agissements de barbares, de pillards et de bandits sur les territoires coloniaux; cette responsabilité revient bien entendu aussi aux milieux dirigeants des puissances coloniales et impérialistes, bien réels eux aussi, qui leur obéissent.

63. Il se pose ici une question légitime, qui a déjà été soulevée à la présente Commission au début même de la discussion. Pourquoi ces représentants ainsi que d'autres représentants de l'impérialisme soutiennent-ils activement les régimes coloniaux et racistes? La réponse à cette question a déjà été donnée et la délégation soviétique tient à s'associer à la conclusion déjà formulée au début du présent débat. La réponse est que les régimes coloniaux et racistes présentent précisément des avantages et offrent aux monopoles impérialistes la garantie de percevoir des bénéfices fabuleux grâce à l'exploitation éhontée des grandes richesses naturelles des pays d'Afrique australe et d'une main-d'œuvre à bon marché. Nul n'ignore par ailleurs que le coût peu élevé de cette main-d'œuvre ne résulte pas de facteurs économiques particuliers à telle ou telle région où est pratiquée cette exploitation monstrueuse. Le coût peu élevé de la main-d'œuvre s'explique par une contrainte qui ne relève pas du domaine économique et qui trouve son expression dans les régimes racistes et la discrimination raciale, dans l'exploitation effrénée et l'oppression directe de la population autochtone. Par suite de l'emploi d'une main-d'œuvre peu coûteuse, les monopoles impérialistes réalisent des surprofits qui constituent le double ou même le triple des bénéfices correspondants dans les pays capitalistes développés, où, dans des conditions normales, les bénéfices ne dépassent pas le chiffre annuel de 7 à 8 p. 100. M. Morozov ne parle pas ici des surprofits que réalisent les monopoles impérialistes partisans de la course aux armements et du renforcement de la tension internationale, surprofits qui aboutissent à ce que ces monopoles impérialistes reçoivent également dans

les pays capitalistes développés des bénéfices fabuleux dont ne peut et n'a pu rêver aucun apologiste du système économique capitaliste. De l'aveu même de ceux qui ont fourni ces renseignements, c'est-à-dire les monopoles étrangers eux-mêmes, ces derniers recouvrent le capital qu'ils ont investi dans les territoires coloniaux sous forme de bénéfices en 4 ou 5 ans au maximum.

64. Ce phénomène explique notamment l'augmentation récente et particulièrement rapide des investissements effectués par les Etats-Unis et la République fédérale d'Allemagne. C'est ainsi qu'au cours des dix dernières années (de 1956 à 1966) les investissements de la République fédérale d'Allemagne ont décuplé.

65. L'or, les diamants, le pétrole, le coton et d'autres richesses appartenant aux peuples africains, ainsi que la vie même des Africains, servent à enrichir les monopoles étrangers, comme ils servent aussi partiellement à corrompre les dirigeants de la classe ouvrière dans les pays impérialistes. En ce qui concerne les Africains, ces crimes ont conduit à une existence végétative d'esclaves, à la faim, à la maladie, à la mort prématurée, à l'analphabétisme et au retard dans le domaine culturel.

66. Aucun chiffre statistique ne peut, naturellement, refléter toute l'horreur de la tragédie que vivent les peuples africains en Afrique australe. Et pourtant ces chiffres sont déjà éloquentes. L'Anglo Diamond Company, déjà mentionnée ici, a réalisé de 1961 à 1965 quelque 70 millions de dollars de bénéfices grâce à l'exportation de diamants. Il est intéressant de voir comment ces bénéfices se sont répartis: 27 millions sont allés à différents détenteurs d'actions dans la métropole et à peu près autant au Gouvernement portugais. En outre, pendant cette même période, le Gouvernement portugais a reçu environ 3 millions de dollars de cette société à titre de contribution à la "défense de la patrie". On comprend aisément que cette "défense de la patrie" signifie en réalité l'appui donné aux forces armées du régime colonial; quant aux autorités coloniales locales, elles ont reçu de cette société, aux mêmes fins, c'est-à-dire l'appui au régime colonial, des prêts de 8 millions de dollars.

67. Il convient de noter en outre que l'Anglo American Corporation of South Africa réalise des bénéfices atteignant les mêmes proportions, non pas en l'espace de cinq ans, mais en une seule année.

68. Dans le Sud-Ouest africain, les principaux monopoles impérialistes sont la Tsumeb Corporation, la Consolidated Diamond Mines of South West Africa, Ltd., et la Marine Diamond Corporation, Ltd., que M. Morozov a déjà citées. Le capital américain et anglais y joue un rôle déterminant. Ils font partie du complot international des monopoles impérialistes qui entendent renforcer le régime colonial, organiser la résistance aux mouvements de libération nationale dans ces territoires, créer une menace à la paix et à la sécurité internationales, à la sécurité non seulement des peuples d'Afrique, mais des autres régions du monde.

69. On sait, par ailleurs, que ce complot a consisté notamment à amener l'administration coloniale, qui agit au nom mais aussi au détriment des intérêts

des populations autochtones, à consentir aux monopoles étrangers des privilèges qui seraient absolument inimaginables dans des pays indépendants. Ces privilèges contribuent à grossir encore plus les surprofits et en facilitent la formation. Il convient également de rappeler que, dans les colonies portugaises, les monopoles étrangers sont exonérés de l'impôt et des droits de douane, qu'ils se voient attribuer d'immenses étendues de terres, qu'ils ont la possibilité de constituer leurs propres forces de police, voire leurs propres unités militaires qu'ils utilisent pour défendre le régime colonial et écraser la lutte populaire. Dans le Sud-Ouest africain, près de la moitié du territoire a été cédée sous forme de concessions aux monopoles étrangers.

70. Un représentant de la Newmont Mining Corporation qui opère dans la République sud-africaine et dans le Sud-Ouest africain a indiqué que les bénéfices de sa compagnie, et de nombreuses autres, atteignent en moyenne 27 p. 100 du capital investi. Comme l'a déclaré le représentant de la République-Unie de Tanzanie dans l'intervention qu'il a faite à la présente séance, le revenu annuel de la Consolidated Diamond Mines représente presque le double du budget du territoire du Sud-Ouest africain. Dans les colonies portugaises, les bénéfices sont en moyenne de 18 à 20 p. 100 au minimum et ils atteignent fréquemment, dans le cas de certaines compagnies importantes, jusqu'à 45 p. 100.

71. Voici pourquoi, même si l'on envisage la situation en se plaçant du point de vue des partisans du maintien du système capitaliste de production et d'économie, de ceux qui font l'apologie du système capitaliste, les données qui sont ou qui ont été fournies à la Quatrième Commission et que renferme notamment le rapport du Comité spécial constituent un verdict de culpabilité prononcé contre le complot international des monopoles impérialistes dont les activités sont dirigées contre les peuples des territoires coloniaux, contre la cause de la libération nationale et contre l'accession à l'indépendance de ces pays.

72. Ainsi, le capital monopolistique pénètre toujours plus profondément en Afrique, dans les territoires coloniaux qui subsistent sur ce continent et ce — comme on l'a relevé ici à juste titre — non à des fins humanitaires, non pour développer l'économie de ces territoires, mais pour les piller.

73. Pour compléter les faits qu'il a déjà cités, M. Morozov rappelle que la Charter Consolidated dont il a déjà fait état perçoit dans le sud de l'Afrique près de 40 p. 100 de l'ensemble de ses bénéfices, contre 12 p. 100 seulement dans les pays indépendants d'Afrique et moins de 20 p. 100 au Royaume-Uni. On comprend donc les raisons pour lesquelles ce monopole et ses pareils luttent énergiquement pour perpétuer le colonialisme.

74. Comme l'a noté le Sous-Comité I (A/6868/Add.1, par. 85), dans les territoires coloniaux de l'Afrique australe, les principaux moyens de production, à savoir la terre, les mines, les usines et les fabriques ainsi que les moyens de transport, sont tous aux mains des capitalistes étrangers et des colons locaux cependant que la population autochtone est privée

de toute possibilité de participer à la vie économique du pays.

75. Cette situation n'est pas uniquement caractéristique des territoires du sud de l'Afrique; elle est typique de toutes les possessions coloniales des pays impérialistes. M. Morozov attire l'attention sur la situation en Afrique parce que la discussion porte sur ce bastion du colonialisme que, de toute évidence, les colonialistes n'ont aucune intention d'abandonner sans lutte. Il souligne tout spécialement ces faits parce que ce bastion constitue une menace permanente pour les Etats indépendants d'Afrique.

76. L'activité des monopoles étrangers a produit des effets, sur le plan économique et social, qui sont vraiment catastrophiques.

77. Ainsi qu'il est indiqué dans les documents du Sous-Comité I, les étrangers se sont emparés des meilleures terres, d'où il s'ensuit que l'écrasante majorité des agriculteurs est obligée de louer des terres à des sociétés étrangères ou à des propriétaires locaux à des conditions défavorables. En fait, cette situation ne diffère guère du servage, de l'esclavage. Les paysans ne peuvent s'adonner qu'aux cultures dont ont besoin les compagnies concessionnaires étrangères. Ils vendent leur production à ces mêmes compagnies étrangères à des prix fixés arbitrairement par celles-ci, c'est-à-dire à des prix qui assurent aux monopoles des bénéfices élevés sur l'exportation de cultures hautement rentables.

78. A côté de la production agricole marchande hautement développée organisée sur les terres des sociétés étrangères et des colons locaux, gros propriétaires fonciers, on trouve une économie de subsistance, retardataire et primitive, sur les terres pauvres, de superficie réduite, qui sont encore aux mains de la population autochtone. Le développement économique général des territoires s'en trouve freiné; quant aux paysans, c'est-à-dire la population autochtone, ils vivent dans de telles conditions qu'ils sont privés des moyens d'existence de première nécessité.

79. On sait, par exemple, qu'en République sud-africaine la population autochtone, qui représente bien plus des deux tiers de la population totale, n'a le droit — et M. Morozov est tenté de mettre le mot "droit" entre guillemets parce qu'il ne s'agit là que d'un droit théorique — qu'à 13 p. 100 des terres. Il en va de même d'une manière générale en Rhodésie du Sud.

80. N'est-il pas significatif que, comme vient de le rappeler le représentant de la Syrie, l'Angola Diamond Company possède des droits exclusifs sur une superficie de plus d'un million de kilomètres carrés, alors que sur le reste du territoire chaque cultivateur africain dispose en moyenne de cinquante fois moins de terres que l'exploitant agricole portugais. Est-il besoin de citer des données plus éloquantes?

81. Le revenu des cultivateurs africains en Angola, par exemple, comme le signale le Comité spécial dans son rapport, ne représente au mieux que 2 p. 100 seulement du revenu des exploitants agricoles blancs. D'après le même rapport, en Rhodésie du Sud, le

revenu annuel moyen du cultivateur africain ne s'élevait en 1965 qu'à 10 livres sterling par habitant.

82. La délégation soviétique estime justifiées les conclusions et recommandations du Comité spécial qui a insisté sur le caractère inadmissible et criminel des expropriations massives de terres dont a été victime la population africaine autochtone; comme le Comité, elle demande qu'il soit mis fin à cette situation.

83. Il ne faut pas oublier non plus que la population autochtone des territoires coloniaux se voit refuser le droit d'association et, par conséquent, ne peut s'organiser pour défendre ses intérêts.

84. Comme l'a noté le représentant de la République-Unie de Tanzanie, le monopole dont jouissent les sociétés étrangères, en ce qui concerne la vente des produits agricoles destinés à l'exportation et la fixation des prix de ces produits, repose en fait sur une discrimination raciale sans limites à l'égard des travailleurs africains de l'industrie, du point de vue des conditions de travail notamment. Le revenu annuel moyen d'un habitant européen de la République sud-africaine est plus élevé que le revenu annuel moyen d'un habitant du Royaume-Uni. Cependant, le revenu de la population africaine de l'Afrique du Sud est considérablement inférieur au revenu de la population des pays africains indépendants. En République sud-africaine, cette effarante disparité entre le revenu moyen de la population européenne et de la population autochtone ne cesse de s'aggraver. En Rhodésie du Sud, en 1965, le salaire annuel moyen d'un ouvrier africain représentait le dixième du salaire annuel moyen d'un ouvrier blanc (128 livres sterling pour un Africain et 1 284 livres sterling par an pour un ouvrier blanc). Dans le Sud-Ouest africain, cet écart est encore plus considérable: dans l'industrie minière, le salaire d'un ouvrier africain ne représente que le douzième ou le treizième du salaire d'un ouvrier blanc. Voilà pourquoi l'activité des monopoles étrangers se traduit dans ces régions par des bénéfices fabuleux et par un pillage d'une ampleur monstrueuse.

85. Cette activité criminelle des monopoles en Afrique australe est également une menace pour la sécurité des pays indépendants d'Afrique. Mais il ne faut pas oublier non plus que les petits territoires coloniaux sont eux aussi durement exploités par les monopoles des pays occidentaux.

86. Les peuples du Proche-Orient, d'Asie, d'Océanie et d'autres régions du monde, qui subissent la domination coloniale, pâtissent également de l'activité des monopoles étrangers, de la même façon que les peuples de l'Afrique australe.

87. Il faut rappeler à cet égard un fait, d'ailleurs bien connu, qui explique la ténacité avec laquelle les colonialistes s'accrochent à leurs possessions du Proche-Orient. Nul n'ignore les bénéfices fantastiques que les monopoles pétroliers retirent de l'extraction du pétrole de cette région. Or, l'existence de régimes coloniaux n'est pas sans rapport avec ces bénéfices puisque, dans les principautés arabes divisées et opprimées par les colonialistes, les monopoles étrangers, comme on le sait, paient des impôts bien infé-

rieurs à ceux qu'ils doivent verser aux Etats arabes indépendants.

88. Les possessions australiennes d'Océanie offrent un tableau analogue. Dans le Territoire du Papua et de la Nouvelle-Guinée, les investissements s'accroissent au rythme de 5 à 6 millions de livres sterling par an, et les bénéfices exportés (compte non tenu des réinvestissements et d'autres dépenses effectuées sur place) représentent de 3 à 5 millions de livres sterling par an. Ce faisant, la Puissance administrante participe directement, aux côtés des sociétés privées, à l'exploitation ou plus exactement au pillage du Territoire, puisqu'elle détient une part importante des actions de certaines entreprises, dépassant parfois 50 p. 100.

89. La situation est identique dans les possessions américaines des océans Atlantique et Pacifique. A Porto Rico, les monopoles américains, qui ont la haute main sur 80 p. 100 de l'industrie, réalisent des bénéfices annuels qui représentent de 28 à 30 p. 100 de leurs investissements. Il en va de même dans l'île de Guam, où sévit en fait un seul monopole, la compagnie Jones and Guerrero, et où les investissements sont purement et simplement exempts de tout impôt pendant les dix premières années. Il serait facile d'allonger la liste de ces exemples.

90. Parce qu'ils sont les véritables maîtres des pays capitalistes et qu'ils déterminent l'activité des milieux dirigeants de ces pays, les monopoles peuvent mobiliser tout l'appareil d'Etat pour défendre leurs intérêts dans les colonies, subordonner à leurs intérêts et à leurs buts égoïstes la politique étrangère et la puissance militaire de ces pays. C'est ainsi que s'explique la politique suivie par plusieurs grandes puissances occidentales en matière de décolonisation, politique dont ces puissances ont donné plusieurs exemples lors de la présente session et des précédentes sessions de l'Assemblée générale, au cours des débats sur la situation dans différents territoires coloniaux: tout en admettant en paroles le droit des peuples à l'autodétermination, les représentants des grandes puissances coloniales font en réalité tout ce qu'ils peuvent pour conserver au colonialisme des points d'appui en Afrique australe et dans les petits territoires coloniaux. Cette politique est directement et très intimement liée à la politique suivie par les pays coloniaux — notamment les Etats-Unis d'Amérique —, qui s'accrochent de toutes leurs forces à un réseau de bases militaires réparties dans le monde entier comme autant de bastions destinés à l'agression et à la lutte contre le mouvement de libération nationale.

91. Ces divers aspects du problème, rappelle M. Morozov, sont étroitement liés. A cet égard, l'action des monopoles des pays impérialistes se fait sentir dans tous les domaines: exploitation économique des territoires coloniaux, soutien politique fourni à des régimes colonialistes gangrenés, répression militaire de l'héroïque combat des peuples pour leur indépendance nationale. Aux yeux d'un observateur attentif et impartial, un fait apparaît de manière absolument claire: la base américaine de Guam, qui est utilisée contre le peuple vietnamien épris de liberté, les bases britanniques de la péninsule Arabique, qui servent à réprimer la lutte des peuples d'Arabie du Sud, la

base dont l'Allemagne de l'Ouest dispose au Portugal, qui permet aux colonialistes portugais d'envoyer des renforts en Angola, la base américaine de Guantanamo, qui menace l'indépendance de Cuba — toutes ces bases et bien d'autres encore ne servent qu'un seul et même but: renforcer les positions de l'impérialisme et de ses monopoles, écraser le mouvement de libération nationale.

92. Dans ce complot, les petits territoires coloniaux occupent une place particulière et des plus importantes. Non seulement les monopoles impérialistes et leurs gouvernements exploitent directement leurs ressources naturelles et humaines, mais ils les utilisent comme points d'appui aux fins d'agression et de lutte contre le mouvement de libération nationale.

93. Il suffit d'avoir présente à l'esprit la carte du globe pour comprendre l'importance de cette chaîne de bases qui s'étend des îles Marshall et des îles Mariannes à la mer des Antilles en passant par les îles de l'océan Indien, l'Arabie et l'Afrique australe. Ces bases, comme maintes délégations l'ont plus d'une fois noté, sont un grave danger pour la sécurité des peuples.

94. Une telle situation ne saurait être tolérée plus longtemps. La délégation soviétique estime que l'Assemblée générale doit exiger avec force que les Etats-Unis d'Amérique, le Royaume-Uni et les autres puissances coloniales appliquent les résolutions de l'ONU touchant l'élimination des bases étrangères situées en territoires coloniaux. L'application de ces décisions serait un pas important dans la lutte contre les crimes commis par les monopoles étrangers dans les territoires coloniaux; elle contribuerait grandement à la victoire du mouvement de libération nationale et rapprocherait le jour de l'élimination définitive du colonialisme.

95. De l'avis de la délégation soviétique, le rapport du Comité spécial et les autres renseignements dont on dispose montrent que les monopoles étrangers poursuivent dans les territoires coloniaux une politique contraire aux intérêts fondamentaux des pays indépendants aussi bien que des peuples qui luttent pour leur libération nationale. Elle estime par conséquent que l'Assemblée générale doit condamner cette activité des monopoles comme dangereuse pour la paix du monde et comme étant l'un des principaux obstacles à l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux.

96. La délégation soviétique appuie sans réserve les conclusions et recommandations présentées à l'Assemblée générale par le Comité spécial. Elle estime que ces conclusions et recommandations peuvent offrir une base utile et appropriée à la résolution que l'Assemblée générale devra adopter à la présente session. De l'avis de la délégation soviétique, la portée de cette résolution ne devra pas se limiter à la situation en Rhodésie du Sud, au Sud-Ouest africain et dans les colonies portugaises et autres; elle devra s'appliquer également à la République sud-africaine et à d'autres territoires coloniaux.

97. Bien entendu, la délégation soviétique est prête à examiner toute proposition constructive visant à compléter les recommandations du Comité spécial

ou les conclusions et propositions qu'elle vient elle-même de présenter.

98. La délégation soviétique pense également que l'Assemblée générale doit condamner résolument l'activité criminelle des monopoles étrangers et le soutien qu'ils apportent aux régimes coloniaux, ainsi que l'exploitation et le pillage des richesses naturelles et des peuples des pays coloniaux. L'Assemblée générale doit exiger qu'il soit mis fin à cette activité criminelle qui entrave sérieusement l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux ainsi que l'élimination définitive du colonialisme et de ses séquelles.

99. Il importe également que l'Assemblée générale condamne le soutien que les puissances coloniales — au premier chef le Portugal et la République sud-africaine et ensuite les Etats-Unis d'Amérique et le Royaume-Uni — apportent aux monopoles internationaux au détriment de la population autochtone des pays coloniaux.

100. L'Assemblée générale doit inviter les gouvernements de tous les Etats dont les monopoles participent au pillage des peuples coloniaux, notamment ceux des Etats-Unis d'Amérique, du Royaume-Uni et de la République fédérale d'Allemagne, à prendre des mesures législatives et autres pour mettre fin à l'activité criminelle de leurs monopoles dans les colonies. Il faudra également stipuler, dans la résolution, que les Etats intéressés doivent enfin intervenir de façon efficace pour limiter fortement l'exportation par les monopoles étrangers de bénéfices provenant des territoires coloniaux et qu'ils doivent prendre des mesures législatives pour qu'une plus large fraction de ces bénéfices soit affectée au développement économique et social des colonies, à l'élévation du niveau de vie de la population autochtone et à l'amélioration de la santé publique et de l'enseignement.

101. De l'avis de la délégation soviétique, l'Assemblée générale doit prier le Comité spécial de poursuivre l'étude du problème et la mise au point de mesures dirigées contre l'activité néfaste des monopoles dans les colonies. C'est la première fois que la question de l'activité des monopoles étrangers dans les territoires coloniaux fait l'objet d'un point distinct de l'ordre du jour de l'Assemblée générale des Nations Unies, comme l'a rappelé la délégation éthiopienne qui a souligné la portée de l'événement. La délégation soviétique partage cette manière de voir. Elle estime qu'il importe au plus haut point, vu la gravité du problème, que la question de l'activité des monopoles soit inscrite, en tant que question distincte, à l'ordre du jour de la prochaine session de l'Assemblée générale, ce qui permettra à l'Assemblée d'examiner le rapport du Comité spécial sur la suite donnée aux résolutions qui auront été prises par l'Assemblée générale à la présente session.

102. M. NKAMA (Zambie) estime que la question qu'étudie en ce moment la Commission est au cœur même du problème de l'accession à l'indépendance des populations autochtones d'Afrique australe. Il est par conséquent essentiel que les véritables ennemis de l'indépendance africaine soient connus et leurs activités analysées. Déjà il apparaît qu'un grand nombre

de pays qui, à maintes occasions, se sont déclarés solidaires des mouvements de libération sont en fait opposés à la réalisation des objectifs qu'espèrent atteindre les combattants de la liberté.

103. Il est commode pour un représentant de venir devant la Commission nier que son pays coopère avec les régimes minoritaires et affirmer qu'il appuie les principes de la décolonisation et du gouvernement par la majorité. La vérité doit être dite, et c'est ce qu'a fait le représentant de l'Union soviétique, qui, dans son intervention, a traité des problèmes complexes auxquels se heurtent les populations autochtones d'Afrique australe dans la lutte qu'elles mènent pour se libérer du joug colonial.

104. M. Nkama demande donc que la déclaration du représentant de l'Union soviétique soit reproduite intégralement dans le compte rendu des débats de la Commission.

105. Le PRESIDENT déclare qu'en l'absence d'objections il considérera que la Commission accepte la proposition faite par le représentant de la Zambie.

Il en est ainsi décidé.

Nations Unies ASSEMBLÉE GÉNÉRALE

VINGT-DEUXIÈME SESSION

Documents officiels



QUATRIÈME COMMISSION, 1719^e
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POINT 24 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

Activités des intérêts étrangers, économiques et autres, qui font obstacle à l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et

aux peuples coloniaux en Rhodésie du Sud, au Sud-Ouest africain et dans les territoires sous domination portugaise, ainsi que dans tous les autres territoires se trouvant sous domination coloniale, et aux efforts tendant à éliminer le colonialisme, l'apartheid et la discrimination raciale dans le Sud de l'Afrique (suite) [A/6868 et Add.1]

DISCUSSION GÉNÉRALE (suite)

1. M. PAKHARENKO (République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine) estime que l'examen du point 24 de l'ordre du jour traduit la nécessité de déterminer les principaux obstacles à l'indépendance politique et économique des pays et des peuples coloniaux. A cet égard, les activités du capital monopolistique international revêtent une importance de premier plan. En effet, toute l'histoire du capitalisme est liée au pillage des colonies, et l'exportation de capitaux est le fondement de la domination impérialiste et de l'oppression des territoires coloniaux. Le capital monopolistique ne recule devant aucun moyen pour réaliser son objectif principal: le profit maximum. Il a partagé en sphères d'influence les pays et territoires du tiers monde et domine désormais dans le monde capitaliste tous les secteurs de la production et tous les aspects de la vie sociale. Les monopoles impérialistes, qui ont provoqué deux guerres mondiales, sont à l'heure actuelle à l'origine de la tension internationale et de la course aux armements. Ils sont responsables de l'aventure criminelle des Etats-Unis au Viet-Nam et de la nouvelle agression contre les Etats arabes.

2. Après avoir freiné pendant des décennies, voire des siècles, le développement des territoires coloniaux, les monopoles continuent d'exploiter impitoyablement les populations autochtones. Les revenus d'investissement des seuls monopoles des Etats-Unis en Afrique, en Asie et en Amérique latine se sont élevés à 10 milliards de dollars pendant la période 1960-1964. Les monopoles impérialistes règnent sans partage en Afrique et contrôlent presque entièrement l'économie des colonies portugaises, de la Rhodésie du Sud et du Sud-Ouest africain. Leurs investissements dans ces territoires s'élèvent à plus de cinq milliards de dollars. Leurs activités sont à l'origine du développement unilatéral de l'économie des colonies et de l'asservissement aux marchés internationaux. Les sociétés américaines, britanniques, allemandes, belges et portugaises contrôlent toutes les ressources minérales de l'Angola. Le taux de rendement des investissements dans ce territoire est de 40 p. 100 dans l'industrie et de 60 à 75 p. 100 dans l'agriculture. Les bénéfices annuels du plus puissant des monopoles étrangers en Afrique dite portugaise, la Diamang, dépassent à l'heure actuelle le montant de

son capital social, qui s'élève à 294,1 millions d'escudos. Ses actionnaires touchent des dividendes de l'ordre de 40 à 50 p. 100. En 1966, la Diamang a rapporté au trésor du Portugal 2 366 millions d'escudos. Les bénéfices d'une autre société, la Petrangol, sont passés de 56 millions d'escudos en 1963 à 172,7 millions d'escudos en 1965. Ce monopole se propose de verser au Gouvernement portugais une "prime" de 30 millions d'escudos et doit lui prêter 290 millions d'escudos. Ces exemples montrent que le capital monopolistique est l'appui principal du colonialisme portugais et qu'il est un des grands obstacles à l'indépendance authentique des peuples d'Angola, du Mozambique et d'autres territoires sous domination portugaise. Les monopoles des Etats-Unis, du Royaume-Uni, de la République fédérale d'Allemagne et d'autres pays capitalistes jouent un rôle tout aussi criminel en Rhodésie du Sud. Leur domination a permis de renforcer le régime illégal de Smith et de tourner la décision du Conseil de sécurité sur les sanctions contre la Rhodésie du Sud. Les monopoles de l'Allemagne de l'Ouest ont intensifié leurs activités en Rhodésie du Sud depuis l'adoption de la décision sur les sanctions et les défenseurs du régime raciste de Smith ont déclenché une campagne très active aux Etats-Unis. Les capitaux américains, britanniques et sud-africains contrôlent toute l'industrie extractive du Sud-Ouest africain. La Consolidated Diamond Mines of South West Africa, Ltd. a réalisé en vingt ans des bénéfices nets de l'ordre de 369 millions de rands. Les bénéfices d'une autre société américaine, la Tsumeb Corporation, se sont élevés de 1948 à 1961 à plus de 140 millions de rands, soit 70 fois son capital social. Ces bénéfices fabuleux sont soit expatriés, soit accaparés par la minorité blanche.

3. La poignée de millionnaires qui contrôlent toutes les ressources naturelles du sud de l'Afrique s'est également emparée, de concert avec les colons blancs, de la quasi-totalité des meilleures terres de la région. En Rhodésie du Sud, les colons blancs possèdent 45 p. 100 des terres arables, qui fournissent 93 p. 100 de la production agricole. Près de la moitié des terres du Sud-Ouest africain a été cédée aux monopoles étrangers à des fins de prospection. En même temps, 54,5 p. 100 de la population autochtone ont été concentrés dans quatre réserves.

4. S'appuyant sur les régimes coloniaux, les monopoles étrangers ont privé la population de ces territoires de son droit inaliénable d'exploiter en toute propriété ses ressources naturelles. La législation discriminatoire en vigueur en Angola, au Mozambique, en Rhodésie du Sud et dans le Sud-Ouest africain empêche la population autochtone de participer à la vie politique et économique et la condamne à la misère, à la faim et à des souffrances sans précédent.

5. La discrimination raciale en matière de salaires fait qu'un travailleur autochtone gagne 10 à 15 fois moins qu'un colon blanc. Cette politique, accompagnée d'échanges forcés de main-d'œuvre entre les territoires coloniaux, échanges destinés à maintenir un faible taux de rémunération, est à l'origine des profits fabuleux des monopoles. La majorité de la popu-

lation autochtone est illettrée et à peu près privée de soins médicaux.

6. L'exploitation, voire le pillage des peuples par les impérialistes sont indissolublement liés aux activités militaires des puissances coloniales dirigées contre les mouvements de libération nationale. L'utilisation à ces fins des bases militaires situées à Guam, dans l'Ile de l'Ascension, à Aden, etc., en apporte la preuve, et la liquidation de ces bases est une des principales conditions de l'élimination du joug colonial.

7. L'Organisation des Nations Unies doit condamner l'activité des monopoles étrangers dans les territoires coloniaux. Les travaux du Comité spécial constituent une contribution non négligeable à cet objectif. Le peuple ukrainien, qui a subi avant la révolution d'Octobre la double exploitation des capitalistes autochtones et étrangers, est sensible aux souffrances actuelles des peuples coloniaux. L'Ukraine était, elle aussi, considérée à l'époque par les capitalistes étrangers comme une source de matières premières et de main-d'œuvre à bon marché. Ayant brisé pour toujours, en 1917, les chaînes de l'esclavage, le peuple ukrainien a transformé son pays en une grande puissance industrielle et agricole où fleurissent les sciences et les arts.

8. La délégation ukrainienne fait siennes les conclusions du Comité spécial touchant le rôle réactionnaire des intérêts économiques et financiers étrangers dans les colonies. Elle estime que l'Assemblée générale doit condamner l'activité des monopoles étrangers dans les colonies, car cette activité est le principal obstacle à l'application de sa résolution 1514 (XV). Il importe de condamner de la manière la plus énergique les Gouvernements sud-africain et portugais ainsi que le régime raciste de la Rhodésie du Sud pour l'appui actif qu'ils apportent aux monopoles impérialistes. L'Organisation des Nations Unies doit exiger des puissances administrantes qu'elles restituent sans tarder à la population autochtone les terres dont elle a été privée. M. Pakhareenko appuie la proposition de la délégation soviétique (1718ème séance) tendant à prendre des mesures de nature à mettre fin à l'action criminelle des monopoles étrangers dans les territoires coloniaux. Il estime aussi qu'il serait souhaitable de prier le Secrétaire général d'assurer une plus large diffusion des renseignements relatifs à cette action. En terminant, M. Pakhareenko se prononce pour le maintien du point 24 à l'ordre du jour de l'Assemblée générale et appuie la suggestion tendant à confier au Comité spécial le soin d'élaborer de nouvelles recommandations concrètes concernant cette question.

9. M. FALL (Sénégal) tient à préciser l'optique dans laquelle sa délégation envisage de prendre part à la discussion du point à l'étude. La délégation sénégalaise estime que les pratiques issues d'accords multilatéraux ou bilatéraux entre pays indépendants ne sauraient être invoquées dans le débat actuel pour justifier telle ou telle position au sujet des territoires coloniaux. Par ailleurs, l'étude des activités des intérêts étrangers dans les territoires coloniaux ne doit pas être, à son avis, l'occasion de jugements de valeur sur les systèmes politiques et sociaux en vigueur dans le monde.

10. La délégation sénégalaise ne croit pas que la coopération économique, si elle est bien aménagée, puisse faire obstacle au développement rationnel des pays. Elle ne pense pas non plus que les intérêts étrangers, par leurs activités, puissent à eux seuls remettre en question la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux; à son sens, ces intérêts, aussi puissants qu'ils soient, sont des auxiliaires, mais des auxiliaires privilégiés du colonialisme. Il faut donc éviter les deux positions extrêmes qui consisteraient à les considérer soit comme seuls responsables, soit comme de simples accessoires, alors qu'ils partagent avec les puissances administrantes une même responsabilité.

11. Il est évident qu'une fois que ces intérêts auront été mis hors d'état de nuire, il restera aux colonisés à faire preuve d'une volonté politique d'indépendance, et pour cela il faudra, comme on l'a dit, une cristallisation des consciences dans le sens de la libération; de la part des colonisateurs, il restera à espérer une option claire. Enfin, le débat sur le point à l'étude ne devrait pas être simplement un inventaire des activités qui font obstacle à l'indépendance des peuples coloniaux; il doit faire intervenir d'autres facteurs, d'ordre politique, culturel et racial notamment, qui sont inséparables du processus de décolonisation.

12. Le rapport du Sous-Comité I (A/6868/Add.1), qui a été adopté par le Comité spécial, a suscité plusieurs critiques. A ceux qui se plaignent de l'insuffisance de renseignements obtenus directement, il faut répondre en soulignant le manque d'empressement manifesté par ceux-là mêmes qui étaient censés fournir ces renseignements; on ne peut par ailleurs que déplorer d'entendre critiquer le langage passionné du rapport du Sous-Comité I, dont les membres auraient, selon certains, fait preuve de parti-pris. S'il est une question qui n'exclut pas la passion, c'est bien celle qui touche la décolonisation, l'indépendance et la liberté des peuples. La délégation sénégalaise, pour sa part, estime que le rapport du Sous-Comité I représente une somme d'excellent travail et que la Commission se trouve, grâce à lui, en possession des éléments dont elle a besoin pour étudier la question qui l'occupe et décider en connaissance de cause. Toute réserve qui pourrait être formulée ne serait qu'une dérobade, un refus de s'exprimer sur un problème fondamental.

13. Le point qu'examine la Commission porte sur une question dont l'étude ne pourra que l'amener une fois de plus à condamner le colonialisme, et la Commission sera d'autant plus fondée à le faire que l'Afrique du Sud, le Portugal et la Rhodésie du Sud, soutenus par les monopoles internationaux, se font les avocats de la situation tragique qui règne en Afrique australe. Il est notoire que le but de la colonisation est l'exploitation des richesses des territoires assujettis. Il est non moins établi que l'unique but des sociétés étrangères est, en participant à cette exploitation, d'en tirer le maximum de profits, si bien que les Etats colonisateurs et les monopoles internationaux se trouvent faire partie de la même équipe dans cette course au trésor. L'identité des intérêts déterminant l'identité des actes, les puissances administrantes et leurs alliés font ensemble obstacle à

l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux.

14. Personne ne va jusqu'à nier complètement l'influence néfaste des monopoles sur le mouvement d'émancipation des peuples encore asservis; mais les derniers apologistes de la colonisation invitent encore à une plus grande circonspection, parlant de nuances, de bienfaits, d'absence de preuves établissant que la présence des intérêts étrangers fait obstacle à la marche des peuples coloniaux vers l'indépendance. Or, il est de notoriété publique que partout où les monopoles se sont installés l'iniquité a atteint la démesure. Les terres sont aliénées aux dépens des autochtones, des "réserves" sont créées pour y parquer les indigènes, solution radicale pour mener à bien l'entreprise de démoralisation et de démobilitation de la population, les droits politiques les plus élémentaires ainsi que les droits syndicaux ne sont pas reconnus aux autochtones, tout cela dans un climat où la discrimination raciale est érigée en système et où tout est fait pour saboter la lutte de libération. D'un autre côté, et pour les mêmes mobiles, on cherche à assurer le développement de l'économie marchande tandis qu'on laisse dépérir l'économie de subsistance. Enfin, on régionalise les investissements selon une méthode qui s'inscrit dans la stratégie globale élaborée pour soustraire l'Afrique australe au courant de décolonisation.

15. Il va de soi que de toutes ces mesures il résulte des bénéfices exceptionnellement élevés pour une minorité d'exploiteurs, au détriment d'un sous-prolétariat qui croupit dans un paupérisme inadmissible. Ce sont ces bénéfices fabuleux qui expliquent que les monopoles internationaux soient de connivence avec des Etats comme le Portugal et l'Afrique du Sud ou avec le régime rebelle de Salisbury. A moins d'y être contraintes, les sociétés étrangères ne se résoudront pas à renoncer à des affaires qui leur rapportent de 20 à 27 p. 100 d'intérêt, alors que, dans le meilleur des cas, les investissements qu'elles feraient dans les pays d'origine ne leur permettent pas de réaliser plus de 5 à 9 p. 100 d'intérêt. Les territoires sont saccagés sous les yeux des puissances administrantes et avec leur plein consentement. En d'autres termes, les puissances administrantes n'ont aucun souci du bien-être des populations colonisées car elles sont trop attentives à celui de leurs propres ressortissants et de leurs alliés.

16. Si un pays comme le Portugal, par exemple, au lieu de protéger les intérêts des populations, laisse faire les monopoles internationaux, c'est parce que, n'ayant pas les moyens financiers nécessaires pour mener à bien sa politique, il est obligé, pour se maintenir en Afrique, de se plier aux volontés des sociétés étrangères qui l'aident dans son entreprise. D'où l'on peut déduire qu'en mettant fin aux activités des intérêts étrangers on mettrait fin du même coup à la colonisation portugaise; on a donc là une raison de plus de condamner énergiquement les monopoles internationaux qui exploitent les territoires encore dépendants.

17. L'expansion des intérêts étrangers est significative en ce sens qu'elle atteste une recrudescence des forces de régression, une volonté plus marquée d'implantation et de mainmise sur les richesses convoitées, état de choses qui est du reste facilité par une législation exceptionnellement accommo-

dante. Cette exploitation forcée suppose en outre la mise en place d'un système de protection contre la révolte prévisible. Quand on voit quel est l'enjeu, on comprend pourquoi les monopoles participent à la répression aux côtés des forces des puissances administrantes. Ces monopoles, qui, on le sait, sont exonérés d'impôts et de droits d'importation ou d'exportation, bénéficient d'un autre privilège, celui de disposer de forces armées particulières.

18. En Rhodésie du Sud, au lendemain de la déclaration unilatérale d'indépendance, ce sont les sociétés étrangères qui ont compromis l'efficacité des sanctions décidées par les Nations Unies en portant secours aux producteurs européens de tabac et de sucre, en recourant à des produits de remplacement des importations déficitaires, en réinvestissant leurs bénéfices dont le rapatriement était aléatoire et en organisant l'approvisionnement en pétrole et produits pétroliers à partir de l'Afrique du Sud et du Mozambique. Ce sont là, à n'en pas douter, des activités absolument contraires aux intérêts des populations autochtones et contraires aux desseins de l'Organisation des Nations Unies.

19. Quel que soit le territoire considéré, on parviendrait aux mêmes conclusions. Partout, en territoire colonial, les intérêts étrangers se comportent en maîtres incontestés, partout ils sont liés aux groupes financiers internationaux et aux gouvernements coloniaux par un système de profits communs, partout ils agissent sans tenir compte du développement harmonieux des territoires ou des aspirations légitimes des populations, infléchissant la politique des puissances administrantes dans le sens d'un durcissement des méthodes de domination et, éventuellement, de la répression violente, et partout ils freinent l'essor des peuples qui veulent se libérer.

20. La délégation sénégalaise est heureuse que le Sous-Comité I ait adopté son rapport à la quasi-unanimité, comme elle se réjouit du vote émis par le Comité spécial. Elle prend acte du fait que, sur le fond du problème, les divergences enregistrées ont été minimales et qu'aucune voix ne s'est élevée pour prendre avec conviction et succès la défense des sociétés étrangères, que la Quatrième Commission a le devoir de condamner avec la même sévérité que celle dont elle fait preuve lorsqu'elle juge les puissances coloniales.

21. La délégation sénégalaise est prête à contribuer à l'élaboration d'un projet de résolution qui réaffirmerait sans équivoque le droit inaliénable des habitants des territoires coloniaux à disposer de leurs ressources naturelles et à les exploiter à leur profit, en attendant que soit confirmé et acquis leur droit à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance.



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POINT 24 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

Activités des intérêts étrangers, économiques et autres, qui font obstacle à l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux en Rhodésie du Sud, au Sud-Ouest africain et dans les territoires sous domination portugaise, ainsi que dans tous les autres territoires se trouvant sous domination coloniale, et aux efforts tendant à éliminer le colonialisme, l'apartheid et la discrimination raciale dans le sud de l'Afrique (suite) [A/6868 et Add.1]

DISCUSSION GÉNÉRALE (suite)

1. M. SABEV (Bulgarie) déclare que les activités des intérêts étrangers dans les pays coloniaux sont à la racine même du colonialisme et du racisme, et sont tout à fait en accord avec la philosophie et leur raison d'être de ces idéologies: tirer d'immenses profits des ressources naturelles et humaines de ces pays, au prix de la sueur et du sang des peuples colonisés.

2. Le rapport du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux (A/6868 et Add.1) montre bien que le colonialisme et le racisme ne sont pas des phénomènes abstraits et inexplicables: ils sont le produit d'une société orientée vers la satisfaction des intérêts égoïstes d'une minorité. Les conclusions et les recommandations formulées dans ce rapport, que la délégation bulgare approuve sans réserve, seront très utiles à la Commission dans l'élaboration

de mesures destinées à mettre fin aux graves conséquences du jeu des monopoles.

3. Les monopoles agissent en collaboration étroite avec les puissances coloniales pour piller les ressources naturelles des territoires qu'elles administrent, exploiter leur main-d'œuvre et réprimer les mouvements de libération nationale — les nombreuses études effectuées par le Comité spécial et d'autres organes de l'ONU l'ont amplement prouvé. L'Assemblée générale a déjà condamné l'expropriation des autochtones et l'emprise économique étrangère dans les territoires coloniaux dans plusieurs résolutions adoptées à ses vingtième et vingt et unième sessions. Elle a, en particulier, au paragraphe 12 du dispositif de sa résolution 2189 (XXI), condamné les activités des intérêts étrangers au Sud-Ouest africain, en Rhodésie du Sud et dans les territoires sous domination portugaise, et demandé aux gouvernements intéressés de prendre les mesures nécessaires pour mettre fin à ces activités.

4. En dépit des appels de l'ONU, les monopoles ne font qu'élargir leur champ d'action. Cette situation compromet gravement le développement harmonieux et l'indépendance économique future des pays qui vivent actuellement sous le joug colonial, et les pays qui se sont libérés au prix de longues luttes sont eux-mêmes menacés. M. Sabev rappelle que les orateurs qui l'ont précédé ont souligné que les intérêts étrangers dépendent d'un groupe de monopoles qui ont leurs sièges dans les capitales occidentales. Il existe aujourd'hui une conjuration internationale de forces impérialistes et colonialistes dont les activités des monopoles étrangers — notamment des Etats-Unis, du Royaume-Uni et de la République fédérale d'Allemagne — sont la manifestation. Au Portugal et dans les colonies portugaises, ces monopoles contrôlent deux tiers des investissements. Ce qui les attire dans la partie méridionale de l'Afrique, ce sont les conditions favorables offertes par les gouvernements coloniaux, qui leur permettent de faire des bénéfices deux ou trois fois supérieurs à ceux qu'ils feraient dans leurs pays d'origine. L'Afrique australe n'est d'ailleurs pas la seule région du monde où leur présence se fait sentir. Au Moyen-Orient, et notamment en Arabie du Sud, les monopoles impérialistes, notamment ceux des Etats-Unis et du Royaume-Uni, pratiquent une exploitation à outrance. Le rapport du Comité spécial montre que dans les territoires coloniaux du Pacifique et de l'océan Indien l'économie, essentiellement agricole, est aux mains d'exploiteurs étrangers, tandis que la population autochtone est contrainte à travailler sur les plantations pour des salaires dérisoires. Aux Antilles, et notamment aux Bahamas, le tourisme, qui est pratiquement la seule industrie, est entièrement contrôlé par des capitaux des Etats-Unis et d'Europe.

5. Le rôle des monopoles étrangers dans les territoires coloniaux a, à de nombreuses reprises, été dénoncé par les représentants des mouvements nationaux de libération. Le Comité spécial a appris qu'en Angola, par exemple, certaines sociétés disposent d'armées privées qui aident les colonialistes portugais à massacrer les patriotes africains. De plus, les monopoles apportent un soutien financier à la répression; on peut citer le cas de l'Angola Diamond Company, société qui, ainsi que certains orateurs l'ont déjà signalé, a une concession de plus d'un million de kilomètres carrés, et a versé environ 125 millions d'escudos, soit 4 millions de dollars, à cette fin.

6. Le rapport du Comité spécial montre toute l'ampleur des conséquences politiques, économiques et sociales néfastes des activités des monopoles. Pour être plus aisément exploités les autochtones sont privés de leurs droits et victimes de mesures discriminatoires; aucune activité syndicale ne leur est permise; l'analphabétisme est quasi universel et les soins médicaux pratiquement inexistantes.

7. Devant cette situation, l'ONU doit réaffirmer les droits de tous les peuples sur leurs ressources naturelles, condamner les activités des monopoles étrangers qui pillent ces ressources, ainsi que les gouvernements des pays coloniaux, et notamment ceux de l'Afrique du Sud et du Portugal, qui encouragent ces pratiques aux dépens des peuples colonisés. M. Sabeu pense que l'on pourrait également demander au Secrétaire général de faire en sorte que les renseignements concernant les activités des intérêts étrangers soient plus largement diffusés.

8. M. Sabeu exprime enfin l'espoir que la discussion en cours permettra d'adopter des mesures constructives capables de mettre fin à l'oppression et à l'exploitation des peuples dans le monde entier.

9. M. KAEMBA (Zambie) déclare qu'aux yeux de sa délégation ce sont les activités des intérêts étrangers dans les pays coloniaux qui sont l'obstacle majeur à la décolonisation et la raison profonde de l'impuissance de l'ONU dans ce domaine.

10. La raison d'être du colonialisme est d'enrichir les colonisateurs et de maintenir les colonisés dans un état de dépendance économique. Même dans les pays aujourd'hui libérés, les colonialistes cherchent encore à s'assurer le contrôle des matières premières que ces pays possèdent par des actes d'agression flagrante, ainsi qu'ils le montrent les événements récemment survenus en République démocratique du Congo, où les monopoles n'ont pas hésité à employer des mercenaires pour faire échouer la marche vers le progrès d'un Etat africain indépendant. En Afrique, le but des colonialistes a été, et est encore, l'exploitation des vastes richesses minérales du continent, au prix de la déshumanisation des Africains. Ils intensifient cette déshumanisation en Afrique du Sud, en Rhodésie du Sud, au Sud-Ouest africain, au Mozambique, en Angola et en Guinée (Bissau), en prétextant, pour comble de paradoxe, que les populations autochtones ne sont pas encore mûres pour la liberté.

11. Les porte-parole des exploités étrangers ont fait de pieuses déclarations à la Quatrième Commission, dénonçant verbalement l'apartheid et toutes les formes d'injustice raciale et économique, mais ils ont

révélé leurs intentions profondes en votant contre les deux résolutions que la Commission a adoptées à cette session (A/C.4/L.870/Rev.2 et A/C.4/L.872/Rev.1) pour mettre fin, précisément, à ces maux. En fait, les pays qu'ils représentent sont les architectes les plus subtils et les plus dangereux de l'injustice. Ils admettent qu'ils fournissent des armes au Portugal et à l'Afrique du Sud, mais prétendent avoir reçu l'assurance que ces armes ne seraient pas utilisées contre des Africains: c'est là une excuse absurde que la délégation zambienne rejette, et dont les photographies exposées à la Commission montrent bien le peu de valeur. La Zambie a d'ailleurs été elle-même attaquée, au début de l'année, par des Portugais qui ont détruit des villages avec du matériel fabriqué dans les pays occidentaux.

12. Le rapport du Comité spécial (A/6868 et Add.1) révèle toute l'ampleur du contrôle que les intérêts du Royaume-Uni, des Etats-Unis et de l'Afrique du Sud exercent sur l'économie de toute l'Afrique australe. En Rhodésie, où 80 p. 100 des investissements effectués dans l'industrie proviennent de l'étranger, l'industrie minière, qui est le secteur le plus important, est contrôlée par des sociétés telles que l'Anglo-American Corporation, la British South Africa Company, Turner and Newall Ltd. (Royaume-Uni) et Union Carbide (Etats-Unis) [par. 93 et 94 du document A/6868/Add.1]. Une situation comparable existe au Sud-Ouest africain (*ibid.*, par. 96). Dans les territoires administrés par le Portugal où les monopoles occidentaux jouent aussi un rôle capital, on apprend (*ibid.*, par. 102) qu'ils participent directement à la répression.

13. Pour la Zambie, le Portugal et l'Afrique du Sud ne sont que les instruments de ces monopoles. Le rapport présenté à la Quatrième Commission en donne la preuve, et l'attitude des pays occidentaux ne fait que confirmer cette conclusion. Les pays occidentaux sont directement responsables de la politique intolérable de discrimination raciale qui fait qu'en Angola et au Mozambique le salaire mensuel initial d'un Africain est en moyenne de 150 escudos, soit 5 dollars des Etats-Unis, alors que celui d'un Blanc est de 4 000 escudos, soit 133,33 dollars. En Rhodésie, c'est grâce aux monopoles que les rebelles racistes se sont maintenus au pouvoir.

14. Les Africains, maintenant qu'ils connaissent le rôle joué par les intérêts étrangers, doivent mieux distinguer leurs amis de leurs ennemis. Les monopoles considèrent l'indépendance des pays africains comme une menace pour leurs investissements, et ils auront recours à tous les moyens, y compris l'intervention de mercenaires, pour s'assurer des profits plus considérables. Le continent africain tout entier est aujourd'hui menacé, et la délégation zambienne lance un appel aux monopoles occidentaux pour qu'ils cessent leur oppression et leur exploitation avant que la patience des Africains ne soit à bout.

15. M. LUARD (Royaume-Uni) dit que le problème fondamental à l'examen revêt une grande importance pour la Commission, s'agissant d'un problème qui n'a peut-être pas été suffisamment examiné dans le passé, à savoir les difficultés économiques et financières des territoires dépendants. Du fait que la plupart des territoires qui n'ont pas encore été décolonisés sont

très petits et très pauvres en ressources, la question de leur développement économique et de l'assistance économique dont ils ont besoin doit être étudiée de toute urgence. A notre époque, où il ne reste plus qu'un si petit nombre de territoires dépendants, dont presque tous sont d'ailleurs en voie d'être décolonisés, il faut incontestablement accorder une attention croissante à leurs problèmes économiques. Les questions à examiner à cet égard sont les suivantes: quel est le montant total des investissements dans chaque territoire, quelle part des capitaux investis l'ont été par le gouvernement local, le gouvernement métropolitain ou des intérêts privés, dans quelle mesure le total des investissements correspond-il aux besoins du territoire et, le cas échéant, quel revenu chaque catégorie d'investisseurs en retire-t-elle? Le cas échéant, quelles conséquences l'investissement de capitaux privés entraîne-t-il sur les plans social et politique? Dans quelle mesure les investissements en question sont-ils répartis d'une manière satisfaisante, et le gouvernement exerce-t-il sur eux un contrôle suffisamment strict pour s'assurer qu'ils servent les intérêts du territoire dans son ensemble? Mais surtout, et c'est là sans aucun doute la question capitale qui se pose à propos du point de l'ordre du jour en discussion, les territoires en question se trouveraient-ils, sans investissements privés étrangers, dans une situation meilleure ou pire et mieux ou moins bien préparés pour accéder à l'indépendance: en d'autres termes, les investissements étrangers font-ils "obstacle" à la décolonisation, comme le donne à penser le titre de ce point de l'ordre du jour, ou bien au contraire, en favorisant la mise en valeur des ressources et la croissance économique, encouragent-ils l'indépendance et permettent-ils, le moment venu, de lui donner davantage de réalité et de sens?

16. Il s'agit là de problèmes très concrets, dont il est légitime, aux yeux de la délégation britannique, que la Quatrième Commission se préoccupe. Toutefois, si l'on veut que cette question fasse l'objet d'un débat utile, il importe que l'on s'efforce de démêler les divers éléments qui la composent. A l'origine, le rapport dont la Commission est saisie visait à examiner l'influence des sociétés étrangères en Afrique australe; il reflète donc l'inquiétude profonde et parfaitement justifiable qu'éprouvent les membres de la Commission devant l'évolution de la situation dans cette région. Cependant, ce document étend bon nombre de ses conclusions, ou plutôt des hypothèses qu'il contient sur cette question, aux sociétés privées installées dans les territoires dépendants en général, et la plupart des conclusions auxquelles il arrive n'ont, en ce qui concerne les sociétés, que fort peu de pertinence ou sont même dénuées de toute substance. Enfin, le rapport va encore plus loin, puisqu'il cherche à englober dans ses conclusions les investissements privés dans tous les pays en voie de développement; or, sur ce point, les affirmations auxquelles il aboutit sont encore plus générales et plus radicales et peuvent difficilement être acceptées par la plupart des membres de la Commission qui ont encouragé ce type d'investissements. A mesure que s'étend le champ de son sujet, le rapport non seulement multiplie les assertions gravement erronées, mais reflète de plus en plus clairement les préjugés des tenants d'une conception idéologique particulière. Cette orientation

n'est probablement pas étrangère au fait que le rapport a été établi par un sous-comité dont, quoique l'on en puisse dire par ailleurs, la composition politique ne saurait guère être qualifiée d'équilibrée.

17. M. Luard aborde pour commencer la question générale des investissements privés dans les pays en voie de développement. A son avis, l'une des raisons pour lesquelles ce problème revêt une telle ampleur, qui ne fait d'ailleurs que s'accroître, réside dans cette constatation que les économistes ont faite depuis un certain temps, à savoir que les investisseurs privés s'intéressent de moins en moins, depuis quelques années, aux régions insuffisamment développées. Avant la première guerre mondiale, une part considérable de l'ensemble des capitaux était investie à l'étranger et une très grande partie l'était dans les territoires qui étaient alors les moins développés: il s'agissait de capitaux investis dans l'extraction des matières premières, les mines, les chemins de fer et certains secteurs de production agricole. A cette époque, la Grande-Bretagne investissait environ la moitié de tous ses capitaux à l'étranger, principalement dans les pays en voie de développement. Entre les deux guerres, la part relative de ce type d'investissement a diminué, et cette tendance s'est encore accentuée depuis la fin de la deuxième guerre mondiale. Le rapport publié en 1961 par l'ONU sous le titre Le courant international des capitaux à long terme et les donations publiques, 1951-1959^{1/}, étude importante sur les investissements internationaux, contient notamment les conclusions suivantes:

"Le volume des diverses catégories de capitaux étrangers entrant dans le circuit international a accusé une augmentation considérable, mais la répartition des capitaux en question est loin d'avoir été uniforme entre les diverses régions géographiques et entre les groupes de pays classés selon leur stade de développement économique. En particulier, les capitaux privés ont manifesté une tendance marquée à se concentrer dans les pays fortement exportateurs ou ayant déjà atteint un niveau élevé de développement." (Par. 52.)

Dans un rapport analogue de l'ONU, consacré à la même question^{2/} et publié deux ans plus tard, on peut lire que:

"... les pays développés eux-mêmes absorbaient une proportion croissante des capitaux privés à long terme engagés dans des transactions internationales. La part disponible pour le financement du développement du reste du monde en a été trouvée réduite." (Par. 98.)

Enfin, dans un rapport encore plus récent sur cette question^{3/}, publié en 1966, il est écrit que:

"... les entrées de capitaux privés à long terme varient considérablement d'une année à l'autre dans la plupart des pays en voie de développement. Au cours des quatre années 1961-1964, on ne note un

^{1/} Publication des Nations Unies, numéro de vente: 62.II.D.1.

^{2/} Le courant international des capitaux à long terme et les donations publiques, 1959-1961 (publication des Nations Unies, numéro de vente: 63.II.D.2).

^{3/} Le courant international des capitaux à long terme et les donations publiques, 1961-1965 (publication des Nations Unies, numéro de vente: 66.II.D.3).

accroissement net plus ou moins régulier des investissements de capitaux privés étrangers que dans une minorité des pays en voie de développement ...

"Malgré ce caractère variable, les mouvements enregistrés font apparaître une concentration marquée: au cours de chacune des années considérées, la plus grande partie des montants nets reçus est allée à un groupe restreint de pays (de 3 à 5 généralement)." [Par. 71 et 72.]

18. Ainsi, non seulement la plupart des capitaux ont été investis dans les pays développés plutôt que dans les pays en voie de développement, mais encore, parmi les pays en voie de développement eux-mêmes, ce sont surtout les plus avancés et les plus riches en ressources qui ont enregistré des entrées de capitaux.

19. Il apparaît donc qu'une part très élevée des capitaux privés est aujourd'hui investie dans les pays d'origine plutôt qu'à l'étranger; de plus, dans la mesure où des capitaux sont effectivement investis à l'étranger (et souvent le gouvernement du pays d'origine impose délibérément des restrictions sur ces investissements), c'est, comme pour le commerce extérieur, dans une très forte proportion entre les pays développés eux-mêmes que ces transactions ont lieu, plutôt que de pays développés à pays en voie de développement. L'extraction des matières premières occupe proportionnellement une place moins importante que la mise en valeur de nouvelles matières premières; l'agriculture est encouragée d'une manière plus active et souvent subventionnée dans les pays développés eux-mêmes; enfin et surtout, les éléments qui attirent et font fructifier les capitaux — les équipes de recherche, la main-d'œuvre qualifiée, les marchés de grande consommation et une large gamme de services perfectionnés — n'existent que dans les pays les plus développés. C'est pourquoi les capitaux des Etats-Unis investis à l'étranger le sont aujourd'hui dans une proportion écrasante en Europe, au Canada et dans les autres régions développées, tandis que les capitaux britanniques sont placés dans les pays du Marché commun et dans l'ancien Commonwealth, etc.

20. C'est ainsi que les pays en voie de développement, dont naturellement les territoires dépendants, se trouvent négligés, tout comme les régions insuffisamment développées de tous les pays, et incapables d'attirer les capitaux dont ils ont un besoin si urgent.

21. L'un des problèmes auxquels les membres de la Commission — et d'ailleurs tous ceux que préoccupe la prospérité future de ces territoires, seraient peut-être bien avisés d'attacher maintenant plus d'attention — consiste à déterminer comment les petits territoires dépendants, dépourvus de ressources et éloignés, peuvent s'y prendre pour attirer un volume plus grand de capitaux, tant publics que privés.

22. C'est là un fait qui est même admis par la plupart des pays en voie de développement. Loin de se montrer méfiants à l'égard des investissements étrangers, ou de s'y opposer, ainsi que le rapport dont la Commission est saisie semble le suggérer, les populations et les gouvernements de ces territoires ont fait l'impossible pour les attirer comme d'ailleurs les pays en voie de développement en général. L'importance de

l'investissement privé pour les pays en voie de développement a, dans l'ensemble, été reconnue au sein de l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Dans sa résolution 2087 (XX) sur le "Financement du développement économique", l'Assemblée générale a invité les gouvernements à "accorder l'attention voulue aux mesures et à l'action propres à favoriser les investissements privés étrangers dans les pays en voie de développement recommandées par la Conférence des Nations Unies sur le commerce et le développement ...". Un rapport sur les moyens d'encourager le courant des capitaux privés, intitulé "Développement des investissements privés étrangers dans les pays en voie de développement (Résumé et conclusions)"^{4/}, a été rédigé en mars 1967 à l'intention du Conseil économique et social. On peut y lire ce qui suit: "On trouve peu de pays en voie de développement qui ne soient disposés à accepter sous une forme ou une autre des investissements privés étrangers." On y souligne l'importance que revêtent ces investissements du fait qu'ils permettent l'"introduction, par l'intermédiaire d'entreprises étrangères, de procédés techniques modernes" (par. 103). On y note en outre l'avantage qu'ils présentent en rendant possible l'"intensification de l'emploi de la main-d'œuvre locale et l'augmentation de sa productivité" (par. 55) et le transfert des "connaissances techniques et administratives nécessaires à l'exploitation d'industries dépassant le stade rudimentaire" (par. 146). A l'alinéa b du paragraphe 2 du dispositif d'un projet de résolution récent^{5/}, le Conseil économique et social prie le Secrétaire général de "prêter son assistance, en coopération avec les organisations internationales intéressées et avec le concours des commissions économiques régionales, aux gouvernements et aux organismes du système des Nations Unies qui pourraient demander son assistance pour l'application des mesures destinées à accroître le courant des investissements étrangers productifs dans des conditions qui soient acceptables pour toutes les parties intéressées". Naturellement, tout le monde sait cela. Les gouvernements des pays en voie de développement qui ont accédé à l'indépendance sont, pratiquement sans exception, pleinement conscients de la nécessité d'attirer davantage de capitaux étrangers, et non pas moins. Lorsque l'un de ces gouvernements critique la politique économique de l'ancienne puissance coloniale, c'est pour n'avoir pas attiré suffisamment d'investissements étrangers quand le pays n'était pas encore indépendant, et non pas pour avoir ouvert la porte à trop d'investissements.

23. Pour juger de l'utilité des investissements privés étrangers, le meilleur critère est sans doute leurs effets sur les pays en voie de développement qui en ont absorbé le plus. Il est frappant de constater que bon nombre des pays en voie de développement qui, au cours des dernières années, ont enregistré le taux de croissance économique le plus spectaculaire sont précisément ceux qui, tant avant que depuis l'accession à l'indépendance, ont su attirer le courant le plus puissant de capitaux étrangers. Ces pays sont,

^{4/} E/4293.

^{5/} E/L.1193. Pour le texte de ce document tel qu'il a été amendé par le Conseil à sa 1513^e séance, voir Documents officiels du Conseil économique et social, reprise de la quarante-troisième session, Supplément No 1A, résolution 1286 (XLIII).

en Asie: le Japon, autrefois, puis la Malaisie, le Pakistan et Hong-kong; en Afrique: la Zambie, le Kenya et la Côte d'Ivoire; en Amérique latine: le Mexique et le Chili. Koweït, qui accuse, sauf erreur, le revenu par habitant le plus élevé du monde, n'aurait guère eu de chance d'arriver à ce résultat s'il n'avait été disposé à accueillir des capitaux privés en grandes quantités. Il est vrai que, dans certains de ces pays, le niveau de vie élevé est dû, en partie, à l'existence de matières premières qui ont attiré les capitaux. Le fait est, toutefois, que ces pays ont su mesurer l'importance du rôle que peuvent jouer les capitaux, les talents et les techniques de commercialisation étrangers lorsqu'il s'agit de tirer de la mise en valeur de ces matières premières les revenus les plus élevés. C'est pourquoi la très grande majorité de ces pays accueillent favorablement et recherchent même activement les capitaux étrangers nécessaires à leur développement.

24. A ce propos, il est intéressant d'examiner l'attitude adoptée à l'égard de l'investissement privé par la Russie et la Yougoslavie (dont les représentants ont contribué à la rédaction du rapport à l'examen) au cours de leur propre période de développement. Tout le monde ne se rend peut-être pas compte que Lénine lui-même estimait que les pays en train d'édifier un régime socialiste devaient offrir des concessions aux capitaux étrangers. Les avis de Lénine à ce sujet peuvent être trouvés dans le tome 31 de ses *Oeuvres*^{6/}, dont il convient de citer les extraits suivants: "Il (le plan d'électrification) a été élaboré par les meilleurs agronomes et les meilleurs ingénieurs. Sans le concours de capitaux et de moyens de production provenant de l'étranger, nous ne sommes pas en mesure d'en accélérer la réalisation. Mais il faut payer pour recevoir de l'aide." (P. 471 à 472.) "Où prendre les moyens de production qui nous sont nécessaires? Il faut payer les Américains si nous voulons leur concours: ce sont des businessmen." (P. 472.) "Aussi résolvons-nous le problème au moyen des concessions." (P. 472.) "... nous apprendrons d'eux à organiser des entreprises modèles en montant les nôtres à côté des leurs. Si nous ne savons pas le faire, alors ce n'est pas la peine de parler de quoi que ce soit. Nous équiper selon le dernier mot de la technique est aujourd'hui une tâche qui n'est pas facile; il faut apprendre pour cela, apprendre par la pratique, car les écoles, les universités et les cours ne suffisent pas; et c'est pourquoi nous accordons les concessions disposées en échiquier: venez et apprenez ici même." (P. 474.) Naturellement, si Lénine était pleinement conscient de l'importance des investissements étrangers, c'était parce que l'histoire de son propre pays le lui avait enseigné. A l'époque de la révolution, la Russie impériale était déjà la cinquième puissance industrielle du monde grâce, pour une bonne part, aux capitaux étrangers qu'elle avait reçus tout au long des 50 années précédentes. Quant au Gouvernement yougoslave, il semble conscient des avantages de l'investissement privé puisqu'il a cherché récemment à attirer des capitaux privés des pays occidentaux. Alors, on se demande pourquoi l'Union soviétique, qui a profité elle-même des investissements étrangers, cherche maintenant à empêcher les pays en voie de développement de béné-

ficier des mêmes avantages? En vérité, on ne peut que se demander quels peuvent bien être les motifs de ceux qui critiquent si amèrement les investissements étrangers. Si on empêche les intérêts économiques étrangers d'investir des capitaux dans les pays en voie de développement, où ceux-ci trouveront-ils donc les fonds dont ils ont besoin pour leur développement? Il est d'autant plus étonnant que ces critiques viennent de gouvernements qui sont loin d'être particulièrement généreux eux-mêmes en matière d'aide officielle. Il convient ici de rappeler l'échec du Fonds pour le développement économique du Bassoutoland, du Betchouanaland et du Souaziland — pays qui sont situés dans la région qui, aujourd'hui, nous intéresse au premier chef. Ce fonds avait été créé en vertu des dispositions de la résolution 2063 (XX) qui avait été si chaleureusement appuyée, il y a près de deux ans, par un grand nombre de membres de la Quatrième Commission. Or, le mois dernier, le Secrétaire général a annoncé que ce fonds ne pouvait pas fonctionner, les contributions annoncées n'atteignant pas au total 6 000 livres sterling.

25. M. Luard rappelle à la Quatrième Commission que son débat de ce jour porte de façon précise sur les investissements privés dans les territoires dépendants, bien qu'il soit intéressant de noter que bon nombre des généralisations par trop absolues du rapport dont elle est saisie portent sans la moindre discrimination sur les investissements privés étrangers en général. Naturellement, la plupart des considérations générales relatives aux investissements privés dans les régions en voie de développement sont valables tant pour les territoires dépendants que pour les autres pays en voie de développement, car il s'agit là de considérations qui se rapportent à l'utilité des investissements privés pour l'économie, en général. Elles sont valables pour les territoires dépendants comme pour les pays en voie de développement. Il n'y a pas de baguette magique qui transforme, lors de l'accession à l'indépendance, un investissement jusque-là néfaste en investissement subitement salutaire.

26. Certains prétendent parfois que le cas est différent lorsqu'il s'agit d'investissements privés dans un pays indépendant, car ils sont alors surveillés par le nouveau gouvernement indépendant qui peut veiller à ce qu'ils soient utilisés au profit de la collectivité. Or les investissements privés sont tout aussi rigoureusement surveillés dans les territoires dépendants. Dans tous les territoires britanniques certainement, les investissements privés sont strictement contrôlés, tant par le gouvernement local que par le gouvernement de la métropole. Dans la plupart des territoires encore britanniques, des questions comme l'investissement et la politique de développement sont du ressort des ministres et des membres des organes législatifs élus par la population locale. Ce contrôle prend un certain nombre de formes. En premier lieu, les investissements sont soumis à l'impôt, des redevances sont payées, et les recettes sont utilisées à l'intérieur du territoire à des fins qui profitent à l'ensemble de la population. En deuxième lieu, dans les territoires où il reste quelque élément de contrôle britannique, tout investissement d'un montant supérieur à 50 000 livres sterling est soumis à l'approbation du Trésor britannique et une des conditions

^{6/} Editions sociales, Paris, 1961.

explicitement requises est que l'investissement doit être "considéré comme avantageux pour l'économie et le développement du territoire". En troisièmeliieu, le gouvernement de chaque territoire contrôle les investissements étrangers au moyen de ses propres dispositions législatives et de ses plans de développement. Les instruments envoyées aux gouvernements des territoires coloniaux après la mise en vigueur du Colonial Development and Welfare Act de 1945 stipulent ce qui suit:

"Un équilibre judicieux entre les différents secteurs de développement et de protection sociale est indispensable à l'élaboration d'une saine politique de développement ... L'attention la plus grande doit, partout, être donnée à l'amélioration de la productivité des ressources du territoire, qu'il s'agisse des ressources humaines ou matérielles."

Telle est toujours notre politique. Les plans de développement sont élaborés par les gouvernements des colonies, la plupart de celles-ci étant maintenant gouvernées par une majorité élue. Ces plans, qui portent en général sur une période de 3 à 5 ans, comprennent des projets de développement économique et social dans des domaines considérés comme prioritaires, compte tenu des ressources financières escomptées pour la période considérée.

27. Le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni qui, bien entendu, assure la plus grande partie du financement de ces plans (et pratiquement la totalité dans les petits territoires) n'épargne aucun effort pour s'assurer que le choix des priorités est approprié, compte tenu des besoins économiques et sociaux du territoire intéressé. Bien souvent, il s'acquitte de cette tâche en envoyant des missions d'experts dans le territoire afin d'aider les autorités locales dans leurs travaux de planification ou d'entreprendre des enquêtes économiques afin de fournir aux autorités une base pour l'établissement des plans. Récemment, de telles missions ont été envoyées au Souaziland et à l'île Maurice, une enquête économique tripartite à laquelle participait le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni a eu lieu au Honduras britannique, la mission Selwyn-Hollands s'est rendue en Arabie du Sud, et une enquête socio-économique a été effectuée aux îles Gilbert-et-Ellice. Le Ministère du développement d'outre-mer et l'Office du Commonwealth examinent ces plans en détail comme ceux de pays indépendants, avec l'aide de conseillers spécialisés en matière de développement économique, d'agriculture, d'irrigation, de sylviculture, de coopératives, d'enseignement et de santé publique.

28. On attache actuellement une attention toute particulière aux moyens propres à diversifier les économies coloniales et à accélérer le processus d'expansion équilibrée, par exemple en développant la production d'aliments destinés à la consommation locale et en encourageant le développement des industries travaillant pour l'exportation et la fabrication de produits de remplacement des importations. Toutes ces mesures permettent d'assurer le contrôle des investissements et du développement général, principalement par l'intermédiaire de représentants élus de la population, afin de servir au mieux les intérêts de l'ensemble du territoire.

29. En second lieu, on avance parfois l'opinion que dans les territoires dépendants certaines entreprises privées peuvent s'assurer une position plus dominante et plus influente dans l'ensemble de la société, et en particulier utiliser cette influence pour faire "obstacle" au processus de décolonisation. Quelle preuve y a-t-il que les investissements privés étrangers font réellement "obstacle" au processus de décolonisation? La première réponse qui vient à l'esprit est que, si tel est le but des intérêts en question, leurs efforts sont apparemment d'une inefficacité singulière. Depuis 1945, c'est-à-dire longtemps avant que le terme de décolonisation ait été employé pour la première fois à l'ONU, la décolonisation a été la doctrine officielle des gouvernements qui se sont succédé à Londres. Cette politique a été poursuivie avec constance depuis cette date et son aboutissement est maintenant tout proche. Jusqu'ici, le Royaume-Uni a décolonisé 35 territoires comptant au total une population de 740 millions d'habitants. Trois autres territoires, l'Arabie du Sud, l'île Maurice et le Souaziland, sont actuellement sur le point d'accéder à l'indépendance. Il ne restera plus ensuite, les deux cas particuliers que représentent la Rhodésie et Hong-kong mis à part, que quelques petits territoires, dont la population ne dépasse en aucun cas le demi-million, et dans la plupart des cas se situe même au-dessous de 100 000 habitants, le total dépassant à peine le chiffre d'un million d'habitants. Au surplus, et c'est peut-être là l'aspect le plus important de la question, ce sont presque sans exception les territoires les plus développés sur le plan économique, et ceux où les investissements étrangers étaient les plus considérables, qui ont accédé les premiers à l'indépendance; les territoires non encore décolonisés, les îles des Antilles et du Pacifique, sont ceux où le volume des investissements étrangers est le plus faible, et non le plus considérable. Si les intérêts privés étrangers constituaient réellement un facteur qui fasse obstacle d'une manière ou d'une autre à la décolonisation, c'est l'inverse qui aurait dû se produire. Les sociétés étrangères se montraient extrêmement actives dans la plupart des territoires qui ont accédé à l'indépendance, et particulièrement actives dans la plupart des pays qui y ont accédé les premiers, tels que l'Inde, la Birmanie, la Malaisie, Singapour, le Ghana et le Nigéria. Il est vrai que la Rhodésie constitue une exception à cette règle. La seule raison du retard apporté à l'octroi de l'indépendance à ce territoire est le souci du Gouvernement britannique de faire en sorte que cette émancipation ne s'effectue que dans des conditions permettant de parvenir à bref délai à la mise en place d'un gouvernement désigné par la majorité, et, étant donné les difficultés résultant de l'attitude des gouvernements qui se sont succédé en Rhodésie. Ce retard n'est en aucune façon lié à l'attitude des sociétés ou des intérêts commerciaux. La responsabilité de la politique en matière de décolonisation incombe, comme il se doit, au Gouvernement britannique à Londres et aucun effort ou activité de la part d'entreprises ou d'intérêts quelconques opérant dans les territoires ne peut être considéré comme capable de l'influencer d'une façon quelconque. Il est à peine besoin de dire que cette remarque est particulièrement valable lorsqu'il s'agit d'un gouvernement travailliste tel que le gouvernement actuel. Le rapport prétend que les investissements privés

font obstacle à la décolonisation, mais l'histoire montre que c'est le contraire qui s'est passé et que les territoires qui ont été les premiers à accéder à l'indépendance sont ceux où les investissements privés étaient les plus importants.

30. Troisièmement, on prétend quelquefois que les entreprises privées qui investissent dans les pays dépendants font passer leurs propres intérêts avant ceux de la population locale. Bien entendu, les investisseurs privés se soucient toujours dans une certaine mesure de leurs propres intérêts, tant dans les pays dépendants que dans les pays indépendants. Cependant, puisque la plupart des pays les accueillent volontiers, c'est qu'ils reconnaissent que, quels que soient leurs mobiles, leurs investissements servent les intérêts des habitants. Les investissements fournissent des emplois à la population, permettent de mettre méthodiquement en valeur les ressources du pays et suscitent la création d'une main-d'œuvre nationale spécialisée. A l'heure actuelle, nombre d'entreprises privées organisent des programmes de formation et de protection sociale qui procurent des avantages considérables aux pays où elles opèrent. Enfin et surtout, la présence de ces entreprises assure d'importantes recettes aux territoires. Il est de fait que, dans bien des cas, une proportion importante des recettes des territoires dépendants provient des activités des sociétés étrangères. Pour ne citer qu'un seul exemple, auquel s'intéresse particulièrement le rapport, celui de l'Afrique australe, 70 p. 100 des impôts sur le revenu perçus au Souaziland sont versés par des sociétés qui, presque toutes, sont des sociétés privées étrangères. En d'autres termes, abstraction faite des subventions accordées par le Royaume-Uni, qui représentent à peu près la moitié des recettes du territoire, et du produit des droits de douane, la plus grande partie des recettes perçues localement sont dues à la présence de ces sociétés étrangères, qui, d'autre part, jouent un rôle positif en stimulant le développement des territoires. Peut-on légitimement prétendre que la situation de ces territoires n'en serait que meilleure si ces sociétés ne s'y étaient pas installées? A Hong-kong, autre territoire dépendant, qui, sans doute, ne constitue pas un exemple typique, les impôts versés par les sociétés étrangères représentent plus de 20 p. 100 des recettes de la colonie, laquelle dispose de ce fait de sommes considérables qu'elle consacre au financement des services sociaux et à d'autres projets de développement.

31. Une autre des idées énoncées dans le rapport est que l'afflux de capital privé dans les territoires dépendants risque de donner lieu à une forme de développement mal équilibré. En ce qui concerne les territoires britanniques, M. Luard peut affirmer catégoriquement que le Gouvernement britannique a toujours eu le plus grand soin, lorsqu'il examinait les propositions relatives aux plans de développement et aux investissements, de faire en sorte que les activités proposées aboutissent à un développement bien équilibré et intégré. Comme il l'a déjà signalé, ces plans sont examinés de la façon la plus attentive afin de réaliser un équilibre adéquat entre les dépenses d'ordre social et d'ordre économique et d'assurer une répartition aussi harmonieuse que possible des dépenses entre les différents secteurs de l'économie. Il est même possible d'affirmer que, dans certains

cas, les administrations coloniales peuvent exercer un contrôle plus effectif sur les plans de développement des territoires dépendants que les gouvernements indépendants sur leurs propres plans. A ce stade du développement, la structure de l'économie est habituellement moins complexe et le territoire a souvent une plus grande certitude de recevoir une assistance régulière et prévisible de la métropole dans les années à venir. Dans de nombreux territoires britanniques on a constitué des sociétés de développement, non seulement afin d'encourager les investissements privés, mais également afin de les intégrer au programme général de développement du pays. Souvent, des clauses de sauvegarde sont incluses dans les règlements afin de protéger les intérêts du territoire, par exemple afin d'assurer le recrutement, dans des conditions adéquates, du personnel local. Dans certains cas, les règlements disposent que des programmes de formation devront être organisés à l'intention du personnel local de ces entreprises. La meilleure preuve que les intérêts des territoires ont été préservés d'une façon adéquate à cet égard par les gouvernements coloniaux réside dans le fait que, la plupart du temps, après l'indépendance, aucune modification sensible n'a été portée aux conditions de fonctionnement des entreprises étrangères. A part quelques exceptions, les mêmes entreprises privées sont autorisées à fonctionner de la même façon et dans les mêmes conditions qu'auparavant.

32. Ces considérations conduisent M. Luard à un autre problème sur lequel porte le rapport, à savoir celui qui a trait aux activités des intérêts économiques étrangers dans les territoires d'Afrique australe. Il est clair que, dans l'ensemble, les considérations relatives aux avantages ou autres conséquences des investissements de fonds étrangers sont aussi valables pour cette région que pour les autres parties du monde. En Afrique australe, comme ailleurs, d'un point de vue strictement économique, les investissements étrangers servent les intérêts des territoires et de ceux qui travaillent et y vivent. En Afrique australe, comme ailleurs, ces investissements aboutissent non seulement au développement de l'industrie, mais à la formation de travailleurs spécialisés et à l'élévation du niveau de vie de la main-d'œuvre employée dans les entreprises intéressées. Cependant, on suggère parfois que, du point de vue politique, l'action de ces investissements s'exerce d'une façon différente dans cette région où les entreprises étrangères peuvent favoriser et renforcer le système actuel de gouvernement par la minorité. Dans quelle mesure cette affirmation est-elle vraie? Est-il exact que les entreprises privées aient aidé ou encouragé l'apartheid en Afrique du Sud ou la résistance à l'indépendance et à l'établissement d'un régime majoritaire en Rhodésie? Les seuls éléments dont on dispose à ce sujet, semble-t-il, tendent à prouver le contraire. C'est un fait bien connu qu'en Rhodésie ce sont principalement les milieux d'affaires qui se préoccupent le plus gravement de l'état actuel de l'économie et qui poussent le plus activement M. Smith à rechercher un accord. On sait également qu'en Afrique du Sud ce sont les grandes entreprises, dans leur propre intérêt, qui ont cherché à obtenir à faire disparaître le système des emplois réservés, en vertu duquel les Blancs peuvent seuls accéder à certains

emplois, et qui sont intervenus activement auprès du gouvernement pour qu'il assouplisse encore ce système. Dans bien des cas, ces entreprises font œuvre de pionniers en formant des Africains à de nouvelles spécialités et en leur permettant d'accéder à des postes de responsabilité. Une ou deux des plus grandes entreprises ont travaillé d'une façon particulièrement active à susciter des mesures de libéralisation de ce genre: par exemple, un industriel bien connu, M. Oppenheimer, ne se fait pas faute de manifester ouvertement son opposition à l'apartheid. En conséquence, les allégations selon lesquelles ces entreprises travaillent dans les coulisses à renforcer l'apartheid et s'opposent à toute réforme paraissent être démenties par les faits. A la vérité, les hommes d'affaires appellent de tous leurs vœux l'avènement d'une situation favorable à une activité économique prospère et stable, et beaucoup sont conscients des avantages qu'ils tireraient d'une amélioration du sort des travailleurs et des consommateurs africains.

33. Ainsi, on peut montrer que beaucoup des évaluations générales que contient le rapport au sujet du rôle des investissements privés étrangers dans les territoires dépendants sont fausses; elles sont manifestement le reflet des points de vue idéologiques ou politiques propres à ses auteurs. Il est à craindre que cette remarque ne s'applique encore davantage à nombre des déclarations spécifiques que le rapport contient sur certains sujets particuliers. Par exemple, en ce qui concerne les syndicats, le rapport (A/6868/Add.1) contient au paragraphe 89 le passage suivant: "Il n'existe aucune loi relative à la protection du travailleur." Au paragraphe 132, qui récapitule les conclusions générales auxquelles est arrivé le Sous-Comité I, il est fait mention à l'alinéa c de "l'interdiction faite aux autochtones d'avoir des activités syndicales légales" dans les territoires coloniaux. C'est là une des généralisations typiques dont le rapport fourmille et qui ne sont pas seulement excessives, mais fausses. Pour ce qui est des territoires britanniques, comme nombre de représentants d'anciens territoires britanniques aujourd'hui indépendants peuvent le confirmer à la Commission, le Royaume-Uni a toujours eu pour politique essentielle dans ses territoires dépendants d'encourager et de soutenir le développement de syndicats ouvriers dans les colonies. Cette politique, inaugurée en 1930 par le Secrétaire d'Etat aux colonies, a été maintenue jusqu'à ce jour. Elle a eu pour principe fondamental qu'un mouvement syndical viable et responsable est indispensable au progrès économique et politique de ces territoires. On a jugé essentiel de faire en sorte que tous les territoires soient dotés d'une législation ouvrière adéquate et, cela étant, l'aide qui a été accordée à des territoires aux termes du Colonial Development and Welfare Acts a été subordonnée à l'existence d'une législation de cette nature dans le territoire intéressé. Le Colonial Development and Welfare Act de 1940 stipulait que le Secrétaire d'Etat devait s'assurer que la législation de la colonie permette de créer des syndicats ouvriers et d'exercer des activités syndicales, et que des conditions équitables de travail soient observées dans l'exécution des travaux. De plus, on a appliqué, pour encourager le développement d'un mouvement syndical prospère, divers programmes de formation à l'intention des

dirigeants syndicaux, et ce aussi bien au Royaume-Uni que dans les territoires intéressés. En dehors des bourses individuelles ou de détachements, cette formation peut aussi être acquise par les cours que donne le Ministère du travail du Royaume-Uni et qui sont spécialement conçus pour répondre aux besoins des syndicalistes des pays en voie de développement. Ces cours ont une durée approximative de 3 mois et sont organisés deux ou trois fois par an, ou plus fréquemment en cas de besoin, avec le concours du Ministère du développement des territoires d'outre-mer.

34. On peut mesurer les résultats obtenus par la politique gouvernementale britannique d'encouragement effectif au syndicalisme en déterminant jusqu'à quel point les conventions de l'Organisation internationale du Travail relatives à la liberté d'association et aux négociations collectives sont appliquées dans les territoires non métropolitains. La Convention No 84 (Convention de 1947 concernant le droit d'association et le règlement des conflits du travail dans les territoires non métropolitains) a été ratifiée par le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté en mars 1950 et a été appliquée à tous les territoires coloniaux. Peut-être les faits suivants constituent-ils la meilleure réfutation du rapport. En 1932, on ne comptait que trois syndicats légalement constitués dans les territoires coloniaux; en 1942, il y en avait 228, comptant environ 83 000 adhérents. En 1950, le nombre de syndicats était de 1 037 et ils groupaient au total environ 616 000 membres. Par conséquent, on peut dire en fait que le droit de s'affilier à un syndicat existe et est librement exercé dans chaque territoire du Royaume-Uni. Il serait peut-être intéressant de comparer cette situation aux possibilités d'activités syndicales effectives qui existent en Union soviétique, par exemple, et dans certains des autres pays dont les représentants ont contribué à établir le rapport.

35. Par ailleurs, on trouve dans le paragraphe 132, qu'il a déjà cité, et tout au long du rapport l'expression "main-d'œuvre à bon marché". Encore une fois, quels sont les faits? Les faits sont qu'en partie grâce à l'activité des syndicats libres dont il a été fait mention, le niveau des salaires dans les territoires britanniques dépendants se compare très favorablement presque dans chaque cas avec celui de tous les territoires voisins dans la même région. Tel est le cas en Afrique australe; quels que soient les autres désavantages dont la main-d'œuvre africaine doit à coup sûr pâtir, on ne saurait y inclure de bas salaires industriels. En outre, les sociétés étrangères auxquelles le rapport s'intéresse paient généralement des salaires plus élevés, et non moindres, que ceux qui sont en vigueur dans des entreprises du même ordre qui existent dans ces territoires. Il est du reste extraordinaire que ce rapport et les longs appendices dont il s'accompagne, si riches en documentation pour tant de domaines, soient si peu loquaces sur ce point essentiel: la relation entre les salaires versés par les intérêts économiques étrangers dont ils discutent et ceux qui sont payés ailleurs. La notion d'"exploitation" est un thème dominant de ce texte, encore qu'on ne s'efforce nulle part de la définir; mais il faut présumer que le niveau des salaires doit en l'occurrence représenter un facteur important de cette "exploitation". Or, en fait, dans la mesure où

l'on dispose de renseignements, le niveau des salaires versés par ces firmes étrangères en Afrique, au Moyen-Orient, en Asie et ailleurs est en général supérieur, et non inférieur, à celui des salaires payés par d'autres entreprises analogues dans les pays en question. Dans bien des cas, on accorde aussi des avantages marginaux sous la forme de logement, de services médicaux et d'autres prestations. Si c'est là de l'"exploitation", comment définir la politique que pratiquent les autres entreprises de ces régions?

36. Le rapport du Sous-Comité I formule aussi un certain nombre d'accusations entièrement dépourvues de fondement au sujet de restrictions sur la propriété des terres. Il est question au paragraphe 86 de "l'aliénation des terres aux dépens des populations autochtones. Les étrangers se sont emparés des meilleures terres. Il s'ensuit que l'écrasante majorité des agriculteurs est obligée de louer des terres à des conditions défavorables à des propriétaires européens et à des sociétés étrangères". Pour ce qui est des territoires britanniques, ces déclarations sont absolument fausses. Dans nombre de territoires britanniques, les transactions foncières avec des non-autochtones, y compris les Anglais, font l'objet d'une réglementation très minutieuse, qu'il s'agisse de terres publiques ou privées. Ces transactions doivent être approuvées par le gouvernement. Ce contrôle est exercé pour veiller à ce que la terre profite au territoire et ne serve pas à de pures fins de spéculation. Il est bon de noter à ce propos que, dans la plupart des cas, la législation adoptée à ce sujet par le Gouvernement britannique pendant la période coloniale forme encore la base des pratiques appliquées dans ces mêmes pays depuis qu'ils ont accédé à l'indépendance. On ne saurait donc en conclure que la législation coloniale ait été soit discriminatoire, soit néfaste au développement.

37. M. Luard revient sur un terme aux résonances passionnelles, et en l'occurrence incorrect, qui revient sans cesse dans le rapport à savoir celui de "monopoles internationaux". M. Luard peut donner l'assurance catégorique que dans les territoires que le Royaume-Uni administre encore, la Rhodésie exceptée, aucune très grande société internationale ne joue un rôle dominant dans la vie économique. A l'exception peut-être des îles Falkland, du projet de Freeport aux Bahamas et de l'industrie sucrière aux îles Fidji, il n'y a pas de territoire colonial britannique où un large secteur de l'économie soit dominé par deux grandes sociétés et encore moins par une seule ni où de telles sociétés soient en mesure d'exercer une influence politique importante sur le plan local. De plus, dans beaucoup de ces territoires, et Hong-kong et l'île Maurice en sont des exemples frappants, la plus grande part du secteur privé de l'économie n'est en aucun cas entre les mains de sociétés étrangères mais entre celles d'entreprises locales. Ce terme maintes fois répété, malgré ses résonances passionnelles, n'a donc aucun rapport avec les conditions dans ces territoires.

38. M. Luard n'a traité que des inexactitudes les plus criantes et le plus souvent répétées que contient le rapport. Il y a de nombreuses autres expressions et allégations qui relèvent si évidemment de la propa-

gande politique qu'elles ne méritent pas qu'on s'y arrête longuement. On citera, par exemple, le paragraphe 89 où il est dit que "les populations autochtones des territoires sont privées de leurs droits et libertés politiques, ou ne peuvent les exercer". La Commission sait fort bien que la politique du Royaume-Uni dans ses territoires coloniaux a été d'encourager leurs populations à exercer leurs droits politiques en y développant des organes politiques autonomes, prélude à l'indépendance. Quiconque a examiné la situation dans ces territoires sait que les activités politiques y sont plus librement exercées que dans certains des pays dont les représentants ont aidé à préparer le rapport. Dans ces territoires, bien avant l'indépendance, on avait organisé des élections libres avec la participation de divers partis et d'une presse libre, liberté politique à laquelle l'Union soviétique, même après la célébration de son cinquantième anniversaire, ni certains des autres pays dont les représentants ont signé le rapport peuvent à peine prétendre avoir accédé. Si le représentant de l'Union soviétique désire le contester, il voudra peut-être, dans l'exercice de son droit de réponse, indiquer à la Commission à quelle date de telles élections ont eu lieu pour la dernière fois dans son pays.

39. Au paragraphe 132 du rapport, qui résume les conclusions générales, on fait allusion à "des concessions et des privilèges qui [leur] sont accordés par des gouvernements coloniaux". En fait, sauf dans le cas de quelques mines où la nécessité d'accorder les droits à une entreprise unique est évidente, l'activité économique dans les colonies britanniques est entièrement libre et ouverte à la concurrence tant locale qu'étrangère. Il y a d'innombrables mentions de l'"exploitation", bien que le sens de ce terme n'ait jamais été défini et qu'il ne soit fait aucune comparaison concrète avec les conditions de travail ailleurs. Ce que M. Luard a déjà dit des salaires, des conditions de vie et de la liberté politique et syndicale dans les colonies britanniques suffit sans doute à montrer que ces phrases creuses sont dépourvues de sens. D'autres allégations, comme celle qui figure à l'alinéa d du paragraphe 132, que les intérêts économiques étrangers "ont contribué... à l'appauvrissement de la grande majorité de la population autochtone" et qu'ils "partagent donc avec les puissances coloniales la responsabilité des souffrances des peuples coloniaux" se discréditent elles-mêmes par leur absurdité. Elles ne se justifient guère de la part de représentants de pays développés siégeant à la Commission qui ont eux-mêmes fait si peu pour apporter une aide économique ou des investissements aux pays en voie de développement. Enfin, comment comprendre l'allégation figurant à l'alinéa f du paragraphe 132 selon laquelle "il est évident que du fait de leurs activités économiques dans les territoires coloniaux, les intérêts étrangers contribuent à mettre en danger la paix et la sécurité internationales dans la mesure où ils font obstacle à l'indépendance des peuples coloniaux"? Comment les intérêts étrangers contribuent-ils à menacer la paix et la sécurité internationales? Comment font-ils obstacle à l'indépendance des peuples coloniaux? Pourquoi feraient-ils l'un ou l'autre? M. Luard croit en avoir déjà assez dit pour montrer que les faits indiquent que c'est exactement le contraire qui se passe et que les territoires où

les intérêts étrangers ont été les plus actifs ont été les premiers à accéder à l'indépendance. C'est une chose que de démontrer que les sociétés étrangères ont joué un grand rôle dans certains pays, qui peut être considéré comme bon ou mauvais selon le point de vue auquel on se place. C'en est une tout autre, qu'aucun fait ne justifie, de prétendre qu'elles "font obstacle à la décolonisation" ou qu'elles "menacent la paix".

40. Un des aspects les plus extraordinaires du rapport est la surprenante divergence qui existe entre les données de fait communiquées par le Secrétariat, qui sont souvent très intéressantes, et les conclusions qui en ont été tirées, qui, en vérité, n'ont absolument aucun rapport avec les faits. En suivant leurs objectifs idéologiques, certaines délégations n'ont pas hésité à exploiter, à des fins de guerre froide, le sincère intérêt que le Comité spécial et la Quatrième Commission portent à la cause de la décolonisation. Elles n'ont pas hésité à exploiter les ressources et les énergies du Secrétariat, qui a produit une très appréciable quantité de renseignements concrets qui figurent dans les appendices du rapport, données concrètes qui non seulement ne justifient en rien les conclusions arbitraires que le rapport prétend en tirer, mais dans bien des cas les démentent. La délégation britannique estime qu'il est inadmissible que les ressources de l'Organisation, c'est-à-dire les crédits inscrits au budget ordinaire et les longues heures de travail consacrées par le Secrétariat aux recherches demandées, soient ainsi utilisées abusivement et que l'attention soit détournée des vrais problèmes.

41. Un orateur précédent a lancé un éloquent appel pour que la question ne soit pas considérée comme une question idéologique. Mais il n'y a pas eu d'alternative possible. Le fait est que le rapport dont la Commission est saisie est de la pure idéologie, du commencement à la fin. Il n'est pas étonnant que le représentant de l'Union soviétique, au début de son intervention le 14 novembre 1967 (1718^{ème} séance), ait saisi l'occasion que lui offrait cette question pour aborder "un élément du problème général de la lutte entre le travail et le capital, ... de l'exploitation de l'homme par l'homme" et de la lutte mondiale contre le capitalisme et l'impérialisme. C'était sans doute une occasion sans pareille, pour le représentant de l'Union soviétique et ceux qui pensent comme lui, de poursuivre leur stérile bataille idéologique contre les régimes économiques et politiques adoptés non seulement par l'Ouest mais dans un grand nombre d'autres parties du monde. Il ne faut pas se le dissimuler, ce rapport, ou plutôt ses conclusions et recommandations, sont de la propagande politique destinée à discréditer les investissements privés étrangers non seulement en Afrique mais partout ailleurs. Certains peuvent assurément s'opposer sincèrement à de tels investissements. Tout pays membre de la Commission peut annoncer à tout moment qu'il n'acceptera plus les investissements privés étrangers. Mais M. Luard estime que l'ONU n'est pas le lieu où prendre parti sur des problèmes idéologiques. Et quiconque a lu le rapport objectivement ne peut absolument pas douter qu'il prend parti et qu'en l'adoptant ainsi que les recommandations qu'il contient la Commission prendrait également parti. M. Luard espère sincèrement

que les membres de la Commission démontreront leur objectivité en refusant de s'engager dans cette lutte politique et idéologique et d'approuver ce rapport partial.

M. Braithwaite (Guyane), vice-président, prend la présidence.

42. M. McDOWELLE (Nouvelle-Zélande) propose que la déclaration du représentant du Royaume-Uni soit reproduite intégralement dans le compte rendu des débats de la séance.

43. Sans prendre parti pour ou contre cette déclaration quant au fond, le représentant de la Nouvelle-Zélande pense que les observations détaillées et concrètes qu'elle contient, du fait même qu'elles sont formulées par le représentant d'un pays qui est l'une des sources de capitaux auxquelles les reproches sont adressés au premier chef, peuvent être d'une grande utilité pour la Commission, qui pourra les étudier à loisir.

44. M. KANNANGARA (Ceylan) appuie la proposition du représentant de la Nouvelle-Zélande. Il pense que le point de vue exposé par le représentant du Royaume-Uni mérite de figurer dans la documentation de la Commission.

45. M. JOUEJATI (Syrie) estime également que la déclaration du représentant du Royaume-Uni, bien que ne traitant pas la question à l'étude mais celle de savoir si les investissements étrangers sont souhaitables ou non, devrait figurer intégralement dans le compte rendu des débats de la séance.

46. Le PRÉSIDENT déclare qu'en l'absence d'objection il considérera que la Commission décide de faire figurer intégralement dans le compte rendu la déclaration du représentant du Royaume-Uni.

Il en est ainsi décidé.

47. M. TIKHONOV (République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie) déclare que le Comité spécial a accompli un travail utile en étudiant les activités des intérêts économiques notamment en Rhodésie du Sud, au Sud-Ouest africain et dans les territoires sous domination portugaise.

48. Il ressort clairement du rapport du Comité spécial que les activités des monopoles étrangers sont extrêmement nuisibles aux territoires coloniaux et qu'elles sont la principale cause du maintien de l'oppression coloniale. Le Comité spécial a en effet souligné que les investissements de capitaux étrangers sont à l'origine de nombreuses mesures qui sont défavorables aux populations autochtones et qui visent à renforcer l'emprise des colonisateurs.

49. Le Président de l'Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa a déclaré en 1963 que la devise de cette société était de réaliser le plus de bénéfices possible pour ses actionnaires; c'est bien là l'objectif de tous les monopoles. Les pays colonisés de l'Afrique australe sont riches en produits divers, minéraux notamment, qui sont exploités par la minorité blanche. De plus, les colons se sont emparés des terres fertiles et celles qui ont été laissées à la population lui permettent tout juste de subsister.

50. Trois grandes sociétés, l'Anglo-American Corporation, la Charte Consolidated et la Selection Trust, dont les capitaux proviennent notamment des Etats-Unis, du Royaume-Uni, de la République fédérale d'Allemagne et de la Belgique, amassent en Afrique australe des bénéfices fabuleux: en 1966, ceux de l'Anglo-American Corporation ont été de 15,4 millions de livres sterling et ceux de la Charter Consolidated de 8,6 millions de livres sterling. L'exploitation des ressources de leur pays n'apporte que misère aux populations autochtones. C'est ainsi qu'un accord conclu entre le Portugal et l'Afrique du Sud contraint des milliers de travailleurs du Mozambique à aller gagner une maigre existence dans des usines d'Afrique du Sud. La loi ne protège guère les travailleurs, lesquels ne peuvent pas constituer de syndicats, et l'aide médicale qui leur est fournie est minime. D'autre part, l'Angola compte plus de 95 p. 100 d'analphabètes et le Mozambique à peu près le même pourcentage. En Rhodésie du Sud, les sommes allouées annuellement pour l'éducation des enfants noirs sont 15 fois inférieures à celles qui sont allouées pour les enfants blancs. En République sud-africaine, l'espérance de vie est en moyenne de 45 ans pour les Noirs et de 70 ans pour les Blancs.

51. En Afrique australe, les régimes racistes créent des conditions favorables aux activités néfastes des sociétés. Le représentant du Royaume-Uni s'est bien gardé de l'admettre. Des lois discriminatoires, telles que le Land Apportionment Act, sont appliquées par la terreur, c'est-à-dire grâce à l'appui de la police et de l'armée, pour défendre les droits des colonialistes. Les sociétés reconnaissantes appuient financièrement le colonialisme. Le rapport pour 1966-1967 du Groupe Oppenheimer fait état du versement de 20 millions de livres sterling à l'Afrique du Sud.

52. Il est particulièrement intéressant de noter combien les monopoles ont des liens étroits avec les gouvernements. Selon un membre du Parlement britannique, quarante et un membres conservateurs de ce Parlement, ainsi que des ministres, occupent des fonctions dans les conseils d'administration de diverses sociétés de Rhodésie ou d'ailleurs. Selon l'aveu même d'un grand magnat de la finance internationale, les pays où il est possible de faire des investissements sûrs ne sont plus si nombreux et l'Afrique du Sud est certainement le plus sûr de tous. Les puissances occidentales savent fort bien en utiliser les possibilités au maximum. En 1964, M. Harry Oppenheimer a fait l'éloge en 1964 du régime de Smith et en avril 1967, il a déclaré que les sanctions économiques adoptées contre la Rhodésie du Sud ne serviraient pas les intérêts britanniques. Les événements qui se sont déroulés ultérieurement ont prouvé que le Royaume-Uni avait tenu compte des avis de M. Oppenheimer. Le Gouvernement britannique a envoyé des émissaires à M. Smith et a tout fait pour s'entendre secrètement avec le régime rebelle.

53. M. Tikhonov constate qu'il n'est tenu aucun compte des décisions de l'ONU et que les intérêts égoïstes des Etats-Unis, du Royaume-Uni et d'autres puissances occidentales font obstacle à la décolonisation complète de l'Afrique; l'emprise des sociétés étrangères ne fait que se resserrer. Des pays comme

la République fédérale d'Allemagne y investissent de plus en plus. Le rapport de M. Oppenheimer sur les activités des sociétés de son groupe pour 1965 indique qu'un consortium des principales banques de la République fédérale d'Allemagne, dont la Deutsche Bank, a consenti un prêt de 100 millions de marks à une société qui exerce ses activités en Afrique du Sud. De même, pour financer les activités de l'Anglo-American Corporation en 1966, un prêt de 20 millions de dollars a été consenti par des banques d'Europe occidentale, dont la Deutsche Bank. L'Afrique australe est considérée par certaines puissances comme une tête de pont permettant de lutter contre les pays indépendants d'Afrique. Bien entendu, l'Organisation du Traité de l'Atlantique Nord aide les racistes et les pays qui en sont membres bafouent les décisions de l'ONU concernant l'apartheid et les lois discriminatoires et violent les résolutions pour lesquelles ils ont voté.

54. Dans d'autres régions du monde, le rôle des monopoles est tout aussi affligeant. Au Moyen-Orient, la principale richesse, le pétrole, est évidemment exploitée par des monopoles. Les bénéfices de sociétés pétrolières comme la Shell Royal Dutch sont extrêmement élevés par rapport aux investissements. La population autochtone profite si peu de cette richesse qu'un cheikh déposé par les Britanniques en 1966 a déclaré au Caire devant le Comité spécial que le pétrole est en définitive une malédiction pour la population. En Oman, il n'existe que deux écoles primaires et pas d'écoles secondaires et les Britanniques ne se sont guère occupés des besoins essentiels de la population.

55. Selon M. Tikhonov, le même schéma se retrouve dans tous les territoires coloniaux sans exception; que ce soit dans l'océan Pacifique, l'océan Indien ou la mer des Antilles, partout les monopoles étrangers dominant, contrôlent les secteurs essentiels, renforcent leur position par des lois discriminatoires. L'investissement des capitaux rappelle le maximum de bénéfices et la moindre part n'est jamais utilisée pour assurer les progrès économiques et culturels des autochtones.

56. Devant cette situation, l'Assemblée générale doit d'abord souligner que les pratiques des monopoles privent les populations autochtones de leurs droits inaliénables. Elle doit condamner sévèrement les activités de ces monopoles et demander la restitution des bénéfices réalisés grâce au pillage des richesses naturelles des territoires coloniaux. L'Assemblée générale doit déclarer que leurs activités sont contraires aux principes de la Charte des Nations Unies et elle doit inviter les Etats-Unis, le Royaume-Uni, la République fédérale d'Allemagne et d'autres puissances occidentales à faire pression sur leurs citoyens ayant des intérêts économiques dans tous ces territoires pour qu'ils cessent les activités qui portent préjudice aux populations intéressées. L'Organisation des Nations Unies doit mobiliser l'opinion mondiale et faire prendre des mesures efficaces pour éliminer tous les obstacles qui s'opposent encore à l'élimination du colonialisme.

57. La République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie appuie les conclusions des documents A/6868 et Add.1, bien qu'elle ne les juge pas suffisamment énergiques.

Elle appuie également les propositions faites par la délégation de l'URSS.

58. M. BOZOVIC (Yougoslavie), qui prend la parole dans l'exercice du droit de réponse, déclare que l'intervention du représentant du Royaume-Uni, qui contenait des généralisations tout à fait fausses, ne traitait pas dans l'ensemble de la question inscrite à l'ordre du jour. Le rapport du Comité spécial y est analysé avec une partialité qui est assez révélatrice de l'attitude du Gouvernement britannique à l'égard des questions coloniales.

59. Le représentant du Royaume-Uni a essayé de convaincre la Commission que les activités des intérêts étrangers dans les territoires dépendants sont rigoureusement contrôlées par les puissances administrantes. Il est, cependant, aisé de prouver que c'est loin d'être le cas et qu'en dépit de ce contrôle, en Rhodésie du Sud, par exemple, la minorité blanche possède 49 p. 100 des terres arables, tandis qu'en Afrique du Sud, elle possède 89 p. 100 des terres de cette catégorie.

60. Le représentant du Royaume-Uni voudrait persuader la Commission que les racistes de Rhodésie du Sud, d'Afrique du Sud et des territoires administrés par le Portugal défendent réellement les intérêts des populations autochtones lorsqu'ils traitent avec les monopoles opérant dans ces territoires. Si tel est le cas, cela signifie donc qu'ils ont jugé que l'apartheid est un système si profitable pour eux-mêmes qu'il mérite d'être défendu.

61. Lorsque le représentant du Royaume-Uni dit que son pays a décolonisé de nombreux territoires, il oublie de préciser que le Royaume-Uni s'est souvent trouvé contraint de le faire et qu'il s'est montré fermement opposé à la décolonisation chaque fois que la population blanche était tant soit peu importante dans un territoire. Il suffit de se rappeler l'exemple du Kenya et de la Rhodésie du Sud.

62. Enfin l'étude qu'a faite le représentant du Royaume-Uni aurait dû comparer les incidences des activités des monopoles étrangers, d'une part, dans les territoires dépendants et, d'autre part, dans les territoires où il n'y a pas de colons.

63. M. TEVOEDJRE (Dahomey), prenant la parole dans l'exercice du droit de réponse, précise, à l'intention du représentant du Royaume-Uni, que sa délégation, dans une déclaration antérieure, s'est bornée à dire qu'il était nécessaire que des capitaux étrangers soient investis dans les pays en voie de développement.

64. La délégation dahoméenne estime que l'intervention du Royaume-Uni n'est qu'un exercice futile de diversion, sans rapport avec le sujet à l'étude. Cette intervention, dans laquelle le représentant du Royaume-Uni justifie les régimes de l'Afrique du Sud et de la Rhodésie du Sud, prouve une fois de plus que le Royaume-Uni est l'ingénieur de ce que l'écrivain Jean Ziegler a appelé "La contre-révolution en Afrique"; la délégation dahoméenne l'a démontré lorsqu'à propos de la Rhodésie du Sud elle a évoqué la situation qui règne en Afrique australe.

65. On comprend du reste que le Royaume-Uni s'emploie à cette tâche; il essaie de se relever de la faiblesse dans laquelle l'a laissé la perte de ses intérêts

traditionnels, auxquels il a dû renoncer à la suite de la décolonisation qu'il a été forcé de faire dans certains pays.

66. M. CHAKHOV (Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques), prenant la parole dans l'exercice du droit de réponse, s'élève contre l'apologie de l'impérialisme et de l'exploitation capitaliste que vient de faire le représentant du Royaume-Uni. La déclaration que la Commission vient d'entendre est une digression qui a pour seul but de justifier la politique de protection des monopoles pratiquée par la métropole ainsi que le rôle criminel des puissances impérialistes et des monopoles étrangers qui tentent de s'opposer à l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux.

67. Le représentant du Royaume-Uni s'est longuement appesanti sur le rôle des investissements étrangers dans les pays en voie de développement. M. Chakhov se réserve le droit de reprendre la parole pour citer des faits et des exemples montrant que les activités des intérêts étrangers ont pour effet de faire obstacle à l'indépendance des peuples coloniaux. A ce stade, il tient simplement à dire que sa délégation regrette que le représentant du Royaume-Uni ait cru devoir citer des paroles de Lénine à l'appui de sa thèse en faveur des investissements. Lénine a certes parlé en faveur de l'octroi de concessions, mais il va de soi qu'il ne concevait la chose que dans des conditions telles que le peuple soviétique n'eût pas à en souffrir; il est évident que ces conditions, les monopoles étrangers les ont jugées inacceptables, eux qui voulaient soumettre le peuple soviétique au système impérialiste. Winston Churchill lui-même ne parlait-il pas de la nécessité d'étouffer au berceau le régime et l'Etat soviétique? L'Union soviétique, toutefois, a su avoir raison des exploiters.

68. Pour ce qui est de l'allusion faite par le représentant du Royaume-Uni à l'existence d'un parti unique en Union soviétique, M. Chakhov tient à faire observer que ce parti unique, le parti communiste, a toujours, quant à lui, soutenu le principe de la souveraineté et de l'égalité des peuples, défendu le droit des peuples à l'indépendance et soutenu la lutte anticoloniale. Le Royaume-Uni, avec ses deux partis, reste attaché à des idées et des pratiques dépassées, et se fait le défenseur des monopoles.

69. En revanche, il est une question que le représentant du Royaume-Uni a passée sous silence, c'est celle des pouvoirs laissés aux autorités législatives des territoires; il lui serait sans doute difficile de nommer un seul territoire où les soi-disant organes législatifs aient pouvoir de décision et où le Gouverneur n'ait pas, de son côté, le pouvoir de refuser son assentiment à une mesure législative décidée par lesdits organes législatifs.

70. En ce qui concerne le rapport du Comité spécial (A/6868 et Add.1), auquel le représentant du Royaume-Uni n'a pas ménagé ses critiques et dont les recommandations ne sont pas jugées par lui dignes d'être prises au sérieux, M. Chakhov tient à signaler que les conclusions et recommandations qui figurent dans ce document ne sont pas celles de la Yougoslavie ou de l'Union soviétique mais celles des 19 délégations qui ont voté en leur faveur. Ce n'est pas la première

fois que l'on essaie de discréditer de la sorte le Comité spécial et c'est dans cet esprit que la délégation britannique a refusé de participer aux réunions de ce comité en Afrique; elle voulait sans doute éviter d'entendre les arguments et les faits que n'allaient pas manquer de fournir les représentants des peuples africains, et la condamnation explicite des monopoles que prononceraient les représentants de toutes les tendances des mouvements de libération.

71. Avant de conclure, M. Chakhov tient à déclarer qu'à son avis c'est à chaque pays qu'il appartient de décider s'il faut favoriser ou non les investissements. La délégation soviétique est contre les activités des monopoles étrangers dans les colonies parce que les peuples de ces colonies n'ont pas été consultés à ce sujet et qu'ils sont privés du droit de faire savoir s'ils souhaitent ou non que l'on investisse des capitaux chez eux. Tel est le problème essentiel et tel est le problème que le représentant du Royaume-Uni a évité de traiter dans l'intervention qu'il a faite pour détourner l'attention de la Commission de la question à l'étude.

72. M. Chakhov se réserve le droit de reprendre la parole sur le même sujet en temps opportun.

73. M. KAEMBA (Zambie), prenant la parole dans l'exercice du droit de réponse, s'insurge contre les mots "propagande politique" que le représentant du Royaume-Uni a employés au sujet du rapport du Comité spécial; il fait observer que le représentant du Royaume-Uni a recours à la tactique bien connue qui consiste à éluder le problème essentiel pour se réfugier dans des généralisations.

74. Le Royaume-Uni sait parfaitement bien que, si les monopoles étrangers n'exerçaient pas leurs activités dans les territoires d'Afrique australe, le Portugal serait incapable de poursuivre sa politique, l'apartheid n'aurait aucune chance de survivre ni le régime de Rhodésie du Sud de se maintenir.

75. Le représentant du Royaume-Uni sait que son pays n'a pas décolonisé la Zambie et qu'il a été obligé de mettre fin à sa domination sur ce pays. Le Royaume-Uni se vante d'avoir accordé l'indépendance à 740 millions d'habitants; il faut faire observer que c'est sans plaisir qu'il a dû s'y résigner et que, s'il n'avait tenu qu'à lui, la situation serait demeurée inchangée.

76. Non seulement le représentant du Royaume-Uni cherche à justifier son pays mais encore il défend la funeste politique du Sud et refuse de reconnaître que les monopoles ont conclu avec les puissances administrantes un pacte pour la défense du "bien national".

77. Quant à la situation qui règne dans les territoires, le représentant du Royaume-Uni n'a pas cherché à l'aborder; s'il l'avait fait, il aurait pu dire à la Commission par exemple qu'en Zambie, avant l'indépendance, il existait dans la fonction publique deux

barèmes de traitements, l'un applicable aux ressortissants du Royaume-Uni et l'autre applicable aux Africains, alors même qu'ils étaient titulaires de diplôme universitaires délivrés par des universités de Grande-Bretagne ou d'ailleurs. Il semble inconcevable que quiconque défende une politique pouvant donner lieu à un tel état de choses. Le représentant du Royaume-Uni aurait pu dire également que le territoire zambien était morcelé, une zone étant réservée aux Africains et le reste, les meilleures terres, appartenant à la Couronne. Ce sont des pratiques de ce genre que décrit le rapport.

78. La Zambie appuie sans réserve le rapport du Comité spécial et recommande vivement à la Commission de l'adopter. Elle espère que les Nations Unies n'auront plus à entendre l'apologie des régimes racistes qui sévissent en Afrique du Sud et dans les colonies portugaises.

Nations Unies
**ASSEMBLÉE
 GÉNÉRALE**

VINGT-DEUXIÈME SESSION

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SÉANCE

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Président: M. George J. TOMEH (Syrie).

En l'absence du Président, M. Braithwaite (Guyane), vice-président, prend la présidence.

POINT 24 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

Activités des intérêts étrangers, économiques et autres, qui font obstacle à l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux en Rhodésie du Sud, au Sud-Ouest africain et dans les territoires sous domination portugaise, ainsi que dans tous les autres territoires se trouvant sous domination coloniale, et aux efforts tendant à éliminer le colonialisme, l'apartheid et la discrimination raciale dans le Sud de l'Afrique (suite) [A/6868 et Add.], A/C.4/699]

DISCUSSION GENERALE (suite)

31. M. SZYMANOWSKI (Pologne) dit que, au cours des nombreux débats consacrés à la question, certaines délégations ont laissé entendre à maintes reprises que tout le problème était imaginaire, reposait sur des suppositions qui étaient le fruit de théories abstraites et que son examen était imposé à l'Organisation des Nations Unies à des fins de propagande. Le Royaume-Uni a repris ces arguments à la séance précédente. En réalité, le problème s'est imposé à l'attention de l'Organisation des Nations Unies parce que, chaque fois qu'un organe des Nations Unies a examiné de près la situation de n'importe quel territoire colonial, ce problème était toujours au premier plan. Il se pose avec le plus d'acuité dans les régions expressément mentionnées dans le libellé de ce point de l'ordre du jour. C'est dans la région de l'Afrique située au sud du Zambèze, où l'on trouve certaines des zones les plus riches en ressources naturelles, que le système de l'apartheid, qui n'est en fait qu'une nouvelle forme d'esclavage, a été imposé; c'est dans cette région que l'exploitation de la population autochtone est la plus impitoyable. Les régimes racistes réactionnaires y prospèrent parce qu'ils reçoivent un appui considérable des monopoles qui exploitent la population, et les monopoles réalisent à leur tour des bénéfices fabuleux grâce à la protection totale dont ils jouissent de la part des régimes au pouvoir.

32. L'Afrique australe offre peut-être l'image la plus affligeante de la conspiration coloniale à l'œuvre,

^{2/} Le texte intégral de la déclaration faite par le représentant du Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee a été distribué sous la cote A/C.4/700.

mais les pratiques des monopoles sont pour ainsi dire identiques dans tous les territoires coloniaux. Il ne faut pas oublier que le commerce a toujours été le principal mobile des conquêtes coloniales dont le but était d'accroître au maximum les richesses des pays métropolitains en s'emparant de ressources naturelles et en exploitant une main-d'œuvre à bon marché.

33. Bien que la question des activités des intérêts étrangers ait d'abord été étudiée dans le contexte de territoires particuliers, on s'est rapidement rendu compte qu'il fallait l'examiner dans son ensemble. L'effort fait par l'Organisation des Nations Unies pour mettre en lumière le rôle des intérêts des monopoles étrangers dans les territoires coloniaux doit être considéré comme une initiative de la plus haute importance. Ce n'est, toutefois, qu'une première étape puisqu'il faut d'abord diagnostiquer le mal avant de lui porter remède. L'Assemblée générale a déjà condamné, dans bon nombre de ses résolutions, les intérêts économiques étrangers parce qu'ils font obstacle à la décolonisation et la question a fait l'objet de nombreux commentaires et études. Le représentant de la Pologne se bornera donc à essayer de faire ressortir certains des éléments clefs du mécanisme de l'exploitation et de montrer non seulement leurs conséquences immédiates, mais aussi leurs conséquences plus lointaines. L'Organisation des Nations Unies doit élaborer des mesures propres à contrecarrer l'action des intérêts étrangers dans le processus de décolonisation et à empêcher que les pays coloniaux continuent à être exploités après leur accession à l'indépendance.

34. Compréhant que les jours du colonialisme sont comptés et que des bénéfices aussi énormes ne pourront plus être réalisés après l'accession à l'indépendance de tel ou tel territoire, les monopoles accélèrent leur exploitation pendant qu'il en est encore temps et intensifient leurs efforts pour préserver les conditions existantes jusqu'à ce que les principales ressources soient épuisées. Sur le plan local, les monopoles étrangers appuient les régimes coloniaux non seulement par les impôts qu'ils versent mais aussi grâce à des prêts et des donations. Ils offrent souvent une assistance directe pour réprimer les troubles et les mouvements de libération par l'intermédiaire de leurs forces de police, de leurs gardes et de leurs réseaux d'espionnage privés. Il est également évident que les intérêts étrangers exercent une influence directe sur l'administration des territoires. Sur le plan international, ils aident les régimes coloniaux au moyen de puissants lobbies et de campagnes de propagande, avec l'appui des gouvernements de leurs pays qui s'efforcent depuis longtemps de faire échec à l'opinion publique qui insiste pour que des mesures efficaces soient prises contre le colonialisme.

35. Le représentant de la Pologne voudrait appeler tout spécialement l'attention sur certains aspects des activités des monopoles étrangers dans les territoires coloniaux qui nuisent directement à la cause de l'indépendance. Tel est le cas pour la discrimination en matière d'emploi, de salaires et de niveaux de vie. Par suite de ces pratiques, non seulement

l'écrasante majorité de la population autochtone se maintient à peine au niveau de la subsistance, mais sa situation ne cesse de s'aggraver et ses espoirs d'une vie meilleure diminuent eux aussi. On empêche la population autochtone de se livrer à toute activité économique susceptible de la conduire à des progrès économiques; c'est ainsi que l'on supprime les entreprises coopératives dans les territoires coloniaux.

36. L'aliénation des terres constitue également un obstacle majeur à la décolonisation. Des mesures doivent être prises pour y mettre un terme et pour veiller à ce que les terres soient restituées aux populations des territoires en cause.

37. Les bénéfices énormes que rapportent les capitaux investis dans les territoires coloniaux ne sont pas utilisés au profit de la population, mais la part réinvestie dans les territoires est extrêmement faible. Comme l'a signalé l'économiste américain Leo Model dans le numéro de juillet 1967 de la publication *Foreign Affairs*, les dividendes rapatriés au titre des investissements directs des Etats-Unis se sont élevés à 4 milliards de dollars en 1966, sans compter 1 milliard de dollars versés par des succursales ou des filiales de sociétés américaines sous forme de redevances et de patentes, et le montant des nouveaux investissements était beaucoup moins important que celui des dividendes rapatriés. Selon le même article, au Canada, en Australie, en Nouvelle-Zélande et en Afrique du Sud, les revenus provenant des investissements directs, y compris les droits et redevances, représentent un montant à peu près équivalant à celui des nouveaux fonds investis directement, tandis que dans le reste du monde, et en particulier dans les pays moins développés, les revenus provenant des investissements directs, notamment dans l'industrie pétrolière et minière, sont bien supérieurs au montant des nouveaux investissements. Les recettes des sociétés américaines opérant en Asie et en Afrique se sont chiffrées à 1 373 millions en 1966 alors que le montant des nouveaux investissements n'a pas dépassé 289 millions de dollars. La Commission devrait, dans la résolution qu'elle adoptera, condamner de telles pratiques et prévoir des mesures visant à empêcher la fuite continue des capitaux.

38. Tout ceci se fait en vertu d'actes juridiques et de contrats légaux au sujet desquels la population du territoire intéressé n'a pas voix au chapitre et qui vont directement à l'encontre de ses intérêts. La validité de ces actes juridiques s'étend souvent sur de longues périodes, parfois de 50 à 100 ans, et peut ainsi aller au-delà de l'accession du territoire à l'indépendance. Un grand nombre de ces actes sont entièrement illicites, comme ceux qui émanent du régime illégal de Rhodésie du Sud et ceux de la République sud-africaine qui ont trait au Sud-Ouest africain. Certains gouvernements, qui ont voté pour les résolutions de l'Organisation des Nations Unies déclarant ces régimes illégaux, considèrent néanmoins que ces actes sont valides. Il faut indiquer expressément que tous les actes juridiques de ce type octroyant des privilèges et des concessions aux monopoles étrangers ne sauraient être considérés comme légaux et valides après l'accession à l'indépendance; ils ne sauraient manifestement être consi-

dérés comme valides s'ils émanent de régimes illégaux.

39. Le dispositif d'exploitation va bien au-delà de l'instauration de pratiques telles que la disparité des salaires et des prix ou la discrimination dans les termes de l'échange. La plupart des grands monopoles opèrent dans plus d'un territoire et sont étroitement interdépendants. Les territoires coloniaux sont ainsi soumis à une exploitation concertée d'associations puissantes de capitaux. Les grands monopoles interviennent non seulement dans la production, mais aussi dans les transports, les assurances et à la fourniture d'équipement industriel ou de biens de consommation pour leurs employés, et leurs bénéfices réels sont par conséquent infiniment supérieurs à ceux qui apparaissent dans les états budgétaires.

40. Tout le problème vient du fait que la situation échappe totalement au contrôle des peuples des territoires coloniaux. Tandis que les Nations Unies adoptent des résolutions qui affirment le droit de tous les peuples à la souveraineté sur leurs ressources naturelles, une conspiration puissante s'emploie à préserver une situation qui constitue une violation directe de ces résolutions. Lorsque l'heure de l'indépendance sonnera, la plupart des territoires coloniaux trouveront leurs ressources naturelles, notamment les gisements minéraux, dévastées, sinon épuisées, du fait d'une exploitation inconsidérée. Leur économie, pour la plupart d'entre eux, reposera sur la monoculture, ce qui les rendra économiquement dépendants, et ils manqueront de personnel qualifié, que ce soit pour la production ou pour assurer la gestion de l'économie. Dans les territoires où il existe à l'heure actuelle des bases militaires et où celles-ci sont le pivot de l'économie, les effets de cette situation se feront sentir encore longtemps et seront difficiles à éliminer. Dans tous les territoires coloniaux, les biens économiques les plus importants sont entre les mains des colons blancs. Comme le signale la brochure No 176^{3/} de la Headline Series (publication de la Foreign Policy Association), au sujet du Sud-Ouest africain, aucune mesure n'a été prise pour assurer la représentation de non-Blancs dans les organismes chargés d'élaborer la politique, les non-Blancs n'ont pas accès aux emplois spécialisés ni à la formation qui leur permettrait d'occuper de tels emplois, ce qui fait qu'ils en sont au niveau de la subsistance, et il y a des écarts énormes entre les dépenses de caractère social qui sont consacrées aux Blancs et celles qui sont consacrées aux non-Blancs, en particulier dans le domaine de l'enseignement.

41. Les arguments qui ont été invoqués au cours du débat, notamment par le représentant du Royaume-Uni à la séance précédente, et selon lesquels les activités des intérêts des monopoles étrangers contribuent au développement des territoires coloniaux, sont des arguments dépassés et peu convaincants. L'activité économique qui a pour objet la réalisation de profits maximums dans certains domaines limités et non le développement du pays dans son ensemble n'est pas une activité profitable, pas plus que ne l'est le travail forcé tel qu'il est pratiqué dans le

monde contemporain. Peut-être est-il vrai que les intérêts économiques étrangers ont introduit dans certains des territoires coloniaux des techniques modernes, mais la question est de savoir comment ces techniques sont utilisées. Dans les territoires coloniaux, la technique sert à accroître l'efficacité de l'exploitation et non à développer l'économie nationale. Dans bien des cas, on a négligé d'appliquer à d'autres domaines la technique utilisée dans tel ou tel domaine particulier, ce qui fait que l'on trouve côte à côte les techniques les plus modernes et les techniques les plus arriérées.

42. La délégation polonaise, qui est membre du Comité spécial, souscrit entièrement aux conclusions de cet organe et rejette les critiques sans fondement dont ce rapport a fait l'objet. Le représentant du Royaume-Uni n'a pu citer aucune donnée de fait convaincante pour réfuter ces conclusions et s'est contenté de ressortir les mêmes vieux clichés anti-communistes. C'est avoir recours à des méthodes périmées que de mettre l'étiquette de propagande marxiste sur des faits dont on ne veut pas tenir compte, comme par exemple l'aliénation des terres et l'exploitation de la main-d'œuvre.

43. La question à l'étude est extrêmement pressante et la délégation polonaise s'associe à l'appel lancé par le représentant de la République-Unie de Tanzanie à la 1718^{ème} séance. C'est tous les jours que des millions d'êtres humains souffrent de maux toujours plus grands que leur infligent les exploités étrangers et qui les marqueront pour longtemps. On doit prendre rapidement les mesures qui s'imposent pour éliminer ce redoutable obstacle à l'accession à l'indépendance des pays et des peuples coloniaux.

44. M. ISSAKA (Togo) rappelle à la Commission que le régime de Smith vient de célébrer le deuxième anniversaire de la déclaration unilatérale d'indépendance et que M. George Thompson, secrétaire d'Etat du Royaume-Uni aux affaires du Commonwealth, s'est rendu récemment en Rhodésie du Sud. C'est là un fait qu'il faudrait faire connaître largement.

45. La délégation togolaise estime que les questions de la Rhodésie du Sud et des territoires administrés par le Portugal ne peuvent être séparées du point actuellement à l'étude qui a trait à l'exploitation de l'Afrique australe par la ploutocratie internationale. Il conviendrait d'étudier d'abord les activités des intérêts étrangers dans les territoires coloniaux pour ensuite appliquer les conclusions de cette étude aux cas de la Rhodésie du Sud et des colonies portugaises par exemple. Le représentant du Portugal lui-même a été explicite à ce sujet dans la déclaration qu'il a faite à la 1704^{ème} séance de la Commission lorsqu'il a dit que toute tentative d'incriminer le Portugal doit être considérée comme une manœuvre visant à faire oublier quels sont les véritables responsables du problème rhodésien et lorsqu'il a indiqué qu'une grande partie du commerce extérieur de la Rhodésie passe par le Mozambique en vertu d'accords conclus à l'origine avec l'Autorité administrante — le Royaume-Uni — et qu'il n'a pas été adopté de nouvelles dispositions durant les deux dernières années. Le Royaume-Uni n'a pas entrepris de négociations avec le Portugal en vue de modifier ces accords parce que Salazar, Ian Smith et Vorster ne sont pas les

^{3/} Thomas Karis, *South Africa: The End is Not Yet*.

véritables responsables de la situation et qu'ils ne sont que des mercenaires payés par le capital international pour asservir les peuples et réaliser le maximum de profits. Le Portugal lui-même n'a pas le choix; pays pauvre, il ne fait qu'exécuter le travail pour d'autres. M. Issaka comprend la situation du Portugal et plaint ce pays mais il le juge impardonnable de s'être fait l'outil servile de la répression des peuples africains avec lesquels il a tout intérêt à avoir des relations amicales.

46. Le rapport extrêmement intéressant présenté par le Sous-Comité I du Comité spécial indique les deux moyens qu'utilise le capital international pour exploiter les peuples coloniaux et qui sont: l'exploitation systématique des ressources naturelles et celle impitoyable de la main-d'œuvre à bon marché grâce auxquels les investissements dans les territoires coloniaux sont si rentables. Les bénéfices ou bien sont exportés ou bien demeurent entre les mains de la minorité blanche; ils ne sont utilisés ni pour développer l'économie des territoires ni pour améliorer le niveau économique et social des habitants autochtones. Même dans l'agriculture, les paysans autochtones sont exploités. Ils ne peuvent vendre leurs récoltes qu'aux agents des sociétés étrangères, et à des prix bien inférieurs aux prix moyens pratiqués sur le marché international. Ce que le rapport ne mentionne pas c'est que les balances destinées au pesage des produits agricoles sont truquées, si bien que le paysan ne peut pas savoir quel est le poids exact de sa marchandise.

47. Le rapport du Sous-Comité indique les différents intérêts qui exploitent les peuples coloniaux. Ces intérêts sont, dans une très grande majorité, anglo-saxons, même dans les colonies portugaises. Ainsi, au Mozambique, la société à capitaux essentiellement britanniques Sena Sugar Estates, Ltd., assure à elle seule les deux tiers de la production sucrière totale du territoire.

48. En ce qui concerne la question agraire, le rapport indique clairement que les terres les plus riches ont été prises aux autochtones pour être données aux colons blancs tandis que les autochtones eux-mêmes sont obligés soit de travailler dans les fermes ou dans les usines qui sont entre des mains étrangères, soit de vivre misérablement du revenu de leur travail sur les terres pauvres qui leur sont laissées. On a fait venir de plus en plus de colons blancs dans le Sud-Ouest africain, pendant que 54 p. 100 de la population vit dans quatre réserves.

49. Dans ses recommandations, le Sous-Comité préconise des mesures propres à affranchir les peuples encore sous domination étrangère; la délégation

togolaise appuie toutes ces recommandations et demande à la Commission de les faire siennes. M. Issaka est prêt à appuyer toute résolution qui reprendrait l'essentiel de ces recommandations.

50. Après avoir lu le rapport, on comprend facilement pourquoi et par qui des armes ont été fournies pour asservir les peuples coloniaux. L'"alliance impie" ne comprend pas seulement Salazar, Ian Smith et Vorster; elle englobe tous les pays dont les monopoles entravent l'application de la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale aux territoires encore sous domination étrangère. Les capitaux étrangers ne sont pas investis dans les colonies portugaises pour assurer le développement de ces colonies, comme le prétend le représentant du Portugal, mais en vue des bénéfices que peuvent en tirer les investisseurs du fait que les conditions dans les territoires sont favorables aux investissements. Les intérêts étrangers sont beaucoup plus disposés à investir en Angola et au Mozambique que dans les Etats indépendants d'Afrique car dans les territoires les bénéfices qu'ils réalisent représentent plus que leur part équitable, et cela bien que bon nombre de pays sous développés aient pris des mesures pour protéger les capitaux étrangers. L'expérience des dernières années a montré que le système d'exploitation coloniale est précaire et qu'il est contraire à l'intérêt à long terme des monopoles internationaux eux-mêmes. Il faut que ceux-ci revisent leur conception de l'exploitation des ressources mondiales s'ils veulent survivre. Il faut par conséquent que les investisseurs pensent aux intérêts des autres en même temps qu'aux leurs; il faut qu'ils pensent aux peuples de l'Afrique australe qui meurent pendant qu'eux réalisent d'énormes bénéfices. Ce faisant, ils assureront leur propre survie et, en plus de recevoir leur juste part de profits, ils auront conscience de contribuer à l'amélioration de la condition humaine.

Nations Unies
**ASSEMBLÉE
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VINGT-DEUXIÈME SESSION

Documents officiels



QUATRIÈME COMMISSION, 1722^e
SÉANCE

Vendredi 17 novembre 1967,
 à 16 h 20

NEW YORK

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Président: M. George J. TOMEH (Syrie).

POINT 24 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

Activités des intérêts étrangers, économiques et autres, qui font obstacle à l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux en Rhodésie du Sud, au Sud-Ouest africain et dans les territoires sous domination portugaise, ainsi que dans tous les autres territoires se trouvant sous domination coloniale, et aux efforts tendant à éliminer le colonialisme, l'apartheid et la discrimination raciale dans le Sud de l'Afrique (suite) [A/6868 et Add.1]

DISCUSSION GÉNÉRALE (suite)

4. M. JOUEJATI (Syrie), prenant la parole dans l'exercice du droit de réponse, rappelle qu'il a déjà fait observer que la Quatrième Commission ne traite

1/ Pour le texte imprimé de ce document, voir A/6700/Rev.1, chap. I, annexe III.

2/ Idem, chap. V, annexe.

3/ Documents officiels de l'Assemblée générale, vingt et unième session, Annexes, additif au point 23 de l'ordre du jour, document A/6300/Rev.1, chap. V, par. 675.

pas de questions économiques, mais de décolonisation, et qu'elle doit mettre en lumière tous les obstacles qui empêchent encore la libération des territoires dépendants.

5. Le Sous-Comité I du Comité spécial a utilisé de nombreuses sources d'information, des données statistiques fournies par les puissances administrantes elles-mêmes, des informations émanant de certaines sociétés étrangères et les nombreux témoignages des pétitionnaires, qui ont en outre été longuement interrogés par les membres du Sous-Comité ou du Comité spécial; ces renseignements ont été complétés par une série de documents établis par le Secrétariat au cours des trois dernières années.

6. Cette longue étude a permis d'aboutir à un certain nombre de constatations concernant notamment les salaires de misère versés par les sociétés étrangères aux travailleurs autochtones, auxquels sont refusées toutes possibilités de promotion ou de spécialisation. Les concessions accordées aux sociétés étrangères ne comportent en général aucune disposition prévoyant qu'une part des bénéfices doit être consacrée au bien-être de la population autochtone et à la création d'écoles ou d'instituts permettant de préparer les cadres nécessaires au territoire lorsqu'il accédera à l'indépendance. En conséquence, les bénéfices sont anormalement élevés, la main-d'œuvre africaine ne recevant pas la part qui devrait lui revenir. D'après les chiffres des budgets de certaines sociétés comme la Sena Sugar Estates, Ltd., les dividendes versés sont supérieurs au montant total des salaires de la main-d'œuvre africaine.

7. Or ces sociétés ne peuvent agir de la sorte qu'avec l'aide de la Puissance administrante, qui leur permet de ne pas se conformer aux règlements internationaux en vigueur, et c'est pourquoi, en retour, les sociétés versent des subsides aux puissances coloniales, qui peuvent ainsi raffermir leur emprise.

8. Le représentant du Royaume-Uni n'a guère contribué à l'examen de la question puisqu'il s'est borné à traiter de façon générale de ce que l'on peut appeler la théorie des investissements étrangers. Il a déclaré que, dans certaines colonies britanniques, il existe des syndicats, que les gouvernements locaux ont leur mot à dire en ce qui concerne les investissements étrangers, qu'une partie des bénéfices réalisés par les sociétés est consacrée à la construction de logements et d'écoles et que les autochtones ne sont pas privés de leurs droits politiques. Or la structure administrative des territoires britanniques est telle que toutes les décisions sont subordonnées au bon vouloir du gouverneur, qui dispose non seulement du droit de veto dans les conseils législatifs, mais qui peut même faire adopter des dispositions contraires aux décisions prises et, s'il le veut, faire promulguer ces dispositions sous forme de lois. Le Royaume-Uni répondra que, si les pouvoirs du Gouverneur sont si étendus, c'est parce que les territoires en question n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance. Il est certain, cependant, que, lorsque les syndicats, dont le rôle politique est si limité, protestent contre certaines mesures illégales, une répression s'ensuit immédiatement. De même, de nombreux appels qui ont été lancés aux autorités

britanniques pour obtenir une diversification de la production dans certains territoires, comme aux îles Fidji ou à l'île Maurice, et de nombreuses résolutions de l'ONU adoptées à cet effet n'ont pas été prises en considération.

9. Le représentant du Royaume-Uni a déclaré que les salaires payés par certaines grandes sociétés étrangères sont plus élevés que ceux que versent les petites entreprises. Toutefois, c'est la proportion de la rémunération du travail par rapport aux bénéfices réalisés qui doit être prise en considération. L'injustice fondamentale réside dans le fait qu'une proportion écrasante des bénéfices va aux actionnaires étrangers et à la Puissance administrante.

10. M. Jouéjati note avec intérêt que le rapport du Sous-Comité I (A/6868/Add.1) et la déclaration du Royaume-Uni (1720ème séance) concordent sur un point au moins, à savoir que la main-d'œuvre africaine souffre de certaines conditions désavantageuses. Le représentant du Royaume-Uni, qui s'est inquiété des dépenses qu'entraînait pour le Secrétariat la préparation des documents, a évoqué en une seule phrase et presque en passant le préjudice causé aux travailleurs africains.

11. D'autre part, le représentant du Royaume-Uni a contesté que la politique des compagnies étrangères puisse constituer une menace pour la paix internationale. Son pays ne sait-il pas, par expérience, que les peuples africains, comme tous les autres peuples du reste, sont résolus à lutter pour la reconnaissance de leurs droits? Les risques de conflit ne sont pas négligeables vu la tension actuelle des relations internationales.

12. M. Jouéjati déplore que, dans ses déclarations, la délégation britannique ait souvent parlé des membres du Sous-Comité de façon telle qu'elle revenait à s'ingérer dans les affaires intérieures des Etats qu'ils représentent. Il déplore également les critiques désobligeantes dont le rapport a fait l'objet de la part de certains pays occidentaux. C'est oublier la tâche profondément humaine dont est chargé le Comité spécial que de faire au sujet du rapport du Sous-Comité I des observations aussi déplacées.

13. En ce qui concerne enfin les efforts du Royaume-Uni dans le domaine de l'éducation, M. Jouéjati rappelle que M. Ali Bayoomi, ministre du prétendu Gouvernement fédéral de l'Arabie du Sud, a déclaré devant la Commission en 1966 (1626ème séance), au sujet des envois de personnel à l'étranger pour se perfectionner que ces personnes restaient deux ou trois mois à Londres et revenaient sans avoir acquis de qualifications spéciales. Le représentant du Sierra Leone a également déclaré au Comité spécial que la Puissance administrante avait délibérément maintenu dans son pays, avant l'indépendance, un niveau d'enseignement très bas. Les diplômés d'universités ne pouvaient pas même trouver d'emplois dans le secteur public ou privé.

14. La délégation britannique a estimé que le rapport du Comité spécial ne contenait que des généralités. C'est là un jugement qui semble s'appliquer au contraire à la récente déclaration de son représentant.

15. M. HULINSKY (Tchécoslovaquie) déclare que les nombreuses résolutions adoptées par l'Assemblée générale témoignent de l'intérêt accru qu'elle porte aux activités des intérêts étrangers, économiques et autres qui font obstacle à l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. Parmi ces documents figurent notamment la résolution 2074 (XX) relative au Sud-Ouest africain, la résolution 2107 (XX) relative aux territoires administrés par le Portugal et la résolution 2189 (XXI) relative à l'application de la Déclaration. De son côté, le Comité spécial a réuni une documentation portant sur les activités des monopoles étrangers au Sud-Ouest africain, en Rhodésie du Sud et dans les territoires sous domination portugaise. Les données qu'il a recueillies depuis plusieurs années et les conclusions auxquelles il a abouti dans son dernier rapport (A/6868 et Add.1) témoignent de l'importance qu'il convient d'accorder à ces problèmes. Les efforts du Comité spécial ont contribué à établir le fait que les monopoles occidentaux ne tiennent pas compte des dispositions de la Déclaration et aggravent la situation des peuples colonisés en Afrique australe. Les travaux du Comité spécial permettent de tirer un certain nombre de conclusions quant à l'influence des monopoles étrangers sur l'économie de l'Afrique australe.

16. En Rhodésie du Sud, les intérêts économiques étrangers contrôlent environ 80 p. 100 de l'ensemble du capital. Le rôle décisif dans ce domaine appartient à des sociétés enregistrées en République sud-africaine, au Royaume-Uni et aux Etats-Unis d'Amérique, notamment l'Anglo American Corporation et la British South Africa Company, qui ont fusionné en 1965 avec la Charter Consolidated. Les investissements de capitaux privés britanniques en Rhodésie du Sud se sont élevés en 1966 à 200 millions de livres sterling, ceux de la République sud-africaine à 75 millions de livres et ceux des Etats-Unis à 56 millions de livres.

17. En ce qui concerne les territoires coloniaux portugais, les rapports du Comité spécial montrent que l'économie de l'Angola et du Mozambique est essentiellement aux mains de sociétés du Royaume-Uni, des Etats-Unis et de la République fédérale d'Allemagne. C'est ainsi que l'Angola Diamond Company possède les droits exclusifs de la prospection et de l'extraction des diamants sur ce territoire. Les droits exclusifs de l'extraction du pétrole en Angola appartiennent à la société belge Petrofina et à la société américaine Gulf Oil Company. Les sociétés Lobito et Lombige contrôlent quant à elles l'extraction du minerai de fer sur le territoire.

18. En ce qui concerne le Sud-Ouest africain, il faut rappeler que pratiquement toute l'exploitation des richesses minérales est contrôlée par les monopoles étrangers, en particulier par la Consolidated Diamond Mines of South West Africa, Ltd., et la Tsumeb Corporation, cette dernière appartenant aux sociétés américaines American Metal Climax et Newmont Mining Corporation.

19. En analysant la situation des monopoles étrangers en Afrique australe, on ne saurait passer sous silence le rôle important que joue la République sud-africaine. Comme l'indique le document A/AC.115/

L.56/Rev.3⁴, les investissements étrangers en République sud-africaine atteignaient globalement à la fin de l'année 1965 le montant de 4 802 millions de dollars. Sur cette somme, la part du capital britannique revient à environ 60 p. 100, celle du capital américain à 12 p. 100 et le reste à d'autres pays occidentaux. Il existe en fait un réseau complexe d'intérêts contrôlés par des sociétés telles que l'Anglo American Corporation of South Africa, la Charter Consolidated, la Selection Trust et la Lonrho Ltd.

20. L'analyse effectuée par le Comité spécial montre que l'influence des monopoles étrangers s'exerce dans plusieurs domaines d'activité essentiels; sur le plan économique, les monopoles renforcent l'influence de l'impérialisme; dans le domaine politique, les monopoles interviennent dans le développement des territoires et appuient les autorités coloniales qui luttent contre les mouvements de libération nationale. Les monopoles étrangers apportent à l'heure actuelle un appui considérable aux régimes colonialistes et racistes. Cet appui se manifeste sous forme d'une participation aux bénéfices et aux dividendes, ainsi que de versements effectués au titre de la défense. C'est ainsi que les monopoles étrangers, en Angola, versent aux autorités portugaises un "impôt sur la défense" qui sert à prendre des mesures de répression contre les patriotes angolais. Le pétitionnaire qui représentait le Mouvement populaire de libération de l'Angola (MPLA) à la session que le Comité spécial a tenue en Afrique a également indiqué le numéro du décret relatif à la perception de cet impôt; il s'agit du décret No 46112, qui est sans aucun doute un excellent exemple de la façon dont on utilise l'un des moyens d'exercer un contrôle sur les monopoles étrangers, dont le représentant du Royaume-Uni a parlé au Comité, "à des fins qui profitent à l'ensemble de la population", pour reprendre les paroles mêmes de ce représentant.

21. L'une des principales raisons pour lesquelles la Quatrième Commission examine le problème des activités des intérêts étrangers est le fait bien établi que les monopoles étrangers utilisent les conditions favorables régnant dans les colonies afin de percevoir des bénéfices qui sont de deux à trois fois plus élevés que dans les autres régions du monde. Tout développement de l'économie des territoires dépendants, qu'il s'agisse des plantations, de l'agriculture, des mines, de l'infrastructure ou même des industries de transformation, est subordonnée à ces intérêts et n'est que la conséquence secondaire, et non pas l'objectif principal de l'expansion des monopoles économiques contrôlés par le capital étranger. Les activités économiques des monopoles dans les territoires dépendants permettent le développement de quelques branches seulement de la production. De ce fait, l'économie de ces territoires s'est développée sans tenir compte des réalités et de façon anarchique, et les territoires ne sont plus que des fournisseurs de matières premières de leur métropole. Les autochtones se voient refuser le droit de déterminer si peu que ce soit l'orientation à donner à l'expansion économique de leur pays.

⁴ Les investissements étrangers en République sud-africaine (publication des Nations Unies, numéro de vente: 67.II.K.10).

22. Il faut remarquer à cet égard que, dans sa déclaration (1720ème séance), le représentant du Royaume-Uni n'a pas établi de distinction entre la situation régnant dans les colonies et la situation des pays en voie de développement. L'exploitation des ressources naturelles et de la main-d'œuvre à bon marché permet aux monopoles étrangers de percevoir des bénéfices considérables, dont la majeure partie est utilisée en dehors des territoires coloniaux. Les monopoles étrangers qui possèdent les moyens de production essentiels des territoires coloniaux profitent également de la discrimination dont est victime la population autochtone dans les domaines social et politique. Le revenu considérable des investissements étrangers est dû pour une large part à la discrimination qui est pratiquée à l'encontre de la main-d'œuvre locale et que facilite l'existence, dans les territoires dépendants, de régimes racistes et coloniaux. Le salaire annuel moyen des 629 000 Africains employés dans l'économie de la Rhodésie du Sud était en 1965 de 128 livres, alors que le salaire moyen de la main-d'œuvre européenne était de 1 284 livres. En 1962, déjà, les salaires annuels moyens de ces deux catégories de main-d'œuvre dans les industries minières du Sud-Ouest africain s'élevaient respectivement à 202,9 rands et 2 542 rands. Le fait que les monopoles persévèrent dans ces pratiques fait obstacle à l'élimination de la discrimination qui est pratiquée à l'encontre des Africains dans le domaine social.

23. La question dont est actuellement saisie la Quatrième Commission doit être également examinée du point de vue des mesures concrètes prises dans le cadre du programme de l'ONU sur la décolonisation. C'est ainsi que le Comité spécial a réuni des renseignements prouvant que les monopoles étrangers contribuent à faire obstacle à l'application de ces mesures, et en particulier des sanctions économiques. Un certain nombre de sociétés britanniques et américaines ont continué de distribuer le pétrole et les produits pétroliers importés du Mozambique et de la République sud-africaine. En outre, n'est-ce pas là un exemple concret des efforts que déploient les monopoles pour faire échec aux mesures de décolonisation? Pourtant, si l'on en croit certaines déclarations faites à la séance précédente, aucun effort en ce sens n'aurait été tenté. Les conclusions du Comité spécial montrent bien l'influence des bénéfices réalisés dans ces territoires sur l'attitude des puissances occidentales à l'égard des questions coloniales et des régimes racistes.

24. Les travaux méritoires du Comité spécial ont souligné indiscutablement que, si l'on veut réaliser de nouveaux progrès dans la décolonisation, il faut d'abord mettre fin aux activités des monopoles étrangers qui soutiennent les régimes coloniaux et racistes et qui font obstacle à l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. La délégation tchécoslovaque fait entièrement siennes les recommandations du Comité spécial figurant au paragraphe 95 du document A/6868. Il importe que la question continue d'être examinée par l'Assemblée générale afin d'établir une liste de mesures concrètes visant à empêcher les monopoles étrangers de violer les dispositions de la Déclaration.

25. M. LADGHAM (Tunisie) déclare que le colonialisme, sur la définition duquel l'opinion est unanime, est encore vivace dans les territoires sous domination portugaise, en Rhodésie du Sud et au Sud-Ouest africain, grâce aux apports financiers étrangers.

26. Le rapport du Sous-Comité I met en lumière la solidarité qui lie les intérêts étrangers à ceux des puissances coloniales. Celles-ci, qui cependant ont souscrit aux obligations de la Charte des Nations Unies, en particulier à celles qui sont stipulées à l'Article 73 en ce qui concerne le principe de la primauté des intérêts des habitants des territoires, font de l'abus de leur pouvoir un système de gouvernement.

27. Ainsi en Angola, le Gouvernement portugais, faisant fi des droits de la population, a promulgué une loi aux termes de laquelle tous les gisements miniers sont déclarés propriété de l'Etat portugais, qui tire de ces gisements la majeure partie de ses ressources en devises. Des concessions couvrant d'immenses superficies ont été accordées à des sociétés étrangères. Au Mozambique également, les ressources du sous-sol sont exploitées en grande partie par des sociétés étrangères qui versent des sommes importantes pour les dépenses militaires portugaises et entretiennent même des forces de police privées. Une de ces sociétés a versé 72 millions d'escudos au titre de sa participation à la "défense du patrimoine national".

28. L'exploitation forcée des ressources minières, ainsi que la colonisation des terres par les colons européens, ont réduit la population autochtone au chômage et à la misère. Ainsi contraints, de nombreux chômeurs vont travailler en Afrique du Sud.

29. La même situation se reproduit en Rhodésie du Sud, où les intérêts étrangers contrôlent les principaux secteurs de l'économie (mines, banques, finances) et représentent plus de 80 p. 100 de l'ensemble des capitaux investis sur le territoire. Dans l'industrie minière uniquement, ils représentent 73 p. 100 du total des capitaux investis.

30. Au Sud-Ouest africain, deux grandes sociétés étrangères règnent en grande partie sur le secteur minier, dont la valeur représente près de la moitié du produit intérieur brut.

31. La politique des salaires appliquée dans ces deux derniers pays est scandaleuse. En effet, en Rhodésie du Sud, le salaire annuel moyen d'un ouvrier africain est douze fois inférieur à celui d'un Européen. Dans les zones rurales, le revenu annuel moyen par habitant est évalué à 10 livres. Au Sud-Ouest africain, où règne l'apartheid, l'écart est encore plus grand et, en 1962, le salaire annuel moyen versé par les sociétés minières aux ouvriers blancs était de 2 542 rands, tandis que celui qui était versé aux ouvriers autochtones ne dépassait pas 202,9 rands.

32. Dans de telles conditions, il est bien évident que la législation fiscale et le statut colonial appliqué à la main-d'œuvre ont facilité le drainage d'investissements étrangers si importants. Les bénéfices des sociétés étrangères sont de l'ordre de 20 à 25 p. 100.

33. Le rapport du Sous-Comité I a bien mis en relief le rôle que jouent les intérêts étrangers dans

cette lamentable situation. La Quatrième Commission doit condamner avec sévérité les puissances coloniales et l'appui qu'elles reçoivent des intérêts étrangers grâce auquel se poursuit une sordide exploitation.

34. Il est tragique, au moment où le monde est en pleine mutation et où les pays en voie de développement déploient des efforts gigantesques pour faire bénéficier leur peuple du progrès, de constater que des intérêts égoïstes cherchent à maintenir le colonialisme. Les relations entre nations étant maintenant fondées sur la coopération, l'équité et la justice, l'Organisation des Nations Unies doit dénoncer avec force l'exploitation dégradante à laquelle certains territoires restent encore soumis. Seule une véritable décolonisation permettra d'élever le niveau de vie des peuples dépendants et de préserver la paix dans le sud de l'Afrique.

35. M. GATUGUTA (Kenya) déplore que la décolonisation, dont le processus s'était accéléré à la fin des années 1950 et au début des années 1960, soit aujourd'hui au point mort, en raison de la résistance obstinée d'un dernier groupe de colonialistes prêts à recourir à tous les moyens pour maintenir en place un système fondé sur l'inégalité raciale et l'exploitation économique. Et on constate qu'aujourd'hui comme hier ce sont les intérêts économiques étrangers qui sont le meilleur soutien du régime colonial; peut-être même ce phénomène est-il plus évident qu'il ne l'a jamais été.

36. Les puissances coloniales ont toujours considéré leurs colonies comme une source de matières premières et de main-d'œuvre à bon marché. Pour exploiter intensivement ces ressources, les gouvernements coloniaux actuels cherchent à attirer les investissements en créant des conditions spéciales qui assurent des bénéfices substantiels aux investisseurs; ils promulguent des lois interdisant toute activité syndicale, allant même parfois jusqu'à instituer un système de travail forcé; les Africains sont dépossédés des terres qui leur appartenaient traditionnellement afin que de vastes concessions puissent être attribuées aux monopoles étrangers; sur les terres fertiles, les colons blancs venus d'Europe prennent la place des agriculteurs autochtones. Du fait de cette politique, on constate, par exemple, qu'au Sud-Ouest africain les Africains, qui constituent 90 p. 100 de la population, ne possèdent qu'un quart des terres et que près de la moitié du territoire a été attribuée en concession à des monopoles étrangers. En Rhodésie du Sud, les Européens, qui représentent 5 p. 100 de la population, possèdent 45 p. 100 des terres arables, et détiennent 93,5 p. 100 de la production agricole commercialisable; là aussi, de vastes concessions sont accordées aux monopoles.

37. La collaboration entre puissances coloniales et monopoles permet à ces derniers de faire en Afrique australe des bénéfices de l'ordre de 22 à 30 p. 100 du capital investi. Pendant ce temps, qu'apporte ce système à la population africaine? Les Africains sont utilisés comme un réservoir de main-d'œuvre à bon marché, et n'ont pas accès à la formation qui leur permettrait de progresser et de prendre en main leur avenir; leurs droits les plus élémentaires sont violés et le rapport du Comité spécial

contient de nombreux exemples d'injustices qui leur sont infligées.

38. Face à cette situation, certaines grandes puissances restent passives, et leurs représentants n'ont apporté aucune contribution constructive aux travaux de la Quatrième Commission; elles ont voté contre des projets de résolutions destinés à faire pression sur les pays coloniaux — notamment le Portugal — ou elles se sont abstenues. Par ailleurs, ces grandes puissances lancent de pieux appels, mais cela ne peut suffire à libérer les peuples opprimés, et il faut que l'ONU demande à ceux de ses Etats Membres qui ont des intérêts économiques dans les pays coloniaux de prendre des mesures plus concrètes. La délégation du Kenya appuiera tout projet de résolution présenté à cette fin qui serait conforme aux recommandations du Comité spécial.

39. M. Gatuguta, se référant en particulier à la déclaration faite par le représentant du Royaume-Uni à la 1720ème séance, juge erronée l'affirmation selon laquelle les investissements étrangers sont à l'origine des progrès accomplis dans les pays coloniaux avant et après l'indépendance, au Kenya en particulier — pays que M. Luard a cité comme exemple. Les pays nouvellement indépendants savent bien qu'on n'a rien fait pour les doter d'une industrie de transformation avant l'indépendance, qu'ils ont dû faire cet effort eux-mêmes par la suite; ils n'ont hérité du colonialisme que des systèmes d'éducation defectueux, des réseaux routiers insuffisants, des installations sanitaires inadéquates. Les puissances coloniales se sont contentées d'exploiter les matières premières, et, si elles ont fait un effort pour améliorer les conditions de vie, c'est au profit des colons blancs, qui occupaient les postes élevés et recevaient de hauts salaires. Les Africains étaient laissés dans un état d'impuissance économique; ils étaient mal payés et ne pouvaient pas obtenir de prêts pour créer leurs propres entreprises. Les travailleurs africains avaient parfois des droits syndicaux, mais on ne leur permettait jamais de faire grève. Si aujourd'hui les investissements étrangers contribuent au progrès des pays autrefois colonisés, c'est dans la mesure où ils sont contrôlés par les gouvernements, qui veillent à ce que les bénéfices ne soient pas drainés vers l'étranger, et à ce que leurs ressortissants occupent des postes importants et aient des salaires décents.

40. Par ailleurs, M. Gatuguta tient à rejeter une fois de plus l'assertion habituelle selon laquelle le Royaume-Uni a accompli une œuvre de décolonisation immense. Si le Royaume-Uni a quitté ses colonies, c'est le plus souvent parce qu'il y a été contraint par les peuples qu'il dominait; cela est particulièrement vrai dans le cas du Kenya.

41. M. BOYE (Chili) déclare que son pays, pour sa part, a toujours été favorable à l'entrée d'investissements étrangers sur son territoire, mais à condition que ces investissements soient soumis à sa législation nationale, se conjuguent avec les plans et programmes gouvernementaux et contribuent au développement économique et social du Chili.

42. Dans les territoires non autonomes, s'opposer à toutes les formes d'investissements étrangers

serait faire preuve d'un dogmatisme absurde, mais il faut dénoncer les intérêts étrangers qui ont pour objectif de retarder l'accession de ces territoires à l'indépendance. Le droit inaliénable des peuples qui y vivent sur leurs ressources naturelles doit être réaffirmé et, pour le garantir, l'ONU doit s'efforcer de créer des conditions favorables à leur accession à l'indépendance. Cela est indispensable si l'on veut qu'ils bénéficient de conditions de travail et de rétribution dépourvues de toute discrimination, et qu'ils jouissent non seulement des avantages sociaux, mais aussi du droit à l'éducation et de celui de participer à l'organisation de la société.

43. La Commission, pour la première fois, aborde le problème des activités des intérêts étrangers d'une manière globale et systématique; elle devrait en profiter pour parvenir à un consensus aussi large que possible sur les principes fondamentaux qui doivent inspirer sa solution. Un premier pas consisterait à poser des bases solides à partir desquelles on pourrait se prononcer sur des situations concrètes, et donner ainsi à l'ONU la possibilité d'agir efficacement et en profondeur.

44. M. LORINC (Hongrie), se référant à la déclaration faite par le représentant du Royaume-Uni à la 1720^{ème} séance, déclaration dans laquelle ce représentant s'est fait le défenseur des monopoles qui aident à maintenir en place les régimes coloniaux de M. Vorster et de M. Smith, tient tout d'abord à rappeler quelques traits historiques du colonialisme. Les historiens savent que le colonialisme moderne est un produit de l'avènement de la société capitaliste et que la colonisation a le plus souvent détruit les structures sociales des peuples colonisés. Ce que l'on sait peut-être moins, c'est que la colonisation n'a fait que creuser un fossé entre le niveau de vie des colonisateurs et des colonisés, et contribué ainsi à susciter la division actuelle du monde entre pays riches et pauvres. Pour ce qui est des monopoles, M. Lörinc ajoute qu'ils ne sont pas le produit de l'imagination de propagandistes communistes, mais une réalité bien vivante de notre époque et que, de plus, ils n'existent que dans un type bien particulier de sociétés.

45. M. Lörinc rappelle que ce sont les puissances coloniales qui ont fait pression sur l'ONU pour qu'une distinction soit établie entre colonies et territoires sous tutelle — on sait que les territoires sous tutelle sont essentiellement les colonies arrachées au Japon, à l'Italie et à l'Allemagne après la seconde guerre mondiale. L'ONU a adopté la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, contenue dans la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale pour tenir compte des changements historiques survenus depuis cette époque. Lorsque le Comité spécial s'est efforcé d'identifier les forces qui retardent l'application de cette déclaration, il a dû aller de plus en plus profond dans l'étude de la question pour obtenir des faits et des données dont la Commission est aujourd'hui en possession et qui font apparaître clairement la situation. On prend nettement conscience de l'existence d'un réseau d'intérêts étrangers, économiques et autres collaborant avec les gouvernements coloniaux, qui ont eux-mêmes formé ce que l'on a appelé

une "alliance impie", pour empêcher les peuples des derniers territoires coloniaux d'accéder à l'indépendance.

46. Aujourd'hui, une minorité — une minorité très puissante — voudrait que l'ONU accepte qu'une partie de l'humanité soit écartée du domaine d'application des principes énoncés dans les chartes, résolutions, déclarations, conventions et traités élaborés par les Nations Unies, que le principe de la souveraineté nationale ne s'applique pas à certaines parties du globe, et que la Déclaration universelle des droits de l'homme ne soit pas universelle. Cette minorité a des valeurs morales et politiques fondamentalement différentes de celles de la majorité; ce qui l'anime, avant tout, c'est la recherche du profit.

47. En fonction de cet objectif, les activités des monopoles dans les pays coloniaux s'ordonnent selon des schémas très clairs. En premier lieu, la recherche du profit tend à placer l'ensemble de l'économie des pays coloniaux sous le contrôle des monopoles. On en a la preuve lorsqu'on constate que les intérêts économiques étrangers contrôlent aujourd'hui les principaux secteurs de l'économie de la Rhodésie du Sud et entrent pour plus de 80 p. 100 dans le montant global des capitaux investis dans le territoire, et qu'au Sud-Ouest africain les mines, qui fournissent près de la moitié du produit national brut, sont presque entièrement aux mains de deux grandes sociétés étrangères contrôlées par des intérêts du Royaume-Uni, des Etats-Unis et de l'Afrique du Sud. En Nouvelle-Guinée et au Papua, les cultures marchandes et l'exploitation des ressources minérales, qui constituent les secteurs principaux de l'économie, sont dominées par des intérêts étrangers, et, selon un rapport de la BIRD, "la Steamship Trading Company, Ltd., l'une des plus importantes parmi les sociétés qui sont implantées dans le Territoire et dans d'autres zones du Pacifique, a réalisé en 1964 un bénéfice net global ... qui représente, en moyenne, un taux de rémunération de 24,4 p. 100 du capital versé" (A/6868/Add.1, par. 104); en d'autres termes, le capital investi a été entièrement amorti en quatre ans. Le rapport du Sous-Comité I (A/6868/Add.1) fait apparaître qu'en Afrique australe les activités des intérêts étrangers sont caractérisées par des "ententes groupant des capitaux sud-africains, anglais et américains" (*ibid.*, par. 105).

48. En deuxième lieu, les monopoles aliènent les terres de la population autochtone. En Rhodésie du Sud, 38 p. 100 des terres — la partie la plus fertile — appartiennent aux colons blancs, qui représentent 5 p. 100 de la population. Dans le Territoire sous tutelle des Iles du Pacifique, si l'on en croit le rapport publié en 1966 par les Etats-Unis, la population a été dépossédée de 58 p. 100 des terres.

49. En troisième lieu, les monopoles foulent aux pieds tous les droits de la population autochtone. Le paragraphe 89 du rapport met l'accent sur la discrimination raciale pratiquée dans les salaires, les travailleurs autochtones étant payés 5 à 15 fois moins que les étrangers. Il n'existe pas de lois sociales, de sécurité sociale, de caisses de retraite ou de pensions. Une majorité écrasante de la population autochtone est illettrée, et les soins médicaux sont pratiquement inexistantes.

50. En quatrième lieu, les monopoles maintiennent la population autochtone dans le servage, la pauvreté, l'ignorance et l'impuissance pour préserver leurs privilèges. Les puissances impérialistes ont investi 5 milliards de dollars en Afrique australe, mais les Africains vivent toujours dans la misère. En Rhodésie du Sud, les Blancs ont un revenu annuel moyen de 1 284 livres sterling, mais ce chiffre tombe à 128 livres pour les travailleurs indigènes, et le revenu individuel moyen des Africains vivant dans les zones rurales n'a pas dépassé 10 livres en 1965.

51. En cinquième lieu, les monopoles collaborent étroitement avec les puissances coloniales, au point d'aller jusqu'à créer des armées privées pour aider ces derniers dans leur répression (*ibid.*, par. 112).

52. En sixième lieu, l'objectif commun des monopoles est de faire en sorte que les territoires coloniaux restent dépendants. Le rapport du Sous-Comité I conclut à cet égard que les activités des intérêts étrangers ont abouti à la destruction de la structure sociale des communautés autochtones, "compromettant de ce fait le déroulement du processus par lequel la population pouvait s'édifier en nation" (*ibid.*, par. 130).

53. En septième lieu, ces mêmes monopoles influent sur la politique étrangère des gouvernements de leurs propres pays. L'affirmation d'un ancien président de la société américaine General Motors, Charles Erwin Wilson: "ce qui est bon pour la General Motors est bon pour les Etats-Unis", est symbolique de cet état de choses.

54. En outre, on constate que les pays dont les monopoles font l'objet des discussions de la Commission sont des alliés militaires des Etats-Unis dans le cadre de l'Organisation du Traité de l'Atlantique nord (Royaume-Uni, Belgique, etc.), d'autres

accords militaires (Australie) ou de traités bilatéraux (Japon). A cet égard, il faut rappeler que, dans sa résolution 2232 (XXI), l'Assemblée générale a déclaré que la création de bases militaires dans les pays coloniaux est incompatible avec les principes de la Charte et de la résolution 1514 (XV), mais que ces pays n'en continuent pas moins à utiliser des bases de ce genre; on peut donner pour exemples Guam, dont les Etats-Unis se servent dans leur guerre d'agression contre le Viet-Nam, ou l'île de l'Ascension, à partir de laquelle une agression a été perpétrée contre le Congo en 1964. Aujourd'hui, de manière générale, on a fait de l'ensemble de l'Afrique australe un tremplin pour les opérations militaires dirigées contre des Etats africains indépendants, ainsi que le montrent les récentes incursions de mercenaires au Congo, qui viennent de faire l'objet d'un débat au Conseil de sécurité, et l'intervention de troupes sud-africaines en Rhodésie du Sud contre le peuple du Zimbabwe.

55. Certains prétendent que la condamnation des monopoles dont M. Lörinc vient de définir le rôle est une manœuvre idéologique qui se situe dans le cadre du conflit Est-Ouest. Mais on sait bien que les pays socialistes n'ont pas de monopoles qui exploitent les territoires coloniaux. S'il y a controverse, c'est entre la majorité écrasante des Etats Membres de l'ONU qui demande que soit reconnu le droit à l'indépendance et à la souveraineté nationale des peuples coloniaux et la minorité qui, sous le couvert de grands discours, cherche à maintenir une situation honteuse pour défendre ses privilèges — en d'autres termes, comme cela s'est produit si fréquemment dans l'histoire de l'humanité, entre les forces de progrès et les forces rétrogrades.

La séance est levée à 18 h 5.



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Activités des intérêts étrangers, économiques et autres, qui font obstacle à l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux en Rhodésie du Sud, au Sud-Ouest africain et dans les territoires sous domination portugaise, ainsi que dans tous les autres territoires se trouvant sous domination coloniale, et aux efforts tendant à éliminer le colonialisme, l'apartheid et la discrimination raciale dans le sud de l'Afrique (suite)

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Président: M. George J. TOMEH (Syrie).

En l'absence du Président, M. Braithwaite (Guyane), vice-président, prend la présidence.

POINT 24 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

Activités des intérêts étrangers, économiques et autres, qui font obstacle à l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux en Rhodésie du Sud, au Sud-Ouest africain et dans les territoires sous domination portugaise, ainsi que dans tous les autres territoires se trouvant sous domination coloniale, et aux efforts tendant à éliminer le colonialisme, l'apartheid et la discrimination raciale dans le Sud de l'Afrique (*suite*) [A/6868 et Add.1]

DECLARATION DU REPRESENTANT DE CUBA

1. M. RODRIGUEZ ASTIAZARAIN (Cuba) dit que, dans le communiqué de presse publié par le Service de l'information sur la 1721^{ème} séance de la Commission (communiqué de presse GA/T/1688), on n'indique pas que la délégation cubaine a appuyé la proposition de la délégation guinéenne tendant à faire distribuer le texte de la déclaration de M. James Forman. On y réserve en revanche une large place aux observations du représentant des Etats-Unis bien qu'elles soient sans rapport, quant au fond, avec les questions soulevées par M. Forman. Le représentant de Cuba souhaite que les protestations qu'il formule à cet égard soient consignées dans le compte rendu.

2. Le PRÉSIDENT dit que le Secrétariat enquêtera sur cette question.

DISCUSSION GENERALE (suite)

3. M. MIRDHA (Inde) dit que l'examen du point à l'étude a montré combien il était utile d'examiner le problème dans son ensemble dans tous les territoires coloniaux étant donné qu'une telle étude montre pourquoi les puissances coloniales sont résolues à conserver la mainmise sur leurs territoires aussi longtemps que possible. Il s'agit là d'un problème complexe nécessitant des recherches approfondies et une analyse détaillée, mais le rapport du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux (A/6868 et Add.1) offre une base adéquate à un examen circonstancié de la question.

4. Le principal mobile des entreprises industrielles et commerciales, qu'elles opèrent dans un pays indépendant ou à l'étranger, est de réaliser des bénéfices. Dans le cas d'une entreprise industrielle ou commerciale opérant dans un pays ou un territoire étranger, l'attrait du profit doit être suffisamment fort pour amener des capitaux étrangers à s'y investir. Une distinction doit être établie toutefois entre des intérêts étrangers opérant dans des Etats indépendants et ceux qui opèrent dans des territoires coloniaux. Dans le premier cas, les gouvernements en cause sont à même de protéger les intérêts de leur population et d'assurer que les investissements étrangers contribuent à la prospérité de l'économie nationale, mais dans le deuxième cas la situation est entièrement différente. Les intérêts des puissances coloniales et des monopoles étrangers sont presque toujours en conflit avec ceux des peuples coloniaux. Tout avantage que la population autochtone peut retirer des activités des intérêts financiers étrangers est purement fortuit. La construction de routes et de chemins de fer, d'écoles et d'hôpitaux et la mise en place de services de transmissions ont pour but de faciliter les activités économiques des puissances coloniales et des sociétés étrangères.

5. La domination économique des monopoles étrangers qui s'exerce en collaboration avec la puissance coloniale est une constante que l'on retrouve dans tous les territoires coloniaux du monde. En Rhodésie du Sud, les intérêts financiers étrangers, qui représentent plus de 80 p. 100 de tous les capitaux investis dans le territoire, dominent les secteurs clefs de l'économie, tels que les industries extractives, les banques et les industries manufacturières. Dans le Sud-Ouest africain, les industries extractives sont essentiellement entre les mains de compagnies étrangères, et en Angola le seul producteur de diamants est une entreprise étrangère. Dans l'agriculture, les cultures marchandes comme les cultures destinées à l'exportation sont pratiquées par les compagnies

étrangères et par les colons alors que les autochtones employés comme salariés gagnent péniblement de quoi subsister.

6. Les monopoles étrangers aident souvent directement la puissance coloniale à réprimer les mouvements nationaux de libération: c'est là un fait à l'appui duquel le rapport du Comité spécial cite des preuves abondantes. La collaboration entre la puissance coloniale et les monopoles étrangers est particulièrement apparente dans les colonies africaines administrées par le Portugal. Les compagnies étrangères sont exonérées de la plupart des impôts et des droits d'importation ou d'exportation et l'on empêche les Africains de leur faire concurrence dans n'importe quelle branche de la production. Les Africains sont obligés de ne pratiquer que les cultures dans lesquelles les compagnies concessionnaires se spécialisent et de vendre leurs produits à ces compagnies à des prix fixés par ces dernières. En échange de ces concessions, les compagnies étrangères fournissent à la puissance coloniale une aide financière et même militaire. Les compagnies étrangères ont leurs propres forces de police et leurs propres forces armées et se sont engagées par contrat à appuyer le Gouvernement portugais en vue du "maintien de la paix et de l'ordre public", en d'autres termes à réprimer la lutte légitime du peuple pour la liberté et l'indépendance.

7. Les représentants des puissances administrantes soutiennent parfois que, dans les territoires où il existe des gouvernements élus, ceux-ci déterminent librement la nature des investissements étrangers et les conditions dans lesquelles ils s'effectuent. Aucun gouvernement d'un pays qui n'est pas entièrement indépendant ne peut être considéré comme étant vraiment libre de fixer sa politique, du fait que les puissances coloniales exercent des pressions subtiles sur des gouvernements de ce genre. Ce n'est qu'après son accession à l'indépendance complète et souveraine qu'un pays peut arrêter lui-même la politique qui, à son avis, est la mieux à même de favoriser son développement économique: c'est un fait bien connu de l'Inde.

8. La délégation indienne rejette ce que le représentant du Royaume-Uni a laissé entendre dans la déclaration qu'il a faite à la 1720^{ème} séance, à savoir que si l'Inde a obtenu l'indépendance c'est en premier lieu en raison des activités des compagnies étrangères dans ce pays. L'Inde a en réalité conquis son indépendance par ses propres efforts et par les sacrifices qu'elle a consentis, et ce en dépit des activités d'intérêts financiers étrangers.

9. Les puissantes compagnies financières et industrielles qui opèrent dans les territoires coloniaux ont souvent tout autant d'influence dans leurs propres pays et elles exercent une pression considérable sur leurs gouvernements pour les amener à adopter une politique plus favorable aux puissances coloniales dans les colonies desquelles elles ont placé des capitaux. Il est regrettable que bon nombre de gouvernements aient cédé devant de telles pressions. Ces compagnies consacrent des ressources immenses à des activités de propagande en faveur des puissances coloniales, en déformant la réalité afin de faire passer ces puissances pour les sauveurs de la civilisation occidentale.

10. La délégation indienne partage entièrement les vues du Comité spécial qui estime que les milieux économiques étrangers dans les territoires coloniaux opèrent principalement pour servir leurs propres intérêts étroits en collaboration avec la puissance coloniale en cause et entravent ainsi le progrès des peuples coloniaux vers la liberté et l'indépendance.

11. M. BENSID (Algérie) fait observer que la manière dont les intérêts étrangers économiques, ou autres, font obstacle à la décolonisation varie selon la nature du processus colonial. Certains territoires sont soumis à un colonialisme de type classique, où la colonie relève de l'autorité de la métropole même, alors qu'ailleurs, comme en Rhodésie du Sud, en Afrique du Sud et, à plus longue échéance, dans les territoires sous domination portugaise, on s'est trouvé en présence d'une colonisation de peuplement.

12. Dans le cas d'une colonisation du type classique, les capitaux étrangers ont été investis afin d'exploiter les richesses naturelles des territoires coloniaux pour le compte de la métropole au moyen d'une production intensive et rapidement rentable. Cette politique a amené la ruine des producteurs autochtones. Chaque colonie se voyait obligée de produire des matières premières qui étaient exportées dans la métropole; de cette manière, la colonie devenait économiquement dépendante de la métropole puisque les prix des matières premières étaient fixés en Europe et que la colonie était obligée d'importer de la métropole les denrées alimentaires indispensables à la subsistance. En vertu de cette politique, aucune infrastructure économique ou sociale n'a été mise en place dans les territoires coloniaux, étant donné que tout le développement était conditionné par les besoins particuliers des intérêts économiques étrangers. Par suite du manque d'éducation scolaire ou d'autres types de formation, les populations des territoires coloniaux sont considérées comme incapables d'assumer la responsabilité de leurs propres affaires et sont donc soumises à une domination à la fois politique et économique de la métropole.

13. Il est arrivé cependant que malgré les conditions défavorables ainsi délibérément créées par les puissances coloniales, certains territoires coloniaux se sont vu octroyer l'indépendance, mais seulement après que la puissance coloniale eut créé les bases nécessaires à l'implantation du néo-colonialisme et de l'impérialisme, de sorte qu'elle pouvait continuer à retirer tous les avantages de l'exploitation coloniale sans supporter plus longtemps la responsabilité de l'ancienne colonie. Si le jeune Etat indépendant cherchait à desserrer l'emprise des milieux économiques étrangers, il découvrirait que rien n'avait changé; dans certains cas même la souveraineté ou l'intégrité territoriale du nouvel Etat étaient remises en cause s'il prenait son indépendance par trop au sérieux. C'est là un aspect important du problème parce que des événements récents dirigés par des milieux financiers internationaux ont secoué la stabilité de jeunes Etats et menacent encore leur existence.

14. Il importe que l'Organisation des Nations Unies continue de jouer le rôle principal dans la disparition du colonialisme ou, tout au moins, dans l'évolution de la décolonisation. L'un des concepts moteurs à la base de l'action des Nations Unies est le droit

des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes, droit qui conditionne la jouissance de tous les autres droits de l'homme. Ce principe, de même que le principe de la souveraineté des peuples sur leurs richesses naturelles, doit continuer à guider l'Organisation des Nations Unies dans son action décolonisatrice. L'application de ces principes dans les derniers flots de colonisation, quel que soit le type de colonisation dont ils relèvent, aurait permis de désamorcer la violence à laquelle on a abouti, en maints endroits, du fait du maintien de situations qui tendent à retarder le processus de libération des peuples coloniaux.

15. Dans le cas des colonies de peuplement, des minorités européennes, étrangères à la culture et à la civilisation des peuples qu'elles maintiennent sous leur joug, ont créé des entités territoriales factices et se sont emparées de tous les pouvoirs de décision de ces pays au détriment des intérêts légitimes des populations autochtones. En Afrique du Sud par exemple, ce n'est que lorsque la minorité européenne a consenti à perpétuer, pour le compte d'intérêts étrangers, l'exploitation des ressources du territoire que le pays a été déclaré indépendant, au profit exclusif de la minorité européenne. Les intérêts étrangers et les intérêts des colons blancs sont étroitement liés en Afrique du Sud. En janvier 1963, M. Charles Engelhard, président de l'American South African Investment Company, a dit que les conditions sont idéales pour les investisseurs d'outre-mer. La confiance des investisseurs étrangers avait apparemment été ébranlée à la suite des événements de Sharpeville et de Windhoek et de l'admission à l'ONU de nouveaux Etats africains indépendants, et le capital américain est nécessaire au maintien de la stabilité financière de l'Afrique du Sud. M. Engelhard a reconnu que la politique d'apartheid était le principal garant des intérêts américains et autres en Afrique du Sud et que toute mise en cause de cette politique avait entraîné des conséquences fâcheuses pour le développement des monopoles. Le capital étranger est le principal soutien de l'apartheid en Rhodésie du Sud, dans les colonies portugaises, dans le Sud-Ouest africain ainsi qu'en Afrique du Sud. En 1964, au Sud-Ouest africain, la valeur des exportations des minéraux a atteint le chiffre record de 93 millions de rands, dont 60 millions représentent la vente des diamants et 32 millions les minéraux de base produits par la Tsumeb Corporation. En 1957, l'Anglo American Corporation of South Africa a produit 25 p. 100 de l'or de l'Afrique du Sud, 24 p. 100 de son uranium, 43 p. 100 de son charbon, 41 p. 100 du total des diamants produits dans le monde et 51 p. 100 du cuivre de la Zambie; cette société a également des intérêts en Rhodésie du Sud, dans l'Anglo American Corporation (Rhodésie). En 1964, le montant total des investissements étrangers en Afrique du Sud s'élevait à 4 354 millions de dollars, dont le Royaume-Uni détenait 60 p. 100 et les Etats-Unis 11 p. 100.

16. Dans les territoires sous domination portugaise, la plupart des cultures d'exportation sont dominées par des capitaux européens. Si le colonialisme dans ces territoires est encore un colonialisme de type classique, la politique de peuplement poursuivie par Lisbonne donne lieu de craindre que la situation n'évolue dans le même sens qu'en Afrique du Sud ou en Rhodésie du Sud. Les intérêts étrangers ne man-

queront certainement pas de soutenir une telle politique car l'existence d'une minorité européenne reste la garantie de la pérennité de l'exploitation coloniale.

17. L'Organisation des Nations Unies a le devoir de mesurer l'étendue des conséquences néfastes résultant des activités des intérêts étrangers, économiques et autres dans les territoires coloniaux. Ces conséquences comprennent la perpétuation de la dépendance politique, le sous-développement économique et social, l'orientation déséquilibrée de l'économie et la dépendance totale à l'égard des milieux financiers étrangers. Ces activités favorisent également l'implantation du néo-colonialisme et de l'impérialisme après l'accession de ces territoires à l'indépendance. Cette situation ne prévaut que parce que généralement la Déclaration contenue dans la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale, et en particulier le paragraphe 2 du dispositif, ne sont pas appliqués intégralement et avec toute l'honnêteté désirable. Le Gouvernement algérien condamne catégoriquement les activités des intérêts étrangers qui contribuent à la perpétuation du colonialisme et de l'apartheid et limitent le développement économique et social des territoires coloniaux. Il fait appel aux Etats intéressés pour qu'ils prennent les mesures nécessaires en vue d'arrêter ce flux de capitaux vers les territoires coloniaux dont l'objectif est une exploitation égoïste.

18. A la conférence qui s'est tenue récemment à Alger^{1/}, les Etats d'Asie, d'Afrique et d'Amérique latine ont stigmatisé les conséquences lointaines de ces activités pour l'avenir des jeunes Etats. L'Organisation des Nations Unies devrait dénoncer les agissements des milieux financiers internationaux et des puissances qui favorisent leur persistance dans les territoires coloniaux.

19. M. ASIROGLU (Turquie) dit que la question considérée est d'une importance particulière car elle intéresse de près la mise en application du droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes. Bien que le droit à l'autodétermination soit considéré comme un droit politique, le processus de décolonisation comporte également des facteurs économiques, sociaux et culturels. Les puissances qui assument la responsabilité d'administrer les territoires non autonomes sont tenues en vertu de la Charte des Nations Unies d'assurer le progrès politique, économique et social des populations placées sous leur administration et de favoriser le développement de leur instruction. L'interdépendance des facteurs politiques, économiques, sociaux et culturels est également démontrée dans le Pacte international relatif aux droits économiques, sociaux et culturels et dans le Pacte international relatif aux droits civils et politiques. Le premier reconnaît le droit de tous les peuples de disposer d'eux-mêmes et de disposer librement de leurs richesses et de leurs ressources naturelles; il reconnaît également le droit qu'a toute personne de jouir de conditions de travail justes et favorables et de bénéficier d'un salaire équitable et d'une rémunération égale pour un travail de valeur égale, sans distinction aucune.

^{1/} Réunion ministérielle du groupe des soixante-dix-sept pays en voie de développement.

20. La délégation turque appuie dans ses grandes lignes le rapport du Comité spécial (A/6868) et celui du Sous-Comité I (A/6868/Add.1) sur les activités des intérêts étrangers économiques et autres dans les territoires coloniaux, bien qu'elle ait certaines réserves à formuler en ce qui concerne les recommandations. Elle fait sienne la recommandation tendant à ce que l'Assemblée générale inscrive à nouveau ce point à l'ordre du jour de sa vingt-troisième session, pour pouvoir l'étudier plus à fond. De l'avis de la délégation turque, des experts compétents devraient être mis à la disposition du Sous-Comité I pour l'assister dans l'accomplissement de sa tâche difficile et il serait utile que le Sous-Comité coopère étroitement avec les institutions spécialisées, telles que la Banque internationale pour la reconstruction et le développement, le Fonds monétaire international et le Bureau international du Travail.

21. Il importe de distinguer entre les concessions qui sont favorables au développement des populations autochtones et celles qui vont à l'encontre de leurs intérêts. La délégation turque condamne l'exploitation inhumaine des peuples coloniaux par les monopoles étrangers et par les intérêts qui coopèrent avec les puissances administrantes mais, d'un autre côté, elle estime que les investissements étrangers peuvent aussi servir l'intérêt mutuel des autochtones et des investisseurs étrangers et qu'il serait donc erroné de condamner catégoriquement tous les investissements étrangers en se fondant sur des considérations dépourvues de réalisme et d'objectivité.

22. Le Comité spécial suggère que l'Assemblée générale adresse un appel à toutes les institutions spécialisées des Nations Unies pour qu'elles n'accordent à l'Afrique du Sud, au Portugal et à la Rhodésie du Sud aucune assistance financière, économique ou technique tant qu'ils n'auront pas renoncé à leur politique d'apartheid, de colonialisme et de discrimination raciale. Les raisons militent contre une telle assistance sont si connues qu'il serait superflu d'insister. Néanmoins, la délégation turque pense que ce serait aller à l'encontre des intérêts de la population autochtone de l'Afrique australe que de condamner tous les genres et toutes les formes d'assistance. Le programme d'assistance technique vise à améliorer le niveau économique et social des pays sous-développés; par exemple, en 1966, c'est pour aider la population rurale que l'Organisation mondiale de la santé a exécuté des programmes d'éradication du paludisme au Mozambique et dans les fles du Cap-Vert. Comme le Comité spécial ne souhaite certainement pas entraver le progrès des peuples autochtones en Afrique australe, il serait opportun de modifier le texte en question afin d'éviter toute interprétation erronée.

M. Dashtseren (Mongolie), rapporteur, prend la présidence.

23. Selon M. ABDEL-WAHAB (République arabe unie), l'histoire du colonialisme au cours des deux derniers siècles a clairement montré que l'exploitation économique est son objectif principal. Une fois que les puissances coloniales ont subjugué entièrement les territoires dont elles exploitent les ressources naturelles, elles ont cherché à protéger leurs intérêts en répartissant entre elles des zones d'in-

fluence et en créant des compagnies mixtes à la seule fin d'exploiter les territoires dépendants et de s'assurer des débouchés pour leurs produits. Cette situation persiste et les gouvernements se laissent encore guider par des considérations économiques et commerciales dans leur politique internationale.

24. Le rapport du Comité spécial est une source abondante de renseignements utiles sur les activités des intérêts étrangers économiques et autres dans tous les territoires coloniaux. Il n'est pas surprenant que le Royaume-Uni et les Etats-Unis aient rejeté les conclusions et recommandations du Comité spécial. Les délégations de ces deux pays ont essayé d'introduire dans le débat des questions sans rapport avec le point à l'étude afin de détourner l'attention de la Commission ou de semer la division parmi ses membres. Par exemple, le représentant du Royaume-Uni a estimé que le rapport reflète des préjugés propres à un certain point de vue idéologique. Mais le Comité connaît bien ces tactiques, qui n'ont aucune chance de réussite.

25. Les résolutions 2158 (XXI) et 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale soulignent qu'il importe d'accroître le rôle des pays en voie de développement dans l'administration des entreprises étrangères et de favoriser le développement politique, économique, social et culturel des peuples dépendants. Le rapport du Comité spécial fait ressortir la nécessité d'éliminer la domination économique étrangère dans les territoires coloniaux. Les compagnies et les monopoles étrangers, poussés par le désir de réaliser des bénéfices aussi élevés que possible, secondent activement les régimes coloniaux en vue de sauvegarder leurs propres intérêts. Des lois discriminatoires exonèrent le capital étranger d'impôts et de droits de douane et les investisseurs étrangers peuvent puiser dans le réservoir d'une main-d'œuvre bon marché. L'exportation de travailleurs est également à leur avantage.

26. Les investisseurs étrangers fournissent aux régimes coloniaux, notamment en Afrique australe, une assistance tant directe qu'indirecte. C'est ainsi que les prêts que le Portugal reçoit d'eux renforcent son économie et lui permettent de produire du matériel de guerre dont il se sert pour perpétuer sa tyrannie. D'autre part, les sociétés étrangères possèdent leurs propres forces de police et de sécurité, qui aident les autorités portugaises à réprimer les mouvements de libération. Les intérêts économiques étrangers aident le régime sud-rhodésien à se soustraire aux sanctions imposées par le Conseil de sécurité et, ce faisant, déjouent les efforts déployés par l'ONU pour renverser ce régime. En fait, plus de 80 p. 100 des investissements en Rhodésie du Sud appartiennent à des intérêts étrangers. Il ressort du paragraphe 114 du rapport du Sous-Comité I (A/6868/Add.1) que les industries minières et manufacturières contribuent activement à renforcer l'économie sud-rhodésienne. D'autre part, ces intérêts économiques étrangers sont étroitement liés à ceux opérant en Afrique du Sud, en Angola et au Mozambique; les Gouvernements portugais et sud-africain refusent d'appliquer des sanctions contre la Rhodésie du Sud.

27. Certains des monopoles étrangers accélèrent leur exploitation des ressources naturelles des territoires

coloniaux, ce qui nuit à l'avenir des populations autochtones, en raison notamment du fait que les bénéfices sont transférés à l'étranger. En outre, la grande majorité des travailleurs autochtones ne sont employés qu'en tant que travailleurs non qualifiés et n'ont pas la possibilité de recevoir une formation et d'améliorer leur condition. M. Humphrey, vice-président des Etats-Unis, a dit que la paix peut être menacée aussi bien par les privations sociales et économiques que par les forces militaires. On peut se demander si les Etats-Unis et le Royaume-Uni gardent cette idée présente à l'esprit dans la poursuite de leur politique colonialiste.

28. Il y a deux types de puissances administrantes. Certaines exploitent directement les ressources naturelles de leurs colonies au moyen de leurs propres capitaux ou de ceux de leurs ressortissants. D'autres accordent toutes les facilités et tous les privilèges illicites possibles à des capitalistes étrangers et, en échange, reçoivent de ces derniers une partie de leurs bénéfices élevés ainsi qu'une assistance militaire et politique. De tels privilèges et facilités sont ordinairement contraires aux règles établies du droit international.

29. Le rapport traite également du rôle des Etats aux ressortissants desquels appartiennent les monopoles étrangers. C'est un fait patent que les monopoles internationaux opérant dans les territoires coloniaux exercent une considérable influence sur la politique de leurs gouvernements. Les intérêts égoïstes de certaines puissances les amènent à adopter une politique d'obstruction au mépris total des responsabilités morales et juridiques qui leur incombent au titre de la Charte. Une telle attitude fait obstacle aux efforts de l'ONU et entrave le processus de décolonisation.

30. Il est ironique que la richesse et les bénéfices que les puissances coloniales amassent dans leurs territoires servent à détruire les populations de ces territoires et à consolider des pouvoirs illégitimes comme en Rhodésie du Sud; ils sont même utilisés contre des Etats indépendants. Bon nombre des pays représentés à la Commission ont subi le joug colonial des décennies durant; ils savent comment le rôle joué par les monopoles étrangers à travers l'histoire a entravé le processus de décolonisation et que les investissements étrangers, si on en fait un emploi abusif, peuvent être plus nuisibles qu'utiles.

31. Selon M. MARTINEZ (Argentine), nul ne peut nier que les mobiles économiques aient joué un rôle décisif dans le processus de colonisation; en fait, beaucoup de colonies ont été, à l'origine, des comptoirs commerciaux appartenant à des compagnies privées. Les intérêts économiques des anciennes puissances coloniales interviennent même dans les affaires des Etats qui ont récemment accédé à l'indépendance, comme la République démocratique du Congo. La décision de l'Assemblée générale tendant à examiner, en tant que point distinct de son ordre du jour, les rapports qui existent entre les intérêts économiques et la persistance de situations coloniales est donc particulièrement importante. L'Assemblée a mentionné cette question lors de sessions antérieures dans des résolutions se rapportant à des territoires particuliers, mais il importe que ce problème soit examiné dans son ensemble.

32. La délégation argentine estime que le rapport présenté sur cette question par le Comité spécial et son annexe, le rapport du Sous-Comité I (A/6868 et Add.1) offrent un excellent point de départ pour l'examen de cette question. Bien que le Secrétaire général ait fourni au Comité spécial des documents de base fort utiles, il faudra disposer de renseignements plus complets pour pouvoir étudier à fond la question. Par exemple, les renseignements relatifs à la Rhodésie du Sud contenus dans l'appendice I du document A/6868/Add.1 indiquent les effets des sanctions économiques mais ne mettent pas suffisamment en lumière la situation des populations autochtones ou les conséquences négatives que ces sanctions peuvent avoir pour elles. Cependant, le document sur le Sud-Ouest africain reproduit dans l'appendice II fournit des données révélatrices; par exemple, les chiffres concernant les catégories de bétail dont l'élevage est le plus avantageux cités dans le tableau que l'on trouve au paragraphe 17 donnent une idée précise de la répartition des sources de richesses entre les différents groupes raciaux. En ce qui concerne plus particulièrement l'appendice III, consacré aux territoires administrés par le Portugal, M. Martinez tient à déclarer que sa délégation se rend compte que l'industrie minière nécessite des capitaux considérables qui peuvent provenir de sources différentes. L'essentiel est qu'une part des bénéfices des activités économiques aille aux populations autochtones, sous forme de salaires ou d'investissements du produit des impôts et des redevances dans des projets d'intérêt général. Si la puissance administrante décide d'utiliser ces recettes pour financer une guerre coloniale, cela ne signifie pas que les investissements privés sont mauvais en tant que tels et l'on ne peut tenir les sociétés qui versent des impôts pour responsables de l'utilisation qui est faite des sommes perçues.

33. Au stade actuel du processus de décolonisation politique, et dans le processus parallèle que l'on pourrait qualifier de "décolonisation économique", il convient d'arrêter certains principes généraux. On devrait adopter une résolution définissant ces principes qui complèteraient, sur le plan économique, les principes politiques énoncés dans la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale. De l'avis de la délégation argentine, on peut résumer les obligations de la communauté internationale envers les peuples placés sous la domination coloniale en indiquant qu'elle doit garantir aux populations autochtones la conservation des richesses naturelles qui leur appartiennent, leur faciliter l'accès à ces richesses et les mettre en mesure de les exploiter dans les conditions les plus modernes, leur garantir l'accès à l'enseignement à tous les niveaux, leur permettre d'avoir leur part des bénéfices tirés de l'exploitation des ressources naturelles et leur garantir des conditions de travail et des salaires équitables. L'application de ces principes doit préparer le terrain à l'indépendance et créer les conditions indispensables à l'établissement d'une économie nationale saine. Ces principes sont les corollaires logiques des dispositions du Chapitre XI de la Charte et de la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée.

34. Les travaux futurs des Nations Unies sur la question actuellement à l'étude devraient conduire à

l'élaboration d'une étude détaillée où l'on définirait, d'une part, les rapports réels qui existent entre les pratiques des puissances coloniales et celles des intérêts privés, et où l'on examinerait, d'autre part, la façon dont la résolution 1514 (XV) est appliquée. Ce document ne pourrait pas donner lieu à des critiques alléguant la partialité ou des généralisations trop poussées et il aurait le mérite de s'appuyer sur des principes définis dans la Charte tout en établissant un code de conduite à l'usage des Etats et de l'Organisation. Il serait ainsi possible de s'assurer l'appui de tous les Etats qui ont l'œuvre de décolonisation à cœur.

35. M. RODRIGUEZ ASTIAZARAIN (Cuba) dit que, pour les peuples coloniaux, les monopoles et les intérêts étrangers sont synonymes de faim, de maladie, d'analphabétisme, d'exploitation, de racisme et d'oppression. L'histoire des intérêts étrangers se confond avec celle du colonialisme, du néo-colonialisme et des guerres d'agression; c'est l'histoire de l'impérialisme et de son principal champion, le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis d'Amérique.

36. La principale raison d'être des colonies est l'exploitation de leurs richesses, et la politique des puissances impérialistes est guidée par les bénéfices que leurs entreprises retirent des territoires coloniaux. On en trouve la preuve au paragraphe 13 du rapport du Comité spécial (A/6868) reproduisant les observations du représentant des Etats-Unis qui a qualifié le rapport du Sous-Comité I de tendancieux et de doctrinaire, a accusé le Sous-Comité de généraliser à l'excès et a déclaré que les conclusions et les recommandations du Sous-Comité s'appuyaient sur des idées préconçues et non fondées. La délégation cubaine n'est pas surprise que la délégation des Etats-Unis trouve à redire à ce rapport, mais les critiques de cette délégation constituent le plus grand hommage que l'on puisse rendre aux travaux du Sous-Comité.

37. Il y a aux Etats-Unis des gens qui ne partagent pas les vues du gouvernement de leur pays, comme en témoignent les déclarations faites devant la Commission à sa 1721ème séance par le représentant du Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee qui a dit que son organisation condamnait les activités des monopoles en Afrique, en Amérique latine et en Asie et travaillerait inlassablement pour aider les populations de l'Afrique australe.

38. D'un bout à l'autre du document A/6868/Add.1, on voit réapparaître constamment certains noms bien connus. Ce sont les noms des sociétés étrangères qui pillent les richesses des populations africaines et qui ont toutes leur siège dans des pays capitalistes d'Europe ou aux Etats-Unis d'Amérique. Même les sociétés d'Afrique du Sud ou de Rhodésie du Sud dont il est fait mention sont des filiales de monopoles des Etats-Unis. Dans certaines de ces sociétés, par exemple l'Anglo American Corporation of South Africa, on trouve représentés les intérêts de plusieurs pays. On peut lire au paragraphe 50 de l'appendice I du document A/6868/Add.1 que parmi les sociétés d'exploitation minière en Rhodésie du Sud figurent notamment la société Turner and Newall, Ltd., qui produit 63 p. 100 de l'amiante extrait dans le pays, et les sociétés Rhodesia Chrome Mines, Ltd.,

African Chrome Mines, Ltd. et Union Carbide Rhomet of Que Que qui toutes trois appartiennent à la Union Carbide Company des Etats-Unis. Au paragraphe 57, on signale que les exportations à destination des Etats-Unis de minerai et de concentrés de chrome pour la période de janvier à octobre 1965 ont représenté 3,2 millions de dollars. Dans l'appendice II, consacré au Sud-Ouest africain, on indique (par. 41) que la production des diamants au Sud-Ouest africain est un quasi-monopole de la Consolidated Diamond Mines of South West Africa, Ltd., filiale d'une filiale de l'Anglo American Corporation of South Africa. Dans le domaine des métaux de base, on trouve la Tsumeb Corporation dont les principaux actionnaires sont deux grandes sociétés minières des Etats-Unis.

39. Les pétitionnaires ont également fourni des renseignements sur les investissements des Etats-Unis en Afrique du Sud. D'après un pétitionnaire qui s'est présenté devant le Comité spécial à sa 526ème séance, ces investissements à la fin de 1962 s'élevaient au total à 182 millions de dollars dans les industries extractives, 113 millions de dollars dans les industries manufacturières, 50 millions de dollars dans les assurances et la finance, 78 millions de dollars dans le commerce et 335 millions de dollars dans les services publics (A/AC.109/SR.526). La délégation des Etats-Unis a déclaré à la même séance que les investissements et le commerce privés américains n'étaient pas dirigés par le gouvernement et qu'il ne fallait pas interpréter les opérations des sociétés américaines comme reflétant la politique du Gouvernement des Etats-Unis (A/AC.109/SR.526). Mais le fait est que les milieux d'affaires privés ont la mainmise sur le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis, comme le prouve toute sa politique. Chaque fois qu'un peuple tente de redevenir maître de ses ressources qui ont pendant longtemps été exploitées par des intérêts américains, le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis a recours à tous les moyens, y compris à l'intervention armée, pour défendre ces intérêts comme en témoigne l'agression commise contre le Guatemala en 1964. Même s'il y a un léger risque que leurs intérêts économiques et politiques soient touchés, les Etats-Unis interviennent militairement ainsi qu'ils l'ont fait dans la République Dominicaine en 1965. Le représentant de Cuba juge inutile de rappeler à la Commission les agressions commises contre son propre pays. Les sanctions économiques décrétées contre la République populaire démocratique de Corée et la République populaire de Chine, et l'agression dont est victime la République démocratique du Vietnam illustrent les méthodes qu'emploient les impérialistes pour protéger leurs intérêts. Nul ne se laissera abuser par les déclarations selon lesquelles les activités des sociétés privées ne représentent pas la politique du gouvernement.

40. Les bases militaires que les Etats-Unis maintiennent dans le monde entier sont également destinées avant tout à protéger les intérêts des monopoles américains. Mais la politique des impérialistes se heurte à la lutte que mènent les peuples du monde entier pour reprendre le contrôle de leurs richesses naturelles, et l'appui moral et matériel apporté aux combattants de la liberté accélérera la fin du règne des monopoles et de l'impérialisme yankee.

41. Sur la base des renseignements contenus dans le rapport, la délégation cubaine tient à dire qu'elle appuie les recommandations du Comité spécial; elle insiste notamment pour que le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis soit condamné pour sa responsabilité in-

déniable dans le soutien apporté aux monopoles américains en vue de la réalisation de leurs objectifs.

La séance est levée à 12 h 50.



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Activités des intérêts étrangers, économiques et autres, qui font obstacle à l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux en Rhodésie du Sud, au Sud-Ouest africain et dans les territoires sous domination portugaise, ainsi que dans tous les autres territoires se trouvant sous domination coloniale, et aux efforts tendant à éliminer le colonialisme, l'apartheid et la discrimination raciale dans le sud de l'Afrique (suite)
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Président: M. George J. TOMEH (Syrie).

En l'absence du Président, M. Braithwaite (Guyane), vice-président, prend la présidence.

POINT 24 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

Activités des intérêts étrangers, économiques et autres, qui font obstacle à l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux en Rhodésie du Sud, au Sud-Ouest africain et dans les territoires sous domination portugaise, ainsi que dans tous les autres territoires se trouvant sous domination coloniale, et aux efforts tendant à éliminer le colonialisme, l'apartheid et la discrimination raciale dans le sud de l'Afrique (A/6868 et Add.1)

DISCUSSION GÉNÉRALE (suite)

1. M. ALWAN (Irak) tient à féliciter le Secrétariat pour les documents de travail qu'il a établis; ces documents faciliteront considérablement les travaux du Sous-Comité I. M. Alwan aurait néanmoins aimé trouver dans le rapport du Comité spécial (A/6868 et Add.1) certaines données sur la situation économique des territoires coloniaux de la péninsule arabique et de la zone environnante. La décolonisation a beaucoup progressé depuis la fin de la deuxième guerre mondiale, surtout grâce à l'héroïsme et à la volonté de lutte des peuples d'Asie et d'Afrique, parmi lesquels il y a lieu de citer notamment le peuple algérien. Cette lutte s'est heurtée à des obstacles quasi-insurmontables, comme par exemple l'attitude négative du Portugal et l'intransigeance de l'Afrique du Sud. De plus, l'avènement de régimes minoritaires racistes en Rhodésie du Sud et en Palestine porte atteinte aux intérêts de la population autochtone et favorise le maintien des avantages stratégiques et économiques que possèdent les puissances coloniales. La délégation irakienne

attribue la plus grande importance à la question des monopoles étrangers, qu'elle considère comme des ennemis du progrès social et économique des territoires considérés. Les monopoles obtiennent d'énormes bénéfices grâce à une série de facteurs qui règnent uniquement dans les territoires non autonomes, à savoir l'exploitation insatiable des ressources naturelles et humaines, la législation discriminatoire, délibérément conçue pour favoriser les intérêts des monopoles, et la domination qu'exerce l'étranger sur tous les aspects de la vie économique des colonies.

2. M. Alwan ne partage pas le jugement porté sur le rapport par le représentant du Royaume-Uni, et en particulier il nie que ce rapport reflète les préjugés propres à telle ou telle idéologie. De plus, la délégation du Royaume-Uni n'a pas coopéré dans toute la mesure possible aux travaux du Comité spécial, s'abstenant par exemple de participer aux réunions tenues en dehors du Siège, et ses critiques sont injustes. La délégation irakienne fait siennes les conclusions et recommandations du rapport et remercie les membres du Sous-Comité I du précieux travail qu'ils ont accompli.

3. M. TSERENCHOODOL (Mongolie) partage l'opinion exprimée au cours du débat sur les territoires administrés par le Portugal, à savoir que les activités des intérêts et des monopoles étrangers font obstacle à l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. Ces intérêts et ces monopoles appuient en Rhodésie du Sud le régime de Smith malgré les sanctions décidées par les Nations Unies, tandis que dans les territoires coloniaux portugais ils contribuent au soutien du régime de Salazar. Les énormes bénéfices qu'ils retirent de l'exploitation des richesses de ces territoires leur permettent de soutenir économiquement et militairement les régimes racistes, qui leur accordent les conditions les plus favorables pour leurs entreprises. Par exemple, les investissements effectués dans les colonies rapportent plus de 20 p. 100 par an, c'est-à-dire beaucoup plus qu'il n'est possible d'obtenir dans les pays indépendants. Ces profits sont réalisés grâce à la misère des populations autochtones, victimes de la plus abjecte discrimination. On sait que les travailleurs autochtones perçoivent à peine 10 p. 100 du salaire des travailleurs blancs et qu'ils n'ont pas le droit de s'organiser en syndicats pour défendre leurs intérêts. Dans les territoires, tous les moyens de production et la majeure partie des terres sont aux mains des Blancs; au Sud-Ouest africain, par exemple, où les Africains constituent 90 p. 100 de la population, les Européens possèdent 50 p. 100 des terres. Les monopoles étrangers s'immiscent dans les affaires intérieures

des territoires, versent un impôt spécial pour soutenir les forces armées des régimes racistes et constituent un réseau international qui, sans aucun doute, exerce une influence réactionnaire sur l'ensemble du processus de décolonisation, notamment en Afrique australe. Pour défendre les intérêts des monopoles, les puissances capitalistes interviennent ouvertement contre les pays indépendants d'Afrique et d'Asie, où leurs entreprises criminelles ont pour but d'étouffer les mouvements de libération nationale. Les bases militaires établies dans les territoires coloniaux jouent un rôle important dans cette répression systématique; c'est pourquoi il est si important que ces bases soient éliminées.

4. La délégation mongole estime que l'Assemblée générale doit réaffirmer clairement le droit de tous les peuples à l'exploitation de leurs richesses naturelles, condamner les monopoles internationaux qui, par leur exploitation impitoyable, retardent l'indépendance des populations autochtones, et demander à tous les gouvernements et organisations ayant des activités dans les territoires coloniaux de prendre des mesures décisives pour mettre fin à une situation qui est contraire à la Charte des Nations Unies et à la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale. Terminant son intervention, le représentant de la Mongolie déclare qu'il fait siennes sans réserves les conclusions et recommandations du rapport du Comité spécial (A/6868 et Add.1), et il exprime l'espoir que ce rapport sera adopté par l'Assemblée générale.

5. M. NAVA CARRILLO (Venezuela) rappelle que sa déclaration, en sa qualité de membre du Comité spécial, manifeste que la structure colonialiste du capital et des intérêts étrangers freine souvent l'application de la résolution 1514 (XV). Elle estime cependant que certaines idées du rapport du Comité spécial sont présentées de telle manière qu'elles pourraient se prêter à une interprétation erronée. Par exemple, les avantages du régime de la propriété publique de certaines ressources minérales ne sont plus à démontrer; ce qui est véritablement condamnable, c'est que les autorités permettent que ces ressources soient exploitées de façon incompatible avec les intérêts de la collectivité qui en est le légitime propriétaire. Pour que la collectivité puisse défendre ses droits, il faut avant tout qu'elle soit libre de les exercer. Dans la mesure où les intérêts étrangers font obstacle à l'exercice de ces droits et empêchent la collectivité d'accéder librement à ses ressources naturelles, il se crée une situation d'oppression politique et économique; tel est le cas pour les populations autochtones de l'Afrique australe.

6. Il ressort clairement du rapport que les puissances administrantes font passer au second plan l'obligation que leur impose la Charte d'assurer le progrès économique et social des peuples coloniaux. Certes, on ne peut s'attendre à ce que les capitaux soient investis à des fins philanthropiques, mais les autorités administrantes sont tenues de réglementer les investissements de telle manière que ceux-ci ne profitent pas seulement à ceux qui les effectuent, mais également aux territoires qui les accueillent. C'est cela que le Secrétaire général a voulu dire lorsque, cherchant à définir le rôle des entreprises et des investissements étrangers dans son rapport sur le Développement des investissements privés

étrangers dans les pays en voie de développement: "résumé et conclusions"¹, il a parlé de "bases de conciliation". Un régime qui permet l'utilisation de la population et des richesses d'un territoire sans la contrepartie nécessaire, qui favorise et maintient l'existence de barèmes de salaires distincts de ceux qui sont appliqués aux travailleurs blancs, et qui aliène les ressources d'un territoire sans l'assentiment de la population, ce régime porte atteinte aux droits de cette population et consacre une situation inique.

7. A une époque où l'espoir se concrétise autour de la diversification de l'économie, il est triste de constater que les gouvernements coloniaux et les monopoles étrangers font délibérément obstacle au développement équilibré des territoires soumis à leur contrôle. Il a fallu de nombreuses années de discussion aux Nations Unies pour faire admettre finalement la thèse du développement harmonieux des différents pays et pour que l'appui des pays développés aux pays en voie de développement se manifeste par des actes concrets. Il est donc inadmissible que dans certains territoires coloniaux on favorise la prédominance d'une activité économique unique et que l'on vise à perpétuer une telle situation et à subordonner les intérêts des populations autochtones à ceux des intérêts étrangers ou des minorités. Ce qui est dit dans le rapport au sujet de l'agriculture de subsistance et de l'agriculture orientée vers l'exportation fait bien ressortir les méthodes appliquées par les grands consortiums étrangers pour exercer leur domination et faire obstacle à l'indépendance des territoires considérés.

8. M. Nava Carrillo déclare que la communauté internationale doit prendre des mesures pour vaincre le déséquilibre du développement économique et social des territoires coloniaux. Il ne suffit pas de demander aux organismes internationaux de refuser leur assistance aux puissances administrantes; il faut également apporter une aide positive aux territoires sous domination coloniale.

9. Le déséquilibre favorisé par la prédominance accordée à une activité économique unique est un fait que l'on peut constater également dans les territoires coloniaux de l'Amérique latine. Par exemple, aux îles Bahamas, dont l'économie est principalement tributaire du tourisme, les recettes de cette industrie, qui s'élevaient en 1960 à 28 400 000 dollars, ont atteint en 1965 48 500 000 dollars, tandis qu'au cours de la même période les dépenses effectuées aux Etats-Unis par le territoire sont passées de 40 700 000 dollars à 95 300 000 dollars. Les industries liées au tourisme représentent 80 p. 100 du produit national brut, tandis que la part des secteurs de base, qui en 1967 était de 13 p. 100, se trouve ramenée actuellement à 8 p. 100. On a là une preuve de la manière dont on néglige le secteur intérieur de l'économie des territoires coloniaux, ce qui compromet d'une manière générale les progrès de la collectivité. C'est pourquoi la délégation vénézuélienne souligne qu'au moment de l'indépendance, laquelle doit intervenir au plus tôt, le gouvernement, en tant que représentant de la collectivité, doit disposer non seulement du pouvoir politique, mais aussi de la

¹/ E/4293, par. 14.

puissance économique, car s'il n'en est pas ainsi, l'état de subordination à l'égard des intérêts étrangers se perpétuera. L'aide extérieure ne doit pas impliquer une atteinte à la souveraineté, et c'est pourquoi l'assistance multilatérale est la plus avantageuse, bien qu'elle doive dans certains cas se combiner avec l'aide bilatérale.

10. Lorsqu'on examine les activités qui font l'objet du rapport, il convient de signaler la situation des "petits territoires" dont la situation actuelle et future doit être un motif de préoccupation.

11. M. Nava Carrillo souligne que l'essentiel est d'accélérer la décolonisation, non de vouloir faire du système colonial quelque chose de moins critiquable et de plus supportable. Il fait sienne, en conclusion, l'objection fondamentale à tout régime colonial ayant pour objectif, notamment, de faciliter des accommodements qui tendent à sacrifier les aspirations de la communauté sur laquelle ce régime exerce sa domination.

12. M. MWEMPU-SAMPU (République démocratique du Congo) se déclare convaincu que le comportement des monopoles étrangers dans les territoires coloniaux représente une influence négative et destructrice qui s'oppose aux efforts déployés par l'Organisation pour hâter la décolonisation de ces territoires. Il n'est pas question en l'occurrence d'une querelle idéologique portant sur les méthodes de développement économique; il s'agit tout simplement de démontrer objectivement que les monopoles étrangers contribuent à l'action répressive des puissances administrantes en leur apportant leur assistance financière, économique et militaire. Par conséquent, les tentatives faites pour orienter le débat vers un examen des questions qui concernent la coopération entre pays développés et pays en voie de développement n'est pas autre chose qu'une manœuvre pour détourner l'attention de la Commission.

13. Il est évident que l'Organisation ne peut se substituer aux peuples qui se trouvent encore sous la domination coloniale pour choisir le système qui convient le mieux au développement économique de chaque territoire. C'est à ces peuples qu'il reviendra de prendre une décision à cet égard, une fois qu'ils auront réussi à s'organiser, à s'administrer et se gouverner eux-mêmes. Malheureusement, les monopoles économiques étrangers, soutenus par les puissances administrantes, se refusent à reconnaître les droits légitimes des peuples et s'obstinent à perpétuer leur domination en opposant des obstacles à la libération des territoires coloniaux.

14. Par sa résolution historique 1514 (XV), l'Assemblée générale a reconnu le droit à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance des peuples des territoires coloniaux. Cependant, les efforts poursuivis par l'Organisation pour atteindre cet objectif de liberté et de dignité humaine se brisent continuellement contre l'attitude négative des puissances administrantes et de certains Membres de l'Organisation à l'égard des recommandations des Nations Unies. Cette attitude négative se trouve renforcée par le rôle néfaste que jouent dans les territoires coloniaux les monopoles étrangers, qui usurpent le droit des populations autochtones à l'utilisation des

ressources naturelles de leur pays et exploitent ces ressources à leur profit.

15. Les monopoles étrangers opèrent sur trois fronts pour faire obstacle au processus de décolonisation. En premier lieu, ils font des territoires coloniaux une source de matières premières destinées aux marchés mondiaux, en même temps qu'ils y ménagent des débouchés sûrs pour leurs produits manufacturés. Ils se bornent à développer l'industrie minière, l'extraction pétrolière et les secteurs agricoles qui produisent pour l'exportation, et ils en retirent d'énormes bénéfices; et, si parfois ils construisent aussi des routes, des réseaux ferroviaires et des aéroports, ils ne le font que pour faciliter l'exportation et l'importation de marchandises entre les territoires coloniaux et les marchés mondiaux et métropolitains. En deuxième lieu, en vue de sauvegarder leurs intérêts dans les territoires coloniaux, les milieux financiers internationaux accordent des facilités et des prêts aux puissances administrantes, les aidant ainsi à renforcer leur politique d'oppression et de répression des mouvements de libération nationale. Enfin, les puissances administrantes, en témoignage de reconnaissance, offrent aux monopoles les conditions les plus favorables pour leurs investissements dans les territoires en les autorisant à transférer leurs fonds et en leur accordant des exonérations douanières et fiscales. Il se crée ainsi entre les puissances administrantes et les monopoles étrangers une interdépendance, une communauté d'intérêts et une coopération égoïste qui perpétuent l'asservissement des peuples coloniaux en bafouant leur droit à la libre détermination.

16. Dans les territoires coloniaux, les monopoles étrangers appliquent une politique économique défavorable au développement social et économique des populations autochtones. Avec l'assentiment des puissances administrantes, ils rejettent toute possibilité de créer dans les territoires coloniaux une industrie nationale ou une industrie de transformation afin de ne pas porter préjudice aux industries des métropoles et de pouvoir continuer à vendre leurs produits manufacturés à des prix très élevés dans les territoires

17. L'immigration massive d'étrangers constitue un autre élément néfaste au développement des territoires coloniaux. S'appuyant sur une législation discriminatoire, les colons blancs s'emparent des meilleurs terres en expulsant les populations autochtones. Dépouillés de leurs terres, les paysans autochtones se voient contraints de se consacrer à une agriculture de subsistance dans des régions arides ou de chercher du travail dans les domaines des colons blancs ou dans les centres industriels. De cette manière, les entreprises agricoles et industrielles des monopoles étrangers se constituent une réserve importante de main-d'œuvre à bon marché. Les salaires que l'on paie aux autochtones sont bien inférieurs à ceux des étrangers et ne leur permettent pas de vivre décemment. De même, les entreprises minières et agricoles étrangères négligent la formation technique des travailleurs autochtones pour éviter d'avoir à verser des salaires plus élevés. Alors que les entreprises agricoles étrangères utilisent les méthodes les plus modernes pour augmenter leur productivité, les paysans autochtones n'ont guère accès ni à la tech-

nique ni aux capitaux et on leur refuse ainsi toute possibilité d'entrer en concurrence avec lesdites entreprises sur les marchés.

18. Cette situation est contraire aux dispositions de l'Article 73 de la Charte, qui proclame la primauté des intérêts économiques et sociaux des habitants des territoires non autonomes. M. Mwempu-Sampu est fermement convaincu que, malgré toutes les justifications et tous les arguments avancés par les monopoles étrangers et les puissances administrantes, les intérêts économiques et sociaux des autochtones ne peuvent être mieux défendus que par les habitants de ces territoires, et qu'en aucun cas on ne peut s'attendre à ce que des éléments étrangers se chargent de les défendre puisque leur principal objectif est d'obtenir pour eux-mêmes et pour leurs métropoles les bénéfices les plus élevés.

19. Enfin, pour renforcer leur position dans les territoires coloniaux et faire obstacle au processus de décolonisation, les monopoles étrangers cherchent des défenseurs parmi les membres de la communauté internationale. Ces défenseurs, au nombre desquels on compte certains des Etats Membres de l'Organisation et des institutions spécialisées, se chargent de mettre en échec tous les efforts que déploie la communauté internationale en faveur du droit des peuples à l'autodétermination, à la dignité et à la liberté. La délégation de la République démocratique du Congo est persuadée que, sous l'égide des puissances administrantes et avec l'appui tacite ou explicite de certains Etats Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, les monopoles étrangers croient pouvoir perpétuer leur domination économique sur les territoires coloniaux au détriment des véritables intérêts des populations autochtones. C'est pourquoi, M. Mwempu-Sampu s'associe aux délégations qui ont énergiquement dénoncé les activités et les méthodes des monopoles étrangers, dont le seul but est d'accumuler d'énormes bénéfices et d'exploiter une main-d'œuvre à bon marché sans se préoccuper du développement harmonieux des territoires intéressés ou des aspirations des habitants à l'autodétermination.

20. Les activités des intérêts économiques étrangers ont des caractéristiques communes dans tous les territoires de l'Afrique australe qui se trouvent sous la domination étrangère, ainsi que dans les autres territoires coloniaux. Afin de mettre en évidence la complicité des monopoles étrangers dans les manœuvres qui visent à contrecarrer le processus de décolonisation, M. Mwempu-Sampu cite le cas de la Rhodésie du Sud, où les intérêts étrangers ont collaboré avec le régime de Smith pour que les sanctions des Nations Unies restent sans effet, le cas du Sud-Ouest africain, où l'industrie minière et l'agriculture orientée vers l'exportation sont entièrement aux mains des étrangers, celui du Mozambique, où les colons blancs ont remplacé les Africains dans la culture du cachou, du riz et du coton et dont le réseau de transports a été utilisé pour aider le régime de Smith à résister aux décisions de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, et le cas de l'Angola, où les grandes compagnies minières réservent dans leurs budgets des crédits pour le gouvernement colonial, la défense et le maintien de la sécurité et de l'ordre. Dans la République démocratique du

Congo, l'Union-Minière du Haut-Katanga, qui a déjà essayé de séparer le Katanga du reste du pays, a maintenant conçu un plan pour saboter l'économie congolaise, soulever l'armée et renverser le gouvernement. A cette fin, cette société a organisé des incursions de mercenaires à partir de l'Angola. Cela montre bien que les monopoles étrangers ne reculent devant rien pour sauvegarder leurs intérêts.

21. Le tableau alarmant que présentent les activités des intérêts économiques étrangers qui, en Afrique australe, s'exercent au détriment des populations coloniales, se retrouve dans les îles Fidji, à l'île Maurice, au Papua, en Nouvelle-Guinée et aux Bahamas. L'analyse de la situation économique dans ces territoires ne laisse aucun doute quant au fait que les monopoles étrangers ne font qu'exploiter les territoires coloniaux, s'opposant ainsi à la réalisation des objectifs fondamentaux de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, et que leur action va à l'encontre des obligations que l'Article 73 de la Charte impose aux puissances administrantes.

22. La délégation de la République démocratique du Congo appuiera toute mesure positive permettant de rétablir le droit des peuples coloniaux à l'autodétermination, à l'indépendance et à l'utilisation de leurs ressources naturelles.

23. M. YADAVA (Népal) souligne les difficultés qu'il y a à réunir toutes les données nécessaires à l'examen de la question, en raison de l'attitude réticente des intérêts économiques et de gouvernements comme ceux de l'Afrique du Sud et du Portugal, qui refusent de donner des renseignements. En effet, les données dont on dispose ne sont pas complètes, qu'il s'agisse des cas où les capitaux étrangers ont joué un rôle positif dans le développement économique, ou de ceux où leur rôle a été absolument négatif. Il est cependant improbable que les conclusions et recommandations du rapport eussent été différentes si l'on avait disposé de renseignements plus nombreux.

24. Les capitaux étrangers, tant publics que privés, ont joué jusqu'ici un rôle variable. Dans les pays indépendants, les gouvernements et les sociétés ont déterminé d'un commun accord les caractéristiques et la portée des rapports entre intérêts économiques nationaux et intérêts étrangers. Au Népal, par exemple, on a adopté une politique qui permet aux capitaux étrangers de jouer un rôle positif dans le développement économique. Mais il n'en a pas toujours été ainsi dans les territoires coloniaux, où le rôle des intérêts économiques étrangers a pu varier selon les cas.

25. Le débat actuel a pour objet de déterminer dans quelle mesure les intérêts économiques étrangers ont fait obstacle à l'octroi de l'indépendance aux peuples coloniaux. A cet égard, il a été établi de manière indiscutable que des sociétés comme l'Angola Diamond Company, où interviennent d'importants intérêts sud-africains et belges, ont pratiqué une politique de discrimination et d'exploitation et exercé une influence négative sur le progrès de l'Angola vers l'indépendance. Dans la majeure partie des territoires, les intérêts étrangers n'ont apporté aucun avantage économique, social ou culturel à la

population autochtone, et ils ont fait obstacle à son accession rapide à l'indépendance.

26. A mesure que le mouvement de décolonisation a pris de l'ampleur, les intérêts économiques se sont unis pour constituer un front puissant d'opposition à l'indépendance. Il est particulièrement inquiétant de constater que certains intérêts économiques de pays tels que le Royaume-Uni et la France, qui ont contribué d'une manière positive à la décolonisation, ou les Etats-Unis, qui en général se sont opposés au colonialisme, ont participé à cette exploitation économique, dont l'effet inévitable sera de retarder l'indépendance des territoires coloniaux.

27. En conséquence, la délégation népalaise réaffirme la nécessité de l'octroi rapide de l'indépendance aux territoires coloniaux et condamne le rôle négatif joué par les intérêts économiques étrangers en ce qui concerne la réalisation de cet objectif. Elle estime cependant que, lorsque des territoires coloniaux se voient refuser le droit à l'indépendance, c'est principalement par la faute de la Puissance administrante. Aussi M. Yadava pense-t-il qu'il faudrait remanier la résolution recommandée par le Sous-Comité I afin de souligner la nécessité de l'accession rapide à l'indépendance des territoires coloniaux et de mettre en relief la responsabilité politique et morale de la puissance coloniale à cet égard.

28. M. COLERIDGE-TAYLOR (Sierra Leone), qui a écouté attentivement les orateurs qui ont traité de la question à l'étude, se déclare gravement préoccupé par les digressions qui ont parfois été faites au sujet de conflits idéologiques qui ne sont pas du ressort de la Commission.

29. Il ne fait pas de doute que la question se prête à la discussion, mais peut-être serait-il bon, au stade actuel, de placer le débat dans sa véritable perspective. L'intérêt que la Commission porte aux peuples coloniaux devrait être suffisamment fort pour écarter toute tentation de digression. C'est pourquoi M. Coleridge-Taylor espère qu'au moment où le débat en cours s'achèvera la Commission aura une vision claire de la question examinée et de la nature véritable du problème dont elle s'occupe. De l'avis de la délégation du Sierra Leone, il s'agit de savoir dans quelle mesure les activités des intérêts étrangers, économiques et autres dans les territoires coloniaux font obstacle à l'application de la résolution 1514 (XV).

30. Dans la mesure où de tels obstacles existent, les puissances administrantes auront trahi la mission sacrée qui leur est confiée à l'Article 73 de la Charte des Nations Unies, où il est dit:

"Les Membres des Nations Unies qui ont ou qui assument la responsabilité d'administrer des territoires dont les populations ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes reconnaissent le principe de la primauté des intérêts des habitants de ces territoires. Ils acceptent comme une mission sacrée l'obligation de favoriser dans toute la mesure du possible leur prospérité, dans le cadre du système de paix et de sécurité internationales établi par la présente Charte..."

On trouve ensuite dans ce même article une énumération claire et sans ambiguïté des moyens concrets par lesquels doivent être servis les intérêts des habitants des territoires considérés. Pour ce qui est de la question sur laquelle porte le débat actuel, il convient de signaler en particulier l'alinéa a en vertu duquel les puissances administrantes prennent l'engagement "d'assurer, en respectant la culture des populations en question, leur progrès politique, économique et social, ainsi que le développement de leur instruction, de les traiter avec équité et de les protéger contre les abus".

31. Pour déterminer de manière objective dans quelle mesure cette mission n'a pas été remplie, la Commission peut se reporter au rapport du Sous-Comité I (A/6868/Add.1). Les nombreuses données contenues dans ce rapport volumineux dénotent le travail minutieux qu'il a exigé et elles rendent très précieux ce rapport, pour lequel il y a lieu de remercier le Secrétariat. Cependant, M. Coleridge-Taylor estime, comme il l'a déjà indiqué, qu'il faut écarter tout danger de malentendu sur le contenu et l'objet de ce rapport; cela sera possible si l'on écarte certaines idées erronées qui se sont fait jour au cours du débat.

32. En premier lieu, on a laissé entendre que le rapport s'en prend aux investissements étrangers dans les territoires dépendants. On a aussi interprété ce rapport comme une critique dirigée contre les investissements capitalistes dans les pays en voie de développement. On l'a enfin présenté comme un travail de propagande politique.

33. En ce qui concerne ce dernier point, M. Coleridge-Taylor déclare que, s'il est une partie du rapport qui peut être interprétée comme de la propagande politique, sa délégation ne l'a évidemment pas remarqué, car elle s'intéresse avant tout à la question coloniale fondamentale, et, à son avis, insister sur l'intention de propagande qui serait celle du rapport en perdant de vue la question fondamentale, c'est bien mal servir la cause de la décolonisation. Pour ce qui est de la deuxième allégation, elle est déplacée, puisque la Commission s'occupe des territoires dépendants, et non des territoires indépendants, et de plus elle est fautive. Ainsi, la délégation du Sierra Leone l'a déclaré au Comité spécial, le gouvernement qu'elle représente non seulement accueille volontiers les investissements étrangers mais il les accueille quelle qu'en soit la source. En fait, il s'emploie à les attirer, et on peut en dire autant de beaucoup de gouvernements représentés à la Commission. De toute manière, cette considération est à côté du sujet.

34. En ce qui concerne la première allégation, qui constitue peut-être la critique la plus grave adressée au rapport, à savoir qu'il s'en prend aux investissements étrangers dans les territoires non autonomes, elle est à la fois fautive et dénuée de fondement. Les investissements étrangers dans les territoires dépendants sont une nécessité universellement reconnue. Dans la plupart des cas, les habitants eux-mêmes ne disposant pas des capitaux nécessaires pour exploiter et mettre en valeur les ressources nationales, le recours aux investissements

étrangers s'impose. A cet égard, il faut préciser que le terme "étranger" signifie "non autochtone", et vise également les colons.

35. Se référant concrètement au rapport, M. Coleridge-Taylor déclare que la partie centrale de ce document est l'alinéa c du paragraphe 132, où il est dit:

"Les intérêts étrangers et les gouvernements coloniaux sont liés par un système de profits communs: profitant des concessions et des privilèges qui leur sont accordés par les gouvernements coloniaux, ainsi que l'existence d'une main-d'œuvre à bon marché rendue possible grâce aux lois et pratiques discriminatoires et à l'interdiction faite aux autochtones d'avoir des activités syndicales légales, les intérêts étrangers exploitent les ressources naturelles et humaines des territoires dans le seul but d'accumuler des bénéfices auxquels participent les gouvernements coloniaux qui s'en servent pour renforcer leur domination coloniale et bâillonner les populations."

36. Il ressort clairement de ce passage que ce qui est visé n'est pas la notion même d'investissements étrangers dans les territoires indépendants mais la manière dont on a recours à ces investissements; c'est cet aspect de la question ainsi que les méthodes employées par les groupes financiers qui constituent une atteinte à l'Article 73 de la Charte et qui font obstacle à l'application de la résolution 1514 (XV). Pour l'instant, la seule tentative sérieuse pour réfuter le rapport a été la déclaration faite par le représentant du Royaume-Uni le 16 novembre (1720ème séance). Cependant, ce représentant serait le premier à reconnaître que quelles que soient les conséquences de sa déclaration en tant que dissertation idéologique, celle-ci n'a pas affecté le moins du monde la véracité des données ni la validité des conclusions du rapport. Par exemple, il est dit notamment au paragraphe 93:

"En Rhodésie du Sud, où les intérêts économiques étrangers ont joué un rôle sans précédent dans la mise en place d'un gouvernement représentatif de la minorité raciste, des colons étrangers exercent le pouvoir aux dépens de la population autochtone, et, de concert avec des intérêts économiques étrangers et autres, ont entrepris pour leur profit mutuel une exploitation systématique et impitoyable de la terre et des populations autochtones. Il en est résulté une interpénétration et une interdépendance étroites des intérêts des sociétés étrangères exerçant leurs activités dans le territoire et de ceux des colons européens."

37. Ces affirmations sont irréfutables, de même que la suivante, qui constitue le paragraphe 98:

"Au cours des quelques dernières années, dans presque tous les territoires étudiés par le Sous-Comité, et plus particulièrement en Afrique australe, les sociétés étrangères se sont enrichies, les bénéfices et les dividendes distribués à l'extérieur des territoires ont augmenté, mais le niveau de vie de la grande majorité des habitants n'en a pas bénéficié."

A-t-il dit quelque chose qui démente cela? N'est-il pas exact qu'en 1965 le salaire moyen des Africains

en Rhodésie du Sud représentait le dixième de celui des Européens? N'est-il pas vrai qu'au Sud-Ouest africain la proportion est analogue? A propos du Sud-Ouest africain, on peut également citer le paragraphe 53 de l'appendice II, où l'on lit: "En 1966, un seul Africain dans le Territoire exploitait à son compte une mine de soude, dans le Kaokoveld". Dans le même contexte, on lit au paragraphe 56: "Si les autochtones résidant dans les quartiers indigènes peuvent être desservis par des entreprises blanches de la zone urbaine blanche, le gouvernement n'autorise pas la création d'entreprises blanches dans les quartiers autochtones." Ces exemples sont la preuve de la discrimination qui limite le développement économique des populations autochtones dans les territoires dépendants, limitant du même coup leur évolution politique.

38. Se référant à l'appendice III, qui concerne les territoires administrés par le Portugal, M. Coleridge-Taylor cite le paragraphe 18, où il est dit notamment que: "de nombreux Européens, aussi bien en Angola qu'au Mozambique, exploitent des terres ou en occupent de nouvelles sans titre légal, alors que les Africains attendent encore que leur droit de propriété soit officiellement reconnu". N'est-on pas fondé à conclure que les autorités coloniales privent la population autochtone de ses terres?

39. La triste vérité est que, lorsque les autorités des puissances administrantes passent des accords avec des entreprises privées pour l'exploitation des ressources agricoles et minérales de leurs territoires coloniaux, la dernière des considérations dont elles tiennent compte est le bien-être des habitants. Naturellement, ces entreprises ont l'obsession du profit et la réalisation de cet objectif égoïste suppose que certaines conditions sont remplies: main-d'œuvre à bon marché, terres disponibles, calme politique. La main-d'œuvre à bon marché est obtenue par l'adoption d'un système inique qui crée des différences entre les salaires des colons et ceux des autochtones, lesquels constituent en général la majorité de la population et la réserve de main-d'œuvre à bon marché. Pour être sûr de faire accepter ces bas salaires, on refuse aux autochtones d'autres possibilités de travail soit à la faveur d'une législation appropriée, soit, plus communément, grâce à des méthodes d'embauche qui constituent une discrimination flagrante. Pour pouvoir accorder les terres nécessaires aux sociétés, on adopte en général les lois qui privent les autochtones d'une grande partie de leur territoire. Invariablement, on exproprie les zones les plus fertiles afin d'ôter tout encouragement à ceux qui voudraient échapper au système de la main-d'œuvre à bon marché et retourner à la terre. Ainsi, soumis à une oppression économique d'une aussi grande ampleur, pourvus uniquement des connaissances nécessaires pour leur travail, privés de la possibilité de s'organiser ou réduits à une situation de subordination telle que toute velléité d'affirmer une volonté indépendante est mal vue, les autochtones finissent pas accepter passivement leur condition, ce qui permet d'obtenir le calme politique recherché. M. Coleridge-Taylor affirme qu'en laissant régner une telle situation les puissances administrantes trahissent la mission qui leur est confiée en vertu de

l'Article 73 de la Charte et notamment de l'alinéa a de cet article.

40. Au sujet des territoires devenus indépendants depuis peu, M. Coleridge-Taylor déclare que souvent, étant donné le caractère des accords conclus entre les puissances administrantes et les entreprises étrangères, la durée excessive des contrats de location des terres, les concessions fort généreuses faites auxdites entreprises, ces territoires se heurtent à de grandes difficultés après l'indépendance. Le nouveau pays indépendant doit s'attaquer au problème que pose la nécessité de réorganiser son économie pour que celle-ci profite à la population; il est alors gêné par une situation qu'il a héritée du passé et qui est accentuée par le fait qu'avant l'indépendance les sociétés ont exporté la plus grande partie de leurs bénéfices au lieu de les investir dans le territoire pour qu'ils servent au développement.

41. La délégation du Sierra Leone déclare qu'en considération de ce qui précède la Commission doit condamner les activités des intérêts économiques et autres dans les territoires non autonomes, ainsi que les puissances administrantes qui les encouragent et les favorisent. Il faut en même temps lancer un appel à toutes les puissances coloniales pour qu'elles mettent fin aux pratiques et aux injustices décrites dans le rapport, où qu'elles existent, afin que la décolonisation universelle soit couronnée de succès. Ce n'est qu'ainsi que la résolution 1514 (XV) pourra devenir superflue, ce qui est très certainement l'objectif de toutes les délégations.

42. M. MALECELA (République-Unie de Tanzanie) déclare que l'intervention du représentant du Sierra Leone est une réponse sincère à une autre déclaration formulée à la Commission la semaine précédente; étant donné l'intérêt que présente cette intervention, il demande qu'elle soit reproduite intégralement dans le compte rendu de la séance.

43. Le PRESIDENT déclare que, s'il n'y a pas d'objection, il en conclura que la Commission adopte la proposition du représentant de la Tanzanie.

Il en est ainsi décidé.

44. M. BISWAS (Pakistan), rappelant que la question à l'étude figure pour la première fois à l'ordre du jour de l'Assemblée générale, déclare que cette question revêt néanmoins une très grande importance, car l'examen des activités des intérêts économiques et autres dans les territoires coloniaux a révélé les causes véritables qui font que, presque sept ans après l'adoption de la Déclaration historique qui figure dans la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée, de nombreux territoires se trouvent encore soumis à la domination coloniale.

45. Les intérêts étrangers, économiques et autres continuent à jouer un rôle important dans l'économie des territoires coloniaux; les entreprises étrangères qui exercent leurs activités dans ces territoires s'interpénètrent et cherchent à empêcher que les populations autochtones participent à la vie économique et profitent des ressources de leur pays. Ces intérêts étrangers sont associés aux gouvernements coloniaux par le profit mutuel; les gouvernements octroient

des concessions et des privilèges et offrent une main-d'œuvre à bon marché qui permet aux intérêts en question de réaliser des bénéfices énormes, en échange de quoi ils reçoivent une partie de ces bénéfices, qu'ils utilisent pour renforcer leur domination et les mesures de répression prises à l'encontre des populations.

46. La délégation pakistanaise est convaincue que les entreprises étrangères font obstacle à l'application de la résolution 1514 (XV) en Afrique australe et dans d'autres territoires. Malgré des preuves écrasantes et contre l'opinion de la majorité des délégations qui prennent part aux débats, le représentant du Royaume-Uni a, dans son intervention, affirmé que les entreprises étrangères n'empêchent pas l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance, mais au contraire contribuent à la mettre en œuvre en aidant au développement des pays intéressés. Pour renforcer son affirmation, le représentant du Royaume-Uni a évoqué le rôle joué par les investissements étrangers dans la croissance économique des pays en voie de développement. La délégation pakistanaise ne saurait souscrire à cette comparaison, qu'elle ne juge ni réaliste ni logique. La situation des pays indépendants, développés ou non, est totalement différente de celle des pays soumis à la domination coloniale; dans les premiers, les entreprises étrangères sont obligées d'exercer leurs activités conformément à l'intérêt national, alors qu'en Afrique australe, par exemple, elles agissent sans la moindre considération pour les intérêts des populations autochtones et avec l'unique but d'obtenir le plus de profit possible en exploitant impitoyablement les ressources humaines et matérielles.

47. Le Gouvernement du Pakistan est convaincu que, tant que dureront les activités de ces intérêts économiques étrangers, les peuples des territoires soumis à la domination coloniale se heurteront à toutes sortes d'obstacles dans l'exercice de leur droit à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance. Il appuiera donc toute mesure visant à éliminer ces obstacles et à assurer l'application de la résolution 1514 (XV).

48. M. WARSAMA (Somalie) fait observer que les Nations Unies n'ont commencé à s'occuper que récemment des activités des intérêts économiques étrangers dans les territoires coloniaux et que, par conséquent, elles n'ont pas eu le temps d'étudier la question de façon approfondie. Le Sous-Comité I du Comité spécial a examiné les activités des intérêts économiques dans un nombre limité de territoires coloniaux mais non celles des autres intérêts, d'ordre politique, stratégique et militaire, qui font tout autant obstacle à l'application de la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée; aussi faudrait-il que les études qui seront entreprises à l'avenir embrassent ces catégories d'intérêts et qu'elles portent sur tous les territoires coloniaux.

49. Le rapport du Sous-Comité I (A/6868/Add.1) contient toutefois suffisamment de données pour qu'il soit possible de se faire une idée des effets négatifs et même nuisibles des activités de ces intérêts économiques étrangers dans les territoires coloniaux. Le colonialisme est inséparable des monopoles étrangers; il est bien connu que les territoires

ont été exploités et, dans bien des cas, administrés par les sociétés étrangères au nom des gouvernements européens avant que ceux-ci assument eux-mêmes, directement, la responsabilité de leur administration. Tous les grands monopoles ont acquis des terres qui leur ont été cédées dans le cadre du pernicieux système des "concessions" en vertu duquel les meilleures terres sont données aux colons blancs et aux monopoles étrangers. Au XIX^{ème} siècle, les sociétés étrangères n'étaient pas aussi bien organisées qu'à présent et leur activité avait pour seul but l'accumulation de richesses; la notion d'exploitation a changé depuis et on constate, à lire le rapport du Sous-Comité I, que tous les monopoles étrangers, notamment ceux qui ont des activités en Afrique australe, appartiennent à une même catégorie de personnes, que lie une idéologie politique commune qui se teinte de racisme. Ainsi a été favorisée l'application d'une politique concertée et systématique de mainmise sur les ressources économiques et humaines des territoires. Parmi les plus influentes des grandes sociétés, on peut citer l'Anglo American Corporation, l'Union Carbide Company, la Lonrho Ltd., la Selection Trust, Ltd., et la Gulf Oil Company. L'Anglo American Corporation, par exemple, règne, directement ou indirectement, sur la quasi-totalité de l'industrie minière de Rhodésie du Sud, laquelle absorbe 75 p. 100 des investissements consacrés à l'ensemble des industries. Ce monopole, qui contrôle l'industrie minière, détient des participations dans l'agriculture, dans l'industrie manufacturière, dans les banques et dans la finance. Par ailleurs, il contrôle les mines du Sud-Ouest africain dont les revenus constituent 50 p. 100 du produit intérieur brut du territoire. Par l'intermédiaire de ses filiales — Consolidated Diamond Mines of South West Africa, Ltd., Consolidated Mines of South Africa, De Beers Consolidated Mines, Marine Diamond Corporation et autres —, il exploite et contrôle les mines de diamants, qui sont la ressource la plus importante du territoire. Cette même société possède de vastes intérêts en Angola, au Mozambique et dans d'autres territoires coloniaux de la région, comme le montrent clairement les chiffres cités dans le rapport. De nombreux autres monopoles exploitent d'énormes territoires dans lesquels ils disposent parfois de forces de police, de services de sécurité, voire d'une armée privée. Ces sociétés, outre qu'elles exploitent les ressources de la région, aident par tous les moyens dont elles disposent les gouvernements coloniaux à opprimer et à asservir la population autochtone, en particulier dans les territoires sous domination portugaise.

50. Les chiffres que l'on trouve dans le rapport prouvent que les monopoles, grâce à un plan délibéré et systématique, sont en train d'essayer d'accroître leurs bénéfices dans un minimum de temps. C'est ainsi par exemple qu'en 1962 la Consolidated Diamond Mines of South West Africa, Ltd., qui exploite des mines dans le Sud-Ouest africain, a investi 10 400 000 rands, qui ont rapporté 120 millions de rands aux actionnaires et 200 millions de rands pour les caisses de la société. On estime que dans le cas des mines de fer de Cassinga, par exemple, les gisements seront épuisés en moins de 25 ans; les monopoles étrangers disposent des fonds et de la

technique moderne nécessaires pour épuiser dans un minimum de temps toutes les ressources des territoires coloniaux dans lesquels ils sont installés.

51. M. Warsama veut espérer que les représentants des Etats Membres, en particulier ceux qui investissent des capitaux ou qui possèdent des intérêts dans les territoires coloniaux, feront prendre conscience à leurs ressortissants des conditions inhumaines dans lesquelles sont réalisés les bénéfices qu'ils tirent de leurs investissements. Il prie instamment ces représentants de faire le nécessaire pour amener leurs ressortissants à s'abstenir de toute action qui pourrait entraver l'accession des peuples coloniaux à l'indépendance. Avant de conclure, M. Warsama tient à exprimer la profonde inquiétude que lui inspire la situation qui règne dans les territoires coloniaux du fait de l'exploitation impitoyable et inhumaine dont ils sont victimes. Il appuie les conclusions et recommandations du Comité spécial et déclare que la Somalie est prête à coopérer avec toutes les délégations et tous les groupes en vue de l'adoption de mesures propres à assurer la décolonisation rapide des territoires coloniaux.

52. M. BOZOVIC (Yougoslavie) dit que l'intérêt particulier porté par l'Assemblée générale aux activités des intérêts économiques et autres dans les colonies découle de la responsabilité qui incombe à l'Organisation de contribuer à réaliser des conditions qui permettraient aux peuples encore sous domination coloniale d'exercer leur droit à la libre détermination. L'entrée et les activités des capitaux étrangers dans les pays indépendants sont régies par les lois de ces pays ainsi que par des accords entre les pays bénéficiaires et les investisseurs étrangers. Mais, dans les colonies, c'est l'administration coloniale qui détermine, en dernier ressort, les conditions d'entrée de ces capitaux et conclut les accords nécessaires, agissant comme si elle était la seule autorité habilitée à décider, dans la plupart des cas sans consulter les habitants du pays, ce qui peut favoriser le développement du territoire et de sa population dans des circonstances données.

53. M. Bozović fait observer qu'il est effectivement très difficile, les dernières colonies étant à des degrés divers de développement, de formuler des conclusions générales sur les activités des intérêts économiques étrangers. Ces activités sont étroitement liées aux tentatives faites par les puissances coloniales pour se maintenir dans ces territoires le plus longtemps possible, pour des raisons d'ordre économique et stratégique.

54. En ce qui concerne les investissements étrangers, M. Bozović dit qu'il s'agit de savoir non pas si ces territoires ont besoin d'investissements d'origine nationale ou étrangère, mais dans quelles conditions les intérêts économiques étrangers opèrent, et s'ils contribuent ou au contraire font obstacle à l'évolution des dernières colonies vers l'indépendance. En Rhodésie du Sud par exemple, les colons blancs, qui représentent 5 p. 100 de la population, ont absorbé 49,9 p. 100 du revenu national en 1964 et les Africains 32,8 p. 100 seulement, le reste allant aux entreprises étrangères. Une seule de ces entreprises a eu un niveau à peu près égal à la moitié de celui de toute la population africaine.

Il s'agit de savoir non pas si la population africaine vivrait dans de meilleures conditions s'il n'y avait pas d'investissements privés, mais quelle part du revenu national lui reviendrait si ces sociétés, en Afrique du Sud par exemple, exerçaient leurs activités que la plupart des pays indépendants ont pu obtenir dans leurs négociations avec elles, c'est-à-dire en tenant compte des intérêts de la plus grande partie de la population.

55. Par conséquent on doit se demander si les sociétés étrangères qui réalisent des gains élevés et opèrent dans des conditions favorables seraient disposées à accepter un changement de l'état de choses actuel.

56. Compte tenu de cette situation, l'ONU devrait s'efforcer d'obtenir une amélioration des conditions dans lesquelles les intérêts étrangers exercent leurs activités dans les colonies en général et dans le

Sud de l'Afrique en particulier, et de faire aligner ces conditions sur la pratique actuellement suivie dans les pays où la population bénéficie du droit de prendre elle-même des décisions.

57. Malgré certaines lacunes, le rapport du Comité spécial fournit suffisamment de données de base pour qu'il soit possible d'étudier ce problème plus avant. Il convient d'examiner tout particulièrement la situation des territoires de l'Afrique australe dont la population connaît des problèmes particuliers et doit lutter non seulement contre la domination des colons blancs, mais également contre des facteurs économiques et politiques puissants sans l'aide desquels la minorité blanche n'aurait d'autre possibilité de sauvegarder l'avenir qu'en s'efforçant d'établir des rapports d'égalité, de compréhension mutuelle et de coopération avec la majorité africaine.

La séance est levée à 17 h 45.



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Point 24 de l'ordre du jour:

Activités des intérêts étrangers, économiques et autres, qui font obstacle à l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux en Rhodésie du Sud, au Sud-Ouest africain et dans les territoires sous domination portugaise, ainsi que dans tous les autres territoires se trouvant sous domination coloniale, et aux efforts tendant à éliminer le colonialisme, l'apartheid et la discrimination raciale dans le sud de l'Afrique (suite)
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Président: M. George J. TOMEH (Syrie).

POINT 24 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

Activités des intérêts étrangers, économiques et autres, qui font obstacle à l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux en Rhodésie du Sud, au Sud-Ouest africain et dans les territoires sous domination portugaise, ainsi que dans tous les autres territoires se trouvant sous domination coloniale, et aux efforts tendant à éliminer le colonialisme, l'apartheid et la discrimination raciale dans le sud de l'Afrique (suite) [A/6868 et Add.1]

DISCUSSION GÉNÉRALE (fin)

1. M. ALLIMADI (Ouganda) constate que malgré les principes énoncés dans la Charte des Nations Unies, la Déclaration universelle des droits de l'homme et la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux et malgré les nombreuses résolutions qui ont été adoptées au sujet de la Rhodésie du Sud et du Sud-Ouest africain le mal que les Nations Unies cherchent à combattre en Afrique australe, loin de disparaître, paraît s'étendre. L'absurde politique du Gouvernement portugais qui prétend que les Africains des territoires qui se trouvent sous sa domination sont des citoyens portugais et le maintien au pouvoir du régime illégal de Ian Smith sont deux exemples parmi d'autres de l'impuissance des Nations Unies à régler les problèmes de la décolonisation.

2. L'ONU a voulu faire de l'opinion internationale une arme pour l'élimination du mal qu'elle combat. On a cru que l'opinion mondiale, s'exprimant par les résolutions des Nations Unies, serait entendue par l'Afrique du Sud et le Portugal. Or, ces deux pays

sont résolus à ne jamais céder à l'opinion mondiale, comme le montrent on ne peut plus clairement les chapitres du rapport du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux sur la Rhodésie du Sud (A/6700/Rev.1, chap. III), le Sud-Ouest africain (*ibid.*, chap. IV) et les territoires administrés par le Portugal (*ibid.*, chap. V) et le récent rapport du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la politique d'apartheid du Gouvernement de la République sud-africaine^{1/}. Il est temps que l'ONU mette au point une nouvelle stratégie pour briser la résistance du Portugal et de l'Afrique du Sud et faire triompher les principes inscrits dans la Charte.

3. Le rapport du Sous-Comité I (A/6868/Add.1) montre l'ampleur des intérêts économiques que possèdent le Royaume-Uni, les États-Unis et quelques pays d'Europe occidentale dans les industries de Rhodésie du Sud, d'Afrique du Sud et des territoires portugais. Selon un groupement privé que préoccupe le sort des peuples d'Afrique australe, plus de 250 sociétés américaines ont des activités dans la seule Afrique du Sud. Il est absolument indispensable que les gouvernements dont les ressortissants exercent une grande influence économique et financière dans les territoires coloniaux tentent de convaincre ces sociétés de servir la cause de l'autodétermination, de l'égalité entre les hommes et de la justice.

4. La délégation ougandaise dénonce la tentative délibérée du représentant du Royaume-Uni visant à détourner l'attention de la Commission de la question à l'étude. Le représentant du Royaume-Uni a voulu comparer les investissements étrangers en Afrique du Sud, en Rhodésie du Sud et dans d'autres pays coloniaux à des investissements étrangers dans des pays indépendants en voie de développement. Pareille tactique est déplorable à un moment où l'ONU demande un effort concerté et un réexamen des méthodes utilisées pour libérer les peuples des territoires dépendants des chaînes du colonialisme et de l'apartheid. L'Ouganda pour sa part a indiqué clairement que la nécessité d'attirer des capitaux étrangers ne lui fera jamais approuver les activités des investisseurs qui compromettent l'effort de décolonisation.

5. M. TEVOEDJRE (Dahomey) déclare que sa délégation a été indignée de voir le représentant du Royaume-Uni tenter d'induire la Commission en erreur en affirmant que les investissements économiques étrangers en Afrique australe sont toujours

^{1/} S/8196/Add.1. Pour le texte imprimé de ce document, voir Documents officiels de l'Assemblée générale, vingt-deuxième session, Annexes, point 35 de l'ordre du jour, document A/6864/Add.1.

profitables aux populations autochtones. C'est un fait que le Royaume-Uni porte la plus grande part de responsabilité dans la situation déplorable qui règne en Afrique australe.

6. La découverte récente, signalée dans le New York Times du 20 septembre 1967, d'un important gisement de pétrole brut d'excellente qualité au large de la côte de l'enclave portugaise de Cabinda est une illustration de la manière dont les puissances occidentales exploitent économiquement les territoires coloniaux. Ce gisement occupe une position stratégique pour l'approvisionnement de l'Europe occidentale puisqu'il échappe aux différends entre les pays arabes et Israël et que le pétrole peut être transporté en Europe par une route beaucoup plus courte que celle qui contourne l'Afrique du Sud. On pense que ce gisement produira 150 000 barils de pétrole par jour, soit deux fois plus que n'en consomme le Portugal actuellement; ce pays n'aura donc plus à être tributaire des sources du Moyen-Orient. En outre, les autorités portugaises ont promis d'assurer la protection militaire des zones où des mesures spéciales de sécurité pourraient être nécessaires pour répondre à d'éventuelles attaques des combattants de la liberté angolais.

7. La délégation dahoméenne appuiera toute résolution qui condamnerait les activités des intérêts économiques étrangers en Afrique australe et dont le but serait de rendre aux populations autochtones la jouissance de leurs ressources naturelles.

8. M. DE MIRANDA (Portugal), exerçant son droit de réponse, déclare que sa délégation exprime au sujet de la question à l'examen les mêmes réserves que celles qu'elle a exprimées au sujet du point 66 (1708ème séance). Elle tient à protester contre le libellé du point en discussion, qu'elle juge inapproprié en ce qui concerne les territoires portugais.

9. Le débat actuel semble avoir pour objet l'ouverture d'un nouveau front dans le conflit idéologique habituel qui, du domaine politique, gagne le domaine économique. Comme dans tous les conflits, la prudence s'impose, de crainte qu'un faux pas au départ dégénère en faute grave, et le problème doit être examiné sans passion et avec réalisme.

10. Tel que le point de l'ordre du jour est libellé, il y a, au départ de la discussion, un parti pris contre les investissements non locaux effectués dans les territoires dits non autonomes. Il importe de voir ce parti pris et de le corriger.

11. Il n'est pas douteux que tout doit être fait pour promouvoir le développement économique des territoires dits non autonomes, qu'il ne peut y avoir de développement économique sans investissement et que l'encouragement aux investissements de toutes sources satisfaisantes est une attitude libérale, tant sur le plan politique que sur le plan économique. La délégation portugaise soutient que pour promouvoir le développement économique d'un territoire, qu'il soit autonome ou non, le meilleur moyen qu'on ait encore trouvé consiste à encourager les investissements de toutes origines qui ne sont pas incompatibles avec les intérêts de ces territoires et de leurs peuples. Des abus sont toujours possibles, bien

entendu, et il faut les combattre, mais cela n'enlève rien au fait que les investissements sont nécessaires. Lorsqu'il n'est pas possible de trouver des capitaux sur place, la seule solution est d'en rechercher à l'extérieur. Il faut par conséquent veiller à ce que la politique d'investissements soit subordonnée aux intérêts du développement économique des territoires et à ce que ces investissements ne deviennent pas un moyen pouvant être utilisé pour exercer une influence politique. Cela vaut pour tous les investissements étrangers, et non pas seulement pour ceux qui sont faits dans les territoires dits non autonomes.

12. Malheureusement, la plupart des représentants qui ont participé à la discussion sont partis du point de vue que les investissements étrangers sont indésirables. Le débat a ainsi pris un tour artificiel, sans rapport avec la réalité. La délégation portugaise serait portée à croire que, si l'on a tant insisté sur le danger des abus auxquels peuvent donner lieu les investissements étrangers, ce n'est pas sans arrière-pensées, et non pas parce qu'il y a une part de vérité dans les accusations qui ont été lancées.

13. Certains investisseurs ont apparemment l'impression qu'il ne leur est pas permis d'investir dans les territoires dits non autonomes. Peut-être faut-il en chercher la raison dans le fait qu'en général ils cherchent à investir leur idéologie en même temps que leurs capitaux. Il n'y a rien de surprenant dès lors à ce qu'on préfère des investissements qui ont un caractère neutre, politiquement et idéologiquement, et dont le seul objet est de concourir au développement économique des territoires. Il n'est que légitime que les investisseurs tirent des bénéfices raisonnables de leurs investissements, mais il faut reconnaître que la richesse qu'ils contribuent à produire enrichit le patrimoine des territoires et de leur population.

14. Comme la délégation portugaise l'a fait observer à la 1716ème séance, les investissements du Portugal métropolitain dans ses provinces d'outre-mer ne peuvent pas être considérés comme des investissements étrangers, puisqu'il s'agit de la même entité souveraine. Le Portugal fait bon accueil aux investissements étrangers dans ses provinces d'outre-mer, car il se soucie de promouvoir l'expansion économique de ces provinces; or, on sait qu'une bonne politique d'investissements est le moyen universellement admis d'accélérer le développement économique. La politique et la législation portugaises en matière d'investissements sont les mêmes pour la métropole et pour les provinces d'outre-mer; il n'est accordé aux étrangers aucun droit ni privilège qui ne soit reconnu aux ressortissants portugais, c'est-à-dire tous ceux qui sont nés dans des territoires portugais et à leurs descendants qui ont conservé leur nationalité, quelle que soit leur race ou leur couleur. Il est donc faux de dire que les étrangers qui investissent des capitaux dans les territoires portugais peuvent le faire au détriment de la population locale.

15. On a déclaré, dans une accusation de portée générale, que les investissements étrangers dans les territoires portugais sont exonérés d'impôts. Il y a lieu de faire observer que les investissements ayant

essentiellement pour but de développer l'économie locale, tous les pays accordent normalement certaines facilités aux nouvelles entreprises, au début et pour de brèves périodes. On voit mal comment les deux accusations contradictoires qui ont été formulées, à savoir que les investisseurs étrangers ne versent presque rien au Gouvernement portugais et que les investisseurs étrangers aident le Gouvernement portugais à mener ses prétendues guerres en Afrique, pourraient être vraies l'une et l'autre.

16. M. de Miranda a déjà réfuté dans la déclaration qu'il a faite à la 1716ème séance les allégations qui ont été formulées au sujet de la politique portugaise en matière de main-d'œuvre. Ces allégations, en particulier celles qui ont trait à l'émigration de la main-d'œuvre, ont été démenties également par la mission d'enquête de l'Organisation internationale du Travail. M. de Miranda souligne que l'émigration de la main-d'œuvre est entièrement volontaire; elle constitue un phénomène qui n'est pas propre aux provinces portugaises et qu'on retrouve aussi bien dans d'autres pays d'Afrique de la région, et la protection sociale des travailleurs qui partent est garantie par des accords bilatéraux qui sont strictement observés. Le rapport de l'OIT^{2/} réfute également les allégations contenues dans le rapport du Sous-Comité I qui ont été reprises par plusieurs représentants au sujet de la situation intérieure de la main-d'œuvre dans les provinces portugaises. Il n'y a aucune discrimination entre un ressortissant portugais et un autre, nulle part sur le territoire portugais. M. de Miranda rejette également les allégations qui ont été formulées au sujet du régime foncier; les droits de la population locale à cet égard sont garantis comme il convient par des lois qui sont strictement appliquées.

17. La délégation portugaise rejette le rapport du Sous-Comité I (A/6868/Add.1) et toutes les allégations qui se fondent sur lui. Le rapport ne fait qu'accumuler des allégations de manière à arriver à une conclusion toute faite sans tenir le moindre compte des réalités politiques, économiques et sociales de la vie portugaise.

18. M. ISSAKA (Togo), qui prend la parole en vertu du droit de réponse, déclare que la complicité entre les représentants du Portugal d'une part et du Royaume-Uni d'autre part est évidente; tous les deux ont parlé de questions qui ne sont pas à l'ordre du jour. Les investissements étrangers en Angola, au Mozambique et en Guinée dite portugaise ne sont pas destinés à favoriser le développement économique des territoires pour le bien de la population. Il est clair que le Portugal n'accordera pas l'indépendance à ces territoires et ne permettra pas à leurs populations de prendre elles-mêmes les décisions touchant les investissements, car le Portugal ne retirerait alors plus aucun profit des territoires.

19. M. GATUGUTA (Kenya), répondant à l'affirmation du représentant du Portugal selon laquelle les

investissements étrangers dans les territoires administrés par le Portugal sont conformes aux intérêts de tous les habitants, demande combien de médecins, d'ingénieurs et d'avocats africains a donné une population d'environ 13 millions en 400 ans de domination portugaise. De l'impossibilité de citer un chiffre satisfaisant, il faut conclure que le Portugal n'a fait qu'exploiter les populations africaines. M. Gatuguta demande également combien, parmi les firmes industrielles et commerciales installées dans les territoires, sont aux mains des Africains, combien d'Africains y occupent des postes de cadres supérieurs et où vont les bénéfices de ces entreprises. Le représentant du Portugal a dit qu'il n'y avait pas de discrimination entre ressortissants portugais; pourtant la politique d'assimilation établit une discrimination à l'encontre de l'immense majorité des habitants de l'Angola, du Mozambique et de la Guinée dite portugaise qui n'ont pas atteint le niveau fixé par le Portugal pour les assimilados. Les investissements économiques étrangers ne sont souhaitables que dans les pays où la population exerce sur eux son contrôle. Dans les territoires administrés par le Portugal, les investissements étrangers ne profitent qu'à une petite clique d'opresseurs, comme le montre le rapport du Comité spécial.

20. M. Gatuguta rejette catégoriquement les allégations du représentant du Portugal et ses efforts pour convaincre la Commission que les intérêts économiques étrangers profitent à la population africaine.

21. M. DE MIRANDA (Portugal), répondant au représentant du Kenya, déclare que les investissements étrangers sont effectivement conformes aux intérêts des populations des provinces portugaises. Le Portugal se préoccupe avant tout d'assurer le bien-être et le progrès de toutes les populations, sans discrimination fondée sur la race ou la couleur. M. de Miranda ne peut fournir de statistiques sur le nombre d'Africains qui sont médecins, ingénieurs ou avocats dans les provinces car il n'existe aucune statistique fondée sur la race ou la couleur; ce genre de statistique ne servirait qu'à favoriser le racisme. Pourtant, M. de Miranda peut assurer au représentant du Kenya que les provinces africaines fournissent depuis longtemps des membres de toutes les professions libérales. Il y a plus d'un siècle, le Portugal a ouvert une école de médecine à Luanda, mais il a dû la fermer faute d'étudiants. Depuis des siècles, des étudiants de toutes les provinces d'outre-mer font des études dans les universités de la métropole et il y a maintenant des universités au Mozambique et en Angola.

22. Quant aux assimilados, bien des représentants semblent en avoir une idée fausse. A l'heure actuelle, toutes les personnes nées en territoire portugais sont citoyens portugais et jouissent du même statut. Le système de l'assimilation a été introduit pendant une courte période à titre d'expérience pour essayer de favoriser le progrès social parmi les populations locales des provinces d'outre-mer. Selon ce système, ceux qui veulent conserver le mode de vie tribal et vivre selon leurs propres lois peuvent le faire, alors que d'autres, qui remplissent certaines conditions, peuvent opter pour la citoyenneté et se soumettre

^{2/} Rapport de la Commission instituée en vertu de l'article 26 de la Constitution de l'Organisation internationale du Travail pour examiner la plainte déposée par le Gouvernement du Ghana au sujet de l'observation par le Gouvernement du Portugal de la Convention (No 105) sur l'abolition du travail forcé, 1957, Genève, Bureau international du Travail, 1962.

au droit civil du pays. Il n'entre aucune discrimination dans ce système et personne n'est exclu de la citoyenneté. Nombreux sont ceux qui auraient pu obtenir la citoyenneté pleine et entière dans le cadre de ce système, mais qui ont préféré ne pas le faire car, en optant pour le régime tribal, ils pouvaient bénéficier de certains privilèges et de certaines mesures de protection.

23. M. de Miranda s'inscrit en faux contre l'opinion selon laquelle les investissements étrangers ne devraient être possibles que dans les pays indépendants. Il faut favoriser le développement économique dans les territoires que la Commission considère comme non autonomes. Le Portugal estime qu'il est de son devoir de favoriser le développement économique de ses provinces par tous les moyens disponibles; c'est pourquoi il encourage les investissements d'où qu'ils viennent, pourvu qu'ils ne soient assortis d'aucune condition et qu'ils soient de nature à faciliter le développement économique des provinces et, par conséquent, de la population.

24. M. ALWAN (Irak) rejette la notion d'assimilation. Ce n'est pas un bien grand honneur pour un Africain d'être étiqueté Portugais.

25. M. Alwan déplore l'attitude négative du représentant du Portugal, qui rejette dans sa totalité le rapport du Sous-Comité I. Cette attitude n'est ni juste ni rationnelle et elle est inacceptable pour la majorité des délégations.

26. M. ISSAKA (Togo) déclare qu'à son avis, pour un territoire dépendant, le sous-développement est

préférable au développement lorsque celui-ci vise à procurer des bénéfices à autrui. Les ressources naturelles des territoires administrés par le Portugal ne devraient pas être mises en valeur tant que les territoires n'ont pas obtenu l'autonomie.

27. En ce qui concerne l'école de médecine de Luanda, dont a parlé le représentant du Portugal, M. Issaka fait observer qu'il faut créer des écoles primaires avant de fonder des universités; il est évident que dans le cas contraire celles-ci n'auront pas d'étudiants.

28. M. TEVOEDJRE (Dahomey) déclare que le fait de ne pas avoir de statistiques prouve que le Portugal est un pays intellectuellement sous-développé. Il demande au représentant du Portugal de citer une seule réalisation de son gouvernement dans l'enclave qu'il a occupée pendant des siècles et jusqu'à ces dernières années en territoire dahoméen.

29. M. DE MIRANDA (Portugal) fait observer au représentant du Dahomey qu'il a dit que le Portugal n'avait pas de statistiques fondées sur la race ou la couleur, et non qu'il n'avait pas de statistiques du tout. La question que vient de poser le représentant du Dahomey à propos de l'enclave de Saint-Jean-Baptiste de Ouidah est sans portée; le représentant du Dahomey ne peut en effet ignorer que cette enclave n'était qu'un fort avec quelques centaines de mètres carrés de terrain et aucun habitant sauf le personnel du fort.

La séance est levée à 12 h 25.

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POINT 24 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

Activités des intérêts étrangers, économiques et autres, qui font obstacle à l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux en Rhodésie du Sud, au Sud-Ouest africain et dans les territoires sous domination portugaise, ainsi que dans tous les autres territoires se trouvant sous domination coloniale, et aux efforts tendant à éliminer le colonialisme, l'apartheid et la discrimination raciale dans le Sud de l'Afrique (suite*) [A/6868 et Add.1, A/C.4/L.875]

EXAMEN DU PROJET DE RESOLUTION A/C.4/L.875

10. M. FALL (Sénégal), avant de présenter le projet de résolution A/C.4/L.875, signale que le nom de l'Indonésie a été omis dans la liste des auteurs et annonce que les délégations de l'Algérie et de la Somalie ont exprimé le vœu de figurer parmi les auteurs du texte.

11. M. Fall fait observer que le projet de résolution A/C.4/L.875 trouve naturellement sa place dans la série des résolutions de la Quatrième Commission qui ont été approuvées par l'Assemblée générale. Comme ces autres résolutions, en effet, il traduit une volonté affirmée d'apporter une contribution positive à la lutte qui est menée à l'heure actuelle pour mettre fin à l'exploitation de l'homme par l'homme. Si on le considère dans cette perspective, on ne peut manquer de convenir que ce texte est bien le minimum que l'on puisse faire à l'issue d'une discussion comme celle qui a été consacrée à la question considérée.

12. M. Fall tient à faire observer que, malgré le fait que le rapport du Comité spécial sur la question (A/6868 et Add.1) ait été accueilli favorablement par la majorité des membres, les auteurs du projet de résolution ont évité, par esprit de compromis, de reprendre les termes mêmes employés au cours des débats par les représentants. Le préambule rappelle la contribution signalée du pétitionnaire entendu sur le point à l'étude ainsi que les résolutions pertinentes qui ont été votées et il évoque l'engagement implicite pris par les puissances administrantes elles-mêmes de poursuivre une politique de progrès et de justice dans les territoires occupés. On est en effet forcé de constater que ces puissances ont failli à leur engagement car, soit de propos délibéré soit sous la pression de groupes financiers internationaux, elles ont permis que se développent des activités économiques qui, manifestement, font obstacle à l'application de la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale. C'est cette situation que le projet de résolution veut condamner, et c'est elle qu'il entend faire cesser en préconisant certaines mesures.

13. Après avoir pris note du rapport du Comité spécial, les auteurs réaffirment, au paragraphe 2 du dispositif, le droit inaliénable des peuples coloniaux à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance, mais surtout, en affirmant que les peuples des territoires ne jouiront d'une souveraineté réelle que le jour où ils disposeront totalement de leurs ressources, ils mettent l'accent, et en cela réside l'originalité du

texte, sur l'indépendance économique. En faisant passer les intérêts économiques ou financiers de leurs ressortissants ou des ressortissants d'autres pays avant ceux des autochtones, les puissances coloniales violent les obligations qui leur incombent en vertu des Chapitres XI et XII de la Charte et font obstacle à l'application intégrale et rapide de la résolution 1514 (XV); c'est ce que met en lumière le paragraphe 3. Le paragraphe 4 condamne les intérêts étrangers qui, avec la protection ou la collaboration de quelques puissances, contribuent, par l'exploitation à laquelle ils se livrent dans les pays coloniaux, à perpétuer la domination coloniale. Le paragraphe 5 déplore la politique des puissances coloniales qui favorise l'exploitation et tolère et encourage l'injustice et les pratiques discriminatoires.

14. Au paragraphe 6, les Etats intéressés sont invités à s'acquitter de l'obligation fondamentale de préserver les intérêts des autochtones en luttant contre tous les abus qu'ils constatent, tant dans l'octroi des concessions que dans les autorisations d'investir ou dans la mise en valeur des terres ou exploitations concédées. Le paragraphe 7 est un appel adressé aux puissances coloniales pour leur demander d'interdire toute pratique pouvant donner lieu à des injustices. Dans le même ordre d'idées, les auteurs, au paragraphe 8, exhortent les puissances coloniales à réexaminer tous les privilèges et concessions accordés aux intérêts étrangers, au mépris flagrant des propriétaires authentiques des ressources confisquées. C'est là une mesure qui ne devrait susciter aucune réserve.

15. Le paragraphe 9 est consacré au Sud-Ouest africain et le paragraphe 10, outre qu'il dénonce un vol, la dépossession des populations autochtones, exige que soient restituées à celles-ci toutes les terres dont elles ont été expropriées. Le paragraphe 11 engage tous les Etats intéressés à coopérer pleinement avec l'ONU pour garantir aux peuples colonisés l'exercice de leur droit à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance ainsi que la totale jouissance de leurs ressources naturelles.

16. Les paragraphes 12 et 13 traduisent le désir des auteurs de voir poursuivre l'étude du problème afin que soit menée à bonne fin la mission de la Quatrième Commission.

17. M. Fall signale que, dans les textes du projet de résolution autres que le français, on a omis la mention du Chapitre XII de la Charte, au paragraphe 3 du dispositif. Au paragraphe 5 du dispositif du texte français, il faudrait supprimer le mot "placés", à la deuxième ligne.

18. M. Fall pense que le ton volontairement modéré du texte, sa sobriété et son réalisme même sont des éléments qui militent en sa faveur et qui permettent d'espérer que la Commission lui donnera son appui à une large majorité.

19. M. MARTINEZ (Argentine) tient à son tour à présenter le projet de résolution A/C.4/L.875 au nom de son pays comme au nom de la Barbade, du Chili, de la Colombie, de l'Equateur, du Guatemala, de la Jamaïque, du Mexique, de Trinité-et-Tobago et du Venezuela. Il est heureux de noter que, pour la première fois, le groupe afro-asiatique et le

*Reprise des débats de la 1725ème séance.

groupe latino-américain ont pu mettre en commun leurs efforts pour élaborer un texte qui servira de point de départ à l'action en faveur du processus de décolonisation économique. C'est là un événement dont tous les Etats Membres, et non pas seulement les pays d'Amérique latine, doivent se réjouir. La délégation argentine est particulièrement heureuse que les négociations auxquelles a donné lieu la mise au point de ce texte se soient déroulées dans un esprit de compréhension et de solidarité.

20. Le projet de résolution veut avant tout exposer de façon explicite certains des principes énoncés aux Chapitres XI et XII de la Charte et dans la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale; c'est ce que fait le préambule.

21. Les paragraphes 2, 3, 4 et 5 du dispositif définissent l'attitude de la communauté internationale à l'égard des Etats ou groupes d'intérêts qui prétendent ignorer le caractère inexorable d'un processus que tous les Membres des Nations Unies se sont engagés à favoriser. Ils définissent également les limites dans lesquelles les groupes d'intérêts peuvent investir des capitaux dans les territoires coloniaux; ces investissements doivent contribuer au développement des territoires en vue de la création d'économies nationales fortes.

22. Les paragraphes 6 et 7 du dispositif soulignent les aspects humanitaires dont doit tenir compte toute exploitation économique, en particulier dans les territoires coloniaux. A cet égard, doit être condamnée toute pratique discriminatoire et toute pratique tendant à déposséder les peuples de leurs richesses. Quant à l'étude que devait faire le Comité spécial, aux termes du paragraphe 12 du dispositif, elle devrait se fonder sur une analyse des pratiques qui ont cours dans les territoires coloniaux en matière d'exploitation des ressources naturelles et de rémunération de la main-d'œuvre autochtone. Cette étude devrait également porter sur les pratiques des groupes d'intérêts qui mettent à profit la situation coloniale au détriment des populations autochtones et, enfin, déterminer, à partir de données objectives, s'il y a un rapport entre ces phénomènes et ceux qui font obstacle au processus de décolonisation. Une étude qui serait effectuée sur de telles bases serait inattaquable et personne ne pourrait l'accuser d'être inspirée par des préjugés idéologiques. Il ne fait pas de doute que l'Organisation possède les capacités techniques et l'expérience nécessaire pour s'acquitter de ce travail comme il convient.

23. Il est certain que, si les auteurs, malgré leur grand nombre, sont arrivés à se mettre d'accord sur le texte qu'ils présentent à la Commission, c'est parce qu'ils étaient tous convaincus de la nécessité d'exposer clairement les principes fondamentaux sur lesquels doit se fonder l'action des puissances administrantes et des intérêts économiques, laquelle doit avoir pour objet de créer les conditions économiques qui feront que l'indépendance pourra être viable. Ils ont jugé nécessaire de dire clairement aux puissances administrantes que les principes de la décolonisation proclamés dans la résolution 1514 (XV) doivent être placés au-dessus des intérêts économiques et que ceux-ci doivent être subordonnés aux principes de l'indépendance et de l'intégrité territoriale des pays. M. Martinez fait observer que, soucieux avant tout

d'exprimer clairement les objectifs fondamentaux qu'ils voulaient donner à leur action, les auteurs ont oublié de recommander au Secrétariat d'assurer la plus grande publicité possible au projet de résolution; mais cette omission sera sans importance si le Comité spécial effectue de la façon dont l'a suggéré M. Martinez l'étude du problème, car alors cette étude ferait tellement autorité qu'elle deviendrait un ouvrage de référence international indispensable.

24. M. RODRIGUEZ ASTIAZARAIN (Cuba), soulevant une question d'ordre, tient à faire observer que la délégation cubaine n'a à aucun moment été consultée lors de l'élaboration du projet de résolution dont est saisie la Commission (A/C.4/L.875); Cuba se trouve donc être victime de discrimination de la part du groupe latino-américain.

25. La délégation cubaine se réserve le droit de prendre la parole ultérieurement pour exposer son point de vue.

26. Le PRESIDENT espère que la Commission pourra, à une séance prochaine, se prononcer sur le projet de résolution qui vient de lui être présenté.

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- b) Rapport du Secrétaire général
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- Activités des intérêts étrangers, économiques et autres, qui font obstacle à l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux en Rhodésie du Sud, au Sud-Ouest africain et dans les territoires sous domination portugaise, ainsi que dans tous les autres territoires se trouvant sous domination coloniale, et aux efforts tendant à éliminer le colonialisme, l'apartheid et la discrimination raciale dans le sud de l'Afrique (*suite*)
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POINT 24 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

Activités des intérêts étrangers, économiques et autres, qui font obstacle à l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux en Rhodésie du Sud, au Sud-Ouest africain et dans les territoires sous domination portugaise, ainsi que dans tous les autres territoires se trouvant sous domination coloniale, et aux efforts tendant à éliminer le colonialisme, l'apartheid et la discrimination raciale dans le sud de l'Afrique (suite*) [A/6868 et Add.1, A/C.4/L.875/Rev.1]

EXAMEN DU PROJET DE RESOLUTION

A/C.4/L.875/Rev.1 (suite)

53. Le PRESIDENT appelle l'attention de la Commission sur le projet de résolution révisé qui figure dans le document A/C.4/L.875/Rev.1.

54. M. MALECELA (République-Unie de Tanzanie) précise que la version révisée du projet de résolution, qui comprend une liste des auteurs plus importante, ne comporte que de très légères modifications apportées par les auteurs au texte initial. Aussi le représentant de la République-Unie de Tanzanie souhaiterait-il que la Commission considère qu'elle a été saisie dès le début du projet de résolution sous sa forme révisée (A/C.4/L.875/Rev.1).

55. M. BERRO (Uruguay) déclare que son pays voudrait figurer parmi les auteurs du projet de résolution révisé, qui confirme les dispositions de la résolution 2189 (XXI) de l'Assemblée générale.

56. Précisant la position de son pays au sujet de la question à l'étude, M. Berro tient à redire que l'Uruguay condamne les intérêts économiques étrangers qui font obstacle au processus normal de décolonisation mais qu'il entend se garder de toute généralisation qui pourrait donner lieu à des interprétations erronées du sens et de la portée des rapports et résolutions existant en la matière.

57. Selon M. Berro, s'il convient de condamner sans réserve les activités étrangères qui tendent à perpétuer le colonialisme, de même qu'il faut condamner tout facteur politique, racial ou autre qui fait obstacle à l'application de la résolution 1514 (XV), il faut en revanche accueillir avec faveur toute activité financière — et notamment les investissements de capitaux — destinée à améliorer les conditions économiques et sociales existantes, qu'il s'agisse de territoires coloniaux ou d'Etats indépendants, et cela en vertu même des principes dont s'inspire l'action des Nations Unies en vue d'accélérer le progrès des pays peu développés ou en voie de développement.

*Reprise des débats de la 1730ème séance.

Ces principes, qui sont ceux de la coopération économique internationale, l'ONU essaie d'en accélérer la mise au point et l'adoption comme le montrent les résolutions 1942 (XVIII), 1995 (XIX) et 2085 (XX), qui traitent des mesures à adopter pour parvenir à un accord total sur les principes qui doivent régir les relations commerciales internationales et les politiques commerciales propres à assurer le développement.

58. Il faut à tout prix éviter d'assimiler les intérêts économiques étrangers qui retardent l'indépendance des peuples avec les investissements de capitaux internationaux qui sont nécessaires, dans le cadre de la coopération économique internationale, pour as-

surer le développement économique des Etats, comme celui des territoires coloniaux, et le bien-être des populations. La volonté de lutter contre les activités illicites des intérêts étrangers qui freinent le processus de la décolonisation ne doit pas faire oublier le caractère légitime et salubre des investissements en général.

59. Le PRESIDENT annonce que les représentants du Maroc, du Nicaragua et de la République Dominicaine, de même que le représentant de l'Uruguay, souhaitent que le nom de leur pays soit ajouté à la liste des auteurs du projet de résolution révisé (A/C.4/L.875/Rev.1/Add.1).

La séance est levée à 13 h 5.

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EXAMEN DU PROJET DE RESOLUTION A/C.4/L.875/REV.1 ET REV.1/ADD.1 ET 2 (fin)

1. M. DE LA ROSA (Philippines) dit que, depuis l'adoption de la Déclaration historique sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, en décembre 1960, et même depuis l'adoption de la Charte, les Nations Unies ont consacré une grande partie de leurs efforts à aider les peuples colonisés à exercer leur droit à l'autodétermination et à accéder à l'indépendance. Bien que cette entreprise ait été couronnée d'un certain succès, des millions de personnes et de nombreux territoires sont toujours sous la domination coloniale.

2. Dans son œuvre de décolonisation, l'ONU a constamment veillé à mettre en œuvre tous les moyens possibles prévus dans la Charte pour accélérer l'évolution. L'inscription à l'ordre du jour de la question actuellement à l'examen et son étude sont un progrès

important dans cette direction. Comme les intérêts économiques ont été l'une des raisons principales qui ont conduit à la création de colonies, il convient de procéder à un examen approfondi de leurs activités dans les territoires dépendants en vue de déterminer si ces intérêts empêchent l'accession desdits territoires à l'indépendance.

3. La délégation philippine juge entièrement opportun le projet de résolution à l'étude. Ce texte est assez modéré dans la forme et indique la voie que les puissances administrantes et les intérêts économiques intéressés doivent suivre pour accélérer et non entraver l'exercice de la libre détermination et l'accession à l'indépendance. M. De La Rosa approuve les objectifs du projet de résolution et les appuie entièrement. Mais il précise qu'en disant cela il ne met aucune-ment en parallèle la situation en Rhodésie du Sud, au Sud-Ouest africain et dans les territoires administrés par le Portugal, d'une part, et la situation générale dans les autres territoires coloniaux, d'autre part. En Rhodésie du Sud, au Sud-Ouest africain et dans les territoires administrés par le Portugal, la politique des autorités de fait est délibérément et ouvertement dirigée contre l'exercice par les populations intéressées du droit de libre détermination et leur accession à l'indépendance; la délégation philippine approuve entièrement les conclusions et recommandations du Sous-Comité I (voir A/6868/Add.1, par. 81 à 133) concernant ces territoires. Dans les autres territoires coloniaux, la situation est différente en ce qui concerne la politique des puissances administrantes. Cela ne signifie pas, toutefois, que les intérêts économiques opérant dans ces territoires ne font rien, sciemment ou non, qui les empêche d'accéder à l'indépendance. La délégation philippine insiste donc auprès des puissances administrantes et des intérêts économiques opérant dans ces territoires pour qu'elles s'inspirent des dispositions du projet de résolution dont la Commission est saisie.

4. M. ROGERS (Australie) dit que, lorsque le rapport du Sous-Comité I a été présenté au Comité spécial, la délégation australienne a critiqué la manière dont il avait été établi et dont il exposait la situation dans les territoires sous administration australienne. Ce rapport ne constitue pas une étude des problèmes que pose le développement économique dans les territoires dépendants ni du rôle que les investisseurs étrangers jouent à cet égard, il n'est qu'un répertoire détaillé des sociétés qui, dit-on, exerceraient des activités contraires aux intérêts des habitants autochtones des territoires. Les auteurs du rapport prétendent également qu'il y a un lien étroit entre les intérêts économiques étrangers et les puissances qui administrent les divers territoires. Le Sous-Comité n'a pas tiré tout le profit possible de l'expé-

*Reprise des débats de la 1732^e séance.

rience et de la documentation du Secrétariat et n'a pas consacré assez de temps à l'étude approfondie de cette question complexe.

5. Une des critiques que la délégation australienne a faites au Comité spécial est que le rapport tient peu compte du fait que les conditions économiques sont différentes dans chaque territoire — répartition des ressources naturelles, structure de l'économie, investissements de la Puissance administrante et des intérêts privés étrangers. Le problème du développement économique des territoires dépendants est un problème difficile. Tous les territoires coloniaux ont besoin des capitaux et des techniques sans lesquels il ne peut y avoir de progrès économique. De l'avis de la délégation australienne, il est regrettable que le Sous-Comité I n'ait pas consacré une plus grande attention aux problèmes économiques fondamentaux. C'est seulement après avoir examiné de près la situation des territoires dépendants qu'on peut déterminer si les activités économiques qui y ont lieu sont préjudiciables aux intérêts de leurs habitants autochtones.

6. La délégation australienne estime qu'on aurait dû tenter d'indiquer les critères permettant de juger de la valeur des investissements économiques étrangers. Il est de fait que les sources nécessaires de capitaux n'existent pas dans la plupart des pays coloniaux et que ces capitaux doivent venir de l'extérieur. Les organisations internationales et la Puissance administrante intéressée ne peuvent fournir que des fonds limités. Or, la demande de capitaux dans le monde est forte et bien des territoires dépendants n'offrent pas de perspectives intéressantes aux investisseurs privés. Les auteurs du rapport ne font aucun effort pour établir une distinction entre les investissements étrangers qui servent les intérêts des habitants autochtones et ceux qui leur sont plus nettement préjudiciables. M. Rogers reconnaît que la tâche n'est peut-être pas facile, mais il n'en reste pas moins que l'on n'a pas essayé de l'aborder.

7. L'Australie a notamment pour objectif, dans les territoires qu'elle administre, de promouvoir le développement économique de manière à conduire les habitants au stade de la libre détermination. Or, le rapport reste muet sur les efforts qu'elle déploie pour améliorer la situation des peuples de ces territoires ou sur les investissements que le Gouvernement australien fait dans les territoires dans l'intérêt des autochtones. Il ne signale pas non plus l'importante subvention que l'Australie accordera aux territoires pendant l'année en cours.

8. La délégation australienne apprécie les efforts accomplis par les auteurs du projet de résolution pour améliorer certaines des conclusions et recommandations figurant dans le rapport. Mais elle n'est pas en mesure d'approuver le paragraphe 1 du dispositif car, à son avis, le rapport du Comité spécial dresse un tableau inexact et tendancieux de la situation dans les territoires dépendants. La délégation australienne considère aussi que les autres paragraphes du projet de résolution sont rédigés d'une manière ambiguë. Certains, tel le paragraphe 3, ne peuvent pas et ne doivent pas être interprétés comme visant les territoires administrés par l'Australie. Il eût été préférable de les libeller en termes moins généraux.

9. Le projet de résolution se fondant en grande partie sur le rapport du Comité spécial, qu'elle n'accepte pas, la délégation australienne s'abstiendra lors du vote sur l'ensemble du projet de résolution. M. Rogers demande un vote séparé sur le paragraphe 1 du dispositif.

10. M. GARCIA (Etats-Unis d'Amérique) dit que la délégation des Etats-Unis a déjà exprimé au Comité spécial sa consternation devant le caractère tendancieux, doctrinaire et polémique du rapport que la Commission est invitée à approuver aux termes du paragraphe 1 du projet de résolution A/C.4/L.875/Rev.1 et Rev.1/Add.1 et 2. Dans les conclusions de ce rapport, fondées sur une documentation fragmentaire et une discussion brève et partielle, on affirme audacieusement que l'activité économique étrangère est partout un obstacle à la libre détermination ou porte atteinte aux intérêts des populations autochtones. Les Etats-Unis ne peuvent pas appuyer une résolution qui entérine un rapport où les faits sont aussi peu respectés et qui n'est qu'un assaut de propagande mal déguisé. M. Garcia note en passant que les vues exprimées à ce sujet pas plusieurs représentants à la Commission diffèrent quelque peu des déclarations que les représentants de ces mêmes pays font à l'occasion de discussions plus sérieuses et moins doctrinaires sur le rôle des investissements étrangers dans le développement économique.

11. La délégation des Etats-Unis formule de grandes réserves en ce qui concerne les passages du projet de résolution qui demandent aux Etats Membres d'assumer et d'exercer des obligations qui, en vertu des dispositions de la Charte, sont celles des puissances administrantes intéressées. D'autres passages du projet de résolution, notamment les paragraphes 4, 9, 10, 11 et 12 du dispositif, sont rédigés dans des termes trop imprécis et généraux.

12. La délégation des Etats-Unis ne se propose pas de défendre ou de louer les activités des intérêts économiques étrangers partout et toujours. Ces activités, tant dans les territoires non autonomes que dans les Etats indépendants, se passent généralement de commentaires. La délégation des Etats-Unis reconnaît qu'elles sont parfois déplorables, en partie à cause de la politique de certains pays, et ne servent les intérêts à long terme ni de la Puissance administrante, ni des habitants des territoires, ni même des sociétés qui s'y livrent. On aurait pu améliorer cette situation, qui est le but recherché, en examinant en connaissance de cause, d'une manière approfondie et constructive, et en présentant sans équivoque toutes les données pertinentes. Or, dans le rapport que la Commission est invitée à approuver, cela n'a pas été fait. C'est pourquoi la délégation des Etats-Unis s'abstiendra lors du vote sur l'ensemble du projet de résolution et votera contre le paragraphe 1 du dispositif.

13. M. DIARRA (Guinée) se félicite de ce que pour la première fois un point spécifique sur les intérêts économiques étrangers a fait l'objet d'une étude détaillée par un organe des Nations Unies. Le rapport du Comité spécial (A/6868 et Add.1) a permis aux membres de mieux cerner les réalités et de situer les responsabilités de ceux qui, directement ou indirectement, font obstacle à l'application de la

Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux en Rhodésie du Sud, dans le Sud-Ouest africain, dans les territoires sous domination portugaise et dans tous les autres territoires se trouvant sous la domination coloniale.

14. Le rapport du Comité spécial met les membres en mesure de disséquer les structures des capitaux étrangers qui constituent un élément de consolidation du pouvoir politique, militaire et économique des racistes d'Afrique du Sud, des rebelles de la Rhodésie du Sud et des colonialistes du Portugal. Un simple coup d'œil jeté sur les statistiques contenues dans le rapport montre que ce sont les mêmes firmes et les mêmes groupes financiers que l'on retrouve en Angola, au Mozambique, en Rhodésie du Sud, dans le Sud-Ouest africain et en Afrique du Sud. La solidarité existant entre les milieux financiers et les puissances colonialistes ne résulte pas uniquement du désir de réaliser un profit maximum mais aussi des mêmes sentiments racistes qui les animent. C'est là l'explication de l'afflux toujours croissant des capitaux en direction de ces territoires, en dépit du climat d'insécurité que le colonialisme lui-même crée pour les capitaux en raison de la lutte que les populations autochtones des territoires occupés mènent pour la reconquête de leur indépendance et de leur dignité. Il est vrai que les monopoles étrangers, aveuglés par les super profits qu'ils amassent, sont incapables de mettre au point une politique saine à longue échéance et ne sont soucieux que de leurs intérêts immédiats. Il ressort du rapport du Comité spécial que 80 p. 100 de l'économie des territoires dépendants sont accaparés par les monopoles étrangers qui réalisent un bénéfice de près de 5 milliards de dollars par an, ce qui leur permet d'amortir leurs investissements sur une période de moins de dix ans, tout en assurant en retour aux racistes d'Afrique du Sud, de la Rhodésie du Sud et aux colons portugais des bénéfices énormes en devises étrangères grâce auxquels ils peuvent importer de l'Occident du matériel de guerre destiné exclusivement à massacrer les populations autochtones afin d'assurer la pérennité de leur domination.

15. La communauté internationale a, d'une manière non équivoque, condamné la politique colonialiste des dirigeants de Pretoria, de Salisbury et de Lisbonne, et elle doit aussi condamner les pays qui favorisent et encouragent les investissements de capitaux dans les territoires coloniaux. Malgré leurs déclarations grandiloquentes en faveur de la libération et de l'indépendance des pays et des peuples coloniaux, ces pays se comportent en fait en alliés des colonialistes et des racistes. Ces pays avancent l'argument selon lequel ils n'exercent aucune influence sur le secteur privé qui est libre de s'investir où bon lui semble et qui par ailleurs est protégé par des dispositions législatives nationales. Cet argument, de toute évidence, ne résiste pas à l'analyse, car on sait que les mêmes gouvernements ont été amenés à imposer des blocus économiques dans certaines zones en interdisant formellement aux capitaux privés de s'orienter vers ces zones sous peine de sanctions sévères. Donc, si ces pays agissent autrement dans les territoires coloniaux, c'est bien parce que leurs intérêts se fusionnent avec ceux des Blancs d'Afrique australe et qu'ils s'efforcent par tous les moyens de conserver

ces territoires comme une chasse gardée de l'Occident impérialiste.

16. Les racistes d'Afrique du Sud et de Rhodésie du Sud ainsi que les colonialistes portugais doivent comprendre qu'ils ne peuvent continuer à exploiter indéfiniment ces territoires. Il est temps que leurs partenaires commerciaux comprennent eux aussi qu'ils ne peuvent tromper indéfiniment l'opinion publique internationale en se présentant comme des anticolonialistes tout en soutenant ceux-là même dont la seule présence en Afrique australe constitue une insulte à la dignité des Africains. Ces pays peuvent encore modifier leur politique si tant est qu'ils sont animés de saines intentions vis-à-vis des peuples africains. L'Afrique indépendante, avec son potentiel économique gigantesque, offre aux monopoles étrangers toutes les possibilités de réorienter leurs capitaux. La délégation guinéenne, consciente de l'importance du problème, a également la conviction que sa solution amènera la fin du colonialisme en Afrique.

17. La délégation guinéenne s'est portée coauteur du projet de résolution (A/C.4/L.875 et Rev.1) afin d'apporter une fois de plus sa contribution à l'entreprise commune de décolonisation assumée par l'Organisation.

18. M. LUARD (Royaume-Uni) répondra à certains des commentaires auxquels a donné lieu la déclaration qu'il a faite sur la question au cours de la discussion générale (1720ème séance). M. Luard conteste tout d'abord l'assertion selon laquelle son intervention a été consacrée uniquement à la question générale des investissements, sans qu'il ait fait de distinction entre les territoires dépendants et les pays indépendants. Bien que M. Luard ait formulé quelques observations sur les avantages économiques que peuvent présenter les investissements privés indépendamment du statut des territoires en cause, les principales considérations qu'il a émises avaient trait expressément aux territoires dépendants.

19. Le premier point souligné par M. Luard est que, tout au moins dans les territoires relevant du Royaume-Uni, les investissements sont soigneusement contrôlés, afin de garantir qu'ils soient équilibrés et servent les intérêts du territoire dans son ensemble, à la fois par des représentants élus du territoire même et par le Gouvernement britannique à Londres. En deuxième lieu, M. Luard a voulu montrer que rien ne prouve que dans les territoires coloniaux en général les investissements privés fassent obstacle à la décolonisation; il ne songe pas à l'Afrique australe et ne défend pas l'influence éventuelle, bien qu'assez restreinte, que peuvent avoir les intérêts économiques dans cette région. En fait, il a cité des données montrant que la décolonisation s'était faite d'abord dans les territoires où les sommes investies étaient les plus fortes. En troisième lieu, M. Luard a fait valoir que le niveau de vie de la population est généralement le plus élevé dans les territoires dépendants où les investissements privés sont les plus importants. Qui plus est, les salaires versés par les entreprises privées tendent à être supérieurs aux salaires perçus habituellement dans les territoires. La délégation britannique estime que ces points devraient être analysés dans les rapports

ultérieurs que le Comité spécial pourrait effectuer sur l'utilité des investissements privés dans les territoires dépendants ou sur d'autres aspects de la question.

20. La délégation britannique persiste à croire que le rapport du Comité spécial est un document extrêmement partial et tendancieux. Dans ces conditions, il est absolument impossible pour le Gouvernement britannique d'appuyer ou de faire sienne toute résolution qui accepte le rapport ou en prend acte avec satisfaction. Toutefois, la délégation britannique est heureuse de noter que, dans le paragraphe 1 du dispositif du projet de résolution (A/C.4/L.875/Rev.1 et Rev.1/Add.1 et 2), l'Assemblée générale se contente d'appuyer le rapport "en général". Cette formule atténuée traduit manifestement les doutes qu'éprouvent même les nombreux auteurs du projet de résolution. Toutefois, malgré cette forme d'approbation atténuée, le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni est opposé à ce paragraphe, car il ne peut approuver, même en général, un rapport aussi partial et aussi inexact.

21. La délégation britannique se félicite des modifications apportées au projet de résolution par rapport aux recommandations qui figurent dans le rapport du Comité spécial. Dans le texte actuel du projet de résolution, on a cherché à éviter de généraliser par trop en mentionnant "tous les territoires coloniaux". Toutefois, certains paragraphes sont quelque peu ambigus, notamment les paragraphes 3, 4 et 5 du dispositif. La délégation britannique en a étudié le texte et est parvenue à la conclusion que, puisqu'on a omis le mot "toutes" et que l'on n'a pas placé de virgule après les mots "les puissances coloniales" dans les paragraphes 3 et 5, ces paragraphes doivent être interprétés comme s'appliquant uniquement aux territoires où les pratiques dont il est fait état existent. A cette condition et à cette condition seulement, la délégation britannique s'abstiendra lors du vote sur les paragraphes 3, 4 et 5.

22. Etant donné les réserves qu'il a formulées au sujet du paragraphe 1 du dispositif, le représentant du Royaume-Uni s'abstiendra lors du vote sur l'ensemble du projet de résolution. Il croit comprendre que la résolution vise essentiellement à appeler l'attention sur certaines pratiques et certaines formes de discrimination que l'on trouve incontestablement dans certaines régions de l'Afrique australe et que la délégation britannique déplore elle aussi. Il ne peut toutefois accepter toutes les critiques générales auxquelles ont donné lieu les effets des investissements privés étrangers dans les territoires dépendants lorsque ces investissements ont lieu dans les conditions appropriées, et il ne peut pas non plus accepter l'assertion selon laquelle dans les territoires du Royaume-Uni les mesures voulues ne sont pas prises pour garantir que le bien-être des habitants dans leur ensemble soit protégé là où les investissements s'effectuent.

23. Si le Comité spécial est prié de poursuivre son étude de la question, la délégation britannique espère que ses travaux futurs seront marqués par une objectivité plus grande que celle dont le Comité a fait preuve jusqu'ici.

24. M. COLLAS (Grèce), expliquant le vote qu'émettra la délégation hellénique sur le projet de résolution,

dit que la question examinée est l'un des aspects les plus importants du problème de la décolonisation. Tout obstacle aux progrès et à l'indépendance des territoires coloniaux et à la pleine application du principe de l'autodétermination présente un caractère grave et il est juste que l'on s'efforce d'analyser l'interaction des intérêts étrangers, économiques et autres, dans la mise en œuvre de la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale. Bien que la délégation grecque ne souscrive pas à tout ce qui a été dit au cours des débats, elle considère qu'un grand nombre de considérations émises sont constructives et utiles et que le rapport du Comité spécial en la matière comprend certains éléments dignes d'attention.

25. La délégation hellénique considère que le projet de résolution vise essentiellement à assurer l'application intégrale de la résolution 1514 (XV) et du principe de l'autodétermination. Etant donné qu'elle souscrit à cet objectif, la délégation hellénique votera en faveur du projet de résolution dans son ensemble. Elle a toutefois des réserves à formuler au sujet de certaines généralisations que l'on trouve dans le projet de résolution et estime que le libellé de certains passages n'est pas entièrement satisfaisant. Il semble que l'on n'ait pas encore atteint un stade où l'on puisse procéder à une analyse précise du problème, qui serve les intérêts réels de la décolonisation. M. Collas espère que ce but sera atteint dans un proche avenir, mais, pour les raisons qu'il a mentionnées, il devra s'abstenir sur certains paragraphes du dispositif, notamment les paragraphes 1, 3 à 6, 8 et 10, s'ils sont mis aux voix séparément. Les réserves de la délégation hellénique ne mettent nullement en cause les intérêts légitimes des populations autochtones des pays coloniaux, elle découlent uniquement de sa conviction que les paragraphes en question sont trop vagues, ont une portée trop générale et laissent sans solution un certain nombre de problèmes, notamment des problèmes d'ordre pratique.

26. M. MYFTIU (Albanie) dit que la survivance du régime colonial dans le monde s'explique par la rapacité avec laquelle les monopoles impérialistes exploitent les populations et les richesses des pays étrangers. Ce genre d'exploitation est l'unique objectif du colonialisme, et, pour mener à bien ces pillages, les monopoles internationaux recourent à des méthodes barbares, notamment à l'extermination des populations autochtones. C'est ainsi que, par le passé, des dizaines de millions d'Indiens ont été exterminés aux Etats-Unis d'Amérique. Avec les Etats-Unis en tête, les puissances impérialistes appliquent actuellement la même politique en Afrique du Sud, en Rhodésie du Sud, dans les colonies portugaises et dans d'autres territoires.

27. La sphère d'activités des monopoles impérialistes s'est réduite grâce à la lutte victorieuse menée par de nombreuses nations pour recouvrer l'indépendance, et les puissances coloniales et impérialistes, tout en s'efforçant de maintenir leur domination coloniale sous ses formes classiques, recourent également à des méthodes néo-colonialistes. La violence, divers subterfuges, la pénétration économique et la prétendue coopération économique, les crédits esclavagistes et les groupes du Peace Corps sont utilisés à cette fin.

28. L'impérialisme des Etats-Unis poursuit, avec une férocité jamais égalée, sa politique de néo-colonialisme et d'asservissement économique. Il procure une assistance politique, économique et militaire aux puissances coloniales et aux cliques racistes de Rhodésie du Sud, d'Afrique du Sud et des colonies portugaises, parce que ces puissances sont les instruments dociles des monopoles impérialistes. Il suffit de rappeler, à titre d'exemple, les bénéfices énormes que réalisent l'Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa et l'Angola Diamond Company, ainsi que le fait que le salaire d'un travailleur africain est de 15 fois inférieur à celui d'un travailleur blanc. La population autochtone en est réduite à une économie de subsistance et sa condition est celle d'esclaves.

29. La délégation albanaise condamne énergiquement les arguments contre-révolutionnaires des révisionnistes modernes qui, pour de sinistres raisons, refusent de reconnaître que les monopoles ont partie liée avec les gouvernements impérialistes et colonialistes. Le fait que ces gouvernements ne sont que les représentants des monopoles est bien illustré par les menées agressives de l'impérialisme des Etats-Unis dans le monde entier.

30. En ce qui concerne le projet de résolution A/C.4/L.875/Rev.1 et Rev.1/Add.1 et 2, la délégation albanaise formule des réserves à l'égard des paragraphes 5, 6, 7 et 8 du dispositif. Le projet de résolution souffre de certaines lacunes qui touchent le droit imprescriptible des peuples se trouvant sous domination coloniale à disposer librement de leurs ressources naturelles. La délégation albanaise ne se fait aucune illusion quant aux mobiles des puissances impérialistes et c'est pourquoi elle regrette que certaines expressions aient été utilisées dans le projet de résolution. Ce texte devrait condamner énergiquement le pillage auquel les impérialistes et leurs monopoles se livrent dans les pays coloniaux.

31. Les peuples coloniaux savent que les impérialistes ne renonceront jamais volontairement à leur domination et à leur exploitation et ils savent également qu'une lutte résolue contre les impérialistes est la seule voie sûre pour conquérir la liberté et devenir les vrais maîtres de leur patrie. Le Gouvernement albanais soutient fermement la lutte des peuples contre l'impérialisme des Etats-Unis et condamne les activités des monopoles impérialistes. La délégation albanaise ne pourra donc pas appuyer le projet de résolution et ne participera pas au vote.

32. M. JOHANSON (Norvège) dit que sa délégation se préoccupe, elle aussi, de voir les objectifs de la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée atteints aussitôt que possible et n'ignore pas qu'il faut pour cela consacrer l'attention voulue à la situation économique des territoires coloniaux. Aux termes de la Charte, le bien-être des habitants des territoires non autonomes doit être assuré. La délégation norvégienne sait parfaitement qu'il existe encore dans certains territoires coloniaux des conditions économiques qui nécessiteraient l'attention des organes des Nations Unies.

33. La délégation norvégienne comprend le souci des auteurs du projet de résolution et partage l'intérêt qu'ils portent à la situation économique des habitants des territoires non autonomes. Toutefois,

elle estime que les travaux de la Commission auraient été étayés par des bases plus solides si le Comité spécial s'était assuré le concours d'économistes. Par ailleurs, le rapport du Comité spécial ne justifie pas, à son avis, que l'on cherche à mettre sur le même plan les conditions qui existent dans les différents territoires coloniaux qui varient énormément selon la superficie, la population, le stade de développement, les ressources et la situation géographique. Le Comité spécial n'a pas non plus suffisamment tenu compte des différences existant entre la politique de telle ou telle puissance administrante. C'est pourquoi il est difficile à la délégation norvégienne de s'associer, ne serait-ce que d'une manière générale, à une approbation du rapport du Comité sur le point à l'étude.

34. Les généralisations que l'on trouve dans le rapport du Comité spécial apparaissent dans une certaine mesure dans le projet de résolution. De l'avis de la Norvège, il faut aborder avec prudence et discernement les problèmes complexes qui sont en cause. Tout en approuvant certains points du projet de résolution, notamment ce qui concerne une juste rémunération et le droit de la population autochtone à recevoir une part équitable des profits résultant du développement, la délégation norvégienne s'inquiète de la portée et du caractère général de certaines dispositions du projet de résolution. Il faut veiller à ce que toute résolution de l'ONU n'ait pas pour effet de priver les territoires coloniaux d'avantages matériels possibles, même sous la forme d'investissements privés effectués par des intérêts économiques étrangers. La Norvège ne pourra donc pas voter pour le projet de résolution.

35. La délégation norvégienne se félicite des efforts déployés pour rendre le texte acceptable à la quasi-totalité des membres de la Commission, mais elle regrette que les résultats obtenus ne lui permettent pas d'appuyer le projet de résolution.

36. M. CHAKHOV (Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques) dit que le projet de résolution représente la somme du travail important accompli depuis 1964 par le Comité spécial et l'Assemblée générale elle-même dans l'étude des activités nuisibles des monopoles internationaux dans les territoires coloniaux. Les dispositions du projet de résolution reflètent bien les conséquences funestes de l'action des monopoles impérialistes dans les territoires coloniaux, condamnent les activités criminelles de ces monopoles qui font obstacle à l'accession à l'indépendance des peuples dépendants et suggèrent diverses mesures visant à protéger les intérêts des populations autochtones. Toutefois, la délégation soviétique considère que le projet de résolution comporte des lacunes. Tout d'abord, le paragraphe 1 du dispositif indique que l'Assemblée générale approuve en général le rapport du Comité spécial; ce libellé laisse subsister un doute touchant les conclusions et recommandations du Comité spécial, bien que bon nombre des délégations ayant participé aux débats aient appuyé le rapport sans réserve. Certains représentants, comme ceux du Royaume-Uni et de l'Australie, ont essayé de discréditer le rapport, mais ils n'ont pas fourni de preuves convaincantes pour appuyer leur position ou réfuter des observations contenues dans le rapport.

37. Certaines autres dispositions du projet de résolution ne sont pas claires. Par exemple, le libellé du paragraphe 5 du dispositif est manifestement insuffisant. L'Assemblée se contente de "déplorer" la politique des puissances coloniales qui permet l'exploitation des ressources naturelles des territoires placés sous leur administration, alors que ce texte devrait "condamner énergiquement" la politique et les pratiques tant des monopoles que des gouvernements d'un certain nombre de pays, notamment des Etats-Unis, du Royaume-Uni et de la République fédérale d'Allemagne, qui fournissent toute l'aide possible aux monopoles pour leur permettre d'exploiter sans merci les peuples coloniaux. Une telle condamnation serait tout à fait justifiée puisqu'il a été démontré de manière irréfutable, à la fois dans le rapport du Comité spécial et lors des débats consacrés à ce point de l'ordre du jour, que ce sont les gouvernements des Etats-Unis, du Royaume-Uni, de l'Australie, du Portugal, de la République sud-africaine et d'un certain nombre d'autres pays occidentaux qui soutiennent directement les activités des monopoles. En outre, les gouvernements des pays dont les ressortissants et les compagnies participent à l'administration et à la gestion des entreprises opérant dans les territoires coloniaux devraient être invités à prendre des mesures en vue de supprimer les droits et privilèges spéciaux accordés à ces particuliers et à ces entreprises. Ils devraient tout d'abord adopter des mesures législatives, administratives et autres afin de réduire considérablement le montant des bénéfices que les monopoles peuvent exporter des territoires coloniaux et assurer qu'une part importante de ces bénéfices soit réservée obligatoirement au développement économique et social de ces territoires. L'absence d'une disposition préconisant de telles mesures affaiblit manifestement le projet de résolution.

38. Le paragraphe 6 du dispositif est insuffisant lui aussi. Etant donné les conditions qui existent dans les territoires coloniaux où les populations autochtones sont privées de leur droit souverain de disposer de leurs ressources naturelles, l'aliénation des terres pratiquée pour octroyer des concessions aux compagnies étrangères ne saurait être considérée comme légale. Il devrait en être fait expressément mention dans le projet de résolution.

39. Toutefois, la délégation soviétique appuiera le projet de résolution puisqu'il contient un certain nombre de dispositions positives visant à empêcher les monopoles impérialistes de poursuivre leurs activités nuisibles dans les territoires coloniaux et condamnant ces activités.

40. M. RODRIGUEZ ASTIAZARAIN (Cuba) dit qu'au cours de la discussion générale (1723ème séance) sa délégation s'est jointe à la majorité des orateurs pour condamner les activités des intérêts étrangers dans les territoires sous domination coloniale et a appuyé le rapport et les recommandations du Comité spécial. La délégation cubaine a également estimé que l'on devait condamner le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis pour la part indéniable de responsabilité qu'il assume en tant qu'instrument des monopoles américains. Elle a en effet la conviction que les intérêts étrangers, économiques, politiques et militaires, sont la raison d'être du colonialisme.

L'exploitation de richesses appartenant de plein droit aux peuples des territoires coloniaux doit faire l'objet d'une condamnation expresse, quels que soient les intérêts étrangers en cause.

41. Cuba aurait souhaité que le projet de résolution se fonde sur les recommandations du Comité spécial, conformément à la pratique suivie précédemment par la Commission. Le projet de résolution qui a été présenté est loin d'être satisfaisant et les paragraphes 4, 5, 6, 7 et 8 du dispositif, qui établissent des distinctions, empêchent Cuba d'appuyer ce projet. M. Rodríguez Astiazarain rappelle que Cuba a traditionnellement soutenu les résolutions présentées par les pays africains et asiatiques relatives aux questions coloniales et n'a jamais, en tant que pays latino-américain, émis de suggestions visant à en affaiblir le texte.

42. Pour les raisons qu'elle vient d'exposer, la délégation cubaine préfère s'abstenir lors du vote.

43. M. DE MIRANDA (Portugal) déclare que, si le projet de résolution se bornait à énoncer des principes généraux rationnels tendant à guider les activités des intérêts étrangers et reconnaissait que le progrès économique des territoires sous-développés, quel que soit leur statut, nécessite une politique rationnelle d'investissements, l'appréciation de cette politique devant être laissée à la seule discrétion du gouvernement en cause, la délégation portugaise pourrait voter pour ce texte. La délégation portugaise est opposée à l'exploitation coloniale au même titre que toute autre délégation. Elle estime que les peuples placés sous un régime colonial devraient être dotés de droits politiques, économiques et sociaux, mais que des décisions de cet ordre sont du ressort exclusif des puissances administrantes intéressées.

44. La délégation portugaise trouve à redire au projet de résolution pour diverses raisons, mais principalement par suite de la mention qui y est faite de "territoires sous domination portugaise". Elle rejette la thèse selon laquelle l'un quelconque des territoires administrés par le Portugal relève des dispositions du Chapitre XI de la Charte, de la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée ou de toute autre résolution. Elle rejette également toutes les accusations d'exploitation coloniale lancées contre le Portugal. Conformément à la position qu'elle a toujours suivie, la délégation portugaise votera contre le projet de résolution. Si la résolution est adoptée, la délégation portugaise souhaite que les réserves qu'elle a formulées expressément soient consignées dans le compte rendu.

45. Le PRESIDENT dit qu'un vote séparé a été demandé sur le paragraphe 1 du dispositif du projet de résolution A/C.4/L.875/Rev.1 et Rev.1/Add.1 et 2. En l'absence d'objection, il va être procédé au vote sur le paragraphe 1 du dispositif.

Sur la demande du représentant du Portugal, il est procédé au vote par appel nominal.

L'appel commence par la Nouvelle-Zélande, dont le nom est tiré au sort par le Président.

Votent pour: Nicaragua, Niger, Nigéria, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Pérou, Philippines, Pologne, Rou-

manie, Rwanda, Arabie Saoudite, Sénégal, Sierra Leone, Somalie, Espagne, Soudan, Syrie, Thaïlande, Togo, Trinité-et-Tobago, Tunisie, Turquie, Ouganda, République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine, Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques, République arabe unie, République-Unie de Tanzanie, Haute-Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yémen, Yougoslavie, Zambie, Afghanistan, Algérie, Argentine, Barbade, Bolivie, Brésil, Bulgarie, Birmanie, Burundi, République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie, Cameroun, Ceylan, Tchad, Chili, Chine, Congo (République démocratique du), Cuba, Tchécoslovaquie, Dahomey, République Dominicaine, Equateur, Ethiopie, Gambie, Ghana, Guatemala, Guinée, Guyane, Honduras, Hongrie, Inde, Indonésie, Iran, Irak, Israël, Côte d'Ivoire, Jamaïque, Jordanie, Kenya, Koweït, Liban, Libéria, Libye, Madagascar, Malaisie, Iles Maldives, Mali, Mauritanie, Mexique, Mongolie, Maroc.

Votent contre: Portugal, Afrique du Sud, Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord, Etats-Unis d'Amérique, Australie.

S'abstiennent: Nouvelle-Zélande, Norvège, Suède, Autriche, Belgique, Canada, Danemark, Finlande, France, Grèce, Islande, Irlande, Italie, Japon, Malawi, Pays-Bas.

Par 84 voix contre 5, avec 16 abstentions, le paragraphe 1 du dispositif du projet de résolution est adopté.

Il est procédé au vote par appel nominal sur l'ensemble du projet de résolution.

L'appel commence par l'Ethiopie, dont le nom est tiré au sort par le Président.

Votent pour: Ethiopie, Gambie, Ghana, Grèce, Guatemala, Guinée, Guyane, Honduras, Hongrie, Inde, Indonésie, Iran, Irak, Irlande, Israël, Côte d'Ivoire, Jamaïque, Japon, Jordanie, Kenya, Koweït, Liban, Libéria, Libye, Madagascar, Malaisie, Iles Maldives, Mali, Mauritanie, Mexique, Mongolie, Maroc, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigéria, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Pérou, Philippines, Pologne, Roumanie, Rwanda, Arabie Saoudite, Sénégal, Sierra Leone, Somalie, Espagne, Soudan, Syrie, Thaïlande, Togo, Trinité-et-Tobago, Tunisie, Turquie, Ouganda, République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine, Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques, République arabe unie, République-Unie de Tanzanie, Haute-Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yémen, Yougoslavie, Zambie, Afghanistan, Algérie, Argentine, Barbade, Bolivie, Brésil, Bulgarie, Birmanie, Burundi, République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie, Cameroun, Ceylan, Tchad, Chili, Chine, Congo (République démocratique du), Tchécoslovaquie, Dahomey, République Dominicaine, Equateur.

Votent contre: Portugal, Afrique du Sud.

S'abstiennent: Finlande, France, Islande, Italie, Malawi, Pays-Bas, Nouvelle-Zélande, Norvège, Suède, Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord, Etats-Unis d'Amérique, Australie, Autriche, Belgique, Canada, Cuba, Danemark.

Par 86 voix contre 2, avec 17 abstentions, le projet de résolution A/C.4/L.875/Rev.1 et Rev.1/Add.1 et 2 est adopté dans son ensemble.

46. M. SZYMANOWSKI (Pologne) dit que sa délégation a voté pour le projet de résolution dont l'adoption est un bon départ dans la tâche importante qui consiste à dénoncer et à supprimer un obstacle sérieux à l'application intégrale de la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée. Les faits cités dans le rapport du Comité spécial et au cours des débats mettent en lumière l'existence d'une conspiration sinistre fomentée par les intérêts étrangers, les régimes coloniaux et les pays qui favorisent les activités des intérêts étrangers. La résolution de l'Assemblée générale concernant cette question doit être claire et ferme et ne laisser aucune échappatoire à ces forces qui entravent la décolonisation. Dans l'ensemble, le projet de résolution qui vient d'être adopté remplit ces conditions, mais la délégation polonaise n'est pas entièrement satisfaite de son libellé.

47. Tout d'abord, la délégation polonaise n'approuve pas le texte du paragraphe 1 du dispositif dans lequel le rapport du Comité spécial est approuvé "engénéral". La Pologne est membre du Comité spécial dont elle a fait siens sans réserve le rapport et les conclusions. Elle craint que les forces que l'on condamne dans cette résolution ne se sentent rassurées du fait que l'Assemblée générale fait preuve d'une certaine réserve dans son approbation du rapport. Deuxièmement, les paragraphes 6 et 8 du dispositif auraient pu être rédigés de façon plus claire. Il est évident que la plupart des concessions et des privilèges octroyés aux nationaux étrangers sont en fait contraires aux intérêts des habitants autochtones des territoires coloniaux et que ces concessions sont l'un des principaux instruments de l'exploitation coloniale. La délégation polonaise a donc estimé que la résolution devait dénoncer tous ces accords et dans certains cas les déclarer nuls et non avenue, notamment lorsqu'il s'agit des régimes illégaux comme ceux de la Rhodésie du Sud ou de l'administration sud-africaine dans le Sud-Ouest africain. L'appel contenu dans le paragraphe 6 semble être une recommandation édulcorée plutôt qu'une évaluation réaliste de la situation. En ce qui concerne le paragraphe 8, ce qui est nécessaire ce n'est pas de reconsidérer les privilèges existants, mais de mettre fin aux pratiques dont il est question.

48. Néanmoins, étant donné que cette résolution est un texte extrêmement important et constitue un progrès encourageant, la délégation polonaise l'accueille avec satisfaction.

49. M. POWER (Irlande) déclare que sa délégation a voté pour le projet de résolution, qui, à son avis, énonce un certain nombre de principes qui favorisent dans l'ensemble le progrès économique, social et politique des peuples des territoires coloniaux. La délégation irlandaise a trouvé dans cette résolution un sens de la mesure qui fait quelque peu défaut dans le rapport du Comité spécial, c'est la raison pour laquelle elle n'a pu appuyer le paragraphe 1 du dispositif de la résolution. De même, elle ne peut souscrire au paragraphe 9 du dispositif car elle n'a pas été à même d'appuyer la création du Conseil des Nations Unies pour le Sud-Ouest africain, qu'elle ne considérerait pas comme une mesure pratique de nature à conduire aux objectifs recherchés. Enfin, la délégation irlandaise n'interprète nullement la

résolution comme constituant une attaque contre les investissements étrangers en tant que tels dans les territoires coloniaux. Ces investissements sont généralement indispensables au développement des territoires intéressés, et plus un territoire est avancé du point de vue économique, meilleures sont ses chances de conserver son indépendance lorsque son peuple aura conquis sa liberté.

50. M. BOZA (Pérou) dit que sa délégation a voté pour le projet de résolution dont elle approuve les principes et les objectifs. Mais la délégation péruvienne tient à ce qu'il soit consigné dans le compte rendu qu'elle considère que certaines des expressions employées dans la résolution sont inopportunes.

51. M. PRETORIUS (Afrique du Sud) dit que sa délégation a voté contre le projet de résolution qui lui semble, ainsi que le rapport du Comité spécial sur cette question, être inspiré par des motifs politiques et contenir des accusations non fondées contre certains Etats. En ce qui concerne la mention qui y est faite du Conseil des Nations Unies pour le Sud-Ouest africain, l'Afrique du Sud considère que la résolution portant création de ce conseil est illégale.

52. M. ISSAKA (Togo), exerçant son droit de réponse, est heureux de noter que le Portugal est opposé à l'exploitation coloniale et espère que ce pays cessera par conséquent d'exploiter l'Angola, le Mozambique et la Guinée (Bissau).

53. M. Issaka fait observer que le représentant du Royaume-Uni essaie toujours de parler à la fin du débat et ne laisse pas le temps de lui répondre comme il convient. Se référant au premier argument avancé par le représentant du Royaume-Uni, à savoir que les investissements privés dans les territoires placés sous l'administration du Royaume-Uni sont contrôlés à la fois par des représentants élus du territoire même et par le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni, M. Issaka estime que les premiers ne sont pas les vrais porte-parole de la population et se conforment toujours aux vœux de la puissance coloniale de sorte que c'est cette dernière seule qui contrôle effectivement les investissements privés, et elle n'agira jamais à l'encontre de ses propres intérêts dans un pays où des capitaux britanniques sont investis. Les gouvernements locaux ne sont que des marionnettes au service des capitaux étrangers. Quant à l'argument selon lequel les investissements accélèrent le processus de décolonisation plutôt qu'ils ne le freinent, il devrait être possible, s'il en était vraiment ainsi, de décoloniser l'Afrique du Sud. Pour ce qui est du troisième argument du représentant du Royaume-Uni, à savoir que là où les investissements privés sont le plus considérables les salaires sont plus élevés, M. Issaka souligne que le montant des salaires ne constitue pas à lui seul un indice de développement économique. Il faut tenir compte du niveau de vie dans son ensemble. Les salaires des travailleurs autochtones dans les territoires coloniaux sont jusqu'à quinze fois inférieurs à ceux des étrangers qui les exploitent, alors qu'ils pourraient être vingt fois plus élevés qu'ils ne le sont à l'heure actuelle si les ressources des territoires étaient exploitées au seul profit de ces territoires.

54. M. LUARD (Royaume-Uni) invite le représentant du Togo à se rendre dans n'importe lequel des territoires administrés par le Royaume-Uni et à se renseigner sur le système électoral qui y est en vigueur. M. Luard assure le représentant du Togo que le système électoral est juste et démocratique et peut soutenir favorablement la comparaison avec celui de nombreux pays représentés à l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Les gouvernements élus de ces territoires adoptent souvent des positions différentes de celles du Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni et déterminent effectivement les conditions dans lesquelles s'effectuent les investissements. En outre, le Gouvernement britannique contrôle les investissements dans tous les territoires qu'il administre. Ces investissements doivent tous être approuvés par le Ministère des finances qui veille à ce qu'ils soient conformes aux intérêts du territoire en cause.

55. Quoi que l'on puisse penser de la situation en Afrique du Sud, elle ne prouve pas que les investissements étrangers entravent la décolonisation. L'Afrique du Sud est indépendante même si la situation qui y règne peut être comparée à une situation coloniale. Pour ce qui est de la question du paiement de salaires plus élevés dans les territoires où il y a des investissements étrangers, M. Luard dit que, si le rapport du Comité spécial laisse entendre que le fait qu'il y ait dans les territoires coloniaux des investissements privés conduit nécessairement à l'exploitation, il pense, quant à lui, que ces investissements entraînent un accroissement des revenus et une amélioration du niveau de vie général de la population de ces territoires. Il est fort possible que certains aspects des activités des intérêts étrangers, économiques et autres, soient critiquables, mais dans le rapport du Comité spécial on n'a absolument pas cherché à analyser les faits de façon détaillée. Il faudrait comparer le revenu de ceux qui travaillent pour des sociétés étrangères et de ceux qui vivent dans les territoires où ces sociétés opèrent aux revenus de ceux qui ne travaillent pas pour des sociétés étrangères ou qui vivent dans des territoires où ces sociétés n'opèrent pas.

56. M. ISSAKA (Togo) fait observer à l'intention du représentant du Royaume-Uni que le Togo a été le premier pays où la France a autorisé que les Nations Unies supervisent des élections. Le Royaume-Uni devrait suivre l'exemple de la France en Rhodésie du Sud et ailleurs. M. Issaka estime que l'Afrique du Sud n'est pas un pays indépendant et qu'elle ne pourra pas l'être tant que les véritables habitants n'auront pas le droit à une autodétermination effective.

57. M. CHAKHOV (Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques), répondant à l'argument du représentant du Royaume-Uni selon lequel les investissements effectués dans les territoires coloniaux administrés par ce pays sont contrôlés par le Gouvernement britannique et par le gouvernement local, dit que les recherches qu'il a lui-même effectuées sur cette question ont révélé l'existence d'un système complexe d'alliance entre les monopoles et le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni. Les vues exprimées par la Fédération of British Industries, qui, depuis 1965, fait partie d'un organisme encore plus puissant, la Confederation of British Industry, sont portées à l'attention

du Gouvernement britannique pour faire pression sur la politique de ce dernier, par écrit ou au moyen de visites que les représentants officiels de la Federation rendent aux ministères appropriés. La Federation a accès à tous les ministères et entretient des contacts avec les fonctionnaires à tous les échelons. Selon le numéro de l'Observer du 25 février 1962, la Federation a, dans les différents départements ministériels, ses propres représentants chargés de fournir des conseils sur l'élaboration de la politique. Des indications sur ce point sont données à la page 272 de l'ouvrage intitulé Business Enterprise, de Edwards et Townsend, publié en 1958. Le gouvernement demande l'avis de la Federation sur les questions qui l'intéressent; le Directeur général de la Federation lui-même a dit que presque chaque jour un des départements ministériels le consulte. La politique du gouvernement et celle des entreprises industrielles et commerciales sont étroitement liées. Le Directeur de la National Association of British Industry affirme que son association est consultée sur toutes les questions législatives touchant l'industrie manufacturière et qu'elle se trouve à même de veiller à ce que tout soit fait selon ses vœux. Des renseignements concernant la National Association of British Industry figurent aux pages 273 et 274 de Business Enterprise. Il est donc évident que le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni ne contrôle pas les activités des monopoles britanniques; les monopoles agissent comme bon leur semble et le gouvernement est un instrument entre leurs mains.

58. Selon M. COLERIDGE-TAYLOR (Sierra Leone), il est inexact que, dans les territoires dépendants, il y ait deux autorités distinctes: le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni et le gouvernement élu du territoire. Les décisions de la Puissance administrante ont plus de poids et c'est elle qui encourt le blâme pour les iniquités commises par les entreprises étrangères et pour les accords conclus avec ces dernières. Les postes les plus importants du gouvernement élu d'un territoire, comme ceux des services financiers, sont souvent occupés par des représentants de la Puissance administrante jusqu'à la veille de l'indépendance. M. Coleridge-Taylor ne voit donc pas comment le représentant du Royaume-Uni peut soutenir que cet argument est fondé. La délégation britannique a affirmé que rien ne prouve que les investissements privés fassent obstacle à l'indépendance, mais il a eu la prudence de passer sous silence certaines régions coloniales, et M. Coleridge-Taylor est sûr qu'une étude minutieuse de ces régions corroborerait la conclusion que l'investissement privé est bien en fait un obstacle à l'indépendance. Le représentant du Royaume-Uni a critiqué le rapport du Comité spécial et a voté contre le paragraphe 1 du dispositif du projet de résolution qui approuvait le rapport

en général; cependant il n'a fourni aucune donnée statistique et n'a mentionné aucun territoire particulier à l'appui de son assertion suivant laquelle l'indépendance est accélérée par l'investissement de capitaux étrangers.

59. M. Coleridge-Taylor était sur le point de féliciter le Portugal sur son changement d'attitude, mais le vote a montré que le Portugal donne au mot "colonial" une interprétation différente de la sienne; il ne peut donc qu'exprimer son regret devant cet état de choses.

60. A propos de l'observation du représentant de l'Afrique du Sud, qui estime que la résolution 2145 (XXI) de l'Assemblée générale est illégale, M. Coleridge-Taylor tient à rappeler à son intention combien de délégations ont voté en faveur de cette résolution. Il n'est guère probable qu'une minorité se réduisant à une seule délégation puisse avoir raison.

61. M. BECK (Hongrie), appuyé par M. JOUEJATI (Syrie), propose de lever la séance.

62. M. McDOWELL (Nouvelle-Zélande) pense que, pour assurer la liberté des débats et permettre l'organisation rationnelle des travaux de la Commission, il faudrait donner la parole à toutes les délégations qui souhaitent faire une intervention, étant entendu que la discussion serait close à la présente séance.

63. Le PRESIDENT tient à faire une déclaration sur l'organisation des travaux de la Commission et il souhaiterait la faire même si la proposition de la Hongrie est adoptée.

Par 24 voix contre 8, avec 19 abstentions, la Commission décide de lever la séance, étant entendu que le Président fera une déclaration sur les travaux de la Commission.

Organisation des travaux de la Commission (A/C.4/698)

64. Le PRESIDENT suggère que l'examen du rapport du Conseil de tutelle, le point suivant de l'ordre du jour de la Commission, publié sous la cote A/C.4/698, soit retardé jusqu'au 6 décembre 1967; le Président a été informé en effet qu'une délégation du Territoire sous tutelle de Nauru — qui doit accéder à l'indépendance le 31 janvier 1968 — doit arriver sous peu à New York. Le Président propose donc que la Commission aborde l'examen de la question des îles Fidji le 4 décembre 1967, en plus de l'examen des points restants de son ordre du jour.

Il en est ainsi décidé.

La séance est levée à 18 h 10.

2326 (XXII). Application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux

L'Assemblée générale,

Rappelant la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux figurant dans sa résolution 1514 (XV) du 14 décembre 1960,

Rappelant ses résolutions 1654 (XVI) du 27 novembre 1961, 1810 (XVII) du 17 décembre 1962, 1956 (XVIII) du 11 décembre 1963, 1970 (XVIII) du 16 décembre 1963, 2105 (XX) du 20 décembre 1965 et 2189 (XXI) du 13 décembre 1966,

Ayant examiné le rapport du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux relatifs aux travaux qu'il a consacrés en 1967 à cette question¹¹ et ayant adopté des résolutions au sujet de différents territoires examinés par le Comité,

Ayant examiné également le rapport pertinent du

¹¹ *Ibid.*, additif au point 23 de l'ordre du jour (A/6700/Rev.1), chap. I à XXIV.

Comité spécial¹² et la résolution 2288 (XXII) de l'Assemblée générale, en date du 7 décembre 1967, sur la question intitulée "Activités des intérêts étrangers, économiques et autres, qui font obstacle à l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux en Rhodésie du Sud, au Sud-Ouest africain et dans les territoires sous domination portugaise, ainsi que dans tous les autres territoires se trouvant sous domination coloniale, et aux efforts tendant à éliminer le colonialisme, l'apartheid et la discrimination raciale dans le sud de l'Afrique",

Tenant compte du rapport du Cycle d'études international sur l'apartheid, la discrimination raciale et le colonialisme dans le sud de l'Afrique, qui s'est tenu à Kitwe (Zambie), du 25 juillet au 4 août 1967¹³,

Notant avec une grave inquiétude que sept ans après l'adoption de la Déclaration de nombreux territoires sont encore sous domination coloniale,

Déplorant l'attitude négative de certaines puissances coloniales qui refusent de reconnaître aux peuples coloniaux le droit à l'autodétermination, à la liberté et à l'indépendance, et en particulier l'intransigeance du Gouvernement portugais, qui, au mépris des résolutions pertinentes de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, persiste à perpétuer sa domination étrangère oppressive, et du Gouvernement sud-africain, qui nie ouvertement la validité des résolutions 2145 (XXI) et 2248 (S-V) de l'Assemblée générale, en date des 27 octobre 1966 et 19 mai 1967,

Préoccupée par la politique suivie par les puissances coloniales qui favorisent l'afflux systématique d'immigrants étrangers et déplacent, déportent ou transfèrent les habitants autochtones en violation des droits économiques et politiques ainsi que des droits de l'homme fondamentaux de ces habitants,

Considérant que la persistance du colonialisme et de ses manifestations, y compris le racisme et l'apartheid, et les efforts déployés par certaines puissances coloniales pour éliminer les mouvements de libération nationale par des activités répressives et par l'emploi de la force armée contre les peuples coloniaux sont incompatibles avec la Charte des Nations Unies, la Déclaration universelle des droits de l'homme et la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux,

Déplorant l'attitude de certains États qui, au mépris des résolutions pertinentes du Conseil de sécurité, de l'Assemblée générale et du Comité spécial, persistent à coopérer avec les Gouvernements portugais et sud-africain et avec le régime minoritaire raciste illégal de Rhodésie du Sud, qui continuent à opprimer les peuples africains,

Convaincue que tout nouveau retard dans l'application rapide et effective de la Déclaration constitue une source de différends et de conflits internationaux qui entravent sérieusement la coopération internationale et compromettent la paix et la sécurité mondiales,

Rappelant sa résolution 13 (I) du 13 février 1946 concernant l'action de l'Organisation des Nations Unies dans le domaine de l'information et les dispositions pertinentes de ses résolutions 2105 (XX) du 20 décembre 1965, 2189 (XXI) du 13 décembre 1966, 2262 (XXII) du 3 novembre 1967, 2270 (XXII) du 17 novembre 1967 et 2288 (XXII) du 7 décembre 1967 soulignant la nécessité d'une diffusion générale et suivie

¹² *Ibid.*, point 24 de l'ordre du jour, document A/6868 et Add.1.

¹³ A/6818 et Corr.1.

d'informations sur les travaux des Nations Unies dans le domaine de la décolonisation, la situation dans les territoires coloniaux et la lutte constante menée par les peuples coloniaux pour leur libération,

Réaffirmant sa conviction que la célébration en 1968 de l'Année internationale des droits de l'homme, notamment la réunion de la Conférence internationale des droits de l'homme, contribuera grandement à favoriser le respect universel et effectif des droits de l'homme et des libertés fondamentales pour tous, sans distinction de race, de sexe, de langue ou de religion,

1. *Réaffirme* ses résolutions 1514 (XV), 1654 (XVI), 1810 (XVII), 1956 (XVIII), 1970 (XVIII), 2105 (XX) et 2189 (XXI);

2. *Prend note avec satisfaction* du travail accompli par le Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, et le félicite des efforts qu'il déploie pour assurer l'application intégrale et effective de la Déclaration;

3. *Approuve* le rapport du Comité spécial sur ses travaux de 1967 et prie instamment les puissances administrantes de donner suite aux recommandations qui y figurent et de prendre toutes les autres mesures nécessaires en vue d'appliquer la Déclaration et les résolutions pertinentes de l'Organisation des Nations Unies;

4. *Approuve* le programme de travail envisagé par le Comité spécial pour 1968, y compris l'envoi de missions de visite, l'étude des activités militaires et des dispositions de caractère militaire prises par les puissances coloniales dans les territoires sous leur administration et qui pourraient entraver l'application de la Déclaration, ainsi que l'examen de la liste des territoires auxquels la Déclaration s'applique;

5. *Déclare à nouveau* que la persistance du régime colonial met en danger la paix et la sécurité internationales et que la pratique de l'apartheid et de toute forme de discrimination raciale constitue un crime contre l'humanité;

6. *Réaffirme* qu'elle reconnaît la légitimité de la lutte que les peuples coloniaux mènent pour l'exercice de leur droit à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance, note avec satisfaction les progrès accomplis dans les territoires coloniaux par les mouvements de libération nationale tant par la lutte qu'ils mènent que par la mise en œuvre de programmes de relèvement, et prie instamment tous les Etats de leur apporter une aide morale et matérielle;

7. *Remercie* le Haut Commissaire des Nations Unies pour les réfugiés, les institutions spécialisées intéressées et les autres organisations internationales de secours de l'aide qu'ils ont prêtée jusqu'ici, et les prie d'accroître leur assistance économique, sociale et humanitaire aux réfugiés des territoires sous domination coloniale;

8. *Prie* tous les Etats, agissant soit directement soit par l'intermédiaire des institutions internationales dont ils sont membres, y compris les institutions spécialisées, de s'abstenir de fournir une assistance quelconque aux Gouvernements portugais et sud-africain et au régime minoritaire raciste illégal de la Rhodésie du Sud tant que ces gouvernements et ce régime n'auront pas renoncé à leur politique de domination coloniale et de discrimination raciale;

9. *Appelle l'attention* de tous les Etats sur les graves conséquences résultant de la formation en Afrique

australe d'une entente entre les Gouvernements sud-africain et portugais et le régime minoritaire raciste illégal de la Rhodésie du Sud, dont les activités sont contraires aux intérêts de la paix et de la sécurité internationales, et demande à tous les Etats, en particulier aux principaux partenaires commerciaux de l'entente, de refuser tout appui ou toute assistance aux membres de l'entente;

10. *Prie* les puissances coloniales de démanteler leurs bases et installations militaires dans les territoires coloniaux, ainsi que de s'abstenir d'en établir de nouvelles et d'utiliser celles qui existent encore pour entraver la libération des peuples des territoires coloniaux dans l'exercice de leurs droits légitimes à la liberté et à l'indépendance;

11. *Condamne une fois de plus* la politique suivie par certaines puissances administrantes dans les territoires se trouvant sous leur domination, qui consiste à imposer des régimes non représentatifs et des constitutions, à renforcer la position d'intérêts étrangers, économiques et autres, à abuser l'opinion publique mondiale et à encourager l'afflux systématique d'immigrants étrangers tout en déplaçant, déportant et transférant les autochtones vers d'autres régions, et demande à ces puissances de renoncer à de telles manœuvres;

12. *Prie* le Comité spécial de poursuivre sa tâche et de continuer à rechercher des moyens appropriés en vue d'assurer l'application immédiate et intégrale de la Déclaration dans tous les territoires qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance;

13. *Prie* le Comité spécial de formuler des suggestions concrètes en vue d'aider le Conseil de sécurité à étudier les mesures qu'il convient de prendre, conformément à la Charte des Nations Unies, à l'égard des faits nouveaux survenant dans les territoires coloniaux qui risquent de menacer la paix et la sécurité internationales, et recommande au Conseil de prendre ces suggestions pleinement en considération;

14. *Invite* le Comité spécial, chaque fois qu'il le jugera bon et opportun, à recommander une date limite pour l'accession à l'indépendance de chaque territoire considéré, conformément au désir de la population et aux dispositions de la Déclaration;

15. *Prie* le Comité spécial, dans l'accomplissement de ses tâches, de tenir compte des activités spéciales envisagées à l'occasion de l'Année internationale des droits de l'homme et, en particulier, de participer, comme il le jugera approprié, à la Conférence internationale des droits de l'homme qui doit se tenir à Téhéran en avril 1968;

16. *Prie* le Comité spécial d'examiner l'observation, par les Etats Membres, de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux et des autres résolutions pertinentes relatives à la question de la décolonisation, en particulier celles qui concernent les territoires sous domination portugaise, la Rhodésie du Sud et le Sud-Ouest africain, et de rendre compte à ce sujet à l'Assemblée générale lors de sa vingt-troisième session;

17. *Invite* le Comité spécial à accorder une attention particulière aux petits territoires et à recommander à l'Assemblée générale les méthodes les plus appropriées à appliquer ainsi que les mesures à prendre pour permettre aux populations de ces territoires d'exercer pleinement leur droit à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance;

18. *Demande instamment* aux puissances administrantes de coopérer avec le Comité spécial en permet-

tant à des missions de visite d'avoir accès aux territoires coloniaux conformément aux décisions prises antérieurement par l'Assemblée générale et par le Comité spécial;

19. *Prie* le Comité spécial d'examiner et de soumettre à l'Assemblée générale, lors de sa vingt-troisième session, des recommandations concernant l'organisation, au début de 1969, d'une conférence spéciale de représentants des peuples coloniaux qui serait chargée notamment d'examiner les moyens les plus efficaces par lesquels la communauté internationale peut intensifier son assistance à ces peuples dans les efforts qu'ils déploient pour parvenir à l'autodétermination, à la liberté et à l'indépendance;

20. *Prie* le Secrétaire général de prendre des mesures concrètes en usant de tous les moyens dont il dispose, notamment les publications, la radio et la télévision, pour donner effet aux dispositions des résolutions 2105 (XX), 2189 (XXI), 2262 (XXII), 2270 (XXII) et 2288 (XXII) de l'Assemblée générale concernant la diffusion générale et suivie d'informations sur les travaux de l'Organisation des Nations Unies dans le domaine de la décolonisation, la situation dans les territoires coloniaux et la lutte constante menée par les peuples coloniaux pour leur libération;

21. *Prie* les puissances administrantes de coopérer avec le Secrétaire général en vue de faire largement connaître les travaux de l'Organisation des Nations Unies dans l'application de la Déclaration;

22. *Prie* le Secrétaire général de fournir tous les fonds et les moyens nécessaires à l'application de la présente résolution.

1636^e séance plénière,
16 décembre 1967.

Nations Unies
**ASSEMBLÉE
 GÉNÉRALE**

VINGT-DEUXIÈME SESSION

Documents officiels



1631^e
SÉANCE PLÉNIÈRE

*Jeudi 14 décembre 1967,
 à 15 heures*

NEW YORK

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Président: M. Corneliu MANESCU (Roumanie).

POINT 23 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

Application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux: rapport du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux (suite)

45. M. CERNIK (Tchécoslovaquie) [traduit de l'anglais]: La question qui nous est soumise se rattache directement au processus historique de désintégration du système colonial, qui caractérise notre époque. Depuis plusieurs dizaines d'années, ce processus a conduit un nombre croissant de peuples d'Asie, d'Afrique et d'Amérique latine à gagner la liberté et l'indépendance. Les Nations Unies ont eu le mérite de se ranger aussi du côté des mouvements de libération nationale.

46. C'est l'adoption de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux qui a marqué le point tournant de l'engagement des Nations Unies dans la lutte pour l'élimination du colonialisme. La Déclaration a non seulement confirmé le droit des peuples coloniaux à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance, mais abjuré toutes les formes d'hégémonie et d'exploitation étrangères. Elle a formulé l'exigence de la libération immédiate et inconditionnelle de tous les territoires et de tous les peuples coloniaux. Dans les diverses résolutions adoptées ces dernières années, les Nations Unies ont reconnu le caractère légitime de la lutte des peuples coloniaux et affirmé que ces nations, pour la mener, sont en droit d'obtenir une assistance morale, politique et matérielle.

47. Les peuples ont mis fin au système colonial dans plusieurs territoires qui se trouvaient avant dans une situation de dépendance. Ceux qui se sont engagés sur la voie nouvelle du développement indépendant ont réussi, avec l'aide des forces progressistes du monde, à renforcer leur liberté et leur indépendance.

48. Il y a quelques jours, le combat de la libération nationale du peuple d'Aden et de l'Arabie du Sud lui ont donné la victoire, après les nombreuses épreuves que lui ont infligées les colonisateurs britanniques. Un nouvel Etat indépendant, que nous venons d'accueillir aujourd'hui même comme Membre de notre organisation, s'est édifié sur les ruines de l'un des derniers bastions du colonialisme au Moyen-Orient.

D'ici à quelques semaines également, le territoire sous Tutelle du Nauru deviendra indépendant. Du fond de nos cœurs, nous souhaitons aux peuples de ces deux pays de vivre prospère et de se développer au cours des années à venir, afin qu'ils puissent jouir des fruits de leur victoire dans la paix et la liberté, sans ingérence de la part de leurs anciens maîtres.

49. D'autre part, il suffit de jeter un coup d'œil sur la carte pour se rendre compte que le juste combat mené par les peuples n'a pas encore permis d'atteindre les objectifs fixés. Plus de 50 millions de personnes vivent encore sous un régime de colonialisme et de racisme. Les événements récents montrent qu'actuellement la lutte des nations assujetties se poursuit dans des conditions particulièrement difficiles et se heurte à la résistance sauvage de tous les régimes coloniaux et racistes, ainsi que de leurs alliés. Les positions principales des colonisateurs et des racistes se trouvent maintenant concentrées dans le sud de l'Afrique, où les forces de la réaction internationale sont en train d'édifier un bastion de résistance contre l'indépendance et la liberté de l'ensemble du continent africain.

50. La politique raciste d'apartheid que mène le Gouvernement de la République d'Afrique du Sud et l'annexion graduelle du Territoire du Sud-Ouest africain par les racistes d'Afrique du Sud, la ligne de conduite arrogante adoptée par le régime de Smith en Rhodésie du Sud, où les libertés fondamentales des quatre millions d'autochtones sont foulées aux pieds, la guerre d'extermination menée par le régime de Salazar en Angola et au Mozambique contre les populations qui vivent sur ces territoires, enfin les provocations militaires contre les Etats indépendants d'Afrique, ainsi que l'exploitation des populations africaines qui sont privées de la jouissance de leurs droits fondamentaux dans tous ces pays, tel est le tableau de l'Afrique méridionale aujourd'hui.

51. Nous avons vu récemment de quelle manière les colonisateurs et les racistes ont intensifié et renforcé leur coopération. La collaboration des régimes coloniaux et racistes en matière économique et l'appui qui leur est donné par les puissances occidentales membres de l'alliance de l'OTAN constituent la raison principale de l'échec du système actuel des sanctions décidées par notre organisation contre la Rhodésie du Sud, le Portugal et la République sud-africaine.

52. A ce sujet, je voudrais attirer l'attention de l'Assemblée sur le mémorandum du Gouvernement de la République démocratique allemande [A/6491]; ce document constate que c'est la République fédérale d'Allemagne qui, avec les Etats-Unis et le Royaume-Uni, fournit l'aide la plus importante à l'Afrique du Sud, au Portugal et au régime Smith en Rhodésie du Sud. La coopération militaire dans ces régions, complétée par l'appui des pays de l'OTAN, réussit actuellement à coordonner l'action militaire contre les mouvements de libération nationale. Ainsi l'on assiste, dans le sud de l'Afrique, à l'établissement d'une coalition militaire destinée à interrompre le processus de décolonisation en Afrique méridionale et à compromettre à la fois la liberté et l'indépendance du continent africain. Après tout, le recrute-

ment et l'envoi de mercenaires blancs d'Angola au Congo indiquent de façon lumineuse comment les forces réactionnaires internationales font obstacle au développement progressif des Etats africains et violent leur intégrité territoriale.

53. Nous avons suivi avec inquiétude l'évolution des événements dans la région méridionale de l'Afrique, où un bloc réactionnaire est en formation sur un territoire où plus de la moitié de la population vit encore sous le joug colonial et raciste.

54. En outre, le rapport du Comité spécial signale aussi que, dans d'autres territoires dépendants, parmi lesquels figurent des petits territoires coloniaux du Pacifique, de l'océan Indien et des Antilles, les puissances coloniales n'ont pas encore pris de mesures efficaces pour permettre aux peuples qui y vivent d'exercer librement leur droit à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance. Au mépris de tous les appels des Nations Unies, le Royaume-Uni maintient son régime colonial à Oman, aux Fidji et dans d'autres territoires. Les Etats-Unis renforcent leur domination sur Guam, dans les Iles du Pacifique, et ils empêchent le peuple de Porto Rico d'exercer librement son droit à l'indépendance. Les colonialistes exploitent ces territoires exclusivement à leurs propres fins et sans tenir aucun compte des intérêts de la population autochtone. L'analyse des raisons de cet état de choses révèle le rôle important que jouent les intérêts militaires et stratégiques des puissances coloniales qui conservent des bases militaires dans les territoires dépendants.

55. Les Etats-Unis et le Royaume-Uni se préparent à construire un réseau de bases militaires aux Seychelles, dans l'archipel des Chagos et aux Iles Cocos, afin de maintenir leur contrôle dans l'océan Indien. Une situation analogue existe dans le Pacifique où, par exemple, les Etats-Unis se servent de l'île de Guam comme d'une base importante pour la conduite de leur guerre d'agression contre le Viet-nam. Le U.S. News and World Report du 7 août 1967 signale que Guam fait partie du territoire des Etats-Unis et constitue, à ce titre, une base très utilisée par les bombardiers B-52 envoyés au Viet-nam et par les sous-marins nucléaires Polaris, qui patrouillent au Moyen-Orient. C'est aussi un centre logistique important pour les navires de guerre. Guam est une base idéale dans le Pacifique. La publication mentionnée ci-dessus dit encore que les Etats-Unis projettent de développer considérablement leurs bases militaires dans le territoire sous tutelle des Iles du Pacifique et envisagent de détacher les Iles Mariannes de ce groupe, pour les rattacher à Guam, afin de renforcer la structure du dispositif militaire.

56. Il est donc évident que les puissances coloniales sont en train de changer de petits territoires coloniaux en un système de bases militaires et de points stratégiques dont elles n'ont pas l'intention de partir volontairement. C'est là une violation ouverte des résolutions des Nations Unies, qui qualifient l'existence de bases militaires dans les territoires dépendants d'obstacles sérieux à l'application de la Déclaration de 1960 et invitent instamment les puissances coloniales à démanteler leurs bases et installations militaires sur ces mêmes territoires, ainsi qu'à s'abstenir d'en établir de nouvelles.

57. Au cours des délibérations de la Quatrième Commission sur le rôle des monopoles internationaux, les fondements économiques de l'existence même du colonialisme ont été nettement soulignés. La discussion a confirmé les conclusions du travail méritoire du Comité des Vingt-Quatre, qui figurent dans le rapport de celui-ci [A/6868 et Add.1]; elles indiquent comment les monopoles internationaux transforment la sueur et le sang des peuples colonisés en milliards de dollars, de livres et de marks de l'Allemagne de l'Ouest. Les conditions avantageuses du colonialisme permettent aux monopoles de réaliser des bénéfices de deux à trois fois supérieurs au taux de ceux que les investissements produisent dans d'autres parties du monde.

58. Les déclarations hypocrites sur l'aide que le capital apporte aux peuples de ces territoires ne sauraient jamais dissimuler le fait constaté par les conclusions du rapport du Comité des Vingt-Quatre et dans un certain nombre de résolutions adoptées par l'Assemblée générale des Nations Unies, c'est-à-dire que les monopoles étrangers sont aujourd'hui le bastion des régimes coloniaux et racistes actuels et, qu'en conséquence, leurs activités dans les territoires dépendants y empêchent les peuples d'exercer leur droit à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance. En outre, les conclusions du Comité des Vingt-Quatre ont montré amplement de quelle manière, en Rhodésie du Sud, les monopoles étrangers opposent un obstacle concret à l'application des sanctions décidées par les Nations Unies. Il est donc normal que notre organisation accorde chaque année plus d'importance à l'activité des monopoles étrangers, qui empêchent la mise en œuvre de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux.

59. Depuis peu, la lutte entreprise pour liquider entièrement les restes du système colonial se heurte à une résistance croissante de la part des colonisateurs et des régimes racistes. Ce fait se manifeste aussi dans notre organisation, où les efforts entrepris pour mener rapidement à son terme le processus de décolonisation, au sens de la Déclaration adoptée en 1960, se trouvent dans une impasse. Il est aisé de s'en rendre compte, au premier chef, en constatant que les résolutions adoptées ne sont pas appliquées, mais, dans l'énorme majorité des cas, restent sur le papier. La raison n'en est pas que nous adoptions des décisions erronées, mais qu'elles sont sabotées, sous divers prétextes, par les puissances coloniales et divers autres Etats.

60. Tandis que nous discutons aux Nations Unies, souvent sans résultat, des questions qui se rattachent à la mise en œuvre de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, les peuples de ces territoires, soutenus par les forces progressistes du monde, supportent le poids principal de la lutte pour la liberté. Cependant, ni les actes agressifs des puissances coloniales ni l'aide militaire ou autre apportée aux colonialistes par leurs alliés ne peuvent étouffer le désir d'indépendance des nations. Le mouvement de libération nationale, qui s'est enraciné profondément dans la plupart des territoires soumis à des régimes colonialistes et racistes, devient de plus en plus fort. Dans les territoires où les patriotes sont allés jusqu'à libérer des régions

entières, comme par exemple dans les colonies portugaises, les assises d'un nouveau régime, celui d'un Etat, commencent à s'édifier progressivement. Les représentants des peuples en lutte se tournent à bon droit vers les Etats Membres des Nations Unies et notre organisation elle-même, ainsi que vers les institutions spécialisées, pour demander qu'on les aide à chercher la solution de nouveaux problèmes.

61. Nous estimons qu'une situation intenable serait créée pour l'avenir si les colonialistes et les racistes se servaient, comme nous l'avons déjà vu faire, des avantages qui découlent pour eux de l'appartenance à des institutions spécialisées. Il faut trouver sans délai un remède à cette situation. Nous espérons que l'étude menée à bien au cours de cette session de l'Assemblée, sur l'initiative du Gouvernement de la République populaire de Bulgarie, au sujet de l'aide fournie par les institutions spécialisées dans la mise en œuvre de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, aura conduit à des résultats qui permettront de mieux atteindre ce but.

62. Pour réaliser la mise en œuvre de la Déclaration de 1969, il est nécessaire par-dessus tout que les puissances administrantes et tous les Etats appliquent sans réserve les résolutions des Nations Unies qui se rattachent à cette déclaration. En particulier, il est nécessaire que les Etats-Unis, le Royaume-Uni et la République fédérale d'Allemagne, ainsi que plusieurs autres Etats de la formation militaire de l'OTAN, se mettent à exécuter régulièrement l'ensemble des décisions des Nations Unies qui exigent l'arrêt de toute assistance économique, financière, militaire et autre aux régimes colonialistes et racistes. A notre avis, cela contribuerait de manière décisive à l'heureux achèvement de la lutte entreprise pour éliminer les vestiges du colonialisme.

63. En conclusion de sa déclaration, la délégation tchécoslovaque tient à dire à quel point elle apprécie l'important travail du Comité spécial, qui a déployé des efforts considérables pour assurer le plus rapidement possible l'application de la Déclaration de 1960 et des résolutions qui s'y rattachent dans l'intérêt des peuples colonisés. Le Comité spécial a aussi adopté cette année un certain nombre de recommandations, qui ont constitué le point de départ des délibérations actuelles de l'Assemblée générale. Au cours de son existence, le Comité spécial a vu son autorité s'accroître de façon considérable parmi les Etats Membres de notre organisation. Nous dénonçons résolument les tentatives faites par les colonialistes et leurs alliés pour affaiblir l'autorité du Comité spécial et minimiser ses activités très fructueuses.

64. La délégation de la Tchécoslovaquie estime hautement souhaitable que, l'année prochaine, le Comité spécial s'attache à une vérification complète et détaillée de toutes les résolutions des Nations Unies qui concernent la lutte des nations colonisées. Une telle vérification serait particulièrement utile pour analyser les raisons qui empêchent la mise en œuvre régulière des résolutions qui ont été adoptées.

65. En ce qui concerne la Tchécoslovaquie, les peuples d'Afrique, d'Asie et d'Amérique latine savent

que nous avons toujours placé nos sympathies et notre appui du côté des mouvements de libération nationale, du côté des peuples qui luttent contre le colonialisme, le racisme et l'impérialisme.

66. M. SAMMAH (Afghanistan) [traduit de l'anglais]: L'Assemblée générale discute en ce moment le rapport du Comité spécial des Vingt-Quatre relatif à l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. En tant que membre du Comité spécial des Vingt-Quatre, l'Afghanistan a apporté sa modeste contribution aux travaux de ce comité; il ne nous est donc pas nécessaire, au point où l'on en est, d'entrer dans une discussion détaillée des questions dont l'Assemblée se trouve saisie sous cette rubrique. Nous aimerions cependant rappeler certains principes que nous avons formulés depuis que la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux a été soumise à l'Assemblée générale. Nous désirons le faire à ce moment, car il nous semble nécessaire d'insister sur deux points.

67. Tout d'abord, bien que de nombreux peuples et de nombreuses nations aient accédé à l'indépendance, il existe encore un grand nombre de territoires soumis à une domination étrangère. Dans certains cas, cette domination prend la forme du colonialisme occidental classique et, dans d'autres cas, celle du néo-colonialisme et de l'hégémonie étrangère subie par des peuples contre leur volonté. Nous pensons avoir atteint maintenant un stade où nous sommes en mesure d'exiger l'indépendance des territoires coloniaux avec plus de force, en nous fondant sur la conviction indéniable que partagent tous les membres de la communauté internationale, à l'exception d'un petit nombre de puissances coloniales, qui ne tiennent pas compte des résolutions de notre organisation et qui, par là même, reconnaissent le désir de l'humanité entière, expressément déclaré au sein des Nations Unies. Cela est particulièrement regrettable, car ces mêmes puissances coloniales sont Membres de l'Organisation et le respect des décisions adoptées par celle-ci constitue pour elles à la fois une responsabilité et une obligation.

68. En second lieu, nous estimons que le moment est venu, après les progrès accomplis dans le domaine de la décolonisation, de souligner la nécessité de consacrer une attention particulière au sort des peuples dépendants qui subissent une domination étrangère. Nous n'avons pas ici l'intention d'énumérer des cas particuliers, qui sont bien connus des Membres de l'Organisation. En d'autres termes, c'est maintenant le moment d'envisager et de réaliser l'abolition de la domination étrangère sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations.

69. Ce n'est pas la première fois que nous attirons l'attention de l'Assemblée générale sur cette question. Le 5 décembre 1960, l'ambassadeur Pazhwak, représentant de l'Afghanistan, a déclaré:

"Les peuples du monde et les Nations Unies attachent une grande importance à la nécessité de mettre immédiatement fin au système de domination sur les peuples et les nations, ainsi qu'en fait foi l'intérêt que suscite l'examen de la question aujourd'hui soulevée devant l'Assemblée générale. Je ne crois pas utile de rappeler avec quelle fer-

meté mon pays a suivi sa politique traditionnelle et donné son complet appui à l'élimination radicale du système de domination sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations. Notre attitude en la matière a été non seulement nette, mais énergique." [935ème séance, par. 77.]

70. Au cours de la même séance, il a ajouté:

"En premier lieu, le système que nous voudrions voir immédiatement aboli est la domination de tout peuple par un peuple étranger, sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations. En second lieu, l'indépendance ne devrait pas seulement s'appliquer aux territoires habituellement qualifiés de colonies, mais à tous les peuples dépendants. En troisième lieu, l'abolition de la domination par l'octroi de l'indépendance devrait être totale; elle ne peut l'être que si elle a pour objectif d'arrêter à jamais toute tentative de renaissance d'une influence étrangère sur les peuples et les nations lorsqu'ils auront acquis leur indépendance. En quatrième lieu, l'indépendance ne devrait pas signifier uniquement l'indépendance politique, mais être aussi une indépendance économique et culturelle, libérée de toute influence directe ou indirecte ou de toutes pressions, quelles qu'elles soient, exercées sur les peuples et les nations sous quelque forme et quelque prétexte que ce soit. En cinquième lieu, l'application des dispositions de la déclaration devrait être universelle et s'étendre à tous les peuples et territoires non seulement pour la réalisation, mais aussi pour la protection de leur pleine et absolue indépendance, qui ne devrait résulter que de la libre volonté et de la résolution des peuples eux-mêmes, et être soustraite à tout autre influence. [Ibid., par. 81.]

71. Je voudrais rappeler aussi une autre intervention de l'ambassadeur Pazhwak, dans laquelle il disait notamment:

"Nous voudrions que cette indépendance ne s'applique pas seulement aux territoires placés sous la domination des puissances dites coloniales, mais mais également à tous les peuples et pays soumis à une domination quelconque, parce que nous connaissons le cas de peuples que dominent contre leur volonté et contre leur gré certaines puissances qui ont été elles-mêmes des colonies, mais qui oublient leur ancienne condition et étouffent aujourd'hui la volonté des peuples placés sous leur domination." [902ème séance, par. 240.]

72. Nous espérons qu'au cours des futures délibérations de l'Assemblée générale et du Comité des Vingt-Quatre, nous serons en mesure de traiter de ces questions et d'œuvrer en prenant comme point de départ nos aspirations, qui sont en partie des aspirations universelles du genre humain et, en particulier, de ceux que l'on prive de leur droit à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance sous une forme ou une autre.

73. Nous tenons à évoquer expressément la question de l'envoi des missions de visite des Nations Unies dans les territoires coloniaux ou non autonomes. Ma délégation est persuadée que ces missions aideront les Nations Unies à étudier de façon plus exacte les problèmes de ces territoires et permettront aussi

aux peuples qui les habitent de prendre conscience de leur avenir. Ma délégation attache une grande importance à ces visites, qui sont le moyen de recueillir des renseignements de première main et elle insiste auprès des puissances administrantes pour qu'elles coopèrent avec les Nations Unies en rendant possible l'envoi des missions.

74. Cette année, une fois encore, le Comité des Vingt-Quatre s'est rendu dans un certain nombre de capitales africaines. Grâce à ces visites, les membres du Comité ont eu toutes les occasions souhaitables d'entrer plus étroitement en rapport avec la population des territoires dépendants et d'entendre des pétitionnaires qui, par suite de difficultés financières, n'étaient pas en mesure de se rendre à New York. Ma délégation est convaincue que des voyages de cette nature contribuent de manière essentielle à faire connaître les buts des Nations Unies en matière de décolonisation. Qu'il me soit permis de saisir cette occasion et d'adresser mes remerciements les plus sincères aux gouvernements et aux peuples de la République démocratique du Congo, de la République de Zambie et de la République-Unie de Tanzanie pour leur aimable invitation et les efforts qu'ils ont déployés afin de mettre à notre disposition tous les moyens nécessaires au travail du Comité spécial des Vingt-Quatre.

75. A ce propos, nous tenons à exprimer avec une insistance particulière l'espoir qu'à l'avenir les efforts des Nations Unies pour restituer aux peuples leurs droits légitimes donneront à ces missions d'enquête la possibilité de visiter les territoires qui subissent une domination étrangère contre la volonté de leur population.

76. M. RUDA (Argentine) [traduit de l'espagnol]: Ma délégation intervient tous les ans dans le débat sur le point 23 de l'ordre du jour, intitulé "Application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux"; elle y trouve en effet l'occasion de procéder à une appréciation d'ensemble du travail accompli pendant l'année en cours et, plus particulièrement, du rapport du Comité spécial [A/6700/Rev.1].

77. Mon pays suit les problèmes coloniaux avec une attention des plus vigilantes, qui ne s'est pas démentie depuis une époque antérieure à la fondation des Nations Unies; depuis qu'il a lui-même accédé à l'indépendance au siècle dernier, sa politique traditionnelle a toujours été de se joindre aux mouvements destinés à mettre un terme aux agissements colonialistes.

78. C'est pourquoi nous croyons rendre justice à notre organisation en affirmant qu'elle constitue le levier politique principal pour venir à bout du problème de la décolonisation, comme cela se fait actuellement sur plus d'un continent.

79. Dans le cadre du mécanisme des Nations Unies, nous devons reconnaître que le Comité spécial a donné l'impulsion principale pour mener à bien le travail défini par la Charte et par l'Assemblée générale, et qui consiste à aboutir sans tarder à la fin du processus colonial.

80. Le rythme de l'histoire semble parfois lent; néanmoins, l'œuvre que les Nations Unies ont réalisée

dans ce domaine au cours des 20 années de son existence a déjà produit de nombreux résultats; il est aujourd'hui possible de dire que les objectifs de la Charte ont été atteints en grande partie à cet égard, surtout depuis l'adoption, en 1960, de la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale, qui a accéléré toute cette besogne de décolonisation. Comme nous le savons tous, il a fallu adopter cette résolution et compléter ainsi le Chapitre XI de la Charte, qui contient la déclaration relative aux territoires non autonomes, afin de mettre en marche une fois pour toutes ce processus irréversible.

81. Sept ans se sont déjà écoulés depuis l'adoption de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux et, bien qu'à l'évidence le nombre des territoires dépendants soit sensiblement plus réduit, la tâche de la décolonisation n'est pas encore achevée et les Nations Unies affrontent même peut-être aujourd'hui des problèmes beaucoup plus difficiles et plus graves qu'à aucun moment des dernières années.

82. Au cours de l'année, nous avons eu la joie de saluer l'indépendance de deux nouveaux pays, le Nauru et la République populaire du Yémen du Sud, dont la demande d'admission aux Nations Unies a reçu l'appui de mon pays il y a quelques jours au Conseil de sécurité et, aujourd'hui, au sein de cette assemblée. Pour le second de ces pays, la République populaire du Yémen du Sud, l'accession à l'indépendance a été longue et difficile. Mon gouvernement espère que ce nouvel Etat pourra jouir de la tranquillité politique et de l'unité nationale et territoriale qui lui permettront de trouver la voie de son développement économique et social.

83. Nous ne saurions passer sous silence le travail magnifique qui a été accompli dans cette affaire par la mission spéciale des Nations Unies pour Aden, sous la présidence de l'ambassadeur du Venezuela, M. Perez Guerrero, qui a mené à bien une tâche ardue, en alliant la fermeté au tact, et qui a permis un aboutissement plus rapide à l'indépendance.

84. Nous espérons assister l'année prochaine à de nouveaux événements encourageants, avec la création de nouveaux Etats qui s'incorporeront à notre communauté internationale. Toutefois, comme je l'ai déjà dit, nous devons constater qu'il existe encore, surtout en Afrique méridionale, des territoires très importants qui sont soumis au régime colonial.

85. Nous devons rappeler, en premier lieu, le problème du Sud-Ouest africain, qui a été l'origine de la convocation de la cinquième session extraordinaire de l'Assemblée générale, au cours du premier semestre de 1967. Pendant cette session extraordinaire, l'Assemblée a adopté la résolution 2248 (S-V), réaffirmant la résolution 2145 (XXI), par laquelle on a mis fin au mandat sur le Sud-Ouest africain et décidé que l'Afrique du Sud ne pouvait invoquer aucun titre pour administrer ce territoire. Mon pays a appuyé avec un intérêt tout particulier la section I de cette résolution 2248 (S-V), qui réaffirme l'intégrité territoriale du Sud-Ouest africain. Comme nous l'avons dit à maintes reprises au sein de cette organisation, l'on ne saurait appliquer sans discrimination le principe de la libre détermination pour en faire le refuge ou la cachette du désir de certaines puissances de

perpétuer le statut colonial d'un pays en désintégrant celui-ci. Nous devons rejeter toute tentative qui tendrait à briser, en tout ou en partie, l'unité nationale et l'intégrité territoriale de certains pays où l'on est en train de liquider le régime colonial; c'est ce qu'établit la résolution 1654 (XVI) de l'Assemblée, qui crée le Comité spécial.

86. Par cette même résolution 2248 (S-V), l'Assemblée générale a créé le Conseil des Nations Unies pour le Sud-Ouest africain et le poste de Commissaire des Nations Unies pour ce territoire. Nous sommes sûrs que le mécanisme proposé en vue de l'administration du territoire va constituer un instrument utile pour réaliser les projets de décolonisation et que le Gouvernement de l'Afrique du Sud, après un nouvel examen du problème, pourra collaborer avec l'œuvre des Nations Unies à ce sujet.

87. Au cours de cette année, nous avons également été préoccupés par la situation en Rhodésie du Sud. Au Conseil de sécurité, en décembre 1966, mon pays a appuyé énergiquement la proposition du Gouvernement britannique tendant à appliquer certaines des mesures prévues à l'Article 41 de la Charte, c'est-à-dire celles qui n'impliquent pas l'emploi de la force armée. Mon pays estimait, et il n'a pas changé d'avis, qu'avant de recourir aux moyens ultimes il était bon d'essayer d'appliquer des mesures capables d'aboutir au même résultat, c'est-à-dire le maintien de la paix et de la sécurité internationales, tout en évitant les confrontations armées, dont les conséquences sont absolument imprévisibles. Quant à l'utilisation de la force armée elle-même, mon pays a toujours été en faveur d'une action prudente, ce qui ne signifie pas un manque absolu de fermeté.

88. Les mesures qui ont été adoptées dans la résolution 232 (1966) du Conseil de sécurité, du 16 décembre 1966, sont obligatoires pour tous les Membres des Nations Unies. Cependant, de nombreux pays ne semblent pas avoir mis à exécution les décisions du Conseil de sécurité. Si l'on ne réalise pas un travail en collaboration, je dirai plus, si l'on n'exécute pas les obligations de la Charte, il sera impossible d'aboutir à la solution de ce problème. Cependant, nous devons aussi rappeler, comme nous l'avons dit bien des fois, que la responsabilité principale dans ce domaine incombe à la puissance administrante.

89. La situation des territoires sous administration portugaise, surtout dans la partie méridionale de l'Afrique, préoccupe elle aussi sérieusement ma délégation. L'absence de tout symptôme qui indiquerait au moins le début d'un mouvement dans le sens de l'application des résolutions de l'Assemblée générale, où il ne faut voir que le signe d'un courant historique irréversible, et la persistance de la puissance coloniale à s'attacher à une thèse que la communauté internationale d'aujourd'hui ne comprend pas posent un sérieux problème à l'Organisation.

90. Le peuple de mon pays est particulièrement sensible à tous les problèmes coloniaux non seulement parce qu'au XIX^{ème} siècle il a dû effectuer un grand effort pour accéder à l'indépendance par la force des armes, mais aussi parce qu'il existe aujourd'hui une partie bien aimée de son territoire, les îles Malouines, qui reste soumis à l'étranger. Comme l'a déclaré le Ministre des affaires étran-

gères de mon pays lorsqu'il est intervenu dans le débat général de cette assemblée [A/PV.1569], aucun dessein ne saurait inciter notre peuple à consentir de plus grand sacrifice que l'idée de retrouver, comme dans le passé, le plein exercice de sa souveraineté sur ces îles.

91. Ma délégation a toujours estimé que la décolonisation devait être menée à bien dans tous les pays qui ont été victimes du processus colonial, même lorsqu'une partie de leur territoire a été occupée injustement et par la force et que sa population a été chassée et remplacée par un noyau de colons de la puissance occupante. L'existence de ce différend avec le Royaume-Uni a été reconnue expressément par l'Assemblée générale dans sa résolution 2065 (XX) et dans la déclaration qu'elle a également adoptée le 20 décembre 1966, au cours de la vingt et unième session ordinaire. Dans les deux décisions, l'Organisation recommande aux parties la négociation, comme moyen de résoudre le différend.

92. Conformément à ses traditions internationales durables et respectées, l'Argentine a accepté de recourir aux négociations directes pour résoudre le différend, ce qui constitue en même temps l'exécution de la résolution de l'Organisation. Au cours de l'année dernière, des négociations actives ont été poursuivies entre le Royaume-Uni et l'Argentine au sujet de ce problème. Elles ont permis de réaliser des progrès dans le sens d'un rétrécissement de la zone de désaccord qui subsiste entre les deux gouvernements. Les négociations se poursuivent et l'on se propose ainsi d'aboutir le plus vite possible à une solution pacifique, comme les Nations Unies le recommandent; mon gouvernement espère être en mesure d'informer l'Assemblée de manière détaillée dans un avenir prochain.

93. Je ne voudrais pas conclure sans mettre en relief l'importance de deux résolutions relatives aux problèmes coloniaux, qui ont été approuvées au cours de la présente session. La première, la résolution 2288 (XXII), définit les critères généraux qui devront servir de guide dans le processus économique de la décolonisation, afin de pourvoir à ce que les nouveaux Etats indépendants soient matériellement viables. La deuxième, la résolution 2311 (XXII) qui a été adoptée aujourd'hui, contient des indications générales qui s'adressent aux institutions spécialisées ainsi qu'aux Etats membres de celles-ci et doivent permettre de dispenser une assistance humanitaire aux peuples et aux pays coloniaux dans le domaine de l'éducation, de l'alimentation et de la santé.

94. En définitive, de l'avis de ma délégation, même si tous les problèmes coloniaux n'ont pas encore été résolus et si l'on se rend bien compte que certains d'entre eux ne laissent apparaître aucun signe d'une évolution favorable, la présente session de l'Assemblée générale et l'année qui vient de s'achever marquent un nouveau pas en avant sur la voie d'un mouvement historique qui mène à la liquidation totale du colonialisme.

95. M. MATSEIKO (République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine) [traduit du russe]: L'essor puissant du mouvement de libération nationale qui a embrasé tous les continents depuis quelques dizaines d'années, en ébranlant le système impérialiste d'oppression

coloniale, lui a porté des coups fatals. Plus de 60 nouveaux Etats sont apparus sur les ruines des anciens empires coloniaux. De nombreux pays d'Afrique, d'Asie et d'Amérique latine se sont libérés du joug colonial grâce à la lutte que leurs peuples ont menée avec abnégation, en s'appuyant sur le soutien fraternel et amical de toutes les forces progressistes du monde.

96. Sept années se sont écoulées depuis que notre organisation a publié la déclaration historique où elle lançait un appel pour qu'il soit mis fin résolument et à jamais à la honte du colonialisme, et que tous les peuples sans restriction jouissent de leur droit inaliénable à la liberté et à l'indépendance [résolution 1514 (XV)]. Toutefois, une mise en garde s'impose et il y a lieu d'être préoccupé, car le processus de décolonisation s'est ralenti au cours de ces derniers temps.

97. Aujourd'hui encore, au bout de sept ans, l'Assemblée générale est obligée de débattre de la question de savoir pour quelle raison cette déclaration n'a pas encore été complètement exécutée et des dizaines de millions de personnes restent soumises à la servitude coloniale.

98. Comme les faits le montrent, la raison de ce phénomène réside dans l'opposition impitoyable de l'impérialisme et du colonialisme, qui font tout pour freiner la marche du progrès de l'histoire et maintenir leur domination sur les colonies qui leur restent, car ils ne souhaitent pas abandonner les bénéfices fabuleux que leur rapportent l'exploitation et l'oppression les plus cruelles des peuples coloniaux.

99. Prenons l'exemple de l'Afrique. Le continent africain, surtout sa partie méridionale, qui se trouve dans les chaînes du colonialisme et de l'apartheid, recèle des richesses prodigieuses et dispose de possibilités pratiquement illimitées pour assurer à sa population un développement autonome et indépendant. Cependant, des millions d'Africains qui vivent là restent encore dans les chaînes du servage colonial, demeurent au pouvoir de la misère et de l'ignorance, et sont privés de tous les bienfaits de la civilisation.

100. Cette situation résulte de la gestion des colonisateurs et du capital des monopoles internationaux, qui exploitent sans merci les peuples et les richesses naturelles du continent africain.

101. L'Afrique australe est le domaine de l'hégémonie sans partage des monopoles impérialistes internationaux. Ceux-ci exercent un contrôle pour ainsi dire exclusif sur l'économie des colonies portugaises, de la Rhodésie du Sud et du Sud-Ouest africain. Sur ces territoires, comme on l'a déjà dit, les investissements des puissances impérialistes s'élèvent à plus de cinq milliards de dollars. Là se déploient des activités des monopoles des Etats-Unis d'Amérique, de l'Angleterre, de la République fédérale d'Allemagne, de la Belgique et d'autres pays capitalistes.

102. La question de l'action des milieux étrangers, économiques ou autres, dans les territoires coloniaux, a d'abord été examinée par la présente session de l'Assemblée générale comme un point distinct

de l'ordre du jour. A ce propos, nous voudrions attirer l'attention sur l'important travail analytique qui a été accompli par le Comité des Vingt-Quatre. Le rapport établi par le Comité sur cette question [A/6700/Rev.1] regorge d'un grand nombre de faits et présente un vaste tableau de l'activité rapace des monopoles étrangers, qui se présente comme l'obstacle principal sur le chemin qui conduit les peuples coloniaux à la liberté et à l'indépendance.

103. Nous voudrions aussi relever une importante déclaration du Gouvernement de la République démocratique allemande à ce sujet; elle figure dans le document A/6941; elle dénonce le rôle criminel et hostile au peuple que joue le capital des monopoles d'Allemagne occidentale dans les territoires coloniaux.

104. L'adoption par l'Assemblée générale, à sa présente session, d'une résolution qui condamne l'activité des milieux des monopoles étrangers dans les colonies, qui contient une série de résolutions et qui prévoit la continuation de l'examen de cette question à la prochaine session constitue un important progrès de l'Organisation des Nations Unies sur la bonne voie et donne la possibilité d'élaborer des mesures concrètes pour mettre un terme à l'activité criminelle des monopoles étrangers dans les colonies, tout en découvrant de nouvelles manières de lutter contre le colonialisme.

105. Avec l'aide directe des puissances impérialistes et de leurs monopoles, une "alliance des impies" s'est formée en Afrique méridionale; c'est un bastion du colonialisme et un instrument d'oppression des peuples africains. L'impérialisme des colonisateurs veut protéger leurs intérêts politiques, militaires, stratégiques et économiques et s'efforce par tous les moyens de conserver les territoires de l'Angola, du Mozambique, de la Guinée-Bissau, de la Rhodésie du Sud, du Sud-Ouest africain, qui sont aujourd'hui les principales réserves naturelles du colonialisme. Les peuples de ces pays mènent dans le sacrifice le combat pour leur libération et, à notre avis, le Comité des Vingt-Quatre est tenu de consacrer une attention particulière aux questions que pose l'aide accordée aux peuples de ces territoires.

106. Dans les colonies du Portugal, un ordre de choses vraiment médiéval continue à régner: la pire des terreur, les travaux forcés serviles et l'exploitation sans merci.

107. Le régime de Salazar extermine avec barbarie les autochtones de l'Angola, du Mozambique et de la Guinée-Bissau. Des milliers de patriotes souffrent dans des camps de concentration, où ils subissent les cruautés de la torture et des traitements indignes.

108. Afin de perpétuer davantage le régime colonial, les pays occidentaux, surtout les membres de l'OTAN et les milieux de leurs monopoles, fournissent toute l'aide possible au Portugal. Environ 60 banques d'Europe et d'Amérique financent aujourd'hui la guerre coloniale du Portugal. Les avions et les chars, les bombes et le napalm, du matériel militaire ultra-moderne de toutes catégories sont fournis aux colonisateurs coloniaux par les Etats-Unis, l'Allemagne de l'Ouest, la Belgique et Israël. Seule cette aide permet au Portugal de garder son empire colonial.

109. En Rhodésie du Sud, un autre membre de "l'alliance des impies", le régime illégal et raciste d'Ian Smith, se renforce avec la bénédiction des Gouvernements du Royaume-Uni, des Etats-Unis et d'autres pays occidentaux. Une poignée d'aventuriers racistes, qui s'est emparée du pouvoir, fait régner l'arbitraire et accomplit ses méfaits dans le pays tant éprouvé du peuple zimbabwe.

110. Deux années se sont écoulées depuis la proclamation de la prétendue indépendance de la Rhodésie du Sud. Depuis lors, nous avons écouté bien des explications et des assurances du Gouvernement anglais sur cette question. Il y a eu des déclarations, des mémoires, et l'on a même fixé des délais pour la chute du régime illégal d'Ian Smith. Cependant, nous en restons toujours au même point.

111. L'explication de cette situation, c'est que, derrière les racistes, il y a les grands monopoles étrangers, qui protègent et renforcent ce régime fasciste. Selon le journal londonien Labour Research, plus de 180 sociétés industrielles et commerciales anglaises disposent en Rhodésie de plus de 290 filiales. La société Rhodesian Anglo-American Limited possède en Rhodésie du Sud des mines de cuivre et des gisements d'or, de diamants, de charbon, etc. Le plus grand propriétaire foncier de Rhodésie du Sud est la British South Africa Company. Ces sociétés étrangères et beaucoup d'autres tirent des bénéfices fabuleux du territoire, se livrent au pillage et s'enrichissent avec la sueur et le sang du peuple zimbabwe. Malgré l'adoption, par le Conseil de sécurité, d'une décision qui prononçait des sanctions, les Etats-Unis, le Royaume-Uni, la République fédérale d'Allemagne et leurs monopoles soutiennent Smith dans le domaine économique et financier.

112. Il y a plus de 20 ans que l'Assemblée générale s'occupe de la question du Sud-Ouest africain. La délégation ukrainienne a déjà eu hier la possibilité d'exposer sa position sur ce problème et je ne vais pas m'étendre sur ce thème en entrant dans les détails. Je voudrais simplement dire que le peuple du Sud-Ouest africain vit encore aujourd'hui dans des conditions que caractérisent la servitude et l'oppression coloniales.

113. Voilà comment les colonisateurs occidentaux, avec les membres bien connus de l'alliance des impies, s'efforcent de sauver le dernier bastion du colonialisme dans le sud de l'Afrique, s'opposent à la libération des peuples de cette région et font fi de la décision de notre organisation.

114. A notre avis, ces exemples devraient suffire pour nous permettre de tirer des conclusions objectives.

115. La plus importante de ces conclusions, c'est que, s'il existe encore dans le monde des régimes coloniaux pourris, qui oppriment féroce ment des millions d'hommes, la responsabilité de ce fait incombe à quelques pays occidentaux. Du haut de la tribune de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, ils s'efforcent hypocritement de se présenter comme soi-disant occupés à libérer les peuples des chaînes du colonialisme, mais en réalité ce sont justement ces mêmes puissances dont la politique de soutien des régimes coloniaux rend impossible l'exécution

des décisions de l'Organisation des Nations Unies et, en particulier, de la résolution 1514 (XV).

116. La tâche de l'Organisation des Nations Unies consiste à créer dans la communauté internationale un climat d'intolérance vis-à-vis des colonisateurs et de mobiliser toutes les forces et toutes les ressources existantes pour mener activement la lutte décisive qui doit liquider une fois pour toutes le honteux système du colonialisme.

117. Dans cette affaire, le Comité spécial des Vingt-Quatre a un rôle important à jouer.

118. La délégation de la République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine estime que ce comité a su accomplir un travail considérable et utile au cours de l'année qui s'achève.

119. Nous en trouvons une preuve éloquent e dans le rapport d'un contenu si riche et rempli de faits que ledit Comité a soumis à l'examen de l'Assemblée. Il convient aussi de souligner tout particulièrement l'importance des réunions tenues par le Comité des Vingt-Quatre au cours de sa visite dans les pays d'Afrique. Elles ont permis à l'Organisation des Nations Unies de se rapprocher des mouvements de libération nationale et d'établir avec eux des contacts plus étroits, ce qui permettra de remporter de nouveaux succès dans la lutte pour la libération des peuples coloniaux.

120. A cet égard, il me paraît indispensable que le Comité des Vingt-Quatre concentre davantage son attention sur la question de l'application des résolutions qui ont déjà été adoptées par l'Organisation des Nations Unies et qu'il s'attache particulièrement à l'élaboration et à la mise en œuvre de mesures concrètes pour mettre fin à l'activité funeste des monopoles internationaux dans les territoires coloniaux; le Comité devrait aussi s'occuper des problèmes qu'il faut résoudre pour libérer du colonialisme, le plus rapidement possible, l'Angola, le Mozambique, la Guinée-Bissau, la Rhodésie du Sud et le Sud-Ouest africain, dont les peuples luttent, les armes à la main, pour la libération nationale.

121. Cette année encore, les discussions ont montré de manière convaincante que les forces de l'impérialisme et du colonialisme se servent des petits territoires coloniaux pour établir un système mondial de bases militaires, qui doivent permettre de maintenir sur place la domination coloniale, d'écraser les mouvements de libération nationale dans les différentes parties du globe terrestre et de lancer des provocations contre les Etats indépendants d'Asie, d'Afrique et d'Amérique latine. L'existence de ces bases sur des territoires coloniaux fait obstacle à la mise en œuvre de la résolution 1514 (XV). Aussi le Comité des Vingt-Quatre doit-il, à notre avis, se consacrer très sérieusement à ce problème. Il doit exiger que les colonisateurs liquident leurs bases militaires dans les territoires coloniaux et en retirent leurs troupes.

122. Il est également nécessaire que le Comité des Vingt-Quatre soumette à la prochaine session ordinaire de l'Assemblée générale un rapport sur les progrès accomplis dans l'application des résolutions adoptées en matière coloniale par l'Organisation des Nations Unies et qu'il présente en même temps une

analyse concrète des raisons qui s'opposent à la mise en œuvre de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux.

123. L'année qui vient de s'écouler a été marquée par le combat acharné des peuples contre les forces du colonialisme. Cette lutte a porté ses fruits. Nous saluons aujourd'hui avec une grande satisfaction un nouveau Membre de l'organisation des Nations Unies, la République populaire du Yémen du Sud, dont la population a conquis de haute main la liberté et l'indépendance. Dans un mois, la population du Nauru va être indépendante à son tour.

124. Nous sommes certains que l'année prochaine, qui va bientôt commencer, nous apportera en grand nombre les succès et les victoires sur les fronts du combat contre le colonialisme. Les Nations Unies ont le devoir de tout mettre en œuvre pour collaborer à la noble entreprise de la libération des peuples du système colonial.

125. M. BOYE (Chili) [traduit de l'espagnol]: Ce débat marque toujours un moment de réflexion et sert à établir un bilan. Un temps de réflexion, parce que la communauté internationale se livre à l'examen d'une de ses décisions les plus importantes, c'est-à-dire la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale, relative à la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux.

126. Cette résolution ne le cède en rien à d'autres, notamment à celle qui porte le numéro 2131 (XX), qui a marqué une étape importante dans les relations entre les Etats en réaffirmant solennellement le principe de la non-intervention, et elle proclame dans les termes les plus catégoriques l'intérêt vital que présente pour les nations et les peuples coloniaux l'exercice de leur droit à la libre détermination et à l'indépendance. Les Nations Unies démontrent ainsi sa façon ferme et inébranlable de lutter pour un monde plus juste et mieux organisé, où la paix et la concorde règnent entre les peuples.

127. Comme je l'ai dit au début de mon intervention, ce débat marque aussi le moment d'établir un bilan, parce qu'il permet de procéder à une évaluation globale du processus de décolonisation. Au cours des dernières années, on a constaté de remarquables progrès qui ont eu des répercussions considérables sur la politique internationale et, par voie de conséquence, au sien de l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Cette année, nous sommes heureux de souhaiter la bienvenue à un nouvel Etat indépendant, la République populaire du Yémen du Sud, qui est entré ce matin même aux Nations Unies en qualité de Membre. Nous saluons en un tel jour ce peuple courageux et nous lui souhaitons la paix et la prospérité.

128. D'autre part, le bilan dont nous avons parlé révèle un solde négatif, que nous avons le devoir de dénoncer. Des foyers de résistance à la décolonisation subsistent encore ouvertement et l'on ne saurait en dissimuler la gravité. Ces foyers se développent avec une intensité particulière dans la partie australe méridionale du continent africain. C'est avec réalisme et avec regret que nous constatons qu'il faudra encore beaucoup de temps pour aboutir au règlement qui mettra fin à la situation actuelle de cette partie du globe. Ainsi, nos débats à la Quatrième Commission

se sont-ils enrichis de thèmes nouveaux, notamment celui des activités des intérêts étrangers, économiques et autres, qui empêchent l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, ou celui de l'application des dispositions de cette déclaration par les organisations internationales et les institutions spécialisées liées aux Nations Unies.

129. Mon pays suit avec sympathie tous les efforts de nature à parfaire la politique de décolonisation définie en termes particuliers par la Déclaration qui figure dans la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale.

130. A mesure que des pays et des peuples coloniaux accèdent à l'indépendance en nombre croissant, on distingue mieux les situations particulièrement difficiles et les résistances acharnées. Comme nous l'avons indiqué, la première place est occupée dans ce tableau par la situation extrêmement grave qui caractérise la totalité du cône sud de l'Afrique. Il est incontestable que cette situation menace la paix et la sécurité internationales. L'Assemblée générale, pour sa part, l'a reconnu dans nombre de résolutions, de même que le Conseil de sécurité, c'est-à-dire l'organe que la Charte des Nations Unies a chargé de déterminer l'existence d'une menace contre la paix, d'une rupture de la paix, ou d'un acte d'agression.

131. Dans cette région, les éléments les plus caractéristiques du colonialisme s'associent aux méthodes de la ségrégation raciale, de la répression et de l'injustice sociale. La politique de l'apartheid, imposée par le Gouvernement de la République sud-africaine, constitue la forme la plus raffinée de l'oppression.

132. Les puissances administrantes et les pays qui appliquent l'apartheid, ou qui apportent leur appui à son application par leurs actions ou leurs omissions, se chargent d'une lourde responsabilité devant la communauté internationale. Si celle-ci n'adopte pas une attitude plus énergique et positive, les obstacles qui retardent la libération des grandes masses africaines encore opprimées ne cesseront de s'accumuler et contribueront sans cesse davantage à aggraver une situation déjà tendue.

133. En quelques mots, je voudrais indiquer ici certains principes que mon gouvernement considère comme essentiels pour accélérer le processus de la décolonisation. En premier lieu, nous attachons une importance fondamentale à toute l'œuvre que les Nations Unies accomplissent, par l'intermédiaire de l'Organisation de l'unité africaine, pour aider les mouvements de libération. Il faut intensifier cette action, car elle est le moyen de progresser, dans le sérieux et la responsabilité, vers la libération finale des peuples qui subissent encore la domination coloniale.

134. En second lieu, nous pensons que l'existence de bases militaires sur les territoires coloniaux oppose un obstacle réel à la libération des peuples qui y vivent; nous voudrions que les puissances administrantes fassent tout ce qui est en leur pouvoir pour démanteler les installations existantes et s'abstiennent évidemment d'en établir de nouvelles dans les

territoires soumis à leur administration; elles coopéreront de cette manière au processus de la décolonisation.

135. En troisième lieu, nous estimons que l'Assemblée générale devrait accorder une attention particulière au problème des petits territoires. Un certain nombre de résolutions ont déjà insisté sur ce point et nous sommes persuadés que ce problème complexe devra être examiné dans un proche avenir avec toute l'attention qu'il mérite, comme l'a indiqué le Secrétaire général U Thant dans l'introduction à son rapport annuel sur les travaux de l'Organisation. Il a déclaré:

"Il est bien entendu parfaitement légitime que les territoires même les plus petits, dans l'exercice de leur droit de libre détermination, accèdent à l'indépendance par l'application effective de la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. Mais il semble bon d'établir une distinction entre le droit à l'indépendance et le statut intégral de Membre de l'Organisation. Ce statut risque, d'une part, d'imposer aux "micro-Etats" des obligations trop lourdes et, d'autre part, de conduire à un affaiblissement de l'Organisation elle-même." [A/6701/Add.1, par. 164.]

136. Aux termes de l'Article 4 de la Charte, les Etats qui veulent devenir Membres des Nations Unies doivent être non seulement pacifiques, mais aussi, au jugement de l'Organisation, capables de remplir les obligations de la Charte et disposés à le faire. Nous approuvons ces critères essentiels.

137. Cela nous amène à la quatrième et dernière observation que nous désirons présenter. Nous pensons que l'Assemblée générale doit demander aux puissances administrantes d'accueillir les visites des missions des Nations Unies dans les territoires soumis à leur administration.

138. Au cours des dernières années, nous avons pu constater des exemples favorables, qui servent d'illustration à notre façon de voir. Dans le Pacifique, la Nouvelle-Zélande a coopéré tout particulièrement avec les Nations Unies. Puissent les autres puissances suivre son exemple. L'Espagne, elle aussi, mérite nos félicitations. L'indépendance prochaine de la Guinée équatoriale, que nous attendons tous avec impatience, sera due en grande partie à la compréhension qui s'est manifestée entre les Etats Membres sur les problèmes véritables qui en suspendaient l'événement. Le Sous-Comité qui a visité la Guinée équatoriale a formulé un certain nombre de recommandations, qui ont servi de guide à l'Assemblée. Nous croyons sincèrement qu'il faut intensifier la coopération entre les puissances administrantes et les Nations Unies dans ce domaine si important.

139. Pour terminer, je souhaiterais formuler une idée que j'ai déjà eu l'occasion de verser aux débats de la Quatrième Commission: le Chili fait partie du Comité des Vingt-Quatre et il appuie fermement la politique de décolonisation des Nations Unies, car les principes en jeu sont les mêmes qu'il y a 150 ans, le jour où ils permirent d'édifier sa propre indépendance.

140. Lord CARADON (Royaume-Uni) [traduit de l'anglais]: Pendant les sept dernières années, j'ai eu bien souvent l'occasion de parler de la question dont nous sommes maintenant saisis, au Conseil de tutelle, dans les commissions des Nations Unies et au sein de cette assemblée.

141. Au cours de cette période de sept années, 19 autres pays autrefois sous administration britannique ont accédé à l'indépendance et tous sont maintenant représentés ici dans l'Assemblée. Le chiffre total de la population de ces pays s'élève à près de 50 millions.

142. Depuis le début de l'année dernière, cinq autres territoires britanniques sont devenus indépendants. Deux de plus les rejoindront d'ici à notre prochaine session. Cinq autres ont été décolonisés par l'exercice de leur faculté de s'administrer eux-mêmes et une association volontaire avec le Royaume-Uni.

143. Ainsi le progrès continue sans interruption et nous avons maintenant pratiquement achevé cette tâche historique de conversion d'une empire assujéti en un libre Commonwealth. En moins d'un quart de siècle, un quart de la population mondiale, autrefois sous administration britannique, a accédé à l'indépendance. Maintenant plus de 99 p. 100 des habitants du Commonwealth, c'est-à-dire plus de 700 millions d'hommes, sont devenus des citoyens dans des nations libres. C'est là, à n'en pas douter, l'un des événements marquants de notre génération et l'une des principales réussites de ce siècle. En outre, cette transformation s'est effectuée pour une grande part dans la paix et la coopération.

144. Pour l'écrasante majorité des Etats qui ont débouché de l'autorité britannique en accédant à l'indépendance, la transformation s'est faite non pas dans la division et le conflit, mais dans l'union et l'accord. Dans presque tous les territoires britanniques, l'indépendance a été acquise à l'apogée d'années de coopération et de préparation sur la base du suffrage des adultes, des parlements libres, des tribunaux indépendants et de la création d'écoles et d'universités. Certes, nous avons commis bien des erreurs, mais nous avons été constamment guidés par les principes de la consultation et du consentement. Nous nous acquitterons des responsabilités qui nous restent par les mêmes méthodes et guidés par les mêmes principes. Nous franchirons les étapes futures comme les étapes passées. Nous ne nous déroberons pas devant nos responsabilités et nous ne pouvons pas les partager. Nous conduirons les territoires dépendants dont nous sommes encore responsables à une indépendance honorable par la libre détermination.

145. Je suis moi-même en mesure de parler de ces questions avec une certaine expérience. Pendant de nombreuses années, en Arabie, en Afrique, et dans les Indes occidentales, j'ai travaillé avec des Arabes, des Africains et des Antillais, à établir des systèmes de libre gouvernement et à élaborer des constitutions en vue de l'indépendance. En même temps, j'ai travaillé avec les habitants des territoires dans lesquels m'appelaient mes fonctions pour réaliser des progrès sur la voie de développement économique, afin que l'indépendance, lorsque son heure viendrait, soit

renforcée par la perspective d'une prospérité croissante. Tous les pays dans lesquels j'ai servi sont maintenant indépendants.

146. Nous n'avons certes jamais prétendu que les problèmes auxquels ces pays se heurtaient pouvaient tous être résolus à l'avance. Il en est dont il vaut mieux s'occuper après l'indépendance qu'avant. Ce que nous prétendons, c'est que nous nous sommes efforcés de donner aux pays du Commonwealth lors de leur accession à l'indépendance un bon départ dans la liberté. Nul ne pourra nous ôter ce glorieux état de services.

147. Compte tenu de cette expérience, je dois admettre qu'en lisant certains des discours prononcés ici et, surtout, certaines des interventions des membres du Comité des Vingt-Quatre, j'éprouve les plus grandes difficultés à reconnaître le tableau qu'ils présentent du processus de la décolonisation. J'ai le regret de dire que c'est bien souvent une image déformée. Souvent même il s'agit d'une image qui ne ressemble en rien à la réalité.

148. Nous aurions pu espérer qu'à l'heure où nous approchons de la fin du colonialisme il aurait été possible de travailler dans la bonne intelligence et le respect mutuel avec ceux qui représentent maintenant les nouveaux Etats aux Nations Unies. Nous espérons pouvoir le faire, afin d'appliquer les leçons du passé aux problèmes qui subsistent encore et qui, bien que relativement plus exigus, n'en sont pas moins les plus compliqués et les plus difficiles. Je constate avec regret que cette coopération, ce respect mutuel, font trop souvent défaut. Trop souvent les discours que j'entends et les discours que je lis sont la répétition de slogans périmés et d'erreurs idéologiques.

149. Nous n'attendons pas de compréhension de la part des pays qui n'ont aucune expérience du gouvernement libre. Ce ne sont pas des experts de l'affranchissement. Ils n'ont aucune expérience de l'émancipation. Cependant nous pouvons avec quelque raison attendre de la compréhension de la part des représentants de nouvelles nations. La plupart d'entre eux, j'en suis certain, comprennent fort bien les impératifs et les méthodes du progrès vers l'indépendance. Ils comprennent aussi que les rares territoires coloniaux encore dépendants n'ont pas accédé à l'indépendance pour des raisons particulières, découlant souvent de la nécessité de surmonter des difficultés spéciales, comme le manque de ressources, l'exiguïté, l'éloignement géographique et, dans certains cas, les divisions raciales. Sans ces problèmes particuliers, ces pays eux aussi seraient devenus indépendants il y a bien longtemps.

150. Il subsiste certains malentendus et je me demande pourquoi. Je crois qu'ils s'expliquent par trois raisons principales. Tout d'abord, il y a la confusion entre les problèmes coloniaux, d'une part, et les problèmes raciaux, de l'autre. Deuxièmement, il y a la supposition erronée que les relations entre un peuple colonial et l'autorité administrante doivent nécessairement prendre la forme d'une querelle et d'un conflit. Troisièmement, il y a l'illusion trop facile que, malgré leur complication, les problèmes coloniaux non encore résolus peuvent l'être tous par la

décolonisation immédiate, sans tenir compte des circonstances propres à chaque affaire.

151. Une grande partie de notre temps, au Comité des Vingt-Quatre, à la Quatrième Commission et au sein de cette assemblée, est naturellement consacrée aux problèmes de l'Afrique méridionale. Nous voyons les forces du nationalisme africain au nord du fleuve Zambèze et les forces de la suprématie blanche au sud de ce fleuve se faire face et s'affronter. Cet affrontement crée, j'en suis persuadé depuis longtemps, l'un des plus grands périls du monde, le péril d'un conflit racial, qui embraserait toute l'Afrique et s'étendrait au monde entier. Je ne me plains pas de ce que l'attention se fixe sur ce problème menaçant. J'ai constaté que l'ambassadeur de Tanzanie lui consacrait la plus grande partie de son discours [1627ème séance] et la plupart de ses remarques sur la gravité de cette question m'ont paru fondées. Je me bornerai maintenant à dire qu'il est de la plus grande importance que nous reconnaissions honnêtement ce que nous pouvons faire et ce que nous ne pouvons pas faire encore et que nous nous efforcions de prendre des dispositions dans les limites de nos compétences indiscutables. Nous commettrions une très grave erreur, nous encouragerions ceux qui maintiennent la suprématie blanche et nous affaiblirions les Nations Unies si nous nous persuadions que des résolutions vides de sens peuvent tenir lieu d'action efficace.

152. Ce que je voudrais souligner maintenant, c'est que les problèmes de l'Afrique méridionale ne sont pas des problèmes coloniaux: ce sont des problèmes raciaux. La Rhodésie n'a jamais été une colonie en ce sens qu'elle a été administrée par la Grande-Bretagne. Elle s'administre elle-même depuis plus de 40 ans. Le centre de l'injustice raciale, la République sud-africaine, est un Etat souverain et indépendant depuis plus longtemps encore. S'il s'était agi là de problèmes coloniaux, ils auraient été beaucoup plus faciles à résoudre. C'est parce qu'il s'agit de problèmes raciaux que les difficultés et les dangers sont si grands. Cela ne peut nous servir à rien, ni nous aider à trouver des solutions d'omettre d'établir la distinction entre, d'une part, le colonialisme, qui touche heureusement à sa fin, et, d'autre part, la domination raciale, qui constitue encore, à mon avis, le plus grave de tous les dangers qui menacent le monde.

153. La seconde erreur dont j'ai parlé, c'est la supposition erronée selon laquelle un peuple colonial doit toujours être en conflit avec la puissance administrante. Sur ce point, je peux prendre l'exemple des Fidji. Le Comité des Vingt-Quatre ne tient aucun compte des preuves nombreuses qui établissent qu'une grande partie de l'opinion, aux Fidji, désire établir par ses propres moyens et le moment venu le cadre de la coopération et de la bonne entente entre les races. Il n'est pas question d'une lutte pour l'indépendance. Il n'y a pas de conflit entre la population et la puissance administrante. Au contraire, nous agissons à Fidji, comme ailleurs, sur la base des principes bien établis de la consultation et du consentement. Cependant, le Comité recommence chaque année à formuler l'exigence rigide d'une indépendance immédiate et fait appel au Royaume-Uni pour qu'il rase en une journée toutes les assises de l'édifice

que les habitants eux-mêmes ont commencé d'édifier avec soin, dans un effort commun d'entente et de coopération raciales.

154. De même, en ce qui concerne les Etats associés des Antilles, le Comité a refusé de reconnaître et de respecter les vœux librement exprimés par la population. Depuis le début de cette année, les Etats associés sont devenus des entités autonomes au sein d'une association libre et volontaire avec la Grande-Bretagne, à laquelle ils peuvent mettre fin à tout moment, par une libre décision de leur part. Néanmoins, le Comité ne semble pas avoir compris l'importance de cette nouvelle expérience dans le domaine de l'idée d'autodétermination et n'avoir même pas reconnu, ni respecté, le vote unanime des parlements élus de chacun des territoires intéressés. De nombreux mois après l'établissement du nouveau statut autonome de ces territoires, et après qu'ils eurent pris leur place légitime parmi les peuples émancipés du monde, le Comité des Vingt-Quatre s'est donné en spectacle de manière ridicule en exigeant que la Grande-Bretagne leur permette d'exercer leur droit à la libre détermination.

155. Le Comité nous a donné un autre exemple éloquent de partialité lorsqu'il a fait sienne la doctrine étonnante selon laquelle les pétitions doivent être étouffées et leur distribution interdite si elles renferment des critiques à l'adresse d'un pays qui n'est plus une puissance administrante, mais elles doivent être accueillies et publiées sur le champ si elles critiquent ou insultent la puissance administrante.

156. Ce sont ces exemples de partialité qui compromettent tant la réputation du Comité et qui font tant de mal à la réputation des Nations Unies dans leur ensemble.

157. Je passe au troisième malentendu, qui consiste à croire que la décolonisation immédiate, quelles que soient les circonstances, signifie nécessairement l'accroissement de la liberté. A un autre moment de la séance d'aujourd'hui, nous avons discuté la question de Gibraltar. La population de Gibraltar exerce les droits essentiels de la liberté de parole, de réunion et d'association. Elle a des partis politiques libres et elle jouit de la liberté syndicale, du droit d'exprimer son dissentiment, du suffrage universel et du scrutin secret. Plus d'un pays indépendant ne peut pas en dire autant. De plus, la population de Gibraltar a le droit de manifester ses propres opinions et de faire respecter ses propres désirs. Conformément aux principes du Chapitre XI de la Charte, la primauté de ses intérêts est reconnue. Néanmoins, nous avons assisté au spectacle étrange d'un comité chargé de la mise en œuvre de la décolonisation qui déclarait que l'on ne devait ni entendre la voix du peuple ni tenir compte de ses désirs.

158. Malgré ces erreurs, le progrès des territoires coloniaux dont la Grande-Bretagne est responsable se poursuit. L'année prochaine, avant notre prochaine session, l'île Maurice et le Souaziland doivent atteindre aussi la plénitude de l'indépendance et de la souveraineté. A part les cas spéciaux de la Rhodésie du Sud et de Hong-kong, il va rester à peine un million de personnes dans des territoires encore soumis à l'administration britannique, à peine un million,

alors que plus de 700 millions sont déjà passés de l'autorité du Royaume-Uni à l'indépendance.

159. Je voudrais qu'en traitant maintenant des territoires coloniaux, rares et dispersés, qui ne sont pas encore autonomes, nous puissions compter sur l'état d'esprit de coopération et le sens des responsabilités de tous ceux que la question concerne ici, aux Nations Unies. Toutefois, alors que les quelques problèmes coloniaux qui subsistent deviennent plus complexes, les solutions recommandées par le Comité deviennent plus frustes. A mesure que les objectifs se raréfient, le tir se dérègle. A mesure que le Comité porte moins de responsabilités, il manque davantage de sérieux.

160. Lorsque j'entends proférer des outrages et des insultes à l'adresse de ceux d'entre nous qui se consacrent à la tâche sérieuse consistant à mettre fin au colonialisme une fois pour toutes, je suis réconforté par les commentaires des dirigeants responsables au nombre desquels figurent plusieurs personnalités avec qui j'ai eu le privilège de travailler pendant de nombreuses années pour résoudre les problèmes pratiques de la décolonisation.

161. Je me souviens du jour où, au Conseil de tutelle, j'étais assis à côté de M. Julius Nyerere, aujourd'hui Président de la République-Unie de Tanzanie, peu de temps avant l'accession du Malawi à l'indépendance. Voici ce qu'il a déclaré:

"On m'a souvent demandé pourquoi cette transition vers l'indépendance s'était faite avec si peu de heurts au Tanganyika. Je suis persuadé qu'il existe de nombreuses raisons pour cela. Mais la raison capitale est le fait que nous soyons un territoire sous tutelle sous administration britannique... Trois éléments étaient nécessaires pour que ces objectifs puissent être atteints sans heurts... un Conseil de tutelle qui assume ses responsabilités avec sérieux et probité... une Autorité administrante qui soit sensible à l'opinion publique mondiale... un peuple uni et déterminé à obtenir l'indépendance... Je rends hommage à mes amis britanniques, dont nous avons exploité la sensibilité à l'opinion publique mondiale plus d'une fois, tant aux Nations Unies qu'en dehors^{4/}."

162. Ainsi s'exprimait celui qui est maintenant le Président de la Tanzanie. C'est sur des preuves de ce genre que nous nous appuyons et ce sont là les preuves qui nous donnent confiance dans notre détermination de mener à bien notre tâche sans faillir.

163. M. RAKOTOMALALA (Madagascar): Voici sept ans que l'Assemblée générale a proclamé solennellement la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. Depuis lors, son application a fait, chaque année, l'objet d'un point spécial et distinct de l'ordre du jour de notre assemblée. Madagascar a l'honneur d'être membre du Comité des Vingt-Quatre depuis sa création et, à ce titre, la question du colonialisme est une de celles sur lesquelles la délégation malgache s'est penchée avec le plus de conscience. Elle a participé à toutes les réunions tenues aussi bien à New York qu'en Afrique.

^{4/} Documents officiels de l'Assemblée générale, seizième session, Supplément No 4 (A/4818), chap. 6, par. 24.

164. Au cours de la dernière décennie, plusieurs nouveaux Etats indépendants ont été libérés du joug du colonialisme. Toutefois, malgré les efforts déployés par l'Organisation des Nations Unies et ses divers organes, des millions d'êtres humains continuent d'être soumis à la domination coloniale.

165. Conscients de la gravité du problème colonial dans son ensemble, le Gouvernement et le peuple malgaches estiment que tous les peuples ont un droit inaliénable à la pleine liberté, à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance. Madagascar, pour sa part, apportera sa contribution à la lutte menée pour faire disparaître les derniers vestiges du colonialisme dans toutes ses manifestations et sous toutes ses formes.

166. Nous sommes de l'avis de ceux qui pensent que quelques puissances n'ont pas suffisamment œuvré pour faciliter la tâche du Comité spécial dans sa recherche des moyens appropriés en vue d'assurer rapidement l'application de la déclaration contenue dans la résolution 1514 (XV). D'autres Etats se montrent plus ou moins réticents pour mettre en œuvre les résolutions pertinentes des Nations Unies. Les puissances administrantes doivent bien se pénétrer de l'idée qu'elles ont la charge d'une haute mission qui est d'assurer la prospérité des territoires qui leur sont confiés. Les dispositions de la Charte stipulent que l'administration doit être faite uniquement dans l'intérêt des peuples et non dans celui de l'autorité administrante; d'ailleurs l'Article 73 affirme le principe de la primauté des intérêts des habitants des territoires colonisés.

167. Cependant, par exemple sur la question de la Rhodésie du Sud, ma délégation espère qu'une solution efficace sera bientôt trouvée pour amener le régime rebelle, illégal et minoritaire de Salisbury à la raison et pour restaurer la légalité constitutionnelle. Les droits des peuples opprimés du Zimbabwe ne doivent pas être méconnus par le régime d'Ian Smith, fondé sur la primauté raciale. Tous les peuples épris de paix doivent unir leurs efforts pour se conformer aux résolutions de l'Assemblée générale et à celles du Conseil de sécurité.

168. Le Gouvernement et le peuple malgaches sont contre le racisme et désapprouvent donc la politique d'apartheid appliquée en Afrique du Sud. Madagascar est solidaire de tous les Etats africains dans leurs efforts pour que le racisme soit combattu partout où il existe.

169. A l'occasion de la Journée internationale pour l'élimination de la discrimination raciale, mon chef d'Etat, Philibert Tsiranana, s'est adressé à la nation en ces termes:

"L'apartheid est non seulement une injustice profonde, mais encore un régime qui prive ses victimes de tout espoir de se libérer de l'oppression sans une mobilisation de l'opinion internationale et sans une action internationale. C'est pourquoi nous, Malgaches, nous solidarisons avec les Nations Unies pour favoriser l'élimination du racisme et faciliter l'édification, surtout en Afrique, d'une société non raciale basée sur l'égalité de tous quant aux droits de l'homme et aux libertés fondamentales."

170. En ce qui concerne le Sud-Ouest africain, ma délégation estime que la République sud-africaine n'a plus aucun droit sur ce territoire. Le mandat qui lui a été confié est terminé. De toute façon, ce gouvernement n'est pas compétent pour modifier unilatéralement le statut du Sud-Ouest africain.

171. Ma délégation a voté en faveur de la résolution [2145 (XXI)] mettant fin au mandat de la République sud-africaine sur le territoire du Sud-Ouest africain.

172. Nous déplorons l'arrestation de 37 ressortissants du Sud-Ouest africain ainsi que leur emprisonnement et leur mise en jugement par le Gouvernement de Pretoria, faits qui, aux yeux de ma délégation, constituent une violation du statut international du territoire et de la résolution 2145 (XXI) de l'Assemblée générale. Nous souhaitons que l'Afrique du Sud, devant le sursaut de la conscience universelle, renonce à son comportement actuel dans cette triste affaire.

173. Ma délégation confirme également notre position pour ce qui est des territoires sous administration portugaise. La politique coloniale de Lisbonne, fondée sur la force, ne doit plus continuer. Il doit y être mis fin. Ce n'est pas en défiant l'opinion mondiale que le Portugal réussira à régler la question de ce qu'il persiste à appeler "les provinces portugaises sur le sol africain".

174. Pour ce qui est du problème de la décolonisation en général, ma délégation partage l'idée selon laquelle l'Organisation des Nations Unies devrait accorder le maximum d'attention aux petits territoires. En effet, au cours de l'année 1967, on a enregistré quelques remous dans les régions des Antilles et du Pacifique. Il faudrait, de l'avis de ma délégation, que les puissances administrantes puissent, de concert avec l'Organisation des Nations Unies et ses institutions spécialisées, accroître les moyens de formation culturelle, administrative et technique dont l'insuffisance risque de freiner le processus classique de la décolonisation. Il faudrait également que l'opinion publique soit informée de toutes les possibilités qui s'offrent à elle, afin de lui permettre de se prononcer librement sur son statut futur au moyen de référendums organisés sous les auspices des Nations Unies et selon le principe démocratique "à chacun une voix".

175. Une autre solution serait également de permettre aux petits territoires qui, pour l'instant, ne sont pas dans une situation économiquement viable, de s'associer à un Etat ou à un groupe d'Etats de leur choix, sous forme de fédération ou de confédération, avec l'appui des Nations Unies. Ma délégation estime que cela pourrait répondre de façon concrète aux objectifs de la Charte et de la déclaration contenue dans la résolution 1514 (XV).

176. Au cours des délibérations du Comité des Vingt-Quatre et des sous-comités subsidiaires de ce dernier, la majorité des délégations ont mis l'accent sur la nécessité de missions de visite des Nations Unies dans les petits territoires non autonomes des Antilles, de l'océan Indien et de l'océan Pacifique. Je suis sûr que la majorité des délégations reconnaîtront que ces missions de visite présentent un intérêt indiscutable; en effet, elles permettent d'obtenir des renseignements d'une valeur inappréciable sur la situation

exacte dans ces territoires et de connaître sur place l'opinion, la volonté et les aspirations des habitants quand elles ne se sont pas encore manifestées par des moyens légaux.

177. Ici, je voudrais lancer un appel aux diverses puissances administrantes afin qu'elles puissent aider le Comité spécial à s'acquitter des lourdes tâches qui lui ont été confiées par l'Assemblée générale, en lui offrant pleine et entière assistance pour la mise en œuvre de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux.

178. Je ne voudrais pas terminer sans rendre hommage aux efforts déployés par le Comité des Vingt-Quatre au cours de l'année 1967, et j'espère que l'Assemblée générale continuera de lui fournir tous les moyens dont elle dispose pour la réussite aussi rapide que possible de sa mission.

179. C'est avec une grande satisfaction que je salue ici, au nom de la République malgache, l'indépendance de la République populaire du Yémen du Sud et son admission à l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Quelle

meilleure récompense de nos efforts que cette éclatante consécration, cette preuve que nos efforts n'ont pas été vains. Au nouvel Etat, nous adressons nos félicitations et nos vœux de bonheur et de prospérité.

180. Dans quelques semaines, au moins deux nouveaux Etats, Nauru et l'île Maurice, vont accéder à l'indépendance et demanderont leur admission dans notre Organisation. D'ores et déjà nous nous en réjouissons et formons le souhait que Nauru et l'île Maurice poursuivent paisiblement et heureusement leur marche vers le progrès.

181. J'ai déclaré, à maintes reprises, du haut de cette tribune, que la question coloniale n'est pas une question uniquement africaine mais doit intéresser tous les Etats, grands et petits. C'est dans cette optique que nous devons agir loyalement, courageusement afin de hâter l'avènement d'un avenir où les peuples encore sous domination coloniale pourront exercer leur droit inaliénable à la liberté, à l'indépendance et à la dignité.

La séance est levée à 17 h 50.

Nations Unies
ASSEMBLÉE
GÉNÉRALE

VINGT-DEUXIÈME SESSION

Documents officiels



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SÉANCE PLÉNIÈRE

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NEW YORK

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43. Le PRÉSIDENT (traduit de l'anglais): Je donne la parole au représentant de la République-Unie de Tanzanie, qui désire présenter le projet de résolution distribué sous la cote A/L.541.

44. M. MALECELA (République-Unie de Tanzanie) [traduit de l'anglais]: Avant de présenter le projet de résolution A/L.541, je tiens à informer l'Assemblée que la Yougoslavie doit être considérée comme l'un de ses auteurs initiaux.

45. C'est la délégation tanzanienne qui a ouvert le débat sur la question de la décolonisation. Dès le début de mon exposé, j'ai même souligné le peu de chemin qui avait été parcouru sur la voie de la décolonisation et combien il restait à faire dans ce domaine, à l'égard des derniers territoires coloniaux. Je me suis également efforcé de dégager les raisons pour lesquelles cette question ne progresse pas aussi rapidement qu'elle le devrait, en signalant certains des obstacles qui s'opposent à sa solution.

46. Si l'on considère la complexité de la situation, si l'on songe au nombre de territoires en cause et à la multiplicité des problèmes qui se posent, on comprendra certainement que ce projet de résolution soit peut-être l'un des plus longs que cette assemblée pourra adopter. Je me permets cette simple remarque parce que le dispositif du projet comporte 22 paragraphes.

47. Au nom de ses auteurs, la délégation tanzanienne a donc l'honneur de présenter ce projet. Je n'importunerai pas l'Assemblée avec la lecture de tous les paragraphes du préambule et je n'ai pas davantage l'intention de reprendre le détail de son dispositif, pour la simple raison qu'il est identique à celui des autres résolutions que nous avons adoptées au sujet de la décolonisation. Je tiens cependant à insister sur certains paragraphes que je considère de la plus haute importance. En premier lieu, je voudrais appeler l'attention de l'Assemblée sur le paragraphe 6 du dispositif de ce projet qui est libellé comme suit:

"Réaffirme qu'elle reconnaît la légitimité de la lutte que les peuples coloniaux mènent pour l'exercice de leur droit à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance, et note avec satisfaction les progrès accomplis dans les territoires coloniaux par les mouvements de libération nationale tant par la lutte qu'ils mènent que par la mise en œuvre de programmes de relèvement, et prie instamment tous les Etats de leur apporter une aide morale et matérielle".

48. J'ai insisté sur l'importance de ce paragraphe parce que la plupart des auteurs estiment nécessaire que la communauté internationale joue efficacement son rôle en matière de décolonisation. Je sais certes que la légitimité de la lutte des combattants de la liberté a été reconnue au cours de précédentes sessions de l'Assemblée. Toutefois, comme c'est là un principe fondamental en matière de décolonisation, les auteurs du projet de résolution ont estimé qu'il y avait lieu de le répéter. Je tiens, bien sûr, à insister tout particulièrement sur la dernière partie de ce paragraphe où tous les Etats sont invités à apporter une aide morale et matérielle aux combattants de la liberté. Ces mots, certes, seraient vides de sens si les membres de cette communauté internationale que représente l'ONU se bornaient à répéter qu'ils soutiennent les mouvements en faveur de la liberté. Si nous devons continuer à affirmer que nous sommes partisans de la démocratie dans le monde — ce que nous avons dit est en fait ce que pensent de nombreuses délégations représentées ici —, il est alors capital que la communauté internationale vienne en aide à ceux qui luttent contre les régimes d'oppression et contre les régimes racistes — ceux d'Afrique australe notamment — bref, à tous ceux qui combattent l'oppression dans le monde. Il va donc de soi que ceux d'entre nous qui sont en faveur de la liberté et de l'indépendance doivent prêter assistance à ces combattants de la liberté.

49. Le paragraphe sur lequel je voudrais ensuite appeler l'attention des membres de l'Assemblée est le paragraphe 8 du dispositif qui:

"Prie tous les Etats, agissant soit directement, soit par l'intermédiaire des institutions internationales dont ils sont membres, y compris les institutions spécialisées, de s'abstenir de fournir une assistance quelconque aux Gouvernements portugais et sud-africain et au régime minoritaire raciste illégal de la Rhodésie du Sud tant que ces gouvernements et ce régime n'auront pas renoncé à leur politique de domination coloniale et de discrimination raciale".

*Reprise des débats de la 1631ème séance.

50. Point n'est besoin pour moi d'explicitier ce paragraphe; mais il est de fait que plus ces trois régimes sont aidés par la communauté internationale, plus ils sont en mesure de maintenir leurs systèmes odieux que cette même communauté internationale a condamnés. En fait, l'ONU manquerait à ses obligations si elle condamnait l'apartheid et le colonialisme portugais, alors que ceux-là mêmes qui ont dénoncé ces régimes du haut de cette tribune continuent de leur fournir une assistance économique ou autre. Ce paragraphe s'adresse donc directement à la communauté internationale. Dans ce cas particulier, je tiens à dire très franchement que l'appel pour que cesse toute aide économique à ces régimes s'adresse surtout aux pays occidentaux. Je regrette cette précision parce qu'il y a quelques jours j'ai déclaré que le système colonial était une émanation du système impérialiste occidental et nous espérons qu'un sentiment de honte incitera les impérialistes occidentaux à faire en sorte que ce colonialisme disparaisse. Les peuples d'Afrique et d'autres parties du monde qui luttent contre le colonialisme y sont fermement résolus. Ils sont donc en droit de s'attendre que la communauté internationale (ou du moins ceux de ses membres qui sont partisans de la liberté) n'aille pas aider leurs ennemis mêmes qui nient les droits fondamentaux de l'homme et suppriment la liberté dans le sud de l'Afrique, comme dans d'autres parties du monde d'ailleurs.

51. Je voudrais encore souligner aux divers représentants l'importance du paragraphe 10 du dispositif qui:

"Prie les puissances coloniales de démanteler leurs bases et installations militaires dans les territoires coloniaux, ainsi que de s'abstenir d'en établir de nouvelles et d'utiliser celles qui existent encore pour entraver la libération des peuples des territoires coloniaux dans l'exercice de leurs droits légitimes à la liberté et à l'indépendance".

52. Je sais qu'à plusieurs occasions on nous a dit ici que la question des bases militaires était d'un autre ordre. Tantôt on nous a laissé entendre qu'il s'agissait peut-être là d'une question de désarmement; tantôt on a insinué que tout Etat indépendant avait le droit de négocier la présence de ces bases sur son territoire. Ces arguments sont dénués de tout fondement et je tiens à les rejeter catégoriquement. En premier lieu, nous ne pouvons prétendre que l'installation d'une base militaire dans un pays colonial procède de la stratégie d'ensemble. D'ailleurs, si tel est le cas, tout ce que nous pouvons dire c'est que lorsqu'un pays accepte l'installation d'une base militaire sur son propre territoire, il court toujours le risque que la vie de ses ressortissants soit en péril, en cas d'attaque de cette base. Mais pour ce qui est des peuples vivant sous le joug colonial, je crains que ce ne soient pas eux qui décident, puisqu'ils sont pour ainsi dire annihilés; ils n'ont pas la liberté de décider de l'installation sur leur territoire de telle base militaire qui menace leur vie. Il est donc tout à fait faux de prétendre que cette question relève du désarmement et ce n'est du reste qu'un argument avancé par ceux qui possèdent des bases militaires dans les territoires coloniaux.

53. Je voudrais souligner ici les dangers inhérents à de telles bases. A plusieurs reprises, par exemple,

le Conseil de sécurité a dû se réunir pour examiner les intentions agressives du Portugal, notamment celles visant la République démocratique du Congo. Nombre de ces noires machinations se trament sur les bases militaires de l'Angola. Ce paragraphe revêt donc une importance capitale puisqu'il prie les puissances coloniales de démanteler leurs bases militaires dans les territoires coloniaux; ces bases ne constituent pas seulement un danger pour les peuples coloniaux, elles sont aussi un instrument utilisé contre les peuples qui luttent pour la liberté.

54. J'invite maintenant l'Assemblée à examiner le paragraphe 16 du dispositif qui:

"Prie le Comité spécial d'examiner l'observation par les Etats Membres de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux et des autres résolutions pertinentes relatives à la question de la décolonisation, en particulier celles qui concernent les territoires sous domination portugaise, la Rhodésie du Sud et le Sud-Ouest africain, et de rendre compte à ce sujet à l'Assemblée générale à sa vingt-troisième session".

55. Les membres de l'Assemblée admettront certainement avec moi que nous avons adopté bon nombre de résolutions sur cette question. En fait, si nous adoptons le projet de résolution qui a été présenté sur le Sud-Ouest africain, nous totaliserons au moins 75 résolutions sur ce seul problème. Il est inutile que je rappelle à l'Assemblée les résolutions que nous avons adoptées au sujet des colonies portugaises ou de la Rhodésie du Sud. On peut se demander pourquoi ces résolutions n'ont pas été appliquées, pourquoi certains Etats Membres qui ont siégé au sein de cette assemblée et adopté ces résolutions sont aussi les premiers à les ignorer. Aussi, dans ce paragraphe, prions-nous le Comité spécial de s'efforcer de tirer au clair les raisons qui empêchent leur mise en œuvre, qui empêchent des Etats Membres des Nations Unies d'appliquer des résolutions que les membres de cette assemblée ont adoptées à une écrasante majorité.

56. J'appelle maintenant l'attention de l'Assemblée sur le paragraphe 19 du dispositif qui:

"Prie le Comité spécial d'examiner et de soumettre à l'Assemblée générale, lors de sa vingt-troisième session, des recommandations concernant l'organisation, au début de 1969, d'une conférence spéciale de représentants des peuples coloniaux qui serait chargée notamment d'examiner les moyens les plus efficaces par lesquels la communauté internationale peut intensifier son assistance à ces peuples dans les efforts qu'ils déploient pour parvenir à l'autodétermination, à la liberté et à l'indépendance".

57. Il est évidemment inutile que je précise les intentions des auteurs de ce paragraphe. Il me suffit de dire que nous envisageons ici deux étapes. La première serait de faire étudier par le Comité spécial les incidences d'une telle conférence, c'est-à-dire les mesures à prendre sur le plan de son organisation. Une fois réglés tous ces détails, le Comité en ferait part à l'Assemblée générale, à sa vingt-troisième session, dans l'espoir qu'après approbation du rapport la conférence pourrait effectivement avoir lieu au début de 1969.

58. Pour terminer, j'insisterai sur le paragraphe 20 du dispositif du projet de résolution qui est rédigé comme suit:

"Prie le Secrétaire général de prendre des mesures concrètes en usant de tous les moyens dont il dispose, notamment les publications, la radio et la télévision, pour donner effet aux dispositions des résolutions 2105 (XX), 2189 (XXI), 2262 (XXII), 2270 (XXII) et 2288 (XXII) de l'Assemblée générale concernant la diffusion générale et suivie d'informations sur les travaux de l'Organisation des Nations Unies dans le domaine de la décolonisation, la situation dans les territoires coloniaux et la lutte constante menée par les peuples coloniaux pour leur libération".

59. Ce paragraphe revêt de l'importance à nos yeux parce qu'il arrive parfois que des gouvernements démocratiques prétendent être guidés dans leurs décisions par les désirs de la population. Si nous souhaitons que certains gouvernements changent de politique, il va sans dire que les intéressés devront être informés des maux inhérents au colonialisme. Aussi demandons-nous ici au Secrétaire général d'assurer la diffusion générale et suivie d'informations sur la situation dans les territoires coloniaux.

60. Je veux espérer que l'Assemblée adoptera ce projet de résolution à une forte majorité, comme elle l'a fait pour de précédentes résolutions. Si je parle de forte majorité, c'est parce que nous avons entendu condamner le colonialisme en de multiples occasions et de la bouche de presque tous les représentants de cette assemblée. La quasi-totalité des délégations s'est ici élevée contre le racisme. Ce projet de résolution ne fait donc que refléter le désir précis de la majorité des membres de l'Assemblée d'accélérer le processus de décolonisation. Ses auteurs espèrent qu'il ralliera le plus grand nombre de suffrages possible.

61. M. EL BOURI (Libye): Il y a bientôt sept ans que l'Assemblée générale, conformément à l'un des objectifs fondamentaux de notre charte, a adopté la résolution 1514 (XV) sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples colonisés. Malgré ce laps de temps, il y a encore des peuples qui vivent dans l'humiliation et dans la misère du joug colonial et raciste.

62. Rien que pour l'Afrique, où des dizaines de milliers d'hommes sont encore privés des bienfaits de la liberté et du réconfort de l'égalité, l'objectif des Nations Unies, qui est d'éliminer le colonialisme et d'instaurer la justice fondée sur la fraternité des hommes dans le monde, est loin d'avoir été atteint. L'arrière-garde du colonialisme et du racisme s'est concentrée dans la partie méridionale du continent africain, la plus riche, pour livrer ses dernières batailles, croyant pouvoir arrêter le cours de l'histoire et retarder l'homme dans sa poursuite inlassable du bonheur et du progrès.

63. La situation qui existe en Rhodésie du Sud est l'une des plus flagrantes manifestations de ce combat d'arrière-garde que le colonialisme et le racisme traqués livrent aux forces de la liberté, du progrès et de la justice. Une infime minorité de 220 000 émigrants croit pouvoir indéfiniment opprimer 4 millions d'Africains et disposer à son gré et à sa convenance

des ressources humaines et matérielles du pays. Cette minorité d'émigrants est parvenue à occuper les terres les plus riches du pays et à concentrer entre ses mains tous les éléments de la puissance publique, tous les facteurs de la richesse, tous les pouvoirs de l'éducation, jusqu'à réduire à la condition de paria le peuple du Zimbabwe qui, de mémoire d'homme, a été toujours le maître incontesté de sa terre.

64. En dépit de la résolution [232 (1966)] adoptée par le Conseil de sécurité reconnaissant que le maintien du régime Smith constituait une menace à la paix et à la sécurité internationales, le régime minoritaire a continué politiquement et économiquement à profiter de la confiance injustifiée placée par certains en l'efficacité des sanctions adoptées. Ce n'est plus un secret que les effets des sanctions sur l'économie de la Rhodésie du Sud ne sont pas assez importants pour provoquer la chute du régime Smith. Ces sanctions ne pourraient avoir d'effet sur l'évolution de l'économie rhodésienne que dans la mesure où elles seraient appliquées fidèlement par tous les pays, y compris l'Afrique du Sud et le Portugal.

65. Le régime Smith continue de nous défier et d'œuvrer pour neutraliser les effets des sanctions; il vise à créer la République rhodésienne et à mettre ainsi le monde devant un fait accompli. M. Smith a déclaré, le 17 février 1967, qu'il devenait de plus en plus difficile de s'opposer aux arguments qui militent en faveur de la création d'une république rhodésienne.

66. Si nous jetons un coup d'œil sur le sort de la population autochtone sud-africaine, nous constatons que la même tragédie s'y déroule. Le Gouvernement de l'Afrique du Sud, qui jouit de tous les avantages que lui confère sa qualité de Membre de l'ONU, pratique une politique de dédain absolu à l'égard tant des principes de la Charte des Nations Unies et de la Déclaration universelle des droits de l'homme que des résolutions de l'Assemblée générale et du Conseil de sécurité. Il est resté sourd à tous les appels qui lui ont été adressés en vue de la recherche d'une solution juste à la situation explosive que crée sa politique d'apartheid. Rien ne montre encore que les autorités de Pretoria veuillent exaucer le vœu unanime de la communauté internationale.

67. Nous n'insisterons pas sur le caractère du problème du Sud-Ouest africain. Un mandat de la Société des Nations avait confié à l'Afrique du Sud, en raison de sa proximité, le soin de conduire à l'indépendance les populations du Sud-Ouest africain. Comme tous les mandats de la Société des Nations, ce mandat a été transformé en tutelle en vertu de la Charte des Nations Unies. Toutes les puissances investies de tutelle ont accompli leur mission et ont aidé à accéder à l'indépendance et à la liberté les populations qui leur avaient été confiées, sauf les malheureuses populations du Sud-Ouest africain dont toutes les aspirations à la liberté ont été méconnues par le Gouvernement de Pretoria. Ces malheureuses populations gémissent encore sous l'oppression coloniale et raciste. Le Mandat, la tutelle ont été transformés, par une décision unilatérale, en une annexion pure et simple. Le Sud-Ouest africain a le malheur d'être l'une des terres les plus riches de notre planète.

68. Dans son consciencieux rapport [A/6897], le Conseil des Nations Unies pour le Sud-Ouest africain

nous a fourni des précisions sur l'attitude de défi de la République sud-africaine à l'égard de notre organisation ainsi que sur sa mauvaise foi évidente à respecter ses obligations internationales. Nous devons agir si nous voulons maintenir la confiance des peuples encore opprimés et sauvegarder le prestige de la communauté internationale.

69. Ma délégation est prête à adopter toutes décisions de notre assemblée, dans la ligne des recommandations du Conseil des Nations Unies pour le Sud-Ouest africain, en vue de permettre à cet organisme de s'acquitter de ses fonctions et de ses responsabilités.

70. Nous avons le même drame au Mozambique, en Angola et en Guinée dite portugaise, avec cette différence qu'il n'y a jamais eu vers ces territoires d'émigration aussi massive que vers l'Afrique du Sud et la Rhodésie du Sud. Ce n'est plus une minorité qui entend opprimer une majorité autochtone; c'est une ancienne puissance coloniale qui veut désespérément s'accrocher aux vestiges de son ancienne splendeur au point de vouloir, par une sorte d'aberration incroyable, considérer comme un prolongement de son territoire métropolitain européen ces lambeaux prospères de l'Afrique situés à des milliers de kilomètres du Portugal. C'est la même tactique qu'avaient adoptée d'autres puissances coloniales dans l'illusion de perpétuer leur domination sur certaines colonies, tactique à laquelle, en fin de compte, elles ont été obligées de renoncer.

71. Pendant près de cinq siècles, le Portugal a dominé ces malheureuses contrées, a drainé impitoyablement leurs ressources pour pallier les misères de son indigence économique. Que leur a-t-il apporté en retour? Rien. Ces pays sont en plein sous-développement; leur taux d'analphabétisme est peut-être le plus élevé du monde, leur revenu *per capita* est l'un des plus misérables; ils souffrent d'une absence totale d'infrastructure, de la privation de toute liberté politique. Leurs habitants ont en outre l'humiliation quotidienne d'être, dans leur propre pays, considérés comme des sous-êtres humains sans droit, sans qualité et sans titre, s'ils n'ont pas eu la faveur d'être décorés "évolués".

72. Ainsi, nous trouvons donc concentrées dans cette partie méridionale de l'Afrique, la plus riche du continent, toutes les forces du colonialisme, du racisme et de l'exploitation qui tentent dans un dernier sursaut de se moquer de l'opinion publique mondiale, du cours de l'histoire et des décisions des Nations Unies, pour conserver désespérément une situation destinée à suivre, quand même, le courant historique.

73. Pour nous, Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, interprètes fidèles des millions d'opprimés dans le monde qui ont placé leurs espoirs dans l'œuvre de justice et de réhabilitation de l'homme qui est notre mission essentielle, c'est le moment d'agir. Qu'a fait notre organisation, depuis 20 ans qu'elle existe, pour rallumer l'espoir presque éteint de ces peuples en plein désarroi moral? Elle a adopté résolution sur résolution, toutes plus inefficaces les unes que les autres et qui ne font qu'enhardir et renforcer la mauvaise volonté des colons de la Rhodésie du Sud, de l'Afrique du Sud, du Mozambique, de l'Angola et des autres territoires. Nous croyons que l'heure est arrivée pour notre organisation de prendre les

mesures réellement énergiques prévues par la Charte pour ramener, bon gré mal gré, dans la voie lumineuse choisie par la grande majorité des peuples de l'univers, ces frères égarés qui, par leur entêtement et leur incompréhension, peuvent conduire notre humanité à l'une des plus désastreuses aventures.

74. Bien que notre examen de ce point ait tendance à porter sur les territoires coloniaux les plus peuplés et faisant l'objet d'une controverse politique internationale, nous souhaitons néanmoins que tous les autres territoires coloniaux, petits ou grands, puissent jouir de leur droit inaliénable à l'autodétermination.

75. Dans ce même cadre, nous ne pouvons nous empêcher de mentionner la lutte héroïque du peuple de l'Arabie du Sud, qui a fini par avoir la victoire grâce à son courage et à sa bravoure. Ce peuple héroïque a, depuis des années, mené un combat acharné pour acquérir son droit à la liberté et a enfin, grâce à ses sacrifices et à ses souffrances, réussi à libérer son territoire national et à s'ériger en nation indépendante et souveraine sous le nom de République populaire du Yémen du Sud. Nous adressons nos plus vives félicitations à la nouvelle République sœur, à son peuple héroïque et à ses vaillants dirigeants. Nous lui souhaitons le plus grand succès, prospérité et progrès. Un hommage particulier doit être rendu au Comité des Vingt-Quatre pour sa contribution efficace, qui a rendu possible l'indépendance de ce territoire.

76. Le Comité des Vingt-Quatre a aussi tenu plusieurs réunions dans les pays limitrophes des territoires africains qui luttent encore pour leur indépendance, afin de pouvoir étudier de plus près la situation et de permettre aux pétitionnaires de mettre le Comité au courant des derniers développements dans ces territoires.

77. Le rapport que le Comité nous a soumis [A/6700/Rev.1] abonde en détails sur la situation tragique dans laquelle vivent les populations autochtones de l'Afrique méridionale et des autres territoires colonisés, ainsi que sur leur lutte, leurs sacrifices et leur volonté de se libérer.

78. Il ressort de l'étude de ce rapport que les intérêts économiques et l'appartenance du Portugal à l'OTAN jouent un rôle important et expliquent la persistance des régimes minoritaires et colonialistes dans leur défi aux Nations Unies et à la communauté internationale.

79. La délégation libyenne souhaiterait que les puissances qui ont encore des relations commerciales et des intérêts économiques dans la partie de l'Afrique subjuguée comprennent le danger qu'elles contribuent à créer dans cette partie du monde par le soutien économique qu'elles donnent aux régimes minoritaires et colonialistes et qu'elles respectent enfin la Charte des Nations Unies, dont elles sont signataires.

80. Il est certainement dans l'intérêt de ces puissances de ne pas continuer à avoir des relations économiques avec ces régimes; il est également dans l'intérêt même des puissances administrantes des territoires du Sud-Ouest africain, de la Rhodésie du Sud et des territoires portugais d'envisager une solution compatible avec leurs intérêts économiques et le principe de la liberté et de l'autodétermination. Elles devraient prendre exemple sur l'expérience de plu-

sieurs pays africains indépendants avec qui les anciennes puissances coloniales continuent à entretenir les meilleures relations et où une coopération et une collaboration sincères se sont établies au bénéfice des deux parties. Autrement, il est inconcevable qu'à l'époque de la bombe atomique et des grandes conquêtes scientifiques destinées au bien-être de l'humanité on puisse encore déplorer, comme une contradiction, le fait que des millions d'êtres humains doivent encore vivre dans la souffrance et l'oppression et se voient refuser le droit de disposer de leur propre destin.

81. Après avoir tant lutté pour arracher, lambeau par lambeau, leur proie au colonialisme et à l'impérialisme des siècles précédents, après avoir obtenu la participation des grandes puissances impériales d'hier à la libération de leurs anciennes colonies et à la transformation des structures d'un monde aboli, il est tout de même paradoxal que notre organisation se laisse tenir en échec, dans la partie finale de son œuvre de redressement, par quelques attardés du colonialisme et de l'impérialisme. Nous ne pouvons pas assister impuissants à la renaissance sournoise de ce que l'humanité avait pensé mettre définitivement au rancart à Nuremberg, c'est-à-dire le besoin avide d'expansion territoriale au mépris des règles de la communauté internationale, l'arrogance et la haine raciales, et l'euphorie engendrée par quelques succès militaires de circonstance.

82. Si nous n'agissons pas avec lucidité, fermeté et courage, dans le sens des objectifs de la Charte, tout sera bientôt à recommencer. Un nouvel impérialisme que rien ne justifie — ni le nombre des habitants, ni les ressources économiques, ni la puissance militaire avide d'expansion et ivre de haine — menace de remplacer les anciens impérialismes. De nouvelles formes de colonialisme au racisme exacerbé continueront à opprimer les malheureuses populations autochtones de l'Afrique méridionale et d'autres territoires qui ont été victimes de la violence et de l'ambition de la conquête.

83. Notre expérience nationale et celle d'autres peuples vaillants et glorieux, ainsi que notre connaissance de l'histoire nous amènent à la certitude réconfortante que l'on ne peut pas indéfiniment refuser la liberté et l'indépendance à ceux qui la réclament. Ceux-ci finissent toujours par l'obtenir quand ils veulent y mettre le prix en vies humaines, en sacrifices de toutes sortes que l'acquisition de ce bien précieux rend inévitables.

84. Aucune paix durable ne pourra être établie dans le monde tant qu'il existera des parties de notre globe où des minorités ethniques ou raciales essaieront de brimer et d'opprimer des millions d'êtres humains.

85. Le projet de résolution A/L.541, que le représentant de la Tanzanie vient de nous présenter, reflète notre préoccupation et indique la direction dans laquelle l'Assemblée générale devra procéder si elle veut réellement voir appliquer sa résolution 1514 (XV) et libérer les pays colonisés du joug colonial qui les opprime encore.

86. M. BUDO (Albanie): Chaque fois que l'Assemblée générale aborde l'examen de l'une des questions importantes qui figurent à son ordre du jour depuis de

longues années, telles que les questions relatives au colonialisme, les Etats Membres pacifiques constatent d'emblée, à leur grand regret, l'absence de tout progrès de la part de l'ONU vers le règlement de ces questions, ou mieux l'incapacité de celle-ci de contribuer à leur solution. Cet état de choses déplorable, cette impasse dans laquelle se trouve engagée depuis longtemps l'Organisation des Nations Unies est le résultat, chacun le sait fort bien, de la politique agressive et de domination mondiale que poursuivent les Etats-Unis d'Amérique, du soutien que cette puissance impérialiste donne aux autres puissances coloniales et de l'emprise pernicieuse qu'elle exerce au sein de cette organisation, emprise qui s'est encore aggravée davantage du fait de la collusion entre l'impérialisme américain et le révisionnisme soviétique. Dans chaque cas, dans chacune des questions examinées, la même exigence s'impose aux Etats Membres qui constituent la majorité: la nécessité indispensable de débarrasser l'ONU de cette emprise, de la faire se redresser et s'engager sur la voie correspondant aux aspirations légitimes des peuples et aux buts et principes fondamentaux de la Charte. Cette exigence est d'autant plus impérieuse que l'Organisation ne cesse de glisser toujours plus profondément sur la pente du déclin, ce qui ne peut que mener à sa ruine totale si l'on n'agit pas à temps.

87. Nous ne saurions manquer de relever, à cet égard, que l'échec scandaleux de cette organisation face à l'agression impérialiste israélienne de cet été contre les pays arabes et quant aux conséquences de cette agression, l'attitude de l'ONU depuis le début de cette agression et jusqu'à la résolution [242 (1967)] adoptée par le Conseil de sécurité le 22 novembre, ont compromis encore davantage son autorité et eu comme conséquence l'abaissement ultérieur des Nations Unies. C'est ce que nous prouve en particulier et de façon très évidente la présente session de l'Assemblée générale, qui est caractérisée par une paralysie lamentable, un fiasco complet dans tous les domaines de l'activité de l'Assemblée et devant tous les problèmes importants de son ordre du jour, ainsi que par un profond sentiment de frustration que manifestent, devant une telle situation, les représentants de nombreux pays épris de liberté et de paix. Le fait même que des questions aussi importantes que celles concernant le colonialisme et la discrimination raciale contre les peuples soient laissées de côté — non sans dessein de la part des deux grandes puissances qui commandent ici — pour être examinées à la hâte aux tous derniers jours de la session, est bien édifiant à cet égard.

88. Certes, les Etats-Unis et leurs alliés, les révisionnistes soviétiques, principaux responsables de tout cela, ne manqueront pas, ainsi que par le passé, de s'efforcer par toutes sortes d'artifices de camoufler cette triste réalité et de présenter le noir en blanc. C'est d'ailleurs à ces fins fallacieuses et démagogiques qu'ont été soumises ici de leur part des questions telles que celle concernant l'interdiction de l'emploi des armes nucléaires, ou celle relative à la définition de l'agression, comme si en ce moment les peuples avaient besoin de discussions sans fin sur une telle définition et non de la protection contre les agresseurs impérialistes qui sont fort bien connus de tous nonobstant cette définition.

89. Un autre fait non moins significatif dans ce sens est leur brusque empressement à faire adopter à cette session même l'accord sur l'assistance aux astronautes et aux véhicules spatiaux, qui les intéresse particulièrement et dont ils peuvent tirer parti pour le présenter comme un élément important de l'activité de l'ONU, surtout lors des déclarations tapageuses qu'ils vont probablement faire le 19 décembre au moment de la clôture de cette partie de la présente session qui doit, paraît-il, et conformément à leur décision concertée, être suivie d'une deuxième partie.

90. Mais toutes ces pratiques et toutes ces manigances de la part des deux grandes puissances sont vaines. Les peuples et les pays pacifiques ne peuvent actuellement être induits en erreur; la triste réalité concernant l'ONU éclate à l'évidence. Les peuples sont bien conscients du fait que l'Organisation ne peut, dans cet état, servir leurs vœux et leurs intérêts vitaux, qu'elle est devenue un instrument au service de l'impérialisme américain et un centre de marchandage entre les deux grandes puissances pour la mise en œuvre de leur politique de partage des zones d'influence et de l'instauration de leur hégémonie dans le monde.

91. Les puissances impérialistes et colonialistes ont mené, au cours des siècles, des guerres barbares contre les peuples d'Asie, d'Afrique et d'Amérique latine en vue de les asservir et d'exploiter leurs richesses. Elles se sont toujours efforcées, par tous les moyens, de maintenir leur domination sur des territoires étrangers et d'accroître leurs possessions coloniales. Cela a constamment été la loi régissant leur politique impérialiste de subjugation et d'exploitation des peuples. Les impérialistes et les colonialistes ne se sont jamais retirés de leur propre gré des territoires étrangers occupés. C'est là une vérité dont les peuples du monde entier sont maintenant pleinement conscients. Ils savent fort bien que les oppresseurs et les exploiters des peuples ne lâchent leur proie que par la voie de la force. Ils sont convaincus que l'unique moyen pour se délivrer des chaînes de l'esclavage colonial est leur lutte armée. C'est pourquoi ils rejettent toujours plus fermement la voie des compromis et des concessions avec l'impérialisme et le colonialisme, la prétendue voie du "passage pacifique" à la liberté et à l'indépendance que préconisent les révisionnistes soviétiques et tous les autres renégats de la cause des peuples.

92. Le mouvement de libération nationale et sociale des peuples a pris, à notre époque, un essor sans précédent. Les victoires remportées par les peuples qui ont déjà conquis l'indépendance ou par ceux qui combattent encore pour se libérer de la domination étrangère et du joug colonial ont infligé des défaites foudroyantes à l'impérialisme et au colonialisme, qui sont maintenant en voie de désagrégation et rongés sans cesse davantage par leurs contradictions intérieures et extérieures.

93. Face au redoublement d'efforts des impérialistes et des colonialistes en vue de se cramponner à leur domination coloniale, face à l'intensification de leur politique de guerre et de répression sauvage contre le mouvement mondial de libération, les peuples, de plus en plus irrités et révoltés, ripostent toujours plus

fermement, plus vigoureusement, confiants en la victoire certaine de leur juste cause.

94. C'est ainsi que l'héroïque peuple du Viet-Nam, les peuples arabes, ceux de l'Angola, du Mozambique, de la Guinée dite portugaise, du Sud-Ouest africain, de la Rhodésie du Sud, de Porto Rico, et tous les peuples d'Afrique, d'Asie et d'Amérique latine qui subissent encore l'oppression impérialiste, colonialiste, néo-colonialiste et raciste, mènent une lutte inlassable qu'ils renforcent et accroissent sans relâche, ne reculant pas devant les difficultés et les sacrifices.

95. Au cours de cette année, la lutte armée des peuples pour la libération nationale et sociale s'est développée vigoureusement. Dans les vastes territoires d'Afrique se trouvant encore sous la domination coloniale et impérialiste, les flammes de la lutte armée des peuples se répandent avec toujours plus de rage. Les peuples africains, dans diverses régions, apprennent la guerre en faisant la guerre et, profitant de cette expérience, gagnent en force au fil des combats. Les vaillants combattants d'Angola, du Mozambique et de la Guinée (Bissau) ont obtenu d'importants succès. Les patriotes angolais ont, au cours des mois de septembre et d'octobre, intensifié leur lutte contre les agresseurs portugais et ont tué ou mis hors de combat des centaines de soldats colonialistes. Une partie importante du territoire de l'Angola est libérée et se trouve sous le contrôle des forces patriotiques. Les forces partisans du Mozambique, après avoir brisé les opérations de "ratissage" des troupes colonialistes portugaises, ont étendu leur sphère d'action dans presque la moitié du territoire du pays. Elles ne cessent de mener leurs raids contre les centres militaires de l'ennemi. Les combattants de la Guinée (Bissau) attaquent sans relâche les forces portugaises; ils ont détruit récemment bon nombre de leurs casernes et tué ou blessé des centaines de soldats portugais.

96. En Rhodésie du Sud le peuple du Zimbabwe, conscient de toutes les tactiques frauduleuses et des manœuvres dilatoires des colonialistes britanniques et de leurs suppôts blancs dans ce territoire, et sachant fort bien que jamais les forces impérialistes britanniques ne pourront servir pour les délivrer de la clique des racistes blancs de Ian Smith, qui est leur propre créature, s'est résolument lancé dans des actions armées pour la libération nationale et sociale du pays, prenant ainsi en main les destinées de la nation en comptant, en premier lieu, sur ses propres forces. C'est ainsi que les forces de guérilla du Zimbabwe ont intensifié leur action contre les forces militaires de la clique de Ian Smith, infligeant à l'ennemi d'importantes défaites, ce que le régime colonial blanc reconnaît lui-même lorsqu'il annonce de "violentes batailles" avec les forces partisans depuis le mois d'août dernier.

97. De même, dans le Sud-Ouest africain, les forces patriotiques ont continué d'opérer activement, causant aux troupes des racistes de Pretoria des dizaines de morts et de blessés.

98. Ainsi, les vaillants peuples de l'Afrique subissant encore le joug colonial vont résolument de l'avant sur la voie de la lutte armée sans reculer devant les difficultés et les sacrifices, ce qui leur permettra, à coup sûr, de remporter la victoire et de chasser de leurs

territoires tous les colonialistes et tous les impérialistes.

99. Dans la partie méridionale de la péninsule arabique, la lutte de libération nationale s'est constamment renforcée en dépit de tous les efforts et de toutes les tactiques frauduleuses des colonialistes britanniques et des impérialistes américains, et malgré les mesures de terreur prises par eux contre les populations arabes et les féroces opérations lancées contre elles. La victoire historique que vient de remporter le vaillant peuple du Yémen du Sud, par la conquête de son indépendance, est justement le résultat de sa longue lutte héroïque. Cette victoire contribue beaucoup à renforcer la confiance des peuples arabes en leur propre force, à encourager l'action révolutionnaire des masses populaires de l'Oman et de toute l'extrémité méridionale de la péninsule arabique.

100. L'indépendance du Yémen du Sud revêt une importance particulière pour le peuple palestinien et les autres peuples arabes qui se trouvent sous l'occupation des forces israéliennes par suite de l'agression impérialiste sioniste de l'été dernier. Le peuple palestinien et tous les peuples et pays arabes victimes de l'agression du 5 juin réalisent bien que la lutte armée est le seul moyen de libérer le territoire occupé. Israël a été créé et entretenu par les impérialistes, les Etats-Unis en tête, en vue d'être utilisé comme base d'agression contre les pays arabes. C'est ce qu'a notamment prouvé l'agression du 5 juin contre les pays arabes et l'attitude adoptée jusqu'à ce jour par les impérialistes et leurs partenaires quant aux conséquences de cette agression.

101. Tous les événements de l'été dernier, et tous les faits qui ont suivi, ont amplement prouvé aux peuples et aux pays arabes que l'impérialisme américain est leur ennemi le plus féroce et que ses collaborateurs principaux, les révisionnistes soviétiques, portent une lourde responsabilité pour tous les complots qu'ils ont ourdis et continuent d'ourdir avec les impérialistes yankees aux dépens de la cause de la paix et de la liberté des peuples arabes.

102. Mais en dépit des agressions impérialistes et des complots entre les impérialistes américains et les révisionnistes soviétiques, le peuple palestinien et les autres peuples et pays arabes sont déterminés à lutter jusqu'au bout, jusqu'à la victoire finale qui est certaine, jusqu'à la libération de tous les territoires arabes occupés par les impérialistes et leurs laquais.

103. La bataille la plus acharnée des forces révolutionnaires contre l'impérialisme et le colonialisme est livrée aujourd'hui au Viet-Nam par l'héroïque peuple de ce pays contre les agressions yankees. Les plans sinistres des impérialistes américains pour transformer le Viet-Nam en une colonie et une base d'agression contre les autres pays épris de liberté de cette région et en particulier contre la République populaire de Chine, bastion inexpugnable du mouvement mondial de libération, ont été ignominieusement brisés par la volonté de fer du glorieux peuple vietnamien qui lutte pour le salut de sa patrie.

104. Les revers cuisants et les défaites successives subis par les agresseurs américains au Viet-Nam ont mené à une aggravation des contradictions intérieures et extérieures des Etats-Unis, à un isolement sans

précédent de cette puissance impérialiste dans le monde. L'aiguïsement des contradictions au sein des milieux gouvernants des Etats-Unis, par suite des échecs subis au Viet-Nam, a eu dernièrement pour conséquence la destitution du Secrétaire d'Etat à la défense, si souvent loué par les leaders américains.

105. Mais il importe de souligner que rien ne pourra sauver les Etats-Unis de leur défaite totale au Viet-Nam, ni leur intensification et leur élargissement de la guerre d'agression, ni les bombardements sauvages contre le Nord-Viet-Nam, ni encore les supercheres de négociations de paix par les bombardements, trahies de concert avec les révisionnistes soviétiques, ni les tentatives d'ingérence illégale de l'ONU dans les affaires relevant du peuple vietnamien. Les forces armées et le peuple vietnamien sont déterminés à lutter jusqu'au bout, jusqu'à ce que le dernier des agresseurs yankees ait quitté le sol sacré de leur patrie.

106. Les victoires remportées dans la lutte populaire par les héroïques combattants vietnamiens sur les impérialistes américains et leur stratégie globale constituent une contribution immense aux mouvements révolutionnaires de libération nationale et sociale des peuples du monde et une grande source d'inspiration pour ces mouvements, apportant la meilleure preuve que la lutte armée des peuples est l'unique voie menant à la conquête de la liberté et de l'indépendance.

107. Le dirigeant du peuple albanais, le camarade Enver Hoxha, déclarait:

"Les grandes défaites que les Etats-Unis d'Amérique sont en train d'essuyer et la débâcle inévitable qui attend leur aventure au Viet-Nam sont d'une importance colossale et grosses de conséquences incalculables pour la lutte des peuples contre l'impérialisme et pour la situation internationale. Elles hâtent le discrédit politique et militaire des Etats-Unis d'Amérique, démasquent sans merci la trahison des révisionnistes soviétiques, encouragent les luttes populaires et accélèrent la marche de la révolution vers la victoire. Aussi la solidarité avec le peuple vietnamien, l'appui sans réserve à sa lutte héroïque, constituent-ils un devoir impérieux pour tous les révolutionnaires, toutes les forces progressistes et éprises de paix dans le monde, qui militent dans les rangs du grand mouvement anti-impérialiste."

108. A l'heure actuelle, les grandes idées révolutionnaires pour la liberté, l'indépendance et le progrès social ont vigoureusement soulevé les peuples de tous les continents, en particulier ceux d'Asie, d'Afrique et d'Amérique latine, devenant ainsi une force universelle invincible. Le développement sans précédent du mouvement mondial de libération nationale et sociale et les victoires historiques remportées par les peuples qui ont déjà conquis l'indépendance ont ébranlé dans ses fondements le système impérialiste et colonialiste, rétréci sa sphère d'exploitation des peuples et sa sphère d'influence dans l'arène internationale, ainsi que son marché mondial, et conduit à la désagrégation, dans son ensemble, du système abhorré d'asservissement des peuples.

109. Tout cela a amené une aggravation des contradictions et des conflits entre les puissances impéria-

listes et colonialistes. La dévaluation de la livre sterling et l'ébranlement de la position du dollar, dans le système monétaire et financier de l'Occident, en sont le reflet incontestable.

110. Certes, en dépit de leurs contradictions, les impérialistes et les colonialistes, avec, en tête, les Etats-Unis d'Amérique, se retrouvent toujours et font cause commune lorsqu'il s'agit de s'opposer aux forces populaires révolutionnaires. C'est ainsi qu'ils agissent de concert, en redoublant d'efforts, en vue d'arrêter les flammes de la lutte de libération des peuples qui se répandent aux quatre coins du monde, et de réprimer, par le fer et par le feu, les luttes des combattants de la liberté des pays se trouvant encore sous leur domination. On ne saurait omettre de souligner, à cette occasion, que les Etats-Unis d'Amérique sont le bastion principal de la domination coloniale, néo-coloniale et raciste, qu'ils mènent une politique barbare d'oppression et d'agression contre les peuples et déploient tous leurs efforts en vue de sauvegarder, par tous les moyens, le système abhorré de la domination coloniale dans le monde.

111. Je n'estime pas nécessaire de parler ici des méthodes sauvages employées par les impérialistes et les colonialistes pour réprimer les mouvements de libération nationale des peuples qui sont sous leur domination. Le rapport du Comité spécial sur la décolonisation [A/6700/Rev.1] en fait largement état, et de nombreux représentants qui m'ont précédé à cette tribune ont exposé les méthodes d'oppression et de répression féroce des colonialistes, leur discrimination raciale, leur politique d'apartheid, les actes atroces, les massacres en masse, les tortures et la terreur auxquels ont recours les colonialistes et les racistes contre les peuples subjugués.

112. De même, je n'ai pas l'intention de rappeler encore ici les moyens barbares, les gaz toxiques, les bombes au napalm, les bombardements criminels contre les populations civiles, les enfants, les femmes et les vieillards, employés par les impérialistes américains et leurs partenaires dans leurs guerres d'agression contre les peuples et les pays épris de liberté, comme au Viet-Nam, au Moyen-Orient et ailleurs. Ces faits sont bien connus de tous. Ils montrent, en particulier, la sauvagerie de ces barbares du XX^{ème} siècle que sont les impérialistes américains, l'ennemi numéro 1 des peuples.

113. Devant l'essor sans précédent du mouvement de libération nationale des peuples et la lutte que mènent les Etats pacifiques pour la sauvegarde et la consolidation de la souveraineté et de l'indépendance nationales, les puissances impérialistes et colonialistes, les Etats-Unis d'Amérique en tête, se voient obligées de recourir à de nouvelles formes néo-colonialistes d'exploitation économique et de domination politique des peuples et des nations. Elles s'emploient en particulier de leur mieux pour tirer avantage des besoins économiques des pays en voie de développement et cherchent, par l'octroi de crédits et d'"aides", par des investissements de capitaux et l'acquisition de concessions diverses — directement ou par le truchement d'organismes internationaux ou d'institutions dites spécialisées — à assurer à leurs monopoles l'exploitation des richesses de ces pays, à s'ingérer dans leurs affaires intérieures et à y établir ainsi leur domination politique.

114. Le néo-colonialisme revêt actuellement un caractère de plus en plus dangereux. Nul doute que les Etats-Unis représentent la puissance impérialiste la plus active dans la mise en œuvre de la politique néo-colonialiste et utilisent, à cette fin, les moyens les plus divers, allant des chantages économiques, politiques et militaires, de la corruption, des "corps de la paix", de la subversion jusqu'à la création de bases militaires en territoires étrangers, de blocs agressifs, et jusqu'à la perpétration d'agressions armées contre les pays pacifiques. Les peuples et les pays épris de liberté en sont parfaitement conscients et c'est ce qui explique leurs efforts communs visant à combattre la domination impérialiste sous toutes ses manifestations et avec la même force que la forme classique du colonialisme.

115. Nul doute que les méthodes, quelles qu'elles soient, dont les impérialistes et les colonialistes font usage pour l'exploitation et la domination des peuples sont vouées à l'échec. Le processus de libération nationale et sociale des peuples ira toujours de l'avant et il n'est pas de force au monde qui puisse l'arrêter. Le système impérialiste et colonialiste se désagrège toujours davantage et le jour n'est pas loin de son effondrement total.

116. Mais la question se pose de savoir si l'Organisation des Nations Unies va continuer, ainsi que par le passé, à faire le jeu des puissances impérialistes et colonialistes, en premier lieu des Etats-Unis d'Amérique, si elle va continuer à être utilisée comme un centre de marchandage entre les impérialistes américains et les révisionnistes soviétiques aux dépens de la cause des peuples et des nations pacifiques, ou si au contraire les Etats Membres attachés à la cause des peuples et aux buts et principes de la Charte vont par leurs efforts conjugués transformer l'ONU d'un instrument au service de l'impérialisme et du révisionnisme en une institution répondant réellement aux intérêts vitaux des peuples, en une organisation capable de contribuer efficacement à la lutte de libération nationale et à la sauvegarde de la souveraineté et de l'indépendance des Etats. Tout dépend de la mesure dans laquelle les Etats Membres pacifiques, qui constituent ici la majorité, feront preuve de courage et de détermination pour rejeter toutes les tentatives de diktat de la part des deux grandes puissances et pour imposer à celles-ci le respect de l'une des dispositions fondamentales de la Charte, l'égalité souveraine des Etats Membres, grands et petits.

117. La délégation albanaise, pour sa part, n'a épargné aucun effort pour apporter sa contribution modeste à cette fin. Nous continuerons fermement notre lutte et demeurerons toujours disposés à faire tout ce qui dépend de nous pour consolider toujours davantage notre collaboration avec les Etats Membres auxquels nous sommes liés par des objectifs communs.

118. Le peuple albanais et son gouvernement, guidés par les principes révolutionnaires de notre Etat socialiste, continueront comme par le passé à soutenir sans réserve la lutte des peuples pour la libération nationale et sociale et pour la consolidation de la souveraineté et de l'indépendance. Nous avons la conviction que la lutte révolutionnaire des peuples pour la liberté, la paix et le progrès social triomphera, qu'elle

brisera tous les plans des impérialistes et de leurs principaux collaborateurs et anéantira à jamais le système impérialiste lui-même.

119. M. ALARCON DE QUESADA (Cuba) [traduit de l'espagnol]: Le problème de l'élimination complète du colonialisme et du renforcement de l'indépendance totale pour tous les peuples garde une importance toute particulière, et il est de plus en plus urgent que l'opinion mondiale s'intéresse à sa solution effective.

120. Certes, au cours de ces dernières années, grâce à la lutte courageuse des peuples opprimés, quelques progrès ont été réalisés. Notre organisation a vu augmenter le nombre de ses membres, représentants des nouveaux Etats soumis jusqu'ici depuis des siècles à la domination étrangère. L'adoption de la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale a constitué un succès appréciable pour la cause de l'indépendance nationale des peuples colonisés.

121. Cependant, les forces de l'impérialisme et le colonialisme persistent à vouloir asservir les peuples. En Amérique latine, en Afrique et en Asie il existe encore des nations soumises à la domination coloniale, et des millions d'hommes et de femmes luttent pour la libération de leur patrie. Les Etats qui ont récemment accédé à l'indépendance se voient menacés par les plans néo-colonialistes visant à rendre fictive la souveraineté qu'ils ont conquise, à les maintenir dans un état arriéré et à poursuivre l'exploitation de leurs richesses naturelles.

122. La lutte héroïque des peuples de la Guinée dite portugaise, de l'Angola et du Mozambique pour obtenir leur indépendance se poursuit. Comme l'ont largement prouvé les études faites par le Comité des Vingt-Quatre, le Portugal s'obstine à refuser à ces peuples leurs droits légitimes, grâce à l'aide militaire, économique et financière illimitée qu'il reçoit du Gouvernement des Etats-Unis, ainsi que d'autres membres de l'OTAN.

123. En Rhodésie du Sud, la nation zimbabwe a été spoliée des attributs de sa souveraineté par l'action de la minorité coloniale qui a établi un régime bâtard fondé sur le racisme et la discrimination de la plupart de ses habitants. Le territoire du Sud-Ouest africain reste soumis à l'occupation du régime de Pretoria qui, comme en Afrique du Sud, y pratique la politique exécrable de l'apartheid. Le peuple de l'Oman poursuit sa lutte contre la domination étrangère.

124. L'Assemblée générale s'est prononcée à maintes reprises sur tous ces problèmes. Notre organisation les a examinés au cours de longs débats et pendant des années. Certaines questions sont examinées ici depuis les débuts mêmes des Nations Unies. Une année après l'autre, on effectue des études et l'on adopte des résolutions qui dénoncent l'oppression colonialiste à laquelle ces peuples sont soumis et qui réaffirment leurs droits inaliénables à une pleine liberté. La plus grande utilité qu'a eue cette accumulation impressionnante de rapports, de résolutions et de déclarations a peut-être été de révéler au grand jour les contradictions profondes qui minent cette organisation, l'empêchant d'atteindre les objectifs pour lesquels elle a été créée et la maintiennent dans une impuissance qui scandalise la conscience populaire.

125. De toute évidence, les Etats représentés ici condamnent, dans leur immense majorité, le colonialisme sous toutes ses formes, rejettent l'apartheid et la discrimination raciale et plaident en faveur de l'indépendance immédiate et complète de ces peuples et de tous ceux qui sont encore soumis au colonialisme. Cette volonté de la majorité des Etats Membres s'est exprimée dans un si grand nombre de résolutions qu'il serait vain d'avoir recours aux citations. Cependant, il est tout aussi important de constater que notre organisation a été et reste totalement incapable de faire respecter ses propres résolutions et de répondre aux intérêts et aux vœux de la majorité de ses membres. Il faut aussi chercher l'explication de ce phénomène dans de nombreux documents imprimés par les Nations Unies et élaborés par le Comité des Vingt-Quatre ou par le Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la politique d'apartheid du Gouvernement de la République sud-africaine.

126. Il est évident qu'il ne s'agit pas simplement de vaincre la résistance de l'Afrique du Sud ou du Portugal. Derrière eux, comme derrière toute oppression coloniale ou raciste, se trouvent de puissants intérêts économiques étrangers qui, en réalité, dirigent la politique des principales puissances impérialistes, les Etats-Unis en tête. C'est pourquoi la lutte visant à éliminer les vestiges et les séquelles du vieux colonialisme ne peut être couronnée de succès que si l'on adopte logiquement une position anti-impérialiste et si l'on analyse avec justesse la conjoncture internationale actuelle. Si l'impérialisme nord-américain qui s'obstine à vouloir asservir les peuples les plus faibles n'existait pas, le colonialisme appartiendrait déjà au passé. Les machinations menées contre ces peuples sont ourdies à Washington. Le refus d'accorder les droits qui sont les leurs aux peuples des colonies portugaises, du Sud-Ouest africain, de la Rhodésie, de l'Oman et d'autres territoires coloniaux fait partie de la stratégie d'ensemble du colonialisme nord-américain. L'exploitation de ces peuples constitue l'un des fondements essentiels sur lesquels sont établis les plans des monopoles nord-américains pour piller les richesses du tiers monde, étouffer les mouvements de libération nationale et continuer d'imposer leur hégémonie à la communauté internationale. C'est pourquoi la lutte que mènent les peuples pour vaincre le colonialisme, éliminer le racisme et s'assurer un développement pleinement indépendant ne peut aboutir au moyen des discussions parlementaires qui se déroulent ici. Ces peuples gagneront la victoire définitive — ils sont déjà en train de la gagner — par la lutte directe et résolue contre leurs oppresseurs, les armes à la main.

127. On ne peut nourrir d'illusions sur les concessions que pourraient faire aux peuples opprimés ceux qui se livrent aujourd'hui à l'agression la plus monstrueuse contre celui qui est devenu, par sa volonté héroïque de lutte, le symbole le plus pur et le plus noble de l'aspiration de tous à l'indépendance et à la liberté: le peuple vietnamien.

128. L'ennemi qu'il faut vaincre dans les territoires victimes du colonialisme est le même que celui qu'il faut vaincre au Viet-Nam, qui commence à y être vaincu et qui le sera finalement: l'impérialisme nord-américain. Mais pour parvenir à la victoire, il faut faire preuve du même esprit de combat, de la même

résistance indomptable, de la même volonté opiniâtre de lutte qu'incarne le peuple vietnamien.

129. La preuve la plus claire de l'opposition tenace du Gouvernement nord-américain à la décolonisation est son attitude à l'égard du problème colonial de Porto Rico. Dans le rapport que nous a présenté cette année le Comité des Vingt-Quatre [A/6700/Rev.1, chap. I, sect. G] sont rapportées les discussions qui se sont déroulées au sein du Comité sur l'inclusion de Porto Rico dans la liste des territoires auxquels s'applique la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale.

130. Les représentants du mouvement de libération nationale de Porto Rico ont été les premiers à demander audience au Comité spécial pour discuter le cas de leur pays. Ils l'ont fait exactement le jour qui a suivi la création de cet organisme. Au mois d'octobre 1965, le Gouvernement révolutionnaire de Cuba a demandé formellement au Comité spécial d'inscrire ce problème à son ordre du jour. La proposition cubaine se faisait l'écho non seulement du vœu émis par toutes les organisations patriotiques du territoire, mais aussi de la requête présentée par 47 chefs d'Etat ou de gouvernement des pays non alignés lors de la conférence tenue au Caire en octobre 1964. Toutefois, le Comité spécial s'est vu jusqu'à présent empêché de prendre une décision sur le fond de la question, à la suite des fortes pressions exercées sur lui par la délégation nord-américaine.

131. L'attitude qu'adopteront les Nations Unies dans le cas de Porto Rico sera décisive pour juger du degré de fidélité de l'Organisation à ses propres principes et sera essentielle pour le jugement que les peuples porteront sur elle.

132. Les Etats-Unis s'opposent non seulement à l'indépendance de Porto Rico mais aussi à la simple discussion de ce sujet par notre organisation. Ils allèguent l'existence de la résolution 748 (VIII), approuvée par l'Assemblée à une très faible majorité. Cependant, ils oublient que, des années après, cette même assemblée a adopté une autre résolution, la résolution 1514 (XV), qui affirme le droit de tous les peuples, sans exception, à l'indépendance.

133. La résolution 1514 (XV) est explicite: elle se réfère aux territoires sous tutelle, à ceux qui n'ont pas de gouvernement propre et à tous les autres peuples qui n'ont pas encore accédé à l'indépendance. Personne, pas même le Gouvernement nord-américain, n'a jamais soutenu que le peuple de Porto Rico ait accédé à l'indépendance. Toutefois, le Gouvernement de Washington s'efforce encore d'empêcher que l'Assemblée discute de cette question.

134. De plus, il faut nous souvenir que la résolution 748 (VIII) de l'Assemblée était fondée sur des renseignements erronés fournis par le Gouvernement nord-américain qui avait alors affirmé que le peuple portoricain avait choisi librement son destin par un plébiscite. Cependant, nous demandons aux représentants: peut-on accepter comme légitime un plébiscite qui ne comportait pas d'option en faveur de l'indépendance, pour lequel le nombre de ceux qui ont voté contre le régime colonial et de ceux qui se sont abstenus de voter atteignait 60 p. 100 du corps électoral?

Peut-on concevoir qu'un peuple puisse choisir librement son destin lorsque son pays est entièrement occupé par des troupes étrangères, qu'il doit subir la répression la plus féroce et que ses prisons sont pleines de patriotes?

135. Si les Etats-Unis ont réussi à faire adopter à l'époque la résolution 748 (VIII), c'est aussi parce qu'alors plus de la moitié des Membres actuels de cette organisation n'en faisaient pas encore partie, précisément parce qu'ils étaient eux-mêmes soumis au joug colonial.

136. Ma délégation tient à souligner une fois de plus le devoir inéluctable qui incombe à cette organisation et à tous les Etats qui affirment leur anti-colonialisme de faire appliquer les principes de la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale au peuple de Porto Rico.

137. En dépit de toutes les allégations du gouvernement yankee, les faits ne peuvent être démentis. Les Etats-Unis dominent entièrement l'économie portoricaine; Porto Rico est soumis à leur contrôle dans les domaines législatif, judiciaire et exécutif. Le Gouvernement nord-américain exerce une juridiction exclusive sur les questions de citoyenneté, de relations extérieures, de défense, d'immigration et d'émigration, de commerce extérieur, de monnaie, des postes, des télécommunications, des transports aériens et maritimes. Le territoire de l'île a été transformé en une immense forteresse militaire nord-américaine, avec des dizaines de bases militaires dont deux sont équipées de missiles nucléaires. La zone occupée par les installations de l'armée nord-américaine représente 13 p. 100 de la surface des meilleures terres cultivables du pays. Les habitants de Porto Rico sont obligés de servir dans les rangs de l'armée yankee et, actuellement, ils se voient forcés de participer à l'ignoble agression contre le peuple vietnamien. Selon des renseignements en provenance du Pentagone et reproduits dans le journal *El Mundo* de San Juan de Porto Rico, du 22 mai 1967, les pertes portoricaines dans la guerre du Viet-Nam sont supérieures à celles qui ont été subies par 18 Etats des Etats-Unis, plus le district de Columbia.

138. Au cours de cette année, le Gouvernement nord-américain a imposé une nouvelle farce plébiscitaire, tentant ainsi de faire taire les critiques qui se font de plus en plus nombreuses dans le monde à propos de la situation dramatique du peuple portoricain. Cependant, cette manœuvre a complètement échoué. Tout d'abord, parce que nul ne peut se laisser tromper par un prétendu plébiscite qui a lieu dans de telles conditions d'occupation militaire et de domination étrangère totale, et dans lequel le peuple n'a pas eu la moindre possibilité d'exprimer son opinion. Un nombre impressionnant d'électeurs s'est abstenu de participer à cette tragi-comédie, suivant ainsi les directives données par toutes les organisations patriotiques. La meilleure preuve de l'échec total enregistré par le prétendu plébiscite est le fait que, à la suite de celui-ci, tous les partis politiques défenseurs du régime colonial traversent aujourd'hui une crise profonde. Tous se sont divisés et fragmentés, et doivent faire face maintenant à la rébellion de leurs propres adhérents.

139. L'année qui vient, nous commémorerons le centenaire du début de la guerre d'indépendance que, Cubains et Portoricains, nous avons menée ensemble pour nous libérer de la domination espagnole. En 1868, Cuba et Porto Rico commencèrent une lutte armée héroïque qui, pendant 30 ans, a entraîné pour nos peuples de lourds sacrifices. A la fin de cette épopée, ceux-ci ont été frustrés par suite de l'intervention militaire yankee qui a soumis nos deux nations à la domination étrangère. Depuis lors, Porto Rico a dû subir l'oppression coloniale de l'empire qui est actuellement le plus puissant dans le monde. Cependant, le peuple portoricain a conservé son esprit national, il a préservé sa culture, ses croyances, sa langue et ses traditions. Tous les efforts de l'impérialisme pour détruire son sens national ont échoué. Un peuple

qui a tant combattu pour sa liberté, et dans des conditions si difficiles, remportera finalement la victoire. Celle-ci résultera essentiellement de la lutte qu'il mène. Qui que ce soit qui s'y oppose, Porto Rico sera un jour libre et indépendant.

140. Pour notre part, toutefois, nous tenons à réaffirmer que les Nations Unies ont le devoir d'aider ce peuple à réaliser ses aspirations dans l'exercice intégral de sa souveraineté. Tant que le cas de Porto Rico ne sera pas étudié et résolu conformément à la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale, on ne pourra pas affirmer que notre organisation a été fidèle aux idéaux anticolonialistes qu'elle dit professer.

La séance est levée à 13 h 10.

Nations Unies
**ASSEMBLÉE
GÉNÉRALE**

VINGT-DEUXIÈME SESSION

Documents officiels



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SÉANCE PLÉNIÈRE

Vendredi 15 décembre 1967,
à 15 heures

NEW YORK

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Président: M. Corneliu MANESCU (Roumanie).

En l'absence du Président, M. Souvanlasy (Laos), vice-président, prend la présidence.

POINT 23 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

Application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux: rapport du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux (*suite*)

1. M. JOUEJATI (Syrie) [traduit de l'anglais]: L'examen des succès et des échecs enregistrés par l'Organisation des Nations Unies dans l'application de la résolution 1514 (XV) sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux fournit chaque année un excellent prétexte pour évaluer le rôle exact de l'Organisation dans un domaine d'une importance capitale pour la paix universelle. J'estime que le prétexte est excellent, car un tel exercice devrait permettre de mieux comprendre dans quel sens l'Organisation doit orienter son action pour en élargir la portée et en améliorer l'efficacité.

2. Mais j'estime que le prétexte est excellent aussi parce qu'il fournit l'occasion de mieux saisir l'importance du fossé qui sépare, en matière de décolonisation, les choses telles qu'elles devraient être selon les normes établies par l'Organisation des Nations Unies — c'est-à-dire les normes internationales de la justice et du droit — et les choses telles qu'elles sont — c'est-à-dire la conduite réelle des Etats. Tout élargissement du fossé entre les objectifs à atteindre, à savoir l'émancipation de tous les peuples coloniaux et leur accession à l'indépendance et à la souveraineté, et la réalité des faits est le signe d'une inefficacité croissante de la part de l'ONU. Inversement, tout rétrécissement du fossé donne à penser que la voie adoptée pourra aboutir à des résultats tangibles.

3. Cela étant posé, on observe un certain rétrécissement du fossé. On peut affirmer que le colonialisme

a perdu du terrain au profit de la communauté internationale, qui se trouve enrichie, notamment, par l'accession à l'indépendance de la République populaire du Yémen du Sud, pays que nous avons tout récemment accueilli parmi nous, et par la très prochaine accession à l'indépendance de Nauru.

4. Permettez-moi de relever en passant un aspect de la portée de chacun de ces deux événements. Dans le premier cas, on voit combien de souffrances auraient pu être épargnées si la puissance administrante avait accepté dès le début de coopérer avec l'Organisation des Nations Unies, et plus particulièrement avec le Comité spécial de la décolonisation, qu'elle n'a cessé de dénigrer! Dans le second cas, on voit qu'avec de la bonne volonté de part et d'autre la décolonisation n'est pas une entreprise exagérément ardue. En tout état de cause, je voudrais souhaiter encore une fois prospérité, progrès et bien-être à ces deux pays.

5. Force nous est malheureusement de reconnaître que le colonialisme devient plus exacerbé à mesure que s'amenuisent les zones de domination coloniale, posant ainsi un problème des plus sérieux à l'Organisation des Nations Unies, car il s'agit en fait d'une politique appliquée au mépris de l'ONU et qui, restée impunie, offre l'exemple de la réussite aux personnes qui pourraient, à l'avenir, porter atteinte aux droits des peuples et des communautés. Le renforcement du règne de la force dans le seul intérêt de la minorité raciste du Zimbabwe, et au détriment de 4 millions d'Africains, de même que la menace que ce régime illégal fait peser sur les pays africains voisins n'ont d'égal que le renforcement du règne de la force en Palestine accompli au détriment de la population arabe, à cette différence près que les Arabes ont été expulsés de leurs foyers dans l'espoir qu'ils perdraient ainsi tous leurs droits, et à la différence aussi que le régime de la Rhodésie du Sud fait peser sur les pays voisins une menace en puissance, tandis que la menace sioniste dirigée contre les pays arabes voisins d'Israël s'est matérialisée dans les faits par une succession d'agressions et d'invasions.

6. La politique d'intégration appliquée aux Africains du Mozambique, de l'Angola et de la Guinée (Bissau) vise à détruire en eux l'essentiel de leur individualité proprement africaine, mais la politique du "Grand Israël" consiste à supprimer, sur la voie de l'expansionnisme qu'il s'est tracée, jusqu'aux difficultés pourtant inhérentes à l'intégration forcée en détruisant tout un peuple. Il y a colonialisme et colonialisme, et les nouvelles formes sont plus proches du génocide que de l'asphyxie. On saisit mieux sans doute, dans ces conditions, les raisons de l'intensification de la recherche nucléaire et de la production de bombes atomiques.

7. Non content de fonder son existence sur l'inégalité et la pratique de l'apartheid, le régime de l'Afrique du Sud étend son "noble message" et sa domination "bienveillante" au Sud-Ouest africain.

8. Des martyrs africains, accusés d'avoir défendu la cause de la liberté et de l'égalité, meurent dans les prisons. Ils sont ainsi punis pour avoir défendu les principes et les objectifs qui constituent le fondement même de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, principes et objectifs qu'elle s'efforce de faire respecter et auxquels, dans ses résolutions, elle invite tous les Etats à donner leur appui moral et matériel. Dans ce qui constitue actuellement la dernière phase du colonialisme britannique, une légende est répandue dans le dessein de masquer les survivances de la domination et l'exclusivité des intérêts.

9. C'est ainsi que le territoire de l'Oman, quoique occupé, est déclaré souverain. On cherche par ce subterfuge à réduire définitivement au silence la voix du peuple de l'Oman. Le Royaume-Uni parle volontiers de la solide amitié qui le lie au sultan, mais passe sous silence le fait qu'il existe un seul établissement public d'enseignement élémentaire dans l'ensemble du territoire.

10. Voilà sans doute la meilleure illustration de ce que le colonialisme accomplit dans l'intérêt des peuples coloniaux. Toutes ces formes de colonialisme ne diffèrent d'ailleurs pas quant à l'essentiel. Pour prévenir les accusations de violation du droit international qui pourraient être portées contre eux, les colonialistes tentent de se justifier en répandant une légende, en invoquant tantôt la "mission sacrée du multicontinentalisme", tantôt un rêve millénaire ou bimillénaire. Les souffrances infligées aux populations sont néanmoins les mêmes, qu'il s'agisse ici de travail forcé et là de la multiplication du nombre des réfugiés.

11. Intimement conscients du caractère fallacieux de leurs arguments, les colonialistes essaient alors de rétablir l'équilibre en conférant à la terreur et à la force valeur de faits accomplis. Pour y parvenir, ils ont besoin d'appuis considérables, qu'ils sont prêts à obtenir en sacrifiant les droits des autochtones au profit des grandes puissances et des vastes monopoles.

12. Les armes utilisées pour perpétrer les actes d'agression et de terreur portent la marque de leurs fournisseurs, encore que les alliances d'intérêts et les pactes conclus par les colonialistes soient négociés sous le couvert de la défense. Enfin, pour couronner le tout, les colonialistes se hâtent de s'établir afin d'usurper les droits de leurs victimes pour leur propre compte et afin d'opposer à toute tentative de règlement une situation nouvelle, compliquée d'aspects humains surajoutés.

13. Le Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux [résolution 1514 (XV)] n'a négligé aucune des formes de pression possibles. Il a eu recours à des méthodes variées, il a multiplié le nombre des enquêtes et des missions de visite et transmis aux mouvements de libération l'assurance du plein appui moral de l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Des per-

sonnalités dévouées à la cause de l'émancipation des hommes ont consacré leur temps, leur énergie et leurs facultés intellectuelles à l'entreprise. D'éminents hommes d'Etat d'Asie et d'Afrique ont dirigé les travaux du Comité spécial, dont le président en exercice, l'ambassadeur de la République-Unie de Tanzanie, n'a reculé devant aucun sacrifice, n'a épargné aucun effort concevable et a fait preuve d'une totale abnégation pour mener la tâche à bien.

14. On commence à mieux connaître ce centre du colonialisme. Un examen minutieux du colonialisme sous ses formes détournées a révélé l'existence d'intérêts stratégiques et économiques solidaires et a précisé l'orientation de l'action future, mais l'ultime effort reste à faire. Il demeure nécessaire de brandir la menace des moyens d'action dont dispose l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Les pays épris de paix, au nombre desquels, à côté de nos pays frères, figurent les pays socialistes, demeurent vigilants et attentifs. Le soutien actif qu'ils n'ont cessé d'apporter à la cause de la décolonisation se passe de toute démonstration.

15. Qu'il me suffise de rappeler pour mémoire que le représentant de la Bulgarie a pris l'initiative d'obtenir que les institutions spécialisées s'engagent à aider les mouvements de libération, dont la lutte a été reconnue, aux termes mêmes des résolutions de l'ONU, comme étant légitime et digne d'un appui moral et matériel, et à suspendre toute assistance aux adversaires de la décolonisation, qui sont aussi les adversaires de l'ONU; cette idée constructive a abouti à l'adoption, à une forte majorité, de la résolution 2311 (XXII). Sans être membre du Comité spécial, la Tchécoslovaquie a apporté une précieuse contribution à ses travaux. La République démocratique allemande enfin, bien qu'elle ne soit pas encore membre de l'ONU, a saisi toutes les occasions qui se sont présentées pour exprimer son adhésion et pour fournir au Comité spécial d'intéressants renseignements sur le comportement de certaines sociétés impérialistes.

16. Il reste donc à surmonter les réticences de quelques grandes puissances et à les convaincre de faire passer la décolonisation avant leurs intérêts égoïstes et d'élever les idéaux de paix et d'harmonie internationales, ainsi que la cause de l'égalité entre tous les hommes, au-dessus de la loi du plus fort. Le Conseil de sécurité ne peut agir sans leur accord; combien de temps encore refuseront-elles de le lui donner?

17. Notre dernier espoir est que les mouvements de libération se trouveront, en vertu de l'appui moral que leur apportent nos résolutions, renforcés dans la lutte qu'ils mènent par la conviction que leur cause est partagée, comprise et, nous l'espérons, activement soutenue.

18. Je ne saurais rien ajouter à la précision et à la clarté avec lesquelles le représentant de la République-Unie de Tanzanie a présenté un projet de résolution (A/L.541/Rev.1), dont ma délégation a l'honneur d'être coauteur. L'adoption de ce projet de résolution à l'unanimité pourrait faire naître un nouvel espoir.

19. M. DE LA ROSA (Philippines) [traduit de l'anglais]: Permettez-moi tout d'abord de déclarer, au sujet de l'accession à l'indépendance de la République populaire du Yémen du Sud, que ma délégation souhaite vivement s'associer aux paroles de bienvenue qui ont marqué l'entrée de ce pays à l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Nous espérons qu'une coopération fructueuse s'instaurera avec les représentants de ce pays. Permettez-moi aussi de signaler que nous aurons le plaisir, au cours de la présente session, de décider à l'unanimité que l'Accord de tutelle pour le territoire de Nauru cessera d'avoir effet, donnant ainsi à ce pays la possibilité d'accéder à l'indépendance le 31 janvier 1968.

20. Presque tous les pays qui ont acquis leur indépendance au cours des 20 dernières années sont maintenant représentés dans notre assemblée, où ils apportent l'espoir d'un renforcement de l'action menée en faveur d'une application rapide de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. En revanche, on en est encore réduit à espérer l'appui de ceux qui sont demeurés sourds ou hostiles aux intentions de la Déclaration. Sans nous exagérer la difficulté de la tâche qui reste à accomplir, car de nombreux territoires et des millions d'hommes attendent encore leur libération, il nous faut stimuler la lutte pour la libération des peuples et la disparition de la sujétion coloniale.

21. Pour user d'une métaphore, aucune lueur d'espoir ne pointe à l'horizon dans les territoires de l'Afrique centrale. Les peuples de ces territoires encore colonisés n'entrevoient aucune perspective d'indépendance. Nous voyons au contraire que le joug colonial pèse de plus en plus lourdement sur eux. En disant cela, je pense évidemment au Sud-Ouest africain, à la Rhodésie du Sud et aux territoires sous domination portugaise.

22. Songez à la résolution quasi unanime de l'Assemblée générale mettant fin au Mandat de l'Afrique du Sud sur le territoire du Sud-Ouest africain [2145 (XXI)]. Songez aussi à la décision de l'Assemblée générale refusant de reconnaître à l'Afrique du Sud, en termes catégoriques, aucun droit sur ce territoire. Or, l'Afrique du Sud a opposé à ces décisions de l'Assemblée générale une totale indifférence; elle n'a rien fait en vue de quitter le territoire, elle a multiplié les provocations à l'égard de la population et a redoublé d'arrogance envers l'Organisation des Nations Unies.

23. En Rhodésie du Sud, le régime illégal soutenu par la minorité raciste subsiste malgré les sanctions ayant force obligatoire décidées par le Conseil de sécurité. La minorité raciste a au contraire raffermi sa position et a institué une nouvelle forme d'apartheid. Invité à recourir à la force en Rhodésie du Sud, le Royaume-Uni a révélé que cela risquait d'avoir des conséquences graves en raison de l'énorme influence dont bénéficiait le régime illégal.

24. Venons-en maintenant aux territoires sous domination portugaise. Ma délégation déplore sincèrement que la politique coloniale de la puissance administrante n'ait rien perdu de son intransigeance. Comme nous le savons, cette politique repose sur l'affirmation selon laquelle les colonies constituent "les

provinces portugaises d'outre-mer" et ne peuvent prétendre à l'autodétermination puisque faisant partie intégrante du Portugal. Est-ce un poncif de dire que l'histoire va inexorablement dans le sens de la libération des pays et des peuples coloniaux? A notre avis, le Portugal devrait être invité à renouveler son adhésion à la Charte des Nations Unies et à donner son accord à la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux.

25. En ce qui concerne le Sud-Ouest africain, la Rhodésie du Sud et les territoires sous administration portugaise, ma délégation estime que le sort des habitants repose maintenant entre les mains du Conseil de sécurité, et en particulier des membres permanents de celui-ci. En vertu de la Charte, le Conseil de sécurité jouit de certains pouvoirs qui, à notre avis, devraient permettre d'obtenir des résultats tangibles.

26. Je voudrais aborder maintenant la question des bases militaires dans les territoires dépendants. Ma délégation a déjà eu l'occasion d'exposer devant notre assemblée sa position à cet égard, mais j'aimerais y revenir. Notre position est la suivante: la décolonisation et le désarmement sont deux notions distinctes. La question des bases militaires étrangères ressort de la décolonisation s'il est clairement établi qu'une base militaire située sur un territoire non autonome où des troupes, quelles qu'elles soient, stationnées sur ce territoire sont utilisées par la puissance administrante pour réprimer les aspirations de la population à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance. Nous sommes dans ce cas favorables à la suppression de la base en question et au retrait des troupes incriminées. En harmonie avec la position ainsi définie, nous avons approuvé, dans les résolutions sur le Sud-Ouest africain, la Rhodésie du Sud, les territoires sous administration portugaise, Aden et l'Oman, les dispositions concernant la suppression des bases militaires ou le retrait des forces armées. En revanche, une disposition générale et absolue demandant que toutes les bases militaires établies sur tous les territoires non autonomes soient démantelées et que de nouvelles bases n'y soient pas installées ressort non plus de la décolonisation, mais du désarmement. Toujours en harmonie avec notre position, nous n'avons pu souscrire aux dispositions de cette nature contenues dans certaines résolutions, et nous ne sommes toujours pas en mesure de le faire.

27. Pour ce qui est de l'envoi de missions de visite dans les territoires non autonomes, ma délégation déplore vivement que les principales puissances administrantes persistent à en rejeter le principe, car ce procédé permettrait à l'Assemblée générale de recueillir directement des renseignements sur la situation dans chacun d'eux et sur la manière dont les autochtones envisagent l'avenir. L'Assemblée générale pourrait ainsi beaucoup plus facilement formuler les recommandations qui s'imposent. Nous voulons donc espérer que les puissances administrantes en question reconsidéreront leur position en la matière.

28. Pour les petits territoires à faible population, ma délégation estime que les conditions qui leur sont particulières doivent être pleinement prises en considération lors de l'élaboration des recommandations

appropriées concernant leur avenir. Nous sommes également d'avis que, dans ces territoires tout autant que dans les territoires plus vastes, les vœux de la population doivent être l'élément déterminant pour décider de leur avenir. L'Organisation des Nations Unies devrait proposer ses bons offices pour faire connaître les différentes solutions, permettant ainsi aux populations d'opter librement, et en pleine connaissance de cause, pour la meilleure possible. Dans l'espoir que le rythme de la décolonisation ira s'accéléralant jusqu'à la libération de la dernière colonie, nous devons renouveler le mandat du Comité spécial des Vingt-Quatre.

29. A titre de conclusion, je tiens à dire que notre attitude envers le colonialisme s'explique aisément si l'on songe que nous avons dû lutter pendant 400 ans pour acquérir notre indépendance. Mais il y a plus, car nous croyons qu'à l'ère de l'Organisation des Nations Unies toute théorie ou conception destinée à justifier la survie du colonialisme sous l'un quelconque de ses aspects est un affront porté à la conscience de l'humanité.

30. M. MIRDHA (Inde) [traduit de l'anglais]: L'un des objectifs premiers de l'Organisation des Nations Unies est d'aider les territoires non autonomes à effectuer la transition entre la sujétion coloniale et l'indépendance souveraine. Depuis 20 ans, divers organes de l'ONU consacrent toute leur attention aux problèmes relatifs au colonialisme. L'inscription des mêmes questions, pendant toutes ces années, à l'ordre du jour de l'Assemblée générale, témoigne des progrès accomplis, ou plus exactement de l'absence de tout progrès. Ma délégation s'inquiète de la lenteur désespérante avec laquelle se poursuit l'application du principe de la libération et de l'octroi de l'indépendance à tous les peuples non autonomes, principe que la quasi-totalité des Membres de l'Organisation ont pourtant reconnu, à l'exception, comme de règle, du Portugal et de l'Afrique du Sud.

31. Il est vrai qu'un assez grand nombre de pays ont récemment accédé à l'indépendance, notamment à la fin des années 1950 et au début des années 1960, alors qu'un puissant courant de changement traversait le continent africain. Ma délégation nourrissait l'espoir que ce courant ne se limiterait pas à l'Afrique, mais gagnerait rapidement d'autres régions du monde, réalisant ainsi l'un des principaux objectifs qui avaient inspiré la création de l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Nos espoirs ont malheureusement été déçus parce que les puissances administrantes, dont bon nombre proclament respecter le principe du droit à l'autodétermination, refusent de remplir les obligations qui leur incombent aux termes de la Charte.

32. L'Afrique australe pose les problèmes les plus ardues en matière de décolonisation. Le Secrétaire général a excellemment défini la situation qui y règne, et que nous connaissons tous très bien, dans une allocution prononcée à l'occasion de la quatrième session de la Conférence des chefs d'Etat et de gouvernement de l'Organisation de l'unité africaine, qui a eu lieu à Kinshasa en septembre 1967, lorsqu'il déclarait:

"Néanmoins, c'est pour moi, comme je sais que c'est pour vous, une source de très vif regret que

le dernier chapitre de l'histoire du colonialisme reste encore à écrire, que, en particulier dans le sud du grand continent africain, la volonté collective des Nations Unies de mener les choses à leur terme semble se heurter à un mur de méfiance. Je suis sûr que la communauté internationale n'acceptera pas cet état de choses comme un fait accompli — elle doit redoubler d'efforts pour faire disparaître du globe, dans les moindres délais possibles, les dernières traces du colonialisme. L'ONU restera incontestablement le point central d'où s'exercera ce noble effort international."

33. Ma délégation partage pleinement les sentiments exprimés par le Secrétaire général. Nous sommes convaincus que ce "mur de méfiance" s'écroulera si tous les Etats Membres, et notamment ceux dont le rayonnement est le plus grand, contribuent sans réserve à l'application des résolutions pertinentes de l'ONU. Ce qui fait défaut, ce n'est pas la possibilité d'entreprendre une action efficace, mais la volonté, de la part de certains Etats Membres, de s'acquitter pleinement de leurs obligations.

34. Le Comité des Vingt-Quatre est l'un des organes de l'ONU le plus directement engagés dans la lutte commune visant à éliminer le colonialisme. Le Comité spécial, dont ma délégation a l'honneur de faire partie, a été créé afin de servir en quelque sorte de "chien de garde" à l'Assemblée générale, afin aussi d'envisager et de recommander des mesures propres à accélérer l'application de la Déclaration historique sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. L'adoption de cette déclaration et la création du Comité spécial ont incontestablement imprimé un nouvel élan au processus de décolonisation. Le rapport du Comité spécial pour l'année 1967 [A/6700/Rev.1] est important. Le Comité spécial a conduit ses travaux tant à New York qu'en Afrique. Les réunions tenues en Afrique ont été extrêmement utiles, car elles ont permis aux membres du Comité, et notamment aux représentants des puissances administrantes, d'observer personnellement certains aspects de l'action constructive menée par les mouvements de libération nationale dans diverses colonies. Le Comité a également entendu des pétitionnaires représentant un grand nombre de mouvements de libération et de partis politiques des territoires coloniaux d'Afrique.

35. Ma délégation souhaite saisir cette occasion pour remercier les Gouvernements de la République démocratique du Congo, de la Zambie et de la République-Unie de Tanzanie d'avoir invité et accueilli le Comité spécial, lui permettant ainsi de se réunir en Afrique.

36. Ma délégation tient à rendre un hommage sincère au Président du Comité spécial, l'ambassadeur de Tanzanie, M. Malacela, qui s'est acquis notre profonde admiration par son total dévouement à la cause de la décolonisation.

37. Je voudrais aussi saisir cette occasion pour exprimer l'admiration que ma délégation éprouve pour la lutte héroïque menée par les peuples coloniaux d'Afrique et d'ailleurs pour obtenir leur libération. La lutte a été très souvent sanglante, mais nous savons tous qu'aucun moyen n'est à négliger lorsqu'il s'agit de traiter avec les autorités coloniales.

38. Je tiens aussi à inviter instamment les puissances administrantes à coopérer avec l'Organisation des Nations Unies à la réalisation de la noble tâche qu'elle s'est fixée, à savoir l'instauration d'une société fondée sur la justice et la liberté; je les invite par ailleurs à comprendre qu'il y va de leur propre intérêt de s'incliner devant l'irrévocable et d'assurer sans heurt la passation des pouvoirs aux peuples placés sous leur domination.

39. Au cours de la présente session, l'Assemblée générale a abordé deux aspects nouveaux de la décolonisation. Pour la première fois, le point 24 relatif aux activités des intérêts étrangers, économiques et autres, qui font obstacle à l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux [résolution 1514 (XV)], a fait l'objet d'un débat séparé. La Quatrième Commission a ainsi pu consacrer plus de temps et d'attention à l'examen de cette importante question. Le point 97 relatif à l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux figure également pour la première fois à notre ordre du jour, à la suite d'une initiative de la République populaire de Bulgarie. La question a fait l'objet d'un long débat à la Quatrième Commission. Nous espérons que l'adoption de la résolution présentée au titre de ce point de l'ordre du jour [2311 (XXII)] ouvrira, dans ce domaine, la voie à une coopération à la fois plus étroite et plus active entre l'Organisation des Nations Unies et les institutions spécialisées.

40. La situation coloniale n'a sans doute pas sensiblement évolué au cours de l'année écoulée, mais un événement marquant en a été l'accession à l'indépendance de l'ancien territoire de l'Arabie du Sud. Ma délégation, à l'instar de tous les peuples épris de paix, a salué la naissance de la République populaire du Yémen du Sud comme une nouvelle étape dans la lutte commune contre le colonialisme. L'île Maurice et le Souaziland doivent également devenir indépendants l'année prochaine. Ces modestes succès encourageront certainement le Comité spécial à redoubler d'efforts et à essayer par tous les moyens d'accélérer la disparition des derniers vestiges du colonialisme. Le programme de travail du Comité spécial reste cependant très chargé, car la Déclaration s'applique encore à quelque 51 territoires non autonomes, qui représentent une population de près de 29 millions d'habitants. Ma délégation espère que l'année qui vient sera de nouveau marquée par un effort soutenu dans l'entreprise difficile qui consiste à traduire dans les faits notre volonté commune de donner aux peuples du monde entier la possibilité de jouir du droit inaliénable de choisir un destin conforme à leurs vœux et à leurs aspirations.

41. Mlle GROZA (Roumanie): De nos jours, une condition essentielle de la sauvegarde de la paix consiste dans le respect du droit de chaque nation de se développer librement et de chaque pays de décider lui-même de son sort, conformément à ses aspirations nationales et à ses propres intérêts. L'ampleur acquise par les mouvements de libération nationale et sociale au cours du dernier demi-siècle, l'apparition sur la carte du monde d'un grand nombre d'Etats indépendants qui apportent une contribution précieuse à la cause de la paix et de la sécurité

internationales attestent avec une vigueur accrue la force des aspirations des peuples à l'indépendance, à la dignité humaine, au bien-être.

42. L'une des réalités contemporaines qui se reflètent aussi dans le cadre de notre Organisation est que la moitié environ des pays qui composent actuellement le monde est formée par des Etats ayant conquis leur indépendance après la seconde guerre mondiale. Par suite de ces grandes transformations structurales, les relations internationales ont acquis, pour la première fois dans l'histoire, un caractère vraiment mondial et le rôle des pays, petits et moyens, s'est sensiblement accru. Dans le monde d'aujourd'hui, il y a encore de nombreux peuples qui luttent pour la consolidation de leur indépendance, pour une existence nationale exempte de toute domination, pour l'affirmation de leur propre personnalité.

43. Mais ces légitimes aspirations des peuples se voient encore opposer une résistance acharnée de la part des forces du colonialisme. Sept ans après la proclamation par l'Assemblée générale de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, les liens d'asservissement colonial, la politique de discrimination raciale, les pratiques de l'apartheid se maintiennent toujours sur une vaste région du globe.

44. Ainsi, le gouvernement raciste de la République sud-africaine méconnaît les décisions de l'Organisation des Nations Unies en ce qui concerne le territoire du Sud-Ouest africain. En éludant ses responsabilités à l'égard de la population africaine, la politique du Royaume-Uni a conduit à l'instauration, en Rhodésie du Sud, d'un régime illégal raciste qui défie l'opinion publique mondiale. Ayant recours à une large gamme de moyens et de procédures allant des artifices juridiques jusqu'aux actions militaires de répression, les colonialistes portugais empêchent les peuples de l'Angola, du Mozambique, de la Guinée dite portugaise et d'autres territoires de réaliser leurs aspirations à une existence indépendante.

45. En dépit des aspirations et de la lutte menée par les peuples pour leur développement indépendant, nous continuons à nous trouver devant un état de choses qui contraste d'une manière frappante avec les progrès enregistrés par l'humanité dans le domaine de la science et de la technique.

46. En tenant toute une série de peuples à l'écart du processus du développement, le colonialisme constitue un phénomène antisocial nuisible qui entrave, d'une manière dangereuse et dans une mesure appréciable, les efforts entrepris pour remédier à l'inégalité entre ceux qui ont et ceux qui n'ont pas, inégalité qui est une source de dangers pour la paix générale.

47. Le caractère anachronique du système colonial, contraire aux intérêts de tous les peuples, découle du fait que ce système est fondé sur un concept suranné de maintien de la misère économique et un état retardataire, au point de vue politique, social et culturel, des peuples opprimés, à l'avantage de ceux qui réalisent d'énormes bénéfices par suite de l'exploitation coloniale. Or, l'histoire contemporaine témoigne que le bien-être d'un peuple ne peut être fondé sur l'exploitation d'un autre peuple et que, tout

comme la paix et la sécurité internationales, le bien-être des peuples est, à l'échelle mondiale, indivisible.

48. Au fond, c'est bien l'une des raisons des efforts multiples déployés dans le cadre et en dehors de l'Organisation des Nations Unies pour favoriser et développer une coopération multilatérale avec les peuples ayant acquis récemment leur indépendance d'Etat et qui s'efforcent de consolider leur indépendance économique et d'accéder à un niveau de vie comparable à celui des pays avancés.

49. Il est évident que la ferme opposition à l'égard du maintien du système d'exploitation coloniale s'étaye autant sur des critères d'ordre moral et sur les principes de la défense de la légalité dans la vie internationale que sur la conscience du fait que le système colonial est devenu incompatible avec la paix et la sécurité internationales.

50. L'expérience démontre chaque jour, d'une manière convaincante, qu'il est impossible de maintenir un pareil état de choses au mépris de la soif de liberté des peuples opprimés. En effet, la paix internationale et la sécurité mondiale ne peuvent être convenablement assurées aussi longtemps que, dans telle ou telle partie du monde, ce système condamné par l'histoire, incompatible avec la dignité humaine et les commandements de l'éthique internationale, se maintient sous une forme ouverte ou dissimulée.

51. Je voudrais aussi m'arrêter un instant sur le lien intime qui existe entre la lutte anticolonialiste et les efforts déployés par tous les peuples en vue d'assurer le respect des droits de l'homme et de ses libertés fondamentales, ce qui, au point de vue juridique et moral, implique l'égalité de droits pour tous les êtres humains, sans distinction de race, de couleur ou de nationalité.

52. Le colonialisme constitue la méconnaissance la plus brutale de ces droits et principes consacrés par la Charte des Nations Unies et la Déclaration universelle des droits de l'homme.

53. Comment pourrait-on parler de respect des droits de l'homme dans une colonie où la population autochtone se voit contester — précisément parce qu'elle appartient à une autre race que celle dominante — le droit élémentaire d'être maître dans son propre foyer? Les preuves de la violation des droits élémentaires des peuples soumis à la domination coloniale ne font que s'accumuler de jour en jour.

54. Je n'ai pas l'intention d'évoquer ici tous les aspects revêtus par le colonialisme et le racisme. On peut néanmoins se poser une question légitime: comment est-il possible que le phénomène anachronique du colonialisme, avec toutes ses conséquences maléfiques pour la société contemporaine, se maintienne en dépit des décisions de l'ONU, qui exigent la liquidation de tous les régimes coloniaux, et au mépris de l'opinion mondiale?

55. En considérant de plus près certains aspects du monde contemporain, ainsi que les conclusions qui se dégagent des discussions qui ont eu lieu à l'Assemblée plénière et dans les commissions à ce sujet, on se rend bien compte que les facteurs qui agissent contre l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux sont, tout d'abord, les intérêts

économiques et financiers des monopoles internationaux qui opèrent dans les territoires soumis à la domination coloniale.

56. Les rapports du Comité des Vingt-Quatre démontrent, faits à l'appui, que nous avons assisté, ces dernières années, à une pénétration toujours plus puissante du capital étranger dans les territoires soumis à la domination coloniale, phénomène qui, loin de favoriser l'émancipation économique, sociale et culturelle des peuples de ces territoires, ne fait qu'intensifier la domination et l'exploitation et accroître les profits des monopoles.

57. En désespoir de cause, les puissances coloniales cherchent à unir leurs forces pour sauver ce qu'elles peuvent des anciens privilèges coloniaux, et même pour reconquérir les positions perdues. Eloquente à cet égard est la manière solidaire dont elles agissent pour appuyer le régime raciste illégal de la Rhodésie du Sud.

58. Il est certain que les colonialistes sud-africains et portugais n'auraient pas résisté à la lutte des peuples opprimés et n'auraient pas eu le courage de défier la volonté de la communauté internationale, exprimée aussi dans de nombreuses résolutions de notre Organisation, sans l'aide directe ou indirecte accordée par leurs alliés, notamment par l'intermédiaire des blocs militaires. La vie confirme, une fois de plus, que les blocs militaires offrent des prétextes d'ingérence dans les affaires intérieures d'autrui et contribuent à la perpétuation d'un système condamné par l'histoire, au maintien du joug colonial.

59. Je voudrais retenir à présent l'attention de l'Assemblée sur un autre phénomène. A mesure que se rapproche le moment de la liquidation des derniers vestiges du système colonial s'accroît la tendance à substituer aux anciennes méthodes colonialistes des méthodes plus raffinées. Les pratiques néo-colonialistes qui portent atteinte à la souveraineté des Etats et méconnaissent le droit des peuples au libre développement sont favorisées par la longue domination coloniale qui a déformé l'économie des anciennes colonies, en la faisant dévier de son développement normal vers une production unilatérale de matières premières agricoles et industrielles.

60. Entre le vieux système colonial et le néo-colonialisme, il existe une étroite liaison, les deux représentant en somme des formes variées de manifestation du même phénomène: la domination du plus faible par le plus fort, l'opposition des éléments colonialistes à l'exercice du droit qu'ont les peuples de décider librement de leur sort.

61. Profondément attachée aux idées de liberté et d'indépendance nationale, la Roumanie socialiste a toujours exprimé — et exprime une fois de plus — son entière solidarité et son appui à la juste lutte menée par les peuples pour s'affranchir de la domination coloniale, pour affirmer leur entité nationale et assurer leur progrès social. Le peuple roumain, qui a connu jadis toutes les rigueurs de la domination étrangère et qui a conquis son indépendance au terme d'une lutte multiséculaire, est naturellement aux côtés des peuples qui luttent pour renverser la domination coloniale et parvenir à un développement indépendant. L'histoire démontre que la voie la plus

sûre pour réaliser cet objectif fondamental consiste dans l'intensification des efforts déployés par les peuples eux-mêmes, la mobilisation du potentiel humain et matériel, la concentration et l'union de toutes les forces avancées des nations en cause.

62. Nous nous associons aux opinions exprimées ici selon lesquelles l'Organisation des Nations Unies pourrait et devrait intensifier son appui à la lutte des peuples des colonies, dans l'esprit de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux et des nombreuses résolutions de l'Assemblée générale et du Conseil de sécurité, qui n'ont pas toujours été respectées par ceux-là mêmes qui ont voté en leur faveur, ce qui a sérieusement entravé le processus de décolonisation.

63. Par les mécanismes et les moyens dont elle dispose, l'Organisation des Nations Unies est en mesure de contribuer davantage à l'élimination des pratiques colonialistes et néo-colonialistes. Décisifs pour l'obtention de la victoire seront bien sûr la lutte et les efforts déployés par ces peuples mêmes contre les régimes coloniaux et racistes, pour la défense de leur droit sacré, inaliénable et imprescriptible d'être maîtres de leur destinée, de disposer librement de leurs richesses et ressources, de choisir selon leurs propres aspirations et sans aucune immixtion étrangère le système social qui leur convient.

64. Le Comité des Vingt-Quatre, chargé d'examiner la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, a déployé une activité utile dans l'accomplissement du mandat qui lui a été confié. L'intensification de son activité visant à dénoncer les puissances coloniales, à attirer l'attention de l'opinion publique mondiale sur la situation des colonies et des territoires non autonomes, à veiller à l'application des décisions prises en vue de la liquidation du colonialisme, accroîtra sans doute l'efficacité de ce mécanisme. Nous considérons de ce fait que tous les Etats ont le devoir d'aider de leur mieux le Comité à mener sa tâche à bon terme.

65. Il est en outre nécessaire que de nouveaux efforts soient entrepris, que de nouvelles mesures soient adoptées afin de renforcer la lutte menée, à l'échelon mondial, pour faire disparaître toutes les formes, ouvertes ou déguisées, du colonialisme. A la recherche de ces méthodes et moyens nouveaux, à leur application aussi énergique et prompte que possible, sont intéressés non seulement les peuples qui se trouvent encore sous le joug colonialiste ou néo-colonialiste, mais absolument tous les peuples, car le maintien de ce fléau ne peut qu'avoir des effets maléfiques sur les perspectives de paix, de sécurité et de développement continu de chaque pays.

66. La délégation roumaine, pour sa part, est profondément convaincue que l'aspiration des peuples à la liberté et à une vie meilleure s'avérera plus forte que les obstacles dressés par les colonialistes et les néo-colonialistes et qu'elle finira par triompher.

67. M. WILLIAMS (Sierra Leone) [traduit de l'anglais]: Il y a quelques semaines, l'accession à l'indépendance, sous le nom de République populaire du Yémen du Sud, des territoires non autonomes d'Aden

et de l'Arabie du Sud s'est produite dans des circonstances qui ne semblent pas avoir recueilli l'approbation de tous les Etats Membres de notre organisation. Nous avons cependant tous accueilli avec joie la naissance d'une nouvelle nation, fruit de la sueur, du sang et des larmes de la population arabe, mais aussi des pressions exercées par notre organisation. Nous nous sommes tous accordés pour adresser nos meilleurs vœux à ce nouvel Etat et pour exprimer l'espoir que les populations qui le composent renforceront encore leur unité pour assurer leur survie et leur avenir. Hier, nous nous sommes associés aux paroles de bienvenue que d'autres délégations ont prononcées à l'occasion de l'arrivée de ce nouvel Etat parmi nous.

68. L'île Maurice, Nauru et le Souaziland doivent obtenir leur indépendance en 1968, et nous voulons encore espérer que le Gouvernement espagnol et les habitants de la Guinée équatoriale parviendront à s'entendre sur les modalités de l'indépendance qui pourrait être octroyée à ce territoire au cours de la même année.

69. Nombreux sont néanmoins les peuples et les territoires qui sont encore sous le joug colonial. Le nombre des colonisés dans les îles du Pacifique et de l'Atlantique, ainsi que sur le continent africain, atteint près de 30 millions. La volonté et les efforts sincères des puissances administrantes devraient permettre de décoloniser rapidement ces régions selon les principes énoncés dans la résolution 1514 (XV). Il est de mon devoir solennel, à ce stade, de réaffirmer notre conviction profonde selon laquelle tout territoire colonial doit avoir la possibilité de devenir indépendant et de choisir la forme d'autodétermination qu'il désire, mais aussi de souligner que, dans chaque territoire, les autochtones doivent être consultés, par des moyens acceptables pour notre organisation, sur leurs aspirations concernant l'avenir.

70. Cette règle, qui ne souffre aucune exception, s'applique aussi bien aux vastes territoires tels que l'Afrique australe, le Mozambique, la Rhodésie du Sud et l'Angola qu'aux territoires de dimensions plus modestes tels que les îles Pitcairn, Nioué et Tokélaou. Le principe du droit à l'autodétermination n'est d'ailleurs pas seulement énoncé dans la Charte; il a aussi été réaffirmé dans des résolutions de l'Assemblée générale et d'autres organes et comités appelés à traiter de certains aspects de la décolonisation.

71. Mon gouvernement croit que l'œuvre de décolonisation doit être rapidement menée à son terme. Depuis des dizaines d'années, le colonialisme n'a guère perdu de terrain dans la plupart de ces territoires. L'exemple des Etats nouvellement indépendants a montré qu'après un léger fléchissement initial ces jeunes nations connaissent un nouvel essor, même si des difficultés d'ordre économique les empêchent de rattraper les pays développés.

72. Les questions dont nous sommes saisis semblent se diviser en trois catégories, à savoir celles qui ont trait à l'ensemble du continent africain, celles qui se rapportent aux îles, enfin celles qui concernent des territoires faisant l'objet de pourparlers multi-

latéraux. Je m'arrêterai brièvement sur chacune de ces trois catégories, ma délégation ayant déjà longuement exposé son point de vue, devant la Quatrième Commission et le Comité des Vingt-Quatre, sur certaines questions appartenant à chacune d'elles.

73. De l'avis de ma délégation, les problèmes de l'Afrique australe sont essentiellement d'ordre racial. Les Sud-Africains refusent de reconnaître la décision historique que l'Assemblée générale a prise en 1966 au sujet du Sud-Ouest africain [résolution 2145 (XXI)]. Ils multiplient les opérations contre la population du Sud-Ouest africain, pour qui les perspectives de justice et de liberté, ainsi que la jouissance des droits de l'homme, s'estompent de jour en jour. En Angola et au Mozambique, les Portugais livrent une guerre contre les Africains, qui sont blessés ou tués pour avoir simplement cherché à se libérer de leurs chaînes pour vivre librement, comme des êtres humains.

74. En Rhodésie du Sud, après la déclaration unilatérale d'indépendance de 1965, Ian Smith a osé braver l'Organisation des Nations Unies parce que le Royaume-Uni, la puissance administrante, n'a pris aucune des mesures efficaces recommandées dans diverses résolutions de l'Assemblée générale pour mettre fin à cet acte séditieux. Or, nous constatons que ces trois régimes ont constitué en Afrique australe ce qu'il est convenu d'appeler "l'alliance impie" dans le seul but de s'entraider et de préserver la suprématie des Blancs dans la patrie des Noirs. La région doit être décolonisée, faute de quoi l'ONU risque fort d'achopper sur des problèmes plus complexes.

75. Il est peut-être bon de rappeler que le maintien de la paix est la fonction essentielle de l'ONU. Or, nous le déclarons une fois encore, des opérations de maintien de la paix pourraient devenir nécessaires dans ces régions si les Etats Membres refusent de prendre conjointement les mesures indispensables pour que toute la partie méridionale de l'Afrique devienne véritablement indépendante. Les problèmes du maintien de la paix que doit résoudre notre organisation, par l'intermédiaire du Comité spécial des opérations de maintien de la paix, se compliqueraient encore de ce fait et exigeraient, en cas de conflit armé dans la région, la mobilisation de toutes les ressources en énergie, en hommes et en matériel. Un conflit racial de cette nature garderait difficilement, en effet, un caractère limité et risquerait de s'étendre au monde entier.

76. Nous disons cela parce que nous estimons que certaines grandes puissances, en particulier des puissances occidentales, ne se sont pas conformées aux résolutions, d'une portée pourtant modeste, que l'Assemblée générale et le Conseil de sécurité avaient adoptées au sujet des territoires coloniaux de la région. Les activités étrangères, financières et autres ont suscité une condamnation massive. Ma délégation a déjà eu l'occasion de préciser, dans une autre instance, que ce n'est pas le principe des investissements étrangers qui est mis en cause, mais les méthodes utilisées par les investisseurs étrangers pour accroître leurs bénéfices, de même que la législation locale, en vertu de laquelle les autochtones ne retirent presque aucun profit de l'exploitation de leurs res-

sources minérales et autres. Nous nous adressons de nouveau à ces grands pays pour les inviter à ne pas se complaire dans leur propre inaction, mais à appliquer les mesures recommandées par ceux d'entre nous qui se trouvent à proximité de la zone où le danger est imminent.

77. A mesure que la décolonisation se poursuit, les petits territoires non autonomes occupent de plus en plus le devant de la scène. Ma délégation partage entièrement le point de vue du Secrétaire général, aux yeux duquel le problème de l'admission de ces territoires dans le concert des nations mérite de recevoir une solution juste et viable. Ainsi que je l'ai dit précédemment, nous croyons vraiment que même l'île Pitcairn, qui ne compte que 80 habitants environ, doit bénéficier du droit à l'autodétermination. Les habitants devraient pouvoir donner librement leur avis sur l'avenir de leur île. Nous continuons à espérer qu'avec l'assistance du Secrétaire général le Comité des Vingt-Quatre pourra nous indiquer la voie à suivre pour atteindre cet objectif.

78. L'Assemblée a instamment prié les parties en cause dans tous les territoires coloniaux qui sont le théâtre de conflits bilatéraux ou multilatéraux de rechercher ensemble, sur la base de la Charte et de la résolution 1514 (XV), des solutions de nature à servir les intérêts à la fois des parties en présence et des habitants des territoires. Nous ne pouvons qu'encourager les parties en cause à entamer des pourparlers en vue de mettre au point, avec la collaboration des populations intéressées, une formule qui permettrait d'accélérer la décolonisation.

79. Pour les territoires dont le statut est mal défini, c'est-à-dire ceux qui, sans être tout à fait indépendants, ne sont pas considérés comme des colonies, il serait utile que notre organisation étudie leur cas, afin que, ayant fait table rase de ces chimères, nous sachions une fois pour toutes lesquels de ces territoires sont indépendants et lesquels ne le sont pas. L'Assemblée générale devrait avoir la possibilité d'habiliter le Comité des Vingt-Quatre à prendre la décision audacieuse d'examiner ces questions avant de soumettre des recommandations à la prochaine session de l'Assemblée générale. Pour sa part, l'Assemblée générale devrait faire porter ses efforts plus particulièrement sur l'Afrique australe. A cet égard, ma délégation a écouté avec attention le débat sur la question des intérêts étrangers, financiers et autres qui entrent en jeu en Afrique australe, car c'est là le domaine où apparaissent le plus clairement les réalités à la fois de la puissance administrante et des autres nations intéressées. Nous avons également pris note des difficultés que rencontre le Conseil du Sud-Ouest africain dans l'accomplissement de la tâche que lui a confiée cette assemblée.

80. Je terminerai en rappelant que presque tous les Etats représentés ici ont connu, à une époque plus ou moins éloignée, la condition de territoire colonial. Que chacun d'entre nous songe aux infamies et aux souffrances infligées à ses ancêtres; que chacun d'entre nous se remette en mémoire ses aspirations et la lutte qu'il a menée pour l'indépendance. A l'inverse de Salazar et de Vorster, souvenons-nous du passé et rappelons-nous comment nous nous sommes tous libérés de la tyrannie colonialiste des époques

précédentes pour devenir indépendants, et prenons ensemble la décision de libérer les territoires coloniaux.

81. M. TCHERNOUCHTENKO (République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie) [traduit du russe]: Permettez-moi de commencer par un bref historique de l'activité de l'Organisation des Nations Unies et par une évaluation de sa participation au processus de décolonisation durant ces dernières années.

82. Il y a sept ans, le 14 décembre 1960, l'Assemblée générale adoptait un document de grande portée historique: la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux [1514 (XV)]. Son texte est bien connu, notamment, j'en suis certain, de tous ceux qui sont présents ici, tant ceux qui ont applaudi son adoption ou qui ont enfin obtenu l'indépendance et siègent parmi nous en qualité de représentants de pays souverains que ceux qui, de toute évidence, ne la portent pas dans leur cœur.

83. Néanmoins, je voudrais rappeler le passage dans lequel l'Assemblée générale "proclame solennellement la nécessité de mettre rapidement et inconditionnellement fin au colonialisme sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations". Ce sont là des paroles remarquables, inspirées par une exigence de notre époque — la volonté des peuples du monde entier qui ne peuvent en aucun cas accepter le fait qu'il y ait encore sur notre planète des foyers d'esclavage colonial, l'héritage le plus honteux du passé.

84. Depuis 1961, c'est-à-dire à partir de la seizième session, l'ordre du jour de l'Assemblée générale comprend un point relatif à la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration. Cette question y figure cette fois encore car les puissances coloniales et ceux qui les soutiennent directement ou indirectement ont empêché et empêchent par tous les moyens la libération totale des pays et des peuples coloniaux du joug étranger.

85. Point n'est besoin de m'arrêter en détail sur chaque session depuis 1961. Chacune d'elles a apporté une contribution toujours plus grande et plus valable à la cause de la lutte contre le colonialisme. Ainsi, une résolution [2105 (XX)], adoptée déjà à la vingtième session, en 1965, reconnaît la légitimité de la lutte que les peuples sous domination coloniale mènent pour l'exercice de leur droit à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance et invite tous les Etats à apporter une aide matérielle et morale aux mouvements de libération nationale dans les territoires coloniaux. Elle prie aussi les puissances coloniales de démanteler les bases militaires installées dans les territoires coloniaux et de s'abstenir d'en établir de nouvelles.

86. On y lit également que l'Assemblée générale prie tous les Etats et les institutions internationales, y compris les institutions spécialisées des Nations Unies, de refuser toute assistance, quelle qu'elle soit, aux Gouvernements portugais et sud-africain tant qu'ils n'auront pas renoncé à leur politique de domination coloniale et de discrimination raciale.

87. Une autre résolution, adoptée à la vingt et unième session, condamne les activités de ceux des intérêts

économiques et financiers étrangers qui appuient les régimes coloniaux et constituent, de ce fait, un sérieux obstacle à la décolonisation. A la présente session, l'Assemblée générale a également adopté une série de décisions positives contribuant à la lutte des peuples contre le joug colonial.

88. Tout récemment, nous avons salué l'apparition d'un nouvel Etat, la République populaire du Yémen du Sud qui, depuis hier, est Membre des Nations Unies. Que ses représentants ici reçoivent de cette tribune nos félicitations.

89. Cependant, la décolonisation se poursuit dans une lutte complexe et tendue. Les peuples coloniaux ont affaire à un adversaire dangereux et perfide qui possède des forces armées dotées de l'équipement le plus moderne, et des ressources économiques et financières énormes. En outre, il jouit de l'appui direct ou indirect des membres du bloc atlantique et d'autres blocs militaires occidentaux.

90. Soulignons encore le fait que le colonialisme moderne est non seulement dangereux mais perfide. Il camoufle sa nature et son activité sous les oripeaux multicolores de la démagogie et s'adapte aux tendances du moment. Le néo-colonialisme se sert de toutes les armes possibles; il attise les haines entre tribus et encourage les penchants séparatistes, il recourt aux diverses formes d'asservissement politique et économique des peuples telles que l'exportation de capitaux, les échanges commerciaux inégaux, l'aide assortie de conditions politiques bien définies. Il peut créer des bases militaires sur les territoires d'autres pays, imposer des régimes fantoches, etc.

91. La vie même a confirmé la justesse de la conclusion selon laquelle l'autonomie politique, la proclamation de l'indépendance de tel ou tel territoire ne mettent pas fin à la lutte pour la liberté réelle et les droits souverains qui se poursuit contre le néo-colonialisme, au nom de la libération économique de l'emprise impérialiste, au nom du progrès social.

92. Dans ces conditions, notre organisation doit être beaucoup plus active qu'elle ne l'a été jusqu'à présent, non seulement parce que les peuples de l'Angola, du Mozambique, de l'Afrique du Sud, de l'Oman, de la Rhodésie du Sud, de Porto Rico, des îles du Pacifique, de l'Atlantique et de l'océan Indien portent encore les chaînes de l'esclavage, mais aussi parce que les colonisateurs s'accrochent avec acharnement à ce qu'ils n'ont pas encore perdu. Là aussi, les pays occidentaux sont les protecteurs des forces du colonialisme et du racisme.

93. En effet, le Portugal, un des pays le plus arriérés d'Europe, pourrait-il conserver sa domination coloniale et poursuivre de sales guerres en Angola, au Mozambique et en Guinée dite portugaise sans l'aide et l'appui de ses partenaires du bloc militaire et colonialiste de l'OTAN, avant tout des Etats-Unis d'Amérique, de la Grande-Bretagne et de l'Allemagne occidentale?

94. De même, Ian Smith aurait-il pu se maintenir en Rhodésie du Sud, après avoir asservi le peuple du Zimbabwe? Les racistes sud-africains qui occupent le Sud-Ouest africain seraient-ils si impudents

s'ils n'avaient pour eux les pays occidentaux qui, en paroles, prêchent la décolonisation mais, en pratique, empêchent de toutes leurs forces qu'elle ne se réalise?

95. Les monopoles internationaux sont un autre ennemi dangereux pour les peuples qui combattent pour la liberté et l'indépendance. Nous pouvons dire avec certitude que ce sont précisément eux les principaux responsables du maintien du joug colonial. Néanmoins, d'aucuns se mettraient en quatre pour prouver que l'activité des monopoles est prétendument utile à l'économie et au développement des territoires coloniaux et que même elle sert les intérêts des peuples.

96. Toute l'histoire de l'impérialisme est une succession de pillages des peuples des colonies et des pays dépendants au nom des bénéfices extraordinaires qu'en retirent les monopoles des Etats-Unis, du Royaume-Uni et des autres puissances coloniales. Plusieurs preuves éloquentes témoignent de cet état de choses. Prenons-en une.

97. Selon des données fournies par le GATT, entre 1953 et 1958, l'exportation de capitaux privés des pays occidentaux en Asie, en Afrique et en Amérique latine représentait 7,6 milliards de dollars environ, alors que les revenus que les monopoles occidentaux en ont obtenus sous forme de bénéfices, d'intérêts et de dividendes, s'élevaient à 13,8 milliards de dollars. En d'autres termes, les bénéfices nets ont en cinq ans doublé presque la somme des capitaux privés investis.

98. Voilà des faits qui montrent toute la monstruosité avec laquelle les monopoles internationaux dépouillent les pays coloniaux et dépendants. Ils démentent complètement les assertions des colonisateurs et de leurs acolytes selon lesquelles l'afflux des capitaux étrangers dans ces pays aurait une "influence bénéfique" sur le développement de leur économie. L'état actuel des choses prouve que le retard économique, social et culturel dans lequel vivent les pays coloniaux et les pays nouvellement indépendants est dû en premier lieu à l'activité néfaste des monopoles internationaux qui les ont pillés et continuent à le faire. En revanche, l'exemple de bon nombre de pays, devenus récemment indépendants, montre qu'ils n'obtiennent de grands succès dans le développement de leur économie et de leur culture que lorsqu'ils luttent contre la pression des capitaux étrangers et déclarent hors la loi ou limitent l'activité des monopoles internationaux.

99. La délégation de la Biélorussie, comme bien d'autres délégations, estime que la résolution 2288 (XXII), adoptée la semaine dernière par l'Assemblée générale, condamnant l'activité des monopoles internationaux dans les colonies, est un énorme pas en avant que les Nations Unies ont fait vers la décolonisation. Notre tâche consiste maintenant à développer et à renforcer davantage encore les dispositions de cette résolution et à veiller à son application.

100. L'histoire du colonialisme est étroitement liée à l'activité militaire des puissances coloniales et aux points d'appui qu'elles se sont constitués sur les territoires asservis. Nous le savons tous: les

premiers acheteurs et les premiers industriels y ont été suivis de près par les soldats.

101. Il va de soi qu'à l'heure actuelle la situation se présente différemment: les acheteurs ne sont plus les mêmes, les soldats ne sont plus armés de halberdes. En fait, les temps ont tellement changé que souvent il n'y a que les soldats qui arrivent. Cependant, la nature du problème reste la même car les intérêts des monopoles continuent à être défendus par les forces armées des puissances coloniales.

102. A cet égard, il convient de souligner le fait que de nos jours, sous la pression du mouvement de libération nationale, les colonialistes se voient forcés de quitter les colonies qui, de ce fait, deviennent de moins en moins nombreuses. Pourtant, "même en partant, ils s'arrangent pour rester" et souvent s'implantent quelque part tout près en installant de nouvelles bases militaires dans des îles faiblement peuplées. Les bases militaires situées sur les territoires coloniaux en Asie, en Afrique, en Amérique latine, dans les îles de l'Atlantique, de l'océan Indien et du Pacifique, représentent non seulement une arme pour opprimer les peuples qui luttent pour leur liberté et leur indépendance, mais aussi un instrument dangereux de la politique néo-colonialiste de l'impérialisme lui permettant de s'immiscer dans les affaires intérieures des Etats. L'exemple qui illustre le mieux cet état de choses est la base de Guam que les Etats-Unis utilisent pour mener leur guerre de pirates contre le peuple vietnamien. Il est donc bien évident que le problème de la décolonisation et celui du démantèlement des bases militaires sont étroitement liés l'un à l'autre. Mieux encore, ils représentent, à notre avis, l'un des aspects importants de la décolonisation.

103. La délégation de la RSS de Biélorussie a examiné attentivement le rapport du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. Il n'y a pas le moindre doute que durant l'année en cours un travail considérable a été effectué, dont les résultats en sont la meilleure preuve. Toutefois, nous n'avons pas le droit de nous laisser leurrer ou de nous reposer sur nos lauriers. Notre tâche principale consiste à ne pas permettre qu'il reste sur notre planète une seule colonie, un seul pays asservi par l'impérialisme. Or, cette tâche n'est pas encore accomplie, et notre devoir à tous, aux Nations Unies, est d'appuyer de toutes nos forces la lutte des peuples coloniaux pour leur libération, de leur accorder notre aide totale, tant morale que matérielle.

104. Il faut condamner résolument l'activité néfaste que déploient les monopoles internationaux dans les colonies car, si elle est enrayée, l'un des principaux obstacles sur la voie de la décolonisation sera supprimé.

105. L'Assemblée générale doit se prononcer, avec tout le poids de son autorité, à l'égard des pays qui se refusent à détruire les bases militaires situées dans les territoires soumis au joug colonial et rappeler à l'ordre les institutions spécialisées qui, en violation des décisions des Nations Unies, continuent à accorder une assistance financière et autre au Portugal et à la République sud-africaine.

106. Le Comité des Vingt-Quatre doit avant tout veiller à la mise en œuvre effective des décisions des Nations Unies et concentrer ses efforts sur l'application des décisions que celles-ci ont prises au sujet de la décolonisation. Son devoir est aussi de faire en sorte que de nouvelles propositions soient approuvées afin de contribuer à la réalisation progressive de ce processus historique.

107. Nous estimons que l'Assemblée générale, dans ses décisions relatives à l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, doit désigner par leur nom les principaux responsables de l'oppression coloniale continue, à savoir les Etats-Unis d'Amérique, le Royaume-Uni, la République fédérale d'Allemagne, la République sud-africaine, le Portugal et certains autres pays occidentaux. Ceux-ci doivent être condamnés résolument pour avoir refusé d'appliquer la Déclaration.

108. Notre délégation appuiera les décisions des Nations Unies visant à la réalisation de ces objectifs.

109. La RSS de Biélorussie, comme les autres pays socialistes, a toujours été et reste un ami fidèle des peuples à toutes les étapes de leur combat pour la libération nationale. Elle a accordé et accordera son aide et son appui à ceux qui luttent pour leur libération du joug et de l'oppression impérialistes.

110. La situation actuelle dans le monde fait sentir encore davantage la nécessité d'unité et de cohésion des forces du mouvement de libération nationale, le besoin de renforcer leurs liens avec tous ceux qui luttent contre l'impérialisme et le colonialisme au nom de la victoire des idéaux de liberté, de progrès et de paix. Cette cohésion et cette unité d'action sont le gage du succès de la lutte anticolonialiste de libération des peuples.

111. Le PRESIDENT: L'Assemblée vient d'entendre le dernier orateur qui désirait participer aux débats sur le point 23 de l'ordre du jour. Je donne la parole au représentant du Portugal, qui a manifesté le désir d'exercer son droit de réponse.

112. M. LOURENCO (Portugal) [traduit de l'anglais]: Ma délégation a demandé la parole afin de faire une brève déclaration au titre de son droit de réponse.

113. Nous avons écouté avec attention les interventions que de très nombreux représentants ont faites au sujet du point 23 de l'ordre du jour, dont l'Assemblée générale est maintenant saisie. Cette année encore, comme les années précédentes, nous avons eu droit à un débat prolongé qui nous a permis d'entendre diverses affirmations, insinuations et allégations mettant en cause la politique que mon gouvernement applique dans les provinces portugaises situées par-delà les mers.

114. Nous nous plaisons à penser que certaines de ces déclarations n'étaient pas inspirées par la malveillance, mais imputables à une connaissance hâtive et imparfaite des conditions de vie dans nos provinces, doublée de la volonté de poursuivre avec trop de zèle cette prétendue campagne de décolonisation. Mais, nous regrettons vivement d'avoir à le dire, d'autres déclarations tendancieuses ont été formulées

dans un but évident par les partisans d'un style de vie en tous points opposé au nôtre, lesquels s'emploient activement, par tous les moyens dont ils disposent, à atteindre des objectifs bien connus. Ma délégation s'estime donc dans l'obligation d'apporter certaines précisions afin de remettre les choses au point.

115. Avant d'apporter ces quelques précisions, toutefois, j'aimerais faire observer que la position de mon gouvernement à l'égard de la question à l'étude, et en particulier de la résolution 1514 (XV) adoptée en 1960 et de celles qui lui ont succédé, a été si souvent et si clairement définie tant à l'Assemblée générale que dans d'autres instances de l'ONU qu'il me paraît superflu d'y revenir une fois encore.

116. Ma délégation a saisi la première occasion qui s'est offerte pour exposer en termes clairs les raisons profondes qui nous ont poussés à adopter, à l'égard de la lettre et de l'esprit de la résolution 1514 (XV), la position que tout le monde connaît. Même nos détracteurs les plus virulents devront admettre que nous avons fait preuve d'honnêteté et de constance envers nous-mêmes en restant fidèles à nos convictions pendant toutes ces années.

117. On ne peut cependant en dire autant de nos détracteurs, et notamment de quelques-uns des principaux architectes de la résolution 1514 (XV), mais aussi de la résolution 1541 (XV) adoptée à la même époque dans le but de définir expressément les modalités d'application de la résolution 1514 (XV), mais à laquelle il n'est désormais plus de mise de faire même allusion.

118. À cet égard, il est intéressant de noter que même le projet de résolution dont l'Assemblée générale est saisie [A/L.541/Rev.1] ne tient aucun compte de la résolution 1541 (XV) qui, adoptée à la même époque que la résolution 1514 (XV), je le répète, était jugée extrêmement importante pour la poursuite de l'idéal cher à certains Etats Membres.

119. Au cours du débat, quelques représentants pleins de fougue ont suggéré que l'Assemblée générale décide d'établir une étude analytique de ces résolutions et des autres résolutions portant sur le même sujet que l'ONU a adoptées par la suite, cela afin de déterminer quels sont les obstacles et les difficultés qui s'opposent à la pleine application de ces résolutions dans le monde entier.

120. Ma délégation ose affirmer que si l'entreprise envisagée était menée en toute honnêteté, elle serait sans doute on ne peut plus utile. Mais une étude analytique de cette nature pourrait et devrait absolument porter aussi sur les méthodes utilisées pour appliquer la résolution 1514 (XV) à des situations prétendument "coloniales", sans jamais perdre de vue les principes que l'Organisation des Nations Unies avait alors adoptés à cette fin, et en particulier le principe IX, tel qu'il est énoncé dans la résolution 1541 (XV). Les conclusions de cette étude devraient réellement nous fournir ample matière à réflexion.

121. En ce qui nous concerne, personne ne saurait ou ne devrait, en toute bonne foi, nous blâmer de ne pas nous conformer à des résolutions adoptées à la

majorité par l'Assemblée générale, mais que ma délégation n'a jamais acceptées. En revanche, nous pouvons affirmer ici, sans crainte d'être contredits, qu'alors que nous nous obstinions à défendre, par tous les moyens réguliers et légitimes prévus dans la Charte des Nations Unies, les principes dont nous sommes les tenants fidèles, nous avons été sans cesse attaqués, diffamés et nous avons eu à souffrir d'actes qui, même envisagés sous l'angle le plus favorable et le plus indulgent, n'échappent pas à la catégorie des actes d'agression. C'est ainsi que certaines de nos possessions nationales ont été soustraites à notre juridiction par la force, au cours d'une agression manifeste comportant l'intervention de forces armées, pour être abusivement placées, sans raison valable, sous la garde d'une autre puissance, et cela en recourant à des manœuvres frauduleuses et à des artifices de procédure qui ne figurent nullement parmi les principes énoncés dans la résolution 1541 (XV).

122. Tout cela prétendument perpétré au nom d'une légalité contestable de prime abord et que personne n'a encore osé prôner ouvertement. Il est bon de ne pas oublier que ces résolutions ont été approuvées par la majorité des membres de l'Assemblée générale, quoique ma délégation ne les ait pas jugées acceptables; il appartient donc maintenant à l'Assemblée d'en évaluer les résultats.

123. Je dois ici préciser, entre parenthèses, qu'à l'exception des territoires qui ont été envahis, puis soustraits à l'administration légitime de la nation portugaise, de la manière indiquée plus haut, et dont aucun n'est situé sur le continent africain, aucune autre portion, petite ou grande, de nos provinces africaines, n'est tombée aux mains des prétendus mouvements de libération, contrairement aux affirmations avancées par un ou deux représentants à l'appui de la thèse selon laquelle les institutions spécialisées des Nations Unies et les autres organismes internationaux chargés de dispenser une aide matérielle et humanitaire devraient transférer au bénéfice de ces mouvements l'assistance qu'ils refuseraient, sans raison valable, au Gouvernement portugais.

124. A l'heure même où nous discutons et délibérons, certaines des populations portugaises d'outre-mer sont victimes d'actes d'agression commis par des éléments anarchistes dont la violence est le mot d'ordre, et qui se trouvent encouragés à bafouer les principes du droit dans les relations internationales par un grand nombre de ceux qui ne se lassent jamais, à l'ONU ou ailleurs, d'en appeler au caractère sacré et inviolable de ces mêmes principes.

125. Il semble qu'une attitude partisane et aveugle, doublée d'intolérance, ait engendré un climat de confusion où le bien et le mal se mêlent pour le plus grand malheur des populations dont nos détracteurs prétendent avoir l'ardent désir d'améliorer le sort. Quelle autre explication trouver aux événements et aux déchaînements de violence qui se produisent tout au long des frontières de quelques-unes de nos provinces africaines? Quelle autre explication trouver au cynisme persistant dont sont empreintes les ac-

cusations de discrimination raciale sans cesse portées contre le Portugal et le mode de vie portugais? Le monde entier connaît, et cela depuis fort longtemps, la structure sociale du Portugal, qui est véritablement dénuée de tout caractère racial, dans toutes les couches de la nation. Depuis des siècles, nous suivons tout naturellement dans la pratique, tranquillement et sans tapage, ce que beaucoup d'autres peuples n'ont que récemment découvert comme étant la voie de l'honneur et de la vertu. La vérité est que le Portugal met en pratique les idées auxquelles il croit, là où d'autres se contentent de prêcher. Il n'y a pas si longtemps que bon nombre de ceux qui critiquent aujourd'hui le Portugal à ce propos avec tant d'éloquence considéraient les Portugais comme des Européens de seconde zone parce que frayant librement avec les gens de couleur dans leurs provinces d'outre-mer. De nombreux autres acceptent encore difficilement la présence d'hommes de couleur dans leur propre pays. Cela devrait nous donner à réfléchir.

126. Les allégations dirigées contre le Portugal à ce sujet n'exigent donc pas de réfutation, car elles tombent sous le poids de leur propre ineptie. En revanche, les allégations lancées par ceux qui entendent délibérément tirer parti de ce climat de confusion pour répandre l'idée chimérique et monstrueuse d'alliances impies, qui seraient conclues en Afrique australe avec la participation du Portugal, ou celle de puissantes bases militaires, qui seraient construites en Angola ou au Mozambique avec l'aide de certains de nos alliés, et autres faits imaginaires, appellent un démenti formel. En fait, nous avons déjà essuyé de temps en temps, de la part de nos détracteurs, des allégations de même nature, mais dans les diverses instances de l'ONU, ma délégation a montré ce qu'elles valaient. Nous sommes aujourd'hui en mesure d'ajouter que rien ne serait plus facile à vérifier, à condition que nos détracteurs se montrent honnêtes, équitables et objectifs. Le Gouvernement portugais a invité plus d'une fois le Secrétaire général et le Conseil de sécurité à enquêter librement et franchement sur les conditions qui règnent dans nos provinces africaines.

127. Ma délégation a maintes fois déclaré, mais la chose mérite d'être répétée, qu'aucune base militaire n'a été établie dans un but agressif, de longue ou de fraîche date, dans l'une quelconque de nos provinces africaines, en particulier en Angola et au Mozambique. Ce fait aussi peut être vérifié par tous ceux qui ont un esprit juste, objectif et impartial.

128. J'en viens maintenant au projet de résolution [A/L.541/Rev.1] qui, je tiens à le signaler, contient très peu d'éléments nouveaux; il s'agit, en fait, d'une redite de la plupart des dispositions déjà anciennes contenues dans les résolutions antérieurement adoptées par l'Assemblée générale au sujet de la politique que mon gouvernement applique dans ses provinces d'outre-mer. Je me garderai donc de laisser les membres de l'Assemblée en m'arrêtant sur chacune de ces dispositions, ce qui a déjà été fait. Je me bornerai à préciser que ma délégation les rejette dans leur totalité comme étant sans aucun rapport avec la réalité des faits.

129. Le PRESIDENT: Avant de lever la séance, je dois informer l'Assemblée que le vote sur le projet de résolution A/L.541/Rev.1 aura lieu demain. Ainsi que cela a été annoncé à la 1634ème séance, le vote

sur les projets de résolution A/L.536 et Add.1 et 2 et A/L.540, qui concernent le point 64 de l'ordre du jour, aura également lieu demain.

La séance est levée à 17 h 10.

Nations Unies
**ASSEMBLÉE
 GÉNÉRALE**

VINGT-DEUXIÈME SESSION

Documents officiels



1636^e
SÉANCE PLÉNIÈRE

Samedi 16 décembre 1967,
 à 15 h 30

NEW YORK

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3

Président: M. Corneliu MANESCU (Roumanie).

POINT 23 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

Application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux: rapport du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux (suite*)

28. Le PRESIDENT: L'Assemblée va poursuivre l'examen du point 23 de l'ordre du jour. Hier, à sa 1634ème séance, l'Assemblée générale a terminé le débat sur les aspects généraux de cette question. L'Assemblée est maintenant appelée à se prononcer sur le projet de résolution A/L.541/Rev.1 et Add.1.

29. Le rapport de la Cinquième Commission sur les incidences financières qui résulteraient de l'adoption de ce projet de résolution est publié sous la cote A/6999.

*Reprise des débats de la 1634ème séance.

30. Des votes séparés ont été demandés sur: 1) le septième considérant; 2) le paragraphe 3; 3) les mots "l'étude des activités militaires", au paragraphe 4; 4) les paragraphes 8 et 9 dans leur ensemble; 5) le paragraphe 10; 6) le paragraphe 13.

31. S'il n'y a pas d'objections, je mettrai aux voix les parties visées dans l'ordre où elles apparaissent dans le projet de résolution.

Par 90 voix contre 2, avec 13 abstentions, le septième considérant est adopté.

Par 79 voix contre 2, avec 27 abstentions, le paragraphe 3 est adopté.

Par 75 voix contre 8, avec 22 abstentions, les mots "l'étude des activités militaires", au paragraphe 4, sont adoptés.

Par 90 voix contre 3, avec 15 abstentions, l'ensemble du paragraphe 4 est adopté.

Par 80 voix contre 8, avec 22 abstentions, les paragraphes 8 et 9 sont adoptés.

Par 72 voix contre 22, avec 14 abstentions, le paragraphe 10 est adopté.

Par 84 voix contre 2, avec 24 abstentions, le paragraphe 13 est adopté.

Par 86 voix contre 6, avec 17 abstentions, l'ensemble du projet de résolution est adopté [résolution 2326 (XXII)].

32. Le PRESIDENT: Je vais donner la parole aux représentants qui désirent expliquer leur vote.

33. Lord CARADON (Royaume-Uni) [traduit de l'anglais]: Afin d'expliquer le vote que je viens d'émettre, je tiens à préciser que, s'il y a des parties de cette résolution que je désapprouve et d'autres que je ne puis appuyer, mon vote ne saurait être interprété comme un vote contre la décolonisation. Aucun pays du monde n'a un palmarès de décolonisation comparable à celui du mien. J'ai eu souvent l'occasion de rappeler à l'Assemblée qu'en moins de 25 ans un quart de la population du monde jadis sous administration britannique a accédé à l'indépendance. C'est nous qui sommes les décolonisateurs.

34. Aujourd'hui, alors qu'approche de son terme la tâche que nous nous sommes assignée, celle de transformer un empire colonial en un Commonwealth de nations libres, nous prenons l'engagement d'aller jusqu'au bout dans la voie que nous nous sommes tracée. Dans les quelques territoires dépendants qui sont encore sous administration britannique, nous continuerons à appliquer les principes de la consultation et du libre consentement et nous agirons dans l'intérêt des populations intéressées pour leur donner un bon départ dans l'indépendance au moment et sous la forme qu'elles choisiront elles-mêmes.

35. Je répète ce que j'ai souvent dit à l'Assemblée: nous ne nous déroberons pas à cette responsabilité et nous ne pourrions pas non plus la partager. Nous sommes fiers de ce que nous avons fait et nous ne nous laisserons pas détourner des objectifs que nous nous sommes fixés et que nous poursuivons avec foi.

M. Mena Solórzano (Nicaragua), vice-président, prend la présidence.

36. M. BOYE (Chili) [traduit de l'espagnol]: La délégation du Chili voudrait faire quelques observations au sujet de la résolution qui vient d'être adoptée.

37. Nous avons voté en faveur de l'ensemble du projet de résolution, car le Chili contribue activement au processus de décolonisation. Cependant, la résolution contient divers éléments qui ne nous ont pas semblé satisfaisants et qui ont motivé notre abstention dans deux cas, au sujet desquels je veux faire les observations suivantes.

38. Premièrement, une résolution aussi importante que celle-ci exigeait une étude plus approfondie; malheureusement, elle a été présentée et votée trop précipitamment.

39. Deuxièmement, au sujet du paragraphe 3 du dispositif, le Chili maintient les réserves qu'il avait formulées devant le Comité spécial au moment de l'adoption de son rapport [A/6700/Rev.1]. Nous avons cependant voté en sa faveur.

40. Troisièmement, la délégation chilienne a hésité au sujet du paragraphe 4. Nous ne pensons pas que le Comité spécial soit l'organe le plus approprié pour étudier des activités militaires; peut-être ce problème devrait-il être examiné par la Première Commission qui a une longue expérience en la matière. C'est pourquoi nous sommes abstenus de voter la phrase en question.

41. Quatrièmement, le paragraphe 5 suscite de notre part une remarque que nous avons faite à plusieurs reprises: le Conseil de sécurité est l'organe chargé de juger si une situation déterminée constitue ou non une menace pour la paix et la sécurité internationales; nous ne doutons pas que le maintien de la domination coloniale constitue un danger pour la paix et la sécurité internationales, mais nous préférierions laisser au Conseil de sécurité le soin de le déclarer.

42. Cinquièmement, le paragraphe 6 ne nous semble pas satisfaisant. Nous répétons ce que nous avons déjà déclaré à ce sujet au cours de la discussion générale: nous pensons en effet que l'aide apportée aux mouvements de libération nationale doit être fournie par les Nations Unies par l'intermédiaire de l'Organisation de l'unité africaine. Ce serait procéder d'une façon sérieuse et objective. Si l'on abandonnait cette tâche aux seuls Etats, pris individuellement, on pourrait faire naître de graves malentendus et nuire à la réalisation de l'objectif essentiel que nous recherchons.

43. Sixièmement, le paragraphe 11 comporte plusieurs défauts de rédaction qui le rendent confus; il aurait dû être corrigé.

44. Septièmement, le paragraphe 13 nous semble inutile et — disons-le franchement — un peu prétentieux. Le Comité des Vingt-Quatre remplit déjà les fonctions qui y sont mentionnées; nous pensons qu'il est inutile d'en parler dans une résolution de l'Assemblée générale, et c'est pourquoi nous nous sommes abstenus de voter ce paragraphe.

45. Huitièmement, le paragraphe 14 ne nous semble pas tenir compte de la réalité. Nous souhaitons tous voir s'achever la décolonisation — nous sommes d'accord sur ce point —, mais nous ne pensons pas que ce processus puisse être accéléré si l'on fixe des dates limites. Les Nations Unies ont le devoir de travailler en tenant compte de toute la réalité, si complexe soit-elle; simplifier les choses à l'excès peut être une solution de facilité capable de créer de nouvelles difficultés. Nous préfererions définir des orientations générales qui nous permettraient d'avancer aussi vite que possible. Nous éviterions ainsi de nous soumettre à des normes trop rigides qui pourraient nous conduire à de véritables impasses.

46. Pour terminer, je tiens à dire que, si nous avons eu du temps pour étudier cette question, notre délégation aurait certainement pu se dispenser de ces observations.

47. M. PEON DEL VALLE (Mexique) [traduit de l'espagnol]: La résolution que vient d'adopter l'Assemblée générale comporte de très nombreux points sur lesquels la délégation mexicaine a réservé sa position au cours des débats antérieurs.

48. Dans ces conditions, nous n'avons pu voter en sa faveur, mais je tiens à souligner que, étant donné l'esprit de liberté, de démocratie et d'anti-colonialisme qui, nous en sommes sûrs, inspire cette résolution, et les objectifs d'ensemble qu'elle recherche, ma délégation n'a pas non plus émis un vote défavorable.

49. M. M. I. BOTHA (République d'Afrique du Sud) [traduit de l'anglais]: Ma délégation a voté contre la résolution qui vient d'être adoptée. Dans la mesure où elle constitue une répétition de la résolution 2189 (XXI) que l'Assemblée a adoptée l'an dernier, ma délégation s'y oppose pour les mêmes raisons que celles que nous avons exposées devant l'Assemblée générale le 13 décembre 1966 [1492ème séance]. Comme nous l'avons dit à cette époque, nous pensons que cette résolution, pour ce qui regarde l'Afrique du Sud, est inspirée par des préjugés politiques et fondée sur des inventions mensongères et des déformations des buts et des objectifs de mon gouvernement en ce qui concerne le peuple de l'Afrique du Sud et celui du Sud-Ouest africain.

50. Nous avons expliqué la politique de notre gouvernement à maintes reprises devant l'Organisation, et je n'ai pas l'intention de répéter ces explications dans le contexte du débat sur cette résolution politiquement partielle.

51. Ma délégation estime également répréhensible que la recommandation faite aux institutions spécialisées et aux autres institutions internationales de s'abstenir de fournir toute assistance à mon gouvernement soit répétée dans cette résolution. Pour ce qui est de l'Afrique du Sud, le paragraphe en question est dépourvu de sens, car, comme nous l'avons souvent dit ici, notre pays compte parmi ceux qui fournissent l'assistance technique et non pas parmi ceux qui la reçoivent. Cependant, ce contre quoi nous protestons c'est qu'une telle recommandation soit adressée aux institutions spécialisées alors que l'Assemblée générale sait parfaitement que,

si elles s'y conformaient, certaines d'entre elles devraient violer leurs statuts et toutes devraient substituer aux critères techniques des critères politiques pour l'octroi d'une assistance technique. Je suggère aux Etats Membres de bien peser les conséquences de cette injonction formulée par l'Assemblée générale.

52. Il faut que je répète également une fois de plus qu'il n'existe ni alliance ni entente entre les pays de l'Afrique australe au sens où l'Assemblée pourrait interpréter le paragraphe 9 de la résolution. Il y a entre eux une coopération, une coopération très fructueuse, dans l'esprit de la Charte. Rien au monde, surtout pas une résolution de ce genre, ne nous détournera de notre but, qui est d'entretenir et de renforcer la coopération et les relations de bon voisinage qui se sont développées en Afrique australe. Tout cela est parfaitement conforme à la Charte, et j'affirme que les Etats Membres ne peuvent à la fois appuyer le paragraphe 9 de cette résolution et prétendre respecter les dispositions de la Charte.

53. Je regrette également de façon catégorique le paragraphe 5 du dispositif de la résolution qui dit que la pratique de l'apartheid constitue un crime contre l'humanité. C'est là une affirmation qui n'a aucune base juridique ni morale et qui procède d'une conception absolument erronée de ce que nous essayons de faire en Afrique du Sud.

54. Enfin, je dois également signaler, au sujet des résolutions 2145 (XXI) et 2248 (S-V) relatives au Sud-Ouest africain et mentionnées dans le préambule de cette résolution, que le Ministre des affaires étrangères de mon pays, dans une lettre en date du 26 septembre 1967 adressée au Secrétaire général [A/6897, annexe II] a nettement exposé les raisons pour lesquelles mon gouvernement estime que lesdites résolutions sont illégales et, partant, inacceptables. Nous continuerons d'administrer le Sud-Ouest africain dans l'esprit du Mandat jusqu'à ce que les peuples de ce territoire aient, en exerçant leur droit à l'autodétermination, décidé de leur propre avenir.

55. Pour ces raisons, et pour d'autres encore que je n'ai pas besoin d'exposer en détail, ma délégation a voté contre ce projet de résolution et contre ses divers paragraphes mis aux voix séparément.

56. M. MOROZOV (Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques) [traduit du russe]: Monsieur le Président, j'ai essayé d'attirer votre attention juste à temps avant que vous ne leviez la séance.

57. Nous voudrions expliquer brièvement les raisons de notre vote sur ce projet de résolution.

58. La délégation soviétique a voté pour chaque paragraphe mis aux voix séparément et pour l'ensemble du projet de résolution que vient d'adopter l'Assemblée générale. Je ne vous cacherai pas, cependant, que ce texte ne nous paraît pas entièrement satisfaisant à certains égards surtout en raison du fait qu'il ne désigne pas nommément les puissances coloniales qui, par leur politique et leurs agissements, s'opposent à l'élimination complète des séquelles du colonialisme et à la mise en œuvre des dispositions de la Déclaration du 14 décembre 1960

sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux [résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale].

59. Mais je dois dire que ces pays nous ont aidé dans un certain sens. Bien qu'il n'y ait pas eu de vote nominal, je tiens à faire remarquer que les Etats-Unis d'Amérique, le Royaume-Uni, le régime raciste de la République d'Afrique du Sud et les délégations du Portugal, de la Nouvelle-Zélande et de l'Australie ont été ceux qui ont voté en bloc contre la résolution. Je ne compliquerai pas à présent les choses en passant en revue la position prise par 22 délégations, parmi lesquelles vous trouvez les noms de celles que je viens de nommer, sur des dispositions aussi essentielles que celles qui prévoient la liquidation des bases et des installations militaires dans les territoires coloniaux, l'engagement de n'en pas établir de nouvelles et de ne pas utiliser celles qui existent encore pour faire obstacle à la libération des peuples des territoires coloniaux dans l'exercice de leurs droits légitimes à la liberté et l'indépendance (c'est-à-dire à propos du paragraphe 10).

60. Cela démontre une fois de plus la justesse de la position des délégations qui ont attiré l'attention sur cet aspect important de la question en insistant que soient désignés nommément ceux qui entravent la décolonisation et qui sont responsables de ce

que plus de 30 millions d'individus sur cette terre continuent à souffrir et à subir le joug du colonialisme.

61. Nous avons voté en faveur du projet de résolution, étant entendu que les mesures qu'il préconise donneront au Comité des Vingt-Quatre, puis à l'Assemblée générale et à l'Organisation des Nations Unies tout entière la possibilité de prendre en 1968 des mesures énergiques pour vaincre la résistance des grandes puissances impérialistes — au premier chef, des Etats-Unis et du Royaume-Uni — dont les intérêts économiques, militaires et stratégiques continuent encore à jouer un rôle déterminant dans l'attitude que les gouvernements de ces pays adoptent à l'égard de la solution des questions coloniales, fait qui, malheureusement, et à la grande indignation de ma délégation et, j'en suis sûr, de nombreuses autres délégations, a été démontré de façon éclatante aujourd'hui.

62. Il est du devoir de l'Organisation des Nations Unies de se fonder sur la résolution qui vient d'être adoptée pour prendre de nouvelles mesures afin que le système honteux du colonialisme soit aboli aussi rapidement que possible et rejeté dans le passé.

La séance est levée à 16 h 50.

2357 (XXII). Question d'Antigua, des Bahamas, des Bermudes, de la Dominique, de la Grenade, de Guam, des îles Caïmanes, des îles Cocos (Keeling), des îles Gilbert-et-Ellice, de l'île Maurice, des îles Salomon, des îles Samoa américaines, des îles Seychelles, des îles Tokélaou, des îles Turks et Caïques, des îles Vierges américaines, des îles Vierges britanniques, de Montserrat, de Nioué, des Nouvelles-Hébrides, de Pitcairn, de Saint-Christophe-et-Nièves et Anguilla, de Sainte-Hélène, de Sainte-Lucie, de Saint-Vincent et du Souaziland

L'Assemblée générale,

Ayant étudié la question des territoires suivants : Antigua, Bahamas, Bermudes, Dominique, Grenade, Guam, îles Caïmanes, îles Cocos (Keeling), îles Gilbert-et-Ellice, île Maurice, îles Salomon, îles Samoa américaines, îles Seychelles, îles Tokélaou, îles Turks et Caïques, îles Vierges américaines, îles Vierges britanniques, Montserrat, Nioué, Nouvelles-Hébrides, Pitcairn, Saint-Christophe-et-Nièves et Anguilla, Sainte-Hélène, Sainte-Lucie, Saint-Vincent et Souaziland,

Ayant examiné les chapitres du rapport du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux relatifs à ces territoires ²⁸,

Rappelant ses résolutions 1514 (XV) du 14 décembre 1960, 1654 (XVI) du 27 novembre 1961, 1810 (XVII) du 17 décembre 1962, 1956 (XVIII) du 11 décembre 1963, 2066 (XX) du 16 décembre 1965, 2069 (XX) du 16 décembre 1965, 2189 (XXI) du 13 décembre 1966, 2232 (XXI) du 20 décembre 1966 et 2288 (XXII) du 7 décembre 1967,

Notant les changements constitutionnels qui ont été adoptés en février et mars 1967 dans les territoires d'Antigua, de la Dominique, de Grenade, de Saint-Christophe-et-Nièves et Anguilla et de Sainte-Lucie et ceux qui sont envisagés pour le territoire de Saint-Vincent,

Prenant note en outre de la décision du Comité spécial selon laquelle la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale, contenant la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, et les autres résolutions pertinentes continuent de s'appliquer à ces territoires,

Profondément préoccupée par les renseignements contenus dans le rapport du Comité spécial concernant la persistance de politiques visant notamment à la destruction de l'intégrité territoriale de certains de ces territoires et à l'établissement, par les puissances administrantes, de bases et d'installations militaires en

²⁸ *Ibid.*, chap. XI, XIV à XVIII, XX et XXIII.

violation des résolutions pertinentes de l'Assemblée générale,

Déplorant l'attitude de certaines puissances administrantes qui persistent à refuser d'autoriser des missions de visite de l'Organisation des Nations Unies à se rendre dans ces territoires,

Sachant que, dans ces conditions, l'attention soutenue et l'assistance de l'Organisation des Nations Unies sont nécessaires si l'on veut que les peuples de ces territoires atteignent leurs objectifs, énoncés dans la Charte des Nations Unies et dans la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux,

Consciente de la situation géographique et des conditions économiques particulières de certains de ces territoires,

1. *Approuve* les chapitres du rapport du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux relatifs à ces territoires ²⁹;

2. *Réaffirme* le droit inaliénable des peuples de ces territoires à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance;

3. *Invite* les puissances administrantes à appliquer sans retard les résolutions pertinentes de l'Assemblée générale;

4. *Réitère* sa déclaration selon laquelle toute tentative visant à détruire partiellement ou totalement l'unité nationale et l'intégrité territoriale des territoires coloniaux et à établir des bases et des installations militaires dans ces territoires est incompatible avec les buts et les principes de la Charte des Nations Unies et de la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale;

5. *Demande instamment* aux puissances administrantes d'autoriser les missions de visite de l'Organisation des Nations Unies à se rendre dans les territoires et de leur offrir toute leur coopération et toute leur assistance;

6. *Décide* que l'Organisation des Nations Unies devra prêter toute l'aide nécessaire aux peuples de ces territoires dans les efforts qu'ils déploient pour décider librement de leur statut futur;

7. *Prie* le Comité spécial de continuer à accorder une attention spéciale à ces territoires et de faire rapport à l'Assemblée générale, lors de sa vingt-troisième session, sur l'application de la présente résolution;

8. *Prie* le Secrétaire général de continuer à prêter toute l'assistance possible dans l'application de la présente résolution.

1641^e séance plénière,
19 décembre 1967.

²⁹ Le Président de l'Assemblée générale, avant de mettre aux voix le texte de la présente résolution, fait observer qu'en approuvant le chapitre XI du rapport du Comité spécial relatif au Souaziland l'Assemblée décidait, sous réserve de l'assentiment des gouvernements donateurs, que les contributions qui avaient été versées au Fonds pour le développement économique du Bassoutoland, du Betchouanaland et du Souaziland créé aux termes de la résolution 2063 (XX) de l'Assemblée générale, en date du 16 décembre 1965, seraient virées au Programme des Nations Unies pour le développement.

Nations Unies
**ASSEMBLÉE
GÉNÉRALE**

VINGT-DEUXIÈME SESSION

Documents officiels



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SÉANCE PLÉNIÈRE

Mardi 19 décembre 1967,
à 15 heures

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En l'absence du Président, M. El Bouri (Libye), vice-président, prend la Présidence.

POINT 23 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

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*TERRITOIRES N'AYANT PAS ETE EXAMINES
SEPAREMENT*

RAPPORT DE LA QUATRIEME COMMISSION (A/7013)

M. Dashteren (Mongolie), rapporteur de la Quatrième Commission, présente les rapports de cette commission et poursuit en ces termes.

6. Le cinquième et dernier rapport [A/7013] porte sur tous les autres territoires relevant du point 23 de l'ordre du jour qui n'ont pas été examinés séparément par la Quatrième Commission. Comme il n'y en a pas moins de 39 et que plusieurs de ces territoires sont l'objet de revendications contradictoires de souveraineté ou présentent un intérêt spécial pour certains Etats membres pour des raisons économiques, géographiques et historiques ou autres, ils ont provoqué des débats prolongés en commission.

7. Dans son rapport, la Quatrième Commission recommande à l'Assemblée générale d'adopter cinq projets de résolution: projet de résolution I, intitulé "Question de Gibraltar"; projet de résolution II, intitulé "Question d'Ifni et du Sahara espagnol"; projet de résolution III, intitulé "Question de la Guinée équatoriale"; projet de résolution IV, intitulé "Question de la Côte française des Somalis"; et projet de résolution V, intitulé "Question d'Antigua, des Bahamas, des Bermudes, de la Dominique, de la Grenade, de Guam, des îles Caïmanes, des îles Cocos (Keeling), des îles Gilbert-et-Ellice, de l'île Maurice, des îles Salomon, des îles Samoa américaines, des îles Seychelles, des îles Tokélaou, des îles Turques et Caïques, des îles Vierges américaines, des îles Vierges britanniques, de Montserrat, de Nioué, des Nouvelles-Hébrides, de Pitcairn, de Saint-Christophe-et-Nièves et Anguilla, de Sainte-Hélène, de Sainte-Lucie, de Saint-Vincent et du Souaziland" [A/7013, par. 39].

8. Comme on le verra au paragraphe 1 du dispositif du projet de résolution V, l'Assemblée approuverait les chapitres pertinents du rapport du Comité spécial [A/6700/Rev.1, chap. XI, XIV à XVIII, XX et XXIII]. A ce propos, j'aimerais appeler l'attention de l'Assemblée sur le chapitre ayant trait au territoire du Souaziland, où figure un consensus adopté par le Comité spécial le 23 octobre 1967 [*ibid.*, chap. XI, par. 144]. En approuvant ce chapitre du rapport, l'Assemblée générale déciderait notamment comme le recommande le Comité spécial par son consensus, sous réserve de l'assentiment des gouvernements donateurs, que les contributions faites jusqu'à présent au Fonds constitué en vertu de sa résolution 2063 (XX) soient transférées au Fonds général du Programme des Nations Unies pour le développement, en vue de procurer une aide accrue au Botswana, au Lesotho et au Souaziland.

Conformément à l'article 68 du règlement intérieur, il est décidé de ne pas discuter les rapports de la Quatrième Commission.

*Reprise des débats de la 1636ème séance.

64. Le **PRESIDENT**: L'Assemblée a ainsi achevé l'examen des points 63 et 71 de l'ordre du jour.

65. La dernière question, pour cet après-midi, porte sur le point 23 de l'ordre du jour. La discussion générale sur ce point s'est terminée le 16 décembre 1967 par l'adoption de la résolution 2326 (XXII). L'Assemblée générale doit maintenant se prononcer sur les projets de résolution de la Quatrième Commission relatifs aux territoires qui n'ont pas été examinés séparément [A/7013, par. 39].

66. Je vais tout d'abord donner la parole aux représentants qui désirent expliquer leur vote sur les divers projets de résolution avant le scrutin. Je mettrai ensuite ces projets aux voix dans l'ordre dans lequel ils ont été soumis par la Quatrième Commission, puis je donnerai la parole aux représentants qui voudraient expliquer leur vote après le scrutin.

67. Ce point ayant été examiné en détail en commission, je prierai les représentants de limiter le plus possible la durée de leurs interventions.

68. **M. BOUATTOURA (Algérie)**: Avant que notre assemblée se prononce sur le projet de résolution II, concernant les territoires d'Ifni et du Sahara espagnol, la délégation algérienne désirerait faire quelques observations. Son intervention ne débordera pas les limites traditionnelles du cadre de nos travaux, qui consistent essentiellement à rechercher et à trouver une solution à tout problème d'essence coloniale, sur la base de principes généralement admis par la communauté internationale.

69. De même, avant d'expliquer son vote, l'Algérie voudrait rappeler certains éléments déterminant son attitude. L'intitulé même de la question pourrait prêter à confusion, tant il donne à penser qu'il s'agit de problèmes de même nature et que les principes régissant la solution de l'un pourraient être automatiquement applicables à l'autre. Bien entendu, le caractère colonial est le dénominateur commun aux deux situations et, partant, la solution devra être recherchée dans le cadre précis de la résolution 1514 (XV). Mais les deux problèmes — et cela a été admis dans un passé récent — diffèrent essentiellement par leur nature.

70. Dans le premier cas, la situation est nette et ne souffre aucune exégèse. Dans l'autre, la réalité apparaît plus complexe, plus composite et est déterminée par de multiples phénomènes superposés.

71. Cette voie étant tracée, la délégation algérienne désire donc donner son point de vue sur les deux problèmes dont elle a eu à souligner, préalablement à tout examen, la différence de nature. Elle est d'autant plus à l'aise pour le faire que des affinités multiformes la lient avec toutes les parties en cause.

72. Tout d'abord, Ifni. La situation de ce territoire nous semble claire et paraît contenir en elle tous les éléments d'une solution juste et acceptable par les deux parties en cause. La géographie et l'histoire ne laissent aucun doute quant au caractère spécifique de cette enclave territoriale. Le Gouvernement algérien a toujours considéré comme anachronique la présence, sur le territoire maghrébin, d'un flot de colonisation que l'évolution du monde contemporain ne justifie plus.

73. Certaines indications — notamment le communiqué hispano-marocain du 24 septembre 1967 — donnent à penser qu'une solution est en voie d'être trouvée en conformité avec la résolution 2229 (XXI), par laquelle l'Assemblée générale demandait à l'Espagne de reconnaître le droit du territoire à l'autodétermination et "d'arrêter avec le Gouvernement marocain, compte tenu des aspirations de la population autochtone, des modalités de transfert des pouvoirs".

74. La délégation algérienne estime que la volonté d'aboutir des deux parties en cause, en dépit d'appréciations souvent divergentes, est une contribution importante à la cause de la décolonisation, et espère que les déclarations d'intention de la Puissance administrante s'inséreront le plus rapidement possible dans la réalité des choses.

75. Une même attitude de réalisme devrait présider à la solution du problème du Sahara dit espagnol. Nous sommes tous conscients que la recherche d'une solution à ce problème ne doit pas seulement tenir compte des intérêts exprimés jusqu'ici concernant cette région. Au premier chef, l'impératif auquel nous devons tous nous soumettre, parce qu'il est à la base de la décolonisation, est le désir librement exprimé des populations elles-mêmes. Aux termes du paragraphe 4 de la résolution 2229 (XXI), l'Assemblée générale invitait

"la Puissance administrante à arrêter le plus tôt possible, en conformité avec les aspirations de la population autochtone du Sahara espagnol et en consultation avec les Gouvernements marocain et mau-

ritanien et toute autre partie intéressée, les modalités de l'organisation d'un référendum qui sera [it] tenu sous les auspices de l'Organisation des Nations Unies afin de permettre à la population autochtone du territoire d'exercer librement son droit à l'autodétermination".

76. L'essentiel des dispositions de cette résolution est repris dans le projet qui nous est soumis. A ce propos, le Gouvernement algérien tient à rappeler son adhésion entière à cette résolution car, de toute évidence, elle contient tous les éléments de nature à accélérer le processus de décolonisation, à maintenir la paix et la concorde dans cette région dont l'importance n'est plus à démontrer.

77. Sans doute la mission confiée à la Puissance administrante et aux parties intéressées se révèle-t-elle très délicate; mais nous sommes encouragés par le fait que les efforts déployés jusqu'ici pourront tendre à une stricte application du présent projet de résolution et qu'aucun élément nouveau n'est venu la remettre en cause.

78. A ce stade, la délégation algérienne voulait très brièvement rappeler son attitude à l'égard d'un territoire qui jouxte trois entités politiques distinctes, dont l'Algérie, et auquel de multiples liens tant ethniques qu'économiques et culturels la rattachent depuis toujours.

79. L'intérêt manifesté par l'Algérie pour le problème du Sahara dit espagnol a toujours été dicté par des raisons d'équité, d'équilibre, de paix et de stabilité, et aussi par son souci de maintenir des liens de bon voisinage, conformément à l'éthique internationale. De la réussite ou de l'échec de la décolonisation dépend, dans une large mesure, l'avenir de la paix dans cette région. C'est pourquoi mon pays considère le projet de résolution comme la pierre angulaire d'une politique de développement harmonieux entre les Etats de cette partie du nord-ouest de l'Afrique.

80. En tout état de cause, l'accord qui s'est manifesté sur le projet de résolution ne doit pas nous faire perdre de vue la responsabilité qu'a notre organisation de s'assurer de son application.

81. Comme nous l'indiquons le 14 septembre 1967, à la 560ème séance du Comité spécial:

"Etant donné les profondes répercussions que l'évolution de cette question est de nature à avoir sur notre pays, on ne s'étonnera pas de l'intérêt que nous portons au problème des modalités d'évolution de cette situation."

82. Dans cette optique, l'Algérie affirme sa satisfaction à l'Assemblée, qui a bien voulu incorporer et faire sien l'intérêt que nous portons à la solution de ce problème et aux procédures devant y conduire.

83. En outre, l'esprit constructif qui a animé d'une part les parties en cause, de l'autre les parties intéressées — en l'occurrence l'Algérie et l'Espagne, le Maroc et la Mauritanie — a permis de rédiger et d'accepter largement un projet de résolution qui met suffisamment en relief le caractère spécifique et la nature contingente qui marquent les deux territoires.

84. C'est pourquoi la délégation algérienne, comme elle l'a indiqué précédemment, demeurera très ou-

verte à toutes les suggestions qui tiendront compte des impératifs explicites et implicites qui se dégagent de ce projet de résolution. S'il subsiste des difficultés, celles-ci n'ont pas trait au fond du problème et leur élimination, nous en sommes convaincus, résultera de la volonté maintes fois exprimée par les parties intéressées d'accélérer le processus de décolonisation.

85. La délégation algérienne formule l'espoir qu'une telle solution, conforme à la doctrine et à l'idéologie de la décolonisation entreprise dans le cadre des Nations Unies, amènera dans cette région une ère d'entente, de coopération fraternelle et de renforcement des liens entre des pays attelés à la construction d'un ensemble équilibré et prospère.

86. M. FARREL (Nouvelle-Zélande) [traduit de l'anglais]: Le projet de résolution V contenu dans le rapport de la Quatrième Commission sur le point 23 [A/7013, par. 39] est ce que l'on appelle communément la résolution des "petits territoires". Etant donné que deux des territoires nommés au premier paragraphe du préambule sont les îles Nioué et Tokélaou, je voudrais faire quelques brefs commentaires et déterminer dans quelle mesure ce projet de résolution peut être appliqué à ces quatre petites îles pour lesquelles la Nouvelle-Zélande assume certaines responsabilités.

87. D'abord, laissez-nous dissiper certaines idées préconçues. Il n'y a ni bases ni installations militaires sur ces îles. Leur intégrité territoriale n'est pas menacée. Il n'y a pas d'intérêts économiques étrangers. Il n'y a pas de planteurs étrangers sur ces îles, et aucune terre ne leur a été cédée. A vrai dire, une telle aliénation est interdite par la loi. La Nouvelle-Zélande n'a aucun intérêt économique de quelque importance que ce soit dans ces îles; Les subventions annuelles que la Nouvelle-Zélande consent à ces îles sont au moins le quadruple de la valeur totale de toutes les exportations produites par la population. Il découle de ces faits que plusieurs sections du projet de résolution dont nous sommes saisis et de la résolution passe-partout [2288 (XXII)] sur le colonialisme que l'Assemblée a adoptée le 7 décembre ne sauraient de toute évidence s'appliquer aux îles Nioué et Tokélaou.

88. Le projet de résolution V rappelle également la déclaration historique contenue dans la résolution 1514 (XV) et réaffirme le droit des populations de ces territoires à "l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance". Nous n'avons pas d'objection à cela. Ce droit n'est pas contesté dans les territoires de Nouvelle-Zélande, mais il n'y a pas de raison pour qu'il ne soit pas confirmé. Nous observerons seulement, en passant, que la résolution 1514 (XV) elle-même n'assimile pas tout à fait "autodétermination" à "indépendance" de la même façon que ce texte.

89. Ce n'est pas ici le lieu ni le moment d'exposer longuement ce que la Nouvelle-Zélande a fait, en toute sincérité, pour tenir les engagements que comportait son vote en faveur de la résolution 1514 (XV). Le Samoa-Occidental et les îles Cook ont exercé le droit à l'autodétermination depuis 1960 et les 5 000 habitants de Nioué et les 1 800 habitants de Tokélaou pourront choisir leur futur statut dès qu'ils le voudront. Le fait que leurs patries sont petites, pauvres, isolées et tributaires de façon permanente de l'aide extérieure

ne diminue pas leur droit à l'autodétermination, mais les populations elles-mêmes ont reconnu qu'elles doivent tenir compte du milieu physique où elles vivent lorsqu'elles ont à choisir leur avenir. Qui pourrait leur reprocher d'avoir les pieds sur terre?

90. La Nouvelle-Zélande s'est engagée à les aider, quel que soit leur choix définitif. Nous avons fait traduire la résolution 1514 (XV) dans les langues de Nioué et de Tokélaou et elle a été largement diffusée. Les autorités de Nouvelle-Zélande ont fait clairement comprendre aux populations de ces îles que nous ne désirions pas prolonger indéfiniment cette situation coloniale. Les populations n'ont pas fait leur choix définitif. En attendant qu'elles le fassent, nous travaillons en complète coopération avec les populations de Nioué et de Tokélaou à développer les institutions démocratiques grâce auxquelles les populations pourront exprimer leurs aspirations en toute liberté.

91. On ne peut guère s'attendre que mon gouvernement accepte que l'on critique inconsidérément cette situation ou que l'on minimise les progrès accomplis. Les faits parlent d'eux-mêmes. L'évolution significative qui s'est produite cette année à Nioué vers un système ministériel complet — déjà tout le budget, y compris la subvention de la Nouvelle-Zélande, est administré par les autochtones — et la participation des habitants de Tokélaou à la préparation du budget ont été qualifiés de "lents progrès". Etant donné que, comme l'ont souligné les autorités de Nouvelle-Zélande et comme les habitants de l'île eux-mêmes le savent, le rythme de l'évolution doit être décidé par la population elle-même, nous ne saurions accepter cette critique à l'égard des habitants des îles. Il s'agit d'une population pragmatique et rationnelle qui façonne sa destinée comme bon lui semble. Nous ne pouvons pas non plus accepter, ni ces populations d'ailleurs, que l'on dise de la législature librement élue qu'elle n'est "pas un organe du peuple... mais un instrument de la Puissance administrante". Nous pouvons encore moins accepter l'allégation d'une délégation selon laquelle le jugement de l'Assemblée de Nioué pourrait ne pas être "correct".

92. Ces dernières opinions sont celles d'une minorité du Comité spécial mais on ne peut les laisser passer sans les relever. Et c'est parce que nous avons entendu de tels commentaires que nous n'appuierons pas le paragraphe 1 du dispositif de la résolution V, qui demanderait à l'Assemblée d'approuver le chapitre du rapport du Comité des 24 qui a trait aux îles Nioué et Tokélaou [A/6700/Rev.1, chap. XVI].

93. Dans le passé, mon pays a toujours coopéré avec l'ONU pour décoloniser la poignée de petites îles dont l'administration nous était confiée. Nous avons toujours pensé que cette organisation devait beaucoup contribuer à encourager et faciliter ce processus qui marque notre époque, processus qui a entièrement changé les rapports dans ces régions où l'autodétermination est acceptée comme un droit sacré.

94. Nous estimons que si, aux Nations Unies, nous voulions substituer nos propres opinions à celles librement exprimées des peuples coloniaux, nous ne respecterions pas les dispositions de la Déclaration sur le colonialisme. En relisant de plus près la résolution 1514 (XV), nous n'y trouvons rien qui nous

demande de ne pas tenir compte des opinions connues d'un peuple sous prétexte d'observer de prétendus impératifs doctrinaux. Au contraire, nous lisons que le transfert de tous les pouvoirs au peuple doit répondre seulement à la volonté et au désir librement exprimés de ce dernier. C'est un principe auquel nous adhérerons strictement.

95. Le projet de résolution demande au Comité spécial d'accorder une attention particulière l'an prochain aux petits territoires. Nous souscrivons chaleureusement à cette demande. Nous savons que ce comité, accablé de travail, aux prises avec l'inflexibilité sud-africaine et un lourd programme de réunions, a de la difficulté à insérer dans son emploi du temps un débat détaillé sur la situation dans les petits territoires. Nous espérons qu'il sera porté remède à cette situation en 1968. Compte tenu non seulement des contraintes imposées par les facteurs du milieu dont il a été fait mention dans le projet de résolution mais également des opinions librement exprimées par les populations elles-mêmes, le Comité sera, nous l'espérons, en mesure de fournir des suggestions et des conseils utiles qui ne pourront que rehausser le rôle des Nations Unies dans le domaine de la décolonisation.

96. Lord CARADON (Royaume-Uni) [traduit de l'anglais]: Nous avons été saisis aujourd'hui de cinq résolutions et d'un consensus [A/7013, par. 39 et 40]. Pour chacun de ces textes nous avons expliqué minutieusement nos points de vue à la Quatrième Commission, et il n'est pas nécessaire de les répéter maintenant. Je tiens cependant à réaffirmer brièvement la position de mon pays sur le projet de résolution I, relatif à Gibraltar.

97. Cette question préoccupe profondément mon gouvernement et le peuple de mon pays, qui sont très conscients de notre obligation de faire triompher la justice. Tout au long des débats de la Quatrième Commission, aussi bien cette année que les années précédentes, nous avons insisté sur le fait qu'il y a deux principes fondamentaux que nous ne saurions trahir, en premier, le principe que l'intérêt du peuple doit être primordial et, en second, que le peuple a le droit d'exprimer librement ses désirs quant à son avenir. Ces principes nous ont guidés et continueront à nous guider dans notre tâche qui consiste à assumer nos responsabilités à l'égard des populations des territoires dont nous sommes responsables. Pendant toute la décolonisation, nous avons eu recours à la consultation et sollicité l'acquiescement. Nous ne renoncerons pas à ces principes dans le cas des quelques territoires dépendants dont nous sommes encore responsables.

98. En conséquence, nous avons soutenu et constamment déclaré que remettre contre sa volonté cette petite communauté fière et unie d'hommes libres pour la lier à jamais à un régime qui a tant fait pour lui nuire serait une injustice intolérable. Nous pensons que l'on doit tenir compte de ses intérêts en décidant de son avenir et pas seulement après que son sort aura été tranché.

99. Tout en étant prêts et désireux de poursuivre les négociations avec le Gouvernement espagnol, nous avons aussi fait valoir qu'un différend territorial

devrait être tranché non par un vote de notre assemblée mais par un processus judiciaire. C'est pour cette raison que nous avons déclaré être prêts à soumettre ce litige sur la souveraineté à la Cour internationale.

100. Rien ne nous détournera de notre voie qui est de nous acquitter de nos obligations. Par conséquent, je répète que mon gouvernement ne pourrait pas accepter une résolution qui chercherait à prendre parti dans un différend territorial entre deux Etats Membres et qui en même temps chercherait à ignorer les désirs librement exprimés par une majorité écrasante de la population en cause.

101. M. COE COLE (Sierra Leone) [traduit de l'anglais]: Ma délégation estime nécessaire d'intervenir afin que soient consignées dans le compte rendu les explications relatives à notre vote sur la question de Gibraltar. Cette question a éveillé l'intérêt de la Quatrième Commission au point de susciter des échanges de paroles un peu vifs au sujet des revendications dont Gibraltar fait l'objet.

102. L'an dernier, ma délégation a parrainé un amendement à la résolution 2231 (XXI) de l'Assemblée qui rappelait, entre autres choses, que les intérêts de la population primaient tout. Cette résolution a été adoptée à la quasi-unanimité. Cette année, lorsque l'on a discuté à la Quatrième Commission de la question de Gibraltar, les principes de l'intérêt et des vœux de la population de Gibraltar et de la décolonisation du territoire sont devenus secondaires par rapport à ceux de l'intégrité et de l'unité territoriale, comme on peut le voir au paragraphe 17 du rapport que l'Assemblée examine à présent [A/7013]. Nous trouvons maintenant dans le projet de résolution qui a trait à Gibraltar les termes du paragraphe 17 du rapport. Je me réfère au paragraphe 5 du préambule et au paragraphe 2 du dispositif du projet.

103. Pour ces raisons, ma délégation votera contre le projet de résolution [*ibid.*, par. 39]. Nous voterons contre parce que nous avons toujours considéré que l'intérêt de la population est primordial et aussi parce que nous trouvons que le projet de résolution contient des propositions qui vont très loin et qui auront comme conséquence d'étouffer sérieusement la décolonisation — un principe auquel ma délégation a toujours cru et qu'elle a toujours défendu.

104. Quant aux projets de résolution II à V [*ibid.*], ma délégation votera en leur faveur.

105. M. BENHIMA (Maroc): Ma délégation se serait volontiers abstenue de prendre la parole devant l'Assemblée générale à propos de la question d'Ifni et du Sahara, estimant que les explications qui ont été données au cours du débat de la Quatrième Commission, et notamment à la suite du vote à une très large majorité du projet de résolution II étaient suffisantes. Malheureusement, la délégation de l'Algérie a cru devoir, aujourd'hui, en expliquant son vote sur ce projet de résolution, aller au-delà du contexte de l'examen du problème et de ses données réelles.

106. Ceci m'oblige à revenir aussi brièvement que possible sur les arguments qui font rejeter, par mon pays, les explications données par l'Algérie en ce qui concerne tant la lettre de certains paragraphes du

projet de résolution que l'esprit que la délégation de l'Algérie veut attribuer à ce texte pour lui donner une signification conforme à ses propres vues. Je dis bien que ces explications reflètent les vues exclusives de l'Algérie, puisqu'au moment du débat aucun orateur n'a pris la parole, pas même les auteurs du projet; aucun de ceux qui se sont abstenus n'a cru devoir, devant la majorité qu'à recueillie ce texte, donner les explications que nous avons entendues.

107. Le projet de résolution comporte en effet deux aspects: le premier, c'est la contestation du caractère unitaire des deux questions, Ifni et Sahara.

108. Je suis dans l'obligation d'allonger un peu mon intervention en rappelant que depuis six ans exactement, à la demande du Comité des Vingt-Quatre, les questions d'Ifni et du Sahara ont été réunies sous une rubrique unique, mise au singulier, faisant l'objet d'un débat unique; depuis cette date, le débat a été clos avec une résolution [2229 (XXI)] comprenant un préambule où les considérants concernant l'affaire d'Ifni étaient intimement mêlés aux considérants concernant l'affaire du Sahara espagnol. Les résolutions précédentes des Nations Unies ont toujours englobé les deux problèmes de façon identique.

109. Voici pour la valeur de la forme, qui n'est pas inutile dans une organisation comme celle-ci.

110. Quant au fond, la revendication marocaine sur ces deux parties de son territoire national — Ifni et le Sahara espagnol — n'est guère altérée dans sa nature profonde par le fait qu'Ifni se trouve dans une enclave que la souveraineté du Maroc encercle, et que les territoires du Sahara espagnol se trouvent à l'extrême sud de nos frontières, partie de notre territoire qui a déjà fait l'objet d'un examen à propos du contentieux territorial avec l'Espagne, qui nous a rendu en 1958 une partie de ce Sahara espagnol au niveau du 27ème parallèle, c'est-à-dire le Sahara méridional.

111. Ceci dit, on a essayé de voir, à cause d'une présentation matérielle qui a placé sous I le libellé "Ifni" et sous II le libellé "Sahara espagnol", une distinction à laquelle je m'oppose de la façon la plus énergique. Le problème demeure, à notre avis, un problème de revendication de territoires marocains. Cette revendication s'adresse à une seule puissance administrante qui a peut-être administré de façon différente les deux territoires, comme cela est très fréquent de la part des puissances coloniales. Mais le caractère historique de ces deux territoires, qui ont fait l'objet de traités soit bilatéraux, dans le cadre des rapports du Maroc avec l'Espagne, soit de conventions internationales devant la Cour internationale de Justice, conserve à l'heure actuelle sa validité au point de vue du droit international.

112. D'ailleurs, dès le lendemain de notre indépendance, la délégation du Maroc, dans tous les organes qui ont eu à connaître de ces problèmes, s'est expliquée amplement et s'est référée aux documents internationaux de la fin du siècle dernier et à l'activité diplomatique internationale qui a précédé le Traité de protectorat^{3/} ainsi qu'à l'esprit qui a animé nos rapports avec l'Espagne au lendemain de l'indépendance.

^{3/} Traité franco-marocain signé à Fez le 30 mars 1912.

113. Les négociations successives sur l'évacuation des troupes espagnoles et sur le contentieux territorial ont donné lieu à des échanges de notes ou à des discussions à Madrid ou à Rabat qui établissent l'existence de ce contentieux territorial entre nous et l'Espagne.

114. J'ai entendu à la Quatrième Commission des revendications mauritaniennes. Je n'ai certainement pas l'intention de ranimer une querelle, mais je voudrais tout de même éliminer le doute qui pourrait exister sur l'opportunité d'une telle revendication.

115. Nous assistons depuis deux ou trois ans à une sorte de manœuvre tactique qui, à la faveur de telle ou telle présentation matérielle ou de telle ou telle rédaction d'une résolution, cherche à faire passer de la forme au fond. Je ne me souviens pas qu'il ait existé à un moment quelconque de l'histoire de la colonisation dans cette région de l'Afrique des rapports de puissance colonisatrice à puissance colonisée entre la Mauritanie et l'Espagne. Dans l'hypothèse même où une entité territoriale serait reconnue à la Mauritanie, ce serait un territoire qui a été, dans des conditions précises, sous administration française, et je ne vois pas quand ni comment la Puissance administrante qui a élevé la Mauritanie au statut d'Etat indépendant aurait consciemment ou à la légère abandonné une portion quelconque du territoire mauritanien, publiquement ou confidentiellement, à l'Espagne. C'est peut-être là l'argument le plus simpliste mais ce n'est pas le plus proche du bon sens.

116. La délégation algérienne a cru devoir montrer un intérêt à la solution de ce problème. Je ne conteste nullement que l'Algérie poursuive énergiquement une politique anticolonialiste et anti-impérialiste et je souscris à la volonté de l'Algérie de prendre un intérêt spécial à la libération d'un territoire situé sur le continent africain. Cet intérêt est légitime de la part de toutes les puissances qui ont suivi ici de façon constante une politique anti-impérialiste. Mais l'argument que l'Algérie voudrait invoquer pour pouvoir prendre un intérêt spécial à cette question est celui d'un certain voisinage; c'est un argument tout à fait fallacieux parce que la région dont on pourrait dire à la rigueur qu'elle crée un certain voisinage entre l'Algérie et le Sahara espagnol est justement un territoire contesté entre le Maroc et l'Algérie, un territoire au sujet duquel la souveraineté est suspendue puisqu'il fait l'objet depuis 1963 d'un examen de l'Organisation de l'unité africaine et que cet examen se poursuit dans un cadre précis.

117. Je ne reviendrai pas sur les arguments de fond qui militent en faveur du rejet d'une telle revendication. D'après l'Algérie, il existe un certain voisinage qui donne à un pays limitrophe un droit spécial de s'intéresser de façon tout à fait particulière au destin et à l'avenir d'un territoire et d'une population. Sur le destin de cette population, la délégation marocaine, à la Conférence des ministres des affaires étrangères de l'Organisation de l'unité africaine, en juin 1965, a précisé dans une déclaration solennelle rendue publique par la presse et communiquée à beaucoup de chancelleries, la philosophie du Maroc sur l'évolution de ce territoire et sur le destin de sa population. Cette politique a été également exposée ici [1500ème séance] et à la Quatrième Commission [1661ème

séance] en décembre 1966. Or, dans la résolution [2229 (XXI)] qui avait été adoptée à l'époque, mention était faite de la Mauritanie et du Maroc comme étant des pays qui pourraient être invités par l'Espagne à une consultation à propos du règlement de ce problème. Cette résolution utilisait aussi l'expression "et toute autre partie intéressée". Cette formule, qu'elle soit utilisée au singulier ou au pluriel, ne signifie nullement qu'un pays bien déterminé est visé. L'expression "toute autre partie intéressée" ne donne nullement le droit à un voisin quelconque de se croire le pays visé par cette mention.

118. Je mets beaucoup de clarté à expliquer cette affaire parce que le représentant de l'Algérie a cité tout à l'heure, se fondant sur la mention de ces mots: "toute autre partie intéressée" le nom de l'Espagne, de la Mauritanie, du Maroc et de l'Algérie comme celui des puissances ayant un intérêt à examiner cette affaire au cours d'une consultation. Je précise que dans l'esprit des rédacteurs du texte de la résolution 2229 (XXI) du 16 décembre 1966 et des rédacteurs du projet de résolution II, présenté initialement à la Quatrième Commission le 15 décembre 1967, le fait d'introduire la mention "toute autre partie intéressée" ne signifiait pas qu'ils visaient un pays spécial.

119. Le PRESIDENT: Je donne la parole au représentant de l'Algérie, qui désire exercer le droit de réponse.

120. M. BOUATTOURA (Algérie): Ma délégation et moi-même ne nous attendions pas à la diatribe, à peine retenue, du représentant du Maroc. Nos relations avec le Maroc sont trop fraternelles pour qu'elles puissent souffrir, en aucune manière, ce genre d'échange, particulièrement dans un forum comme celui-ci.

121. Nous avons cru que notre explication ne pouvait offenser qui que ce soit. Nous avons essayé d'être aussi fidèles que possible à la fois au texte qui nous est soumis et aux démarches qui ont permis d'aboutir à un accord unanime, accord dû, comme je l'ai déjà dit, d'une part, à l'entente réalisée entre les délégations du Maroc, de la Mauritanie et de l'Algérie, et, d'autre part, au vote positif qui a permis à la Puissance administrante — en l'occurrence l'Espagne — d'apporter son soutien au projet de résolution lors de son examen à la Quatrième Commission.

122. On nous a prêté des intentions qui n'étaient pas les nôtres. On a dit que nous avons sollicité le texte, sur deux points principalement, à savoir sur ce que l'on a appelé le caractère unitaire des deux questions et sur l'intérêt porté par l'Algérie à la libération, à l'exercice du droit à l'autodétermination du Sahara espagnol.

123. Pour ce qui est du caractère unitaire, je ne tiens pas à suivre mon distingué ami et collègue le représentant du Maroc dans une polémique inutile et sans aucun doute stérile; je laisserai simplement aux membres de cette assemblée le soin de juger. La délégation algérienne aura, en d'autres circonstances plus appropriées, l'occasion de revenir sur ce point et de clarifier quelque peu la situation.

124. Pour ce qui est de la revendication du Maroc, ma délégation n'a, dans aucune de ses interventions,

ni aujourd'hui ni auparavant apporté le moindre démenti ou la moindre contestation. Sans doute l'Algérie veut-elle rester fidèle à un principe qui lui a permis d'accéder à l'indépendance, ce fameux principe du droit à l'autodétermination. Ce fut pourquoi, peut-être, nous avons cru devoir mettre en relief le droit à l'autodétermination du peuple du Sahara espagnol, comme de celui d'Ifni, et peut-être avons-nous donné l'impression que nous accordions une place quelque peu accessoire aux notions de revendication. Que l'on ne nous en blâme pas. Nous voudrions simplement faire observer que cette espèce de fidélité au droit à l'autodétermination qui a donné naissance à l'Algérie indépendante nous impose souvent d'accorder une certaine priorité à ce droit, au détriment peut-être de certaines notions revendicatrices.

125. Des formules comme "argument fallacieux", "souveraineté suspendue", et d'autres ont été utilisées. Je ne voudrais pas que cette assemblée fût le théâtre de propos de cette nature qui, en tout état de cause, ne peuvent que nuire d'abord à ceux qui les tiennent, ensuite aux relations entre ceux-ci et ceux-là mêmes auxquels ils s'adressent. Notre débat ne porte pas sur des "souverainetés suspendues", ni sur des revendications émises il y a un instant. Nous avons cru que l'objet de notre discussion ici était essentiellement d'accélérer le processus de la décolonisation. Nous avons cru aborder ce problème sans aucune arrière pensée.

126. Pour ce qui est de l'intérêt de l'Algérie, aussi bien les auteurs du projet de résolution et ceux qui ont aidé les trois délégations du Maroc, de la Mauritanie et de l'Algérie à aboutir à un accord, que ceux qui ont voté pour le projet savaient parfaitement de quoi il s'agissait en votant pour le paragraphe où il est question de consultations avec les Gouvernements du Maroc, de la Mauritanie et de "toute autre partie intéressée".

127. Le **PRESIDENT**: Je donne la parole au représentant de la Mauritanie, qui désire exercer le droit de réponse.

128. **M. OULD DADDAH (Mauritanie)**: La délégation de la République islamique de Mauritanie s'est fait inscrire pour expliquer son vote après le vote. Elle maintient cette inscription et expliquera tout à l'heure le vote qu'elle aura exprimé sur le projet de résolution dont l'Assemblée générale est saisie, et cela prouve qu'il n'entraîne pas dans notre intention de prendre la parole à cette phase du débat.

129. Cependant, à la suite de la déclaration du représentant de l'Algérie et de la réponse qu'elle a suscitée de la part de M. Benhima, nous nous voyons dans l'obligation de préciser un certain nombre de points qui viennent d'être évoqués ici.

130. La délégation de la Mauritanie a expliqué devant le Comité des Vingt-Quatre, devant la Quatrième Commission, devant l'Assemblée générale à d'autres moments, et devant l'Organisation de l'unité africaine, dont on a parlé tout à l'heure, sa position sur cette question.

131. Le représentant du Maroc ici présent était Ministre des affaires étrangères de son pays avant son retour parmi nous; il été également le représentant

permanent du Maroc auprès de l'Organisation des Nations Unies en 1960. A ce moment-là, un document extrêmement important a été publié par le Ministère des affaires étrangères du Maroc et diffusé par M. Benhima avec le talent que nous lui connaissons au sein de cette organisation; ce document présentait le Sahara comme partie intégrante de la Mauritanie et revendiqué par le Maroc uniquement parce que ce dernier réclamait la Mauritanie. Cet argument et ce témoignage nous paraissent importants et ne nous paraissent pas soulever d'objections de la part de ceux qui les ont fournis gracieusement à la Mauritanie.

132. Je dois dire par ailleurs que les revendications du Maroc sur le Sahara remontent seulement à la date où furent émises les revendications du Maroc sur la Mauritanie, c'est-à-dire au moment où la Mauritanie se préparait, en même temps que d'autres, dont il a partagé le sort en tant que colonie française, à son autonomie et à son indépendance. C'est à ce moment-là que le Maroc a revendiqué le Sahara et la Mauritanie mais, je le répète, le Sahara uniquement parce qu'il était partie intégrante de la Mauritanie.

133. En plus de ce document que nous venons d'évoquer et qui est de date récente, mais qui a un poids considérable en raison même de sa source, il y a d'autres documents.

134. Au XVIII^{ème} siècle dans un traité, connu de tous, signé à Marrakech en 1767 entre les souverains du Maroc et de l'Espagne — ce traité est dans toutes les chancelleries, il existe à la mission permanente de la Mauritanie et existe certainement dans les archives du Maroc — le sultan du Maroc de l'époque reconnaissait qu'au sud de l'actuelle enclave d'Ifni et de l'oued Noun, qui est une rivière au sud du Maroc, sa souveraineté cessait de s'étendre et qu'il ne pouvait pas être tenu pour responsable de ce qui pouvait arriver à ceux qui allaient au-delà de cette limite.

135. Telle a été la ligne de conduite continue du Maroc jusqu'aux années 1957-1958, à partir desquelles nous avons vu s'élever des revendications qui étaient les revendications de la Mauritanie.

136. La position de la Mauritanie sur cette question — nous avons eu l'occasion de le dire à maintes reprises — est suffisamment claire, suffisamment solide, pour être continue. Quant au Sahara, dont nous avons entendu parler cet après-midi, la politique du Maroc a subi un certain nombre de changements significatifs. Vous savez que le Maroc l'a réclamé, comme la Mauritanie, en tant que partie intégrante de son territoire. Vous savez aussi qu'après avoir mis une sourdine à ses revendications sur la Mauritanie, qu'il considère comme maintenues, il a demandé l'indépendance pour le Sahara, qui — je me plais à le souligner — compte seulement 25 000 habitants. Et l'on se permet de demander l'indépendance pour cette région alors que l'on continue de reconnaître un pays de plus de 1 500 000 habitants qui est Membre de l'Organisation des Nations Unies depuis plusieurs années. C'est là une contradiction qui, à mon sens, mérite d'être soulignée.

137. A la suite de l'indépendance de la Mauritanie, avec le changement d'ambassadeurs et l'arrivée de M. Benhima, une interprétation nouvelle a vu le jour. Nous avons assisté à une tentative visant à dire que

ce que le Maroc entendait par l'indépendance n'altérerait pas ce qu'il considérerait comme ses droits fondamentaux, c'est-à-dire qu'il demande l'indépendance pour le Sahara, mais que le Sahara est partie intégrante du Maroc.

138. Chaque délégation peut donner l'interprétation qu'elle souhaite à une attitude ou à un texte. Je dois avouer que la délégation mauritanienne éprouve certaines difficultés à comprendre une telle interprétation.

139. Pour ce qui est du Sahara — et je ne voudrais pas être très long, étant entendu que j'expliquerai le vote de la délégation de la Mauritanie après le vote sur le projet de résolution — nous avons indiqué que la Mauritanie reconnaît le droit à l'autodétermination de ces populations. Nous avons dit, sur instructions de notre gouvernement, que la Mauritanie se soumettra au résultat du référendum dont on parle, à un résultat acquis dans des conditions ne permettant pas de mettre en cause sa véracité et son authenticité.

140. Cela, nous l'avons dit et nous le répétons. Mais nous avons par ailleurs indiqué que tant que ce résultat n'aura pas été acquis et compte tenu du fait que notre conviction de l'appartenance de cette région à la Mauritanie est importante et fondamentale pour nous, nous maintenons notre position, à savoir que le Sahara est une partie intégrante de la Mauritanie.

141. Nous avons par ailleurs indiqué que nous comprenions et que nous entendions continuer à comprendre, en entourant cela de toutes les précisions nécessaires, que des pays voisins de cette région soient eux aussi intéressés à une solution susceptible d'intervenir dans une région qui peut paraître importante pour leur sécurité parce qu'elle touche de près à des zones à l'égard desquelles ils souhaitent qu'une solution soit trouvée qui ne porte pas préjudice à leur sécurité. C'est de cette manière et sur ce plan que la délégation et le Gouvernement de la République islamique de Mauritanie ont accueilli avec compréhension l'attitude du Gouvernement de la République populaire d'Algérie sur cette question.

142. Pour ce qui est du Maroc, il est évident qu'il pourra continuer à développer de la manière qu'il souhaite et qui lui paraît la plus adéquate sa façon de voir, mais nous persistons à croire que le Maroc n'a rien à voir avec le Sahara, que ces populations de Mauritanie — il est peut-être inutile de remonter à l'histoire — n'ont jamais eu de rapports de souveraineté avec le Maroc, que ce sont ces populations — cela, on peut le dire en souriant, mais cela existe — qui ont envahi à quelque moment de l'histoire le royaume du Maroc. C'est de ces populations que le souverain du Maroc parlait avec peur et avec un certain dédain, mais un certain dédain trouvant surtout sa signification dans le fait qu'on les redoutait. Ce sont ces populations-là qui ont habité le Sahara, qui sont encore dans le Sahara, qui sont en Mauritanie, et qui entendent continuer avec la même détermination qui les a fait connaître dans l'histoire à préserver et à défendre leurs droits.

143. Le PRESIDENT: L'Assemblée va maintenant passer au vote sur les divers projets de résolution que la Quatrième Commission lui recommande d'adopter [A/7013, par. 39].

Libéria, Libye, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritanie, Mexique, Mongolie, Népal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigéria, Pakistan, Pologne, Roumanie, Rwanda, Arabie Saoudite, Sénégal, Sierra Leone, Singapour, Yémen du Sud, Espagne, Soudan, Syrie, Thaïlande, Tunisie, Ouganda, République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine, Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques, République arabe unie, République-Unie de Tanzanie, Haute-Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yémen, Yougoslavie, Zambie.

Votent contre: Australie, Autriche, Belgique, Canada, Danemark, Grèce, Islande, Japon, Luxembourg, Pays-Bas, Nouvelle-Zélande, Philippines, Portugal, Suède, Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord, Etats-Unis d'Amérique.

S'abstiennent: Bolivie, Brésil, Chine, Costa Rica, Dahomey, Finlande, France, Irlande, Israël, Italie, Malawi, Malaisie, Iles Maldives, Norvège, Panama, Turquie.

Par 78 voix contre 16, avec 16 abstentions, le paragraphe 4 est adopté.

150. Le PRESIDENT: Je mets aux voix l'ensemble du projet de résolution V. On a demandé le vote enregistré.

Il est procédé au vote enregistré.

Votent pour: Afghanistan, Algérie, Argentine, Bolivie, Botswana, Brésil, Bulgarie, Birmanie, Burundi, République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie, Cambodge, Cameroun, République centrafricaine, Ceylan, Chad, Chili, Colombie, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (République démocratique du), Cuba, Chypre, Tchécoslovaquie, Dahomey, République Dominicaine, Equateur, Ethiopie, Gabon, Gambie, Ghana, Guatemala, Guinée, Haïti, Honduras, Hongrie, Inde, Indonésie, Iran, Irak, Irlande, Israël, Côte d'Ivoire, Jordanie, Kenya, Laos, Liban, Libéria, Libye, Madagascar, Malaisie, Mali, Mauritanie, Mexique, Mongolie, Népal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigéria, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Philippines, Pologne, Roumanie, Rwanda, Arabie Saoudite, Sénégal, Singapour, Somalie, Yémen du Sud, Espagne, Soudan, Syrie, Thaïlande, Tunisie, Turquie, Ouganda, République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine, Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques, République arabe unie, République-Unie de Tanzanie, Haute-Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yémen, Yougoslavie, Zambie.

Votent contre: néant.

S'abstiennent: Australie, Autriche, Barbade, Belgique, Canada, Chine, Costa Rica, Danemark, Finlande, France, Grèce, Guyane, Islande, Italie, Jamaïque, Japon, Luxembourg, Malawi, Iles Maldives, Pays-Bas, Nouvelle-Zélande, Norvège, Portugal, Suède, Trinité-et-Tobago, Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord, Etats-Unis d'Amérique.

Par 86 voix contre zéro, avec 27 abstentions, l'ensemble du projet de résolution V est adopté [résolution 2357 (XXII)]^{4/}.

149. Je vais maintenant inviter l'Assemblée à se prononcer sur le projet de résolution V. Un vote séparé ayant été demandé sur le paragraphe 4, je mets d'abord ce paragraphe aux voix. On a demandé le vote enregistré.

Il est procédé au vote enregistré.

Votent pour: Afghanistan, Algérie, Argentine, Botswana, Bulgarie, Birmanie, Burundi, République socialiste soviétique de Biélorussie, Cambodge, Cameroun, République centrafricaine, Ceylan, Tchad, Chili, Colombie, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (République démocratique du), Cuba, Chypre, Tchécoslovaquie, République Dominicaine, Equateur, Ethiopie, Gabon, Gambie, Ghana, Guatemala, Guinée, Guyane, Haïti, Honduras, Hongrie, Inde, Indonésie, Iran, Irak, Côte d'Ivoire, Jamaïque, Jordanie, Kenya, Laos, Liban,

^{4/} Le représentant du Sierra Leone a déclaré ultérieurement (voir par. 168) qu'il désirait que le nom de son pays figure au nombre de ceux qui ont voté pour le projet de résolution.

154. Le **PRESIDENT**: Je donne la parole aux délégations qui désirent expliquer leur vote.

155. **M. OULD DADDAH** (Mauritanie): La délégation de la République islamique de Mauritanie ne voudrait pas laisser passer cette occasion sans présenter ses plus vives félicitations à M. George F. Tomeh, président de la Quatrième Commission, pour la sagesse, la patience, le doigté, la compréhension et la fermeté avec lesquels il a su diriger les travaux de la Commission. Les efforts sans cesse renouvelés du Comité des Vingt-Quatre, du Groupe afro-asiatique et de la Quatrième Commission, sous la direction impartiale et efficace de son distingué président, ont permis à la présente session d'accomplir des pas positifs vers les solutions heureuses et justes qu'exigent les problèmes encore nombreux et souvent complexes soulevés par la décolonisation. La délégation mauritanienne voudrait, en particulier, renouveler ses remerciements à tous ceux qui ont consacré des efforts inlassables et beaucoup de temps à la recherche d'une solution acceptable pour la question du Sahara dit espagnol. Cette question, chacun le sait, est de la plus haute importance pour mon pays.

156. Samedi dernier, lors du vote de la résolution traitant du Sahara dit espagnol au sein de la Quatrième Commission [1755ème séance], la délégation de la République islamique de Mauritanie a fait des observations et réserves que je voudrais renouveler devant l'Assemblée générale afin qu'elles figurent au compte rendu de la présente séance.

157. Dans la résolution sur le Sahara dit espagnol qui vient d'être adoptée, la délégation de la République islamique de Mauritanie trouve des éléments positifs qui lui ont permis d'émettre un vote favorable sur ce texte. L'un de ces éléments positifs réside dans une nette distinction faite, dans le dispositif de la résolution, entre l'enclave d'Ifni et le territoire du Sahara dit espagnol. Une telle manière de voir correspond à une réalité que la délégation mauritanienne a toujours soulignée. En effet, le Sahara dit espagnol et Ifni constituent deux régions tout à fait distinctes. Ces deux régions géographiquement séparées posent des problèmes de nature fondamentalement différente. Elles devraient donc, pour cette raison, et pour la clarté du débat soulevé par chacune d'entre elles, être traitées de manière différente.

158. C'est pourquoi la délégation mauritanienne formule des réserves sur le fait que le Sahara dit espagnol et Ifni sont maintenus dans la même résolution. Ma délégation prend toutefois acte de ce qu'Ifni et le Sahara dit espagnol sont nettement séparés dans le corps de la résolution que nous venons d'adopter. La délégation mauritanienne prend également acte du fait qu'à la fin de la partie du dispositif consacrée à chacune des deux régions, il est demandé au Comité spécial de poursuivre l'examen portant sur ces terri-

toires et de faire rapport à ce sujet à l'Assemblée générale. Il est ainsi dit, à la fin de la partie du dispositif concernant Ifni, que ce territoire doit faire l'objet par le Comité spécial d'un rapport à part, et l'on trouve la même disposition au sujet du Sahara dit espagnol. Nous considérons cependant qu'il aurait été plus logique, plus juste et plus simple — donc plus clair — de traiter d'Ifni et du Sahara dit espagnol dans deux résolutions distinctes.

159. La délégation de la République islamique de Mauritanie voudrait par ailleurs souligner, avec le désir de voir l'ensemble de ses observations et réserves figurer dans le compte rendu de la présente séance de l'Assemblée générale, que la résolution que nous venons d'adopter ne fait pas ressortir avec toute la clarté voulue l'un des aspects essentiels de la question du Sahara dit espagnol. En effet, si les pays voisins de cette région, en tant que tels, sont intéressés, nous pouvons par contre affirmer que, pour ce qui a trait à l'appartenance du Sahara dit espagnol, la République islamique de Mauritanie est la partie intéressée. La présente résolution aurait dû faire ressortir cette réalité avec davantage de clarté. La délégation mauritanienne s'attendait à bon droit à voir cette réalité inscrite dans la présente résolution.

160. A ce propos, nous voudrions rappeler et confirmer les déclarations faites par les responsables mauritaniens et par la délégation mauritanienne au sujet du Sahara dit espagnol devant le Comité des Vingt-Quatre, devant la Quatrième Commission et devant l'Assemblée générale. Le fait que le Maroc soit nommé en même temps que la République islamique de Mauritanie à propos du Sahara dit espagnol dans la présente résolution ne signifie absolument pas que le Gouvernement de la République islamique de Mauritanie lui reconnaisse un droit quelconque sur cette région. Nous considérons le Maroc uniquement comme un pays limitrophe du Sahara dit espagnol et, à ce seul titre, susceptible, comme d'autres, d'être intéressé au destin de cette région.

161. Enfin, la délégation de la République islamique de Mauritanie considère que l'alinéa a du paragraphe 3 de la section II du dispositif de la résolution adoptée au cours de la présente séance de l'Assemblée générale sur le Sahara dit espagnol vise uniquement les quelques habitants autochtones du Sahara dit espagnol libres de tout engagement vis-à-vis des pays étrangers. Il s'agit donc, pour la délégation mauritanienne, d'habitants autochtones du Sahara dit espagnol qui, pour une raison ou pour une autre, se trouvent momentanément en dehors de leurs foyers. A ceux-là, et à ceux-là seuls, doit et peut raisonnablement s'appliquer l'alinéa a du paragraphe 3 de la section II du dispositif de la résolution que l'Assemblée générale vient d'adopter sur le Sahara dit espagnol.

162. **M. DE PINIES** (Espagne) [traduit de l'espagnol]: La résolution qui vient d'être adoptée à une écrasante majorité par les membres de l'Assemblée générale au sujet de Gibraltar met fin à une période de l'histoire coloniale de ce territoire. L'Espagne l'accepte, et ma délégation ne veut pas poursuivre avec celle de Grande-Bretagne une polémique qui irait au-delà de ce que la communauté internationale ici représentée a décidé. C'est pourquoi je m'abstiendrai de réfuter les arguments que mon illustre

ami et représentant distingué du Royaume-Uni, lord Caradon, a avancés pour justifier l'opposition de son pays à cette résolution.

163. En un jour comme celui-ci, ma délégation estime que les mots, quels qu'ils soient, sont superflus. Par la résolution qu'elle vient d'adopter, et qui est la suite logique des résolutions 2070 (XX) et 2231 (XXI) adoptées par l'Assemblée générale en 1965 et 1966, notre organisation a montré la voie normale, correcte et juste qu'il faut suivre pour liquider la situation coloniale de Gibraltar.

164. Le territoire dont ma patrie a été amputée doit de nouveau lui être rattaché; les intérêts des sujets britanniques qui, jusqu'à maintenant, ont bénéficié de cette situation coloniale, doivent être respectés.

165. Dans quelques semaines reprendront à Madrid les négociations entre l'Espagne et le Royaume-Uni, que ce dernier avait suspendues au mois d'avril dernier. Comme je l'ai déjà dit devant la Quatrième Commission, mon gouvernement participera à ces négociations en respectant les décisions des Nations Unies, et animé du meilleur esprit de collaboration à l'égard du Royaume-Uni.

166. Pendant 263 ans, la situation coloniale à Gibraltar a constitué un obstacle important à l'amitié hispano-britannique, au détriment non seulement de

nos deux pays mais aussi de la communauté internationale. Aujourd'hui, notre organisation a montré la voie à suivre pour franchir cet obstacle, et ma délégation espère que, lorsqu'il aura disparu, le Royaume-Uni et les sujets britanniques que ce pays a installés sur le Rocher sauront un jour se montrer reconnaissants d'une décision qui est à l'honneur de l'Organisation qui l'a prise. L'Espagne pour sa part exprime dès maintenant à celle-ci sa reconnaissance et forme les vœux pour que, l'année prochaine, nous puissions déclarer ici que le problème de la décolonisation de Gibraltar est résolu.

167. Quant aux résolutions qui ont été adoptées au sujet d'Ifni, du Sahara espagnol et de la Guinée équatoriale, je dois dire que ma délégation a voté en leur faveur. Elle a fait une déclaration à ce propos devant la Quatrième Commission [1750^{ème} séance] et a jugé inutile d'avoir à parler de nouveau en séance plénière, puisqu'elle s'en tient à ce qui a été dit et au vote qu'elle a émis dans cette assemblée.

168. M. COE COLE (Sierra Leone) [traduit de l'anglais]: Ma délégation aimerait expliquer son vote sur le projet de résolution V. Nous avons l'intention de voter pour ce projet de résolution en appuyant sur le bouton vert, mais il ne semble pas avoir fonctionné.

La séance est levée à 18 h 10.



Vingt-deuxième session
Point 23 de l'ordre du jour

APPLICATION DE LA DECLARATION SUR L'OCTROI DE L'INDEPENDANCE AUX
PAYS ET AUX PEUPLES COLONIAUX

TERRITOIRES N'AYANT PAS ETE EXAMINES SEPAREMENT

Rapport de la Quatrième Commission

Rapporteur : M. Buyantyn DASHTSEREN (Mongolie)

1. A sa 165ème séance, le 20 septembre 1967, le Bureau a décidé de recommander à l'Assemblée générale l'inscription à l'ordre du jour d'une question intitulée "Application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux : rapport du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux". A sa 167ème séance, le 22 septembre, le Bureau a décidé de recommander à l'Assemblée générale de renvoyer à la Quatrième Commission tous les chapitres du rapport du Comité spécial relatifs à des territoires déterminés.
2. A sa 1564ème séance plénière, le 23 septembre, l'Assemblée générale a, conformément aux recommandations du Bureau (A/6840), inscrit la question à son ordre du jour et renvoyé à la Quatrième Commission les chapitres du rapport du Comité spécial relatifs à des territoires déterminés.
3. A sa 1706ème séance, le 31 octobre, la Quatrième Commission a décidé d'examiner, en en faisant un seul point de son ordre du jour, les chapitres du rapport du Comité spécial concernant les territoires qu'elle n'étudierait pas séparément. On trouvera ci-après la liste des territoires intéressés, avec l'indication des chapitres correspondants du rapport du Comité spécial :

Guinée équatoriale	(A/6700/Add.6, chapitre VIII)
Ifni et Sahara espagnol	(A/6700/Add.7, chapitre IX)
Gibraltar	(A/6700/Add.9, chapitre X)
Souaziland	(A/6700/Add.10, chapitre XI)
Côte française des Somalis	(A/6700/Add.11, chapitre XII)
Oman	(A/6700/Add.12, chapitre XIII)
Ile Maurice, îles Seychelles et Sainte-Hélène	(A/6700/Add.8, chapitre XIV)
Iles Gilbert et Ellice, île Pitcairn et îles Salomon	(A/6700/Add.13, chapitre XV)
Nioué et îles Tokélaou	(A/6700/Add.13, chapitre XVI)
Nouvelles-Hébrides	(A/6700/Add.13, chapitre XVII)
Iles Samoa américaines et Guam	(A/6700/Add.13, chapitre XVIII)
Territoire sous tutelle des Iles du Pacifique	(A/6700/Add.13, chapitre XIX)
Territoire sous tutelle de Nauru, Papua et Territoire sous tutelle de la Nouvelle-Guinée, et îles Cocos (Keeling)	(A/6700/Add.13, chapitre XX)
Brunéi	(A/6700/Add.13, chapitre XXI)
Hong-kong	(A/6700/Add.13, chapitre XXII)
Iles Vierges américaines, îles Vierges britanniques, Antigua, Dominique, Grenade, Saint-Christophe- et-Nièves et Anguilla, Sainte-Lucie et Saint-Vincent, Bermudes, Bahamas, Montserrat, îles Turks et Caïques, îles Caïmanes, îles Falkland (Malouines) et Honduras britannique	(A/6700/Add.14, chapitre XXIII)

4. La Commission a examiné cette question à ses 1719^{ème}, 1737^{ème}, 1741^{ème}, 1742^{ème}, 1743^{ème} et 1745^{ème} à 1755^{ème} séances, entre le 15 novembre et le 16 décembre.

5. A la 1741^{ème} séance, le 7 décembre, le Rapporteur du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, a présenté les chapitres du rapport du Comité relatifs à la question examinée, dont la liste figure plus haut.

6. La Quatrième Commission était saisie des communications ci-après adressées au Secrétaire général :

/...

- a) Lettre, en date du 3 février 1967, du représentant permanent de l'Argentine auprès de l'Organisation des Nations Unies au sujet des îles Falkland (Malouines) (A/6661);
- b) Lettre, en date du 3 février 1967, du représentant permanent du Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord auprès de l'Organisation des Nations Unies au sujet des îles Falkland (Malouines) (A/6662);
- c) Lettre, en date du 18 septembre 1967, du représentant permanent adjoint de l'Espagne auprès de l'Organisation des Nations Unies au sujet de la Guinée équatoriale (A/6802);
- d) Lettre, en date du 28 septembre 1967, du représentant permanent du Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord auprès de l'Organisation des Nations Unies au sujet du Honduras britannique (A/6845);
- e) Lettre, en date du 25 octobre 1967, du représentant permanent du Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord auprès de l'Organisation des Nations Unies au sujet de Gibraltar (A/6876);
- f) Lettre, en date du 30 octobre 1967, du représentant permanent adjoint de l'Espagne auprès de l'Organisation des Nations Unies au sujet de Gibraltar (A/6882);
- g) Lettre, en date du 14 décembre 1967, du représentant permanent de l'Argentine auprès de l'Organisation des Nations Unies au sujet des îles Falkland (Malouines) (A/C.4/703);
- h) Lettre, en date du 14 décembre 1967, du représentant permanent du Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord auprès de l'Organisation des Nations Unies au sujet des îles Falkland (Malouines) (A/C.4/704).

7. A l'occasion de l'examen de cette question, la Commission a fait droit aux demandes d'audition suivantes :

<u>Pétitionnaires</u>	<u>Territoires intéressés</u>	<u>Séance au cours de laquelle l'audition a été accordée</u>
M. Philip S. W. Goldson chef de l'opposition au Honduras britannique	Honduras britannique	1699ème
M. Saturnino Ibongo Iyanga, <u>Movimiento Nacional de Liberación de la Guinea Ecuatorial</u> (MONALIGE) (A/C.4/695)	Guinée équatoriale	1699ème

<u>Pétitionnaires</u>	<u>Territoires intéressés</u>	<u>Séance au cours de laquelle l'audition a été accordée</u>
M. George Price, chef du <u>People's United Party</u> (A/C.4/694/Add.1)	Honduras britannique	1727ème
M. Jeremiah Gumbs et M. Roger Fisher (A/C.4/694/Add.2)	Anguilla	1730ème
M. Donald A. Halstead, vice-président de l' <u>Antigua Workers' Union</u> (A/C.4/694/Add.3)	Antigua	1738ème
Sir Joshua Hassan, <u>Association for the Advancement of Civil Rights</u> et M. Peter Isola, Groupe parlementaire indépendant membre élu du Conseil législatif de Gibraltar (A/C.4/702)	Gibraltar	1744ème
M. Fernando Fugardo et M. Pedro Hidalgo (A/C.4/702/Add.1)	Gibraltar	1744ème
M. Atanasio Ndong Miyone secrétaire général du <u>Movimiento Nacional de Liberación de la Guinea Ecuatorial</u> (MONALIGE) (A/C.4/695/Add.1)	Guinée équatoriale	1741ème
M. Francisco Macias Mguema, vice-président du Conseil de gouvernement autonome et chef du <u>Movimiento Nacional de Liberación de la Guinea Ecuatorial</u> (MONALIGE) (A/C.4/695/Add.2)	Guinée équatoriale	1746ème
M. Francisco Salome Jones, vice-président du <u>Movimiento de Union Nacional de la Guinea Ecuatorial</u> (MUNGE)	Guinée équatoriale	1746ème
M. Antónino Eworo Obama président de l' <u>Idea Popular de la Guinea Ecuatorial</u> (IPGE) (A/C.4/695/Add.4)	Guinée équatoriale	1746ème

8. A la 1719ème séance, le 15 novembre, M. Philip S. W. Goldson a fait à la Commission une déclaration concernant le Honduras britannique.

9. A la 1737^{ème} séance, le 4 décembre, M. C. Lindberg Rogers a fait, au nom du People's United Party, une déclaration concernant le Honduras britannique.
10. A la 1743^{ème} séance, le 8 décembre, M. Jeremiah Gumbs et M. Roger Fisher ont fait des déclarations concernant Anguilla et répondu à des questions qui leur ont été posées par des membres de la Commission.
11. A la 1747^{ème} séance, le 13 décembre, M. Peter Isola, sir Joshua Hassan, M. Pedro Hidalgo et M. Fernando Fugardo ont fait à la Commission des déclarations concernant Gibraltar; ils ont répondu également à des questions qui leur ont été posées par des membres de la Commission à cette séance et à la 1748^{ème} séance, tenue le même jour.
12. A la 1748^{ème} séance, le 13 décembre, M. Saturnino Ibango Iyanga, M. Atanasio Ndong Miyone, M. Francisco Macias Ngueme, M. Francisco Salome Jones et M. Antonino Eworo Obama, accompagnés de M. Jose Loeri Comba, M. Tomas Ecoca et M. Armando Balboa, se sont présentés devant la Commission. M. Macias, M. Eworo, M. Salome et M. Ndong ont fait des déclarations concernant la Guinée équatoriale et ont répondu, ainsi que les autres pétitionnaires, à des questions qui leur ont été posées par des membres de la Commission.
13. A la même séance, M. Donald Halstead a fait une déclaration concernant Antigua et a répondu à des questions qui lui ont été posées par un membre de la Commission.
14. La discussion générale sur la question a eu lieu aux 1741^{ème} à 1743^{ème}, 1745^{ème}, 1746^{ème} et 1749^{ème} à 1753^{ème} séances, entre les 7 et 15 décembre.
15. A l'occasion de l'examen de la question, la Commission a adopté cinq projets de résolution et un texte d'accord concernant les territoires suivants :
 - I. Gibraltar
 - II. Ifni et Sahara espagnol
 - III. Guinée équatoriale
 - IV. Côte française des Somalis
 - V. Iles Samoa américaines, Antigua, Bahamas, Bermudes, îles Vierges britanniques, îles Caïmanes, îles Cocos (Keeling), Dominique, îles Gilbert et Ellice, Grenade, Guam, îles Maurice, Montserrat, Nouvelles-Hébrides, Nioué, île Pitcairn, Sainte-Hélène, Saint-Christophe-et-Nièves et Anguilla, Sainte-Lucie, Saint-Vincent, îles Seychelles, îles Salomon, Souaziland, îles Tokélaou, îles Turks et Caïques et îles Vierges américaines
 - VI. Iles Falkland (Malouines) (texte d'accord)
16. On trouvera aux sections I à VI ci-après un compte rendu des débats de la Commission sur les projets de résolution et les amendements s'y rapportant, ainsi que sur le texte d'accord.

V. ANTIGUA, BAHAMAS, BERMUDES, DOMINIQUE, GRENADE, GUAM, ILES CAIMANES, ILES COCOS (KEELING), ILES GILBERT ET ELLICE, ILE MAURICE, ILES SALOMON, ILES SAMOA AMERICAINES, ILES SEYCHELLES, ILES TOKELAOU, ILES TURKS ET CAIQUES, ILES VIERGES AMERICAINES, ILES VIERGES BRITANNIQUES; MONTSERRAT, NIOUE, NOUVELLES-HEBRIDES, PITCAIRN, SAINT-CHRISTOPHE-ET-NIEVES ET ANGUILLA, SAINTE-HELENE, SAINTE-LUCIE ET SAINT-VINCENT ET SOUAZILAND

36. A la 1753^{ème} séance, le 15 décembre, le représentant de la République-Unie de Tanzanie a présenté un projet de résolution au nom des Etats Membres suivants : Haute-Volta, Indonésie, Libye, Mali, Maroc, Mauritanie, Niger, République-Unie de Tanzanie, Yougoslavie et Zambie (A/C.4/L.899).

37. A la 1755^{ème} séance, le 16 décembre, la Quatrième Commission a adopté le projet de résolution (A/C.4/L.899) par 72 voix contre zéro, avec 26 abstentions (voir ci-après par. 39, projet de résolution V).

RECOMMANDATIONS DE LA QUATRIEME COMMISSION

38. La Quatrième Commission recommande à l'Assemblée générale d'adopter les projets de résolution suivants :

PROJET DE RESOLUTION V

Question d'Antigua, des Bahamas, des Bermudes, de la Dominique, de la Grenade, de Guam, des îles Caïmanes, des îles Cocos (Keeling), des îles Gilbert et Ellice, de l'île Maurice, des îles Salomon, des îles Samoa américaines, des îles Seychelles, des îles Tokélaou, des îles Turks et Caïques, des îles Vierges américaines, des îles Vierges britanniques, de Montserrat, de Nioué, des Nouvelles-Hébrides, de Pitcairn, de Saint-Christophe-et-Nièves et Anguilla, de Sainte-Hélène, de Sainte-Lucie et de Saint-Vincent et du Souaziland

L'Assemblée générale,

Ayant étudié la question des territoires suivants : Antigua, Bahamas, Bermudes, Dominique, Grenade, Guam, îles Caïmanes, îles Cocos (Keeling), îles Gilbert-et-Ellice, île Maurice, îles Salomon, îles Samoa américaines, îles Seychelles, îles Tokélaou, îles Turks et Caïques, îles Vierges américaines, îles Vierges britanniques, Montserrat, Nioué, Nouvelles-Hébrides, Pitcairn, Saint-Christophe-et-Nièves et Anguilla, Sainte-Hélène, Sainte-Lucie et Saint-Vincent et Souaziland,

Ayant examiné les chapitres du rapport du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux relatifs à ces territoires^{1/},

Rappelant ses résolutions 1514 (XV) du 14 décembre 1960, 1654 (XVI) du 27 novembre 1961, 1810 (XVII) du 17 décembre 1962, 1956 (XVIII) du 11 décembre 1963, 2066 (XX) du 16 décembre 1965, 2069 (XX) du 16 décembre 1965, 2189 (XXI) du 13 décembre 1966, 2232 (XX) du 20 décembre 1966 et 2288 (XXII) du 1er décembre 1967,

Notant les changements constitutionnels qui ont été adoptés en février et mars 1967 dans les territoires d'Antigua, de la Dominique, de Grenade, de Saint-Christophe-et-Nièves et Anguilla et de Sainte-Lucie et qui sont envisagés pour le territoire de Saint-Vincent,

Prenant note en outre de la décision du Comité spécial selon laquelle la résolution 1514 (XV) contenant la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux et les autres résolutions pertinentes continuent de s'appliquer à ces territoires,

^{1/} A/6700/Add.8, 10, 13 et 14, chap. XI, XIV à XVIII, XX et XXIII.

Profondément préoccupée par les renseignements contenus dans le rapport du Comité spécial concernant la persistance de politiques visant notamment à la destruction de l'intégrité territoriale de certains de ces territoires et à l'établissement, par les puissances administrantes, de bases et d'installations militaires en violation des résolutions pertinentes de l'Assemblée générale,

Déplorant l'attitude de certaines puissances administrantes qui persistent à refuser d'autoriser des missions de visite de l'Organisation des Nations Unies à se rendre dans ces territoires,

Sachant que, dans ces conditions, l'attention soutenue et l'assistance de l'Organisation des Nations Unies sont nécessaires si l'on veut que les peuples de ces territoires atteignent leurs objectifs, énoncés dans la Charte des Nations Unies et dans la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux,

Consciente de la situation géographique et des conditions économiques particulières de certains de ces territoires,

1. Approuve les chapitres du rapport du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux relatifs à ces territoires;
2. Réaffirme le droit inaliénable des peuples de ces territoires à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance;
3. Invite les puissances administrantes à appliquer sans retard les résolutions pertinentes de l'Assemblée générale;
4. Réitère sa déclaration selon laquelle toute tentative visant à détruire partiellement ou totalement l'unité nationale et l'intégrité territoriale des territoires coloniaux et à établir des bases et des installations militaires dans ces territoires est incompatible avec les buts et les principes de la Charte des Nations Unies et de la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale;
5. Demande instamment aux puissances administrantes d'autoriser les missions de visite de l'Organisation des Nations Unies à se rendre dans les territoires et de leur offrir toute leur coopération et toute leur assistance;

6. Décide que l'Organisation des Nations Unies devra prêter toute l'aide nécessaire aux peuples de ces territoires dans les efforts qu'ils déploient pour décider librement de leur statut futur;

7. Prie le Comité spécial de continuer à accorder une attention spéciale à ces territoires et de faire rapport à l'Assemblée générale, lors de sa vingt-troisième session, sur l'application de la présente résolution;

8. Prie le Secrétaire général de continuer à prêter toute l'assistance possible dans l'application de la présente résolution.

40. La Quatrième Commission recommande également à l'Assemblée générale d'adopter le texte d'accord suivant :

Question des îles Falkland (Malvinas)

L'Assemblée générale, compte tenu de sa résolution 2065 (XX) du 16 décembre 1965 et du texte d'accord adopté par elle le 20 décembre 1966 touchant la question des îles Falkland (Malvinas), prend acte des communications, datées du 14 décembre 1967, que les représentants permanents de l'Argentine et du Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord auprès de l'Organisation des Nations Unies ont adressées au Secrétaire général (documents A/C.4/703 et A/C.4/704), et à cet égard, compte tenu du rapport du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux^{1/}, elle adopte un texte d'accord tendant à prier instamment les deux parties de poursuivre leurs négociations en vue de trouver une solution pacifique au problème le plus tôt possible. En outre, l'Assemblée prie instamment les deux parties de tenir, au cours de l'année prochaine, en gardant présents à l'esprit la résolution 2065 (XX) et le texte d'accord du 20 décembre 1966, le Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux et l'Assemblée générale dûment au courant de l'évolution des négociations sur cette situation coloniale dont l'Organisation des Nations Unies souhaite l'élimination dans le contexte de la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale du 14 décembre 1960.

Nations Unies
**ASSEMBLÉE
GÉNÉRALE**

VINGT-DEUXIÈME SESSION

Documents officiels



QUATRIÈME COMMISSION, 1741^e
SÉANCE

Jeudi 7 décembre 1967,
à 11 heures

NEW YORK

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Président: M. George J. TOMEH (Syrie).

POINT 23 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

Application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux: rapport du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux: territoires n'ayant pas été examinés séparément (suite*) [A/6661, A/6662, A/6700/Rev.1, chap. VIII à XII et XIV à XXIII; A/6802, A/6845, A/6876, A/6882, A/C.4/694/Add.2 et 3, A/C.4/695 et Add.1, A/C.4/L.876 et Add.1 et 2, A/C.4/L.877]

DISCUSSION GENERALE ET EXAMEN DE PROJETS DE RESOLUTION (A/C.4/L.876 ET ADD.1 ET 2, A/C.4/L.877)

23. M. ESFANDIARY (Iran) [Rapporteur du Comité spécial] appelle l'attention des membres de la Quatrième Commission sur les chapitres du rapport du Comité spécial (A/6700/Rev.1) relatifs aux territoires n'ayant pas été examinés séparément. Ces chapitres portent sur les territoires suivants: Guinée équatoriale; Ifni et Sahara espagnol; Gibraltar; Souaziland; Côte française des Somalis; Ile Maurice, Iles Seychelles et Sainte-Hélène; Iles Gilbert-et-Ellice, Pitcairn et Iles Salomon; Nioué et Iles Tokélaou; Nouvelles-Hébrides; Guam et Samoa américaines; Territoire sous tutelle des Iles du Pacifique; Iles Cocos (Keeling), Territoires sous tutelle de Nauru, Papoua et Territoire sous tutelle de la Nouvelle-Guinée; Brunéi; Hong-kong; Iles Vierges américaines, Iles Vierges britanniques, Antigua, Dominique, Grenade, Montserrat, Saint-Christophe-et-Nièves et Anguilla, Sainte-Lucie, Saint-Vincent, Bermudes, Bahamas, Iles Turques et Caïques, Iles Caïmanes, Iles Falkland (Malvinas) et Honduras britannique.

24. Le programme du Comité spécial en 1967 a été particulièrement chargé, car, on le sait, ses travaux ont été interrompus par la session extraordinaire et la session extraordinaire d'urgence de l'Assemblée générale. En raison de ces interruptions, de nombreuses questions n'ont pu être examinées qu'avec un retard important, et le Comité spécial n'a pas été en mesure d'achever ses séances de 1967 avant le 5 décembre. Malgré cela, et bien que les chapitres que le Comité spécial consacre aux nombreux territoires qui restent sous domination coloniale soient nécessairement volumineux, la plupart de ces chapitres ont été distribués, grâce aux efforts des membres du Comité et des divers services du Secrétariat.

*Reprise des débats de la 1737ème séance.

25. Les chapitres déjà publiés du rapport du Comité spécial qui ont trait aux territoires relevant du point à l'examen sont les suivants: chapitre VIII: Guinée équatoriale; chapitre IX: Ifni et Sahara espagnol; chapitre XII: Côte française des Somalis; chapitre XIV: île Maurice, îles Seychelles et Sainte-Hélène; chapitres XV à XXII: territoires d'Asie et du Pacifique. En ce qui concerne les chapitres relatifs aux autres territoires, à savoir Gibraltar, le Souaziland et les territoires des Antilles, aucun effort n'est épargné pour les publier le plus rapidement possible et M. Esfandiary croit savoir qu'ils seront prêts le 11 décembre au plus tard.

26. Le Comité spécial a recommandé diverses mesures propres à garantir que la Déclaration sera appliquée d'une manière satisfaisante et efficace dans les territoires en question. M. Esfandiary espère que ces mesures recevront un large appui à l'Assemblée générale, et il recommande vivement à la Quatrième Commission d'adopter le rapport du Comité spécial.

27. M. LUARD (Royaume-Uni) rappelle à la Commission qu'étant donné l'importance de la question à l'examen il a été décidé que la délégation britannique pourrait traiter à part le problème de Gibraltar. Les Gouvernements du Royaume-Uni et de l'Espagne, principaux intéressés, ont décidé d'un commun accord d'avoir des entretiens à Madrid à ce sujet en janvier 1968. Presque toutes les délégations représentées à la Commission se sont, à un moment ou à un autre, déclarées en faveur de négociations entre l'Espagne et le Royaume-Uni, et M. Luard, pour sa part, évitera de dire quoi que ce soit qui puisse compromettre les résultats de ces entretiens. Rappelant brièvement l'évolution du problème, M. Luard signale qu'en octobre 1964, au moment où le Comité spécial a recommandé pour la première fois que des discussions aient lieu entre l'Espagne et le Royaume-Uni au sujet de Gibraltar, l'Espagne a commencé à imposer des restrictions sur les communications entre le Royaume-Uni et Gibraltar; le Royaume-Uni n'en a pas moins appuyé la résolution 2070 (XX) de l'Assemblée générale. L'année suivante ont eu lieu des entretiens au cours desquels l'Espagne a proposé que Gibraltar lui soit transféré, certaines mesures étant prises pour assurer la protection de la population; elle offrait au Royaume-Uni la possibilité de continuer à utiliser la base de Gibraltar. Le Royaume-Uni, de son côté, a présenté diverses propositions qui portaient notamment sur des mesures pratiques de coopération dans des domaines d'intérêt mutuel et une forme spéciale de représentation du Gouvernement espagnol à Gibraltar, tenant compte des intérêts et de la situation particulière de l'Espagne aux termes du Traité d'Utrecht; il a proposé également que la Cour internationale de Justice soit saisie des aspects juridiques du différend, en s'engageant à se conformer à la décisions de la Cour. L'Espagne n'a encore accepté aucune des propositions britanniques mais, en revanche, elle a imposé des restrictions accrues sur la population de Gibraltar. La Quatrième Commission a examiné le problème à nouveau lors de la vingt et unième session; la discussion a abouti à l'adoption de la résolution 2231 (XXI) du 20 décembre 1966 dont les deux dispositions principales étaient la poursuite des conversations entre le Royaume-Uni et l'Espagne,

et la décision de tenir compte des intérêts de la population du territoire.

28. En ce qui concerne la première disposition, le Gouvernement britannique a proposé de reprendre les entretiens à Londres en avril 1967; mais, quelques jours avant la date prévue, l'Espagne a appliqué des mesures restrictives encore plus sévères, interdisant, entre autres choses, le survol de la zone contiguë à l'unique aéroport de Gibraltar. Le Gouvernement britannique a considéré ces mesures comme des tentatives, auxquelles il n'était pas disposé à céder, pour lui forcer la main, et il n'a eu d'autre recours que d'ajourner les entretiens. Il a été entendu que l'interdiction des vols à Gibraltar ferait l'objet de discussions, mais la condition préalable posée par l'Espagne a obligé le Royaume-Uni à porter le différend devant l'Organisation de l'aviation civile internationale (OACI). Au mois de septembre 1967, le Secrétaire d'Etat aux affaires étrangères du Royaume-Uni et le Ministre des affaires étrangères d'Espagne ont étudié les relations entre les deux pays, et des entretiens entre les deux gouvernements se poursuivront en janvier 1968.

29. En ce qui concerne la deuxième disposition de la résolution 2231 (XXI), selon laquelle les deux parties étaient invitées à poursuivre leurs négociations "en prenant en considération les intérêts des habitants du territoire", il est évident qu'elle s'adresse à l'une et l'autre partie. Or, depuis trois ans, l'Espagne impose à Gibraltar des mesures qui équivalent pratiquement à un blocus, s'attaquant aux moyens d'existence de la population et restreignant ses moyens de communication; ces mesures, outre qu'elles sont contraires aux dispositions de la résolution 2231 (XXI), ne sont guère de nature à susciter parmi les Gibraltariens des sentiments favorables à l'Espagne.

30. Le Royaume-Uni, de son côté, a toujours considéré comme l'un des principes sacrés de la décolonisation le souci des intérêts des peuples et le respect de leurs désirs, et, en conséquence, il a décidé de consulter les habitants de Gibraltar en organisant un référendum qui leur permettrait de choisir entre deux possibilités: se placer sous la souveraineté espagnole dans les conditions que le Gouvernement espagnol avait proposées au Gouvernement de Sa Majesté le 18 mai 1966, ou maintenir volontairement leurs liens avec le Royaume-Uni, en ayant des institutions locales démocratiques. Le représentant permanent du Royaume-Uni a informé le Secrétaire général de ce projet le 13 juin 1967 (A/AC.109/254¹, par. 16), en précisant que le Gouvernement britannique accepterait volontiers la présence d'un observateur de l'ONU à ce référendum. Ce gouvernement a également proposé à l'Espagne d'envoyer un observateur, en offrant de lui donner les moyens d'exposer son point de vue aux Gibraltariens. Le Gouvernement espagnol a rejeté les deux offres. Le référendum a eu lieu le 10 septembre; pour être admis à voter il fallait être résident permanent dans le territoire; 12 182 résidents permanents ont donc voté sur un total de 12 757 inscrits: 44 seulement se sont prononcés pour la première option, 12 138 pour la seconde — le maintien des liens existant entre le

¹ Pour le texte imprimé de ce document, voir A/6700/Rev.1, chap. X, annexe I.

Royaume-Uni et le territoire. Ainsi, dans un référendum libre et démocratique, la population de Gibraltar a fait connaître sans ambiguïté et d'une manière quasi unanime ce qu'elle estimait être ses intérêts. La délégation britannique rejette catégoriquement l'idée, exprimée dans un des projets de résolution présentés, selon laquelle ce référendum n'était pas conforme à la résolution 2231 (XXI). Où iraient les Nations Unies si l'un de ses organismes considérait comme un acte répréhensible de consulter une population coloniale au sujet de son avenir? Certaines délégations ont prétendu que le référendum avait été organisé sans tenir compte de la résolution 2231 (XXI), l'Espagne n'ayant pas été consultée; cette critique n'est pas plus fondée: l'Espagne, invitée à participer, ne l'a pas fait.

31. D'un point de vue général, ce problème semble faire intervenir deux principes essentiels. L'un de ces principes est celui de l'intégrité territoriale, mentionné dans un des projets de résolution distribués; à cet égard, il convient d'établir une distinction entre des concepts fondamentaux. L'expression "intégrité territoriale", telle qu'elle est employée au paragraphe 6 du dispositif de la résolution 1514 (XV), s'entend de l'intégrité et de l'indivisibilité d'un territoire qui formait un tout sous une administration antérieure: par exemple l'ancien Congo belge, le Kenya, etc. C'est le concept que l'Organisation de l'unité africaine (OUA) a eu la sagesse d'accepter, en reconnaissant toutes les frontières coloniales antérieures, aussi absurdes qu'elles soient. Mais ce concept doit être distingué de celui de l'intégrité géographique, qui a trait à des zones adjacentes ou paraissant faire partie d'une même unité géographique. Il est évident que l'on n'a jamais envisagé cette acception dans la résolution 1514 (XV), car cela aurait signifié que pratiquement tous les territoires coloniaux pouvaient être revendiqués par leurs voisins immédiats, ce que l'OUA a voulu éviter. Le principe de l'unité géographique pose un problème, car il est difficile de définir cette unité. Si, en vertu d'un tel principe, Gibraltar devait faire partie de l'Espagne, on pourrait en dire autant du Portugal; l'Alaska pourrait être revendiqué par le Canada, Saint-Marin par l'Italie, Singapour par la Malaisie, et, en fait, l'Amérique du Sud tout entière devrait former un seul et même pays, comme d'ailleurs l'Afrique. On ne saurait faire de ce principe un facteur déterminant dans les différends frontaliers.

32. D'après l'Article 73 de la Charte, les Membres des Nations Unies qui assument la responsabilité d'administrer des territoires non autonomes ont, à l'égard de ces territoires, l'obligation de développer leur capacité de s'administrer eux-mêmes, de tenir compte des aspirations politiques des populations et de les aider dans le développement progressif de leurs libres institutions politiques. Il n'est pas question d'assurer l'unité géographique par la décolonisation et jamais aucun territoire n'a été ainsi annexé après la décolonisation. Bien plus, quand très souvent l'intégrité territoriale a été remise en cause en vertu du principe selon lequel les peuples doivent pouvoir décider de leur avenir, l'Organisation a toujours soutenu le principe en question: c'est ainsi que l'avenir du Cameroun britannique a été décidé en fonction des souhaits librement exprimés au cours d'un plébiscite

et non pas selon des critères géographiques. Lorsque se posera prochainement la question de l'avenir du Sahara espagnol, qui, comme Gibraltar, est l'objet d'une revendication territoriale, il conviendra également de faire prévaloir l'opinion de la majorité de la population; les Nations Unies ont décidé en 1966 que la population autochtone du territoire exercerait par référendum son droit à l'autodétermination; même l'Espagne affirme, en ce qui concerne Ceuta et Melilla, villes espagnoles situées dans la zone géographique du Maroc, que les vœux des habitants l'emportent sur les considérations géographiques. Certains ont dit qu'il fallait adopter un principe différent dans le cas de Gibraltar; un des arguments avancés est que la situation n'est pas la même que dans les autres territoires vu le petit nombre d'habitants. Or la Quatrième Commission vient d'approuver la libre détermination et l'accession à l'indépendance de Nauru, dont la population n'est que de 3 000 habitants, et le Comité spécial a réaffirmé le droit à la libre détermination de Nioué qui est encore moins peuplée.

33. Un autre argument avancé pour faire prévaloir le critère géographique sur les aspirations des habitants est que, dans un certain sens, il ne s'agit pas d'une population pleinement autochtone, mais d'une création artificielle importée de la métropole par la puissance coloniale. C'est faux: les habitants de Gibraltar ne viennent pas du Royaume-Uni, pas plus qu'ils ne sont étroitement liés aux Britanniques: ce sont principalement des gens d'origine méditerranéenne, et ils sont venus d'Italie ou de Malte à diverses époques entre 1715 et la fin du XIX^{ème} siècle. Ce ne sont ni des Anglais, ni des Espagnols. Ils forment une communauté qui a ses traditions et sa vie propres, ils ont la liberté de presse, la liberté syndicale, la liberté d'expression, la liberté politique et le droit au suffrage universel libre; l'opposition peut participer aux élections dans les mêmes conditions que le parti de la majorité. Ils ont des tribunaux libres et peuvent librement exprimer leur opinion. La seule chose qu'ils demandent est de ne pas être incorporés contre leur volonté à une puissance totalement étrangère à leurs traditions sociales et politiques. Comment pourrait-on dire qu'une population qui occupe un territoire depuis 250 ans est une population artificielle ou temporaire, et que ses intérêts et ses aspirations doivent être sacrifiés au moment de la décolonisation. Il y a peu de populations dans le monde d'aujourd'hui qui pourraient être assurées de conserver leur territoire si ce principe était appliqué, et la délégation britannique ne pense pas que, dans ce cas, pas plus qu'en aucun autre, une revendication posée pour des raisons géographiques doive l'emporter sur le principe fondamental selon lequel les habitants du territoire ont le droit de décider de leur avenir. Incorporer les Gibraltariens, contre leur volonté, à un pays dont ils détestent le système politique et qui serait maître de leur destin, ce ne serait pas de la décolonisation mais de la recolonisation et dans une forme bien moins acceptable.

34. Se référant aux projets de résolution présentés (A/C.4/L.876 et Add.1 et 2 et A/C.4/L.877), M. Luard souligne qu'il faut éviter de compromettre l'issue des conversations de janvier 1968 et de préjuger la question fondamentale de la souveraineté ou des droits respectifs de l'Espagne et du Royaume-Uni. Cette question doit assurément faire l'objet d'un arrêt de la

Cour internationale de Justice ou d'un arbitrage, mais elle ne relève pas de la Quatrième Commission, qui est un organe politique. En outre, ni la Quatrième Commission ni aucun autre organe politique des Nations Unies ne sont compétents pour rendre un jugement au sujet d'un différend territorial entre deux Etats Membres. La Quatrième Commission examine le problème de Gibraltar du point de vue colonial et non pas du point de vue de la revendication territoriale de l'Espagne; dès lors, les aspirations et les intérêts des Gibraltariens doivent passer avant tout.

35. Pour les raisons exposées, la délégation britannique ne peut accepter le projet de résolution présenté par un certain nombre de pays d'Amérique latine (A/C.4/L.876 et Add.1 et 2) parce qu'il tente d'établir une relation entre le paragraphe 6 de la résolution 1514 (XV) et la question de Gibraltar, qu'il déplore l'organisation du référendum jugé contraire à la résolution 2231 (XXI), et qu'il laisse entendre implicitement que c'est seulement quand on aura "mis fin à la situation coloniale" qu'il conviendra de protéger les intérêts des habitants de Gibraltar; or, la résolution 2231 (XXI) dit clairement que ces intérêts doivent être pris en considération au cours des négociations entre les parties.

36. La Commission ayant été saisie de ce projet, la délégation britannique en a fait distribuer un autre, ce qui permettra à la Commission de déterminer les positions des deux parties. Dans le projet de résolution qu'il a présenté (A/C.4/L.877), le Royaume-Uni reconnaît clairement que les aspirations des habitants du territoire sont l'un des facteurs essentiels de la situation; en évoquant les restrictions imposées par l'Espagne à Gibraltar, il souligne que cela, plus que toute autre chose, empêche le règlement pacifique du différend, et, en demandant la levée de ces restric-

tions, il s'efforce de faire disparaître cet obstacle essentiel.

37. L'un des objectifs les plus élevés de la Quatrième Commission consiste à tenter de trouver des points d'accord entre les parties et à ne pas aggraver les controverses. Dans le cas de Gibraltar, l'avenir des 25 000 habitants du territoire est en jeu, et il faudra toute la bonne volonté, l'objectivité et la patience des membres de la Commission pour faciliter une solution. Celle-ci devra respecter deux principes de base: celui du règlement pacifique des controverses et la règle selon laquelle, en matière de décolonisation, les vœux d'une population touchant son avenir doivent être l'élément primordial à considérer.

38. M. DE PINIES (Espagne) dit qu'il n'exercera pas immédiatement son droit de réponse, mais qu'il se référera brièvement à certains aspects de l'intervention du représentant du Royaume-Uni, qui a dit à peu près la même chose que son secrétaire d'Etat aux affaires étrangères, M. Brown, en séance plénière de l'Assemblée générale (1567ème séance). Ce sont là tergiversations et demi-vérités auxquelles M. de Piniés répondra à la séance suivante. Le représentant du Royaume-Uni a parlé de l'aérodrome de Gibraltar, mais il n'a pas dit que c'est un aérodrome militaire, qui est catalogué comme tel à l'OACI et ne peut être utilisé qu'avec l'autorisation de la Royal Air Force ou en cas d'urgence. Quant au projet de résolution présenté par les quatre pays d'Amérique latine, il est à peu près identique à un projet approuvé antérieurement par le Comité spécial, avec seulement deux voix contre. Enfin, M. de Piniés affirme que l'Espagne sera toujours prête à respecter les intérêts de la population de Gibraltar.

La séance est levée à 13 h 50.



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Président: M. George J. TOMEH (Syrie).

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DISCUSSION GÉNÉRALE ET EXAMEN DE PROJETS DE RÉSOLUTION (suite) A/C.4/L.876 ET ADD.1 A 6, A/C.4/L.877, A/C.4/L.884)

1. M. JOUEJATI (Syrie) dit que la question de Gibraltar fait partie de l'héritage d'une époque où la force régnait. L'Organisation des Nations Unies a été créée au lendemain de la défaite infligée aux champions du règne de la force par les champions du règne du droit et a substitué le principe de la souveraineté, de l'association et de la coopération, dans des conditions d'égalité dans le domaine des relations internationales, au colonialisme et à l'expansion territoriale par la force qu'elle a répudiés.

2. Gibraltar a été occupée de force et les 6 000 survivants de la bataille ont été chassés et ont dû se réfugier à San Roque, d'où ils pouvaient voir leur cité occupée par les troupes étrangères. Cet épisode est à la racine même du problème de Gibraltar et le passage du temps ne lui a pas ôté sa validité.

3. Il y a quatre éléments principaux dont il convient de tenir compte lorsque l'on examine ce problème: premièrement, la souveraineté sur le roc de Gibraltar; deuxièmement, les droits inhérents des habitants espagnols qui ont été déplacés et de leurs successeurs; troisièmement, le statut des habitants qui se sont fixés à Gibraltar; quatrièmement, l'expansion postérieure de l'occupation britannique qui s'est étendue au territoire adjacent. Ainsi le problème met en jeu des considérations d'ordre territorial, humain et juridique qui sont à la base même de la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale et que la Commission devrait garder présentes à l'esprit.

4. Les revendications britanniques à la souveraineté sur Gibraltar reposent sur le Traité d'Utrecht; or ce traité prévoyait une cession de propriété sans aucune juridiction territoriale. Il est évident qu'il s'agissait seulement de la cession à bail, à titre gracieux, d'une portion du territoire espagnol, d'autant qu'une autre clause du Traité disposait que, si l'Angleterre décide de céder, de vendre ou d'aliéner de toute autre manière le territoire de la ville de Gibraltar, la préférence devait être accordée à l'Espagne. Autrement dit, le territoire ne peut être vendu ou cédé à bail sans l'autorisation de la partie qui en détient la souveraineté, c'est-à-dire l'Espagne. La décolonisation du territoire signifierait la fin de l'occupation britannique et la souveraineté, qui a été suspendue de force mais non aliénée, reviendrait à l'Espagne.

5. Sur les 6 000 Espagnols qui habitaient Gibraltar à l'époque de l'occupation anglaise, seul Juan Romero de Figueroa, curé de l'Eglise Sainte-Marie, était demeuré et son acte de courage est passé à la postérité dans un poème sur cette tragédie, qu'il a composé. En attendant la libération de leur cité, les habitants qui en avaient été chassés ont construit à San Roque une ville dont les armes étaient celles de Gibraltar avec en exergue: "La très loyale cité de San Roque, dans laquelle réside celle de Gibraltar". San Roque continue d'être le symbole de l'attachement puissant qu'éprouvent les exilés pour leur patrie d'origine. Leur cité a été enlevée par la force, mais les habitants conservent leurs droits inaliénables sur elle. Il n'existe aucun document qui donne un caractère définitif à l'expropriation dont les habitants ont été l'objet et à leur exil. Les descendants des habitants légitimes se chiffrent maintenant à une cinquantaine de mille éparpillés autour de Gibraltar. Les travailleurs espagnols qui contribuent tous les jours à la prospérité de Gibraltar en sont les descendants; ce ne sont pas des travailleurs frontaliers ordinaires, car ils sont liés par un lien indissoluble à la terre de leurs ancêtres. Malgré cela, la Puissance administrante les considère comme des étrangers à Gibraltar

et les empêche de faire entendre leur voix sur la question de l'avenir de Gibraltar.

6. Les multiples possibilités qu'offre Gibraltar érigée en port franc par la Reine d'Angleterre et la présence d'une base militaire ont attiré des colons d'origines diverses. Ils ont commencé par former une classe commerçante, mais le XIX^{ème} siècle a vu l'apparition d'une classe de privilégiés. Il est humain de vouloir profiter des occasions qui s'offrent et de vouloir faire des affaires, mais les nouveaux venus gardaient plutôt la nostalgie de leur ancienne patrie qu'ils n'étaient animés d'un sentiment de fidélité envers leur nouvelle patrie, dont 70 p. 100 de la superficie dépend de l'autorité militaire. Gibraltar est une colonie; il n'existe pas de citoyenneté de Gibraltar; seule la résidence à Gibraltar est reconnue et encore le droit à la résidence est limité par la loi aux fidèles sujets de la Couronne et est accordé par le Gouverneur, son représentant. De la sorte, les fils des habitants autochtones de Gibraltar, demeurés loyaux à leurs origines, s'entendent traiter d'étrangers et les travailleurs espagnols ne sont pas autorisés à passer la nuit à Gibraltar de crainte qu'ils ne revendiquent le droit d'être enregistrés comme résidents. Ainsi, ceux qui sont considérés comme des étrangers sont en fait les habitants autochtones de Gibraltar.

7. L'Espagne a protesté contre l'extension de l'occupation britannique à l'isthme adjacent et à la zone de l'aéroport militaire, mais, au lieu de répondre à cette protestation, la Puissance administrante a invoqué le fait que l'Espagne a jadis toléré la construction de l'aéroport militaire. Certes, l'Espagne a toléré la construction de l'aéroport mais à une époque où il en allait de l'existence même du Royaume-Uni. Elle l'a fait par solidarité et par courtoisie; un tel geste aurait dû normalement susciter la gratitude mais le Royaume-Uni l'a interprété comme une concession permanente, comme un acte de cession d'une portion du territoire d'un Etat souverain. La Puissance administrante s'efforce de masquer le fait qu'elle a porté atteinte à la souveraineté de l'Espagne en proposant que la question soit portée devant la Cour internationale de Justice. Toutefois, cette atteinte à la souveraineté de l'Espagne, qui tire son origine de l'existence d'une situation coloniale, ne constitue pas un différend d'ordre juridique que la Cour internationale de Justice est compétente pour connaître, mais un acte illicite interdit par la Charte des Nations Unies.

8. Le Comité spécial, la Quatrième Commission et l'Assemblée générale ont reconnu la complexité du problème et ont cherché à maintenir l'équilibre entre les divers éléments en jeu. Si le principe de l'autodétermination seul était appliqué en l'espèce, on ne tiendrait pas compte des aspirations, tout aussi valides, des descendants des anciens habitants espagnols; il s'agirait alors d'une détermination de l'avenir de Gibraltar par le Royaume-Uni, sans considération de l'élément essentiel qu'est la souveraineté espagnole, et non de l'exercice de l'autodétermination et on perpétuerait ainsi l'occupation coloniale. Les résolutions adoptées par l'Assemblée générale, notamment la résolution 2231 (XXI), ont posé trois principes devant servir de base de solution: négociations et consultations entre les parties intéressées, respect des intérêts des habitants et accélération du processus de

décolonisation. Ces résolutions ne prévoient toutefois pas la renonciation à la souveraineté, la perpétuation de l'occupation, ni le maintien d'une base militaire contre les intérêts de tous les peuples et contre la tendance moderne à la décolonisation.

9. L'Espagne s'est engagée à respecter les intérêts des habitants, leurs droits personnels, la liberté religieuse, la liberté de la presse et la sécurité de l'emploi et à maintenir en place les institutions municipales. Elle a même garanti aux ressortissants britanniques qui en exprimeraient le désir qu'ils pourraient conserver leur nationalité et s'est déclarée prête à élaborer un statut garantissant tous ces droits qui serait enregistré auprès de l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Il faut reconnaître que l'Espagne a fait des concessions importantes en vue de faciliter une solution. La Puissance administrante affirme que ce qui compte ce sont les vœux de la population et non simplement leurs intérêts et qu'elle était allée bien au-delà des dispositions de la résolution 2231 (XXI) en organisant un référendum le 10 septembre 1967 afin de s'assurer de ses vœux. Or ce référendum est une mesure unilatérale et ne constitue pas réellement une consultation, élément essentiel de la résolution 2231 (XXI). Certes l'Espagne a été invitée à envoyer un observateur, mais c'est l'esprit dans lequel le référendum a été organisé, son but et ses modalités qui sont contestables. Il n'y a rien à redire à l'idée d'un référendum; cependant le référendum en question a été organisé de telle façon qu'il préjuge la question tout entière, aggrave le problème et va à l'encontre des intentions du Comité spécial et de la Quatrième Commission de favoriser un règlement négocié. La Puissance administrante a pris cette décision malgré la mise en garde que lui a adressée le Comité spécial dans sa résolution du 1^{er} septembre 1967 (A/6700/Rev.1, chap. X, par. 215).

10. Les comparaisons avec l'Alaska sont superflues. La question se pose plutôt dans les termes suivants: l'Angleterre se serait-elle inclinée devant l'occupation espagnole si l'Espagne avait envahi la pointe de Cornouaille ou l'Angleterre aurait-elle revendiqué Cadix si l'amiral Locke avait réussi à occuper cette ville également?

11. L'Organisation des Nations Unies doit s'efforcer de trouver une solution satisfaisante à la question de Gibraltar en respectant les principes de la décolonisation. A la séance précédente, lord Caradon a émis le vœu que Gibraltar devienne le symbole de l'amitié entre le Royaume-Uni et l'Espagne. L'attitude de l'Espagne est empreinte d'un esprit de coopération, mais il ne saurait y avoir d'amitié si une question qui présente un intérêt primordial pour l'Espagne est préjugée avec partialité avant que les négociations ne soient entamées, il ne saurait y avoir d'amitié fondée sur l'exil permanent des habitants et l'expropriation permanente du territoire. La bonne volonté est essentielle si l'on veut parvenir à une solution satisfaisante et amicale.

12. M. ESFANDIARY (Iran) dit que la seule procédure préconisée par l'Organisation des Nations Unies depuis 1964 pour décoloniser le territoire de Gibraltar consiste dans l'ouverture de négociations entre le Royaume-Uni et l'Espagne. Par le consensus adopté

par le Comité spécial le 16 octobre 1964^{1/} et les résolutions 2070 (XX) et 2231 (XXI) de l'Assemblée générale, les deux parties ont été invitées à négocier. La raison pour laquelle l'Organisation a recommandé des négociations plutôt que l'autodétermination dans le cas de Gibraltar tient au fait que l'objectif primordial qu'elle poursuit est la décolonisation au sens de la résolution 1514 (XV). Or, les habitants actuels de Gibraltar ont clairement indiqué qu'ils ne sont pas vraiment intéressés par la décolonisation. Le problème est toutefois beaucoup plus complexe. Dans tous les cas où les forces du colonialisme ont mis la main sur une partie intégrante d'un autre Etat, par exemple les îles Falkland (Malvinas), le Honduras britannique et Ifni, sans parler de Gibraltar, l'Assemblée générale a recommandé des négociations entre la Puissance administrante et l'ancienne métropole. La substitution des négociations à l'autodétermination non seulement est juste et équitable puisqu'elle vise à réparer les maux du colonialisme, mais elle sert les objectifs de la décolonisation. En pareil cas, les habitants actuels sont souvent les bénéficiaires du régime colonial et ne sont pas d'aussi chauds partisans de la décolonisation que les victimes directes du colonialisme. Etant donné que Gibraltar fait partie intégrante de l'Espagne, c'est l'Espagne qui a subi une perte et non la population actuelle de Gibraltar qui est en fait le bénéficiaire de l'ère coloniale.

13. En recommandant les négociations comme base de la décolonisation de Gibraltar, l'Assemblée générale a agi en pleine conformité du paragraphe 6 de la résolution 1514 (XV). La délégation iranienne est d'avis que l'interprétation de ce paragraphe qu'a donnée le représentant de l'Espagne est correcte. Il était clairement dans les intentions des rédacteurs de ce paragraphe d'énoncer un nouveau principe fondamental afin de préciser l'application du droit à l'autodétermination, ce paragraphe signifie que le principe de l'autodétermination ne peut d'aucune manière affecter le droit à l'intégrité territoriale ni toute revendication légitime que peut avoir un Etat sur un territoire. Ce principe fondamental a été renforcé par la pratique ultérieure de l'ONU qui accorde aux revendications d'Etats dont des territoires tels que les îles Falkland (Malvinas), le Honduras britannique ou Ifni faisaient autrefois partie intégrante, la priorité sur les vues des habitants actuels qui ont parfois bénéficié du colonialisme. Au cours de la discussion que le Comité spécial a consacrée à Gibraltar en 1967, le représentant de l'Australie a affirmé que, si l'interprétation que donne l'Espagne du paragraphe 6 de la résolution 1514 (XV) était acceptée, il s'ensuivrait que le Comité devrait examiner toutes les revendications de nature historique présentées par un Etat souverain contre un autre (A/6700/Rev.1, chap. X, par. 137). Mais une telle analogie ne saurait jouer étant donné que le Comité spécial s'occupe des problèmes de la décolonisation et non des différends territoriaux entre Etats indépendants.

14. Il est beaucoup plus important que, dans ses résolutions concernant Gibraltar, l'Assemblée générale ait omis de réaffirmer le droit du peuple de

Gibraltar à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance, réaffirmation qui constitue un élément essentiel de toutes les résolutions relatives à la Rhodésie du Sud, aux territoires administrés par le Portugal, au Sud-Ouest africain et à la plupart des autres territoires, qu'elle ait ajouté la phrase "en prenant en considération les intérêts des habitants du territoire". L'Article 73 de la Charte, que plusieurs orateurs ont évoqué, porte sur les responsabilités de la Puissance administrante et vise à prévenir tout abus de la Puissance administrante contre la population d'un territoire. On ne trouve dans cet article pas plus que dans aucune autre disposition de la Charte la moindre indication que les intérêts de la population devraient être la considération primordiale dans le contexte de la décolonisation. Lorsque les vues des habitants locaux sur la question de la décolonisation sont identiques à celles de la Puissance administrante, le principe selon lequel les intérêts de la population doivent constituer la considération primordiale est plus difficile à appliquer. Pour cette raison, le mot "vues" a été omis de la résolution 2131 (XXI), et le mot "intérêts" lui a été substitué.

15. En ce qui concerne les conversations qui doivent avoir lieu en janvier 1968, M. Esfandiary rend hommage au Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni pour l'attitude souple et ouverte qu'il a adoptée et il espère que le résultat du référendum ne compromettra pas l'issue des conversations. Il offre à ce propos ses meilleurs vœux de succès aux parties intéressées.

16. M. N'JIE (Gambie) dit que le fait que la population de Gibraltar se trouve sous la domination coloniale ne prête pas à contestation. Au paragraphe 2 de sa résolution 2231 (XXI), l'Assemblée générale a demandé à la Puissance administrante de hâter, sans aucune entrave et en consultation avec le Gouvernement espagnol, la décolonisation de Gibraltar. Etant la Puissance administrante, le Royaume-Uni aurait pu demander de quelle façon l'Espagne se trouve intéressée. L'histoire même du territoire en donne la réponse. Le Rocher de Gibraltar a été occupé au début du VIII^{ème} siècle par les Maures qui y sont restés jusqu'à leur expulsion en 1462. Ensuite, Gibraltar est passée sous l'autorité personnelle des Grands d'Espagne jusqu'en 1502, date à laquelle elle a été intégrée au Royaume de Castille. Elle est demeurée aux mains des Espagnols jusqu'en 1704; à cette date, pendant la guerre de la Succession d'Espagne, elle a été capturée par des forces anglo-hollandaises. Le Commandant espagnol s'est rendu et a été autorisé à quitter Gibraltar et la plupart des civils ont décidé de le suivre. Par le Traité d'Utrecht qui a mis fin à la guerre, la Reine Anne d'Angleterre a accepté de reconnaître Philippe, prince de France, comme roi d'Espagne, mais celui-ci a dû céder Gibraltar à la Couronne d'Angleterre "avec toute sorte de droit à jamais". Le Traité disposait aussi que, si la Couronne d'Angleterre jugeait bon d'aliéner les biens en question, la Couronne d'Espagne aurait un droit de préemption pour recouvrer le Rocher de Gibraltar.

17. Si les Nations Unies reconnaissent que les clauses de ce traité sont encore en vigueur et si le Royaume-Uni n'était pas disposé à abandonner Gibraltar, il n'y aurait apparemment pas matière à discussion. Jusqu'au XIX^{ème} siècle, il était d'usage courant

^{1/} Documents officiels de l'Assemblée générale, dix-neuvième session, Annexes, annexe No 8 (1ère partie), document A/5800/Rev.1, chap. X, par. 209.

d'envahir et de prendre possession d'Etats, et aussi de vendre, d'échanger ou de faire don de territoires, avec les populations qui les habitaient, de la même façon qu'une exploitation agricole est vendue avec le bétail. Depuis que l'ONU existe, le Gouvernement britannique a reconnu qu'il ne pouvait pas conserver Gibraltar indéfiniment, mais, en se retirant de Gibraltar, la Puissance administrante ne peut pas céder purement et simplement le territoire et sa population à une autre puissance, cette pratique n'étant plus de mise. En tant que territoire dépendant, Gibraltar doit être décolonisée conformément aux dispositions des résolutions 1514 (XV) et 2231 (XXI) de l'Assemblée générale. Les dispositions de la Charte et les résolutions de l'Assemblée générale sont également applicables à l'Espagne.

18. Le projet de résolution A/C.4/L.884 sur la question de Gibraltar, dont la délégation gambienne est coauteur, indique les bases sur lesquelles la Puissance administrante et l'Espagne devraient négocier. De l'avis de la délégation gambienne, il est entendu que les résolutions mentionnées dans le projet de résolution ne préjugent pas le droit de la population à l'autodétermination. Malgré leurs opinions divergentes, la Puissance administrante et l'Espagne se sont toutes deux déclarées prêtes à reprendre les négociations dans quelques semaines. La Commission devrait faire sienne cette proposition, sans prendre position touchant les causes des parties en présence. Le meilleur moyen d'aider à la solution du problème serait pour la Commission de créer une atmosphère propice au déroulement de négociations pacifiques qui seraient menées compte tenu des intérêts du peuple colonial intéressé.

19. M. SABEV (Bulgarie) déclare que la politique fondamentale de son gouvernement consiste à appuyer le droit inaliénable des peuples des territoires coloniaux à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance, conformément à la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. Sept ans se sont écoulés depuis l'adoption de cette déclaration et pourtant bon nombre de peuples subissent encore la domination coloniale. En ce qui concerne les petits territoires coloniaux, le Comité spécial a adopté des recommandations bien précises tendant à assurer l'application, dans les plus brefs délais, de la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée. Néanmoins, en raison de l'opposition des puissances coloniales, aucun progrès appréciable n'a été réalisé dans le processus de décolonisation au cours de la période considérée. La délégation bulgare estime que l'Assemblée générale devrait dénoncer le refus, de la part de ces puissances, d'appliquer la résolution 1514 (XV). L'examen de la question par le Comité spécial a montré que cette résolution était pleinement applicable aux petits territoires coloniaux: la délégation bulgare estime donc qu'il est du devoir de l'Organisation d'aider ces territoires à recouvrer leurs droits. Tous les petits territoires rencontrent les mêmes difficultés: leur économie est entre les mains de colonialistes étrangers qui exploitent leurs ressources naturelles et privent les habitants autochtones de leurs droits démocratiques les plus élémentaires; qui plus est, les puissances administrantes se servent d'eux pour favoriser leurs propres intérêts militaires, soit en y maintenant des bases militaires, soit en

permettant à d'autres puissances de le faire, sans l'assentiment de la population autochtone. On peut citer comme exemple caractéristique de ces méthodes le cas de l'île de Guam, qui est utilisée par les Etats-Unis comme base pour les bombardements aériens qu'ils font subir chaque jour au Viet-Nam. On peut également citer la base sous-marine expérimentale d'essais établie par les Etats-Unis aux Bahamas, territoire administré par le Royaume-Uni.

20. Les débats consacrés à Aden et aux autres territoires coloniaux ont montré que l'existence de bases militaires constituait un obstacle à l'application de la résolution 1514 (XV). C'est ce qu'ont fait ressortir nombre de résolutions de l'Assemblée générale et du Comité spécial, notamment la résolution 2232 (XXI) de l'Assemblée. La délégation bulgare estime que les puissances coloniales devraient être à nouveau invitées à démanteler leurs bases militaires dans les territoires coloniaux et à s'abstenir d'en établir de nouvelles.

21. A maintes reprises, le Comité spécial a demandé aux puissances coloniales de se conformer aux décisions de l'Assemblée générale et d'accepter que des missions de visites se rendent dans les territoires qu'elles administrent. Le Royaume-Uni, les Etats-Unis et d'autres puissances coloniales ne souhaitent nullement coopérer avec les Nations Unies en vue de favoriser le progrès de ces territoires vers l'indépendance. Après la proclamation du prétendu statut associé des petits territoires coloniaux aux Antilles, la Puissance administrante a adopté une attitude négative en ce qui concerne l'application de la résolution 1514 (XV). Cette attitude est regrettable, d'autant plus que le Comité spécial a décidé que la résolution en question était applicable à ces territoires. La situation dans cette région offre un nouvel exemple des tentatives que fait la Puissance administrante pour garder la mainmise sur ses territoires coloniaux. La délégation bulgare a maintes fois affirmé que tous les territoires coloniaux, quelles que soient leur étendue et leur population, doivent être libérés et que les dispositions de la résolution 1514 (XV) doivent leur être appliquées. L'ONU a le devoir de recommander les mesures qui permettront d'atteindre ces objectifs.

22. M. HEZEKIAH (Trinité-et-Tobago) rappelle que sa délégation a toujours bien précisé sa position sur la question de l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux. Tous les peuples coloniaux ont un droit absolu à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance nationales. Il n'appartient pas à la puissance coloniale de décider du moment où un peuple est prêt à gérer ses propres affaires. La délégation de la Trinité-et-Tobago souhaiterait que les puissances coloniales fixent des dates limites pour l'accession à l'indépendance des territoires qui subissent encore leur domination, conformément aux vœux des peuples coloniaux eux-mêmes.

23. En ce qui concerne la question de Gibraltar, la délégation de la Trinité-et-Tobago a étudié avec soin l'article X du Traité d'Utrecht et trouve ses termes ambigus. Il a été dit que le maintien en vigueur du Traité compromettait l'unité et l'intégrité nationales de l'Espagne, et qu'il en résultait une situation coloniale sur le sol espagnol. Si la délégation de la Trinité-et-Tobago reconnaît que le Traité d'Utrecht est un

document de caractère colonial, il n'en demeure pas moins que cet instrument reste toujours en vigueur et qu'il engage les puissances qui y sont parties, celles-ci devant donc, en toute bonne foi, respecter les obligations qui en découlent. Ce traité serait violé notamment au cas où le Gouvernement britannique, après avoir renoncé à sa souveraineté sur le territoire, céderait Gibraltar à une puissance métropolitaine autre que l'Espagne, mais il est inconcevable que dans la situation mondiale actuelle le Royaume-Uni envisage de prendre une telle mesure. Le transfert de Gibraltar à l'Espagne soulèverait la question du droit des peuples des territoires non autonomes à l'autodétermination. Dans sa résolution 2231 (XXI), l'Assemblée générale invite les Gouvernements de l'Espagne et du Royaume-Uni à garder présents à l'esprit les intérêts des peuples coloniaux.

24. La délégation de la Trinité-et-Tobago ne pense pas que le principe de l'autodétermination soit nécessairement synonyme d'indépendance totale. L'autodétermination nationale peut simplement signifier le droit des peuples à décider librement de leurs propres intérêts nationaux et de leur statut politique. Ils peuvent, dans le libre exercice de ce droit, décider de maintenir une association plus ou moins étroite avec une puissance souveraine, au point même de conserver officiellement un "statut colonial". A propos de la question de Gibraltar, M. Hezekiah se demande si le terme de "décolonisation" doit signifier ipso facto l'incorporation du territoire à l'Espagne. Il existe une contradiction flagrante dans l'attitude d'un Etat qui, tout en étant du XXème siècle par les sentiments qu'il exprime en faveur de la décolonisation, n'en invoque pas moins un traité du XVIIIème siècle pour étayer son argument selon lequel, si le statut de Gibraltar était modifié, le territoire devrait être rattaché à l'Espagne. La délégation de la Trinité-et-Tobago espère que les questions juridiques et politiques qui sont à la base du différend seront résolues à une date rapprochée. Toutefois, sans préjuger la solution qui leur sera donnée, il semble que, s'il y a conflit entre les obligations que la Charte confère à un Etat Membre et celles qui engagent cet Etat aux termes de tout autre accord international, ce soient les obligations contractées en vertu de la Charte — en l'occurrence de l'Article 103 — qui doivent l'emporter. En tout état de cause, l'Article 73 de la Charte énonce une règle absolue à laquelle il ne peut être dérogé. Par conséquent, si l'article X du Traité d'Utrecht touchant le droit de réversion de l'Espagne sur Gibraltar va à l'encontre des dispositions de l'Article 73 de la Charte relatif aux droits et aux intérêts des peuples non autonomes, ce sont les dispositions de la Charte qui doivent prévaloir.

25. La délégation de la Trinité-et-Tobago ne voit pas comment l'organisation d'un référendum par la Puissance administrante pour connaître les vœux de la population de Gibraltar puisse être en contradiction avec les dispositions de la résolution 2231 (XXI) de l'Assemblée générale. La résolution elle-même ne peut pas non plus limiter la puissance souveraine dans l'exercice de l'un quelconque des pouvoirs légitimes inhérents à la souveraineté, en particulier le pouvoir d'organiser un référendum à quelque fin que ce soit. Quoi qu'il en soit, il semble évident que le fait de consulter la population de Gibraltar pour con-

naître son opinion sur la manière dont elle envisage ses propres intérêts est conforme aux dispositions de cette résolution et à l'esprit de l'Article 73 de la Charte. Au demeurant, cette consultation n'empêche pas la poursuite d'un dialogue et de négociations entre les deux parties, compte tenu des intérêts de la population.

26. Pour conclure, la délégation de la Trinité-et-Tobago fait sienne l'opinion selon laquelle la décolonisation ne peut pas simplement consister en un transfert d'une population, aussi réduite qu'elle soit, sous la domination d'une autre puissance, sans égard à la volonté et aux intérêts librement exprimés par la population elle-même.

27. Le PRESIDENT, appuyé par M. CASTALDO (Italie), parlant au nom des pays occidentaux, M. PEREZ GUERRERO (Venezuela), parlant au nom des pays d'Amérique latine, M. BENHIMA (Maroc), parlant au nom des Etats arabes, M. EL HADI (Soudan), parlant au nom du Soudan et du Togo, M. CHAKHOV (Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques), parlant au nom des pays socialistes, et M. NKAMA (Zambie) souhaitent la bienvenue à la délégation de la République populaire du Yémen du Sud à la Commission.

28. M. DHALEE (Yémen du Sud) remercie la Commission de ses souhaits chaleureux de bienvenue.

29. Le PRESIDENT donne la parole au représentant de l'Espagne qui voudrait faire une brève déclaration concernant la Guinée équatoriale.

30. Selon M. DE PINIES (Espagne), il ne fait pas de doute que le peuple de la Guinée équatoriale avance vers l'accomplissement de sa destinée historique. La délégation espagnole tient à donner à la Commission l'assurance que le Gouvernement espagnol est prêt à organiser un référendum lors duquel on demanderait à la population du territoire de donner son opinion sur le souhait exprimé à la Conférence constitutionnelle tendant à ce que le territoire accède à l'indépendance avant le 15 juillet 1968. Si le peuple de la Guinée équatoriale décide de faire siens les vœux des représentants à la Conférence constitutionnelle, le Gouvernement espagnol lui accordera son indépendance sans tarder, conformément à la promesse solennelle faite par le Chef de l'Etat espagnol.

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L'INGT-DEUXIÈME SESSION

Documents officiels



QUATRIÈME COMMISSION, 1751^e
 SÉANCE

Vendredi 15 décembre 1967,
 à 11 h

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POINT 23 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

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DISCUSSION GÉNÉRALE ET EXAMEN DE PROJETS DE RÉSOLUTION (suite) [A/C.4/L.876 ET ADD.1 à 6, A/C.4/L.877, A/C.4/L.884]

1. M. ALLIMADI (Ouganda) se référant à la question de Gibraltar, rappelle que l'entente a toujours présidé aux travaux de la Quatrième Commission concernant ce territoire et souligne que cette entente est pour elle absolument essentielle si elle veut s'acquitter des responsabilités qui lui incombent en vertu de la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale. La délégation ougandaise, qui a toujours déploré toute tentative fait pour semer la discorde, s'est de tout temps efforcée de rallier à la cause de la décolonisation tous les Membres des Nations Unies, convaincue que de l'entente de tous dépend l'efficacité de l'action entreprise. Ainsi, dans la question de Gibraltar, c'est à une écrasante majorité que les Nations Unies, reconnaissant le caractère spécial du problème en cause, ont recommandé que les parties en présence, le Royaume-Uni et l'Espagne, entament des négociations. Ce faisant, les Nations Unies se sont engagées dans une voie qui est la bonne et dont il est essentiel qu'elles ne s'écartent pas, en se laissant influencer par les événements survenus entretemps.

2. La Quatrième Commission ne doit en aucun cas revenir sur l'intention et le désir qu'elle a exprimés d'aider les deux pays à régler leur différend par voie de négociations et doit tout faire pour empêcher que le désaccord n'aille en s'amplifiant. M. Allimadi adresse un appel dans ce sens à tous les membres de la Commission, et cela, bien qu'il déplore que le Royaume-Uni, agissant au mépris des recommandations du Comité spécial, ait organisé à Gibraltar un référendum qui ne pouvait que nuire aux négociations et compromettre les efforts des deux pays pour régler leur différend, et bien qu'il juge déplacées et injustifiées les critiques qui ont été adressées au Comité spécial. Le Comité mérite au contraire d'être complimenté pour l'action qu'il mène en vue de la décolonisation. La Quatrième Commission aura fait œuvre constructive si elle parvient à élaborer une résolution pouvant rencontrer l'agrément de l'Espagne et du Royaume-Uni, c'est-à-dire si elle réussit à atténuer les divergences et à trouver un terrain d'entente. Sans doute cela serait-il possible si l'on omettait de la résolution qui sera adoptée toute mention du référendum, puisque c'est sur ce point que la Commission est divisée et que c'est là un des principaux éléments qui différencient l'un de l'autre les projets de résolution présentés l'un par le Royaume-Uni (A/C.4/L.877) et l'autre par l'Equateur au nom d'un groupe de pays (A/C.4/L.876 et Add.1 à 6). Une telle mesure ferait sans doute avancer les négociations et de ce fait rapprocherait les parties de la solution du problème qui les oppose.

3. La Commission est, toutefois, pour le moment saisie de trois projets de résolution; la délégation ougandaise, pour sa part, ne pourra pas voter pour celui du Royaume-Uni (A/C.4/L.877). Le projet de résolution A/C.4/L.876 et Add.1 à 6 lui semble pouvoir être accepté, mais elle éprouve quelques doutes concernant le paragraphe 2 du dispositif, où les auteurs déplorent que le référendum ait eu lieu et le déclarent contraire aux dispositions de la résolution 2231 (XXI) et de la résolution du 1er septembre 1967 du Comité spécial (A/6700/Rev.1, chap. X, par. 215); elle aurait préféré que ce paragraphe rapporte l'opinion du Comité spécial en la matière. Quant au projet de résolution publié sous la cote A/C.4/L.884, qui ne mentionne pas le référendum, la délégation ougandaise le juge satisfaisant, encore qu'elle eût souhaité que le deuxième alinéa du préambule ne se borne pas à noter mais note "avec approbation" la résolution adoptée par le Comité spécial le 1er septembre.

4. M. LUARD (Royaume-Uni), qui prend la parole au sujet des petits territoires administrés par le Royaume-Uni, fait observer que dans la plupart de ceux qui relèvent encore de son pays des progrès

importants ont été réalisés dans la voie de l'autonomie. Le processus de décolonisation dans les petits territoires insulaires est, comme on le sait, difficile étant donné que ces territoires ont des ressources limitées, qu'ils sont situés à l'écart des principales voies de communications et qu'il s'y pose des problèmes particuliers exigeant une attention spéciale. Il convient toutefois de signaler que deux territoires, comptant au total plus d'un million d'habitants, doivent devenir indépendants d'ici à la prochaine session de l'Assemblée générale.

5. Le Souaziland doit accéder à l'indépendance le 6 septembre 1968, comme en ont exprimé le désir les représentants élus de ce territoire, qui, depuis le mois d'avril 1967, a obtenu l'autonomie interne en même temps qu'il devenait Etat protégé. Des pourparlers sont en cours en ce qui concerne l'organisation d'une conférence relative à l'indépendance et il est probable que cette conférence se tiendra prochainement.

6. L'île Maurice, qui a une population de 750 000 habitants, doit accéder à l'indépendance le 12 mars 1968; cette décision a été prise à la suite de consultations entre le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni et le Gouvernement mauricien, celui-ci en ayant fait la demande une fois élue la nouvelle Assemblée législative. A ce propos, M. Luard précise que les élections générales d'où est issue cette assemblée ont eu lieu en présence d'une équipe d'observateurs de pays du Commonwealth — Canada, Inde, Malte, Trinité-et-Tobago et Royaume-Uni — qui se sont accordés à reconnaître qu'elles s'étaient déroulées de façon irréprochable et que les résultats reflétaient les aspirations véritables du peuple mauricien.

7. Aux Seychelles, une nouvelle constitution va bientôt entrer en vigueur. Cette constitution prévoit la création d'un conseil de gouvernement unique composé de 12 à 15 membres qui assumeront à la fois des fonctions exécutives et législatives. Les élections à ce nouveau conseil, fondées sur le suffrage universel des adultes, ont eu lieu le 12 décembre. C'est là pour l'île un pas important dans la voie de l'autonomie interne.

8. Des progrès importants sur le plan constitutionnel ont été réalisés également à Sainte-Hélène. Le 1er janvier, l'ancien conseil consultatif a été remplacé par un conseil législatif composé de majorité de membres élus. Il a été créé au début de l'année des commissions du Conseil législatif au sein desquelles les membres exercent, outre leurs fonctions législatives, des fonctions ministérielles. Le Conseil exécutif a lui aussi été remanié de façon à comprendre parmi ses membres le Président des commissions du Conseil législatif, en remplacement de 6 membres qui autrefois étaient des fonctionnaires nommés. Les élections du nouveau Conseil législatif se feront sur la base du suffrage universel des adultes et auront lieu au début du mois de janvier 1968 au plus tard.

9. Des progrès ont également été réalisés dans les territoires du Pacifique. Le 1er avril est entrée en vigueur aux îles Salomon une nouvelle constitution qui prévoit, par le Conseil législatif, une augmentation sensible du nombre des représentants élus. La nouvelle constitution crée, par ailleurs,

un conseil exécutif composé de 8 membres — 5 membres non fonctionnaires, au maximum, et pas plus de 4 membres fonctionnaires — qui doit jouer un rôle consultatif auprès du Haut Commissaire. La Constitution prévoyait des élections générales qui ont eu lieu en mai et en juin et qui, dans 13 districts électoraux, se sont faites sur la base du suffrage universel des adultes; dans un des districts périphériques éloignés, il a fallu organiser des élections au suffrage indirect — collèges électoraux — en raison des difficultés de transport et des difficultés d'ordre administratif.

10. Les îles Gilbert-et-Ellice ont également une nouvelle constitution. Précédemment, le pouvoir législatif était entièrement entre les mains du Commissaire résident, lequel nommait les membres du Conseil exécutif et du Conseil consultatif. La nouvelle constitution, adoptée en août, prévoit l'institution de deux nouveaux organes: d'une part, le Conseil de gouvernement, qui sera un organe législatif composé de 5 membres fonctionnaires, dont le Commissaire résident, et de 5 membres élus et qui assistera le Commissaire résident de ses avis sur les questions relevant du pouvoir exécutif; d'autre part, la Chambre des représentants, qui doit comprendre 30 membres au maximum, dont 23 élus au suffrage universel des adultes et qui donnera des avis au Conseil de gouvernement sur la législation envisagée et sur toutes autres questions qu'il lui soumettra ou qui seront soulevées par des membres de la Chambre des représentants. En outre, la Chambre des représentants doit nommer parmi ses propres membres les 5 membres non fonctionnaires du Conseil de gouvernement. Les élections à la nouvelle chambre des représentants ont eu lieu en octobre.

11. Dans le condominium franco-britannique des Nouvelles-Hébrides, les deux puissances administrantes poursuivent leurs efforts communs pour faire progresser le territoire sur le plan économique et social. La question du développement des Nouvelles-Hébrides a fait et continue de faire l'objet d'entretiens ministériels qui commencent à porter leurs fruits. Même dans la minuscule île de Pitcairn, qui a 88 habitants, des changements appréciables sont intervenus dans le système d'administration du territoire dont les habitants s'administrent eux-mêmes.

12. Dans les îles Vierges britanniques, des progrès très sensibles ont été réalisés au cours de l'année écoulée. La nouvelle constitution est entrée en vigueur il y a 6 mois. Le nouveau conseil législatif se compose de 7 membres élus; il ne comprend que deux membres fonctionnaires, à savoir l'Attorney général et le Secrétaire aux finances, et un membre nommé par l'administrateur après consultation avec le Ministre principal. Les 7 membres élus représentent 7 circonscriptions qui sont à peu près égales par le nombre de leurs habitants et dont les limites ont été établies par un commissaire venant de l'extérieur du territoire. A la suite des élections qui ont eu lieu en avril, 4 sièges sont allés au United Party, 2 au Democratic Party et 1 au People's Own Party. En vertu des nouvelles dispositions, le Conseil exécutif comprend 3 ministres — dont le Ministre principal — qui sont nommés parmi les membres élus du Conseil législatif. Le Conseil exécutif ne comprend

que 2 membres d'office, à savoir l'Attorney général et le Secrétaire aux finances.

13. A Montserrat, la nouvelle constitution a créé un Conseil exécutif, ayant à sa tête le Ministre principal, et un conseil législatif composé de 7 membres élus, de 2 membres d'office et de 1 membre nommé. Bien que les élections qui se sont déroulées l'année précédente n'aient pas porté sur des questions d'ordre constitutionnel, le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni est néanmoins disposé à réunir une conférence pour examiner les réformes d'ordre constitutionnel qu'il y aurait lieu d'apporter dans le territoire, cela aussitôt que les partis politiques en manifesteront le désir.

14. Dans les îles Caïmanes, après des consultations détaillées entre le corps électoral et les membres élus du corps législatif, il est apparu que, pour le moment, la population du territoire ne souhaitait pas de changements importants sur le plan constitutionnel.

15. Aux Bermudes, des progrès extrêmement importants sur les plans politique et constitutionnel ont été enregistrés au cours de l'année écoulée. Ce territoire, qui est autonome depuis déjà longtemps, va bientôt voir entrer en vigueur sa nouvelle constitution écrite. Il doit être créé une chambre haute, le Conseil législatif, composé d'une majorité de membres élus, et une chambre basse, une chambre d'assemblée qui comprendra 40 membres élus au suffrage universel des adultes. Le Conseil législatif sera doté de pouvoirs limités s'apparentant à ceux de la Chambre des lords britanniques. Une fois que la Chambre d'assemblée sera élue, un nouveau Conseil exécutif, comprenant des membres des deux chambres, sera désigné compte tenu de l'avis du représentant de la Chambre d'assemblée qui aura la confiance de ses collègues. Aux termes de la Constitution, le Gouvernement doit demander l'avis du Conseil exécutif pour toutes questions, à l'exception de celles qui intéressent les affaires extérieures, la défense, la sécurité intérieure et la police. La nouvelle constitution comporte également des dispositions garantissant les libertés et droits fondamentaux et garantit l'indépendance du pouvoir judiciaire et de la fonction publique.

16. Aux Bahamas, des élections générales ont eu lieu pour la première fois sur la base du suffrage universel des adultes. Les élections avaient pour but de pourvoir de nouveaux sièges à la Chambre d'assemblée, dont la composition a été élargie. Ces élections ont donné la majorité au parti libéral, de tendance progressiste, qui a formé le gouvernement.

17. En ce qui concerne des établissements de jeu aux Bahamas, question qui a été soulevée par le Comité spécial, le représentant du Royaume-Uni précise que le mois précédent la Commission d'enquête nommée par le nouveau gouvernement des Bahamas a présenté son rapport à ce dernier qui a annoncé qu'il allait étudier les recommandations formulées par la commission afin de pouvoir préciser à l'intention du parlement local les dispositions qu'il envisagerait de prendre.

18. Au sujet des îles Falkland, qui rentrent dans une catégorie du fait qu'elles font l'objet d'un différend entre l'Argentine et le Royaume-Uni, les gouvernements de ces deux pays adresseront prochainement au Secrétaire général des rapports d'activités concer-

nant l'état actuel des pourparlers, qui seront distribués comme documents de la Quatrième Commission^{1/}. Les deux gouvernements informeront en temps voulu les Nations Unies des résultats de leurs entretiens.

19. En ce qui concerne la question du Honduras britannique, les Gouvernements du Royaume-Uni et du Guatemala ont d'un commun accord, comme la Commission le sait, décidé de recourir à la médiation, laquelle est en cours à l'heure qu'il est.

20. M. McDOWELL (Nouvelle-Zélande) constate que la Commission a débattu sept jours de suite d'un territoire aussi peu étendu que Gibraltar, comptant 28 000 habitants et dépourvu de ressources naturelles d'importance. Sans vouloir critiquer l'ordre de priorité de la Commission, il estime de son devoir de faire observer que l'examen du cas du Papua et de la Nouvelle-Guinée, territoire étendu qui compte 2 250 000 habitants et qui se heurte à des problèmes redoutables, sera, de ce fait, malheureusement abrégé et moins approfondi.

21. Toutefois, l'intérêt profond que suscite en Espagne et au Royaume-Uni, sans compter à Gibraltar, la question de l'avenir du Rocher et de ses habitants est compréhensible.

22. La délégation néo-zélandaise reconnaît que, si Gibraltar était séparé de façon permanente de l'arrière-pays placé sous souveraineté espagnole, il aurait à faire face à des problèmes qui menaceraient à la longue sa viabilité politique et économique. Elle estime toutefois que le différend actuel a plutôt gêné l'examen réfléchi de la question de la viabilité et de la façon de régler cette question.

23. La délégation néo-zélandaise a toujours pensé que la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux visait avant tout à aider la population même d'un territoire, et non son sol inerte, à se libérer d'une domination étrangère non acceptée. Si la population de Gibraltar voulait rompre tous les liens qui l'unissent au Royaume-Uni et n'était pas en mesure de le faire, cette situation exigerait sûrement que l'on invoque fermement le principe majeur de la Déclaration. Or, cette population a fait savoir, tant à l'ONU par l'intermédiaire de ses représentants élus, qu'à l'occasion du référendum du 10 septembre, ce qu'elle souhaitait.

24. La délégation néo-zélandaise s'élève contre l'affirmation que contient l'un des projets de résolution, selon laquelle il est inadmissible de consulter la population d'un territoire colonial sur ce qu'elle juge être ses intérêts. Elle ne peut accepter, non plus, que l'on dise que le référendum ne s'est pas déroulé dans une atmosphère d'impartialité, alors que des observateurs venus de quatre pays du Commonwealth ont surveillé les opérations. On ne saurait douter des sentiments actuels des habitants de Gibraltar.

25. On a dit qu'en adoptant une résolution proposant de tenir compte des aspirations de la population, la Commission agirait de manière contraire à ce qu'avait décidé le Comité spécial. Or, la situation actuelle est différente de celle dont était saisi le Comité

^{1/} Distribués ultérieurement sous les cotes A/C.4/703 et A/C.4/704.

spécial puisque les deux Etats Membres intéressés ont accepté de reprendre les négociations. La Commission devrait donc éviter, en se prononçant manifestement pour l'une des parties, de risquer de compromettre des négociations pour lesquelles une date a été fixée.

26. Quant au choix que viennent de faire les habitants de Gibraltar, il est certain qu'il n'affecte en rien leur droit de modifier ultérieurement ce statut en demandant leur rattachement à l'Espagne. Dans la lettre qu'il a adressée au Secrétaire général le 13 juin 1967 (voir A/6700/Rev.1, chap. X, annexe 1, par. 15), le Gouvernement britannique a expressément indiqué que la population de Gibraltar conserverait ce droit-là. Cet engagement pris par le Royaume-Uni devrait permettre de trouver une solution au différend actuel.

27. Ce n'est pas en s'aliénant les sympathies des habitants de Gibraltar que l'Espagne peut espérer un jour régner sur le territoire. Telle n'a sans doute pas été l'intention, mais cela a sûrement été le résultat — ainsi que les pétitions des représentants élus du peuple en ont témoigné — de ce que l'Espagne a dit et fait ces dernières années. En effet, les attaques dont sont l'objet leurs représentants librement élus et les tentatives faites pour rompre les communications et les relations commerciales entre Gibraltar et l'Espagne n'ont pu que provoquer l'hostilité des habitants du territoire. Une attitude différente de la part de l'Espagne serait sans aucun doute plus propice à la réconciliation et à un règlement qui aurait l'approbation unanime de la communauté internationale.

28. La délégation néo-zélandaise votera sur les projets de résolution présentés conformément aux considérations qu'elle vient d'exposer. Elle fait des réserves en ce qui concerne certains aspects du projet de résolution de compromis, mais, étant donné qu'il est le plus équilibré, le plus constructif et le plus susceptible d'aboutir à un règlement à l'amiable, elle votera en faveur de ce texte.

29. Se référant à un échange ayant eu lieu précédemment entre la délégation espagnole et la délégation néo-zélandaise, M. McDowell déclare avoir consulté l'ouvrage intitulé *Jane's Fighting Ships*, qui contient des renseignements sur les navires des forces navales de tous les pays, ouvrage qu'il recommande à la délégation espagnole. Il confirme que les quatre unités navales qui, d'après le représentant de l'Espagne, se seraient trouvées à Gibraltar au moment du référendum ne sont pas néo-zélandaises. La délégation espagnole aurait pu se donner elle-même la peine de vérifier.

30. M PEREZ GUERRERO (Venezuela) déclare que la position de sa délégation sur le problème de Gibraltar, exposée à différentes occasions, demeure inchangée. Au Comité spécial, la délégation vénézuélienne s'est élevée contre la façon de procéder du Royaume-Uni, le 10 septembre 1967. On ne peut certes admettre que les habitants d'un territoire utilisé à des fins militaires se considèrent comme les habitants autochtones au sens où on l'entend dans les autres territoires coloniaux.

31. Le consensus adopté par le Comité spécial le 16 octobre 1964^{2/} et les résolutions postérieures de l'Assemblée et du Comité spécial ont fait clairement ressortir que la seule façon de régler ce problème colonial est de rendre le territoire à la souveraineté espagnole. Le principe de l'intégrité territoriale consacré par la Charte des Nations Unies et le paragraphe 6 de la résolution 1514 (XV) s'applique bien à Gibraltar. Les intérêts des habitants de ce territoire doivent être respectés. Toutefois, s'il est normal qu'on en tienne compte, on ne peut admettre que ce principe, interprété par certains de façon arbitraire, puisse empêcher l'application du principe de l'intégrité territoriale.

32. La délégation vénézuélienne a voté pour la résolution du Comité spécial du 1er septembre 1967 déclarant que le référendum était contraire aux dispositions de la résolution 2231 (XXI). L'Assemblée générale a, en effet, recommandé de procéder à la décolonisation de Gibraltar en consultation avec le Gouvernement espagnol et "en prenant en considération les intérêts des habitants", établissant ainsi une distinction entre ces habitants et ceux des autres territoires coloniaux.

33. Le Venezuela, comme beaucoup d'autres Etats Membres, défend et défendra à tout moment cette position de principe jusqu'à ce que la souveraineté espagnole s'exerce sur Gibraltar. Il espère que Gibraltar fera à nouveau rapidement partie du territoire espagnol dont il n'aurait jamais dû être séparé.

34. M. BISWAS (Pakistan) déclare que son pays a toujours défendu la cause des peuples qui luttent pour l'indépendance et appuyé les efforts de l'ONU visant à accélérer la décolonisation.

35. Au cours de l'examen de la question de la Côte française des Somalis en 1966 (1664ème séance), M. Biswas s'était félicité de la décision du Gouvernement français d'organiser un référendum devant permettre à la population de décider librement de son avenir politique. En louant la décision de la Puissance administrante, la délégation pakistanaise avait souligné qu'il serait important que l'ONU soit présente dans le territoire avant et pendant le référendum afin d'en garantir l'impartialité. Du reste, lorsqu'a lieu une consultation sous forme de référendum ou d'élections, l'Organisation prie toujours la Puissance administrante intéressée de permettre à une délégation de l'ONU de se rendre dans le territoire pour surveiller le déroulement des opérations. L'ONU a toujours recommandé l'application de cette procédure, non pas que les Etats Membres doutent de la bonne foi de la Puissance administrante ou du caractère équitable de la consultation, mais parce qu'ils estiment que la présence de l'ONU pour superviser ces consultations permet normalement d'éviter que l'on conteste la validité des résultats.

36. Aux termes du paragraphe 4 du dispositif de la résolution 2228 (XXI), la Puissance administrante était priée de prendre, en consultation avec le Secrétaire général, les mesures nécessaires en vue d'une présence de l'Organisation des Nations Unies

^{2/} Documents officiels de l'Assemblée générale, dix-neuvième session, Annexes, annexe No 8 (1ère partie), document A/5800/Rev.1, chap. X, par. 209.

avant le référendum et d'une surveillance de l'Organisation au cours de celui-ci. Par le paragraphe 5 du dispositif de ladite résolution, le Secrétaire général était prié de transmettre le texte de la résolution à la Puissance administrante et de faire rapport sur la suite qui y serait donnée au Comité spécial. Or, la Puissance administrante n'a pas répondu à la communication que lui a adressée le Secrétaire général et n'a pris aucune mesure pour que l'ONU puisse être présente lors du référendum du 19 mars 1967. Il en résulte que l'objectivité du référendum est mise en doute par certains.

37. La délégation pakistanaise est convaincue que le peuple français et son gouvernement sont entièrement acquis à l'idée de la décolonisation. Il aurait donc été opportun que le Gouvernement français consulte le peuple de la Côte française des Somalis, en coopération avec l'ONU, conformément aux dispositions de la résolution 2228 (XXI) de l'Assemblée générale.

38. C'est dans un esprit constructif et amical, conforme aux résolutions adoptées par l'ONU sur la question de la Côte française des Somalis, que la délégation pakistanaise fait ces observations. Il faut espérer que la France, fidèle à ses traditions, s'acquittera de ses obligations de puissance administrante et facilitera l'accession rapide du territoire à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance.

39. M. BERRO (Uruguay) dit que sa délégation a décidé d'être un des auteurs de l'amendement contenu dans le document A/C.4/L.887 et Add.1. Il tient à préciser qu'elle a pris cette décision de manière indépendante et qu'elle n'a voulu, en la prenant, servir les intérêts de personne, ni nuire aux intérêts de quiconque. L'incident déplorable auquel a donné lieu quelques jours auparavant le projet présenté par un groupe nombreux de représentatif d'Etats latino-américains lui donne l'occasion de préciser la position de son pays en matière de décolonisation, tant à la Quatrième Commission que dans tous les autres organes des Nations Unies. Cette position correspond d'ailleurs à la tradition juridique claire, nette et inébranlable qui, au-delà des intérêts, des considérations d'opportunité, des inimitiés et des ambitions, a toujours guidé l'Uruguay dans les diverses instances de l'organisation mondiale, ainsi que dans l'organe régional dont il fait partie.

40. Lorsqu'il défend une thèse, l'Uruguay ne le fait ni pour attaquer ni pour appuyer la position d'une puissance quelconque. Il s'efforce simplement de préconiser l'application de règles de droit et de principes de justice, sans pour autant méconnaître les réalités politiques et les circonstances de fait qui sont compatibles avec ces règles et ces principes, essayant ainsi de concilier la pensée juridique théorique et la spéculation intellectuelle avec les intérêts de la paix mondiale et de la sécurité collective. L'Uruguay n'est mû par aucun intérêt, direct ou indirect, d'ordre économique, politique, racial ou autre, dans cette trame embrouillée d'ambitions, de vanités nationales, d'hégémonies financières, de luttes raciales, ainsi que d'aspirations légitimes à l'indépendance, à la liberté, à l'autonomie, à l'égalité de droits, etc., que constitue le vaste et complexe problème d'un colonialisme désuet dont l'arrêt de mort est déjà signé et d'une décolonisation qu'anime

l'impulsion vigoureuse et irrésistible de tous les grands mouvements historiques qui ont changé le cours et le destin de l'humanité.

41. Par conséquent, soutenir les principes de la Charte ainsi que la nette interprétation de ces principes que contient la résolution 1514 (XV) n'est pas plaider en faveur d'un territoire déterminé, à l'encontre de la puissance coloniale qui l'administre encore. C'est défendre l'idéal de la liberté et appliquer les principes de droit nouveau que connaît le monde. Alors que l'humanité a prononcé son verdict, il est inutile de se cramponner aux vieilles institutions et aux concepts caducs.

42. La vague des conceptions humaines modernes fondée sur la libération de l'homme est plus forte que la furie d'une mer démontée. Pour confirmer cette réalité, M. Berro rappelle la déclaration faite à ce sujet par son prédécesseur, l'ambassadeur C. M. Velázquez, dans son opuscule intitulé Las Naciones Unidas y la descolonización, publié à Montevideo en 1964:

"Il est peut-être exagéré de dire que les grands empires coloniaux ont été perdus à New York (Raymond Aron, Paix et guerre entre les nations, Paris, 1962, p. 547), mais aucun observateur impartial ne saurait manquer de reconnaître le rôle décisif que joue l'Organisation des Nations Unies dans le domaine de la décolonisation. Non seulement cette organisation a contribué à accélérer un processus qui a commencé à la fin de la deuxième guerre mondiale et représente pour beaucoup une tendance irréversible de notre temps mais, au stade actuel, il paraît même difficile d'imaginer que les situations de type colonial qui existent encore puissent résister à la pression considérable et double de l'opinion publique mondiale, que l'ONU exprime, et de l'action souvent intelligemment concertée de ses principaux organes."

43. Pour montrer que son pays n'improvise pas des opinions à l'occasion de chaque cas concret (obéissant à des intérêts, sympathies ou animosités qu'il n'a pas), M. Berro tient à rappeler que, le 21 juin 1966, lors de l'examen au Conseil de sécurité, à sa 1287ème séance, de la demande d'admission de la Guyane, il a déclaré notamment:

"Il est évident qu'en adoptant la résolution 1514 (XV) du 14 décembre 1960 l'Assemblée générale a permis un bouleversement géographique du monde en transformant les principes juridiques, politiques et économiques qui étaient à la base de l'équilibre de l'humanité pour faire naître subitement des dizaines et des dizaines de pays indépendants là où existaient précédemment des territoires asservis par le colonialisme.

"Ces remarques ne reflètent évidemment aucune intention hostile ou outrageante envers les puissances administrantes. Lorsque la civilisation avance, en détruisant et en créant, il n'est pas offensant de constater l'œuvre du progrès en même temps que la disparition de certaines idées et de certaines réalités après qu'ait été accomplie en son temps la mission qui correspond à une époque et à une idéologie données.

"A propos de la résolution mentionnée ci-dessus, M. Velázquez fait observer ce qui suit: "... bien que nous n'ayons pas voulu sortir du domaine de l'exégèse juridique, nous ne pouvons manquer de reconnaître qu'en tant que document politique la Déclaration constitue une innovation radicale tant du point de vue des méthodes que de celui des objectifs. Comme cela arrive dans beaucoup de situations où l'histoire change de cap, les auteurs de cette résolution eux-mêmes n'ont pas soupçonné l'énorme force explosive qu'elle avait. Nous avons vu que cette déclaration a déjà porté ses fruits, et, sans aucun doute, nous en verrons encore les résultats dans un avenir relativement proche. On peut se demander si la Déclaration est strictement conforme à la Charte, mais il semble difficile de nier que, pour le moins, elle est en harmonie avec sa philosophie politique. Même si elle a été plus loin que la lettre de la Charte, elle permet néanmoins, à celle-ci, d'atteindre les fins qui, en définitive, sont sa raison d'être. Les pays qui ont voté pour la Déclaration ont certainement eu raison, si tant est que la lettre tue et que l'esprit vivifie ^{3/}."

M. Berro répète ensuite ce qu'il avait alors ajouté:

"Je me range, pour ma part, parmi ceux qui estiment que la lettre et l'esprit s'identifient et se complètent.

"Cependant, en dehors de ces considérations de caractère juridique qui sont déjà dépassées par les événements historiques, il convient de signaler que la Déclaration a, au premier chef, et de manière directe, servi les intérêts des territoires coloniaux d'Afrique et d'Asie, dont l'entrée en masse à l'Organisation des Nations Unies a été le phénomène international le plus significatif de ces dernières années.

"Ma délégation a suivi cet admirable mouvement vers l'indépendance en s'inspirant, non pas d'intérêts quelconques, mais uniquement d'idées, de principes et d'une affinité dont l'origine profonde se trouve peut-être dans les événements qui ont marqué la lutte que nous avons menée il y a un siècle et demi pour devenir, aux yeux du monde, un peuple libre et souverain, maître et seigneur de son destin ^{4/}."

44. Telle a toujours été la ligne de conduite de l'Uruguay. S'il a parfois refusé certaines solutions parce qu'il les considérait incompatibles avec sa tradition juridique, il n'a jamais abdiqué le principe cardinal de la décolonisation. Il n'a jamais été non plus hostile aux puissances administrantes. Il a toujours été guidé par des idées et des principes, s'efforçant de marquer sa position du sceau de l'objectivité et du rationalisme.

45. Etant donné que l'Uruguay a intimé avec tant de force son adhésion inébranlable aux solutions juridiques, on pourrait lui demander pourquoi il n'a pas accepté la proposition britannique tendant à soumettre le différend concernant Gibraltar à la Cour internationale de Justice. Bien qu'une explication lui paraisse inutile, elle donnera à la délégation uruguayenne l'occasion de répondre à une question qui ne lui

a pas été posée, ce qui lui permettra, en échange, de présenter avec une netteté absolue sa thèse sur le fond du problème à l'étude.

46. En premier lieu, pour qu'une affaire puisse être soumise à l'organe judiciaire principal des Nations Unies, il faut non seulement que le différend ait un caractère essentiellement juridique, mais aussi que les parties litigantes soient d'accord pour en saisir la Cour (Article 36 du Chapitre II du Statut de la Cour internationale de Justice, relatif à la compétence de la Cour). En conséquence, l'opinion de l'Uruguay ou celle du Comité spécial n'a aucun poids si les deux parties ne tombent pas, mutuellement, d'accord pour soumettre l'affaire à la juridiction de la Cour.

47. En deuxième lieu, les aspects historiques, politiques, géopolitiques, économiques, démographiques, sociaux, etc., de la question de Gibraltar dépassent l'horizon explicitement juridique de La Haye, et la Cour ne peut donc étudier celle-ci à fond et prendre une décision adéquate à son sujet.

48. En troisième lieu, l'arrêt regrettable rendu par la Cour dans l'affaire du Sud-Ouest africain a laissé un mauvais souvenir; l'Uruguay est le premier à le déplorer, mais il n'est pas en son pouvoir de trouver le moyen de rendre à la justice internationale le prestige dont elle a besoin et le crédit qu'elle a perdu. Le livre publié récemment à Genève par la Commission internationale de juristes sous le titre Le Sud-Ouest africain et l'arrêt de la Cour révèle bien des dessous de cet important procès qui a ému les Nations Unies au cours de la vingt et unième session de l'Assemblée générale et de la cinquième session extraordinaire d'avril 1967. Les opinions de plusieurs des juges qui ont soutenu la bonne thèse sont maintenant connues et le partage égal des voix au sein de la Cour (il convient de rappeler que l'arrêt a été rendu sur la base d'une majorité statutaire, grâce à la voix prépondérante dont dispose le Président en cas de partage des voix) a démontré qu'elle avait l'appui juridique, politique et moral non seulement des experts de droit international, mais aussi de l'opinion publique mondiale, cette chose invertébrée et anonyme qui unit dans leur pensée et dans leur sentiment les hommes de toutes les races et de toutes les convictions. Il suffit de citer quelques-unes des justifications de vote, étant donné que leur similitude avec les autres en rend la lecture inutile. Le juge Jessup a dit:

"... le défendeur a ... [fait] valoir qu'il avait, eu égard au Sud-Ouest africain, un titre fondé sur la conquête. Le 27 mai 1965, le Conseil du défendeur a déclaré (C.R. 65/39, p. 37): "Le défendeur prétend que la nature juridique de son droit est celle qui est reconnue en droit international comme découlant d'une conquête militaire." Il est douteux que le défendeur ait attaché beaucoup de prix à cet argument qui est, de toute manière, dénué de tout fondement juridique.

"C'est une banalité de dire que le droit international ne reconnaît pas de titre fondé sur la conquête militaire. Il suffira de citer un passage de l'ouvrage Oppenheim (par Lauterpacht, 8ème éd., vol. I, p. 567) ^{5/}."

^{3/} Sud-Ouest africain, deuxième phase, arrêt C.I.J., Recueil 1966, p. 418.

^{1/} Documents officiels du Conseil de sécurité, vingt et unième année, 127ème séance, par. 43 à 45.

^{4/} Ibid., par. 45 à 47.

49. M. Berro rappelle qu'il a déjà cité l'opinion du professeur de Cambridge dans le long exposé qu'il a fait le 28 août 1967 (A/AC.109/SR.546).

50. Le juge Padilla Nervo a souligné en justifiant son vote:

"... la communauté internationale a adopté d'importants instruments dont la Cour doit naturellement tenir compte, comme la Charte des Nations Unies, la Constitution de l'Organisation internationale du Travail, la Déclaration universelle des droits de l'homme, la Déclaration sur l'élimination de toutes les formes de discrimination raciale, ainsi que de nombreuses résolutions de l'Assemblée générale et du Conseil de sécurité, tous instruments qui ont une importance en l'espèce pour l'interprétation et l'application des dispositions du mandat...

"La Cour doit tenir compte de tout cela pour déterminer s'il y a eu violation du droit international ou de l'obligation imposée au défendeur par le Mandat telle que la Cour l'interprète.

"Il est des cas où, en l'absence de règles coutumières, il est permis d'appliquer des règles et des "standards" découlant de certains principes juridiques non contestés. Les principes formulés dans la Charte des Nations Unies ont indiscutablement ce caractère.

"Les résolutions de l'Assemblée générale résultent de la reconnaissance universelle des principes consacrés par la Charte et de la nécessité d'ordre international de veiller à ce que ces principes soient dûment appliqués, comme ils sont censés l'être dans la pratique des Etats^{6/}."

51. De son côté, le juge Azevedo a dit: "L'Assemblée générale a conservé un droit de surveillance sur toutes les questions concernant les Nations Unies." On a également reconnu que:

"La Cour doit coopérer en vue de réaliser les buts de l'Organisation et s'efforcer de donner effet aux décisions des autres principaux organes et de ne pas aboutir à des résultats qui les rendraient inefficaces^{7/}."

52. Le juge Padilla Nervo a ajouté ensuite, se référant *sub lite*, qu'il s'agissait d'"un fait sociologique qui doit être évalué et interprété d'après les principes, les règles et les "standards" acceptés à l'heure actuelle par l'écrasante majorité des Etats Membres des Nations Unies, tels qu'ils n'ont cessé d'être énoncés au cours de nombreuses années dans les résolutions et les déclarations pertinentes de l'Assemblée générale et d'autres organes de la communauté internationale, conformément aux dispositions conventionnelles obligatoires de la Charte"^{8/}.

53. On peut constater que, selon d'éminents internationalistes, juges à la Cour de Justice, dont les vues coïncident avec celles des savants professeurs de Cambridge, Oppenheim et Lauterpacht, le droit international contemporain ne reconnaît aucun titre fondé sur la conquête militaire, une dérogation implicite

ou tacite — mais qui n'en est pas moins efficace qu'une dérogation expresse — ayant été faite en ce qui concerne tous les traités coloniaux, qui, comme celui d'Utrecht, ont servi à l'époque à valider ou à légitimer les actes de guerre au moyen desquels s'était effectuée la prise de possession de terres d'autrui.

54. Dans sa déclaration du 28 août, M. Berro s'est montré très explicite sur ce point. Aux termes du Pacte de la Société des Nations (Articles 10 à 15), comme à ceux du Pacte Briand-Kellogg du 27 août 1928, de la Charte des Nations Unies et du Traité général de renonciation à la guerre, tous les traités qui ont servi à justifier, en les recouvrant d'une apparence juridique, les conquêtes territoriales arrachées par la force, sont sans valeur à la lumière du nouveau droit international, qui a condamné la guerre en la déclarant illégale et par conséquent incapable de créer aucun titre qui puisse être invoqué valablement, en droit, pour conserver des terres obtenues en perpétrant des actes illégaux et par conséquent nuls et nonavenus. Telle est l'opinion des grands juristes de réputation mondiale qui sont les lumières des universités britanniques. Telle est l'opinion des éminents spécialistes du droit international que sont les membres de la Cour de justice de la Haye, telles est l'opinion de la communauté internationale consacrée par la Charte des Nations Unies. Telle est l'opinion soutenue par l'Organisation des Etats américains dont le statut constitue un imposant corps de doctrines juridiques. M. Berro doit rappeler enfin, pour contraster avec la position actuelle du Gouvernement britannique sur la question de Gibraltar, que, devant les revendications des territoires africains et asiatiques, les traités coloniaux qui dans chaque cas avaient servi à légitimer la conquête armée par laquelle avaient été établis des liens de subordination entre l'Empire britannique et les colonies, n'ont constitué aucun obstacle au processus de décolonisation de ces territoires. On a appliqué pleinement et sans heurt la Charte des Nations Unies interprétée à la lumière de l'instrument adopté par l'Assemblée générale le 14 décembre 1960. Déjà, avant la proclamation de la Déclaration contenue dans la résolution 1514 (XV), plusieurs ex-colonies britanniques avaient accédé à l'indépendance sous l'influence de la philosophie politique et de la nouvelle conception du droit international qui s'étaient concrétisées à San Francisco sans qu'il vienne à l'idée de personne de soumettre à la Cour internationale de Justice la question de la validité des traités consacrant les systèmes, désormais universellement répudiés, du colonialisme et de la guerre.

55. En résumé: a) l'instrument juridique applicable à Gibraltar est la Charte des Nations Unies; b) l'Assemblée générale est le seul organe compétent pour adopter des résolutions tendant à la décolonisation de ce territoire; c) la résolution 1514 (XV) a prévu aux paragraphes 6 et 7 la façon de restituer la souveraineté sur le territoire occupé à son titulaire légitime; d) la résolution 2231 (XXI) adoptée à la 1500^{ème} séance plénière de l'Assemblée générale par 101 voix, y compris celles du Royaume-Uni et de l'Espagne, sans aucune opposition, a défini la façon de procéder à la décolonisation de Gibraltar. Il n'y est question ni de la Cour internationale de

^{6/} Ibid., p. 467 et 468.

^{7/} Ibid., p. 468.

^{8/} Ibid., p. 468 et 469.

Justice ni d'un plébiscite. Il s'agit uniquement de négociations bilatérales entre la Puissance administrante et les titulaires de la souveraineté sur le territoire occupé, compte dûment tenu des "intérêts des habitants". "Telle a été la décision de la communauté internationale, et elle a été acceptée par les deux parties; e) les considérations juridiques liées à l'interprétation de l'anachronique et poudreux Traité d'Utrecht n'a rien à voir avec le nouveau droit applicable à la décolonisation de Gibraltar; f) en admettant que l'acceptation par le Royaume-Uni du système prévu par la résolution 2231 (XXI), incompatible avec la soumission de l'affaire à la Cour internationale (étrangère à la volonté manifeste de l'Assemblée) ne soit pas suffisante et définitive, il faudrait, conformément aux enseignements des plus renommés spécialistes britanniques des traités, examiner pourquoi, dans le seul cas de Gibraltar, il ne faudrait pas appliquer les normes et principes qui ont été admis et demeurent admis pour les autres colonies britanniques. M. Berro hésite à penser que le Royaume-Uni veuille appliquer un traitement discriminatoire à l'Espagne.

56. Il convient d'écarter, dès le début, toute intervention de la Cour internationale de Justice dans cette affaire coloniale, dont les aspects politiques, juridiques, économiques, géographiques, géopolitiques, démographiques, sociaux, religieux, etc., peuvent et doivent être réglés par les organes des Nations Unies conformément aux dispositions de la Charte et des résolutions pertinentes de l'Assemblée générale. S'écarter de cette voie naturelle serait une grave erreur et constituerait un très fâcheux précédent.

57. Ce point établi, M. Berro doit revenir à l'étude de cette colonie britannique sur le sol espagnol, qui constitue le dernier vestige d'un système vraiment incompatible avec la civilisation européenne et avec l'histoire et la culture des deux pays engagés dans cette douloureuse et interminable querelle.

58. M. Berro ne va pas répéter les arguments qu'il a exposés au Comité spécial (A/AC.109/SR.546) dans sa déclaration sur le plébiscite britannique. Il rappellera seulement que, dans cette analyse détaillée du référendum organisé unilatéralement par le Royaume-Uni sans consulter l'Espagne ainsi que l'exigeait la résolution 2231 (XXI) et sans l'intervention des Nations Unies exigée par la résolution 1514 (XV), il avait distingué trois parties: a) le référendum à la lumière du Traité d'Utrecht; b) le référendum à la lumière de la résolution 1514 (XV), et c) le référendum à la lumière de la résolution 2231 (XXI). M. Berro se contentera de résumer chacun de ces points.

59. En ce qui concerne le Traité d'Utrecht, il convient de souligner que, tout d'abord, le roi d'Espagne a préservé un principe essentiel lié à la souveraineté sur le territoire cédé. En effet, l'article X prévoit "que ladite propriété [est] cédée à la Grande-Bretagne sans aucune juridiction territoriale, et sans aucune communication ouverte par terre, avec les pays d'alentour". Et un autre paragraphe de l'article cité ajoute:

"Et au cas, que la Couronne de la Grande-Bretagne jugeât à propos de donner, de vendre ou d'aliéner

en aucune manière, la propriété de ladite ville de Gibraltar, on a de plus, arrêté et conclu, que la préférence en serait donnée à la Couronne d'Espagne, exclusivement à qui que ce puisse être."

60. Ces stipulations contractuelles enlèvent à la cession son caractère absolu en ce qu'elles établissent que la propriété est cédée "sans aucune juridiction territoriale" et que l'Espagne maintient son droit de récupérer les biens cédés par préférence au cas où la Grande-Bretagne chercherait à s'en dessaisir de quelque manière que ce soit.

61. Il y a en outre d'autres limitations fondées sur des raisons militaires qui contribuent à ôter à ce traité anachronique la valeur et la portée qu'on a prétendu lui donner. Et même en admettant qu'il soit applicable à la lumière du droit international contemporain, il n'en reste pas moins que le Royaume-Uni ne peut changer le statut de Gibraltar unilatéralement, de sa seule volonté, puisque, aux termes de l'article X, avant de "donner, de vendre ou d'aliéner en aucune manière", les biens visés par ce Traité, il faut faire jouer, ainsi qu'il est prévu, l'option reconnue en faveur de l'Espagne en ce qui concerne son droit de récupérer le territoire qui lui a été arraché par la force en 1704.

62. Mais on a déjà vu que la thèse dominante du droit international moderne, sans parler des normes relatives à la décolonisation définies par les Nations Unies, est radicalement contraire aux interprétations périmées des principes du XVIII^{ème} siècle qui ont inspiré le Traité d'Utrecht.

63. Ce ne sont que les prétentions vétustes et les antiques égoïsmes datant de 260 années qui doivent déterminer l'interprétation d'instruments juridiques élaborés en cette lointaine époque toute pleine de préjugés, de rancœurs et d'obscurités alliances où les luttes armées servaient d'instruments légitimes dans les relations entre Etats et où la paix était considérée comme une simple trêve entre deux guerres. Telle est l'opinion d'Oppenheim et de Lauterpacht, illustres professeurs de Cambridge.

64. Il est évident que dans le cas de Gibraltar il ne convient d'invoquer aucun titre en faveur du démembrement territorial de l'Espagne en se fondant sur la conquête par la violence de 1704 et sur le traité qui a cherché à la confirmer en 1713.

65. Enfin, il y a l'invalidité du référendum à la lumière du Traité, et notamment de l'article X qui prévoit une option préférentielle en faveur de l'Espagne pour la récupération du territoire, qui enlève toute valeur juridique et pratique à un référendum organisé pour les sujets britanniques qui habitent ledit territoire. D'après le Traité, en admettant sa validité (et l'on a démontré qu'il n'en avait pas), ce serait l'Espagne qui aurait le dernier mot à dire en la matière. Par conséquent, le référendum est incompatible avec la thèse inacceptable, par ailleurs, selon laquelle le traité colonial de 1713 serait toujours en vigueur.

66. M. Berro passe au second point: le plébiscite à la lumière de la Déclaration historique du 14 décembre 1960. Il convient d'indiquer tout d'abord que, d'après cette déclaration, il existe deux grands

critères, fondés sur des principes distincts, mais qui répondent à une même fin. Les deux critères tendent, solidairement, à promouvoir et faciliter la liberté et l'indépendance des pays et des peuples coloniaux.

67. On a soutenu, de façon équivoque, que toute entreprise de décolonisation repose sur le principe de la libre détermination. Sans nier que ce postulat constitue le plus puissant levier pour la libération des peuples, il serait erroné de méconnaître l'existence de situations typiquement coloniales dont les caractéristiques très particulières ne permettent de solutions fondées sur la libre détermination et auxquelles il faut appliquer en échange le critère d'intégrité territoriale et d'unité nationale des Etats, car de toute autre façon on irait à l'encontre des très nets objectifs de la résolution 1514 (XV). Plus grave encore, l'organisation d'un référendum, dans certains de ces cas, pourrait conduire à de véritables aberrations, en servant d'instrument à la perpétuation du système que l'on a voulu abolir, en laissant aux mains des puissances coloniales la décision de continuer à disposer de territoires appartenant à d'autres pays et dont le destin doit être réglé par les véritables titulaires de la souveraineté sur eux.

68. La délégation uruguayenne n'a pas à recourir à l'improvisation pour donner son avis sur ce problème. Depuis la première heure, lorsqu'il s'est agi de voter sur la résolution 1514 (XV), elle a précisé clairement sa position, libre qu'elle était de tout lien et de tout engagement, sans avoir en vue aucune situation concrète. L'Uruguay n'est pas une puissance colonisatrice. Il a conquis son indépendance en luttant héroïquement, voilà un siècle et demi. Il n'est mû par aucun intérêt. Sa conduite obéit à des principes. On peut lui pardonner, en vertu de son attachement au droit et à la justice, les erreurs qu'il peut commettre ou le préjudice qu'il peut causer, involontairement, à certains intérêts dont la coexistence est inconciliable avec les principes qu'il défend.

69. L'Uruguay a toujours soutenu que le principe de la libre détermination devait s'appliquer à l'immense majorité des problèmes coloniaux, mais que l'unique façon de régler certaines situations, comme celles des îles Malvinas et de Gibraltar, est celle qui est prévue au paragraphe 6 de la résolution 1514 (XV) et dans d'autres dispositions adoptées par l'Assemblée générale. On a débattu à la Commission du sens et de la portée du paragraphe 6. La teneur littérale du principe qui y est énoncé est d'une clarté lumineuse et son interprétation, à la lumière des dispositions qui l'entourent, n'offre aucune difficulté. Mais même en admettant, par hypothèse, que le texte en soit obscur et qu'il ne soit pas logiquement conciliable avec les autres dispositions de la résolution 1514 (XV), il suffirait de se reporter à l'historique digne de foi de son adoption pour que soient dissipés les doutes de quiconque sur le sens de ce paragraphe.

70. M. Berro rappelle que, lors de l'exposé qu'il a fait le 28 août 1967 devant le Comité spécial, il a fait l'exégèse de cette disposition. Il croit avoir alors complètement démontré le sens authentique et véritable qu'il convenait de lui donner d'après

ses propres auteurs. Malgré cela, on a entendu sur ce point, au cours du présent débat, certaines des opinions qui avaient été avancées alors pour contester le sens et la portée que les auteurs de la Déclaration contenue dans la résolution 1514 (XV) ont voulu donner et ont donné à la disposition essentielle qui consacre le principe de l'unité nationale et de l'intégrité territoriale des Etats.

71. Il serait vain d'étudier de façon approfondie les systèmes d'interprétation juridique. On sait que, quand le texte est clair, il ne faut pas négliger son sens littéral sous prétexte d'être fidèle à son esprit. On sait de même que, devant un texte ambigu, il convient de se reporter à l'historique digne de foi de son adoption. On sait enfin qu'une interprétation rationnelle authentique ne doit pas contredire la lettre du texte et qu'elle doit, en cas de doute, respecter l'intention qui résulte de l'ensemble des éléments logiques et psychologiques exposés par les rédacteurs de la disposition controversée, au moment même de son élaboration. Les opinions émises ultérieurement ne méritent que le respect intellectuel auquel ont droit ceux qui les ont émises, mais elles sont dépourvues de toute valeur en tant que critère d'interprétation faisant autorité sur le plan juridique. En dernier ressort, l'Assemblée générale elle-même serait le seul organe compétent pour imposer un critère d'interprétation général et obligatoire.

72. En ce qui concerne le paragraphe 6 de la résolution 1514 (XV), il est vraiment insolite et étonnant que son sens puisse prêter à discussion. La clarté du texte exclut le recours à toute autre méthode subsidiaire d'interprétation. Il suffit de lire ce paragraphe pour avoir, sans aucune hésitation, une idée complète et définitive de la pensée et de l'intention de ses auteurs. Le texte est, en effet, ainsi conçu :

"Toute tentative visant à détruire partiellement ou totalement l'unité nationale et l'intégrité territoriale d'un pays est incompatible avec les buts et les principes de la Charte des Nations Unies."

73. L'ambassadeur Velázquez, que M. Berro a cité intégralement le 28 août, a montré qu'il n'y avait qu'une seule façon d'interpréter cette disposition, dans son opuscule intitulé Las Naciones Unidas y la descolonización. M. Berro pense toutefois que son exposé serait incomplet s'il ne reproduisait pas le passage suivant de cet important ouvrage de son compatriote :

"Le sens de ce paragraphe ressort clairement à la lumière de certains antécédents des débats qui ont eu lieu à l'Assemblée. En effet, au cours de la discussion du projet des 43 pays afro-asiatiques (document A/L.323), le Guatemala avait présenté un amendement (document A/L.325) tendant à ajouter, après ledit paragraphe 6, un nouveau paragraphe ainsi conçu :

"7. Le principe de la libre détermination des peuples ne pourra affecter en aucun cas le droit d'aucun Etat à l'intégrité territoriale et aux revendications territoriales."

"Pour justifier sa demande de vote, le représentant du Guatemala avait précisé que, bien que le paragraphe 6 contînt une déclaration très nette, la délégation du Guatemala voulait que son point de vue soit exposé d'une manière encore plus claire.

A son sens, cette sauvegarde s'imposait manifestement, étant donné que de nombreux territoires faisant l'objet d'un litige ou réclamés par d'autres Etats en tant que partie intégrante de leur propre territoire appartenaient encore indûment à des puissances coloniales, et que, dans les cas en question, la solution du conflit ne pouvait être obtenue par l'application du principe de la libre détermination, car cette procédure porterait atteinte à un autre principe d'une extrême importance, à savoir celui de l'intégrité territoriale des pays.

"Ultérieurement, l'amendement fut retiré, à la suite des déclarations faites au sujet de l'interprétation du paragraphe 6 par plusieurs des auteurs du projet, qui soulignèrent que les droits qu'il s'agissait ainsi de sauvegarder étaient déjà dûment protégés par ledit paragraphe 6.

"Les déclarations à la suite desquelles le représentant du Guatemala a retiré son amendement étaient notamment celles qu'avait faites au cours de la même session le représentant de l'Indonésie. Celui-ci avait en effet dit que sa délégation, en demandant l'inclusion du paragraphe en question dans le projet de résolution, tenait compte du fait que la subsistance du colonialisme hollandais en Irian occidental constituait une rupture partielle de l'unité nationale et de l'intégrité territoriale de son pays, et que l'idée contenue dans l'amendement du Guatemala était déjà pleinement exprimée dans le projet de résolution, le paragraphe 6 de ce projet tenant dûment compte des peuples et territoires auxquels la délégation du Guatemala se référait.

"Ce serait évidemment sortir du cadre de ce commentaire que de prétendre analyser le sens ou l'interprétation qu'il faut donner au principe de la libre détermination des peuples, qui, on le sait, a déjà soulevé nombre de controverse, mais nous ne pouvons pourtant manquer de reconnaître la sagesse politique que reflète cette interprétation du paragraphe 6, et avant tout pour les pays qui, en raison de leur faible superficie ou de leur faiblesse, ont été dépouillés, par la force, de portions parfois très importantes de leur territoire national.

"La stricte application du droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes remettrait l'avenir de ces territoires entre les mains d'un groupe restreint de colons installés là par la Puissance administrante, et généralement après que les populations autochtones ont dû se retirer. Comme il ne peut exister de doute quant aux résultats auxquels aboutiraient des "plébiscites" réalisés dans ces conditions, cette procédure ne servirait qu'à légaliser une situation de force, ce qui ne peut être considéré que comme contraire au droit international."

74. Telle est, selon M. Berro, la seule interprétation que l'on puisse donner du paragraphe 6. Ceux qui lui attribuent ce sens ne sont pas des hommes d'aujourd'hui, intéressés aux conflits actuels. Ce sont les pionniers de la décolonisation, qui ont forgé en 1960 l'instrument historique qui a transformé la géographie du monde et créé une humanité nouvelle. L'interprétation catégorique du paragraphe 6 donnée par l'Indonésie, interprétation qui a motivé le retrait

de l'amendement guatémaltèque, n'a été contestée par personne lorsque la résolution 1514 (XV) a été votée.

75. Il convient de signaler que cette même interprétation a été ratifiée par l'Uruguay, le 12 septembre 1963^{9/}, lorsqu'il a "analysé le paragraphe 6 de la résolution 1514 (XV) et montré que l'objet de ce paragraphe avait été d'éviter l'application sans condition et sans discernement du principe de l'autodétermination, application qui risquait, dans des cas exceptionnels, de porter atteinte au principe, consacré par la Charte des Nations Unies, de l'intégrité territoriale des Etats"^{10/}.

76. L'Uruguay a également précisé le critère sur lequel il convenait de se fonder pour interpréter le paragraphe 6, lorsque la question de Gibraltar a été débattue pour la première fois. M. Velázquez a soutenu, avec son habituelle clarté de juriste, que le paragraphe 6

"s'adressait non seulement aux Etats qui administraient des territoires coloniaux, mais aussi au Comité spécial. Celui-ci avait l'obligation spécifique d'appliquer sans réserve la résolution 1514 (XV), compte tenu de l'interdiction figurant au paragraphe 6. En d'autres termes, aucune des recommandations ou résolutions adoptées par cet organe pour l'application de la Déclaration ne devait contribuer, directement ou indirectement, à détruire l'unité nationale ou l'intégrité territoriale d'un pays. Si donc, par une décision précipitée, qui ne tiendrait pas compte de la nature particulière du problème, le Comité devait faire une chose qui pourrait porter atteinte à l'unité nationale d'un pays, il aurait manqué gravement à son mandat en contribuant au maintien d'une situation coloniale"^{11/}.

77. M. Velázquez a donc lancé un cri d'alarme pour rappeler aux Etats Membres leurs responsabilités. Si, comme il le déclarait, ceux-ci, par négligence ou précipitation, toléraient l'organisation d'un référendum qui porte préjudice à l'unité nationale d'un pays, ils failliraient gravement à leur mandat, en contribuant à maintenir une situation coloniale. La résolution 1514 (XV) doit s'appliquer sans entraîner de conflit entre les deux principes essentiels qui la sous-tendent: le principe de l'autodétermination d'une part, et le principe du respect de l'intégrité territoriale et de l'unité nationale d'autre part.

78. M. Berro souligne que l'Uruguay n'a pas été seul à préconiser l'interprétation qu'il a exposée. Dans leurs déclarations au Comité spécial^{12/}, les délégations du Venezuela, de la Tunisie, de l'Irak et de la Syrie ont démontré de manière définitive que le paragraphe 6 devait s'appliquer sans qu'il y ait lieu de distinguer s'il s'agissait de litiges entre territoires et puissances coloniales ou entre Etats indépendants.

^{9/} Documents officiels de l'Assemblée générale, dix-huitième session, Annexes, additif au point 23 de l'ordre du jour, document A/5446/Rev.1, chap. XII, par. 70 à 72.

^{10/} Ibid., dix-neuvième session, Annexes, annexe No 8 (1ère partie), document A/5800/Rev.1, chap. X, par. 132.

^{11/} Ibid., par. 135.

^{12/} Ibid., par. 168 et suivants.

79. Les arguments invoqués par le Venezuela pour écarter l'application de la formule du référendum à la place de Gibraltar ont été extrêmement clairs et précis. Le représentant du Venezuela, en concluant son savant exposé, a déclaré:

"Le principe de l'autodétermination ne pouvait être faussé de façon à perpétuer une situation de fait qui ne tenait aucun compte du principe fondamental du respect de l'intégrité territoriale d'un Etat. La seule forme de décolonisation applicable aux territoires coloniaux qui avaient été arrachés à d'autres Etats était leur réintégration dans l'Etat auquel ils avaient été enlevés. L'Assemblée générale avait déjà émis un avertissement à ce sujet lorsqu'elle avait exprimé, au sixième considérant de sa résolution 1654 (XVI), son inquiétude devant le fait que "contrairement aux dispositions du paragraphe 6 de la Déclaration, des actes visant à détruire partiellement ou totalement l'unité nationale et l'intégrité territoriale sont encore perpétrés dans certains pays en voie de décolonisation^{13/}."

80. Le référendum organisé par le Royaume-Uni est incompatible non seulement avec les dispositions de la résolution 1514 (XV) mais encore avec les buts et les principes de la Charte. Il importe de faire observer que ce plébiscite, décidé unilatéralement, sans qu'il y ait d'accord entre les deux parties comme l'a demandé l'Assemblée générale, a eu et a encore des répercussions pour le moins fâcheuses sur les données du problème, non encore résolu, que pose la souveraineté territoriale et politique de Gibraltar. Il s'agit, en fait, d'une violation du principe de non-ingérence dans une affaire intérieure qui relève de la juridiction de l'Espagne. Etant donné que la question de Gibraltar fait l'objet de négociations entamées, sous les auspices et dans le cadre de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, par les Gouvernements de Londres et de Madrid, tout acte unilatéral de nature à mettre en question la souveraineté territoriale et le destin politique du territoire en litige constitue une violation de la procédure convenue et revêt le caractère d'une intervention illégitime relevant de la juridiction interne de l'autre partie. Cette idée de "non-ingérence" en matière de décolonisation est énoncée, au paragraphe 7 de la résolution 1514 (XV), en termes clairs et précis qui ne peuvent donner lieu à aucune interprétation spéculative ou ambiguë.

81. En conséquence, l'Uruguay réaffirme sa position traditionnelle et déclare que le référendum du 10 septembre constitue une violation du principe de l'intégrité territoriale et de l'unité nationale énoncé dans la Charte et dans les résolutions 1514 (XV) et 1654 (XVI). En d'autres termes, ce référendum apparaît, à la lumière de ces résolutions, tout à fait sans valeur en tant qu'instrument de décolonisation.

82. Il convient d'analyser maintenant la résolution 2231 (XXI), ouvertement violée par la Puissance administrante lors de l'organisation du plébiscite du 10 septembre, violation d'autant plus grave que le Comité spécial avait adopté le 1er septembre une autre résolution sur cette question.

83. La délégation de l'Uruguay a répété à maintes reprises que le cas des habitants de Gibraltar ne posait en l'occurrence aucun problème juridique du point de vue de la décolonisation, mais un problème humain particulier qui, bien qu'évidemment fort respectable, ne peut faire obstacle à l'application des dispositions du paragraphe 6 de la résolution 1514 (XV). Les sujets britanniques qui résident à Gibraltar ne constituent pas les habitants du territoire au sens précis où l'entend la résolution, et le statut juridique qui ressort de cette résolution ne leur est pas applicable car il concerne évidemment les habitants indigènes et autochtones des territoires coloniaux.

84. Dans le cas de Gibraltar, il s'agit d'un groupe humain, d'une communauté civile au service d'une base militaire. Ces personnes ne sont pas les habitants indigènes du territoire, ce sont des Britanniques ou des descendants de Britanniques qui servent les intérêts de la Puissance administrante.

85. Il est évident que le référendum organisé le 10 septembre porte atteinte au régime spécial institué pour décoloniser Gibraltar et est en contradiction avec la lettre et l'esprit de la résolution 2231 (XXI). Les interventions éclairées faites par les représentants de l'Irak, du Venezuela, du Chili et de la Syrie au Comité spécial sont décisives à cet égard.

86. Les intentions de l'Assemblée en ce qui concerne ce problème sont sans équivoque. Il convient de noter que dans les résolutions 2170 (XX) et 2231 (XXI) concernant Gibraltar, ce n'est pas par inadvertance que l'on a omis de faire mention du principe de libre détermination, invoqué invariablement dans la presque totalité des autres cas de décolonisation.

87. Il importe de souligner à cet égard que dans les deux résolutions adoptées respectivement à la vingtième et à la vingt et unième sessions l'Assemblée générale a invoqué "les intérêts des habitants du territoire" et non "la volonté de la population", évitant d'employer les termes couramment utilisés, et elle l'a fait, manifestement, pour se référer à la notion de "l'unité nationale et [de] l'intégrité territoriale", qui trouve son expression dans le paragraphe 6 du dispositif de la résolution 1514 (XV), et non pas au principe de la "libre détermination", qui est applicable de façon générale aux cas ordinaires de décolonisation. Dans un passage particulièrement marquant de sa lettre, en date du 20 décembre 1966, adressée au Président de l'Assemblée générale, le Président de la Quatrième Commission, qui était l'ambassadeur du Soudan, M. Fakhreddine Mohamed, apporte une preuve concluante du fait que l'Assemblée, dans sa résolution 2231 (XXI), avait pour objectif de sauvegarder les intérêts humains, économiques et sociaux, etc., des habitants de Gibraltar, mais sans attribuer d'une manière quelconque à ces habitants le droit de manifester leur volonté politique dans le cadre d'un référendum colonial organisé par la Puissance administrante. Il s'agit du passage suivant:

"Une autre catégorie de problèmes dont la Commission s'est occupée a trait aux territoires qui font l'objet soit de prétentions rivales de souveraineté, soit de l'intérêt particulier de certains gouvernements par suite de circonstances géogra-

^{13/} Ibid., par. 176.

phiques, historiques, économiques ou autres. Au nombre de ces territoires figurent les îles Falkland (Malvinas), la Côte française des Somalis, Gibraltar et l'Inî et le Sahara espagnol. Bien que les objectifs de la Commission quant à ces territoires soient les mêmes, à savoir la décolonisation, les mesures spécifiques recommandées ont pris en considération les particularités de chacun d'eux, en vue d'arriver au règlement pacifique de prétentions ou d'intérêts divergents dans le cadre de l'application de la Déclaration 14/.

88. C'est le Président de la Quatrième Commission, lors de la vingt et unième session de l'Assemblée générale, qui indique ainsi, avec tout le poids de son autorité, que le principe général de libre détermination ne s'applique pas à des cas comme celui de Gibraltar, des îles Malvinas, etc., lesquels doivent être envisagés et réglés en fonction des revendications contradictoires relatives à la souveraineté territoriale et mettant en jeu des faits géographiques, historiques, économiques, etc., sans perdre de vue les objectifs de la décolonisation et conformément aux règles applicables à chaque cas d'espèce.

89. La délégation uruguayenne l'a déjà affirmé, mais il importe de rappeler que le problème de décolonisation qui se pose à Gibraltar concerne, bien que cela semble paradoxal, non pas les habitants britanniques du Rocher mais le territoire lui-même, morceau de sol qui a été soustrait à l'Espagne en violation de l'unité nationale et de l'intégrité territoriale de ce pays. Bref, le référendum britannique contrevient ouvertement aux dispositions de la résolution 2231 (XXI), qui indique la seule voie possible pour résoudre ce problème complexe. Il faut, néanmoins, que se poursuivent les négociations bilatérales jusqu'à ce qu'on parvienne à un accord qui garantisse et protège les "intérêts des habitants du territoire", sans exclure aucun de ces intérêts mais sans que ceux-ci se confondent avec des mobiles politiques visant à perpétuer une situation coloniale.

90. La délégation uruguayenne a exprimé pour la dernière fois son opinion au sujet de l'affaire de Gibraltar 13 jours avant la date fixée par le Royaume-Uni pour le plébiscite; elle ne pensait pas alors que la Puissance administrante feindrait d'ignorer la résolution adoptée le 1er septembre 1967 par le Comité spécial et passerait outre à cette résolution. Elle ne pensait pas non plus que le Secrétaire d'Etat aux affaires étrangères du Royaume-Uni proférerait en pleine assemblée des paroles humiliantes et, d'une certaine façon, méprisante non seulement pour ceux qui s'emploient de toutes leurs forces, avec idéalisme et désintéressement, à réaliser la grande entreprise qu'est la décolonisation mais également pour l'organe même créé à cet effet par l'Assemblée générale.

91. La délégation uruguayenne est néanmoins capable de s'élever au-dessus de tout cela; elle conserve intacte la considération que lui ont toujours inspirée le Royaume-Uni et les dirigeants illustres de ce pays et elle continuera d'agir selon l'esprit de justice et d'objectivité dont elle a toujours tenu à faire preuve dans tous ses actes et dans toutes ses déclarations au sein de la communauté internationale.

92. M. Berro juge cependant utile de rappeler, dans le cadre de la discussion, et en réponse au Secrétaire aux affaires étrangères du Royaume-Uni, M. Brown, certains passages du discours pénétrant et éloquent prononcé à l'Assemblée générale par M. Ulloa, représentant du Pérou, personnalité internationale éminente, qui, évoquant à la fois le cas de Gibraltar et des îles Malvinas, a déclaré notamment:

"Le problème de Gibraltar n'est un problème ni politique ni juridique au sens où on l'entend normalement, suivant l'acceptation courante de ces mots. C'est un problème de décolonisation qui présente des caractéristiques particulières. On s'est approprié Gibraltar abusivement à la faveur des circonstances politiques et militaires, avec des visées d'ordre stratégique et politique. On s'est également emparé d'une partie du territoire dont l'appartenance ne faisait aucun doute et que la Grande-Bretagne ne possédait en aucune façon, au départ; et il y a eu un transfert des populations autochtones tandis que l'occupation territoriale s'étendait au-delà des limites précises de la concession primitive.

"A l'heure où l'Espagne entre dans cette nouvelle phase du problème de Gibraltar, elle a en sa faveur le témoignage de l'histoire ainsi que le simple raisonnement logique et moral qui découle des antécédents du problème, et elle recherche une solution en tenant compte des réalités et des principes actuels; en effet les objectifs politiques et militaires qui ont expliqué le succès initial de l'entreprise ont aujourd'hui disparu et le sentiment contemporain à l'égard de la décolonisation doit la pousser à l'encourager à hisser à nouveau son drapeau sur le Rocher de Gibraltar dont le sol historique a désormais une valeur symbolique.

"Les îles Malvinas sont un autre vestige de la prépondérance passée et un témoin de la prépondérance actuelle des grandes puissances sur le plan international: la Grande-Bretagne a étendu sa domination aux îles Malvinas, profitant des circonstances, alors que la République Argentine est l'héritière légitime des titres de l'Espagne sur ces îles et sur le littoral voisin. Dans ce cas, comme dans celui de Gibraltar, il est inutile d'examiner la dialectique diplomatique employée par la puissance dominante, car les principes et les réalités actuelles du droit et de la politique internationale indiquent qu'il s'agit d'un cas de décolonisation et il est certain que les antécédents historiques ne justifient pas l'autonomie ou l'indépendance de ces îles et qu'il faut envisager le retour et la reconnaissance de l'autorité souveraine légitime. Les raisons d'ordre stratégique qui, dans le cas des îles Malvinas comme dans celui de Gibraltar, ont déterminé la prise de possession par la Grande-Bretagne ont aujourd'hui perdu toute valeur.

"Dans le cas de Gibraltar et dans celui des îles Malvinas, il ne convient pas non plus d'appliquer à tort le principe de la libre détermination, qui est faussé par deux faits fondamentaux qui constituent la négation même du principe selon lequel c'est la population d'origine qui doit exprimer sa volonté. Etant donné que les détenteurs du pouvoir ont été directement ou indirectement expulsés, qu'au terme

d'une longue évolution la situation économique et sociale est devenue telle qu'il était impossible de se fixer sur un sol stérile, impropre au travail et au bien-être de l'homme, que la population à laquelle il appartiendrait légitimement d'exercer le droit à la libre détermination n'existe plus, cette dernière cesse de correspondre au principe d'une haute valeur morale et juridique pour devenir un instrument destiné à dissimuler la vérité à l'aide de formules creuses ou mensongères^{15/}."

93. M. Berro dit qu'on aurait pu éviter cette fausse application du principe de la libre détermination dont parle M. Ulloa, si l'on avait appliqué la résolution du Comité spécial. Le référendum du 10 septembre ne mettait pas en jeu "un principe d'une haute valeur morale et juridique", "mais un instrument destiné à dissimuler la vérité à l'aide de formules creuses et mensongères". Gibraltar n'a aucune population autochtone pouvant exercer son droit à l'autodétermination. Tels sont les faits. Quelle valeur peut-on attribuer en outre à un plébiscite s'adressant uniquement aux loyaux sujets de la Couronne britannique, qui possède et domine le sol espagnol qu'elle a occupé, et où elle s'est maintenue par la force depuis 1704.

94. La déclaration et les propositions présentées par l'Espagne au Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni, qui ont ouvert les négociations bilatérales prévues par les Nations Unies contiennent des éléments d'informations qui révèlent nettement les caractéristiques démographiques du Rocher; mais le référendum qui a eu lieu le 10 septembre a malheureusement faussé le problème. Ce document indique notamment:

"Gibraltar est aussi un groupe humain et c'est un autre aspect du problème. Car, aujourd'hui, la Grande-Bretagne prétend faire décider de l'avenir du Rocher par les "Gibraltariens" et crée ainsi, par le système de l'autodétermination, un lien entre un territoire et ses habitants. Ce faisant, elle altère profondément les termes originaux de la situation, qui établissent une relation bilatérale entre l'Angleterre et l'Espagne, dont celle-ci a été écartée au bénéfice d'un tiers. Or, ce tiers n'est pas valide car, en premier lieu, Gibraltar n'est rien d'autre qu'une base militaire et une base ne peut appartenir qu'au pays qui l'occupe ou au pays sur le territoire duquel elle se trouve. Toute autre chose serait aussi absurde que de vouloir par exemple que la base américaine de Guantanamo cesse d'être américaine mais ne soit pas rendue à Cuba, et que son sort fût décidé par quelque pseudo-population y résidant. Dans une situation qui n'est pas absolument identique mais, au fond, très semblable, celle de Hong-kong, un journal anglais, l'*Observer*, disait, le 10 juillet 1949, qu'il ne fallait pas chercher à préparer l'île à l'indépendance, car Hong-kong devait continuer à être anglais ou revenir à la Chine.

"En second lieu, il n'y a pas de lien véritable et profond entre les habitants de Gibraltar et le territoire, car, en dehors du fait que la population authentique du Rocher dut s'enfuir devant l'occupation militaire, les habitants ultérieurs y sont venus

en vertu d'une opération politique britannique destinée à fabriquer et à refabriquer constamment cette prétendue population avec des groupes ethniques déracinés de leur pays d'origine. Ce sont des habitants qui ne constituent pas une entité politique propre et qui n'ont pas en conséquences d'autonomie réelle. Ils forment un groupe démographique entièrement subsidiaire de la base, enfermé dans une zone de 2 milles carrés qui est presque entièrement zone militaire et propriété de la Couronne. Comment ce groupe pourrait-il être une population véritable, ayant une capacité d'autodétermination politique et le droit de disposer d'un territoire, alors que celui-ci n'est ni historiquement ni juridiquement le sien?

"En troisième lieu, le problème de Gibraltar consiste en une économie née à l'ombre de l'implantation britannique en Espagne, c'est-à-dire en soi fatalement problématique, car il ne peut y avoir d'économie normale dans une base militaire de faible étendue manquant de ressources propres, sans agriculture, sans industrie, et dont le commerce emprunte presque exclusivement la voie illégale de la contrebande.

"... La description objective que nous venons de faire, véritable anatomie du problème de Gibraltar — base militaire au fondement juridique essentiel de laquelle on a porté atteinte, population artificielle sans autonomie véritable et ayant une économie soutenue en partie d'une manière artificielle et illégale — démontre l'importance de la question de Gibraltar et la nécessité de la résoudre d'urgence^{16/}."

95. M. Berro dit que Gibraltar n'a et ne peut avoir de vocation nationale. Il ne pourra jamais être une entité indépendante et autonome. Il ne pourra jamais non plus réunir les caractéristiques d'un Etat libre associé. Il ne réunit même pas les conditions requises pour constituer une colonie apte à vivre par ses propres moyens. Il est dépourvu de tout. Suivant le document du Secrétaire général:

"Le territoire n'a pas de ressources agricoles ni d'autres ressources en matières premières. L'industrie locale se limite à une usine de conserves de fruits et de conserves de poisson, et à des activités telles que le traitement du tabac, les mélanges de café et la fabrication de vêtements.

"En 1964, les importations se sont élevées à 14 928 148 livres, dont 2 894 419 livres représentaient les produits alimentaires. Les réexportations soumises aux droits de douane se sont chiffrées, au cours de la même année, à 4 710 478 livres. Les exportations de produits d'origine locale sont négligeables.

"Les principales recettes du gouvernement proviennent des droits de douane, des licences, des impôts indirects, des frais de justice, de la location de biens de l'Etat et de loteries d'Etat. Le produit de l'impôt sur le revenu correspond à environ 14 p. 100 des recettes. En 1964, les recettes totales se sont élevées à 2 086 556 livres et les dépenses

^{15/} Documents officiels de l'Assemblée générale, vingt-deuxième session, Séances plénières, 1583ème séance, par. 18 à 21.

^{16/} La position espagnole devant le problème de Gibraltar, 1966, p. 13, 14 et 16.

à 2 407 298 livres, dont 1 913 298 livres représentaient les dépenses courantes.

"... Les statistiques de la main-d'œuvre ne concernent que les personnes employées à des travaux manuels et d'autres travailleurs dont la rémunération ne dépasse pas 500 livres par an. A la fin de 1964 on comptait, à Gibraltar, 5 641 travailleurs de nationalité britannique et 9 600 travailleurs étrangers; la plupart de ces derniers vivaient en Espagne et se rendaient chaque jour à Gibraltar. Quarante-trois pour cent environ de tous les travailleurs sont employés par le Gouvernement de Gibraltar, les services des forces armées, le Ministère des bâtiments et des travaux publics et le Conseil municipal 17."

13. Le tableau dressé officiellement par le Secrétariat n'est guère brillant: absence d'agriculture et de matières premières; déficit budgétaire; exportations insuffisantes; absence d'industries propres; salaires insuffisants; main-d'œuvre étrangère; le principal employeur est le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni et, en particulier, ses forces armées.

97. Sur ces bases, le Royaume-Uni prétend construire un Etat souverain, associé à la Couronne, en conservant à cet effet un morceau de l'Espagne qu'elle lui a arraché par la force, dans un but stratégique. Ce rocher inhospitalier qui ne doit être considéré que comme l'extrémité géographique de la péninsule Ibérique, conformément à sa destinée normale, ne présente aucun des attributs indispensables pour être utilisé en tant que centre de peuplement et ne peut être qu'une base militaire. A propos de la question de la base militaire, M. Berro donne lecture d'un passage qui est extrait de la déclaration et des propositions espagnoles déjà mentionnées et qui illustrent son propos:

"Mais outre tous les préjudices qu'il a causés directement par l'activité de sa base militaire, Gibraltar a fait le vide autour de lui. Ce fut d'abord le vide démographique du Rocher, car, en raison de la fuite forcée de sa population d'origine espagnole, le nombre de ses habitants passa de 6 000 avant l'occupation à 900 en 1721, 17 ans après, et à 2 890 en 1791, près d'un siècle plus tard, c'est-à-dire moins de la moitié de la population à l'époque espagnole. L'unité démographique espagnole qui avait son centre à Gibraltar fut donc mutilée et profondément altérée 18/."

Suit un passage qui met la dernière touche à ce tableau et où il est dit:

"... Ce groupement humain qui n'a même pas pu constituer une population solide, enracinée et ayant des intérêts permanents ni une entité politique autonome dans son essence a été également incapable de se créer une main-d'œuvre propre. Cette incapacité quasiment congénitale est devenue un des caractères particuliers des habitants du Rocher, dont, de nos jours encore, un journal britannique, le Manchester Guardian du 11 mai 1950, a pu dire

"que le Gibraltarien a une répulsion innée pour le travail manuel et préfère le white collar (le "col dur" des employés) ou le white apron (le "tablier blanc" des domestiques)".

"Il fut donc nécessaire d'importer aussi une population ouvrière. Comme une tentative de la constituer de bagnards échoua, il fallut naturellement aller chercher en Espagne des ouvriers, parce que l'Espagne est l'espace naturel de Gibraltar. Le Rocher devint un point d'absorption de main-d'œuvre non seulement de la région immédiatement voisine, mais même des provinces du sud de l'Espagne. Les agents de recrutement anglais étendirent leur rayon d'action à une grande distance du Rocher, et de nos jours encore, en 1945, un consul britannique à Cadix provoqua un incident en faisant publier des annonces offrant du travail à Gibraltar. Peu à peu, cette absorption attira dans la zone du Campo des groupes de personnes déracinées de leur province d'origine qui se rapprochaient du Rocher dans l'espoir d'y trouver du travail. Une véritable situation coloniale se créa ainsi, car le Campo de Gibraltar se peupla de gens qui dépendaient de patrons vivant au-delà de la frontière et qui imposaient leurs conditions de travail. D'autre part, le déploiement sur cette zone de l'activité presque unique des habitants du Rocher — le commerce illicite — a contribué à la priver de bases économiques solides en la maintenant dans des conditions très semblables à celles d'un simple dépôt de main-d'œuvre à la disposition de Gibraltar.

"... Le développement des travaux et des installations du Rocher augmenta peu à peu le nombre des travailleurs espagnols qui, à la fin du XIX^{ème} siècle, passa rapidement de 2 500 ou 3 000 unités à 6 500 ou 7 000 quand on effectua les grands travaux du port de la Place, les installations de la base moderne et surtout lorsqu'on entreprit la construction des tunnels qui traversent le Rocher. Ces années étaient celles de la dépression économique en Espagne — et aussi celles de la paralysation des travaux de défense espagnols dans cette zone par la volonté britannique. La main-d'œuvre afflua donc rapidement et massivement à Gibraltar qui eut à sa disposition pratiquement toute une région et celle-ci devint une véritable colonie du Rocher. L'autre grand afflux de la main-d'œuvre espagnole à Gibraltar se produisit lors de la deuxième guerre mondiale. Le nombre des travailleurs qui passaient chaque jour d'Espagne à Gibraltar s'éleva à 13 000. Comme on avait évacué, nous l'avons vu, l'immense majorité — 16 700 sur 18 000 — des Gibraltariens qui y résidaient, les Espagnols furent, durant ces années-là, les vrais habitants du Rocher, où ils exercèrent leurs activités professionnelles au milieu des difficultés et des risques inhérents à une guerre, faisant ainsi un apport décisif aux intérêts britanniques du moment...

"Cette force ouvrière, véritable muscle de la vie de Gibraltar, a travaillé sous un régime qui ne peut être qualifié autrement que de colonial. Les salaires ont été fixés selon le bon plaisir de l'employeur, le nombre d'heures de travail a atteint 90 par semaine — et plus; pas de périodes de vacances, pas de prévoyance sociale ni d'allocation familiales.

17/ Documents officiels de l'Assemblée générale, vingt et unième session, Annexes, additif au point 23 de l'ordre du jour, document A/6300/Rev.1, chap. XI, par. 9 à 11 et 13.

18/ La position espagnole devant le problème de Gibraltar, 1966. p. 39.

Lors de la création à Gibraltar des premiers syndicats ouvriers, il fut même interdit aux ouvriers espagnols de s'y affilier. On ne leur accordait même pas la protection d'un syndicat.

"...Mais les travailleurs espagnols, véritable population active de Gibraltar, n'ont jamais pu résider sur le Rocher parce que les lois militaires britanniques le leur ont interdit. Ils ont dû passer chaque jour la frontière et quitter chaque jour le théâtre de leur effort quotidien. Ce sont les exilés de Gibraltar, les parias historiques de la ville, ceux qui n'ont eu ni voix ni vote dans les affaires de Gibraltar; c'est vraiment l'autre population de Gibraltar, celle dont personne ne parle, celle qu'on ne mentionne jamais quand il s'agit de l'avenir du Rocher mais qui est là et dont dépend — tout au moins aujourd'hui — la vie quotidienne de Gibraltar. Derrière eux, dans la zone espagnole voisine, leurs familles forment un groupe démographique qui compte peut-être 40 ou 50 000 personnes, qui ont subi — je le répète — les conséquences d'un véritable colonialisme.

"Il est donc clair que le vide créé par l'implantation militaire britannique sur le Rocher a produit un élément démographique réel — habitants de la Place, travailleurs espagnols et familles du Campo — sur lequel a pesé un régime colonial et qui doit être considéré dans son ensemble au moment d'aborder le problème de Gibraltar et de son avenir^{19/}."

98. M. Berro dit qu'en fait on n'aurait pu trouver un meilleur cadre, une base plus solide ni une meilleure "matière première" pour la réalisation d'un référendum. Répondant aux questions posées par la Couronne, les loyaux sujets ont répondu par l'affirmative à toutes les questions. Que dire de la population autochtone de Gibraltar, des descendants des familles expulsées il y a deux siècles et demi et de la main-d'œuvre espagnole qui travaille dans la journée sur le Rocher et doit évacuer le territoire le soir afin que rien ne puisse donner à penser qu'elle est établie, qu'elle réside ou qu'elle est domiciliée à Gibraltar?

99. L'Order in Council de 1873, l'Immigration and Aliens Order de 1885 ou la Gibraltarian Status Ordinance de 1962 constituent, sans aucun doute, les pierres angulaires du référendum. En effet, ces ordonnances, qui ont toujours interdit aux Espagnols de résider sur le territoire occupé, ont facilité l'établissement des registres électoraux dont a parlé, quelques jours auparavant (1743ème séance), M. de Piniés, représentant de l'Espagne, et permettaient de prévoir facilement les résultats du référendum et de déceler les objectifs transparents poursuivis par ses promoteurs.

100. En résumé, la manière dont le plébiscite a été préparé et dont il s'est déroulé constitue le plus grand éloge que l'on puisse adresser à la résolution adoptée le 1er septembre par le Comité spécial. La réaffirmation du principe de l'unité nationale et de l'intégrité territoriale, contenu dans la Charte des Nations Unies, a préservé l'autorité et le prestige des

organes chargés de la décolonisation. La Quatrième Commission n'a plus maintenant qu'à adopter l'amendement contenu dans le document A/C.4/L.887 et Add.1.

101. La délégation uruguayenne a voulu se montrer loyale vis-à-vis d'elle-même, de l'Espagne et de la Puissance administrante. Malgré l'amitié traditionnelle que son pays entretient avec le Royaume-Uni et l'admiration que l'Uruguay lui porte pour de nombreuses raisons, la délégation uruguayenne se devait cependant d'exposer, en toute sincérité, sa thèse sur Gibraltar, qui diffère profondément de la position britannique — divergences dont l'origine est ancienne mais qui ont été accentuées par les récents événements, malgré les efforts déployés par le Gouvernement uruguayen pour rechercher une solution à l'amiable qui permette d'éviter les bouleversements, les erreurs et les heurts. L'Uruguay a agi de concert avec le Royaume-Uni en différentes occasions, en matière de décolonisation. Il en sera encore ainsi, lorsque les circonstances le permettront. Il est également probable que des divergences apparaîtront encore. La délégation uruguayenne a toujours estimé que les divergences dans le domaine élevé des principes sont une caractéristique du monde civilisé, cultivé et démocratique. La délégation uruguayenne ne nourrit aucune hostilité à l'égard des participants au référendum du 10 septembre dont elle comprend et respecte les "intérêts", et n'a eu en aucune façon l'intention de blesser la sensibilité britannique; cependant elle doit conclure son exposé en indiquant qu'elle figure parmi les auteurs du document A/C.4/L.887 et qu'elle l'appuiera lors du vote.

102. M. Berro tient à terminer sur des paroles empreintes de beauté et de sagesse, d'équilibre et de modération qui sont tirées d'un ouvrage espagnol sur Gibraltar et qui s'adressent au Gouvernement de Sa Majesté britannique:

"Cet enchaînement de problèmes que nous venons de décrire débouche sur une constatation dont la valeur n'est nullement diminuée par le fait qu'elle intéresse le domaine affectif. Gibraltar n'est pas seulement une base qui pose certains problèmes mais constitue pour la Grande-Bretagne un symbole: la proud fortress, symbole de sa puissance et de ses glorieuses traditions navales et militaires. Nous le savons et nous comprenons qu'en abordant ce thème il se peut que nous touchions un point sensible et douloureux. C'est pourquoi nous croyons qu'il faut parvenir à un accord qui ne cause à aucune des deux nations de l'humiliation ou du ressentiment. Il faut comprendre, en effet, que, pour l'Espagne aussi, Gibraltar représente un symbole: celui d'une série d'iniquités et d'affronts; le souvenir de la manière dont elle a été lésée, des humiliations subies, des intolérables obligations politiques, militaires et économiques qui lui ont été imposées, en outre, à une époque de stagnation nationale, et ce souvenir demeure vivace. Gibraltar est la seule colonie étrangère située sur le territoire d'une nation européenne. Enfin, on peut appliquer à Gibraltar les déclarations récentes de l'éminent historien britannique Arnold Toynbee: "Gibraltar? C'est une épine dans la chair espagnole. Les Anglais aimeraient-ils voir une forteresse russe ou chi-

^{19/} Ibid., p. 44 à 49.

noise à Land's End ou dans les îles Anglo-Normandes?".

M. Berro rappelle que la question n'est pas posée par lui-même. La formule est d'une éminente personnalité britannique.

103. M. GAMIL (Yémen) propose que la déclaration du représentant de l'Uruguay figure intégralement dans le compte rendu.

Il en est ainsi décidé.

La séance est levée à 13 h 25.

Nations Unies ASSEMBLÉE GÉNÉRALE

VINGT-DEUXIÈME SESSION

Documents officiels

QUATRIÈME COMMISSION, 1752^e
SÉANCE

Vendredi 15 décembre 1967,
à 15 h 25



NEW YORK

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Président: M. George J. TOMEH (Syrie).

POINT 23 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

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DISCUSSION GÉNÉRALE ET EXAMEN DE PROJETS DE RÉSOLUTION (suite) [A/C.4/L.876 ET Add.1 A 6, A/C.4/L.877, A/C.4/L.884]

1. M. MIRDHA (Inde) regrette que, malgré l'appel lancé par sa délégation à la session précédente (1674^{ème} séance) pour demander qu'à la session suivante les chapitres du rapport du Comité spécial relatifs à tous les autres territoires soient abordés plus tôt, la Commission ait attendu une fois encore d'être arrivée à la fin de ses travaux pour entreprendre l'examen de ces chapitres, exception faite de ceux qui ont trait à Gibraltar et aux colonies espagnoles d'Afrique; aussi peut-elle difficilement procéder à un examen complet de la situation dans les territoires en question. M. Mirdha a le ferme espoir qu'à la vingt-troisième session la Commission abordera l'examen de ce point de son ordre du jour suffisamment tôt pour pouvoir lui consacrer l'attention qu'il mérite.

2. Il ressort du rapport du Comité spécial (A/6700/Rev.1) que, dans la plupart des fles non autonomes considérées, les progrès réalisés dans la voie de l'autonomie et de l'indépendance ont été en général lents et que les conditions économiques et sociales dans ces territoires laissent beaucoup à désirer.

Le rapport du Comité spécial renferme un certain nombre de recommandations précises qui sont formulées à l'intention des puissances administrantes et qu'il est essentiel de mettre en œuvre si l'on veut décoloniser rapidement les territoires. Il est regrettable que certaines puissances administrantes n'aient réagi de façon positive ni devant ces recommandations ni devant les résolutions de l'Assemblée générale.

3. La délégation indienne note avec plaisir que le nouveau gouvernement élu de l'île Maurice a exprimé le désir de voir le territoire accéder à l'indépendance en mars 1968 et que la Puissance administrante a donné son accord pour cette date. Les Mauritiens constituent un peuple formé d'ethnies différentes qui vivent ensemble dans la paix et l'harmonie, sous la direction progressiste de sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam, et que l'on pourrait donner en exemple à toutes les sociétés composées elles aussi de plusieurs ethnies. Il faut espérer que viendra bientôt le jour où l'île Maurice deviendra Membre des Nations Unies. Le Gouvernement indien a déjà exposé, au sein de l'Organisation et ailleurs, sa position au sujet des installations militaires qui selon certaines indications doivent être établies dans le territoire artificiellement créé sous le nom de territoire de l'océan Indien britannique. Cette position vaut toujours. Le Gouvernement indien a souscrit à la Déclaration de Bandoung de 1955 et à la Déclaration du Caire de 1964 sur la question de l'installation de bases dans l'océan Indien, et aux résolutions 1514 (XV) et 2066 (XX) de l'Assemblée générale. Aux termes de la résolution 2066 (XX), toute mesure prise par la Puissance administrante pour détacher certaines fles du territoire de l'île Maurice afin d'y établir une base militaire constituerait une violation de la résolution 1514 (XV). Le Gouvernement indien est contre l'établissement de bases militaires dans l'océan Indien, car il pourrait en résulter une tension accrue dans la région et il espère que les autorités britanniques tiendront compte des sentiments des pays de cette région et s'abstiendront d'y installer une base militaire.

4. Dans les fles Seychelles, très peu de progrès ont été réalisés sur la voie de l'autonomie interne. Les conseils législatif et exécutif qui existent à l'heure actuelle se composent essentiellement de membres non élus, et ils n'exercent aucun pouvoir ni aucune fonction; la délégation indienne adresse un appel à la Puissance administrante pour lui demander de donner plus d'efficacité à ces organes et d'en faire des instruments de gouvernement autonome. M. Mirdha a pris note de la déclaration faite par le représentant du Royaume-Uni à la séance précédente selon laquelle une nouvelle constitution doit entrer en vigueur aux fles Seychelles.

5. La délégation indienne est heureuse que le Gouvernement espagnol, dans un esprit de coopération, ait accepté de recevoir une mission de visite du Comité spécial en Guinée équatoriale et de lui accorder les facilités nécessaires. M. Mirdha a pris note avec satisfaction de la déclaration faite par le représentant de l'Espagne affirmant que ce pays reconnaît pleinement les droits des peuples coloniaux à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance, ajoutant qu'une conférence constitutionnelle a eu lieu en octobre 1967. Il regrette cependant que le principal objectif de la conférence, à savoir l'établissement d'une date pour l'indépendance, n'ait pas été atteint, et cela alors que la population du territoire a, en 1966, lors de la visite du Sous-Comité de la Guinée équatoriale dans le territoire, exprimé le désir d'accéder à l'indépendance en juillet 1968 au plus tard. Le représentant de l'Espagne a dit que son gouvernement donnerait son accord quelle que soit la date fixée par la population; or, jusqu'à présent, il ne semble pas que la Puissance administrante ait pris l'engagement d'accorder l'indépendance avant juillet 1968. M. Mirdha lance un appel à la Puissance administrante pour lui demander d'appliquer les dispositions de la résolution 2230 (XXI) de l'Assemblée générale afin que la population de la Guinée équatoriale puisse accéder à l'indépendance sans avoir à attendre plus qu'il ne faut.

6. Nul ne peut contester que l'envoi de missions de visite dans les territoires éloignés soit utile aux Nations Unies qui, de cette façon, peuvent être informées de la situation qui règne dans ces territoires. Les renseignements communiqués par les puissances administrantes sont précieux mais ils ne peuvent pas remplacer le contact direct entre la population des colonies et les représentants d'Etats Membres. La délégation indienne a du mal à comprendre que certaines puissances administrantes persistent dans leur refus de recevoir des missions de visite dans les territoires qu'elles administrent et elle espère qu'à force d'insistance il sera possible de les convaincre qu'il est de leur propre intérêt de permettre aux Nations Unies d'envoyer des missions de visite.

7. M. Mirdha lance un appel aux puissances administrantes pour leur demander d'adopter les mesures nécessaires pour appliquer les diverses résolutions des Nations Unies concernant les territoires en question et, ainsi, d'assurer une transition pacifique à l'état d'autonomie et d'indépendance.

8. Selon M. EL-FARRA (Jordanie), la question de Gibraltar est une question coloniale qui relève de la résolution 1514 (XV). Le Comité spécial étudie la question depuis 1963; il a suivi l'évolution de la situation dans le territoire et a entendu des pétitionnaires. Il est donc bien placé pour juger de la situation; c'est pourquoi la délégation jordanienne accorde une grande valeur aux recommandations venant de lui. Passant outre au fait que le Comité spécial, dans sa résolution du 1er septembre 1967 (A/6700/Rev.1, chap. X, par. 215), a déclaré que l'organisation du référendum envisagé serait contraire aux dispositions de la résolution 2231 (XXI), le Royaume-Uni a organisé ce référendum, et il ne semble pas à la délégation jordanienne que cette mesure ait contribué à trouver la solution appropriée, juste et réaliste du problème.

9. La délégation jordanienne ne saurait rester indifférente devant une situation de nature coloniale, quelle qu'elle soit, qui détruit partiellement ou totalement l'unité nationale ou l'intégrité territoriale d'un pays quelconque et elle estime de son devoir de mettre en garde contre les risques que comporte une situation coloniale semblable à celle qui a abouti à la création d'un Etat juif contre la volonté des habitants légitimes de la Palestine.

10. De l'avis de M. El-Farra, le projet de résolution A/C.4/L.876 et Add.1 à 6 et l'amendement qui figure dans le document A/C.4/L.887 et Add.1 sont de nature à aider la Commission dans l'examen du problème. A propos du paragraphe 3 du dispositif du projet de résolution, M. El-Farra déclare que sa délégation est heureuse d'apprendre que les Gouvernements du Royaume-Uni et de l'Espagne ont décidé de procéder à de nouveaux entretiens concernant Gibraltar en janvier 1968. Il espère que rien ne viendra compromettre le succès de ces négociations.

11. M. LUARD (Royaume-Uni) rappelle que les territoires d'Antigua, de la Dominique, de la Grenade, de Saint-Christophe-et-Nièves et Anguilla, de Sainte-Lucie et de Saint-Vincent, qui font partie certains des îles Leeward et les autres des îles Windward, dans la région des Antilles orientales, se sont constitués en fédération en 1871. Après la fin de la guerre, en 1945, il est apparu clairement aux populations des îles ainsi qu'au Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni que le meilleur moyen, et peut-être le seul, pour ces territoires et d'autres territoires des Antilles, de former un tout indépendant était de s'associer dans une fédération, étant donné que chacun des six territoires était trop petit pour être livré à lui-même et qu'aucun d'entre eux n'en avait jamais manifesté le désir. Après des discussions et des négociations prolongées, naissait en janvier 1958, la Fédération des Indes occidentales, composée de ces six territoires, ainsi que de la Jamaïque, de la Trinité, de la Barbade et d'un certain nombre d'autres petits territoires, et il était entendu que cette fédération accéderait à l'indépendance en mai 1962. Il est cependant apparu clairement, avant cette date, que la Fédération ne pourrait pas se maintenir après la décision prise par les deux plus grandes îles de s'en retirer et de demander chacune séparément l'indépendance; aussi, en 1962, la Fédération a-t-elle été dissoute. Les territoires restants ont manifesté le désir, et en cela ils ont été encouragés par le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni, de former une nouvelle fédération qui pourrait elle-même devenir un Etat indépendant dans le cadre du Commonwealth. Des propositions dans ce sens ont été examinées à partir de mai 1962 jusqu'en 1965; cependant, la Grenade et Antigua s'étant retirées des négociations, la première pour s'associer à la Trinité, et la Barbade ayant annoncé son intention de demander l'indépendance séparément, il est apparu clairement qu'il ne serait pas possible de parvenir à un accord. Certaines des îles ont alors informé le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni qu'elles souhaitaient une plus grande autonomie interne étant bien entendu, aussi bien dans les îles qu'à Londres, que l'on n'exclurait pas la possibilité de former une nouvelle fédération à l'avenir. La formule de l'association a été mise au point compte tenu de cette possibilité. C'est ainsi qu'en 1965 le Gou-

vernement du Royaume-Uni a décidé d'étudier des propositions en vue d'établir sur de nouvelles bases les relations entre les territoires et le Royaume-Uni, en tenant compte de la maturité politique des territoires, mais en prenant également en considération les difficultés que connaissent les très petits Etats.

12. A l'automne de 1965, le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni a envoyé au gouvernement de chacun des territoires un document contenant, comme base de discussion, des propositions détaillées portant sur des questions constitutionnelles; selon ces propositions, chaque territoire se gouvernerait lui-même sur le plan interne et jouirait d'une pleine autonomie. Le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni continuerait, aussi longtemps que le souhaiterait chacun des territoires, à assumer la responsabilité de la défense et des affaires étrangères et chaque Etat associé pourrait, quand il le voudrait, demander l'indépendance séparée et assumer lui-même cette responsabilité en jouissant de tous les attributs de la souveraineté. Il était donné à chacun des six territoires la possibilité de formuler des contre-propositions ou de rejeter les propositions du Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni. Par ailleurs, le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni a demandé à chacune des fles de présenter, comme base de discussion, ses propres propositions en vue d'une constitution d'autonomie interne. Les propositions du Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni ont été acceptées provisoirement par les ministres des territoires, ministres désignés parmi les organes législatifs démocratiquement élus dans les six fles, et le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni a alors publié ses propositions en décembre 1965 sous forme d'un Livre blanc^{1/} de façon qu'elles puissent être examinées et étudiées attentivement dans les fles par toutes les tendances de l'opinion.

13. Une série de conférences constitutionnelles, pour Antigua, la Dominique, Sainte-Lucie, Saint-Vincent et la Grenade ainsi que pour Saint-Christophe-et-Nièves et Anguilla se sont tenues entre février et mai 1966, et à chacune d'elles assistait une délégation de l'île ou des fles intéressées comprenant les représentants de chaque parti politique représenté aux organes législatifs locaux issus d'élections. Etant donné que dans chacune de ces fles les élections se faisaient depuis longtemps au suffrage universel des adultes, sur la base du principe "à chacun une voix", et qu'il existait un système de partis politiques bien rodé et doué d'une grande vitalité politique, les membres des organes législatifs représentés avaient pleinement qualité pour parler et décider au nom des populations de ces fles. Après des discussions approfondies et parfois laborieuses, les conférences sont parvenues à un accord total et complet sur les objectifs fondamentaux de la formule de l'association, en tant que lien volontaire et démocratique entre le Royaume-Uni et les fles, étant entendu que le Gouvernement britannique continuerait à assumer la responsabilité des affaires extérieures et de la défense des fles, mais que chacune de celles-ci serait libre à n'importe quel moment de rechercher une indépendance séparée si elle le souhaitait. Aucun parti politique, majoritaire ou minoritaire, n'a manifesté de désaccord ni formulé

de réserves concernant ces questions fondamentales que soulevait la formule de l'association. Les conférences sont également parvenues à un accord pratiquement unanime sur les propositions soumises par les délégations des fles au sujet des constitutions internes des territoires, encore que dans le cas de trois territoires les délégations aient formulé des réserves au sujet de certaines caractéristiques de la constitution qui était envisagée pour eux. Tous les participants aux conférences, aussi bien les représentants des partis gouvernementaux que ceux des partis d'opposition, ont signé et adopté les rapports des conférences, lesquels avaient été publiés aussi bien au Royaume-Uni que dans les territoires et avaient fait l'objet de nombreuses discussions sur place.

14. Dans quatre des six territoires, Antigua, la Dominique, Saint-Christophe-et-Nièves et Anguilla et Saint-Vincent, des élections ont eu lieu avant que ces territoires ne deviennent des Etats au sens des propositions relatives à l'association avec le Royaume-Uni. S'il y avait eu opposition à ces propositions de la part d'une partie représentative de l'opinion, il ne fait pas de doute que celle-ci aurait contesté les élections, mais il ne s'est rien produit de tel dans aucun des territoires. Dans deux des territoires, la Grenade et Sainte-Lucie, il n'y a pas eu d'élections pendant la période au cours de laquelle se sont déroulées les consultations et les discussions relatives aux nouveaux arrangements avant l'adoption de la formule de l'association, au début de 1967; toutefois, dans ces territoires, tous les partis politiques ont appuyé les propositions relatives à la nouvelle formule et ont envoyé à la conférence de Londres des représentants qui ont signé les rapports de cette conférence. Même en l'absence d'élections, par conséquent, il y a manifestement unanimité en faveur de l'autonomie et de l'association avec le Royaume-Uni. Si des élections n'ont pas eu lieu c'est parce que les constitutions des territoires ne les prévoyaient pas pour cette période-là. En outre, dans aucune des résolutions pertinentes des Nations Unies ni dans la Charte il n'est dit qu'il faut procéder à des élections ou à un référendum lorsqu'un territoire colonial doit accéder à l'autonomie, étant entendu que des mesures doivent être prises pour s'assurer que la décision de devenir autonome est prise au su de la grande majorité de la population du territoire intéressé, avec son accord et en connaissance de cause de sa part. Enfin, la délégation du Royaume-Uni ne pense pas qu'il soit particulièrement utile d'organiser un référendum ou des élections avant qu'un territoire n'opte pour un nouveau statut qui offre entre autres possibilités celle de l'indépendance à n'importe quel moment, surtout si l'on considère que les Nations Unies n'ont jamais elles-mêmes considéré qu'il fallait organiser des élections ou un référendum avant qu'un territoire n'accède à l'indépendance.

15. Aucun des partis politiques des territoires ne s'est opposé à un moment quelconque à la notion d'Etat associé. Les seules divergences qui ont surgi concernent des questions telles que la date des élections et les détails des constitutions internes. La meilleure preuve de l'appui populaire dont jouit la notion d'Etat associé est fournie par le fait qu'après la conférence de Londres les propositions ayant fait

^{1/} Constitutional Proposals for Antigua, St. Kitts/Nevis/Anguilla, Dominica, St. Lucia, St. Vincent and Grenada, Londres, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1965, Cmnd. 2865.

l'objet d'un accord ont été soumises à l'examen de chacun des organes législatifs librement élus des diverses îles. Chacun de ces organes a examiné, puis adopté sans opposition, une résolution approuvant les propositions de la conférence de Londres. Que ces organes élus soient indubitablement habilités à parler et à agir au nom de la population est une preuve suffisante que les populations des territoires approuvent à l'unanimité leur nouveau statut. M. Luard estime qu'il est difficile d'imaginer un processus de consultation et d'approbation plus complet que celui qu'il vient de décrire.

16. Aux termes des dispositions établissant le nouveau statut d'Etats associés, qui jusqu'à présent est en vigueur dans cinq des six Etats associés et qui le sera bientôt à Saint-Vincent, les rapports entre chaque Etat et le Royaume-Uni sont dans l'ensemble analogues à ceux qui existent entre le Gouvernement britannique et un pays indépendant si ce n'est que le Gouvernement britannique conserve la responsabilité de la conduite des affaires étrangères et de la défense de l'Etat associé intéressé. Même pour ce qui est des pouvoirs législatifs dont le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni dispose en matière d'affaires étrangères et de défense, ils ne seront exercés qu'après consultations avec le gouvernement de l'Etat associé intéressé. Le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni s'est engagé, à l'égard des Etats qui en ont exprimé le désir, au cas où des consultations approfondies n'aboutiraient pas à un accord au sujet de l'application de cette législation, à donner autant que possible à ce gouvernement, avant d'exercer ses propres pouvoirs, la faculté de prendre des mesures pour mettre un terme à son association avec le Royaume-Uni s'il le souhaite. Certains pouvoirs en matière d'affaires étrangères ont été délégués aux gouvernements des Etats, et le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni s'est engagé à les consulter avant de souscrire des obligations internationales les concernant. En outre, étant donné que les Etats associés ne constituent pas officiellement des entités souveraines, le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni doit continuer d'exercer les prérogatives de la souveraineté, par exemple en ce qui concerne la citoyenneté et la monarchie.

17. Les liens dont il s'agit sont avant tout libres et volontairement consentis, chaque partie pouvant y mettre fin à n'importe quel moment sans le consentement de l'autre. Comme toute décision visant à mettre fin à l'association devient irrévocable une fois qu'elle est entrée en vigueur, les conférences constitutionnelles ont, afin d'éviter toute décision hâtive ou ne recueillant pas l'appui requis, établi une procédure pour mettre fin à l'association qui prévoit un délai de 90 jours entre la présentation et l'examen d'un instrument juridique à cet effet, ainsi que l'approbation à la majorité des deux tiers des membres élus de l'organe législatif dans chaque cas. Au cas où l'on mettrait fin à l'association en faveur d'une association avec un autre pays du Commonwealth de la région des Antilles, cette procédure suffirait. Dans tout autre cas, il faudrait en outre l'approbation des deux tiers du corps électoral, par voix référendaire, avant l'entrée en vigueur d'une telle loi. Il a été décidé qu'il ne serait pas organisé de référendum si un Etat désirait s'associer à un autre pays membre

du Commonwealth dans la région des Antilles, pour faciliter la création d'une éventuelle fédération en temps voulu au cas où les Etats de la région seraient prêts à le faire. Chaque Etat associé désirant appartenir à cette fédération n'aurait qu'à faire connaître ses désirs et donner son approbation à ce que les mesures nécessaires soient prises à cette fin par le Gouvernement et le Parlement britanniques. La fédération serait donc tout aussi aisée, voire plus facile qu'auparavant, et rien ne s'y opposerait au cas où elle redeviendrait une possibilité viable.

18. Chaque Etat associé a l'entière responsabilité de ses affaires intérieures, y compris celle de modifier sa propre constitution, et le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni ne peut modifier ou suspendre les constitutions internes qu'à la demande expresse de l'Etat intéressé. Mises à part les conditions nécessaires aux pouvoirs réservés du Royaume-Uni en ce qui concerne la défense et les affaires étrangères et le maintien d'une citoyenneté commune, la constitution de chaque Etat associé comporte les dispositions habituelles d'une constitution d'un Etat moderne et indépendant, y compris les dispositions pour la protection des droits et des libertés fondamentaux, le maintien des institutions démocratiques et la modification ou le remplacement de la constitution par l'organe législatif conformément aux procédures prévues à cet effet. Chaque Etat aura une assemblée législative, élue au suffrage universel des adultes, un cabinet ministériel ou toute autre forme de gouvernement ministériel; le Gouverneur, représentant la Reine, se bornera strictement au rôle d'un monarque constitutionnel.

19. Le nouveau statut des Etats associés se distingue donc des rapports unissant un territoire colonial à une puissance métropolitaine par trois aspects importants: les Etats associés sont pleinement compétents, sans aucune restriction, en ce qui concerne leurs affaires intérieures; le Gouvernement et le Parlement britanniques ont abandonné tous pouvoirs et responsabilités les concernant sauf dans certains secteurs bien précis ayant fait l'objet d'un accord; chaque Etat associé est libre de choisir l'indépendance ou tout autre statut, et ce faisant de mettre fin à son association avec le Royaume-Uni sans l'approbation de ce dernier. Il est donc évident que les Etats associés sont pleinement autonomes, que les responsabilités du Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni aux termes du Chapitre XI de la Charte ont été intégralement respectées et que le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni ne communiquerait plus de renseignements au sujet de ces territoires.

20. Le problème de Saint-Christophe-et-Nièves et Anguilla qui en fait concerne les rapports entre Anguilla et le Gouvernement de l'Etat n'est apparu qu'à la fin du mois de mai 1967, trois mois après que cet Etat eut acquis son nouveau statut d'association avec le Royaume-Uni. Depuis 1882, Saint-Christophe-et-Nièves et Anguilla ont été administrés comme une entité. En vertu du système électoral en vigueur avant l'association, Anguilla était une circonscription élisant son représentant au Conseil législatif au suffrage universel des adultes. Le représentant d'Anguilla, élu par les seuls habitants d'Anguilla, M. Peter Adams, a assisté à la Conférence

constitutionnelle de Saint-Christophe-et-Nièves et Anguilla qui s'est tenue du 12 au 26 mai 1966 en qualité de représentant élu d'Anguilla. La Conférence a décidé que la future constitution de l'Etat associé prévoirait un conseil local pour Nièves et un conseil pour Anguilla et que les dispositions relatives à un conseil élu entreraient en vigueur à la fin de 1967. A aucun moment de la Conférence il n'a été question d'avoir un statut distinct pour Anguilla ni de séparer Anguilla et Saint-Christophe-et-Nièves. Le nouveau statut arrêté concernait l'association de l'ensemble du territoire de Saint-Christophe-et-Nièves et Anguilla avec le Royaume-Uni, et M. Peter Adams a signé le rapport de la conférence de Londres en signe d'acceptation de ce nouveau statut et de la Constitution du territoire, estimant apparemment que cet accord était dans l'intérêt des habitants d'Anguilla. Le 25 juillet 1966, les électeurs d'Anguilla ont réélu M. Adams, montrant ainsi qu'ils ratifiaient son acceptation du statut d'Etat associé pour l'ensemble du territoire de Saint-Christophe-et-Nièves et Anguilla.

21. Ce n'est qu'après, au cours des deux mois précédant le jour de l'accession au statut d'Etat associé, que les intentions du Gouvernement de Saint-Christophe-et-Nièves et Anguilla à l'égard de la création d'un conseil pour Anguilla, conformément à l'accord réalisé lors de la Conférence de Londres, ont été mises en doute par le dirigeant du People's Action Movement, M. Herbert, qui n'avait pas obtenu de siège dans l'Assemblée législative. Avant que le territoire n'accède à son nouveau statut, le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni s'est assuré que la constitution, devant être octroyée par un ordre du conseil, respectait les décisions de la Conférence et qu'aucune des allégations dirigées contre le Premier Ministre et son gouvernement ne constituait un motif suffisant pour revenir sur les accords réalisés alors. C'est en ayant pleinement connaissance des préparatifs faits par le Gouvernement du territoire en vue d'introduire la législation nécessaire que le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni a agi conformément aux accords réalisés et mis Saint-Christophe-et-Nièves et Anguilla en mesure d'accéder à un nouveau statut le 27 février 1967.

22. Les responsabilités et les pouvoirs du Royaume-Uni se limitent depuis à ceux qui ont été prévus par le West Indies Act de 1967; par conséquent, toute responsabilité en ce qui concerne le gouvernement de l'Etat associé de Saint-Christophe-et-Nièves et Anguilla et les problèmes relatifs aux rapports entre les populations des différentes fies constituant cet Etat, d'une part, et les autorités de cet Etat, d'autre part, sont du ressort du Gouvernement de l'Etat.

23. Etant donné la publicité faite au problème d'Anguilla, on a suggéré que l'emploi abusif des slogans d' "indépendance" de la part de certains habitants d'Anguilla et leur désir de rompre les liens les unissant à Saint-Christophe permettent de douter des déclarations de la délégation britannique selon lesquelles les populations des six Etats associés ont été amplement consultées sur ledit statut et que cette nouvelle forme constitutionnelle avait pratiquement été acceptée à l'unanimité. La population de Saint-Christophe-et-Nièves et Anguilla a été consultée tant par la voie électorale que par l'intermédiaire de leurs représentants élus; même à l'heure actuelle,

on ne peut mettre en doute ni l'opinion de la majorité de l'Etat ni le fait que le représentant élu par ceux-là mêmes qui actuellement s'opposent à ce statut d'Etat associé y a lui-même contribué. Ce n'est qu'après l'entrée en vigueur du statut d'Etat associé que l'on s'est inquiété d'une éventuelle sécession.

24. Par conséquent, le problème d'Anguilla ne saurait en aucune façon être considéré comme une question coloniale. La revendication de l'indépendance pour Anguilla est un mouvement de sécession plutôt que d'indépendance. La Commission mesure sans aucun doute les conséquences qu'aurait à longue échéance tout semblant d'ingérence dans les affaires intérieures d'un Etat autonome ou toute approbation d'un tel mouvement.

25. Le Gouvernement de Saint-Christophe-et-Nièves et Anguilla et le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni ont apprécié les efforts constructifs des pays indépendants voisins, la Trinité, la Guyane, la Jamaïque et la Barbade, afin d'arriver à une juste solution du problème, bien que ces efforts n'aient pas encore été couronnés de succès. La délégation britannique approuve pleinement la déclaration du Procureur général de la Guyane sur la nécessité d'arriver à une solution satisfaisant la légalité et les pratiques établies d'un gouvernement constitutionnel. La délégation britannique espère que si les deux parties font preuve de bonne volonté il sera possible d'arriver à une solution juste et pacifique qui permette aux fies de revenir sur le chemin de la légalité constitutionnelle. Une délégation parlementaire s'est récemment rendue à Anguilla où les dirigeants locaux l'ont assurée de leur collaboration. M. Luard espère que cette délégation contribuera à l'élaboration d'une solution à ce problème complexe.

26. M. Luard précise que, depuis l'accession au statut d'Etat associé, le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni n'a participé à la recherche d'une solution que sur l'invitation du Gouvernement de Saint-Christophe-et-Nièves et Anguilla. Le fait que le Royaume-Uni soit responsable devant l'Organisation des Nations Unies et ailleurs des affaires extérieures de l'Etat en question n'altère en rien la nature essentiellement interne du problème d'Anguilla. De même, ce problème qui est celui d'un Etat doté d'autonomie interne a, dès l'accession de Saint-Christophe à la pleine autonomie, cessé d'être de la compétence des commissions de l'Assemblée générale s'occupant des territoires non autonomes. Toutefois, la délégation britannique a jugé bon, sans que cela modifie son attitude officielle, de fournir à la Quatrième Commission les renseignements susmentionnés.

27. Saint-Vincent est le seul des six territoires qui ne soit pas encore un Etat associé. A la Conférence constitutionnelle de Londres de mai 1966, le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni n'a pu obtenir l'accord des deux partis politiques de Saint-Vincent sur deux aspects de la nouvelle constitution envisagée: l'établissement d'un sénat et l'âge électoral. Le Secrétaire d'Etat aux colonies d'alors avait, en conséquence, suggéré que, puisqu'une élection était prévue avant que les propositions n'entrent en vigueur, ces questions fassent l'objet d'un nouvel examen une fois que la population se serait prononcée à leur sujet aux élections. Le résultat de ces élections, orga-

nisées en août 1966, n'a pas été concluant; en effet, sur 27 000 suffrages exprimés, le parti de l'opposition a obtenu 500 voix de plus que le parti du gouvernement, tandis que le parti du gouvernement obtenait un siège de plus que le parti de l'opposition. A la suite de quoi le parti de l'opposition a contesté l'élection de deux membres appartenant au parti du gouvernement et ce dernier a contesté l'élection de deux membres de l'opposition. Il était alors admis que si les contestations avaient eu pour résultat de faire perdre un siège au gouvernement au profit de l'opposition, le Gouvernement de Saint-Vincent serait tombé. Un autre facteur est encore venu compliquer la situation. Il avait été convenu à Londres que le nombre des membres élus de l'Assemblée législative serait porté de 9 à 13 et que, comme mesure transitoire, l'Assemblée législative serait autorisée à désigner elle-même quatre circonscriptions qui éliraient les quatre membres supplémentaires du premier parlement. Il aurait donc été théoriquement possible que le parti du gouvernement profite de sa majorité pour désigner les quatre circonscriptions devant élire les quatre membres supplémentaires avant l'examen des contestations, s'assurant ainsi de la majorité quelle que soit la décision prise à leur sujet. Le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni avait invité le Premier Ministre et ses collègues ainsi que des représentants de l'opposition à se réunir à Londres pour tenter de réconcilier leurs points de vue. Au cours des entretiens, il a été convenu que Saint-Vincent deviendrait un Etat associé le 1er juin 1967 au plus tard. Il a été décidé d'apporter plusieurs modifications aux accords issus de la Conférence de 1966, notamment l'organisation d'élections générales sur la base de 13 circonscriptions avant le 31 décembre 1968. Entre-temps, il ne serait procédé à aucune augmentation du nombre de membres de la législature. Il semblait donc qu'au début de février il y ait eu un accord sur une solution satisfaisant les deux partis. Cependant, en mars, une nouvelle crise politique a surgi lorsque l'un des Ministres élus, appartenant au parti du gouvernement, a démissionné et est passé à l'opposition qui devenait ainsi majoritaire. Conformément aux avis du Premier Ministre, le Conseil législatif a été dissous le 7 avril 1967. Lors des élections générales organisées le 19 mai 1967, l'ancien parti d'opposition — le St. Vincent Labour Party — a obtenu 6 des 9 sièges pourvus par voie électorale et son chef a été nommé Premier Ministre. Des pourparlers sont actuellement en cours avec le Gouvernement de Saint-Vincent sur les détails du projet de constitution, et il est impossible avant leur aboutissement de fixer une nouvelle date pour l'accession au statut d'Etat associé.

28. Bien que les propositions du Gouvernement britannique et les résultats des conférences de Londres aient été exposés en détail devant le Sous-Comité III du Comité spécial dès le 8 septembre 1966^{2/}, ce n'est que six jours avant la date fixée pour l'accession d'Antigua et de Saint-Christophe au statut d'Etat associé que le Comité spécial a commencé à examiner la question. Pendant cette période d'examen, les cinq territoires ont accédé à leur nouveau statut et jouissent d'une pleine autonomie. Le Comité a

néanmoins adopté une résolution qui préjuge gravement tout nouvel examen de la situation. Conformément à l'attitude du Gouvernement britannique, selon laquelle la compétence de l'Organisation des Nations Unies en vertu du Chapitre XI de la Charte a pris fin avec l'accession au statut d'Etat associé, la délégation britannique n'a plus participé à l'examen de la question des Etats associés des Antilles occidentales après l'adoption de ladite résolution. Toutefois, le Gouvernement britannique accepte que la question même de l'association et de l'élaboration des procédures à cet effet soit considérée comme étant de la compétence de la Commission à la présente session.

29. Les territoires coloniaux sont définis au Chapitre XI de la Charte comme étant ceux dont les populations ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes. Un territoire cesse d'appartenir à cette catégorie non pas quand les Nations Unies adoptent une résolution déclarant qu'il a cessé d'être un territoire colonial, mais lorsque sa population en est effectivement arrivée à s'administrer complètement elle-même, ce qui marque le moment où la puissance coloniale qui l'administrait précédemment cesse d'être responsable de ses affaires intérieures. Il en résulte donc, en fait et en droit, que le Gouvernement britannique n'est plus responsable des affaires intérieures des cinq Etats associés dès lors qu'ils ont accédé à leur nouveau statut. Au titre des responsabilités qu'il continue d'assumer en ce qui concerne les affaires extérieures de ces Etats, le Gouvernement britannique demeure disposé à faciliter et encourager les contacts entre lesdits Etats et les Nations Unies, y compris les institutions spécialisées, pour ce qui est des questions extérieures qui intéressent les Etats associés. Il ressort clairement des modalités des accords relatifs aux affaires extérieures conclus entre chacun de ces Etats et le Royaume-Uni que le Gouvernement britannique et les Etats souhaitent que ces contacts soient maintenus.

30. Le processus de la décolonisation arrivant enfin à son terme, les seuls territoires coloniaux qui subsisteront seront ceux dont la superficie et les ressources naturelles sont limitées et qui n'ont en conséquence que des perspectives limitées de développement économique. L'indépendance complète et la souveraineté absolue ne sont pas nécessairement les seules formes de décolonisation dans ces cas-là, et nombreux sont les petits territoires qui ne peuvent envisager une indépendance complète et ne le souhaitent du reste pas. Certains territoires ont librement choisi l'intégration soit totale, soit partielle avec la puissance coloniale qui les administrait précédemment, et l'Assemblée générale a, à plusieurs reprises, reconnu formellement dans ses résolutions que ce processus était conforme aux dispositions de la Charte relatives à la décolonisation. Le statut des fies Cook, qui se sont librement associées à la Nouvelle-Zélande, a été approuvé et reconnu par la résolution 2064 (XX) de l'Assemblée générale, et l'on a reconnu que leur cas constituait un précédent permettant aux petits territoires qui ne désirent pas accéder à l'indépendance d'envisager de nouvelles solutions en matière de décolonisation. Les principaux éléments du nouveau statut des Etats associés des Indes occidentales sont les mêmes que pour les fies Cook. La question fondamentale est de savoir quel

^{2/} Voir Documents officiels de l'Assemblée générale, vingt-etunième session, Annexes, additif au point 23 de l'ordre du jour, document A/6300/Rev.1, chap. XXII, annexe.

type de décolonisation préfèrent les peuples des territoires. Le statut colonial des Etats des Antilles occidentales a été remplacé par de nouveaux rapports librement consentis qui satisfont le désir fondamental d'autonomie de ces Etats tout en tenant compte de l'exiguité de leur territoire. On espère que ces relations ne représenteront qu'une étape sur la voie de la fédération. Les peuples des Etats associés des Indes occidentales ont droit aux félicitations et aux vœux de la Commission.

31. M. NACER (Maroc) déclare que sa délégation a toujours appuyé les efforts déployés par l'Organisation des Nations Unies pour mettre un terme à la domination coloniale sous toutes ses formes. Pour son pays, qui a lui-même connu la sujétion étrangère, la défense du droit des peuples à la liberté et à l'indépendance est un principe fondamental.

32. La question d'Ifni et du Sahara dit espagnol résulte du contentieux territorial hérité du régime colonial imposé au Maroc. Le problème de l'intégrité territoriale s'est posé au Maroc depuis le XVIème siècle. Jusqu'à 1912, année où le Traité de protectorat a été signé, les problèmes relatifs aux frontières de l'Est et du Sud marocains ont donné lieu à une intense activité diplomatique. Lorsque le Maroc est devenu indépendant en 1956, il a estimé qu'il était indispensable de réaliser l'unité nationale et, partant, de revendiquer le retour de tous les territoires marocains sous domination étrangère. Depuis cette date, le Gouvernement marocain n'a cessé d'exposer à l'ONU ses légitimes revendications concernant Ifni, Sakiet el Hamra et le Rfo de Oro. Ce gouvernement croit fermement à la vertu des solutions négociées et pacifiques et a toujours cherché en conséquence à résoudre ses problèmes territoriaux dans un esprit de coopération amicale et constructive. Tout en poursuivant des pourparlers sur le plan bilatéral, il s'est tourné vers l'ONU avec la ferme conviction que l'attitude dynamique de l'Organisation au sujet des questions coloniales contribuerait au règlement de la question d'Ifni et du Sahara.

33. Le Ministre des affaires étrangères du Maroc a déclaré au cours de la discussion générale de l'Assemblée, à sa 1585ème séance plénière, le 10 octobre 1967, que le Roi du Maroc et le chef de l'Etat espagnol, conscients des liens qui existent entre les deux peuples et des relations traditionnelles qui unissent les deux pays et tenant compte d'autre part des dispositions de la résolution 2229 (XXI) de l'Assemblée générale, avaient entamé des négociations sur le problème d'Ifni et du Sahara. M. Nacer a également déclaré qu'un accord de principe venait d'être conclu sur l'application pratique de la résolution concernant Ifni.

34. A la 552ème séance du Comité spécial, le 6 septembre 1967, le représentant de l'Espagne a manifesté son optimisme quant aux résultats du dialogue sincère qui se poursuivait entre l'Espagne et le Maroc à propos d'Ifni. S'agissant du Sahara, le représentant de l'Espagne a réaffirmé que le respect de la volonté des habitants constituait la base essentielle de la politique de son pays dans cette région et que, pour faciliter l'évolution politique du Sahara, le Gouvernement espagnol avait créé une assemblée générale du Sahara espagnol en tant qu'organe représentatif du territoire. A la 559ème séance, le 13 septembre,

le chef de la délégation marocaine a exprimé sa satisfaction devant l'attitude de l'Espagne à propos de cette question. Il a dit à nouveau la confiance que le Maroc mettait dans la Puissance administrante et a exprimé l'espoir que les deux pays pourraient résoudre à l'amiable les problèmes demeurant en suspens. Il a également dit que le Maroc avait cherché par tous les moyens possibles à obtenir la restitution de ce territoire et exprimé à maintes reprises son désir de voir le problème résolu dans le même esprit de compréhension que celui qui avait permis au Maroc et à l'Espagne de résoudre par le passé un certain nombre de problèmes, mais que, comme le dialogue n'avait pas permis d'arriver à des conclusions satisfaisantes, le Maroc avait été obligé de rechercher d'autres solutions.

35. Depuis 11 ans, le Maroc a cherché à résoudre les problèmes que pose le retour de ses territoires avec la France, l'Espagne ou tout autre pays intéressé. Le désir de parvenir à une solution par l'intermédiaire de la discussion, de la compréhension mutuelle et du respect mutuel des intérêts a guidé le Maroc dans ses pourparlers avec l'Espagne et lui a permis de résoudre de nombreux problèmes.

36. La méthode envisagée par la Puissance administrante pour la décolonisation du Sahara est différente de celle qui est prévue dans le cas d'Ifni, mais cela ne signifie pas que le statut juridique des deux territoires cesse d'être similaire et ne saurait non plus constituer un fait opposable à l'intégrité territoriale du Maroc. Il est regrettable que la Puissance administrante n'ait pas estimé que les entretiens bilatéraux, qui ont été couronnés de succès en ce qui concerne la zone septentrionale et la province de Tarfaya et qui s'annoncent prometteurs pour la solution du problème d'Ifni, pouvaient se poursuivre dans le cas du Sahara. Le Gouvernement marocain continue à penser que la reconnaissance du droit à l'autodétermination de la population du Sahara dit espagnol accélérerait le processus de décolonisation dans ce territoire. L'application des résolutions 2072 (XX) et 2229 (XXI) serait une mesure utile en ce sens.

37. La délégation marocaine estime qu'une consultation populaire entreprise sous les auspices des Nations Unies constituerait le meilleur moyen de déterminer la volonté de la population, étant donné que les entretiens avec l'Espagne n'ont encore pas produit de résultat. La délégation marocaine est disposée à étudier toute conception constructive tendant à permettre la décolonisation des territoires d'Ifni et du Sahara dit espagnol.

38. M. DE PINIES (Espagne) déclare qu'il lui est agréable de faire savoir à la Commission que les entretiens entre l'Espagne et le Maroc à propos de la décolonisation d'Ifni se poursuivent à l'échelon le plus élevé. L'Organisation des Nations Unies sera tenue au courant des progrès accomplis.

39. Au Sahara, le Gouvernement espagnol est désireux d'appuyer le droit de la population à l'autodétermination. Afin de l'aider à exercer ce droit, il a créé une assemblée générale, qui est un organe représentatif devant permettre à la population d'envisager l'avenir avec les meilleures garanties de stabi-

lité et l'assurance qu'elle sera représentée de manière appropriée.

40. Le fait que l'Espagne a pris des mesures spéciales pour accélérer la décolonisation de la Guinée équatoriale et d'Iní ne signifie pas qu'elle considère que la décolonisation du Sahara grâce à l'application du principe de l'autodétermination à sa population n'est pas tout aussi importante. L'invitation faite par le Gouvernement espagnol à l'Organisation des Nations Unies pour qu'elle envoie au Sahara une mission chargée d'étudier la situation dans ce territoire demeure toujours valable.

41. En ce qui concerne la Guinée équatoriale, M. de Piniés rappelle qu'il a dit devant la Commission, à la 1750^{ème} séance, que le Gouvernement espagnol a l'intention d'organiser un référendum au début de 1968; la population du territoire pourra ainsi se prononcer sur la position adoptée à la récente conférence constitutionnelle par ses représentants, qui ont demandé l'indépendance pour le 15 juillet 1968 au plus tard. S'ils appuient cette demande, le Gouvernement espagnol accordera l'indépendance au territoire conformément à la promesse solennelle faite par le chef de l'Etat espagnol. La position du Gouvernement espagnol est donc entièrement conforme aux principes directeurs formulés par l'ONU pour ce qui est du processus de décolonisation.

42. A la vingtième session de l'Assemblée générale, la délégation espagnole avait proposé d'organiser une conférence constitutionnelle au cours de laquelle devaient être élaborées les institutions politiques propres à faire en sorte que la Guinée équatoriale puisse accéder à l'indépendance sans qu'il soit fait obstacle à ses volontés. Par suite de certaines difficultés, il n'a pas été possible de réunir la Conférence en mai 1967 comme on l'avait prévu. Le 12 septembre 1967, le Comité spécial a adopté une résolution (A/6700/Rev.1, chap. VIII, par. 87) demandant à l'Espagne de réunir d'urgence cette conférence. Le Gouvernement espagnol s'est conformé à cette demande et a accepté que la Conférence commence ses travaux le 30 octobre. Les participants représentaient tous les mouvements d'opinion du territoire. A la séance d'ouverture, le Ministre des affaires étrangères de l'Espagne a clairement indiqué que le but principal de la Conférence était d'arriver à des conclusions qui, après que le Gouvernement espagnol les aurait étudiées, pourraient être soumises à la population de la Guinée équatoriale, sous forme de référendum. Les représentants de la population de la Guinée équatoriale à la Conférence constitutionnelle ont fait connaître leurs vœux; le Gouvernement espagnol souhaite que ce soit maintenant la population elle-même qui confirme ces vœux à l'occasion d'une consultation populaire qui serait organisée conformément au principe "à chacun une voix".

43. En ce qui concerne les îles Malvinas, M. de Piniés déclare que ce territoire devrait être restitué au Gouvernement argentin. La seule manière de réparer le tort causé à ce gouvernement est d'appliquer les dispositions du paragraphe 6 de la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale. Il faut qu'un dialogue sincère s'engage sur cette question et que les in-

térêts de la population du territoire soient pris en considération.

M. Braithwaite (Guyane), vice-président, prend la présidence.

44. M. OULD DADDAH (Mauritanie) déclare que sa délégation se réserve le droit de prendre à nouveau la parole sur la question du Sahara dit espagnol.

45. M. SHAW (Royaume-Uni) déclare que sa délégation se réserve le droit de revenir sur la question des îles Falkland, mais qu'elle tient à préciser très clairement à ce stade que le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni rejette l'allégation selon laquelle ce territoire a été usurpé.

46. M. KANNANGARA (Ceylan) rappelle que sa délégation est un des auteurs du projet de résolution A/C.4/L.884 sur la question de Gibraltar, projet qui a pour but de permettre la reprise des négociations, à brève échéance, entre la Puissance administrante et l'Espagne, de manière à garantir la décolonisation de la population de Gibraltar dans les meilleurs délais. On sait que la situation à Gibraltar a fait l'objet de débats plutôt acrimonieux à la Commission; or, les auteurs estiment que, si en outre la Commission devait se prononcer de manière inflexible et définitive entre les deux positions extrêmes qui sont en présence, la possibilité de reprendre les négociations ou celle de les voir aboutir rapidement à des résultats satisfaisants disparaîtraient certainement, quelle que soit la résolution qui obtiendrait la majorité à la Commission. Aussi espèrent-ils que les représentants de l'Espagne et du Royaume-Uni comprendront que le projet de résolution représente un effort, de la part de pays amis qui ont la plus grande estime pour les peuples et les Gouvernements du Royaume-Uni et de l'Espagne, en vue de mettre fin au différend qui les oppose et d'aboutir à une solution amiable permanente, qui soit pleinement conforme aux véritables intérêts de la population de Gibraltar. Ces véritables intérêts, pour ce qui est de la formule d'association sur laquelle la population de Gibraltar ferait porter son choix à l'avenir, ne pourraient être déterminés que par cette population elle-même, sans que la Puissance administrante ou le Gouvernement espagnol puissent exercer aucune sorte de pression.

47. Dans la trame sacrée de la Charte des Nations Unies et des résolutions de l'Organisation relatives à la décolonisation, brille en quelque sorte un fil d'or qui représente le grand principe du droit des peuples coloniaux à l'autodétermination. Ce principe a été reconnu dans la Charte et dans les décisions successives de l'Organisation des Nations Unies en termes si forts et de manière si définitive que tous les sophismes et toutes les subtilités dictés par les exigences particulières de telle ou telle situation coloniale ne sauraient faire passer à l'arrière-plan ou faire négliger le droit d'un peuple à la libre détermination. Depuis quelques jours les membres de la Commission assistent, non sans appréhension, à une tentative visant à faire accepter par celle-ci une proposition qui violerait un principe considéré comme inviolable par la Commission elle-même.

48. La question dont la Commission est saisie est suffisamment importante pour justifier un bref rappel

des propositions pertinentes de la Charte et des résolutions prises ultérieurement par l'ONU en ce qui concerne la décolonisation. Le Chapitre XI de la Charte, et en particulier l'Article 73, expose la raison d'être de la décolonisation, sur laquelle toutes les résolutions de l'Assemblée générale sur cette question ont été fondées. Le principe de la primauté des intérêts des habitants des territoires non autonomes y est posé en termes clairs et catégoriques. A sa première session, le 9 février 1946, l'Assemblée générale, consciente des problèmes et des aspirations politiques des populations qui ne s'administraient pas encore complètement elles-mêmes, a jugé utile, dans sa résolution 9 (I), d'appeler expressément l'attention des Etats Membres sur ce qui suit:

"Par le Chapitre XI, tous les Membres des Nations Unies qui ont ou assument la responsabilité d'administrer des territoires dont les populations ne s'administrent pas encore complètement elles-mêmes, reconnaissent le principe de la primauté des intérêts des habitants de ces territoires. Ils acceptent, comme une tâche sacrée, l'obligation de développer le plus possible le bien-être des habitants de ces territoires. A cet effet, ils acceptent également certaines obligations particulières, y compris l'obligation de développer la capacité des peuples dont il s'agit à s'administrer eux-mêmes et de les aider dans le développement progressif de leurs institutions politiques."

49. Le 12 décembre 1959, l'Assemblée générale, par sa résolution 1467 (XIV), a décidé de créer un comité spécial composé de six membres et chargé d'étudier les principes qui devaient guider les Etats Membres pour déterminer si l'obligation prévue à l'Article 73 de la Charte leur était applicable ou non. Dans la subdivision B de la section V de son rapport^{3/}, le Comité spécial des Six a adopté 12 principes fondamentaux qui ont été entérinés par l'Assemblée générale dans sa résolution 1541 (XV). M. Kannangara tient à citer les principes VI et VII, qui non seulement illustrent les principes sur lesquels il veut lui-même mettre l'accent, mais sont de plus rédigés en termes catégoriques. Selon le principe VI, on peut dire qu'un territoire non autonome a atteint la pleine autonomie: "a) Quand il est devenu Etat indépendant et souverain; b) Quand il s'est librement associé à un Etat indépendant; ou c) Quand il s'est intégré à un Etat indépendant". Quant au principe VII, il stipule que:

"a) La libre association doit résulter d'un choix libre et volontaire des populations du territoire en question, exprimé selon des méthodes démocratiques et largement diffusées. Elle doit respecter l'individualité et les caractéristiques culturelles du territoire et de ses populations, et conserver aux populations du territoire qui s'associe à un Etat indépendant la liberté de modifier le statut de ce territoire en exprimant leur volonté par des moyens démocratiques et selon des méthodes constitutionnelles;

"b) Le territoire associé doit avoir le droit de déterminer sa constitution intérieure, sans ingérence extérieure, conformément aux méthodes

constitutionnelles régulières et aux vœux librement exprimés de ses populations. Cela n'exclut pas les consultations que pourraient appeler ou exiger les clauses de la libre association."

50. Le 14 décembre 1960, l'Assemblée générale a adopté la résolution 1514 (XV) que l'on considère comme la grande charte de la décolonisation. Le troisième alinéa du préambule de cette résolution reconnaît "le désir passionné de liberté de tous les peuples dépendants et le rôle décisif de ces peuples dans leur accession à l'indépendance". Le paragraphe 2 prévoit que "tous les peuples ont le droit de libre détermination" et que, "en vertu de ce droit, ils déterminent librement leur statut politique et poursuivent librement leur développement économique, social et culturel". Ces termes sont lourds de signification, et la Quatrième Commission ne doit jamais permettre qu'on les relègue dans l'oubli. Le paragraphe 4, qui découle logiquement du paragraphe 2, où l'accent est mis particulièrement sur la liberté, se lit comme suit: "Il sera mis fin à toute action armée et à toutes mesures de répression, de quelque sorte qu'elles soient, dirigées contre les peuples dépendants, pour permettre à ces peuples d'exercer pacifiquement et librement leur droit à l'indépendance complète, et l'intégrité de leur territoire national sera respectée."

51. Le sens de ces dispositions ne saurait être plus clair, mais il convient de le rappeler, car on l'a parfois oublié dans l'ardeur des discussions. Il était opportun de rappeler ces dispositions dans le consensus que le Comité spécial a adopté sur Gibraltar à sa 291ème séance, le 16 octobre 1964^{4/}, et le Comité a donc affirmé que "les dispositions de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et peuples coloniaux s'appliquent intégralement au territoire de Gibraltar". Le Comité prenait ensuite note, dans ce consensus, du différend opposant le Royaume-Uni et l'Espagne au sujet de Gibraltar, mais, de l'avis de la délégation ceylanaise, reconnaître qu'il existe un différend ne saurait être interprété comme signifiant que les dispositions de la résolution 1514 (XV) doivent passer au second plan. La Quatrième Commission ne saurait considérer que le fait de reconnaître la nécessité, pour le Royaume-Uni et l'Espagne, d'engager des négociations sur la question de Gibraltar signifie que le droit des habitants de Gibraltar à l'indépendance souveraine est de ceux qui peuvent se marchander. Les arguments pour ou contre la restitution et le transfert des territoires d'une puissance à l'autre ont leur origine dans un obscur passé colonial, placé sous le signe de divers traités signifiant la guerre ou la paix: ils sont sans rapport avec les questions dont s'occupe la Quatrième Commission, et en tous cas sans valeur pour elle.

52. Pour la délégation ceylanaise, les dispositions susmentionnées constituent une clause de sauvegarde visant à faire en sorte que, lorsqu'un peuple assujéti est décolonisé, il ne soit jamais remis à une autre puissance coloniale, à moins qu'il n'en décide ainsi expressément. Toujours selon cette délégation, il appartient à la Quatrième Commission — sauf accord

^{3/} Ibid., quinzième session, Annexes, point 38 de l'ordre du jour, document A/4526.

^{4/} Ibid., dix-neuvième session, Annexes, annexe No 8 (1ère partie), document A/5800/Rev. I, chap. X, par. 209.

exprès des populations appelées à bénéficier de la décolonisation — de veiller à ce que la décolonisation entreprise en vertu des résolutions pertinentes de l'Assemblée générale ne serve jamais de prétexte au transfert ou à la restitution de territoires cédés par des accords intervenus entre d'anciennes puissances coloniales, ceci indépendamment de la question de savoir si ces transferts ont été ou non approuvés par la communauté internationale au moment de la session. Les intérêts de la population doivent toujours l'emporter.

53. Etant donné ces circonstances et ces raisons de force majeure, la délégation ceylanaise se voit contrainte à regret de s'élever contre la revendication formulée par le représentant de l'Espagne à la 1743ème séance de la Commission. La délégation ceylanaise s'élève en particulier contre la déclaration ci-après du représentant de l'Espagne:

"En effet, les Nations Unies, dans la résolution 2070 (XX), qui confirme le consensus adopté par le Comité spécial le 16 octobre 1964, manifestaient leur désir de voir la décolonisation de Gibraltar se faire selon une formule négociée entre l'Espagne et le Royaume-Uni, formule qui serait conforme aux dispositions de la résolution 1514 (XV) et qui tiendrait compte des intérêts des habitants de Gibraltar. La résolution 2231 (XXI) reprenait le même thème en le précisant; ce texte insiste en effet sur la nécessité de décoloniser Gibraltar, déplore les difficultés élevées par le Royaume-Uni au sujet des négociations recommandées par les Nations Unies et, en invitant l'Espagne et le Royaume-Uni à prendre en considération les intérêts des habitants de Gibraltar, exclut la possibilité d'appliquer à ces habitants le principe de l'autodétermination, ce que faisait déjà le consensus adopté par le Comité spécial en 1964 et confirmé par la résolution 2070 (XX) déjà mentionnée.

"... L'un [de ces principes], le principe de l'autodétermination, énoncé au paragraphe 2 [de la résolution 1514 (XV)] et complété dans les paragraphes 3, 4 et 5 de cette même résolution, a déjà été jugé par les Nations Unies, à juste titre, comme ne s'appliquant pas au cas concret de Gibraltar. Il est évident que seul le paragraphe 6, complété par le paragraphe 7 de la résolution 1514 (XV), offre la base d'une solution au problème de Gibraltar."

54. La position du représentant de l'Espagne est celle-ci: les habitants de Gibraltar ne peuvent pas avoir recours au droit à l'autodétermination. Il affirme que l'Assemblée générale et le Comité spécial se sont mis d'accord ou sont de connivence pour refuser l'exercice d'un droit fondamental et que, pour s'en tenir au sens et à la portée des résolutions 1514 (XV), 2070 (XX) et 2231 (XXI) de l'Assemblée générale, le Royaume-Uni doit engager des négociations avec l'Espagne en vue de remettre les habitants de Gibraltar à la juridiction de celle-ci, même si cela doit se faire contre leur volonté expresse. La délégation ceylanaise juge absolument inacceptable chacune des propositions qui figurent dans cette partie de l'argument de l'Espagne.

55. La délégation ceylanaise ne trouve pas dans les résolutions de l'Assemblée générale déjà men-

tionnées la moindre preuve à l'appui de l'interprétation selon laquelle l'Assemblée entendrait refuser à la population de Gibraltar l'exercice d'un droit fondamental qu'elle a toujours accordé à tous les peuples décolonisés. L'examen des comptes rendus des débats du Comité spécial montre que la décision du Comité a été prise à la suite d'une plainte formulée par l'Espagne selon laquelle le Royaume-Uni avait, contrairement à la ligne de conduite définie par l'Assemblée, annulé des entretiens qui devaient avoir lieu avec l'Espagne à une date déjà fixée et organisé unilatéralement un référendum déloyal. Le Comité spécial a donc suivi la méthode qui, vu les circonstances, lui semblait être la plus pratique pour ramener les parties à la table de conférence.

56. Les déclarations faites par le représentant du Sierra Leone (A/6700/Rev.1, chap. X, par. 197 à 201), par le représentant de la République-Unie de Tanzanie (*ibid.*, par. 202) et par le représentant du Mali (*ibid.*, par. 183) brossent de la situation un tableau extrêmement clair.

57. Le représentant du Sierra Leone a en effet déclaré que, si sa délégation avait proposé l'amendement qui avait conduit à insérer au paragraphe 2 du dispositif de la résolution 2231 (XXI) les mots "en prenant en considération les intérêts des habitants du territoire", c'était parce qu'elle estimait que la question de Gibraltar ne pouvait être réglée par de simples négociations entre le Royaume-Uni et l'Espagne. Il n'était pas douteux que les habitants d'un territoire quelconque pouvaient être consultés sur leurs intérêts par voie de référendum; dans le cas particulier de Gibraltar, la question était de savoir si la Puissance administrante aurait d'abord dû consulter l'Espagne. Pour ce qui était du paragraphe 6 de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, la délégation du Sierra Leone estimait que cette disposition, à l'instar de la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale dans son ensemble, intéressait spécifiquement les territoires non autonomes; en conséquence, lorsque l'Espagne affirmait qu'il y avait eu atteinte à son intégrité territoriale, sa plainte n'était pas recevable et ne pouvait être examinée par le Comité, qui n'était compétent qu'en matière coloniale.

58. La délégation ceylanaise fait entièrement sienne cette opinion du représentant du Sierra Leone.

59. Le représentant de la République-Unie de Tanzanie, de son côté, avait déclaré que, tout en appuyant en principe le projet de résolution commun, sa délégation avait quelques réserves à faire à propos notamment du cinquième alinéa du préambule. Son interprétation du paragraphe 6 de la Déclaration différerait en effet très sensiblement de celles des auteurs du projet de résolution sur la question de l'application de ce paragraphe à Gibraltar. A son avis, en effet, le paragraphe 6 ne s'appliquait qu'aux territoires coloniaux: le lier à la question de la souveraineté d'Etats indépendants aurait des conséquences incalculables. La délégation tanzanienne, avait ajouté le représentant de ce pays, voterait pour l'ensemble du projet de résolution, mais en maintenant ses réserves en ce qui concernait le cinquième alinéa du préambule.

60. Quant au représentant du Mali, il avait déclaré que, tout en souscrivant sans réserve aux arguments du représentant du Royaume-Uni concernant la décolonisation et le droit à l'autodétermination, il tenait à préciser la position de sa délégation sur certains points.

61. Ces déclarations faites par trois avocats de la cause des peuples coloniaux opprimés montrent on ne peut plus clairement que le paragraphe 6 de la résolution 1514 (XV) ne concerne que les territoires coloniaux, et contribuent à éclaircir le véritable sens de ce paragraphe.

62. Selon le représentant de l'Espagne, le paragraphe 6 de la résolution 1514 (XV) est le seul paragraphe qui s'applique à la situation de Gibraltar. Il semble inconcevable à la délégation ceylanaise que les diplomates expérimentés du Comité spécial aient été amenés à conclure que le paragraphe 6 de la résolution 1514 (XV) se prête en quelque façon à l'interprétation que le représentant de l'Espagne cherche à lui donner. La délégation ceylanaise ne pense pas que le Comité spécial ait eu l'intention, dans le cas de Gibraltar, de faire abstraction en quoi que ce soit du principe de l'autodétermination. En outre, la délégation ceylanaise estime que, si le Comité avait agi ainsi, il aurait manifestement outre-passé le mandat que lui a confié l'Assemblée générale et il mériterait le blâme de la Quatrième Commission.

63. La lecture des comptes rendus des débats du Comité spécial, tels qu'ils sont reproduits au paragraphe 94 de son rapport (A/6700/Rev.1, chap. X), permet de comprendre exactement la raison d'être du cinquième alinéa du préambule de la résolution du Comité spécial. On peut lire en effet ce qui suit au paragraphe 94:

"Le représentant de l'Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques aimerait savoir s'il est vrai, comme l'indiquent certains articles de presse, que le Gouvernement espagnol est prêt à régler la question de Gibraltar sur la base suivante: le Royaume-Uni reconnaîtrait la souveraineté espagnole sur Gibraltar et l'Espagne accepterait la présence d'une base britannique à Gibraltar."

64. La délégation ceylanaise pense que si le Comité spécial a conservé le cinquième alinéa du préambule de sa résolution c'est parce qu'il était peut-être à craindre que l'Espagne et le Royaume-Uni, au cours de leurs négociations — qui avaient été approuvées par l'Assemblée générale —, ne concluent entre elles un "marché" en vertu duquel l'Espagne exercerait sa souveraineté sur Gibraltar tout en laissant au Royaume-Uni la possibilité de conserver sa base, formule qui serait contraire à l'esprit de la décolonisation telle qu'elle a été menée sous l'égide de l'Organisation des Nations Unies. L'adoption du texte de cet alinéa du préambule devait obvier à cette éventualité et permettre de réaffirmer le principe cardinal de l'autodétermination et le caractère souverain que revêtent les volontés des populations d'un territoire colonial.

65. La délégation ceylanaise souligne que le principe de l'autodétermination est inviolable, mais non pas uniquement parce qu'il est énoncé dans la Charte des Nations Unies. C'est un principe de la plus grande

importance pour l'humanité chaque fois que sa conscience est troublée par le problème de la libération d'un peuple colonial. M. Kannangara lance un appel aux petits pays représentés à la Commission pour les inviter instamment à réaffirmer unanimement ce principe en rejetant l'interprétation du représentant de l'Espagne. Il lance également un appel aux grandes puissances et en particulier aux deux superpuissances, l'Union soviétique et les Etats-Unis. L'amitié et la coopération de ces deux grands et nobles peuples, pendant et après la seconde guerre mondiale, sont à l'origine de la fondation de l'Organisation des Nations Unies. L'appui qu'ils accordent aux institutions de l'ONU, en dépit de divergences de vues sur de nombreuses questions, permet à l'Organisation de poursuivre son œuvre vigoureuse et active en faveur de la paix. M. Kannangara leur demande instamment de ne pas permettre, par leur réserve, que le principe de la libre détermination soit bafoué ou tenu à l'écart par un vote de la Commission. Au nom de tous les petits pays du monde, M. Kannangara leur demande leur aide pour que ce principe soit réaffirmé ainsi que l'obligation qu'il entraîne.

66. En résumé, les auteurs du projet de résolution A/C.4/L.884 demandent à la Commission, premièrement, d'inviter instamment les Gouvernements du Royaume-Uni et de l'Espagne à reprendre leurs négociations et à mettre ainsi un terme à la situation coloniale de Gibraltar; deuxièmement, de les prier de tenir compte, dans leurs consultations, des intérêts des habitants de Gibraltar; et troisièmement, de les inviter solennellement à faire en sorte que les intérêts des habitants de Gibraltar, dans la mesure où ils sont liés à l'avenir du territoire en tant que territoire indépendant et autonome, ne fassent l'objet d'aucune décision qui soit contraire aux volontés librement exprimées de ces habitants.

67. La délégation ceylanaise ne demande pas que la Commission reconnaisse ou conteste la validité du référendum qui a déjà eu lieu. Elle a pris note des arguments avancés par les deux parties à cet égard. Bien que M. Kannangara s'élève contre toute accusation de partialité implicitement ou explicitement dirigée contre ses collègues du Commonwealth — Kenya, Nouvelle-Zélande et Pakistan — qui ont assisté au référendum en qualité d'observateurs, il estime qu'il serait oiseux de débattre cette question.

68. L'Espagne et le Royaume-Uni ont été invités à reprendre leurs entretiens et c'est à ces deux puissances de faire en sorte que ces entretiens soient possibles et fructueux. La délégation ceylanaise a passé en revue et réaffirmé les principes absolument essentiels qui régissent la décolonisation et ne pense pas que l'Espagne et le Royaume-Uni n'en tiendront aucun compte. L'Organisation ne les autorise pas à le faire.

69. En conclusion, M. Kannangara déclare que sa délégation voudrait, par la voie d'un consensus, faire en sorte que le différend entre le Royaume-Uni et l'Espagne cesse d'être publiquement débattu, et que l'Assemblée invite les parties à agir d'urgence pour mettre un terme au différend concernant leurs revendications territoriales, les questions douanières,

l'espace aérien, etc., ainsi qu'à rendre rapidement effective la décolonisation des habitants de Gibraltar.

70. M. DE PINIES (Espagne), prenant la parole en vertu du droit de réponse, déclare que l'argument qu'il a utilisé à propos du paragraphe 6 du dispositif de la résolution 1514 (XV) ne doit pas lui être attribué. Les documents de l'Assemblée générale montrent qu'au moment de l'adoption de cette résolution le même argument a été invoqué par un certain nombre d'autres délégations. Gibraltar est un territoire colonial, une base militaire sur le sol espagnol, et il doit être décolonisé.

71. M. NKAMA (Zambie), prenant la parole au sujet de la procédure, déclare qu'à son avis le Président devrait, pour accélérer les travaux de la Commission, donner d'abord la parole aux représentants inscrits sur la liste des orateurs devant participer au débat général et laisser ensuite les délégations exercer leur droit de réponse si elles le désirent.

72. M. McCOMIE (Barbade) propose que la déclaration du représentant de Ceylan figure intégralement dans le compte rendu de la séance.

73. M. AL-RACHACH (Arabie Saoudite) se déclare opposé à l'adoption de cette proposition; le représentant de Ceylan aurait fait une déclaration bien différente si l'enclave en question s'était trouvée sur le sol de son propre pays.

74. M. BARNETT (Jamaïque) appuie la proposition du représentant de la Barbade.

75. MM. DEBRAH (Ghana) et GATUGUTA (Kenya) estiment que, puisque la Commission s'est précédemment montrée accommodante lorsqu'il s'est agi de faire figurer des déclarations intégrales, il serait logique d'adopter la proposition du représentant de la Barbade.

76. M. KANNANGARA (Ceylan), répondant au représentant de l'Arabie Saoudite, déclare que Ceylan a, en fait, reconnu le principe de l'autodétermination dans le cas des îles Maldives, sur lesquelles il aurait pu faire valoir des droits.

77. M. EL HADI (Soudan) demande au représentant de l'Arabie Saoudite de ne pas maintenir ses objections.

78. M. AL-RACHACH (Arabie Saoudite) déclare qu'il accédera à la demande du représentant du Soudan, mais qu'il reviendra ultérieurement sur les raisons pour lesquelles il s'est déclaré contre la proposition de la Barbade.

79. Le PRÉSIDENT déclare que, s'il n'y a pas d'objection, la proposition de la Barbade sera adoptée.

80. M. CHTOUROU (Tunisie) déclare qu'il ne veut faire aucune objection formelle à l'égard de cette proposition, mais qu'à son avis des propositions de ce genre peuvent constituer de dangereux précédents et entraîner de lourdes charges financières pour l'Organisation.

La proposition de la Barbade est adoptée.

81. M. SLOWIKOWSKI (Pologne) dit que, tout en soutenant fermement la lutte des peuples de tous les territoires, notamment du Souaziland, de la Guinée équatoriale, de la Côte française des Somalis et

des Antilles, pour l'autodétermination et l'indépendance, la délégation polonaise souhaite se pencher plus particulièrement sur le problème des petits territoires. Récemment, cette question a retenu plus spécialement l'attention de la Commission, ceci à juste titre. En effet, quelles que soient les conditions particulières qui existent dans ces territoires, leurs habitants n'en ont pas moins le droit inaliénable de décider de leur avenir, avec une entière liberté et en pleine connaissance de leurs droits, au même titre que les habitants des grands territoires, et les griefs des populations des petits territoires sous domination coloniale sont aussi sérieux que ceux des populations plus nombreuses. C'est précisément en raison des facteurs particuliers aux petits territoires insulaires, tels que l'éloignement, le faible niveau de développement économique, les communications peu fréquentes avec le monde extérieur et le fait qu'ils sont à l'écart des pressions de l'opinion publique mondiale, qu'ils doivent recevoir une attention toute particulière et qu'un ensemble de principes de base doit être élaboré pour résoudre le problème, conformément à la Charte et à la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée.

82. Certains grands territoires, notamment dans le sud de l'Afrique, sont considérés comme importants par les forces colonialistes pour des raisons essentiellement économiques. L'importance des petits territoires, par contre, vient du rôle qu'ils assument dans la stratégie militaire d'ensemble des puissances coloniales. La tendance croissante des puissances administrantes à utiliser les petits territoires pour y établir des bases et des installations militaires, dans le but d'encercler le globe tout entier, constitue une menace, non seulement à la sécurité et à l'intégrité territoriales des pays qui ont récemment accédé à l'indépendance, mais à la paix et à la sécurité internationales. Certaines de ces bases ont déjà été utilisées dans des buts d'agression contre d'autres nations, notamment l'île de l'Ascension, qui a servi de base à des attaques contre la République démocratique du Congo, et l'île de Guam, utilisée pour des interventions militaires au Viet-Nam. La militarisation des territoires non autonomes par les puissances administrantes est contraire à l'esprit de la Charte et aux dispositions des résolutions de l'Assemblée générale, notamment de la résolution 2189 (XXI), aux termes de laquelle l'Assemblée générale, au paragraphe 11 du dispositif, prie les puissances coloniales de démanteler leurs bases et installations militaires dans les territoires coloniaux, ainsi que de s'abstenir d'en établir de nouvelles, et de la résolution 2232 (XXI), en vertu de laquelle l'Assemblée, au paragraphe 4 du dispositif, réitère que l'établissement de bases militaires dans les territoires est incompatible avec la Charte et la résolution 1514 (XV). L'île de Guam, à laquelle ces deux résolutions sont applicables, a été transformée par le Gouvernement des États-Unis en une forteresse militaire utilisée à des fins d'agression contre le Viet-Nam. Le 22 mars 1967, le *New York Times* a signalé que l'économie de Guam était maintenant centrée essentiellement autour des installations navales et aériennes situées dans le territoire, qui servent de base à 6 sous-marins Polaris et à plus de 50 bombardiers B-52.

83. La résolution 2232 (XXI) réitère également que toute tentative visant à détruire partiellement ou tota-

lement l'unité nationale des territoires coloniaux est incompatible avec la Charte et la résolution 1514 (XV). Presque aussitôt après l'adoption de cette résolution, en décembre 1966, les Gouvernements du Royaume-Uni et des Etats-Unis ont échangé les dernières communications touchant leur utilisation commune de ce qu'on appelle le "territoire britannique de l'océan Indien". Le même jour, un autre accord a été conclu au sujet de l'utilisation d'une partie des îles Seychelles. La portée réelle de ces accords est révélée par un article paru dans l'*Economist* du 11 novembre 1967, intitulé "The Case for Aldabra", qui signale que des avions de transport de troupes peuvent faire le trajet du Royaume-Uni à Aldabra — dans le territoire britannique de l'océan Indien — en faisant escale à la base américaine de l'île de l'Ascension et que, à partir d'Aldabra, ils peuvent voler dans toutes les directions. L'article mentionne par ailleurs qu'Aldabra peut également être utilisée comme base pour des forces aériennes de choc servant à appuyer l'infanterie dans des opérations en Afrique centrale et orientale. Les Nations Unies sont en droit de réclamer aux puissances administrantes des explications nettes en ce qui concerne leurs politiques touchant le démembrement des territoires non autonomes et leur utilisation de ces territoires pour l'établissement de bases militaires.

84. La militarisation des territoires non autonomes porte également atteinte à l'évolution de ceux-ci vers l'émancipation politique. Après l'établissement d'une base sur un territoire quel qu'il soit, son économie est subordonnée aux besoins de la base, et l'équilibre harmonieux de son développement économique futur est compromis. Par ailleurs, la population se trouve en première ligne en cas de conflit, sans disposer d'aucune possibilité de choix. L'Assemblée générale doit condamner les politiques pratiquées par les puissances administrantes et réitérer la demande adressée à ces puissances au paragraphe 4 du dispositif de la résolution 2232 (XXI). En outre, le Comité spécial doit continuer à étudier les activités et arrangements militaires des puissances coloniales dans les territoires non autonomes, qui font obstacle à l'application de la résolution 1514 (XV), et présenter ses conclusions à l'Assemblée générale, à sa prochaine session.

85. Les puissances administrantes, en refusant de permettre aux missions de visite de se rendre dans les territoires, ont empêché les Nations Unies de contribuer d'une façon plus efficace aux progrès de la décolonisation dans les petits territoires. L'Assemblée doit à nouveau demander instamment à ces puissances d'accueillir les missions de visite. Malgré les nombreuses résolutions de l'Assemblée, les puissances administrantes cherchent encore à perpétuer leur domination coloniale. La délégation polonaise estime que le moment est venu de demander aux puissances coloniales de soumettre des plans et des dates pour la mise en route du processus d'autodétermination dans les différents territoires. Les intérêts des populations des petits territoires ont été longtemps négligés, et les Nations Unies ne devraient ménager aucun effort pour les aider à obtenir leur indépendance.

86. M. AL-RACHACH (Arabie Saoudite) dit que sa délégation s'inquiète de la situation qui règne dans

la Côte française des Somalis et déplore que la Puissance administrante ait ignoré la demande formulée par l'Assemblée générale au paragraphe 4 du dispositif de la résolution 2228 (XXI), aux termes duquel elle aurait dû prendre les mesures nécessaires en vue d'une présence de l'Organisation des Nations Unies dans le territoire avant le référendum et au cours de celui-ci. Par ailleurs, le Gouvernement français n'a pas créé le climat politique voulu pour un référendum organisé sur une base entièrement libre et démocratique, comme il en était prié au paragraphe 3 du dispositif. Le référendum a été organisé dans des conditions telles que les résultats obtenus sont extrêmement contestables, notamment du fait que le droit de vote a été refusé à un grand nombre de personnes qui auraient dû normalement avoir accès aux urnes.

87. La délégation de l'Arabie Saoudite déplore également la politique poursuivie par la Puissance administrante depuis le référendum. Le nouveau statut n'a pas amélioré le sort de la population. La situation anormale qui règne dans le territoire est mise en relief par le rapport du Comité spécial (A/6700/Rev.1, chap. XII). Il est également regrettable que les représentants de la Puissance administrante n'aient pas jugé bon d'assister aux réunions du Comité spécial où la question de la Côte française des Somalis a été discutée et qu'ils se soient également abstenus de participer à la séance en cours.

88. L'Assemblée générale doit réaffirmer le droit inaliénable de la population de la Côte française des Somalis à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance et prier le Comité spécial de poursuivre ses efforts en vue de hâter la décolonisation du territoire; elle doit en outre demander instamment à la Puissance administrante d'accorder sans retard l'indépendance au territoire. M. Al-Rachach espère que le Gouvernement français réglera le problème en s'appuyant sur les principes de justice et de liberté qui ont inspiré la Révolution française et qui sont reflétés dans la politique que la France a suivie envers la plupart de ses anciennes colonies.

89. En ce qui concerne Gibraltar, M. Al-Rachach, en réponse aux remarques formulées par le représentant de Ceylan au début de la séance, dit qu'on ne peut pas mettre en parallèle le cas des îles Maldives et celui de Gibraltar. En effet, les habitants des îles Maldives vivent sur leur propre territoire, tandis que, dans le cas de Gibraltar, la situation actuelle est un fait accompli résultant de l'expulsion de la population par la puissance coloniale et de l'importation d'aventuriers d'origines diverses. M. Al-Rachach voit mal comment le résultat d'un référendum déterminant la volonté de cette population ainsi importée peut être qualifié d'autodétermination.

90. M. NKAMA (Zambie) dit qu'en ce qui concerne la question de la Côte française des Somalis le climat politique actuel ne fait que justifier les craintes exprimées par sa délégation à la session précédente (1664ème séance), au cours de laquelle elle avait demandé l'organisation d'un référendum libre et équitable et exprimé l'opinion que les résultats du référendum seraient dénués de toute signification si une majorité aussi nombreuse que possible de la

population n'y participait pas. Malheureusement, la Puissance administrante n'a pas accédé à cette requête. Le 20 mars 1967, en signe de protestation contre les résultats du référendum qui venaient d'être publiés, de violentes émeutes ont éclaté à Djibouti, au cours desquelles on a dénombré 11 morts pour cette seule journée et 20 pour l'ensemble des manifestations. De hauts fonctionnaires de l'administration, notamment des ministres, ont démissionné. En dépit de la résolution 2228 (XXI) de l'Assemblée générale, la France n'a pas pris les mesures nécessaires en vue d'assurer la présence de l'ONU dans le territoire. On ne peut guère prétendre que le référendum a été organisé sur la base du suffrage universel des adultes. En effet, sur une population totale de 58 000 Somalis,

700 seulement ont été inscrits sur les listes électorales, et pour les Afars le nombre des inscrits était de 22 000 sur un total de 48 000. Ainsi, même si l'on se base sur ces chiffres qui ont été publiés par le Gouvernement français, on constate qu'un tiers seulement de la population autochtone a participé au référendum, tandis que la majorité des expatriés français, y compris les militaires, ont pu voter. Par ailleurs, n'ont pu voter que ceux qui avaient atteint l'âge requis en 1958. La commission de recensement et de jugement créée pour étudier les réclamations ayant suivi le référendum se composait de trois ressortissants français, alors qu'une commission autochtone aurait semblé plus appropriée. Il y avait 35 nouveaux bureaux de vote, pour la plupart situés dans des zones d'accès difficile. Seuls les partis politiques autorisés ont pu mener une campagne électorale, les groupements indépendants ou non officiels n'en ayant pas le droit. En outre, la durée maximum de cette campagne, même pour les partis politiques autorisés, était de 12 jours, et devait se terminer 2 jours avant le scrutin. Les représentants de pays ayant accédé récemment à l'indépendance et dont les routes sont souvent encore impraticables sont mieux à même que d'autres d'apprécier les obstacles que représente ce règlement pour les chefs des partis politiques.

91. Si les Nations Unies avaient été autorisées à jouer un rôle dans l'organisation du référendum, beaucoup des anomalies qui ont été constatées auraient sans nul doute pu être évitées. Et pourtant, malgré les conditions dans lesquelles le référendum a eu lieu, 40 p. 100 de la population a voté pour l'indépendance totale. Si l'on considère qu'il s'agit d'un pays où des milliers de personnes se trouvent dans des camps d'internement et où certaines ont été contraintes de fuir à l'étranger pour conserver leur liberté, il est clair que la volonté de la population de la Côte française des Somalis est d'accéder à l'indépendance.

92. En raison des circonstances dans lesquelles le référendum a été organisé et de l'absence d'un contrôle de l'ONU, la Commission manquerait à son devoir si elle entérinait le résultat du vote intervenu en mars 1967. Les puissances administrantes ont souvent déclaré à la Commission que leurs colonies pesaient lourdement sur l'économie de la métropole. S'il en était ainsi, elles devraient permettre aux Nations Unies d'alléger ce fardeau. Les obligations de la France envers la Côte française des Somalis ne sont pas de faire de ce pays un territoire français

mais de conduire la population à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance et de préserver le patrimoine culturel du peuple colonial.

93. On comprend mal pourquoi la question posée aux électeurs de la Côte française des Somalis était rédigée comme suit: "Voulez-vous que le territoire demeure au sein de la République française avec le statut renouvelé de gouvernement et d'administration dont les éléments essentiels ont été portés à votre connaissance?" Le devoir de la Puissance administrante n'est pas de poser des questions ambiguës et difficiles aux peuples coloniaux, il est d'aider ceux-ci à accéder à l'indépendance. Il est clair qu'aucun peuple au monde ne refuserait la liberté et l'indépendance.

94. En résumé, la délégation zambienne regrette que la Puissance administrante n'ait pas répondu d'une façon positive à la résolution 2228 (XXI), notamment au paragraphe 4 de son dispositif; elle déplore la perte de 20 vies humaines qui a immédiatement suivi le référendum et estime que la Puissance administrante devrait appliquer sans retard la résolution 1514 (XV). Il est manifeste que la population de la Côte française des Somalis ne souhaite pas maintenir son association avec la France. M. Nkama espère qu'à la présente session le représentant de la France voudra bien expliquer à la Commission la position de son gouvernement, et il souhaite que cette position soit conforme à la Charte des Nations Unies.

95. En ce qui concerne la Guinée équatoriale, M. Nkama se félicite des déclarations de l'Espagne, qui semblent indiquer que ce pays va réagir de façon positive à l'opinion exprimée par la population du territoire et reconnaître que les représentants de celle-ci ont exprimé leur volonté d'indépendance et de liberté. Le Gouvernement espagnol a également précisé son intention de conduire la Guinée équatoriale à l'indépendance nationale, et M. Nkama espère que les déclarations de l'Espagne se traduiront pleinement dans les faits.

96. En ce qui concerne Ifni et le Sahara espagnol, le représentant de la Zambie exprime le vœu que l'Espagne, qui s'est déclarée prête à se conformer aux décisions des Nations Unies à cet égard, décolonisera sans retard ces territoires, dont les populations peuvent prétendre à juste titre à l'autodétermination. La Zambie attend avec impatience le jour où le Nord et le Sud du continent africain seront libérés de toutes les formes de domination et d'exploitation étrangères.

97. M. Nkama espère que le silence qu'il a gardé lorsqu'on a soulevé le problème de certains territoires, notamment des îles Falkland (Malvinas) et de Gibraltar, ne sera pas mal interprété. En effet, on ne peut s'attendre à ce que la Zambie, qui est devenue une nation indépendante grâce à une révolution menée contre le colonialisme, approuve des politiques coloniales d'aucune sorte. L'attitude que ce pays adoptera en ce qui concerne le projet de résolution relatif à ces questions sera dictée uniquement par les principes de la Charte.

98. M. CASTILLO ARRIOLA (Guatemala) rappelle la déclaration qu'il a faite à la 1746^{ème} séance, dans

laquelle il a indiqué la position de sa délégation en ce qui concerne le différend territorial relatif à Belize, et éclairci certains points soulevés par M. Rogers, à qui la Commission avait accordé une audience. L'intervention du représentant de la Jamaïque à la même séance semble indiquer que ce représentant a mal compris la déclaration de la délégation guatémaltèque, étant donné qu'il a prétendu que la conclusion logique découlant des arguments de cette délégation serait que les Guatémaltèques, en tant que descendants des conquistadores, devraient rendre leur pays aux Indiens mayas. En fait, M. Castillo Arriola a précisé que le différend territorial qui oppose le Guatemala au Royaume-Uni en ce qui concerne le territoire de Belize remonte à une centaine d'années, et que la médiation lui a paru être un moyen approprié pour régler le litige, sans nuire aux intérêts et au bien-être de la population. Les deux parties au différend ont d'ailleurs suggéré au médiateur certaines mesures tendant à protéger les intérêts de cette population. Le Guatemala s'intéresse vivement au bien-être de la population de Belize, qui se compose d'une part d'indiens de langue espagnole et d'autre part de personnes venant des Antilles qui se sont fixées sur ce territoire. Le Guatemala est le résultat de la fusion d'un grand nombre de races et il a acquis à la longue un fort sentiment national et de profondes convictions démocratiques.

99. M. BARNETT (Jamaïque) répond que le représentant du Guatemala a probablement mal compris

la déclaration qu'il a faite à la 1746ème séance. Cependant, il tient à noter que le représentant du Guatemala vient de préciser nettement que la population du Honduras britannique comprend non seulement des Indiens mayas et leurs descendants, mais également une population en provenance des Antilles, qui s'est fixée sur ce territoire et fait désormais partie intégrante de sa population, et dont les intérêts et les vœux doivent être respectés dans tout processus de décolonisation entrepris au Honduras britannique.

100. Le PRESIDENT dit qu'à la séance suivante la Commission devra conclure la discussion générale du point à l'étude et voter sur les projets de résolution concernant la question de Gibraltar et sur les amendements y relatifs.

101. M. MAKKAWI (Liban) propose que la Commission ajourne le vote sur les projets de résolution relatifs à Gibraltar et sur les amendements y relatifs jusqu'à la séance du lendemain matin, 16 décembre 1967.

102. Après un échange de vues, le PRESIDENT met aux voix la proposition du Liban.

Par 47 voix contre 20, avec 15 abstentions, la proposition du Liban est adoptée.

La séance est levée à 17 h 10.

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VINGT-DEUXIÈME SESSION

Documents officiels



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SÉANCE

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Par 72 voix contre zéro, avec 26 abstentions, le projet de résolution A/C.4/L.899 concernant vingt-six territoires est adopté.

41. M. GARCIA (Etats-Unis d'Amérique) indique que les Etats-Unis se sont abstenus de voter sur le projet de résolution A/C.4/L.899 et auraient voté contre le paragraphe 4 du dispositif si ce paragraphe avait fait l'objet d'un vote séparé. On connaît bien la position des Etats-Unis sur la question des installations militaires dans les territoires non autonomes. Aucune disposition de la Charte des Nations Unies ne peut être interprétée comme s'opposant à l'établissement d'installations de cet ordre, que les Etats sont en droit de maintenir en vue de défendre leur territoire et leurs ressortissants.

42. M. BARNETT (Jamaïque) déclare que sa délégation s'est abstenue de voter sur le projet de résolution A/C.4/L.899 pour deux raisons. D'une part, elle était surprise que la résolution en question ne contienne aucune allusion au Honduras britannique, et d'autre part elle considérait que les six territoires antillais ayant opté pour l'association avec le Royaume-Uni auraient dû, à son avis, faire l'objet d'une résolution séparée et non pas dû figurer dans un projet portant sur des territoires non autonomes proprement dits. La Jamaïque approuve cependant les clauses de la résolution touchant les autres territoires. Par ailleurs, elle partage l'opinion selon laquelle la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale continue à être applicable aux territoires ayant choisi un statut d'association.

43. M. DE LA ROSA (Philippines) signale que si sa délégation a voté pour le projet de résolution A/C.4/L.899 les réserves qu'elle a déjà exprimées lors de la 1634^{ème} séance plénière de l'Assemblée générale, le 15 décembre 1967, en ce qui concerne la question des bases militaires dans les territoires non autonomes n'en subsistent pas moins.

44. M. KANNANGARA (Ceylan) indique que le vote de sa délégation pour le projet de résolution A/C.4/L.899 témoigne de l'appui qu'elle prête aux principes énoncés dans cette résolution, mais qu'elle souhaite toutefois exprimer certaines réserves sur le texte de celle-ci. Elle estime que les modifications survenues dans certains territoires et qui sont mentionnées au quatrième paragraphe du préambule auraient justifié un examen séparé des territoires en question; elle pense en effet que certaines des dispositions de la résolution leur sont difficilement applicables.

45. M. McCOMIE (Barbade) rappelle que sa délégation s'est abstenue de voter pour la résolution A/C.4/L.899. Cela n'indique pas un affaiblissement de l'appui que sa délégation a toujours apporté au principe du droit des peuples coloniaux à l'autodétermination, mais, étant donné que la résolution note les changements constitutionnels qui ont été adoptés ou sont envisagés dans six territoires antillais et du fait que la délégation barbadienne sait de source sûre que ces changements sont survenus conformément à la volonté de la population, elle n'a pu appuyer le projet de résolution dans sa forme actuelle. La Barbade aurait préféré que les six territoires en question fassent l'objet d'une résolution spéciale, car elle considère qu'ils restent des territoires non autonomes et que la Puissance administrante doit encore répondre, à l'égard de l'Assemblée générale, des changements constitutionnels qui y surviennent. La position de la délégation barbadienne provient également du fait que les nouvelles dispositions constitutionnelles permettent aux territoires de choisir l'indépendance quand ils le veulent, conformément aux principes énoncés dans la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale.

46. La délégation barbadienne n'est pas satisfaite du libellé du paragraphe 2 du dispositif, car elle ne pense pas que l'octroi de l'indépendance à tous les territoires non autonomes puisse être considéré comme un remède universel. C'est aux populations elles-mêmes de décider de la forme et du rythme que doit prendre la décolonisation de leurs territoires respectifs.

47. La délégation barbadienne s'inquiète du fait que la résolution ne fasse aucune allusion au Honduras britannique, territoire non autonome reconnu comme tel, d'autant que le paragraphe 4 du dispositif reprend d'une façon explicite le principe énoncé au paragraphe 6 de la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale, en des termes qui évitent même la légère ambiguïté présentée par ce paragraphe. En effet, le paragraphe 4 parle expressément de l'unité nationale et de l'intégrité territoriale des "territoires coloniaux". Il est regrettable que, dans un document qui est censé protéger l'intégrité territoriale des territoires coloniaux, le Honduras britannique soit exclu, car cela semblerait vouloir indiquer que ce territoire ne rentre pas dans le champ d'application de la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale.

48. M. NOOR ADLAN (Malaisie) déclare que sa délégation a voté en faveur du projet de résolution A/C.4/L.899 mais tient à réserver sa position en ce qui concerne la mention d'Antigua, de la Dominique, de la Grenade, de Saint-Christophe-et-Nièves et Anguilla, de Sainte-Lucie et de Saint-Vincent, car la position de ces territoires est différente de celle des autres territoires dont il s'agit et ne doit pas être confondue avec elle. Sans doute le quatrième alinéa du préambule de la résolution cherche-t-il à établir une certaine distinction, mais le fait est que les territoires intéressés ont exercé l'autodétermination conformément à la Charte et à la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée et ont opté pour leur association avec le Royaume-Uni. Il aurait donc mieux convenu de s'en occuper dans une résolution séparée. La délégation malaisienne se serait abstenue lors du

vote sur le sixième alinéa du préambule et le paragraphe 4 du dispositif s'ils avaient fait l'objet de votes séparés, les questions dont ils traitent n'étant pas du ressort de la Quatrième Commission.

49. M. SOYLEMEZ (Turquie) dit que sa délégation a voté en faveur du projet de résolution A/C.4/L.899. Toutefois, elle se serait abstenue sur le sixième alinéa du préambule et le paragraphe 4 du dispositif s'ils avaient été mis aux voix séparément.

50. M. BERRO (Uruguay) dit que sa délégation s'est abstenue lors du vote sur le projet de résolution A/C.4/L.899, conformément aux opinions qu'elle a exprimées au Comité spécial sur les territoires des Antilles orientales et notamment compte tenu des déclarations des pétitionnaires que le Comité a entendus à propos de la situation à Anguilla. M. Berro renvoie la Commission aux documents du Comité spécial (A/6700/Rev.1, chap. XXIII) à cet égard.

51. M. MARTINEZ (Argentine) dit que sa délégation appuie le paragraphe 4 du dispositif du projet de résolution A/C.4/L.899 en raison de l'importance qu'elle attache à la sauvegarde de l'intégrité territoriale des pays. Son appui à la deuxième partie de ce paragraphe est sans préjudice de sa position juridique en ce qui concerne la hiérarchie institutionnelle au sein de l'Organisation des Nations Unies et des réserves qu'elle a exprimées touchant des paragraphes analogues dans la résolution antérieure relative aux bases militaires dans les territoires non autonomes. Ces réserves s'appliquent également au paragraphe 1 du dispositif dans la mesure où elle approuve les conclusions du Comité spécial sur ces bases.